LES CRITÈRES DE DATATION STYLISTIQUES à l'Ancien Empire

Édité par Nicolas GRIMAL

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE
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BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ÉTUDE 120 - 1998
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This article reviews nine sculptures to identify specific features that distinguish representations of royal women from those of their non-royal counterparts.

Seven Old Kingdom sculptures with heads preserved are inscribed for royal women. 1 Two additional representations, although uninscribed, are included because their iconography and the specific manner in which the women are represented with the king indicates their royal status.

1. **Princess Redjef (figs. 1-2)**

   Turin 3065. 2
   Dynasty III, presumably reign of Djoser.
   Diorite.
   Height 85 cm.
   Provenance: Saqqara. Formerly in the Drovetti Collection.

   The statue of Princess Redjef in Turin is the earliest preserved inscribed sculpture representing a royal lady. A line of hieroglyphs on the base in front of her feet reads, "king's daughter, of his body, Redjef." (fig. 2c).

   Although this princess is not otherwise documented, stylistically, a Dynasty III date is certain. 3 Neither Redjef's garment, a halter dress, nor her attitude, left arm crossed over her midriff, distinguish her from contemporary non-royal women. Although the tripartite wig may initially have been reserved for royalty, private women also wore it by the IIIrd Dynasty. Neset, a non-royal contemporary of the princess (fig. 2d), 4

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1. Headless sculptures inscribed for royal women are not included in this discussion.
3. See the discussion of this sculpture in this volume, M. Eaton-Krauss.
4. Paris, Louvre A 38; limestone, height 159 cm. For additional statistics, see M. Eaton-Krauss, *ibid.*
also wears a tripartite wig and a halter dress, and like Redje.ī, her arm is folded across her body.

In addition to Redje.ī's title, the backrest on her throne (an element reserved for royalty throughout the Old Kingdom) is the key to her royal status.  

2. **Princess Wemtet-[ka]** (figs. 3-4)

Present location not known.  
Dynasty IV, presumably reign of Snofru.  
Limestone.  
Height 43 cm, width 25 cm, depth 28 cm.  
Provenance: Dahshur, Valley Temple.

The second inscribed statue, also representing a princess, was found by Ahmed Fakhry at Snofru’s Valley Temple at Dahshur. The inscription on the statue base reveals her rank. She is the “King’s daughter, of his body, whom he loves, Wemtet-[ka]”. Despite the fact that this statue is the only record of this princess, its findspot suggests that King Snofru was her father.

She sits on the ground with her legs tucked to the right, her left hand flat on her thigh, and her right hand placed above her breast. Neither her wig, a striated bob, nor her garment, an ankle-length dress with a halter-like bodice, is specific to royal women at this time.

The shape of the base, trapezoidal with a projection to accommodate her feet, is unusual. It may have been carved to fit into a larger base that included a statue of her father. Two reigns later, under Djedefre, such a grouping occurs as a unified sculpture. However, the composition is already documented under Djoser in a relief fragment from Heliopolis, now in Turin (fig. 4 d), which shows the king seated on a block seat with miniature representations of the women of his family gathered around his legs. Particularly relevant here, Djoser’s daughter Int-ka.s appears to be kneeling...
or sitting on the ground with her hand placed above her breast in much the same way Wemtet-ka is represented.  

This attitude, seated on the ground with legs to one side, one hand on the thigh or across the breast, the other around the husband’s or father’s ankle, seems to be reserved for royal women through the IVth Dynasty. Thereafter, it enters and remains in the repertoire of private statuary. A particularly elaborate treatment is Akhy’s statue in Cairo, where his wife and daughter tuck their knees toward him instead of away from him (fig. 5).  

Therefore, two features, Wemtet-[ka]’s physical attitude and the inscription on the statue base, demonstrate her royalty.

3. FEMALE MEMBER OF DJEDEFRE’S FAMILY (fig. 6)  

Paris, Louvre E 12 627.  
Dynasty IV, reign of Djedefre.  
Red quartzite.  
Height 28 cm, width 19.5 cm, depth 23 cm, height of woman 10.7 cm, width of woman 5.21 cm, height of face 2.13 cm, width of face 1.97 cm.  
Provenance: Abu Roash, Pyramid Temple.

As mentioned above, the first sculptural interpretation of the theme combining the king with a female member of his family occurs under Djedefre, and is best preserved in the Louvre’s fragmentary statue from Abu Roash. Like Princess Wemtet-[ka], the woman here is seated on the ground, her legs tucked to one side, the left in this case instead of the right. Similar to the woman whose name and title are lost on the Heliopolis relief (fig. 4d), the woman clasps Djedefre’s leg.

Although the woman’s name is not preserved here, and despite the fact that neither her garment (ankle-length gown) nor her coiffure (slightly longer than Wemtet-[ka]’s, and brushing the tops of her shoulders) is restricted to royalty, certainly only a royal woman could be shown in this manner with the king.

9. The gesture, hand above the breast, was not restricted to royal persons as the stelae from Helwan demonstrate, see Z. Saad, Ceiling Stelae and Second Dynasty Tombs, ASAE-Suppl. 21, Cairo, 1957, for example, nos. 5, 8, 16 etc.  
10. Cairo CG 44; Saqqara, B 14, position of tomb not known; limestone, height 82 cm; PM III, 2, 1981, p. 690.  
Other examples include, Brooklyn 37.17 E (J. Vandier, Manuel III, 1958, pl. XXV, 5) and MMA 53.19 (J. Vandier., ibid., pl. XXIX, 4).


4. **Hetepheres II and Mersyankh III**, (fig. 7).

   Boston, MFA 30. 1456. 13
   Dynasty IV, reign of Chephren(?)
   Limestone, painted.
   Height 59.5 cm, width 23.5 cm, depth 18 cm.
   Provenance: Giza, from the debris in the main chamber of the tomb of Mersyankh III (G 7 530 + 7 540).

   The Boston pair statue of Queen Hetepheres II embracing her daughter Queen Mersyankh III is from the latter’s tomb at Giza. 13 In the inscription, Hetepheres is titled, “she who beholds Horus and Seth, the one who is joined to the one beloved of the Two Ladies.” 15” The inscription accompanying Mersyankh’s representation reads, “her daughter, king’s wife, whom she loves” (in relation to Hetepheres).

   Hetepheres’s ankle-length dress and shoulder-length striated wig are not specific to royalty. Her daughter’s short natural hair, a style which is often shown in relief but rare in sculpture, 16 is not a sign of royal rank, but probably an indication of her junior status in relation to her mother. 17

   Therefore, only the inscription carved on the base identifies the mother and daughter as queens.

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16. E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*, MÄS 8, 1966, p. 178 sq. See also Vandier’s comments in *Manuel III*, 1958, p. 106, concerning its infrequent occurrence. Other examples of short natural hair include a naked girl from a family group sculpture in the Harer Family Trust (G.D. Scott, *Temple, Tomb and Dwelling, Egyptian Art from the Harer Family Trust Collection*, 1992, pp. 68-69, illus.); Cairo CG 68, a girl (wearing a dress) next to her father’s leg. Vienna, ÄS 8 410, a naked girl from a family group sculpture (W. Seipel, *Gott, Mensch, Pharao*, Vienna, 1992, p. 128 sq. illus.). The short hair style is also found on servant statues, for example, Cairo CG 115.

5. **Statue Base of Queen Mersyankh III, (fig. 8)**

Boston, 30.1457a.  
Dynasty IV, presumably reign of Chephren.  
Limestone.  
Height 16.8 cm, width 16 cm, depth 13 cm.  
Provenance: Giza, found in debris near Mersyankh III’s mastaba (G 7530 + 7540).

Queen Mersyankh III is represented again in a fragmentary statuette which, according to the inscription, was dedicated by her son Nebemakhet. As reconstructed in Boston it consists of two non-adjoining parts, a female head wearing a striated, shoulder-length wig (fig. 9), and a base with legs (fig. 8), both of which were found in the debris near the queen’s tomb. The obvious bulk of the garment around the legs, and the distinct overlapping in the middle of the front beneath which a second article of clothing is visible at the separation, suggests she is wearing a cloak over a dress.

With one exception, the cloak is worn in relief and sculpture only by royal women. The inscription and the cloak, not worn at this time by private women, both reveal Mersyankh’s royal status.

18. The fragment is inscribed on the top of the base “Great favorite, great of praise, Mersyankh” and on the backslab “Beholder of Horus and Seth, great favorite, Mersyankh” and “It is her eldest son, the King’s son, of his body, Nebemakhet, who made (this) for her”; D. Dunham, W.K. Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 1974, p. 23, pl. XVII c-e; PM III, 1, 1974, p. 199.

19. Boston, MFA 30.1457b; limestone, height 9 cm, width 8 cm, depth 7.8 cm, height of face 4.4 cm; D. Dunham, W.K. Simpson, *ibid.*, p. 23; PM III, 1, 1974, p. 199.

20. The negative space between the backs of the ankles and backslab has been carefully removed.

21. An exception Nofret (Cairo CG 3), the wife of Prince Rahotep, also wears a cloak. However, her status as wife of a “king’s son, of his body”, probably afforded her some royal prerogatives. In a similar manner, Se-ankhwt-pth (Cairo CG 37, 196, 201), who was married to a “king’s daughter, of his body”, is represented wearing a pleated “royal” kilt over the private kilt. Despite its similarity, as M. Baud pointed out to me, it is wrapped right over left to distinguish it from royal examples, and instead of a belt panel, it has a knot at the front. W.S. Smith, *HESPOK*, 1949, p. 79, notes the unusual use of the royal kilt by a private man.

22. In relief, Turin, Suppl. 2761/21, Djoser with female members of his family, see note 8; the mother of Prince Khafkhufu depicted in his tomb at Giza, PM III, 1, 1974, p. 188, G 7130 + 7140, W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II, Giza Mastabas 3*, 1978, p. 11; Queen Hetepheres II represented in her daughter’s tomb at Giza, PM III, 1, 1974, p. 197 sq., G 7530 + 7540; D. Dunham, W.K. Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 1974, pl. VIIc and fig. 7. In sculpture, Cairo JE 48828, the cloaked figure of Kha-merer-neby II from her tomb at Giza, PM III, 1, 1974, p. 274. Presumably, the figures of women wearing cloaks preserved from the Archaic Period also represent royal women; for example, those in the Ashmolean Museum illustrated in J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, 1095, p. 57, fig. 27, p. 171, fig. 133(3-6). A small female bust in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 30.1461 found at Giza, also belongs in this category; D. Dunham, W.K. Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 1974. The curved, raised edge around the right shoulder must be a cloak.
6. **QUEEN KHA-MERER-NEBTY II, (fig. 10).**

   Cairo JE 48 856. 23
   Dynasty IV, reign of Mycerinus.
   Limestone.
   Height 2.40 cm.
   Provenance: Giza, Central Field, rock cut tomb of Kha-merer-nebty II.

   A badly deteriorated, twice life-sized statue inscribed for Mycerinus's wife Kha-merer-nebty II was found in her rock-cut tomb at Giza. The queen is represented sitting on a throne with a backrest and a backpillar, and with her hands flat on her thighs. The columns of inscription on the front of the throne give her titles, "great in respect to perfection, she who beholds Horus and Seth, king's daughter, of his body, king's wife". No elements of her coiffure, a striated tripartite wig, or dress, which seems to have been a halter dress that ended well above her ankles, distinguish her from her non-royal counterparts. The throne's backrest, the statue's extraordinary size, and the inscription specify her royalty.

7. **MYCERINUS DYAD (figs. 11-12)**

   Boston, MFA 11.1738.
   Dynasty IV, reign of Mycerinus.
   Graywacke.
   Height 1.39 cm, width 0.57 cm, depth 0.54 cm.
   Provenance: Giza, Mycerinus Valley Temple.

   The Boston dyad depicting a king, certainly Mycerinus, embraced by a woman, is not inscribed. 25 When it was found in the king's Valley Temple by George Reisner, 26 he identified the woman as Mycerinus's wife Queen Kha-merer-nebty. Is she? The question is two-fold. Is the woman shown with Mycerinus his wife, and is she Kha-merer-nebty?

   A comparison between the dyad in Boston and the triads divided between Cairo and Boston shows that the woman is Mycerinus's wife. The figures accompanying

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23. Giza; PM III, 1, 1974, p. 274. For the identification of the tomb owner as Kha-merer-nebty II, not I, see E. Edel, MIO I, 1953, p. 336. I am indebted to M. Saleh, Director, Cairo Museum, for permitting me to examine this sculpture and for permission to publish. A special thanks goes to Samia Mallah for sharing her thoughts on this and other sculptures with me.

24. PM III, 1, 1974, p. 29.

25. According to G. Reisner, Mycerinus, 1931, p. 110(17), the heads and upper bodies of the figures were in the final finishing stage (VII) and the legs and base were still in State VI, and therefore uninscribed.

Mycerinus in the triads are not only specified as deities by inscription, but also rely on their crowns and standards to visually reinforce their identity as either the goddess Hathor, or a nome personification (fig. 13). In contrast, the woman at Mycerinus's side wears no such attribute (fig. 12a), nor was the sculpture prepared in any way for the addition of a crown.

The female figure at the king's side wears a smooth, tripartite wig. Her natural hair is carefully delineated in relief beneath the wig at the forehead (fig. 12a), and additionally as curls in relief in front of her ears (fig. 12b). In contrast, all the deities in the triads wear striated wigs. Although the original paint is no longer preserved, the excavation photographs show that the tabs in front of their ears, and the forehead area at the part where it draws back was painted in and sometimes superficially delineated by an incised line (fig. 13b). A clear distinction is made between the wig worn by the woman in the dyad (natural hair prominently shown beneath the smooth wig), and the deities (boldly striated wigs with tabs in front of the ears, and the forehead area below the part painted in).

In all but one of the triads, the king is the central figure, flanked by the goddess Hathor (approximately the same size as the king) and a nome personification shown on a smaller scale. When the deities touch the king with one hand, they hold ankh-signs in the other, as if symbolically transferring its strength to the king. In the representations where the deities do not physically touch the king, Hathor holds both hands open at her sides, and the nome personifications hold "elusive shapes." Ankh-signs are not included.

In one triad, the central position is dominated by an enthroned representation of the goddess Hathor (fig. 13a). Not only is she substantially larger than the king, but she embraces the king with both hands, the only preserved triad in which this occurs. The nome personification, this time separated from the king by the goddess Hathor, holds an ankh-sign that is worked along the side of Hathor's throne. An interpretation of the iconography is beyond the scope of this paper, but it appears that Hathor is represented on the same scale as the king, except when she embraces him with both hands (fig. 13a). If this is correct, it would follow that the woman with Mycerinus

27. Although surely not inadvertent, the significance of Mycerinus's choice of headgear, the White Crown in the triads and the nemes in the dyad, is uncertain.
28. G. Reisner, Mycerinus, 1931, p. 123 sq., does not mention the ankh-symbols. For a discussion of hand-held ankh-symbols see, H.G. Fischer, ZAS 100, 1973, p. 16-28, publishing a stela in the Cairo Museum (JE 88 876) depicting the owner and his wife holding ankh-symbols. Old Kingdom examples in which the gesture is reserved for deities, and exceptionally royalty, are also cited.
29. H.G. Fischer, MMJ 10, 1976, p. 9-21, where he concludes that the "elusive shape" is a bolt of cloth.
30. See W.K. Simpson in Gs. Otto, op. cit., 1977, p. 495 sq., who discusses the embrace directed from god to king, particularly as it occurs in two-dimensional representations.
31. It is also possible that Hathor was represented larger than the king so, although she is seated, her head would still be approximately level with his.
in the dyad, who is embracing him with both hands, is not a deity. She would be human, not divine.

If she is not a deity, then her proximity to the king and the size of her representation, almost equal to his, both indicate she is a member of his family, presumably his queen.

Although this woman must be Mycerinus’s wife, Seipel pointed out in his unpublished dissertation that there is no proof that she is Queen Kha-merer-nebty. Kha-merer-nebty, whose tomb lies outside the king’s pyramid complex, near Chephren’s Valley Temple, must have been a minor queen. The woman in the Boston dyad is presumably one of the queens for whom subsidiary pyramids were built beside Mycerinus’s pyramid.

The proximity and the manner in which this woman is shown with the king both establish her identity as a royal woman.


Cairo CG 196. Dynasty V.
Limestone.
Height 105 cm, width 47 cm, depth 71 cm,
height of princess’s face 5.5 cm.
Provenance: Saqqara, exact location not known.

The next statue is inscribed for “the king’s daughter, of his body, Neb-ib-nebty” and her commoner husband, Se-ankhw-ptaḥ (fig. 14). Although the princess is not otherwise documented, both this and a second more fragmentary statue representing the couple (fig. 15) are datable to Dynasty V. In both statues, the princess (figs. 14a, 15a) is depicted on a smaller scale than her husband. She is seated on the ground with her legs tucked to the right, while she encircles her husband’s leg with her left arm and touches his calf with her left hand. The general construction of this attitude is already

33. W.S. Smith, HESPOK, 2nd ed., 1949, p. 38, noted that the sculptural composition, wife embracing husband, is subsequently taken into the repertoire of private statuary.
37. Cairo CG 37; limestone, height 123 cm, Saqqara; represents Se-ankhw-ptaḥ with left leg advanced while Neb-ib-nebty, seated on the ground, tucks her legs to the right and grasps his leg. A third statue of Se-ankhw-ptaḥ (Cairo CG 201, limestone, height 96 cm, presumably Saqqara) represents him seated, with his two sons on a miniature scale standing against the seat beside his legs.
familiar from the IVth Dynasty statue of king Djedefre in the Louvre. Although the pose is initially restricted to royal women, it begins to appear in private sculpture during the Vth Dynasty (fig. 5). Perhaps Neb-ib-nebty and Se-ankhw-ptah’s statues are the intermediate steps in this process.

Princess Neb-ib-nebty’s head is partially preserved on only one of the statues (fig. 14a); therefore, the second statue will not be considered further. The princess wears an ankle-length dress with a halter-like bodice and a coiffure similar to the one worn by Mersyankh II in the Boston pair statue. Here, however, treatment of the hair at the forehead below the part is more elaborate, with a series of horizontal striations and a row of tight curls bordering its lower edge.

Neither coiffure nor garment determine her status, and it is uncertain if at this time the attitude is still reserved for royal women only. The inscription tells us she is a princess.

9. QUEEN MERYRE-ANKH-NES II AND PEHY II (figs. 16-17)

Brooklyn 39.119. Dynasty VI, reign of Pepy II.
Calcite.
Height 38.9 cm, width 17.8 cm, depth 25.2 cm.
Provenance: not known.

The Brooklyn Museum’s statue of the VIth Dynasty Queen Meryre-ankh-nes II (fig. 16) depicts her seated on a throne with a backrest and holding her son, Pepy II, on her lap. The inscription calls her, “mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, daughter of the God, one revered, beloved of Khnum.” Although her tripartite wig and long garment are familiar from both royal and private representations, a new element appears, the vulture headdress, which will thereafter be worn often by queens to the end of the Pharaonic Period. The vulture, its head now lost but originally made separately and inserted into the recess at the forehead, spreads its wings over the top of the queen’s head and clasps shen-signs in its talons.

This statue and a number of inscribed, relief representations show that during the Old Kingdom, when worn by a human, the vulture headdress was the prerogative of the mother of the king.

38. In contrast, however, the woman with Djedefre rests her free hand on her thigh.
40. See J. Romano in this volume where the sculpture is discussed further. R. Fazzini kindly permitted me to examine this sculpture.
41. T.G.H. James, *WilbMon* VI, 1974, p. 28(68), pls. IV, XXV.
Although inscribed statues wearing the vulture headdress are not preserved from earlier periods, a number of fragments, plus the fine head in Leipzig (fig. 18) found near Chephren's Funerary Temple and stylistically attributable to his reign, show the vulture headdress was already well developed by Dynasty IV.

The inscription on Meryre-ankh-nes's statue, her proximity to the king, the backrest of her throne, and the vulture headdress, all indicate her royal status.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Seven Old Kingdom sculptures inscribed for royal women (1, 2, 4-6, 8, 9) and two more, the woman beside Djedefre's leg in the Louvre's statue (3), and the woman with Mycerinus in the Boston dyad (7), have been analyzed to determine what features, if any, distinguish them from their non-royal contemporaries.

Specific features reviewed include coiffures (tripartite wig [1, 6, 7, 9], ear- or shoulder-length wig [2-4 and probably 5], short-natural hair [4]), head gear (vulture headdress [9]), dress (halter dress [1-9], cloak [5]), furniture (throne with backrest [1, 6, 9]), attitudes (seated on the ground with legs to one side [2, 3, 8], embracing the king [7]), and size of the sculpture (6). Of these, only the vulture headdress, thrones with backrests, and colossal scale are exclusive to royal women. Uninscribed statues with these features are assured to be royal.

With certain restrictions, two specific attitudes may signify that a representation is royal. The composition of a woman seated on the ground with legs to one side and one hand on the chest (2), or as part of a group statue in which her hand touches or encircles her husband's or father's ankle (3, 8) is reserved for representations of royal women until sometime in the Vth Dynasty, when the attitude enters the sphere of private sculpture. Prior to the Vth Dynasty, a statue exhibiting these features must be royal.

The second attitude, or gesture, involves a woman embracing the king (7). If the woman is not a goddess, than she must be royal; a private woman would never be shown in this proximity to the king.

The cloak is generally indicative of royalty (5), but may be worn by a private woman under special circumstances. An uninscribed statue with this feature must therefore be supplemented with other evidence before a royal statue may be conferred.

All coiffures (tripartite, ear-length, shoulder-length, short-natural) are common to both royal and non-royal statuary, as is the halter dress, and are therefore of little use in distinguishing the royal from the non-royal.

43. Leipzig, 1965; calcite, height 10.57 cm, width 12.21 cm, height of face 8 cm, width of face 7.5 cm, height of ear 4.02 cm, height of eye 1.37 cm, width of eye 2.5 cm, height of mouth 1 cm, width of mouth 3 cm, L. Borchardt in U. Hölscher, *Das Grabmal des Königs Chephren*, 1912, p. 102, no. 56 and fig. 140.
None of the features reviewed is exclusive to non-royal women.

Attitudes, thrones with backrests, proximity to the king, and sculpture size, apart from inscriptions, can all imply a woman's royal position. Vital iconographic details now lost may have been added in paint. However, the attire of these women as it is now does not distinguish them from their non-royal counterparts with two exceptions — the cloak worn by Mersyankh in the Boston fragment with feet (fig. 10) 44, and the vulture headdress worn by Queen Meryre-ankh-nes (fig. 21).

44. See footnote 21 above, concerning the unique example of a private woman wearing a cloak.
Fig. 1. Turin 3065, Princess Redje.f.
Photo: H.W. Müller.
Fig. 2  a-c. Turin 3065, Princess Redje. Photo: H.W. Müller.
  d. Paris, Louvre A 38, Neset (Kunst des Alten Reiches, SDAIK 28, Taf. 63).
Fig. 3.


Fig. 4.

b. Dahshur, Princess Wemdet-ka (ibid, pl. XLIV, D).
c. Dahshur, Princess Wemdet-ka (ibid, pl. XLIII, B).
d. Turin, 2781/21 Djoser, from Heliopolis.
Fig. 5 a-b. Cairo CG 44 Akhy, from Saqqara. – c. Detail of face. – d. Detail of wife.
Fig. 6 a-d. Paris, Louvre E 12627, Djedefre.
Fig. 7. Boston, MFA 30.1456. Hetepheres II and Merayankh III. Photo: courtesy of the Museum.
Fig. 8. a-c. Boston, MFA 30.1457a, Mersyankh III. – d. Inscription on back slab.
Fig. 10. Cairo, JE 48856. Kha-merer-neby II. Photo: courtesy of the Museum.
Fig. 11. Boston, MFA 11.1738. Mycerinus Dyad. Photo: courtesy of the Museum.
Fig. 12  a. Boston, MFA 11.1738. Detail of Queen. — b. Boston, MFA 11.1738. Profile of Queen.
Fig. 13 a-b. Mycerinus triad with Hathor, Boston 09.200. – c-d. Mycerinus triad, Cairo JE 46499.
Fig. 14 a-b. Cairo CG 196. Princess Neb-ib-nebty and Se-ankhw-ptah.
Fig. 15.
b. Se-ankhw-ptah, detail of kilt
c. Se-ankhw-ptah, profile.
Fig. 16. Brooklyn 39.119. Meryre-ankh-nes II and Pepy II. Photo: courtesy of the Museum.
Fig. 17 a-d. Brooklyn 39.119. Meryre-ankh-nes II and Pepy II. Photo: courtesy of the Museum.
Fig. 18 a-c.
Leipzig 1965, Queen wearing vulture headdress.