

**The Decoration of the North Chapel of  
Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I at Dahshur**

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## Abbreviations

BCE	before the Common Era
ca.	circa
cat.	catalog
cm	centimeter
ed.	edited
Ed(s).	editor(s)
et al.	et alii
etc.	et cetera
fig(s).	figure(s)
Gardiner Sign List	Alan Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> revised edition from 1957 (Oxford, 1988), pp. 442–543
m	meter
no(s).	number(s)
p. or pp.	page(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)
vol(s).	volume(s)
WB I–V	Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow (Eds.), <i>Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache</i> , vols. 1–5 (Leipzig, 1926–1931)

## Technical notes

### Measurements and material:

The measurements of the relief fragments presented in chapters 3-4 refer to the preserved decorated surface unless otherwise stated. Width precedes height. The material of the fragments is limestone unless otherwise noted. The best-preserved pieces show that this limestone was of very high quality and white in color. The same type of stone was used throughout the complex and has been identified by Dieter Arnold as limestone from Tura.<sup>1</sup>

### Drawing conventions:

The drawings of the relief fragments use varying line weights. Raised (and sunk) relief is featured by three different line weights. With the light always coming from the top left, the outer contour of a raised (and sunk) object is defined by a heavy “shadow line” and a medium-weight “light line.” The thinnest line indicates incisions, top edges, or ridges within the raised relief. An exception was made for the depiction of the sky in the form of a star band. The sky is usually raised; when the stars were not incised but raised above the level of the sky, their contours were shown with “light” and “shadow” lines. In all other cases, the overlapping interior parts with varying heights of the relief surface were illustrated with the thinnest line weight or, in exceptional cases, through shading. Dotted lines were used to indicate the border of two differently painted areas when these were not distinguished in relief carving; they were also used for additional painted details. Areas that do not include any preserved original surface are depicted in grey. Within the raised portion of a relief, a grey fill was used only for deep damage, not if the raised surface was only worn. Incised lines that originally continued can thus end on a drawing without any damage being indicated. An undefined area that is raised above background level but does not preserve a contour, because it is surrounded by damaged surface, is featured with hatching. Dashed hatching was used for the remains of plaster on the surface of a piece. Masonry edges are indicated by lines that are thicker than the lines used for the outermost contour of a fragment.

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<sup>1</sup> Dieter Arnold with contributions and an appendix by Adela Oppenheim and contributions by James P. Allen, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies*, PMMA 26 (New York, 2002), p. 29.





## Introduction

Our knowledge of Middle Kingdom royal women is unfortunately rather limited, and due to the poor state of preservation of most Middle Kingdom funerary complexes little is known about the monuments for their mortuary cult. In addition to the *ka*-pyramid of the king, the pyramid complex of Senwosret III (ca. 1878–1840 BCE) at Dahshur included six subsidiary pyramids with chapels for the mortuary cult of their owners, presumably all royal women (see below). In the area where these chapels once stood, the Metropolitan Museum’s excavations have uncovered altogether more than 4,000 fragments with relief carving from their wall decoration.<sup>2</sup> From the north chapel of pyramid 8, which belongs to the king’s wife and king’s mother Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, about 1,200 of these fragments were recovered, making this not only the best-preserved decoration of a queen’s chapel within the pyramid complex of Senwosret III, but actually the best-preserved chapel for a royal woman in any Middle Kingdom pyramid complex, which is why the remains of this chapel in particular deserve a detailed publication. A careful study of the chapel’s relief fragments allows the reconstruction of its decoration, which will be presented here.

The aim of this dissertation, which is based on the archeological material recovered by The Met’s excavations, is to study and publish the surviving relief fragments of the north chapel of pyramid 8, to reconstruct the chapel’s wall decoration in detail, and to address questions that arise directly from this material. For this dissertation, the author decided to undertake an archaeological study and publication that focuses in detail on the remains of this one chapel rather than to present a broad study of the most important material from all the various chapels of the royal women in the complex. The latter scope would not have allowed a detailed study of the material and the incorporation of the many small pieces that, despite their size, provide valuable

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<sup>2</sup> These are the fragments excavated in the area of the chapels. Excavation of old spoil heaps to the north of the king’s pyramid have yielded several hundred more; however, for most it is not clear from which building in this part of the complex they originally derived. In this area there are several chapels of royal women, as well as the king’s north chapel. In addition, there are many fragments found during the excavations of the area between the north chapel of Senwosret III and the nearby east chapel of pyramid 2 that clearly derive from the queen’s chapel. (Many can likewise be assigned to the king’s monuments; for others it is unclear to which of the two buildings they belong.) The total number of fragments from the wall decoration of the royal women’s chapels can be estimated as being about 4,500.

information. Prior to focusing on the material of the north chapel of pyramid 8, the author undertook a survey, documentation, and general study of the decorated relief fragments of all chapels for royal women in the complex of Senwosret III. The material of the less well-preserved chapels will be published at a later time, but a few relevant pieces that were important for reconstructing the north chapel of pyramid 8 are included here.

Many fragments could be joined, which was an essential step that led to more information about the wall layout and the content of inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> Such joins were mainly achieved through working with the actual pieces stored in the expedition's magazine in Egypt, but in many cases the author's study and reconstruction of the decoration back in New York brought about the realization that pieces might fit together. This idea was then later tested with the original fragments in Egypt. Many joins could be established as such only by physically seeing and feeling whether the broken edges fully lock into one another, a task that can be done only with the original pieces. Some joins were obvious and easy to make, while others were more challenging, especially when fragments joined not along the decorated surface, but rather only at a very small area of the broken edges. Arguments for why a piece should belong at a certain place on the wall sometimes became superfluous when it joined a piece for which the position on the wall was clear. Likewise, several arguments for where decorative elements should be placed in relation to each other based on theoretical reconstructions became obsolete when new joins were made.

Obviously not all of the approximately 1,200 recovered relief fragments of the north chapel of pyramid 8 provided relevant information. More than 350 fragments feature parts of the vaulted ceiling decoration, which consisted of rows of large stars. A few relevant pieces of the ceiling decoration were documented and are presented here, but most fragments were not incorporated, as they did not offer any additional information. Pieces that were likewise sorted out were fragments that showed only other decorative patterns (parts of a *kheker*-frieze, block borders, or part of the dado) and did not present an unusual feature, any significant additional decorative elements, or any other evidence for the reconstruction. Unless represented otherwise, at least one large example of each such pattern was included. Small pieces with the depiction of a sky used as a border (also called a star band) that represent a type known through other pieces

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<sup>3</sup> The majority of the joins were made by the author; others were found by various other members of the expedition, among them especially Adela Oppenheim.

and that did not show other elements are likewise not featured in this study. Also, very small fragments that preserved only a small part of an object (such as a very small part of a limb of a male figure or part of separation lines of the offering list) are not presented here.

Many other minor fragments, however, were incorporated into the present study when they contributed any kind of information not provided by other pieces. The surface of cat. no. 121, for example, is very small (2.4 x 2.0 cm) and preserved only part of a sign, but this piece shows that this hieroglyph existed in the chapel, and what type of inscription it belongs to can even be suggested. A few pieces that were found in or close to the area of pyramid 8's north chapel and been identified as probably being intrusive are included here.

All fragments received an initial detailed visual examination to determine whether they should be documented. The material that was not documented in detail and is not presented in this written study was nevertheless always considered when looking for joins. As knowledge of the decoration of the chapel evolved, such a visual examination of the fragments was repeated several times and more pieces were added to the documentation over time. This approach resulted in about 550 fragments that were documented and studied in detail, and from these derive the 237 pieces from the north chapel of pyramid 8 presented here.<sup>4</sup>

In order to document the material, both detailed drawings and photographs were made. The author worked closely with the expedition's artists who traced the relief decoration directly from the original pieces onto Mylar placed on top of the relief surface. Later, these pencil drawings were converted off-site by various draftspersons into digital drawings. It can be difficult to determine where an original carved line runs and where damage lies, especially if the limestone surface is eroded, and if delamination has occurred that might create raised areas on the stone surface. The author is indebted to the marvelous eyes of the various artists who drew the reliefs so true to their originals. A poorly preserved carved surface often required discussions between the draftsperson and the present author to capture it as objectively as possible; however,

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<sup>4</sup> Twelve of these pieces have been published previously (and for several, more joins were found later); see Isabel Stünkel, "The Relief Decoration of the Cult Chapels of Royal Women in the Pyramid Complex of Senusret III at Dahshur," in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague (June 27–July 5, 2005)*, ed. by Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí (Prague, 2006), pp. 147–166; and Adela Oppenheim, "Appendix: Relief Decoration of the King's Temples and the Queens' Chapels," in Dieter Arnold with contributions and an appendix by Adela Oppenheim and contributions by James P. Allen, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies*, PMMA 26 (New York, 2002), pp. 133–146.

it should be noted that despite all attempts to render the relief as exactly as possible, each drawing is an interpretation of the piece.

Photography was done by the excavation's photographers, although this study also includes many photographs by the author, as the official expedition photographs that were taken prior to 2005 were shot on film and mostly only in black and white. In these cases the author's own digital photographs are shown here. Photographs are generally considered true to the piece, but distortion exists and a photograph cannot necessarily capture all important aspects of the carving, because shadows, which bring out the relief, cannot be created in all directions at the same time. This is why the combination of a photograph and a drawing was chosen here as the best means to document and present the reliefs. To conserve the artists' time, a few very minor fragments and the few intrusive pieces were not drawn; those are shown here only in photographs.

The following study begins with the archaeological context of the chapel and a discussion of the sources known for its owner (chapters 1–2). A detailed study and analysis of the chapel's surviving fragments and a few relevant pieces from other chapels are presented in chapters 3–4. This study allows the reconstruction of the chapel's decoration, which is featured in chapter 5. Intriguing questions about the omission of titles and of the name of the chapel's owner are investigated in two excursuses as chapters 6–7. Conclusions on the decorative and building process, the size of the chapel, and comparisons to other monuments are given in chapter 8, which is followed by a short appendix with the queen's titles.

# 1 The Archaeological Context of the Chapel

## 1.1 The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III and the History of the Site

The pyramid of Senwosret III at Dahshur is flanked on its north and south sides by subsidiary pyramids. These included a *ka*-pyramid for the king at the southeast corner and six more subsidiary pyramids, which probably all belonged to royal women (see figs. 1–2).<sup>5</sup> The latter had small chapels for the mortuary cult of their owners; the decoration of one of them is the focus of this study.

According to Dieter Arnold's study of the architecture of the complex, the pyramids on the south side of the king's pyramid (pyramids 7–9) belong to an earlier construction phase, while those in the north (pyramids 1–4) were slightly smaller and planned later.<sup>6</sup> Pyramids 8 and 9 in the south each have separate underground apartments, while those of the subsidiary pyramids on the north side are connected. The latter share an access shaft to the "queens' galleries" with an upper corridor that leads to four underground burial chambers located under their respective pyramids. Probably at an even later stage, this underground structure was enlarged with a lower corridor that forms a subsidiary queens' gallery with additional burials of royal women for whom no aboveground structures have yet been found.<sup>7</sup>

A small pyramid temple adjoined the king's pyramid on the east side, and a north chapel for him was present as well.<sup>8</sup> The king's pyramid and these two structures were surrounded by an

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<sup>5</sup> See Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 58–68, 75–86. Pyramid 7 can be identified as the *ka*-pyramid for the king, and pyramids 2, 3, 8, and 9 all belonged to royal women, as to be expected. The owners of pyramid nos. 1 and 4 are unknown. Jacques de Morgan et al., *Fouilles à Dahchour en Mars–Juin 1894* (Vienna, 1895), p. 53, fig. 116, p. 56, found a statuette of a high official in the burial chamber of pyramid 1; however, this does not necessarily mean that this statuette belongs to the original owner of the structure. The object could be intrusive, or the statuette's owner could have been buried in the tomb at a later stage; for the latter possibility, see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 58–59, 68–69.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69–74.

<sup>8</sup> The decoration of the monuments built for the king are being studied by Adela Oppenheim; see Adela Oppenheim, "Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur: The Pharaoh and Deities" (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2008); Adela Oppenheim, "The North and South Walls on Senwosret III's North Chapel at Dahshur," in *Ancient Memphis: 'Enduring is the Perfection.'* *Proceedings of the International Conference*

inner enclosure wall. A second, outer enclosure wall surrounded the king's pyramid and the seven subsidiary pyramids flanking it. In a later phase, the pyramid complex was enlarged and a vast temple was built to the south of the original outer enclosure wall; at this stage the original outer enclosure wall was enlarged on the north and south sides.

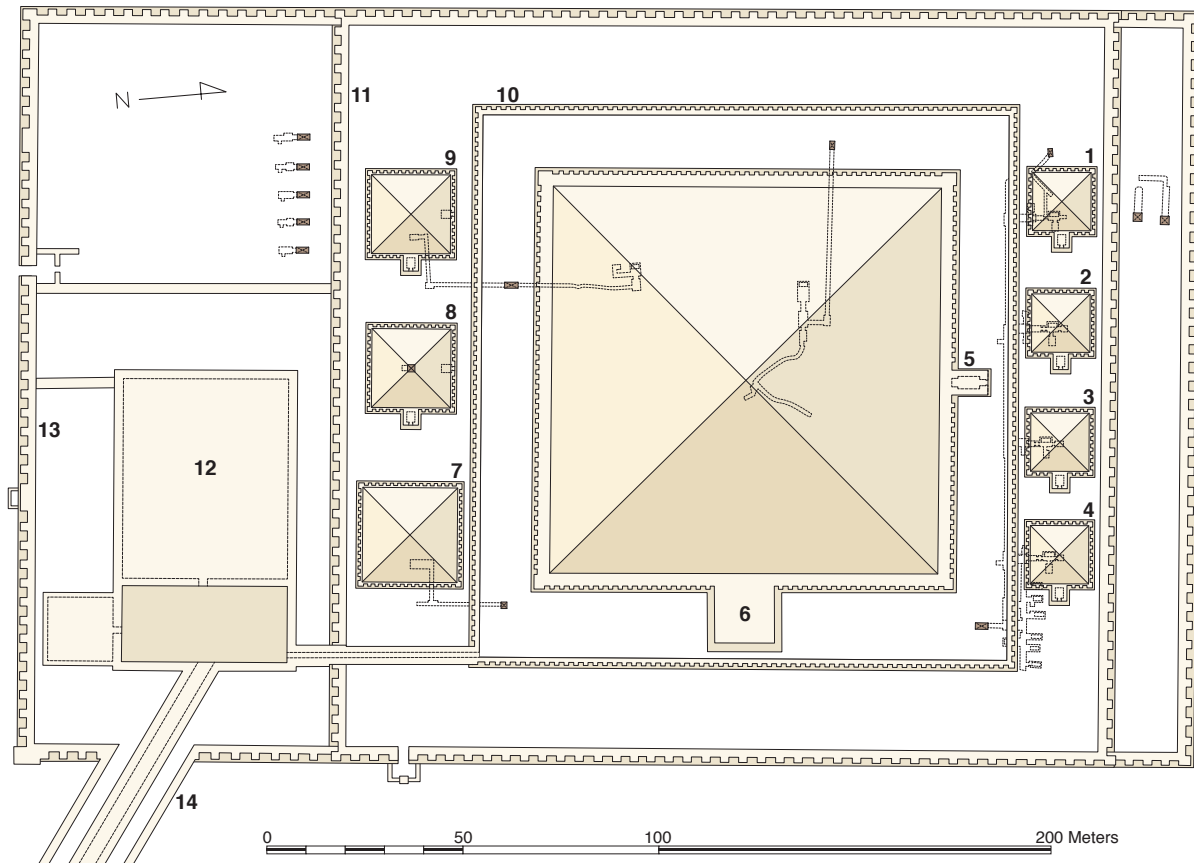


Fig. 1. Plan of the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur. 1–4) Subsidiary pyramids nos. 1–4, built for royal women. 5) King's north chapel. 6) King's pyramid temple. 7) Subsidiary pyramid no. 7, built as king's *ka*-pyramid. 8–9) Subsidiary pyramids nos. 8–9, built for royal women. 10) Inner enclosure wall. 11) Original outer enclosure wall. 12) King's south temple. 13) Outer enclosure wall. 14) Causeway.

held at Macquarie University, Sydney on August 14–15, 2008, ed. by Linda Evans, OLA 214 (Leuven, 2012), pp. 397–424; Adela Oppenheim, “The Early Life of Pharaoh: Divine Birth and Adolescence Scenes in the Causeway of Senwosret III at Dahshur,” in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, ed. by Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí, vol. 1 (Prague, 2011), pp. 171–188; Oppenheim, “Appendix: Relief Decoration,” in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 133–146.

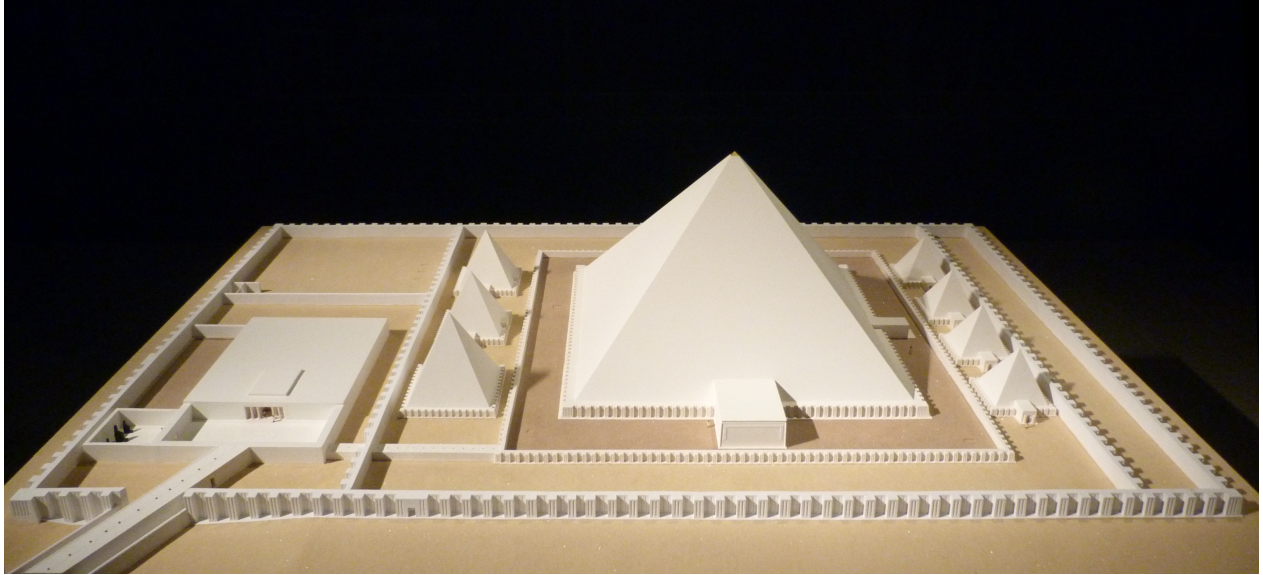


Fig. 2. Model of the pyramid complex of Senwosret III (constructed by Ronald Street, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014–15).

The pyramid complex of Senwosret III was first explored in 1839 by the engineer John Shae Perring, who was working for the British officer Richard William Vyse.<sup>9</sup> The work was part of a general survey on pyramids, and Perring excavated the area on the north side of the king's pyramid with the hope of finding its entrance. During these excavations he unearthed relief fragments, several of which were published as drawings in his short, seven-page report on the site.<sup>10</sup> These reliefs included several pieces that very probably derive from the east chapel of subsidiary pyramid no. 2, which belongs to the king's wife Neferethenut;<sup>11</sup> one of these reliefs is discussed in the following (see cat. no. 243).

Another unsuccessful attempt to find the entrance to the king's pyramid was made between 1882 and 1883 by Gaston Maspéro, who unfortunately removed much of the pyramid's brick core during his work. Jacques de Morgan, his successor as director of the Service des

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<sup>9</sup> For the history of the site, see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 15–18.

<sup>10</sup> Howard Vyse, *Appendix to Operations Carried On at the Pyramids of Gizeh in 1837. Containing a Survey by J. S. Perring, Esq. Civil Engineer, of the Pyramids at Abou Roash, and to the Southward, Including those in the Faiyoum*, vol. 3 (London, 1942), pp. 57–63.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. between pp. 62 and 63, figs. 5–9. Neferethenut seems to have been a king's daughter as well; see Dieter Arnold, Adela Oppenheim, and Isabel Stünkel, "Le complexe pyramidal de Sésotris III à Dahchour," in *Sésotris III: Pharaon de légende*, ed. by Fleur Morfoisse and Guillemette Andreu-Lanoë (Lille, 2014), p. 102.

Antiquités de l'Égypte, worked at the site in 1894 and excavated various areas of the complex.<sup>12</sup> In addition to finding the burial chamber of the king's pyramid, he discovered the "queen's galleries" and in them the two famous jewelry deposits. He published a plan of the complex, which included several monuments around the king's pyramid that he identified mistakenly as mastabas (later numbered 1–9 by the Metropolitan Museum's expedition).<sup>13</sup> The publication of his work also included drawings of several relief fragments that were found on the north and south sides of the king's pyramid; these belong to the chapels of the royal women, but it is very likely that none of them belong to the north chapel of pyramid 8.<sup>14</sup>

In the following years, some short explorations were undertaken, but it was not until 1990 that the pyramid complex of Senwosret III became the focus of detailed excavations and study, when the Metropolitan Museum began its work at the site under the directorship of Dieter Arnold, and in recent years with Adela Oppenheim as co-director. In 1994 a spectacular jewelry deposit was found in the subterranean apartments of pyramid 9, which belongs to the king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> For his work at several different sites at Dahshur, see de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour I*; and Jacques de Morgan et al., *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894–1895* (Vienna, 1903).

<sup>13</sup> De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour I*, pl. between pp. 48 and 49, fig. 105, p. 50.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76, fig. 178–180 (from the south of the king's pyramid), p. 77, fig. 182 (from the north of the king's pyramid). In his text, de Morgan did not specify where on the north and south sides these reliefs were found. On the general plan of the complex (pl. between pp. 48 and 49, fig. 105), he noted rough find spots by type of object, however, and the area in front of the north chapel of pyramid 9 is marked as a find spot for three reliefs. These are probably those published as figs. 178–180.

<sup>15</sup> Adela Oppenheim, "Appendix: Finds from the Tombs of the Royal Women," in Dieter Arnold with contributions and an appendix by Adela Oppenheim and contributions by James P. Allen, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies*, PMMA 26 (New York, 2002), pp. 127–133; Adela Oppenheim, "The Jewellery of Queen Weret," in *Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (1996), p. 26; Adela Oppenheim, "A First Look at Recently Discovered 12th Dynasty Royal Jewelry from Dahshur," in *KMT* 6 (1995), pp. 10–11; Adela Oppenheim, "The Royal Treasures of the Twelfth Dynasty," in *Egyptian Treasures from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*, ed. by Francesco Tiradritti (Vercelli, 1998), p. 141; Rosanna Pirelli, "Necklace of Queen Weret," "Bracelets of Queen Weret," "Scarabs of Amenemhat II," "Anklet of Queen Weret," in *Egyptian Treasures from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*, ed. by Francesco Tiradritti (Vercelli, 1998), pp. 146–147; Daphna Ben-Tor, "Two Royal-Name Scarabs of King Amenemhat II from Dahshur," in *MMJ* 39 (2004), pp. 17–33.



Dieter Arnold has studied the architecture and building phases of the complex, resulting in several publications.<sup>16</sup> Regarding the royal women, an important outcome of his work was to identify the large aboveground structures that had been built for the royal women as small pyramids rather than mastabas, as de Morgan had thought them to be.<sup>17</sup> In addition, he established that the two “mastabas” that de Morgan had included in his plan to the east of the king’s pyramid are not independent monuments; instead, de Morgan had misidentified the brick subfoundation of the inner enclosure wall in these two areas.<sup>18</sup>

The Metropolitan Museum’s excavation revealed further that an intriguing architectural design was used for the king’s pyramid, as it featured a paneled wall with recesses and projections at its bottom, which is the same design used for the enclosure walls.<sup>19</sup> According to Dieter Arnold’s most recent study of the architecture of the pyramid complex, the subsidiary pyramids also had such bastioned walls.<sup>20</sup> That the king’s pyramids and the pyramids of the royal women all had such a paneled foot created a strong visual unity (see fig. 2) and underlined the union of the king and his royal women.

The pyramid complex of Senwosret III had been regarded for a long time as the actual burial place of the king himself, with his funerary monument at Abydos being interpreted as a

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<sup>16</sup> Mainly Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*; see also Dieter Arnold, “Changing the Shape of the Pyramid of Senusret III,” in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague (June 27–July 5, 2005)*, ed. by Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí (Prague, 2006), pp. 108–115; Dieter Arnold, “Pyramid Shapes of the Twelfth Dynasty,” in *BES* 18 (2008), pp. 91–101; Dieter Arnold, “Neue architektonische Erkenntnisse von der Pyramide Sesostris’ III. in Dahschur,” in *Sokar* 23 (2011), pp. 70–77; Dieter Arnold, “Weitere Erkenntnisse zur Umfassung der Pyramide Sesostris’ III. in Dahschur,” in *Sokar* 24 (2012), pp. 24–31; Dieter Arnold, “Transportwege zu Pyramidenbaustellen in Dahschur,” in *Sokar* 30 (2015), pp. 68–77; and Dieter Arnold, “Ein Modell des Pyramidenbezirks Sesostris’ III.: Moderne Rekonstruktionsfragen—antike Bauprobleme,” in *Sokar* 31 (2015), pp. 26–37.

<sup>17</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 58.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75. Therefore there are no pyramids nos. 5 and 6.

<sup>19</sup> Arnold, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, pp. 108–115; Arnold, in *BES* 18 (2008), pp. 91–101; Arnold, in *Sokar* 23 (2011), pp. 70–77.

<sup>20</sup> See the new reconstruction in Arnold, Oppenheim, and Stünkel, in *Sesostris III*, p. 96, fig. 1; Dieter Arnold and Adela Oppenheim, “Model of the Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III, Dahshur,” in *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, ed. by Adela Oppenheim et al. (New York, 2015), p. 84, cat. no. 26; Arnold, in *Sokar* 31 (2015), pp. 26–37.

cenotaph. However, the king's burial chamber at Dahshur does not seem to have been used, and no other chamber that could have contained the king's burial has been found.<sup>21</sup> The monuments of Senwosret III at Abydos have been investigated by the University of Pennsylvania expedition to South Abydos, led by Josef Wegner, who believes that it is more likely that the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur is not the king's actual burial place and that he was buried at Abydos instead.<sup>22</sup> If this is indeed the case, then one wonders why his royal women were not buried with him, especially as some of the burials at Dahshur clearly happened after Senwosret III died. Even if his actual burial was not at Dahshur, a union of the royal women with the king would have still existed, but in this case it would have been formed with his symbolic burial only. Future excavations at the funerary complex of Senwosret III at Abydos will hopefully shed more light on the question of whether the king was indeed buried there.

## 1.2 Pyramid 8 and Its Canopic Burial

The pyramid of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I (pyramid 8) is located to the south of the king's pyramid, situated in a row (see figs. 1–2) with the king's subsidiary pyramid (pyramid 7) and with pyramid 9, which belongs to Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II, the main wife of Senwosret III (about whom see also chapter 7).<sup>23</sup> Like the other pyramids of the complex, pyramid 8 had a

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<sup>21</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 32–37, 43–45.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Josef W. Wegner and Muhammed A. Abu el-Yazid, "The *Mountain-of-Anubis*: Necropolis Seal of the Senwosret III Tomb Enclosure at Abydos," in *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, ed. by Ernst Czerny et al., vol. 1 (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA, 2006), pp. 419–435; Josef Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, PPYE 8 (New Haven and Philadelphia, 2007), pp. 392–393; Josef Wegner, "The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos: Considerations on the Origins and Development of the Royal Amduat-Tomb," in *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, ed. by David P. Silverman et al. (New Haven and Philadelphia, 2009), pp. 103–163; Josef Wegner, "Le complexe funéraire de Sésostri III à Abydos," in *Sésostri III: Pharaon de légende*, ed. by Fleur Morfoisse and Guillemette Andreu-Lanoë (Lille, 2014), pp. 108–113; Josef Wegner, "Revealing a Hidden Tomb: A Look at Excavations inside the Tomb of Senwosret III," in *Expedition* 56, no. 1 (2014), pp. 8–15.

<sup>23</sup> Pierre Tallet, *Sésostri III et la fin de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie* (Paris, 2005), pp. 18, 230–231, believes that Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I and Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II are the same person. He suggested that Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I owned both pyramid 8 and pyramid 9; he sees pyramid 9 as her real burial place and

brick core and a limestone casing.<sup>24</sup> Its base length was 42 cubits (about 22 m), and its height was originally reconstructed as being the same. As mentioned above, Dieter Arnold is now reconstructing the subsidiary pyramids with a bastioned wall at their bottoms (see figs. 1–2), but it is unknown how tall this wall was and where the angle of the pyramid started. The total height of pyramid 8 including the wall could very well still have been about 22 m; however, this height is uncertain.<sup>25</sup> Pyramids 8 and 9 were the largest pyramids for royal women within the complex, both are located on the preferred south side of the king's pyramid,<sup>26</sup> and they seem to belong to an earlier building phase, while the subsidiary pyramids on the north side were slightly smaller and seem to belong to a later one.<sup>27</sup> The size, position, and building phase of these two pyramids show the central role of their owners for the king.<sup>28</sup>

An 11 m deep shaft beneath the center of pyramid 8 leads to a very small chamber that de Morgan found sealed (see fig. 3). Not large enough to accommodate an actual burial, it contained only a granite canopic chest with uninscribed alabaster jars.<sup>29</sup> No other burial apartments were found by de Morgan or the Metropolitan Museum's expedition. Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I's Dahshur pyramid thus seems to have functioned only as a cenotaph and the queen was likely buried elsewhere, probably in the pyramid complex of her husband Senwosret II in Lahun (see chapter 2.2).

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pyramid 8 as a symbolic burial. This suggestion can be rejected, as a symbolic burial place is already part of the subterranean chambers of pyramid 9 and pyramid 8 and 9 have the same size. There is no known parallel for a queen or a king owning directly next to their burial pyramid an additional symbolic pyramid the same size as the pyramid for the actual burial.

<sup>24</sup> For the architecture of pyramid 8, see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 82

<sup>25</sup> According to Dieter Arnold, verbal communication with the author in November 2015.

<sup>26</sup> For the south as the preferred location, see Peter Jánosi, *Die Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen: Untersuchungen zu einem Grabtyp des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 13, DÖAW 13 (Vienna, 1996), p. 72.

<sup>27</sup> See Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 58, 60, 62, 65, 67, 75–76, 82.

<sup>28</sup> This also expresses a union with the king, as do the triad statues of Senwosret III; see below.

<sup>29</sup> De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour I*, pp. 76–77; Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 83.

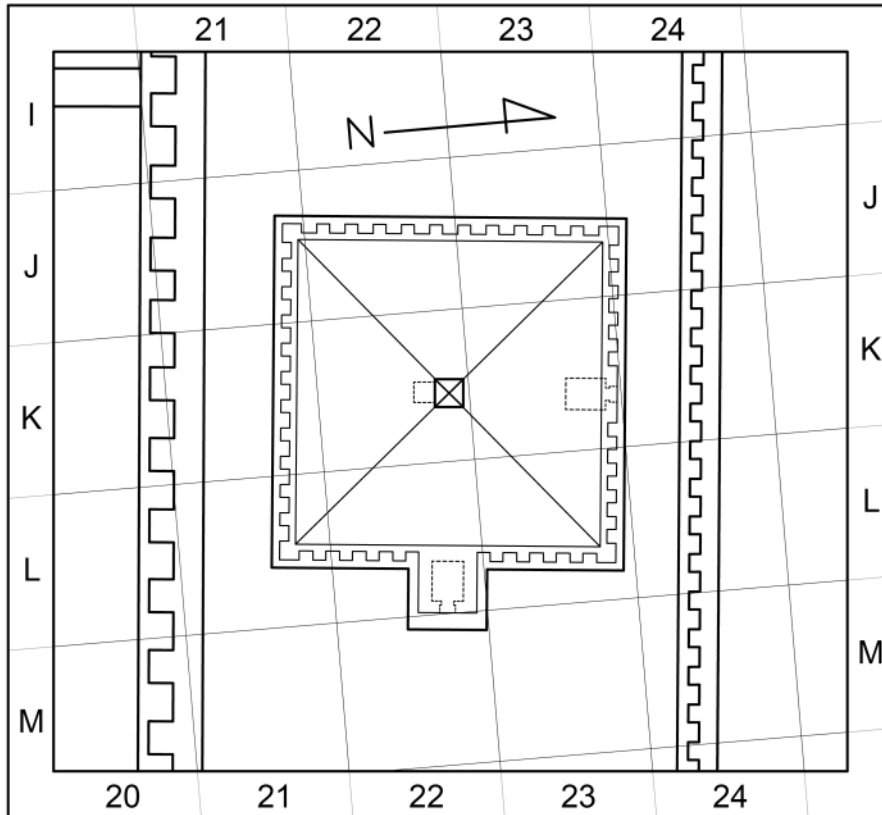


Fig. 3. The pyramid of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I (pyramid 8) with its north and east chapels and the grid plan of the Metropolitan Museum's excavation (each square is 10 x 10 m).

A symbolic burial can also be found for Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II, the owner of pyramid 9 in the Dahshur complex of Senwosret III. The elaborate underground structures of this pyramid included an actual burial chamber and a “south tomb.”<sup>30</sup> Similar “south tombs” are also known for the two royal women who were buried in the pyramid of Amenemhat III.<sup>31</sup> However, in these three other cases, the actual and symbolic burials of the royal women were incorporated

<sup>30</sup> For the underground apartments of pyramid 9, see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 77–80.

<sup>31</sup> As well as for Amenemhat III himself; for all three, see Dieter Arnold, *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhet III. in Dahschur*, vol. 1, *Die Pyramide*, AV 53 (Mainz, 1987), pp. 17–61. See also Dieter Arnold, “Buried in Two Tombs? Remarks on ‘Cenotaphs’ in the Middle Kingdom,” in *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O’Connor*, ed. by Zahi A. Hawass and Janet Richards, CASAE 36 (Cairo, 2007), pp. 55–61.

within the same main structure and were not shared between two sites, as seems to have been the case for Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I.

The canopic chest and the jars were transferred to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Unfortunately they cannot be identified today among the other canopic equipment that de Morgan found at Dahshur.<sup>32</sup> De Morgan did not note whether the jars were filled. Arnold suggested that the jars probably contained the organs of the queen, because the canopic shrine had been sealed.<sup>33</sup> He further concluded that pyramid 8 was built after the death of queen Weret I, as the entrance to the shaft was inaccessible after the pyramid's construction. However, the fact that the chamber was sealed does not necessarily mean that the queen's organs were in the jars; it only shows that for the ancient Egyptians the function of the chamber was fulfilled. The queen might have owned two sets of canopic jars, one set that contained her organs for her actual burial,<sup>34</sup> and a second, symbolic set for her cenotaph.

An intriguing parallel for two sets of canopic jars is known from the burial of a woman called Khenemetneferhedjet, who was buried in the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Dahshur. An alabaster canopic chest with four jar-like depressions carved into it was found in her "ka-chapel" or "south tomb," while remains of wooden canopic jars and a wooden chest were found in the canopic niche.<sup>35</sup> According to Dieter Arnold, who excavated the site, the canopic niche was originally planned to be larger and was probably meant to contain a canopic chest made out of stone, but due to size constraints that arose later, a smaller replacement chest of wood was made. In the publication of Amenemhat III's pyramid, Arnold suggested that a second set of canopic jars for a ka-chapel might have been a common feature for royal tombs at this time.<sup>36</sup>

The set of canopic jars found in the cenotaph of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I could be a second set for a ka-burial as well, even though it seems to have been at a site other than that of

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<sup>32</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 83, 86–87.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>34</sup> See chapter 2.2.

<sup>35</sup> Arnold, *Pyramidenbezirk Amenemhet III.*, pp. 45–47, 59–60, fig. 29. Surprisingly, this very rare case of two sets of canopic jars has not received much attention. For this women, see also chapter 7.

<sup>36</sup> Arnold, *Pyramidenbezirk Amenemhet III.*, pp. 99–103.

her actual burial. We unfortunately do not know if such a second set might have been deposited at the same time as the “real” canopic jars.<sup>37</sup>

### 1.3 The East and North Chapels of Pyramid 8 and Their Destruction

All aboveground buildings for the funerary cult of the king and royal women in the complex of Senwosret III were completely demolished in antiquity. No remains of standing walls exist from any of the royal women’s chapels, and even their floors and stone foundations were mostly destroyed. Information about the chapels can thus only be provided by their brick subfoundations (or by the recess that the chapel’s foundation formed, as in the case of pyramid 8’s north chapel; see fig. 4) and by the fragments of the architecture and of the wall decoration recovered during the Metropolitan Museum’s excavations. The architecture of the royal women’s chapels has been studied and published by Dieter Arnold as part of his general study of the architecture of the pyramid complex.<sup>38</sup>

Pyramid 8 and pyramid 9 each featured two chapels, one in the east and one in the north, while the pyramids for royal women on the north side of the king’s pyramid seem only to have had an east chapel. Like the pyramids’ casing, the chapels were built out of limestone blocks. The north chapels of pyramids 8 and 9 were not placed in front of the pyramid, like the east chapels, but were, rather, recessed into the pyramid’s paneled foot and core (see figs. 3–4).

In the center of the north side of pyramid 8 was a 4.30 m deep and 4.65–6.60 m wide niche for the chapel’s stone foundation. There was no brick subfoundation as there was in many other chapels; rather, the stone foundation sat directly on the *gebel* surface (see fig. 4). Dieter Arnold therefore concluded that the north chapel was not yet planned when the foundation of the pyramid was laid.<sup>39</sup> Parts of three stone foundation blocks are preserved in situ on the south side

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<sup>37</sup> It seems likely that this happened only after the queen died, which leaves still valid Arnold’s opinion that the core of pyramid 8 was built after her death, even if the jars were empty. But if an additional, empty set was buried while she was alive, and it was subsequently after her death imbued with spiritual significance through rituals, then pyramid 8 could have been built before the queen’s death, even though this latter scenario seems less likely.

<sup>38</sup> For the architecture and placement of the chapels, see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 59–60, 62, 65, 67, 76–77, 82–83.

<sup>39</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 83.

of the niche and on top of one of them is part of a floor block.<sup>40</sup> The entrance wall of the north chapel was presumably flush with the pyramid's foot.<sup>41</sup> A pit was found in the back center of the niche, and according to Arnold it could have functioned as a foundation deposit or “to connect the offering place to the realm of the netherworld.”<sup>42</sup>

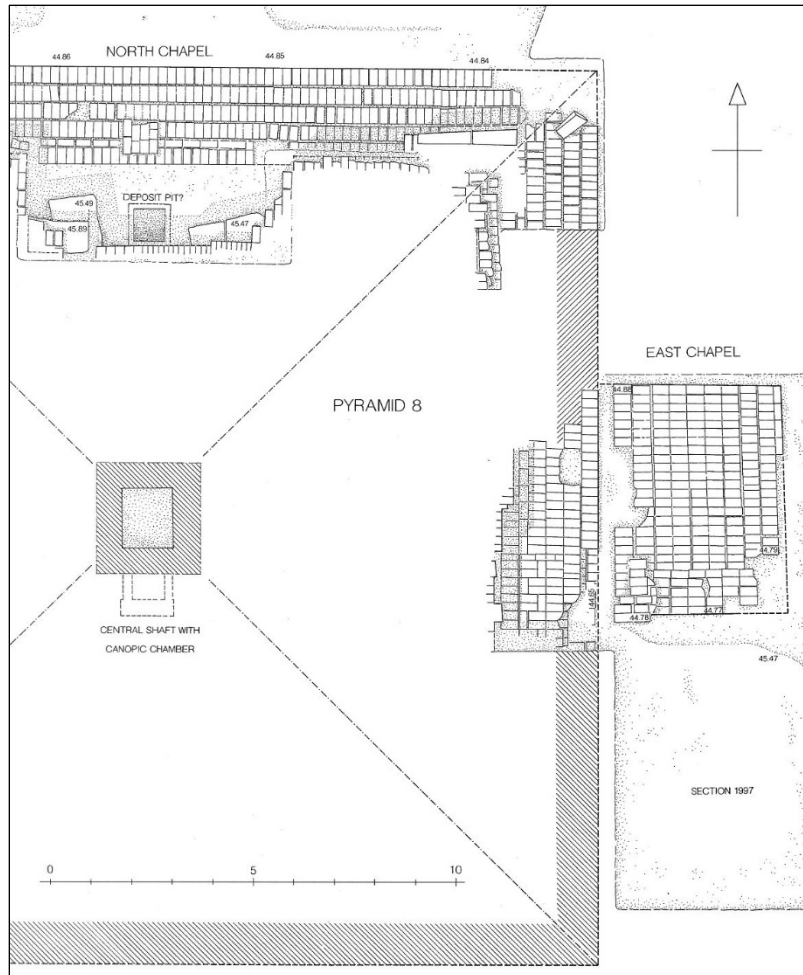


Fig. 4. The areas of the east and north chapels of pyramid 8 (from: Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pl. 50; note that this drawing does not include the newly reconstructed bastioned wall at the base of the pyramid).

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 83, pls. 48, 49c, 49d, 50. The foundation blocks are labeled as such in three of these drawings; in the text they are called “backing stones.”

<sup>41</sup> The subfoundation of the north chapel of pyramid 9 stops at the perimeter of the pyramid, which shows that the entrance wall of the north chapel of pyramid 9 did not protrude, *ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 83, pl. 50. See also here chapter 8.4.

The architectural remains of the chapel show that its top featured a cavetto cornice above a horizontal ledge and with a horizontal torus below, as is the usual arrangement in the complex. At the front corners of the building were triple corner tori, and the chapel's outer walls were probably not inclined.<sup>43</sup> Remains of an obelisk were found in the area of the east chapel of pyramid 8, and other chapels for royal women might have had a pair of obelisks in front of their entrance as well.<sup>44</sup>

The different placement in relation to the pyramid gave the east and north chapels very different appearances (see fig. 5 and chapter 8.5). The east chapel was more clearly a separate building, attached to the front of the pyramid. The north chapel, which was set into the pyramid, gave the visual impression of a gateway into the queen's pyramid.

The relief fragments from the north chapel of pyramid 8 were mainly found in the 1997 and 1998 seasons. They were excavated in an area ca. 5 x 7 m overall, in front of the niche that originally housed the chapel.<sup>45</sup> Many of the fragments are small (less than 10 x 10 cm) and shallow (less than 3 cm deep), suggesting that the decoration was deliberately hacked off the blocks. This also explains why many joins could be made, as the pieces that were chiseled off were left behind at the site. In the New Kingdom, the pyramid complex seems to have been the site of an extensive dismantling program, when stone workers demolished many buildings and cut blocks into smaller sizes that were then transported elsewhere for reuse. It is unfortunately

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<sup>43</sup> Dieter Arnold originally reconstructed the exterior of the women's chapels with inclined walls. During the present author's study it became apparent that the exterior sides of the lintels of several chapels sat at a right angle to the lintel's block edges (see, for example, cat. no. 1). Dieter Arnold thus re-examined an architectural piece from the east chapel of pyramid 8 (published in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pl. 52d) that was very difficult to measure and determined that the piece does not have a slight inclination, as originally thought; instead, the badly preserved torus runs at a right angle to both block edges, which means that the chapels' walls were not inclined but vertical. The chapel walls were thus reconstructed without an inclination in the architectural model of the complex; see figs. 2 and 5.

<sup>44</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 82–83. For the architectural model of the complex (see here figs. 2 and 5), Dieter Arnold suggested that all east chapels might have featured a pair of obelisks.

<sup>45</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 83. This is the west part of square K/24; for the squares, see here fig. 3.



unknown where these pieces were reused, but this work seems to have happened in the reign of Ramses II.<sup>46</sup>

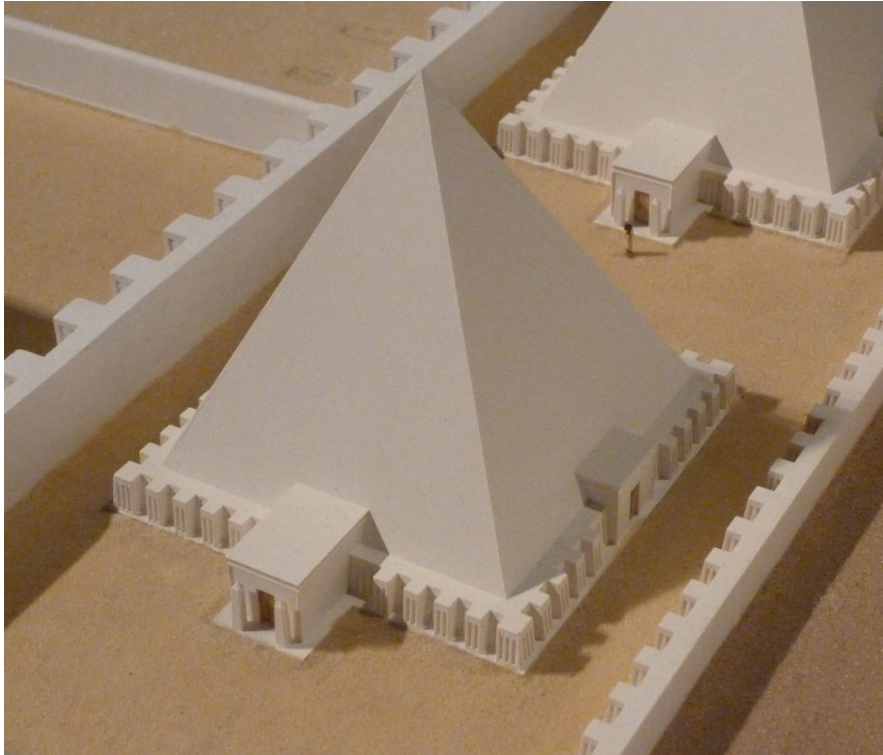


Fig. 5. Detail of the model of the pyramid complex of Senwosret III (constructed by Ronald Street, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014–15) showing pyramid 8 with its east and north chapels.

The lintel of the north chapel of pyramid 8 is an example of this deliberate destruction, as many small, thin pieces could be joined to a larger piece that was left behind (see cat. no. 1). A small section that is not preserved was probably split from the bottom of the original block and then carried away for reuse. The larger piece that was left behind still bears most of its interior decoration. In addition, there are many small, shallow, decorated fragments, which join the lower edge of the large piece, extending beyond its bottom. This indicates that the decoration was chiseled off after the smaller section had been separated from the larger piece. It seems that the blocks were worked into smaller, more easily transportable pieces and, once in that size,

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<sup>46</sup> See Hana Navrátilová, “New Kingdom Graffiti in Dahshur, Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III: Preliminary Report. Graffiti Uncovered in Seasons 1992–2010,” in *JARCE* 49 (2013), pp. 113–141.

deprived of their decoration. Why this was done is unknown. The reason might have been a wish to have seemingly “pristine” blocks or to “hide” where these blocks had come from.<sup>47</sup> Theoretically, this could also have been done out of fear that depictions might come alive.<sup>48</sup> Lion hieroglyphs from a piece of the east chapel of pyramid 3 (cat. no. 240) seem to have been deliberately targeted, which supports the latter hypothesis.<sup>49</sup> However, the decoration that was hacked from the lintel block of the north chapel of pyramid 8 consisted of piled offerings, which would not have posed a threat. In many instances, complete decorative surfaces seem to have been systematically wiped out, which is a category of destruction different from a targeted “killing” of specific threatening decorative elements. It is possible that the various types of destruction indicate that the decoration was destroyed at different times for different reasons.

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<sup>47</sup> See Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, p. 10, who notes that the decoration was hacked off “either when the fine limestone was transformed into other objects or in order to disguise the origin of the stone when it was delivered to its new owners.”

<sup>48</sup> As seems to have been the case in the temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari according to Jadwiga Lipińska, “‘Blinded’ Deities from the Temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari,” in *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákosy*, ed. by Ulrich Luft (Budapest, 1992), pp. 387–388.

<sup>49</sup> See also cat. no. 178, where the head of a vulture seems to have been hacked out on purpose, and cat. no. 122, where the heads of small kneeling figures in the lowest register of the offering list were deliberately destroyed.

## 2 The Chapel's Owner: Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I

That the king's wife and king's mother Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I was the owner of pyramid 8 is clearly evident from the inscription on a tympanum that was found in the area of the north chapel of this pyramid (see cat. no. 178). This chapter will discuss evidence for this woman other than that deriving from her cenotaph in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III.<sup>50</sup>

### 2.1 The Evidence for Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I from the Lahun Papyri

A king's wife and king's mother Khenemetneferhedjet Weret (I) is known from a Lahun papyrus (Berlin P. 10.003) that features an inventory of statues and can be dated to year 9 of Senwosret III.<sup>51</sup> It lists statues of Senwosret II, who is called "justified," of Senwosret III, whose name features the addition "may he live eternally," and of other members of the royal family. It is not absolutely certain whether Senwosret III was the son of Senwosret II, although this lineage is generally accepted and followed in Egyptology.<sup>52</sup> Two different statues are listed for the king's wife and king's mother Khenemetneferhedjet Weret (I); the inscription reads twice *hmt nswt mwt nswt*<sup>53</sup> *Hnmt-nfr-hdt Wrt* (see fig. 6). In addition, two statues for a king's wife

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<sup>50</sup> See also Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 118, note 426.

<sup>51</sup> See Ludwig Borchardt, "Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun und die zeitliche Festlegung des mittleren Reiches der ägyptischen Geschichte," in *ZÄS* 37 (1899), pp. 89–103; Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1971), pp. 2–3, pl. 1; Olivier Perdu, "Khenemet-nefer-hedjet: Une princesse et deux reines du Moyen Empire," in *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 70–71; see also Stephen Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Hieratic Documents* (New Malden, 1990), pp. 157–158, p. 178, note 10.

<sup>52</sup> For doubts, see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 117, note 425. However, see Dieter Arnold, "Der Pyramidenkomplex Sesostris' II. bei El-Lahun," in *Sokar* 32 (2016), pp. 52–65, where he now accepts Senwosret III as son of Senwosret II. I would like to thank Dieter Arnold for supplying me with this article before it was published.

<sup>53</sup> The word *nswt* is only written once in front of *hmt* but can be read twice for both *hmt nswt* and *mwt nswt*; this writing is common in Dynasty 12; see Silke Roth, *Die Königsmütter des Alten Ägypten von der Frühzeit bis zum Ende der 12. Dynastie*, ÄUAT 46 (Wiesbaden, 2001), pp. 259–260.

Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit/Khered<sup>54</sup> are listed; she appears twice as *hmt nswt Hnmt-nfr-hdt Šrjt*. The king's wife and king's mother Khenemetneferhedjet Weret (I) was therefore identified as the wife of Senwosret II and the mother of Senwosret III,<sup>55</sup> and Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit was identified as a wife of Senwosret III. Senwosret II and Khenemetneferhedjet Weret (I) are called “justified,” which contrasts with the addition “may he live eternally” for Senwosret III and the wish “may she live, be sound and healthy” that was added for the king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit. These expressions have been interpreted as indications that Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I was dead by year 9 of Senwosret III;<sup>56</sup> however, Silke Roth argued caution, pointing out that these expressions might have been chosen to underline the two different generations presented in the inscription.<sup>57</sup>

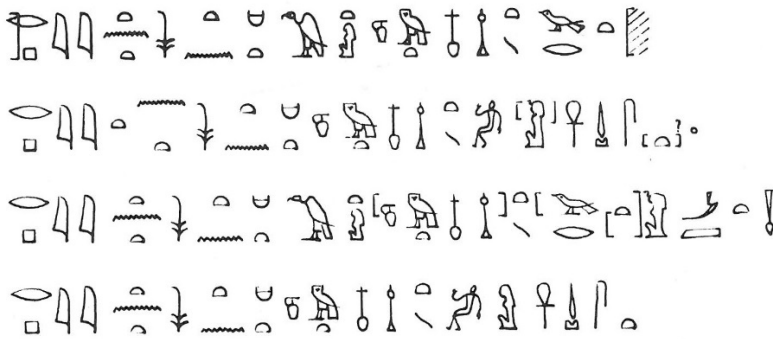


Fig. 6. Hieroglyphic transcription of an inventory of statues from Lahun (from Perdu, in *RdE* 29 [1977], p. 71).

<sup>54</sup> When the seated-child hieroglyph (Gardiner Sign List A17) is used alone as an abbreviation, Alan Gardiner gave it the reading *hnd*; see Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3<sup>rd</sup> revised edition from 1957 (Oxford, 1988), p. 443. However, as most authors have read it as *šjt*, this reading will be used in the following.

<sup>55</sup> This lineage has generally been accepted, but that hypothetically an alternate scenario might be possible should be mentioned, as it is not absolutely certain that Senwosret III was the son of Senwosret II. If Senwosret II and Senwosret III were both sons of Amenemhat II and thus brothers, then Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I could have been the wife of Amenemhat II and possibly the mother of both Senwosret II and Senwosret III, which would still explain her appearance at the complexes at Lahun and at Dahshur. The basalt fragment from Lahun (see below), which does not call her a king's mother, cannot necessarily be used as evidence against this hypothesis, as the main titles of royal women are not always given and are sometimes split up within one monument (see chapter 6).

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 82, with further references.

<sup>57</sup> Roth, *Königsmütter*, p. 234.

Another papyrus fragment (Berlin P. 10.095), which also derives from the temple archives of Lahun, mentions together with Senwosret II a king's wife and king's mother who is called only Khenemetneferhedjet (and "justified").<sup>58</sup> Due to her titles, she can be identified as Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I. Two other papyri include interesting references as well: A Khenemetneferhedjet appears on another Lahun papyrus fragment (Berlin P. 10.416<sup>59</sup>), and yet another fragment (Berlin P. 10.349<sup>60</sup>) refers to a queen *///nfr-ḥdt Wrt*.<sup>61</sup> However, as the full titles of the royal woman (or women) in question are not preserved, she (or they) cannot be identified.

## 2.2 Other Evidence for Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I from the Pyramid Complex of Senwosret II at Lahun

In the pyramid complex of Senwosret II at Lahun, three (possibly four) relevant pieces have been found. A basalt fragment naming a king's wife *Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt* was retrieved from the debris around the sarcophagus in the tomb of Sithathoryunet (tomb no. 8) and is today in the Petrie Museum (UC14616; see fig. 7).<sup>62</sup> The piece was probably introduced into the tomb when it was robbed in antiquity and originated from a different area in the complex. The inscription reads *ḥmt nswt Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt*. It is followed by bird's feet that look like those of a *wr*-bird, and a *t*-sign is situated below, leaving little doubt that this is *Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt Wrt*. In front of the *sw*-plant that begins the title *ḥmt nswt* is a partial bird hieroglyph with a *t*-sign above its back.

<sup>58</sup> Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften I*, pp. 44–45; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 71.

<sup>59</sup> Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften I*, p. 245; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 71.

<sup>60</sup> Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften I*, p. 228; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 71.

<sup>61</sup> Yet another Lahun papyrus (Berlin P. 10.237 d; see Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften I*, p. 129) names a Khenemetneferhedjet Aat, who might be the same as Khenemetneferhedjet Aathenu, who is also known as Khenemetneferhedjet Aat and was buried in the pyramid of Amenemhat III; for this woman, see chapter 7.

<sup>62</sup> Guy Brunton, *Lahun*, vol. 1, *The Treasure*, BSAE 27 (London, 1920), p. 20, pl. 15; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 72; Wolfram Grajetzki, review of Silke Roth, *Die Königsmütter des Alten Ägypten von der Frühzeit bis zum Ende der 12. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2001), in *DE* 54 (2002), p. 113; see also Wolfram Grajetzki, "La place des reines et des princesses," in *Sésostri III: Pharaon de légende*, ed. by Fleur Morfousse and Guillemette Andreu-Lanoë (Lille, 2014), pp. 55, 57, fig. 9.



Fig. 7. Fragment of an offering table (?) from Lahun with an inscription naming a king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Weret (Petrie Museum UC14616). Photo © 2015 UCL.

The same two signs also appear in front of the inscription *ḥmt nswt* *Hmmt-nfr-ḥdt* *ḥnh.tj dt* on a red granite fragment of a large vessel, which was found at Karnak; the area in front of the two signs is again unfortunately not preserved.<sup>63</sup>

Guy Brunton saw the bird-sign on the Lahun fragment as a *z3*-goose and reconstructed it as part of the title *z3t nswt*.<sup>64</sup> Peter Jánosi followed this interpretation,<sup>65</sup> while Silke Roth read the sign as part of the title *z3t Gb*.<sup>66</sup> Wolfram Grajetzki, who studied the original piece, proposed that the bird-sign is a *w*-quail chick and not a *z3*-goose.<sup>67</sup> He also noted that the reconstruction of the title remains open, but he suggested with a question mark that the *t*-sign might belong to the

<sup>63</sup> Helen Jacquet-Gordon, *Le trésor de Thoutmosis Ier: Statues, stèles et blocs réutilisés*, Karnak-Nord 8, FIFAO 39 (Cairo, 1999), pp. 279–280, no. 180.

<sup>64</sup> Brunton, *Lahun I*, p. 20.

<sup>65</sup> Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen*, p. 62.

<sup>66</sup> Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 504–505.

<sup>67</sup> Grajetzki, in *DE 54* (2002), p. 113

following *sw*-plant for *nswt* and that the *w*-sign might be part of the title *wrt hzt* or *hmut t3wj tmwj*. However, it does not seem to have been very common to write the *t*-sign for *nswt* in front of the *sw*-plant, and the title *wrt hzt*<sup>68</sup> is usually spelled without a *w*-quail chick.<sup>69</sup> It is much more likely that this is part of the title *bnrt mrwt*, which is known for Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I from her south tympanum at Dahshur, where it is spelled with a *w*-quail chick followed by a *t*-sign (see cat. no. 178).

Grajetzki noted that the basalt fragment from Lahun might be part of a statue,<sup>70</sup> but the existing edges, the step to a lower surface above the border with the inscription, and the position of the name fit extremely well as being the front left or right corner of an offering table.<sup>71</sup> If this is indeed part of an offering table, then it presumably originally stood above ground, at a cult place for the queen within the pyramid complex.

Another interesting piece from Lahun was found in the area of Senwosret II's pyramid temple. This relief fragment features the top parts of three hieroglyphs: a *nfr*-sign, a white crown, and a *wr*-bird, clearly reading [Khenemet]neferhedjet Wer[et].<sup>72</sup> The piece could indicate that the queen was depicted or mentioned in the pyramid temple; however, the possibility cannot be excluded that the piece originally derived from another building, possibly one built for her, and was displaced.<sup>73</sup>

Several relief fragments that were found to the north of the only subsidiary pyramid at Lahun (located to the northeast of the king's pyramid) probably indicate the existence of a north chapel.<sup>74</sup> One of them features the title *hmut t3wj tmwj* and suggests that the subsidiary pyramid

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<sup>68</sup> In the following, the term "title" is used not only for designations that clearly define a role but also for those that are more descriptive (often called "epithets"). In the Middle Kingdom these titles are written in front of the name. The term "epithet" is used here for expressions that follow a name (see chapter 7).

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, cat. nos. 14 and 178.

<sup>70</sup> Grajetzki, in *Sesostris III*, p. 55.

<sup>71</sup> Brunton, *Lahun I*, p. 20, had identified the fragment as being part of a statue or an offering table.

<sup>72</sup> Flinders Petrie, Guy Brunton, and M. A. Murray, *Lahun*, vol. 2, *The Pyramid*, BSAE 33 (London, 1923), p. 15, pl. 16, fig. 28; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 72.

<sup>73</sup> See Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen*, p. 62.

<sup>74</sup> Petrie et al., *Lahun II*, p. 8, pl. 17; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob, 1889–90* (London, 1891), p. 5, pl. 12.

belongs to a royal woman with that title.<sup>75</sup> Peter Jánosi cautiously proposed Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, who is known to bear this title, as the owner of the pyramid.<sup>76</sup> Another fragment features part of a *nfr*-sign that might have belonged to *Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt*, but it could have also belonged to another word.<sup>77</sup> No underground apartments have been discovered directly under or adjacent to the subsidiary pyramid and none have been found for the row of mastabas next to it either, which is puzzling. The only underground tomb that was found in the north was the large tomb no. 621, and Guy Brunton proposed that it might have belonged to the queen who owned the nearby pyramid.<sup>78</sup> However, the burial chamber seems to never have contained a burial, and Dieter Arnold suggests that tomb 621 was the original tomb of Senwosret II, which was later abandoned to build a new structure.<sup>79</sup> Several shaft tombs were found on the south side of the pyramid and the question has been raised if the aboveground burial structures in the north were possibly symbolic ones for the burial shafts in the south,<sup>80</sup> an idea that Jánosi rejected.<sup>81</sup> No burial chamber for the body of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I was found in the vicinity of pyramid 8 in the complex of Senwosret III, either; the Metropolitan Museum's expedition has searched for one at Dahshur without success.<sup>82</sup> Since the Lahun complex has not yet been fully investigated, and since it was common for royal wives to be buried within their husband's funerary complex, it seems more likely that Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I was buried in the

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<sup>75</sup> Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, p. 5, pl. 12, fig. 6.

<sup>76</sup> See Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen*, pp. 61–62; he points out that this assignment is not secure and also rightfully corrected Petrie's false reading of the inscription. It is possible that Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I received the only subsidiary pyramid as the mother of the designated heir to the throne.

<sup>77</sup> This is why it cannot be regarded as evidence for her; for the piece, see Petrie, Brunton, and Murray, *Lahun II*, pl. 17, fig. 23; see also Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 235.

<sup>78</sup> Petrie, Brunton, and Murray, *Lahun II*, pp. 16–18.

<sup>79</sup> Arnold, in *Sokar 32* (2016), pp. 52–65. For this tomb see also Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen*, pp. 60–61; Aidan M. Dodson, "The Tombs of the Queens of the Middle Kingdom," in *ZÄS 115* (1988), p. 131, note 79; Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 45–46.

<sup>80</sup> See Petrie, Brunton, and Murray, *Lahun II*, pp. 10, 15; Dodson, in *ZÄS 115* (1988), p. 131; and Roth, *Königsmütter*, p. 235.

<sup>81</sup> Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen*, p. 62.

<sup>82</sup> The possibility that there might be a shaft leading to a burial chamber that has not yet been found at Dahshur cannot be fully excluded but seems unlikely at this point.



pyramid complex of her husband Senwosret II in Lahun and that her pyramid in the complex of her son at Dahshur was a mere cenotaph.

### 2.3 Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I in the Triad Statues of Senwosret III

Several triad statues of Senwosret III depict the king seated on a throne with a small figure of a standing woman to each side of his lower legs. The best-preserved inscriptions are on a statue from Tell el-Moqdam (British Museum EA1145; see fig. 8a–c).<sup>83</sup> An inscription in front of the feet of the woman on the viewer’s right reads *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t z3t Gb hmt nswt mwt nswt Hnmt-nfr-hdt m3<sup>c</sup>t hrw nbt jm3h*. As she is called a king’s wife and king’s mother Khenemetneferhedjet, she can be identified as Senwosret III’s mother Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I. The figure on the viewer’s left is accompanied by an inscription in the same position. She is called king’s wife Khenemetneferhedjet (the inscription reads *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t z3t Gb hmt nswt Hnmt-nfr-hdt nhy.tj dt*). This is presumably the main wife of Senwosret III, who is shown here in union with the king and his mother. This woman is most probably Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II,<sup>84</sup> the owner of pyramid 9 at Senwosret III’s Dahshur complex. Her pyramid included a large subterranean tomb with a burial chamber that was positioned beneath the king’s pyramid, clearly indicating her high status.<sup>85</sup> The position of her pyramid in line with that of the king’s mother and the king’s subsidiary pyramid shows the same union between them that is reflected in the triad statue(s).<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Edouard Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh (Heracleopolis Magna) with Chapters on Mendes, the Nome of Thoth, and Leontopolis*, EEF 11 (London, 1894), p. 30, pls. 4A, 12C; *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, vol. 5 (London, 1914), p. 6, pl. 11; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 73–74; Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 233, 505–506, 578, fig. 105; the reading of the inscriptions here follows Roth.

<sup>84</sup> Previously, the king’s wife Khenemetneferhedjet on the triad statues had been identified with Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit, as Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II was not yet known, but it is possible that Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit and Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II are the same person (see chapter 7 below).

<sup>85</sup> See Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 75–82.

<sup>86</sup> Roth, *Königsmütter*, p. 239; see also Isabel Stünkel, “Notes on Khenemet-nefer-hedjet Weret II,” in *The Art and Culture of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Dorothea Arnold*, ed. by Adela Oppenheim and Ogden Goelet, *BES* 19 (2015), pp. 631–633 (see also *ibid.*, p. 631, note 1 for another such triad statue of unknown origin that did not preserve any inscriptions but might have derived from Dahshur).



Fig. 8a–c. Triad statue of Senwosret III and details with the inscriptions in front of the two queens (British Museum EA1145). Photos © The Trustees of the British Museum.

A second triad statue from the same site (British Museum EA1146) presumably formed a pair with the other. It shows again a king's wife and king's mother Khenemetneferhedjet on the viewer's right side. The accompanying inscription in front of her feet reads *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t ḥmw t3wj tmwj* // *ḥmt nswt mwt nswt mrjt=f Ḥnmt-nfr-ḥdt [m3<sup>c</sup>t ḥrw]*.<sup>87</sup> The figure on the viewer's left seems to have been erased when the statue was reworked by Osorkon II, but as these statues presumably made up a pair, it is very likely that Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II was depicted here as well.

Another triad statue was found in Medamud (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 66569), and this was originally part of a pair as well; only part of the small figures of the women seems to

<sup>87</sup> See Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 233, 505–506, 578, fig. 106; Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh*, p. 30, pls. 4C, 12C; *HTBM* IV, pl. 9; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 74.

have survived from the second statue.<sup>88</sup> Only the inscription above the woman on the viewer's right is preserved. It calls her *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t wrt hts hmt nswt Hnmt-nfr-hdt nb(t) jm3l*,<sup>89</sup> indicating that this is a depiction of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II.

A fourth triad statue (British Museum EA 1069), from Tell Nebesheh, was originally also part of a pair; unfortunately its inscriptions are puzzling, as they give unusual titles and do not include any designations of kinship to the king.<sup>90</sup>

In summary, it can be noted that Senwosret III's mother and his main wife are shown on one of the triad statues from Tell el-Moqdam and that the second one very probably depicted the same two women. The king's main wife is again present on the statue from Medamud, but the second women unfortunately cannot be identified, though presumably his mother was depicted here as well. The unusual titles of the two royal women on the Tell Nebesheh statue do not allow their identification. One would expect the same women; however, this is not certain, as the inscriptions do not include any titles expressing kinship to the king.

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<sup>88</sup> F. Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1926)*, FIFAO 4 (Cairo, 1927), p. 107; Bodil Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1966), no. 1394; Kurt Lange and Max Hirmer, *Ägypten: Architektur, Plastik, Malerei in 3 Jahrtausenden* (Munich, 1967), no. 110; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 75; Eileen Hirsch, *Kultpolitik und Tempelbauprogramme der 12. Dynastie: Untersuchungen zu den Göttertempeln im Alten Ägypten*, Achet A3 (Berlin, 2004), pp. 97–98, 328, no. 231.

<sup>89</sup> Note that the signs preserved at the bottom represent the actual end of the inscription according to Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 75, who was able to examine the statue. The published image in Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1926)*, p. 107, is incorrect because it implies that the bottom of the two columns of inscription is damaged, while in fact what follows in this location is the damaged head of the queen. Perdu read “pleine de grâce,” so *wrt jm3t* and not *wrt hts*, but he pointed out that this reading is not secure because the two signs for *jm3* and for *hts* are very similar. Following the use of titles at Dahshur that include *jm3t* in the title *nbt jm3t* and *hts* in the title *wrt hts* (see, for example, cat. no. 178), it seems more likely that the latter was used.

<sup>90</sup> Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 233, 506–507, 579, fig. 107, note that Roth corrected the drawings given in *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, vol. 4 (London, 1913), pl. 9.

## 2.4 Miscellaneous Objects That Might Belong to Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I

A statue of a seated woman that was acquired by the Louvre in 1997 (E 32564) names a king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Weret; Christiane Ziegler dated the statue to the reign of Senwosret II based on the style and on the name in its inscription.<sup>91</sup> The woman wears a short wig topped by an unusual incised circular lotus flower and a uraeus; incised jewelry is present as well. Ziegler observed that areas between the legs, on the arms, and behind the forearms might have been reworked in order to attach an object. The question has been raised as to whether her facial features might have been altered.<sup>92</sup> An inscription runs in several lines in front of the woman's feet. It is not well executed, being only roughly incised. After an offering formula that names Hathor, the titles of the woman read<sup>93</sup> *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t wrt hts wrt hzt Mrhwj<sup>94</sup> B3tjt dstjt<sup>95</sup> W3d.t // // // // // ddt*

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<sup>91</sup> Christiane Ziegler, "Une nouvelle statue royale du Moyen Empire au Musée du Louvre: La reine Khénémet-neferhedjet-ouret," in *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 24 (2001), pp. 11–34; Christiane Ziegler, "Une reine égyptienne entre au Louvre," in *Revue du Louvre* 48, no. 1 (1998), pp. 13–15; Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 230, 507–508, 579, fig. 108.

<sup>92</sup> Rita E. Freed and Jack A. Josephson, "A Middle Kingdom Masterwork in Boston: MFA 2002.609," in *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, ed. by David P. Silverman, William Kelly Simpson, and Josef Wegner (New Haven and Philadelphia, 2009), p. 10.

<sup>93</sup> The following is mainly after Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 230, 507–508, 579, fig. 108, who read the remains of some signs slightly differently from Ziegler, in *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 24 (2001), p. 27. However, see also the following two notes here.

<sup>94</sup> Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 508, 579, fig. 108, saw the partially visible signs that follow *wrt hzt* as part of one title that she read as *wrt hzt Mrhw* and translated with question mark as "The one large of favor of the *Mrhw*-bull." I prefer to read *wrt hzt* as its own complete title, which is well known and was very popular in Dynasty 12. The following sign *Mrhw* could possibly be read *Mrhwj* "The one who belongs to the *Mrhw*-bull" and be seen as parallel to the following *B3tjt* "The one who belongs to the *B3tjt*-ram." However, neither of these expressions is otherwise known as title.

<sup>95</sup> This title used to be read *sdjt W3dt*; see, for example, Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, BOREAS: Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 14 (Uppsala, 1986), p. 181, A1/21; Hans Goedicke, "The Death of Pepi II-NEFERKARE'," in *SAK* 15 (1988), pp. 112–113; Michel Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, BdE 126 (Cairo, 1999), pp. 123–127; or Roth, *Königsmütter*, p. 169, note 958. Vassil Dobrev, "The South Saqqara Stone and the Sarcophagus of Queen Mother Ankhesenpepy II (JE 65 908)," in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, ed. by

*jḥt nbt jrj=tw n=s ḥmt nswt mrjt=f Ḥnmt-nfr-ḥdt Wrt ʿnḥ.tj dt*. If the date of the statue to the reign of Senwosret II is correct, then this is probably a representation of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, as Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II would not yet have been queen.

The bottom left part of a red granite false door of a Khenemetneferhedjet Weret was excavated in Bubastis, where it was reused in a Third Intermediate Period building; where it originally stood is unclear (see also chapter 5.7).<sup>96</sup> Its inscription reads *///t Ḥnm ḥmt nswt Ḥnmt-nfr-ḥdt Wrt nbt jmꜣḥ*. This false door could belong to either Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I or Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II.<sup>97</sup> It is interesting to note that one of the titles of this queen include the god Khnum.

A king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Weret occurs on four small objects, three of which additionally feature the title priestess for Sobek; however it is unclear whether they refer to Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I or Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II.<sup>98</sup> Known, too, are more objects that name only a Khenemetneferhedjet; to whom they belong is also unclear (see chapter 7.3).

It has been suggested that a female sphinx head in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston might represent Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I.<sup>99</sup> This was based on stylistic dating of the piece to the time of Senwosret II and identification of the subject as a king's wife due to her uraeus and representation as a sphinx. While this identification may be correct, it is only one of many possibilities. During the Middle Kingdom, princesses too could be depicted wearing a uraeus,<sup>100</sup> which means that this sphinx head does not necessarily represent a queen. We do not know

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Miroslav Bárta and Jaromír Krejčí (Prague, 2000), pp. 393–395, however, convincingly suggested to rather read *ḏstjt Wꜣḏ.t* “the one who invokes Wadjet,” which also changes the title's meaning.

<sup>96</sup> Eva Lange, “Khenemet Nefer Hedjet Weret in the Great Temple of Tell Basta (Bubastis),” in *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*, ed. by Silke Grallert and Wolfram Grajetzki (London, 2007), pp. 91–93, see also the photograph on the back cover; Mahmud Omar Selim and Christian Tietze, *Tell Basta: Geschichte einer Grabung*, ARCUS—Berichte aus Archäologie, Baugeschichte und Nachbargebieten 4 (Potsdam, 1997), pp. 14–15, fig. 9 (note that the drawing is reversed).

<sup>97</sup> The fact that the title “king's mother” is not included in this inscription does not necessarily mean that the owner did not hold it at that point, as the titles “king's mother” and “king's wife” could theoretically have been split up for the two sides of the false door (see chapter 6).

<sup>98</sup> Another cylinder seal names a priestess for Sobek and king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet, who is probably the same person. For all five objects and references, see chapter 7.3 below.

<sup>99</sup> For this identification, see Freed and Josephson, in *Archaism and Innovation*, pp. 1–15.

<sup>100</sup> For the use of the uraeus for princesses, see Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 247–248, 284–285.

whom the Middle Kingdom female sphinxes depict; the only Middle Kingdom female sphinx with an inscription names a king's daughter (Ita) rather than a queen.<sup>101</sup>

The statue of a king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Weret found in the Heqaib sanctuary on Elephantine, featuring fully preserved inscriptions that name the owner twice *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t wrt hts wrt hzt hmt nswt mrjt=f Hnmt-nfr-hdt Wrt nbt jm3h*, probably does not belong to Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I but rather to Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II.<sup>102</sup>

It should be noted that the royal woman Nofret, who is known from two statues, has been said to be the senior wife of Senwosret II, as she is depicted wearing a pectoral with his name and as these statues were made in a remarkably large scale.<sup>103</sup> However, her relationship to Senwosret II is not clear,<sup>104</sup> and these statues cannot be used to argue that Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I was not the main wife of Senwosret II. Nofret might have been his daughter or one of his wives; even if she was the main wife of Senwosret II, she could have been replaced by Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I at a later point.

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<sup>101</sup> Biri Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx and Royal Sculpture from the Reign of Amenemhat II* (Mainz, 1996), pp. 30–32, pls. 58–60. Troy, *Queenship*, pp. 64–65, likes to see the female Middle Kingdom sphinx statues as depictions of princesses; however, compare Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 212–213.

<sup>102</sup> See Stünkel, in *BES* 19 (2015), p. 633; for the statue itself see Labib Habachi, *Elephantine*, vol. 4, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, AV 33 (Mainz, 1985), pp. 112–113, no. 101, pls. 193–194; Detlef Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine: Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich*, SAGA 9 (Heidelberg, 1994), pp. 60–61.

<sup>103</sup> Aidan Dodson, “The Book of Egyptian Queens,” in *Queens of Egypt: From Hetepheres to Cleopatra*, ed. by Christiane Ziegler (Monaco, 2008), p. 383.

<sup>104</sup> See, for example, Fay, *Louvre Sphinx*, pp. 45–47, who, while noting that Nofret is not known to bear the title king's wife, believes nonetheless that she was one.

### 3 The Decorated Relief and Hard Stone Fragments Found in and near the Area of the North Chapel of Pyramid 8

The following material is presented in a sequence that reflects both its original position on the wall, if known, and what type of decorative element is depicted.

#### 3.1 The Exterior Decoration of the Lintel

Altogether more than fifty small fragments from the exterior side of the door lintel are preserved, and many of these fragments could be joined. Several pieces provide evidence that they belonged to a lintel. They show, for example, part of the area between the sky and the top edge, which was not carved down to the regular background level but was left raised; this is typical for the exterior decoration of a lintel. They also have a very high relief and most have a very strong surface patina, a feature that is also known from the exterior decoration of the king's pyramid temple.<sup>105</sup> Small fragments could be assigned to the exterior decoration of the lintel due to their subject matter, scale, style, and surface patina.

#### Cat. no. 1



Interior side of the lintel.

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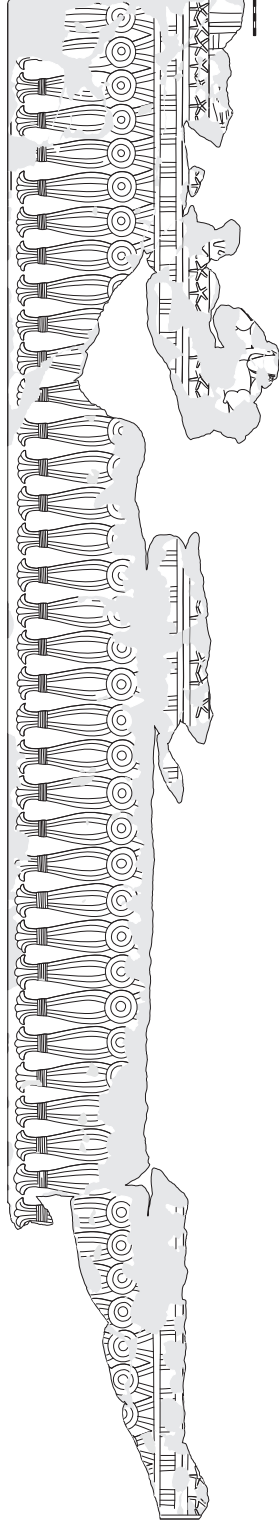
<sup>105</sup> See Oppenheim, "Appendix: Relief Decoration," in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 134.



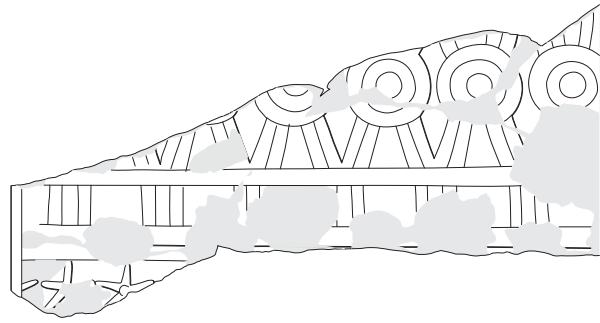


Detail of the exterior side of the lintel showing the preserved decoration in its upper left corner. Note that the small fragment preserving only the top of the *šw*-feather joins the big piece in a very small area only; it could not be permanently attached to the piece and is therefore not included in the photograph above. Several small pieces that only preserve surface on the lintel's interior side are likewise not included in the photo.

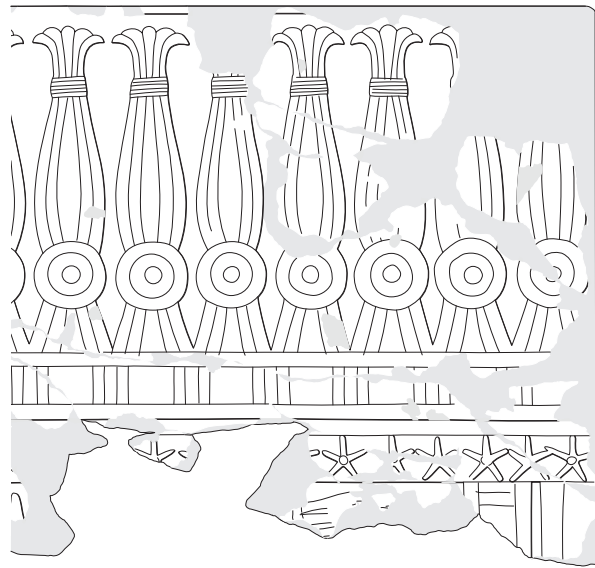




Interior side of the lintel with *khoker*-frieze and piled offerings below.



Detail with the left (west) end of the interior side of the lintel featuring a partial star.



Detail with the right (east) interior side of the lintel with the sky running above the corner border and with the horizontal bottom contour of a raised object at the very top.



Detail with the east end of the lintel with a recess for a cramp at the top. Some of the many small pieces that were hacked off on purpose and that could be joined are visible on the bottom left. Note that more pieces join on the left side, but because they could not be glued they were not included in this photograph.

Large part of the door lintel with decoration on both the exterior and interior sides

97.662 (K/24), 97.688/6 (K/24), 97.698 (K/24), 97.703/2 (K/24), 97.705/3 (K/24), 97.707/4 (K/24), 97.708/1 (K/24), 97.710/1 (K/24), 97.710/2 (K/24), 97.710/3 (K/24), 97.710/4 (K/24), 97.710/5 (K/24), 97.710/6 (K/24), 97.720/5 (K/24), 97.723/2 (K/24), 97.723/6 (K/24), 97.735/3 (K/24), 97.736/1 (K/24), 97.736/2 (K/24), 97.739 (K/24), 97.744 (K/24), 97.745 (K/24), 97.746/1 (K/24), 97.746/4 (K/24), 97.752/4 (K/24), 97.753/8 (K/24), 97.759 (K/24), 97.760/2 (K/24), 98.63/2 (K/24), 98.65/6 (K/24), 98.76/2 (K/24), 98.89/1 (L/24), 98.91/1 (L/24), 98.91/5 (L/24), 98.114/2 (K/24), 98.118 (K/24), 98.125/4 (K/24), 98.125/5 (K/24), 98.131/2 (K/24), 98.150/6 (K/24), 98.154/8 (K/24), 98.323/1 (L/24)

207.8 x 37.2 cm, 76.6 cm deep

This partial lintel was reassembled from two large pieces and about 40 small fragments. It features vertical block edges at both sides and a large section of the lintel's horizontal edge at the top. On its exterior side, the only preserved decorated surface is on the top left corner, while the interior side shows a large portion of the decoration.

The exterior side of the lintel:

On the exterior side of the piece, the preserved block edge at the top and that on the left side are both slightly beveled. At the top of the exterior decoration is a sky with sculpted stars that runs 3.5 cm below the top masonry edge of the block. The surface above the sky and to its side was not carved down to a lower background level but is raised. This raised surface slopes down toward the sky and the vertical borders, so that these elements appear to be raised. The surface below the sky was cut down to a regular background level. The left end of the sky has its usual triangular shape. Its bottom corner is met by a vertical line that forms the left border of the inscription panel. Below the sky, at the top left, is a *bh*-sign facing left. Below the left side of this sign are three fingers of a *d*-sign. Farther right is a small part of the wrist of this sign. The surface area to the right is completely destroyed, but one can reconstruct a *ntr*-sign, because farther right the inscription continues with  $\epsilon\beta$  and with *z3b šwtj*, thus giving two titles of Horus of Behdet, *ntr*  $\epsilon\beta$  “the great god” and *z3b šwtj* “dappled of plumage.” The decorated surface of the piece sits at a right angle to the lintel’s block edge at the top.

Part of the exterior side of the lintel, especially the top left corner, is badly weathered, but the better preserved fragments with the  $\epsilon\beta$ - and *z3b*-signs show a high and crisp relief with a strong patina. The quality of the carving is good. The decorated surface is partially much eroded and shows a patina in some areas. There are no traces of paint.

The interior side of the lintel:

The interior side of the lintel features a *kheker*-frieze at the top with a horizontal block border and a sky below and the depiction of piled offerings farther below. The right side preserves the full height of the *kheker*-frieze. The sky below features sculpted stars. On the far right is a corner block border that consists of a regular vertical block border plus three additional vertical stripes. The first additional stripe is carved down to background level, while the other two are raised and separated from each other by an incised line. Interestingly, the sky does not stop in front of the vertical block border and therefore does not feature its usual triangular end in this area. Rather it continues above the corner block border. On the left side of the lintel the sky also continues all the way until the end of the block edge (for this feature, see chapter 5.8).

The right end of the sky depicts a complete star, while the left end has an incomplete one. A sequence of forty-three *khekers* survive from the *kheker*-frieze above. On the far left, only

small parts of the last *khekers* are still visible, and the very last *kheker* of the wall is not preserved at all. Only the horizontal block border, which sits directly below the frieze, still remains. The space between the left corner of the wall and the last preserved *kheker* is, however, too narrow to fit a complete *kheker*. (This might indicate that the decoration started on the right side of the wall; see chapter 8.2.3.) As there is space for only a little more than half of one *kheker* on the left, one may wonder how this was resolved. Due to the lack of further evidence, this question cannot be answered, but possibilities can be suggested. The symmetry of the composition would have been much disturbed if the last *kheker* in this row were significantly narrower than the others. It seems very unlikely that there would have been a gap on the left end of the wall. Did the artist maybe carve a complete *kheker* of regular width that wrapped around the corner, so that its left side was on the right end of the west wall? Or was the decision made to only depict a partial *kheker* here and a full one on the adjoining wall?

The decorated surface at both ends of the interior of the lintel curves very slightly upward as it approaches the corners due to the fact that the wall surface was smoothed in preparation for the decoration after the walls had been built.

Below the right side of the sky are piled offerings. Most are too fragmentary to identify, but on the right seem to be leeks, and on the bottom of the piece are clearly two geese with their heads hanging down. Above the *kheker*-frieze, at the very top of the right end of the lintel's interior side, are parts of one or two objects with a straight bottom contour. These are probably the bottom parts of a hieroglyph from the tympanum inscription. The sign in question is painted green, was at least 9 cm long, and is situated above the fourth and sixth *kheker* from the right. This is probably the bottom contour of the *t3*-land determinative from <sup>c</sup>*nlj.tj dt*; several complete such signs on cat. no. 178 are either 8 cm or 10.5 cm long (see also chapter 5.5). This shows that the well-preserved tympanum cat. no. 178 was not above this lintel, because it has the bottom contour of all its signs and some background surface below. It must, therefore, have been located opposite, on the south side, above the false door.

The quality of the decoration is good to mediocre. The offerings do not seem to have much modeling, only incised lines. The carving of the corner block border on the right seems sloppy. The *khekers*, however, are mostly well defined.

Only few remains of paint are preserved at the top. The outer stripes of the *khekers* have green paint, and occasionally there are small remains of red paint on the center stripes. The

bottom part of the piece shows a patina. One small fragment from the right edge shows a fair amount of paint, much more than any others, indicating that the patina and weathering of the main portion of the piece happened after this fragment had already broken off.

The block itself, traces of the construction process, and the later destruction:

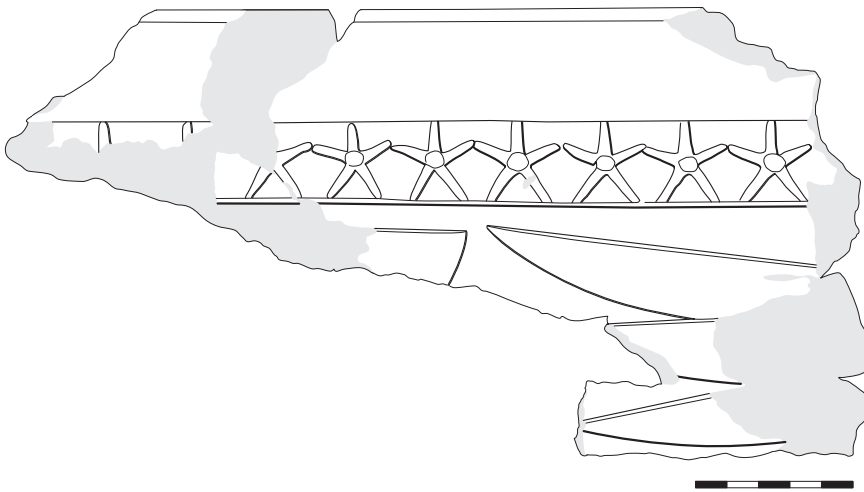
The interior side of the lintel preserves both its ends and a vertical corner border at one of them, indicating that the lintel spanned the complete width of the room. The lintel's width of 207.8 cm is thus crucial for the reconstruction of the chapel, as it gives the interior width of the offering chamber. On the lintel's exterior side, only the surface of the top left corner is preserved. As portions of both the interior and exterior surfaces remained, the depth of the lintel could be determined at 76.6 cm, which is important for the reconstruction of the doorway (see chapter 8.3.2). Both the interior and the exterior decorated surfaces sit at a right angle to the block edge at the top. This indicates that the exterior surface of the lintel was not battered but vertical.

The horizontal top edge of the lintel block, on top of which the tympanum was originally situated, has a very strong patina and an astonishingly smooth surface that looks more like a finished surface than a concealed block edge. The reason for this is unclear. The vertical block edge on the interior right side shows a recess for a cramp that was originally inserted at the top to hold this block together with an adjoining block from the east wall.

The lintel shows traces of the destruction of the chapel. On its right side, to the bottom right of the depression for a cramp, are two deep chisel marks and part of a third one is at the bottom broken edge. These marks belong to an attempt by the stone robbers to split the large lintel block into several smaller pieces for easier transport. One can see the same type of marks on the exterior side of the lintel. It is unclear why the attempt to split up the block in this area was not finished. Maybe other areas of the block proved to be easier to cut into small blocks. It is interesting that the lower part of the piece was assembled from a very large number of small fragments and that most of them are only a few centimeters deep, indicating that the decoration was cut off the block on purpose. A block that is not preserved was probably split from the bottom of the preserved large piece and then carried away for reuse. The large upper part that was left behind still has most of its decoration, which suggests that the stone robbers chiseled decoration off after pieces had been cut in the desired size.



**Cat. no. 2**



Left end of winged sun disk with part of inscription to the left, from the top left part of the exterior inscription

25.8 x 14.2 cm

Five joining fragments: 97.760/6 (K/24), 98.89/5a, b (a: L/24 and b: K/24), 98.114/1(K/24), 98.669 (north side of pyramid 7, approximate O–P/24)

At the top is a sky with sculpted stars. The area above it is raised, but immediately above the sky the surface slopes down toward it, so that the top border of the sky appears raised.<sup>106</sup> The background below the sky was carved down to background level. Below the right side of the sky is the left end of a winged sun disk. Preserved are three feathers; the preserved tips of two of

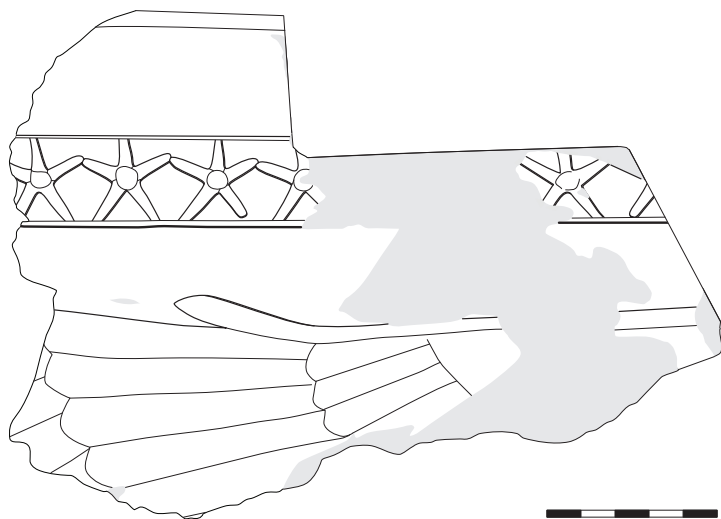
<sup>106</sup> This feature is also present on all other pieces of the sky that derive from the exterior lintel decoration.

them show that their ends taper down to a point. To the left of them is the top right part of a *nb*-sign, presumably for *nb pt* “lord of the sky,” a common title for Horus of Behdet.

At the very top, 3.5 cm above the sky, is a beveled masonry edge. The angle of the decorated surface to the masonry edge is about 90 degrees.

The quality of the relief carving is good. The upper section of the feathers features a distinct top edge, which is raised high and from which the surface then gradually slopes down toward the bottom contour of the feathers. The surface has a patina and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 3**





Left part of winged sun disk, from the top center of the exterior inscription  
20.6 x 14.3 cm

Four joining fragments: 97.711/1 (K/24), 98.131/1 (K/24), 98.146/2 (K/24)

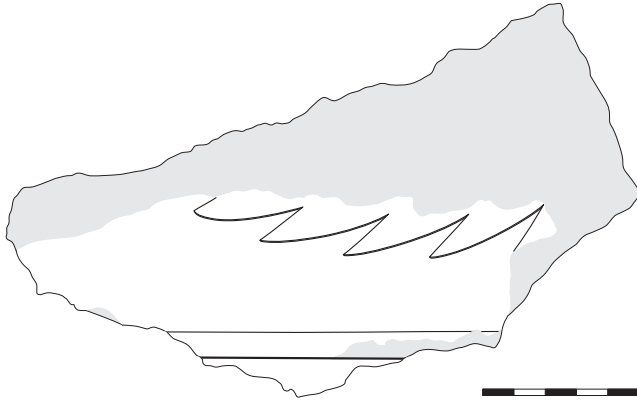
At the top is a sky with sculpted stars. The area above it is on the same level as the sky but slopes down toward it, so that the top contour of the sky seems raised, while the background below it was carved away completely. Below the sky is part of the left wing of the sun disk. On the far right of the piece is the inner part of the wing, where no feathers are depicted. To the left are parts of three layers of feathers and the preserved feathers of the two innermost layers have rounded ends. At the very top of the wing is the alula, which has a slightly pointed tip that curves upward and ends above the center of the second feather layer.

The quality of the relief is good. Each layer of feathers is separated from the next by a slightly different height of the relief. The surface of each feather of the third and outermost layer (on the far left of the piece) is layered, as the surface of each feather is sloping down from the top to the bottom. The individual feathers of the right and center parts are not layered and separated only by incised lines.

On the top right are a vertical and a nearly horizontal masonry edge that together form the left part of a bed for a patch stone. In addition there is a diagonal masonry edge that is situated to the bottom right and that must have been meant for a second, adjoining patch stone. At the very top of the piece is a horizontal masonry edge, which is the block edge. It has a beveled edge and sits at a right angle to the decorated surface. No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

**Cat. no. 4**





Bottom left part of exterior winged sun disk

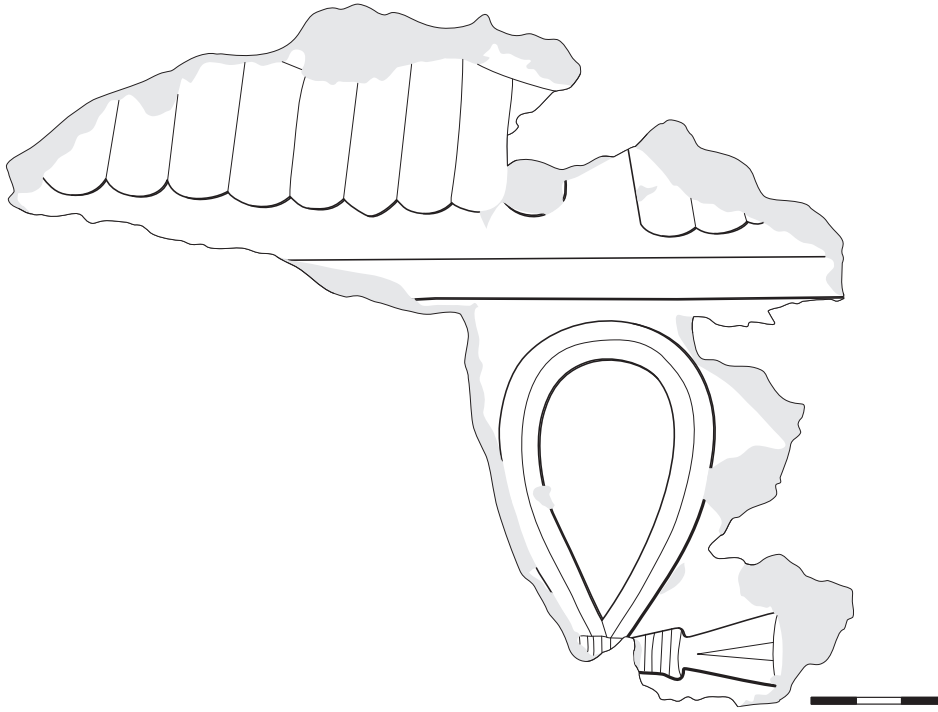
19.2 x 9.5 cm

One fragment: 98.322 (L/24)

Preserved are the pointed ends of the outer left part of the winged sun disk. At the bottom is a horizontal border line. The surface is heavily eroded and has a patina; no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 5**





Center part of exterior inscription with part of winged sun disk at top and top of *ankh*-sign below  
18.2 x 14.6 cm

Five joining fragments: 97.756/1 (K/24), 97.758/2 (K/24), 98.63/5 (K/24), 98.135/4 (K/24)  
(K/24)

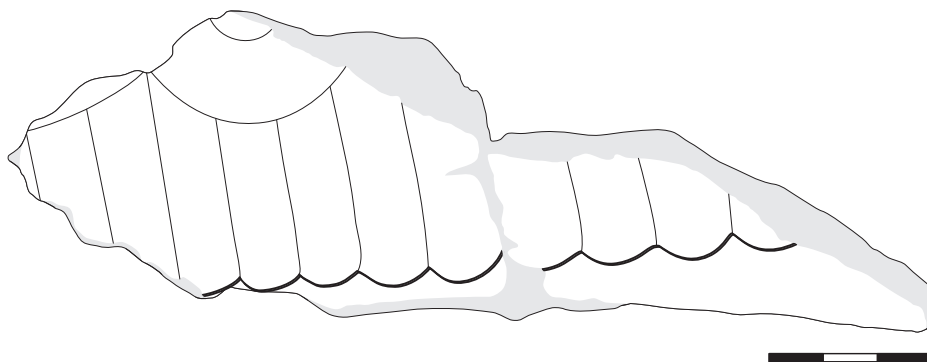
At the bottom of the piece is the top of an *ankh*-sign. Above it is a horizontal border line, and farther above are the rounded ends of vertical feathers. These feathers do not form a continuous row but have a small gap in between, as they belong to the two wings that flank the winged sun disk and do not join. The feather tips of the right wing extend a little farther down than those on the left. This slight variance might have been created intentionally to slightly break the strong symmetry of the winged sun disk. Above the innermost feather of the left wing is part of a curved contour overlapping the feathers. This must be part of the two cobras that are usually wrapped around the sun disk. Farther left is a very small part of an object with a curved contour at its bottom; this area can be identified as the curved neck of the left cobra that rises from the sun disk (compare cat. no. 6).

The quality of the carving is good. The *ankh*-sign is nicely carved; it features a ridge along the center of the loop, from which the surface slopes down to both sides. Its preserved

horizontal right “arm” also displays different levels of height within the relief. The surface has a patina and no paint is preserved.

To the right of this piece belongs cat. no. 6, which overlaps the piece slightly but does not have a real joining connection point. The positioning of these two pieces adjacent to one another is possible and was tested with the actual pieces.

**Cat. no. 6**



Center right part of exterior winged sun disk

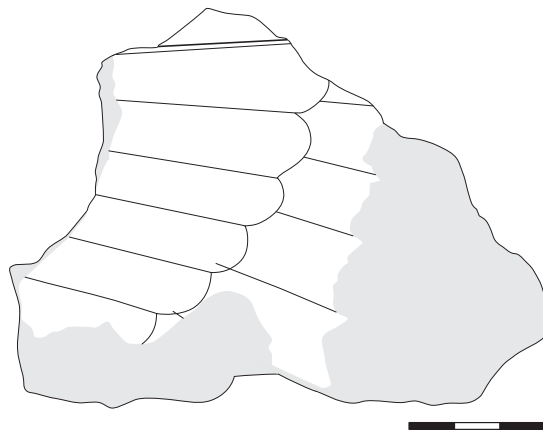
16.4 x 8.0 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.704/2 (K/24), 98.89/4 (L/24)

On the far left, at the top, is a small part of a rounded contour, which belongs to the cobras' bodies encircling the sun disk. Farther right is the curved neck of one of these two uraei. Below and to the right of the cobras is a row of nearly vertical feathers with rounded ends.

The quality of the relief is good; the contours of the feathers are well defined, and the partial cobras are sculpted on a higher level than the feathers. The surface has a patina and no paint is preserved. As mentioned above, this piece belongs to the right of cat. no. 5.

**Cat. no. 7**



Two layers of feathers from right wing of the exterior sun disk

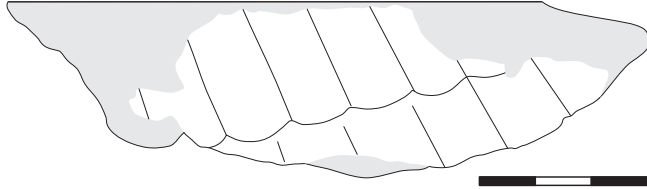
8.2 x 8.4 cm

One fragment: 97.758/1 (K/24)

Preserved is the top contour of the sun disk's wing and part of two layers of feathers of the wing. The left area depicts several feathers with rounded ends. They run very slightly diagonally from the top left down to the bottom right and are only separated from each other by incised lines. The feathers that belong to the right area are more differentiated; the surface of each feather slopes down toward its bottom contour, so that the top contour of the next feather down is raised above the preceding one. The right layers of feathers is probably the right outermost layer of the wing, since a fragment from the left wing (see cat. no. 2) shows the same sloping pattern for the feathers of its outermost layer. The two different areas of feathers were separated not by ridges as in cat. no. 3 but only by incised lines.

No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

**Cat. no. 8**



Feathers from the right wing of the exterior sun disk, with patch-stone edge

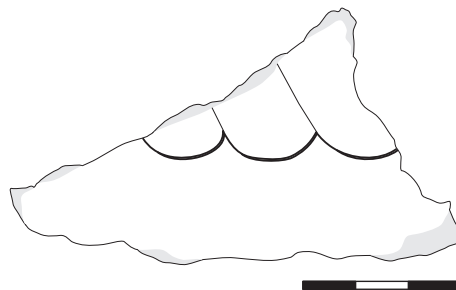
8.6 x 3.0 cm

One fragment: 97.733/1 (K/24)

Preserved are two layers of feathers of the winged sun disk. They run diagonally from the top left to the bottom right, indicating that they belong to the right wing of the sun disk. The feathers of the top layer have rounded ends. A masonry edge is at the top. It is at not a right angle to the surface but, rather, a slightly wider one, which shows that this is not a block edge but, rather, part of the bed for a patch stone, which must have been inserted above.

The quality of the carving is good. The contours are even, but the single feathers are separated by broad incised lines only. The top part of the lower layer was slightly carved down, so that the rounded ends of the top layer creates a ridge over the feathers below. The surface has a patina and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 9**





Feathers from right bottom part of exterior winged sun disk

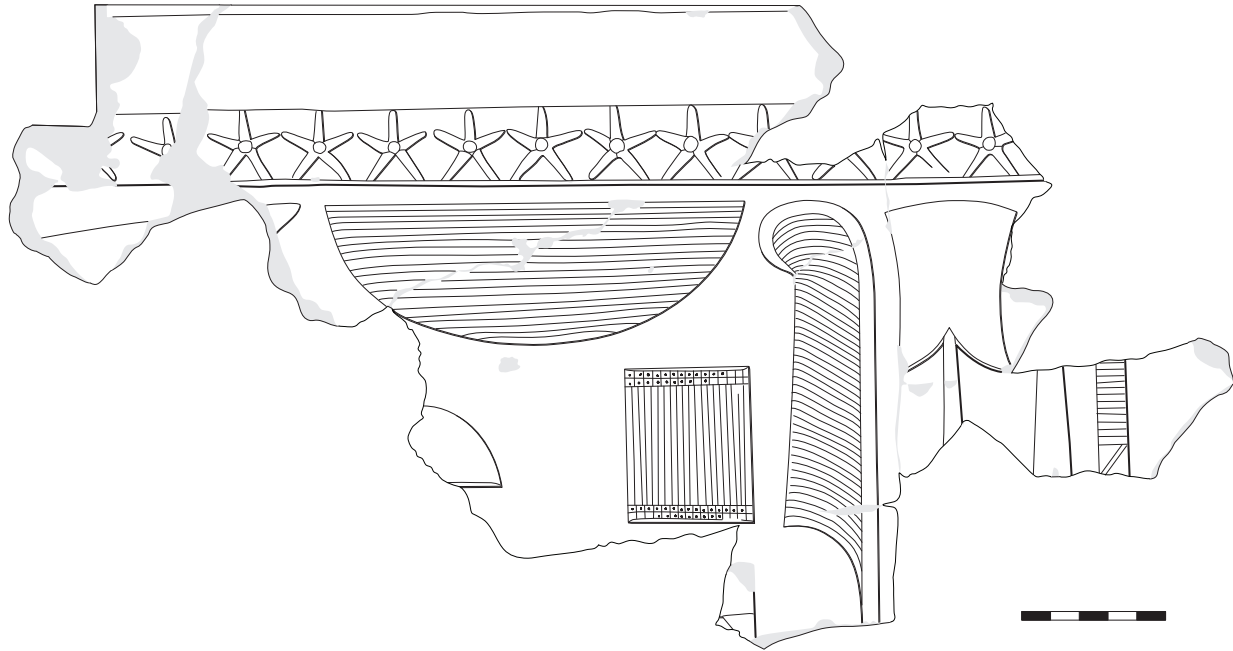
One fragment: 97.733/2 (K/24)

8.1 x 4.6 cm

Three rounded feather tips are preserved. They belong to the bottom of the winged sun disk, and their direction indicates that this must be part of the right wing. The surface has a patina and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 10**





Detail with *p*-sign.

Right end of exterior winged sun disk and inscription to the right of it

42.0 x 22.0 cm

Ten joining fragments: 97.663 (K/24), 97.717 (K/24), 97.730/3 (K/24), 97.756/2 (K/24),  
97.756/4 (K/24), 97.766/2 (K/24), 98.89/2 (L/24), 98.121(K/24)

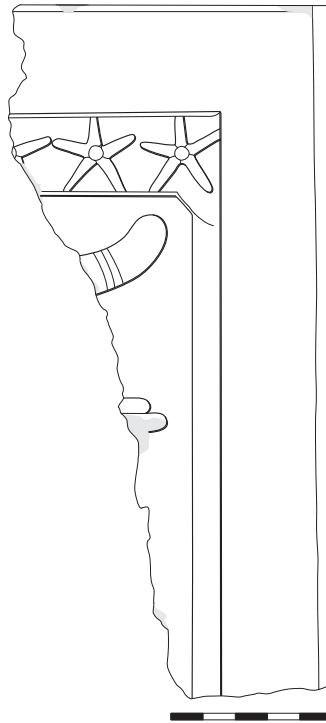


At the top is the usual depiction of the sky with sculpted stars. The surface above is raised, but the surface slopes down immediately above the sky toward it, so that the top of the sky looks like it is raised above the surface. The surface below the sky is carved down to regular background level. Below the sky is a horizontal inscription with the titles of Horus of Behdet: *ntr* <sup>ε3</sup> *z3b šwtj nb pt* “the great god, dappled of plumage, the lord of the sky.” Some signs are preserved only in small parts, such as the middle parts of the *ntr*- and the <sup>ε3</sup>-signs and the right end of the sky determinative. To the left of the inscription and below the sky is a pointed feather tip that belongs to the right wing of the sun disk.

A horizontal masonry edge, the block edge, runs 3.4 cm above the sky. It sits at a right angle to the decorated surface and its edge is slightly beveled. At the top left of the piece is the bottom right corner of a bed for a patch stone.

The relief is very high and displays very good workmanship. All signs are very well carved and depicted in detail. The *nb*-basket has incised horizontal interior lines, the *šw*-feather is depicted with individual barbs, and the pole of the *ntr*-sign shows the wrappings around it. In addition to the vertical lines, the *p*-sign also features two incised horizontal lines on the top and on the bottom, which create two rows of very small squares on each end. Each of these very small (2–3 mm) squares has a small, incised dot in its center. The surface has a strong patina and is badly eroded at the top left end of the sky. No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 11**



Top right corner of exterior side of lintel

10.0 x 21.5 cm

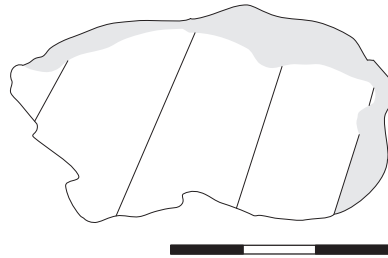
One fragment: 98.123 (K/24)

At the top is the right end of a sky with sculpted stars. Its triangular end is connected to a vertical border line. Below the end of the sky is the tip of an elephant-tusk-sign and part of two fingers of the *d*-hand as part of *blḥdtj*. Both signs are facing right.

At the top, 3.5 cm from the top of the sky, is a horizontal masonry edge, which is situated at a right angle to the surface and is the top edge of the lintel. The corner of the edge is very slightly beveled. To the right is a vertical masonry edge, which runs parallel to the vertical line and sits at a distance of 3.5 cm. This is the right end of the exterior side of the lintel. Its edge is strongly beveled; the surface of the bevel is very rough.

The surface to the right of the sky and above it sits on a higher level than the background surface within the inscription panel. It slopes down toward the sky and toward the vertical border line, so these elements appear to be raised above their immediate surroundings. The relief inside the panel is very high, and the contours are well defined. The surface has no paint but a strong patina.

**Cat. no. 12**



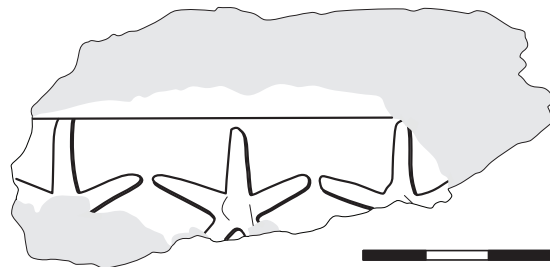
Part of bird's feathers

5.1 x 2.8 cm

One fragment: 98.76/7 (K/24)

The piece shows part of four feathers, which are separated by incised lines. This piece very probably belongs to the exterior winged sun disk, but its exact original position cannot be determined. The surface has a patina and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 13**



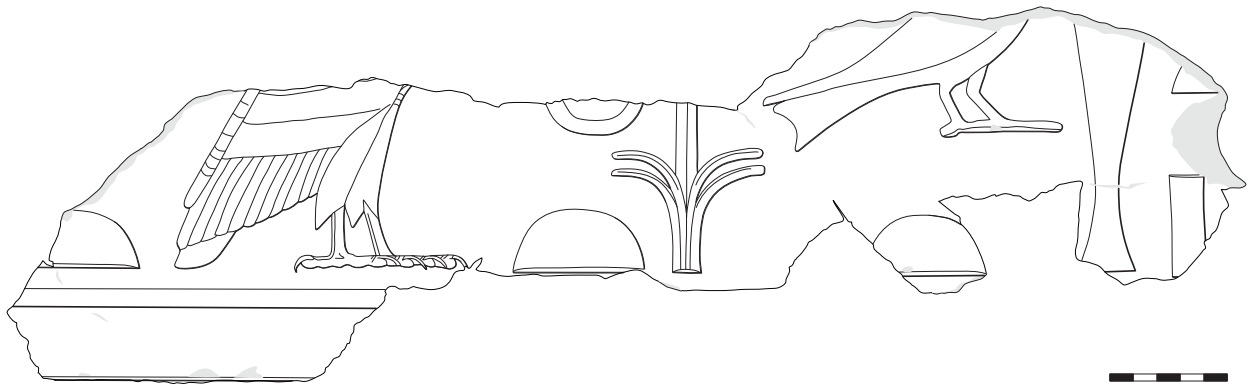
Part of sky from exterior decoration

7.0 x 2.6 cm

One fragment: 98.68 (K/24)

Only part of a sky with sculpted stars is preserved. The surface above it slopes down toward the sky. This feature (compare, for example, cat. no. 2) and the surface patina of the piece suggest that the fragment belongs to the exterior lintel. No paint is preserved.

Cat. no. 14



Detail with vulture hieroglyph.



Detail with *wr*-bird.

Queen's titles facing right, from bottom left part of exterior lintel inscription<sup>107</sup>

51.9 x 16.1 cm

Six joining fragments: 97.695/2 (K/24), 98.76/1 (K/24), 98.76/3 (K/24), 98.76/5 (K/24), 98.122 (K/24)

On the top right is the bottom left corner of a *t*-sign. Below it is a partial sign of which only a vertical line is preserved. This is very probably the left part of the <sup>c</sup>-arm facing right. The <sup>c</sup>- and the *t*-signs are very probably part of the title *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t*. The next sign to the left is a *hz*-vase and behind it is a *wr*-bird at the top with a *t*-sign below. This is the title *wrt hzt*. That the *hz*-sign is written in front of *wrt* can also be observed in other places and seems to be the common pattern of this time for the title *wrt hzt* (and for *wrt hts*; see, for example, cat. nos. 15 and 178).<sup>108</sup> The inscription continues with the titles *hmt nswt mwt nswt*,<sup>109</sup> the top parts of the *hmt*-sign and of the vulture are not preserved. A *t*-sign that is to the left of the vulture probably belongs to *Hnmt-nfr-hdt* (the *hnm*-vase can be reconstructed above it). Note that the title *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t* is followed here by the title *wrt hzt*, while on the right side of the lintel *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t* was followed by *wrt hts* (see cat. no. 15).

<sup>107</sup> A drawing of this piece was published in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 151, fig. 3.

<sup>108</sup> For an example that does not derive from the pyramid complex of Senwosret III, see the inscription on a statue from Elephantine published by Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, pp. 112–113, no. 101, pls. 193–194 (for this statue, see also chapter 2.4). For Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I's titles, see the appendix in chapter 9.

<sup>109</sup> In Dynasty 12 the *nswt*-sign is often written only once in the title *hmt nswt mwt nswt*; see Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 259–260.



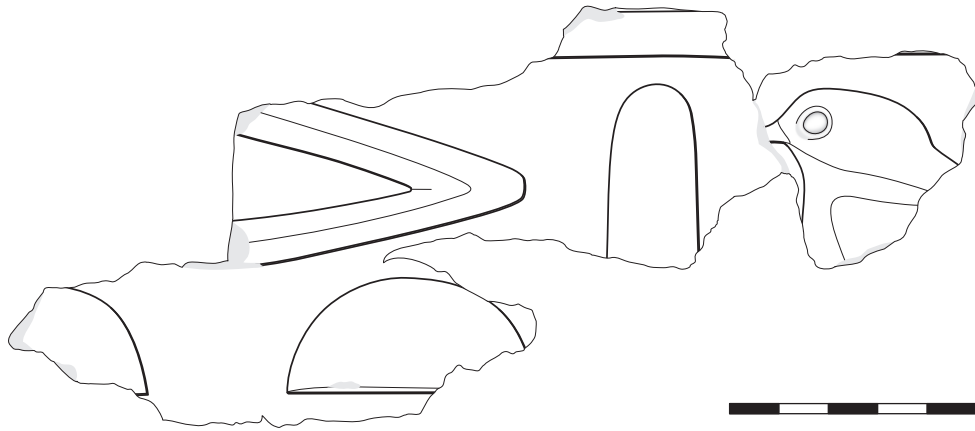
Below the vulture and the *t*-sign is a horizontal line. The surface below the line was not worked down to the regular background level, and the bottom contour of the line is incised. About 3 cm below the line, this raised surface steps down to continue on an 8 mm lower level (compare cat. no. 18). Only a very small part of this lower level is preserved (it is barely visible in the photograph). This feature can be explained by the position and shape of the lintel (see chapter 8.3.1). Originally the piece here sat to the top left of the exterior side of the doorway.

The relief is very high and its quality is partially very good, but it varies within the piece. The feet of the vulture are shown in great detail and are nicely modeled. The toes and talons are raised above those that they overlap. The feathers of the vulture are separated from each other by incised lines, and the surface of each feather additionally curves slightly toward these lines. They are, however, not layered and do not show any additional details. The feet of the *wr*-bird are depicted rather crudely, without any indication of the individual toes or claws, and they stand in a very large contrast to the beautifully carved feet of the vulture. The quality of the relief carving of the feet of the vulture compared to that of its feathers is also very different, although the contrast is not as strong as between the two birds' feet (for these differences, see chapter 8.2.1).

The surface has a strong patina and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 15**





Titles facing left from bottom right part of exterior lintel inscription

19.1 x 8.3 cm

Four joining fragments: 97.718/1 (K/24), 97.756/6 (K/24), 98.77/2 (K/24), 98.146/1(K/24)

On the left is part of an *r*-sign with parts of two *t*-signs below it. The space farther below is not preserved. This is part of the title *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t*, and the *p*- and <sup>c</sup>-signs would have been farther below. To the right is part of a vertical line with a rounded top. Due to the head of a *wr*-bird farther to the right, this partial sign can be identified as the top of a *h<sub>ts</sub>*-scepter. This is part of the title *wrt h<sub>ts</sub>*. (It is common to write *wrt* last in the titles *wrt h<sub>zt</sub>* and *wrt h<sub>ts</sub>*; see for example, cat. nos. 14 and 178.) Above the *h<sub>ts</sub>*-scepter is part of a horizontal border line. On the left side of the lintel, *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t* is followed by the title *wrt h<sub>zt</sub>*, not by, as here, *wrt h<sub>ts</sub>* (see cat. no. 14).

The quality of the relief is good. No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

### Cat. no. 16



Part of hieroglyph, probably part of <sup>c</sup>-sign facing left from exterior lintel inscription

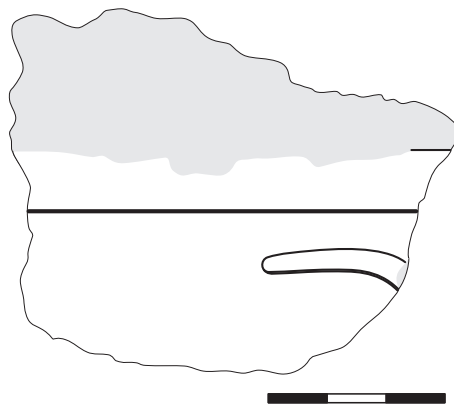
3.9 x 3.3 cm

One fragment: 98.63/6 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a line that slightly widens. The high relief and the surface patina suggest that it belongs to the exterior lintel. It is likely that this is the horizontal part of the arm of the  $\epsilon$ -sign, which appears in the *jrjt p $\epsilon$ t* title on the bottom left and right side of the lintel inscription. The large blank surface next to the sign suggests that this is the surface above the sign, because the horizontal dividing line would need to be visible if this were the surface area below the sign. (Compare cat. no. 14, where the line can be reconstructed as being in 0.9 cm distance from the bottom of the signs.) The line widens gradually from left to right, especially along the top contour, suggesting that this is the area where the arm widens toward the elbow; the curve toward the thumb would be much more pronounced. The sign can therefore be identified as facing left and belongs to the *jrjt p $\epsilon$ t* title that was situated to the right of the *ankh*-sign, in the bottom row of the lintel.

No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 17**



*Sw*-plant facing left, from bottom right half of exterior lintel inscription

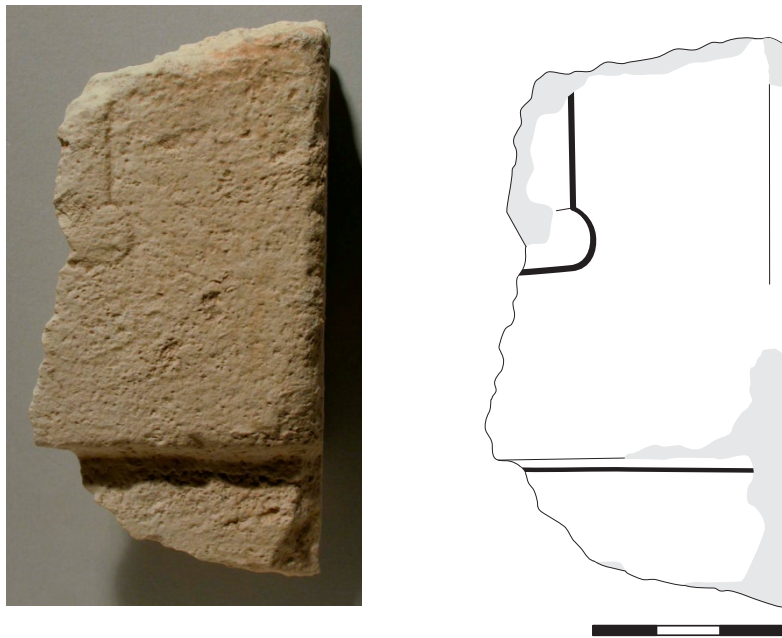
7.5 x 3.9 cm

One fragment: 97.756/3 (K/24)



At the top is part of a horizontal border line. Below it is the top of a *sw*-plant facing left. This must be part of the titles *hmt nswt mwt nswt* from the right side of the lintel. Compare cat. no. 14, which shows that only one *sw*-sign was used for both titles. No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

**Cat. no. 18**



Bottom right part of exterior side of lintel

4.8 x 8.8 cm

One fragment: 98.77/6 (K/24)

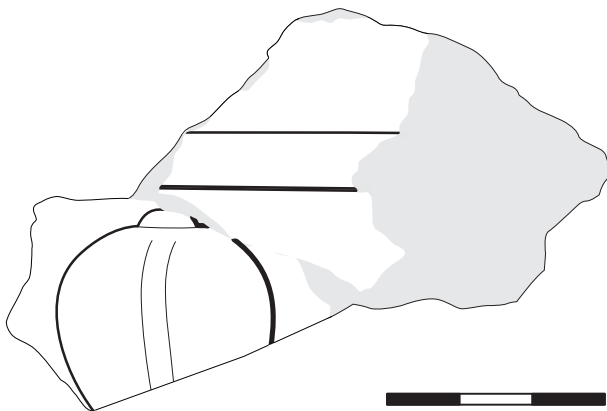
The piece features the rounded corner of an object. This is the bottom right corner where the vertical and bottom horizontal border lines, which frame the two rows of inscription, meet. The horizontal border line protrudes slightly to the right of the vertical line and has a rounded end. It can be seen as an elongated representation of the *t3*-land-sign. The surface around the border lines is not carved down but instead slopes down toward the contours of the lines, so that they seem raised.

A vertical masonry edge is 3.4 cm to the right of the vertical border line. At a distance of about 3 cm below the horizontal line, the surface steps down to a level 0.7 cm lower. It continues

for at least 2.1 cm. This shows that the bottom of the lintel did not run as one continuous edge on its exterior side; rather, that its sides reached farther down, while a recess for the top of the door was cut into its central bottom part (see chapter 8.3.1).

All surfaces are heavily weathered. There is no paint and the piece has no patina, but it does present a whitish appearance caused by erosion.

**Cat. no. 19**



Top of *ḥd*-scepter from exterior lintel inscription

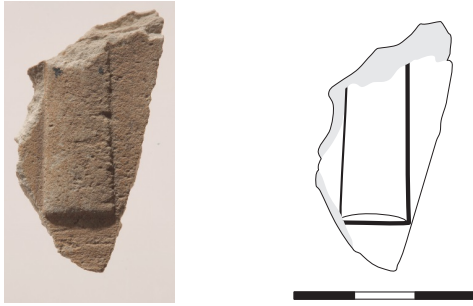
6.0 x 5.5 cm

Two fragments joining: 97.720/4 (K/24), 97.747/2 (K/24)

Preserved is the top part of a *ḥd*-scepter hieroglyph with part of horizontal line above. The high relief, the patina, the scale of the inscription, and the horizontal line suggest that this piece

belongs to the exterior inscription of the lintel. The sign was probably part of *Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt*. No paint is preserved and the piece has a patina.

**Cat. no. 20**



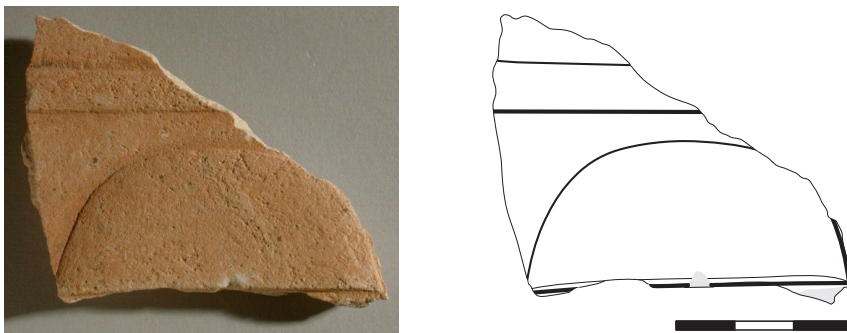
Bottom end of a *ḥts*-scepter or a *ḥd*-sign from the exterior lintel inscription

2.2 x 3.6 cm

One fragment: 97.747/4 (K/24)

Only part of a line with a straight end survived on this small fragment. The high relief and the patina suggest that the piece belongs to the exterior lintel. This could be the bottom end of a *ḥts*-scepter from the title *wrt ḥts* or the bottom of a *ḥd*-scepter from *Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt*. (In the reconstruction it is shown as the latter.) No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

**Cat. no. 21**



Part of horizontal border line with *t*-sign below from exterior lintel inscription

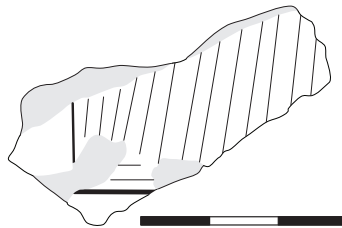
6.1 x 4.9 cm

One fragment: 98.63/3 (K/24)

Below a horizontal line is a *t*-sign. The high relief and the patina suggest that this fragment belongs to the exterior lintel. The horizontal line, which can be identified as a border line, is also in keeping with this identification. The *t*-sign sits very close to the line, which means that it was situated very high within its row. This position fits the title *hmt nswt*, in which case the sign would belong to *nswt* and be situated above the *hm*-sign.<sup>110</sup> (This is how the piece is shown in the reconstruction.) However, this sign could also belong to Khenemetneferhedjet, in which case it would have been placed between the *hd*-scepter and the white crown.<sup>111</sup>

No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

#### Cat. no. 22



Part of *p*-sign from exterior lintel inscription

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<sup>110</sup> This spelling was chosen on the exterior inscription of the east chapel of pyramid 8 (97.170/1, 97.170/2; unpublished). However, on the well-preserved tympanum of pyramid 8's north chapel this title was spelled without the *t*-sign for *nswt*; see cat. no. 178.

<sup>111</sup> This spelling is, for example, known from the inscription of the triad statue BM 1145; see Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh*, pl. 4A (the statue's inscription also shows a *t*-sign above and below the *hm*-sign in the title *hmt nswt*). It might also be that an additional *t*-sign was placed above the back of the vulture-sign. In the reconstruction (see chapter 5.1 with fig. 9), a *t*-sign is not shown in this latter position, as it seems to have been more common to write the *t*-sign in front of the vulture than above its back (see the triad statue mentioned above and also cat. no. 178) and as the *t*-sign that belongs to the *hm*-sign in front of the vulture might have been read twice, once for *hmt nswt* and once for *mwt nswt*.

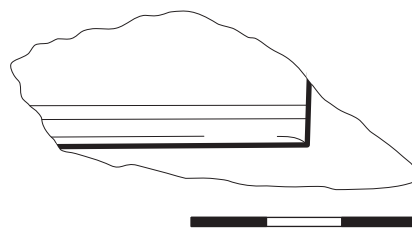
4.6 x 3.5 cm

One fragment: 98.135/7 (K/24)

Preserved is the top right or bottom left corner of a *p*-sign with several vertical and two horizontal incised lines. Surprisingly, most of the vertical incised lines are actually not straight but run at a slight angle. The high relief suggests that the piece belongs to the exterior lintel. A *p*-sign appears on the lintel in *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t* and *nb pt*, which were each written twice. This fragment cannot belong to the *nb pt* title from the right side, because the *p*-sign from this location is already preserved on another piece (see cat. no. 10). The *p*-sign from this other piece derives from the top right and also shows vertical and horizontal incised lines, while cat. no. 23 does not have that much interior detail. It might be possible that the *p*-signs in the top register that belonged to *nb pt* had more details and that the *p*-signs from the *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t* title in the lower row had less. In this case, this piece would belong to the *nb pt* title from the top left of the lintel (it is shown in this position in the reconstruction; see chapter 5.1 with fig. 9), but it is as likely that the detailed sign on the top right was carved by the same person who carved that on the bottom and that the fragment here belongs to the bottom row (see also chapter 8.2.1).

There is no paint, the surface is very badly eroded, and, due to erosion, there is no patina, but the surface has a whitish look.

### Cat. no. 23



Part of *p*-sign from exterior lintel inscription

5.5 x 2.4 cm

One fragment: 98.135/10 (K/24)

Preserved is the top left or bottom right corner of a *p*-sign with two incised horizontal lines. The high relief and the patina allow the piece to be attributed to the exterior lintel. A *p*-sign appears on the lintel in *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t* and *nb pt*, which were each written twice. This fragment cannot belong to the *nb pt* title from the right side, because the *p*-sign from this location is already preserved (see cat. no. 10). The *p*-sign here shows much less interior detail than the one from the top right, and another fragment (cat. no. 22) with a partial *p*-sign also had more details. However, this observation does not help to position the piece. In the reconstruction it is depicted as part of the *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t* title facing right, which is one of the two possibilities.

No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

#### Cat. no. 24



Part of *t*-sign from exterior lintel inscription

2.6 x 1.8 cm

One fragment: 97.757/5 (K/24)

Preserved is only part of a *t*-sign. The high relief and the patina suggest that the piece belongs to the exterior lintel. Many *t*-signs occurred in both lines of the lintel inscription and many of them are not preserved, which makes it impossible to place this fragment. No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

### 3.2 The Interior Decoration of the Entrance Wall

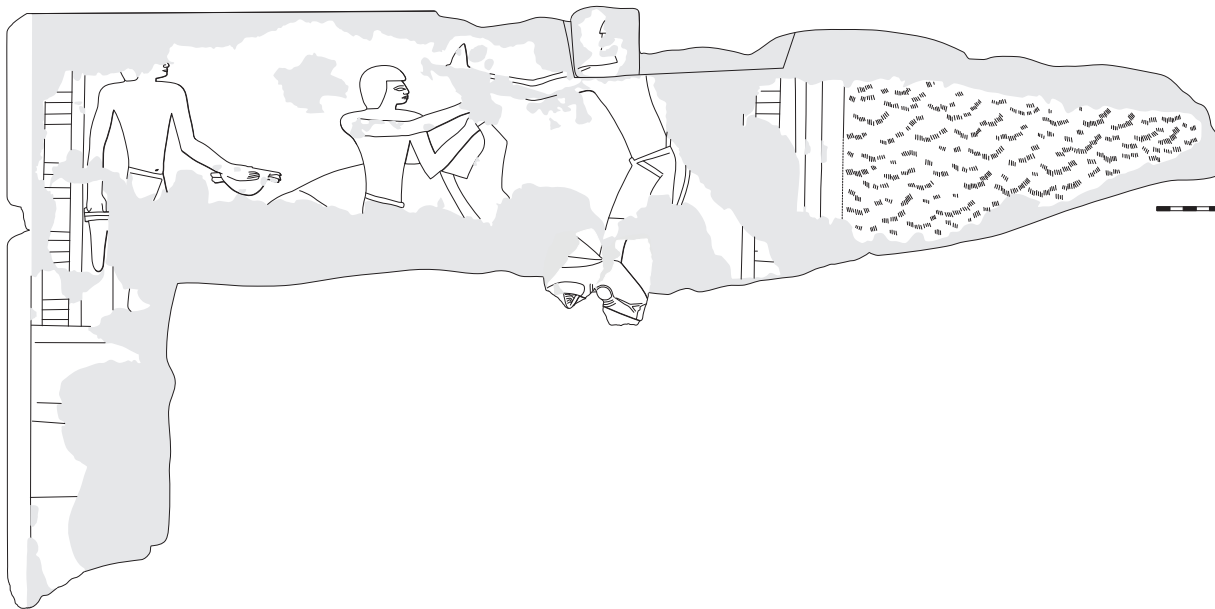
Since the chapel was built as a niche within the north side of the pyramid, one can safely assume that its entrance was located on the north wall. The preserved fragments show that animal-slaughtering scenes and offerings were depicted around the door.

#### 3.2.1 Animal-Slaughtering Scenes

Cat. no. 25







Slaughtering scene with dado below and rough part of block on right (which would have been covered by the adjoining wall).

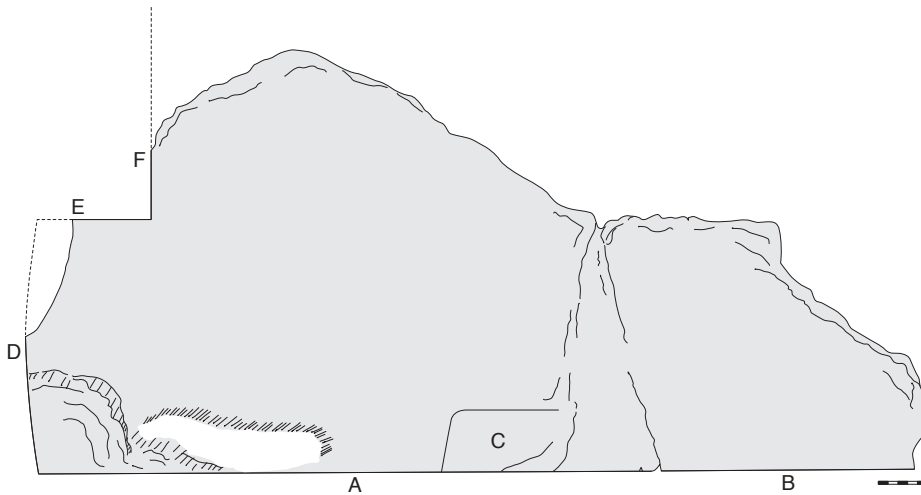


Curved doorframe to the left of slaughtering scene.





On the left is the curved doorframe seen from the back, with the reveal for the door visible on the right.



Top view of block with curved doorframe. A) Decorated wall surface. B) Rough surface that was originally covered by adjoining wall. C) Bed for patch stone. D) Curved doorframe. E) Vertical stop face for door. F) Reveal.

Animal-slaughtering scene with dado below and doorframe on left, from the east part of the entrance wall<sup>112</sup>

<sup>112</sup> The main part of the piece (more joins were found later) was published as a preliminary drawing in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 162, fig. 13; and as a photo in Oppenheim, “Appendix: Relief Decoration,” in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pl. 164c.

61.8 x 44 cm (preserved decorated surface, without curved doorframe and without the rough side on the right that was originally covered by the adjoining wall)

Six joining fragments plus part of a patch stone: 97.677 (K/24), 97.729/1 (K/24), 98.58a, b (K/24), 98.100 (L/24), 98.136/2 (K/24), 98.326 (L/24)

The piece shows an animal-slaughtering scene with vertical block borders to both sides of it and with part of the dado below. On the left of the scene is a standing figure facing right. He stretches his proper left arm forward and is holding a cut of meat. His proper right arm is held down vertically, carrying a long cut of meat.<sup>113</sup> To the right of him, in the center of the scene, is a cow lying on its back. A slaughterer stands in the foreground of the cow and holds up one of the cow's forelegs with both of his hands. A third figure is standing on the right of the scene, behind the cow's head, which overlaps his lower legs. He has a knife sharpener tucked in his kilt, and a rope is hanging down from it. The slaughterer is slightly bent forward and stretches out both of his arms parallel to each other, toward the cow's leg. His hands are not preserved, and it is unclear exactly what he is doing. Usually one of two slaughterers cuts the cow's leg at the shoulder, but in this case both slaughterers have their hands on or close to the lower leg of the cow. The area above the torso of the right figure has a bed for a patch stone about 17–18 cm wide. The left side of this patch stone is preserved and contains part of the slaughterer's head and shoulders. To the right of the scene is a corner block border. In addition to the regular block border pattern, it has three vertical stripes of various widths to the right. Farther right is a large, flat, but rough area that was originally covered by the adjoining wall. This part extends for about 29 cm beyond the corner of the wall before it breaks off.

To the left of the scene is a vertical block border, and part of a curved doorframe<sup>114</sup> is farther left. The chapel's entrance must have been on the north side, since the chapel was built as a niche into the north side of the pyramid. This piece belongs to the east part of the north wall, and it is very important for the reconstruction of the chapel, as it gives the measurement of the wall to the east side of the door. Including both vertical borders, the wall to the side of the door

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<sup>113</sup> For a parallel of this cut of meat, see Naguib Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 8, *The Tomb of Inumin* (Oxford, 2006), pl. 52.

<sup>114</sup> For the feature of curved doorframes in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III, see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 121–122.

was 62 cm wide.<sup>115</sup> The surface of the curved doorframe is eroded and has a patina. It is not completely preserved, but a worked flat edge at the back of the piece, parallel to the decorated surface, shows that the doorframe was 26 cm deep in total.<sup>116</sup> This preserved edge is the vertical stop face for the door, and it is 10 cm wide, excluding the curved doorframe. Farther toward the back of the depth of the piece, behind the curved doorframe, is part of another worked, flat surface, which sits at a right angle to the vertical stop face. This is the reveal. The surfaces of both the stop face and the reveal are heavily eroded and have a patina. These surfaces on the back of the block (the stop face and the reveal) show that the door to the chapel opened to the outside and not to the inside.

The decorated surface on the front of the block has a patina and is eroded, making it difficult to judge the quality of the relief. However, two small fragments with the head of the cow are well preserved and show good-quality carving with different surface levels, especially in the area of the cow's eye and ear. The hair of the figures does not feature interior carved details.

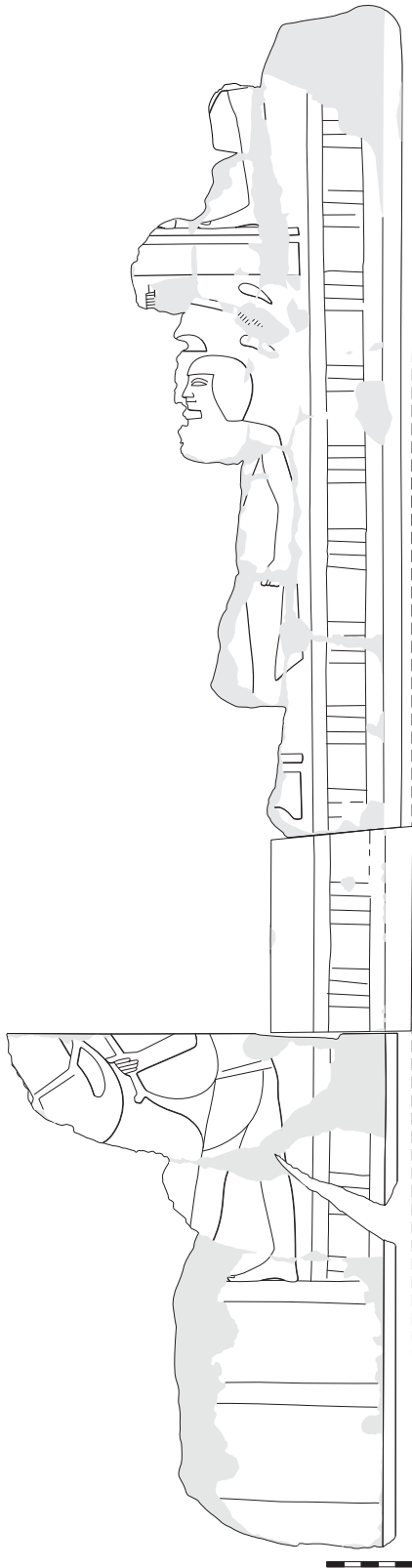
The dado has the following pattern: a band (1.2–1.3 cm high) at the very top, followed by a large section (about 4.6 cm high), another band (about 1.4 cm high), and another large section (about 5.6–5.8 cm high). No paint is preserved on the dado, but both block borders have green paint. There is red paint on the proper right leg of the right figure, and very faint traces are also found on the proper left arm of the leftmost figure, as well as on the piece of meat he holds in his outstretched hand.

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<sup>115</sup> This measurement includes the vertical corner block border to the side of the doorframe, but it excludes the curve of the door jamb, which curves out for up to 1.5 cm at the widest point on either side of the doorway, thus narrowing the space between them for a total of 3 cm in the narrowest area of the doorway.

<sup>116</sup> See also cat. no. 26.

Cat. no. 26



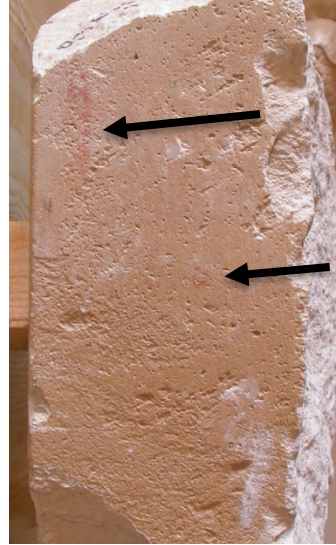
The three parts of cat. no. 26 joining along their masonry edges.



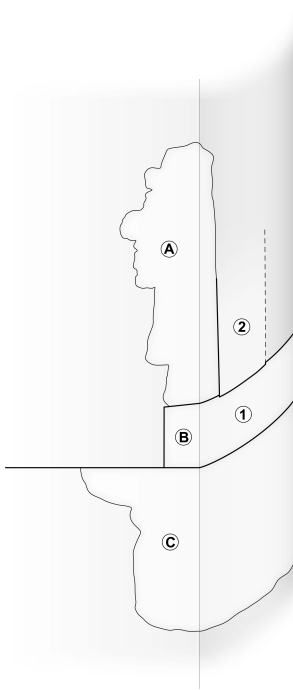
Part A.



Left: Side view of part B (patch stone no. 1) with curved doorframe. Right: Top view of part B (patch stone no. 1) with depression that marks the bottom of the bed for patch stone no. 2.



Left: Part C. Right: Detail of backside of part C with vertical stop face for the door (arrows point to red paint).



Schematic drawing indicating the positions of the three pieces (A–C) and the location of the two patch stones (preserved patch stone no. 1 and reconstructed patch stone no. 2).

Parts of three registers with figurative scenes from the bottom west part of the entrance wall

A (upper part): Two registers of animal slaughtering and the sky of another register below, with doorframe to the right

15.7 x 48.0 cm

Twelve joining fragments: 97.643/1 (K/24), 97.716/1 (K/24), 97.719/1 (K/24), 97.735/6 (K/24), 97.740/1 (K/24), 97.757/6 (K/24), 97.763/4 (K/24), 98.48/2 (K/24), 98.74/3 (K/24), 98.89/7 (L/24), 98.126/1 (K/24), 98.129 (K/24)

B (center part): Patch stone with blank background surface and doorframe to the right (patch stone no. 1)

6.7 x 11.9 cm, 26 cm deep

One complete patch stone: 97.678/2 (K/24)

C (bottom part): Part of animal-slaughtering scene with dado below and doorframe to the right

29.9 x 22.0 cm

Four joining fragments: 97.678/1 (K/24), 98.85/1 (L/24), 98.92/2 (L/24), 98.136/1 (K/24)

This piece consists of three separate parts (A, B, and C) that join along masonry edges. On the right side is a curved doorframe. The wall surface to the left of it has a vertical block border on its right side with part of three registers to the left. At the top is a ground line with parts of the legs of a striding male figure facing left. Below the ground line is a sky. It does not have sculpted stars; they were possibly only painted on. Below the sky is part of an inscription with a *stp*-sign facing left, a *t*-sign below it, and part of three flesh-signs (Gardiner Sign List F51) to the right (only an undefined raised area is preserved of the one in the center). This is *stpt* “piece of meat,” indicating that this is most probably part of a slaughtering scene. Below the inscription is part of a male figure facing left. Preserved are his head, part of his upper body, his proper left arm, and part of one of his legs. (For the carving of this face, see chapter 8.2.1.) His arm is held down vertically, and he grasps a piece of meat that hangs down straight from his hand and widens slightly toward the bottom.<sup>117</sup> Some distance below is a small part of the

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<sup>117</sup> For a parallel, see, for example, Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, vol. 1, ERA 10 (London, 1905), pl. 23.

ground line that belongs to this register. Farther below is the right end of a sky from another register. The surface immediately below the sky is not preserved, but farther below are parts of two slaughterers above the dado. This scene shows, on its right, next to the vertical block border and doorframe, the lower part of a standing figure facing left. He bends slightly forward, holding a knife sharpener in front of him. This tool, being attached to his kilt, pulls the garment forward. In front of him is a small part of another slaughterer, who is also facing left. Only part of the torso and kilt of this other figure are preserved. He is bending forward with a knife sharpener tucked into the back of his kilt. The knife sharpener is attached to the kilt and pulls the bottom of the kilt upward.

Below this register is a part of the dado. It consists of the following areas from top to bottom: a horizontal band (ca. 1.2 cm high), a red section (ca. 4.5 cm high), another band (ca. 1.2 cm high), a yellow section (ca. 5.5 cm high), and a portion of a black section (about 2.5 cm of its height preserved). There is no band between the black and yellow sections; this is the common pattern.<sup>118</sup>

At the bottom of part A, right below the second sky from the top, is a masonry edge that runs not horizontally but slightly diagonally; the right part of the edge sits higher than the left. Part B is a patch stone (patch stone no. 1) that sat immediately beneath part A. Part B has finished surfaces on all six sides. Seen from the front decorated side, the masonry edge at the top runs diagonally, with its right side being higher than the left. The angle is exactly the same as that of the bottom edge of piece A. The decorated wall surface of part B shows a block border on the right side with some blank surface to the left. To the right of the decoration is part of the curved doorframe. At the bottom of part B is a horizontal masonry edge that sits at a right angle to the wall surface and originally lined up with the block edge. On its left side is another masonry edge that is vertical and also perpendicular to the surface. This is where this patch stone originally adjoined the larger block it belonged to.

The bottom of part A has a straight masonry edge at its back, next to the curved doorframe. It runs parallel to the decorated surface and sits about 5 cm from it. This is part of the bed for a patch stone that must have been inserted into the depth of the curved doorframe, but this patch (patch stone no. 2) is not preserved. The preserved patch-stone bed is about 21.5 cm

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<sup>118</sup> See cat. nos. 25, 123, and 227 from the north chapel of pyramid 8 and cat. no. 242 from the east chapel of pyramid 3.



high and 5.5 cm wide. The top edge of part B (patch stone no. 1) runs slightly diagonally and shows a slight depression in the center of the curved doorframe. This is the bottom corner of the bed for the patch stone (no. 2) that must have been inserted into the depth of the curved doorframe and on top of part B (patch stone no. 1). There are remains of thick plaster in the depression, as well as to the side and in front of it (seen from the decorated side).

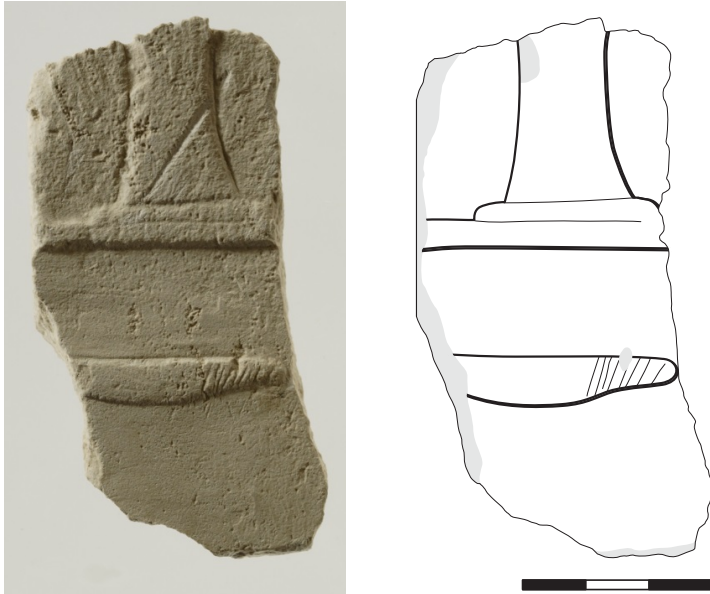
The bottom edge of part B (patch stone no. 1) has a completely straight edge, and this was presumably on the same level as the edge of the block it belonged to. Below this edge fits part C. It has, at the top, part of a block edge, which runs through the upper body of a slaughterer. It also preserves the complete depth of the curved doorframe, which is 26 cm.<sup>119</sup> It has a patina, especially in the part farther away from the decorated surface and therefore closer to the outside of the chapel. On the backside of part B (patch stone no. 1), parallel to the decorated surface, is a finished edge with a patina; this is the vertical stop face for the door, which was originally situated on the exterior part of the doorframe. On the surface of the stop face, in the area close to the doorframe, are red pigments, which seem to form a 1 cm wide vertical stripe. Farther right (seen as if standing in front of the vertical stop face) is another, but very small, area with slight remains of red paint that might belong to a second such stripe.

The decorated surface of the bottom two thirds of part A, the decorated surface of part B, and the top half of the decoration of part C are weathered, and some of these areas have a patina. The only preserved paint that can be found on the relief decoration is on the dado, with the usual red section at the top, yellow in the middle, and a black section at the bottom.

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<sup>119</sup> This matches the depth of the doorframe of cat. no. 25.

**Cat. no. 27**



Part of inscription, probably from top most animal-slaughtering scene with small part of register with offerings above

4.6 x 8.6 cm

One fragment: 97.728/2 (K/24)

At the top of the fragment is a stand on a ground line. Below is a knife hieroglyph facing left that presumably belongs to an inscription accompanying a slaughtering scene. There is no sky above the inscription. Cat. no. 26 shows that on the entrance wall each of the two bottom registers with slaughterers had a sky above and that another figurative scene was farther above. This means that the fragment here could belong to the third register from the bottom of the entrance wall or to another wall. As there is no evidence that animal-slaughtering scenes were depicted on any other walls, it is likely that the topmost register of slaughterers did not have a sky and that this fragment belongs to the top register of slaughterers on the entrance wall. This is supported by a piece from the east chapel of pyramid 9, which shows a register of slaughterers without a sky and with a register with offerings farther above.<sup>120</sup>

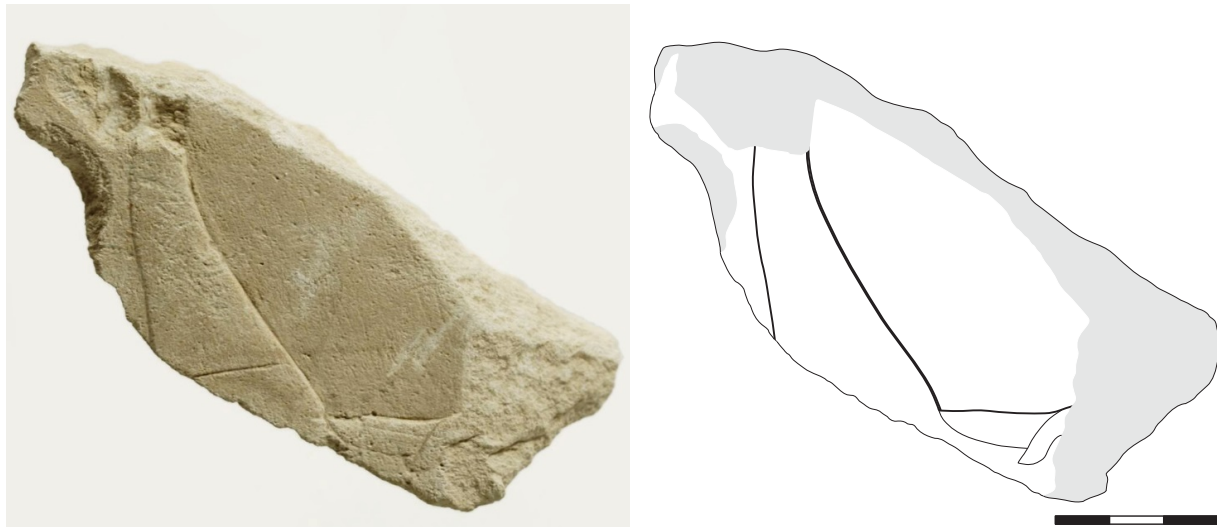
A masonry edge is on the left side. The east entrance wall was 62 cm wide (see cat. no. 25); the west side presumably had the same width, which would mean that the walls to the side of the door were probably built out of single blocks stacked on top of each other and that no

<sup>120</sup> Unpublished (97.303, 97.605/1).

vertical block joints are to be expected on the entrance walls. The masonry edge of this fragment must therefore be part of a patch stone or of that of the bed for a patch stone.

The surface is eroded and no paint is preserved. A secondary deep scratch runs diagonally across the stand. The quality of the carving is difficult to judge. It might have been good, as the handle of the knife is decorated with incised lines, and at the very top of the blade is a shallow top edge from which the blade's surface slopes down toward its bottom contour. (This top edge is not indicated on the drawing, as it is shallow and as it runs very close to the contour.)

**Cat. no. 28**



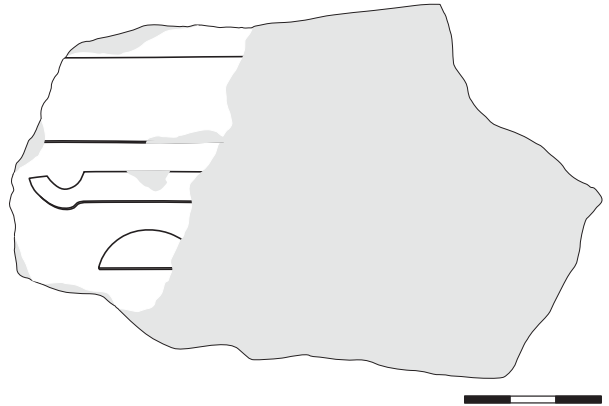
Fragment with cow's leg being cut off.

7.7 x 9.4 cm

One fragment: 98.130 (K/24)

Preserved is the main part of a cow's foreleg that is presumably held up vertically. To the bottom right is the blade of a knife with the thumb of the slaughterer, who is holding it and about to cut off the cow's leg. Very faint traces of red pigments are on the leg.

**Cat. no. 29**



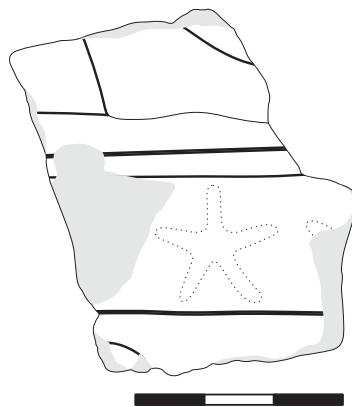
Sky with part of an inscription from an animal-slaughtering scene below

5.2 x 6.3 cm

One fragment: 98.90/6 (L/24)

At the top is a broad band, which is probably a sky. Below it is a *pd*-sign with a *t*-sign farther below. This is probably part of *pd* [*ds*] “the sharpening of the knife,” which is an inscription that is commonly found in slaughtering scenes.<sup>121</sup> The surface is badly eroded and has a patina; no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 30**



<sup>121</sup> See, for example, Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, vol. 4, *The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings*, EEF 19 (London, [1901]), pl. 107.

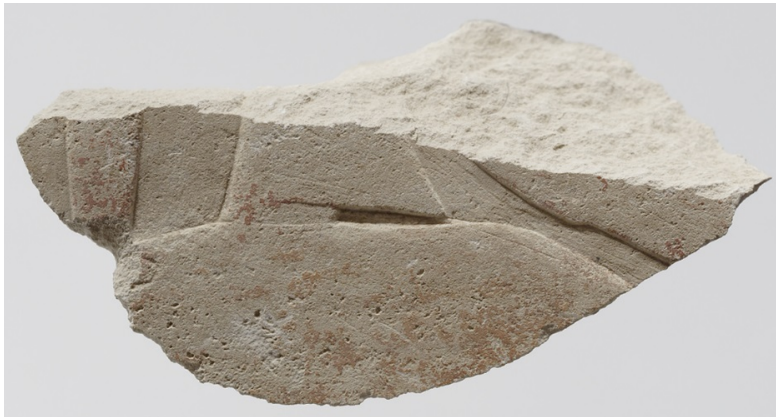
Foot above sky, probably from animal-slaughtering scene

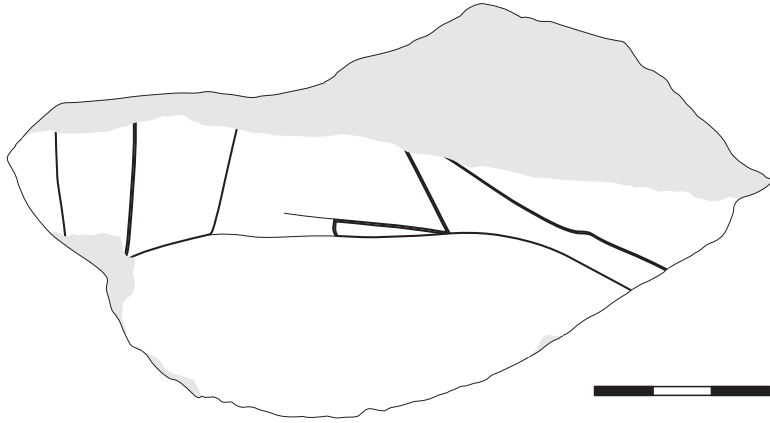
5.0 x 5.1 cm

One fragment: 97.729/2 (K/24)

Preserved is a foot of a male figure facing right on a ground line. Below is part of a sky with a star, which is not sculpted but only painted in yellow. Farther below is a small part of an object with a rounded contour. Registers with a sky and figures above clearly existed on the entrance wall, which was decorated with animal-slaughtering scenes at the bottom (see cat. no. 26). Several registers with figures probably also occurred at the very back of the offering table scenes on the east and west walls, but the bottom register did not feature a sky in this area, and it is unknown whether there was a short sky for the two small registers above, which only featured one figure each (see chapter 5.3.4). The foot here therefore probably belongs to a slaughterer, and the small part of an object below is probably part of a sign from an inscription of another slaughtering scene below. Red paint is on the foot and on the ground line.

**Cat. no. 31**





Possibly part of cow and slaughterer

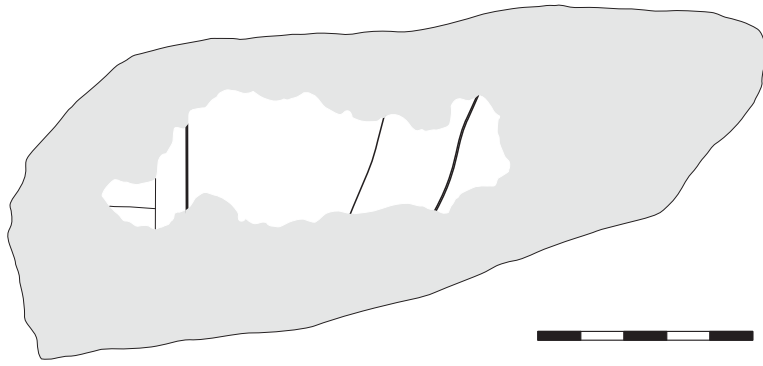
12.6 x 5.1 cm

One fragment: 98.136/3 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a large red object that has a curved contour. This could be a cow. Next to it is part of another object that includes a triangular contour. Such a shape can hypothetically occur when the kilt of a slaughterer is pulled apart. If this is the case here, the triangular shape would be part of the kilt and front leg of a slaughterer. However, there is part of a red object to the right that does not quite fit the back leg of such a figure, which is why this identification is questionable. On the far left is part of another red object that has a narrow shape. The overlapping red objects suggest that this might be part of an animal-slaughtering scene, but a detailed identification is not possible.

**Cat. no. 32**





Possibly part of a figure (?) with small part of a block border to the left, maybe part of a slaughterer

9.5 x 3.8

One fragment: 97.643/2 (K/24)

At some distance to a block border is a slightly curved line that appears to be part of a limb of a figure. If this were the front leg of a figure facing left, then the leg would be a little too diagonal for a regular offering bearer, as their striding position does not show their legs that far apart. The shape also does not conform to the back arm of an offering bearer. Slaughterers, on the other hand, can have their arms and legs at various angles. The possible limb here looks more like a leg than an arm. This could be the front leg a slaughterer facing left, who is engaged in an action that would require him to extend his leg forward, although he would be facing the border of the scene.<sup>122</sup> The surface is eroded and no paint is preserved.

See also cat. no. 174 for a piece that might depict part of a slaughtering scene.

For parts of figures for which it is unclear whether they belong to slaughterers or offering bearers, see chapter 3.4.

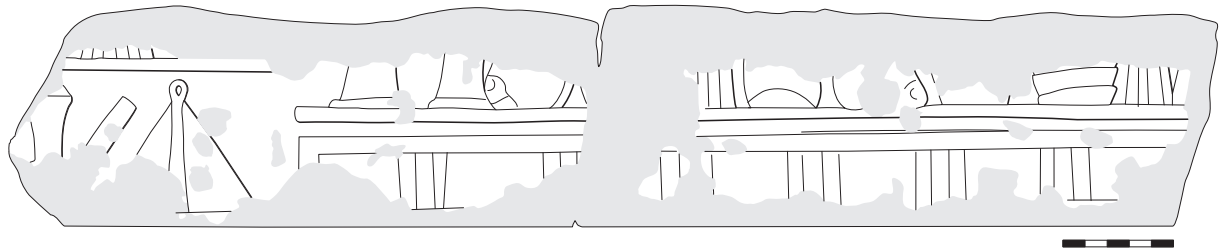
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<sup>122</sup> It is possible that the slaughterer would be facing into the “corner” of the wall, since he would actually face towards the queen and form a transition to the row of offering bearers on the adjoining west wall; the decoration on each wall was seen not as separate, but as continuous across the corners of the wall; see chapter 5.8.



### 3.2.2 The Depiction of Offerings on the Entrance Wall

Cat. no. 33



Three-quarter view of decorated surface and bottom edge.

Interior bottom part of door lintel with horizontal block border and offerings above and to the left

53.2 x 8.2 cm



Two joining fragments: 94.1321 (K–L/22<sup>123</sup>), 98.143 (K/24)

On the bottom right and bottom center of this piece is a horizontal block border including its top left end. Above it is a ground line with piled offerings that does not continue beyond the left end of the block border but stops above it. On this ground line are, from left to right: two stands, a cow's head followed by a badly preserved surface area with unidentified object(s), possibly a stand with vertical lines, a bread (?), another cow's head, an unidentified offering, meat/ribs (?), a stand with vertical incised lines, and a small part of another offering. To the left of the ground line and block border are small parts of two registers with more piled offerings. The ground line for the top register sits about 2 cm above the ground line that is directly above the block border. The offering that was on the far right above it is not preserved, but the bottom part of a stand with vertical incised lines is to the left of it. In the register below is a triangular object with a loop at the top, probably a lid covering food items. To the left is a diagonal line, and part of a vertical object is farther left.

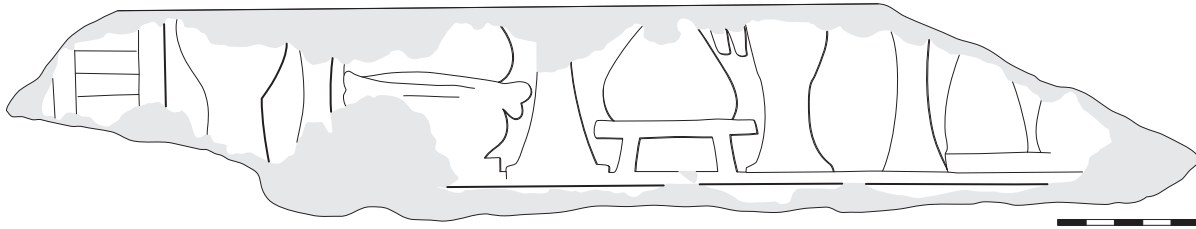
At the bottom of the piece, directly below the block border, is a horizontal masonry edge. The right part of this masonry edge is very smooth and has a distinct patina that the left side lacks. The surface on the left is not as smooth and has small remains of plaster on it. The block border can be identified as the horizontal top border above the doorway. This piece is part of the door lintel. The left part is the area under which the side wall of the door with its curved doorframe sat. The masonry edge of the right part with the patina is the underside of the lintel and the part that was exposed, as it was the top of the doorway. Between these two areas of the masonry edge is a curved, slightly depressed line, which shows where the curved doorframe sat. This slight depression was probably caused when the curved doorframe was smoothed, after the blocks were in place.

The quality of the carving is mediocre. No paint is preserved, and the piece has a patina on the decorated wall surface as well as on that part of the block edge that was exposed (the top of the doorframe).

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<sup>123</sup> The fragment was found in an area that is close to both the north chapel and the east chapel of pyramid 8. Two other pieces from the same area join pieces found at the east chapel, but this fragment here joins one that was excavated in the area of the north chapel.

**Cat. no. 34**



Offerings with corner block border to the left, from the west end of the entrance wall

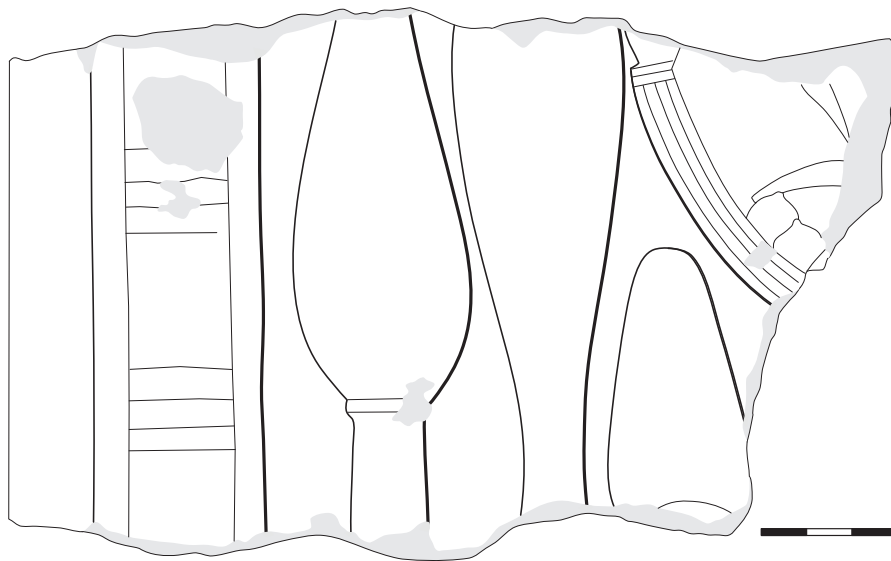
37.9 x 6.7 cm

One fragment: 97.751 (K/24)

On the left side is a vertical block border with part of an additional green vertical stripe to the left, which indicates that this is part of a corner block border and that an adjoining wall was to the left. To the right is a ground line with several offerings on it. The following offerings are depicted from left to right: a vessel on a stand or a tall vessel; a narrow vertical object; a piece of meat with a bone on top of a mat; a stand or vessel; a small, low table holding an offering; two goose heads hanging down (they must be depicted farther above); a vessel on a stand or a tall vessel; another stand or vessel; and a mat with a pile of offerings that includes two conical loaves of bread. At the top, a masonry edge with remains of plaster runs through the offerings. The piece features a corner block border on the left and a surface, at least 33 cm wide, that is decorated with offerings. This indicates that it must belong to the west part of the N-wall, to the left of the door, as the space is too broad to belong to the north end of the west wall (see cat. no. 101, which shows that the space at the back of the long walls where offerings were depicted was 21 cm wide).

There is green paint on the block border, and small traces of red paint remain on the stand and the offering on the far left. The quality of carving is mediocre to poor; the offerings have irregular contours, and there seems to have been no attempt to model the raised surfaces.

Cat. no. 35



Piled offering next to curved doorframe, from east part of entrance wall<sup>124</sup>

17.2 x 12.0 cm

One fragment: 97.642/2 (K/24)

This piece features the depiction of offerings with a vertical block border and part of a curved doorframe to the left. To the right of the border is a stand supporting a tall offering of some kind. Having a rounded bottom and narrowing toward the top, this is probably a drop-shaped jar. Faint

<sup>124</sup> This piece was published as a drawing in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 163, fig. 14.

remains of what was possibly black paint at the top suggest that it might have been painted black to indicate the stopper. To the right is another tall offering that is slim and has a narrow bottom; this is probably a different type of vessel. Farther right is part of a curved tray with red figs and part of a yellow object above. Below it on the left is a cone-shaped offering, possibly a loaf of bread.

The quality of the carving is mediocre. There seem to be faint traces of red paint on the figs and of yellow paint on the offering above them.

**Cat. no. 36**





Part of two registers with piled offerings and part of block border to the right, from east part of entrance wall

14.2 x 20.5 cm

One fragment: 97.675 (K/24)

Preserved are parts of two registers with the depiction of piled offerings. The top shows a tapered stand with incised, nearly vertical lines above a ground line. It is carrying a tray, and a goose head hangs down from it on the right. Below the tray, to either side of the stand, are mats with piled figs. Farther below is part of another register that features a large pile of offerings on top of a curved tray. Included are a piece of meat and at least three geese with their heads hanging down from the right side of the pile. At the top of the piece is a masonry edge (6.4 cm above the bottom of the top register).

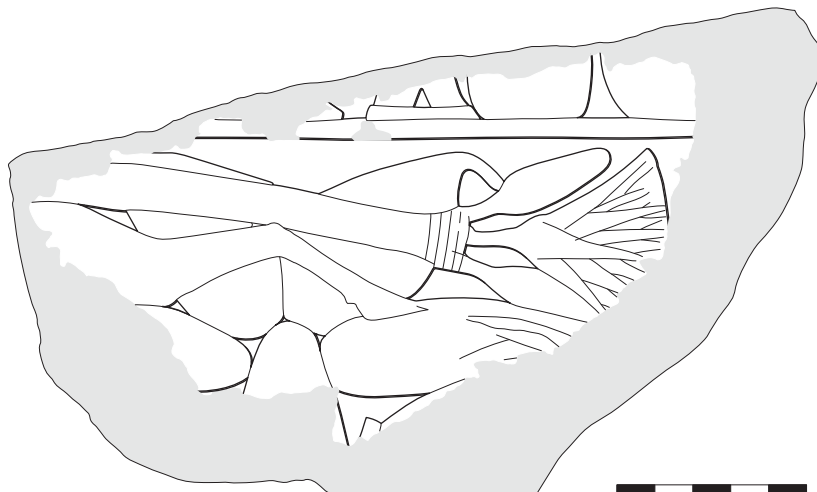
To the right is part of a vertical block border. The right part of the border is not preserved, but the broken edge of the piece extends at least 7 cm beyond the left contour of the border. This is too wide to be the border adjacent to a curved doorframe, indicating that this must be a corner block border, which is usually about 7.5 cm wide. Therefore this piece could hypothetically



derive either from the right end of the north (entrance) wall or from the right end of the west wall. Since the right end of the west wall is preserved elsewhere (see cat. no. 101), this piece can be identified as part of the east end of the north wall.

Despite the surface patina, there are faint traces of green paint on the tray in the top register. The quality of the carving seems mediocre to poor; the pile of figs, for example, features very uneven contours.

**Cat. no. 37**



Part of two registers with piled offerings, probably from bottom of lintel

17.4 x 10.4 cm

One fragment: 95.8 (L/24–25<sup>125</sup>)

At the top is a ground line with the bottom of a stand that features a triangular opening and parts of two rounded offerings to the right. Below this register is the top of an offering pile with a large number of objects, including a horizontally arranged bundle of three lotus flowers (two buds flanking an open flower) and a haunch of beef. This pile seems a little too large to be carried by an offering bearer, so it is more likely to belong to a register with the depiction of piled offerings only, which means that this piece derives from a depiction of two registers with heaps of offerings. Such an arrangement is found below the offering list, as well as behind the offering list and in various places on the entrance wall.

A horizontal masonry edge is at the bottom of the piece; such edges are known to run through depictions of offerings on the entrance wall and on the northern end of the east and west walls. The northern (right) end of the west wall already has large parts of these registers with offerings preserved, and if the reconstructed position of cat. no. 152 at the end of this wall is indeed correct, then this part of the wall cannot accommodate the piece here. The northern (left) end of the east wall preserves the last column of the offering list (see cat. no. 67) and the piece here could hypothetically fit to the left of it only if their broken edges would overlap. This position was tried with the original pieces, which showed that they cannot. Placing them next to each other would make the space that the offerings filled too wide for this area: we know from cat. no. 101 that the space between the offering list and the corner block border was 21 cm. This leaves only the entrance wall as the original position of this piece. On this wall a horizontal block

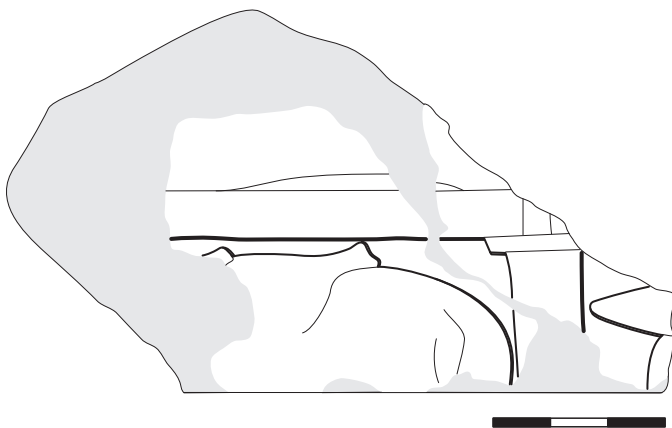
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<sup>125</sup> It is not fully certain if this piece really belongs to the north chapel of pyramid 8. It was found in an area that is some distance northeast of the chapel. Among the finds of that day and square were three fragments that join pieces found in the area of pyramid 8's north chapel, as well as one fragment that joined several pieces from the east chapel of pyramid 9. In addition, there were also several pieces that do not derive from any of the queens' chapels, such as a fragment with sunk relief (unpublished and not included in this study because without any doubts it is intrusive) and a fragment that might have derived from the king's south temple (see cat. 233). According to the excavation diary of 1995, finds were made that day "about 10 m NNE of the NE" of pyramid 8, in an area that contained "debris of a stone cutter's place" (and where parts of the pyramidion were discovered), and "farther to the S," where two fragments of a limestone offering list and a Coptic tombstone were found. The area of these finds is closest to the north chapel of pyramid 8, and, as three joins could be made with pieces from that chapel, it is likely that other pieces belong to this chapel as well, which is why this material is presented here. For the pyramidion, see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 31–32.

edge (the bottom of the lintel) is known to run through the depiction of offerings at the top of the wall. The distance from the masonry edge at the bottom to the ground line fits in a position at the top of the entrance wall. The ground line lines up with the reconstructed position of cat. no. 152 on the right end of the west wall; however, the ground line seems to have been on a slightly different height on the left side of the entrance wall (see chapter 5.2). The bottom edge of the piece here is probably the bottom edge of the lintel.

The surface has a patina and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 38**



Offerings, probably from bottom part of lintel

9.0 x 5.1

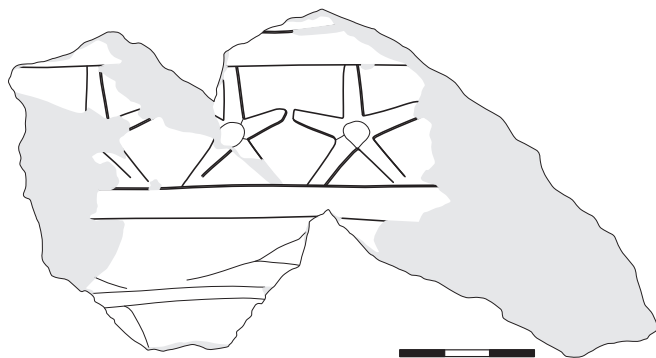
Two joining fragments: 97.753/5 (K/24), 98.75/2 (K/24)



Preserved is part of a stand with a tray above. On top of the tray is part of an offering that is probably a haunch of beef. Below the left part of the tray is a trussed goose with its neck to the right (the head, which would have hung down, is not preserved). To the right of the stand are the pointed left end of an object and a small part of something else below.

A masonry edge is at the bottom through the lower part of the trussed goose. The piece has a strong patina and no paint. Its surface patina and mediocre to poor quality fit very well with the inside decoration of the lintel (compare cat. no. 1), and its bottom edge could be the bottom edge of the lintel. This piece could have been situated to the top right of the door (which is where it is shown in the reconstruction).

**Cat. no. 39**



Part of a sky and of offerings below, possibly from top of entrance wall

9.8 x 7.6 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.707/1 (K/24), 97.730/1 (K/24)

At the top is part of a sky with sculpted stars. A very small part of an object is above it. This could be part of a ground line or of the bottom of a block border. Below the sky is part of an offering with incised lines.

The carving is of mediocre quality. The surface has a patina and no paint is preserved. The style of the relief and its quality, as well as the surface patina, fit very well to the very top of the inside decoration of the lintel (compare cat. no. 1).

For pieces with piled offerings for which it is unclear to which wall they belonged, see chapter 3.7.

### **3.3 The Long Walls on the West and East Sides**

On both the east and west walls seem to have been typical scenes that depict the deceased in front of an offering table. As to be expected, these scenes also included a large offering list with ritual scenes, offering bearers, and piled offerings. Since the queen is presumably facing toward the entrance of the chapel, her depiction facing left must come from the east wall; pieces from the offering list and from offering bearers facing right, so that they are facing toward her, can be identified as deriving from the same wall. Correspondingly, an offering list and offering bearers facing left belonged to the west wall, in which the queen was facing right.

#### **3.3.1 The Queen in Front of the Offering Table**

##### **3.3.1.1 The Queen in Front of the Offering Table, from the East Wall**

**Cat. no. 40**





Part of the face of the queen facing left<sup>126</sup>

8.5 x 7.9 cm

One fragment: 98.59 (K/24)

This piece shows the partial face of a large female and must belong to the representation of the queen in front of the offering table, as this seems to be the only large person depicted in the chapel. Only her nose, the left parts of her eye, eyebrow, and forehead are preserved. Above the forehead is a ridge that separates the forehead from the area above it. From cat. no. 41 it is evident that the queen was wearing a vulture headdress. Her hair is not visible on her forehead beneath the cap of the vulture headdress, which is common in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>127</sup> At the queen's forehead is the bottom part of what could hypothetically be either a rearing uraeus or a

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<sup>126</sup> A preliminary drawing of this piece was published in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 154, fig. 4.

<sup>127</sup> See the following examples that do not show hair on the forehead below the vulture cap: Adela Oppenheim, "Relief of Seankhkare Mentuhotep II and the Goddess Iunyt," in *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, ed. by Adela Oppenheim et al. (New York, 2015), pp. 52–53, cat. no. 9; Peter Jánosi, *The Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht: The Reliefs*, PMMA 30 (New York, 2016), p. 35, fig. 9, pls. 24, 151. The same feature is also visible on two reliefs from the pyramid complex of Senwosret I (MMA 09.180.42 and MMA 09.180.60, both unpublished; for the first one see the online photo <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/555634>, last accessed June 19, 2018). However, two depictions of goddesses from the pyramid temple of Senwosret III seem to depict hair on the forehead under the vulture headdress; see Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pls. 221 and 244.

vulture head. The shape rises in a very steep and upright vertical angle from the bottom of the cap and sits very close to the head. The bottom part is relatively narrow and widens evenly and very gradually. This shape, especially its steep angle, suggests that this is probably part of a uraeus, because the neck of the vulture head tends to curve more outward at its bottom.<sup>128</sup>

Part of the face is nicely modeled. The nose has a well-defined, nearly straight contour that is rounded at its tip and features a slight outward curve at the root of the nose. The inner canthus of the eye is depicted in a very elongated shape. The eyeball is curved horizontally across the surface and, in addition, the top of it is raised higher than the bottom, such that its surface slopes down from the top to the bottom. The upper and lower eyelids were carved on a higher level than the eyeball. The lower lid is depicted as a beveled rim, while both contours of the upper lid sit on nearly the same level. Below the inner corner of the eye is a subtle vertical depression that gives nice dimensionality to the face. The modeling of the area of the eye and nose stands in contrast to the inferior treatment of the upper part of this piece. The cap of the vulture headdress is rather flat; it does not curve across the surface and is separated only by a low ridge from the forehead. The root of the eyebrow is modeled and rises gradually, but the main part of the brow is rather flat and not curved across its surface. The lower part of this piece was probably carved by an artist more skilled than the one who executed the upper part (see chapter 8.2.1).

A horizontal masonry edge at the top runs through the upper part of the vulture headdress. Part of the masonry edge of the adjoining block that would have been above is probably preserved on the bottom of cat. no. 56.

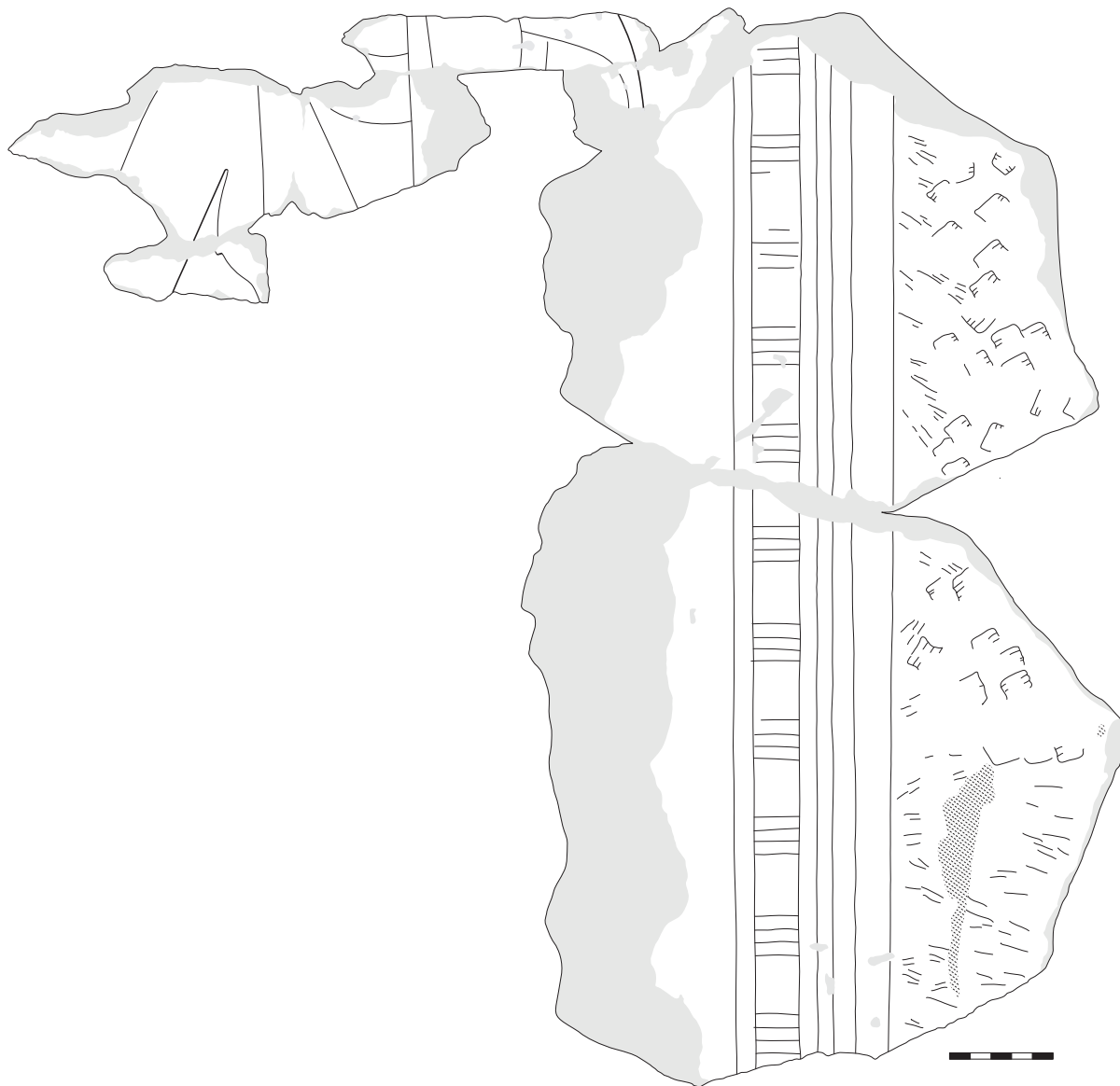
Yellow paint is on the skin of the face, as well as on the eyelids and the eyebrow. A thin red contour line runs along the nose and forehead.

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<sup>128</sup> The different angles can be observed well on a lintel of Amenemhat I, see Jánosi, *Amenemhat I Reliefs*, p. 35, fig. 9, pls. 24, 151. For an example of a vulture headdress with a uraeus from the pyramid complex of Senwosret III, see Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pl. 309; and compare the depiction of a vulture headdresses with a vulture head in Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pl. 221.

**Cat. no. 41**





Part of the upper body of the queen facing left and part of the corner border behind her, from the right end of the east wall<sup>129</sup>

42.8 x 51.8 cm (excluding the rough surface on the right, including the rough surface the piece is 53.8 cm wide)

Eight joining fragments: 95.33 (L/24–25<sup>130</sup>), 97.602 (K/24), 97.611 (K/24), 97.615/1 (K/24), 97.692 (K/24), 97.748/4 (K/24)

<sup>129</sup> A preliminary drawing of the left part of this piece (more joins were found later) was published in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 154, fig. 5.

This piece preserves part of the upper body of the queen facing left, with the corner of the wall to the right. Her proper right upper arm is held diagonally in front of her, and her breast is visible beneath it. To the right of it is a garment strap and part of her *wsl* collar. Farther right, part of her hair falls in front of her proper left shoulder. Within this area is an incised, slightly diagonal line. This line indicates that the queen is wearing a vulture headdress, as the line marks the separation of the hair from the bird's vertical wing. The individual feathers of the wing were not carved but might have been painted.<sup>131</sup> Farther right is the top contour of her proper left shoulder and hair falling onto her back. On her proper left shoulder one can also see the outermost contour of a garment strap (her hair and headdress cover the opposite contour).

To the right is a corner block border that consists of a regular block border plus three additional stripes, which is the usual pattern. The surface continues farther right but is very rough. This is the part of the block that was originally covered by the adjoining wall. The first two additional stripes of the corner block border are separated by incised lines and have the approximate width of the vertical lines of the block border. Behind them is a broad stripe that is not separated by a line from the rough portion of the block, because the adjoining wall hid this part and no such line was needed. Most of the rough part is on a slightly higher level, since the visible wall surface was smoothed after the block was put in place. The width of the corner block border is 7.5 cm (including the additional stripes). This corner block border is the right corner of the east wall.

The relief quality is good but lacks interior modeling. The contours are well defined and the surface of the upper arm is nicely rounded. All interior overlapping details, however, are not depicted on various heights within the relief; they are only differentiated from each other by incised lines and shallow ridges.

On the collar is green paint, and, on the back shoulder, a trace of yellow. The front contour of the upper arm shows very faint traces of a thin red contour line. There is blue-green paint on all vertical lines and on every other square of the block border. The remaining squares

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<sup>130</sup> For the find spot, see the note of cat. no. 37.

<sup>131</sup> Details that were only painted have been observed on other pieces from this chapel (see chapter 8.2.2). Two fragments, which derive from the depiction of the queen from the west wall, indicate that she was also wearing the vulture headdress on the opposite wall, but in that case the individual feathers were depicted in relief carving (see cat. nos. 47–48).



seem to be alternating yellow and red. There is some plaster on the rough surface on the right that was covered by the adjoining wall.

For part of the queen's face from the same depiction, see cat. no. 40.

**Cat. no. 42**



Reconstruction drawing of arms.

Small parts of arms and upper legs of queen facing left

One fragment: 97.539 (K/24)

19.1 x 18.2 cm

This piece depicts a piece of jewelry and small parts of large objects. The relative position of the partial objects to one another and to the piece of jewelry that must be a bracelet or anklet allows the identification of parts of the arms and upper legs of the queen facing left. Both her arms are extended toward the offering table, and the bracelet belongs to her proper right arm, which is positioned slightly higher than her proper left arm. Small parts of her proper left arm are preserved; these are the top contour of her hand and two small areas of the bottom contour of her hand and lower arm. Near the lower contour of her proper left arm is a small part of the nearly horizontal contour of her upper legs. Some distance below the bracelet is a small preserved area that sits on a lower level than the bracelet; this is part of the background surface.

The bracelet is composed of single strands of beads and of spacers.<sup>132</sup> Depicted are several parallel narrow stripes (the strands), which are overlapped at a right angle by three narrow stripes that can be identified as a spacer. Part of another spacer appears to be below. To the right are two narrow stripes, which are not overlapped by the spacers and possibly still belong to the bracelet, but they might instead be separate items. Farther right are several (at least three) broad parallel stripes. These probably depict either bangles or several single-strand bracelets with larger beads, which were placed next to the multi-strand bracelets.<sup>133</sup>

Remains of green paint are on the various parts of the bracelet, and yellow paint is on the small surface belonging to the top part of her hand.

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<sup>132</sup> As a parallel, see, for example, the matching set of such bracelets and anklets from Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II (Pirelli, in *Egyptian Treasures from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*, pp. 146–147; Oppenheim, in *Egyptian Archaeology* 9 [1996], p. 26) or from Sithathoryunet (Brunton, *Lahun I*, pl. 4).

<sup>133</sup> Compare the parallel depiction of jewelry in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Djehutihetep, which includes bracelets with spacers and matching anklets with spacers, plus additional jewelry items next to them; see Cyril Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs: Egyptian Jewelry of the Dynastic Period* (New York and Washington, 1971), p. 52, fig. 32; or Percy E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, vol. 1, *The Tomb of Tehuti-Hetep*, Special Publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund [3] (London, [1894]), pl. 24 and frontispiece.

**Cat. no. 43**



Top back part of throne from depiction of queen facing left

7.6 x 8.8 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.612/2 (K/24), 98.154/2 (K/24)

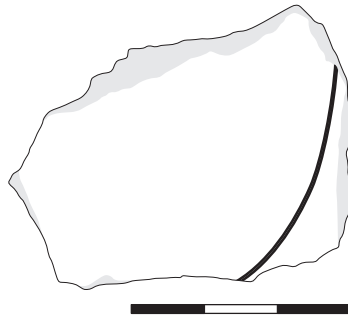
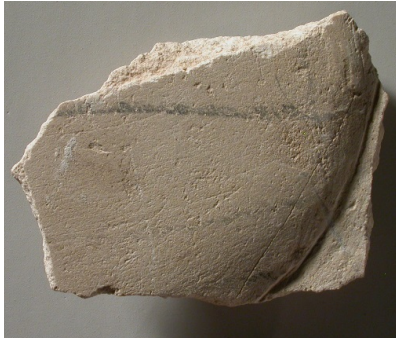
The piece depicts part of the back rest and the curved pillow of a throne facing left. On the right are two vertical incised lines that belong to the back rest. Below is part of the small horizontal block border that runs along the top of the throne. The area of the border that is preserved is about 2 cm high in its central part; the complete height of the border is not preserved. (In the reconstruction the piece is overlapping cat. no. 41. This placement is possible; it was checked with the original pieces.)

There is green paint on the back rest (but not the pillow) and on the block border. In addition, but presumably secondarily, there is a more or less vertical line in black paint on the left side of the surface. This might be a mark that was left by the stone robbers.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> See Navrátilová, in *JARCE* 49 (2013), p. 119.

**Cat. no. 44**



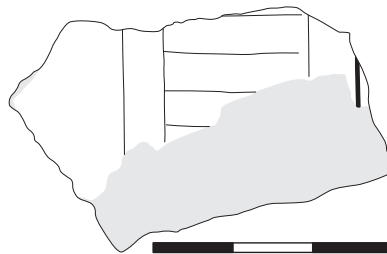
Fragment with part of a rounded object, possibly the buttock of the queen facing left (?)

4.7 x 4.6 cm

One fragment: 97.639/2 (K/24)

Only part of a rounded object is preserved. As it is relatively large, and as the relief is relatively high, it can be suggested that this is part of the body of the queen. The surface has secondary black paint lines running across it, a feature that can also be observed on a piece that features the back rest and the cushion and belongs to the depiction of the queen facing left (no. 43). It is therefore possible that this piece belongs to the queen facing left as well, and it might be part of her buttock (or otherwise of her knees). No paint is preserved, except for the secondary black paint lines.

**Cat. no. 45**



Small part of throne, maybe from east wall

4.5 x 2.5 cm

One fragment: 98.151/6 (K/24)

The fragment features part of a block border that is too small to belong to the borders of the walls, but it corresponds well to the size of the block border from the throne (compare cat. no. 43).<sup>135</sup> There is a raised surface to one side and a very small part of lower background surface to the other. This indicates that the piece is part of the vertical border of the throne, as the horizontal borders do not have background surface next to them but, rather, adjoin the throne's pedestal, cushion, buttock, or upper legs.

There is no original paint, only a small part of a secondary black paint stripe. Such a paint stripe can also be found on the throne on the east wall (see cat. no. 43), which might suggest that this fragment belongs there.

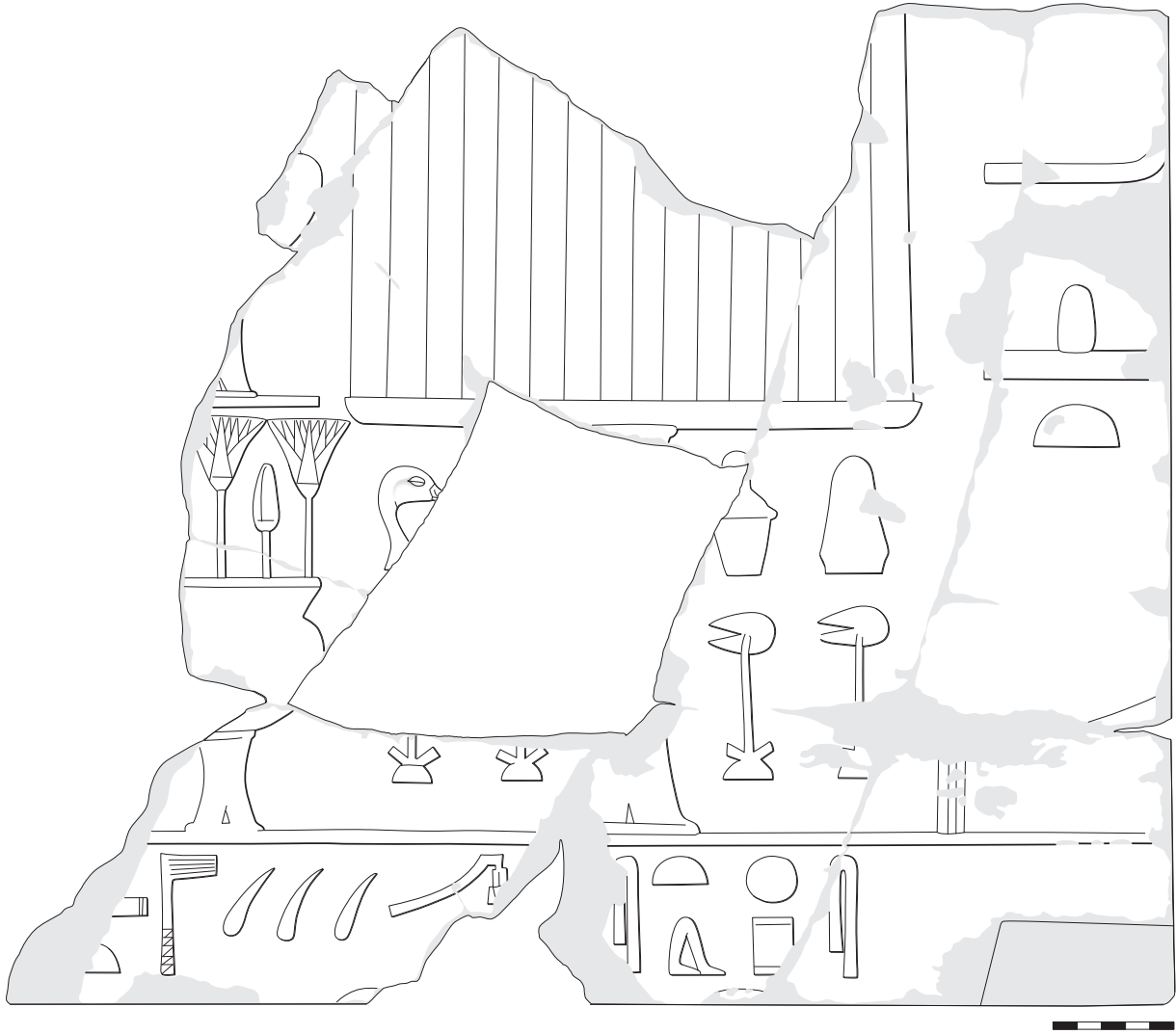
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<sup>135</sup> The block border is 2.8 cm wide, which is larger than the throne's block border in the east chapel of pyramid 8; see chapter 5.3.1.

Cat. no. 46







Detail with goose head.

Offering table with feet of queen to the right, offerings to the left, and top of offering bearer register below

Twelve joining fragments: 97.546a–e, h–j (K/24); 97.714 (K/24); 97.767/6 (K/24); 98.62/5 (K/24); 98.71/2(K/24); 98.89/3 (L/24)

44.9 x 41.1 cm

In the center is a large offering table surmounted by sixteen tall, thin bread loaves. To the right is a vertical inscription reading *(d)bh[t] htp* or *bhd(t) htp* “food offerings.” The *d*-sign is not written at the beginning of the word, and the small damaged area between the tusk and the *htp*-sign is not large enough to allow reconstructing both a *t*- and *d*-sign. This indicates either that the first two signs were transposed and the *t*-sign was omitted or that the *d*-sign was omitted, which is a known, but very rare, spelling.<sup>136</sup> Below the bread loaves and split up onto both sides of the stand is part of the usual inscription *h3 (m) t h3 (m) hnt h3 (m) [k3] h3 (m) 3pd* “a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand cows, and a thousand fowl.” The stand of the table shows the common triangular opening and sits on top of a ground line. Farther right, on top of the ground line, is part of the throne’s platform with a small part of the feet of the queen facing left resting on it.

To the left of the offering table are parts of two registers with offerings. The bottom register shares its ground line with the large offering table and the platform of the throne, and it shows a vessel stand with a triangular opening supporting a round vessel. The vessel has a very wide opening, and several lotus flowers rise vertically from it. Preserved are two open flowers flanking a closed bud. The height of this register is about the same as the height of the stand of the offering table. Above is the ground line for another register with offerings. A small part of a stand with a triangular opening is preserved and farther above is a small part of the curved contour of a vessel, which is presumably supported by the stand and could have the same shape as the one below. The height of both registers with offerings together was probably the same as that of the offering table.

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<sup>136</sup> For two parallels, see H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 2, CG, nos. 20001–20780 (Berlin, 1908), pp. 232–233, CG 20593; and Ahmed Mahmoud Moussa, “A Stela from Saqqara of a Family Devoted to the Cult of King Unis,” in *MDAIK* 27 (1971), p. 82, pl. 14. I would like to thank Filip Taterka for these references; he and Katarzyna Kapiec are preparing a study of the different writings of this word.



Below the offering table and the platform of the throne is the top part of a register with an inscription at its top. On the right side, below the area with the right side of the offering table and the blank surface in front of it, is the beginning of an inscription facing right. It reads *slpwt stpwt* “the bringing of joints of meat,” which is very common and introduces a row of offering bearers; this phrase can either stand alone or introduce a list of more offerings. Here it is directly followed by *hꜥp nꜥtr* “divine offerings,” a specification that is not commonly included as part of the *slpwt stpwt* inscription.<sup>137</sup> Below the inscription are small parts of two objects with curved top contours. These must be the tops of the heads of two figures. On the bottom of the piece is a horizontal masonry edge that runs through these heads. Part of the same block and bottom block edge is preserved on cat. nos. 122 and 126. On the right side is a long vertical masonry edge, the right block edge, which runs through the feet of the queen.

The right part of the piece is very weathered, but the left part is well preserved and shows that the relief carving is well executed. The face of the goose-head hieroglyph, which is situated below the offering table, is very nicely carved and an example of some of the best relief work within the chapel. The eye is depicted closed, as this is the head of a dead goose, and both eyelids are very clearly modeled. To the left of the eye is a graduated depression that runs down in a curve, parallel to the head’s outer contour. Only a small part of the beak is preserved, but one can see that it is also depicted in detail; a horizontal line marks the upper and lower parts, and a nostril was not just incised but rather depicted as a modeled and deep opening. The hieroglyphs in the bottom register are nicely carved and feature interior details. The *nꜥtr*-sign has diagonal and horizontal incised lines on its vertical staff, and its horizontal part features horizontal incised lines. The *hꜥp*-sign, however, only has two vertical incised lines at its end. Also, the *p*-sign seems to have only a few incised details; it shows a horizontal incised line each at top and bottom. (The surface of this sign is badly weathered, but because these two incised lines are clearly visible, vertical incised lines probably did not exist.) Ridges separate the individual loaves of bread of the offering table. These were created by slightly cutting down the left part of each loaf so that the right contour of the adjoining loaf sits slightly higher.

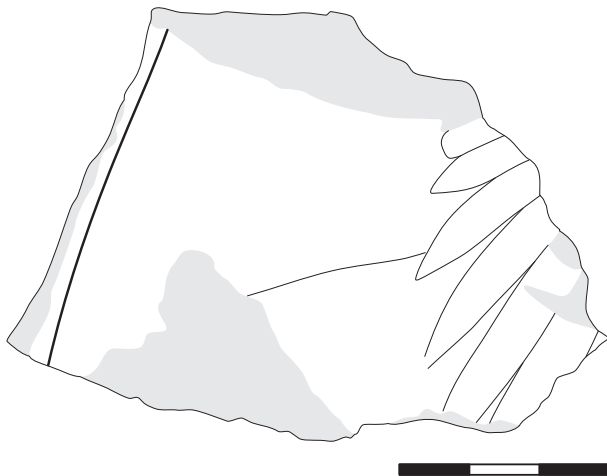
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<sup>137</sup> For *hꜥp nꜥtr*, see Günther Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches unter Berücksichtigung einiger späterer Formen*, SDAIK 21 (Mainz, 1986), p. 107; Paule Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai (Les papyrus d’Abousir)*, vol. 2, *Traduction et commentaire*, BdE 65 (Cairo, 1976), pp. 624–626. See also here cat. no. 126, which continues the inscription.

There is yellow paint on the bread loaves of the offering table, and faint traces of yellow are also on the *stp*-sign, which in addition seems to have thin red contour lines. Blue-green paint is on the part of the offering table that functions like a tray or plate and on the stopper of the beer jar hieroglyph. Scant remains of green are also on the stand of the round vessel that is depicted to the bottom left of the offering table. Red paint is on the goose-head hieroglyph, on the short diagonal lines of the thousand-sign on the far left, and on the three flesh-signs at the bottom of the piece.

### 3.3.1.2 The Queen in Front of the Offering Table, from the West Wall

Cat. no. 47



Part of vulture headdress, hair and shoulder of queen facing right

8.1 x 6.4 cm

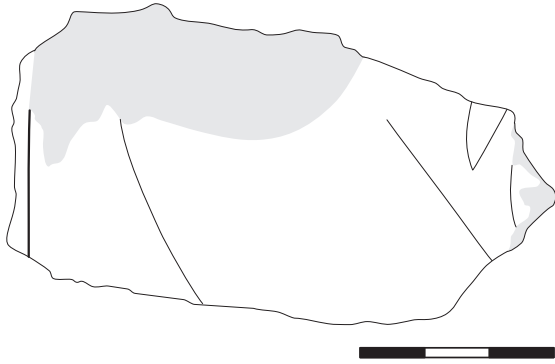
One fragment: 98.106/1 (K/24)

Depicted is the proper right shoulder of the queen facing right, with part of her hair and vulture headdress. At the top is a feather with a rounded end, followed by five more feathers. The top three of these preserve their pointed ends. Extending to the left of them is a low ridge that runs in a slight curve. This is the top contour of the queen's shoulder, with her hair depicted above, falling behind the shoulder. On the far left is a slightly diagonal contour with background to the left; this can be identified as the back contour of her hair. On all feathers except the uppermost is green paint.

The vulture headdress features the individual feathers of the vertical wing in relief. The feathers protrude over the shoulder and make up the back contour of the vertical wing. A depiction from the opposite side (see cat. no. 41) does not show the individual feathers in relief carving, and the contour of the vulture wing is straight. See also cat. no. 48 for a fragment, which must have been situated very close to this piece, just a little lower.

**Cat. no. 48**





Back part of upper body of queen facing right

8.4 x 4.4 cm

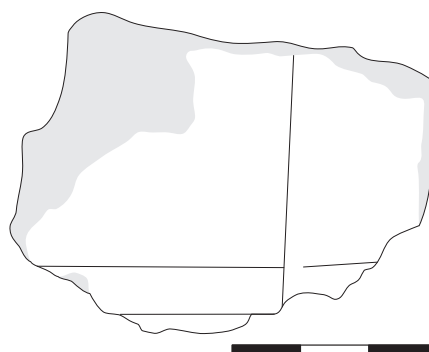
One fragment: 97.615/4 (K/24)

This fragment preserves part of the upper body of the queen facing right. On the left side is the vertical and nearly straight contour of her hair. To the right is part of her proper right upper arm, which extends diagonally forward. Farther right is a small part of her chest, which is overlapped by parts of two feathers from her vulture headdress; the left one preserves its pointed end.

The quality is mediocre; the overlapping arm is rendered only through an incised line on the left and a very low ridge that turns into an incised line on the right. Yellow paint is on the upper arm and a thin red contour line runs along its right contour. Green paint is on the left feather.

See also cat. no. 47 for a piece that shows the top of the queen's shoulder from the same depiction; it must have been situated directly above no. 48.

**Cat. no. 49**



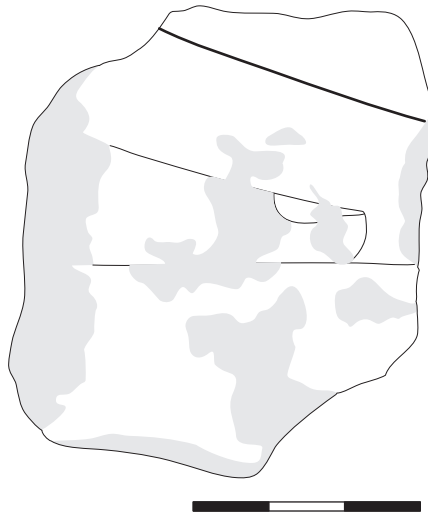
Part of ankles and anklets of queen facing right

5.9 x 4.3 cm

One fragment: 98.140/8 (K/24)

Only a small part of the ankles is preserved with a low, nearly vertical ridge separating the legs from each other. The leg on the viewer's left side seems to overlap the one on the right, since the surface of the one on the right slopes slightly down toward the left one. This indicates that the ankles belong to the depiction of the queen facing right. On the bottom of her proper right leg (on the viewer's left) have been incised two parallel horizontal lines that form a broad stripe; these probably depict a leg ring or a strand of large beads. On her proper left leg is only a small part of one incised line that sits at the same height as the top line on her proper right leg. Cat. no. 42 shows the queen wearing a multi-strand bracelet with spacers and with several bangles or strands of beads next to it. The stripes visible here are probably bangles or strands of matching pieces that are likewise worn above a multi-strand anklet.

**Cat. no. 50**



Part of queen's feet facing right

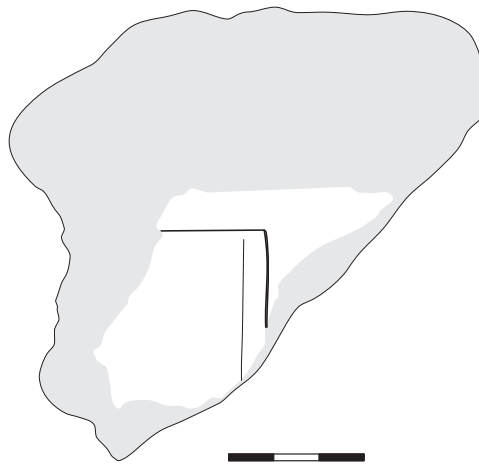
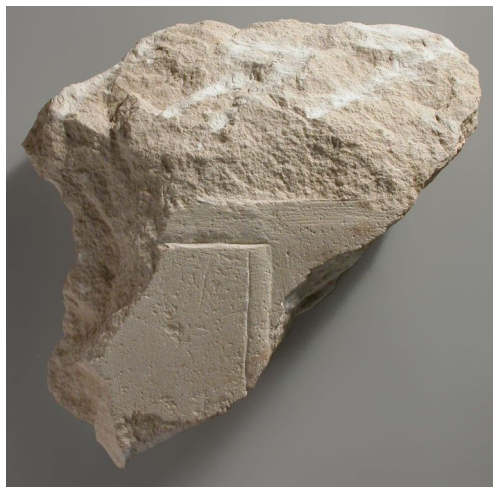
5.1 x 6.0 cm

One fragment: 97.650 (K/24)

The fragment shows part of the feet of the queen facing right. Her proper right foot overlaps the left one and is set back. Only the very front part with the big toe is preserved of her right foot. Its toenail is depicted by an incised line, and the overlapping feet are separated by a low ridge. Part of her left foot is visible behind her right foot; the curved top contour of the left foot's middle section is preserved. Immediately beneath the feet is a green surface separated from them by an incised line. This must be the platform on which the throne stands (compare cat. no. 46); it extends beyond the front of the throne.

There are faint traces of yellow paint on the feet, and green paint is on the platform.

**Cat. no. 51**



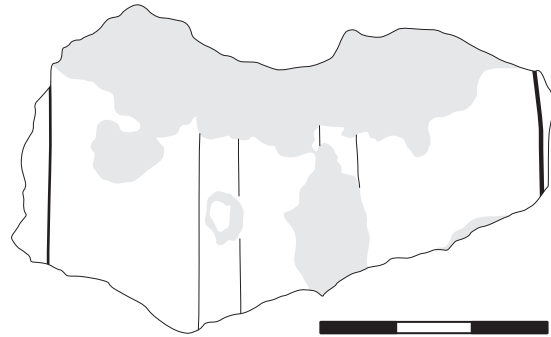
Right end of throne platform, from west wall

6.9 x 4.8 cm

One fragment: 97.592/3 (K/24)

Preserved are two contours of an object that form a right angle; the background is at both edges. This is very probably the right end of the platform on which the throne of the queen, facing right, stands. An incised line runs parallel to the vertical contour. No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 52**



Part of back rest of throne, from west wall

7.2 x 3.6 cm

One fragment: 97.592/1 (K/24)

The piece shows part of the back rest of a throne with a cushion draped over it. Preserved are small parts of both outer contours that run parallel to each other. One of these contours curves slightly at one broken end, indicating that this must be the front, as the cushion is usually draped in a curve immediately next to the person and hangs straight down the back of the throne. This curve shows that the piece belongs to the depiction of the queen facing right. The same is also evident through cat. no. 43, which preserves the same part of the throne from the opposite wall.

The back rest itself, painted green, is depicted as a wide vertical stripe framed by two narrow stripes.



**Cat. no. 53**



Top left part of offering table, from west wall

3.5 x 8.6 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.642/1 (K/24), 97.651 (K/24)

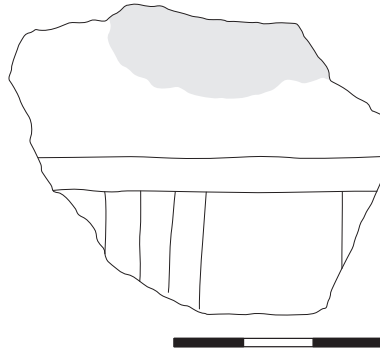
On the right is a tall and narrow bread loaf from an offering table, with background surface to the left, indicating that this is the leftmost part of the offering table. To the right is a small part of another loaf, including a small section of its curved top. On the right side is a vertical masonry edge. The vertical masonry edge does not fit the offering table on the east wall, unless it was part of a patch stone. The preserved parts of these two bread loaves are, however, too tall to fit into the missing top left part of the offering table on the east wall (see cat. no. 46), and they are also very slightly broader than those of the east wall (1.6 cm compared to 1.5 cm). This indicates that this fragment does not belong to the offering table on the east wall and must therefore derive from the west wall. The vertical masonry edge fits well to the west wall, where a vertical edge runs very close to the front of the offering list, under which the table was positioned (see chapter 8.3.4).

Yellow paint is on both bread loaves.



### 3.3.1.3 The Queen in Front of the Offering Table, Unclear from Which Wall

#### Cat. no. 54



Small part of throne

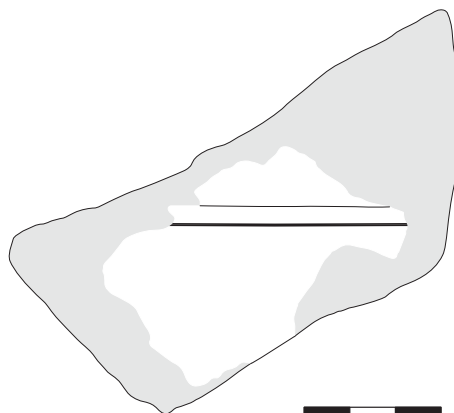
5.5. x 4.3 cm

One fragment: 97.646/2 (K/24)

This fragment features part of a block border that can be reconstructed as having been 2.8 cm wide, which corresponds well to the size of the block border on the throne (compare cat. no. 43). A raised surface is to one side of it.

The border has green paint in the preserved rectangle, and faint traces of red are in the small part of another such section. One of the short lines bordering the green rectangle has faint traces of yellow pigments.

#### Cat. no. 55



Part of throne platform or of offering

6.8 x 5.4 cm

One fragment: 98.71/1 (K/24)

Preserved is a straight line with part of an object immediately next to it, separated only by an incised straight line. On the other side of the line is a larger amount of blank background surface.

This could be part of the throne platform on a ground line, but it could also be part of a large offering on a ground line. No paint is preserved.

### 3.3.2 The Bird and the Vertical Inscription Above the Queen

#### 3.3.2.1 The Bird and the Vertical Inscription Above the Queen, from the East Wall

Cat. no. 56





Parts of four columns of inscription with queen's titles facing left and of protective bird  
29.1 x 24.7 cm

Six joining fragments: 97.549 (K/24), 97.551 (K/24), 97.596 (K/24), 97.733/3 (K/24), 98.42/2 (L/24)

Parts of four columns of an inscription facing left are preserved. The tip of a bird's wing that is preserved on the top right of this piece shows that the inscription must have been situated above the queen and not in front of her, because the falcon or vulture was placed above the royal figure

it is protecting.<sup>138</sup> As the inscription is facing left, it must belong to the depiction of the queen facing left and thus can be assigned to the east wall.

On the far left is a very small part of a sign, and to its right, in the same column, is part of a tall vertical sign. The sign on the right could be a *h<sub>z</sub>*-vase as part of the title *wrt h<sub>z</sub>t*. But this sign is usually situated in front of the *wr*-bird, so in the front part of the column rather than at its back (see cat. nos. 14 and 178). Moreover, the shape of the small part of a sign to the left does not fit that of a *wr*-bird. The two partial signs cannot be identified. To the right is part of a column line with its bottom end. In the right part of the next column is the rounded bottom of a sign. An *r*-sign is below with a *t*-sign farther down, at the end of the column. The content of this column and the previous one is unfortunately unclear, but as the next column gives a title of the queen, and as a better preserved piece from the same position on the opposite wall (see cat. no. 58) lists her titles, one can assume that this was the case here as well.

To the right is part of another column line with its bottom end. The text of the following column is better preserved. At the top left is the small, bottom part of a sign in the shape of a short vertical line, and a *t*-sign is to the right. Below is a *mwt*-vulture with a *t*-sign in front of it. This suggests that the bottom of the vertical sign above belongs to a *sw*-plant for *nswt* as part of the title *mwt nswt* “the mother of the king.” Below the *mwt*-sign is a *hnm*-vase with a *t*-sign behind it. The handle of the *hnm*-jar is on the right side, in contrast to the usual pattern, in which the handle is on the left side when the inscription is facing left.<sup>139</sup> Below, on the left side, is a *nfr*-sign. The surface to its right is not preserved. This is *Hnmt-nfr-hdt*; the white-crown hieroglyph is not preserved but was presumably to the right of the *nfr*-sign. To the right is a small part of another column and above it are the pointed tips of a vertical wing from a protective bird that was depicted above the queen. Below the left end of the feathers’ tips is the top part of a column line, and to its right is part of a hieroglyph in the shape of a curved line. This is the top part of an *ankh*-sign, so this column can be reconstructed as having read *‘n<sub>h</sub>.tj dt*, corresponding to the column below the vertical bird wing on the opposite wall (see cat. no. 58). If the queen had been

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<sup>138</sup> For a falcon above a queen, see, for example, a depiction of Iput I (Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. 2, Excav. Saqq. [Cairo, 1926], pl. 57, fig. 7). In this case the falcon is directly above the queen, and the inscription with her titles is in front of her.

<sup>139</sup> A piece of Senwosret III’s pyramid temple shows the same reversed orientation of this sign in an inscription for the god Khnum; see Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pl. 180.

called Khenemetneferhedjet Weret in this inscription, then a *wr*-bird would have followed Khenemetneferhedjet. However, the shape of the partial sign at the top of the last column does not fit a *wr*-bird and can be identified as part of an *ankh*-sign instead. As on the opposite wall, the queen is called only Khenemetneferhedjet in this inscription, which was situated above her depiction at the offering table. This piece and the one from the opposite wall are therefore crucial elements in the discussion of whether Khenemetneferhedjet was the name or a title of this queen (see chapter 7).

It is not certain whether the title *hmt nswt* was included in this inscription or if it was omitted (see chapter 6). Above the *mwt*-sign is the bottom of the *sw*-plant with a *t*-sign to its lower right. Theoretically a *hm*-sign and an additional *t*-sign could have been situated to the top and center right of the *sw*-plant; this writing is known, for example, from one of the triad statues (see chapter 2.3 with fig. 8c). On the opposite west wall and on the preserved tympanum, however, the title *hmt nswt* was written with a *hm*-sign rather than a *t*-sign at the bottom (see cat. nos. 58 and 178). The positioning of the *t*-sign to the bottom right of the *sw*-plant does therefore not indicate whether the *hm*-sign was included on the east wall.

To the right, through the *ankh*-sign, is a vertical masonry edge that formed part of the bed for a patch stone, which was inserted to the right but is not preserved. At the bottom of the piece, some distance below the end of the columns is a horizontal masonry edge. This was probably the original block edge. The surface directly above the edge is damaged and no decoration that might have been present is preserved. Cat. no. 40, which depicts part of the queen's face oriented to the left, features a masonry edge at its top that runs through the top of the queen's head. This was very probably the top part of the adjoining block. The very top of the queen's head was probably depicted in the damaged area below the inscription on the piece here.

An interesting aspect of this piece is that some hieroglyphs in the second to last column are smaller than others in this inscription (and also than those on the east wall); see chapter 5.3.2 for a discussion of this feature.

The surface is badly eroded, making the quality of the relief very difficult to judge. One can still see interior details within the vulture, but it seems that mainly incised lines were used, and there is no evidence for modeling. The quality of the carving seems to have been mediocre. Green paint is present only on the main part of the vulture and on the second column line from the left.

**Cat. no. 57**



Feathers from vertical wing

6.0 x 6.6 cm

Two joining fragments: 98.48/1 (K/24), 98.49/4 (K/24)

The piece shows rounded and pointed ends of several feathers. These belong to the bird with outstretched wings that is depicted above the queen. The direction of the feathers shows that the bird is oriented to the left and that the piece therefore derives from the east wall, on which the queen is facing left. Next to the feathers is blank surface. The piece also has a masonry edge, which runs at an angle to the contour of the wing. This angle suggests that this is part of the vertical wing, as the horizontal wing should run more or less parallel to a block edge, while the “vertical” bird wing is usually at a diagonal. The fragment’s masonry edge on the right lines up well with the proposed position of the left block edge of cat. no. 218. The end of the bird’s wing is preserved on cat. no. 56.

There is green paint on the main part of all of the feathers, while the rounded tips show red paint that is not separated from the green area by relief carving.

For part of an inscription facing right that might derive from the east wall, see cat. no. 213.

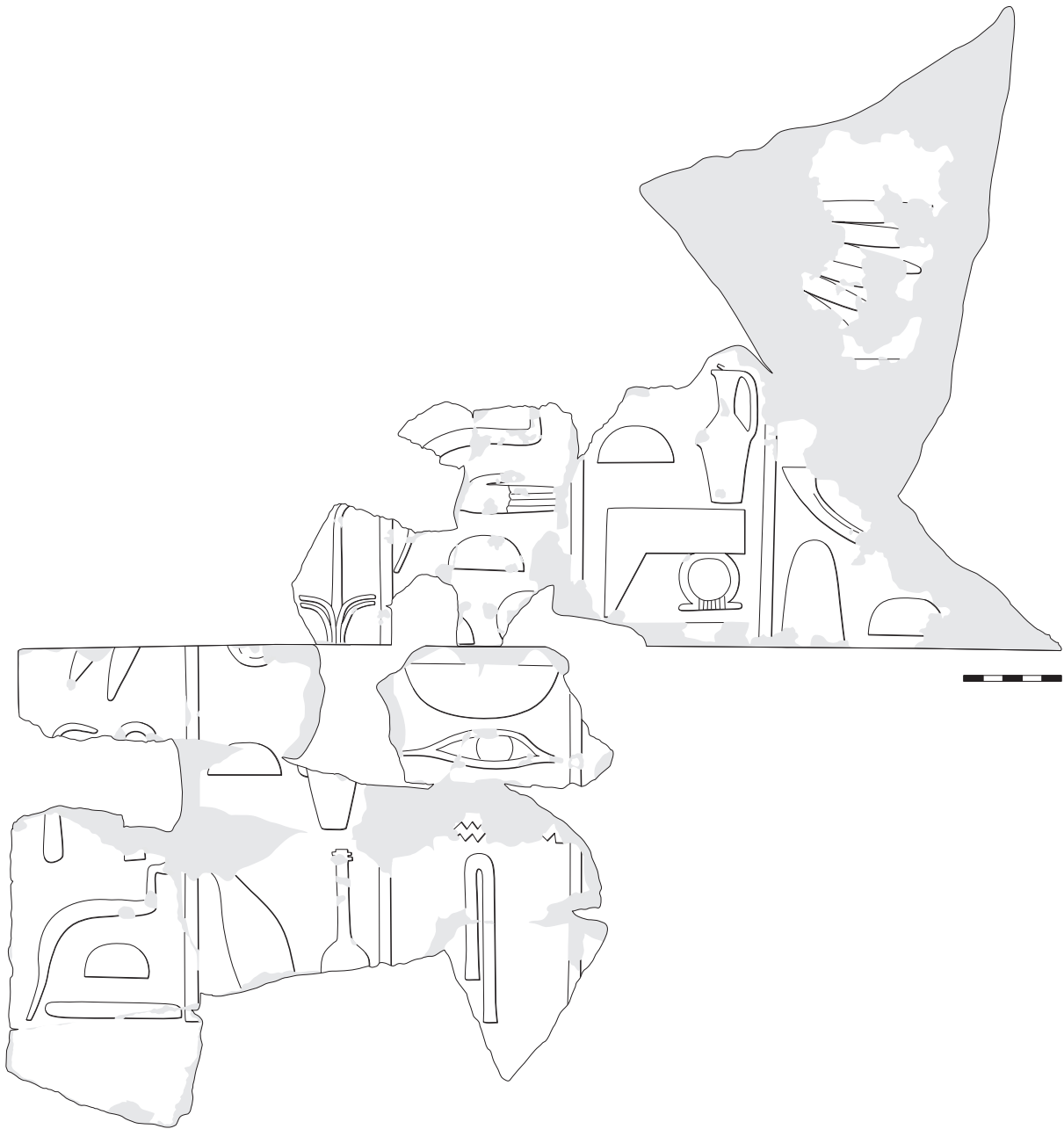


### 3.3.2.2 The Bird and the Vertical Inscription Above the Queen, from the West Wall

Cat. no. 58







Part of five columns of inscription with queen's titles facing right and part of the horizontal bird's wing above<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Part of this piece was published as a preliminary drawing in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, pp. 154–155, fig. 6, and also referred to in Stünkel, in *BES* 19 (2015), p. 635, note 28, but in both instances more joins were found after the publication. The final pieced together inscription shows additional joins at the top with the horizontal wing of the protective bird and at the bottom left with the end of the last column line. The piece now

47.4 x 50.9 cm

Seventeen joining fragments: 97.544, 97.547, 97.592/2, 97.638, 97.652/2, 97.653/1, 97.653/2, 97.700/1, 97.704/1, 97.712, 98.63/1, 98.135/3, 98.141/2, 98.141/3 (all from K/24)

The piece consists of two larger parts that join along their masonry edges. It shows five columns of inscription with part of a large bird above. As the inscription is facing right, it must belong to the depiction of the queen facing right that was situated on the west wall. At the top right is the right end of the horizontal wing of a protective bird. Below its right end is part of an object with a horizontal contour. This is very probably the top of a *nb*-basket, but its lower part is not preserved. Below is part of a *m3*-sickle with a *t*-sign to its lower right and an *jm3*-tree to its lower left. This is the title *nbt jm3t* “mistress of the *jm3t*-scepter.” The surface between the top of the *nb*-sign and the bottom half of the sickle is damaged, but there is enough space to reconstruct a *t*-sign in between.

At the top of the next column is a *lmm*-jar with a *t*-sign behind it. The *lmm*-jar shows a short string (of the seal) at the top left. The surface is heavily eroded and the string to the right is not visible. (Note that because the whole surface is badly eroded, the drawing depicts no small damage in this area.) Below the jar is a sign that depicts the corner of a sky with a *sn*-ring below.<sup>141</sup> Farther below is a straight horizontal contour that could be part of a second such sign, especially as it often occurs twice. As protective symbols, the two corners of the sky can be depicted behind the king, possibly marking the boundaries of the sky (and, according to Wolfhart Westendorf, therefore holding the king in the space of order and Maat and shielding him from chaos<sup>142</sup>). The meaning of this sign in the context of the inscription here, however, is unclear. The sign can be used in the word *tpht* for a cave or hole and it can also name the two springs of the Nile at Elephantine as *qrtj*.<sup>143</sup> Because titles of the queen precede and follow, it seems likely

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shows definite evidence that these columns preserve their top and bottom ends, while before the possibility that some of the columns extended farther could not be fully excluded.

<sup>141</sup> For this sign and its interpretation, see Wolfhart Westendorf, “Die geteilte Himmelsgöttin,” in *Gegengabe: Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut*, ed. by Ingrid Gamer-Wallert and Wolfgang Helck (Tübingen, 1992), pp. 348–354, with references to older studies (one of which presents the opinion that the connection to the sky was secondary and that the sign’s origin lies in depicting a door pivot). See also Oppenheim, in *Ancient Memphis*, pp. 411–412, note 32, with a list of depictions that show objects in this shape being carried.

<sup>142</sup> Westendorf, in: *Gegengabe: Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut*, p. 352.

<sup>143</sup> WB V, pp. 58 and 364–365.

that this is part of a title. The *hnm*-jar in front was probably part of such a title. No expression is known, however, for a royal women that includes the corner(s) of the sky or anything similar. There is a title that can be used for the goddess Neith that calls her *hnm tꜣꜣt* “The one who is united with the cave,” but it is rare and only occurs in the Late Period and Graeco-Roman times.<sup>144</sup> The “sky-corner”-sign here probably belongs to a very rare queen’s title that cannot be identified at this point. As *hnm* was probably part of this title, it might have been used in this context as “The one who unites.”

Nothing of the lower half of the column is preserved. The next column reads *ddt jꜣt nb(t) jrj=[t<sup>145</sup>](w) n=s* “The one who says anything, and one does (it) for her,” which is a rare queen’s title in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>146</sup> The *s*-sign ends the title and its bottom is on the same height as the end of a column line farther left, indicating that this is indeed the end of the column. In the next column is one of the two most important titles of Weret I *ꜣmt nswt* “wife of the king,” which is followed by *Hnm-t-nfr-ꜣdt*, instead of the title “mother of the king” that would be expected after “wife of the king” and before *Hnm-t-nfr-ꜣdt*. It is impossible that the sequence of the two titles “wife of the king” and “mother of the king” was changed, since the end of the previous column is preserved with part of another title, and as the short available space at the top of this column must have been filled with the *šn*-ring held by the protective bird whose horizontal wing is preserved at the top of the inscription and whose wingtip is preserved in the next and last column. (Even if there were no *šn*-ring, the vulture-sign would still be too tall to fit into the available space.) This means that Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I was called only “wife of the king” in this inscription, which is a very intriguing feature. (Compare cat. no. 56 for a piece from the opposite wall that lists the title “mother of the king,” and see chapter 6.)

To the left of *Hnm-t-nfr-ꜣdt* is a column line with its bottom end, which clearly shows that this column ended here and that the inscription did not extend farther below. At the top of the next column are the pointed ends of a vertical wing, indicating that the space above this column must have depicted the bird’s wing. Below are parts of an *ꜥnl*- and a *tj*-sign followed by *dt* at the

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<sup>144</sup> Christian Leitz (Ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 6, OLA 115 (Leuven, 2002), p. 24.

<sup>145</sup> The surface between the *jrj*-sign and the *n*-sign is not preserved, but the distance between the signs indicates that a *t*-sign was probably written between them.

<sup>146</sup> For the queen’s titles, see the appendix in chapter 9.

bottom end of the column. A small blank surface is preserved below the end of the leftmost column. These two last columns show that the queen is called only Khenemetneferhedjet here and not Weret (as on cat. no. 56), which is a crucial factor in the discussion of whether Khenemetneferhedjet was a name or title (see chapter 7). As on a large piece with inscription from the opposite wall (cat. no. 56), the preserved tip of the vertical wing indicates that this inscription was placed above the queen and not in front of her.

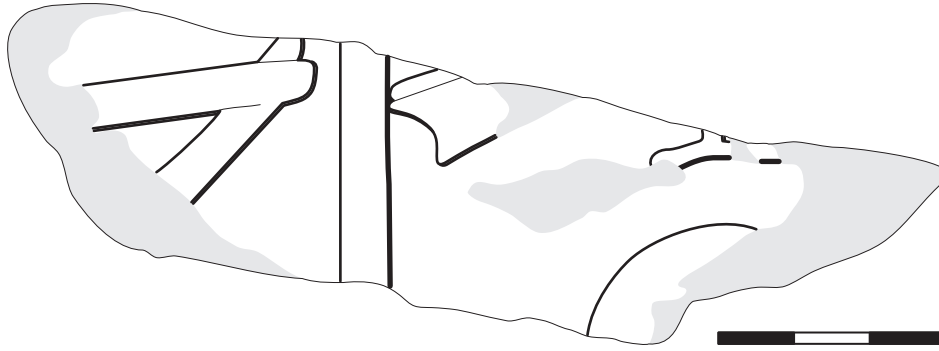
On the far left, just to the left of the feather tips, is a vertical masonry edge that runs in a ca. 97 degree angle to the surface. A patch stone must have originally been inserted to the left of this area. The bottom end of this edge is not preserved, but the lower part of the decorated surface extends slightly farther left than this vertical edge runs. This shows that the patch stone did not run all the way down the left side.

The quality of the relief carving is mediocre. The contours of the signs are mostly well executed and they have some interior detail, but the relief is rather flat. It does not show modeling of the surface, and overlapping areas are separated by incised lines rather than by ridges. For example, although the *jrj*-eye is rounded across the surface, interior details are shown not by modeling or ridges but, rather, only by incised lines.

The top right part of the inscription itself is heavily eroded, but the remaining part of the surface is in good condition. There is green paint on the *t*-sign from *ddt* and on the leftmost column line. Red is on the *d*-hand and the *s*-sign.

#### Cat. no. 59





Part of two columns of inscription facing right

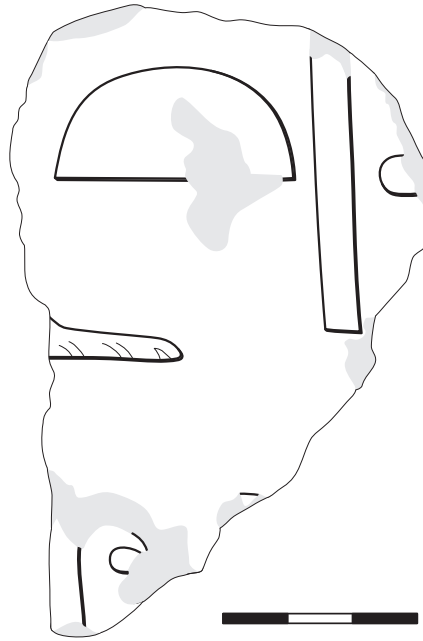
10.0 x 4.6 cm

One fragment: 98.105 (K/24)

On the right side are parts of the tail and feet of a *wr*-bird facing right with part of a *t*-sign below. To the left is a column line, and farther left is part of a *mr*-hoe that is oriented horizontally. This piece very probably belongs to the inscription above the queen; the *mrj*-sign could be part of the title *bnrt mrwt*. The word *wrt* from the column in front could be part of the queen's titles *wrt ḥzt* or *wrt ḥts*. The tall vertical sign of these two titles is usually written first, followed by the *wr*-bird, which is therefore situated in the back part of the column (compare cat. nos. 14 and 178). See chapter 5.3.2 for a reconstruction that allows seeing this fragment as part of *wrt ḥzt* and *bnrt mrwt*.

The surface of the piece is very weathered and has a patina. No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 60**



Part of a vertical and horizontal inscription facing right

6.5 x 9.7 cm

One fragment: 98.230 (K/24)

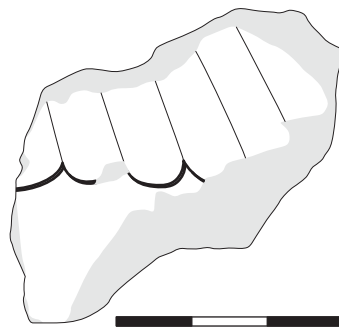
This piece shows the bottom of two columns of inscription facing right with part of a horizontal line of inscription below. At the top left of the piece is a *t*-sign. Below it is the front part of bird's feet. The bird is facing right and positioned to the left of the *t*-sign. To the right of the *t*-sign is part of a vertical line with a straight end. This is a column line and it ends just a little above the height of the bird's feet. To the right of it is a small rounded part of a sign that seems to have faint traces of green paint and presumably belongs to another column of inscription. Below the left column is the top part of a *šm<sup>c</sup>*-plant-sign, and a very small part of the top of another object is to the right of it.

This piece probably belongs above cat. no. 65, which shows the bottom part of the *šm<sup>c</sup>*-plant-sign facing right. The small shape on the far right of the fragment here could therefore be part of the *bd*-natron-sign (Gardiner Sign List R9). This is part of a horizontal inscription that was placed in front of the face of the queen. The two partial columns that are preserved on the top part of the fragment must belong to the long vertical inscription above the head of the queen. If one combines the evidence from various other pieces, then one is able to reconstruct the

position of this fragment as the bottom of the first two columns of this inscription and to determine that the small part of the green sign on the far right is probably the left end of a *t3*-sign (see chapter 5.3.2). It also allows suggesting that the foot of the bird hieroglyph belongs to a *w*-quail chick and that together with the *t*-sign it is part of the title *burt mrwt*.

There is blue-green paint on the *t*-sign, and very faint traces of green are on the sign to the right of the column line. Red paint is on the feet of the bird. The quality of the carving is mediocre, since the relief is rather flat and the contours are in general not very carefully executed. The bird's feet, however, are depicted in detail, displaying the individual claws.

**Cat. no. 61**



Part of bird's wing, probably part of horizontal wing of bird facing right

4.2 x 4.1 cm (if horizontal)

One fragment: 97.718/4 (K/24)

Preserved are several feathers with rounded ends and next to them is background surface. The scale of the feathers is smaller than that of the winged sun disk from the exterior lintel decoration, but they fit well to the wing of the protective bird that is depicted above the queen. The direction of the feathers and their positions in relation to one another suggests that this is part of the horizontal wing of the bird facing right that was situated on the west wall.

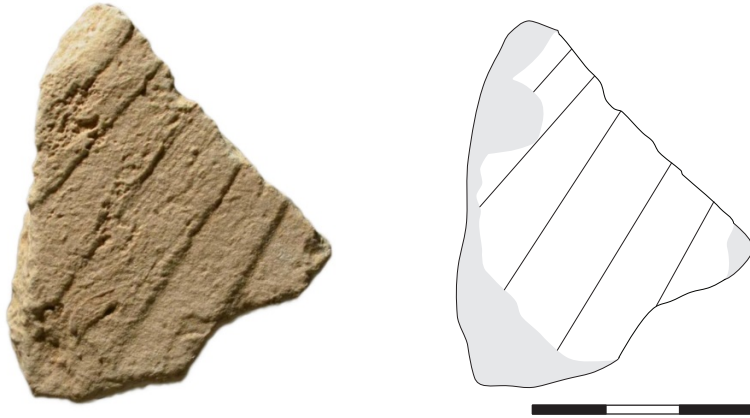
No paint is preserved and the surface has a slight patina.



For parts of the vertical inscription from the west wall, see also cat. nos. 92 and 98.

### 3.3.2.3 The Bird and the Vertical Inscription Above the Queen, Unclear from Which Wall

#### Cat. no. 62



Part of bird's feathers

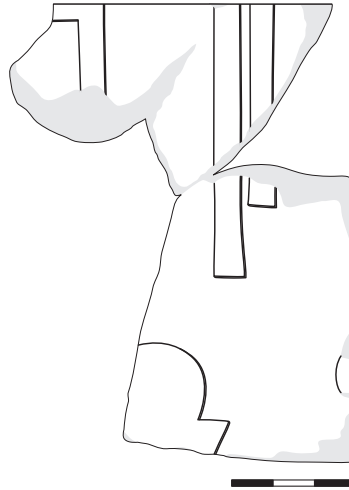
4.0 x 3.0 cm

One fragment: 98.76/6 (K/24)

Parts of six overlapping feathers are preserved. This piece cannot have been part of the queen's vulture headdress, because it did not feature carved feathers on the east wall and the preserved parts of her vulture headdress from the west wall show large sections of the longer feathers and cannot accommodate this piece (see cat. nos. 47–48). The feathers are separated by ridges, which create a layered look. These ridges also allow one to determine that the feathers either belong to the vertical wing of a bird facing right (shown in this position here and in the reconstruction) or to the horizontal wing of a bird facing left. The surface is very weathered; no paint is preserved.

### 3.3.3 The Horizontal Inscription Next to the Queen, from East and West Walls

#### Cat. no. 63



Part of horizontal inscription naming incense facing left, from east wall

8.1 x 10.9

Three joining fragments: 97.747/1 (K/24), 98.90/2 (L/24), 98.154/10 (K/24)

At the top left is part of a sign that can be reconstructed as a large *ntr*-sign. To the right of it is an *s*-sign facing left. This is *sntr* “incense,” the *s*-sign being written behind the *ntr*-sign in honorific transposition. Below, on the left, is part of a vessel with a circular object on top that is presumably the determinative. At some distance to the right is a small curved part of another object. This could be part of a circular ball determinative that belongs to the continuation of the inscription.

Masonry edges are at the top and on the right side. The vertical masonry edge on the right fits well to cat. no. 64, which features an edge on the left side and belongs to the adjoining block that continues the inscription with *bd*. This is part of a horizontal inscription that is written in front of the queen’s face and that mentions incense and natron (compare cat. no. 65 and see chapter 5.3.2).

No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 64**



Part of horizontal inscription naming natron facing left, from east wall

4.2 x 8.6 cm

One fragment: 97.715 (K/24)

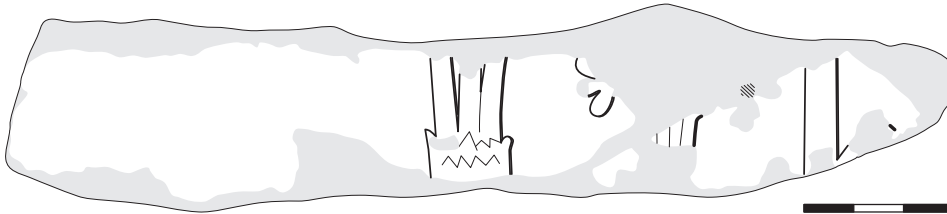
On the left side is part of a large *bd*-natron-sign (Gardiner Sign List R9) facing left. To the top right of it is a small part of the top of a *šm<sup>c</sup>*-sign. A vertical masonry edge is on the left side and at the top is a horizontal edge. This piece reads “Upper Egyptian natron” and belongs to the right of cat. no. 63.<sup>147</sup> It is part of the horizontal inscription that mentions incense and natron. This inscription can be placed in front of the head of the queen, between her face and the offering list. The two masonry edges fit well to this position, as a horizontal edge runs through the top of the queen’s head (see cat. no. 40) and a vertical edge was located in front of her, to the right of the offering table (see cat. no. 46).

On part of the top section of the *šm<sup>c</sup>*-sign is red paint that covers the blossom only and not the stem of the plant.

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<sup>147</sup> This piece and the one that adjoins along the block edge are treated as two separate entries, as the join is not obvious, unlike that of cat. no. 58, which was treated as one piece.

Cat. no. 65



Part of a horizontal inscription facing right, from west wall

18.3 x 3.1 cm

Two joining fragments: 95.14 (L/24–25), 95.15 (L/24–25)<sup>148</sup>

On the right is part of a vertical line, from which a short diagonal line extends up and to the right. This is part of the *bd*-natron-sign (Gardiner Sign List R9) facing right. To the left of it is part of the *šm<sup>c</sup>*-plant, and farther left is the bottom of a *mlj*-papyrus plant. This is *bd šm<sup>c</sup>j mljwj* “Upper and Lower Egyptian natron.” To the left side of it is a large blank surface.

This inscription was probably positioned next to the queen, below the vertical inscription and between her head and the offering list.<sup>149</sup> Evidence for this position derives from cat. no. 60, which is located beneath a vertical inscription and which preserves the top part of the same *šm<sup>c</sup>*-plant as the one featured here.

The surface is slightly weathered and has a patina. Very faint traces of red paint seem to be on the bottom part of the papyrus plant, although one would expect green paint for this sign.

<sup>148</sup> For the find spot of both pieces, see the note of cat. no. 37.

<sup>149</sup> For a parallel, see de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour* I, pl. 11. Also compare the offering table scene of Senwosret I, which features such an inscription in a slightly different position and mentions royal natron instead; see Dieter Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I, The South Cemeteries of Lisht*, vol. 1, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, PMMA 22 (New York, 1988), pl. 49.

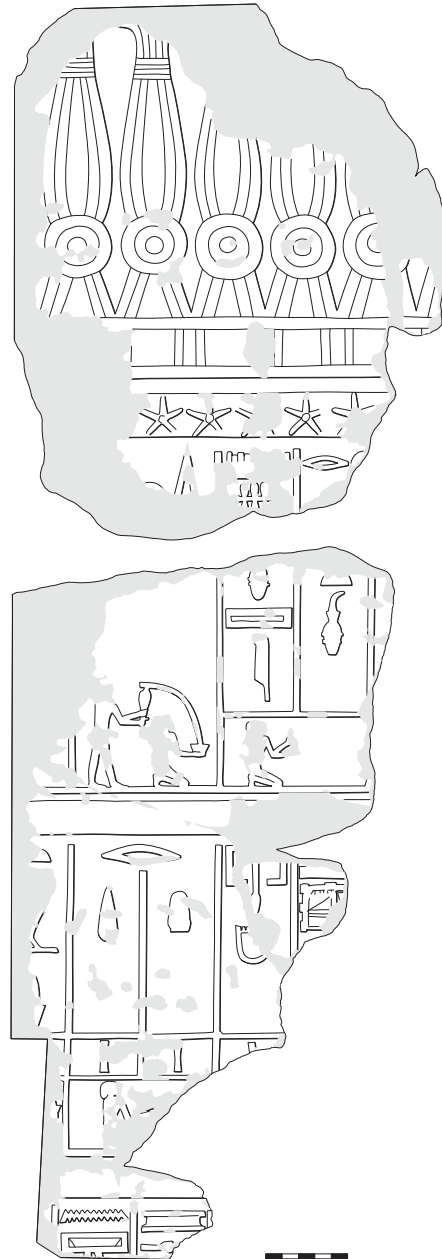
Maybe these faint traces are not original but were transferred onto the surface of this piece by another that was positioned on top of it in the destruction debris?

For other pieces with part of the horizontal inscription, see also cat. nos. 60 and 98.

### 3.3.4 The Offering List<sup>150</sup> and Offering Ritual Scenes

#### 3.3.4.1 Offering List Facing Right, from the East Wall

Cat. no. 66



<sup>150</sup> The numbering of the individual offerings in the offering list using type “A” and “B” follows the system established by Winfried Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, MÄS 3 (Berlin, 1963), pp. 47–50, 78–79.

*Kheker*-frieze and part of three registers of the offering list below (with B11–B13, A17–A20, A51–A52)

A (top part): The very top of the columns for B11–B13 facing right with *kheker*-frieze above  
25.0 x 30.5 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.537 (K/24), 97.649/3 (K/24)

B (bottom part): Part of three registers of the offering list facing right (bottom of B11–B13, with A17–A20 below, and the top of A51 and A52 farther below)

22.6 x 42.5 cm

Four joining fragments: 97.540 (K/24), 97.617/2 (K/24), 97.635 (K/24), 98.41 (L/24)

This piece consists of two separate parts (A and B) that can be positioned one above the other, but they do not join because a very small part is missing between them. They can be placed very close to each other with the broken edges overlapping so that the preserved surfaces nearly touch; this position was verified with the original pieces. In the following, both parts are treated as one piece. Note that the drawing shows a large gap between the pieces that does not reflect their original position in relation to one another.

At the top is a *kheker*-frieze with several registers of an offering list facing right below. The frieze indicates that the list sat at the top of the wall. The complete height of the *kheker*-frieze is preserved, sitting above the usual horizontal block border. Below it is a sky with sculpted stars, and below this are the top parts of three columns of the offering list. On the far right is a very small part of a *j*-sign with an *t*-sign to its left. Some distance below is a *t*-sign. The surface immediately between the *j*-sign and the *t*-sign is not preserved, but it probably featured a second *t*-sign.<sup>151</sup> Below the preserved *t*-sign is a milk jar with a leaf at the top (Gardiner Sign List W20). This is *jr<sup>tt</sup>* “milk” (B11).

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<sup>151</sup> *Jr<sup>tt</sup>* can be spelled with two *t*-signs; see WB I, p. 117; or, for example, the parallel New Kingdom offering list of Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15, published by Ricardo A. Caminos and T. G. H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah*, vol. 1, ASE 31 (London, 1963), pl. 38, which is reproduced below in fig. 24.



The next column to the left shows a *mn*-sign at the top followed by a *z3*-sign (Gardiner Sign List V16). This is the top of *mnz3 šw* “an empty *mnz3*-jar” (B12).<sup>152</sup> Piece B shows the bottom of this column with the lower part of a milk vessel, a *š*-sign, and a *šw*-feather. The top of the vessel is not preserved, and it is not clear if it was depicted with a leaf on top of the jar or not. A small fragment from offering B12 from the opposite wall indicates that that the leaf was not depicted above the vessel on the west wall (cat. no. 89), and a closely parallel offering list<sup>153</sup> also shows the sign without the leaf for B12. It therefore seems likely that the leaf was not depicted here either, possibly indicating that the jar is empty.

The very top of the *šw*-sign is destroyed, but the upper part of its vertical contour on the left just starts to curve to the left before the damaged surface, indicating that this is a *šw*-feather and not an *j*-reed. Below B11 and B12 is a box taking the space of the combined width of both columns. On its left side is a kneeling offering bearer, while its right side is blank. He holds both arms up before him, one slightly higher than the other, but the object he is holding is not preserved.

The next column to the left is double wide and shows the top of a *dj*-sign at the top right with a small part of a curved object to the left, probably a *t*-bread. The area farther left is not preserved. This is part of *rdjt qblw* “to give a libation offering” (B13). Below is blank surface, indicating that the offering was written without the optional addition referring to the Delta as origin of the water.<sup>154</sup> At the bottom of the column is a figurative scene not separated from the top part by a horizontal line, presumably because it is taller than the usual kneeling offering bearers. In the front, on the right side, is a small kneeling figure holding a cup. Behind him on the left stands a second figure pouring a stream of liquid from a *hz*-vase over the head of the kneeling figure and into the cup this kneeling figure holds.

Below the top register of the offering list is a sky that belongs to the second register of the list. It has no sculpted or incised stars; they might have been depicted only in paint (compare cat. nos. 68 or 80). On the far right, below B11, is part of a column with part of a *htp*-sign, and farther down is part of a sign that depicts a walled enclosure with buttresses (Gardiner Sign List O15).

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<sup>152</sup> See Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, vol. 6, 1934–1935, part 2, *The Offering-List in the Old Kingdom* (Cairo, 1948), pp. 191–192. Compare Barta, *Opferliste*, p.79, who sees this as an offering of a *mnz3*-jar and a *šw*-feather.

<sup>153</sup> The offering list from Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15, see here fig. 24.

<sup>154</sup> See Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 78.

This is *hṯp usḥt* “offering of the temple hall” (A17).<sup>155</sup> The next column to the left reads *prt ḥrw ḥmsj* “invocation offerings, sit down (for them)!” (A18).<sup>156</sup> Below is part of a number box with the top of one stroke. To the left is a column that is double-wide at its top and features a central *r*-sign. Below the center of this sign is a column line that splits the double-wide column in two. The right column has a tall bread determinative at its top, and the left features a tall offering with a pointed top. Below these two signs is blank surface. The *r*-sign at the very top reads *ḥw r3* for “breakfast” (A19), and the two columns below specify that the meal consists of bread and other baked goods. Below these two columns are two boxes with one stroke each. Farther below is a double-wide box with a kneeling figure in its center. He is holding both arms up; one seems to be slightly higher than the other. The offering he is holding is not preserved.

Farther left, at the top of the next column within this register, is part of a *t*-sign followed by part of a quail chick below. This is *twt*, which is a type of bread (A20).<sup>157</sup> At the bottom of the column is part of a determinative showing a cup with a tall bread loaf on top. Only a small part of the right side of the number box is preserved below. Beneath is the box that usually features a kneeling offering bearer. Only part of the offering he is holding is preserved and it seems to be a cup with a tall bread loaf on top.

Farther below is the top of the list’s third register. As in the register above, the sky of this register does not show any sculpted or incised stars, and these may likewise have merely been painted. Below the sky are two columns that are situated under the double-wide column of A19. The right one shows a canal-sign as phonogram for *mj* with the left part of a *z*-door bolt below. This is *mjzt* “liver” (A51). The left column has an *n*-waterline at the top with a *š*-pool with legs below as part of *mišm* “spleen” (A52).<sup>158</sup>

Directly above the *kheker*-frieze, at the very top of the piece, is a horizontal masonry edge. This must be the block edge above which originally sat a ceiling block. At the very bottom of the piece is a block edge as well, and the height of the block can be reconstructed as being about 75 cm. (This measurement is reconstructed as the two parts of this piece do not directly

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<sup>155</sup> Hartwig Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, ÄA 24 (Wiesbaden, 1972), p. 81. Compare Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 48.

<sup>156</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 48 and 85.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

join.) Another masonry edge on the left side runs vertically; it must be the left edge of the block. At the bottom of the piece, on its left side, are two additional masonry edges; one is horizontal and one runs at a slight diagonal to the vertical block edge. This is part of the bed for a patch stone. It seems to have been placed over the edges of two blocks, because another piece (cat. no. 71) that originally sat a little farther left on the wall also shows a diagonal patch-stone edge.

The surface of both parts of the piece is worn and has a patina. Some green paint is preserved on the bottom on the canal-sign, a small amount is on the  $\text{z}$ -sign to the left of it, and faint traces are on the  $\text{hm}$ -sign. Some red paint is still visible on the figures of the first register and on the  $\text{z}$ -sign at the very bottom of the piece. The relief quality is difficult to judge because the surface is worn. The contours are well executed, but it seems that only few interior details were depicted; the relief seems to be of medium quality.

**Cat. no. 67**



Bottom part of *kheker* with right-facing offering B29 below

5.9 x 33.9 cm

One fragment: 97.610 (K/24)

At the top is the bottom part of a *kheker* above the usual horizontal block border. Below is a sky with sculpted stars. Farther below is the top of a column line, and part of a *q*-sign facing right is to the right of it. The surfaces to the right and below the *q*-sign are damaged, but the signs below allow the identification of this offering and reconstruction of a tall *h*-sign to the right and a *t*-bread below the *q*-sign (for *hmq*). Farther down is part of a goose (for *h<sub>1</sub>tm*). Below the goose, on the left side, is the left part of an *n*-sign. Farther below and also on the left side of the column, is part of a *t*-sign. A tall *h*-sign was probably to the right of these two signs (as part of *h<sub>1</sub>mvt*). This is part of *hmq<sub>1</sub> h<sub>1</sub>tm h<sub>1</sub>mvt* “beer in a bowl made out of *h<sub>1</sub>tm*-material” (B29).<sup>159</sup> The surface of the bottom part of the piece is damaged, but at the very bottom a small area of flat original surface is preserved. This might be part of the background for the box, in which a kneeling figure is usually depicted. The sky above this offering list column continues farther left. The next offering in the sequence should be A3, and it is preserved as part of the second register (see cat. no. 68). This shows that the sky above the first register of the offering list was not meant exclusively for the offering list. Rather, it extends beyond the offering list over piled offerings that can be reconstructed in this area.<sup>160</sup>

No paint is preserved and the piece has a strong patina.

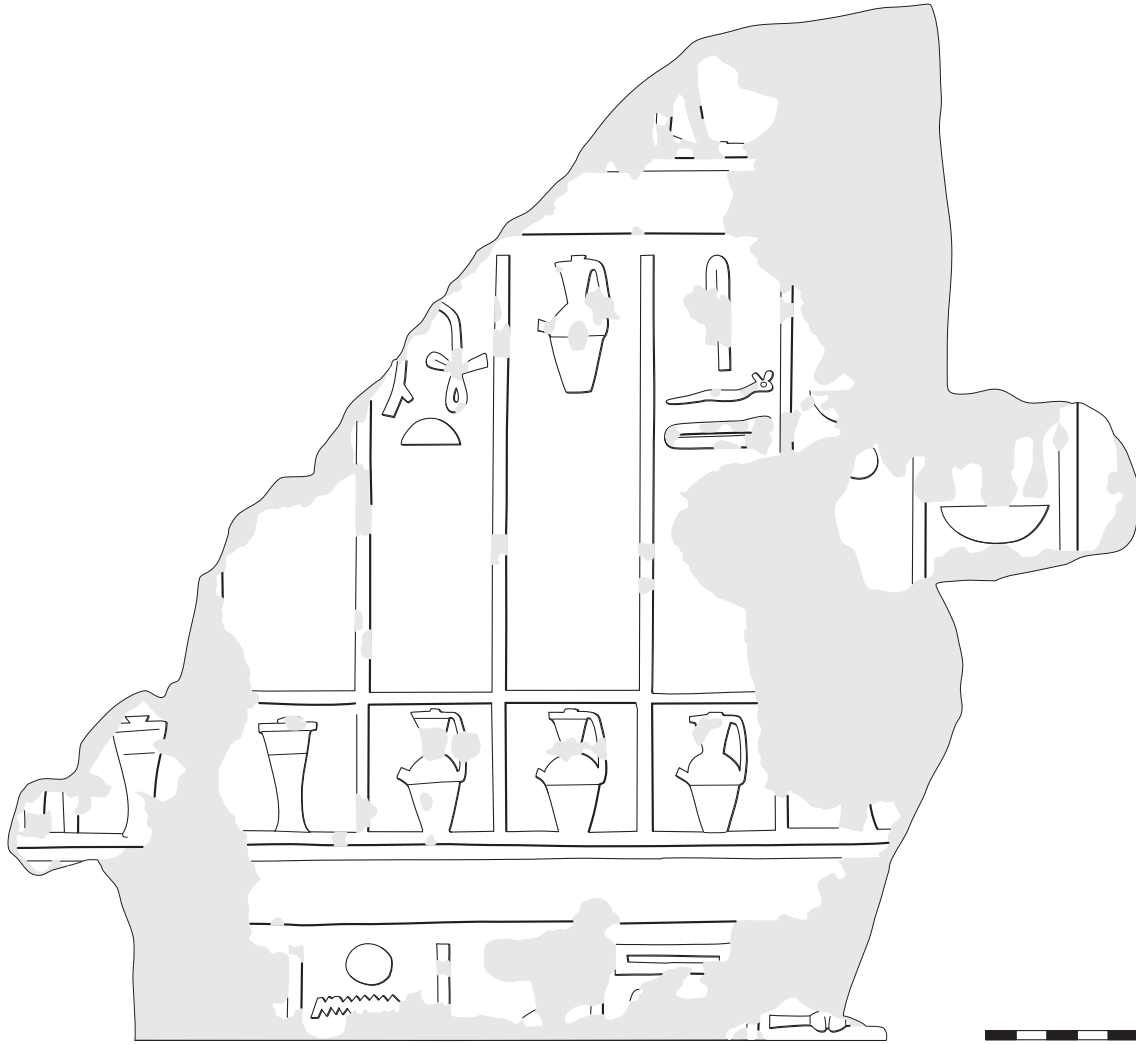
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<sup>159</sup> Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>160</sup> See chapter 5.8 for the sky that spreads above the whole wall and even wraps around the corners of the wall.

Cat. no. 68





Part of three registers of the offering list facing right with offerings A3–A9 and A35–A38  
35.6 x 32.3 cm

One large piece joining four small fragments 97.538 (K/24), 97.648/2 (K/24), 97.734/2 (K/24),  
98.88/4 (L/24)

At the very top are the legs of a small standing figure facing right above a ground line. Below is a star band without sculpted or incised stars; these were originally only painted (see below).<sup>161</sup> Parts of several columns of the offering list facing right are below. Only the middle section of the rightmost column is preserved, and it features the semicircular bottom part of the *ḥb*-“feast”-sign.

<sup>161</sup> Compare cat. no. 66, which features the skies of the second and third register of the same wall; they also do not show sculpted or incised stars.

This is part of *stj ḥb* “festival fragrance” (A3).<sup>162</sup> To the right is a vertical line and farther right is some blank surface. The next column to the left of A3 is badly damaged. Below the damaged top area, which has the height of a tall sign, follows a small part of a semicircular sign. Below is a *mw*-vessel and, farther down, blank surface. This is *ḥknw* “*ḥknw*-oil” (A4).<sup>163</sup> Some distance below, at the very bottom of the column, is a small part of an object. This should be the determinative for the offering, and the small preserved part does fit the shape of a sealed ointment jar. The third column features an *s*-sign at the top, with an *f*-sign below, and a *t*-sign farther below for *sft* “*sft*-oil” (A5).<sup>164</sup> At some distance below is a box for the determinative; in this case it is a *ḥnm*-jar.<sup>165</sup> The next (fourth) column has only a *ḥnm*-jar at the top, followed by blank surface. This is *nḥnm* “*nḥnm*-oil” (A6).<sup>166</sup> In the box at the bottom is another *ḥnm*-jar as determinative. Farther left, in the fifth column, is a *w3*-lasso-sign at the top with a *t*-bread below for *tw3wt* “*tw3wt*-oil” (A7).<sup>167</sup> In the determinative box is again a *ḥnm*-jar. The top of the sixth column is not preserved, but it should read *ḥ3tt* <sup>ꜥ</sup>ꜥ (A8), which is another ointment.<sup>168</sup> The bottom half of this column has blank surface and a determinative box is below. In this box is a sealed ointment jar, which fits to A8. The text column to the left is not preserved, but part of its determinative box features another sealed ointment jar, which probably belongs to *ḥ3tt ḥmw* (A9, another ointment).<sup>169</sup> Farther left is only a very small part of another determinative box with part of a narrow object close to the column line. In the offering list of Pepi II, this space (the bottom

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<sup>162</sup> For *stj ḥb*, see Basma Koura, *Die “7-Heiligen Öle” und andere Öl- und Fettamen*, Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia 2 (Aachen, 1999), pp. 155–157.

<sup>163</sup> For *ḥknw*, see *ibid.*, pp. 173–176.

<sup>164</sup> For *sft*, see *ibid.*, pp. 177–180.

<sup>165</sup> Note that the *ḥnm*-jar is used as determinative for A5 in the list of Pepi II and in Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 as well (see Gustave Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. 2, *Le temple*, Fouilles à Saqqarah [Cairo, 1938], pl. 86; Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah I*, pl. 38; or here fig. 24), while in the Middle Kingdom offering lists in Beni Hassan an ovoid jar with two lug handles seems to be the standard (Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hassan*, vol. 1, ASE 1 (London, 1893), pl. 17; Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hassan*, vol. 2, ASE 2 (London, 1893), pl. 15). For the possible determinatives of A5, see Hassan, *Giza VI/2*, pp. 245–247.

<sup>166</sup> For *nḥnm*, see Koura, *Öl- und Fettamen*, pp. 171–173.

<sup>167</sup> For *tw3wt*, see *ibid.*, pp. 181–183.

<sup>168</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 217–219.

<sup>169</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 193–195.

of the column following offering A9) is occupied by a standing offering bearer,<sup>170</sup> but the small preserved part of an object here does not fit such a figure. Nor does its narrow width and position so close to the column line fit to being part of another ointment jar. It is unclear what this is.

Below this register are the top parts of several columns that belong to another register of the offering list. At the top is a sky, which, like the sky of the second register, does not have sculpted or incised stars, as these were probably only depicted in paint. The first preserved column is situated below A4 but is not fully lined up with it and sits slightly farther left. Its very top is not preserved, but a short distance under the sky is a *z*-sign. From the context of the inscriptions in the following columns, one can determine that this is *pzn*, a type of bread (A35).<sup>171</sup> To the left, below A5 (and a little under A6, as the columns in this register seem to be slightly wider than those above), is part of a *š*-sign. Below its left side is only a very small curved part of a sign. From the context one can reconstruct that this is the top of an *s*-sign as part of *šns*, a type of bread (A36).<sup>172</sup> The very top of the next column is damaged, but some distance below is a small part of a sign with a diagonal contour. This column should be part of *t-jmj t3*, a type of bread (A37).<sup>173</sup> A *t*-bread could indeed have been at the top of the column, and the preserved short diagonal contour below could be the back of an *m*-sign. At the top of the next column (below A7 and A8) is a *l*-sign, followed by an *n*-sign as part of *lnfw*, a type of bread (A38).<sup>174</sup>

The register starting with A3 must be at least the second register and not the top one, as is evident from the small figure above. In the offering list of the type A/B, the offerings A1–A2 are usually written first, followed by all offerings of type B ending with B29, and then the rest of the type A offerings are listed starting with A3.<sup>175</sup> Thus offering B29 should be listed before A3 and cat. no. 67, which preserves B29 and has a *kheker*-frieze above, indicates that this offering was situated at the top. The piece here can therefore be identified as showing the very front of the second register that starts with offering A3. The small standing figure at the very top must belong to the bottom of the front part of the first register. He is situated above the offerings A5

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<sup>170</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II/2*, pl. 86.

<sup>171</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 48.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., p.78.

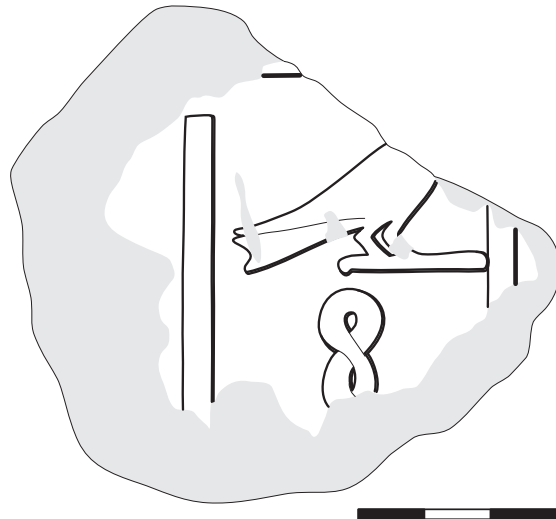


and A6, which can be reconstructed as the third and fourth columns of the second register. Offering A2, which refers to incense, can be reconstructed above, suggesting that the figure belongs to this offering and that he is probably offering or burning incense.

A masonry edge is at the bottom of the piece. The workmanship of the relief carving is mediocre to good. The contours are even, but the signs are not very detailed; the *t*-sign, for example, does not feature interior incised lines. The relief is altogether rather flat and does not show modeling or raised areas that are curved across their surface.

Green paint is on both skies and the green paint on the top sky (of the second offering-list register) shows the rough outlines of stars that must have been painted yellow, but no traces of yellow pigments survive. Green paint is also on the column lines, on the *w3*-lasso, the *t*-sign, the *t*-sign, the *mw*-vessel, the *h*-sign, and very slight traces of green are also on the *k*-sign. Red is on the top half of the *hnm*-jar that is at the top of A6, on the *s*-sign, and on the top part of both sealed ointment jars of A8 and A9. Yellow paint is on the *f*-viper.

**Cat. no. 69**



Part of the insertion *wrlh* facing right

6.7 x 5.8 cm

One fragment: 97.595 (K/24)

At the top is a very small part of the straight bottom contour of an object, which can be identified as a sky. To the bottom left is the top part of a column line. To the right of it is a *wr*-bird facing right with the top of a *h*-sign below. This is *wrh*, the order “anoint!” which can be inserted between A9 and A10.<sup>176</sup> Part of another column line is to the right.

The relief work is mediocre; the contours are even, but there is no modeling and details are lacking; the claws of the bird’s feet are not depicted, and there are no incised lines in the *h*-sign. The surface has a patina, and there are only very faint traces of green paint on the left column line and the *h*-sign.

**Cat. no. 70**



Part of the column for offering A12 facing right

3.2 x 3.2 cm

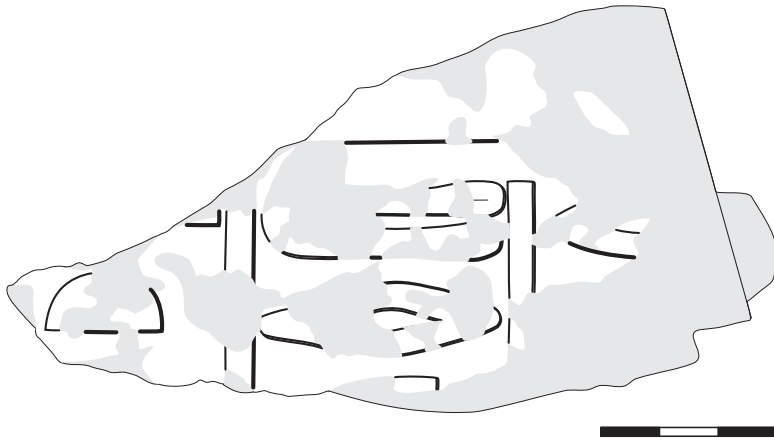
One fragment: 98.88/6 (L/24)

The piece shows a *wn*-hare facing right with the top of the head of a *w*-quail chick below. This is part of *wnhw*, which specifies a fabric for clothing (A12).<sup>177</sup> The relief work is mediocre; there is some attempt at modeling in the hare’s ears, but altogether the relief is rather flat. No paint is preserved and the fragment has a patina.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., p. 84. See also cat. no. 93 from the opposite wall and Jéquier, *Pepi II/2*, pl. 86.

<sup>177</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 48.

Cat. no. 71



Part of three columns for offerings A55–A57 facing right

10.5 x 6.1 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.550 (K/24), 98.62/4 (K/24)

At the top is part of a sky without sculpted or incised stars (they were probably depicted only in paint, compare, for example, cat. no. 68). On the far right is a small part of a column with the left part of an *r*-sign at the top. This is *r3*, a type of goose, which was probably used here instead of another type of goose called *sr*, which is usually listed as offering A55.<sup>178</sup> The column to the left has a *t*-sign facing right at the top followed by an *r*-sign and farther below is the top contour of a *p*-sign. This is *trp*, a type of goose that occurs as offering A56.<sup>179</sup> At the very top of the next

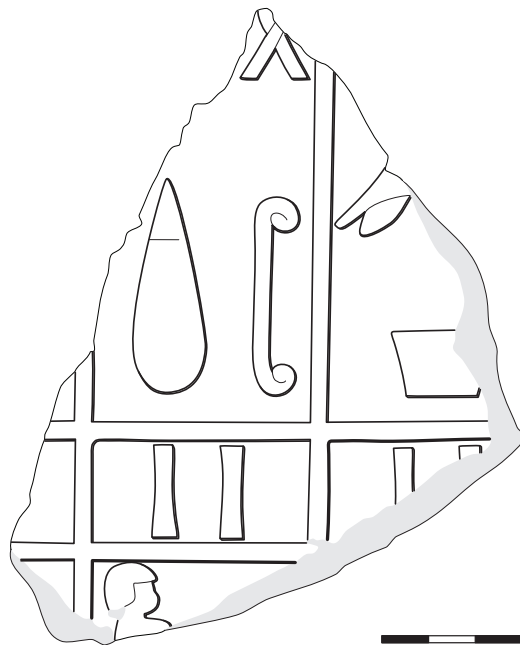
<sup>178</sup> See Ibid.; and Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, p. 82. A piece from the east chapel of pyramid 8 also has *r3* and not *sr* for the offering A55 (96.1425/1, unpublished).

<sup>179</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 49.

column is only a very small part of a sign, which sits very close to the column line and which can be identified as the right end of a *z*-sign. Farther below is a *t*-bread. This is *zt*, yet another type of goose (A57).<sup>180</sup>

On the right side is part of the bed for a patch stone with a diagonal masonry edge (see also cat. no. 66, which shows the right edge of the bed for this patch stone). The surface is heavily worn, there are no remains of paint and the piece has a patina.

**Cat. no. 72**



Bottom parts of the columns for offerings A69–A70 facing right

10.4 x 13.6 cm

One fragment: 98.148/1 (K/24)

On the right is the tail of an *z*-bird facing right. At some distance below, at the bottom of the column, is a cup as determinative. This is part of *pyz*, which is a beverage (A69).<sup>181</sup> Below this is

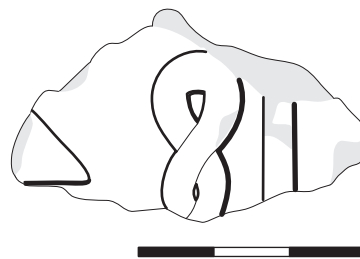
<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

part of a number box with the top of two strokes for the figure “two.” To the left is part of another column with its very top missing. Preserved is the bottom of a *h*-sign. Below is blank surface, and farther down, at the end of the column, are two signs. The right one is a bow (Gardiner Sign List Aa32) for the phonetic value *sšr*, and the left one is a drop-shaped jar with a stopper. This column probably reads *hmq̄t sšr*, which is a type of beer that can be named as offering A70 instead of *dujw sšr*.<sup>182</sup> Below is a box with two strokes and, below this, is the top of a kneeling figure. Only his head and shoulders are preserved. No details of his face were depicted through incised lines or modeling.

The surface of the fragment is well preserved, but only slight traces of red paint are found on the bottom part of the drop-shaped jar. The quality of the relief varies within the piece. The upper part with the name of the offerings shows very even contours and the pointed bread is nicely rounded across its bottom surface. The lower part, however, with the figure boxes and the top of the figure, seems to be of lesser quality. Here the relief is very flat; the head of the figure lacks details and its contours are not well defined.

**Cat. no. 73**



Part of *hmq̄t* facing right

4.6 x 2.7 cm

One fragment: 98.159/2 (K/24)

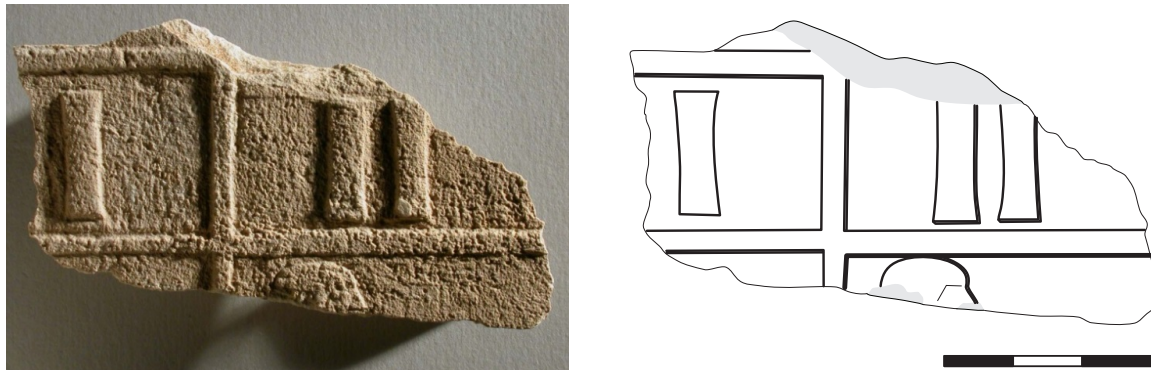
Preserved are only the top of a *h*-sign and, to the left of it, part of a *q*-sign facing right. This is part of *hmq̄t* “beer.” Part of a column line is to the right. This offering appears in several places in

<sup>182</sup> Compare the offering list of shrine 15 at Gebel es-Silsilah; see here fig. 24.



the list and an identification of the original position of this fragment within the list is not possible. The fragment's placement in the reconstruction is only one of many possibilities. No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

**Cat. no. 74**



Number boxes and head of an offering bearer facing right

7.7 x 4.3 cm

One fragment: 98.159/1 (K/24)

On the right is part of a number box with the figure “two.” Below it is the top part of the head of a kneeling offering bearer facing right. To the left is part of a number box with one preserved stroke; judged by its distance to the column line one can determine that this is probably the right stroke of two in total. The surface is weathered and has a patina; no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 75**



Part of kneeling offering bearer facing right

4.1 x 2.7 cm

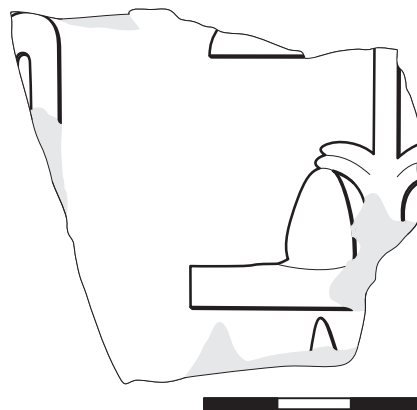
One fragment: 98.88/1 (L/24)

Preserved are the outstretched arms of an offering bearer facing right holding a cup. A column line is to the right. There is red paint on the arms, which is smeared onto the background, and yellow paint is on the cup.

For other kneeling figures of the offering list facing right, see cat. no. 122.

### 3.3.4.2 Offering Ritual Scenes Facing Right, from the East Wall

**Cat. no. 76**



Inscription from a ritual scene facing right, probably from the second scene of the first ritual register (and belonging to the second figure of the top register)

5.7 x 5.2 cm

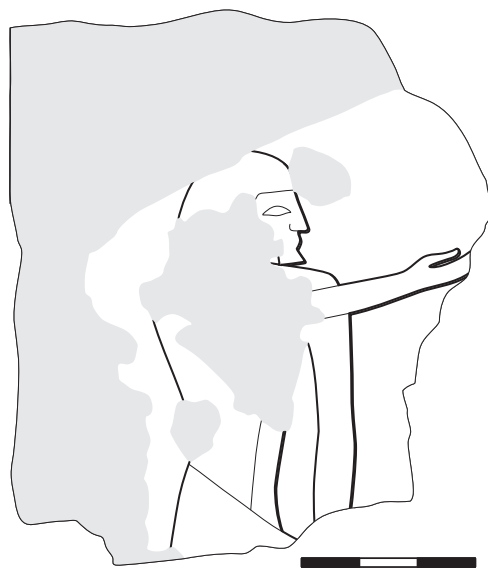
One fragment: 97.700/2 (K/24)

On the right is part of a *sw*-plant with a *h**tp*-sign very close to its lower left part. Below the *h**tp*-sign is the pointed top of a sign, which must a *dj*-sign as part of a *h**tp dj nswt* formula. To the upper left of the *sw*-plant is the bottom straight contour of a sign that might be part of a *t*-bread. The position of the signs in relation to one another indicates that the inscription is facing right.

At some distance to the left is part of a vertical line that curves at the top; this is probably part of an *s*-sign. A *ḥtp dj nswt* formula appears in a ritual scene and in the offering B18 of the list.<sup>183</sup> The blank space to the left of the inscription and the *s*-sign farther to the left suggest that this piece belongs to a ritual scene and not to a column of the offering list. One can reconstruct that two standing priests were depicted as the second and third figures in the top register with ritual scenes. The second figure often has an inscription in front of him with the *ḥtp dj nswt* formula. The possible *s*-sign could belong to the priestly title *sm*. This title is written above the head of a priest who is reciting and behind a *sw*-sign on a piece that was found by Perring, probably deriving from the east chapel of pyramid 2.<sup>184</sup> The piece here can be reconstructed in a similar position, and the figure to which this title belongs is probably preserved on cat. no. 77.

No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

**Cat. no. 77**



<sup>183</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 96. See also the offering list of shrine 15 at Gebel es-Silsilah (fig. 24) and the list of Pepi II (Jéquier, *Pepi III/2*, pl. 85).

<sup>184</sup> See Vyse, *Gizeh III*, pl. opposite p. 63, fig. 5; see also cat. no. 243 for another piece that was found by Perring and probably belongs to the east chapel of pyramid 2.



Part of standing priest from offering ritual facing right, probably from the second scene of the top ritual register (and the second figure in the top register)

7.1 x 8.4 cm

One fragment: 97.617/1 (K/24)

The piece shows the upper part of a standing priest with a short beard, facing right. A small part of his garment protrudes beyond his waist on the right, close to his proper left arm. Another unusual feature is a nearly vertical incised line on his abdomen. Both details suggest that this priest is wearing a leopard skin, which he is grasping with his left hand. His proper right arm is raised and stretched out horizontally in front of him in the gesture that signifies recitation.<sup>185</sup> The leopard skin can be worn by a *sm*-priest, and such a priest appears in the ritual scenes of Hatshepsut with the same garment and making the same gesture.<sup>186</sup> Two standing priests probably formed the second scene of the ritual register at the top; they were depicted as the second and third figures in the top register of ritual scenes.<sup>187</sup> The priest here can be identified as the second figure due to his garment and the fact that his right arm is held up, while the third figure usually carries a long papyrus.<sup>188</sup> A small part of his priestly title is probably preserved on cat. no. 76.

Details in the priest's face are indicated through incised lines. A small part of a masonry edge is on the left side. No paint is preserved and the piece has a patina. With details of the face being only incised and not modeled, the quality of the relief seems mediocre.

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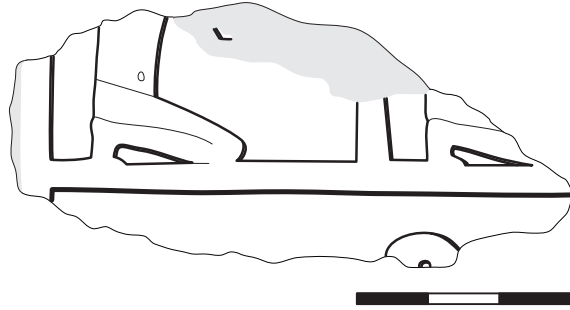
<sup>185</sup> Brigitte Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, SAGA 10 (Heidelberg, 1994), pp. 78–90.

<sup>186</sup> See Naville, *Deir el-Bahari IV*, pl. 110 (note that the arrangement of her ritual scenes is different); see also Ute Rummel, *Iunmutef: Konzeption und Wirkungsbereich eines altägyptischen Gottes*, SDAIK 33 (Berlin and New York, 2010), p. 27–28.

<sup>187</sup> Compare the offering list of shrine 15 at Gebel es-Silsilah, fig. 24; see also Vyse, *Gizeh III*, pl. opposite p. 63, fig. 5.

<sup>188</sup> See the two references in the previous footnote. In a piece from the east wall of the king's north chapel (unpublished), the right arm of the second figure is not visible on the preserved surface next to the lower torso and must therefore be held up. (The top part of the figure is not preserved.) The long walls of the king's north chapel will be published by Adela Oppenheim.

**Cat. no. 78**



Bottom of offering list columns facing right and part of hieroglyph possibly from last ritual scene at top row below

7.9 x 3.6 cm

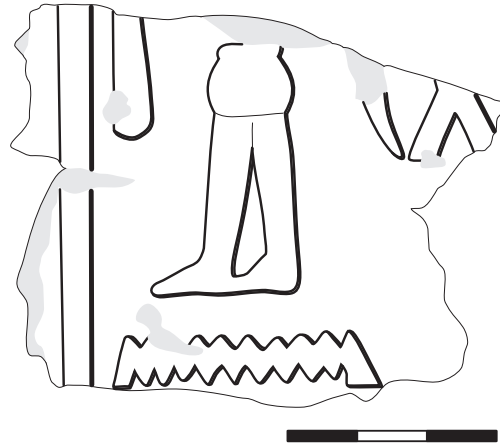
One fragment: 98.134/2 (K/24)

At the top are the lower parts of two kneeling offering bearers facing right on a ground line with part of a vertical line between them. Below the feet of the right figure is the top of a curved object, very probably the top of a *h*-sign. As there is no sky above the sign, it probably belongs not to a column of the offering list but, rather, to the inscription of a ritual scene. Therefore, the kneeling figures probably belong to the back part of the third register of the list that is situated above the ritual scenes.<sup>189</sup> This could be part of the priestly title *hrj hb*; the location of the top of the *h*-sign, just to the right of the vertical line separating the boxes with kneeling offering bearers, fits very well to the bottom of the *h*-sign on cat. no. 79, which probably represents part of the same sign.

The surface is weathered, no paint is preserved, and the piece has a patina. The relief is somewhat flat.

<sup>189</sup> For the reconstruction of the offering list and the ritual scenes, see chapter 5.3.3.

Cat. no. 79



Part of the inscription *jnjt rd* from a ritual scene

7.1 x 5.7 cm

Two joining fragments: 98.147/1 (K/24)

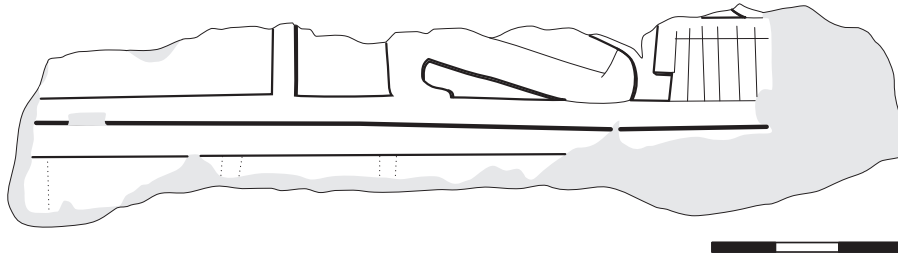
At the top left of the fragment is the bottom half of a *mdw*-sign; an *jnj*-sign facing left is to its lower right, in the center of the piece. The tip of a *d*-cobra is to the top right of the *jnj*-sign. The remaining part of the cobra is not preserved and would have been above the *jnj*-sign. Below the *jnj* is an *n*-sign. This is *dd mdw jnjt rd* “recitation and bringing of the *rd*.”<sup>190</sup> To the right of the cobra’s tail is the bottom part of a *h*-sign, which is probably part of the priestly title *hrj hb*. The inscription is facing left, but the piece belongs to the list facing right, because the priest to whom this inscription belongs can be depicted walking in the opposite direction, and therefore the direction of the inscription is reversed as well.<sup>191</sup> To the left of the inscription is a vertical line.

The quality of the relief is mediocre; the outlines are not very carefully executed. The surface is weathered and has a patina. No paint is preserved.

<sup>190</sup> For *jnjt rd*, see Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, p. 95; and Victoria Altmann-Wendling, “Das Ritual *iny.t-rd(wi)* und das Umlaufopfer—zu neuen Fragmenten und unterschiedlichen Überlieferungssträngen des Mundöffnungsrituals,” in *Die Variation der Tradition: Modalitäten der Ritualadaptation im Alten Ägypten, Akten des Internationalen Symposiums vom 25.–28. November 2012 in Heidelberg*, ed. by Andreas H. Pries, OLA 240 (Leuven, Paris, and Bristol, CT, 2016), pp. 91–131.

<sup>191</sup> Compare a piece from the opposite wall (cat. no. 114) that shows that the direction of the inscription *jnjt rd* was reversed.

**Cat. no. 80**



Priest facing right kneeling in front of an offering table

11.7 x 3.6 cm

Three joining fragments: 97.719/3 (K/24), 97.719/4 (K/24), 98.134/4 (K/24)

The piece shows the lower part of a kneeling figure on a ground line. An offering table is in front of him, and a very small part of his hand(s) is preserved above it. Behind the figure is a vertical line indicating that the kneeling figure does not belong to a scene where another priest is standing behind a kneeling one. To the left of the vertical line is blank surface from the next scene. Below is part of a sky, which shows faint traces of painted stars.

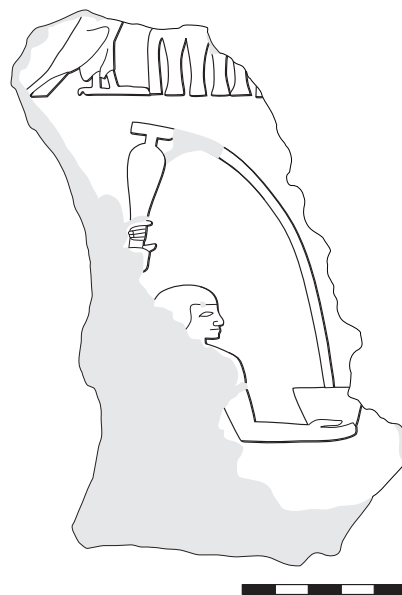
In the drawing of a large piece that was found by Perring and probably belongs to the east chapel of pyramid 2 (see cat. no. 243), a single kneeling figure appears in the ritual scenes, in the first scene of the first register as well as in the first scene of the second register. Both these figures are depicted holding their hands above a small offering table. The very similar offering list of Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 also shows a single kneeling figure in the ritual scenes in the first scene of the first register as well as in the first scene of the second register (see fig. 24). In the Gebel es-Silsilah list, however, no such table is depicted in the scene in the top ritual register; one is only in the scene in the bottom register. Lack of such a table is also the case for a piece from Senwosret III's offering list from his north chapel that shows part of the first ritual scene of

the top register.<sup>192</sup> The piece here is therefore reconstructed as belonging to the bottom ritual register. If this position is correct, it means that there was a sky beneath the bottom register of ritual scenes and above part of the register with piled offerings (see also cat. no. 122).

This piece sat very close to cat. no. 122, and in its reconstructed position some of the broken edges slightly overlap. This position was tried with the original pieces and found to be possible.

The outlines of the figure are carefully executed, although the relief seems somewhat flat. The feet are not modeled at all and are not separated from the ground line by an incised line. There is green paint on the sky with very small remains of yellow at the top for the star arms; red is on the hand(s) and legs of the figure and has spilled onto the line below; yellow paint is on the offering table.

#### Cat. no. 81



Part of libation ritual scene facing right

11.5 x 14.9 cm

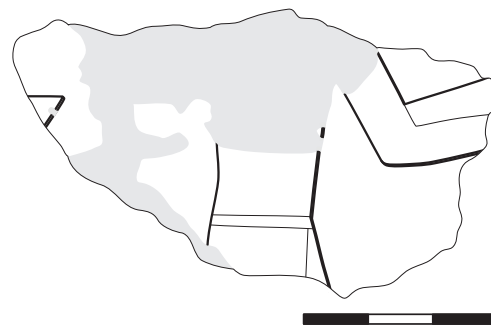
Two joining fragments: 98.134/1 (K/24 and L/24)

<sup>192</sup> The piece derives from the east wall and is unpublished.

The piece features part of a libation scene facing right with an inscription above. At the top is part of a *lynt*-vessel stand and the lower part of an *m*-sign facing right is behind it. This is the priestly title *jmj lynt*. Below is a libation scene. On the top left are the hands of what must be a standing figure of which nothing else is preserved. The hands are holding a *hz*-vase. The vessel is slightly tilted and pouring a stream of liquid into a cup held by a second person. This second figure is partially preserved, and, to judge from the height of his upper body in respect to the hands of the other person, he must be kneeling. This libation scene can be reconstructed as the second scene in the lower register.<sup>193</sup> This piece probably sat very close to cat. no. 80, and in the reconstructed position of these two pieces the surface of cat. no. 80 is slightly overlapping the broken edges of the piece here, which is possible.

The relief work is good to mediocre. The individual fingers of the hands holding the vase are depicted, but the hair of the second figure shows no details. The relief is somewhat flat and lacks modeling. The surface has a slight patina and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 82**



Part of ritual scene (probably purification) facing right

7.4 x 4.9 cm

One fragment: 98.145/2 (K/24)

<sup>193</sup> For parallels of this placement, see cat. no. 243 and fig. 24 (Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15). This scene is followed by a similar one that seems, however, to have been a purification scene; see the note of cat. no. 82 below.

Preserved is part of a standing priest facing right with his arms held in a bent position in front of him. He was probably holding a *hꜣz*-vase. Some distance to the left of him is a small part of a raised red object. A standing priest pouring liquids probably appeared in the second<sup>194</sup> and third<sup>195</sup> scene of the bottom ritual register.

Some damage runs vertically along the surface to the left of the figure, and it is possible that a vertical separation line was originally in this area and that the very small part of an object farther left belongs to the next scene. The figure could be part of the second or third ritual scene of the lower ritual register. Hypothetically, this piece could belong to the standing priest whose hands are depicted on cat. no. 81. The two pieces do not join but could fit with a small part missing between them. But the piece could also be part of the third scene. It is unclear what the small part of an object on the far left is, but its shape would fit well to the corner of a cup. A cup with an incense offering is held by a figure in the fourth scene, and the height of the small preserved part of the object would fit this identification. This makes it likely that the figure on this fragment belongs to the third scene and that the small preserved part of an object behind him is part of the incense cup of the fourth scene. The third scene of the lower register is not a libation scene but a purification scene. This is evident in well-preserved sequences of such ritual scenes, in which the stream of liquid flows not into a cup but rather onto an offering table.<sup>196</sup>

The relief is of medium quality. The contours are well executed, but the relief is very low and flat. There is red paint on the upper body, the arms, and a small amount on the small part of an object on the left. The paint on the figure was very sloppily smeared onto the background.

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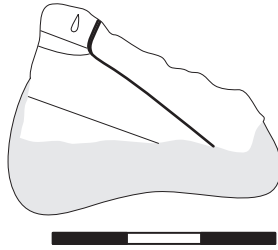
<sup>194</sup> See cat. no. 243 and the Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 offering list in fig. 24.

<sup>195</sup> This is the only ritual scene that is not preserved in the very parallel offering list of Gebel es-Silsilah (see fig. 24). It is known from other depictions of these ritual scenes, which are, however, structured differently. See, for example, those of Kagemni: Alan H. Gardiner, "The Mansion of Life and the Master of the King's Largess," in *JEA* 24 (1938), pl. 5.

<sup>196</sup> See, for example, Newberry, *el-Bersheh I*, pls. 32, 34.



**Cat. no. 83**



Part of kneeling priest facing right

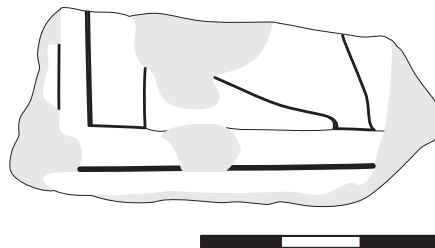
3.5 x 2.0 cm

One fragment: 97.753/4 (K/24)

Only the kilt and part of the stomach and legs of a kneeling priest facing right are preserved. His navel is indicated by a depression. His size indicates that he belongs to a ritual scene, but his exact original position cannot be reconstructed, as several kneeling priests were depicted in various scenes. The position of this piece in the reconstruction is only one of several possibilities.

Red paint is on the stomach and on the legs. The quality of the carving seems to be good to mediocre.

**Cat. no. 84**



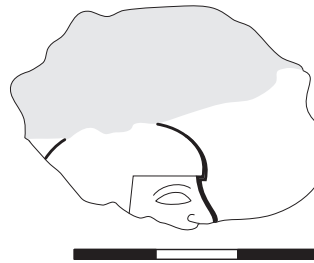
Feet of standing priest facing right from ritual scene

4.5 x 2.5 cm

One fragment: 98.134/3 (K/24)

This fragment shows the foot of a back leg and small part of the back of the front leg of a standing priest facing right on top of a ground line. Behind him is a vertical line. Standing priests appear in several ritual scenes; the exact position cannot be reconstructed. (The placement of this piece within the reconstruction drawing is just one of several possibilities.) No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 85**



Fragment with top part of head of priest facing right, from ritual scene

3.6 x 2.0 cm

One fragment: 98.145/1 (K/24)

Preserved is part of the hair and of the upper part of the face of a male figure facing right. Due to its size, it can be determined that this is part of a priest from the offering ritual, but the exact position on the wall cannot be determined. (The positioning within the reconstruction is thus only one possibility of several.) The quality of the relief seems to be good, as his eye is modeled. Red paint is on the face and spilled onto the hair and the background.

**Cat. no. 86**



Head of a priest facing right from ritual scene

3.0 x 2.9 cm

One fragment: 98.74/1 (K/24)

Preserved are the hair, part of the face, and small part of the chest of a figure facing right. The size of the figure corresponds to that of the priests of the ritual scenes, but one cannot say which one. The position of this piece in the reconstruction is only one of several possibilities. Most of the details of the face are depicted through incised lines, but the eye is modeled and curved across the surface. The quality of the relief is good. No paint is preserved.

**3.3.4.3 Offering List Facing Left, from the West Wall**

**Cat. no. 87**



*w<sup>c</sup>b*-sign facing left, possibly part of offering A1

5.1 x 4.2 cm

One fragment: 98.112 (K/24)

Only the upper part of a very small kneeling figure facing left is preserved. His arms are bent and raised in front of his body. On top of his head is an oblong vessel, out of which a stream of liquid pours down in front of his hands. This is the hieroglyph Gardiner Sign List A6, which can be used as determinative for the inscription  $z3t$  or as the priestly title  $w^c b$ . The size would fit to the title of a regular large offering bearer from the bottom of the wall, but there is evidence from the opposite wall that this title is written with the hieroglyph Gardiner Sign List D60 in the chapel.<sup>197</sup> It seems therefore more likely that this hieroglyph was used in the inscription  $z3t$ , which appears as offering A1 or in the ritual scenes. Another fragment preserved part of a very similar hieroglyph, in which the arms appear to be held down (see cat. no. 115). Both pieces have a vertical masonry edge on the right side, which would fit a position within the ritual scenes, where two blocks joined. This is evident from cat. no. 114, which has a block edge on its left side through the  $s3h$ -scene. A purification scene, to which the  $z3t$  inscription fits, was usually featured in the register below,<sup>198</sup> and it is likely that the block edge ran through the purification scene as well. Both fragments cannot belong to the same inscription, since they both depict the upper part of the  $w^c b$ -sign. The position as A1 at the top of the offering list is being proposed for this piece here because the sky of the other piece has painted stars, indicating that it probably did not belong to the first register, as the sky at the top of the wall (which at the same time is the sky for the first register of the offering list) probably has sculpted stars (see cat. no. 219).

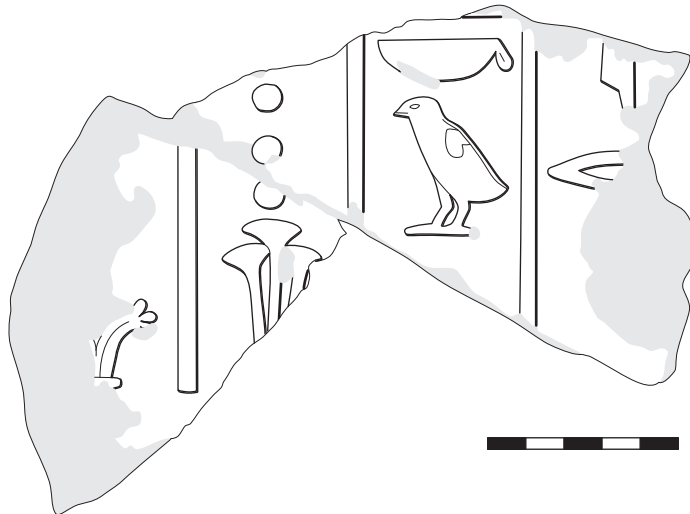
The quality of the relief is good, the sign shows a nice contour and interior details such as the face and the thumb. There is red paint on the arms, the upper body, the vessel, and also on the stream of water close to the hands. (The paint might have spilled over from the hands.)

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<sup>197</sup> See cat. no. 122 and 124. However, in the east chapel of pyramid 9 this title is written with the hieroglyph Gardiner Sign List A6 (unpublished, 98.612.2).

<sup>198</sup> That this is a purification and not a libation scene is evident in well-preserved sequences of such ritual scenes, in which the stream of liquid flows not into a cup but, rather, onto an offering table. See, for example, Newberry, *el-Bersheh I*, pls. 32, 34.

Cat. no. 88



Part of several columns of inscription for the offerings B8–B11 facing left

15.5 x 11.3 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.734/1 (K/24), 97.757/2 (K/24)

On the far left is part of a  $\text{šm}^c$ -sign. It belongs to  $\text{zrw } \text{šm}^c j$  “Upper Egyptian  $\text{zrw}$ -grains” (B8).<sup>199</sup>

The next column shows three circular grains arranged vertically above a  $h3$ -papyrus plant as part

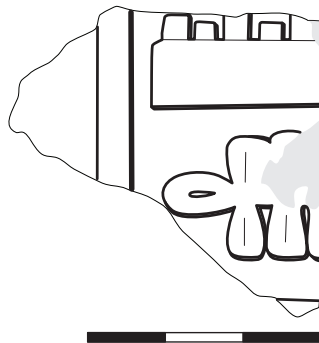
<sup>199</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 79; as incense grains in WB III, p. 463.

of *zrw mlwuj* “Lower Egyptian *zrw* grains” (B 9).<sup>200</sup> The column line between B8 and B9 ends with the *šm*<sup>c</sup>- and *ml*-signs, and there is a small blank surface under its straight end, indicating that a shared element must follow farther below and suggesting that the two columns probably also shared, at the very top, a common inscription that read *zrw* for both offerings.<sup>201</sup>

At the top of the next column to the right is a very small part of an object with a straight contour. This is probably part of a *š*-sign. Below is a *k*-sign with a *w*-quail chick facing left farther below for *šjk* “*šjk*-grains” (B 10).<sup>202</sup> The rightmost column features an *j*-reed with part of an *r*-sign below as part of *jrtt mr* “a jar of milk” (B 11).<sup>203</sup>

The surface is very weathered, especially the lower left part, and it has a patina. The quality of the relief is difficult to judge, but it seems to have been good, although not very good. No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 89**



Part of column of inscription for offering B12, from west wall

4.1 x 4.0 cm

<sup>200</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 79. Note the different spelling on a fragment from the offering list of Senwosret II where the grains are written at the end; see Petrie, Brunton, and Murray, *Lahun II*, pl. 19, bottom left piece, center column of top register.

<sup>201</sup> Compare the offering list from Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 in fig. 24.

<sup>202</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 79.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*

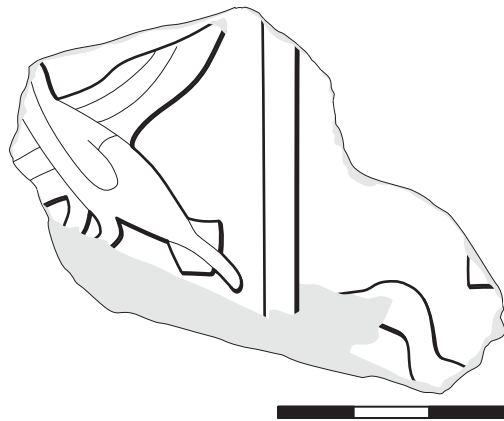
One fragment: 98.135/6 (K/24)

At the top is the left part of a *mn*-sign with a partial *z3*-sign (Gardiner Sign List V16) below. Part of a column line is to the left. This is the offering *mnz3 šw* “an empty *mnz3*-vessel” (B12).<sup>204</sup> Farther below is a very small part of a third sign with a straight horizontal contour. This must be the top of the jar that usually follows *mnz3* as a determinative.<sup>205</sup> To the left of the inscription is part of a column line, and some blank surface is farther left.

A direction is not apparent from the fragment itself, but since this part of the offering list is already preserved from the list facing right (cat. no. 66), the piece here must belong to the list facing left that belonged to the west wall. A vertical masonry edge is on the right side.

The quality is good. The contours of the *mn*-sign are executed carefully, but there are no incised interior lines. The surface of the *z3*-sign is worn. The surface of the whole piece has a patina and no paint is preserved.

#### Cat. no. 90



Part of two columns of inscription for the offerings B16 and B17 facing left

One fragment: 95.11 (L/24–25<sup>206</sup>)

6.5 x 5.1 cm

<sup>204</sup> See the notes for cat. no. 66.

<sup>205</sup> Compare the offering list from Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 in fig. 24.

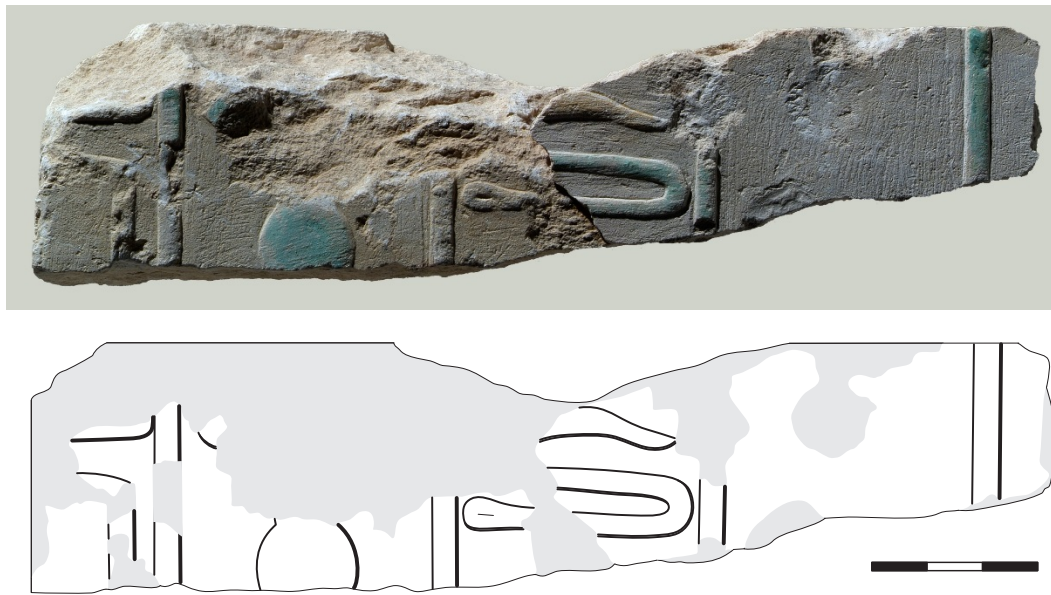
<sup>206</sup> For the find spot, see the note of cat. no. 37.



On the left is part of a hieroglyph depicting a flying duck facing left. This is very probably part of *p3t wd3t* “a whole *p3t*-bread” (B16).<sup>207</sup> To the right is a column line, and farther right, slightly lower than the duck on the left, is the head of a bird with its beak lost to damage. It probably belongs to a *t3*-duckling as part of *hḏw t3 5* “5 bulbs of onions” (B17).<sup>208</sup> To the top right of the bird’s head is a very small part of the bottom left corner of a sign; this could be the bottom of the *hḏ*-scepter that one can expect in this position.<sup>209</sup>

The contours of the signs are well executed and the duck shows interior details. The surface has a patina and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 91**



Part of four columns for offerings A3–A6 facing left

18.3 x 4.5 cm

Two joining fragments: 98.127/2 (K/24), 98.148/2 (K/24)

<sup>207</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 79.

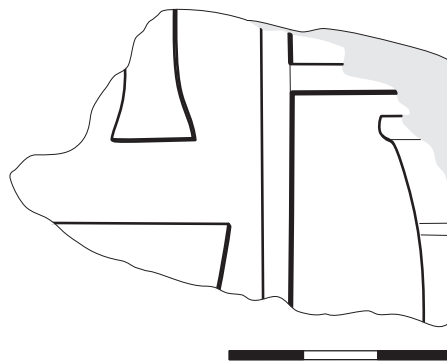
<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>209</sup> Compare the offering list from Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 in fig. 24.

On the far left are the right parts of two signs. At the top is the bottom right part of a sign with a straight bottom contour that has a rounded right end. This is part of a *t*-sign and below it is the right part of a *ḥb*-pavilion for *stj ḥb* “festival fragrance” (A3).<sup>210</sup> To the right is another partial column with a small rounded section of a sign on its leftmost side. This is part of a *mw*-vessel that is situated on the left side of the column. Below is part of another *mw*-vessel that sits in the center of the column. Originally there would have been three such signs, two side by side, with the third one in the center of the column below. They belong to *ḥknw* “*ḥknw*-oil” (A4).<sup>211</sup> In the third column is the right part of an *f*-viper facing left with a *t*-sign below from *sft* “*sft*-oil” (A5).<sup>212</sup> Farther right is another partial column with blank space. This indicates that the next offering, which was presumably *nḥnm* (“*nḥnm*-oil,” A6),<sup>213</sup> was probably only spelled with the *ḥnm*-vessel, as was the case on the opposite wall.<sup>214</sup> A horizontal masonry edge is at the top and a vertical one is on the left.

There is green paint on all four column lines, both *mw*-vessels and the right *t*-sign (from A5). Yellow paint is on the *f*-viper.

### Cat. no. 92



<sup>210</sup> For *stj ḥb*, see Koura, *Öl- und Fettnamen*, pp. 155–157.

<sup>211</sup> For *ḥknw*, see *ibid.*, pp. 173–176.

<sup>212</sup> For *sft*, see *ibid.*, pp. 177–180.

<sup>213</sup> For *nḥnm*, see *ibid.*, pp. 171–173.

<sup>214</sup> See cat. no. 68.

Vessel determinative from offering A3 and part of vertical inscription to the left

6.0 x 4.4 cm

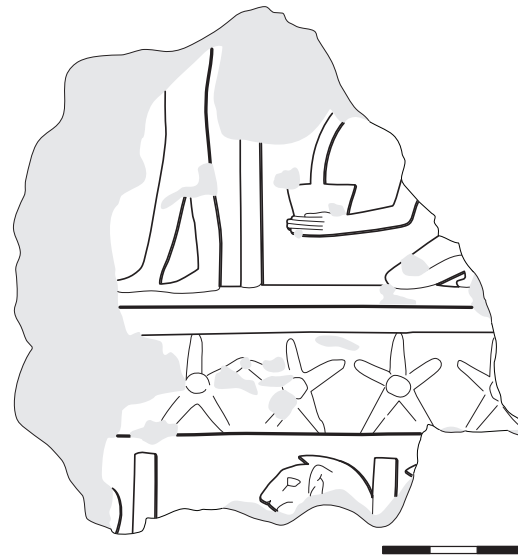
One fragment: 98.148/3 (K/24)

On the right side of the fragment is the left part of an ointment jar determinative. To the left of it is a vertical line and above is a horizontal separation line, which does not continue to the left of the vertical line. To the left of the vertical line are parts of two hieroglyphs that seem larger than those used in the offering list. This suggests that the determinative belongs to an offering that is listed first or last in a row. The type of jar depicted is used as a determinative for the ointments A3–4 and A8–9, and the combined evidence of two pieces from the east wall show that offering A3 was probably the first offering of the second register (see cat. nos. 67–68). This determinative can therefore be identified as belonging to the offering A3 facing left and the partial signs of the larger inscription to the left must belong to the first column of the vertical inscription above the depiction of the queen on the west wall.

At the top left of the piece is part of a vertical line that widens at its bottom. This could be the bottom of a *hz*-vase as part of the title *wrt hzt*. (The *wr*-bird was probably written behind the *hz*-vase, as usual; compare cat. nos. 14 and 178.) Below is the top right corner of a sign. Its outer contour runs diagonally and is straight. This is probably part of a *hmw*-sign. Another fragment, cat. no. 98, which must have sat very close below, shows that this is very probably part of the title *hmwt t3wj*. It should be noted that on the photograph the right diagonal contour looks slightly rounded (and therefore resembles a *nb*-basket), but this is due to the fact that the very top corner is slightly beveled.

A vertical masonry edge runs through the vessel determinative on the right of the piece. This is part of the same block edge as that of cat. nos. 98 and 105. A very small amount of red paint is on the lid of the ointment jar.

Cat. no. 93



Part of two offering-list registers facing left, bottom one with top of offering A9

8.9 x 10.3 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.754/2 (K/24), 97.757/1 (K/24)

At the top left of the piece is part of a small standing figure facing left with a vertical line to the right. Farther right is part of a kneeling figure holding a cup; a stream pours down into it. This liquid is presumably being poured by another figure standing farther right but not preserved. Both figures are on a ground line, and farther below is part of a sky from the next register. Its stars are incised. Below the sky is the top of a column with the head of a lion on its right side. This is part of the lion-forepart-sign, which appears in *ḥ3tt ʿš* “the best oil of the ʿš-tree” (A8) and in *ḥ3tt tḥmw* “the best oil of the land of *tḥmw*” (A 9).<sup>215</sup> Only a very small part of a sign is preserved in the previous column. It has a rounded contour on its right side, is green, and sits very close to the column line. This fits very well to the back part of another lion forepart. Following this interpretation, the first column belongs to the offering A8 and is followed by the offering A9, which are both written with the lion forepart at the top. Only a small part of the following column is preserved on the right. It features a very small part of a sign that is pointed

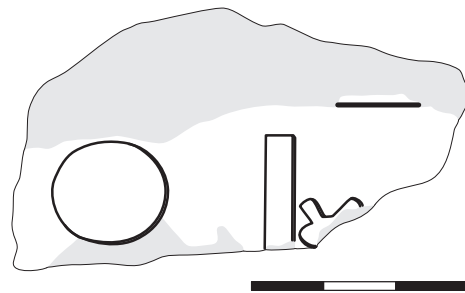
<sup>215</sup> For *ḥ3tt ʿš* and *ḥ3tt tḥmw*, see Koura, *Öl- und Fettnamen*, pp. 193–195, 217–219.

and could be the beak of a *wr*-bird from *wrḥ*, an insertion that can appear after the offering A9.<sup>216</sup> The offerings A8 and A9 must have been part of the second register of the offering list, which means that the two figures above belong to the first register. The standing figure probably belongs to B2 written in a double-wide column with a purification (or libation) scene<sup>217</sup> at the bottom. The kneeling figure is probably part of another purification (or libation) scene belonging to B3, which was also written in a double-wide column.<sup>218</sup>

The condition of these two joining fragments is very disparate. The top fragment is very weathered and shows no traces of paint, while the bottom fragment is in good condition and still has paint on its surface. Green paint is on the background of the sky (not on the star arms, which were presumably painted yellow), on both column lines from the bottom register, on the mane of the lion's head, and on the small part of the sign in front, which can be identified as the mane of another lion forepart.

The quality of the relief is good but not very good. The lion's head shows nice details. The inner eye corner is modeled. The nose, the ear, and the side part of the mane are shown by incised lines. Otherwise the relief seems to be rather flat.

#### Cat. no. 94



<sup>216</sup> A fragment from the opposite wall shows this insertion as well (see cat. no. 69). This feature is also known from the offering list of Pepi II; see Jéquier, *Pepi II/2*, pl. 86; and from the west wall of Senwosret III's north chapel (unpublished).

<sup>217</sup> B1 and B2 also include natron, which is why these scenes might rather be purification scenes. See Lapp, *Opferformel*, pp. 172–173.

<sup>218</sup> For parallels, see the offering list from Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 in fig. 24 and that of Pepi II (Jéquier, *Pepi II/2*, pl. 67).

Top part of two columns for offerings A23–A24 facing left

6.3 x 2.5 cm

One fragment: 98.62/3 (K/24)

On the left is a circular sign, which seems to sit at the top center of a column. A column line with its top straight end is to the right. Farther right, a little below the top of the column line, is the head of a left facing *f*-viper. Above the right column is a small part of a horizontal contour, which is presumably the bottom of the sky. The left column is probably the top of *ḥnqt ḥnms* “jar of beer,” which occurs as offering A23 and A66 and is often only featured as *ḥnms*.<sup>219</sup> On the right is probably the top of offering A24 with the beginning of *f3jt* “the bringing,” which can be written horizontally on the top (or bottom) of a double-wide column.<sup>220</sup> The viper does not sit at the very top of the column; this can be explained by the fact that it is part of a horizontal inscription and that the next sign to the right is presumably a tall vertical 3-bird.

The piece has a slight patina and shows no traces of paint.

### Cat. no. 95



<sup>219</sup> See cat. no. 101; see also the offering list from Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 in fig. 24.

<sup>220</sup> For examples of A24 (and A25) in a double column, see Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-re*, vol. 2, *Die Wandbilder* (Leipzig, 1913), pl. 63; R. Macramallah, *Le mastaba d'Idout*, Fouilles à Saqqarah (Cairo, 1935), pl. 18; Murray, *Saqqara I*, pl. 21 and 23; Aylward M. Blackman and Michael R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. 5, *The Tomb-Chapels A, No. 1 (that of Ni-'Ankh-Pepi the Black); A, No. 2 (that of Pepi'Onkh with the 'Good Name' of Heny the Black; A, No. 4 (that of Hepi the Black); D, No. 1 (that of Pepi); and E, Nos. 1–4 (those of Meniu, Nenki, Pepi'Onkh and Tjetu)*, ASE 28 (London, 1953), pl. 36. A piece from the east chapel of pyramid 8 (97.125, 97.194/1, 97.222/1; unpublished) also features A24 (and A25) written in a double column.





Parts of several columns of inscription for offerings A24–A26 facing left

17.3 x 6.3 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.734/3 (K/24), 97.734/4 (K/24)

The leftmost column shows part of a *ḥ*-sign on its left side with a *q*-sign facing left to the right. This is part of *ḥnqt*, which appears frequently in the list, but from the following offerings one can determine that here it belongs to a variant of A24. This variant can be written in a double column with *f3j* at the top. The column can then be split into a left part with *t* “bread,” while the right part reads *ḥnqt* “beer.” The latter is the part that is preserved on this piece. To the right is a broad column, which follows the same pattern.<sup>221</sup> At the top it is two columns wide and reads horizontally *šbw* “food,” which is used to name the “main course” that is often given as *šns ḏwḥw šbw* (A25).<sup>222</sup> Below is a vertical line dividing the broad column in two parts. In the left half is a cone-shaped bread and on the right is the top of a vessel, indicating that the meal consists of food and drink. Farther right is a small part of the next column with part of a *sw*-plant as part of *swt*, a piece of meat (A26).<sup>223</sup> A horizontal masonry edge runs at the bottom through the *ḥ*-sign.

The quality of the relief work is good but not very good. Details are shown through incised lines in the body and feet of the *w*-quail chick, but modeling is not present. The contours of the signs are well executed (for example, those of the *b*-leg). But altogether the relief is rather flat and the signs are not really rounded across the surface.

The piece is well preserved. Red paint can be seen on the *b*-sign and the legs of the *w*-quail chick; some traces are also on the cone-shaped bread. There is green paint on the *ḥ*- and *q*-

<sup>221</sup> For examples of both the offerings A24 and A25 in a double column, see the previous note.

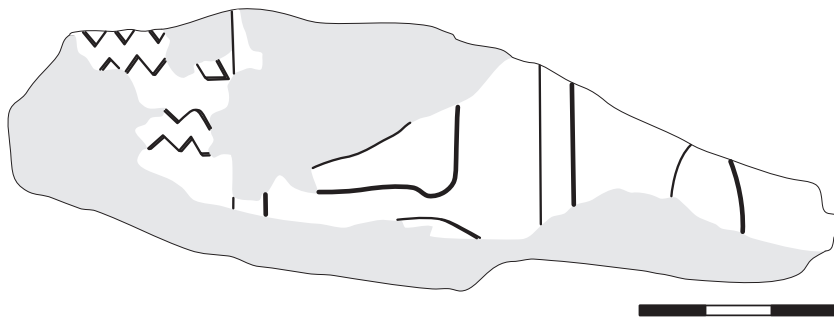
<sup>222</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 48.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*



signs, and also on the left three column lines. All of these green objects have faint traces of thin black lines that run close to and parallel to the contours. The top part of the vessel features such thin black lines as well. In addition to those along the contours of the vessel's neck, one line runs horizontally along the bottom of the vessel's lip, not along a contour. Thin red contour lines are known from yellow painted objects, but the lines here seem a little thicker and they do not always run directly along the contour. Are they possibly the remains of the outline drawings? They seem to exist in areas where the raised surface does not curve down, so this might be an explanation; however, it is surprising to not find such lines on other pieces.

**Cat. no. 96**



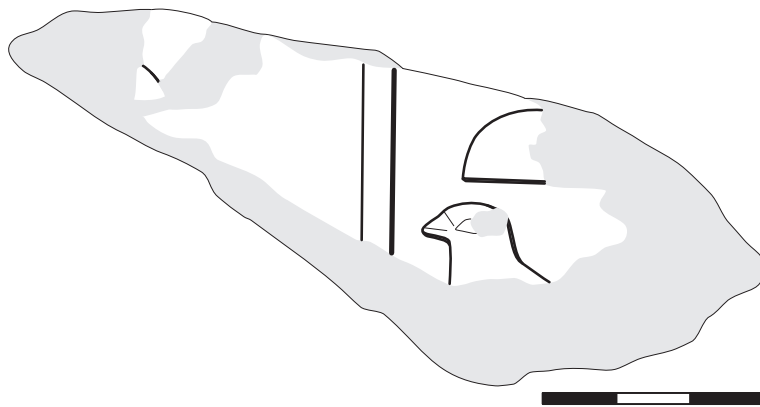
Part of three columns of inscription for offerings A27–A29 facing left

11.7 x 3.4 cm

One fragment: 97.689/1 (K/24)

On the far left are parts of two *n*-waterlines one above the other. They belong to *mw* “water” (A27).<sup>224</sup> In the next column to the right is the foot of a *b*-leg facing left. Below it is the curved upper part of another sign, which can be identified as the thumb of a *d*-hand. This is *bd* “natron” (A28).<sup>225</sup> In the following column is part of a sign which tapers toward its top. This is probably a cone-shaped bread from the offering A29. This offering can be written in a double-wide column with *bw r3* “breakfast” that is read twice for two separate columns below, one of which can show such a bread-sign.<sup>226</sup> There is red paint on the foot and on the partial *d*-sign below.

**Cat. no. 97**



Part of two columns of the offering list facing left (A19–A20 or A29–A30)

6.9 x 3.4 cm

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

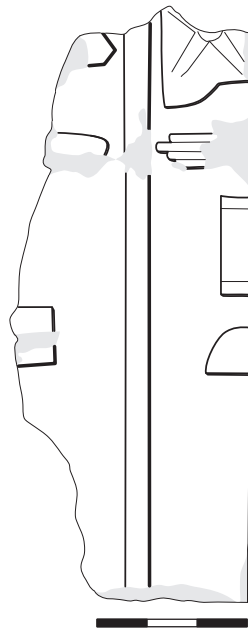
<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> See the offering list from Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 in fig. 24.

One fragment: 97.689/2 (K/24)

On the right is part of a *t*-bread with the head of a *w*-quail chick facing left below. To the left of both signs is a column line and at some distance farther left is a small part of a sign. Considering the large blank surface between the column line and the partial sign, one can assume that this sign belongs to a column that was broader than usual. The partial sign on the left could be the corner of an *r*-mouth-sign. This fits very well to the offering “breakfast” that is listed as A19 and as A29.<sup>227</sup> It is often written in a double-wide column,<sup>228</sup> followed by the offering *t wt* as A20 or A30.<sup>229</sup> In the reconstruction the piece is shown as A29–A30, but it could also have been A19–A20. No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 98**



Offering A34 facing left as first offering in a row and part of vertical inscription to the left<sup>230</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 48.

<sup>228</sup> See, for example, cat. no. 66 for A19 from the opposite wall.

<sup>229</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 48.

<sup>230</sup> This piece was published as a drawing in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 156, fig. 7 (right).

4.8 x 11.8 cm

Three joining fragments: 97.548 (K/24)

On the right side of the piece is the left end of a sky with an incised star. Below the sky, arranged beneath each other, are a *d*-hand facing left, a *p*-sign, and a *t*-bread for *dpt*, which is a type of bread (A34).<sup>231</sup> The triangular end of the sky together with the orientation of the inscription indicates that this is the first offering of a register. As the offering A3 is known to be the first offering in the second register of the offering list (see cat. nos. 67–68), the piece here with A34 must be from the beginning of a register below. Cat. no. 105 features A69 as a first offering in another register, suggesting that the piece here with A34 is the beginning of the third register of the offering list and that A69 starts the fourth register.

To the left is a vertical line that does not meet the sky but extends vertically beyond it. Farther left are very small parts of three objects. At the top are two blue-green ends of signs that are very probably two *t3*-land-signs, which belong to the first column of inscription with the queen's titles. Another piece from the offering list (cat. no. 92) that originally sat only a short distance above this piece has the top right corner of a sign that seems to be a *hmv*-sign, indicating that this is probably part of the title *hmv t3wj*.

Some distance below the *t3*-signs is the rectangular right end of an object. This is very probably the top right part of a *ntr*-sign. It belongs to a horizontal inscription that was placed under the vertical inscription (see chapter 5.3.2).

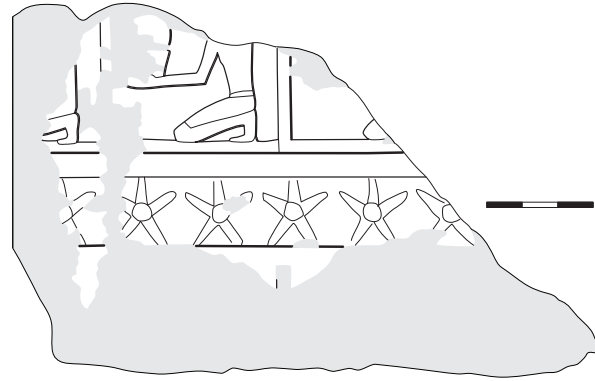
A vertical masonry edge runs through the signs on the right side. There is still some plaster on the edge. This is the same edge as that on cat. nos. 92 and 105.

The quality of the carving is mediocre. The fingers of the *d*-hand are separated through incised lines, and the *p*-sign has only one horizontal incised line each at top and bottom and lacks vertical ones, which are known from the same wall (see cat. no. 105). There is green paint on the sky, the *p*-sign, and the vertical line. The *t*-sign and the ends of the two *t3*-signs on the top left have remains of blue-green pigments. Red paint is preserved on the *d*-sign and small traces of yellow paint are on the star.

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<sup>231</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 48.

**Cat. no. 99**



Part of three kneeling figures facing left, probably from the bottom of offerings A34–36

12.4 x 8.3 cm

One fragment: 98.127/1 (K/24)

Three kneeling figures facing left are featured on this piece. Only small parts of the left and the right figure are preserved. The middle figure holds a cup with a circular offering on top. Below them is a sky with incised stars, and faint traces of the badly damaged top of a column line are farther below. A vertical masonry edge is on the left side.

Several pieces from the very front of the list preserve a right masonry edge that must be the right edge of a block (see cat. nos. 92, 98, and 105). This piece here could belong to the left edge of the adjoining block. The first register of the offering list features a purification scene at the bottom of its front part and the second register shows large vessels in this area. Therefore these two registers can be excluded, and the kneeling offering bearers could derive from the front of the third or fourth register. If the piece belonged to the fourth row, it would be part of the offering A70, which is a beverage. This does not fit the circular offering on the cup that the kneeling figure is holding, and, in addition, it is also unlikely that the top of a column line would be below the fourth register, since the offering table should be below. This leaves the third register as a possibility. In this reconstructed position, the cup with the circular offering would belong to *pzn*, which is a type of bread (A35).<sup>232</sup> Kneeling figures with the same shaped offering

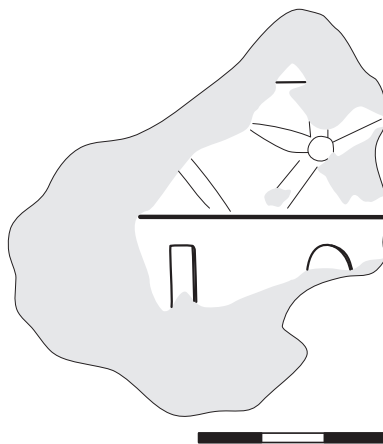
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<sup>232</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

are known from other examples for this offering,<sup>233</sup> supporting the identification of these columns as parts of A34–A36.

The surface has a slight patina and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 100**



Fragment with top of column of offering A40, probably facing left

4.0 x 4.0 cm

One fragment: 97.730/4 (K/24)

At the top is part of a sky with part of two incised stars. Below its left side is the top of a vertical line, probably a column line. To the right of it is the rounded top of a sign that can be identified as a *q*-sign. This is probably the top of *qmḥw qm3*, which is a type of bread (A40).<sup>234</sup> The left contour of the *q*-sign seems slightly more angled than the right one, suggesting that this might be part of the list facing left. The offering A40 can be reconstructed as part of the third register and incised stars occur in the sky of the third register facing left (see cat. no. 98), while the stars seems to have been only painted on in the third register of the list facing right (see cat. no. 68), which supports this identification.

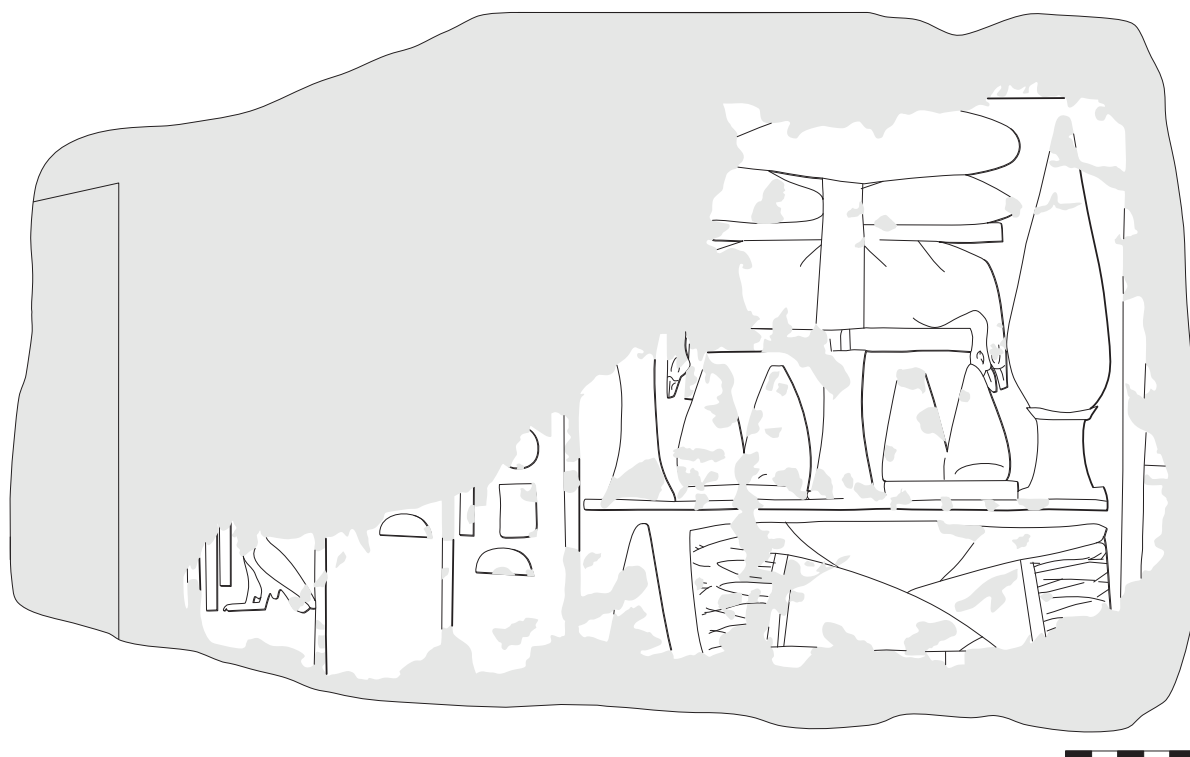
There is yellow paint on the stars, blue-green paint on the sky, green on the column line, and there seems to be a dark grayish hue on the background.

<sup>233</sup> See the offering list from Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 in fig. 24, or the offering list of Hatshepsut in Naville, *Deir el Bahari IV*, pls. 110 and 113.

<sup>234</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 49.



Cat. no. 101





Part of three columns of inscription for offerings A66–A68 facing left with piled offerings behind<sup>235</sup>

37.7 x 24.3 cm

One fragment: 98.56 (L/24)

On the left side of the piece are parts of the last three columns in an offering-list register facing left. The leftmost column shows an *s*-sign with an *m*-owl behind it as part of *lmmms*, which designates a type of beer (A66).<sup>236</sup> In the next column is a *t*-bread on the right side and blank surface below. This is the end of the inscription for *lmqt* “beer” (A67). The last column reads *shpt*, which is a beverage (A68).<sup>237</sup> A vertical line is to the right. It seems that there was the usual triangular end of the sky between the *l*-sign and the vertical line, but the surface is very badly damaged and no contour or raised area is preserved. This piece demonstrates that A68 is the last offering in a register, and this register can be reconstructed as being the third (see chapter 5.3.3). Behind the offering list columns are parts of two registers with depictions of piled offerings. A nearly fully preserved register at the top shows a large stand in its center, on a ground line. It is flanked by an offering on each side. To the right is a drop-shaped jar with a stopper on a stand. From the offering to the left only the tall and narrow bottom is preserved. Below the trays and to each side of the large stand is a mat with two cone-shaped bread loaves. The stand has two trays stacked on top of each other. On the lowest one are geese with their heads hanging down. Above them is a second tray with piled offerings, among them at the top being a long oval offering oriented horizontally. A short distance above is part of an object with a horizontal contour that is probably the ground line of the register above. The register with the offerings is 15.8 cm high. Below it is part of another register with offerings. The top of a tall pointed offering, which looks like another drop-shaped jar with a stopper, is on the left side (however, see also cat. no. 104). Most of the available width is taken up by a substantial pile of offerings that features large offerings, including two bundles of leeks.

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<sup>235</sup> A preliminary drawing of this piece was published in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 158, fig. 9.

<sup>236</sup> For a parallel of this spelling without *lmqt* and with the *s*-sign in front of the *m*-sign, see, for example, fig. 24 (Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15). The writing with the *s*-sign in front of the *m*-sign may also have been used in a piece from Lahun; see Petrie, Brunton, and Murray, *Lahun II*, pl. 19.

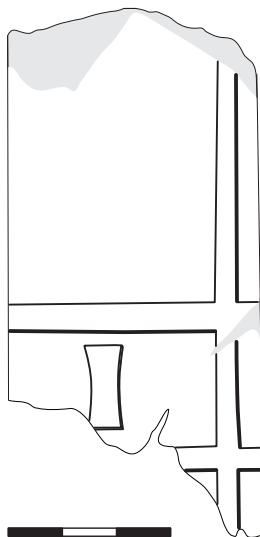
<sup>237</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 49.

To the right of these two registers is part of a vertical block border from the right end of the wall. This piece is important for the reconstruction, as it provides the full width of the space filled with piled offerings between the offering list and the corner of the wall; it is 20.7 cm wide.

On the bottom left side of the piece is a very small part of a vertical masonry edge (barely visible in the drawing). This is probably part of the same block edge as that of cat. no. 114. Additionally, the present piece features the right edge of a bed for a long, vertical patch stone that runs parallel to and about 5 cm to the right of the vertical block edge. This bed for the insertion of a patch stone was about 5.5–6 cm deep. The patch stone was probably a little less than 5 cm wide, and part of this patch stone seems to be preserved; see cat. no. 102. The reconstruction of the offering list shows that cat. no. 114 features the bottom part of the same patch-stone bed (see fig. 12). At the top of the piece here is yet another masonry edge that runs horizontally through the damaged area containing part of the second register of the list. See also cat. no. 152, which shows piled offerings next to a vertical block border and a horizontal block edge at the bottom and was probably originally situated above the piece here.

The surface has a slight patina, but the raised areas are worn and look whitish. One can still see that the relief is only of medium quality. The contours are even, but not many details are shown and the relief is somewhat flat and lacks modeling. There is no paint preserved.

**Cat. no. 102**



Part of a patch stone with bottom part of column and number box, probably part of A29

4.7 x 9.7 cm

Two joining fragments: 98.88/3 (L/24), 98.134/5 (K/24)

This is the top part of a long vertical patch stone. The piece has masonry edges at the top and on both sides. All of these edges sit at a less than right angle to the surface, which is typical for patch stones. (The edge at the top is not preserved at the decorated surface of the piece, which is why it could not be shown on the drawing.) At the top of the piece is a large blank surface. A column line is to the right. At the bottom is part of a number box with one stroke. The position of the stroke allows the determination that nearly the whole width of the column is preserved. To the right is a small part of the background of another column.

Originally this patch stone was probably inserted at the left of cat. no. 101, which has on its left side a bed for a patch stone that must have been a little less than 5 cm wide. In this reconstructed position, and judging from the space between the column of the patch stone and the end of the offering-list register below, there must have been four columns between the left edge of the patch stone and the end of the register. The column of the patch stone must have belonged to the second register, and, since this register is ending with offering A33 (see fig. 12), the column of this piece probably belongs to A29. This offering was probably written in a double column (compare the offering list of Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 in fig. 24), and this piece here is probably the lower right part of A29. The large blank surface above the number box fits well to this identification, since the inscription for A29 was probably very short.<sup>238</sup>

There is green paint on the column line, and black paint is on both horizontal lines. The black paint does not cover the complete width of the line. It was probably applied as one thick, horizontal paint stroke down the center of the line. The background of the left column shows dark grayish paint.

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<sup>238</sup> Compare the offering list from Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 in fig. 24.

**Cat. no. 103**



Parts of two boxes with kneeling figures facing left, probably part of A63–64

4.4 x 5.6 cm

One fragment: 97.754/1 (K/24)

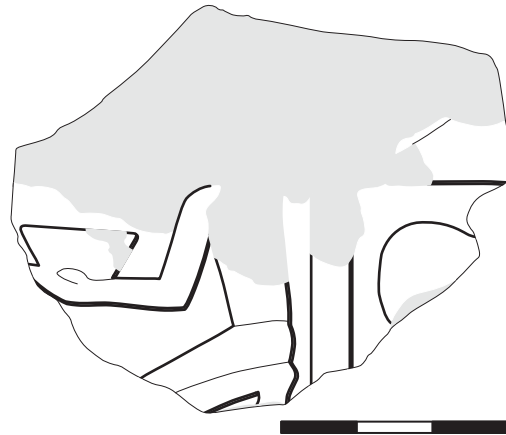
This fragment preserves part of two kneeling offering bearers facing left. A vertical masonry edge runs through the right figure. A vertical edge is known to run through the back part of the list. Cat. no. 114 features a block edge on its left side, and, just to the right of the edge, is part of the box for a kneeling offering bearer from the third register that belongs to offering A64. Only a small part of the left side of the box for the kneeling offering bearer is missing, and the piece here is very well suited to complete this box. Offering A64 is a drink and often depicted with a cup as determinative,<sup>239</sup> which is exactly what the offering bearer on the right is holding, making this reconstructed position of the piece very likely.

The relief work seems mediocre to good. The face has no modeling and the eye is indicated by incised lines. The hair shows no separation through incised lines. Red paint is on the body of both figures and also on the surrounding areas. Black paint is on the hair of the left figure, yellow paint on the cup. To the top right of the vertical line is a small area with a dark hue on the background.

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<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

**Cat. no. 104**



Kneeling figure facing left and part of two objects (offerings?) behind, probably from the last column of the third register

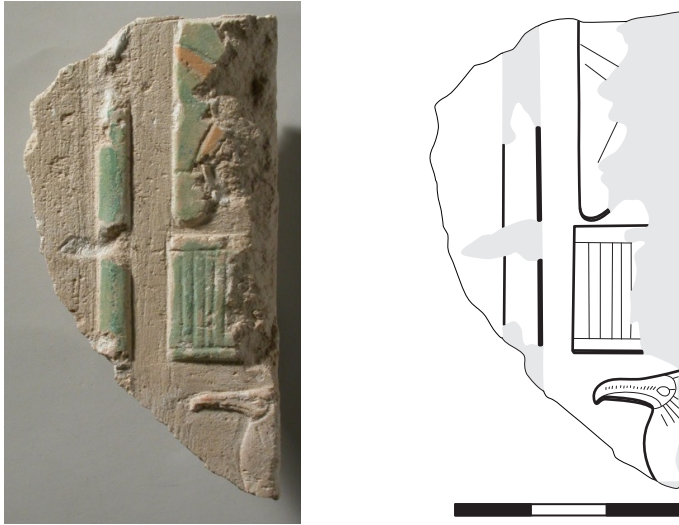
6.6 x 3.9 cm

One fragment: 97.731/3 (K/24)

The fragment shows part of a kneeling figure facing left holding a small cup. Behind him is a vertical line and farther right are parts of two objects that cannot belong to another such figure. These are probably parts of offerings; the piece could belong to the last column of the first, second, or third row. The preserved contours do not fit the offerings featured on cat. no. 152, which was probably positioned at the top of the wall. This suggests that the present piece probably did not belong to the first register of the list. Cat. no. 101 includes the bottom of the second register, and the surface of this area is not preserved, but the fragment here is too deep to be reconstructed above the destroyed area of this piece. Therefore the placement of this piece in the second register can also be excluded. The fourth row of the offering list can be reconstructed with ritual scenes at its end, eliminating it as an option. This only leaves the end of the third row as a possible original position for this piece. However, this would mean that the offering at the bottom left of cat. no. 101 cannot be a tall drop-shaped jar with a stopper.

The surface of the fragment has a patina and there is no paint preserved. The relief carving seems to be good; the raised areas along the contours are slightly rounded and not as flat as in other pieces.

**Cat. no. 105**



Left end of sky and part of A69 facing left below

3.4 x 6.3 cm

One fragment: 97.654/1 (K/24)

On the right is the left end of a sky with part of an incised star. Below the sky is a *p*-sign with the head of an  $\beta$ -bird facing left farther below. This is part of *ph $\beta$* , which is a beverage (A69).<sup>240</sup> To the left of the sky is a vertical line, and some blank surface is farther left.

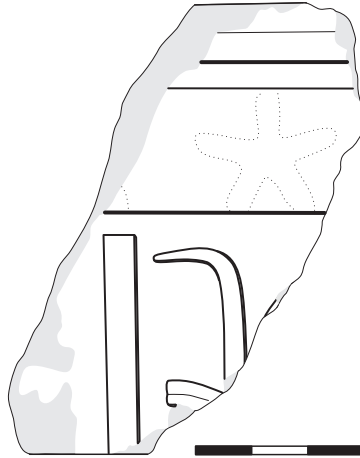
A vertical masonry edge runs through the  $\beta$ -sign on the right side. The vertical line on the left and the masonry edge of this fragment line up with cat. nos. 92 and 98, which indicates that these three pieces all show the vertical right edge of the same block. The left block edge of the adjoining block to the right seems to be preserved on cat. no. 99, which was probably originally situated immediately to the right of this fragment.

The quality of the bird hieroglyph is very good; the beak and face of the  $\beta$ -bird show nice modeling, and the feathers around its face are depicted by incised lines. Green paint is on the vertical line, the sky, and the *p*-sign. Yellow is on the star, and a small amount of red paint seems to be on the beak of the  $\beta$ -bird.

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<sup>240</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 49.

Cat. no. 106



Top part of column with *sw*-plant facing left as part of patch stone, original position is unclear  
6.2 x 8.1

One fragment: 98.42/1 (L/24)

This fragment shows the top part of a column with part of a *sw*-plant facing left and a column line to the left of it. To the right of the *sw*-plant is a very small part of what must be another sign sitting very close to it (maybe an *n*-sign?). Above is a sky with stars that were only painted on and not sculpted or incised. Above the sky is a ground line with a larger object above, which is separated from the ground line by an incised line. At the top and at the bottom are masonry edges. The bottom edge is slightly less than 90 degrees, and the top one runs at an 80 degree angle, which clearly shows that this fragment is part of a patch stone, possibly inserted at the bottom part of a block.

A *sw*-plant-sign can appear at the top of the columns for several offerings, such as A16, A17, A26, and A48. But the preserved sky of these rows show incised stars (see cat. nos. 93 and 98), while the stars are only painted on this fragment. The stars of the fourth row are also incised (see cat. no. 105), so this fragment could not have belonged to this row, either. The part of the object above the sky could be part of the horizontal block border, which is above the first register as bottom of the *khoker*-frieze. In the spelling of the offerings of the first row (A1–A2 and all offerings of type B), the *sw*-plant appears in B18 only when this offering includes the *hꜣtp dj nswt* formula,<sup>241</sup> although the formula is usually not written at the top of the column and the

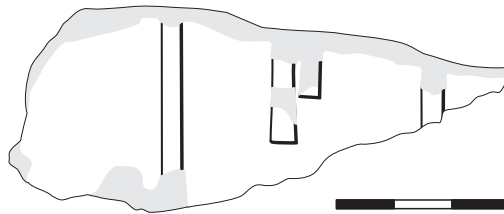
<sup>241</sup> Ibid., p. 96.



hieroglyphs are usually much smaller, as two columns of text are squeezed into one regular width column.<sup>242</sup> Another problem is that cat. no. 90 preserves part of B16–17,<sup>243</sup> and if one tries to position both pieces close to each other, then the masonry edge at the bottom of the present piece does not fit, or one would need to position both pieces with a very small gap, which would make the column of B17 too wide. Additionally, it seems that the sky at the very top of the west wall had sculpted stars (see cat. no. 219). A *sw*-plant also appears in the ritual scene inscriptions, in the second scene of the top register, but the sky usually does not continue above this scene and it has incised stars farther in the front (see cat. no. 105). The only other area where we have a sky with columns of inscription below is the second register of offering ritual scenes, but they do not seem to have a *sw*-plant. (And another piece that might belong to this register shows a sky with painted stars that is slightly narrower than the sky here, see cat. no. 115.) The original position of this piece is unfortunately unclear.

There is blue-green paint on the sky and yellow on the star.

**Cat. no. 107**



Partial *s*-sign facing left

8.5 x 3.4 cm

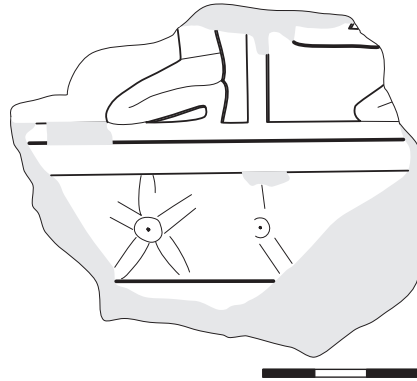
One fragment: 97.616/3 (K/24)

<sup>242</sup> Compare cat. no. 239 from the east chapel of pyramid 8; see also a fragment from the list of Amenemhat III (Ingrid Blom-Böer, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III. in Hawara: Das Labyrinth; Bestandsaufnahme und Auswertung der Architektur- und Inventarfragmente*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 20 [Leiden, 2006], pp. 232–233, cat. no. 143) and an example from Pepi II (Jéquier, *Pepi II/2*, pl. 85).

<sup>243</sup> Unless this piece does not belong to the north chapel of pyramid 8; it was found in a “mixed” context in an area some distance from the chapel.

Preserved is only part of an *s*-sign facing left with column lines to both sides. Its original position within the list is unclear. Faint traces of red paint are on the *s*-sign.

**Cat. no. 108**



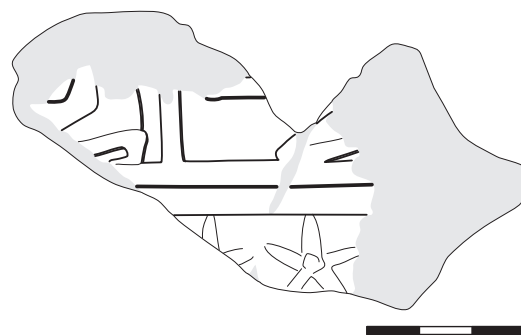
Part of two boxes with kneeling figures facing left with a sky below

One fragment: 97.597/1 (K/24)

7.8 x 5.6 cm

Preserved are parts of two boxes with kneeling figures facing left. Below is a sky with two incised stars, which seem to have an incised dot in their centers. The surface is heavily eroded; the piece has a patina and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 109**



Parts of two boxes with kneeling figures facing left

6.5 x 4.3 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.731/1 (K/24)

Parts of two boxes with two kneeling figures facing left are preserved. Below is part of a sky with incised stars. The piece shows a patina, but on the heel of the front figure are still very faint traces of red paint.

**Cat. no. 110**



Part of a kneeling figure facing left from the offering list

2.7 x 4.1 cm

One fragment: 97.657 (K/24)

Part of a kneeling figure facing left is preserved. The relief quality is mediocre; the relief is not curved across the surface at all, but details such as the navel and the belt are indicated through incised lines. Small amounts of red paint are on the upper arm.

**Cat. no. 111**



Part of kneeling figure facing left with sky below

4.0 x 5.4 cm

One fragment: 97.731/2 (K/24)

On the fragment is part of a kneeling figure facing left. A horizontal line is below and part of a vertical line is behind him. Below is part of a sky with incised stars. The carving seems to be mediocre, as the figure is rather flat and the contours of the star are very uneven. No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 112**



Legs of small standing offering bearer facing left from a column of the offering list

2.2 x 2.7 cm

One fragment: 97.597/3 (K/24)

At the top are parts of the feet and of the front lower leg of a small standing figure facing left. He must have been depicted at the bottom of a column instead of the more common kneeling offering bearer. This figure could be part of a libation scene, but standing figures also appear in

other scenes. Under him is a ground line, and farther below is part of sky with an incised arm of a star.

There is red paint on the lower legs and feet, and it also spilled onto the background and the top part of the ground line. The lower part of the line shows the remains of black paint. Green is on the sky and the star arm is yellow.

**Cat. no. 113**



Parts of two kneeling figures facing left with sky below, unclear original position, maybe intrusive

11.2 x 7.0 cm

Three joining fragments: 98.104 (K/24), 98.469 (L/23)

Preserved are parts of two kneeling figures facing left. A small part of a sky is below. It features an arm of a star that appears to be slightly raised above the sky, although this is difficult to

determine and it might be only incised. (On the drawing it is shown as the latter.) To the right of the right figure is a vertical line. Blank background is farther right, and the horizontal line above the two figures does not extend to the right, indicating that there was no regular-sized box with a kneeling offering bearer to the right. This means either that this was the end of the list or that the next column showed something different at the bottom and thus did not have the usual box.

A horizontal masonry edge is at the top of the piece. This horizontal edge does not fit the horizontal block edges that are known for the list of the west wall and run through the inscription of the second row. An additional horizontal block edge is not to be expected within the list, but this piece could hypothetically have belonged to a patch stone or a patch stone could have sat adjacent to it. However, if the arm of the star is indeed sculpted, then this fragment cannot belong to this offering list, as there is only evidence for incised and painted stars for the various skies. It is unclear where this piece was originally positioned; one might even need to consider that it is intrusive.

Red paint is on both figures and it spilled onto their kilts and onto the background. Green paint is on the left column line. A trace of yellow paint is next to the star arm.

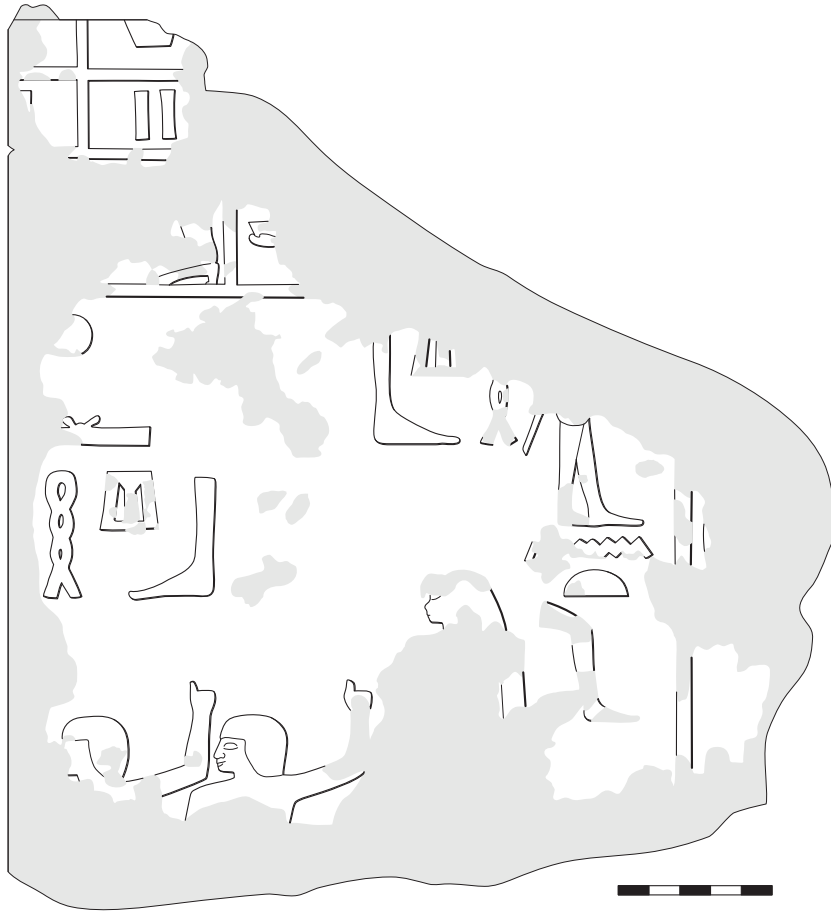
For a piece with kneeling figures from the offering list facing left, see also cat. no. 114.

### 3.3.4.4 Offering Ritual Scenes Facing Left, from the West Wall

Cat. no. 114







Part of *s3hy* and *jnjt rd* ritual scenes facing left with bottom of offering-list register above<sup>244</sup>

24.4 x 26.2 cm

Two joining fragments: 98.57 (K/24), 98.184/1 (K/24)

At the top is the lower portion of a register of the offering list with parts of three columns. At the far left only the remains of one stroke are preserved. Its distance to the column line suggests that another stroke was originally located farther left. The column to the right features part of a cup as a determinative above a partial number box with two strokes. Farther below is part of kneeling figure facing left. To the right, at the bottom of the next column, is a cup held in the hands of another such figure.

Below is the depiction of offering rituals. The offering list can be reconstructed in four registers; the back part of the fourth register was filled with offering ritual scenes with more

<sup>244</sup> The main part of this piece (a join was found later) was published in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 158, fig. 10.

ritual scenes placed below, in the next register (see chapter 5.3.3). The kneeling offering bearers on the piece here must be part of the third register. On the bottom of the ritual scenes are three partial figures, and the accompanying inscriptions above them seem to consist of two parts. On the very top left is part of a circular green *h*-sign with part of a book roll determinative below. This is part of *s3h* “transfiguration.” Below the book roll is the priestly title *hrj hb*, extending a little farther right than the book roll, indicating that these are two separate inscriptions. Farther below are the top parts of two priests who have their proper left arm raised and bent at the elbow in the so-called *hmw*-gesture.<sup>245</sup> They can be reconstructed in a kneeling position. Behind them is a standing priest who is badly damaged. He is facing left, but the inscription that belongs to him is facing right. This indicates that the priest is walking away to the right while turning his head back to the left. A vertical column of text is to the right of him. It starts some distance above and ends to the right of his upper arm. The very top of the text is missing but can be reconstructed as *dd mdw* (the tip of the cobra’s tail is preserved), which is followed by *jnjt rd*, thus reading “recitation and bringing of the *rd*.”<sup>246</sup> To the top left, some distance above the priest’s head is the priestly title *hrj hb*, which is facing right as well. To the right of the long text column is a vertical line with some blank surface farther right and a small part of a slightly curved contour at the height of the *n*-sign. This area can be reconstructed with a depiction of an offering bearer (see chapter 5.3.4), and the curved contour might belong to a large vessel that is held by him.<sup>247</sup>

A vertical masonry edge is on the left. At the top left is also a horizontal masonry edge. It is only about 4.5 cm deep and then curves out again, indicating that this horizontal edge is part of the bed for a patch stone that was inserted above. The reconstruction of the offering list shows that another piece features part of the same patch-stone bed (see cat. no. 101). The top part of the actual patch stone is preserved, as well (cat. no. 102).

The quality of the relief is difficult to judge because the surface is badly weathered and worn. The preserved parts of the faces show that the quality was probably good. Again it seems that the hair of the kneeling figures do not feature incised details. The surface has a patina, but

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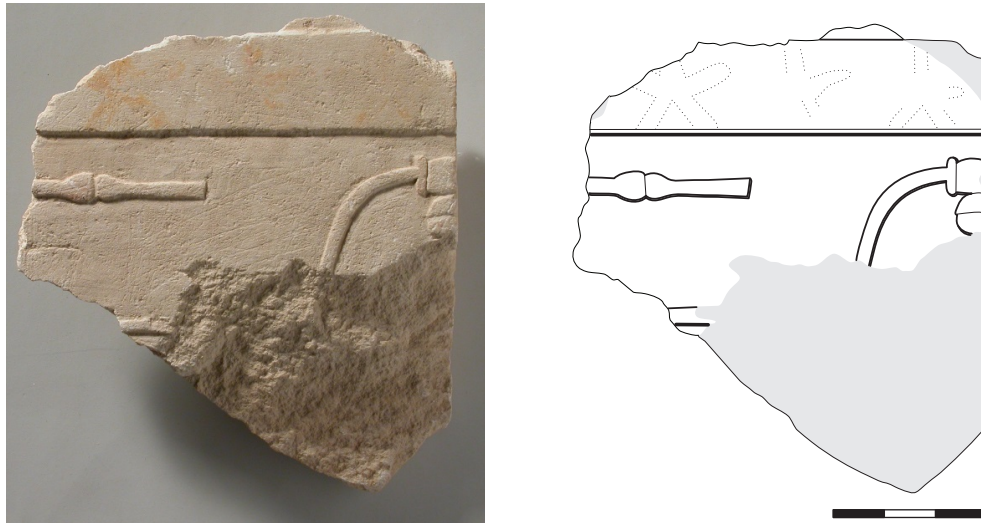
<sup>245</sup> For this gesture, see Lapp, *Opferformel*, pp. 158–159 and 189; and Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, pp. 61–65.

<sup>246</sup> For the *jnjt rd* scene, see the references given for cat. no. 79.

<sup>247</sup> An offering bearer holding a tall vase is depicted in this position on the west wall of the north chapel of Senwosret III (unpublished).

traces of green paint are preserved on the *h*-sign and on the vertical line at the top left. At the very top left is also what appears to be a grayish hue on the background.

**Cat. no. 115**



Inscription  $\approx 3t$  facing left, probably part of ritual scene from the second ritual register

8.1 x 6.1 cm

One fragment: 98.159/4 (K/24)

At the top is a sky with stars that are not sculpted, only painted in yellow. Below is part of a *z*-sign with part of a horizontal line farther below that might belong to a *t*-sign. There is some distance between the two signs. To the right is part of the head of a small figure facing left with a vessel on top. From this vessel a stream pours down in front of the figure. Since the space in front of the head is blank, the arms were probably not held up in front of the face but were rather positioned lower and probably held above a table. This is probably the inscription  $\approx 3t$  “pouring (water),” which appears as purification in the offering list as A1 or as an inscription in a purification ritual scene.<sup>248</sup> A vertical masonry edge is on the right side through the figure.

<sup>248</sup> As offering A1, see, for example, the offering list from Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 in fig. 24; as part of a ritual scene, see Gardiner, in *JEA* 24 (1938), pl. 5 (Kagemni); or Newberry, *el-Bersheh* I, pls. 32, 34.

The masonry edge would fit to a position within the ritual scenes. A piece from the first ritual register (cat. no. 114) shows that two blocks joined vertically in the center of the *s3h*-scene. The block edges probably continued below and the scene to which this inscription belongs is probably situated directly below the *s3h*-scene, as third scene of the bottom ritual register.<sup>249</sup>

Another fragment (see cat. no. 87) shows the *w<sup>c</sup>b*-sign and could derive from either offering A1 or a ritual scene. It also has a masonry edge at the right side, which could indicate the same position within the ritual scene, but only one of these two fragments can have derived from this particular position within the ritual, while the other one might belong to the offering A1. The sky above the west wall, which served as the sky for the first register of the list, seems to have sculpted stars (see cat. no. 219). This suggests that the piece here with painted stars probably did not belong to the first register and that it instead was part of the ritual scenes.

The quality of the relief is low; the *z*-sign has an irregular shape and the preserved part of the *w<sup>c</sup>b*-sign is not well executed. The stream of water is not rounded across the surface but is only depicted in raised relief with a flat upper surface. The sky is 1.9 cm high, while the others from the list are usually about 2.1 cm high. This is a small difference, and it is possible that the sky is narrower in this register or that it became narrower in this area due to the somewhat sloppy craftsmanship. The stars are painted yellow and there are slight traces of red on the *z*-sign.

#### Cat. no. 116



<sup>249</sup> On the east wall of Senwosret III's north chapel the purification scene is positioned below the *s3h* scene (unpublished). As mentioned previously, this scene is not preserved in the parallel offering list of Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 (see fig. 24), but, as this is the only missing ritual scene, it can be reconstructed in this position following other examples, such as, Gardiner, in *JEA* 24 (1938), pl. 5 (Kagemni), or Newberry, *el-Bersheh* I, pls. 32, 34.

Part of two priests facing left from purification ritual

4.2 x 3.0 cm

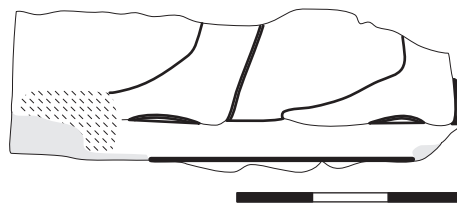
One fragment: 98.88/2 (L/24)

On a ground line are part of the leg and kilt of a kneeling figure facing left. He is larger than the regular kneeling figures from the list and belongs to a ritual scene. Very close behind him is part of a foot of a standing priest. This could be part of a purification or libation scene in which the priest in the front kneels, while a standing priest behind him pours out a stream of liquid over the head of the kneeling figure. On the right is a vertical masonry edge.

A libation scene appears as the second scene in the bottom ritual register and a purification scene occurs directly behind it.<sup>250</sup> A piece from the first ritual register has a vertical edge to the left of two kneeling priests (see cat. no. 114), and the vertical masonry edge of this fragment here is probably part of the right edge of the adjoining block. This allows lining up the piece along this edge in the second ritual register. Through reconstructing the ritual scenes one can thus determine that this piece belongs to the third scene, in which the kneeling priest holds his hands above an offering table.<sup>251</sup>

The quality of the carving is good; the contours are well executed. There is red paint on the lower leg and foot of the kneeling figure, on the foot of the standing priest, and on the ground line. The red paint has spilled onto the background below the lower leg and around the feet of both figures. The red paint on the ground line might be spilled paint from the feet.

### Cat. no. 117



<sup>250</sup> See the references for cat. no. 115.

<sup>251</sup> Compare the placement of the scenes in the offering list of Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15, see fig. 24; this scene is the only one that is not preserved, but it can be reconstructed following others; see, for example, Newberry, *el-Bersheh I*, pls. 32, 34.

Feet of standing priest facing left from ritual scene

Two joining fragments: 98.60/3 (K/24)

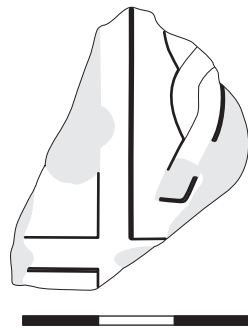
6.0 x 2.2 cm

On a ground line are the feet and ankles of a standing figure facing left. The size indicates that this is a priest from a ritual scene. Standing priests appear in several of the scenes; an identification of the exact original position is not possible. The positioning of this piece in the reconstruction is only one of several possibilities.

The area to the left of the foot was not really carved down. Under magnification it seems that there might be some kind of plaster patch in this area, but it is very difficult to tell. (Note that this area is hatched in the drawing of the piece.) Red paint is on the feet and lower legs and also spilled onto the background and onto the horizontal line below.

### 3.3.4.5 Offering List and Offering Ritual Scenes, Unknown Orientation

Cat. no. 118



Bottom of *h*-sign from bottom part of an offering list column

2.9 x 3.8 cm

One fragment: 98.88/5 (L/24)

Preserved is the bottom left part of a column with the bottom of a *h*-sign. A column line is to the left and a horizontal line that also extends farther left is below. This could be part of various offerings within the list. The surface has a patina and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 119**



*r*-sign and fowl determinative (?)

5.0 x 2.9 cm

One fragment: 97.654/2 (K/24)

At the top is an *r*-sign and below it is part of an object that seems to be part of a fowl determinative; the surface is, however, very eroded and it is difficult to make out the exact shape. To the top left is part of a column line and a very small part of a sign is farther left. If this is indeed a fowl determinative, then it could be part of the fowl offerings that are listed as A55–59. However, in the east chapel of pyramid 9 and in the north chapel of the king, the determinative was at the bottom of the column and not directly behind the name of the offering.<sup>252</sup> To the immediate right of the *r*-sign is a very small blank surface, while the left side of the sign sits very close to the column line. The *r*-sign is also slightly smaller than that of cat. no. 71, which fills the complete width of a column. This might suggest that a tall, narrow sign might have been to the right of the *r*-sign. It is unclear to which offering the inscription belongs.

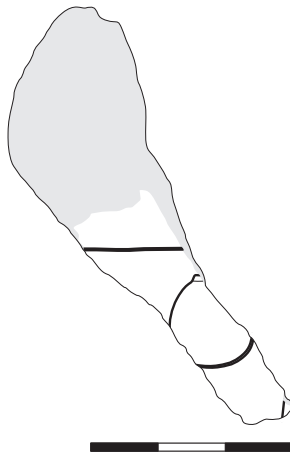
At the top is a masonry edge, which still has some plaster attached to it. The surface of the fragment is much worn; no paint is preserved.

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<sup>252</sup> Both pieces are unpublished (the piece from the east chapel of pyramid 9 is 97.283; the king's piece belongs to the west wall).



**Cat. no. 120**



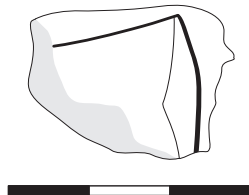
Part of *mw*-vessel-sign and of red object, maybe from offering list.

3.1 x 3.6 cm

One fragment: 97.757/3 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a small *mw*-vessel. Above it to the left is part of a red object with a straight bottom contour. To the far right and slightly below the *mw*-pot is a very small part of an object with what seems to be a vertical contour. The small size of the *mw*-sign suggests that this is part of the offering list. The sign is, however, even smaller than that of cat. no. 91, which might indicate that the piece does not belong to the list or that it belongs to a long inscription within the list that utilized smaller signs for reasons of space. A *mw*-vessel appears several times within the list, but the large red object above does not fit any signs that are usually written above it. An identification of the piece is not possible.

**Cat. no. 121**



Part of meat, possibly part of an inscription of a ritual scene

2.4 x 2.0 cm

One fragment: 98.149/4 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a piece of meat. Its size is very small, probably too small to be part of a meat offering in the depiction of piled offerings or to be brought by an offering bearer. Its size fits well to being a meat-sign from the offering list or the inscriptions of the ritual scenes. Such a sign occurs in the first scene of the top ritual register or in the first scene of the bottom register.<sup>253</sup> The surface has a slight patina and shows no traces of paint.

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<sup>253</sup> See cat. no. 243 or fig. 24 (Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15).

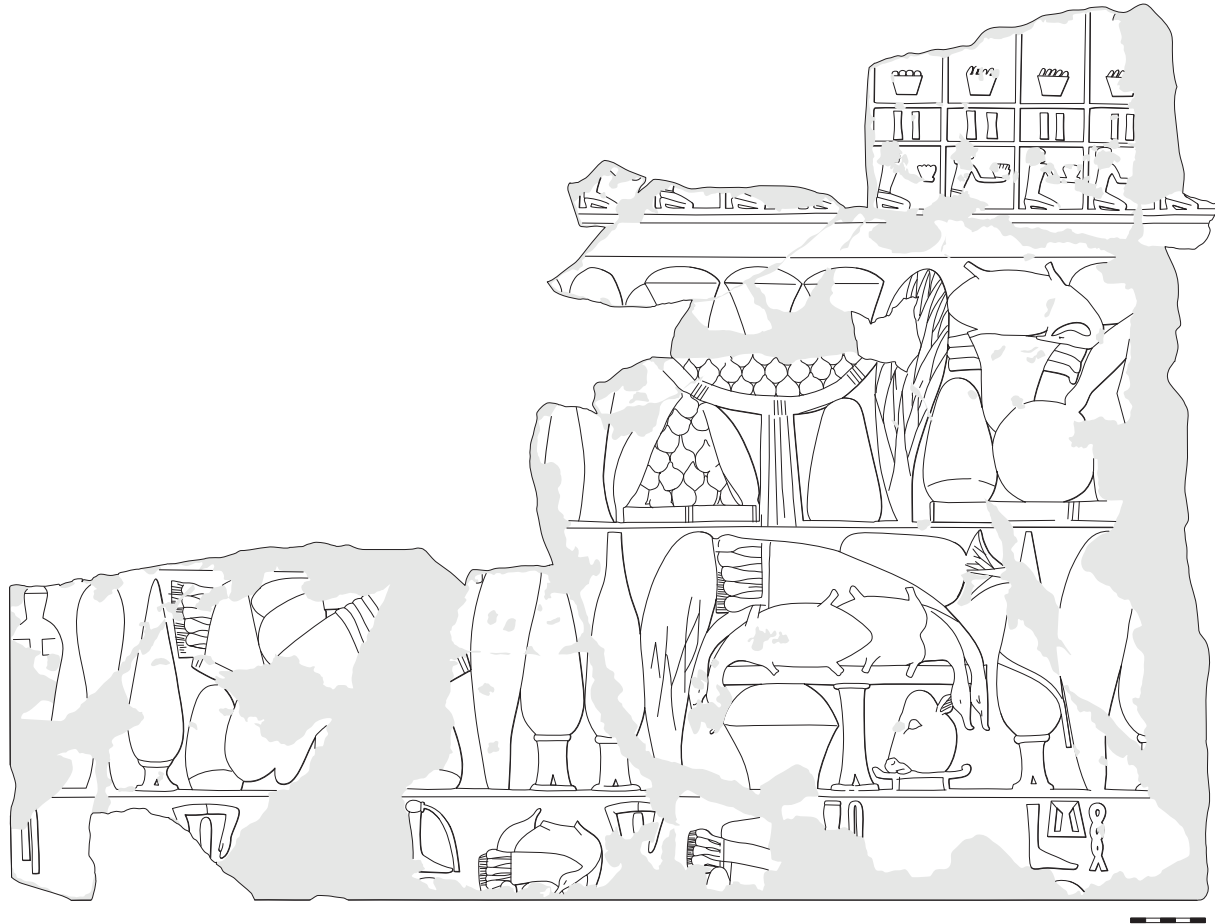
### 3.3.5 Offering Bearers

The figures that are called offering bearers here are, of course, all priests, as indicated by their titles. The term is used to differentiate them from slaughterers, who were also priests, and from the smaller figures of priests that are part of the offering ritual scenes below the offering list.

#### 3.3.5.1 Offering Bearers Facing Right, from the East Wall

Cat. no. 122





Bottom of offering list facing right with two registers of piled offerings below and top of register with offering bearers facing right farther below<sup>254</sup>

80.1 x 59.5 cm

Eighteen joining fragments: 95.3 (L/24–25<sup>255</sup>), 97.597/2 (K/24), 97.616/2 (K/24), 97.645 A–H (K/24), 97.695/3 (K/24), 97.702/1 (K/24), 97.702/2 (K/24), 98.40 (L/24), 98.135/8 (K/24), 98.149/1 (K/24)

At the top of the piece is the bottom part of several columns of the offering list facing right. From the rightmost column only the bottom of a kneeling figure is preserved. The next column features a very small part of a sign at the top (possibly a *t*-sign) and some blank surface below. Placing the piece into a reconstruction of the complete wall shows that this might be part of the

<sup>254</sup> A preliminary drawing of this piece was published in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 160, fig. 11.

<sup>255</sup> For the find spot, see the note of cat. no. 37.

offering *zwt* “wheat” (A82).<sup>256</sup> At the bottom of the column is a cup with diagonally arranged offerings on top. Below is a number box with two strokes and farther below is a kneeling figure. The next two columns show the same determinative and, again, a number box with two strokes. Below each column is the usual kneeling figure. They are both holding a cup. Only the right one is preserved well enough to determine that the cup holds the same small objects as the ones used as a determinative above. The next column shows the cup as a determinative again but this time with small circular offerings on top. Below is a number box with two strokes and farther below is a kneeling figure with the same kind of cup with circular offerings as the determinative above. It is likely that these are the depictions of grain and fruit that belong to the offerings A82–85<sup>257</sup> (see fig. 15).

The heads of all four kneeling figures are damaged, and it very much appears as if they were hacked out on purpose, since the damage is deep and occurs on all four heads. Farther left are the bottom parts of four kneeling offering bearers from the next columns.

Below the offering-list register is a broad border, which must be a sky. It does not show any sculpted or incised stars, and they were probably only painted on. Below the sky are two registers with piled offerings, which are separated only by the ground line of the top register of these two; there is no sky between them. Both registers are 18 cm high, but above the top register is an additional 2.8 cm of space for the sky and for a very low narrow strip of blank space above it.

The topmost of these two registers features, on the far right, an offering mat on the ground line. On its left end is a cone-shaped loaf of bread, and a circular loaf is to its right. Ribs are depicted above, and a trussed goose and parts of other offerings are farther above and to the right. There were more offerings on the mat to the right, but this area is not preserved. To the left of the mat is a tall lettuce that is positioned vertically. Farther left is a stand with a curved tray that carries figs, and three vessels with offerings are farther above. Below the curved tray, to the right of the stand, is a cone-shaped bread loaf. To the left of the stand is a small mat with a triangular pile of figs, and two diagonally positioned objects are to its sides. To the left is a tall vessel; small parts of a second are farther left.

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<sup>256</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 50.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*

In the register below, on the far right, is part of a tall vessel on a stand. To the left is a tall offering, probably a lettuce without incised details. Farther left is a stand with a triangular opening that carries a tall drop-shaped jar with a stopper. The stem of a lotus flower is wrapped around it and its open blossom is to the left of the stopper. Farther left is an arrangement of offerings that consists of another, slightly taller stand. It has a triangular opening and carries a tray. On the tray are four geese arranged symmetrically, two on each side, with their heads hanging down to the sides. Above them is a bundle of leeks and a large, oval-shaped offering. Below the tray, on its right side, is a cow's head on a low table, and on the left is a vessel with a semi-circular offering on top. Farther left is a tall, vertically positioned lettuce. Some of its incised detail is still visible. To the left of it are two stands with triangular openings carrying two tall vessels. Another tall lettuce, which does not seem to have had any incised details, is farther left. The area to its immediate left is damaged. Only the far right end of a curved tray and part of a rounded offering, probably a cone-shaped loaf of bread, below it are visible. At the top right, adjoining the tall lettuce, is a small corner of an object, which might be part of the triangular right end of a sky. Farther left are parts of piled offerings, which are carried by the curved tray. These include a bundle of leeks and ribs, among other foodstuffs. A conical bread loaf is below the left part of the curved tray, and two offerings seem to be hanging down from the left side of the tray. At a short distance above the piled offerings are two parts of a long, straight, and horizontal contour. This is probably the bottom of a sky that seems to be positioned only above the left part of this register. That a sky was situated above this area is suggested not only by the two straight contours but also by the fact that the three tall offerings on the far left, which are presumably filling the complete height of the register, are slightly shorter than those on the far right, where clearly no sky is featured. In addition, cat. no. 80 can be reconstructed above this area of the register and shows part of a sky at its bottom.

To the left of the leeks and the cone-shaped bread is a stand with a triangular opening carrying a tall offering with a rounded bottom and pointed top; this is a drop-shaped jar with a stopper. A tall offering, probably a vessel of a different shape, is to the left, and another tall vessel of yet another shape is farther left.

Below these two registers with the depiction of offerings is the top of a register that features at its top priestly titles and piled offerings. This is the top of a row of offering bearers. They are only separated from the register above by a ground line; they do not have a sky above

them. On the far right is the title *hrj hb*. Below is a rounded contour that must be the top of the head of the priest to whom this title belongs. Behind the title is blank space, and the top part of the title *smr* follows some distance farther left. To the left of it is the top of a pile of offerings. It includes a bundle of leeks and is presumably carried on a tray by one of these priests. To the left of the pile is the title *hm k3*, and farther left is another pile of offerings with two trussed geese at the top and a bundle of leeks below. To the left is the title of the next offering bearer, *w<sup>c</sup>b*. Below it is a small part of the top of his head. The area immediately to the left of the title is not preserved but some distance farther left is the title of the next figure, who is a *hm k3*. To the left of it is a gap and farther left is an *s*-sign from another title. The titles appear in slightly varying intervals averaging about 14 cm apart. (This is the same distance as on the large block with offering bearers from the same wall, see cat. no. 123.)

A vertical masonry edge is on the left side. At the bottom, approximately 2 cm below the titles and through the top of the heads of the figures, is a horizontal edge.

The quality of the relief is mediocre. The relief is rather flat, and details are only shown through incised lines and not through modeling. (Only the ear of the cow's head on the bottom right has a little modeling.) No paint is preserved and the piece has a patina.



Cat. no. 123







View from the top with depression for cramp at top and large patch stone at bottom half of the image (note that a small fragment with the head of the left figure is not present in this photograph).



Detail of left figure before the fragment was joined.

Four offering bearers facing right from bottom left corner of wall<sup>258</sup>

64.1 x 48.7 cm

Part of a block with a very large patch stone at the top and with six small joining fragments: 97.658 (K/24), 97.754/5 (K/24), 98.60/1(K/24), 98.84 (K-L/24), 98.89/8 (L/24), 98.137/1 (K/24), 98.141/5 (K/24)

Parts of four offering bearers facing right are depicted on this piece. Below them is the dado, and to the left is a corner border. This indicates that this is the bottom left part of the wall and these figures are the last ones of a row of offering bearers. Since they are facing right, they can be identified as belonging to the east wall. Of the rightmost figure, part of his legs, kilt, and torso are preserved. To the right of his legs is a small part of an object, presumably an offering, held by him or by the figure in front of him. Behind him is a vessel, which hangs down from a rope and is held by either him or the figure following him on the left. Although only a very small part of the proper left arm of the next figure is preserved, it shows that he is holding it down in front of him. With his other arm he is grasping a goose by its wings; the goose is facing toward the back of the row. The next figure, who is the second to last of the row, has both of his arms raised to shoulder height to carry two trays with piled offerings. Additionally, he is carrying lotus flowers, which hang down from the elbow of his proper right arm. The last figure of the row holds his proper left arm downward in front of him. In his hand is a rope from which hangs a long, horizontal object (probably a tied basket<sup>259</sup>). His proper right arm is raised to balance a tray on his hand and shoulder. Additionally, a vessel with a long rope hangs down from his elbow. The kilts of the last two figures feature a curved incised line, but the kilt of the third figure from the left lacks this.

The dado follows the usual pattern, which consists of three larger sections, each of the upper two featuring a band at their top (compare cat. nos. 25–26). To the left of the figures is a vertical corner block border that consists of a regular block border plus three additional vertical stripes of varying widths. The corner border is altogether 7.5 cm wide. The surface of the wall

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<sup>258</sup> The main part of the piece (more joins were found after the publication) was published as a preliminary drawing in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 162, fig. 12; and as a photo in Oppenheim, “Appendix: Relief Decoration,” in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pl. 164a.

<sup>259</sup> See Peter Munro, *Der Unas-Friedhof Nord-West*, vol. 1, *Das Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nebet und Khenut* (Mainz, 1993), pp. 67–68, type C.

slopes up toward the corner, since the blocks were first put in place and then smoothed and decorated.

A long patch stone fills the front top of the piece, and its top masonry edge runs through the top of the heads, while its bottom edge runs through the figures' hips. The whole piece also preserves much of the depth of the block and shows that the top edge of the patch stone matches the top edge of the block itself. The backside of the block, which is situated parallel to the decorated surface, is broken and rough, but it has a long horizontal worked edge, and beneath it the block protrudes. This back part of the block would have been hidden within the core of the pyramid but positioned close to a recess of the paneled foot. It is possible that such a stepped surface was created in order to place a backing stone or a block from the paneled foot of the pyramid partially on top of this one. However, it is not certain that this edge is original; it might have been made secondarily, by the stone robbers.

A depression for half of a dovetail cramp sits 45 cm from the decorated wall surface of this corner block in order to connect it to the block of the adjoining wall. If one assumes that the cramp sat in the center of the block here,<sup>260</sup> then the block would have been about 90 cm deep.

The edge at the top of the block runs through the figures' heads, a feature that also occurs on cat. no. 122, indicating that the offering bearers from both pieces probably belong to the same register. The figures on the piece here are depicted in an about 14 cm interval, which is about the same distance as the titles of cat. no. 122. Placing both of these pieces into a reconstruction, however, shows that the block edges do not line up exactly; rather, they sit on slightly different levels (a difference of about 1 cm); see chapter 5.3.4.

The surface of the only preserved face (which belongs to the leftmost figure) is weathered but features good relief carving. One can still see that the eye was modeled. The individual feathers of the goose farther right are also well shaped, but they are not layered. The area where the goose wings overlap the figure was slightly carved down in order to create ridges. Other overlapping areas, however, such as the stems of flowers that hang down from an arm, are not shown by ridges; these are separated only by incised lines.

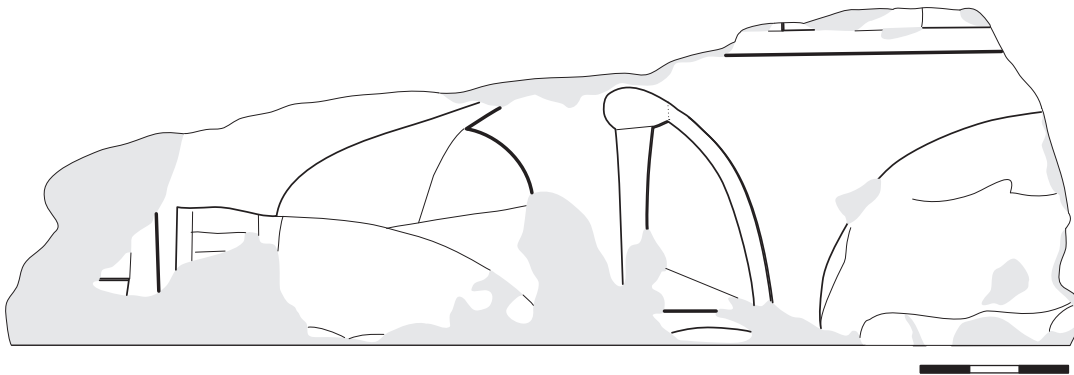
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<sup>260</sup> According to Dieter Arnold this is a valid assumption (verbal communication, spring 2014). For an example, see Dieter Arnold, from the notes of Herbert Winlock, *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari*, PMMA 21 (New York, 1979), pl. 20a.



The surface of the patch stone in particular has a slight patina. A small amount of red paint is on the vessel on the right, on the front leg of the rightmost figure, and on the object that is in front of him. Some blue-green paint is on the leftmost and on the rightmost of the three additional vertical stripes to the side of the block border, as well as on the bottom rectangular box of the block border. Black paint is on the bottom section of the dado.

**Cat. no. 124**



Title of offering bearer facing right with offerings to both sides

19.8 x 7.0 cm

One fragment: 97.545 (K/24)

The title of a *w<sup>c</sup>b* priest facing right is flanked by offerings, indicating that it belongs to an offering bearer. Below the title is a very small and curved part of an object; this is the top of the figure's head. The piled offerings to both sides of the title and the head are presumably on trays

being held up by one or two offering bearers. The offering pile on the right has a green offering at the top, and part of a goose with its neck on the left side is below. Small parts of yellow and red offerings are below the goose. The offering pile to the left of the title includes a bundle of leeks and several offerings above it.

Very close to the left end of the offering pile, separated from it only by a very small part of blank background, are very small parts of two objects. One is a small part of an irregular red line that runs vertically, and part of another object is to the left of it. This must be part of a hieroglyph that belongs to a priestly title, but it is unclear what sign this is. Above the offering piles is a ground line with very small parts of objects on top of it.

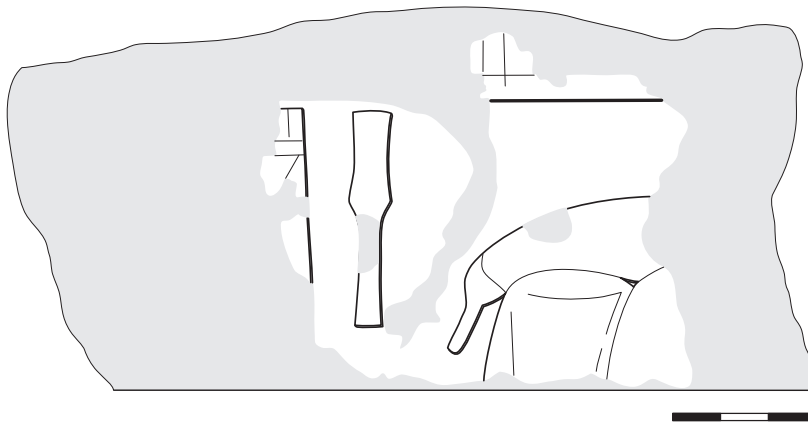
At the bottom is a masonry edge that runs through the very top of the figure's head. Such an edge is known to run through the heads of the offering bearers on the east wall. The first offering bearers in a row usually hold a haunch of beef or geese and not trays with piled offerings, which makes it more likely that this piece belongs to the center or back part of the row. There seems to be no available space to reconstruct this fragment as part of the center part of the wall, since large parts of this area are already preserved. The fragment here fits well above cat. no. 123 from the left end of the wall, and the top of the head could belong to the second or third figure from the left.

The distance between the bottom contour of the ground line and the block edge is 6 cm, and the distance between the top of the head to the block edge is 0.4–0.5 cm. Cat. no. 125, a similar piece, shows about the same distance, indicating that both pieces probably belonged to the same block. Two other pieces that derive from the center of the wall have a horizontal block edge in about—but not exactly—the same height (see cat. nos. 46 and 122), suggesting that they belong to another block that sat on a slightly different level (see chapter 5.3.4).

There is red paint on the leg and the vessel of the *w<sup>c</sup>b*-sign. The stream of water is painted green. There is no incised line separating the vessel from the water stream. Red paint is also on an offering that is to the top right of the leeks and on the vertical, unidentified line at the far left. A very small amount of red paint is visible on the goose and on the offerings immediately beneath it. On the offering below the left part of the goose is also some yellow. Green paint is on the offering above the goose, on the bundled part of the leeks, and on two offerings that are on the left and in the center, above the bundle of leeks.



Cat. no. 125



Title of an offering bearer facing right and offerings to the right

9.1 x 7.4 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.591/1 (K/24), 97.776 (no square was recorded, but the location of the find spot was noted as “QP 8N”<sup>261</sup>)

On the left side is the inscription *hry* *ḥ* “director of the palace,” facing right and to the right is part of an offering pile. A green ovoid vegetable with a short stem is at the top of it. Below it, on the left, is a white offering that features interior ridges and is probably a bread loaf. A yellow offering is to the right of it. This pile of offerings must be on top of a tray that is being carried by an offering bearer. Above is a ground line. On top of the ground line is part of an object with a thin, green, vertical stripe.

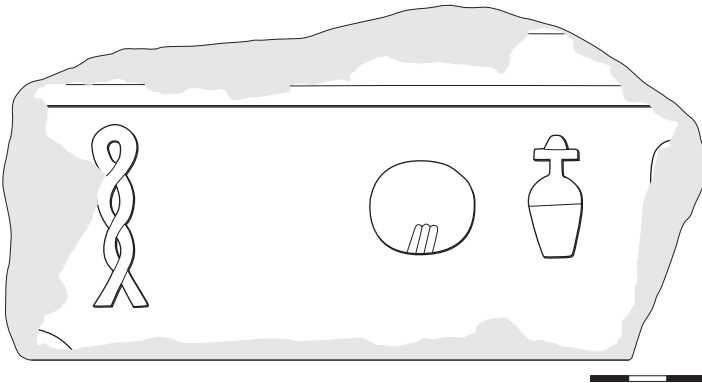
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<sup>261</sup> This is an abbreviation for queen’s pyramid 8, north chapel.

At the bottom, a short distance from the title, is a masonry edge. Such an edge is known from other pieces with titles of offering bearers (compare, for example, cat. nos. 123–124). This piece probably belongs to the row of offering bearers at the bottom of the east wall. The first figures within a row of offering bearers usually offer a haunch of beef or geese rather than trays with piled offerings, making it more likely that this piece belongs to the center or back part of the row. The register above the center and left part of the row of offering bearers features piled offerings (except the area above the very last offering bearer; see chapter 5.3.4), and the thin vertical stripe in the register above could be part of an offering mat or something similar. There seems to be no available space to fit this fragment into the center part of the wall, as large parts of this area are already preserved. In addition, the distance between the bottom contour of the ground line and the block edge is 6.1 cm on this piece, while the two large pieces from the center of the wall feature a distance of 6.8–7.0 cm (cat. nos. 46 and 122), indicating that they belong to a block that sat slightly lower. It can therefore be assumed that this piece derives from the back part of the row. The distance of 6.0 cm from the ground line to the block edge matches that of cat. no. 124. Both pieces are probably part of the same block and derive from the left side of the east wall.

There is green paint on the *lyp*-sign, the ovoid offering at the very top of the pile, and the small stripe at the very top, above the ground line. The stem of the ovoid offering is painted black. The bottom right part of the palace and the offering on the bottom right are painted yellow and both have the remains of a thin red contour line. The bread below the ovoid vegetable on the left seems to have been painted white and has thin red contour lines along its contours and along the curved ridges.

Cat. no. 126



Part of inscription and offering bearer title facing right

17.1 x 8.5 cm

One fragment: 95.5 (L/24–25<sup>262</sup>)

On the far right is a very small part of an unidentified sign with a slightly curved contour. To the left of it is a beer jar with stopper, and farther left is a round loaf with finger marks. This is very probably the end of the inscription that starts with *slpwt stpwt*, which is situated below the offering table on cat. no. 46. The fragment here was very probably to the left of cat. no. 46. An inscription starting with *slpwt stpwt* can continue to list various offerings, and the slightly curved contour on the right of the present piece might have belonged to a cone-shaped bread loaf that was followed by beer and more baked goods.<sup>263</sup>

<sup>262</sup> For the find spot, see the note of cat. no. 37.

<sup>263</sup> Compare, for example, Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V, pl. 34, where a cow's head, a haunch of beef, a goose head, a cone-shaped bread loaf, a jar, and an oval bread loaf are listed after *slpwt stpwt*.

To the left of the round loaf is some blank surface, and farther left is a *h*-sign. To the left below it is a small top-curved contour of an object, which can be identified as the top of an offering bearer's head, making it very likely that the *h*-sign is part of the priestly title *hrj hb* facing right (compare cat. no. 122 for the position of the title in regard to the head). A masonry edge is at the bottom, through the head.

The distance between the bottom contour of the ground line and the block edge is 6.7–6.8 cm. A matching edge is known from two large pieces, and all three of them can be reconstructed as being part of the same block (see cat. nos. 46 and 122).

At the top is a ground line with part of a large green object on top of it. It shows a small part of an incised line that runs parallel to the bottom contour at a distance of 1.4 cm. The object is too short to be the platform on which the throne sits (being at least 2.8 cm high; see cat. no. 46), and positioning the fragment on the right side of the wall is unlikely in any case due to its inscription, which can be placed to the left of the throne. The green object is probably a large tray or mat for offerings.

The top of the beer jar was painted green and its bottom red.<sup>264</sup> The quality is good; the signs are well carved, though the *h*-sign is slightly irregular and lacks incised interior details.

#### Cat. no. 127



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<sup>264</sup> According to the registration record of 1995 and an old pencil drawing; in 2005 no paint was visible on the hieroglyph.



Top part of an offering bearer leaning forward, facing right

18.0 x 6.6 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.546f, g (K/24)

Preserved are the main part of the head and part of the upper body of a figure facing right and slightly leaning forward. To both sides is blank surface. A horizontal masonry edge runs along the top, through the top of his head, suggesting that he belongs to the row of offering bearers that is depicted at the bottom of the wall (compare, for example, cat. no. 123). He is leaning slightly forward, which indicates that he is probably presenting a haunch of beef.<sup>265</sup> This offering is usually held by the first offering bearers in a row (the number of which can vary). A second masonry edge runs vertically on the right side.

Two other pieces that seem to belong to another figure carrying a haunch of beef feature a block edge on their left sides (see cat. nos. 128–129), and they might have been positioned to the immediate right of the piece here (see chapter 5.3.4).

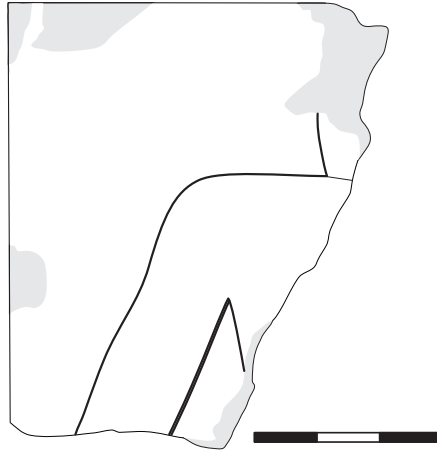
The quality of the relief is good to very good. The face is modeled and depicts the nasolabial fold as a slight depression. The upper eyelid and the space between it and the eyebrow are modeled; the lower lid is depicted as a nearly straight, beveled line. The eyebrow is not incised but, rather, modeled. A depression defines the lower contour of the mouth.

Only faint traces of black paint are preserved on the hair. Red paint is on the face and body.

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<sup>265</sup> See, for example, Murray, *Saqqara I*, pl. 23; Blackman and Apted, *Meir V*, pl. 34; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, vol. 1, *Tomb of Aba and Smaller Tombs of the Southern Group*, ASE 11 (London, 1902), pl. 19.

**Cat. no. 128**



Shoulder of offering bearer facing right

5.8 x 7.1 cm

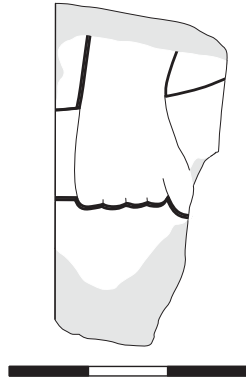
One fragment: 98.237 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a figure facing right with parts of the back of his head and his proper right shoulder and arm. His upper arm is held down, slightly diagonally. A horizontal masonry edge is at the top and runs through the top of the figure's head. A vertical masonry edge is located on the left, indicating that the figure was situated at the top left of a block. The area to the left of the upper arm and above it shows only blank background. The background area and position of the back arm fit well with an offering bearer holding a haunch of beef; such figures are often depicted in the front of the row. It is unlikely that the piece was originally positioned on the far right of the east wall, with its vertical edge lining up with that of cat. no. 46, as two such vertical block edges on top of each other would have decreased the structural stability of the wall. In this position, the shoulder would also not line up with the shoulders of the other figures. It is much more likely that this fragment is the top left corner of a block that sat directly under cat. no. 46. If this figure is indeed holding a haunch of beef, then he was probably located toward the front of the row, possibly to the right of cat. no. 127; see chapter 5.3.4.

The body is carefully painted red, and the paint does not spill onto the background. The relief carving is good; the contours are well defined and the arm is nicely modeled. The hair lacks interior carved detail.



**Cat. no. 129**



Hand holding an object, probably from offering bearer facing right

2.2. x 3.2 cm

One fragment: 98.74/2 (K/24)

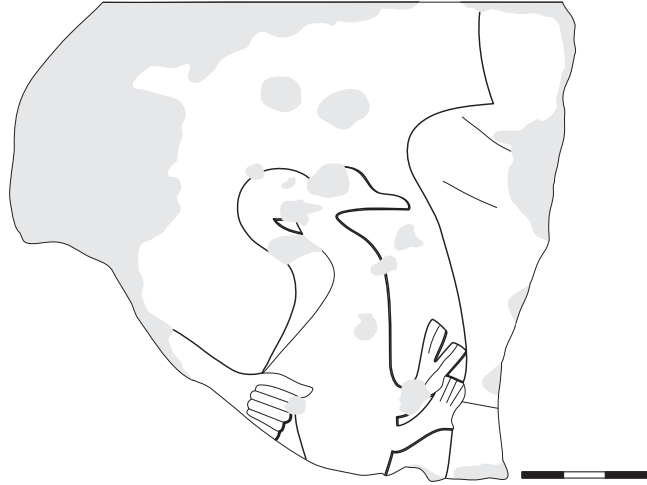
On the fragment is a hand grasping a longish object. The orientation of the piece itself is not immediately clear. This could be an offering bearer or a slaughterer holding the leg of a cow. A masonry edge runs through the object that is being held. From the position of the hand around the object and in relation to the edge, it seems most likely that this is the hand of an offering bearer carrying a haunch of beef and that the edge is vertical. In this case the figure would be facing right.

The hand was carefully painted red (the paint does not spill onto the background). The carving seems good; the knuckles of the hand are indicated.

Cat. no. 128 also has a vertical block edge on the left and depicts the top part of the back arm of an offering bearer who might be carrying a haunch. The piece also features good relief quality, the same careful painting, and a very similar surface look. It is likely that both pieces belong to the same figure. He might have been situated toward the front of the row, as the first offering bearers often carry a haunch of beef. It also seems likely that both pieces sat originally to the right of cat. no. 127, see chapter 5.3.4.



**Cat. no. 130**



Part of two offering bearers facing right

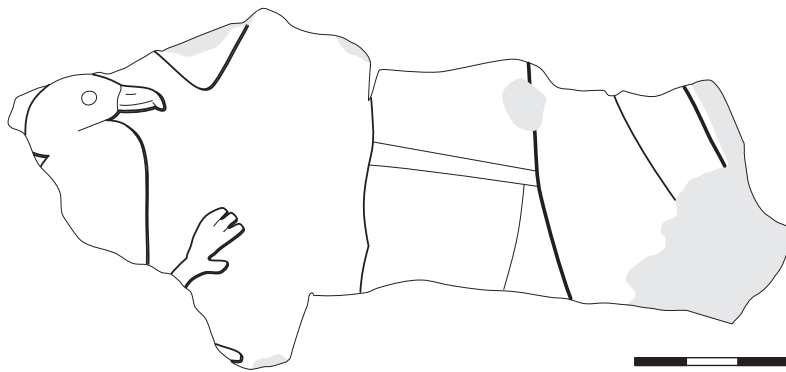
10.7 x 11.4 cm

One fragment: 97.727 (K/24)

On the right is the back part of an offering bearer facing right with parts of his head, upper body, and kilt. His proper right arm is reaching forward. Behind him are two geese held at the wings by a second figure. Only parts of the second figure's arm and hand are preserved. A masonry edge runs along the top, through the top of the head of the right figure. This is probably the top part of a block that sat below cat. nos. 46, 122, and 126. Offering bearers holding up geese are often depicted toward the front of the row, but they can also appear farther back. The exact position of the piece is not certain; it could have been farther left or right than its placement in the reconstruction.

The surface is heavily eroded and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 131**



Part of offering bearer facing right with goose behind him

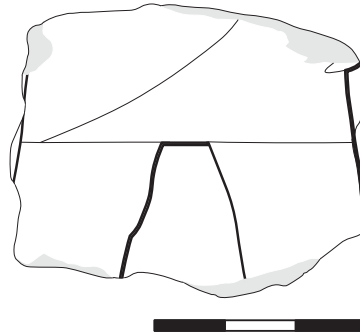
14.0 x 7.0 cm

Two joining fragments: 98.85/2 (L/24), 98.86/2 (L/24)

Preserved are the lower part of the torso and the upper part of the kilt of a figure facing right, as well as small parts of his arms. The figure is holding his front arm down, at a slightly diagonal angle. His back arm is bent up, possibly to hold a tray, and only the elbow is preserved. Behind the figure is part of a live goose, which must be held by the next offering bearer to the left. The position of this piece in the reconstruction represents only one of several possibilities.

Red paint is on the stomach and on both arms. The quality is good; the beak of the goose is depicted with details.

**Cat. no. 132**



Kilt and legs of offering bearer facing right, holding a goose

5.1 x 4.0 cm

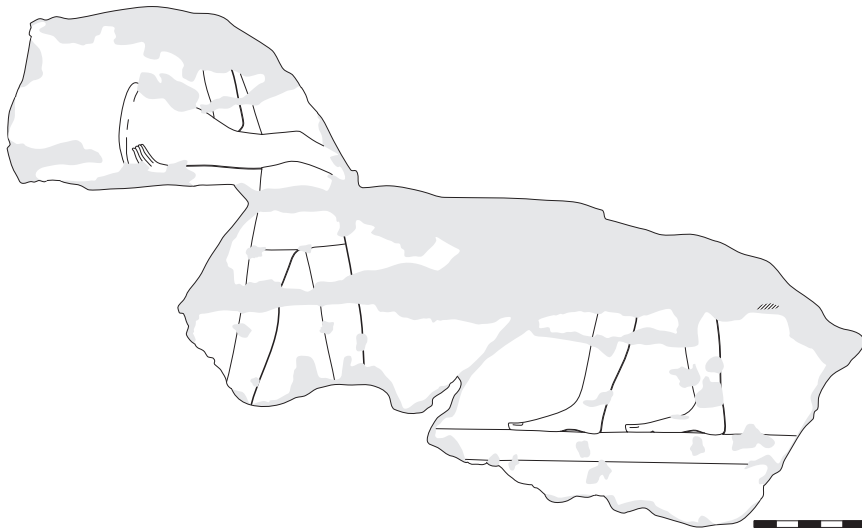
One fragment: 98.85/3 (L/24)

The fragment depicts the bottom part of the kilt and the knees of a male figure facing right. The kilt features a curved, low ridge as a depiction of overlapping fabric. Barely visible on the right side is the tip of a pointed feather that overlaps the front of the kilt. This is presumably from a goose carried by the offering bearer. He might, therefore, belong toward the front of the row, but offering bearers holding geese also appear farther back in a row. The position of this piece in the reconstruction is only one of many possibilities. Red paint is on both legs.

See also cat. no. 46 for the very top of a row of offering bearers facing right.

### 3.3.5.2 Offering Bearers Facing Left, from the West Wall

Cat. no. 133



Part of two offering bearers facing left, from the front of the row

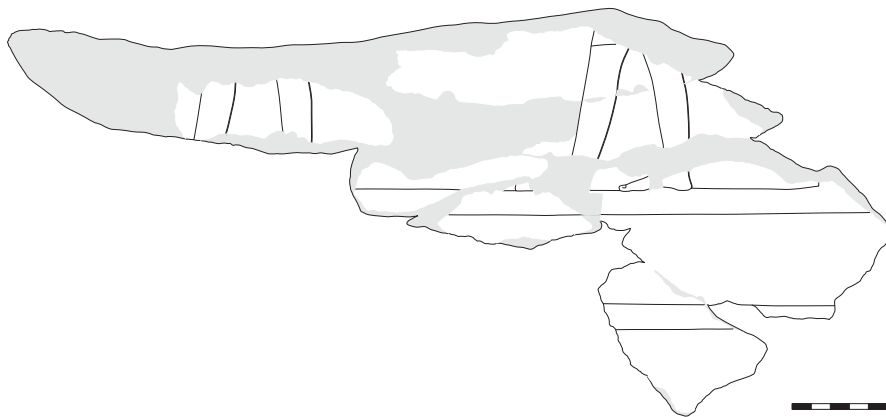
37.1 x 22.5 cm

Three joining fragments: 97.541 (K/24), 97.598 (K/24), 98.43/1 (L/24)

Preserved are parts of two figures on a dado facing left. The front figure is leaning slightly forward, holding a haunch of beef. Due to his posture and offering, one can assume that he is one of the first offering bearers of the row (see chapter 5.3.4). Of the figure behind him only the lower legs are preserved. Behind his knees and within the damaged area is an undefined raised area that is presumably part of an offering. Below the second figure is part of the dado.

The surface is partially much eroded and no paint is preserved. It seems that the quality was good, since the fingers of the first figure are well depicted, with fingertips curving slightly outward. The toenails are indicated, and the arch of the first foot slopes nicely toward the background.

**Cat. no. 134**



Part of two offering bearers facing left with part of dado below

37.6 x 20.3 cm

Eight joining fragments: 98.61/1 (K/24), 98.61/2 (K/24), 98.71/4 (K/24), 98.71/5 (K/24), 98.85/5 (L/24), 98.111/1 (L/24), 98.154/1 (K/24)

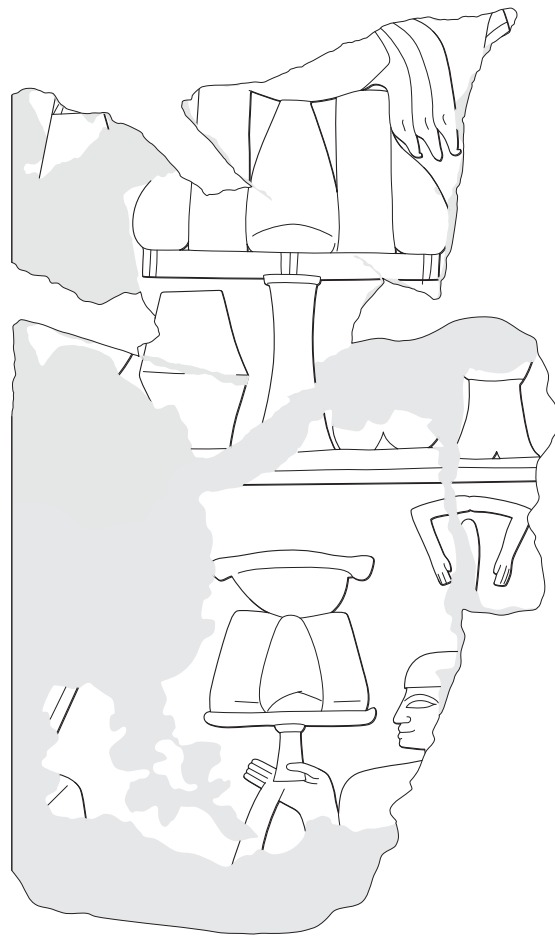
The piece depicts the lower parts of two offering bearers facing left on top of a dado. On the left



are parts of the lower legs of a figure. At some distance to the right are the legs, feet, and a small part of the kilt of a second figure, below which is part of a dado. Part of its upper two sections (with the usual bands at the top) is preserved. The position of this piece in the reconstruction is just one of several possibilities.

Red paint is on the legs of both figures.

**Cat. no. 135**



Offering bearers facing left and register with offerings above

17.0 x 27.5cm

Six joining fragments: 97.713 (K/24), 97.728/1 (K/24), 98.67/3 (K/24), 98.87 (L/24), 98.128/1 (K/24)

At the top is part of a register with piled offerings. Above a mat that sits on a ground line is a stand that carries a green tray with piled offerings. A yellow cone-shaped offering is centered on top of the tray, flanked on each side by a tall red rectangular offering and an offering with a rounded bottom and pointed top. (The upper part is preserved only on the one to the right.) Atop these offerings are three geese with their heads hanging down to the right. Farther right is the pointed top of a stopper from a drop-shaped jar. On the low mat, to the left of the stand, is a cup with an offering, and a small part of a rounded offering is farther left. On the same low mat, to the right of the stand, is part of a rounded offering with an incised triangular marking at its very bottom. Farther right is a stand with a triangular opening. On top of this stand is a small part of the bottom of the drop-shaped jar; the tip of its stopper is preserved farther above. To the left of the stand is part of another drop-shaped jar that is painted red and has a black stopper.

Below is a register with offering bearers facing left. On the far left is only part of the back shoulder of a figure. Above his shoulder is a small part of an offering that he must be holding. A diagonal incised line runs across his shoulder, indicating that he is wearing a sash. This is an interesting feature, as he is the only preserved offering bearer from this chapel known to wear a sash (however, see cat. no. 136).<sup>266</sup> One might expect that the sash is worn by a figure in the front of the row.<sup>267</sup> However, the depiction of piled offerings above shows that he could not have been one of the very first figures; there must have been several figures in front of him.

To the right is the top part of an offering bearer with the title *hm k3* written above his head. His proper right arm is bent in front of him and held close to his body. In this hand he is carrying a small and low offering table, and something slightly curved hangs down from his hand (maybe a flower or a rope). On top of the offering table is a cone-shaped loaf of bread that is flanked on each side by another offering of similar size. Above them is a piece of meat with a bone at the top. A vertical masonry edge is on the left side of the piece.

The quality of the piece is good to mediocre. The contours of the relief are well executed, but there seems to be no modeling in the face. Note that the center part of the *k3*-arms, where the

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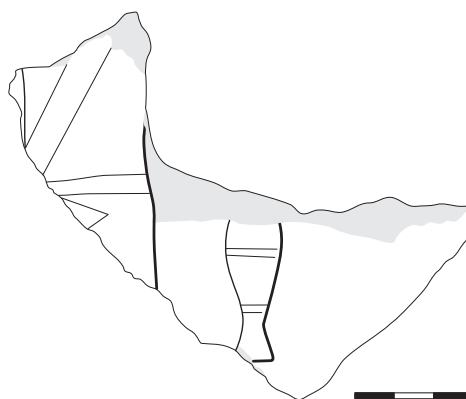
<sup>266</sup> Offering bearers with sashes are known from other chapels; a piece from the east chapel of pyramid 2, for example, shows the first offering bearer in a row (he is facing a block border) wearing a sash (97.370/1, 97.391; unpublished).

<sup>267</sup> Compare, for example, the offering table scene of Hatshepsut (see Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* IV, pl. 110) in which the first three figures are wearing a sash (and holding a haunch of beef each); see also the previous footnote.



two arms join, is not separated by an incised line, as on cat. nos. 122 and 138. Yellow paint is on the cone-shaped bread loaf at the top, and green is on the tray directly below this bread. Red is found on the shoulder of the left figure, and slight traces of what seems to be bright red paint are on both rectangular offerings that flank the yellow cone-shaped bread at the top. The main part of the drop-shaped jar at the top left is painted red and has an additional thin, dark contour line.

**Cat. no. 136**



Part of a figure facing left

9.5 x 11.6 cm

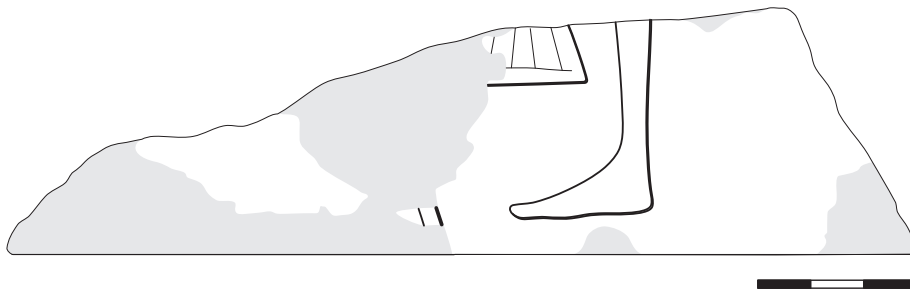
One fragment: 98.113/3 (K/24)

Fragment with part of a figure

On the left side are parts of the upper body and kilt of a figure facing left. His kilt features a belt and the top of an overlapping diagonal fold in the cloth. Two parallel incised lines run diagonally across the upper body. They might be the depiction of a sash; however, one would expect that both contours of the sash would end along the top of the belt, and the left contour sits too far left for this. Is this, rather, part of an offering he is holding? Behind him is part of a vertical object with horizontal stripes (a basket?), which is probably hanging down from the elbow of his back arm. The position of the piece in the reconstruction is only one of many possibilities.

A trace of red paint is on the left part of the upper body.

Cat. no. 137



Fragment with title of offering bearer facing left

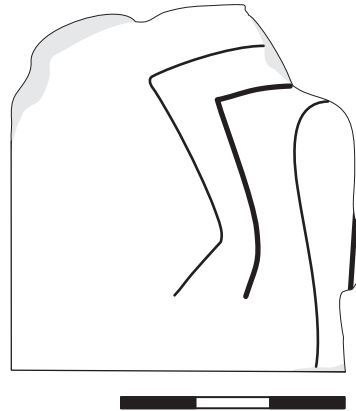
13.6 x 4.7 cm

One fragment: 97.543 (K/24)

At the very top of the fragment is the bottom part of a *hr*-sign. A *b*-sign facing left is to the right of it. The surface to the left of the *hr*-sign is damaged, but to its bottom left is the very bottom right end of a diagonal line that can be identified as part of a *h*-sign. Farther left and to the right is blank surface. This is the priestly title *hrj hb* and, as it is facing left, one can assume that it belongs to an offering bearer facing left from the west wall (where it is shown in the reconstruction). However, the possibility cannot be fully excluded that this piece belongs to a figure on the east wall, one who is situated under the queen's throne and faces toward the row of offering bearers. The area under the queen's throne may, however, have been occupied by the depiction of a prince (see cat. no. 151). A masonry edge is at the bottom, about 6 mm below the *b*-sign. Another piece, cat. no. 138, which could come from either the east or the west wall, also has an offering bearer title and a horizontal block edge that seems to run at the same height.

The surface is weathered and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 138**



Part of *hm k3* title from offering bearer, possibly from the west wall

4.7 x 5.0 cm

One fragment: 98.90/5 (L/24)

Only the left and center parts of the title *hm k3* are preserved. The hand of the *k3*-sign is badly eroded. The raised surface gradually slopes down, and the hand's bottom contour is not really visible (which is why the contour lines of the hand do not close in the drawing). There is a horizontal masonry edge at the bottom and on the left side is a vertical masonry edge. The orientation of the inscription is not known and this piece could belong to either the west or the east wall.

Another piece (cat. no. 137) with the title of an offering bearer facing left probably belongs to the west wall and shows a similar edge, which might suggest that the piece here derives from the same wall. However, the row of offering bearers on the east wall features similar block edges, and one cannot exclude the possibility that the piece derived from the right part of the east wall. In this case it could be the left corner of the block adjoining cat. no. 46, and the horizontal edge would have sat a little higher than that of cat. no. 46 (a feature that can be found on the left part of the wall).<sup>268</sup> This area though might have been occupied by the depiction of a prince (see cat. no. 151).

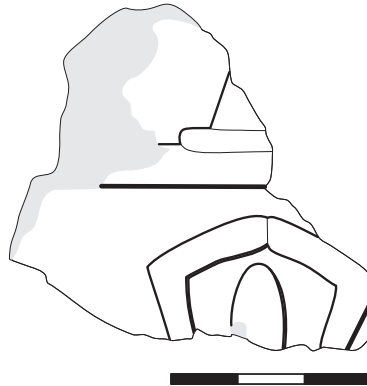
The surface of the fragment is weathered and it has a patina. No paint is preserved.

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<sup>268</sup> The titles seem to always sit directly below the ground line of the register above.

### 3.3.5.3 Offering Bearers, Unknown Orientation<sup>269</sup>

#### Cat. no.139



Offering bearer title with part of offering in register above

5.5 x 5.1 cm

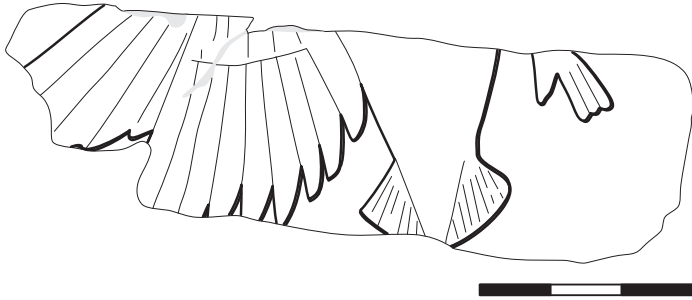
One fragment: 98.113/1 (K/24)

At the bottom is the top half of a *hm k3* title, which presumably belongs to an offering bearer. Above are a ground line and the left bottom corner of a stand. A small amount of red paint is on the arms of the *k3*-sign.

#### Cat. no. 140



<sup>269</sup> Note that a figure carrying something is listed here, although such a depiction can also be found at the sides of slaughtering scenes.



Part of a goose with outstretched wings, presumably held by an offering bearer

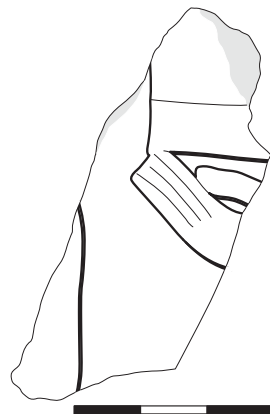
3.0 x 9.8 cm

Two joining fragments: 98.86/1 (L/24)

The piece shows part of a goose. Because its wings are outstretched, one can assume that it is being grasped by an offering bearer. Usually the geese are held up in such a way that their feet face forward (see, for example, cat. nos. 130–131), but they can also be facing toward the end of the row (see, for example, cat. no. 123), which is why it is unknown to which wall this piece belongs.

The quality is good; the feathers of both wings are depicted with a sloping surface, which creates a layered effect. There is red paint on the tail feathers and on the outer feathers of the wings, but not on the inner feathers, which are separated from the outer layer by a curved line.

**Cat. no. 141**



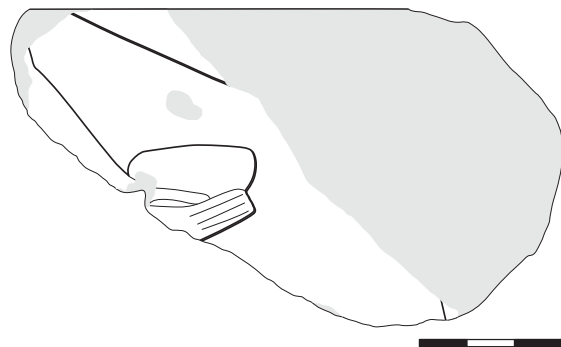
Hand of an offering bearer carrying a tray

3.5 x 6.1 cm

One fragment: 97.754/4 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a hand that is supporting the left end of a tray with part of an offering above it. To the left is part of an object with a slightly irregular vertical contour, maybe the upper arm of another figure. The quality seems mediocre; the hand is not as nicely depicted as that on cat. no. 144.

**Cat. no. 142**



Part of a figure holding something

9.4 x 6.5 cm

One fragment: 98.137/2 (K/24)

Preserved is the outstretched hand of male person cupping an oval object. All of the fingers are shown and separated by incised lines. The wrist is slightly bent, and the hand is therefore at a slight angle to the lower arm. Some distance from the hand (above it?) is part of another body part, maybe the lower part of the other arm. Along the damaged edge (on the right?) is a very small part of an object that cannot be identified.

The fragment has a masonry edge, but the direction of the piece is not certain. If one positions the fragment as it is depicted here, then the masonry edge is at the top, through the object that might be a second arm. In this case the figure would be facing right. Red paint is on both arms.

**Cat. no. 143**



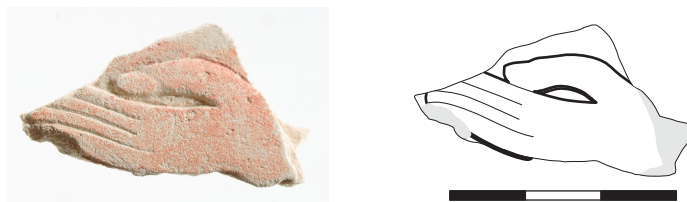
Elbow of figure

6.1 x 3.0 cm

One fragment: 98.60/2 (K/24)

Preserved is only the elbow of a figure with two ends of a rope or a flower hanging down from it on both sides. This is probably part of an offering bearer. A horizontal masonry edge is at the bottom. Slight traces of red paint are on the elbow.

**Cat. no. 144**



Hand of offering bearer

One fragment: 97.709/1 (K/24)

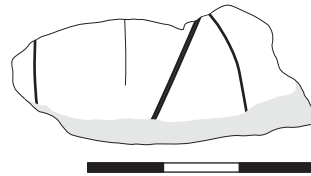
3.4 x 2.0 cm



This small fragment preserves only an outstretched hand. Its position fits well to that of the hand of an offering bearer supporting a tray (compare cat. no. 123). All five fingers are depicted, and the preserved tip of the ring finger shows that it was slightly curved.

### 3.4 Parts of Figures, Unknown if Offering Bearers or Slaughterers

#### Cat. no. 145



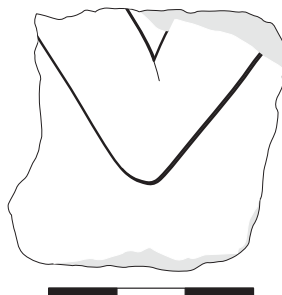
Small part of a figure

3.8 x 1.6 cm

One fragment: 98.85/4 (L/24)

The fragment features part of a bent arm and part of the torso of a figure. It could belong to an offering bearer holding a tray, or it could be part of a slaughterer. Red paint is on the body.

#### Cat. no. 146



Elbow of figure

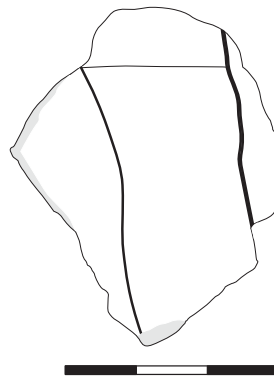
4.0 x 3.8 cm

One fragment: 97.709/2 (K/24)

The elbow is bent and could be part of the depiction of an offering bearer holding a tray, but it could also belong to a slaughterer.

Red paint is on the arm and some spilled onto the background.

**Cat. no. 147**



Part of figure facing right

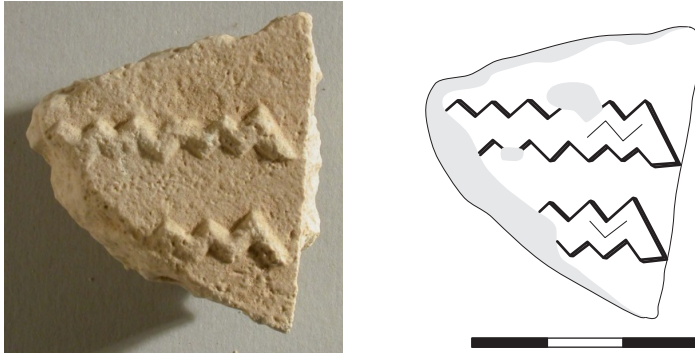
3.7 x 4.7 cm

One fragment: 97.754/3 (K/24)

Preserved are the bottom front part of the kilt and part of the front leg of a figure facing right. This could be part of an offering bearer or a slaughterer. On the leg is red paint, which also spilled onto the background; red paint is also on the background surface near the broken left edge, close to the area where the back leg would have been.

### 3.5 Small Horizontal Inscriptions Belonging to Slaughterers or Offering Bearers

#### Cat. no. 148



Part of small inscription with two *n*-signs, possibly from slaughtering scene

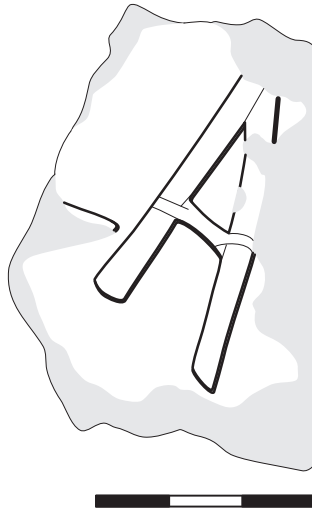
3.4 x 3.9 cm

One fragment: 98.184/2 (K/24)

On the piece are parts of two small *n*-signs, one above the other. It is not clear whether this is part of a vertical or horizontal inscription. The signs are well carved and the relief seems relatively high. The size of the signs is small and would fit the inscriptions that accompany slaughtering scenes or offering bearers (compare the size of the inscription of cat. no. 26). Two *n*-signs appear very often in slaughtering scenes as part of *m n*, which designates the young of a specific animal to be slaughtered. This could very well have been the case here.

The *n*-signs are well carved; the relief is high and the signs feature a top edge in their centers. The surface is slightly weathered and has a patina; no paint is preserved. Both the surface of this piece and the relief carving have the same appearance and quality as that of cat. no. 149, which might indicate that both pieces belong to the same inscription.

**Cat. no. 149**



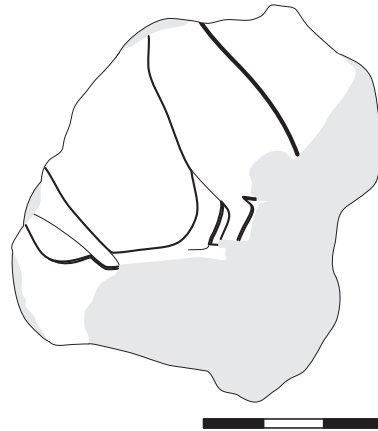
Part of small horizontal inscription facing right with *mr*-sign, maybe from slaughtering scene  
3.9 x 5.4 cm

One fragment: 98.90/4 (L/24)

Preserved is part of a small horizontal inscription facing right. Next to a small *mr*-hoe is part of another sign, very probably the corner of an *r*-mouth-sign. The small size of this horizontal inscription suggests that it belonged to a slaughtering scene (compare the size of the inscription of cat. no. 26) or to an inscription accompanying offering bearers. Cat. no. 148, which may belong to a slaughtering scene, has a very similar quality of carving and appearance to it. Both pieces could have belonged to the same inscription. On the right side is a masonry edge that runs at a 76-degree angle to the surface, indicating that the fragment is part of a patch stone.

The quality seems to have been good; the rope of the hoe is carved on a slightly higher level where it overlaps the handle. The surface is slightly weathered and has a patina; no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 150**



Part of small horizontal inscription facing left, from a scene with slaughterers or offering bearers

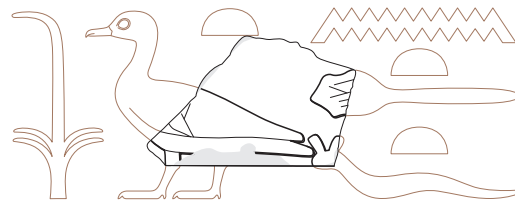
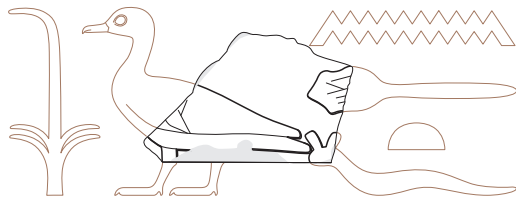
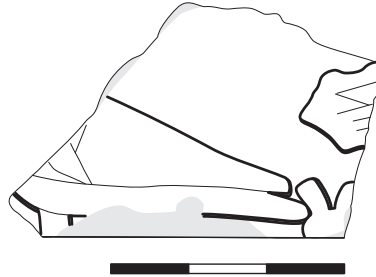
5.8 x 5.4 cm

One fragment: 97.718/2 (K/24)

On the left is the tail of an *3*-bird facing left. To the right of it is a *w*-quail chick. This is probably a horizontal inscription, since the two signs would create a very broad column if they were written next to each other as part of a vertical inscription. The size of the signs is similar to that of a slaughtering scene or of a row of offering bearers. The surface is weathered and has a patina; no paint is preserved.

### 3.6 Small Horizontal Inscription with the Title “Son (or Daughter) of the King”

Cat. no. 151



Possible reconstructions as both male and female versions of the title.

Small horizontal inscription facing left with part of the title  $z3\ nswt\ n\ \underline{h}t=f$  (or  $z3t\ nswt\ nt\ \underline{h}t=f$ )

4.8 x 3.0 cm

One fragment: 98.147/3 (K/24)

On the left side is the center part of a duck facing left. To the right is part of a  $\underline{h}$ -sign and the head of a  $f$ -viper is below it. This seems to be part of the title  $z3\ nswt\ n\ \underline{h}t=f$  “son of the king of his body.” The  $sw$ -plant was presumably in front of the duck, the  $n$ -sign above the  $\underline{h}$ -sign, and the  $t$ -sign between the  $\underline{h}$ -sign and the viper. There are no traces of a  $t$ -sign above the duck’s back, where one would expect to see it if this would be the female version  $z3t\ nswt\ nt\ \underline{h}t=f$ . However, it is possible that a  $t$ -sign was positioned high up, and thus the possibility that this is part the title “daughter of the king of his body” cannot be excluded. (See both possible options in the reconstruction drawings above.) A horizontal masonry edge runs at the bottom, through the legs of the duck.

The size of the hieroglyphs is small; within the chapel small horizontal inscriptions are known only from the scenes with slaughterers and offering bearers. On the walls of private tomb chapels, a son (or several sons) of the deceased can lead the row of offering bearers and children

of the tomb owner can be depicted beneath the deceased and facing toward activity for the deceased, such as offering bearers approaching the deceased or musical performances for him (or her).<sup>270</sup> It could be that this title belonged to a similar depiction. The inscription *shyt stpwt* “the bringing of joints of meat” that usually starts the row of offering bearers is positioned below the offering table on the east wall (see cat. no. 46) and not below the depiction of the queen, which indicates that something else was probably depicted farther right, beneath the throne. If this piece here belongs to a figure facing the offering bearers, then it would belong to the east wall, where there is a horizontal block edge at the top of this register. The inscription on the left and center part of the wall is situated just above the edge and belongs to two different blocks. We do not know on which height the very right block of this area sat. If there was a sky above the potential depiction of a royal son (or daughter), then the inscription would be situated a little lower than usual, and in this case the height of the horizontal edge through the bottom part of the inscription on the piece here would have been on the same height as that of the block to the left, which features the inscription *shyt stpwt*.<sup>271</sup>

The *z3 nswt n ht=f* mentioned could have been a son of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I and her husband Senwosret II, who would have been a brother of Senwosret III (assuming that Senwosret III was indeed the son of Senwosret II; see chapter 2.1), or the title could refer to a son of Senwosret III, in which case he would be the grandson of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I. But, as mentioned, this might also be the female version of the title, and therefore a daughter (or granddaughter).

There is a small amount of yellow paint on the back part of the duck and on the head of the viper. The outer rim of the *h*-sign is green while the middle part features yellow paint.

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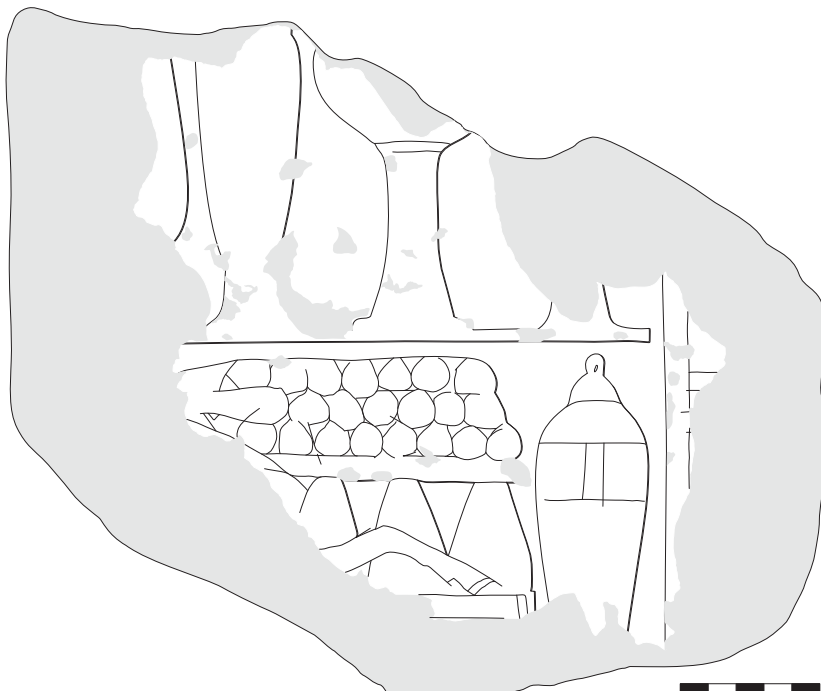
<sup>270</sup> See Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, pls. 37, 38, and here fig. 23, for the depiction of children of the tomb owner below the deceased and facing towards musicians; see also Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, pl. 65, for a scene from a different shrine, which shows two male and two female figures facing a row of offering bearers; there are no inscription, but these are probably the children of the deceased. For sons leading processions of offering bearers, see, for example, Murray, *Saqqara* I, pls. 23, 29–30; or Kanawati, *The Tomb of Inumin*, pl. 51.

<sup>271</sup> From the east chapel of pyramid 8 (see cat. no. 238) there is evidence for a sky under the throne of the queen, and a small inscription below it features an *n*-sign with part of a rounded sign farther below. (It could be a *t*-sign, which hypothetically could belong to the feminine version *z3t nswt nt ht=f*, but it could also be something else.)



3.7 Piled Offerings from the Long Walls or Unclear from Which Wall

Cat. no. 152



Part of two registers of piled offerings and block border to the right, probably from right end of west wall

21.2 x 22.0 cm

One large fragment: 98.142 (K/24)

Preserved are parts of two registers with piled offerings; part of a vertical block border is to the right. The top register shows a ground line with several tall offerings. On the right is a small bottom part of a stand. To the left is a tall stand that is supporting an offering with a wide round bottom. Farther left is part of a tall and narrow object; part of a similar offering is to the left of it. In the register below, on the right side, is a tall vessel that has a lid with a small, loop-shaped handle. To the left of it is a pile of offerings with three cone-shaped offerings on a tray. In front of them is a haunch of beef, and atop them is another tray, which carries figs.

To the right of the two registers is a vertical block border. The surface of the complete width of the block border is not preserved, but the damaged area continues farther right. The distance between the right outmost edge of the piece and the left end of the block border is 5.5 cm, which is too wide to reconstruct a block border next to a curved doorframe, indicating that this block border must be part of a corner block border. This allows one to place the piece on the right side of a wall. The surface and the style of the relief fit very well with that of cat. no. 101, which derives from the right side of the west wall. The piece here has a masonry edge at the bottom, and one can reconstruct it above the masonry edge of cat. no. 101. Combining the partial bottom register of the piece here with that of the partial top register of cat. no. 101 provides a register height of about 16 cm. This matches the height of the fully preserved register that is shown at the bottom of cat. no. 101, indicating that the reconstructed position of the piece here is correct.

The quality is mediocre to poor. The figs are very crudely carved. The space between them was not carved away, and the background was separated from the fruits only by incised lines. The background above the pile was carved away along a more or less horizontal contour without carving away those small areas that should be on a lower background level between the figs at the very top. No paint is preserved and the surface has a slight patina.

**Cat. no. 153**



Offerings, possibly from west wall

8.8 x 17.3 cm

Three joining fragments: 97.661 (K/24), 97.749/5 (K/24)

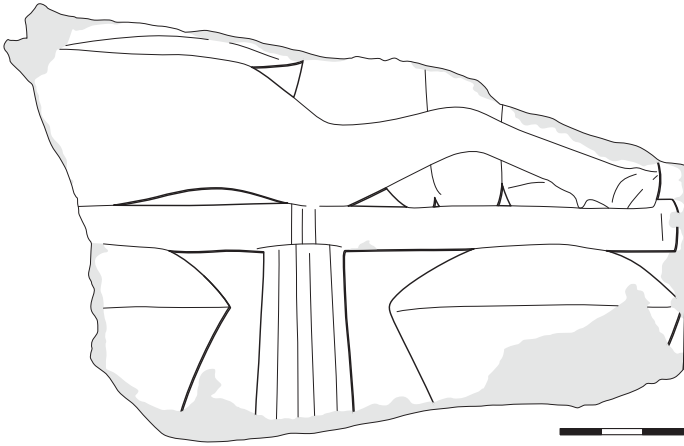
On a ground line is the right part of a yellow two-tier table. Below the ground line is blank background. Below the lower tier of the table, on the ground line, is a red cup, and to the left is a small part of another object, probably another such cup. On the lower shelf of the table is a green lettuce positioned horizontally. A large pile of offerings is on top of the table. At the bottom is a large piece of red meat that seems to include the hindquarters and the tail of the animal. It overlaps a goose, part of which is visible to the right, with its head hanging down from the table. On the body of the goose are tiny painted red dots probably meant to show that the goose is plucked. The head is red, and around its closed eye is blue paint. Above the goose is a small, elongated object. Above this small offering and the large piece of meat is a large bread loaf with curved incised lines on all four sides. It seems to be white and has thin red contour lines; such thin red paint lines also run along the incised lines. A long, curved offering is depicted in front of the bread, overlapping it. It is green and shows three interior incised lines that run parallel to its contours. This is probably a vegetable or plant. Above the bread is a very small part of another object. A vertical masonry edge is on the right side of the piece, just to the right of the table.

The quality is good to very good. The various offerings are separated from each other by ridges (and not just simple incised lines), and the goose is depicted with nice painted and sculpted details.

Due to its vertical masonry edge, it seems unlikely that this piece belongs to the entrance wall, as the walls to the sides of the entrance were presumably built by stacking single blocks. It seems most likely that it belonged to the west or east wall; however, the edge could be part of a patch-stone edge and not of a block edge, and the possibility that it belongs to the entrance wall cannot be fully excluded. Cat. no. 122 shows that a vertical block edge ran through the register with piled offerings below the offering ritual scenes on the east wall and theoretically the piece here could belong to the adjoining block, but the mediocre quality and style of the carving of the offerings on the other piece does not match that of the present one. On the west wall, a vertical block edge through piled offerings is known from cat. no. 135, and this piece shows a similar style of carving, making it very possible that the piece here belongs to the west wall and originally sat to the left of cat. no. 135. It is shown in this position in the reconstruction.

**Cat. no. 154**





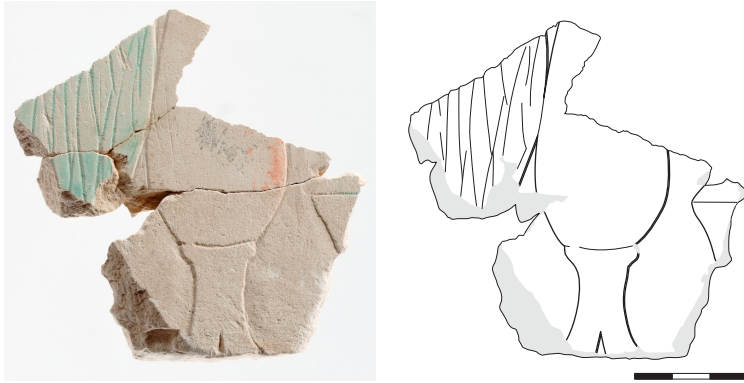
Offerings with vertical edge on the right

15.7 x 10.0 cm

One fragment: 98.75/1 (K/24)

To each side of a green stand with vertical incised lines is part of a vessel with an offering, which has a curved top contour. The top of the right offering shows green paint. The stand is carrying a flat green tray with two vertical stripes in its center; the preserved right end features a vertical stripe. On this tray is a haunch of beef, and three offerings are visible behind the right part of it, partially overlapped by the leg. Above the left part of the leg is a small part of an object with a curved inside incised line; this might be part of a bread loaf. A vertical masonry edge is on the right side. Due to this vertical edge, it seems unlikely that this piece belongs to the entrance wall, unless it was part of a patch stone. In the reconstruction this piece is shown on the east wall, but this position is not certain. (Note that in the reconstruction the vertical stripe at the top of cat. no. 125 lines up with the bottom of the stand here.) The quality of the carving is mediocre.

**Cat. no. 155**



**Offerings**

8.8 x 8.9 cm

Four joining fragments: 97.752/2 (K/24), 97.753/1 (K/24), 98.67/2 (K/24), 98.86/6 (L/24)

On the left is a vertical lettuce with green paint and several incised lines. To the right is a stand with a triangular opening at the bottom. On top is part of a tall red offering, which has a rounded bottom and narrows toward the top; this is probably a drop-shaped jar. Farther right is a small triangular part of another offering with a horizontal incised line and faint traces of green paint. The relief is rather flat.

**Cat. no. 156**



**Offerings**

18.3 x 3.6 cm

Three joining fragments: 97.720/2 (K/24), 97.752/1 (K/24), 97.752/6 (K/24)

On the left is a pile of figs with small parts of other offerings farther left, and a small part of an object to the top right. Part of a stand or narrow vessel is to the right of the figs, and part of another similarly shaped offering (another stand?) is farther right. The relief is poorly executed. No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

**Cat. no. 157**



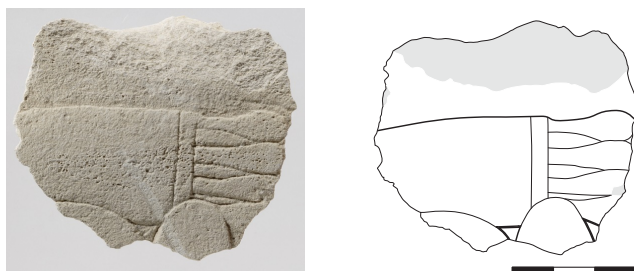
**Offerings**

24.1 x 5.4 cm

Three joining fragments: 97.735/1 (K/24), 98.117 (K/24), 98.138/1 (K/24)

Parts of several offerings are preserved, including a large horizontal lettuce that is lying on top of offerings and part of a rounded offering to the left. Smaller parts of several other offerings are to the sides. The piece has a patina and no paint.

**Cat. no. 158**





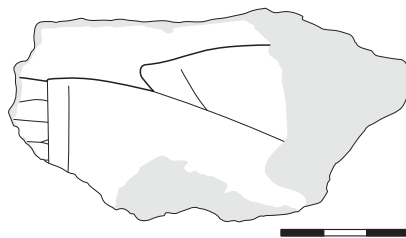
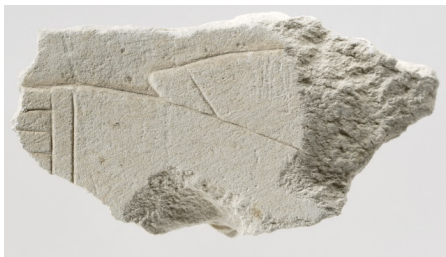
Offerings

6.5 x 5.0 cm

One fragment: 98.149/3 (K/24)

A bundle of leeks sits above the rounded tops of two other offerings. The piece has a patina and no paint.

**Cat. no. 159**



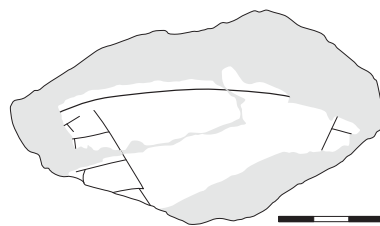
Offerings

7.0 x 4.6 cm

One fragment: 97.720/3 (K/24)

Depicted is part of a bundle of leeks and part of another offering is to the top right. The fragment has a patina and no paint.

**Cat. no. 160**



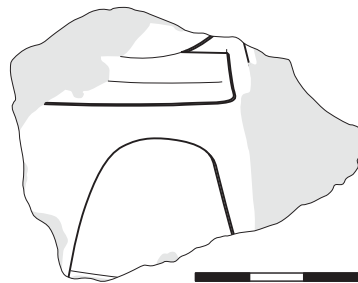
Offerings

8.0 x 5.2 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.703/5 (K/24), 97.721/11(K/24)

Part of a large piece of ribs is depicted. No paint is preserved and the surface of one of the two joining fragments has a patina. The quality seems mediocre to poor; the relief is flat and the incised lines are irregular.

**Cat. no. 161**



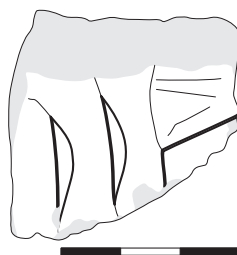
Offerings

4.5 x 4.8 cm

One fragment: 98.149/2 (K/24)

At the top is part of a tray carrying an offering with a round contour. Below is the top part of another offering with a rounded contour. The piece has a patina and no paint.

**Cat. no. 162**



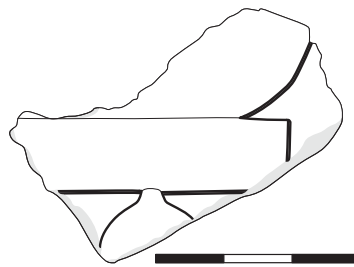
Offerings

3.9 x 2.9 cm

One fragment: 97.752/8 (K/24)

Preserved are the necks of two geese, presumably hanging down from a pile of offerings or a tray. To the left is part of an object with a vertical contour, possibly a stand. To the right is part of a lotus flower. No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

**Cat. no. 163**



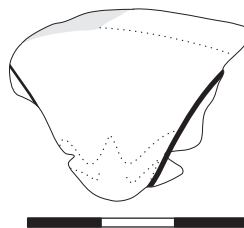
Offerings

One fragment: 97.615/2 (K/24)

4.8 x 3.8 cm

Preserved is part of a rounded offering sitting atop a green tray. Part of a yellow fig with thin red contour lines is below.

**Cat. no. 164**



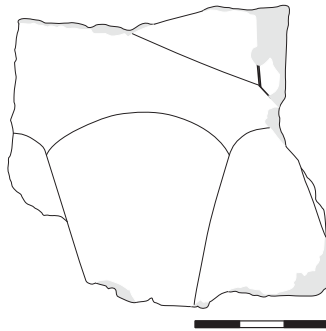
Blossom of a lotus flower

3.3 x 2.7 cm

Two joining fragments: 98.186/1 (K/24)

The piece shows a lotus flower. The interior details of it are not carved, only painted. The top rim of the flower is painted yellow, while the main part of it is green. The red base of the blossom has three triangular protrusions at its top, where it meets the green body of the flower. Additionally there seem to be dark paint lines within the red base. (On the drawing these are the dotted lines at the very bottom left and right.)

**Cat. no. 165**



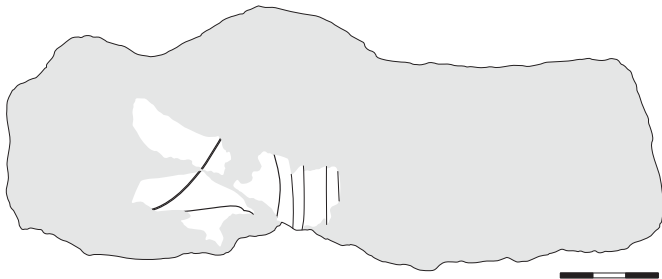
Offerings

7.1 x 6.6 cm

One fragment: 98.485 (L/23)

Preserved are the top parts of three offerings next to each other. The ones on the sides are yellow and seem to be cone-shaped. Resting on top of these is another large offering and a small part of yet another is farther above.

**Cat. no. 166**



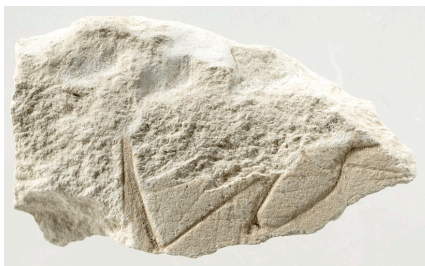
**Offerings**

Two joining fragments: 97.703/1 (K/24), 97.753/3 (K/24)

6.5 x 4.7 cm

The piece shows parts of several unidentified offerings. It has a patina and no paint.

**Cat. no. 167**



**Offerings**

4.6 x 2.4 cm

One fragment: 98.63/4

Preserved is part of an open lotus flower and a bud next to it. They very probably belong to a pile of offerings. No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

**Cat. no. 168**



Offering

5.2 x 3.9 cm

One fragment: 98.67/4 (K/24)

Preserved is only a small part of a green mat with a rounded offering on top.

**Cat. no. 169**



Offerings

5.0 x 3.1 cm

One fragment: 97.702/3 (K/24)

Parts of two objects are preserved; one is probably a bundle of leeks. No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

**Cat. no. 170**



Offerings

3.0 x 1.1 cm

One fragment: 97.703/6 (K/24)

This very small piece depicts parts of the red heads of two geese next to a yellow rounded offering. A horizontal masonry edge is at the bottom.

**Cat. no. 171**



Offerings

3.5 x 1.9 cm

One fragment: 97.752/5 (K/24)

Preserved are the beaks of three geese, and a small part of something else is next to them. No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

**Cat. no. 172**





Offerings

3.4 x 3.1 cm

One fragment: 98.86/3 (L/24)

On the left side is part of a rounded offering. On the right side is the head of a goose hanging down with a small part of an object to the right. No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

**Cat. no. 173**



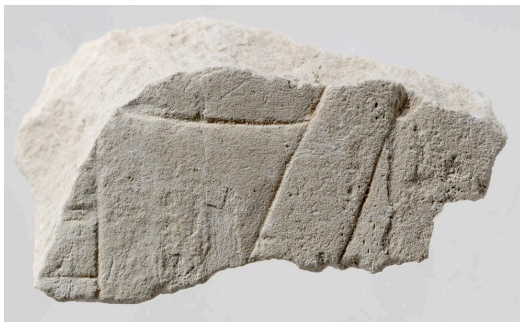
Offerings

6.3 x 4.9 cm

One fragment: 98.149/5

This fragment depicts parts of several offerings including a large rounded one. No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

**Cat. no. 174**



Offerings?

6.6 x 3.3 cm

One fragment: 97.725/1 (K/24)

Parts of several objects are preserved. These are possibly piled offerings, but there is also the possibility that this is part of a slaughtering scene, as part of one object could be the limb of a figure. No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 175**



Offering

2.3 x 2.5 cm

One fragment: 98.86/5 (L/24)

Preserved is part of a green lettuce with incised lines.

**Cat. no. 176**



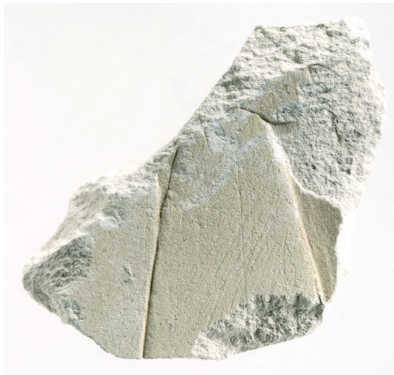
Offerings

1.5 x 2.4 cm

One fragment: 98.86/8 (L/24)

On a ground line is part of an offering mat with part of a yellow offering on top.

**Cat. no. 177**



Offerings

5.2 x 5.4 cm

One fragment: 97.752/3 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a cone-shaped offering and parts of other offerings are to the left and above.

No paint is preserved and the surface has a patina.

For piled offering from the west wall, see also cat. nos. 101, 104, and 135.

For piled offerings from the east wall, see cat. no. 122.

See also cat. no. 55, which might depict part of not the throne's platform, but, rather, an offering.

### 3.8 The Tympana on the North and South Walls

On the north and south ends of the chapel were tympana that filled the space between the straight top of the walls and the curved ceiling.

Cat. no. 178



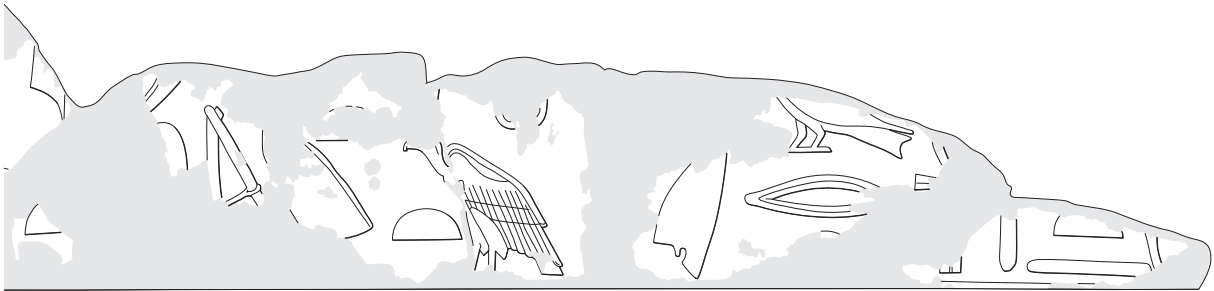
Left and center part of tympanum; the tympanum consists of two large pieces that could not be glued.



Detail of drawing showing left and center part (with small part of joining piece to the right).



Right part of tympanum.

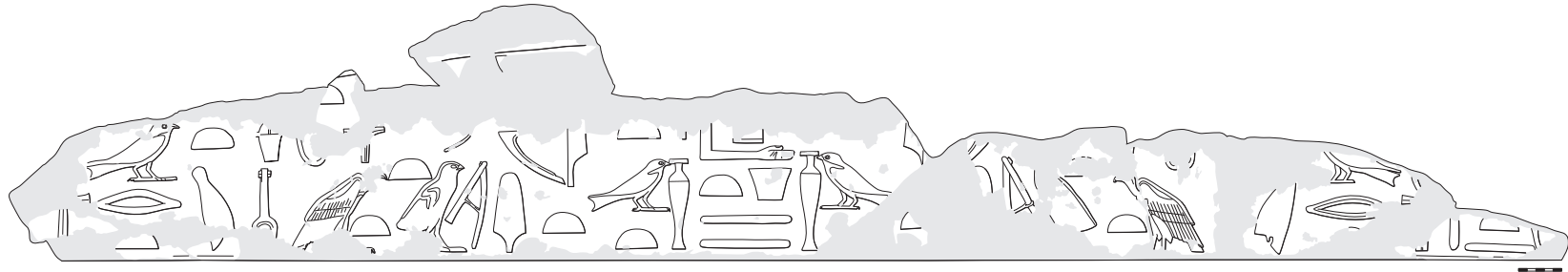


Detail of drawing showing right part (with small part of joining piece to the left).



Details of tympanum with white-crown- and *nfr*-signs.





The complete tympanum with all joints (note that the two parts of the piece have been digitally combined in the photo).

The south tympanum<sup>272</sup>

178.5 x 25 cm (including the damaged surface the piece is 181 cm wide)

One large block plus eleven joining fragments: 97.552 (K/24), 97.631 (K/24)<sup>273</sup>, 97.732/2 (K/24), 98.37 (K/24), 98.38 (K/24), 98.73 (K/24), 98.77/5 (K/24), 98.90/1 (L/24), 98.238 (K/24), 98.321 (L/24)

This piece preserves large parts of the decorated surface of one of the two tympana that existed in the chapel. It features nearly the complete inscription and is the best-preserved tympanum of a royal women's chapel at Dahshur. The inscription is arranged in short undivided columns that read symmetrically from the center outward.

The central column is facing right. At its top is part of the title *jjt p<sup>c</sup>t*; only the bottom of a *p*-sign and, below it, an <sup>c</sup>-arm are preserved. Below is the title *hmwt t3wj*. This column was meant to be read twice as the beginning of the inscription for both sides. The top part of the next column to the left preserves only the very small and narrow bottom part of a sign with a *t*-sign to the left. This is most probably part of the title *wrt hts* facing right. The *hts*-sign was written first, followed by the *wr*-bird and *t*-sign to the left, in the same layout as the title *wrt hzt* that is written below (and clearly facing right).<sup>274</sup>

To the top left, above the next column, is a very small area where part of a raised and curved top border of the tympanum is visible; parts of this border are also preserved in two areas farther left, and together they display the arching shape of the top of the tympanum. This raised border is painted blue, because it is seen as belonging to the sky with which the vaulted ceiling is decorated. At the top left of the column is the top left corner of a *nb*-sign. Below are parts of an *j*-reed on the right with a *m3*-sickle to the left of it. Farther below, at the bottom of this column, is a *t*-sign on the right with an *jm3*-tree behind it. This is the title *nbt jm3t* "mistress of the *jm3t*-scepter," which fills the whole column. Only the very bottom of the first sign in the next column

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<sup>272</sup> The piece was published as a preliminary drawing in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 151, fig. 2; and part of it (several joins were found later) was published as a photo in Oppenheim, "Appendix: Relief Decoration," in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pl. 164d.

<sup>273</sup> This is the largest of the joined pieces; it is about 1 m long and features the central and left part of the inscription. It was found 2 m in front of the pyramid's subfoundation, according to the excavation diary from 1997 (entry for Dec. 14, 1997): "The block is found west of a huge corner casing block of P8 and only 2 m in front of the pyramid subfoundations."

<sup>274</sup> This is the common pattern at this time for both titles; compare, for example, cat. nos. 14–15.



is preserved. It is a thin, curved line that can be identified as a *bnr*-sign, since it is followed by a *mr*-hoe with a *w*-quail chick and a *t*-sign behind; this is the title *bnrt mrwt* “sweet of love.”

At the top left of the next column is part of a *sw*-plant with a *t*-sign to the top left and a *hm*-sign to the bottom left of it. Below is a vulture with a *t*-sign in front of its lower body. The *sw*-plant can be read twice for the titles *hmt nswt* and *mwt nswt*.<sup>275</sup> At the top right of the next column is part of a *hnm*-vessel with a *t*-sign behind it. Below is a *nfr*-sign with a white-crown-sign to the left. This is *Hnmt-nfr-hdt*. The next column continues with a *wr*-bird at the top, followed by an *r*-sign below and a *t*-sign for *Wrt* farther below. To the left is part of an *ankh*-sign that was presumably part of *ꜥnh.tj dt*, corresponding to the right side, but the very end of the inscription is not preserved on this side of the tympanum.

The right side of the tympanum is altogether less well preserved, especially at its top, but one can still see that the row of titles was identical to that on the left. To the lower right of the central column is the title *wrt hzt* facing left; the top half of this column is not preserved. The next column to the right shows part of an *j*-reed, of a *m3*-sickle, a *t*-sign, and an *jm3*-tree. These signs belong to the title *nbt jm3t* and are in the same position as on the left side of the tympanum, just flipped mirror-wise, as they are now facing left. In the lower half of the next column are parts of a *mr*-hoe, a *w*-quail chick, and a *t*-sign. As on the tympanum’s left side, these signs belong to the title *bnrt mrwt*. At the top half of the next column is a *hm*-sign with a very small part of a sign in front of it that must be the bottom of the *sw*-plant. A vulture hieroglyph with a *t*-sign in front of its legs is below, completing the column that reads *hmt nswt mwt nswt*. Only the white crown is preserved in the bottom right part of the following column, indicating that it read *Hnmt-nfr-hdt*, which is then followed by *Wrt* in the next column. To the right is an *ankh*-sign with a *tj*-sign behind it for *ꜥnh.tj*. The arched shape of the tympanum restricted the height of the inscription in this area to only one vertical sign, while the larger space under the apex could accommodate two vertical signs. To the right is a land-sign with a *t*-sign below, and farther right is the vertical part of a cobra’s tail for *dt*. The rest of the snake’s body is not preserved, but was originally situated above the *t*-sign.

To summarize, the tympanum’s inscription reads twice “*jrjt pꜥt hmwt t3wj wrt hts wrt hzt nbt jm3t bnrt mrwt hmt nswt mwt nswt Hnmt-nfr-hdt Wrt ꜥnh.tj dt*,” which can be translated as:

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<sup>275</sup> Compare cat. no. 14.

“Noblewoman, lady of the two lands, great one of the *hṯs*-scepter, great one of praise, mistress of the *jmꜣt*-scepter, sweet of love, king’s wife and king’s mother Khenemetneferhedjet Weret, may she live eternally.”<sup>276</sup>

The complete width of the interior decoration of the entrance lintel is known to be 208 cm (see cat. no. 1), and both the tympanum that sat above it and the tympanum on the opposite wall must have had the same span. The topmost part of the lintel from the entrance wall has small parts of raised objects above the *kheker*-frieze, which can be identified as the very bottom of signs from the tympanum inscription. The bottom of the inscription is fully preserved on this tympanum here, indicating that this piece cannot belong to the entrance wall to the north but must be, instead, the tympanum from the south wall. At the bottom of the piece is a masonry edge. At its deepest preserved point, the tympanum measures 35 cm from the decorated surface to the broken back edge, which shows that the block extended at least this far into the wall above the false door.

The hieroglyphs were not very skillfully arranged; the beak of the *wr*-bird is, for example, touching the *hꜣz*-vase in the *wrt hꜣzt* title on the left, despite the fact that there would have been enough space to position the bird slightly farther back. Crowding of signs can also be observed farther left, where the quail chick, two *t*-signs, and the vulture are positioned very close to one another, partially touching, while the following signs have more space around them. The size of the hieroglyphs seems to vary as well. The *hꜣz*-vase on the right is, for example, 7 mm taller than the one on the left, and the *wr*-bird on the right side is 5 mm taller than on the left. The two land-signs in the center are 10.5 cm long, while the one on the right end is only 8 cm long. The very distinct difference in length of the latter might have been due to the restricted space at the end of the tympanum. It is also notable that the distance of the land-sign from the corner of the wall seems to have been less than that on the north wall (see cat. no. 1 and chapter 5.5).

Blue-green paint is on the *p*-sign, on all three preserved land-signs, on all *t*-signs of the left side of the inscription, as well as on the *t*-sign in the center column, and on the one to the far right. Blue-green paint is also visible on the wing, tail, and head (not on the chest and legs) of all *wr*-birds except that on the farthest right, and on the main part of the left vulture; it does not seem to have been present on the vulture’s chest, legs, or the stripe on the back. It can also be found on the following signs of the tympanum’s left section: the *j*-reed, the main part of the *mꜣ*-sickle (not

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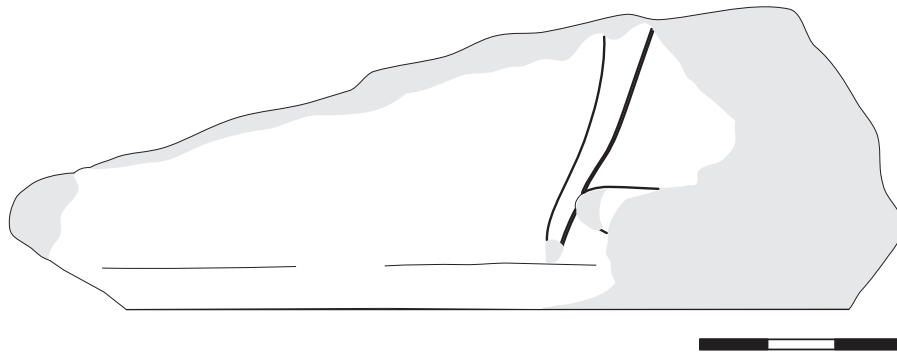
<sup>276</sup> For the queen’s titles, see the appendix in chapter 9.

on the blade itself), the *jm3*-tree, the *bnr*-sign, the *sw*-plant, the *hm*-sign, and the *ankh*-sign. Only the topmost part of both *hz*-vases (the lid, neck, and top of the vessel's body) is painted green. The area with the green paint was separated by an incised line on the *hz*-vase to the right, while the one on the left does not feature such a line. Red paint is on the *mr*-hoe and the *r*-sign on the left, as well as on the arm. Yellow paint is only on the *hmwt*-vessel.

The relief carving is of mediocre to poor quality and rather flat. The signs show some detail but not much, and there is no attempt at modeling. The contours of the signs are often poorly executed (see, for example, the contour of the *t*-sign on the left side, behind the *lmm*-jar). Moreover, the background was often cut down only around the hieroglyph, so that it slopes down toward the sign. This makes the sign look raised, while the greater part of the background was not carved back. This characteristic can be clearly observed around the white crown and the *nfr*-sign on the left side of the piece (see photographic details, above).

The head of the vulture on the left is not preserved, and the area where it was situated is marked by several small, deep gouges, while the surrounding surface is well preserved, indicating that the head was hacked out on purpose. Much of the vulture's head on the tympanum's right side is damaged as well, but its bottom is preserved and there is damage to the surrounding area, making it impossible to determine whether the vulture's head on the right was targeted intentionally as well. In fact, much of the surface of the right half of the tympanum is damaged by a series of long chisel marks, which run both horizontally and vertically. These marks are likely the work of the stone robbers.

**Cat. no. 179**



Left end of inscription from south tympanum

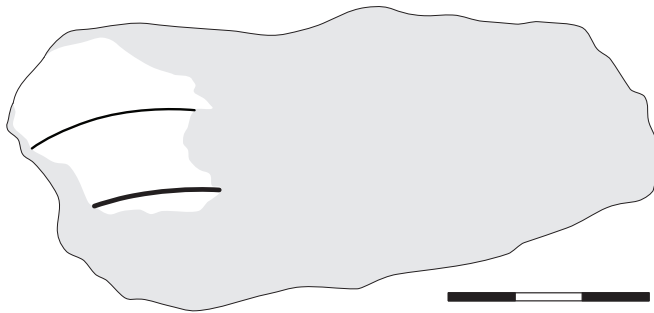
10.3 x 4.3 cm

One fragment: 98.89/10 (L/24)

On the right side is the tail of a cobra facing right. To the right of the tip of its tail is part of a horizontal sign, probably a land-sign, which is touching the tail of the cobra. To the left is blank surface. At the bottom is a masonry edge, and running parallel about 6 mm above it is a horizontal incised line. The background surface is slightly uneven. This piece can be identified as belonging to the end of the tympanum, which reads *ϵnl.tj dt*. This piece probably belongs to the well-preserved south tympanum cat. no. 178, which also has an incised line that runs parallel to the bottom edge. (It is preserved on its right end, where it runs 4 mm from the bottom edge, as compared to the 6 mm of the fragment here, from the opposite end of the tympanum.)

The quality of the relief seems mediocre. There are faint traces of yellow paint on the tail of the cobra.

**Cat. no. 180**



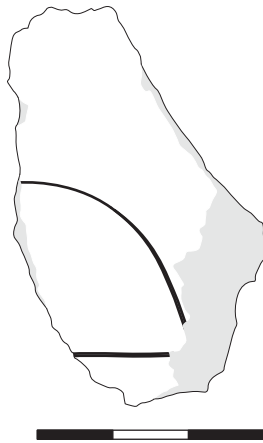
Part of *d*-sign, possibly from south tympanum

3.0 x 2.7 cm

One fragment: 97.767/1 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a broad curved yellow line that very probably belongs to a cobra facing right. This likely depicts the area where the horizontal portion of the snake's body begins to curve down toward its tail. The size of the cobra and the rather flat relief corresponds to the size and style of the inscription on the tympana. Another fragment (cat. no. 179) that derives from the south tympanum depicts the tail of a cobra facing right and could very well be part of the same sign. In the reconstruction the fragment here is shown overlapping the damaged left part of the south tympanum (cat. no. 178); this position is indeed possible and was physically tested with the original pieces.

**Cat. no. 181**



Part of a *t*-sign from a tympanum

2.6 x 5.3 cm

One fragment: 98.77/4 (K/24)

Preserved is the right half of *t*-sign that is rather flat and bordered by an uneven background. These features suggest that this is part of a tympanum. It is unclear to which of the tympana the fragment belongs. Blue-green paint is on the sign.

### 3.9 The South Wall

#### 3.9.1 The Inventory List

##### 3.9.1.1 The Inventory List Facing Left

Cat. no. 182



Top part of inventory list featuring the oil *stj ḥb* facing left with sky and *kheker* above

7.2 x 32.7 cm

Two joining fragments: 98.77/1 (K/24), 98.91/2 (L/24)

At the top are the lower two thirds of a *kheker*-frieze with a horizontal block border at its bottom.

Below is a sky with sculpted stars and farther below is part of a column of inscription. At the top

left is an *s*-sign facing left. Very close to the top right of it is a very small section of another sign

and to the bottom right of it is a rounded contour. Below is a partial *ḥb*-sign. This is part of *stj ḥb*,



a perfumed ointment.<sup>277</sup> The two partial signs to the right of the *s*-sign might be the remains of a *t*-sign at the top and of a bag determinative (Gardiner Sign List V33) below. The large size of the inscription and its content suggest that the piece was originally part of an inventory list. Such an inscription can be placed next to the false door where the oil *stj ḥb* is the first of the seven scared oils that often start a list of oils (see chapter 5.4.1).

The inscription is facing left and has a *kheker* above, suggesting that it originally sat to the top right of the false door. To the left of the *ḥb*-sign is part of a vertical line and farther left is a very small area of background surface. This line separates the inventory list from another decorative element (see chapter 5.4.2, below).

A vertical masonry edge is on the right, and the piece also features two horizontal edges, one at the top through the *kheker* and the second at the bottom through the *ḥb*-sign. The edge on the right is at a 90-degree angle to the surface, while the angles formed by the surface and the top and bottom faces are both less than 90 degrees and show remains of thick plaster (for this feature, see chapter 8.3.5).

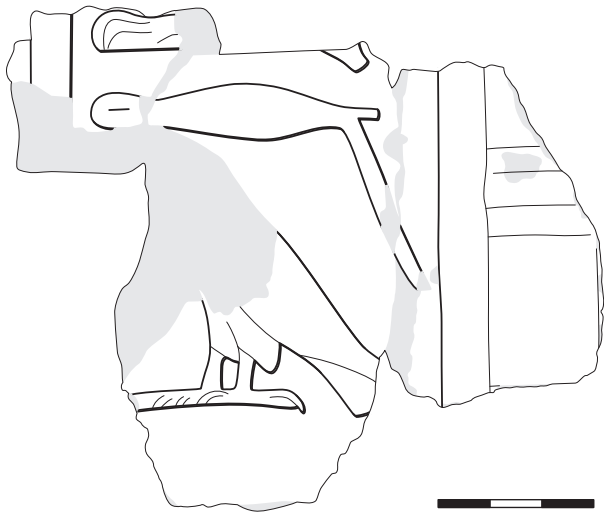
Note that a piece from the opposite side of the list features a horizontal bottom edge in roughly the same area (see cat. no. 187); both pieces can be reconstructed as being part of a “false lintel” that sat above the false door (see chapter 8.3.5). See also the patch stone cat. no. 220, which possibly sat above the piece here or to the top left of it.

The surface is weathered and the bottom part has a patina. Only small areas of paint are preserved. A small amount of red is on the center stripes and on the innermost circles of both *khekers*; a small amount of green is on the outermost circle of the left *kheker*, on the curved outer left stripe of the right *kheker*, and on the background of the sky. Yellow paint is on the stars.

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<sup>277</sup> For *stj ḥb*, see Koura, *Öl- und Fettnamen*, pp. 155–157.

Cat. no. 183



Partial inscription from inventory list facing left with the name of an oil and block border to the right

Three joining fragments: 97.741/1 (K/24), 97.732/4 (K/24), 98.135/2 (K/24)

11.4 x 9.7 cm

At the top left is the partial leg of a lion-forepart hieroglyph; its protruding joint is preserved farther right. Below is a *mḥ*-sign, and farther below is a partially preserved bird that has some yellow paint on its body and is probably a *tjw*-bird (Gardiner Sign List G4). Below the bird-sign is some blank space that makes it likely that no other sign immediately followed. At the top left is some blank space that makes it likely that no other sign immediately followed. At the top left is part of a short vertical line. To the right of the inscription is part of a block border.

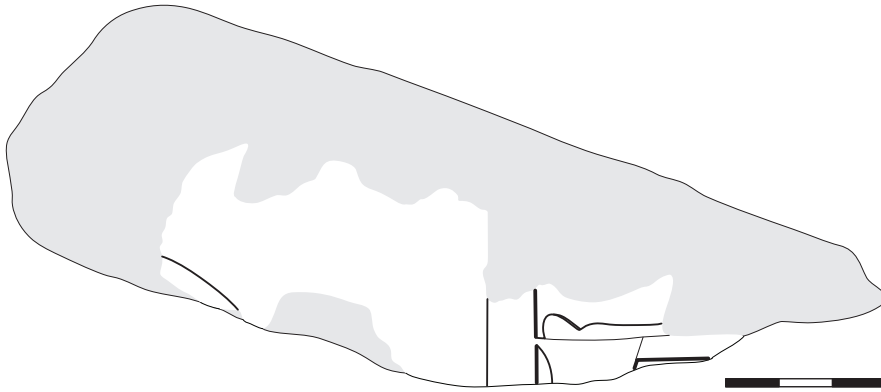
From the east chapel of pyramid 3 two large pieces are preserved (see cat. nos. 240–241) that feature this inscription as part of an inventory list. They also show that *tpt* was the beginning of the name of several oils, probably including the last one in the list reading *tpt nt ḥ3tt mḥtjwṯ* “the very best oil from Lower Egypt.”<sup>278</sup> The small section of a vertical line to the left on the piece here could theoretically be a column line. However, cat. no. 188 does not show a column line, and it is thus more likely that this line is rather part of the *tp*-sign. The block border on the right indicates that *tpt nt ḥ3tt mḥtjwṯ* is shown as the last offering in a row, a position that matches the evidence from the east chapel of pyramid 3.

The quality of the relief carving is mediocre; the signs are very flat and have little detail. The toes are only incised and only the rear one shows the pointed end of a claw. There is green paint on the horizontal part of the *mḥ*-sign and on the vertical line of the border. Yellow paint is on the interior rectangle of the block border and very slight traces of yellow are also on the body of the bird.

**Cat. no. 184**



<sup>278</sup> See Hartwig Altenmüller, “Das Ölmagazin im Grab des Hesire in Saqqara (QS 2405),” in *SAK* 4 (1976), p. 24. Koura, *Öl- und Fettnamen*, p. 124, prefers to interpret similar oil names with *mḥ* “to fill,” but the bird hieroglyph on this piece shows that this is, rather, a specification of from where the oil derives.



Part of falcon standard from linen list facing left, probably with small part of *mwt*-vulture from vertical inscription in front

11.0 x 4.4 cm

One fragment: 97.593 (K/24)

On the right side is part of a falcon on a standard facing left. Only a small segment of the standard and of the falcon's feet with a small bulbous protrusion in front of them are preserved. The falcon standard is commonly used to write *jdmi*-linen.<sup>279</sup> Directly to the left is a broad, green, vertical line. To the left of it is a large blank surface, and at some distance is a small portion of a green object with a slightly curving diagonal contour. The vertical line in front of the falcon standard could be a separation line and might indicate that an additional element was depicted in front of the linen list, such as a column of inscription. The shape and color of the partial object on the left fit with those of a vulture hieroglyph's back. The distance of this element to the vertical line also matches the identification of a vulture-sign facing left (compare cat. no. 210). This piece probably gives the title *mwt nswt* "mother of the king" and belongs to a vertical inscription that gave the titles and name of the queen and was placed between the false door and the inventory list (compare cat. no. 210 and see chapter 5.4.2).

The front part of the standard under the falcon's foot is painted red, and there also seem to be traces of red paint on the standard's horizontal beam. The falcon's feet are yellow and have

<sup>279</sup> See Katrin Scheele, *Die Stofflisten des Alten Reiches: Lexikographie, Entwicklung und Gebrauch*, MENES, Studien zur Kultur und Sprache der ägyptischen Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches 2 (Wiesbaden, 2005), pp. 13–16. See also Jana Jones, "Some Observations on the Dimensions of Textiles in the Old Kingdom Linen Lists," in *Egyptian Culture and Society: Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, ed. by Alexandra Woods, Ann McFarlane, and Susanne Binder, vol. 2, CASAE 38 ([Cairo], 2010), pp. 249, 259, notes 20–21.

thin red contour lines. Such lines were also used to indicate single claws, which were not separated through relief carving. (They are not shown in the drawing because the area is too small).

**Cat. no. 185**



Part of yellow falcon facing left, from inventory list facing left

3.7 x 6.2 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.591/3 (K/24), 98.62/2 (K/24)

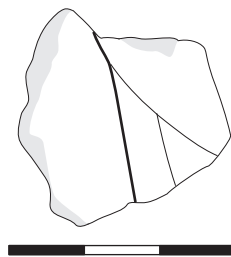
Preserved are the head, chest, and the legs of a yellow falcon. Since it is not painted green as falcon hieroglyphs usually are, one can assume that this is part of a falcon standard of a linen list specifying the *jdmj*-linen, which is typically featured in yellow.<sup>280</sup> Below is damaged surface with a very small area of preserved surface farther below, at the bottom of the piece. It is difficult to judge, but it seems that this is background and not a raised surface. The falcon is facing left, which indicates that this is part of the linen list to the right of the false door.

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<sup>280</sup> See, for example, Peter der Manuelian, *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis*, PPYE 7 (New Haven and Philadelphia, 2003), pls. 1, 11, 25.

The falcon is painted yellow and along its contours are thin red lines, which also run along the incised interior lines. On the back of its head are additional parallel thin red lines that run slightly diagonally. A thin red line is also visible between the beak and the face. The quality of the carving is mediocre; the face is not modeled and the eye is only shown through incised lines, but much care was given to indicate additional details in paint.

**Cat. no. 186**



Part of yellow bird facing left, probably from the inventory list facing left

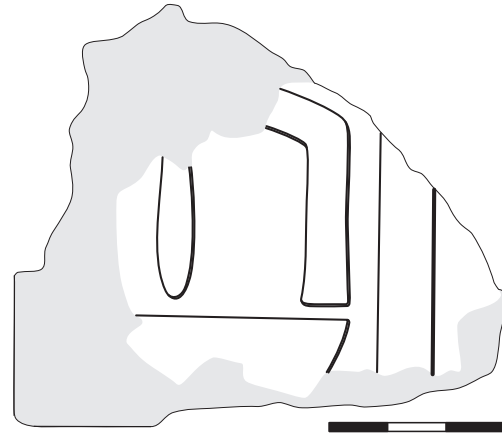
One fragment: 97.591/4 (K/24)

2.7 x 2.8 cm

Only the upper part of the legs and part of the wing of a yellow falcon or of a *tjuw*-bird (Gardiner Sign List G4) are preserved. Thin red paint lines run along the contour and along the incised lines. Falcon hieroglyphs are usually painted green (see, for example, cat. no. 213), but the falcons on standards in the linen list are typically yellow (see, for example, cat. no. 184). However, this could also be a *tjuw*-bird (Gardiner Sign List G4), which was painted yellow on cat. no. 183. In any case, this small fragment can be assigned to the inventory list facing left, which can be placed to the right of the false door.

### 3.9.1.2 The Inventory List Facing Right

#### Cat. no. 187



Part of a vertical inscription, probably naming the oil *stj ḥb* from the inventory list facing right  
7.0 x 5.5 cm

One fragment: 98.160 (K/24)

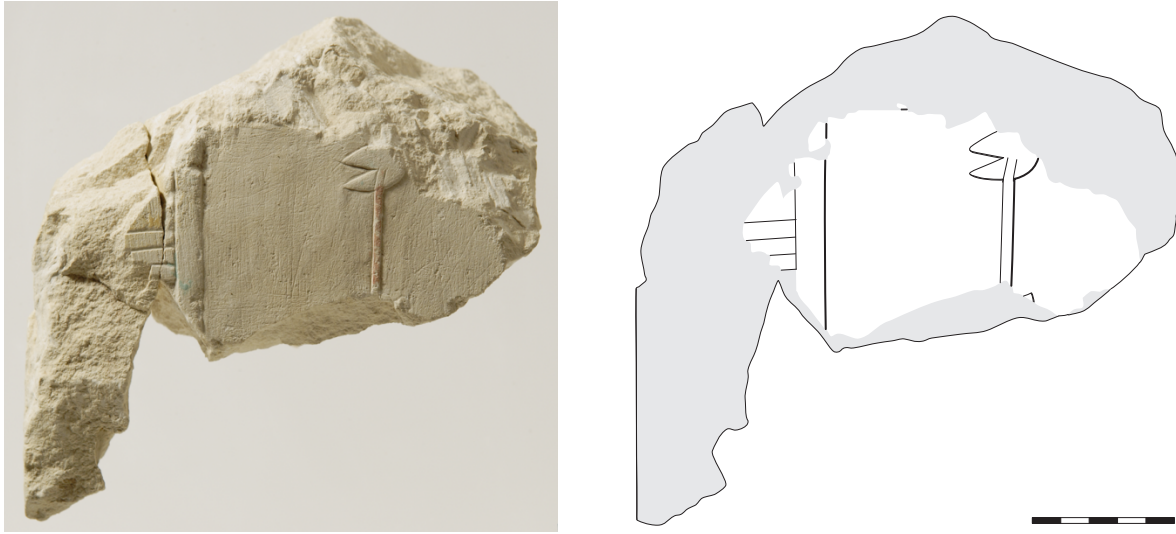
The fragment shows a partial *ḥb*-sign (Gardiner Sign List W4). This hieroglyph appears in the name of the oil *stj ḥb*,<sup>281</sup> and the large size of the hieroglyph corresponds to that of the inventory list. To the right is part of a long vertical line with some blank surface farther right. Since the offering *stj ḥb* is already preserved from the list facing left (see cat. no. 182), this piece can be assigned to the list facing right, which was situated to the top left of the false door. This oil is the first oil of the seven sacred oils, and the vertical line probably separates the first vertical column of the inventory list from another element of the decoration (see chapter 5.4.2). A horizontal masonry edge and a vertical one are at the bottom left of the piece. Only small parts of these edges are preserved, but it seems that the vertical edge is at a right angle to the surface, while the bottom edge seems to have an angle of slightly less than 90 degrees. Note that a piece from the same area on the opposite side features a horizontal edge that is also less than 90 degrees (see cat. no. 182); both pieces can be reconstructed as part of a block that sat above the false door (see chapter 8.3.5).

<sup>281</sup> For *stj ḥb*, see Koura, *Öl- und Fettnamen*, pp. 155–157.



The relief is rather flat. There is yellow paint on the *ḥb*-sign and green is on the column line.

**Cat. no. 188**



Part of a thousand-sign facing right with a corner block border to the left, from the inventory list facing right

Two joining fragments: 98.62/1 (K/24), 98.71/3(K/24)

13.9 x 8.2 cm

On the left side is part of a block border. Some distance to the right is a large *ḥ3*-thousand-sign facing right. Its stem is red and runs into the center of the green leaf. At the top left is a very small part of a raised object, which may have been part of a horizontal line.

On the left side is a vertical masonry edge that runs at about an 85-degree angle to the surface. The block border is only partially preserved, but the space between its right outmost contour and the masonry edge is wider than that of a block border alone and shows that this was probably a corner block border. However, the available width is 1.4 cm narrower than the usual corner block borders. Possibly there was a very thick layer of plaster here. This fragment is probably part of the left side of a block that was placed to the left of the false door, as these blocks seem to feature vertical block edges that were cut at acute angles to the surface (see

chapter 5.4.1). It is unclear in which row it was situated, and the position within the reconstruction is one of several possibilities.

Placing the piece into a reconstruction seems to show that no column lines existed between the  $h_3$ -signs, as one would expect to see remains of such a line on the right of the piece here (see fig. 19). However, since this is based on the reconstructed spacing of several such signs, the piece cannot be seen as secure evidence that this feature did not exist.

The stem of the plant runs into the center of the green leaf, but only the portion that is completely outside of the leaf is painted red. On the vertical part of the block border are the remains of green paint, and yellow seems to be at its top (on the partially preserved square).

**Cat. no. 189**



Part of yellow falcon facing right, from the inventory list facing right<sup>282</sup>

2.5 x 3.6 cm

One fragment: 98.128/3 (K/24)

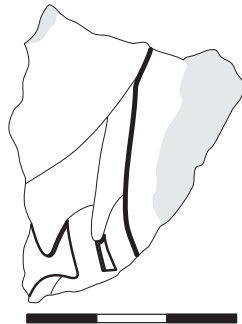
Preserved are parts of a falcon's leg and of the wing overlapping the tail. The straight contour of an object is below the foot, which indicates that this falcon was probably on a standard and

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<sup>282</sup> The exact position of the falcon-standard-signs facing left or right cannot be determined for each sign, but they can be reconstructed as being part of the top register of the linen list, and, based on the direction they are facing, it can also be determined whether they derive from the left or right side of the wall (see chapter 5.4.1). The sequence of these signs as shown in the reconstruction could very well have been different.

signifies the *jdmj*-linen. All elements are painted yellow, which fits this identification. There are faint remains of thin red contour lines along the outer contours and the incised lines.

**Cat. no. 190**



Part of yellow bird facing right, from the inventory list facing right

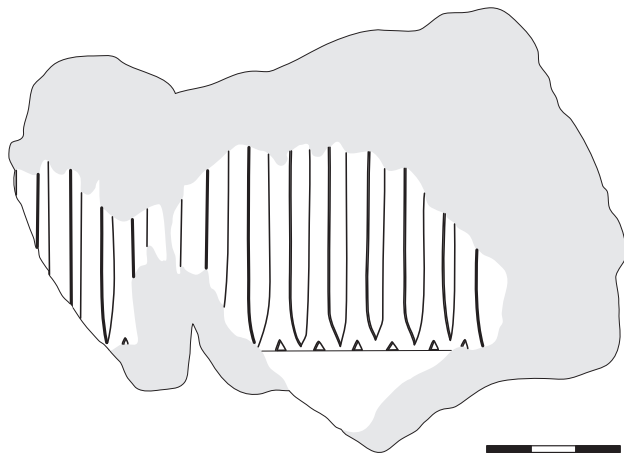
2.5 x 4.1 cm

One fragment: 98.128/2 (K/24)

Preserved are a claw, the legs, and part of the body of a bird. All are painted yellow and there are faint remains of thin red contour lines. The color indicates either that this is part of a falcon standard as part of the linen list or that this is part of a *tjw*-bird (Gardiner Sign List G4), which was painted yellow on cat. no. 183.

### 3.9.1.3 The Inventory List, No Direction<sup>283</sup>

#### Cat. no. 191



“Inverted V” fringe-signs with part of a vertical line from a falcon standard in-between  
11.3 x 6.7 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.594 (K/24), 98.161 (K/24)

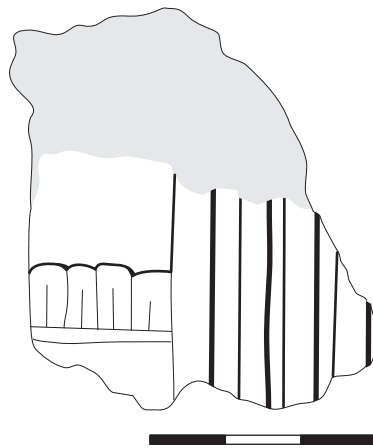
On the piece are several parallel vertical lines. Some of them preserve their forked ends. These are “inverted V” fringe-signs that indicate the dimensions of a fabric.<sup>284</sup> At the bottom right is a raised area with a horizontal contour, on which seven “inverted V” fringe-signs sit. The vertical line to the left of these seven fringes is slightly broader and shows the remains of yellow paint and of a thin red contour line on the right. This line does not belong to an “inverted V” fringe-

<sup>283</sup> The position of the pieces within the reconstruction represents only one of many possibilities.

<sup>284</sup> See Jana Jones, in *Egyptian Culture and Society*, pp. 250–254.

sign but can be identified as part of the vertical shaft of a falcon standard. To the right of the seven fringe-signs is a small area of preserved background that is slightly wider than the gaps between the fringe-signs. This shows that no more fringe-signs followed and that a total of seven fringes appeared in this area. To the left of the falcon standard are five more vertical lines that belong to more “inverted V” fringe-signs. Both these units of “inverted V” fringe-signs indicate the measurements of the two *jd mj*-linens that are specified as such by falcon standards above.

**Cat. no. 192**



Part of linen list indicating dimensions

4.7 x 3.5 cm

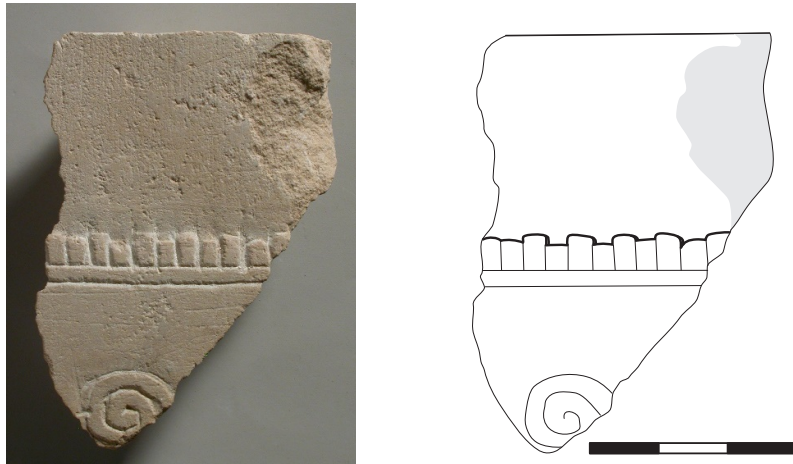
One fragment: 98.86/4 (L/24)

On the right side are three parallel lines, which are very probably part of “inverted V” fringe-signs. To the left of them is a vertical yellow line, which is slightly broader and probably belongs to a falcon standard. Directly next to it is part of a rectangle with a short fringe at the top that consists of several rounded ends.<sup>285</sup> Within the area of the rectangle, but not preserved here, was originally the specification of the dimensions of the linen, which would have been written with either short horizontal strokes or the sign for *št* (100). The areas to both sides of the vertical

<sup>285</sup> Note that the fringe is depicted differently from that on cat. no. 193.

standard give the measurements of the linens that are specified as *jdmj*-linen by the falcon standard(s) above (see chapter 5.4.1).

**Cat. no. 193**



Part of linen list indicating dimensions

3.7 x 6.2 cm

One fragment: 97.732/5 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a raised area with a straight contour and a fringe at the top. The fringe consists of several short rectangular ends that alternate between slightly shorter and longer.<sup>286</sup> Inside the raised area (the fabric) is the sign for *št* (100). The combination of the fringed rectangle with the number 100 specifies the textile's dimensions of 100 square cubits.<sup>287</sup> The sign itself is facing right, but the sign's direction unfortunately cannot be used to determine whether the fragment belongs to a linen list facing left or right, as this sign does not necessarily need to share the orientation of the list.<sup>288</sup>

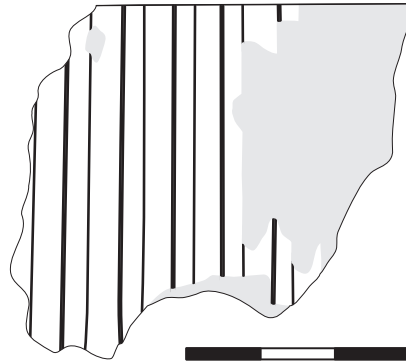
A horizontal masonry edge is at the top. In the reconstruction the piece is used as part of the linen list to the right of the false door, but it could have been positioned on the opposite side.

<sup>286</sup> The fringe has a different shape from that of cat. no. 192.

<sup>287</sup> Jones, in *Egyptian Culture and Society*, p. 254.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

**Cat. no. 194**



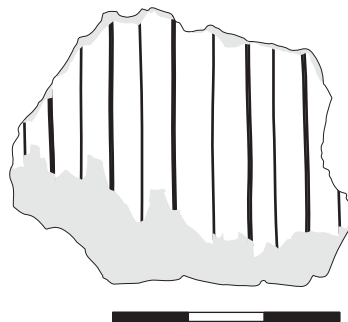
Parts of “inverted V” fringe-signs from linen list

4.3 x 4.8

One fragment: 98.67/1 (K/24)

The piece features six narrow parallel lines, of which the longest one seems to widen slightly. This is part of an “inverted V” fringe-sign, which is used to indicate the dimensions of a fabric. The other lines are presumably parts of more of such signs. A horizontal masonry edge is at the top. This piece could come from the same block as cat. no. 193, which also shows a masonry edge at the top.

**Cat. no. 195**



Parts of “inverted V” fringe-signs from linen list and shaft of falcon standard

4.6 x 3.2



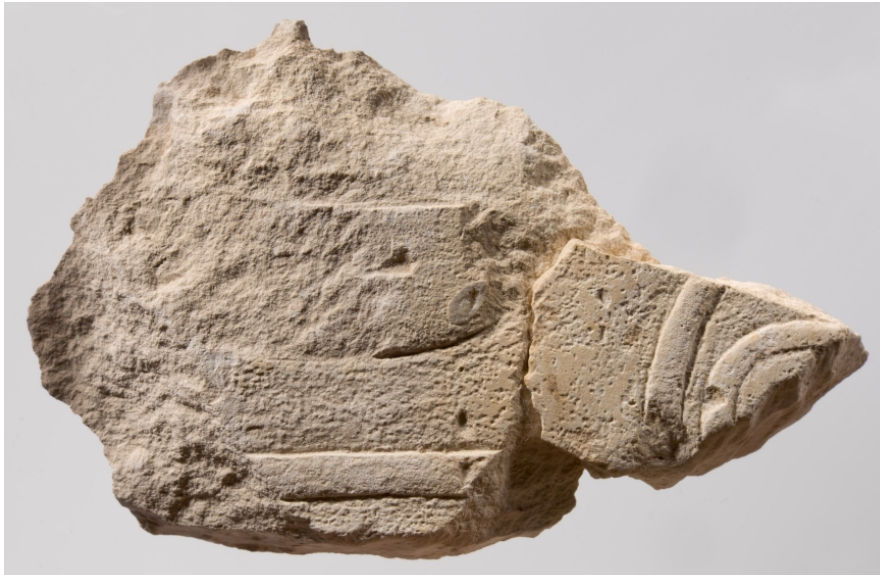
One fragment: 97.753/7 (K/24)

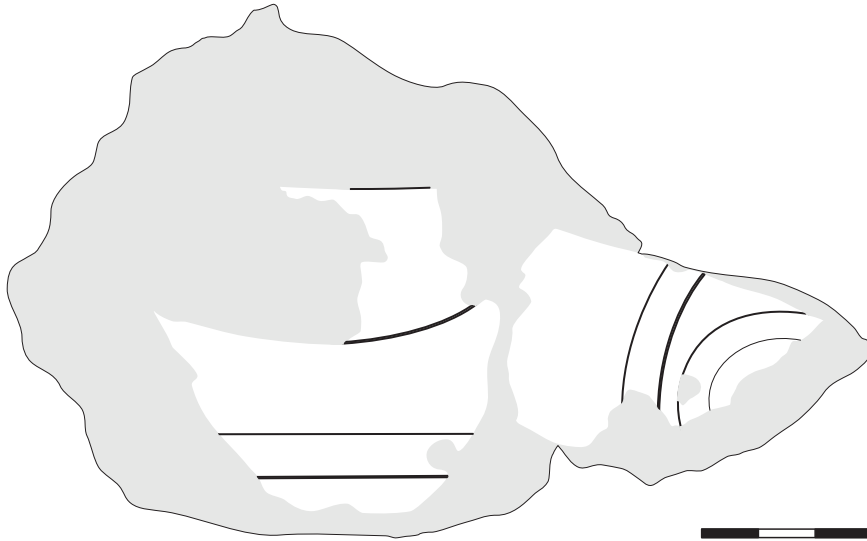
Preserved are six parallel straight lines that are presumably oriented vertically. The fourth line from the right in the orientation shown here is slightly wider and has yellow paint on it. This line is probably part of a falcon standard specifying *jdmj*-linen, while the lines to the left and right of it belong to “inverted V” fringe-signs, which give the measurements of the linens.

### 3.9.2 The Building Dedication Inscription

#### 3.9.2.1 Horizontal Part of the Building Dedication Inscription That Includes the Name of the King

Cat. no. 196





Part of king's title *nb t3wj* and of a cartouche, presumably of Senwosret III and facing left

11.1 x 6.0 cm

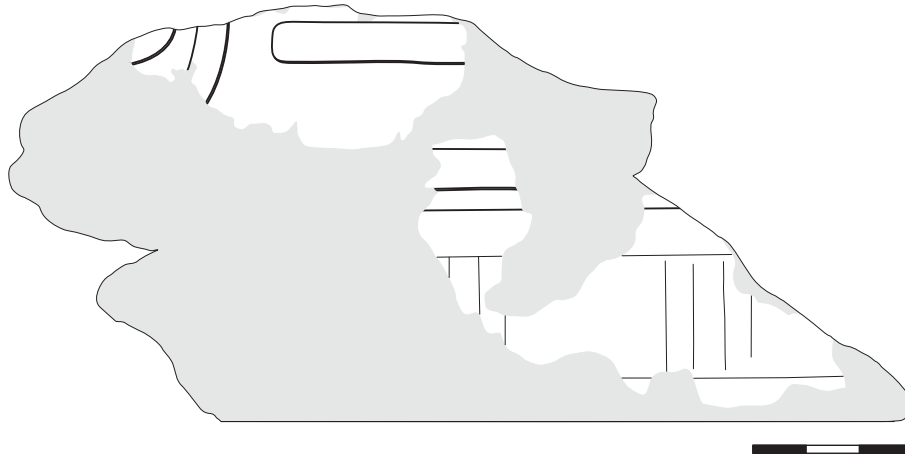
Two joining fragments: 98.135/9 (K/24), 98.135/11 (K/24)

At the top left is part of a large *nb*-basket, and some distance below is a *t3wj*-sign. Both belong to the king's title *nb t3wj*. To the right is a curving line that is part of the cartouche ring, and a partial *r<sup>c</sup>*-sign is to the right of it. The sun disk appears in the throne names of all Dynasty 12 kings, including that of Senwosret III, who is presumably named here. The position of the title and the cartouche ring shows that this is most likely part of a horizontal inscription facing left. The size of the *nb*-sign and of the partial cartouche corresponds to the *ntr*-sign of cat. no. 203, suggesting that this piece belongs to an inscription in which the king is called *ntr nfr nb t3wj*.<sup>289</sup> As will be shown later, this is part of a building dedication inscription (see chapter 5.4.2).

The surface has a slight patina and no paint is preserved.

<sup>289</sup> Compare the inscription on one of the tympana of the king's north chapel; see Oppenheim, in *Ancient Memphis*, p. 410, fig. 5.

Cat. no. 197



Part of cartouche and king's title facing right with horizontal block border below

14.2 x 7.2 cm

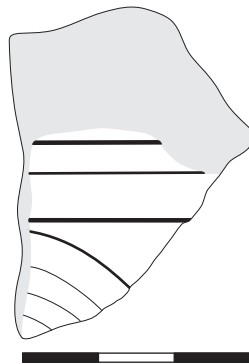
Two joining fragments: 97.740/4 (K/24), 98.89/6 (L/24)

The piece shows portions of two parallel lines. To one side of them are a curved line and a small part of a sign. The lines can be identified as land-signs and as part of the king's title *nb t3wj*, which is followed by a cartouche ring, indicating that this probably belongs to a horizontal cartouche facing right. The partial sign inside is most probably a sun disk. The *r<sup>c</sup>*-sign appears in the throne names of all Dynasty 12 kings, including that of Senwosret III, who is most likely named here. At the bottom is a horizontal block border with a masonry edge directly next it. This must be a border that runs around the top of an architectural element. The possibility can be

excluded that this border sat above a real door, because the edge is not smooth, but rough. It could, however, have been placed above the false door.

The masonry edge is at an angle of about 85 degrees to the decorated surface. Such an edge usually indicates that the piece was inserted later, for example as a patch stone. If the whole block had an edge like this, then the whole block was inserted after other building elements were in place (see chapter 8.3.5). The relief seems very flat and the raised signs are not rounded across the surface; this could be due to the fact that the surface of the relief decoration is eroded. No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 198**



Part of a cartouche, presumably of Senwosret III

One fragment: 97.688/7 (K/24)

2.6 x 2.9 cm

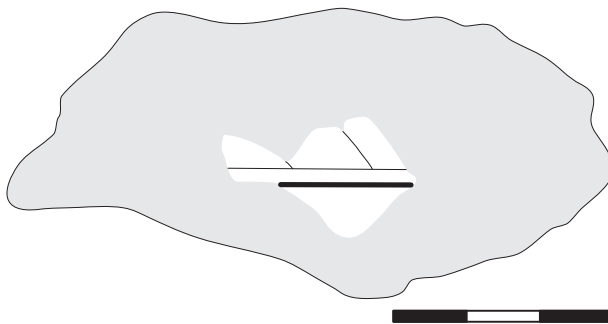
Preserved is part of a  $h^c j$ -sunrise-sign, and very close to it is a straight, green line that is presumably part of a cartouche ring. To the other side of the straight cartouche line is a narrow strip of blank surface and the straight contour of another object, which runs parallel to the cartouche. The sunrise-sign is extremely close to the cartouche ring, which shows that it must have shared the space with another sign. The preserved decoration could belong either to the top right part of a sunrise-sign with a horizontal cartouche ring above (as shown in the photograph and drawing) or to the left part of the sunrise-sign from a vertical cartouche, with part of the ring to its left. The fragment could belong to the same sign as cat. no. 199. In that case, the fragment

here would overlap the damaged area of the other piece, an arrangement that was tested with the fragments and is indeed possible. (It is shown in this position in the reconstruction drawing.)

If this is part of a horizontal cartouche, then the straight horizontal contour at the top could be the bottom of a sky or a horizontal dividing line. The sunrise-sign appears in the throne names of both Senwosret II and Senwosret III; the latter was presumably named here.

Red paint is on the third outermost stripe.

**Cat. no. 199**



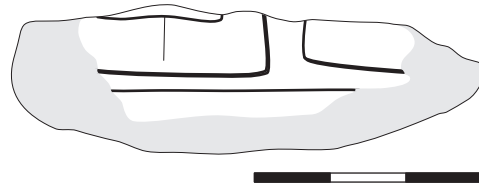
Part of  $h^c j$ -sunrise-sign, presumably part of cartouche of Senwosret III

2.7 x 1.7 cm

One fragment: 98.62/6 (K/24)

Only a small part of a  $h^c j$ -sunrise-sign is preserved, but it could belong to the same sign as cat. no. 198. The fragment presumably derives from a cartouche of Senwosret III (see cat. no. 198). There is green paint on the leftmost section, the horizontal bottom line, and the middle stripe; red paint is on the section on the farthest right.

**Cat. no. 200**



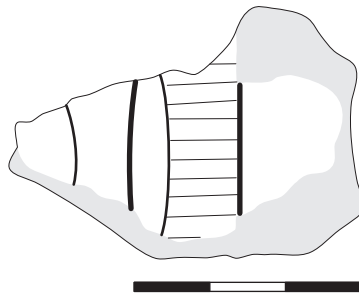
Part of a horizontal cartouche, presumably of Senwosret III

4.5 x 1.6 cm

One fragment: 98.89/9 (L/24)

On the left side of the piece is the lower portion of a *ka*-arm-sign with a vertical incised line that designates the center of the arms. To the right is the left bottom corner of another *ka*-arm-sign. Below both signs is part of a straight cartouche ring. The cartouche must be oriented horizontally. *Ka*-arms appear in the throne names of Amenemhat II and Senwosret III, but Senwosret III is presumably named here. No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 201**



Probably part of a horizontal cartouche of Senwosret III facing left

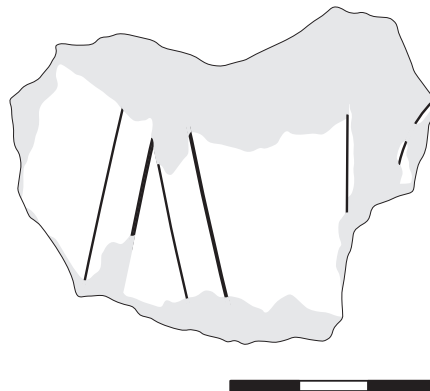
4.3 x 2.9 cm

One fragment: 97.756/5 (K/24)

The fragment preserves the knotted element of a cartouche ring. Parallel to it is part of a line that widens slightly toward both broken ends, but more so to one end. This is probably part of a *ka*-arm-sign, which widens toward the elbow and toward the hand. It probably belongs to the

cartouche of Senwosret III (see cat. no. 200). The curve of the arm is wider at one end, and the wider part is probably the top part, where the arm widens toward the thumb of the hand. In this orientation, the bound end of the cartouche is on the right, which indicates that this is part of a horizontal cartouche facing left. A small amount of green paint is on the cartouche ring.

**Cat. no. 202**



Probably top part of *dj*-sign with very small part of the bound end of a cartouche facing right  
6.0 x 3.9 cm

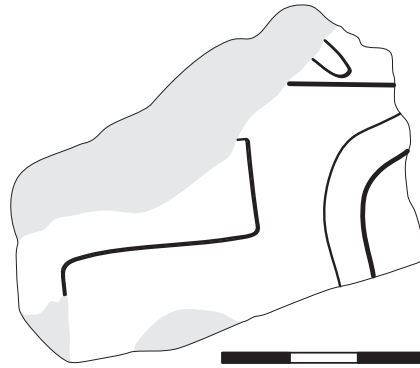
One fragment: 98.90/3 (L/24)

Preserved are two lines that run at an angle toward one another and meet; this is probably part of a *dj*-sign. To the right is part of an object with a straight vertical contour. In addition there are very faint remains of a curved outline. This is probably the bound end of a cartouche. A faint, horizontal incised line is possibly a secondary scratch and was not included in the drawing.

The *dj*-sign has faint traces of yellow paint.



**Cat. no. 203**



Part of horizontal inscription reading  $\text{^c}n\dot{h} ntr$  facing right, with sky above

6.1 x 4.6 cm

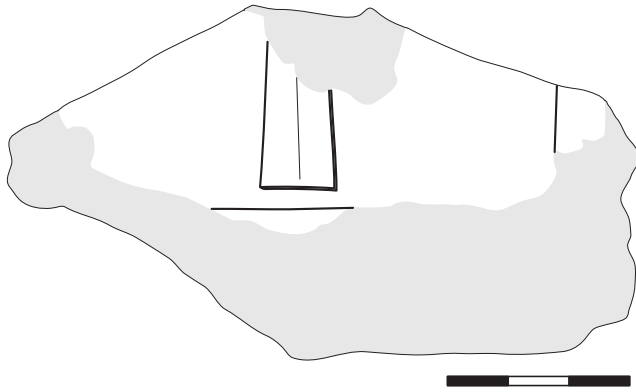
One fragment: 98.147/4 (K/24)

At the top is a very small section of a sky with a sculpted arm of a star. Below, on the right side is a curved, relatively narrow line. This is very likely part of the top loop of an *ankh*-sign. To the left of it is the top of a *ntr*-sign<sup>290</sup> facing right. This is very probably the center of a horizontal inscription that was placed above the false door (see chapter 5.4.2). A small amount of green paint is on the sky and traces of yellow are on the star arm.

**Cat. no. 204**



<sup>290</sup> Hypothetically, this could also be a natron-sign (Gardiner Sign List R9), but the combination of this sign with an *ankh*-sign and the occurrence of the king's cartouche on other pieces suggest that this is not the case.



Fragment with part of an inscription, possibly with bottom of *ankh*-sign

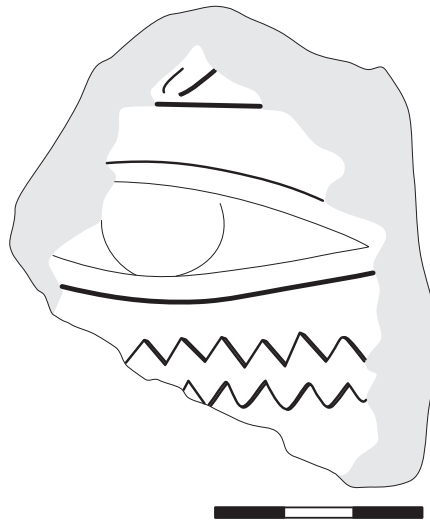
9.2 x 3.9 cm

One fragment: 97.732/3 (K/24)

The piece preserves part of a line with a straight end and with an incised line in its center, parallel to the outer contours. This could be the bottom or one of the side arms of an *ankh*-sign. Running perpendicular to it is the straight contour of another object. Close to the fragment's broken edge and parallel to the possible *ankh* is also a short straight contour of an object with two small incised lines or secondary scratches inside it (visible in the photograph, but not included in the drawing). If one orients the line with the straight end as the bottom part of an *ankh*-sign, then part of a horizontal line is below. The partial object to the right could in this case be the bottom shaft of a *ntr*-sign. From cat. no. 203 we know that the inscription  $\epsilon n\bar{h}y ntr$  indeed appeared, which makes this a very likely possibility. Placing these two pieces in a reconstruction shows that in this case the space between the shaft of the *ntr*-sign and the *ankh*-sign would not have been the same as on the left side and that thus the *ntr*-sign on the right would have been narrower than the left one. This could have been a slight variation, but the possibility cannot be excluded that this identification is incorrect.

No paint is preserved.

Cat. no. 205



Part of an inscription reading *jrj.n* facing left with sky above

4.8 x 6.3 cm

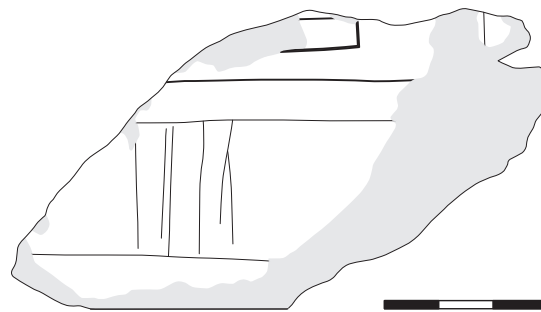
One fragment: 98.135/1 (K/24)

At the top is a small, lower part of a sky with a sculpted arm of a star. Below is an *jrj*-eye, and a partial *n*-sign is farther below. The hieroglyphs are too large to belong to a slaughtering or offering-bearer scene. The size matches that of the vertical inscription above the queen, but this inscription does not have a sky directly above it; rather, a protective bird is between the sky and the inscription (see cat. no. 58). Inscriptions below a sky are, however, known from the top of the south wall. On the sides of the south wall were inventory lists and the size of the signs would fit, but the first register should list oils, and an oil starting with *jrj n* is not known for this inscription. In the center of the wall, directly above the false door, was probably a horizontal inscription that included the king's name at the top (see chapter 5.4.2). The size of the hieroglyphs here matches, and since this piece reads *jrj* and *n*, it can be suggested that this is part of a building dedication inscription in which the king is named as having built the chapel for the queen.<sup>291</sup>

<sup>291</sup> Such an inscription usually starts with the name of the king, followed by *jrj.n=f m mww=f*, or similar; for building inscription in general and for specific examples, see Silke Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen: Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierunginschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie*, ADAIK 18 (Berlin, 2001), especially pp. 34, 46, 512–514.

The top part of the pupil is overlapped by the upper lid, while its bottom curve meets the bottom lid. These details are shown only through incised lines; the eye is not modeled. The *n*-sign is very flat; either it never had a top edge or it is now completely worn down. The surface is weathered and has a slight patina. No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 206**



Block border from around the false door with parts of two signs

8.9 x 5.3 cm

One fragment: 97.740/2 (K/24)

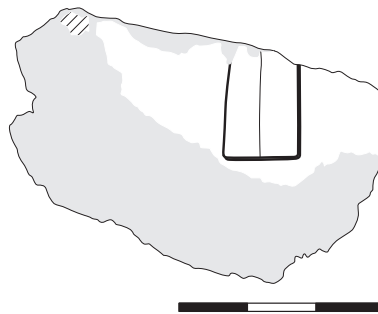
The piece features a block border with a masonry edge running along it on one side. The masonry edge is rough and positioned at an angle of about 84 degree to the decorated surface. This block border cannot have originated from the corner of a wall, as it does not have the additional vertical stripes that corner block borders have. It could not have derived from the vertical borders next to the doorway, either, because they should feature a curved doorframe. If it had been part of the horizontal border immediately above the door, then one would expect a nice smooth masonry edge at a right angle to the surface, since this edge would have been the bottom of the lintel and the top of the doorway. The border here can, rather, be identified as belonging to the block border that framed the false door either vertically or horizontally. A masonry edge immediately adjacent to it with an angle of less than 90 degrees to the surface indicates that the block was installed after the false door was positioned.

Above the border is a relatively thin line, and farther right is a vertical incised line that belongs to a raised object, of which no contours are preserved. These two partial objects can be identified as the bottom right corner of a *dj*-sign and as the bottom of an *ankh*-sign that features a

vertical incised line. This is the expression *dj* <sup>ϵ</sup>*nh*, which often follows the king's name and was part of a horizontal inscription above the false door (see chapter 5.4.2). This shows that the border belongs to the horizontal frame around the false door.

The quality of the relief carving is not good; the incised lines of the block border are executed sloppily. No paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 207**



Possible part of *ankh*-sign with very small part of another sign to the left

4.8 x 2.6 cm

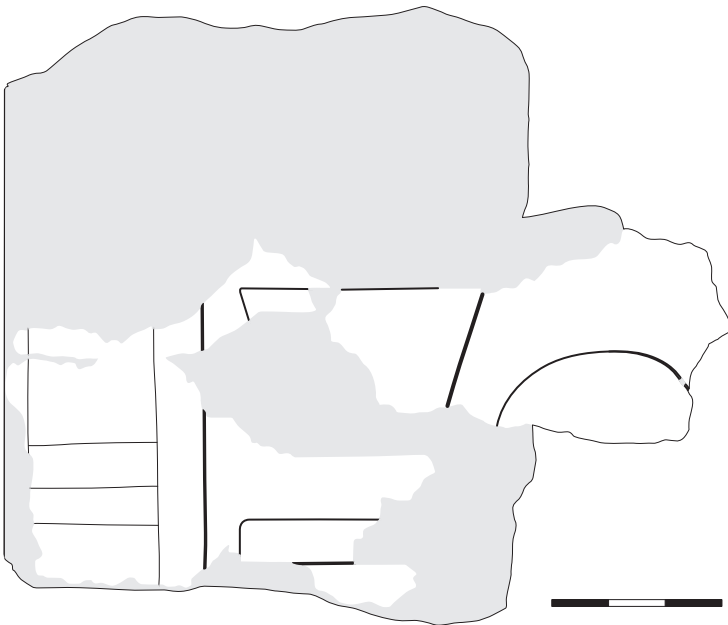
One fragment: 97. 747/5 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a broad line with a straight end and a parallel, incised line in its center. This might be part of an *ankh*-sign. The orientation of the fragment is not immediately clear; this could be the end of the vertical part of the sign or of one of its horizontal “arms.” To one side is a small part of an object, but its contour is not preserved. If one orients the fragment as the bottom of an *ankh*-sign and places it into the reconstruction of the horizontal inscription above the false door (see fig. 20 and chapter 5.4.2), then the small part of an object on the left is situated in the perfect position to be part of an *f*-viper from the left end of the inscription, which was facing right and read <sup>ϵ</sup>*nh* *jri.n=f*. (*Jri.n* would have been written above the *f*-viper.) Theoretically the small, partial object could also have been the end of the triangular shaft of a *dj*-sign from the right side of the inscription (as part of *dj* <sup>ϵ</sup>*nh*), but this is unlikely, as cat. no. 206 seems to feature the bottom of this *ankh*-sign.

If this interpretation is correct, then this fragment belongs to an inscription facing right that probably followed the king's cartouche. The surface has a patina and shows no paint.

### 3.9.2.2 Vertical Part of the Building Dedication Inscription with Titles of the Queen

Cat. no. 208



Part of title *ḥmwt t3wj* facing left with vertical border to the left

12.8 x 6.6 cm

Three joining fragments: 97.542 (K/24), 97.700/3 (K/24), 98.147/5 (K/24)

On the left is part of a vertical block border. To the right of it is part of a *hmwt*-vessel with a partial *t*-sign to the right and the left end of a *t3*-sign below. This is part of the title *hmwt t3wj* “lady of the two lands” facing left.<sup>292</sup> The block border has a vertical masonry edge directly next to it at an angle about 82 degrees to the surface. The edge is rough and has plaster on it. This is not a block border from the corner of the wall, as corner borders have additional vertical stripes. It also does not belong next to the entrance door, as it does not have a curved doorframe next to it. This piece can be identified as having sat directly next to the false door, which also fits the fact that its masonry edge does not meet the decorated surface at a right angle (see chapter 8.3.5). The inscription on the piece here presents a title and is not part of the inventory list. Cat. no. 184 and the piece here suggest that a column of inscription was placed in front of the inventory list. Reconstructing the wall allows one to see this vertical inscription as part of a building dedication inscription that begins above the false door (see chapter 5.4.2).

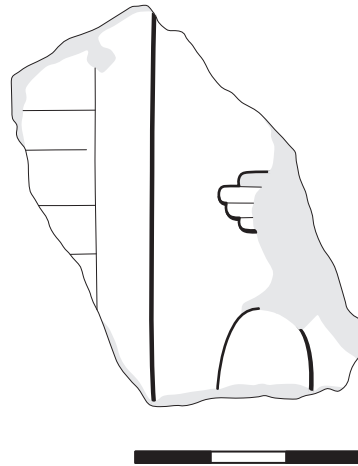
The *hmwt*-vessel is painted yellow, with thin red contour lines. Yellow paint is also on the top square of the block border and around the partially preserved *hmwt*-sign. Blue-green paint is on the *t*-sign, the *t3*-sign, the vertical lines of the block border, and the bottom square of the border. The sculpting of the *t*-sign is relatively flat and its contour is slightly irregular. The relief quality seems mediocre.

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<sup>292</sup> For the queen’s titles, see the appendix in chapter 9.



**Cat. no. 209**



Two partial hieroglyphs next to a block border

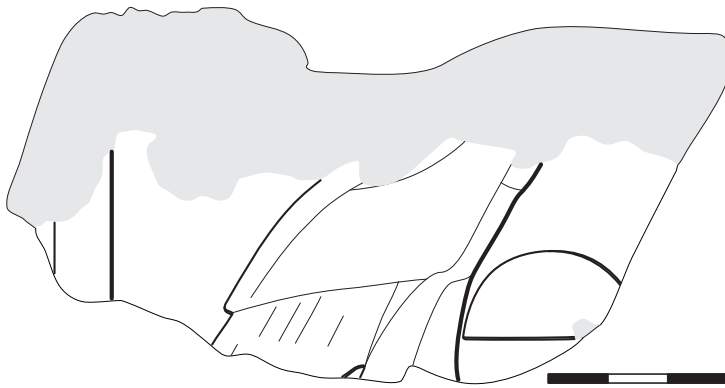
4.4 x 5.2 cm

One fragment: 98.239/1 (K/24)

Preserved are two partial signs next to a block border. One can be identified as the fingertips of a hand that belongs to an  $\epsilon$ -arm-sign facing left. The other partial sign below is very probably the top of a *h*ts-scepter. In the spelling of *jrjt p $\epsilon$ t*, the  $\epsilon$ -arm is usually written last. And in the title *wrt h*ts, the *h*ts-scepter is usually featured first, in front of the *wr*-bird (see cat. nos. 14 and 178). The two partial signs can thus be identified as belonging to the two titles *jrjt p $\epsilon$ t* and *wrt h*ts, which follow each other as part of a vertical inscription. This shows that the title *hmwt t3wj* did not follow *jrjt p $\epsilon$ t* as it does on the south tympanum (see cat. no. 178). To the left is a section of a vertical block border.

The surface is eroded, but there are still remains of green paint on the vertical line of the block border.

Cat. no. 210



Part of *mwt* facing right, possibly from vertical inscription next to false door

Two joining fragments: 97.599 (K/24), 97.652/1 (K/24)

10.6 x 4.3 cm

Preserved is most of the body of a *mwt*-vulture facing right, with its head and feet missing. In front of it is a *t*-sign. This is probably part of the title *mwt nswt* “mother of the king.” To the left is part of a broad vertical line, which could belong to a vertical sign or to a separation or column line.

The size of the signs fits the vertical inscription above the queen, but a large portion of this inscription facing right is preserved and shows that this title was not included in the text (see cat. no. 58). The column line is also slightly broader than those on cat. no. 58. The painted surface and the style of the carving do not fit to the exterior lintel inscription (and the vulture hieroglyph facing right is preserved, in any case, on cat. no. 14). The size of the inscription is smaller than that of the preserved tympanum from the south wall. The tympanum pieces also usually feature a slightly uneven surface, and the background is often not fully carved away. The

piece here shows a nicely flattened surface to the left of the vulture and a slightly uneven background surface to the right of it. The overall carving is thus not distinctive enough to say that this piece derives from the tympanum, and it might not have. If this piece belongs to the south tympanum, then the vertical line could be part of a *nfr*-sign (compare cat. no. 178), but other possibilities should be considered.

The size of the vulture-sign corresponds to various other inscriptions that appear on the south wall. The inscription above the false door seems to have been written horizontally and in this case the vertical line behind the vulture would be slightly problematic, as the *sw*-plant would be expected in front and as Khenemetneferhedjet should follow this title. The inscription *mwt* does not belong to the inventory list itself, but there seems to have been a vertical inscription that continued the horizontal inscription and was situated in front of the inventory list, next to the false door (see chapter 5.4.2). Cat. no. 208 suggests that this inscription included the queen's titles. The vertical line behind the *mwt*-vulture fits well as separation line between the inventory list and this inscription. See also cat. no. 184, which probably represents a very small part of a vulture-sign from the opposite side with such a vertical line behind it.

The quality of the relief is mediocre; the different parts of the vulture are separated only by incised lines and there is no modeling. Green paint is on the vertical line, the *t*-bread, and most of the vulture except its chest. On the lower area of the chest is red paint.

### 3.9.3 Borders from Around the False Door

#### Cat. no. 211



Part of a block border from around the false door

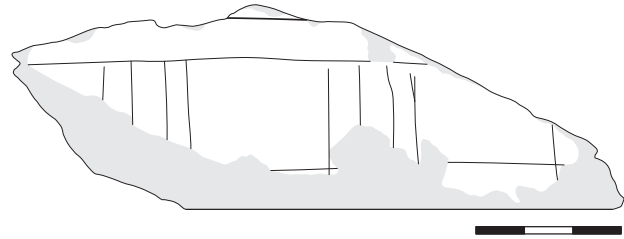
11.6 x 4.6 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.716/2 (K/24), 98.126/2 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a block border with a small preserved area of background to the side and, on the other side, a masonry edge that runs at about an 85-degree angle to the surface. The piece can be reconstructed as having been situated to the side of the false door or above it (for the reasons see cat. no. 206).

The larger fragment of this piece shows traces of burning, especially on its masonry edge. The edge of the joining fragment, on the other hand, does not have even the faintest traces of burning, indicating that this occurred after the pieces broke apart. The burnt fragment has no remaining paint; the other one shows green paint on the outer line of the border that is next to the background surface and red paint on the rectangular box next to it.

**Cat. no. 212**



Part of a block border from around the false door

11.7 x 4.0 cm

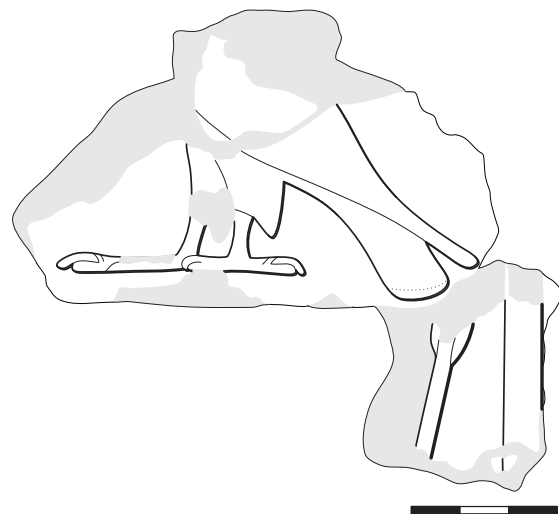
One fragment: 98.140/2 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a block border with a masonry edge that runs directly along it. This is probably the border that sits immediately against the false door or above it (see cat. no. 206). The angle of the block edge is not well preserved and therefore difficult to determine.

The quality is poor; the lines are not straight and not always pulled through. Green paint is on the inner vertical stripe.

**3.10 Inscriptions, Original Position Unclear**

**Cat. no. 213**



Part of a column with queen's title facing left, either from vertical inscription on the east wall or from building dedication inscription of the south wall

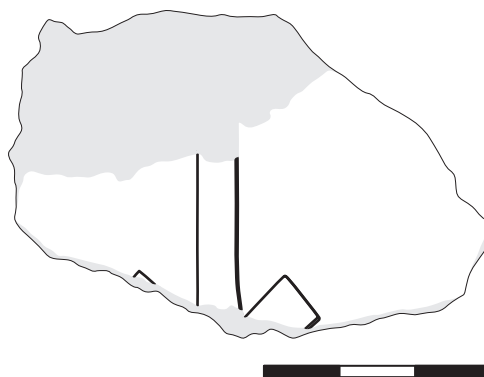
10.9 x 8.9 cm

Three joining fragments: 97.591/2 (K/24), 97.732/1 (K/24), 98.70/3 (K/24)

At the top is the lower half of a falcon facing left. Below its tail is the tail of a Seth animal, and part of a column line is farther right. This belongs to the queen's title *m33t Hrw Sts* "the one who sees Horus and Seth."<sup>293</sup> This title could have been part of the inscription that was above the depiction of the queen on the east wall (where it is placed in the reconstruction), but it could also have been part of the building dedication inscription, which included the queen's titles next to the false door (for this inscription, see chapter 5.4.2).

The quality of the relief is good; the claws of the falcon are depicted in detail, but altogether the relief is rather flat and the overlapping parts of the bird's body are separated only by incised lines and not by ridges. There is green paint on the main part of the falcon's body and also on its tail, except the tip, which was painted red. There is no sculpted or incised line to separate the red tip from the larger green portion of the tail (see also chapter 8.2.2). There seem to be yellow paint on the bird's feet and thin red contour lines. The tail of the Seth animal has traces of yellow paint and green paint is on the column line.

#### Cat. no. 214



<sup>293</sup> For the queen's titles, see the appendix in chapter 9.

Part of one-thousand-sign

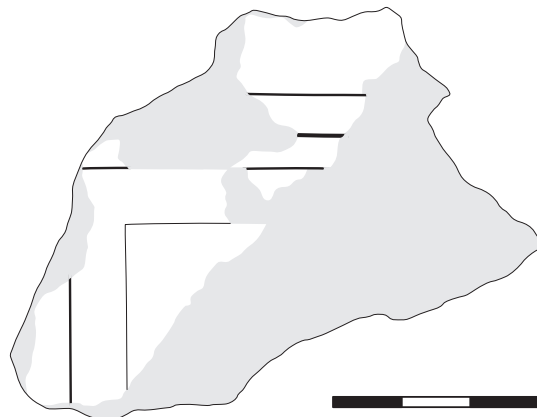
6.3 x 3.5

One fragment: 97.637/2

Only the bottom of a one-thousand-sign is preserved here. It features a red stem and small remains of the two diagonal short extensions that are at the bottom of the sign. Green paint is on the one on the right. Such signs appear both beneath the offering table in the offering table scene and in the inventory list. All four of these signs are already preserved from the offering table scene on the east wall, which means that the piece could derive from either the same type of scene on the west wall or from the inventory list on the south wall.

The relief is rather flat; the stem is not rounded across the surface.

**Cat. no. 215**



Part of signs, possibly as part of queen's title

5.6 x 5.9 cm

One fragment: 97.708/2

Preserved is the rectangular corner of an object with part of a parallel line that seems straight; the relief surface of the contour is slightly irregular and eroded, and the possibility cannot be fully excluded that the line was slightly curved. The orientation is not clear from the piece itself.

On a first view this looks like the corner end of a block border. Such a corner is to be expected around a door, and this piece could belong to either the entrance door or the false door.



The possibility that this is the top right corner of the entrance door or the false door (if one turns the piece 90 degrees clockwise) does not need to be considered, because in this position, its bottom point would extend over the area of the block edge in both instances, which is impossible. It also cannot be the top left border of the entrance door, as this section is already preserved.<sup>294</sup> If this piece really represents the corner of a block border, then it could theoretically come from the top left corner of the false door. In addition to the border, the piece features a parallel line that might be part of a hieroglyph or of a cartouche ring. However, this piece does not fit to the reconstruction of the horizontal inscription (see chapter 5.4.2 and fig. 20), which features the head of an *f*-viper in this area (and which might be preserved on cat. no. 207). One could adjust the spacing of the reconstructed hieroglyphs, but the preserved line seems too regular and sits too low to be an *f*-sign. Nor does the evidence from other pieces in this area support the placement of a cartouche here. Such a corner from a border could also derive from a window, but there is no evidence for a window from any of the chapels of the royal women at the site.

As it seems unlikely that this piece belongs to the corner of a block border, it must be considered whether it, rather, depicted a sign. The preserved corner of an object could derive from a *pr*-sign, in which case the partial line might belong to an <sup>c</sup>*h*-sign as part of <sup>c</sup>*h* “palace.” If this is the case, then this word might have been included in a title of the queen that is not yet known for her.<sup>295</sup> The size of the inscription would fit either the vertical inscriptions above the depiction of the queen on the east and west walls or to the building dedication inscription next to the false door.

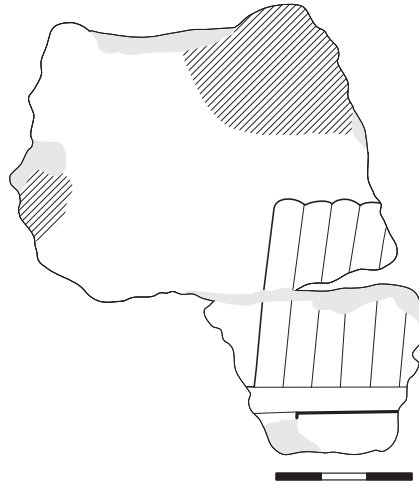
No paint is preserved.

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<sup>294</sup> See cat. no. 33, which consists of two fragments. It should be noted that one of these was found in an area that is close to both the north and east chapels of pyramid 8 and that two other pieces recovered from the same area join fragments from the east chapel. However, the second fragment that makes up cat. no. 33 was excavated in the area of the north chapel and thus suggests that cat. no. 33 originated from this building.

<sup>295</sup> For titles of royal women that include this word, see, for example, Troy, *Queenship*, p. 184, A4/1, A4/2, A4/3, p. 185, A6/2, p. 186, B1/22, p. 195, D1/2.

**Cat. no. 216**



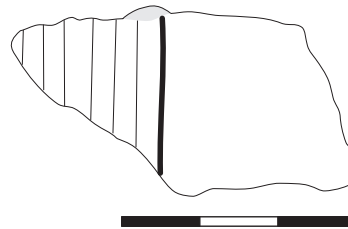
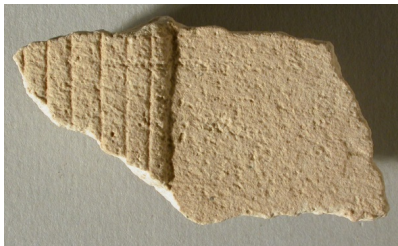
Part of an inscription with large *jm3h*-sign facing left

8.9 x 9.9 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.636 (K/24), 98.77/3 (K/24)

At the top is part of a large, possibly rounded sign. The surface is heavily eroded and its contours are not clear. Below it is a partial *jm3h*-sign facing left. To the left is a small, raised area without defined contours. It is unclear to what kind of inscription this piece belongs. The surface is badly weathered and has a patina; no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 217**



Part of possible *p*-sign

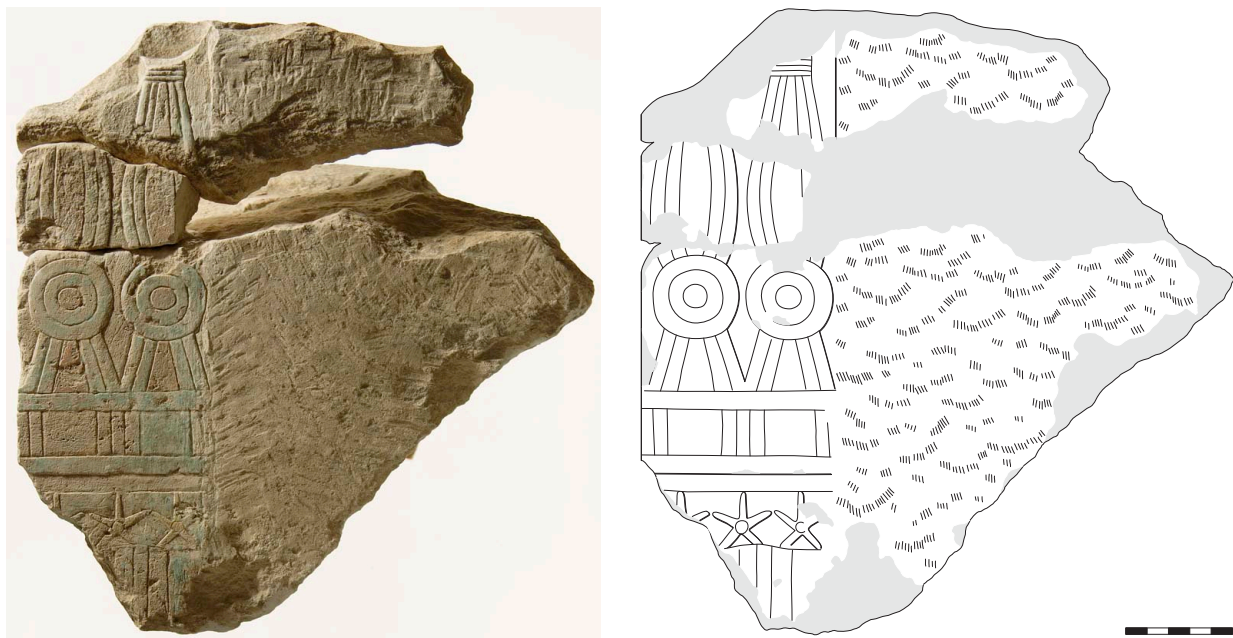
4.5 x 2.4 cm

One Fragment: 97.748/1 (K/24)

Preserved is part of an object with a straight contour and parallel incised lines. To the side of it is blank surface. This might be a *p*-sign; the contour is not perfectly straight, but this could be due to poor craftsmanship. No paint is preserved; the surface has a slight patina.

### 3.11 Varia: *Kheker*-frieze, Dado, and Ceiling Stars

Cat. no. 218



Top right corner with *kheker*-frieze and sky, probably from the east wall

26.2 x 28.2 cm

Three joining fragments: 95.45 (the square was not recorded, but the find spot was described as “north of pyramid 7”), 97.528 (K/24), 98.65/1 (K/24)

At the bottom is the upper right corner of a vertical block border and, to its right, three vertical stripes, which together form a corner block border. Running above is a section of a sky with sculpted stars and farther up is a horizontal block border topped by two partial *khekers*.

The surface to the right of this border is undecorated and very rough. This area was not smoothed because it was covered by the adjoining wall. At the top, the rough surface is slightly

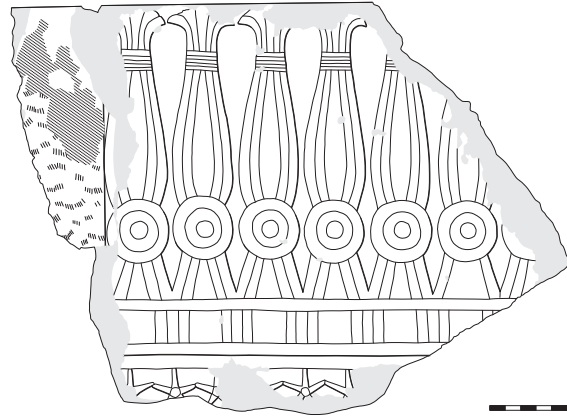
higher than the raised relief of the decorated surface, while it is more or less on the same level farther down. This was caused by the smoothing of the wall surface, which occurred after the blocks were placed. On the left side of the piece is a deep masonry edge that is not part of a patch stone but must be the left edge of a block. The space between the edge and the corner of the wall is only 9.5 cm, which means that only this small portion of the block was visible; the bulk of it was covered by the adjoining wall.

The lintel above the entrance to the chapel (north wall) shows the very top of the interior decoration with the *kheker*-frieze and it has masonry edges at both ends. Moreover, both ends of the sky are preserved from this wall, thus securely ruling out the attribution of the present piece to the north wall. The vertical masonry edges at the sides of the lintel also make clear that the adjoining blocks at the north ends of the east and west walls extended beyond the corner, such as the piece here. From the east chapel of pyramid 3 there is evidence that the blocks to the side of the false door were narrow and pushed into position at the very end. Pyramid 8's north chapel seems to have been constructed in the same way (see cat. no. 188 and chapter 8.3.5), which means that the blocks of the adjoining long walls to the east and west extended beyond the corner of the walls. The present piece, which stems from a block that included the top right corner of a wall and extended beyond it, can therefore only derive from above the queen on the east wall or from above piled offerings on the west wall. If one observes the block edges known to be from these walls, one can note that the east wall has a patch stone close to the top right corner of the wall (see cat. no. 56). Since patch stones often occur along the edges of the blocks, it is possible that a block edge ran very close to the corner of this wall, suggesting that the piece here probably derives from the east wall.

A full star is depicted on the right "end" of the sky, which is the very corner of the wall. The sky does not have a triangular bottom end and continues above the block border, which shows that the sky wrapped around the corner and continued on the adjoining wall (see also cat. no. 219 and chapter 5.8).

Yellow paint is on the stars. Red paint is on the middle stripes and center circles of the *khekers*, as well as on the left square of the horizontal block border. Blue-green paint is on the following: the sky, the vertical stripes of the corner border, the right square and the horizontal lines of the block border, the outer four stripes of *kheker*, and the outer two circles.

Cat. no. 219



Top left corner of west wall with *kheker*-frieze and part of sky below

33.8 x 25.9 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.656 (K/24), 97.613/1 (K/24)

Preserved is the left end of a *kheker*-frieze with the usual horizontal block border below. Farther below is a sky with the depiction of stars that are raised above the surface of the sky. To the left of the *kheker* is part of the undecorated, rough surface of the block that was originally hidden behind the adjoining wall. Its surface is on the same level as the raised portion of the relief because the decoration was carved after the blocks were positioned and smoothed. The sky runs all the way below the leftmost *kheker*, up to the corner of the wall. The bottom contour of the sky is not preserved, but if the sky had featured a triangular left end, then it would have stopped at some distance from the corner of the wall, and the vertical block border would have extended higher to meet the horizontal block border, which is not the case. This shows that the sky continued into the corner and actually wrapped around it, as on cat. no. 218 (see also chapter 5.8). A horizontal masonry edge is at the top, directly above the *kheker*-frieze.

This piece cannot be the top left end of the north wall, as this area is already preserved (see cat. no. 1). It also cannot be the left end of the south wall, since this part of the wall probably consisted of small blocks that were pushed into the gaps between the adjoining walls and the false door (see chapter 8.3.5). The top left of the east wall can also be excluded as the original position of this piece because cat. no. 67 already preserves at its top left part of a *kheker* that would overlap one of the *khekers* here. This leaves only the west wall as a possibility for its original position, and, indeed, no other piece shows conflicting evidence for this placement.

The *khekers* are well shaped and the relief is relatively high. Green paint is on the outer stripes of the *kheker* and on the horizontal lines, as well as on two squares of the block border. The center stripe and the circle of the *khekers* show red paint. A trace of yellow paint is on the stars. There is a thick layer of plaster on the rough surface to the left side of the piece; this is the area against which the adjoining wall was originally set.

**Cat. no. 220**



Right end of patch stone with top of *kheker*-frieze (6 cm high and 15 cm deep)

20.0 x 6.0 cm

97.676 (K/24)

Preserved are the top parts of four *khekers*. At the top, bottom, and right are masonry edges indicating that this is the right end of a patch stone. The top masonry edge sits directly above the very top of the *khekers*. The bottom edge is at a right angle to the surface, while that at the top is at about 85 degrees. The edge on the right is not preserved well enough to determine its angle. Plaster is on all three masonry edges; on the bottom and on the right, it is partially very thick (3–4 mm). At the back of the fragment, parallel to the decorated surface, is the back masonry edge of the patch stone. The patch stone is about 15 cm deep and its height is 6.0 cm.



This piece was possibly situated above cat. no. 182, which features the lower part of a *kheker*-frieze and shows part of the bed for a patch stone at the top. If one takes into account the thick remains of plaster, which are still adhering to the bottom of this piece, then the patch stone fits perfectly into the gap between cat. no. 182 and the top of the wall. There are remains of paint that show the usual pattern of green outer stripes and a red one in the center.

**Cat. no. 221**



Part of patch stone with top of *kheker*-frieze (6 cm high and 14.5 cm deep)

9.7 x 6.0 cm

98.91/3 (L/24)

The fragment features the top parts of two *khekers*. On the left is heavily damaged surface where at least one further *kheker* would have been depicted. At the top and bottom are masonry edges. The top masonry edge sits directly above the very top of the *khekers*. The bottom edge is at a right angle to the surface, while that at the top is about 85 degrees. Plaster is on both of them. At the back of the fragment, parallel to the decorated surface, is the back masonry edge of the patch stone. The piece is about 14.5 cm deep and 6 cm high. It possibly belonged to the same patch stone as cat. no. 220.

The preserved paint shows the usual pattern of green outer stripes and a red one in the center.



**Cat. no. 222**



Part of patch stone with top of *kheker*-frieze (6.1 cm high and at least 14 cm deep)

6.1 x 9.1 cm

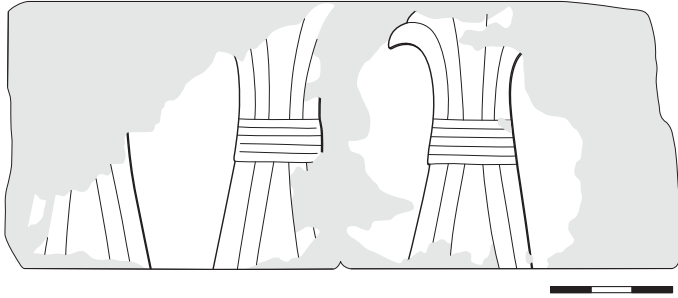
98.150/1 (K/24)

Preserved is the top of a *kheker* and the partial tops of two more flanking it. At the top and bottom are masonry edges. The top masonry edge sits directly above the very top of the *khekers*. The bottom edge is at a right angle to the surface, while that at the top is about 85 degrees. Plaster adheres to both of them. The back masonry edge of the patch stone is not preserved, but the piece must have been at least 14 cm deep. Its height is 6.1 cm. This piece may have belonged to the same patch stone as cat. nos. 220–221; the difference in height is only 1 mm.

The preserved paint shows the regular pattern of green outer stripes and that the one at the center was red.

**Cat. no. 223**





Left end of patch stone with top of *kheker*-frieze (6.7 cm high and 10 cm deep)

13.6 x 6.7 cm

Two joining fragments: 98.91/4 (L/24), 98.157/2 (K/24)

The piece shows the partial top parts of three *khekers*. At the top, bottom, and left sides are masonry edges indicating that this was the left end of the patch stone. The top masonry edge sits directly above the very top of the *khekers*. The bottom edge is at a right angle to the surface, while the angle of the edge at the top is about 87 degrees. Plaster is still adhering to both. At the back of the fragment, parallel to the relief decoration, is the back face of the patch stone. The piece is 10 cm deep and 6.7 cm high. This patch stone is very similar to cat. nos. 220–222, but it is slightly higher and not as deep.

The surface is badly eroded and the right section has a patina; no paint is preserved.

#### Cat. no. 224



Left end of patch stone with top of *kheker*-frieze (6.5 cm high and 11 cm deep)

7.2 x 6.5 cm

97.604/1 (K/24)

Preserved are the remains of the tops of two *khekers*. At the top, bottom, and left sides are masonry edges, indicating that this is the left end of a patch stone. The top masonry edge sits directly above the very top of the *khekers*. The bottom edge is a right angle to the surface, while that at the top is about 87 degrees. Plaster is on the top and bottom edges. At the back of the fragment is a small part of the back face, which allows determining that the patch stone is 11 cm deep. Its height is 6.5 cm. This piece represents a third slightly different size of a patch stone from the very top of a *kheker*-frieze (compare cat. nos. 220 and 223). The preserved paint shows the regular pattern of green outer stripes with a red one at the center.

**Cat. no. 225**



Part of *kheker*, probably part of patch stone

6.0 x 3.6 cm

98.139/4 (K/24)

Preserved is a section from the top of a *kheker*. At the bottom is a masonry edge that runs at a right angle to the surface. There are patch stones depicting *khekers* that feature an edge at the same height, which suggests that this piece belongs to a patch stone as well (see the previous cat. nos.). Some paint is preserved, which shows the usual pattern of red on the center stripe and green on the outer.

**Cat. no. 226**



Part of *kheker*, probably part of patch stone

3.4 x 3.1 cm

97.688/3 (K/24)

Only the partial top part of a *kheker* is preserved. At the bottom is a masonry edge that runs at a right angle to the surface. Other pieces have edges at the same height and are patch stones, which suggests that the piece here was originally part a patch stone as well (see the previous cat. nos.). The paint shows the usual pattern of red on the center stripe and green on the outer ones.

**Cat. no. 227**



Part of dado, probably from west wall

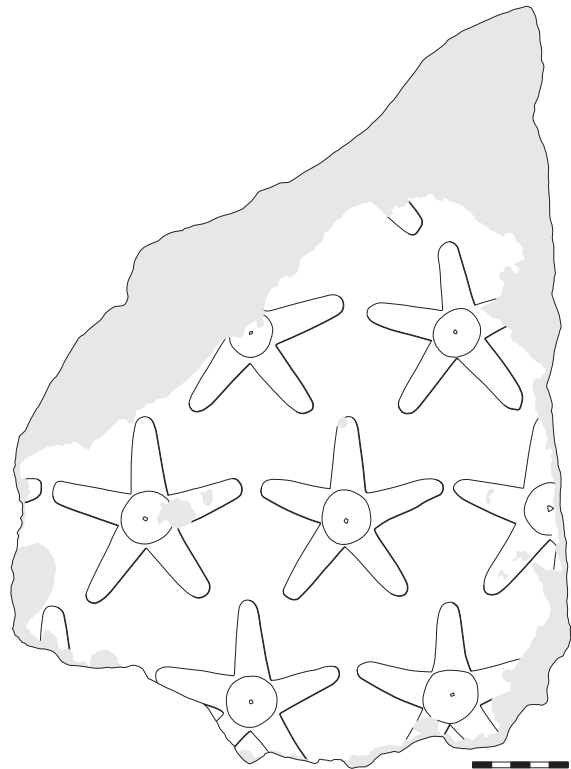
18.0 x 25.1

One fragment: 97.660 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a dado. At the top right is a small area of the red section that is usually at the top of the dado. Below is the complete height of the yellow section (7.2 cm high, including the band at the top) with black surface farther below. The usual band between the red and yellow sections is present and has red paint at its top and yellow paint below. At the bottom and on the right of the piece are masonry edges at right angles to the surface, indicating that this is the bottom right corner of a block. The black surface is 16.3 cm high, which is too low to fully represent the black section of the dado. It can therefore be assumed that another block originally sat below.

A vertical block edge running through the entrance wall is not to be expected. From the east wall, there is evidence that the horizontal block edges of several blocks ran through the upper portion of the bottom register, and one would not expect another horizontal block edge to follow so closely (see chapter 8.3.3 and fig. 32). It is not certain where the horizontal block edge ran toward the right end of this wall, but the block to the far right probably continued beyond the corner. It is therefore unlikely that this piece, which has a vertical block edge running through the decorated surface, was situated at the right end of the east wall. The south wall can also be ruled out, as the only vertical edge, adjacent to the false door, runs at a less than right angle, allowing the blocks to be positioned more easily (see chapter 8.3.5). It seems most likely that the piece here derives from the west wall, but it is uncertain where on the west wall it originally sat.

Cat. no. 228



Detail with one of the stars.

Ceiling stars from south edge of ceiling

28.5 x 30.0 cm

One fragment: 98.98 (K/24)

Preserved are four partial rows of ceiling stars. All have an incised depression in their center. The relief is high and the stars have nice contours, but many of the incised circles in the center

have an irregular shape. The area immediately around the outside of the circles was slightly carved down. These circles were possibly created by the artist with five short strokes of a chisel that has a broad, slightly curved tip. This would also explain why the overall shape of the circles is very irregular.

At the broken edge to the right (in the orientation shown above), running through the rightmost star of the third row from the top, is a small raised surface with a straight contour, which cannot be another star arm. This raised area can be identified as the edge where the ceiling met one of the walls. The block itself would have continued to the right. The decorated surface curves from top to bottom and not from side to side, indicating that the small remains of the ceiling's edge sat next to the decorated surface of a tympanum. Though only a very small part of the edge is preserved, one can observe that it seems to be at a slight angle to the rows of stars. It is possible that the surface at the top of the tympanum was slightly irregular in this area. The general curve of the piece and the direction of the stars show that the stars are oriented to the east or west, as we know that the chapel's vaulted ceiling curved from side to side, so from east to west. According to Adela Oppenheim, ceiling stars seem to have been oriented to the west,<sup>296</sup> which allows determining that this piece was originally above the south tympanum. Since the blocks out of which the tympana were carved included part of the ceiling above (see fig. 34), this piece here was originally part of the same block as the south tympanum.

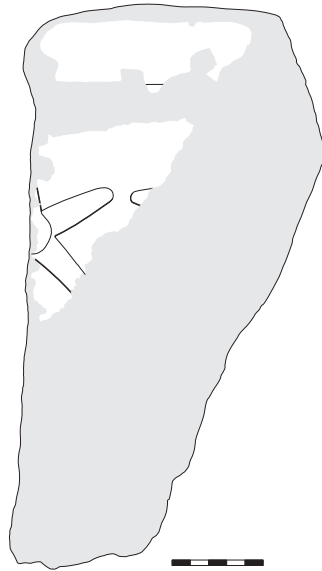
Green paint is on the background and there seems to be yellow paint on the stars.

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<sup>296</sup> See Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pp. 602–603, with further references.



Cat. no. 229



Ceiling star from western edge of ceiling

8.5 x 10.5 cm

One fragment: 97.807/1 (no square was recorded, but the location of the find spot was noted as “QP 8N”)

This piece features parts of two ceiling stars and a small part of straight edge, where the decoration stops and a broad lip protrudes. This lip is part of the underside of the ceiling block that was placed on top of one of the long side walls to the east or west. The lip is about 2 cm high. Preserved are only the right side of a star and the tip of the arm of another. One can nevertheless see that the tops of the stars were oriented toward the lip, consequently toward this wall, and that their contours were not truncated at the edge of the ceiling. This means that the stars must have been oriented to the west or east. As ceiling stars seem to be oriented to the west,<sup>297</sup> this piece can be identified as deriving from the western edge of the ceiling.

Yellow paint is on the stars and greenish paint is on the background between them.

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid.

**Cat. no. 230**



**Patch stone with ceiling stars**

21.2 x 19.0 cm

Three joining fragments: 98.66/1 (K/24), 98.156/1 (K/24), 98.156/3 (K/24)

This patch stone includes two partial rows of ceiling stars and just the very top of an arm from a third row. None of the stars have an incised dot in their center as do those on cat. no. 228. Masonry edges are on all four sides, and a finished face is on the back, parallel to the decorated surface. The patch stone is only about 3.2 cm deep. A thick layer of plaster is still adhering to its backside. The masonry edges on the top and at both sides sit at an angle of approximately 97–98 degrees to the decorated surface, while the edge at the bottom is at approximately 80 degrees. The edges at the sides do not run parallel; rather, the piece narrows toward the top. This shape allowed sliding the patch stone into its position as part of the ceiling. It was inserted top first and bottom last, which is why the bottom edge has an angle of less than 90 degrees. Once in position, the three edges at the top and sides, which have an angle wider than 90 degrees, would prevent the piece from falling down if the plaster became weak over time. The piece is curved from top to bottom, indicating that the stars were directed toward the west or east, which fits Oppenheim's observations that ceiling stars were oriented to the west.<sup>298</sup>

The quality is mediocre. The contours of the stars are fair, but the center circles are irregular and the background is unevenly carved; it is carved down more deeply around the stars.

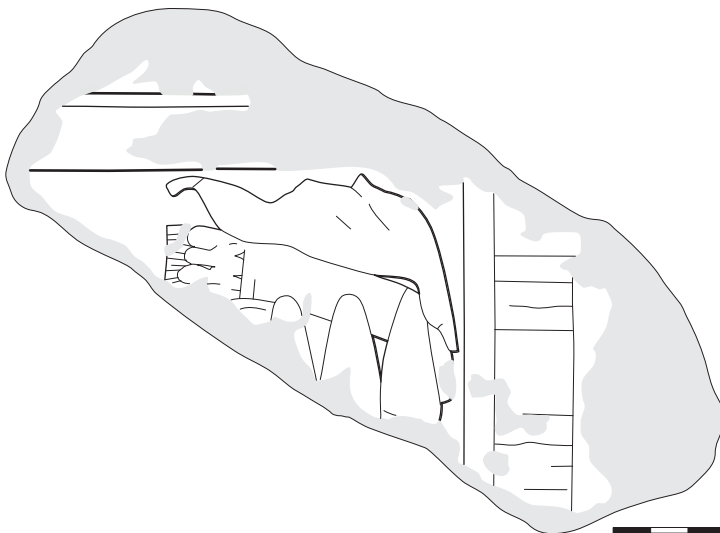
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<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

Some green paint is on the background and faint traces of yellow paint are preserved on some stars.

### 3.12 Relief Decoration That Is Probably Intrusive

Cat. no. 231



Offerings with possible sky above, probably intrusive

15.4 x 11.4 cm

One fragment: 98.47 (K/24)

On the right side is a block border with a damaged area to its right. The width of the damaged area is too wide to be part of a doorframe, and the block border can therefore be identified as part of a corner block border. To the left is a pile of offerings with three cone-shaped loaves of bread, a bundle of leeks above, a goose with its head hanging down at the top right, and a vegetable or a fruit with a short stem at the top left. Above this pile is a broad band (1.6 cm high), which is probably a sky. Running parallel just above is a straight contour, probably a ground line, possibly with something resting on it.

The sky is much narrower than the sky from the very top of all walls, and it does not have sculpted stars. (The sky at the top of the wall is 2.8 cm high and has sculpted stars; see cat. nos. 1 and 67.) The scale of the offerings seems smaller than those usually seen in the north chapel of pyramid 8; the size of the goose, for example, is significantly smaller than that of cat. no. 101. It is likely that this piece is intrusive.

No paint, slight patina.

**Cat. no. 232**



Part of patch stone with large hieroglyph, intrusive

11.4 x 8.3 cm

One fragment: 98.52 (K/24)

Preserved is part of a large seated-man hieroglyph facing left with a section of a vertical line, possibly a column line, to the right. The relief is very high and the vertical line is not rounded across the surface. There are patch-stone edges at the top, left, bottom, and back. The sign is much larger than all known inscriptions from the various queens' chapels, nor is such high relief known for them. Both features strongly suggest that the piece is intrusive.

The surface has a slight patina and no paint is preserved.

**Cat. no. 233**



Large exterior inscription, intrusive

9.8 x 5.4 cm

One fragment: 95.13 (L/24–25)

Preserved is most of a large *nb*-sign with parts of two objects above. The one to the top right has a curved contour, while that to the top left features a straight horizontal bottom. This is a patch stone; all four sides have partial masonry edges, and the back has a finished surface as well. The surface has a patina and the relief is very high, higher than in the exterior inscription of both the north and the east chapel of pyramid 8 (or of any of the royal women's chapels). The piece was found in an area that is some distance northeast of pyramid 8's north chapel and seems to have contained fragments that derive from various buildings; three fragments join pieces found in the area of the north chapel of pyramid 8, one fragment joined several pieces from the east chapel of



pyramid 9, and several pieces seem to belong to neither of these buildings, such as this one here, which might have come from the king's south temple.<sup>299</sup>

**Cat. no. 234**



Large sky, intrusive

9.3 x 4.1 cm

One fragment: 95.7 (L/24–25)

Preserved is a section of a large sky with sculpted stars. The carving is of mediocre quality. The surface has a slight patina, but there are very slight remains of blue paint between the two stars on the left. This star border is larger than any of those known from the east and north chapels of pyramid 8. The piece was found some distance northeast of the north chapel of pyramid 8, in an area where the recovered fragments seem to derive from various buildings (see cat. no. 233).

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<sup>299</sup> According to the excavation diary of 1995, finds were made that day “about 10 m NNE of the NE” of pyramid 8, in an area that contained “debris of a stone cutter’s place” (and where parts of the pyramidion were discovered), and “farther to the S,” where two fragments of a limestone offering list and a Coptic tombstone were found. For the pyramidion, see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 31–32.

### 3.13 The Stop Face of the Door

Cat. no. 235



Reconstruction of doorway with approximate original position of the piece (it could have been farther left or right).

Part of the bottom of the doorway with graffito on the stop face for the door

Four fragments joining: 97.701/1 (K/24), 97.701/2 (K/24), 97.724 (K/24), 97.755/1 (K/24)

30.5 x 7.2 (vertical surface with graffito), 32 x 9.4 (horizontal surface)

Preserved are two flat surfaces at a right angle to one another. Both are very smooth and have a patina. On one side are four partial lines of a visitor graffito in black ink. This is part of the bottom of the lintel with the edge of the horizontal stop face for the door. The surface with the graffito is the vertical surface of the stop face. This area would become visible upon entering the



chapel, when a visitor opened its doors (see also chapter 8.3.2). The second flat surface is the underside of the door lintel block and therefore the top of the doorway.

The surface of the stop face is 7.3 cm high, but its broken edge cuts through a line of inscription at the top. If one adds the space above needed to complete the line of inscription, then this surface must have been a minimum of 8 cm high. However, one more line of text was probably situated farther above according to Hana Navrátilová, who is studying the graffiti from the pyramid complex of Senwosret III and will publish the inscription itself.<sup>300</sup> One might also expect a small amount of space between the underside of the door lintel and the first line of text, as writing so close to the top corner would be very awkward. It can therefore be estimated that the stop face was probably at least about 10 cm high.

### 3.14 Hard-Stone Fragments

#### Cat. no. 236



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<sup>300</sup> I would like to thank her for this information. For a preliminary report on the various graffiti of the site, see Hana Navrátilová, in *JARCE* 49 (2013), pp. 113–141.



#### Offering table fragment with inscription

White quartzite

With two preserved surfaces: 12.6 x 14.9 cm (inscribed surface) and 9.1 x 14.5 cm (vertical front surface)

One fragment: 97.659 (K/24)

Preserved is a section of the front of a quartzite offering table with an inscription in sunk relief. The inscription is facing left and reads *htp dj nswt*. Behind the *dj*-sign is a sun disk, and to the lower right of it is a very small part of a sign. This is possibly a bird's foot as part of *R<sup>c</sup>-Hrw-3htj*.<sup>301</sup>

Above and below the inscription is a border that is separated from the inscription by an incised line. The top border curves down above the start of the inscription, as this is where the depression for the spout was. The surface above the inscription's border is on a slightly lower level, and there are parts of two objects in raised relief. The better preserved of the two, on the viewer's right, is probably part of a jar. Only a very small area of the other is preserved, but its

<sup>301</sup> For the *htp dj nswt* formula featuring Re-Harakhty on Middle Kingdom offering tables, see Regina Hölzl, *Ägyptische Opfertafeln und Kultbecken: Eine Form- und Funktionsanalyse für das Alte, Mittlere und Neue Reich*, HÄB 45 (Hildesheim, 2002), p. 81.

curved contour and position above the beginning of the *hṯp dj nswt* formula suggest that this is the cone-shaped bread loaf that is often situated on top of an offering mat in the center of an offering table.

A second worked surface sits at a right angle to the one with the inscription. It is oriented vertically and is part of the front of the offering table. This surface has a broken edge on its left side, which runs more or less vertically and which curves slightly outward in one small area. This is the corner where the spout came out.

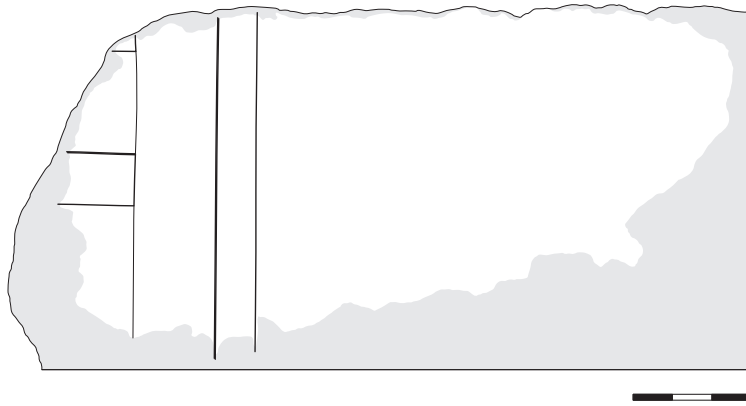
The scale of the inscription is relatively large; the offering table must have been quite large. The fragment was found in the area of the north chapel of pyramid 8, and it is likely that it was originally positioned inside this chapel. It is difficult to reconstruct the original dimensions from such a small piece. When one compares the size of the inscription band to that of an offering table of Senwosret III (which is 62 cm wide),<sup>302</sup> it is evident that the latter is smaller. Based on the relative proportions, one can estimate that the fragment here might belong to a table about 80 cm wide. However, this estimate is hypothetical, as the proportions could have been different.

**Cat. no. 237**



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<sup>302</sup> Ahmed Kamal, *Tables d'Offrandes*, CG, nos. 23001–23256 (Cairo, 1909), pp. 8–9, CG 23.009, pl. 5.



Red granite fragment with flat surfaces and sunk lines, from unidentified object<sup>303</sup>

16.9 x 9.0 cm (surface with sunk lines), 8.8 x 3.9 cm (smooth surface), 17.8 x 4.2 cm (rough surface)

One fragment: 95.20 (M/24–25)

This fragment has three flat surfaces at right angles to one another, indicating that this is the corner of an object. The orientation of the piece is unclear. Two of these surfaces are flat and smooth and one of them has a sunk decoration. The third surface is flat, but it is not smooth. The edge between the decorated surface and the smooth undecorated surface (shown here on the right) is not well preserved, but one can still see that it is beveled. The edge that runs between the two smooth surfaces is damaged (this edge is shown here at the bottom of the images), and it is unclear whether it was beveled as well.

The decorated surface shows a series of bands and adjacent rectangular shapes in sunk relief. The design is unclear and it is unknown from what kind of an object this fragment derives. It was found in the area between the northeast corner of pyramid 8 and the south side of the king's pyramid, so it might have derived from one of the chapels of pyramid 8, which is why it is included here.

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<sup>303</sup> The piece was published in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pl. 51d, where it is called a “granite false door (?) fragment.”

### List of other hard-stone fragments

The following other hard-stone fragments were found in the area of the north chapel of pyramid 8 or close to it:

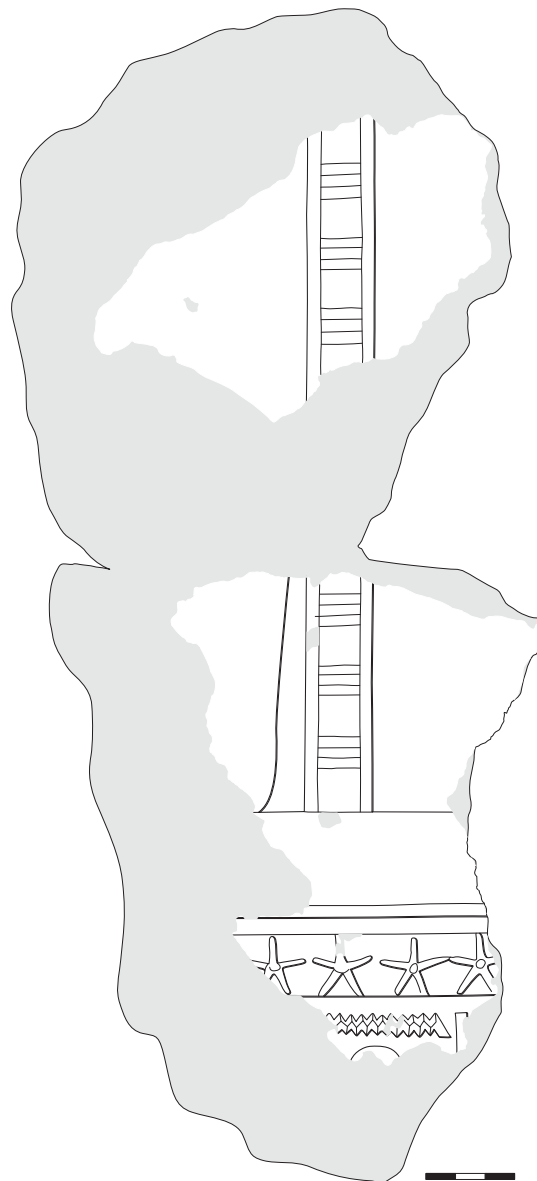
- Red granite fragment with two flat, polished surfaces that sit at a right angle toward one another, 8.3 x 3.1 cm and 7.7 x 1.4 cm (98.72 from K/24).
- Red granite fragment with a flat polished surface, 2.1 x 4.0 cm (98.45 from L/24).
- Granodiorite fragment with curving polished surface, probably from a statue, 6.4 x 6.5 cm (98.471 from L/23).
- Granodiorite fragment with slightly curved polished surface that then curves up sharply at broken edge, probably from a statue, 4.3 x 3.1 cm (98.163 from K/24).
- Granodiorite fragment with flat polished surface, 2.5 x 2.6 cm (98.96 from L/24).
- Granodiorite fragment with flat surface that is eroded, 7.8 x 5.1 cm (97.809, no square was recorded, but the find spot was noted as "8N").
- Granodiorite fragment with two flat surfaces that meet at an angle about 110 degrees and are nicely polished, 7.4 x 4.4 cm and 6.8 x 2.2 cm (97.696 from K/24).

## 4 Pieces from Other Chapels

In the following, several pieces from other chapels that are relevant for reconstructing the decoration of the north chapel of pyramid 8 will be discussed.

### 4.1 Pieces from the East Chapel of Pyramid 8

Cat. no. 238



From the east chapel of pyramid 8: Legs of queen facing left next to throne with a sky and part of inscription below

15.4 x 32.2 cm

Two joining fragments: 97.217/1 (M/22), 97.217/2 (M/22)

On the right is part of a throne with part of the queen's legs to the left. The upper section of her lower legs is situated directly against the throne. The area where the surface of the legs meets the throne slopes down slightly toward it, creating a low ridge separating the legs from the throne. The bottom of the queen's dress is not preserved; this area is damaged. The heel of the back foot is visible farther below and shows that the queen is barefoot. She is not wearing anklets.<sup>304</sup> The throne and the queen's foot are resting on a low, undecorated platform that is on a ground line. Below is part of a sky with sculpted stars. Farther below is part of an inscription with an *n*-sign at the top, the rounded top of a sign below, and part of a vertical line to the right.

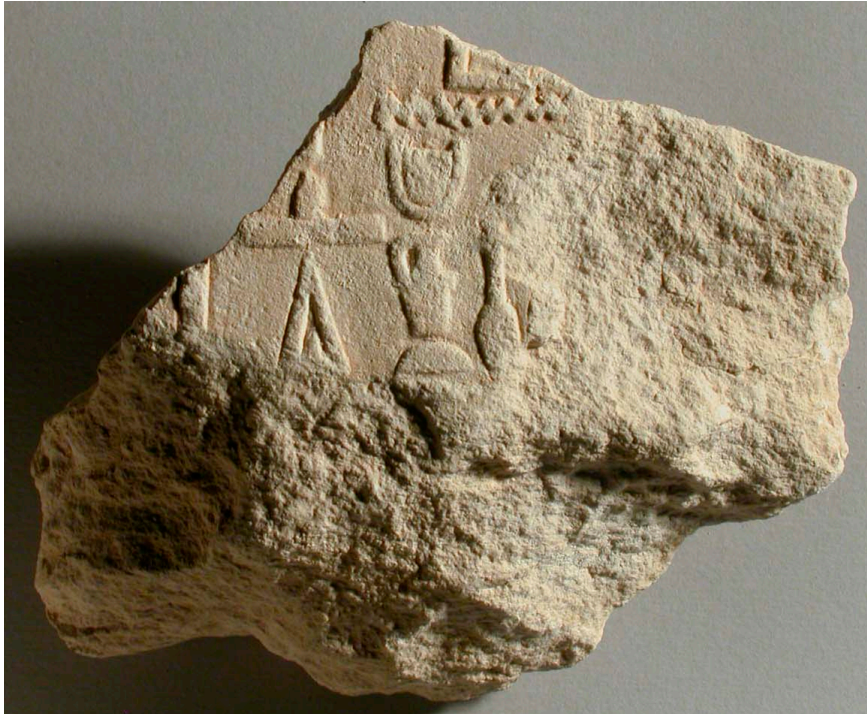
The surface is slightly eroded, but one can still see that the quality is good. The surface of the legs is curved and the *n*-sign has a nice regular shape and features a top edge. No paint is preserved.

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<sup>304</sup> Compare cat. no. 49 from the north chapel of pyramid 8, which shows that the queen was wearing anklets in her depiction on the north chapel's west wall.



Cat. no. 239



From the east chapel of pyramid 8: Part of offering B18

5.2 x 4.9 cm

One fragment: 97.55 (M/22)

The fragment shows two lines of a very small, vertical inscription with part of a column line to the left. It reads: *ḥtp dj [nswt<sup>305</sup> n] k3 n ḥmt (nswt?) Ḥnmt-nfr-[ḥdt<sup>306</sup>]*. This is part of the offering B18, which can include the *ḥtp dj nswt* offering formula and can be written in two columns that each consists of two vertical lines of text.<sup>307</sup> The signs are all smaller than those in other “regular” offering list inscriptions in order to fit two lines of text into one regular-width column.<sup>308</sup> At the top of the column could have been *ḏd mdw zḫ 4* and/or *p3t nt wdn*. Below the *t*-sign from Khenemetneferhedjet is a small part of an unidentified object, which might be the top of a *wr*-bird for *Wrt*.

It is intriguing that in the second column there is no *sw*-plant, which should have been placed in front of the *ḥm*-sign for the title *ḥmt nswt*. The reason for this omission remains unknown. Was the *sw*-plant of the preceding column, which is close to the *ḥm*-sign, read twice? Was this a deliberate exclusion and, if so, for what reason? Or was the *sw*-plant forgotten by mistake? In any case, it seems that only the title *ḥmt nswt* is given here and not the title *mwt nswt* (compare cat. no. 58 from the north chapel of pyramid 8 and see chapter 6).

Considering that the signs are very small, they are well executed. No paint is preserved and the surface has a slight patina.

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<sup>305</sup> Only the very bottom of the *sw*-plant is visible above the *ḥtp*-sign.

<sup>306</sup> Only a very small part of the white crown is preserved.

<sup>307</sup> See Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 96; Jéquier, *Pepi III/2*, pl. 85 (or here fig. 22); Blom-Böer, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III. in Hawara*, pp. 232–233, cat. no. 143; or the list of Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 in fig. 24.

<sup>308</sup> See the list of Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 in fig. 24, and compare the offering list of Pepi II (Jéquier, *Pepi III/2*, pl. 85, or here fig. 22), in which only the very bottom section of the inscription is smaller.



4.2 Pieces from the East Chapel of Pyramid 3

Cat. no. 240









Backside of block with carved out area and drips of plaster.



Detail showing chisel marks directly above the area where the lion hieroglyphs were originally situated (two small fragments were joined to the larger block).

From the east chapel of pyramid 3: Small block with part of oil list facing right<sup>309</sup>

41.2 x 36.0 cm (preserved surface), the block itself (without the join at the masonry edge) is 50 cm wide in the front, 47 cm high, and 33 cm deep; a layer of plaster up to 1 cm thick is on both the left and right vertical block edges

One block with five small joining fragments: 96.641 (O/38), 96.780/2 (P/39), 96.1085/9 (P/38), 96.1088/1 (P/38), 96.1088/2 (P/38), 96.1247 (O/38); plus one fragment that joins at the bottom block edge: 96.1413/3 (P/39)

On the left side of this piece is a corner block border with three additional stripes. The surface of the topmost part of the block is not preserved. Some distance below is part of the depiction of five large vessels on a ground line. The four on the left are sealed ointment jars, of which only the third from the left is nearly completely preserved. At its top it shows the ends of the string that seals the jar. To the right is part of another type of vessel that is slightly shorter and has an ovoid shape. The ground line below the vessels stops a short distance before the corner block border. The surface on the right side of the block is not preserved, but the remaining space allows completing the partially preserved vessel on the right and reconstructing a vertical block border farther right. Below the vessels is a register with a  $h^3$ -sign below each of the four sealed ointment jars; the area to the right is not preserved but would have presumably included another such sign for the vessel on the far right. A short distance below the  $h^3$ -signs is a horizontal line; the surface immediately below it is destroyed.

Farther down are several vertical columns of inscriptions facing right, which must have started just below the horizontal line. They are not separated by column lines. The column on the far right is not preserved. The next column to the left features the leg of a lion-forepart-sign facing right with part of a  $t$ -sign below its right end. The surface to the left is much eroded, and it is possible that a second  $t$ -sign was situated there. Below the preserved  $t$ -sign is a throw stick with three  $mw$ -vessels behind it. The space above the lion's leg allows one to complete the lion only and not to add  $tpt nt$ . The inscription therefore reads  $h^3tt thmw$  "the best oil of the land of  $thmw$ ."<sup>310</sup> To the left of the  $mw$ -vessels is an  $j$ -reed and some distance behind it is part of vertical line, which slightly widens at its top and bottom and can be identified as part of a  $b$ -leg. These

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<sup>309</sup> This piece was published as a preliminary drawing (without the small piece joining the bottom edge as this join was found later) in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 163, fig. 15.

<sup>310</sup> See Koura, *Öl- und Fettnamen*, pp. 193–195.

two signs belong to *jbr* and above them is enough space to reconstruct *tpt nt ḥ3tt* as “the very best *jbr*-oil.”<sup>311</sup> In the next column is a lion forepart, and below are an *ᶜ*-sign, an *n*-sign, and a *d*-sign arranged one above the other for *ᶜnd* (or *ᶜnd*). Above the lion forepart is enough space for *tpt nt*. This could be *tpt nt ḥ3tt ᶜntjw* “very best oil of the *ᶜntjw*-plant,” spelled with a *d*-sign instead of a *t*-sign, or *tpt nt ḥ3tt ᶜnd* “very best *ᶜnd*-oil,” spelled with a *d*-sign instead of a *d*-sign.<sup>312</sup> The next and last column shows a *mḥ*-sign with a bird hieroglyph beneath, which is probably a *tjw*-bird. Above the left end of the *mḥ*-sign is a very small part of a sign that can be identified as the leg joint of a lion forepart. This small part and the space above indicate that this offering also begins with *tpt nt ḥ3tt*. This is probably *tpt nt ḥ3tt mḥtjw*, which can be translated as “the very best oil from Lower Egypt.”<sup>313</sup> A small fragment with a masonry edge at the top joins this block at its bottom edge. This small piece shows the tail of a bird-sign with a very small bottom part of a vertical sign (the *mḥ*-sign) to the top left. Farther left is part of a vertical line from the block border.

The block has masonry edges on all four sides, as well as on the back, which means that this is a completely preserved small block. The block edges on the left and right have plaster on them that is very thick in places (up to 1 cm thick on both the left and right sides), while there is a much thinner layer on the top edge of the block. The back side of the block has a deep depression, which gives the appearance that the stone robbers tried to rework the block into something else, such as a bowl. However, this depression has a layer of plaster on it that is very thick in some places and seems to be of the same quality as that on the sides of the block. It could not have served as a bowl to mix plaster, as the direction of some plaster drips indicates that the block was standing upright, oriented as it had been on the wall. This suggests that the depression on the backside of the block might not have been secondary but might already have

<sup>311</sup> Ibid., pp. 204–206. See also cat. no. 241 as a parallel.

<sup>312</sup> For *tpt nt ḥ3tt ᶜntjw*, see Koura, *Öl- und Fettnamen*, pp. 208–215; she rejects the interpretation of this oil as myrrh and translates it as “öliges Produkt.” For *tpt nt ḥ3tt ᶜnd*, see *ibid.*, pp. 216–217 (also with further references); Koura mentions that *ᶜntjw* and *ᶜnd* have been seen as the same oil due to their similar names but points out that both can be named in one list, which shows that they must be different. A piece from the east chapel of pyramid 8 (97.193/1, unpublished) that features the oil *jbr* suggests that in this chapel the oil that follows is *tpt nt ḥ3tt ᶜnd*, as it features in the next, barely preserved column part of a *d*-sign at the height of the *b*-sign.

<sup>313</sup> Koura, *Öl- und Fettnamen*, p. 124, prefers to interpret similar oil names with *mḥ* “to fill,” but the bird hieroglyph on this piece shows that this is, rather, a specification of from where the oil derives.



existed when the block was put into place. The origins of and possible reasons for this depression are unclear. Was the block originally cut like this for another purpose and then used in the chapel? Was the depression chiseled into the block to make the block slightly lighter and thus easier to lift and place it at the top of the wall? Or was there something protruding from the area behind the wall, behind this piece?

On the left side is a corner block border, and the surface slopes a little upward toward it. This was caused by the smoothing of the wall surface, after the blocks had been placed and before the walls were decorated. The decorated surface of the right part of the block is not preserved. However, the space to the right of the only partially preserved vessel allows completing the vessel and reconstructing a block border only, without the additional stripes that a corner block border would require. There are several fragments with a block border and a block edge to its side from several of the royal women's chapels. These pieces can be reconstructed as having sat directly next to the false doors of these chapels (see cat. no. 206). The present block was probably situated to the left of the false door, which is indicated by the corner block border on the left and by the direction of the inscription, which should be oriented toward the false door. It also can be noted that the damage on the right side did not affect just the surface, but goes down deep. This damage probably resulted from stone robbers who purposefully hacked off the corner of this limestone block in order to access and pry out the false door, which was probably made of more valuable granite. The masonry edges on the left and right do not run at a right angle to the surface but, rather, at a slightly acute one (ca. 88 degree). This suggests that the false door was put in position first, before the narrow limestone blocks were placed between the corner of the wall and the false door. This piece from the east chapel of pyramid 3 does not show any evidence that a vertical inscription was situated between the inventory list and the false door as was the case in the north chapel of pyramid 8.<sup>314</sup>

The surface is eroded, which makes it difficult to judge the relief carving. The quality of the relief seems good but also seems to vary throughout the piece. The better-preserved lion forepart is of very good quality and is actually a small fragment that could be joined to the large block. Its surface is much better preserved than the rest of the piece. This lion was carved very

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<sup>314</sup> This was also not the case in the east chapel of pyramid 8, as is indicated by two fragments that show the vertical border that sat next to the false door with part of an inventory list directly next to it (97.94/5 and 97.118/2, both unpublished).

well and has a nicely modeled face and painted details. The contours of other signs, however, were not very well defined. In some areas the background was not carved away evenly (for example around the *j*-reed and the *mw*-vessels). The *j*-sign has no incised lines, but the face of the bird has some modeling. The corner block border was done very sloppily; the incised parallel lines on the far left are not fully straight and do not run as continuous lines.

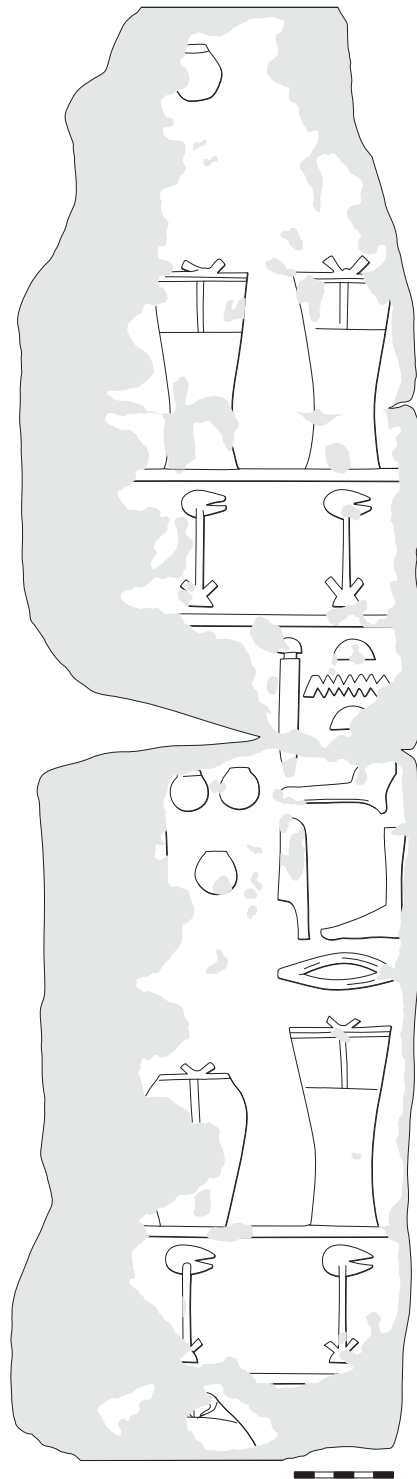
Green paint is on part of the corner border, the top of some *h3*-signs, the *mḥ*-sign, and the *j*-reed. Red paint is on the top parts of the stems of the *h3*-signs, the *d*-hand, and a small amount is on the *c*-arm and on the *b*-leg. Yellow paint is on the lion's leg, which also shows a thin red contour line. Some black paint is on two short horizontal strips of the block border. The better-preserved lion hieroglyph shows the following traces of paint: green on the part of the lion's mane that covers its head and comes down in front of the shoulders; yellow on the face, shoulders, and legs, all of which have thin red contour lines. Additionally, there are short, thin red lines on its shoulder, indicating strands of fur.

In the bottom register one can see a horizontal row of deep chisel marks, which run about 12 cm from the bottom block edge. Some of these marks show that the chisel was placed above the lion hieroglyphs and driven diagonally under them, prying off the lion-signs. (One small fragment with part of a lion was found and joins the large block.) This indicates that the lion forepart hieroglyphs were removed deliberately. Had the purpose been to make the block slightly smaller, one would have used straight blows, forcing the chisel vertically into the stone, rather than the diagonal blows used here to cut away part of the surface. Why the lion foreparts were chosen is uncertain, but it may be that these hieroglyphs were targeted because they depict dangerous creatures that needed to be ritually killed or removed. The area at the top of the block is evenly destroyed; no chisel marks are visible. This may be incidental damage that could have been caused, for example, by falling onto this edge.<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> I would like to thank stone mason Johannes Walz, with whom I discussed the various chisel marks.

Cat. no. 241



From the east chapel of pyramid 3: Part of oil list facing left

15.2 x 72.4 cm, H. of block: 73 cm

Four joining fragments: 96.706 (O/39), 96.1011 (P/38)

At the top left is the bottom of an inscription featuring a *mw*-vessel with blank surface below. Farther down, on a ground line, is a large sealed ointment jar, with a second such vessel to the right. These sit above a low register with a thousand-sign, facing left, beneath each of the two vessels. Farther below is part of an inscription facing left. The top left is not preserved, but farther down are three *mw*-vessels. To the left of them is only a small part of a sign with a vertical contour; this is probably part of a throw-stick-sign. Above it was very probably *ḥ3tt* (compare cat. no. 240). This is part of *ḥ3tt ṯḥmw* “the best oil of the land of *ṯḥmw*.”<sup>316</sup> Some distance below the *mw*-vessels is a large ovoid vessel on a ground line as determinative. To the right of the *mw*-vessels, not separated by a vertical line, is another column of inscription. It is well preserved and gives the name of another type of oil as *tpt nt ḥ3tt jbr* “the very best *jbr*-oil.”<sup>317</sup> Directly below is a large sealed ointment jar, which sits to the right of the ovoid vessel on the same ground line. Farther below is another low register with a thousand-sign beneath each vessel. Below the bottom register with the two thousand-signs is part of a falcon hieroglyph (the start of a linen list that featured falcon standards at its top; see chapter 5.4.1). There are masonry edges at the top and bottom of this piece; the block was 73 cm high.

The left side of the piece is damaged in a very regular pattern. This is the area where one can reconstruct the first column of the inscription (see chapter 5.4.1), and it is the side where the block abutted the false door. This area was possibly heavily damaged when the stone robbers chiseled an opening to the side of the false door in order to pry it out, as it was probably made out of valuable granite and thus removed first.

The surface is badly eroded and no paint is preserved. The quality of the relief carving is difficult to judge due to its state of preservation, but it seems that the quality was either good or mediocre; the contours are well defined, but the *j*-reed did not have carved interior detail.

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<sup>316</sup> See Koura, *Öl- und Fettnamen*, pp. 193–195.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 204–206.

Cat. no. 242



From the east chapel of pyramid 3: Part of a block with bottom of inventory list

38.8 x 25.0 (width of block: 50.0 cm, depth of block: 36.0 cm)

06.306 (probably O/39<sup>318</sup>)

The main part of this piece presents part of a dado with its common red, yellow, and black sections arranged beneath each other. Above it is a small part of surface with the very bottom of three one-thousand-signs. They occur in approximate 8 cm intervals. A masonry edge is at the bottom of the piece, at a right angle to the surface. On the left and right sides are vertical masonry edges, which form a slightly acute angle with the decorated surface (ca. 88 degrees), probably in order to place the block more easily to the side of the false door (see cat. no. 240). The block is about 50 cm wide, which is exactly the same measurement as the block from the same chapel that belongs to the left side of the false door (cat. no. 240). The back of the block has a worked surface parallel to the decorated surface, which allows a determination that the block is 36 cm deep. This is only slightly deeper than cat. no. 240, which is 33 cm deep.

If the bottom block edge was the original bottom of the wall, then the black wall base would have been about 9 cm high, which is far too low.<sup>319</sup> One can safely assume that another block was originally situated below this one.

The size, shape, and decoration of the piece suggest that it belongs to the inventory list that enumerates oils and linen in an amount of one thousand each. The block preserves its vertical edges on both sides, and its width corresponds to that of cat. no. 240, which is clearly part of an inventory list. Its position at the bottom of the wall suggests that this is the lower part of the inventory list that can be reconstructed as naming linen offerings (see chapter 5.4.1). It is interesting that no column lines separate the one-thousand-signs, which might mean that parts of this linen list were not structured in individual compartments as is the case in the “classical” linen list of the Dynasty 4 slab stelae (see chapter 5.4.1). Small parts of three one-thousand-signs are preserved and a fourth one can be reconstructed to the right. The available remaining space farther right is wider than that on the left, and its size suggests reconstructing a corner block

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<sup>318</sup> The square was not recorded when the piece was excavated in 1996, but since a sketch of it was labeled with the date 11-7-96 and with the find spot as “pyramid 3 chapel, N-part,” it can safely be assumed that it was found together with other fragments excavated the same day in square O/39, in the area of pyramid 3’s east chapel. The piece was registered not when it was found but later in 2006, which is why it has an “06.” registration number.

<sup>319</sup> A large block from the north chapel of pyramid 8 (see cat. no. 123) shows an incomplete 12.5 cm high black section of the wall base.

border. This shows that this block was originally situated to the right of the false door. The left side of the piece presumably included a block border without any additional lines, as it adjoined the false door. The space between the leftmost one-thousand-sign and the reconstructed block border, however, is slightly wider than that on the far right (about 7 cm on the left and about 5 cm on the right).

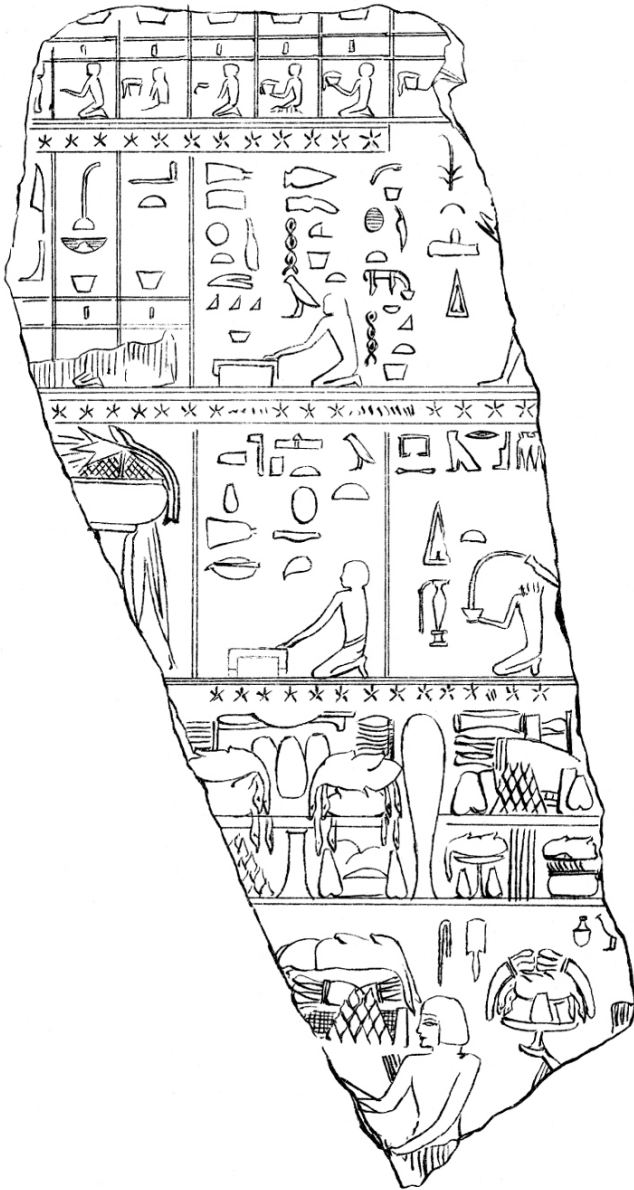
The left side of the block is damaged, and there are chisel marks in this area that run slightly diagonally from the top right to the bottom left, which suggests that this area was chiseled off on purpose by stone robbers in order to access and pry out the false door.

The dado features its usual pattern of differently colored bands and sections. However, the paint was applied very roughly and does not follow the relief carving. At the very top is a horizontal band. Its top half is painted black with a thick paint stroke about 1 cm broad and not as well preserved as in the area at the very bottom of the piece, while the band's bottom half and the large section below it are painted red. Farther below is a second band; it should be completely yellow, but only the very bottom of the band is this color; nearly its complete height is, instead, painted red. Farther below is a large yellow section. A broad incised line at the bottom of the yellow section separates it from the black section below it. However, the yellow paint continues a little below this incised line before the black painted surface begins.



### 4.3 A Piece That Probably Derives from the East Chapel of Pyramid 2

Cat. no. 243



Drawing from Vyse, *Gizeh III*, pl. opposite p. 63, fig. 6.

Probably from the east chapel of pyramid 2: Large block with part of offering list, offering rituals, piled offerings and offerings bearers<sup>320</sup>

<sup>320</sup> Published by Vyse, *Gizeh III*, pl. opposite p. 63, fig. 6. See also Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 157, fig. 8.

The piece was found by Perring on the north side of the king's pyramid and very probably derives from the east chapel of pyramid 2 (see below). The present location of the piece is unknown. Its dimensions are likewise unknown, but the block can be estimated to have been about 90 cm high. This estimate is based on the scale and measurements of the reliefs found at the north chapel of pyramid 8; only small pieces are preserved from the decoration of pyramid 2's east chapel, but it seems to have the same scale than that of the north chapel of pyramid 8.

At the top of the block is the bottom half of an offering-list register facing left. Preserved are cup determinatives, number boxes, and kneeling figures holding cups from six columns. On top of several of these latter cups seem to be fowl. Below is another register with three columns of the offering list on the left side of the piece. The leftmost column shows an *j*-reed and a *b*-sign which are part of *l̥t nbt bnrt* "all sweets" (A88).<sup>321</sup> It is followed by *mpt nbt*, which has been interpreted as either "all annual offerings" or "all vegetables" (A89).<sup>322</sup> The next and last column reads *l̥nkt* "the *l̥nkt*-offering" (A90), which is usually the last offering in the royal ritual.<sup>323</sup>

Behind these columns are scenes of the offering ritual. It begins with a kneeling priest holding his hands above an offering table. The sky from the list in front of him continues above his head but stops above the last column of inscription that belongs to this scene. The inscription begins with two large horizontally oriented signs, which are not depicted clearly in the drawing. They are possibly a haunch of beef<sup>324</sup> and a leg bone with adjoining meat (Gardiner Sign List F44). Below seems to be *l̥t bnrt* and *gsw* "sweet things and bread halves."<sup>325</sup> At the top of the next column are again two large horizontally oriented signs, but their identification is unclear. The bottom one is slightly curved and might be a rib (Gardiner Sign List F42). Below these two

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<sup>321</sup> For a parallel with a spelling with the *j*-reed sign, see William C. Hayes, *The Texts in the Mastabeh of Sen-Wosret-Ankh at Lisht*, PMMA 12 (New York, 1937), pl. 4. For the offering, see Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 50, 71; Hassan, *Gîza VI/2*, p. 99; Hermann Junker, *Gîza*, vol. 3, *Die Mastabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Wien and Leipzig, 1938), p. 111.

<sup>322</sup> Junker, *Gîza III*, p. 111; Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 50; Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, p. 83.

<sup>323</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 50, 71. The  $\epsilon$ -arm in the published drawing is very probably slightly incorrectly rendered; originally it is probably the arm with the *nu*-vessel for *l̥nk* (Gardiner Sign List D39) that was written here.

<sup>324</sup> Sign F119 in the extended library in Rainer Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch—Deutsch: Die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800–950 v. Chr.)*, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 64 (Mainz, 1995), p. 1141.

<sup>325</sup> Compare the inscription of the same scene in Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 18, which also has the two meat hieroglyphs at the top and *l̥t bnrt gsw* below.

signs is *ḥnqt* “beer.” Farther below and next to the head of the kneeling priest is his title *wt*.<sup>326</sup> The third column shows a curved diagonal sign at the top with a cup below. This diagonal sign resembles a rib-sign (Gardiner Sign List F42), but the cup below does not quite fit. The inscription continues with *ḥt bnrt jrp ḥnqt* “sweet things, wine, and beer.” To the right is another ritual scene with a column of inscription in front of a standing figure reading *ḥtp dj nswt*. Preserved are only the front leg and a small part of his outstretched arm holding what is presumably a papyrus roll in front of him.

The front part of the register below is filled with piled offerings. These are followed to the right by more ritual scenes. There is a sky above the offerings that continues at least above the first two figures of the ritual scenes. The offerings are beneath the list, while the ritual scenes of the second register begin directly below the first ritual scene from the register above. The first scene of this second register shows a priest kneeling in front of an offering table as well, but the inscription is different, reading horizontally at the top of the scene: *wdb ḥtp ntr* “the presentation of the royal offerings.”<sup>327</sup> Behind it is a *w*-sign. A *t*-sign is below, and both could be part of the priest title *wt*. In the drawing are six more signs below *ḥtp ntr*, which seem to give the names of various offerings. The top left hieroglyph might be a cone-shaped bread loaf (or a vessel?). The sign below is probably a haunch of beef,<sup>328</sup> and farther below is a sign depicting a leg bone with adjoining meat (Gardiner Sign List F44). To the right is an oval sign that cannot be identified. Below is a rib (Gardiner Sign List F42), with a piece of flesh (Gardiner Sign List F51) farther below; both these signs could belong to *spr* “ribs.” Behind this scene is a vertical dividing line. In the next scene is another kneeling priest holding a cup, into which flows a libation stream that comes from behind him. It must be poured by a standing priest, who is not preserved. The inscription in front of the kneeling figure says *rdjt qblḥw* “to give a libation offering.”<sup>329</sup> At the top of the scene is a horizontal inscription, which gives the title *jmj r3 st ḥntjw [š] pr 3<sup>c</sup>* “overseer of

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<sup>326</sup> For the *wt*-priest, see Hermann Junker, *Gîza*, vol. 2, *Die Mastabas der beginnenden V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Wien and Leipzig, 1934), p. 65.

<sup>327</sup> See Lapp, *Opferformel*, pp. 107, 179; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives de Néferirkarê-Kakaï II*, pp. 624–626.

<sup>328</sup> Sign F119 in the extended library in Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 1141.

<sup>329</sup> WB V, p. 28. See also the offering list of Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 in fig. 24 and Junker, *Gîza III*, p. 104.

the office of the small holders of the palace.”<sup>330</sup> In the register below are piled offerings with a sky above. This register appears to be a little lower than that above. Farther below is part of a register with offering bearers facing left. Parts of two figures carrying large piles of offerings are preserved and their titles (*smr* and *wdpw*) are written above them.

The piece was found by John Shae Perring, who worked on behalf of Richard William Howard Vyse and explored the pyramid complex of Senwosret III in 1839. In his search for the pyramid entrance, Perring excavated only on the north side of the king’s pyramid, where he first explored the area of the north chapel of the king. He made a north-south trench to the north of the king’s north chapel, and it ran very close to the east chapel of pyramid 2.<sup>331</sup> Therefore all reliefs that Perring found and Vyse published probably derive from the north chapel of the king or from the east chapel of pyramid 2. Part of the ritual scenes that are depicted on the far right of the block here are already preserved at the far left on a large block from the north chapel of Senwosret III, which was found by the present excavation.<sup>332</sup> The possibility that the north chapel block, which was excavated in 2004, is actually a re-discovered part of the Perring block can also be excluded because the 2004 block depicts more ritual scenes on its right side. Since these ritual scenes would have been depicted only once facing left, Perring’s block cannot derive from the north chapel of the king and can safely be attributed to the east chapel of pyramid 2. Even if Perring’s drawing was printed reversed by mistake and the scenes were originally oriented facing right, one can still exclude the north chapel of the king as place of origin: Another piece from the north chapel of Senwosret III<sup>333</sup> depicts part of the scenes facing right that are depicted on Perring’s block and shows some differences. In Perring’s drawing, the first priest is holding his arms above an offering table, while this table was omitted in the same scene on the king’s north chapel piece. The north chapel fragment additionally has a vertical line behind the first scene, which is not depicted on Perring’s drawing.

No information was recorded about paint or style of the relief.

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<sup>330</sup> Compare Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, p. 51, pl. 38 (and see here fig. 24). They discuss the possibility that in their scene the title *jmj r3 st lntj.w š pr 3<sup>c</sup>* was meant but then reject it. However, see also cat. no. 81 from the north chapel of pyramid 8, which shows an aleph-bird behind the *lntj*-sign in a libation scene.

<sup>331</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 15, pl. 41 (upper).

<sup>332</sup> The piece belongs to the chapel’s west wall and is unpublished.

<sup>333</sup> It belongs to the chapel’s east wall and is unpublished.

## 5 The Reconstruction of the Decoration of the North Chapel of Pyramid 8

### 5.1 The Exterior Wall Decoration

The only evidence of decoration on the outside of the chapel derives from the exterior side of the lintel, which featured a winged sun disk and the titles and name of the queen, executed in raised relief (see fig. 9).

Large parts of the lintel block with the decoration of its interior side could be reassembled, and a small part of the exterior top left corner decoration joined this piece (cat. no. 1). This large reassembled piece preserves the complete width of the lintel of 208 cm. Unfortunately, none of the other pieces with exterior decoration join the large reassembled lintel block because its preserved thickness is not deep enough.

Both the upper left and right exterior corners of the lintel are preserved and show that it had a sky at the top (see cat. nos. 1 and 11). Below it were two rows of inscription. The top one included a large winged sun disk, as is evident, for example, from cat. no. 3. Cat. nos. 1 and 11 also indicate that the name and titles of Horus of Behdet were written symmetrically at the left and right ends of the top row and that the inscriptions were read from the outer corners inward. The top left corner of the lintel reads *bḥdtj ntr ʿ3 z3b šwtj*, while a fragment from the top right corner preserves only *bḥdtj*. Another piece reads from right to left the following titles of Horus of Behdet: *ntr ʿ3 z3b šwtj nb pt* (see cat. no. 10). A small part of the pointed end of a feather is to the left of the last title, revealing that this piece belongs to the right end of the winged sun disk and that the sequence of titles ended with *nb pt*. The left end of the wing is also preserved and has the top right corner of a *nb*-basket to its left (see cat. no. 2). These pieces indicate that the inscriptions were identical on either side and can be fully read as *bḥdtj ntr ʿ3 z3b šwtj nb pt* “The one from Behdet, the great god, dappled of plumage, the lord of the sky.” Additional fragments preserve smaller parts of the feathers of the winged sun disk and of the cobras that encircle the sun disk (see cat. nos. 4–9).

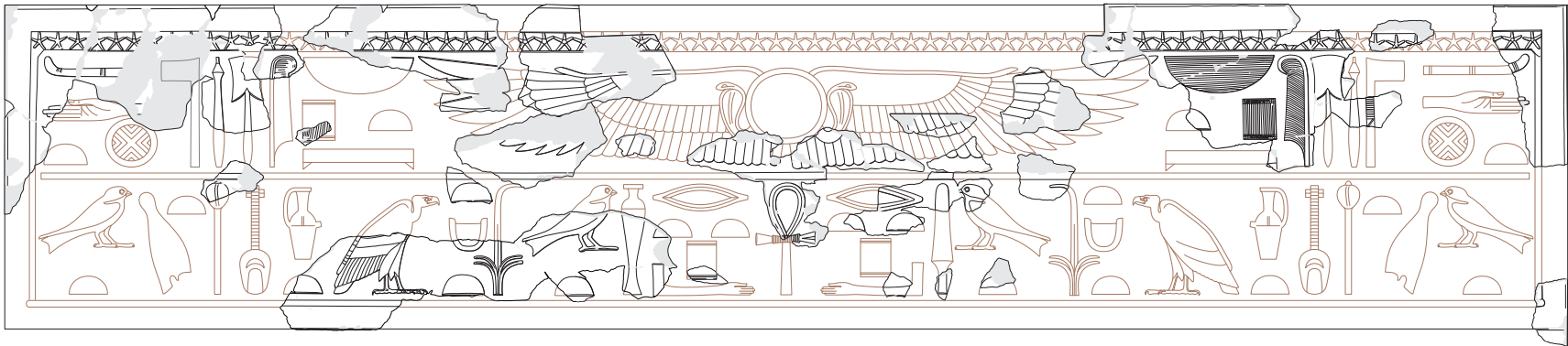


Fig. 9. Reconstruction of the inscription on the exterior side of the lintel.

There is evidence that the center of the exterior top edge and surface of the lintel was damaged and patched. Cat. no. 3 shows three edges that belong to the left ends of beds for two different patch stones; one ran along the top edge and the other was situated below, adjoining the top one. The bottom edge for the patch stone at the very top of the lintel does not run exactly horizontally but is slightly angled. A right end for the bed of a patch stone is preserved much farther right (see cat. no. 10). Its horizontal edge sits at the same height as that of the piece to the left; however, the edge is fully horizontal, indicating that the edges of cat. nos. 3 and 10 did not belong to the same patch stone but, rather, to two different ones. Another piece (cat. no. 8) features the bottom horizontal part of the bed for a patch stone that sits not at the top edge of the lintel but, instead, relatively high, within its upper third. These various pieces suggest that an area about 60 cm wide and 9 cm high was damaged and needed to be repaired with several patch stones.

Several pieces that show the typical features for the exterior inscription (high relief and a strong patina) display parts of royal women's titles facing left and right. The size of the hieroglyphs fits that of the titles of the winged sun disk. They belong to a second row of inscription that can be reconstructed below the winged sun disk and that was separated from the top row by a horizontal line. Cat. no. 5 was an important piece for the reconstruction. It depicts the center part of the winged sun disk with the top part of an *ankh*-sign in a row below. This reveals that the inscription in the second row was not read from the outside in, as was the case at the top, but, rather, from the central *ankh*-sign outward in both directions.

The largest reassembled piece with queen's titles is cat. no. 14. Because it features a bottom border with a stepped surface farther below, it can be placed at the bottom of the lintel (see chapter 8.3.1). The inscription on this large piece reads *wrt ḥꜣt ḥmt nswt mwt nswt* and faces right. In front of the *ḥꜣ*-vase are only small parts of two signs that can be identified as a *t*-sign and an *ꜥ*-arm that belong to the title *jrjt pꜥt*. Another piece shows part of the same title, oriented in the opposite direction (see cat. no. 15). The central *ankh*-sign of the second row was read twice; it served as the beginning of the inscription for both the left and right sides. Since it seems that the title *jrjt pꜥt* was used both on the left and right side, one can suggest that the inscription was symmetrical (or nearly symmetrical; see below). The title *jrjt pꜥt* is often used first in a list of titles<sup>334</sup> and was thus reconstructed to the immediate left and right of the *ankh*-sign. Behind the

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<sup>334</sup> See, for example, cat. 178 or fig. 8a–c.



left-facing *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t* is the narrow vertical top of a sign, which can be identified as the top of a *h<sub>ts</sub>*-scepter, and behind it is the head of a *wr*-bird (cat. no. 15). This is the title *wrt h<sub>ts</sub>*, which often occurs together with the title *wrt h<sub>zt</sub>*; on the preserved tympanum both titles are given in sequence (see cat. no. 178). Cat. no. 14, from the left side of the lintel, features the title *wrt h<sub>zt</sub>* facing right and reads *wr.t h<sub>ts</sub>* neither in front of nor behind it. It seems that the two titles *wrt h<sub>ts</sub>* and *wrt h<sub>zt</sub>* were split up, possibly because the available space for the inscription was too narrow to include both titles on both sides. Splitting up these two titles did not interrupt the visual symmetry of the inscription, because both include the *wr*-bird and a tall, narrow sign. A small fragment with the top of a *sw*-plant facing left suggests that either one or both of the titles *h<sub>mt</sub> nswt / mwt nswt* were used on the right side as well, again allowing a reconstruction with a nearly symmetrical inscription.

There is no clear evidence for how the inscription concluded. Cat. no. 14 from the left side with *h<sub>mt</sub> nswt mwt nswt* has a *t*-sign to the bottom left of the vulture. This sign probably does not belong to *Wrt*, as there is no evidence that the queen is ever called only “Weret.” It is very likely rather part of *H<sub>nm</sub>t-nfr-h<sub>dt</sub>* (with the *h<sub>nm</sub>*-jar having been above the *t*-sign). One small piece, which can be assigned to the exterior lintel inscription due to its style and patina, preserves the top of a *h<sub>d</sub>*-scepter below a horizontal line (cat. no. 19). This line must be the separation line that runs between the two rows of inscription, and the *h<sub>d</sub>*-sign likely belonged to the designation *H<sub>nm</sub>t-nfr-h<sub>dt</sub>*. As this designation usually follows the highest titles of the queen, one can assume that the *t*-sign behind the vulture hieroglyph also belongs to it.<sup>335</sup> The width of the lintel (208 cm) is known through cat. no. 1, and a reconstruction of its exterior inscription shows that the space to the left of the title “king’s mother” was only about 39–40 cm. If one reconstructs that the designation Khenemetneferhedjet was written with a *h<sub>nm</sub>*-jar and a *t*-sign below, followed by a *nfr*-sign, a *h<sub>d</sub>*-scepter, a *t*-sign,<sup>336</sup> and a white crown, then one can estimate that it filled a space

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<sup>335</sup> In the interior decoration of the north chapel of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, the designation Khenemetneferhedjet can be written with only the white-crown-sign for *h<sub>dt</sub>* (see the tympanum cat. no. 178 and the vertical inscriptions above the queen on the east and west walls, cat. nos. 56 and 58). But the writing of Khenemetneferhedjet with both the *h<sub>d</sub>*-scepter and the white crown is well known; see, for example, the inscription on the triad statue in fig. 8c, above.

<sup>336</sup> A *t*-sign is included as part of Khenemetneferhedjet, for example, in the above-mentioned statue inscription (see fig. 8c).

about 25 cm wide. It is not certain whether the queen was named “Weret” on the exterior inscription; however to add “Weret” to this inscription would take about 14 cm and would nicely fill the remaining available space of 14–15 cm.<sup>337</sup> One could alternatively suggest that the inscription ended with *ḥt.tj dt*, but the available space is not wide enough, even if one takes out the possible *t*-sign between the *ḥd*-scepter and the white crown. “Weret,” therefore, is a much more plausible reconstruction for the end of this inscription.

To summarize, one can reconstruct the left section of the bottom inscription as reading: *ḥt jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t wrt ḥzt ḥmt nswt mwt nswt Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt*<sup>338</sup> *Wrt* “May live the noblewoman, the one great of praise, the king’s wife, and the king’s mother Khenemetneferhedjet Weret,” and the right part was identical except that the title *wrt ḥts* “the great one of the *ḥts*-scepter” had been chosen instead of *wrt ḥzt*.<sup>339</sup>

A small fragment from the bottom right corner (cat. no. 18) shows that the horizontal border line has a rounded end and can therefore be regarded as a depiction of the land-sign. A vertical line extends up from it as a side border. This vertical line from the right end of the lintel and its respective counterpart to the left are also preserved on the two top corner pieces that feature the ends of the sky. These lines were not *was*-scepters but can be seen as poles that run from the earth to the sky, and within this frame, and thus between earth and sky, are Horus of Behdet as winged sun disk and the titles and the name of the queen.

The area above the sky, to the outer sides of the vertical border lines, and below the horizontal border line is not carved down to the usual background level. Instead, in proximity to these borders the surface slopes down toward them, making them appear raised above the background. The same feature is also known from other exterior inscriptions of the complex.

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<sup>337</sup> Compare Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 152, with note 21, for a preliminary reconstruction in which the remaining space was estimated roughly as being not wider than two wide hieroglyphs. In the detailed study here, this estimate could be narrowed down to a smaller space.

<sup>338</sup> Cat. no. 21 might be part of this *t*-sign from the left or right side of the lintel inscription; however, the sign could also have belonged to *ḥmt nswt*, where it was placed in the reconstruction (see also the notes of cat. 21 for yet another, although less likely possibility that the *t*-sign belonged to the title *mwt nswt*).

<sup>339</sup> For the queen’s titles, see the appendix in chapter 9.

## 5.2 The Interior Decoration of the Entrance Wall

The following discussion of the reconstruction of the chapel's interior decoration is arranged by the walls themselves and by types of decorative elements.<sup>340</sup> The wall decoration of the room consisted of painted raised relief. The first interior decorated element encountered by a visitor to the chapel might have been the vertical stop face for the door. Cat. no. 26 shows traces of what might be vertical red stripes, which are indicated in paint only and would have been visible when the doors were open; however, they are unusual and no parallel is known.<sup>341</sup>

From the preserved lintel (cat. no. 1), we know that the entrance wall was 208 cm wide on the inside. The entrance into the chapel led straight into a decorated room, as is evident from cat. no. 25. This piece shows that the bottom of the interior entrance wall was decorated with an animal-slaughtering scene, and it provides the complete width of 62 cm<sup>342</sup> for the wall surface between the doorframe and the corner of the wall. The large rough area to the right of the scene indicates that this section of the block extended into the wall. It was covered by the adjoining block from the north end of the east wall, which thus has a corner block border running directly along its left block edge (cat. no. 123). Cat. no. 25 also provides the depth of the curved doorframe, which spans between the decorated interior surface and the vertical stop face on the opposite side; it is 26 cm. In addition, the piece shows that the curve of the doorframe protrudes a maximum of 1.5 cm.

Cat. no. 26, which was originally situated on the other side of the door, demonstrates that at least two registers of animal-slaughtering scenes were depicted at the bottom of the wall, and that another figurative scene, probably a third register with slaughterers, was above. A sky is depicted at the top of each of the two bottom registers; it is unclear, though, whether the figurative scene farther above had such a sky. In the reconstruction this top figurative register does not include a sky (see fig. 10). This is based on cat. no. 27, which features a knife

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<sup>340</sup> For two preliminary reports of the chapel's decoration, see Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, pp. 147–166; and Oppenheim, "Appendix: Relief Decoration," in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 133–146.

<sup>341</sup> These are different from the horizontal green and yellow stripes that reveals are often decorated with; see, for example, Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pl. 394. Could these traces of red paint possibly derive from the wooden door itself and thus not be remains of actual wall decoration?

<sup>342</sup> This measurement includes the vertical borders on both sides but excludes the curve of the door jamb.

hieroglyph (presumably as part of a slaughtering scene) at the top of a register that does not have a sky above. The bottom section of a register with offerings is above, proposing that the hieroglyph belongs to the topmost slaughtering register. A piece from the east chapel of pyramid 9 provides the same evidence more clearly, as it contains the inscription “sharpening the knife” (which is undoubtedly part of a slaughtering scene) without a sky above and below a register with piled offerings.<sup>343</sup> The top register with the slaughterers was therefore slightly shorter. In the reconstruction cat. no. 27 is shown on the west side of the entrance wall, close to the doorframe, as there is evidence that the doorframe on this side had several patch stones (see cat. no. 26); however, this position is not secure.

The interior side of the lintel block shows a *khoker*-frieze at the very top of the entrance wall with a sky below and depictions of piled offerings farther below (cat. no. 1). One piece with a horizontal border and the depiction of offerings above it can be identified as deriving from the top of the door (see cat. no. 33). It features a horizontal block edge at its bottom. This edge is the bottom edge of the lintel block and the top of the doorway. Another fragment with offerings preserves part of the curved door jamb on its left side (see cat. no. 35), indicating that this motif also existed to the side of the door.

Piled offerings were clearly depicted above and to the side(s) of the door. We do not have direct evidence though for how many registers were filled with these depictions. The height of the entrance wall is determined through the reconstructed height of the adjoining east wall (see below), and the entrance wall had a minimum of three figurative scenes at its bottom. The remaining available height fits perfectly to fill it with four registers of piled offering (see fig. 10) if each register had a height of about 16 cm, as is the case for a register filled with offerings from the north end of the west wall (see cat. 101; the other registers with offerings on the north end of the west can likewise be reconstructed as being 16 cm high; see fig. 12 and pl. 1). The preserved pieces fit well into this reconstruction, except that the ground line of the left top most register with offerings does not match. (It might have been placed too low by mistake; see below.)

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<sup>343</sup> Unpublished (97.303, 97.605/1).

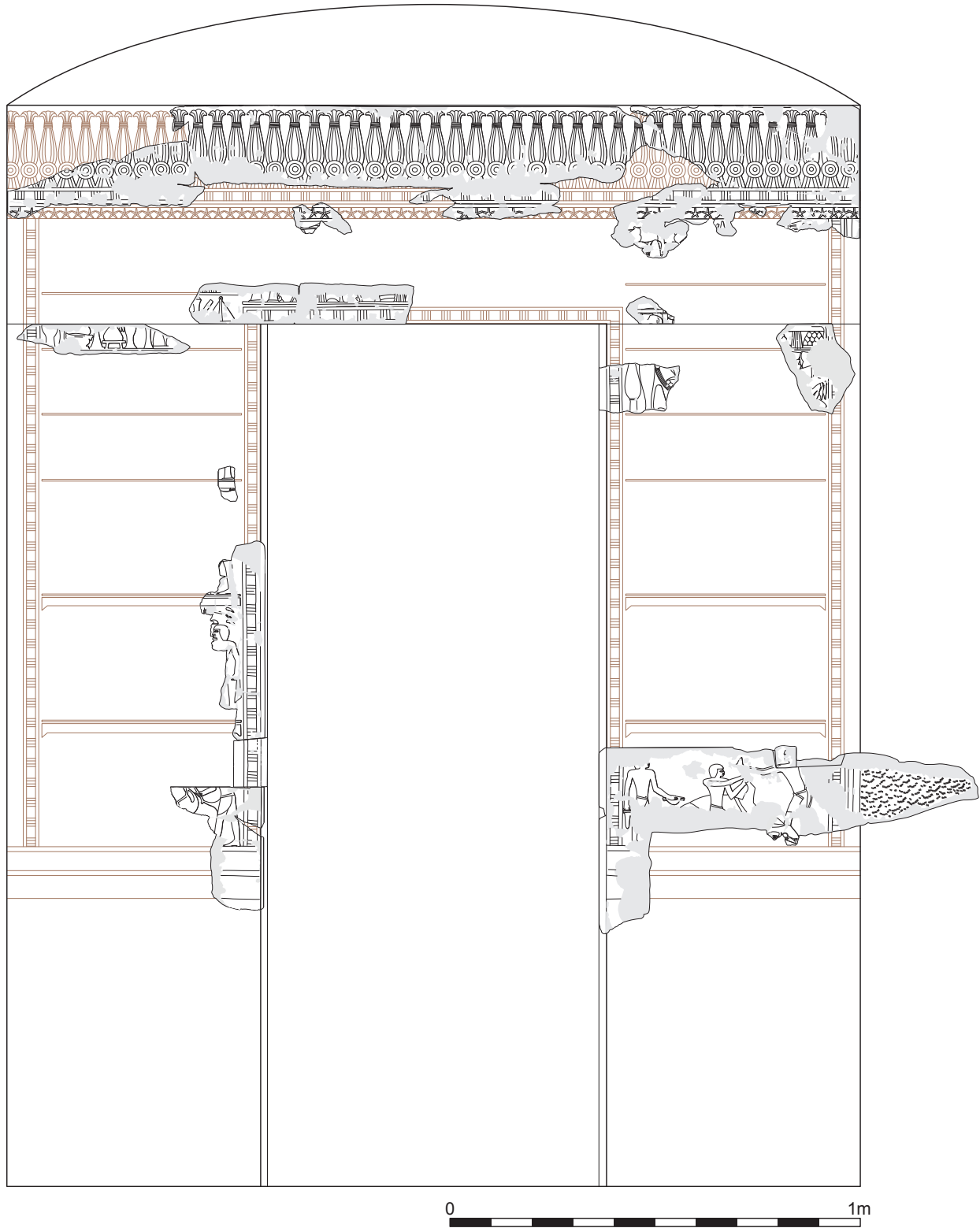


Fig. 10. Reconstruction of the interior side of the north wall.

Reconstructing the registers with piled offerings also allows reconstructing the original height of the interior side of the lintel, which was about 53 cm high. Above the opening for the doorway was a register with piled offerings that was slightly taller than usual, and cat. no. 33 shows that this register did not line up with the registers to either side, which are on the same wall. Reconstructing the original height of the interior side of the lintel also allows estimating that this register was about 21 cm high.

Two pieces with offerings and a corner border have a block edge at the top that sits 6 cm above the top contour of the register line (cat. no. 34 and 36). Piled offerings were also depicted behind the offering list on the east and west walls. However, one of the two pieces with the block edge at the top (cat. no. 34) is too broad to have originally been situated behind the offering list. (We know from cat. no. 101 that the space filled with offerings behind the list was only about 21 cm wide.) Therefore it must have sat below the lintel block, to the side of the door. Since the other piece (cat. no. 36) features the same distance between the register line and the block edge, it is likely that it also derives from below the lintel, to the side of the door (see fig. 10).

Cat. no. 34 undoubtedly sat immediately below the lintel and on the left side of the entrance wall. This can be determined due to its block edge, the vertical border on its left side, and the width of the depiction of offerings. Its block edge at the top can be aligned with the bottom edge of cat. no. 33, which is clearly part of the bottom of the lintel and depicts the top left border of the doorframe. Together these pieces create a register to the top left of the door that it is only 14 cm high, which is just slightly less than the 16 cm high registers on the adjoining west wall. Cat. no. 33 also preserves the very bottom of a register above. Placing this piece into a reconstruction allows estimating that this register was about 18 cm high (without the sky from the very top of the wall), which is slightly higher than the 16 cm on the north end of the west wall. However, it has been noted above that the register below was 2 cm shorter than usual. It might be the case that the ground line of the top left register of the entrance wall was not positioned correctly, creating a register above that was 2 cm too high and a register below that was 2 cm too short. However, both registers together still conform to the general layout of the adjoining wall.

The original position of cat. nos. 36 and 37 is suggested by their block edges, and the vertical border of cat. no. 36 indicates that the piece was part of the right side of the wall. Both sat at the top right of the entrance wall, and together they form a register that is 16 cm high, as

expected. This shows that the slight discrepancy of the height in registers seems to have been restricted to the area at the top left of the door.

### 5.3 The Decoration of the Long Walls on the East and West

#### 5.3.1 The Depiction of the Queen at Her Offering Table<sup>344</sup>

The only preserved part of a royal woman's face within the pyramid complex derives from the north chapel of pyramid 8 (cat. no. 40). It unfortunately preserves only the queen's nose and parts of her eye and forehead; however, it does show that Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I was wearing a uraeus on the east wall of this chapel. The uraeus was combined with a vulture headdress, as is evident from cat. no. 41.<sup>345</sup> This piece seems to be the earliest preserved relief depiction of a queen wearing the combination of a vulture headdress with the uraeus.<sup>346</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> For the image of the deceased before offerings and its multiple layers of meaning, see Gay Robins, "Meals for the Dead: The Image of the Deceased Seated Before a Table of Offerings in Ancient Egyptian Art," in *Dining and Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the 'Funerary Banquet' in Ancient Art, Burial and Belief*, ed. by Catherine M. Draycott and Maria Stamatopoulou (Leuven, Paris, and Bristol, CT, 2016), pp. 111–127.

<sup>345</sup> For the vulture headdress in general, see Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 273–283, also pp. 247–248; and Gay Robins, "Ideal Beauty and Divine Attributes," in *Queens of Egypt: From Hetepheres to Cleopatra*, ed. by Christiane Ziegler (Monaco, 2008), pp. 118–121.

<sup>346</sup> However, see Vivienne Gae Callender, *In Hathor's Image*, vol. 1, *The Wives and Mothers of Egyptian Kings from Dynasties I–VI* (Prague, 2011), p. 274, who states that the Old Kingdom queen Neith is depicted in a relief wearing the vulture headdress with a uraeus; and Audran Labrousse, "Les reines de la salle aux offrandes de Pépy I<sup>er</sup>," in *Cinquante ans d'éternité: Jubilé de la Mission archéologique française de Saqqâra*, ed. by Rémi Legros, BdE 162 (Cairo, 2015), pp. 167–179, who describes both Neith and Khentkaus II being represented wearing the vulture headdress with the uraeus. This does not seem to be correct. Khentkaus II is wearing the vulture headdress with a vulture head on three pillars, while a fourth one depicts her with a uraeus without the vulture headdress; see Miroslav Verner, with contributions by Paule Posener-Kriéger and Peter Jánosi, *Abusir*, vol. 3, *The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus* (Prague, 1995), pp. 55–58, 80. Regarding Neith's vulture headdress, it is unclear exactly which animal was depicted on her forehead in the relief under discussion. The preserved contours appear to belong to a vulture head rather than to a uraeus; see the photograph in Gustave Jéquier, *Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit*, Fouilles Saqq. (Cairo, 1933), pl. 5. See also Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 282–283 and 498 with note 1; and



However, as a statue fragment from a subsidiary pyramid in the pyramid complex of Senwosret I features the same combination,<sup>347</sup> and as very little material is known altogether for royal women in Dynasty 12, one can assume that this combination was used for royal women before the reign of Senwosret III. From the west wall there is also evidence that the queen was wearing the vulture headdress (see cat. nos. 47–48); however, there is no indication as to whether the uraeus was present here as well or if a vulture head was featured instead. On both walls the queen is depicted with a tripartite wig (see cat. nos. 41 and 47 as well as figs. 11–13).

On the east wall the queen is wearing a dress with broad shoulder straps, a broad collar (see cat. no. 41), and bracelets. (Only part of one bracelet is preserved, but it was presumably part of a matching set; see cat. no. 42.) A piece from the west wall shows her with anklets (cat. no. 49).<sup>348</sup> From both walls there is evidence that the queen is depicted barefoot (see cat. nos. 46 and 50), as is to be expected in this period. She is seated on a *hwt* throne; parts of the short back rest, which has a cushion draped over it, are preserved from both walls (see cat. nos. 43 and 52).

The size of the throne's border and back rest is surprisingly large in comparison to depictions of thrones in other monuments of the complex. Cat. no. 43 shows a block border with a central part that is about 2.1 cm wide (the complete width being not preserved), while the central part of the block border of the throne in the east chapel of pyramid 8 is only about 1.6 cm wide. (For the throne of pyramid 8's east chapel, see cat. no. 238.) Cat. no. 54 from the north chapel of pyramid 8 preserves part of a block border the full width of which can be reconstructed as having been 2.8 cm, while that of pyramid 8's east chapel is only 2.4 cm wide. More intriguingly, the border of the king's throne in his north chapel is about 2.6 cm wide,<sup>349</sup> while the scale of the decoration there is larger than that in the chapels built for the royal women. We have part of the back rest with the cushion from both walls of the north chapel of pyramid 8; it is 6.5 cm wide on cat. no. 52 and can be reconstructed as being about the same width on cat. no. 43. By

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Percy E. Newberry, "Queen Nitocris of the Sixth Dynasty," in *JEA* 29 (1943), p. 54, who identified the depiction as a vulture head.

<sup>347</sup> Dieter Arnold with contributions by Dorothea Arnold and Felix Arnold and an appendix by Cheryl Haldane, *The South Cemeteries of Lisht*, vol. 3, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, PMMA 25 (New York, 1992), p. 65, cat. no. 89a, pl. 77b. It is most likely that the statue fragment depicts the owner of the pyramid and thus a queen, not a goddess.

<sup>348</sup> Note that on the south wall of her east chapel she was not wearing anklets; see cat. no. 238.

<sup>349</sup> Unpublished.

contrast, the top half of the vertical back rest in the king's north chapel is only 4.8 cm wide. The depiction of the king was undoubtedly larger in his north chapel than that of the queen in her two chapels. This suggests that the size of some of the throne's elements did not necessarily need to be in a specific proportion to the overall size of the throne.

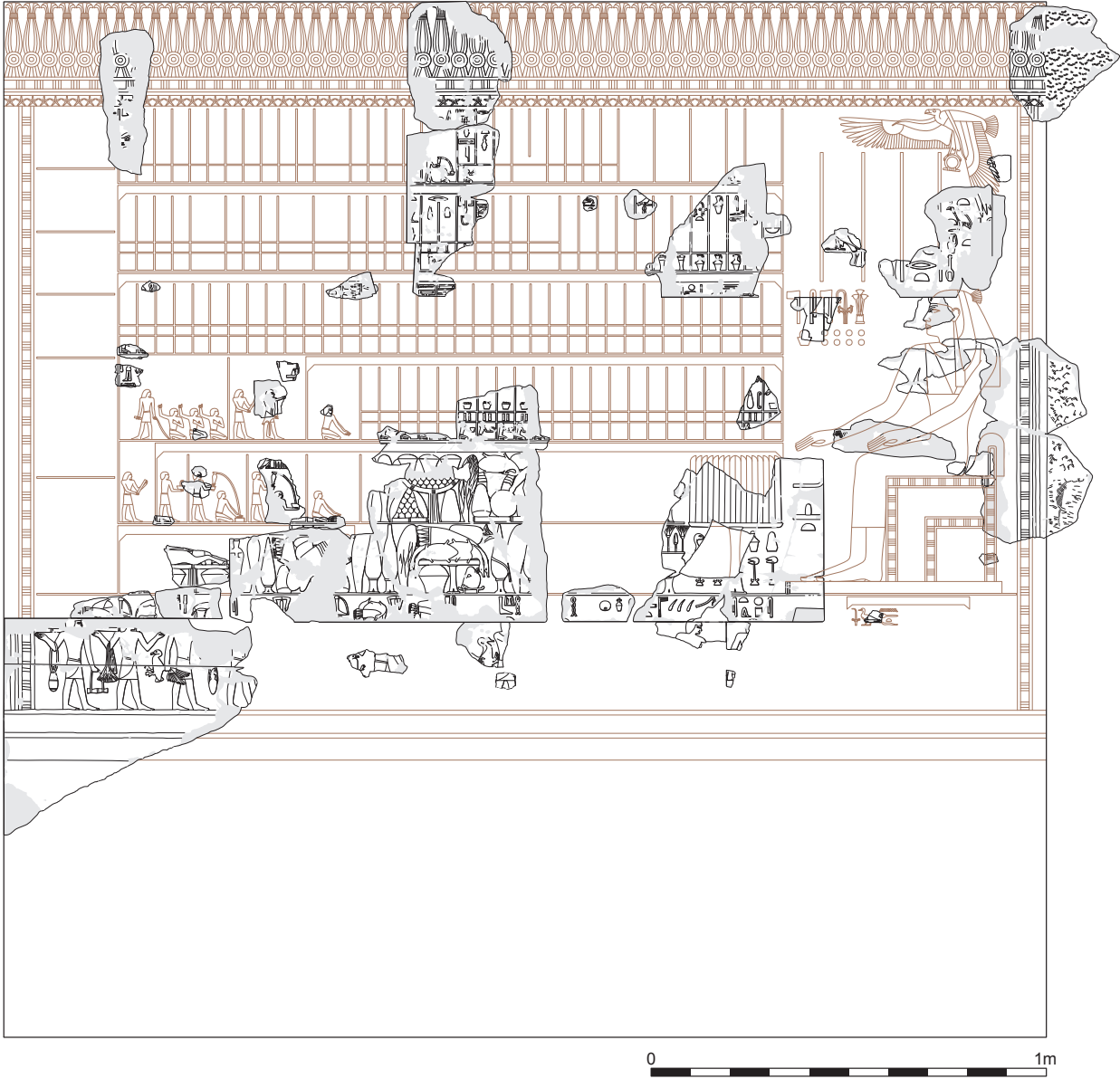


Fig. 11. Reconstruction of the east wall.

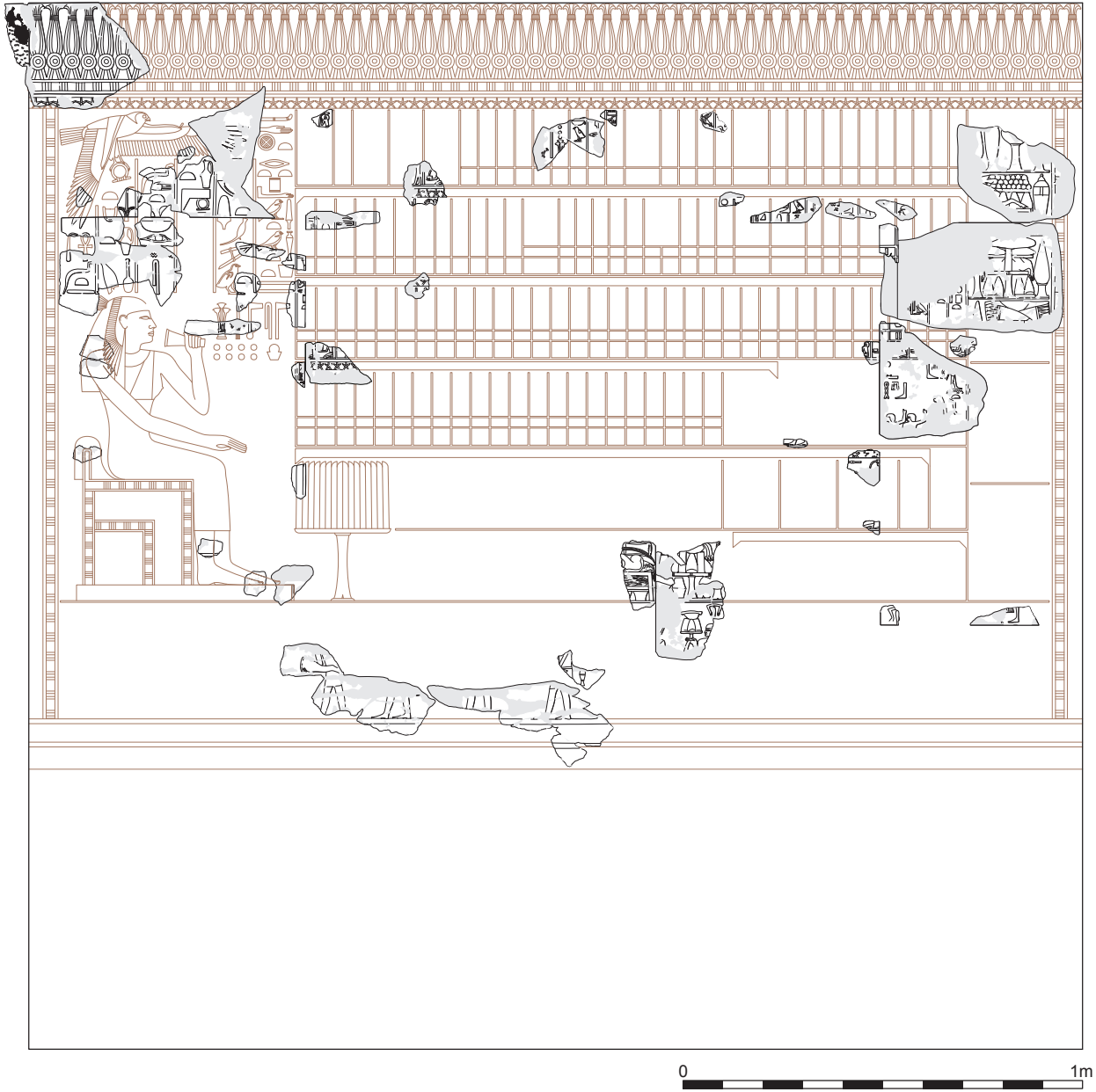


Fig. 12. Reconstruction of the west wall.

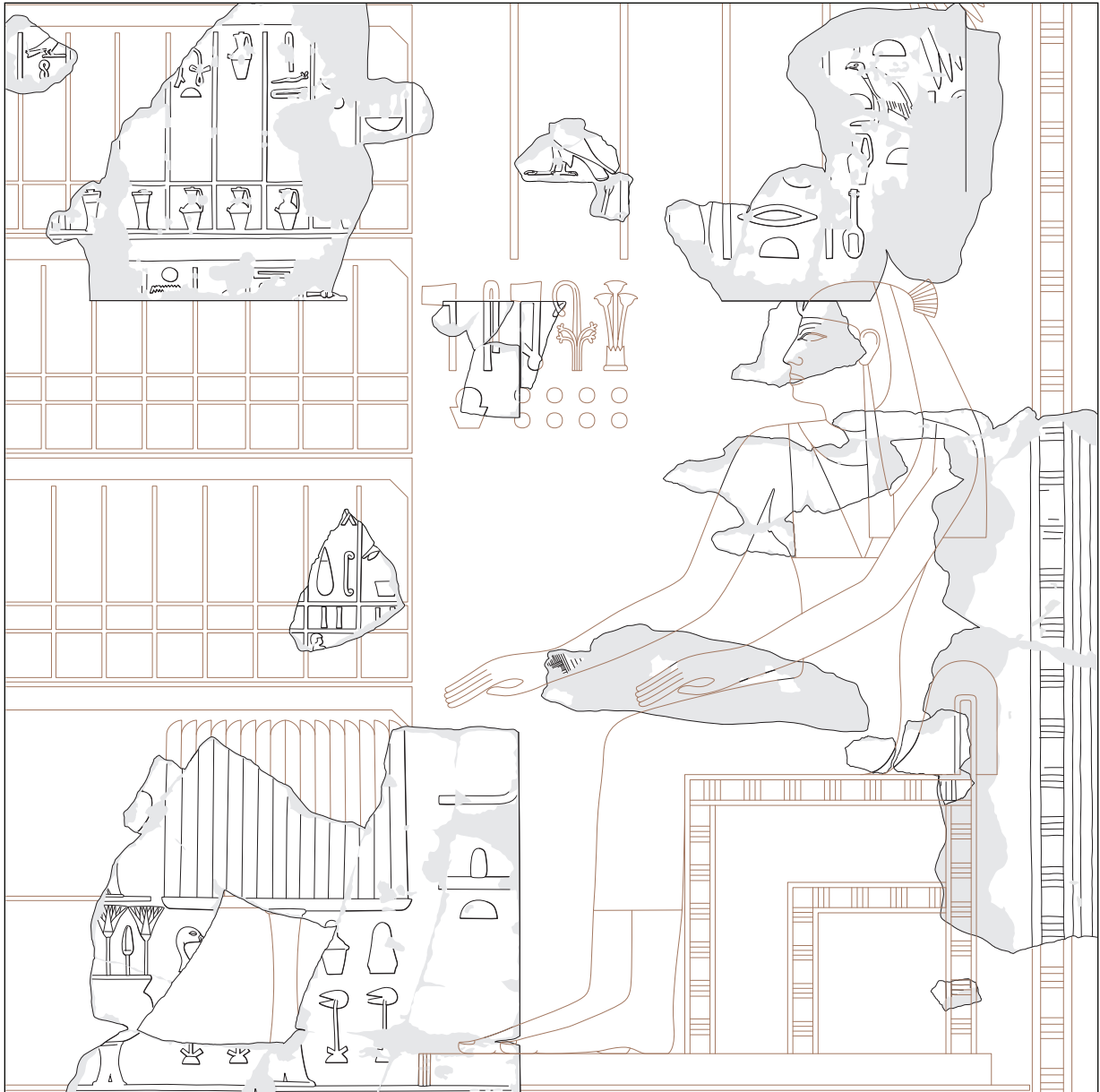


Fig. 13. Detail of the reconstruction of the east wall with the queen in front of the offering table.

The throne stands on top of a long and low platform; sections of this platform are preserved from both walls (see cat. nos. 46 and 50). The platform does not seem to have any decoration on the east wall; it only shows three incised vertical stripes at one end (see cat. no. 46); theoretically it might be that decoration was painted on and is lost today. Parts of the arms of the queen are preserved on two different pieces from the east wall, and they show that both of her arms are reaching toward the offering table (see cat. nos. 41–42 and fig. 13). On the west

wall the queen's right arm clearly extends forward (see cat. no. 48) and was most probably reaching toward the offering table as well. There is no evidence about the position of her other arm. It might have been extended as well; however, it could have been placed on her chest or bent upward toward her face, holding an ointment jar or a lotus flower. (In the reconstruction she is shown smelling an ointment jar; see fig. 12.)<sup>350</sup>

Part of the offering table is preserved on cat. no. 46 and shows vertically arranged loaves of bread on top of a tray that is supported by a tall and narrow stand. This is a common type of offering table, which is also used in offering table scenes for the king across various periods.<sup>351</sup>

### **5.3.2 The Bird, the Vertical Inscription Above the Queen, and the Horizontal Inscription in Front of Her**

Several columns of inscription, which give the queen's titles and name, can be reconstructed above the depiction of the queen (see figs. 13–14). From both the east and west walls parts of a protective bird survived. However, neither the head nor the tail feathers are preserved, making it impossible to determine which types of birds are depicted.<sup>352</sup> Two pieces that belong to the east chapel of pyramid 2 show that a falcon was depicted on its north wall and a vulture on its south wall,<sup>353</sup> which might suggest that these two different birds were featured in the north chapel of pyramid 8 as well. If that were the case, one might suggest that the east wall of pyramid 8's north chapel depicted a vulture, as this is the wall associated with motherhood (see chapter 6), and that a falcon was placed on the west wall. (Two different birds are shown in the reconstructions; see

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<sup>350</sup> A piece from the east chapel of pyramid 3, which belongs to a depiction of the chapel's owner facing right, features one of her arms bent upright while the other is reaching for the offering table (unpublished, 96.1064).

<sup>351</sup> For royal offering table scenes in general, see, for example, Dagmar Stockfish, *Untersuchungen zum Totenkult des ägyptischen Königs im Alten Reich*, ANTIQUITATES: Archäologische Forschungsergebnisse 25 (Hamburg, 2003), pp. 287–292, with further references.

<sup>352</sup> For the protective bird, see, for example, Andrea-Claudia Binkowski, "Geier und Falke über dem König: Zu einem Motiv im Dekor ägyptischer Tempelreliefs," in *Begegnungen: Antike Kulturen im Niltal, Festgabe für Erika Endesfelder, Karl-Heinz Priese, Walter Friedrich Reineke, Steffen Wenig von Schülern und Mitarbeitern*, ed. by Caris-Beatrice Arnst, Ingelore Hafemann, and Angelika Lohwasser (Leipzig, 2011), pp. 83–89.

<sup>353</sup> Unpublished (2012.12 and 2012.62).

figs. 11–12.) Cat. nos. 56 and 58 demonstrate that on each wall the bird was situated above the inscription and the inscription can therefore be placed above the queen, as the protective bird is usually stationed above her. The bird's wings were in their characteristic position with the front wing stretched out horizontally, in this case above columns of inscription, and the back wing was extended down nearly vertically and positioned above the last column of inscription, leaving only a limited space for the text in this column (see fig. 14).

A large piece from the east wall (cat. no. 56) preserves four partial columns of this inscription and a piece from the west wall features parts of five (cat. no. 58). Portions of the depiction of the queen are preserved from the east wall (see above). The width that is needed to fully reconstruct her seated depiction allows placing six columns of inscription above her. Small pieces with queens' titles, which can be assigned to the beginning of the vertical inscription on the west wall (and which will be discussed below), indicate that the inscription on this wall consisted of six columns as well.

Additionally, there is evidence from both walls indicating the exact height on which this inscription was placed in relation to other decorative elements. Two small pieces from the west wall show small parts of queen's titles in front of the second and third registers of the offering list (see cat. nos. 92 and 98), indicating the relative positions of these decorative elements. The east wall features a horizontal masonry edge just below the columns of inscription (cat. no. 56). The same block edge can be found running through the horizontal inscription in front of the queen (cat. no. 64) and probably lined up with another that runs through the third register of the offering list (see cat. no. 66, and also chapter 8.3.3 with fig. 32 below).

Several pieces with inscriptions that were situated above and in front of the queen can be assigned to the west wall and allow a detailed reconstruction (see fig. 14). The largest such piece (cat. no. 58) preserves parts of five columns and includes the last column of the inscription. The tip of the horizontal wing of a protective bird is visible above the first preserved column, indicating that this is the top of the column. Below the feather tips is part of the title *nbt jm3t*. On the well-preserved tympanum (see cat. no. 178), this title is followed by *brt mrwt*, and it is quite possible that this title was also included here in the same sequence. A partial *mrj*-hoe on a separate fragment (cat. no. 59) likely belongs to this title and is therefore reconstructed at a short distance below cat. no. 58. This piece also preserves part of the inscription *wrt* in the preceding column, suggesting, if its placement is correct, that there was at least one other column of

inscription in addition to, and in front of, the five columns of cat. no. 58. The expression *wrt* could be part of the titles *wrt ḥts* or *wrt ḥzt*. The contours of what seems to be the bottom a *ḥz*-sign are shown in front of the second register of the offering list (cat. no. 92), and its height within the wall is determined by the list. The height of cat. no. 59 with the *mr*-sign from *burt mrwt* is determined through cat. no. 58, at the bottom of which is the title *nbt jm3t*, which usually precedes *burt mrwt*. If one positions the various pieces on the wall and leaves enough space to reconstruct *burt* between cat. no. 58 and 59, then the inscription *wrt* lines up well with the *ḥz*-sign of cat. no. 92, indicating that both pieces are part of the title *wrt ḥzt* (see fig. 14).

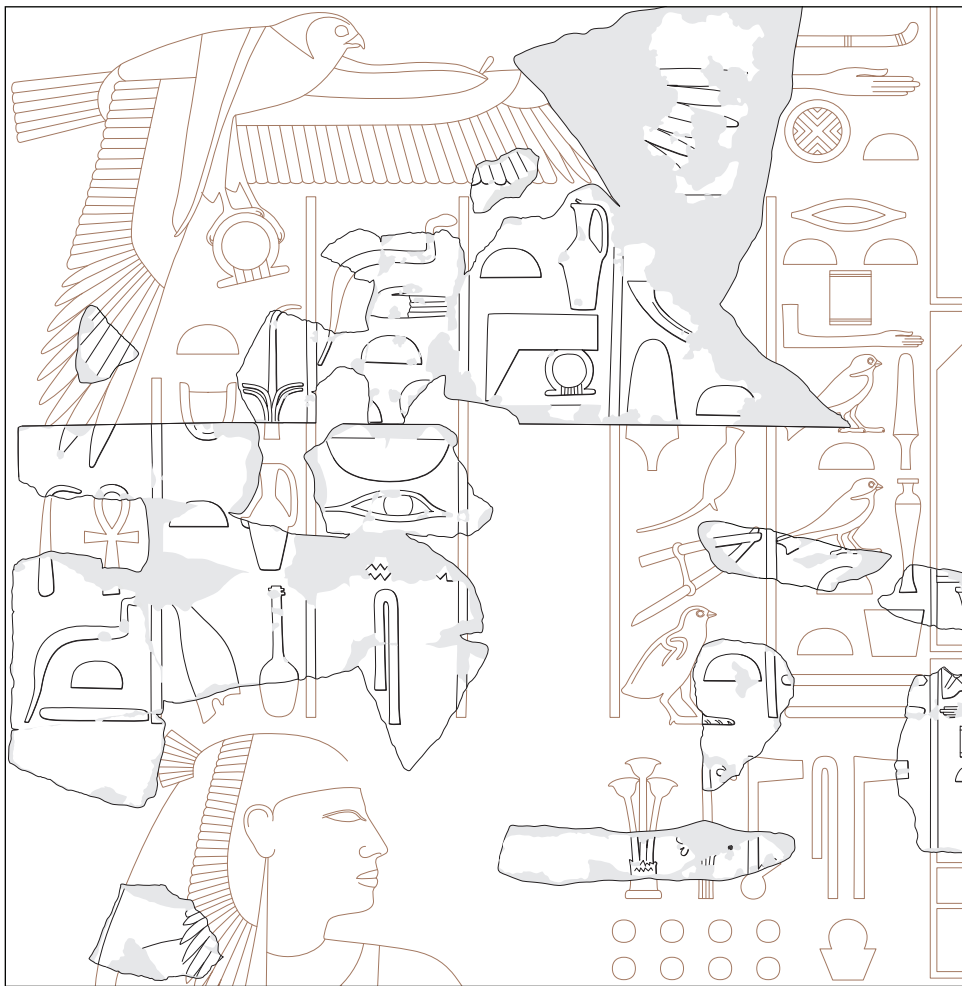


Fig. 14. Partial reconstruction of the inscriptions on the west wall.



At the bottom of cat. no. 92, below the *hz*-sign, is the top right corner of a *hmwt*-sign that must belong to the next title, following *wrt hzt*. Its height is determined by the offering list determinative to the right, which belongs to the bottom of the list's second register. Another piece (cat. no. 98) seems to show the right ends of two land-signs, and its height on the wall is indicated by a small part of the offering list to the right, which can be identified as the top of the list's third register. This piece thus sits only a short distance from the top right of the *hmwt*-sign, and the available space in between allows completing the *hmwt*-sign as part of the title *hmwt t3wj*, which Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I also bears on one of her tympana (see cat. no. 178). This reconstruction is supported by cat. no. 60, which shows on its right the bottom of a column line with the rounded left end of what seems to be a *t3*-sign. The height of this piece within the reconstruction is determined by the end of the aforementioned column line. In this position the left end of the presumed *t3*-sign lines up with the upper of the two right ends of the *t3*-signs preserved on cat. no. 98. We now know that this first column of inscription included the title *wrt hzt* followed by *hmwt t3wj*. It seems very likely that the title *wrt hts* was situated above *wrt hzt*.

The remaining space at the top part of the column fits well to the space needed to reconstruct the title *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t*, which often begins a list of titles.<sup>354</sup> In this reconstruction the first column starts on the same height as those that follow, leaving a small space between the tip of the horizontal wing of the protective bird and the beginning of the offering list, which was probably occupied with the name of the protective deity, who is depicted as a bird.<sup>355</sup> As mentioned above, Horus of Behdet was possibly depicted on the west wall, and in the reconstruction the inscription *bhdtj* is proposed (see fig. 14).

In addition to the left end of the *t3*-sign, cat. no. 60, mentioned above, also features a *t*-sign and a bird hieroglyph. In the reconstructed position of this piece, the bird-sign must have sat directly under the *mr*-sign of cat. no. 59 and thus filled the bottom of the second column. This is probably part of a *w*-quail chick that together with the *t*-sign belongs to the title *burt mrwt*. A column line in front of the bird stops at the height of its feet, which fits well with the

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<sup>354</sup> See, for example, cat. 178 or fig. 8a-c.

<sup>355</sup> This seems to have been the case in the east chapel of pyramid 2 (which also depicted both Nekhbet and Horus of Behdet). A piece from this chapel (97.401/1, 07.15; unpublished) features part of a left-facing inscription reading "Nekhbet, lady of the two lands." The text is situated above two columns of inscription. The left column shows an *r*-sign at the very top, probably as part of the title *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t*, which often begins the list of queen's titles.

identification as a *w*-quail chick, as this type of bird does not have a tail that extends below its feet. (If it did, one would expect the column line to extend farther below.)

The second preserved column on cat. no. 58 presents an unclear passage with *hnmt* followed by two half-sky-signs.<sup>356</sup> Since titles of the queen are preceding and following this column, one can assume that this is probably a rare title.

The next columns contain two very important features. Immediately after the title *ddt jht nbt jrj=tw n=s* the inscription continues with *hmt nswt* in the next column, which is followed by *Hnmt-nfr-hdt*. The next and last column shows the tip of the bird's wing at the top, followed by the continuation and end of the inscription, which reads *nh.tj dt*. This shows that the title *mwt nswt* was omitted in this inscription and that the queen was called solely Khenemetneferhedjet and not Weret (for these features, see chapters 6–7).

The combined evidence of the pieces discussed above allows reconstructing the vertical inscription of the west wall as consisting of six columns (filling a width of about 60 cm) and reading:

- (1) *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t wrt hts wrt hzt hmw t3wj*
- (2) *nbt jm3t bnrt mrwt*
- (3) *hnmt ? // // //*
- (4) *ddt jht nbt jrj=tw n=s*
- (5) *hmt nswt Hnmt-nfr-hdt*
- (6) *nh.tj dt*

- (1) The noblewoman, great one of the *hts*-scepter, great of praise, lady of the two lands
- (2) mistress of the *jm3t*-scepter, sweet of love,
- (3) ?
- (4) the one who says anything, and one does (it) for her,

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<sup>356</sup> The title “The one who is united with her Horus” is known in the New Kingdom (see Troy, *Queenship*, p. 183, A3/9), and one could suggest that the bird feet in the previous column might belong to it; however, the *t*-sign in front of the bird hieroglyph does not fit to this title. Also, in this case the tail of the falcon would have extended below the end of the column line, which would be an awkward position. (Compare cat. no. 213, which shows that the tail of a falcon extends below its feet.)

- (5) the wife of the king Khenemetneferhedjet,  
 (6) may she live eternally.”<sup>357</sup>

From the east wall only two small portions with the protective bird survived. Part of the vertical wing is depicted on a small fragment (see cat. no. 57). A larger piece (cat. no. 56) shows the tip of the vertical wing above the last column of inscription. It preserves part of four columns; however, only the last two can be read or reconstructed. The second to last column features the title *mwt nswt*, which is followed by *Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt*. The piece itself does not provide any evidence as to whether the title *ḥmt nswt* was omitted or written above, as in the common and complete sequence of her titles. It is however clear that the title *mwt nswt* was not included on the west wall (see cat. no. 58). This means that either *mwt nswt* was omitted on the west wall while both the titles *mwt nswt* and *ḥmt nswt* were featured on the east wall or that the two most important titles of Weret I were split up and that *mwt nswt* was placed on the east wall while *ḥmt nswt* was written on the west wall, which seems more likely (see chapter 6). “Khenemetneferhedjet” is written at the bottom of the second to last column and, in an arrangement parallel to that on the opposite wall, the inscription continues in the next and presumably last column with *ḥ.tj dt*, without calling the queen “Weret” (see chapter 7). Cat. no. 213, which shows part of the left-facing title *m33t Ḥrw Sts* “the one who sees Horus and Seth” with a column line to the right, might belong to the east wall. (This is where it is shown in the reconstruction; see fig. 13.) However, it could also have been part of the building dedication inscription that gives titles of the queen and was situated on the south wall. In summary, one can unfortunately only say securely that the last two columns of the inscription on the east wall read *mwt nswt Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt ḥ.tj dt*.

In a comparison of the size of the hieroglyphs on the east and west walls, it is noticeable that some but not all of the hieroglyphs on the east wall are smaller than those on the west wall. The smaller signs are all in the second to last column. Both the *hnm*-jar and the *nfr*-sign are significantly shorter than they are on the opposite wall. The vulture also seems relatively small (there being no direct comparison from the opposite wall), while the signs in the preceding two columns are taller and appear to correspond to the size of those on the opposite wall. It can be noted that the bottom of the vertical inscription above the queen on the east wall sits about 2 cm

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<sup>357</sup> For the queen’s titles, see the appendix in chapter 9.

higher than that of the west wall.<sup>358</sup> This slight difference would have been distributed along the full height of each column such that all of the columns on the east wall must have been slightly shorter, thus this feature alone does not explain the smaller signs. A possible explanation for this might, rather, be that the last two columns of inscription on both walls were purposefully arranged in a very parallel manner, featuring one of the most important titles of the queen in the second to last column<sup>359</sup> and the wish that she may live eternally in the last column. Since the title *mwt nswt* takes up more space than the title *hmt nswt*, some of the signs might have been reduced in size in order to fit the longer title into the same amount of space.<sup>360</sup>

In addition to the large vertical inscription, which listed the queen's titles and gave her name (for the designation "Khenemetneferhedjet" as name of the queen, see chapter 7), there was a short horizontal inscription in front of the queen's face. That this short inscription was positioned below the columns with queens' titles is suggested by the combined evidence of several pieces from the west wall, which name Upper and Lower Egyptian natron, as well as incense (see fig. 14). Such inscriptions can be found in front of the deceased in offering table scenes.<sup>361</sup> The inscription here started directly in front of the offering list. This is evident from cat. no. 98, which features the first column of the list's third register with a *ntr*-sign in front of it. Above are the ends of two *t3*-signs, which belong to a queen's title, as detailed above. Another piece shows part of a *sm<sup>c</sup>*-plant-sign below the bottom end of two columns of inscription, which can be reconstructed as part of the vertical inscription above the queen (see cat. no. 60). A third

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<sup>358</sup> In the context of the whole chapel this is a minute difference and for a visitor to the chapel it must have been unnoticeable, as the walls were about 2 m apart. Placing hand-carved decoration into strict and exact computer reconstructions can often create slight problems, as these do not allow minor deviations, which presumably existed throughout the walls.

<sup>359</sup> However, as explained above, in the case of the east wall, the possibility cannot be fully excluded that both her two most important titles were listed.

<sup>360</sup> This explanation could also be valid even if both the titles "wife of the king" and "mother of the king" were originally written on the east wall, because a writing in which *hmt* is mentioned first does not need more space because the *hm*-sign can be written in a square space together with the *sw*-plant; however, the vulture would need extra space above.

<sup>361</sup> See, for example, de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour I*, pl. 11. Similar inscriptions can be found for the king: for example, in the offering table scene of Senwosret I, which mentions royal natron instead of Upper and Lower Egyptian natron, and which is placed slightly differently; see Arnold, *Pyramid of Senwosret I*, pl. 49.

piece (cat. no. 65), possibly from the same wall,<sup>362</sup> does not give clues about the inscription's position on the wall; however, it suggests that it ended with *bd šm<sup>c</sup>j mḥwꜣj* “Upper and Lower Egyptian natron” and no further signs followed.

Part of this inscription also survived from the east wall, where the block edges of two pieces determined their location on the wall (see cat. nos. 63–64 and chapter 8.3.3 with fig. 32). The reconstructed position of this horizontal inscription on the east wall matches that of the west wall. Combining the evidence of the various pieces of both walls one can securely establish that the inscription was identical and read *sntr bd šm<sup>c</sup>j mḥwꜣj* “incense and Upper and Lower Egyptian natron.”

### 5.3.3 The Offering List and Rituals Scenes

A large part of the offering table scene of the east and west walls was taken up by an offering list.<sup>363</sup> From cat. no. 66 of the east wall it is evident that the top register of the offering list sat at the top of the wall as it features a *kheker*-frieze above. The lists on both walls seem identical and belong to Barta's type A/B (see fig. 15).<sup>364</sup> This is evident from several pieces, such as cat. nos. 88 and 95 of the west wall, which show part of B8–11 and A24–26 respectively, or cat. no. 66 of the east wall, which features B11–B13, A17–A20, and A51–A52.

A sky was situated above each register of the offering list.<sup>365</sup> Its ends are shown as a triangular shape above the first and last offering of a register, which allows placing small pieces

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<sup>362</sup> Note, however, that it is not fully certain if the piece originally derived from the north chapel of pyramid 8.

<sup>363</sup> What is called an “offering list” here is the list of daily provisions for the deceased termed by Anke Weber “Liste der täglichen Versorgung des Verstorbenen.” It has to be differentiated from the “Liste der einmaligen Versorgung des Verstorbenen,” which is here called an “inventory list” and presents a one-time provisioning of goods placed in the tomb. For this differentiation and these lists in general, see Anke Weber, “Opferliste versus Opfertisch—Ein intendierter Dualismus,” in *Die Liste: Ordnungen von Dingen und Menschen in Ägypten*, ed. by Susanne Deicher and Erik Maroko, Ancient Egyptian Design, Contemporary Design History and Anthropology of Design 1 (Berlin, 2015), pp. 203–232.

<sup>364</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 47–110.

<sup>365</sup> The sky is a royal element; see Baud, *Famille royale*, p. 207. Interestingly, the offering lists for Senwosret III in his north chapel do not have a sky above the first register of the offering list, while its other registers feature one;

with such triangular ends at either the front or back of a register. Such evidence derived from the west wall and was crucial in reconstructing how the offerings of type A and type B were arranged. Cat. no. 98 gives A34 as a first offering in a register on the west wall. Another piece from the same wall has A68 as the last offering in a register (cat. no. 101). This corresponds to cat. no. 105 from the same wall, which features A69 as a first offering in a register. On the east wall, the combined evidence of cat. nos. 67 and 68 shows that B29 was the last offering of the first register and that A3 was the beginning of the second register.

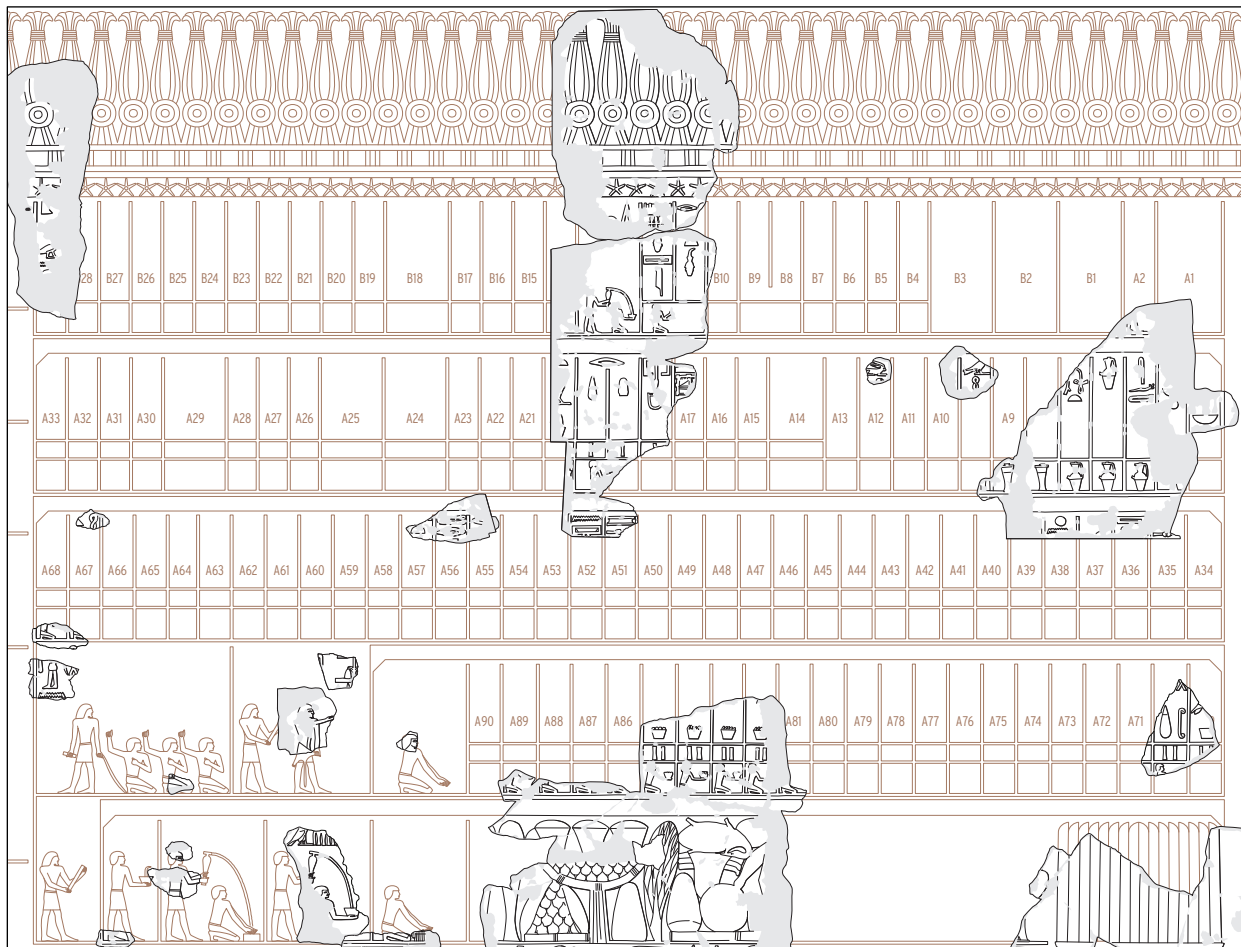


Fig. 15. Detail of the reconstruction of the east wall showing the offering list and ritual scenes.

this feature is referred to in Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 149–150, note 13. This is exactly the same pattern as the lists of Pepi II (see Jéquier, *Pepi III/2*, pls. 61 and 81; and here fig. 22), while the list in the north chapel of Senwosret I does not show a sky above any of the offering-list registers (see Arnold, *Pyramid of Senwosret I*, pl. 50).

These pieces enable us to reconstruct the list in four horizontal registers, which allows for a more or less even distribution of the offerings in the first three registers. (Note that the column width can vary slightly and that some offerings can even be written in double-wide columns.) The first register listed the offerings A1–A2, which were succeeded by B1–B29.<sup>366</sup> The second register held A3–A33 and the third one A34–A68. The fourth register listed A69–A90, which are not enough offerings to occupy the full length of the register, suggesting that ritual scenes were situated behind it, as was the case on a large piece found by Perring that probably belongs to the east chapel of pyramid 2 (see cat. no. 243).

It was also possible to reconstruct the internal structure of the list, a task complicated by the fact that some offerings occupy double-wide columns. These offerings frequently feature a short inscription at the top of a double-wide column, which is then sub-divided into two columns farther down. Cat. no. 66 shows that B13 and A19 were both written in such double-wide columns.<sup>367</sup> The north chapel of pyramid 8 does not give direct evidence for the very beginning of the list, and the structure of the otherwise very similar list of Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 (see fig. 24) was used as a guide for the reconstruction.<sup>368</sup> The width of the single-wide columns sometimes varied within one register, as is evident from cat. no. 68, in which the column for offering A7 is slightly narrower than those to either side of it. The piece also demonstrates that the first columns of the second register were narrower than those in the third register. Cat. no. 69 shows that the insertion *wrḥ* “anoint!” occurred. This order can be inserted between A9 and A10 (see also cat. no. 93).<sup>369</sup> The offering A25 was written in a double-wide column, as is evident from cat. no. 95. It is likely that A24 was featured in a double-wide column as well; a piece from

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<sup>366</sup> A sequence of A1–2, B1–29, A3 is the common pattern of the list type A/B; see Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 61, 78.

<sup>367</sup> The offering B13 was written in a single-width column in the otherwise parallel list of Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15; see here fig. 24.

<sup>368</sup> A piece from the east chapel of pyramid 2 shows B2 and B3 in double-wide columns (unpublished, 97.394, 97.434/2, 97.435/1), as is the case in the list of the Gebel es-Silsilah shrine. However, it should be noted that the east chapel of pyramid 2 also shows the offering A12 in a double-wide column (unpublished, 97.481, 04.472) and that this feature was not used for the reconstruction of the list of the north chapel of pyramid 8, as another piece from pyramid 8’s east chapel shows this offering in a single-width column (unpublished, 97.138/5, 97.141/2, 97.175).

<sup>369</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 84. See also Jéquier, *Pepi III/2*, pl. 86, where this insertion occurs as well. (It was likewise used in the north chapel of Senwosret III.) This area of the offering list is not preserved from Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15.



the east chapel of pyramid 8 shows this offering taking up the space of two columns.<sup>370</sup> As mentioned above, there is evidence from the north chapel of pyramid 8 that the offering A19 used a double-wide space (see cat. no. 66), and since A29 represents the same offering, it was very likely written the same way. This was probably also the case for offering A14, which is the same offering as that listed as B1 and which has been reconstructed double wide. Another offering that probably took up two columns width is B18, since the parallel list of the Gebel es-Silsilah shrine has two columns for this offering and since Pepi II's offering list and a fragment from an offering list of Amenemhat III show the same evidence.<sup>371</sup>

Cat. no. 114, which depicts part of the offering ritual scenes<sup>372</sup> from the west wall, demonstrates that the *jujt rd* scene was situated below columns of the list and that it had a vertical line to its side. We do not have any further evidence for the layout of the offering ritual scenes; however, the large piece found by Perring (cat. no. 243), which probably belongs to the east chapel of pyramid 2, preserves the main layout for this chapel and was used as a guide. In addition, the king's list in his north chapel also seems to have had the exact same layout as cat. no. 243. The Perring piece shows that the back part of the fourth register was filled with scenes of the offering ritual. Directly below was a second ritual register that was as wide as the area with ritual scenes above it.

Two of the pieces from the north chapel of pyramid 8 that feature the very front of the offering list also preserve very small parts of large hieroglyphs in front of the list. These derive from the vertical inscription with the queen's titles, and the lowest sign probably belongs to a horizontal inscription that was in front of the queen's face (see cat. nos. 92 and 98). These pieces demonstrate that inscriptions and the depiction of the queen were situated in front of the list.

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<sup>370</sup> Unpublished (97.125); the offering list of Gebel es-Silsilah shrine 15 seems to show a wider column as well; see here fig. 24.

<sup>371</sup> See Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, pl. 38 (or here fig. 24); Jéquier, *Pepi III/2*, pl. 85; Blom-Böer, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III. in Hawara*, pp. 232–233, cat. no. 143. See also here cat. no. 239, from the east chapel of pyramid 8.

<sup>372</sup> For the offering-ritual scenes, see, for example, Junker, *Giza* 3, pp. 103–115; Hassan, *Giza* VI/2, pp. 84–104; Lapp, *Opferformel*, pp. 153–192; or Stockfisch, *Untersuchungen zum Totenkult des ägyptischen Königs*, pp. 290–292.

### 5.3.4 The Depiction of Piled Offerings and Offering Bearers

Behind the offering list was the depiction of piled offerings. Cat. no. 101, from the west wall, supplies the width of this decorative element (21 cm), as it preserves both the end of the list to the left of the depiction of offerings and part of the vertical border at the end of the wall to the right. It also shows the complete height of the register, which is 16 cm. Cat. no. 152 can be reconstructed above it, and together with cat. no. 101 it features another register with offerings that is likewise about 16 cm high (see fig. 12). In addition, cat. no. 152 preserves at its top the bottom of yet another register with offerings and positioning both pieces in a reconstruction on the wall allows reconstruction of this third, top register as being the same height as each of the two below. Since cat. no. 101 features an additional register with offerings at its bottom, one can conclude that at least four registers with piled offerings occurred behind the offering list.

A large piece from the east wall (cat. no. 122) shows that piled offerings were also depicted beneath the offering list.<sup>373</sup> It preserves part of the bottom of the offering list with two registers of piled offerings below. The top register is narrower and sits in front of the ritual scenes, while the second register with offerings below is wider, as it additionally fills the area below the ritual scenes. It is interesting to note that a sky seems to have been above the back part of the bottom register with offerings. This is suggested by cat. no. 122, which shows part of an object with a horizontal contour in this area, and by cat. no. 80, which can be identified as deriving from the bottom register of ritual scenes and that features a sky below. One can reconstruct that this sky started below the front of the ritual scenes and ran across their whole length.

Below the two registers with piled offerings are titles of offering bearers and a block edge runs just under these inscriptions. Another large piece from the same wall preserves much of the depiction of the offering table (see cat. no. 46). It is standing on a ground line, and to the right of it is the left end of the platform on which the queen's throne rests. At the bottom of the piece is the inscription *slpt stpwt*, which is usually placed at the beginning of a row of offering bearers. Directly below it is a block edge, which is exactly on the same height through the decoration as that of cat. no. 122, indicating that the inscriptions of both pieces belong to the same register and

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<sup>373</sup> As is the case on the large piece, found by Perring, that probably belongs to the east chapel of pyramid 2 (see cat. no. 243).

that the latter must have sat to the left. As cat. nos. 122 and 46 each had a vertical block edge at the left and right ends respectively, one can assume that both pieces belonged to the same block (see chapter 8.3.3). The combined height of the two registers with offerings depicted on cat. no. 122 is the same as that of the offering table on cat. no. 46. The vertical block edge to the right of the offering table can be lined up with that of cat. no. 63, which shows that the offering table was directly below the beginning of the offering list and that the space in front of the list and the table was filled with the queen and the inscription above her. Behind her depiction was the corner of the wall, as is apparent from cat. no. 41.

A large piece from the bottom left corner of the east wall (cat. no. 123) features the last figures of a row of offering bearers above the dado. A block edge runs through the tops of their heads and sits on nearly the same height as a block edge that runs through the tops of offering bearers' heads on cat. nos. 122 and 46. These pieces probably belong to the same row of offering bearers (see fig. 11). Reconstructed placement of the individual pieces shows that cat. nos. 122 and 123 sat very close to one another and that the horizontal block edge at the top of cat. no. 123 stepped down in the area of the fourth to last offering bearer (see fig. 16). Such variations in the height of block edges within the same block are known and the same feature can be found, for example, on blocks in the burial apartments of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II (see fig. 17).

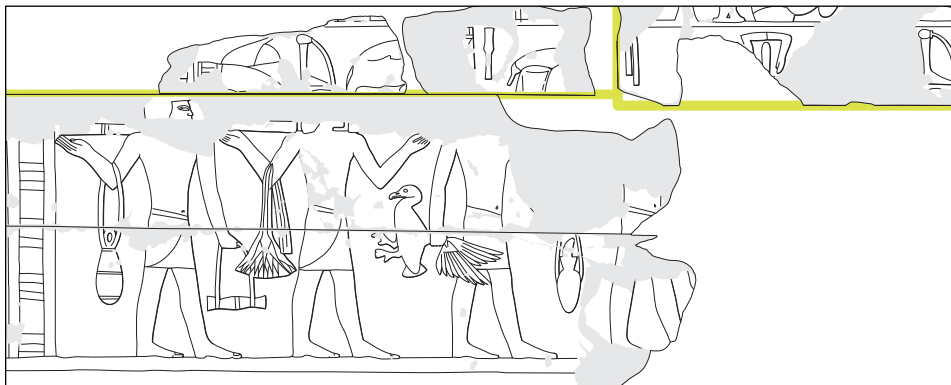


Fig. 16. Detail of the reconstruction of the east wall showing the end of the row of offering bearers with block edges marked in green.



Fig. 17. Horizontal block edge with a small step, from the underground burial apartments of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II.

The inscription *shpt stpwt*, which is preserved on cat. no. 46, usually accompanies the beginning of the row of offering bearers. Here it is situated directly below the offering table, indicating that this is where the row of offering bearers started. This means that the offering bearers did not begin below the depiction of the queen but in front of her.<sup>374</sup> This is an interesting parallel to the offering table scenes of Senwosret III and Pepi II, in which the procession of offering bearers begins in this same location, since the space below the throne was filled with fecundity figures, an element that is usually restricted to the king. Small parts of the heads of the first two offering bearers are preserved below the *shpt stpwt* inscription and are cut by the horizontal block edge. In a row of offering bearers, the first ones usually hold a haunch of beef, followed by figures presenting geese. Often, three men carrying a haunch of beef are followed by three with geese, but the number of these offering bearers can vary.<sup>375</sup>

There are small pieces with parts of offering bearers that might have been positioned beneath this block edge (see fig. 18). Cat. no. 127 shows an offering bearer leaning forward, a posture known for offering bearers presenting a haunch of beef, which suggests that he is one of the first figures in the row. The horizontal edge through the top of his head fits well to position this piece below cat. no. 46. The piece also features a vertical edge to the right. In addition to a

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<sup>374</sup> This does not seem to have been the case in other royal women's chapels in the complex; see below.

<sup>375</sup> See, for example, N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 3, *The Tombs of Neferseshemre and Seankhuiptah*, The Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports 11 (Warminster, 1998), pl. 68; or Blackman and Apted, *Meir* V, pl. 34.

horizontal block edge through the top of the head of an upright offering bearer, cat. no. 128 also features a vertical edge to the left, suggesting that this piece could belong to the adjoining block. A small fragment with a vertical edge on its left preserves a hand holding a haunch of beef (cat. no. 129), and it can be assigned to the same figure.

If one positions these three pieces as belonging to adjoining blocks, then the distance between the two figures is determined by their vertical adjoining block edges. The resulting distance of the lower parts of their heads is exactly the same as that of the upper parts of the heads preserved at the bottom of cat. no. 46 (see fig. 18). This indicates that the suggested placement of these pieces is correct, even if it means that the first figure is standing straight, while the second one is leaning forward. (Usually it is the first figure[s] who lean forward, but exceptions are known.<sup>376</sup>)

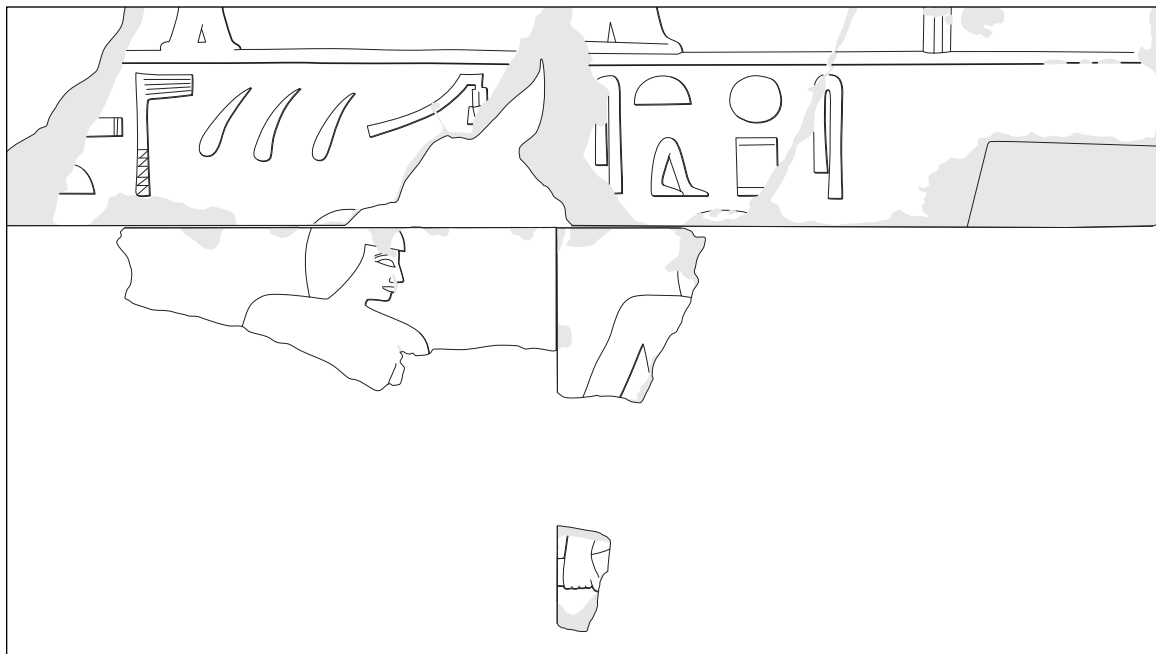


Fig. 18. Detail of the reconstruction of the east wall showing how cat. nos. 127–129 line up with cat. no. 46 (only its bottom section is shown here).

<sup>376</sup> For an example where the first figure is standing straight (although with geese) while the second is leaning forward, see Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi I*, pl. 19. See also Borchardt, *Sahu-re II*, pl. 19, for an offering bearer leaning forward with a haunch of beef while the figure in front of him, who is also holding a haunch, is standing straight. In the pyramid temple of Senwosret III, a figure with a haunch of beef is leaning forward behind an offering bearer with geese, who is standing straight; see Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pl. 289.

None of the preserved fragments indicate what was depicted between the end of the two registers with the offering ritual scenes and the corner of the wall. Following the structure of the offering table scene of both the north chapel of Senwosret III and that of Pepi II (see fig. 22), one can suggest that in this area at the very end of the long walls were two additional registers with depictions of offering bearers.<sup>377</sup> Two registers of the same height as the bottom register with offering bearers fit well indeed to the available height between the four registers with piled offerings at the top and the register with offering bearers below.<sup>378</sup> The available width of this area allows comfortably reconstructing one figure holding offerings in each register.<sup>379</sup>

### 5.3.5 The Area Below the Throne

It is unclear what was depicted below the throne of the queen. A small fragment gives the title  $z3$   $nswt$   $n$   $ht=f$  “son of the king of his body” or its feminine version (cat. no. 151). The possible reconstruction of this piece was discussed above; it was proposed that the piece was originally situated below the queen’s throne and depicts a relative of the queen facing toward the row of offering bearers (see pl. 1). A piece from the queen’s east chapel (cat. no. 238) depicts a sky below the throne and part of an unidentified inscription. Showing an  $n$ -sign followed by a rounded sign, it could belong to the female version of the title ( $z3t$   $nswt$   $n$   $ht=f$ ) or to something else. The sky in the east chapel of pyramid 8 could signify that a prince (or a princess) was depicted below; however, it could also have been a priest (or several priests).<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>377</sup> See figs. 11–12. The pieces from the north chapel of Senwosret III are unpublished and originate from its west and east walls (see also Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, p. 159).

<sup>378</sup> It is unclear whether there was a sky above these registers.

<sup>379</sup> In the much longer offering table scenes of Senwosret III and Pepi II several figures were depicted in each register.

<sup>380</sup> In the east chapel of pyramid 3 a sky is depicted above two figures carrying a haunch of beef and a goose (96.786/1, 96.786/1, unpublished). On another piece from the same chapel, the sky ends directly above the center of the head of a figure who is the same size as the offering bearers depicted there and wears a sash (96.1403, 96.1419/5, unpublished). A piece from the east chapel of pyramid 2 (97.370/1, 09.370/2, 97.391, unpublished) shows an offering bearer wearing a sash and bending forward while carrying a haunch of beef; that this is in front of

## 5.4 The South Wall

### 5.4.1 The Inventory List Naming Oils and Linen

Several pieces suggest that the chapel featured a large-scale inventory list naming ointments and linen (see fig. 19).<sup>381</sup> The section that lists different oils is well preserved from the east chapel of pyramid 3, and three large pieces from that chapel (see cat. nos. 240–242), which are being published as part of the present study, serve as a model for the reconstruction of this oil list. One of them (cat. no. 240) is a small block, and its angled vertical block edges on the sides sit at an acute angle toward the surface. This suggests that the block originally sat next to the false door and was pushed into position after the adjoining long wall was built and after the false door was in place. The vertical block edges of cat. no. 242 feature an acute angle as well, and its inscription can be reconstructed as facing left. Both sides of the wall were probably built out of small blocks that could easily be stacked on top of each other after the false door was in place.

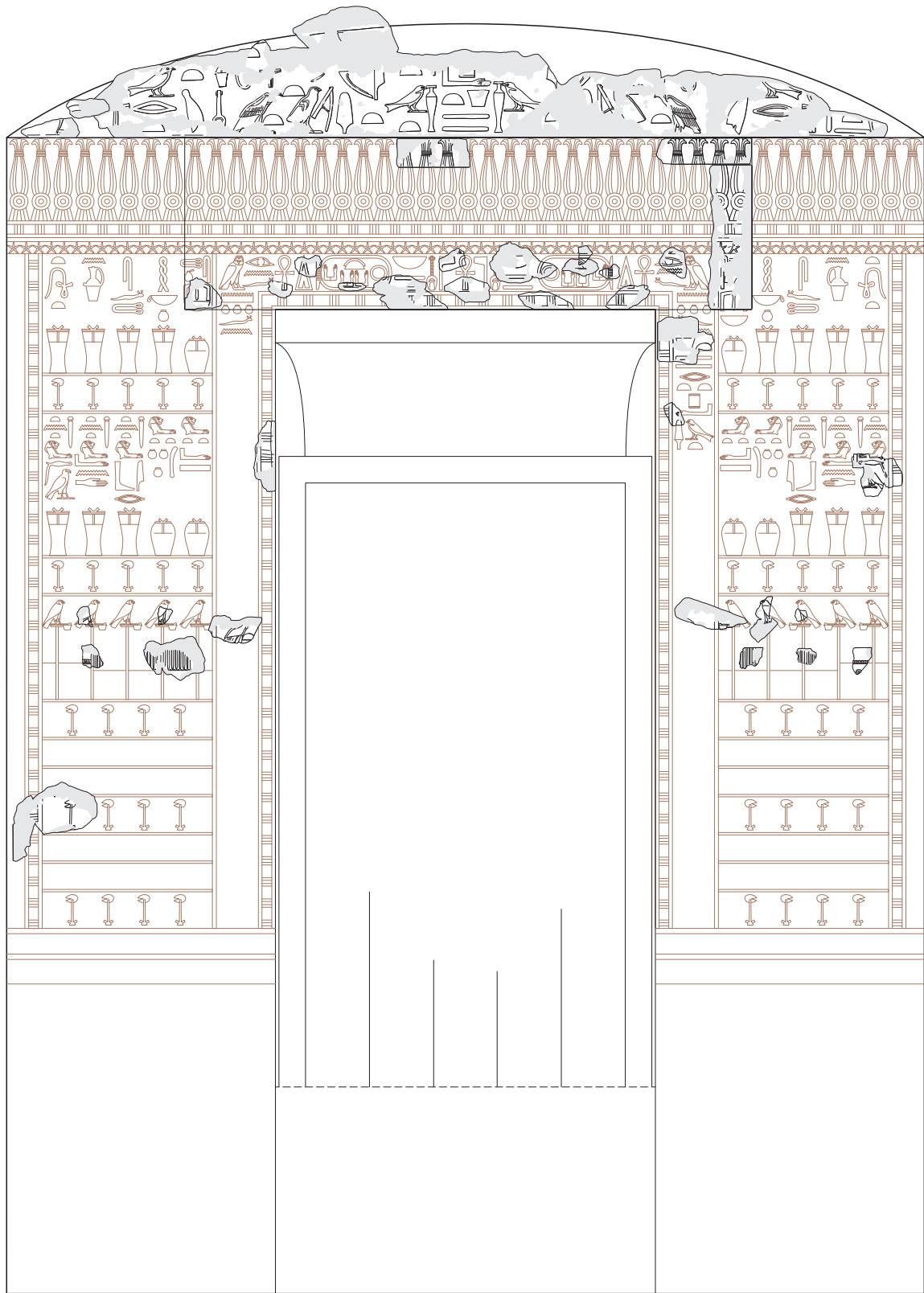
Two of these pieces from the east chapel of pyramid 3 display parts of the inscriptions of the oil list facing left and facing right and show that the same list was inscribed twice (cat. nos. 240–241). The one facing right was presumably to the left side of the false door, and the one facing left can be placed to the right side (see below). These two pieces also provide the main pattern for the oil list in this chapel; the preserved fragments from the north chapel of pyramid 8 do not show any conflicting evidence (except in what was in front of this list).

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the corner of the wall indicates that in this chapel the row of offering bearers began in the very front, below the queen. It is very possible that this part of the decoration was not identical in the chapels built for the various royal women; however, it could have been identical for both the east and north chapels of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I.

<sup>381</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 7–10, differentiated inventory offerings from ritual offerings that are named in the regular offering lists. However, both lists can be seen in connection to rituals, and the difference was, rather, that the inventory list presents a one-time provisioning of the deceased for his tomb, giving the “ideal” amount of one thousand; see Weber, in *Die Liste: Ordnungen von Dingen und Menschen*, pp. 203–232, who calls the inventory list “Liste der einmaligen Versorgung des Verstorbenen” and the regular offering list with the daily provisions for the deceased “Liste der täglichen Versorgung des Verstorbenen.”





0 1m

Fig. 19. Reconstruction of the south wall.

Five oils were listed in a row. Each name was given first, followed by a large determinative, and below was a one-thousand-sign for each. The one-thousand-signs were separated from the name of the oil and its determinative by a horizontal line. There seem to have been two such rows of oils for altogether ten oils.

Oil lists often begin with *stj ḥb*, the first of the seven sacred oils, and this oil is preserved from pyramid 8's north chapel on cat. nos. 182 and 187. Cat. no. 241, from the east chapel of pyramid 3, only preserves one hieroglyph from the oil names in the first register. This is a *mw*-sign as part of the name of the second oil. This small part of the inscription nevertheless allows a reconstruction of the first register as listing those oils that appear as the first five of the seven sacred oils (and as A3–A7 in the offering list): *stj ḥb*, *ḥkmw*, *sft*, *nḥnm*, and *tw3t*.<sup>382</sup> Another piece from the east chapel of pyramid 3, cat. no. 240, indicates that each of two rows listed five oils, with some of the names preserved in the second row. The first oil of the second row is not preserved, but it can probably be reconstructed as the sixth of the seven sacred oils, *ḥ3tt ʿg*.<sup>383</sup> (In the offering list this oil is listed as A8.) Cat. no. 240 shows that the oil *ḥ3tt ḥnmw*<sup>384</sup> follows, which is the offering A9. The piece then reads *tpt nt ḥ3tt jbr*,<sup>385</sup> *tpt nt ḥ3tt ʿnd*,<sup>386</sup> and *tpt nt ḥ3tt mḥtjw*.<sup>387</sup> The oil *tpt nt ḥ3tt mḥtjw* is also partially preserved from the north chapel of pyramid 8 on cat. no. 183, where it features clear evidence that it was listed as the last one in a row, matching the evidence from the east chapel of pyramid 3.

Cat. nos. 183 and 188 from the north chapel of pyramid 8 demonstrate that the inventory list was situated next to a vertical block border, and cat. no. 182 makes evident that this list started at the top of a wall. From pyramid 8's north chapel only small fragments of the inventory list survived; these pieces show examples of this inscription facing both left and right (see, for example, cat. nos. 183 and 188).

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<sup>382</sup> See Koura, *Öl- und Fettnamen*, pp. 171–183.

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 217–219.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 193–195.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 204–206.

<sup>386</sup> See the notes for cat. no. 240, which mention an unpublished piece from the east chapel of pyramid 8 that suggests that the oil meant here is *tpt nt ḥ3tt ʿnd* and not *tpt nt ḥ3tt ʿntjw*; for both oils, see Koura, *Öl- und Fettnamen*, pp. 208–217.

<sup>387</sup> For this oil name, see the notes for cat. no. 240.

In private Old Kingdom tombs, depictions and lists of oils occur in various places. They are often found next to the false door, where they can be written twice, once on each side of the false door, facing toward its center.<sup>388</sup> Two pieces from the east chapel of pyramid 3 indicate that the oil list was placed next to the false door in this chapel, and the fragmentary remains of pyramid 8's north chapel seem to correspond to this pattern. One can therefore suggest that in the north chapel of pyramid 8 the inventory list naming oils and linen was originally positioned on the south wall, to the sides of the false door, facing toward it.

It is interesting to note that, in the Old Kingdom and in the Middle Kingdom, an oil list can occasionally appear behind the deceased in offering table scenes.<sup>389</sup> In the chapel of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, the inventory list naming oil and linen can be reconstructed on the south wall, which adjoined the south ends of the east and west walls, where the queen was depicted. Because the scenes on the chapel's walls were seen as a continuous representation (see chapter 5.8), this list was thus situated "behind" the depiction of the queen as well.

Cat. no. 241 from the east chapel of pyramid 3 features a falcon below the second row of oils. This falcon belongs to a falcon standard and shows that a linen list was situated below the oil list. This also means that the total number of oils listed was ten.<sup>390</sup> The size of the hieroglyphs preserved for oils in the north chapel of pyramid 8 is the same as that in the east chapel of pyramid 3; therefore the column width of the oil list from the east chapel of pyramid 3 was used for the reconstruction of the columns in the oil list for the north chapel of pyramid 8.

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<sup>388</sup> See, for example, William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastabas or Qar and Idu, G7101 and 7102*, Giza Mastabas 2 (Boston, 1976), fig. 40; Yvonne Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum: Discovery, Destruction and Reconstruction*, Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom 1 (Prestbury, Cheltenham, 2001), pl. 65; N. Kanawati and A. Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 1, *The Tombs of Nedjet-em-pet, Ka-aper and Others*, The Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports 8 (Sydney, 1996), pl. 52; N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 5, *The Tomb of Hesi*, The Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports 13 (Warminster, 1999), pls. 57, 63; N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 7, *The Tombs of Shepsipuptah, Mereri (Merinebti), Hefi and Others*, The Australian Centre for Egyptology Report 17 (Warminster, 2001), pl. 50.

<sup>389</sup> See, for example, Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi I*, pls. 17 and 19; Naguib Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. 2 (Sydney, 1981), pl. 4 and fig. 24; Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. 13.

<sup>390</sup> The number of oils listed can vary; a selection of either ten or seven oils seems to have been favoured; see Koura, *Öl- und Fettamen*, pp. 289–290.

A linen list followed the oil list; however, is unfortunately preserved only on a few small fragments. Linen lists are best known from the Dynasty 4 slab stelae, which feature them in a canonical, compartmentalized format.<sup>391</sup> This structure is the most commonly used and depicts several units stacked on top of each other, with each unit divided into three horizontal rows. The row at the top of each unit identifies the quality of the linen, the second determines its dimensions, and the third and last specifies the quantity of the textiles to be offered (usually one thousand). The second row of each unit is usually divided into small segments by vertical lines (or, for the first unit, by the vertical shafts of the falcon standards), since several pieces of linen are listed in each row. The third row with the amount is usually divided by vertical lines as well. The top row of the first unit commonly features several falcons on standards that signify a linen called *jd mj*. This type of linen has been interpreted as either “royal linen” or “red linen.”<sup>392</sup> The second and third units list different types of linen in their top row. Most commonly three units are featured with *ssr* and  $\epsilon 3$  for the second and third units, respectively; they probably specify linen of slightly lesser quality. But more types of linen can appear, several different types of linen can also be listed within the same row, and more than three units can be stacked on top of each other as well. While scholars agree that the second horizontal row of each unit describes the textile’s dimensions, different readings of the signs have been proposed.<sup>393</sup>

At least two falcons on standards (naming the *jd mj*-linen) facing left and at least one facing right are preserved from the north chapel of pyramid 8 (see cat. nos. 184–185, 189), suggesting that several of these were featured on each side, as expected. The falcon standards usually occur at the top of the linen lists (compare cat. no. 241, from the east chapel of pyramid 3) and fill a full row. The width of the linen list was presumably the same as the oil list above. The size of the falcon standards can be determined from the preserved partial falcons and the (reconstructed) available width of the linen list allows to position five falcon standards in a row, matching the number of oils in each register above. It is, however, also possible that the falcon standards were not placed very close to one another but, rather, had small gaps between their top

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<sup>391</sup> For linen lists, see Jones, in *Egyptian Culture and Society*, pp. 247–262; Scheele, *Stofflisten*; der Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*; all with further references.

<sup>392</sup> For example, as “royal linen” by Jones, in *Egyptian Culture and Society*, pp. 249, 259, note 20–21; and as “red linen” by Scheele, *Stofflisten*, pp. 13–16.

<sup>393</sup> See Jones, in *Egyptian Culture and Society*, pp. 253–255, with further references.

sections, in which case there would have been four and not five standards. Several pieces from the north chapel of pyramid 8 show parallel lines that belong to “inverted V” fringe-signs<sup>394</sup> and give the linen’s dimensions (see cat. nos. 191–192 and 194–195). Cat. no. 191 preserves two sections with such signs. The two areas are separated by a slightly broader yellow line that can be identified as the shaft of a falcon standard, indicating that these dimensions were written beside the lower part of the falcon standards, which is a common way to arrange the linen list. The different dimensions of the linen are also noted by rectangles that depict a fringe at the top and contain either short horizontal strokes or the sign for one hundred *š.t* (see cat. nos. 192–193). There is no evidence for which other linen qualities besides *jdmi*-linen were included in the list in the north chapel of pyramid 8, and it is unclear how many rows followed.<sup>395</sup> The top row of the first unit of the linen list is usually slightly taller than the top rows of the units below, as it features the tall falcon standards, which take up more space. The second and third rows of all units (specifying the measurements and the amounts of linen) are usually about the same height.<sup>396</sup> Given these features and the same wall height as that established for the adjoining walls, the south wall of pyramid 8’s north chapel was reconstructed with three different units of the linen list stacked on top of each other.<sup>397</sup>

Cat. no. 242 from the east chapel of pyramid 3 is a large piece from the linen list with part of three one-thousand-signs above the dado. There are no vertical dividing lines, indicating that in the east chapel of pyramid 3 no such lines were present in the lower part of the linen list.<sup>398</sup> This might suggest that the staffs of the falcon standards were the only vertical divisions in this list and that its second and third rows did not have the small compartments that belong to the most common layout. Cat. no. 188 from the north chapel of pyramid 8 seems to show that no column lines existed. However, this observation is based only on the reconstructed spacing of several such signs; see fig. 19. The linen list in the north chapel of pyramid 8 was reconstructed following the pattern of the east chapel of pyramid 3 and the evidence provided by cat. no. 188.

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<sup>394</sup> For this term see *ibid.*, pp. 251–252.

<sup>395</sup> There seems to be no evidence for this from the other chapels of the complex, either.

<sup>396</sup> See, for example, Scheele, *Stofflisten*, figs. 2, 7–8, and 10.

<sup>397</sup> The height of the oil list is, however, only a reconstruction, based on the size of the inscription and using the height of the columns for the oil names in the east chapel of pyramid 3 as a guide.

<sup>398</sup> For an example of a linen list that also does not feature such vertical lines, see Hermann Junker, *Giza*, vol. 1, *Die Mastabas der IV. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Wien and Leipzig, 1929), pl. 37.

No vertical lines were thus included in the second and third row of the lower units. On the piece from the east chapel of pyramid 3, the width available in addition to the vertical borders on both sides allows reconstructing only one additional one-thousand-sign. A total of four such signs in the east chapel of pyramid 3 would suggest either that the one-thousand-signs were spaced so that they would line up with the four spaces between five falcons or that a total of four falcons should be reconstructed instead of five, in which case the one-thousand-signs would sit below the center of each falcon. Cat. no. 184 from pyramid 8's north chapel depicts the first falcon standard very close to the vertical line in front of it, suggesting that the former might be more likely, at least for this chapel.<sup>399</sup>

#### 5.4.2 The Building Dedication Inscription Around the False Door

There are several pieces that feature parts of a cartouche, and in fact there were two horizontal cartouches, one facing right and the other facing left (cat. nos. 196–197<sup>400</sup>). The preserved signs from both these cartouches fit the throne name of Senwosret III,  $\underline{H}^c j-k3w-R^c$  (cat. nos. 196–201), who, as the owner and builder of the complex, is of course expected to be the king named here.

One of the pieces (cat. no. 197) shows a horizontal block border below the title and name of the king. Interestingly, a horizontal masonry edge is directly beneath the border. This edge sits at about an 85-degree angle to the decorated surface and is rough, indicating that this piece cannot be part of the border above an actual door, as in that case the edge would be smooth and at a right angle. Instead it can be concluded that the horizontal border and, therefore, the cartouche above were situated directly over the false door. Cat. no. 203 suggests that a horizontal inscription was positioned at the top of this wall under a sky and that it included an *ankh*-sign, followed by a *ntr*-sign to the left (see fig. 20). Cat. nos. 197 and 204 together suggest that this horizontal inscription consisted of only one line, which named the king *ntr nfr nb t3wj* (see also

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<sup>399</sup> That five falcon on standards might have been used together with only four one-thousand-signs is not problematic, as many other linen lists show that the number of these fields did not need to match; see, for example, Scheele, *Stofflisten*, figs. 2, 7–10, 12–13, and 15.

<sup>400</sup> See also cat. nos. 200–201. Cat. no. 200 clearly shows a horizontal cartouche, and since its *ka*-arms are slightly thinner than those of cat. no. 201, one can suggest that these two pieces are parts of two different cartouches.

cat. no. 196). As the title *nb t3wj* appears twice, facing opposite directions (cat. nos. 196–197), and as there is evidence for an *ankh*-sign, it seems very likely that the horizontal inscription started in the center and featured an identical text to the left and right. Another small piece, cat. no. 206, seems to show a very small part of the expression *dj ʿnh* above a horizontal border, which fits the proposed reconstruction. The horizontal space above the false door was indeed well suited for a horizontal inscription, and the central *ankh*-sign mirrors the layout of the exterior lintel, without the addition of the winged sun disk (for the exterior inscription, see chapter 5.1).

Cat. no. 187, which features the first oil name of the list, clearly has a vertical line in front of it, and cat. no. 182 seems to show the same evidence from the other side of the false door. The latter has a *kheker*-frieze above the inscription, indicating that the oil list was placed all the way at the top of the wall. Both pieces suggest that another element of decoration was in front of the very top of the inventory list, supporting the reconstruction of a horizontal inscription above the false door.

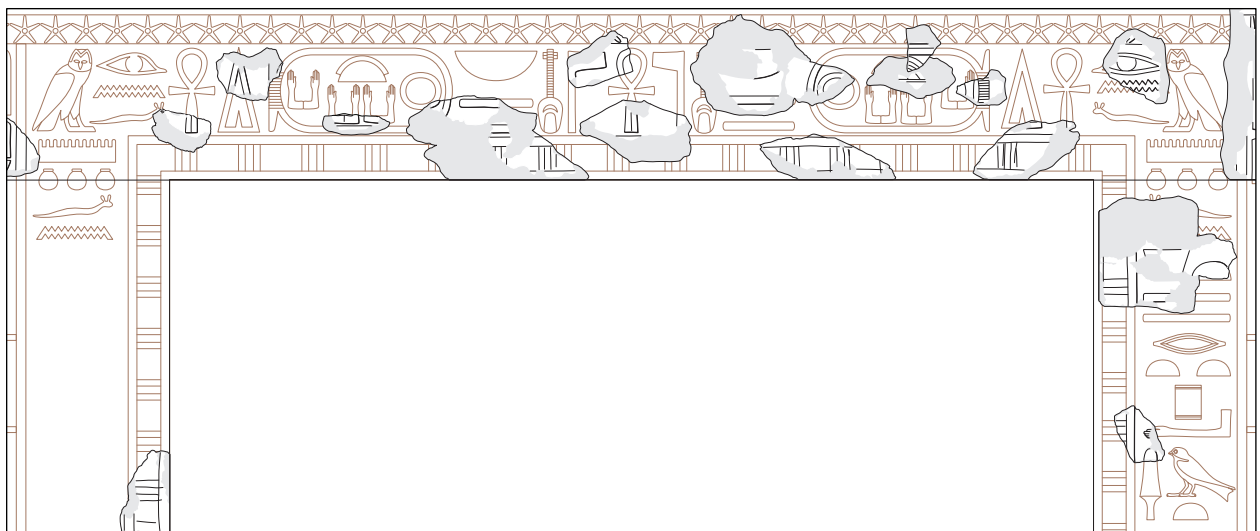


Fig. 20. Detail of the reconstruction of the south wall with top part of the building dedication inscription.

Cat. no. 205 is an important piece displaying a large *jri*-sign below a sky. From the piece itself it is unclear whether it belongs to a vertical or horizontal inscription. A large vertical inscription at the top of a wall is known from above the depiction of the queen on the east and



west walls. However, a protective bird is situated farther above, and the only inscription situated directly below the sky is possibly the name of the protective deity, and no such name includes the *jri*-sign. The top section of the inventory list naming oils can be reconstructed at both sides of the top of the south wall; however, as no oil is known to start with *jri*, it seems unlikely that this sign would appear there. Cat. no. 205 can rather be identified as part of the horizontal inscription above the false door. The inscription reads *jri.n*, which are elements that occur in building dedication inscriptions together with the name of the king, and indeed there is evidence that the king's name was written above the false door, as detailed above.<sup>401</sup> The evidence from various pieces combined therefore suggests that a horizontal inscription was placed above the false door, that it was arranged like a lintel inscription with a central *ankh*-sign, and that it consisted of a building dedication inscription. Such inscriptions usually begin with the title and name of the king and continue reading *jri.n=f m mnw=f n* or similar, followed by the titles and name of the person for whom the building was erected.

Several pieces suggest that there was a column of inscription with titles of the queen in front of the inventory list and directly next to the false door. Cat. no. 208 preserves part of the title *hmwt t3wj* facing left to the right of a vertical block border. As this border sits directly next to a masonry edge (and as its angle is less than 90 degrees), it can be identified as being the border that runs directly along the false door. Cat. no. 209 shows that the title *wrt hts* followed *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t* as part of a vertical inscription facing left that was likewise situated to the right of a vertical block border.<sup>402</sup> These pieces with titles of the queen can be placed to the sides of the false door and they can be identified as belonging to a vertical inscription that continued the horizontal building dedication inscription to the sides of the false door.<sup>403</sup>

The available space for the horizontal part of the building inscription is determined by the reconstructed position of the first column of the inventory list on the right and left sides and the

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<sup>401</sup> For these inscriptions, see the detailed work of Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*.

<sup>402</sup> See also cat. no. 184, which preserves part of the linen list with a column line to the left and part of an object that is probably a left facing vulture-sign farther to the left. Another piece with a vulture-sign, but facing right, can be placed in the vertical inscription on the opposite side (cat. no. 210; see fig. 19).

<sup>403</sup> For another such dedication inscription that names Senwosret III and consists of horizontal and vertical elements, see the Tell el-Daba gate: Labib Habachi (aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Eva-Maria Engel unter Mitarbeit von Peter Jánosi und Christa Mlinar), *Tell el-Dab'a*, vol. 1, *Tell el-Dab'a and Qantir, The Site and Its Connection with Avaris and Piramesse* (Vienna, 2001), pp. 159–163, pl. 8.

width of the wall known from the lintel of the opposite wall (cat. no. 1). The space in between allows reconstructing that the horizontal text read twice:  $\epsilon nh \ ntr \ nfr \ nb \ t3wj \ H^c j-k3w-R^c \ dj \ \epsilon nh \ jri.n=f m$ . One can then reconstruct that the inscription continued vertically with  $mmw=f n$  on both sides and that on the right side the list of the titles of the queen probably started with  $hmwt \ t3wj \ jrjt \ p^c t \ wrt \ hts$  and then included further titles below, including  $mwt \ nswt$  (see cat. no. 184) and the name(s) of the queen. The left side could have been identical or it could have listed a different set of titles. Only one fragment with part of the title  $mwt \ nswt$  (see cat. no. 210) can be assigned to this side; however, together with cat. no. 184, it suggests that this title occurred on both sides.

Placed around the false door, the building inscription, naming the king as the person who built the chapel for Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, occupied a very prominent position. Such dedication inscriptions are well known for royal women in the Old Kingdom, when they were positioned at the entrance or at the false door.<sup>404</sup> Evidence for similar inscriptions are difficult to find for other royal women of the Middle Kingdom; however, this is probably due mainly to the poor state of preservation of their monuments.<sup>405</sup>

The bottom block edge below the horizontal building dedication inscription lines up perfectly with that of cat. no. 182, which cuts through the top row of the inventory list and was situated to the right of the horizontal inscription. Additionally, cat. no. 182 features a vertical masonry edge on the right, indicating that it is the right end of a block. This block was placed above the false door like a lintel, extending beyond it on both sides. The bottom left corner of this “false lintel” is also preserved and shows, as on the right side, part of the first oil of the inventory list (see cat. no. 187). The horizontal block edge runs through the  $hb$ -sign on the left and right sides, just at a slightly different height. The bottom edge of this block was carved at an acute angle to the surface, which is surprising and suggests that this piece was inserted into the wall after other elements around it had been positioned (see chapter 8.3.5).

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<sup>404</sup> See Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, pp. 512–514.

<sup>405</sup> It seems that other chapels for royal women in the complex of Senwosret III had such inscriptions as well. See, for example, the two pieces with the name of the king that were found by Perring and probably belong to the east chapel of pyramid 2: Vyse, *Gizeh III*, pl. opposite p. 63, figs. 7–8. (The smaller of these two pieces is today in the British Museum, EA 2434; I would like to thank Adela Oppenheim for showing me photographs of several British Museum pieces from Dahshur and Marcel Marée for sending me information about them.) These two pieces might derive from a dedication inscription, which seems, however, to have been arranged differently than that of the north chapel of pyramid 8, as it seems to be written in two horizontal rows of inscription.

Cat. no. 182 is thus the right end of the “false lintel,” which was placed above the false door. This piece also has a masonry edge at its top through the top part of a *kheker* and the patch stone cat. no. 220 fits perfectly above. There are several other parts of patch stones with the top section of a *kheker*-frieze, and they are all about the same height. Two such pieces each comprise the left ends of patch stones (cat. no. 223–224), while a third (cat. no. 220) can possibly be placed above the right side of the “false lintel;” it preserves the right end of a slightly shorter patch stone. This shows that there were at least three different patch stones from the very top of the *kheker*-frieze. Since they depict the same section of the *khekers* and are very similar in size, they may have all come from the same area. Altogether these patch stones depict at least fourteen different *khekers*. Each *kheker* fills a space about 5 cm wide, and if they all belonged to the same area, then this area was at least 70 cm wide. They might all have been part of the “false lintel” block, which can be reconstructed as being 128 cm wide (see below, chapter 8.3.5). However, the possibility cannot be excluded that the patch stones derived from different walls, especially as the top of the walls were easily damaged when the ceiling blocks were placed. It is interesting to note that the bottom masonry edges of these patch stones sit at a right angle to the surface, while the top edge is at a narrower angle. Usually the edges of a patch stone are at an acute angle on all four sides to facilitate its insertion. It is unclear why this was done differently; in this regard it might be noteworthy that the horizontal edge at the top of cat. no. 182 already has an acute angle, so the bottom edge of a patch stone inserted above it would not necessarily have needed such an angle.

## 5.5 The Decoration of the Tympana

The chapel’s ceiling was vaulted east-west; the top of the north and south walls thus had a rounded tympanum underneath the curved ceiling.<sup>406</sup> The block making up each tympanum was placed on top of the wall before the vault was carved, and it contained both the actual tympanum

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<sup>406</sup> For tympana in general, see the information and many reference given by Oppenheim, in *Ancient Memphis*, pp. 400–424.

as well as part of the vaulted ceiling above.<sup>407</sup> The tympana were decorated with inscriptions, and fortunately a very large part of the decoration of one is preserved (see cat. no. 178). The piece maintains most of its inscription, which gives the titles and name of the chapel's owner (for her name, see chapter 7). Arranged in short columns without column lines, the inscription reads twice symmetrically from the center outward to the left and right:

*jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t hmwt t3wj wrt hts wrt hzt nbt jm3t burt mrwt hmt nswt mwt nswt Hnmt-nfr-hdt  
Wrt <sup>c</sup>nh.tj dt*

“The noblewoman, lady of the two lands, great one of the *hts*-scepter, great one of praise, mistress of the *jm3t*-scepter, sweet of love, king's wife, and king's mother Khenemetneferhedjet Weret, may she live eternally.”<sup>408</sup>

This well-preserved segment includes parts of the curved borders and illustrates how shallow the tympanum was (see fig. 19).<sup>409</sup>

Cat. no. 1 preserves the top right of the interior lintel decoration, and above the *kheker*-frieze it shows two straight contours. These must belong to the very bottom of the tympanum decoration and could very well be the lower contours of a land-sign that was used as a determinative at the end of the inscription *<sup>c</sup>nh.tj dt*. The well-preserved tympanum (cat. no. 178) includes the very bottom of the inscription, indicating that it is not the piece that sat above the door lintel on the entrance wall. We therefore know that cat. no. 178 was originally situated above the false door on the chapel's south side, while on the north tympanum the inscription seems to have sat slightly lower, so that its very bottom was actually situated at the very top of the lintel block.

The bottom contour of what has been identified as a land-sign at the end of the inscription is situated slightly farther left on the interior top right end of the door lintel, and therefore closer to the beginning of the inscription, than the land-sign from the right end of the south tympanum. This could indicate that the inscription was different, possibly giving slightly different titles on

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<sup>407</sup> For a tympanum of the king's north chapel, which still features a small part of the ceiling, see Oppenheim, in *Ancient Memphis*, p. 410, fig. 5.

<sup>408</sup> For the queen's titles, see the appendix in chapter 9.

<sup>409</sup> See Oppenheim, in *Ancient Memphis*, p. 401, for the observation that vaulted ceilings in the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom were generally shallower than in later times. The vaulted ceiling of the north chapel of pyramid 8 seems to have been even shallower than that of the king's north chapel; see *ibid.*, pp. 406–407, figs. 3a and 3b.

the two opposite walls but still ending with  $\epsilon nh.tj dt$ . Such a parallel structure of an inscription, but with different titles, can also be found on the east and west walls of the chapel. However, the possibility cannot be excluded that the inscription was identical and that slightly smaller hieroglyphs were used on the north, resulting in this discrepancy of positions. Looking at the south tympanum, one can notice that the two land-signs from the title  $hmwt t3wj$  in the center are longer than the one from the phrase  $\epsilon nh.tj dt$  preserved on its right end. The reason for this might have been the more restricted space at the end of the inscription. If the decoration of the south tympanum was laid out first, then, hypothetically, this experience of having to make the signs at the ends of the inscription smaller in order to make the inscription fit could have led the artist(s) to choose a slightly smaller scale for the hieroglyphs on the opposite tympanum.

The positioning of the hieroglyphs on the preserved tympanum was not executed very skillfully, and the quality of relief carving is mediocre and partially even poor (see cat. no. 178 and below, chapter 8.2.1). A few smaller fragments could be assigned to the tympana due to their style but do not contribute much to our knowledge about them.

## 5.6 The Ceiling Decoration

The ceiling was vaulted and decorated in painted relief with rows of yellow five-pointed stars on a blue background. Cat. nos. 228–229 show that the stars were oriented toward the east or the west, which fits well to Oppenheim's observations that at the end of the Old Kingdom and in the Middle Kingdom such ceiling stars are oriented toward the west.<sup>410</sup>

The vaulted ceiling was carved out after the blocks were placed. In the area where the ceiling originally met the side walls, the ceiling blocks can feature a low lip before the ceiling surface curves out to form the vaulted ceiling. This can be observed on cat. no. 229, which derives from a ceiling block and features a vertical lip, about 2 cm high, at the edge of the ceiling.

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<sup>410</sup> See Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pp. 602–603. For ceiling stars, see also Jánosi, *Amenemhat I Reliefs*, pp. 131–132; and Ćwiek, *Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes*, pp. 297–298.

## 5.7 The False Door and the Offering Table

Not a single piece is preserved that can be securely assigned to a false door. Cat. no. 237 is a red granite fragment that was found to the northeast of pyramid 8; it might have been part of a false door, but its decoration is not conclusive. The fact that no pieces that can be assigned to a false door survived, however, does not necessarily mean that none existed, even if in Middle Kingdom private tombs statue niches seem to replace false doors.<sup>411</sup> It is rather likely that most false doors for the royal women's chapels in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III were made of hard stone<sup>412</sup> and therefore much sought after by the stone robbers. This might explain why there is likewise little or no evidence from the other royal women's chapels for false doors.<sup>413</sup>

A number of seemingly unimportant fragments with a block border immediately next to a masonry edge provide indirect evidence that false doors existed. There are several pieces from the north chapel of pyramid 8 (see, for example, cat. nos. 206 or 211) that show a block border directly next to a block edge, rather than next to a doorframe or being part of a corner block border. These pieces must have belonged to the border around the false door. It is also noteworthy that the edges adjacent to the block borders are at less than 90-degree angle to the decorated surface. Several fragments with such features are preserved from various chapels of royal women. That numerous small pieces of these borders were found can be explained by the fact that either the blocks adjoining the false door were damaged when the stone robbers pried

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<sup>411</sup> See Andrea Kahlbacher, “*Raumfunktion und Dekorationsprogramm der Felsgräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches: Eine vergleichende Studie zu den Nekropolen von El Berscheh, Scheich Saïd, Meir und Quseir el Amarna*“ (MA-thesis, University of Vienna, 2011), pp. 146–147.

<sup>412</sup> A fragment of a small red granite torus was found in the area of pyramid 8's east chapel (unpublished, 97.91) and might have belonged to a false door; its width is about 5.5 cm. The piece is briefly mentioned in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 59. However, see also Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen*, p. 160, note 1079, who observed that false doors are rarely made out of granite, even for royal women.

<sup>413</sup> The only evidence might be the torus mentioned in the previous note and part of a large limestone false door for a king's daughter whose name begins with Ita (unpublished, 94.1186). The latter piece was found in the south temple and might belong to Itakayet, the owner of pyramid 3. The area of the south temple is largely unexcavated, and it is unclear whether this false door was brought to this area by the stone robbers or if the royal women might have had additional cult places in this vast building. For the south temple in general, see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 97–105.

out the false door or that the robbers purposefully hacked off these sections adjacent to the side of the false door in order to gain better access to it.

For the north chapel of pyramid 8 the decoration to the sides of the false door (the inventory list, the vertical part of the building dedication inscription, and the borders on both sides) can be reconstructed as being about 61 cm wide. This reconstructed width matches the preserved width of the decoration to the side of the entrance doorway (62 cm; see cat. no. 25). Since we know that the chapel was 208 cm wide, its false door can be reconstructed as being about 86 cm wide. It is possible that it was placed on top of a limestone pedestal, as was the case, for example, in the Dynasty 6 north chapel of queen Iput I,<sup>414</sup> but no evidence exists for the chapel under review here. (Two possibilities are reflected in two different reconstruction drawings; a pedestal is indicated in the reconstruction of the wall's decoration in fig. 19, while the room view of the chapel includes a false door that starts at floor level; see fig. 36.)

The lower left part of a red granite false door of a Khenemetneferhedjet Weret was found in Bubastis, where it was reused in the gateway or festival court of Osorkon II.<sup>415</sup> Middle Kingdom structures have been found nearby, as pointed out by Eva Lange, and this false door might have been part of a chapel for Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I or II that stood in this area.<sup>416</sup> It is also possible that the false door was reused in Bubastis for a second time. Christian Tietze and Mahmud Selim noted that most blocks reused in the festival court of Osorkon II seem to date originally to the time of Ramses II. The false door could have been reused previously in the New Kingdom, possibly in Pi-Ramesse, or in another nearby place, before it was brought to Tell Basta; it might have originally belonged to a monument that was not in the Delta, such as Dahshur or Lahun. The features and size of the Bubastis false door fragment indicate that the

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<sup>414</sup> See Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen*, p. 91, fig. 37, pp. 160–161, with further references.

<sup>415</sup> Lange, in *Life and Afterlife*, pp. 91–93, and back cover; see also Selim and Tietze, *Tell Basta: Geschichte einer Grabung*, pp. 14–15, fig. 9 (note that the drawing is reversed).

<sup>416</sup> See also Dieter Arnold, “Hypostyle Hall of the Old and Middle Kingdom?,” in *Studies in the Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. by Peter Der Manuelian, vol. 1 (Boston, 1996), pp. 39–54, who has shown that many Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom columns that were reused in the Delta came not from the Memphite area but from local hypostyle halls. See also Richard Bußmann, “Der Kult für die Königsmutter Anchenes-Merire I. im Tempel des Chontamenti,” in *SAK* 39 (2010), pp. 101–119 (with further references), for queens’ chapels that were erected at a place other than the royal cemetery.



complete false door must have been at least 120 cm,<sup>417</sup> which is too large for the north chapel of pyramid 8, where the space for a false door has been reconstructed to have been about 86 cm wide. The Bubastis false door probably did not derive from one of the other Dahshur chapels that adjoined the pyramids of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I or II, either, as they all seem to have had similar interior dimensions. However, little is known about the south temple of Senwosret III, and the possibility cannot be excluded that it contained additional cult areas for the royal women. Thus it cannot be fully ruled out that the piece derived from Dahshur. But it could also have derived from Lahun if it belonged to Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, or from an as yet unknown chapel for Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I or Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II at a different site in the Delta or elsewhere.

Part of a white quartzite offering table (cat. no. 236) was found together with relief fragments during the excavations of the remains of the north chapel of pyramid 8. It is impossible to determine its exact original size. Based on the size of the inscription and its border, however, one can propose that it might have been about 80 cm wide, which fits the false door's reconstructed width of 86 cm. We do not know if this offering table was placed on top of a platform and/or if a small staircase led up to it.<sup>418</sup> The restricted interior space of the small chapel might suggest that the latter was not the case.

## 5.8 The Decoration Wrapping Around the Corner

If one examines the decoration of the entrance wall together with that of both long walls, it becomes evident that the layout of the adjoining ends of these walls is the same and that the

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<sup>417</sup> The piece is 67 cm wide. The rightmost section of the false door (to the right of the damaged area) sits on a lower level than the stepped areas to the left, which means that the right section is either the center of the door, or that the center would have been even farther right. I would like to thank to Eva Lange for this information (email correspondence November 2015). Thus the original width of the false door must have been at least 120 cm.

<sup>418</sup> As was the case, for example, in Dynasty 6 for the 140 cm x 95 cm offering table of Udjebten (see Gustave Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, Fouilles Saqq. [Cairo, 1928], pp. 14–15, pl. 13) or for Neith (see Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, p. 10, pls. 2–3; see also the reconstruction of Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen*, p. 143, fig. 77); Neith's offering table is not preserved but must have been very large as well, since its base seems to be about 1.5 m wide.

types of scenes are nearly identical. On their north ends, both long walls feature three registers with figures, in this case offering bearers, and four registers with piled offerings, situated above. This corresponds with the decoration of the entrance wall, which displayed three registers of animal-slaughtering scenes at its bottom, followed by four registers with piled offerings above (see pl. 1). There seem to have been only minute differences: the height of each register was not exactly the same as on the adjoining walls, but they matched approximately, and the total height of the three figurative scenes seems to match.<sup>419</sup>

This observation corresponds to the feature of the continuous sky. From three pieces we have evidence for a sky that wrapped around the corners (see cat. nos. 1 and 218–219).<sup>420</sup> This characteristic is evident on both the east and west ends of the entrance wall, as well as on the north ends of both long walls. Since the sky on these pieces continued on the adjoining walls, it can be determined that there was, on all four walls, one continuous sky that encircled the complete interior of the chapel. The scenes on these walls were clearly conceptualized as continuous representations,<sup>421</sup> and the sky created a strong formal unity across the chapel's interior decoration. Moreover, this sky sheltered not only the elements of the wall decoration but also everything else in the room: the false door, the offering table, a possible statue of the queen (see below), and the rituals that were performed inside the chapel.

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<sup>419</sup> The two bottom slaughtering registers clearly featured a sky above, which is not present in the bottom register with offering bearers and might not have been featured in the other two, either.

<sup>420</sup> An unpublished parallel for such a sky derives from the pyramid complex of Senwosret I (MMA 09.180.39, deaccessioned, today in the Princeton University Art Museum: y1950-128.58). This relief fragment features in sunk relief the right end of a *kheker*-frieze with a horizontal block border below and a horizontal band farther below. This band is painted blue except in areas that have the outlines of stars, which clearly indicates that this is the depiction of a sky. This sky does not have a triangular end to the far right; instead, it runs straight into the corner. The piece also preserves a very small part of the adjoining wall (the block must have been cut down in this area when the walls were flattened, after the walls were built) with part of its decoration, which seems to show that the sky continues.

<sup>421</sup> In the New Kingdom it becomes much more apparent that adjoining walls were not seen separately; now individual scenes can wrap around the corner with no corner border present; see, for example, Eva Hofmann, *Das Grab des Neferrenpet gen. Kenro (TT 178)*, Theben 9 (Mainz, 1995), pl. 15, fig. 21.

## 6 Excursus I: On the Omission or Separation of Titles in the North Chapel of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I

The highest titles a royal woman could achieve were “the wife of the king” and “the mother of the king.” It seems that in the chapels of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I some inscriptions listing her titles included only one of these two. In the inscription of her offering table scene on the west wall of her north chapel (see cat. no. 58) Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I was only called “wife of the king,” which presumably refers to Senwosret II. Her Dahshur chapels are part of the pyramid complex of her son, Senwosret III, and her symbolic or cultic presence at his complex must have been of importance for him, which is why there must have been a good reason to omit the title that identifies her relationship with him on this wall. In the same scene on the opposite east wall only the title “mother of the king” is preserved (see cat. no. 56). It is possible that the title “wife of the king” was omitted on the east wall or that the regular sequence of these two titles as “wife of the king, mother of the king” was reversed. The fact that the west wall gives only one of the two main titles of the queen makes it more likely that her two main titles were split up between the two opposite walls. In this case, it is fitting that the title “mother of the king” was chosen for the east wall, because the east, as the place of the sunrise, is the place where the deceased king is reborn with the help of his mother.<sup>422</sup> The two walls were probably seen not as separate entities but as complements. That the various scenes of the chapel were in fact seen as one unit is apparent through the depiction of the sky, which is continuous. It wraps around the corners and unifies the various walls as one large scene (see chapter 5.8) in which the queen, therefore, bears both titles.

The east chapel of pyramid 8 provides another interesting example. A piece from the offering list of the north wall of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I’s east chapel seems to include only the title *hmt nswt* without *mwt nswt* (cat. no. 239).<sup>423</sup> Unfortunately, the corresponding part of the opposite wall is not preserved. However, this might be another case where the two most

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<sup>422</sup> See Roth, *Königsmütter*, p. 340.

<sup>423</sup> Note, though, that the *sw*-plant for *nswt* might be missing in this inscription. These parts of the offering list are unfortunately not preserved from the north chapel of pyramid 8.

important titles were split up onto the opposite walls of the chapel.<sup>424</sup> Looking again at the vertical inscriptions of the north chapel of pyramid 8, one must point out that the rest of the titles given on the east and west walls seem to be different, as well. The west wall lists all those titles that are also known from the chapel's exterior inscription and also included the titles "lady of the two lands," "mistress of the *jm3t*-scepter," and "sweet of love," which occur on the south tympanum (see cat. no. 178). In addition the west wall lists the title "The one who says anything, and one does it for her" and possibly other rare titles that are not featured on the lintel or tympanum. The east wall might have included the title "The one who sees Horus and Seth," which is listed neither on the lintel and nor on the tympanum. It could be argued that the reason that the title "mother of the king" was omitted on the west wall was a preference for a set combination of multiple titles that did not include this particular one. For the fragment from the offering list of the east chapel of pyramid 8, however, this was clearly not the case, as the piece only included one of the queen's titles.

The phenomenon of splitting up the highest titles of royal women (those that define the women's degree of kinship to the king) is known from other periods as well. Several cases are preserved from the Old Kingdom in which the highest titles were divided among the various inscriptions that can occur on one and the same object.<sup>425</sup> For the New Kingdom Gay Robins collected the combination of titles used for royal women in what she calls "title strings." She observed that one of the most important titles of a queen (a core title, which is defined by Robins as a title that can occur alone, such as "mother of the king" or "wife of the king") could sometimes be omitted and that in some such cases they could appear in different title strings on

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<sup>424</sup> For the east chapel of pyramid 8 we have only such evidence for the offering list; very little is preserved from the vertical inscription above the queen in her east chapel, and we unfortunately do not know how these two titles were listed in these larger inscriptions.

<sup>425</sup> For example, the false door and offering table of Iput I; see Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. 2, Excav. Saqq. (Cairo, 1926), pl. 55; or the sarcophagus of Ankhesenpepy I; see Dobrev, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, p. 391, fig. 2. Another example that derives from a building is the entrance to the mastaba of Meresankh III; see Dows Dunham and William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Meresyankh III G 7530–7540*, Giza Mastabas 1 (Boston, 1974), pl. 2, fig. 1.

the same object.<sup>426</sup> In the Middle Kingdom, variations in the sequence of the most important titles can be observed in Dynasty 11 for Neferu and Tem; in Neferu's case, her main titles were also allotted among the various inscriptions within the same monument. On the west and north side of Tem's sarcophagus one can find "mother of the king, wife of the king," while the east side reads "wife of the king whom he loves, mother of the king of Upper Egypt, and mother of the king of Lower Egypt."<sup>427</sup> The inscriptions in Neferu's burial chamber give "wife of the king, daughter of the king" on the west and north walls, while the east wall features "daughter of the king, wife of the king."<sup>428</sup> Neferu's sarcophagus calls her "wife of the king, daughter of the king" on the short south side; however, on the much longer west side she is called only "the great daughter of the king of his body," while just "wife of the king" was chosen for the east side.<sup>429</sup>

The separation of the most important titles into different inscriptions (or changing their sequence) was probably a conscious choice and might have had various reasons. Practical factors could have played a role, such as space and the layout of the inscription, and there may have been aesthetic considerations regarding the design of the inscription. The motives could also have been interpretative, as different roles of the royal women might have been stressed, depending on the function of the object that carries the inscription(s).

The variation in titles that can be seen on the exterior inscription of the north chapel of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I might have had both practical and visual cause. Here the two titles *wrt ḥts* and *wrt ḥzt* were split up to the left and right of the *ankh*-sign, while the rest of the inscription seems to have been identical. The main reason in this case might have been a restricted amount of space. The two titles that were chosen for this variation look very similar, which means that the symmetry of the inscription was not disturbed.

The case in which Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I's main titles, "wife of the king" and "mother of the king," were split up onto two walls of her north chapel (and possibly in her east

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<sup>426</sup> Gay Robins, "The Organisation and Order of Queens' Titles in the Eighteenth Dynasty before the Reign of Akhenaten," in *Menschenbilder—Bildermenschen: Kunst und Kultur im Alten Ägypten*, ed. by Tobias Hofmann and Alexandra Sturm (Norderstedt, 2003), pp. 203–226.

<sup>427</sup> G. Daressy, "Notes et remarques," *RecTrav* 14 (1893), p. 30; Lisa Kuchman Sabbahy, "The Development of the Titulary and Iconography of the Ancient Egyptian Queen from Dynasty One to Early Dynasty Eighteen" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1982), p. 172.

<sup>428</sup> Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 502–503; Kuchman Sabbahy, *Development*, pp. 172–173.

<sup>429</sup> Kuchman Sabbahy, *Development*, pp. 173–174; Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 501–502.

chapel, as well) could be seen as an emphasis of her two different roles as the wife of Senwosret II and as the mother of Senwosret III. As this phenomenon occurs within the mortuary complex of Senwosret III, the focus might have been not on the association with these two different kings but rather on the queen's dual role as mother and wife. This stressed her multi-generational aspect, which was an important factor in her regenerative role for Senwosret III (and for kingship in general).

## 7 Excursus II: “Khenemetneferhedjet” – A Title or Name in Dynasty 12?

### 7.1 Introduction to the Issue of How to Interpret the Designation “Khenemetneferhedjet”

In the offering table scene on both the east and west walls of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I’s north chapel the queen is called only “Khenemetneferhedjet” without “Weret” (see cat. nos. 56 and 58), which requires further discussion. Given the importance of a personal name in ancient Egypt, it seems highly unlikely that the name of the queen would be omitted in such a crucial scene.

The designation Khenemetneferhedjet occurs for several royal women from Dynasty 12 to early Dynasty 18. In the past, the ancient practice of calling these women Khenemetneferhedjet was interpreted as either a title for all of them or as a name for a few Dynasty 12 women and at the same time as a title for others in Dynasty 12 and later. The question of whether Khenemetneferhedjet is a name or title arose because it is situated in a very prominent position, between the highest ranking title that expresses the kinship of a royal woman to the king and the name of the woman, and yet it can also occur without a name following it. In a Lahun papyrus two women called Khenemetneferhedjet are named in the same inscription; one is called Khenemetneferhedjet Weret (a king’s wife and king’s mother) and the other Khenemetneferhedjet Khered/Sherit<sup>430</sup> (a king’s wife). Inscriptions for a Khenemetneferhedjet Weret also occur elsewhere. Agreement exists that Khenemetneferhedjet Weret (I) was the wife of Senwosret II and mother of Senwosret III and that Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit was a wife of Senwosret III (see chapter 2.1). However, the expressions “Weret” (“the great one” or “the elder one”) and “Sherit” (“the child” or “the young one”) have been interpreted as a differentiation of either two women with the same name or of two women (whose names are not given) with the same title. The discussion has been complicated by the fact that the dates of several other relevant women who were called Khenemetneferhedjet are not known securely because burials of royal women within a complex of a king do not need to be contemporary. An additional obstacle is the circumstance that for a long time only one Khenemetneferhedjet Weret was

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<sup>430</sup> The hieroglyph Gardiner Sign List A17 has been read as “Khered” or as “Sherit” by different authors; see above, chapter 2.1.



known (the wife of Senwosret II and mother of Senwosret III), but we now know that in fact there were two women called Khenemetneferhedjet Weret, one being a wife of Senwosret II and mother of Senwosret III (the owner of Dahshur pyramid 8), the other being a wife of Senwosret III (the owner of Dahshur pyramid 9; see chapter 1).

In the following, the interpretations and explanations of various scholars for the expression Khenemetneferhedjet will be given, relevant points will be reviewed, an overview of the evidence in Dynasty 12 will be presented, and a new suggestion will be made. Not every detail in regard to the many royal women that are mentioned in the various authors' works will be discussed or updated, but only those aspects relevant here.

## 7.2 The Evidence and Past and Current Interpretations of “Khenemetneferhedjet”

The first detailed discussions of the expression “Khenemetneferhedjet” were published in 1914 and 1949 by Guy Brunton, who regarded Khenemetneferhedjet as a title and rejected previous readings of individual inscriptions that referred to Khenemetneferhedjet as a name.<sup>431</sup> He collected more than sixty attestations, which he dated to the period from the reign of Amenemhat II to early Dynasty 18. In his opinion Weret and Khered are the names of the two women, who are called Khenemetneferhedjet Weret and Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit/Khered in the Lahun papyrus. He saw a progression of the status of the royal women who were called Khenemetneferhedjet, as he believed that the earliest owners of this title were princesses, that it was next held by queens, and that even later those women called Khenemetneferhedjet also held the title “great royal wife” and the cartouche could be used for them. He pointed out that Khenemetneferhedjet could be used without a personal name. For him this was an indication that only one royal woman at a time could bear Khenemetneferhedjet as a title. He translated Khenemetneferhedjet initially as “United to the Beauty of the White Crown,”<sup>432</sup> but corrected this later to “joined to (or associated with) the White Crown.”<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>431</sup> Guy Brunton, *Lahun I*, pp. 20–21, pl. 15, Guy Brunton, The Title “KHNUMT NEFER-HEZET,” in *ASAE* 49 (1949), pp. 99–110. See also Petrie, Brunton, and Murray, *Lahun II*, p. 16.

<sup>432</sup> Brunton, *Lahun I*, p. 20.

<sup>433</sup> Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 106.

Barbara Mertz, in her dissertation from 1952, followed Brunton in his interpretation of Khenemetneferhedjet as a title and developed some of his ideas further.<sup>434</sup> She agreed with Brunton's translation of Khenemetneferhedjet and used "she who is joined to the (wearer of the) White Crown" as translation for it,<sup>435</sup> rejecting others, such as Winlock's translation as "who has assumed the Beautiful White Crown."<sup>436</sup> She further detailed that Khenemetneferhedjet is an association of the woman with the wearer of the white crown, the king. Mertz noted that it is interesting that this title "seems to have been used without a personal name to refer to the contemporary queen who held it."<sup>437</sup> She believed that the additions of Weret and Sherit to Khenemetneferhedjet for the two women in the Lahun papyrus were probably meant to differentiate two women with the same title, rather than with the same name, and that Weret indicated either an older age or a higher status. Like Brunton, Mertz also assumed that the title was used by only one royal woman at a given time, which, in her opinion, made a reference to the name unnecessary. She drew a parallel to the title *wrt hts*, which was used without the queen's name in the Old Kingdom biography of Weni.

In her dissertation about the title "king's son," which was published in 1976, Bettina Schmitz saw Khenemetneferhedjet as the name of the princess whose statue was found in Ugarit, because she is called only Khenemetneferhedjet on it.<sup>438</sup> For other women, however, Schmitz accepted Khenemetneferhedjet as a title.<sup>439</sup> She believed that king's daughters who bore this title were never king's wives.

A similar new "mixed" approach was taken around the same time by Olivier Perdu. He published a detailed article in 1977, arguing that Khenemetneferhedjet was a name for three royal women in Dynasty 12 and that it was used as a title for other royal women at that time and later.<sup>440</sup> He noted that in several cases from Brunton's list, the designation Khenemetneferhedjet was not followed by a name, and he added five more examples. For these cases he saw

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<sup>434</sup> Barbara Gross Mertz, "Certain Titles of the Egyptian Queens and their Bearing on the Hereditary Right to the Throne" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1952), pp. 72–82.

<sup>435</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>436</sup> H. E. Winlock, "The Tombs of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes," in *JEA* 10 (1924), p. 270.

<sup>437</sup> Mertz, *Titles of the Egyptian Queens*, p. 73.

<sup>438</sup> Bettina Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-NJSWT „Königsson“* (Bonn, 1976), p. 199.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 190–202.

<sup>440</sup> Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 68–85.

Khenemetneferhedjet itself as the name of the woman and he assigned all these occurrences to the following three individuals:

- A princess Khenemetneferhedjet, who is associated with Amenemhat II but not necessarily his daughter
- A king's wife and king's mother Khenemetneferhedjet Weret, whom he identifies as the wife of Senwosret II and the mother of Senwosret III
- A king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit, whom he identifies as the main wife of Senwosret III

The addition of what Perdu called “adjectifs” (Weret and Sherit) to Khenemetneferhedjet did not indicate to him that these words are names. He, rather, saw them as means of differentiating between royal women with the same name, as “épithètes de discriminations.”<sup>441</sup>

Perdu's main argument for seeing Khenemetneferhedjet as a name for these women was that the name of a person was very important in ancient Egypt and that it seems “un-Egyptian” not to include it, while Brunton and Mertz believed that the name was omitted in some cases. Perdu refuted Mertz's view that a parallel can be drawn from the story of Weni, where a queen is mentioned only by her titles *hmt nswt* and *wrt hts*, without her name, as, in this specific context of a trial against her, her name might have been omitted for reasons of discretion.

Perdu further argued that Khenemetneferhedjet was used as a title as well and that the first attestations of its use both as a title and as a name dates to the time of Amenemhat II. He wrote that there is no clear evidence as to whether the title copied the name or the other way around, although he believed that the former is more likely. In addition, Perdu refuted Bruton's statement that only one royal woman at a time could bear Khenemetneferhedjet as a title,<sup>442</sup> and he listed Khenemet and Itaweret as two princesses of Amenemhat II who possessed this title contemporaneously. He also accepted Khenemetneferhedjet as a title for other royal women, such as Menet, Neferethenut, Aat, and Hetepti.

Perdu argued against Pierre Montet's<sup>443</sup> identification of the Ugarit statue of a king's daughter Khenemetneferhedjet with the king's daughter from the complex of Amenemhat II,

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<sup>441</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>442</sup> Ibid., p. 68, note 8.

<sup>443</sup> In a review of the excavation reports by Schaeffer, Montet identified the statue as a daughter of Amenemhat II, and he believed that this was the same woman who was the wife of Senwosret II and the mother of Senwosret III;

who was called Khenemet on her coffin and Khenemetneferhedjet on her canopic chest. In this context he noted the intriguing use of only *Hnmt-nfr-hdt tn* “this Khenemetneferhedjet” on the canopic chest of this woman. But he did not see Khenemetneferhedjet as a name in this case and argued that her coffin and canopic chest need to be seen as a unit, one giving a title and the other the name. He also denied that Khenemet might be an abbreviation for Khenemetneferhedjet.

Perdu did not discuss the translation or meaning of Khenemetneferhedjet in detail; however, in a footnote he translates Khenemetneferhedjet as “celle que s’unit à la couronne,” as Brunton had done.<sup>444</sup>

Robert Delia, in his 1980 dissertation on Senwosret III, followed Perdu and saw Khenemetneferhedjet as a name only for those royal women for whom Khenemetneferhedjet could be used alone.<sup>445</sup> He regarded the use of Weret and Sherit in the Lahun papyrus as epithets, which might have been needed in this specific context as part of a detailed inventory. He believed that such a distinct differentiation might not have been necessary for the triad statue where differentiation of the two women was made, even if only through the title “mother of the king,” which only one of them bore. He mentioned that another Lahun document that talks about offerings for Senwosret II and his wife lists her as king’s wife and king’s mother Khenemetneferhedjet, without Weret, and that this was done as she was the only royal woman mentioned in this text.

However, Delia did not agree with Perdu in assigning all examples of a king’s wife and king’s mother Khenemetneferhedjet or of a king’s wife Khenemetneferhedjet Weret to the mother of Senwosret III. In addition, he said that the king’s daughter who is only named Khenemetneferhedjet and who is associated with Amenemhat II might have become wife of Senwosret II and could be identical with Khenemetneferhedjet Weret. Delia also noted that other royal women had adjectives added to their names in order to be differentiated from others, such as Neferu and Neferushery or Ita and Itaweret.

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see Pierre Montet, review of Schaeffer et al., “La deuxième campagne de fouilles à Ras Schamra” and “La troisième campagne de fouilles à Ras Schamra,” in *Kémi* 7 (1938), pp. 180–181.

<sup>444</sup> Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 84, note 115.

<sup>445</sup> Robert D. Delia, “A Study of the Reign of Senwosret III” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1980), pp. 1–15.

Excavations led by Dieter Arnold at the pyramid of Amenemhat III discovered the burial chambers for two queens inside the king's pyramid.<sup>446</sup> An alabaster water jar with an inscription naming a king's wife, who is only called Khenemetneferhedjet on this object, was found in one of these two burials and published by Arnold in 1980.<sup>447</sup> In the same article he named as owner of the second burial a queen Aat, and he referred to two finds by de Morgan that name a king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Aat. Two years later he published a canopic jar from this second queen's burial that reads "Khenemetneferhedjet" before "Aat."<sup>448</sup> In the publication of the pyramid's architecture, Arnold called Khenemetneferhedjet a title and identified one queen again as Aat, stating further that the name of the other queen is not preserved.<sup>449</sup>

In 1986 Lana Troy seems to follow Perdu's opinion that Khenemetneferhedjet was both a name and a title in Dynasty 12. However, she listed only two women with the name Khenemetneferhedjet: Khenemetneferhedjet I as wife of Senwosret II and Khenemetneferhedjet II as wife of Senwosret III.<sup>450</sup> Perdu's third individual for whom he accepted Khenemetneferhedjet as a name (the princess) does not appear in Troy's list. Although not explicitly stated, she might have believed that this princess is identical with the wife of Senwosret II, as Delia did. Troy's interpretation of Khenemetneferhedjet, though, is different, as she assumed that "the white one" does not refer to the king but rather to Nekhbet, because this goddess can be identified with the white crown.<sup>451</sup>

Vivienne Gae Callender followed Perdu's approach in 1995 and saw Khenemetneferhedjet as both a name and a title.<sup>452</sup> She offered a new interpretation of the meaning of

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<sup>446</sup> For these two burials, see Arnold, *Pyramidenbezirk Amenemhet III.*, pp. 37–61, 93–94, 99.

<sup>447</sup> Dieter Arnold, "Dahschur: Dritter Grabungsbericht," in *MDAIK* 36 (1980), pp. 15–21, pl. 15a.

<sup>448</sup> Dieter Arnold, "Dahschur: Vierter Grabungsbericht," in *MDAIK* 38 (1982), pp. 17–23, pl. 7b. See also below, for a slightly different reading of the name in this inscription.

<sup>449</sup> Arnold, *Pyramidenbezirk Amenemhet III.*, p. 51.

<sup>450</sup> Troy, *Queenship*, pp. 118, 158. She lists Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I as two different individuals, once as Khenemetneferhedjet (as wife of Senwosret II and mother of Senwosret III) and once as Weret (as wife of Senwosret II, bearing the title Khenemetneferhedjet).

<sup>451</sup> In a discussion of a relief fragment with an inscription that features Khenemetneferhedjet followed by a cartouche, Diana Craig Patch likewise interpreted in 1990 the meaning of Khenemetneferhedjet as a way to associate the royal women with Nekhbet; see Diana Craig Patch, *Reflections of Greatness: Ancient Egypt at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History* (Pittsburgh, 1990), p. 38.

<sup>452</sup> Vivienne Gae Callender, "A Note on the Title *hnmmt-nfr-hdt*," in *SAK* 22 (1995), pp. 43–46.

Khenemetneferhedjet by translating *nfr* as “phallus” and, therefore, the whole title as “She who embraces the phallus of the King.”<sup>453</sup> However, she did not reject the older interpretations, as she thought that the ambiguity of several possible meanings might very well have been intended.

Peter Jánosi followed Perdu in 1996 but expressed some hesitation, writing that it was still not certain whether Khenemetneferhedjet is a name or a title, but that it was probably both.<sup>454</sup>

The last detailed discussion of Khenemetneferhedjet occurred in 1996, when Lisa Sabbahy argued against Perdu and his followers by saying that Khenemetneferhedjet was not a name but always a title.<sup>455</sup> According to her, the earliest occurrence of the title Khenemetneferhedjet is from the time of Amenemhat II for princess Itaweret. Sabbahy also noted that this woman was called “king’s daughter Itaweret” on her coffin, while her canopic chest refers to her as “king’s daughter, this Khenemetneferhedjet” and only as “this Khenemetneferhedjet.” (Sabbahy did not mention the shorter version of her name, consisting of only “Ita,” that can be found on her coffin as well.) She believed that Itaweret is the only known daughter of Amenemhat II and mentioned that the king’s daughters Khenemet and Ita must be dated later. (She referred to Bruce Williams’s dating of their burials to Dynasty 13.<sup>456</sup>) She therefore assigned a seal of a king’s daughter Khenemetneferhedjet that also gives the name of Amenemhat II, as well as a statue found in Ugarit, to Itaweret and not to a different princess with the name Khenemetneferhedjet, as Perdu had done. For her it was unlikely that one princess would carry as a name an expression that another held as a title. Sabbahy likewise rejected the other two cases for whom Perdu accepted Khenemetneferhedjet as a name. She said that Perdu’s view of Weret and Sherit as serving to differentiate two women with the same name may theoretically work for the Lahun papyrus. But she wondered why they were then not differentiated by such additions on the triad statue where both are depicted together with the king. Sabbahy also pointed out the use of Weret in inscriptions that only mention one queen; here this expression would not

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<sup>453</sup> Callender, in *SAK* 22 (1995), p. 45.

<sup>454</sup> Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen*, p. 62, note 443.

<sup>455</sup> Lisa K. Sabbahy, “Comments on the Title *hnmw-nfr-hdt*,” in *SAK* 23 (1996), pp. 349–352. This article is based on ideas voiced in her dissertation from 1982; see Kuchman Sabbahy, *Development*, pp. 191–197.

<sup>456</sup> Bruce Williams, “The Date of Senebtisi at Lisht and the Chronology of Major Groups and Deposits of the Middle Kingdom,” in *SERAPIS* 3 (1975–1976), pp. 41–55.

have been necessary as a distinction from another royal woman. She therefore concluded that Weret and Sherit must be the names of these two women. Sabbahy acknowledged that the occurrence of Khenemetneferhedjet alone is a strong argument for regarding it as a name. However, she saw the use of the title *wrt hts* without a name in the Old Kingdom as a parallel to Khenemetneferhedjet being used as a title without the name.<sup>457</sup> She further argued that Khenemetneferhedjet was used as a title by only one queen and one princess at a time and that it was therefore clear to whom the inscription referred, which meant that the woman's name could be omitted. In addition to the Khenemetneferhedjet that is mentioned as king's wife on the triad statue, Sabbahy acknowledged a second queen called Khenemetneferhedjet under Senwosret III (Khenemetneferhedjet Neferethenut); however, she said that these two women might have held the title successively. As other scholars had done, she interpreted the expression Khenemetneferhedjet as an association with the king as a wearer of the white crown and drew a parallel to other titles that are constructed in a similar fashion, such as *m33t Hrw Stš*.

Biri Fay did not discuss the expression Khenemetneferhedjet in her work on Amenemhat II's family in 1996; although she seemed to agree with Perdu as she used it both as a title and as a name.<sup>458</sup> She reviewed the different opinions that were expressed on the date of the female double burials in the complex of Amenemhat II and concluded that they can be assigned to late Dynasty 12 and are approximately contemporary with Amenemhat III's daughter Neferuptah.<sup>459</sup> Because of this date, she believed that these women were not daughters of Amenemhat II. On stylistic grounds, she also dated the Ugarit statue of a princess Khenemetneferhedjet to the time of Amenemhat III. Perdu had previously challenged Montet's identification of the statue with Khenemet, arguing, among other things, that Khenemet cannot be seen as abbreviation of

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<sup>457</sup> She referred to the story of Weni, which had been refuted by Perdu, and also to inscriptions on several casing blocks of the mastaba of Hetepheres, which were published by William S. Smith, "Inscriptional Evidence for the History of the Fourth Dynasty," in *JNES* 11 (1952), p. 127, see also p. 119, fig. 7. Only one of these blocks, however, possibly bears *wrt hts* without the queen's name, and this inscription was published with a question mark.

<sup>458</sup> Fay, *Louvre Sphinx*, pp. 45–47.

<sup>459</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43–47. See also Dorothea Arnold, "The Fragmented Head of a Queen Wearing the Vulture Headdress," in *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, ed. by Ernst Czerny et al., vol. 1 (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA, 2006), p. 47, note 3, who confirmed a late Dynasty 12 date for these burials through pottery from Ita's tomb "whose date can under no circumstances be earlier than Amenemhat III."



Khenemetneferhedjet, with which Fay seems to agree, as she refers to “an equation successfully challenged by Perdu.”<sup>460</sup>

Sabbahy responded to Fay in 2003 and again expressed her opinion that Khenemetneferhedjet was used as a title only.<sup>461</sup> She rejected Fay’s reading of Khenemetneferhedjet as a name on a cylinder seal and on the Ugarit statue, stating that it was a title and that both pieces belonged to either Itaweret or to Khenemet. (In her previous work she had assigned them to Itaweret.) Following Fay, she now acknowledged a late Dynasty 12 date for the two female double-burials in the complex of Amenemhat II. She questioned Fay’s argument, however, that the later date of the female burials in the complex of Amenemhat II excludes the possibility that these were his daughters: The time span between the death of Amenemhat II and the accession to the throne of Amenemhat III was about 48 years, which could theoretically allow daughters of Amenemhat II, had they reached an old age, to be buried in the complex of their father during the reign of Amenemhat III.

The excavations of The Metropolitan Museum at the pyramid complex of Senwosret III discovered in 1994 the subterranean chambers of pyramid no. 9, with the burial of a king’s wife Khenemetneferhedjet Weret and a jewelry deposit.<sup>462</sup> At that time only one royal woman was known; she was called Khenemetneferhedjet Weret, the mother of Senwosret III, and the burial was thus assigned to her in the first reports that were published in 1995, before it was known that this was incorrect.<sup>463</sup> Further excavation work revealed in 1997 that there were two women who were called Khenemetneferhedjet Weret: Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I (the mother of Senwosret III and the wife of Senwosret II) and Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II (the main wife of Senwosret III); the latter was the owner of pyramid 9, while the former was the owner of pyramid 8. These

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<sup>460</sup> Fay, *Louvre Sphinx*, p. 46.

<sup>461</sup> Lisa K. Sabbahy, “The Female Family of Amenemhat II: A Review of Evidence,” in: *Hommages à Fayza Haikal*, ed. by Nicolas Grimal, Amr Kamal and Cynthia May-Sheikholeslami, *BdE* 138 (2003), pp. 239–244.

<sup>462</sup> This information is featured here, slightly later in the chronological order of the various publications, in order to first discuss Sabbahy’s reaction to Fay, and because Silke Roth, whose work is discussed next, was the first to refer to some of these new findings (see below).

<sup>463</sup> Oppenheim, in *KMT* 6/1 (1995), pp. 10–11; Dieter Arnold and Adela Oppenheim, “Reexcavating the Senwosret III Pyramid Complex at Dahshur: A Report on the Architecture & Reliefs,” in *KMT* 6, no. 2 (1995), p. 51.

new findings were first reported in 1999<sup>464</sup> and then published in detail in 2002 in Dieter Arnold's publication of the pyramid complex of Senwosret III, where he discussed the pyramids and underground chambers of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I and Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II.<sup>465</sup> He called these two women only Weret I and Weret II, implicitly treating Khenemetneferhedjet as a title. He wondered if the Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit that is mentioned in the Lahun papyrus might be identical with Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II and if her name was changed to Weret when she became older or had reached a higher status.

In 2001 Silke Roth followed Perdu's interpretation from 1977 that Khenemetneferhedjet was both a name and title and not Sabbahy's more recent opinion that it was a title only.<sup>466</sup> Roth did not discuss Khenemetneferhedjet in detail; however, she said that it was used both as a name and as a title for daughters of Amenemhat II, thus rejecting Fay's opinion that the women of the double-burials were not daughters of Amenemhat II. Like Perdu, she saw Khenemetneferhedjet as a title for the princesses Khenemet and Itaweret and as a name for a princess, who is called only Khenemetneferhedjet on a cylinder seal and on the Ugarit statue. She believed that Khenemetneferhedjet was the name for the wife of Senwosret II (who is the mother of Senwosret III) and for the wife of Senwosret III, and that Weret and Khered (she prefers reading Khered for the child hieroglyph, instead of Sherit) were used as epithets to distinguish these women. In addition, Roth mentioned two more women for whom she accepted Khenemetneferhedjet as a name and whose burials were found in the pyramid of Amenemhat III after Perdu's article was published. The occurrence of only Khenemetneferhedjet for one of these women seemed to signify for Roth, as it did for Perdu in other examples, that this is a name. Roth, however, also

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<sup>464</sup> See Jean Leclant et Anne Minault-Gout, "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1997–1998," in *Orientalia* 68 (1999), p. 363 (part of a general report that gave an overview of the work of various missions); and Adela Oppenheim, "The Royal Treasures of the Twelfth Dynasty," in *Egyptian Treasures from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*, ed. by Francesco Tiradritti (New York, 1999), p. 141, where the owner of the jewelry is now identified as a wife of Senwosret III.

<sup>465</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 75–82, 117–118. See also the relevant parts of the appendix listing the finds from the tombs of the royal women by Oppenheim, "Appendix: Finds from the Tombs of the Royal Women," in Arnold, *Senwosret III*, pp. 125–133; and a first overview of the decoration of various buildings in the complex by Oppenheim, "Appendix: Relief Decoration," in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 145–146.

<sup>466</sup> Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 229–241.

accepted Khenemetneferhedjet as a name for the second queen, Khenemetneferhedjet Aat, who was already known previously and for whom Perdu had not accepted Khenemetneferhedjet as a name, because there are no examples for her that use only Khenemetneferhedjet. Like the expressions Weret and Sherit, Roth regarded Aat as an epithet that was used to differentiate women with the same name. Not knowing differently, Roth believed that it was the mother of Senwosret III who was interred in the recently found burial chamber of pyramid 9 in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III. The discovery that there were two women who were called Khenemetneferhedjet Weret came too late to be incorporated into her publication, although Roth mentioned this as an addendum in a footnote; it is interesting that she still referred to Weret as an epithet for both queens in the same note.<sup>467</sup>

Christiane Ziegler followed Perdu's interpretation in 2001 when she published a new acquisition of the Louvre, a statue with an inscription naming the owner a "beloved king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Weret" (see chapter 2.4, above).<sup>468</sup>

In 2004 Aidan Dodson and Dyan Hilton did not discuss the expression Khenemetneferhedjet, although they also seem to follow Perdu's interpretation of Khenemetneferhedjet as both a name and a title; they listed a "Khenemetneferhedjet I Weret" and a "Khenemetneferhedjet II Weret," while for other royal women, such as Neferethnut, the designation Khenemetneferhedjet was noted as a title only and was not included in the line that was used for the name.<sup>469</sup> They also listed a king's daughter "Khenemetneferhedjet A" and mentioned that she might be the same as Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, as Delia had suggested. They did not discuss Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit and did not list her; possibly they agreed with Arnold's suggestion that this woman might be identical with Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II.

In his 2005 publication on Senwosret III, Pierre Tallet briefly discusses the various opinions on the expression Khenemetneferhedjet and mainly follows Perdu's interpretation; however, he notes that new evidence is needed to advance the debate.<sup>470</sup>

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<sup>467</sup> Ibid., p. 236, note 1341.

<sup>468</sup> Ziegler, in *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 24 (2001), pp. 28–29.

<sup>469</sup> Aidan Dodson and Dyan Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2004), pp. 96–97; see also pp. 92–93.

<sup>470</sup> Tallet, *Sésostri III*, pp. 16–17, 290, note 13. As mentioned above, Tallet believed, however, that pyramids 8 and 9 within the pyramid complex of Senwosret III were owned by the same person; see here, chapter 1.2.

Wolfram Grajetzki saw Khenemetneferhedjet as both a name and a title in his 2005 dictionary of queens; however, he noted that it is unclear how this expression should be seen for Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I and Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II.<sup>471</sup> He included the two queens who were buried in the pyramid of Amenemhat III. In contrast to Roth, he called one of them only Aat and listed Khenemetneferhedjet as a title for her.<sup>472</sup> He listed the second queen, who is known from a large water jar as “Khenemetneferhedjet,” as “Khenmetneferhedjet.” He wondered if she is possibly identical with Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit/Khered, the wife of Senwosret III, who was mentioned in the Lahun papyrus and who might have worn the epithet Sherit/Khered only while Khenemetneferhedjet Weret (I) was still alive. He also equated this woman with the king’s wife Khenemetneferhedjet who occurs on inscriptions on two triad statues and on scarabs<sup>473</sup> from the queens’ gallery in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III. Neferethenut, for whom a sole use of Khenemetneferhedjet is not attested, is listed by Grajetzki with Khenemetneferhedjet as a title.<sup>474</sup>

In 2006 the present author published part of the inscription, from the west wall of pyramid 8’s north chapel, that refers to the deceased as only Khenemetneferhedjet, without Weret (see cat. no. 58; in the meantime, more joins have been found that show even more clearly that she was indeed called only Khenemetneferhedjet in this inscription).<sup>475</sup> It was pointed out that this piece might support Perdu’s opinion that Khenemetneferhedjet was the name of this woman, but that his argument that Weret was used to distinguish her from another woman with the same name is no longer valid, because we now know that there were two women who could be called Khenemetneferhedjet Weret. The occurrence of Khenemetneferhedjet for another queen in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III, Khenemetneferhedjet Neferethenut, who was called only Neferethenut by other scholars, was also noted. It was further stated that the question of the names for women who can be called Khenemetneferhedjet was not yet resolved.

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<sup>471</sup> Wolfram Grajetzki, *Ancient Egyptians Queens: A Hieroglyphic Dictionary* (London, 2005), p. 33. The king’s daughters that can be called Khenemetneferhedjet are absent, as only king’s wives are presented in the book.

<sup>472</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>473</sup> He refers to two scarabs; however, de Morgan found a total of four scarabs that name a king’s wife Khenemetneferhedjet as part of the “second treasure” in Senwosret III’s complex; see below.

<sup>474</sup> Grajetzki, *Queens Dictionary*, p. 34.

<sup>475</sup> Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, pp. 148–149, note 5; pp. 154–156, fig. 6.

In her 2007 article about the Bubastis false door, Eva Lange briefly mentions some but not all of the relevant women and mainly follows what Roth had written; however, she agrees with Fay's late date for the female burials in the complex of Amenemhat II.<sup>476</sup>

In a book that was published in early 2014, Grajetzki discusses many of the relevant royal women.<sup>477</sup> He now sees Khenemetneferhedjet as a name for Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I (the wife of Senwosret II and the mother of Senwosret III) based on the Dahshur inscription from the north chapel of pyramid 8 that was published in 2006. He again does not include Khenemetneferhedjet as a name for the king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Aat, since he uses Khenemetneferhedjet as a name only for those royal women for whom there are attestations that they can be called solely Khenemetneferhedjet (such as Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I). For the king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet who was buried in the pyramid of Amenemhat III, he states that Khenemetneferhedjet must be her name, as her name is to be expected in this inscription and as the large water jar does not include a further expression that could be interpreted as such. (This would mean that from the two king's wives who received burial chambers in Amenemhat III's pyramid, one would have Khenemetneferhedjet as a name while the other had Khenemetneferhedjet as a title.) Grajetzki no longer identifies Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit from the Lahun papyrus with Khenemetneferhedjet from the pyramid of Amenemhat III, as he had done previously, but now follows Arnold and says that she might be identical with Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II. He also notes the use of only Khenemetneferhedjet on the canopic box of princess Khenemet from the complex of Amenemhat II and wonders if Khenemetneferhedjet might have been the actual name of this princess and if Khenemet may just be the shortened version.<sup>478</sup> This is an idea that Perdu had rejected previously,<sup>479</sup> but that seems indeed likely.

Grajetzki also discusses the scarabs from the "second treasure" that was found by de Morgan in the subsidiary lower queens' gallery of the pyramid complex of Senwosret III.<sup>480</sup> The names of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III appear on jewelry items; its owner was therefore

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<sup>476</sup> Lange, in *Life and Afterlife*, pp. 91–92.

<sup>477</sup> Wolfram Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom: The Archaeology of Female Burials* (Philadelphia, 2014), pp. 54–61, 81–83, 87–93, 191–194.

<sup>478</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>479</sup> Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 82.

<sup>480</sup> Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures*, pp. 87–93. (Note that several labels in the drawing of the subsidiary gallery in fig. 65 are reversed: the first and second treasures need to be reversed, as do the names "Mereret" and "Sathathor.")

buried during the reign of Amenemhat III or later. Following past tradition, Grajetzki assigns this find to the king's daughter Mereret, as several scarabs with the name of a king's daughter Mereret were included.<sup>481</sup> He also mentions that within the same find was a scarab with the inscription "king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet."<sup>482</sup> He argues that Khenemetneferhedjet, not Mereret, must be the name of this king's wife, because in his opinion the name must be included in such an inscription. Thus, while others had identified Mereret as a king's wife in the past,<sup>483</sup> he says that there is no proof that Mereret held this title, since the scarab inscribed for the "king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet" did refer to Mereret. However, another scarab in this find only included the title "wife of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt" without any name, which negates his argument.<sup>484</sup> Yet, he is nevertheless correct in the point that there is no secure evidence that Mereret was a king's wife. Theoretically, these scarabs could indicate that the owner of the treasure might not necessarily be Mereret but rather a king's wife with the name Khenemetneferhedjet or that these scarabs name this queen and were given as a gift to Mereret. In this context it should be mentioned that Dieter Arnold identified the find spot of the jewelry as being in the corridor in front of the small chamber with sarcophagus no. 7, which is not inscribed for Mereret but for a king's daughter Senetsenebtes.<sup>485</sup> Another small chamber is very close to it, and Arnold therefore assigned the uninscribed sarcophagus no. 6 with a question mark to "queen Mereret?"<sup>486</sup> He also mentioned several alternate possibilities, including 1) that the jewelry could have belonged to Mereret but was placed for unknown reasons in front of the sarcophagus of Senetsenebtes; 2) that the scarabs with the name of Mereret might have been a gift from this

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<sup>481</sup> Based on de Morgan's publication, Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures*, p. 92, said that three scarabs bear the name "Mereret" and a fourth says "Meryt." According to Percy E. Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, CG, nos. 36001–37521 (Cairo, 1907), p. 352, CG 37406, pl. 18, there seems to be a fourth scarab that reads "Mereret."

<sup>482</sup> He had mentioned two scarabs previously (Grajetzki, *Queens Dictionary*, p. 35), but a total of four scarabs feature the inscription "king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet;" see Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, pp. 353–355, CG 37410, 37412, 37414, 37416, pl. 18.

<sup>483</sup> See, for example, Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 70, who said that there were scarabs with the title king's wife, though without a name. (He did not regard Khenemetneferhedjet as a name.)

<sup>484</sup> See de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour I*, p. 68, fig. 146; Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, p. 355, CG 37415, pl. 18.

<sup>485</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 70–71, pls. 69–70.

<sup>486</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

women to Senetsenebtes; or 3) that the jewelry belonged to an earlier phase of this underground structure. Theoretically it might also be possible that Mereret had a double name and that she was called Khenemetneferhedjet Mereret (see below). But the fact that one of these names appeared five times with the title of king's daughter, while Khenemetneferhedjet appeared four times with the title of king's wife, makes it more likely that these are two sets of scarabs from two different women. It seems possible that one set of scarabs originally belonged to a female relative of the owner; a king's daughter (Mereret) could, for example, own the scarabs of her mother (Khenemetneferhedjet, maybe Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II?), who was a royal wife. However, other scenarios are possible as well.

In the Lille Senwosret III exhibition catalogue from 2014, Grajetzki repeats his opinion that Khenemetneferhedjet was both a name and a title.<sup>487</sup> He lists the following four royal women who, he believes, carry Khenemetneferhedjet as a name:

- Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, the wife of Senwosret II and the mother of Senwosret III
- Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II, the wife of Senwosret III who may be identical with Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit and with the following king's daughter Khenemetneferhedjet
- A king's daughter Khenemetneferhedjet, who is known through a cylinder seal that also bears the name of Amenemhat II<sup>488</sup> and, according to Grajetzki, also through the Ugarit statue (although this statue had been redated to the time of Amenemhat III by Fay; see above); he also says that one could consider that this princess might be identical with Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II<sup>489</sup>
- The king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet, who was buried in the pyramid of Amenemhat III

He mentions again the scarab<sup>490</sup> with an inscription of a king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet but no longer suggests a particular queen as owner, saying that it belongs to one of the several queens who are known as Khenemetneferhedjet.

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<sup>487</sup> Grajetzki, in *Sésostri III*, pp. 48–57.

<sup>488</sup> Grajetzki's reference "Stünkel 2010" is a mistake for "Stünkel sous presse."

<sup>489</sup> In this case the Ugarit statue would not belong to this woman.

<sup>490</sup> As mentioned above, these were actually four scarabs.



An intriguing relief that reads *Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt Sbk*, which probably derives from the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I, has been published by Peter Jánosi together with the other reliefs of the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I.<sup>491</sup> Unfortunately, one excavation record lists the find spot as Lisht-South, casting some doubt as to whether the fragment was really recovered in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I rather than in that of Senwosret I. The large fragment features two partial columns of inscription facing left. The left column reads *wrt Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt Sbk* and is part of a re-carved inscription, while the right column seems to be the original text and mentions the “great one of the Hemsut.” Jánosi believes that Khenemetneferhedjet was used as a title in this inscription, as well as in other cases, and that the name of the royal woman must have started with Sobek. The re-carving suggests that an older monument was usurped. The piece seems to have been found on the west side of the pyramid complex, where several shafts were probably used as burials for the king’s female relatives. Jánosi sees the relief in connection to these burials and points out that during Dynasty 12 it is not unusual for a royal woman to be buried in a pyramid complex of an earlier king. He further writes that the first known use of Khenemetneferhedjet is as a title for daughters of Amenemhat II and he therefore sees the reign of Amenemhat II as terminus post quem for the usurped burial.

Jánosi’s explanation for this relief from Lisht is indeed very likely; however, an unpublished fragment from Lisht-South might raise the possibility that the expression Khenemetneferhedjet occurred before the time of Amenemhat II. This second piece (see fig. 21) shows part of an inscription reading *hnmt-nfr* facing left and breaks off in the area where a *ḥd*-sign could have been situated. Above is a ground line with part of an unidentified depiction. Unfortunately no details about this fragment are known except its excavation photograph (L12–13:311) and the note “LSP” for Lisht-South Pyramid. The photographic scale was recorded, and the piece can be estimated to have been about 11 cm wide and 21 cm high. It is possible that this second relief likewise belonged to a later burial (or even refers to the same woman if the first piece came from Lisht-South as well; see above). However, the possibility cannot be fully excluded that the expression Khenemetneferhedjet was already used in early Dynasty 12 and that one or both of the Lisht pieces date to the time before Amenemhat II. Unfortunately, such a

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<sup>491</sup> Jánosi, *Amenemhat I Reliefs*, pp. 105–106, cat. no. 219. I would like to thank Peter Jánosi for sending me the relevant part of his manuscript before it was published.

possible early occurrence does not shed any light onto the question of whether Khenemetneferhedjet was used as a title and/or name.



Fig. 21. Relief fragment from Lisht-South (detail of excavation photograph L12–13:311, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art Archives).

### 7.3 Lists of Occurrences of “Khenemetneferhedjet” in Dynasty 12

New evidence for Dynasty 12 royal women has been discovered since the records for the designation Khenemetneferhedjet were collected by Brunton and Perdu.<sup>492</sup> Our knowledge about the date of some of these records has changed, and some of the evidence for this expression has been assigned to different women. It seems, therefore, helpful to list all occurrences of Khenemetneferhedjet in Dynasty 12 and to separate these into two categories: first, known individuals that can be separated as such and, second, inscriptions for which it is not certain to

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<sup>492</sup> And Perdu collected only the evidence for the use of Khenemetneferhedjet alone.

which woman they refer. The individual documents will not be discussed in detail, and the list will serve as an overview only.

List of women called Khenemetneferhedjet in Dynasty 12 who can clearly be identified as separate individuals by their burial site or other evidence:<sup>493</sup>

- 1) Khenemetneferhedjet Sobek///<sup>494</sup>
  - Reworked relief fragment, probably from the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I
  
- 2) Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I<sup>495</sup>
  - Can be called solely Khenemetneferhedjet or Khenemetneferhedjet Weret
  - King's wife (Senwosret II), king's mother (Senwosret III)
  - Probably buried in Lahun (see chapter 2.2), cenotaph with canopic burial in complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur, where she owned a pyramid
  - For evidence for this queen, see chapter 2
  
- 3) Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II<sup>496</sup>
  - Can be called solely Khenemetneferhedjet or Khenemetneferhedjet Weret
  - King's daughter (Amenemhat II), king's wife (Senwosret III)
  - Buried in the complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur where she owned a pyramid

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<sup>493</sup> The references given below are only the most important ones and do not include those with general discussions of the term Khenemetneferhedjet that can be found above, except references to Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), pp. 99–110; and Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 68–85.

<sup>494</sup> Jánosi, *Amenemhat I Reliefs*, pp. 105–106, cat. no. 219

<sup>495</sup> Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 101, nos. 5–6, 10–12, 17; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 70–74, nos. 3–4, 7–10.

<sup>496</sup> Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 101, nos. 1 (probably), 4; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 69–70, 73–76, nos. 1 (probably), 9, 11 (probably), 12; Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 75–82, 117–118; Oppenheim, “Appendix: Finds from the Tombs of the Royal Women,” in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 125–133; Isabel Stünkel, in *BES* 19 (2015), pp. 631–640.

- Evidence for her exists from her burial at Dahshur, from two triad statues of Senwosret III (see chapter 2.3), and very probably from a statue from Elephantine (see chapter 2.4); in addition, several small objects belonged to her or to Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I (see chapter 2.4) and a cylinder seal probably also belonged to her
- Age at death was estimated to be 50–60+ years
- She could be identical with the Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit who is mentioned in the Lahun papyrus and who is therefore included not in this list but instead in the second one, below

4) Khenemetneferhedjet Neferethenut<sup>497</sup>

- Probably king's daughter, king's wife
- She bears only the title king's wife on her sarcophagus; a relief that probably derives from her chapel indicates that she was likely a king's daughter as well<sup>498</sup>
- Buried in the complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur, where she owned a pyramid

5) Khenemetneferhedjet Menet<sup>499</sup>

- King's daughter
- Buried in the complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur in the subsidiary lower queens' gallery, probably during the reign of Amenemhat III<sup>500</sup>
- Known only from the inscriptions on her sarcophagus and her canopic jars

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<sup>497</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 61–63, pl. 119; Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 101, no. 16.

<sup>498</sup> This is an unpublished fragment of a tympanum (03.420) that reads *z3t nswt Hnm* and then breaks off. It was found in the area of the king's north chapel, which is very close to the east chapel of pyramid 2. This piece was mentioned in Arnold, Oppenheim, and Stünkel, in *Sesostris III*, p. 102; de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour I*, p. 77, fig. 182, published a very similar relief (which is the same as the one in Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 [1949], p. 101, no. 13).

<sup>499</sup> De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour I*, p. 56, fig. 122, p. 59, fig. 126; Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 72, pl. 119; George Andrew Reisner, *Canopics*, CG, nos. 4001–4740 and 4977–5033 (Cairo, 1967), pp. 3–4, CG 4005–4006; Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 101, nos. 14–15.

<sup>500</sup> For the date of these subsidiary burials, see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 56, 69.

6) Khenemetneferhedjet<sup>501</sup>

- King's wife
- Called solely Khenemetneferhedjet in the only known inscription for her (on a large alabaster jar from her burial)
- Buried in the Dahshur pyramid of Amenemhat III during his reign
- Age at death was estimated to be 23–27 years<sup>502</sup>

7) Khenemetneferhedjet Aathenu<sup>503</sup>

- Can be called Khenemetneferhedjet Aathenu (on a canopic jar) or Khenemetneferhedjet Aat (on a false door fragment and an offering table fragment)
- King's wife
- Buried in the Dahshur pyramid of Amenemhat III during his reign
- Age at death was estimated to be 25–35 years<sup>504</sup>
- Probably identical with the Khenemetneferhedjet Aat, whose statue is mentioned on a papyrus fragment from Lahun<sup>505</sup>

8) Khenemetneferhedjet, also abbreviated to Khenemet<sup>506</sup>

- Can be called Khenemetneferhedjet or Khenemet in the inscriptions on her coffin and canopic chest (see below)
- King's daughter

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<sup>501</sup> Arnold, *Pyramidenbezirk Amenemhet III.*, pp. 45–61, 93–94, 99; Arnold, in *MDAIK* 36 (1980), pp. 15–21, pl. 15a.

<sup>502</sup> Eugen Strouhal and Přemysl Klír, “The Anthropological Examination of Two Queens from the Pyramid of Amenemhat III at Dahshur,” in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague (June 27–July 5, 2005)*, ed. by Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí (Prague, 2006), p. 141.

<sup>503</sup> Arnold, *Pyramidenbezirk Amenemhet III.*, pp. 37–45, 61, 93–94, 99; Dieter Arnold, “Dahschur: Vierter Grabungsbericht,” in *MDAIK* 38 (1982), pp. 17–23, pl. 7b; de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour II*, p. 101, figs. 147–148; Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 102, nos. 19–20. For the name, see also below.

<sup>504</sup> Strouhal and Klír, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, pp. 141–142.

<sup>505</sup> Berlin P. 10.237 d; see Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften I*, p. 129 (who seems to identify this woman with the king's wife and king's mother Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, as she reconstructs the titles king's wife and king's mother). Grajetzki, in *DE* 54 (2002), p. 113, added this papyrus to the list of evidence for this queen.

<sup>506</sup> De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour II*, pp. 55–68; Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 100, no. 3.

- Buried in the complex of Amenemhat II, probably in the reign of Amenemhat III

9) Khenemetneferhedjet Itaweret<sup>507</sup>

- Can be called Ita, Itaweret, or Khenemetneferhedjet in the inscriptions on her coffin and canopic chest (see below)
- King's daughter
- Buried in the complex of Amenemhat II, probably in the reign of Amenemhat III

10) Khenemetneferhedjet Hetepti<sup>508</sup>

- King's wife (Amenemhat III), king's mother (Amenemhat IV)
- Known from a relief in Medinet Madi where she is depicted together with Amenemhat IV

List of references to women called Khenemetneferhedjet without certainty regarding which individual (see previous list) is being referred to, all possibly dating to Dynasty 12.<sup>509</sup>

a) Khenemetnefer[hedjet]

- Relief fragment from the pyramid complex of Senwosret I (see above)

b) King's daughter Khenemetneferhedjet

- Cylinder seal MMA 26.7.15 (formerly in the Timmins and Carnarvon collections), also gives the name of Amenemhat II<sup>510</sup>

<sup>507</sup> De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour II*, pp. 71–74; Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 100, no. 2.

<sup>508</sup> See Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 511–512. For the Medinet Madi depiction, see also Edda Bresciani and Antonio Giammarusti, *I Templi di Medinet Madi nel Fayum* (Pisa, 2012), pp. 85, 93.

<sup>509</sup> Below mostly only the references to Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), pp. 99–110; and Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 68–85, are given; further references can be found in these two articles.

<sup>510</sup> Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 100, no.1; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 69–70, no. 1; see also Stünkel, in *BES* 19 (2015), pp. 631–640.

- Probably Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II; however, the possibility cannot be fully excluded that the seal refers to one of the two women named Khenemetneferhedjet who were buried in the complex of Amenemhat II (Khenemetneferhedjet [no. 8] or Khenemetneferhedjet Itaweret [no. 9]), who might have lived long enough to have been the daughters of Amenemhat II
- c) King's daughter Khenemetneferhedjet
- Statue found in Ugarit, according to Biri Fay stylistically similar to statues that begin to be produced in the time of Amenemhat III<sup>511</sup>
  - Can be identical with only one of the two Khenemetneferhedjets who were buried in the complex of Amenemhat II (Khenemetneferhedjet [no. 8] or Khenemetneferhedjet Itaweret [no. 9]), if they lived a long life; could also be an otherwise unknown princess<sup>512</sup>
- d) King's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit/Khered
- The only reference to her derives from a papyrus from Lahun, dating to the reign of Senwosret III<sup>513</sup>
  - Possibly identical with Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II (no. 3)
- e) King's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Weret, also a priestess of Sobek
- Cylinder seal collection Michailidis (and ex collection Blanchard)<sup>514</sup>
  - Probably the same woman as f–h
  - Could be Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I (no. 2) or Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II (no. 3)

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<sup>511</sup> Fay, *Louvre Sphinx*, p. 46; Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 102, no. 25; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p.70, no. 2.

<sup>512</sup> Most scholars have assumed that this woman is the same as the king's daughter Khenemetneferhedjet that occurs together with the name of Amenemhat II on a cylinder seal, which does not need to be the case.

<sup>513</sup> Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 102, no. 18; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 70–71, no. 3.

<sup>514</sup> Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 101, no.7; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 77, no. 13.



- f) King's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Weret, also a priestess of Sobek
- Cylinder seal collection Iversen<sup>515</sup>
  - Probably the same woman as e, g, and h
  - Could be Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I (no. 2) or Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II (no. 3)
- g) King's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Weret, also a priestess of Sobek
- Ball bead from collection Farouk<sup>516</sup>
  - Probably the same woman as e, f, and h
  - Could be Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I (no. 2) or Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II (no. 3)
- h) King's wife Khenemetneferhedjet, also a priestess of Sobek
- Cylinder seal Brooklyn Museum 44.123.75<sup>517</sup>
  - Probably the same woman as e–g
  - Could be Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I (no. 2) or Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II (no. 3)
- i) King's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Weret
- Cylinder seal collection Insinger<sup>518</sup>
  - Could be Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I (no. 2) or Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II (no. 3)
- j–m) King's wife Khenemetneferhedjet
- Four scarabs as part of the “second treasure” found in the subsidiary galleries at the Senwosret III complex in Dahshur, the deposit dates to the time of Amenemhat III or later<sup>519</sup>

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<sup>515</sup> Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 101, no. 8; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 77, no. 14.

<sup>516</sup> Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 103, no. 32; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 78, no. 16.

<sup>517</sup> Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 77, no. 15.

<sup>518</sup> Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 101, no. 9; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 78, no. 17.

- Could be identical with several king's wives known as Khenemetneferhedjet (theoretically with nos. 2–7).

n) King's wife Khenemetneferhedjet

- Ball bead University College 12.2.36<sup>520</sup>

o) King's wife Khenemetnefer[hedjet?]

- Scarab in Basel (ex collection Fraser 210) with the inscription *ḥmt nswt Hnmt-nfr*, which might be a mistake or abbreviation for *Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt*<sup>521</sup>

p) King's wife Khenemetneferhedjet

- Granite vessel fragment from Karnak<sup>522</sup> (see chapter 2.2)
- Maybe Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I?

#### 7.4 A New Suggestion: “Khenemetneferhedjet” as a Name That Could Be Used as Part of a Double Name or Together with an Epithet

The review of past interpretations of Khenemetneferhedjet in chapter 7.2 showed that the most recent analysis of Khenemetneferhedjet by Sabbahy, which concluded that it was a title that could be used without a name, was not accepted by most scholars, who, rather, followed Perdu's opinion that Khenemetneferhedjet was used both as a name and as a title in Dynasty 12. However, hesitations concerning this interpretation can be found, and disagreements exist as to whether the expression Khenemetneferhedjet in Khenemetneferhedjet Aat should be seen as a title or as a name.

A review of the list of chapter 7.3 shows that it is unfortunately unclear when exactly Khenemetneferhedjet was first used. One definitive attestation of Khenemetneferhedjet and

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<sup>519</sup> Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 102, nos. 21–24; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 78–79, nos. 19–22.

<sup>520</sup> Brunton, in *ASAE* 49 (1949), p. 103, no. 33; Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 78, no. 18.

<sup>521</sup> Perdu, in *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 79, no. 23, who refers to a scarab of Ini, which also only reads *Hnmt-nfr* without *ḥdt*.

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80, no. 25.

another less certain example (as only *hnmt-nfr* is preserved) are known from Lisht; neither piece can be dated conclusively. The certain example from the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I shows evidence for re-carving, which suggests that its date could be later than the complex it was found in. Khenemetneferhedjet is used for several princesses who were buried in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat II; however, their burials have been dated to the time of Amenemhat III, and this date seems now to be generally accepted. Even so, whether they were the earlier king's daughters is disputed. It seems indeed very unlikely that all four women from the two female double burials were the long-living daughters of Amenemhat II, although this possibility cannot be fully ruled out.<sup>523</sup> In addition, objects that refer to both Khenemetneferhedjet and Amenemhat II are known, but these objects do not necessarily belong to the women buried in his complex.<sup>524</sup>

The first securely dated woman called Khenemetneferhedjet is Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, the wife of Senwosret II. She is mentioned on a Lahun papyrus together with a king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit, who is known as such only on this papyrus.<sup>525</sup> Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I also appears on triad statues of Senwosret III, where she is called only Khenemetneferhedjet and is depicted together with a king's wife, who is likewise called only Khenemetneferhedjet. The prominent position of the latter on these statues suits her identification as the king's wife Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II, who was presumably Senwosret III's main wife and owned a large underground burial structure with a burial chamber underneath the king's pyramid at Dahshur.<sup>526</sup> It is quite likely that the woman called Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit on the Lahun papyrus and Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II are the same person, as has been suggested by Arnold, although there is unfortunately no evidence to confirm this theory.<sup>527</sup> Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I and Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II each occur both as

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<sup>523</sup> For the third double burial in the complex of Amenemhat II and its late date, see Peter Jánosi, "Keminub—eine Gemahlin Amenemhats II.?", in *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten, Festschrift Gertrud Thausing*, ed. by Manfred Bietak et al. (Wien, 1994), pp. 94–101.

<sup>524</sup> Stünkel, in *BES* 19 (2015), pp. 631–640.

<sup>525</sup> See also chapter 2.1; note that the papyrus does not date to the reign of Senwosret II but to that of Senwosret III.

<sup>526</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 75–82; see also here chapter 2.3.

<sup>527</sup> Dieter Arnold regarded a child hieroglyph that was found in her tomb as possible evidence for this theory (Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 118). However, this hieroglyph could also have been part of the word *dstjt*, which can occur in titles of royal women; the sign is, for example, known as part of *dstjt W3dt* on the Louvre statue (see here chapter 2.4).

Khenemetneferhedjet and as Khenemetneferhedjet Weret; however, neither is ever called Weret alone. As many inscriptions exist for Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, this absence is probably not due to a chance of preservation, and this fact is one of the most important factors in the argument that “Weret” alone cannot have been her name.

In the past, Khenemetneferhedjet has been accepted as a name solely for those women who could be called only Khenemetneferhedjet. However, some of the women listed above are known through just a few inscriptions, and it may be that some or even all of these women were called only Khenemetneferhedjet in inscriptions that are no longer preserved. In addition, more women who could be called Khenemetneferhedjet and who are not known today might have existed. Evidence for Middle Kingdom royal women is in general quite limited.

Cat. nos. 56 and 58, which call Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I only Khenemetneferhedjet in both of her offering table scenes, present a very strong argument against Sabbahy’s view that Khenemetneferhedjet was always a title. The name of the deceased was especially crucial in a scene that was meant to ensure the person’s afterlife, and it seems unthinkable that her titles were listed without her name. However, I agree with Sabbahy that it seems strange that Khenemetneferhedjet would be used as a name and as a title at the same time.<sup>528</sup> Sabbahy did not regard Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I and Khenemetneferhedjet Neferethnut as simultaneous bearers of this title, as she believed that only one queen (and one princess) at a time could hold it. The list above, however, shows that there were many princesses called Khenemetneferhedjet at the same time, and likewise there seem to have been many king’s wives who were contemporaries and who could be called Khenemetneferhedjet. Two royal wives who were buried in the pyramid of Amenemhat III are called Khenemetneferhedjet. In addition, there is a third wife of Amenemhat III, Khenemetneferhedjet Hetepti, the mother of Amenemhat IV, who can be called Khenemetneferhedjet. Sabbahy’s theory also raises the question of how this would have worked in practice. Would a new king need to wait until the queen of his predecessor died

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<sup>528</sup> In the complex of Senwosret III, Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I was the owner of pyramid 8, pyramid 9 belonged to Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II, and Khenemetneferhedjet Neferethnut was the owner of pyramid 2. There are even more inscriptions for royal women called Khenemetneferhedjet in the complex. However, the burials to which these objects belong date later; the sarcophagus of tomb 8 in the subsidiary lower queens’ gallery is inscribed for a king’s daughter Khenemetneferhedjet Menet, and the second treasure included several scarabs with a king’s wife Khenemetneferhedjet (who could be the same woman though as one of the Khenemetneferhedjets already mentioned); see above.

to appoint one of his wives Khenemetneferhedjet, and how would this have worked during a co-regency? What happened if the princess who bore the “title” became a queen while another queen already held this title?

Perdu and many other scholars believed that Khenemetneferhedjet could occur as a name and title at the same time. Instead, I would like to propose to see, rather, Khenemetneferhedjet as a name for all occurrences in Dynasty 12 and to explain its use when preceding a second designation as part of a double name in some cases and as a name followed by an epithet in others.

In the case of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II, and Khenemetneferhedjet Sherit, I see Khenemetneferhedjet as the name of these women and the term behind it as an epithet because none of these terms ever occur alone without Khenemetneferhedjet. This epithet must not necessarily have been meant to differentiate women with the same name, but it could have been meant descriptively, which is why it can also occur in contexts when only one woman appears.<sup>529</sup>

For Khenemetneferhedjet Aat, I do not consider Aat as an epithet, as she is actually called *Hnmt-nfr-hdt ʿ3t-hnwt* on one of the three known inscriptions that give her titles and names.<sup>530</sup> Her second name, Aathenut (“great is the mistress”) was then abbreviated to just Aat on the two inscriptions that were found by de Morgan, noted above. A similar abbreviation seems to have occurred for the king’s daughter Khenemetneferhedjet Itaweret, who was buried in

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<sup>529</sup> For epithets of seniority and juniority in the Middle Kingdom, see Henry George Fischer, “Epithets of Seniority,” in *Egyptian Studies I: Varia* (New York, 1976), p. 93. See also Pascal Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire: Répertoire, procédés d’expression et structures de la double identité du début de la XIIe dynastie à la fin de la XVIIe dynastie*, Studia Pohl 13 (Rome, 1986), pp. 106–108.

<sup>530</sup> See the photograph that was published in Arnold, in *MDAIK* 38 (1982), pl. 7b. Troy, *Queenship*, p. 159, 12.32, already noted the addition of *hnwt* but read it as part of the title *hnwt t3w nbw*. This seems impossible, because this title would not follow the name; more importantly, what she read as *t3w* is not such, but actually, rather, the expression *m3ʿt hnw*, which follows *hnwt*. Roth, *Königsmütter*, p. 510, note 3, regarded *hnwt* as an epithet and believed that as a name it should be spelled differently. See also Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, vol. 2, *Einleitung. Form und Inhalt der Namen. Geschichte der Namen. Vergleiche mit andren Namen. Nachträge und Zusätze zu Band I. Umschreiblisten* (Glückstadt/Hamburg, [1952]), p. 11; and Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, vol. 1, *Verzeichnis der Namen* (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 49, no. 8.

the complex of Amenemhat II; she can be called only Ita<sup>531</sup> instead of Itaweret. The variants for her name are particularly interesting. On her canopic chest she is called *jt3 tn* “this Ita” and, separately, *Hnmt-nfr-hdt tn* “this Khenemetneferhedjet.”<sup>532</sup> In this latter instance, Ita was replaced with Khenemetneferhedjet and used with the demonstrative pronoun *tn*, a practice known for names.<sup>533</sup> The interchangeable use of Ita and Khenemetneferhedjet on her canopic chest indicates, in my opinion, that both should be regarded as names and the former was an abbreviation of Itaweret (or that these are two names, as part of a double name, and that the epithet Weret could be added<sup>534</sup>). On her coffin she is mostly called Itaweret, and only once Ita, but never Khenemetneferhedjet.<sup>535</sup> It is interesting that she is never called by both names at the same time as Khenemetneferhedjet Ita on either monument; the reasons for this are unclear.

The case of the king’s daughter Khenemetneferhedjet, who was also buried in the complex of Amenemhat II, is very intriguing as well. She is called only Khenemet on her coffin, but on her canopic chest she was called Khenemetneferhedjet and even *Hnmt-nfr-hdt tn* (“this Khenemetneferhedjet”). The combination Khenemetneferhedjet Khenemet does not exist. This suggests that her name was Khenemetneferhedjet and that it could be abbreviated to Khenemet, as Grajetzki has previously suggested. However, this use is parallel to the inscription of Khenemetneferhedjet Itaweret, who is never called Khenemetneferhedjet on her coffin and whose two names do not occur together either. This might mean that we cannot fully exclude that the princess was called Khenemetneferhedjet Khenemet, even if this seems unlikely.

In his study of names in the Middle Kingdom, Vernus has shown that double names were very popular and the additional names did not need to be signified as a *m nfr* or *dd.w n=f*, making it more difficult to recognize them as such.<sup>536</sup> These names can alternate or appear together,

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<sup>531</sup> Another princess who was buried in the other double-burial in Amenemhat II’s complex is called only Ita; see de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour II*, pp. 47–48.

<sup>532</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>533</sup> See, for example, the Dynasty 12 stela of Iitenheb: Kei Yamamoto, “Stela of Lady of the House Iytenhab,” in *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, ed. by Adela Oppenheim et al. (New York, 2015), pp. 195–196, cat. no. 125 (in the third line of the stela’s inscription).

<sup>534</sup> For double names plus epithet, see Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire*, p. 106.

<sup>535</sup> See de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour II*, p. 73.

<sup>536</sup> Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire*.

which is the case for Khenemetneferhedjet.<sup>537</sup> The practice of listing two names in sequence, without any further designation, was especially common in the second half of Dynasty 12 and in Dynasty 13, and it stayed very popular up to the beginning of Dynasty 18,<sup>538</sup> all of which coincides with the use of Khenemetneferhedjet.<sup>539</sup>

That such a large number of royal women in Dynasty 12 shared Khenemetneferhedjet as one of their names can be explained by its meaning, “The one who is united with the white-crown-bearer,” and the royal women’s role as the counterpart of the king and as a helper in his rejuvenation and regeneration. The king’s wife would unite with him physically, and this physical union bore important regenerative powers. A king’s daughter might have been seen as a future king’s wife,<sup>540</sup> which explains the use of this name for princesses as well. Or this expression might not have been meant necessarily physically but, rather, ideologically.

In ancient Egypt the same name often occurs within one family to stress the unity of the family line,<sup>541</sup> but here the multi-generational use of Khenemetneferhedjet as a name for many different royal women also united them in their role as female counterpart of the king. The use of the name “the one who is united with the white-crown-bearer” for these women made them appear less as individuals and, rather, stressed their important complementary role and presented them as a uniform feminine principle that was united with the king.

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<sup>537</sup> Compare the similar case of the name Semathor for a non-royal woman that Grajetzki noted; it had been interpreted as a title previously; however, he regards it as a name that was used alone and as part of a double name; see Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures*, p. 222, note 15.

<sup>538</sup> Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire*, p. 92.

<sup>539</sup> This might also suggest that Khenemetneferhedjet was a name not only in Dynasty 12 but also later. However, to investigate this possibility one would need to study all Dynasty 13, Second Intermediate Period, and early Dynasty 18 examples, which was not the aim of this study, which focuses on Dynasty 12.

<sup>540</sup> See Roth, *Königsmütter*, p. 284, who calls princesses “Königinnen im Wartestand.”

<sup>541</sup> See Günter Vittmann, “Personal Names: Function and Significance,” in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. by Willeke Wendrich et al. (Los Angeles, 2013), <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7t12z11t>, p. 5.

## 8 Conclusions

### 8.1 The Possible Template for the Decoration and/or Connections to Other Monuments

The general layout of the offering table scene and the structure of the offering list of pyramid 8's north chapel seem to have been the same as that of Senwosret III's north chapel.<sup>542</sup> The elements that were appropriate for only the king, such as the *ka*-figure behind him and the fecundity figures below his throne, were omitted for the queen. It seems very likely that either the offering table scene of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I (and probably those of the other royal women in the complex as well, since all offering tables scenes seem to be structured in the same way) directly copied the scene of the king's north chapel or the offering table scenes of the king's north chapel and those of the royal women's chapels used the same template.

The offering table scene of the offering hall of Pepi II's pyramid temple (following the reconstruction that was provided by Jéquier and the revised arrangement of the offering ritual scenes by Lapp) is surprisingly similar in its arrangement of the various decorative elements (see fig. 22). Pepi II's offering list is structured in four registers, with two registers of ritual scenes behind the list, as seems to have been the case in the north chapel of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, although not all of the details of the distribution of the offerings within the list are the same.<sup>543</sup> The relative positions of his offering table, the piled offerings, and the offering bearers within his offering table scene are identical with those of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I.<sup>544</sup>

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<sup>542</sup> Based on observations by the author; see also Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, pp. 159, 165. Many fragments from the decoration of the two long walls of the king's north chapel were recovered and will be published by Adela Oppenheim. For the short walls of the king's chapel, see Oppenheim, in *Ancient Memphis*, pp. 397–424.

<sup>543</sup> The third register of the offering list of Pepi II begins with A35 instead of A34 as at Dahshur, and the fourth register might have varied slightly as well; see Jéquier, *Pepi II/2*, pl. 81; and here fig. 22.

<sup>544</sup> Note, however, that the area behind the offering rituals in the offering table scene of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II was reconstructed with depictions of offering bearers based on Senwosret III's north chapel and on Pepi II's pyramid temple.



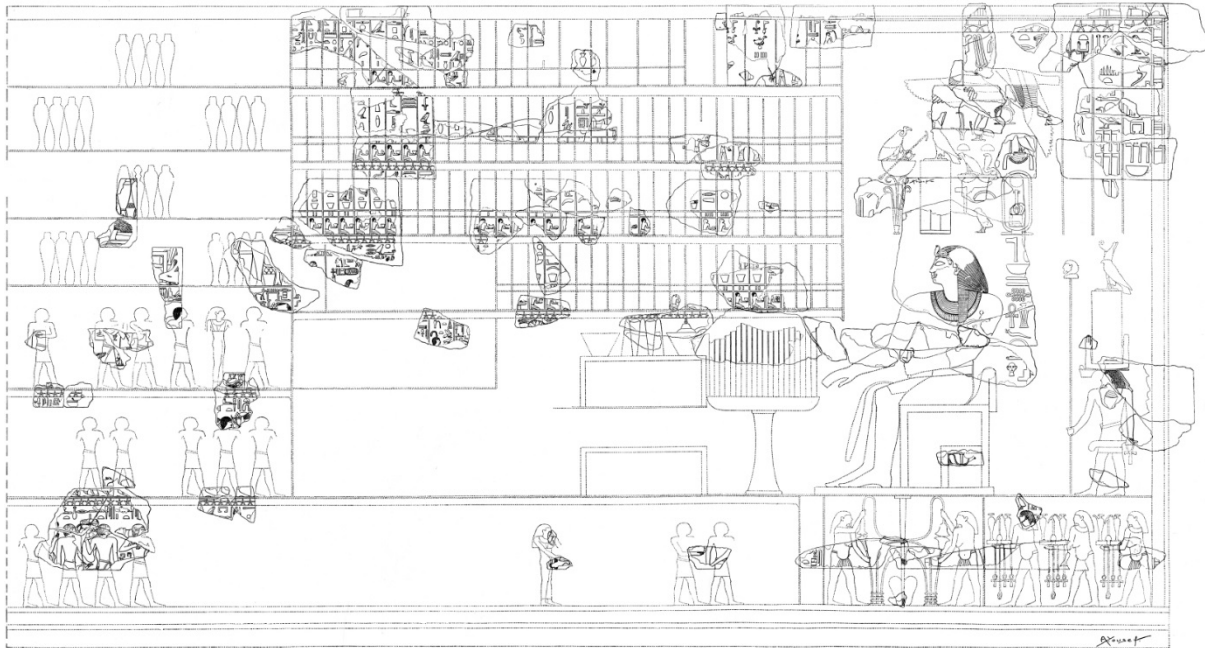


Fig. 22. Offering table scene of Pepi II (from Jéquier, *Pepi II/2*, pl. 61, with slight changes reflecting the updated reconstruction of the ritual scenes by Lapp, *Opferformel*, pp. 185–186). Note that the registers on the left side of the wall continue farther left.

The offering table scene in the north chapel of Senwosret I was arranged differently. The rows of his offering list on the west wall do not all begin in the same area; the bottom row is set farther back. Another difference is that the offering-ritual priests seem to be the same size as the offering bearers.<sup>545</sup> (The priests are smaller than the offering bearers in the royal women's chapels and in the king's north chapel at Dahshur.) Yet another difference is that the offering list of Senwosret I does not feature a sky above its individual registers, as do the lists in the complex of Senwosret III.<sup>546</sup> The offering table scenes of other Dynasty 12 kings are unfortunately preserved only very fragmentarily. But a block from an offering list of Amenemhat III from

<sup>545</sup> See Arnold, *Pyramid of Senwosret I*, pls. 49–50. As mentioned above, the figures that are called offering bearers here are, of course, also priests, as indicated by their titles. The term is used here to differentiate them from the smaller figures of priests that are part of the offering ritual scenes underneath the offering list (and from slaughterers, who were also priests).

<sup>546</sup> However, note that the lists of Senwosret III do not feature a sky above the very first register, while those of the royal women do.

Dahshur shows that his list was structured very differently, as it incorporated religious texts.<sup>547</sup> No parallel for the structure of the offering table scene can be found from another Middle Kingdom royal monument (most are very poorly preserved), and that of Pepi II features the closest known equivalent.<sup>548</sup> If the decoration of Pepi II's offering hall was, in fact, either the template or the inspiration, then its physical proximity in Sakkara-South, close to the complex of Senwosret III in Dahshur-North, might have contributed to this choice. This also means that the decoration might have been copied directly from Pepi II specifically for use at the complex of Senwosret III rather than from a copy book in an archive. However, this is uncertain, as too little is known for the offering table scenes of other Middle Kingdom complexes.

The royal elements that occur in the offering table scene of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I are the sky above the individual registers, the *hwt*-throne, the protective bird above the queen, and her attributes (vulture headdress and uraeus). The fact that the inscription *shyt stpwt* "the bringing of joints of meat" clearly starts in front of the throne on the east wall and not beneath it (see cat. no. 46) might also suggest that the offering table scene of the north chapel of pyramid 8

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<sup>547</sup> See de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour* II, p. 98, fig. 152. This piece might show that the decoration of Hatshepsut's offering hall, which had a similar feature (see Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* IV, pl. 110), copied that of a Middle Kingdom complex and thus might not refer back to the Old Kingdom as has been proposed by Ann Macy Roth, "Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple at Deir el-Bahri: Architecture as Political Statement," in *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, ed. by Catharine H. Roehrig with Renée Dreyfuss and Cathleen A. Keller (New York, 2005), p. 150; or by Andrzej Ćwiek, "Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom: Studies in the Development, Scene Content and Iconography" (Ph.D. diss., Warsaw University, 2003), p. 159. See also Noreen Doyle, "Curious Nautical Details from the Eleventh Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahri," in *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings and Ancient Thebes: Papers Presented in Honor of Richard H. Wilkinson*, ed. by Pearce Paul Creasman (Tucson, 2013), pp. 123–147, who proposed that Hatshepsut's nautical motifs at Deir el-Bahri, which have Old Kingdom parallels, might have been inspired though by Middle Kingdom scenes. (I would like to thank Noreen Doyle for bringing this article to my attention.)

<sup>548</sup> Note that two pieces from the offering list of Ankhenespepi II's north chapel show that her list was situated at the top of the wall with piled offerings behind it and that the distribution of the individual offerings into registers is the same as that of Pepi II. The last offering of the first register is B29, as in Pepi II, and as at Dahshur. The first offering of the third register is A35, again the same as in Pepi II but different from the lists in Dahshur. Ankhenespepi II's list does not have a sky above the first register, as in the kings' lists, while the royal women at Dahshur did feature a sky in this position. For these two pieces from Ankhenespepi II, see Marie-Noëlle Fraise, "Saqqâra: Notes d'information sur les travaux récents au complexe funéraire de la reine Ânkhensépépy II, part 1, La *pancarte d'offrandes* de la chapelle nord de la pyramide d'Ânkhesenpépy II," in *RdE* 53 (2002), pp. 238–239, figs. 1–2.

was copied from that of a king and not from a private monument.<sup>549</sup> The inscription is positioned exactly in the area where the row of offering bearers usually begins for the king, as the depiction of fecundity figures occupies the space beneath his throne (see fig. 22). However, a royal child has been reconstructed under the queen's throne to receive the offering bearers (see cat. no. 151), and a son of the deceased can receive the offering bearers in private tombs. For this reason, the position of the inscription is not a secure argument for the suggestion that the offering table scene follows a king's template.

Not only is the structure of the two long walls of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I's north chapel the same as that of the long walls of Pepi II, but her north wall is probably laid out in the same way as his equivalent east wall (her north chapel is oriented north-south, while Pepi II's pyramid temple is oriented east-west), since it probably featured three registers with slaughtering scenes that were topped by four registers with piled offerings.<sup>550</sup>

It should also be mentioned that the New Kingdom shrine of Hepuseneb in Gebel el-Silsilah features an offering list and offering-rituals scenes that are surprisingly similar to the lists in Senwosret III's complex of (see figs. 23–24). Not only is the general structure the same, but, in fact, the arrangement of the individual offerings appears to be identical to that of the lists in the complex of Senwosret III. (The third register of Hepuseneb's list starts with A34, as do the Senwosret III lists, while that of Pepi II begins with A35.) It is unclear from where this structure was copied; as the shrine is distant from the Memphite monuments, a copy book must have been used either directly for this monument or for another monument from which Hepuseneb's was subsequently copied. It might have been a book that went back to decoration patterns of the Middle Kingdom; however, it was probably not derived directly from the Senwosret III complex, because other elements in the offering table scenes were arranged quite differently.<sup>551</sup> As this is a private monument, it also seems more likely that a non-royal template would have been used.

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<sup>549</sup> Compare the decoration of the Old Kingdom offering table scene of queen Nebet, which has a row of offering bearers that begins under her throne and not in front of it; see Munro, *Nebet und Khenut*, pls. 26–27.

<sup>550</sup> As reconstructed by Jéquier, *Pepi II/2*, pl. 97. Oppenheim, in *Ancient Memphis*, p. 408, fig. 4a, pp. 423–424, suggests that four registers with slaughterers were depicted on the entrance wall of Senwosret III's north chapel. It might be more likely that this wall included three registers with slaughtering scenes, topped by four shorter registers with piled offerings.

<sup>551</sup> The shrine dates to the reign of Hatshepsut. Might this indicate again that during this time templates from the Middle Kingdom were used?



No direct template is known for the false-door wall. In Senwosret III's north chapel, the *baw* of Pe and Nekhen probably flanked the false door, but this imagery was appropriate only for the king.<sup>552</sup> In the chapels of the royal women, this area was instead filled with a large-scale inventory list naming oil and linen. Pyramid 8's north chapel also featured an inscription that started above the false door and continued vertically between the false door and the list. It is interesting to note that in Senwosret III's north chapel a vertical text column was probably situated between the depiction of the *baw* and the false door. (It presumably featured a related inscription.<sup>553</sup>)

Inventories of linen offerings occur from late Dynasty 1 onward and are very common in Dynasty 4, when they appear in their canonical format on the slab stelae from Giza.<sup>554</sup> After Dynasty 4, linen lists occur only rarely in the Old Kingdom but they are still connected to the false door. In Dynasty 6, linen offerings can be found as depictions of chests or linen bundles in the decoration of burial chambers or coffins. Other objects can be included in these depictions as well, and oils are found among them. However, the selection of linen in these depictions and their layout clearly differ from that of the linen list. According to Katrin Scheele, the canonical linen list disappeared completely from the decoration of tombs after the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>555</sup> The present study shows that the canonical linen list did not, in fact, disappear: Its use continued in (or was revived for) the chapels of the royal women in the complex of Senwosret III, where it was combined with an oil list. No other parallels for such a list in Middle Kingdom chapel decoration are known beyond Senwosret III's complex, and this decorative element might have been a unique feature of this complex. However, as too little is known about the decoration of funerary monuments of royal women in the Middle Kingdom, it is possible that this element was used in other royal women's chapels as well but did not survive.

In the Middle Kingdom, linen is featured in a different format on tomb walls or on coffins as part of the *frises d'objets*, in which a selection of oils appears as well. But the linen and oils are usually only some offerings among a large variety and are not the sole focus. Different in this

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<sup>552</sup> See Oppenheim, in *Ancient Memphis*, p. 406, fig. 3a, pp. 421–422, fig. 11.

<sup>553</sup> Ibid.; for parallels, see Ćwiek, *Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes*, pp. 269–270.

<sup>554</sup> For the development of the linen lists, see Scheele, *Stofflisten*, pp. 87–89; Jones, in *Egyptian Culture and Society*, p. 248.

<sup>555</sup> Scheele, *Stofflisten*, p. 89.

respect is the decoration of the Dynasty 13 coffin of Sesenebnef.<sup>556</sup> At the top of the long sides of this coffin are several panels, each of which lists linen as large “inverted V” fringe-signs together with oil(s) and the amount of one thousand each. (The coffin’s foot end lists only linen, and the head end lists linen, oil, and incense.) This decoration links the linen list with the oil list and shows an interesting combination of both that is similar to the inventory lists in the queens’ chapels at Dahshur, even though its format is very different. While the relationship of the lists of the royal women and the decoration of Sesenebnef’s coffin is unclear; the coffin suggests that such a combination of an oil and linen list might not have been so rare and probably existed elsewhere.

## **8.2 Observations Regarding the Decorative Process**

### **8.2.1 Differences in the Relief Carving and the Different Hands of Artists**

The task of identifying different hands of artists in the decoration of the north chapel of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I is hindered by the fact that less than 15% of the wall decoration remains and no standing walls are preserved. The original positions of several pieces that will be mentioned in the following were thus only reconstructed. In addition, the surface of many pieces is eroded, often making it very difficult or impossible to judge the style and quality of the relief carving. The following are mostly only short observations, but they might be noteworthy, especially as studies on different hands of artists in Middle Kingdom relief decoration are unfortunately rare.<sup>557</sup>

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<sup>556</sup> J.-E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, MIFAO 6 (Cairo, 1902), pls. 22–25.

<sup>557</sup> For such studies, see Rita E. Freed, “Observations on the Dating and Decoration of the Tombs of Ihy and Hetep at Saqqara,” in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, ed. by Miroslav Bárta and Jaromír Krejčí (Prague, 2000), pp. 207–214; David P. Silverman, “Middle Kingdom Tombs in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery,” in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, ed. by Miroslav Bárta and Jaromír Krejčí (Prague, 2000), pp. 259–282; and Adela Oppenheim, “Identifying Artists in the Time of Senusret III: The Mastaba of the Vizier Nebit (North Mastaba 18) at Dahshur,” in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague (June 27–July 5, 2005)*, ed. by Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí (Prague, 2006), pp. 116–132; the latter with many general references. Studies on Middle Kingdom stela workshops can be found more often; see, for example, Rita E. Freed,

From the wall decoration of the north chapel of pyramid 8 only a few faces are well preserved; however, three examples allow the identification of different hands. From the east wall, an offering bearer, who is bending slightly forward (cat. no. 127; see fig. 25) has a nicely carved face. His eye is modeled and features an elongated inner canthus. His beveled lower eyelid is nearly straight, while his upper lid arches. The upper lid and space between it and the eyebrow are modeled. In addition, the eye itself is curved across its surface. The bottom contour of his lower lip is indicated by a depression, as was the nasolabial fold.

The eye of an offering bearer of the same size from the west wall (cat. no. 135; see fig. 26) is carved differently, but the following observations have to be considered with caution, as the surface of the piece is slightly eroded. The contours of the eye seem to be shown only by incised lines, and a single incised line marks the eyebrow. And although the lower eyelid was carved down at the inner corner of the eye, giving it more depth, the surface of the eyeball is not curved across the surface and does not gradually slope down the corners; it is rather flat. Only one horizontal line (which seems to curve up at the corner) marks the mouth; the upper and lower lips seem otherwise undifferentiated. This is clearly the work of a less skilled artist.

A third face belongs to a slaughterer from the north wall (cat. no. 26; see fig. 27). He is the same size as the two offering bearers discussed above. The surface of this piece is also slightly eroded, which again makes it difficult to judge the details of the carving. However, one can determine that the area between the eyebrow and the upper lid is modeled. The eye itself is mainly incised, and the eye is not curved across the surface, although the lower eyelid might have been beveled. The nostril is indicated by a depression. The mouth is depicted by a horizontal incised line and includes a depression at the outer corner of the mouth. The upper and lower lips are otherwise not indicated. This face might represent the hand of a third artist, whose skill level was between those of the other two, although it is also possible that the quality of the carving was originally better than it appears today.

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“Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12,” in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. by Peter Der Manuelian, vol. 1 (Boston, 1996), pp. 297–336; Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, pp. 105–117; or Alexander Ilin-Tomich, “A Twelfth Dynasty Stela Workshop Possibly from Saqqara,” in *JEA* 97 (2011), pp. 117–126. See also Alexandra Woods, “Relief,” in *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, ed. by Melinda K. Hartwig (Chichester, West Sussex, 2015), pp. 219–248, for a general overview of ancient Egyptian relief work, with many helpful references.

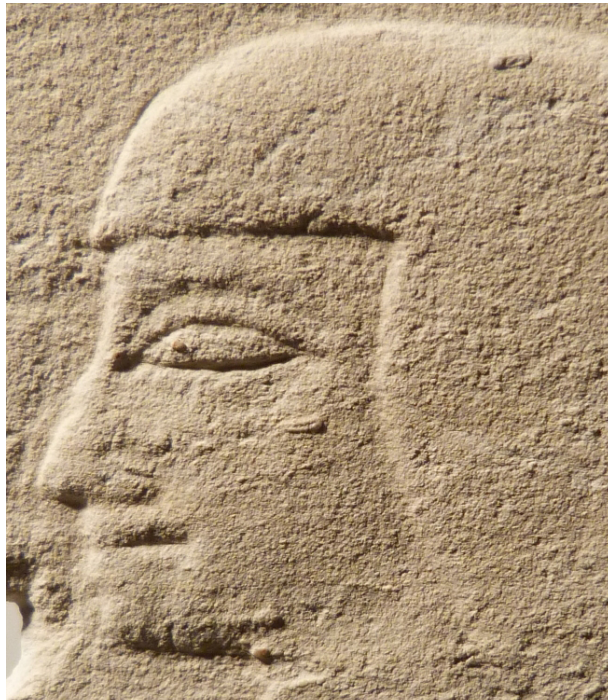




Fig. 25. Detail of cat. no. 127.



Left: Fig. 26. Detail of cat. no. 135.



Right: Fig. 27. Detail of cat. no. 26.



One might note that these three different faces<sup>558</sup> are from three different walls, and it would be tempting to suggest that the walls were split up among three artists, whose skills varied. That this was not the case becomes evident by studying the depiction of the queen on the east wall, which features an example of varying carving quality within one area.

As expected, one can find very skilled work in the depiction of the queen's face (cat. no. 40). Her eye is shown in great detail and is modeled very nicely, with raised surfaces on several different levels (see fig. 28). The contour of her nose is likewise well defined, and the surface beneath her eye, close to the base of her nose, is shown as a subtle depression. The area above her eye, however, features a rather flat treatment that suggests the hand of a different, less skilled artist. The outer contour of the vulture cap and the contours of the uraeus seem somewhat crude, and this area even has a slightly "unfinished" look to it, as the surface is not rounded toward the outer contour of the cap.



Fig. 28. Part of the face of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, from the east wall, detail of cat. no. 40.

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<sup>558</sup> It is interesting to note that none of the preserved male figures (the small kneeling offering bearers that belong to the offering list, the priests of the ritual scenes, the offering bearers, and the slaughterers) show a detailed depiction of the hair, while depictions of the individual curls of the echeloned wig can be found in other chapels of the complex. Was this detail intentionally left out, a preference of a supervising artist or of a group of artists, or was it supposed to be added at a later stage and never executed?

Part of the queen's upper body of the same depiction is also preserved (cat. no. 41; see fig. 29). It has well defined contours and the upper arm is nicely curved across the surface. However, all overlapping areas (the strap of her garment, the broad collar, and her hair) show a rather flat treatment and are separated from each other only by incised lines or low ridges and lack any attempt at modeling.



Fig. 29. The queen's upper body on the east wall, detail of cat. no. 41.

It seems that more than one artist worked on this depiction of the queen. A more skilled artist might have carved the main part of the face of the queen, while the rest of her body was executed by a less skilled artist.<sup>559</sup> Or the less skilled artist executed the complete depiction of the queen and the more skilled artist came in afterwards to add modeling and details. The latter scenario would fit the observation that the root of the eyebrow was modeled while the rest of it was rather flat; this could have been a modification by the more advanced artist. It seems highly unlikely that one such detail would be split up into two different work zones of two artists.

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<sup>559</sup> See Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pp. 15–16, about the different hands of artists in the pyramid temple of Senwosret III, including “specialists” for faces or other elements; see also a relief depiction of the god Khnum from Senwosret III's south temple, whose head was most exquisitely carved but whose body is rather flat: Adela Oppenheim, “Artists and Workshops: The Complexity of Creation,” in *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, ed. by Adela Oppenheim et al. (New York, 2015), pp. 26–27, fig. 26. Compare Freed, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, pp. 207–214; who observed different hands of artists in the Dynasty 12 tomb of Ihy, where the depiction of the deceased was carved by the most skilled artist.

The face of the queen on the west wall is unfortunately not preserved; however, we have parts of her upper body (see cat. nos. 47–48). The overlapping areas of her upper body on this wall also display a rather flat treatment and are separated only by low ridges and incised lines. Here the individual feathers of the vulture headdress are depicted in relief and their irregular tips make up the back contour of the vertical wing of the vulture headdress, while the feathers are not depicted in this area on the opposite wall. On the east wall, the back contour of what must be the vertical wing is only shown as a straight contour. This might indicate that the two vertical wings of the vulture headdress on the opposite walls were carved by two different artists (each being less skilled than the one who carved the queen's eye), or that two different artists made the outline drawings (as these details might already have been determined through such drawings) before the carving began. Or was this possibly a detail meant to be carved later but never executed?

Cat. no. 127, which presents the best carved face of an offering bearer (of those preserved), was very probably situated below the offering table. This area also shows a very well executed goose head that belongs to some of the best work in the chapel (see cat. no. 46). Both the face of the offering bearer and the goose are nicely modeled. This seems to be an example of several renderings of similar quality in close proximity, suggesting that they might have been carved by the same artist. This contrasts with other areas on the same wall, such as the depiction of the queen discussed above, where different qualities of relief carving are situated very close together. Another example of such inconsistent quality of carving is cat. no. 72, which shows part of the offering list.<sup>560</sup> The piece features well carved hieroglyphs; however, the kneeling figure below this column does not have a detailed face. Was the text carved by one artist and the figure by another? Or is it possible that the details of the figure were left unfinished for a more skilled artist to complete at a later stage? Interestingly, this piece can be positioned at the front of the list, above the offering table on the east wall, near the very well-carved goose head. As these depictions are in front of the queen, they might have been meant to receive the finishing touches of a highly skilled artist who was, however, not responsible for carving all these depictions from scratch and who might have failed to finish some details, such as the face of the small kneeling figure.

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<sup>560</sup> For a further example, see the interior decoration of the lintel (cat. no. 1), which shows, on its right, a well-defined *kheker*-frieze and a sloppily carved corner block border.

Studying the relief style of the chapel's interior decoration, one notices that the quality of carving can also vary widely for the various depictions of piled offerings. Cat. no. 153 shows an example of an offering pile that was carved well and includes a very nice depiction of the head of a dead goose. However, many other pieces, such as cat. no. 36, feature mediocre or poor renderings of offerings. On cat. no. 152, the background at the top of a pile of figs was not carved down between the individual figs but rather along one simplified contour. It might be that the area between the figs was supposed to be carved down later and this step was never executed.

The quality of the tympanum carving is low to mediocre. The signs lack modeling and are somewhat flat. The background is often cut down only around the contours of the hieroglyphs, making them appear raised (see cat. no. 178). A less skilled artist probably executed the decoration of this area; however, the low quality of the relief might have also been caused in part by the difficulty of working in the confined space so close to the ceiling.

Other types of variation can be noted as well. Two pieces with linen-signs from the inventory list on the south show a very different treatment of the fringe (see cat. nos. 192–193). Unless this differentiation was intended, it represents an example for two different hands of artists, who in this case can be distinguished based on the way they depict a detail and rather than by their skill level. Another such example is the differences in style of rendering the *ka*-arms in the priestly title *hym k3*. Both cat. nos. 122 and 135 show the hands as a straight extension of the arms, while cat. no. 138 depicts the hands at an angle to the arms. Some of these details might have been predetermined by the outline drawings, in which case these features would differentiate the draftspersons and not necessarily the sculptors.

The exterior lintel decoration is a case well suited for the study of different hands of artists as it represents a small isolated area in which the quality of the relief carving varies. The carving is generally good, but only very good in some instances. The feathers of the winged sun disk show layering in the outermost part of the wings, where the surface of the pointed feathers is nicely angled, and the three different layers of feathers on both wings are clearly separated by ridges. These are all features that represent the work of a skilled artist. However, the individual feathers are not depicted in detail, as is known from the exterior lintel decoration of another chapel.<sup>561</sup>

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<sup>561</sup> A fragment from the east chapel of pyramid 3, which preserves part of the winged sun disk, shows incised details of the individual feathers (96.1034, unpublished). Also the *wr*-bird from the exterior decoration of the same chapel is

Three different *p*-signs are preserved from the exterior decoration of the lintel (see cat. nos. 10, and 22–23) and they were not all sculpted with the same amount of detail. Cat. no. 10 includes the best-preserved example, which displays the most detailed rendering of the sign. In addition to the interior vertical lines, the sign features two horizontal lines on both the top and bottom, which created two rows of very small squares on the upper and lower ends. Moreover, each of these 2–3 mm squares has a tiny incised dot in its center. The surface of another piece (see cat. no. 22) is unfortunately badly eroded but still shows both horizontal and vertical incised lines; it is unknown if the sign originally had the small incised dots as well. A third *p*-sign is only partially preserved (see cat. no. 23), but it clearly features only horizontal interior lines and no vertical ones. The reasons for the disparity in the execution of the sign are unclear.<sup>562</sup> Were these differences a conscious choice to show variation of the *p*-signs in the top row versus the bottom row? Or on the right side versus the left? Or were these hieroglyphs, rather, carved by two different artists who worked in different areas of the lintel and might have had their own preference for which details to add?

Differences in the quality of carving such as those noted above are not always dependent only on the artists' skill levels; they can also be caused by outside factors, such as the available space (a restricted space to hold tools close to the ceiling or corner of the wall) or lighting. Yet another potentially important consideration might have been the time allocated to finish the work. And while we often have evidence concerning the former factors and can only speculate about the latter, it is nonetheless very likely that the available time played a large role in how much detail and care was given to certain features.

A striking example for different carving qualities is provided by comparison of the vulture hieroglyph and the *wr*-bird that sit very close to one another on the bottom left side of the lintel (see cat. no. 14). The feet of the vulture hieroglyph are nicely modeled and depicted in detail, while the feet of the *wr*-bird were carved rather crudely without any details. This could suggest that there were at least two different artists who worked in this relatively small area of the exterior decoration. If this part of the lintel was split into two different work areas, then it was not separated into either the left and right half or the bottom and top row of the inscription.

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carved very differently from those of the north chapel of pyramid 8; the depiction of its feathers is very detailed (96.1415.2, 07.66, unpublished).

<sup>562</sup> For two more examples, see cat. nos. 98 and 105, which belong to the offering list on the west wall.

Another important aspect is that the carving of the main body of the vulture hieroglyph does not show any differentiation of overlapping areas or details in the feathers, which stands in large contrast to its beautifully carved feet. This might indicate that this sign was sculpted by two different artists: the feet by the better artist, and the bird's body by one less skilled. It seems unlikely, though, that the work distribution would split one hieroglyph into two work zones for two different artists. The differences within the vulture might rather suggest that again, as for the treatment of the depiction of the queen, different artists were sometimes<sup>563</sup> responsible for carving different stages of the same parts. This could have happened for a variety of reasons. A lower-ranking artist or apprentice might carve most of a hieroglyph and show it to his supervisor, who might then improve it or let the apprentice finish it. It might also be possible that a relief was usually carved by different individuals, one doing the first rough outline, another giving more shape and details to the hieroglyph and nearly completing it, and then one of the most skilled artists going around and giving finishing touches either to areas that were deliberately left unfinished for him or to areas that he thought needed additional attention.<sup>564</sup> However, too little is known about how artists worked,<sup>565</sup> and the possibility cannot be excluded that what we see today are various steps of the working process of one and the same artist who did not finish all of

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<sup>563</sup> Or maybe this even happened regularly but is often no longer recognizable?

<sup>564</sup> See also Eleni Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae*, OLA 34 (Leuven, 1989), pp. 194–197, who suggested for the Ptolemaic reliefs she studied that a “master artisan” followed other “artisans” to “neaten up” faces. For artist crews that painted tomb walls, see Betsy M. Bryan, “Painting Techniques and Artisan Organization in the Tomb of Suemniwet, Theban Tomb 92,” in *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, ed. by W. V. Davies (London, 2001), pp. 63–72, who suggested that apprentices, “regular artists,” and “a master (or more than one?)” worked as one crew and that a master did free-hand compositions and “may also have put in outline details on major figures.”

<sup>565</sup> See, for example, Frank Teichmann, “Das Werkverfahren,” in Erik Hornung unter Mitarbeit von Frank Teichmann, *Das Grab des Harehab im Tal der Könige* (Bern, 1971), pp. 32–37. For general information about the organization of various kinds of work, see Christopher J. Eyre, “Work and the Organisation of Work in the Old Kingdom,” in *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, ed. by Marvin A. Powell, American Oriental Series 68 (New Haven, 1987), pp. 5–47; Christopher J. Eyre, “Work and the Organisation of Work in the New Kingdom,” in *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, ed. by Marvin A. Powell, American Oriental Series 68 (New Haven, 1987), pp. 167–221. See also Naguib Kanawati and Alexandra Woods, *Artists of the Old Kingdom: Techniques and Achievements* ([Cairo,] 2009), pp. 29–41, especially p. 40.

the details. The artist might have rushed the execution of some sections, or these “unfinished” areas could have been mere oversights.<sup>566</sup>

### 8.2.2 The Paint

In various depictions it can be observed that some details are not carved but are shown only in paint. These include the tips of feathers, which are painted red and are not separated by an incised line from the rest of the feather, which is shown in green. This feature can be found on the feathers of the protective bird that was depicted above the queen on the east wall (see cat. no. 57) and on the tail of the falcon-sign of cat. no. 213. The two *h3z*-vases on the preserved tympanum (cat. no. 178) had only their tops painted green, not the remaining lower part. One of them shows an incised line separating these two areas, while the other does not, which might have been a simple oversight. Features that are only painted and not carved can also be found on the depiction of the sky above registers, where the stars are painted in yellow on a blue sky (see, for example, cat. nos. 68 or 80). Why they were not sculpted is unclear; the sky was very long, and this is not a small detail that could have been missed by mistake.

A feature that can be found not only throughout the decoration of the chapel but also throughout the complex is the use of very thin red paint lines that run along the contours of the raised relief when the object was painted yellow or white (see, for example, cat. no. 153, from the north chapel of pyramid 8, and cat. no. 240, from the east chapel of pyramid 3). That these are not the remains of an outline drawing made before the sculpting began is indicated by the fact that these lines often occur in the area where the surface is sloping down toward the background (see, for example, cat. no. 40). These red contour lines were presumably added along the contours in order to visually separate the light-colored yellow or white raised relief from the

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<sup>566</sup> Such reasons are very different from the form of deliberate incompleteness, which, according to Francesco Tiradritti, symbolically delayed the tombs’ readiness for a burial and death, thus expressing eternity; see Francesco Tiradritti, “Painting,” in *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, ed. by Melinda K. Hartwig (Chichester, West Sussex, 2015), pp. 253–254.

light-colored background surface.<sup>567</sup> This practice can also be observed at other sites.<sup>568</sup> It is common in painting and probably derives from that medium.<sup>569</sup>

The paint of the chapel's decoration is unfortunately not well preserved, and for some depictions we do not know whether more details might have been shown in paint only, as was the case for a falcon from the north chapel of pyramid 8 (see cat. no. 185) or the lion hieroglyph from the east chapel of pyramid 3 (see cat. no. 240). One can also note that the quality of the paint application varies. One can find carefully applied paint that introduces details and stays within the contours of the object; however, often the paint is applied beyond the contours and spilled onto the adjacent surface. Cat. no. 85 presents a small, nicely carved face with sloppily applied paint, which might suggest that the person responsible for the paint was not the same as the one who carved it. It is possible that the background was originally painted, covering such areas.<sup>570</sup> A few pieces show a grayish hue on the background (see cat. nos. 100, 102–103, and 114).<sup>571</sup> Interestingly, all belong to the offering list, and it might be that only the background of the list was painted with a dark background color, separating it as a tableau from other elements, the backgrounds of which might not have been painted or might have been painted with a brighter, more fragile paint or wash, of which nothing survived.

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<sup>567</sup> Dark paint lines can be found as well; however, it is unclear whether these are similar lines or, rather, the remains of outline drawings; see cat. no. 95.

<sup>568</sup> See, for example, a relief of Mentuhotep II in the Metropolitan Museum (07.230.2), where not only light-colored objects show this feature; details of the king's face, such as the lips, were accented by dark red lines as well (note that some of the paint on this piece might be from a Dynasty 19 restoration); see Rita E. Freed, "Relief of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II and the Goddess Hathor," in *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, ed. by Adela Oppenheim et al. (New York, 2015), pp. 47–50, cat. no. 5.

<sup>569</sup> In painting, dark red and black contour lines are often used. Both black and red lines even occur as outlines on the same object, depending on which color was used for its individual components; see, for example, the *lnt*-sign on the granite sarcophagus of Mentuhotep in Dieter Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht*, PMMA 28 (New York, 2008), pl. 89a.

<sup>570</sup> This possibility was suggested by Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, p. 16.

<sup>571</sup> Oppenheim observed a similar background color on pieces that derive from the false-door wall of Senwosret III's pyramid temple; see *ibid.*, p. 417.



### 8.2.3 Observations on the Procedure of the Decoration

The sky and the *kheker*-frieze from the entrance wall of the north chapel of pyramid 8 (cat. no. 1) raise questions about where the artist(s) began the process of laying out the decoration. The complete width of the interior decoration of the lintel is preserved, and it features a complete *kheker* and a complete star of the sky on its right end. On its left end, however, there is only a partial star, and the space above it does not allow reconstructing a complete *kheker*, but only a partial one. This clearly shows that the artist did not begin the outline drawing of the *kheker* frieze and of the sky (or its carving, if such a drawing did not exist) on the left end of this wall, but, rather, in another area. It is possible that it began on the right side of this wall, where a complete star and *kheker* can be found. However, since the sky seems to have been seen as one continuous element across all the walls, one cannot exclude the possibility that the sky was laid out over all walls together at once, in which case the start of the sky could have been on another wall. Two other pieces preserve the corner of a *kheker*-frieze. One of them again shows the right end of a *kheker*-frieze and a sky below where both elements are shown complete (cat. nos. 218). The second piece features the left end with a full *kheker* and exactly the space needed to complete a partial preserved star below (see cat. no. 219). Both of these pieces derive from the area directly above the queen, which might mean that the position of the main figure determined where one started to lay out the decoration, but it is also possible that both long walls showed a complete *kheker* and star on each end. Unfortunately, the material of the chapel is not well preserved, and the above observations allow only the raising of possibilities, not the drawing of any decisive conclusion regarding where the layout of the wall began.

Block borders from the corners of three different walls are preserved (see cat. nos. 25, 41, and 123). In all three cases, three vertical stripes are featured in addition to the vertical block border. The outermost stripe is slightly broader than the others, and the width of the corner block border is the same for all three of these examples. This shows that the additional number of stripes and their width did not vary according to how much space needed to be filled, but rather that the wall decoration was planned in detail to fit the space.

## 8.3 Conclusions About the Construction of the Walls

### 8.3.1 The Construction of the Lintel

The study of the relief fragments that can be assigned to the exterior decoration of the lintel allows not only the reconstruction of the lintel's decoration (see chapter 5.1) but also, together with a piece from the interior decoration of the entrance wall, the detailed reconstruction of the shape and measurements of the lintel block.

The lintel had a very interesting feature, which is preserved on cat. nos. 14 and 18. One can reconstruct that, on the exterior, the bottom of the lintel did not have one continuous edge. Instead, a deep recess was cut into the bottom center of its exterior surface in order to create a stop face for the door, which opened toward the outside of the chapel (see fig. 30). To either side of this recess, the surface of the block extended farther down, thus forming the top sides of the doorframe. The surface above the doorframe protruded very slightly from the wall (about 0.7–0.8 cm; see cat. nos. 14 and 18).<sup>572</sup> But the surface to the sides of the deep recess was set slightly back from the area above and was situated on the same level as the adjoining blocks of the wall. Visually it would have looked as though the bottom edge of the lintel ran as one continuous straight line and the complete lintel protruded over the adjoining blocks. When the door was closed, it covered the stop face. On the inside of the lintel no opening needed to be cut out (see cat. no 33). The same technique was used in the tomb of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II for the doorway that leads from the antechamber to her burial chamber.<sup>573</sup> There the external side of the lintel also extended slightly farther down on the sides, framing the very top of the doorframe, and the main section of the lintel protruded slightly.

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<sup>572</sup> The depth of the lintel's main part is 76.6 cm (see cat. no. 1), while the depth of the side sections at its bottom and thus of the wall below can be reconstructed as being nearly 76 cm.

<sup>573</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pls. 62b and 63a. Compare the lintels in the subterranean burial apartments for the king, which also protrude slightly (although the bottom block edge runs through and was not cut out); see *ibid.*, pls. 12c, 14, 19b. Also compare a Dynasty 12 granite lintel that was found in Tell el-Daba; here it is the inside part of the lintel that features a recess in its center, as the gate opened toward the inside. For this lintel, see Habachi, *Tell el-Dab'a I*, pp. 159–163, pls. 7–8; Peter Jánosi, "IV. Tell el-Dab'a and 'Ezbet Helmi: Vorbericht über den Grabungsplatz H/I (1989–1992)," in *Ägypten und Levante* 4 (1994), pp. 22–27, figs. 5–6.

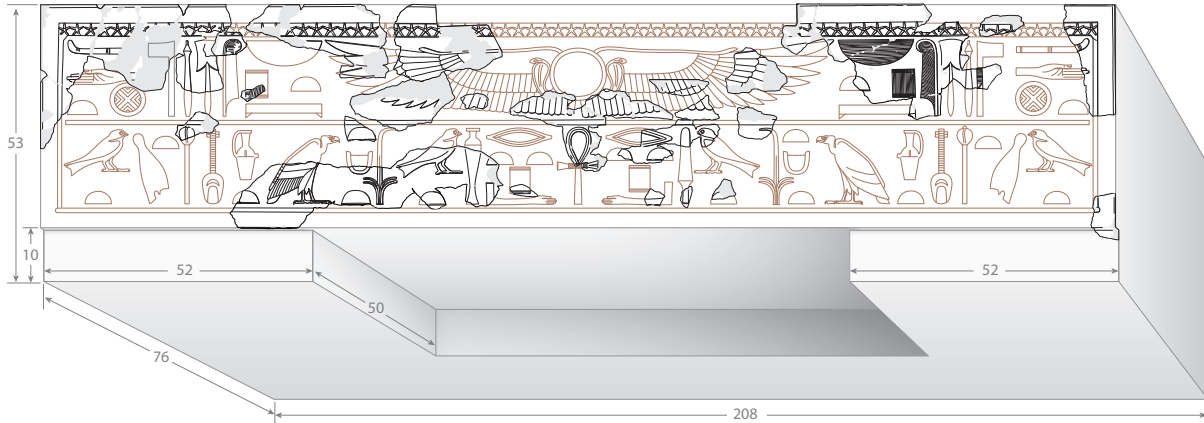


Fig. 30. The shape and exterior decoration of the lintel block.

The lintel's decorated exterior surface sits at a right angle to the horizontal block edge at the top. The edge at the top is beveled, but the degree of beveling varies; it is stronger on the left side of the lintel than on the right. Since most of the lintel was slightly protruding, its top and side edges might have been beveled to create a transition to the adjoining blocks.

A piece from the very top of the stop face is preserved and allows its height to be estimated at a minimum of 10 cm (see cat. no. 235). The exterior decoration of the lintel starts at the very top of the block (see cat. no. 1), as does the *kheker*-frieze of the interior decoration. Based on the lintel's exterior decoration, one can safely reconstruct that the center part of the lintel was about 43 cm tall on the exterior.<sup>574</sup> Reconstructing the interior decoration of the whole entrance wall and its adjoining walls resulted in a height for the interior surface of the lintel (the *kheker* with horizontal block border, sky, one register with offerings, and the block border at the top of the door) of about 53 cm, which allowed the placement of the registers with piled offerings on the entrance wall at about the same height as those of the adjoining wall. To reach the same height for the exterior decoration, one needs to make the horizontal stop face (and therefore the "frame" to the left and right of the door) about 10 cm tall, which matches the aforementioned minimum height of 10 cm. Also measuring 10 cm is the width of the vertical stop face to the side of the door, which is preserved on a piece from the entrance wall (cat. no.

<sup>574</sup> Previously it was estimated that the door lintel was 46 cm tall; see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 83. This was based on decorated fragments from its exterior side and it was assumed that the lintel had a straight bottom edge.

25).<sup>575</sup> The complete 208 cm width of the lintel survived on cat. no. 1, and from cat. no. 25 we know that the width of the interior decoration was 62 cm to either side of (and not including) the rounded doorjambs. This allows us to determine that each of the two exterior bottom sides of the lintel was 52 cm wide; for a detailed reconstruction of the doorway, see the following chapter.

### 8.3.2 The Construction of the Doorway

Since we have the complete 208 cm width of the lintel (about 4 cubits, which equal 210 cm; see cat. no. 1) and since we can determine how wide the two exterior bottom sides of the lintel were (each 52 cm; see above), one can also reconstruct that the opening for the door was about 104 cm wide on its exterior (about 2 cubits, which equal 105 cm); see fig. 31. The door opening was slightly narrower toward the interior of the chapel, where it was about 81 cm wide between the curved doorjambs. (Due to their shape, the opening was about 81 wide at the narrowest spot and about 84 cm at the widest.)

If one door leaf had covered this opening, it would have needed to be at least 84 cm wide. The depth of the wall, however, is 76 cm and the doorframe was 26 cm deep (see cat. nos. 25–26), which means that the reveal was only about 50 cm deep. If only one door leaf had been used, it would have protruded from the reveal when opened. It is therefore very likely that two door leaves existed. The two leaves combined needed to cover a minimum space of 84 cm and could not have exceeded the width of the doorway of 104 cm. This allows an estimation that each door leaf was about 45–50 cm wide. (A width of 48 cm was chosen for the reconstruction

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<sup>575</sup> A fragment from a doorframe of Senwosret III's pyramid temple preserved a horizontal stop face 9.5 cm tall, which shows that this is a feasible measurement. (The piece has two hieratic visitor graffiti and will be published by Hana Navratilova together with the other New Kingdom graffiti from the pyramid complex.) However, horizontal stop faces of different doors had different measurements. Three horizontal stop faces that were measured by the author in the subterranean compartments of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II showed three slightly lower heights (7 cm, 8 cm, and 8.5 cm).

drawing.) This estimated width fits very well to the reconstructed depth of 50 cm for the reveal, as it means that the door leaves would fit completely within the reveal when opened.<sup>576</sup>

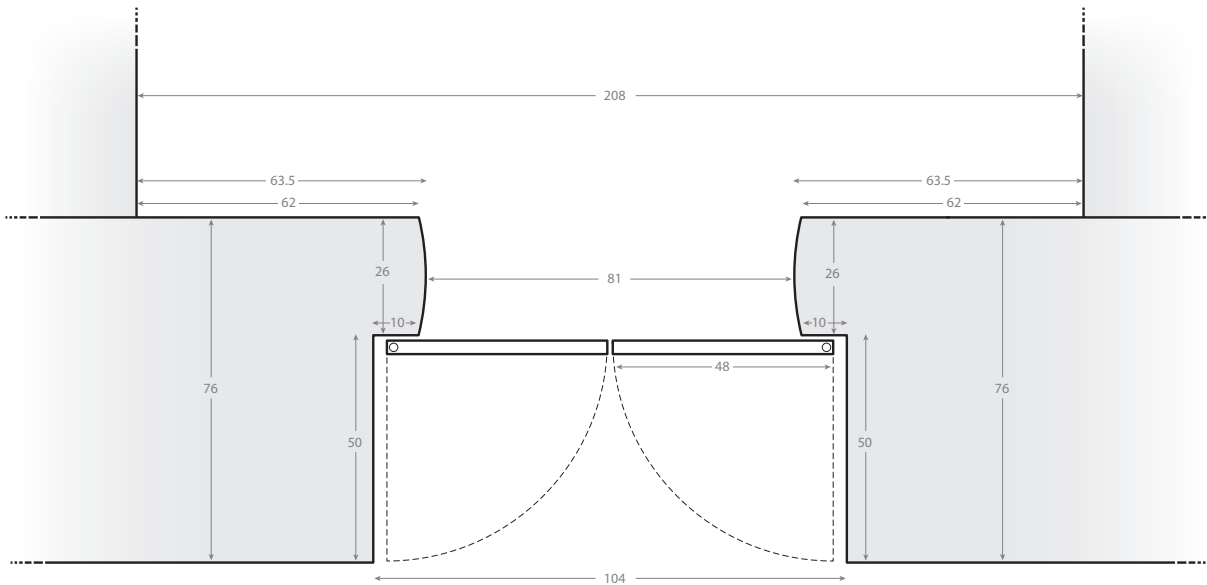


Fig. 31. The reconstruction of the doorway.

### 8.3.3 The Construction of the East Wall and the Block Sizes

Throughout the chapel, block edges can be observed, and in some cases it is possible to reconstruct the approximate dimensions of these blocks. A large offering-list piece from the east wall (cat. no. 66) shows the left, bottom, and top edges of a block that was 75 cm tall<sup>577</sup> (block B). The right edge of block B is not preserved, but cat. no. 218 probably shows the vertical left edge of the adjoining block to the right (see fig. 32), in which case block B can be reconstructed as about 153 cm wide. One of the blocks under block B was set slightly to the left (block E). Cat. nos. 46 and 122 feature the left, right, and bottom edges of block E, and placing the two

<sup>576</sup> The burial chamber of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II was also accessible through two doors, and they likewise opened to the outside; see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pl. 63a. For this feature, see also chapter 8.5, below.

<sup>577</sup> The piece is not preserved in its full height but in two parts, with a very small part missing in between; the small missing area can securely be reconstructed, however, which is why the height of the block is known.

pieces into their original positions on the wall demonstrates the reconstructed measurement of block E to be about 150 cm wide and 82 cm tall. Its top edge probably sat slightly lower on the left side than in its center and right parts, because cat. no. 71 seems to have sat slightly lower than the bottom block edge of cat. no. 66. The next block below can also be reconstructed (block H); its top left and right corners are preserved on cat. nos. 123 and 127 respectively. It was placed farther to the left than block E and will be discussed in further detail below.

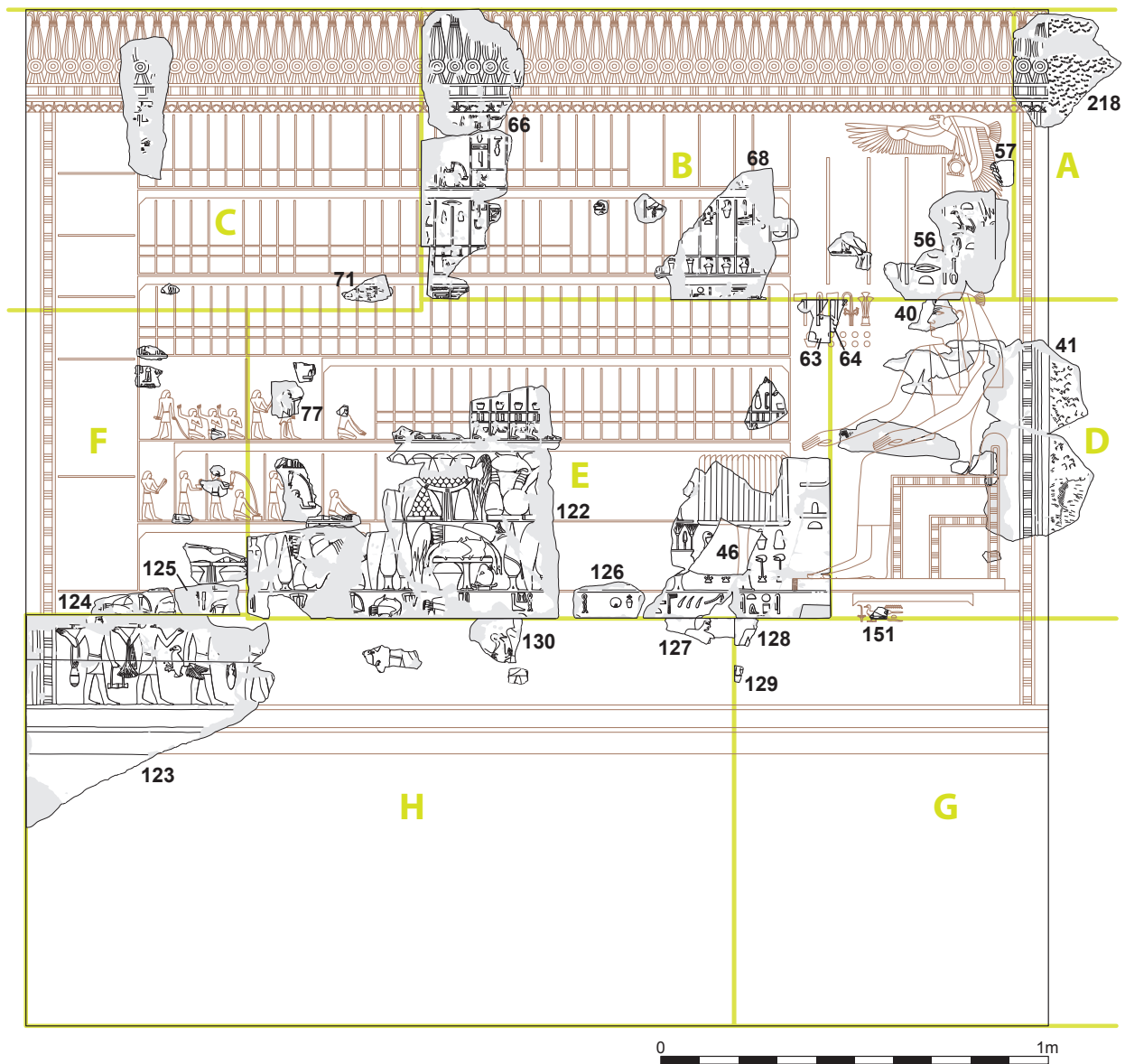


Fig. 32. Reconstruction of the individual blocks of the east wall; cat. nos. of the relevant pieces are indicated.

By establishing the outlines of the blocks B, E, and H, which covered wide-ranging areas of the east wall, one can estimate the number of blocks used to build this wall, as these three blocks also give information about adjoining ones. The following pattern can be established: A block (block A) must have been situated at the very top right of the wall and featured only a very small part of the decorated wall surface, while the bulk of it was behind the adjoining south wall. A small portion of its upper left side with the vertical left block edge is preserved (see cat. no. 218). Block B, mentioned above, was decorated with the *kheker*-frieze, the vertical inscription above the queen, and the top right part of the offering list. In addition to cat. no. 66, the bottom edge of this block is preserved on two more pieces (cat. nos. 56 and 68), while cat. no. 57 probably features part of its vertical right edge. Block C adjoined block B on the left, and its decorated surface included the back part of the offering list and piled offerings. It must have extended beyond the corner of the wall, as the lintel of the adjoining wall ended with the corner of the wall (see cat. no. 1). No pieces can be assigned to edges of block C, and it is unclear exactly where its horizontal bottom edge was situated. Block D sat at the right side of the wall and featured the depiction of the queen. From cat. no. 41 we know that it extended beyond the wall corner. The face of the queen (cat. no. 40) was situated at the top of this block and part of the horizontal top block edge runs through the top of her head. Cat. no. 64, with part of the horizontal inscription mentioning natron, has a horizontal top edge and a vertical left edge and is the top left corner of block D. Cat. no. 151 might show its horizontal bottom edge. Large parts of block E to the left are preserved and they show that this block included the lower part of the offering list, the offering table, piled offerings, and just the very top of the bottom register with the titles of offering bearers. In addition to cat. nos. 46 and 122 (the bottom left and right corners of block E), cat. no. 126 also retains part of its bottom block edge. The top right corner of the block E is preserved as cat. no. 63.<sup>578</sup>

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<sup>578</sup> It should be noted that cat. no. 77 features a small section of a vertical masonry edge on its left side, which could be part of a patch stone edge. But it might also be possible that cat. no. 122 should be reconstructed slightly farther right (the width of a little more than one offering list column), in which case its vertical edge would line up with that of cat. no. 77. In that case, the edge of cat. no. 77 would be the edge of block E and the width of the block would be about the same as on the large block on the opposite side (block E of the west wall). However, this position is less likely and was thus not chosen for the reconstruction, as in that case one would need to position cat. nos. 46, 122, and 126 very close to one another, which would result in the heads of two offering bearers being too close together.

The next block to the left, block F, belongs to the left part of the wall and probably extended beyond the corner. Its bottom horizontal edge is featured on cat. nos. 124–125. Block G, from the bottom right of the wall, showed the area below the throne, and its right side presumably extended beyond the corner as well. Cat. no. 128 is probably the top left corner of this block, and cat. no. 129 probably shows part of its vertical left edge. The last block in the reconstruction, block H, might have included the remaining width of the wall and stopped at the corner of the wall, as is suggested by the top left corner of cat. no. 123. Its top edge probably did not run on the same height across its width, but it seems to have featured a slight step (see chapter 5.3.4 and fig. 16). The top right corner of block H is preserved as well (cat. no. 127), and cat. no. 130 features part of its top edge. Block H is very large; it was 182 cm wide and its height might have been about 105 cm tall if the dado was about 81 cm tall (for the dado, see chapter 8.4). The possibility should not be excluded, though, that this large area was covered by two blocks. The wall can thus be reconstructed as having been built out of at least eight, or possibly nine, blocks.

### **8.3.4 The Construction of the West Wall and the Block Sizes**

On the west wall, evidence for several blocks can be observed, as well (see fig. 33). The top left corner of the wall is preserved on cat. no. 219, which shows that the block in this area (block A) extended beyond the corner of the wall. This piece includes the top edge of the block, while its bottom edge, which runs through the vertical inscription with titles of the queen, can be seen on cat. no. 58. The main section of this block can thus be estimated to be 54 cm tall. Its right edge might be preserved on cat. no. 87. Another vertical block edge can be observed at the top of the wall farther right, through offering B12 (see cat. no. 89). This is presumably the right edge of the adjoining block B. Its bottom edge can be traced with the help of the top edge of adjoining block E, which sits beneath and will be discussed further below. The remainder of the wall surface to the right is reconstructed as being filled by block C, the bottom edge of which can be found on cat. nos. 95 and 152. Block C must have extended beyond the corner, since the lintel of the adjoining wall ended with the wall corner (see cat. no. 1). Block C must therefore have been a relatively long block. Its horizontal edge seems to have sat lower than that of block B, as



indicated by the differing heights of the block edges of cat. nos. 91 and 95 (see below). The top edge of the adjoining block below (block F) is preserved on cat. no. 101. The patch stone cat. no. 102 belongs to the top left corner of this block and shows that it was damaged. The left edge of block F is visible on cat. nos. 101 and 114. A piece of unknown orientation with a title (cat. no. 138) was reconstructed as the bottom left corner of block F, but this is not certain. Cat. no. 137 might have been part of its bottom edge.

The vertical right edge of the block that included the depiction of the queen on the other end of the wall (block D) is preserved on cat. nos. 53, 92, 98, and 105. This block sat beneath block A, and its horizontal top edge ran through the vertical inscription above the queen, as can be seen on cat. no. 58. Block D probably extended beyond the corner, since the adjoining south wall with the false door was likely built of small blocks that were pushed in at the end (see chapter 8.3.5). It is unclear where its bottom edge was; the height of the block is therefore unknown. Cat. no. 91 shows both the top left corner of the adjoining block to the right (block E) and cat. no. 99 contains part of its vertical left edge. Block E probably extended toward the end of the offering list, up to offering A64, since cat. no. 114 seems to feature the vertical left edge of the adjoining block (block F) and cat. no. 103 can be reconstructed as part of block E's right edge. This allows determining that block E was possibly 144 cm wide. It should be noted that cat. no. 91 shows that the top horizontal edge of block E ran through the top of the second offering-list register and that cat. no. 95, which derives from the same register but farther to the right, shows a slightly different height for the adjoining horizontal block edge. This difference of 3 cm can be explained by the possibility that block E's top edge stepped down and ran on a slightly lower level on its right side.<sup>579</sup> Its bottom edge is not preserved, but it might have been as tall as about 82 cm on the left and 79 cm on the right, although it could also have been shorter. The top horizontal edge of the adjoining block to the left (block D) ran on yet another, slightly different height (see cat. no. 58). This could indicate that the bottom edge of the adjoining block above (block A) also showed a step, in this case at its bottom edge. The only other possibility would be to assume that what was called "block E" is not one block and that this space was filled with two relatively small blocks, which is not a very satisfactory explanation.

The space below could have been filled with two blocks (blocks G and H). However, this would make the bottom course very tall, and it might be more likely that the bottom section was,

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<sup>579</sup> Such steps are not unusual; see, for example, fig. 17.

rather, made up of four blocks (blocks G–J). Cat. nos. 135 and 153 were probably part of their adjoining vertical edges, but the position of these pieces is uncertain and it is thus unknown where exactly the vertical edges of the bottom blocks run.

In summary, one can note that the west wall could theoretically have been constructed out of eight blocks, but it seems more likely that the total number was ten.

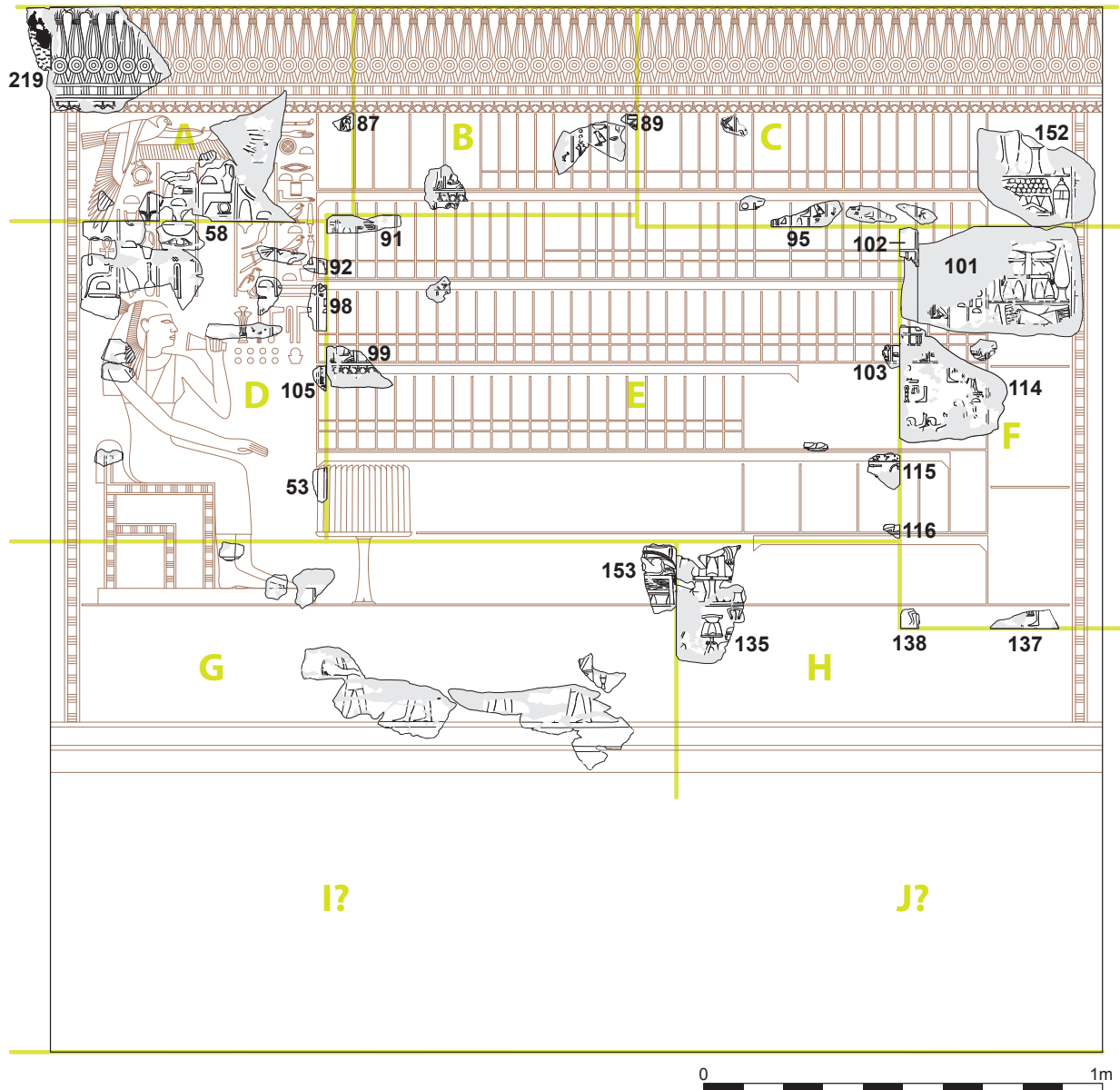


Fig. 33. Reconstruction of the individual blocks of the west wall; cat. nos. of the relevant pieces are indicated.

### 8.3.5 The Construction of the South Wall

As has been discussed, there is evidence from the east chapel of pyramid 3 that the sides of the false-door wall were made up of a stack of small blocks that were pushed into place after the side walls and the false door had been erected (see chapter 5.4.1). The south wall of the north chapel of pyramid 8 unfortunately is only preserved in small fragments, but some pieces still allow interesting observations on how this wall might have been built. Cat. no. 208 shows part of a vertical masonry edge that sat directly next to the false door. It forms an angle of less than 90 degrees with the decorated surface, suggesting that the blocks to the sides of the false door were put in place after the false door was in position, as in the east chapel of pyramid 3 (see cat. nos. 240 and 242). The only difference might be that the east chapel of pyramid 3 did not feature an additional inscription between the inventory list and the false door.

The evidence of several pieces combined shows that a block was placed over the false door like a lintel. Its horizontal bottom edge is preserved on at least four pieces, and two of these also have parts of its left and right vertical edges (see cat. nos. 182, 187, 197, and 206). This block can be reconstructed as being 128 cm long and 39 cm tall. Intriguingly, its bottom edge was not set at a right angle; rather, as shown by two of the four pieces,<sup>580</sup> it was at an angle of about 85 degrees. Both of its vertical edges feature a right angle (see cat. nos. 182 and 187). This block included the horizontal part of the dedication inscription with a sky, a horizontal block border, and a *kheker*-frieze above. Above this “false lintel” was a tympanum block, which included part of the vaulted ceiling and sat on the top of both long walls, as well as on top of the south wall. Above the tympanum block was part of the pyramid, since the chapel was built as a recess within it.

The fact that the bottom edge of the lintel-like block under discussion is not situated at a right angle is surprising but can be explained. As discussed above, the vertical edges of the blocks to the sides of the false door shared a similar feature, so that they could be pushed in place between the false door and the adjoining east and west walls. The angled masonry edge at the bottom of this block could have made it easier to set the block between the false door and the

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<sup>580</sup> The preserved edge of cat. nos. 187 is too small to measure the exact angle, and the edge of cat. no. 182 has thick remains of plaster on it, which does not allow an exact measurement either; however, both are clearly less than 90 degrees.

ceiling block.<sup>581</sup> This means that the ceiling block was already in position before the false door was placed, as the lintel-like block could otherwise have been lowered atop the false door from above without the need for block edges that sit at an acute angle. Built as a niche in the core of the pyramid, the chapel needed to be created while construction of the pyramid proceeded. It is possible that the entrance wall, the side walls of the chapel, the brick core behind the south wall, and the ceiling block that included the tympanum had all been put in place before the south wall was built (see fig. 34, step 1–2). This would mean that the weight of the ceiling block, which included the tympanum, was resting exclusively on the side walls and possibly on the brick core behind the false door. This might have been done so as not to slow down the construction of the pyramid. (Was the false door possibly not ready yet?) At a later point the false door was positioned (step 3), followed by the blocks to both sides (step 4). Then the lintel-like block was inserted above (step 5), between the false door and the tympanum block, followed by small side blocks (step 6), which were presumably placed on each side between the “false lintel” and the corners of the wall. This reconstructed construction sequence explains why cat. no. 182 has a thick layer of plaster on its underside. It also means that the lintel-like block above the false door was actually not load bearing and the weight of the ceiling blocks and the pyramid blocks farther above rested on the side walls (the east and west walls) of the chapel.

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<sup>581</sup> The horizontal edge at the top of cat. no. 182 is also at an angle of less than 90 degrees, which would make sense if this had been the top of the block; however, the piece does not include the very top of the *kheker*-frieze. It is unclear why this angle was chosen for the top edge. Unfortunately, this is the only piece that can securely be assigned to the top of the lintel-like block. Did its right end maybe include a patch stone of which cat. no. 182 was a part? Or was this possibly a measuring or manufacturing mistake and the lintel-like block was not tall enough and therefore a patch stone was added above (in this case it would have run through the entire length)? Patch stone cat. no. 220 was possibly situated above cat. no. 182; its top horizontal edge is at an angle of about 85 degrees, as to be expected; interestingly its bottom horizontal edge sits at a right angle; see also chapter 5.4.2.

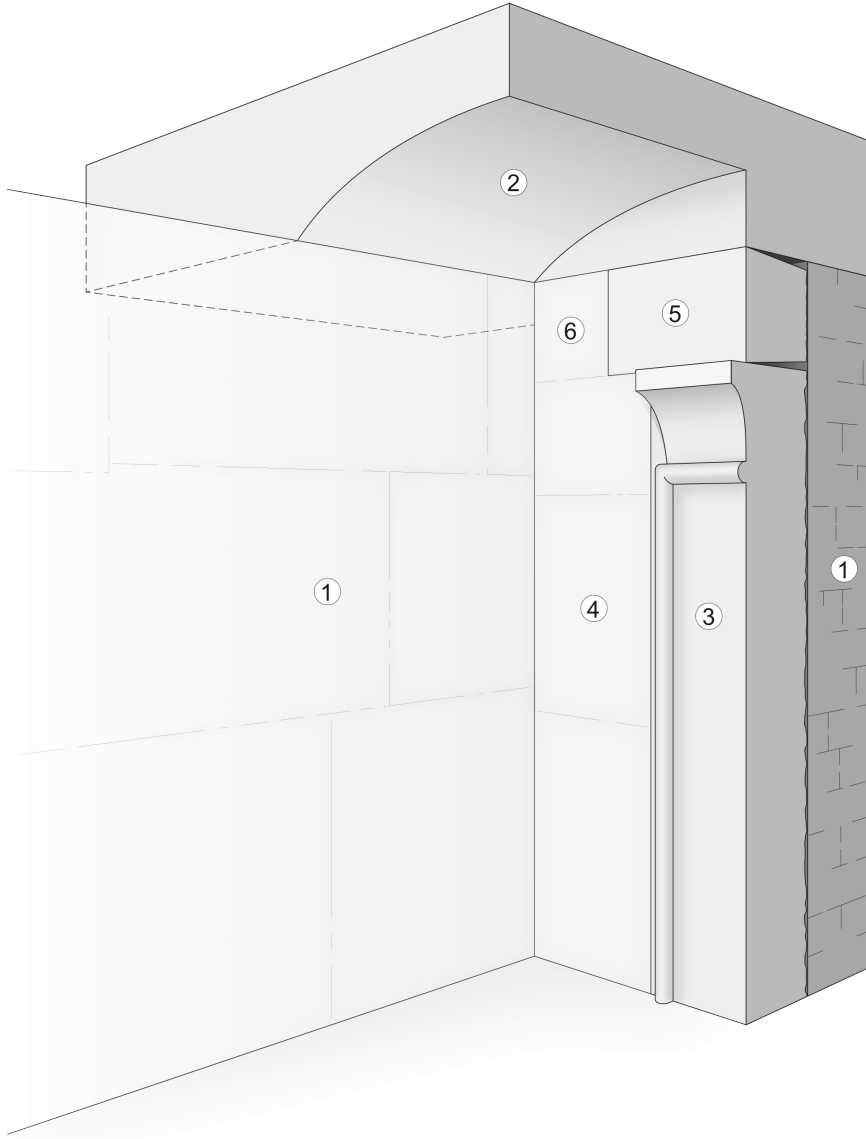


Fig. 34. The south end of the chapel with proposed construction sequence (steps 1–6).

#### 8.4 The Size of the Chapel

Prior to the study of the chapel's decoration, the only information about its possible dimensions derived from the size of its foundation niche, which is 465–660 cm wide and 430 cm deep.<sup>582</sup> It was also uncertain whether the chapel might consist of more than one room. The study of the decorative elements of the chapel revealed no indications that the chapel might have

<sup>582</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 83.

compromised more than one room; the entrance leads straight into a decorated room (see cat. no. 25). There is no evidence for another door, and there is also no space for such a feature in the reconstructed decoration of the walls. A rough estimate for the chapel's width was provided by Dieter Arnold as part of his architectural study, based on parts of one of the chapel's tympana. Arnold estimated that the chapel was 1.80–2.10 m wide.<sup>583</sup> He pointed out that the foundation niche was much wider than the estimated width of the chapel and concluded that the walls must have been very thick (150 cm). More joins for one of the tympana were found (cat. no. 178), but an estimate of its original full width did not need to be made. The exact width of the chapel was provided by joining many fragments from the interior decoration of the lintel; the lintel piece now preserves continuous decoration from one end to the other (see below and cat. no. 1). Its width, and thus the width of the chapel and of the tympanum, is 208 cm (which is approximately 4 cubits = 210 cm). The study of the chapel's relief decoration allows one to reconstruct the long walls with the offering table scenes: The length of these two walls was probably about 264 cm, which equals about 5 cubits (= 262.5 cm). This means that the interior dimensions of the chapel were 208 x 264 cm, which is about 4 x 5 cubits (see figs. 35–36).<sup>584</sup>

The actual walls might not have been as thick as Arnold's estimate of 1.5 m.<sup>585</sup> A well-preserved part of a block from the bottom of the northeast corner of the wall (cat. no. 123) features a large part of its depth and also shows the hole for a dovetail. Since one can assume that the dovetail was approximately in the center of the block, its depth can be estimated to have been about 90 cm. If one adds twice 90 cm for the wall thickness on both sides to the 208 cm wide interior dimension, then the proposed estimated "exterior"<sup>586</sup> chapel width is about 388 cm, which is narrower than the niche for the chapel (4.65–6.60 m). This difference could be explained by the fact that backing stones or masonry fill was to the side of the walls.<sup>587</sup>

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<sup>583</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 83.

<sup>584</sup> See also Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, pp. 161, 164. A preliminary estimate of 260 cm was provided previously for the two long walls; the wall is now reconstructed to be slightly longer, as more details of the offering list and thus its length could be determined.

<sup>585</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 83.

<sup>586</sup> The chapel was built as a niche inside the pyramid's façade, so the term "exterior" is referring here to the maximum extension of the chapel's side walls.

<sup>587</sup> As suggested by Dieter Arnold, verbal communication, spring 2014.

The study of the relief fragments allows the reconstruction of the chapel's doorway in detail (see above), showing its interior depth to have been 76 cm. This depth plus the reconstructed length of the long walls at 264 cm gives us an estimated 340 cm as the depth of the chapel from the outside to the interior of the back wall.<sup>588</sup> We do not know how deep the false door and the blocks to its side were, but the south tympanum preserves a depth of at least 35 cm (which might be close to its total depth, as two blocks from the side of the false door in the east chapel of pyramid 3 are 33 and 36 cm deep; see cat. nos. 240 and 242), which brings the figure to about 375 cm. The chapel probably had a base in the front, and if we take the depth of the niche of 430 cm and subtract 375 cm, then the difference is 55 cm, which suggests that the base in front of the chapel and the pyramid was one cubit deep (52.5 cm).

The height of the chapel is difficult to determine, as we do not know how tall the dado was; only the top yellow and red sections of the dado are preserved in full height, while the height of the bottommost black area is unknown.<sup>589</sup> If one makes the doorway 4 cubits (=210 cm) tall, then the dado would have been about 81 cm tall (which is about 1.5 cubit = 78.75 cm), and the interior height of the chapel from the floor to the top of the east and west walls would have been 263 cm, which equals 5 cubits (262.5 cm). The height to the top of the curved ceiling would then be about 288 cm. If one adds about 50 cm as the estimated thickness of the vaulted ceiling block, then the outside height of the building would have been about 338 cm, so about 340 cm tall (which equals 6.5 cubits = 341.25 cm), but it should be stressed that this estimate is a mere possibility and that the chapel could have been higher or lower.

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<sup>588</sup> The false door would therefore have been positioned directly above the edge of a pit that was found in the back centre of the chapel's niche (see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 83, pl. 50), which suggests that possibly this pit was not for a foundation deposit but had, rather, some other religious meaning.

<sup>589</sup> For estimates of dados in Senwosret III's pyramid temple, see Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pp. 79–80, 476. In this temple the dado probably varied from room to room as is often the case for different sized rooms within the same building. According to Oppenheim (*ibid.*, p. 476), the top section of the dado of the offering chamber of Senwosret III's pyramid temple is about 28 cm. The same area is about 11–12 cm in the north chapel of pyramid 8. The decoration of the pyramid temple had a much larger scale altogether and most rooms were much larger as well, which is why the dado was presumably shorter in the small chapels built for the royal women in the complex of Senwosret III.

To summarize, one can reconstruct the following dimensions for the chapel (dimensions for which evidence is missing and that are a suggested possibility are marked with \*):

Interior: 208 cm wide, 264 cm deep, and maybe 263–288\* cm tall

Exterior: 388 cm wide,<sup>590</sup> and maybe 340\* cm tall

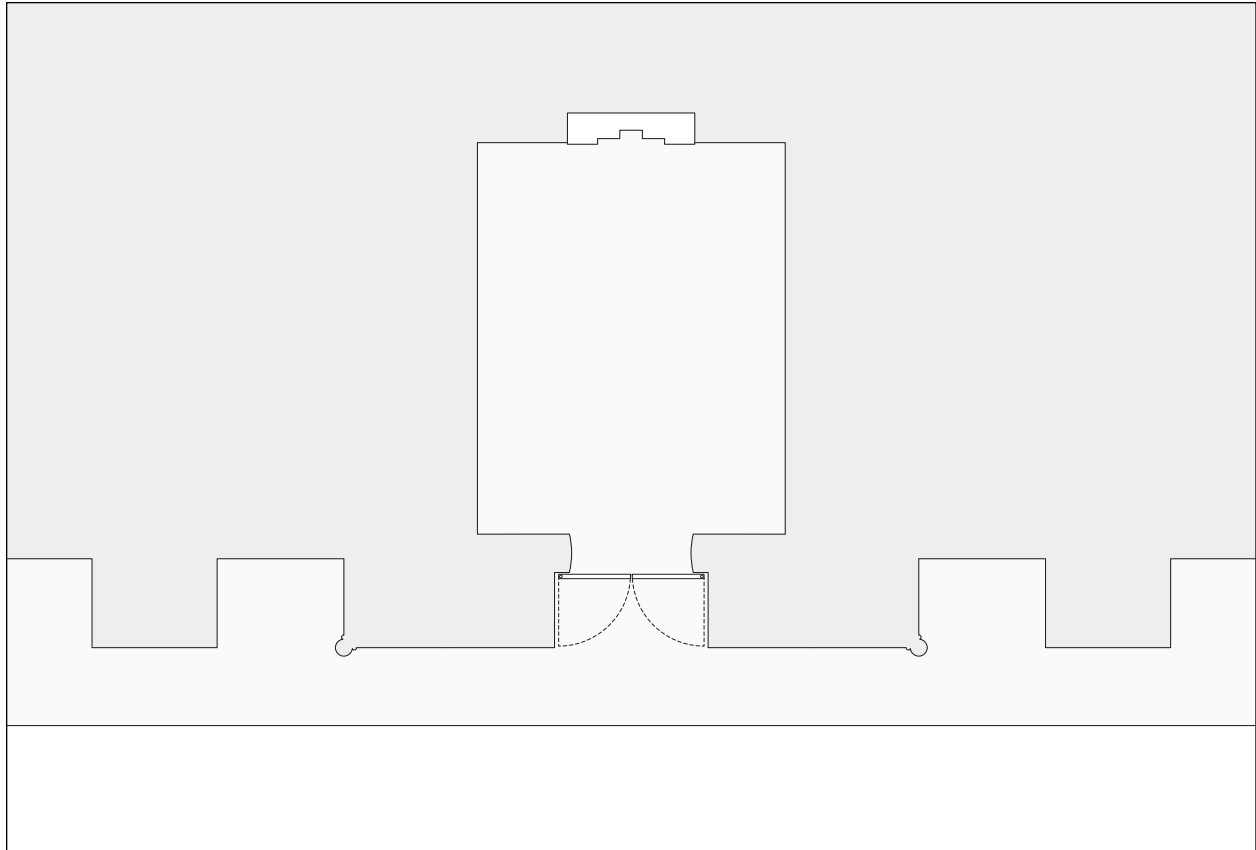


Fig. 35. Plan of the reconstructed north chapel of pyramid 8, set within the pyramid core and bastioned wall, with foot of pyramid in front. (The shape of the false door is hypothetical.)

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<sup>590</sup> This measurement is not as secure as others, since it is partially based on the estimate for the depth of the east wall, which was reconstructed from the position of a cramp that was originally inserted in cat. no. 123 (see above).



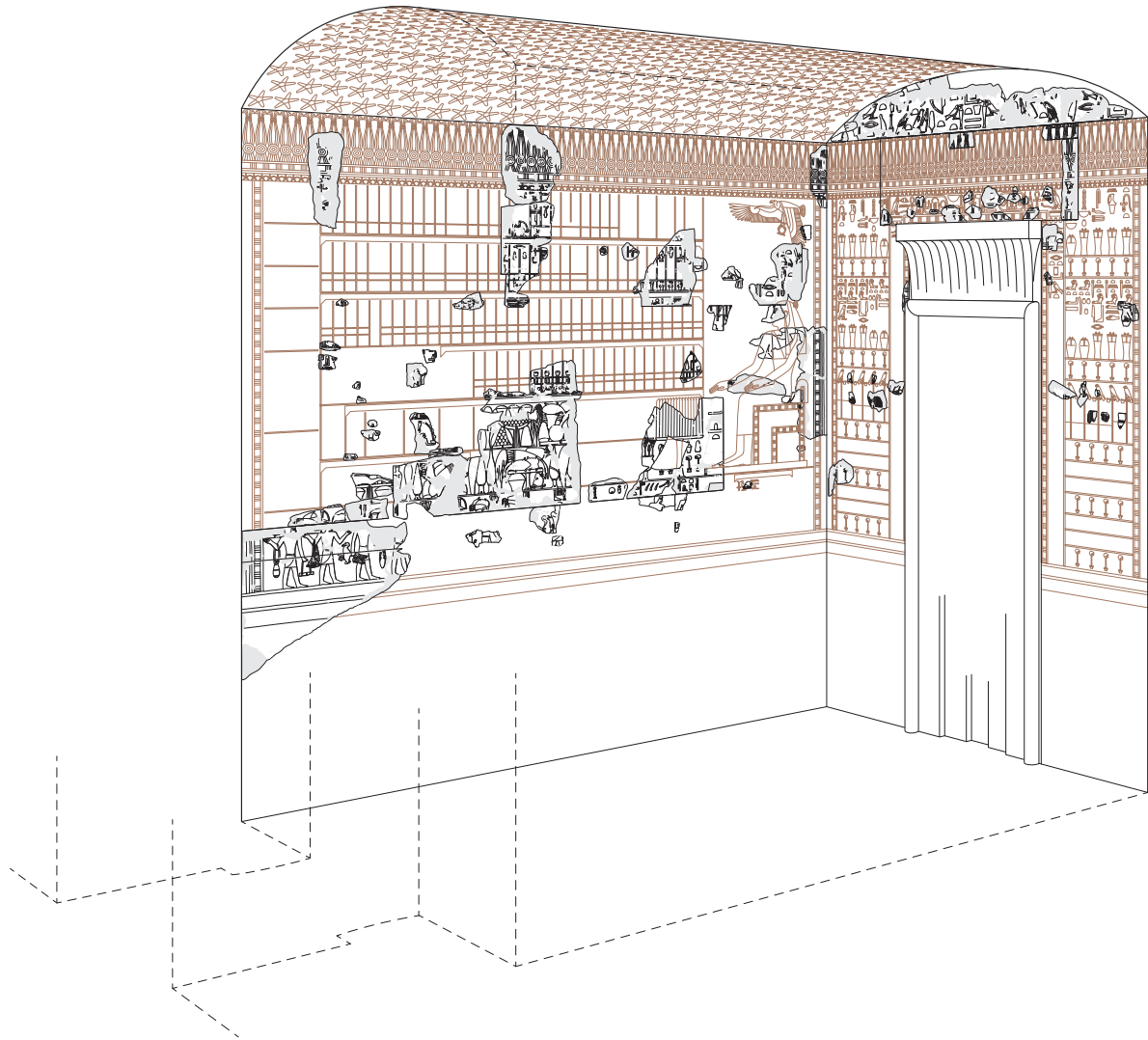


Fig. 36. The interior of the north chapel of pyramid 8.

## 8.5 Comparisons with the Buildings of Other Royal Women

As has been shown, the interior decorative program of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I's north chapel included depictions of the queen in front of the offering table with her titles and name, offering lists, offering-rituals scenes, piled offerings, and offering bearers; these are all elements of a standard offering table scene, meant to ensure the afterlife of the deceased. There were also animal-slaughtering scenes and inventory lists, which served the same purpose. In addition, a building dedication inscription above the queen's false door mentions the king inside her chapel. A winged sun disk with the queen's name and titles (and without the name of the king) was placed outside, above the entrance. The size of the north chapel of pyramid 8 is very modest and its east chapel was likely similar in size, as were the other chapels for royal women in Senwosret III's complex.<sup>591</sup> North chapels for royal women are known from other sites and they were similarly modest,<sup>592</sup> but the small size of the Dahshur east chapels is noteworthy and stands in contrast to the larger and more elaborate monuments of royal women at the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>593</sup>

The pyramid complexes of Dynasty 6 included pyramids for royal women that featured large adjoining temples for their funerary cult (and they usually had their own subsidiary pyramids and enclosure walls).<sup>594</sup> These temples included decorative motifs that are common for

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<sup>591</sup> The study of the relief fragments of the other royal women's chapels by this author does not show any evidence that their decoration differed significantly from that of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I's north chapel, and their size was probably similar as well. However, not all chapels seem to have had a building dedication inscription framing the false door (see cat. no. 240). For the size of the subfoundations of the other chapels, see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 62, 65, 67, 76, 82.

<sup>592</sup> See Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*, pp. 160–161.

<sup>593</sup> Another difference is that previously north chapels do not seem to have been built as recesses into the pyramids (see below).

<sup>594</sup> The development of royal women's pyramids and their related cult buildings has been analysed in detail by Peter Jánosi (Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*). In recent years the excavations at the pyramid complex of Pepi I have provided more evidence for pyramids of royal women that were previously unknown and also featured large temples for the mortuary cult of their owners; see, for example, Audran Labrousse with Marc Albouy, *Les pyramides des reines: Une nouvelle nécropole à Saqqâra* ([Paris], 1999); Audran Labrousse, "Huit épouses du roi Pépi I," in *Egyptian Culture and Society: Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, ed. by Alexandra Woods, Ann McFarlane, and Susanne Binder, vol. 2, CASAE 38 ([Cairo], 2010), pp. 297–314; Audran Labrousse, "Recent Discoveries at the

the mortuary cult of the women, such as the depiction of the deceased in front of the offering table, offering lists, piled offerings, offering bearers, and cattle slaughtering; these are all elements that are present in the Dahshur chapels as well. But the large Old Kingdom temples had an elaborate decorative program that also featured depictions of the king and of royal women in front of deities, including Hathor,<sup>595</sup> scenes that are absent in the small chapels in the complex of Senwosret III.

Unfortunately, very little is known about royal women in the Middle Kingdom, and, besides the Dahshur complex, only the mortuary complex of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari and the pyramid complex of Senwosret I at Lisht give insights into decorated monuments built for royal women in this time. The complex of Mentuhotep II is an exceptional structure that contained several tombs and chapels for royal women. Mentuhotep II's wife Neferu received an elaborate rock-cut tomb, but it was placed at the border of his complex.<sup>596</sup> Behind the entrance to the tomb was an upper corridor followed by a cult chapel; both of these spaces were lined with limestone slabs and decorated with exquisite relief. A second, sloping corridor led to the burial chamber, which was lined with painted sandstone. The decorative program of Neferu's tomb still awaits a detailed study, but the published reliefs show that the decoration of the burial chamber featured motifs important for the mortuary cult, such as an offering list, and that the tomb's

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Necropolis of King Pepy I," in *Ancient Memphis: 'Enduring is the Perfection.'* *Proceedings of the International Conference held at Macquarie University, Sydney on August 14–15, 2008*, ed. by Linda Evans, OLA 214 (Leuven, 2012), pp. 299–308; or Catherine Berger-el Naggar and Marie-Noëlle Fraisse, "Béhénou, 'aimée de Pépy', une nouvelle reine d'Égypte," in *BIFAO* 108 (2008), pp. 1–11. See also Audran Labrousse, "L'architecture des pyramides de reines à la fin de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie," in *Des Néferkarê aux Montouhotep: Travaux archéologiques en cours sur la fin de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie et la Première Période Intermédiaire, Actes du Colloque CNRS—Université Lumière-Lyon 2, tenu le 5–7 juillet 2001*, ed. by Laure Pantalacci and Catherine Berger-el-Naggar, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 40 (Lyon, 2005), pp. 203–213, where he argues that a change occurred during the reign of Pepi II; one of his arguments is that two temples for royal women that seem to have been built late in Pepi II's reign do not have a statue niche room, a feature that was included in earlier monuments for royal women.

<sup>595</sup> Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*, pp. 151–152.

<sup>596</sup> For the tomb, see, for example, H. E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931* (New York, 1942), pp. 101–104; H. E. Winlock, "The Museum's Excavation at Thebes," in *BMMA* 19, no. 12 (1924), supplement, pp. 12–13; H. E. Winlock, "The Museum's Excavation at Thebes," in *BMMA* 21, no. 3 (1926), supplement, pp. 9–13.

upper part included depictions of Hathor rituals.<sup>597</sup> As is common for a rock-cut tomb, her funerary monument combined the actual burial chamber with rooms for the funerary cult within one structure, while these elements were physically separated for the royal women in a pyramid complex.<sup>598</sup> The tomb of Tem, another royal wife of Mentuhotep II and the mother of Mentuhotep III, is unfortunately badly preserved but seems unfinished.<sup>599</sup> Its entrance is within the rear part of the king's mortuary temple, and, in contrast to Neferu's tomb, Tem's tomb is situated very close to that of her husband.

In addition, Mentuhotep II's mortuary temple included an intriguing row of six small, aboveground chapels that were erected in front of six shaft tombs.<sup>600</sup> The chapel's owners seem to have all been priestesses of Hathor and bear the title *hkr̥t nswt*; some are also known to bear the title "king's wife whom he loves," although it is disputed whether they were "real" or merely "cultic" wives.<sup>601</sup> Some of these women also appear in the decoration of the king's mortuary temple. The decoration of the chapels shows them receiving offerings and includes very intimate scenes, which depict the woman being embraced by the king and can be seen as a union of the king as Month or Amun-Re, with the woman in the role of the goddess Hathor. Cows being

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<sup>597</sup> See Isabel Stünkel, "Relief of Queen Neferu Having Her Hair Done," in *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, ed. by Adela Oppenheim et al. (New York, 2015), pp. 96–97, cat. no. 34; and Isabel Stünkel, "Relief of a Sunshade Bearer," in *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, ed. by Adela Oppenheim et al. (New York, 2015), p. 97, cat. no. 35.

<sup>598</sup> In pyramid complexes the royal women owned their own pyramids, underground burial chambers, and aboveground chapels or temples adjoining the pyramids. In most of the Old Kingdom and in the Middle Kingdom, the burial chambers of royal women's pyramids are undecorated. In Dynasty 6 the burial chambers can be decorated with pyramid texts, an element previously reserved for the king; see, for example, Callender, *Hathor's Image I*, pp. 262, 280–281, 286, 298, 327, with further references.

<sup>599</sup> See Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari*, vol. 1, *Architektur und Deutung*, AV 8 (Mainz am Rhein, 1974), pp. 53–54.

<sup>600</sup> See Dieter Arnold, "The Tomb of the Queens of Mentuhotep II," in *Queens of Egypt: From Hetepheres to Cleopatra*, ed. by Christiane Ziegler (Monaco, 2008), pp. 94–101; Dieter Arnold, "Reliefs from the Shrine of Queen Kemsit," in *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, ed. by Adela Oppenheim et al. (New York, 2015), pp. 99–101, cat. nos. 38–41.

<sup>601</sup> See Lisa K. Sabbahy, "The Titulary of the Harem of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, Once Again," in *JARCE* 34 (1997), pp. 163–166, with further references. Note that not all of these women have their complete titles preserved; no titles are known for the child Myt.

milked while their young are present are prominent features on these shrines (and on the sarcophagi of Aashyt and Kawit); this motif might also allude to Hathor. A piece that shows the king's head with a sunshade some distance behind could originally have included Kemsit, who was possibly depicted under the sunshade.<sup>602</sup>

The architecture of the structures built for royal women in Mentuhotep II's complex and their decoration follows an Upper Egyptian tradition and is clearly very different from those in the pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom and the later Middle Kingdom. Yet, while these structures cannot be directly compared, the importance of the cultic role of royal women as Hathor and the small size of the six aboveground chapels can be noted.

The only other Middle Kingdom royal funerary complex that features noteworthy information about the burial and cult structures for royal women is the pyramid complex of Senwosret I at Lisht-South.<sup>603</sup> In contrast to those from the Old Kingdom, the royal women's pyramids in this complex do not have their own subsidiary pyramids. Nevertheless they are still provided with their own enclosure walls, which the royal women's pyramids in the complex of Senwosret III (and the *ka*-pyramid of the king) are lacking.<sup>604</sup> Also in contrast to the complex of Senwosret III, where only Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I and Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II received a north chapel, all royal women's pyramids within the complex of Senwosret I seem to have featured a building on the north and on the east sides. The shrinking size of royal women's chapels within a pyramid complex can, however, already be observed in Lisht-South, as most east chapels/temples seem to have been quite modest and only two pyramids appear to have had

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<sup>602</sup> As suggested by Arnold, "Reliefs from the Shrine of Queen Kemsit," in *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, p. 101, fig. 63.

<sup>603</sup> For the monuments built for the royal women at the pyramid complex of Senwosret I, see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I.*; and Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*, p.176. From the pyramid complex of Senwosret II at Lahun there is evidence for a north chapel at the only subsidiary pyramid at this site, which might have belonged to a queen, possibly Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, but little is known about the building. The existence of this structure can be suggested due to a few relief fragments and part of an offering table that were found in this area; see chapter 2.2. These fragments include parts of inscriptions and an offering list in raised relief, as well as fragments in sunk relief that feature parts of offering lists, one of them with the depiction of piled offerings below.

<sup>604</sup> No evidence for a separate enclosure wall for each individual pyramid was found, and in fact the available space between the royal women's pyramids and the inner original enclosure wall, as well as the outer enclosure, is so narrow that their existence can be excluded (see figs. 1 and 3). The same is valid for the king's *ka*-pyramid.

large structures on their east side.<sup>605</sup> Nothing is preserved from the cult buildings of pyramid number 1, which probably belonged to Senwosret I's wife Neferu.<sup>606</sup> The location of the pyramid within its court suggests, however, that the temple on the east was large and there is also evidence for a north chapel.<sup>607</sup> Pyramid 2 belonged to the princess Itakayet, and a north and an east chapel seem to have been present. The location of the pyramid within its court suggests that a large structure had originally been situated or at least been planned on the east side.<sup>608</sup>

Information about the decoration of the royal women's chapels at Lisht-South is restricted, but general comparisons can be made. Decorated pieces that originated from one or both chapels of Lisht-South pyramid no. 2 (belonging to a princess Itakayet) include a variety of interesting fragments, such as part of a limestone false door with a sunk inscription and pieces of column, which were inscribed in sunk relief.<sup>609</sup> Several fragments of a painted cavetto and a fragment of a painted torus with a vertical inscription next to it suggest that an inner shrine was originally part of one of the two buildings. Many small fragments of the wall decoration were also found, from which can be determined that the following motifs occurred: an offering list and offering ritual scenes, piled offerings, and offering bearers.<sup>610</sup> In addition, several fragments with marsh scenes were found, as well as a piece that probably depicts part of a female acrobatic dancer. These pieces show that the decoration was more elaborate than that of the chapels for royal women in the complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur.

The royal women's chapels at Dahshur are much more modest than the large temples known from Dynasty 6 and those within the Senwosret I complex at Lisht. At first glance their decorative program might not seem very different from that of a private monument, but this is merely because both royal and non-royal funerary chapels feature offering table scenes, which included the same main elements. The decoration of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I's chapel

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<sup>605</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, pp. 19–40; see also Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*, p. 176.

<sup>606</sup> See also Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 224–228.

<sup>607</sup> Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, p. 20. Fragments of an offering stand, of an offering table or the base of a statue, and of a statue were found; *ibid.*, pp. 58–59.

<sup>608</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>609</sup> For the various decorated fragments, see *ibid.*, pp. 24–25, pls. 17–21.

<sup>610</sup> One of the pieces that seems to have been identified as a row of offering bearers (*ibid.*, p. 25, pls. 18a [top left] and 21 [bottom]) might represent an additional, different theme; however it is unclear to what type of scene it belongs. This fragment shows a smaller (presumably younger) person between two larger figures.

actually follows that of the king,<sup>611</sup> with the deliberate omission of the motifs reserved for him, such as the *ka*-figure behind the king and the motif of tying of the lotus and papyrus on the throne, as well as the fecundity figures below.

The queen's interior decoration was clearly differentiated from that of non-royals by featuring the protective bird above her, her attributes (vulture headdress and uraeus), the *hwt* throne, and the use of a sky above various registers (and a sky that stretched over the whole decoration; see chapter 5.8). In addition, the ceilings of the royal women's chapels were vaulted and decorated with stars. The royal status of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I and the other royal women at Dahshur was, of course, most prominently expressed by the fact that they owned pyramids. Moreover, the exterior and thus highly visible decoration above the entrance to Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I's north chapel included the royal element of a winged sun disk. The exterior side of the queen's lintel featured a large winged sun disk with the titles and name of the queen beneath it and without the king's name.<sup>612</sup> In the Old Kingdom, lintel decoration with a large winged sun disk is known for three royal women in Dynasty 6 (Nebwenet, Ankhenespepi II, and Iput II), but their names do not appear alone below the sun disk, as the king's name is always included as well.<sup>613</sup> The use of only the queen's name beneath a large winged sun disk without that of the king might have been a later development.

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<sup>611</sup> For the similarity of the offering hall of the king to that of the royal women in the end of the Old Kingdom, see Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*, p. 138. For Old Kingdom offering halls of kings, see Peter Jánosi, "Die Entwicklung und Deutung des Totenopferraumes in den Pyramidentempeln des Alten Reiches," in *Ägyptische Tempel—Struktur, Funktion und Programm (Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992)*, ed. by Rolf Gundlach and Matthias Rochholz, HÄB 37 (Hildesheim, 1994), pp. 143–163; for the offering halls of Senwosret I's pyramid temple and north chapel, see Arnold, *Pyramid of Senwosret I*, pp. 48–49, 78–82; and for that of Senwosret III's pyramid temple, see Oppenheim, "Appendix: Relief Decoration," in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 141–142; and Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pp. 621–624; see also here, chapter 8.1.

<sup>612</sup> Evidence for a winged sun disk with the name and titles of the owner below also exists from the east chapel of pyramid 8 and for the east chapel of pyramid 3.

<sup>613</sup> In the case of Ankhenespepi II, the king's name appears as part of the name of the queen and her son's name (Pepi II) occurs as part of one of her titles. For these three different lintels, see Labrousse, *Les pyramides des reines*, pp. 133, 152–153; Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, p. 42, fig. 22. However, also note the small winged sun disk above the depiction of Sebutet in Catherine Berger-El Naggar and Audran Labrousse, "La tombe de Rêhérychefnakht à

The lintel of Iput II includes the name of the king as part of a building dedication inscription, and such an inscription also occurs on the door jamb of Nebwenet below the above-mentioned lintel with a winged sun disk.<sup>614</sup> For Innek (likewise dated to Dynasty 6) such an inscription also occurs outside, on an obelisk.<sup>615</sup> Interior locations of these inscriptions are also known for two other royal women in this period.<sup>616</sup> The north chapel of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I featured such a building dedication inscription in its interior; it was situated on the “false lintel” above and to the sides of the false door. This was still a very prominent position, and the location of this element in the chapel’s interior allowed the exterior inscription to focus on the name of the queen alone. But the king was named in the more private interior decoration of the chapel. This inscription connected the king with Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, which would benefit him, since royal women, and especially the king’s mother, had important regenerative qualities for the king.

It is interesting that the doors of the chapel of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I (and those of the other chapels<sup>617</sup>) opened toward the outside (see fig. 35). The ancient builders could have constructed them opening toward the interior, which was more common as an entrance into a building. In such a construction, the doorjambs would have been on the outside and the reveal toward the inside. The door wings would have sat against the reveal within the doorway, so the small interior space of the chapel could not have been the reason why the doors opened toward the outside. A double-winged door that opened toward the outside might rather have been a conscious design choice to mark the direction of movement and maybe even to allude to a statue shrine. The doors of small deity shrines (or of statue shrines within a mortuary context) opened toward the outside not only out of spatial necessity. Horizontal battens that were placed on the

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Saqqâra-Sud, un chaînon manquant?,” in *BSFE* 164 (2005), p. 16, fig. 2. See also Stünkel, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, pp. 152–153, note 22.

<sup>614</sup> In addition to the above given references, see Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, pp. 512–513.

<sup>615</sup> Labrousse, *Les pyramides des reines*, pp. 117–122; Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, p. 512.

<sup>616</sup> These are the false door of Meritities and limestone slabs that seem to be part of the sarcophagus of Wedjebten; see Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, p. 18, figs. 18–19; Callender, *Hathor’s Image I*, p. 289, fig. 109; Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, p. 513.

<sup>617</sup> The entrances of all chapels of royal women in the complex of Senwosret III were probably constructed the same way; no conflicting evidence has been found so far in the survey and study of the relief fragments by the present author.



doors' "outside" show that this surface was actually considered the "inside" and the deity's movement was from the interior of the shrine out into the temple;<sup>618</sup> in this same way, the deceased royal women were probably thought to emerge from their chapels into the temple complex of Senwosret III. Other monuments in the complex also featured double-wing doors that opened toward the outside, so it is not certain that the doors of the queens' chapels alluded specifically to a statue shrine; they might have just marked the intended direction of movement in general.<sup>619</sup>

The bottom of a small statue was found in the area of the east chapel of pyramid 2 in the complex of Senwosret III,<sup>620</sup> and it is possible that each chapel of a royal woman at Dahshur originally housed one. Unfortunately, only a few hard-stone fragments were found in the area of pyramid 8's north chapel; among them were a few small granodiorite fragments that possibly belonged to a statue (see chapter 3.14). Statues probably stood in the offering halls of the east temples of Old Kingdom royal women, as well as in their north chapels.<sup>621</sup> In addition to offering halls with statues, many east temples of royal women in Dynasty 6 featured small interior statue niches/shrines that had two-winged doors and were situated close to the offering hall.<sup>622</sup> From the time immediately preceding Senwosret III very little is known about the monuments for the funerary cult of royal women, and we thus do not know whether a room with such niches or shrines might have been present. From the pyramid complex of Senwosret I at Lisht, however, there seem to be remains of an inner shrine from a royal woman's monument with a cavetto, as mentioned above. The originally separate elements of inner statue shrines and an offering hall with a statue might have been purposefully combined at Dahshur, where a smaller building with

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<sup>618</sup> See Henry George Fischer, "Egyptian Doors, Inside and Out," in *Egyptian Studies III: Varia Nova* (New York, 1996), pp. 91–102.

<sup>619</sup> See, for example, the doors of the burial chamber and the antechamber of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pl. 57. See also Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pp. 626–627, who reconstructs the doors of the statue chamber of Senwosret III's pyramid temple opening toward the outside as well and who calls such doors "reversed doorways."

<sup>620</sup> Unpublished (97.354).

<sup>621</sup> See Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*, pp. 143 and 161. See also the statue fragments of various sizes that were found in the area of the royal women's pyramids in the complex of Senwosret I, in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, pp. 58–60, 65, pls. 70, 71a, 74, 77b.

<sup>622</sup> Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*, pp. 146–149.

a cavetto and tori<sup>623</sup> housed only an offering hall with a statue and had a double-wing door opening to the outside.<sup>624</sup>

It is also interesting that the outer appearance of the north chapel was very different from that of the east chapel of pyramid 8 (see fig. 5; the same is true for the two chapels of pyramid 9), even though their structure and decoration was probably the same. This difference was due to the placement of the chapels. Situated in front of and adjoining the pyramid, the east chapel was visibly a separate building. In contrast, the north chapel was placed inside the core of the pyramid and looked much more like a gateway of the pyramid than a separate building, which fits its origin as a feature at the entrance to (or, rather, in the view of the Egyptians an exit from) the tomb.<sup>625</sup> This new position as a recess might very well have been a conscious design choice. However, it seems that building a north chapel for pyramid 8 had not been part of the original plan (see chapter 1.3), and the decision to construct it as a recess might have been caused, or at least influenced, by the restricted space between the pyramid and the inner enclosure wall.

The fact that the cult buildings for the royal women are much smaller in the Middle Kingdom does not need to mean that their status was lower than in the Old Kingdom.<sup>626</sup> As Peter

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<sup>623</sup> These architectural elements occur on statue shrines or niches. However, it should be noted that they cannot necessarily be seen as an argument that the Dahshur chapels combined a statue shrine with an offering hall, since all aboveground buildings in the complex of Senwosret III featured these elements.

<sup>624</sup> That the chapels' outside walls were straight and not inclined does not contradict this theory, as shrines did not always have inclined walls; see, for example, the small wooden shrine from Lisht (Dorothea Arnold, "Guardian Figure and Shrine with an *Imiut* in a Jar," in *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, ed. by Adela Oppenheim et al. [New York, 2015], pp. 230–232, cat. no. 168). For the move of interior elements onto other parts of a structure, compare, for example, the chapels built for the Hathor priestess in the complex of Mentuhotep II, where decoration that one would expect to find on the inside of the building was transferred to its outside. On the stela of Kemes, which dates to Dynasty 13, the combination of different decorative and architectural elements can also be found; see Diana Craig Patch and Niv Allon, "Architectural Stela of the Overseer of Percussionists Kemes," in *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, ed. by Adela Oppenheim et al. (New York, 2015), pp. 265–266, cat. no. 201.

<sup>625</sup> The north chapels for royal women copied the location of the king's north chapel, which originally marked the entrance to his tomb.

<sup>626</sup> For the question of the status of royal women in the Middle Kingdom, see Isabel Stünkel, "Royal Women: Ladies of the Two Lands," in *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, ed. by Adela Oppenheim et al. (New York, 2015), pp. 92–95.

Jánosi pointed out, the pyramid temples of the kings shrank in the Middle Kingdom as well.<sup>627</sup> The pyramid temple of Senwosret III was a small building, and Adela Oppenheim reconstructed it as having only four rooms, one of them a square antechamber, a type of room that was exclusive to the king and never included in buildings for royal women.<sup>628</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the monuments for the cult of the royal women were also significantly smaller than earlier ones.

For the king, a shift toward buildings that are not directly connected to his actual tomb can be observed in the second half of the Middle Kingdom, and in the complex of Senwosret III an extensive temple was erected to the south of his pyramid.<sup>629</sup> Not much is known about the decoration of this south temple,<sup>630</sup> and there is the question of whether and in what context the royal women might have appeared in its decorative program. A very interesting relief fragment, which was found in a debris mound just to the south of the south temple, depicts a royal woman. A smaller-scale female attendant is holding a sunshade over her, which is noteworthy, as sunshades seem to be connected to Hathor rituals.<sup>631</sup> We cannot be fully certain that specific motifs, or, rather, royal women's roles that appear in the larger temples and chapels of royal women at the end of the Old Kingdom and at Lisht, were no longer used for the royal women at Dahshur, as some of these might have occurred in the south temple of Senwosret III instead of in their own chapels. Scenes that occur for the king in the Old Kingdom pyramid temples are not attested in Senwosret III's pyramid temple, and Oppenheim has likewise raised the question of whether some might have instead been incorporated into the south temple; it is, of course, more likely that scenes expressing the king's roles were transferred to the south temple, as this

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<sup>627</sup> Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*, pp. 175–176.

<sup>628</sup> Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pp. 620–632, pl. 10. For the fact that a square antechamber was never included for the temples of royal women, see Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*, p. 179.

<sup>629</sup> Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pp. 636–652; for this temple, see also Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 97–105.

<sup>630</sup> For a preliminary report, see Oppenheim, “Appendix: Relief Decoration,” in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 142–145; see also Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pp. 635–636.

<sup>631</sup> Only a small part of the royal woman is preserved; she is wearing a short hairstyle (unpublished, 92.68). For the connection of sunshades to rituals, see Stünkel, “Relief of a Sunshade Bearer,” in *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, p. 97, cat. no. 35, with further references. Pieces with parts of a *sed*-festival scene were found in the same mound; see Oppenheim, “Appendix: Relief Decoration,” in Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 143.

building was dedicated to him.<sup>632</sup> Further excavation work will hopefully provide more information about the role of the women in this extensive monument. It should also be noted that parts of scenes depicting the divine birth of the king have been found at Senwosret III's causeway,<sup>633</sup> which presumably means that Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I was featured in this structure, as she was the king's mother.

Royal women's burials were usually incorporated into the king's funerary complex because he needed their presence for his own regeneration. It is interesting that Senwosret III even included a cenotaph for his mother, which is unusual and reflects her importance for the king. Among all the royal women that owned monuments in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III, they held the titles royal daughter, royal wife, and royal mother, thus representing different generations, which together guaranteed both the rebirth of the king as well as an eternal cycle of kingship.

The small north (and east) chapel of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I needed to ensure her mortuary cult, which it did through its decoration and the rituals that were presumably performed inside. Except for the building dedication inscription, all decorative elements of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I's north chapel actually fulfill functions for her rather than directly for the king. However, his mother's eternal life was necessary for his own, as he needed her and the other royal women for his own regeneration. Especially his mother, in the role of the goddess Hathor, assisted the king in his rebirth.<sup>634</sup> The royal women were also crucial to the king's task of maintaining the cosmic world order, for which both male and female elements were needed.<sup>635</sup> Pyramids and cult buildings of royal women were never completely independent monuments, but they were part of the king's complex and dependent on it.<sup>636</sup>

In the Old Kingdom and in the pyramid complex of Senwosret I at Lisht the royal women's pyramids usually had their own enclosure walls, while the royal women's pyramids in the complex of Senwosret III did not feature such walls. The loss of their own enclosure walls

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<sup>632</sup> Oppenheim, *Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III*, pp. 635–636.

<sup>633</sup> Oppenheim, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, pp. 171–188.

<sup>634</sup> For the role of the royal women in general and of the king's mother in particular, see, for example, Troy, *Queenship*, and Roth, *Königsmütter*.

<sup>635</sup> Troy, *Queenship*.

<sup>636</sup> See Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*, especially pp. 179–180.

and subsidiary pyramids could be interpreted as a decline in status and as an increased dependence on the king. However, since the royal women's pyramids sat very close to the king's inner enclosure wall, the opposite could be argued as well, since a position closer to the king's pyramid could signify increased status.<sup>637</sup> It is also possible, and maybe even more likely, that neither was the case, but that the proximity of the royal women's pyramids was rather chosen to express and secure the union of the king with these women. The original outer enclosure wall encompassed and therefore unified all subsidiary pyramids with the king's own inner enclosure wall that surrounded his pyramid, north chapel, and pyramid temple (see fig. 1).

At Dahshur the subsidiary pyramids were positioned in two rows, flanking the king's pyramid, rather than in a cluster, as was the case in the complex of Pepi I. The placement of the subsidiary pyramids at Dahshur expressed a strong union of the king with his royal women. This union was further stressed by the appearance of the various pyramids, as all of them—not only those of the king—had a paneled foot (see fig. 2). Likewise, the pyramid temple and north chapel of the king and all of the chapels of the royal women were unified by featuring many of the same architectural elements, such as the triple corner tori and the cavetto cornice.<sup>638</sup>

Altogether the uniformity among the royal women's pyramids and chapels is noteworthy, as well. Small differences existed in the size of their pyramids and in the fact that those on the north side do not seem to have had north chapels. But all chapels probably had about the same size and features. The decoration of the various royal women's chapels was probably the same or very similar. The fact that at least three of these women were called "Khenemetneferhedjet" again stressed uniformity among them.

The chapels' architecture and decoration ensured the eternal afterlife of the women and thus served them, but the women do not seem to have been presented very individualistically, as it was their collective presence that served the king. The chapels' uniformity created a strong bond among them and presented the royal women as one homogenous group, as a female

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<sup>637</sup> The burial chamber of the main wife of Senwosret III, Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II, was even located under the king's pyramid; see Arnold, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 79–80. Also note that the subterranean apartments of the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Dahshur included for two royal women burial chambers that are connected to those of the king; see Arnold, *Pyramidenbezirk Amenemhet III.*, pp. 37–61.

<sup>638</sup> However, as mentioned above, the royal women's chapels seem to have had outside walls that were not battered, in contrast to those of the king's buildings.

congregation. This congregation, which included Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, signified the female power of queenship that was united with Senwosret III in order to serve in both his rebirth and his eternal kingship.

## 9 Appendix: The Titles of Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I

Note that the list below does not include titles that cannot be definitively attributed to Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I, as they might belong to Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II.<sup>639</sup>

- *jrjt p<sup>c</sup>t* “noblewoman”<sup>640</sup>

cat. nos. 14 (probably), 15, 178, 209 (probably); triad statue British Museum EA1145; Louvre statue E 32564<sup>641</sup>

- *wrt hzt* “great of praise”<sup>642</sup>

cat. nos. 14, 178;<sup>643</sup> Louvre statue E 32564

- *wrt hts* “great one of the *hts*-scepter”<sup>644</sup>

cat. no. 15, 178 (probably), 209 (probably); Louvre statue E 32564

- *B3tjt* (?) “the one belonging to the *B3tj*-ram” (?)<sup>645</sup>

Louvre statue E 32564

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<sup>639</sup> Either Khenemetneferhedjet Weret I or Khenemetneferhedjet Weret II was a priestess of Sobek (see chapter 7.3); a possible title that mentions the god Khnum appears on the Bubastis false door (see chapter 5.7).

<sup>640</sup> Troy, *Queenship*, p. 196, D2/1. For references see also Dilwyn Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, BAR International Series 866 (Oxford, 2000), p. 338, no. 1247. For this title, which is also used for non-royal women and men, see also Danijela Stefanović, *The Non-Royal Regular Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period: Dossiers* (London, 2009), pp. 12–20.

<sup>641</sup> If Ziegler’s dating of this statue to the time of Senwosret II is correct; see chapter 2.4.

<sup>642</sup> Troy, *Queenship*, p. 191, B4/10; Jones, *Index of Titles*, p. 401, no. 1478.

<sup>643</sup> This title is probably also listed on the west wall of her north chapel; see the combined evidence of cat. nos. 59 and 92 (see also chapter 5.3.2 with fig. 14).

<sup>644</sup> Troy, *Queenship*, p. 189, B3/6; Jones, *Index of Titles*, pp. 402–403, no. 1481.

<sup>645</sup> See Roth, *Königsmütter*, p. 508.

- *bnrt mrvt* “sweet of love”<sup>646</sup>  
cat. nos. 59–60 (probably), 178

- *m33t Hr w Sts* “the one who sees Horus and Seth”<sup>647</sup>  
cat. nos. 213

- *mwt nswt* “mother of the king”<sup>648</sup>  
cat. nos. 14, 56, 178, 210 (probably); Lahun papyri; triad statue BM EA1145

- *Mrhwj* “the one who belongs to the *Mrhw*-bull” (?)<sup>649</sup>  
Louvre statue E 32564

- *nbt jm3t* “mistress of the *jm3t*-scepter”<sup>650</sup>  
cat. nos. 58, 178

- *lmt nswt* “wife of the king”<sup>651</sup>  
cat. nos. 14, 58, 178; Lahun papyri; Lahun offering table fragment; triad statue BM EA1145;  
Louvre statue E 32564

- *lmt nswt mrjt=f* “wife of the king whom he loves”<sup>652</sup>  
Louvre statue E 32564

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<sup>646</sup> Troy, *Queenship*, p. 182, A2/1. Troy lists Neferu, the wife of Mentuhotep II, as the only Middle Kingdom queen with this title. Also compare, Kuchman Sabbahy, *Development*, p. 433, who sees *nbt jm3t* together with *bnrt mrvt* as one title with the meaning “lovable possessor of charm.”

<sup>647</sup> Troy, *Queenship*, p. 189, B3/4; Jones, *Index of Titles*, pp. 421–422, no. 1562.

<sup>648</sup> Troy, *Queenship*, p. 192, C1/1.

<sup>649</sup> See chapter 2.4.

<sup>650</sup> Following Troy, *Queenship*, p. 190, B3/10. Troy only lists one Middle Kingdom queen for this title (Neferu, the wife of Mentuhotep II). As mentioned above, also compare Kuchman Sabbahy, *Development*, p. 433, who sees *nbt jm3t* together with *bnrt mrvt* as one title with the meaning “lovable possessor of charm.”

<sup>651</sup> Troy, *Queenship*, p. 193, C2/2.

<sup>652</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193, C2/3.



- *ḥmw t3wj* “lady of the two lands”<sup>653</sup>  
cat. nos. 178, 208<sup>654</sup>

- *ḥmw t3wj tmwj* “lady of the entire two lands”<sup>655</sup>  
triad statue BM EA1146<sup>656</sup>

- *z3t Gb* “daughter of Geb”<sup>657</sup>  
triad statue BM EA1145

- *ḏstjt W3dt* “the one who invokes Wadjet”<sup>658</sup>  
Louvre statue E 32564

- *ḏdt jlt nbt jrj=tw n=s* “the one who says anything, and one does (it) for her”<sup>659</sup>  
cat. no. 58, Louvre statue E 32564

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<sup>653</sup> Ibid., p. 195, D1/4.

<sup>654</sup> The title probably also occurs on the west wall of her north chapel; see the combined evidence of cat. nos. 60, 92, and 98 (see also chapter 5.3.2 with fig. 14).

<sup>655</sup> Troy, *Queenship*, p. 195, D1/4.

<sup>656</sup> The Lahun offering table fragment can possibly be added (see chapter 2.2).

<sup>657</sup> Troy, *Queenship*, p. 181, A1/7; Jones, *Index of Titles*, p. 824, no. 3009.

<sup>658</sup> Following Dobrev, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, pp. 393–395. Previously this title had been read, translated, and interpreted quite differently; see, for example, Troy, *Queenship*, p. 181, A1/21; Goedicke, in *SAK* 15 (1988), pp. 112–113; Baud, *Famille royale*, pp. 123–127; or Roth, *Königsmütter*, p. 169, note 958.

<sup>659</sup> See Kuchman Sabbahy, *Development*, p. 30–31, 288; Lisa Kuchman, “The Titles of Queenship: Part I, The Evidence from the Old Kingdom,” *SSEA(J)* 7, no. 3 (1977), p. 9; Sabbahy, in *SAK* 23 (1996), p. 305. According to Sabbahy this title was held exclusively by mothers of the king; this theory was rightly refuted by Wilfried Seipel, *Untersuchungen zu den Ägyptischen Königinnen der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches* (Hamburg, 1980), pp. 334–335; Baud, *Famille royale*, p. 339; and Roth, *Königsmütter*, pp. 46–47. Neither Troy, *Queenship*, p. 190, B4/1, who translated the title differently as “all things which are said are done for her,” nor Sabbahy knew any example from the Middle Kingdom. An inscription on a statue in the Louvre (Ziegler, in *Revue du Louvre* 48, no. 1 [1998], pp. 13–15; Ziegler, in *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 24 [2001], pp. 11–34), which was published after Troy’s and Sabbahy’s studies, also reads the title *ḏdt jlt nbt jrj=tw n=s*. Additionally, a relief fragment from the east chapel of pyramid 3 (unpublished, 96.791, 96.747, 96.1413) has part of this title; it must belong to the owner of the chapel, Itakayet. See also the references in Jones, *Index of Titles*, pp. 1016–1017, no. 3761.



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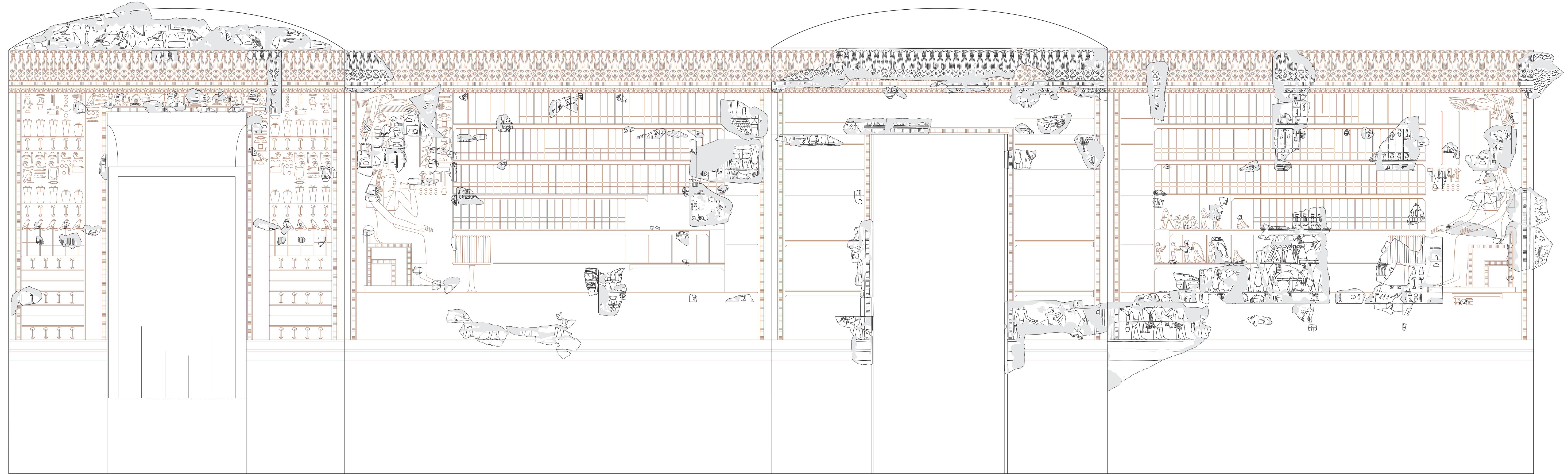


Plate 1: Reconstruction of all four interior walls.