

EGYPT AND BEYOND



ESSAYS PRESENTED TO
LEONARD H. LESKO



Leonard H. Lesko, in his office at Brown University

Egypt and Beyond

Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko
upon his Retirement from the
Wilbour Chair of Egyptology
at Brown University
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Edited by
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and
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The Menkaure Dyad(s)

Florence Dunn Friedman

I DEDICATE THE FOLLOWING TO LEONARD LESKO, who greeted the prospect of this study with much enthusiasm.¹

BACKGROUND

In 1910 George Andrew Reisner uncovered a greywacke statue of King Menkaure and a woman he assumed to be the king's wife, Queen Khamerernebt II (fig. 1).² The pair statue, or dyad,³ was found in the so-called "Thieves' Hole"⁴ in the western corridor of the king's Valley Temple. Its original (or intended) location is unknown. The statue shows the striding king beside the woman to his left, who is almost equal in height to the king and also in a striding pose. Her right hand grasps the king just above his waist, and her left rests on his upper arm. Details in the depiction of both figures are unusual. His right arm is noticeably retracted and higher than his left, implying a swinging of the arms⁵ (fig. 2a). Faint traces of a tail appear between his legs (fig. 3). And though he wears the nemes (the only time a standing Menkaure wears this headcloth), it lacks the uraeus. Most unusual is that his head turns to his right,⁶ leaving the woman,

- 1 For help in researching and preparing this study, I thank the following people: Dr. Rita E. Freed, John F. Cogan, Jr. and Mary L. Cornille Chair of the Department of Art of the Ancient World at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and her staff in the of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian and Near Eastern Art Section; Ms. Sophia Teller, Department Assistant; Dr. Lawrence M. Berman, Norma Jean Calderwood Senior Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art; Dr. Denise M. Doxey, Assistant Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art; Ms. Joyce Haynes, Research Fellow; Ms. Yvonne Markowitz, Research Fellow; Dr. Laura Gadbery, Curatorial Planning and Project Manager; and all interns, especially Dr. Jane Pavese and Ms. Rebecca Donahue. My thanks as well to Dr. Peter Der Manuelian, Giza Archives Project Director, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and Dr. Diane Flores, Research Associate, for cheerfully answering innumerable questions and giving generously of their time and expertise. Special thanks to Dr. Zahi Hawass, Secretary General, the Supreme Council of Antiquities, to Dr. Wafaa el Siddik, Director of the Egyptian Museum, for permission to photograph the Cairo Menkaure triads, and to Ms. Nareeman for gallery help. My many thanks to Dr. Randa Baligh for exceptional dedication in facilitating photographic work in Cairo; to Neil Gershenfeld, director of MIT's Center for Bits and Atoms, and the National Science Foundation, for use of their laser scanning equipment in reconstruction work; to Shawn Kenney for drawings and reconstructions, Michael Fredericks for photography of the dyad, triads and greywacke fragments, Michelle Pisa for image design, and Drs. Janice Yellin and Susan Doll for fruitful discussions. My special thanks to Dr. Wally Gilbert for photographic and other help.
- 2 George A. Reisner, *Mycerinus, The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Harvard University Press, 1931), pp. 37, 110 (17), pls. 54–60. Reisner, from discovery of the dyad in 1910 to his 1931 publication, maintained the identification of the woman as Khamerernebt II.
- 3 By the term "dyad" I refer to any statue on a single base that pairs two figures, either both standing, both seated, or one standing and one seated, of different or equal sizes.
- 4 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pp. 37, 110 (17), Pl. 54; Peter Der Manuelian, "March 1912. A Month in the Life of an American Egyptologist. George Andrew Reisner," in *KMT* vol. 7, no. 2 (1996), pp. 64–66 on discovery of the dyad as recorded in Reisner's Diary, Jan. 18, 1910.
- 5 In the triads, the king and the one intact male nome deity in the Theban triad (Cairo, JE 40678) also have one arm slightly higher than the other, though nothing as dramatic as what we see in the dyad. This feature is found to a lesser degree in many Old Kingdom striding male statues. A fragmentary ivory statuette of Menkaure, unfortunately armless, shows the king's body angled slightly forward in a striding pose that also suggests movement: see Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 37, pl. 63g–j. The statuette's chest bears no trace of lappets, however, showing that, unlike the king in the dyad, it did not include the nemes.
- 6 Dorothea Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), p. 68.



Fig. 1. Dyad of Menkaure and a female figure; MFA 11.1738. Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Expedition.

who looks almost—but not quite—forward, as the main subject (fig. 4a, b).⁷ The woman's appearance and attitude are also odd. Her right shoulder is higher than her left (fig. 4a), an anatomical misstep given that her right hand is dropped (fig. 1), and her left leg is advanced, striking a walking pose usually reserved for a man. Other details of stance, size and anatomy, to be discussed below, combine features usually afforded a mortal or goddess, but not both.

⁷ Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built*, p. 68 sees the woman as looking straight forward and thus the main subject. On the principle of frontality, see Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 19, and James Romano, "An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Art," in Richard Fazzini, James F. Romano and Madeleine E. Cody, eds., *Art for Eternity: Masterworks from Ancient Egypt* (Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1999), pp. 20–21.



Fig. 2a. King in dyad, MFA 11.1738, detail.



Fig. 2b. King in triad, MFA 09.200, detail.

The dyad is 139 cm high, 57 cm wide and 54 cm deep,⁸ with the bodies carved three-quarters and the heads wholly in the round. A back slab reaches to the figures' shoulders. Being narrower than the dyad, the back slab is unseen from the front, though fully visible in profile (fig. 5a) and rear views (fig. 5b), the latter showing score marks and beveled corners that perhaps allowed the work—weighing almost three-quarters of a ton⁹—to be tipped and pivoted into place. Important features of the dyad were left unfinished: there are no striations or other carving on the woman's wig and king's nemes, and no pleating on the king's kilt. Most importantly, the base was never inscribed. Only the upper portion of the statue was polished, while traces of red pigment around the king's face, ears and neck suggest that the whole was once painted.¹⁰ The lack of final carving and polish points to haste, perhaps due to Menkaure's sudden death, a plausible assumption in light of the apparently hurried completion of the Valley Temple in mudbrick by the king's successor Shepseskaf.¹¹ Yet even haste cannot account for the absence of a relief-carved uraeus, which



Fig. 3. Outline of tail on king in dyad, MFA 11.1738, detail.

- 8 MFA, Boston dimensions vary slightly from these, which I follow from Christiane Ziegler, "King Menkaure and A Queen," catalog no. 67 in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), p. 271.
- 9 My thanks to Dr. Larry Berman for determining the exact weight of the dyad, 1,492 lbs.
- 10 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 110 (17); Ziegler, in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p. 271, also notes black pigment on the woman's wig, which I do not see.
- 11 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 39.



Fig. 4a. Dyad, MFA 11.1738, detail. Woman faces almost forward. King turns to his right.



Fig. 4b. Dyad, MFA 11.1738, detail. View from below shows the woman turned slightly to her left.



Fig. 5a–b. Dyad, MFA 11.1738. Profile and Rear Views of dyad, MFA 11.1738

appears on all other statues of the king in the nemes.¹² And while the uraeus could have been added in precious metal,¹³ there is no attachment hole. We are left to wonder if it was laid on as part of a separate covering, which in itself would be unusual.¹⁴

The Boston dyad is one of the finest works of the Old Kingdom. It is also unique. No figure of a king juxtaposed with a woman of equal stature and set on a single plinth is known, or at least has survived. Yet a major question remains: Who is the woman? Reisner's identification of Khamernernebt II was retained for the most part until recently when several scholars, emphasizing the anepigraphic state of the work, admit that her identity is hardly firm, and

¹² See Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pls. 48–51 and also pls. 52–53 of the king in natural hair with the uraeus.

¹³ E.g., Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built*, pp. 67–68.

¹⁴ Dr. Susan Doll, in conversation, wondered if the uraeus could have been purposely omitted for ritual reasons that elude us.



Fig. 6a. Colossal statue of Khamerernebty II. Cairo, JE 48856. After Biri Fay, "Royal Women as Represented in Sculpture During the Old Kingdom. Part II: Uninscribed Sculptures," in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel des 3 et 4 avril 1998* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1999), fig. 4.

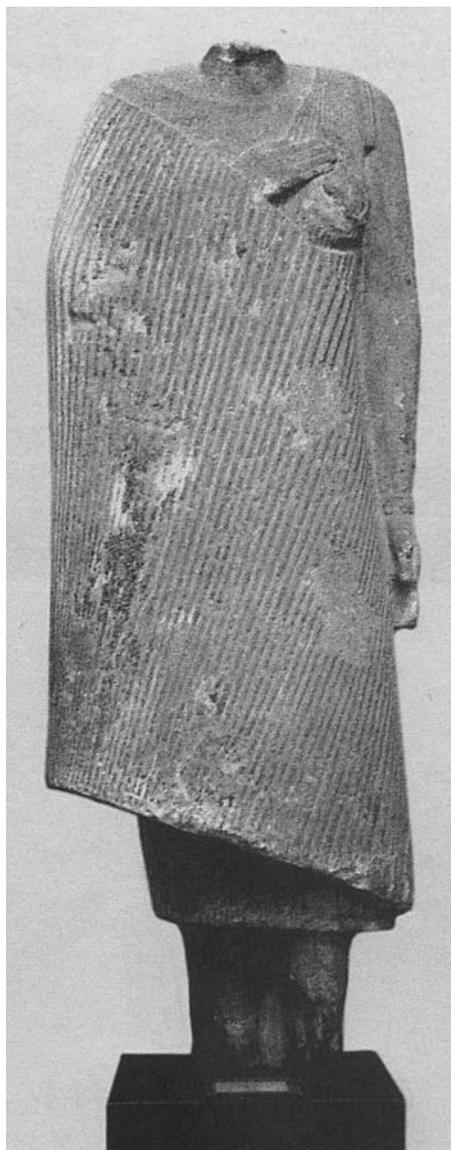


Fig. 6b. Khamerernebty I? Cairo, JE 48828; usually identified as Khamerernebty II. After Biri Fay, "Royal Women as Represented in Sculpture During the Old Kingdom. Part II: Uninscribed Sculptures," in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, fig. 15.



Fig. 7. Khafre with Bastet. Cairo, CG 11. After M. Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, Band 1: *Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie* (Hildesheim, HÄB 42, 1996), pl. 3a.

cite archaeological evidence making it unlikely that she could have been Khamerernebty II.¹⁵ Dorothea Arnold suggests the woman could be the king's mother;¹⁶ Rainer Stadelmann maintains she is Hathor.¹⁷

QUEENS IN EARLIER DYADS WITH KINGS

To address whether the woman is a queen or goddess, we start by asking if a queen (whether wife of the king, mother of the king's children, or mother of the king) ever appears with a king in earlier dyads. And the answer is a qualified but probable yes. There is the well-published Louvre quartzite fragment of a seated Redjedef with a diminutive, unidentified woman to his left, who, seated with legs slung to her side, embraces his left leg.¹⁸ Baud cites many more quartzite fragments from comparable Redjedef statues in which the crouching woman sits at either the king's right or left, while embracing one leg.¹⁹ Given the small size of this crouching woman, however,

15 E.g., Biri Fay, "Royal Women as Represented in Sculpture During the Old Kingdom," in Nicolas Grimal, ed., *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire*, BdE 120 (1998), pp. 165–166, citing in n. 34 the unpublished dissertation of Wilfried Seipel, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Königinnen der Frühzeit und des alten Reiches*, 1980, pp. 165 ff.; Barbara S. Lesko, "Queen Khamerernebty II and Her Sculpture," in Leonard H. Lesko, ed., *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward*, Department of Egyptology, Brown University (Providence, RI, 1998), pp. 151–152. Following Seipel, these authors suggest that the figure must be that of a minor queen, since Khamerernebty II's tomb was some distance from her husband's. Lesko, also citing the Galarza tomb's inscription showing the queen paid for her own tomb, suggests that Khamerernebty II was a spurned wife without sufficient status to be the woman in the dyad (pp. 151–52, 161–62). See most recently Silke Roth, *Die Königsmütter des Alten Ägypten von der Frühzeit bis zum Ende der 12. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2001), pp. 81–87. For recent discussion of the Galarza tomb, see Vivienne G. Callender and Peter Jánosi, "The Tomb of Queen Khamerernebty II at Giza: A Reassessment," in *MDAIK* 53 (1997), pp. 1–22, and M. Baud, "The Tombs of Khamerernebty I and II at Giza," *GM* 164 (1998), pp. 7–14.

16 Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built*, p. 68.

17 Rainer Stadelmann, "Formale Kriterien zur Datierung der Königlichen Plastik," in N. Grimal, ed., *Les critères*, pp. 355–56.

18 Louvre E12627 in Fay, "Royal Women," p. 175; and Fay, "Royal Women as Represented in Sculpture During the Old Kingdom. Part II: Uninscribed Sculptures," in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel des 3 et 4 avril 1998* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1999), p. 125, fig. 2; p. 101.

19 Michel Baud, "Etudes sur la statuaire de Rêdjedef. I. Rapport préliminaire sur la collection de l'IFAO," in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel des 3 et 4 avril 1998* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1999), pp. 35–75 on statue fragments from Redjedef's pyramid complex at Abu Roash. See esp. p. 48.



Fig. 8a. Lion-headed goddess in dyad, probably with a king. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum. After M. Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, Band 1: *Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie* (Hildesheim, HÄB 42, 1996), Taf. 2.

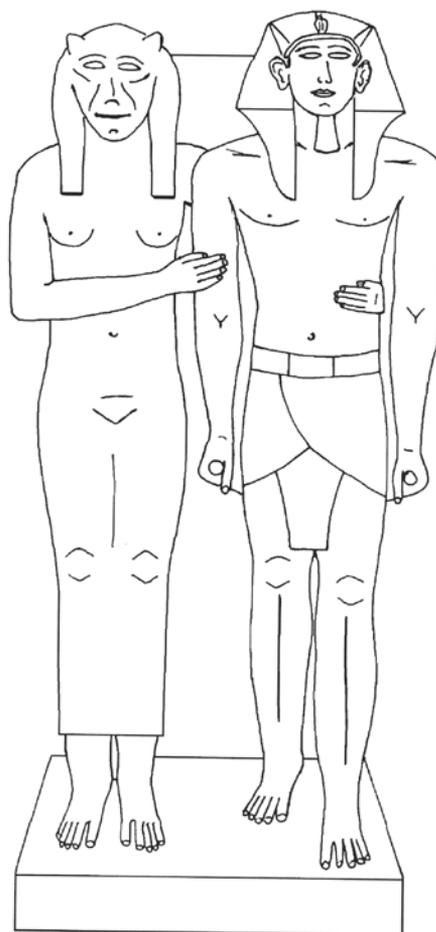


Fig. 8b. Possible reconstruction, by Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, p. 11, Abb. 4.

she cannot be a goddess, since a goddess would never be shown at a smaller scale than the king. Her act of touching the king, on the other hand, defines her as *either* a royal woman or a goddess,²⁰ and with identity as a goddess ruled out (she's too small), she can reliably be identified as a queen.²¹ There is no example, either in the round or in relief, in which this or any other queen is shown on the same scale as the king, as is the woman in the Menkaure dyad.

²⁰ Fay, "Royal Women. Part II," p. 102.

²¹ Though identification as a princess is possible, since she is the only figure with the king and shown repeatedly with him, it seems almost certain that she is the queen. Also, Fay, "Royal Women. Part II," p. 101, notes that one of the two identifying features of royal women is sitting with legs slung to one side. (The other is holding one hand across the chest, missing here.)

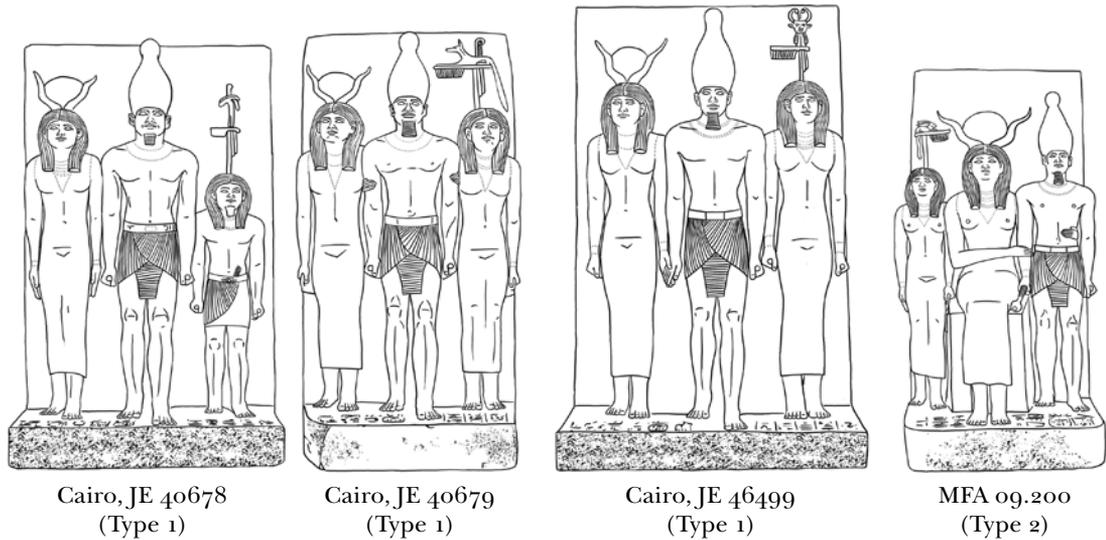


Fig. 9. Four intact triads.

QUEENS DEPICTED ALONE

That queens were important enough to figure alone in Fourth Dynasty cult statuary is shown by sculptures from the so-called Galarza tomb at Giza.²² This tomb has two large wings, B and C, that contained five limestone female statues. The first four statues are from B:²³ 1. a seated woman with no surviving inscription, 90 cm high; 2. a seated man and woman, 1.05 m high, with traces of inscription that show that the man's name is not that of a king,²⁴ while the woman is called "king's wife, daughter of the king, Khamererneby;"²⁵ 3. a cloaked female figure, lacking head, feet, and base, 1.34 m high (fig. 6b); and 4. a seated female figure with no surviving inscription, 1.60 m high.²⁶ The fifth statue is from the C wing: a colossal seated female figure, 2.40 m high (8 ft.; fig 6a),²⁷ inscribed with titles that include *sst nswt nt ht.f*, daughter of the king, of his body and *hmt nswt*, wife of the king, Khamererneby.²⁸ Two of the five works from the Galarza tomb, therefore, represent one or more queens named Khamererneby.

A door lintel inscription in the tomb suggests that these two Khamerernebty are mother and daughter. The elder woman, Khamererneby I, is named on the top line with high-status titles that include *mwat nswt bity*, mother of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, and *sst ntr*, daughter of the god.²⁹ A determinative following Khamererneby's titles and name shows a seated queen in a vulture headdress, a specific form of iconography known to identify a king's

²² Near Khafre's Valley Temple. See esp. Callender and Jánosi, "The Tomb of Queen Khamererneby II at Giza," pp. 1–22, and Baud, "The Tombs of Khamererneby I and II at Giza," pp. 7–14.

²³ M. Georges Daressy, "La Tombe de la Mère de Chéfredon," in *ASAE* 10 (1910), p. 43.

²⁴ The traces show *rs n*, probably from Khuenra. See Elmar Edel, "Inschriften des Alten Reiches," in *MIO* 2 (1954), p. 185, but also Daressy, "La Tombe de la Mère de Chéfredon," p. 43.

²⁵ Edel, "Inschriften," p. 185 thinks the lack of "king's mother" in the inscription signals that statue owner must be Khamererneby II, since if she'd had this title, as her mother had (on the tomb lintel), it would be present on this seated statue. I would add, however, that the statue was in such poor condition when discovered (see Daressy, "La Tombe de la Mère de Chéfredon," p. 43) that only with great difficulty could anything be made of the inscription, and how much is missing is unknown.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Lesko, "Queen Khamererneby II and Her Sculpture," p. 152.

²⁸ Daressy, "La Tombe de la Mère de Chéfredon," p. 44.

²⁹ Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, p. 537, Abb. 38.



Fig. 10a–b. Triad, MFA 09.200, details. King holds mace in right hand and *mks* in left.

mother,³⁰ of which this is the first known occurrence in an inscription.³¹ The second line of the lintel inscription gives the titles and name of the younger queen, Khamerernebty II, who lacks the mother's title *mwt nswt bity*:³² Khamerernebty II, therefore, does not appear to have been a king's mother.

For almost a century it has been debated which woman—Khamerernebty I or II—was the owner of the Galarza tomb and its statuary. According to a recent reassessment by Callender and János, the tomb was founded by Khamerernebty I and expanded by her daughter.³³ Callender and János suggest that the two queens and their cult statuary may have been associated with the different wings of the Galarza tomb—B for the mother and C for the daughter.³⁴

Discussion of the two best preserved statues (figs. 6a and b) from the Galarza tomb may clarify matters. The colossal seated queen in tripartite wig and halter dress (fig. 6a)³⁵ is from the C wing,³⁶ the wing Callender and János suggested was for the daughter. In fact, the statue, which is inscribed, can be identified as the daughter, Khamerernebty II, because among her titles is neither *mwt nswt bity* nor *st ntr*, the elevated titles of her mother. And she lacks these same titles on the lintel inscription where, again, they are borne by the elder Khamerernebty, her mother.³⁷ The second well-preserved statue³⁸ (fig. 6b) is from the B wing³⁹ and lacks both head and base, the latter of which surely bore an inscription. Though under lifesize, the figure is identifiable as a queen from her pleated cloak and the gesture of right hand held flat across chest, both of which are attributes of royal women.⁴⁰ The figure also has an advanced left leg. If Callender and János are correct in positing that the C wing was dedicated to Khamerernebty II and the B wing to Khamerernebty I, then the cloaked, headless royal statue from B should, in fact, be the mother, Khamerernebty I.

What is less speculative and makes the strongest argument for attributing at least one Galarza tomb sculpture to Khamerernebty I rests on a tiny but telling bit of evidence found in the sand fill of this B wing.⁴¹ It is a small "plaque" of diorite, a traditionally royal and costly stone from Lower Nubia, with remains of the title *nswt bity*, King of Upper and Lower Egypt.⁴² Since only Khamerernebty I has a title construed with *nswt bity* (i.e., *mwt nswt bity*), Callender and János reasonably suggest that the fragment probably belonged to a diorite statue of this elder queen,⁴³ the very queen believed to be the mother of Menkaure.⁴⁴

While the colossal size of fig. 6a⁴⁵ and the cloak and gesture of fig. 6b are defining features of royal women,⁴⁶ the advanced left leg of the cloaked figure is not so clearly diagnostic. Advancing

30 Ibid, p. 279; Fay, "Royal Women. Part II," p. 104.

31 Roth, "Bemerkungen," p. 115, Abb. 2a. Sabbahy, "The king's mother in the Old Kingdom," p. 309, has suggested that such determinatives in later Old Kingdom examples may have been depictions of kings' mothers' cult statues. Could the same be true of this determinative of Khamerernebty I?

32 Vivienne G. Callender and Peter János, "The Tomb of Queen Khamerernebty II at Giza: A Reassessment," in *MDAIK* 53 (1997), p. 19. Though others have disagreed, the authors believe—with justification—that Khamerernebty I thus takes precedence in the tomb as its founder.

33 Callender and János, "The Tomb of Queen Khamerernebty II," p. 19; strongly refuted, however, by Baud, "The Tombs of Khamerernebty I and II at Giza," pp. 7–14.

34 Callender and János, "The Tomb of Khamerernebty II," esp. p. 18.

35 Cairo, JE 48856. Lesko, "Queen Khamerernebty II," pp. 149–162; Fay, "Royal Women," p. 164, no. 6, fig. 10 for Cairo, JE 48856, the "twice life-sized statue."

36 Callender and János, "The Tomb of Khamerernebty II," p. 3; 4, fig. 2.

37 Lesko, "Queen Khamerernebty II and Her Sculpture," p. 155, based on Edel's study in "Inschriften des Alten Reiches," esp. p. 185. For full titles on lintel, see Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, p. 537, Abb. 38.

38 Cairo, JE 48828.

39 Callender and János, "The Tomb of Khamerernebty II," pp. 3–4, fig. 2.

40 Fay, "Royal Women. Part II," pp. 101–102.

41 Daressy, "La Tombe de la Mère de Chéfredon," p. 43.

42 *Ibid.*

43 Callendar and János, "The Tomb of Queen Khamerernebty II," esp. pp. 17–18.

44 Sabbahy, "The king's mother in the Old Kingdom," p. 308.

45 As well as throne backrest and inscription: Fay, "Royal Women," p. 164.

46 Fay, "Royal Women. Part II," pp. 101–102.



Fig. 11a. Triad with Menkaure, Hathor and Hermopolis Nome; MFA 09.200. Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Expedition. King in triad holds mace in right hand and *mks* in left. Djoser holds same objects in same hands when standing (with mace) or running (with *mks*), in separate episodes of the sed festival (fig. 11b–c).

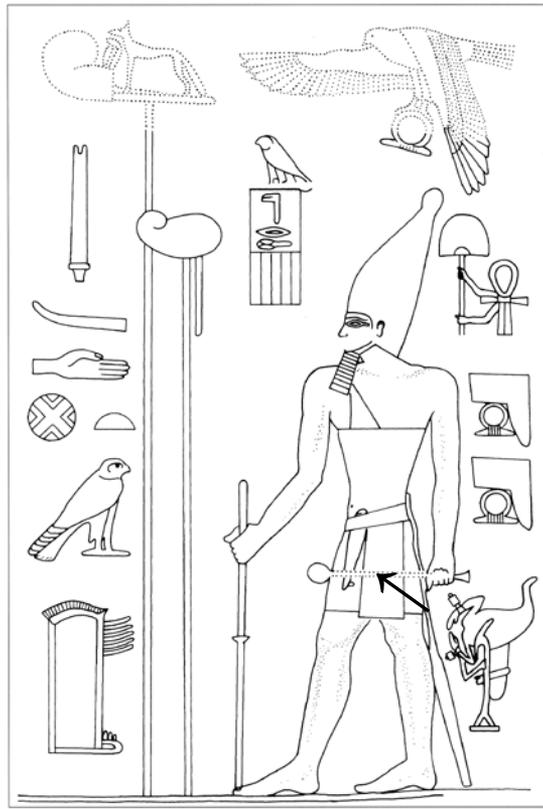


Fig. 11b. Djoser stands with mace in right hand, on left arm (Djoser relief, Pyramid Tomb, northern panel).

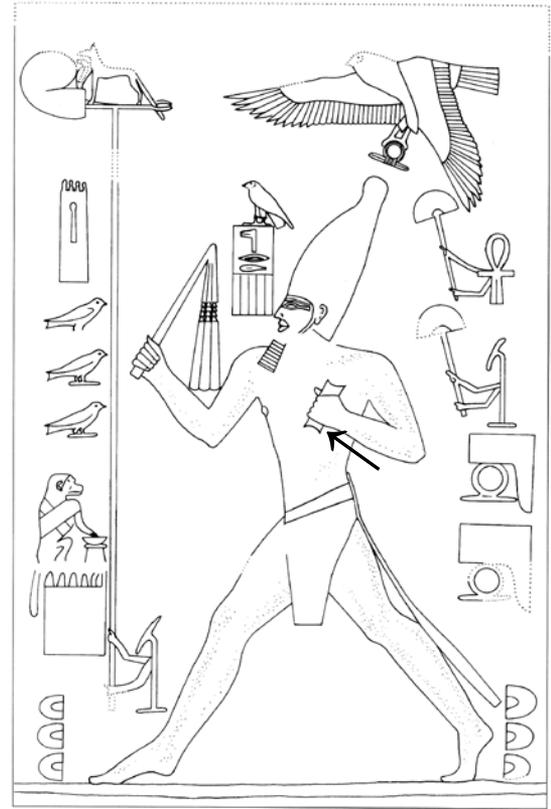


Fig. 11c. Djoser runs with *mks* in left hand (Djoser relief, Pyramid Tomb, middle panel).

the left leg is common for goddesses, recalling the attitude of the Hathor goddesses in three Menkaure triads (fig. 9, Type 1) and of the female nome deity in another (fig. 9, Type 2).⁴⁷ But since a mortal⁴⁸ like Khamerernebtj I(?) can also stand this way (fig. 6b), this pose does not help us in defining the woman in the Mekaure dyad as human or divine. Similarly, the size of the woman in the dyad does not conclusively determine her status either, since not only goddesses but queens can be shown well over lifesize (fig. 6a).

47 The Hermopolis triad, Boston, MFA, Boston 09.200, in which the nome goddess assumes Hathor's usual position at the proper right.

48 For a few private examples, see Catharine H. Roehrig, "Pair Statue of Iai-ib and Khuaut Standing," catalog no. 83 in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, pp. 292-94, and n. 5 for two further examples.



Fig. 12a. MFA 09.200 is the only triad with curved front corners on base.

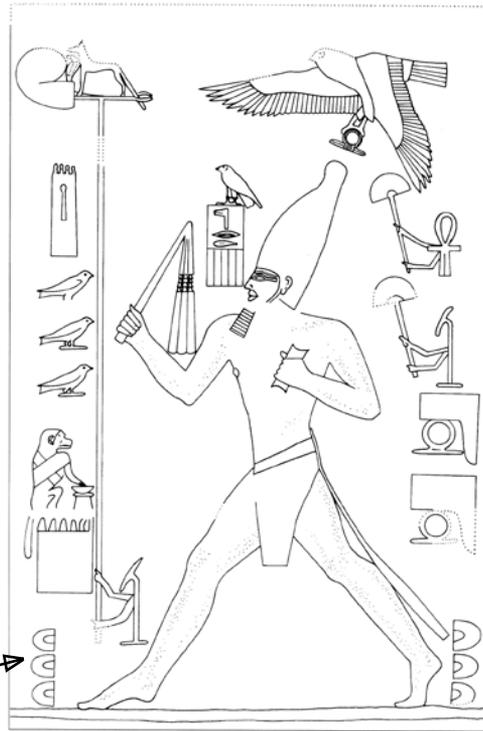


Fig. 12b. *Dnb*-territorial markers with curving fronts and straight backs (Djoser relief, Pyramid Tomb, middle panel).

KINGS' MOTHERS ALONE

The Fourth Dynasty produced other sculptures that unequivocally depicted the mother of the king,⁴⁹ identifiable by the vulture headdress,⁵⁰ a piece of iconography first evidenced in sculpture in the reign of Khafre.⁵¹ Biri Fay cites a calcite (Egyptian alabaster) female head and several fragments of similar Egyptian alabaster statues with remains of the vulture headdress, all of which probably belonged to statues of either Khafre's mother⁵² or, according to Sabbahy, perhaps his alleged wife, Khamerernebt I, the presumed mother of Menkaure.⁵³ Fay also cites an unprovenanced greywacke face in Uppsala that she suggests was part of a statue of Menkaure's

49 Wilfried Seipel, *Königin*, in *LÄ III*, p. 464. The mother of the king is the woman who, by virtue of producing the heir to the throne, held greater status than other queens.

50 Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, p. 279 and with examples through Dynasty 6; Fay, "Royal Women. Pt. II," pp. 102, 104, notes that the vulture headdress, in sculpture, is reserved for kings' mothers. Sabbahy, *The Development of the Titulary and Iconography of the Ancient Egyptian Queen*, pp. 313–14 notes its use by goddesses as well as queens (p. 313), but this has to mean in relief, not sculpture. Indeed, there seem to be no Old Kingdom examples in sculpture, according to a June 2005 email from Biri Fay. For a relief of a goddess in the vulture headdress, see MMA 08.200.56 in Adela Oppenheim, catalog no. 175 in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, pp. 442–43, who dates it to late Fifth or Sixth Dynasty.

51 Sabbahy, *Development of the Titulary*, p. 313.

52 Fay, "Royal Women. Part II," pp. 104–105, figs. 17–20. Figs. 21–22, which are also from Khafre's "Gateway" and pyramid temple, respectively, also seem to me to be from his mother's statuary.

53 Sabbahy, "The king's mother in the Old Kingdom," p. 308.

mother.⁵⁴ A further group of Egyptian alabaster fragments from Menkaure's Queen's Temple shows parts of vulture headdresses that one can conclude are from statues of his mother, Khamerernebt I.⁵⁵ These sculptural remains as a whole, though scant, show that the king's mother, in both Khafre's and Menkaure's reigns, had a stature sufficient to merit statuary. Whether these queen mothers' statue fragments were parts of statues of the kings' mothers alone, or in dyads with their royal sons, or parts of larger figural groups like triads, is unknown.⁵⁶

To sum up: queens can appear on a reduced scale beside a king, be depicted alone and over lifesize, or alone and under lifesize and with left leg advanced; or they can be depicted as kings' mothers with the vulture headdress. But from the limited evidence, we see that when queens are depicted with the king, they are not shown on equal scale with him, suggesting at this point in the analysis, that the woman in the Menkaure dyad is probably a goddess, not a queen. Our view on this will change, however.

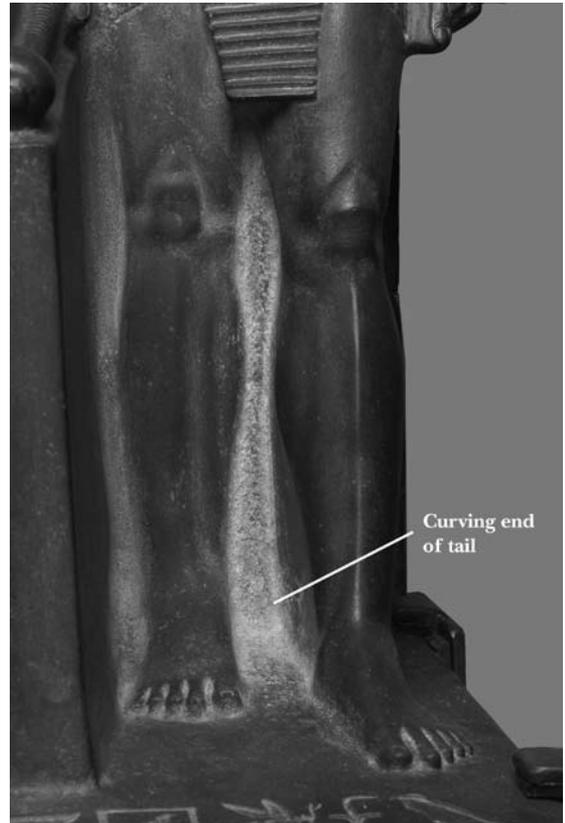


Fig. 13. Rough, raised area of tail on king, MFA 09.200, detail.

GODDESSES IN DYADS

Goddesses, like queens, appear in Fourth Dynasty dyads, but at equal scale to the king. Of these dyads, several are fragmentary and require judicious inference to complete. One is known only through inscription; others are more intact and can be "read." The dyads seem to pair two seated or two standing figures. Of the most fragmentary seated examples, Seidel adduces two seated figures based on disparate calcite (Egyptian alabaster) fragments from Giza that he believes were part of a throne seat on which Khufu or Khafre may have sat beside a goddess.⁵⁷ Less fragmentary is a limestone female torso in the Louvre that most likely depicted a goddess (I think less likely a queen), seated at

⁵⁴ Fay, "Royal Women. Part II," p. 103, fig. 11 [Uppsala 31]; and see Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, pp. 86–87.

⁵⁵ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 108 (8), Pl. 17d published seven calcite, i.e. travertine (the term used by MFA, Boston for Egyptian alabaster) fragments including the "face and wig with vulture on head" from the Temple of Pyramid III-a, which he believed was a queen's (p. 108). The fragments were "[b]eautifully polished like the great statue of Mycerinus" (p. 108), meaning the colossal "calcite" statue of Menkaure, MFA, Boston 09.204. The fragments, given the vulture headdress, can only belong to a statue of a mother of the king, who would most likely be Menkaure's mother, Khamerernebt I. Fay publishes one of Reisner's fragments, MFA, Boston 13.508, in "Royal Women. Part II," fig. 14, though she concludes that since the owner of Pyramid III-a is unknown, the identity of the owner of the fragments is as well (p. 104). Zahi Hawass, *The Funerary Establishments of Khufu, Khafra and Menkaure During the Old Kingdom*, Pt. 1. (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1987), p. 258ff., however, notes that Pyramid III-a is the "the largest of the three [subsidiary] pyramids" and "the only one built as a true pyramid" (p. 259), whose temple was for the cult of the queen buried there, a cult considered important enough to continue to the end of the Old Kingdom (p. 261). See also Lesko, "Queen Khamerernebt II," p. 150, and Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, p. 279 with further bibliography on the fragments.

⁵⁶ Cf. Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, p. 279.

⁵⁷ Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum 5416, 6447, 6448. Matthias Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, Band 1: *Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie*, HÄB 42, (Hildesheim, 1996), pp. 13–16, Taf. 1b, Abbs. 5–7.



faces outward

faces outward

faces outward

a. Cairo, JE 40678



faces outward

faces forward

faces outward

b. Cairo, JE 40679

Fig. 14a–d. Flanking figures in Type 1 triads (a–c) and nome deity in Type 2 (d) triad look outward. King always looks forward (c and d are on the following page).

the proper right of a now lost Redjedef.⁵⁸ Firmer evidence for dyads with goddesses appears in the remains of a statue depicting Khafre seated beside a woman inscribed as Bastet,⁵⁹ from the northern entrance of his Valley Temple.⁶⁰ The inscription on the door's entrance reads

⁵⁸ Louvre object with no number in Stadelmann, "Formale Kriterien," p. 357; p. 377, Foto 6a–b.

⁵⁹ CG 11; Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, pp. 17–20, Taf. 3a, b; Stadelmann, "Formale Kriterien," p. 378, Foto 7 a–b.

⁶⁰ Uvo Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 16–17.



faces outward

faces forward

faces outward

c. Cairo, JE 46499



faces outward

faces (almost)
forward

faces forward

d. MFA 09.200

“Beloved of Bastet, living forever.”⁶¹ A more fragmentary inscription on the door’s southern entrance reads “Beloved of Hathor,”⁶² and one can assume that a now-vanished seated dyad of Khafre and Hathor once stood inside that entrance as well.⁶³ Though the southern dyad with Hathor is missing, we can see from the Bastet dyad that the goddess sits at the proper left and that she and the king appear to have been of equal stature (fig. 7).

61 Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal*, p. 17, Abb. 8. For inscriptional evidence of Bastet from the late predynastic period through the reign of Menkaure, see Francesco Raffaele, “An Unpublished Inscription of the Goddess Bastet,” in <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/Bastet.htm>, with special reference to a Second Dynasty bowl inscribed with a seated figure of Bastet (depiction of a cult statue) facing right toward Hotepsekhemwy and (probably) Nebra as double-crowned Horus falcons set atop separate serekhs; found in the Menkaure Valley Temple (Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 102, pl. 70.) See also Francesco Raffaele, “An Unpublished Early Dynastic Stone Vessel Fragment with Incised Inscription Naming the Goddess Bastet,” in *Cahiers Caribéen d’Égyptologie* (2005), pp. 27–46.

62 Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal*, p. 17, Abb. 7.

63 See Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, p. 21, Abb. 9 (15).



Fig. 15. Hathor turns slightly to her right and the king looks forward, in Type 2 triad, MFA 09.200, detail.

Fig. 16. Detail of breast sag and fleshy area around navel, in woman in dyad, MFA 11.1738.



The only goddess known in a standing dyad is an unprovenanced Hildesheim limestone fragment of a lion-headed figure,⁶⁴ most likely Bastet,⁶⁵ standing at the proper right (fig. 8a). Her lower body is missing. The break at her left shoulder suggests the presence of a second figure of equal size, who Seidel logically assumes was a king (fig. 8b). No inscription survives. Seidel dates the work to the reign of Khufu at the earliest.⁶⁶ If he is right, we have a standing dyad of a king and lion-headed goddess to add to our list of Fourth Dynasty king-goddess dyads. Significantly, there are no instances of male gods figuring in dyads with the king.⁶⁷ It

64 Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum. Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, pp. 10–12, Taf. 2a–d, Abb. 4.

65 Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, p. 12 says less likely Sekhmet; and p. 20, n. 48 notes the Palermo Stone mention of Redjedef's offering to Bastet (*Urk. I*, 239, 2).

66 Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, p. 12.

67 A two-dimensional example from a Third Dynasty low-relief panel, however, shows King Qahedjet embraced by a falcon-headed Horus. See *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, catalogue no. 9, pp. 177–78.



a. Cairo, JE 40678 Hathor



b. MFA 11.3147 Hathor



Hathor

c. Cairo, JE 40679

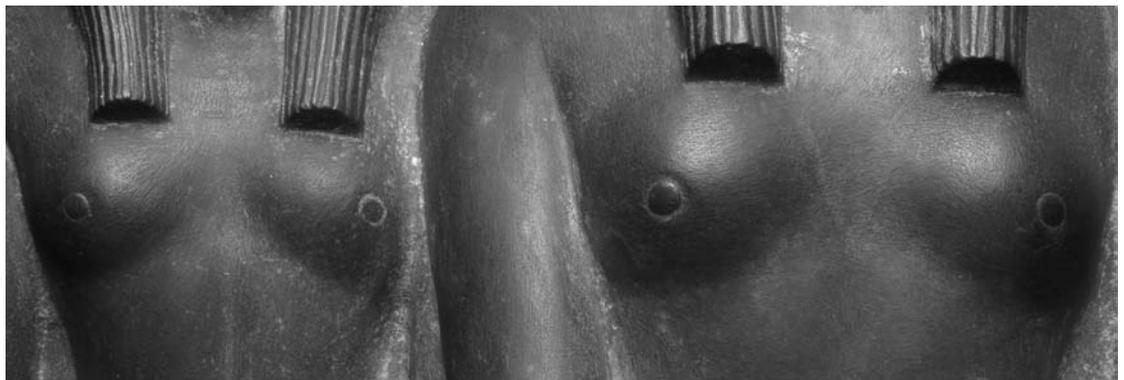
Nome goddess



Hathor

d. Cairo, JE 46499

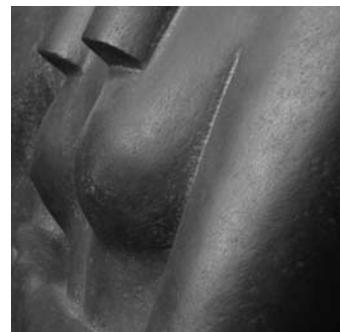
Nome goddess



Nome goddess

e. MFA 09.200

Hathor



f. MFA 11.1738
Woman in dyad

Fig. 17. Comparative treatment of female breasts on Menkaure triads and dyad.

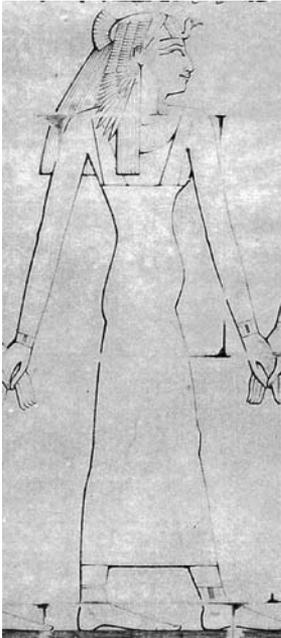


Fig. 18. Queen Ahmose; after Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Part II. EEF (London, 1896), pl. XLIX, Middle Colonnade, Northern Wall.



Fig. 19. Detail of heads in dyad, MFA 11.1738, detail.

seems that mother goddesses, like Hathor and Bastet, were most likely to be sculpturally paired with the king.⁶⁸ We might therefore expect the uninscribed woman beside the king in the Boston Menkaure dyad to be a mother goddess as well.

The goddesses in seated and standing dyads could be placed at the proper left (Bastet) or at the proper right (the lion-headed goddess, and probably the Louvre example). The relative positions of king and goddess, therefore, even given the many gaps in our data, appear not to have been prescribed and may have been due in part to installation requirements. As in the Redjedef dyads of the king with crouching wife, we saw that the queen could appear either to the right or left of the king, a placement that may well have been tied to aligning the figures symmetrically on opposite walls.⁶⁹ Unless the accidents of survival are such that we have only the right or left sides of symmetrical pairings, the shift of a figure from one side to the other suggests there were no overarching syntactical rules for the relative positions of figures in dyads.⁷⁰

Rules for figure placement, however, are discernible in a smaller, more discrete body of Fourth Dynasty work, namely, the Menkaure triads, a form of group sculpture innovated in Menkaure's reign that we now review.

68 Cf. Silke Roth, "Bemerkungen zur Rolle der Königsmütter," in Rolf Gundlach and Wilfried Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum. Akten des 2. Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Wien 24.-26.9.1997* (Wiesbaden, 1999), p. 116.

69 Baud, "Etudes," p. 48.

70 And compare the figure of King Sahure seated at the proper left beside a standing male personification of the Coptos nome (MMA 18.2.4) in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, catalog no. 109, p. 328.

Fig. 20. Detail of Hathor in triad,
MFA 09.200.

Trace of natural hair at brow and
temples.



OVERVIEW OF THE MENKAURE TRIADS

In 1908 four intact greywacke triads (fig. 9) were found by Reisner in the Menkaure Valley Temple corridor⁷¹ adjacent to the hole where he would later find the dyad.⁷² Each triad is worked three-quarters in the round and shows the king with Hathor and a male or female nome deity. The figures are engaged to a tall back slab that serves as a freestanding wall on which crowns and attributes are carved in relief. The base of each triad is inscribed with variants of the following statement to the king: “I” (surely, the nome deity)⁷³ “have given to you all things which are in the south, all food, and all offerings” (following Cairo, JE 40678).⁷⁴ The king, in the same inscriptions, is named “Beloved of Hathor,”⁷⁵ recalling the same “Beloved of Hathor” from the aforementioned Khafre inscription at the southern entrance to his Valley Temple.

The triads have two formats. Type 1 (three of the four intact instances) shows the king striding forth in the center; Type 2 (one intact instance) shows Hathor seated in the center. In all the triads, the king wears the Upper Egyptian crown. Reisner found three intact triads of Type 1, now in Cairo,⁷⁶ and one intact triad of Type 2, now in Boston.⁷⁷ He also found a larger

71 Corridor III-4. See Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pp. 109–110, pls. 36–46. Reisner’s description of the directions in which the triads were facing is inaccurate and will be corrected in my forthcoming publication on the triads, using the detailed observations and corrections of Dr. Diane Flores of the Giza Archives Project. The triads are beautifully published in Seidel, Taf. 5–9ff.

72 The dyad, in fact, lay atop the very damaged triad, MFA, Boston 12.1514, identified as No. 14 in Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 110 (14).

73 That the unnamed divine speaker is the nome deity, and not Hathor, is based on the following: the text is placed directly in front of the nome deity, defining him/her as the speaker; personified estates from designated nomes at Sneferu’s Fourth Dynasty Valley Temple also offer goods to the king; and a text, albeit fragmentary, on a Fifth Dynasty granite dyad of Sahure and a personified Coptos nome clearly shows that it is the nome who proffers goods to the king (MMA 18.2.4; see *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, cat. no. 109).

74 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pp. 109–110. I treat the inscriptions in full and their variants in a forthcoming article.

75 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 109.

76 Cairo JE 40678, 40679, 46499; Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 109 (10), pls. 38b, 41, 42, 46d for Cairo, JE 40678, Theban triad; p. 110 (11), pls. 38c, 43, 46e for Cairo, JE 40679, Cynopolis triad; p. 110 (12), pls. 38d, 44, 45, 46a, b for Cairo, JE 46499, Diospolis Parva triad.

77 MFA, Boston 09.200; Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 109 (9), pls. 38a, 39, 40, 46c.



a. Woman in dyad, MFA 11.1738



b. MFA 09.200



c. Cairo, JE 40678



d. Cairo, JE 40679



e. Cairo, JE 46499



f. MFA 11.3147

Fig. 21. Wig on woman in dyad (a) compared with wigs on Hathor in triads (b–f) (for f triad, see fig. 24).



Fig. 22a. Wig appears inflated around top of head on woman in dyad, MFA 11.1738, detail.

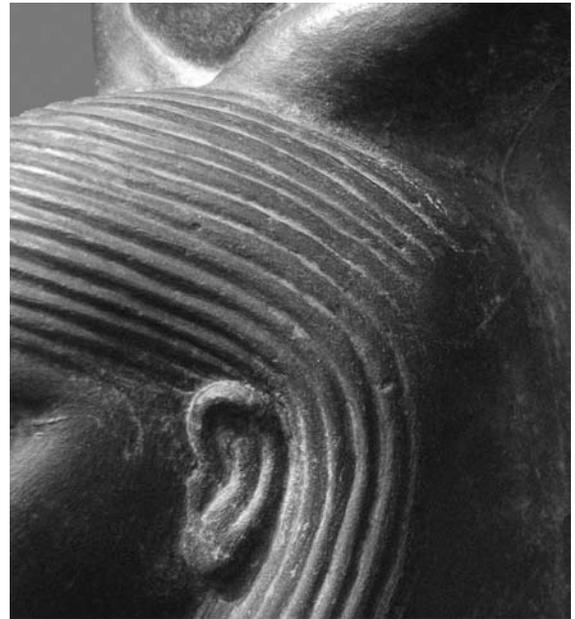


Fig. 22b. Wig hugs top of head on Hathor in triad, MFA 09.200, detail.

but damaged triad of Type 1 (fig. 24),⁷⁸ a smaller fragment of Type 2,⁷⁹ and a group of broken greywacke pieces, 35 of which are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.⁸⁰ Many of the fragments appear to belong to triads that have not survived.⁸¹ The one crown fragment is that of Upper Egypt,⁸² underscoring what seems to have been the southern emphasis of the statue program, at least as it has survived.⁸³

On the basis of the intact examples, rules for the relative placement of Hathor and the king appear fixed. Hathor is always to the king's right (i.e., the proper right), and thus never appears at the proper left of any triad. It is noteworthy, however, that this rule does not apply to the woman in the Menkaure dyad: she stands at the proper left in a position never taken by Hathor in any known triad. But like Hathor, her left leg is advanced. The standing Hathor at the proper right of Type 1 triads is always in this striding position (the extent of the stride varies). The Hathor in the Type 2 triad, though seated at the center of the composition with feet together, still has the king to her left. But here she is much larger than the king, towering above him were she to rise,⁸⁴ and thus proportionately larger—and therefore seemingly of higher status—than even the woman in the king's dyad.

78 MFA 11.3147; Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 110 (13), pl. 46f.

79 MFA 12.1514; *ibid.*, p. 110 (14), pl. 64h.

80 MFA Eg. Inv. 3680–3708; 3710–3711; 11.699; 12–12–44; 12–12–84; 24–12–365, some published in Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, pp. 36–42, Taf. 14–16. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 110 (15) mentions fragments but publishes just one in pl. 64g. Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition Photograph A1030_N in the Giza Archives (www.gizapyramids.org), however, shows 32 excavated but unregistered fragments of greywacke Menkaure statuary, photographed in 1913. Only a few of these 32 fragments are now in Boston. The location of the rest is unknown. From the photo, many probably belonged to triads.

81 Reconstruction of existing and new triads is part of my forthcoming article (see note 70).

82 MFA, Boston field no. 24–12–365.

83 The same southern emphasis prevails in the Third Dynasty Djoser relief panels: see F. D. Friedman, “The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex,” *JARCE* 32 (1995), pp. 1–42; and the Fifth Dynasty Niuserre reliefs, in F. W. F. von Bissing and Hermann Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures)*, Band II, *Die Kleine Festdarstellung* (Leipzig, 1923), *passim*.

84 But even sitting down, her face is larger than his—and that of the nome deity, too, as noted by Bernard V. Bothmer, “Notes on the Mycerinus Triad,” in Madeleine E. Cody, ed., with the assistance of Paul Edmond White and Marsha Hill, *Egyptian Art: Selected Writings of Bernard V. Bothmer* (Oxford, 2004), p. 22.



Fig. 23a. Detail of left and right profiles of woman's face in dyad, MFA 11.1738.



Fig. 23b. Dynasty 4 queen and mother of a royal child (Khafkhufu), with full, short wig; after Wm. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II, G 7110-20, 7130-40 and 7150, Giza Mastabas, vol. 3* (Boston, 1978), fig. 26 (and see p. 11).

In Type 1 triads the dominant theme, as stated in the inscriptions, is provisioning. The same theme is present in the Type 2 Boston triad, but a second theme, the sed festival, is now featured through the appearance of new iconography: (1) A mace is held in the king's right hand and a *mks* sed-document holder in his left (fig. 10), attributes held in the same hands by Djoser (our best source for earlier examples) in separate sed episodes in which he stands with the mace and runs with the *mks* (fig. 11b and c);⁸⁵ (2) The curved front corners of the Boston triad's base (a unique feature for the triad bases) recall the shape of the sed festival's *dnb*-territorial markers (fig. 12a and b), around or between which kings ran the ritual race; and (3) A ceremonial tail, typically worn by kings in portions of the sed ceremony,⁸⁶ appears as a roughened outline between Menkaure's legs (fig. 13) and was surely once made clear in paint.

85 Friedman, "The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser," p. 3, figs. 2a, b. Djoser in the uppermost right panel stands with the mace in his right hand on a left arm (I mistakenly thought it was a left hand in my original publication: see Friedman, "The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser," fig. 22, p. 37); in the three following panels, reading right to left, he holds the *mks* in his left hand, on a left arm, as he runs; and in the final two panels, he stands with a mace in his right hand, on a right arm. See also Ahmed Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, vol. II, The Valley Temple, Part I (Cairo, 1961), where Fakhry restores a number of figures of Sneferu from pillar fragments that show him running with flail, *mks* and tail, e.g., p. 66, fig. 43 and throughout the section on the pillar decoration. See also Niuserre in the same attitude and attire in Bissing and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum*, Band II, *Die Kleine Festdarstellung*, Blatt 13, 33b; cf. also Blatt 14, 34.

86 E.g., Friedman, "The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser," p. 3, figs. 2a, b. For Sneferu and Niuserre examples, see previous footnote.



Fig. 24. Triad fragment with Menkaure, Hathor and Male Nome; right profile; MFA 11.3147. Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Expedition. Right profile.



Fig. 25a. Triad, MFA 09.200.



Fig. 25b. Dyad, MFA 11.1738.

A tail also appears between the legs of the king on the dyad (fig. 3) and may be present on two other Cairo triads as well.⁸⁷

The orientation of the figures in the Menkaure triads alters the standard rule of frontality in Egyptian sculpture. In Type 1 triads, the two flanking figures of Hathor and a female or male nome deity look not straight forward but outward, to greater or lesser degrees, to the proper right and left respectively (fig. 14a–c)⁸⁸. The result of the outward glances is that the forward-looking figure of the king becomes the main subject of the sculptures. In Type 2, only the nome goddess looks to one side (proper right), seeming to leave Hathor and the king as the focus of the sculptures (figs. 14d; 25a). But the reality is more subtle, for when seen from below, it is evident that like the dyad's queen, Hathor looks a bit to one side, in this case, to her right (fig. 15). The king in this Type 2 triad, though not at center stage, is the only one who actually looks straight forward, making him, technically, the primary subject. The sculptor/designer has thus found a way to showcase both Hathor (at the center) and Menkaure (looking fully forward) as the “main” subjects of the sculpture (fig. 25a).

87 The relationship of the triads, and especially that of the Boston Type 2 triad, to the sed festival are discussed in my forthcoming article (see note 70).

88 Dorothea Arnold first noticed this feature of the outward-turning side figures in Cairo, JE 46499, in *When the Pyramids were Built*, p. 67.

But in the Menkaure dyad (fig. 25b) it is the king who looks to his right, leaving the woman as the focus. A queen would not ordinarily upstage a king in this way. So is this woman a mortal, with inordinately high status, or a goddess like Hathor? There are significant details that denote her as both.

HUMAN FEATURES OF THE WOMAN IN THE DYAD

Dorothea Arnold observes that the nipples on the woman in the dyad are dropped, suggesting the breasts of an older woman, that is, the king's mother.⁸⁹ I believe Arnold is right. The nipples are low and the breasts sag slightly (fig. 16). This highly naturalistic rendering appears on no goddess in the triads (fig. 17a–f). Moreover, the fleshy swelling around the woman's navel in the dyad is broader and more pronounced than on any triad (fig. 16). These dropped nipples, breast sag and slight tummy allude, I believe, to a woman who has borne children. These details read "mother," just as a thousand years later the expanded belly of Hathsheput's pregnant mother, Queen Ahmose (fig. 18), would read "mother-to-be."⁹⁰ The woman in the dyad is, I believe, a queen mother, specifically Khamerernebt I. Her advanced left leg on the dyad, in a striding pose, while uncharacteristic of mortal women, does appear with another mother on the proper left of another Fourth Dynasty figural group.⁹¹ And if the unscribed figure with advanced left leg from the Galarza tomb (fig. 6b) is, indeed, that of Khamerernebt I, it would suggest that this mother of the king had herself shown in this high-status pose more than once.

What is generally considered the most unambiguous piece of "human" iconography on the dyad's queen mother is the sculpted section of natural hair issuing from beneath her wig (fig. 19).⁹² But here we still run into contradictions, for this feature does not denote humans only. Note that a trace of natural hair is sculpted beneath Hathor's wig on the Type 2 Boston triad (fig. 20), and a tiny band of natural hair was painted on at least one Hathor in a Type 1 triad.⁹³ Such a detail may have been added in now-lost paint on other Type 1 triads as well. Still, the natural hair on the suggested king's mother is a sculpted, not painted, feature that more boldly differentiates real from wig hair than on any other female figure and is significantly echoed in the natural hair on the Hathor in the Boston triad. There is thus a fluid interplay between features ordinarily reserved for a mortal and for a goddess, that is, the king's mother or Hathor.

HAIR AND WIG OF THE QUEEN MOTHER IN THE DYAD

Details of the queen mother's natural hair are also used to ally her visually to the king (fig. 19). Her real hair parts asymmetrically at the brow and sweeps in a fluid line across the sides of her forehead, tucking under the wig and overlapping the beginnings of broad, flaring sections of hair

89 Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built*, p. 68.

90 Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*. Part II, EEF (London, 1896), pl. XLIX, Middle Colonnade, Northern Wall showing in relief a clearly pregnant Queen Ahmose in the vulture headdress.

91 This is the very pose used for Rawer's mother, Hetepheres, in a slightly later Giza family group, where the striding mother also stood at the proper left of her striding son. The complete family group is no longer intact. For the figure of Hetepheres (Worcester Art Museum 1934.48), see Christiane Ziegler in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, catalogue no. 131, p. 376. For a drawing that reconstructs the family group of five figures, see <http://echoesofeternity.umkc.edu/rawerdiagram.htm>. Dorothea Arnold emphasizes the stylistic similarities of the Worcester Hetepheres torso with that of other female figures from the specific reign of Menkaure and places the Hetepheres "undoubtedly in the artistic tradition of the later Fourth Dynasty" (*When the Pyramids were Built*, p. 71). But there is still some doubt, she feels, about the exact date of the work, and whether one can definitively link the female torso to the separately known figure of Rawer (*ibid.*).

92 Rainer Stadelmann, "Représentations de la famille royale dans l'Ancien Empire," in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel des 3 et 4 avril 1998* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1999), p. 176, says that the depiction of the natural hair beneath the wig is not a significant enough feature to signal that the woman in the dyad is a mortal. She must be a goddess, he contends, pointing to her size (on a par with the king's) and her extended left leg.

93 Evident in a Reisner excavation photo: Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. 43a for Cairo, JE 40679. The paint is today no longer visible, however.

at the temples;⁹⁴ a similar pattern appears on the king, where his narrow band of nemes overlaps a sweeping flare of sideburns. The queen's long lappets also echo the long, flat lappets of the king's nemes as they fall over his chest (fig. 1). Formal similarities in the dyad join human mother and son, just as the virtually forward gazes in the Boston triad link divine mother and son (fig. 14d).

Over her natural hair, the queen in the dyad wears a standard tripartite wig with one odd feature: the inflated contour as it rises above her forehead (fig. 19), unlike the contour of the goddesses' wigs on the triads, which hug the head more closely (fig. 22a–b, with one comparison). The inflated contour seems intentional and not just a stylistic variation. But whether it has any iconographic significance is unclear,⁹⁵ though it does recall a type of wig set back on a balding(?) upper forehead in reliefs of one Third Dynasty and two Fourth Dynasty queens (fig. 23a–b).⁹⁶ Yet the other iconography associated with such globular, set-back wigs (see n. 95) is not that of a king's mother, nor does it appear with the dyad's queen, so the reason for the bulbous portion of her wig remains unclear.

OTHER FEATURES AND MEANING OF WIG ON QUEEN MOTHER IN THE DYAD

The queen's wig is tripartite, of the type worn by mortals and goddesses alike. But its shape, even apart from the inflated upper portion, is further differentiated from those on the Hathor in the triads (figs. 21a–f).⁹⁷ The outer contours of the queen's lappets, for example, are less swelling, and more elongated and tubular in form than those on the triads. And her lappets end in ovals that are broader and flatter than those on the triads.

Other formal visual properties, however, do ally the queen in the dyad with Hathor, specifically the Hathor in the Boston Type 2 triad (fig. 25a). On that triad, and that one alone, Hathor wears a wig that displays a carved section of natural hair at the forehead (fig. 20).⁹⁸ This sculpted feature, unlike the painted version in one Type 1 triad (see n. 93), is smaller and fainter than on the dyad's queen mother. But this shared feature visually allies the two—goddess and queen mother—and is part of a larger, deliberate correlation between the king's mother on the dyad and Hathor on the Type 2 Boston triad.

94 Nadine Cherpion, "Sentiment Conjugal et Figuration à l'Ancien Empire," in *Kunst des Alten Reiches, Symposium im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991*, p. 36, cites C. Vandersleyen as saying that the hair appearing at the brow beneath the wig is well known in the Fourth Dynasty, but Cherpion adds that it is still found as late as Niuserre in the Fifth Dynasty.

95 Its form recalls a distinctive type of short, "globe-shaped" wig noted in Fay, "Royal Women. Pt. II," p. 108. See also Elizabeth Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*, MÄS 8 (1996), p. 179; and Sabbahy, *The Development of the Titulary and Iconography of the Ancient Egyptian Queen*, p. 312, who discusses the wig and its context. W.K. Simpson describes it as a "bag-wig or hair-dress set back on the head as if the forepart were shaved," in *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1978), p. 11.

96 When also wearing a cloak and standing with one of their children, such women are identified as mothers of the king's children. In this role they are called "She who sees Horus and Seth," a title "reserved exclusively for queens who are mothers of the king's children" (Fay, "Royal Women. Pt. II," p. 108, citing Sabbahy), a separate title from that of "mother of the king." Both Menkaure's mother, Khamerernebty I (Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, p. 82, Abb. 38 and p. 262), and his wife, Khamerernebty II (Lesko, "Queen Khamerernebty II," p. 155; Lisa Kuchman, "The Titles of Queenship, Pt. I, The Evidence from the Old Kingdom," in *SSEA VII*, no. 3 (May, 1977), Pl. II, p. 10 for comparison of the titles of both women), were "She who sees Horus and Seth." But unlike her daughter, Khamerernebty I was mother of a king (Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, p. 262). We have no representation of either woman with the short "globular" wig, though the cloaked, now headless statue of Khamerernebty II (fig. 6b intra) may have worn one (Fay, "Royal Women, Pt. II," p. 108).

97 The one wig that most approximates the dyad's is Hathor's wig on Cairo, JE 46499, seen in fig. 14d. Whether the similarity is intentional is unknown. There are significant differences in facial features, depth of hair-part, and flare of cow horns. Similarities with Cairo, JE 46499 may result from being carved by the same sculptor; the two works show similar sculptural restraint. Also note that the shape of the woman's long narrow lappets parallels that of the surviving lappet on the lion-headed goddess in the Hildesheim calcite dyad fragment of possibly earlier date. (See Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, Taf. 2.)

98 The figure of Hathor in MFA 09.200 has a painted black line across the lowest line of her wig on the proper right and, from my observation, also a black painted tab of hair beside her ear on the same side.

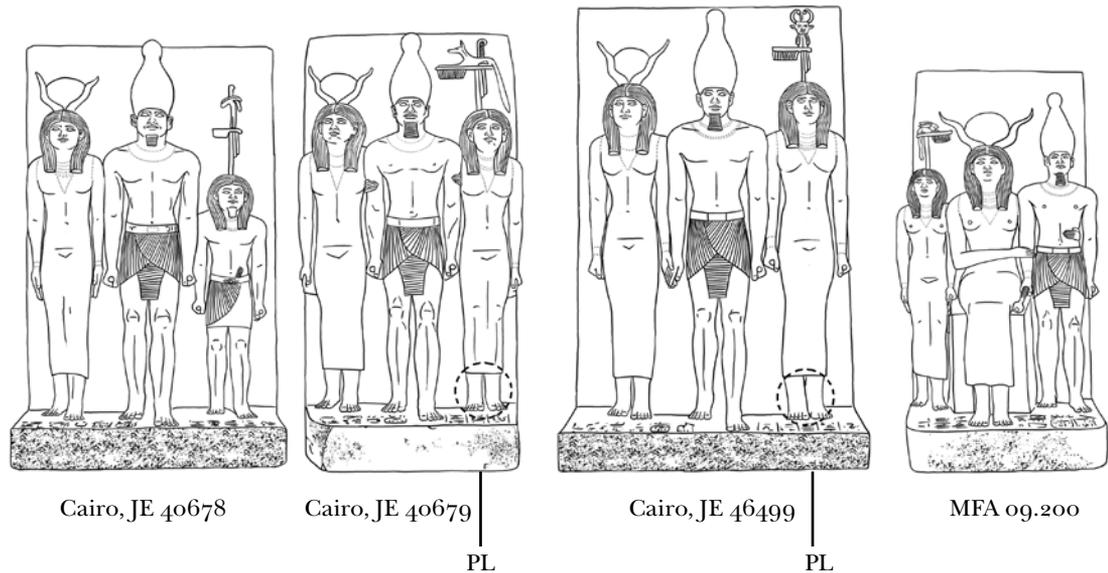


Fig. 26. Women on proper left (PL) of triads have feet together.

The point seems to be that the king's mother and Hathor, in appearance and essence, are aspects of each other. One embraces her son to the proper right (fig. 25b), the other to the proper left (fig. 25a). Their attitudes complement each other: one stands, the other sits. Each appears to look almost forward. Both have sculpted, not painted, bands of natural hair beneath their wigs. The queen thus appears to be the correlate of, most specifically, the Hathor in the Boston Type 2 triad, the triad most overtly linked to the sed festival.

THE KING'S MOTHER AND HATHOR AS CORRELATES

That the king's mother functions in parallel with Hathor accords with our understanding of queens as the complement and manifestation of this goddess,⁹⁹ the two forming a mythic continuum through which the king is reborn in this life and the next. But the queen in the dyad only shares features with Hathor; she is not Hathor—or she would be wearing Hathor's attributes, a physical impossibility given the lack of a back slab to receive them. And even if there were a back slab, her crown and horns would have made her unacceptably taller than the king.¹⁰⁰ As king's mother, she should be wearing the vulture headdress, a characteristic of kings' mothers that we've seen on statue fragments attributed to the mother of Menkaure, and that also appears on the determinative that ends the Galarza tomb inscription with her names and titles.¹⁰¹

One might posit that the swelling tripartite wig on the dyad's queen, if finished, would have been carved with the wings of a vulture. But the extended line of the woman's center wig part is inconsistent with the presence of a vulture headdress, and, furthermore, the wig lacks any insertion hole. The greywacke wig, it appears, was never intended to receive this headgear. Like the uraeus on the king, the vulture headdress, as others have suggested, must have been laid on as a separately worked item in another material like sheet gold. In this case the inflated upper portion of the wig, so different from the flatter comparable areas on the wigs in the triads, would have served as a bolder, more expansive form on which to showcase the queen mother's regalia.

99 Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 54 and passim.

100 Cf. Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built*, p. 68.

101 See n. 29 above.

KING'S MOTHER AND KING IN THE DYAD

Menkaure turns slightly away from his mother in the dyad, as if to move to his right, unlike his depiction in the Type 2 Boston triad, where he stands almost still (fig. 25b, a): note the almost level tab on his kilt in the triad (fig. 2b), as opposed to the sharply angled tab on his vigorously striding figure in the dyad (figs. 2a and 25b). His mother, in the dyad, embraces her striding son, just as her correlate, Hathor, in the Boston triad embraces her virtually stationary one.

The almost equal heights of the queen mother and king in the dyad recall the similar heights of Hathor and the king in the Type 1 triads. But unlike Hathor in the triads, the queen mother and king in the dyad stand on virtually the same plane (fig. 5a). He moves only slightly beyond her, his body remaining almost parallel to hers, while in the Type 1 triads he strides far ahead of the flanking figures, evident even in a fragmentary triad (fig. 24).¹⁰² The result is contrasting, but coexisting, expressions of dominance in the dyad: he is to his mother's right and strides ahead, while she looks forward as the main subject. The artist has thus found a way—as in the Boston triad—to give top billing to two actors at the same time, making each the “primary” focus, one through striding ahead, the other by facing more forward.

What gives the queen this privilege can only be what she does for the king. She is the vehicle of his rebirth.¹⁰³ And it is significant in this regard that the king in the dyad, when compared with his depiction in the triads, appears notably animated, i.e., alive. His right arm is pulled back and up, suggesting that he is swinging his arms in a quick stride or run (fig. 2a). His gait is more expansive than in any Type 1 triad. In fact, the trace of the royal tail (fig. 3), coupled with a vigorous gait, may signal that he is running the sed race,¹⁰⁴ the quintessential Egyptian ritual of rejuvenation. But it is then puzzling that he is wearing the nemes, not a headgear worn by kings when running the ritual race.

Earlier two-dimensional sed festival representations show kings running the sed race (or its forerunner) in the Double Crown and kilt (Den), or Upper Egyptian Crown and kilt (Djoser) and seated beneath a (sed?) canopy in Lower Egyptian crown and cloak (Narmer).¹⁰⁵ Depictions in the round show kings standing in Upper Egyptian crown and cloak (Abydos ivory king),¹⁰⁶ seated in Upper Egyptian crown and cloak (Khasekhemwy),¹⁰⁷ or seated in nemes and cloak (Djoser).¹⁰⁸ There was a menu of iconography from which to choose, with established features that could be variously combined.

The dyad combines features from different parts of the sed festival, I suggest, so that we have the king in a running gait and kilt from the running sed episodes, but wearing the nemes which is only known on the seated sed-cloaked Djoser. The model for combining disparate pieces of iconography is the Type 2 Boston triad, where, in the round, the king holds both the mace and the *mks*, attributes which, in separate Djoser reliefs, the king holds in separate

102 Still, the fact that in the dyad he strides even slightly forward puts him in a position of literal and figurative precedence: walking ahead (the queen's right shoulder is behind his), to whatever degree, labels him the dominant figure. In addition, he is at the proper right, the position typically of greater status (Gay Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* [Austin, 1994], p. 19), though in the Khafre dyad, we saw that Bastet, the figure of greater status, was on the proper left. And in the Boston Type 2 triad, the nome goddess, the figure of least status, is at the proper right.

103 As suggested by Arnold in *When the Pyramids Were Built*, p. 68. See also Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala, 1986) and review by Gay Robins in *JEA* 76 (1990), pp. 214–20, esp. p. 214.

104 The tail is sometimes worn and sometimes not in the sed race in the Djoser reliefs (Friedman, “The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser,” p. 3, figs. 2a, b).

105 See Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London and New York, 1989), p. 60, fig. 20 and p. 59.

106 See Spencer, *Early Egypt*, pp. 74–75.

107 In two separate statues from Hierakonopolis. For a limestone example in Oxford, see A. J. Spencer, *Early Egypt* (British Museum Press, 1993), pp. 68–9; for a greywacke example in Cairo, see Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, pp. 10–13. It is not clear, however, if the iconography we associate with the sed was specifically linked to it as early as the first two dynasties. See Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, pp. 59–61.

108 For excellent photos, see Edna R. Russmann, with photographs by David Finn, *Egyptian Sculpture* (University of Texas Press, 1989), pp. 14–16.

hands for separate episodes of the sed. The compression of iconography and episodes in three dimensions was perhaps necessitated by the Valley Temple's lack of stone walls which could otherwise have accommodated reliefs. One task of the dyad and triads was to compress themes and iconography that could more easily have been spread out in multiple reliefs into a more limited number of statues in the round.

With regard to the compression of two-dimensional themes and iconography into three dimensional sculptures, it may be worth noting a fragmentary relief from the Djoser Heliopolis shrine¹⁰⁹ that shows the seated king in a heb sed ceremony, accompanied by tiny figures of a queen, a daughter, and possibly, if Stadelmann is right, his mother—she may be the woman who kneels beside him, embracing one leg.¹¹⁰ The Menkaure dyad may offer a parallel in the round, where the king's mother was selected as the only family member present, was then magnified to equal scale beside her son, and shown embracing not just his leg but his whole figure.

KING'S MOTHER/HATHOR AND THE SED

Both Hathor, in the Type 2 Boston triad, and the king's mother, in the dyad, hold or touch the king in expressions that can be interpreted as legitimation and support. In this context, it is interesting to note what I believe was a modification to the original design of the dyad. The queen's right shoulder is higher than her left (fig. 4a). She was originally intended, I suggest, to raise her right arm to encircle the king's upper arm, following the gesture of the standing Hathor and nome deity in the Cynopolis triad (fig. 9, Cairo, JE 40679). But this design was abandoned for a double embrace, like the seated Hathor's in the Boston triad, where the goddess's left shoulder, as noted above, drops slightly lower than her right, specifically to accommodate this gesture (fig. 25a). The dyad's change in gesture must have been accomplished after the outlines of the sculpture, with the raised shoulder, had been roughed out. The revision further suggests that the queen mother in the dyad was meant to mirror the gestures of the Boston triad's Hathor, just as she copied that goddess's uniquely forward gaze. The king's mother, therefore, adopts both the gestures and virtual frontality of the sed-related Hathor, adoptions that tell the viewer to read the king's mother as an analogue to Hathor.

Also like the Hathor in the Boston triad, the queen mother in the dyad is presenting and legitimizing (maybe also "welcoming")¹¹¹ the king, and probably within the sed context.¹¹² Menkaure's vigorous gait in the dyad, pointing to a living—reborn—king, and his wearing of the nemes, the headcloth associated with a king's recognition, legitimation, and crowning by the gods,¹¹³ are details conflated from various episodes of the sed ceremony. It seems likely that the dyad and the Boston triad are complementary vehicles through which the king's mother and Hathor facilitate the king's ongoing birth, presentation and divine legitimation within the sed festival.

109 W. Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Oxford University Press, 1946), reissued by Hacker Art Books, 1978, p. 133, fig. 48 (right side); 134.

110 Stadelmann, "Représentations de la famille royale," p. 172 and fig. 3a and b, where he refers to the putative mother of the king as the "reine mère" (fig. 3b). Stadelmann notes that Djoser's monuments often mention the female members of his family, including his mother (p. 172). A. M. Roth, "Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organization of Pyramids, Tombs, and Cemeteries," in *JARCE* 30 (1993), p. 54, fig. 11 sees traces above the woman on the right as the name of another family member but not the queen mother.

111 Contra Stadelmann, "Représentations de la famille royale," p. 176.

112 In part, the embrace of the king in sculpture in the round effects what suckling scenes do in relief, that is, infusing the king with the power of the gods, and legitimizing him as their son. Cf. the suckling scenes in Fifth Dynasty tomb reliefs of Kings Sahure, Niuserre, and Unas. For Niuserre example, see *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, catalogue no. 118 p. 352–53.

113 Katja Goebis, "Untersuchungen zur Funktion und Symbolgehalt des nms," in *ZÄS* 122 (1995), pp. 154–81, pls. III–IV, esp. pp. 156–68, based largely on Coffin Texts, esp. CT 312.



Fig. 27a. Left leg advanced, stretching forward the hem of a dress.
MFA Eg. Inv. 3685.



Fig. 27b. Incised line at right defines back of the leg. MFA Eg. Inv. 3685.

IDENTITY OF THE KING'S MOTHER

The king's mother in the dyad is surely Khamerernebty I,¹¹⁴ a woman whose titles in the Galarza tomb lintel¹¹⁵ link her to kings over three generations. Unlike her daughter, she was a *sst ntr*, daughter of the god, meaning that she had the rare distinction of being the daughter of a deceased king¹¹⁶ (most likely Khufu or Radjedef). She was also *hmt nswt*, the wife of a king (most likely Khafre). And, like only a select group that, again, did not include her daughter, she was a *mwt nswt bity*, mother of a king,¹¹⁷ an identification reinforced by the vulture headdress she wears in her determinative at the conclusion of the top line of the tomb lintel inscription. As a *sst ntr*, daughter of the god, legitimation was understood to flow from her deceased father through her to her son, the king.¹¹⁸ The conclusion that it was Menkaure who was Khamerernebty I's son is virtually confirmed by two pieces of evidence: an Opening of the Mouth *psš-kf* knife,¹¹⁹ found in his pyramid temple and inscribed with the text, "Mother of the King, Khamerernebty,"¹²⁰ and a Giza tomb inscription from the late Fifth Dynasty, stating that the tomb owner, "Overseer of Ka-priests of the King's Mother," was the beneficiary of the reversion of offerings from "Khamerernebty, mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt," whose mortuary foundation (fragmentary in the text) included the name "Menkaure."¹²¹ In sum, Khamerernebty I was a woman with high-status titles who, unlike her daughter, was a *mwt nswt bity* and *sst ntr*, and, as outlined above, a woman to whom we can attribute, with some reliability, statue fragments or other images that included the vulture headdress, reserved for kings' mothers.

If, in the dyad, we are looking at Khamerernebty I assimilated to Hathor,¹²² it makes sense for her to be the focus of the dyad. It also means that as the combined queen mother/Hathor she has literally taken a position beside the king not seen in the triads, that is, to his left, a shift in position that may signal a new point in the ritual drama. And this dyad may not have been alone. Further enriching this drama was, I believe, a second dyad.

EVIDENCE FOR A SECOND DYAD

The king's mother in the Boston dyad stands at the proper left. Paint would originally have made clear that she was wearing a halter dress with shoulder straps and a V-neck.¹²³ Today, the clearest evidence of the dress is its raised, sculpted hemline that runs a few inches above the queen's ankles and stretches forward over her advanced left leg (fig. 1). Though Hathor has her leg similarly advanced in the triads, it is important to remember that she is never on the proper left of any triad. The only women who appear on the proper left are female nome personifications, who stand with feet together (fig. 26).

Using a number of the approximately 35 "shattered bits"¹²⁴ of greywacke statuary from the Menkaure Valley Temple, I have tried to reconstruct the fragmentary MFA Boston triads

114 Jürgen v. Beckerath, "Mykerinos," in *LÄ IV*, p. 274.

115 See n. 29 above.

116 Sabbahy, "The king's mother in the Old Kingdom," pp. 309–10.

117 Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, p. 82; Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 154, 4.15. See also Callender and Jánosi, "The Tomb of Queen Khamerernebty II," p. 20 on why this title of *mwt nswt bity* further suggests "her candidature as the mother of Mycerinus [Menkaure]."

118 Sabbahy, "The king's mother in the Old Kingdom," p. 308.

119 Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, p. 82, Abb. 36; Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. 19 a.

120 Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, pp. 81–82.

121 For text, translation, and commentary of the Fifth Dynasty tomb inscription of *N.ḏ-R3.w-msṯt*, see Roth, *Die Königsmütter*, pp. 481–82, and p. 536 for reconstruction drawing. On the concept behind the reversion of offerings, which proceed from a higher-to a lower-ranking individual, see H. Altenmüller, "Opferumlauf," in *LÄ IV*, cols. 596–97.

122 B. Lesko concludes the same for the colossal seated statue of Khamerernebty II (Cairo, JE 48856), in Lesko, "Queen Khamerernebty II," p. 161.

123 As seen on excavation photos of the women in the triads. See Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pls. 38–45.

124 The term given by Peter Lacovara.



Fig. 28a–c. MFA Eg. Inv. 3685 held beside proper left leg of woman in dyad, MFA 11.1738.



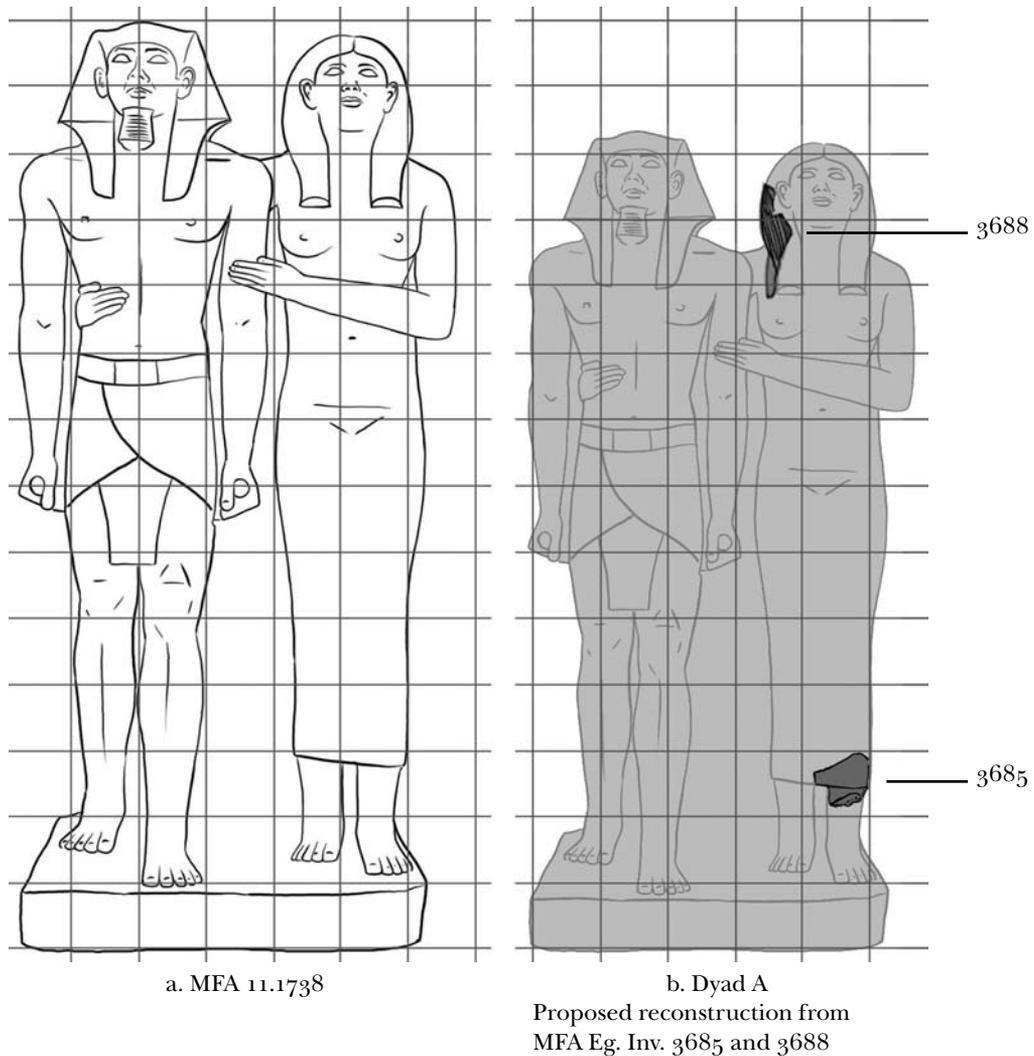


Fig. 29. Proposed reconstruction of new dyad (dyad A) using MFA Eg. Inv. 3685; based on existing dyad, MFA 11.1738.

(12.1514 and 11.3147) and suggest the existence of new triads.¹²⁵ Some smashed pieces appear not to come from triads. One small greywacke piece that I at first thought came from a triad, for example, I later realized could not. It is MFA, Boston Eg. Inv. 3685, a fragment of an advanced left leg bearing the hem of a woman's dress (figs. 27a, b). The incised line along the back of this leg is a feature found only on figures at the outermost proper left side of a sculpture.¹²⁶ This small MFA piece, therefore, can only come from a striding female figure in this position. But the sculpture from which this fragment comes cannot be a triad, since no female figure ever appears with left leg advanced at the proper left side of a triad. The only time, within the available data, that a female figure appears with left leg advanced on the outermost proper left side of a sculpture is in the dyad.

¹²⁵ The reconstructions of real and virtual triads will appear in my forthcoming article.

¹²⁶ The Boston triad (og.200) has a nome goddess with advanced left leg at the proper right of the sculpture, but no incised line defines the outermost left side of her leg; instead, the left side of her leg blends with the stone.

Holding the MFA fragment 3685 beside the advanced left leg of the queen on the dyad shows the parallel between the fragment and the extended left leg of the queen (fig. 28a–c). The fragment, I suggest, belonged to a female figure in the same position on a second dyad. This virtual dyad was smaller than the existing Boston dyad, as reconstructed to scale beside it in fig. 29a, b. That the dyads should vary in size is in keeping with the disparity in size and proportions among the four intact triads, as revealed in Reisner's photo at Harvard Camp (not in his 1931 publication),¹²⁷ and as my reconstructions of additional triads will also illustrate. Another fragment, MFA, Boston Eg. Inv. 3688, shown in fig. 29b, is part of a wig and chest, which also fits to scale in the reconstruction of the new dyad. If this is correct, the wig would suggest that the second dyad also represented the king's mother¹²⁸ or, based on earlier Fourth Dynasty dyad fragments, another mother goddess like the lion-headed Bastet,¹²⁹ for whom dyads were noted above.

The existence of a second dyad would accord with the traditional pairing of Egyptian sculptural types. But we should not expect exact duplicates. The triads differ in size, style of carving and details of iconography.¹³⁰ The existing and proposed dyads clearly differ in size, and other differences probably obtained as well.

To summarize: The woman in the dyad is the king's mother, Khamerernebty I, who serves as the human complement to Hathor, most specifically the Hathor of the Boston Type 2 triad, probably in a role related to the sed festival. The role of the dyad(s) and triads in the sed festival will be expanded on in a forthcoming article that will also present suggested reconstructions of new triads.

127 Photo published in Manuelian, "March 1912," p. 68, bottom right.

128 Hathor is ruled out because of her tall headdress.

129 See fig. 8a and note the wig lappet.

130 As an overall program, they were probably paired by type and subtype according to details like gesture, as suggested by Seidel in *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, pp. 44–45. My reconstructions of new triads will further clarify this typology.