

LOUVRE

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L'art
de l'Ancien Empire
égyptien



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L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien

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Royal Women as Represented in Sculpture During the Old Kingdom

Part II: Uninscribed Sculptures

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Introduction

This paper is Part II of a two-part study. The stage of the research here is the same as when it was delivered at the Third Old Kingdom Conference, Paris, 3-4 April 1998¹. Part I (1994) analyzed seven Old Kingdom sculptures inscribed for royal women, and identified six specific features that distinguish them from non-royal women during the Old Kingdom². Part II continues that work via: (1) a review of the six features, (2) using them to identify several uninscribed Old Kingdom statues of women as royal, (3) applying the iconography from Part I and Part II to demonstrate that some Early Dynastic and Predynastic representations of women may be royal.

Review of Criteria

In Part I, female sculptures from Dynasties III-VI, with heads preserved and identified as royal by inscription, were analyzed to establish royal iconography via the following six features:

Hairstyles. The investigation of hairstyles did not yield elements exclusive to royal women. Tripartite wigs, ear-length wigs, shoulder-length wigs, and short natural hair are all common to royal and non-royal female statuary.

Attitudes. With some restrictions, two attitudes signify royalty. One, a woman sits on the ground, with legs to one side, and with a hand resting on her chest (Fig. 1); or, she is part of a group, with a hand touching or encircling her husband's or father's ankle (Fig. 2). Only royal women are depicted this way until Dynasty V, when some non-royal women are also

represented in this attitude. Two, a woman embraces the king (Fig. 3). If she is not a goddess, she must be royal, because no non-royal woman would ever be depicted touching, or even in this close proximity to, the king.

Sculpture scale. Women represented on a colossal scale are royal (Fig. 4).

Furniture. Women seated on furniture with backrests are royal (Fig. 5).

Attire. The halter dress is worn by both royal and non-royal women. However, with one known exception, Nofret, who was married to a king's son³, all women who wear cloaks are royal (Fig. 6).

Headgear. The vulture headdress is worn exclusively by mothers of kings (Fig. 7).

Applying the Iconographic Criteria to Uninscribed Sculptures

Since these features distinguish royal from non-royal women during the Old Kingdom, any of them on an uninscribed female sculpture identifies her as royal. The focus of Part I on sculptures with heads is sustained throughout Part II⁴, except for a few fragmentary sculptures and reliefs of exceptional interest⁵. Using the iconographic criteria, nine sculptures were identified as royal women.

1. *Bust of the Mother of a King*⁶ (Figs. 8-9). This small female bust from a seated statue is said to have been found in a Dynasty VI tomb at Abydos and is now in the Cairo Museum. The woman wears a well-developed vulture headdress incised over her tripartite wig. The vulture grasps *shen*-signs in its talons. Following the iconography established in Part I, the vulture headdress determines that this woman is the mother of a king⁷.

William Stevenson Smith's description of the king's mother is rather disdainful: "The workmanship is rude, the face painfully worked with prominent mouth and eyebrows in relief"⁸. Jacques Vandier expressed a similar opinion⁹. Actually, the workmanship is above average, but the mouth area is visually disturbing. It appears to have been reworked to add a moustache on the upper lip¹⁰. At Giza, Miroslav Verner discovered a Dynasty IV relief representation of Queen Khentkaus that may be related to the Cairo bust, because she wears a vulture headdress and a beard (Fig. 10)¹¹.

The Abydos bust cannot be as early as Khentkaus, however, because it is stylistically related to Dynasty VI representations of Pepy I, Merenre, and Pepy II¹². This coincides with the supposed date of the tomb where the bust was found. Perhaps this king's mother, in a situation similar to Khentkaus's, found it necessary to give herself masculine attributes and decided that adding a moustache to her statue was easier than adding a royal beard.

2. *Mycerinus's (?) Mother*¹³ (Fig. 11). The iconographic criteria diagnostic for royal women during the Old Kingdom enable identification of the individual represented in this half-lifesized graywacke fragment, now in Uppsala, Sweden, as the mother of a king.

Provisions at the forehead and on top of the head for attaching royal headgear reveal that this face is broken from a royal statue. However, it cannot represent a king, not only because the expression is distinctly feminine, but also because no representation of a king dated or datable to the Old Kingdom is depicted wearing a striated wig with a uraeus. This must therefore represent a royal woman, and since females are not depicted wearing uraei prior to the Middle Kingdom, the lost headgear must be a vulture headdress. This woman is therefore the mother of a king. Presumably, the vulture headdress was worked in precious metal, and was held in place by tangs that fit into the recesses in the graywacke.

The distinctive style of this head is so similar to the full, firm, and naturalistic facial modeling associated with Mycerinus (Fig. 3) that this is probably his mother¹⁴. The head is exceptional because it offers an intimate portrait of a king's mother, and represents a portrait-like departure from the official royal style. The queen's plump rounded features, thick neck, and double chin seem to reveal a kindly woman who is not only strong, but by the expression of the eyes, also wise.

The face is also stylistically closely related to two uninscribed representations of Mycerinus found at Giza – one in Brussels wearing the White Crown (Fig. 12)¹⁵, and a second in Boston with natural hair (Fig. 13)¹⁶. The Uppsala face of a king's mother appears to be the work of the sculptor who carved the Brussels head, with which it shares similar modeling of the eyes, mouth, cheeks, and an emphasis on the muscles at the wings of the nose. Thus, the Uppsala face is presumably broken from a statue representing the mother of Mycerinus.

3. *Fragments from a Statue of a King's Mother*¹⁷ (Fig. 14). This calcite fragment in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, bears traces of a vulture headdress that indicate it derives from a statue of a king's mother. It was found, along with other fragments apparently from the same statue, in the chapel of Pyramid IIIa on the eastern side of Mycerinus's pyramid at Giza¹⁸, yet no fragment inscribed with the name of the statue's owner was found. Reisner suggested the pyramid served as the tomb of Kha-merer-nebty II¹⁹. However, her tomb has since been identified elsewhere²⁰. Moreover, the vulture headdress is worn only by kings' mothers, which Kha-merer-nebty II was not.

The history of Pyramid IIIa indicates that it was originally built as Mycerinus' cult pyramid, and later redesigned as a tomb²¹. If Michel Baud is correct in identifying the "anonymous rock cut mastaba" in the Central Field of Giza as that of Kha-merer-nebty I²², as seems probable, then the person buried in Pyramid IIIa is not Mycerinus' mother²³ unless, for example, her burial was moved. Therefore, the identity of this statue of a king's mother is not known, nor whether it represents the owner of Giza Pyramid IIIa.

4. *Queen Kha-merer-nebty II*²⁴ (Figs. 15-16). This life-size statue, now in the Cairo Museum, was found in Queen Kha-merer-nebty II's rock-cut tomb at Giza. She is depicted striding, and she rests her right hand on her chest, as does Princess Wemtet-ka in her statue found at Snofru's Valley Temple at Dahshur²⁵. Kha-merer-nebty II's body is wrapped in a deeply pleated cloak that covers only one shoulder, beneath which she wears a halter dress. The parts of her dress not concealed by the cloak are even more elaborately pleated than the outer garment²⁶. Although uninscribed, this statue must represent Kha-merer-nebty II, the queen for whom the tomb was built²⁷, because only royal women wear cloaks. A possible reconstruction of the statue's head is discussed later in this article²⁸.

5. *Head of a King's Mother*²⁹ (Figs. 17-18). This small female head, now in Leipzig, was excavated from Chephren's funerary temple at Giza. Egyptologists have generally attributed the head to Chephren's wife, Kha-merer-nebty I. However, since the vulture headdress identifies the person represented as the mother of a king, it cannot represent his wife, but must represent a king's mother, probably Chephren's whose name is not known. In contrast to the vulture headdress

worn by the Dynasty VI king's mother presented earlier (No. 1), here the vulture's wings and body are not detailed. The smooth areas may originally have been painted, or covered with gold foil or sheet gold. Another vulture headdress fragment from Chephren's funerary temple, now in Leipzig (Fig. 19)³⁰, may belong to the back of this head. A fragment in Berlin (Fig. 20)³¹ derives from a similar statue.

6. *Fragment from the Head of a King's Mother*³² (Fig. 21). A calcite fragment from a statue of a king's mother, on which the tail of a vulture headdress was preserved, was formerly in Leipzig, but was lost during the war. Although as in the composition of the previous head (No. 5), the tail was smoothed for the addition of paint or metal, this is not from the same sculpture because here the locks of hair are twisted.

7. *Wig Lappet with Vulture*³³ (Fig. 22). This small fragment, now in Leipzig, could be from the same sculpture as fragment No. 6. The proportions are similar, and the strands of hair are similarly detailed. Renate Krauspe has plausibly suggested that this fragment is a lappet from a tripartite wig. If so, it is unique, because no other example of a vulture spanning the lappet of a wig is preserved. If fragment No. 6 does belong to the same sculpture, the woman depicted was a king's mother wearing a vulture headdress.

8. *Mersyankh III (?)*³⁴ (Fig. 23). This small bust, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, depicts a woman wearing a shoulder-length wig with a stylized rendering of her natural hair artfully arranged on her forehead. Non-royal women also wear this wig, but the garment this woman wears is royal. The rounded edge curving around her right shoulder and across her back must belong to a cloak. The cloak may be doubled over at the neck edge or, more likely, the second rounded edge visible above it is part of a garment she wears beneath the cloak.

The excavators suggested this bust, found at Giza near Queen Mersyankh III's mastaba, originated from her burial, and therefore represents her. A second fragment found near Mersyankh III's tomb and now in Boston, which depicts a woman also wearing a cloak, beneath which a second garment is just visible where the cloak parts at the hem (Fig. 6), supports this theory because it is inscribed for Mersyankh III³⁵. Reconstruction suggested by the excavators of this fragment with a head found nearby³⁶ seems plausible. The bust wearing a cloak under discussion here could not have belonged to the cloaked fragment

inscribed for Mersyankh III because it is too small. Alternatively, this bust could represent Hetepheres II, who was Mersyankh III's mother. Not only does Hetepheres II wear this wig on a statue from her daughter's tomb (Fig. 24) that depicts the two women together³⁷, but Hetepheres II is also represented in the tomb in painted relief wearing a cloak (Fig. 25)³⁸.

9. *Queen's Sphinx*³⁹ (Figs. 26-27). This limestone sphinx, now in the Cairo Museum, was excavated from Djedefre's funerary temple at Abu Roash around the turn of the century. The general hesitancy to date the piece was summed up by William Stevenson Smith:

“As for the curious painted limestone statuette of a crouching sphinx found in the temple of Abu Roash, one hesitates to assign it to Dynasty IV. There is no conclusive evidence to prove that it belongs to the time of Radedef [Djedefre] and its form suggests a much later date. On the other hand, it is not absolutely impossible that it may be early. [Other early sphinx evidence cited]. The skin of the Abu Roash creature is painted yellow, an unusual feature as the face of the great Sphinx of Giza was coloured red like other male statues. The face is beardless and full, and the forms throughout plump.”⁴⁰

By definition, the sphinx sculptural form is royal. The individual represented here must therefore be royal, also. Lack of a uraeus, expected for kings, indicates this sphinx represents a royal woman, since not until the Middle Kingdom are statues of royal women depicted with uraei. A female sphinx would be consistent with lack of a beard, and with the skin painted yellow.

The straight mouth, narrow lips, and smooth broad facial planes correspond stylistically with these features on a quartzite head of Djedefre from a seated statue in the Louvre (Fig. 28)⁴¹. Here, however, the distinctly feline eyes are large, well rounded in their sockets, with short upper lids, and with the long dipping tear-ducts of a cat. The wide, sharp cheekbones, and the prominent muscles angling from the nose, are also cat-like. No other preserved male or female sphinx displays this pronounced feline quality. A Middle Kingdom sphinx representing a royal woman, datable to the reign of Sesostris I or Amenemhat II, depicts an extraordinarily naturalistic lion body, but its head is entirely human⁴². Presumably, this sphinx represents one of Djedefre's queens or daughters⁴³.

Old Kingdom Royal Iconography Applied to Early Dynastic and Predynastic Sculptures of Women

The second section of this paper will consider several Early Dynastic and Predynastic sculptures that may represent royal women. In preparation for this part of the study, material concerning cloaks, and to a lesser extent a curious globe-shaped head covering (discussed in Part I but not included in the published version)⁴⁴, will be reviewed.

A relief fragment from Heliopolis, now in Turin (Fig. 29)⁴⁵, depicts King Djoser of Dynasty III, with tiny figures of female members of his family by his ankles. The figure at the right, the inscription of which is mostly lost, sits on the ground clasping the king's ankle⁴⁶, while the two figures on the left are identified as a princess, the "King's daughter, Init-ka-s", and a queen, "She who beholds Horus, Hetep-her-nebty"⁴⁷. The body of the king's daughter, Init-ka-s, is bent at the hips as if she too sits on the ground. Her far arm crosses her chest, and her near arm is apparently at her side.

Although the queen also appears to sit on the ground, her iconography is different. Not only is she represented with the upper part of her body wrapped in a cloak-like garment, and with both arms crossed over her chest, but she also wears a curious head covering with the area over the forehead distinctly separated from the fuller part at the back⁴⁸.

The cloak-like garment and the globe-shaped head covering worn by Djoser's queen, Hetep-her-nebty, are both also worn during Dynasty IV by Queen Hetepheres II, as depicted with her daughter, Queen Mersyankh III, in the latter's tomb (Fig. 25)⁴⁹. A slightly earlier relief representation depicts the mother of Prince Khufu-kaf in her son's tomb (Fig. 30) wearing the same head covering as Hetep-her-nebty and Hetepheres II⁵⁰. Here, however, her cloak-like garment covers only one shoulder.

An even earlier representation of this globe-shaped head covering appears on the Early Dynastic Bankfield Stela (Fig. 31)⁵¹. Although the name and titles of the woman are obscure, one title seems to be "king's daughter"⁵². The low back of her throne and the rectangular field on its side are elements reserved for royalty. Her garment, which covers her feet, has been described as a dress with shoulder straps; however, what seems to be a complicated depiction of the far arm could instead be the cloak-like garment covering one shoulder. Henry George Fischer has already pointed out that the published drawing of the princess is incorrect – her ear is not covered by her coiffure, but is actually uncovered.

The relief figure of Queen Hetepheres II is the best preserved example of both the cloak-like garment and the globe-shaped head covering (Fig. 25). She stands with her hands crossed over her chest, her body wrapped in an ankle-length white garment with peaked shoulders⁵³. The head covering comprises two areas, both painted yellow, which are thus presumably two parts of a single headgear⁵⁴. The front part is smooth and the back is full, round, and detailed with parallel horizontal lines. With the possible exception of the Bankfield Stela, as Lisa Sabbahy concludes in her unpublished Toronto dissertation – the long cloak-like garment with one or two peaked shoulders, and the unusual head covering, are both worn by queens of Dynasties III and IV when they appear with one of their children. Queens depicted in this manner bear the title, “She who beholds Horus and Seth”, a title reserved exclusively for queens who are mothers of the king’s children⁵⁵.

A small archaizing bust datable to Dynasty XIII, now in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 32)⁵⁶, which projects the relief representation of Hetepheres II into three-dimensional sculpture⁵⁷, must have had an Old Kingdom statue as a prototype. Unfortunately, no heads or statues with heads, dated or datable to the Old Kingdom, are preserved to confirm this.

However, one headless statue, the cloaked figure of Kha-merer-nebty II (No. 4) from Giza, could be such a sculpture (Figs. 15-16)⁵⁸. Her garments, a cloak and dress, combined with her attitude – one hand resting above the breast, one at her side – recall the relief representation of Khufu-kaf’s mother (Fig. 30). Like the three Old Kingdom queens who wear this cloak, Kha-merer-nebty II also held the title, “She who beholds Horus and Seth”.

No traces of a wig or head covering can be seen at the front of the queen’s neck or the tops of her shoulders, but what must be the lower edge of her head covering is preserved as a slight ridge at the nape of her neck. Conceivably, Kha-merer-nebty II was depicted wearing the globe-shaped headdress.

Several points emerge from this discussion. First, with the exception of Nofret, royal women who wear a cloak bear the title, “She who beholds Horus”, or “She who beholds Horus and Seth”, which are titles used by queens who have borne the king children. Second, if a woman wears a globe-shaped headdress, then she is a queen (or in the case of the Bankfield Stela, a princess). Although the globe-shaped headdress seems to be worn only with a cloak, royal woman also wear the cloak when they are depicted with other coiffures. Third, the globe-shaped headdress is therefore not the significant factor in identifying

mothers of kings' children. Fourth, it is the cloak that is associated with titles "She who beholds Horus", or "She who beholds Horus and Seth".

The Earliest Representations of Royal Women?

Thus far, Part II has examined a group of uninscribed female representations identifiable as royal on the basis of diagnostic elements of their clothing, hairstyles, and attitudes, all of which were determined in Part I of the study to be exclusive to royal women during the Old Kingdom. This final section will again apply these iconographic criteria, and will extend the search for royal women back to earlier times.

Royal and non-royal stone statuary that can be assigned to the pre-Old Kingdom era are rare, and not well published. Most representations datable to this early period are carved in ivory, and come from the so-called Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis⁵⁹. The Hierakonpolis ivories, for the most part datable to Naqada III, comprise various ritual and ceremonial objects, as well as figures of men, women, and children. Some have been identified as representing kings, but none of the figures of women have been recognized as royal.

Hierakonpolis ivories representing women fall into one of two basic groups – those that are naked or only scantily clad, and those wearing cloaks. Kings are occasionally depicted wearing only a loin cloth, but at least from the Old Kingdom onward no royal woman is depicted wearing anything less than a dress. However, little is known about how royalty was represented before that time. It cannot be ruled out that a royal woman could be depicted naked in, for example, a specific fertility role. Nevertheless, since no specific evidence indicates that naked or scantily clad females can also be royal, the female ivories of this type are excluded from the remainder of this discussion.

Five ivory statuettes representing women have been selected for consideration because they are virtually complete and each wears a cloak – an important feature that, at least during the Old Kingdom, is restricted to royal women, and specifically to those who have borne children of the king. Whether these five ivory figures – four from Hierakonpolis, and one particularly fine piece of unknown provenance in the Louvre – are related to various later representations of cloaked royal women in relief and sculpture will be analyzed.

Ivory 1. Like Khufu-kaf's mother, the ivory woman in the Louvre (Fig. 33)⁶⁰ stands with one arm at her side, and holds her cloak tightly closed with the other. Her sleeved dress is known from a contemporary faience figurine from Abydos (Fig. 34)⁶¹, but on the Louvre figurine, the dress appears to be elaborately pleated⁶². The smooth hairstyle relates the Louvre statuette to the female head in Boston (Fig. 6) representing Mersyankh III (if it belongs to the cloaked body inscribed for that queen, which is plausible). In both cases, the hair parts in the center and sweeps back at the shoulders. Unfortunately, the back of the Boston head is damaged so severely that whether the hair was long or short cannot be determined. Although the provenance of this ivory is not known, the recess in the top of the head for an attachment is similar to those on pieces known to come from Hierakonpolis, which suggests this piece also originates from that site.

Ivory 2. One ivory from Hierakonpolis, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford⁶³ (Figs. 35-37), represents a woman wearing a layered combination of clothing. Her cloak seems heavy, but reveals the form of her elbows, arms, and hips. Under her cloak, she wears a second garment wrapped in the opposite direction. Fine lines at the edge of the hem of this garment probably represent trim. This is the only example where the overlap of the cloak takes the form of a right angle.

Although it is not documented in the Old Kingdom, her fancy hairstyle occurs again in the following discussion in both sculpture and relief. Arranged laterally over the head in parallel sections, the hair is gathered at the sides of the neck into fat bunches, and at the back into tight narrow braids, all of which disappear beneath the cloak. Hourig Sourouzian has convincingly identified this coiffure as the prototype for the so-called Hathor wig which, from Dynasty XII onward, is often worn by queens⁶⁴. Possibly, the prototype was already royal during the Predynastic Period, then was revived during the first half of Dynasty XII, when a strong archaizing tendency is noticeable in royal sculpture⁶⁵.

Ivory 3. This ivory statuette of a woman from Hierakonpolis, now in the University Museum, Philadelphia (Figs. 38-39)⁶⁶, is the only example depicting a hand emerging from the cloak⁶⁷. The woman's coiffure is arranged in the same style as the one worn by the Ashmolean woman (Ivory 2), except that the sides here are more puffed out, and the braids in the back section are arranged in concentric arches instead of parallel lines. The eyes-round globes set between distinct rims – are virtually identical to those on the Ashmolean woman (Ivory 2).

If the royal meaning of the cloak can be projected backward to the Predynastic Period, then these three ivories – the Louvre, Paris (Ivory 1), Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Ivory 2), and University Museum, Philadelphia (Ivory 3) – represent not merely royal women, but also mothers of kings' children. A tantalizing element that may also signify royalty is the Predynastic prototype for the so-called Hathor wig worn by the Oxford (Ivory 2) and Philadelphia (Ivory 3) women, a coiffure which from the Middle Kingdom onward, is often worn by royal women.

The last two ivories, both from the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis and now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, do not contradict a royal association for the cloak, but suggest that at least during the Predynastic Period, it was also worn by goddesses.

Ivory 4. Like the other ivories, the third Hierakonpolis example (Figs. 40-41)⁶⁸, stands wrapped in a cloak, which here covers her hands and encases her body. It appears much stiffer than the others, however – perhaps depicting leather, or woven matting – and it is the only cloak decorated with a pattern. The helmet-like head covering, with encircling horizontal bands sectioned into squares, some with central dots, is also unusual. This cloak and head covering combination recalls Djoser's wife and Queen Hetepheres II, but this figure is unlikely to have worn a version of the globe-shaped headdress. For example, here the ears are covered instead of free from the headdress, which is straight at the sides and not globe-shaped. Because the face and front of the head are lost, whether the front of the headdress was divided into two parts cannot be determined.

Ivory 5. A fourth cloaked woman from Hierakonpolis⁶⁹, and the third example now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Fig. 42), wears a horizontally-banded head covering with what seems to be a frontlet across the brow. Like the Old Kingdom globe-shaped headdress, this one is round, but does not have a separate area at the forehead, and the ears are uncovered. The cloak is softer, and seems to be pinched in at the waist. The basket-like objects where the hands should be are apparently connected to a cord that passes around the shoulders. A long narrow role or bundle across the back – evidently part of or attached to the cord – lies on top of the cloak, which has a separately indicated neck edge.

Both the bundle and the basket-objects are obscure. One "basket" is inexplicably upside-down, yet both are apparently connected to the long ambiguous form across the back. A stela in the Cairo Museum (Fig. 43)⁷⁰, which depicts

Pepy II celebrating episodes of his Heb-sed, may provide a clue. Discussing this stela, Peter Kaplony focuses on the goddess Gat, who appears twice on each side. Although not cloaked and not wearing a round head covering, her arms are crossed on her chest as they are on this cloaked figure (Ivory 5), and a basket and a sack dangle on cords from her hands. According to Kaplony, this goddess provides the king with grain during his Heb-sed, symbolizing the fertility of the land. The name Gat is written with a hieroglyph that Kaplony interprets as a sealed basket. If this analogy is correct, Ivory 5 may represent Gat, and the upside-down basket is consistent with this interpretation because it is sealed shut – a deft incorporation of her name into the design. Perhaps the figure (Ivory 4) wearing the helmet-shaped head covering is also a goddess.

Superficially, a limestone statue that has been in a private collection⁷¹ for over forty years is related to the cloaked women already discussed (Figs. 44-46), but analysis discloses significant incongruities. All other standing cloaked figures of this type are ivory, yet this one is limestone, about 30 centimeters high. Hans Wolfgang Müller suggested that its round base, which otherwise is not used for stone sculpture, might represent the round hieroglyph for city, a hieroglyph that is also inscribed on the front of the base. The presence of this hieroglyph has led to the figure being identified as a city god (*Stadt Gott*). However, the figure's similarity to the cloaked female ivories shows it should be a female⁷². Alternatively, Müller suggested the base could be a relic of the process of sculpting ivory statuary, because sculptors of this material typically adapted the circular shape of the tusk's cross-section into a convenient base. However, if this interpretation is correct, this is the only preserved stone example of this type.

Viewed from the front, the cloak worn by the limestone figure is fairly consistent with ivory parallels. It wraps around the body, overlaps, and is held in place by the left arm and hand. At the back, however, the cloak overlaps again and a corner tucks in behind the neck. For a garment made of one piece of fabric, this is an anomaly. Compared to the Hierakonpolis ivories, the handling of the wig here is also discrepant, especially at the back where the section of braids is very different. For example, one vertical braid creeps up over the lateral ones instead of abutting them.

Together with a group of faience and stone figurines⁷³, and a second limestone figure now in Munich (Fig. 47)⁷⁴ that recalls several of the naked female ivory figures from Hierakonpolis (Fig. 48)⁷⁵, the cloaked limestone statuette was

reportedly found in the oldest part of the Abydos temple complex. This provenance, however, introduces another anomaly, since no other cloaked figure of this type has been found at Abydos⁷⁶. On the contrary, preserved examples have all been found at Hierakonpolis. Thus, this limestone statuette appears to be a clever modern creation based on the Hierakonpolis ivories, specifically Ivory 3 in Philadelphia (Figs. 38-39). Ivory 3 is the only other published piece with a hand emerging from the cloak; like the limestone statuette, a small flat hand worked in shallow relief seems to fold over the front edge of the cloak, and may therefore be the ancient prototype for the limestone figure. Similarly, a Hierakonpolis ivory representing a naked woman (Fig. 48) may be one of the ancient prototypes for the Munich limestone statuette (Fig. 47). However, the Munich statuette was provided with a dress to modestly cover her bosom and pubic area.

Bruce Williams suggested the Hierakonpolis ivories were originally assembled to form a tableau⁷⁷. Holes in the tops of the heads of all the ivories discussed here, sometimes with broken-off pegs still in place, support the idea that they were parts of some type of common construction. Such a tableau could plausibly include the royal women of the family, as well as various deities⁷⁸.

A Connection Between Cloaked Women and the Heb-sed

The small cloaked figures in carrying-chairs (Fig. 49) depicted in representations of the Heb-sed have been variously identified as royal women, statues, or deities⁷⁹. The scope of this paper precludes re-examining all the related material. Nevertheless, a direct connection is tenable between the cloaked women previously discussed and the figures in the carrying-chairs⁸⁰.

In his study of these representations, Werner Kaiser differentiates between open and closed carrying-chairs which, however, are perhaps simply slightly different versions of the same thing. The best known representation of one these figures appears on the Narmer mace head from Hierakonpolis (Figs. 50-51)⁸¹. It appears to be cloaked, and wears a rounded head covering, perhaps with a section hanging down. Although often described as passive, and therefore identified as a statue, its passivity is no greater than that of the king positioned

across from it. Presumably, its role is like the king's in this episode of the Heb-sed; that is, like him, it is present and observing the proceedings.

One of at least two (perhaps more) of these figures is well preserved on the slightly earlier Scorpion mace head (Fig. 52)⁸². Enlarged close-ups enable distinction of fine details of the patterned or woven garment and head covering worn by the figure in the carrying-chair. Like Ivory 2 (Figs. 35-37), what appears to be a cloak rises high at the back of the neck. Other parallels include the coiffures with similar arrangements of the hair over the tops of the heads, and hair gathered into fat locks at the sides that go under the cloaks. The Scorpion mace head coiffure is also divided at the front, coinciding with the separate areas on the forehead of Ivory 2. Notably, the section at the back of the head is separated from the rest of the hair – as on Ivories 2 and 3 (Fig. 35-37 and 38-39).

Evidently, the cloaked ivory women wearing elaborate coiffures, and what must be women in carrying-chairs, represent the same category of individual. If it were possible to identify one of them as royal, then presumably the others would be as well.

King Djer's ebony label (Fig. 53) from Saqqara⁸³ seems to provide the necessary evidence. It depicts two women in carrying-chairs, with single braided locks of hair flung forward – one accompanied by the title *wrt ḥts*, or *wrt ḥts nbty*; and the other by *m33t Hr*. Whether the man with a scepter walking behind the women on the Scorpion mace head (Fig. 52) is a reference to the title, *wrt ḥts* is uncertain⁸⁴. *Wrt ḥts* is a common queen's title, but examples with the addition of *nbty* are rare in the Old Kingdom, and confined to two queens. One of these is Mersyankh III, whose statuette depicts her wearing a cloak (Fig. 6). Also, both she and her daughter bear the title *m33t Hr*. If the meaning of this title during the Early Dynastic Period is the same as during Dynasty IV, then the figures in the carrying-chairs and the cloaked ivory women could be identified as royal women.

A relief fragment from King Niuser-re's Sun Sanctuary (Fig. 49) depicts cloaked figures in carrying-chairs accompanied by an inscription describing their activities in the Heb-sed. Kaiser interprets the scene as "carrying in and carrying out," and translates the caption "placing oneself to the left opposite the throne – removing oneself and taking one's place again"⁸⁵. The relief from Heliopolis, now in Turin (Fig. 29), depicting Djoser may show precisely this moment in the Heb-sed, when the women of his family have left their carrying-chairs to take up positions around his throne.

The Djer label suggests that the women are royal, and provides a link between the carrying-chairs, cloaks, and the women in the context of the Heb-sed. Whether this interpretation can be extended to all such representations is not established.

The Hierakonpolis Statues

A remarkable limestone sculpture in the Cairo Museum (Figs. 54-56)⁸⁶ unites several elements discussed in this study. The woman wears an elaborate wig, with a braided section at the back and a long lock at the front, that is also depicted on two Hierakonpolis ivories that may represent royal women (Figs. 35-37 and 38-39). She also wears a cloak covering just one shoulder, like Khufu-kaf's mother (Fig. 30) and the ivory woman in the Louvre (Fig. 33). However, this woman is not standing – which represents a major difference. The steep slope to the front of the statue indicates she was seated, or was sitting or kneeling on the ground. Thus, the limestone statue in Cairo projects into three dimensions the coiffure, the cloak, and the attitude of the tiny woman in a carrying-chair that is depicted on the Scorpion mace head.

The provenance of this statue is not known, but several aspects suggest it originates from Hierakonpolis. Not only is the coiffure closely related to two of the figures from the Main Deposit (Ivories 2 and 3), but examples of this feature seem to be restricted to this site. Also, the similarity of the woman's statue to a kneeling limestone male statue, also from Hierakonpolis and now in Cairo (Figs. 57-58)⁸⁷, supports this provenance. The two sculptures are about the same size, well carved from the same material, and stylistically very similar. Both intentionally contrast the chunky, smoothly-modeled bodies with finely detailed and elaborate wigs. Both faces are square, with low foreheads; and the eyes are huge and flat, with short cosmetic lines tapering to fine points (Figs. 60-61). Finally, the position of the woman's arms reveals that she too knelt on her left knee (hidden beneath her cloak), and rested her right hand and lower arm, which were not covered by the cloak, on her raised right knee. These strong parallels suggest that the limestone woman and man in Cairo were a pair. She is presumably the upper part of a second sculpture that Quibell, in his excavation report for Hierakonpolis, described as so deteriorated that it was left at the site⁸⁸.

The kneeling man from Hierakonpolis has been variously identified as a prisoner, a man of low rank, because he kneels and wears only a loincloth; or a Libyan, because of his coiffure. However, his arms are not bound behind his back, and he is therefore not a prisoner. The attitude may be a sculptural interpretation of the Henu gesture depicted on an ivory cylinder seal (Fig. 62)⁸⁹. The loincloth or penis sheath – sometimes the king's chosen attire when running the ritual course at his Heb-sed (Fig. 63), as reliefs from subterranean rooms of Djoser's Complex⁹⁰ show – need not imply low rank. Thus, re-interpretation of the three running figures on the Narmer mace head (Fig. 50) suggests that the scene with the male figure, who is represented three times between the boundary markers, could be an attempt to represent the king participating in his ritual run.

Finally, the kneeling man's massive two-tiered wig has an important royal parallel in an archaizing statue representing Amenemhat III (Fig. 59)⁹¹, presumably depicting him during an episode of his Heb-sed. Not only are the wigs closely related, but Amenemhat III has also adopted the Archaic royal beard that wraps the chin from cheek to cheek – a beard style worn by Kings Narmer and Scorpion on their mace heads, by the Hierakonpolis man, and by the running men on Narmer's mace head. Evidently, Amenemhat III had access to and emulated Predynastic and Early Dynastic prototypes. The sculptures of the woman wearing the cloak and the man from Hierakonpolis may be representations of a king and a queen, and the event they commemorate may be the king's Heb-sed⁹².

Conclusion

Several uninscribed sculptures have been identified as royal women using iconographic criteria that distinguish royal from non-royal women during the Old Kingdom. The cloaked female, who during the Old Kingdom represented the mother of the king's children, has been traced back to the Predynastic Period, and may be royal; and a connection between Old Kingdom depictions of women wearing cloaks, their early counterparts, and the Heb-sed, has been postulated.

Notes

1. Christiane Ziegler, her colleagues in the Egyptian Department, and the Service culturel of the musée du Louvre are to be commended for the success of the conference.
2. B. Fay, "Royal Women as Represented in Sculpture During the Old Kingdom," in N. Grimal, ed., *Les Critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancient Empire*, Bibliothèque d'étude 120, Cairo, 1998, pp. 159-186, delivered at the Second Old Kingdom Conference, Cairo, 10-13 November, 1994. I thank L. Joseph Stecher for editorial comments, and Georg Meurer for assistance in the preparation of this paper for publication. A special thanks goes to Jürgen Liepe, Berlin, for undertaking all special photographic imaging. I am particularly grateful to Violaine Bouvet-Lanselle, Fabrice Douar, and the members of the Service culturel, Publications, musée du Louvre, for their help and encouragement during the final stages of this project.
3. Cairo CG 4; M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo*, Mainz, 1987, no. 27.
4. As in Part I of this study, the sculptural analysis traces backward from Dynasty VI to the earliest sculptures. During the preparation of Part II, the difficulty of identifying representations of royal women datable to the Early Dynastic and Predynastic Periods became clear, because no preserved sculpture inscribed for a royal woman predates Dynasty III. Even if an early sculpture bears features that later signify royalty, the significance of such features prior to Dynasty III can only be inferred. However, the tendency of royal iconography to remain royal over time, rarely moving to the private sphere, lends credibility to this inference. Features taken from the private to the royal sphere are rare.
5. Reserve heads identified as princesses are not included, because their iconography does not differ from the non-royal; for example, R. Tefnin, *Art et magie au temps des Pyramides. L'énigme des têtes dites «de remplacement»*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca V, Brussels, 1991, p. 113, no. 18, Pls. XVIIc-d, XVIIIa-b, Cairo JE 46217, and pp. 123-124, no. 32, Pls. XXVa-d, XXXe, Hildesheim 2384.
6. Cairo CG 255; J.F. Romano, "Sixth Dynasty Royal Sculpture", in N. Grimal, ed., *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 258-259, Fig. 65, for a different interpretation of the original attitude of the figure.
7. There is no sculptural evidence to suggest the woman is a goddess. Even though Nekhbet, for example, is represented in relief wearing a vulture headdress, this headgear is not worn by sculptural representations of goddesses during the Old Kingdom. Furthermore, the few statues of deities preserved from the Old Kingdom, for example, Hathor in the Mycerinus triads, appear as pair or group compositions, not as individual sculptures as would have been the case here. See J.F. Romano, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 258-259, Fig. 65, for references to relief representations of the goddess Nekhbet wearing a vulture headdress. No sculptural representations, however, are cited there.
8. W.St. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, Boston, 1946, p. 84.
9. J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III, Les grandes époques, La statuaire*, Paris, 1958, pp. 39-40, Pl. IX, 1.
10. See J.F. Romano, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 258-259, Fig. 65, who interprets the recarved area as a realignment of the mouth.

11. M. Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids, Abusir*, Prague, 1994, pp. 128-129, with color illustrations. Presumably, the vulture headdress was added to Khentkaus's representations when her son became king.
12. Stylistic parallels are cited by J.F. Romano, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), p. 259. The names of several kings' mothers of Dynasty VI are preserved; see L.K. Sabbahy, *The Development of the Titulary and Iconography of the Ancient Egyptian Queen from Dynasty One to Early Dynasty Eighteen*, Ph.D. Thesis, Toronto, 1982, pp. 97-113, 117.
13. Uppsala 31; H. Schäfer, *Das Bildnis im alten Ägypten, Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien* 5, Leipzig, 1921, no. 5; P. Lugn, *Ausgewählte Denkmäler aus ägyptischen Sammlungen in Schweden*, Leipzig, 1922, pp. 1-3, Pl. 1.
14. No representations of Mycerinus's immediate predecessor (Nebka), or his direct successor (Shepsekaf), are preserved for comparison, but it seems unlikely that their style would so closely resemble that of Mycerinus.
15. Brussels, MRAH E. 3074, height 24.2 cm., width 11.5 cm., depth 16.5 cm., graywacke, Giza, pyramid temple of Mycerinus, gift of Baron Empain, 1910; R. Tefnin, *Statues et Statuettes de l'Ancienne Égypte, Guides du département égyptien* 6, Brussels, 1988, pp. 18-19, also illustrated on cover. Most recently illustrated in W. Seipel, *Gott, Mensch, Pharao: Viertausend Jahre Menschenbild in der Skulptur des Alten Ägypten*, Vienna, 1992, pp. 98-99.
16. Boston, MFA 09.203, height 28.5 cm., width 16 cm., calcite, Giza, Mycerinus' Valley Temple; P. Lacovara, in N. Thomas, ed., *The American Discovery of Egypt*, Los Angeles, 1995, pp. 126-127, with an excellent illustration in color, and earlier bibliography.
17. Boston, MFA 13.5080; B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* III, Oxford, 1974, p. 34; G.A. Reisner, *Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza*, Cambridge, 1931, pp. 55, 56, 108 (8a-b), Pl. 17.
18. According to the excavators, seven fragments of the face, wig, right hand, and arm, as well as the headdress, were found; Reisner, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 55 and 108.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
20. For the most recent discussion of Kha-merer-nebty II's burial place, the so-called Galarza tomb, see M. Baud, "The Tombs of Khamerernebty I and II at Giza," *Göttinger Miszellen* 164, Göttingen, 1998, pp. 7-14.
21. P. Jánosi, *Die Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes XIII*, Cairo, 1991, pp. 22-25, 27-28, 74.
22. M. Baud, «La tombe de la reine mère H^c-mrr-Nbtj I^{re}», *BIFAO* 95, Cairo, 1995, pp. 11-21.
23. In the interest of completeness, part of a flint peseschkef (6.6 cm.) found at the Mycerinus Pyramid Temple inscribed for the *mwt nswt Kha-merer-nebty*, Mycerinus's mother, should be mentioned; G.A. Reisner, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 233, Pl. 19a.
24. Cairo JE 48828; see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* (n. 17), III, 1, p. 274; B.S. Lesko in L. H. Lesko, ed., *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward*, Providence, 1999, pp. 155-162. See L.K. Sabbahy, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 73, for her titles. The colossal (twice lifesize) statue of the queen found in the hall of her tomb is discussed in Part I of this study; B. Fay, *loc. cit.* (n. 2), p. 164, no. 6.

25. For this statue see *ibid.*, pp. 160-161, no. 2.
26. At least during the Old Kingdom, pleated fabric appears to have been a royal monopoly, as suggested by elaborate royal representations of it such as this one.
27. See n. 20.
28. Several months after the delivery of Part II of this study in Paris, Barbara S. Lesko kindly sent me an offprint of her article, "Queen Khamerernebty II and Her Sculpture", B.S. Lesko and L. H. Lesko, eds., *op. cit.* (n. 24), pp. 149-162, in which she publishes the colossal seated statue of Khamerernebty II discussed in Part I of this study, as well as the queen's cloaked statue discussed here. Her article should be consulted for earlier bibliography for these two statues. I do not, however, agree with her interpretation of the cloaked sculpture, and question her suggestion on p. 157 that "the sculptor had to depict an exposed breast to identify his subject as female". Khamerernebty II's breast is actually covered by the pleated halter of her dress. The sculptor's aim here was to depict the cloak because it referred to her status as a mother of the king's children; the sculptor was not concerned with whether as suggested on p. 158, it "emphasizes the sexuality of the female". Sculptors did not stop depicting queens in cloaks because their femininity was hidden, but rather because the political reasons for the representation of the cloak were no longer necessary.
29. Leipzig 1965, height 10.57 cm., width 12.21 cm., depth 8.6 cm., height of face 8 cm.; R. Krauspe, *Statuen und Statuetten, Katalog Ägyptischer Sammlungen in Leipzig I*, Mainz, 1997, p. 39, no. 86, Pl. 28, 1-28, 4, where earlier bibliography is cited; B. Fay in N. Grimal, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 168, Fig. 18.
30. Leipzig 1993; R. Krauspe, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 40, no. 88, Pl. 29, 2.
31. Berlin 15064, calcite, height 5.5 cm., width 12.5 cm., from Giza, Chephren's Funerary Temple; U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren, Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin - Expedition 1*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 92, note 1. Like the Leipzig head, the queen here wore a striated tripartite wig. The image of the vulture was left smooth for the application of paint, gold, or another material.
32. Leipzig 1966, height 9 cm., width 17 cm.; R. Krauspe, *op. cit.* (n. 29), pp. 119-120, no. 236, Pl. 151,4, citing earlier bibliography.
33. Leipzig 1967, height 2.6 cm., width 12.7 cm., depth 6.3 cm.; R. Krauspe, *op. cit.* (n. 29), pp. 39-40, no. 87, Pl. 29,1, citing earlier bibliography.
34. Boston, MFA 30.1461; W. St. Smith, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 42-43, Fig. 14c; E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im alten Reich, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 8*, Berlin, 1966, pp. 172, Pl. XLIII, Fig. 71; D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III G 7530-7540, Giza Mastabas I*, Boston, 1974, p. 23, Pl. XIX, a-c; B. Fay in N. Grimal, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 163, note 22.
35. Boston, MFA 30.1457a; limestone, height 16.8 cm.; B. Fay, *loc. cit.* (n. 2), p. 163, no. 5.
36. Boston, MFA 30.1457b; limestone, height 9 cm.; B. Fay, *loc. cit.* (n. 2), p. 163, and note 19.
37. Boston, MFA 30.1456; D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *op. cit.* (n. 34), Pl. XVII, a-b.
38. *Ibid.*, Pl. VIIc, and Fig 7.
39. Cairo JE 35137; height 34.5 cm., length 74 cm.; B. Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx and Royal Sculpture from*

- the Reign of Amenemhat II*, Mainz, 1996, p. 62, Sphinx Appendix I, and Pl. 83 a-d.
40. W. St. Smith, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 33.
41. This head, Paris, Louvre E 12626, as demonstrated in B. Fay, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 62, is from a seated statue of the king, and not from a sphinx as is often stated. See also Ch. Ziegler, *Les Statues égyptiennes de l'Ancien Empire*, Paris, 1997, pp. 42-45, no. 1.
42. Paris, Louvre AO 13075; Ch. Ziegler, *op. cit.* (n. 41), pp. 30-32, Cat. 4, Pls. 58-60.
43. Names of two wives are preserved: Hentet-ka is known from statue fragments at Abu Roash, and Hetep-heres II, a daughter of Cheops and probably a wife of Djedefre; L. K. Sabbahy, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 56-60.
44. After the delivery of my paper in Cairo, I discovered that the major points had independently been studied by Henry George Fischer, whose article was already in press, and has since appeared; "Archaisms in a Statuette of Middle Kingdom Style", *Egyptian Studies III, Varia Nova*, New York, 1996, pp. 111-122. See his article also for a discussion of cloaks and the globe-shaped head covering.
45. Turin 2761/21, from Heliopolis, limestone, height 13.5 cm., width 7 cm.; B. Porter and R. Moss, *op. cit.* (n. 17), IV, 1934, p. 61; L. K. Sabbahy, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 33-34; B. Fay, *loc. cit.* (n. 2), p. 160, and Note 8. See also J. Kahl, N. Kloth, U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie. Eine Bestandsaufnahme, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 56, Wiesbaden, 1995, pp. 114-115.
46. The accompanying inscription is damaged, although A. M. Roth, "Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organization of Pyramids, Tombs, and Cemeteries", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, XXX, Boston, 1993, p. 54, Fig. 11, distinguishes several signs.
47. L. K. Sabbahy, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 33.
48. A. M. Roth, *loc. cit.* (n. 46), Fig. 11, interpreted the representation slightly differently, eliminating the "receding hairline" and completing the front of the head covering.
49. D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *op. cit.* (n. 34), Pl. VIIc, and Fig 7.
50. W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II, G 7110-20, 7130-40 and 7150 and Subsidiary Mastabas of Street G 7100, Giza Mastabas* 3, Boston, 1978, p. 11, Pl. XVIa and Fig. 26. Another queen wearing a cloak covering one shoulder is known from a stela found by Mariette at Giza. The stela depicted Mereytytes, a wife of Cheops and mother of Prince Kawab, whose tomb it presumably originated from. For a discussion of this queen and the titles on her stela see, L. K. Sabbahy, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 50, where a full bibliography for the stela is also given.
51. Halifax, Bankfield Museum, said to be from Thebes, limestone, height 49 cm., width 29.2 cm. According to H. G. Fischer, *op. cit.* (n. 44), p. 112, and Note 8, the Bankfield Stela was "formerly" in the Halifax Museum. In addition to the bibliography cited there, see also S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, vol. V, 1933-1934, Cairo, 1944, pp. 86-88; H. Junker, *Giza II, Die Mastabas der beginnenden V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof*, Vienna, 1934, p. 16.
52. P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit II, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 9, Wiesbaden, 1964, p. 602.
53. E. Staehelin, *op. cit.* (n. 34), pp. 171-175.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 179. The yellow, globe-shaped head covering was at one time

interpreted as hair, its color believed to show Hetepheres II's Libyan origin. It has also been suggested that the smooth area over the forehead is shaved.

55. L.K. Sabbahy, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 80, notes that *m33t Hr Stḥ* and *mwt nswt* rarely occur for the same woman. When they do, perhaps the examples with *m33t Hr Stḥ* should be attributed to the period before the queen's son became king. *M33t Hr Stḥ* is a title a queen held during the reign of her husband. If her son became king during her lifetime, presumably she changed her title to *mwt nswt*, king's mother.

56. New York, MMA 65.59.1, provenance not known, graywacke, height 17 cm., width 11.12 cm., depth 8.6 cm., height of face 4.3 cm., width of face 4.28 cm., height of eye 0.34 cm., height of ear 2.7 cm., width of ear 1.48 cm., width of backpillar approximately 4.8 cm., width of break 7 cm., depth of break 5.5 cm.; H.G. Fischer, *op. cit.* (n. 44), pp. 111-122, Pls. 17-18.

57. Because no inscription is preserved, we do not know if this queen had the title "She who beholds Horus and Seth", which is exceedingly rare after the Old Kingdom.

58. Cairo JE 48828, see Note 24, above.

59. My sincere thanks are due Helen Whitehouse, Curator Department of Antiquities at the Oxford Ashmolean Museum, who permitted me to study and photograph many of the Hierakonpolis ivories in her care, as well as to include some of them in this study. G. Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII, Der Tempel der Satet. Die Funde der Frühzeit und des alten Reiches, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 39, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Mainz, 1986, pp. 37-46, reviews the exca-

vations undertaken at Hierakonpolis from 1897 to the date of publication, and discusses the finds with particular emphasis on the ivories on p. 43. For Hierakonpolis, see also B. Adams, in A.M. Donadoni Roveri and F. Tiradritti, eds., *Kemet, alle sorgenti del tempo*, Milan, 1998, pp. 117-120. J.E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I, Egyptian Research Account* 4, London, 1900, still offers the best illustrations of the ivories, although only a selection is included in the excavation publication.

60. Paris, Louvre E 11888, purchased 1926, elephant ivory, height 13.5 cm.; B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary IV*, Copenhagen, 1966, no. 812; Ch. Ziegler, with Ch. Barbotin and M.-H. Rutschowskaya, *Der Louvre, Die Ägyptische Sammlung, Museen der Welt*, London, 1990, p. 19, illustrated in color.

61. J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, London, 1905, p. 38, Fig. 15. The publication is also useful for illustrations of the Hierakonpolis material.

62. The layering of fabric along the neck edge is similarly treated on the bust of a woman that may represent Queen Mersyankh III (8). The cloak, and the elaborate pleating that seems to have been a royal monopoly until sometime well into the Old Kingdom, are indications of the woman's royal status.

63. Oxford, Ashmolean E. 326, from the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis, ivory, height 18.3 cm.; width 5.8 cm., depth 4.3 cm.; J.E. Quibell, *op. cit.* (n. 59), pp. 6-7, Pls. IX, 3, X, 8; J.E. Quibell and F.W. Green, *Hierakonpolis II, Egyptian Research Account* 5, London, 1902, p. 37; J. Capart, *op. cit.* (n. 61), pp. 56-57, Fig 27; B. Hornemann, *op. cit.* (n. 60), no. 827; E.J. Baumgartel, "About some Ivory Statuettes from the 'Main Deposit' at Hierakonpolis", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*

VII, Boston, 1968, pp. 11, 12, Pls. III, 6, and IV, 8, there dated to the Middle Kingdom.

64. H. Sourouzian, «Une tête de la reine Touy à Gourna», *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 37, Mainz, 1981, pp. 445-455.

65. Middle Kingdom archaizing is discussed in B. Fay, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 56.

66. Philadelphia, University Museum E 4895, from the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis, ivory, height about 20 cm.; J.E. Quibell, *op. cit.* (n. 59), pp. 6-7, Pl. X, 7; E.J. Baumgartel, *loc. cit.* (n. 63), pp. 11, 12, Pls. IV, Fig. 7 and V, Fig. 9, there dated to the Middle Kingdom.

67. The lower part is too damaged to determine if a garment was shown beneath the cloak, a common feature on other ivories.

68. Oxford, Ashmolean E. 328, from the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis, ivory, height 12.6 cm., width 3.7 cm., depth 2.6 cm. J.E. Quibell, *op. cit.* (n. 59), pp. 6-7, Pls. IX, X, 11; J. Capart, *op. cit.* (n. 61), pp. 56-57, Fig. 27, p. 171, Fig. 133, 6.

69. Oxford, Ashmolean E 327, from the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis, ivory, height 12.6 cm., width 3.6 cm., depth 2.56 cm.; J. Capart, *op. cit.* (n. 61), pp. 168, 171, Fig 133, 4.

70. Cairo CG 1747, provenance not known, yellow limestone, height 60 cm.; P. Kaplony, review of Z. Saad, *The Excavations at Helwan, Bibliotheca Orientalis* XXVIII, no.1/2, Leiden, 1971, pp. 47-48, with prior bibliography. See also H.G. Fischer, "Notes on Hieroglyphic Palaeography", *Egyptian Studies* III, *Varia Nova*, New York, 1996, p. 217, Fig. 28.

71. Lucerne, Kofler Collection K 415, according to the catalogue of the

collection, from Abydos, limestone, height 29.8 cm., diameter of base 9.3 cm.; selective bibliography, H.W. Müller, *Ägyptische Kunstwerke, Kleinfunde und Glas in der Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern*, Exhibition Catalogue, Berlin, 1964, pp. 40-41, A 60, accompanied by black and white illustrations; H.A. Schlögl, ed., *Geschenk des Nils, Ägyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz, Eine Ausstellung des Ägyptologischen Seminars der Universität Basel*, Basel, 1978, p. 30, no. 104, accompanied by black and white illustrations. The most recent publication of this piece, and not available to me prior to the delivery of this paper, is H. Sourouzian, «Concordances et écarts entre statuaire et représentations à deux dimensions des particuliers de l'époque archaïque», in N. Grimal, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 307-308, Fig. 6.

72. Independently noted by Sourouzian, *ibid.*, p. 307. I thank Marianne Eaton-Krauss for discussing this piece with me and pointing out several of its inconsistencies.

73. H.W. Müller, *op. cit.* (n. 71), dispersed throughout the catalogue with the provenance "Aus dem ältesten Tempelbezirk von Abydos".

74. Munich, ÄS 4234, limestone, height 34.7 cm.; H.W. Müller *et al.*, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst*, 2nd edition, Munich, 1976, pp. 38-39, with earlier bibliography. Also illustrated in color in A.M. Donadoni Roveri and F. Tiradritti, *op. cit.* (n. 59), p. 204. For its shared provenance with the Kofler piece see, H.W. Müller, *op. cit.* (n. 71), p. 41. For the most recent publication of the piece including previous bibliography see, H. Sourouzian, *loc. cit.* (n. 71), pp. 307-308, Fig. 5 on p. 330.

75. Oxford, Ashmolean E. 322, from the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis, ivory, height 16 cm., J.E. Quibell, *op.*

cit. (n. 59), p. 6, Pl. IX; J.E. Quibell and F.W. Green, *op. cit.* (n. 63), p. 37; B. Hornemann, *op. cit.* (n. 60), no. 871; H. Sourouzian, *loc. cit.* (n. 71), p. 329, Fig. 2. Compare also Capart, *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 171, 3.

76. After the presentation of this paper in Paris, Günter Dreyer pointed out to me that the Abydos provenance for the group of material is questionable, because the ground water there would make it virtually impossible for material of this type to have escaped deterioration.

77. B. Williams, "Narmer and the Coptos Colossi", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* XXV, Boston, 1988, p. 57; B. Williams and Th. Logan, "The Metropolitan Museum Knife Handle and Aspects of Pharaonic Imagery Before Narmer", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46, Chicago, 1987, pp. 245-285, esp. 267-268.

78. The ivory object (height 4 cm.) in Munich, ÄS 1520, may also be part of a tableau, and represent the king and queen; A. Grimm, S. Schoske and D. Wildung, *Pharao, Kunst und Herrschaft im alten Ägypten*, Kaufbeuren, 1997, pp. 118-119, no. 90.

79. The most extensive consideration of these figures is W. Kaiser, "Zu den *msw nswt* der älteren Bilddarstellungen und der Bedeutung von *rpw.t*", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 39, Mainz, 1983, pp. 261-296.

80. San Antonio 86.138.62; fragment from a ceremonial palette decorated on both sides with scenes from a Heb-sed celebration. The figures include non-royal male and female figures, and a royal woman in a covered carrying chair on one side, and on the other side, a royal woman in an open carrying chair. I am grateful to Gerry D. Scott, III, and the members of his staff who made it possible for me to examine and photograph this unpublished fragment.

81. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum E. 3631, from Hierakonpolis, Main Deposit, limestone, height 20 cm.; selected bibliography, J.E. Quibell, *op. cit.* (n. 59), Pl. XXVIB; B. Porter and R. Moss, *op. cit.* (n. 17), V, 1937, p. 194; E. Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt* II, London, 1960, pp. 114-115, Pl. IX, 2, X, 2; L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, Acta universitatis upsaliensis Boreas 14, Uppsala, 1986, p. 80, Fig. 52; K.M. Ciałowicz, *Les Têtes de massues des périodes prédynastique et archaïque dans la vallée du Nil*, *Universitas Jagellonica Acta Scientiarum litterarumque* 829, *Studia ad Archaeologiam Mediterraneam Pertinentia* 9, Warsaw-Krakow, 1987, pp. 38-41, Pl. VIII.

82. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum E 3632, from Hierakonpolis, Main Deposit, limestone, height 32 cm.; B. Porter and R. Moss, *op. cit.* (n. 17), V, 1937, p. 194; K.M. Ciałowicz, *op. cit.* (n. 81), pp. 32-38, Pl. VII.

83. Cairo JE 70114, from Saqqara, ebony, height 9.5 cm., width 8.5 cm., depth 0.4 cm.; B. Porter and R. Moss, *op. cit.* (n. 17), III, 2, 1981, p. 441.

84. L. Troy, *op. cit.* (n. 81), p. 81.

85. W. Kaiser, *loc. cit.* (n. 79), pp. 266, 267, Figs. 1, 2-4 on p. 264.

86. Cairo JE 71586, probably from Hierakonpolis, limestone, height circa 70 cm.; H. Sourouzian, *loc. cit.* (n. 71), pp. 318, 338, Fig. 22a-d, with excellent photographs and earlier bibliography - there described as from a seated statue.

87. Cairo JE 32159, from Hierakonpolis, limestone, height about 86 cm.; B. Porter and R. Moss, *op. cit.* (n. 17), V, 1937, p. 196; H. Sourouzian, *loc. cit.* (n. 71), pp. 309-310, 331, Figs. 7a-d, with excellent photographs, and prior bibliography.

88. So much confusion has surrounded this piece that recently, "before restoration and after restoration" photographs of the Hierakonpolis

man were published as two different statues; D.C. Forbes, "Quibell at Hierakonpolis", *KMT; A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 7, 3, San Francisco, Fall, 1996, p. 49, two figures.

89. J.E. Quibell, *op. cit.* (n. 59), Pl. XV, 3.

90. F.D. Friedman, "The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* XXXII, Boston, 1995, p. 3, Fig 2a, b.

91. Cairo CG 395, from Mit Fares, granite, height 1 meter; H.G. Fischer,

in E.L.B. Terrace and H.G. Fischer, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum From Predynastic to Roman Times*, London, 1970, pp. 85-88.

92. The composition of the scene is similar on the ebony label with the Heb-sed of King Den. The king is enthroned on a high dias; in front of it are depicted the markers between which the king ran during his ritual course. Here, however, the king is only represented once; London, BM 32650, from Abydos, ebony, height 5.5 cm.; A.J. Spencer, *Early Egypt. The Rise of Civilisation in the Nile Valley*, London, 1993, p. 66, Fig. 45.



Fig. 1
Princess Wemtet-[ka]
Dynasty IV, probably reign of Snofru, 2575-
2551 B.C.
Limestone; height 43 cm.
Provenance: Dahshur, Snofru's Valley Temple
(After A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu
at Dahshur II/2*, Cairo, 1961, Pl. XLIV, C)
Present whereabouts not known



Fig. 2
Member of Djedefre's Family
Dynasty IV, reign of Djedefre, 2528-
2520 B.C.
Quartzite; height 28 cm.
Provenance: Abu Roash, Djedefre's
Pyramid Temple
Paris, musée du Louvre, E 12627



Fig. 3
Mycerinus and a Queen
Dynasty IV, 2490-2472 B.C.
Graywacke; height 139 cm.
Provenance: Giza, Mycerinus's Valley Temple
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 11.1738



Figure 4
 Queen Kha-merer-nebty II
 Dynasty IV, reign of Mycerinus, 2490-2472 B.C.
 Limestone; height 2.40 m.
 Provenance: Giza, Central Field, rock cut tomb
 of Kha-merer-nebty II
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 48856



Fig. 5
 Princess Redje.f
 Dynasty III, reign of Djoser (?), 2630-2611 B.C.
 Diorite; height 85 cm.
 Provenance: Saqqara,
 formerly in the Drovetti Collection
 Torino, Museo Egizio, 3065

Figure 6
Mersyankh III
Dynasty IV, presumably reign of Chephren,
2520-2494 B.C.
Limestone
Height of head 9 cm., height of base 16.8 cm.
Provenance: Giza, found in debris of Mersyankh III's
mastaba (G 7530 + 7540)
Reconstruction by the author
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 30.1457b (head)
and a (lower part)

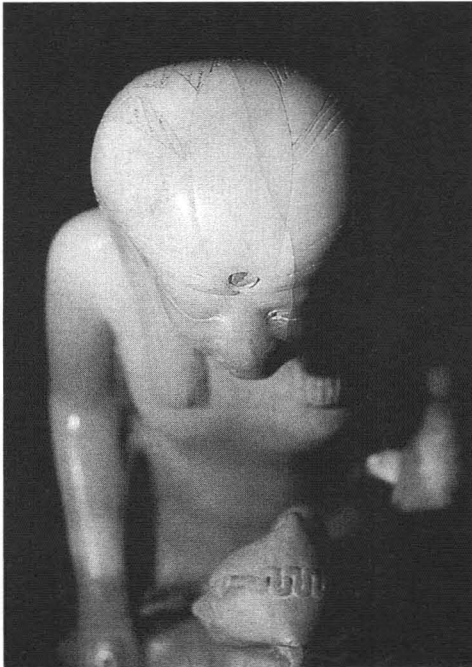
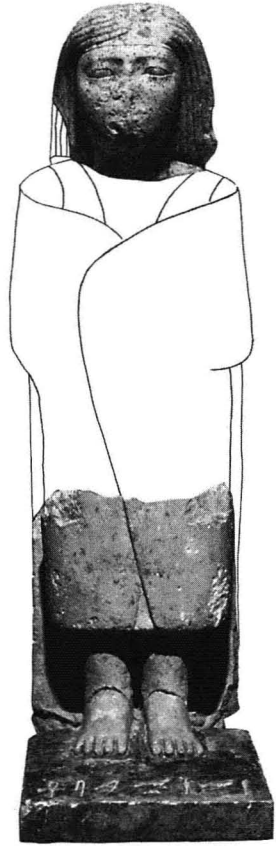
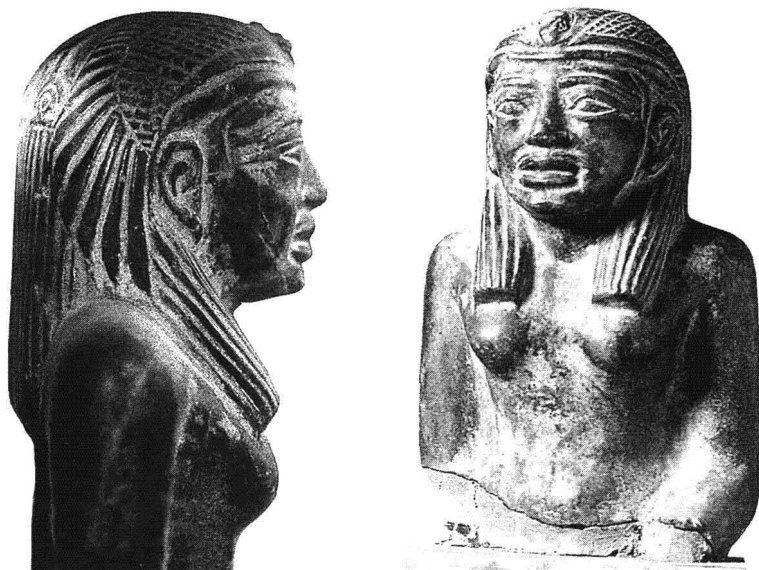


Figure 7
Queen Meryre-ankh-nes II and Pepy II
(detail of queen's head)
Dynasty VI, 2246-2152 B.C.
Calcite; height 38.9 cm.
Provenance: not known
New York, Brooklyn Museum, 39.119



Figs. 8-9
 Mother of a King
 Dynasty VI, reign of Pepy II (?), 2246-2152 B.C.
 Black diorite; height 19 cm.
 Provenance: Abydos

(After L. Borchardt, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire*, n^{os} 1-1294, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten I*, Berlin, 1911, Pl. 55)
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 255



Fig. 10
 Queen Khentkaus
 Dynasty V, reign of Neferefre (?),
 2426-2419 B.C. (?)
 Granite
 Provenance: Giza,
 detail on gate of Khentkaus's tomb
 (After M. Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs*,
Lost Pyramids: Abusir, Milan, 1994, p. 128)



Fig. 11
Mycerinus's (?) Mother
Uppsala 31
Dynasty IV, 2490-2472 B.C.
Graywacke; height 12 cm.
Provenance: not known
(After H. Schäfer, *Das Altägyptische
Bildnis*, *Leipziger Ägyptologische
Studien* 5, Hamburg, 1921, Pl. 7)



Fig. 12
Royal head attributed to Mycerinus
Dynasty IV, 2490-2472 B.C.
Graywacke; height 24.2 cm.
Provenance: Giza, Mycerinus's Pyramid Temple
(After R. Tefnin, *Statues et statuettes
de l'Ancienne Égypte*, Brussels, 1988, p. 18)
Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E. 3074

Fig. 13

Royal head attributed to Mycerinus
 Dynasty IV, 2490-2472 B.C.

Calcite; height 16 cm.

Provenance: Giza, Mycerinus's Valley Temple
 (After G. A. Reisner, *Mycerinus. The Temples of
 the Third Pyramid at Giza*, Cambridge (Mass.),
 1931, Pl. 52b)

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 09.203

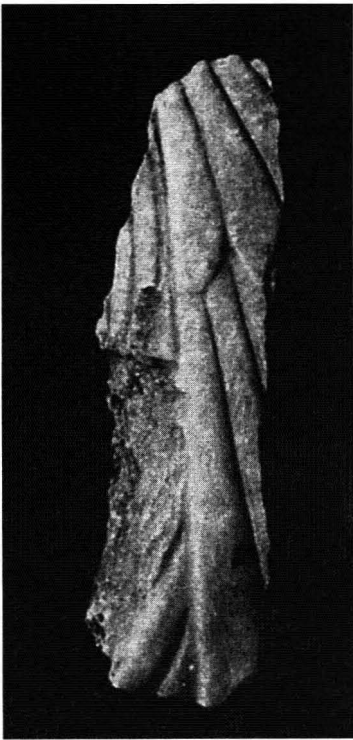
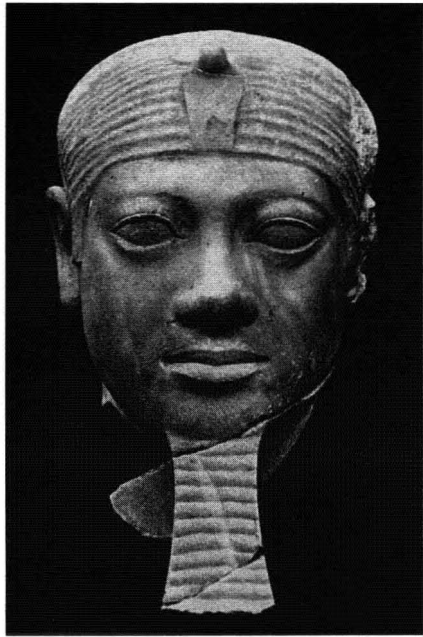


Fig. 14

Vulture headdress fragment from a statue of a
 King's Mother

Dynasty IV, reign of Mycerinus, 2490-2472 B.C.

Calcite; height 10 cm.

Provenance: Giza, chapel of the Eastern subsidiary
 Pyramid (IIIa)

(After G. A. Reisner, *op. cit.*, Pl. 17d)

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.5080



Figs. 15-16

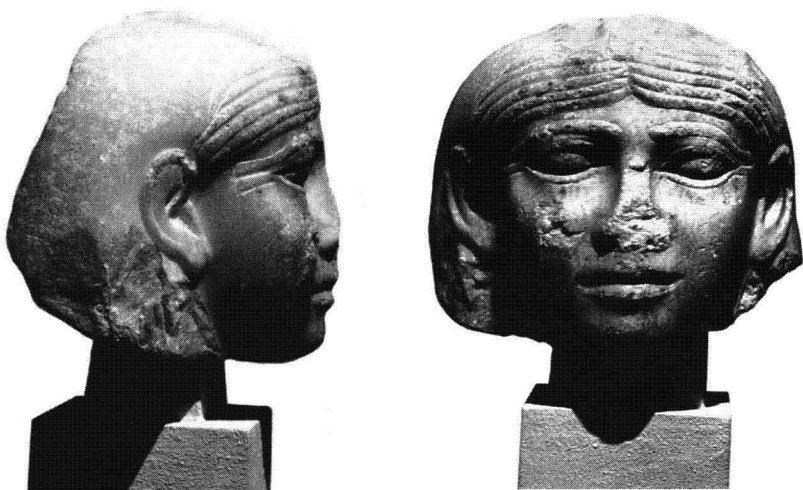
Queen Kha-merer-nebty II

Dynasty IV, reign of Mycerinus, 2490-2472 B.C.

Limestone; height about 1.30 m.

Provenance: Giza, Central Field, the queen's rock cut tomb

(After K.H. Dittmann, „Eine Mantelstatue aus der Zeit des 4. Dynastie“,
Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo 8, Cairo, 1939, Pl. 24)
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 48828



Figs. 17-18
 Chephren's (?) Mother
 Dynasty IV, reign of Chephren (?), 2520-2494 B.C. (?)
 Calcite; height 10.57 cm.
 Provenance: Giza, Chephren's Funerary Temple
 Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig, 1965

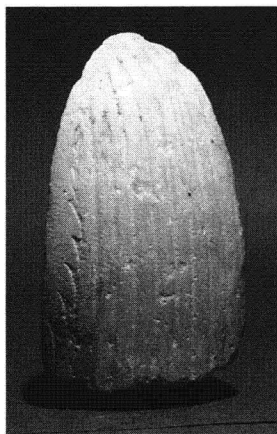
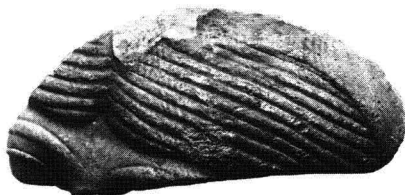


Fig. 19
 Fragment with vulture headdress from a statue of a King's Mother
 Dynasty IV, reign of Chephren, 2520-2494 B.C.
 Calcite; height 12 cm.
 Provenance: Giza, Chephren's Funerary Temple
 Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig, 1993

Fig. 20
 Fragment with vulture headdress from a statue of a King's Mother
 Dynasty IV, reign of Chephren, 2520-2494 B.C.
 Calcite; height 5.5 cm., width 12.5 cm.
 Provenance: Giza,
 Chephren's Funerary Temple
 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 15064



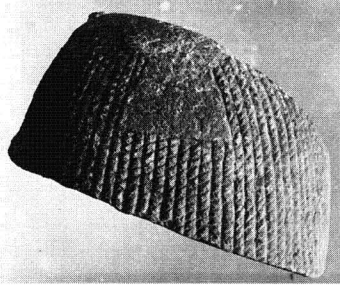


Fig. 21
 Fragment with tail of vulture headdress from a
 statue of a King's Mother
 Dynasty IV, reign of Chephren, 2520-2494 B.C.
 Calcite; height 9 cm.
 Provenance: Giza, Chephren's Gateway
 Leipzig, Ägyptisches museum
 der Universität Leipzig, 1966

Fig. 22
 Wig lappet with vulture
 Dynasty IV, reign of Chephren,
 2520-2494 B.C.
 Calcite; height 2.6 cm.
 Provenance: Giza, Chephren's
 Funerary Temple
 Leipzig, Ägyptisches museum
 der Universität Leipzig, 1967

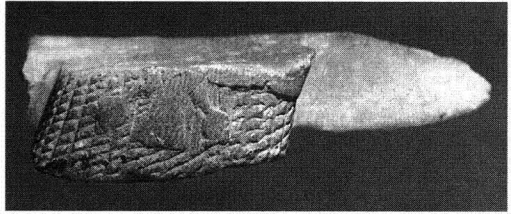


Fig. 23
 Mersyankh III (?)
 Dynasty IV, reign of Chephren, 2520-2494 B.C.
 Limestone; height 10 cm., width 10.5 cm, depth 8 cm.
 Provenance: Giza, probably G 7530
 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 30.1461



Fig. 24
 Hetepheres II and Mersyankh III
 Dynasty IV, reign of Chephren, 2520-2494 B.C.
 Limestone; height 59.5 cm.
 Provenance: Giza, Mersyankh III's tomb
 (G 7530 - 7540)
 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 30.1456

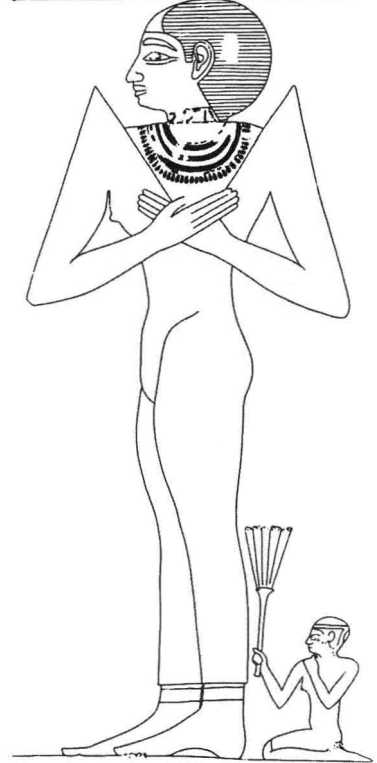


Fig. 25
 Hetepheres II
 Giza, mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III
 (G 7530- 7540)
 Dynasty IV, reign of Chephren, 2520-2494 B.C.
 Painted limestone
 (After D. Dunham and W.K. Simpson, *The
 Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III G 7530-7540,
 Giza Mastabas I*, Boston, 1974, fig. 7)



Figs. 26
 Queen's Sphinx
 Dynasty IV, reign of Djedefre, 2528-2520 B.C.
 Limestone; length 74 cm.
 Provenance: Abu Roash, Djedefre's Funerary Temple
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 35137



Fig. 27
 Detail of Figure 26



Fig. 28
 Head of Djedefre from a seated statue
 Dynasty IV, reign of Djedefre, 2528-2520 B.C.
 Quartzite; height 26 cm.
 Provenance: Abu Roash, quartzite, height 26 cm.
 (After Ch. Ziegler, *Les Statues égyptiennes de l'Ancien Empire*, Paris, 1997, p. 25)
 Paris, musée du Louvre, E 12626



Fig. 29
King Djoser and female members of his family
Dynasty III, reign of Djoser, 2630-2611 B.C.
Limestone; height 13.5 cm.
Provenance: Heliopolis
(After A. M. Donadoni Roveri, *Egyptian
Museum of Turin. Egyptian Civilization,
Monumental Art*, Milan, 1989, p. 200, Fig. 301)
Torino, Museo Egiziano, 2761/21



Fig. 30
Mother of Prince Khufu-kaf
Giza, tomb of Prince Khufu-kaf (G 7140)
Dynasty IV, reign of Cheops (?),
2551-2528 B.C. (?)
Limestone
(After W.K. Simpson,
The Mastabas of Kawab...,
Giza Mastabas 3, Boston, 1978, Fig. 26)



Fig. 31
Bankfield Stela
Early Dynastic Period, 2700-2650 B.C.
Limestone; height 49 cm.
Provenance: said to be from Thebes
(After A. Gardiner, "An Archaic Funerary Stele",
JEA IV, London, Pl. LV)
Halifax, Bankfield Museum



Fig. 32
Archaizing Queen
Middle Kingdom, Dynasty XIII,
1780-1727 B.C.
Graywacke; height 17 cm.
Provenance: not known
New York, The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, 65.509.1

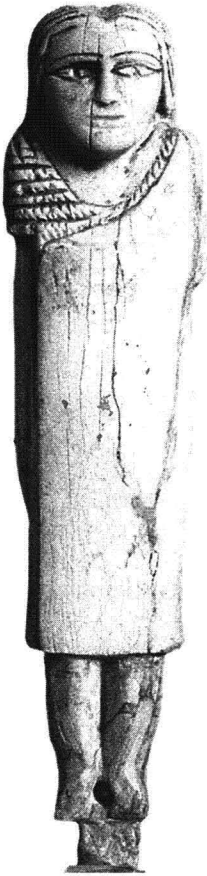


Fig. 33
 Figure of a Queen (?)
 Predynastic Period, Naqada III, circa 3200 B.C.
 Elephant ivory; height 13.5 cm.
 Provenance: not known
 Paris, musée du Louvre, E 11888



Fig. 34
 Female figure
 Predynastic Period, Naqada III,
 circa 3200 B.C.
 Faience
 Provenance: Abydos
 (After J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*,
 London, 1905, p. 38, Fig. 15)
 Present whereabouts not known



35



36

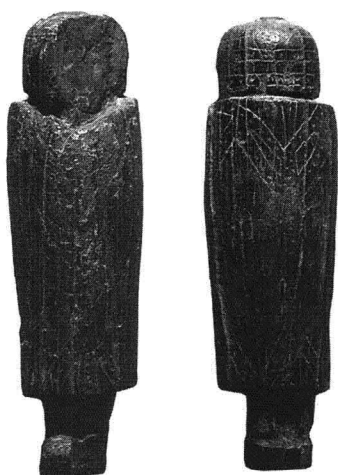


37

Figs. 35-36-37
 Figure of a Queen (?)
 Predynastic Period, Naqada III, circa 3200 B.C.
 Ivory; height 18.3 cm.
 Provenance: Hierakonpolis, Main Deposit
 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, E. 326



Figs. 38-39
 Figure of a Queen (?)
 Predynastic Period, Naqada III,
 3200 B.C.
 Ivory; height about 20 cm.
 Provenance: Hierakonpolis,
 Main Deposit
 (After E. J. Baumgartel, "About
 some Ivory Statuettes from the
 'Main Deposit' at Hierakonpolis",
JARCE VII, Boston, 1968,
 Pls. IV, Fig. 7 and V, Fig. 9)
 Philadelphia, University
 Museum, E 4895



Figs. 40-41
 Female wearing a patterned cloak
 Predynastic Period, Naqada III, circa
 3200 B.C.
 Ivory; height 12.6 cm.
 Provenance: Hierakonpolis,
 Main Deposit
 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, E. 328



Fig. 42
 Cloaked female with baskets (?)
 Protodynastic Period, Naqada III, 3200 B.C.
 Ivory; height 12.6 cm.
 Provenance: Hierakonpolis, Main Deposit
 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, E. 327

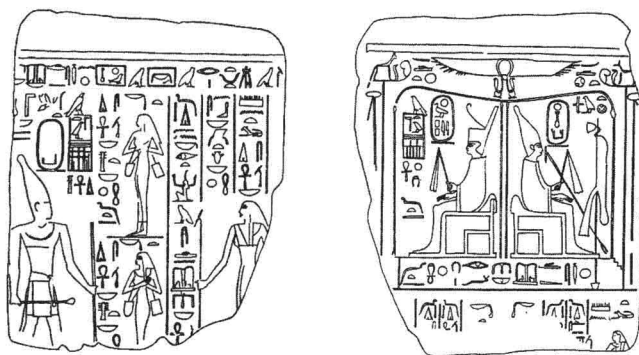


Fig. 43
 Stela with the Goddess Gat
 Dynasty VI, reign of Pepy II, 2246-2152 B.C.
 Limestone; height 60 cm.
 Provenance: not known
 (After P. Kaplony, review of Z. Saad, *The Excavations at Helwan*, *Bibliotheca
 Orientalis* XXVIII, no.1/2, Leiden, 1971, p. 48)
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 1747



Figs. 44-45-46
Pseudo-Hierakonpolis Figure
Limestone; height 29.8 cm.
(After H. W. Müller,
Ägyptische Kunstwerke...,
Exhibition Catalogue,
Berlin, 1964, A 60)
Lucerne, Kofler Collection
K 415

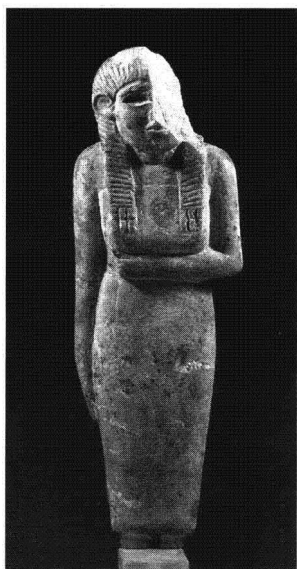


Fig. 47
Pseudo-Hierakonpolis Figure
Limestone; height 34.7 cm.
(After S. Schoske *et al.*,
*Staatliche Sammlung
Ägyptischer Kunst München*,
Munich, 1995, p. 43, Fig. 41)
Munich, Staatliche Sammlung
Ägyptisches Kunst, 4234

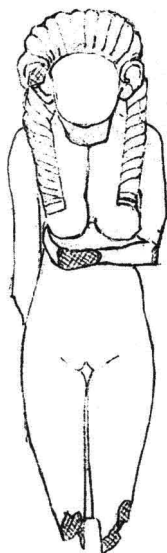


Fig. 48
Female figure
Predynastic Period, Naqada III, circa
3200 B.C.
Ivory; height 16 cm.
Provenance: Hierakonpolis, Main Deposit
(After B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient
Egyptian Statuary IV*, Copenhagen, 1966,
no. 871)
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, E. 322

Fig. 49
 Scene from Niuser-re's Heb-sed
 Abu Ghurob, Niuser-re's Sun Sanctuary
 Dynasty V, 2419-2392 B.C.
 (After W. Kaiser, "Zu den *msw nswt* der älteren
 Bilddarstellungen und der Bedeutung von *rpw.t*",
*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen
 Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 39, Mainz, 1983,
 p. 264, Fig. 1, 4)

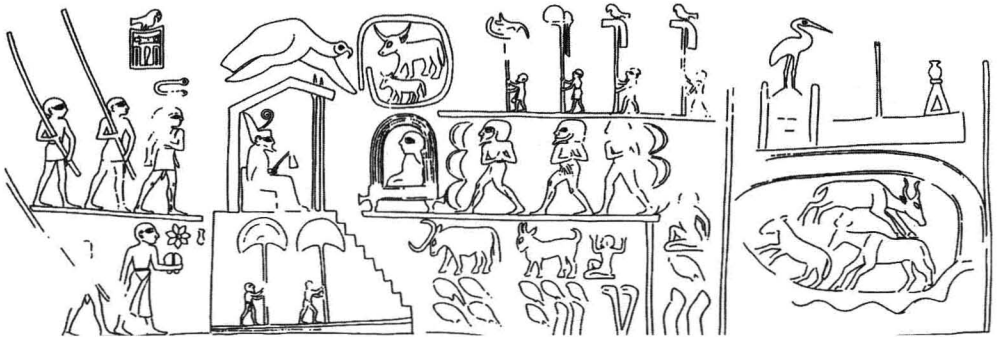


Fig. 50
 (After A. J. Spencer, ed., *Aspects of Early Egypt*, London, 1966, p. 31, Fig. 12)

Fig. 51



Figs. 50-51
 Narmer Mace Head
 Late Predynastic Period, circa 2960 B.C.
 Limestone; height 20 cm.
 Provenance: Hierakonpolis, Main Deposit
 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, E. 3631



Fig. 52
 Scorpion Mace Head
 Late Predynastic Period, circa 3100 B.C.
 Limestone
 Height of figure and carrying chair 3.5 cm.
 Provenance: Hierakonpolis, Main Deposit
 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, E. 3632



Fig. 53
 Label inscribed for Djer
 Dynasty I, 2926-2880 B.C.
 Ebony; height 9.5 cm.
 Provenance: Saqqara
 (After W.B. Emery, *The Tombs of
 Hemaka. Excavations at Saqqara*,
 Cairo, 1938, Pl. 18)
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 70114



Fig. 54

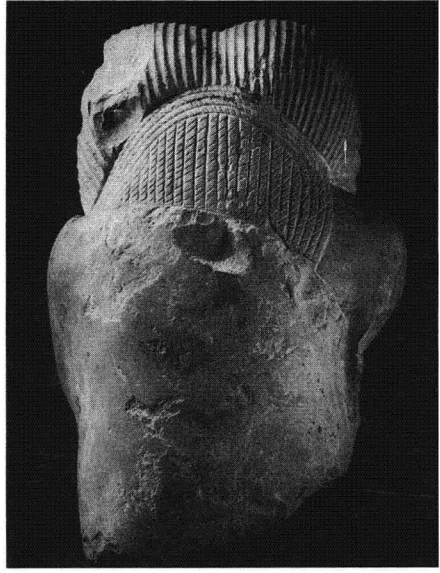


Fig. 55

Fig. 56
Author's reconstruction



Figs. 54-55-56
Asymmetrical kneeling statue of a Queen (?)
Late Predynastic, 3100-3000 B.C.
Limestone
Height approximately 75 cm.
Provenance: probably Hierakonpolis
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 71586



Figs. 57-58
Asymmetrical kneeling statue of a King (?)
Late Predynastic, 3100-3000 B.C.
Limestone; height approximately 86 cm.
Provenance: Hierakonpolis
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 32159



Fig. 59
Amenemhat III
Dynasty XII, 1844-1797 B.C.
Granite; height 1 meter
Provenance: Mit Faris
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 395



Fig. 60-61
 Eye details
 Late Predynastic Period, circa 3200 B.C.
 Woman, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 71586
 Man, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 32159

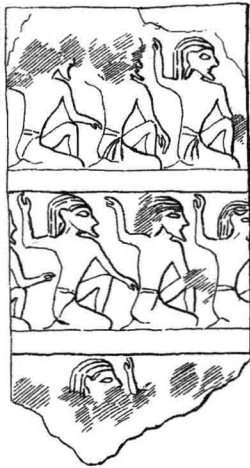


Fig. 62
 Cylinder Seal
 Ivory; height 16.2 cm.
 (After J.E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*,
Egyptian Research Account 4, London,
 1900, Pl. XV)
 Hierakonpolis,
 present whereabouts not known

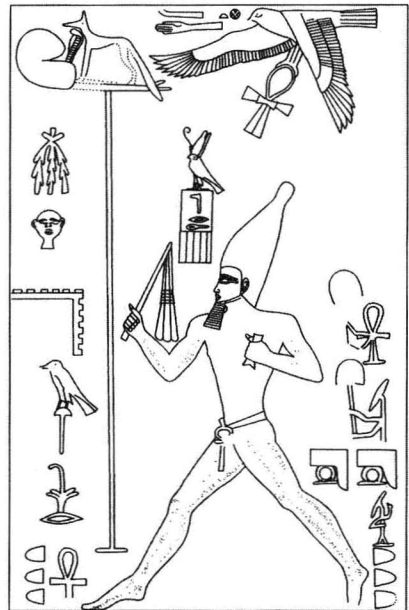


Fig. 63
 Djoser
 Saqqara, Djoser's Step Pyramid,
 underground chamber
 Dynasty III, 2630-2611 B.C.
 (After F.D. Friedman, "The Underground
 Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step
 Pyramid Complex", *JARCE XXXII*, Boston,
 1995, p. 33, Fig 19a)