THE QUEENS OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY

By Dr. Ali Hassan

THE QUEENS OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY 1997

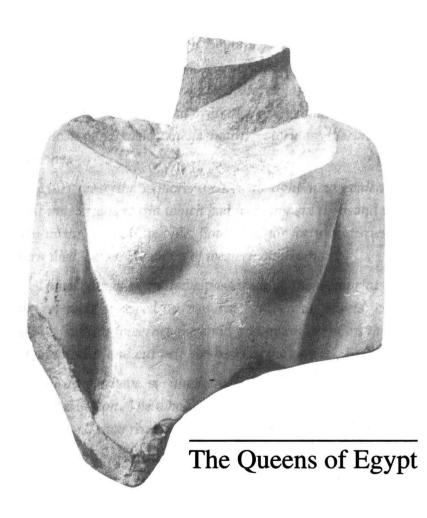
By Dr. Ali Hassan

Design & Execution :

Amal Safwat El - Alfy S. C. A. Press



Ministry of Culture Supreme Council of Antiquities [This page is intentionally blank.]



[This page is intentionally blank.]

T he history of Ancient Egypt is full of surprises for the modern investigator. Its extraordinary culture, the high standard of its art, the breadth of its philosophies, perfection of its mechanical skill and brilliancy of its conquests make up the most remarkable and facinating story in the annals of nations.

Every year the explorer brings to light new evidence of that mysterious world which had its being six thousand years ago in the land of the Nile; flourished for forty centuries and then died, before the dawn of western civilization.

Thousands of years have passed since these imprints of a nation were stamped on papyrus, graven on jewels, cut in stone, fixed in towering pyramid and pylon hewn on the face of mountains and cut into the heart of the earth.

No people have so impressed themselves on the land of their habitation. The whole country is an open book in which all who will may read the story of the first sons of Egypt.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this Ancient Empire is the very unusual position held in it by the Egyptian woman, a position unique and unparalleled in the

history of womankind.

Her importance in the state seems to have been recognized as supreme and many writers on Egyptology hold that woman was the sole heiress; the man inheriting both property and position only through the rights of his wife or mother.

This supremacy of the woman made her the legal head of the house, gave her the precedence over all the men of her family and even carried her to the sovereignty of the state, placing the crown upon her head, and endowing her with the natural rights of government.

Petrie Says:

It is very doubtful if a king could reign except as the husband of the heiress of the kingdom, the right to which descended in the female line, like other property. Doubtless the law of the land gave theoretically the chief supremacy to woman, but it is not possible to read the long lists of king's names - lists which often cover several generations in time and yet contain no reference whatever to either queen or heiress - without - suspecting that the woman's right to govern was practically a dead letter . The man perhaps owed his inheritance to her, nevertheless his records, with few exceptions, represent himself as the sole executive power, standing quite alone before his people and his gods, pre eminantly the chief.

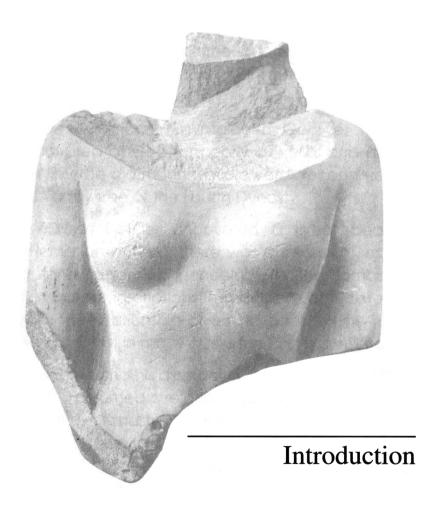
It has often been said that the essential difference

between the civilization of the west and the east consists in the different status of woman.

Four thousand years ago women in the Nile Valley enjoyed more legal rights and privileges than women in many nations of the world today.

Equal pay for equal work is a cry heard now but seems to have been the, norm thousands of years ago in Egypt.

Whether as a full-time worker, or as a head of household and manager of family's affairs, or as an active participant among the clergy in the religious hierarchies, the ancient Egyptian woman held a vital place in her society that amazed foreign contemporaries who observed her. [This page is intentionally blank.]



[This page is intentionally blank.]

Perhaps the most important thing we can learn from a study of the queens of the Fourth Dynasty is not how much, but rather how little we know about these women.

The American Egyptologist George Reisner excavated at Giza for nearly 40 years and during this time he did much work towards reconstructing the family tree of the Fourth Dynasty.

Though Reisner uncovered a great deal of information at Giza, there was a dearth of written material regarding genealogy in the tombs he excavated. Inscriptions in mastabas at Giza often state the relationship of an individual to the ruling pharaoh, but in many cases the king is unnamed.

Reisner and his assistant William Stevenson Smith often assumed relationships based on the grouping of mastabas and pyramids at Giza. One author ⁽¹⁾ has said the Reisner's reconstruction of the Fourth Dynasty was done "with the utmost skill and ingenuity, but is far too speculative..." *All* too often in researching the relationships of the royal family of the Fourth Dynasty one is led back footnote by footnote to what Reisner 40 years ago defined as a "possible" relationship. During the 40 years between the publication of **A History of the Giza Necropolis** and the present, with every footnote and new article on the subject the "possible" becomes "probable" and then "most likely" and is ultimately accepted as fact.

A case in point is the supposition, seemingly undocumented, that Hetepheres II was married to Redjedef. This marriage, which may not have occurred, is repeated as fact in a number of publications.

Researching the queens of the Fourth Dynasty, we are struck by how little concrete written information we have concerning these women. Of the twelve queens described in the following pages the tombs of only five are known with certainty. Of these five, it is uncertain how Bunefer and Khnetkawas were related to the rest of the royal family of the Fourth Dynasty, Personet was only a minor wife of Khafre, and the burial of Hetepheres I appears to have been a secondary burial.

This leaves us with the tomb of Meresankh III as

the only documented tomb of a major Fourth Dynasty queen which can offer us concrete information regarding her life and family relationships.

Undoubtedly there were more queens of the Fourth Dynasty than the twelve women described herein. For example we know of Queen Sedyt, mother of Prince Merib (G2100), but even Reisner⁽²⁾ was at a loss as to her position in the family tree of the Fourth Dynasty. We know only of two queens of Khufu and one of Menkaure, yet each of these pharaohs had three subsidiary pyramids constructed next to his own pyramid, presumably for his queens. Of the six kings of the Fourth Dynasty we only know the names of the mothers of two, Khufu and Menkaure.

The story of their lives is often a dramatic one. Two queens saw their sons who were destined for the kingship die before they became pharaohs. Khuenre, the son of Khamernebti II and Menkaure seems to have died as a small boy. Kawab, the son of Mertiotes who was destined to succeed Khufu, died at the end of his father's reign, perhaps a victim of foul play.

Hetepheres II was married to the crown prince Kawab and perhaps also to two Fourth Dynasty pharaohs. *In* writing the rather dramatic story of these women, it is tempting to follow Reisner's lead, to speculate, theorize, and cover the bare bones of fact with a more interesting flesh of romantic supposition.

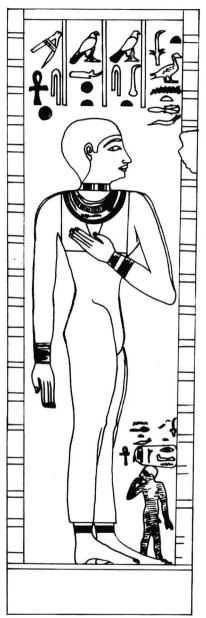
However, in the individual biographies of the queens of the Fourth Dynasty which follow, we have tried to separate fact from fiction, and present only the archaeological and inscriptional evidence which might give us a better understanding of the ruling family of the Fourth Dynasty. This is not to say that we have not considered the theories of various archaeologists on the subject. These theories are quoted, but described as possibility not fact.

Hetepheres I

Hetepheres I was married to Snefru in the second half of the reign of Huni^{(4).} Snefru and Hetepheres I were the parents of Khufu ^{(5).}

Their eldest daughter Hetepheres I was married to the noble Ankhaf who was probably a son of Snefru and a minor queen. This is unusual as according to Egyptian tradition, Khufu should have married his full sister to strengthen his claim to the throne.

Reisner has theorized ⁽⁶⁾ that an unknown queen buried in GIa, the northermost of the three small

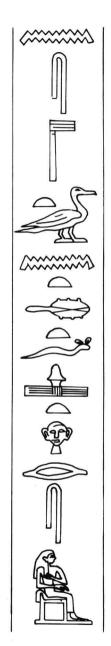


pyramids next to Khufu's pyramid was also a daughter of Hetepheres I and Snefru⁽⁷⁾.

From the inscription on the back of the carrying chair of Hetepheres I found in her tomb, know that she we was called"Mother of the Kina of Lower Upper and Egypt, Follower of Horus, Guide of the Ruler, Favorite one, She whose every word is done for her, the daughter of the god's body, Hetepheres."Follower of Horus and Guide of the Ruler are titles reserved for the king's chief wife⁽⁸⁾.</sup>

Hetepheres I died after Khufu's accession to the throne and was probably buried at Dashur⁽⁹⁾. However her burial. equipment was found at the bottom of a deep shaft (tomb G7000x) just north of the small pyramid GIa.

The tomb was discovered by



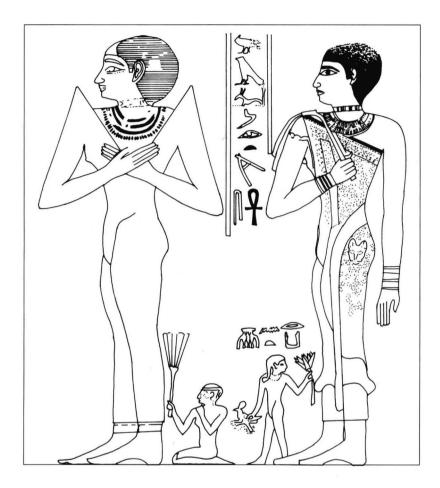
the Harvard / Boston expedition in 1925 quite by accident when the expedition photographer's tripod sunk in a soft spot.

A patch of plaster was discovered and when this was removed the excavators found a trench filled with blocks of dressed limestone which sealed a

stairway leading to the This stairwav south. ended in a short tunnel at the end of which were limestone blocks set in mortar. Further exploration led to the discovery of the mouth of a cleverly concealed shaft⁽¹⁰⁾.This shaft was about 100 ft. deep. At the bottom was a single room measuring15 ft. long by 8 ft. wide by 6 ft. high.



From the bottom of the shaft to about one metre above the doorway, the shaft was filled with well-laid small blocks of stone.

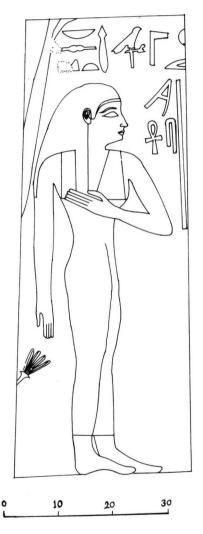


Above this was an apparently confused mass of stone and plaster. The upper 10 metres of the shaft again consisted of well-laid courses packed in plaster. The mouth of the shaft was closed with irregular blocks of limestone imitating the surrouding rock⁽¹¹⁾.

The room at the bottom of the shaft contained the furniture⁽¹²⁾ of the queen, her jewelry, an alabaster canopic chest containing her preserved

viscera, and an empty alabaster sarcophagus! Resiner explained this strange state of affairs thus: After her burial at Dashur, robbers broke into the tomb of Hetepheres I and destroyed her body after of robbing it its adornments.

Khufu was told that an attempt was made to defile his mother's tomb. He was probably not told that his mother's body had been destroyed. For greater security the tomb of Hetepheres I was moved to Giza where the secret grave remained undisturbed for over 4.000 years.



Mertiotes

George Reisner believed that Mertiotes passed from the harem of Snefru into that of Khufu $^{(13)}$, but a more recent study $^{(14)}$ dates her marriage to Khufu to fairly early in the reign of Snefru.

It now seems that Mertiotes was no mere concubine, but one of the major wives, if not the chief wife of Khufu.

Her name occurs on a fragment from the chapel of Prince Kawab, evidently as his mother⁽¹⁵⁾. The crown prince Kawab seems to have died at the end of the reign of Khufu, an untimely end which Reisner attributes to his murder by Redjedef $(^{16})$ who succeeded Khufu to the throne.

Though hard evidence is lacking, it is believed that the following individuals were also children of Mertiotes : Hardjedef ⁽¹⁷⁾ (G7210 /7220), Meresankh II⁽¹⁸⁾ (G7410/7420) and Mertiotes ⁽¹⁹⁾ (G7650).

Dunham and Simpson presume that Mertiotes

was buried in GIa the northermost of the three small pyramids on the east side of the pyramid of Khufu.⁽²⁰⁾ However a limestone false door from the mastabsa of a woman named Mertiotes was published by Mariette who described the tomb as being on the "Plaine de Gizeh. "This false door, the so-called "Stela of Mertiotes " was published by Breasted ⁽²¹⁾ who translates it as follows:

"King's wife, his beloved to Horus, Mertityotes :

King's wife, his beloved, Mertityotes; beloved of the Favorite of theTwo Goddesses; she who says anything what soever and it is done for her. Great in the favor of Snefru; great in the favor of Khufu, devoted to Horus, honored under Khafre, Mertityotes ".

/fthis Mertiotes is the same woman as the mother of Kawab, then it is impossible that she was buried in GIa. Presumably a queen could have more than one tomb planned for her burial ⁽²²⁾. However if Mertiotes was originally to be buried in a mastaba at Giza and later it was decided that she would be buried in her own small pyramid next to that of Khufu, it is doubtful that the abandoned tomb would describe her life under Khafre, during whose reign she probably died.

Henutsen

Henutsen is thought to be a daughter of Snefru, though one Egyptologist ⁽²³⁾ has suggested that she was a daughter of Khufu. She was married to Khufu, but we are not sure of the number of children she had, if any.

She was probably the mother of Khafkhufu I ⁽²⁴⁾ (G7130 /7140) and possibly also of Minkhaf ⁽²⁵⁾ (G7430 / 7440). She is believed to be the mother of Khafkhufu as the pyramid attributed to Henutsen (GIc) lies immediately west of his mastaba ⁽²⁶⁾.

In the mastaba of Khafkhufu I a figure of Khafkhufu is preceded by a female figure. The text in front of that woman reads : " His mother who bore him, she who sees Horus and Seth, great (of affection). " This woman wears a dress with a shoulder strap over her right shoulder and a "starched" peak on the left shoulder, a dress similar to that worn by Hetepheres II in the tomb of her daughter Meresankh III. She also wears the same " big wig " set back on the forehead as does Hetepheres II in the painting described above .

// is interesting to note that Hetepheres II also bore the titles " She who see Horus and Seth, great of affection" $^{(2)}$.

A stela in the Cairo Museum may have been made by one of the sons of Henutsen. It reads: ⁽²⁷⁾

"Revered by the great god, king's confidante, Henutsen. It was her eldest son, the field judge, who made (it) for her, to make mortuary offerings to her therein".

As stated above, Henutsen was probably buried in Glc, the southernmost of the three small pyramids next to the pyramid of Khufu. A stela discovered by Mariette in Isis' temple immediately east of GIC ⁽²⁸⁾ reads :

" and he (Khufu) built a pyramid for the king's daughter Henutsen, beside this temple, "⁽²⁹⁾.

Hetepheres II

H etepheres II was a daughter of Khufu, born between the last year of the reign of Snefru and the twelfth years of Khufu⁽³⁰⁾.

She was at first married to the crown prince Kawab who seems to have died at the end of Khufu's reign. A double mastaba was planned for them at Giza (G7110 / 7120). Hetepheres II had only the title of princess when the reliefs in (G7110 / 7120) were executed⁽³¹⁾.

// is believed that after Kawab's death Redjedef married Hetepheres II to strengthen his claim to the throne, though there seems to be no concrete evidence to prove this. It has also been suggested that Hetepheres II was married to Khafre⁽³²⁾.

Kawab fathered all of the children of Hetepheres II. In addition to the well known queen Meresankh III (G7530 / 7540).

(G7660), probably Duaenhor ⁽³³⁾ (G7550) and

possibly Mindjedef ⁽³⁴⁾ (G7760).

Much speculation has arisen regarding the ancestry of Hetepheres II. A portrait of her from the tomb of her daughter Meresankh III shows Hetepheres II as a blonde : Her hair is painted yellow with fine red lines. This painting prompted Reisner to suggest that Hetepheres II was the fair haired daughter of a Libyan woman who was married to Khufu⁽³⁵⁾.

Close examination of the above described painting $(^{36})$ shows that Hetepheres II seems to be wearing a " big wig " set far back on her head as if the forepart of her head was shaved . It does not necessarily follow that a woman wearing a blonde wig has blonde hair. It is now generally accepted that a yellow wig does not imply that Hetepheres II had blonde hair $(^{37})$.

Hetepheres II was still alive in year one of Shepseskaf when her daughter Meresankh III died⁽³⁸⁾ Hetepheres II probably lived under five kings of the Fourth Dynasty and died when she was well over 70 years old ⁽³⁹⁾.

// is evident that she was not buried in the double mastaba built for her and Kawab $^{\rm (40)}.$ It seems Hetepheres II intended at one point to be buried in G7530 / 7540, but this tomb was later relinquished to Meresankh III .

Reisner theorized that Hetepheres II was perhaps buried in (C7350), but there is no definate evidence to support this claim $^{(41)}$.

Khentetenka

A lady with the musical name Khentetenka was married to Redjedef.

Reisner says of her that " we know only the name " $(^{42})$. Her name appears on the base of a pair statue of her and Redjedef from the site of his pyramid at Abu Roash, about five miles north of Giza .

Meresankh III

Meresankh III was the daughter of Kawab and Hetepheres II, both of whom are depicted in her tomb.

Though Kawab died before he could claim the throne, Meresankh III bore the title "king's daughter of his body."

Meresankh III was married to Khafre and their children are also pictured in her tomb. The sons of Meresankh Ш named in her tomb are Nebemakhet (LG36 and LG12), Neussere (Central Field), Duare (G5110) and Khenterka. Three daughters of Meresankh III are depicted in statues in her tomb according to Reisner (43), but only one small girl is painted on the tomb walls. She is unnamed, but is perhaps Shepsetkau, depicted in LG36 as the sister of Nebemakhet.

Selim Hassan has suggested that Meresankh may have been married to Menkaure after Khafr's death and the small girl depicted is their daughter Khentkawes ⁽⁴⁴⁾. *There* is no concrete evidence to the effect that Menkaure married Meresankh III, nor can the parentage of Khentkawes be proven.

According to an inscription in her tomb (G7530/7540) Meresankh III died in year one of an unnamed king and was buried 272 days later. It is generally believed that this unnamed king was Shepseskaf, but it has also been suggested that Meresankh III died at the beginning of the reign of Menkaure ⁽⁴⁵⁾.

Examination of Meresankh III's bones by Dr. Douglas Derry showed that she was about five feet and one half inch tall (46). She was over 50 and probably 55 when she died (47).

Khamernebti I

K hamernebti I was a daughter of Khufu and a queen of Khafre. She bore Khafre's two children, Menkaure and Khamernebti II. Khamernebti I was still alive when her son became a pharaoh $^{\rm (48)}$.

Personet

Personet was a minor queen of Khafre. Her son Nikaure (LG87) probably served as vizier to Menkaure ⁽⁴⁹⁾. Personet was still alive when Menkaure came to the throne ⁽⁵⁰⁾.

She was buried in a rock cut tomb at Giza (LG88) and is described therein as "king's wife, king's daughter of his body."

Heknuhezet

Heknuhezet too was a minor queen of Khafre. Her son Sekhemkare was buried in LG39 where he is described as the "king's eldest son of his body".

The following kings are listed in Sekhemkare's tomb: Khafre, Menkaure, Shepseskaf, Userkaf, Sahure.

This is interesting in that it is generally believed that Shepseskaf was not recognized as a legitimate pharaoh after his death.

Khamernebti II

K hamernebti II was the daughter of Khafre and Khamernebti I and the full sister of her husband Menkaure.

Though Kanawati ⁽⁵¹⁾ has declared that there were no known sons of Menkaure, a son of Menkaure and Khamernebti II was buried in the Menkaure quarry at Giza (MQI).

In his tomb this prince, Khuenre, is depicted as a young boy and the reliefs in MQI are unfinished. This may indicate that Khuenre died an early death.

There is no definite evidence for other children of Menkaure and Khamernebti II.

Khamernebti II is portrayed in a pair statue with her husband ⁽⁵²⁾. In the statue she is of almost equal size to Menkaure and her left leg is slightly outstreched in a rather masculine pose.

Khamernebti II seems also to have served as the model for the goddess Hathor and perhaps also goddesses depicted in the famous "Mycerinus triads" ⁽⁵³⁾. *Khamernebti II* may have been buried in the so-called "Galarza Tomb" ⁽⁵⁴⁾ at Giza, but Reisner believes she was only mentioned in the Galarza Tomb ⁽⁵⁵⁾.

Reisner attributes the easternmost of the three small pyramids (G3a) south of Menkaure's pyramid to Khamernebti II.

This small pyramid was the only one of Menkaure's subsidiary pyramids to be completed. Like the pyramid of Menkaure, it was at least partially cased in red Aswan granite.

A small mud-brick mortuary temple, now almost completely eroded, was built on the east side of the pyramid.

Bunefer

Bunefer was buried in a rock cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza. In her tomb she is called "king's wife, king's daughter of his body, prophetess of nbty sôss (Shepseskaf)".

Salim Hassan believed Bunefer was the wife of Shepseskaf, while Grdsellof believed she was a daughter of Shepseskaf and the wife of Thamphthis, Manetho's last king of the Fourth Dynasty ⁽⁵⁶⁾

Khentkawes

Khentkawes left the most imposing monument of any of the twelve queens described herein, but of them all, she probably remains the most mysterious.

// is generally accepted that Khentkawes was a daughter of Menkaure ^{(57).}

Edwards⁽⁵⁸⁾ and Borchardt⁽⁵⁹⁾ believe that Khentkawes was married to Shepseskaf, while Selim Hassan believes she was the queen of Userkaf or Sahure⁽⁶⁰⁾.

There is a problem in identifying Khentkawes as the wife of any of these pharaohs. It was usual for a royal wife to be buried near her husband. Shepseskaf was buried at South Saqqare, and Sahure at Abu Sir, yet Khentkawes was buried at Giza, some distance from the burial places of these pharaohs.

According to Selim Hassan ⁽⁶¹⁾, on the red granite door jambs from her tomb (LG100) Khentkawes is described as "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mother of the king of Lower Egypt, Daughter of the god, Every good thing which she orders is done for her".

Junker also believed that Khentkawes ruled as king of Egypt. However Gardiner gives another translation which he describes as "philologically tenable" ⁽⁶²⁾. that being that Khentkawes was the mother of not one, but two kings, and did not rule in her own right.

Also, there is no written evidence as to Khentkawes' parentage, spouse, or children, so that unless some future archaeologist uncovers a clue, all that is written about the family of Khentkawes must remain speculation.

That Khentkawes was an important person in her own right is evident from her funerary monument excavated by Selim Hassan in 1932-1933 ⁽⁶³⁾.

The position of her tomb between the causeways of Khafre and Menkaure at Giza and the similarity of her tomb to that of Shepseskaf point to a date late in the Fourth Dynasty for this queen. If she was indeed king in her own right, this would be the earliest evidence for a female ruler of the Two Lands ⁽⁶⁴⁾.

Besides the tantalizing inscription from her tomb,

there is one other piece of evidence to support the theory that Khentkawes ruled Egypt.

In Greek and Roman times there was a legend that a blonde courtesan ruled Egypt at the end of the Fourth Dynasty (65).

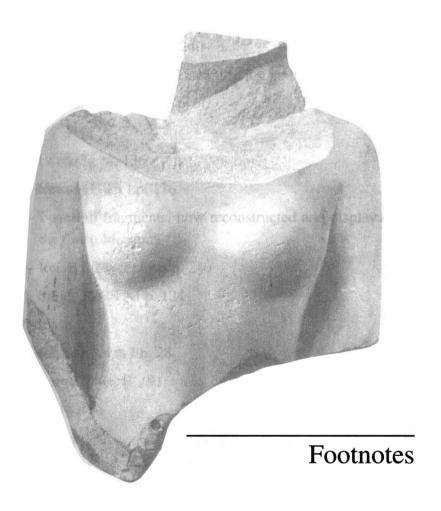
Khentkawes probably died fairly early in the Fifth Dynasty. It is generally believed that she was the ancestress of the Fifth Dynasty and was perhaps "the connecting link between the Fourth and the Fifth Dynasty" ⁽⁶⁶⁾. It is known that her cult was kept up throughout the Fifth Dynasty ⁽⁶⁷⁾.

Though often referred to as the "fourth pyramid" at Giza, Khentkawes' tomb is neither a mastaba, nor a pyramid of the usual type ⁽⁶⁸⁾. It is instead in the form of a sarcophagus mounted atop a square podium hewn out of the natural rock.

A mortuary temple of three rooms on the east side is carved out of the rock of the podium and is not a separate construction.

The causeway runs east, then turns a complete right angle south ending at a valley building which runs along the full length of Menkaure's valley temple (69).

A "solar boat" pit was found to the south-west of Khentkawes' tomb.



- 1- Gardiner p. 80
- 2- Reisner Mycerinus p. 240
- 3- Papyrus Westcar
- 4- Smith. JNDS XI p.125
- 5- Mud sealings of Khufu were found in the tomb of Hetepheres I.
- 6- Reisner Mycerinus. p. 240
- 7- The tomb of Hetepheres I is located just north of this pyramaid.
- 8- Dunham. Excavation. p. 56
- 9- Ibid. p. 61
- 10- Edwards. pl. 136
- 11- Reisner Giza I p. 176
- 12- Found in fragments, now reconstructed and displayad in the Cairo Museum.
- 13- Reisner. Mycerinus p. 240
- 14- Smith JNRS XI p. 124
- 15- Ibid.
- 16- Reisner. Giza I.p. 28
- 17- Porter Moss. p. 191
- 18- Ibid p.194
- 19- Ipid p. 200
- 20- Dunham and Simposn. Mersyankh p. 7
- 21- BAR p.88

- 22- See biography of Hetepheres II, who may have had three.
- 23- Hassan. Sphinx p.188
- 24 Porter Moss p.188
- 25- Ibid p. 195
- 26- Simpson. Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II p. 10
- 27- CM \$ 1691 BAR p. 86 \$ 185
- 28- Stela attributed to Dynasty 26
- 29- Hassan Sphinx p. 222
- 30- Reisner. Mycerinus p. 245
- 31- Simpson Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II p. 5, 7
- 32- Porter Moss p. 200
- 33- Ibid p. 203
- 34- Reisner. Mycerinus p. 241

35- Dunham and Simpson. Mersyankh. fronstpiece.

36- Ibid p. 10

37- Reisner. **Mycerinus** p. 245. However Dunham and Simpson speculate that Meresankh III died at the beginning of Menkaure's reign. See argument below under the discussion of Meresankh III.

38- Dunham and Simpson Mersyankh p.7

39- Simpson Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II p. 5

40- Ibid

- 41- Reisner Mycerinus p. 241
- 42- Reisner Giza I p.310
- 43-Hassan Giza IV p.7
- 44- Dunham and Simpson. Mersyankh p.8

45- Ibid p. 22

46- Resiner Mycerinus p.244

47- Ibid p. 248

- 48- Porter Moss p.232
- 49- Reisner, Mycerinus p. 248

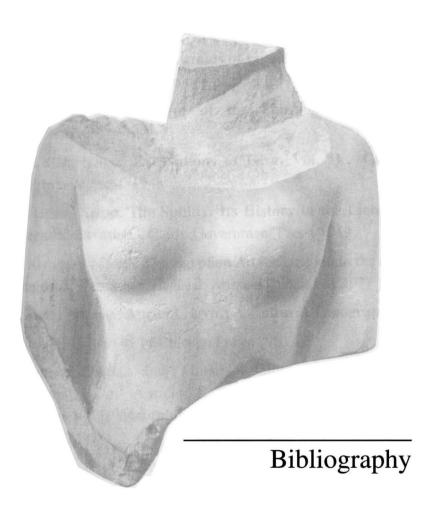
50- Kanawati p.16

51-BMFA \$ 11.1738. Edwards pl. 20 Reisner Mycerinus pl. 56

52- Edwards pl. 19

- 53-Porter Moss p. 273
- 54- Reisner. Mycerinus p. 242
- 55- Porter Moss p. 191
- 56- Smith. JNES XI. p. 125 note \$ 16
- 57- Kees p. 158 Hassan Giza IV p. 7
- 58- Edwards p. 166
- 59- Hassan Giza IV pp. 7 9
- 60- Ibid p. 3
- 61- Ibid p. 3

- 62- Gardiner p. 83
- 63- See Hassan Giza IV
- 64- The other three female pharaohs known are Sobk- Nefru (Dynasty 12) Hatshepsut (Dyasty 18) and Twoser (Dynasty 19)
- 65- Wilson p.97
- 66- Hassan Giza IV p. 3
- 67- Gardiner p. 83
- 68- Hassan Giza IV p. 14
- 69- Edwards pp. 166-167.



Breasted, J. H. Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol. I Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1906

Dunham, Dows. The Egyptian Department and its Excavations. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts. 1958

Dunham, Dows and Simpson, W. K. The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III. Boston: Musem of Fine Arts. 1974

Edwards, I.E.S. **The Pyramids of Egypt**. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd. 1947

Gardiner, Alan. **Egypt of the Pharaohs**. Oxford: Claredon Press. 1961

Hassan, Selim. Excavations at Giza, Vol. IV. Cairo: Government Press. 1943

Hassan, Selim. The Sphinx: Its History in the Light of Recent Excavations. Cairo: Government Press. 1949

Kanawati, Naguib. **The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom**. Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips Ltd. 1977

Kees, Herman. Ancient Egypt: A Cultural Topography.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961

Porter, Bertha and Moss, Rosalind. Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs and Paintings Vol III Memphis part I. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1974

Reisner .G. A. A history of the Giza Necropolis Vol I.

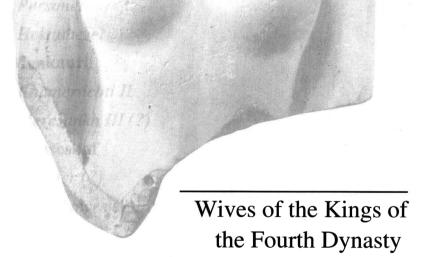
Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942

Reisner, G.A. Mycerinus: The Temples of The Third Pyramid at Giza. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1931

Smith, W. S. "Inscriptional Evidence for the History of the Fourth Dynasty." **JNES XI** (1952) pp. 113 - 128

Simpson, W. K. The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II. Boston : Museum of Fine Arts. 1978

Wilson, John A. **The Burden of Egypt**. Chicago : University of Chicago Press. 1951



ereşanklı HA Kh

termilleres (1 (*)

Khandkill

Snefru

Hetepheres I

Khufu

Henutsen

Mertiotes

Redjedef

Khentetenka Hetepheres II (?)

Khafre

Meresankh III

Hetepheres II (?)

Khamernebti I

Personet

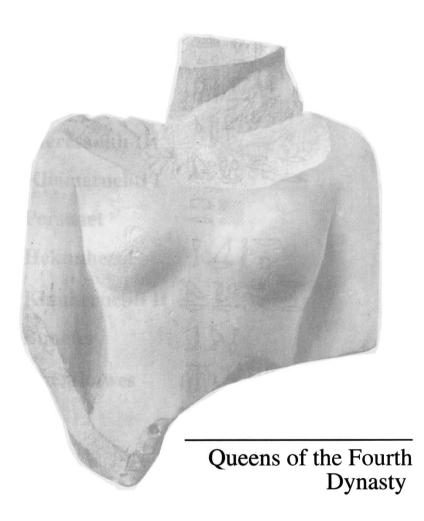
Heknuhezet

Menkaure

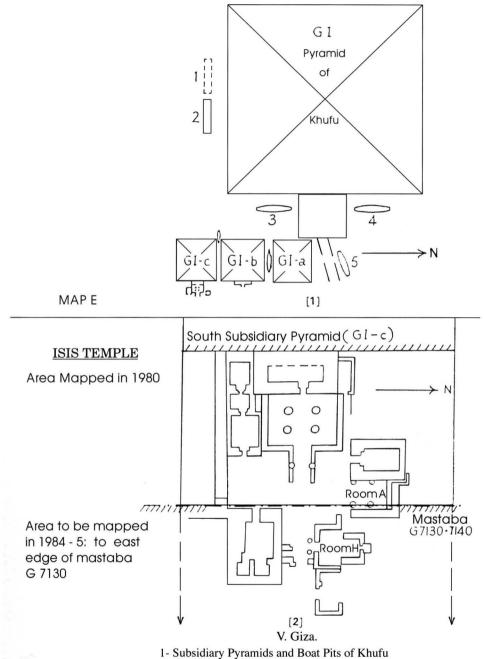
Khamernebti II Meresankh III (?)

Shepseskaf

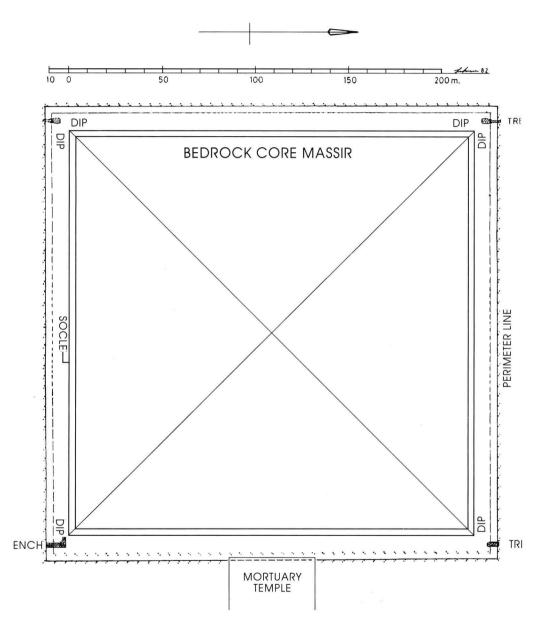
Bunefer (?) Khentkawes (?)

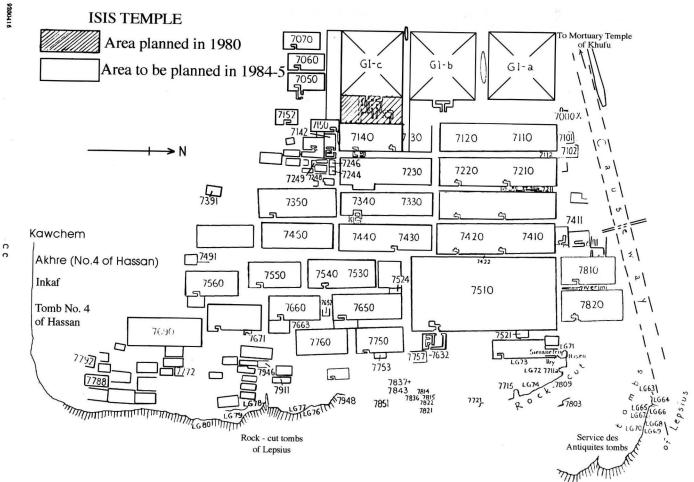


Hetepheres I	
Mertiotes	Karl
Henutsen	80 Jum
Hetepheres II	
Khentetenka	
Meresankh III	1111 1111
Khamernebti I	D. C. E. S.
Personet	
Heknuhezet	1410
Khamernebti II	PNE -
Bunefer	121
Khentkawes	的山口



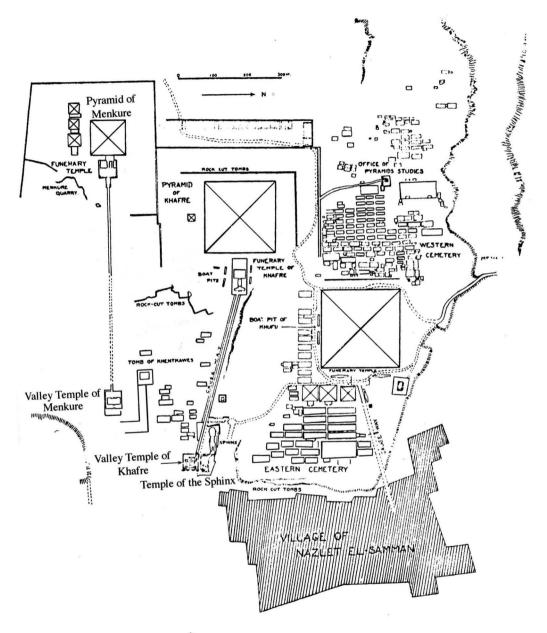
2- Temple of Isis Mistress of the Pyramid

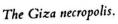


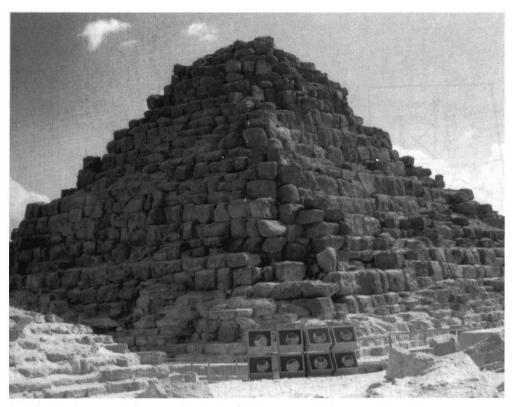


Giza. East Field.

0

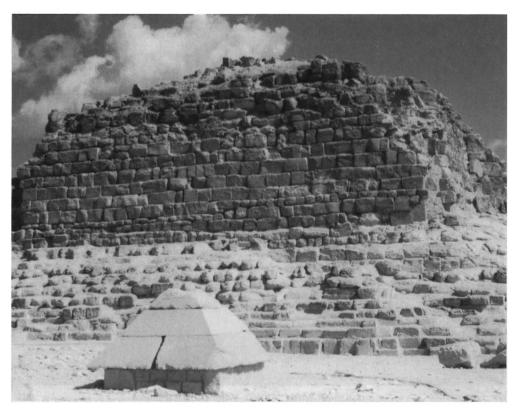


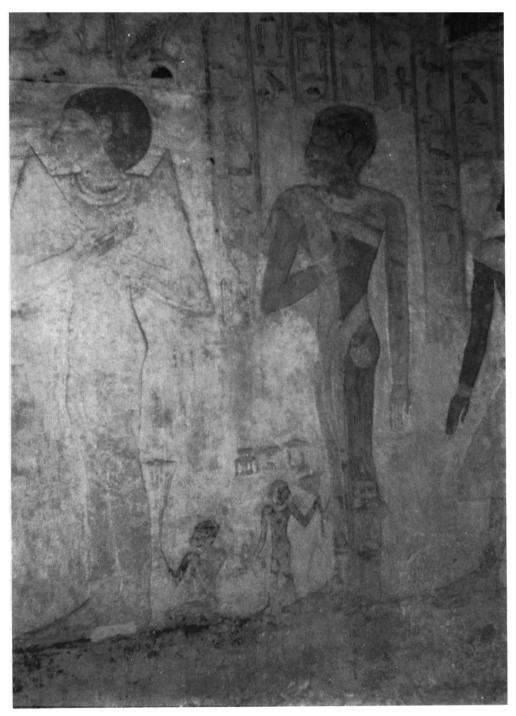




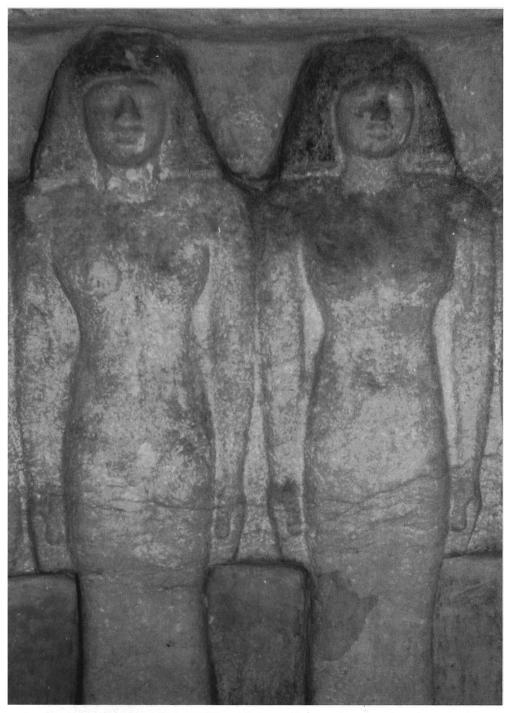
A pyramid of a queen from the IV $^{\mbox{th}}$ Dynasty, east of Khufu's Pyramid .

A pyramid at the eastern side of Khufu's Pyramid.





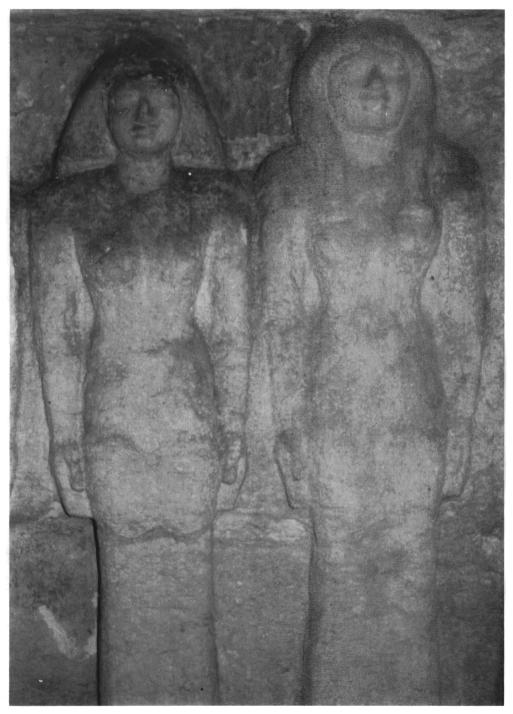
Queen Meresankh, wife of Khafre.



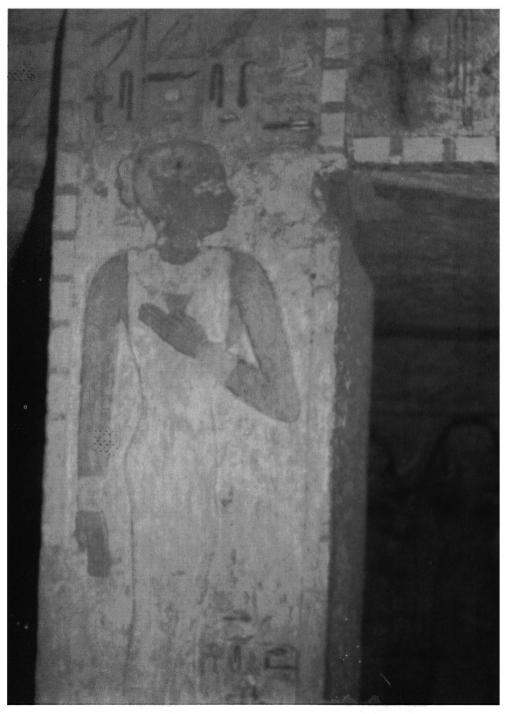
A scene depicting Queen Meresankh with the members of her family.



A scene depicting Queen Meresankh with the members of her family.



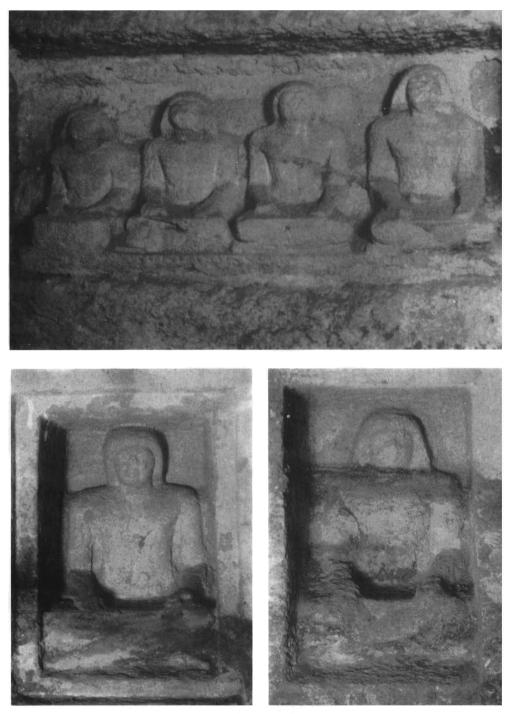
A scene depicting Queen Meresankh with the members of her family.



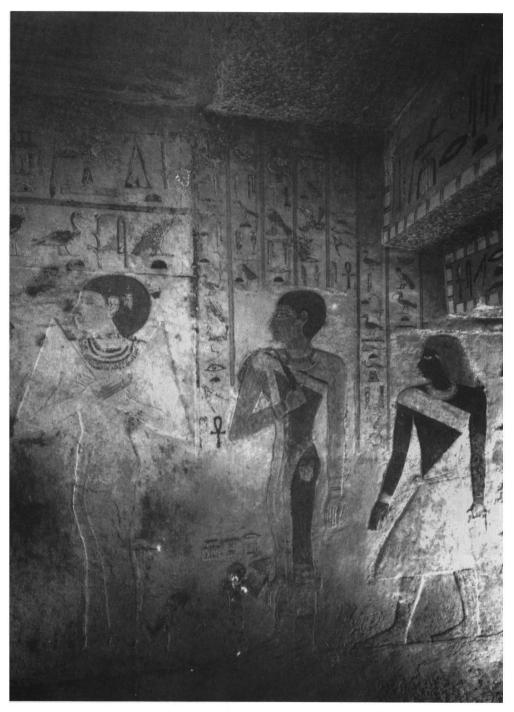
Queen Meresankh inside her tomb at the Eastern Cemetery at Giza.



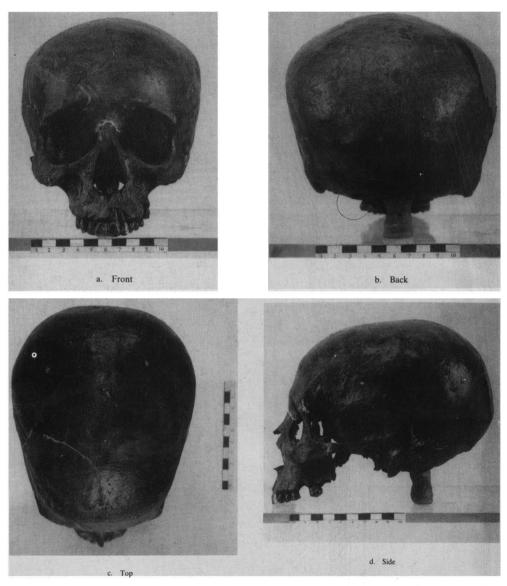
Upper part of a limestone statue of Queen Nfr - Hetep - S, probably wife of Pharaoh $\underline{D}d$ - F - Re' from the IV th Dynasty, Luvre Museum, Paris



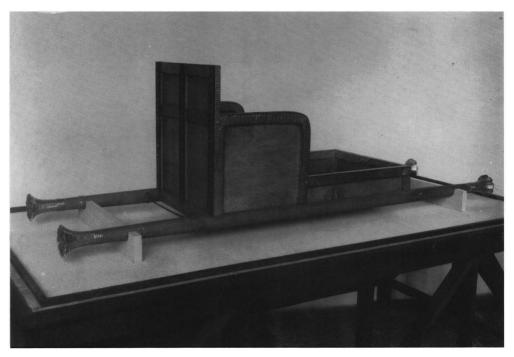
The scribes inside the tomb .



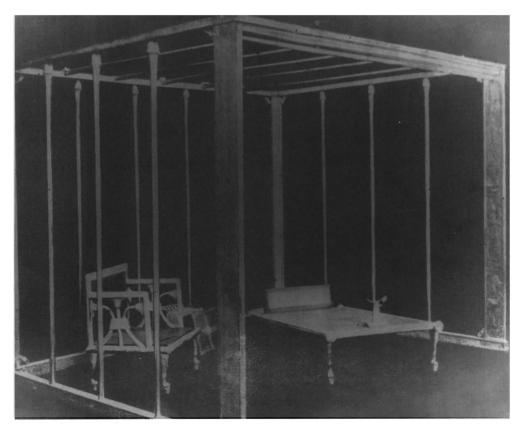
Queen Meresankh in her pointed shoulders dress and behind her the priests.



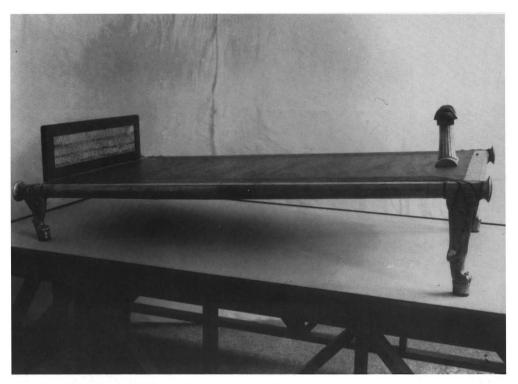
The skull of Queen Meresankh, after restoration.



Carrying chair of Queen Hetepheres, wife of Snefru and mother of Khufu.



Bed and chair of Queen Hetepheres.



Bed of Queen Hetepheres, wife of Snefru and mother of Khufu.

Deposit No 3421 - 1997 I. S. B. N. 977 - 235 - 768 - 2 S. C. A. Press