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# Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline and Disappearance\*

ROBYN A. GILLAM

## 1. Introduction

Of the few functional titles held by women throughout the long span of Pharaonic history, few are as celebrated or as seemingly ubiquitous as the designation *ḥm.t ntr Ḥthr*, “priestess (or more properly prophetess<sup>1</sup>) of Hathor.” As we all know, Hathor is the goddess of love, childbirth and other “female” pursuits like song and dance. It is easy to imagine these priestesses wielding their *sistra* from prehistoric until Roman times.

## 2. Conceptual and Temporal Parameters of the title *ḥm.t ntr Ḥthr*

Unfortunately, the reality is not so simple. Priestesses of Hathor flourish only from the middle of the Old Kingdom to the early Middle Kingdom. After this time, the title occasionally occurs, held by such figures as *Mry.t-imn*, daughter of Ramesses II.<sup>2</sup> However, we can be sure that these women have appropriated this along with other archaic titles to demonstrate political legitimacy and cultural capital. They

no more represent actual duties and responsibilities than the archaic epithets held by Saite officials.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, in this context, we should do well to remember Herodotus’ statement that

No woman holds priestly office, either in the service of goddess or god; only men are priests in both cases.<sup>4</sup>

This certainly seems to be true from the New Kingdom onwards when the most common capacity in which female members of the elite served their gods was as *šmȝyt* or “musician priestess.”<sup>5</sup> As such they were members of a body known as the *ḥnr* which had existed at least from the middle of the Old Kingdom.<sup>6</sup> For although these women could participate in the divine service by providing musical and choreographic accompaniment, they could no longer perform the role of the *ḥm ntr* or god’s servant, who fed and clothed the divine image every day.<sup>7</sup> In order to play this role, a person had to be *wꜥb* or pure,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> E. Otto, *Die Biographischen Inschriften der Ägyptischen Spätzeit* (Leiden, 1954), 154ff., 157, 159, 164, 170.

<sup>4</sup> 2:35.

<sup>5</sup> Troy, *Queenship* 76–77; M. Gitton, La résiliation d’une fonction religieuse; Nouvelle interprétation de la Stèle de Donation d’Ahmes-Néfertary, *Bulletin d’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* (hereinafter *BIFAO*) 76 (1976), 88.

<sup>6</sup> On the early history of the *ḥnr*, see Del Nord, “The Term *ḥnr*: ‘Harem’ or ‘musical performers’?” *Studies in the Aegean and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980* (ed. W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis, Boston, 1981), 137–45.

<sup>7</sup> On this ritual, see A. Moret, *Le Culte du divin journalier en Égypte* (Paris, 1902).

<sup>8</sup> A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (7 vols., Leipzig, 1926–63), I 281.18–25 (hereinafter *WB*); *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (ed. W. Helck and E. Otto, Wiesbaden, 1972–) V, 212–13 (hereinafter *Lexicon*).

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<sup>1</sup> For variant writings of the title, see M. Galvin, “The Writing of the *Ḥwt* sign in Titles of the Cult of Hathor,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (hereinafter *JAOS*) 103 (1983), 425–30.

Coptic, 20NT, W. Crum *Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 691b; J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976), 288.

See also Decree of Canopus, E. A. W. Budge, *The Rosetta Stone in the British Museum* (London, 1929), 254ff., pl. 15

<sup>2</sup> Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala, 1986), 74; K. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1969), II, 924.

and it seems likely that at some point it was decided that women's bodily functions, namely childbirth and menstruation, rendered them unsuitable for this role. For example in *P. Westcar* XI, 18–19, Rudjedet purifies (*w<sup>c</sup>b*) herself for 14 days after the birth of her children.<sup>9</sup> In the first tale of Setne, Ahwere, his wife, refers to her menstruation as her purification.<sup>10</sup> Funerary curses, dating from the Old Kingdom, threaten those who enter the tomb in an impure state.<sup>11</sup> It is possibly a euphemistic reference to urination and defecation and suggests that, to the Egyptians, like other ancient peoples, bodily functions were unclean and created ritual danger in sacred spaces.<sup>12</sup>

However, this concern with purity also reflects the growing professionalization of the Egyptian priesthood over its history, which finally resulted in it becoming a closed caste for which one had to prove membership over several generations.<sup>13</sup> In the Old Kingdom and Archaic periods a different state of affairs prevailed. At this time, members of the ruling elite, very

small in numbers, performed all the functions of government and cult without much specialization.<sup>14</sup> Cultic operations were organized, like other tasks, on a shift basis.<sup>15</sup> Although purity was essential for performing the god's service (*irt w<sup>c</sup>b*),<sup>16</sup> it was not always performed by one person all the time, so anyone who was pure at the time could perform it.

It has sometimes been suggested that, even in the Old Kingdom, *hm ntr Hthr* is merely an honorary title or rank indicator,<sup>17</sup> but clear proof of its actual duties is provided by a table of service drawn up for the 4th–5th Dynasty provincial administrator and overseer of priests (*imy-r hmw ntr*), *Nk<sup>3</sup>-nh*.<sup>18</sup> This was intended to serve the local cult of Hathor Mistress of the Valley Mouth (*r<sup>3</sup> in.t*) near present day Tehneh and the funerary cult of an earlier administrator *Hnw-k<sup>3</sup>*, a foundation originally endowed by Menkaure. In a pictorial table, *Nk<sup>3</sup>-nh*'s wife and children are all allotted turns of duty at the cults of Hathor and *Hnw-k<sup>3</sup>*; and the contract quite clearly stipulates that they will perform *w<sup>c</sup>b* for Hathor.<sup>19</sup> All such persons are therein designated *hmw ntr*.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *h<sup>c</sup>.n Rwdt w<sup>c</sup>b.n.s m w<sup>c</sup>b n hrw 14*

<sup>10</sup> *Hpr p<sup>3</sup>y.y sw ir.n hsmn bw p<sup>3</sup>y.y ir hsmn n*, (When) my time of purification happened, I did not make purification again. (Setne 3, 7, F. L. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priest of Memphis* [2 volumes, Oxford, 1900] (I, 88–89.)

*hsmn*—purification, menstruation, Erichsen, *Demotische Glossar* (Kopenhagen, 1954), 322, basic meaning “natron,” cf. *QOCM*, W. E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 713a; WB III 162.11–163.10.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. K. Sethe, *Urkunden des alten Reiches* (hereinafter *Urk.*) (Leipzig, 1932), I 49.2–3: *ir .s nb k.t(y).f(y) r twwt pn m w<sup>c</sup>b.wf wnn.(i) w<sup>c</sup> hn.f m bw nt w<sup>c</sup> im*, As for any man who will enter before these statues in his purification, I will be judged with him in the place in which there is judgement.

I 142.15–17: *ir rml nb k.ty sn r is pn [m<sup>c</sup>b].sn [iw] (i) r itt ts.sn mi p<sup>3</sup>dw*, As for any man who enters the tomb in his purification, I shall seize him by the neck like a bird.

Compare *Urk.* I, 50.16–51.11, 202.3–6, 213.7–13.

See further H. Sottas, *La préservation de la propriété dans l'ancienne Égypte* (Paris, 1913), 28–31; K. Sethe and A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead, Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (London, 1928), 10, n. 3; E. Edel, “Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des alten Reiches,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo* (hereinafter *MDAIK*) 13 (1944), 5–13.

<sup>12</sup> Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966).

<sup>13</sup> For this development, see, in particular, H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom neuen Reiche bis zur Spätzeit* (Leiden, 1953–8) and W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1905–8).

<sup>14</sup> W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Glückstadt, 1954), 15–44.

<sup>15</sup> On this system, see A. M. Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a System of Social Organization* (Chicago, 1991), 2ff., 197–216.

<sup>16</sup> A cylinder seal of the Archaic Period mentions an *iry iht Spdw* (P. Kaplony, *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der Ägyptische Frühzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 173, n. 231; *Inschriften der Ägyptische Frühzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1963), abb. 339.

<sup>17</sup> A. M. Blackman, “The Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (hereinafter *JEA*) 7 (1921), 25; A. Erman (ed. H. Ranke), *Ägyptern und ägyptisches Leben in Altertum* (Tübingen, 1923), 332; J. Pirenne, *Histoire de la Civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne* (Neuchâtel, 1961), 166, 261.

Even Henry Fischer expresses some skepticism about the duties connected with this title in “Administrative titles of Women in the Old and Middle Kingdoms,” *Varia* (New York, 1976), 69.

<sup>18</sup> *Urk.* I 24–32, 161–63; G. Fraser, “The Early Tombs at Tehneh,” *Annals du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte* (hereinafter *ASAE*) 3 (1902), 67–76, 121–30, pls. IV–V.

<sup>19</sup> Fraser, loc. cit., pls. IV–V and *Urk.* I, 25–26.

*hmw ntr iry.w.n.(i) (i)pw m sw.(i) n dt r w<sup>c</sup>b n Hthr* (*Urk.* I 25.2)

They are the priests whom I have appointed from among my children to do priestly service for Hathor in perpetuity.

<sup>20</sup> Marianne Galvin in “Priests and Priestesses of Hathor in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period,” *Diss. Brandeis U.*, 1981, 199–202, maintains that these persons

Indeed *Nk<sup>3</sup>-nh*'s wife, *Hd.t-hknw*, holds pride of place at the head of Hathor's roster, being responsible for the epagomenal days and the first month of Inundation.<sup>21</sup> If there is any doubt as to what this service entails, it is dispelled in the autobiographical inscription of the 6th Dynasty overseer of Priests of Hathor of Cusae, *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh Hr-ib*.<sup>22</sup> He states not only that he was in the condition (*m-<sup>c</sup>*) of being *w<sup>c</sup>b* for Hathor (*Urk. I 224.10*), but specifically states that in his capacity of overseer of priests of Hathor that

I entered (*ḥ*) before Hathor, saw her (and) performed for her the ritual (*hr irt.n.s. ht*) with my (own) hands. (*Urk. I 222.2*)

Of greatest importance here is the use of the phrase *iry iht* with reference to the actions of a private person in the service of a god. Before the New Kingdom, the daily cult of a god is seldom described as being performed by anyone else but the king.<sup>23</sup> However, *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh*'s text reveals this as a necessary fiction and suggests that any purified person, even a woman, could enact the divine service.

And women did serve in the cult of the gods. Apart from well over 400 *hmw.t ntr Hthr* known from the Old through Middle Kingdoms,<sup>24</sup> they are known to have been the servants (*hmw.t*) of a number of other gods such as Neith,<sup>25</sup> Pa-

khet<sup>26</sup> and the deceased Khufu.<sup>27</sup> Priesthoods of gods like Thoth, Tjaisepef, Bapef and the living king were held by queens.<sup>28</sup> Women at the temple of Min at Akhmîm also shared with men the responsibility of keeping watch throughout the day and night hours.<sup>29</sup> During the Old Kingdom in particular, women's role in the central cult ritual was matched by greater participation in positions of authority than at later periods. Although these positions never match the power and responsibility of those held by men, they include posts such as *imy-r pr*, *imy-r pr šn<sup>c</sup>*, *hrp wsh.t*, *shd sdwt*, *sdwt*, or *imy-r swnw*.<sup>30</sup> Admittedly, many administrative positions held by women reflect their responsibility for domestic activities such as clothing, linen, food preparation, and

*Götterwelt des Alten Reiches im Speigelder Privatgräber der IV und V Dynastie* (Göttingen, 1981) 119–20; R. el-Sayed, *La Déesse Neith de Saïs* (Cairo, 1982), 39–41.

<sup>26</sup> Pakhet, the goddess of Speos Artemidos, was venerated in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom by the dignitaries buried at Beni Hasan. Female titleholders are: *Hthr(w)-htp.t*, tomb of *Imn-m-h3t* (P. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I* (London, 1893) pls. 12, 18; *Hty*, *ibid.*, pl. 35.

<sup>27</sup> *Mr.t-it.f.s*, mastaba of *3hti-htp*, G 7630 (W. S. Smith, *A History of Painting and Sculpture in the Old Kingdom* (hereinafter *HESPOK*) (London, 1946), pl. 41a; *Htp-hr.s*, MM B2 (A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1889), 90–91.

<sup>28</sup> *Bw-nfr* (S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* (12 volumes, Oxford and Cairo, 1936–1953), II 176–96, figs. 147a, 149, 150, 152, 156, 159, pls. 54–56, 58); *Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh III*, G7530 (W. K. Simpson and D. Dunham, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974), figs. 7, 9; *Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh II* (H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte* T. I. (Cairo, 1907), 90–91; *Htp-hr.s* (L. Kuchman-Sabbahy, "The Development of the Titulary and Iconography of the Ancient Egyptian Queens from Dynasty One," unpub. Diss. U of Toronto, 1982, 58–60; *Hknw-hdt* (*ibid.*, 77–82); *H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbty II* (*ibid.*, 73); *Hnt-k3w.s I* (*ibid.*, 77–82); *Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh IV* (*ibid.*, 87–88). Kuchman's charts, 114–15, show that these titles do not occur after the end of the 5th Dynasty.

<sup>29</sup> They held the title *ršwt* or *ršwt Mnw*. Examples include *Init/Hwti*, CG 28017 (P. Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel Empire* [Cairo, 1904], 36; *nh.s*, CG 28002 (*ibid.*, 17–19); *Htp.i*, Liverpool City Museum 13.10.1.26 (P. Newberry, "The Inscribed Tombs of Ekhmim," *Liverpool Annals of Arts and Archaeology* (hereinafter *LAAA*) 4 (1912), 120; N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of el Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmîm VI* (Sydney, 1986), 60, pl. 14 (BM 1061), fig. 30a); *Špss* (*ibid.*, Vol. VII (1987), 32, fig. 14); *Kdwt* (*ibid.*, 29, fig. 18).

For additional references, see Fischer, *Varia*, loc. cit., 69, n. 8. On this title see H. Gauthier, *Personnel du dieu Min* (Cairo, 1931), 118.

<sup>30</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, loc. cit. 70–72; "Women in the Old Kingdom and Heracleopolitan Period," *Women's Earliest Records from Ancient Egypt and Western Asia* (ed. B. Lesko, 1989), 5–24.

are *w<sup>c</sup>b* because they are not individually credited with the *hm ntr* title. See however, the statement in the last note, where the *hmw ntr* indicated are clearly the same persons listed in the table. See also Frazer *ASAE* 3, pls. IV–V.

<sup>21</sup> Fraser, loc. cit. and Erich Winter, "Zur frühesten Nennung der Epagomenentage und deren Stellung am Anfang des Jahres," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (hereinafter *WZKM*) 56 (1960), fig. 1, 262–66.

<sup>22</sup> *Urk. I 221–24* and A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir IV* (London, 1914), pls. IV, IVa.

<sup>23</sup> See above n. 16. Most Old Kingdom texts which use this phrase in reference to private persons are found in a mortuary context where the term is often connected with the lector priest, e.g., *Urk. I 186.14*; 187.4; 189.16; 190.13; 199.14.

<sup>24</sup> For a list of priestesses of Hathor, see Galvin, "Priestesses," 299–340. This list, however, includes male titleholders. A list of female titleholders only, which I have compiled myself, totals 423.

<sup>25</sup> For examples, see Galvin, "Priestesses," notes 30–31. On the cult of Neith, see H. Junker, *Bericht über die Grabungen auf dem Friedhof von Giza* (12 volumes, Vienna, 1929–55), IV, 7; B. L. Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur*

toilet.<sup>31</sup> From the middle of the 5th Dynasty onwards we also find them holding titles in connection with music, singing, and dancing,<sup>32</sup> although it must be noted that prior to this time persons depicted in these activities were seldom named and were clearly not of the same rank as the women who held *hm.t ntr* and other, administrative titles.<sup>33</sup> There are also some men attested as holding titles connected with the *hnr* and they are often depicted as attached to it.<sup>34</sup>

While we have already noted a gradual disappearance of women from public life in the course of the Middle Kingdom, of which their removal from the performance of the daily cult is an important part, nothing is as dramatic as the disappearance of the *hm.t ntr Hthr*. Still well attested at the close of the 11th Dynasty, by the reign of Senwosret II, the position has all but vanished from the historical record.<sup>35</sup> Oddly

enough, it had appeared almost as suddenly in the mid-4th Dynasty.

### 3. Attestations of Hathor and her Priestesses to the 4th Dynasty

The earliest firmly attested holder of the title *hm.t ntr Hthr* is *Nfr-htp.s*, the daughter of King Radjedef. On a statue base in his temple at Abu Roasch, she is described as *hm.(t) ntr Hthr nb.t nht*, Priestess of Hathor, mistress of the sycamore.<sup>36</sup> No title holder can be safely dated any earlier. In fact, there is scarcely any textual attestation of Hathor at all that is any earlier than this.

A handful of sealings displaying the titles *hm ntr Hthr* and *hm ntr Hthr nb.t nht* are assigned by Peter Kaplony to the Archaic Period.<sup>37</sup> There is no mention of this deity on any of the inscribed

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., for example, *imy.t-r pr*, *imy.t-r pr sn<sup>c</sup>*, *shd pr sn<sup>c</sup>*, *iry<sup>c</sup> nsu*, *imy.t-r pr sšr*, *imy.t-r mrw*.

<sup>32</sup> Examples: *Phr.t-nfr.t/Bbi*, Tomb of *Ppy<sup>c</sup>-nh*, D4, Meir (Blackman, Meir IV, pl. 15); *Hnw.t*, G 3093 (C. Fisher, *The Minor Cemetery at Giza* [Philadelphia, 1924] 136–37, 49–50, pl. 44; *Hrt-k3*, G 3094, Philadelphia Museum E13529 [ibid., 146, pl. 49.1]); *Inti* (ibid., 163–66, pl. 55). This last cited as a *hnwt* by Galvin is not a musician; *hnwt* is her name. The pertinent inscription reads: *Hnw.t nist Inty*, *Hnw.t* who is called *Inty*. This was correctly translated in the original publication.

An early holder of the title *mitr.t* is *Nfr-htp.s*, Pelizaeus Museum 418 (H. Kayser, *Die ägyptisches Altertumer im Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum im Hildesheim* [Hildesheim, 1973] 47, colour plate 2). She is not, however, a priestess of Hathor. *Nfr.s-rs*, a 5th Dynasty priestess, is the earliest known female overseer of the *hnr* and *ibw* dancers (S. Hassan, *Giza II* [Cairo, 1936], 204, 208, pls. 78–79). After *Phr.t-nfr.t*, the next *hnwt* and priestess of Hathor is *Hnw.t*, attested at Naga ed-Dêr (Dunham, *Naga ed Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period* [Boston, 1937], 80, pl. 23).

<sup>33</sup> For examples where the *hnr* is referred to see Nord, Dunham, 137. H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Locust Valley, 1968), 24. In scenes where names are lacking, it is hard to know if labels on performers are actually to be read as titles or descriptions, e.g., depictions in the tomb of *K3i-m<sup>c</sup>-nh* (Junker, *Giza IV* [Vienna, 1940], fig. 9) shows *ib3* dancers and “singing by his children” (*hs.t in msw.f*).

In the tomb of *Mrs<sup>c</sup>-nh III* (Simpson and Dunham, op. cit., fig. 11) the deceased watches dancers and offering bearers who are depicted on the same smaller scale. See also R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegyptern und Aethiopien II* (hereinafter *LD*: Geneva, 1972), pls. 14, 52, 53, 61.

<sup>34</sup> Nord, Dunham, op. cit., 143–44.

<sup>35</sup> 11th Dynasty: Apart from the queens and associates of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre discussed below there is *Imn.t* at

Deir el-Bahari, CG 28025 (Lacau, *Sarcophages*, op. cit., 61); at Dendera, *Wd33.t/Hy.t* (J. Vandier, “Quatre Stèles inédites,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* [hereinafter *RdÉ*] 2 [1936], 52–58, pl. 2); *Mry.t JE 45970*, Berkeley Museum 39115 (Dunham, *Stele*, op. cit., 24, 30, pls. 7.2, 10.1); *Dhwty-k3.i*, tomb of *B3k.t*, Beni Hasan (Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, op. cit. pl. 29).

12th Dynasty: *P(f)s*, BM 832 (P. D. Scott-Moncrief, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae &c. in the British Museum Vol. 1* (hereinafter HT[1]) (London, 1911), pl. 32; *Mrs*, tomb of *Hnm-htp*, Beni Hasan (Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, 44, pls. 35–36) Senwosret I; *Mrsi*, tomb of *Snbi*, Meir (Blackman, Meir VI, pl. 6); *Mdhw*, stela of *Imny* BM 162 (W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* [New Haven, 1974], pl. 6); *Hr-ib*, tomb of *Ntr-nh.t*, Beni Hassan (Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, pl. 24) Amenemhet II–Senwosret II; *Hthr-htp.t*, tomb of *Imnm-h3t*, Beni Hasan (ibid., I, pls. 12, 18); *Sn.t*, her tomb with husband *Int.f-ikr*, west Thebes (N. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker and his Wife Senet* [London, 1920], 2, pl. XIV); *St.t-htp*, tomb of *S3-rnpwt II*, Aswan (H. W. Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine* [Glückstadt, 1940], 79, fig. 42), mid 12th Dynasty. The latest dateable title holders are *Hthr-htp*, tomb of *Dhwty-htp*, el-Bersha (Newberry, *El Bersheh* [London, n.d.], 36–37, pls. 17, 20, 24), Amenemhet III or later; *Ddw-hnm.t*, tomb of *S3-rnpwt II*, Aswan (Müller, *Felsengräber*, op. cit., 86, fig. 42, pl. 34), Senwosret III or later. On the date of these tombs see Gillam, “Topographical, Prosopographical and Historical Studies in the 14th Upper Egyptian Nome,” Unpublished Diss. U. of Toronto, 1991, 391.

<sup>36</sup> Louvre, E 12632 (E. Chassinat, *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Fondation Piot*, 25, 67–68).

<sup>37</sup> Kaplony, *Frühzeit*, nos. 328, 573, 574, 575, 577, 578, 579, 1399, 385, 398, 402, 629, 680.

material found in the major tombs of the first two dynasties or in the Step Pyramid complex. We first encounter the sign group *Hthr* written with the *hw.t* sign, hawk and *t* in the name of *Nfr-htp-hthr*, wife of *H<sup>c</sup>w-b3w-skr*.<sup>38</sup> This piece probably dates from the reign of Snefru, although it may be somewhat earlier.<sup>39</sup>

Although most scholars maintain that Hathor is an ancient goddess, known from the predynastic period, they refer to images that resemble her later manifestations, none of which are specifically labelled. Most notable of these is the human face with cows' ears and horns found on Arkell's so-called Hathor bowl,<sup>40</sup> a fragmentary palette from el-Gerzeh<sup>41</sup> and on the Narmer palette<sup>42</sup> where it appears both as a pair at the top of the palette and on the verso as a beaded adornment on the king's loin cloth. A similar costume is also found on a fragmentary statue of Djoser from the Step Pyramid complex.<sup>43</sup> From the Middle Kingdom onwards, this is one of Hathor's most characteristic manifestations, found on everything from mirror handles to monumental stone capitals in her places of worship;<sup>44</sup> and the Pyramid Texts<sup>45</sup> obligingly tell us that "my kilt which is on me is Hathor." Henry Fischer has shown that this human-faced horned deity is also Bat, a goddess who, although identified with Hathor as early as the Coffin Texts,<sup>46</sup>

enjoyed an independent cult into the Middle Kingdom and beyond.<sup>47</sup> A similar figure depicted sitting in a palanquin in a relief of the Archaic period, also noted by Fischer, is found on the front of the representation of Triphis.<sup>48</sup>

Our first unequivocal textual reference to Hathor is found on the facade of the valley temple of Khafre. In a pair of inscriptions on either side of the entrance, the king is said to be beloved of Bastet (north side) and beloved of Hathor (south side).<sup>49</sup> Since the facade, with its two doorways is thought to represent the houses of Upper and Lower Egypt, the goddesses are obviously conceived here as the patron goddesses of either half of the country. Although King Snefru is associated with Hathor of the Sycamore by the construction of a *mrt* temple for her and the consecration of a golden statue of her son Ihi within it, our only knowledge of this comes from the Palermo Stone, dated from the reign of Neferirkare.<sup>50</sup>

With the reign of Menkaure, Hathor and her priestesses rise to prominence. The famous triads which depict the king with the goddess and personifications of selected upper Egyptian nomes identify her as Hathor, mistress of the Sycamore in all her places.<sup>51</sup> *Wnš.t*, perhaps a true princess, buried in G 4840, probably dates from this

<sup>38</sup> Mariette, A2 (M. A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I* [London, 1905], pl. 2). On the paleography of the Hathor sign, see Galvin, *JAOS* 103, loc. cit., 425–30.

<sup>39</sup> See H. Cherpion, "Le mastaba de Khabausokar: Problèmes des chronologie," *Axes prioritaires des recherches égyptologiques*, 2e Congrès Internationale des Égyptologues (Grenoble, 1979).

<sup>40</sup> A. J. Arkell and E. M. Burgess, "The Reconstruction of the Hathor Bowl," *JEA* 44 (1958), 6–11, pls. 8–9.

<sup>41</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, G. A. Wainwright and E. Mackay, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazguneh* (London, 1912), pl. 6.

<sup>42</sup> J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I* (London, 1900), pl. 29.

<sup>43</sup> J. E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid Vol. 1* (Cairo, 1935), 113, pl. 59.

<sup>44</sup> Hans Bonnet, *Reallexicon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 278.

<sup>45</sup> §546b, see K. Sethe, *Die Altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* Bd. I (Leipzig, 1908). *šndw.t.f hr.f m Hthr šw.t.f m šwt bik*, His kilt which is on him is Hathor, his feather is a falcon's feather.

<sup>46</sup> Of the two references to Bat in the Coffin Texts, only one (A. De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* [7 volumes, Chicago, 1936–1961], I, 181 l-p) suggests a direct connection with

Hathor: *hrw n hnnw n ts.t wsrw.t n sn.t tptw nfrw n sn.t itn hr<sup>c</sup>bw n ts.t hr b3t*, . . . [On] the day of tumult when the necks had not yet been knit, when the heads of the gods had not been set, when the sun disk had not been attached and the face of Bat was not yet knit on.

<sup>47</sup> Fischer, "The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat," *JARCE* 1 (1962), 7–24.

<sup>48</sup> Fischer, "Some Emblematic Uses of Hieroglyphs with Particular Reference to an Archaic Ritual Vessel," *Journal of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (hereinafter *MMAJ*) 5 (1973), 40–41, fig. 20.

<sup>49</sup> Uvo Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chepren* (Leipzig, 1912), 16–17.

<sup>50</sup> *Urk.* I 247.15–16. *Nsw bity Snfrw ir.n.f m mnw.f n* [. . .] *msi wpt-r d<sup>c</sup>m Ihi šms r Hthr nh.t Snfrw Mr.t*, "Snefru made it as his monument for (Hathor?), an electrum (image) of Ihy, manufacturing, performing the Opening of the Mouth, conducting (it) to Hathor of the Sycamore (in) the *Mr.t* of Snefru."

See W. Barta, "Zur Lokalisierung und Bedeutung der *mrt* Bauten," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* (hereinafter *ZÄS*) 110 (1983), 99.

<sup>51</sup> G. Reisner, *Mycerinus* (Harvard, 1931), 108–10.

reign;<sup>52</sup> and by the following dynasty, priestesses of Hathor of the Sycamore become particularly numerous. As we have already noted, Menkaure was responsible for the foundation of the priesthood of Hathor at Tehneh (*R<sup>2</sup>-int*), one of the new towns (*niw.w.t m<sup>3</sup>3t*)<sup>53</sup> that seem to have been part of a scheme for internal colonization of this period.<sup>54</sup> As well, we possess a number of cylinder seals which describe Menkaure as “beloved of” and “one who worships” Hathor. Although similar seals survive from the reign of Khafre, their number is much greater under this king.<sup>55</sup>

#### 4. Hathor, the Divine Kingship and its Relation to her Priestesses

The rulers of the 5th Dynasty were even more enthusiastic in their devotion to this goddess whom they coupled with that of the Heliopolitan god Re. As well as benefitting from the vast hecatombs which poured into the sun and mortuary temples which celebrated both of them,<sup>56</sup> Hathor had priesthoods in the *mr.t* temples of Userkaf, Sahure, Menkaure and Isosi.<sup>57</sup> Her cult in the royal mortuary temples<sup>58</sup> required priests

as well as priestesses<sup>59</sup> to do her service. This poses the question, just who or what was Hathor and what function did her service by numerous highly-born women perform for the theocratic regime of Old Kingdom Memphis?

Studies of Hathor, which emphasize her connection with royalty and her function as a goddess of women, tend to synthesize material from different periods in a way that may be misleading and anachronistic. Edward Wente<sup>60</sup> and Lana Troy,<sup>61</sup> for example, have taken as their starting point texts and representations of the mid to late 18th Dynasty, when the king celebrated his cultic and regenerative potency through union with Hathor both as wife and mother.<sup>62</sup> Not only did this thought complex give rise to funerary artifacts such as Tutankhamun's golden chamber of rebirth,<sup>63</sup> but it led to its real-life acting out with the chief queen, queen mother, and princesses all taking on a Hathoric persona to some extent.<sup>64</sup> Ph. Derchain has identified an early version of this magico-political psychodrama in the famous scene in *Sinuhe* where the prodigal is welcomed

<sup>52</sup> H. Junker, *Giza I*, 249–54, abb. 63; B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s<sup>2</sup> njswt, “Königsson,”* (Bonn, 1976), 123.

<sup>53</sup> *Urk.* I 24.12.

<sup>54</sup> See Fischer, *Dendera*, 10, n. 51; N. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt* (Warminster, 1980), 2ff.; E. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum ende des Alten Reiches* (Hildesheim, 1976), 70.

<sup>55</sup> P. Kaplony, *Die Rollsigel des Alten Reiches* (Brussels, 1977–81), Khafre: III, pls. 13–15, 19, 20, IIa, 36, 39, 55–58; Menkaure, III pls. 32–36, IIa, 98, 99–101, 103–5, 108, 115–16.

<sup>56</sup> See Palermo Stone, *Urk.* I 240.14ff., 241.11–12, 244.15–17, 245.14–15, 247.12–14; W. Helck, “Bemerkungen zu den Pyramidenstädten im alten Reich,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* (hereinafter *MDAIK*) 15 (1957), 96, 11.

<sup>57</sup> W. Barta, *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 99–100.

<sup>58</sup> Priests in sun temples: *Iti*, G 6030 (*LD* II 59) Neferirkare; *W-ir-pth*, CG 25, BM 718 (L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten vom Königen und Privatleuten* [Berlin, 1911–], 26, pl. 7; T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum Part I* [2nd Edition, London, 1961] [hereinafter *HT*[2]], pls. 28–29), Neferirkare; *Pth-m<sup>3</sup>-hrw*, Berlin E 1159 (J. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1907–8* [Cairo, 1909], 26, n. 916) Neferirkare; *Pth-špss*, Mariette C 10, CG 54 (Borchardt, *Statuen I*, 47, pl. 14) *Pth-k<sup>3</sup>p*, CG 1563 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler des alten Reiches II* [Cairo, 1964], 26–27,

pl. 64) Neferirkare; *Ni-<sup>c</sup>nh-r<sup>c</sup>-nds*, CG 55 (Borchardt, *Statuen I*, 49) Neferirkare; *Ni-m<sup>3</sup>t-sd*, Mariette D 56, CG 58, 88, 133 (Borchardt, *ibid.*, 51–52, pl. 5; *Ni-k<sup>3</sup>-nh*, Mariette D 48 (M. Murray and H. Petrie, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels* [London, 1952], 17–18, pl. 3, HT I [2], pl. 27) Neferirkare; *Ni-k<sup>3</sup>w-r<sup>c</sup>*, Vaucelles (de Bourget, “Le monument Vaucelles: Une Stèle-pancarte de l’Ancien Empire du modèle peu commun,” *Mélanges Maspero I. Orient Ancien* [Fasc. IV, Cairo, 1961], 11–16, pls. 1–5; *Ni-k<sup>3</sup>w-r<sup>c</sup>*, CG 1414, 1416 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 80–84, 87–89, pls. 19–20) Neferirkare; *R<sup>c</sup>-špss*, CG 55 (Borchardt, *Statuen I*, 49, pl. 14) Neferirkare; *H<sup>c</sup>-b<sup>3</sup>w-pth*, Mariette D 42 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 295) Neferirkare; *Šhm-k<sup>3</sup>* (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* [London, 1905], pls. 7, 35) Neferirkare; *K<sup>3</sup>(i)-m-snw* (C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* [Cairo, 1926], 157–66, 31–36, pls. 62–63) Neferirkare.

<sup>59</sup> Women in mortuary temples: *Db.t*, Bm 157 A, B (HT [2], pl. 6–7), see below; Men: *Hnm-htp* (Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pls. 15–17, Mariette, *Mastabas*, 312).

<sup>60</sup> “Hathor at the Jubilee,” *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (Chicago, 1969), 83–91.

<sup>61</sup> *Patterns of Queenship*, 61ff.

<sup>62</sup> Some depictions are B. Bothmer (ed.) *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art: Catalogue* (Cairo, 1979), 48–49; Chicago Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef* (Chicago, 1980), pls. 24–26; R. W. Smith and D. B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project: Initial Discoveries I* (Warminster, 1976), pl. 43.

<sup>63</sup> W. Westendorf, “Bemerkungen zur ‘Kammer der Wiedergeburt’ im Tutanchamungrab,” *ZÄS* 94 (1967), 139–50.

<sup>64</sup> Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 68ff.

back to life as an Egyptian by the royal women personating Hathor and her entourage; the king is the god Re; and Sinuhe (=S3-nh.t, the son of the sycamore) is welcomed into the celestial barque as he would be after death.<sup>65</sup> Although *Sinuhe* is fiction (and so for that matter is the tale of the three kings in *P. Westcar*), Gabriella Scandone-Matthiae<sup>66</sup> has suggested that the scene in *Sinuhe* actually reflected cultic dramas staged by the rules of It-t3wy. Scandone-Matthiae also suggests that the jewelry and other personal effects of the princesses of the mid-12th Dynasty are not only gifts of the king but represent the costumes that helped them personify various aspects of divine royalty.<sup>67</sup> S3.t-hthr and S3.t-hthr-iwn.t were decked out in the cobra, sacred plumes, and lioness manifestations of Hathor; and their toilet articles were decorated with the sacred Bat head which Hathor had appropriated.<sup>68</sup> Even their girdles were made so that they jingled like the sistrum.<sup>69</sup> On the other hand, Hnm.t, the daughter of Amenemhet II, whose full name was Hnm.t-nfr-hd.t, "the one who bears the beautiful White Crown," was provided with a different panoply which featured the feathers and claws of the vulture goddess Nekhbet, the patron goddess of Upper Egypt.<sup>70</sup> Hathor was at this time closely identified with W3d.t, the cobra goddess of Lower Egypt, in her capacity as the eye of Re.<sup>71</sup>

While Matthiae's arguments are suggestive rather than convincing, it must be noted that, with the accession of the 12th Dynasty, the office of priestess of Hathor is confined to a few provincial cult centres where the goddess was

worshipped; and even there they are none too plentiful.<sup>72</sup> For example, at Cusae, one of her most important sanctuaries in Upper Egypt, there is only one priestess of Hathor known for the entire Middle Kingdom;<sup>73</sup> and with the exception of Sn.t, wife of Antefoker, the vizier of Senwosret I, there are none associated with the royal court whatsoever.<sup>74</sup> This coincidence suggests a hypothesis that the personification of the goddess Hathor and other divine figures by female members of the royal family somehow rendered the office of priestess of Hathor unnecessary. In order to test this theory, I shall now try to evaluate the role played by these priestesses under earlier regimes, no easy task, given the paucity and ambiguity of the available material.

In attempting to answer our question, who was Hathor, two answers come to mind. The first is that she was a type of deity rather than a single entity that manifested itself in various forms and places. This plurality is well demonstrated in the later notion of the "seven Hathors," bovine or cow-headed creatures that assist in childbirth.<sup>75</sup> Indeed most of the goddess' common forms, cows, trees, or papyrus,<sup>76</sup> all suggest a nurturing, life-giving goddess of the type common to all traditional societies.<sup>77</sup> As Kurt Sethe long ago observed in *Urgeschichte und ägyptische Religion der Ägypter*, Hathor undoubtedly concealed in herself the identity of many fertility and protective goddesses of the folk or "little tradition" of the non-elite classes.<sup>78</sup>

On the other hand, as her name suggests, Hathor was the creation, and, initially, a rather bloodless and abstract one at that, of the speculation of the elite aimed at providing an ideology

<sup>65</sup> "Snéfrou et les rameuses," *Revue d'Égyptologie* (herein after *RdÉ*) 21 (1969), 19–25.

<sup>66</sup> "La dea e il gioiello: simbologia religiosa nella famiglia reale femminile della XII Dinastia," *La Parola del Pasato*, fasc. 224 (1985), 321–37.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 333ff.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 327, 329; H. E. Winlock, *The Treasure of el Lāhūn* (New York, 1934), 3ff.; 12–17, pl. 16, fig. 3; 23–52, pls. 2–4, 8, 9, 12a; 60–62, pls. 14–15.

<sup>69</sup> Alix Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), 80; Scandone-Matthiae, loc. cit., 329.

<sup>70</sup> Scandone-Matthiae, 332–34.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 328; K. Sethe, *Zur altägyptischen Sage vom Sonnenauge das in der Fremde war* (Leipzig, 1912), 10ff.; B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 130–36.

<sup>72</sup> See above n. 35. Attested at Abydos, Beni Hasan, Meir, Aswan and el-Bersheh.

<sup>73</sup> *Mrsi*, sister of *Snbi* of Tomb B3 at Meir, and mother of *Wh-htp* of Tomb B4 (Blackman, *Meir* III, pls. 18.1, 27, 4, 13; *Meir* VI, pl. 6; Gillam, "Studies," 413–15).

<sup>74</sup> See above, n. 35. The statuette of *Nht*, CG 409, mentioning the priestess of Hathor, S3.t-*nhy*, cannot be securely dated.

<sup>75</sup> Bonnet, *Reallexicon*, 270.

<sup>76</sup> K. Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1930), §123, 33, 27, 67.

<sup>77</sup> E. Neumann, *The Great Mother* (tr. R. Manheim) (2nd ed., New York, 1963), 240–80.

<sup>78</sup> §§49, 50, 61, 57, 123 etc.

that was both political and religious for institution of the kingship and the authoritarian theocracy that it represented. Rudolf Anthes was undoubtedly right when he suggested that the Pyramid Texts and other early texts support an interpretation of Hathor, *scil.* "the house of Horus," as the building in Heliopolis where Horus, the prototype king was acclaimed as king by his peers, the *p<sup>c</sup>t* or "patricians."<sup>79</sup> In a similar way, Isis was the throne which made a person into a king when he sat on it.<sup>80</sup> But this model, reminiscent in many ways to that suggested by Thorkild Jacobson in his theory of Sumerian primitive democracy,<sup>81</sup> could not have held much appeal for a sentimental, family-loving people like the Egyptians. The humanizing of this scenario, which later produced the Osiris myth,<sup>82</sup> also connected Hathor with Horus, a god of kingship with celestial associations. These were amplified with the union of Horus and Re as Re-Horakhty when Hathor become the mother and protector of both the creator sun and his earthly representative, the king.<sup>83</sup> At Heliopolis, Hathor must have been associated with the original Benben, as the copies in the Fifth Dynasty sun temples at Memphis show. She was also conflated with the local tree goddesses, Iusaas and Nebethetepet,<sup>84</sup> and, perhaps, even with the mountain goddess of

nearby Gerf Hussain.<sup>85</sup> Her celestial associations no doubt encouraged her absorption of the sky cow goddess Bat.<sup>86</sup> Indeed, it could be argued that wherever the ruling elite penetrated, local goddesses tended to be absorbed into Hathor's identity, specifically to support the ideology of the kingship and its perpetuation.

The presence of boat-graves in tombs as early as the First Dynasty suggests that the ideology of solar kingship was already well along in the process of formation.<sup>87</sup> The form of the Step Pyramid, a staircase,<sup>88</sup> evidence of building activity at Heliopolis by Djoser,<sup>89</sup> and the appointment of his first minister and architect to the post of

temples of the 5th Dynasty where it was used in the Sokar festival [see Gillam, "Studies," pp. 490–514].)

<sup>79</sup> Hathor was here the goddess of the red mountain, Gebel el-Ahmar, the site of a large quarry and grotto carved in her honour by Ramesses II, who also described this goddess as *nb.t dšr.t* in the stela of Manshiyet es-Sadr, which dates from years 7–8 (Champollion, *Notices Descriptives* I [Paris, 1864], 133; Vandier, *RdÉ*, loc. cit., 97, pl. 15; *LD* III, pl. 178, A. B. Kamal, "Stele de l'an VIII de Ramses II," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, [hereinafter *RT*] 30 (1908), 213–18; A. Hamada, "Stela from Manshiyet es Sadr," *ASAE* 38 [1938], 217–30, pl. 30). Perhaps this particular cult of Hathor, where the goddess is identified with the mountain was analogous to other cults such as Deir el-Bahari, Serabit el-Khadim or Timna (see E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari* [London, 1907–13] I, 24–31, 63–7, III, 1–8, 13–18, pls. 7–10, 14–16, 24–26; W. M. F. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* [New York, 1906], 72–121, 133–62; B. Rothberg, *Timna* [London, 1972], 125–76.) For Hathor as a goddess of the quarry, see A. H. Gardiner and E. Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai* I (London, 1917), e.g., *Hthr nb.t mfk3t*, pls. 18, 70, 56, 67, 78, 76; *nb.t inm nfr* (mistress of good colour), *ibid.*, pls. 26, 34, 47. However, as Vandier points out, the cult of Hathor at Gerf Hussain does not seem to predate the New Kingdom (*RdÉ*, loc. cit., 59).

<sup>80</sup> Fischer, *JARCE* I, loc. cit.

<sup>81</sup> They are first found in large private interments of this period, originally identified by Emery as royal burials. See W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* [Harmondsworth, 1961], 54–56, 68; B. J. Kemp, "Abydos and the Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty," *JEA* 52 [1966] 13–22; W. Kaiser and G. Dreyer, "Umm el Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 2 Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 38 [1982], 211–69.

<sup>82</sup> See J. P. Lauer, *Histoire monumentale des pyramides d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1962) I, 69–74. Cf. Pyramid Texts §§ 472, 971, 995–96.

<sup>83</sup> R. Weill, "Monuments nouveaux des premiers dynasties," *Sphinx* 15 (1911–12), 1–26; Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (London, 1906), 4.

<sup>79</sup> "Egyptian Theology in the Third Millennium B.C.," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (hereinafter *JNES*) 18 (1959), 169–212.

<sup>80</sup> Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (Chicago, 1948), 43–45; Sethe, *Urgeschichte* §85; M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reiches zum ende des Neuen Reiches* (Berlin, 1968), 137f.

<sup>81</sup> T. Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JNES* 2 (1943), 159ff.

<sup>82</sup> J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden, 1980), 50.

<sup>83</sup> H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* (3rd ed., Berlin, 1977), 233ff.; E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (tr. J. Baines) (Ithaca, 1971), 227ff.

<sup>84</sup> J. Vandier, "Iousaas et Hathor Nebet-Hetepet," *RdÉ* 16 (1964), 56, 76–78; *RdÉ* 17 (1965), 97ff.; Pyramid Texts §1210; Kees, "Zu den altägyptischen Mondsagen," *ZÄS* 60 (1925), 1–7.

By the 25th Dynasty, the temple of Nebethetepet depicted on Turin 2682 (H. Rieke, "Eine Inventartafel aus Heliopolis im Turiner Museum," *ZÄS* 71 [1935], 111, 132) contained many objects of Hathorian significance, such as *šm-sistra* and *whs*. (The *wh* was an object associated with Hathor at Cusae, but also found in the mortuary and sun

chief priest of this centre,<sup>90</sup> show that its importance considerably antedated the Fifth Dynasty.

#### 5. Priestesses of Hathor and the Kings of the 4th Dynasty

Evidence both of officers of the cult of Hathor and her actual celebration by the ruler does not seem to antedate the mid Fourth Dynasty. Although later sources associate Snefru with the building of a *mr.t* temple for Hathor<sup>91</sup> and he was linked with her in later cults and legends (like *P. Westcar*),<sup>92</sup> the locus of Hathoric activity seems to be the Giza necropolis. As Lehner<sup>93</sup> has shown, this cemetery was planned and landscaped as a unity from the beginning, in the reign of Khufu, and significant nodal points like the Great Sphinx manifested the ideology of divine kingship.<sup>94</sup> Another significant religious site, which doubtless preceded Khufu's grand design was a sacred sycamore tree, like many found along the desert edge. This became part of the royal mythology when its goddess was identified with Hathor, conveniently, since sycamore goddesses were also associated with the care of the dead.<sup>95</sup> That this was an *ad hoc* creation is demonstrated by Hathor's appearance on the Menkaure triads, her first known anthropomorphic depiction.<sup>96</sup> Although she appears here with her familiar disk and horns, the iconography is still evidently experimental, as the horns are wavy and slope backwards, more like the extinct Egyptian ram than the familiar longhorn.

Although there are no contemporary documents to connect Khufu with Hathor, an inscription in the temple of Dendera states that plans for the temple were found which dated from his reign.<sup>97</sup> However, given that this is a

very late source and Khufu was a famous figure, this statement seems virtually worthless. Of more interest is that two women as well as two men who are *hmw.(t) ntr Hthr* are also priests of Khufu during the Old Kingdom.<sup>98</sup> Two women, *Wmt.t-k3* and *Mr-it.f.s*, were married to priests of Khufu.<sup>99</sup>

#### 6. Priestesses of Hathor at Memphis in the Old Kingdom

While the reign of Redjedef gives us our first documented priestess, it was Khafre who inscribed the name of Hathor on his own funerary temple. Perhaps it is the doorway inscribed for her that was tended by *Db.t* who was *hm.t ntr Hthr hnt.t H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup>*,<sup>100</sup> assuming that *hnt.t* means here "in front of," rather than "preeminent." *Db.t* is also priestess of Neith who is in front of (the temple of) Khafre, Neith perhaps standing in here for Bastet as the goddess of the north, as well as priestess of Hathor of the sycamore.<sup>101</sup>

Out of eighty-one priestesses of Hathor attested at the Giza necropolis eleven are *hm.t ntr Hthr nb.t nht* and nine are *hm.t ntr Hthr nb.t nht m swwt nb.t*, a total of twenty in all.<sup>102</sup> Of sixty-five

<sup>98</sup> Women: *Mr.t-it.f.s*, G 7650 (Smith *HESPOK*, pl. 41a); *Htp-hr.s*, Saqqara Mariette B2 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 90–1).

Men: *Pth-šps* (unpublished false door fragment, Cairo, Gillam, "Some Old Kingdom Blocks Seen in Commerce," ARCE Annual Meeting, New York, 1985); *Tp-m-nh* II, Saqqara Mariette D 11, CG 1417, 1415, 1564 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 198, Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 84–87, 89–91, pls. 19–20. Only *Mrt-it.f.s* dates from the 4th Dynasty.

<sup>99</sup> *Wmt.t-k3* was married to *W33-pth*, who was also *imy-r hmt w<sup>c</sup>.b.t*, *hm ntr Pth*, *hr hkr*, *imy-r hkr pr<sup>c</sup>3*, *hm ntr Skr*, *imy-r hm-k3 nsu* and *rh nsu* (Hassan, *Giza* II, 5ff.). An inscription on the entrance of this tomb suggests that *W33-pth* was either a dependent of Queen *H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbt* or her funerary estate (ibid., 10, n. 1, figs. 7, 8) and probably lived in the 4th or early 5th Dynasty. *Mrt.t.s/H3p.t-k* was married to *S33.t-htp*, G 5150 (*LD* II 23, 25; Junker, *Giza* II, abb. 28).

<sup>100</sup> BM 157B (*HT* [2] I, pls. 6–7). This woman probably lived in the 6th Dynasty and her title may point to a popular cult of the goddess mentioned on the front of the temple. Her husband *Tti* was also a functionary of the Khafre pyramid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> *Giza*; *hm.t ntr Hthr nb.t nht*: *Inti*, Boston MFA 31.781 (B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* [7 Volumes, Oxford 1927–51; 2nd ed. R. Moss and J. Málek, Oxford, 1960] [hereinafter *PM*] III<sup>2</sup>, 203), late Old Kingdom; *Irrt* (A. Fakhry, *Sept Tombeaux à l'est de la Grande Pyramide de Guizeh* [Cairo, 1935], 47, fig. 2) 5th Dynasty; *Wn3.t* G4840 (Junker, *Giza* I, 249–54, abb. 63) 4th–5th Dynasty; *Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh*,

<sup>90</sup> C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid* (Cairo, 1935), pl. 58; M. I. Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester des Sönnengottes von der Frühzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Munich, 1972), 15–16.

<sup>91</sup> Palermo Stone, see above n. 50.

<sup>92</sup> See Derchain, *RdÉ* loc. cit.

<sup>93</sup> M. Lehner, "Giza: A Contextual Approach to the Pyramids," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 32 (1985), 136–58.

<sup>94</sup> Leher, loc. cit.; C. M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire* (Cairo, 1976), 305–7.

<sup>95</sup> Sethe, *Urgeschichte* §33–34.

<sup>96</sup> Reisner, *Mycerinus*, op. cit., 108–10.

<sup>97</sup> E. Chassinat and F. Daumas, *Le Temple de Dendera* (9 volumes, Cairo, 1934–87), VI, 173; Fischer, *Dendera*, op. cit., 47.

priestesses of Hathor attested for the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period at Saqqara, twenty are *hm.t ntr Hthr nb.t nh.t* or *m sw.t.s nb.t*.<sup>103</sup> Two women title holders from Dashûr are also to

Cairo JE 87797 (Hassan, *Giza* VI.3, 239, pls. 97, 98a) late 6th Dynasty; *Mri-ptḥ* (Junker, *Giza* VI, 239–40, abb. 107) 6th Dynasty (?); *Ni-nḥ-hthr*, Mastaba of *Nsw-ḥdw* (Junker, *Giza* VI, 244ff., abb. 104) 6th Dynasty or later; *Nb-ḥtp*, tomb of *Nb-m-ḥt* (Hassan, *Giza* IV, figs. 81–82) Menkaure; *Nb.t*, tomb of *Twt/K3-nsw* G 2001 (Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* [2 Volumes, Cambridge, Mass., 1942–55] I, 286 [2], fig. 183) 6th Dynasty; *Nbty-ḥr-k3w.s* G7836 (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 243) 6th Dynasty *Nk3-nbty*, mastaba of *Ni-k3w-r* (LD II 15, Text I, 104–6) Menkaure; *Htp-ḥr.s*, *Ssm-nfr* family mastaba (E. Brunner-Traut, *Grabkammer Seschemnofers III aus Giza* [Mainz, 1977], pl. 13, Beitrage 3) 5th Dynasty. *hm.t ntr Hthr nb.t nh.t m sw.t.s nb.t*: *Nb-ḥtp*, tomb of *Nb-m-ḥt* (Hassan, *Giza* VI, figs. 81, 82) Menkaure; *Nbty-k3-n*, Lepsius, *Giza* 87 (LD II 15, Text I, 104–6) Menkaure; *Hwt-b3w-iwnw*, mastaba of *Imi-sw-t-k3.i* (Junker, *Giza* VI, 211, abb. 81; *Ts.t*, mastaba of *K3-m-nḥ* (Junker, *Giza* VI, 7, abb. 11) 6th Dynasty; *Htp/W3d.t-Htp* G2001 (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 286 [2], fig. 183) 6th Dynasty; *Hnw.t/Inti* G3008 (C. S. Fischer, *The Minor Cemetery at Giza* [Philadelphia, 1924], 165–66, pls. 49.2, 55) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Hnt-k3w.s*, tomb of *Snd-m-ib*, G 2374 (LD II, pl. 73–74, *Erganzband*, pls. XI–XIII) late 5th Dynasty; *Ss-s.t*, mastaba of *nḥ-m-s3.f* (Hassan, *Giza* VI.3, 147–52, figs. 142–46, pl. LXVa) 5th Dynasty.

The dates given here and elsewhere in this article are those generally assigned to the monument in question and do not reflect the author's opinion unless otherwise stated.

<sup>103</sup> *Hm.t ntr Hthr nb.t nh.t*: *Iḥ3t*, CG 1414 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 80–84, pl. 19) Neferirkare or later; *nḥ-hthr*, Princeton University Art Museum 42–48 (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 746) Userkaf or later; *\*Wr.t-th-hthr/Ss.s.t*, wife of *Mrr-wi-k3.i* (P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka* [Chicago, 1938], pls. 57, 212, 26–27, 64, 53, 96, 88, 149–50, 159, 166–67) Teti; *Wst-k3w.s*, Saqqara, Mariette D 55 (B. Van de Walle, *Le Mastaba de Neferirtnef* [Brussels, 1930], 46, 51, 54, 61, 62, pl. 6) Neferirkare or later; *Mrt.f.s*, tomb of *Ssmw*, Saqqara, Lepsius 5, Berlin Museum 1110 (LD II 97[a]) 5th Dynasty or later; *Mrt.(i)t.f.s* (A. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Kahay* [Mainz, 1971], pl. 32, 42) Neuserre; *Mrt-mn*, tomb 23511, BM 1848 (G. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara 1964–1973* [London, 1979], 21 n. 4, pl. 21); *Nb.t-ḥtp*, CG 1415, Mastaba of *Tp-m-nḥ*, Saqqara, Mariette D 11 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 84, pl. 19) mid 5th Dynasty; *Nb.t*, Mastaba of *Mrr-wi-k3.i* (G. Daressy, “Le mastaba de Mera,” *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien* III (1898), 563, 572) Teti; *Nbty-ḥpss.t*, CG 1757 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 179 (4th–5th Dynasty); *Nfr-ḥtp.s*, mastaba of *Ty* (H. Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ty* [Cairo, 1939–66]), pls. 31, 39, 170, 164, 56, 18, 19, 27, 17.1, 63) mid-5th Dynasty; *Nfr.t* (Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, 17–18, pls. 1–2) 5th Dynasty or later; *Hthr-shm* (Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1907–8* [Cairo, 1909]), pl. LXV; W. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* I [New York, 1953], 102,

be included in the greater Memphite necropolis.<sup>104</sup> A man who holds these titles is known from the 5th Dynasty necropolis at Sheikh Saïd, and women from Zawyet el-Amwât and Hamamiyeh are known from the 6th.<sup>105</sup> Apart from them, the only substantial group of *hm.t ntr Hthr nb.t nh.t* from outside of the Memphite area is found at Akhmîm and is generally dated to the First Intermediate Period. We shall have more to say about these women below.

Although the Giza necropolis was obviously the main sanctuary of the royal cult of Hathor of the Sycamore, far outlasting its royal patrons, the titular variant “in all her (beautiful) places” suggests other centres of this cult, or that other sycamores were also included. This seems to be the implication of the inscription on the Menkaure triads which juxtapose the goddess of the sycamore in all her places with the nomes of Upper Egypt which promise the king the bounty of the south.<sup>106</sup> From the New Kingdom the most famous sanctuary of Hathor of Memphis was that of Hathor of the Southern Sycamore,

fig. 58) 5th Dynasty; *\*Hthr-ḥpss*, mastaba of *Nm.t-nfr*, Mariette D 44, CG 123 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 298; Borchardt, *Statuen* I, 94, pl. 27) 5th Dynasty; *\*Hr-mrr-nbty*, tomb of *Pth-ḥpss*, Abusir (Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Neuser-Re* [Leipzig, 1907], 126–28, fig. 107, PM III<sup>2</sup>, 340–47) mid-5th Dynasty; *Hnw.t* (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Das Grabdenkmal Nianchnum und Chnumhotep* [Mainz, 1977], pls. 4, 46, 74, abb. 5, 18) Neuserre-Menkauhor; *Hnw.t* (Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen* [Mainz, 1975], pls. 10, 14) Ise; *Hnti-k3w.s* (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pls. 5, 47, 68, 74, abb. 25, 19) Neuserre-Menkauhor; *Sms.t* (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 442) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Tnt.t*, mastaba of *Dw3-n-r*, Mariette D 61 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 349, 50) 5th Dynasty or later; *Ts.t*, mastaba of *Pth-ḥtp* I (A. Badawi, “Denkmäler aus Sakkarah, II,” *ASAE* 40 [1941], 611–12, abb. 67) 5th–6th Dynasty. *\* m sw.t.s nb.t*.

<sup>104</sup> *Nsw-nfr*, mastaba of *Km-ḥd* (A. Barsanti, “Rapport sur la fouille de Dahchour,” *ASAE* 3 [1902], 202–3); *Hwt-n-sw*, mastaba *K3-nfr* (C. Zeigler, “La Fausse-Porte du Prince Kanefer, ‘fils de Snefrou,’ *RdÉ* 31 [1979], 120–34).

<sup>105</sup> Women and men from Sheikh Saïd and Zawyet el-Amwat: *Iwfi*, Hemamiya (W. M. F. Petrie, *Bahrein and Hemamiyeh* [London, 1929], 33–35, pls. 20–24) 5th Dynasty; *Nb.t/Bbi*, Abydos, CG 1519 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 221) 6th Dynasty; A. Barsanti, “Rapport sur la fouille de Dachour,” *ASAE* 3 [1902], 202–3) possibly 6th Dynasty; Zawyet el-Amwat *\*Smr.t-k3*, tomb of *Hwns* (LD II 105, 109) 6th Dynasty; *Mrs/Bbi* (male), (N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd* [London, 1901], pls. 19–20) 6th Dynasty. *\* m sw.t.s nb.t*.

<sup>106</sup> Reisner, *Mycerinus*, op. cit.

whose site has been excavated by Sayed Mahmud.<sup>107</sup> However, there is concrete evidence that this second Hathor sanctuary existed in the Memphite necropolis as early as the late Old Kingdom. *Nb.t*, the daughter of King Teti's vizier *Mrr-wi-k3(i)*, is *hm.t ntr Hthr nb.t rs.t*.<sup>108</sup> *Hnm-htp*, a male functionary who held office in the sun and pyramid temples of Userkaf and, perhaps, a close contemporary of this king, was *imy-r [hw.t] Hthr [n] nh.t*.<sup>109</sup> Since he was buried in the Saqqara necropolis (Mariette D 49), it is possible that he was responsible for the southern sycamore temple, which would thus have existed from the beginning of the 5th Dynasty. This would make sense, since the funerary complexes and sun temples of these kings, which all contained cults of Hathor, were far to the south of the Giza necropolis.<sup>110</sup> Thus, it is likely that women who hold the title priestess of Hathor at Saqqara are connected with the southern sanctuary. Later references to the sycamores associated with the funerary complex of Snefru at Dashur suggest yet further branches of this royal mortuary cult.<sup>111</sup> Although it is likely that a priestess would be attached to the sycamore cult nearest the pyramid and residence city of the reigning sovereign, some had a wider jurisdiction, as the title, Priestess of Hathor, mistress of the Sycamore in all her places, suggests.<sup>112</sup>

Apart from the titles Priestess of Hathor of the Sycamore, Priestess of Hathor of the Sycamore in all her places, Priestess of Hathor in all her places, Priestess of Hathor before the temple of Khafre, and of Hathor in the *mrt* buildings of various kings, other cults of Hathor with female *hmw.t ntr* attested in the Memphite area also include Hathor mistress of Dendera (some-

times in all her places),<sup>113</sup> Hathor mistress of the desert (*smit*),<sup>114</sup> and from late in the 6th Dynasty, Hathor mistress of Heaven.<sup>115</sup> However, apart from five priestesses of Hathor of Dendera,<sup>116</sup> these variations are statistically negligible. By far the greatest number of priestesses of Hathor have no special affiliation whatsoever, they are simply *hm.t ntr Hthr*. At Giza fifty-one out of a total of eighty-one women hold this title, and at Saqqara fifty-three out of sixty-five.<sup>117</sup> Taken together these women of the north and south Memphite necropolis far outnumber those from all other centres for the 4th through the 12th Dynasty. Out of all mentions of priestess of Hathor, the plain variant occurs 259 times in this whole period. Although these numbers include instances where the plain title is held by women who also have specific variants, they are indeed striking and raise, even more urgently, the question of what these women actually did.

Marianne Galvin has asserted that even where *hm.t ntr Hthr* occurs in a titular string with a place-specific variant it is to be considered a separate title rather than an abbreviation.<sup>118</sup> However, it

<sup>113</sup> For *mrt* priesthoods see Baer, *Rank and Title*, 256; Barta *ÄS* loc. cit.

Dendera: \*Name Lost, Giza (Fischer, *Dendera*, 24, fig. 5) 4th–5th Dynasty; *Int-k3.s* G1039, Berkeley (H. F. Lutz, *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California* [Leipzig, 1930], 15, pl. 23, 26B) Unas or earlier; *Mrs-nh* II G7530 (Dunham and Simpson, *Mastaba of Mersyankh III*, op. cit., figs. 7, 9) Khafre; *Hnt-k3w.s*, Turin 1848 (Junker, *Giza VII*, 70, abb. 30; S. Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani a el-Ghiza* [1903] [Rome, 1963], 58–61, pl. 15, fig. 19) 5th–6th Dynasty. \**m sw.t.s nb.t*.

<sup>114</sup> *Ps.t*, *hm ntr Hthr nb.[t] smit nfr sw.t* (Junker, *Giza VIII*, 175, pl. 28a, abb. 91); Vienna Museum Inv. 8550; *Ni-nh-htp* (Junker, *Giza IX*, 91ff., abb. 39) possibly 6th Dynasty.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibi*, Berlin, Charlottenberg 37/66 (W. Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* [Berlin, 1967], 33, no. 297). This form of Hathor is found in mortuary texts of the late Old Kingdom and the Coffin Texts.

Another interesting variant is *hm.t ntr Hthr nb.(t) idbw*, “mistress of the two banks,” held by the woman *Prt.i* (G. Jéquier, *Les pyramides des Reines Neit et Apouit* [Cairo, 1933], 58, fig. 36).

<sup>116</sup> See above n. 113.

<sup>117</sup> For these persons, see Galvin, “Priestesses,” Index. The numbers I have used are based on a computer-generated analysis of data collected at the University of Melbourne in 1977. Some persons documented by Galvin, chiefly from unpublished sources were lacking in my survey. However, I believe the relationships between the figures still reflect valid statistical relationships.

<sup>118</sup> Galvin, “Priestesses,” 74–76.

<sup>107</sup> A. el-Sayed Mahmud, *A New Temple for Hathor at Memphis* (Warminster, 1978).

<sup>108</sup> Daressy, “Mastaba de Mera,” loc. cit.

<sup>109</sup> *HT* [2] I, pl. 18; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 32; Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pl. 15, 17 etc. cf. *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 572.

<sup>110</sup> W. Kaiser, “Zu den Sonnenheiligtum der 5. Dynastie,” *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 103–16; see also Klaus Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), 255–56.

Women: *hm ntr Hthr r hnt Hfr* (*Db.t*, BM 157 A, *HT* [2] I, pls. 6–7. Man: *hm ntr Hth hnt.t w3b sw.t Wsr-k3.f* (*Hnm-htp*, see previous note).

<sup>111</sup> *Urk.* I 212.5–6; H. Goedicke, *Königliche dokumente aus dem alten Reich* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 72, suggests *nhw.t* referred in Pepy II's decree is a general designation for trees.

<sup>112</sup> See above n. 102, 103.

is impossible to prove this assertion, especially when dealing with the personnel of the cult of smaller centres such as Cusae or Dendera. It can be demonstrated that male title holders of the plain variant are of lower rank than those who hold the place specific versions.<sup>119</sup> In the Old Kingdom, the congruence of title elaboration with high rank seems to be the general rule.<sup>120</sup> It is likely that if the title *hm.t ntr Hthr* is not an abbreviation of a place specific variant, it represents a lower rank in the *hm.t ntr* hierarchy through which the holder had passed at an earlier time; it must not be forgotten that Old Kingdom title strings record *all* the titles ever held by an individual<sup>121</sup> (but, unfortunately for us, not always in comprehensible order of time or rank). It is important to establish that *hm.t ntr Hthr* is a lesser version of place specific title since it puts to rest the troubling vision of priestesses of Hathor at large, an idea only attractive to those who think of them as little more than itinerant musicians or wise women. These women performed the daily cult for Hathor in sanctuaries specifically connected with the ruling family of Old Kingdom Memphis. This may be demonstrated by closer examination of their ranking titles and family connections.

In later times Hathor is closely associated with the queen (*hm.t nsw wr.t*); and scholars like Wente

and Barta have postulated some kind of sacred marriage with the king and queen as Re and Hathor.<sup>122</sup> On the other hand, Shafik Allam has asserted in his study of priestesses of Hathor that queens have nothing to do with the cult.<sup>123</sup> Neither position seems adequate to characterize the actual data from Old Kingdom Memphis.

Material datable to the 4th Dynasty suggests that although queens may be priestesses of Hathor (*Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh III*, *hm.t ntr H.*, *hm.t ntr H. nb.t Iwn.t*, G7530; *Bw-nfr* (*h. n. H.*),<sup>124</sup> it is certainly more common among *s3w.t nsw n ht.f* (*Nfr-htp.s*, daughter of Dejedefre and both the above queens),<sup>125</sup> and after the mid 4th Dynasty, *rh.t nsw* is a common complement of our title (see Appendix I). Although Junker's suggestion that *rh.t nsw* means king's relative is unlikely to be true,<sup>126</sup> it seems to suggest some extended family connection, as does the honorary use of the titles king's son and daughter which become common at this time. It seems that in the 4th Dynasty, most of the title holders are connected with the king, either as actual daughters or near relatives. Apart from the women already mentioned there is *Nb-m-3ht*,<sup>127</sup> the son of *Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh III* (*h. n. H. nb.t nh.t m swu.t.s nb.t [hw.t] nb.t* (Hassan, Giza IV) and *Mr.t-it.f.s*, probably a daughter of Khufu and his priestess (*h. n. H*, G 7650).<sup>128</sup> *Wn3.t* (*h. n. H*, G 4840) is *s3.t nsw n ht.f*; and *Spss.t-k3w*, a *rh.t nsw* (G 2150), is unlike the other women, not married to a member of the royal family.<sup>129</sup> At

<sup>119</sup> Note that ranking titles are often absent.

*hm ntr Hthr* at Memphis: *Hnw* (*Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim*. Karl Martin, *Reliefs des Alten Reiches* [hereinafter CAA] [Mainz, 1978] Lfg. 3, 3–7) (*rh nsw*); \**Pth-3ps*, Saqqara, Mariette C 10 CG 54 (L. Borchardt, *Statuen* I, 47, pl. 14, PM III<sup>2</sup>, 464) *s3b*; \**Mn-hm*, Saqqara, Mariette D 11, CG 1417 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 89–91) *hri s3t3, sd3wty md3.t s3t3; Ni-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-r<sup>c</sup>*, Louvre E 5609 (P. Kaplony, "Neues Material zue einer Prosopographie des Alten Reiches," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung* (hereinafter MIO) 14 [1968], 202, abb. 16) *rh nsw; Ni-k3w-r<sup>c</sup>* (P. de Bourget, *Mélanges Maspero I. Orient Ancien* (Fasc. IV, Cairo, 1961), 11–26, pls. 1–5) *rh nsw, s3b, w<sup>c</sup>b nsw, K3i-m-snwty* (*m Sw.t ib R<sup>c</sup>*); Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 31–36, 157–66, pl. 62–63) *rh nsw*, priesthoods at royal and sun temples; *Dw3-r<sup>c</sup>, mr.t Mn-k3w-r<sup>c</sup>*, Saqqara Mariette E 15 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 419) no ranking titles, *hri wdb m prwy, hri wdb rhy.t*, titles overseeing scribes.

<sup>120</sup> This is particularly clear when titles at provincial centres are examined, Gillam, "Studies," 155–56, 213–23.

<sup>121</sup> As is proven by detailed autobiographical inscriptions like those of *Wni* or *Nhbw*, where high officials describe the acquisition of low-level titles early in their careers (e.g., *Urk* I 98ff., 215ff.).

<sup>122</sup> W. Barta, ZÄS 110, 102–3; Wente, *Studies*, 91, cf. Duell, *Mereruka* pl. 141. The enigmatic inscription in the mastaba of *Mrr-wu-k3(i)*, cited by Barta is too damaged and brief to prove anything. It reads *p3* [about two groups lost] *nfrw.t iw.t.s hr Hr nb.t nh.t*. Barta thinks this provides evidence for a sacred marriage of Horus (i.e., the king) and Hathor, as is attested in Ptolemaic times at Edfu and Dendera (cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 124ff.).

<sup>123</sup> Allam, *Hathorkult*, 15.

<sup>124</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mastaba of Mersyankh II*, figs. 7–9; Hassan, Giza III, 176–79, figs. 147, 149, 150, 156, 159, pls. 54–55, 58.

<sup>125</sup> Chassinat, *Mon. Piot.* 25, 67–68.

<sup>126</sup> Junker, *Giza I*, 33.

<sup>127</sup> Hassan, Giza IV, figs. 8, 82; cf. Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh*, 14–15; W. S. Smith, *Cambridge Ancient History* (2nd ed., Vol. 1, chapter XI, Cambridge, 1964) (hereinafter CAH), 32–33.

<sup>128</sup> Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 41a.

<sup>129</sup> Junker, *Giza I*, 249–54, abb. 63; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 437–40, fig. 258.

this time we also begin to see, among the women of the elite, the popularity of the priesthood of Neith, sometimes localized as north of the wall, which reached its height in the 5th Dynasty. Although there is a strong correlation between the two titles, it is by no means invariable. At Giza, in the Old Kingdom, the title *hm ntr Nt* occurs with Hathor priesthoods thirteen times,<sup>130</sup> *Hm.t ntr Nt wp.t w3w.t (mh.t inbw)*<sup>131</sup> eight times, at Saqqara, the correlation of the simple Neith title is ten,<sup>132</sup> the more complex one ten also.<sup>133</sup> It seems that

<sup>130</sup> At Giza, the following women have the simple Neith title (\* indicates the variant *m swu.t.s nb.t*): Name Lost (Fischer, *Dendera*, 24, fig. 5) 4th–5th Dynasty; *Wnš.t* (Junker, *Giza I*, 249–54, abb. 63) possibly Menkaure; *Mrit.t.s/H3.t.k*, G 5750 (*LD II*, 23, 25; Junker, *Giza II*, abb. 28) 5th Dynasty; *Nw.w.t*, G 2184 (W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* [3 Volumes, Leipzig, 1928–38] III, pl. 69) 5th or 6th Dynasty; \**Nbty-k3-n* (*LD II*, 15b, Text I, 104ff.) Khafre or later; *H3p-n-nbty* (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 242) late 5th Dynasty; \**Hpt.t-k3/Mri.t.t.s* (Junker, *Giza II*, abb. 28, 29) 4th Dynasty; *Htp-hr.s/Hnw.t* (Hassan, *Giza II*, 208ff., fig. 230, pl. 80) 5th Dynasty; *Hn.t* (Junker, *Giza II*, 177, 185–86, 187, abb. 27–28, 30, 32) 5th Dynasty; *Sn.t-ut.s* (Junker, *Giza V*, 18, pl. 5, abb. 23, 29) late 6th Dynasty; *Sš-sš.t* (Hassan, *Giza VI.3*, 147–52, figs. 142–47, pl. LXVa) 5th Dynasty; \**Sps.t-k3w* (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 437–40, fig. 258) later 4th Dynasty; *Twt* (Hassan, *Giza III*, 78ff., pl. 27, fig. 70) 6th Dynasty.

<sup>131</sup> *Mrr.t* (Junker, *Giza IX*, 235–36); *Mrt.f.s*, Berlin 1110 (*LD II* 97[a]) 5th Dynasty or later; *Mrt.(i).t.f.s* (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Kahay*, pls. 32, 42) Neuserre; *Nb-htp*, G 4710 (*LD II* 87 [also simple variant]) 4th–5th Dynasty; *Hnw.t.sn* (Brunner-Traut, *Grab Seschemnofers III*, colour pl. 5, pl. 19, add. pl. 3) mid 5th Dynasty; *Hnt-k3w.s* (Junker, *Giza VIII*, 70, fig. 30; Curto, *Gli Scavi* op. cit., 58–61, pl. 15, fig. 19) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Tst.t* (Junker, *Giza IV*, 7, abb. 11) 6th Dynasty; *Db.t (hnt.t H3.f-r)* BM 157 A–B (*HT* [2] I, pls. 6–7) perhaps 6th Dynasty.

<sup>132</sup> *Inti*, Saqqara, Mariette E 1, 2 (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, 28, pl. 31; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 377) Teti or later; *W3d.t-k3w.s* (Hassan, *Hemet-R<sup>c</sup> and others* [Cairo, 1975] 68–81, pls. 53–55, figs. 38b, 39) end 6th Dynasty; *Nb-htp*, Mariette D 11 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 81, pl. 19) mid 5th Dynasty; *Hnw.t.sn*, MMA 5137 (Scott, *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* December 1952 (hereinafter *MMA Bulletin*), 116–18, figs. 117–19) 5th Dynasty; \**Htp-hr.s*, Mariette B 2 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 90–91) 4th Dynasty; *Hthr-špss*, Mariette D 44, CG 123 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 298; Borchardt, *Statuen I*, 94, pl. 27) 5th Dynasty; *Hwit* (Fischer, “Three Old Kingdom Palimpsests in the Louvre,” *ZÄS* 86 [1961], 28–29) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Hnw.t* (Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 24, n. 27) Late Old Kingdom; *Smr.t-mn*, Mariette C 15, CG 95 (Borchardt, *Statuen*, 75, pl. 21, Mariette, *Mastabas*, 140–41) Sahure or later; *Tst* (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pls. 80–81).

<sup>133</sup> *Wr-th-htp* (Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 57, 22, 26–27, 64, 53, 96, 88, 149–50, 159, 166–67) Teti; *W3t-k3w.s* (Van de Walle,

like Bastet, Neith represents the northern kingdom, while Hathor represents the southern one.

#### 7. Changes in the Function and Rank of the Office of Priestess and Other Hathoric Titleholders in the 5th and 6th Dynasty

As the pattern of title holders who are *rh.t nsw* and priestess of Neith asserts itself at the beginning of the 5th Dynasty, there is a change in the rank and occupation of male relatives and associates. While in the 4th and early 5th Dynasty, they are *s3 nsw n ht.f/s3 nsw* or of the rank of *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>* or *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*,<sup>134</sup> there is a downward movement of rank of functionaries of Hathor to the level of *rh/ht nsw*<sup>135</sup> which remains consistent until the reign of Isosi and the rise of the *Sšm-nfr* and *Snd-m-ib* families.<sup>136</sup>

Neferirtenefer, 46, 51, 54, 57, 61, 62, pl. 6) Neferirkare; *Nb-ir.t*, CG 55 (Borchardt, *Statuen I*, 48–49, pl. 14) Neferirkare or later; *Nb.t* (É. Drioton, “Description sommaire des chapelles funéraires de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie récemment découvertes derrière le mastaba de Mererouka à Saqqarah,” *ASAE* [1942], 495, pl. 40) very late Old Kingdom; *Nfr-htp.s*, Saqqara, Mariette D 47, CG 1484 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 140, pls. 177–81 (early 5th Dynasty); *Nfr-htp.s* (Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, pls. 31, 39, 176, 164, 56, 18, 19, 27, 171, 63) Neuserre or later; *Nfr.t* (Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, 17–18, pls. 11–12) 5th Dynasty or later; *Hthr-šym* (Quibell, *Saqqara 1907–8*, 115–25, pl. LXV; Hayes Scepter I, 102, fig. 58) 5th Dynasty; *Hwi-n-sw*, Dashûr (J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dachour* [2 volumes, Vienna, 1895–1903], 29; Ziegler, *RdÉ* 31, 120–34); *Hntit-k3*, Mariette D 49 (Murray, *Chapels*, pl. 15; Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 30–31) late 5th Dynasty.

<sup>134</sup> *Mrt-it.f.s*, G 7650 (Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 41a), a husband *3hti-htp*, *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*, *hm ntr Hwfw*, *Nb-htp*, tomb of *Nb-m-3ht*, see above, n. 127; *Nbty-k3-n* (*LD II* 15b, Text I, 104ff.) husband *Ni-k3w-r<sup>c</sup>*, *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t*, *s3 nsw n ht.f*, *t3ty*, *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>*, *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*; *Hpt-k3*, G 5150 (Junker, *Giza II*, abb. 28, 29) husband *S33t-htp s3*, *nsw n ht.f*, *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*, *imy-r k3.t nb.t nswt*.

<sup>135</sup> Despite the difficulty of precise dating of monuments of this period, it seems that a major administrative reform is all but complete by the end of the reign of Userkaf, from which time probably dates *Pth-htp*, Saqqara, Mariette D 81, CG 156 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 314, 15; Borchardt, *Statuen I*, 113) and certainly *Hwfw-<sup>c</sup>nh*, CG 1790 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, 209–12, pl. 112) which exhibits lower ranking, and different type of occupational titles.

<sup>136</sup> For example, *Hnt-k3w.s*, wife of *Snd-m-ib*, G 2378 (*LD II* 73–74, *Ergänzband*, pls. XI–XIII). His titles include *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>*, *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t*, *t3ty s3b t3ty*, *imy-r k3.t nb.t nsw*. *Htp-hr.s* was the wife of *Sšm-nfr III*, who was *s3 nsw nht.f*, *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>*, *t3ty s3b t3ty* (Brunner-Traut,

After the beginning of the 5th Dynasty, the royal children seem to disappear from the administration. The sun temples and royal priest-hoods are staffed with men of the rank of *rh nsw*.<sup>137</sup> The tend to hold the post of *w<sup>c</sup>b nsw* and the *hri sst3* titles, which generally imply service to the king or a post in the judiciary (see Appendix 2). Many men who hold priest-hoods of Re and Hathor in the pyramid and sun temples are married or closely related to priestesses of Hathor.<sup>138</sup> The persistence of certain names among these women is to be noted: *Hnw.t.sn*, *H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbty*, *Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh*, *Htp-hr.s* and *Hnt-k3w.s* are those of the 4th Dynasty royal family.<sup>139</sup> Some of these women, of the rank of princess, married viziers. *H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbty*,

for example married *Pth-šps*.<sup>140</sup> Junker believed that members of the old ruling house had married commoner officials,<sup>141</sup> but more likely the entire ruling elite was so small that it constituted an extended kin group. If, as the Turin Canon suggests, the rulers of the 8th Dynasty were descended from those of the First,<sup>142</sup> a large pool of persons must have existed with royal blood in their veins that would provide outsiders with an entrée into Memphite society. It also seems that females of this class helped perpetuate the royal house through a form of ancestor worship via the goddess who created the divine king.

*Seschemnofers*, pl. 13, Beitrage III). On the rule of these families, see *ibid.*, 15–16; Junker, *Giza* III, 14; Smith, *CAH*<sup>3</sup> op. cit., 44ff.

<sup>137</sup> See above n. 119. Offices higher in the hierarchy, like *shd* or *imy-r hmw ntr* also hold this or a comparable rank, e.g., *Pth-šps*, Saqqara, Mariette D 54 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 323), *shd hm ntr Hthr, rh nsw; Mmi* (Hassan, *Giza* VII, 45–48, fig. 38, pl. 27a), *s[h]d hm[w] ntr Hthr, rh nsw*.

<sup>138</sup> *In-k3.f* (Hassan, *Giza* IX, 21–24, figs. 7–8, pl. 7; *W-ir(i).n-pth*, CG 25, BM 718 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, 26, pl. 7; *HT* [2] I, pls. 28–29), married to *Hnt-k3w.s*; *Mn-hm*, Saqqara, D 11, CG 1417 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 89–91, pl. 20) husband of *Nb-htp; Nfr-ir.t.n.f* (Van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*), married to *Wts.t-k3w.s; Ni-k3w-r<sup>c</sup>*, CG 1414, 1416 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 80–84, 87–89, pl. 19–20) married to *Ih3.t; R<sup>c</sup>-šps*, CG 55 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, 49, pl. 14) son of *Nb-ir.t; K3(i)-m-snw* (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 157–66, 31–36, pls. 62–63) married to *Ir.t-nb; In3* (Junker, *Giza* VIII, 85–88, abb. 31, pls. 11 a–c) perhaps related to *Hnt-k3w.s*, *ibid.*, 58–61, 70, abb. 30, pls. 15–19; *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* II, Saqqara, Mariette D 11, CG 1415, 1417, 1564 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 198; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 84–87, 89–91, pls. 19–20) married to *Nb-htp*, parents of *Mn-hm; Hnm-htp*, Saqqara D49 (Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pls. 15–17; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 312; *HT* [2] I, pl. 18, etc.) married to *Hntit-k3*.

For a general discussion of family connections of priestesses of Hathor, see Galvin, “The Hereditary Status of the Titles of the Cult of Hathor,” *JEA* 70 (1984), 42–49.

<sup>139</sup> Two women named *Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh*, at Giza and Maidum, do not record the name of a spouse (Hassan, *Giza* VI.3, 229, pls. 97–98; Barsanti, *ASAE* 3, 202) and probably date from the 6th Dynasty. *Hnw.t.sn* (Brunner-Traut, *Grabkammer Seschemnofers III*, colour pl. 5, pl. 19, Beitrage 3) was the wife of *S3m-nfr* II and the other of *S3m-nfr* III; *Hnw.t.sn* (LD II, 34; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 234–35) was the wife of *Hwfw-htp, imy-r k3.t nb.t nswt; H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbty* (LD II, 71–72, Text I, 49) was married to *Htp-n-pth, hri-sst3 nsw<sup>c</sup> h3sw.t, imy-r hnt3 pr<sup>c</sup>3 nsw<sup>c</sup>* and probably dates from the reign of Iseki. A *Htp-hr.s* was married to the vizier *S3m-nfr* III, himself a *s3 nsw n ht.f* (Brunner-Traut, *Grabkammer Seschemnofers III*, pl. 13, Beitrage 3). Other women of this name were married to mid-range

officials connected with the judiciary, scribal organization and the royal cult, like those found in the sun temples, e.g., *Htp-hr.s*, married to *Nht-k3* (Hassan, *Giza* VII, 21ff., pls. 18–20, figs. 18, 20–21) early 5th Dynasty; *Htp-hr.s*, married *šps* (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 207; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 37) early 5th Dynasty; five priestesses named *Hnt-k3w.s* are known from the Memphite area in the 5th Dynasty. One was married to the vizier *Sndm-ib/Mhi* (LD II 73–75, *Ergänzband*, pls. XI–XVI) and two others of the middle range officials mentioned above (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Kahay*, 16, pls. 36, 38; *Nianchchnum and Chnumhoteb*, pls. 5, 47, 68, 75, 28, figs. 3–4, 6–8, 12; *HT* [1] I, pl. 32). For the original queens and other higher ranking women, possibly royal descendants, who lived during the 5th Dynasty, see Barbara Mertz, “Certain Titles of the Egyptian Queens and Their Bearing on the Hereditary Right to the Throne,” Unpublished Diss., U. of Chicago, 1952, 71, fig. 2; Bettina Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3 njswt “Königssohn”* (Bonn, 1976), 28–34; Junker, *Giza* II, 39–41.

<sup>140</sup> Borchardt, *Grab des Neuserre*, 126–28, fig. 107; *PM* III<sup>3</sup>, 340–47. See also Schmitz, *S3-njswt*, 29–30. *Pth-šps* had the title of king’s son, but, like other viziers of this period, this was perhaps a rank indicator and not an actual filiation (M. Römer, *Zum Problem von Titular und Herkunft bei den ägyptischen “Königsöhnen” des Alten Reiches* [Berlin, 1977] 108–9). Note also that King Isesi may have married a *Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh* (Kuchman, 87ff.).

This pattern seems to have been established under Shepseskaf, when he married his daughter *H<sup>c</sup>-m33.t* to *Pth-šps*, the high priest of Ptah (N. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt* [trans. I Shaw, Oxford, 1992], 78).

<sup>141</sup> Junker, *Giza* V, 18; VI, 12.

<sup>142</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959), pl. 2, col. IV, fragment 44. Although the name of Djoser is noted in red ink in Col. III, frag. 18, this is actually a patch, there seems little reason to doubt that all these kings formed one ruling house. At the end of the 8th Dynasty, after *Ibw* and before *Nfr-k3-r<sup>c</sup>* and *Hty*, there is given a total, of years since *Mni*, of 955 years and 10 days. See also Borchardt, *Die Annalen und die Zeitliche Festlegung des Alten Reiches der Ägyptischen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1917), 42–47; D. B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day Books* (Mississauga, 1986), 11–13.

In trying to understand the function of priestesses of Hathor in the Old Kingdom, it is useful to note what they did not do. They did not operate in the sun temples;<sup>143</sup> they did not hold any administrative office connected with the priesthood above the rank of phyle or shift coordinator;<sup>144</sup> and with very few exceptions, they did not sing or play musical instruments.<sup>145</sup> They had nothing to do with the queen. In fact, the only queens who hold priestesses of Hathor can be argued to have done so, while not in the position of royal spouse. For example *Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh* III, although certainly a queen, was only a titular princess, being the daughter of prince *K3-w<sup>c</sup>b*.<sup>146</sup> She probably acquired her title as priestess of Hathor in her youth, before becoming queen. *Bw-nfr*, who was probably the wife of Shepseskaf, seems to have outlived him and his branch of the ruling house, being buried in a relatively humble tomb and survived by a son with only the lowly titles of judge and superintendent of scribes (*s3b shd ss*).<sup>147</sup> Thereafter there are no other queens who hold the title of priestess of Hathor until the reign of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre of the 11th Dynasty.

Queen's titularies of the Old Kingdom stress their relationship to the king as a divine being and they also are often *hm.t ntr* of other gods.<sup>148</sup>

The only exception is the title *s3.t ntr*, the significance of which at this period is not clearly understood.<sup>149</sup> Fourth Dynasty representations of queens do not portray them any differently from other women; their clothing and general appearance are quite unremarkable.<sup>150</sup> They begin to be depicted in the vulture headdress in representations and texts during the 5th Dynasty<sup>151</sup> and by the 6th Dynasty are shown holding the *nh*, hitherto reserved only for the king and other gods.<sup>152</sup> The queens of Pepy II are given lavish burial places equipped with texts in the burial chambers, a prerogative not permitted other commoners at this period,<sup>153</sup> and Pepy's non-royal mother *nh.n.s-mry-r<sup>c</sup>*'s father *Hwi* was permitted to call himself "father of the god."<sup>154</sup> Berlev has seen this as evidence of the development of a theory of a king being conceived by the god through a mortal woman.<sup>155</sup> Such notions illustrate not only tenuous claims to the throne through existing family ties, but the difficulty of explaining the existence of the king as the only living, breathing divine being in a world of mortals.

While the theory of divine queenship was later developed to solve such problems, the evidence presented above suggests that this did not

<sup>143</sup> Kaiser, *MDAIK* 14, 104ff.

<sup>144</sup> Interestingly enough, the only known priestesses of Hathor, who are also *imy wr.t*, are from Naga ed Dêr, not Memphis, and are to be dated to the very late Old Kingdom or afterwards (Dunham, *Stelae*, 65–66, pl. 16.1; H. F. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California* [Leipzig, 1927], pl. 19). One of the women is *imy wr.t* of *hnw.w.t* or musicians (see below). On the title *imy wr.t*, see Roth, 11–26.

The title *hm.t ntr Hthr wr(t) sww.t.s nb.t*, which Galvin interprets as "chief priestess" ("Priestesses", 80) of the king's daughter *Hm.t-r<sup>c</sup>* (Hassan, *Hemet Re<sup>c</sup> and Others*, 5 pls. 2–4; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 22 [CG 1524]) does not exist. The *wr* sign is, in fact, an *m*.

<sup>145</sup> The only *hnw(t)* known from the Old Kingdom at Memphis is a man named *Tnmw*, buried at Giza (Fischer, "A False Door of the Old Kingdom in Bologna," *Varia*, 11, n. 9. The other title holder from the Old Kingdom is *Phr-nfr.t*, a priestess of Hathor, who was married to *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh Hr-ib*, the overseer of priests of Hathor of Cusae in the latter part of the reign of Pepy II (Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 15; Gillam, "Studies," 135–39, 230–44).

<sup>146</sup> See Römer, 28ff.

<sup>147</sup> Hassan, Giza III, 176, 196, figs. 147, 149, 150, 152, 156, 159, pls. 54–56, 58.

<sup>148</sup> H. Gauthier, "Le titulaire des reines des dynasties Memphites," *ASAE* 24 (1924), 198–209.

<sup>149</sup> Mertz, "Titles," 160–61.

<sup>150</sup> For example, the female determinative on *Htp-hr.s* I's decorated furniture (W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture* [2nd ed., revised by W. K. Simpson, Harmondsworth, 1981], 89, 92, figs. 82, 86); see also the inscriptions on the tomb of *Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh* III (Dunham and Simpson, *Mastaba of Mersyankh*, passim); Radjedef and his queen (Smith, *Art*, 113, fig. 109; Menkaure and *H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbty* (ibid., fig. 108).

<sup>151</sup> See G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 23; Troy, *Queenship*, 61ff., 68. For a possible earlier example see Hölscher, 102–3, figs. 140–44. For the early 5th Dynasty in representations of *Hnt.k3w.s*; Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 2; for later attestations, Kuchman, 314–17; P. Posener-Krieger and J. L. de Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fifth Series: The Abusir Papyri* (London, 1968), pl. IV, cols. h, f; pl. LXV.

<sup>152</sup> Robins, *Women*, 24–25; Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, fig. 4; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* II, pls. 56.1, 57; Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs* (vol. 1, New York, 1977), fig. 58; Fischer, "An Eleventh Dynasty Couple Holding the Sign of Life," *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 16ff.

<sup>153</sup> E.g., G. Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten* (Cairo, 1928); *Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit* (Cairo, 1933).

<sup>154</sup> O. D. Berlev, "The Eleventh Dynasty in the Dynastic History of Egypt," *Studies in Honor of Hans Jakob Polotsky* (ed. D. Young, East Gloucester, Mass., 1981), 368.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 363.

happen before the end of the Old Kingdom. At this period, the king's divinity was the result of union with gods not mortals. Just as the Pyramid Texts show that Isis, the throne, brought about the rebirth of the king in the next world as explained in the myth of Osiris, Hathor, the enclosure or *hwt* maintained the legitimacy of the King in this one.<sup>156</sup> In contrast with the Coffin Texts,<sup>157</sup> the Pyramid Texts contain only a few references to this goddess,<sup>158</sup> suggesting that her role as a mortuary deity was not one that the house of Memphis needed to appropriate. If Hathor played a role in the king's afterlife at this period, it was as the congener of Re with whom he was closely identified as ruler of gods and mortals.<sup>159</sup> The priestesses of Hathor were employed to maintain this relationship in her own temples, in the royal funerary complexes, and in the *mr.t* buildings built within the precinct of the palace and often maintained for generations.<sup>160</sup> Whatever went on in these temples, it was certainly not the sacred marriage of king and queen suggested by Barta.<sup>161</sup> Attempts to connect these structures with the *mrw* buildings of the Amarna period or the Mammisi found in Graeco-Roman temples cannot be proven.<sup>162</sup>

#### 8. Priestesses of Hathor outside Memphis in the Old Kingdom

We have already observed that the priestesses of Hathor of Memphis far outnumber others at-

tested at any other site for the whole of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. They also predate office holders at the other sites.<sup>163</sup> Indeed, it seems obvious that the cult of the royal goddess followed the ruling elite as it organized the towns of Upper Egypt (evidence for the Delta is not so clear) as centres for the redistribution of goods and services for its benefit.

Whereas the officials who administered the hinterland during the 4th Dynasty, officials like *Mtn* or *Ntr-<sup>c</sup>pr.f*, governed largely out of the capital or, at least, were buried there,<sup>164</sup> the 5th Dynasty regime settled its officers in the actual centres.<sup>165</sup> As we have already noted in the case of *Nk3-<sup>c</sup>nh* of Tehneh, such officials often held the office of Overseer of the New Towns (*imy-r niw.w.t m33w.t*),<sup>166</sup> suggesting a policy of internal colonization and a need to administer the ever growing number of royal and elite estates whose existence is attested in Memphite tomb chapels and royal mortuary complexes of this period.<sup>167</sup> Officials holding this and similar titles are found at Hagarsa, Hemamiya Sheikh Said, Zawyet el-Amwat, and Deshasheh,<sup>168</sup> suggesting a policy to settle and control the underdeveloped middle Egyptian area, valuable for its large tracts of arable land.<sup>169</sup> Both men and women holding priesthoods of Hathor are found among this new class of administrators,<sup>170</sup> representing as they do

<sup>156</sup> J. G. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Liverpool, 1960), 7–8; see also above nos. 79, 80, Pyramid Texts §1025–26, §1327. On the relationship of the house of Horus to Hathor, see Junker, *Der Sehende und Blinde Gott* (Munich, 1942), 41–42.

<sup>157</sup> See Coffin Texts, I, 181, 184, 190, 192, 204, 214, 258, 261, II, 61, 124, 199, III, 1, 30, 112, 124, 161, 240, IV, 9, 17, 47–48, 52, 172–76, 179–83, 343, V, 32, 38, 41, 53, 159, 242, 273, VI, 9, 22, 48, 53, 54, 65, 79, 80, 83, 84, 91, 127–31, 135–36, 137, 138, 139–42, 209, 225, 239, 275, 277, 284, 290, 298, 301, 330, 331, 335, 341, 342, 349, 376, 382–83, 403, VII, 79, 99, 112, 152, 159, 224, and E. Drioton, Review of *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts VI* by A. de Buck, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 15 (1958), 187–90.

<sup>158</sup> Pyramid Texts §§466, 546, 705.

<sup>159</sup> W. Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentext für den verstorbenen König* (Munich, 1981), 149.

<sup>160</sup> Barta, *ZÄS* loc. cit., 101–2.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., cf. Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 141 and above n. 122.

<sup>162</sup> Troy, *Queenship*, 56, assumes that the names of all these buildings come from the same root, *mri*, love.

<sup>163</sup> See above n. 36. *Nk3-<sup>c</sup>nh* of Tehneh, and his family, who are the earliest precisely dated title holders outside Memphis, lived in the reign of Menkaure (*Urk.* I 25). Although *Ni-ibw-nsu* of Dendera has been dated as early as the 3rd Dynasty, several factors, including his use of the title *rh nsu*, place him in the 5th Dynasty (Fischer, *Dendera*, 16–18).

<sup>164</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 3–12.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 12, N. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt* (Warminster, 1980), 2–10.

<sup>166</sup> Fischer, *ibid.*, 19; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, op. cit., 2–10.

<sup>167</sup> H. K. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire Égyptien* (Cairo, 1962) passim; cf. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches* (Leiden, 1958), 195, n. 1.

<sup>168</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 11, n. 51.

<sup>169</sup> Dieter Kessler, *Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Mallawi und Samalut* (Wiesbaden, 1981), 11; W. Kaiser, "Zur Südausdehnung der vorgeschichtlichen Delta Kulturen und frühen Entwicklung Oberägyptens," *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 61–87; Gillam, "Studies," 32–51.

<sup>170</sup> During the Old Kingdom, women can be found at the following sites; Naga ed-Dêr, Dendera, Hemamiya, Nagada, Aswan, Akhmîm, Kasr es-Sayt, Zawyet el-Amwat,

the Memphite elite. That priestesses of Hathor are to be found among these provincial administrators is no surprise, since as high ranking members of the elite descended from the Fourth Dynasty royal family, they made a desirable match for any ambitious bureaucrat.

A special case seems to be that of Dendera, whose cult of Hathor is the only non-Memphite form of this goddess attested at the capital in the 4th Dynasty.<sup>171</sup> Although there has been some speculation that Dendera (*Iwn.t*) was equated with Heliopolis as its feminine counterpart, as Hathor was Re's feminine counterpart,<sup>172</sup> it may also be possible that the goddess of *Iwn.t*, which had been settled before the Archaic period,<sup>173</sup> had a popularity that allowed her to be identified with her royal equivalent.

#### 9. The Cult and Personnel of Hathor in the 6th Dynasty and Later

At the beginning of the 6th Dynasty, when the central government was reorganized,<sup>174</sup> attempts to order and exploit the resources of the countryside were redoubled. If the Memphite necropolis is any guide, the population, especially of the official class, burgeoned; and power came to reside in the hands of powerful viziers like *K3-gm.n.(i) ʿnh-m-ḥr* and *Mrr-wi-k3(i)*, who also controlled the pyramid city of the current ruler.<sup>175</sup> All the cultic installations

of Hathor continue to flourish and there are more *ḥmw.t ntr Ḥthr* than even before.<sup>176</sup> Although some, like *Mrr-wi-k3.(i)*'s wife *Wr-th-ḥthr*, preserve the old titular and ranking pattern of princess and priestess of Neith,<sup>177</sup> most are of the mid-range rank, the main difference being that the ranking title *rh.t nsw* has been replaced with *ḥkr.t nsw/wʿt.t*<sup>178</sup> and for a brief period in

<sup>176</sup> See Appendix 1 for the title holders who are *rh nsw*. A total of sixty-four female title holders from the Memphite area may be dated to the 6th Dynasty.

<sup>177</sup> See Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 57, 212, 26–27, 64, 83, 96, 88, 149–50, 159, 1566–67. Other *Nt* titles are held by *W3d.t-k3w.s* (Hassan, *Hemet-reʿ and Others*, 68–81, pls. 53–55, figs. 38b, 39); *Nw.w.t*, G 2184 (Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, pl. 69); *Ḥtp/W3d.t-ḥtp*, G 2001 (W. K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery: Part I* [Boston, 1980], 13–14, pls. 19, 22, figs. 17, 20); *S.s.h*, G 2009 (*PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 67); *Ḥnw.t-mt*, G 3033 (Fischer, *Minor Cemetery*, 136–38, 49–50, pl. 44); *Inti*, Saqqara, Mariette E 1 and 2 (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, 28, pl. 31; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 377).

In the later 6th Dynasty only one woman holds the Neith title at Saqqara: *Nb.t/Iby* (Drioton, *ASAE* 43, 495, pl. 40). At Giza are found the following: *Mrr.t*, mastaba of *Mst*, Giza (Junker, *Giza IX*, 235–36); *Ḥm.t-rʿ*, wife of *Idw/Nfr*, vizier of Pepy II (Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 141; Junker, *Giza VIII*, abb. 36, pl. 146).

<sup>178</sup> At Memphis in the Old Kingdom, only three priestesses of Hathor hold this title prior to the 6th Dynasty: *Nn-sdr-k3*, G 2101 (Junker, *Giza II*, 111ff., abb. 7, 8, 10, pls. 3, 4); *Nfr-ḥtp.s* (Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, pls. 31, 39, 164, 56, 18, 19, 27, 171, 63); *Ḥʿ-mrr-nbty* (Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Neuserre*, 126–28, *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 340–41).

From the 6th Dynasty come the following: (earlier) *Bity* (Maspero, *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire I* (1884), 199; *Bhnu*, BM 1330, 1319 (*HT* [2] I, 33, pl. 32–34).

Later 6th Dynasty: *Ns-wsr.t* Cairo *JdE* 57186 (cf. A. Moret, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches III* [ed. D. Abou-Ghazi, Cairo, 1980], CG 1688, 1753); *Inti*, Richmond, Va. 71.39 (Reed, *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum* [Richmond, 1973], 19 [10]); *ʿnh.n.s*, CG 1357 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 26); *ʿnh.n.s-ppy*, CG 1522 (ibid., 22–23); *Sbw.t.t* CG 1687 (ibid. II, 135); *Ini.t/I Int.t(f).s* (*PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 567); *Isti* (Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporaines de Pepi II* [Cairo, 1929], 87, fig. 98); *Ini/Ḥnt-k3w.s* (Jéquier, *La Pyramide d'Aba* [Cairo, 1935], 22–24); *W3d.t* (Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers*, 90); *Ppy-ʿnh* (Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, 56, fig. 33); *Mrt-(i)t.f.s/Mrt.t.i*, (Quibell, *Saqqara 1906–7*, 73, pl. 9.1); *Mstni/Ts.t* (Quibell, *Saqqara, 1905–6*, pl. 16); *Nsi.t* (Jéquier, *Tombeaux des Particuliers*, 34–35, fig. 36); *Nt* (ibid., 75) *Hby(m)t* (*PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 566); *Ḥnw.ḥwi.t* (ibid., 511); *S3.t-iy-tnw* (Fischer, “A Stela of the Heracleopolitan Period at Saqqara: The Osiris Iti,” *ZÄS* 90 [1963], 36–37; *S3.t-in-tti*, Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pls. 20 [c,d], 21); *Sni* (*PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 568); *Sni.ti* (Jéquier, *Le Mastabat Faroun* [Cairo, 1928], 24, 29, n. 1) *Sn.t(i)(f).t.s* (*PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 568) *St.ib.ti/Bb-ibi* (Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers*, 56) *Sdḥi* (Drioton, Une groupe de tombes à Saqqara: Icheti, Nefer-Khou-Ptah, Sébek-em-khent et Ânkhī,” *ASAE* 55 [1958], 230–31, pl.20);

Deshahsheh, Sheikh Said, Dara, Tehna, Cusae, Deir el-Gebrāwi, Abydos, and Athribis; and men connected with the cult of Hathor are found at Dendera, Cusae, Tehneh, and Sheikh Said. See further, Galvin, “Priestesses,” 65–105, map., p. 4a.

<sup>171</sup> *Mrs-ʿnh III* was *ḥm ntr Ḥthr nb[t] Iwn.t* (Dunham and Simpson, *Mastaba of Mersyankh III*, figs. 9, 7). A slightly later inscription, showing the title, but lacking a name is dated by Fisher (*Dendera*, 24) to the late 4th or early 5th Dynasty.

<sup>172</sup> Fischer, op. cit., 30–35.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 1–2.

<sup>174</sup> Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 27–36, 44–56. He notes, especially, references to pride of officials in increased productivity and more efficient tax collection.

<sup>175</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 1–6; N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), 317, cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu dem Beamtentiteln des ägyptische Alten Reiches* (Glückstadt, 1954), 129.

*Mrr-wi-k3(i)*, *Ttw*: Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 151–56, pl. 61; *Tp-m-ʿnh*: CG 1415, Saqqara D 11, Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 84; *Ḥnti-k3*: T. G. H. James, *The Mastaba of Khenika called Ikheki* (London, 1953), pls. 5, 7, 19.

the reign of Pepy II, *šps.t nsw*.<sup>179</sup> Although the *hkr.t nsw* titles probably represent a hierarchy of elaboration, it is also possible that in some cases the short form is just an abbreviation of the other.<sup>180</sup>

Indeed the cult was encouraged by a particular interest that the kings of the Sixth Dynasty felt for Hathor of Dendera. Teti dedicated an alabaster sistrum to the goddess<sup>181</sup> and his son Pepy I made a point of styling himself son of Hathor of Dendera.<sup>182</sup> He lavished his patronage on the temple of this town and installed a new line of provincial administrators who were also overseers of the cult.<sup>183</sup> Pepy's architect and overseer

of works, *Nḥbw*, tells us that he embarked on a programme of irrigation improvement all over the country.<sup>184</sup> The remains of one of the *k3* houses Pepy built for himself throughout Egypt, which has been found at Bubastis, prominently displays Pepy's connection with Hathor.<sup>185</sup> The link between the religious ideology of this exercise and its economic benefits hinge on the fact that royal mortuary foundations were one of the main methods of economic redistribution and sources of employment for the expanding elite class.<sup>186</sup> A plethora of decrees dating from the 6th Dynasty shows that the employees of these establishments benefitted from all manner of exemptions from taxation and forced labour.<sup>187</sup>

Given Pepy's interest in Hathor, this programme of cultic colonization is probably responsible for the origin of most of the centres of Hathor's worship in Upper Egypt. In a centres, like Thebes, his favourite goddess, Hathor of Dendera, was later equated with a local deity like the goddess of the western mountain.<sup>188</sup> But at Cusae, the centre of a particularly fertile area in middle Egypt,<sup>189</sup> her cult, which arrived with the canal digging programme of Pepy I<sup>190</sup>

*Šm3̄.t* (Jéquier, *Tombeaux des Particuliers*, 76, pl. 11); *Ḳsw.t.t/ Nwt-wdñw* (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 196–97); *Gm.n.i-s.t/Dw3̄w.hṭp* (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 188, 54, 258–59, pl. 75); *Dft.s* (Jéquier, *Tombeaux des Particuliers*, 86, fig. 97).

<sup>179</sup> This material is all later 6th Dynasty; *ḥḥ.n.s-ppy* CG 1522 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 223–24, pl. 46); *Mrrr*, CG 369 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, 194); Name Uncertain, JdE 40708 (C. Lilyquist, *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors from the Earliest Times through the Middle Kingdom* [Berlin, 1979], 14, 89, 92, pl. 14); *Isti* (Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers*, 87, fig. 98); *Iti/Hnt-k3̄w.s* (Jéquier, *Pyramide d'Aba*, 22–24); *Mstñl/Ts.t* (Quibell, *Saqara 1905–6*, 24, pl. 16); *Snt.i* (Jéquier, *Le mastabat Faroun*, 29, n.i, fig. 24); *Šm3̄.t* (Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers*, 76, pl. 11); *Gm.n.i/Dw3̄w-hṭp* (Firth and Gun, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 54, 188, 258, pl. 75). The suppressed writings, *ḏḏḏḏḏḏ* found in the cases of *Iti/Hnt-k3̄w.s*, *Snt.i* and *Šm3̄.t* all occur in the burial chamber also pointing to a later date. See P. Lacau, "Suppressions et modifications des textes funéraires," *ZÄS* 51 [1913], 3–12 and Fischer, "Archaeological Aspects of Epigraphy and Paleography," *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Paleography* (New York, 1976), 32–33.

<sup>180</sup> As for example, *smrlw<sup>c</sup>ty*, *hri sst3̄n pr dw3̄.t/wd mdw n hwt wr.t* (etc.), *imy-r k3̄.t/nb.t nsw* (etc.), cf. Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 24–25, 66, 43–44, 99, 105 (etc.). See also Gillam, "Studies," 225–28. Although *hkr.t nsw/w<sup>c</sup>.t* matches the frequency of *rh.t nsw* in the Memphite area, it never exceeds it. See Appendix 1.

<sup>181</sup> N. de G. Davies, "An Alabaster Sistrum Dedicated by King Teti," *JEA* 6 (1920), 69–72.

<sup>182</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 37–40. On Ptolemaic commemoration of this king at Dendera, see further, D. Kurth, "Zu den Darstellung Pepi I. im Hathortempel von Dendera," *Tempel und Kult* (ed. W. Helck, Wiesbaden, 1987), 1–23.

<sup>183</sup> Part of a statuette of Pepy, contemporary with his reign, was found on the site of the Mammisi of Dendera (F. Daumas, "Le trône d'une statuette de Pépi Ier trouvée à Dendera," *Bulletin d'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (hereinafter *BIFAO*) 52 (1953), 163–72; Fischer, *Dendera*, 38, 45–50, n. 157, 65–77, 93–108. A gap exists at this site between earlier tombs and those of the 6th Dynasty.

<sup>184</sup> *Urk.* I 220–21, cf. D. Dunham, "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo," *JEA* 24 (1938), 2–3.

<sup>185</sup> L. Habachi, *Tell Basta* (Cairo, 1957), 1–25; Fischer, review of *Tell Basta*, *American Journal of Archaeology* (hereinafter *AJA*) 62 (1958), 331.

<sup>186</sup> Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 239–44.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 236–37.

<sup>188</sup> For the 6th Dynasty priestesses at this site, *Im*, and *Mr.t-(i)t.f.s*, see M. Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes* (Mainz, 1977), 11, 23–26, pls. 14, 17, figs. 55, 59.

The cult of Hathor in west Thebes may date from the 11th or 12th Dynasty. Senwosret III erected many statues of himself in Mentuhotep's temple at Deir el-Bahari, where he also had himself depicted before this king, together with Hathor (Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari* [3 Volumes, London, 1894–1908] III, 10–11). The other evidence for the early existence of Hathor's cult and what later became The Feast of the Valley is largely based on (1) the existence of Thutmose III's Hathor shrine next to Mentuhotep's temple and (2) New Kingdom votive objects that show Hathor and Mentuhotep (Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple* I, 61; Allam, *Hathorkult*, 61ff., G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* [Oxford, 1993]).

<sup>189</sup> See Gillam, "Studies," 23–67.

<sup>190</sup> An earlier mention of Hathor in connection with the Cusite nome is found in a list of funerary estates in the fragmentary name of the establishment *Mr[ḥṭhr-ḥḥ] Ni-wsr-r<sup>c</sup>*

and later *ḥwt k3* of his son,<sup>191</sup> seems to have been created *ex nihilo*. Every significant aspect of the cult, from the sacred *ṯnt.t* cows, the *wh* fetish, to the office of *ḥnw.t* or female musician priest, which was just beginning to be adopted in the capital, can be seen to originate in the Memphite area.<sup>192</sup> The ideological and economic importance of the cult of Hathor of Cusae is demonstrated by the fact that the main players in this nome are the overseers of priests and not the administrators (*ḥryw tp-ꜥ3*).<sup>193</sup> *Hw-n-wh*, one of the earlier functionaries, who was originally a *shd ḥmw ntr* and later elevated to overseer of priests,<sup>194</sup> had a peculiar titulary

(“Hathor desires that Neuserre might live”) (Jacquet-Gordon, op. cit., 71). However, there is no proof of an actual cult or personnel of the cult of Hathor in the Cusite nome at this early date.

Pepy I’s architect and overseer of works, *Nḥbu*, states that “his majesty sent me . . . to dig [a canal?] for his . . . [of Hathor] of Cusae” (*Urk.* I 221.6–7; Dunham, *JEA* 24, loc. cit., pl. 2). See also Gillam, “Studies,” 90–91.

<sup>191</sup> For the *k3* house of Pepy II, see G. Jéquier, *Le Monument funéraire de Pépy II* (t. III, Cairo, 1940), pl. 27 and Gillam, “Studies,” 73–74.

<sup>192</sup> The first known functionary of the *ṯnt.t* (“outstanding?”) cows is *mnw* (herdsman), *Rꜥ-mnw-k3*, who was buried at Giza in the late 6th or early 6th Dynasty (Hassan, *Giza II*, 169ff., figs. 204, 208, 210, pls. 61–62). The *ḥt-wr ṯnt.t, ʿnh-ir.s*, also from Giza (Curto, *Gli Scavi I*, 78–83, pls. 23–25, figs. 32–33; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, 492) may be somewhat later. As Fischer (*Dendera*, 25–26) has pointed out, since *Rꜥ-mnw-k3* is also a priest of Harsomtut, and his tomb preserves a fragmentary mention of Hathor of Dendera, the *ṯnt.t* cows are to be associated with this town. However, it should be noted that the first mention of the *ṯnt.t* cows at Dendera itself is no earlier than the end of the 6th Dynasty (Fischer, *Dendera*, 120).

On the *ḥnw.t* priestess, see above n. 32.

The *wh* is a cultic object, first found in the sun and funerary temples of the 5th Dynasty (F. W. von Bissing, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re Heiligtum des Rathures*, III *Abhandlung Bayerische Akademie* 32 [Munich, 1922], pl. 28 [432], pl. 31 [477]; Posener-Krieger and Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri*, op. cit., pl. 14. See also Gillam, “Studies,” 160–73, 230–44, 490–514.

<sup>193</sup> See H. Kees, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients: Ägypten* (Munich, 1933), 202; Fischer, *Dendera*, 19–21; Gillam, “Studies,” 141–43, cf. Blackman, *Meir I*, 5–11.

<sup>194</sup> N. Kanawati and A. el-Khouli, *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh* (Sydney, 1989), 33–35, pls. 32–46. The latter title (*imy-r ḥmw ntr*) only appears on the outside of the tomb. Although I placed *Hw-n-wh* later, in the middle of the reign of Pepy II (Gillam, “Studies,” 486–89; review of *Quseir el-Amarna, Discussions in Egyptology* 20 [1991], 75–87), it now seems clear that Kanawati’s dating of *Hw-n-wh*, in the reign of Pepy I or Merenre, is correct.

which connected him with the celebration of the sed festival,<sup>195</sup> an event, which, one imagines, could only take place in the capital. Both his wives and all his daughters were priestesses of Hathor.<sup>196</sup> Perhaps he was imported as a ritual expert to found the cult, while others took care of the economic infrastructure of the area. It may have been for this reason that he was buried at Quseir el-Amarna, right across the river from Cusae, rather than the necropolis of Meir, the remote western cemetery where his successors were buried.<sup>197</sup> Cusae’s close connection with the metropolis is also seen in the titulary of a later overseer of priests, *Ppy-ʿnh Ḥr-ib*, whose autobiography we have already quoted. Apart from holding a number of sacerdotal titles, which also seem to connect him with the royal cult and sed festival,<sup>198</sup> *Ppy-ʿnh* was also a vizier, although perhaps only responsible for the middle Egyptian area.<sup>199</sup> Needless to say, there are priestesses of Hathor at Cusae in the Old Kingdom, although their relative numbers are few in relation to Memphis.<sup>200</sup> Perhaps this is because there was only one cult centre of Hathor and the overseer of priests played a major cultic role in it.

Two other important centres for priestesses of Hathor in Upper Egypt are Akhmîm and Naga ed-Dêr. We have already noted four priestesses of Hathor of the Sycamore at Akhmîm, which

<sup>195</sup> *Hw-n-wh* has similar titles to a Memphite official, *Wn-nww*, who probably dates from some time later in the 6th Dynasty. See W. V. Davies, A. el-Khouli, A. B. Lloyd and A. J. Spencer, *Saqqara Tombs I: The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu* (London, 1984), I, 22–24, pls. 26–29; Junker, “Zu den Titeln des,” *ASAE* 49 (1949), 207–15; Gillam, “Studies,” 183–98.

<sup>196</sup> Kanawati and El-Khouli, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 35–37, pls. 14, 22, 32, 34–35, 41, 44, 45–46. The woman, *Hth-m-ḥ3t*, is either a daughter (Kanawati, loc. cit.) or a secondary wife (Gillam, “Studies,” 201–5) depending on how one interprets a caption on a female figure in the papyrus marsh scene which reads *Hthr-m-ḥ3t s3.t.s/S3.t.i m.s nfr ʿn*.

<sup>197</sup> See Blackman, *Meir I*, 5–11; Kanawati and el-Khouli, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 11, 14ff.; Gillam “Studies,” 133. On the relationship of the choice of such sites to adjacent watercourses, see Gillam *ibid.*, 52–67.

<sup>198</sup> Blackman, *Meir IV*, pls. 4, 6; Gillam, “Studies,” 145–46.

<sup>199</sup> Kanawati and el Khouli, *Quseir el Amarna*, 19–21; Gillam, “Studies,” 145–46.

<sup>200</sup> Galvin, “Priestesses,” 102–4; *JEA* 70 loc. cit., 42–49; Gillam, “Studies,” 213–23.

has seemed puzzling, since most of them have been dated to the First Intermediate Period. However, if we accept Naguib Kanawati's suggestion that many of the monuments thought of as characteristic of the First Intermediate Period are to be dated to the earlier 6th Dynasty,<sup>201</sup> it is probable that some of these women followed their husbands straight from the Memphite court when they took up their new administrative posts. However, since Akhmîm was already the centre of an ancient and important cult of the god Min,<sup>202</sup> these priestesses augmented their duties to their official deity with positions in the local cult as keepers of the sacred vigil.<sup>203</sup>

The possibility raised by Kanawati that much inscribed material formerly dated to the First Intermediate Period may be as early as the late 5th or early 6th Dynasty helps explain the presence of more priestesses of Hathor and Naga ed-Der and its environs than anywhere else other than Memphis itself, a total of thirty-four in number.<sup>204</sup> These cemeteries served Abydos/

This, which as the burial place of the rulers of the Archaic Period and probably their ancestral home.<sup>205</sup> In the first half of the Sixth Dynasty, when upper Egypt was apparently divided into two separate administrative areas,<sup>206</sup> This became its administrative centre.<sup>207</sup> As late as the 8th or 9th Dynasty, an administrative council known as the Council of the Overseer of Upper Egypt existed here, although if we are to believe *ḥt.ty.fy*, it has lost any real power it might ever have had.<sup>208</sup>

It is, therefore, not remarkable that there are so many priestess of Hathor in the Thinite nome. Most of them lack a site-specific designa-

<sup>201</sup> Kanawati, "The Dating of the Tombs of el-Hawawish," *Fifth International Congress of Egyptology: Abstracts of Papers* (Cairo, 1988). There exists evidence that many important titleholders date from the earlier 6th Dynasty and not the Heliopolitan period as suggested by other scholars like Gomaâ, Fischer, Brovarski and others (see E. Brovarski, "Akhmîm in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period," *Mélanges Gamal Mokhtar* [vol. 1], Cairo, 1985), 117–53.

<sup>202</sup> Gauthier, *Personnel*, 5ff.

<sup>203</sup> See above, n. 29, Gauthier, 118.

<sup>204</sup> Name Lost (Lutz, *Stèles*, 2, pl. 12, n. 3794; Dunham, *Stelae*, 41); Name Lost, California TMN 37 (Lutz, *Stèles*, pl. 5); Name Lost, Cairo *JdE* 45969 (Dunham, *Stelae*, 68–69, pl. 17.2; Name Lost, tomb of *Tw3w*, Naga ed-Dêr, n. 359 (C. Peck, "Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Dêr," Diss., Brown University, 1959, 11ff., 29, pl. 2; . . . *i*(?) (Lutz, *Stèles*, pl. 18, n. 34; Dunham, *Stelae*, 49–50); *Iy*, Boston, MFA 25.227 (Dunham, op. cit., 23, pl. 6.2); *Iy*, Cairo *JdE* 48871 (Dunham, 76, pl. 21.2); *Ini-it.s*, California 1001 (Dunham, 38–39; Lutz, pl. 10); *Idi*, (Dunham, 89–91 pl. 27.2); *Ḥm.t*, Oriental Institute 16959 (Dunham, 107–8, pl. 34); *ḥnḥ-n.s-ppy*, stela, Cairo *JdE* 37737 (Dunham, 65–66, pl. 16.1); *ḥnḥ.m.s-ppy*, Boston MFA 26.678, sf 5128, coffin, Museum of Art and Architecture, University of Missouri 61.69 (Dunham, 36–37, pl. 12.2); *Bnit* (Dunham, 83–84, pl. 25.1); *Bnit* Oriental Institute 1695 (Dunham, p. 101, p. 31), possibly same as previous; *Pry.t*, Cairo 19.11:26.2 (Dunham, 74–75, pl. 20); *Mwt-mwt*, Boston MMA 25.2.3 (Dunham, 92–94, pl. 28); *Mri*, *JdE* 45971 (ibid., 70, pl. 18.2); *Mry*, Boston MFA 25.676 (ibid., 33.5, pl. 11.2); *Nb.t-it.f*, California 3110 (Dunham, 39–40; Lutz, pl. 10.2, n. 19); *Hnw.t.sn*, Oriental Institute 16956 (Dunham, 102–3,

pl. 32); *Hny*, Boston MFA 12.1478 (Dunham, 16, pl. 3.2); *Hnni.t*, tomb 3792, inscribed coffin, Naga ed-Dêr, unpublished slip, Topographical Bibliography, Oxford; *Hsi*, California 3910 (Lutz, pl. 19); *Hdw[i]*, Boston MFA 25.677 (Dunham, 35–36, pl. 12.1); *Htp.t[i]* (Dunham, 85–86, pl. 26.1); *Hnw.t* (ibid., 80, pl. 23.2); *Swḥ.t.tn*, Cairo *JdE* 48032 (G. E. Wainwright, "Three Stelae from Nag' ed Dier," *ASAE* 25 [1925], 165–66, pl. 3); *Shws*, Oriental Institute 16958 (Dunham, 106, pl. 33.2); *St-nt-inhrt* (Lutz, pls. 15, 20), possibly two people, *Šm3ḥ*, Cairo *JdE* 48030 (Wainwright, *ASAE* 25, 164, pl. 1); *Kni.t/Mrr.n.s*, Boston MFA 25.67 (Dunham, 32, pl. 11.1); *Ky*, Philadelphia 600 (Dunham, 82–83, pl. 24.2) [*Km.t*] *in.t*, tomb of *T3-mrry*, Naga ed-Dêr, N248 (Peck, "Decorated Tombs," 56ff., pls. 3–5).

<sup>205</sup> On the Thinite Nome see Fischer, "Four Provincial Administrators at the Memphite Cemeteries," *JAOS* 74 (1954), 26–34; *Dendera*, 69.

The following priestesses of Hathor from Abydos proper are known from the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period: *Iwti*, CG 1590 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 69, pl. 78); *Msn.t/H3.t-k3w*, CG 1576, Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 57, pl. 75; *Nb.t/Bbi*, CG 1579 (ibid., 103); *Rhti*, CG 1602 (ibid., 78); *Htp.w.t*, CG 1615 (Fischer, *JARCE* I, 11–18, fig. 3); *Sn.t*, CG 1654 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 115, pl. 86).

On the dating of tombs of the 6th Dynasty at Abydos, See E. Brovarski, "Abydos in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period: Part II," *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (ed. D. Silverman, Chicago, 1994), 15–44.

<sup>206</sup> Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 65–80, summarizes evidence for, and arguments about, the existence of this division.

<sup>207</sup> See above, n. 205. Although Fischer (*JAOS* 74, 32) suggests religious and historical reasons for the prominence of Abydos, Kanawati (*Governmental Reforms*, 31ff., 48, 62–64) thinks this may have more to do with the marriage of Pepy I to the two like-named daughters of *Hwy*, the first of a line of nomarchs of Abydos, who held many other important positions, including the Vezirate. By the latter part of the reign of Pepy II, this family had disappeared and the rulership of the Thinite nome seems to diminish in importance (ibid., 92–94).

<sup>208</sup> J. Vandier, *Mo'alla* (Paris, 1950), 186, II, γ3-IIδ, 1.

tion and almost all are associated with men of higher ranks.<sup>209</sup> Such persons simply represented a branch-plant operation of the central government complete with its official cult of royal self perpetuation. As at Akhmîm, there was no attempt to start a new local cult or interfere with the venerable, existing local cults.

#### 10. Mentuhotep Nebhepetre and the Cult of Hathor

When the Memphite system of government and ruling house finally collapsed at the end of the 8th Dynasty, a period of internal struggle and economic decline ensued. This seems to have been exacerbated by famine and plague;<sup>210</sup> and it could have been well over a century before a ruler strong enough to unite the whole country emerged. That person was Mentuhotep, the second of that name, of the house of Inyotef, a family originating in the general area of Thebes.<sup>211</sup> Although his name linked him with the local warrior god, Mentuhotep realized that Egypt had to be united by propaganda as much as military might. Early in his long reign he began describing himself as the son of Hathor of Dendera,<sup>212</sup> who as well as being worshipped at Thebes, had the cachet of the great rulers of old like Teti and Pepy I. He was, no doubt, also aware of the ancient cult of Hathor that had perpetuated the Memphite succession.

However, unable to trace his descent from the 900 year old house of Memphis, Mentuhotep had to become creative in his use of the royal goddess. In the earlier part of his reign he celebrated his connection with the goddess in a *hwt k3* he had constructed at Dendera, optimistically showing

himself bringing the entire country under control for her.<sup>213</sup> The reliefs also show the first depictions of Hathor offering her *sistrum* and *menat* to the kings, suckling him both in human and cow form.<sup>214</sup> These representations suggest not only the contamination of the original Memphite royal theogony from other sources, but show Mentuhotep meant that his position as Hathor's son was to be taken extremely literally.<sup>215</sup> As Labib Habachi has shown, Mentuhotep used his monuments to identify himself as closely as possible with a number of gods, apart from the traditional Re-Horus association.<sup>216</sup>

The king's theological legitimacy was to be expressed in his funerary complex at Deir el-Bahari, just as his Old Kingdom predecessors' was in their pyramid ensembles.<sup>217</sup> Sometime in the period prior to his final conquest of the north, Mentuhotep decided to strengthen his legitimacy and that of his successors by actually marrying a number of priestesses of Hathor. In the plan of the temple at this time, their chapels with their tombs underneath them, formed part of a unified complex like the subsidiary pyramids of the queens of the Old Kingdom.<sup>218</sup> Although it is puzzling that these women do not hold the title of *hm.t nsw* on

<sup>209</sup> See above no. 205. The most common ranking title of these women is *hkr.t nsw w.t.t* occurring twenty-nine times. The most common ranking titles of close male associates are *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>* and *smr w.ty* occurring eighteen and fourteen times respectively, followed closely by *sd3wty bity* occurring thirteen times.

<sup>210</sup> B. Bell, "The Dark Ages in History: The First Dark Age in Egypt," *AJA* 75 (1971), 1–26; B. G. Trigger, B. J. Kemp, D. O'Connor and A. B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 180ff.

<sup>211</sup> Grimal, *History*, 143ff.; E. Brovarski, "Two Monuments of the First Intermediate Period from the Theban Nome," *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976), 31–40.

<sup>212</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 52, n. 209.

<sup>213</sup> G. Daressy, "Chapelle de Mentuhotep III à Denderah," *ASAE* 17 (1917), 226–35; L. Habachi, "King Nebhepetre-Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods," *MDAIK* 19 (1963), 19–28, pls. 4–8.

<sup>214</sup> Habachi, loc. cit., pls. 6–8, fig. 7–8.

<sup>215</sup> Compare the depictions of suckling cows and offerings of milk in private funerary scenes of the period, as in the chapels of Mentuhotep's queens (Naville, *Deir el Bahari* I, pls. 13, 17, 22, III, pl. 2; Lilyquist, *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors*, fig. 129). Of particular note is the milking scene in the burial chamber of *Kmsit* (Naville, op. cit., III, pl. 2) which takes place in a papyrus thicket. Does it represent the cow in her natural environment, the marshes, or is it an early depiction of Hathor in the papyrus? (See Junker, *Giza* IV, fig. 8, *LD* II 12, 60; Naville, *Deir el Bahari* I, pl. 30, III, pl. 30 [1], [3]; Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, §§67, 10).

For a depiction of an 11th Dynasty king, probably Mentuhotep, suckling from the Hathor cow, see Hannover 1935, 200, 22 (I. Woldering, *Ausgewählte Werke der ägyptischen Sammlung* [Hannover, 1958], 66, pl. 27).

<sup>216</sup> *MDAIK*, loc. cit., 16–52.

<sup>217</sup> D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari* I (Mainz, 1974), 72–75; R. Stadelmann, *Die Ägyptischen Pyramiden: Von Ziegelbau zum Weltwunder* (2nd rev. ed., Mainz, 1991), 230–33.

<sup>218</sup> Stadelmann, *ibid.*, 223.

their actual grave goods and only on their chapels, this is likely because the king married them because they were priestesses of Hathor, in contravention of earlier custom. That he did so in a hurry could be for a number of reasons—a high mortality rate due to disease or childbirth (one of the burials is that of a child), a need to legitimize his position by creating heirs—all are more acceptable than Ward's suggestion that they died before they actually became queens.<sup>219</sup> No one would be given such an exalted title, so publicly displayed unless they were entitled to use it.

Of the women buried in this complex, *Ḳḳy.t*, *Kḳwi.t*, *Kmsi.t* and *Sḏḥ* are designated as *ḥm.t nsw*, either in their funerary chapels or in the temple reliefs proper.<sup>220</sup> While *Hnhn.t* is not attested as *ḥm.t nsw* in any surviving inscription, she shares the other designations of these women, *ḥkr.t nsw wḥ.t.t* and *ḥm.t ntr Ḥthr*,<sup>221</sup> it seems likely, given the position of her chapel in line with the others, that she was also a queen. Other priestesses of Hathor, obviously not queens, such as *Imn.t* were buried elsewhere in the complex,<sup>222</sup> but since they were not placed near the chapels, should be considered as regular courtiers. That these women functioned as actual consorts of the king is shown unambiguously by reliefs from the chapels which depict the woman in question seated on a wide seat or bed, embraced by her husband.<sup>223</sup> Such depictions of marital relations are unknown in the royal art of the Old Kingdom, and like much else in Mentuhotep's temple were borrowed from private iconography<sup>224</sup> indicating that he was not yet confident of his royal status, much as he

wished to make innovations in the depiction of the myth of divine royal theocracy. The burial of *Mḳy.t*, a five year old child, does not record any titles.<sup>225</sup> A possible reason for this may be that she was the child of one of the other women by a previous marriage, or that she died too suddenly for her burial equipment to be inscribed. Still, it is strange that if she is the offspring of one of these women and Mentuhotep, that she does not bear the title of king's daughter.

The king also had two other wives, presumably his principal consorts, who both bore the title *ḥm.t nsw wr.t*. The earlier one, queen *Nfrw*, who was also *sḏ.t nsw wḥ.t.t*,<sup>226</sup> is thought to be Mentuhotep's full sister since both their mothers are called *Iḥ*,<sup>227</sup> although Ward has questioned this on the basis of differences of spelling.<sup>228</sup> She was buried in a lavish rock-cut tomb in the face of the cliffs bordering the temple precinct, at some period before the final phase of the construction of the temple following the reunification of Egypt.<sup>229</sup> Winlock has identified the donor of a piece of linen in a communal burial of this period, *ḥkr.t nsw wḥ.t.t*, *ḥm.t ntr Ḥthr*, *Nfrw* as this queen,<sup>230</sup> and Ward suggests that the wives of Mentuhotep were drawn from a common pool of such court women. However, tempting as it is to see this king married to another priestess of Hathor, this is tenuous evidence indeed, considering that *Nfrw* is an extremely common name,<sup>231</sup> as is

<sup>219</sup> W. Ward, "The Harem of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre," *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects* (Beirut, 1986), 113.

<sup>220</sup> *Ḳḳy.t*: Naville, *Deir el Bahari* I, pl. 17, II, pls. 6, 14, 17, 18; *Kḳwi.t*, *ibid.*, I pls. 17, 20; *Kmsi.t*, *ibid.*, I, 49, pl. 23, III, 9, pls. 2, 3; J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XIème dynastie* (Brussels, 1948), 34: PM II<sup>2</sup>, 389; *Sḏḥ*: Naville, *Deir el Bahari* I, pls. 17a, 18, II, 6, pls. 11, 12, 13; Ward, *loc. cit.*, 110–12.

<sup>221</sup> Naville, *Deir el Bahari* I, 50, pl. 21; Hayes, *Scepter* I, 161, fig. 98.

<sup>222</sup> CG 2805, Lacau, *Sarcophages* I, 61–65; Ward, *loc. cit.*, 108.

<sup>223</sup> Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, I, pls. 12(b), 18(a), II, pl. 9(f).

<sup>224</sup> The only previous exception is the Menkaure dyad (Smith, *Art*, *op. cit.*, 112, fig. 108). For such depictions of private persons in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, see J. Vandier, *Manuel d'Archeologie Égyptienne* (6 vols.,

Paris 1952–1981) III, pls. 25–32, 34 (4), 37 (6); IV, 68–80; Fischer, "Memphite Influence in a Theban Stela of the 11th Dynasty," *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 24ff., fig. 1; Petrie, *Qurneh* (London, 1907), pl. 2; Peck, "Decorated Tombs," pls. 2.5; G. Gauthier-Laurant, "Les Scenes de Coiffure Feminine dans l'ancienne Égypte," *Melanges Maspero*, Fasc. I (Cairo, 1935–36), 673–96; Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome* (Rome, 1964), pl. 23.

Another fragmentary depiction of Mentuhotep in such a scene is in Munich, ÄS 1621 (*Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* [Munich, 1976], 109).

<sup>225</sup> H. E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahari 1911–1931* (New York, 1942), 37ff., 40, fig. 4; Ward, *loc. cit.*, 109.

<sup>226</sup> See PM I<sup>2</sup>, 651–52.

<sup>227</sup> Berlev, *loc. cit.*, PM, *loc. cit.*; Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes* (New York, 1947), 62–64, pl. 12.

<sup>228</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 104.

<sup>229</sup> Ward, 104, n. 112, cf. Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 27, 63.

<sup>230</sup> Winlock, "The Eleventh Egyptian Dynasty," *JNES* 2 (1943), 274, n. 149.

<sup>231</sup> See H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personenamen* (2 volumes, Glückstadt, 1935–52) I, 203.18.

this combination of titles.<sup>232</sup> Another queen, *Tm*, whose importance was signalled by the fact that she was mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,<sup>233</sup> was buried within the precincts of the temple proper at some time after the construction of the earlier royal tomb (“Bab el-Hosan”) and the lesser queen’s chapels, possible as late as the final years of Mentuhotep’s reign. That *Tm* postdates *Nfrw* is suggested by her being credited with the heir to the throne. It is also noteworthy that she is nowhere mentioned as being a priestess of Hathor. It seems that after the reunification of the country Mentuhotep sought other ways to demonstrate his legitimacy, as when he depicted his actual parents in a commemorative graffito in the Shatt er-Rigal.<sup>234</sup> Oleg Berlev has suggested that this depiction represents a development of the “divine birth” theory of kingship where a mortal woman is directly inseminated by the god.<sup>235</sup> Mentuhotep’s determination to secure his line of succession is also seen in his designation of *Tm* as king’s mother. Apparently union with priestesses of Hathor as a way of legitimizing his rulership was abandoned when his unification of Egypt was complete, although his burial complex is positioned in front of the local cult of the goddess of the west, long identified with Hathor; and she seemed to play an important role in the cult and depictions of his temple proper.

#### 11. Priestesses of Hathor and the Royal Cult of the Goddess in the Middle Kingdom

Priestesses of Hathor can be attested for the remainder of the 11th Dynasty throughout the country, but they almost entirely disappear from the royal court after the beginning of the 12th.<sup>236</sup> The last important one is *Sn.t* wife of *Ini-it.fikr*, vizier of Senwosret I. In her tomb at Thebes, she is *hm.t ntr Hthr* and *im3y.t hr Hthr hry[t] tp st*, and revered before Hathor, mistress of the desert.<sup>237</sup> This likely refers to Deir el-Bahari and the cult of Hathor, already commemorated by Mentuhotep

and the later Feast of the Valley. This suggests that *Sn.t* both originated from this area and represented a member of the old elite of the 11th Dynasty, a possibility also in the case of her husband, whose name associates him also with the earlier house of Inyotef. Perhaps Senwosret appointed this representative of the old ruling house as vizier to guard against a possible counter coup, like the plot that killed his father.<sup>238</sup>

With the exception of *Sn.t*, almost all 12th Dynasty priestesses of Hathor are found in the households of provincial governors, and, even here, their numbers are greatly diminished.<sup>239</sup> For example there is only one at Cusae, a major center of the cult of Hathor, for the whole Middle Kingdom.<sup>240</sup> What we do notice is the depiction of women offering the menat and sistra to revivify the deceased (a ceremony first attested in the late Old Kingdom) and the replacement of women by men as functionaries of this cult (not just as *hm ntr*, but *w<sup>b</sup>*, or temple custodian).<sup>241</sup>

<sup>232</sup> Grimal, *History*, op. cit., 161–64, cf. G. Posener, *Littérature et Politique dans l’Égypte de la XIIe Dynastie* (Paris, 1956), 61–72; J. Foster, “The Conclusion to the Testament of Ammenemes, king of Egypt,” *JEA* 67 (1981), 36–47; C. A. Thériault, “The Instruction of Amenemhet as Propaganda,” *JARCE* 30 (1993), 151–60.

<sup>239</sup> See above, n. 35.

<sup>240</sup> *Mris*, tomb B3, Meir, *Blackman*, Meir VI, pl. 6.

<sup>241</sup> At Cusae during the Middle Kingdom, we find men holding the following titles: *imy-r htmty*, overseer of the treasury (although it is not clear if the valuables for which this official was responsible belonged to the temple or the state treasury); *hrp hsww hr Psd.t*, controller of singers before the Ennead; *ss md3.t ntr*, scribe of the god’s book; *hri hb*, lector priest; *w<sup>b</sup>*, wab priest; *stp s3 hry w<sup>b</sup>*, controller of a phyle over the wab priests; *imy-r hwt ntr*, overseer of the temple; *imy-r w<sup>c</sup>.t [n] hwt ntr*, overseer of the district of the temple; *s3w 3*, concierge; *imy-r hwy.t*, overseer of a shrine. See Gillam, “Studies,” 406–13.

Male functionaries from other centres during this period include: *Snwst.t*, *imy-r pr hwt pr Hthr*, overseer of the establishment of the temple of Hathor (Gulbenkian Museum, n. 501; Birch, *Alnwick Castle* [London, 1880], 60–62); *Snbbi*, *hm ntr n hwt nb.t tp*, overseer of the house of the mistress of Atfih, CG 20030 (H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab und Denksteine des mittleren Reiches* (4 vols., Berlin, 1902–1925), I, 38; *nhw*, *iry mni.t*, keeper of the menat, Boston MFA 1971.403 (W. K. Simpson, “A Tomb Chapel Relief of the Reign of Amenemhet III and some Observations on the Length of the Reign of Sesostri III,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 47 [1972], 45ff., fig. 1; *ntr*, *ss ntr n hwt ntr Hthr 3gn*, god’s scribe of the temple of Hathor of Agni (A. Sayce, “Excavations at ed-Dêr,” *ASAE* 6 [1905], 164); *Imn-m-h3.t-snb-snfrw*, *s3w hgr*

<sup>232</sup> See above, n. 178.

<sup>233</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 43, n. 60, cf. Ward, loc. cit., 104ff.

<sup>234</sup> Winlock, *ibid.*, 62, pls. 12, 36.

<sup>235</sup> *Studies in Honour of H. J. Polotsky*, loc. cit.

<sup>236</sup> See above n. 35.

<sup>237</sup> Davies and Gardiner, *Antefoker*, 2, pl. 14.

Already in the story of Sinuhe, almost certainly contemporary with the reign of Senwosret I<sup>242</sup> we find the offering of menats and *sistra* performed by the queen and princesses in the role of the goddess.<sup>243</sup> By the reign of Amenemhet II, specifically Hathoric jewellery began to be made for queens and princesses.<sup>244</sup> It is also significant that the name of the Nekhbet-identified princess *Hnm.t-nfr.hd.t* also was used as a queen's title at this period.<sup>245</sup> In the later 12th Dynasty Amenemhet III depicted Hathor offering the menat in the temple of his ancestor Amenemhet I<sup>246</sup> and at Medinet Maadi, his daughter *Nfrw-ptḥ* is shown playing a *sistrum* for the goddess Renenutet and wearing a diadem with plumes at the back, similar to that belonging to princess *S3.t-ḥtḥr-iwn.t*.<sup>247</sup> It is also from the late 12th Dynasty that fragmentary depic-

tions of queens in sphinx form are known;<sup>248</sup> and it is *Nfr.t*, queen of Senwosret II, who is shown wearing the distinctive coiffure with curling plaits which later became so closely identified with Hathor, a goddess known as "she of the plait."<sup>249</sup>

## 12. Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to offer this evidence for a hypothesis that the cultic activity of Old Kingdom priestesses of Hathor was originally devised by the rulers of the 4th Dynasty to ensure the religious legitimacy and perpetuation of their hegemony. Since all the rulers of the Old Kingdom were part of a single extended kin-group, the ideology of the king-making goddess and her cult remained unchanged while they held sway. However, with the disappearance of this line and the anarchy of the First Intermediate Period, when royal legitimacy had to be created *ex nihilo*, more dramatic and tangible proofs of the right to rule had to be produced. Mentuhotep tried to create a new myth of the royal succession, first by calling himself son of Hathor, like Old Kingdom rulers, and then actually marrying her priestesses. Given the instability of dynastic rule as demonstrated by the fall of his house, that of Inyotef, it seemed logical that the divinity of the ruler and his right to rule be directly embodied in his own person and those of his wife and children, who played the role of Hathor/Buto and Nekhbet opposite his Re/Horus. That this development also coincided with the gradual exclusion of women from the daily cult of the gods explains the disappearance of the office of functioning priestess of Hathor that had been such an important part of the life of the elite women of ancient Egypt for the best part of a millennium.

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☞ *Htḥr nb.t* *Tp iḥw*, sealbearer . . . ? of Hathor, mistress of Atfih (Hermitage 1080, Index Slip, Topographical Bibliography, Oxford); *S3-nš-mt*, *sš ḥw.t Htḥr*, scribe of the temple of Hathor, UC London 14726 (A. Page, *Egyptian Sculpture: Archaic to Saite* [Warminster, 1976], 112, n. 144); *Si-mntw, imy-r pr* [n *Htḥr nb.t*] *Iwn.t*, overseer of the house of Hathor, mistress of Dendera, Kestner Museum, Hannover 1926.191 (Maria Kramer, "Ägyptische Denkmäler im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover," *ZÄS* 72 [1936], 88–89, pl. 5 [2]); *Snbi, wḥb* ☞ [n] *Htḥr*, great wab of Hathor, CG 20780 (Lange and Schäfer, op. cit. II, 409).

The *imy-r ḥmw nṯr* is, of course, still found at Cusae during this period: *Wh-ḥtp*, tomb B2, Meir (Blackman, *Meir* II, pls. 6, 10, 11, 12, 15); *Wh-ḥtp*, tomb B4, Meir (ibid., III, pls. 3, 4, 9, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19); *Wh-ḥtp*, tomb C1, Meir (ibid., VI, pls. 11–13, 15, 17–19); *Snbi*, tomb B1, Meir (ibid. I, 18–19, pls. 2, 9, 11); *Snbi* tomb B3, Meir (ibid. VI, 3–7, pl. 8); *Snbi*, graffito, Aswan (Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, 1887 [London, 1888], 11 [15], pl. 8 [211]), probably identical with the preceding; overseers of other priests from other centres are *Sn-wsr.t*, statue from temple at el-Kab, CG 407 (Borchardt, *Statuen* II, 19; A. H. Sayce, "Gleanings from Egypt," *RT* 20 [1898], 112); *Tpy-sw-m-nw, imy-r ḥmw nṯr* [n] *Htḥr nb.t Iwn.t*, Walters Art Gallery 22.209 (G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* [Baltimore, 1946], 25, pls. 6 [35], 110 [35]).

<sup>242</sup> Posener, *Littérature et Politique*, 102ff.

<sup>243</sup> *Sinuhe* B268–86.

<sup>244</sup> A. Wilkinson, *Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), 50–55, 55–90; E. Staehelin, "Zur Hathorsymbolik in der ägyptischen Kleinkunst," *ZÄS* 105 (1978), 81ff.; Scandone-Matthiae, *La Parola del Passato*, loc. cit.

<sup>245</sup> Mertz, "Queens' Titles," 72–81.

<sup>246</sup> J. E. Gauthier and G. Jéquier, *Memoire sur les fouilles de Licht* (Cairo, 1902), 105, fig. 131.

<sup>247</sup> A. Vogliano, *Primo Rapporto degli Scavi condotti de la Missione Archeologica d'Egitto della R. Università di Milano nella*

*Zona di Madinet Madi. (Campagna in Verno e Primavera 1935–XII)* (Milan, 1936), 28.

<sup>248</sup> Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 65ff.

<sup>249</sup> Smith, *Art*, 181, fig. 173; Staehelin, *ZÄS* 105, 79ff.; F. Daumas, "Les propylées du temple d'Hathor à Philae et le culte de la déesse," *ZÄS* 95 (1968), 14, n. 109; Derchain, *RdÉ* 21, 24ff.

## Appendix 1

- Name Lost, CG 900 (Borchardt, *Statuen* III, 144) 5th–6th Dynasty; Name Lost, false door in commerce, Cairo 1980 (Gillam, ARCE Meeting, 1985) 5th–6th Dynasty; Name Lost, mastaba of *ḥi*, B 14, Saqqara CG 44 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, 40, pl. 77) 6th Dynasty; *Iy-mry*, false door of *Ik*, Saqqara, *JdE* 72201–2 (Z. Saad, “A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Saqqara, 1939–40,” *ASAE* 40 [1941], 676–78, pl. 73) 4th–5th Dynasty; *Ifi-mry*, mastaba of *R<sup>c</sup>-mnw-k*, Giza (Hassan, *Giza* II, 170, fig. 210) end 5th Dynasty; *Pr.ti* (Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, 58, fig. 36) late Pepi II; *Iny*, tomb of *Mri*, Saqqara (É. Drioton, *ASAE* 43 (1942), 488–96) mid 6th Dynasty; *Inbhw* (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I, 200) 6th Dynasty or later; *Inti*, Giza, Boston MFA 31.781 (*PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 203) late Old Kingdom; *Inti*, mastaba of *Pth-šps* II, Saqqara, Mariette E 1–2 (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, 28, pl. 31; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 377) Teti or later; *Init*, Saqqara (*PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 567) 6th Dynasty or later; *Iri.t-nb*, chapel of *Kṣi-m-snw* (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 31–36, pl. 62) Isosi; *Irr.t* (Fakhry, *Sept Tombeaux*, 4–7, fig. 2) 5th Dynasty; *Ih<sup>3</sup>.t*, false door of *Ih<sup>3</sup>.t* and *R<sup>c</sup>-n-k<sup>3</sup>w*, Saqqara, CG 1414 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 80–84, pl. 19) Neferirkare or later; *Isi* (Drioton, *ASAE* 55, 229, pl. 5d) late 6th Dynasty; *ḥh-thr* (*Record of the Museum of the History of Art, Princeton* i [Fall, 1942], 10–11) Userkaf or later; *ḥh-k<sup>3</sup>w.s*, mastaba of *Nfr-htp*, Giza (Hassan, *Giza* IX, 63–76, fig. 29a, pl. 27) 4th–5th Dynasty; *W<sup>3</sup>d.t-k<sup>3</sup>w.s*, tomb of *Hr-mrw*, Saqqara (Hassan, *HemetRec*, 68–81, pls. 53–55, figs. 38b–89) end 6th Dynasty; *Wm.t.t-k<sup>3</sup>*, mastaba of *W<sup>3</sup>š-pth*, Giza (Hassan, *Giza* II, 5ff., fig. 12) 4th–5th Dynasty; *Wt.t-k<sup>3</sup>*, mastaba of *K<sup>3</sup>w-nsu*, Giza (Hassan, *Giza* II, 75–86, pls. 24–26, fig. 86) *W<sup>3</sup>ts.t-k<sup>3</sup>w.s*, Saqqara (B. Van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, 46, 51, 54, 57, 61, 62) Neferirkare or later; *Ppi*, mastaba of *Snsn*, Giza (Junker, *Giza* IX, 87, abb. 36, pl. 10a) end Old Kingdom; *Ps<sup>3</sup>.t*, architrave of *Ni-ptḥ*, Giza (Junker, *Giza* VIII, 175, pl. 28a, abb. 91) later Old Kingdom (?); *Mnib*, mastaba, Giza (Junker, *Giza* IX, 218) late Old Kingdom; *Mri*, Saqqara, CG 369 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, 194) 6th Dynasty; *Mrs-ḥh*, Cairo *JdE* 87797 (Hassan, *Giza* VI.3, 239, pls. 97, 98a) late 6th Dynasty; *Mrit.t.s/H<sup>3</sup>p.t.k*, G 5150 (*LD* II 23, 25; Junker, *Giza* II, abb., 28) 5th Dynasty; *Mr.t(i).t.fs* (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Kahay*, pls. 32, 42) Neuserre; *Mr.t-mn*, tomb of S 3511, Saqqara, BM 1848 (Martin, *Hetepka*, 21, n. 14, pl. 21) 5th Dynasty; *Mtw.t*, Mastaba of *Ddi*, Saqqara, Mariette, E 9 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 402) Pepi I or later; *Mtw.t* (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 224, pl. 11 [1]) Old Kingdom or later; *Nww.t*, Giza, G 2184, Boston MFA 13.4352 (Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, III, pl. 69) 5th or 6th Dynasty; *Ni-ḥh-w<sup>3</sup>d.t*, tomb of *Mry*, Saqqara (W. S. Smith, “The Origins of Some Unidentified Old Kingdom Reliefs,” *AJA*, 46 [1946], 5704; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 49) 4th Dynasty; *Ni-ḥh-hthr*, slab of *Mni*, Cairo *JdE* 38427, Giza or Saqqara (Fischer, *Dendera*, 27ff., fig. 6, pl. IV) possibly early 6th Dynasty; *Ni-ḥh-hthr* (Junker, *Giza* IX, 91ff., abb. 39) possibly 6th Dynasty; *Nb-ir.t*, statue group of *ḥh-n-r<sup>c</sup>*, CG 55 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, 48–49, pl. 14) Neferirkare or later; *Nb-htp* (Hassan, *Giza* IV, fig. 8, 82) Menkaure; *Nb-htp*, mastaba of *Štw*, G 4710 (*LD* II, 87); *Nb-htp* (Hassan, *Giza* VI.3, 110ff.) 5th Dynasty; *Nb-htp/Bbi*, Saqqara (Saad, *ASAE* 40 loc. cit., 683, fig. 72) 6th Dynasty; *Nb.t* (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Kahay*, 10) mid 5th Dynasty; *Nb.t*, G 2001 (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 286 [2], fig. 183) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Nb.t* (Daressy, “Le Mastaba de Mera,” *Memoires de l’Institut Égyptien* III [1898], 563, 572) Teti; *Nb.t* Saqqara (Drioton *ASAE* 43, 495, pl. 40) very late Old Kingdom; *Nb.t* (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 226 [3]) Old Kingdom or later; *Nbty-hr-k<sup>3</sup>w.s*, G 7836 (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 243); *Nbty-šps.t*, Saqqara, CG 1757 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 179) 4th–5th Dynasty; *Nbty-k<sup>3</sup>-n*, Giza, Lepsius n. 87 (*LD* II, pl. 156, *Text* I, 104ff.) Khafre or later; *Nb-dw<sup>3</sup>t*, Saqqara, Mariette B 14, CG 44 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, 40–41, pl. 11) 6th Dynasty; *Nfr-htp.s*, false door of *Nn-hft-k<sup>3</sup>*, Saqqara, CG 1487, Mariette D 47 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler*, I, 177, 81, pl. 40) early 5th Dynasty; *Nfr-htp.s* (Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, pls. 31, 39, 170, 164, 156, 18, 19, 27, 171, 63) Neuserre or later; *Nfrw.t-iw.s* (Hassan, *Giza* VI.3, 39, pls. 19a, 20); *Nfr-ts.t*, Saqqara, Berlin 7767 (G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Leipzig, 2 volumes, 1913–24), I, 38) 5th Dynasty; *N.t*, Saqqara M XI (Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers*, 75) Pepy II; *Ni-k<sup>3</sup>-nbty*, mastaba of *Ni-k<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>c</sup>*, Giza (*LD* II, 15, *Text* I, 104–5) Menkaure; *Ni-k<sup>3</sup>-nbty*, Giza, CG 82 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, 66, pl. 19) 5th Dynasty; *Hb.ti*

(Hassan, *Giza II*, 34 ff, fig. 35, pl. 12) possibly late 4th Dynasty; *H3p-n-nbty*, G 7815 (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 242) late 5th Dynasty; *Hy*, offering cup, Saqqara, CG 1296 (Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 2, pl. 1) Old Kingdom; *Hpw*, Saqqara, Mariette E 14 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 392) 6th Dynasty; *Hm.t-r<sup>c</sup>/Hmi*, Saqqara D 65 (Hassan, *HemetRec*, 5, fig. 2, pls. 2–4) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Hnw.t-sn*, tomb of *Hwfw-htp*, Giza (*LD II*, pl. 34c, Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 234–35) 5th Dynasty; *Hnw.t.sn* (Brunner-Traut, *Grab des Seschemnofers*, colour pl. 5, pl. 19, add. pl. 3) mid 5th Dynasty; *Hnw.t.sn*, statue of *Hnw.t.sn* and *Dmd*, Saqqara, New York MMA 51.37 (Scott, *MMA Bulletin*, December 1952, 116–18, figs. 117, 119) 5th Dynasty; *Hn.ti*, G 2001 (W. K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery, Part I*, fig. 15) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Htp-hr.s*, Saqqara, Mariette B 2 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 90–91) 4th Dynasty; *Htp-hr.s* (Brunner-Traut, *Grabkammer Seschemnofers III*, pl. 13, Beitrage 3) 5th Dynasty; *Htp-hr.s* (Hassan, *Giza VII*, 21f., 24, fig. 18, pl. 18) 5th Dynasty; *Htp/W3d.t-htp* (Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, pls. 19, 22[a], figs. 17, 20) 6th Dynasty; *Hpt.t-k3/Mrit.t.s*, G 3150 (Junker, *Giza VII*, abb. 28, 29) 4th Dynasty; *Htp-hr.s/Hnw.t* (Hassan, *Giza II*, 208ff., fig. 230, pl. 80) 5th Dynasty; *Htp.t*, Giza, Berlin 15415–18 (G. Roeder, *Aegyptisches Inschriften I*, 17) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Hthr-shm* (Quibell, *Saqqara* [3], pl. LXV; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt I*, 102, fig. 58); *Hthr-spss*, Saqqara, Mariette D 44, CG 123 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 298; Borchardt, *Statuen I*, 94, pl. 27) 5th Dynasty; *H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbty*, tomb of *Htp-n-pti*, Giza (*LD II* 71–72) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Hwi-n-sw* (J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour* [2 volumes, Vienna, 1895–1903], II, 23; Zeigler, *RdE* 31, 120–34) possibly late Old Kingdom; *Hwi.t*, Louvre E 17233 (Fischer, “Three Old Kingdom Palimpsests in the Louvre,” *ZÄS* 86 [1961], 28–29) 5th or 6th Dynasty; *Hw.t-b3w-iwnw* (Junker, *Giza VI*, 211, fig. 81) Old Kingdom; *Hni.t* (Junker, *Giza VIII*, 241ff., abb. 101–2) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Hnw.t* (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum and Chnumhotep*, pls. 4, 46, 74, abb. 5, 18) Neuserre-Menkauhor; *Hnw.t* (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, pls. 10, 14) possibly Isosi; *Hnw.t/Inti*, G 3008 (Fisher, *Minor Cemetery*, 165–66, pls. 49.2, 55) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Hnw.t/Hnw.t-m3ht*, Saqqara (Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 24, n. 27) late

Old Kingdom; *Hnw-hwi.t*, Saqqara, Mariette D 45 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 300) 5th Dynasty; *Hnnw.t*, Saqqara, D 45 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 300) 5th Dynasty; *Hnw.t-mt*, G 3093 (Fisher, *Minor Cemetery*, 136, 7, 49–50, pl. 44) 6th Dynasty; *Hn.t* (Junker, *Giza III*, 177, 185–87, abb. 27–28, 30, 32) 5th Dynasty; *Hnti-k3w.s* (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Kahay*, pls. 36, 38); *Hnti-k3w.s*, (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum and Chnumhotep*, pls. 5, 47, 68, abb. 25, 19, 6, pl. 74); *Hnt-k3w.s*, Saqqara BM 718 (*HT* [2] 1, pls. 28, 32) 5th Dynasty; *Hnt-k3w.s* (Junker, *Giza VII*, 70, fig. 30; Curto, *Gli Scavi*, 58–61, pl. 15, fig. 19) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Hni.t-k3*, Saqqara D 49, CG 1367 (Murray, *Chapels*, pl. 15; Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, pls. 30–37) late 5th Dynasty; *Sbw.t.t*, Saqqara, CG 1687 (Maspero, *Memoires I*, 199–200; Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, 135) late Old Kingdom; *Sfg.t* (Fischer, “Some Early Monuments from Busiris in the Egyptian Delta,” *MMAJ* 11 [1976], 21–22, fig. 12) 6th Dynasty; *Smr.t-mn*, Saqqara C15, CG 95 (Borchardt, *Statuen I*, 75, pl. 21, Mariette, *Mastabas*, 140–41) Sahure or later; *Sn.t-it.s* (Junker, *Giza V*, pl. 5, abb. 23, 27, 29a) very late 6th Dynasty; *St.t-itrw* (*PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 546; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 213) 6th Dynasty; *Sdhi*, Saqqara (Drioton, *ASAE* 55, 230–31, pl. 20) very late 6th Dynasty; *Spss.t-k3w*, G 2150 (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 437–40, fig. 258) later 4th Dynasty; *Smst.t.s-k3* (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 442) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Gfi* (Simpson, *The Mastaba of Qar and Idu* [Boston, 1976], fig. 25, pl. 19a) Pepy I; *Gmni.st/Dw3w-htp* (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 188, 258–59, pl. 75) Old Kingdom or later; *T3.s.t* (Junker, *Giza VIII*, 136, pl. 23c, fig. 64) late Old Kingdom; *Tnt.ti*, Saqqara, Mariette, B 12, CG 89 (Borchardt, *Statuen I*, 70, pl. 20) 5th Dynasty; *Tnt.t*, Saqqara, Mariette D 68 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 349–50) 5th Dynasty or later; *Ts.t*, Saqqara, mastaba of *Pth-htp I* (Badawy, *ASAE* 40, 611–12, fig. 67) 5th–6th Dynasty; *Ts.t* (Junker, *Giza IV*, 7, abb. 11) 6th Dynasty; *Ttw.t* (Hassan, *Giza III*, 78ff., pl. 27, fig. 70) 6th Dynasty; *Db.t*, Giza, BM 157 A, B (*HT* [2] I, pl. 6–7) 6th Dynasty; Name Lost, Giza, Junker excavation, Pelizaeus Museum 30546 (*CAA* 7, 82) possibly late 6th Dynasty; *Grgi*, Saqqara (S. El-Fikey, *The Tomb of the Vizier Rē-wer at Saqqarah* (Warminster, 1980) 42, fig. 12) late 6th Dynasty.

## Appendix 2

See note 119. See also *In-k3.f* (n. 137), *w<sup>c</sup>b nsu*, *shd w<sup>c</sup>b nsu*, *hm ntr S3-hw-r<sup>c</sup>*; *Iti*, G 6030 (*LD* II 59) *w<sup>c</sup>b nsu*, *imy-r hsw.t pr<sup>c</sup>*, *hm ntr Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>c</sup>/S3-hw-r<sup>c</sup>/N-wsr-rc*; *3hti-htp* (n. 119) *s3b shd s3*, *hri s3t3 n wd<sup>c</sup> mdw n nb n prw.t*, *hri s3t3*, in addition, priest of the pyramids of Unas and Isosi; *Pth-m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* (Quibell, *Saqqara* 1907–8, 26, n. 916), *s3b, shd s<sup>c</sup>*, *s3b smsw h3y.t*, *hri s3t3*, *w<sup>c</sup>b/hm ntr R<sup>c</sup>*; *Pth-s3pss*, Mariette D 54 (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 323), *s3b shd mdw*, *hri s3t3 p pr wr*, *Pth-k3p* (n. 119), *hri s3t3*, *s3b<sup>c</sup> d mr*, *hri s3t3 w<sup>c</sup>b nsu*, *Mmi* (n. 137) *hri s3t3 db3.t*, *w<sup>c</sup>b nsu*, *Mn-hm* (n. 119), *hri s3t3*, *w<sup>c</sup>b*, *htmty md3.t s3t3*, *hm ntr* and *w<sup>c</sup>b* of Userkaf and Menkaure; *Ni-nh-r<sup>c</sup>-nds*, CG 55 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, 49), *hm ntr* of Userkaf and Neuserre; *Nfr-ir-n.f* (Van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*) *s3b shd s3*, *hri s3t3 n wd<sup>c</sup>*, *hri s3t3 ntr.r.f*, *hri s3t3 nb.f hrw*, *w<sup>c</sup>b nsu*; *Ni-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-sd* (n. 119), *hri s3t3*, *hri s3t3 wd mdw n hw.t wr.t*; *Ni-k3-nh*, n. 119; *Ni-k3w-r<sup>c</sup>* (de Bourget, *Mélanges Maspero*, loc. cit.), *w<sup>c</sup>b nsu*, *hri s3t3 n hw.t wr.t*, *s3b*

*shd md3.t s3b*; *Ni-k3w-r<sup>c</sup>*, n. 119, *hri s3t3 n hw.t wr.t*, *w<sup>c</sup>b nsu*, *hri s3t3*, *s3b shd md3*; *Nfr-sfh-ptb* (*LD*, Text I, 96 II, 94e; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 239), *w<sup>c</sup>b nsu*; *R<sup>c</sup>-3pss*, *s3 nsu<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>b* of Userkaf; *Htp* (Hassan, *Hemetre<sup>c</sup> and Others*, 53–58, fig. 29, pls. 32, 35–38), *hri s3t3*; *H<sup>c</sup>-b3w-ptb* (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 295), *w<sup>c</sup>b nsu*, *hri s3t3 n nb.f*, *hri s3t3 n ntr.f*, *hri s3tw ntr mrr.f nb.f*, *hri s3t3 shkr.t n ntr*; *Hnm-htp*, n. 119, *hri s3t3 n pr dw3.t*; *S3bw*, n. 119, *hri s3t3 n k3.t nb.t*, *hri s3t3 n nsu m sw.t.f nb*, *s3 s3t3 n mdw n wr hrp hm.w.t*, *hri s3t3 n ntr.f*, and numerous priesthoods in sun and royal temples; *Shm-k3*, n. 119, *hri s3t3*, *s3b iry Nhn n hw.t wr.t wd mdw m3<sup>c</sup> n hri wdb*; *K3i-m-snw*, n. 119, numerous royal *hm ntr* and *w<sup>c</sup>b* titles; *Tp-m-nh* II (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 198; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 84–87, 89–91, pls. 19–20) *hri s3t3*, *w<sup>c</sup>b*, *hri s3t3 pr<sup>c</sup>*, *ssrw pr<sup>c</sup> r ht*, *hri s3t3 nsu<sup>c</sup> r pr<sup>c</sup>*, *hm ntr* and *w<sup>c</sup>b* titles of numerous kings and pyramids (see Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 127–28).