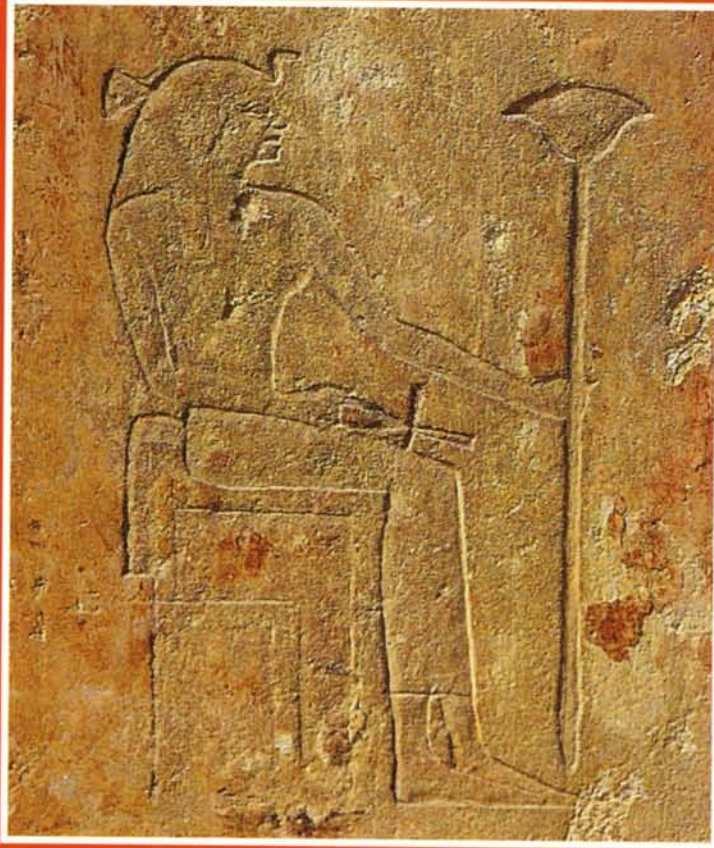


MIROSLAV VERNER

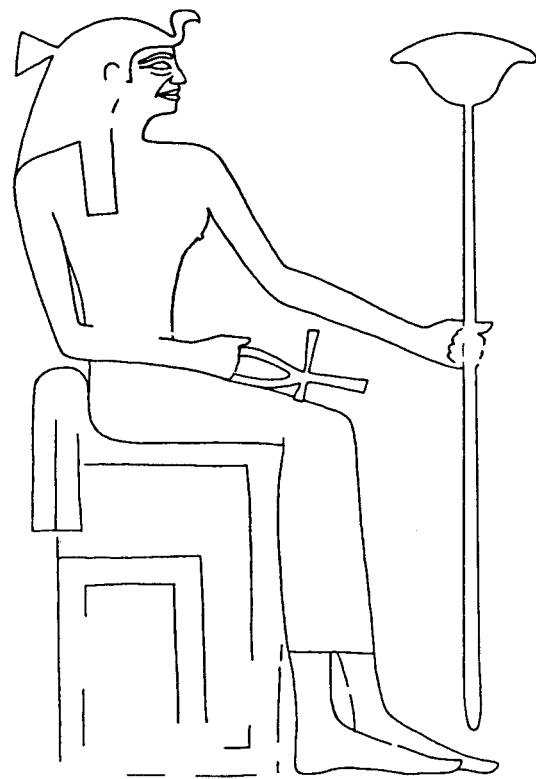
ABUSIR III



The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus

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EXCAVATIONS OF THE CZECH INSTITUTE OF EGYPTOLOGY

MIROSLAV VERNER

ABUSIR III

The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus

with contributions

by Paule Posener-Kriéger and Peter Jánosi

Czech Institute of Egyptology
Praha 2001

To my parents

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BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

- ÄA**
Abubakr, Kronen
ÄF
Altenmüller, Moussa,
Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep
Ancient Egypt and Kush
Arnold, Amenemhet III

Arnold, Senwosret I
Arnold, Building
Arnold, Control Notes

ASAE
AV

Bareš, Abusir Necropolis

Barta, Opferformel
Beiträge Bf
BCMA
BdE
BIE
Blackman, Meir

BMFA
Borchardt, Neuserre
Borchardt, Neferirkare
Borchardt, Sahure

Breasted, AR
BSAK
BSFE
CAH
Callender, Wives of the Eg. Kings

Caminos, Literary Fragments
CCE
CdE
CRAIBL
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- CRIPPEL**
Davies, Ptahhotep and Akhetetep
Deines, Drogennamen
Deines, Westendorf, Wb. Med. Texte
Donadoni-Roveri, Sarcophagi
Edel, Akazienhaus
Edel, Grammatik
Edel, Qubbet el Hawa
Edwards, The Pyramids
Enchoria
Fakhry, Sneferu
Farina, Il papiro dei Re
Festgabe Derchain
FIFAO
Firth, Gunn, TPC
Fischer, Egyptian Tiles
Gauthier, Dictionnaire
Gardiner, Admonitions
Gardiner, Chester Beatty I
Gardiner, Grammar
Gardiner, RCT
Gardiner et al., Sinai Inscriptions
Goedicke, Königliche Dokumente
GM
Harris, Minerals
Harpur, Decoration
Hassan, Stöcke und Stäbe
Hassan, Ny-ankh-Pepy
Hassan, Giza
Hayes, Scepter
Hölscher, Chephren
HPBM
Jacquet-Gordon, Domaines funéraires
James, Hierogl. Inscr. Brooklyn
Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen
JEA
Jéquier, Douze ans
Jéquier, Frises d'objets
Jéquier, Mastabat Faraoun
Jéquier, Oudjebten
Jéquier, Neit et Apouit
Jéquier, Pepi II
Junker, Giza
Kaplony, Rollsiegel
Kêmi
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- Kuhlmann, Der Thron**
Kush
LÄ
Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, Ounas
Lapp, Opferformel
Lauer, Pyramide à degrés
Lauer, Pyramides à degrés
Lauer, Leclant, Teti
LD
LD, Text
Lehner, Hetepheres
Maragioglio, Rinaldi, L'architettura
Maragioglio, Rinaldi, Notizie
Mariette, Mastabas
MÄS
MDAIK
Meeks, ALex
Meyer, Geschichte
Montet, Géographie
Montet, Scènes
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Petrie, Abydos
PM
Posener-Krieger, Néferirkare
Posener-Krieger, de Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri
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RdE
Reiser, Harim
Reisner, Giza I
Reisner, Mycerinus
Reisner, Smith, Giza II
Ricke, Baukunst des AR
SAK
Sandmann-Holmberg, Ptah
Schäfer, Annalen
Schäfer, Priestergräber
Schmidt, Album
Schumacher, Sopdu
Schweitzer, Löwe und Sphinx
SDAIK
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- Soukiassian,** *Les ateliers de potiers*
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Stud. Aegypt.
- Troy,** *Patterns of Queenship*
- Urk. I**
- Urk. IV**
- Vandier,** *Manuel*
- Vandier,** *Mo^calla*
- Verner,** *Baugraffiti*
- Verner,** *Forgotten Pharaohs*
- Verner,** *Ptahshepses*
- Walle,** *Neferirtenef*
- Ward,** *Feminine Titles*
- Wb**
- Witt,** *Le rôle et le sens du lion*
- WVDOG**
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FOREWORD

The pyramid complex of Khentkaus was discovered by the archaeological expedition of the Czech (in that time still Czechoslovak) Institute of Egyptology at Abusir in 1976. The investigations of the monument, carried out in the excavation seasons of 1976, 1978/79 and 1981, were concluded in the season of 1986 by a geodetical survey. The interim reports of the seasons' proceedings were published in *ZĀS* between the years 1978 and 1982.

Apart from providing the final report on the course of these archaeological excavation, this volume also includes a major portion of the most important finds, especially the written documents – the masons' marks and inscriptions, the fragments of reliefs, the fragments of papyri and the sealings. It also contains an evaluation of the architectural remains of the monument and some conclusions and hypotheses based on the above mentioned archaeological materials and on what we know about the history of the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th Dynasties.

The evaluation of the newly discovered fragments of papyri from Khentkaus' mortuary temple archive has been prepared by Prof. Paule Posener-Kriéger (Paris) — a connoisseur of the Abusir papyri and other Old Kingdom documents. The author is also grateful that the remains of the architecture of the pyramid complex have been analysed and evaluated by Dr. Peter Jánosi (Institut für Ägyptologie, Wien), whose knowledge of the pyramid complexes of queens has provided the major opus of this topic. These scholars had enormously difficult tasks due to the fragmentary nature of both sets of remains.

The finds not included in this volume — the pottery, the fragments of stone vessels, the objects dating from the Coptic occupation of the ruins of the monument, the secondary burials dating from the late New Kingdom until the Roman Period, etc. — will be published later, in future studies published by the Czech Institute of Egyptology in Prague.

* * *

The author also should like to express his thanks to Dr. Vivienne G. Callender for her invaluable suggestions pertaining to the "problem of Khentkaus", as well as for her unselfish help in supervising the English manuscript of this publication.

Many thanks must be also expressed to Mr. Milan Zemina, the photographer, and to Mrs. Miroslava Sodomková, MA, who prepared most of the drawings published in this book.

Prague, 30th June 1994

Miroslav Verner

I.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT

In 1975, the Egyptian Antiquities Organization approved our application and granted the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology, from Charles University of Prague, permission to explore a portion of the Memphite necropolis, encompassing South Abusir¹. Archaeologically, it was almost untouched. More precisely, the archaeological concession granted to our Institute covered the area between the pyramid complexes of Neferirkare and Nyuserre in the north and the *Wadi Abusiri* in the south (pl. 1, fig. 1).

A systematic exploration of the vast area started with a surface survey, combined with geophysical measurement. The first monument chosen to be excavated occupied a place south of the pyramid of

Neferirkare. Judging by the rectangular, east-west oriented shape of the monument and the fact that it carefully respected the position and dimensions of the pyramid of Neferirkare (the length of the monument corresponding with the eastern half of the southern side of the pyramid), the monument (fig. 2) was taken by our team for a small pyramid complex which probably belonged to Neferirkare's wife, Khentkaus. On the basis of the surface survey, we also assumed that the monument consisted of a small pyramid and

1 *LD Text*, 139 ff. and map in *LD I*, 32; Smith, *Map of the Saqqara Cemetery*; Spencer, in: *Orientalia* 43, 1974, 1-11. See also *PM III*, Pt. 1, 324-351.

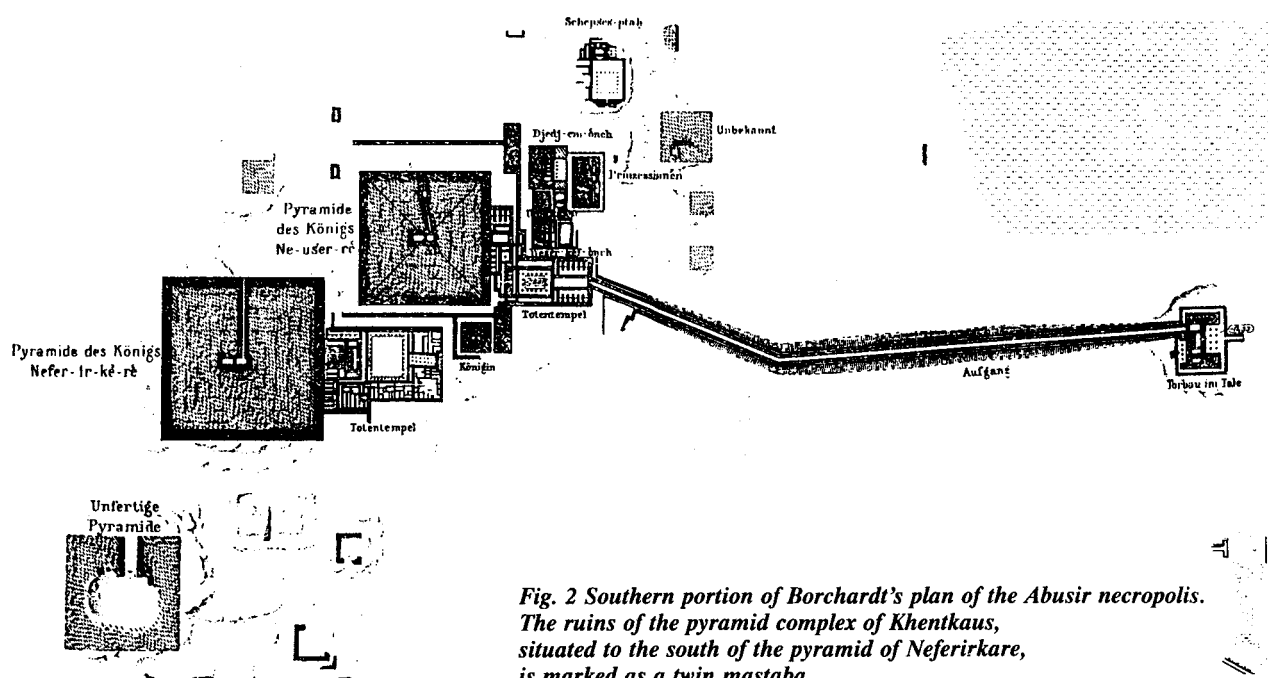


Fig. 2 Southern portion of Borchardt's plan of the Abusir necropolis. The ruins of the pyramid complex of Khentkaus, situated to the south of the pyramid of Neferirkare, is marked as a twin mastaba.

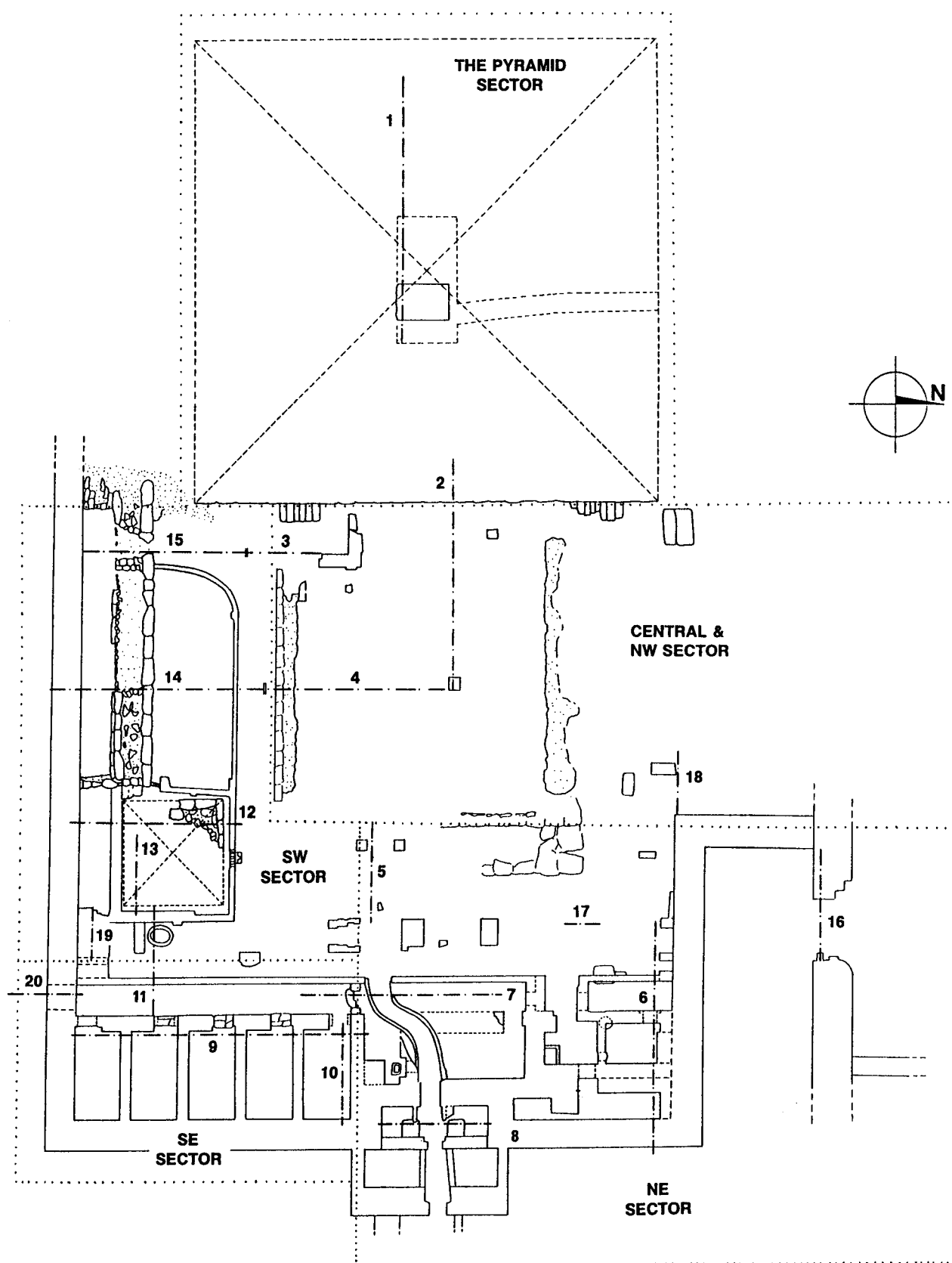


Fig. 3a Plan of the pyramid complex of Khentkaus: Position of excavation sectors and profiles.

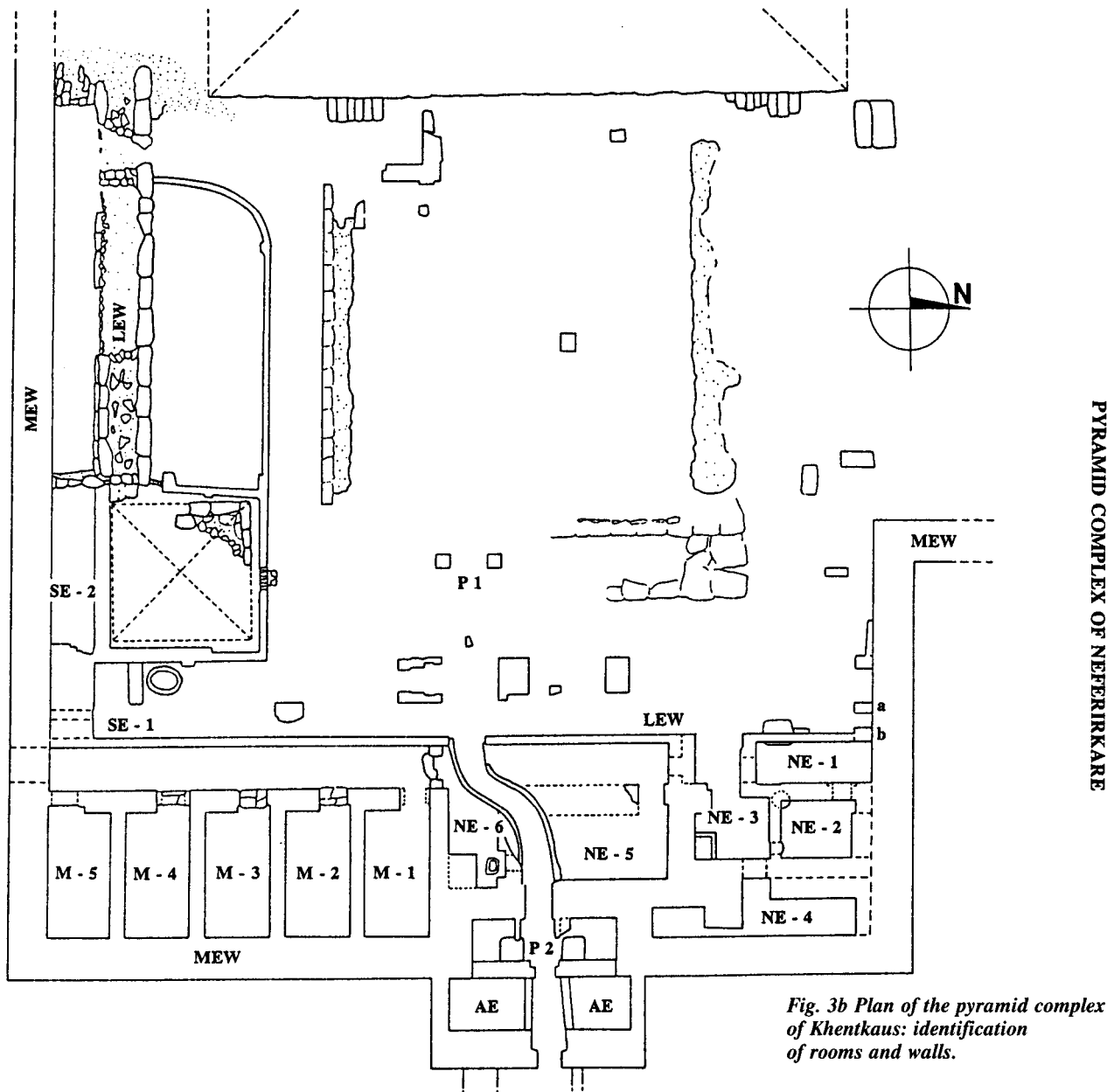


Fig. 3b Plan of the pyramid complex of Khentkaus: identification of rooms and walls.

a mortuary temple. This was surrounded by an enclosure wall which linked the monument to the neighbouring pyramid complex of Neferirkare. In principle, the subsequent excavations confirmed these premises but, at the same time, showed that the archaeological situation and, especially, the historical interpretation were unexpectedly more complex in nature.

I.1 The Pyramid

The pyramid had been briefly explored prior to the Czech archaeological excavation. In 1906, precisely 70 years before our excavation of the monument, a minor trial digging was carried out by an expedition

sent out by the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*. That team concentrated their work on an area near the south-east corner of the pyramid. Ludwig Borchardt, director of the German expedition, came to the conclusion that the monument of Khentkaus was not a pyramid but a twin mastaba (*Doppelmastaba*)². The

² The rectangular and east-westerly orientated outlines of the monument have already been marked by Borchardt on his plan of the necropolis of Abusir. However, the monument was misinterpreted by Borchardt (*Sahure I*, 145 f.) as a twin mastaba: "Ebenso dürfte das längliche Gebäude dessen Schutturnisse Erbkam südlich von der Nefer-ir-ke3-re'-Pyramide angibt – zwischen ihr und der Stelle, wo der Totentempel vor der unfertigen Pyramide zu liegen scheint – trotzdem es in seiner westlichen Hälfte auch einen solchen Nordeinschnitt aufweist, keine Pyramide, sondern eine Mastaba, wahrscheinlich sogar eine Doppelmastaba, sein."

"mastaba" was considered to be archaeologically unimportant and the German expedition lost interest in its further exploration.

Before our excavations, the structure was clearly divided into an eastern and western part (fig. 3a, b). The eastern part contained a shallow, rectangular depression; the western part was formed by a low tumulus. There was a clearly defined gully running from the northern edge towards the centre of the tumulus. No large loose blocks of limestone were present on the surface of the structure, only small fragments of limestone and red granite, and sherds of Dyn. 5 pottery. Contrary to Borchardt's conclusions, the position, shape and orientation of the structure seemed to indicate that it might have been a small pyramid complex³.

The excavation of the monument began in 1976⁴ with a trench being cut into the east-west axis of the tumulus in the western section. The trench (fig. 4a, b), excavated through debris formed by layers of sand and fragments of white (Turah) and greyish (local) limestone, disclosed the badly damaged core of a small pyramid.

The structure and stratigraphy of the debris made several observations possible. Firstly, the casing of the pyramid had been completely removed — at least in the 3 m wide strip of the pyramid exposed by our trench. Secondly, bigger blocks had obviously been cut into smaller pieces directly on the spot, in order to facilitate the transportation of the stone away from the pyramid. Finally, the biggest blocks from the substructure of the pyramid had been cut and shaped into new architectural elements whilst still in their original positions. For instance, an unfinished capital of a column remained almost *in situ* (pl. 2, fig. 5). It had been made from one of the huge, white limestone slabs which had once roofed the burial chamber. Of five fine white limestone ceiling slabs — originally laid in a north-south horizontal position over the burial chamber — only one remained *in situ*. This was incomplete, but the southern portion of this 116 cm thick slab remained firmly embedded in the masonry of the pyramid's core.

The core of the pyramid was built of small, often irregular blocks and fragments of inferior quality limestone. Undoubtedly, this came from local quarries in the neighbourhood of the pyramid field at Abusir. Apparently, the stones represented refuse material from the principal building site of the pyramid of Neferirkare.

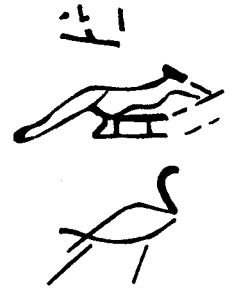
The outer face of the core had been formed by low steps consisting of one or two rows of small blocks, joined by clay mortar. In addition to that, the mortar was covered from outside by a thin layer of

pinkish-white gypsum. In contrast to the stepped outer face of the pyramid, the inner core structure was vertical (pl. 2, fig. 6).

In the eastern outer face of the core, the second and the third step from below are 75 cm high; the first, fourth and fifth step are only 50 cm high. Some blocks of the core bore the so-called *Baugraffiti*, marks and inscriptions made by quarrymen and masons⁵. The graffiti contain measurements, data, the pyramid owner's name, nivellation lines, etc. Of a special importance was a short vertical line on a block in the middle of the eastern face of the core which indicated the position of the east-west axis of the pyramid, and was very probably drawn by ancient architects shortly before the construction of the mortuary temple.

The sarcophagus chamber, badly damaged by ancient stone robbers, was filled with fragments of limestone and greyish sand (see fig. 4a). In the filling sloping from the east towards the west, scattered sherds of beer jugs and fragments of stone vessels appeared. Completely unique was the discovery of a

Fig. 7 Graffito of S3-Šbk.



limestone ostracon (fig. 7) bearing the personal name of S3-Šbk⁶ written in a cursive script and probably dating from the Middle Kingdom. In the western half of the chamber, near the south wall, a square-shaped, c. 1 m deep pit was discovered in the floor. The pit

3 V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi (*L'architettura delle piramidi menfite VII - Testo, 190 and VII - Tavole, Tav. 5*) came to a similar conclusion in the mid 1960s: "... it is also possible (and this is only a hypothesis) that it is what remains of the mortuary temple attached to the small pyramid, the miniature complex being enclosed by a single wall." However, Maragioglio's and Rinaldi's relevant drawing of the monument on the general plan of the pyramid field of Abusir is quite confusing.

4 Regarding the archaeological report for the season of 1976, see Verner, in: *ZÄS* 105, 1978, 155–159.

5 The masons' inscriptions and marks revealed in the Khentkaus's pyramid complex are discussed in detail in Chapter II, see below pp. 43–54.

6 For S3-Šbk, a personal name frequently occurring — especially in the Middle Kingdom — see Ranke, *PN* I, 284/11. The name is on the ostracon, preceded by the unclear remains of signs, probably of a title.

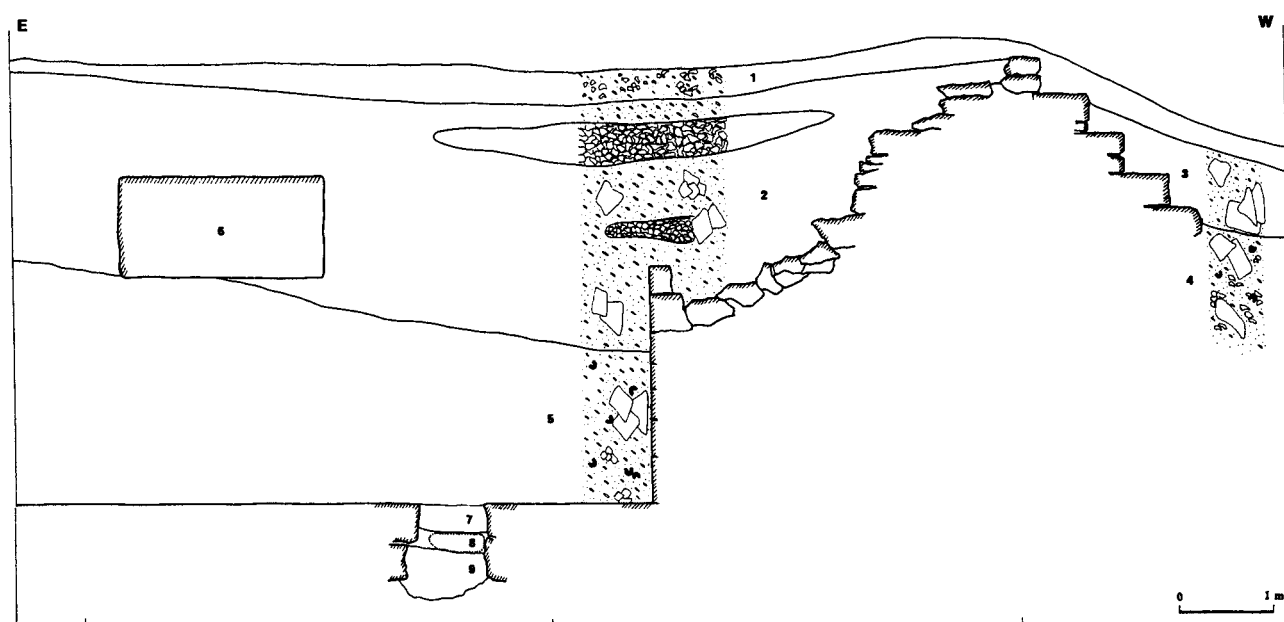


Fig. 4 a Profile no. 1.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine) | 6 ceiling block of limestone |
| 2 grey sand with limestone fragments (coarse) | 7 animal bones, fragments of OK pottery vessels, fragments of mummy wrappings, dark sand and mud |
| 3 grey sand with fragments of limestone blocks | 8 burial of a child, fragments of a reed mat |
| 4 grey sand with limestone fragments (coarse) and fragments of pottery vessels | 9 fragments of OK stone and pottery vessels, dark sand |
| 5 grey sand, fragments of limestone (coarse and fine), fragments of red granite, fragments of pottery vessel | |

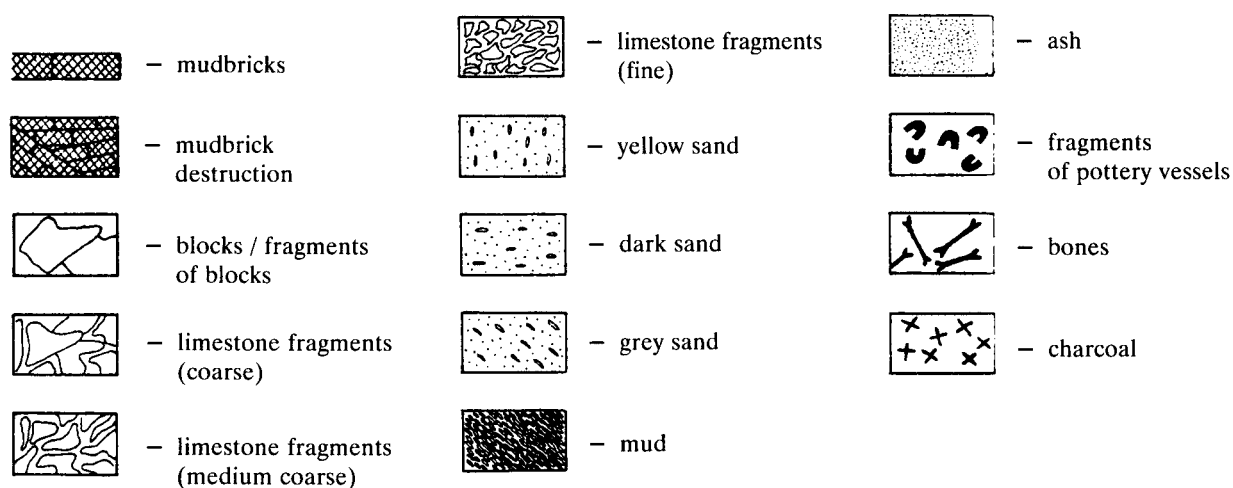


Fig. 4 b List of symbols used in the drawings of the profiles nos. 1-20.

contained remains of animal bones, fragments of beer jugs, and bowls of earthenware dating from the 5th Dynasty, mummy wrappings and fragments of a reed mat. At the bottom of the pit, wrapped in a rotten reed mat, was the burial of a child. The body was laid with the head to the west ⁷.

The pit, probably containing canopic jars originally, made it possible to have a closer view of the foundation of the burial chamber. The foundation

was about 80 cm thick and consisted of two layers of limestone blocks. The upper layer, the floor of the chamber, was of fine white limestone, whereas the lower one was of coarse greyish limestone of local provenance. Surprisingly, neither the sarcophagus nor any remains of the burial (except for the

⁷ Judging by the archaeological context, the burial of the child very probably dates from the late New Kingdom.

above-mentioned fragments of mummy wrappings found with the child) were found in the chamber. Nevertheless, a small corner fragment of a red granite sarcophagus was discovered in the debris above the chamber.

Like the burial chamber, the descending corridor giving access into the interior of the pyramid was almost completely destroyed. What has remained of the corridor to date is an open trench running (with a slight deviation to the east) along the north-south axis of the pyramid. The trench was filled with bigger fragments of limestone and red granite, and with grey sand. Needless to add, the ceiling of the corridor is completely missing. Only some badly damaged portions of the side walls and the floor of the corridor remained in position. About 1.5–2.0 m before the burial chamber a concentration of large fragments of red granite indicated the place where originally a portcullis had been built. The masonry in this place had been destroyed to a greater depth than in the preceding portion of the sloping corridor. Moreover, two large broken blocks of the portcullis are still visible near their original position. One is in the eastern wall of the corridor. The other, pushed there by stone robbers no doubt, lies in the entrance to the burial chamber.

The pyramid casing does not remain *in situ* in any of the unearthed portions of the pyramid's sides (complete excavation was done on the eastern side and portions of the western and northern sides). However, on the eastern side, near the north-east and south-east corner of the pyramid some backing stones are still in position.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The pyramid belonged to the Queen Khentkaus. The graffiti discovered on the blocks of the pyramid, however, attest an alteration to the Queen's original title. In a short mason's inscription (no. 13, see p. 47) on a foundation block near the north-east corner of the pyramid, the original title *hmt nswt* had been replaced during the construction of the pyramid, by the title of *mwt nswt*⁸.

2. A graffito⁹ found on a block in the pyramid's core, above the western end of the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber, possibly contains some important chronological information. Apparently, the graffito was written upside down on a vertical face of the block which had been already placed in position (the red paint dripping down from the inscription indicates that the scribe lay on his belly, undoubtedly bent over the edge of the open pit in which the sarcophagus chamber was intended to be built). The

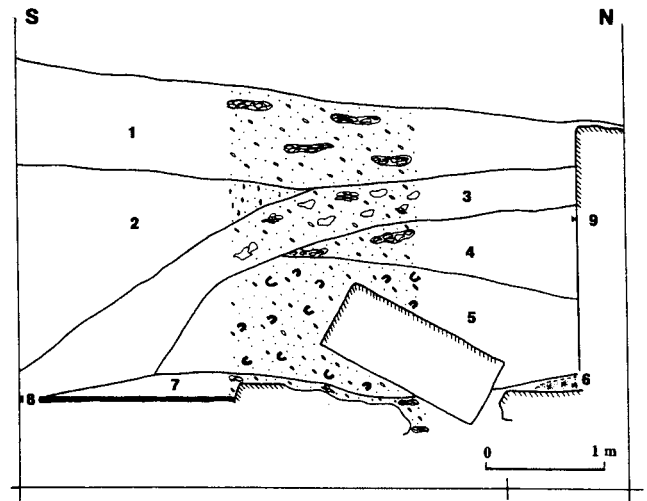


Fig. 8 a Profile no. 3

- 1 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine)
- 2 yellow sand
- 3 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine and medium coarse)
- 4 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine)
- 5 grey sand, fragments of OK pottery vessels, fragments of limestone blocks
- 6 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine)
- 7 ash, charcoal
- 8 floor of beaten clay
- 9 lower limit of the relief decoration on the wall

inscription can be read as follows: *Rnpt-sp 5, 3bd 4 3ht, sw 14 (?)* "year 5 (i.e. the 5th biennial census of cattle), 4th month of inundation season, day 14 (?)"¹⁰. The 5th biennial census corresponds with the 10th regnal year and, theoretically, two kings can be taken into consideration in connection with this date, Neferirkare or Nyuserre. In the reign of Neferirkare the construction of the pyramid of Khentkaus was certainly begun. If the graffito relates to the reign of Neferirkare it would represent the highest regnal date for this King known so far. If this assumption is correct, does it represent a control inscription pertaining to the termination of one building stage of the monument? Or, does it represent a date for the

8 See below p. 47, graffito no. 13.

9 See below p. 43, graffito no. 2.

10 The graffito has been already published in the preliminary report for the 1978/1979 season, see Verner, in: *ZÄS* 107, 1980, 159 and fig. 3.

11 The lengthy interval between Nyuserre's accession, up until the resumption of building works on Khentkaus' pyramid, could have been determined by the King's efforts to consolidate his position as the head of the Egyptian state. In addition to his consolidation problems, the King was confronted with his obligation to complete three unfinished pyramid complexes for his closest relatives, i.e. his father, mother and elder brother.

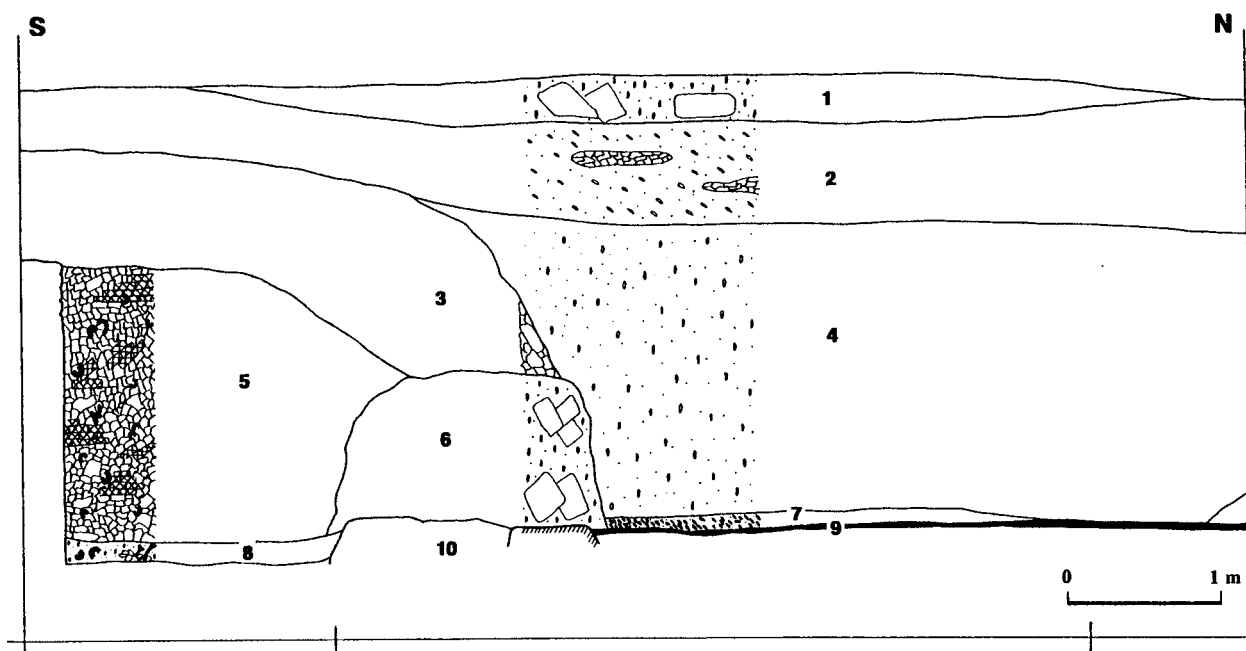


Fig. 8 b Profile no. 15

- 1 yellow sand, limestone fragments (coarse)
- 2 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine)
- 3 limestone fragments (coarse and medium coarse)
- 4 yellow sand
- 5 limestone fragments (medium coarse and fine), fragments of OK pottery vessels, fragments of mudbricks

- 6 yellow sand, limestone fragments (coarse)
- 7 dark sand with clay
- 8 yellow sand, fragments of OK pottery vessels, fragments of limestone (fine), fragments of bones
- 9 floor of beaten clay
- 10 limestone masonry

temporary interruption of the building works in the pyramid, perhaps, in connection with the King's death for example? However, the inscription could equally well have been written in the reign of Nyuserre, and could have been linked with the resumption of work on the pyramid.¹¹ Should the second assumption be correct, then the date would relate to the reign of Nyuserre, and the inscription would have been indirectly linked with the above-mentioned alteration of the tomb owner's title from *hmt nšwt* to *mwt nšwt*, since Nyuserre was the son of Neferirkare and Khentkaus.¹²

3. The pyramid was possibly opened and robbed at some stage between the end of the reign of Pepi II and the beginning of the 12th Dynasty, i.e. during the collapse of the centralized Egyptian state with its capital in Memphis.¹³

4. Later, very probably during the Middle Kingdom, the plundered sarcophagus chamber of the Queen was used again. In a pit in the floor — probably planned originally for the canopic jars of the Queen — the burial of a small child had been laid out. It cannot be excluded that still before the burial of the child the chamber had been inhabited for a short time.

5. It appears that the majority of the destruction of the pyramid came at the end of the New Kingdom.¹⁴ Stones of higher quality, especially fine white (Turah) limestone and red granite blocks were extracted and taken away at that time.

12 There is no direct evidence for this relationship. However, the indirect evidence (e.g. the position of Nyuserre's pyramid complex in the Abusir necropolis; the archaeologically confirmed completion carried out by Nyuserre of pyramid complexes of Neferirkare, Khentkaus and Raneferef; the scene on the fragment of a relief excav. no. 200/A/78 [see below p. 65]), makes such an assumption very plausible.

13 This assumption is based on a find, unfortunately unstratified, of a hemispherical cup (excav. no. 339/A/78), a type of pottery dated to the early Middle Kingdom. It is also indirectly supported by numerous pieces of archaeological evidence relating to the revival of cults in other royal mortuary temples at Abusir in that period, see e.g. L. Bareš, in *ZĀS* 112, 1985, 87–94. The as-yet-unpublished archaeological finds (sealings, pottery, etc.) from the current excavations in pyramid Lepsius no. XXIV (a small pyramid complex, possibly belonging to one of Nyuserre's wives), also attest to the short revival of the cult within the monument at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.

14 It appears that the upper portion of the pyramid (as low as the level of the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber) had been totally dismantled and removed by that time. The beginnings of the destruction of Nyuserre's pyramid complex were also dated by Borchardt (*Nyuserre*, 160 f.) to the New Kingdom.

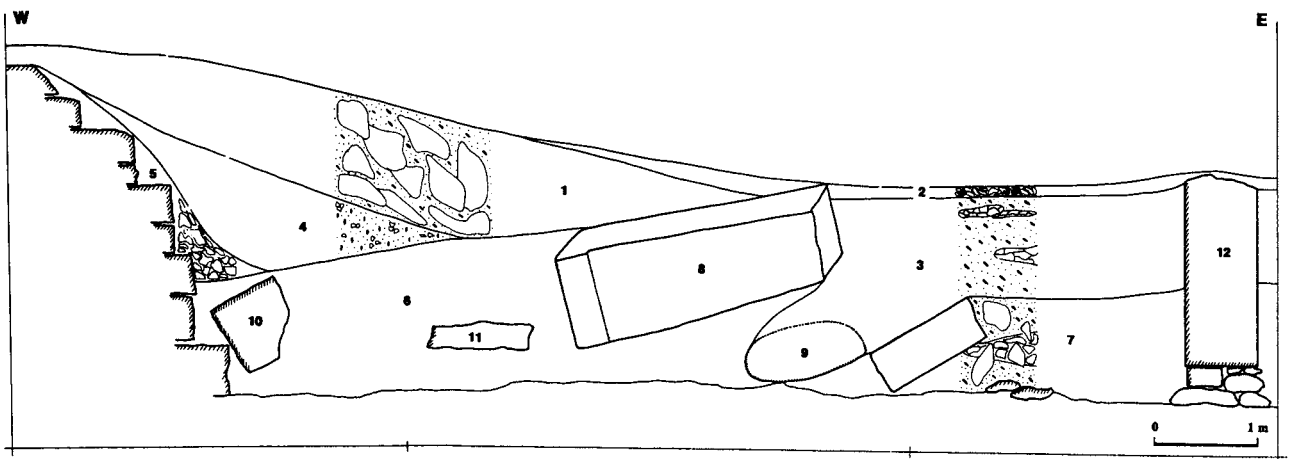


Fig. 9 Profile no. 2

- 1 grey sand with fragments of limestone blocks from the core of the pyramid
- 2 grey sand, limestone fragments (small), fragments of pottery vessels
- 3 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine and middle)
- 4 yellow sand, limestone fragments (fine)
- 5 limestone fragments (fine and medium fine)
- 6 grey sand, limestone and red granite fragments (fine

- and medium), fragments of limestone blocks of the destroyed mortuary temple
- 7 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine and medium)
- 8 ceiling block
- 9 burial exc.no. 77/A/78
- 10 limestone block with remains of reliefs (exc.no. 3/A/78)
- 11 large fragment of red granite
- 12 limestone pillar *in situ*

6. A second major wave of the destruction of the pyramid came during the Coptic Period¹⁵. Blocks extracted from the core of the pyramid then were cut into smaller pieces, in order to facilitate the transportation of the stones from the site.

1.2. The Pyramid Temple

Prior to the excavations, a shallow, rectangular and east-west oriented depression was noted in the eastern portion of the structure. Long dumps of debris marked the depression in the north, east and south (the southern dump was doubled, i.e. it consisted of two parallel, east-west heaps). On the surface of the dumps weathered fragments of limestone and red granite, and sherds of pottery of Old Kingdom type appeared. However, within the depression itself, fine drift sand prevailed.

THE CENTRAL AND NORTH-WESTERN SECTOR

The exploration of the area (see fig. 3a) of the anticipated pyramid temple started from the south-eastern corner of the pyramid and at first proceeded with a 5 m broad trench (fig. 8a, b) excavated along the eastern side of the monument. As a result of destruction activities that had taken place near the south-east and north-east corners of the pyramid, both complete and broken blocks from the core and also the casing of the monument had

accumulated. These blocks rested on a layer of sand, small fragments of limestone and, above all, other limestone blocks bearing hieroglyphic inscriptions and scenes in low relief. The latter had obviously come from the pyramid temple. Some minor portions of the badly destroyed masonry of the temple remained *in situ*, especially those which directly abutted on the pyramid. These had been protected by the debris that had been thrown out from the inside of the pyramid (fig. 9).

Among the loose blocks of the lowermost layer, just in front of the central portion of the eastern side of the pyramid, were four huge ceiling slabs of limestone. As shown by low projections on both ends of the slabs, the room for which the slabs had provided a roof was 310 cm wide.

Under the largest of the ceiling slabs was found an intrusive burial¹⁶ dating from the New Kingdom. The burial is of a great chronological significance since it helps us to date more precisely the destruction of the temple.

Another ceiling slab, found leaning against the south-eastern corner of the pyramid, originally roofed a staircase¹⁷. A cut in the slab clearly indicated both the width and the inclination of the staircase which

15 The devastation of the monuments in the necropolis of Abusir in the Coptic Period is supported by the archaeology in the pyramid complex of Raneferef (as yet unpublished), and in the mortuary temple of Sahure. See Borchart, *Sahure* I, 7, 106f. and 139.

16 Excav. no. 77/A/78. See fig. 9.

17 The staircase led to the roof terrace, see below p. 147.

apparently once had led from a room in the south-western corner of the temple onto the temple's terraced roof.

In the scenes represented on the blocks scattered in the westernmost portion of the pyramid temple were representations of the bringing of offerings, the funerary repast of the Queen, and episodes connected with the offering ritual, etc.¹⁸ Very probably, the scenes had once decorated the walls of the offering hall. Fragments of a red granite false door¹⁹, once undoubtedly set in the western wall of the offering hall, were also found. Inscriptions in sunk-relief on the fragments of the false door contained, — amongst other titles of the Queen — the unique and still enigmatic title, *mwt nswt bity nswt bity* (fig. 10). The same title was later discovered in other parts of the pyramid temple. The unexpected find of this title here immediately posed a question about the relationship between the owner of the small pyramid complex being explored at Abusir, and the famous Khentkaus I, owner of the so-called Fourth Pyramid in Giza (LG 100). Khentkaus I was supposed to be, until the discovery made in Abusir, the only bearer of an unique title.

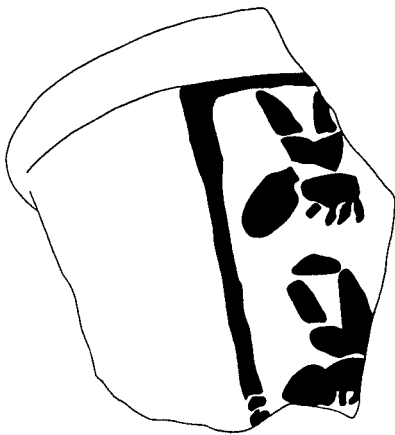


Fig. 10 Potsherd with a partly preserved black inscription with the title of *mwt nswt bity nswt bity*.

Among other finds of special chronological importance from the westernmost portion of the temple, was a fragment of a small blue-glazed faience tablet bearing a cartouche with the name of Neferkare, i.e. Pepi II (pl. 3, fig. 11). The tablet thus indicated that the cult in the temple probably lasted until the end of the 6th Dynasty²⁰.

As already mentioned above, around the south-eastern corner of the temple, the blocks and fragments of blocks of the masonry of the monument had accumulated.²¹ The thickness and the orientation

of this accumulation clearly attested to both the intensity of the quarrying of stone in the pyramid, and to the usual pathway taken to the Nile Valley by the quarrymen. Here the layer of debris rested on a thick bed of clean sand. Apparently, the destruction of the pyramid complex was preceded by a long period during which the monument had been abandoned and fallen into disuse.

Yet another archaeological fact merited our attention: from the drift sand two parallel massive enclosures walls running in east-west direction started to emerge. The inner wall, obviously unfinished and partly dismantled, was of limestone, whereas the outer one was of mudbrick and preserved to the height of about 2 m. The surprising discovery indicated, among other things, that the pyramid complex had been enlarged at least once. The first building stage appeared to have been of limestone, the second one of mudbrick.

The archaeological situation around the north-eastern corner of the pyramid differed basically from that near the south-eastern corner. Here also limestone blocks and fragments of blocks from the masonry of the pyramid had accumulated, but not in such a number as those near the south-eastern corner of the pyramid. Nevertheless, near the north-eastern corner of the pyramid some very important discoveries pertaining to the architecture of the monument were made: several corner blocks of the fine, white limestone pyramid casing and, most important of all, a corner fragment, with a portion of a base, of a black granite pyramidion²² (pl. 3, fig. 12). The latter should be ranked among earliest finds of pyramidia. About 5 m east of the north-eastern corner of the pyramid the accumulation of blocks, and fragments of blocks, was replaced by a massive, east-west heap of debris in which thin layers of small limestone chips alternated with greyish sand. Chronologically very important was the discovery of a pair of burials in anthropoid wooden coffins (pl. 3, fig. 13 a, b). These were discovered about five metres east of the north-eastern corner of the pyramid. The

18 See below pp. 68–69, fig. 63.

19 See below pp. 58–59.

20 For the possible revival of the cult in the temple, see above n. 13.

21 See fig. 9.

22 For the earlier publication of the fragment of the pyramidion in a preliminary report for the season of 1978/1979, see Verner, in: ZÄS 107, 1980, 159 and fig. 2. See also the text below, p. 135.

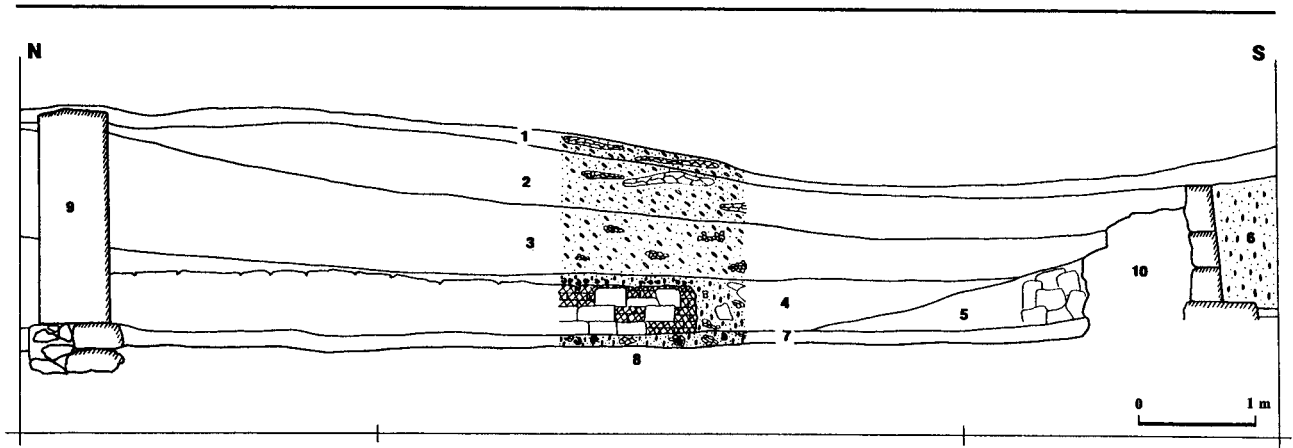


Fig. 14 Profile no. 4.

- 1 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine)
- 2 grey sand, limestone fragments (medium and fine particles)
- 3 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine)
- 4 left: stone robbers' shelter, right: yellow sand
- limestone fragments (coarse and fine fragments)

- 5 fragments of limestone (coarse)
- 6 yellow sand
- 7 yellow sand, fragments of OK pottery vessels, limestone fragments (fine)
- 8 temple's foundation platform of limestone blocks
- 9 pillar in situ
- 10 limestone masonry

coffins, securely dated to the late 19th Dynasty²³, were laid in oval pits cut in the original floor of a courtyard of beaten limestone chips, sand and mud. (To the north of the pyramid there was found no enclosure wall, and a large courtyard, which apparently separated the monument of Khentkaus from the pyramid of Neferirkare, was not paved with stone.) The burials clearly prove that the pyramid complex of Khentkaus had already fallen into disuse before the Ramesside Period, when it had become a secondary burial ground for common people from the nearby Valley of the Nile.

It has already been mentioned above that the central sector of the pyramid temple prior to excavation contained a shallow depression filled with drift sand (fig. 14). Approximately in the centre of the depression, only several centimetres under the surface, the eroded top of a limestone pillar was unearthed soon after the excavations in this area began. The pillar, found *in situ* and preserved to the height of 185 cm, was painted red. Its eastern face bore a hieroglyphic inscription in sunken relief with remains of the titulary and name of Queen Khentkaus. Surprisingly, the name of Khentkaus was followed by a representation of the Queen seated on a throne and wearing an uraeus on her forehead²⁴.

The discovery of the pillar *in situ* corroborated an assumption that the central portion of the temple was formed by an open pillared courtyard. The assumption was soon confirmed by the discovery of another pillar lying next to the standing one. This recumbent pillar also bore remains of the titulary and name of Queen Khentkaus in sunken relief.²⁵ This

time, the forehead of the Queen's seated figure was not adorned by an uraeus, but by a vulture diadem.

Further excavation showed that the only entrance to the pillared courtyard was represented by a small portico (P 1) in the south-eastern corner of the courtyard. Originally, the roof of this portico was supported by a pair of limestone pillars, the lower portions of which still remained in position. As in the courtyard, the pillars in the portico were also painted red and their eastern face originally bore a column of inscription in sunk relief with the titulary and name of Queen Khentkaus. Of this inscription only a portion of the name of Khentkaus remains to date. On the pillars in the portico, however, the name of Khentkaus is followed by a representation of the Queen seated on the throne and wearing a vulture diadem on her head.

The excavations in the central sector of the pyramid temple brought other important archaeological finds to light. Under a thick layer (c. 1–1.5 m) of fine sand drift an irregular structure of low walls (built of fragments of stones and mudbricks) was disclosed (pl. 4, fig. 15a, b). The fragments were not joined by means of mortar or mud. The rough

23 Coffins excav. nos. 162/A/78 and 163/A/78. For analogical types of coffins, see e.g. Borchardt, *Neferirkare*, 74 f.; Schmidt, *Album II*, 128, fig. 660 (no. 659). See also Bareš, *Abusir Necropolis*, 66.

24 See below, p. 55.

25 See below, p. 56.

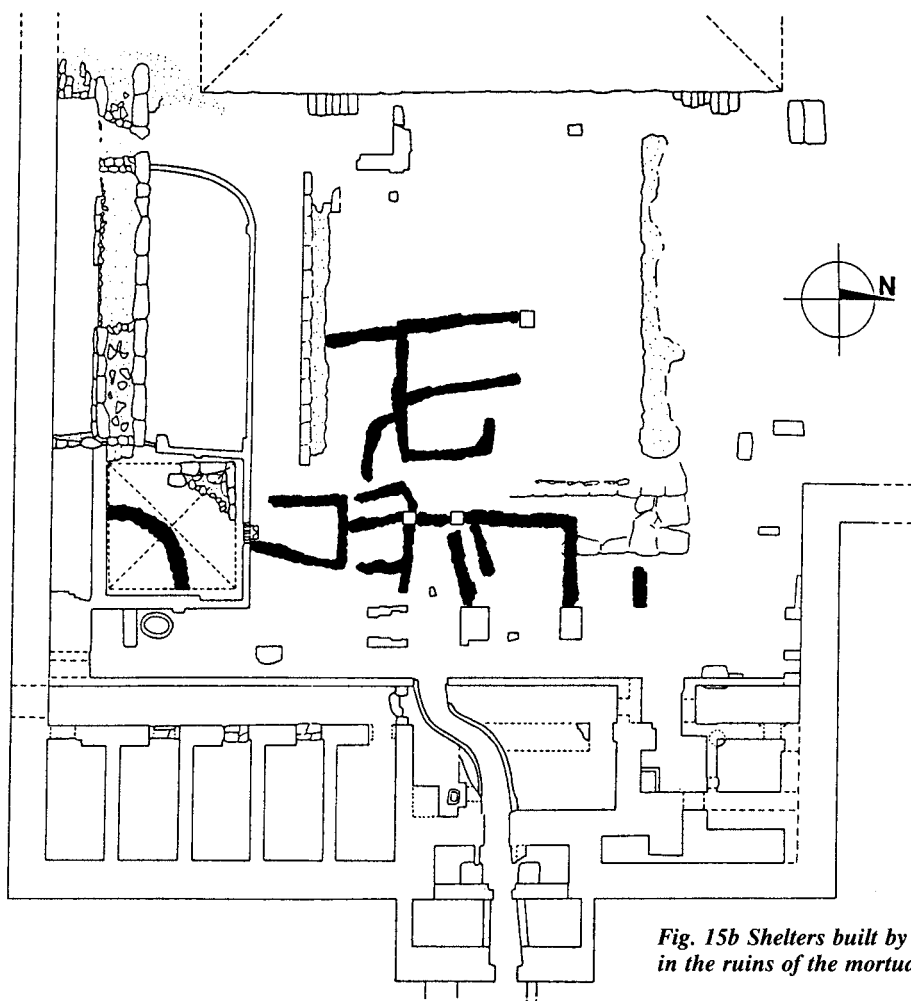


Fig. 15b Shelters built by stone robbers in the ruins of the mortuary temple (plan).

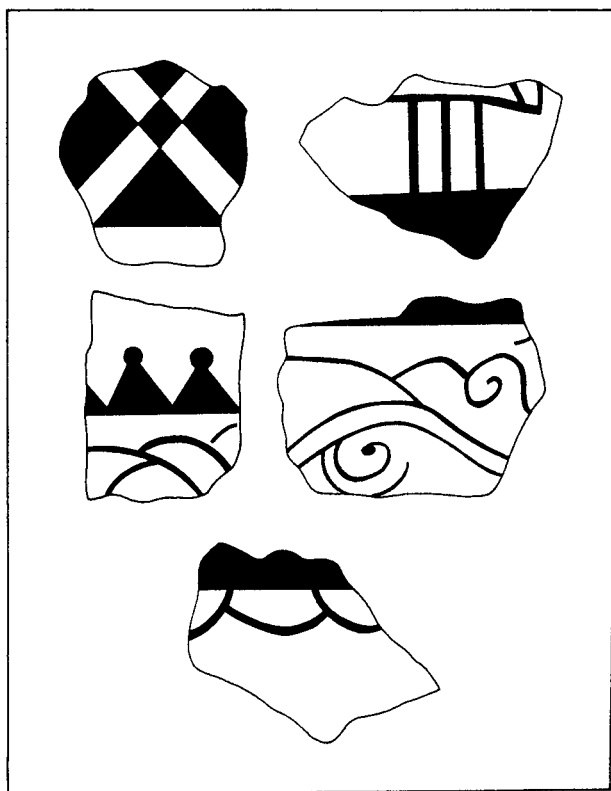


Fig. 19 Fragments of stucco decorated with Coptic motives painted in red.

structure, built apparently in the ruins of the temple, occupied the entire area of the former pillared courtyard and consisted of small rooms, or cells that have obviously been used as a dwelling place. Fragments of Coptic pottery (pl. 4, fig. 16) and some epigraphic finds²⁶ date the structure to the 6th century AD (figs. 17–19, pls. 4, 5). A copper coin dating from the Roman Period (Valentinianus I) discovered in the area of the pillared courtyard, probably represents an isolated find which has no major chronological meaning.

Of great importance, however, was the discovery of fragments of papyri, inscribed with Old Hieratic texts, in one of the cells; this cell adjoined the former

²⁶ Among the documents written in Coptic, and found in the Khentkaus' mortuary temple is a fragment of an inscribed limestone slab (excav. no. 229/A/78) preliminarily dated to the 5th–7th century, see Oerter, in: *Enchoria* 10, 1980, 185–7. See also pl. 5, fig. 18.

pillared portico. The fragments of papyri, about 200 in number and of small size, were scattered in a layer of yellowish drift sand (fig. 20). Later examination of the fragments by Paule Posener-Kriéger²⁷ showed that the papyri originally came from part of an archive belonging to the pyramid complex of Queen Khentkaus. With the papyri was found a fragment of a wooden lid, together with a little knob. This lid had once belonged to a small box. On the fragment of the lid was glued (by means of a thin layer of stucco) a piece of linen, painted white and yellow, bearing an embossed striding figure of a king (fig. 21). It is possible that the papyri had been kept originally in the box.

The dwelling cells, which were reused in the Coptic Period, rested on a c. 1 m thick layer of sand mixed with small limestone chips. The limestone pavement of the courtyard beneath the above-mentioned layer of sand, however, had been removed at an earlier date. It means that the destruction of the pillared courtyard (and of the entire pyramid temple) must have started much earlier than in Coptic Period — probably, like the pyramid, in late New Kingdom.

THE NORTH-EASTERN SECTOR

In the Coptic Period²⁸ the destruction of the monument continued (see fig. 3). To the east of the courtyard, the archaeological situation changed in a way that was different from both the pillared courtyard and the westernmost, or "intimate" portion of the temple. In contrast to the western and central portion of the pyramid temple with its remains of limestone masonry and sand, the debris covering the north-east sector of the temple contained decayed mudbrick and sand. In this sector, under a c. 50–60 cm thick surface layer of greyish sand — which contained scattered fragments of limestone — a massive layer of eroded mudbrick masonry appeared (fig. 22). The mudbrick layer reached in some places a thickness of more than 100 cm, especially where it was close to a massive, 1.5 m thick enclosure wall of mudbrick belonging to the eastern half of the temple. (A portion of the same wall was unearthed near the south-east corner of the pyramid). The structure of the layer (consisting of a sequence of several thinner strata of destroyed mudbrick, microstrata of drift sand and traces of rainwater splashes) indicates a gradual decay in the mudbrick masonry of temple caused by natural erosion.

Surprisingly, the above-mentioned massive mudbrick enclosure wall did not continue to the west parallel with the northern side of the mortuary

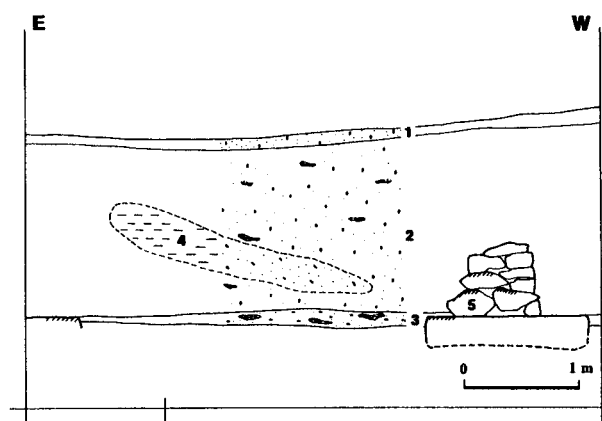


Fig. 20 Profile no. 5.

- 1 yellow sand
- 2 yellow sand, limestone fragments (fine)
- 3 dark sand, limestone fragments (fine)
- 4 fragments of papyri, yellow sand
- 5 limestone fragments (coarse)

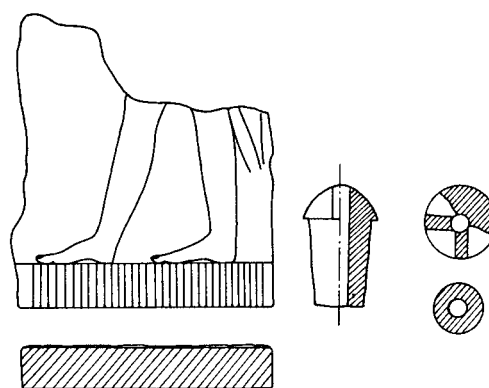


Fig. 21 A little wooden knob, and the fragment of a lid of a wooden box showing the striding figure of a king. Both objects, found together with the fragments of papyri, may have made part of a small box in which the papyri were kept.

temple: it made a right angle turn to the north where, after a few metres, it met the southern wing of the enclosure wall of Neferirkare's pyramid complex (see fig. 3a). The north-east portion of the enclosure wall of Khentkaus' pyramid complex was badly eroded, but

²⁷ See below Chapter V.

²⁸ The Coptic community in the Abusir necropolis settled in the ruins of the mortuary temples of Sahure and Khentkaus. It appears that this community was in close contact with the Jeremias monastery in North Saqqara, the floruit of which dates from the late Roman Period until the 8th century. For the Jeremias monastery, see e.g. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1906–1907)*, 64–69 and pls. 40–64; id. *Excavations at Saqqara (1907–1908)*, 1–19 and 27–77, and pls. 1–51.

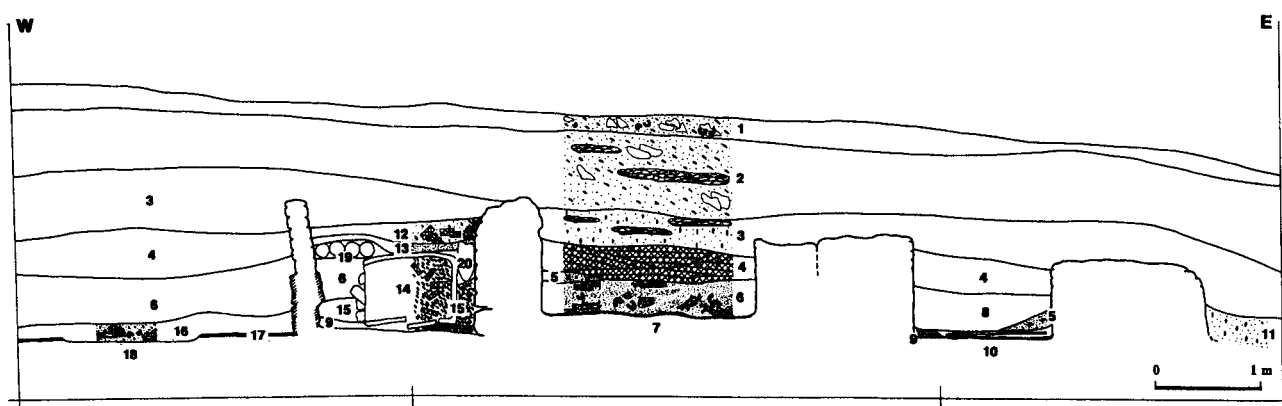


Fig. 22 Profile no. 6.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 grey sand, limestone fragments (medium fine), fragments of OK pottery vessels | 10 floor of beaten clay mixed with fine fragments of limestone |
| 2 grey sand, limestone fragments (medium fine, fine) | 11 yellow sand |
| 3 yellow sand, limestone fragments (fine) | 12 grey sand, fine demolished mudbrick |
| 4 mudbrick destruction | 13 ash |
| 5 ash with charcoal | 14 pottery container filled with fragments of mudbrick |
| 6 mudbrick destruction, ash, fragments of OK pottery vessels, fragments of animal bones | 15 clay, fragments of gypsum, charcoal |
| 7 floor of beaten clay mixed with fragments of limestone and potsherds | 16 clay, fragments of OK pottery vessels, fragments of mudbrick, fragments of limestone (fine) |
| 8 fine mudbrick destruction, ash, charcoal, fragments of OK pottery vessels, fragments of animal bones | 17 floor of beaten clay |
| 9 clay with the remains of a reed mat | 18 foundation platform of limestone fragments (fine) mixed with clay |
| | 19 beer jugs |
| | 20 storage jar |

remained preserved to the height between 0.20 to 1.20 m. In the Late Period intrusive burials were made either close to the wall, or in oval pits cut directly in the wall. In the Coptic and Arabic Periods, most of these intrusive burials were later damaged by *sabbakh*-diggers. Last but not least, the enclosure walls of Khentkaus' and Neferirkare's pyramid complexes showed that the courtyards around both monuments were connected, and that easy communication between both mortuary temples was possible.

In the central and western portions of the temple layers of limestone blocks and fragments of limestone and sand were prevalent. In contrast to this, in the north-east sector of the temple there was a thick surface layer (c. 50–70 cm) of grey sand and eroded limestone splinters, under which lay a massive layer of decayed mudbrick (fig. 25). The depth of this layer of mudbrick fluctuated, in some places reaching a thickness of 1.5 m. Further excavation revealed that the decayed mudbrick came from the eroded upper portions of walls belonging to several small, rectangular rooms which filled the north-eastern sector of the temple. A major portion of this brick layer, however, came from the main enclosure wall of the temple. The sharp differentiation between these two sectors signalled two significant features: the first was that two different materials had been used in the

construction of the temple namely, stone and mudbrick; and the second was the fact that at least two clear building stages could be discerned.

The fact that the mudbrick enclosure wall (MEW, see fig. 3b) was pushed further north than the remains of the original, northern limestone wall (LEW) of the inner temple wall indicates that an extension to the original temple complex had been made at one time.

The decayed mudbrick layer which covered the whole north-eastern sector was homogenous. It was very compact near the mudbrick enclosure wall, and its structure reflected the gradual, but lengthy erosion of this wall. The state of this compacted, decayed mudbrick composition could also be linked to the fact that the enclosure wall had been removed almost to ground level by the activities of the *sabbakh*-diggers.

Where the enclosure wall (MEW) forms a right angle before it continues towards the enclosure wall of Neferirkare's complex, fragments of a large, decorated storage jar were found at the bottom of the surface layer. The jar (fig. 16) was decorated with birds and geometric motifs, and could be dated to the Coptic period (c. 7th century AD)²⁹. This find seems to give a date to the depredations of the *sabbakhin*.

²⁹ See above n. 12.

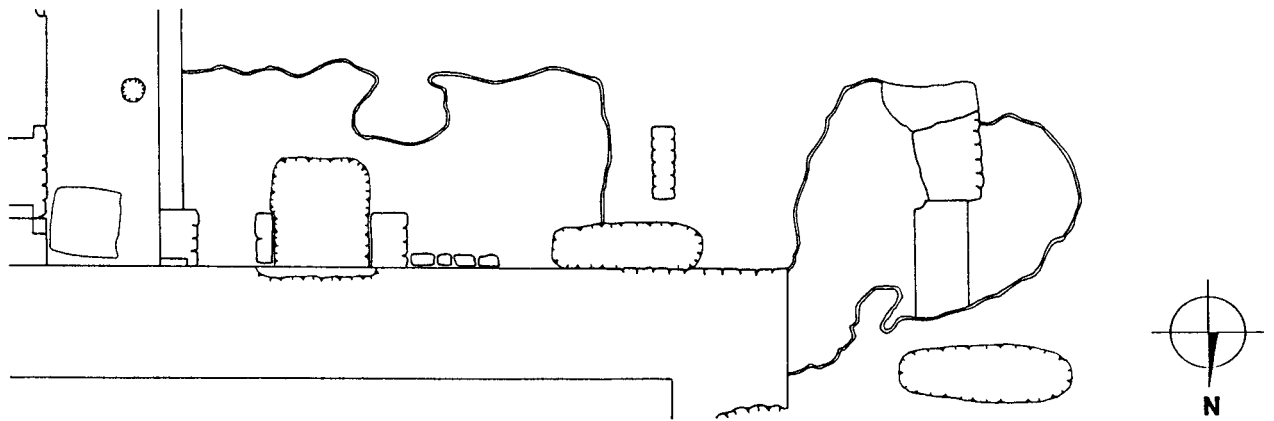


Fig. 23 Remains of the floor around the potter's workshop.

Whereas the area near the enclosure wall of the temple was marked by compacted, decayed mudbrick, the decayed mudbrick layer of the inner part of the temple was not compacted at all. Instead, it showed clear signs of stratification, reflecting the gradual erosion and collapse that took place over time in regard to the inner walls of the rooms occupying the north-east sector. In addition to this, each stratum reveals clear signs of weathering on its upper surface, which means that some time had elapsed between the date of each of these minor deposits (fig. 22).

The excavation revealed that the north enclosure wall (MEW) of Khentkaus' temple takes a right-angled turn before it continues to the north, where it joins an even larger mudbrick enclosure wall surrounding the complex of Neferirkare. Adjacent to the right-angled corner formed by the wall (MEW), remains of a corridor were unearthed (fig. 24). These were the remains of a mudbrick side wall and a floor of beaten clay. On the floor were potsherds and fragments of mudbrick. The level of this floor lies about 25 cms above the level of the denuded surrounding area (fig. 23).

Adjacent to the southern face of the wall (MEW) was discovered a rectangular (3 x 1.5 m) shallow depression. It had an east-westerly orientation. The shape of this depression, and the character of the surrounding area suggest that a light fence — perhaps made of palm ribs, or similar material — may have once enclosed this area (see fig. 23).

On the southern face of the enclosure wall (MEW, see fig. 3b), and inside this shallow depression were the remains of two short walls (a and b), which were set against wall (MBW). Wall (a) was 85 cm high, and wall (b) measured 56 cm. Just above the higher wall a slot 20 cm deep had been cut into wall (MBW). The slot runs the distance between walls (a) and (b) (pl. 5, fig. 26). It seems very likely that a slab of either wood or stone material would have been inserted into

this slot to form a table or workbench which then rested upon walls (a) and (b). On the top of wall (a) was found a terracotta potter's wheel (pl. 5, fig. 27a, b). It had been broken into several pieces, but had also been repaired in antiquity. This had been done by drilling small holes near the broken edge of the wheel so that string could be used to rejoin the several pieces. From these finds it can be concluded that in this area of the temple had once been a potter's workshop.

In Room NE-1 (see fig. 3 b), to the east of the potter's workshop, a huge, barrel-shaped storage jar (pl. 6, fig. 28) was found lying on the floor, its mouth facing an irregular opening in the western wall of the room. This aperture appears to have once been a doorway that had been partially walled up at a later stage. The storage jar was filled with fragments of mudbrick and pieces of dark clay. Above the storage jar, and under a thin ashy layer was laid a horizontal row of earthenware beer jugs. In the floor of the room was a circular pit, some 30 cms in diameter. Undoubtedly it had once contained a jar filled with water.

To the east again, in Room NE-2 (see fig. 3b), another important discovery relating to the history of the building was made. In its south-west corner a circular limestone base was found. Originally, it had supported the rounded (palmiform) shaft of a wooden column. The column belonged to the earlier building phase of the temple. It had once supported the roof of a large room. Over the base of the column was later superimposed a wall, dividing the former columned room into three smaller compartments (Rooms NE-2-4). The entrance to Room NE-3, where it provided access from the south, was at a later period walled up.

The neighbouring room NE-3 (see fig. 3b) had in its south-eastern corner a small trapezoidal basin made of mudbrick. The basin contained ashes and

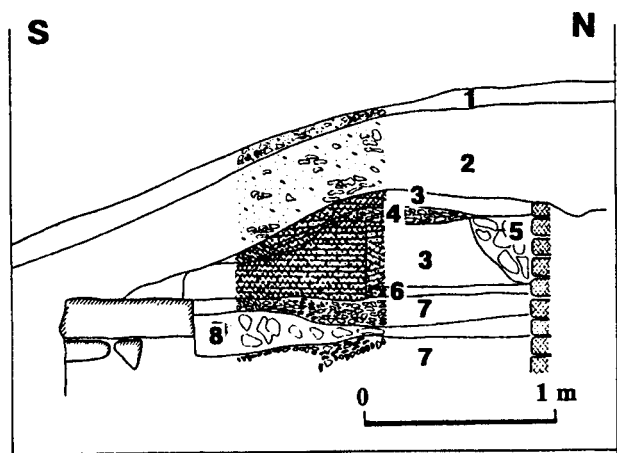


Fig. 24 Profile no. 18.

- 1 grey sand, fragments of pottery vessels, limestone fragments (fine)
- 2 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine)
- 3 mudbrick destruction (fine)
- 4 limestone fragments (fine)
- 5 limestone fragments (middle and coarse)
- 6 floor of beaten clay
- 7 limestone fragments (fine)
- 8 limestone fragments (medium fine)

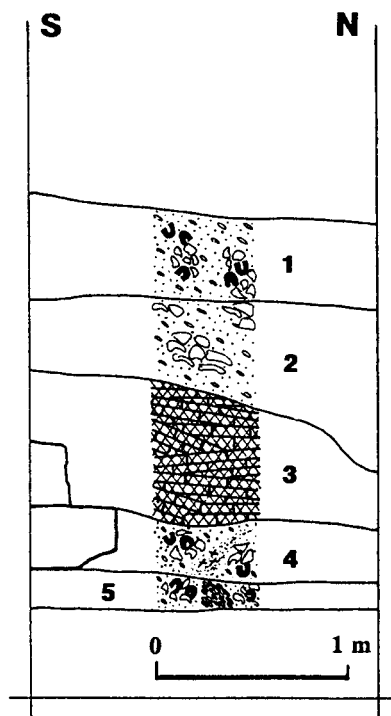


Fig. 25 Profile no. 17.

- 1 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine), fragments of pottery vessels
- 2 grey sand, limestone fragments (medium fine)
- 3 mudbrick destruction
- 4 grey sand, ash, charcoal, fragments of pottery vessels, limestone fragments (fine)
- 5 grey sand, clay, limestone fragments (fine), fragments of pottery vessels

fragments of charcoal. At some time Room NE-8 could have been entered either from the west, or the north, or the east. Later on, however, the northern and eastern accesses to rooms NE-2 and NE-4 were closed.

Room NE-2 originally functioned as a vestibule but, after the closure of the doorway, the room took on a domestic function. From the architectural evidence it became obvious that this corner of the north-eastern sector of the temple had been subjected to a gradual reduction of its inhabited room space, until eventually only room NE-3 was occupied.

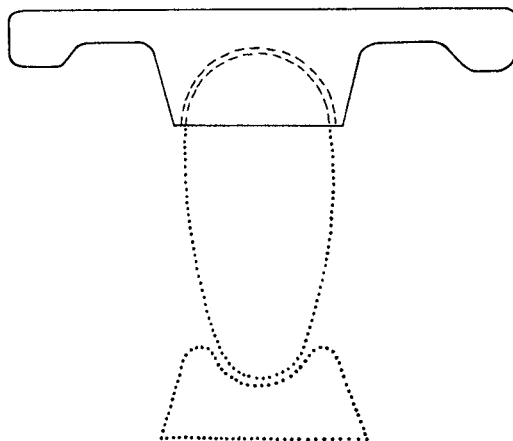


Fig. 27b Reconstruction of the potter's wheel.

The most numerous finds of archaeological artefacts in the whole pyramid complex of Khentkaus were undoubtedly made in a small room NE-4 (see fig. 3 b) in the north-east corner of the temple. The mudbrick enclosure wall of the temple in this place reached a height of about 75 cm. The fact was that the room and its contents had thus been protected on both its northern and eastern sides by the enclosure wall, and the collapsed upper parts of the wall had fallen into the room and acted as a cover, sealing off much of the original equipment left in the room. Thanks to those particular circumstances we found in a stratum of ashes, rubbish and charcoal that rested on the floor the following items: numerous miniature symbolic limestone vessels ³⁰ (pl. 6, fig. 29), flint

30 In the set of symbolic miniature limestone vessels are represented a variety of types of wine, oil and beer jars, food-bowls and dishes, etc. The same variety of types is represented by symbolic miniature pottery vessels. For this category of objects, their typology and function in the cult, see S. Hassan, *Giza VI*, Pt. 2, 30 f; Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 175–8 (fig. 44), 184 (fig. 52), 199, etc.; Junker, *Giza I*, 108 ff., 126–9, etc.

knives³¹ (pl. 6, fig. 30), shells, straw brushes³² (pl. 7, fig. 31), fragments of clay sealings³³, stone weights³⁴ (pl. 7, fig. 32), and a limestone tablet with the names of the seven sacred oils³⁵ (fig. 33) etc. Directly in contact with the clay floor of the room was a reed mat still *in situ*. Apparently, the room had been repeatedly rebuilt, and its space gradually reduced. Three fireplaces — one in the south-east, one in the north-east, and the last near the western entrance — complete the picture of the degradation of the original state and meaning of the room, and of the conversion of its original function as a magazine into a dwelling (pl. 7, fig. 34). Finally, the only entrance giving access to the room from the west was walled up.

Both around the north-east wing the mudbrick enclosure wall (MEW) of the temple, and eventually, directly into it, several secondary burials dating from the late New Kingdom and Late Period had been made. The burials clearly had sought the protection offered by the massive enclosure wall of the temple. The dead buried here had mostly been laid in primitive anthropoid coffins. Those of the burials which were in the region of the right-angled corner of the wall (MEW) had suffered the most from the activities of the *sabbakh*-diggers. Regardless of the fact that the burials had been cut deep into the wall, they had not gained the security their makers had sought, for the *sabbakh*-diggers had exposed the coffins, and the owners' bones had been broadcast.

As already mentioned above, the wall (MEW) does not continue west towards the pyramid, but takes a rightangled turn and joins the enclosure wall of Neferirkare's complex. The area where both enclosure walls meet was excavated in a later season, during 1985/1986. To the east of the wall junction remains of a large gate were found. The gate was 3 m broad, and its threshold was made of three large, roughly-dressed limestone blocks. Mudbrick masonry of the enclosure wall on both sides of the gate had been almost completely destroyed by the *sabbakh*-diggers, and the wall remained only to a height of several centimetres above the level of the threshold. On both the threshold and the extant mudbrick enclosure wall rested a layer some 20 cm thick. It consisted of grey sand mixed with ashes, small limestone chips and potsherds dating from the 5th Dynasty (fig. 35). On this layer another surface layer of sand and limestone fragments rested.³⁶ The surface of the desert above the South Gate and the top of the mound above wall (MEW) was about 2 m in difference.

The excavation activities in the 1980/1981 season moved towards the south, in the area lying along the

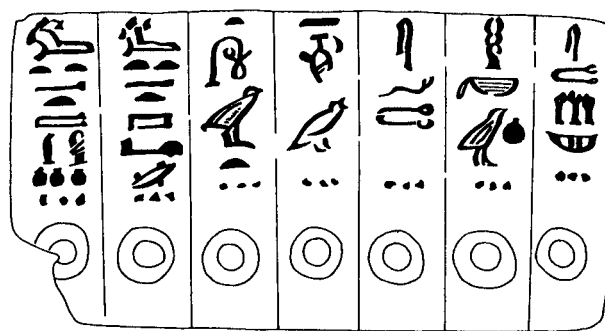


Fig. 33 Limestone tablet with the names of the seven sacred oils.

east-west axis of the pyramid complex of Khentkaus. The nature of the debris in this area was again different. Massive layers of decayed mudbrick - so characteristic of the north-eastern sector - were now replaced by a deposit about 2 m thick of sand mixed with fragments of limestone blocks (fig. 36). Under this deposit the main entrance (P 2) to the temple was

31 Some flint knives and other stone implements found recently at Abusir were published by Svoboda and Vachala, in: *ZÄS* 116, 1989, 174–181. For the opinion that many of the flint implements found in the Old Kingdom tombs were mere models which were never in practical use, see Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 230 f.

32 The brushes are likely to have been used in the ceremony of *int rd*, an episode of the funerary offering ritual. See below p. 70.

33 The fragments of sealings date from the reigns of Nyuserre and Menkauhor. Can we conclude from these dates that the room fell into disuse shortly after the reign of Menkauhor? Or, could it be related to the time of Djedkare's reorganization of mortuary cults at the necropolis of Abusir? Concerning this reorganization, see Posener-Kriéger, *Archives de Néferirkare II*, 483 ff.

34 We had hoped to determine the precise weight of the two stones (excav. nos. 315/A/78 and 119/A/80) at the end of the respective seasons of 1978 and 1980, after the division of finds between us and the Egyptian Museum. Unfortunately, all attempts to retrieve the weights in the magazines of the Egyptian Museum have so far failed. For analogical cuboid-shaped stone weights dating from the Old Kingdom, see e.g. Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, 5; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt I*, 71f. and fig. 47. For *dbn* as the standard Old Kingdom weight unit, see Moussa, Altenmüller, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, 83; Altenmüller, in: *SAK* 18, 1991, 46 f. See also Helck, in: *LÄ III*, 1202 s.v. Maße und Gewichte: D. Gewichte.

35 The limestone tablet of seven offering oils (excav. no. 297/A/78) has the dimensions 14.3 x 7.6 x 1.6 cm. It has been already published by Vachala, in: *ZÄS* 108, 1981, 64 f. and fig. 5. The dating of the tablet to the Dyn. 5 (*temp.* Nyuserre) – Dyn. 6, suggested by Vachala, can be defined more precisely, as Dyn. 5, time of Nyuserre or Menkauhor. Another complete but uninscribed limestone tablet (excav. no. 188/A/78) was found in the magazine (M 5) in the south-east corner of the Khentkaus' s temple. This tablet, dating to the time of Nyuserre – Unas, has been already published by Vachala, in: *ZÄS* 109, 1982, 171 and fig. 1. For further information on the offering of seven oils and the ritual of "spreading the sacred oil", see Lapp, *Opferformel*, 170.

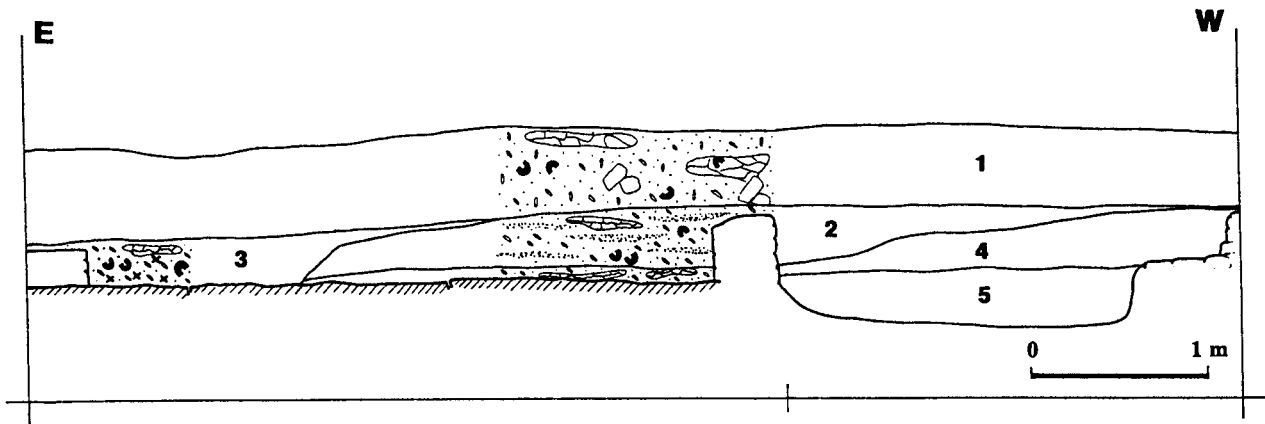


Fig. 35 Profile no. 16.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 grey sand, limestone and red granite and quartzite fragments (fine), fragments of pottery vessels | 3 grey sand, charcoal, fragments of pottery vessels, sporadic limestone fragments (fine) |
| 2 grey sand, ash, fragments of pottery vessels, limestone fragments (fine) | 4 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine) |
| | 5 secondary burial pit |

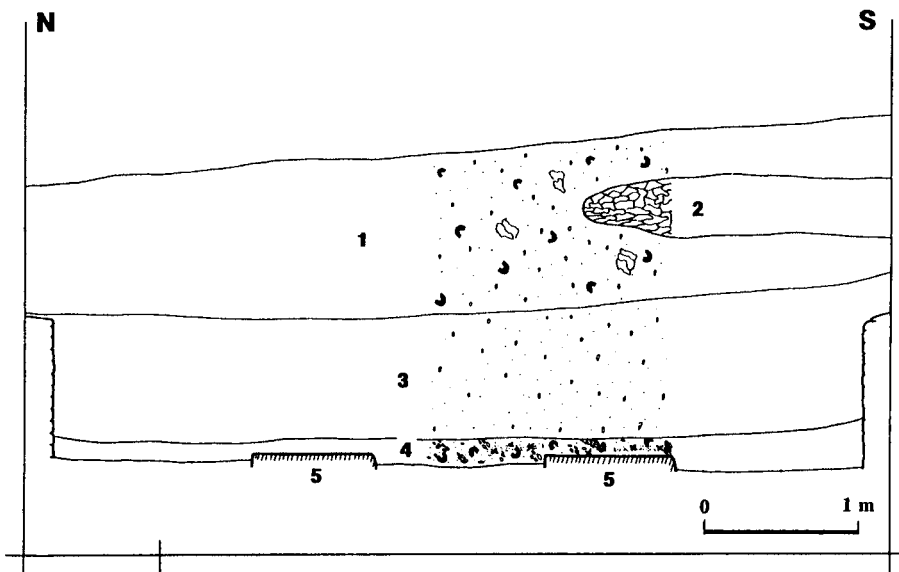


Fig. 36 Profile no. 8.

- | |
|--|
| 1 yellow sand, limestone and red granite fragments (fine), fragments of OK pottery vessels |
| 2 deposit of limestone fragments (fine) |
| 3 yellow sand |
| 4 dark sand, clay, ash, charcoal, fragments of animal bones, fragments of OK pottery vessels |
| 5 limestone bases of pillars |

disclosed. The entrance had originally been adorned with limestone pillars of which only impressions of their rectangular limestone bases remained.

36 It seems that the gate cannot be identified with the so-called South-west Gate mentioned in the papyrus archive from the funerary temple of Neferirkare. Posener-Kriéger (*Archives de Neferirkare* II, 430, 506, 509 and 540) identified with the "South-west Gate" a doorway in the western wall of Neferirkare's temple, near the King's pyramid. This doorway gave access to both the courtyard around the King's pyramid and to the mortuary temple of Khentkaus. Neferirkare's "South Gate", unearthed during excavations carried out in the north-west sector of the mortuary temple of Khentkaus, was situated about 30 m to the south of the so-called "South-west Gate" and connected the King's pyramid complex with the southern and south-eastern sector of the necropolis.

The pillared portico (P 2), which had been embedded within the east wing of the enclosure wall, had been repeatedly protected by small mudbrick walls in the past. At first, the portico (P 2) was almost closed off by two small walls abutting on the east face of the entrance pillars. Perhaps this offered little protection for the entrance, so an additional entrance (AE) to the pillared portico was built. The later entrance was closed by a two-leaved wooden door.

The pillared portico (P 1) offered access to an entrance vestibule (room NE-5). The approach through the vestibule was designed *en chican* (fig. 37), in order to bridge over the axial difference between the new portico P 2 (built exactly on an east-west axis of the temple) and the original one (P 1) of the stone

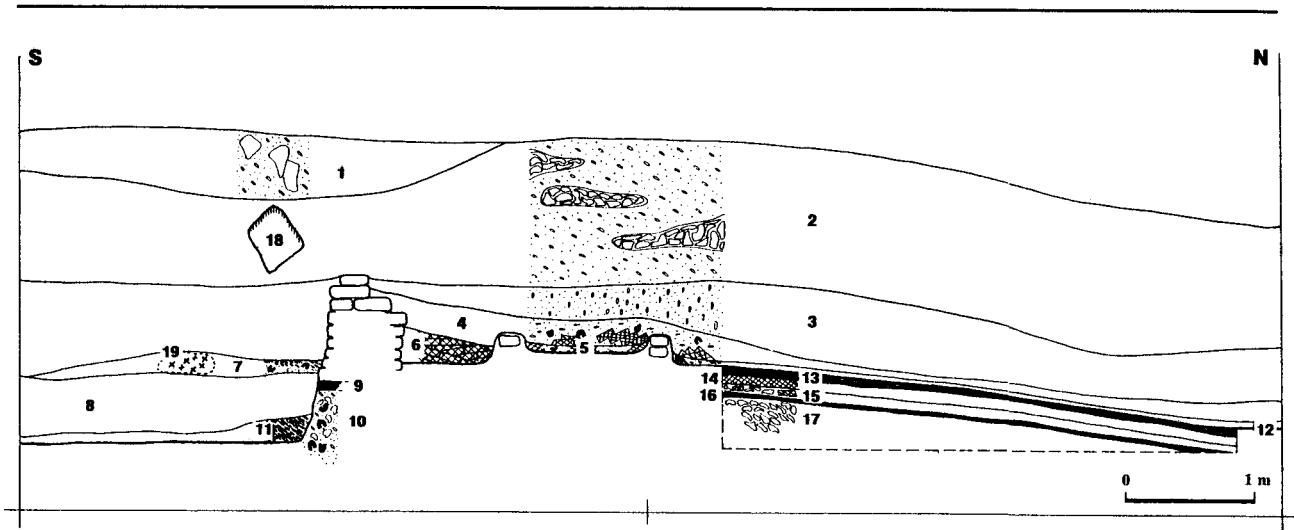


Fig. 37 Profile no. 7.

- 1 grey sand, limestone fragments (coarse)
- 2 grey sand, deposits of limestone fragments (fine)
- 3 yellow sand
- 4 dark sand, fragments of pottery vessels, decayed wood, mudbrick destruction (fine)
- 5 clay with dark sand
- 6 mudbrick destruction (coarse)
- 7 clay, fragments of OK pottery vessels, ash, charcoal
- 8 mudbrick destruction (fine), fragments of OK pottery vessels

- 9 floor of beaten clay
- 10 dark sand, fragments of limestone (fine), fragments of OK pottery vessels
- 11 clay with sand
- 12 clay with sand
- 13 floor of beaten clay (13 micro-layers)
- 14 mudbrick destruction (medium fine)
- 15 fragments of limestone (fine), fragments of mudbrick (fine)
- 16 floor of beaten clay (5 micro-layers)
- 17 fragments of limestone (fine)

temple which was thrust more to the south of that axis.

There were four additional exits to this vestibule. One of these was immediately to the south of the principal entrance to the vestibule. This offered access to a small room (NE-6) which contained a small limestone libation basin (pl. 8, fig. 38) and a massive bench made of mudbrick. In this room the obligatory purification³⁷ was carried out prior to one's entering the temple.

The second exit was in the north-west corner of the vestibule. Originally, it had led to the columned room previously mentioned.

The third exit from the vestibule led to a complex of five magazines (M 1-5) which occupied the south-east sector of the temple.

The final exit was in the western wall of the vestibule and gave access to the limestone portion of the temple. This western exit had been made through the eastern wing of the original limestone enclosure wall of the pyramid complex. This wing was almost completely removed at a later date. In the debris around the western exit from the vestibule several fragments of an inscribed, brownish quartzite gate were found.³⁸ The fragments bore parts of the titulary and name of Queen Khentkaus.

The reconstruction of the entrance vestibule had been accomplished at the same time as that of the

new entrance, the pillared portico P 2. By this stage of the reconstruction the doorways to the purification room, the magazines and the columned room were already out of use, having been closed off at different periods in the history of the temple. The definitive reconstruction of the room included the building of an S-shaped ramp (pl. 8, fig. 39) which bridged over both the axially different entrances of the mudbrick and limestone portions of the temple and, at the same time, the differences in height of the floor level between the lower mudbrick sector of the temple and the more elevated stone structures.

The archaeological finds in the entrance and entrance vestibule were not numerous, but one in particular deserves to be mentioned namely, a rectangular offering table (fig. 40) of yellowish

37 The limestone basin, situated at the entrance to the temple, was used for purification prior to carrying the cult rituals in the temple (for the cult purification, see e.g. Grieshammer, in: *LÄ V*, s.v. Reinheit, kultische). In the neighbouring mortuary temple of Raneferef, the purification basin was embedded in the floor of the entrance room of the first building stage of the temple (see the plan of the temple in M. Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, 134).

38 The quartzite door-jambs were inscribed with the name and titles (including the title of *mw t nswt bity nswt bity*) of the Royal Mother Khentkaus, see below p. 62, fig. 61.

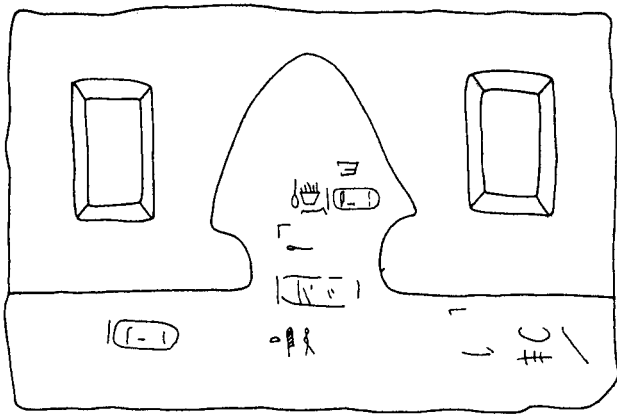


Fig. 40 Limestone offering table of Issi-... (?).

limestone. The table, bearing remains of the name of *Issi-... (?)*³⁹, was discovered in a drift sand deposit, outside the temple itself and on the southern side of the pillared portico P 2. Traces of a white coating on the inscribed upper surface of the table could either indicate that the stone had had a secondary use as building material or, that the offering table had been "cleaned" at one time.

THE SOUTH-EASTERN SECTOR

As in the north, the south also had a long mound of debris covering the area (see fig. 3a) and running in an east-west direction. The mound stretched from the ruins of a monument (described by Lepsius as Pyramid no. XXIII) towards the south-eastern corner of Khentkaus' pyramid. The mound was about 2 m high above the level of the stone temple. The composition of debris in this mound varied sharply in different levels of the mound. Only the surface layer was the same throughout, and it was similar to that existing on the mound that covered the northern wall of the temple.

Between the south-eastern corner of the temple and the above-mentioned Pyramid no. XXIII there was a massive platform consisting of fragments of limestone blocks. Another similar platform — about 3 m thick — had accumulated around the south-eastern corner of the pyramid of Khentkaus. This platform rested on the double southern wing of the enclosure walls (LEW) and (MEW).

After the removal of the platforms of limestone fragments, the extant remains of both limestone and mudbrick architectural structures were disclosed. In the south-eastern corner of the mudbrick enclosure wall of the pyramid complex a group of five magazines⁴⁰ appeared. The composition of the debris in the area of these magazines differed again from that in other parts of the temple (fig. 41).

The maximum height of the extant walls of the magazines is about 1.5 m. On top of them rested a thick layer of grey sand, in which large thick conglomerations of limestone pieces were strewn. Further below this sandy stratum there was another layer of decayed mudbrick, which corresponds to major periods when the vaulted ceilings and upper parts of the magazine walls had collapsed into the magazines themselves. Within this mudbrick layer were cut oval-shaped burial pits containing primitive anthropoid coffins dating from the late New Kingdom and the Late Period. The burials represent a dating *ante quem* for the collapse of the magazines.

Below this level of accumulated debris existed a number of other strata. These had been formed by rubbish collecting on the magazine floors. The priests did not remove this rubbish, but preferred to cover it each time with a new layer of mud plaster. Each time the new floor was laid over the rubbish level it was whitewashed. In this way a number of micro layers were built up.

To the west of the magazines runs a narrow, north-south orientated corridor. The western wall of this corridor was formed by the east wing of the limestone enclosure wall of the earlier building stage. The eastern face of this wall was inclined at an angle of about 80 degrees. Covering the face of the wall was the mudbrick wall of the magazine corridor. Its eastern face was perpendicular. It so happened, however, that the entire eastern wing of the limestone enclosure wall was later removed, and only the thin mudbrick wall was left in position, giving a bizarre impression to the observer. Its eastern face is

39 Remains of mortar on the upper surface of the offering table (292/A/78) indicate that the object, which probably comes from a neighbouring private tomb, was used again as building material. Although badly damaged and very unclear, the remains of the inscription on the upper surface of the table seem to include the cartouche of Iseti. The table thus shows that small tombs in the neighbourhood of the temple started to fall apart and to be used as an easy source of building materials as early as the 6th Dynasty (the temple itself fell in disuse by the end of this time).

40 The size and position of the complex of five magazines in the temple gives indirect evidence about the intensity and importance of the cult of the Royal Mother Khentkaus. Usually, the number of five magazines has been linked with the five niches for the cult statues in the intimate portion of the royal mortuary temple (see e.g. Junker, *Giza* VI, 10; Edel, in: *Beiträge Bf* 8, 1969, 21). This assumption can be accepted in case of the mortuary temples of the kings. However, in the mortuary temples of queens of the Old Kingdom there were not five but usually three niches for cult statues (for the specific problems associated with the reconstruction of the intimate portion of the mortuary temple of Khentkaus, see below p. 144 ff.). For the link between the number of five magazines and five phyles of mortuary priests, see Verner, *Baugraffiti*, 31 ff.

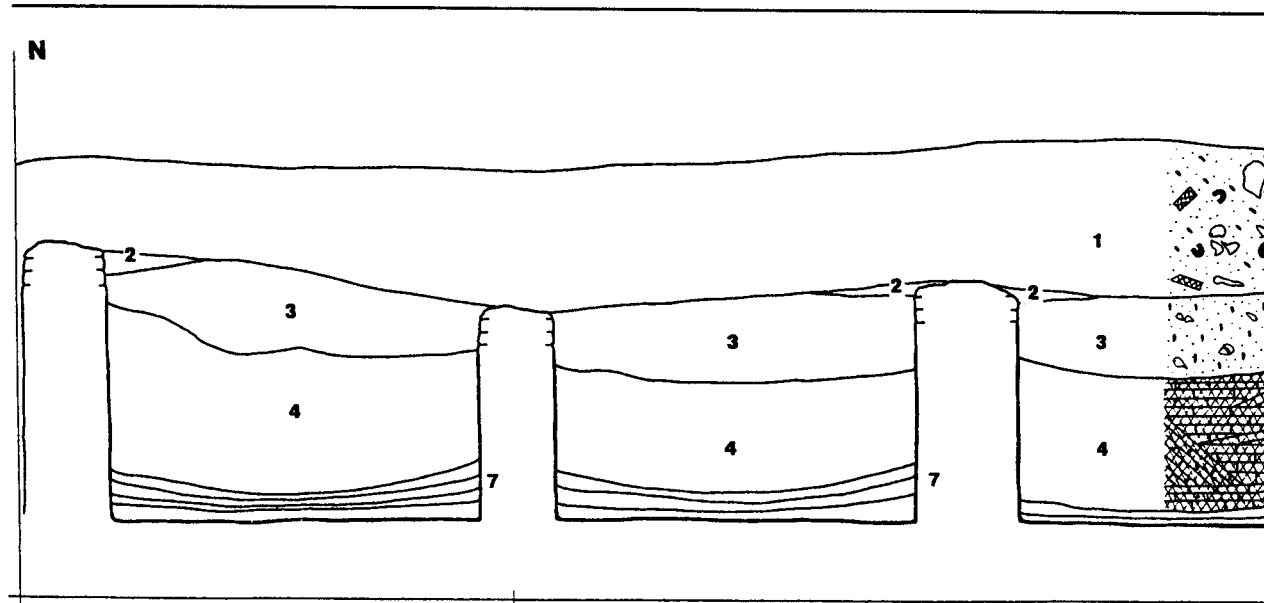


Fig. 9 Profile no. 9

- 1 grey sand, limestone fragments (coarse and fine), fragments of OK pottery vessels, fragments of mudbricks
- 2 mudbrick destruction
- 3 yellow sand, limestone fragments (fine)
- 4 mudbrick destruction
- 5 yellow sand

- 6 clay, ash, fragments of OK pottery vessels, fragments of animal bones
- 7 floors of beaten clay
- 8 floors of beaten clay
- 9 burial excav. no. 32/A/80
- 10 burial excav. no. 34/A/80
- 11 grey sand, deposit of OK pottery vessels

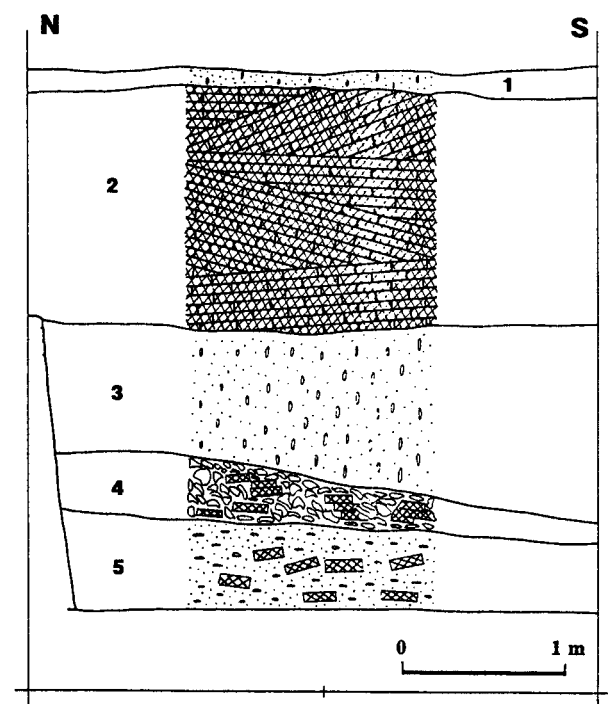


Fig. 43 Profile no. 20.

- 1 yellow sand
- 2 mudbrick destruction
- 3 yellow sand
- 4 limestone fragments (fine), fragments of mudbrick
- 5 dark sand, fragments of mudbrick

perpendicular, but its western face reflects a mirror image of the original limestone wall.

The corridor (pl. 9, fig. 42) connected the magazine complex with both the entrance vestibule in the north and an opening in the south wing of the mudbrick enclosure wall of the pyramid complex. It might be mentioned in passing that this southern entrance to the temple apparently belonged to the original plan of the mudbrick extension of the temple. It seems that the south entrance was closed off (fig. 43) before the time when the magazine complex fell into disuse.⁴¹

The magazines (M 1 – M 5) themselves have practically the same dimensions as each other, and each has a rectangular, east-west orientated ground plan. The entrances are from the west, and are situated in the north-western corner of each magazine — except for the southernmost magazine (M 5), whose entrance lay in the south-western corner. This magazine entrance was walled up at a later stage, but prior to the abandonment of the magazine complex.

⁴¹ Judging by the date of the walling up of the entrance to the adjacent magazine (M 5) on one side and the foundation of the potter's kiln on the other side, the "southern entrance" to the temple was probably closed in the time of Unas (see p. 41).

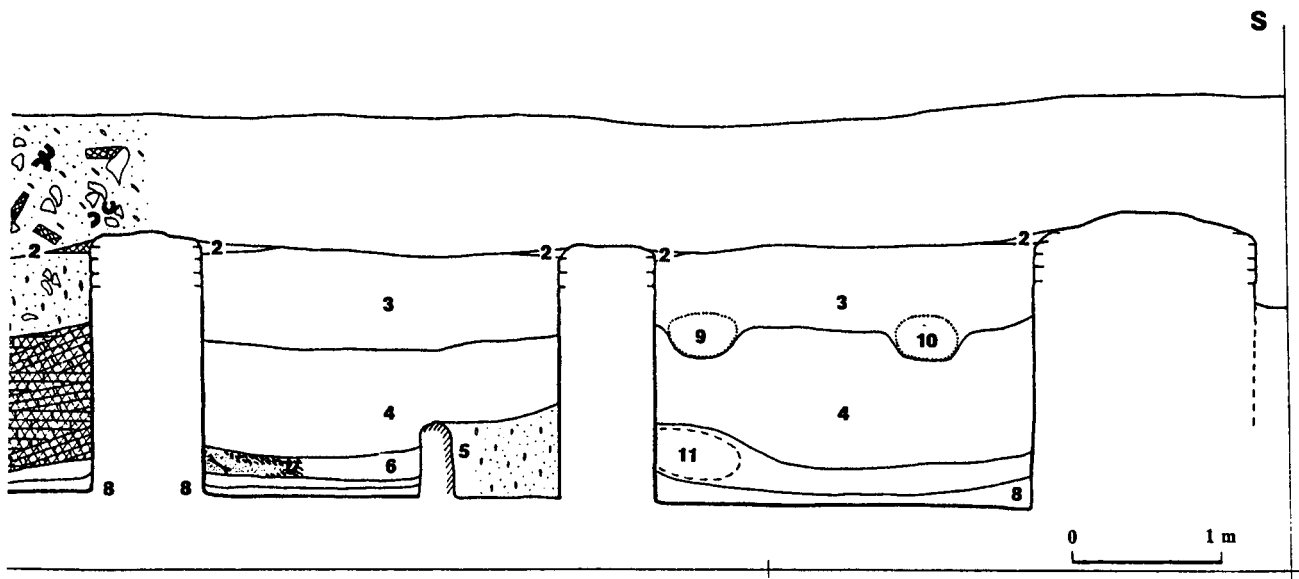


Fig. 9 Profile no. 2

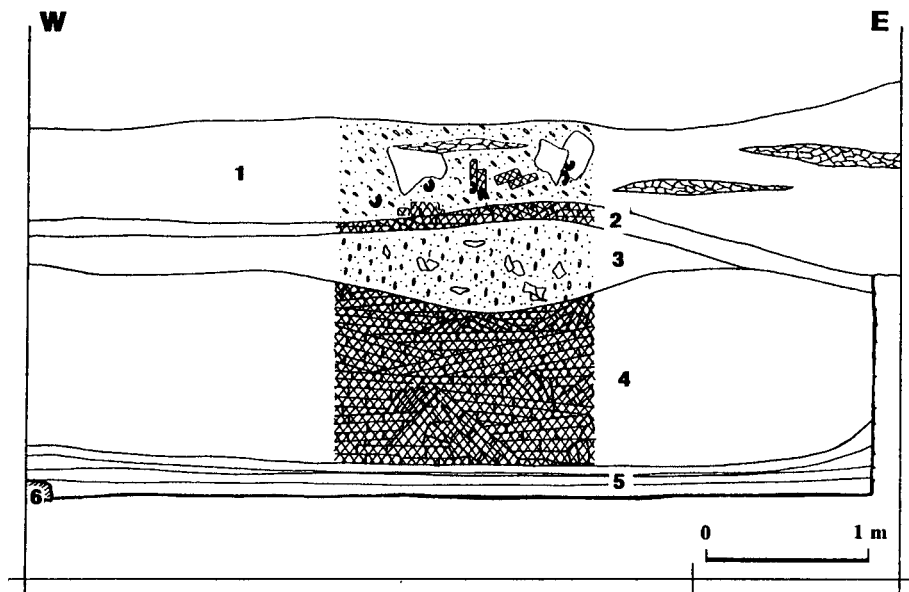


Fig. 45 Profile no. 10.

- 1 grey sand, fragments of limestone blocks, fragments of mudbrick, fragments of OK pottery vessels
- 2 mudbrick destruction
- 3 yellow sand, limestone fragments (fine)
- 4 mudbrick destruction (coarse)
- 5 floor of beaten clay (5 layers)

The fact that this magazine was eventually closed undoubtedly contributed to the survival of a deposit of pottery (pl. 9, fig. 44) and clay sealings, etc., which was discovered on the floor of this room. Needless to emphasize, the deposit has great significance for both the better understanding of the function of the magazines and the funerary cult, as well as for the chronology of the entire temple.

Its neighbour, (M 4), differed from the previously-mentioned one by the composition of its filling. On the floor of this magazine there are traces of a large fireplace and, in the south-west corner of the room, next to the entrance, stands a small (50 cm high) mudbrick wall. This enclosure contained pure,

yellowish sand. The evidence indicates that this magazine had finally been used as a dwelling, the mudbrick enclosure probably serving as a type of bench in which vessels with rounded or pointed bases could be conveniently stored.

The floors of the remaining magazines and corridor yielded relatively few finds: fragments of clay sealings, flint blades, several faience beads, and 5th Dynasty pottery fragments (fig. 45).

At the time when the renovations had been made to the entrance vestibule (see p. 41) the entrance to the magazine corridor had been blocked. A new way of utilising the magazine complex was therefore devised, and a large opening was made in the western

wall of the magazine complex, opposite to room SE-1. The position of this opening was directly linked with room SE-1 for, on the other side of the opening was

found a mudbrick potter's kiln ⁴². We can therefore suggest that there was a direct link between the potter's workshop, adjacent to the MBW enclosure wall, the kiln outside the western wall of the magazine corridor, and room SE-1 itself.

The discovery of a potter's kiln within the funerary complex is surprising, probably more surprising than the previously-mentioned discovery of the potter's workshop. The kiln has a typically conical shape (pl. 9, fig. 46a, b), growing increasingly larger towards the top, strongly resembling U 30 in Gardiner's sign list. Originally, the kiln was about 2 m high. At the moment of discovery the potter's kiln was covered by a surface layer of grey sand (fig. 47). Underneath the surface layer, large fragments of limestone formed another thick layer, which extended from a westerly direction and completely overlapped the kiln. Under this layer of stones was a layer of pure drift sand.

Within the kiln was a deposit consisting of the decayed upper portion of the kiln. This deposit rested on a layer of ashes that lay on the base of the kiln. The inner sides of the kiln had been burnt red. At the base of the kiln there was a small opening situated in its northern wall. Outside the mouth of this opening was a small fireplace. It was evident that the firing of

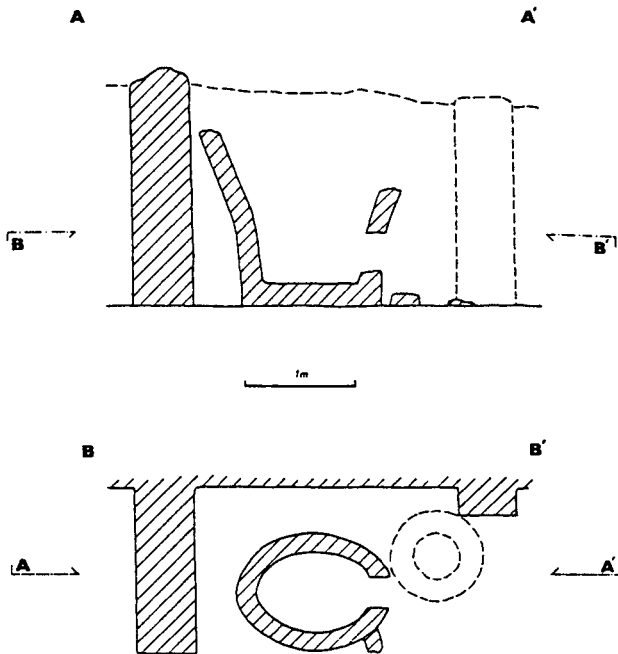


Fig. 46b Potter's kiln.

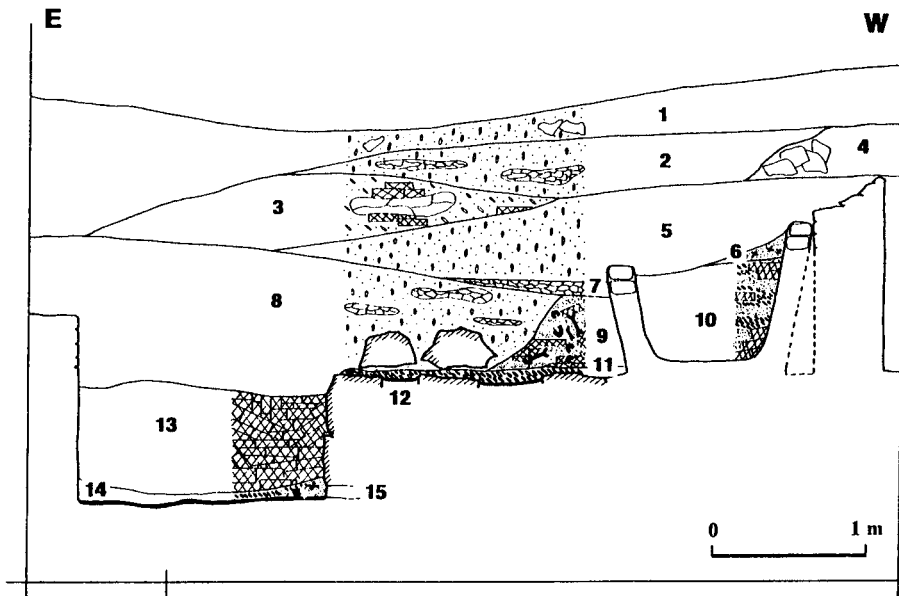


Fig. 47 Profile no. 11.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 yellow sand, limestone fragments (medium fine) | 9 mudbrick destruction (fine), ash, fragments of animal bones, fragments of OK pottery vessels |
| 2 yellow sand, deposits of limestone fragments (fine) | 10 mudbrick destruction (fine), fragments of burnt red bricks, ash |
| 3 grey sand, fragments of mudbrick, limestone fragments (coarse) | 11 dark clay |
| 4 limestone fragments (coarse) | 12 beaten clay |
| 5 yellow sand | 13 mudbrick destruction |
| 6 ash with charcoal | 14 clay, ash, charcoal, fragments of OK pottery vessels |
| 7 limestone fragments (fine) | 15 floor of beaten clay |
| 8 yellow sand, fragments of limestone blocks, limestone fragments (fine) | |

the kiln took place here. The opening also acted as a draught mechanism to increase the circulation of air and to intensify the heat within the kiln. The opening's northern orientation further facilitated the passage of air through the kiln, for in Egypt the prevailing wind comes from the north.

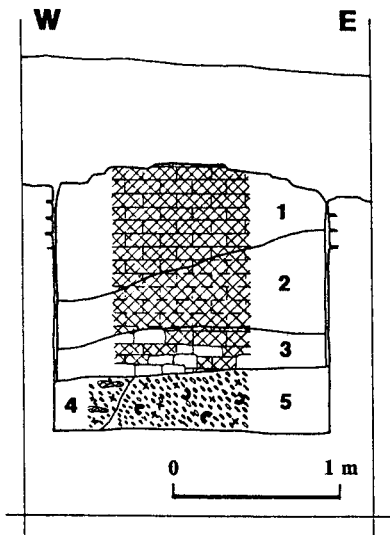


Fig. 48 Profile no. 19.

- 1 mudbrick masonry joined with clay mortar
- 2 mudbrick masonry without mortar
- 3 masonry of mudbricks and limestone fragments
- 4 clay, ash, limestone fragments (fine)
- 5 clay, charcoal, fragments of OK pottery vessels

Around the kiln were found fragments of mudbrick, ashes, 5th Dynasty potsherds and fragments of animal bones. In the west and the south the kiln rests against mudbrick walls. Further excavation showed that this western mudbrick wall belonged to the enclosure of a cult pyramid, whereas the small, southern mudbrick wall was built just to support and protect the kiln from that direction. In a small room to the south of the kiln pottery refuse

consisting of ashes with broken or malformed beer jugs and bread moulds etc., were deposited (fig. 48). The refuse was deposited against the walled up entrance to a store-room, to the south of the cult pyramid. A fragment of a sealing found in the store-room and bearing the name of Unas represents the *post quem* date of the foundation of the kiln.

THE SOUTH-WESTERN SECTOR

In contrast to the preceding sector (see fig. 3a) the composition of the debris in the south-west sector exhibited a sharp change as the excavation moved towards the south-eastern corner of Khentkaus' pyramid. The above-mentioned platform of large stone fragments did not cover the entire area. It extended from the south-eastern corner of the pyramid in a southerly direction, and came to rest above the two parallel southern wings of the enclosure walls MBW and LEW. Between the platform and the southern wall of the stone temple was a large deposit of drift sand, the thickness of which was about 2 m.

Towards the east, however, in the direction of the potter's kiln, the deposit of pure sand was replaced by a thick stratum of sand, in which were numerous conglomerations of large and small fragments of limestone (fig. 49). This layer rested on remnants of a small enclosure containing a cult pyramid⁴³, whereas the deposit of pure drift sand occupied the space between the cult pyramid and the south-east corner of the queen's pyramid.

The enclosure wall of the cult pyramid was built of mudbrick in two successive building stages. Within the north-west corner of this enclosure only a small portion of the cult pyramid remained *in situ*. The extant portion (pl. 10, fig. 50) revealed that the cult pyramid had been built from roughly-dressed pieces of limestone which apparently must have come from the partially dismantled limestone enclosure wall (LEW). The stones had been heaped into a pyramidal form but, surprisingly, the face of the blocks had not been smoothed. More surprising still, the cult pyramid — in contrast to others of this type — has no substructure at all. To assume that a small corridor or chamber might have existed within the superstructure of the cult pyramid, however, would be sheer speculation.

Within the south-east corner of the empty enclosure, opposite the remnants of the cult pyramid, was a small shelter built of fragments of limestone (fig. 51). The shelter probably dates from the time when stone was quarried within the temple complex.

⁴⁴ Apart from this, the enclosure was empty, except

42 The potter's kiln found in the mortuary temple of Khentkaus ranks among the rare examples of kilns dating from the Old Kingdom, see e.g. Soukiasian et al., *Les ateliers de potiers d'Ayn Asil*, passim; Emery, in: *Kush* 11, 163, 118 (Buhen); Stadelmann, in: *MDAIK* 39, 1983, 228 f. (Dahshur); Kaiser et al., in: *MDAIK* 38, 1982, 297–299 (Elephantina); Hope, in: *JSSEA* 10/4, 1980, 303–7 (Dakhla). For the potter's kiln and workshop in the mortuary temple of Khentkaus, see also Verner, in: *CCE* 3, 1992, 55–9.

43 This is the first cult pyramid ever built within the pyramid complex of a queen. It attests to the really royal status of the Khentkaus's pyramid complex after its enlargement and reconstruction. Further to the cult pyramid see below p...

44 The shelters, closely linked to the destruction of the pyramid complex, can be dated to the late New Kingdom. Some of them were obviously re-used in the Coptic Period. For similar shelters found in other pyramid complexes at Abusir, see Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, 134–142.

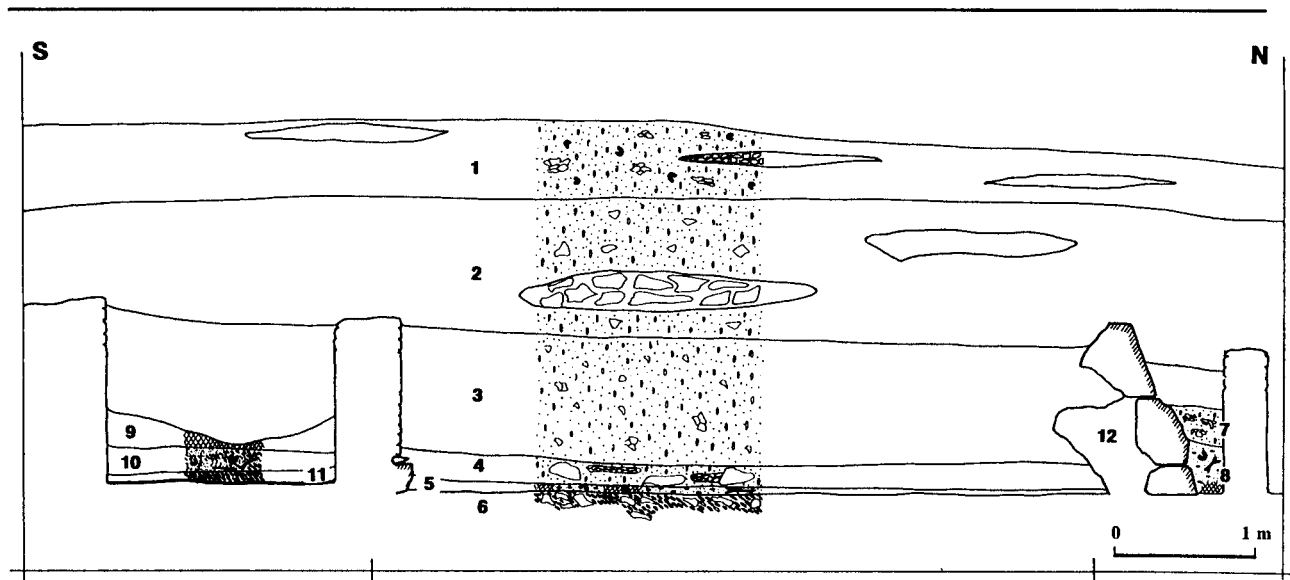


Fig. 49 Profile no. 12.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 yellow sand, deposits of limestone fragments (fine), fragments of OK pottery vessels | 7 limestone fragments (fine) |
| 2 yellow sand, deposits of limestone fragments (medium fine) | 8 dark sand, fragments of limestone (fine), fragments of mudbrick, fragments of OK pottery vessels, fragments of animal bones |
| 3 yellow sand, sporadic limestone fragments (fine) | 9 mudbrick destruction (fine) |
| 4 yellow sand, fragments of limestone blocks, limestone fragments (fine) | 10 clay, ash, fragments of animal bones, fragments of OK pottery vessels |
| 5 dark sand, fragments of mudbrick, fragments of animal bones, fragments of OK pottery vessels | 11 floor of beaten clay |
| 6 foundation platform of the cult pyramid (coarse fragments of limestone joined with clay mortar) | 12 limestone masonry of the cult pyramid |

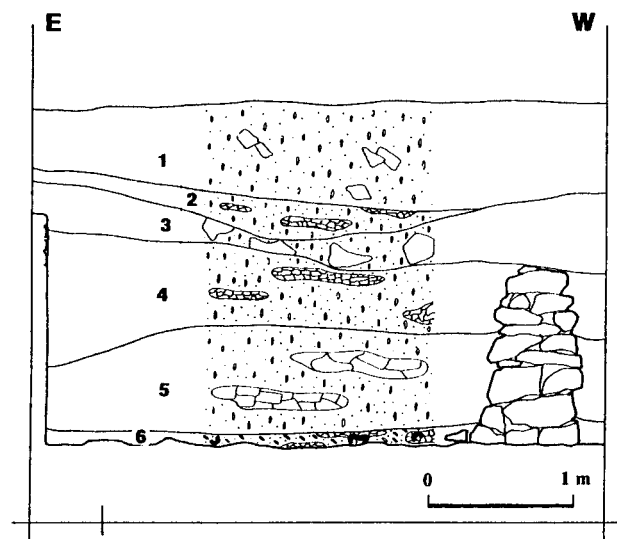


Fig. 51 Profile no. 13.

- | |
|--|
| 1 yellow sand, limestone fragments (medium fine) |
| 2 yellow sand, limestone fragments (fine) |
| 3 yellow sand, limestone fragments (coarse) |
| 4 yellow sand, limestone fragments (fine) |
| 5 yellow sand, limestone fragments (medium fine and coarse) |
| 6 grey sand, limestone fragments (fine), fragments of OK pottery vessels |

for its fill of yellowish sand and limestone chips. In the middle of the northern wing of the enclosure there was an opening giving access to the cult pyramid. Though originally the cult pyramid had reached the enclosure wall, evidence of frequent perambulation of the space between the wall and its enclosed pyramid was noticeable, regardless of the fact that those who walked around the cult pyramid in this way had been forced to walk upon the face of the pyramid itself. The entrance from the north was at one time blocked, although no mortar of any sort had been used to join the bricks. In front of the entrance, but a little towards the western side of the pyramid axis, was an offering table — a roughly cut limestone slab bearing a *h*tp-sign in low relief.⁴⁵ It had been set into

⁴⁵ The offering table is a roughly cut slab of limestone bearing on its upper surface a *h*tp-sign in low relief. The fact that Khentkaus' cult pyramid contained no chamber at all, and that offerings were placed on the above-mentioned offering table in front of the symbolical "entrance" to the monument is certainly worth noticing. In connection with the meaning of the cult pyramids, still much debated, see especially Lehner, *Hetepheres*, 74–79. In the only surviving Old Kingdom parallel, the cult pyramid of Neith (Jéquier, *Neith et Apout*, 10 and pl. I) no such cult place was found. Anyway, the position of the offering table seems to suggest a link between it and the so-called northern chapel (for northern, or entrance chapels, see below p. 139).

the beaten earthen floor outside the cult pyramid enclosure wall. The entrance via the enclosure wall had been made to the east of this table in order to avoid damage being done to the offering table by those who entered the cult pyramid precinct. In the south-west corner of the cult pyramid enclosure a low mudbrick bench was found. Next to it, in the western wall of the enclosure, there was an opening giving access to a small courtyard (pl. 10, fig. 52).

The courtyard had no other point of access. It was protected by a low, curved enclosure wall built of mudbrick. The bizarre nature of this curved wall was influenced by two factors: firstly, the wall was thin, and a curved wall — rather than a straight one — offers more stability; secondly, the curve traced the pathway taken by those who wished to go past the south-east corner of the main pyramid of the queen.

The floor of this little court was made of beaten clay. Archaeological finds in the area of the cult pyramid and its court were extremely scarce. These consisted of fragments of animal bones, and nondescript, casually twisted fragments of copper wire. But the existence of the courtyard, the bench in the south-west corner of the enclosure, and the presence of the offering table seem to testify to the practice of rites having once been performed at the cult pyramid in antiquity.

The infrequency of archaeological finds in the cult pyramid locality provides a marked contrast to the number of artefacts found in the long narrow room (SE-2) that lies to the south of the cult pyramid's enclosure wall. This room was accessible from the east, close to the position of the potter's kiln and the south-east corner of the cult pyramid enclosure. The southern wall of this room was formed by the massive mudbrick enclosure wall of the entire pyramid complex.

Pottery, fragments of sealings, and faience ornaments⁴⁶ - which had probably once decorated symbolic vessels - were found on the floor of this room. Among the ornaments there were hieroglyphic signs which obviously once formed part of the titulary and name of Khentkaus. Undoubtedly, the room served for some time as a magazine in which the more precious cult paraphernalia was stored. Later, the entrance to this room was walled up. The most recent sealing fragments offer a dating *post quem* for the closure of the room namely, the reign of Unas.⁴⁷

To the west of the afore-mentioned room, but separated from it by a small partition wall consisting of fragments of limestone, was another elongated area. As a matter of fact, this room was created by the presence of the two enclosure walls LEW and MEW. There was no specific flooring material evident

in this area, only a base consisting of sand and limestone chips. Only part of this room was excavated, approximately to the limit provided by the south-east corner of the main pyramid. It is thus conceivable that this room originally could have continued around the entire southern and western side of the pyramid.

The area was accessible from the north, through a roughly-cut opening in the limestone enclosure wall (LEW) near the south-east corner of the queen's pyramid. Access to the place had been made easier by the design of the curved wall that framed the cult pyramid court (see discussion above). A black graffito (fig. 53) painted on the whitewashed, northern face of the mudbrick enclosure wall (MEW) identified this area as *st-^c* ("place of activity", or workshop).⁴⁸ It seems that the function of the area, however, was soon terminated. The entrance was blocked up by

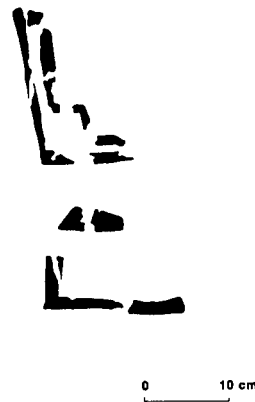


Fig. 53 Black painted graffito *st-^c* which denominated the narrow room between the two southern wings of the enclosure walls (from the building phases LST II and MBT I).

fragments of limestone, and the whole area of *st-^c* was filled up to its topmost level with an homogenous deposit (fig. 54) of both complete pieces and broken fragments of pottery, especially beer jugs, bread moulds and cylindrical beer jug stands. There were also sporadic examples of pottery bowls and circular footed trays in this collection. Obviously, the pottery represented the refuse from the funerary cult which had accumulated in the temple to such a degree that a decision must have been made to remove it to the *st-^c* which, at that time, had ceased its original function. The refuse was deposited there and the room was sealed.

46 The faience ornaments, including also hieroglyphic signs of Khentkaus's name and titles, will be published separately.

47 Fragments of sealings excav. nos. 99/A/80 and 104/A/80.

48 Verner, in: *ZÄS* 109, 1982, 157.

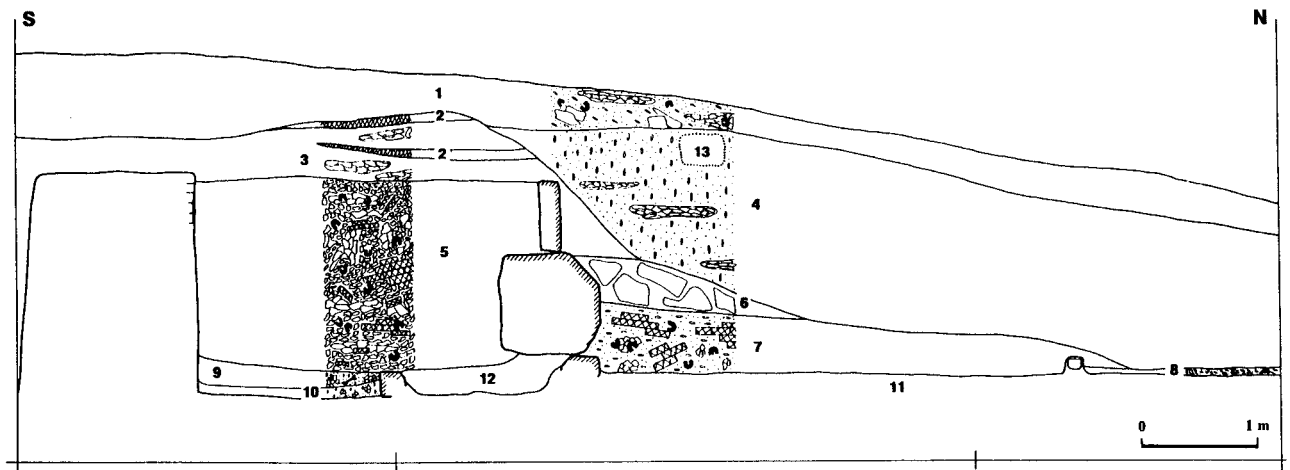


Fig. 54 Profile no. 14.

- 1 grey sand, fragments of pottery vessels, limestone and red granite fragments (fine)
- 2 mudbrick destruction (fine)
- 3 limestone fragments (middle)
- 4 yellow sand, deposits of limestone fragments (fine)
- 5 limestone fragments (medium fine), fragments of mudbricks, OK pottery vessels and fragments of them
- 6 limestone fragments (coarse)

- 7 dark sand, mudbrick destruction (fine), limestone fragments (fine), fragments of pottery vessels
- 8 floor of beaten clay with sand
- 9 yellow sand, limestone fragments (fine), fragments of OK pottery vessels, fragments of animal bones
- 10 yellow sand, limestone fragments (fine)
- 11 floor of beaten clay with limestone fragments (fine)
- 12 limestone masonry joined with mortar
- 13 burial excav. no. 132/A/78

CHRONOLOGY AND CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of all the available archaeological finds and observations makes it possible to reconstruct the following several alterations in the plan and function of the temple, and their relevant chronology:

LST I Dyn. 5, temp. Nyuserre (after the 10th regnal year of the King ?)

Simultaneously with the completion of the funerary apartment and the upper portion of the pyramid's core (PYR II), the foundation platform of the temple was laid in front of the eastern side of the pyramid. The construction of the temple was completed in fine white limestone at the same time as the casing of the pyramid was begun.

The reconstruction of the almost totally destroyed temple is discussed in another part of this book (see Chap. VI). It cannot be excluded that the entrance to the temple of this initial building stage was from the north, near the north-eastern corner of the monument. Some fragments of the masonry still in position seem to corroborate this assumption.

LST II Dyn. 5, temp. Nyuserre (after the 10th regnal year of the King ?)

Shortly after the building stage of LST I, and probably still prior to the construction of the massive limestone enclosure wall around the pyramid complex, a decision was taken to enlarge the temple a little towards the east. The decision also included the construction of a new and more monumental

entrance to the temple from the east. The new entrance, conceived as a pillared portico (P 1), was built near the south-east corner of the temple.

Along the western, southern and eastern side of the pyramid complex a massive limestone enclosure wall was erected.

The alteration of the original plan of the temple, though neither laborious nor expensive, represented an essential upgrading of the status of the temple and the cult of the Royal Mother.

MBT I Dyn. 5, temp. Nyuserre (latter part of the reign of the King ?)

The temple of the building stage of LST II was considerably enlarged to the east, but also to some degree in the south and north. The enlargement, made exclusively in mudbrick, included the construction of a massive enclosure wall around the whole complex. Basically, the alteration of the original plan and the enlargement of the temple included a number of major changes.

* A new main entrance to the temple was constructed. It again had the form of a pillared portico (P 2) formed by a pair of limestone monoliths. Unlike the entrances of the original building stages of LST I and LST II, the new portico was situated in the eastern facade of the enlarged temple and in the east-west axis of the whole pyramid complex.

The enlarged portion of the temple lacked a foundation platform. Its floor level was therefore about 60 cm lower than that of the preceding building

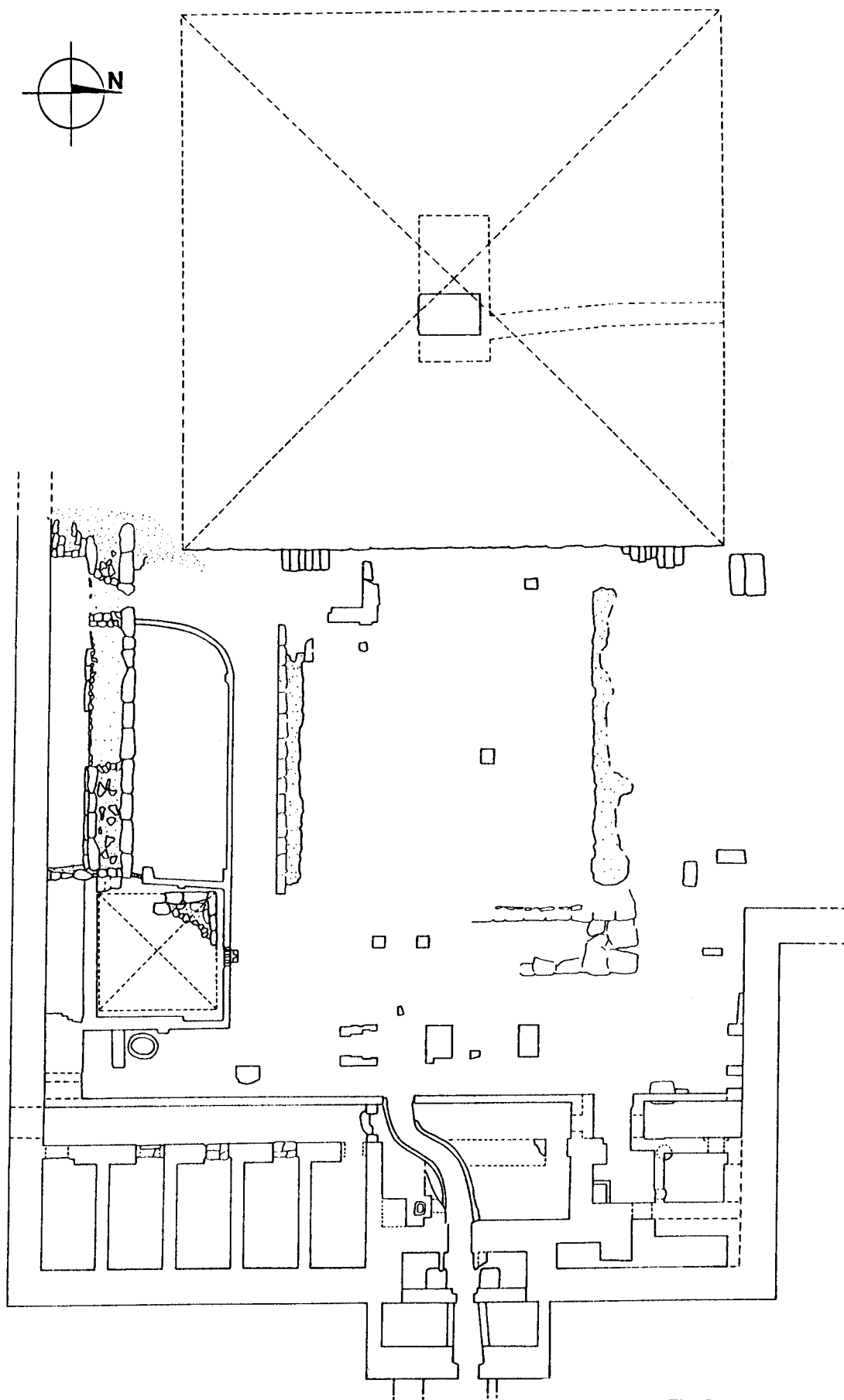


Fig. 55a Plan of the pyramid complex of Khentkaus.

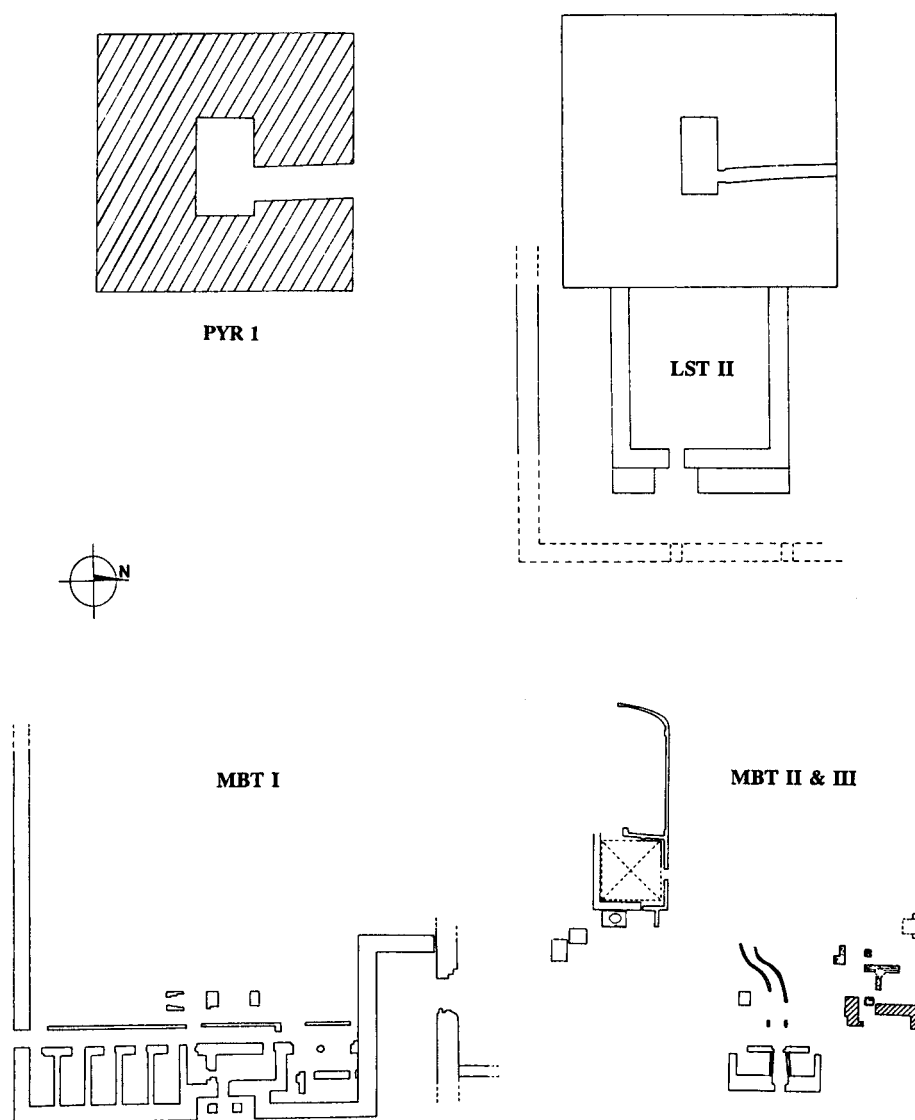


Fig. 55b Reconstruction of the building phases of the pyramid complex of Khentkaus.

stage of LST II. The differences in both the position of the two porticos (P 1 and P2) and the floor level of LST II and MBT I was bridged over by means of a small, slightly raised ramp. The latter was U-shaped in plan, and was built in the northern portion of a room situated immediately behind the pillared portico (P 2). The southern portion of the room, separated from the northern one by an L-shaped wall, enclosed a small anteroom which contained a libation basin of limestone. The exit from the anteroom was provided by a flight of several steps. This met with the upper end of the U-shaped ramp, in front of an aperture cut out at a later stage in the eastern wing of the limestone enclosure wall of the building stage of LST II, precisely opposite the earlier entrance (P 1) to the temple. Very probably, between the aperture and the earlier portico (P 1) a quartzite gate had then been erected bearing the name and titles of the Royal Mother Khentkans.

** To the south-east portion of the enlarged temple a complex of five magazines was constructed. The magazines, all on the same plane, were entered from the west from a north-south oriented corridor. A door at the northern end of the corridor linked the magazines with both porticos (P 1 and P 2). At the southern end of the corridor, and in the southern wing of the massive enclosure wall of mudbrick, there was a gate, which made it possible to avoid the main entrance (P 2), and to enter the magazines and the temple directly from the south.

*** In the north-east portion of the enlarged temple two small rooms, and one large room with a single column were built. The columned room was accessible via the south from the room with the U-shaped ramp, and from the west through another aperture cut into the eastern wing of the limestone enclosure wall of the temple (LST II). Owing to its position, the columned room enabled easy and direct

access to both pillared porticos of the temple (P 1 and P2) and, in addition to that, to the open courtyard linking the pyramid complex of Khentkaus with that of Neferirkare. The columned room very probably served as a dwelling for mortuary priests.

MBT II *temp.* Nyuserre (latter part of the reign of the King)

Shortly after the completion of MBT I another major reconstruction of the pyramid temple began. The eastern wing, and the easternmost portion of the southern wing of the limestone enclosure wall of the temple (LST II) were dismantled. In their place, in the south-east corner of the former limestone enclosure wall a small cult pyramid was built. For the construction of the cult pyramid, limestone from the dismantled portion of the enclosure wall had been used.

Around the cult pyramid, and directly adjacent to it on all four sides, a mudbrick enclosure wall was constructed. At the same time, another enclosure wall was also built around a small courtyard to the west of the cult pyramid. The only aperture in the western wing of the enclosing wall of the cult pyramid linked the monument with the courtyard.

At this stage, the room with one column was divided by mudbrick walls into three smaller rooms.

MBT III end Dyn. 5 - early Dyn. 6

In the vacant space left by the removal of the eastern wing of the limestone enclosure wall (LST II), a potter's workshop was set up.

At the northern end of the dismantled wall, adjacent to the northern wing of the mudbrick enclosure wall of the temple (MBT I), a potter's wheel was installed. In a small neighbouring room – one of the three rooms formed by the reconstruction of the room with the column (see above MBT II) – clay and water, materials needed for the production of pottery, were stored. The clay (in the form of lumps and broken mudbricks) was kept in a large storage jar. The water was stored in a large vessel embedded in a circular hole in the middle of the room. The eastern portion of the former columned room, however, still continued to serve as a dwelling place.

The potter's kiln was built at the other (i.e. the southern) end of the dismantled eastern wing of the limestone enclosure wall (it was built on the western side of the eastern wing of the mudbrick wall that enclosed the cult pyramid). The foundation of the potter's kiln can be dated to the time of (or shortly after) Unas.

To the same period (the reign of Unas) can also be dated the closure of the room *sr-C*.

Probably prior to the foundation of the potter's workshop still one more building change took place

in the temple. The volume of the dwelling area in the north-eastern portion of the temple was sharply reduced. Practically all rooms in this portion of the temple — except for one — were closed, and their entrances walled up. The fragments of clay sealings found in the only room which continued to be inhabited (in the very north-east corner of the temple) can be used to date the aforesaid reduction to the time of Djedkare, or shortly afterwards.

All the above-mentioned changes of the stage MBT III reflect a decline in the status of the temple. The mortuary cult was reduced and a portion of the temple was converted to a potter's workshop, the production of which apparently served for cultic purposes in the neighbouring mortuary temples of the kings.

MBT IV early Dyn. VI (*temp.* Teti)

The eastern mudbrick portion of the temple underwent a major change at this time. The complex of five magazines in the south-east corner of the temple was closed. Both entrances to the magazine corridor (the door near the U-shaped ramp at the north, and the southern gate of the temple) were walled up. Fragments of clay sealings found here (bearing the name of the King Teti) represent the *post quem* date for the shut-down of the magazine complex.

A profound reconstruction also took place in the entrance section. The wall which divided this space into two rooms, one with the U-shaped ramp and the other one with the purification basin, was pulled down and removed. On the ruins of the wall, another gradually inclined ramp — this time S-shaped — was built. The S-shaped ramp had been constructed from material from the demolished.

MBT V

In the partially abandoned temple the cult continued to function on a very limited scale throughout the reign of Pepi II. (The date is provided by a fragment of a faience tablet bearing the cartouche of the King.) The temple by this time was already partly covered by drift sand — especially in the area of the cult pyramid. It seems that only the limestone section of the temple (LST II), and perhaps one small room still inhabited by a mortuary priest, were open in this period.

* * *

There is no clear evidence for any activity in the temple during the FIP. In this period the pyramid of the Royal Mother was very probably opened and plundered. It cannot be proven whether or not the robbers also plundered the temple at the same time.

It is possible that the mortuary cult in the temple was revived for a very short time at the very beginning of the Middle Kingdom. The assumption is corroborated by a find, unfortunately unstratified, of a hemispherical cup belonging to the early 12th Dynasty, and by indirect evidence for the revival of cults in the neighbouring mortuary temples of Neferirkare, Nyuserre, Raneferef and Lepsius pyramid no. XXIV.

The destruction of the limestone portion of the temple (LST II) probably began as early as Dyn. 18. It is obvious that in Dyn. 19 the temple area started to serve as a secondary burial ground for the common people from the neighbouring villages. This secondary cemetery continued to exist throughout the end of the Late Period (exceptionally also in the Greek and Roman ⁴⁹ Periods).

In the late New Kingdom, stone robbers set up their primitive dwellings in the ruins of the limestone portion of the temple (LST II).

It seems that the stone robbers' dwellings were re-used in the Coptic Period (in c. 6th or 7th century AD). At that time the ruins of the temple were probably inhabited for a short period by a small group of hermits. Later in the Coptic Period, stone-robbers and *sabbakh*-diggers replaced these hermits. The *sabbakh*-digging possibly continued in irregular intervals throughout the Arab mediaeval ages.

⁴⁹ It seems that the latest Roman object found in the pyramid complex of Khentkaus represents a copper coin with the portrait of Valentinianus I (364–375) and remains of an inscription SPES REI PUBLICAE (?).

II. MASONS' MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

It has been mentioned above that during our team's exploration of the pyramid of Khentkaus only the eastern face of the pyramid and the funerary apartment were disclosed. Nevertheless, on some of the blocks of the denuded portion of the pyramid's core, remains of red or black cursive inscriptions and marks were discovered. These short and usually roughly written notes, known as the "masons' inscriptions" or "Baugraffiti", were also found on

some of few limestone blocks of the extant remnants of the first two building phases of the mortuary temple (LST II) of the Royal Mother. These masons' marks (fig. 56) represent a small but historically not unimportant collection of written documents, which shed more light on some archaeological, and especially chronological, aspects of the pyramid complex of Khentkaus.

1 *Mwt nswt Hnt-k3w.s.*

"King's mother Khentkaus."

Excav. no. Gr-1/A/78

Loose block, originally coming from the casing of the pyramid, found at ground level in the debris in front of the north-eastern corner of the pyramid.

White limestone, painted red inscription.

The graffito was painted on the block probably prior to being taken to the building site of the pyramid.¹

It was painted on the inner, undressed face of the block.



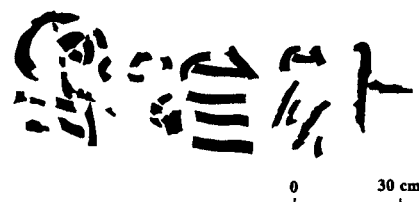
2 a) *Rnpt-sp 5, 3bd 3 3ht, sw 14 (?)*.

b) Control mark.

a) "5th census (i.e. 9th or 10th regnal year), 3rd month of the inundation, 14th (?) day."²

Excav. no. Gr-2/A/78

Eastern face of a block in the masonry behind the western wall of the burial chamber, on the level of the upper edge of the room.



1 The graffito represents a kind of an address. Very probably, the Queen's name was written on the block in the place near the building site of the pyramid complex of Neferirkare, in which the building materials for both the King's and the Queen's pyramid were stored and sorted out. Many other blocks found in the Queen's pyramid complex were inscribed in the same way. For this type of graffiti, see Verner, *Baugraffiti*, 184 ff.

2 The graffito has already been published by Verner, in: *ZÄS* 107, 1980, 159 and fig. 3, and id. in: *SAK* 8, 1980, 256 a.

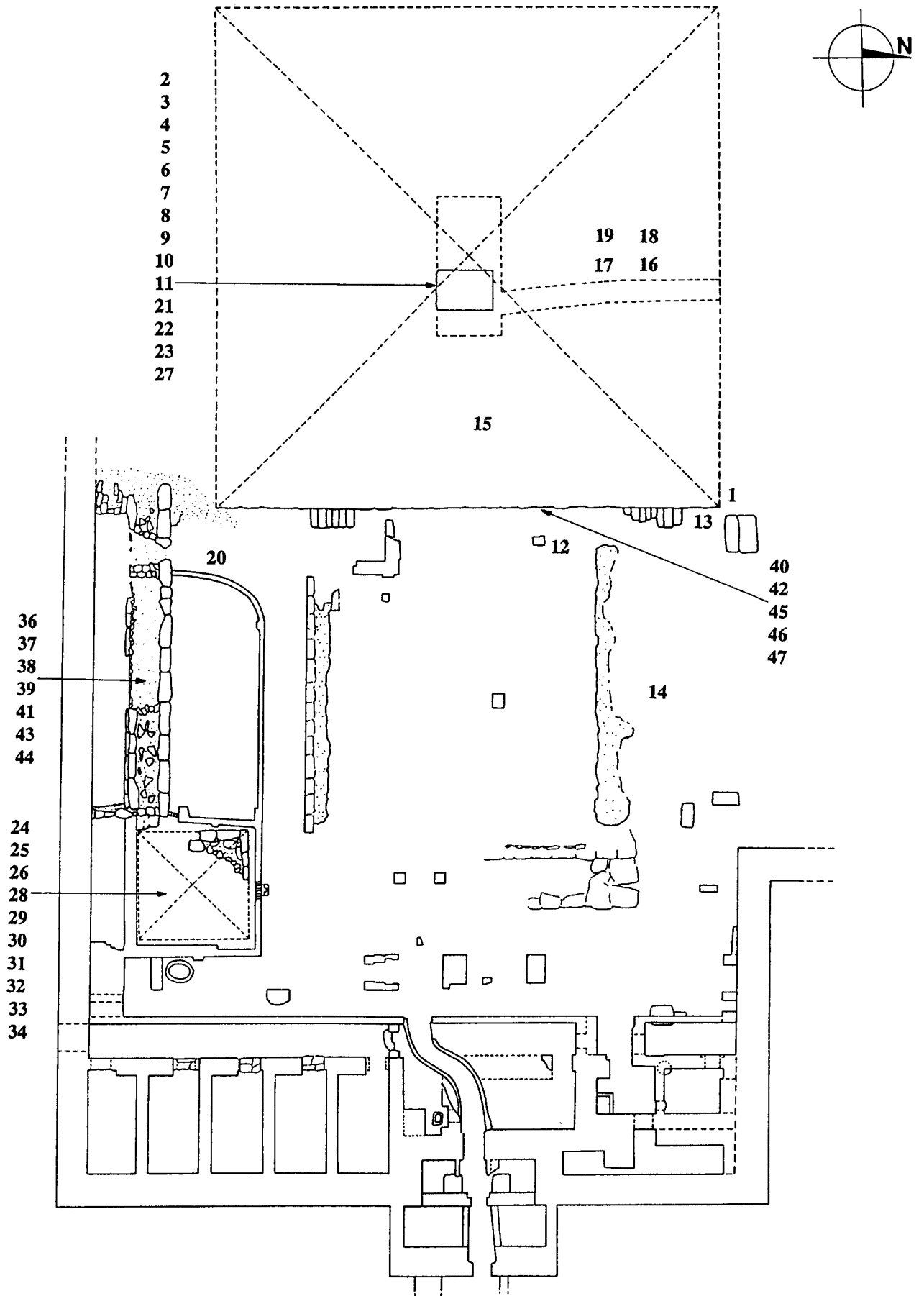


Fig. 56 Plan of the location of masons' marks and inscriptions.

Grey limestone, painted red: [b) is darker than a)]. The inscription a) was painted upside down as shown by the orientation of thin streams of red paint flowing from the signs. Theoretically, the inscription could have been written on the block prior to its transportation to the building site. It seems, however, more probable that it was written at the time when the block had already been in that position. If so, the inscription must have been written from above by a scribe who was lying on his belly on the upper face of the block. The reason for marking a date on the block could have been either, to indicate that a planned stage in the construction of the masonry had been reached (e.g. reaching the upper edge of a pit for funerary apartments) or, to mark the moment at which the building of the monument had been interrupted. Both variants raise the question as to which king this 9th or 10th regnal year belonged. Theoretically, two kings could be taken into consideration either, Neferirkare or Nyuserre. Under the former the construction of the pyramid had certainly been commenced; the latter obviously finished it. If the date pertains to Neferirkare, it probably represents the highest known regnal year of that king.³ Consequently, the king would have died in the 9th or 10th year of his reign. However, the date could also refer to Nyuserre, the younger son of Neferirkare. Nyuserre ascended the throne after the brief (no more than two or three year) reign of his elder brother, Raneferef. In the case of Nyuserre, this date would mean that he must have waited for another 10 years before recommencing the building. This gap (thirteen years or more) in the construction of the pyramid would be difficult to explain⁴, and suggest that this is the reason why the attribution of the date to Neferirkare seems to be more probable.

3 ...?...

Remains of two superimposed inscriptions whose reading is uncertain.

Excav. no. 3/A/78

A fragment found among the debris of the burial chamber.

White limestone, with painted red inscription.



4 a) *Hnt-[k3w.s ?]*

b) ...w...

c) ...?...

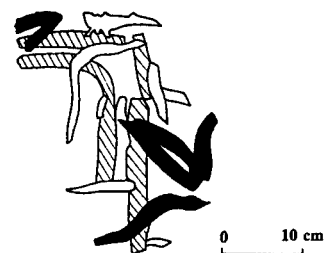
a) "Khentkaus."

b) and c) Remains of two inscriptions superimposed one upon the other, reading uncertain.

Excav. no. 4/A/78

A fragment found among the debris of the burial chamber.

White limestone, painted black. The earlier inscriptions b) and c) are in yellow and red.



³ The safely attested date of the 5th census of Neferirkare occurs on the Palermo stone, see Schäfer, *Annalen*, 40. Barta (*ZÄS* 108, 1981, 23) has suggested (without basis) that one should more than to double this date. (See the discussion below in the text, p. 176.)

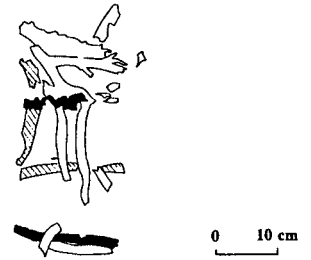
⁴ It seems that after the premature death of Raneferef dynastic disputes obviously broke out again between the two rival branches of the royal family — the Sahurean and the Neferirkarean. How long the turbulent times lasted, and what kind of a role may have been played by the royal mother, Khentkaus, in the dynastic disputes will be discussed in the text below, see p. 177. Be that as it may, Nyuserre's ascension of the throne seems to have been neither immediate, nor easy.

- 5 a) *Dd* ?
b) ...?...
c) ...?...

- a) "*Dd*-group of workmen (?)." ⁵
b) Reading unclear.
c) Reading unclear.

Excav. no. 5

A fragment found among the debris of the burial chamber.
White limestone with an inscription in red.



- 6 a) *ḥwy* (?)
b) ...?...

- a) "*ḥwy*-group (of workmen) (?)." ⁶
b) Unclear remains of a mark.

Excav. no. 6/A/78

Painted on the eastern face of a block in position behind the north-western corner of the burial chamber, just below no. 2 (see above).

White limestone, with painted red inscription.



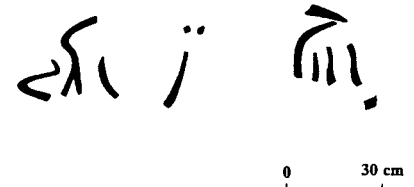
- 7 *Hnt-[k3w.]s*
"Khentkaus".

Excav. no. 7/A/78

Painted on the eastern face of a block in position behind the upper edge of the western wall of the burial chamber.

Grey limestone, inscription painted in red.

The inscription is placed in the middle of the face of the block and was obviously never preceded by a title.



- 8 a) Control mark
b) ...?...

Excav. no. 8/A/78

Southern wall of the burial chamber, northern face of a block in the lowest layer.

White limestone, with painted inscription in red.

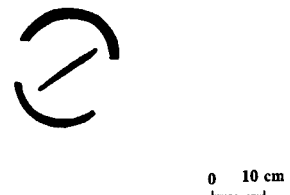


- 9 Control mark

Excav. no. 9/A/78

Northern wall of the burial chamber, on the southern face of a block set in the middle of the lowest layer.

White limestone, with painted inscription in red.



5 The *dd*-group of workmen is attested in masons' inscriptions from the monuments dating from both the Old and Middle Kingdom, see Verner, *Baugraffiti*, 172; and Arnold, *The Control Notes*, 28 (R 11).

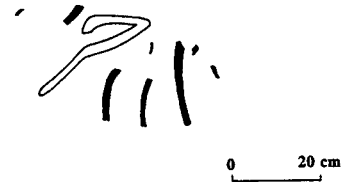
6 The reading and interpretation of the "double *ḥh*-sign" is very uncertain. The sign, or mark, vaguely resembles some of the graffiti present on the limestone blocks in the masonry of the pyramid complex of Pepi II, see Nagel, in: *ASAE* 50, 1950, pl. 4 (nos. 59 and 64) and pl. 19 (no. 175).

- 10 a) *Hnt-[k3w.s ?]*
"Khentkaus."
b) ...?...

Excav. no. 10/A/78

Southern wall of the burial chamber, northern face of a block in the layer.

White limestone, with black a) and red b) painted inscriptions. *Hnt* was probably an abbreviated form for the writing of the queen's name.⁷ Only this sign may have been considered sufficient indication of the destination for the building blocks used in the queen's pyramid.



- 11 (*S3*) *wr.*
"(Phyle) *wr.*"

Excav. no. sn/A/78

A block in position in the pyramid's core, south of the excav. no. Gr-6/A/78.

Grey limestone, with red painted inscription.

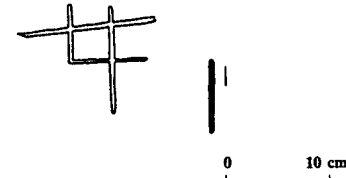


- 12 a) Control mark
b) Remains of an inscription, reading uncertain.

Excav. no. Gr-11/A/78

North-western section of the temple, eastern face of a block in position in the pavement.

White limestone, with red painted inscription.



- 13 *Mwt nswt.*
Hmt nswt Hnt-k3w.s.

"King's mother."

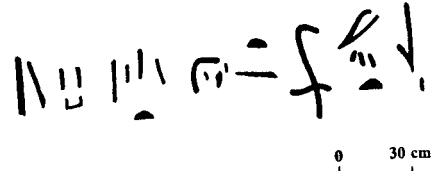
"King's wife Khentkaus."

Excav. no. Gr-12/A/78

Eastern face of a block in the north-east corner of the foundation platform of the pyramid.

Light grey limestone, with red painted inscription.

It seems that the inscription was written at two different stages in the construction of the pyramid. Originally, only the name of the owner of the monument, "Khentkaus", preceded by a title of "King's wife" was written. A little later another title of the Queen, "King's mother" was added in such a way that it preceded the earlier inscription. The additional title of "King's mother" was a little smaller in size than the earlier inscription. Obviously, the new title was added because the status of the Queen had changed in the meantime and the scribe consequently corrected the undoubtedly important inscription on the north-eastern corner block of the pyramid's platform. Over the inscription runs a horizontal, red painted line (the line also continues on the northern face of the corner block). The line, running c. 50-52 cm above the lower edge of the block, apparently indicated a horizontal level to the height of 1 cubit above the sand bed upon which the foundation platform of the pyramid rested.



⁷ *Hnt* was probably an abbreviated form of Khentkaus' name. In regard to masons' marks, a similar tendency for abbreviations in the tomb owner's (the addressee's) name is also to be observed in other monuments, e.g. the mastaba of Ptahshepses (*Šps* for *Pth-špsš*), see Verner, *o.c.* 139 (nos. 308 and 309).

14 Remains of an inscription (?).

Reading uncertain.

Excav. no. Gr-13/A/78

A fragment of a block found near the northern wall of the pyramid temple.

Grey limestone, with red painted inscription.



0 10 cm

15 Control marks (?).

Excav. no. Gr-14/A/78

A loose block, coming from the core of the pyramid, found near the northern wall of the pyramid temple.

Grey limestone, with black painted inscription.

The signs are marked on two faces of the fragment of the block.

They respect both the shape and the size of the faces of the

fragment. One of the two signs resembles a stylized human face.⁸

The signs need not be directly linked to the construction of the monument.



0 10 cm

16 a) *Hmt nswt Hnt-k3w.(s)*.

b) *Nfr*.

c) *Ir*.

d) Remains of a vertical, a horizontal and an oblique line.

All lines cross in one point.

a) "King's wife Khentkaus."

b) "Nfr-group (of workmen)."

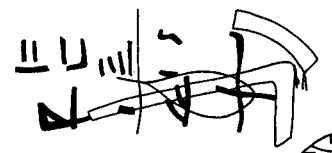
c) "Ir-group of workmen."

Excav. no. Gr-1/A/80

Eastern face of a block in position in the core of the pyramid, about 1.5 m to the west of the descending corridor and about 1.5 m to the south of the entrance.

Grey limestone; a) and b) are painted in red, c) in black; d) is a painted black line, with a red oblique line, crossed by a horizontal line in yellow paint.

The inscription a) represents important evidence showing that pyramid had been originally built for "King's wife" Khentkaus (see the text above, p. and no. 13). With regard to the position of the block, the coloured lines may pertain to the construction of the portcullis.



0 20 cm

17 a) ...?...

b) *nh* (?)

a) Unclear remains of two marks.

b) "*nh*-group (of workmen) (?)".

Excav. no. Gr-2/A/80

Southern face of a block in position in the core of the pyramid, to the west of the descending corridor, about 1.8 m above the floor of the corridor and about 1 m before the entrance to the burial chamber.

Grey limestone, with inscriptions a) painted in red and yellow, b) painted in red.



0 20 cm

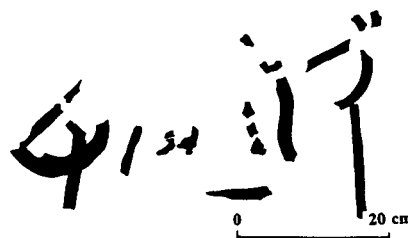
- 18 a) [*Mwt nswt ?*] *Hnt-[k3w.s]*.
b) Remains of two control marks.

a) "King's mother Khentkaus (?)."

Excav. no. Gr-3/A/80

A loose block, probably from the core of the pyramid, to the west of the descending corridor.

Grey limestone; a) is painted red, b) is painted black; b) is earlier than a).



- 19 a) ...?..
b) *Hry-tp nswt ...w...* (?)

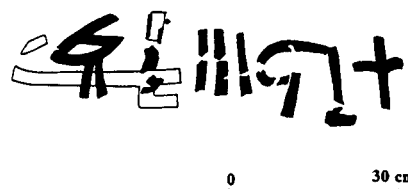
a) Unclear remains of a mark (?).

b) "Chamberlain ..." ⁹

Excav. no. Gr-4/A/80

Eastern face of a block in position in the core of the pyramid, to the west of the descending corridor, about 0.5 m above the floor of the corridor and about 2.5 m before the entrance to the burial chamber.

Grey limestone, with a) black painted, and b) red painted inscriptions.



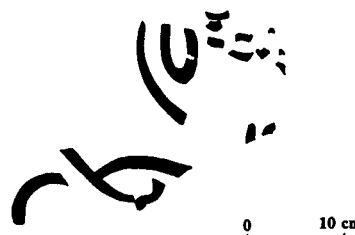
- 20 Unclear remains of an inscription.

Excav. no. Gr-5/A/80

A loose block found in the debris in front of the south-east corner of the pyramid.

Grey limestone, with red painted inscription.

Originally, the inscription may have contained a date.



- 21 *3bd tpy smw* (?)

"First month of the summer (?)."

Excav. no. Gr-6/A/80

Southern wall of the burial chamber, third block from the west in the lowest layer.

White limestone, with red painted inscription.

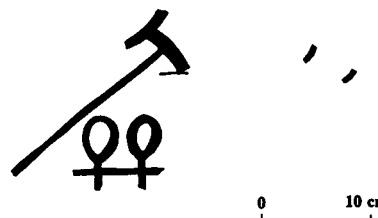


- 22 Unclear remains of a control mark *ḥw* or *nfrwy* (?).

Excav. no. Gr-6/A/78

Western wall of the burial chamber, in the north-west corner, immediately below no. 2. White limestone, with red painted inscription.

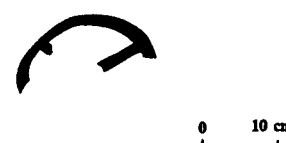
See above no. 6.



- 23 Remains of a control mark.

Excav. no. Gr-8/A/80

No. 23 has the same comment as for no. 22.



8 The sign undoubtedly represents a stylized human face; its interpretation, however, is very difficult. Is it a scribal model? Or, is it a variant of the writing of the personal name *Hr* (Ranke *PN* I, 245: 12)? Or, again, could it be a quarry mark, vaguely resembling some of the circular marks disclosed by Borchardt in the pyramid complex of Sahure (*Sahure* I, 89 [M 31, M33, M 36])? For discussion about a similar human face (or Gardiner, *Grammar*, Sign-list 2) representations, see Verner, *o. c.*, 111: no. 197.

9 The sign *w* is all that has remained of what is probably a personal name which once followed the title of the chamberlain. The remains of a mark (?), superimposed on the personal name make the reading of the latter more difficult.

24 Two marks of an unclear meaning.¹⁰

Excav. no. Gr-9/A/80

A fragment of limestone used secondarily in the mudbrick masonry of an enclosure wall of a cult pyramid.

Yellowish limestone, with black painted inscription.

The two marks (signs) respect the shape of the stone, i.e. they do not represent a fragment of an originally larger inscription.

Could the sign on the right side of the fragment be interpreted as *k3p* "the shrine" ?



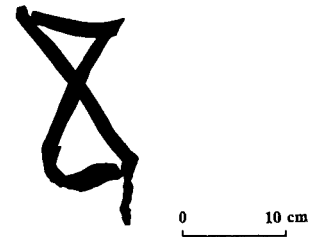
25 Control mark (?).

Excav. no. Gr-10/A/80

A fragment found among the debris in the south-east corner of the enclosure of the cult pyramid.

Grey-greenish limestone, with black painted inscription.

The mark was painted on a reject fragment of stone. It is unlikely to be interpreted as a name of a group of workmen (see also other similar marks below).

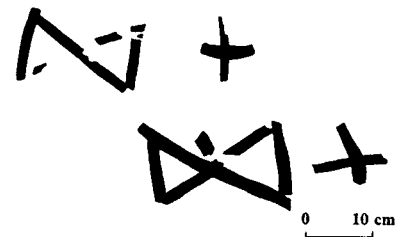


26 Control marks (?).¹¹

Excav. no. Gr-11/A/80

Judging by the shape, the fragment was probably used to fill a hole already present in the stone, and because of this fact, the marks were painted on both sides of the fragment. A fragment found in the debris in the south-east corner of the enclosure of the cult pyramid. It probably comes from the core of the cult pyramid.

White limestone, with black painted inscription.

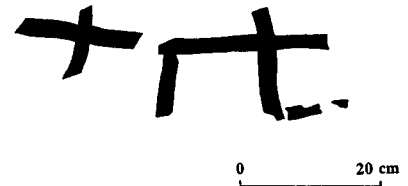


27 Control mark.

Excav. no. Gr-12/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 22.

Brown veined yellowish limestone, with inscription painted in black.

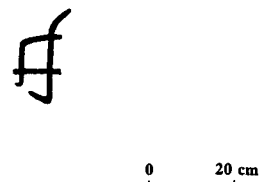


28 Control mark (?).

Excav. no. Gr-13/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 25.

Grey limestone, with black painted inscription.



10 The sign on the right could even be interpreted as *mdt* "stable" (*Wb* II, 185). However, it seems more likely to be the reading *k3r* "shrine" (*Wb* V, 107). If this interpretation is correct, does the second sign represent the cursive writing of the determinative of *k3r* ? The alleged "determinative" seems to resemble an obelisk on a truncated base (the slanting, instead of a vertical, position of the obelisk could have been influenced by the shape of the stone fragment). Be that as it may, both the reading and the meaning of the inscription remain uncertain.

11 The meaning of the "labrys-shaped" marks is unclear. The marks occur only on fragments of stone found in the area of the cult pyramid. They were used by masons who enlarged the pyramid complex of Khentkaus (MBT II) during the reign of Nyuserre. The small size of the fragments of stone, the frequent occurrence of the marks, and the fact that they often cover the entire face of the available flat sides of the fragments are quite puzzling. The same "labrys-shaped" marks were disclosed on the blocks from the masonry of the neighbouring pyramid Lepsius no. XXIV. No doubt, both monuments, i.e. the pyramid Lepsius no. XXIV and the cult pyramid of Khentkaus, were built at the same time, see Verner, in: *ZÄS* 111, 1984, 77 f. and fig. 9.

29 Control mark (?).

Excav. no. Gr-14/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 25.

Yellowish limestone, with black painted inscription.



0 10 cm

30 ...(*n*)šwt...

"... royal (?) ..."

Excav. no. Gr-15/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 26.

Greyish limestone, with black painted inscription.



0 10 cm

31 Control marks.

Excav. no. Gr-16/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 26.

Grey limestone, with black painted inscription.

In fact, the graffito consists of a "labrys-shaped" mark (resembling the hieroglyphic sign S 24 in Gardiner's Sign list), and four vertical strokes. Do the four repeated strokes pertain to the "labrys-shaped" mark? Does the whole graffito mean, for instance, four stones marked with the "labrys-shaped" sign? Or, does the graffito relate to some manipulation with the stones? See no. 31 following.



0 10 cm

32 Control marks.

Excav. no. Gr-17/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 26.

Grey limestone. The "labrys-shaped" sign was drawn by a piece of charcoal; the four vertical strokes were added in black paint.



0 10 cm

33 Sḏ (?)

"Drag (?)."

Excav. no. Gr-18/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 26.

Yellow-greyish limestone, with painted black inscription.

The reading and meaning of the inscription are unclear. Does it refer to the name of a group of workmen? Does it pertain to the transportation of stones from the quarries to the building site of the pyramid?



0 10 cm

34 Control marks (?).

Excav. no. Gr-19/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 26.

Yellowish limestone. One sign was painted in black, the other was drawn by a piece of charcoal.

Two superimposed "labrys-shaped" signs. A partly damaged and incomplete sign painted black by means of a brush was later corrected and completed by another sign of the same shape drawn by a piece of charcoal. It is surprising that it was necessary to correct a damaged mark on a small fragment of a stone reject used for the construction of the core of a small cult pyramid.



0 20 cm

35 *št-^c*

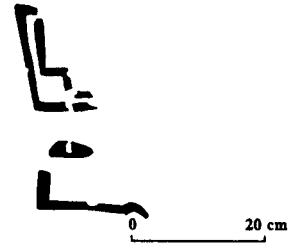
"Workshop (lit. place of activity)."

Excav. no. Gr-20/A/80

Northern face of the southern wing of the mudbrick enclosure wall of the pyramid complex, to the south-east of the pyramid. The inscription was written in black on the plastered and originally whitewashed surface of the wall.

In the Old Kingdom, *št-^c* is attested in *imy št-^c*. Goedicke¹² sees in the term a denomination of "jene Funktionäre ... die Ämter im Tempel bekleideten, ohne gleichzeitig Priester zu sein".

Posener-Kriéger¹³ suggests the translation of *imy št-^c*, followed by a determinative of a sitting man and woman, as "ceux qui sont de service", i.e. "ce dans quoi est l'activité des gens". Beyond any doubt, in the pyramid complex of Khentkaus at least, the term *št-^c* represents the denomination of a small and narrow room which came into existence to the south-east of the pyramid, between the two enclosure walls of the pyramid complex. A general interpretation of "workshop" therefore seems to be justified. (See also the text above, p. 37.)



36 [*Hnt*]-*k3w.s*

"Khentkaus."

Excav. no. 21/A/80

A fragment found in the debris near the southern wing of the enclosure wall of the cult pyramid.

Dark grey limestone, with red painted inscription.



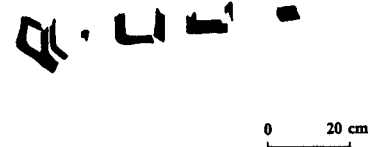
37 [*Hnt*]-*k3w.s*

"Khentkaus."

Excav. no. Gr-22/A/80

Southern face of an undressed block in the limestone enclosure wall (first building stage) of the pyramid complex, to the south-east of the pyramid.

Light grey limestone, with red painted inscription.



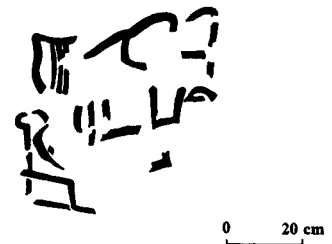
38 *Mwt nšwt Hnt-k3w.s*

"King's mother Khentkaus."

Excav. no. 23/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 36.

Light grey limestone, with red painted inscription.



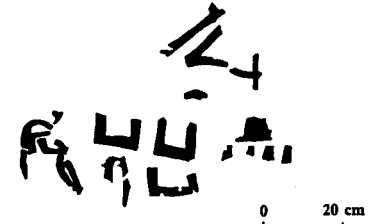
39 *Mwt nšwt Hnt-k3w.s*

"King's mother Khentkaus."

Excav. no. Gr-24/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 36.

Light grey limestone, with red painted inscription.



¹² *Königliche Dokumente*, 92.

¹³ *Les archives de Néferirkare* I, 5.

40 *Ir*

"*Ir*-group (of workmen)." ¹⁴

Excav. no. 25/A/80

Eastern face of the core of the pyramid, near the south-east corner.

Yellowish limestone, with red painted inscription.



0 20 cm

41 Unclear remains of a mark.

Excav. no. Gr-26/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 39.

Light grey limestone, with red painted inscription.



0 10 cm

42 *Ir*

"*Ir*-group (of workmen)."

Excav. no. Gr-27/A/80

Eastern face of the core of the pyramid, southern half.

Light grey limestone, with red painted inscription.



0 20 cm

43 *Ir*

"*Ir*-group (of workmen)."

Excav. no. Gr-28/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 41.

Yellow greyish limestone, with black stains.



0 30 cm

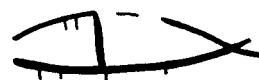
44 *Ir*

"*Ir*-group (of workmen)."

Excav. no. Gr-29/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 41.

Grey limestone, with red painted inscription.



0 30 cm

45 *Ir*

"*Ir*-group (of workmen)."

Excav. no. Gr-30/A/80

Eastern face of the pyramid's core, northern half.

Grey limestone, with red painted inscription.



0 20 cm

46 *Ir*

"*Ir*-group (of workmen)."

Excav. no. Gr-31/A/80

Eastern face of the pyramid's core, near the north-east corner.

Grey limestone, with inscription in red paint.



0 20 cm

¹⁴ Borchardt, *Sahure I*, 92: M 66 took the sign *ir* for the mark of the quarries of Tura. However, the mark occurs in the pyramid complex of Khentkaus on blocks of local (i.e. inferior quality) limestone. It is therefore more probable that *ir* represented the name of a group of workmen. For instance, in the mastaba of Ptahshepses (this Abusir monument was built approximately at the same time as the enlargement of the pyramid complex of Khentkaus) *ir* is safely attested as the name of a division or group of workmen of the *w3dt*-Phyle, see Verner, *Baugraffiti*, 171.

47 Bity

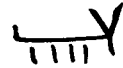
"... Lower Egypt (?) ..."

Excav. no. Gr-32/A/80

Position is the same as for no. 45.

Dark grey limestone, with red painted inscription.

The meaning of the graffito is uncertain. It could represent part of a title, or the name of a group of workmen (i.e. "Lower Egyptian group of workmen"), etc.



0 20 cm

II.1 Conclusions

Although the set of masons' marks and inscriptions is not numerous, it enables us to draw some interesting historical and archaeological conclusions which partially corroborate and partly complement those already stated, at the end of the Chapter 1.

1. It is obvious that, at the very beginning of the construction, the pyramid complex was planned for the King's wife Khentkaus. However, the building work seems to have been interrupted at the moment (of Neferirkare's death ?) when the masonry of the pyramid's core reached approximately the level of the ceiling of the burial chamber. The work was resumed — probably after a rather long interval — and the pyramid complex was completed for Khentkaus II, whose status had, in the meantime, changed. This is revealed by the masons' inscriptions, where the title of the King's wife, *hmt nswt*, was replaced by that of the King's mother, *mwt nswt*. The former title occurs exclusively on blocks from the lower portion of the pyramid's core. One of the above-mentioned graffiti is absolutely unique and expressive, namely no. 13 in which the Queen's original title of *hmt nswt* was additionally corrected by adding the new title of *mwt nswt*.

2. Though sporadic, there is evidence that the workmen at the site were organized in the same way as in the contemporaneous building projects of the pyramid complexes of kings, i.e. in phyles, sections of phyles, etc. The aforesaid evidence (no. 10) pertains to the phyle *s3 wr*. The phyle at that time made up part of a larger work organization (*prw*), which was very probably still functioning, and was responsible for the building sites relating to the royal tombs. The construction work included that carried out on the pyramid complex of Neferirkare, Raneferef, and Nyuserre. In the smallest units of this system, the groups of workmen, those of *ir*, *dd* and *nfr* seem to have been employed in the construction of Khentkaus' pyramid complex.

3. The circle containing two crossed bars is undoubtedly the most frequently attested quarry or control mark in the Khentkaus pyramid complex. The

mark frequently occurs on the buildings from the time of Nyuserre. The occurrence of the mark on the blocks dating from the time of Nyuserre's expansion of the Khentkaus's pyramid complex (PYR II and LST I and II) is therefore not surprising.

4. On the exposed eastern face of the pyramid's core remains of the so-called levelling lines ("Nivellationslinien") and construction marks were found. For instance, in the middle of the lowest step of the eastern face of the core a short vertical line in black colour was marked. The line lies precisely on the east-west axis of the pyramid, and undoubtedly served for the setting of the long axis of the original mortuary temple in limestone (LST I). Also interesting was the discovery of the horizontal line on the eastern and northern faces of the north-east corner block of the pyramid's foundation platform. The line, later superimposed by a graffito with the Queen's name and titles (no. 13), was drawn ca. 1 cubit above the level of the sand bed upon which the pyramid's platform rested. The line undoubtedly represented the starting point for further levelling needed for the construction of the pyramid.

III. RELIEFS

III.1. Reliefs in Position

From the original relief decoration of the mortuary temple of the Royal Mother Khentkaus at Abusir only an insignificant fragment remained in position. It comes from a scene of offering bearers and lies in the extant portion of the southern wall of a room which may have originally been the offering hall (see p. 155 and figs. 73 and 74). From the scene only a small portion of the lowest register (with the feet of striding men bringing offerings) has survived to date. Though historically insignificant, this fragmentary scene contains one important feature namely, the lowest level where all the wall relief decoration once lay. That level was 137 cm above the floor of the room.

PILLARS

The pyramid complex of Khentkaus originally included pillars in three places.¹ The earliest pillars in the complex adorned the courtyard of the first building stage of the mortuary temple (LST I). In the second building stage (LST II) a pair of pillars was added to support the roof of the new entrance to the temple. Finally, another pair of pillars (unfortunately, only imprints of these pillars in their limestone bases have remained) was erected at the entrance to the enlarged temple in the third building stage (MBT I). All preserved pillars were limestone monoliths inscribed with the name and titulary of the queen.

Pillar in situ (courtyard; see fig. 57) (p. 80, pl. 11)

Limestone

60 x 70 cm; *h* = 182 cm

This pillar — the only one standing in position in the

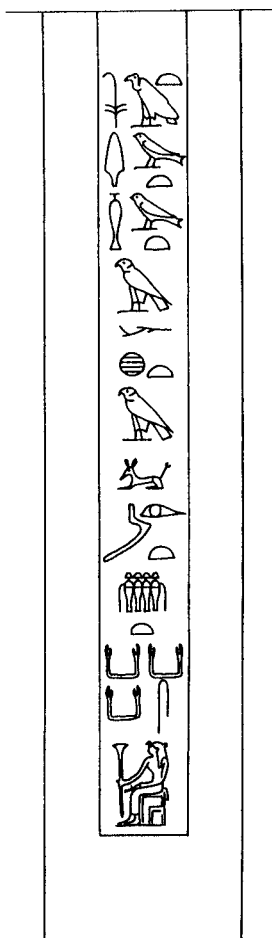


Fig. 57 Reconstruction of the inscriptions on the pillar in situ.

¹ Further discussion on the concept of the pillared courtyard and the pillared porticos, see below p. 151 ff.

courtyard — belongs to the northern portion of the western row of pillars which originally supported the roof of a cloister. The pillar, its upper portion having eroded away, is painted red, and its eastern (i.e. the courtyard facing) side, bears the remains of a column of hieroglyphic inscription in sunk relief:

.. *m3ꜣt Hr Sth, Hnt-k3w.s*.

".. She who sees Horus and Seth,² Khentkaus."

At the end of the inscription the figure of a Queen seated on the throne is represented. She wears a long, tightly fitting robe and holds in her left hand an *ꜥnh*-symbol, and in her right hand a *w3ꜥ*-sceptre³. The Queen, facing left, wears a long wig. Surprisingly, her forehead is adorned with an uraeus!⁴ The occurrence of the uraeus — the earliest evidence of a representation of an ancient Egyptian Queen wearing this royal symbol par excellence — ranks as one of the most important historic finds made in the pyramid complex of Khentkaus at Abusir.

Pillar (courtyard)

(p. 80, pl. 11)

Limestone

60 x 70 cm; *h* = 185 cm

A fallen pillar found in the debris c. 3 m to the south of the above-mentioned pillar still in position. Originally, the pillar undoubtedly also stood in the western row. It is painted red, and its face bears a column of hieroglyphic inscription in sunk relief containing remains of the titulary and name of Khentkaus:

... *hꜣyt Hr, m3ꜣt Hr Sth, Hnt-k3w.s*.

".. She who follows Horus, She who sees Horus and Seth, Khentkaus."

The inscription is again followed by a figure of the Queen seated on the throne. She wears a tightly fitting robe, her right hand is laid on her lap and in her left hand she holds a *w3ꜥ*-sceptre⁵. The Queen, facing right, wears a long wig and a vulture headdress.⁶

2 Callender, *Wives of the Egyptian Kings*, vol. 1, 27 ff. (with reference to Kuchman Sabbachy, *Titulary*, 23), assumes that the interpretation of this title in the sense of "She who oversees Horus and Seth" (i.e. the 'watching over' rather than the 'viewing') may perhaps be closer to the original meaning of the title.

3 The *w3ꜥ*-sceptre was a symbol of the queen's status. For the origins of this symbol and its close link to Memphis and the cult of Hathor, see Sethe, in: *ZÄS* 64, 1929, 6–9. See also Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, 196 ff. It appears that the earliest representation of a queen, seated on a box chair, wearing a vulture headdress and carrying a *w3ꜥ*-sceptre in her hand comes from the 'Galarza-tomb' and pertains to Khamerernebt I, see Kamal, in: *ASAE* 10, 1910, 119.

4 This is the hitherto earliest known evidence of an uraeus worn by a queen. It shows that the uraeus, a symbol of the divine and royal status par excellence, was no longer reserved exclusively for deities and kings — after the mid 5th Dynasty at least. It is also possible that it could have been used for queens in much earlier times than hitherto generally believed (e.g. Graefe, however, in: *LA* VI, s.v. *Uraeus*, 866, claims that this symbol started to be used for queens as late as from the Middle Kingdom onwards). Moreover, aside from Khentkaus at Abusir, the uraeus is also attested during the Old Kingdom for Ankhnesmeryre II, the wife of Pepi I. The latter queen was represented with an uraeus in a rock inscription in Wadi Maghara (Ankhnesmeryre II wears a close-fitting cap with uraeus, holds an *ꜥnh*-sign and smells a lotus flower, see Gardiner et al., *Sinai Inscriptions* I, pl. 9), and also is present on a fragment of a limestone slab from Abydos (the queen is seated, wears a close-fitting cap with uraeus and smells a lotus flower, see Petrie, *Abydos* II, pl. 20), and, possibly, on a statue in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, attributed to Ankhnesmeryre (a small hole on the queen's forehead shows that either a vulture head-dress or an uraeus was originally fixed here, see James, *Hierogl. Inscr. Brooklyn*, pls. IV and XXV [B 13.119]).

The meaning of Khentkaus' representation with an uraeus is not as simple as it might seem at first sight. On the other pillar, fallen to the south of the pillar *in situ*, there is a relief of Khentkaus with the vulture headdress. In this relief, she is carrying a *w3ꜥ*-sceptre in her hand. Both figures on the two neighbouring pillars would appear to have originally faced each other. Clearly then, the

differing regalia worn by the queen on these two pillars must have had a symbolic and decorative meaning. A parallel to this decorative symbolism can be seen elsewhere (e.g. in the neighbouring Abusir pyramid temples of Sahure or Nyuserre where the columns in the northern half of the open courtyard were under the protection of the cobra-goddess Wadjet, the Lady of Lower Egypt, whereas those in the southern half bore the name of Nekhbet, the Lady of Upper Egypt — see Borchardt, *Sahure* I, 45 and id., *Neuserre*, 68). We can therefore assume that the northern pillar in the courtyard of Khentkaus' temple was symbolically placed under the protection of Wadjet whereas the southern one was under the protection of Nekhbet.

If this interpretation is correct, then we should consider two other aspects. Firstly, from the architectural viewpoint, the two pillars could have hardly have made part of a row of pillars running from the north to the south along the western side of the open courtyard. To have had a row of four or five pillars (even though there is space enough for four or, at maximum, five pillars in the western part of the courtyard) with alternating representations of the queen, symbolically linked to Wadjet and Nekhbet, would be unusual. It seems more probable to assume that the two above mentioned pillars formed a portico in the north-west part of the courtyard. However, the above assumption is rendered dubious by a small fragment of another pillar (222/A/78). The fragment was found in the courtyard and appears to bear the remains of Khentkaus' name. Did this "third" pillar form part of another portico (situated this time in the south-west area of the courtyard)?

Regardless of the symbolic decoration of the pillars, the fact remains that Khentkaus was once represented with a vulture headdress and once with the uraeus. Although this was very unusual for queens, on the semantic level the representation with the uraeus equals that of the vulture headdress as a symbol of the social status of the queen. Obviously, the uraeus had not only a religio-symbolic and decorative meaning but it also very probably reflected the extraordinarily high status of this particular queen. That the king also used both insignia on his headdress tempts one to consider the view that the use of the uraeus for Queen Khentkaus might also have been associated with the regal power of a king — but this will be further considered in the final chapter.

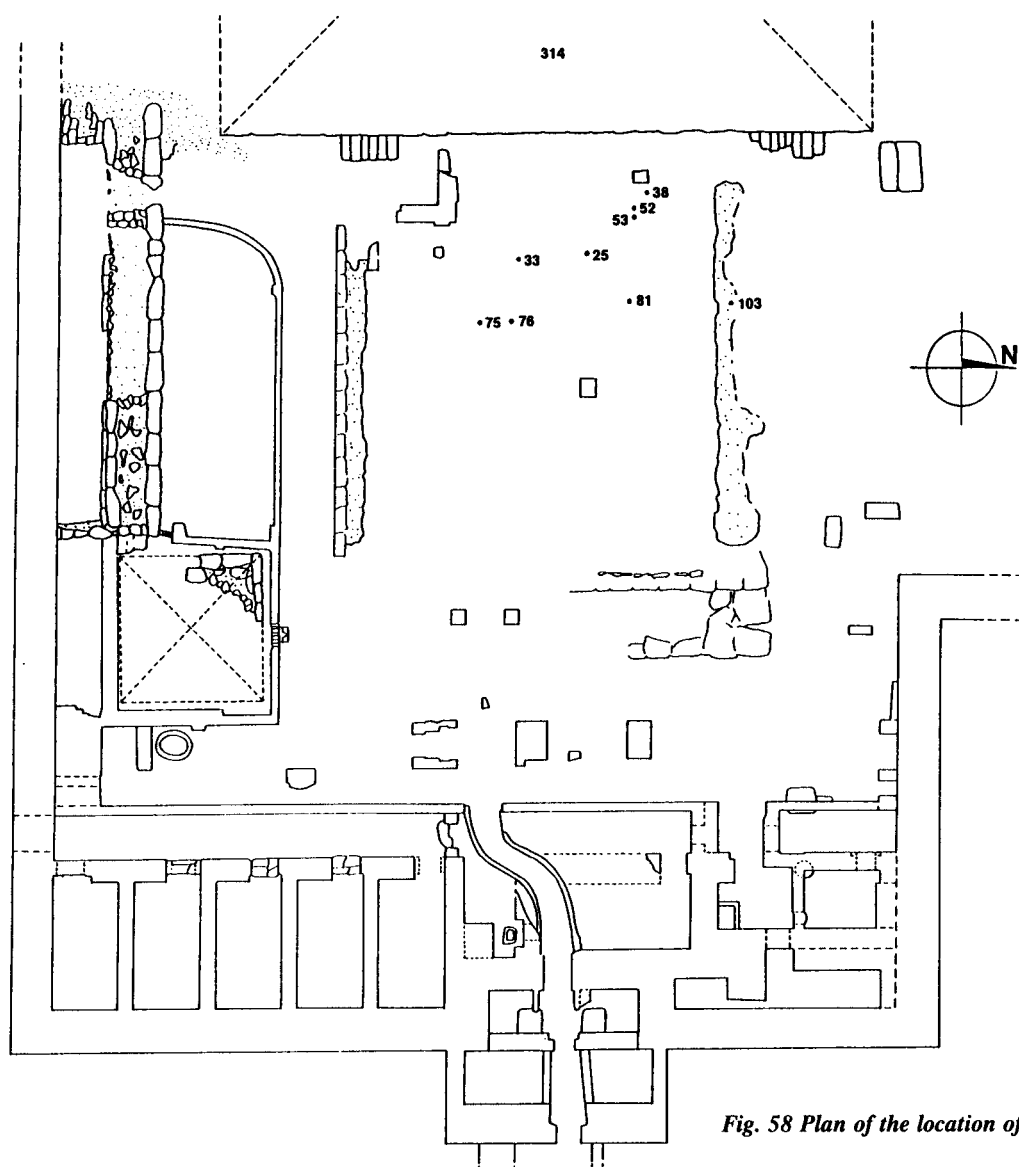


Fig. 58 Plan of the location of red granite fragments.

5 Apart from its original use as a symbol of power and authority for gods and kings originally, the *w3s*-sceptre seems to have been reserved for goddesses only where females were concerned. (See Hassan, *o.c.*, 196 and n. 2. See also Fischer, in: *JEA* 64, 1978, 161 and Kaplony, in: *LÄ* VI, s.v. Zepter, 1374.)

The representation of Khentkaus carrying in her hand a *w3s*-sceptre is probably the earliest evidence of a queen with this important status symbol (see also below p. 56 where a comment is made on the representation of Khentkaus with the *w3s*-sceptre on the papyri discovered in the queen's mortuary temple). The next known representation of the *w3s*-sceptre dates to the time of Pepi I following the name of Ankhnesmeryre II, see James, *Hierogl. Inscr. Brooklyn*, pl. 68.

6 Probably, the earliest evidence of a queen wearing a vulture headdress known so far, dates from the time of Khephren. (See Hölscher, *Chephren*, 102 f., figs. 140–144.) Callender (*o.c.* vol. 3, 75 f.) suggests that the queen represented Khephren's mother, rather than his wife, since she claims that the vulture headdress during the Old Kingdom is seen in the representations of mothers, but not consorts of kings.

Pillar in situ (portico P1) (p. 80)

Limestone

52 x 52 cm; *h* = 98 cm

Northernmost pillar of a pair which originally supported the roof of the entrance (portico) to the courtyard. The upper portion of the pillar has broken away. The pillar is painted red and its eastern face carries the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription in sunk relief containing the name of the queen:

... *Hnt-k3w.s.*

"... Khentkaus."

Also on this pillar the inscription is followed by the representation of the Queen seated on a throne. She wears a long tightly fitting robe. In her left hand she holds an *nh*-symbol, and in her right hand a *w3d*-sceptre. The Queen, facing left, wears a long wig and a vulture headdress.

Pillar in situ (portico P1) (p. 80)

Limestone

52 x 52 cm; h = 93 cm

Southern pillar of a pair of pillars in the entrance to the courtyard. It is an almost precise copy of the northern portico pillar described above, except for the orientation of the inscription. Both the inscription and the figure of the Queen face right.

III.2. Fragments of Reliefs

PILLAR

222/A/78 (p. 80)

Limestone

10.7 x 12 cm

A fragment with remains of the hieroglyphic sign *k3* in sunk relief. Next to the sign a portion of a vertical line (the border line of a column of inscription) was preserved. The fragment very probably comes from a pillar from the courtyard. The partly preserved hieroglyphic sign may have originally belonged to the name of the Queen.

FALSE DOOR

The red granite false door ⁷ of Khentkaus, no doubt originally embedded in the western wall of the offering hall (see below p. 158), now consists of only a few fragments. The fragments (fig. 58) enable us to reconstruct the probable original shape and dimensions of the false door as well as some of the inscriptions that once might have been on the false door (see fig. 59).

25/A/78-a (p. 81, pl. 12)

Red granite

32 x 10 cm

A fragment, coming probably from the left side of a false door, bearing the remains of the Queen's name in sunken relief:

[*Hnt*]-*k3*[*w*].*s*.

"Khentkaus"

The fragment fits together with 33/A/78.

25/A/78-b (p. 81, pl. 12)

Red granite

25 x 15 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, facing left, in sunken relief:

... *m33t* [*Hr*] *Sth*, *wr*[*t htš*] ...

".. One who sees Horus and Seth,⁸ Great one of the *htš*-sceptre⁹.."

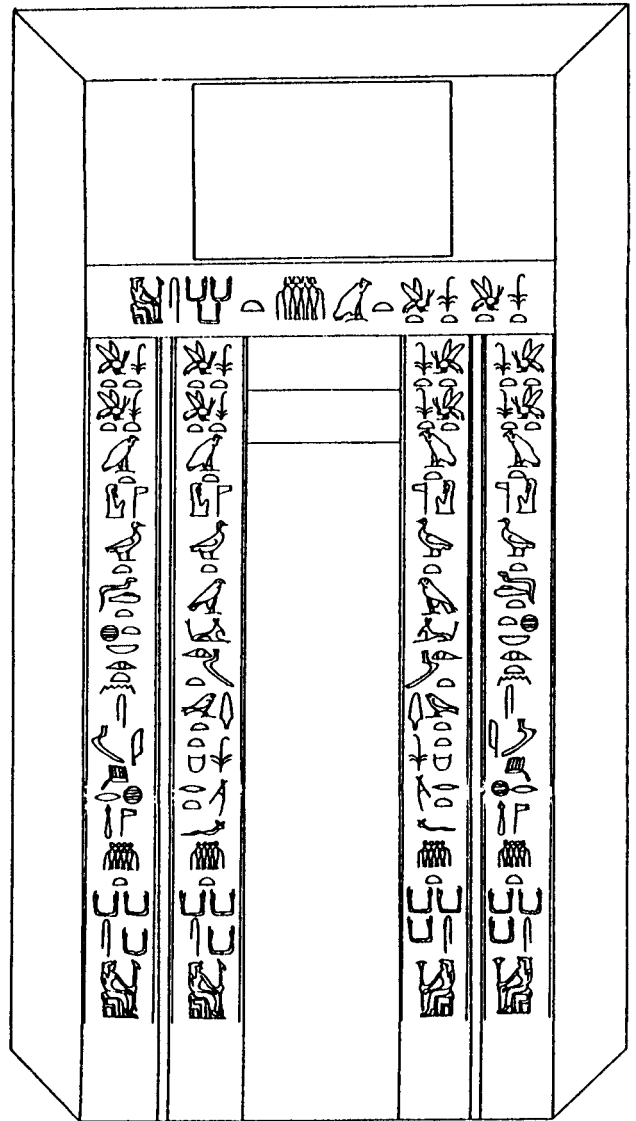


Fig. 59 a Khentkaus II

⁷ Remains of false doors were also discovered in several other Old Kingdom pyramid complexes of queens. The Royal Mother Khentkaus had in the chapel of her stepped tomb in Giza fragments of two false doors of red granite, one decorated with the royal palace facade pattern, the other bearing her name, titles and the panel with the offering table scene and the list of offerings (Hassan, *Giza IV*, 24 and pl. 8). A fragment of the lower portion of the false door of limestone, originally inscribed with the name and titles of the queen, was found *in situ* in the offering hall of Teti's wife Iput I (personal information kindly offered by Zahi Hawas). Of the limestone false door of Udjebten in the queen's pyramid complex in South Saqqara only a small fragment has survived to date (Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 13 and fig. 6).

⁸ *M33t Hr Sth* is one of the principal titles of a king's consort (Callender *o.c.* vol. 1, 27 ff.).

⁹ Callender (*o.c.* vol. 1, 29 ff.), who suggests that the precise connection of the *htš*-sceptre with the queen herself has as yet not been established, claims that the title may refer to some rites involving the king (e.g. the consecration of ritual buildings) in which the sceptre was used. For Troy (*Patterns of Queenship*, 79 ff.), the *htš*-sceptre has a ritual association with the carrying-chair. It is an attribute of the king as the Two Lords and as the Two Ladies.

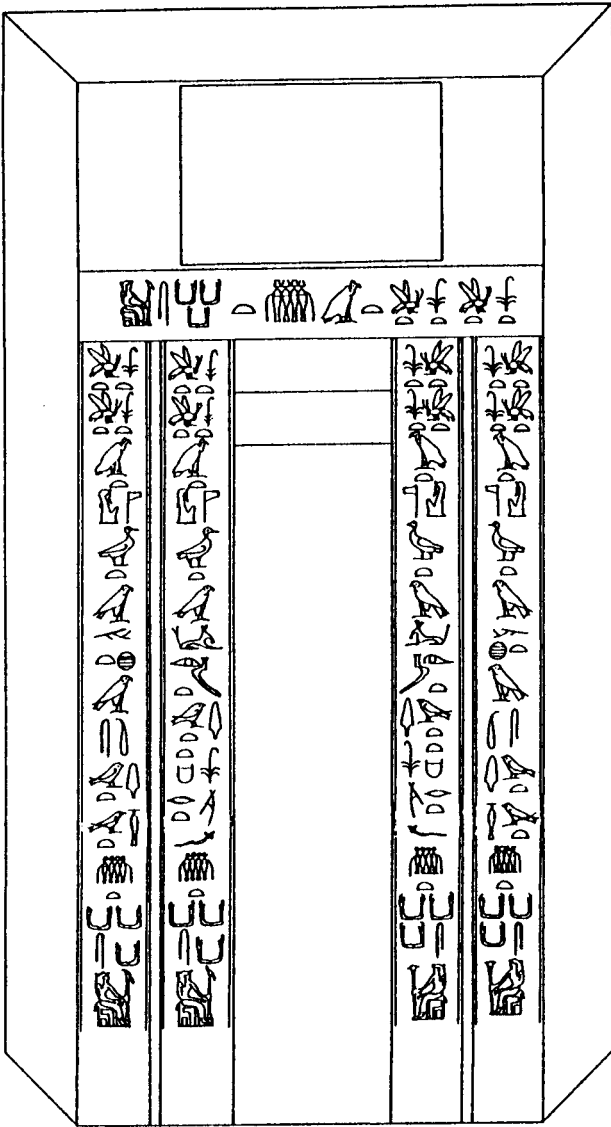


Fig. 59 b Khentkaus I and Khentkaus II.
Hypothetical reconstruction of the original appearance of the False Door. These reconstructions are based on conclusions reached in discussion with Vivienne G. Callender. Needless to say, there are numerous other possibilities for reconstructions of the door that can be made from these extremely fragmentary remains.

One outer face of the fragment was inclined at an angle of 110°. This fragment fits together with 25/A/78-c.

25/A/78-c (p. 81, pl. 12)

Red granite

25 x 17 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, facing left, in sunken relief:

... *s3t [ntr, m33t] Hr* ...

".. Daughter of the God,¹⁰ One who sees Horus ..."

One face of the fragment was inclined at an angle of 110°. The fragment fits next to 25/A/78-b.

33/A/78 (p. 81, pl. 13)

Red granite

32 x 13 cm

A fragment with the remains of the Queen's name, facing right, in sunken relief:

... [*Hn*]/*t-k3w.s*.

".. Khentkaus."

One outer face of the fragment was inclined at an angle of 110°.

The fragment fits together with 25/A/78-a.

38/A/78 (p. 81, pl. 13)

Red granite

17 x 13 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, facing right, in sunken relief:

mwt [nswt bity nswt bity], [s3t] ntr ...

"Mother [of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt (who has the power of) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt] (?) ¹¹, Daughter of the God ..."

The fragment fits with 314/A/78.

52/A/78 (p. 81)

Red granite

12 x 4 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of an inscription, facing right, in sunken relief:

... *m33[t]* ..., *wr[t] h3s*, ...

".. One who sees ..., Great one of the *h3s*-sceptre, ..."

53/A/78 (p. 81, pl. 13)

Red granite

5 x 6 cm

A fragment with a portion of the hieroglyphic sign *bity*, facing left, in sunken relief. The sign may have belonged to the queen's title *mwt nswt bity* ... The fragment fits in with 103/A/78.

10 Helck, in: *SAK* 4, 1976, 130 saw in *s3t ntr* an indication of the non-royal origin of any queen who bore the title; she was one who "was not born to the purple". For Goedicke (in: *SAK* 15, 1988, 112 f.), the title of *s3t ntr* indicated that the queen was a posthumous daughter of the king. The most satisfactory explanation of the title *s3t ntr* has been suggested by Callender (in *SAK* 18, 1991, 89–110, and id., *Wives of the Egyptian Kings*, vol. 1, 61 f.). Callender has concluded that the title was used when the legitimacy of the inheritance of the queen's son was in doubt, when "for one reason or another, some impediment blocked the normal progression of patrilinear inheritance ... and the queen thus became the spiritual daughter of the god because she continued his father's line, even as a daughter would do."

11 For detailed discussion on the title see below on p. 173 ff.

75/A/78 (p. 81, pl. 13)

Red granite

18 x 16 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, facing left, in sunken relief:

... [mrt].f, Hnt-[k3w.s].

".. his beloved one, Khentkaus."

76/A/78 (p. 81, pl. 14)

Red granite

22 x 17 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, facing right, in sunken relief:

... [hmt] nšwt, mr[t].f ...

".. King's wife, his beloved one, ..."

81/A/78 (p. 81, pl. 14)

Red granite

20 x 8.5 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of the queen's name, facing left, in sunken relief:

... Hnt-k3[w.s].

".. Khentkaus."

103/A/78 (p. 81, pl. 14)

Red granite

10 x 5 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, facing left, in sunken relief:

[Mwt nšwt] bity [nšwt] bity ...

"[Mother of the King of Upper] and Lower Egypt [(who has the power of) the King of Upper] and Lower Egypt (?), ..."

The fragment fits together with 53/A/78.

314/A/78 (p. 81, pl. 14)

Red granite

43 x 40 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, facing right, in sunken relief:

... Mwt nšwt bity nšwt bity, ...

".. Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (who has the power of) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (?), ..."

One outer face of the fragment was inclined at an angle of 120°, the other was vertical. The fragment fits together with 38/A/78.

THE GATE

The place where the fragments of the gate ¹² were found (fig. 60) indicates that the latter was constructed approximately in the middle of the mortuary temple, in the "crossroads" of the boundary

between the limestone and mudbrick portions of the temple (see above p. 30). From these "crossroads" access could be had to the intimate part of the temple, to the magazines and to the main entrance to the temple, the cult pyramid and, finally, to the dwelling of the priests. The brownish quartzite gate (fig. 61) was originally embedded in the mudbrick masonry of the corridor of which only scanty remains and traces in the floor remained.

183/A/78 (p. 82)

Brownish quartzite

19 x 10.5 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a single hieroglyphic sign, s, in sunken relief. The fragment probably fits together with no. 270/A/78.

184/A/78 (p. 82, pl. 15)

Brownish quartzite

15 x 6 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of an inscription, facing right, in sunken relief:

... wrt hts (?) ...

".. Great one of a hts-sceptre ..."

The inscription makes up part of a titulary of the queen.

188/A/78 (p. 82, pl. 15)

Brownish quartzite

7 x 18 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, facing right, in sunk relief:

... [Hn]t-k3[w.s].

".. Khentkaus."

The inscription contains part of the name of the queen.

12 Gates, or remains of gates, were also found in other Old Kingdom pyramid complexes of queens. Red granite gate bearing the name and titulary of the queen, embedded originally in the mudbrick enclosure wall, decorated the entrance to the chapel in the south-east corner of the stepped tomb of Khentkaus in Giza (Hassan, *Giza* IV, 16 f. and fig. 2 and pls. 5, 6). A red granite gate, embedded in the mudbrick enclosure wall and bearing the titles and name of the queen, gave also access to the pyramid complex of Iput II, the wife of Pepi II (Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, 42 and fig. 22). In the pyramid complex of Udjebten, another wife of Pepi II, remains of three gates inscribed with the titulary and name of the queen were found: the greyish sandstone (quartzite ?) gate in the enclosure wall, the red granite gate of the funerary chapel and the limestone gate in the vestibule (Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 9, and fig. 3 and pl. 13). Recently, remains of a limestone gate of Nubunet, a wife of Pepi I, were discovered in the small pyramid complex of the queen in South Saqqara, see Leclant, in: *CRAIBL* 1990 (avril – juin), 516–520.

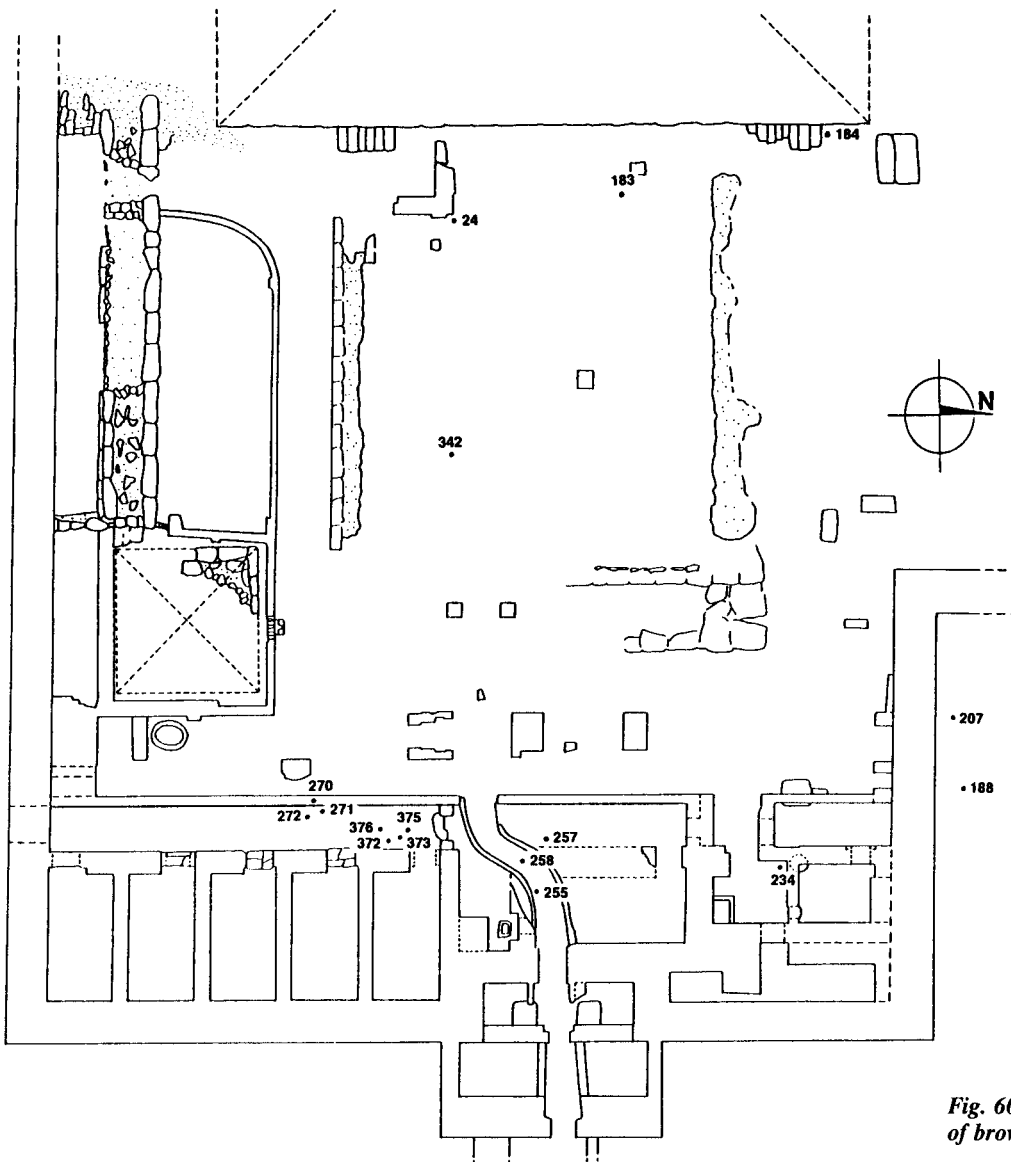


Fig. 60 Plan of the location of brownish quartzite fragments.

207/A/78 (fits with 24/A/80) (p. 82, pl. 15)

Brownish quartzite

21 x 26 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a column of hieroglyphic inscription, facing left, in sunk relief:

Mwt [nšwt bity nšwt bity, s3t] ntr ...

"Mother of a King [of Upper and Lower Egypt (who has the power of) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (?), Daughter] of the God,..."

The inscription made part of the titulary of the queen.

234/A/78 (p. 82)

Brownish quartzite

13 x 14.5 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription with the queen's name in sunken relief:

... [Hnt]-k3w.s.

".. Khentkaus."

The fragment very probably fits together with no. 375/A/78. A tiny trace of sunk relief near the left edge of the fragment may have originally belonged to the upper portion of a sceptre held by the queen, whose seated figure was placed at the end of the inscription.

255/A/78 (p. 82, pl. 15)

Brownish quartzite

9 x 14 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, facing right, in sunk relief:

[Mwt nšwt] bity [nšwt bity]...

"[Mother of the King of Upper and] Lower Egypt [(who has the power of) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt](?)"

The inscription makes up part of the titulary of the queen.

The fragment probably joins up with no. 376/A/78.

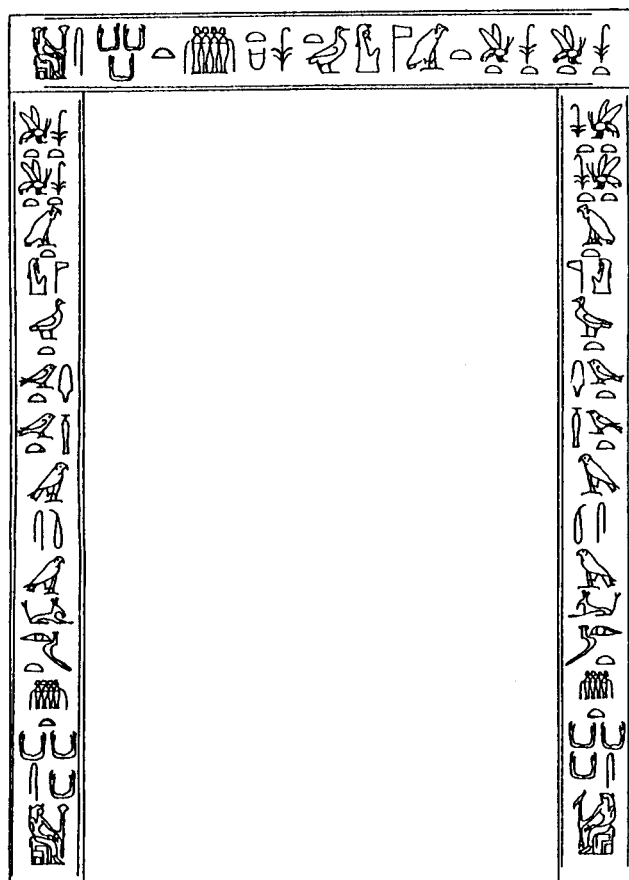


Fig. 61 Reconstruction of the brownish quartzite gate.

[(who has the power of) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt](?)"

The inscription, facing right, comes from the left door jamb. Originally, it probably made up part of a title of the queen.

270/A/78 (p. 82)

Brownish quartzite

13 x 19 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of hieroglyphic signs *t* and *Hnt*, in sunk relief. The signs made part of the title and the name of the queen.

271/A/78 (p. 82)

Brownish quartzite

35 x 15 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic sign *Hr*. The sign made part of a title of the queen.

272/A/78 (p. 82, pl. 16)

Brownish quartzite

35 x 15 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic sign, facing right, in sunk relief:

Mwt [nšwt bity nšwt bity]...

"Mother [of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt (who has the power of) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt](?)"

The sign made part of the title of the queen.

342/A/78 (p. 82, pl. 16)

Brownish quartzite

27 x 15 cm

A fragment, joining with the no. 188/A/78, bearing a portion of the hieroglyphic sign *s* in sunk relief. The sign very likely made up part of the queen's name.

257/A/78 (p. 82, pl. 15)

Brownish quartzite

11.5 x 22 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, facing right, in sunk relief:

... tist Hr ...

".. *tist*-sceptre of Horus ¹³ ..."

The inscription made part of the titulary of the queen.

258/A/78 (p. 82, pl. 15)

Brownish quartzite

17.5 x 18 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a vertical hieroglyphic inscription in sunk relief:

[Mwt] nšwt bity [nšwt bity]...

"[Mother of the] King of Upper and Lower Egypt

372/A/78 (p. 82, pl. 16)

Brownish quartzite

14 x 21 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a horizontal hieroglyphic inscription, facing right, in sunk relief:

... Mwt [nšwt bity nšwt bity, s3t]-ntr ...

".. Mother [of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (who has the power of) a King of Upper and Lower Egypt (?), Daughter] of the God ..."

¹³ The meaning of the title is not quite clear. Gauthier, in: *ASAE* 24, 1924, 207, related the title to the verb *tis* "to sit down", "to sit" and saw in it an allusion to the queen's privilege "to sit, to be enthroned beside the king". Callender (*o.c.* vol. 1, 74 f.) inclines to Gauthier's interpretation and translates the title *tist Hr* as "She who sits with Horus".

The fragment, containing the remains of the titulary of the queen, and coming very probably from the lintel of a gate, should perhaps be joined to no. 255/A/78.

373/A/78 (p. 83, pl. 16)

Brownish quartzite

25.5 x 21.5 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of the hieroglyphic sign *ntr*, facing right, in sunk relief. The fragment may very probably have once joined up with no. 372/A/78.

375/A/78 (p. 83)

Brownish quartzite

8 x 11 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of the hieroglyphic sign *k3* in sunk relief. The sign very probably made up part of the queen's name "Khentkaus".

376/A/78 (p. 83)

Brownish quartzite

20 x 22 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a horizontal hieroglyphic inscription in sunk relief:

[*Mwt*] *nswt* [*bity nswt bity*]...

"[Mother of the] King of Upper [and Lower] Egypt [(who has the power of) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt] (?)"

The inscription, very probably coming from the lintel of a gate, contained part of the titulary of the queen.

24/A/80 (p. 83, pl. 15)

Brownish quartzite

14 x 17 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, facing left, in sunk relief:

... *s3t ntr* ...

".. Daughter of the God ..."

The inscription made up part of a titulary of the queen. This fragment may have fitted with no. 207/A/80.

KING, QUEEN, ROYAL FAMILY

The fragments (fig. 62) probably come from the scene representing the King Nyuserre bringing an offering to the Royal Mother Khentkaus. Unfortunately, the scanty remains of the relief decoration which were found in the few hitherto excavated Old Kingdom pyramid complexes of queens do not provide any parallel ¹⁴ to the scene. It is therefore difficult to consider to what extent the scene was unique, or to wonder whether it was a standard component of the "Bildprogramm" of the pyramid complexes of the queens in the Old Kingdom.

23/A/78 (p. 83)

Limestone

11 x 9.5 cm

Remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, possibly of the titulary of the queen:

... *nh* ...

... [*mr ?*]/*t.f* ...

".. ? .."

".. his beloved (?) ..."

36/A/78 (p. 83, pl. 17)

Limestone

53 x 25 cm

A fragment with remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, looking right, in four columns. The inscription contains a portion of the titulary and the name of the Queen Khentkaus:

... *hm[t]-ntr Dhwtj*, [*hmt-ntr*] *B3pfi* ...

... *htyt Hr*, *hrp ššmt im3t* ...

... *ddt ht nbt irt[.n].š*, i... (?) ...

... *mrt [nt] ntr-^c3*, *Hnt-[k3w.š]*.

".. the priestess of Thoth,¹⁵ the priestess of Bapfi ¹⁶ ..."

".. She who follows Horus,¹⁷ the controller of the butchers of *im3t* ¹⁸, ..."

".. One for whom all that she says is done ¹⁹..."

".. beloved of the Great God,²⁰ Khentkaus."

Originally, the inscription undoubtedly accompanied a representation of the queen, possibly on the wall of the offering hall.

109/A/78 (p. 83, pl. 17)

Limestone

22 x 12 cm

A fragment of the breast and beard of a King

14 In the recently excavated and as yet unpublished mortuary temple of Iput I, the wife of Teti, a fragment of a scene representing the king Pepi I bringing an offering (to the royal mother ?) has been found (preliminary information, courtesy of Zahi Hawas).

15 Callender (*o.c.* vol. 1, 70), suggests that the title may have reflected some ritual link between the god Thoth and the queen with regard to the king's burial rites.

16 The title of *hmt ntr B3pfi* stressed the role of the queen in the cults of fertility, so closely linked with the King, and his ancestors.

17 This title of the King's consort may have identified the queen with the goddess Hathor as companion to Horus, (i.e. the King) see Callender, *o.c.* vol. 1, 78 f.

18 The interpretation of the title is not unambiguous, see Edel, *Akazienhaus*, passim, and Fischer, in: *Orientalia*, 29, 1960, 185–190. See also Callender, *o.c.* vol. 1, 89–92. Probably, the title connected the queen with the overseeing of the slaughter of animals involved in the funeral rites.

19 Callender (*o.c.* vol. 1, 86–89), suggests that the title expressed the queen's privilege of having her commands obeyed. The title was carried mostly by the royal mothers.

20 i.e. of the king

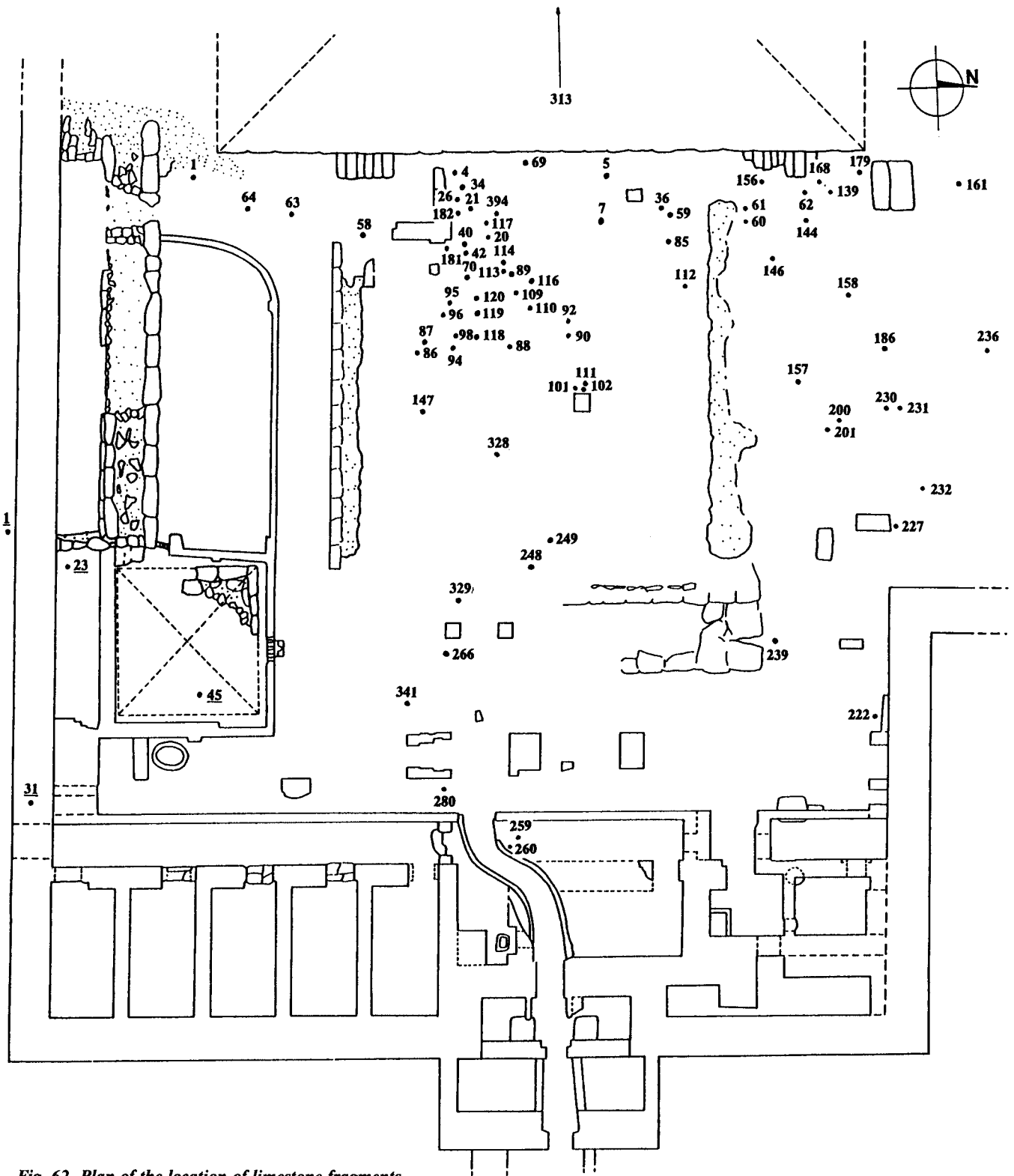


Fig. 62 Plan of the location of limestone fragments.

represented as a Sphinx ²¹. From a hieroglyphic inscription in front of the King only the sign *nfr* (probably of *ntr nfr*) following the King's name in a cartouche, remained. Over the relief traces of a red painted net (6 x 6 cm) are visible.

21 For the representations and meaning of the sphinx in the Old Kingdom, see Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx*, 24–37. The representations of the king as a sphinx are attested also in the relief decoration of the royal pyramid complexes at Abusir, see e.g. Borchardt, *Sahure I*, 8 and fig. 4; id. *Neuserre*, 47–49, figs 29–31, pls. 8–12.

111/A/78 (p. 83, pl. 17)

Limestone

25 x 7 cm

Remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, facing left, in two columns containing a portion of the titulary of the queen:

... [*hmt-ntr T3*]-*sp.f* *šmr[t Hr]* (?) ...".. priestess of Tjaspef ²²..."

".. beloved one ..."

117/A/78 (p. 83)

Limestone

24 x 19 cm

A fragment with a portion of a *sm3 t3wy* scene showing a Nile deity binding a papyrus plant around the sign *sm3*. The fragment probably comes from a representation of a royal throne. Was King Nyuserre (?) represented seated in front of the Royal Mother or, was she seated in front of him? ²³

186/A/78 (p. 83, pl. 17)

Limestone

18 x 24 cm

A fragment with a portion of the head and shoulders of two figures, a woman and a man. Both figures wear short wigs. In addition to that, the woman wears a necklace. Above the woman's head is a partly damaged hieroglyphic inscription:

[*S3t*]-*nšwt Rpw-t-nbty*."King's [daughter] Reputneby ²⁴."[*S3*]-*nšwt H[nty-k3w-Hr]* (?)."King's [son] Khenty[kauhor]²⁵"

The fragment possibly comes from a scene representing a procession of the members of a royal (Nyuserre's ?) family. The fragment fits with 230/A/78.

200/A/78 (p. 84, pl. 18)

Limestone

38 x 22 cm

Part of the head of the queen wearing a vulture headdress. Above the queen's head are remains of the principal title of Khentkaus:

Mwt nšwt bity [*nšwt bity*] ...

"Mother of a King of Upper and Lower Egypt [(who has the power of) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt] (?), ..."

Opposite the queen King Nyuserre was undoubtedly represented: his names and titles, originally above his head, were partially preserved beside the queen's title:

[*Hr St-ib*]-*t3wy*, [*nšwt bity*] *Ny-wsr-r*^c.

"[Horus Setib]tawy, [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt] Nyuserre."

The fragment ²⁶ comes from a scene of great importance. The scene, probably represented on the wall in the intimate part of the temple, pertains to the cult of the Royal Mother. The cult was obviously promulgated by the King Nyuserre.

201/A/78 (p. 84)

Limestone

28 x 16 cm

A fragment with the remains of two striding male figures. The men, whose arms hang loosely along the

²² The interpretation of *T3-sp.f*, the bull-god to which the title pertains, has been repeatedly discussed. Otto, *Stierkult*, 9, translates the name as "Der Männlichste seiner Art". Kaplony, in: *RdE* 22, 1970, 106-108, assumes that the *T3-sp.f* bull may have corresponded with the *Mrh*-bull, a greased offering bull. Helck, in: *LA VI*, s.v. Stiergott, 15 f., translates the name as "der Männlichste (?) seiner Tenne" and relates the bull-god to the Min festival and the white bull used for thrashing of corn. Callender (*o.c.* vol. 1, 67-70) stresses the relation of the queen's titles of *hmt ntr B3pfi* and *hmt ntr T3-sp.f* to the king's role in the fertility and ancestor cults. The cults of *B3pfi* and *T3-sp.f* may have been interchangeable. Like Hetepheres II and Khamererneby I, the Royal Mother Khentkaus held both the above mentioned titles.

²³ In the neighbouring mortuary temple of Nyuserre, the king was represented seated on the throne decorated with the *sm3 t3wy* scene — including the kneeling fat male figures, see Borchardt, *Neuserre*, pl. 16. In the mortuary temple of Sahure, the throne on which the king is seated bears only the representation of the monogram *sm3 t3wy*, not the kneeling or standing fat male figures. (See Borchardt, *Sahure II*, pl. 42.) For the representations of the *sm3 t3wy*-symbol, see Schäfer, in: *MDAIK* 12, 1943, 73-95; see also Kuhlmann, *Der Thron*, 50 ff.

²⁴ Judging by the context of the scene, the princess (Reputneby) represented on the fragment was probably a daughter of Nyuserre. Moreover, the princess' name, formed by means of the word *rpwt*, reminds one of the name of Queen Reputnebu, the wife of Nyuserre. The name of Reputneby (not the princess but "the King's acquaintance") is attested in mid Dyn. 5 on a fragment of a limestone lintel from the collection of Michailidis. (See Grdseloff, in: *ASAE* 42, 1943, 109 and fig. 16.) For the feminine names formed by means of *rpwt*, see Kaiser, in: *MDAIK* 39, 1983, 261-269.

²⁵ Princess Reputneby was followed by the Prince Khentkauhor whose name and title were partly preserved partly on fragment 186/A/78 and partly, including a portion of the prince's figure, on the fragment 230/A/78. The name *Hnty-k3w-Hr* is not available in Ranke's *PN*. However, the names formed by means of *k3w-Hr* must have been favoured in the time of Nyuserre and shortly afterwards, judging by the name of the king's immediate successor, Menkauhor, and the latter's son (?) Neserkauhor (for the prince Neserkauhor, see Verner, in: *ZÄS* 117, 1990, 72-74).

²⁶ See Verner, in: *ZÄS* 107, 1980, 160 and fig. 4.

body, wear short kilts. In front of the second figure a short inscription, facing left, reads:

S3.f Ir-n-R^c: Ndš.

"His son Irenre Junior."²⁷

Probably, a king was represented in front of the two striding men.

227/A/78 (p. 84, pl. 18)

Limestone

30 x 21 cm

A fragment with the remains of two scenes in two registers. In the upper register are the remains of tables heaped with offerings; in the lower one the remains of heads of two men, and of a hieroglyphic inscription facing left. The inscription reads:

Ip[3]ty-nšwt (?).

"One attached to the king's private apartment."²⁸

The fragment may come from a procession of either, officials of the court or, female members and male officials of the royal palace.

230/A/78 (fits with 186/A/78) (p. 84, pl. 19)

Limestone

28 x 16 cm

A fragment with the upper portions of two male figures. Above the first figure a hieroglyphic inscription reads:

[S3-nšwt ?] Hnty-k3w-Hr.

"[King's son] (?) Khentkauhor."

Above the second man only a fragment of his title (?) remained:

S3-[nšwt ?] ...

[King's] (?) son ...

The figures and the inscriptions face left.

239/A/78 (p. 84, pl. 17)

Limestone

9 x 8.5 cm

A fragment with the remains of a hand supporting the lower portion of a *serekh*. Out of the *serekh* a fragment of a hieroglyphic sign *w* can be read. The remains of the last sign of a king's name within the *serekh* is unreadable. The fragment comes from a representation of the personification of the king's *k3*.

248/A/78 (p. 84, pl. 19)

Limestone

13.5 x 13 cm

A fragment with remains of the queen's titulary:

[Mwt] nšwt bity nšwt bity ...

"[Mother] of a King of Upper and Lower Egypt (who has the power of) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (?), ..."

260/A/78 (p. 84, pl. 19)

Limestone

11 x 15 cm

A fragment with the remains of a figure (possibly an elbow of a standing female figure), a separating vertical line, and a hieroglyphic inscription facing left:

... mrt.[f ?] ... nbty.

"... [his?] beloved ... nebyty."

The name is damaged and its reconstruction is therefore uncertain. Theoretically, either the name of Reputneby (see no. 186/A/78) or Nebtyemneferes²⁹, whose tomb has been recently excavated at Abusir to the south-east of the pyramid complex of Khentkaus, could have been intended here.

²⁷ The attribute *ndš* "junior" may indicate some relationship between Prince Irenre who is represented on fragment 201/A/78 and Prince Irenre attested on a fragment of papyrus (46 A) from the archive of the mortuary temple of Neferirkare (Posener-Kriéger, *Archives de Néferirkare* I, 306-310). The latter's name is mentioned, next to that of the Royal Mother Khentkaus, in the temple archive of Neferirkare in connection with the supplies for the mortuary temple of Neferirkare:

"Ont été apportés de la maison

- de la Mère Royale *Hnt-k3w.s*: ...Pain *ht3* (?); Bière *hnk t*

- du Fils Royal *Irj-n-R^c*: lacune; lacune".

Posener-Kriéger (o.c. 309) assumes that Irenre was a member of the Khentkaus I family, of which Neferirkare was a younger son. She further expressed her impression that the Irenre mentioned in Neferirkare's temple archive was a dead prince, since "his house" was mentioned next to that of the Royal Mother, was a source of revenues for the funerary cult of Neferirkare. However, the occurrence of Irenre Junior in the company of the children of Nyuserre would suggest that the Irenre (Senior ?), mentioned in Neferirkare's temple archive, was a contemporary of Nyuserre's rather than Neferirkare's. This assumption pertains also to the Royal Mother Khentkaus who was mentioned in the papyrus next

to the prince Irenre. Was the Royal Mother Khentkaus of Giza or of Abusir meant here ? (See below p. 168 ff.)

²⁸ The translation of *ip(3)t* as "harim" is in dispute although there is, at least as early as the Middle Kingdom, some evidence that royal concubines (*hkrwt nšwt*) were secluded, see Fischer, *Egyptian Titles*, 77 (*1186). The translation of *ip(3)t* as "the king's private apartment" from the mortuary temple of Khentkaus seems to be more probable than "harim". In this case the title under discussion would mean "one attached (or belonging) to the king's private apartment" (kind personal communication of Fischer). Concerning the sign, representing a seated man holding a stick (?) over his shoulder, see Fischer, in: *MDAIK* 16, 1958, 135 f. In the available Old Kingdom inscriptions two titles related to *ip(3)t* seem to have been in use: *imy-r (n) ip(3)t nšwt* and *hry šš3 (n) ip(3)t nšwt*, Ward, *Feminine Titles*, 81 ff. For the titles of officials relating to the royal harim, see also Reiser, *Der königliche Harim*, passim.

²⁹ More precisely, the mastaba of Princess Nebtyemneferes lies directly to the east of the pyramid Lepsius no. XXIV. In the context of the horizontal stratigraphy of the site, the pyramid is preliminarily attributed to the wife (or one of the wives) of Nyuserre whose daughter Nebtyemneferes could have been. For the tomb of the princess Nebtyemneferes, see Verner, in: *ZÄS* 115, 1988, 167 f.

266/A/78 (p. 84)

Limestone

23 x 15 cm

A corner fragment with the remains of relief decoration on both sides. On one side is part of the queen's wig and name:

... *Hnt-k3[w.š]* ...

"... Khentkaus ..."

On the other side there are remains of a hieroglyphic inscription:

... *hṭp* ...

"... offering (?) ..." (*hṭp* may have also formed part of a personal name).

The corner is bordered on both sides by a strip of geometrical frieze.

328/A/78 (p. 84, pl. 19)

Limestone

13 x 4.4 cm

A fragment with the remains of a necklace, probably from a representation of the Queen. On the necklace are traces of green colouring.

341/A/78 (p. 84)

Limestone

7.5 x 17 cm

A fragment with the remains of the Queen's name [*Hnt-k3w.š* "Khentkaus" above a partly preserved head of the queen wearing a vulture headdress.

1/A/80 (p. 85)

Limestone

12 x 18 cm

A fragment with remains of a hieroglyphic inscription which reads:

... *nb ḥnw* ...

"... Lord of the living ones ..."

The epithet *nb ḥnw* used to form part of the royal titulary. Over the relief traces of a net painted red are visible.

31/A/80 (p. 85)

Limestone

10 x 11 cm

A fragment with the remains of the queen's head wearing a vulture headdress.

s.n. 10 (p. 85)

Limestone

12 x 15 cm

A fragment of a geometrical frieze from the upper portion of a wall. Under the frieze there are the remains of a man wearing a short wig and, in front of

the figure, on a much larger scale, a title of the Queen:

... *hmt nswt* ...

"... King's wife ..."

THE OFFERING RITUAL

The fragments below very probably made up part of the relief decoration of the north-south orientated offering hall, which was situated in the intimate portion of the Khentkaus's mortuary temple (fig. 63). Though too few in number they allow us to reconstruct a not insignificant portion of the offering hall's pattern of decoration. The table scene was completed by a list of offerings and by a shortened series of episodes (4 introductory and 3 closing) of the offering ritual.

5/A/78 (p. 85)

Limestone

78 x 57 cm

A block, probably from an upper left-hand corner of a wall, with the scene of an offering ritual³⁰. The scene, facing right, consists of four episodes:

1. A priest wearing a short kilt and a short wig, makes a libation. A vessel, from which he pours water onto something in front of him, is damaged. An incompletely preserved inscription above the priest can be read as:

Kbh.

"Making a libation."³¹

2. The ritual is being performed by a couple of priests wearing short kilts and short wigs. One priest kneels on the ground and holds an offering table, whilst the other one stands and pours water onto the table from an egg-shaped jar. The inscription above the priests can be read as:

S3t.

"Pouring water on an offering table."³²

3. A priest, wearing a short kilt and a short wig, holds in front of him a chalice with a high foot and obviously

30 The scene of the offering ritual from the mortuary temple of Khentkaus consists of the picture of the queen seated at an offering table, the list of offerings and a series of seven pictures representing four introductory and three closing scenes of the ritual. In other Old Kingdom pyramid complexes the offering ritual scene has survived to date only in small fragments. See e.g. Borchardt, *Neferirkare*, 30 and fig. 32; id. *Neuserre*, 83 and fig. 59; id. *Sahure II*, 68 and pl. 63; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls. 61 and 81.

31 The scene of a priest pouring water purified by natron into a vessel opens the ritual purification cycle. See Junker, *Giza III*, 104 (2); Lapp, *Opferformel*, 163 f.; a.o.

32 Very probably, the scene of *s3t (mw)* represented the washing of the offering table, and had an apotropaic meaning. For various interpretations of the scene, see Lapp, *o.c.* 167 f.

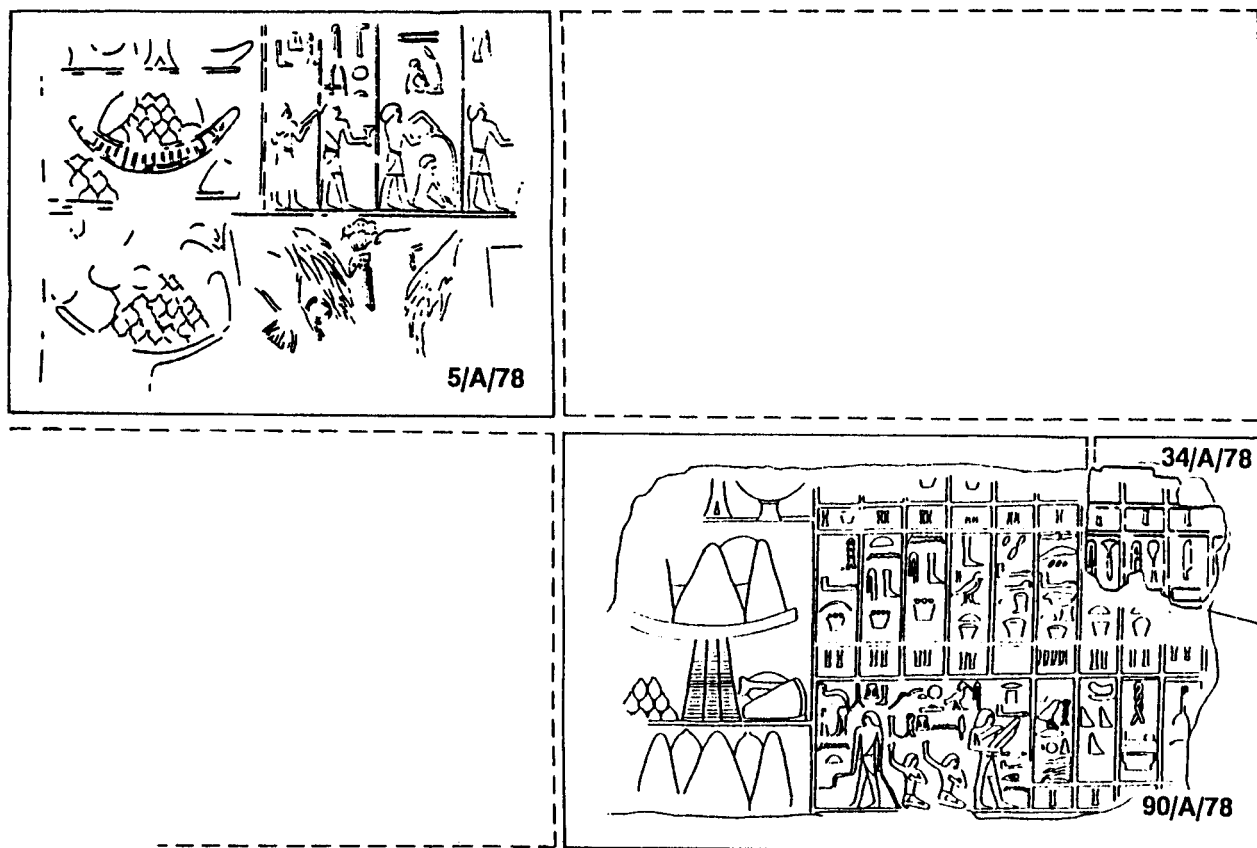


Fig. 63 Reconstruction of the offering scene.

burns incense. An inscription above the priest can be read as:

Ht sntr.

"Burning incense." ³³

4. A priest, wearing a short kilt and a short wig, holds a roll of papyrus in front of him. An inscription above the priest can be read as:

Hry-ḥbt.

"Lector-priest." ³⁴

The four above-mentioned episodes represent an introductory portion of an offering scene which originally covered the whole wall of an offering hall, the principal cult place in the temple. Very probably, the representation of the queen seated at the offering table also belongs to such a room. The representation of the four episodes of the offering ritual is surrounded by representations of various offerings — figs, a melon, a head of a calf, a goose, lettuce, onions, lotus flowers, etc. — laid on tables and plates and in baskets (see below no. 59/A/78).

20/A/78 (fits with no. 59/A/78) (p. 85)

Limestone

70 x 48 cm

A block with the remains of a scene representing the queen seated at the offering table. Only the upper

portion of the queen's figure facing left and wearing a long wig is preserved (except for the top of her head). Above the table with its pieces of bread is a partly preserved list of offerings. ³⁵ The inscription with the names of offerings, facing right towards the queen, can be read as:

Hnk t-nms: 2

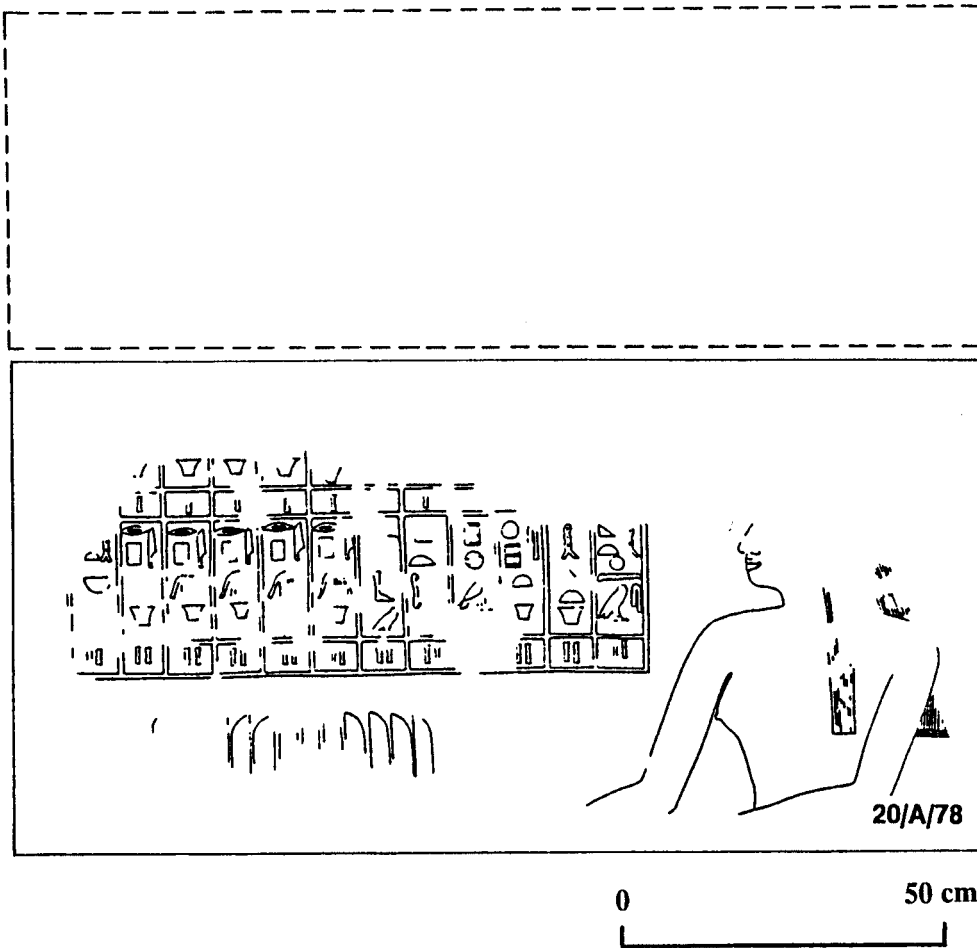
"(A kind of) bread: 2 (pieces)." ³⁶

³³ The same type of cup for burning the incense as that represented in the scene mentioned from the mortuary temple of Khentkaus was found during the excavations in the neighbouring pyramid complex of Raneferef (excav. no. 367/I/82). The episode of burning the incense closes the introductory ritual purification cycle.

³⁴ The lector-priest, represented as reading from a roll of papyrus, is represented again, in the cycle of three episodes closing the offering ritual (on the block excav. no. 90/A/78). In his second representation, the priest reading from the papyrus is identified as "the hereditary prince Irenre". The fact that Prince Irenre performed and directed the offering ritual for the Royal Mother Khentkaus is noteworthy and, again, it stresses a special relation between both persons (see the text on pp. 66, 70).

³⁵ For the 5th Dynasty version of the offering list generally, see Barta, *Opferformel*, 47 ff.

³⁶ Helck, in: *LÄ II*, 586 s.v. Getreide, identified *hnk t-nms* as "Bier aus Gerste (Gerstenmalz ?)".



Hnk t: 2
 "Beer: 2 (jars)."
Špt: 2
 "(A kind of) drink: 2 (jars)."³⁷
Ph3: 2
 "(A kind of) drink: 2 (jars)."³⁸
Dwtw šsr: 2
 "(A kind of) drink: 2 (jars)."³⁹
Db3: 2
 "Figs: 2 (bowls)."
Irp: 2
 "Wine: 2 (jars)."
Irp: 2
 "Wine: 2 (jars)."
Irp: 2
 "Wine: 2 (jars)."
Irp: 2
 "wine: 2 (jars)."
H[bnnw]t: 2
 "(A kind of) bread."

Above this row of offerings there was once another row of offerings, but of these only the determinatives (in the shape of a bowl, each followed by a numeral "1") remain.

34/A/78 (p. 86. pl. 20)

Limestone

21 x 20 cm

A fragment bearing an inscription, facing right, with a portion of a list of offerings. The inscription can be read as:

Iš[d]

"A fruit."⁴⁰

Š[ht] hdt

"A fruit."⁴¹

37 "Une boisson à base de dattes", see *ALex* III, 267 s.v.

38 "Une boisson fermenté fabriqué à partir de la céréale *ph3*", see *ALex* I, 136 s.v.

39 Helck, in: *LÄ* II, 586 s.v. Getreide, suggested the meaning of this item of the offering list as "*djwj*-Gefäss der Molke".

40 "Les fruits de l'arbre *išd*" (un arbre sacré sur lequel on inscrit les annales d'un règne - *Mimusops Schimperi* Höchst ?, *Cordia myra* ?), *ALex* I, 47 s.v..

41 On the basis of a botanical analysis, Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* II, 1/2, 25, gave the meaning of *šht* more accurately as "sechszellige Gerste (*Hordeum polystichum* Doll. ssp. *hexastichum*)". For Helck, in: *LÄ* III, 587 s.v. Getreide, *šht* means "zerstampft", i.e. "crushed" for the processing of the product.

Š[ht] w3dt

"A fruit." ⁴²

The numerals "1" above each offering pertain to the preceding row of offerings. The fragment should be joined to the previous block no. 20/A/78 and to the following one, no. 90/A/78.

42/A/78 (p. 86)

Limestone

31 x 10 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a representation of the central section of the stand of an offering table and a numeral *h3* "thousand". This fragment should probably be joined to the preceding nos. 20/A/78 and 59/A/78.

59/A/78 (p. 86)

Limestone

150 x 30 cm

An incomplete block with remains of a scene representing the queen seated at the offering table. A portion of the scene remains displaying the queen's feet and the lower part of a seat decorated with a geometrical pattern of three vertical stripes. The queen wears a long, tightly-fitting robe and anklets. In front of the queen is the lower portion of the stand of the offering table, and a repeated hieroglyphic inscription which can be read as *h3 htp* "thousand of offerings". This block should be joined to the preceding one, no. 20/A/78.

90/A/78 (p. 86)

Limestone

100 x 60 cm

A block with the remains of a scene representing a portion of a list of offerings, and several episodes of an offering ritual. From the uppermost row with the names of offerings only the numerals — "1" or "2" — and determinatives in the shape of a bowl remained. The offerings in the second row can be read as:

.. ? ...: 2

".. ? ...: 2 (bowls)."

... *t* ...: 2

".. ? ...: 2 (bowls)."

... *t* ...: 2

".. ? ...: 2 (bowls)."

ḡt swt: 4

"Wheat: 4 (bowls)." ⁴³

ḡt it: (?)

"Grain: (?) (bowls)." ⁴⁴

B3[b3]t: 2

"Fruit: 2 (bowls)."

Nbs: 2

"Fruit: 2 (bowls)." ⁴⁵

Tnbs: 2

"Fruit: 2 (bowls)."

Wḥ: 2

"Fruit: 2 (bowls)." ⁴⁶

The third row from the top contains the four remaining items of a list of offerings which can be read as:

Rnpwt nbt: (?)

"All annual offerings: (?)."

Hnk t: (?)

"Beer: (?)"

Gsw: 1

"Half of bread: 1 (piece)."

H3t-wdhw: 1

"Foremost offering from the table: 1 (piece)."

It appears that in order to save some space for the episodes of an offering ritual, the last three items on the offering list were omitted. The offerings listed in the second row from the top represent a continuation of those mentioned on the fragment no. 34/A/78.

Three episodes represented on the block form the conclusion to an offering ritual incompletely preserved on the preceding block, no. 5/A/78. These four scenes are:

1. A priest wearing a short kilt, an oblique band across his breast and a short wig, holds out a papyrus roll in front of him. A short inscription, facing right, above the lector priest (the title is not mentioned, the function of the man is, however, clear from his dress) can be read as:

Iry-p^ct Ir-n-R^c.

"Hereditary prince Irenre." ⁴⁷

2. A couple of priests, wearing the short kilt and short wigs, kneel on one knee and have one hand laid on the breast, the other raised ⁴⁸. Above the priests there is a hieroglyphic inscription, facing right, which can be read as:

Š3ht in hry-hbt.

"Making a shining spirit by a lector-priest."

42 Helck, *loc.cit.* n. 4, specified "white" *šht* as *šht n bdt* (i.e. mixed with flour ?) and "green" *šht* as *šht n jt* (i.e. sprouted ?).

43 Täckholm, in: *LÄ* II, 271, s.v. Flora, identified this item of the offering list as "crushed wheat ('Triticum durum' ?; or another plant 'Ensete edule' ?)".

44 "Crushed barley (*Hordeum hexastichon*)" (?), see Helck, in: *LÄ* II, 586 f., s.v. Getreide.

45 "Le jujubier (*Ziziphus spina Christi*)", see *ALex* I, 189 s.v.

46 "Bulbs of *Cyperus esculentus*", see Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* II, 1/2, 22.

47 See the note 27.

48 Gardiner, in: *JEÄ* 24, 1938, 87, claims that the kneeling figures shown in this attitude, i.e. with one hand laid on the breast and the other raised, are probably echoing the spells recited by a lector-priest to a breast-thumping accompaniment.

The episode directly relates to the preceding one where the lector-priest holds his papyrus roll.

3. A final episode of the scene, representing a lector-priest, with his back turned to the kneeling figures in the preceding episodes, wipes his brush across the floor. The priest not only cleans the floor of a room at the end of the ritual, he also ritually purifies the room and protects it from the influence of evil forces. He wears a short kilt and a short wig. Above the priest there is a short hieroglyphic inscription, facing left, which can be read as:

Dd mdw [n] hry-ḥbt: Int rd.

"Words spoken by a lector-priest: Wiping away footprints."⁴⁹

The remaining left-hand portion of the block bears representations of offerings — meat, breads and figs — laid on offering tables and trays.

139/a/78 (p. 86)

Limestone

23 x 12 cm

A fragment with traces of a list of offerings in two registers or rows. The offerings in the upper register are missing (except for the determinative of a bowl and three numerals relating to three different items: "3", "4" and "x + 2"). In the lower register there are the remains of two offerings, the names of which are, unfortunately, so damaged that they cannot be reconstructed and identified:

... *h* ...

... *s* ...

181/A/78 (p. 86)

Limestone

23 x 13 cm

A fragment with the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription facing left, containing a list of offerings. The remains are so small and of such a character that the reconstruction of the names of the offerings is not possible.

182/A/78 (p. 86)

Limestone

12 x 10 cm

A fragment with two hieroglyphic signs, a bull's and a goose's head. Originally, the signs made up part of an offering list.

313/A/78 (p. 86)

Limestone

13 x 11.5 cm

A fragment with a small portion of an offering list. On the fragment only a stroke, i.e. the numeral "1", can be seen. The fragment also bears traces of a grid (5 x 5 cm) painted red.

BUTCHERS

The butchering scene⁵⁰ belonged to the standard elements of the "Bildprogramm" of both the royal and private tombs. The scene in the mortuary temple of Khentkaus seems to have been closely linked with the scenes of the funerary repast and the bringing of offerings.

60/A/78 (p. 87)

Limestone

17 x 11 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a butchering scene. From the scene the lower portion of a figure of a butcher standing above a bull's head remains. On the butcher's legs, facing right, are traces of red paint. Besides the remnants of the butchering scene, the fragment also bears a small portion of a geometrical border frieze, which comes from the edging block of a wall.

61/A/78 (p. 87)

Limestone

10.5 x 8 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a butchering scene representing a butcher standing above a slaughtered animal (a bull or an ox). The butcher, facing left, wears a short kilt.

88/A/78 (p. 87)

Limestone

20 x 19 cm

A fragment bearing the middle section of the standing figure of a butcher facing right. Behind the butcher, wearing a loincloth, there is a trace of a hieroglyphic sign which can be read as *stp*. In the given context, the sign can be interpreted as "to cut into portions" rather than "a haunch".⁵¹

89/A/78 (p. 87)

Limestone

11 x 5 cm

A fragment bearing the middle section of the standing figure of a butcher. It seems that the butcher, facing left, originally held a knife and sharpened it.

⁴⁹ For the ceremony of *Int rd*, the closing episode of the ritual, see Altenmüller, in: *JEA* 57, 1971, 146–153. See also G. Lapp, *Opferformel*, 176 f.

⁵⁰ For the scene generally, see e.g. Montet, *Scènes*, 150–167. For its meaning and position in private tombs of Old Kingdom, see Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, passim.

⁵¹ See e.g. Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche*, 160.

92/A/78 (p. 87)

Limestone

15.5 x 11.5 cm

A fragment with the representation of part of a bull lying on the ground with his legs tied together.

13 x 22 cm

A fragment of a butchering scene representing the mouth of a slaughtered animal. Next to it is the foot of a standing figure of a butcher. On the butcher's foot are traces of red paint.

95/A/78 (p. 87)

Limestone

19 x 11 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a butchering scene in low relief. From the scene the middle section of the standing figure of a butcher remains, slightly bent forward, holding in his left hand a knife. With his right hand (now partly missing) he obviously had been depicted leaning against the body of the slaughtered animal. The butcher, facing left, wears a short kilt.

116/A/78 (p. 87)

Limestone

11 x 16 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of what is probably a butchering scene. From the scene the central portions of two standing figures of butchers wearing loincloth remain.

96/A/78 (p. 87)

Limestone

9.5 x 9 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a butchering scene representing the middle section of the standing figure of a butcher. Judging by the string fastened to the lower tip of the butcher's kilt, the man had originally been represented sharpening a knife. The butcher is facing left. Over the relief, these are traces of a net (6 x 6 cm) painted red.

157/A/78 (p. 87)

Limestone

32 x 8 cm

A fragment with the remains of a butchering scene from which only portions of the hands of two butchers and a part of the body of an animal lying on the ground have remained.

101/A/78 (p. 87)

Limestone

26 x 13 cm

A fragment of a butchering scene. From the scene there remains the middle section of the belly of an animal lying on the ground, and two figures of butchers standing next to it. One butcher slightly bends over the animal and inserts his hand into its cut body, the other one, judging by his posture, obviously sharpens his knife.

168/A/78 (p. 88)

Limestone

8 x 7 cm

A fragment bearing a short hieroglyphic inscription which can be read as:

Pḏt [dš].

"Sharpening [a knife]." ⁵²

The fragment very probably comes from a butchering scene.

110/A/78 (p. 87)

Limestone

25 x 20.5 cm

A fragment with the remains of scenes in two registers. In the upper register are the lower portions of the legs of two striding men, facing left, probably the offering bearers. In the lower register is a portion of a butchering scene representing an animal lying on the ground. A short hieroglyphic inscription above the animal can be read as:

Nḏr.

"Hold firmly!"

280/A/78 (p. 88)

Limestone

18 x 11 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a butchering scene from which the heads of two butchers wearing, turned back to back, short wigs have remained. Above the butchers' heads is a short hieroglyphic inscription which can be read as *štp* and interpreted, in the context of the preserved fragment of the scene, as "a haunch" rather than "cut into portions" (see above excav. no. 88/A/78).

FUNERARY ESTATES

As shown by the fragment 158/A/78 described below, the scene with the procession of funerary estates was obviously linked to the scene of agricultural works (see below p. 74, no. 112/A/78). Unfortunately, the reconstruction of a more precise placement of the scene in the mortuary temple of the Royal Mother is not possible.

114/A/78 (p. 87)

Limestone

⁵² See Eggebrecht, *o.c.* 255.

62/A/78 (p. 88, pl. 20)

Limestone

36 x 7 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a scene representing part of a procession of funerary estates. In the left portion of the fragment is a partly damaged column of hieroglyphic inscription which can be read as

Hp ht-phrt.

"Bringing the offerings."

Above the head of a female personification of a funerary estate, in a standard, is inscribed the estate's name which can be read as

Hwt [nt] Hwfw: [3wt-lb-Hwfw or Hwfw-im3h ?].

"Khufu's funerary estate [(named) 'Pleasure (?) of Khufu' (or 'Khufu is honoured'?)]"⁵³

101/A/78 (p. 88)

Limestone

11 x 10 cm

A fragment bearing the lower portion of the legs of a striding female figure wearing a long tightly fitting robe and anklet rings. The figure very probably represents a personified funerary estate. Behind the figure the lower portion of a *w3s*-sceptre can be seen.

102/A/78 (p. 88)

Limestone

12 x 10 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of the legs of a striding female figure wearing a tightly fitting robe. The figure very probably represents a personified funerary estate.

158/A/78 (p. 88, pl. 20)

Limestone

26 x 9 cm

A fragment bearing remains of scenes in two registers. In the upper register is a portion of a Nile channel; in the lower one the remains of a procession of funerary estates. The fragment joins up with no. 62/A/78.

329/A/78 (p. 88)

Limestone

17 x 17 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of the lower portions of the legs of two striding female figures. The figures, wearing long, tightly fitting robes and anklet rings, very probably represent personified funerary estates. On the legs of the figures are traces of yellow paint. Between the figures is a tiny part of a hieroglyphic inscription of which only a portion of the last sign *h* can be read. Below the register, with the remains of

funerary estates, are two horizontal bands, one unpainted, the other painted red. It means that the scene of a procession of funerary estates was represented in the lowermost register on a wall, followed by a stylized painted frieze at the bottom.

THE PAPYRUS THICKET

It seems to be probable that the papyrus thicket scene was linked with the following one representing the catching of birds. Unfortunately, the original emplacement of both scenes remains unclear.

259/A/78 (p. 88, pl. 19)

Limestone

16 x 9.5 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a papyrus thicket scene. From the scene only flower buds and a flying bird remain.

CATCHING BIRDS

See above "The papyrus thicket".

146/A/78 (p. 88)

Limestone

33 x 15 cm

A fragment containing two registers and bearing the remains of a scene illustrating the catching of birds. In the upper register two men, each kneeling on one knee, turn their backs to each other. Apparently, the men are kneeling in, or near, a light construction of wooden poles (?). In the lower register there is part of a bird trap and a fragment of a hieroglyphic inscription:

Sh gnw ...

"Catching *gnw*-birds (?) ..." ⁵⁴

THE PRODUCTION OF BEER (?)

The interpretation of the remains of a scene on the fragment no. 236/A/78 is very uncertain.

236/A/78 (p. 88)

Limestone

88 x 18 cm

⁵³ This name is not attested among the names known so far from the funerary estates. See Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines funéraires*, 483 s.v. *Hw.f-w(i)*.

⁵⁴ Gaillard, in: *Kémi* 2, 1929, 19–40, identified the bird as the oriol (*Oriolus galbula*). For the scene of catching the orioles, see van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, 46 and pl. 9.

A fragment bearing remains of a scene possibly displaying the production of beer (?).⁵⁵ On the fragment three incompletely preserved male figures can be seen. One man, slightly bent forward, holds a long stick. The other two men behind him carry vessels on their heads, supporting them with their hands.

METAL WORKERS (?)

The interpretation of the remnants of a scene described below remains very uncertain.

179/A/78 (p. 88, pl. 21)

Limestone
17 x 9 cm

A fragment coming from the left edge of a wall, and probably bearing the remains of a scene involving metal workers. From the scene only the central section of a standing man, wearing a short kilt; in front of him the short hieroglyphic inscription *hmty* (?) "metal worker"⁵⁶ can be seen. The man turning his back to the end of the register, uses both hands to participate in some activity to the right of him. The fact that the man stands seems to exclude any scene where the melting or beating of metal would be shown.

AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

The scene of agricultural activities⁵⁷ seems to have been linked with the scenes of bringing the offerings and with the procession of funerary estates (see above p. 72 f.). However, the more precise location of the scene in the mortuary temple of the Royal Mother remains unclear.

87/A/78 (p. 89, pl. 21)

Limestone
18 x 33 cm

A fragment containing two registers with the remains of an agricultural scene. In the upper register is a man, striding from left to right, holding two pigeons. In the lower register a corn field and a portion of a field work scene can be seen.

112/A/78 (p. 89)

Limestone
20 x 6 cm

A fragment bearing the representation of a stylized Nile channel.

OFFERING SCENES

Offering scenes⁵⁸, including the display of offerings, probably represented the largest portion of the relief decoration of the mortuary temple of the Royal Mother. Some portions of the scenes of bringing the offering were certainly connected with those of the agricultural activities and the procession of funerary estates (see p. 72 f.).

1/A/78 (p. 89)

Limestone
51 x 19 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of an offering scene. From the scene two male figures, wearing short kilts and striding from the left to the right, remain. Each man holds a pair of birds. The fragment comes from the lowest register on a wall.

4/A/78 (p. 89)

Limestone
95 x 62 cm

A block containing two registers with the remains of an offering scene. The upper register contains the remnants of stands of offering tables and several vessels. In the lower register there is a row of five men, striding from right to left and bringing an egg-shaped jar, lotus flowers, figs, a piece of meat, a bird and another egg-shaped jar. The men wear short kilts and short wigs.

7/A/78 (p. 90)

Limestone
78 x 50 cm

A block in low relief bearing the remains of a scene of men bringing offerings. A fragment of the scene represents four men, striding from the left to the right, bearing trays with meat and cakes.

⁵⁵ For the brewing scenes, see e.g. Montet, *Scènes*, 242; Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, passim ff.

⁵⁶ A more detailed discussion on the reading of the name see Verner, *Ptahshepses I*, 54 n. 28.

⁵⁷ For the agriculture scenes, see Montet, *Scènes*, 180–220; Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, passim; a.o.

⁵⁸ Remains of the scene of bringing the offerings (or the display of offerings) were also found in the stepped tomb of Khentkaus in Giza (Hassan, *Giza IV*, 19 and figs. 6–7), in the mortuary temple of Teti's wife Iput I in North Saqqara (personal communication from Zahi Hawas) and in the pyramid complex of Iput II (Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, fig. 25) in South Saqqara.

21/A/78

Limestone

180 x 70

A corner block bearing a decoration on two sides.

Side A: remains of a scene of men bringing offerings in two registers. In the upper register only the lower portions of offering tables and trays can be seen. In the lower register there are offering tables with lettuce, figs, asparagus, melons, several varieties of breads, etc. Between the stands of the offering tables are vessels with other offerings. At the right-hand of the register is a pair of men, striding from left to right and bringing a bunch of papyrus stalks, a piece of meat, a tray with cakes on it (?) and a lotus flower. The men wear short kilts and short wigs.

Side B: On this side, which is smaller than side A, there are the remains of scenes in two registers. In the upper register the lower parts of legs belonging to two men, who stride from right to left, can be seen. Possibly, this register also once contained a scene of bringing the offerings. In the lower register not a single fragment of the original scene remains.

58/A/78

(p. 90)

Limestone

120 x 60 cm

A block with the remains of two registers bearing a decoration. The scene in the upper register is badly damaged and cannot be identified. In the lower register six male figures remain, striding from the left to the right, and a fish, a bird, a tray with figs, etc. The men wear short kilts and short wigs.

63/A/78

(p. 90)

Limestone

28 x 42 cm

A block bearing the remains, in two registers, of a scene portraying the bringing of offerings. In the upper register there are small remnants of these offerings. In the lower register are the remains of two men bringing a piece of meat and a tray with figs.

64/A/78

(p. 91)

Limestone

56 x 17 cm

A block with the remains of a scene showing the bringing of offerings. From the scene the upper portions of figures of three men, striding from left to right, and bearing haunches of meat still remain. Above the first man are the unclear remnants of an inscription.

69/A/78

(p. 91)

Limestone

52 x 19 cm

A block bearing the remains of a scene depicting the bringing of offerings. From the scene the upper portions of two men, striding from left to right, remain. The first man carries a haunch of meat and above his head is a short hieroglyphic inscription: *Š[h]p[t] štp.*

"Bringing a haunch of meat."

Remnants of an inscription above the head of the second man are too small and unclear to be identified. Both men wear short wigs.

70/A/78

(p. 91)

Limestone

34 x 25 cm

A fragment bearing the remains, in two registers, of a scene showing the bringing of offerings. In the upper register are the remains of three stands with vessels, in the lower one a melon, figs and a bunch of papyrus stalks.

85/A/78

(p. 91)

Limestone

100 x 37 cm

A block bearing the remains, in two registers, of a scene showing the bringing of offerings. Originally, these offerings were displayed in the upper register, but at present, only the remains of three vessels in stands, a tray of figs, an offering table, etc. can be seen. The lower register contains remnants of five striding men from the right to the left and bringing vessels, a tray with cakes, etc.

86/A/78

(p. 91)

Limestone

110 x 75 cm

A block with the remains of two registers of a scene depicting the bringing of offerings. In the right portion of the upper register offerings like vessels in stands, a tray of figs, etc. are represented. In the left portion of the same register four men, wearing short kilts and striding from right to left, can be seen. The men bring a bird, a fish and a piece of meat. The lower register contains the remains of six male figures striding from right to left. The men wear short kilts and short wigs. They bring a tray with figs, a basket with figs and melons, a tray with lettuce, a piece of meat, a bird, another tray with figs, a vessel, a bunch of onions, a *w^c-hr-šn.f*-vessel and a tray with cakes.

94/A/78 (p. 92)

Limestone

59 x 40 cm (A); 40 x 58 cm (B)

A corner block with the remains of a relief decoration on two sides.

Side A: Remains of two registers with offerings (vessels).

Side B: Also on this side there are remains of two registers. The upper register contains the remains of three male figures, wearing short kilts and short wigs and striding from right to left. The men bring a bowl and a fish. Due to the sculptor's error, the last man's legs are shown as being deformed. The sculptor obviously missed the upper and lower edge of a horizontal line separating the registers. A short inscription accompanying the scene in the lower register can be read as

Sš pr-ḥd.

"A scribe of the treasury."

98/A/78 (p. 92)

Limestone

150 x 51 cm

A block with the remains, in two registers, of a scene representing the bringing of offerings. The upper register contains vessels in stands and two offering tables with cakes, lettuce, figs, etc. In the lower register there are badly damaged remnants of other offerings.

113/A/78 (p. 92)

Limestone

16 x 25 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a figure of an offering bearer.

118/A/78 (p. 92)

Limestone

19 x 24 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of two scenes in two registers. In the upper register only the legs of a man bringing a lotus flower remain. In the lower register a butchering scene was probably represented originally. Only a portion of the scene remains: a butcher's head wearing a short wig, and a fragment of a hieroglyphic inscription the reading of which is uncertain, possibly *gn r(h ?)* ...

119/A/78 (p. 92)

Limestone

67 x 37 cm

A block with the remains, in two registers, of a scene showing the bringing of offerings. The upper register contains a display of offerings on an offering table, a

tray with a goose and vessels. In the lower register the remains of four men, wearing short wigs and striding from the right to the left, can be seen. The men carry vessels and a tray with a goose.

120/A/78 (p. 92)

Limestone

45 x 28 cm

A block containing two registers, with the remains of a display of offerings. The offerings consist of figs, melons and lettuce.

144/A/78 (p. 93)

Limestone

21 x 24 cm

A fragment with the remains, in two registers, of a scene showing the bringing of offerings. In the upper register only the lower portions of the legs of two men, striding from right to left, remain. In the lower register there was once a scene of bringing a sealed box was originally represented. It preserves an inscription which can be read as

Shpt ḥmt.

"Bringing a sealed box."

147/A/78 (p. 93)

Limestone.

50 x 30 cm

A fragment with the remains, in two registers, of a scene showing the bringing of offerings. The upper register contains small remains of egg-shaped vessels in stands. In the lower register remains of four male figures, wearing short kilts and wigs, and striding from right to left, can be seen. The men bring trays with cakes (?) and figs.

156/A/78 (p. 93)

Limestone

120 x 70 cm

A fragment bearing the remains of a scene portraying the bringing of offerings. From this scene only three incomplete figures of men, striding from right to left and bringing a bird and a piece of meat (?) remain. The fragment also bears a small portion of a geometrical border frieze.

161/A/78 (p. 93)

Limestone

112 x 76 cm

A block with two registers bearing the remains of a scene displaying offerings. Represented are baskets with figs, lotus flowers, lettuce, papyrus stalks, several varieties of breads, egg-shaped vessels in stands, etc.

232/A/78 (p. 94)

Limestone

16 x 11 cm

A fragment with the remains of an offering bearer striding from right to left. The man, wearing a short wig, brings a haunch of meat. On the man's body and on the haunch of meat traces of red colouring can be seen.

249/A/78 (p. 94)

Limestone

29 x 24 cm

A fragment with the remains of two male figures. The men, striding from right to left, wear short wigs, and bring a lotus flower and a bird.

394/A/78 (p. 94)

Limestone

70 x 40 cm

A fragment with the remains of two male figures. The men, striding from left to right, bring figs and two pieces of meat.

45/A/80 (p. 94)

Limestone

65 x 30 cm

A fragment of a relief representing a striding bull. Above the bull is a horizontal line of a hieroglyphic inscription reading *int rn iw3* "bringing a young bull". The fragment comes from the scene of bringing the offering animals.

s.no. 1 (p. 94)

Limestone

60 x 44 cm

A fragment with the remains of a scene of offerings on display. The offerings consist of egg-shaped vessels and baskets with figs, lotus flowers, lettuce, etc.

s.no. 2 (p. 95)

Limestone

35 x 26 cm

A fragment with the remains of two male figures. The men, striding from right to left, bring a tray with cakes (?), a vessel and a bird.

s.no. 3 (p. 95)

Limestone

46 x 24 cm

A fragment with the remains, in two registers, of an offering display. The offerings consist of a tray with figs, vessels in stands, a basket with lettuce and melons, etc.

s.no. 4 (p. 95)

Limestone

85 x 38 cm

Corner (inner) block with the remains, in two registers, of a scene depicting the bringing of offerings. In the upper register the legs of four, in the lower one of two striding men remain. The men stride from the right to the left.

s.no. 5 (p. 95)

Limestone

30 x 18 cm

A fragment with the remains, in two registers, of a scene showing men bringing offerings. In the upper register four men bringing pieces of meat, in lower one two men bringing a tray with cakes (?) and a vessel can be seen.

s.no. 6 (p. 95)

Limestone

40 x 26 cm

A block containing two registers, in which there are the remains of a scene displaying men bringing offerings. In both registers there are rows of striding men, wearing short kilts and short wigs, and bringing birds, pieces of meat, baskets and trays with figs, lettuce, melons, cakes, etc.

s.no. 7 (p. 96)

Limestone

126 x 55 cm

A fragment of a relief with remains of a scene, in two registers, of bringing the offerings. In the upper register remains of three male figures bringing the birds and a portion of meat with ribs can be seen. In the lower register are remains of a row of nine male figures bringing the baskets with the fruit and the vegetables, the meat and the birds.

VARIA

26/A/78 (p. 96)

Limestone

16 x 9 cm

A fragment of a relief with the remains of a *hkr*-frieze. On the frieze traces of yellow colour are visible. Over the relief red lines of a grid (6 x 6 cm) were later painted.

40/A/78 (p. 96)

Limestone

30 x 12 cm

A corner fragment of a relief with the remains of a geometrical frieze. The relief bear traces of green colour.

231/A/78 (p. 96)

Limestone

13 x 5 cm

A fragment of a relief with the remains of a frieze containing a horizontal row of stars. The stars are painted yellow, the background is blue. The fragment may have either framed the upper edge of a wall with reliefs or separated two registers with reliefs from each other.

III.3 Conclusions

1. The relief decoration was limited to the earlier limestone portion of the mortuary temple of Khentkaus (LST II) only. Except for a very small and insignificant portion *in situ*, all the extant reliefs are in fragments. The reconstruction of the limestone stage of the temple (LST II), on a theoretical level at least, remains very uncertain with regard to the almost total destruction of this portion of the monument. It is therefore difficult to estimate both the original extent of the relief decoration of the temple, and the original location of these relief scenes which have been preserved on the temple walls. Most of the relief decoration was probably concentrated in the so-called intimate portion of the mortuary temple, especially in the offering hall. It seems needless to emphasize that in the centre of the western wall of the offering hall the red granite false door of Khentkaus was embedded.

2. The extant fragments of reliefs probably do not represent more than one quarter of the original relief decoration of the temple. Nevertheless, compared with other Old Kingdom pyramid complexes of queens, the scant remains of the relief decoration from the mortuary temple of Khentkaus represent the largest and iconographically richest find so far. (It seems that the remnants will not be eclipsed by the remains of the relief decoration from the newly re-excavated pyramid complex of Iput I, the wife of Teti).

3. The quality of the Khentkaus reliefs differs. Some portions of the decoration (e.g. the offering table scene) were of higher quality than others (e.g. the bringing of offerings).

4. Although the reconstruction of the original "Bildprogramm" of the Khentkaus' mortuary temple remains incomplete and uncertain, the variety of scenes which have survived in fragments is amazing. Interestingly, though not surprisingly, the general character of the "Bildprogramm" of the queen's temple principally differs from that of the

contemporaneous mortuary temple of kings. The "Bildprogramm" of the queen's temple resembles in many respects that of a contemporaneous private tomb.

5. The "Bildprogramm" of the mortuary temple of Khentkaus once included scenes of

- the funerary repast,
- the offering ritual,
- the bringing of offerings,
- the bringing of animals as offerings,
- the butchering,
- the procession of funerary estates,
- agricultural activities,
- the catching of birds,
- metal work (?),
- the brewing of beer (?),
- the papyrus thicket,
- the greeting of Khentkaus by Nyuserre's family.

6. All the aforesaid scenes rank among those standardly occurring in contemporaneous private tombs except for one unique scene. That scene can best be described as the "meeting of Nyuserre's family (and court ?) with the Royal Mother Khentkaus". The scene probably included a standing figure of Khentkaus, who faced a standing figure of Nyuserre followed by the members of his family and, perhaps his courtiers were also represented in a smaller scale and arranged in registers behind the King. Basically, the scene seems to indicate two important facts relating to the queen: namely, the exceptionally high social status of the Royal Mother Khentkaus, and the special reverence which Nyuserre had for Khentkaus. The scene corroborates other archaeological and epigraphic finds from the pyramid complex of Khentkaus which attest to her cult in Abusir (see below p. 172).

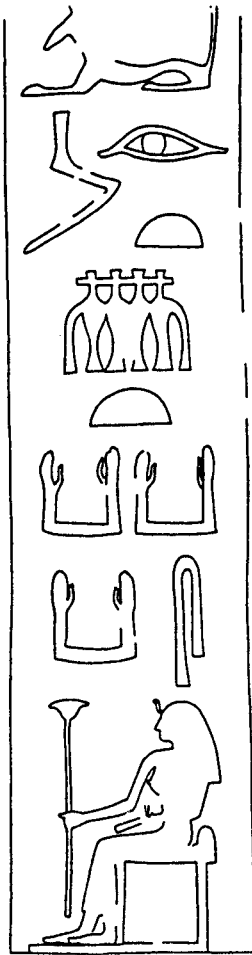
7. Though in fragments and incomplete, the reconstructed titulary of Khentkaus shows that she was both a King's wife and a King's mother. The title of the King's daughter is missing in her titulary but her royal origin is a distinct possibility.

8. The title of the royal mother occurs in the available fragments of reliefs only in the form of *mwt nswt bity nswt bity*. (Of course, it cannot be excluded that the other form, *mwt nswt*, once existed in reliefs but has not apparently been preserved.) This fact contrasts with the occurrence of the title of the royal mother in other categories of finds, like those of the masons' inscriptions, the sealings, the papyri, etc., where either both aforesaid titles or that of *mwt nswt* only are attested. The interpretation of this material is not easy and does have far-reaching historical consequences. Can we assume, for example, that the title *mwt nswt* was merely an abbreviated form of the

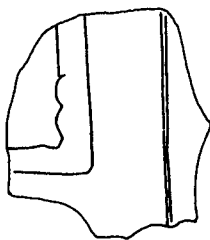
title *mwt nswt bity nswt bity* ? Or, do we have in the two titles evidence for two different persons, two royal mothers of the same name, i.e. Khentkaus (I) and Khentkaus (II), whose different social status was signalled by the above mentioned titles? If the latter variant should be true, Khentkaus (I) should be identified as the owner of the so-called Fourth Pyramid in Giza. The question can thus be raised as to why this royal mother also had a cult at Abusir. For

a more detailed discussion of the problem, see below p. 168 ff.

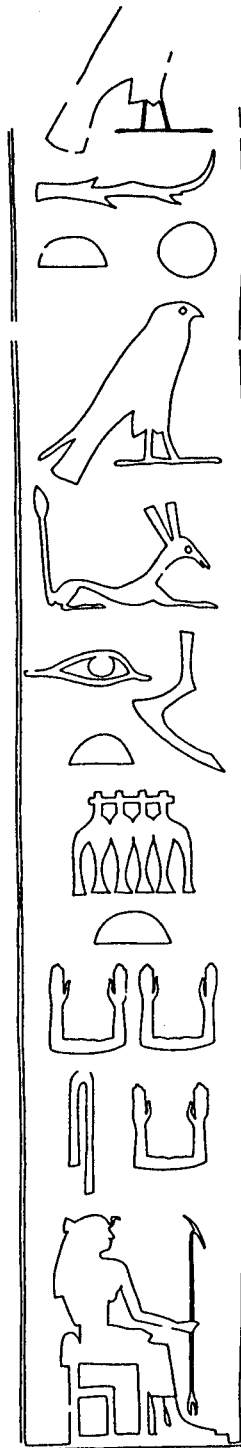
9. The title of *s3t ntr* seems to indicate that the legitimacy of Nyuserre's accession was dubious. If there were two royal mothers named Khentkaus and both of them were bearers of the title, the son of the second queen, Khentkaus II, with dubious legitimacy undoubtedly must have been Nyuserre (see p. 65, no. 200/A/78).



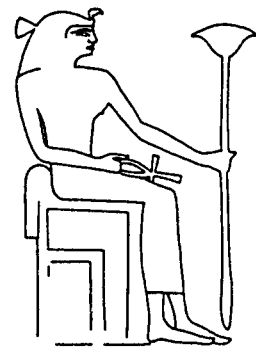
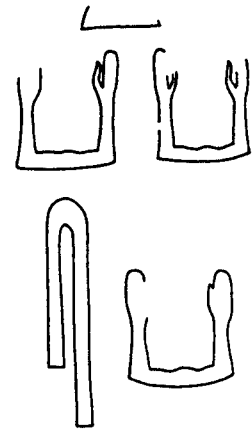
**Pillar in situ
(courtyard)**



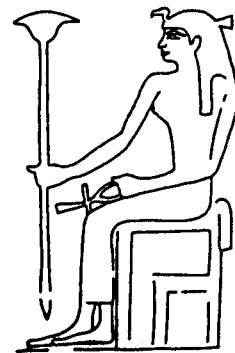
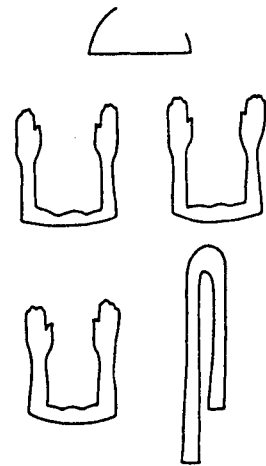
222/A78



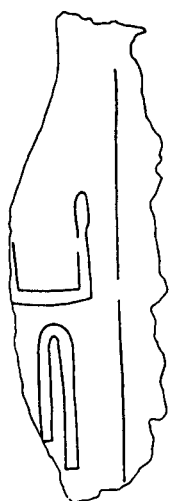
Pillar
(courtyard)



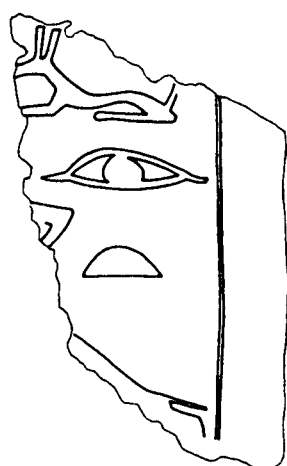
**Pillar in situ
(portico)**



**Pillar in situ
(portico)'**



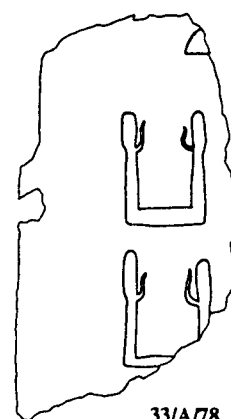
25/A/78a



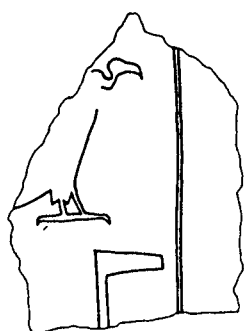
25/A/78b



25/A/78c



33/A/78



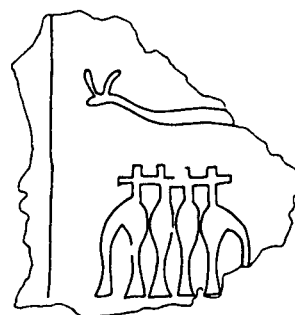
38/A/78



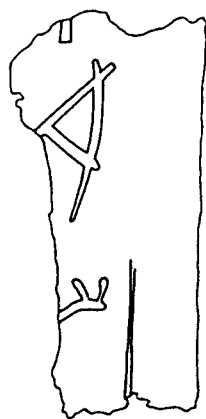
52/A/78



53/A/78



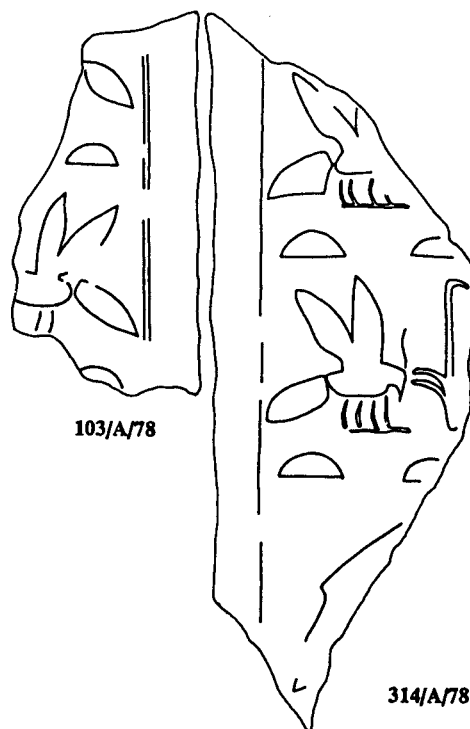
75/A/78



76/A/78

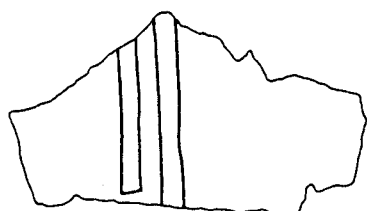


81/A/78



103/A/78

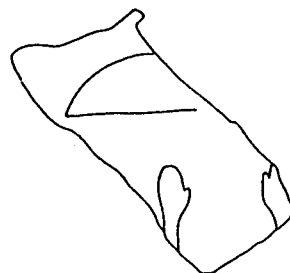
314/A/78



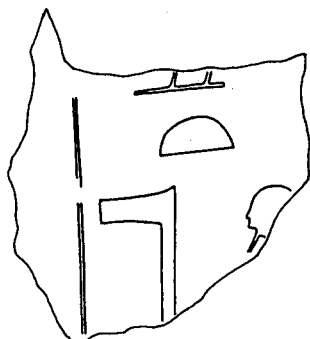
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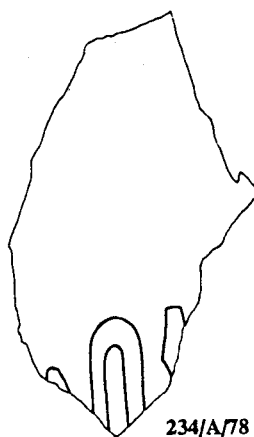
184/A/78



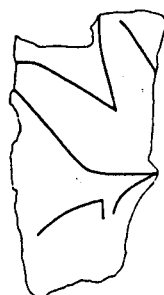
188/A/78



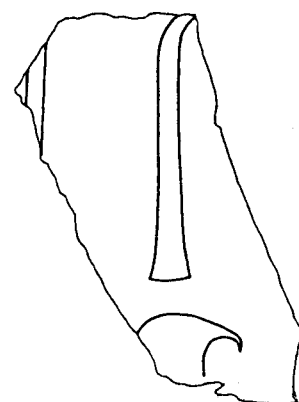
207/A/78



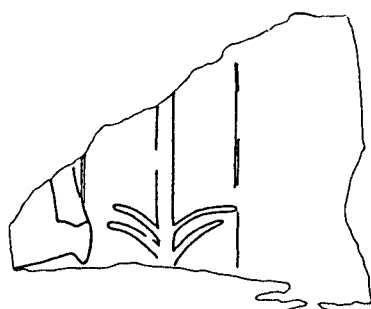
234/A/78



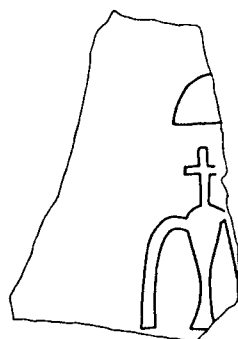
255/A/78



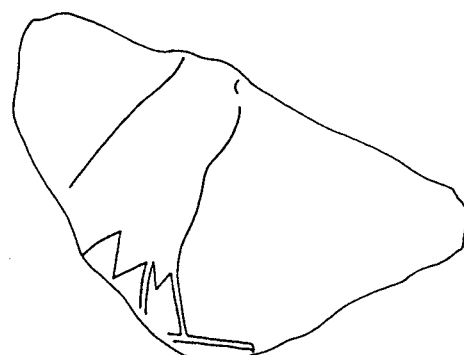
257/A/78



258/A/78



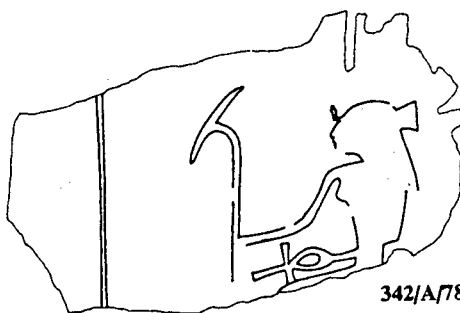
270/A/78



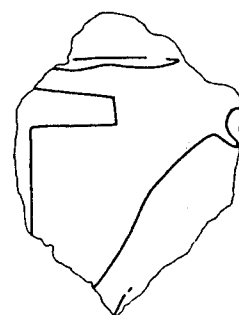
271/A/78



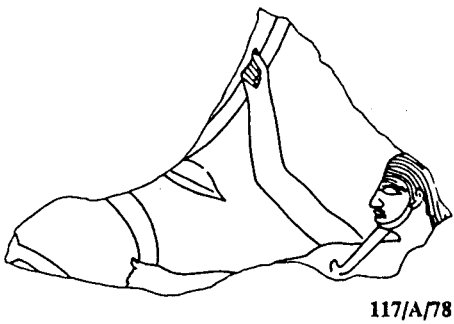
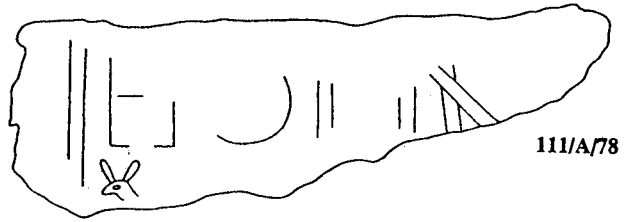
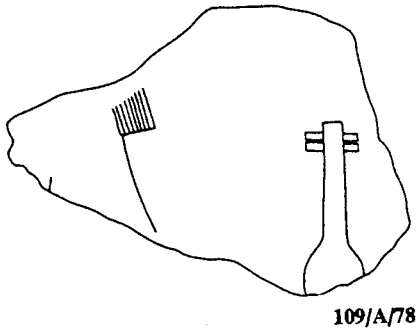
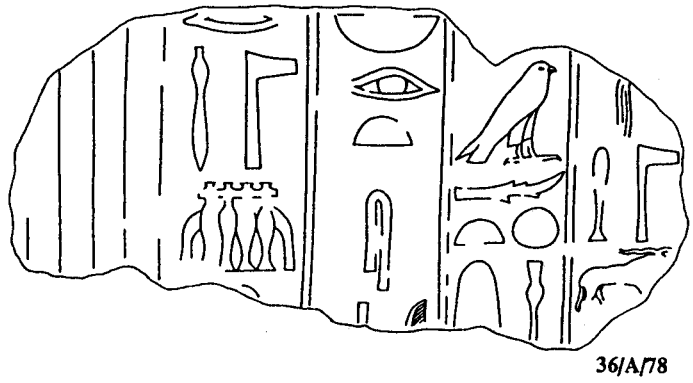
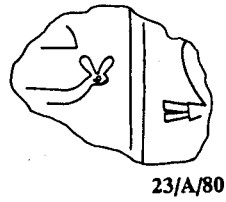
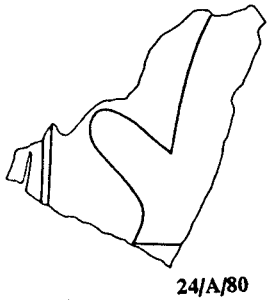
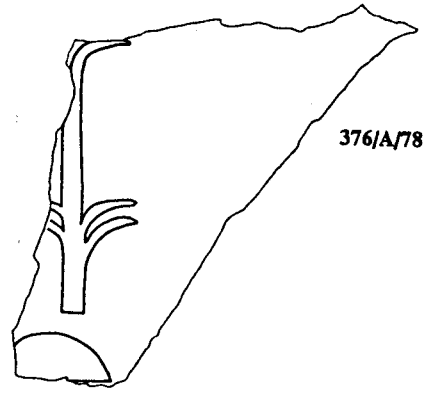
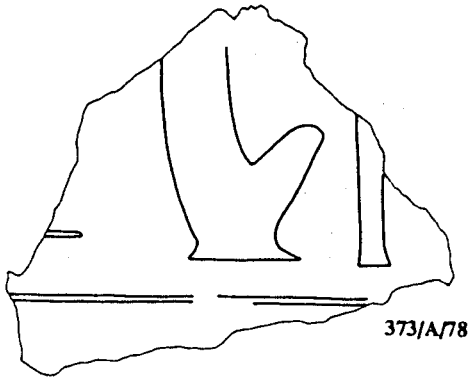
272/A/78

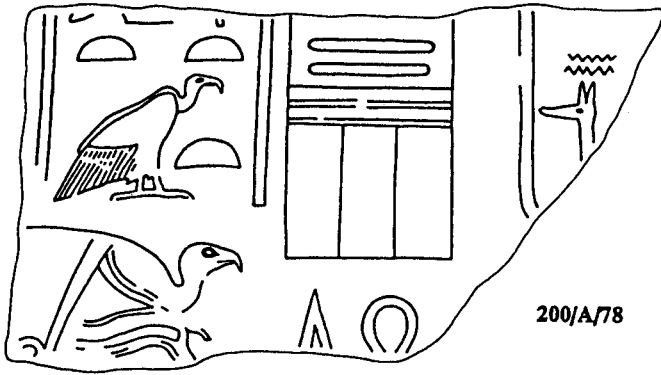


342/A/78

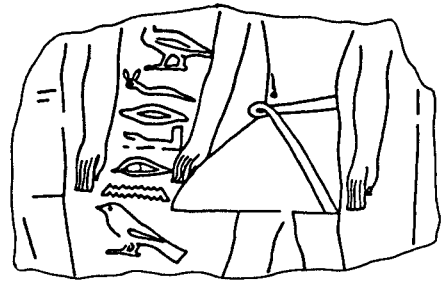


372/A/78

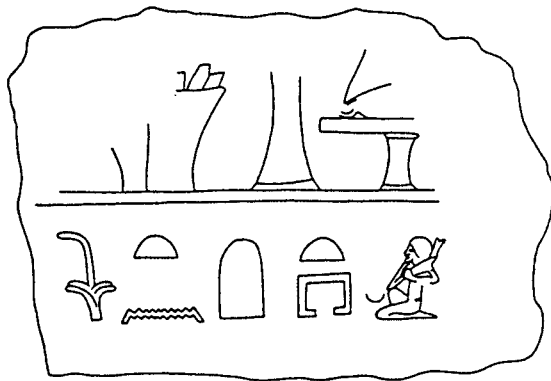




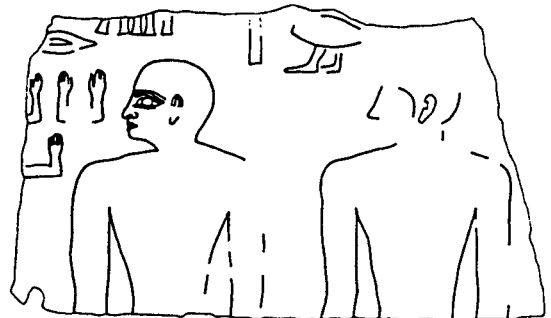
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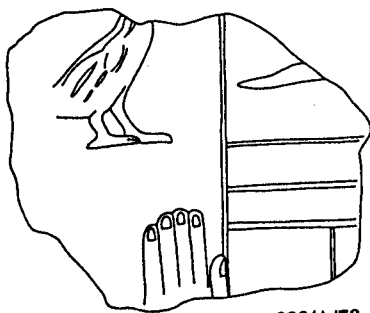
201/A/78



227/A/78



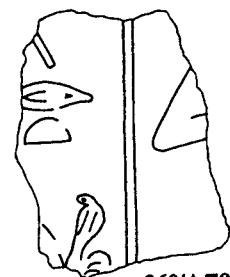
230/A/78



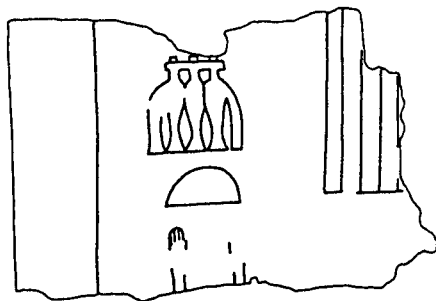
239/A/78



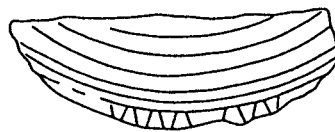
248/A/78



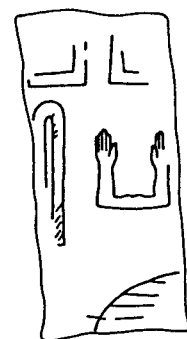
260/A/78



266/A/78



328/A/78



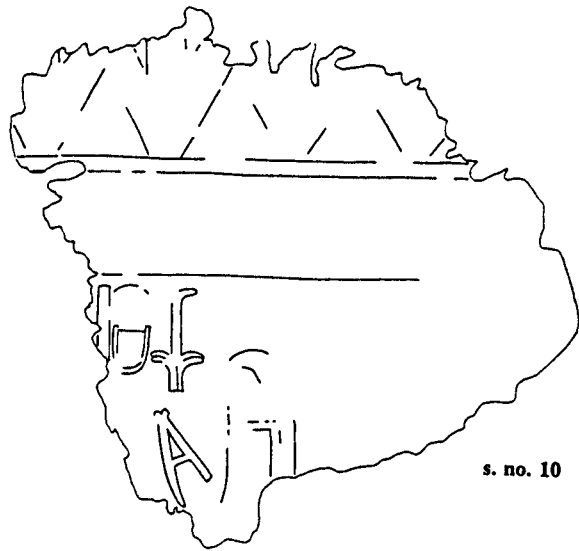
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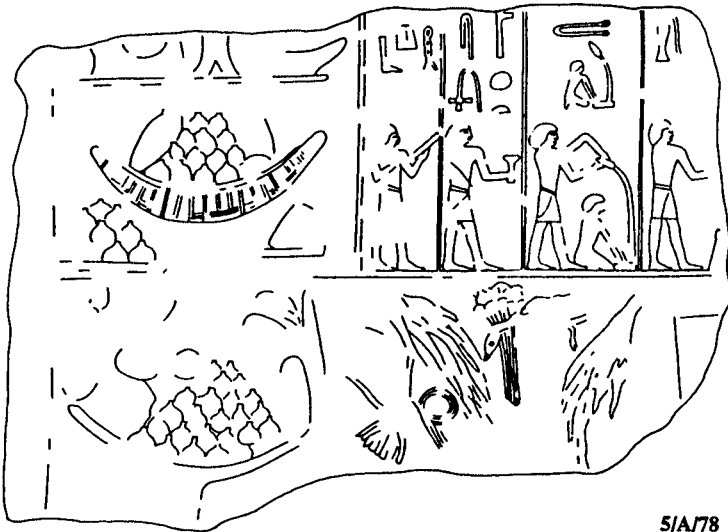
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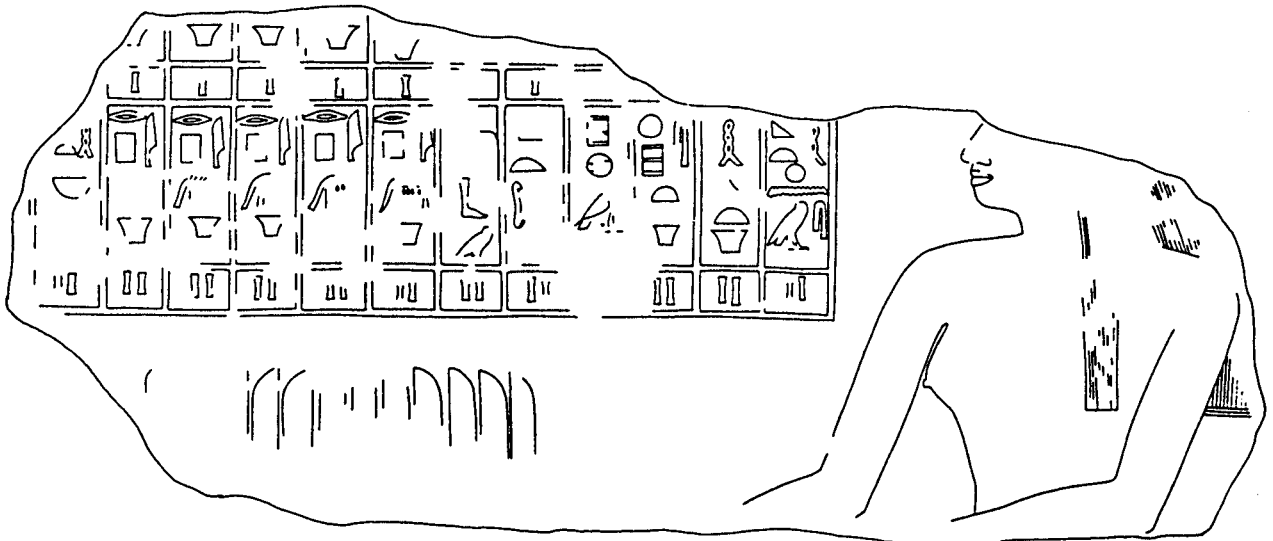
31/A/80



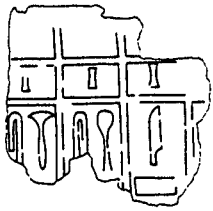
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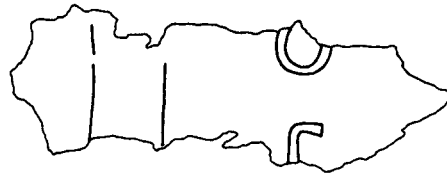
5/A/78



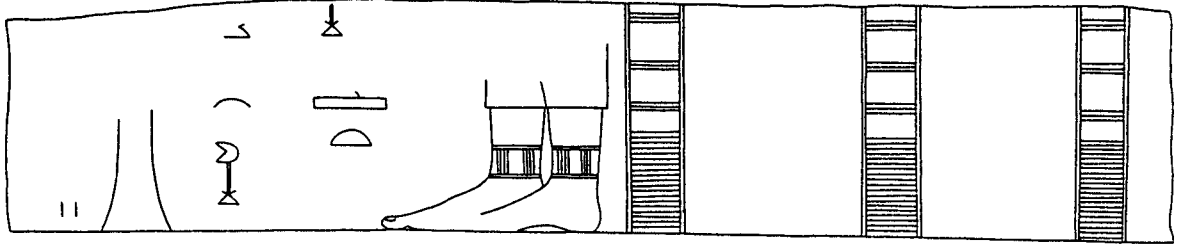
20/A/78



34/A/78



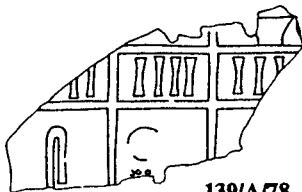
42/A/78



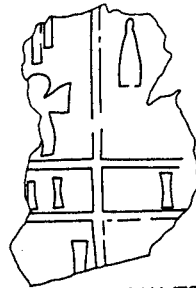
59/A/78



90/A/78



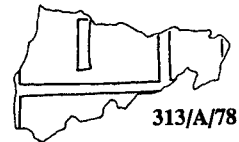
139/A/78



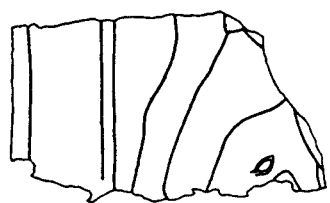
181/A/78



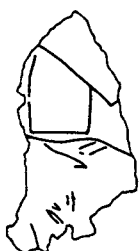
182/A/78



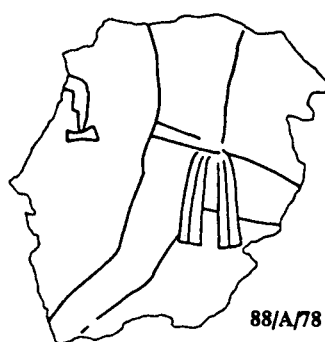
313/A/78



60/A/78



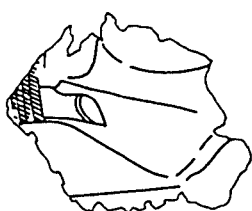
61/A/78



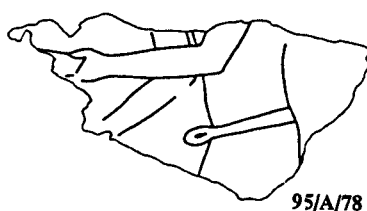
88/A/78



89/A/78



92/A/78



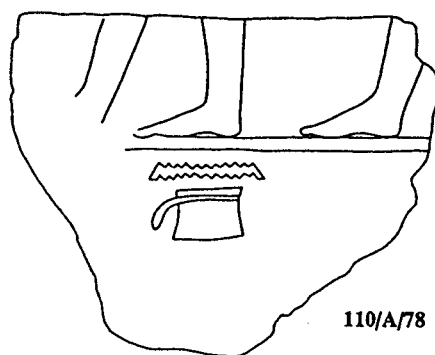
95/A/78



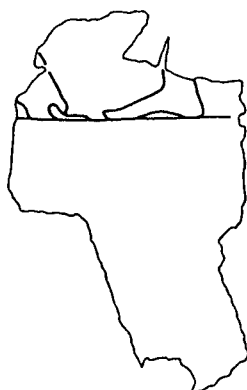
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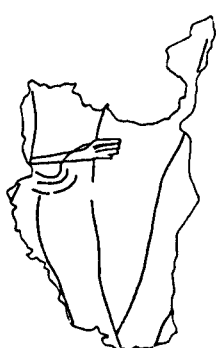
101/A/78



110/A/78



114/A/78



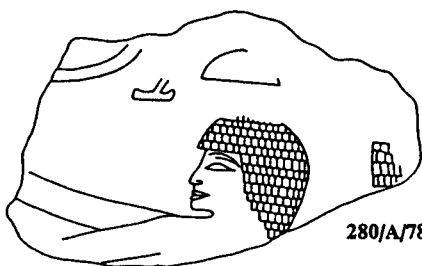
116/A/78



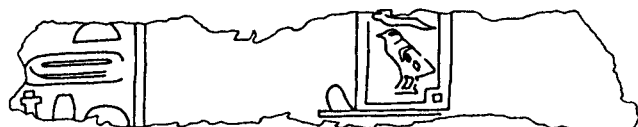
157/A/78



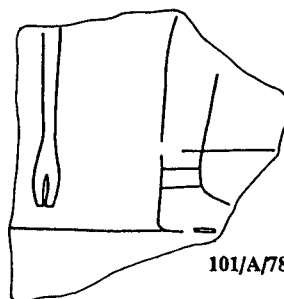
168/A/78



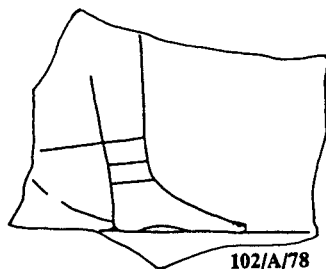
280/A/78



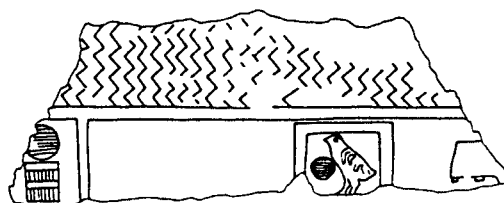
62/A/78



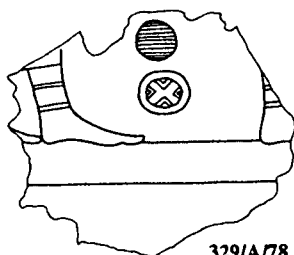
101/A/78



102/A/78



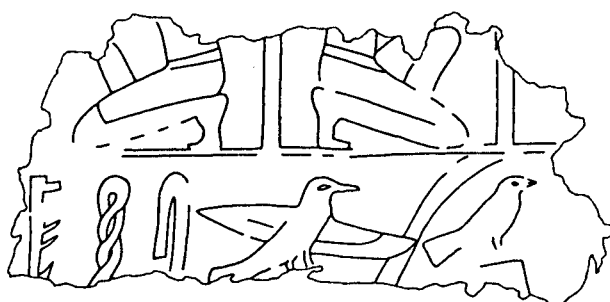
158/A/78



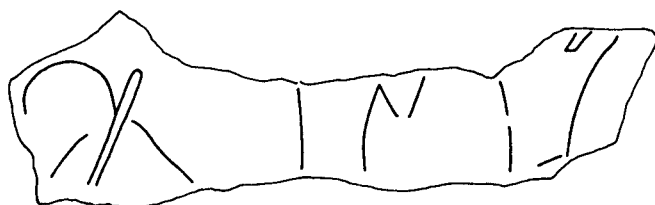
329/A/78



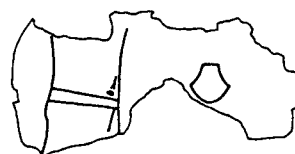
259/A/78



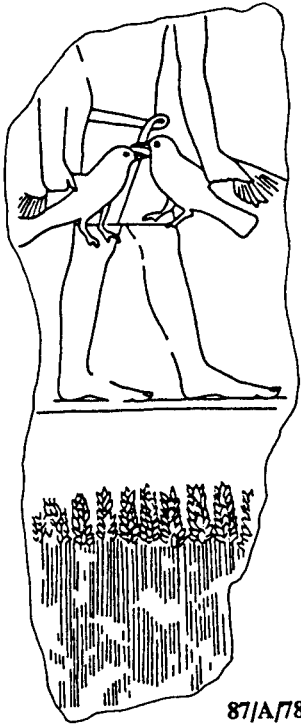
146/A/78



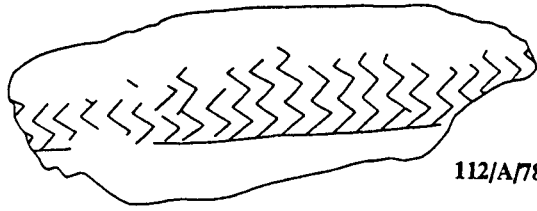
236/A/78



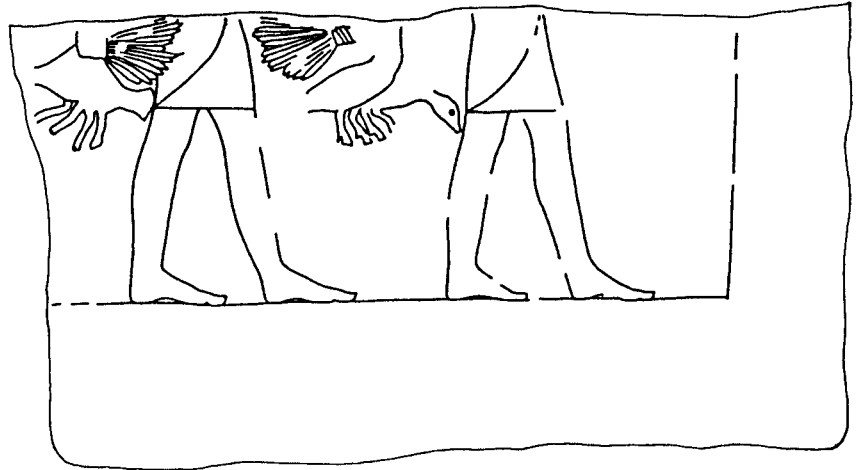
179/A/78



87/A/78



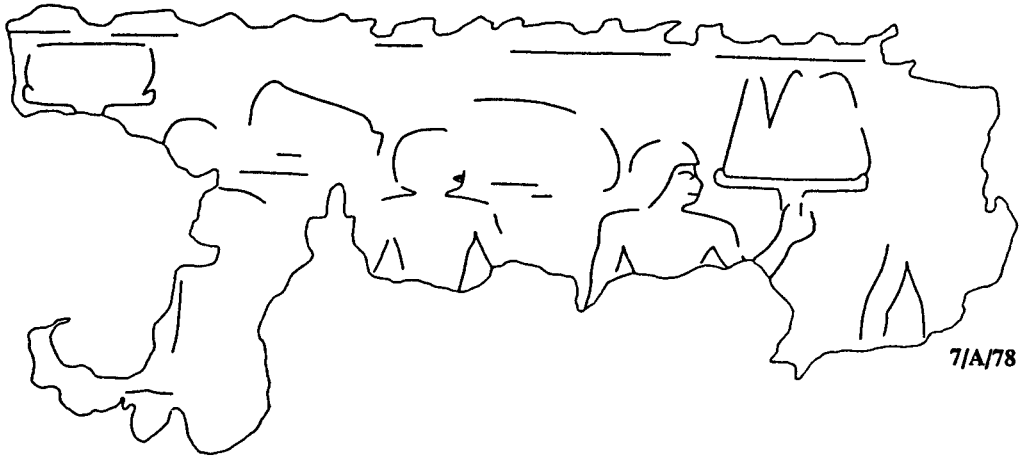
112/A/78

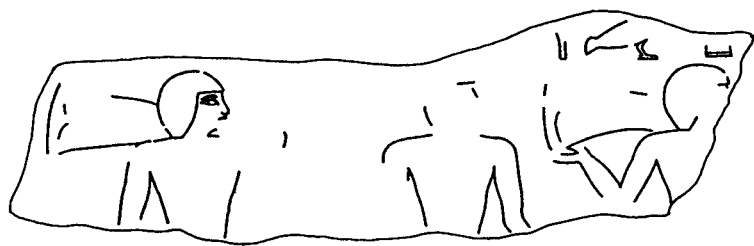


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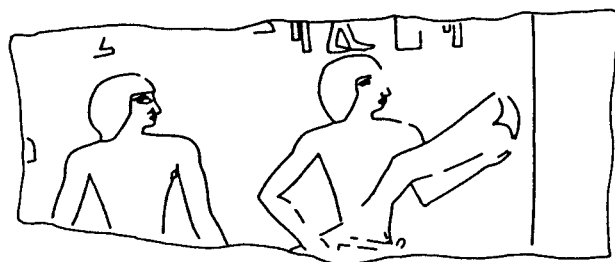


4/A/78

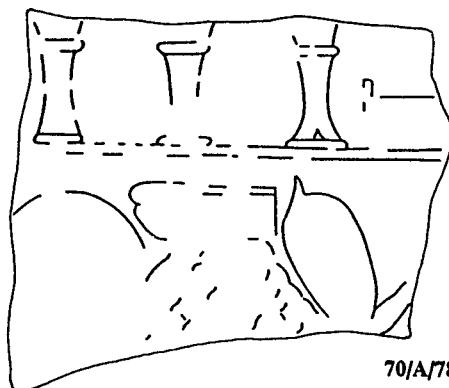




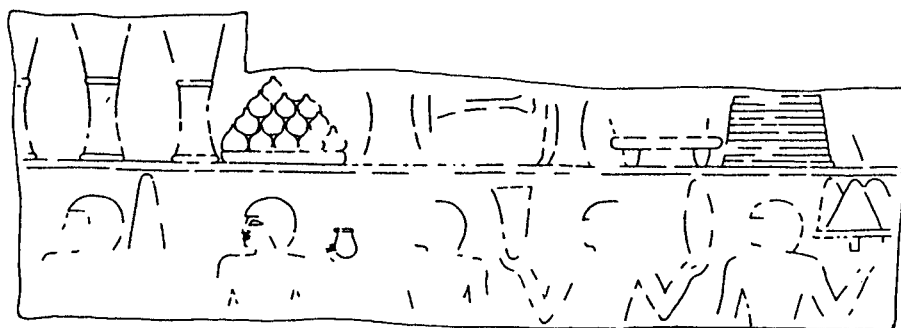
64/A/78



69/A/78



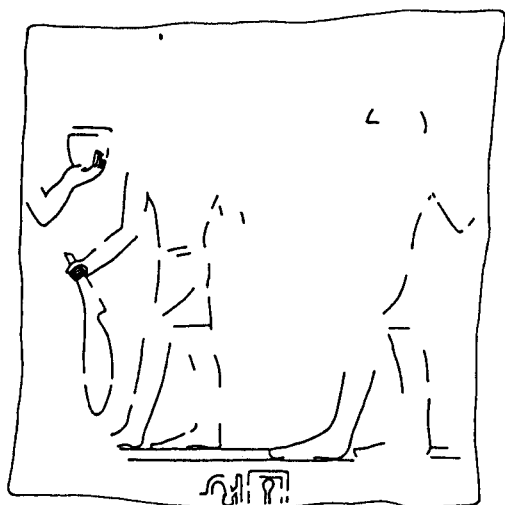
70/A/78



85/A/78



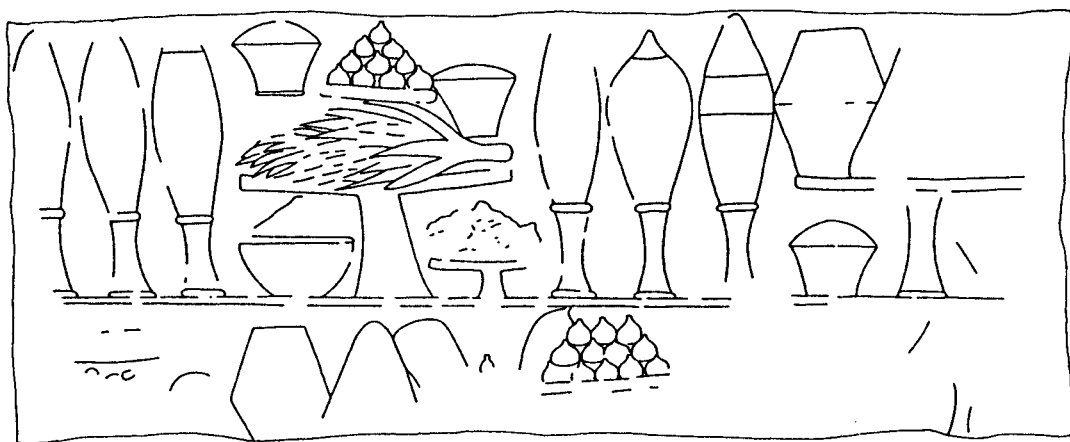
86/A/78



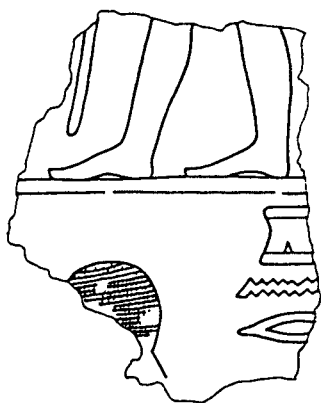
94/A/78



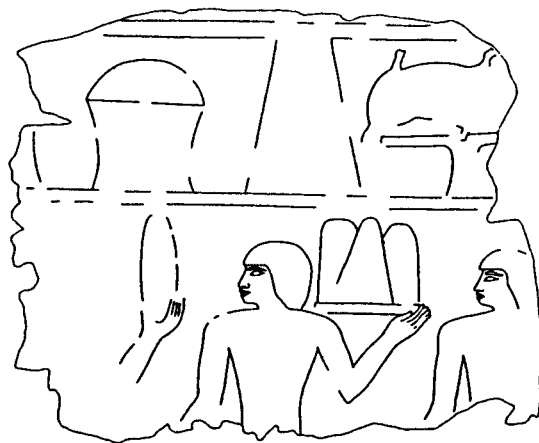
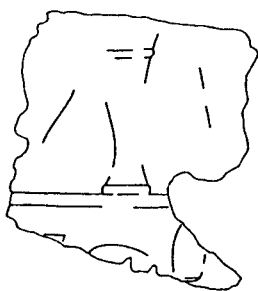
113/A/78



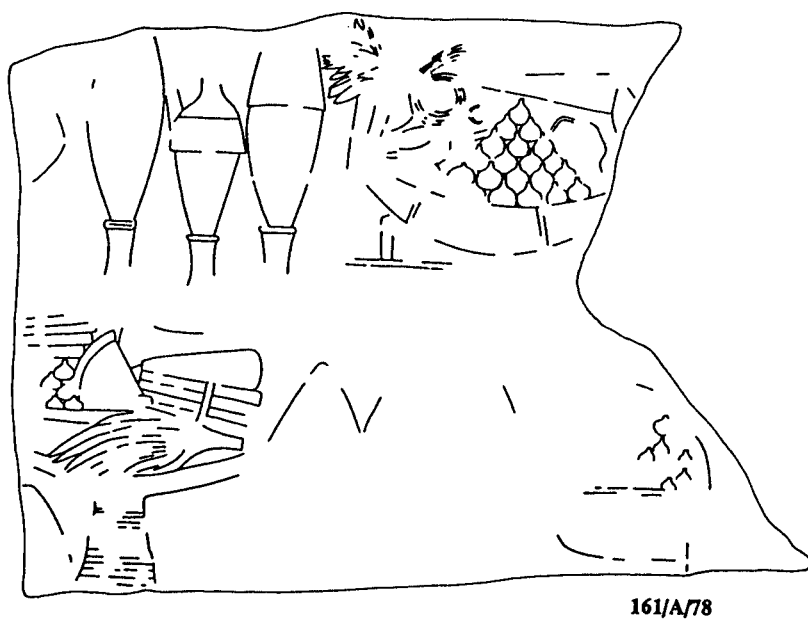
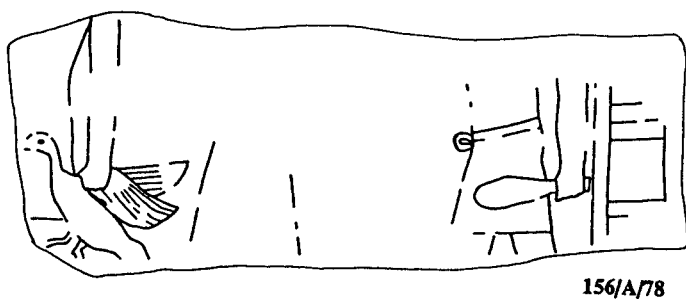
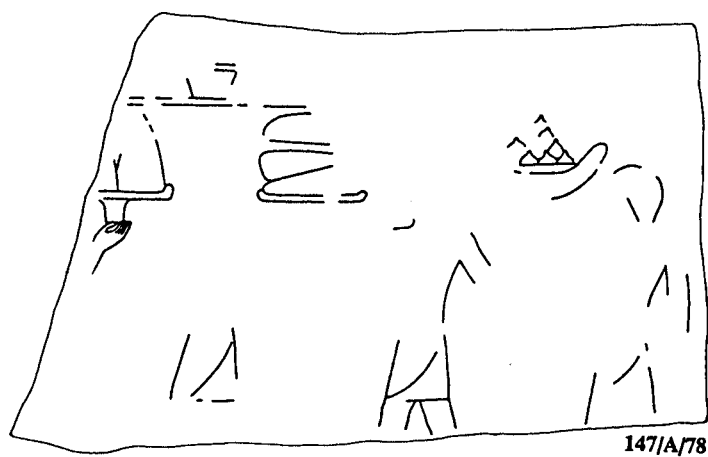
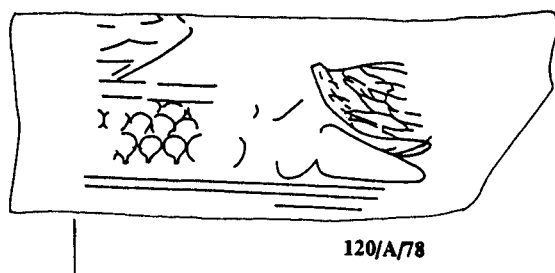
98/A/78

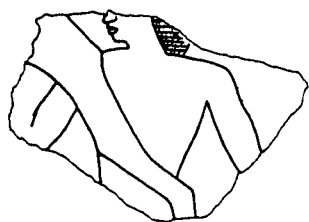


118/A/78



119/A/78

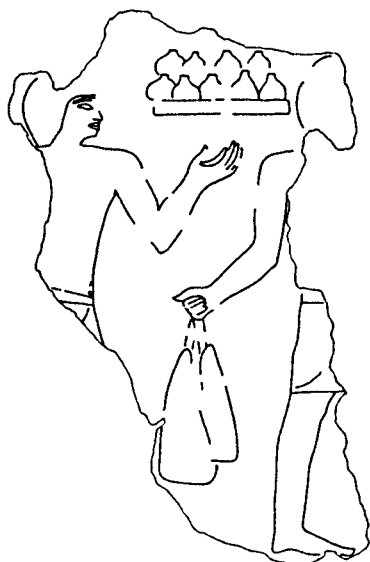




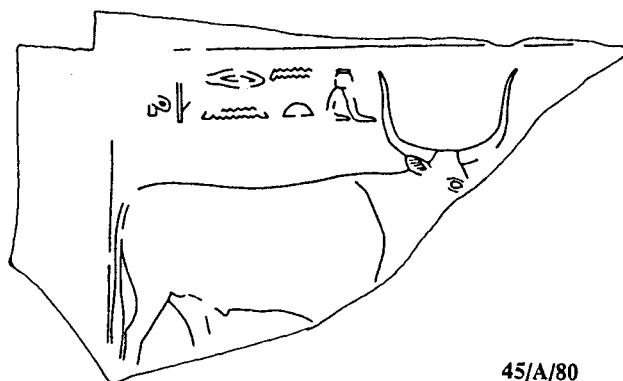
232/A/78



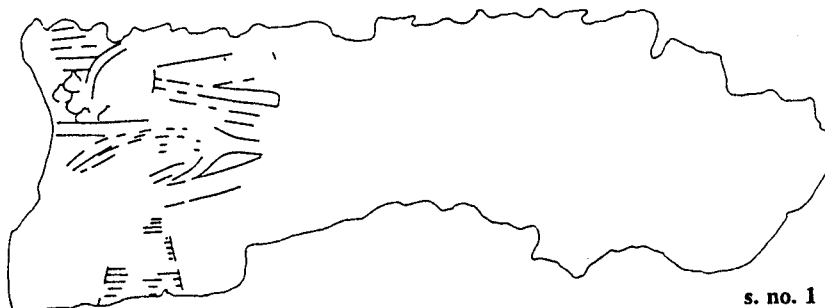
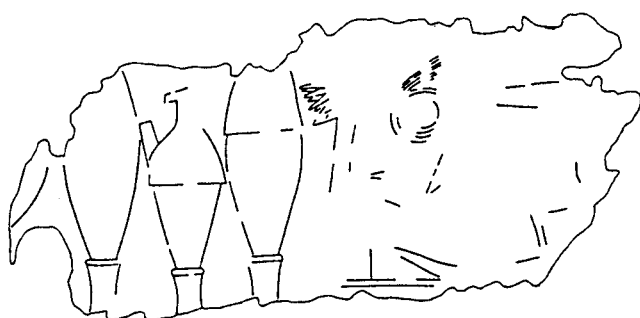
249/A/78



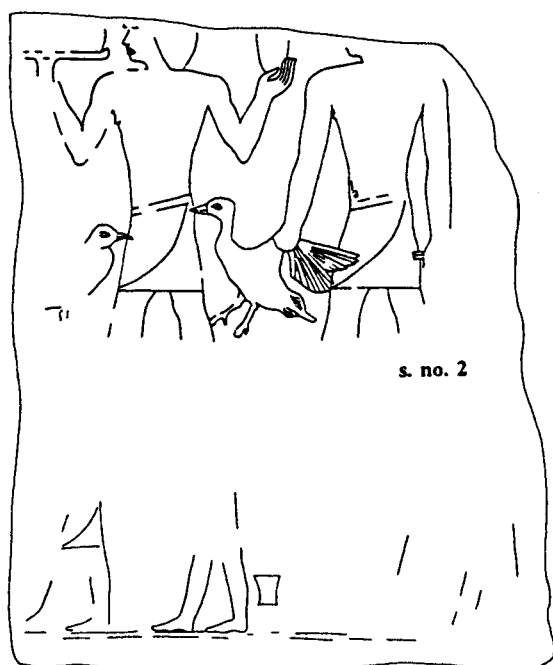
394/A/78



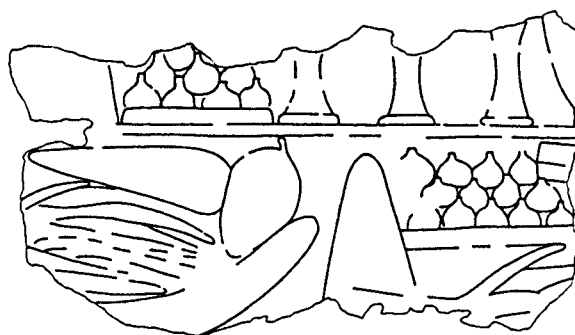
45/A/80



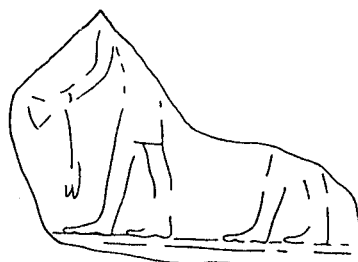
s. no. 1



s. no. 2



s. no. 3



s. no. 4



s. no. 5



s. no. 6

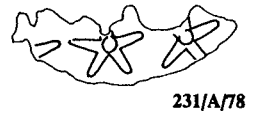
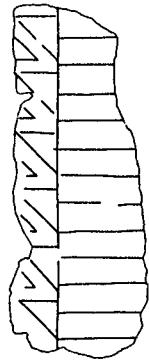
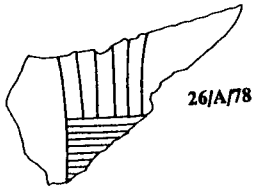
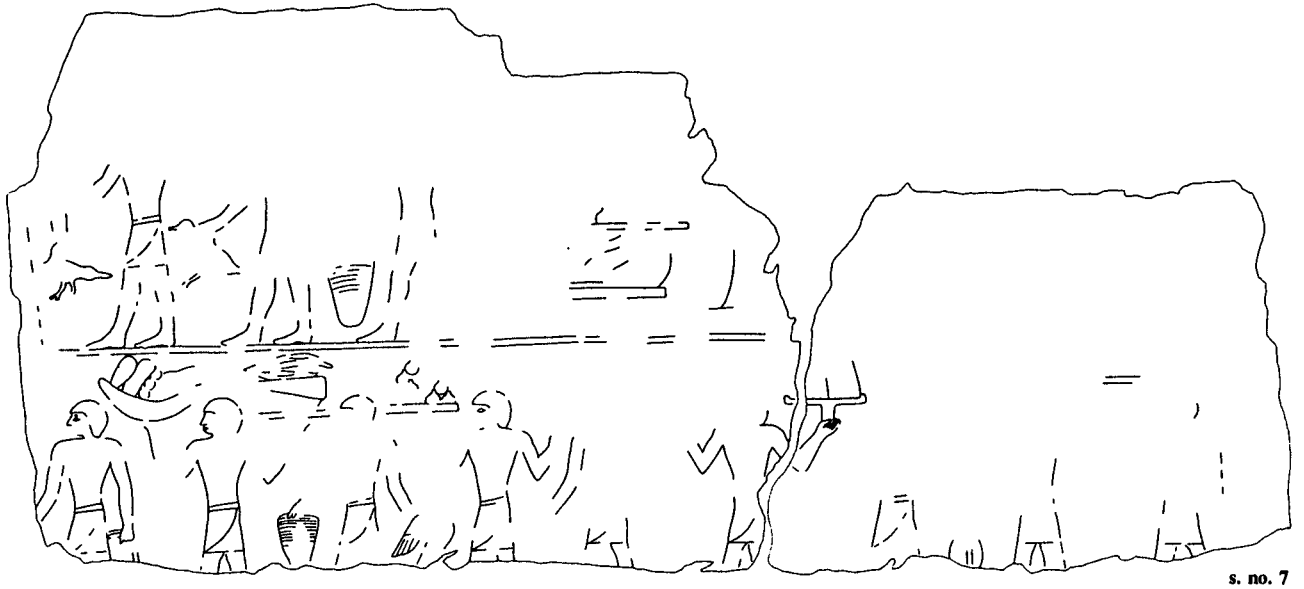




Fig. 1 View of the Czech archaeological concession in South Abusir from the pyramid of Neferirkare. In the foreground is the pyramid complex of Khentkaus (taken at the commencement of the excavation in 1976).

PLATE 2



Fig. 5 Clearly deriving from a limestone ceiling slab (from above the sarcophagus chamber), comes the capital of a column of, that had been cut in the late New Kingdom.



Fig. 6 View of the structure of the inner core of the pyramid.

Fig. 12 Corner fragment of a black granite pyramidion.

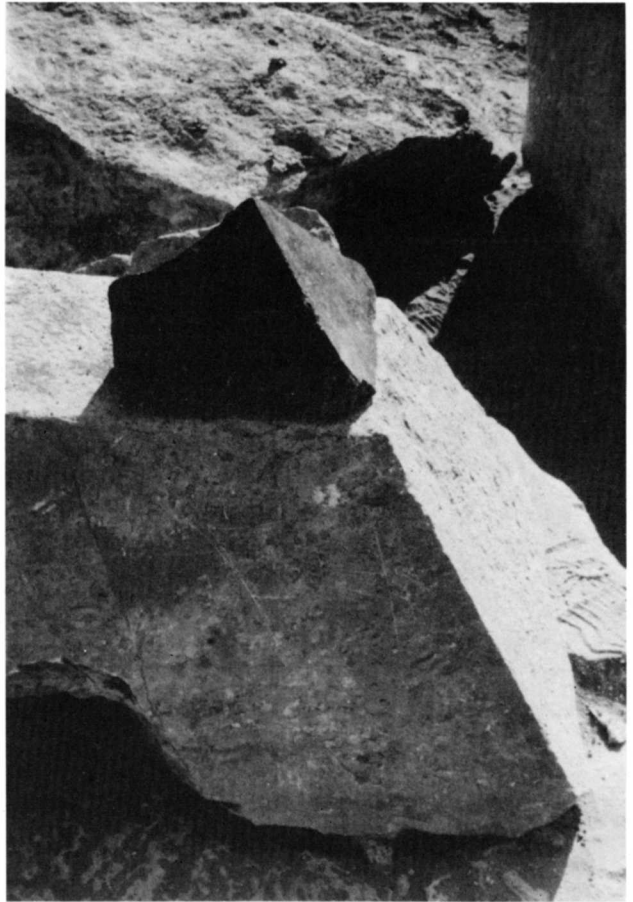


Fig. 11 Fragment of a blue-glazed faience tablet bearing a cartouche of Neferkare (Pepi II).



Fig. 13 A late Dyn. 19 anthropoid coffin with carefully carved hands.

PLATE 4

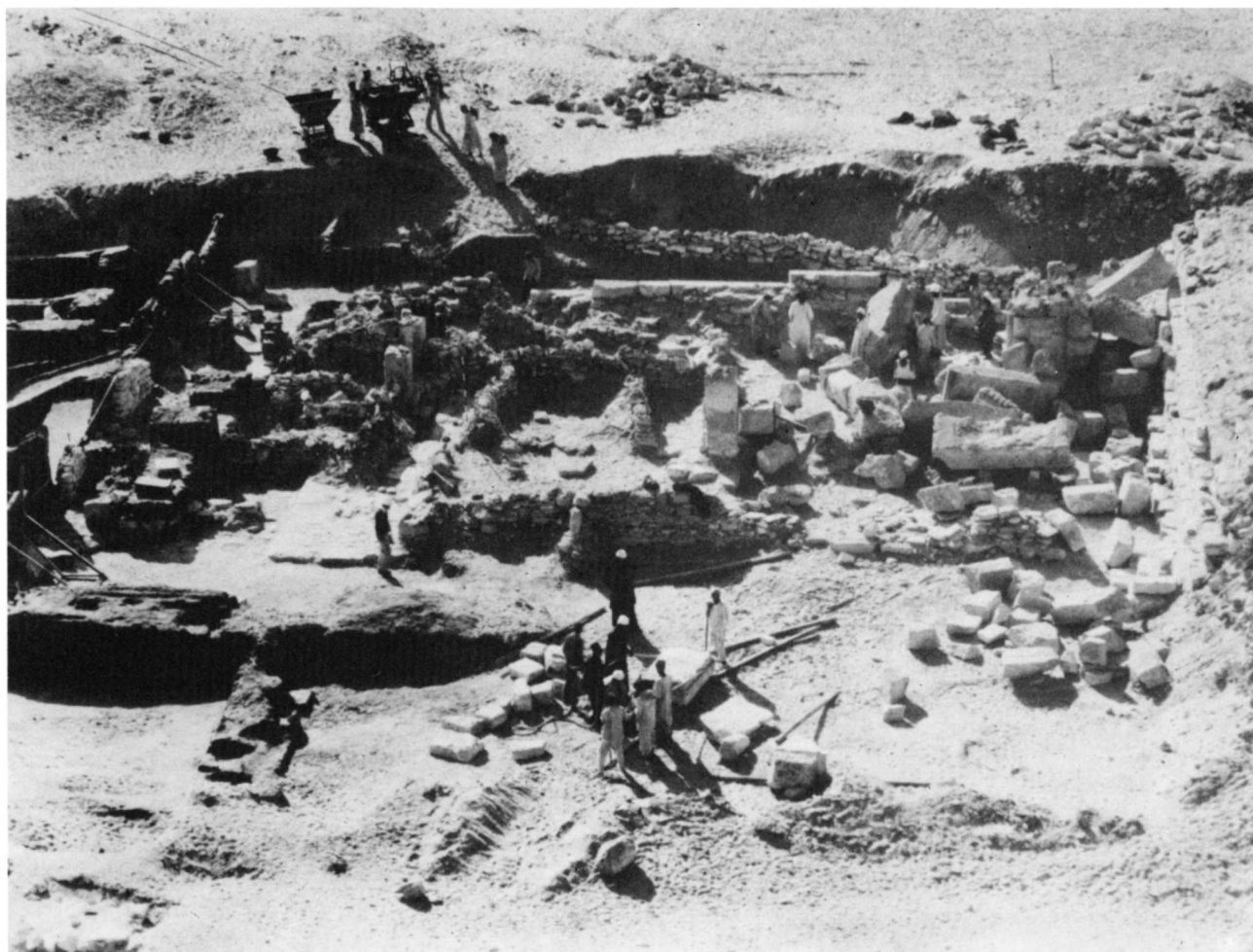


Fig. 15a Shelters built by stone robbers in the ruins of the mortuary temple.



Fig. 16 Fragments of a decorated Coptic jar.

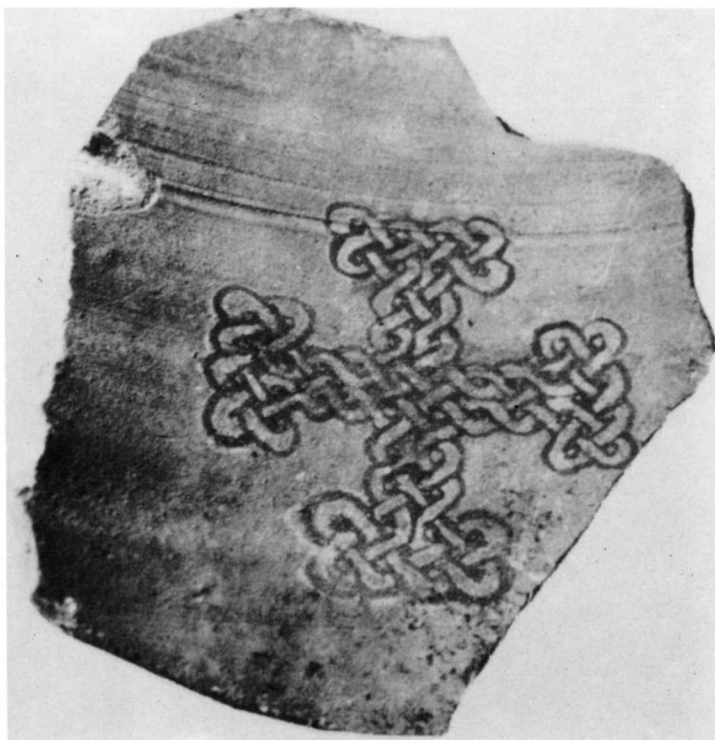


Fig. 17 Coptic potsherd with a red painted cross.

Fig. 26 Remains of the potter's workshop.

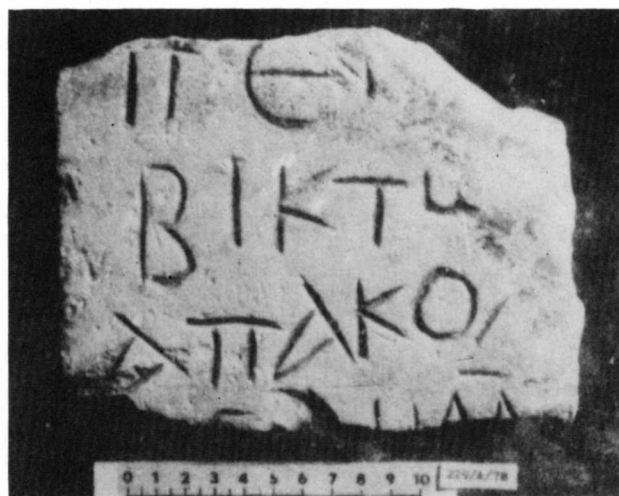


Fig. 18 Fragment of an inscribed Coptic limestone slab.

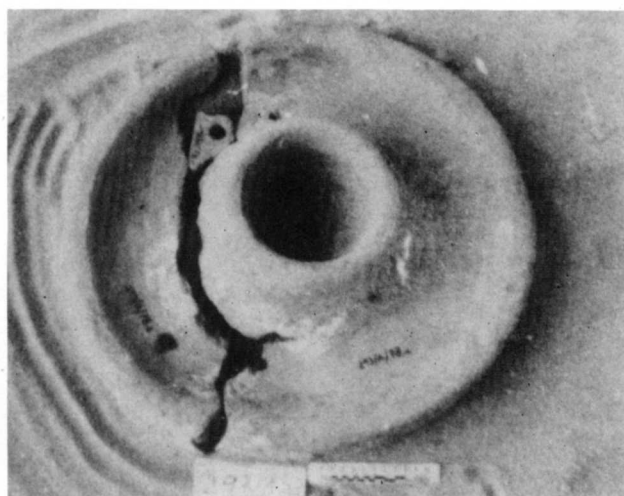


Fig. 27a Remains of the potter's wheel.

PLATE 6

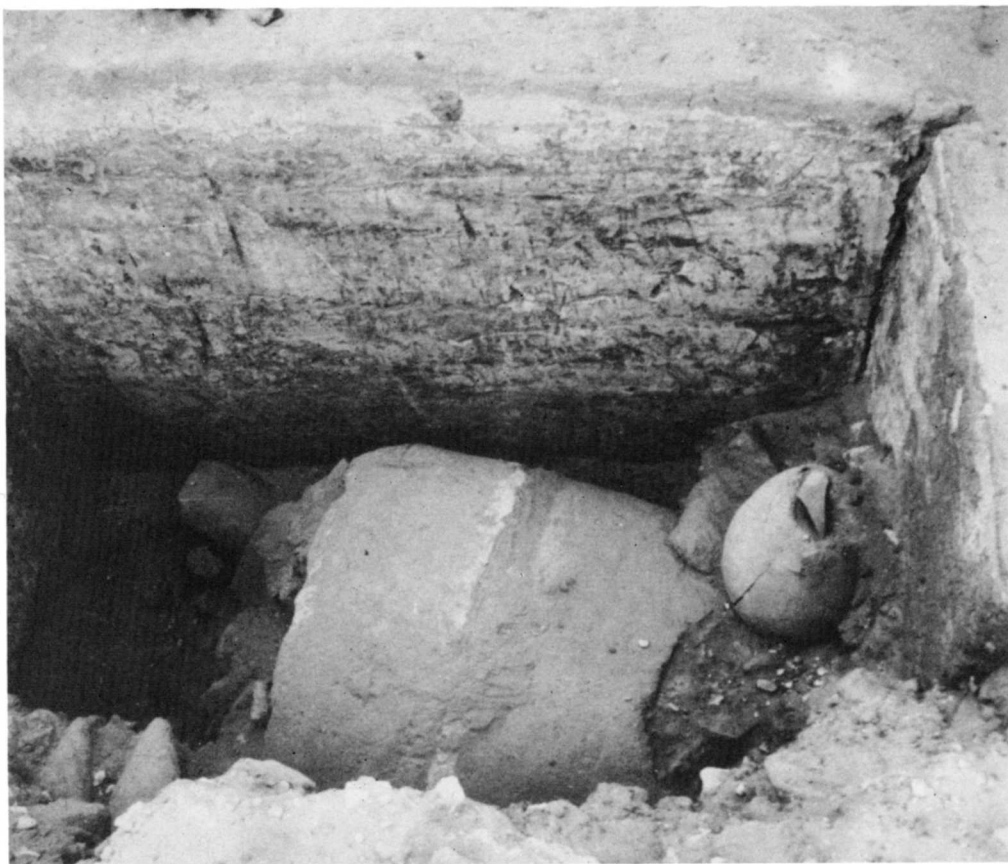


Fig. 28 Barrel-shaped jar which served for the storage of clay used in the potter's workshop.

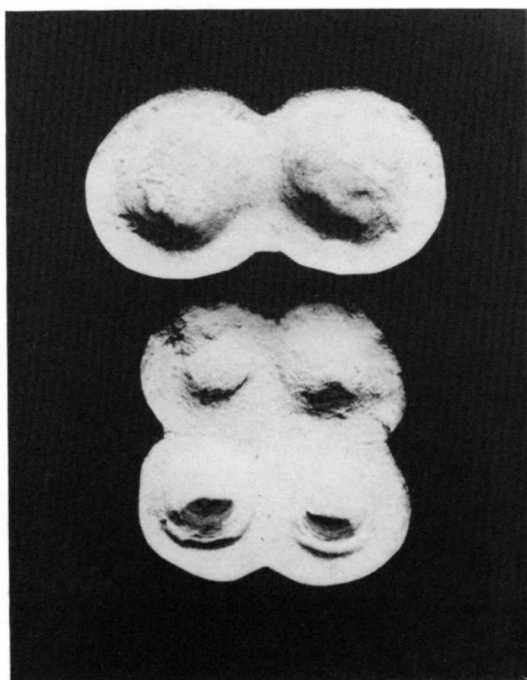


Fig. 29 Symbolic miniature limestone dishes.

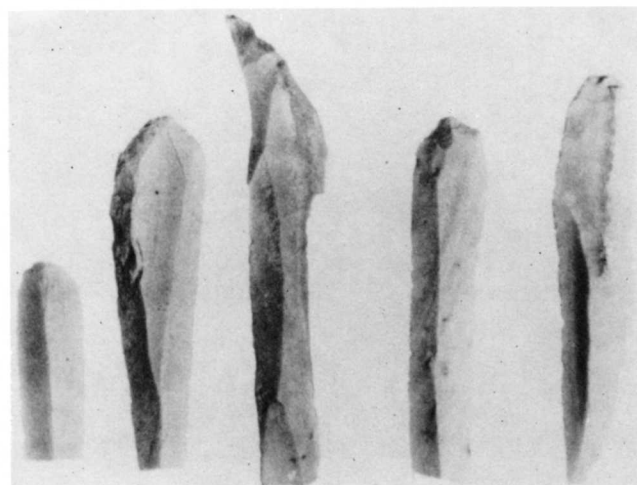
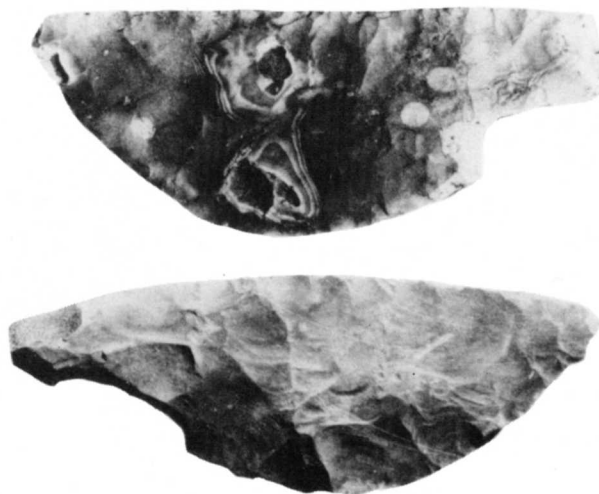


Fig. 30 Flint knives.

Fig. 32 Stone weights.



Fig. 31 Straw brush.

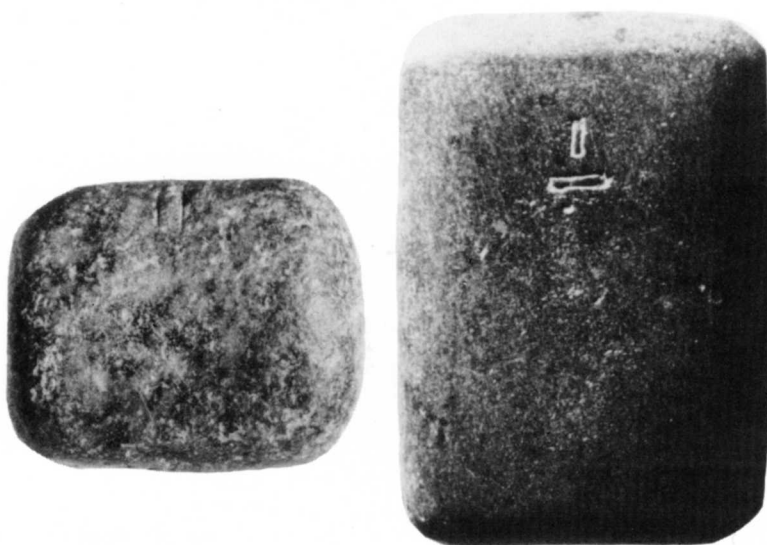


Fig. 34 Fragment of a sandal made of papyrus.

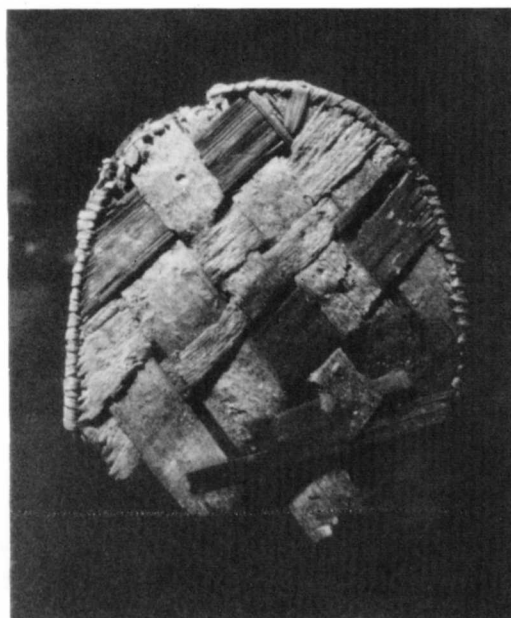


PLATE 8

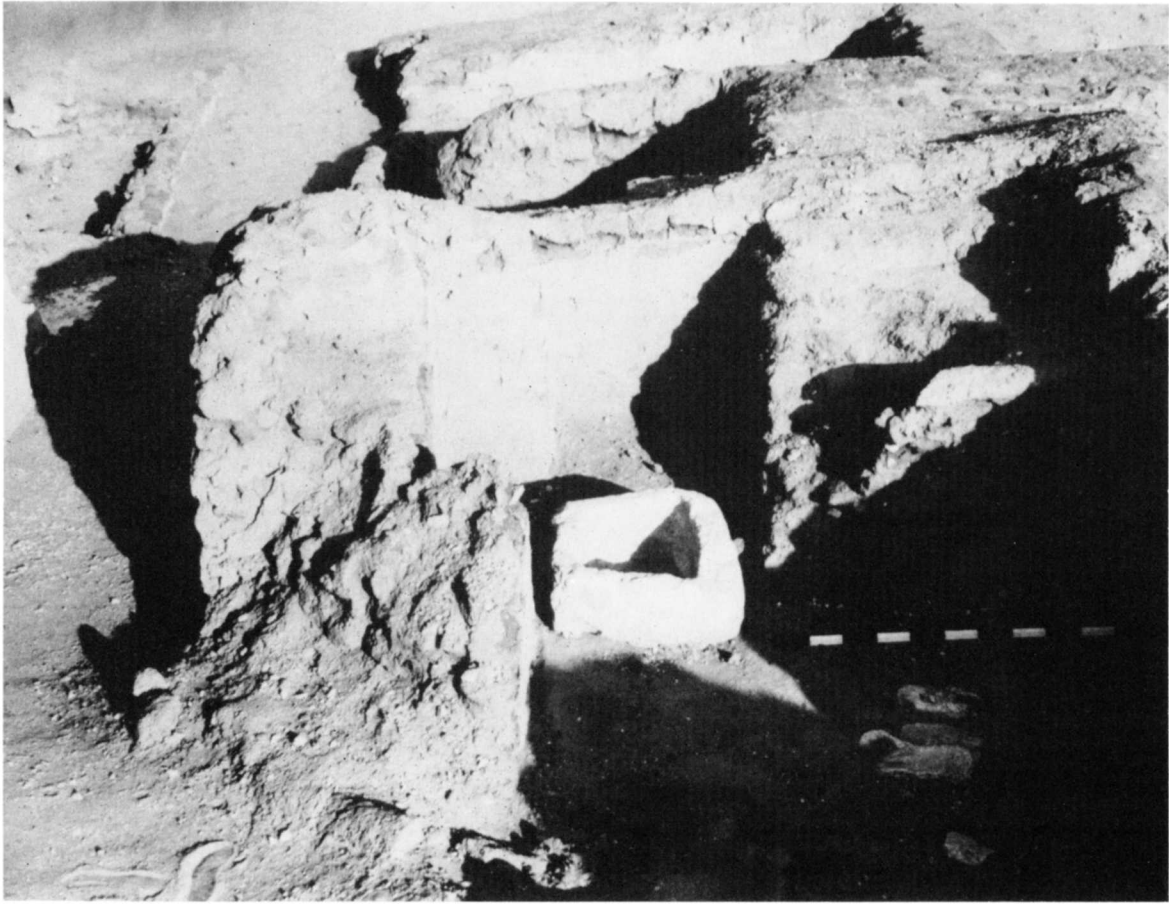
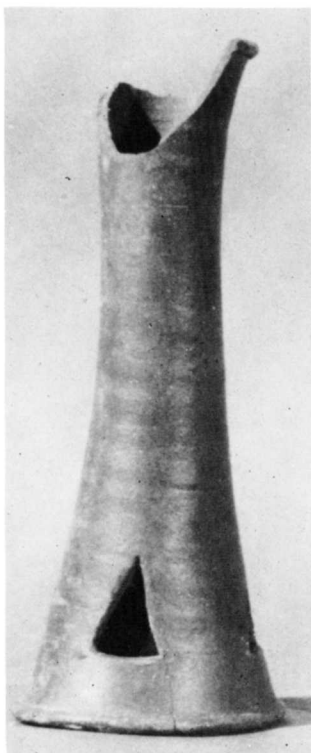


Fig. 38 Limestone basin near the entrance to the temple.

Fig. 39 S-shaped ramp.





*Fig. 44 Pottery stand
for an offering table.*



Fig. 42 Remains of painted blue stripes which decorated the whitewashed wall near the entrance to the corridor in front of the magazines.

Fig. 46a Potter's kiln.

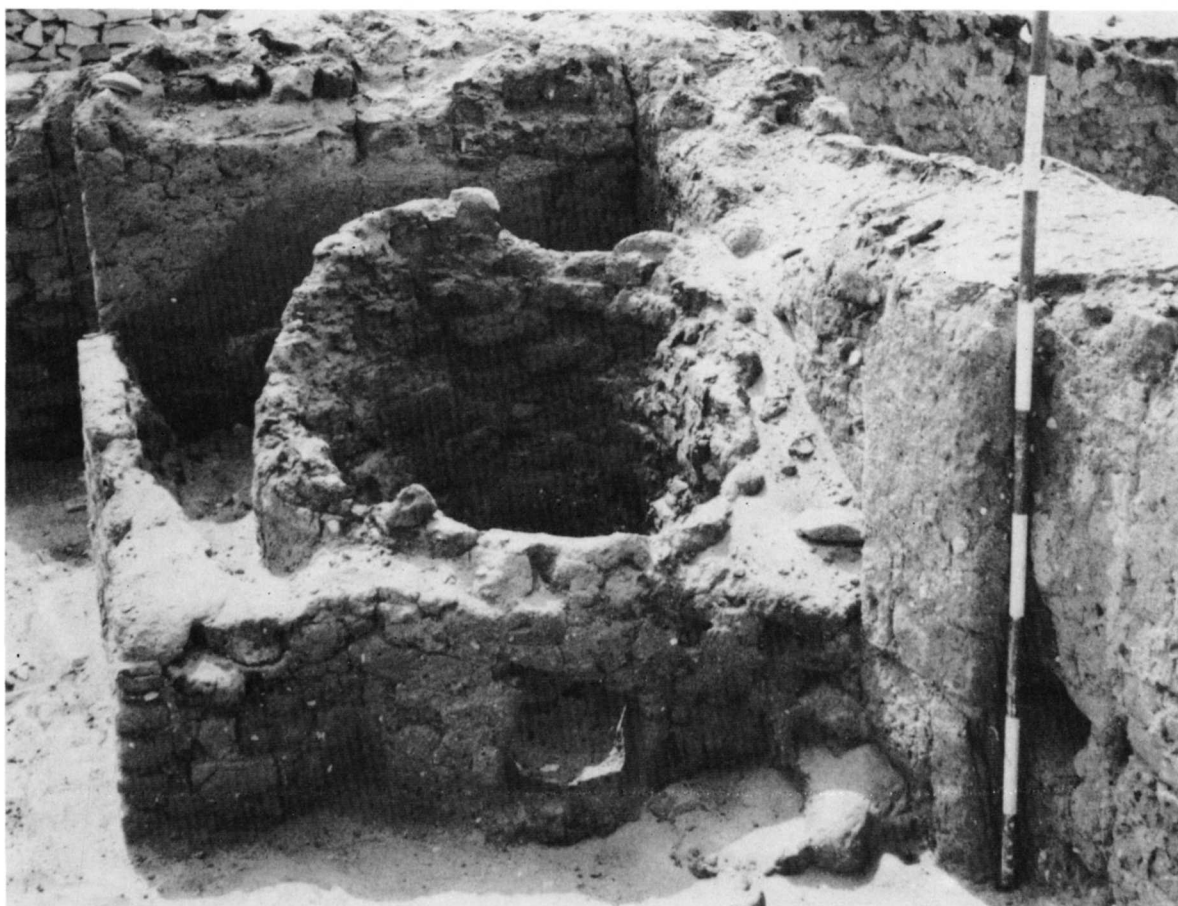


PLATE 10

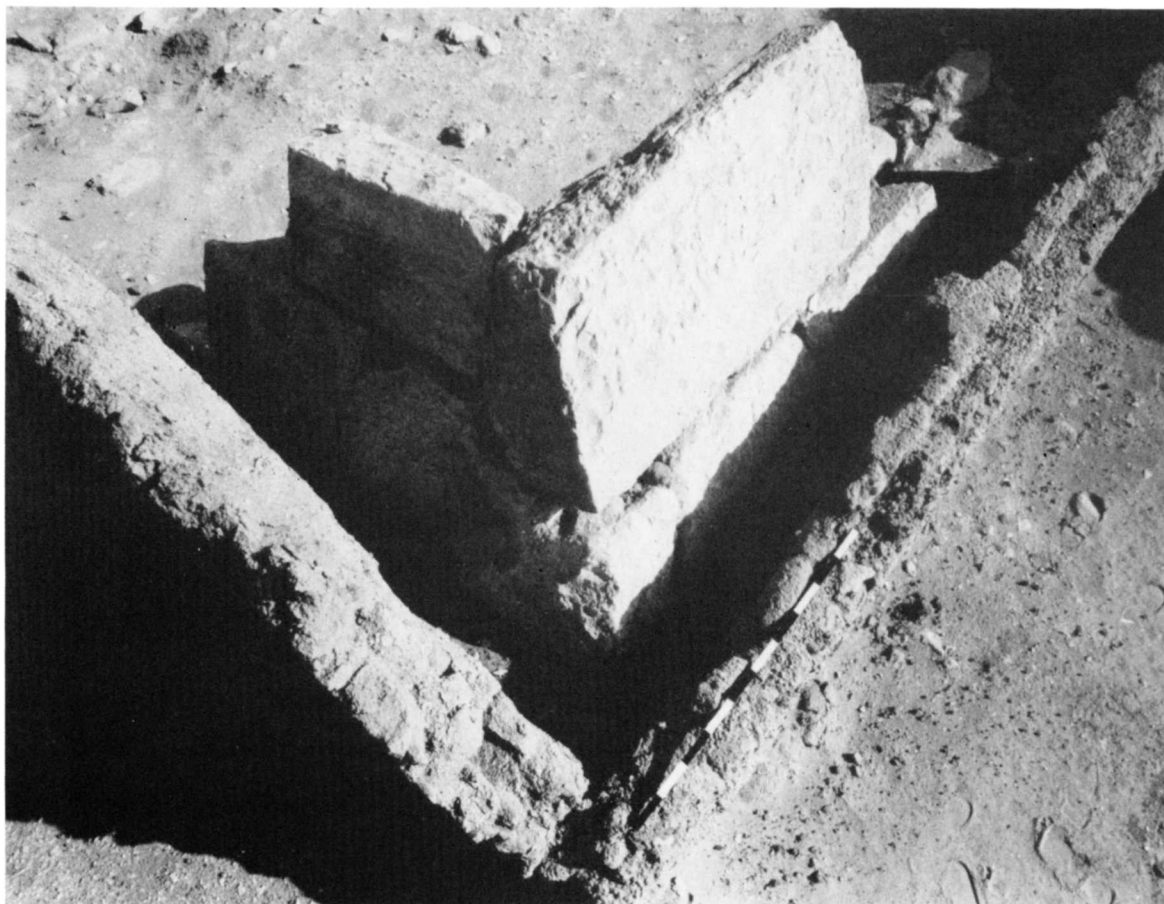


Fig. 50 The extant portion (north-west corner) of the cult pyramid.

Fig. 52 View of the small courtyard situated to the west of the cult pyramid.





Pillar (courtyard).



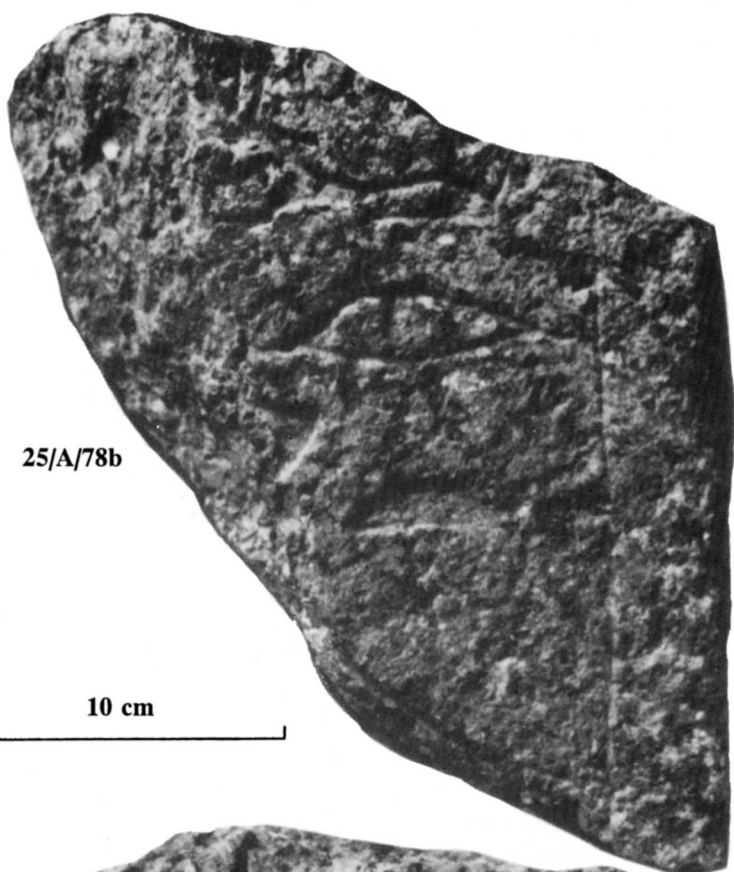
Pillar in situ (courtyard).

PLATE 12

25/A/78a



25/A/78b

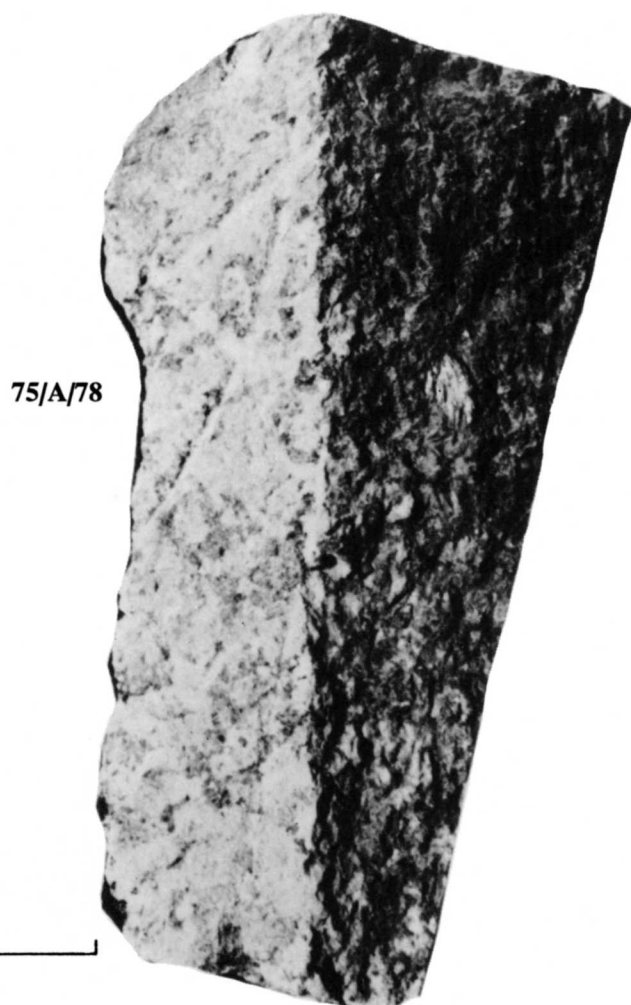
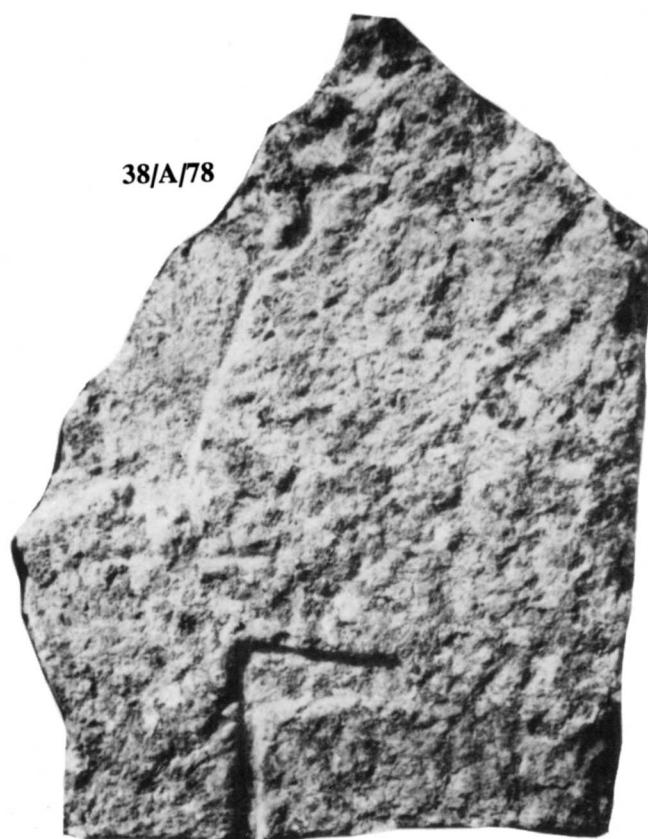
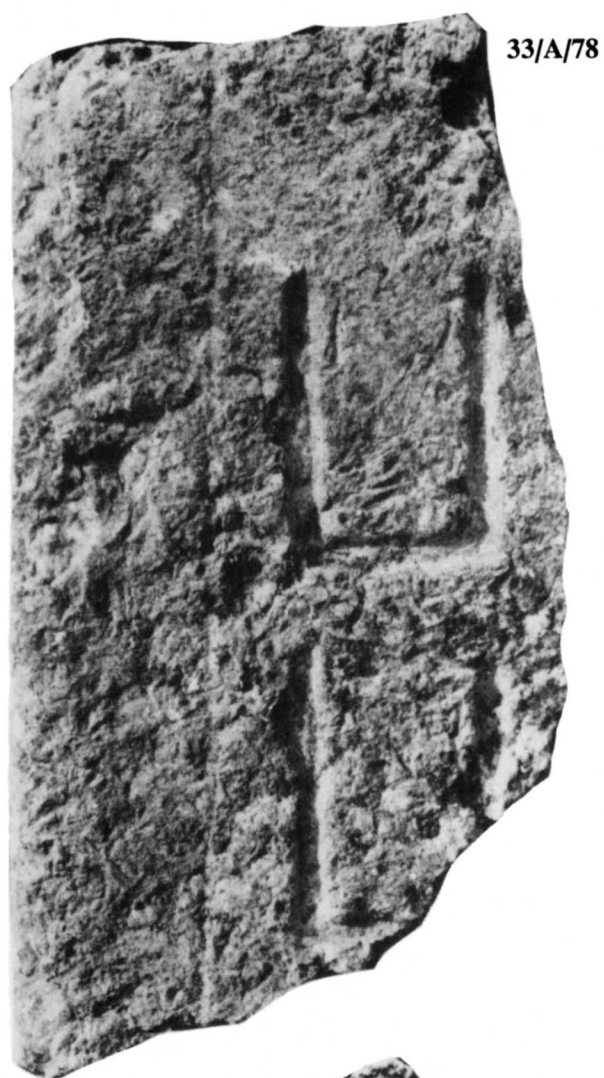


10 cm



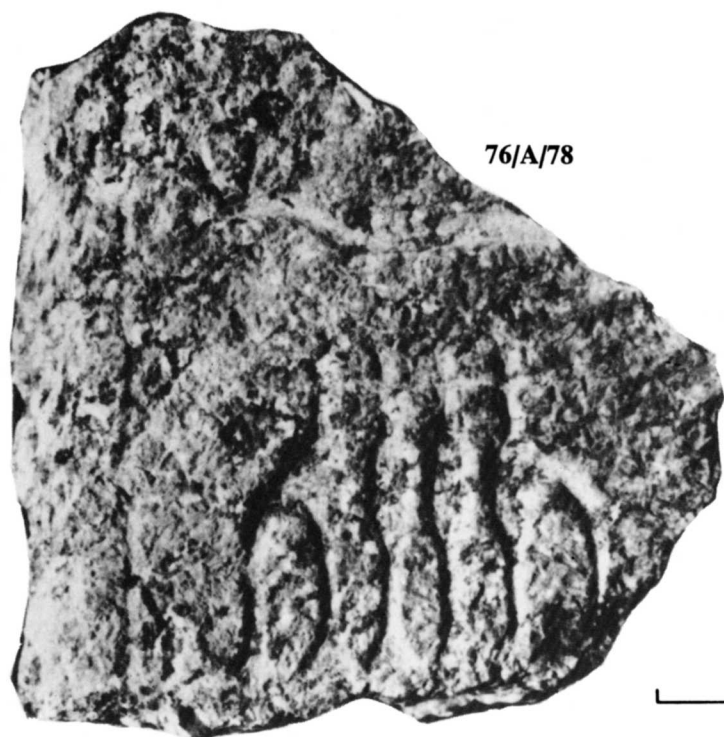
25/A/78c





10 cm

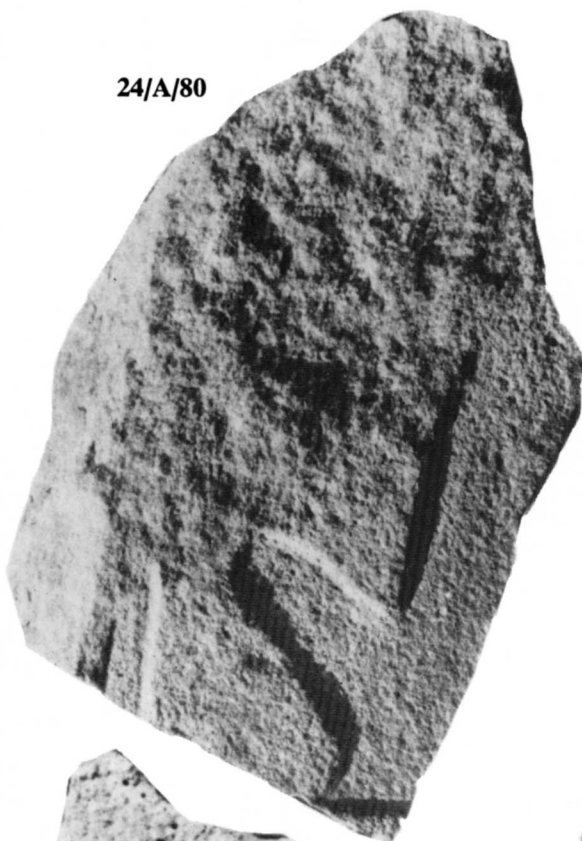
PLATE 14



10 cm



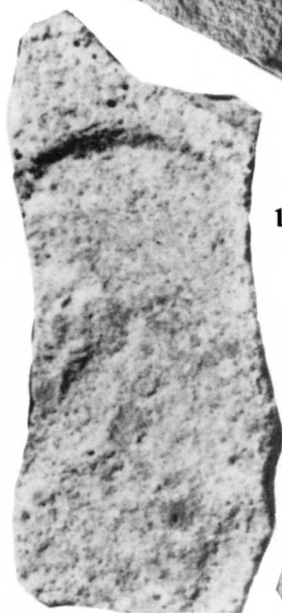
24/A/80



184/A/78



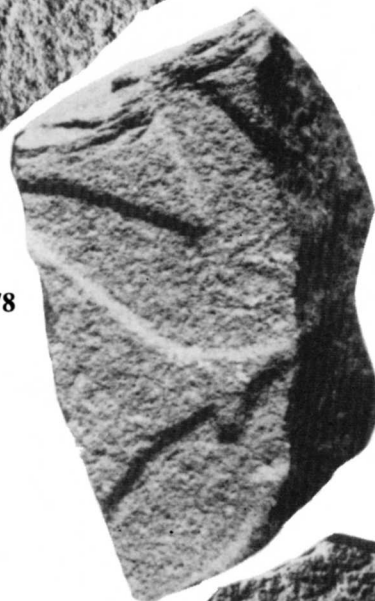
188/A/78



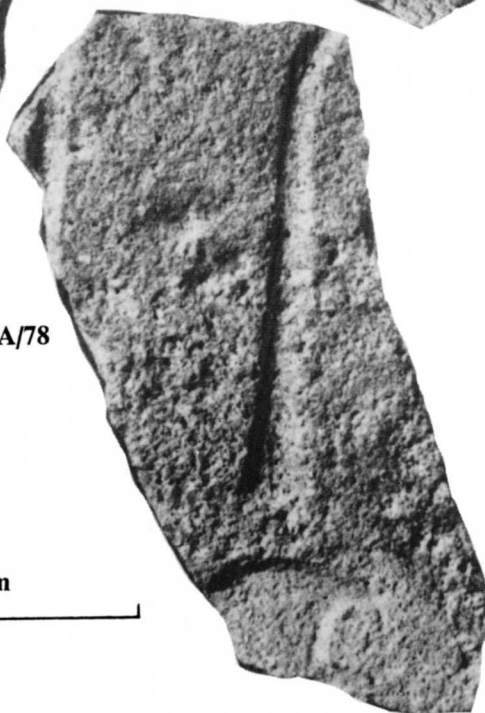
207/A/78



255/A/78



257/A/78



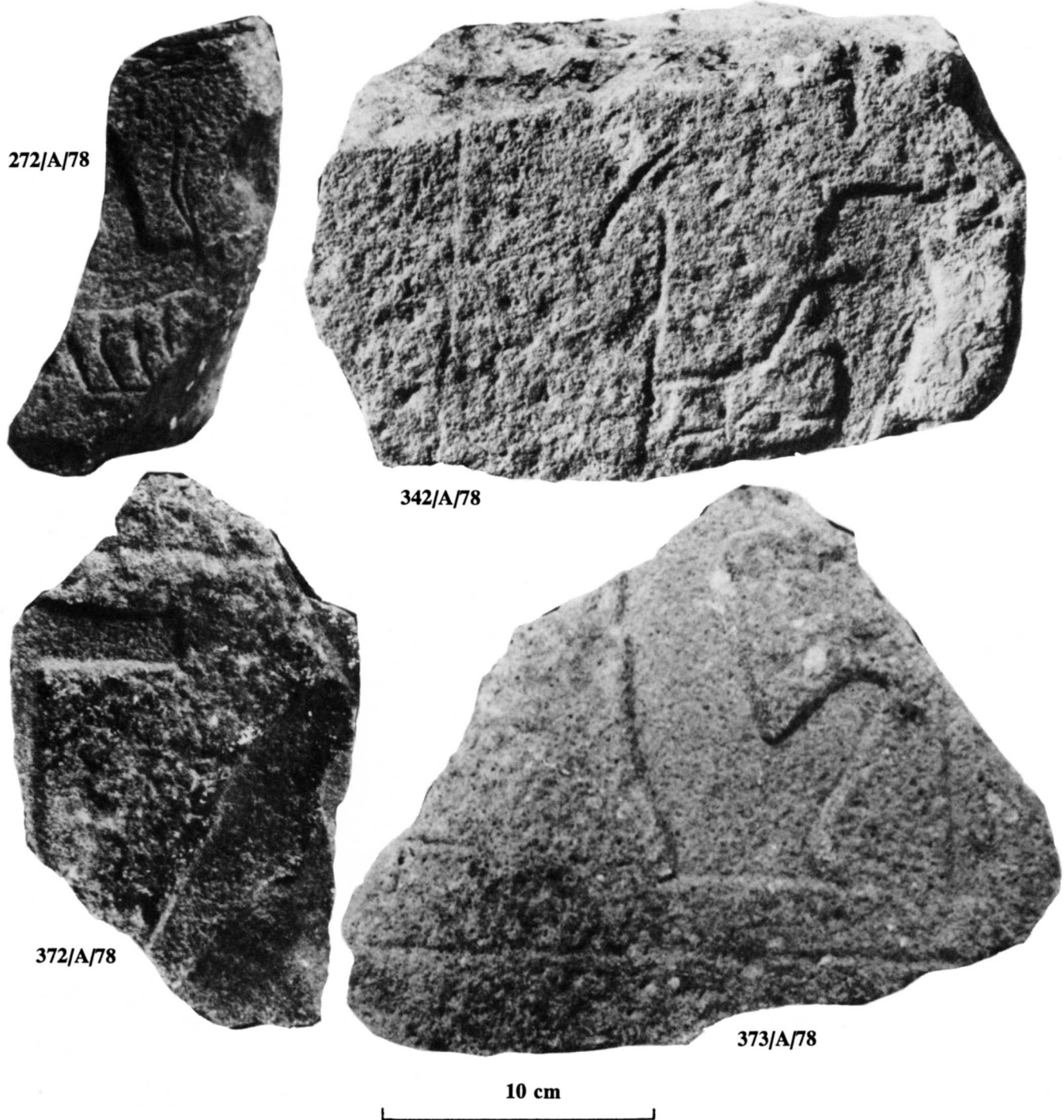
258/A/78



10 cm



PLATE 16



272/A/78

342/A/78

372/A/78

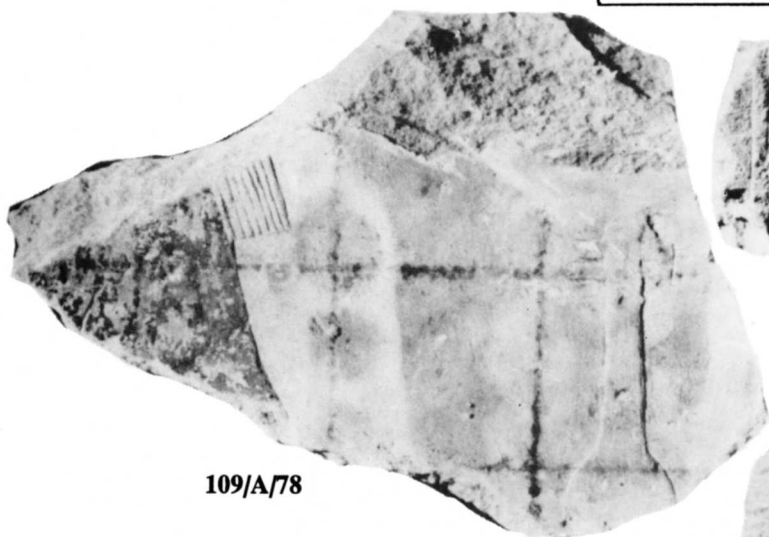
373/A/78

10 cm



36/A/78

20 cm



109/A/78



111/A/78

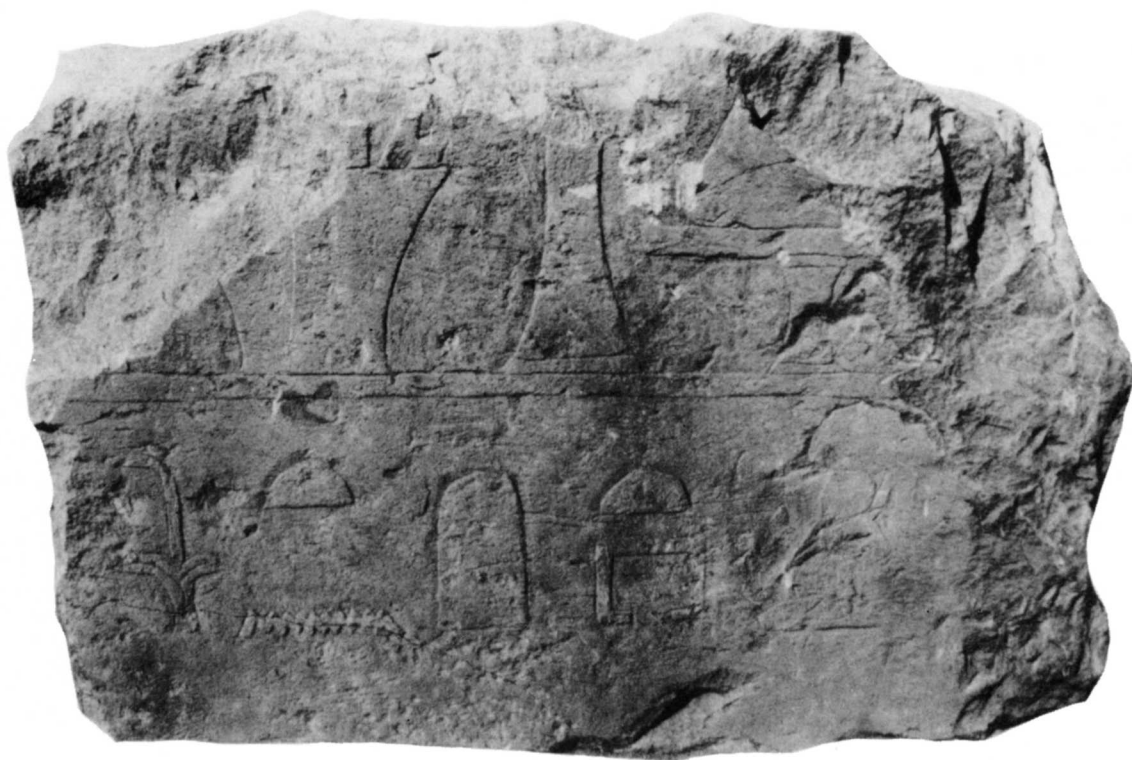


239/A/78

10 cm

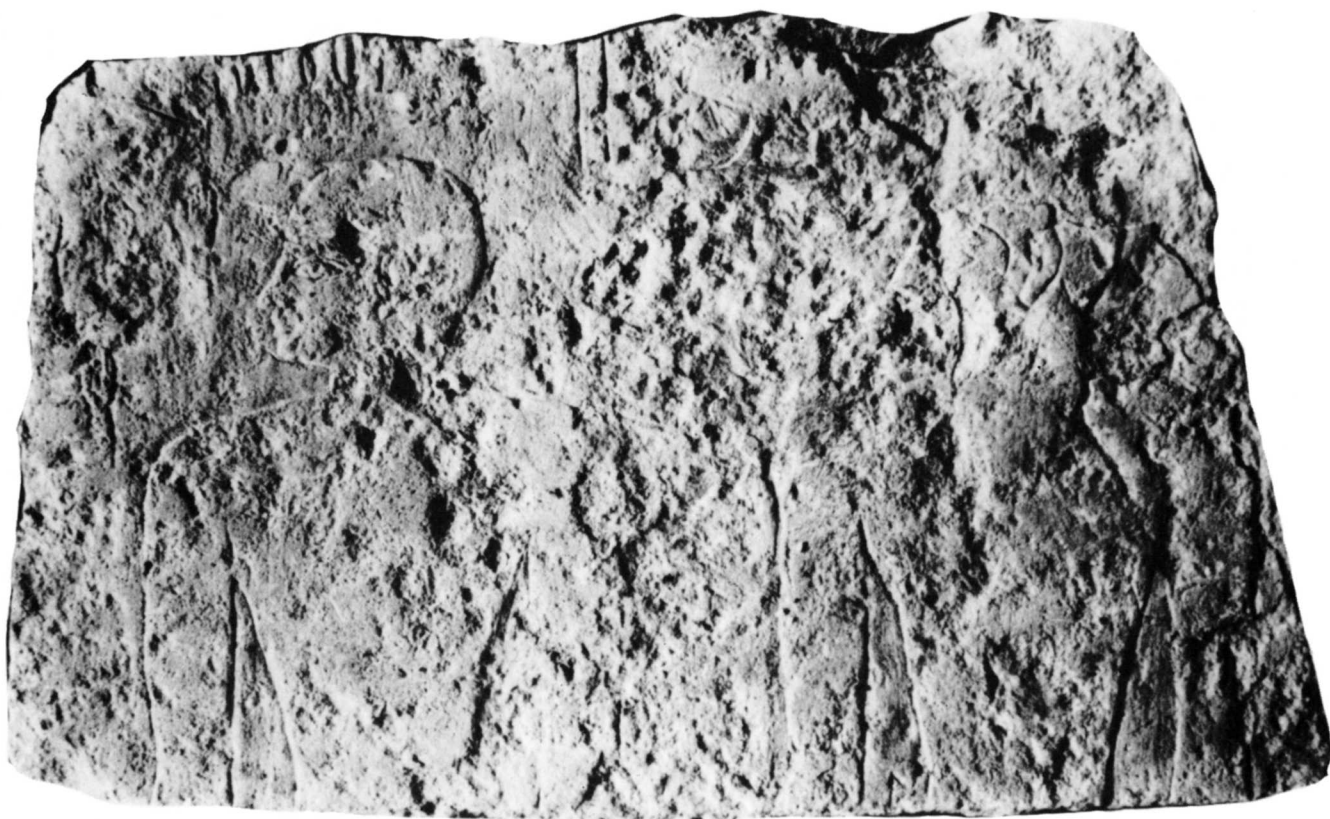


186/A/78



10 cm





230/A/78



248/A/78



259/A/78



260/A/78



328/A/78

10 cm

34/A/78



10 cm



62/A/78



158/A/78



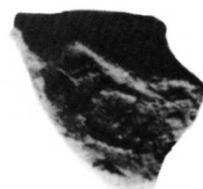


179/A/78



87/A/78

10 cm



90/A/80a,b,c,d,e,f

PLATE 22

2 cm



279/A/78



285/A/78



286/A/78a



287/A/78

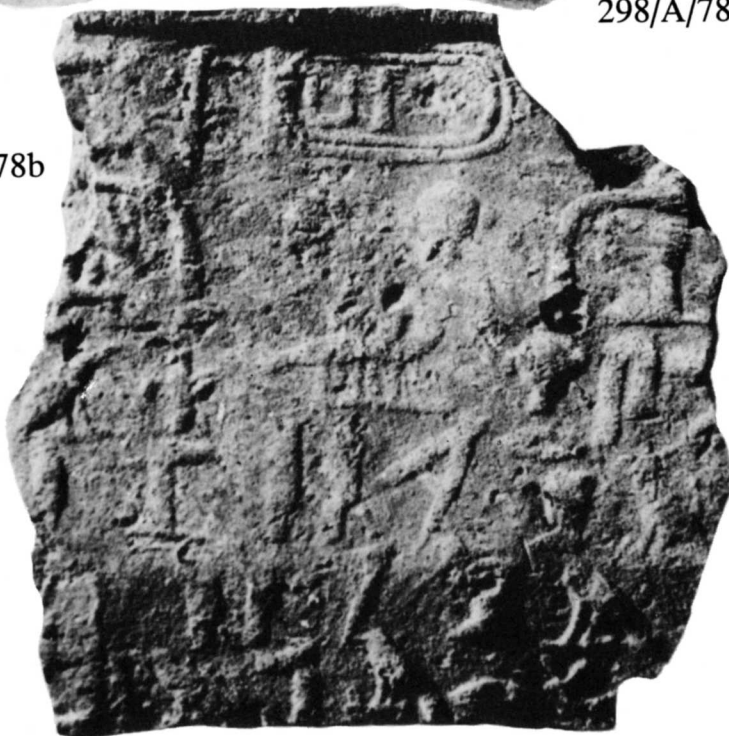


298/A/78



316/A/78a

316/A/78b





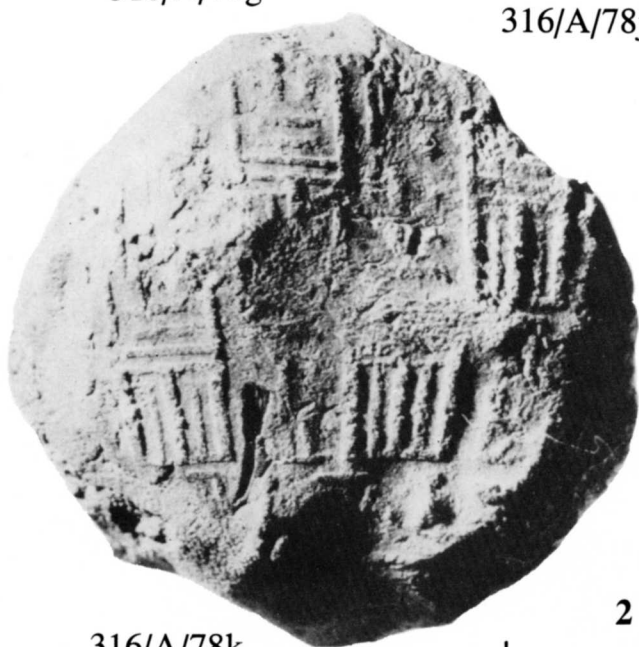
316/A/78g



316/A/78j



316/A/78l



316/A/78k

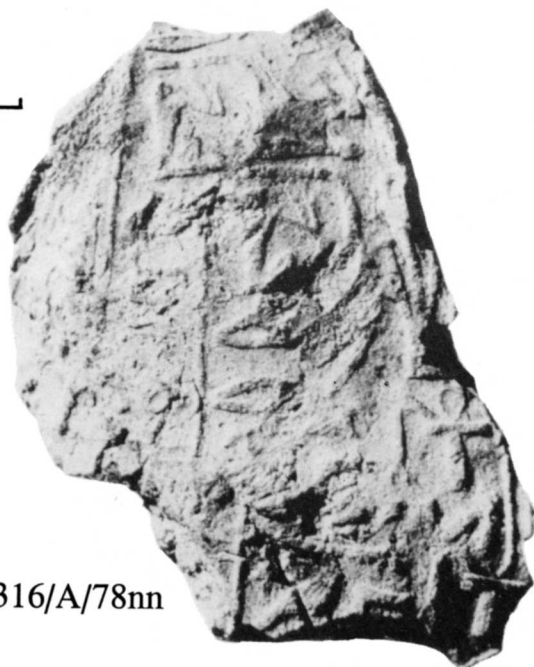


316/A/78n

2 cm



316/A/78p



316/A/78nn

PLATE 24



316/A/78s



316/A/78ss



316/A/78kk

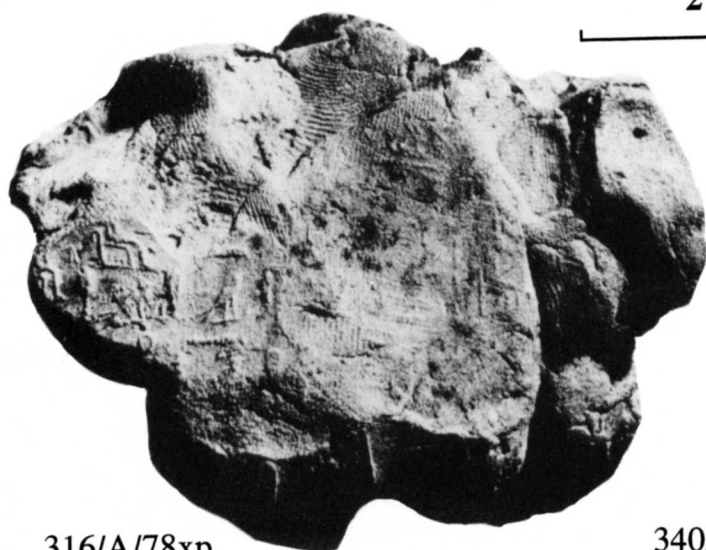


316/A/78uu



316/A/78xm

2 cm



316/A/78xp



340/A/78a



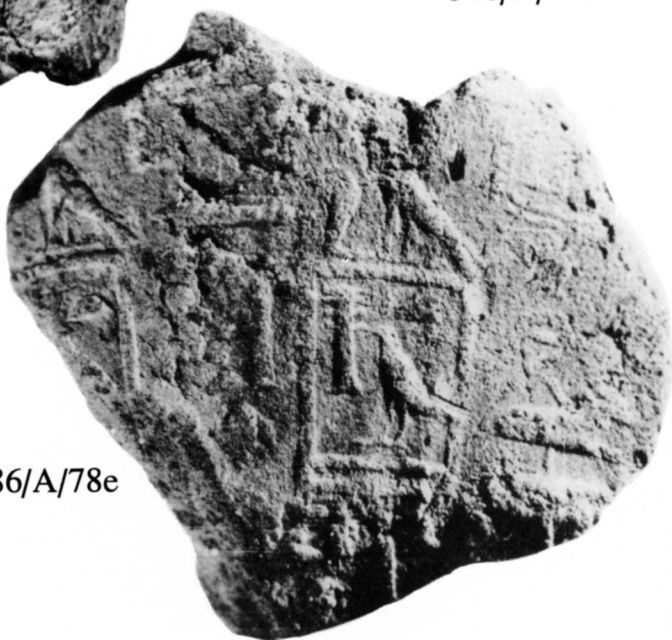
317/A/78d



340/A/78f



53/A/80



386/A/78e

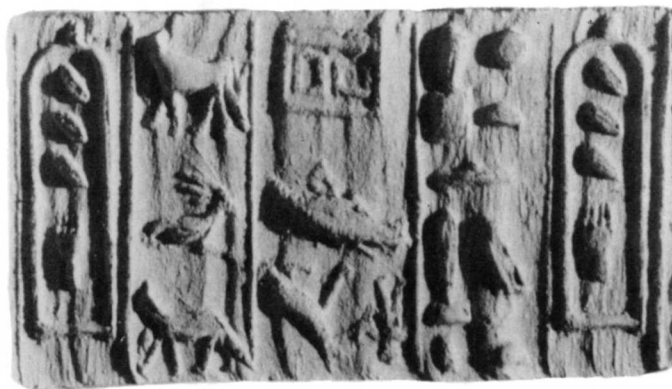
62/A/80



126/A/80



109/A/80



2 cm

PLATE 26



2/A/85b



10/A/85a



13/A/85c



13/A/85f



13/A/85n

2 cm



A



F



G



B



H



C



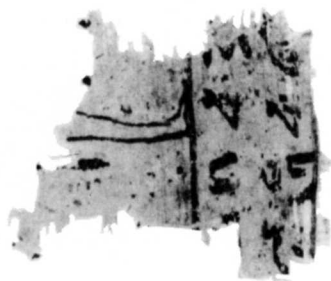
I



E

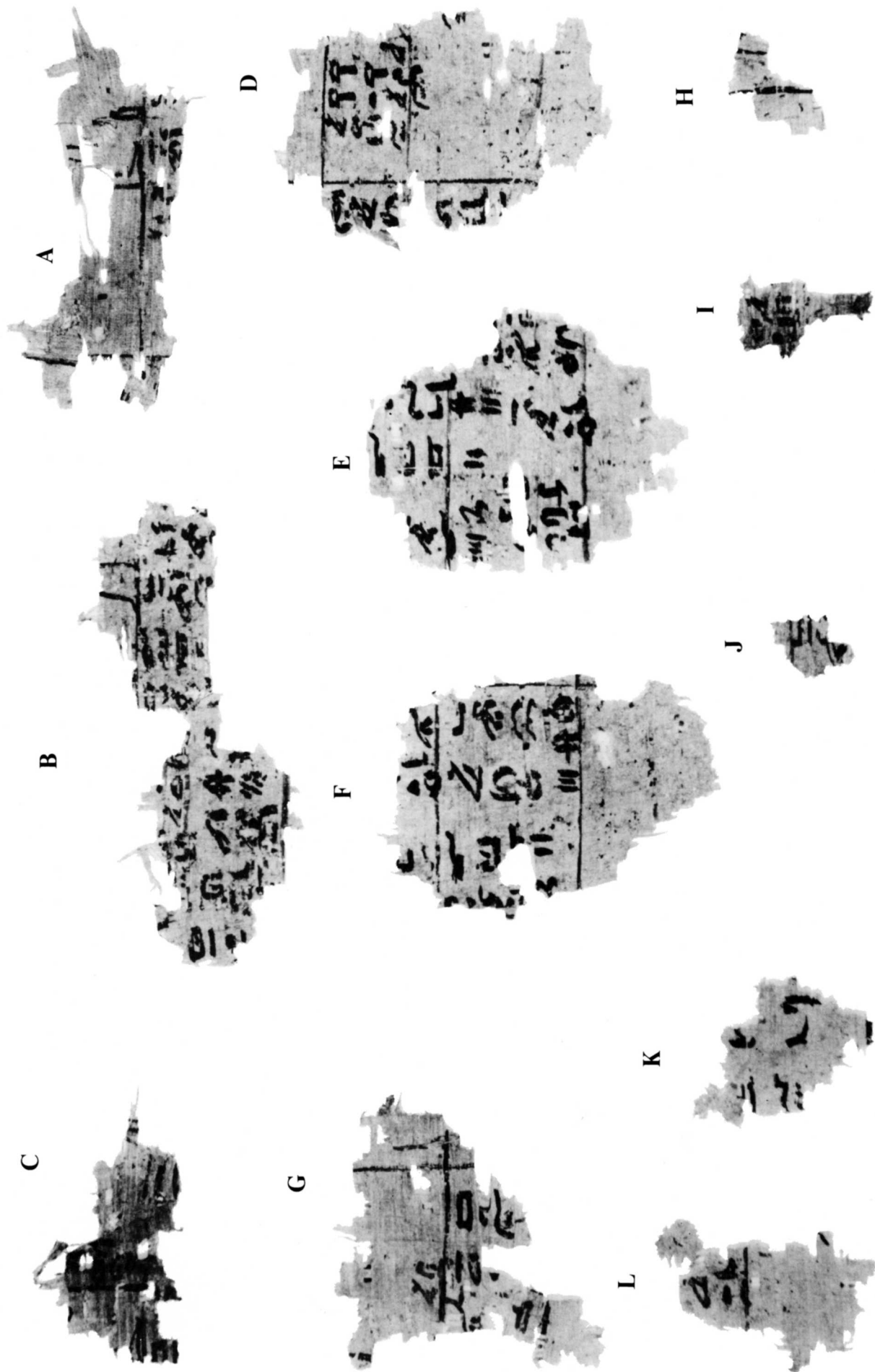


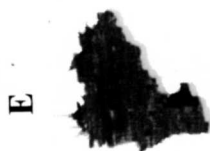
D



J







G



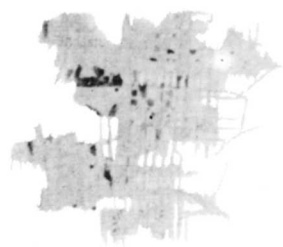
H



I



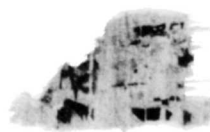
J



K

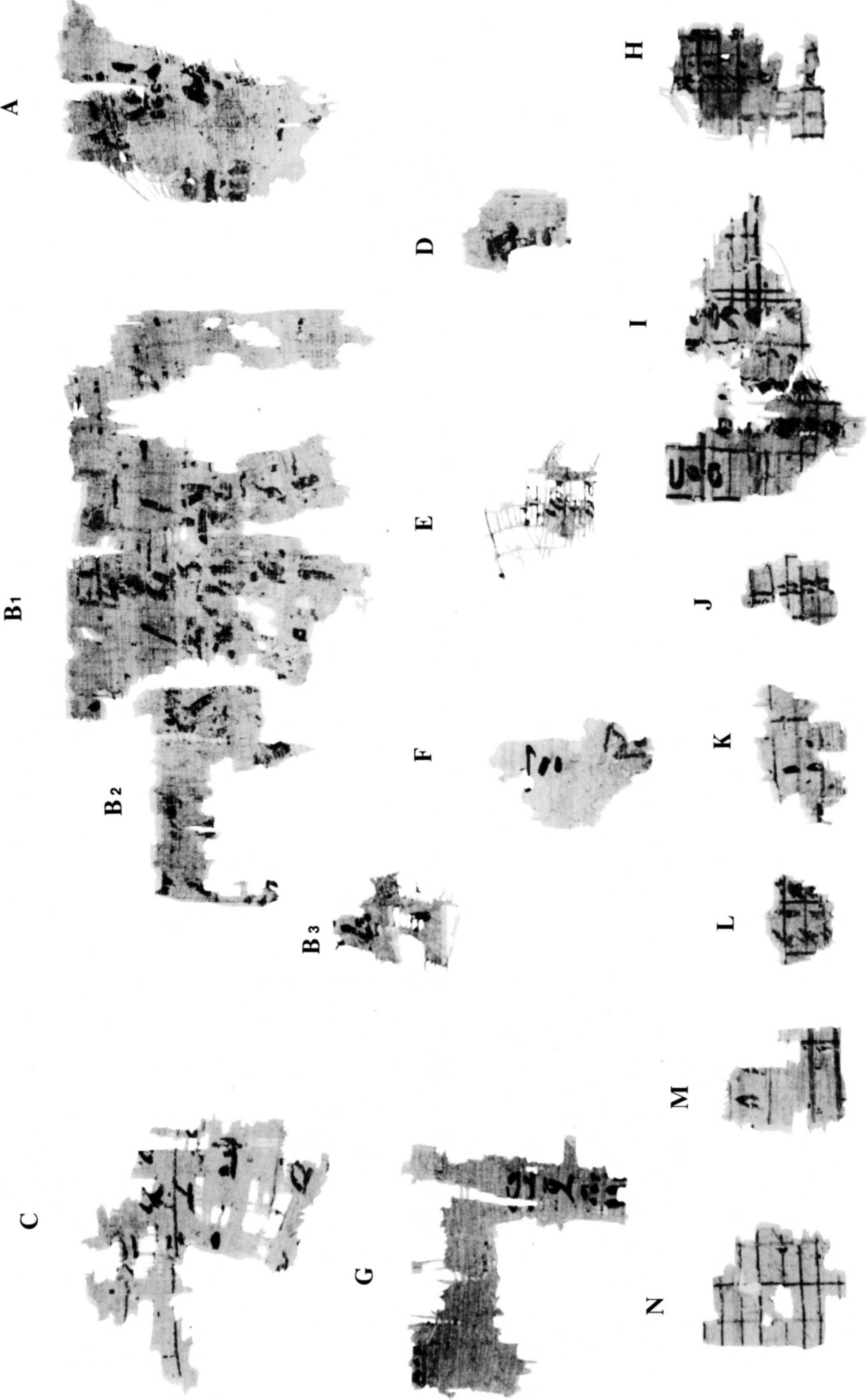


L



M





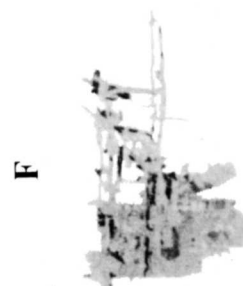
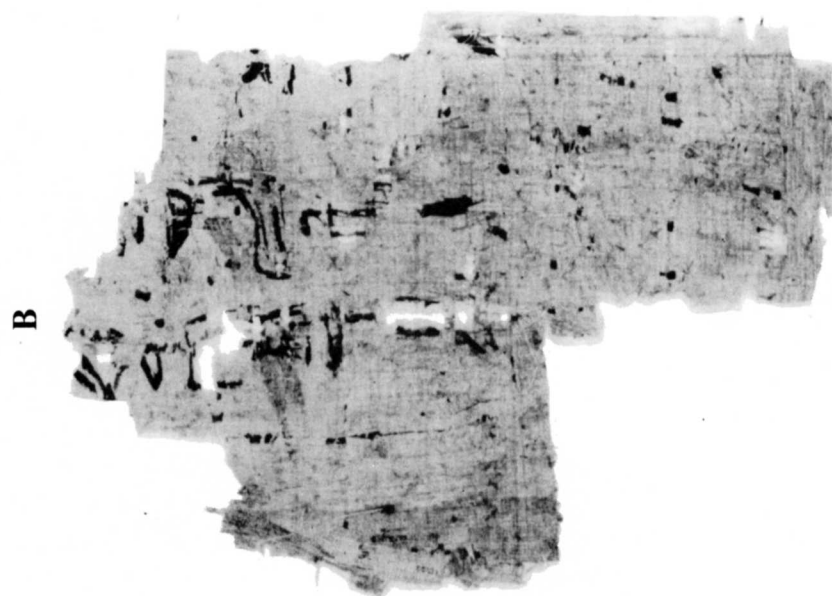
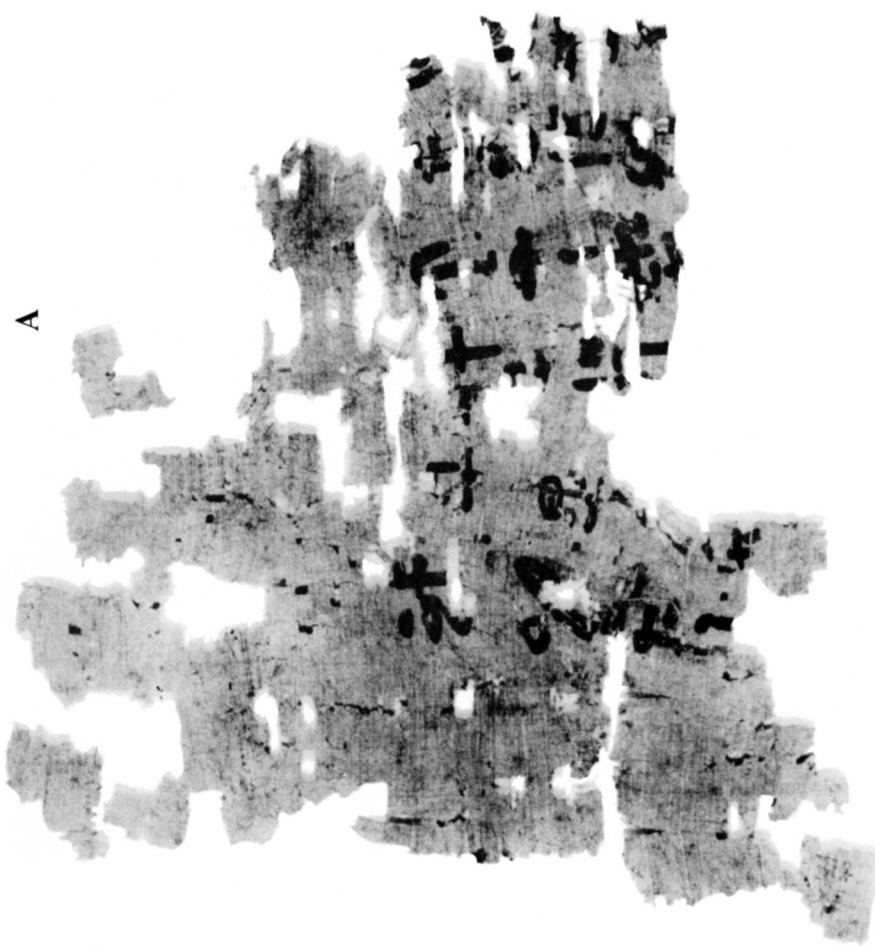


PLATE 32

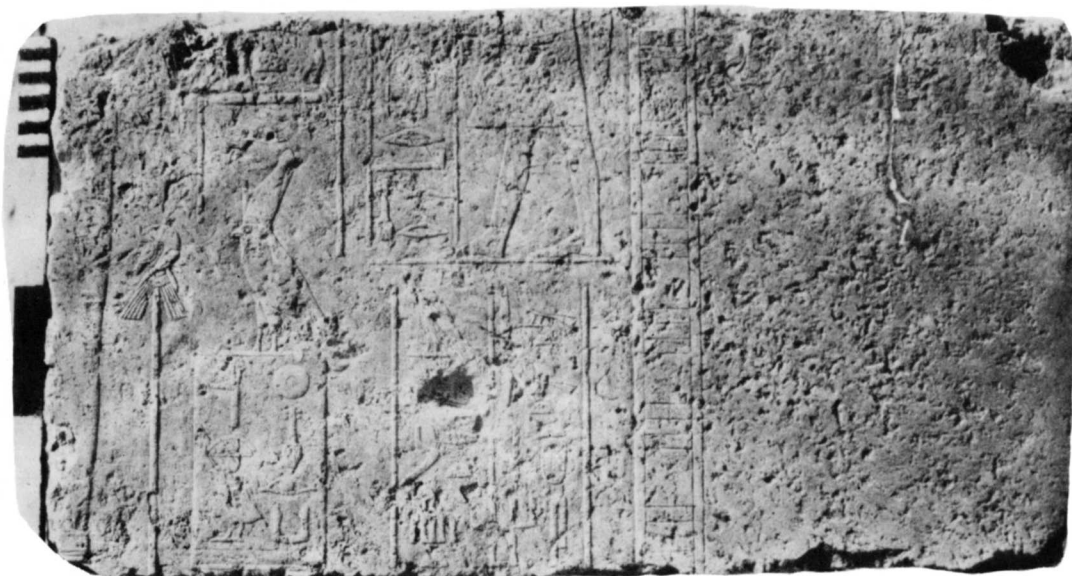


Fig. 82 Block from the pyramid complex of Neferirkare (the block was found by Ghazouly, photo courtesy Labib Habashi).

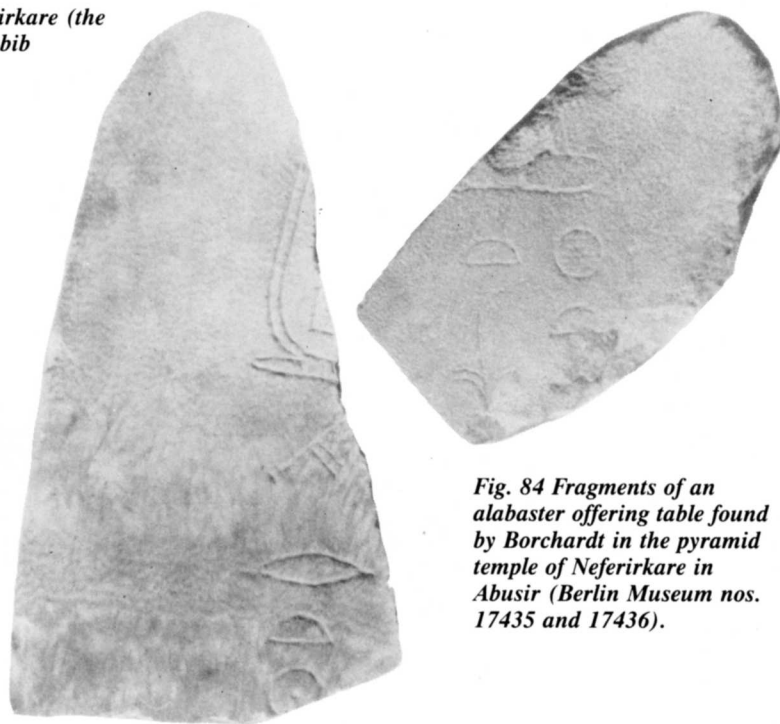


Fig. 84 Fragments of an alabaster offering table found by Borchardt in the pyramid temple of Neferirkare in Abusir (Berlin Museum nos. 17435 and 17436).



Fig. 85a Drawing of representation of Khentkaus I on the southern door jamb of the red granite gate in the Queen's tomb in Giza.



IV. SEALINGS

The brittle fragments of clay sealings, a hitherto in Egyptian archaeology frequently undervalued category of finds (fig. 64), have systematically been in the centre of our attention in the excavations into the pyramid complex of Khentkaus. Not only the historical but also the concrete archaeological significance of the finds of sealings is, without any exaggeration, great. The precise stratigraphy and relative chronology of the pyramid complex, its principal building stages as well as minor constructions and modifications are essentially based on the carefully documented archaeological circumstances of the finds of sealings.

The sealings also enable a better understanding of the often variable functions of different parts of the pyramid temple, the intensity of the mortuary cult, the structure of the temple's priesthood, etc. Last but not least, in a very important way the sealings complement the evidence of other categories of archaeological finds, including the written documents, not only from the Khentkaus's mortuary temple but also from other pyramid complexes and private tombs at Abusir, and enable a more comprehensive view of the whole archaeological locality.

143/A/78-a

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark grey clay.

3 x 3 cm

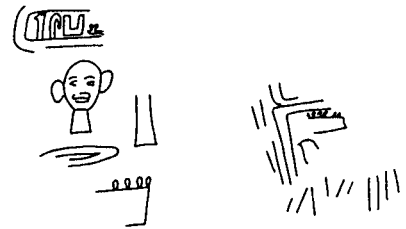
The fragment comes from a jar stopper. On the lower surface there is an impression of a string 2 mm in diameter. It can be estimated from the curve of the string that the original diameter of the mouth of the vessel would have been about 10 cm in diameter. On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

A: 1. *Wsr-k3*. [f]

2. *hry-š* [št3]

3. *ḏr* (?)

B: 1. [*Hr*] *Mn*-[*h*^c*w*]



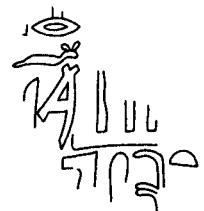
143/a/78-b

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.5 x 1.8 cm

The fragment comes probably from a jar stopper. On the surface of the fragment remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:
(from right to left)



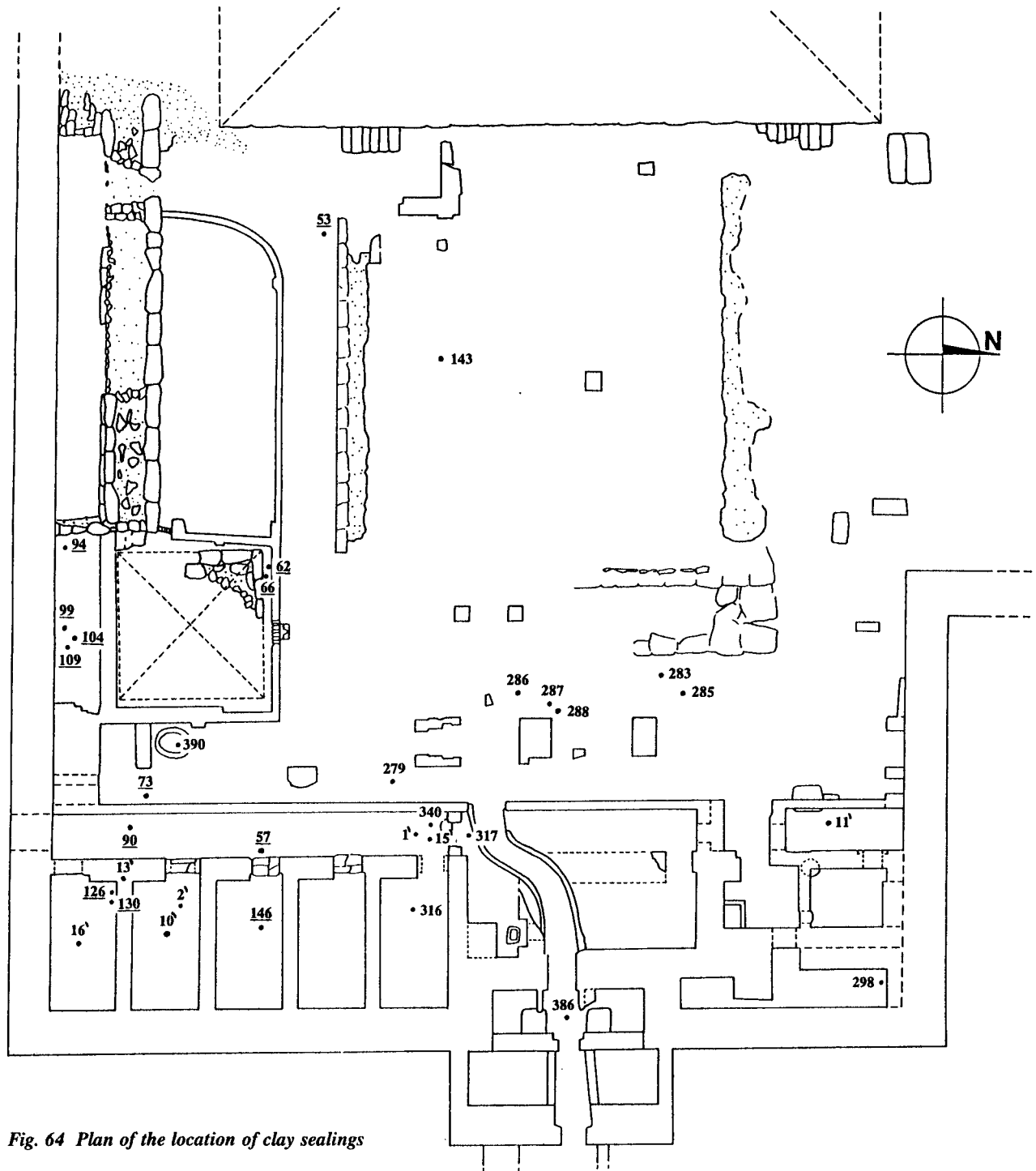


Fig. 64 Plan of the location of clay sealings

1. lower portion of a *serekh*
2. *mry [Pth] ršy-[inb.f]*¹
3. *ḥm-nṯr ... nšwt*

1 The appearance of the name of *Pth-ršy-inb.f* in the epithet of the seal-bearer points to the importance of the cult of the the God in the Memphite region. The name of the God occurs on sealings also found in other places of this region, see Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II^A, passim. For Ptah as a patron of craftsmen and one of "Berufsnumina", and for the assumption that "Ptah-who-is-South-of-his-Wall" was closely related to the original position of early Memphis workshops in the area south of the stronghold "White Wall", i.e. in the area where the temple of Ptah was founded, see Helck, in: *Festgabe Derchain*, 159 f. For *Pth ršy inb. f*, see also Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 204 ff.

143/A/78-c

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2 x 2 cm

On the surface of the fragment remains of a hieroglyphic inscription read:

(from right to left)

1. R^c (?)
2. [*Št-ib* ?]-*t3wy*²
3. *šb3ty* [*nšwt*]³

**279/A/78** (pl. 22)

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 298/A/78 and

316/A/78-xm).

Fine dark clay.

5.8 x 3.5 cm

The fragment comes probably from a jar stopper. On the upper surface of the sealing part of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

(from right to left)

- A: 1. *Hr Mn*-[*h^cw*]
 2. *Ntry-tswt*-[*Mn-k3w-Hr*]⁴
 3. *Hr Mn-h^cw*
 4. *imy-ht* (?)
 5. [*Hr Mn*]-*h^cw*
- B: 1. $w^c b$
 2. lower portion of a *serekh*
- C: 1. [*hry-šš*]*t3*, *šb*[*3ty*] *nšwt* (determinative of a squatting lion)⁵
 2. *imy-ht* (?)⁶, [*hm*]-*ntr* R^c *Hwt-Hr*

**283/A/78**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.3 x 1 cm

On the upper surface of the fragment there are the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription:

(from right to left)

1. *s3b*
2. *šhd pr*- $\epsilon^3 w$



2 The reading of the Horus name is uncertain. *Št-ib* could eventually have been replaced by *W3d-* or *Štp-*.

3 For the title of *šb3ty nšwt*, see e.g. Junker, *Giza* VII, 240.

4 The pyramid complex "Divine-are-the-Places-of-Menkauehor" has not yet been found. Following locations of the pyramid complex have been suggested to date:

– the so-called Destroyed pyramid situated east of the pyramid of Teti in North Saqqara, see Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *L'architettura* VII, 58–63; Berlandini, in: *RdE* 31, 1979, 3–28

– pyramid L no. 50 in Dahshur, see Borchardt, in: *ZÄS* 42, 1905, 9; Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, 179, and id. in: *MDAIK* 38, 1982, 382 f.

– an anonymous pyramid complex adjacent from the north to the pyramid of Djedkare in South Saqqara (?), see Janosi, in: *MDAIK* 45, 1989, 202;

5 Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II^A, 196 (Sahure 27) reads the squatting lion preceded by *nšwt* as *m3 nšwt*, and reads it as "Königlicher Löwe", i.e. "menschengestaltiger Löwe" (Sphinx). Generally for the pharaoh as a lion, see Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx*, 32–36, and de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion*, 39–68.

285/A/78 (pl. 22)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

4.9 x 2.7 cm

On the upper surface of the fragment part of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

(from right to left)

1. *Hr Dd-h'w*
2. *Hr Dd-h'w*
3. *w' b pr-3*
4. *Hr Dd-h'w*



286/A/78-a (pl. 22)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

4.5 x 2.8 cm

On the fragment part of a hieroglyphic inscription is written:

A: 1. *Hr Dd-h'w*

2. *hry-[tp] nswt ...?...*

B: 1. [*Hr*] *Dd-h'w* (in the lower portion of the *serekh* is a *sm3-t3wy* motif ⁷)

2. [*m*]rr (?)

On the rear side of the fragment remains of a cursive inscription are engraved. From the inscription only the sign *st* can be distinguished.



287/A/78 (pl. 22)

A circular fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.3 x 3.5 cm

The fragment probably comes from a papyrus roll. In the sealing a piece of a string (about 2 mm in diameter) remained. On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

(from right to left)

A: 1. *Hr ...*

2. *Skr*

3. (upper portion of a *serekh* featuring a figure of the falcon Horus preceded by the striding figure of a King wearing the Double crown)

B: 1. right edge of a *serekh*

2. lower portion of a *serekh* with a squatting lion

3. [*hry*]-*ššt3*

4. lower portion of a *serekh* with a lion rampant, his forelegs on the body of the fallen figure of an enemy ⁸

5. *r' [nb], šš pr-3w, irr wdt*



⁷ See Kaplony, *Rollsiegel II*^B, pls. 20 (31), 125 (75) and 126 (77).

⁸ See Kaplony, *Rollsiegel I*, 201 ff.

288/A/78

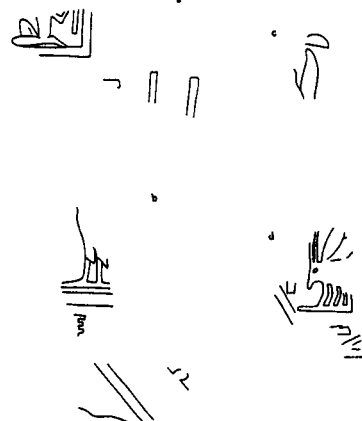
Four small fragments of sealings.

Fine dark clay.

a) 2.5 x 2.5 cm b) 3 x 4 cm c) 1 x 0.5 cm d) 3.8 x 1.8 cm

The fragments bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

- a) lower portion of a *serekh* with a partly preserved squatting figure of a man with a "millions-of-years"-symbol
- b) *Hr Dd-[h^cw]*, ...(?)
- c) *[nšw ?]t bity*
- d) *[nšwt] bity*, ...(?)

**298/A/78** (pl. 22)

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 279/A/78 and 316/A/78-xm).

Fine dark clay.

3.5 x 3.5 cm

The sealing possibly comes from a papyrus roll. On the lower surface of the sealing there is the double impression of a string, originally 5 mm in diameter. On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

(from right to left)

- A: 1. *[Hr] Mn-h^cw*
- 2. *imy-ht (?)* ..., *mr[r]*
- 3. *[Hr Mn]-h^cw*
- 4. *[Ntry]-tšwt-[Mn-kšw-Hr]*
- B: 1. lower portion of a *serekh* with a "millions-of-years" ⁹ symbol
- 2. *[Hr Mn-h^c]w*
- 3. *w^cb*
- 4. lower portion of a *serekh* with a "millions-of-years" symbol
- C: *šbšty*



⁹ For the reading of the ideogram of a squatting man with his arms raised and a *mpt*-sign on his head as *h^chw nyw m^cpwt*, see Edel, *Grammatik* I, 173. Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* I, 206 and 212, comments on the variants of the writing and meaning of the ideogram as follows: "*Hh* übergibt dem König – auch stellvertretend für andere Götter ? – 'Leben' und viele 'Jahre'. Entspricht *h^ch* mit Lebens- und Jahreszeichen '*nh-dt r-nh^ch*? *Nh^ch* und *dt* deuten wohl die zwei Jahreszeichen an. Sind *nh^ch* und *dt* identisch mit den 'zwei Zeiten' (*trwj*), die man mit zwei Jahreszeichen schreibt ?". See also id. *Rollsiegel* II^A, 269, and id. *Rollsiegel* II^B, pls. 88 (17 and 19) and 93 (2). For analogous symbols on the sealings from the mortuary temple of Khentkaus, see nos. 288/A/78-a; 99/A/80-g; 146/A/80-a; 2/A/85-f; 10/A/85-c and -l; 11/A/85-b and -g; 13/A/85-b and -h.

316/A/78-a (pl. 22)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

5.5 x 4.5 cm

The sealing possibly comes from a bag or a small jar. On the upper surface remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

(from right to left)

A: 1. *Hr Mn-h^cw*

2. *m R^c*

B: 1. *Hr Mn-h^cw*

2. *Ntry-išwt-[Mn-k3w-Hr]*

3. *[Hr] Mn-h^cw*

C: 1. *Hr Mn-h^c[w]* (the falcon, wearing the Upper Egyptian crown, on the *serekh* is preceded by a striding figure of a King)¹⁰

2. *m*

D: 1. *[Hr] Mn-h^cw*

2. *w^cb [Ntry]-išwt-[Mn-k3w-Hr]*

E: 1. *[Hr Mn-h^c]w*

2. *Pth-[ršy-inb.f]*

3. *[Hr] Mn-h^cw* (in the lower portion of the *serekh* there is a *w3š-^cnḥ-w3š* symbol)

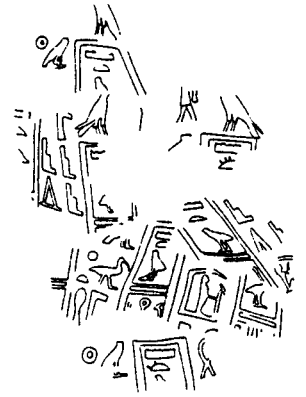
4. *ḥm-ntr Hr-3ḥty*

5. right edge of a *serekh*

F: 1. *s3 (?)*

2. *[Hr] Mn-h^cw*

3. *m R^c*



316/A/78-b (pl. 22)

Fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 316/A/78-j).

Fine dark clay.

5.7 x 5.2 cm

The sealing is flat and probably comes from a box. The edge of the sealing has been marked by a thicker strip. On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

(from left to right)

A: 1. *w^cb nšwt, ḥm-ntr mwt nšwt*

2. *Dd-k3-R^c, mry b3w Nḥn*

3. *w^cb, ..., ḥry-ššt3*

B: 1. *mry*

2. *[ḥry-šš]t3*

3. *[irr] wd ntr r.f*



316/a/78-c

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

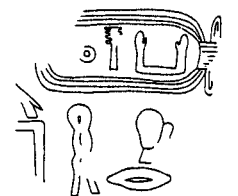
5.7 x 3.5 cm

On the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

1. Upper right corner of a *serekh* with a tail of the falcon Horus.

2. *Dd-k3-R^c*

3. *ḥry-š[št3]*



¹⁰ Kaplony, Rollsiegel I, 192 ff. reads the combination of the two signs, i.e. the falcon Horus preceded by the king wearing the Upper Egyptian crown, as *Hr-nšwtj*.

316/A/78-e

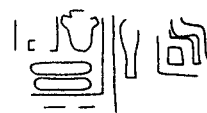
A small fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

1.5 x 1 cm

On the fragment part of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

1. *[Hr] Št-ib-t3wy*
2. *hm-[ntr] Bštt (?)*

**316/A/78-f**

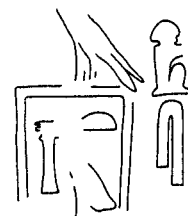
A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2 x 2.5 cm

On the sealing a section of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

1. *Hr Dd-h^cw*
2. *w^cb (?) ..., [hry]-š[št3] (?)*

**316/A/78-g (pl. 23)**

A fragment of a sealing.

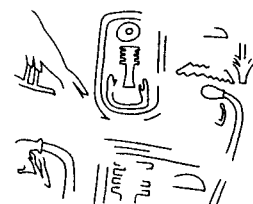
Fine dark clay.

3.2 x 3 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

(from left to right)

- A: 1. *Hr*
 2. *Dd-k3-R^c*
 3. *w^cb-nšwt*
- B: 1. *w^cb*
 2. *[Hr] Dd-h^c[w]*
 3. *w^cb*

**316/A/78-h**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

5.5 x 3.3 cm

This sealing has a flat and smooth surface on one side. The sealing therefore very probably comes from either a door or a box. On another side, the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription can be read:

1. *[hm ?]-ntr*
2. *Hr Š[htp-t3wy]*
3. *[nšwt] bity*

**316/A/78-i**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.5 x 2.1 cm

On this fragment the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription read:

1. *Hr Mn-[h^cw]*
2. *hm-ntr Mn-k3w-Hr*



316/A/78-j (pl. 23)

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 316/A/78-b).

Fine dark clay.

3.9 x 3.1 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

(from right to left)

A: 1. ...y...

2. *hm-ntr mwt nswt*

B: 1. *Hr Dd-[h^cw]*

On the *serekh* are featured two falcons facing each other, the *nh-sign* in between them.



316/A/78-k (pl. 23)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

4.7 x 4.3 cm

This rounded sealing comes from a jar stopper. On the upper surface of the sealing the woven structure of a piece of fabric (which originally covered the mouth of the vessel) and remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

(from right to left)

A: 1. [*Hr St-ib-t3wy*]

2. [*hry*]-*ššt3* ...n...

3. [*Hr*] *St-ib-t3wy*

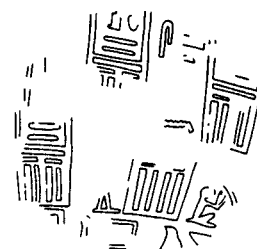
B: 1. *w^cb*

2. lower portion of a *serekh*

3. ...?...

4. [*Hr St-ib-t3wy*]

5. *pr-^c3* ..(?)..



316/A/78-l (pl. 23)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.5 x 2.2 cm

On the fragment remains of a hieroglyphic inscription read:

(from right to left)

A: 1. *mr[r] nb.[f]*

2. right edge of a *serekh*

B: *mr[r] nb.f*

C: 1. [*Hr*] ...w

2. [*hry-šš*]t3

D: *imy-ht* (?) ..., [*Pth*]-*ršy-inb*.*[f]*

E: *mr.f r^c nb*

F: *šb3ty* [*nswt*]

G: *pr-^c3* ...*imy-ht* (?)



316/A/78-m

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

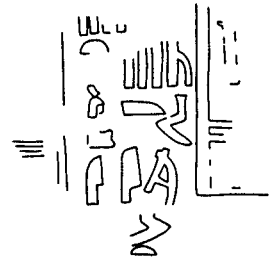
4.5 x 3.5 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing part of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

(from right to left)

- A: 1. [Hr] Dd-[h^cw]
 2. hnty ..., mry M3^ct
 3. right edge of a serekh

B: M3^ct



316/A/78-n (pl. 23)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

4 x 2.6 cm

On the fragment remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

(from left to right)

- A: sš pr-hd, ... nšwt
 B: 1. [Hr] Wšr-h^cw
 2. sš pr-hd, ... nšwt
 C: 1. [Hr] Wšr-h^cw
 2. pr-hd, ... nšwt
 3. ...?..., irr [wqt]



316/A/78-o

A fragment of sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.5 x 3.2 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. [Hr] Št-[ib]-t3wy
 2. edge of a serekh



316/A/78-p (pl. 23)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

4.3 x 3.3 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

(from left to right)

1. irt (?)
 2. Hr W3d-t3wy
 3. nšwt bity (followed by a portion of a cartouche bearing originally the name of Unas ?)



316/A/78-r

A fragment of a sealing.

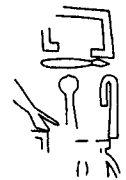
Fine dark clay.

2.2 x 1.6 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

(from left to right)

1. Hr (upper right corner of a serekh)
 2. šhd hntyw-[š] (nyw) pr-^c3



316/A/78-s (pl. 24)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

5.2 x 5 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

- A: 1. *mr*
 2. lower portion of a *serekh*
 3. *mry*
 B: 1. [*mr*]y W3dyt
 2. [*Hr Mn-h^c*]w
 C: 1. *Hr*
 2. lower portion of a *serekh*
 D: 1. *shd*
 2. *Hr*
 E: 1.n..., *shd^c h3wtyw*
 2. *Hr Mn-h^cw*
 3. *Mn-k3w-[Hr]* (followed by the symbolic representation of the King striking the head of an enemy with a mace) ¹¹,
 [*mry*] W3dyt
 4. *Hr Mn h^cw*
 5.t...



316/A/78-t

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.5 x 2.7 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

- A: 1. lower portion of a *serekh*
 2. *mrr*
 3. left edge of a *serekh*
 B: *hty*
 C: *St^h*
 D: *dt*



316/A/78-u

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.8 x 1.7 cm

On the fragment part of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

- A: 1. left lower edge of a *serekh*
 2. *mrr* [*n nb.f*]
 3. lower portion of a *serekh*
 4. *trr wdt*
 B: [*Hr*] W3d-[*t3wy*]



¹¹ Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* I, 245, considers the possible reading of the symbolic representation of the king striking the head of a kneeling enemy with a mace to be: "Der eigentliche Lautwert der Königsfigur, die den Feind erschlägt, ist wohl *tj(tj)* '(mit dem Stock) niederschlagen, überwältigen'". See also id. *Rollsiegel* II^B, pls. 88 (23), 94 (7) and 112 (1). For an analogy in our material, see no. 15/A/85.

316/A/78-v

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.7 x 2.1 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

A: [*Hr*] *Dd-h^c[w]*

B: lower portion of a *serekh*

C: 1. ...*rr*...

2. *Hr Dd-h^c[w]*

D: ...*r*...



316/A/78-x

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 316/A/78-z).

Fine dark clay.

3.3 x 2.5 cm

On the fragment remains a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:
(from left to right)

1. right edge of a *serekh*

2. *mr[y] (n) [Pth]-ršy-inb.f*

3. [*Hr*] *Št-ib-t3wy*

4. *hm-ntr R^c*



316/A/78-z

A fragment of sealing (probably fitting with 316/A/78-x).

Fine dark clay.

2.8 x 2.8 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. *R^c*

2. [*Hr*] *Št-ib-t3wy*



316/A/78-aa

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.7 x 2 cm

The fragment carries an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. edge of a cartouche

2. *Hr Dd-[h^cw]*

3. [*R^c-nfr*].f (?)



316/A/78-bb

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3 x 2 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

(from right to left)

A: 1. *nšwt bity* ..., *hm-ntr R^c*

2. [*Hr*] *Št-ib-t3wy*

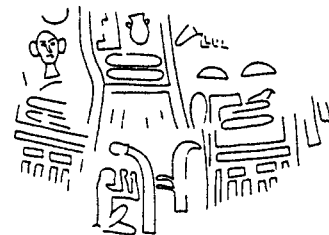
3. ...?..., *hry-[ššt3]*

B: 1. *š[h^cd ?]*

2. [*Hr Št-ib*]-*t3wy*

3. *w^cb nšwt*

4. [*Hr Št-ib*]-*t3wy*



316/A/78-cc

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.2 x 1.8 cm

The fragment comes from a jar stopper. On the lower side of the sealing a string, 2 mm in diameter, is impressed. The curve of the string impression indicates the original diameter of the mouth of the jar. The upper surface of the sealing bears remains of an impression of a hieroglyphic inscription:

A: *Hr Dd-h'w*

B: 1. remains of a *serekh*

2. *mrr nb.f*



316/A/78-ee

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 316/A/78-ff and 316/A/78-gg).

Fine dark clay.

3.7 x 2.6 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription read:

A: 1. *[Ny]-wšr-[R^c]*

2. ...?...?

B: ...?...?

C: 1. *[Hr Št-ib]-t3wy*

2. *[imy]-h[t] (?) ..., hry-š[št3]*

3. *[Hr] Št-ib-t3wy*



316/A/78-ff

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 316/A/78-ee and 316/A/78-gg).

Fine dark clay.

2.3 x 2 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

A: *[Hr] Št-ib-t3wy*

B: lower portion of a *serekh*

C: 1. *hm-ntr*

2. *[Hr Št-ib]-t3wy*

3. *Ny-[wšr]-R^c*



316/A/78-gg

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 316/A/78-ee and 316/A/78-ff).

Fine dark clay.

2 x 1.6 cm

On the fragment part of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

1. *[Hr] Št-ib-t3wy*

2. *hry-ššt3*

3. *Ny-wšr-R^c*



12 Is the monogram to be understood as "(the king's name - missing) w3š, 'nh, w3š h3 (King's name)" ?

316/A/78-kk (pl. 24)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

4 x 3.5 cm

Judging by an impression of a rim of a vessel on the lower side of the fragment, the sealing comes from a jar stopper. The rim was 2,5 cm in diameter. On the upper surface of the sealing part of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

(from left to right)

- A: 1. $w^c b$
 2. $Hr Dd-h^c [w]$
 B: 1. $Hr Dd-h^c [w]$
 2. edge of a cartouche
 C: 1. s^c ... r^c
 2. $w^c b$, ... $nswt$
 3. $Hr Dd-h^c w$
 D: 1. $w^c b nswt (?)$
 2. $Hr Dd-h^c [w]$

**316/A/78-nn** (pl. 23)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

5 x 4 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

(from right to left)

- A: 1. $w^c b [pr]-^c 3$
 2. $h3 (?)$
 B: 1. $h3 (?)$, $w3s-^c nh-w3s$ ¹²
 2. $w^c b pr-^c 3$, mrr
 3. $[Hr] Mn-h^c w$
 4. $mry ... (?)$, $i3ty$
 C: $[Hr Mn-h^c] w (?)$
 D: $[w3s]-^c nh-w3s$
 E: 1. ntr
 2. edge of a *serekh*

**316/A/78-pp**

A Fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

1.7 x 1.5 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. $[Hr Dd ?]-h^c w$
 2. $[Dd]-k3-[R^c]$, $^c nh$, $w3s$. Htm

**316/A/78-rr**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.8 x 1.8 cm

A: upper right corner of a *serekh*

- B: $Hr Mn-h^c [w]$
 C: $hry-[s3t3 ?]$
 D: $[Hr Mn]-h^c w$



316/A/78-ss (pl. 24)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.1 x 2.8 cm

On the lower side of the sealing two impressions of a string, one curved and the other one straight, can be seen. Originally, the string was 2 mm in diameter. On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription and fingerprints are visible:

1. [imy]-ht (?), [w^cb] nswt (?)
2. hm-ntr hwt-(nt)-mwt-nswt, hry-[ššt3]



316/A/78-uu (pl. 24)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.7 x 1.9 cm

The sealing bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. [mwt ?] nswt bity, nswt bity
2. w^cb pr-^c3



316/A/78-vv

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.5 x 1.5 cm

On the lower side of the sealing two parallel impressions of a string, 1 mm in diameter, can be seen. On the upper surface the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

A: lower portion of a *serekh*

B: [Hr] Mn-h^cw



316/a/78-xx

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3 x 1.5 cm

On the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

1. mwt nswt bity
2. ...hr...w... (?)



316/A/78-xa

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

1.5 x 1.2 cm

The lower surface of the sealing is flat, which seems to indicate that the fragment comes either from a door or a wooden box. On the upper surface remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

1. lower edge of a *serekh*
2. Nfr-tš[wt-Wntš ?]
3. Ny-wšr-R^c
4. hm-ntr ..., hry-[ššt3]



13 See Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II^B, pls. 70 (1) and 96 (18); *id.*, *Rollsiegel* I, 192.

316/A/78-xb

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.5 x 2 cm

The upper surface of the sealing bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

A: edge of a *serekh*

B: *šhd*

C: 1. ...š...

2. (*hm-ntr* ?) *hwt-(nt)-mwt-[nšwt]*



316/A/78-xc

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

1.5 x 1 cm

On the sealing only small the remains of the falcon Horus, wearing the Lower Egyptian crown, preceded by a striding figure of a king with the Upper Egyptian crown are left.¹³



316/A/78-xe

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

1.2 x 0.8 cm

The tiny fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

[*Hr*] *Št-ib-tšwy*



316/A/78-xf

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.3 x 1.5 cm

On the fragment the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

hṯy Mnw, ... (?)



316/A/78-xg

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

1.6 x 1.3 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. *Hr Mn-[h^cw]*

2. ...?...



316/A/78-xi

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.2 x 2.2 cm

On the badly eroded fragment the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

A: [*mwt nšwt*] *bity [nšwt] bity*

B: [*Š*] *hṯp-[tšwy]*

C: *w^cb [pr]-^c3*



316/A/78-xl

A fragment of a sealing.

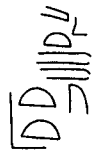
Fine dark clay.

2.1 x 1.1 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

A: [*Štp*]-*t3wy* (?)

B: *Tt*



316/A/78-xm (pl. 24)

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 279/A/78 and 298/A/78).

Fine dark clay.

4 x 3.2 cm

The fragment comes from a jar stopper. On the lower surface of the sealing a double string, 2 mm in diameter, and a portion of the rim of a vessel are impressed. On the upper surface remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are present:

(from left to right)

A: 1. [*Hr*] *Mn-h^cw*

2. [*tmy*]-*ht* (?) ..., *mrr nb.f*

3. [*Hr Mn*]-*h^cw*

4. [*Ntry*]-*iswt*-[*Mn-k3w-Hr*] (?)

B: 1. lower portion of a *serekh*

2. *m3ty n3wtj* (?) (followed by a determinative of a squatting lion)

C: 1. ...*ht*...

2. ...*hr*...

3. *hm-ntr R^c Hwt-Hr*



316/A/78-xp (pl. 24)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

8 x 6 cm

On the lower side of the sealing, the impression of a double string, 2 mm in diameter, is intersected by the impression of the rim of a vessel. The diameter of the rim of the vessel is 3,5 cm. On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

(from right to left)

A: 1. *B3tt*

2. *Hr [Š]t-[ib]-t3wy* (?)

B: 1. ...*š*...*hm*-[*ntr*]

2. *Hr n*... (?)

C: *hm*-[*ntr*] *B3tt m*

D: *B3tt*

E: 1. remains of the sign *š* and of the *serekh*

2. ...*š*..



317/A/78-b

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.5 x 3 cm

On the upper surface a portion of a circular impression of a string, 4 mm in diameter, and the remains of an hieroglyphic inscription can be seen:

1. lower portion of a *serekh*
2. *hm-ntr* ..., *mrr nb.f*
3. [*Hr*] *Št-ib-t3wy*

**317/A/78-d** (pl. 25)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

4.3 x 2.7 cm

On the lower side of the sealing the structure of the fabric and a string 4 mm in diameter are impressed. On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription read:

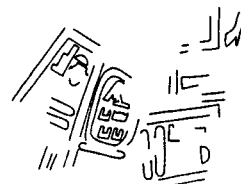
A: [*Hr*] *Št-ib-t3wy*

Mn-k3w-Hr

B: *Hr* ...

...š... (?)

[*Hr*] *Št-ib-t3wy*

**340/A/78-a** (pl. 24)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

4 x 3.5 cm

A fragment of a jar stopper. On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

A: *Hr Mn-h^c[w]*

B: 1. *Hr Mn-h^cw*

2. *ht* ..., *trr wdt*

3. left edge of a *serekh*

C: *pr^c3*

D: falcon Horus and a standing figure bearing the head of Seth, facing each other ¹⁴ (see below sub F)

E: *mrr nb.f*

F: *Hr* ... (against Horus on the *serekh* stand three male figures holding their hands; the first figure bears the head of Seth.

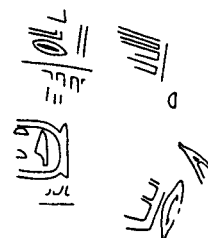
**340/A/78-b**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3 x 2.8 cm

The sealing bears two impressions of strings (one 4 mm and the other 1 mm in diameter), repeated impressions of the rim of a *serekh*, and fragments of the signs *mr* and *r*. Approximately in the middle of the upper surface of the sealing the incomplete cartouche with the name of *Tti* appears.



¹⁴ See Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II^B, pl. 26 (58); id., *Rollsiegel* I, 197, comments on the symbolical representation of the king accompanied by Horus and Seth as follows: "Das Reichen der Hand symbolisiert am ehesten die Zeremonie *ibz-njswt* 'Einführen des Königs'. Man feiert sie wohl meist mit dem Vereinigen der Beiden Länder (*zm3-t3wy*) zusammen ...".

340/A/78-c

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.1 x 2.1 cm

The fragment bears remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. [Hr Št]-ib-t3wy
2. ...h..., hry ššt3
3. [Hr] Št-ib-t3wy
4. ... (?)



340/A/78-f (pl. 25)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

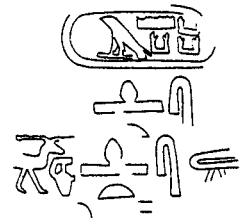
3.6 x 3.3 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

A: Mn-k3w-Hr

B: šhtp

C: it ...šhtp Hnmw¹⁵



386/A/78-a

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

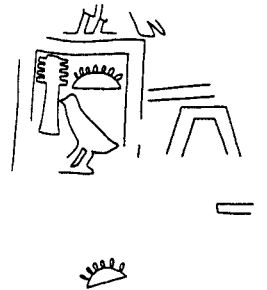
3 x 2 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

A: Hr Dd-h^cw

B: šnwt (?)

C: [Hr Dd]-h^c-[w]



386/A/78-e (pl. 25)

A fragment of sealing.

Fine dark clay.

5.4 x 4.5 cm

The fragment probably comes from a jar stopper. On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

1. Hr Dd-h^cw
2. w^cb pr-^c3, hry-š[št3]
3. Hr Dd-h^cw
4. Dd-k3-[R^c] ... (?)¹⁶



390/A/78-a

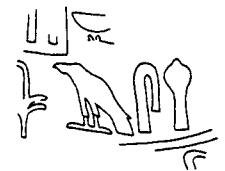
A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.2 x 2.5 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. lower right corner of a serekh
2. [mrr] nb.f
3. šhđ [hnmw-ntr ?] mwt-nšwt¹⁷



¹⁵ šhtp Hnm "one who provides for Khnum" (?). See the analogous šhtp nšwt bty Mn k3w R^c in Kaplony, *Rollsiegel II*^A, 186.

390/A/78-b

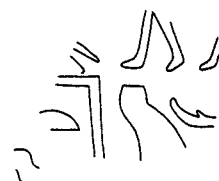
A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

1.7 x 1.7 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. *Hr [Dd]-h^cw*
2. *s3b, imy-ht*

**53/A/80 (pl. 25)**

A model of a cylindrical seal.¹⁸

Fine dark clay. Traces of white colour.

length: 6 cm; diameter: 3.7 cm

A cylindrical clay artefact, clearly imitating a stone cylindrical seal bearing an incised inscription encrusted with a white paste. The inscription reads:

1. *nswt bity S3hw-R^c*
2. *... htt ...*
3. *Hr Nb-[h^cw] ...*

**57/A/80-c**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

5.3 x 3.5 cm

The sealing, coming possibly from a bag, bears repeated impressions of a string 3 mm in diameter. On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription read:

1. *mwt nswt*
2. *w^cb nswt*
3. *pr-^c3*

**62/A/80 (pl. 25)**

A model of a cylindrical seal.

Fine dark clay.

length: 4.5 cm; diameter: 3.7 cm

This clay model, part of which is missing, bears the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription. The inscription, partly incised and partly *en creux*, reads: *st wrw (?)*¹⁹



16 The reading and interpretation of the sign representing a lying animal (a crocodile ?, a calf ?) is unclear.

17 That *hmw-ntr* were also involved in the mortuary cult of the Royal Mother Khentkaus is attested by the inscription discovered on the limestone sarcophagus of Idu (mastaba "D" in the field of mastabas to the south-east of the pyramid temple of Nyuserre at Abusir). Idu himself was *shd hmw-ntr mwt nswt bity nswt bity Hnt-k3w.s*, see Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, 87.

18 The meaning of the model of a cylindrical seal is unclear. See the analogical model of a cylindrical seal no. 62 A/80.

19 The meaning of the inscription is unclear. Is there a connection between *st wrw* and *pr wrw*, the entrance hall of a pyramid temple?

66/A/80

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

4.5 x 3.5 cm

The fragment comes from a jar stopper. The lower surface of the sealing bears the double impression of a string. On the upper surface remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

- A: 1. ...*h*...
 2. *sr*
 3. *Hr Dd-h^cw*
 4. ...*m...t* (?), *sr*
 B: ...*m...*, *sr*
 C: ...*t*, *sr*
 D: *Hr Dd-h^cw*



73/A/80-b

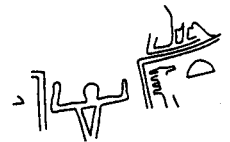
A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3 x 3 cm

Judging by the cylindrical shape of the fragment, it may come from the stopper of a small jar. On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

1. [*Hr Dd*]-*h^c[w]* (?)
2. motif of "millions-of-years"
3. *Hr Dd-h^c[w]*



90/A/80-a (pl. 21)

A fragment of a sealing (to be probably joined with 90/A/80-c, -d, -e and -f).

Fine dark clay.

2 x 2 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. [*Hr*] [*Š*]*t-[ib-t3wy]*
2. Two striding figures facing each other, a *m3^ct*-symbol in between them.²⁰ The better preserved figure represents Horus.
 The following inscription reads:
sm3 Hr St3
3. *Hr Št-[ib-t3wy]*



90/A/80-b (pl. 21)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.5 x 1.8 cm

The fragment bears fingerprints and the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription which reads:

- A: *Hr Mn-h^c[w]*
 B: *mwt-[nšwt]*
 C: *hm-ntr [Bštt ?], š...*



²⁰ The group of hieroglyphs should be read as *sm3 Hr St3*. Does this inscription pertain to the coronation of the king? If this assumption is correct, the sealing probably comes from the year in which Nyuserre ascended the throne. See also Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* I, 199.

90/A/80-c (pl. 21)

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 90/A/80-a, -d, -e and -f).

Fine dark clay.

1.2 x 1.2 cm

The shape of the fragment, including a portion of a straight moulded cut-out border, indicates that the sealing may come from a small box. On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription read:

1. *Hr*²¹
2. *Ny-wšr-[R^c]*

**90/A/80-d** (pl. 21)

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 90/A/80-a, -c, -e and -f).

Fine dark clay.

3 x 2 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. *[Hr] Št-ib-t3wy*
2. *Hr Sth, nb ir ht*
3. *[Hr] Št-ib-t3wy*

**90/A/80-e** (pl. 21)

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 90/A/80-a, -c, -d and -f).

Fine dark clay.

2.2 x 2.2 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

- A: ...*h...*, *mrr nb.f*
 B: 1. *Pth-[ršy-inb.f ?]*
 2. left edge of a *serekh*
 3. ...*x...* (?)

**90/A/80-f** (pl. 21)

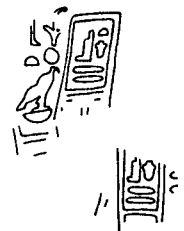
A fragment of a sealing (to be probably joined with 90/A/80-a, -c, -d and -e).

Fine dark clay.

2.2 x 3.5 cm

The fragment may come from a small jar stopper. On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are imprinted:

- A: 1. *Nhbt*
 2. *[Hr] Št-ib-t3wy*
 B: a portion of a *serekh*
 C: *[Hr] Št-ib-t3wy*



21 The falcon wears the *šwtj*-crown and horizontal ram horns. For this type of the crown, see Abubakr, *Kronen*, 43 ff. See also another evidence of this type of the crown in our excav. no. 104/A/80-a.

94/A/80-a

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

5 x 3.3 cm

The fact that the edge of the fragment is straight and smooth may indicate that the sealing comes from a box. On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

A: 1. *hnty-[š ?]*

2. *hm-ntr*

B: *wn*

C: *Hr Dd-h^cw*

D: 1. ...?...

2. *hm-ntr*

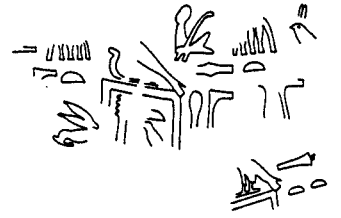
E: 1. *hnty-[š ?]*

2. *hm-ntr*

F: *Hr*

G: 1. *Hr*

2. *Bštt*



94/A/80-e

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3 x 2.5 cm

The remains of the hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the sealing read:

1. *mry*

2. *Dd(?) - h^cw*

3. ...?...



94/A/80-f

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2 x 2 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing part of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

1. ...?...

2. *Hr W3d-[t3wy]*



99/A/80-a

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3 x 2.2 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. *hm-ntr, hry-ššt3*

2. *Hr W3d-t3wy*



99/A/80-b

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 99/A/80-c).

Fine dark clay.

3.5 x 3 cm

On the fragment the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription and symbolic animals are impressed:



1. seated lion (?) (or Seth ?)
2. [Hr] W3d-[t3wy]
3. lizard

99/A/80-c

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 99/A/80-b).

Fine dark clay.

2.2 x 5 cm

The fragment bears the impression of the seated animal of Seth.



99/A/80-e

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

1 x 2.2 cm

On the fragmentary remains a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

A: Hr Ir-m3^ct

B: Hr



99/A/80-f

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3 x 3.2 cm

The remains of a hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the fragment read:

A: 1. Hr Mn-[h^cw]

2. hm-ntr R^c, hry-š[št3]

B: a portion of a serekh



99/A/80-g

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2 x 2.5 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

A: R^c

B: 1. [Mn-k3w]-Hr

2. mr[r]

3. lower portion of a serekh with a "millions-of-years" motif



104/A/80-a

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

4 x 4 cm

The remains of a hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the sealing read:

A: 1. hnty-š pr-^c3

2. Hr W3d-[t3wy]

3. bity

B: 1. hnty-š, ...Dd-Snfrw



109/A/80 (pl. 25)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3 x 2 cm

The fragment bears remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription which reads:

1. *hry-tp [nšw]t, im3[h]*
2. *Hr*
3. *hry-tp nšwt, hry-tp nšwt*



126/A/80 (pl. 25)

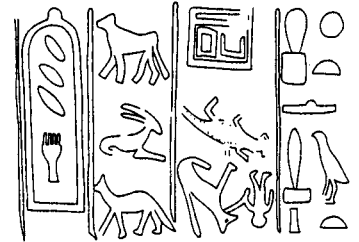
Cylindrical seal.

Limestone.

length: 5.3 cm; diameter: 3.3 cm

The cylindrical seal is pierced. On its surface a hieroglyphic inscription and symbolic animals and objects are engraved:

1. *šnwt (nt) it bdt (?)* ²²
2. striding baboon, recumbent antelope, striding jackal
3. a striding male figure holding a lead which is attached to a squatting dog; below the dog is a lizard and a geometrical sign (a rectangular enclosure containing two signs, which look like stylized *hwt* and *k3*); this column of symbols is inverted in relation to the remainder of the inscriptions on the cylindrical seal
4. *htm wdt*



130/A/80-a

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

1 x 2 cm

The remains of a hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the sealing reads:

1.s...
2. *[Hr] Mn-h^cw*
3. *[Hr] Mn-h^cw*



130/A/80-b

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

1 x 2.5 cm

On the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

1. *[Hr] Dd-h^cw*
2. *...?... hwt-ntr*
3. *...?...*



146/A/80-a

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay. Traces of white paint on the surface.

2 x 2 cm



²² For analogous sealings see Kaplony, *Rollsiegel II^B*, pls. 49 (1), 154 (19), 155 (24) and 166 (92).

The sealing may come from a door. On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

A: 1. lower portion of a *serekh*

2. squatting man (motif of "millions of years")

B: 1. *nb*

2. *Hr Št-ib-t3wy*

3. ...?...(lower portion of a figure of a deity seated on the throne),

nb t3wy

4. *Hr Št-ib-t3wy*

146/A/80-c

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay. Traces of white paint on the surface.

2.5 x 3 cm

The sealing probably comes from the door. Remains of a hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the upper surface of the sealing read:

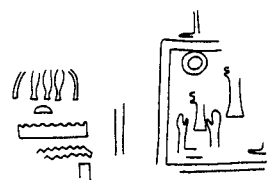
A: [*Hr*] *Št-ib-t3wy*

B: 1. [*Hr Mn* ?]-*h^cw*

2. *pr-ḥd, mrr*

C: 1. *mrr nb.f*

2. *Pth*



1/A/85-a

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

4 x 3 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription which reads:

A: *hnty*

B: *mn ... (?)*

C: *Dd-k3-R^c, [Hr] Dd-[h^c]w*

1/A/85-b

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay. Traces of white paint on the surface.

6 x 4 cm

The fragment has a convex shape, its lower surface being flat. It very probably comes from a jar stopper. On the upper surface of the sealing part of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

A: [*Hr*] *Dd-[h^c]w*

B: left edge of a *serekh*; near the edge, in a reversed direction, a sign *h^c* is impressed

C: *hwt-^c3t*

D: 1. *hm-nṯr,...š...*

2. [*Hr*] *Dd-[h^c]w*



1/A/85-e

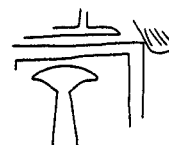
A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

1.6 x 1.3 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription which reads:

Hr W3d-[t3wy]



1/A/85-f

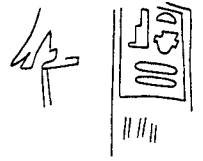
A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.2 x 3.5 cm

The remains of a hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the sealing reads:

1. R^c
2. $[Hr] \dot{S}t-ib-t3wy$



2/A/85-a

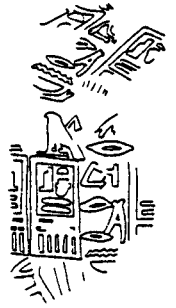
A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.5 x 5 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

- A:
1. $Hr \dot{S}t-ib-t3wy$
 2. $[imy-r] \dot{h}3w, mrr n nb.f$
 3. $[Hr] \dot{S}t-ib-t3wy$
- B:
1. $Hr \dot{S}t-ib-t3wy$
 2. $Hr \dot{S}t-ib-t3wy$
 3. $imy-r \dot{h}3w, mrr n nb.[f]$
 4. $[Hr \dot{S}t-ib]-t3wy$



2/A/85-b (pl. 26)

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

6.4 x 4.3 cm

The fragment very probably comes from a jar stopper. Remains of a hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the sealing read:

1. $[Hr] \dot{S}t-ib-t3wy$
2. $h3ty d\dot{f}3w$
3. $Hr \dot{S}t-ib-t3wy$
4. $htmy bity, h3ty d\dot{f}3w$
5. $Hr \dot{S}t-ib-t3wy$
6. Isi



2/A/85-c

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

5 x 4.2 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription which reads:

- A:
1. ...?...
 2. $Hr Mn-h^c w$
 3. ... tn (?), $Pth-rsy-inb.[f]$
 4. $Hr Mn-h^c [w]$
 5. $imy-ht$... (?)
 6. edge of a *serekh*
- B: Hr
- C: $[Hr] Mn-[h^c w]$



2/A/85-e

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3 x 2.7 cm

On the fragmentary remains a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

- A: 1. *Hr Št-ib-t3wy*
 2. *hm-ntr Nbwy* (two striding male figures holding hands with each other)²³
 3. *Hr Št-ib-t3wy*
 4. *hm-ntr [R^c n] Št-ib-[R^c]*

B: Repeatedly impressed lower portions of a *serekh*

**2/A/85-f**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.8 x 3.4 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing there are the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription:

A: lower portion of a *serekh*

- B: 1. *hr[y-ššt3 ?]*
 2. *[Hr] Št-ib-t3wy* (followed by a squatting man — motif of "millions of years" ?)
 3. *hm-ntr Hr Mddw*
 4. *Hr Št-ib-t3wy*

C: *hm-ntr*

**2/A/85-g**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.2 x 2.5 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription which contains:

1. the lower right corner of a *serekh*
2. *s3b, mry*
3. lower portion of a *serekh* with remains of the sign *w*
4. ...?...
5. *[hry]-ššt3, w^cb nšwt*

**2/A/85-h**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3 x 2 cm

The sealing may come from the door. On its upper surface remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

1. *hnt*
2. *Hr Mn-[h^cw]*
3. ...?...



²³ *Nbwy*, i.e. Horus and Seth? In our inscription two male figures holding hands each other were very probably represented, not the anthropomorphic figures of Horus and Seth. A parallel to the title *hm-ntr Nbwy* can be possibly seen in the title of *hm-ntr Hrwy*, see Kaplony, *Rollsiegel II*^A, 345.

2/A/85-i

A fragment of a sealing.

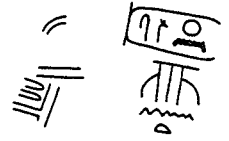
Fine dark clay.

3 x 3 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

A: [*Hr Št-ib*]-*t3wy*

B: *Ny-wšr-R^c ...hnt[y-š ?]*



2/A/85-j

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.6 x 3 cm

On the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

A: 1. *Št-ib-t3wy*

2. *mrr [n] nb.f*

3. *Št-ib-t3wy*

B: 1. right edge of a damaged *serekh*

2. *Hr Št-ib-t3wy*

3. *imy-r ...(?), mrr [n] nb.f*

C: remains of a *serekh* and of a sign *nb*



2/A/85-k

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

1.5 x 3.4 cm

The sealing bears the remnant of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. [*Pth-ršy*]-*inb.[f]*, *hry-[š]št[3]*

2. *Hr Wšr-h^cw*

3. ...?...



10/A/85-a (pl. 26)

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 13/A/85-c, -d, -f, -g and -n).

Fine dark clay.

3.7 x 3.6 cm

The fragment probably comes from a jar stopper. On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

A: 1. tail of a falcon Horus standing on the *serekh*

2. *Dd-k3-R^c, Špdw*

B: 1. *w^cb nšwt, [hm-ntr] mwt-nšwt*

2. *Hr Dd-h^cw*

C: 1. *hm-ntr mwt-nšwt*

2. [*Hr*] *Dd-[h^c]w*

3. ...h...



10/A/85-b

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.5 x 3.7 cm

The fragment very probably comes from a jar stopper. On the upper surface of the sealing fingerprints and the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed. The inscription reads:

A: Remains of a *serekh* with an incomplete hieroglyphic sign *Dd* (?) (a fragment of the Horus name *Dd-h^cw*?).

- B: 1. *w^cb mwt-n^cswt*
 2. *Hr Dd-h^c[w]*
 3. ...t...r...?

**10/A/85-c**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.2 x 2.5 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription which reads:

- A: 1. *hry-[š]š[t3]* (?)
 2. lower portion of a *serekh* with a seated male figure - "millions of years" motif

B: *hry-ššt3*

C: *Hr Dd-h^cw*

D: *[hry] š[št3]* (?)

**10/A/85-d**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.5 x 3 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing are the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription:

- A: 1. ...?...
 2. *[mwt] n^cswt bity n^cswt bity*
 3. *[Hr] Dd-[h^cw]*
 B: 1. *[mwt] n^cswt [bi]ty [n]šw[t bity]*
 2. *[Hr] Dd-[h^cw]*

**10/A/85-e**

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 10/A/85-h).

Fine dark clay.

2.7 x 2.5 cm

Remains of a hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the sealing reads:

A: *Hr*

- B: 1. *[n]šw[t]*
 2. *Hr Dd-h^c[w], Dd-[k3]-R^c*

**10/A/85-g**

A fragment of a sealing (to be joined with 10/A/85-i).

Fine dark clay.

1.8 x 2 cm

The fragment bears the remains of incompletely impressed figures of a squatting lion (?) and a running man (King during a *heb-sed* course?).



10/A/85-h

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting with 10/A/85-e).

Fine dark clay.

1.3 x 2 cm

The fragment bears remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

[*Hr Dd-h^c*]w, *Dd-k3*-[*R^c*]

In the lower portion of the *serekh* is a seated man — a motif of "millions of years".



10/A/85-i

A fragment of a sealing (to be joined with 10/A/85-g).

Fine dark clay.

3.5 x 2.4 cm

An incomplete impressed figure of a squatting lion.



10/A/85-k

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.4 x 2.4 cm

Remains of a hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the sealing which reads:

1. a cartouche of ...k3... (?) (Menkauhor, or Djedkare ?)

Hp

2. *Hr Št-[ib-t3wy]*



10/A/85-l

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2 x 1.3 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. ...t, *šnwt*
2. [*mwt nšwt*] *bity*, [*nšwt*] *bity*



11/A/85-a

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2 x 1.7 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. ...rr... (?)
2. [*hm*]-*ntr Hnm-hwfw* ²⁴
3. *imy-ht*



11/A/85-b

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.8 x 3.5 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing are the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription:

1. [*mwt*] *nšwt bity nšwt bity*
2. *s3b, sš nfrw, š...*



²⁴ See above the sealing 2/A/85-f mentioning another priest of the king, *hm-ntr Hr Mdww*.

11/A/85-c

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.8 x 2.1 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

- A: 1. $w^c b$ mwt [$n\dot{s}wt$], $s\dot{s}$,
 2. ... (?) $w\dot{s}ht$,²⁵ ... (?) , $s\dot{s}b$ $s\dot{s}$
 B: 1. ... (?) , $s\dot{s}b$ $s\dot{s}$
 2. $w\dot{s}ht$

**11/A/85-e**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3 x 2.7 cm

Remains of a hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the sealing read:

$Ntry-b\dot{s}w-R^c-nfr.f$

**11/A/85-f**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2 x 3.3 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

- A: 1. lower right corner of a *serekh*
 $w^c b$
 lower left portion of a *serekh*
 2. ... $pr-^c\dot{s}$, mrr $nb.f$
 B: $R^c m$

**11/A/85-g**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2 x 2.5 cm

The remains of a hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the sealing read:

- A: 1. $w^c b$ mwt [$n\dot{s}wt$ $bity$ $n\dot{s}wt$] $bity$
 B: 1. [Hr $\dot{S}t-ib$?]- $t\dot{s}wy$ (the lower portion of the *serekh* contains a figure of a seated man — a motif of "millions of years")
 2. $w^c b$ mwt $n\dot{s}wt$ $bity$ $n\dot{s}wt$ [$bity$]
 3. $hnty-\dot{s}$... (?) , [hm ?]- ntr

**13/A/85-a**

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.4 x 2.2 cm

On the fragment the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

- A: 1. Hr $\dot{S}t-ib-t\dot{s}wy$
 2. $Ny-w\dot{s}r-R^c$
 Ntr
 B: 1. Hr $\dot{S}t-[ib-t\dot{s}wy]$
 2. $w^c b$



25 The sign following $w\dot{s}ht$ seems to represent a gate. Is the whole group to be read $s\dot{s}b$ [$s\dot{s}$] $t\dot{s}y$ (or $sb\dot{s}$?) (n) $w\dot{s}ht$?

13/A/85-b

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

2.7 x 3.7 cm

Besides an impression of a string, 4 mm in diameter, the sealing also bears remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

A: 1.š...

2. *Hr Mn-ḥ^cw*

B: 1. right edge of a *serekh*

2. ...?...



13/A/85-c (pl. 26)

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting in with 10/A/85-a and 13/A/85-d, -f, -g and -n).

Fine dark clay.

4 x 3.5 cm

On the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

A: 1. *Dd-k3-R^c*

B: 1. *Dd-k3-R^c, Špdw*

2. *w^cb nšwt, (ḥm ntr) mwt nšwt*

3. *Hr Dd-ḥ^c[w]*

C: 1. *mry, ḥry-šš[t3]*



13/A/85-d

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting into 10/A/85-a and 13/A/85-c, -f, -g and -n).

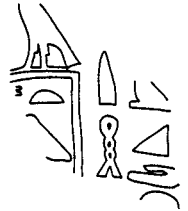
Fine dark clay.

2 x 2 cm

The sealing bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

1. *Hr Dd-ḥ^cw*

2. *Špdw ḥk d²⁶*



13/A/85-f (pl. 26)

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting together with 10/A/85-a and 13/A/85-c, -d, -g and -n).

Fine dark clay.

5.5 x 4 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription are impressed:

A: 1. *Hr Dd-ḥ^cw*

2. *[Ny-wš]r-[R^c] (?)*

Špdw ḥk d ...?..

3. *w^cb nšwt, ḥm-ntr mwt-nšwt*

4. *Hr Dd-[ḥ^cw]*

B: 1. *Špdw*

2. *w^cb nšwt, ... mwt-nšwt*

3. *Hr Dd-ḥ^c[w]*

4. *ḥš,*



²⁶ Concerning the cult of Sopdu in the Old Kingdom, see Schumacher, *Der Gott Sopdu*, 40–67. However, among the hitherto known epithets of the god Sopdu *ḥk d* is not attested.

13/A/85-g

A fragment of a sealing (probably fitting together with 10/A/85-a and 13/A/85-c, -d, -f and -n).

Fine dark clay.

5 x 2.5 cm

Remains of a hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the sealing read:

A: 1. *Dd-k3-R^c*

H_p

2. *Hr Dd h^cw*

3. *h[š]*

B: 1. *Hr [Dd]-h^cw*

2. *hš*

3. *šhmh ...?...* ²⁷



13/A/85-h

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

4 x 3 cm

The remains of a hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the sealing read:

A: ...?...

B: 1. ...*nr šnwt*, ...?...

2. *w^cb [mw]t [nšwt] (?)*, *hry š[št3]*

3. *Hr Dd-h^cw*

4. ...*r šnwt*



13/A/85-n (pl. 26)

A fragment of a sealing (to be probably joined with 10/A/85-a and 13/A/85-c, -d, -f and -g).

Fine dark clay.

3.5 x 1.8 cm

The sealing bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

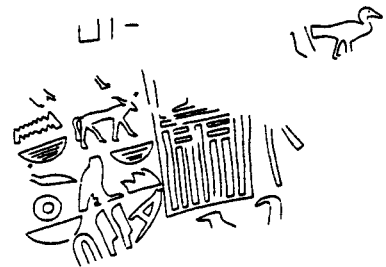
1. *n nb.f r^c nb*

2. *mry K3-nb-km (?)* ²⁸

3. *[Hr Dd-h^c]w*

4. *mr*

5. ...?...



15/A/85-a

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.7 x 3.5 cm

The fragment bears the remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription:

A: 1. *R^c (n) Št-[ib-R^c]*

2. *[Hr] Dd-h^cw*

3. *sš (n) šnwt*



²⁷ Is the title to be completed as *hš(w) šhmh-(ib nb.f) (?)* "the minstrel who distracts the heart of his Lord" (?). In the Old Kingdom only the title *imy-r hš(w) šhmh-ib* attested, whereas the combination of *šhmh-ib* with *hš* is attested in the New Kingdom (e.g. as a book title), see *Wb* IV, 253.

²⁸ Variant writing of the name of the Black Bull, Lord of Athribis (?), see Gauthier, *Dictionnaire*, 200 f., and Montet, *Géographie* I, 119 ff.

- B: 1. [*Hr Dd-ḥ*]*w* (in the lower portion of the *serekh* remains of a figure of the king, smashing with a mace the head of an enemy, is represented)
 2. *šnwt, mr[r]*
 3. left edge of a *serekh*

15/A/85-d

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay. Traces of white colour.

2.2 x 2.2 cm

On the upper surface of the sealing remains of a hieroglyphic inscription is impressed:

1. *w^cb [mw]t [nšwt], mrr*
 2. [*Hr*] *Št-ib-tšwy*



16/A/85-a

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay.

3.5 x 4.5 cm

Remains of a hieroglyphic inscription impressed on the sealing reads:

A: [*nšw*]*t [bity] Wniš*

B: 1. ...?...

2. *Hr W3d-tšwy*



16/A/85-b

A fragment of a sealing.

Fine dark clay. Traces of white colour.

3.5 x 3 cm

The fragment comes from a jar stopper. On the lower surface of the sealing the rim, 2,5 cm in diameter, of the mouth of a jar is impressed. The upper surface of the sealing bears remains of an impressed hieroglyphic inscription, painted white. The inscription reads:

1. ...?...

2. *nšwt bity Wniš*



IV. 1 Conclusions

1. Most of the sealings were found in the store-rooms, particularly in Room M 1 and in the corridor from which the store-rooms were entered. There was a high number of sealings also found in the so-called priest's dwelling in the north-east corner of the mortuary temple, and also within the cult pyramid enclosure. The relative absence of sealings in the intimate part of the temple could be related to the almost total destruction of the limestone portion of the monument. The numerous fragments of sealings indicate places where the offerings were either stored or presented.

2. The sealings were almost always found in the lowest layers, usually on the floor of the rooms. It seems needless to emphasize how important the sealings have been in determining the vertical stratigraphy, and in the reconstruction of the chronology of the pyramid complex's construction and function (see above Chapter I. Archaeological Report, *passim*).

3. There were also many fragments of clay jar stoppers among the sealings, some of them bearing imprints of the tissue and the string which had originally covered and protected the mouth of the

vessel. The imprints of the strings even made it possible (in some cases) to reconstruct the original diameter of the vessel's mouth. Less frequent than jar stoppers were the finds of the door sealings. The latter sealings are usually small and their lower side, bearing the imprints of strings, is flat. Very occasionally, fragments of flat thin sealings from wooden boxes or small sealings (probably coming from papyri rolls) were also found.

4. In some cases, a number of fragments come from the same sealing and can be joined, for instance:

279/A/78 and 298/A/78

316/A/78-x with 316/A/78-z

316/A/78-ff with 316/A/78-gg

90/A/80-a with -b, -c, -d, -e and -f

99/A/-b with -c

13/A/85-c with -d, -f and -g.

5. The names of the kings occur on the sealings, and these range in date from the beginning of the 4th until the early 6th Dynasty, namely from Snofru until Teti. In the following list, the kings are arranged in chronological order and the numeral in the brackets after the king's name indicates the number of fragments on which the respective name occurs:

(Horus names)

<i>Mḡdw</i>	(1)
<i>Tr-m³t</i>	(1)
<i>Nb-ḥ^cw</i>	(1)
<i>Wsr-ḥ^cw</i>	(2)
<i>Št-ib-t³wy</i>	(31)
<i>Mn-ḥ^cw</i>	(20)
<i>Dd-ḥ^cw</i>	(37)
<i>W³d-t³wy</i>	(8)
<i>Šḥtp-t³wy</i>	(1)

(Throne names)

<i>Šnfrw</i>	(1)
<i>Wsr-k³.f</i>	(1)
<i>Šḥw-R^c</i>	(1)
<i>Ny-wsr-R^c</i>	(8)
<i>Mn-k³w-Hr</i>	(5)
<i>R^c-nfr.f (Isi)</i>	(2)
<i>Dd-k³-R^c</i>	(12)
<i>Wniš</i>	(1)
<i>Tt</i>	(2)

The above-mentioned statistics can be slightly, certainly not basically, modified by the fact that some fragments made up part of the one sealing. The number of fragments of sealings bearing royal names indirectly indicates the intensity of the cult in the mortuary temple of Khentkaus in the times of those kings. Judging by the aforesaid criterion, the cult

seems to have been very intensive in the times of Nyuserre, Menkauhor and Djedkare and under the last named king it probably reached its peak. This conclusion is in accordance with the evidence of the papyri found to date in the ruins of some mortuary temples at Abusir.

6. Also very worthy of attention are the names of deities, and the frequency of their occurrence on the sealings found in the mortuary temple of the Royal Mother Khentkaus:

<i>W³dyt</i>	(1)
<i>b³w Nḥn</i>	(1)
<i>Bštt</i>	(3)
<i>Pth</i>	(1)
<i>Pth-ršy-inb.f</i>	(11)
<i>M³t</i>	(2)
<i>Mnw</i>	(1)
<i>Nḥbt</i>	(2)
<i>R^c</i>	(11)
<i>Ḥwt-Hr</i>	(3)
<i>Ḥp</i>	(2)
<i>Ḥr</i>	(1)
<i>Ḥr-ḥty</i>	(1)
<i>Ḥnmw</i>	(1)
<i>Skr</i>	(1)
<i>Šth</i>	(3)
<i>Špdw</i>	(6)
<i>K³-nb-km</i>	(1)

Not surprisingly, the above mentioned statistics show that the names of deities occurring most frequently are those of *R^c* and *Pth-ršy-inb.f*. This is what we would expect for the Memphite region in the 5th and early 6th Dynasty. It would be surprising if it were otherwise.

7. Less frequent among the records are the names of important buildings mentioned on the sealings. Among those names the pyramid complexes of the late 5th Dynasty predominate. A little surprising is the infrequent mention of sun temples:

<i>Nfr-išwt-Wniš</i>	(1)
<i>Ntry-išwt-Mn-k³w-Hr</i>	(3)
<i>Ntry-b³w-R^c-nfr.f</i>	(1)
<i>Št-ib-R^c</i>	(1)
<i>ḥwt (nt) mwt nšwt</i>	(2)
<i>Dd-Šnfrw</i>	(1)

8. A number of titles occurring on the sealings sheds more light on the categories of priests and officials connected with the mortuary cult of the Royal Mother Khentkaus in her temple at Abusir:

<i>im³ḥ</i>	(1)
<i>imy-r^cḥ³wtyw</i>	(1)
<i>imy-r^cḥ³w</i>	(1)
<i>imy-ḥt pr-^cḥw</i>	(5)

<i>imy-ḥt ... (?)</i>	(7)
<i>w^cb</i>	(6)
<i>w^cb pr-^c3</i>	(5)
<i>w^cb mwt nswt</i>	(6)
<i>w^cb mwt nswt bity nswt bity</i>	(2)
<i>w^cb nswt</i>	(5)
<i>w^cb Ntry-išwt-Mn-k3w-Hr</i>	(1)
<i>ḥ3ty ḏf3w</i>	(1)
<i>ḥm-ntr Bstt</i>	(1)
<i>ḥm-ntr Mn-k3w-Hr</i>	(1)
<i>ḥm-ntr mwt nswt</i>	(4)
<i>ḥm-ntr R^c</i>	(1)
<i>ḥm-ntr R^c n Št-ib-R^c</i>	(1)
<i>ḥm-ntr R^c Hwt-Hr</i>	(2)
<i>ḥm-ntr ḥwt (nt) mwt nswt</i>	(2)
<i>ḥm-ntr Hr-3ḥty</i>	(1)
<i>ḥm-ntr Hnm-ḥwfw</i>	(1)
<i>ḥm-ntr Hr Mddw</i>	(1)
<i>ḥm-ntr Nbwy (?)</i>	(1)
<i>ḥm-ntr Dḥwty</i>	(1)
<i>ḥm-ntr ... (?)</i>	(7)
<i>ḥry-ššt3</i>	(15)
<i>ḥs</i>	(1)
<i>ḥnty-š</i>	(3)
<i>ḥnty-š pr-^c3</i>	(1)
<i>ḥty Mnw</i>	(1)
<i>ḥty ...</i>	(1)
<i>ḥtmy bity</i>	(1)
<i>ḥry-ḥbt</i>	(1)
<i>ḥry-tp nswt</i>	(2)
<i>s3b</i>	(2)
<i>sš pr-^c3</i>	(2)
<i>sš pr-ḥd</i>	(1)
<i>sš nfrw</i>	(1)
<i>sš šnwt</i>	(1)
<i>šb3ty nswt</i>	(3)
<i>šb3ty</i>	(1)
<i>šr</i>	(1)
<i>šḥtp Hnmw</i>	(1)
<i>šḥd ḥ3wtyw</i>	(1)
<i>šḥd pr-^c3w</i>	(1)
<i>šḥd ḥmw-ntr mwt-nswt</i>	(1)
<i>šḥd ḥntyw-š (nyw) pr-^c3</i>	(1)
<i>šḥmh</i>	(1)

ḥ3ty (1)

The statistics show that among the priests directly connected with the mortuary cult of Khentkaus especially, the category of *w^cb nswt*, supplemented by the more specific categories of *w^cb mwt nswt* and *w^cb mwt nswt bity nswt bity* is the one most frequently attested. Less frequent, although very important, were *ḥm-ntr mwt nswt* (see below). The inscription discovered in the tomb of Idu at Abusir, gives further proof that, in the mortuary cult of the Royal Mother Khentkaus, *ḥm-ntr*-priests (see p. 171 f.) were employed. Among the officials employed in Khentkaus's temple the category of *ḥry-ššt3* clearly prevailed.

9. The fact that in the cult of the Royal Mother Khentkaus there were *ḥm-ntr*-priests involved (they are explicitly called *ḥm-ntr mwt nswt*), is of special significance. Besides the service in the cults of gods, this category of priests was in the Old Kingdom only engaged in the royal mortuary temples and in the sun temples. Therefore, the Royal Mother Khentkaus I of Giza, and Khentkaus II of Abusir must have had a social status which equalled that of the kings. It appears that the Dyn. 6 queens Ankhnesmeryre (I), Ankhnesmeryre (II), Neith and Udjebten were the only women who enjoyed in the Old Kingdom the same privilege as the Royal Mother Khentkaus.

10. The title of *ḥm-ntr ḥwt (nt) mwt nswt* adds still more importance to the above mentioned privileged position of the Royal Mother Khentkaus. This institution seems to expressly state the fact that Khentkaus's mortuary cult was considered to be equal to that of a king.

11. The principal title of the royal mother occurs in the sealings, as in masons' inscriptions, in two forms: *mwt nswt* and *mwt nswt bity nswt bity*. However, in the reliefs and, most importantly, on the false door and on the gate only the title of *mwt nswt bity nswt bity* occurs. It seems to be highly probable that the title of *mwt nswt* represented only an abbreviated form of the title *mwt nswt bity nswt bity*, and that both titles pertain to the same person.

V. FRAGMENTS DE PAPYRUS

PAULE POSENER - KRIÉGER

Les fragments de papyrus découverts dans le temple de la Mère Royale Khentkaous n'ont pas été trouvés à l'emplacement qui était le leur dans l'antiquité ¹. Ils sont fort mal conservés et se présentent comme de petits fragments appartenant des catégories de documents diverses. Deux minuscules fragments de feuille d'or recueillis avec les papyrus montrent que le temple de Khentkaous a sans doute été pillé dès l'antiquité. Ce qui a subsisté des archives du sanctuaire est conservé au Musée du Caire entre 16 doubles plaques de verre de 14 cm sur 14, numérotées **JE 94319 a à p**. Le cadre **a** ne contient que des fragments anépigraphes et les deux fragments de feuille d'or mentionnés plus haut. Nombre de fragments ne portent qu'un ou deux signes mutilés; ils n'ont pas été reproduits ici, leur intérêt étant nul, puisqu'ils ne peuvent même pas être utilisés pour l'étude de la paléographie. Seuls les fragments qui ont un intérêt réel ou qui peuvent être considérés comme des témoins des types de documents ayant existé dans ces archives ont été pris en compte dans cette publication. Dans la mesure du possible, ils ont été classés par catégories et répartis sur 5 planches (pl. 27-31).

Bien que le nom de la reine Khentkaous n'apparaisse sur aucun des fragments de papyrus conservés, on ne saurait douter qu'il s'agit bien ici des débris des archives du temple de cette souveraine, car on voit, sur cinq fragments de cet ensemble (27 A, 27 C, 27 D, 27 E, 27 G), la représentation de figures clairement féminines; sur d'autres fragments (27 F, 27 H, 27 I, 28 C, 28 E, 28 F, 28 G) la représentation a disparu, mais la figure est décrite, et il ne peut faire de doute qu'il s'agit bien de figures féminines, car la dépouille de vautour (coiffure des reines et

éventuellement des déesses) s'y trouve mentionnée. Il est difficile de dire, étant donnée la brièveté des textes qui décrivent ces figures, si il s'agit toujours de la représentation de la propriétaire du sanctuaire ou si il s'agit de divinités; aucun attribut spécifique de divinité n'étant cité, tout porte à croire que ces textes décrivent des statues cultuelles de Khentkaous elle-même, et des naos ou des chapelles qui les contenaient.

Les fragments de papyrus les plus intéressants paraissent provenir d'un même rouleau ou de rouleaux de même nature. Ils ne sont pas raccordables entre eux, mais l'organisation des divers fragments est très voisine; parfois l'espacement des lignes horizontales qui divisaient le rouleau indique que les fragments ne se trouvaient pas très éloignés les uns des autres dans le développement d'un même rouleau (comme 27 D, 27 G, 27 H, 27 J, ou 28 E, 28 F, ou encore 29 B, 29 C); ce fait justifie des groupements ou des dispositions dans les planches qui ne répondent pas toujours aux lois de l'esthétique.

La nature du document ou des documents dont ces fragments proviennent demeure difficile déterminer. On peut se demander si il ne s'agit pas de l'inventaire de base du temple décrivant l'ensemble du matériel cultuel; l'écriture trop négligée des textes me paraît exclure cette hypothèse. Il s'agit sans doute plus simplement de débris d'inventaires de nature voisine de ceux qui nous sont connus par les archives du temple de Néferirkarê ² ou du temple de Raneferef ³. En effet, deux fragments

1 Voir plus haut p. 23 f.

2 Posener-Kriéger et Cenival, *HPBM V* (The Abusir Papyri), pl. 20 - 30 et 89 - 91 (publication citée plus bas *HPBM V*).

3 Documents encore inédits.

(29 B et 29 C) d'organisation apparemment identique aux autres fragments, comportent des notices en rouge relatives à l'état du matériel. On observera cependant que les notices d'état en rouge font défaut sur tous les autres fragments. Il pourrait enfin s'agir d'un répertoire des statues à utiliser pendant une période donnée, pour des cérémonies précises, statues que la description qui figurait sous leur représentation permettait d'identifier. L'exigüité des fragments conservés et le caractère discontinu de la documentation ne permettent guère de se prononcer.

Des fragments de comptabilité disposés en tableaux, des comptabilités cursives et une liste de personnes de service montrent que les archives du temple de Khentkaus étaient tenues d'une façon tout à fait semblable à celle que les archives des temples de Néferirkarê et Ranéferéf nous ont fait connaître.

Deux minuscules fragments (29 H et 29 I) montrent que les rouleaux s'ouvraient par une date écrite en grands caractères hiéroglyphiques, comme c'est le cas pour les débuts de rouleaux conservés dans les archives de Néferirkarê⁴. On notera enfin que l'écriture est très voisine des autres documents en provenance des édifices funéraires royaux d'Abousir.

FRAGMENTS RELATIFS A DES STATUES FEMININES ET A DES NAOS (PL. 27 A – 29 G)

Le rouleau dont proviennent les fragments 27 A à 29 G était divisé horizontalement et verticalement par des traits noirs déterminant de grands carreaux. Un trait rouge, visible sur les fragments 27 A, 27 B et 27 C, était tracé à la partie supérieure de la feuille, sous une ligne de rubriques inscrites en grands caractères (voir fragments 27 A et 27 B). Dans la section la plus intéressante du document, une figure féminine était représentée dans la case supérieure d'une colonne; la description sommaire de l'objet était enregistrée dans les lignes suivantes de la même colonne, ainsi que les particularités du naos qui la renfermait. Dans tous les cas où le corps de la figure est conservé, les statues sont apparemment nues, devant être revêtues au cours du culte⁵. Les unes tiennent un sceptre *w3s* dans une main et un signe *nh* dans l'autre; d'autres sont représentées les bras tombant naturellement le long du corps, mains ouvertes; certaines sont représentées à l'intérieur d'un édicule ou d'un naos, certaines paraissent avoir été figurées "à l'air libre". L'état de conservation de ce document unique dans son genre n'est pas suffisant pour que l'on puisse se rendre compte si les figures représentées et décrites correspondaient à des actes culturels précis ou un calendrier des fêtes. Si il s'agit bien, comme je le crois,

de figures de Khentkaus elle-même, le temple de la reine aurait contenu au minimum 16 statuettes différentes de la souveraine et peut-être davantage. La description des naos et des statues étant répétitive et le vocabulaire limité, les termes utilisés ont été traités globalement et les notes renvoyées après la description des divers fragments, à l'exception des notices en rouge figurant sur les fragments 29 B et 29 C.

27 A (cadre p) : ht. 0,070; larg. 0,077.

Le fragment est dominé par le mot *tpht* (chapelle) inscrit en grands caractères dans la ligne supérieure du document; cette dernière est limitée à sa partie supérieure par un trait noir et à sa partie inférieure par un trait rouge.

Cette section du document, à laquelle appartenait aussi le fragment 27 B était sans doute consacrée à l'inventaire et à la description sommaire de chapelles. Au-dessous du mot *tpht* on voit un naos à corniche à gorge dans lequel la reine se tient debout les bras tombant le long du corps, mains ouvertes. La figure est coiffée de la dépouille de vautour et porte une longue chevelure; aucun vêtement n'est indiqué.

Devant le naos on lit le titre de *hntj-š*⁶, sans doute celui de l'officiant qui devait faire face au naos (voir fragments 27 F et 28 B). A la gauche du naos sont mentionnés, en inscriptions verticale, la caisse du naos ou ses parois^k et, sous le signe du cuivre^c, les anneaux de clôture des portes.

27 B (cadre n) : ht. 0,050; larg. 0,045.

Le fragment devait être voisin de 27 A dans le développement du rouleau: il reste, dans la ligne de rubriques le *h* et le *t* du mot *tpht*^l.

27 C (cadre n) : ht. 0,050; larg. 0,050.

Ce fragment porte encore à sa partie supérieure droite le trait horizontal rouge qui limite la ligne des rubriques. Dans la chapelle, dont la limite antérieure est indiquée par une colonnette à chapiteau, se tient une figure féminine debout, le sceptre *w3s*^w dans la main gauche le signe *nh* dans la main droite, insignes que tient Khentkaus elle-même sur un des piliers de la cour du temple. La tête de la statuette a disparu; la figure est apparemment nue. Devant le chapelle on lit le mot *ššr* "étoffe cultuelle".

4 HPBM V, pl. 1 et 2.

5 Voir Kaplony-Heckel, *Aegyptische Handschriften* I, pl. 1 (P.10003). On comparera à cet regard la statue nue du *k3* du roi Hor.

6 Pour ces employés des temples funéraires de l'Ancien Empire, voir Posener-Kriéger, *Archives de Néferirkarê*, p. 577 – 81.

Dans la ligne consacrée à la description de l'objet figurent deux mots mutilés que l'on peut restituer grâce aux inscriptions parallèles: il s'agit de la dépouille de vautour ^r et de la *nhbt* ^s; plus gauche on lit le signe de l'or ou le signe-mot écollier *wšh* (?) ⁷; la figure ne portant apparemment pas de collier, la lecture "or" me semble plus vraisemblable.

27 D (cadre b) : ht. 0,040; larg. 0,040.

A la partie supérieure du fragment on voit les restes d'une figure féminine debout, les bras pendant le long du corps, mains ouvertes (seule la main droite est partiellement conservée). La figure ne paraît pas avoir été représentée à l'intérieur d'une chapelle ou d'un naos. Le texte mentionne la dépouille de vautour ^r qui est dite "peinte couleur lapis-lazuli" ^d. L'écartement des lignes horizontales qui encadrent le texte laisse supposer que le fragment était peu éloigné des fragments 27 G, 27 H et 27 I dans le développement du rouleau.

27 E (cadre n) : ht. 0,015; larg. 0,030.

Le fragment appartient à une représentation de femme debout les bras tombant le long du corps, mains ouvertes; le corps est conservé de la partie inférieure du buste à mi-cuisses. Seule la main droite est encore visible ainsi qu'une partie de l'avant-bras.

27 F (cadre n) : ht. 0,023; larg. 0,025.

Devant une figure dont il ne reste que la pointe du pied se tient un officiant vêtu d'un jupon court; il présente un objet non identifiable, d'apparence quadrangulaire. La figure devant laquelle il se tient n'était pas représentée à l'intérieur d'une chapelle, à moins de supposer que le personnage était lui-même représenté à l'intérieur de cette chapelle, ce qui est peu vraisemblable.

Ce fragment avait d'abord été raccordé au fragment 27 G, mais, à la réflexion, le pied assez effilé de la figure représentée en 27 G ne me paraît pas correspondre à l'épaisseur de l'orteil que l'on voit sur 27 F. L'étude des fibres ne contredit pas ce raccord, mais ne l'impose pas, de sorte qu'il a paru préférable de présenter ici les fragments séparés. On observera cependant que le trait horizontal qui limite la ligne de texte est très pale sur 27 G comme sur la partie gauche de 27 F.

Sous l'officiant debout on lit la description de la figure qu'il honore: restes du mot *nrt* (dépouille de vautour) ^r, puis mention des cheveux ^q et de la *nhbt* ^s dont le nom est partiellement détruit.

27 G (cadre n) : ht. 0,050; larg. 0,045.

Dans la partie supérieure du fragment on voit une statuette de femme debout, les bras tombant naturellement le long du corps, mains ouvertes. Tout le haut du corps a disparu et la pointe du pied manque (voir peut-être 27 F). La figure ne paraît pas avoir été représentée à l'intérieur d'un naos. Dans la ligne qui décrit la statue sont mentionnés les deux sourcils ^u et les yeux ^v qui sont dits en onyx ou agate ^e.

27 H (cadre n) : ht. 0,050; larg. 0,035.

De la figure féminine représentée, il ne reste plus que l'extrémité du sceptre *wšs* ^w et le bout du pied. La ligne des descriptions mentionne les cheveux ^q, la dépouille de vautour ^r, les boucles ou les tresses ^t, mot facilement restitué grâce aux parallèles; tous sont dits "peints de couleur lapis-lazuli" ^d.

27 I (cadre o) : ht. 0,050; larg. 0,050.

Seuls les pieds de la figure féminine sont conservés. Le texte mentionne la dépouille de vautour ^r, la *nhbt* ^s, les sourcils ^u. La dépouille de vautour et la *nhbt* sont dits "peints en couleur lapis-lazuli" ^d; cette précision ne paraît pas concerner les sourcils, mais il est difficile d'être affirmatif à cet égard, les textes n'étant pas cadrés avec beaucoup de soin.

27 J (cadre k) : ht. 0,045; larg. 0,020.

Le fragment porte la partie inférieure d'une figure debout, vraisemblablement féminine. Le texte mentionne la *nhbt* ^s qui était soit en lapis-lazuli, soit peinte en couleur lapis-lazuli ^d.

28 A (cadre k) : ht. 0,030; larg. 0,070.

Le bas d'une figure féminine est conservé dans le cadre supérieur du fragment. La reine tenait dans une main le sceptre *wšs*, dont la partie inférieure subsiste. La ligne consacrée aux descriptions de la statue est endommagée; on lit encore à l'extrême droite du fragment les traces du mot *šnj* (chevelure) ^q, puis la mention de la *nhbt* ^s, sans doute la mention du sceptre *wšs* ^w et le mot électrum ^b: il est possible qu'il s'agisse de la matière du sceptre en question.

28 B (cadre c) : ht. 0,020; larg. 0,040 + ht. 0,020; larg. 0,050.

La pièce est constituée de deux fragments raccordés. Sur le fragment de droite il reste les pieds d'un officiant debout, sans doute devant une figure qui lui faisait face, mais dont il ne subsiste plus de trace.

Le texte descriptif, inscrit entre deux lignes horizontales, concerne d'abord la figure elle-même

⁷ On trouve une écriture semblable du collier *wšh* sur le fragment HPBM V, 27 A

dont la *nhbt*^s est mentionnée ainsi que les sourcils^u; ensuite, il semble s'agir du naos qui contenait la statue: les deux battants de porte^m sont en bois d'importation^f; ceux-ci étaient décorés de représentations (*hbw*)ⁿ dont le nom de matière a disparu. Un élément du naos était peint de couleur lapis-lazuli^d. Les portes du naos possédaient six anneaux de clôture *db*^{cl}. Le signe qui fait suite a été laissé sans transcription: il est fait comme une corne ou une dent, accompagné d'un trait vertical; après beaucoup d'hésitation, je propose d'y voir le nom de l'ivoire, mais la lecture est très conjecturaleⁱ; au-dessous de ce signe, on lit le nom de l'électrum^b, plus à gauche celui de l'ébène^h, sous lequel on lit un *s* et une trace: il pourrait s'agir du linteau *s3*^p; enfin, à l'extrême gauche, le nom du bois d'acacia^q. Il s'agit sans doute d'un naos particulièrement luxueux.

28 C (cadre k) : ht. 0,025; larg. 0,045.

Fragment sur lequel subsistent les pieds d'une figure placée à l'intérieur d'un naos. Devant ce dernier, on lit verticalement la légende *dit ššr* "donner l'étoffe *ššr*", sûrement en rapport avec un épisode du culte. Restes, à droite, de la mention de la dépouille de vautour^r et à l'extrême gauche des cheveux (?)^q.

28 D (cadre b) : ht. 0,063; larg. 0,040.

Ce fragment, comme les fragments 28 E et 28 F, paraît avoir été situé vers le bas du rouleau de papyrus. On y lit une légende apparemment en rapport avec le décor du naos: les silhouettes^o qui le décorent sont en lapis-lazuli^d et en électrum^b. Plus à gauche, un collier *wšh* (?) est dit "peint". La légende figurant dans la case inférieure gauche n'a pas été lue: le signe transcrit par le cylindre sceau est peut-être lire \curvearrowright ; plus bas, le *b* est sûr, mais l'aleph est douteux. A l'extrême droite du fragment, des traces qui appartiennent peut-être à une date (mois 2 ?).

28 E (cadre o) : ht. 0,060; larg. 0,050.

Le fragment paraît appartenir à la partie inférieure du rouleau. A gauche, dans la ligne inférieure, sont mentionnés les cheveux^q et la dépouille de vautour^r, qui devaient être peints, mais dont la couleur n'est pas indiquée, au moins dans l'état actuel du fragment; plus à droite on lit le nom des tresses^t, à propos desquelles aucun commentaire ne figure sur le document. Le reste du texte concerne le naos: trois anneaux de clôture^l, deux battants de porte en bois d'importation^f, puis plus à gauche, 24 pièces de bois dont le nom se termine par un *3* et dans lesquelles il faut peut-être voir les bois de portage *hs3*⁸? Si tel était le cas, on aurait affaire à un naos de très grande taille. Est-ce à ces éléments et aux

battants de porte que se rapporte l'indication "acacia d'importation"^q qui figure à gauche dans la ligne inférieure, ou à un autre élément du naos dont le nom a disparu⁹?

28 F (cadre c) : ht. 0,060; larg. 0,044.

Le fragment appartient au même niveau que le fragment 28 E dans la hauteur du rouleau et devait en être peu éloigné. Dans la ligne supérieure, à droite, on lit le déterminatif de la dépouille de vautour^r et la mention des tresses^t; plus bas, sont nommés les sourcils^u, le tout étant "peint", sans indication de couleur. Dans le bas de la case, sont cités trois anneaux de clôture^l en cuivre^c. A gauche, dans la ligne supérieure, traces d'un mot disparu, puis, dans la ligne inférieure, sont cités deux battants de porte en bois d'importation^f et à l'extrême gauche le nom de l'acacia d'importation^q et peut-être le mot *s3* "linteau"^p, écrit avec le signe de l'oiseau (?).

28 G (cadre k) : ht. 0,050; larg. 0,045.

Le fragment paraît appartenir à la partie supérieure du rouleau, mais il est difficile d'en juger, aucune trace de représentation n'étant préservée (le trait vertical, à l'extrême gauche pourrait représenter la limite antérieure d'un naos). Dans la ligne de texte, on lit le nom des cheveux^q, plus à gauche, en rouge, le nom de l'électrum^b, qui surmonte le nom de la dépouille de vautour^r et dans le bas de la ligne les traces de l'indication *m šš* "peint". Il semble qu'il faille comprendre que, sur la figure décrite, la chevelure était peinte tandis que la dépouille de vautour était en électrum.

28 H (cadre b) : ht. 0,020; larg. 0,019.


Ce petit fragment semble préserver une partie du bras gauche d'une représentation féminine et la limite arrière d'un naos renfermant la figure.

28 I (cadre o) : ht. 0,025; larg. 0,015

Petit fragment sur lequel on lit le nom du lapis lazuli^d.

28 J (cadre k) : ht. 0,015; larg. 0,013.

Fragment sur lequel subsiste la mention des sourcils^u.

8 Mot écrit  dans *HPBM* V, 25 e et 27 F, voir *Archives de Néferirkare*, p. 193 (C 15).

9 Le nom de matière précédant normalement le nom de l'objet, sauf si ce dernier est introduit par *m*.

28 K (cadre **k**) : ht. 0,035; larg. 0,025.

Fragment sur lequel on lit que certaines parties de la figure décrite étaient peintes en couleur lapis-lazuli^d.

28 L (cadre **o**) : ht. 0,040; larg. 0,028.

Fragment sur lequel subsiste la fin du mot *n3bt* "tresses"^t dont le déterminatif est différent de celui qui figure sur les fragments 28 E et 28 F. La lecture est cependant certaine.

29 A (cadre **b**) : ht. 0,085; larg. 0,073.

Fragment appartenant vraisemblablement à la partie terminale du rouleau ou à une large colonne vide séparant deux sections du document. La majeure partie du fragment est anépigraphie. À l'extrême droite, on voit encore le déterminatif des cheveux^q et sous le trait horizontal un *r* appartenant peut-être au mot *nrt* ^r (?) ; plus bas, le signe endommagé est sans doute le déterminatif de l'abstrait (*m ss* ?). Sur la ligne horizontale supérieure, dans une écriture assez pâle, le signe du natron *hsmn*.

29 B (cadre **c**) : ht. 0,065; larg. 0,042.

Ce fragment et le fragment 29 C sont les seuls à porter des remarques inscrites en rouge. Ces dernières apparentent les deux documents aux inventaires des deux lots d'archives découverts à Abousir, bien que leur organisation paraisse identique à celle des fragments étudiés jusqu'ici.

Dans la case supérieure droite, trace d'une date (mois 1 ?), puis, plus bas, le signe de la corbeille *nb* au-dessous duquel figure un trait vertical. Dans la case supérieure gauche, la mention de l'électrum^b suivie d'un mot non lu sous lequel figure la précision "peint" (*m zš*).

En rouge, et ne tenant pas compte des divisions du tableau, une remarque en trois lignes superposées: dans la première ligne on lit *nsj sft* "il appartient à ce qui est retranché (?)"¹⁰; plus bas ^c *sh3* "le document"¹¹ (qui le concerne) mis au jour"¹² (= sorti des archives ?); "reste parmi.....". Le dernier groupe n'a pas été lu: le signe ressemble au poisson *in* (cf. *HPBM* V, Pl. VI, K 1) qui paraît suivi d'un ^c et d'un rond. Le groupe ne donnant pas de sens, la lecture est sûrement fautive et il a paru préférable de ne pas donner de transcription. On doit comprendre, me semble-t-il, que l'objet en mauvais état a été mis hors service, à la réforme, et qu'il ne figure plus dans les listes de matériel, mais n'a pas été jeté. On voit à quel point l'interprétation de cette légende est conjecturale.

29 C (cadre **c**) : ht. 0,050; larg. 0,048.

Fragment de même type que le précédent. Il reste deux lignes incomplètes en rouge "... vides¹³ dans....", puis, plus bas, "en elle dans son entier"¹⁴. L'objet indéterminé est du genre féminin, la légende ne se rapporte donc pas à l'objet décrit en 29 B.

29 D (cadre **e**) : ht. 0,045; larg. 0,035.

Ce fragment et les fragments 29 E, 29 F et 29 G paraissent provenir d'un document de même nature que les fragments étudiés plus haut, mais dont l'organisation n'est pas obligatoirement similaire.

Sous un trait rouge, on voit, en rouge, le déterminatif d'un nom de matière (trois ronds) dont le nom est perdu, sans doute un métal, car on lit en dessous verticalement: "Deux battants de porte"^m, trois anneaux de clôture^l. L'organisation du fragment permet de le rapprocher du fragment 27 A.

29 E (cadre **e**) : ht. 0,020; larg. 0,028.

Sur le fragment subsistent le déterminatif du battant de porte et le chiffre 2.


29 F (cadre **e**) : ht. 0,019; larg. 0,014.

Minuscule fragment sur lequel subsiste le signe du battant de porte.

29 G (cadre **e**) : ht. 0,015; larg. 0,022.

Fragment sur lequel on voit le déterminatif du battant de porte.

NOMS DES MATIÈRES CITÉES DANS LES FRAGMENTS I A – III G

a)  : Or (sur l'or égyptien, voir Harris, *Minerals*, p. 32–37). Le signe de l'or apparaît sur les fragments 27 C et 28 D. Dans les deux cas, il est possible qu'il s'agisse du collier *wsh* ; les fragments sont trop détruits pour que l'on puisse offrir une

10 Le verbe *st* est connu par les textes médicaux avec les sens de "couper, trancher" (von Deines-Westendorff, *Wb. Med. Texte*, p. 746).


11 Pour ce sens du mot ^c voir *HPBM* V, 49 C et 52 A, 3 c et *Archives de Néferirkarê*, p. 366, n. 4.


12 *sh3* a généralement le sens de dévoiler, deshabiller une statue. Ou faut-il comprendre que l'on a mis le document d'archives "en arrière"? La lecture est en tout cas certaine.


13 Des vides, des manques dans une incrustation sont désignés par le mot *šwt* dans les inventaires d'Abousir (*Archives de Néferirkarê*, p. 203). Il faut comprendre ici que des éléments de l'objet décrit sont "vides" *m* introduisant peut-être un nom de matière ou de partie d'objet.


14 L'expression est aussi employée dans les inventaires du matériel cultuel du temple de Néferirkarê lorsqu'un objet est très endommagé, voir par exemple *HPBM* V, 28 F.


solution certaine. Sur le fragment 27 C la figure représentée ne porte pas de collier de sorte que l'on est plutôt tenté de lire "or". Sur le fragment 28 D, si on en juge par les parallèles concernant la peinture bleue (couleur lapis), il pourrait s'agir d'un collier peint.



b)  : Electrum (cf. Harris, *Minerals*, p. 44 sq.). La matière est citée sur les fragments 28 A, 28 B, 28 D, 28 G, 29 B. Sur le fragment 28 A, c'est vraisemblablement le sceptre *w3s* tenu par la statuette qui est en électrum. En 28 D, il s'agit des représentations décorant le naos qui sont partiellement en électrum; on fera à cet égard un rapprochement avec les archives du temple de Néferirkarê où sont cités des coffrets comportant des placages d'électrum¹⁵, ou avec une plaquette de terre cuite émaillée bleue plaquée partiellement d'or ou d'électrum découverte au cours des fouilles du temple funéraire de Raneferef. Sur le fragment 28 B, le nom de l'électrum est associé à ceux de l'ivoire (?) et de l'ébène, mais le nom de la partie d'objet décrite est perdu. Sur le fragment 28 G la dépouille de vautour coiffant la statuette était en électrum et en 29 B le nom de l'objet en électrum est en partie détruit.

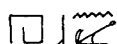
c)  : Cuivre (cf. Harris, *Minerals*, p.52-62). Le nom du cuivre est écrit, comme toujours l'Ancien Empire, par le signe du lingot de métal. Comme dans les archives du temple de Néferirkarê, les anneaux de clôture des portes de naos sont en cuivre (27 A et 28 F).


d)  : Lapis lazuli. Dans la majorité des cas où intervient cette matière, il s'agit d'une peinture de couleur bleue (27 D, 27H, 28 B, 28 K). Dans les autres cas (27 J et 28 I) il est difficile d'affirmer que c'est aussi le cas en raison de l'état des documents. Dans un seul cas (28 D), il semble bien que les représentations qui ornent sans doute le naos soient en lapis et en électrum; on comparera à cet égard les fragments 28 C et 29 D des archives du temple de Néferirkarê. Les parties de statues peintes en bleu sont : en 27 D, la dépouille de vautour; en 27 H les cheveux et la dépouille de vautour et peut-être aussi les tresses; en 27 I, la dépouille de vautour, la *nhbt* et peut-être aussi les sourcils (?); en 27 J, la *nhbt* est en lapis ou peinte en couleur lapis, enfin en 28 B, une partie indéterminée du naos est dite "peinte en bleu".

e)  : Onyx ou agate. Sur cette matière voir Harris, *Minerals*, p. 133-34; il s'agit ici de l'incrustation des yeux de la statue et peut-être aussi de ses sourcils. L'utilisation faite ici de cette matière précieuse confirme la traduction proposée par Harris.¹⁶

f)  : Le bois d'importation est fréquemment cité dans les archives du temple de Néferirkarê ainsi que dans celles de Raneferef et ne pose plus aucun problème. Il est employé ici pour les portes de naos (28 B, 28 E, 28 F).

g)  et  : Le bois d'acacia est cité dans le fragment 28 B pour une pièce non identifiée du naos et l'acacia d'importation peut-être pour le linteau d'un autre naos (28 F). Sur le fragment 28 E le mention *šnd h3swt* (en écriture développée) figure sous la mention de 24 pièces de bois identifiées avec hésitation aux pièces *hs3* qui figurent dans les archives du temple de Néferirkarê; le bois d'acacia d'importation peut se rapporter aussi aux battants de porte du naos décrit dans ce même fragment.

h)  : (*Wb*. II, 487, 7). L'ébène est cité une seule fois sur le fragment 28 B, en relation avec l'ivoire (?) et l'électrum, association qui est fréquente.¹⁷

i)  ? : Ivoire (?). Le signe est écrit avec un signe qui ressemble plus à une corne qu'à une dent (28 B). Aucun complément phonétique n'accompagne le signe qui est précédé d'un trait vertical. La lecture est extrêmement douteuse. Il s'agit peut-être d'une pièce du naos écrite avec un signe-mot.¹⁸

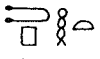
16 Le problème posé par des autels *gn* en *k33* (Caminos, *Lit. Frag.*, 12,1) demeure entier. En revanche on peut supposer que les vases en *k33* cités par Hassan, *Excav. Giza VI* (2), p. 57, sont des objets de très petite taille. Pour les attestations de cette matière au Nouvel Empire, on consultera la bibliographie réunie par Harris (*l.c.*). Tous les exemples citent des apports de *k33* mais ceux-ci n'éclairent pas sur la nature de cette matière importée de Nubie.

17 L'ébène est souvent cité avec l'ivoire (*Louvre C 14, Urk. IV*, 329, 695, 702, 1148 tc.) cf. *RT* 6,125 sq.), ces deux matières étant importées de Nubie.


18 Pour la lecture du signe comparer *HPBM V*, Pl. III (F18). Aucun des exemples connus du nom de l'ivoire ne présente de graphie avec la dent seule. A propos des défenses d'éléphant voir E. Schott, *MDAIK* 27, 108 – 109. Sur l'ivoire, voir Meeks, *ALex I*, 77.0030 et II, 78.0021.

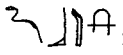
15 *HPBM V*, 27 G, 27 J, 29 B, 29 C.


NAOS ET LES PARTIES DE NAOS MENTIONNEES DANS LES FRAGMENTS 27 A - 29 G


j)  : Naos ou chapelle. Le mot est écrit en rubrique sur les fragments 27 A et 27 B.

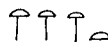
C'est un terme très général pour désigner la demeure d'une divinité (ici, celle des images de la reine Khentkaous). Le mot est bien attesté dans les archives du temple de Néferirkarê.¹⁹ Le fragment 27 A montre clairement ce dont il s'agit.

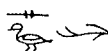
k)  : Le mot est incomplètement conservé et il est difficile de dire si il s'agit ici du mot *drww* "les cotés", du mot féminin *drjw*, désignant les parois²⁰ du naos ou du mot *drwt* "sarcophage"²¹ pour désigner la caisse toute entière.

l)  : L'anneau de clôture des portes ou des coffrets est souvent cité dans les archives du temple de Néferirkarê.²² En 27 A le nombre en est inconnu; en 28 B, ils sont au nombre de six, ce qui suppose un double verrouillage²³; leur matière n'est pas précisée dans l'état actuel du fragment. En 28 E, 28 F et 29 D, ils sont chaque fois au nombre de trois. En 27 A et 28 F, où le nom de matière est conservé, ces anneaux sont en cuivre. On notera en 28 F, le déterminatif particulièrement parlant.

m)  : Vantail de porte. Le mot est cité sur les fragments 28 B, 28 E, 28 F, 29 D, 29 E, 29 F, 29 G. Lorsque le nom de matière est conservé, les battants de porte sont en bois d'importation. Les double vantaux sont caractéristiques des portes de naos ou de chapelle.²⁴

n)  : Représentation (*Wb* . III, 365, 11-13). Le mot est écrit *špw* en 28 B. La lecture est sûre. Le mot n'est guère attesté avant le Nouvel Empire et désigne des figures en cuivre ou en or sur des portes.²⁵

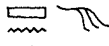
o)  : Silhouettes, images. On peut difficilement penser ici autre chose qu'aux représentations ornant des portes ou des barques dont les attestations datent en majorité du Nouvel Empire²⁶; cependant, dans la tombe de Pépi-ankh-Heny à Meir²⁷, on voit un homme occupé à décorer une porte à qui son compagnon dit : *mnḥ šwt tw nt ʿ3 šn* "sculpte ce décor de porte²⁸ vite". Les "images" sur le fragment 28 D sont en électrum ou en lapis, ce qui s'accorde avec les attestations plus tardives.


p)  : Poutre ou linteau. La lecture est conjecturale de 28 F comme en 28 B, en raison de

l'état de conservation des fragments. On comparera à cet égard les attestations du mot dans les archives du temple de Néferirkarê; la pièce serait en acacia d'importation en 28 F et en ébène en 28 B.

PARTIES DE STATUES CITEES DANS LES FRAGMENTS 27 A - 29 G

Les parties de statues qui sont mentionnées dans les documents sont pratiquement identiques sur chaque fragment. Dans tous les cas, les statues étant nues, les textes se rapportent uniquement la tête de la figure.

q)  : Les cheveux (*Wb* IV, 499, 10). La chevelure est semble-t-il toujours nommée en premier. Sur l'importance de la chevelure on consultera Derchain, SAK 2, 55 sg. On dit généralement des cheveux qu'ils sont en lapis-lazuli³⁰ ou en turquoise³¹. Les cheveux sont cités sur les fragments 27 F, 27 H, 28 A, 28 C, 28 E, 28 G. Ils sont dits "peints couleur palis-lazuli" sur le fragment 27 H. Sur les fragments 28 E et 28 G, ils sont indiqués comme "peints" sans indication de couleur.

r)  : La dépouille de vautour. Le mot est déterminé par le vautour; bien que ce sens de *nrt* ne figure pas au *Wb*, il ne me semble pas que l'on puisse douter du sens lui attribuer ici. Dans les frises d'objets des sarcophages, le vautour *nrt* figure assez souvent³¹, mais il semble qu'il s'agisse plutôt de

19 *Archives de Néferirkarê*, p. 185 et 449.

20 Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 28 où le mot est traduit "murs".

21 *Pyr.* 616 et 2009, voir aussi Vandier, *Mo^calla*, p. 208, n. c., où le mot est écrit *drjw*.

22 Sur le mot *db^c*, "anneau de clôture" voir Posener-Kriéger, *Beiträge BF* 12, 80 - 82 et *Archives de Néferirkarê*, p. 194. On remarque, qu'en 28 F le mot est écrit avec le seul déterminatif, comme si le scribe avait mentionné le système de clôture des portes dans un espace vide de la case du tableau.

23 Pour le double verrou nécessitant 6 anneaux, voir *HPBM* V, 32,7 et *Archives Néferirkarê*, p. 431 et 442.

24 Voir *Beiträge BF* 12, 76, le mot sert aussi à désigner le couvercle d'un coffret (*HPBM* V, 25 e).

25 Le mot ne semble pas attesté avant le Nouvel Empire où il est fréquent, Gardiner, *JEA* 32, 47, 1.38, traduit "reliefs". On songe à nouveau aux plaquettes de faïence trouvées dans le temple de la reine et dans le temple de Raneferef.

26 Il s'agit généralement d'ombres où de silhouettes divines (*Urk.* IV, 56,10; 433,2; 737,11, Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1654,5; *Medinet Habou*, 185, 1.3; voir aussi le commentaire de Breasted, *AR* II, 889 et 895).

27 Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 18 et p. 28.


28 Meeks, *ALex* II, 78.4068, où *šwt* est enregistré comme vantail de porte en suivant la traduction de Blackman.


29 *HPBM* V, 31 B, 2; 31 B, 3; 32, 6 et 32, 7; *Archives de Néferirkarê*, p. 433 et Posener-Kriéger, *Beiträge BF* 12, 76 - 77.


30 cf. Gardiner, *Chester Beatty* I, v^o, C 14; normalement ce sont les cheveux des divinités qui sont dites en lapis-lazuli.

31 Faulkner, *JEA* 54, 42, n. 8.


talismans, car la coiffure *nrt* n'y est pas représentée. Non seulement on voit, sur le fragment 27 A, la figure de la reine portant cette coiffure, mais elle la porte aussi dans les représentations de son temple (pl. 00) et sur une des plaquettes de faïence recueillies au cours de la fouille du sanctuaire.


s)  : *Nhbt*. Le mot *nhbt* cité sur les fragments 27 C, 27 F, 27 I, 27 J, 28 A et 28 B est généralement inscrit après la dépouille de vautour ou après les cheveux et avant le sourcil. Il me semble qu'il peut difficilement désigner le cou³³ ou un bouton de lotus,³⁴ éventuellement un sceptre en forme de bouton de lotus.³⁵ Le mot n'est jamais déterminé de sorte que cette partie de la statue est difficile à identifier; elle devrait se situer sur la coiffure plutôt que sur le visage. On aurait aimé y voir un serpent protecteur, mais toute identification avec une déesse serpent *Nhbt-k3*³⁶ me semble exclue car *Nhb-k3w* et sans doute *Nhbt-k3* n'est pas un uraeus.³⁷ La nature de cette partie des statuette étant incertaine, j'ai laissé *nhbt* sans traduction.

t)  : Tresses ou boucles (?). Lorsque la *nhbt* n'est pas citée, on trouve dans la description des statuette un élément appelé *n3bt* dont le déterminatif est soit un rond muni de deux petits traits horizontaux, soit un objet oblong, légèrement incurvé. Cet élément est nommé sur les fragments 27 H, 28 E, 28 F, 28 L. Dans les textes des Pyramides (Pyr. 282 c) *n3bt* est déterminé par des boucles; il s'agit donc d'un élément de la coiffure, distinct des cheveux *šnj*. Peut-être ce mot désigne-t-il les boucles ou tresses artificielles dépassant de la dépouille de vautour, *šnj* décrivant alors les cheveux naturels qui, sur certaines statues féminines de l'Ancien Empire, sont nettement visibles sur le front. Le déterminatif rond conviendrait bien une boucle artificielle traversée d'une épingle. Puisque *nhbt* remplace parfois *n3bt* dans la description des statues, il est difficile de croire que le premier terme désigne le cou de la statue qu'on imagine mal peint de couleur bleu lapis ou en lapis, comme cela paraît être le cas sur le fragment 27 I. Il faut peut-être s'en tenir un ornement de tête en forme de bouton de lotus pour ce dernier élément, ce qui va cependant assez mal avec une chevelure ornée d'une dépouille de vautour.

u)  : Les deux sourcils (*Wb*. I, 99, 1-2) sont cités sur les fragments 27 G, 27 I, 28 B, 28 F, 28 J, dans la graphie ancienne. Le déterminatif, lorsqu'il existe, est clair. Dans un cas, les sourcils étaient vraisemblablement peints en bleu lapis (27 I), ce qui fait penser au serpent du Naufragé. Sur 27 G, les

sourcils sont peut-être incrustés d'onyx ou d'agate, comme les yeux. Des sourcils incrustés ne se trouvent guère sur les statues avant le Nouvel Empire³⁸, mais nous ne possédons aucune statue cultuelle de l'Ancien Empire. Sur 28 F les sourcils sont peints, sans que la couleur soit précisée dans l'état actuel du document.

v)  : Les deux yeux sont cités sur un seul fragment : 27 G et on observera que le scribe a dessiné les deux yeux en parallèle.

w)  : Le sceptre *w3s* que tient la reine n'est cité que sur un fragment (28 A); celui-ci est apparemment en électrum. Le sceptre *w3s* est représenté dans la main de trois des figures conservées (27 C, 27 H et 28 A). On comparera ces figures à l'image de la reine telle qu'elle est représentée sur les piliers de calcaire de son temple, coiffée de la dépouille de vautour et tenant en main le sceptre *w3s* et le signe *nh* (cf. pl. 11).

Les fragments 27 A-29 C, si ils appartiennent tous au même document ou à des documents identiques comme leur réglure en grands carreaux le laissent supposer, permettent d'en évaluer la hauteur et de se faire une idée de la composition du ou des documents dont ils faisaient partie. 27 A permet de connaître l'aspect de la partie supérieure du rouleau: sous un trait noir, une ligne de 1 cm 5 de haut portait sans doute la rubrique générale du document. Une seconde ligne de même hauteur limitée par un trait rouge, donnait le nom des pièces inventoriées. Venait ensuite un espace de 4 cm de haut dans lequel les objets étaient représentés. Ensuite venait la description des pièces, écrite dans une ou deux lignes de 1,5 à 2,5 cm de haut, puis une marge inférieure, ce qui donne un rouleau classique de demi hauteur.

L'état de cet important document est malheureusement extrêmement mauvais et il est

32 Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, p. 25.

33 *Wb*. II, 292, 10; Meeks, *ALex* II, 78.2175.

34 *Wb*. II, 294,3; Meeks, *ALex* II, 78.2178.

35 *Wb*. II, 293, 17; Meeks, *ALex* II, 78.2177 et III, 79.1587.

36 Gardiner, *JEA* 32, 43 (= *Urk*. IV, 389,7).

37 Shorter, *JEA* 21, 40 sq.

38 Voir cependant la statue archaïque de la collection Koeffer, (*5000 Jahre ägyptischer Kunst*, Essen, 1961, n°18 (la pièce est dite provenir d'Abydos) et la tête royale du Louvre attribué à Pepi Ier (E.10229 = Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. VIII,6). L'incrustation des sourcils est surtout à la mode à l'époque amarnienne ou les exemples sont nombreux.

difficile de comprendre comment cette pièce d'archive était utilisée. De faibles traces (en 28 D et 29 B) qui paraissent appartenir à des dates, pourraient indiquer que les pièces mentionnées devaient être utilisées (ou avaient été utilisées) à des dates précises. Enfin les fragments 27 A, 27 C, 27 F, 28 B, 28 C montrent qu'il s'agit de statues cultuelles nues que l'on vêlait. On comparera à cet égard le document d'Illahun conservé au Musée de Berlin, P. 1003 A, dans lequel des vêtements destinés à des statues sont utilisés pour le service mensuel ³⁹. Comme dans les notices des inventaires du temple de Néferirkarê, on remarque que la disposition des notices descriptives n'est pas toujours logique et que les descriptions des naos et des statues s'enchevêtrent, mais cette impression est peut-être due à l'état fragmentaire du document dont l'organisation nous échappe en grande partie.

FRAGMENTS DIVERS

29 H (cadre i): ht. 0,030; larg. 0,030 et **29 I** (cadre j): ht. 0,004; larg. 0,025.

Le fragment 29 H porte les restes d'une date: année suivant le sixième compte et le fragment 29 I les restes des plantes du Nord et du Sud. Ces fragments ont été reproduits ici pour montrer que les rouleaux des archives du temple de Khentkaous s'ouvriraient, comme c'est le cas pour les rouleaux des archives du temple de Néferirkarê, par une date écrite en grands caractères hiéroglyphiques.

29 J (cadre i): ht. 0,030; larg. 0,030.

Deux signes, dont le second est mutilé subsistent sur ce fragment.

29 K (cadre I): ht. 0,030; larg. 0,035.

Sous un trait horizontal en noir, on lit, en rouge, $\text{ḥ} \text{wrt}$ (très nombreux), remarque souvent attestée dans les inventaires du matériel cultuel des archives du temple de Néferirkarê et de Raneferef ⁴⁰.

29 L (cadre j): ht. 0,030; larg. 0,015.

Le fragment appartient à un inventaire du matériel du type connu par les archives de Néferirkarê et de Raneferef; les signes subsistants sont inexploitable. Il est reproduit ici à titre de témoin d'une documentation disparue.

29 M (cadre f): ht. 0,017; larg. 0,030.

Quelques traces en rouge subsistent à la partie supérieure du fragment, puis on lit, en noir, la mention de la partie supérieure d'un objet (du genre féminin) et un trait vertical en noir. Le fragment

appartient au même type de document que le fragment 29 L.

Sur la planche 30 ont été groupés des fragments de comptabilités.

30 A (cadre h): ht. 0,050; larg. 0,040.

Fragment de comptabilité dont la lecture est conjecturale.

30 B¹ + B² + B³ (cadre h) B¹: ht. 0,050; larg. 0,070 + B²: ht. 0,030; larg. 0,040 + B³: ht. 0,020; larg. 0,017.

Compte de pièces de boucherie. Les fragments ne sont pas raccordables entre eux mais proviennent du même document qui semble être palimpseste.

Sur B¹ on lit le nom de la pièce de viande *šwt* (moitié inférieure de la patte arrière du boeuf ⁴¹, le nom du foie, celui de la pièce *dbwt*, non attesté au *Wb.*, mais citée dans les archives de Néferirkarê ⁴² et de Raneferef ainsi que le nom de la pièce de viande *dpt* (morceau provenant de la région des reins ⁴³). Les noms des différentes pièces de boucherie sont suivis de chiffres et surmontés d'un oblique de pointage ⁴⁴. Les traces de chiffres sur le fragment B² sont inexploitable; sur le fragment B³ ne subsiste que le déterminatif de la viande suivi du chiffre 1.

30 C (cadre g): ht. 0,040; larg. 0,050.

Fragment très détruit que j'ai cru pouvoir comprendre comme un compte de volatiles, mais qui pourrait être tout autre chose.

30 D (cadre k): ht. 0,040; larg. 0,015.

Petit fragment portant la rubrique *inn* "apporté" qui précède souvent les listes de produits livrés. Le fragment provient sans doute d'une comptabilité cursive tracée sur un verso.

³⁹ Les pièces 27 C et 28 C mentionnent toutes deux l'étoffe *ššr* qui est dit $\text{ḥ} \text{wrt}$ "bien divine"? (ou comprendre "rites divins"?). dans les archives du temple de Néferirkarê, voir *HPBM* V, 47 A et 47 B et *Archives de Néferirkarê*, p. 344, n. 8 et 349 et 365. On notera que les étoffes *ššr* et *nfrw* sont attribuées aux phylés pour leur service mensuel dans les archives provenant du temple de Raneferef (cadre 44, recto).

⁴⁰ Cette remarque intervient souvent lorsque les dommages sont trop nombreux pour être détaillés, cf. *Archives de Néferirkarê*, p. 132.

⁴¹ *Archives Néferirkarê*, p. 247 (C10).

⁴² La pièce *dbwt* est citée sur le fragment *HPBM* V, 45 A et 48 G. Sur 45 A le *t* est clair au-dessous du *b* et du *w*, mais n'a pas été pris en compte dans les corrections de lecture (*Archives de Néferirkarê*, p. 246 - 7 et 689).

⁴³ Voir *Wb.* V, 445, 13 - 16 et *Archives de Néferirkarê*, p. 246.

⁴⁴ Sur l'emploi de l'oblique dans les comptabilités voir *Archives de Néferirkarê*, p. 219, n. j.

30 E (cadre l): ht. 0,020; larg. 0,020.

Fragment portant quelques traces de chiffres.

30 F (cadre e): ht. 0,030; larg. 0,020.

Restes de la mention *wt* 'manque' et, en rouge, la mention *w^cb* "nettoyé"; comparer à cet égard *HPBM* V, 49 D.

30 G (cadre o): ht. 0,040; larg. 0,050.

A la partie supérieure du fragment sans doute le chiffre 40 inscrit en rouge. Plus bas, la mention *rdt* déterminée par trois points ou trois grains. *Rdt* a été identifié par Keimer au rhizome de lotus ⁴⁵; le déterminatif des trois grains porterait à y voir des graines ⁴⁶ et dans ces conditions le chiffre 3 inscrit au-dessous correspondrait à une mesure (?).

Les fragments placés au bas de la planche 30 appartiennent à des rouleaux de comptabilité du type des comptes mensuels connus par les archives du temple de Néferirkarê. Les rubriques faisant défaut, ces fragments ont été reproduits à titre de témoins d'une documentation disparue.

30 H (cadre i): ht. 0,030; larg. 0,020.

Dans la colonne médiane du compte un point précède le chiffre 10 dans chaque case du tableau; je ne puis l'expliquer.

30 I (cadre i + cadre j): ht. 0,035; larg. 0,047.

Dans la colonne centrale du compte, avant le chiffre 20, on voit, comme dans le fragment 30 H un petit point; les deux fragments proviennent peut-être d'un même tableau, mais ne sont pas raccordables entre eux.

30 J (cadre g): ht. 0,020; larg. 0,016.

30 K (cadre f): ht. 0,017; larg. 0,025

30 L (cadre j): ht. 0,012; larg. 0,018.

30 M (cadre l): ht. 0,021; larg. 0,019.

30 N (cadre i): ht. 0,027; larg. 0,023.

31 A (cadre m): ht. 0,110; larg. 0,115.

Fragment très endommagé portant une liste de personnes vraisemblablement en service dans le temple. Les noms sont disposés en 6 colonnes.

col. 1. Le premier nom est mutilé; peut-être un nom basilephore.

col. 2. Le connu du roi *Nfr-ḥr-n-Pth* (Ranke, *PN* I, 198,9).

col. 3. Premier mois, phyle 1.

col. 4. Le connu du roi et attaché au palais *Pth*....

col. 5. L'attaché au palais *H*.... ⁴⁷

col. 6. Le connu du roi *Mrw-k3* (Ranke *PN* I, 62, 11); le nom est peut-être suivi de la mention du sceau du personnage (?). ⁴⁸

31 B (cadre p): ht. 0,100; larg. 0,070.

Fragment de comptabilité cursive. A l'extrême droite du fragment traces du signe *km* "livré" ⁴⁹, peut-être suivi d'un *n* (?)

Dans la colonne suivante le nom d'une fête (?) et le nom *Inpw-^cnh* ⁵⁰, suivi du chiffre 1 et de l'oblique de vérification. Les premiers signes de la colonne de gauche ne me sont pas compréhensibles: l'oiseau *wr* et le *r* me paraissent sûrs. Ils sont suivis d'un signe partiellement en lacune et du nom propre (?) *Gr* ⁵¹, auquel correspond le chiffre 3 et un oblique de vérification.

31 C (cadre n): ht. 0,007; larg. 0,007.

Le fragment conserve le signe de l'année.

31 D (cadre e): ht. 0,015; larg. 0,015.

Petit fragment où on peut peut-être lire la mention des tresses *n3bt* (?).

31 E (cadre e): ht. 0,018; larg. 0,009.

Sur ce fragment on peut encore voir le déterminatif des jambes et plus à gauche le signe du siège (?).


31 F (cadre i): ht. 0,020; larg. 0,040.

Fragment très détruit sur lequel il reste quelques traces non exploitables qui pourraient provenir de la description d'une statue (?).

⁴⁵ Keimer, *ASAE* 48, 49. Dans von Deines-Grapow, *Wb. Drogenamen*, le mot est traduit par partie de plante ou pousse d'acacia; dans *Amduat* II, 15 il s'agit d'une plante molle opposée à un bois.

⁴⁶ Des graines de lotus?

⁴⁷ La lecture du nom m'échappe: sous un *h* parfaitement clair, on voit deux petits signes comme deux *t* et un signe horizontal: *n* ou éventuellement *d*?

⁴⁸ Peut-être la mention d'un sceau , comme sur les documents *HPBM* V, 31 A et 31 B.

⁴⁹ Pour *km* dans les comptes voir *Archives de Néferirkarê*, p. 212 - 213.

⁵⁰ Le nom n'est pas attesté dans Ranke, *PN* qui cite *Inpw-m-^cnh* (*PN* I, 37,8).

⁵¹ Ranke, *PN* I, 352,8 cite le nom masculin *Gr*, mais non pas *Gr*.

VI.

THE RECONSTRUCTION AND EVALUATION OF THE PYRAMID COMPLEX OF QUEEN KHENTKAUS

BY PETER JÁNOSI

GENERAL REMARKS ¹

The pyramid complex of Queen Khentkaus has suffered severe damage through the course of time and this has made an architectural interpretation of the complex very difficult. After the excavations of the Czechoslovak mission (1976 - 1981) the remaining parts of the monument show two easily discernible states of preservation, one in mudbrick, the other in limestone. The additions and enlargements built in mudbrick are well preserved, some parts of this section of the temple maintaining their walls to a height of nearly 2 metres. Except for the roofing of some rooms, a reconstruction of this area of the temple poses no real difficulty.

However, this cannot be said about the parts of the temple built in limestone which have nearly vanished completely. Only a few blocks remain *in situ*, barely indicating the dimensions of the once-existing building and the position of its rooms. The few parts still-standing offer only scant and ambiguous evidence for the reconstruction of the layout of the limestone temple. In view of this serious destruction it might seem paradoxical that the pyramid complex of Khentkaus is to date the best preserved pyramid precinct of a 5th Dynasty queen.

The pyramid complex of a near contemporary Userkaf's queen, Neferhetepes, has almost completely disappeared ² and offers little help for a comparative study. Another pyramid complex of the 5th Dynasty, supposedly that of the anonymous wife of Djedkare at South Saqqara ³, has to be dealt with cautiously. An examination of the remaining architecture of this precinct exhibits many features which are not in accordance with the funerary

architecture of queens for that period ⁴. For this reason, the monument is not included in these comparisons. Two other queens' pyramids at Abusir (Lepsius no. XXIV and Lepsius no. XXV, south-east of Khentkaus, and later in date) have been only partially investigated and await further excavation ⁵, so they too cannot be considered here.

Other queens' pyramids providing models for comparison date from the 4th and 6th Dynasty. The pyramids of the 4th Dynasty form a special group of monuments which permits only a restricted

1 Miroslav Verner, the director of the Czech expedition at Abusir, initiated the present study of the reconstruction of the pyramid complex of Queen Khentkaus. The research was partly conducted at the Institute of Egyptology of the Charles University in Prague, and partly at Abusir. Miroslav Verner supported the work with never failing kindness. Further thanks are owed to his colleagues at the University in Prague, as well as at Abusir for their cooperation and assistance. The director of the Institute of Egyptology of the University in Vienna, Manfred Bietak, generously supported the cooperation between the two universities. The Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna was most helpful in financing the two-months research project at Prague. The author is grateful to Vivienne G. Callender and Mary E. Scarvalone who were kind enough to improve the English manuscript.

2 The results of the excavations of the Mission Archéologique Française de Saqqarah are still unpublished; for preliminary reports cf. Leclant in: *Orientalia* 47, 1978, 276f.; 48, 1979, 359; 49, 1980, 362; 51, 1982, 64; and in: *ASAE* 58, 1982, 60; Lauer, *Les Pyramides des Sakkara*. 1991⁶, 56f.

3 *PM* III², 424; Maragioglio-Rinaldi, *Notizie*, 38-43; idem., *L'architettura* VIII, 98-106.

4 Jánosi in: *MDAIK* 45, 1989, 187-202.

5 Verner in: *ZAS* 109, 1982, 162; 111, 1984, 77; 115, 1988, 168-171; 119, 1992, 120.

comparison due to their monumental architecture ⁶. Thus, it eventuates that any reconstruction of the monument of Khentkaus will have to rely mainly on the 6th Dynasty pyramid complexes of Iput I, the four queens' pyramids recently excavated at South Saqqara ⁷, and the complexes of Pepy II's queens, Neit, Iput II and Udjebten ⁸.

Not only the lack of comparable monuments for this period limits the possibilities of a satisfying reconstruction: the archaeological, epigraphical and historical material show that the Khentkaus pyramid complex went through considerable changes from its originally planned layout. The historical information gathered from the excavations and other sources is discussed elsewhere in this volume (see pp. 170 ff.).

The remaining parts of the temple and the complex historical implications have meant that the reconstruction and interpretation of this funerary monument are largely based on assumptions. None of the below proposed reconstructions can claim to be the final solution; there are too many unanswerable questions and there is too little firm evidence.

VI.1 The Pyramid

THE SUPERSTRUCTURE

According to the survey measurements the north-south axis of the pyramid was not aligned with the north-south axis of Neferirkare's pyramid, but shifted to the east by approximately 15.8 metres (30 cubits) ⁹.

The queen's pyramid today has been reduced to a height of c. 3 metres consisting only of the first step of the core. The length of the base of the core on the east side is c. 22 metres. The base length of the pyramid itself can only be estimated since no casing blocks were found *in situ*. Considering the size of the core and the extension of the foundation blocks, the length can be assumed to be 50 cubits (26.25 metres),

Fig. 65

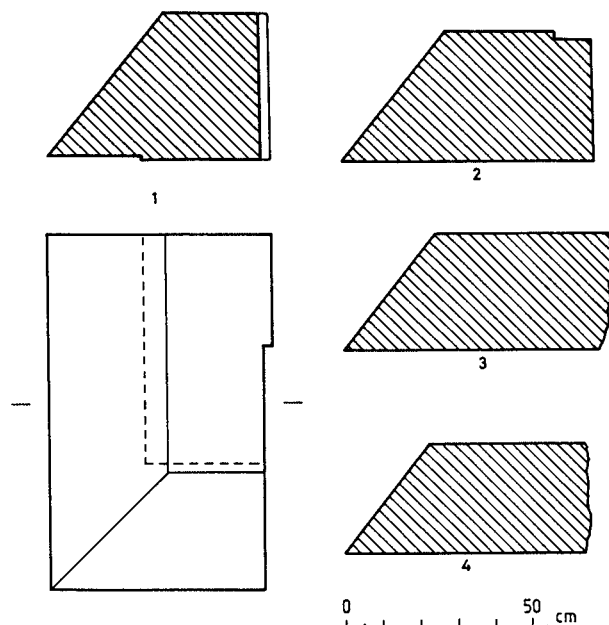
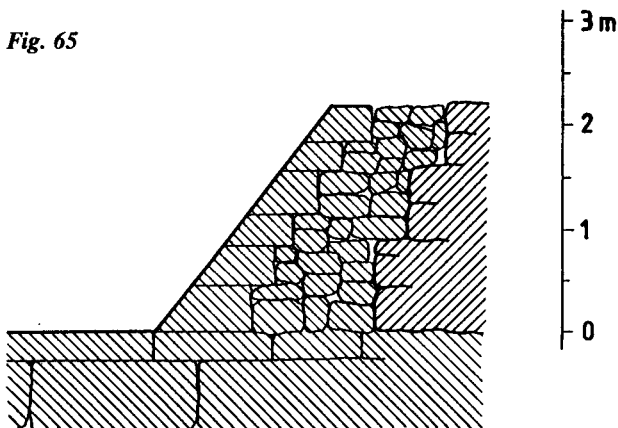


Fig. 66

thus leaving 4 cubits on each side for the casing, the backing stones and the filling material between backing stones and core (fig. 65).

Because of the destruction of the pyramid the number of steps in the core cannot be determined with any certainty. The inclination calculated for the eastern face of the first step is approximately 68° - 70°. Assuming that the pyramid once consisted of three steps and that the two upper steps had approximately the same inclination on their outer sides, each step must have reached a height of c. 4 to 5 metres (fig. 66).

The few casing blocks which were found displaced near the north-eastern side of the pyramid give an inclination between 51°50' and 52°50' ¹⁰, but there can be no doubt that the intended slope of the pyramid was 9 : 7 (52°07'). Thus, with the (ideal) base length of 26.25 metres and the slope of 9 : 7, the pyramid may have once reached a height of 17 metres.

An interesting constructional detail is revealed by

6 For details see Jánosi, *Die Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen. Untersuchungen zu einem Grabtyp des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*. Vienna (forthcoming).

7 Leclant in: *Orientalia* 88, 1989, 362ff.; 59, 1990, 363ff.; 60, 1991, 188f.; 61, 1992, 247-249; 62, 1993, 209; idem., *BSFÉ* 113, 1988, 20ff; Labrousse, in: *Saqqara. Les Dossiers d'archéologie*, No 146-147 (1990), 84f.; Delétie/Lemoine/Montlucon, in: *Saqqara*, 88f.

8 Jéquier, *Oudjebten*; idem., *Neit et Apout*.

9 No queen's pyramid of the Old Kingdom is aligned with the north-south axis of the royal pyramid, but some of the cult pyramids (or the so called Ka-pyramids) are: in Dahshur South, G II-a and G III-a in Giza.

10 It is nearly impossible to measure the exact value of a casing block which is not in its original position any more. On similar problems see Arnold, *Senwosret I*, 64; idem. *Building*, 11f.

one of the casing blocks which, because of its peculiar shape, must originate from the corner of the pyramid casing. On the back and the lower side the block has protruding surfaces which were interlocked with adjoining casing blocks which had corresponding sockets (fig. 66). This system of interlocked blocks was used on all four corners of a pyramid casing and can be observed from the 4th Dynasty onwards¹¹.

A remarkable feature of this pyramid was its capstone of which a small corner fragment was found¹². The piece is made of black granite. Apart from this example no capstones of granite or material other than limestone are known from pyramids of the Old Kingdom¹³. The capstone of the Khentkaus' pyramid thus seems to indicate that from the 5th Dynasty onwards pyramids could be adorned with capstones made of another material¹⁴.

In comparison with similar monuments, the size and shape of Khentkaus' pyramid was identical to that of Userkaf's queen's pyramid, but it is interesting to note that the small pyramid Lepsius no. XXIV at Abusir shows a remarkable change in its size. This pyramid had a base length of c. 60 cubits (31.5 m) which is most atypical for queens' pyramids. The length of the core is 27 metres and the slope of the casing is 57°–62°¹⁵. The other still-unidentified queen's pyramid at Abusir, Lepsius no. XXV, is even bigger than Lepsius no. XXIV. In the 6th Dynasty, on the other hand, the queens' pyramids never have a base length of more than 40 cubits. These later pyramids show, however, a greater variation in the slope of the casing.

THE UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

It is not known what height the superstructure had reached when work was abandoned. The only indication could be the hieratic graffito found on one of the core blocks behind the casing of the burial chamber. The block is located at a height of 2.5 metres¹⁶ from the floor of the sarcophagus chamber (see p. 18). The inscription probably marks the accomplished height of the underground apartments in the 10th/11th year of a king—most probably the reign of Neferirkare (for the historical implications see p. 45). If the interpretation is correct that this date also marks the halt of the building activities because of the king's unexpected death, then it can be assumed that the basic layout of the pyramid and most of its substructure was already accomplished under Neferirkare's reign¹⁷.

The underground apartments of the pyramid are simple and in accordance with the funerary architecture of the time, but there are some

anomalies which deserve a closer investigation and explanation. The substructure was built in an open T-shaped trench — a working procedure which was adopted in the 5th Dynasty to facilitate the construction of pyramids¹⁸. Besides there being certain advantages in constructing the superstructure in this way¹⁹, the use of an open trench was obviously made necessary by the quality of the bedrock of the plateau at Abusir. As far as it can be observed the pyramid of Khentkaus rests on tafla; layers of soft marly clay, which prevented the workmen from digging the underground apartments completely into the unstable bedrock.

THE ENTRANCE CORRIDOR

Both the entrance, situated on the north side of the pyramid, and the first section of the entrance corridor have completely disappeared. (As to the existence of an entrance chapel see p. 139). Since no trace of the entrance remains, the reconstruction of the entrance corridor must be based on two considerations: the layout and orientation of the underground apartments, and their relation to the size of the superstructure. It is certain that the sarcophagus chamber was oriented according to the east-west axis of the pyramid; moreover, the geodetical surveys establishing the size of the

11 Arnold, *Building*, 131 figs. 4.38, 4.46, 4.47. See the remarks given about the casing on top of Chephren's pyramid, *LD I Text*, 27; Maragioglio-Rinaldi, *L'architettura* V. Tav. 6 Fig. 1., text, 50. This system is also visible on the granite casing blocks of the pyramid of Mycerinus and the granite and limestone casing blocks of the cult pyramid G III-a (personal observation).

12 Verner in: *ZÄS* 107, 1980, 158, fig. 2.

13 For a list of capstones cf. Arnold, *Amenemhet* III, 15 and Jánosi in: *Stud. Aegypt. 14, Studies presented to L. Kákosy*, 1992, 301–308.

14 Admittedly the conclusion is vague since only one other fragment of a capstone of the 5th Dynasty was found from pyramid no. XXIV, in: Verner, *Hommages à Jean Leclant. BdÉ* 106/1, 1994, 373. One inscriptional evidence from the 6th Dynasty mentions the bringing of a capstone of black granite for the pyramid of Merenre, *Urk. I*, 106/14–17. One should bear in mind that, like the entire pyramid complex of Khentkaus, the capstone too could be an exception to standard rules for queen pyramids.

15 Verner in: *ZÄS* 115, 1988, 169–170; idem. *Hommages à Jean Leclant. BdÉ* 106/1, 1994, 371–378.

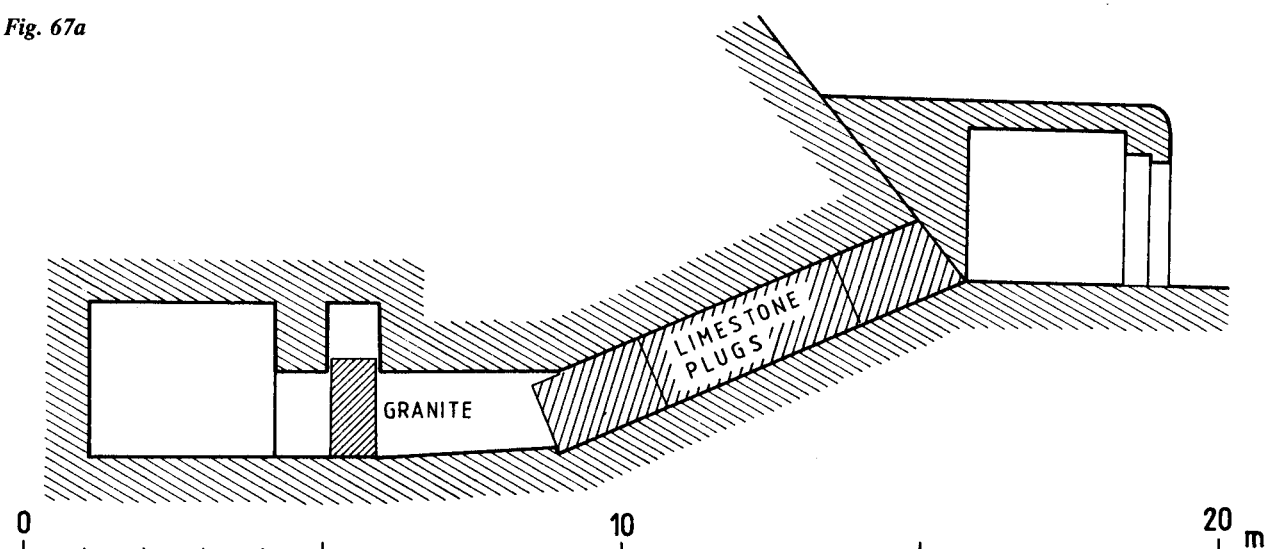
16 Verner in: *ZÄS* 107, 1980, 59, fig. 3.

17 The regnal year 10/11 does not of course mean that it took 10 years to start building the queens' pyramid. The date could be taken as an indication that the work for Khentkaus was commenced in the latter part of the first decade of Neferirkare.

18 This method was not completely new; it was already used for some of the pyramids of the 4th and 5th Dynasty at Abu Rawash, Giza and Saqqara.

19 Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, 153, 165, 220–222.

Fig. 67a



superstructure show that the centre of the pyramid coincided with the centre of the sarcophagus chamber. This information makes it possible to determine the length of the entrance corridor and its orientation.

Remarkably, the corridor does not run directly north-south but slants slightly southeast-northwest (see plan). The deviation is not strong compared to similar deviations of corridors in royal pyramids, but is unusual in a pyramid of a queen. Due to destruction, and the sometimes superficial workmanship of the blocks of the corridor, the angle appears irregular. The remaining portions of the walls indicate that the entire corridor consisted of two parts, each having a different deviation from the north-south axis.

The alternation in the orientation of the entrance corridor is a unique device for a queen's funerary monument and not found thus far in other queens' pyramids²⁰. Since this architectural phenomenon is first attested in the pyramid of Neferirkare²¹ — and limited thereafter to a small group of pyramids²² — it seems obvious that, in arranging the underground apartments of the queen's tomb, the architects followed the examples of the royal pyramids at this time.

The reason for the deviation in the entrance corridor is clear. The architects tried to position the sarcophagus chamber under the centre of the superstructure while simultaneously placing the entrance as near as possible to the middle of the north side of the pyramid. For this purpose they had to

20 On the other hand, the available plans of the underground apartments of queens' pyramids are sometimes too schematic and superficial to indicate such deviations; this is particularly true for the pyramids of the 6th Dynasty.

21 Borchardt, *Neferirkare*, 13, 43, pl. 2.

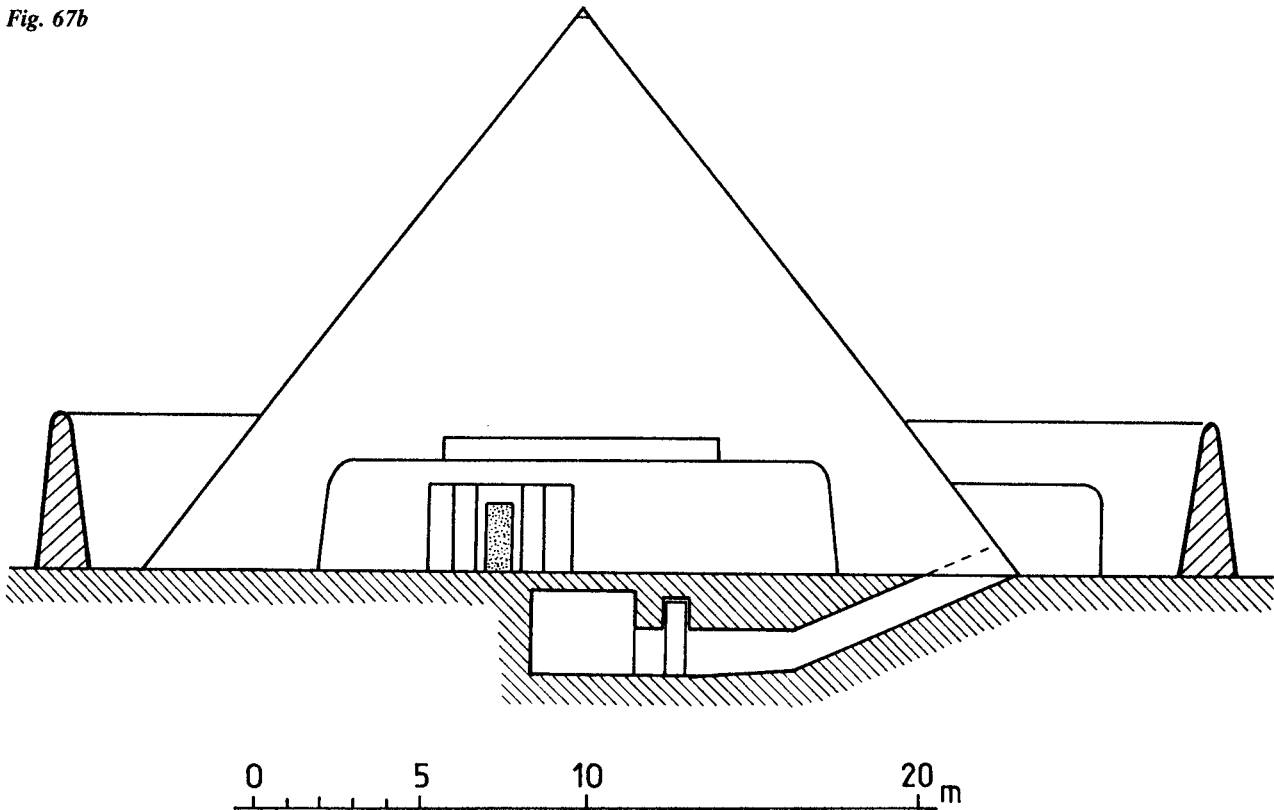
22 These pyramids seem to belong to a group of consecutive kings of the 5th Dynasty: Neferirkare, Nyuserre, Raneferef, pyramid Lepsius no. XXIX (attributed to Menkauhor, cf. Berlandini in: *RdÉ* 31, 1979, 3–28) and Djedkare: Maragioglio-Rinaldi, *L'architettura* VII, 118, 148 Obs. 7; 184 Obs. 7, Tav. 11 and 15; VIII, 12, 58, 62 Obs. 62 and 66., Tav. 2, 9, 10 and 12. The deviation also exists in the pyramid of Senwosret I at Lisht, which copies the architecture of the substructure of the 5th Dynasty pyramids (Arnold, *Senwosret I*, p. 70). Because of the severe destruction in the underground apartments it is hard to tell whether or not Sahure's pyramid already had a slanting corridor.

23 At first glance this explanation seems reasonable, but a closer look at these pyramids (see footnote 21) shows considerable discrepancies which seem to contradict this theory. For example, the pyramid of Djedkare has the slanting corridor, but the sarcophagus chamber is neither located under the centre of the pyramid, nor is the entrance in the middle of the north side of the pyramid. The entrance had been shifted to the west by 5 cubits; Maragioglio-Rinaldi, *L'architettura* VIII, 66.

24 In royal pyramids the corridor runs into the antechamber, which always lies to the east of the burial chamber. Generally it is believed that entrance corridors start in the middle of the north face of a pyramid, but a closer investigation of the monuments of the Old Kingdom disprove this theory. The deviation of the pyramid entrance from the exact north-south axis of the superstructure is indeed not unusual. Since a considerable number of royal pyramids exhibit this peculiarity it would seem to be the result of a specific intention, rather than merely a mistake by the ancient surveyors and architects. The shifting of the pyramid entrance can be observed in the following monuments: Snofru northern pyramid at Dahshur (to the east), Cheops (to the east), Chephren (to the east), Mycerinus ?, Sahure (to the east), Djedkare (to the west). In queens' pyramids this shifting of the entrance is not attested thus far. The underground apartments of the pyramids of the queens at Giza (G I-a, -b, -c, G III-b, -c) are all off-centre in regard to the north-south axis.

25 The monument of Djedkare is the first pyramid of the Old Kingdom with the entrance in the floor of the surrounding courtyard in front of the pyramid base. The entrance to the pyramid of Userkaf seems to have been in the surrounding courtyard as well, but the available plans and documentations are too meagre to rely upon. All royal pyramids at Abusir had their entrances above the pyramid base on the north face.

Fig. 67b



change the orientation of the corridor ²³, since the entrance into the sarcophagus chamber is usually located in the eastern half of the north wall and not in the centre ²⁴ (fig. 67a).

Taking into account that the opening into the pyramid lay in the north face of the pyramid, and that the base length of the pyramid was not less than 50 cubits, the entrance can be reconstructed exactly above the base of the northern side ²⁵ (fig. 67b). The length of the entrance corridor was 7.35 metres (14 cubits) (fig. 75).

The slope of the descending corridor is not easily determinable because of the poor state of the preserved architecture. The measurements show an inclination between 20° and 23°, thus indicating that the proportion of the intended slope might have been three palms to one cubit ²⁶.

The sloping corridor, which is 14 cubits in length, leads to the second part of the corridor, which is apparently horizontal. As already mentioned, this part of the corridor shows a greater deviation from the north-south axis than that of the first one. Only the northern half of the west wall is preserved, but the outline of the corridor can be traced with certainty. The geodetical measurements also seem to indicate that the first (northern) part of this corridor was not completely horizontal but had an inclination from north to south of 12 centimetres on a length of 6 cubits ²⁷. On the other hand, the slope is so gentle

that one might think that this irregularity in height could have been caused by the careless work or bad preservation of the pavement itself and was not intended by the ancient architects.

Where the two parts of the entrance corridor meet a step of c. 16 centimetres exists which obviously had a specific function. In all likelihood, the step served as an impediment to prevent the plugs of the entrance corridor from moving further into the horizontal part of the corridor ²⁸ (fig. 67a). It is not known if this step existed from the beginning of the construction of the entrance corridor. There are indications that it was created after work was finished and when the pavement of the corridor had already been laid. After the blocks of the slanting entrance corridor had been set into position, their upper surface was reduced to a depth of several centimetres, creating the irregular inclination of the sloping entrance corridor, especially in its lower part and as a result of the step.

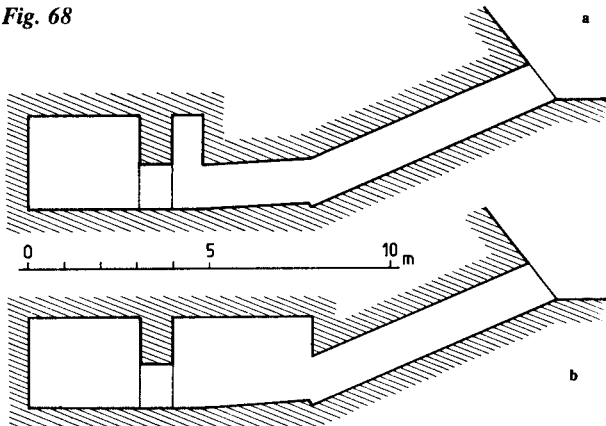
26 The slope of the corridor in the pyramid of Userkaf's wife is c. 27°, Maragioglio-Rinaldi, *L'architettura* VII, Tav. 4 Fig. 1.

27 Two different inclinations of the corridor can also be found in the pyramid of Neuserre, Maragioglio-Rinaldi, *L'architettura* VIII, 12.

28 A similar step can be seen in the westernmost pyramid of the four queens' pyramids at Pepi I, see *Saqqara. Les dossiers d'Archéologie* No. 146-147/Mars-Avril 1990, 83

Another question concerns the reconstruction of the ceiling for the horizontal part of the corridor. The roofing of this part of the corridor is completely missing, and except for a short portion of the western wall nothing remains *in situ* to determine the shape of the corridor. Basically there are two possible reconstructions. The first one would be to reconstruct this part with the same height as the descending corridor, i. e. 16 p. (c. 1.20 metres; see fig. 68a). This approach would be in accordance with the corridor system of pyramids for the other queens of the 5th and 6th Dynasty where the entrance corridor and the horizontal corridor have the same height and breadth. The second possibility should be the assumption that the part between the descending corridor and the portcullis system had a little anteroom with a higher ceiling (see fig. 68b). This little room, which is always situated immediately after the sloping entrance

Fig. 68



corridor, had already made its appearance in royal funerary monuments of the 4th Dynasty²⁹, and had become a standard element by the time the pyramid of Sahure had been built³⁰. No definite decision can be made between these two possibilities, but one would tend to favour the first reconstruction.

Large fragments of granite found in the horizontal corridor and the burial chamber prove that the underground apartments of Khentkaus were once equipped with a portcullis system or some strong point made of granite. This part of the corridor was located immediately in front of the entrance passage to the burial chamber and consisted of one granite block which was situated in the corridor to obstruct the passage after the burial took place (figs. 67, 69).

THE SARCOPHAGUS CHAMBER

The sarcophagus chamber is the best preserved part of the underground apartments. Although parts of the west and east walls and of the floor are lost,

enough remains to reconstruct the original appearance of the chamber.

The chamber is situated exactly under the centre of the pyramid. The room measured 6.72 x 3.13 x 2.57 metres (13 x 6 x 5 cubits), and was covered by four huge limestone blocks laid horizontally across the top of the walls (fig. 69). In size, this burial chamber does not differ considerably from the other known burial chambers of queens of the 5th and 6th Dynasty³¹. The walls consist of six layers of limestone blocks and show no trace of decoration as is consistent with all queens' pyramids except Neit's, Iput II's and Udjebten's which are decorated with pyramid texts, palace facade panelling and stars on the ceiling.

At the south wall, and 1.85 metres from the west wall, a pit (0.67 x 0.67 metres) had been sunk into the floor. This contained a burial of the New Kingdom. The position of the interment is remarkable in that it reused the place where originally the canopic chest had been kept. The pit seems to indicate that the canopic chest had originally been sunk into the floor of the burial chamber. This practice was usually employed in royal pyramids³² but thus far is seen in only one queen's pyramid, G III-b³³. The pit was most probably sealed with a limestone block at the level of the floor to conceal the canopic chest. No fragments were found which could firmly be identified as belonging to the canopic chest.

Evidence for the existence of a sarcophagus comes from a little corner piece of granite (fig. 70) found above the chamber. Judging from this fragment, the thickness of the sarcophagus must have been 15.5 and 18 cm; the size of the entire piece (including the lid) can be estimated at 2.3 x 0.9 x 1.0 metres. It would have been placed near the western wall (fig. 69) and, like other sarcophagi of queens and kings of that period, would have been undecorated³⁴.

²⁹ Mycerinus and Shepseskaf.

³⁰ Its function is not quite clear, but it is unlikely that it was used only for the purpose of construction work.

³¹ Userkaf's wife: 4.20 x 3.15 x 3.15 (4.5) metres / 8 x 6 x 6 (8.5) cubits; Neit: 6.30 x 3.15 x ? metres / 12 x 6 x ? cubits; Iput II.: 6.30 x 3.15 x ? metres / 12 x 6 x ? cubits; Udjebten: 7.4 x 3.15 x 3.60 metres / 14 x 6 x 7 cubits.

³² Chephren and from Djedkare to Pepi II.

³³ Reisner, *Giza* I, 133, fig. 68. The oldest preserved canopic chest was found in a niche of the western wall of G 7000 x of Queen Hetepheres I, Reisner/Smith, *Giza* II, 21f, fig. 22, pl. 44. The canopic chest of Queen Neit was not sunk entirely into the floor of the burial chamber, Jéquier, *Neit et Apout*, 14.

³⁴ From Teti onwards the royal sarcophagi were inscribed, Donadoni-Roveri, *Sarcophagi*, 103–108. Queens' sarcophagi that stood in pyramids were undecorated, whereas sarcophagi that were set up in a mastaba or rock-cut tomb could have decorations and inscriptions.

THE ENTRANCE CHAPEL

Excavation on the north side of the pyramid has revealed no evidence for the existence of an entrance chapel ³⁵. On the other hand, the area around the middle of the north side of the pyramid is so badly destroyed that the existence of such a building cannot be ruled out completely.

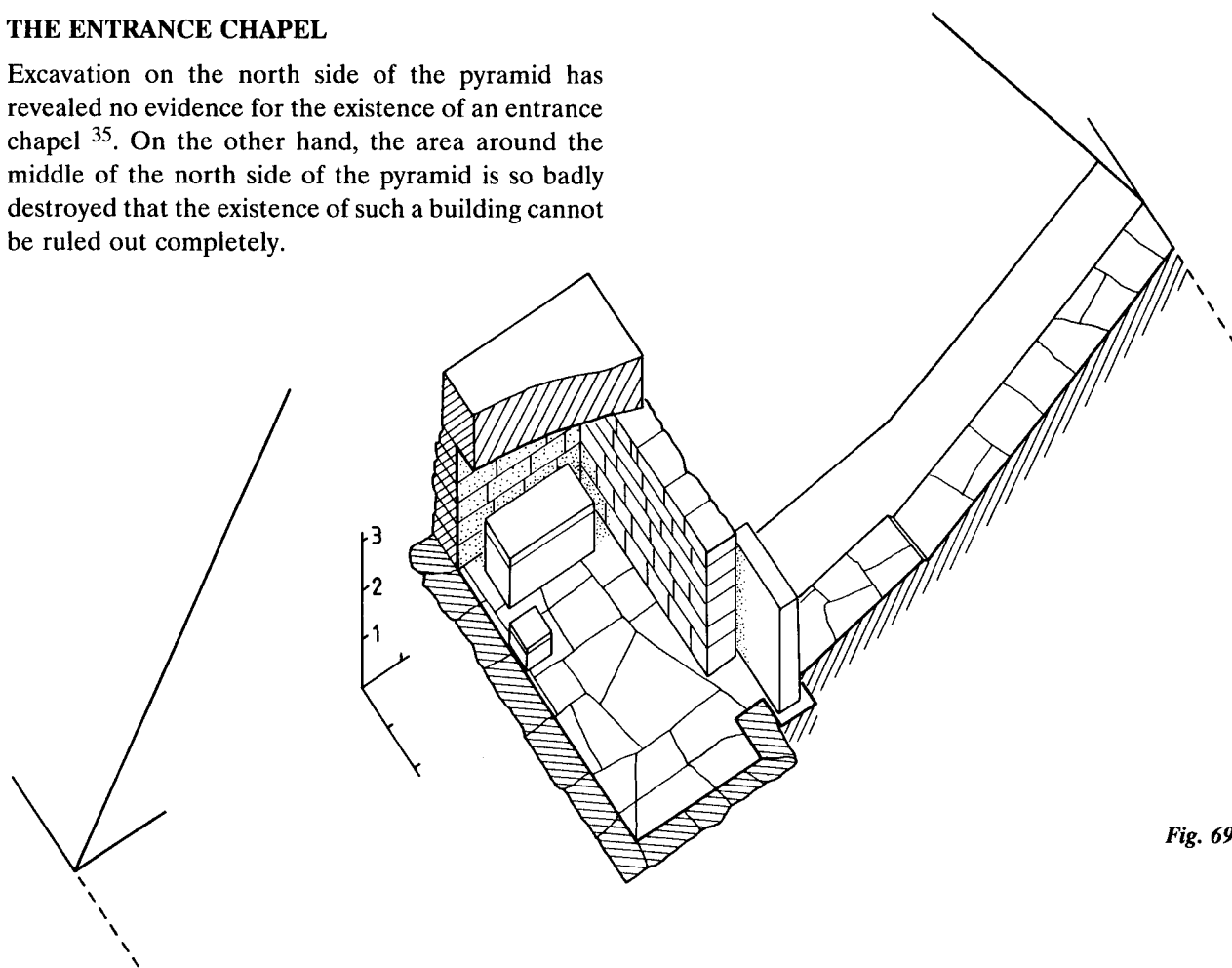


Fig. 69

Entrance chapels are attested from the time of Djedkare onwards ³⁶. Prototypes to these might be seen in the temple north of the pyramid of Djoser ³⁷, and in the chapel north of the Bent Pyramid at Dahshur ³⁸. Thus far, however, no entrance chapels have been found at any of the royal pyramids at Abusir - which does not necessarily mean that they did not exist ³⁹. At queens' pyramids these small structures are only known from the 6th Dynasty onwards. The pyramids of Queen Iput I ⁴⁰, the queens of Pepy I ⁴¹, and those of Pepy II ⁴² had these chapels at the entrance to their pyramids. The existence of such an entrance chapel in the complex of Khentkaus is probable, since it is clear that her temple once consisted of buildings which were purely royal in their

nature (see discussion in the section on the cult pyramid).

Assuming that this little chapel stood exactly at the north-south axis of Khentkaus' pyramid, the opening of the entrance corridor would have been positioned partly under the eastern wall of the chapel (see fig. 75). This deviation is due to the fact that the axis of the entrance corridor did not coincide with the north-south axis of the queen's pyramid, thus, the opening of the entrance would not have been in the middle of the chapel. Such a reconstruction would imply that the chapel could only have been erected after the burial of the queen, since it sealed off the entrance corridor.

³⁵ The only evidence which might be taken into consideration is a granite block of rectangular shape which was found in the sarcophagus chamber. One side shows traces of having been worked and gives the impression of an unfinished false door. It might be possible that it was originally intended for the entrance chapel but for unknown reasons the work was abandoned, and the granite block probably reused in the construction of the substructure.

³⁶ For a list of the known royal entrance chapels of the Old and Middle Kingdom cf. Arnold, *Senwosret I*, 83.

³⁷ Lauer, *Pyramide degrés*. I, 72-78; II, pls. 21-22.

³⁸ Fakhry, *Sneferu I*, 41f.

³⁹ When Borchartd excavated the site on behalf of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft these little structures were unknown; therefore Borchartd did not have any reason to look for them around the pyramid entrances.

⁴⁰ Loret, in: BIE III, No. 10, 1899, 93; Firth/Gunn, *TPC I* (Text), 14, II, pl. 55/1; Maragioglio/Rinaldi, *Notizie*, 60, Tav. 10, fig. 7.

⁴¹ Leclant in: *Orientalia* 60, 1991, 188 Figs. 30, 31, 34.

⁴² Jéquier, *Neit et Apout*, 11f. and 47, fig. 25.

VI.2 The Mortuary Temple

THE COMPLEX UNDER NEFERIRKARE (building stage LST I)

The mortuary complex consists of two easily-discernible parts: one erected in limestone and one in mudbrick. The limestone temple was the original part, consisting of the essential elements for the mortuary cult of the queen. There can be no doubt that the pyramid and temple were initially intended for Khentkaus II, the wife of Neferirkare, and that

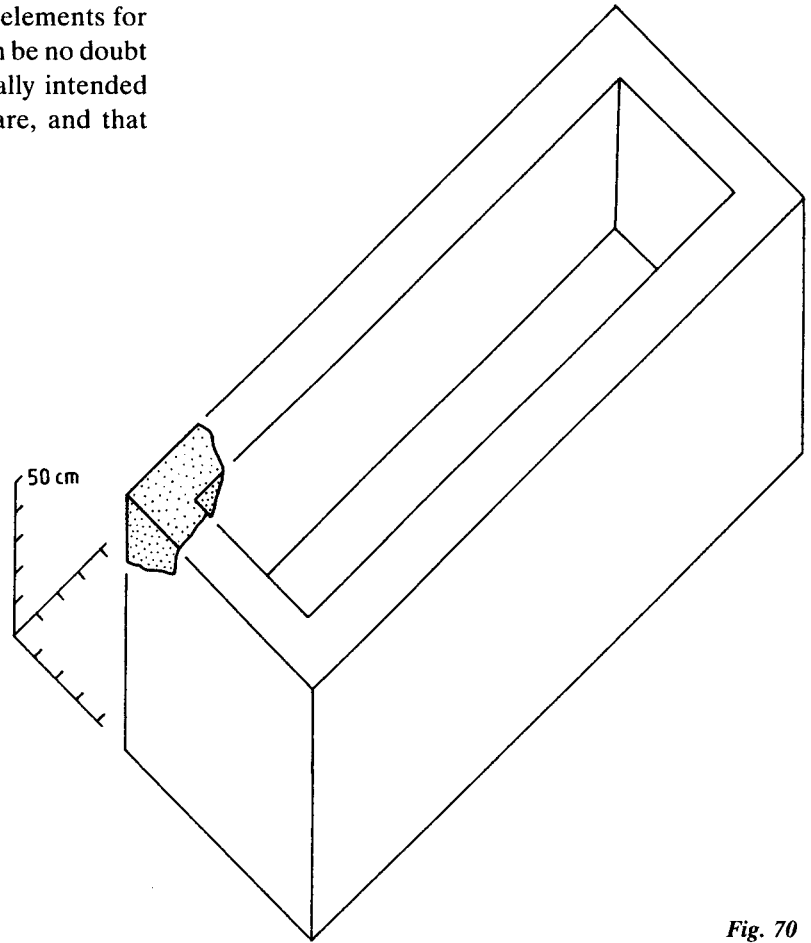
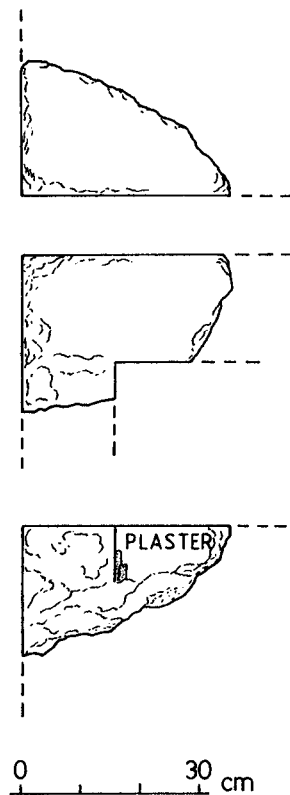


Fig. 70

the latter was the initiator of the construction. However, the archaeological results show that the stone temple was almost completely erected by Nyuserre. The building program which can be attributed to Neferirkare is very limited, but it includes the following features:

- the location and orientation of the complex south of his own pyramid
- the planning of the layout, and the determination of the size of the queen's complex
- the beginning of the construction of the pyramid and its underground apartments
- the foundation of the mortuary temple.

There are no indications to show how far the building activities were advanced when work was abandoned by the first king. According to the size of the foundation blocks already laid by that time, the

temple should have had the dimensions of approximately 30 x 30 cubits. Compared with the mortuary temples of other queens, the building under Neferirkare was of very modest dimensions⁴³. Nothing can be determined about the intended rooms

and their arrangement, but the plan of the temple most probably consisted of:

- an entrance room
- a courtyard
- an offering room with the false door
- a number of minor rooms (usually called "magazines"); one room may have contained a staircase leading to the roof of the temple.

As usual with queens' pyramids the complex of Khentkaus was certainly to receive an enclosure wall made of stone. The remains of the unfinished stone enclosure wall of building stage LST II (under

⁴³ The temple of G III-a: 25.5 x 21 metres (49 x 40 cubits), of Userkaf's wife: c. 70 x 30 cubits (?), of Neit: 35.5 x 26.2 metres (67.5 x 50 cubits), of Iput II: 40 x 21.5/11.4 metres (76 x 41/22 cubits).

Nyuserre) might indicate the course of the original wall. The entrances into the precinct and the temple building were most probably situated on the north side; i. e. they were facing towards the king's complex with which the queen's tomb was related ⁴⁴.

THE STONE TEMPLE UNDER NYUSERRE (building stages LST II-MBT II)

In reconstructing the temple precinct erected under Nyuserre, the following basic facts must be taken into consideration: firstly, as already mentioned, it is likely that Neferirkare had not advanced very far in the building of the temple except for the foundation and probably the pavement ⁴⁵; secondly, when Nyuserre started the work on the queen's mortuary complex he not only completed the mortuary precinct, but enlarged it during several building stages. The reason for this can only be assumed, but obviously Nyuserre had a very special interest in enlarging his mother's pyramid complex. Furthermore, it cannot be ruled out that he also may have tried to establish a cult for his grandmother, Khentkaus I, within his mother's temple (on this problem see Chap. VII) ⁴⁶. Thus, parts — or at least one place — in the temple might have been dedicated to the worship of the older queen. ⁴⁷

Be that as it may, the architectural reconstruction of the temple has to start from the assumption that the building was primarily erected for the mortuary cult of Khentkaus II. Concerning the proposed cult of Khentkaus I, there are no indications as to whether this cult was purely a cult of veneration or if it also incorporated a funerary cult of some sort ⁴⁸.

The surviving structural parts of the temple reveal several main building stages. Under Nyuserre the temple layout was altered considerably ⁴⁹, and many remaining parts (such as the stone enclosure wall and the cult pyramid) show that more changes took place before the precinct was completely finished. The first building stage under Nyuserre (LST I) consisted of the completion of the pyramid, its underground apartments, the temple building and the stone enclosure wall. In the beginning Nyuserre might only have intended to complete the mortuary complex for his mother along the lines originally designed by Neferirkare.

It is not determinable how far the individual construction work was advanced when major alterations took place, but the different building stages under Nyuserre can be summarized as follows:

Building stage LST I: the completion of the pyramid and its substructure, and the erection of the limestone temple with the (unfinished) stone enclosure wall.

Building stage LST II: the enlargement of the limestone temple foundation to the east and erection of a pillared portico (P 1).

Building stage MBT I–II: further enlargement of the temple to the east and south, the addition of the cult pyramid, the mudbrick enclosure wall, magazines, the entrance with pillared portico (P 2), and the northern living complex with its one columned room.

THE ENTRANCE

The original entrance into the precinct was situated on the north side and, according to the archaeological evidence and a reference in the papyrus archives, it was connected to the complex of Neferirkare. Nothing is known about the exact position of the original entrance into the temple building.

The position of the entrance of building stage LST II is shown by two standing pillars ⁵⁰ and a few paving blocks; the only remains of a once-existing portico. Its size can be estimated at 10 x 4 cubits (see fig. 75). The pillars display on their eastern sides the most important titles of the queen ⁵¹.

It is not known whether the portico led directly into a courtyard or whether there was a vestibule between the entrance portico and the court. Such a vestibule is the rule in temples of queens and might

44 For the evidence of this orientation see p. 25.

45 It cannot be ruled out of course that certain parts of the temple were already standing and that Nyuserre may have ordered their demolition and started a new temple building.

46 This cult practice is only attested in the mortuary temples from the New Kingdom onwards, cf. Stadelmann in: *MDAIK* 35, 1977, 303–321.

47 Recent studies on the newly discovered papyri from Abusir show that at least 16 (+x) wooden statues of the queen were displayed somewhere in the temple, Posener-Krieger, in: *JSSEA* 13, 1983, 52f.

48 There can be no doubt that the main funerary cult for Khentkaus I was performed at her tomb in Giza (LG 100) where she was buried.

49 For a detailed discussion of the archaeological evidence see pp. 38 ff.

50 The southern pillar measures 56–57 x 56–57 centimetres and is preserved to a height of 1.22 metres. The northern one is irregular measuring 57–58 x 60–61 centimetres; its present height is 1.08 metres.

51 Since only the lower parts of the pillars are preserved, it would seem practically impossible to determine which of the two queens was meant by the inscriptions, but the titles are characteristic for Khentkaus II.

therefore be expected in this case too ⁵². Including such a room — even a very small one — in the reconstruction would necessarily diminish the size of the courtyard. Thus, no decision on this question is possible; in the reconstruction, however, it has been assumed that no entrance room existed.

THE COURT

There is no evidence that could reveal precisely how large the courtyard was. For the north-south extension one could suppose the breadth of the whole building — (see previous paragraph) which was 12 metres (23 cubits). No architectural remains permit the reconstruction of the east-west extension of the court, since it is not known whether or not an entrance room existed. It is also unknown if the courtyard were symmetrically positioned in regard to the entire building and to the east-west alignment of the pyramid. No other temples of queens had a symmetrical layout within their plans (except for G III-a) ⁵³. This fact reduces the possibilities of a satisfactory reconstruction, since one of the most important criteria is not determinable.

The available space and the estimated calculations suggest that Khentkaus' court could not have been any larger than 12 x 6.6/7.15 metres (23 x 12.5/13.5 cubits). Compared with the other known courtyards of queens' temples the dimensions of her court would fit well into the list of proportions. The following measurements of known courtyards for queens' pyramidal complexes can be given:

G III-a: 9.0 x 7.70 metres (17 x 15 cubits)

G III-b: 7.40 x 6.30 metres (14 x 12 cubits)

G III-c: 10.50 x 8.7/9.2 metres (20 x 16.5/17.5 cubits)

Wife of Userkaf: c. 36 x 20 cubits ? - with pillars

Iput I: 11.60 x 5.90 metres (22 x 11 cubits)

Neit: 15.70 x 7.90 metres (30 x 15 cubits) - with pillars

Iput II: 19.90 x 7.80 metres (21 x 15 cubits) - with pillars

Udjebten: 6.20 x 5.60 metres (12 x 11 cubits)

The only evidence for the existence of the courtyard are the fragments of two pillars of which only one is *in situ*. The pillars are rectangular (60 x 70 centimetres = 8 palms x 9 palms 2 fingers) ⁵⁴ and bear a vertical inscription on one side. The position and the inscription of the standing pillar (the inscription is on the east side and the signs face south) could infer that the pillar might have belonged to a conjectural row of pillars on the western side.

Because the second pillar has fallen, its original position is not certain. It could also have formed part

of the western row of pillars, but its inscription faces the opposite direction, i. e. to the north. (As to the decoration of the pillars see p. 55 f.).

The measurements of the two pillars and the direction of their inscriptions are puzzling. Except for these two fragments of pillars with inscriptions facing each other (as if in a pair), nothing is left of the courtyard other than a few foundation blocks and a small relief fragment (see p. 58). As only one other fragment of another pillar, and no blocks from the court were found it is therefore more likely that, instead of a pillared courtyard, only a pillared portico existed in the temple. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that the two pillars which remained are rectangular ones. Pillared courtyards of queens usually either had square pillars (Wife of Userkaf, Iput I, Neit, and Iput II) ⁵⁵, or no pillars at all.

Thus, two possible reconstructions for the court seem feasible. The first one would be to reconstruct the court without any pillars at all. The two remaining pillars in this case could have belonged to a pillared portico ⁵⁶ leading into the western half of the temple building (fig. 71) ⁵⁷, and this seems to be the most likely hypothesis. An alternative reconstruction would be to have a pillared courtyard with more than two pillars. This means we need to determine the numbers of pillars, and the order in which they would have been set up. Since only one pillar remains *in situ* and all the pavement of the courtyard is missing, the

52 This is also true for large private tombs that contain a (pillared) courtyard. One exception is the tomb of Ti (D 22), where the main entrance opens directly into the pillared court; on the date of this tomb see Verner, *BIFAO* 87, 1987, 293–297.

53 See Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. IV. A more or less strict alignment to the east-west axis was characteristic of the royal pyramid complexes.

54 The measurements of the four sides are not equal: E W N S for the standing pillar: 58.5, 61, 70, 70 cm, for the fallen pillar: 60, 60, 70.5, 70.5 cm.

55 With the exception of the four corner pillars, which as a rule are rectangular (in the courts of Cheops, Teti, Pepi I, Pepi II and Senwosret I), this was also the case for the pillared courtyards of the kings.

56 There was obviously no rule governing whether pillars of a portico should be rectangular or square. The pillars of the stone portico were nearly square (56.7 x 56.7 centimetres), but the pillars of the portico of the mudbrick temple on the other hand were rectangular (60 x 52.5 centimetres).

57 The existence of a portico within the main temple building seems odd and is without any parallel. In the courtyards of the temples of the pyramids G III-a and -c, which were built in mudbrick, a portico with wooden columns resting on limestone bases existed, Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 58 and 67, plans IV and VI. There is reason to believe that these temples were also erected in different building stages and that the columns belong to the older structures, Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*.

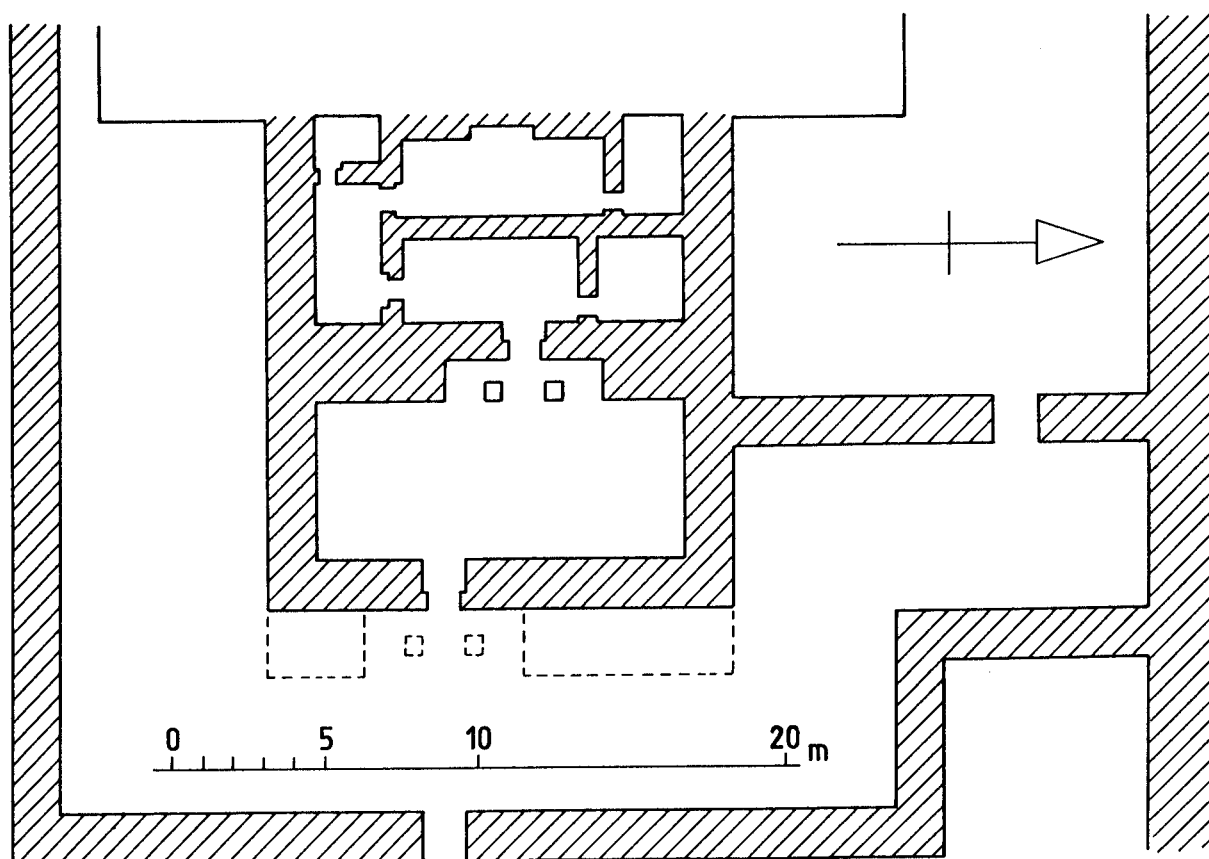
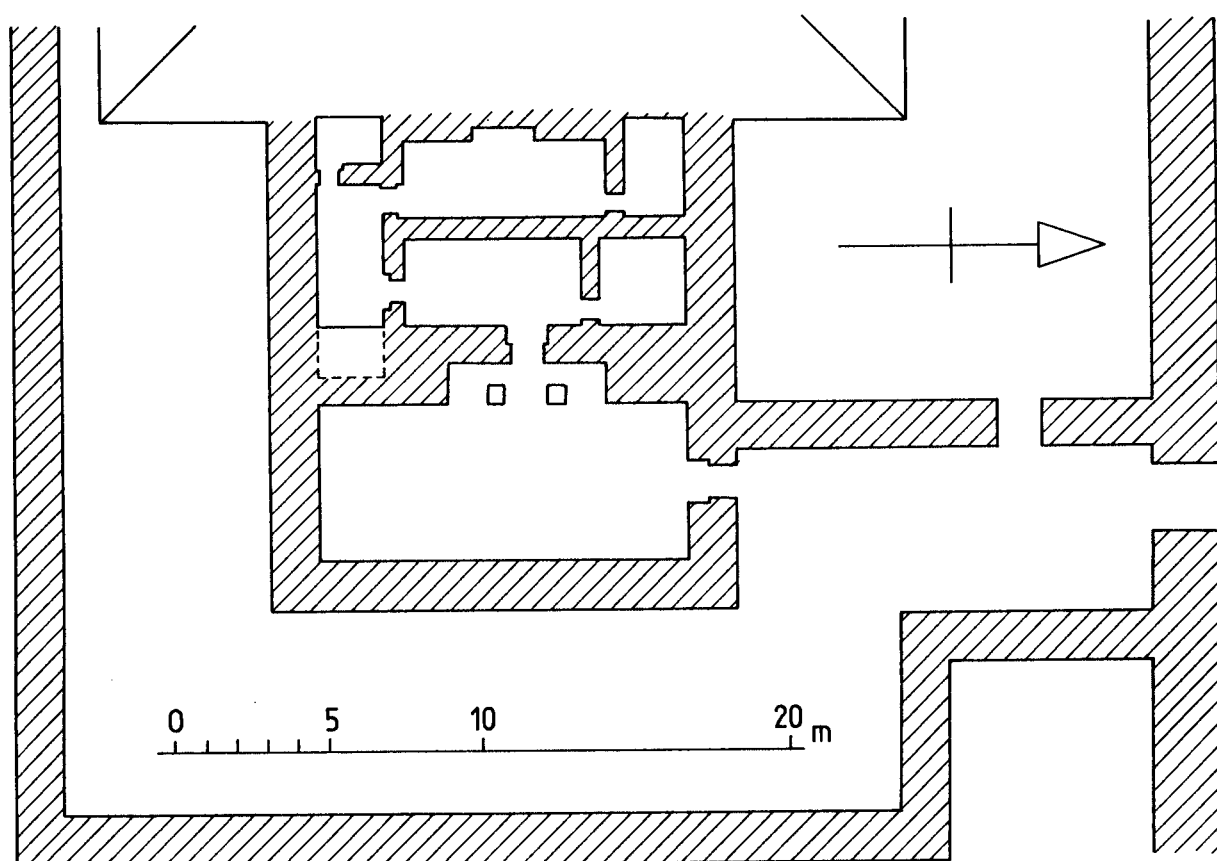


Fig. 71

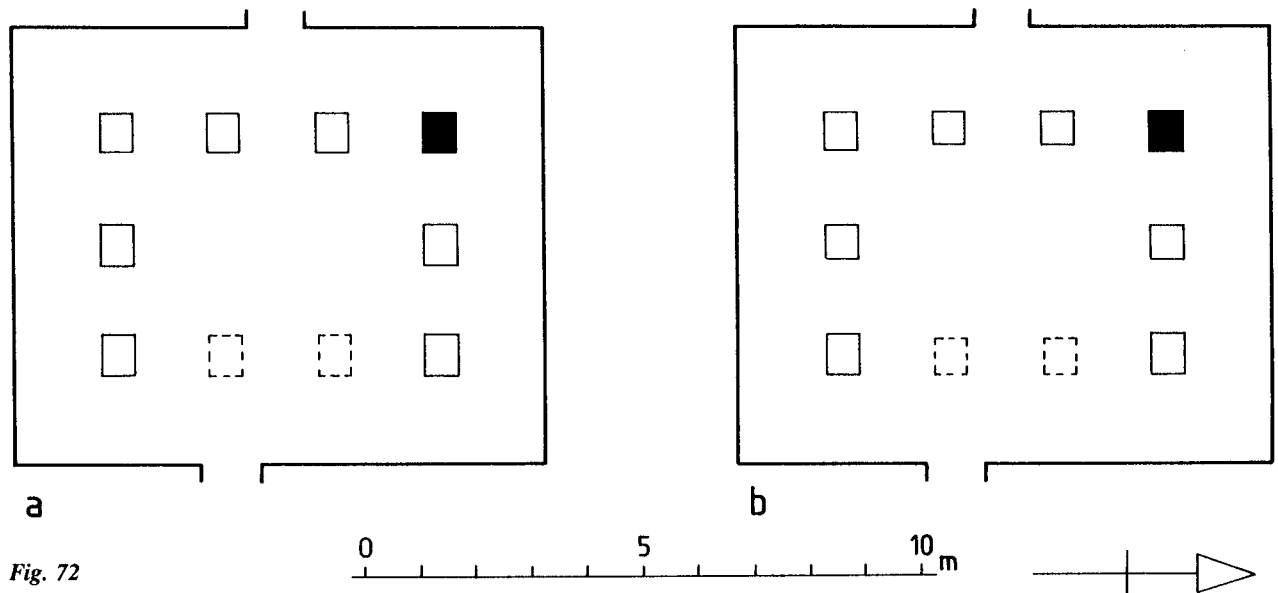


Fig. 72

solution that follows is purely hypothetical. There are two models for the possible arrangement of the remaining pillars⁵⁸: either, the courtyard consisted only of rectangular pillars (fig. 72a) or, the courtyard consisted of square pillars with rectangular ones at the corners (fig. 72b).

Furthermore, it is not known whether the pillars were set up on all four sides of the courtyard, or whether one side (in this case the eastern side) was left without pillars. Usually the pillared courts of queens did not have pillars on all four sides.

The assumption of a courtyard which had rectangular pillars only is unlikely, and can be dismissed because of two reasons. As already mentioned, rectangular pillars are unusual in the temples of queens. Secondly, all pillars would have had to have been oriented east-west (like the remaining one), otherwise the pillars of the northern and southern row would have projected out from underneath the architraves by at least 10 centimetres. The east-west orientation of all pillars thus would have caused two different faces to be oriented towards the middle of the courtyard, i. e. the broader pillar sides of the northern and southern row would be inscribed and facing into the court.

The second solution seems more feasible, although it also presents a difficulty. Accepting the fact that the remaining pillar is the corner pillar of the courtyard, this would imply that the court was not laid out symmetrically to the east-west axis of the temple. The distance between the corner pillar and the northern wall of the court would have then measured about 4 metres, an area which is too large to be accepted as an ambulatory. The existence of one or even two rooms to the north of the courtyard would then have to be proposed⁵⁹, as suggested in the plan.

There are no indications as to how large the distance between the pillars could have been. It can only be assumed that the space between them did not exceed 2,5 cubits. Using this calculation, and depending on the size of the courtyard (leaving enough space for rooms on the north side), the following number and arrangement of pillars would then be possible: either 10 pillars forming an ambulatory on four sides (fig. 72), or 8 pillars forming an ambulatory on three sides (fig. 75).

The distance to the walls of the courtyard on each side would then be c. 3 cubits. The court would have had a size of 18 x 15 cubits⁶⁰.

However, in view of the few architectural facts of which we can be sure, it seems preferable at this stage to assume that no pillared courtyard existed, and that only a pillared portico stood on the western side of the open court. Originally, this portico could have been the entrance of the initial building stage under Neferirkare and it was later incorporated into the court.

THE WESTERN PART OF THE TEMPLE

For the reconstruction of the western half of the temple building which once contained the most

58 In fact, there even exists a third possibility: a courtyard consisting of rectangular pillars with square ones for the corners. But in this case the pillar remaining *in situ* should be oriented north-south with its longer side. An arrangement of this kind exists in the huge mastaba of Ptahhotep I; Hassan, *Ny-ankh-Pepy*, 36f., Fig. 12, XXIX and XXX A.

59 The width of the room (s) could not have been more than 1.9 metres.

60 This size corresponds approximately to the size of the court in the mastaba of Queen Nebet which is 8.1 x 10.5 metres (15.5 x 20 cubits).

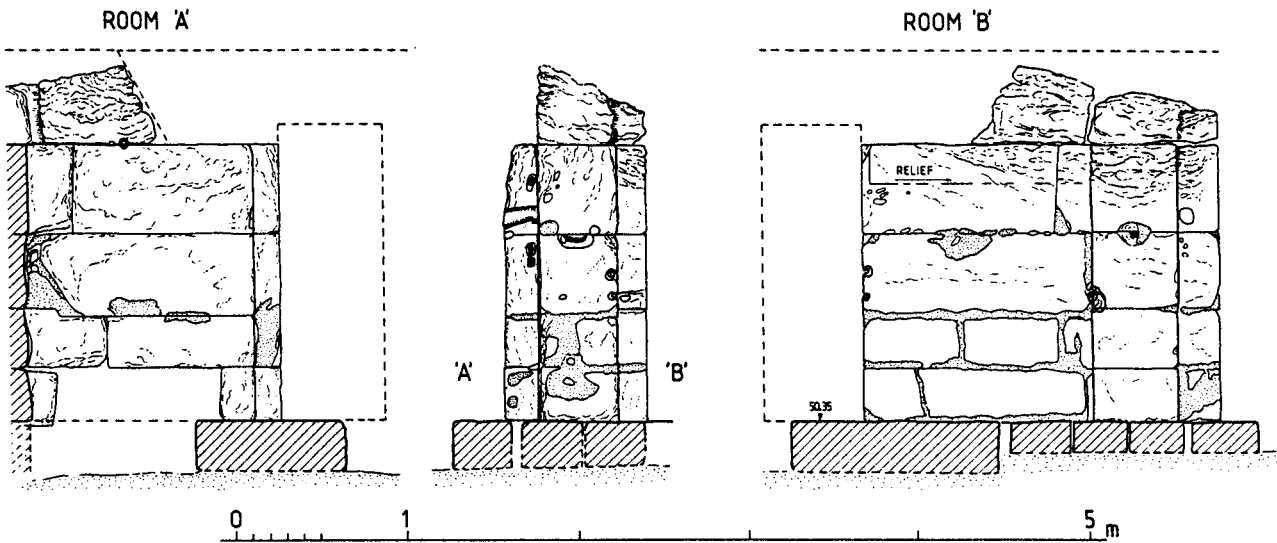


Fig. 73

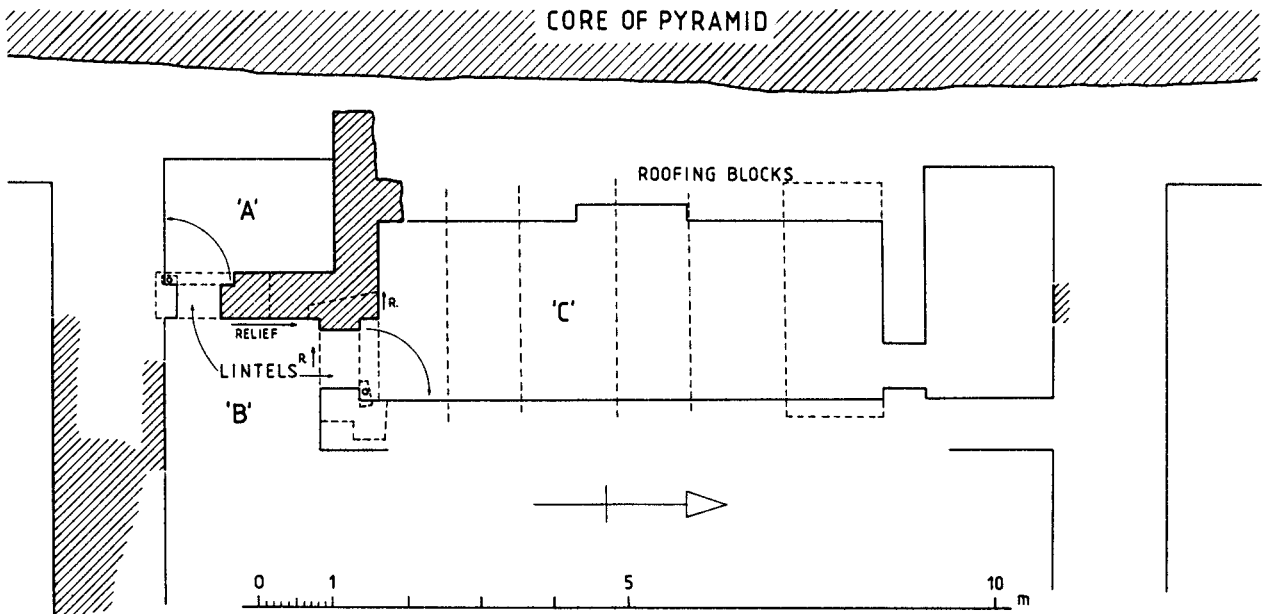


Fig. 74

important rooms for the cult of the queen, only parts of the walls and some paving blocks remain in the south-western section. The walls are preserved to a height of 1.62 metres with some badly weathered and displaced blocks on top (fig. 73), but they permit the reconstruction of three rooms of different sizes (fig. 74 and fig. 75).

On two sides of the walls the lower parts of relief scenes are still visible. The surfaces of the walls are finely dressed and smoothed. Faults in the stone, cracks, and the joints between the blocks were filled and patched with light mortar (fig. 74).

Room 'A' was not larger than 2.25 x 1.6 metres (4 cubits 2 palms x 3 cubits). Access into the room was by means of a one-winged door. The lintel of the door,

broken into two parts, was found near the doorway. Put together and returned to its original position, a door height of 1.74 metres and a breadth of 0.65 metres can be determined (fig. 76). Traces of red paint with black spots on the door frame and the underside of the lintel show that the painting would have imitated granite.

The walls of the room were dressed in a careless way and show no signs of decoration. In particular, the preserved surfaces of the northern wall show irregularities in dressing and smoothing the walls which were covered first with a thick layer of mortar and then with a thin layer of white plaster. This plaster is only preserved in small sections. No traces of (painted) decoration are discernible on them.

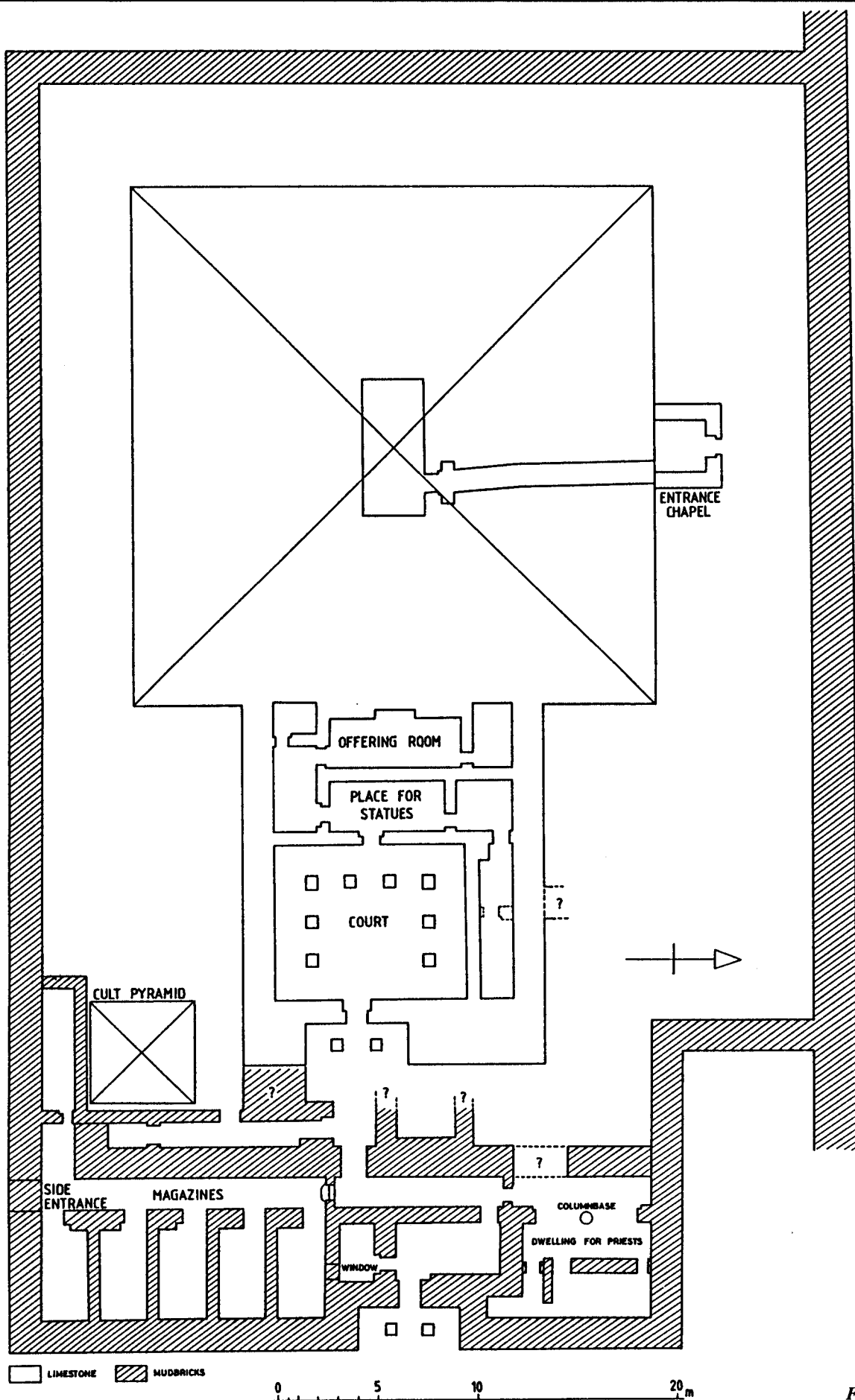


Fig. 75

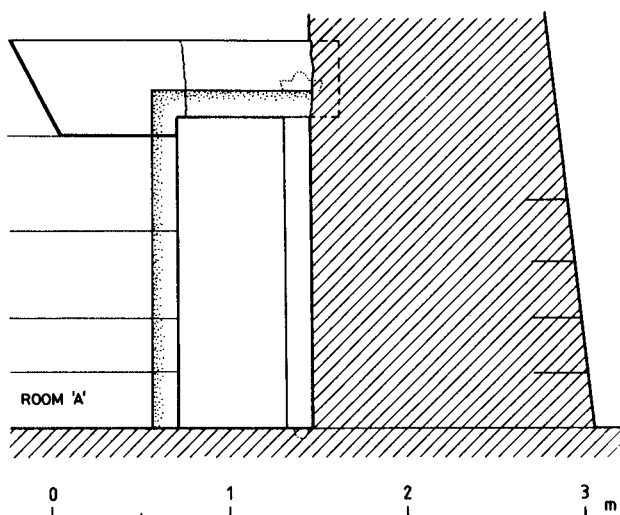


Fig. 76

In the southern half of the room a huge limestone block remains, which once probably formed part of the roofing of this section of the building⁶¹. The block is badly weathered and has a peculiar shape which makes the relocation of its former position problematic. In the middle of its lower side there is a 1.4 metres-wide cut which is slightly slanting. It is possible that the little chamber once contained a staircase (1.4 metres broad) to the roof of the temple⁶², and that the cut could have formed part of the slanting ceiling above it.

northern room 'C'. Room 'B's dimensions are not reconstructable with any certainty, but it can be assumed that it was larger than room 'A'. Its width is 2.1 metres (4 cubits) and its length could have been c. 7 or 8 cubits. Traces of the original relief decoration are still to be seen on the western wall 1.39 metres above the floor level. There the lower parts of offering bearers, in low relief and facing to the north, are visible (fig. 73). Underneath, traces of red paint indicate the existence of a dado framing the relief.

The door between room 'B' and 'C' can be reconstructed since the lintel is preserved. It shows that the door consisted of one wing (figs. 76, 77). The height of the door was 2.1 metres, its breadth 0.8 metres. The southern side of the lintel (facing into room 'B') depicted offering bearers looking west. The relief on the north side right above the door shows piles of offerings; to the west, the legs of two offering bearers, marching to the west, are visible.

Of room 'C' only the southern wall with the entrance and a very short part of the western wall are preserved. The south wall was certainly decorated, but the remaining scenes have vanished beyond recognition. They were 1.37 metres above the floor level.

For the reconstruction of the size and form of this room – probably the offering chamber with the false door – the following considerations have to be made.

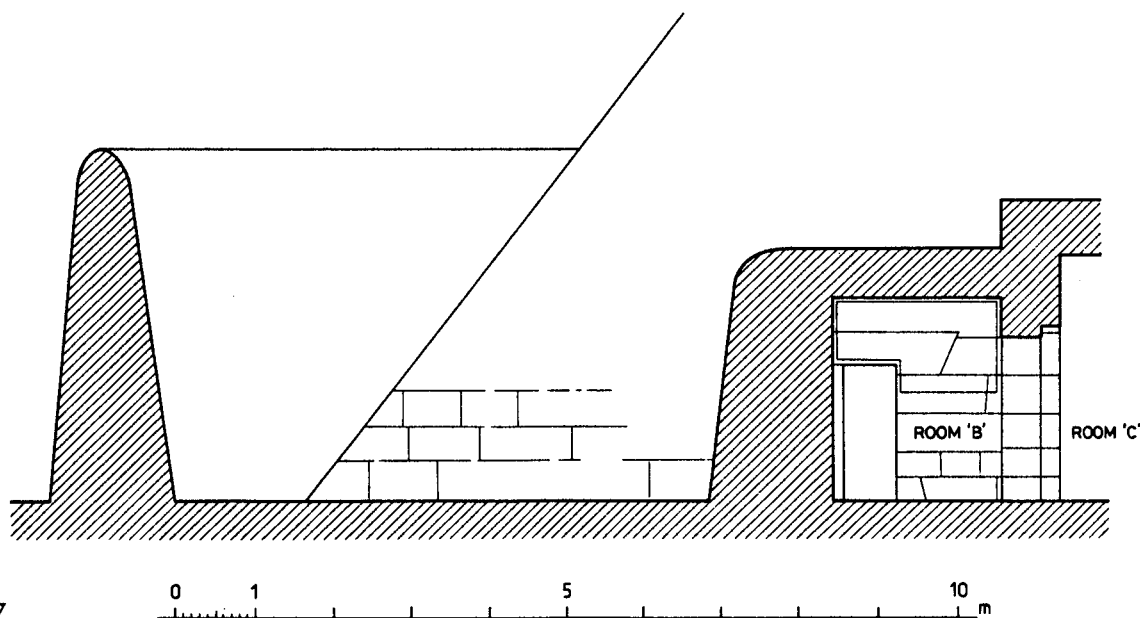


Fig. 77

The holes in the northern door frame show that the room could be locked from the inside. This means that, whatever the rituals or activities performed on the roof might have been, the participants obviously did not want to be disturbed or interrupted⁶³.

Room 'B' was the anteroom to 'A' and to the

61 Because of its dimensions, 3.45 x 1.03 x 0.7 metres, the block was certainly not moved far from its original position.

62 Staircases leading to the roofs are attested in the temple of G III-a, of Iput II and Udjebten.

63 According to the Abusir papyri priests kept guard by day and night on the roof of the temple of Neferirkare, cf. Posener-Krieger, *Archives de Néferirkare I*, 29 - 34; II, 510 f.

According to the remaining structures in the south, there can be no doubt that the approach into the chamber was from the south. This is established by the orientation of the offering bearers in the reliefs. As a rule, the orientation of offering bearers is towards the false door, the main offering place of a chapel where the offerings were presented ⁶⁴. The temple of Khentkaus certainly had a false door, set up in the east-west axis of the pyramid ⁶⁵.

That the offering chamber existed is shown by the many relief fragments which permit the reconstruction of a large portion of one of the walls. They depict the seated queen in front of the offering table, receiving offerings (see p. 67 ff.). Concerning the size and orientation of this room, two solutions are possible:

1. The room was oriented east-west on its longer side (fig. 78a). The western wall was taken up by the false door, while the longer south and north walls depicted the deceased sitting in front of the offering table as the major subject of the decoration ⁶⁶.

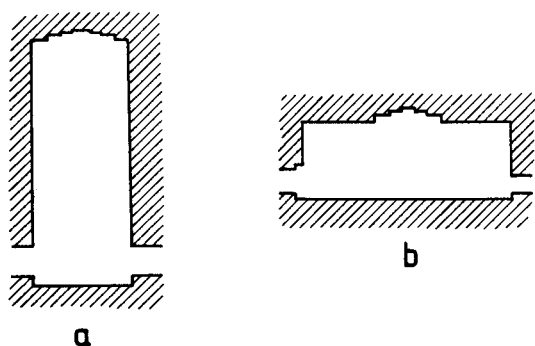


Fig. 78

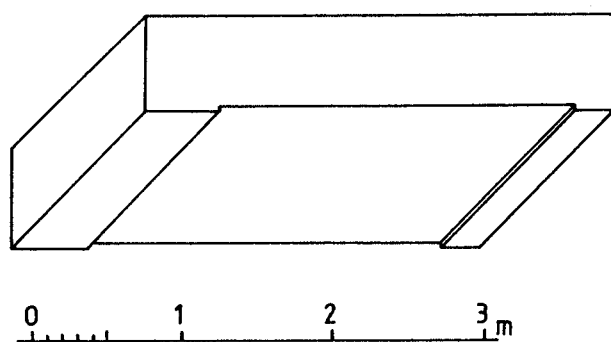


Fig. 79

2. A north-south offering room with longer east and west walls (fig. 78b). The false door would then be positioned in the middle of the west wall. This wall would also have contained the table scene on both sides of the false door.

In view of both the remaining structures in the south, and the space available, only the second proposal seems possible. The size of the offering room can be determined by the following observations.

Assuming that the southern wall of room 'C' was part of the offering room — a hypothesis which is strengthened by the depiction of the piles of offerings above the door — and that the false door was set up in the middle of the west wall (thus coinciding with the axis of the pyramid and the burial chamber), the length of the room can be established as being 6.6 metres (12.5 cubits).

For the determination of the breadth, three indications offer themselves for consideration. Firstly, the south-western corner of the room is preserved, thus showing the line of the west wall. Secondly, five huge limestone blocks lay in the area and there can be no doubt that these large blocks formed part of the roofing — most probably of the offering room itself. All these blocks are badly damaged and partially destroyed. The longest are between 3.07 – 3.1 metres in length.

One of them still exhibits an interesting feature: on the underside is a recess approx. 3 centimetres deep; its length is 2.35 to 2.4 metres, and its width is the full width of the block. The recess begins 50 centimetres from one end of the block and ends 25 centimetres from the other end (fig. 79). The recessed side of the block most probably formed the ceiling of the room, indicating that its breadth was 2.4 metres (4.5 cubits); the two elevated ends of the block thus would have rested on the east and west walls. Thirdly, this breadth conforms to the dimensions of the lintel of the southern doorway (fig. 74). Thus, the remains have established that the offering chamber once had a size of 12.5 x 4.5 cubits; the height of the room could have been 6 cubits (figs. 74, 75, 76).

The available space to the north of the offering room was most probably occupied by a small chamber (max. 6 cubits x 3 cubits 2 palms) which served as a

⁶⁴ This is a common rule in temples as well as in private tomb chapels, cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, 223 - 226.

⁶⁵ A granite block (1 x 0.8 x 0.33 metres) lies near the eastern base of the pyramid and approximately in its east-west axis. This block could have been part of the false door of the queen, but no traces of decoration or workmanship are discernible. Some smaller fragments of granite with peculiar shape and carrying the titles of the queen come from the false door itself.

⁶⁶ This type of offering chamber is first known from the pyramid temple of Sahure, Borchardt, *Sahure I*, 21f., 57f., and became common in large private tombs soon afterwards.

kind of magazine. Such a room was common in temples of queens⁶⁷ and can also be found in those of Neferirkare and Nyuserre⁶⁸.

It is impossible to determine whether or not the temple once contained a special room with niches for the statues of the queen. In royal temples a statue chamber with five niches for the statues of the king was common⁶⁹. Similar statue chambers existed in the temples of queens as well and, exceptionally, in the mastaba of Queen Nebet at Saqqara. Unlike the statue rooms of the kings those of the queens had three shrines (in the mastaba of Nebet, four). The size of these rooms varies considerably as the following list shows:

Nebet: room approx. 8.4 x 1.5 meters (16 x 3 cubits) (mastaba) 4 shrines 1.3 x 1.05 meters (2.5 x 2 cubits)⁷⁰

Khuit II: room 8.4 x 2.1 meters (16 x 4 cubits) 3 shrines 1.6 x 1.05 meters (3 x 2 cubits)⁷¹

Iput I.: room 5.7 x 2.7 meters (11 x 5 cubits) 3 shrines 2 x 1.05 meters (4 x 2 cubits)⁷²

Neit: room 5.7 x 2.6 meters (11 x 5 cubits) 3 shrines 2 x 1.05 meters (4 x 2 cubits)⁷³

Iput II.: room 5.7 x 2.1 meters (11 x 4 cubits) 3 shrines 2 x 1.05 meters (4 x 2 cubits)⁷⁴

The usual position of the statue chamber in the temple of queens is immediately before the offering room and directly connected to it⁷⁵. The remaining architecture of the Khentkaus temple does not indicate the existence of this statue chamber. Room 'B' to the south of the offering room certainly did not contain statue niches.

The only possible place to reconstruct a room which could have housed statues of the queen is the space between the offering room and the court. However, the reconstruction of this part of the temple has to be purely hypothetical since not a single block remains in position to give any clue as to its original design. Assuming that the proposed size of the courtyard (see p. 151 f.) is fairly correct, there is enough space to reconstruct rooms with a width of at least 4 to 5 cubits between the court and the offering room. The available space would suggest that either one long room, or at least two rooms could have existed at this place (plan, fig. 75). However, all dimensions of these rooms and their arrangements remain uncertain. Because of the narrow width, the existence of a room with stone-built shrines seems unlikely. Rooms with niches would need a width of at least 7 to 8 cubits to accommodate such shrines (see the list of measurements of the statue chambers of the queens' temples above).

From the papyrus archives discovered in the queen's temple⁷⁶, it is known that at least 16 statues,

probably made of wood, were set up in shrines in the temple. If a room with stone-built niches did not exist, it would have to be assumed, therefore, that the shrines for these statues stood in different rooms of the temple. The hypothetical rooms to the west of the court could be a likely place for some of these statues and their shrines since they belong to the inner part of the mortuary complex⁷⁷. It can also be assumed that at least one statue of the queen was set up in the offering room.

THE HEIGHT OF THE TEMPLE

No parts of the building are preserved well enough to give a definite indication of the height of the temple building. The following measurements are based on the reconstruction of the few extant parts. The starting point for all calculations and estimations is the height of the stone enclosure wall, which was 4.5 metres (8.5 cubits) (see p. 160). It can be assumed that no parts of the temple were higher than that; even the cult pyramid was about the same height.

The best preserved part, the walls and rooms of the south-western corner of the temple building, indicate that the height of the rooms probably did not exceed 6 cubits (3.15 metres) (fig. 77). Together with

67 Firth/Gunn, *TPC I*, Fig. 3; Maragioglio/Rinaldi, *Notizie*, 60 Tav. 10 Fig. 4; Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, 10, 45 pls. II, XXXVI, idem. *Oudjebten*, pl. I; in the mastaba of Queen Nebet, Bieger/Munro, in: *SAK I*, 1974, Fig. 1.

68 Borchardt, *Sahure I*, 22, 58, idem. *Neferirkere*, 9, 32, idem. *Neuserre*, 19, 60. The location of these rooms in the inner part of the temple suggests that they were not simple magazines but special depositories for valuable goods and instruments used in the daily ritual in the offering chamber, cf. Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, 68 idem., *Douze ans*, 63.

69 Preserved already in the temple of Userkaf, Leclant in: *Orientalia* 48, 1979, 359; cf. Lauer, in: *ASAE* 53, 1953, pl. III, idem. *Teti*, 28 footnote 4. As to the identification of the royal statues cf. Posener-Kriéger, *Archives de Néferirkare I*, 52; II, 502, 544f.

70 Munro/Bieger in: *SAK I*, 1974, 39.

71 Loret in: *BIE III*, Nr. 10, 1899, plan opposite p. 100.

72 Firth/Gunn, *TPC I*, Fig. 3.

73 Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, pl. II.

74 Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, pl. XXXVI.

75 In the royal temples the offering room and the room with the five niches are as a rule separated by two other rooms: the so called vestibule and the *antichambre carrée*.

76 Verner in: *RdÉ* 31, 1979, 99; Posener-Kriéger in: *JSSEA* 13, 1983, 52; idem. in this volume pp. 133–142

77 One should bear in mind that many more statues, made of different materials, existed in temples and mortuary complexes of kings and queens than is suggested by the few preserved examples today, see the statues (finished and unfinished) from the pyramid complex of Mycerinus, Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 108–129; concerning the important discoveries of statues at Abusir see Verner in: *RdÉ* 36, 1985, 145–152; idem in: *BIFAO* 85, 1985, 267–280; idem in: *BIFAO* 86, 1986, 361–366.

the ceiling blocks, of which several pieces were found, the temple was probably no higher than 8 cubits (4.2 metres).

As shown by the remaining structures the exterior walls of the temple building had a batter of $83^{\circ}30'$ which corresponds to a ratio of 1 cubit : 4 fingers. Nothing can be said about the upper part of the walls and the roofing of the building since no blocks have

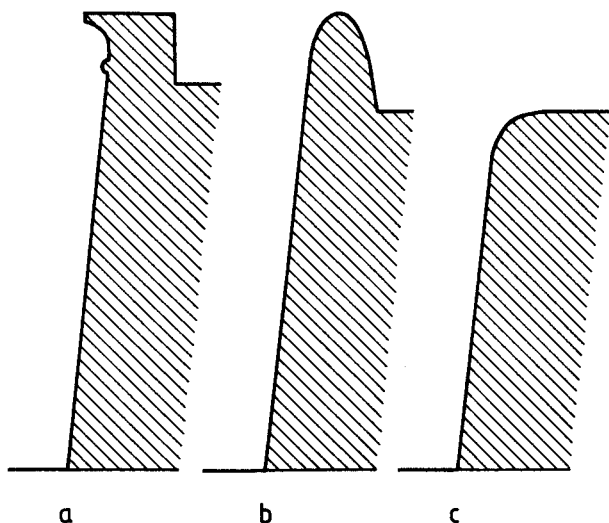


Fig. 80

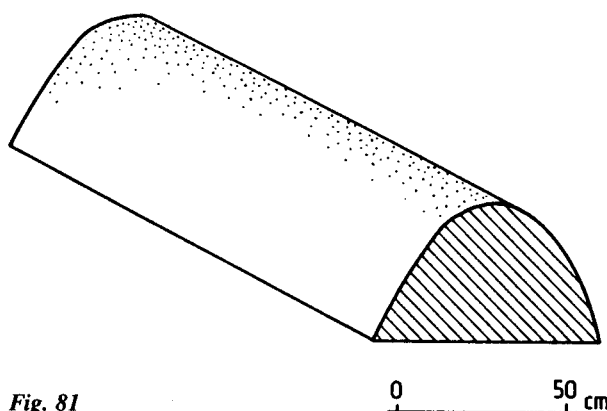


Fig. 81

been found. Theoretically three different reconstructions are possible. The temple could have had a cavetto cornice on top like the royal temples (a), a ledge edging the roof (b) or a simple rounded roof (c) (fig. 80).

THE STONE ENCLOSURE WALL

Only a short part of this wall was excavated on the southern side of the precinct, but enough traces remain to demonstrate that the eastern side of the enclosure wall was originally in alignment with the eastern base of Neferirkare's pyramid.

Before the wall was finished work was abandoned, and the eastern part of the southern wall was torn down in order to make room for the cult pyramid. Those portions of the wall still standing were never completed. Several measurements are available which permit the reconstruction of this wall. The base of the wall was 3 cubits (1.58 metres). The inclination of the wall is only measurable on the north side: 82° , which corresponds to the ancient ratio of 1 palm to 1 cubit. The top of the wall was formed by saddle-backed coping stones of asymmetrical shape, as indicated by one piece, found in the temple of the queen (fig. 81).

The shape of this block demonstrates that the wall had two different inclinations. The enclosure wall of the cult pyramid in the temple of Sahure shows the same features with the inclinations of 85° and 82° ⁷⁸. The slope of the outer side of Khentkaus' enclosure wall could well have been 85° . Thus, the enclosure wall would have reached a height of 4.5 metres (8.5 cubits) (fig. 77).

On the other hand, since only one piece of a coping stone was found in the queen's temple, and since there was no reason — as in Sahure's temple — to adapt the height of the queen's wall to another wall (unless the stone wall was directly connected to the mudbrick enclosure wall of Neferirkare's precinct), the reconstruction with two different angles of inclination remains dubious. Be that as it may, it cannot be excluded that both sides of the wall had an inclination of 82° and that the asymmetrical coping stone belonged to another building.

THE CULT PYRAMID

The only remaining part of this little monument is the north-western corner which is preserved to a height of 1.2 to 1.3 metres. The casing blocks of undressed limestone slabs are of irregular shape, set upright and enclosing the core, which consisted of rubble and stone chips. The material that was used to erect the cult pyramid came from the eastern part of the southern stone enclosure wall (see pp. 35 f.).

Based on the available space in this part of the temple the size of this small pyramid can be

⁷⁸ Borchardt, *Sahure I*, 67f. Figs. 88–91; Maragioglio/Rinaldi, *L'architettura* VII, 74 and Obs. 24 104. In Sahure's temple the necessity of an asymmetrical coping stone was explained by the fact that the base of the cult pyramid's enclosure wall was one cubit shorter in width than the surrounding large stone enclosure wall. In order to reach the same height as the outer enclosure wall and to give the same outward appearance, the inclination of the walls had to be changed and the coping stone made asymmetrical.

reconstructed as being 10 x 10 cubits (5.2 x 5.2 metres). The slope of the sides cannot be determined exactly but it was certainly greater than the slope of the main pyramid (52°). The position of the casing blocks seems to indicate an inclination of approximately 60°; the height would thus have been at least 4.5 metres (8.5 cubits)⁷⁹, which corresponds to the reconstructed height of the stone enclosure wall.

No underground apartments exist under the cult pyramid's superstructure. The pyramid was surrounded by a mudbrick wall of which only the southern side and the southern part of the eastern side remain.

The existence of this cult pyramid and its location are important and reveal further details concerning the function of the queen's temple precinct. It is the first known cult pyramid for a queen. Prior to the discovery of the Khentkaus cult pyramid these structures have been otherwise attested only for the queens of Pepi II⁸⁰.

The position of the pyramid shows that it was a later addition to the temple. This is confirmed by the fact that the existing stone enclosure wall had to be torn down. As a rule, cult pyramids were situated close to the south-eastern corner of the main pyramid in the 5th and 6th Dynasties⁸¹ and were accessible directly from the temple buildings. This was obviously not the case with this cult pyramid. The reason for shifting it to the east is not quite clear, but two explanations seem possible. Firstly, access to the pyramid would have been facilitated by putting it near the southern side entrance, to which it was probably connected (fig. 75). Alternatively, the space near the south-western corner of the main pyramid could have been already used for some other purpose⁸².

It can be assumed that the cult pyramid of this temple was the first one ever erected for a queen⁸³ and that its incorporation into the mortuary precinct had a specific meaning. Cult pyramids are common with royal pyramids. Although their exact purpose is still unknown⁸⁴, recent investigations and some archaeological facts seem to indicate that they were related to the cult of the divine kingship of the deceased ruler and/or to the cult of the royal *ka*⁸⁵. The fact that the cult pyramid of Khentkaus had no underground apartments further indicates that it was meant as a kind of symbolic structure within the pyramid complex. Normally a cult pyramid belongs to the person buried in the main pyramid, but considering the important status of Khentkaus I, it cannot be ruled out that the small pyramid could have belonged to her and was not part of the mortuary complex of Khentkaus II. All we can say at this stage

is that the existence of the cult pyramid reveals that in the reign of Nyuserre the cult pyramid was for the first time introduced into the pyramid complex of a queen to stress her outstanding position as a royal woman.

THE MUDBRICK BUILDINGS (building stage MBT I-II)

The structure erected in mudbricks (plan, fig. 75) consists of four distinct parts: an entrance complex, magazines to the south of the entrance, a building with a columned hall to the north, and the enclosure wall surrounding the precinct. None of these parts pose any real difficulties for reconstruction since the walls are sufficiently preserved. The only question which cannot be answered properly is how the limestone temple was architecturally connected to the mudbrick structures in the east of the complex. Nothing remains to provide any clues in this respect.

THE ENTRANCE COMPLEX

This part consisted of an entrance portico (10 x 4 cubits) with two limestone pillars (60 x 52.5 centimetres). The pillars are not preserved⁸⁶, but it can be assumed that they were once painted red to imitate granite and decorated with the titles and the name of the queen.

The entrance, 2 cubits wide, led into a room which measured 10 x 5 cubits. Parts of its southern wall and nearly the complete western wall have vanished, but the reconstruction of the size of the room is certain.

To the south of the entrance room a small chamber once existed; its western wall has completely disappeared because of later constructions. Nevertheless the size of the room can be

79 A cult pyramid of similar dimensions was found in the precinct of Neit, Jéquier in: *ASAE* 31, 1931, 40f., idem. *Neit et Apouit*, 10, pl. II., idem. *Douze ans*, 79.

80 Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, 10 and 45, pl. II, for the somewhat doubtful evidence in the temple of Wedjebten cf. Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 10, pl. I; idem. *Neit et Apouit*, 11, footnote 3. A cult pyramid was recently discovered at the south-eastern corner of one of the queens' pyramids of Pepy I.

81 One exception is the pyramid complex of Userkaf whose temple was shifted to the south of the pyramid.

82 Probably the entrance into the so called *st-^c* room already existed near the south-western corner.

83 No cult pyramid was found during the French excavations of the queen's pyramid in the complex of Userkaf.

84 For the most recent summary on these pyramids and their function cf. Lehner, *Hetep-heres*, 74–79.

85 Arnold, *Amenemhet III*, 99, idem. *Senwosret I*, 75.

86 The measurements are shown by the traces on the two limestone bases.

reconstructed as being 1.74 x 2.9 metres (3 x 5.5 cubits). In the southern wall an opening (77 centimetres wide) existed. This was walled up at a later stage. It probably served as kind of window (for constructional purposes or during the functioning of the temple ⁸⁷). It could also have been a secondary entrance into the magazine: but in this case, steps must have existed in the magazine, since its floor level lies c. 65 centimetres lower than the base of the opening.

In the northern corner of the west wall of the entrance room a doorway (89 centimetres wide) with a one-winged door opened into a long rectangular room (16 x 3 cubits in size), which can be called a connecting room to the other parts of the temple. In its southern wall a doorway leads into the magazine complex, which was accessible by steps, since the magazines were on a lower floor level.

To the north of the connecting room a doorway opened into the northern part of the temple, of which hardly anything remained. A third doorway, more than 2 cubits wide and situated in the western wall, gave access to the pillared portico in the west. Unfortunately nothing definite can be said about the rooms and passages which connected the two parts of the temple. Except for a few remaining structures in mudbrick and some limestone blocks of the foundation everything else has vanished. Also the eastern façade of the stone temple has, except for the pillars, completely disappeared. Fragments of quartzite door jambs bearing the titles and the name of the queen ⁸⁸ show that a doorway (or more than one?) made of this material once existed in this area. This doorway probably served as link between the two parts of the temple.

THE MAGAZINES

The southern part of the mudbrick structure contains five magazines (each 8.5 x 4.5 cubits in size), which are accessible through doorways more than 2 cubits wide. These openings were closed by wooden doors. A remarkable feature of this magazine complex is that its floor level is considerably lower than any other part or room of the temple. Apart from this, nothing else is known about the height of the magazines. It may be assumed that the rooms were at least 5 to 6 cubits high and were probably covered by mudbrick barrel vaults, although no remains corroborate this reconstruction.

The magazines are connected by a long passage way, 3 cubits broad and more than 27 cubits long. At the southern end of this passage an opening existed in the temple wall. It probably served as a side

entrance to facilitate access into the magazines for the storage of various goods. Later this entrance was walled up.

Five magazines are also present in the temples of Queen Neit and Queen Iput II ⁸⁹. Magazines are a common feature in royal temples ⁹⁰. The presence of these rooms and their arrangement is important for the evaluation of the temple complex. It shows that there were no magazines in the temple which was originally erected in limestone. The necessity for the erection of these magazines is explained by the alteration of the entire mortuary complex. Initially the complex was intended for the funerary cult of Khentkaus II and was part of the temple complex of Neferirkare. The queen's pyramid precinct was thus directly related to the royal temple at that stage. With the establishment of the ancestress (?) cult the queen's temple was altered not only architecturally but also economically. The complex then became independent and required rooms which were not present in the original layout.

THE NORTHERN QUARTER

To the north of the entrance complex a quarter existed which was altered considerably in later times (end of 5th and during the 6th Dynasty, see p. 41), thus obscuring the original layout and purpose of this part of the temple. This part of the complex consisted of several rooms of different sizes, its main feature being a large room (more than 10 x 8.5 cubits in size) whose roof was supported by a wooden column, which rested on a limestone base still *in situ*.

No remains indicate whether or not a door existed in the western wall of this room. This would have permitted direct access into the northern part of the pyramid courtyard. The eastern part of the structure contained two rooms. The northern one, nearly 10 x 4 cubits in size, was accessible through two doors of different widths (96 and 58 centimetres). To the south an L-shaped room existed which had two openings, one in the north and one in the west.

⁸⁷ The opening suggests that the two rooms were functionally connected to each other. In the magazine room many clay sealings were found which seem to indicate that provisions and goods were registered in and distributed through these rooms.

⁸⁸ Verner in: *ZÄS* 107, 1980, 162.

⁸⁹ Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, 8 and 45, pls. II and XXXVI. The magazines in the temple of Neit were nearly 12 cubits, those in the temple of Iput II nearly 9 cubits long.

⁹⁰ The only difference — except for the size of the rooms — is the arrangement. In the royal temples the magazines are normally set in pairs on both sides of the corridor.

No remains or objects denote the original function of this part of the temple. Based on the archaeological evidence and the nature of alterations in later periods⁹¹ the structure could have served as a spacious dwelling for the priests who were in charge of the mortuary precinct and the cults of the queens⁹².

THE ENCLOSURE WALL

A mudbrick wall enclosed the precinct of the queen⁹³ and this was connected to the mudbrick buildings in the eastern part of the temple. On the northern side the wall turned to the north and abutted on the mudbrick enclosure wall of Neferirkare.

The base of the wall measures 1.55 metres (3 cubits). It has sloping faces and certainly would have had a rounded top. The height of the brick wall can be estimated at least 8.5 cubits since the stone wall has the same width as the mudbrick wall and had a height of 8.5 cubits. The brick wall was covered with whitewashed mud plaster.

VI.3 Conclusions

The excavation of the pyramid precinct of Khentkaus II has revealed many outstanding and surprising facts, which not only contribute considerably to the history of the 5th Dynasty, but also to the development of funerary architecture in that period. The archaeological results, the various objects found during the excavations, and the alterations within the temple show that this structure had a unique position in the development of the mortuary complexes of queens. Furthermore, various details in the extant parts indicate that this temple had elements (a cult pyramid, an entrance oriented to the east, probably an entrance chapel, and a large magazine complex) none of which have been found in the previous temples of queens. Certain details in the still-preserved relief fragments (the uraeus on the queen's forehead, King Nyuserre offering to Khentkaus and finally the exceptional title of the queen) further emphasize the importance of the owner. There can be no doubt that these elements were the direct result of the special status of Khentkaus II under Nyuserre.

The requirements for the new cult are reflected in the remaining parts of the temple and its alterations. A new entrance into the complex was erected on the eastern side (the old one, connected directly to the temple of Neferirkare, obviously fell into disuse). The temple precinct became independent and new rooms,

which were necessary for the fulfillment of the daily rituals, had to be added. Thus, a magazine complex with five large chambers and even a domestic quarter were erected, the latter probably housing a priest, who was in charge of the temple.

However, the most unusual feature of the complex is its cult pyramid: it is the oldest attested cult pyramid for a queen. As shown by its position and its lack of any substructure it was certainly a later addition to the mortuary precinct. Because of its unique position and later erection it is more likely that it belonged to the cult of Khentkaus I, and was designed to emphasise her divine status.

The stone temple, of which hardly anything is left, contained rooms connected with the funerary rituals for Khentkaus II and, as the Abusir papyri reveal, there were probably other rooms devoted to the cult of Khentkaus I. The reconstruction has suggested that the temple had an offering chamber, oriented north-south, a court and a pillared portico as an entrance. These elements were supplemented by various smaller rooms. The existence of a statue chamber, housing three shrines with the statues of the queen and characteristic for the queens' temples of the 6th Dynasty, cannot, however, be ascertained. Also the existence of an entrance chapel at the northern side of the pyramid, while very likely, cannot be determined with any certainty.

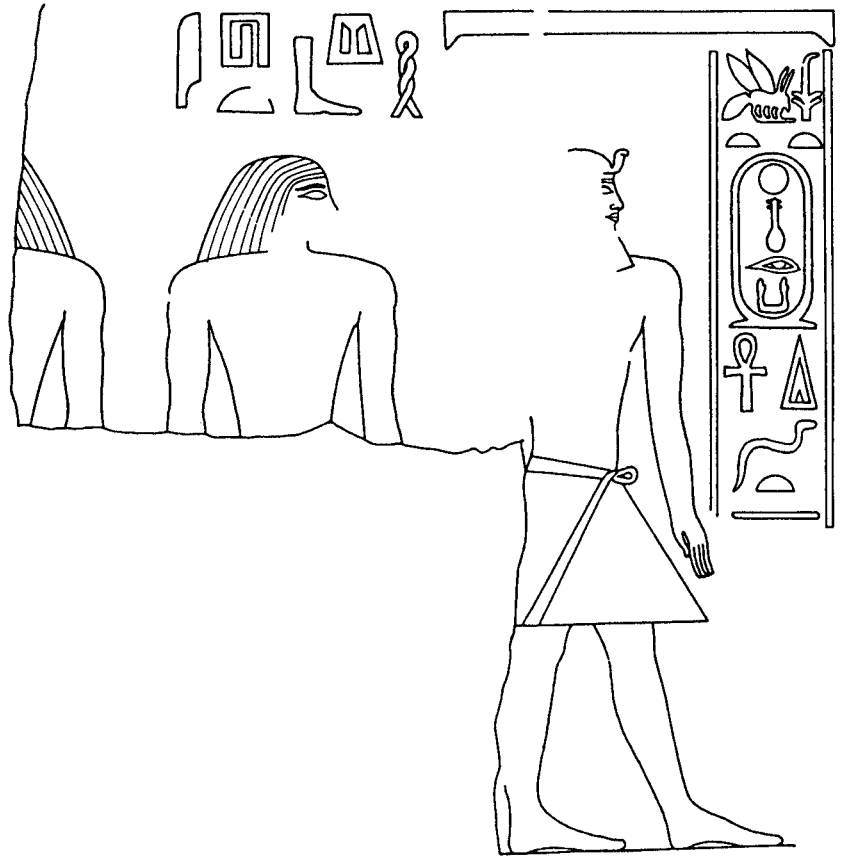
Although there are no immediate monuments belonging to later queens⁹⁴ available for comparison, it is certain that the complex of Khentkaus II affected and influenced the design of queens' temples in later history. Her temple complex can thus be regarded as a turning point in the development of funerary architecture relating to the wives of the Egyptian kings.

⁹¹ Verner in: *ZÄS* 107, 1980, 162.

⁹² As to similar houses of priests found in the mudbrick temple of Neferirkare see Borchardt, *Neferirkare*, 11, 36f., B1.10.

⁹³ The course of the wall was not followed entirely around the precinct.

⁹⁴ The owners of the two other queens' pyramids at Abusir, Lepsius no. XXIV and Lepsius no XXV, are not yet identified and the complexes have not been completely excavated.



Detail of a relief from Sahure's mortuary temple with the subsequently altered picture of the pharaoh Neferirkare (by L. Borchardt).

VII. CONCLUSIONS

VII.1 The Problem of Khentkaus¹

The large, and rather mysterious monument on the eastern edge of the Giza plateau, identified by Richard Lepsius expedition as LG 100, was for some time supposed by several Egyptologists to be the tomb of the last ruler of the 4th Dynasty, Shepseskaf. Selim Hassan's excavations in 1932² showed that it was not a pyramid, but a two-stepped funerary monument which had no parallel among Egyptian tombs.

The lower step was hewn from the limestone bedrock and represented the first building stage of the tomb. It had an almost square-shaped ground plan (45.80 x 45.50 m) and was about 9.50 m high, and its inclined outer faces were decorated with niches. The upper step, which was added later, was built of limestone blocks and had an oblong plan (28.50 x 21.00 m). The inclined outer sides of this additional step were cased with limestone blocks and were left undecorated. The second step thus resembled a large rectangular sarcophagus, and that is also why some archaeologists refer to the monument as a "sarcophagus-shaped tomb".

While excavating a mortuary cult chapel at the foot of the eastern side of the tomb, Hassan uncovered remains of a red granite gateway bearing the partly damaged name and titles of the tomb owner. The tomb belonged to Khentkaus I. Most striking of all, the initial title for Khentkaus — *mwt nswt bity nswt bity* — was hitherto unique for a queen.

Near the south-west corner of the tomb was a boat-shaped pit, and near the north-east corner a basin was hewn into the bedrock. The tomb was surrounded by a massive enclosure wall with rounded corners.

No less surprising than the two-stepped funerary monument was the discovery of a large settlement, called by Hassan the "pyramid city". It lay in front of the tomb, between the mortuary chapel and the edge of the Nile Valley.

Among other things, Selim Hassan discovered in the substructure of the tomb fragments of an alabaster sarcophagus, but no remains of the mummy of the tomb-owner were found. The archaeological context of the finds indicated that the tomb had been plundered as early as the First Intermediate Period.

Yet one more piece of information pertaining to the tomb owner was discovered by Hassan namely, a fragment of a limestone stela (offering table?). The fragment was found in the neighbouring valley temple of Menkaure and, judging from remnants of an inscription on it, Khentkaus seems to have been the daughter of the king.

Hassan's theory. The architecture of the tomb, as well as the archaeological and epigraphic finds, led Hassan to the conclusion that the monument belonged to the Royal Mother Khentkaus, an important person who lived at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th Dynasty, and possibly represented the only full blood-royal link between both dynasties. The shape of the tomb was taken by him as evidence that there was a close relation between Khentkaus and the last king of the 4th

1 For a more detailed discussion on the "problem of Khentkaus", see Verner, in: *Ancient Egypt and Kush*, 420–435.

2 Hassan, *Giza IV*, 1–67.

Dynasty, Shepseskaf, the builder of Mastabat Faraun in South Saqqara. Moreover, he saw in the architecture of both monuments (neither of which used the prevailing pyramidal form of royal tombs) proof of resistance by the royal family to the increasing political influence in the country of the sun cult and its priesthood. Hassan therefore assumed that Khentkaus was the wife of Shepseskaf and, that following her husband's death, she was subjected to the power of the solar religion, and was even forced by its officials to marry Userkaf, the high priest of Re of Heliopolis. Hassan assumed that with Userkaf she founded a new dynasty, the Fifth. She refused to be buried with either her first or second husband, however, and decided to build her tomb at Giza, near those of her royal ancestors.

Vikentiev's theory. Needless to say the discoveries of Selim Hassan aroused great interest among the Egyptological public. The first to react was Vladimir Vikentiev. In the Egyptian daily, *La Bourse Egyptienne*, he proposed to interpret the so-far unknown title of Khentkaus, *mwt nswt bity nswt bity*, as "the mother of two kings of Upper and Lower Egypt".³

Junker's theory. At the same time Hermann Junker also expressed his opinion⁴ pointing to the fact that the tomb of Khentkaus, including the so-called pyramid town, represented the centre of an independent cemetery. This, and further archaeological facts, led Junker to the assumption that Khentkaus had held an extraordinarily important position in Egypt at the end of the 4th Dynasty. The unique title of the queen he interpreted as *nswt bity mwt nswt bity* "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt and the mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt". In other words, he believed that Khentkaus was, besides being a royal mother, a monarch. In addition to that, he assumed that Khentkaus was the daughter of Menkaure and the sister of Shepseskaf, and that in this position she represented a royal blood-link between the 4th and 5th Dynasties.

Borchardt's theory. New attention to Khentkaus was attracted by several fragments of papyri which had been found earlier at Abusir and which were published by Ludwig Borchardt⁵ shortly after Hassan's discovery of the queen's tomb at Giza. The fragments were part of the mortuary temple archive of Neferirkare. These and additional finds (such as a fragment of an alabaster offering table with the remains of the name and titles of the queen) made during Borchardt's excavations at Abusir pointed to a cult for Khentkaus at Abusir. A fragmented relief from the tomb of Mersitjefptah at Abusir even mentioned a *hwt ntr* for the Royal Mother. The

evaluation of all the finds led Borchardt to the conclusion that Shepseskaf was not a direct member of the royal family, and that he ascended the throne only thanks to his marriage with Khentkaus. Consequently, he further assumed, on the basis of some alterations made to the relief decoration in the mortuary temple of Sahure at Abusir, that the two sons of Shepseskaf must have been Sahure and Neferirkare. He saw them as the legitimate rulers of Egypt and true founders of the new Fifth Dynasty. Shepseskaf's immediate successor, Userkaf, came to power, Borchardt assumed, because of the unexpectedly early death of the former, and because the legitimate heirs of the throne, Sahure and Neferirkare, were still too young to rule the country.

Grdseloff's theory. A new theory about Khentkaus was formulated by Bernhard Grdseloff⁶ in the early Forties. He looked for the cause of this complicated history in an alleged split in the royal family that followed the death of Khufu. According to Grdseloff, Khufu's son, the crown prince Kawab, died very early — perhaps even before his father — and the throne was inherited by a younger prince named Radjedef. However, the main branch of the royal family represented by another son of Khufu (Khafre), finally prevailed, and dynastic stability seemed to be assured. But alas, the premature death of Shepseskaf, the successor to Khafre's son Menkaure, once more plunged the dynasty into crisis. Shepseskaf's widow, Khentkaus, and their two sons, Sahure and Neferirkare, were now placed in a very difficult situation. At first — or so Grdseloff assumed — Shepseskaf's widow had ruled alone for a certain time before she married Userkaf, a prince from a different branch of the royal family. Together they then founded the Fifth Dynasty.

Altenmüller's theory. After a 30-year hiatus in the debate Hartwig Altenmüller⁷ returned once again to the problem in the early Seventies. Altenmüller approached it from other viewpoints, both philological and literary. His conclusions were basically derived from an analysis of the Westcar Papyrus. Altenmüller, interpreting the tale of the divine birth of the kings of the 5th Dynasty in the light of other historical and archaeological material, concluded that the heroine Redjedjet, who gave birth

3 Junker, in: *MDAIK* 3, 1932, 131.

4 Junker, in: *MDAIK* 3, 1932, 123–149.

5 Borchardt, in: *ASAE* 38, 1938, 209–215.

6 B. Grdseloff, in: *ASAE* 42, 1942, 69–70.

7 Altenmüller, in: *CdE* 45, 1970, 223–235.

to Userkaf, Sahure and Neferirkare, was in reality, only a pseudonym for Queen Khentkaus. As for the unique title of the queen, he preferred the interpretation of Vikentiev namely, "the mother of two kings of Upper and Lower Egypt".

Altenmüller summarized his view of the problem of Khentkaus once again in mid Seventies for *LÄ* ⁸, and claimed that after the death of Shepseskaf, his successor and son-in-law Thamphthis (?), only reigned for a very short time. It was after his death that the sons of Shepseskaf's wife, Khentkaus, came to power. In his revised version, Altenmüller considered that the sons were not engendered by Shepseskaf, but came from an early marriage of Khentkaus and were only adopted by King Shepseskaf.

Kozloff's theory. Ten years later, in the early Eighties, Ariane Kozloff ⁹, added her contribution to the debate. She presented an iconographic analysis of a limestone head of a king wearing an Upper Egyptian crown. This head is currently kept in the Museum of Art in Cleveland (inv. no. CMA 79.2). Kozloff ascribed the features of this head to the first king of the 5th Dynasty, Userkaf. Her comparison of Userkaf's sculpture with those of his predecessors led her to the conclusion that there existed a direct blood relationship between Kings Userkaf and Menkaure. In her opinion, the premature death of Menkaure's sole son, Khuenre, and the efforts to consolidate the future of the throne, prompted the king to give his daughter, Khentkaus, to Shepseskaf, a son of one of his secondary wives. When, however, Shepseskaf also died, his widow Khentkaus had to make a compromise with the powerful priesthood of the sun god Re, and marry the high priest of Re in order to save the throne for her two sons. Kozloff accepted the usual interpretation of the unique title of the queen as "the mother of two kings of Upper and Lower Egypt".

Callender's theory. The most recent and, at the same time, the most detailed revision of the "problem of Khentkaus" was made by Vivienne G. Callender ¹⁰. She, however, came to no clear-cut conclusions. Callender's position was obviously strongly influenced by the absence of the cartouche in the writing of the queen's name and by the fact that this name was omitted in the available King-lists. Therefore, according to her, Khentkaus could not have been a monarch. In the long-standing dispute about the unique title of *mwt nswt bity nswt bity*, she preferred the reading of "the mother of two kings of Upper and Lower Egypt". She considered Khentkaus to be the daughter of Menkaure and the wife of either Shepseskaf or Thamphthis. In Callender's opinion, it

is more likely that Userkaf and Neferirkare were brothers, and that they were the two sons of Khentkaus referred to in the royal mother's unique title. The title then reflected the fact that, on two occasions, Khentkaus ensured the perpetuation of a royal lineage which might otherwise never have regained the throne. However, Callender did not exclude other permutations of the problem. For example, she does not consider it beyond possibility that the dynastic role of Khentkaus I might have been honoured with that of Khentkaus II, the wife of Neferirkare, who may have played a similar role in the succession of the king's sons. It is also conceivable for Callender that Khentkaus I may have gained her initial prominence by acting as a regent for the king known to us as Thamphthis.

* * *

Regardless of some plausible suggestions and interesting deductions from the epigraphical and archaeological materials that were available prior to the discovery and excavation of the pyramid complex of Khentkaus at Abusir, none of the above-mentioned theories ¹¹ explained in a satisfactory way the problems surrounding Khentkaus. Khentkaus or, more precisely, the "Khentkaus problem", thus became a symbol of the nebulous and enigmatic end of the 4th Dynasty, and the unknown origins of the 5th Dynasty. It was apparent that new archaeological or epigraphic materials were needed to shed more light on the problem.

The situation seems to have changed following the archaeological discoveries made at Abusir since 1978. The most important archaeological and epigraphic materials found at Abusir since that time — especially in the pyramid complex of Khentkaus — are presented in the foregoing chapters of this publication.

As it is often the case, the new materials discovered in the excavations at Abusir have brought some answers to many of the so-far unresolved problems but, at the same time, they have also raised many new questions. For example,

– was there one queen Khentkaus with two tombs,

⁸ *id.* in: *LÄ* I, 930-932 s.v. Chentkaus.

⁹ Kozloff, in: *BCMA* 49, No.7, 1982, 211-223.

¹⁰ Callender, *Wives of the Eg. Kings* 1, 240-272.

¹¹ Some other attempts to deal with the "problem of Khentkaus" have usually combined theories already mentioned by others, (e.g. Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *L'architettura* VI-Text, 10-14; Smith, in: *CAH* I, pt. 2, 177-179; Seipel, *Äg. Königinnen*, 185 ff.; a.o.

at Giza and Abusir ¹², or two different queens named Khentkaus ?

- was the title of *mwt nswt bity nswt bity* as unique as supposed to date, and what was its real meaning ?
- what was the position of Neferirkare in the intricate "Khentkaus problem" ?

The answer to these and several other questions is complicated by the fact that the excavations in the pyramid field at Abusir have not yet been concluded. Future excavations include the investigation of two small pyramids (Lepsius no. XXIV and no. XXV) situated immediately to the south of the pyramid complex of Khentkaus, as well as other tombs situated in the vicinity of the pyramid temple of Raneferef. Therefore, further surprising finds are not to be excluded and, as a consequence, some of the following conclusions drawn from the present material may be of temporary character and should be accepted, *a priori*, only with some prudence.

VII.2 Khentkaus I and Khentkaus II

The previous discussions on the problem of Khentkaus and the events at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th Dynasties have been marked by an incompleteness and insufficiency within the available historical sources. Although the new materials from Abusir do not resolve this insufficiency, they enable us to remove some misunderstandings in the above-mentioned theories and, at the same time, to tackle the knotty problem of Khentkaus on archaeologically safer ground than has been possible to date, — all the more so because some finds made earlier at Abusir by Borchardt's expedition pertaining to Khentkaus suffered from misinterpretation. Basic data about both the queens (from Giza and Abusir) deduced from the recently discovered materials can be briefly summed up — as follows in the section below.

KHENTKAUS I (GIZA)

1. Khentkaus is considered to have been a daughter of Menkaure. Although evidence for this is of an indirect character, the identification appears to be relatively secure because of the following facts:

1.1. LG 100, safely identified as the tomb of the Royal Mother Khentkaus, lies close to the valley temple of Menkaure. The position of LG 100 and the horizontal stratigraphy of the necropolis around the tomb, i.e. approximately the area between the valley temple of Menkaure and the valley temple of Khafre, indicates that the foundation of LG 100 should be

dated to the very end of the 4th Dynasty, to the time of Shepseskaf rather than to the end of the reign of Menkaure. ¹³

1.2. LG 100 was obviously built in two major stages.¹⁴ Originally, it was a rock cut mastaba (first building stage) which was later converted into a two-stepped monument (second building stage). The first building stage of LG 100 even then exceeded the standard plan of contemporaneous tombs of queens and, in several important conceptual details, its plan resembled the monuments of kings, in particular those of Menkaure and Shepseskaf. For example, it is very striking to observe the resemblance between the six subterranean magazines (arranged in a very specific way in groups of four plus two small and narrow chambers accessible from a rectangular room adjacent to the sarcophagus chamber) in LG 100, and those in the pyramid of Mycerinus and in the Mastabat Faraun of Shepseskaf.¹⁵ In the pyramid of Menkaure, this specific group of six subterranean magazines is usually attributed to the additional reconstruction of the substructure of Mycerinus's pyramid and dated to the time of Shepseskaf. In any event, it is a clear archaeological and chronological indicator.¹⁶

1.3. It is further remarkable that the first stage of mastaba LG 100 had a square-shaped plan. There is only one other parallel to such a square-shaped mastaba from the Old Kingdom namely, the initial monument M 1 of the pyramid of Djoser. ¹⁷ (The square-shaped mastaba of Raneferef in its original plan was a pyramid whose unfinished first step of the core was hastily converted into a mastaba after the king's unexpected death, so this lies outside the range of true square mastabas.) ¹⁸

1.4. The outer faces of Khentkaus's mastaba were decorated on all four sides with panelling. The use of panelling for decorative purposes in royal monuments seems to have come into special favour in the time of Shepseskaf. It was largely used in Shepseskaf's own tomb complex in South Saqqara ¹⁹

12 Immediately after the discovery of the Khentkaus' pyramid complex in Abusir, the author of this publication inclined to an assumption that also this monument belonged to the owner of LG 100 (SAK 8, 1980, 264). This assumption was wrong.

13 See PM III², Pt. 1, 230–289 and plan XXIII.

14 Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *L'architettura* VI–Text, 186.

15 Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *o.c.*, 189.

16 Rieke, *Baukunst des AR* II, 122.

17 Lauer, *Pyramides à degrés*, 69.

18 Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, 138 f.

19 Jéquier, *Mastabat faraoun*, 16.

as well as in the unfinished parts of Mycerinus's pyramid complex²⁰ in Giza.

1.5. The plan of the rooms in the rock-cut mastaba (LG 100, first stage) shows conceptual resemblances to the late 4th Dynasty royal tombs.²¹

1.6. Most unusually, LG 100 included four red granite false doors of the queen: two in the substructure and two in the cult rooms in the rock-cut part of the tomb.²² These were set in place during the first building stage. The number and the location (in both the super- and the substructure of the tomb) of these false doors, some of them bearing the unusual title of the royal mother (see the text above), attest to the very high status of Khentkaus. The number of false doors thus reveals that the esteem in which the queen was held was current even as early as in the time of the construction of her tomb.

1.7. The original rock-cut mastaba was additionally expanded and converted into a two-stepped monument at a later time (LG 100, second stage). The outer faces of the tomb (which had been decorated with the panelling) were then cased with flat, undecorated limestone slabs, and on the roof of the rock-cut mastaba a second step was built. The second step resembles the sarcophagus-shaped superstructure of Shepseskaf's tomb, the so-called Mastabat Faraun.²³ Such resemblance seems to indicate that the date of this alteration occurred immediately after Shepseskaf's reign, rather than during or before it.

1.8. It seems that the place for the construction of LG 100 was not chosen by chance. Apparently, the prestigious area in the neighbourhood of the pyramid of Menkaure had by this time already been occupied (G III a-c). Possibly, some other factors may have also influenced the choice of the place near the valley temple of Menkaure (e.g. the existence of an outcrop of the rock suitable for the construction of a large mastaba, the vicinity of the administrative centre — the so-called pyramid town — at the border of the Nile valley near the valley temple of Menkaure, the prestigious neighbourhood of the valley temples of Menkaure and Khafre, the position in the necropolis half way between the tomb of Mycerinus's wife (?) (and Khentkaus I's mother ?) Khamerernebty II and the king's own valley temple.

1.9. The so-called pyramid town, was built either during or immediately after the second building stage of LG 100. It was positioned in front of the queen's funerary monument, and connected to the latter architecturally, in addition to being connected administratively and economically with the valley temple of Menkaure.²⁴

1.10. In the valley temple of Menkaure a fragment

of a stone slab with remains of an inscription mentioning "...*lt.š...s3t nšwt...*" was found by Hassan.²⁵ The remains of this inscription also contain an image of a queen seated on a throne. Traces of several signs, including *k3*, or possibly *k3w*, were also preserved. The slab can probably be attributed to Khentkaus I.

2. In the inscriptions on the fragments of the red granite false door and door jambs of the gate of the same material, found in the tomb of Khentkaus, the queen bears the titles of *mwt nšwt bity nšwt bity, s3t ntr, ddt ht nbt ir.t.n.š.*²⁶

3. On a limestone fragment of the original relief decoration of the queen's tomb the title of *s3 nšwt* is inscribed.²⁷ It can be assumed that the title may have

20 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 30, 40 and plan IX.

21 Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, 157 f.

22 Hassan, *o.c.* 24 and 26; Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *o.c.* 174 and pls. 20 and 21. The hitherto little-explained fact that in the cult rooms of 4th Dynasty queens occur two false doors is discussed by János, *Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen*, 193 ff. However, what deserves attention in the tomb of Khentkaus I is the occurrence of two pairs of false doors, one in the northernmost cult room, just above the entrance of the descending passage leading to the substructure, the other in the burial chamber (these false doors flank the north and south recess in the western wall in which the sarcophagus had been originally placed).

23 The analogy is probably not as simple as it might seem at first sight. The addition of the mastaba- (rather than sarcophagus-)shaped second step of LG 100 possibly did not reflect any special religious idea. Originally, there might have been merely the plan to expand the mastaba and convert it into a more monumental (more "royal-like" ?) tomb better reflecting the very high and special status of its owner. If this was the case, the square-shaped mastaba of solid rock almost offered an easy and, at the same time, a very aesthetic solution to the conversion plan namely, the addition of one or two square-shaped steps. However, such an idea was technically unfeasible because of the cult rooms in the eastern portion of the original rock mastaba. The pressure of the masonry from the added upper step(s) would have almost certainly crushed the ceilings of the cult rooms. The mastaba-shaped second step was therefore pushed to the west, in order to preserve the stability of the cult rooms. The odd position for the upper addition would thus represent an architect's compromise and not necessarily an intention to imitate the tomb of Shepseskaf.

24 Hassan, *o.c.* 35-39 and fig. 1. The L-shaped plan of the "pyramid city" had as its sole purpose the connection of the tomb complex of Khentkaus I with the valley temple of Mycerinus or, more precisely, with the so-called pyramid city of Mycerinus built to the east of the temple, see Reisner, *o.c.* 49-54, and Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *o.c.* 192 and pl. 1.

25 Hassan, *o.c.* pl. 27 C. For the interpretation of the remains of the inscription on the slab, see also Callender, *Wives of the Eg. Kings* 1, 261 and 2, 90.

26 Hassan, *o.c.* 16, fig. 2.

27 Hassan, *o.c.* 22, fig. 23. It has already been pointed out by Callender, *o.c.* 2, 92, that Hassan's reading of the inscription on the fragment of relief as *s3t nšwt n(t) ht.[f]* was not correct. She rightly proposed to read it as *s3 nšwt n ht.[f]*.

belonged to a son of the queen. If this assumption is correct, then Khentkaus may also have been a king's wife. (The names of her hypothetical royal son and husband, so far, remain unknown.)

4. Fragments of an alabaster sarcophagus²⁸ found in the burial chamber, plundered during the First Intermediate Period²⁹ by robbers, indicate that the queen was very probably also buried in her tomb. However, neither the mummy nor other remains were found there.

5. The archaeological finds from the tomb show that the mortuary cult of Khentkaus lasted until the end of the 6th Dynasty. The long-standing existence of the cult strongly supports the assumption that the queen was actually buried in her tomb.

6. Significantly, in the queen's mortuary cult there were *hm-ntr* priests.³⁰ As far as present knowledge goes, this category of priests used to serve in the mortuary cult of kings. Apart from the royal mothers Khentkaus from Giza and from Abusir, only the 6th Dynasty queens Ankhnesmeryre I, Ankhnesmeryre II, Neith and Udjebten held this privilege during the Old Kingdom.³¹

7. The two-stepped monument of Khentkaus became the centre of a small cemetery made up of the private tombs of people connected with the queen and her mortuary cult.³² This is an unusual circumstance since, in those times, private tombs were more usually built "in the shadow" of the funerary monuments of the kings. Therefore, it would appear that the religio-political status of Khentkaus's tomb in the necropolis in the 5th and 6th Dynasties, during the floruit of the queen's mortuary cult, had a status that almost equalled that of the kings.

8. The pyramid city, which has been already mentioned, contained a settlement of priests and officials involved in the queen's mortuary cult. This pyramid city was designed in unity with the queen's tomb.³³ Such "pyramid cities" used to be built only near the pyramid complexes of kings, and this factor underlines the eminent position of Queen Khentkaus I.

KHENTKAUS II (ABUSIR)

1. A small pyramid complex near the south-east corner of the pyramid of Neferirkare was founded for Khentkaus. Her monument was built in several stages. In the original stage, the pyramid complex was begun for *hmt nswt* Khentkaus, the "king's wife" as clearly demonstrated by the masons' marks.³⁴ (The queen's title of *hmt nswt* is also attested in the inscriptions of glazed faience from symbolic wooden vessels and possibly also in her titulary on the quartzite gate — see the text below.) When the core of the pyramid

reached a level approximately near the burial chamber's ceiling, the building works seem to have ceased for some time. A mason's inscription found on a core block at this level may date the interruption to the 5th census of an unnamed king, most likely, King Neferirkare. There is some reason to assume that the break in the building works might have been connected with the king's death.³⁵ The work was later resumed, and both the pyramid and a small mortuary temple on its eastern side were completed. However, in the meantime, the title of the pyramid owner had changed from *hmt nswt* to *mwt nswt* — as clearly shown by masons' inscriptions found on the blocks in the masonry dating from the following building stage of the monument. We conclude from this that the building of the queen's monument was begun by her husband and, after an interval, completed by her son.

2. Inscriptions on a loose block (pl. 32, fig. 82), found by Ghazouly³⁶ and coming originally from the pyramid complex of Neferirkare, clearly show that Khentkaus was the king's wife (*hmt nswt*). Moreover, on the same block the king's eldest son Ranefer is also mentioned. The written documents found during the excavations in the pyramid complex of Ranefer at Abusir prove that Ranefer was an earlier writing of this king's name.³⁷

3. The origin of Khentkaus, the wife of Neferirkare, so far, remains unknown. In the available written documents, she never claims the title of *s3t nswt*, and we should not assume *a priori* that she was one.

28 From the sarcophagus only a number of fragments scattered all over the burial chamber were found; see Hassan, *o.c.* 26.

29 In the filling of the burial chamber there was a small scarab, dating from the 12th dynasty, see Hassan, *o.c.* 26. The find indicates that, at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, the burial chamber of Khentkaus I must have been freely accessible.

30 For example, in the northern side of the courtyard of Khentkaus' monument is a tomb of Renpetnefer who bore the title of *hm ntr mwt nswt*, see Hassan, *o.c.* 5.

31 See Sethe, *Urk.* I, 272, 307; Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 159. For *hmtw-k3* in the mortuary cult of queens, see also Junker, *Giza* VI, 8.

32 Renpetnefer, for example, was engaged in the cult of the Royal mother. He held the title of *hm-ntr mwt nswt*, see Hassan, *Giza* III, 160 ff.

33 Hassan, *Giza* III, fig. 1 and p. 49 f.

34 See above, masons' marks nos. 1, 13 and 16 (pp. 43, 47, 48).

35 See above p. 43 ff.

36 The facsimile of the scene on the block, made by the photograph of the block by Labib Habashi, has been already published in: Posener-Krieger, *Archives de Neferirkare* II, 531 and fig. 34. See also the photograph of the block on pl. 32.

37 Verner, in: *BIFAO* 85, 1985, 281–284.

4. The inscription on a fragment of relief (no. 200/A/78, see p. 65) from the mortuary temple of Khentkaus proves that the queen was the mother of Nyuserre. The testimony of the inscription is strongly corroborated by the reconstructed chronology based on the vertical stratigraphy in the queen's temple, and by the gradually crystallizing horizontal stratigraphy of the necropolis of Abusir. This has become especially evident during the current excavations to the south of Neferirkare's pyramid complex.

5. A third son of Khentkaus could have been Irenre, who is mentioned in connection with the queen as *s3 nswt* in the papyrus archive of Neferirkare's mortuary temple. This king's son is also likely to be identified with *iry-p^ct* Irenre represented on another fragment (no. 90/A/78, see p. 70) from Khentkaus temple as a man responsible for the queen's offering ritual.

6. The pyramid complex of Khentkaus had been successively enlarged and reconstructed. The monument was originally built as a part of Neferirkare's pyramid complex and was accessible from the latter via the north, from the courtyard around the king's pyramid.³⁸ It was later enlarged, and provided with new entrances from the east and south (in addition to the original access). Its enlargement included a complex of five magazines, a dwelling for priests, etc. Significantly, the reconstruction also included the building of a cult pyramid, a monument built for the first time in the complex of a queen. Last but not least, the whole precinct of the queen's pyramid complex was surrounded by a new enclosure wall. As a result of these successive modifications to the original building plan, the monument reached an architecturally more independent and religio-politically more prestigious status than had been attained by the earlier monument belonging to the queen.

7. In the ruins of the pyramid the corner fragment of a red granite sarcophagus was discovered.³⁹ Moreover, in the burial chamber fragments of uninscribed mummy wrappings of linen were found. Thus, archaeologically speaking, there seems to be some ground for an assumption that the queen was buried in her own pyramid chamber.

8. The mortuary cult carried out in the queen's complex lasted until the end of the 6th Dynasty.⁴⁰ After a break in the First Intermediate Period (connected with the violation of the pyramid), the cult was briefly revived at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.⁴¹ The existence and the relatively long continuity of this cult corroborate the aforesaid conclusion that the queen was actually buried in her tomb.

9. It has already been stated above that the masons' inscriptions on the blocks in the masonry of the pyramid and its temple attribute the monument to the *mwt nswt Hnt-k3w.s*. On the only red granite false door found in the mortuary temple and on the quartzite gate leading to the inner part of the temple, the two important architectural elements directly pertaining to the real owner of the pyramid complex, Khentkaus holds the titles of *mwt nswt bity nswt bity, s3t ntr, htyt Hr, tist Hr, wrt hts, m33t Hr Sth* and either *hmt nswt /* or *smrt Hr*. In addition, the inscriptions on the fragments of reliefs from the original decoration of the temple contain the queen's titles of *hmt ntr Dhwtj, hmt ntr B3pfi, hmt ntr T3spf, hrp ššmt im3, ddt ht nbt irt.n.s* and *mrt (nt) ntr-^c3*.

10. On a pillar found still *in situ* in Khentkaus' mortuary temple, the queen was represented with an uraeus on her forehead. Regardless of any religious symbolism which can be attributed to this representation in the architectural concept of the temple, the privilege of wearing an uraeus was at that time reserved for the gods and actual monarchs. The fact that Khentkaus is shown with this emblem attests to the extraordinarily high status of this royal mother.

11. The queen's title of *s3t ntr* seems to indicate that some impediment blocked the normal progression of patrilinear inheritance in her time,⁴² and that she guaranteed the inheritance of her son (which may have been in doubt). That this clearly does not apply to Raneferef is made secure by the titles carried by this young man on the Ghazouly block. Therefore, the son in question must have been Nyuserre. The brief reign of Shepseskare would thus have marked an instance of a ruler who belonged to a rival branch of the royal family. Such a circumstance appears to have occurred only a little earlier, after the time of Sahure.

12. As was mentioned in connection with Khentkaus I, *hmtw-ntr* were the servants of kings, not

38 The limestone enclosure wall of the pyramid complex of Khentkaus had been built of undressed blocks, prior to the construction of the enclosure wall of Neferirkare's pyramid complex. The latter was built additionally of mudbrick. It is very probable that also in the original project (of limestone buildings) the Khentkaus' complex was planned to be a mere appendix to the King's complex. In this project, the principal — and probably also the only — access to the Queen's complex was almost certainly planned to be from the north.

39 See above p. 150 and fig. 70.

40 As attested by a fragment of a faience tablet bearing the cartouche of Neferkare (Pepi II), see above p. 41 and pl. 3 fig. 11.

41 See above p. 42.

42 Callender, *SAK* 18, 1991, 106.

other people. Khentkaus I was the first known exception to this practice. The fact that *hm-ntr* priests also served in the mortuary temple of Khentkaus II is indicative of the esteemed position of this other royal mother in the society of her time.

13. The precinct of the mortuary temple of Khentkaus was a *hwt ntr*, as is clearly established by the inscriptions on the sealings and a potsherd found in the temple area (fig. 83). The identification seems

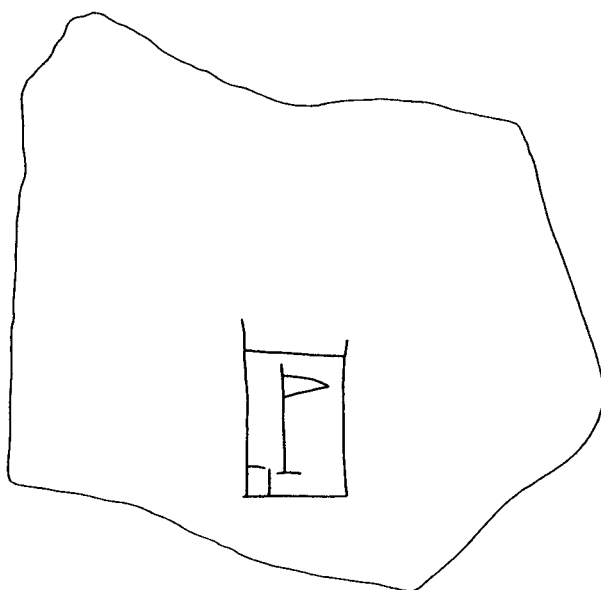


Fig. 83 Potsherd with an incised inscription *hwt ntr*. Pyramid complex of Khentkaus II, Abusir.

to be indirectly corroborated by tomb inscriptions at Abusir from the priests involved in the queen's cult. On a fragmentary inscription from the tomb of Merssetjefptah⁴³ the *hwt ntr (nt) mwt nswt* was explicitly mentioned. Additionally, in the inscription on the sarcophagus of Idu⁴⁴ the existence of *hwt ntr (nt) mwt nswt* seems to be indirectly implied in Idu's title of *shd hmw-ntr (nyw) mwt nswt bity nswt bity*. Except for the Khentkaus temple in Abusir, in the Old Kingdom only the queens Udjebten, Neith, Ankhnesmeryre I and Ankhnesmeryre II⁴⁵ and probably also Iput⁴⁶ (i.e. those queens in whose mortuary cult priests *hm-ntr* were involved) had the privilege of having a *hwt ntr*.⁴⁷

14. Fragments of papyri found in the temple represent remains of an archive comparable in principle with other archives found at Abusir in the neighbouring pyramid complexes of Neferirkare⁴⁸ and Raneferef⁴⁹. The fragments probably represent a part of the temple's inventory pertaining to the naos and to the statues of the royal mother. The temple contained the astounding number of at least fourteen

statues of the queen! From the fragments we know that the queen was represented as a woman of distinction with the vulture head-dress and the *w3s*-sceptre.⁵⁰ The date of the papyri fragments seems to correspond with that of the temple archives of Neferirkare and Raneferef. If this is the case, they would probably date from the time of Djedkare's reorganization of the mortuary cults in the pyramid temples at Abusir. The fact that the mortuary temple of Khentkaus had its own papyrus archive is indicative of the high status of both the monument and its owner.

15. The available finds from the pyramid complex of Khentkaus show that the mortuary cult for Nyuserre's mother was established by that king. This conclusion seems to be corroborated by other finds from Abusir. (Previously these finds had been thought to provide evidence for the cult of Khentkaus I.) The re-examination of several records mentioning the queen in the papyrus archive of Neferirkare's mortuary temple⁵¹, fragments of the queen's offering table (Berlin Museum nos. 17435 and 17436)⁵² found by Borchardt in the mortuary temple of Neferirkare (the fragments (pl. 32, fig. 84) are almost certainly of an intrusive character), fragments of inscriptions from private tombs of Merssetjefptah and Idu at Abusir mentioning either the Royal Mother Khentkaus or the *hwt ntr* of the royal mother, etc., all lead us to this conclusion.

43 Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, 10 and fig. 7 (Dyn. VI, 11).

44 Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, 87.

45 Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 22 and 24.

46 Urk. I, 272, 8. See also Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 161.

47 According to Callender, *o.c.* 1, 261, "perhaps one aspect of the *hwt ntr* cult (so far not examined) could be its function as an ancestral cult".

48 Posener-Kriéger, de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, passim; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives de Neferirkare* I, II, passim.

49 The edition of the papyrus archive of Raneferef is in preparation (Posener-Kriéger and Verner). Preliminary information on the papyri of Raneferef's temple archive were published by Posener-Kriéger (in: *Mélanges Gamal Mokhtar* (BdE 97, 1985), 195-210; *Akten des vierten IAK* (BSAK 4, 1985), 167-176; *Apport historique des archives de Neferirkare et de Raneferef* (paper read at the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Polish excavations in Egypt — yet unpublished); *SDAIK* 18, 1985, 35-43; *OPBM* 4, 1986; *MDAIK* 47, 1991, 294-304; *Mélanges J. J. Clère* (CRIPEL 13, 1991), 107-112) and by Verner (in: *ZAS* 111, 1984, 75 f.; *Forgotten Pharaohs*, 157-170).

50 For the vulture headdress and the *w3s*-sceptre as the marks of the Queen's distinction, see above p. 56.

51 Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives de Neferirkare* I-II, 3,c; 6 A,d; 45 B; 65,9; 65,32.

52 The photographs of the fragments of the alabaster offering table (Berlin Museum nos 17435 and 17436) are published by courtesy of Karl-Heinz Prieese.

However, some fragments of reliefs from the pyramid temple of Khentkaus II bearing remains of the queen's titles hinder our attempts at reconstructing the original titulary of the queen with absolute certainty. In regard to this fact, a slight possibility exists that represented on these fragments we actually have the titles of both Khentkaus I and/or Khentkaus II. The consequences of such an assumption would be, of course, far-reaching. If this were to be the case, the cult in the Abusir temple would have been for both queens. The mother — daughter relationship between these two queens would then have been almost certain.

* * *

There seems to be practically no doubt that the Khentkaus from Giza and Khentkaus from Abusir were two different persons who lived in different times. Yet one thing — apart from the name — was common to both queens: they held the rare titles of *s3t ntr* and *ddt ht nbt irt.n.s* and, especially, the enigmatic title of *mwt nswt bity nswt bity*. Both queens enjoyed enormous respect both in their lifetime and longer afterwards.

VII.3 The Royal Mothers' Unique Title

A great deal of scholarly debate on the "Khentkaus problem" so far has been linked to the unusual title held by both Khentkaus I and Khentkaus II and, as we saw, scholars have been split into two groups concerning its meaning. One favours the reading of *mwt nswt bity nswt bity* as "the mother of two kings of Upper and Lower Egypt", the other favours the reading of *nswt bity mwt nswt bity* "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt (and) the mother of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt". The former was first proposed by Vikentiev⁵³ and the latter favoured by Junker⁵⁴. Most scholars, however, prefer to interpret the title in Vikentiev's way. We need not emphasise how important the two different readings are for determining the status and historical role of the royal mothers at the turn of the 4th and 5th Dynasty and it is not easy to choose between them. The arguments for and against each of the two readings have been recently summed up by Callender⁵⁵ as follows:

yet this is what we would expect to see following the title *nswt bity*.

3. Khentkaus' name does not appear on the king-lists of the time (although it must be said that none of these is complete for the period in question).

4. The way in which the title is written leaves a large gap between the phrase *nswt bity* and the name of *Hnt-k3w.s*. Normally we would expect a monarch to write, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Hnt-k3w.s*", so we are encouraged to think that she was not the monarch being referred to by *nswt bity*.

5. Khentkaus I is known to be the mother of King Neferirkare, although the second royal son implied by the title does not seem to have been king Sahure, as proposed by some scholars.

6. The queen's tomb (in Giza) makes frequent display of false doors — a total of no less than four have been found. No other monarch in the Old Kingdom had a false door within his tomb; it was a cultic practice exclusive of kings, but not of princes, princesses, or the wives of kings; monarchs possessed a false door in their mortuary temples.

THE CASE FOR A MONARCHY

1. The much disputed title of Khentkaus, *mwt nswt bity nswt bity*, can be read to mean "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Mother of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt".

2. Khentkaus (Giza) had a mortuary complex with some components similar to those of male monarchs — although it is only proper to point out that it lacks a proper mortuary temple, causeway and valley temple.

3. Khentkaus (Giza) was buried in her own cemetery. She was not buried in proximity to any other king, as most other queens were; this, too, might suggest an independent status — were it not for the fact that a number of queens were also buried apart from their husbands. Such consorts, however, do not have their own pyramid city, as Khentkaus does.

4. Khentkaus' (Giza) entitlement to a *hm ntr* might suggest her status was that of some sort of ruler, while the possession of a *hwt ntr* provides further evidence for her importance. Even the most prestigious consorts were not entitled to a *hwt ntr* prior to the time of Khentkaus. In the 6th Dynasty, however, there were other queens who were given this honour.

THE MOTHER OF TWO KINGS

1. The writing of the title allows us to read it in that way.

2. Khentkaus' name is never written in a cartouche,

⁵³ See the text above, p. 166.

⁵⁴ See the text above, p. 166.

⁵⁵ o.c. 1, 257–270.

5. There is room on most of the king lists relating to the 4th Dynasty for at least one other ruler after the death of king Shepseskaf.

Callender concluded by comparing these categories as follows: "On balance, the evidence appears to favour a position suggesting that the queen was not a monarch."⁵⁶ Callender's major hypothesis that was advanced, however, was that the title was one that should be reinterpreted as "mother of two kings, each of whom had come to the throne unexpectedly".

* * *

Some of the above-mentioned arguments are open to comments, however. For example, the argument that Khentkaus of Giza was not buried in proximity to any other king, as most other queens were. Other points were omitted (e.g. Junker's argument⁵⁷ that, grammatically, the repeated writing of *nswt bity nswt bity* in the title implies not the reading "two kings of Upper and Lower Egypt" — a phrase that he thinks would be written by means of *snwj* or with the numeral "2" after the title of *nswt bity* — but the reading "both kings of Upper and Lower Egypt" who would have been ruling at the same time (i.e. Khentkaus would have been the mother of two simultaneously ruling kings).

Be that as it may, after the discovery of the pyramid complex of Khentkaus II at Abusir, many of the above mentioned arguments appear in a more or less different light than at the time in which these criteria were originally set in the balance.

In an effort to explain the newly discovered materials at Abusir and, in particular, the enigmatic title of both Khentkaus I and Khentkaus II, an attempt was made to re-examine the earlier finds of Selim Hassan — especially those which were still accessible at Giza. In the first place, these were the inscriptions and depictions of the Queen Khentkaus I on the damaged door jambs of the red granite gate of her mortuary chapel.

It has already been mentioned earlier that, on the east face of each extant door jamb of the gate, there is a vertical inscription containing the name and remains of the titulary of the queen. The inscription on the northern jamb is more damaged than the other. As on the pillars at Abusir, the picture which follows the queen's name on this northern jamb is a representation of the queen seated on a throne, clad in a tightly-fitting long robe, her left hand in her lap and her right hand on her breast. On her head she wears the vulture diadem.

The symmetrical inscription on the southern door jamb has been better preserved than the northern pillar inscription. Here there is also, a picture of the

queen⁵⁸ following the writing of her name. She is seated on the throne, as before, and wears the same long robe. Her right hand is laid in her lap and her left hand is on her breast. However, to our great surprise, Hassan⁵⁹ had apparently failed to notice and copy further very important details. In the hand that rests upon her breast the queen grasps a short sceptre. Such an item of regalia is, to our knowledge, completely unknown for Old Kingdom queen consorts. Moreover, in this vignette the queen wears a vulture diadem, and a short ritual beard (the king's one was longer — does the short ritual beard reflect



Fig. 85 b Photograph of representation of Khentkaus I on the southern door jamb of the red granite gate in the Queen's tomb in Giza.

⁵⁶ o.c., 262.

⁵⁷ MDAIK 3, 1932, 131 f. Junker says literally: "... die Doppelsetzung der Zeichen musste wohl auf den Dual hinweisen, als 'Mutter der zwei Könige'; und das beinhaltet einen grossen Unterschied in der Auffassung. Wenn von den *nswy* die Rede ist, so sind das nicht 'zwei Herren', sondern 'die beiden Herren', d.i. Seth und Horus, *s3ty nswt* sind 'das Königstochterpaar', die *ntrwy* 'die beiden (bekannten) Götter', *t3wy* 'die beiden Länderteile Ägyptens'; dementsprechend mussten *nswt bity nswt bity* 'die beiden (bestimmten) Könige' bedeuten, 'zwei Könige' wurde eher mit *snwy*, bzw. dem Zahlzeichen 2 hinter *nswt bity* geschrieben werden. 'Mutter der beiden Könige' gabe aber eigentlich nur einen entsprechenden Sinn, wenn beide zugleich lebten ...".

⁵⁸ Hassan, Giza IV, 1943, pl. 5, B.

the fact that Khentkaus I's position did not equal that of the king ?) is attached to her chin. Both emblems, the vulture diadem and beard, are later additions to the carving. Though the structure of the red granite is rather coarse, the addition of these emblems is beyond doubt (pl. 32, fig. 85 a, b).

These additional alterations to the representation of Khentkaus in her tomb at Giza undoubtedly reflect an extraordinary position for this queen. Their precise dating, however, cannot be determined, for this could range from the time shortly after the enlargement of the tomb up to the end of the 6th Dynasty, when the mortuary cult of the royal mother at Giza is likely to have been extinguished. It is also difficult to determine the circumstances under which the alterations were made. Were the additions carved officially, on the orders of a king and to all representations of the royal mother in her tomb (unfortunately, the representation of the queen on the northern door jamb was badly damaged by stone robbers and cannot be used for a comparison with that on the southern pillar of the gate)? Or, were they made unofficially by an accidental visitor to the tomb?

Irrespective of the date and circumstances, these alterations to the representation of Khentkaus I seem to show that the royal mother was considered by her near contemporaries to have been a person of distinction almost equal in prestige to the monarch himself. There is insufficient evidence to indicate that the queen held the position of a monarch with all the formal attributes, for her name is not written within the customary cartouche of a king or, for example, mentioned in any of the available ancient Egyptian lists of kings. But it seems to be possible, given the finds at Giza and Abusir, and now with this additional information provided by the above-mentioned recent re-examination of the representation of Khentkaus I on the granite door-jamb in LG 100 that, while the queen did not rule as *de iure* monarch, she may actually have held *de facto* power as a regent.

If this interpretation of the problem, and the new information that has come to light is correct, further consideration and discussion should be given to the modified version of Junker's original reading (i.e. "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt and the mother of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt") namely, "the mother of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt (acting as/acting for) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt". Certainly, a thorough and critical examination would be needed of those queens who did *not* hold the unusual title of *mwt nswt bity nswt bity* regardless of the fact that they were either actual regents (e.g. Ankhnesmeryre II) or had two/three sons who became kings (for example, in the 11th Dynasty Antef

I and Antef II had the same mother; the 13th Dynasty Queen Kemi was the mother of three kings, etc.).⁶⁰ The more so that both readings of the title — i.e. "the mother of two kings of Upper and Lower Egypt" and "the mother of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt (who has the power of) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt" —, although it may seem paradoxical at first sight, do not principally need to exclude each other (see below p. 177).

VII.4 The End of the 4th and Beginning of the 5th Dynasty

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

The relative chronology of the late 4th and early 5th Dynasties rests, primarily, on two basic categories of historical sources. The first source represents the available ancient Egyptian king-lists and the excerpts from Manetho; the other one on some relative chronological data in inscriptions from contemporaneous private tombs.

KING-LISTS (from Mycerinus to Nyuserre)⁶¹

Palermo stone	Abydos	Saqqara	Manetho	RCT
Menkaure	Menkaure		Mencheres
			Ratoises
			Bicheris
Shepseskaf	Shepseskaf		Sebercheres
			Thamphthis
Userkaf	Userkaf	Userkaf	Usercheres	Userkaf
Sahure	Sahure	Sahure	Sephres
Neferirkare	Kakai	Neferirkar	Nephercheres	
		Shepseskare	Sisires
Raneferef	Raneferef	Khaneferre	Kheres (?)	
Nyuserre	Nyuserre		Rathures	

The sequence of kings at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th Dynasties seems to be relatively well established, except for two weaker points exemplified by the enigmatic Thamphthis and the little known Shepseskare. (For a more detailed discussion about the origin, relationship and date of reigns of the kings of the late 4th and early 5th Dynasty, see the text below.)

The testimony of the king-lists is corroborated by several inscriptions from the following contemporaneous private tombs in which either the

⁶⁰ Callender, *o.c.* 1, 265 and 3, 161.

⁶¹ The following sections of the king-lists and their comparison, from Menkaure up to Menkauhor, are based on the Appendix to Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 434 f.

sequence of some kings of that period or some indirect chronological data are contained:

tomb of	
SEKHEMKARE ⁶²	Khafre - Menkaure - Shepseskaf - Userkaf - Sahure
NETJERPUNESUT ⁶³	Radjedef - Khafre - Menkaure Shepseskaf
PTAHSHEPSES ⁶⁴	(P. lived at the court of Menkaure and Shepseskaf, married Shepseskaf's daughter Khamaat, and died in the time of Nyuserre)
PTAHHOTEP ⁶⁵	(in regressive sequence: Isesi - Menkauhor - Sahure)
G 1011 ⁶⁶	(in regressive sequence: Neferirkare - Sahure - Khafre - Radjedef - Teti - Bedjau)
NEFERBAUPTAH ⁶⁷	Khufu - Sahure - Neferirkare - Nyuserre

Shepseskaf. An inscription on the Palermo stone mentions Shepseskaf's first regnal year (*sm3 t3wy*, is the year of the king's coronation). ⁶⁸ The Royal Canon of Turin does not mention Shepseskaf explicitly, but most of the scholars place him as the king mentioned in col. III, l.15, and attribute to him the reign of four years that are given there. ⁶⁹

Thamphthis. According to Manetho, the successor to Shepseskaf, and the enigmatic last king of the 4th Dynasty. However, some scholars believe that the end of the 4th Dynasty and the enigmatic king Thamphthis were bound up with later popular folklore and that Manetho also fell heir to its tradition. ⁷⁰

Userkaf. The available documents attribute to Userkaf at least a seven year reign. In the Palermo stone ⁷⁰ the 3rd (?) census (i.e. the 6th or the 7th year of Userkaf's reign) is mentioned. Also, on the basis of the remains of the cartouche with the end sign *k3*, the name of Userkaf is often reconstructed in col. III, l.17 of the RCT. However, the reconstruction of his name has (so far) not been as clear as it might seem at first sight. Firstly, the whole section of col. III from the l.12 up to l.23 is almost totally destroyed, and the reconstruction of the royal names has, from time to time, been the subject of scholarly dispute: its evidence is thus considered shaky. Secondly, in the above-mentioned remnants of a cartouche in l.17, the *k3* is obviously the end sign of the royal name, whereas in the name of Userkaf the last sign is not *k3* but *f*. The sign *f* is not only missing at the end of the name in the cartouche, but there is no space for it here as clearly shown by the relevant portion of the RCT. ⁷² Therefore, both the reading of the name as "Userkaf", and the seven regnal years (regardless of the coincidence of the number with that mentioned in the

inscription on the Palermo stone) should be accepted only with some reservation.

Sahure. The highest known date of Sahure's reign, the 7th census (i.e. the 14th or 15th regnal year), is mentioned on the Palermo stone. ⁷³ According to the RCT – and provided that the position attributed to Sahure in l.18 of col. III is correct – the king reigned for 12 years. ⁷⁴ The date of the Palermo stone is to be preferred.

Neferirkare. The highest date attested so far for Neferirkare's reign is the 5th census (i.e. the 10th or 11th regnal year), mentioned in the inscriptions on the Palermo stone. ⁷⁵ This date appears to be corroborated by a graffito (no. 2, see above p. 43 ff.) discovered on a block in the pyramid of Neferirkare's wife, Khentkaus, in Abusir. The graffito also mentions the 5th census of a king (presumably Neferirkare). In the RCT the name of Neferirkare is missing, but it is supposed to have existed in l.19 of col. III. ⁷⁶ However, the royal name in this line was followed by a formula *ir.n.f m n3yt* which probably marked a dynastic break. ⁷⁷ Some earlier scholars ⁷⁸ therefore have inclined to the view that it was this king, and not his predecessors Sahure and Userkaf, whom later tradition considered to have been the real founder of the new (i.e. the 5th) dynasty.

Raneferef. The king did not reign more than two years. This assumption is based on the as yet unpublished archaeological and epigraphical materials discovered in the current excavations in the king's pyramid complex at Abusir.

62 LD II, 41a; see also PM III (2nd ed.), Pt. 1, 233f.

63 Gauthier, in: ASAE 25, 1925, 180.

64 Mariette, Mastabas, 110.

65 de Garis Davies, Griffith, Ptahhotep and Akhethotep II, pl. 16.

66 Reisner, in: ZAS 48, 1910, 113 f.

67 LD II, 55.

68 Schäfer, Annalen, 32 f.

69 Barta, o.c. 21 ff. attributes to Shepseskaf three complete and two incomplete regnal years.

70 Hayes, Scepter I, 66.

71 Schäfer, o.c. 34.

72 Farina, Il papiro dei Re, 28 and pl. 3; Gardiner, RCT, pl. 2; Málek, in: JEA 68, 1982, 93–106.

73 Schäfer, o.c. 38.

74 Barta, o.c. 23, attributes to Sahure twelve complete and two incomplete regnal years.

75 Schäfer, o.c. 40; Barta, o.c. 23, attributes to Neferirkare twenty complete and two incomplete regnal years.

76 Gardiner, o.c. pl. 2.

77 Málek, in: JEA 68, 1982, 94.

78 For example, Meyer, Geschichte, 249.

Shepseskare. No precise data pertaining to the reign of the king are available. The seven years attributed to the king on the basis of the hypothetical position of his missing name in the RCT are very dubious.

If this king were responsible for the levelling work at the site half way between the sun temple of Userkaf and the pyramid of Sahure, then his reign must have been very brief: the work was abandoned after a few months, and before work on the pyramid itself could have begun.⁷⁹

Nyuserre. The date of a more than 30 year long reign for this king⁸⁰ rests on the representations of his *sed*-festival celebration in the sun temple at Abu Ghurab. There is an assumption that the festival was celebrated only after a thirty year long reign. However, there is no evidence as yet that such a duration was the practice during the Old Kingdom. The damaged figure attributed to Nyuserre in the RCT indicates only that the number of years of the king's reign was higher than ten.⁸¹

THE ROLE OF KHENTKAUS I AND THE KHENTKAUS II. Some Hypotheses

Scholarly debate has stopped at this point in all discussions, but can we perhaps pursue the issue further towards a resolution of this impasse? It does seem possible, for there *is* a third interpretation of this enigmatic title. If we combine the above-mentioned interpretations we could reconcile these opposing arguments.

We know now that both queens held the *mwt nswt bity nswt bity* title, and that the second queen was indeed the mother of two kings. We might therefore be entitled to suspect that Khentkaus I could also have been the mother of two kings — as Vikentiev originally proposed. Unfortunately, should this indeed have been the case, the names of her two sons remain hidden from us at this vast remove of time, due to the paucity of archaeological evidence. It is a disappointment, since it prevents us from being able to satisfactorily conclude the argument, but let us suppose that, in her case too, Khentkaus I was the mother of two kings.

The funerary monument built to Khentkaus I is all the evidence left at our disposal but, as was previously indicated, there are certain signs that the complex imitated elements of the layout of that of a king. Certainly, this was Hassan's opinion, and Edwards⁸², too, accepts some of his conclusions. This being so, there is always the possibility that Khentkaus I actually may have held *de facto* power in the kingdom,

and wished to demonstrate by the partial royal imitations of her complex that she, too, was acting like a ruler.

The most likely way in which this power occurred would be for her to have been a regent, but for whom? Userkaf's statuary indicates that he was a mature man at the start of his reign, and the alleged ten-year regnal span of Neferirkare, and the evidence of at least *one* teenage son at his death, seems to support the idea that he, too, was a king of mature years. That she is unlikely to have been the mother of Sahure has already been mentioned by Callender (see p. 173). Therefore, the only possible candidate for a regency would have to be Thamphthis, and the brevity of his reign suggests that he may have died young.

But what are the circumstances surrounding the regency aspect for Khentkaus II? The situation is also nebulous. We do know that Raneferef was her eldest son. If Neferirkare died after a reign of something like ten years (see p. 43 ff.), then his son, Raneferef, must have been born *before* his father came to the throne. Perhaps there was some hesitancy in accepting such plebeian origins when a child "born to the purple" (a son of Sahure's ?) was already in existence? We suspect from his statuary⁸³ that the ephemeral Raneferef was still a youth. Did he have a regent? Nothing in the evidence suggests this, but it could be envisaged that, due to his youth, he too, needed substantial political and religious support.

Only a few years later, Raneferef's brother Nyuserre ascended the throne. (*Both kings had the same mother, so they were at least half-brothers. While we know that Raneferef was the eldest son of Neferirkare, we do not know for certain that Nyuserre was also the son of this king from direct evidence. From the indirect evidence of the abutment of his funerary complex next to that of Neferirkare, however, there is a strong likelihood that he was indeed the full brother of Raneferef. Even more convincing evidence in favour of this full fraternity is that Nyuserre completed the funerary complexes, including the building, enlargement, and maintenance of the temple and funerary cult of both Khentkaus and Raneferef.*) Certainly, the rise of such powerful nobles as

79 Verner, in: ZÄS 109, 1982, 75–77.

80 For example, Smith, in: CAH I, Pt. 2, 185, attributes to Nyuserre a long reign of over thirty years.

81 Gardiner, *o.c.* pl. 2 (col. III, l. 22).

82 Edwards, *The Pyramids*, 146.

83 See, for example, the publication of the portraits of Raneferef by Verner, in: BIFAO 85, 1985, 267–280.

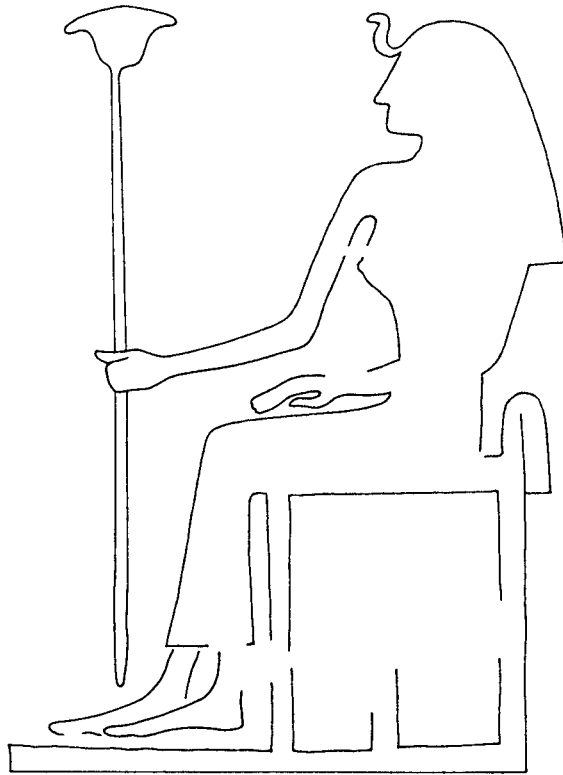
Ptahshepses⁸⁴, who married the king's own daughter⁸⁵ much later during the reign of Nyuserre, would support the suggestion that the king had to rely on a faction which supported the family of Neferirkare.

To return to the discussion on the *mwt nswt bity* *nswt bity* title of the queens, we could thus envision a scenario where the queen possessed some *de facto* power. We have also set the scene for two queens who were (for Khentkaus I there is still a question mark) the mothers of two kings. Given the Egyptian love of

punning and other forms of word-play, would it not have been a delightful twist to the political realities surrounding these two women, if the title meant *both*: "Mother of Two Kings" as well as "One who has the power of a ruler, and is also the mother of a king"?

⁸⁴ Verner, *Baugraffiti*, 189.

⁸⁵ Ptahshepses would have had to wait this time for the daughter of this young king to be born and of acceptable marriageable age.



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Prof. PhDr. Miroslav Verner, DrSc.

ABUSIR III

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