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**RELIEF DECORATION
IN THE ROYAL FUNERARY COMPLEXES
OF THE OLD KINGDOM**

STUDIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT, SCENE CONTENT
AND ICONOGRAPHY



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ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations of the editorial series are given after LÄ

Abubakr, *Kronen*:

Abubakr A.M., *Untersuchungen über die altägyptische Kronen*, Glückstadt 1937.

***Abusir and Saqqara 2000*:**

Bárta M., Krejčí J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, Archiv Orientální Supplementa IX, Prague 2000.

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el-Adly S. Abd el-Azim, *Das Gründungs- und Weiheritual des Ägyptischen Tempels von der frühgeschichtlichen Zeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, Diss. Univ. Tübingen, Tübingen 1981.

AE:

Ancient Egypt

Ägypten und Levante:

Ägypten und Levante. Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbartgebiete

***Ägyptische Tempel*:**

Gundlach R., M. Rochholz (eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel - Struktur, Funktion und Programm*, HÄB 37, Hildesheim 1994.

AJA:

American Journal of Archaeology

Aldred, *Egypt to the End of the Old Kingdom*:

Aldred C., *Egypt to the End of the Old Kingdom*, London 1965.

Aldred, *Egyptian Art*:

Aldred C., *Egyptian Art*, London 1980.

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O'Connor D., Silverman D. P. (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, Leiden 1995.

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Antiquity:

Antiquity: quarterly journal of archaeological research

Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*:

Arnold D., *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches*, MÄS 2, Berlin 1962.

Arnold, *Building in Egypt*:

Arnold D., *Building in Egypt. Pharaonic Stone Masonry*, London-New York 1991.

Arnold, *Tempel*:

Arnold D., *Die Tempel Ägyptens. Götterwohnungen, Kultstätten, Baudenkmäler*, Zürich 1994, ²1997.

Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built*:

Arnold D., *When the Pyramids Were Built. Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom*, New York 1999.

ASAE:

Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.

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Ayrton et al., *Abydos III*:

Ayrton A. R., Currely C. T., Weigall A. E. P., *Abydos III*, London 1904.

BACE:

Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology

BÄBA:

Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde

Badawy, *Architecture*:

Badawy A., *A History of Egyptian Architecture*, vol.I, Giza 1954.

Baer, *Rank and Title*:

Baer K., *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*, Chicago 1960.

Baines, *Fecundity Figures*:

Baines J., *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre*,

Warminster 1985.

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Baines J., Málek J., *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, New York 1980.

Barta, *Göttlichkeit*:

Barta W., *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs - Ritus und Sakralkönigtum in Altägypten nach Zeugnissen der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches*, MÄS 32, Berlin 1975.

BASOR:

Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research

Baud, *Famille royale*:

Baud M., *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, BdE 126 (1-2), Le Caire 1999.

von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*:

Beckerath J. von, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, MÄS 20, München 1984.

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Begelsbacher-Fischer B., *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reiches im Spiegel der Privatgräber der IV. und V. Dynastie*, OBO 37, Göttingen 1981.

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Behrmann A., *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter. Teil I, Katalog*, Frankfurt am Main - Bern 1989, *Teil II, Textband*, Frankfurt am Main - Bern 1996.

BES:

Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar.

Bickel, *Cosmogonie*:

Bickel S., *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire*, OBO 134, Göttingen 1994.

BIE:

Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien

BIFAO:

Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale

von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum I - II*:

Bissing F. W. von, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re*, vols I-II, Berlin and

Leipzig 1905-23.

von Bissing, Kees, *Reliefs*:

Bissing F. W. von, Kees H., *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-philologische und historische Klasse, vol.32, Munich 1922.

von Bissing, Kees, *Re-Heiligtum III*:

Bissing F.W. von, Kees H., *Die große Festdarstellung in Re-Heiligtum des Rathures* = Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re, vol.III, Leipzig 1928.

BMFA:

Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

BMMA:

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Bolshakov, *Man and His Double*:

Bolshakov A., *Man and His Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom*, ÄAT 37, Wiesbaden 1997

Bonhême - Forgeau, *Pharaon*:

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Bonnet, RÄRG:

Bonnet H., *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952.

Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*:

Borchardt L., *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re*, Leipzig 1907.

Borchardt, *Nefer-i'r-ke3-Re*:

Borchardt L., *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-i'r-ke3-Re*, Leipzig 1909.

Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*:

Borchardt L., *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa3hu-Re*, vol. I Der Bau, vol. II Die Wandbilder, Leipzig 1910-13.

Borchardt, *Denkmäler*:

Borchardt L., *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, vol. I: nos.1295-1541, Berlin 1937; vol. II: nos.1542-1808, Cairo 1964.

Brinks, *Entwicklung*:

Brinks J., *Die Entwicklung der Königlichen Grabanlagen des Alten Reiches*, Hildesheim 1979.

BSFE:

Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie; Réunions trimestrielles,
communications archéologiques

CAH:

Edwards I. E. S., Gadd C. J., and Hammond N. G. L. (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 9 vols., 3rd ed. Cambridge 1970-75.

Capart, Documents:

Capart J., *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien*, 2 vols., Paris 1927-31.

CdE:

Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine
Elisabeth, Bruxelles

CG:

Catalogue General du Musée du Caire

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Egyptian Art*, Berkeley 1992.

DE:

Discussions in Egyptology

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Drioton E., Lauer J.-P, *Sakkarah. The Monuments of Zoser*, Cairo 1939.

EA:

Egyptian Archaeology

Edwards, *Pyramids*:

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GM:

Göttinger Miszellen

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JARCE:

Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt

JEA:

Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

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JSSEA:

Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities

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- Fig.90. Reconstruction of a scene on a lintel. S wall of the vestibule in the mortuary temple of Pepy II.
- Fig.91. Reconstruction of the S wall in Pepy II's sanctuary.
- Fig.92. S wall of the northern chapel of Merenra.
- Fig.93. Assembly of deities. W wall of the antechamber in Pepy II's mortuary temple.
- Fig.94. Procession to *wsh*t.
- Fig.95. Unis' figure from the causeway.
- Fig.96. Oxen of Khufu.
- Fig.97. Decoration of the sail of a ship of Sahura.
- Fig.98. Ra-Horakhti and the Nomes (Abu Ghurab).

Illustration credits (nos. of figures given in bold) :

Arnold, in : *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (**86**); von Bissing, Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, III (**47, 70, 94, 98**); Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c (**27, 42, 43**); Borchardt, *Sa³hu-Re*^c, II (**25, 41, 45, 48, 60, 71, 72, 87**); *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (**9, 10, 12, 23, 69, 81, 89, 96**); Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II/1 (**7, 17, 46, 73, 82**); Friedman, JARCE 32 (1995) (**11, 57, 66, 67**); Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks* (**62, 80**); Goyon, BIFAO 67 (1969) (**29**, digitally enhanced); Habachi, *Tell Basta* (**88**); Hawass, Verner, MDAIK 52 (1996) (**74**); Hölscher, *Chephren* (**19**); Jeffereys, Malek, JEA 72 (1988) (**20**); Jéquier, *Pepy II* (**40, 51, 65, 84, 93**); Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* (**53, 54**); Labrousse, *L'architecture des pyramides à textes*, II (**92**); Labrousse, Albuoy, *Les pyramides des reines* (**35, 36, 37, 44**); Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas* (**50, 52, 59, 83, 95**); Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas* (**75, 79**); Lauer, Leclant, *Teti* (**33**); Lehner, *Complete Pyramids* (**2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 13, 14, 18, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 38**); Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1908-10) (**49**); Stadelmann, *Pyramiden* (**31**); Verner, *Pyramid* (**15, 21, 39**).

Photos and drawings of figs. **56** and **68** are by the author. Reconstruction on fig. **90** is based on Jéquier, *Pepy II*, II, pl.36.

EDITORIAL REMARKS

The transliteration system used throughout this work is the one employed by J. P. Allen in *Middle Egyptian. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, Cambridge 2000 (cf. *ibid.* pp.13-15). For typographic reasons the references to texts are mostly in transliteration; where it was assumed necessary, however, the hieroglyphs from Glyph for Windows 1.2 (Utrecht 1992-1997) have been used. The arrows in brackets indicating the orientation of figures and signs are used in accordance with the system adopted i.a. in the IFAO publications. It means that consistent rules for rendering both representations and texts are applied. Thus (←) refers to a figure in a two-dimensional representation or glyphs in a horizontal line facing left, and (←↓) refers to a text in a column, where the signs are likewise facing left. The arrows do not indicate the direction the text runs.*

The citations of the Pyramid Texts are given after R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford 1969, unless otherwise stated.

* Inconvenience of applying the arrows system with contradictory meanings to texts and to ‘non-graphic pictures of human beings and animals’ was already pointed out by B. Gunn (Firth, Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I*, p. 85-86). He decided to use it that way, but he felt obliged to explain it clearly, contrary to many authors (also recent ones), who assume that it is taken for granted. Sometimes only continuous comparing the text with illustrations provides a key to a question whether the arrow indicate the orientation of signs or the direction the text runs. This latter system is quite often employed by philologists, used to deal with texts only and rarely *facing* the problem of pictorial representations of figures *facing* left or right.

**CHRONOLOGY OF ANCIENT EGYPT
TO THE END OF THE OLD KINGDOM**

(after I. Shaw (ed.), *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford 2000,
with some revisions by the author)

Predynastic Period 5300-3050 BC

| | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| including | Nagada III/Dynasty 0 | 3200-3050 |
| | 'Scorpion' I | |
| | Iri-Hor | |
| | Ka/Sekhen | |
| | 'Scorpion' II | |
| | Narmer | |

Early Dynastic (Thinite) Period 3050-2686 BC

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------|
| | First Dynasty | 3050-2890 |
| | Aha | |
| | Djer | |
| | Djet | |
| | Den | |
| | Adjib | |
| | Semerkhet | |
| | Qa'a | |
| | Second Dynasty | 2890-2686 |
| | Hetepsekhemui | |
| | Raneb | |
| | Ninetjer | |
| | Uneg | |
| | Sened | |
| | Sekhemib Perenmaat | |
| | Peribsen | |

Khasekhem (=Khasekhemui?)

Khasekhemui

Old Kingdom

2686-2160 BC

Third Dynasty

2686-2613

Netjerykhet

Sekhemkhet

Sanakht (Nebka)

Khaba

Huni (=Horus Qahedjet?)

Fourth Dynasty

2613-2494

Sneferu

Khufu

Djedefra

Khafra

Baka? (=Baufra?)

Menkaura

Shepseskaf

Fifth Dynasty

2494-2345

Userkaf

Sahura

Neferirkara Kakai

Shepseskara

Ranferef Isi

Niuserra Ini

Menkauhor/Ikauhor

Djedkara Isesi

Unis

Sixth Dynasty

2345-2181

Teti

Userkara?

Nefersahor/Merira Pepy I

Merenra Nemtyemsaf

Neferkara Pepy II

Merenra II?

Nitiqret?

Seventh and Eighth Dynasties

2181-2160

numerous kings, including

Neferkara

Uadjkara Pepyseneb

Neferkamin Inu

Kakara Ibi

Neferkauhor

PART I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. MODE OF RESEARCH - PRELIMINARY REMARKS

It is the ancient Egyptian kingship that is the true subject of this work. Decoration of the royal funerary monuments, alongside with the architecture, statuary programme, texts and cult arrangements, expressed an idea fundamental for the Egyptians: that of a man existing in between the two realms, the one of humanity and the one of gods. The king of the Two Lands was not merely a ruler leading his people and governing the country. He was an intermediary between the inhabitants of the two spheres, assuring the gods' largess for the society, and the one who guaranteed maintenance of *maat* by controlling the forces of chaos.¹ As a human he was a mortal, but at the same moment he was a god – at least in some way.² His role was not

¹ P. Derchain, *Le rôle du roi d'Égypte dans le maintien de l'ordre cosmique*, in: L. de Heusch et al. (eds.), *Le pouvoir et le sacré*, Bruxelles 1962, pp.61-73; R. Gundlach, *Weltherrscher und Weltordnung. Legitimation und Funktion des ägyptischen Königs am Beispiel Thutmosis III. und Amenophis III.*, in: R. Gundlach, H. Weber (eds.), *Legitimation und Funktion des Herrschers. Vom ägyptischen Pharaon zum neuzeitlichen Diktator*, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 23-50.

² An exact meaning of the king's position and his divinity has been a matter of scholarly debate since the very beginnings of Egyptology. Among the most important contributions are W. Barta, *Königsdogma*, LÄ III, 486-494; E. Blumenthal, *Zur Göttlichkeit der regierenden Königs in Ägypten*, OLZ 73 (1978), p.533f; ead., *Königsideologie*, LÄ III, 526-531; M.-A. Bonhême, A. Forgeau, *Pharaon – les secrets du pouvoir*, Paris 1988; H. Brunner, *Das Gottkönigtum der Pharaonen*, Universitas 11 (1956), pp.797-806; id. *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines altägyptischen Mythos*, ÄA 10, Wiesbaden 1964; id., *König-Gott-Verhältnis*, LÄ III, 964-968; D. Franke, *Sesostris I., "König der beiden Länder" und Demiurg in Elephantine*, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.275-295; H. Goedicke, *Die Stellung des Königs im Alten Reich*, ÄA 2, Wiesbaden 1960; L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, ADAIK 5, Glückstadt 1969; H. Jacobsohn, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs im Theologie der alten Ägypter*, ÄF 8, Glückstadt 1939; R. Moftah, *Studien zum ägyptischen Königsdogma im Neuen Reich*, SDAIK 29, Mainz am Rhein 1985; A. Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, Paris 1902; E. Otto, *Legitimation des Herrschens im pharaonischen Ägypten*, Seaculum 20 (1969), pp.385-411; G. Posener, *De la divinité du pharaon*, Cahiers de la Societé Asiatique 15, Paris 1960; A. Radwan, *Einige Aspekte der Vergöttlichung des ägyptischen Königs*, in: *Ägypten – Dauer und Wandel: Symposium*

confined to this world only. He occupied also a central position in the eschatological beliefs. This complex ideology of kingship had its roots in remote predynastic times and was continuously developed during most of the Egyptian history. The Old Kingdom is a period when this concept found its full and most splendid expression symbolized in the pyramid complexes. We are far from a full description and analysis of the pharaonic kingship – with our terms and tools - and still farther from understanding of how the Egyptians saw the king and his role, and how the kings perceived and presented themselves. Only never-ending re-evaluation of what is left of the material expression of the ideology enables deepening of our knowledge.³

Remarks that should be made at the beginning of this work concern an important question of the method of research, namely the mode of approach to the subject of the Egyptian royal mortuary complexes, and are augmented with some observations, coming from the practical application of this mode.⁴ The subject, as declared in the title, had been defined somewhat artificially as far as one considers its scope and aims. Reliefs on the temple walls should be studied in their proper context. It would seem obvious that it is impossible to separate the research on the reliefs from overall analyses of architecture, sculpture, texts etc. against their historical and topographical background. This assumption comes first from the fact that the evidence is scanty and data

anlässlich des 75 jährigen Bestehens des DAIK, 10. und 11. Oktober 1982, SDAIK 18, Mainz am Rhein 1985, pp.53-69; M. Schade-Busch, Zur Königsideologie Amenophis' III. Analyse der Phraseologie historischer Texte der Voramarnazeit, HÄB 35, Hildesheim 1992; D. Wildung, Göttlichkeitstufen des Pharao, OLZ 59 (1973), pp.549-565; id., Königskult, LÄ III, 533-534.

³ An excellent recent account of multiple aspects of the pharaonic kingship is offered by D. O'Connor, D. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, Leiden 1995. For a general picture see esp. the introduction by D. O'Connor and D. Silverman (pp.XVII-XXVII) and the articles by J. Baines (Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation, pp. 3-47) and D. Silverman (The Nature of Egyptian Kingship, pp.49-92).

⁴ These remarks on the mode of research were presented first during the Second Central European Conference in Egyptology, on March 7th 2001 in Warsaw (the paper entitled 'Research on the Royal Mortuary complexes of the Old Kingdom. Towards a Holistic Approach').

from various sources should be compared, as they often offer complementary information, but even more it reflects the fact that the ideological principles on which the decoration schemes were founded could have been realized in different, partly interchangeable, forms. The simplest and most obvious example is the realisation of the programme in the Fourth Dynasty Giza complexes: reliefs, on which stress was put in Khufu's temples, were almost completely absent from Khafra's⁵ and Menkaure's precincts and they were there possibly replaced by sculptures in the role they played. The proper context of a specific relief decoration means also its place within a multi-layered setting of a mortuary complex, starting from the level of geographical (and possibly even astronomical) and topographical circumstances,⁶ down to the level of a single iconographic element. Certainly an overall analysis that one may postulate could be a life-long task. This creates a serious discrepancy between the aim and the possibilities, to be resolved unsatisfactorily, with possible simplifications and generalizations to be accepted.

Nevertheless, in the author's opinion, if one has to avoid unacceptable one-side view leading to false conclusions, the research on the royal mortuary complexes of the Old Kingdom should involve comprehensive analyses of various and different aspects of the architecture and decoration programme, and the ideology hidden behind, as far as it can be traced.⁷ This seems quite

⁵ With some notable exceptions, cf. chapter II.3 below.

⁶ G. Goyon, *Nouvelles observations relatives à l'orientation de la pyramide de Khéops*, RdÉ 22 (1970), pp.85-98; H. Goedicke, *Giza: Causes and Concepts*, BACE 6 (1995), pp.31-50; id. *Abusir-Saqqara-Giza*, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.397-412; D. Jeffreys, *The Topography of Heliopolis and Memphis: Some Cognitive Aspects*, in: *Fs Stadelmann*, pp.63-71. For further discussion of the site development at Giza and Abusir (including the 'diagonals' pointing towards Heliopolis) see also Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, pp.106-107, 142, and J. Krejčí, *The origins and development of the royal necropolis at Abusir during the Old Kingdom*, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.467-484.

⁷ The ideology of kingship reflected in the mortuary complexes seems to encompass various religious concepts referring to eschatology as well as to this world role of the pharaoh (Gundlach, *Pharao und sein Staat, passim*; D. Stockfisch, *Die Diesseitsrolle des*

obvious and it is generally agreed among scholars that such should be the way of research, but although it is often claimed, the practical approach sometimes differs considerably.

Since the time of H. Ricke and S. Schott, who tried to relate funeral rituals, as they could be traced in the Pyramid Texts, to the sequence of rooms in the mortuary temples⁸ (regarding the function of the texts and architecture of the complex as connected mainly with the burial rites, an approach that was followed by J. Spiegel⁹ and H. Altenmüller,¹⁰ and criticized by D. Arnold¹¹), a need is widely recognized and attempts have been made to compare various parts of the ideological program and to look for basic rules. Various scholars have emphasized a need to see tomb or cult complexes as ‘complexes’ proper, which must have reflected a complicated, but consistent, ideology in various forms and on multiple levels of a complex structure.¹² The interpretation of *a pyramid complex* - or more properly, *a royal tomb complex* (not always a pyramid was a king's tomb, even in the ‘classical age’ of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, as demonstrated by the

toten Königs im Alten Reich, in: *Frühe ägyptische Königtum*, pp.5-19). For a hypothesis of consistent and simultaneous fulfilling of both roles by the king in his afterlife see ch.V.3 in the Conclusions.

⁸ H. Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches II*, BÄBA 5, Cairo 1956; S.Schott, *Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Pyramidenkult*, BÄBA 5, Cairo 1956.

⁹ J. Spiegel, *Das Auferstehungsritual der Unas-Pyramide. Beschreibung und erläuterte Übersetzung*, ÄA 23, Wiesbaden 1971.

¹⁰ H. Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, ÄA 24, Wiesbaden 1972.

¹¹ D. Arnold, *Rituale und Pyramidentempel*, MDAIK 33 (1977), pp.1-14. Arnold's objectives were subsequently followed and developed by other scholars, which led to a long-standing discussion of the basic problem of the interpretation of a funerary complex as either ‘a stage for the funeral’ or ‘the deceased king's eternal residence’ (as aptly termed in Lehner, *Pyramids*, p. 27). For a suggested conclusion of this question see ch.V.3 below.

¹² As R. Stadelmann remarked: ‘Although we archaeologists are commonly speaking about pyramid precincts, pyramid complex or pyramid ensemble, we have been constantly regarding only parts of it and investigating partial aspects: *the funerary apartments inside the pyramids* and their development or the *pyramid temples* and their evolution.’ (The development of the pyramid temple in the Fourth Dynasty, in: *Temple in Ancient Egypt*, p.8).

examples of Shepseskaf and Neferefra), or even better, *a royal mortuary (funerary) complex*¹³ - must be realized in a wide perspective. Royal mortuary complexes are something very special, which reflects the unique position of the king in the Egyptian concept of the world. As already noted, he acts as (the sole one, at least in the Old Kingdom)¹⁴ intermediary between the gods and the humanity. Nevertheless, there are also striking similarities in the rules of arrangement and the ideology of royal and non-royal tomb complexes, for example mutual dependence between complementary: superstructure, and subterranean parts of the tomb, as analysed by A. Bolshakov in his inspiring work on the idea of *ka*.¹⁵ On the other hand the relations between the royal and divine spheres seem to be far more complex and less univocal than usually admitted. Neither a clear border between the two did exist, nor the rigid distinction of this world ('divine') and eschatological ('mortuary') aspect of the cult. The three realms constituting the world of the Egyptians, namely the earth, the heaven and the netherworld, were interfering in the temples.¹⁶

¹³ See *infra* the discussion of terminological questions (chapter I.4).

¹⁴ One might contact with the divine realm only through the king's mediation, which was reflected in the rules of decorum, concerning both this world and mortuary sphere. For example deities were not represented in non-royal tomb complexes, and the king's role as an intermediary was stressed by the form of the offering formula, beginning with 'a boon, which the king gives...' A 'democratization of religion' in the F.I.P. changed some of the rules, but it was not before the reign of Senwosret III that ordinary people for the first time dared to represent themselves (on stelae) in the company of gods. It is noteworthy that the Amarna royal monopoly for the contact with the sun god might have been rooted somehow in the Old Kingdom tradition.

¹⁵ A. Bolshakov, *Man and His Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom*, ÄAT 37, Wiesbaden 1997, esp. Part I: Old Kingdom Tomb as a System.

¹⁶ This subject was ingeniously summarized by B. Shafer, *Temples, Priests, and Rituals*, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp.1-30, esp. pp.1-4. Shafer noticed that 'Scholars have traditionally divided ancient Egyptian temples into several types, the two principal being "divine" (the residence of a god or gods) and "mortuary" (the place of rituals, offerings, and sacrifices for a deceased king). However, "divine" and "mortuary" can mislead in at least three ways: first, insofar as they suggest that a temple's cultic practices were limited either to care for gods or to concern for the deceased king; second, insofar as they suggest that the recipient of mortuary rituals was not divine; and third, insofar as they suggest that

One may refer to many ways of approach to establish both synchronic and diachronic setting of the subject. At present a widely accepted view sets Archaic, Third Dynasty and "classical" Old Kingdom royal mortuary complexes in a consistent line of development, and in an even wider perspective, with a starting point in the Protodynastic Period, and continuity in later royal tombs and mortuary or memorial temples of the Middle and New Kingdoms.¹⁷ Many recent theories and observations help to clarify this view. An interdependence between the degree of the complication of a pyramid's internal plan and the form and decoration of the related mortuary temple was noticed by R. Stadelmann,¹⁸ and this seems to reflect a more principal rule, observed also in non-royal tombs - a mutual dependence of the form, decoration and furniture of a mortuary chapel (or an offering place) in the superstructure, and of a burial chamber.¹⁹ Stress could have been put either on sculpture, or on relief decoration.²⁰ Standardization of the plan of pyramid complexes roughly coincides with the insertion of the Pyramid Texts into the pyramid chambers.²¹ Cosmic aspects of ideology of a royal tomb complex are reflected in the location and orientation of the Pyramid Texts, identifying the chambers with various parts of the netherworld (J. Allen, B.

ancient Egyptians saw the functions, plans, symbols, and rituals of "divine" and "mortuary" temples as quite separate and distinct.' (ibid., p.4).

¹⁷ E.g.: D. Arnold, *Vom Pyramidenbezirk zum "Haus für Millionen Jahre"*, MDAIK 34 (1978), pp.1-8; id., *Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms*, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp.31-85; Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, passim; Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, pp.70-199.

¹⁸ R. Stadelmann, *The development of the pyramid temple in the Fourth Dynasty*, in: *Temple in Ancient Egypt*, pp.1-16.

¹⁹ A. Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, pp.121-22.

²⁰ Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, pp.210-11. Do. Arnold remarked: "The impressive body of surviving reliefs is in striking contrast to the almost total lack of preserved statuary in Sahure's temple (...), which may not be due to accidents of preservation alone. There are indications that pyramid precincts of the Fourth Dynasty achieved with a rich statuary program what in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty precincts was expressed in reliefs." (Royal Reliefs, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.101, n.100).

²¹ Stadelmann, *The development of the pyramid temple*, op.cit., p.15.

Mathieu),²² but possibly also in the similar identification of other parts of the complexes (F. D. Friedman).²³ Various types of vaulting of the burial chambers in royal tombs seem to reflect ‘in negative’ various forms of their superstructures, and the earlier architectural forms ‘buried’ in developed buildings (tumulus - mastaba - step pyramid - true pyramid) point to a consistent tradition of a ‘layered thought’ or ‘nested concepts’ (A. M. Roth).²⁴

Recent attempts of a comprehensive approach include the article by D. O'Connor in *Fs Stadelmann*, where the author presents an important symbolic, cosmographic interpretation of various parts of the royal funerary complexes, albeit based mostly on the architectural analysis of the buildings,²⁵ and the work by Z. Hawass on the funerary establishment of Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura.²⁶ Having enumerated aspects that should be included into analyses, Hawass tries to scan the evidence, focusing mostly on the roles played by the king, Ra and Hathor.

The interpretation of a royal tomb complex requires analysing architecture, sculpture, relief decoration, texts (the Pyramid Texts and texts in the temples), furniture and equipment found in the temples, data on the cult and people involved in it (including information coming from annals, decrees, papyri, tomb inscriptions and finds). One must take into consideration structure and function, as well as mutual relationship between various elements of the programme; one should look at the problem in both

²² J. Allen, Reading a Pyramid, in: *Hommages Leclant*, pp.5-28; B. Mathieu, La signification du serdab dans la pyramide d'Ounas. L'architecture des appartements funéraires royaux à la lumière des Textes des Pyramides, in: *Etudes Lauer*, pp. 289-304.

²³ F. D. Friedman, Notions of Cosmos in the Step Pyramid Complex, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.337-51.

²⁴ A. M. Roth, Buried Pyramids and Layered Thoughts: the Organization of Multiple Approaches in Egyptian Religion, in: *Seventh Congress of Egyptologists*, pp.991-1003.

²⁵ D. O'Connor, The Interpretation of the Old Kingdom Pyramid Complex, in: *Fs Stadelmann*, pp.135-144.

²⁶ Hawass, *Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura*; id. in: *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, pp.221-62.

diachronic and synchronic perspective. Only such a holistic²⁷ approach enables to understand meaning, restore the ways of development and to explain real or seeming inconsistencies in the ideological scheme reflected in the architecture, decoration and texts. This mode of research should be a methodological postulate, an aim to be pursued, even if difficult to be accomplished by a single scholar.

Without any claims to explore all the problems in full, the present work goes towards a systematisation of material and interpretations. It is assumed that even a simplified view (fig.1)²⁸ can form a basis for future research.

²⁷ The term 'holistic' (from Greek *hólos*, 'whole'), borrowed from biological and social sciences, is used in archaeology to describe a methodology stressing the fact that in any complicated structure all the elements constituting it are interdependent, and at the same time it is not merely a sum of the parts, but an entity that assumes new quality. Thus a 'holistic approach' seems to be a more specific and appropriate term than an 'overall treatment' etc. For the use of this term and the praxis of the holistic approach see e.g. P. J. J. Sinclair, L. Troy, Counting Gifts to the Dead: a Holistic Approach to the Burial Customs of Lower Nubia Using Correspondence Analysis, in: V. Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, London 1991, pp.166-185; M. A. Hoffman et al., *The Predynastic of Hierakonpolis - An Interim Report*, Giza and Macomb, Illinois, 1982 (= Egyptian Studies Association Publication 1) *passim*; R. B. Finnestad, Egyptian Thought About Life as a Problem of Translation, in: G. Englund (ed.), *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians. Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions*, Uppsala 1989, pp. 29-40.

²⁸ Our limited knowledge on relief decoration and the fact that it is often attributed only secondary value (in respect to the architecture) by the scholars, influence theoretical reconstructions, especially the digital ones, causing impossible arrangements and designs (as in our fig.1, where the subjects, design, orientation and coloring of the reliefs have virtually nothing in common with what existed, or even could have existed in Sahura's temple courtyard). This affected even such ingenious reconstructions as those presented by A. Labrousse and M. Albuoy in *Pyramides des reines*, pp.92-93 and 96, where the decoration of the causeway and of the courtyard in Pepy I's complex includes an impossible double band of the block-pattern at the bottom and top of the walls. Moreover, the themes represented on the wall of the causeway (men placing vegetables on an offering table and female dancers) seem to be borrowed from a non-royal context. Likewise, the wall on the reconstruction of the square antechamber (p.100) bears vertical columns of green hieroglyphs (with a non-royal titulary?) instead of polychrome reliefs. A curse of some kind can sometimes touch even apparently simplest reconstructions like the one in Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, I, fig.44 on p.258, where the *ntr*-sign on a relief of Netjerykhet has been restored with a dashed line – with an apparently false orientation.

I.2. RECENT RESEARCH ON THE ROYAL RELIEFS OF THE OLD KINGDOM

In the 80s and 90s the research on monumental architecture and art of the earliest periods of Egyptian history was increased and constantly stimulated by impressive discoveries made at Abu Roash, Giza, Saqqara, Abusir, Dahshur, Seila, Abydos, Hierakonpolis and Elephantine (among others).²⁹ These resulted in (and were augmented by) important syntheses concerning the royal mortuary complexes, to mention the works by J. Brinks,³⁰ N. Swelim,³¹ R. Stadelmann,³² P. Janosi,³³ D. Arnold,³⁴ M. Lehner³⁵ and M. Verner.³⁶ However, in evident contrast with new works concerning non-royal tombs, like those by Y. Harpur³⁷ and N. Cherpion,³⁸ where the authors analysed relief decoration in aspects of its relation to architecture, ideology of representations, art history and chronology, the aforementioned books and articles were concentrated mostly on the development of the royal architecture and its connections with political history, chronology and

²⁹ A limited space does not allow the extensive literature on these discoveries to be cited here. Summaries are provided annually by J. Leclant and G. Clerc, *Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, Orientalia*; cf. also L. Giddy, *Digging Diary, Egyptian Archaeology*, and S. Ikram, *Nile Currents, KMT*. One has to stress, however, that apart from scanty preliminary reports, we still lack basic informations on many sites. Moreover, the work at some of them is far from being accomplished and new important data can be expected. In this respect Abu Roash (Djedefra's complex), Saqqara (French and Polish missions' working areas at South Saqqara and west from Netjerykhet's precinct respectively), Dahshur (valley temple of the Red Pyramid), as well as Abydos and Hierakonpolis are especially promising.

³⁰ Brinks, *Entwicklung*.

³¹ Swelim, *Third Dynasty*, cf. id., *The Brick Pyramid at Abu Rawash. Number I by Lepsius*, Alexandria 1987.

³² Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*; id. *Grossen Pyramiden von Giza*.

³³ Janosi, *Grabanlagen der Königinnen*.

³⁴ Arnold, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 31-85, cf. also: id. *Building in Egypt*, passim; id., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst*, passim.

³⁵ Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*.

³⁶ Verner, *Pyramids*.

³⁷ Harpur, *Decoration*.

³⁸ Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*.

religion. There existed no complex analysis of the reliefs decorating walls of the buildings in the royal tomb complexes. W. S. Smith's monumental *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Boston 1946) still remained the latest attempt to cover the subject. Since then, however, many discoveries were made, and the body of evidence available to scholars has been multiplied, to mention e.g. the reliefs of Sneferu from A. Fakhry's excavations at the Bent Pyramid, R. Stadelmann's at the Red Pyramid at Dahshur, and N. Swelim's at Seila;³⁹ a large group of decorated blocks re-used in the pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht, among which those coming from the monuments of Khufu, Khafra, Userkaf, Unis, and Pepy II were identified (and in great part published by H. Goedicke);⁴⁰ reliefs of Khasekhemui from Hierakonpolis "Fort" (re-discovered and published by N. Alexanian).⁴¹ To these one should add the reliefs discovered during last sixty years in the pyramid temples of Userkaf, Djedkara, Unis, Teti, Pepy I and Merenra at Saqqara. Decoration of the funerary temples of Teti and Unis was published in the 70s.⁴² A large part of the remaining material, including the blocks from Unis' causeway, has been published recently thanks to A. Labrousse.⁴³ Moreover, still new fragments are being discovered at sites (as it happened in Spring 1996, when several blocks, including some decorated with an unique subject of transporting a pyramidion, were uncovered during the conservation work at the causeway of Sahura's complex),⁴⁴ and others are

³⁹ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, vol.II, The Valley Temple, Cairo 1961; R. Stadelmann et al., *Pyramiden und Nekropole des Snofru in Dahschur*, MDAIK 49 (1993), pp.259-94; N. Swelim, *The Pyramid of Sneferu at Seila*, forthcoming.

⁴⁰ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*.

⁴¹ N. Alexanian, Die Reliefdekoration des Chaschemui aus dem sogenannten *Fort* in Hierakonpolis, in: *Critères de datation à l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 1-30.

⁴² Lauer, Leclant, *Teti*; Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*.

⁴³ Labrousse, Moussa, *Ounas*; Labrousse, *Pyramides à texts I-II*; Labrousse, Lauer, *Userkaf et Néferhétépès*, Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*.

⁴⁴ Z.Hawass, M.Verner, Newly Discovered Blocks from the Causeway of Sahure, MDAIK 52 (1996), 177-86.

being found in storerooms or acquired by the museums (e.g. the stela of Raneb in the MMA, or the stela of Qahedjet in Louvre).⁴⁵

The work by W. S. Smith, covering much wider subject of the Archaic and Old Kingdom art, but in the parts concerning royal reliefs confined to the then available material, with some important additions made by the same scholar in his later books⁴⁶, remained the only overall study of the Old Kingdom royal reliefs for over a half of a century. Only recently the subject was treated in a much synthetic way by Z. Hawass in his PhD thesis,⁴⁷ and by Do. Arnold in the great exhibition catalogue of the Old Kingdom art.⁴⁸

Remarkably few recent studies were confined to detailed problems, the articles by F.D. Friedman and E. Edel being outstanding exceptions.⁴⁹ Strange as it is, but at the conferences on the Old Kingdom art held in the 80s and 90s almost no one of the contributors discussed the royal reliefs.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Stela of Raneb: H. G. Fischer, *An Egyptian Royal Stela of the Second Dynasty*, *Artibus Asiae* 24,1 (1961), pp. 45-56; stela of Qahedjet (Huni?): J. Vandier, *Une stèle égyptienne portant un nouveau nom royal de la Troisième Dynastie*, *CRAIBL* 1968, pp.16-22; Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs*, pp.54-57.

⁴⁶ W.S. Smith, *Interconnections*, pp.141-153; id., *Art and Architecture*, pp.30-33, 37, 50-52, 64-69, 74.

⁴⁷ Hawass, *Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura*, pp.502-536.

⁴⁸ Do. Arnold, *Royal Reliefs*, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, pp.83-101. On the other hand, another recent catalogue (Ch. Ziegler (ed.), *The Pharaohs*, Milano 2002, exhibition at Palazzo Grassi in Venice), an enormous work with many contributors, is a typical example of a completely different approach. The only Old Kingdom royal relief included is the stela of Qahedjet from the Louvre (cat.8) and in an article on the Old Kingdom written by A. Roccati (pp.29-39, esp.35-39, 'The Monuments') the relief decoration of the mortuary complexes is even not mentioned.

⁴⁹ F.D.Friedman, *The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex*, *JARCE* 32 (1995), pp.1-42; E. Edel, *Studien zu den Relieffragmenten aus dem Taltempel des Königs Snofru*, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.199-208.

⁵⁰ See tables of content in: R. Stadelmann, H. Sourouzian, *Kunst des Alten Reiches: Symposium im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991*, *SDAIK* 28, Cairo 1997; N. Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation à l'Ancien Empire*, BdÉ 120, Le Caire 1997 (the only article concerning the royal reliefs is the one by N. Alexanian on the material from the 'Fort' of Khasekhemui at Hierakonpolis); C. Ziegler (ed.), *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le service culturel les 3 et 4 avril 1998*, Paris 1999. An article by R. Stadelmann published in the latter book (*Représentations de la famille royale dans l'Ancien Empire*, pp.169-194) considers, beside the reliefs of Netjerykhet, only sculpture in round.

I.3. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE WORK

There exists an indisputable need to collect all the available evidence covering relief decoration in the royal funerary complexes and to study its structural and functional relation to architecture, to establish its typological scheme, directions of development, ideology and role in the history of Egyptian art. Such a work would be of importance not only for further studies on the Old Kingdom royal tomb complexes, but also, hopefully, could be a reference point for analysing art, religion and ideology of kingship of later times as well. The scope of this work and the treatment of the subject have some natural limitations. No pyramid temple of the Old Kingdom is preserved intact or even in a good condition. Most of them are destroyed to a degree that almost excludes any restoration beside that of a ground plan.⁵¹ Decorated blocks, even if they survived at the spot, are mostly not found *in situ* (that would mean an intact wall), but are widely dispersed in the surrounding area. This makes difficult and uncertain, and often impossible, a theoretical attribution of their original position. The pyramids and temples of the Memphite necropolis were a subject of plundering and a source of building material in various periods.⁵² A number of fragments do not come

⁵¹ From (the best preserved!) temples of Sahura's precinct, where the wall space of relief decoration is estimated as 370 running meters (Do. Arnold, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.98, and n.99), only 1-2 percent of the original decorated surface had survived (D. Arnold, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, p.73).

⁵² A full discussion of this problem would go far beyond the scope of the present work, but it is to be mentioned that three different phenomena, often treated together or interchangeably in the literature, should be very carefully distinguished: a) destroying and re-using of architectural elements of some parts of the mortuary complex, notably the valley buildings, which could have occurred soon after the erection of a monument. This happened not only because those constructions were easily accessible, but it also may reflect the fact that the valley temples could have been pillaged because they had already fallen into disuse. This may have been the fate of the Lisht blocks (see, however, an alternative explanation in ch.V.3 below), which proves nothing concerning b) the date and manner of destruction of the mortuary temples (or the buildings inside the funerary precinct proper in the case of Netjerykhet), which served for a longer time, and where the cult of a king could sometimes be revived after centuries. Quarrying the building material

from the excavations of the mortuary complexes, but were found elsewhere or consist parts of museum collections.⁵³ Their provenance, dating and attribution are often difficult to establish, and stylistic and iconographic criteria may prove misleading in this respect.⁵⁴ The question of provenance is

from the mortuary temples and re-using architectural elements, as it was common for example under the Ramessids, did not lead, however, to c) robbery inside the royal tomb. In this respect, the activity of Khaemwaset, restoring and securing ancient kings' pyramids, is especially significant. Contrary to a widespread opinion, virtually no evidence exists to support a view that the pyramids' substructures or internal chambers were entered and plundered at an early date, during the 'revolutions' of the First Intermediate Period. Literary sources allegedly reporting such events (e.g. 'The Lamentations of Ipuwer') are, at the best, indirect and uncertain evidence. The Nineteenth Dynasty graffiti were found in the sloping corridor of the Meidum pyramid, but other archaeological evidence points rather to a Late Period date of plundering of most of the Old Kingdom pyramids, including the Great Pyramid (L. Kàkosy, *The Plundering of the Pyramid of Cheops*, SAK 16 (1989), pp.145-169; J.-P. Lauer, *Remarques sur l'époque possible du viol de la tombe de Khéops dans la Grande Pyramide*, in: *Studies Kàkosy*, pp.385-386) and the Step Pyramid. A suggestion that the Step Pyramid substructures could have been entered and robbed in the First Intermediate Period (Firth, Quibell, *Step Pyramid I*, p. 92), seems not to be supported by any evidence. An early Middle Kingdom burial was recorded in the pit of the North Building (*ibid.*, pp. i-ii). In the underground galleries of the pyramid, however, only the activity of 'the Saïtes' ('...the term is conveniently vague. Any time between XXIst Dynasty and the Ptolemies is possible', *ibid.*, p. 91, n.1) is well documented. In respect to the Middle Kingdom one should take into account, however, a possibility that two travertine sarcophagi found in Senwosret III's complex had been taken from the eastern galleries under the Step Pyramid. Their resemblance to the two sarcophagi still remaining *in situ* is striking (S. Ikram, A. Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*, Cairo 1998, p.245). Thus the substructure of the Step Pyramid might have been entered during the Twelfth Dynasty, but this should possibly be seen not as a plundering, but as an act of curiosity or even piety, given the extensive evidence for the politics of following Netjerykhet's tradition (especially in the field of architecture – the revival of 'Djoser type' mortuary complex, copying the design of the Step Pyramid enclosure wall in the Senwosret III's complex and on the royal sarcophagi etc.).

⁵³ For example the fragments in the British Museum recorded in the inventory of the reliefs E 17. In most part they are unprovenanced, small and often difficult to be dated. One may suggest, nevertheless, that at least nos. 742 and 73962 with a star-band, as well as no.650 with the head of a king, came from a royal building of the Old Kingdom (I am much indebted to Marcel Marée for his kind help during my visit to the BM).

⁵⁴ J.-C. Golvin, R. Vergnieux, *Etudes des techniques de construction dans l'Égypte ancienne III. La décoration des parois (son principe et les dangers d'équivoques qu'elle peut entraîner en ce qui concerne la datation des edifices)*, *Mélanges Mokhtar*, I, pp.325-338. One can recall many instances when the datings of a relief, according to various scholars, differ in hundreds or even thousands of years (e.g. the block with a woman and a royal child on her lap, attributed by H. Ranke (*Ein ägyptisches Relief in Princeton*, JNES 9 (1950), pp.228-236) to Pepy II, and subsequently shown by W. S. Smith to have come

particularly transparent in the case of the Lisht blocks, in respect to which different possibilities were suggested,⁵⁵ as well as in the case of other fragments re-used in later buildings.⁵⁶ One must also take into account tentative dating of many unprovenanced fragments, attributed to a ruler or a period according to stylistic or palaeographic criteria. Especially those former are much subjective and disputable, and one has to be very cautious about the conclusions based only on them, as a recent example of redating of one of the Lisht blocks (from Unis to Userkaf) clearly shows.⁵⁷ A fairly objective criterion for dating a royal relief can be the presence of a king's name, but even this assumption has some restrictions.⁵⁸ Sometimes, however, it is a

from a late temple of Isis at Giza, cf. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p.146, n.382). Sometimes an attribution to a royal monument is doubtful as e.g. in the case of a relief in a private collection in Germany, suggested to have come from Unis' mortuary complex (E. Doetsch-Amberger, *Ägyptische Sammlung*, Köln 1987, p.14 (no.16). It preserved the upper part of the king's cartouche, however, the medium quality of the relief and the form of the name (without *z3 R^c(w)*; this latter criterion is not absolute as the form occurs, albeit rarely, in the king's mortuary complex) would point towards a non-royal monument as a source of the piece (the cartouche being a part of a basilophorous name).

⁵⁵ In D. Arnold's opinion the decoration and texts on the blocks do not include subjects found exclusively in the pyramid temples. He suggested thus the possibility of existence of one or more Old Kingdom temples in the area of El-Lisht, dismantled by Amenemhat I (D. Arnold, *Hypostyle Halls of the Old and Middle Kingdom?*, in: *Studies Simpson*, p.50). A local origin of the Lisht blocks was considered already by W. S. Smith in HESPOK, p.157.

⁵⁶ This refers particularly to the Delta sites like Avaris, Tanis, Pi-Ramesses or Bubastis, where it is often impossible to trace the provenance (local, or from the Memphite necropolis) and the way the blocks were moved. On this subject see: E. Uphill, *Per-Ramesses*, pp.230-232.

⁵⁷ A. Oppenheim, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, no.103, pp.265-266; cf. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, pp.68-74.

⁵⁸ It is not merely a question of a *terminus ante quem non*, given that the names of later kings may occur in the temples of their predecessors (*casus* Neferirkara in Sahura's complex, and possibly also Sahura in the mortuary temple of Userkaf); the additions or recuts may sometimes be not easily discerned. Also, to the contrary, earlier rulers could have been named. We do not possess any evidence comparable with the New Kingdom ancestors' lists, but a strange fragment of a relief found in the sun-temple of Niusera (von Bissing, Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, III, pl.22, no.348) shows the lower part of a serekh with the royal name [...] *m3^ct*. Only two names can be restored: those of Sneferu or Userkaf, neither one easily explicable at this place. This example is important as it includes *serekh*, which normally ceased to be used after a king's death. The occurrence of the cartouche names of the earlier rulers in the temples of their successors may be by far more common, given the amount of basilophorous names of the officials recorded on the temple walls.

non-existence of a name that suggests the date.⁵⁹ Moreover - and this is a crucial point for every diachronic study of the development schemes - most of the causeways and valley temples remain unexcavated,⁶⁰ and the problem of obvious gaps in the evidence is in fact even greater: we still miss the localization of some royal tombs (beside the kings of the Second Dynasty, this applies to e.g. Sanakhte-Nebka, Huni, Shepseskara, Menkauhor and most of the kings of the Eight Dynasty).⁶¹ Even the number and sequence of the rulers are sometimes still doubtful (the obvious and most important gap covers the Third Dynasty after Netjerykhet, but the question of the position, and even the existence of Bicheris/Nebka(ra) /Baka (= Baufra?) and Thamphytys in the Fourth Dynasty, or Userkara in the Sixth Dynasty may also be mentioned).⁶²

⁵⁹ The case of a block found at Tanis. According to P. Montet (*Écrit à Tanis au printemps de 1956*, *RevArch* 1 (1958), 1-20): 'Le cartouche est vide, mais le personnage, les hieroglyphes et les termes évoque irrésistiblement l'ancien Empire. Nous avons à peu près le quart d'une scène ou un roi et le dieu Seth se faisant face'. However, a custom of leaving the cartouche empty, to be filled with the royal name later, is not known for the Old Kingdom, might point towards a Late Period (parallels can be noticed on the gate from palace of Apries at Memphis).

⁶⁰ For details see below the catalogue of monuments (Part II). Sometimes the funerary complex was under research but this has not resulted in a proper publication. The most regrettable example of such an instance is the pyramid complex of Djedkara Isesi. Although the mortuary temple was excavated almost sixty years ago only single blocks have been pictured or mentioned thus far and the whole corpus of decorated fragments still awaits its publication (cf. below ch. II.4).

⁶¹ Cf. e.g. Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, pp.31-40, 79, 175, 179-80, 203-4.

⁶² The Third Dynasty: N. Swelim, *Some Problems on the History of the Third Dynasty*, Alexandria 1983; G. Dreyer, *Der erste König der 3. Dynastie*, in: *Fs Stadelmann*, pp.31-4. Nebka(ra)/Baka: J. Černý, *Name of the King of the Unfinished Pyramid at Zawiyet el-Aryan*, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), pp.25-9; I. E. S. Edwards, *Chephren's Place in the Fourth Dynasty*, in: *Studies Shore*, pp.97-105. Userkara: H. Goedicke, in: *LÄ VI*, col.901; M. Baud, V. Dobrev, *De nouvelles annales de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Une "Pierre de Palerme" pour la VIe dynastie*, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), pp.59-62.

I.4. DEFINITIONS AND TERMINOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

The proper expression denotes clearly the subject of the research as well as can suggest the mode of approach. The problem of use of the term 'pyramid' by Egyptologists as a heuristic fiction of some kind was discussed by N. Swelim.⁶³ It appears that no satisfactory definition can be proposed, as the monuments referred to as 'pyramids' are of different construction, form and purpose; on the other hand, some buildings that are not called pyramids should be defined so in view of their apparent similarity in design or function (hence the term 'pyramid-like monuments' proposed by Swelim).

Similar problems are posed by the subject of the royal mortuary complexes. 'Pyramid complex', 'pyramid precinct', 'pyramid enclosure', 'royal tomb complex', 'royal mortuary (funerary) complex', 'royal cult complex', 'pyramid temples', 'mortuary temples' among others, are widespread terms used by scholars somewhat intuitively, without presenting precise and full definitions. These terms have different scopes of meaning and they refer to different levels of reality (for example a 'royal mortuary complex' could mean an institution as a whole, or its physical appearance i.e. the buildings only, in this latter instance it may, or may not include the valley structures – town, palace, workshops and agricultural installations etc.). Without an attempt to explore the subject in full (and to present consistent and complete definitions) I feel obliged, however, to make a few remarks, which might clear some questions raised by the topic and its treatment in this work. Firstly, as already signalled in chapter I.1, it is more proper to speak of a 'royal tomb' than of a 'pyramid'. The reason for this is simple: not all the pyramids were royal tombs (and some of them were not tombs at all, as

⁶³ N. Swelim, *Pyramid Research from the Archaic to the Second Intermediate Period. Lists, Catalogues and Objectives*, in: *Hommages Leclant*, pp.337-349.

proven by the example of the so-called Minor Step Pyramids⁶⁴). On the other hand, some royal tombs of the Old Kingdom bear different shape. It seems probable that the Egyptians themselves regarded all the forms of the superstructures of royal tombs: step, bent and true pyramids, mounds, mastabas or giant sarcophagi, as belonging to one category of monuments.⁶⁵ The choice of this or other form probably did not reflect fundamental changes of ideology, but only an emphasis laid on various points (and sometimes possibly reflected a king's short reign). It is quite obvious, moreover, that the royal tombs of the Old Kingdom are a stage only in the long line of development of royal burials from the Archaic Period through the New Kingdom (at least, the evidence for later periods is full of gaps, but the pyramids of the Kushite rulers may prove the strength of these traditions). The basic idea was a concept of a twofold role of a tomb (either royal or non-royal one), as reflected in the architecture: a tomb should comprise a resting place for the body and its equipment (a burial chamber), and a place where the offerings to the dead are made (a funerary chapel).⁶⁶ This simple rule does not mean a sharp division between the two parts because both of them, connected architecturally by a false door, could serve a double purpose: to

⁶⁴ G. Dreyer, W. Kaiser, *Zu den kleinen Stufenpyramiden Ober-und Mittelägyptens*, MDAIK 36 (1980), pp.43-59; A. Ćwiek, *Date and Function of the so-called Minor Step Pyramids*, GM 162 (1998), pp.39-52.

⁶⁵ This may be deduced from the fact that a royal tomb, even in the 'classical' phase of true pyramid complexes (Fourth to Sixth Dynasties) could assume the form of a giant, sarcophagus-like mastaba (the Mastabat el-Fara'un of Shepseskaf), a step pyramid (primitive form of Neferirkara's pyramid at Abusir) or a square-based stone mound (the monument of Neferefra, referred to as *j'ṯ* 'primeval hill', 'mound' in the Abusir papyri). Even if the choice of a specific form was forced by the premature death of a king (Neferefra's case), it obviously served its purpose well enough. The discussion of this problem is beyond the scope of this work. One can signalize only that perhaps all the forms represented the idea of a primeval hill and could suite the requirements for a king's burial, if supplemented with proper cult installations.

⁶⁶ This principle was expressed long ago by G. A. Reisner thus: 'Every substructure [grave] implies a superstructure which marks the site of the grave and provides a place where the offerings to the dead may be presented' (Reisner, *Development*, p. 237). Cf. Kanawati, *Tomb and Its Significance*, passim; Bolshakov, *Man and His Double*, pp.23-28.

enable a transfiguration of the dead into a perfect being, and to secure a continuous supply of vital essence for his/her *ka*. In the royal context this is reflected in a direct link between what is inside and outside a pyramid. On a practical level (and for this study especially) this means that one has to take into account the evidence (including relief decoration) from inside the royal tombs, not only from the mortuary temples. The role of the decoration (or more widely speaking, the ideological programme) of the tomb complex in fulfilling the abovementioned aims is far more complicated than only to show presenting offerings. This problem will be treated to some extent in Part V, but it is to be emphasized now that some general ideas are shared by royal and non-royal sphere, though at the same moment a royal tomb shows all its peculiarities of decorum reflecting the unique position of the king.

Another problem follows such a definition of a tomb, namely the question of ‘cenotaphs’. Although the term itself, borrowed from the Classical archaeology, seems not too appropriate for the reality of ancient Egypt (though widely used), one has to face the problem of existence of multiple tomb complexes attributed to one ruler. This is obviously exceptional (the example of Thinite royal burials, assumed for a long time to have taken place at both Saqqara and Abydos, is no longer valid),⁶⁷ but *casus* Sneferu (three full scale and ready-for-burial pyramids with subsidiary installations at Meidum, Dahshur South and Dahshur North) should be

⁶⁷ Various ideas were expressed concerning the existence of tombs and ‘cenotaphs’ at these two cemeteries and their mutual relationship. However, after new discoveries made at Umm el-Qaab and re-evaluation of the evidence from other necropolises the long lasting discussion on the royal burial grounds of the Archaic Period seems to come to an end (see e.g. Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, 78-79). There can be now no doubt that the First Dynasty kings were buried at Abydos, and all the tombs at North Saqqara (as well as famous ‘Menes’ tomb’ at Naqada) are only the élite ones. The situation is a little more complicated for the Second Dynasty, when the first three rulers seem to have had their sepulchers at Saqqara, while two last kings of the dynasty were buried again at Umm el-Qaab. Nevertheless, no Thinite king may be at present credited with two burial places (for a suggested exception for Khasekhemui see below). The vast bibliography on the earlier discussion of the subject is collected in: Smith, *Art and Architecture*, p.255, n.14. For details, see *infra* Chapter II.1.

explained. It seems that all Sneferu's monuments were intended to serve simultaneously, though the king could be buried in one of them only. Uncertainties about the final resting place of the king do not help to resolve the problem. Even if one accepts the suggestions by R. Stadelmann and D. Wildung that the Bent Pyramid and Meidum were respectively: a 'ka-pyramid' and the divine king's temple (perhaps not planned as such from the beginning, but only re-used in that manner),⁶⁸ it still poses the question of terminology, unless one would exclude these monuments from the analysis of royal tomb complexes. This is not possible, however, as they bear similar characteristics to the North Pyramid, with the most important feature: burial chambers (on the contrary, the Seila monument or the solar temples of the Fifth Dynasty do not include anything comparable, and do not need to be evaluated as 'tombs'). What to do, if (as one could hypothetically assume) two of these monuments were intended to help transfiguration processes and to serve as cult places after the king's death? May one call these pyramids tombs if they did lack a body?⁶⁹ Perhaps it would be thus more prudent to speak of 'mortuary complexes' (one may refer to 'mortuary cult', not necessarily connected to the actual burial place) or 'funerary complexes' than of 'tomb complexes'.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ See infra ch. II.3.

⁶⁹ This important terminological question was broadly discussed by H. Münch, dealing with the difficult case of Hetepheres' 'tomb' (H.-H. Münch, *Categorizing Archaeological Finds: the Funerary Material of Queen Hetepheres I at Giza*, *Antiquity* 74 (2000), pp.898-908).

⁷⁰ The terms 'mortuary' and 'funerary' are generally used by archaeologists in somewhat wider sense than the common 'connected with a funeral' or so, see e.g. W. Bray, D.Trump, *The Penguin Dictionary of Archaeology*, 2nd ed., Harmondsworth 1982, p.163 (s.v. 'mortuary enclosure', 'mortuary house'). This is especially true for Egyptology, where 'funerary' and 'mortuary' mean 'related to the beliefs on the death and the afterlife' or 'related to the posthumous existence of a man'. It is thus common to speak of 'funerary texts' and 'mortuary cult' (see for example I. Shaw, P. Nicholson, *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, London 1995, pp. 104-5, 233-4, 291-2, s.v. 'funerary beliefs', 'funerary texts', 'pyramids', 'tombs'). In respect to the royal tomb complexes both terms are used interchangeably.

Next problem to be concerned, immediately following the above remarks, is a traditional distinction of ‘divine temples’ and ‘mortuary temples’. As clearly shown by B. Shafer, such a distinction is somewhat artificial,⁷¹ and he is inclined to use such a term as ‘royal cult complex’ denoting also the so-called ‘memorial temples’ or ‘temples of millions of years’ of later periods of Egyptian history.⁷² Some of those monuments were connected to the royal burials, whence some were not. This parallels the existence in the Old Kingdom of multiple ‘mortuary’ complexes and the provincial ‘houses of *ka*’; thus one could argue for all of them belonging to one sphere of ‘royal cult complexes’, which is in fact a view adapted in this work. However, for the structures in the Memphite necropolis including temples and real or symbolic (?) tombs ‘a royal mortuary complex’ seems to be an appropriate term.

Another question concerns a proper meaning of the word ‘royal’. The distinction between royal and non-royal sphere in the everyday life, and in the funerary contexts as well, was essential to the Egyptians. This distinction is usually rigid and clear. It is especially well visible in the principles of decorum, and it usually poses no problem for an investigator to distinguish between both spheres.⁷³ There is, however, an important exception to this

⁷¹ ‘Inasmuch as “mortuary” cult complexes like the pyramids served the god of the state embodied in the king, they were part of the divine cultus. Inasmuch as the sanctuary of cult complexes like Edfu symbolized the place of the sun god’s death as well as birth, “divine” temples had a significant mortuary aspect.’ (B. Shafer, *Temples, Priests, and Rituals*, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, p.4).

⁷² ‘“Royal cult complex” describes temples with a cultus of the divine king (usually deceased), including those temples where a cultus of another god existed alongside the *primary* or *coequal* cultus of the divine king.’ (Shafer, *loc.cit.* in the preceding note).

⁷³ This subject was extensively explored by J. Baines in several articles on the rules of decorum, and the discourse of kings with the élite (see e.g. Baines, *Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions*, *JARCE* 27 (1990), pp.1-23; *id.*, *Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation*, in: *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, pp.3-47; *id.*, *Origins of Egyptian Kingship*, in: *ibid.*, pp.95-156; *id.*, *Kingship Before Literature*, in: *Selbstverständnis und Realität*, pp.125-174). Baines defines decorum as ‘the rules which bar certain types of representation from associating freely and occurring freely in different contexts’ (*Fecundity Figures*, p.278).

rule: the program of the mortuary complexes of queens (and, to a lesser extent, queens' iconography elsewhere). It is obvious even at first glance that these monuments share a number of features with kings' mortuary complexes, starting from the architecture (pyramid tomb and other elements of the precinct following the same pattern) through the decoration (scenes and iconographic elements usually prohibited to a non-royal) and the Pyramid Texts. Moreover, the cult of some of the queens may have been served by *hmw-ntr*.⁷⁴ These features stress an exceptional role played by a queen as wife and mother in the ideology of kingship. But one has to face the problem that only some of the royal ladies were credited with such 'royal' prerogatives, and why those were chosen is not at all clear. One may assume that kings' mothers, and especially those who acted as regents, entered the sphere usually reserved for rulers. This assumption probably does not explain all the cases but, nevertheless, stresses the importance of the funerary complexes of queens and the ambiguity of the term 'royal'. Is the tomb of queen Khamerernebty II at Giza⁷⁵ a royal monument? It seems almost certain that it should not be termed so. We speak of 'royal children' or 'royal women' but by no means their tombs become automatically 'royal'.⁷⁶ But what to say about the Abusir tomb complex of Khentkaus, resembling so closely a king's complex? She was 'mother of the two Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt', or maybe even 'mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (and) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt'.⁷⁷ Is it a royal monument

⁷⁴ D. Magee, A *hmt-ntr* of Queen Iput I. Fragments copied by Battiscombe Gunn from a tomb at Saqqara, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.229-240.

⁷⁵ The much controversial 'tomb of count Galarza' (PM III², pp. 273-274). For the discussion on its owner(s) see: M. Baud, La tombe de la reine-mère *ḥ-mrr-Nbtj I^{er}*, BIFAO 5 995), pp.11-21; id., The Tombs of Khamerernebty I and II at Giza, GM 164 (1998), pp.7-14; G. Callender, P. Janosi, MDAIK 53 (1997), pp.1-22.

⁷⁶ The complicated relations inside the royal family and the roles played by its members in the ideology of kingship have been discussed extensively in Baud, *Famille royale*.

⁷⁷ *Mwt nswt bjtj nswt bjtj*. The question of the proper interpretation of this title (titles?) remains open (M. Verner, Khentkaus I, Khentkaus II and the title *mwt nswt bity nswt bity* (or: *nswt bity, mwt nswt bity*), GM 173 (1999), pp.215-224; cf. id., *Khentkaus*, p.168ff.;

only in the case she was a ruling monarch, or do the architecture and decoration provide enough support for this designation even if she was not a king? Following this, one should assume that the term 'royal funerary complex' has a wider meaning than simply a 'king's funerary complex', although we still lack the exact definition of the word 'royal'; a situation that can lead to inconsistencies in using this term, also in this work. In principle only the monuments erected for kings will be referred to as 'royal funerary complexes'. There is no doubt, however, that the subject of queens' mortuary complexes cannot be left aside.

It may be found surprising but an obvious, at first glance, term 'relief decoration' deserves some remarks concerning its denotation. As long as one is dealing with monumental scenes on the temples' walls, there is no need to precise its scope; it is used in accordance with a common sense. There is a technical and ideological difference between raised and sunk relief, although this is only partly valid for the Old Kingdom, when the sunk relief except for the inscriptions of the gates is extremely rare.⁷⁸ However, when the wider architectural context is concerned, many doubts occur. It is often assumed, for instance, that the only reliefs in the funerary precinct of Netjerykhet are the six stelae in the subterranean chambers under the pyramid and the South Tomb. The cobra frieze, dummy doors and fences, replicas of wooden logs, as well as half-columns (all of them to be noticed in the Step Pyramid enclosure), may belong to a category of '*elements d'architecture*'. The same may refer to the *djed*-frieze that appears in the Temple T and in the underground apartments. But how the *kheker*-frieze should be interpreted? Its

id. with G. Callender, Two Old Kingdom Queens named Khentkaus, KMT 8, No.3, Fall 1997, pp.28-35).

⁷⁸ C. Vandersleyen, Relief, LÄ V (1984), 224-229; R. Gundlach, Tempelrelief, LÄ VI, 407-410. For a diachronic survey of the Egyptian reliefs see G. Galassi, Il bassorilievo egizio, Critica d'Arte, Firenze 10 (1955), pp.302-356 (the author's periods 4 to 7 covering Dynasties Third through Sixth). For an important example of Pepy II's quartzite pillars decorated in sunk relief see below ch. IV.2.

first occurrence (above the entrances to the South and North Buildings) has nothing in common with the decoration of the wall of a room, but the frieze is executed in relief and certainly should not be ignored, as it (probably) played an important ideological role. The boundary markers of Netjerykhet (in both forms of a truncated cone and a round-topped stela), decorated with names of the king and two royal ladies facing the *jmj-wt* 'fetish' (though removed in the later phase of construction of the complex), and the extraordinary inscriptions and symbols on bases of Netjerykhet statues should not be overlooked. The lion-altars found by Mariette and the *Löwenmöbel* from the entrance corridor are sculptured, but it is mostly a high relief.⁷⁹ The ceilings of the chambers and small blocks found under the pyramid and in the substructure of the South Tomb are decorated with stars. Already in that time (and even more in later complexes), it is difficult to discern between text and representation in the decoration of gates (cf. a jamb of Netjerykhet with snake-figures, found near the pyramid of Teti). Another feature commonly met in the Step Pyramid precinct is a distinctive panelling of the temenos wall. Forms and meaning of panelling, the *serekh* or the so-called 'palace façade' decoration, as well as the ceiling stars (all of them occurring in various parts of the mortuary complexes, including the internal chambers of the pyramids), form a separate subject, which will be treated later.

This short survey of the evidence, in one monument only, shows that 'relief decoration' is a term with rather fluent limits. An absolute, clear and sharp distinction between architecture, sculpture and reliefs is perhaps not possible; in fact it is perhaps not necessary, for reasons stated already in Chapter I.1. Why we should not confine the research (and the definition) to the reliefs meant as a wall decoration in the temples? Simple examples of the

⁷⁹ A clear distinction between sculpture in round and relief seems obvious, but in fact the categories of a 'high relief' and an 'engaged statue' are sometimes quite close one to another, as e.g. the Menkaura triads show. See the discussion of 'sunk half-statues' in Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, pp.74-75.

decoration of altars in the courts, or the stars and panels inside the pyramids, provide an answer.

The last problem to be discussed here concerns the chronological scope of the work and the denotation of the term 'Old Kingdom'. In principle I follow the long established scheme assigning to this period dynasties from Third through Eighth.⁸⁰ Although the end of the Old Kingdom, in respect to the discussion of the royal funerary complexes and their decoration, is a distinctive border,⁸¹ and the monument of Kakara Ibi may be defined as the latest one to be analysed (at least for the moment, before the discoveries in the field supply some new evidence), the situation at the beginning of the period is less univocal. It is quite obvious that the reign of Netjerykhet, the first king of the Third Dynasty, with a large number of unique and distinctive features, marks the turn of the Archaic state into the mature form of the Old Kingdom kingship. It might be discussed, however, to what extent the foundations of this had been laid by Netjerykhet's predecessor Khasekhemui. He appears to have been the first ruler who used to build of stone on a bigger scale, and the first one to decorate large surfaces of the monuments with reliefs.⁸² Netjerykhet was possibly a son, and certainly a pious follower of Khasekhemui. The reigns of these two kings form together a transitional period, with no apparent break between them,⁸³ notwithstanding the fact of moving the capital and the royal necropolis back to Saqqara and constructing the extraordinary Step Pyramid complex.

⁸⁰ E.g. the chapter by J. Malek in *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* ('The Old Kingdom', pp.89-117).

⁸¹ Following a clear distinction between the Memphite and Herakleopolitan Kingdoms (J. Malek, *A Chronological Scheme and Terminology for the Early Part of the Egyptian History. A Contribution to a Discussion*, DE 15 (1985), 37-55).

⁸² One may refer to the opinion by I. E. S. Edwards that Khasekhemui 'was culturally the forerunner of the Old Kingdom' (CAH 3,1 Part 2, (1971), p.34).

⁸³ *Pace Swelim, Third Dynasty*, pp.14-15.

I.5. ROYAL MORTUARY COMPLEXES OF THE ARCHAIC PERIOD AND THE OLD KINGDOM – AN OVERVIEW. STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COMPLEX

A summary overview of the established evidence and up-to-date interpretations of the structure and function of early royal mortuary complexes seems indispensable before the relief programme is analysed in details and some new proposals made. The discussion of the proper dating of the beginning of the Old Kingdom in the preceding chapter should not shadow understanding of the fundamental fact that the foundations of the ideology of Egyptian kingship were laid in a remote past and firmly established in the Thinite Period.⁸⁴ Both this world role of the pharaoh and the royal eschatology were expressed in the Archaic architecture, art and texts in a number of ways reflected later in the programme of the royal mortuary complexes of the Old Kingdom. Thus a thorough analysis of the earlier evidence seems indispensable. Like the Egyptians themselves, we should start from Menes – or even earlier.

ABYDENE COMPLEXES

Without doubt the origins of royal funerary complexes of the Old Kingdom could be traced back to the formative period of the Egyptian state. A continuous development of Upper Egyptian élite tombs during the Naqada period (reflecting complicating social relations and emergence of a

⁸⁴ H. Goedicke, *Zur Königs-konzept der Thinitenzeit*, SAK 15 (1988), pp.123-141; J. Baines, *Kingship. Definition of Culture, and Legitimation*, in: D. O'Connor, D. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, Leiden 1995, pp.3-47. According to Baines royal legitimation was linked to the divine sphere from the very beginning; for a view that the idea of divine filiation occurred as late as the Second Dynasty see E. Endesfelder, *Götter, Herrscher, König – zur Rolle der Ideologie bei der Formierung des ägyptischen Königtums*, in: *Ägyptische Tempel*, pp.47-54.

centralised state) resulted in appearance of chieftain tombs at Hierakonpolis and elsewhere, and eventually led to founding of rulers' necropolis Umm el-Qaab at Abydos.⁸⁵ One of the earliest tombs there (U-j), the burial place of the so-called Scorpion I, established a pattern of a royal tomb for later generations. It was a mudbrick, multi-roomed building, copying some features of a house. The tombs of other rulers of Dynasty 0 and the one of Horus Aha seem to be simplified versions of it. Revolutionary innovations were introduced under this king. The first 'funerary palace' was built of brick at the edge of the desert, close to the temple of Khentymentiu.⁸⁶ Since that moment the pattern of a bipartite tomb complex (a tomb proper, housing the burial, and a 'funerary palace' or 'funerary enclosure', eventually a mortuary temple, where cult of the king was maintained) would repeat regularly. A common feature of the Archaic royal funerary complexes is a territorial separation of the two parts, joined together for the first time in the Step Pyramid enclosure. Subsidiary burials appeared for the first time under Djer, eventually occurring around the tombs and the enclosures. Tomb complexes at Abydos underwent some developments. The most important ones include the introduction of a staircase leading to the burial chamber and the addition of a serdab or statue room in the reign of Den, as well as disappearance of the subsidiary graves after the First Dynasty. The Second Dynasty tombs (especially the tomb of Khasekhemui, which seems to refer to the plan of

⁸⁵ For an overview see Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, pp.75-77; Spencer, *Early Egypt*, pp.71-84, Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, pp.139ff.

⁸⁶ On these monuments, described variously in the literature ('forts', '*fortresses*', 'funerary palaces', 'funerary enclosures', 'valley enclosures', '*Talbezirke*' etc.), see: W. Helck, Zu den 'Talbezirken' in Abydos, MDAIK 28 (1972), pp.95-99; W. Kaiser, Zu den königlichen Talbezirken in Abydos und zur Baugeschichte des Djoser-Grabmals, MDAIK 25 (1969), pp.1-25; B. Kemp, Abydos and the Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty, JEA 52 (1966), pp.13-14; id., The Egyptian First Dynasty Royal Cemetery, *Antiquity* 41 (1967), pp.22-32; J.-P. Lauer, À propos des vestiges des murs à redans encadrés par 'the tombs of the courtiers' et des 'forts' d'Abydos, MDAIK 25 (1969), pp.79-84; D. O'Connor, New Funerary Enclosures (*Talbezirke*) of the Early Dynastic Period at Abydos, JARCE 26 (1989), pp.51-86.

subterranean hypogea at Saqqara) differ slightly from the earlier ones. The common feature is, however, an indistinctive superstructure, that in the case of most of the tombs seem to be simply a low brick and gravel mound, barely visible above the desert surface.⁸⁷ The brick funerary enclosures became in the Second Dynasty larger and more architecturally complicated (including double wall and an internal building, called a ‘token palace’ by D. Arnold). Like at the Umm el-Qaab tombs, the subsidiary burials, common in the First Dynasty, are no longer present. An important feature was discovered in the Shunet el-Zebib (the funerary enclosure of Khasekhemui). It is a brick-covered mound, sited slightly off the middle of the enclosure, called a ‘protopyramid’ by D. O’Connor. A fleet of twelve wooden boats, buried under mud brick superstructures was discovered to the east of Shunet el-Zebib. Their exact date is uncertain, but they seem to be the forerunners of the boat burials at the Old Kingdom pyramids.⁸⁸

The Abydene funerary complex comprised thus two separated parts: a tomb, located far in the desert, and an enclosure, serving a funeral and/or cult purposes, located close to the cultivated area and the early temple.⁸⁹ This scheme could be valid for Hierakonpolis as well, though the tomb that ought to be complemented with the ‘Fort’, has not been discovered yet. It is difficult to evaluate the situation at Saqqara. Although the possibility of existence of ‘Talbezirke’ of Hetepsekhemui, Raneb and Khasekhemui was

⁸⁷ G. Dreyer, *Zur Rekonstruktion der Oberbauten der Königsgräber der 1. Dynastie in Abydos*, MDAIK 47 (1991), pp.93-104. Recent discoveries at the tomb of Khasekhemui proved, however, that its tumulus was cased with stone (see below, chapter II.1).

⁸⁸ D. O’Connor, *Boat Graves and Pyramid Origins*, Expedition 33 (1991), pp.5-17; id. *The Earliest Royal Boat Graves*, EA 6 (1995), pp.3-7; recent research results suggest a date contemporary with the so-called Western Mastaba (D. Sharp, *Funerary Enclosures. Early Dynastic ‘Forts’ Reexamined*, KMT 12,1 (2001), p.65).

⁸⁹ Stadelmann, (in: *Studies Simpson*, p.794) made an interesting suggestion that this separation of the tomb and the mortuary temple, which had its parallel in the New Kingdom royal burial customs in Thebes, was a specific Upper Egyptian tradition.

raised by R. Stadelmann,⁹⁰ the identification of the enclosures and their related tombs remains much doubtful. Gisir el-Mudir and the L-shaped enclosures date probably from the Third Dynasty,⁹¹ and the attribution of the Western Massifs in the Step Pyramid complex to Khasekhemui⁹² rests on uncertain ground. The occurrence of cult enclosures at Saqqara can by no means be proved at the moment.⁹³ The only firm evidence for the Archaic royal tombs, beside non-contemporaneous sources, are two sets of subterranean galleries near the Unis' pyramid, ascribed to Hetepsekhemui and Ninetjer, and a stela of Raneb, coming probably from his tomb nearby. Various suggestions about the superstructures and cult installations of the tombs were made,⁹⁴ but the field research failed, in fact, to provide any reliable data.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Pyramiden, pp.31-34; id. in: *Mélanges Mokhtar*, vol.II, pp.295-307. Cf. N. Swelim, Some Remarks on the Great Rectangular Monuments of Middle Saqqara, MDAIK 47 (1991), pp.389-402.

⁹¹ The location, orientation (different from Netjerykhet's complex, but exactly the same as Sekhemkhet's), scale, and construction features of the Gisir el-Mudir point to its position in a sequence of monuments after the Step Pyramid and The Unfinished Pyramid. Gisir el-Mudir and L-shaped enclosure would be unfinished (?) Third Dynasty step pyramid complexes (Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *APM*, II, p.51; O'Connor, *JARCE* 26 (1989), p.83, n.60; cf. Kemp, *Antiquity* 41, pp.30-31). For a contrary view (dating to the Second Dynasty) see I. Mathieson, A. Tavares, Preliminary Report of the National Museums of Scotland Saqqara Survey Project 1990-1, *JEA* 79 (1993), pp.28-31.

⁹² R. Stadelmann, Die Oberbauten der Königsgräber der 2. Dynastie in Sakkara, in: *Mélanges Mokhtar*, II, pp.295-307.

⁹³ This refers also to a presumed Den's cult precinct (W. Kaiser, Ein Kultbezirke des Königs Den in Sakkara, MDAIK 41 (1985), pp.47-60). It is probable that the line of tombs taken to be a part of subsidiary installations of the enclosure were in fact connected to a large First Dynasty mastaba.


⁹⁴ Stadelmann, in: *Mélanges Mokhtar*, pp. 298-303; W. Kaiser, Zu den Königsgräbern der 2. Dynastie in Sakkara und Abydos, in: *Esays Goedicke*, pp.309-316.

⁹⁵ The published informations on the results of recent research in the area of Ninetjer's tomb are not only rudimentary, but also misleading. A good example is the reported discovery of a brick stamped with the name in a cartouche, deciphered by the excavator as *Nfr-snd-R(w)*. It was interpreted immediately as coming from a building of the Second Dynasty king Sened; it was suggested that Nefer-senedj-Ra was his *nsw bjtj* name (J. Leclant, G. Clere, *Or* 63,3 (1988), p.330; repeated by Vercoutter, *L'Egypte et la vallée du Nil*, p.227). This seems highly improbable for at least three reasons: 1. Stamped bricks occur for the first time at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. 2. Cartouches surrounding royal names are in use since the reign of Sanakhte-Nebka of the Third

Little can be said about the decoration programme of the Archaic royal tombs and funerary enclosures. The evidence is much limited (see chapter II.1), the only exception being the so-called ‘Fort’ of Khasekhemui at Abydos. Although the meaning and function of this monument still raises some doubts, it will be argued that it marks an important stage in the development of royal mortuary complexes, and that it was, even more than other ‘funerary palaces’, a predecessor of the mortuary temples of the Old Kingdom.

‘DJOSER TYPE’⁹⁶ COMPLEXES

The reign of Netjerykhet and building of the Step Pyramid enclosure at Saqqara marked the beginning of the era of step pyramids. It is generally assumed that after a presumed introduction of a tomb inside a funerary enclosure (the idea signalled already by the so-called protopyramid in the Shunet el-Zebib of Khasekhemui), the dominating form of the royal mortuary complex of the Third Dynasty became a rectangular, N-S oriented precinct, with a step pyramid surrounded by subsidiary buildings (fig.2). However, the only monument of this kind largely finished in the antiquity and much researched by the scholars now remains the Step Pyramid complex. To what extent other complexes followed its pattern is not clear. The superstructures and underground galleries of the pyramid of Sekhemkhet at Saqqara and the Layer Pyramid at Zawiyet el-Aryan are easily comparable with the Step Pyramid, but the evidence on the surrounding buildings is scanty. Except for

Dynasty. The alleged Second Dynasty examples are not contemporary at the best, but probably are simply forgeries. 3. The form *Snd* (written with a truncated duck sign), attested in the New Kingdom royal lists (Abydos and Turin), is a late, corrupted version. The king was referred to as *Snd*  still in the Fourth Dynasty, as the inscriptions of Shery prove (e.g. Mariette, *Mastabas*, 92-94). The brick most probably date from the New Kingdom or later, and one may ask whether the name *Nfr-snd-R^c(w)*, (otherwise the type not attested before the Fourth Dynasty), could have anything in common with *Snd* of the lists.

⁹⁶ Following the nomenclature of Arnold and Lehner, cf. *The Complete Pyramids*, passim.

the overall similarity of the rectangular precincts, only the existence of the South Tomb and the arrangement of the gates and bastions in the temenos wall of Sekhemkhet's complex are the features that can be related to the Step Pyramid pattern. Beside the two mentioned ones, other mortuary complexes of the followers of Netjerykhet offer almost nothing in that matter, as their number, localization, dating and attribution are far from certain. One could theoretically take into consideration the Gisir el-Mudir and L-shaped enclosures at West Saqqara, but they need much more research to establish their architectural form and proper dating. Thus the Step Pyramid complex of Netjerykhet is in fact the only fully explored case of the 'Djoser type' or 'typical Third Dynasty pyramid complex', and the question how far was it 'typical' remains open. This is particularly important when analysing the function of the building to the North of the pyramid, interpreted as either a mortuary temple⁹⁷ or a model palace,⁹⁸ and when looking for parallels to Netjerykhet's reliefs in the subterranean parts of the complex (the stela of Qahedjet).

The question of localization of the tomb of Huni, the last king of the Third Dynasty, is still disputed. After the rebuttal (with convincing arguments) of the long-standing hypothesis attributing to him the first phase of the Meidum pyramid, three other sites (Abu Roash, Saqqara and Dahshur) were considered.⁹⁹ With the decisive evidence lacking, one can only suggest with some degree of certainty that the form of the superstructure of Huni's tomb should be that of a step pyramid. On the contrary, one can say nothing about the shape and character of the precinct. Both assumptions come from the observation that at the beginning of Sneferu's reign the step pyramid was

⁹⁷ J.-P. Lauer, *Premier temple du culte funéraire en Egypte*, BIFAO 80 (1980), pp.45-67; Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.65; id., *The development of the pyramid temple in the Fourth Dynasty*, in: *Temple in Ancient Egypt*, p.2.

⁹⁸ Arnold, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp.42, and n.44 (p.262). Cf. Ricke, *BÄBA* 4, pp.101-102.

⁹⁹ For details see chapter II.2.

still a dominating form of a royal monument,¹⁰⁰ and that at the same moment the form of the pyramid precinct, as well as the position of the main cult-place, had already changed.¹⁰¹

‘CLASSICAL’ PYRAMID COMPLEXES

The reign of Sneferu marks one of the most important stages in the development of the Egyptian civilisation. The number of innovations in various areas established then firmly for generations to come is without parallel. Changes in the religion, ideology of kingship, administrative system, were related to economical and technological development.¹⁰² This situation enabled building of giant pyramids and continuous experimenting with funerary architecture that eventually led to the creation of a ‘standard’ or ‘classical’ Old Kingdom pyramid complex (fig.3). It comprises the tomb proper, in form of a true pyramid,¹⁰³ set within an E-W oriented precinct, with a mortuary temple (*hwt-ntr*) at the east side of the pyramid and a valley temple at the edge of the cultivation, joined by a causeway.¹⁰⁴ The valley temple was usually supplemented with harbour installations.¹⁰⁵ To the south

¹⁰⁰ The form of the first two stages of the Meidum monument was that of a step pyramid. Also the pyramid of Seila and the satellite pyramid at South Dahshur had this form.

¹⁰¹ As shown by the orientation and shape of the enclosure, and position of the chapel at Meidum. Also at Seila the offering chapel is situated on the east side of the pyramid, although the existence of another offering-place on the north side should be taken into account (Swelim, *Seila*, op.cit.). On the possibility that the causeway and the valley temple could have occurred already in the Layer Pyramid complex, see M. Lehner, Z500 and The Layer Pyramid of Zawiyet el-Aryan, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.508-510.

¹⁰² On the reign of Sneferu see chapter II.3.

¹⁰³ It could have assumed other forms, however (see n.40 above).

¹⁰⁴ R. Stadelmann, Totentempel, LÄ VI, 694-699.

¹⁰⁵ Either real or dummy ones. The results of recent research at Saqqara and Dahshur suggest that the level of the Nile in the Old Kingdom would have been too low (c.16 m. a.s.l.) to support even seasonal functioning of the ports in front of valley temples (I. Casey, Settlements at South Saqqara, EA 15 (1999), pp.24-25; D. Jeffreys, High and Dry? Survey of the Memphite Escarpment, EA 19 (2001), pp.15-16; S. Seidlmayer, personal communication). For an overall survey of the subject see R. Klemm, D. Klemm, A. Murr, Zur Lage und Funktion von Hafenanlagen an den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches, SAK 26 (1998), pp.173-189.

or southeast of the main pyramid a satellite (or *ka-*) pyramid was situated,¹⁰⁶ and boat burials could be set in pits around the mortuary temple, along the causeway or southwards from the pyramid. The upper part of a complex was enclosed with a temenos wall. The complex extended to the cultivated area, where a palace, pyramid town and adjoining agriculture installations formed part of the royal domain (*šj*).¹⁰⁷ This architectural pattern survived till the end of the period, but it should be stressed that important changes or exceptions, observed during that time, provoke the question of the proper form of various parts of a funerary complex and their presumed indispensability for the ideological programme. As an example one may recall the burials of boats in the funerary complexes. It is far from certain whether they constituted necessary element of a complex, or could be included by a king at will.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ For a summary of the evidence on satellite pyramids see Lehner, *Pyramid Tomb of Hetepheres*, pp.74-78.

¹⁰⁷ R. Stadelmann, La ville de pyramide à l'Ancien Empire, RdE 33 (1981), pp.67-77; id., Die *Hntjw-š*, der Königsbezirk *š n pr-ʿ3* und die Namen der Grabanlagen der Frühzeit, BIFAO 81 (1981), pp.153-164; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp.141-149; Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, pp.230-237; M. Baud, Le palais en temple. Le culte funéraire des rois d'Abousir, in: *Abusir- Saqqara 2000*, pp.347-360. For the royal *šj* as possible designation of departments of administration see O. Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom*, PhD diss., Colombia Univ. 1982, p.561 ff.

¹⁰⁸ The hypothesis, that the boats were an indispensable part of a king's funerary equipment, seems at first glance to be at variance with the discoveries made hitherto, as only in few of the complexes the boat burials were found. This is, however, a weak argument *ex silentio*. In most of the pyramid complexes no systematic field research has been resumed in this direction. Another problem concerns meaning and function of the boats. Whether they were funeral ships, or sun- and star-barks intended to serve in the Afterlife, one has to consider their occurrence in the queens' (royal? – cf. remarks supra in Chapter 4) context, and possibly even in non-royal funerary establishments (e.g. in the mastabas of Ptahshepses and Kagemni. We leave apart the question of the boat models deposited in tombs). On this subject see: M. Verner, Funerary Boats of Neferirkare and Raneferef, in: *Fs Kàkosy*, pp.587-602; R. S. Bianchi, Raneferef's Carnelian, in: *Essays Te Velde*, pp.29-31. A possibility that the long narrow chapels in the funerary temples (e.g. Chephren's at Giza) housed barques with royal statues (analogous to later royal or divine ones) should also be taken into account, when discussing the role of ships in the programme of the funerary complexes (cf. Ricke, BÄBA 5, p.112; Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, pp.136-137). The name of a building of Sahura *wts nfrw*, found on recently published sealings from the mortuary temple of Neferefra (P. Posener-Kriéger, Un nouveau bâtiment de Sahoure, SEAP 12 (1993), pp.7-16), may refer to such an installation, given that this term is later a common designation of a portable sacred bark.

Another, even more important, example is a valley temple (*Taltempel, le temple de la vallée*).¹⁰⁹ The case of the Bent Pyramid enclosure (the so-called valley temple being rather an intermediate building, a ‘statue temple’; a valley temple proper possibly did not exist) and the situation at Abusir (a ‘usurpation’ of the unfinished causeway and the valley temple of Neferirkara by Niuserra, and a virtual non-existence of a valley temple in the complex of Neferefra)¹¹⁰ seem to contradict the assumption that such a building was an indispensable element of a royal funerary complex. A still not fully explored question is a presumed relation (or even identification) of the valley temples with *mrt*-buildings.¹¹¹

The scheme of a royal funerary complex established by Sneferu underwent multiple developments. It is still disputed if the mortuary temple included an offering room with a false door already at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty,¹¹² or it was introduced during the Fifth Dynasty,¹¹³ possibly as a copy of a non-royal model.¹¹⁴ The assumption of one of these hypotheses is crucial for the proper understanding of the development of the ideological programme. One of important later changes was the addition of the northern

¹⁰⁹ *Le temple d'accueil*, a term reflecting more the functional aspect of the structure, is favoured in the recent French publications. It is translated in Labrousse, *Regards sur une pyramide*, p.58 into English as a ‘Reception Temple’. Compare the *Torbau* of L. Borchardt.

¹¹⁰ See chapter II.4. The examples of Neferirkara and Neferefra are highly instructive in this respect. The evidence of the papyri archives suggests that the complexes served the cult without any observable difficulties coming from the fact of non-existence of valley temples.

¹¹¹ Wb II, 108,9. For the list of sources and the discussion see W. Barta, *Zur Lokalisierung und Bedeutung des mrt-Bauten*, ZÄS 110 (1983), pp.98-104; cf. Zibelius, *Siedlungen des Alten Reiches*, pp.100-102, and Jones, *Titles*, passim.

¹¹² Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.213; id. *Die Pyramiden des Snofru in Dahschur*, Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen an der nördlichen Steinpyramide mit einem Exkurs über Scheintür oder Stelen im Totentempel des AR, MDAIK 39 (1983), pp.237-241 *contra* Arnold, *Rituale und Pyramidentempel*, MDAIK 33 (1977), pp.1-14.

¹¹³ P. Janosi, *Die Entwicklung und Deutung des Totenopferraumes in den Pyramidentempeln des Alten Reiches*, in: *Ägyptische Tempel*, pp.143-163.

¹¹⁴ D. Arnold, *Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms*, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp.59-61, 71-72.

chapel.¹¹⁵ A period of intensive architectural experiments terminated at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. A case of Userkaf's complex is particularly significant, as it shows to which extent the changes in the traditional arrangement of buildings could have been introduced, if (as one may assume) this was forced by topographical obstacles.¹¹⁶

From Sahura's reign on, the plan and dimensions of various parts of a royal funerary complex have been basically standardized.¹¹⁷ The peculiarities of the Abusir complexes in regard to the valley temples were already noticed. The plan of a mortuary temple¹¹⁸ was to be repeated throughout the rest of the Old Kingdom with only minor variations.¹¹⁹ Two parts of the temple can be distinguished.¹²⁰ The outer temple (front temple, *Verehrungstempel*, *l'avant-*

¹¹⁵ P. Janosi, *Bemerkungen zu den Nordkapellen des Alten Reiches*, SAK 22 (1995), pp.145-168. Again, as is the case with E sanctuary, the exact date of introducing the N chapel is a matter of much debate. Scanty (and difficult to be interpreted) remains at Dahshur South and a hiatus in the evidence caused by almost total destruction of the relevant parts of the Giza and Abu Roash complexes make the discussion inconclusive.

¹¹⁶ Caused by the location of the complex inside the area surrounded by the Dry Moat: Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétepès*, pp.39-40, cf. Swelim, in: *Pyramid Studies*, p.22. In the opinion of M. Lehner (*Complete Pyramids*, p.141) localization of Userkaf's temple to the south of his pyramid is a first example of returning to some elements of 'Djoser type' of pyramid complexes.

¹¹⁷ With an exception of the bigger and stepped pyramid of Neferirkara. Some minor changes of plan made during later reigns included i.a. the addition of the transverse corridor. The development of the mortuary temple seems to be accomplished by Niuserra's time. Cf. Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, pp.18-9, 142-4; Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, pp.164-71.

¹¹⁸ D. Arnold, *Totentempel II*, LÄ VI, 699-706.

¹¹⁹ It should be noted, however, that various reasons, mostly topographical ones (e.g. the existence of earlier structures) may have caused moving the mortuary temple off the E-W axis of the pyramid, and changes in the disposal of the rooms. This is well observed in the complexes of Niuserra and Teti.

¹²⁰ There exists no consensus as to the question where the two parts are to be separated. D. Stockfish (*Die Diesseitsrolle des toten Königs im Alten Reich*, in: *Frühe ägyptische Königtum*, p.6 n.4) assigns a transverse corridor and five statue-chapels to the *Verehrungstempel*, following Rieke, *Bemerkungen AR*, II., p.49, fig.16. On the other hand, V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi (*APM*, VII, p.94) assumed that the chapels as well as the corridor belonged to the 'private' part of a temple. Most of the scholars simply state that the corridor bordered the outer and inner parts.

temple) consisted of an entrance hall¹²¹ (*pr wrw*)¹²² and an open court (*wsht*). A transverse corridor¹²³ (*ʿrrt?*)¹²⁴ separated the court from the inner temple. It led northwards to the magazines and the north court of the pyramid, and southwards to the satellite pyramid. The inner temple (rear temple, *Totenopfertempel*, *temple intime*) was located to the west of the corridor. On the temple axis there was a room with five statue niches (such a niche seem to be referred to as *tpht* ‘cave’ in the Abusir papyri; this designation occurs also at Abu Gurab, in a scene of offering to (presumably a statue of) Ra¹²⁵). The niches were surrounded by a block of solid masonry. To the south of the statue room there was a set of rooms (a vestibule, a square antechamber) leading, after a double turn right, to the main sanctuary or offering room (*zh*), located on the axis of the temple, behind the compound with niches. A false-door was set in the west wall of the sanctuary, against the pyramid side, and the room was equipped with an altar for daily offerings for the dead king. It is possible that a statue of the king was placed in this offering hall, although a decisive evidence for that is lacking. Groups of storerooms (*pr-šn^c ntj m hnw hwt-ntr*) were located in various parts of the temple, some of them adjoining

¹²¹ Often called a vestibule (e.g. Jequier, *Pépi II*, passim; Edwards, *Pyramids*, p.166; Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.166, fig.53). It should be distinguished from the vestibule in the inner temple.

¹²² Various parts of the mortuary temple were identified with ancient Egyptian names known from papyri and other sources by Posener-Kriéger, *Archives d'Abou Sir*, II, pp.493-518.

¹²³ French *couloir transversale*, German *Quergang*. In German publications it is sometimes called *die Breite Halle*, which may cause mixing it with *wsht* (a ‘Broad Hall’).

¹²⁴ A suggestion by P. Posener-Kriéger, *Archives d'Abou Sir*, II, pp. 501. For the discussion of possible meanings and other structures named *ʿrrt* see *ibid.* pp.511-513 and vol.I, p.27-29.

¹²⁵ Von Bissing, Kees, *Re-Heiligtum III*, no.359. It is possible that the fragment represented the group of chapels, as the beginning of another caption *t[ph]* would suggest. However, if this scene reflects a reality of the solar temple it is not easy to point a possible location of those chapels, whether in the upper or in the valley temple (which did not comprise statue niches, contrary to what was found in the valley enclosure of the solar temple of Userkaf). But it is probable that the caption “southern *tpht*” referred to the sanctuary (the *Weltenkammer*). On this subject see more below in Addendum to chapter V.3.

most important rooms where ritual activity took place (the sanctuary, the statue chamber).

Function and meaning of various parts of the complex have been much discussed. It seems obvious that the development of architecture since the archaic tombs was realised gradually, and various elements in different types of complexes may be compared (fig.4). In an attempt to prove the role of the complexes as either the *Jenseitsarchitektur*, or a 'stage for the funeral', comparisons of the plans of mortuary temples with the royal palatial architecture were made (fig.5),¹²⁶ as well as identification of the valley temples with *jbw* or *w^cbt* known from non-royal sources (fig.6).¹²⁷ Some considerations on this subject will be presented in the Conclusions.

¹²⁶ Arnold, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, passim, esp. p.35, fig.3; Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.27. For a general survey of the development of palaces and temples, and the symbolism they shared, see: J. Baines, *Palaces and Temples of Ancient Egypt*, in: J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilisations of the Ancient Near East*, vol.I, New York 1995, pp.303-317.

¹²⁷ Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.26-27.

I.6. ROYAL RELIEFS BEYOND THE FUNERARY COMPLEXES AND OTHER COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

The programme of the mortuary complexes of Old Kingdom kings finds its closest parallel in the architecture and decoration of the Fifth Dynasty sun-temples. The two (of six known from written sources)¹²⁸ investigated archaeologically monuments show striking similarities in their architectural setting and arrangement to the pyramid complexes, consisting of a valley temple, causeway and the upper enclosure with a central structure surrounded by chapels and courtyards. They were even supplied with (model) boats. The most important difference is not, as it seems at first glance, that the central structure did not have the form of a pyramid,¹²⁹ but that this obelisk (or obeliskoid) lacked the burial chamber. This reflects the fact that the solar temples served probably as cult-places of the sun god in his many aspects and not as ‘mortuary complexes’ of Ra, which did not cause the need for a symbolic burial chamber. The cult of the solar god (including his various forms and supplemented with the cult of his female follower, Hathor) was there merged with the cult of the divine king, who perhaps was even identified with the god.¹³⁰ Of the two researched temples, the monument of

¹²⁸ The names of the sun-temples of Userkaf (*Nḥn-R^c(w)*), Sahura (*Šht-R^c(w)*), Neferirkara (*St-jb-R^c(w)*), Raneferef (*Htp-R^c(w)*), Niuserra (*Šsp-jb-R^c(w)*) and Menkauhor (*3ht-R^c(w)*) are attested in title-strings in private tombs, on sealings or graffiti. Only the monuments of Userkaf at North Abusir and Niuserra at Abu Ghurab were discovered and excavated (F. W. von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re*, vols I-II, Berlin and Leipzig 1905-23; id. and Kees H., *Die Große Festdarstellung in Re-Heiligtum des Rathures = Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re*, vol.III, Leipzig 1928; H. Ricke et al., *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf*, vol.I *Der Bau* (BÄBA 7), vol.II, *Die Funde* (BÄBA 8), Wiesbaden 1965-69). For a summary of the evidence on the sun-temples of the Fifth Dynasty see Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, pp.149-52.

¹²⁹ This feature only would not be distinctive enough, cf. n.64 above

¹³⁰ For the discussion of the ideology of the solar temples see W. Kaiser, *Zu den Sonnenheiligtümern der 5. Dynastie*, MDAIK 14 (1956), pp.69-81; E. Winter, *Zur Deutung der Sonnenheiligtümer der 5. Dynastie*, WZKM 54 (1957), pp.222-233. The interconnections between sun-temples and royal mortuary complexes were discussed by

Userkaf does not bear traces of pictorial relief decoration, contrary to what was discovered in the temple of Niuserra. The two great thematic cycles represented in reliefs in the sun temple at Abu Ghurab, the *Heb-Sed* and the Seasons find their parallels in the decoration of royal mortuary complexes (see chapters III.23-25 and III.35 below). Not only the overall schemes reflecting a probable identity of their meaning in both contexts, but also single iconographic elements form ground for comparisons.

The much-discussed blocks from Abu Ghurab form the biggest and most important set of the Old Kingdom royal reliefs beyond the mortuary complexes.¹³¹ Also two other groups of sources provide the material for analyses of ideology and for iconographic comparisons. These are decorated blocks found outside the Memphite necropolis,¹³² either transported from the capital area or coming from provincial temples of divine cult or royal *ka*-houses,¹³³ and the reliefs and graffiti found in the desert sites of quarries or mines, or near the expedition routes. The first group is much less uniform, including whole scenes preserved on a single block, as well as fragmentary architectural elements with titulary. Doubts about the provenance of many of

M. Rochholz, *Sedfest, Sonnenheiligtum und Pyramidenbezirk: zur Deutung der Grabanlagen der Könige der 5. und 6. Dynastie*, in: *Ägyptische Tempel*, pp.255-280.

¹³¹ von Bissing, Kees, *Reliefs*; von Bissing, Kees, *Re-Heiligtum III*; W. Kaiser, *Die kleine Hebseddarstellung im Sonnenheiligtum des Neuserre*, in: *BÄBA 12 Wiesbaden 1971*, pp.87-105; E. Edel, S. Wenig, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-user-Re*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung*, Band VII, Berlin 1974; D. Wildung, *Ni-User-Rê: Sonnenkönig-Sonnengott*, Munich 1985.

¹³² To the material discovered *in situ* in the mortuary complexes, one should add the reliefs found in the Memphite region. Beside the Lisht blocks, these include the finds from Mit Rahina (cf. PM III², pp.835, 872): granite lintel and jambs of Niuserra from his sun-temple (Cairo Temp. Reg. Nos. 22/11/14/17-19); a lintel of Teti (Petrie, *Memphis I*, p.6, pl.3); blocks of Pepy I (PM III², p.872); an Old Kingdom block with a god in a shrine (Petrie, *Memphis II*, p.13, pl.18).

¹³³ This distinction is generally clear, but sometimes it is not possible to establish from which kind of building a fragment came. Besides, our knowledge on the ideology (and on the decoration schemes) of the provincial royal *ka* cult establishments is still basic (see Addendum to ch.V.3).

the blocks at the Delta sites have already been mentioned.¹³⁴ The Old Kingdom reliefs, either coming from the Memphite necropolis or of local origin, were discovered at Bubastis,¹³⁵ Qantir,¹³⁶ Tanis¹³⁷, Buto,¹³⁸ Horbeit(?),¹³⁹ Heliopolis,¹⁴⁰ Herakleopolis,¹⁴¹ Abydos,¹⁴² Koptos,¹⁴³ Tod,¹⁴⁴

¹³⁴ Cf. n.56 above. K. Kroeper considering the history of Tanis remarked that ‘According to the excavators none of the abovementioned Old Kingdom blocks were found in primary context and there is no definite evidence that the site existed before the end of the New Kingdom. Nevertheless it cannot be completely eliminated that some sort of village existed on the spot or in the immediate area long before the foundation of Tanis, especially on considering that huge gezira would have been an ideal location for a settlement or cemetery at almost any times’ (Kroeper, *Settlement in the Nile Delta*, p.149). Such a remark might apply to many of the Delta sites.

¹³⁵ PM IV, pp.25, 28-29. Granite jambs of Khufu and Khafra (Naville, *Bubastis*, pp.3,5,7-10, pls.VIII, XXXII A, B) may have come from Giza, granite jambs of Pepy I (ibid., p.6, pls.XXXII C, D) probably came from his *ka*-house; blocks of Pepy I coming from the excavations of this monument: Habachi, *Tell Basta*, pp.11-32, figs. 1-13, pls.1-6. A limestone pillar with an inscription of Teti, mentioning his *ka*-house (found *in situ*): el-Sawi, *Tell Basta*, figs.164-167, pp.9, 75-76.

¹³⁶ PM IV, p.10.

¹³⁷ PM IV, p.14. A granite block of Khufu with *nswt bjtj nbtj Mdd-r* in a cartouche: Montet, *La necropole royale de Tanis*, vol.III, pl.XVII. A jamb of Khafra: Smith, *HESPOK*, p.159; cf. CdE 1936, p.387. Various Old Kingdom blocks including one with the name of Niuserra, a few attributed to Pepy I, and a part of an obelisk of Pepy II: Montet, *Kêmi 5* (1935-1937), p.5; id., BSFE 6 (1950), 27-28; id., *Tanis III* (1960), pp.24-25, fig.2; id. *Nouvelles fouilles de Tanis*, p. 143, fig.33; id., 1960, pp.23ff. Red granite blocks of Pepy I: Petrie, *Tanis I*, pl.I [1, 2], p., II, pp.6, 15; De Rougé, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyph. LXXV*; id., *Recherches sur les monuments*, p.115-116. A block with Seth facing a king, mentioned by Montet (in *Rev. Arch.* 1 (1958), pp.1-20), and dated on account of stylistic criteria to the Old Kingdom, is probably not a genuine Old Kingdom piece, but a Late Period copy (cf. n.58 above).

¹³⁸ PM IV, p.45. A granite block with the cartouche of Khufu was found at Tida, northeast of Tell el-Fara’in.

¹³⁹ Allegedly from here came two ‘sculptor’s models’ of the Third Dynasty (MMA 11.150.30-31): H. E. Winlock, *Bas-reliefs from the Egyptian Delta*, BMMA, March 1917, pp.64-65, cf. id. *ibid.* June 1919, pp.144-145; Capart, *Documents*, pl.2. Hayes, *Scepter*, pp.60-61, figs.37-38. The provenance is uncertain (see the next note).

¹⁴⁰ Fragments of a broken naos of Netjerykhet, discovered by E. Schiaparelli in 1903, now in Turin (Inv.Suppl. 2671; R. Weill, *Un temple de Noutirkha-Zosir à Héliopolis*, *Sphinx* 15 (1911-12), pp.9-26; Smith, *HESPOK*, pp.133-137). It is possible that the fragments mentioned in the preceding note likewise came from Heliopolis. They resemble the Heliopolis fragments stylistically and their attribution to Netjerykhet seems almost certain. A lintel and part of an obelisk of Teti, both of quartzite, were found in 1972 in a sounding near the obelisk of Senuseret I (L. Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, Cairo 1984, pp.42-43). To the reliefs one may add a fragment of a travertine offering table of Pepy II coming from El-Matariya (Cairo JE 18556; PM IV, p.62).

¹⁴¹ A block of the Sixth Dynasty: Petrie, *Ehnasiya*, pl.XI, p.19.

Gebelein¹⁴⁵, Hierakonpolis¹⁴⁶, El-Kab,¹⁴⁷ and Elephantine.¹⁴⁸ Some decorated fragments dating from the Old Kingdom were even found at Byblos.¹⁴⁹

The other group, the royal markers at the desert sites, were much standardized, but they form highly informative¹⁵⁰ category of sources. Following Netjerykhet,¹⁵¹ many Old Kingdom rulers left their names and representations (sometimes more than one at a spot) at Wadi Maghara,¹⁵² Hatnub,¹⁵³ Wadi Hammamat,¹⁵⁴ Tomas,¹⁵⁵ Gebel el-Asr,¹⁵⁶ and other sites.¹⁵⁷

¹⁴² Blocks of Merenra: Petrie, *Abydos I*, pl.LIV, pp.27,41. A lintel of Pepy II: Petrie, *Abydos II*, pls. XIX, XX; A fragment with Djedkara's name: Simpson, *Inscribed Material from Abydos*, p.7, fig.5.

¹⁴³ Blocks of Pepy I: Petrie, *Koptos*, pl.V.

¹⁴⁴ Pillar of Userkaf: De la Roque, *AJSL* 51 (July 1935), p.257; id., *Tôd*, p. 61-62 and fig.15.

¹⁴⁵ Smith, *HESPOK*, p.137-138;

¹⁴⁶ Fragments of a stela of Khasekhem in quartzose rock (Quibell, Green, *Hierakonpolis II*, pp.47-48, pl. LVIII); a granite door jamb of Khasekhemui with royal titulary and the foundation ritual scene on its larger face (Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl.II; R. Engelbach, A Foundation Scene of the Second Dynasty, *JEA* 20 (1934), pp.183-184); two fragments with the king's titulary and a list of foreign countries: Quibell, Green, *Hierakonpolis II*, pl.XXIII. A granite stela of one of Pepy kings: *ibid.*, pp.11, 14-15, 53.

¹⁴⁷ Smith, *HESPOK*, p.131, n.1.

¹⁴⁸ A granite naos of Pepy I, reinscribed by Merenra (Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs*, pp.50-53).

¹⁴⁹ PM VII, p.389. A fragment with a king embraced by a goddess (cf. Montet, *Byblos*, pl.28) is now in the Louvre (AO 4811).

¹⁵⁰ At least for us. Whether they were equally informative for the inhabitants of those distant regions may be seriously doubted. The message they displayed seems to have been addressed more to the gods than to the people (Baines, in: *Selbstverständnis und Realität*, p.143).

¹⁵¹ The earliest marker with a smiting scene in Sinai belongs to him. The triumphal reliefs of Wadi Maghara have their forerunner in the relief of Dynasty 0 from Gebel Sheikh Suleiman at the Second Cataract (now in Khartoum; W. J. Murnane, The Gebel Sheikh Suleiman Monument: Epigraphic Remarks, *JNES* 44 (1987), pp.282-285).

¹⁵² Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol.I, nos. 1-17, pls. I-IX; vol.II, pp.52-64. To these one should add R. Giveon, A Second Relief of Sekhemkhet in Sinai, *BASOR* 216 (1974), pp.17-20.

¹⁵³ Anthes, *Hatnub*, pp.13-23, pls.4-5.

¹⁵⁴ Couyat - Montet, *Ouâdi Hammâmât*, pl.16, pp.59-60.

¹⁵⁵ Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, pp.9-10; Engelbach, *ASAE* 33 (1933), p.70 (no.2).

¹⁵⁶ R. Engelbach, The Quarries of the Western Nubian Desert and the Ancient Road to Toshka, *ASAE* 38 (1938), pp.369-390.

¹⁵⁷ An extensive recent research in both the Western and Eastern Deserts provides a lot of new evidence for the activity in this area in pharaonic times. Graffiti left at hundreds of

Reliefs decorating statues are to be analysed as well, especially in regard to the role of the statuary in the overall programme of a building. They constitute part of it, even if two-dimensional decoration is otherwise absent. An obvious example is a statue of Khafra (CG 9), bearing a serekh at the back of the throne, which together with a sculptured falcon perched on it formed the king's Horus-name.¹⁵⁸

Sealings,¹⁵⁹ inscriptions and decoration of stone vessels,¹⁶⁰ and furniture provide often the only parallels for iconographic details, but sometimes for the whole scene as well. This refers especially to the wooden polychrome, inlaid or gilded boxes (the best examples coming from Hetepheres' tomb at Giza and Pepy II's pyramid precinct).¹⁶¹

Outside the royal sphere, parallels for themes (e.g. scenes of 'daily life' or hunting), and single iconographic elements are to be found in the decoration of the tomb chapels of courtiers and officials. When analysing the inscriptions in the royal mortuary complexes (being indispensable part of a decoration programme, and executed in relief), one can refer to a meaning, grammar, and palaeography of non-royal inscriptions, notwithstanding the basic differences, including taboos in decorum rules (for example a significant fact that the Horus-name of a king never occurs in a private tomb).

spots are mostly non-royal and non-pictorial, but, nevertheless, some of them may prove to be useful (A. J. Peden, *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writing (c. 3100-332 BC)*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 17, 2001, *passim*, esp. pp.1-13 for the Archaic and Old Kingdom sources).

¹⁵⁸ Seidel, *Statuengruppen*, pp.20-24. The question arises whether the suggested reconstruction of its location in the temple is correct, given that the decoration would have been hidden to a spectator.

¹⁵⁹ Kaplony, *IÄF*; id. *Rollsiegel*.

¹⁶⁰ For example a travertine vessel found in the underground galleries of the Step Pyramid, decorated with a *Heh* figure supporting the *Heb-Sed* pavilion, executed in superb bold relief (Firth, Quibell, *Step Pyramid I*, pl.104; Saleh, Sourouzzian, *Egyptian Museum*, no.19 = JE 64872).

¹⁶¹ On this category of objects see P. Lacovara, A Faience Tile of the Old Kingdom, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.487-491.

The non-contemporaneous sources include Predynastic and Archaic iconographic material for obvious reasons. Many scenes and motives recorded on palettes, maceheads, labels, vessels and paintings show an early version of ideas represented in the Old Kingdom reliefs. Moreover, the fact that, as stated by H. Asselberghs, ‘the place of birth of the Egyptian relief is the decorated palette’¹⁶², and that the palettes themselves could possibly represent temples¹⁶³ stress the importance of this kind of evidence.

Post-OK iconographic material may be used with some reservations. Without doubt the Egyptian religion and ideology of kingship evolved through centuries. Many ideas became to be expressed in a new, different way, many motifs were ascribed a new, different meaning. This means that one should be aware of the danger of misinterpretation when comparing evidence that is separated by centuries or millennia. Very often, however, we have simply no choice, dealing e.g. with the *Heb-Sed* subject. The only extant version of the cycle beside that of Niuserra is the decoration of the Festival Hall of Osorkon II at Bubastis,¹⁶⁴ the two separated by 1600 years. On the other hand, a still recurring in the Egyptian history idea of return to ancient traditions, led to copying the old patterns. Sometimes this just meant direct copying of ancient monuments, to mention the example of Hatshepsut, who decorated her offering chapel after the pattern of the Old Kingdom sanctuary (possibly the one in Pepy II’s mortuary temple), or Taharka, who included the famous smiting scene with the Libyan chief family (sometimes referred to as the ‘wars of Sahura’, although the earliest version is attested for Userkaf) into the program of his temple at Kawa.¹⁶⁵ Traces of grid-lines left by

¹⁶² *Chaos en Beheersing*, p.284.

¹⁶³ Asselberghs, *Chaos en Beheersing*, p.167; S. Hendrickx, Two Protodynastic Objects in Brussels and the Origin of the Bilobate Cult-sign of Neith, *JEA* 82 (1996), p.30.

¹⁶⁴ Naville E., *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis*, London 1892.

¹⁶⁵ M. F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, vol.II, Oxford 1955, pp.63ff, pls.IX, XLIX. For the discussion of the scene see A. J. Spalinger, Some Notes on the Libyans of

copying artists are visible on numerous Old Kingdom monuments, proving that this activity was far more common than it is suggested by the preserved ‘hard’ evidence (i.e. the decorated blocks). A good example of the problems raised by the post-Old Kingdom material is the question of dating, and the possible source for a set of reliefs, decorating once a gate at Memphis. Found by Petrie, they were ascribed by him on rather loose grounds to Senwosret I.¹⁶⁶ Subsequently it was suggested that the reliefs date from Netjerykhet’s time.¹⁶⁷ These datings were next challenged by various scholars, who have shown that it is a Late Period copy of an early monument.¹⁶⁸ Style and composition point to an Old Kingdom original, but an exact parallel could not be traced. It would be tempting, however, to suggest a monument of Sneferu as the possible source for the reliefs of the gate. This would be confirmed by a distinctive feature, occurring (beside the decoration of the gate in quest) only in the statue-temple of the Bent Pyramid at Dahshur: a triple line of stars in the sky field bordering the decoration at the top (fig.7).¹⁶⁹

the Old Kingdom and Later Historical Reflexes, *JSSEA* 9,3 (1979), pp.125-160; D. Stockfish, Bemerkungen zur sog. Libyschen Familie, in: *Fs Gundlach*, pp.315-325.

¹⁶⁶ Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, pls.II-IX.

¹⁶⁷ Capart, *Documents*, II, p.81, pls. 88-89. This dating was still supported by I. Wallert, *Die Palmen im Alten Ägypten. Eine Untersuchung ihrer praktischen, symbolischen und religiösen Bedeutung*, MÄS 1, Berlin1962, pp.117-118.

¹⁶⁸ The monument was dated to the Saite Period already by G. Jéquier, *Sphinx* 14 (1910), p.182 and Kees, *Opfertanz* (1912), pp.197-200. Cf. B. J. Kemp, *The Palace of Apries at Memphis*, *MDAIK* 33 (1977), pp.101-108; id., *A Further Note on the Palace of Apries at Memphis* *GM* 29 (1978), p.61; W. Kaiser, *Zu den $\overline{\text{ⲓ}}\text{ⲓ}\text{ⲓ}$ die älteren Bilddarstellungen und Bedeutung von *rpw.t**, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), pp.261-293; id. *Die Dekorierte Torfassade des spätzeitliche Palastbezirkes von Memphis*, *MDAIK* 43 (1987), pp.197ff.

¹⁶⁹ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II.1, figs. 205, 209, 210. The blocks from the palace of Apries with a triple row of stars are now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (MMA 09.183.1), Petrie Museum, University College London (UC 15888) and in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.

PART II. DEVELOPMENT OF RELIEF DECORATION IN THE ROYAL FUNERARY COMPLEXES TO THE END OF THE OLD KINGDOM

II.1. DYNASTIES 0-II

For the reasons already stated at the beginning of chapter I.5 one cannot start the analysis of the Old Kingdom material without a detailed survey of the earlier evidence. A continuity of the tradition, essential to the Egyptian *Weltanschauung*, seems far more important in this respect than any existing (or suggested) breaks or sidetracks. The Thinite Period established patterns for the whole later history of Egypt. Recent research enabled us to understand better the beginnings: a long before-Menes tradition of rulership, and the transitional Dynasty 0. The internal chronology of the period is basically established; the sequence of the kings of the First Dynasty may be considered certain, serious lacunae still shadowing our knowledge of the Second Dynasty.¹⁷⁰

ABYDOS

The emergence of a centralized state in the Nile Valley, unified by the Upper Egyptian rulers in the second half of the fourth millennium BC,¹⁷¹ led eventually to founding a royal necropolis at Abydos. Although vast elite cemeteries were discovered at other sites (e.g. Hierakonpolis, Naqada or

¹⁷⁰ Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, pp.100-109, 122-126.

¹⁷¹ The vast bibliography of this subject can be found in S. Hendrickx, *Analytical Bibliography of the Prehistory and the Early Dynastic Period of Egypt and Northern Sudan*, Leuven 1995. Important recent studies include: J. Spencer, *Early Egypt*, London 1993; A. Perez Largacha, *El Nacimiento del Estado en Egipto*, Madrid 1993; T. A. H. Wilkinson, *State Formation in Egypt. Chronology and Society*, Oxford 1996 (cf. rev. by S. Hendrickx, *JEA* 85 (1999), pp.241-245); B. Adams, K. Ciałowicz, *Protodynastic Egypt*, Princes Risborough 1997.

Abadiya), and some tombs recorded there might have belonged to chieftains or local rulers,¹⁷² it is the desert plain called now Umm el-Qaab that became kings' burial ground. The tradition of this necropolis goes back to Naqada I period. In the course of Naqada II hundreds of burials were made in the so-called cemetery U. The transitional (to dynastic times) period of Dynasty 0 was marked by increasing wealth of graves, one of which (U-j) may be attributed to an important ruler. This brick house for eternity, with twelve rooms filled with funerary goods (including first inscribed tags), whose owner was named 'Scorpion I' by the excavator, is the first instance of an undoubtedly 'royal' tomb.¹⁷³ A subsequent shift of the necropolis to the south was connected with founding of a new part of the cemetery, where elite graves did not occur, but only the rulers' (and their servants') tombs were built.¹⁷⁴ On this new ground (Cemetery B) later kings of Dynasty 0: Iri-Hor,¹⁷⁵ Narmer and Ka/Sekhen were buried in double-room tombs (where the southern chamber was intended to house a burial and the northern one served as a storeroom for funerary goods). In the reign of Aha a bigger and more complex tomb appeared, with three chambers in the main structure and 34

¹⁷² This applies especially to several of the tombs at Hierakonpolis (e.g. nos. 1 and 100, cf. M.Hoffman, *The Predynastic of Hierakonpolis: An Interim Report*, Cairo 1982, fig.I.13, p.44; id., *Egypt before the Pharaohs*, Austin, Tex.,1991 passim). At Naqada elite cemetery T no traces of what could be interpreted as rulers' tombs were recorded (W. Davies, *Cemetery T at Naqada*, MDAIK 39 (1983), pp.17-27).

¹⁷³ G. Dreyer, *Das prädynastische Grab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse*, Mainz 1999.

¹⁷⁴ The area excavated first by Amelineau and Petrie, has been under exploration by the German Archaeological Institute since 1979. The reports on the work (including re-excavating of the tombs of Aha, Djed, Den, Qa'a and Khasekhemui) are being published in subsequent volumes of MDAIK.

¹⁷⁵ The existence of this ruler has been seriously doubted. The hieroglyphs interpreted as the king's name can just mean 'the mouth of Horus' (i.e. the king). It was suggested that the tomb B 0/1/2 attributed to Iri-Hor could be storage rooms for food and drink, and the complex B 7/9 did not belong to Ka/Sekhen, but could be a *ka*-annexe, a predecessor of Den's 'serdab'. All three pit sets identified as belonging to the kings of Dynasty 0 would constitute one tomb complex attributed to Narmer (T. A. H. Wilkinson, *The Identification of Tomb B1 at Abydos: Refuting the Existence of a King *Ro/*Iry-Hor*, JEA 79 (1993), pp.241-243; cf. B. Adams, *Ancient Nekhen*, p.49)

subsidiary grave-pits of king's slain servants,¹⁷⁶ arranged in rows along the axis of the main structure. The reign of Aha is also marked by another important development of the royal funerary architecture. The first mortuary enclosure ('valley precinct', *Talbezirk*) was built at the site called now the 'North Cemetery' (close to the cultivated area and the temple of Khentymentiu at Kom el-Sultan), and thus the first real royal tomb complex in Egypt was created. Although it has been assumed for some time that the early enclosures were built of perishable materials, new discoveries prove that already Aha's *Talbezirk* was built of brick.¹⁷⁷ Other kings of the First Dynasty, as well as Peribsen and Khasekhemui, followed this pattern of a tomb complex. A list of the tombs and enclosures is given below.¹⁷⁸

| king | tomb | no. of subsidiary graves | enclosure | no. of subs. graves |
|------------|------------|--------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Iri-Hor(?) | B 1-2 | --- | --- | --- |
| Ka/Sekhen | B 7-9 | --- | --- | --- |
| Narmer | B 17-18 | --- | --- | --- |
| Aha | B 10-15-19 | 34 | + ¹⁷⁹ | --- |

¹⁷⁶ The young age of the people buried in the subsidiary tombs (most of them were under 25 years old) points strongly to the hypothesis that they were ritually killed to serve their ruler in the afterlife. The satellite burials included also those of seven young lions.

¹⁷⁷ Aha's enclosure, located to the north of Djer's, has been identified in 2002 during a geomagnetic survey and the attribution confirmed by a discovery of sealings. It had modest dimensions of about thirty for eighteen meters (Tomasz Herbich, personal communication). See n. 179 below. The enclosure of Djer was a rectangle of 100 x 55 m in size, surrounded by a brick wall over 3 m broad and probably once 8 m high, with a regular niche pattern on the outer face. Remains of a brick cult structure with panelled walls were discovered inside the enclosure (O'Connor, *JARCE* 26 (1989), pp.61-81).

¹⁷⁸ Letter marks of the tombs are given after Petrie, *Royal Tombs*; designations of the enclosures refer to Kemp, *Antiquity* 41 (1967), pp.22-32.

¹⁷⁹ There exists some confusion in the literature concerning 'Aha's enclosure'. In fact the structure discovered in 1988 east of Shunet el-Zebib and interpreted by O'Connor as a part of an early (possibly Aha's) *Talbezirk* (*JARCE* 26 (1989), pp.54-61), during subsequent

| | | | | |
|-------------|---|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| Djer | O | 326 | A | 269 |
| Djet | Z | 174 | B | 154 |
| Merneith | Y | 41 | C(?) ¹⁸⁰ | 80 |
| Den | T | 121 | --- | --- |
| Adjib | X | 63 | D(?) ¹⁸¹ | --- |
| Semerkheth | U | 69 | D(?) | --- |
| Qa'a | Q | 26 | G='Deir'(?) ¹⁸² | --- |
| Peribsen | P | --- | E='Middle Fort' | --- |
| Khasekhemui | V | --- | F='Shunet el-Zebib' | --- |

excavations turned out to belong to the brick superstructure of a boat grave (Expedition 33 (1991), pp.5-17). This 'change', stated briefly in the later article (*ibid.*, p.9), has not been recorded by many scholars, who write of 'Aha's enclosure' referring to the primitive information source (see e.g. Ciałowicz, *La naissance d'un royaume*, p.137).

¹⁸⁰ The enclosure (misidentified as a mastaba) was attributed by Petrie to Merneith (*Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, p.I). This was challenged by Kaiser, who preferred the attribution to Den, but the arguments of O'Connor (JARCE 26 (1989), p.57, n.16) referring to the relatively small dimensions (65 x 25 m) of the structure seem quite convincing. Thus the *Talbezirk* of Den probably has not yet been located; it should possibly be looked for somewhere between the North Cemetery and the Coptic Deir. A wall discovered in 2002 beside the coptic cemetery (merely 3 m south of it) might have belonged to Den's enclosure (I am much indebted to T. Herbich for the informations on discoveries at Abydos).

¹⁸¹ The 'Western Mastaba' of Petrie may belong to either Adjib or Semerkhet.

¹⁸² A tentative attribution by Kemp of the so-called Coptic Deir, an enclosure buried under the modern village.

Queen Merneith is an outstanding figure. Possibly the mother of Den, she acted as a regent during his childhood and certainly assumed royal status that allowed her to be buried at Umm el-Qaab and have her own mortuary enclosure at the North Cemetery. Her name, albeit usually not inscribed into a serekh, was displayed in exactly the same manner as kings' names, and she was assumed to possess the rights of a legally reigning ruler.¹⁸³ Important changes in the architecture and the arrangement of the tombs were made in subsequent reigns. The changes included for example: increasing and then diminishing of the number of satellite burials during the First Dynasty (and their total disappearance after Qa'a); introduction of a descending stairway entrance leading to the burial chamber, and an additional room (with a separate staircase) for a statue in the tomb of Den;¹⁸⁴ introduction of an elongated plan with multiple side chambers (magazines), resembling royal and private hypogea of the Second Dynasty at Saqqara (the tomb of Khasekhemui). All the tombs seem to have in common the internal arrangement and the form of superstructure. Burial chambers were brick-lined pits dug in the desert gravel, with wooden flooring and roofing, and walls decorated with matting. A granite pavement was found in the main chamber in the tomb of Den (and granite and limestone slabs, perhaps bases for wooden roof supports were discovered in the 'serdab'), and Khasekhemui had his burial chamber cased with limestone slabs. Funerary equipment, including stone and pottery vases, furniture, clothing, and jewellery, was deposited outside wooden shrines surrounding the royal burial and in additional rooms. A small, probably symbolic, tumulus covered the planks

¹⁸³ As one may assume from the evidence of a seal impression, giving the names of Khentymentiu and the First Dynasty rulers in their chronological order: G. Dreyer, *Ein Siegel der frühzeitlichen Königsnekropole von Abydos*, MDAIK 43 (1987), pp. 33-43, fig.3. Cf. however the sealing of Qa'a where Merneith's name does not occur: G. Dreyer et al., *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 7/8. Vorbericht*, MDAIK 52 (1996), fig.26.

¹⁸⁴ G. Dreyer, *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 3/4 Vorbericht*, MDAIK 46 (1990), pp.76-79.

forming the roof. Over the whole area of the tomb the second roofing was laid, and another low mound of gravel and sand cased with mud brick was built on it to mark the tomb on the surface.¹⁸⁵ It is possible that these tumuli or mastabas were surrounded by wood and reed shrines.¹⁸⁶ Only the superstructure of Khasekhemui's tomb was of somewhat different character. Although the gravel tumulus above the subterranean rooms was still not too high, it was cased with limestone slabs, what eventually caused a collapse of the roof.¹⁸⁷

These rather inconspicuous superstructures were furnished with stone stelae. These, together with small gravestones of royal retainers set once at the subsidiary burials, are the only relief-decorated objects connected with the architecture of the tombs. The mass of inscribed and decorated stone vases, ivory and wooden tablets, tags, and sealings, found among the goods collected for a king's afterlife, was considerable (and these objects constitute an important iconographic source); almost nothing can be said, however, about the possible decoration of burial chambers. The only bits of evidence is a suggested occurrence of *s3*-sign (made of clay) inside a niche in the tomb of Djet,¹⁸⁸ and a few faience tiles found in the tomb of Khasekhemui, indicating the possibility of existence of wall panels similar to those in the substructures of the Step Pyramid.¹⁸⁹ Some stone architectural elements were found, but no traces of relief decoration were recorded which could be compared to the

¹⁸⁵ G. Dreyer, *Zur Rekonstruktion der Oberbauten der Königsgräber der 1. Dynastie in Abydos*, MDAIK 47 (1991), 93-104. The superstructure of Djer's tomb seem to be 1.2 – 1.5 m high and the mound over the tomb of Den raised only 0.2-0.4 m above the desert surface.

¹⁸⁶ A possibility suggested by M. Lehner (*Complete Pyramids*, p.76) after the pattern of Tomb 1 at Hierakonpolis as reconstructed by M. Hoffman.

¹⁸⁷ Discovered in 2001 by the German Archaeological Institute team led by G. Dreyer (EA 19 (2001), p.32.).

¹⁸⁸ B. Adams, *Possible 53-Signs from the Tomb of Djet (Uadj)*, JEA 80 (1994), pp.183-187. The pottery fragments are now in the Petrie Museum, University College (nos. UC 36627 A-I).

¹⁸⁹ Spencer, *BM Catalogue V*, nos. 502-507.

piece with the lion-frieze discovered in the tomb of queen Herneith (mastaba 3507) at Saqqara.¹⁹⁰ Royal stelae at Abydos¹⁹¹ were set up in pairs in front of the tombs, possibly (as suggested by Petrie) at the eastern side during the First Dynasty, and at the southern side in the Second Dynasty.¹⁹² It seems reasonable that they not only marked the position of the tomb and displayed the owner's name, but were also connected with an offering place. The orientation of the design was different on each piece.¹⁹³ The height of the stelae was around 1.5 m.¹⁹⁴ In the First Dynasty these round-topped stelae were made either of limestone (like the famous example of Djet,¹⁹⁵ as well as the stelae of Merneith¹⁹⁶) or a hard stone (granite, granodiorite or gneiss stelae of Djer,¹⁹⁷ Den,¹⁹⁸ Semerkhet¹⁹⁹ and Qa'a²⁰⁰). The stelae of Peribsen

¹⁹⁰ The lower chamber in Herneith's tomb was roofed with stones laid on an architrave carved with a row of recumbent lions in relief (Emery, *Great Tombs III*, pl.96 (b)).

¹⁹¹ The list of known objects was presented by H. G. Fischer in *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961), pp.53-54, with important additions (including a newly recognized stela of Den) in a later article in *JARCE* 2 (1963), pp.41-43. Cf. Vandier, *Manuel I*, pp.724-730; HESPOK, p.117; PM V, pp.82-85.

¹⁹² *Royal Tombs II*, p.33.

¹⁹³ As the examples of Merneith and Qa'a prove, which is in accordance with the rule of symmetry that might have been expected. The stelae of Peribsen have, however, the same (rightward) orientation (cf. n. below).

¹⁹⁴ Except for the stela of Djet (height: 1.45 m., width: 0.65 m) the precise dimensions are lacking. For Merneith and Peribsen the height was stated to be 'about 5 ft.' (Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, p.26; II, p.33).

¹⁹⁵ Louvre E 11007. Amélineau, *Nouvelles fouilles* (1895-96), p.244, fig.63 and pl.42.

¹⁹⁶ Intact stela: Cairo JE 34550. According to Fischer (*JARCE* 2 (1963), p.41) the other stela may have been left in situ.

¹⁹⁷ Petrie only mentioned the stela of Djer (*Royal Tombs II*, p.32), but did not describe nor illustrated it. The stela is now on display in the Cairo Museum (JE 34992). A drawing of it in Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, fig.26 is somewhat inaccurate in details, especially in regard to the falcon's beak and tail (the latter being in fact much longer and positioned askew well down behind the serekh). For a photograph see Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961), fig.6 cf. p.52 and *JARCE* 2 (1963), p.41, where the material is described as limestone.

¹⁹⁸ Brussels E 562, probably granodiorite. Fischer in *JARCE* 2 (1963), p.41 cites Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions*, p.2, where the object is said to have been excavated by Amélineau in 1895-1896. As shown by Fischer, a long-lasting error identification of the stela with another object, namely a 'granite 'mortar' of Den in Mariemont, coincided moreover with a confusion coming from the statement by Petrie, who wrote: "the stela of Den was probably of limestone, like those of Zer and Zet, as the back of a limestone stele with rounded top, 21.6 inches wide, is lying in the tomb of Den" (*Royal Tombs II*, p.10). One has to agree with Fischer's assumption that the possibility that there were two stelae

were carved in gneiss,²⁰¹ and in the case of Khasekhemui the material was pink granite.²⁰² Their decoration confined to an enlarged royal serekh. The name of Merneith was not inscribed inside the usual rectangle (although it occasionally occurred inside a kind of serekh surmounted by the Neith-emblem on sealings).²⁰³ Serekhs of Peribsen were topped with Seth animal,²⁰⁴ and on the stela of Khasekhemui there were both Horus falcon and Seth animal represented, the latter, exceptionally, in a seated posture.²⁰⁵

It seems that one might add to the list of the Abydene royal stelae a gravestone of Aha. A sculpted limestone fragment found by Petrie in the

of Den made of two different kinds of stone is unlikely, and the stela found by Petrie belonged to one of the retainers or was of much later date.

¹⁹⁹ Basalt or granodiorite. Cairo CG 14633. Amelineau, *Nouvelles fouilles* (1895-96), p.245, fig.65.

²⁰⁰ Basalt or granodiorite. Cairo CG 14631 and University Museum, Philadelphia, E 6878. The former one was found by Amélineau (*Nouvelles fouilles* (1895-96), p.245, fig.64). A fragment of the other stela was illustrated in Petrie, *Abydos I*, pl.5, cf. p.6 and *Royal Tombs I*, p.15. For a new photo of this stela reconstructed, see J. Baines, in: *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, fig.3.12 on p.156.

²⁰¹ Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pl.31. Petrie described the material of Peribsen's stelae as 'very compact, grey syenite' (*ibid.*, p.33). One of the stelae is now in the Cairo Museum (JE 3526), the other one in the British Museum (EA 35597).

²⁰² R. A. Farag, A Stela of Khasekhemui from Abydos, *MDAIK* 36 (1980), pp.77-79, with pl.26.

²⁰³ Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, fig.28. For a disputable interpretation of the serekhs with the names of Neithhotep and Merneith as referring not to regents, but to ruling female pharaohs, see: S. Roth, Königin, Regentin oder weiblicher König? Zum Verhältnis von Königsideologie und 'female sovereignty' in der Frühzeit, in: *Selbstverständnis und Realität*, pp.99-123. A good photo of the stela can be found in the article by S. Seidlmayer, in: Schulz, Seidel, *World of the Pharaohs*, fig. 43. The decoration and weathering pattern of stelae of Merneith were described in details by Petrie (*Royal Tombs I*, p.26, cf. the frontispiece and pl.64,6).

²⁰⁴ Note that the design of the panelling in the serekhs is different in both examples. Even more strange is the fact that the orientation of both stelae is the same (falcon and signs facing right). The opinion of Emery (*Archaic Egypt*, p.94) that the stelae of Sekhemib were altered (with erasure of the earlier name) when he changed his name to Peribsen seems unsupported. None of Peribsen's stelae bears traces of such a procedure. Only the Seth animal on the stelae has been erased in later times. A separate question, not easy to answer, is when this was made. There are at least three different possibilities: the end of the Second Dynasty (a hypothesized 'reaction' for the 'Seth revolution'), the New Kingdom (on an analogy with the procedures concerning the changes of Sethi I's names in his temple, caused by a need to expel Seth from the Osiris cult-place) or the Late Period (as a nationalism-motivated fight with the symbol of foreign influence).

²⁰⁵ According to Farag, *op.cit.*, p.78. It is not clearly visible on the published photograph.

tomb B10, was recognised as ‘a royal stela’ and attributed tentatively to Narmer.²⁰⁶ It is clearly a right-hand part of a well-designed stela with relief executed in three levels. The preserved fragment comprises the upper right corner of a serekh and a curved element above. It represents most probably the shield hold once by the Horus falcon seated on the top of the serekh. This design suits the name of Horus Aha, assumed presently to be the owner of tomb B10.²⁰⁷ The proportions of the preserved fragment allow the reconstruction of the original height of the stela of c.65-70 cm.

Many graves of royal courtiers were marked with limestone stelae.²⁰⁸ In the tomb complex of Djer, of 97 preserved examples 76 belonged to women, 11 to men and 2 to dwarfs; some of the stones marked the burials of dogs. The stelae are crudely worked and show only the owner's name (or name and a title) and a figure of seated or standing person as a determinative.

²⁰⁶ Petrie, *Abydos I*, pl.13.168 and p.8. Petrie stated that 'the object appeared to be part of a decorated facade (like that in *Deshasha*, XXVI) and if so, the royal name was probably in the doorway below, as on the inscription of king Ka', but this does not seem probable.

²⁰⁷ The fragment is now in the Petrie Museum (UC 14278, Stewart, *Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings*, p.5, pl.2.10, described as ‘Dynasty I (?)’; The stela was hypothetically reconstructed as bearing a large *mn* sign on the top, although with doubts expressed, if this would refer to the presumed *nbj* name of Narmer: H. G. Fischer, A Fragment of Late Predynastic Egyptian Relief from Eastern Delta, *Artibus Asiae* 21 (1958), fig. 24, pp.85 with n.46, 47; cf. id., *Varia Aegyptiaca*, *JARCE* 2 (1963), p.41 and pl.6b). In fact, however, the arrangement of the elements excludes the restoration of the sign Y5 of Gardiner's list. Below the representation of draughtsmen (that the curved elements would hypothetically represent), one would expect the presence of a rectangular game-board, which is not the case. The *mn*-sign design was often represented on later false doors, but at a different place (above the openings), and this would hardly have any connection with *Mn* of Menes. The small round-topped stroke to the right of the presumed shield is nevertheless quite unusual since vertical borderline would be expected in this place. Cf. V. Kaiser, G. Dreyer, Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchunge im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 2.Vorbericht, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), p.217, where the authors mention the stela fragment citing Petrie's report and Fisher's reconstruction, without an attempt to assign the piece to a particular ruler, although they attribute B10 to Aha.

²⁰⁸ Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, pls.31-36. Altogether Petrie found 146 stelae, to which number one should add about forty discovered earlier by Amelineau (Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, p.32).

Only the gravestone of Sabef (temp. Qa'a) presents a bigger array of titles arranged in two horizontal lines.²⁰⁹

In the *Talbezirke* near Kom el-Sultan no evidence was found for any relief decoration. Its existence cannot be excluded, especially in the case of later enclosures (as one would expect after the example of Hierakonpolis 'Fort'). The excavations revealed traces of brick buildings and other structures inside the walled areas, but the only decoration recorded till now seems to be confined to panelling of the walls of Djer's precinct, and of the inner wall of Shunet el-Zebib and its 'token palace'. The walls were whitewashed and a red strip was painted along their lower parts.²¹⁰

SAQQARA

The royal necropolis was moved to Saqqara at the beginning of the Second Dynasty.²¹¹ Almost nothing can be said on the tombs of the first rulers of the dynasty. As already stated, only two of them were discovered (underground galleries ascribed to Hetepsekhemui and Ninetjer),²¹² and no firm evidence exists on the superstructures, cult places and their decoration. A pink granite stela of Raneb, the second king of the dynasty, was bought at Mit Rahina, and it is widely accepted that it probably came from the king's

²⁰⁹ Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, pls.30, 36.

²¹⁰ Currely et al., *Abydos III*, p.3. Cf. the elaborate painting of some of the Saqqara Archaic mastabas (Emery, *Great Tombs II*, pls. 6-8, 16-17 (Tomb no.3505)).

²¹¹ Seal impressions of Hetepsekhemui found in the tomb of Qa'a prove that the former one was responsible for the burial of this last king of the First Dynasty - apparently his immediate predecessor. The position and even the existence of ephemeral Seneferka identified as a short-reigning follower of Qa'a (N. Swelim, *Horus Seneferka: an Essay on the Fall of the First Dynasty*, *Archaeological and Historical Studies* 5, Alexandria 1974, pp.67-78) is thus doubtful. Until new data appear, it is difficult to take Seneferka into consideration in discussion of the kings and their monuments.

²¹² PM III², p.613; Lauer, *Histoire Monumentale*, I, pp.56-58 and 62; Stadelmann, in: *Mélanges Mokhtar*, pp. 298-303; W. Kaiser, *Zu den Königsgräbern der 2. Dynastie in Sakkara und Abydos*, in: *Essays Goedicke*, pp.309-316; J. Leclant, *Or* 51 (1982), p.66; id., *Or* 62 (1993), pp.206-207; P. Munro, *GM* 63 (1983), p.109; id., *SAK* 10 (1983), pp.278-282; id., *Das Unas-Friedhof Nord-West* I, pp.1-2; id., *DE* 26 (1993), pp.47-58; E. Graefe, *MDAIK* 50 (1994), pp.85-89.

tomb at Saqqara.²¹³ According to the inscription on the statue of Hetepdief,²¹⁴ the tombs of the first three rulers of the Second Dynasty should be close to one another, and indeed a possible location of Raneb's final resting place (to the west of the two known tombs) was suggested.²¹⁵ Anyway, before new data are supplied, the stela remains the only proof that such markers were a common feature of the royal burials at Saqqara as well as at Abydos. The stela of Raneb bears the king's name in serekh surmounted by Horus falcon facing right, executed in low relief. The bird is rather crude in shape, and together with big hieroglyphs of the name, filling the whole panel, this may suggest that the internal details were supposed to be rendered later more precisely but the piece was left unfinished.

The tombs of later kings of the Second Dynasty should possibly be located at Saqqara.²¹⁶ This refers to Uneg(-nebtj) and Sened, who are best attested in the epigraphic evidence (the inscriptions on the vases from under the Step Pyramid and in S 3014, and the texts from the tomb of Shery).²¹⁷

²¹³ H. G. Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961), pp. 46-54; J.-P. Lauer, *A propos de la stèle de l'Horus Raneb*, *Or* 35 (1966), pp.21-27.

²¹⁴ JE 34557=CG 1; Saleh, Sourouzian, *Egyptian Museum*, no.22; Tiradriti, *Egyptian Museum*, p.48-49.

²¹⁵ Munro, *Unas-Friedhof* I, p.1, citing personal communication by N. Swelim, cf. also Swelim, *Brick Pyramid at Abu Rawash*, p.77 n.2. Swelim's suggestion apparently refers to the works of A. Barsanti. He cleaned in 1900 a trench cut in bedrock to the NW of Unis' pyramid, with stairs leading to underground galleries (different from Tomb A, attributed to Hetepsekhemui!); judging from stratigraphy, these structures were earlier than the pyramid temenos wall (ASAE 2 (1901), p.247, the excavation with steps can be recognized on the plan on p.246). It seems that the exploration of this enigmatic structure had been stopped at that point and never resumed.

²¹⁶ For a general survey of the evidence on the kings of the dynasty see A. Dodson, *Mysterious Second Dynasty*, KMT 7 no.2 (1996), pp.19-31.

²¹⁷ P. Kaplony, *ZÄS* 88 (1963), p.7. Shery bore various priestly titles connected with the cult of Peribsen and Sened 'in the necropolis' 'in the funerary temple' and in 'rwt jzt' (Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp.92-94, tomb B3; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, pp.47-48, pl.III,2). Reliefs from the mastaba of Shery are now in the Cairo Museum (CG 1384), Florence (2554), the British Museum (EA 1192), the Ashmolean Museum (1836.479) and in Aix-en-Provence. The identification of Sened with Peribsen (W. Barta, *Die Chronologie der 1. bis 5. Dynastie nach den Angaben des rekonstruierten Annalensteins* ZÄS 108 (1981), p.19) was refuted by Stadelmann, in: *Melanges Mokhtar*, p.298 n.7. A hypothesis that the funerary cult of Sened and Peribsen at Saqqara was the result of a special interest

Second Dynasty substructures discovered recently by the Dutch team under the Eighteen Dynasty tomb of Mery-neith/Meryra have been interpreted as a royal tomb, and attributed tentatively to one of these ‘weak’ kings.²¹⁸ The exact position of Sekhemib-Perenmaat within the dynasty, as well as the location of his burial place, cannot be established at the moment.²¹⁹ Some evidence for the cult of Peribsen (mentioned likewise in the inscription of Shery) and possibly also Khasekhemui,²²⁰ does not seem enough to support a view that they had built their tombs at the Memphite necropolis.²²¹ These two kings were apparently buried at Umm el-Qaab.²²²

paid to them by Khasekhemui for political reasons has been put forward by W. Kaiser, *Zur Nennung von Sened und Peribsen in Sakkara B3, GM 122* (1991), pp.49-55.

²¹⁸ The topographical position (south from tomb of Ninetjer and west of Apa Jeremias monastery), as well as the plan of the galleries and the dummy limestone vessels found there, point strongly towards such an attribution (preliminary notes are published by: R. van Walsem, *Sporen van een revolutie in Saqqara. Het nieuw ontdekte graf van Meryneith alias Meryre en zijn plaats in de Amarnaperiode*, Phoenix 47 (2001), pp.87, and n.29; for updates

by F. Raffaello consult the website:

http://members.xoom.virgilio.it/_XOOM/francescoraf/hesyra/New2nd-dynasty-tomb.htm).

²¹⁹ He is attested at both Saqqara (inscriptions on stone vessels from the Step Pyramid and Abydos (sealings from the tomb of Peribsen and from Shunet el-Zebib). Various scholars suggested extremely different solutions for the problem of his identity. He could be either the predecessor of Peribsen, or his successor, or Peribsen himself (Sekhemib being a Horian version of the king's name). For references see Edwards, *CAH*, ch. 2; Dodson, *KMT* 7 no.2 (1996), pp.19-31.

²²⁰ The only textual evidence that could suggest such a possibility is a mention of the *ka*-house of his wife Nimaathap in the tomb of Metjen (Urk.I, 4,9). The seal impressions found in the galleries under the north magazines in the Step Pyramid complex (Lauer, *PD I*, pp.183-185) and a single stone vase bearing his name, discovered in the South Tomb (Lauer, Lacau, *PD IV*, p.16 and pl.19 = JE 55293), would be hardly related to this hypothetical tomb.

²²¹ A possibility advocated e.g. by Lauer, *A propos de l'invention de la pierre de taille par Imhotep*, in: *Studies Kákosy*, p.64, and Stadelmann, in: *Mélenges Mokhtar*, pp.298ff.

²²² Contrary to the opinion of Lauer that “le manque de protection dans sa chambre centrale non souterraine et l'absence de descenderie ou de couloir d'accès à cette dernière ne permettaient pas de voir là une tombe royale de l'époque...” (Lauer, in: *Studies Kákosy*, p.64, n.17, cf. id., *Histoire Monumentale*, I, pp.55-56; id., *Evolution de la tombe royale égyptienne jusqu'à la Pyramide à degrés*, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), pp.159-160, 162, 164). Recent excavations in the tomb of Khasekhemui by DAI revealed not only details of the architecture that contradict Lauer's statements (including the stairway and stone casing

HIERAKONPOLIS

The conundrum of the 'Fort' at Hierakonpolis is a key problem in the research on the development of early royal funerary architecture. The presumed role of the monument as a fortress was dismissed long ago, and its resemblance to the Abydene enclosures stressed.²²³ It is obvious that the architectural similarity between Shunet el-Zebib and the 'Fort', both attributed safely to Khasekhemui, should lead to an assumption of their similar function. The reason for doubts about the role of 'Fort' as a *Talbezirk* is the lack of evidence for a related tomb. This, however, is an argument *ex silentio*, and one may easily assume that if such a tomb exists, it is hidden under the present surface some distance into the desert (upwards Wadi Abu Suffian?). It is possible that it was still under execution when the possibility to move to Abydos stopped the work.²²⁴ Moreover, contrary to the situation at Umm el-Qaab, it would be a single monument, which (especially if unfinished) may be quite inconspicuous and difficult to detect. Against the postulated function of the 'Fort' as a *Götterfestung*, connected with either the *šmst-Hrw* or *ḥb-sd* ceremonies,²²⁵ one can raise a topographical argument. Protodynastic

of the tumulus superstructure), but also numerous finds including pottery, stone vessels, seal impressions, copper tools and ivory objects from the original internment.

²²³ B. J. Kemp, Excavations at Hierakonpolis Fort 1905: a Preliminary Note, *JEA* 49 (1963), pp.24-28; id., *JEA* 52 (1966), pp.17-18.

²²⁴ It was assumed long ago that 'Fort' had been planned by Khasekhemui as his *Talbezirk*, when he controlled only the southern part of Upper Egypt during the political crisis (the presumed fight between the followers of Horus and Seth), before he took over the rest of the country and moved to Abydos (W. Helck, *Geschichte des Alten Ägypten*, HdO 1.1.3, Leiden – Köln 1981, p.44, n.1; D. O'Connor, *JARCE* 26 (1989), p.84, n.63). This hypothesis raises also the question of the proper identification of Khasekhem. He is known from few monuments, found mostly at Hierakonpolis, and it is very probable that his name is just an early version, changed subsequently from 'The Power appears' to 'The Two Powers appear' supplemented by 'The Two Lords are at peace with Him' (the two tutelary animals of Horus and Seth were then placed on the top of the serekh replacing a falcon alone) to contend the rivalling parties of Horus and Seth. Nevertheless, the identity of Khasekhem with Khasekhemui cannot be proven in an indisputable manner.

²²⁵ S. Hendrickx, *JEA* 82 (1996), p.30; Alexanian, in: *Critères de datation*, pp.14-17. On the *Götterfestungen*, their function and possible relationship with royal funerary

ceremonial centres and cult places were built on the desert ground, but in the Thinite Period the temples were moved into the cultivated area (where they seem to be settled on artificial mounds).²²⁶ In fact the Hierakonpolis 'town' temple provided evidence for an enormous activity of Khasekhemui, and it is there that one could expect festival enclosures. Bearing in mind how restricted is our knowledge on the 'Following of Horus' and the *Heb-Sed*, it is nevertheless hard to imagine the reason for which Khasekhemui would build and decorate such a costly²²⁷ monument as the 'Fort' at a site located hundreds of meters into the desert, unless it was a funerary enclosure of the Abydene type. This is the only reasonable explanation of its location and characteristics. It could be further confirmed by the results of the geophysical survey that revealed possible boat burials to the east of the 'Fort'.²²⁸

The decorated granite blocks were found near the entrance of the 'Fort' in 1935.²²⁹ Transferred to Cairo, they deserved little attention until they were re-discovered and published in an excellent article by N. Alexanian.²³⁰ One third only of about one hundred fragments prove useful for the study, the rest being too small or deteriorated. The reconstruction of the monument was not

establishments see: P. Kaplony, Gottespalast und Götterfestungen in der ägyptischen Frühzeit, ZÄS 88 (1962), pp.5-16; D. Arnold, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 31-85, esp. pp.32-40.

²²⁶ M. A. Hoffman, H. A. Hamrourh, R. O. Allen, A Model of Urban Development for the Hierakonpolis Region from Predynastic through Old Kingdom Times, JARCE 23 (1986), pp.175-186; B. Adams, Early Temples at Hierakonpolis and Beyond, in: Centenary of Mediterranean Archaeology at the Jagiellonian University 1897-1997, Cracow 1999, pp.15-28.

²²⁷ It has been estimated that up to 4 million bricks were originally used (after Nekhen News 12 (2000), p.21). Also the use of granite points against the possibility that the 'Fort' was a temporary (that means not intended to serve for the king's afterlife in eternity) building.

²²⁸ Magnetometer research was conducted by T. Herbich in 1998 (personal communication; cf. Nekhen News 10 (1998), p.17; cf. however 12 (2000), p.21, where the anomaly recorded to the east of the 'Fort' is explained as a clay mine).

²²⁹ A. Lansing The Museum's Excavations at Hierakonpolis, BMMA 30, 1934-1935, Nov.1935, II, pp.42-43.

²³⁰ N. Alexanian, Die Reliefdekoration des Chaseschemui aus dem sogenannten *Fort* in Hierakonpolis, in: *Critères de datation à l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 1-30.

possible, only single figures and captions having been preserved. The scenes representing the king (described with his full name *H^c-šmwj ḥtp nbwj jm.f*), gods and royal retinue included the ruler seated in the *Heb-Sed* pavilion,²³¹ as well as other episodes of the jubilee, and possibly the foundation ceremony.²³² Several figures of the king, facing both right and left, and wearing alternatively the Red or the White Crown, must have existed, all of them being c.58 cm high. In one instance the king wears the *šzmt*-apron.²³³ Alexanian suggested the original placement of the blocks in the entrance thickness of the gate, along the parts of the walls not decorated with niches. Both sides of the entrance would have been adorned this way, showing the figures of the king in the Red (north side) and White (south side) crowns. Recent excavations by the American team led by R. Friedman raised another possibility for the original placement of the blocks. A freestanding building in the exact centre of the enclosure was re-discovered in 1999. It appeared that the building is twice as large as previously assumed, and many fragments of granite were found at its entrance, some of them bearing traces of decoration, which strongly suggests that the fragments discovered by A. Lansing outside the entrance to the 'Fort' (re-used in a late kiln) could have come from there.²³⁴

A jamb of Khasekhemui found in the Hierakonpolis temple precinct, was decorated with the king's titulary on the front face, and a foundation scene on its broader side. Unfortunately, the scene had been erased and it is extremely difficult to read. It was probably connected with this 'town' temple. Another artefact, however, likewise found in the temple area, could

²³¹ *ibid.*, p.5, fig.8, pl.6e. The two partially preserved signs in front of the royal kiosk are possibly to be read *ntr ʿ3* (*pace* Alexanian, who interpreted the upper sign as an ideogram stroke, and the lower one as *šm* or *hrp* alternatively). This would be the first occurrence of this epithet as referring to a king.

²³² As can be supposed from the presumed occurrence of goddess Seshat (indicated by a fragment with two tall plumes: *ibid.*, p.10, fig.15).

²³³ *ibid.*, p.4, fig.6, pl.6d.

²³⁴ EA 15 (1999), p.34 ('Digging Diary').

have been intended to form a part of the funerary installations. It is a granite, undecorated round-topped stela c.2.6 m high.²³⁵ One may tentatively suggest that it was being prepared to be inscribed and set at the planned tomb of Khasekhemui, but left at the workshop when the king moved to Abydos.²³⁶

²³⁵ Quibell, Green, *Hierakonpolis II*, pp.10, 51, pls.LXVII, LXXII. The enigma of this object was noticed by Kemp (*Anatomy of a Civilisation*, p.77), who stressed both its exceptional setting in a temple area ('an unusual piece') and its resemblance to the stelae in the Old Kingdom pyramid precincts.

²³⁶ The answer to an obvious question why the stela was not transferred to Abydos is probably in the dimensions of the object. Possibly the extraction and transport, from Asuan to Abydos, of smaller stones for the tomb stelae was regarded a more economic solution. The granite stela at Hierakonpolis could have been assigned then another role (e.g. connected with the king's cult either at 'Fort' or in the temple), which was never fulfilled. Such a hypothesis is somewhat speculative, but there should be a logical explanation for the occurrence of such a huge, uninscribed stela in the temple precinct.

II.2. DYNASTY III

The beginning of the Third Dynasty is one of the crucial points in the Egyptian history. Though the importance of family ties with the preceding dynasty and the continuity of the Early Dynastic traditions should be stressed,²³⁷ the reign of Netjerykhet and his outstanding Step Pyramid are usually considered the first feature of the emerging Old Kingdom. The fame of legendary Djoser and his ingenious architect Imhotep lasted for millennia.²³⁸ The Step Pyramid complex was not only the first stone royal tomb precinct, a template for future generations, but also a manifestation, on a grandiose scale, of the ideology of kingship and of multi-layered cosmic concepts on the ordered universe, the chaos, and the netherworld.²³⁹ However, the history of the Third Dynasty dominated in this way by the king and his monument still remains for us, at least partly, a ‘dark age’. Several important chronological questions were raised in the past, concerning the identification and sequence of the kings, length of the reigns and attribution of the monuments.²⁴⁰ There was a long-standing discussion on the role and position of Sanakhte, who was equated with Nebka and identified by J.-P.

²³⁷ Cf. chapter I.4 above.

²³⁸ As noted long ago, in the Turin Canon the entry on Djoser (col.III.1.5) is singled out with a rubrum and the title of *nswt bjtj* before his name is written in red; it is the only instance of such a mark in the entire papyrus (Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, p.65, Dok.XVI 60 and XVI 80). For the posthumous fame of Netjerykhet and Imhotep see Wildung, *op.cit.*, pp.57-93 and *id.*, *Egyptian Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt*, New York 1977, pp.31-81.

²³⁹ F. D. Friedman, referring to J. Baines’ analyse of the ‘cosmic’ construct of the Narmer Palette (J. Baines, *Communication and display: the integration of early Egyptian art and writing*, *Antiquity* 63 (1989), p.475), stated that ‘from a formal point of view, the complex is much like a gigantic Narmer Palette, whose registers have been separated into successive layers and then dramatically expanded into three dimensions.’ (Friedman, *Notions of Cosmos in the Step Pyramid Complex*, in: *Studies Simpson*, p.348).

²⁴⁰ For a detailed discussion of the then available evidence, see Smith, *CAH*, vol. I, ch.14, pp.3-18.

Lauer as the predecessor of Netjerykhet-Djeser.²⁴¹ It was assumed that Sanakhte was buried under the *mastaba initiale* of the Step Pyramid (in the Gallery III).²⁴² It seems now that this reconstruction proved false. The only traces of activity of Sanakhte in the Step Pyramid precinct are seal impressions with his name found in the ‘funerary temple’ at the north side of the pyramid, which would rather suggest that he reigned after Netjerykhet.²⁴³ The concept of successive enlargements of the pyramid has recently been challenged by R. Stadelmann,²⁴⁴ but even if (according to a traditional view) the stepped structure was not planned from the beginning, the earliest phase can by no means be attributed to anybody but Netjerykhet. But really decisive were recent epigraphic discoveries. The sealings of Netjerykhet discovered in the tomb of Khasekhemui at Abydos²⁴⁵ confirmed the evidence from the Palermo Stone.²⁴⁶ Netjerykhet apparently was the first ruler of the dynasty. On the other hand, the confirmation of the identity of Sanakhte with Nebka (as well as a decisive proof for his use of a cartouche),²⁴⁷ points to a position of this ruler in the later Third Dynasty. The history of the second half of the dynasty is by no means clear for us. Two important problems seem, however, to have been resolved during recent research. Firstly, there is now little doubt that the Unfinished Pyramid at Zawiyet el-Aryan belongs to the Fourth Dynasty. The owner of this monument, Nebka(ra)/Baka(?) seems to be a

²⁴¹ J.-P. Lauer, L’apport historique des récentes découvertes du Service des Antiquités dans la Nécropole Memphite, CRAIBL (1954), p.376; id., Les pyramides à degrés, monuments typiques de la III^e dynastie, Rev. Arch. 47 (1956), p.17. Cf. Smith, in: CAH, vol I, ch.14, pp.4-8.

²⁴² Lauer, Rev. Arch. 47 (1956), pp.18-19; id., *Histoire Monumentale*, pp.67-68; Stadelmann, LÄ IV, 1256.

²⁴³ Firth, Quibell, *Step Pyramid I*, p.141, fig.18; Lauer, *PD I*, p.5; Kahl, Kloth, Zimmermann, *Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp.148-151.

²⁴⁴ Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, pp.54-55.

²⁴⁵ G. Dreyer, Der erste König der 3. Dynastie, in: *Fs Stadelmann*, pp. 31-34.

²⁴⁶ Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, pp. 74, 130-131.

²⁴⁷ S. Seidlmayer, Town and State in the Early Old Kingdom. A View from Elephantine, in: *Aspects of Early Egypt*, p. 121, pl. 23),

short-reigning successor of Khafra.²⁴⁸ Another question much discussed in the past concerned the final resting place of Huni, the last king of the Third Dynasty, father(?) and predecessor of Sneferu.²⁴⁹ It has been assumed for a long time that the first phase of the Meidum pyramid should be attributed to him, but this now seems untenable.²⁵⁰ No mention of Huni's name was ever recorded at Meidum and all the evidence points to a conclusion that this site was from the very beginning the place of Sneferu's activity. Huni, credited with the reign of 24 years in the Turin papyrus, should have built a big funerary monument. Three possible locations were suggested: north Saqqara (where Huni's officials had been buried, e.g. Metjen),²⁵¹ Abu Roash (a rock-knoll once covered with a brick superstructure, pyramid no.I of Lepsius),²⁵² and Dahshur (according to the identification of Huni with Horus Qahedjet of the stela in the Louvre, see below). It must be stressed that relatively few facts on the sequence of rulers and monuments are firmly established,²⁵³ and new discoveries are much welcome in this respect. The now available data allow the following reconstruction of the history of this period:

²⁴⁸ see chapter II.3.

²⁴⁹ Smith, in: CAH, vol. I, ch.14, pp.15-17, 20.

²⁵⁰ The idea linking Huni with Meidum is now widely rejected (cf. already D. Wildung, *Zur Deutung der Pyramide von Medûm*, RdE 21 (1969), pp.136-137). An article by P. Testa (*Il complesso funerario del re Huny in Meidum. Ricerca del progetto architettonico originario*, DE 18 (1990), pp.55-69), defending the old concept, is a rare exception to this consensus. Presenting no new evidence, it is rather unconvincing.

²⁵¹ Wildung (RdE 21 (1969), pp.136-137) suggested the 'kleinere der beiden unerforschten rechteckigen Bezirke westlich der Stufenpyramide' i.e. apparently the so-called L-shaped or 'Ptahhotep' enclosure. Stadelmann (*Pyramiden*, p.79) expressed an opinion that the destroyed pyramid Lepsius no. 29 might have been the tomb of Huni.

²⁵² N. Swelim, *A Brick Pyramid at Abu Rawash. Number I by Lepsius*, Alexandria 1987.

²⁵³ This observation refers, for example, to the widely accepted identification of Horus Khaba as the owner of the Layer Pyramid at Zawiyet el-Aryan. He probably reigned during the later Third Dynasty (contra Swelim, *Third Dynasty*, pp.198-201, where he is identified as the founder of the dynasty); however, the only link between this ruler and the pyramid was created by the discovery of bowls inscribed with his name in mastaba Z-500. It is far from certain, but only probable, that the mastaba dates from the same reign as the pyramid. Moreover, the architectural similarity of the Layer Pyramid to the Unfinished Pyramid at Saqqara can by no means prove that (as usually assumed) the builder of the former one followed Sekhemkhet immediately. The only fact that can be safely stated is a chronological proximity of the two monuments.

| king ²⁵⁴ | length of reign ²⁵⁵ | funerary monument |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Netjerykhet (Djeser) | 28-29? | Step Pyramid at Saqqara |
| Sekhemkhet (Djeser-Teti) | 7? | Unfinished Pyramid at Saqqara |
| Sanakhte = Nebka | 19? | Gisr el-Mudir at Saqqara? ²⁵⁶ |
| Khaba | ? | Layer Pyramid at Zawiyet el-Aryan |
| Qahedjet = Huni? | 24? | location unknown (Saqqara N?, Dahshur? Abu Roash?) |

NETJERYKHET: Saqqara

Netjerykhet changed his residence at This for Memphis and decided to build his tomb at Saqqara, on the desert plateau already used as the royal burial ground during the Second Dynasty. On the area to the north of the earlier tombs, where some structures ('stairway tombs', Western Massifs) possibly already had existed, he planned his monumental tomb complex, placed inside the vast rectangular enclosure of 545 x 278 m surrounded by a

²⁵⁴ Only the kings known from contemporary sources and firmly attributed to the dynasty are listed. A virtually identical list was adapted by Kahl, Kloth, Zimmermann, *Inscripfen der 3. Dynastie*, p.3. For the discussion of all the names and monuments that might be taken under consideration see Smith, CAH, pp.4-18; Swelim, *Third Dynasty*, passim; A. Dodson, *On the Threshold of Glory: The Third Dynasty*, KMT 9 no.2 (1998), pp.27-40.

²⁵⁵ Based on the data from the Turin Canon and estimated lengths of registers (number of year compartments) on the Palermo Stone (Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, p.80).

²⁵⁶ Known also as De Morgan's Enclosure, Great Enclosure or Cattle Enclosure. I. Mathieson who has been conducted research on the site is inclined to attribute the 'Embankment of the Chief' to Khasekhemui (cf. I. Mathieson et al., *The National Museums of Scotland Saqqara Survey Project 1993-19995*, JEA 83 (1997), pp.17-53). However, the localization in the far desert (suggesting the position in the sequence of monuments after the Step Pyramid and Sekhemkhet enclosures), the orientation different from Netjerykhet's but the same as Sekhemkhet's, and details of the wall construction as well as pottery finds, all these features point towards dating to the later Third Dynasty. Sanakhte-Nebka, well attested at Saqqara, is an obvious candidate for the hypothetical owner of the Gisr el-Mudir.

temenos wall (fig. 8).²⁵⁷ But the real outer limits of the complex were defined by an enormous excavation in the bedrock, the so-called Dry Moat, surrounding the precinct about 100 m outside the walls.²⁵⁸ This fosse was possibly over 30 m wide and, at least in places, 20 m deep. Two parallel stretches of the moat on the south of the enclosure enabled communication to the inner area and the only real entrance at the southeast corner. The enclosure wall was 10.5 m high and 1,645 m long. There were 196 bastions, projecting out of the wall, and fourteen dummy gates, as well as one real doorway in the tower at the south end of the eastern wall. All the bastions and niches were decorated with recessed panels.²⁵⁹ Each panel had eight square hollows in its upper part.²⁶⁰ On the dummy gates, which can be interpreted as gigantic false doors, the details of the door leaves were executed in relief. The number and arrangement of the gates seems to be of much importance,

²⁵⁷ PM III², pp.399-415. The Step Pyramid was first researched in the early XIX century by H. von Minutoli, but systematic excavations were resumed only in 1926 by C. Firth. His work was continued by J.-P. Lauer, who sacrificed his long life to an enormous task of excavating and restoring Netjerykhet's precinct. Nevertheless, still parts of the enclosure (especially the northern area and the Western Massifs) remain unexcavated.

²⁵⁸ N. Swelim, The Dry Moat of the Netjerykhet Complex, in: *Pyramid Studies, Essays Edwards*, pp.13-22.

²⁵⁹ An important fact in respect to architectural planning and human labour was noticed by Lehner: '...the builders did not form the recesses of the huge stone enclosure wall before they laid the blocks, as modern masons would. Instead they hand-carved each recess into the face of the already laid masonry, an enormous task since there were 1,680 recessed panels on the bastions and dummy doorways, each panel more than 9 m (30 ft) tall' (*Complete Pyramids*, p.84). For a rather controversial theory on calendrical meaning of the panels, see J. Rousseau, *Les calendriers de Djoser*, DE 11 (1988), pp.73-86.

²⁶⁰ This pattern can be traced back to the Hierakonpolis tusk decoration (Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl.XIV). One of Netjerykhet's reliefs from Heliopolis bears the royal serekh with a detailed representation of a gate with panels and squares (Turin Inv.Suppl. 2671/15; Smith, HESPOK, 134, fig.49; A. Donadoni-Roveri, F. Tiradritti (eds.), *Kemet. Alle Sorgenti del Tempo*, Milan 1998, p.260, no.239). A travertine statue-base (?) from Mit Rahina (but possibly originally from the Step Pyramid enclosure) imitates the same pattern (Cairo Mus. CG 57001=JE 27851; PM III², 843. For a reconstruction of the object as a statue-base see: D. Arnold, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, p.37, fig.4a. Such a base with a falcon figure on it may have been depicted in the sun-temple of Niuserra (von Bissing, Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, III, pl.10, no.199)). It has to be stressed that sculpting the squares on Netjerykhet's wall had not been finished (as can be observed on the blocks lying on the ground to the west of the enclosure, near the NW corner).

given that it was repeated on pyramid and temple enclosure walls, and royal sarcophagi through next millennia.²⁶¹ The interior of the complex underwent many changes. It was suggested that the original enclosure with a flat-roofed, square mastaba in the middle (slightly off-centre),²⁶² covered much smaller area, and the Western Massifs, as well as the northern parts, were incorporated later.²⁶³ The primitive sacred area was delimited by a set of boundary stelae. They were either round-topped or rectangular, and placed in a truncated cone-shaped markers (fig.9).²⁶⁴ Their decoration almost invariably included the representation of the *jmj wt*-‘fetish’ and the figure of Anubis with his title *hntj t3-dsr*.²⁶⁵ All the stelae were inscribed with the name of the king inside the serekh and the names of two royal ladies *Jnt-k3.s* and *Htp-hr-nbtj*.²⁶⁶ The names were facing right towards the *jmj-wt* and

²⁶¹ Kees, ZÄS 88 (1963), pp.79-113.

²⁶² Following the pattern of the mound inside the Shunet el-Zebib of Khasekhemui or even an earlier model of Hierakonpolis temple enclosure (D. O’Connor, The Status of Early Temples, in: *Followers of Horus*, p.85-86, fig.1, cf. Friedman, JARCE 32 (1994), p.9).

²⁶³ W. Kaiser, Zu den königlichen Talbezirken in Abydos und zur Baugeschichte des Djoser-Grabmals, MDAIK 25 (1969), pp.1-22; H. Altenmüller, Bemerkungen zur frühen und späten Bauphase des Djoserbezirkes in Sakkara, MDAIK 28 (1972), pp.1-12; J.-P. Lauer, Sur certaines modifications et extensions apportées au complexe funéraire de Djoser au cours de son règne, in: *Pyramid Studies, Essays Edwards*, pp.5-11. In the opinion of Stadelmann, the earlier version of the complex, with most of the interior filled in and only few real structures for funerary ceremonies and cult, resembled an enormous ‘Butic Mastaba’. During the second and third building phase, when the step pyramid was created, the enclosure was enlarged to the west and to the north. These alterations may have had some symbolic reasons: the northern area represented the Delta marshes, newly incorporated into the state, and the Western Massifs symbolized the necropolis of the west (R. Stadelmann, Origins and Development of the Funerary Complex of Djoser, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.787-800).

²⁶⁴ Conical markers with rectangular stelae (c.40 fragments): Firth, Quibell, *Step Pyramid I*, p.119, *II*, pls.86, 87; Lauer, *PD I*, p.187-190, fig.209 (a reconstruction); Kahl, Kloth, Zimmermann, *Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, pp.70-75. Round-topped stelae (c.60 fragments): Firth, Quibell, *Step Pyramid I*, 119; Lauer, *PD I*, pp.189-190, fig. 211; R. M. I. Aly, Unpublished Blocks from Saqqara, MDAIK 54 (1998), pp.224-226 and pl.23.

²⁶⁵ Usually translated as “Foremost of the sacred land (=necropolis)”. For the meaning of *t3 dsr* as the ‘segregated land’, ‘secluded region’ see J. K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt. The Term dsr, with Special Reference to Dynasties I-XX*, Freiburg 1985 (=OBO 59), pp.85-87; Malek, *In the Shadow of the Pyramids*, p.49.

²⁶⁶ These two persons occur also on Netjerykhet’s Heliopolis reliefs (see e.g. the fragment with the three ladies sitting at the king’s throne, illustrated with an excellent photo in

Anubis figure (fig.10).²⁶⁷ These objects seem to serve for a limited time only, as they were found built in various structures of the complex, including the pyramid itself.²⁶⁸ Successive enlargements of the central structure led eventually to the erection of a six-step pyramid c.60 m high. Evidence for casing at each stage of building does not, however, exclude the possibility, that the step pyramid was planned from the very beginning.²⁶⁹ The structures inside the precinct included dummy buildings and few functional ones. Behind the gate an entrance colonnade led to the great south court and other parts of the complex. A building to the south of the colonnade, where royal statues were possibly placed, was interpreted by D. Arnold as a ‘token palace’ following the pattern of the internal buildings in Abydene funerary

Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids, p.153, no.7b = Turin Inv. Suppl. 2671/21. Traces of the hieroglyphs above the third person, embracing the king’s leg, are probably to be recognized as *k3* (or *pr?*), *n* and *‘nh* (the name being *n(j)-‘nh-k3?*).

²⁶⁷ With Anubis facing left. Note, however, that the epithet of Anubis is written in the top line in reversed manner. For *jmj-wt* see U. Köhler, *Das Imiut*, GOF IV, 4, Wiesbaden 1975 (esp. pp.6-11 on Netjerykhet’s stelae); T.J. Logan, *The Origins of the Jmy-wt Fetish*, JARCE 27 (1990), pp.61-69.

²⁶⁸ One should mention the hypothesis by A. D. Espinel (*The Boundary Stelae of Djoser Funerary Complex at Saqqara: an Interpretation*, in: *Eighth Congress of Egyptologists. Abstracts of Papers*, p.60) linking the stelae with the *heb-sed* on the basis of their similarity to some motif (a row of boundary markers?) occurring in Niuserra’s and Osorkon II’s scenes. According to this author: ‘the boundary stelae probably delimited a funerary space, maybe the royal funerary complex, which was created or, at least, visited by the king during the Sed festival’ (ibid.). Theorizing on possible consequences of such an explanation one may conclude that it probably goes too far. It is impossible that a king would wait till his jubilee with the creation of his mortuary complex (in fact the evidence points to the assumption that the decision to start building one’s tomb was usually made at the very beginning of a king’s reign). Especially the obviously long history of successive changes of design of Netjerykhet’s complex speaks against such a supposition. Moreover it seems improbable that the king celebrated his *heb-sed* in the complex. The structures connected with the ‘jubilee’ were *Jenseitsarchitektur*.

²⁶⁹ Internal structure of many pyramids reveals accretion layers of masonry, sometimes with separate casings. This not necessarily reflects the changes of project, but rather an ideological concept of successive layers, ‘nesting’ the older ideas one within another (A. M. Roth, *Buried Pyramids and Layered Thoughts: the Organization of Multiple Approaches in Egyptian Religion*, in: *Seventh Congress of Egyptologists*, pp.991-1003; cf. Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, pp.159-169).

enclosures.²⁷⁰ The colonnade with its tripartite arrangement and multiple side compartments consisted of columns resembling *jwn*-pillars, and may have had some symbolic meaning as a 'Hall of Judgement' according to H. Goedicke.²⁷¹ In one of the side rooms a limestone 'altar' decorated with fourteen lion heads (resembling the '*Löwenmöbel*' or the 'lion-bed' represented in Niuserra *heb-sed* reliefs) was discovered. It might have served as a base for a statue, set against a wall decorated with palace façade pattern. Two most important structures of the complex were the pyramid and the South Tomb, both with subterranean chambers and galleries. The South Tomb can plausibly be interpreted as a forerunner of the satellite pyramids of later royal tomb complexes, reflecting an earlier tradition of the double-roomed elite graves, and especially that of the statue room in the tomb of Den at Umm el-Qaab. Both tombs in the Step Pyramid complex had their associated cult structures placed on the north side.²⁷² Beside the structure attached to the north side of the pyramid, assumed to be either a mortuary temple or a model palace,²⁷³ there was a closed serdab with a seated statue of

²⁷⁰ D. Arnold, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, p.44 and figs.3,6. One of the statues must have been a representation of Netjerykhet standing in the *heb-sed* garment and holding various sceptres (for different reconstructions see: B. Gunn, *Inscriptions from the Step Pyramid Site. I: An Inscribed Statue of King Zoser*, ASAE 26 (1926), pp.177-196 and pl.I A-B; H. Sourouzian, *L'iconographie du roi dans la statuaire des trois premières dynasties*, in: *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, pp.149-153 and fig.8 a-b). The base of this statue bears the much-discussed inscriptions, including the name and titles of Imhotep (J.-P. Lauer, *Remarques concernant l'inscription d'Imhotep gravée sur le socle de statue de l'Horus Neteri-khet (roi Djoser)*, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.493-498).

²⁷¹ H. Goedicke, *Zoser's Funerary Monument 1. Eschatology in Stone*, BACE 7 (1996), pp.43-54.

²⁷² The possibility that a stela-sanctuary on the east side of the pyramid was planned should be considered in view of the discovery of two uninscribed stelae and series of bases that may have served for placement of stelae. They were found near the eleven eastern shafts, on the area built over during the enlargement of the pyramid (Lauer, *PD I*, pp. 16, 190; *II*, pls.101, 103,1). Cf. however Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, pp.45, 281 n.113 refuting the idea advocated by Ricke of a royal cult place located to the E of the pyramid.

²⁷³ For two opposing views on this subject see Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.213; id., *Origins and Development of the Funerary Complex of Djoser*, in: *Studies Simpson*, p.791, contra Arnold, *Rituale und Pyramidentempel*, MDAIK 33 (1977), pp.1-14; id., in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, p.42 and n.44.

the king, facing the circumpolar stars, his presumed destiny. The funerary temple shows, according to R. Stadelmann, the partition into an inner temple section, with two funerary chapels furnished probably with two false doors, and an outer temple section (*Verehrungstempel*) with two entrances, two open courts and two slaughterhouses. This bipartite arrangement may have reflected separate cultic installations for Upper and Lower Egypt.²⁷⁴ A vast open court (*wshṯ*), located between the pyramid and the South Tomb, with two sets of horseshoe-shaped boundary markers was a simulacrum of the field where the king was running during the *Heb-Sed*.²⁷⁵ A separate complex of buildings in the eastern part of the enclosure, with two rows of dummy chapels with statue niches²⁷⁶ and a dais for a kiosk (*tnṯṯt*), was likewise connected with the ideas of the ‘jubilee’.²⁷⁷ To the north of this Heb-sed Court there are two large dummy buildings placed inside their own courts, interpreted as ‘South’ and ‘North’ chapels or palaces.²⁷⁸ A great rock-cut altar

²⁷⁴ Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.65. This scholar’s interpretations (especially the presumed existence of the false doors) were rejected by D. Arnold and P. Janosi.

²⁷⁵ A set of (single) markers was also placed in the court of the North Building.

²⁷⁶ The buildings are usually interpreted as model shrines of the most important deities of the country. It is a complicated issue that concerns the name and meaning of *jrtj*. This designation has been commonly taken to denote the (singular) national shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt, namely the *pr-wr* and *pr-nw* (or *pr-nsr*). However, it is possible that the word *jrt* meant originally something like ‘a row’, bearing the notion of repetition or recurrence (cf. an analysis of the original meaning of the stem *tr* in G. E. Kadish, *Seasonality and the Name of the Nile*, *JARCE* 25 (1988), pp.185-194). Thus *jrt* probably means ‘a row of chapels’. It would be confirmed by the texts accompanying the ‘assembly of deities’ scenes in the temples, where multiple chapels are represented. Moreover, the architecture of the court, where the western row of dummy buildings comprised two different types of chapels, suggests that the Upper Egyptian *jrt* included both *pr-wr*- and *zh-ntr*-type shrines. This is further confirmed by the text in *Saḥu-Re*, II, pl.67. The reading *jrtj* should be possibly restricted to the situation when both Upper and Lower Egyptian compounds are represented together.

²⁷⁷ Firth, Quibell, *Step Pyramid I*, pp.65-70; Lauer, *PD I*, pp.131-145; id., *Histoire Monumentale I*, pp.144-153; H. Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches I*, *BÄBA* 4 (Zürich 1944), pp.66, 84ff. For an opposing theory, rejecting any connection of the court and temple T with the *heb-sed*, see H. Goedicke, *Zoser’s Funerary Monument 2. The ‘Heb-sed court’*, *BACE* 8 (1997), pp.33-48.

²⁷⁸ The function of these structures is not clear, hence such neutral designations as ‘*Maison du Sud*’, ‘South Building’, or ‘Pavilion of the South’.

near the northern limits of the enclosure,²⁷⁹ and additional structures in various areas of the complex are not easy to interpret. The fact that some parts were apparently not finished, and others deliberately buried almost immediately after they had been built,²⁸⁰ does not help to clarify the view. It can be assumed, nonetheless, that the ideological programme in the aboveground structures of the Step Pyramid complex was realized by means of architecture and sculpture. The rich statuary programme²⁸¹ included the standing figures of the king with the attributes connected to the *heb-sed*, seated sculptures like the one in serdab, group statues and, possibly, also gods' representations set up in the niches of the chapels in the Heb-sed Court,²⁸² as well as the representations of captives. Concerning the architecture and architectural decoration, it is usually stated that a lot of features in the Step Pyramid precinct refer to earlier traditions of building in mud-brick, wood and reeds, being the simulation in stone of brickwork, plant columns, wooden ceiling beams, matting, papyrus bundles etc. A number of elements occurred here for the first time, to mention: colonnade, hypostyle, portico, torus moulding, cavetto cornice, uraeus-frieze, *djed*-frieze or *kheker*-frieze. The friezes are of special interest. It has often been assumed that the cobras sculptured on the wall of the subsidiary building of the South Tomb are the first occurrence of the motive that was repeated frequently in the later Egyptian architecture. In fact, however, the uraeus-friezes are known mostly from iconographic sources. The next occurrence of this motive after Netjerykhet, as attested in the preserved architecture, was only in the reign of

²⁷⁹ Interpreted as a base for an obelisk by H. Altenmüller, *Bemerkungen zur frühen und späten Bauphase des Djoserbezirkes in Sakkara*, MDAIK 28 (1972), pp.8-12; this idea was refuted by R. Stadelmann, *Das vermeintliche Sonnenheiligtum im Nord des Djoserbezirkes*, ASAE 69 (1983), pp.373ff.

²⁸⁰ R. Stadelmann, *Origins and Development of the Funerary Complex of Djoser*, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.787-800.

²⁸¹ H. Sourouzian, *L'iconographie du roi dans la statuaire des trois premières dynasties*, in: *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, pp.133-154 (esp. pp. 143-153 and pls. 52-56).

²⁸² D. Wildung, *Two Representations of Gods from the Early Old Kingdom*, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana I* (1972), pp.145-160.

Amenhotep III.²⁸³ Friezes of *djed*-signs decorated lintels in the temple T.²⁸⁴ The *kheker*-frieze decorated once the façades of the South and North Buildings and was restored above the entrance of the former. The frieze is executed in low relief. The bundles of reeds are of pointed type. It cannot be excluded that they were polychrome, given that the façades of the buildings were painted.²⁸⁵ A symbolic meaning of the frieze should be taken into consideration, as almost no architectural feature in the complex (no matter how ‘decorative’ in appearance) seem to have a value of pure ornament.²⁸⁶ A striking feature of the decoration in the aboveground parts of the precinct is a virtual non-existence of royal titulary, which could be expected e.g. on the doorframes. This can be partially due to a chance of preservation, as the discovery of a jamb from Netjerykhet’s building (found in 1993 near the pyramid of Teti) would suggest.²⁸⁷ This huge limestone block, now broken in two, seems to have been the doorjamb of a gate.²⁸⁸ It is decorated with figures of undulating snakes (resembling those known from the so-called *Schlangensteine*) on both lateral surfaces, and alternating figures of jackals

²⁸³ Black granite cobra from the temple at Sanam in Upper Nubia (Louvre E 17392); cf. Johnson, *Cobra Goddess*, p.73.

²⁸⁴ J.-P. Lauer, CRAIBL (1973), pp.325-326. The friezes were restored during an anastylosis of the walls (Lauer, ASAE 63 (1979), p.138).

²⁸⁵ J.-P. Lauer, Sur l'emploi et le rôle de la couleur aux monuments du complexe funéraire du roi Djoser, RdE 44 (1993), 75-80 (missing plate supplemented in RdE 45 (1994)).

²⁸⁶ On the meaning of the *kheker*-frieze see chapter below.

²⁸⁷ JE 98951 a and b. Published by Z. Hawass, A Fragmentary Monument of Djoser, JEA 80 (1994), pp.45-56. Both parts of the jamb were embedded in the pavement of the mortuary temple of queen Iput I.

²⁸⁸ It is not certain if it was a right-hand jamb as restored by Hawass, *ibid.*, fig.3. The suggested restoration was based on an assumption that the jamb’s undecorated side was set against a wall thickness. According to Hawass the face with the king’s titulary formed thus an entrance thickness, while one would rather expect it to be the frontal face (and only then it would agree with the titulary on the lintel, as restored by Hawass). The identification of the monument as a pillar (Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built*, p. 19) seems less probable, although the fact that it is decorated on its three sides does not exclude this possibility (to compare with the pillars in the ‘valley temple’ of Sneferu at Dahshur, also decorated on three sides only. They were, however, much wider). Do. Arnold assumes that this "Snake Pillar (..) may originally have stood beside a doorway." (*ibid.*).

and lionesses (representing probably the gods of the necropolis) as well as *serekhs* of Netjerykhet on the front face.²⁸⁹ The arrangement of the snakes and the horizontal compartments with *serekhs* and gods' figures was repeated twice (or even three times, the possibility that cannot be confirmed given that the stone is broken at its lower part). The only difference is that the upper registers in the lower set are topped with a horizontal line and those of the upper set are crowned with a curved line.²⁹⁰ It has been assumed that the jamb could have come from a valley building connected to the precinct with a processional causeway. However, the two suggested locations (near the pyramid of Teti or close to the valley temple of Unis)²⁹¹ seem quite improbable in view of our knowledge of the arrangement of the early cemeteries at Saqqara.²⁹² The more probable hypothesis would be that it formed part of a monumental gateway to the necropolis, erected somewhere north of the Archaic necropolis, at the entrance to Wadi Abusir.²⁹³ Certainly, the block in quest could have been transported from the Step Pyramid precinct, given that some of the boundary stelae found their way into the same area²⁹⁴, and the question arises if this implies that the jamb and the

²⁸⁹ Hawass, JEA 80 (1994), pls. VI 2-4, figs.1,2. For different photos see Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built*, fig.7; *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, fig. on p.150.

²⁹⁰ In the opinion of Do. Arnold 'the curved lines at the top indicate that the pillar was probably intended to be placed in the shrine.' (*When the Pyramids Were Built*, p.19). It is probable, however, that those half-moon shaped details represent an early version of the *pt*-sign.

²⁹¹ Hawass, JEA 80 (1994), pp.53, 56 and fig.4.

²⁹² D. G. Jeffreys, A. Tavares, *The Historic Landscape of Early Dynastic Memphis*, *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 150-1; cf. Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.82.

²⁹³ At the area of the presumed *rwt jzt* ? On this locality see a.o.: Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, p.50; Zibelius, *Siedlungen des Alten Reiches*, pp.144-145; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, p.105, n.1; Jones, *Titles*, p.576, no.2119).

²⁹⁴ A fragment from the tomb of Mereri: Lloyd, Spencer, El-Khouli, *Saqqara Mastabas II*, p.48, pl.28,2). The boundary stelae were removed from their original positions and re-used already by Netjerykhet (even built in his pyramid) and were found at various sites outside the precinct (including the area of the Polish excavations west of the Step Pyramid).

stelae may have had something in common (see below).²⁹⁵ Z. Hawass suggested as less probable alternatives for the original placement of the jamb either the northern, unexcavated part of Netjerykhet's precinct, or the Heb-Sed Court.²⁹⁶ This last idea cannot be excluded, in view of the obvious connection of the *Schlangensteine* with the *snwt*-shrines, and their occurrence during the 'jubilee'.²⁹⁷ One may consider, however, another possibility, being more in accordance with a surprising occurrence of the pillar in the Sixth Dynasty building (which seems unlikely to be a result of mere plundering). The object (together with its presumable counterpart) may have constituted part of the *snwt*-shrine, although possibly not as a *Schlangenstein* itself.²⁹⁸ The shrine was probably erected at the beginning of Netjerykhet's reign, and was then dismantled and removed from its original place, together with the boundary stelae, during the successive changes in the precinct. This would agree with the evidence from the annals, where the record of Netjerykhet's second year includes *jbz nswt (m) snwt* "introducing the king (into) the *snwt*-shrine".²⁹⁹ One may even suggest the primitive location of the shrine at the east side of the pyramid where Lauer discovered remains of stelae.

²⁹⁵ Otherwise the hypothesis that the jamb came from the Step Pyramid enclosure would imply an assumption that already during Pepi I reign (when the funerary temple for queen Iput I was built) buildings inside the enclosure could have been destroyed. However, we know nothing to support such a view (see the remarks in n.52 above). Moreover, it is difficult to imagine plundering in the Sixth Dynasty, and especially under Pepy I, of the funerary precinct of the much revered founder of the Third Dynasty, whose memory is reflected even in the name of a prince Hornetjerykhet, buried near the pyramid of Pepy I (see J. Leclant, G. Clere, *Or* 66,3 (1997), p. 269).

²⁹⁶ Z. Hawass, *JEA* 80 (1994), pp.51-52.

²⁹⁷ For the connection of the *Schlangensteine* with the *Sed*-festival see: Kees, *ZÄS* 57 (1922), pp.123-133; D. Wildung, *LÄ* V (1984), 655-666. They occur in the scenes of assembly of gods in front of their chapels in Sahure's and Pepy II's mortuary temples (Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*^c, II, pls.19, 67; Jequier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.50), as well as in the sun-temple of Niuserra, in the 'small' *Heb-Sed* cycle.

²⁹⁸ The objects are usually represented with an oval top and narrowing towards the bottom. This distinctive shape is still shown in the famous scene with the 'electric bulb' in the crypt at Dendera.

²⁹⁹ Palermo Stone, Rt.V, 9; Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, pp.137-138. The expression *jbz nswt m* [...] occurred on a fragment from Teti's mortuary temple (Lauer, Leclant, *Téti*,

The representational relief decoration, absent from the aboveground architecture of the complex, was included into the program of the subterranean parts, together with royal titulary and friezes. Some of the chambers under the pyramid were decorated with panels of faience tiles set in limestone frames, mimicking reed matting that hanged on the walls of palaces of the period.³⁰⁰ Some of the panels, placed in the upper parts of the walls or above the entrances, had more elaborate form of half-circle shaped *djed*-friezes.³⁰¹ They were composed of nine (sometimes eleven) *djed*-signs, the ones at the sides represented flattened as if pressed, to conform to the shape of the panel. The doorframes of the entrances (as well as those of the false door relief panels discussed below) were adorned with the royal titulary, including Horus name in *serekh*, repeated four times on each jamb, and *nswt-bjtj nbtj Ntrj-ht*, supplemented with the golden name/title *R^c(w) nbw*, on a lintel. Texts on the lintels were written symmetrically, facing the central intertwined *dd* and *tjt* signes, and ended with a similar *dd-tjt* composition or a *w3s*-sign, and a *šn*-sign. The ceiling in the ‘Blue Chambers’ is decorated with stars in raised relief.

The three stelae in the corridor under the Pyramid and their counterparts in the corridor under the South Tomb, likewise three in number, have been the subject of a thorough study by F. D. Friedman.³⁰² These

p.68, fig.26, pl.25). *Snwt*-shrine is mentioned several times in the royal funerary complexes (e.g. in a text from Userkaf’s open court, speaking of *jnj r snwt* [...], ‘fetching... to *snwt*-shrine’ (Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, fig.333=doc.261). On *snwt(j)* cf. Wb.IV, 153.

³⁰⁰ Lauer, *PD I*, pp.34-38, id., *Histoire Monumentale I*, pp.76-79; Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, pp.42-44, 48. On the symbolic meaning of the greenish-blue faience tiles in the form bound reeds as representing both the reed matting of the king’s palace and the afterlife abode of the Field of Reeds (*šht j3rw*) see F. D. Friedman, Notions of Cosmos in the Step Pyramid Complex, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.342-343.

³⁰¹ Drioton, Lauer, *Saqqarah*, figs.21, 52, 53; For the panel transferred to the Cairo Museum see Tiradritti, *Egyptian Museum*, p.47 (=JE 68921).

³⁰² F. D. Friedman, The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex, *JARCE* 32 (1995), pp.1-42. A completely different interpretation was proposed by H. Goedicke, Zoser’s Funerary Monument 2. The ‘Heb-sed court’, *BACE* 8 (1997),

limestone panels are set in doorways,³⁰³ acting thus as false doors, the idea of which is expressed also by the fact that the backs of the doors (with their battens in relief) are represented in the neighbouring rooms.³⁰⁴ The corridors, located 30 m below the ground, are both entered from the north, and were decorated with blue faience tiles. The relief panels are set almost a meter off the ground as though on a pedestal, a fact that, according to Friedman, should be understood as reflecting representation of statues in the shrines. Each doorframe is surrounded with the king's titulary. The subjects of the relief panels are ritual acts made by the king during his *sed* festival, including visiting shrines of the gods, the ritual race and the coronation. Netjerykhet is shown running or standing, wearing different garb and with different insignia. As shown by Friedman, the panels should be read from north to south, the direction of the move of the king's figures. The predominant orientation is south (towards which the king faces) and east (the doorways are set in the west walls, thus facing east), which corresponds closely to the arrangement of the statues that once stood in the shrines at the Heb-sed Court.³⁰⁵ This would support the hypothesis that the panels are in close relation to, or simply represent statues. The successive panels should be

pp.33-48. Ignoring much of the analysis by Friedman (to which only marginal references are made), Goedicke attempted to deny any connection with the *sed*-festival of both the scenes on the panels and the architecture of the alleged *Heb-Sed* court, but his concepts are rather unconvincing. For earlier discussions of the panels, see H. Kees, *Zu den neuen Zoser-Reliefs aus Sakkara*, NGWG 1 (1929), pp.57-64; G. Jequier, *Les stèles de Djeser*, CdE 27 (1939), pp.29-35; J.-P. Lauer, *Remarques sur les stèles fausses-portes de l'Horus Neteri-khet (Zoser) à Saqqarah*, Mon. Piot. 49 (1957), pp.1-15, pls.I-III.

³⁰³ The stone slabs were decorated outside the tomb and then inserted into the niches, which caused some necessary adjustments of the dimensions by cutting edges of the panels. This is especially well visible on the southern and middle panels under the pyramid.

³⁰⁴ The importance of this fact was stressed by H. G. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p.95 (cf. Firth, Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, pl.45(3); Lauer, *ASAE* 54 (1956-1957), p.106 and pl.4).

³⁰⁵ Where most of the statuary of the western row of chapels was facing east, and the statues of the eastern row were facing south (Friedman, *JARCE* 32 (1995), p.32). The idea that the decoration of the panels could be linked with the buildings to the east of the pyramid was expressed already by R. Montet, *Les fondations pieuses du roi Djoser*, *CRAIBL* (1955), pp.48-55.

understood as representing successive episodes of the *sed* festival. On the northern panel under the pyramid, the king, preceded by standard of Wepwawet and the one with the throne cushion, stands in front of the shrine of Horus Behedeti (fig.11). As the origin of the name is probably the word *bḥdw* ‘throne seat’, and *Bḥdt* is ‘the throne place’,³⁰⁶ the caption ‘standing in (or: halting at)³⁰⁷ the Upper Egyptian Shrine of Horus Behedeti’ should be understood as referring to the enthronement of the king.³⁰⁸ The subject of three next panels, i.e. the ritual race between territorial markers, is a joining theme of the group under the pyramid and that under the South Tomb. On the middle and southern stela under the pyramid, and on the northern one under the South Tomb, Netjerykhet runs with the *mks*-container for *jmjt-pr* (a legal document, popularly called a ‘testament’)³⁰⁹ in one hand, and *nḥh*-flail in the other. In fact Netjerykhet was represented in the subterranean chambers performing what he actually was supposed to do on the surface, in the great *wšht*-court to the south of the pyramid. Running between the territorial markers (*ḏnbw*) during the *heb-sed* the king claimed his rights to the two lands and possessed the two skies. Moreover, the corridors with the panels are not only aligned with the axis of the boundary markers in the court, but also with one of the dummy gateways in the southern enclosure wall. Through this gate Netjerykhet could emerge and run around the entire precinct performing *phr ḥ3 jnb*, a ritual of circuiting the capital walls at the accession, as well as a renewal of the king’s reign during the *sed*-festival. After coming back inside the precinct, he is crowned as the rightful King of Upper and Lower Egypt. This is the subject of the last two panels under the South Tomb. On the middle one Netjerykhet, stands in front of the shrine of

³⁰⁶ Wb. I 470, 3; E. Otto, Behedeti, LÄ I, 683; W. Westendorf, Zur Etymologie des *bḥd*-Thrones, GM 90 (1986), pp.85-86.

³⁰⁷ ḥꜥ (*m*). Cf. n. below.

³⁰⁸ For a more detailed discussion of Behedeti see the Conclusions below.

³⁰⁹ For a detailed discussion of this object see T. Logan, The *jmjt-pr* Document: Form, Function and Significance, JARCE 37 (2000), pp.49-73.

Horus of Khem (Letopolis).³¹⁰ It is the only instance when he is represented on the panels wearing the Red Crown, which is in accordance with the subject connected with Lower Egypt.³¹¹ On the southern panel, the king wears again the White Crown and visits *pr-wr*, the Upper Egyptian national shrine.

An important question concerns the provenance and meaning of the stone blocks (around 25 in number) decorated with large five-pointed stars in low relief, found in a secondary position in the underground chambers of the pyramid and the South Tomb.³¹² This kind of decoration would point to their original placement in a ceiling. There is, however, some problem with this assumption, as the blocks are quite small (and thus inappropriate for ceiling logs) and are decorated on their upper as well as on lower surfaces. The solutions proposed by J.-P. Lauer (ceiling of the earlier burial crypt, which might have had travertine walls and diorite or greywacke floor),³¹³ and R. Stadelmann (flat roofing of the ‘manoeuvre chambers’ above the granite vaults in the shafts of the pyramid and the South Tomb),³¹⁴ are both difficult to accept for technical reasons. Filling of the shafts would immediately crash such a roof.³¹⁵ Stones of this size could have formed a barrel vault (for which there are good analogies in the stone and brick architecture of the Old

³¹⁰ On this deity and the site see ch. III.14 below.

³¹¹ The occurrence of a Lower Egyptian theme before the Upper Egyptian one is notable, given that usually the U.E. takes precedence. It can be explained by a need to end the sequence of scenes with the U.E. motive, just as it was begun with it.

³¹² Lauer, *PD I*, pp.46-47.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.39, 102-104.

³¹⁴ Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.43; cf. W. Kaiser, *Zu die Granitkammern und ihren Vorgängerbauten unter der Stufenpyramide und im Südgrab von Djoser*, MDAIK 53 (1997), pp.195-207.

³¹⁵ The reconstructions in Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, fig. 15 and Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.93 ignore the fact that the blocks were very short. They are drawn in a way that suggests that they were long beams. This was not the case; moreover, a possibility that they were cut from earlier, longer stones already decorated with stars can be excluded, as they do not bear traces of sewing. The blocks have similar mean dimensions (length 52,3 cm, i.e. 1 cubit) and the stars were designed and executed according to the available surface, apparently on each stone separately.

Kingdom). Whatever the form of the ceiling was, it obviously represented the sky, although the star decoration on both its lower and upper side would be unparalleled. In a later article Stadelmann recognized the difficulty of assigning the blocks to a ceiling, and opted for the concept that they may have been used for walling up the doors and the opening in the floor of the manoeuvring chambers after the burial of the king.³¹⁶ This would conform well to the size of the blocks, but not so well to their star-decoration.

SEKHEMKHET: Saqqara

The probable successor of Netjerykhet, Sekhemkhet, planned his funerary complex at Saqqara, to the southwest of the Step Pyramid. Called the Unfinished or Buried Pyramid, this monument was excavated by Z. Goneim and J.-P. Lauer in the 50s and 60s.³¹⁷ The complex has not been uncovered *in extenso* but only the most important points were surveyed; one may nevertheless make some general assumptions. Apparently the work had been stopped at a very early stage, which reflects probably a short, six-seven years long reign. The precinct was intended to be (after several extensions) as long as the one of Netjerykhet albeit not so wide. Both the stepped pyramid and the south tomb reflected the pattern of the tomb complex of the royal predecessor. Virtually nothing can be said on the planned buildings inside the precinct and their decoration. The only fact that is recorded concerns the enclosure wall, which copied not only the external design of the enclosure wall of Netjerykhet (bastions and niches), but also the specific arrangement

³¹⁶ R. Stadelmann, *Zur Baugeschichte des Djoserbezirks. Grabschacht und Grabkammer der Stufenmastaba*, MDAIK 52 (1996), pp.295-305.

³¹⁷ PM III², pp.415-417; M. Z. Goneim, *The Buried Pyramid*, London 1956; id., *Horus Sekhem-khet. The Unfinished Step Pyramid at Saqqara*, Cairo 1957; J.-P. Lauer, *À propos de la nouvelle pyramide à degrés de Saqqarah*, BIE 35 (1955), pp.357-364; id., *Au complexe funéraire de l'Horus Sekhem-khet. Recherches et travaux menés dans la nécropole de Saqqara au cours de campagne 1966-1967*, CRAIBL (1967), pp.496-508; id., *Recherche et découverte du tombeau sud de l'Horus Sekhem-khet dans son complexe funéraire à Saqqarah*, BIE 48-49 (1969), pp.121-131. See also Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *APM*, II.

of the dummy gates (as may be assumed from the three preserved examples in the northern wall). The underground burial chamber and comb-like storage galleries revealed no traces of a decoration. It has been doubted if the king was buried under his pyramid, especially after the discovery of what seemed to be a sealed sarcophagus, which proved empty. However, the traces of costly burial equipment (including golden bracelets, a part of a sceptre, and a shell-shaped box, as well as a large number of stone vessels) point against those doubts.

KHABA (?): Zawiyet el-Aryan

The Layer Pyramid at Zawiyet el-Aryan has been since a long time attributed to Khaba.³¹⁸ Both this attribution and the chronological position of this king are uncertain. The excavations by A. Barsanti,³¹⁹ and by G. Reisner and C. Fisher,³²⁰ provided no evidence concerning the precinct, any associated buildings or their decoration; nothing was likewise discovered in the underground galleries, which resembled much those of Sekhemkhet. Tiny traces of mud brick walls found on the east side of the pyramid could have been construction markers.³²¹ The mastaba Z-500, contrary to a suggestion by N. Swelim,³²² was not a funerary temple, but a tomb located some distance north from the pyramid.³²³ A location of an alleged valley temple has been suggested as well.³²⁴ However, as long as the area surrounding the Layer

³¹⁸ PM III², p.313. Cf. also A. Dodson, *The Layer Pyramid of Zawiyet el-Aryan: Its Layout and Context*, JARCE 37 (2000), pp.81-90.

³¹⁹ A. Barsanti, *Ouverture de la pyramide de Zaouiet el-Aryân*, ASAE 2 (1901), pp.92-94.

³²⁰ G. Reisner, C. Fisher, *The Layer Pyramid at Zawiyet El Aryan*, BMFA 9 (1911), pp.55-59.

³²¹ Swelim, *Third Dynasty*, p.78.

³²² *ibid.*, pp.78-79.

³²³ M. Lehner, *Z500 and the Layer Pyramid of Zawiyet el-Aryan*, in: *Studies Simpson*, p.507-522.

³²⁴ A site called 'El Gamal el-Barek' i.e. 'the sitting camel' (Swelim, *Third Dynasty*, pp.77, 80); cf. Reisner, BMFA 9 (1911), p.56; M. Lehner, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.508-510.

Pyramid is not properly surveyed and at least partially cleared, the existence of cult installations remains speculative.

LATER THIRD DYNASTY

Concerning other funerary monuments that could be assigned to the Third Dynasty kings (Gisr el-Mudir and L-shaped enclosure at Saqqara, El-Deir and Lepsius Pyramid no.I at Abu Roash), nothing can be said on their possible decoration. The only known object coming probably from a royal tomb of the period is the stela of Qahedjet in the Louvre, dated by its style to the Third Dynasty (fig.12).³²⁵ It is a rectangular limestone panel, resembling those of Netjerykhet. A king, facing right, is wearing the White Crown and typical one-arm strip garment, and holding a *mks*-sceptre and a *ḥd*-mace. He is labelled with his Horus name *Q3(j)-ḥdt* ('High is the White Crown'), and is embraced by a falcon-headed god referred to as *Ḥrw m ḥwt-ʿ3t* ('Horus in the Great Mansion'), the form of the god associated with Heliopolis.³²⁶ The relief is flat, but well designed and executed with care for internal details. The stela may be compared with the panels of Netjerykhet under the Step Pyramid and the South Tomb.³²⁷ Qahedjet has been identified as the possible Horus name of king Huni. Provenance of the stela is unknown, but a remark by E. Drioton in the museum inventory suggests Dahshur. This would support the hypothesis that the pyramid Lepsius L, situated east of the Red Pyramid of

³²⁵ E 25982. J. Vandier, CRAIBL 1968, pp. 16-22; Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs*, p.54-57 (no.4).

³²⁶ H. Goedicke (Abusir-Saqqara-Giza, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, p.401) translates the god's name as 'Horus in the great enclosure', which he apparently takes for a reference to a royal tomb.

³²⁷ Ziegler, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.155 (no.9), supposes that the stela occupied the back wall of a niche similar to those in the Netjerykhet's underground chambers. However, the dimensions of Qahedjet's stela are much inferior; a possibility suggested by Do. Arnold that the piece formed once a right-hand wall in a deep niche, seems very probable, given that the left edge of the stela is much wider than the right one (Arnold, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.98, n.11).

Sneferu, was the tomb of Huni.³²⁸ Nevertheless, in view of complete lack of other evidence, it remains pure speculation.

³²⁸ The pyramid was excavated by R. Stadelmann in 1986. It appeared that the monument, apparently unfinished, could possibly date from the Fourth Dynasty to judge by pottery found in the vicinity.

II.3. DYNASTY IV

The history of the Fourth Dynasty is fairly well reconstructed. There are, however, some important lacunae. First of all, the estimated lengths of reigns, usually taken for granted, are in most part by no means certain.³²⁹ Obvious discrepancies between contemporary evidence and later sources, as well as the ambiguity of data, create serious problems for a reconstruction, especially in the areas concerning the interpretation of the monuments. Some long-standing assumptions (e.g. that Djedefra ruled for a short period and his reign was an ‘intrusive’ one), should be revised in view of recent research at Giza and Abu Roash. Moreover, as there seems now to be no doubt that the Unfinished Pyramid at Zawiyet el-Aryan dates from the Fourth Dynasty, its owner has to be included into the king list of this period. On the other hand, thus far no evidence would confirm the existence of ephemeral Thamphthys of Manetho, credited by some authors with two years’ reign.³³⁰

One may assume the following list of the Fourth Dynasty kings and the length of their reigns, as confirmed by contemporaneous sources, compared to date from the Royal Canon of Turin.³³¹

³²⁹ For an extensive survey of the now available evidence on the chronology of the period see M. Verner, *Archaeological Remarks on the 4th and 5th Dynasty Chronology*, *Archiv orientální. Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies* 69 (2001), pp.363-418. The author points out discrepancies between contemporaneous written evidence and the Royal Canon of Turin and other late sources, as well as the uncertainty about the regularity of the censuses in the Old Kingdom. It appears that concerning the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties in virtually no case one can be sure about the precise length of the king’s reign!

³³⁰ The entry in the Turin Canon (III, 6), where the king’s name is not preserved, gives this number, and it has been assumed that this could refer to Thamphthys, to whom Manetho attributed nine years. A restoration of the original name as *Dd.f-Pth* is a pure speculation (cf. a.o. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, I, p.66; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, pp.53-4 and n.15).

³³¹ After Verner, *Archiv Orientální* 69 (2001) , p.416. Since the counts (censuses) were most probably irregular during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, Verner postulates that ‘a reconstruction of the length of a king’s reign should consist of the total of *the number of the highest attested census year* with the sum of *the attested intervening years*. To the numeral thus obtained, one would still need to add an *x* expressing the unknown number of the so far unattested cattle counts, either annual or biennial’ (ibid.).

| King | Contemporaneous written evidence | Turin |
|------------|----------------------------------|-------|
| Sneferu | 27 + x | 24 |
| Khufu | 12 + x | 23 |
| Djedefra | 11 (10?) (?) + x | 8 |
| Khafra | 15 + x | ? |
| Bicheris | not attested ³³² | ? |
| Menkaura | 1 (?) + x | 18 |
| Shepseskaf | 2 + x | 4 |
| Thamphthys | not attested | 2 |

SNEFERU: an overview

Sneferu, the founder of the dynasty, was an outstanding person, and his merits for the country were widely recognized in later times. His reign was considered by later Egyptians to have been a golden age, and Sneferu himself an ideal ruler. This was expressed in Middle Kingdom stories, and by the cult of his person at Dahshur and in Sinai.³³³ One can observe a clearly marked acceleration in development in many areas during his long reign. Sneferu appears as a man of untamed activity. It is visible in changes of the administrative system and concentration of the country resources in the capital, as well as in organizing military, trade and exploration expeditions to neighbouring countries. Developing new religious ideas and a new, refined concept of kingship is reflected in the iconographic and textual evidence.

³³² This means that no date from his reign survived. In fact even his identification with enigmatic Baka (?) is conjectural (see below).

³³³ Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, pp.147-152; J. Malek, Old Kingdom Rulers as “local saints” in the Memphite area, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.253-254. Later fame of Sneferu, a model excellent ruler of the past (sometimes possibly as an antithesis to ‘bad’ Khufu), was reinforced by a popular reinterpretation of his name as ‘Benefactor’ (E. Graefe, Das Gute Reputation des Königs “Snofru”, in: *Studies Lichtheim I*, pp.257-263). In fact, however, *Snfrw* was probably a propaganda declaration, with the meaning ‘he who makes proper’ or ‘he who will make proper’ (H. Goedicke, *The Protocol of Neferyt*, Baltimore 1977, p.54).

Many motives, epithets and elements of titulary occurred then for the first time.³³⁴ The decisive step, marking the beginning of fully developed Old Kingdom, was made in the architecture and fine arts. Building activity of Sneferu is unparalleled, in respect to both its extensiveness and subtlety in architectural experiments. During his reign major changes in the design of the pyramid complexes occurred. The monuments at Meidum (in its earlier design) and at Seila were built in a step pyramid form. Later structures: the Bent and the Red pyramids, as well as the final version at Meidum, were in a true pyramid form. This shape of a pyramid superstructure is commonly interpreted as related to the solar cult and reflecting the idea of askew sunrays considered a ramp for the king to climb the sky and join Ra. Although both step and true pyramids may represent a primeval hill or Heliopolitan *ben-ben*, the old form of a ‘stairway to heaven’ shows stronger astral associations. The new, solar connotations are reflected also in the change of the shape and orientation of the complex, from a rectangular, oriented NS, with a mortuary temple on the north side of a pyramid, to a square one, with a dominant EW axis and the temples to the east of the tomb. The internal designs of Sneferu’s pyramids also present peculiarities possibly connected with these new concepts. A most important feature is the location of the burial chamber in the superstructure, the idea followed only by Khufu.

Sneferu followed immediately king Huni, being possibly his son by queen Meresankh I. The length of his reign, given by the Turin Canon as 24 years, must have been much longer, possibly even 44-48 years according to

³³⁴ These included e.g. the epithet *ntr ʕ3* ‘Great God’ and the Horus name of Sneferu *nb m3ʕt*. From the preserved evidence it appears that both were applied first to a king and only later became epithets of gods, although probably this assumption *ex silentio* is wrong; rather one would expect those expressions to denote the sun-god and be only borrowed by the kings. Important iconographic motives developed in Sneferu’s reign include the Falcon of Gold (the Golden name, used thereon regularly), *atef* and feather crowns, and the winged sun-disk.

the reconstruction by Stadelmann.³³⁵ This is based on the evidence of the graffiti with dates from Dahshur and Meidum, as well as on an analysis of the architectural development of successive pyramids of the king. With some uncertainties about the precise length of the reign, concerning the system of counting of regnal years (according to biennial censuses, which sometimes may have been resumed irregularly), the assumption of over forty years' reign is now widely accepted.³³⁶ It seems that at the beginning of his reign Sneferu planned to be buried at Meidum (*Dd-Snfrw*).³³⁷ A traditional step pyramid, though placed inside a new-style square complex with a valley temple, was designed to become his tomb. After some fifteen years, during which the members of the royal family and dignitaries were being buried in a large mud brick mastabas to the north of the pyramid, Sneferu decided (for unknown reasons) to move north and to build his funerary complex at Dahshur. The Bent Pyramid with its subsidiary structures was built, and new cemeteries for the officials planned to the east and northeast of it. It is not clear if the change of the angle of the sides reflects an attempt to avoid constructional problems or was an idea conceived from the beginning. At any rate, around his 30th year Sneferu started a new project at Dahshur North.³³⁸ The Red Pyramid became eventually his final resting place. At the same moment he decided to come back to Meidum and convert the existing

³³⁵ Snofru und die Pyramiden von Meidum und Dahschur, MDAIK 36 (1980), pp.437-449.

³³⁶ See, however, R. Krauss, The Length of Sneferu's Reign and How Long It Took to Build the Red Pyramid, JEA 82 (1996), pp.43-50 and id. Chronologie und Pyramidenbau in der 4. Dynastie, Or 66 (1997), pp.1-14, where the author opts for a much shorter, 30-31 years' reign.

³³⁷ R. Stadelmann, Snofru und die Pyramiden von Meidum und Dahschur, MDAIK 36 (1980), pp.443-446. For the older hypothesis, now widely rejected, linking king Huni with the earlier phase of construction of the pyramid see n. above. The toponym *Dd Snfrw* occurs already in the Abusir Papyri (Posener-Kriéger, *Abu Sir Papyri*, p.14, pl.34,17 and pl.39, fragm.A6).

³³⁸ The two Dahshur pyramids were named *H^c-Snfrw* and *H^c-Snfrw rsj*. Various proposed translations of these names ('S. appears in glory', 'S. shines', 'S. gleams', 'The Shining Pyramid' etc.) depend much on the assumed meaning of the verb *h^cj* and its relation to the king's name.

monument into a true pyramid, possibly with an idea that it would have served as a cult-centre of his deified person, comparable in some way to the later solar temples.

SNEFERU: Meidum

At the beginning of Sneferu's reign he chose to be buried at Meidum. Usually the site for a king's tomb seems to have been in direct relation to the location of the residence.³³⁹ In this case it is not easy to explain such a move from the Saqqara area, where the royal tombs were located in the Third Dynasty, to a site some forty five kilometres south from there. Does it reflect a great concern of Sneferu for Fayum, recorded also in the location of the pyramid of Seila? At Meidum seven- and, ultimately, eight-stepped pyramid was designed to be his tomb.³⁴⁰ It was placed inside an almost square enclosure, with a stepped satellite pyramid to the south of the main monument, and an enigmatic 'peribolus tomb' in the northern part of the precinct (fig.13). After the subsequent move to Dahshur and completion of the Bent Pyramid, Sneferu returned to Meidum. The pyramid was then converted into the true one.³⁴¹ There was no funerary temple, but a simple

³³⁹ A. M. Roth (Politics and Patterns in Pyramid Placement, in: *Eighth Congress of Egyptologists, Abstracts of Papers*, p.154) noticed that 'The position of a king's pyramid, viewed in the context of other pyramids of his dynasty, can be evaluated with the other historical and archaeological evidence from his reign to reveal the degree to which his claim to a political legitimacy was based on association with his predecessors, as well as which of those predecessors he wished to associate with himself'. This important observation, working very well for other kings, seems to have limited value in the case of Sneferu, who was himself an object of such politics, especially during the Twelfth Dynasty.

³⁴⁰ The primary publications are Petrie, *Medum*; Petrie, Mackay, Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis III*; El-Khouli, *Meidum*. For the new research that resulted in discovery of a previously unknown rooms in the pyramid, see: G. A. Gaballa et al., Architectural Survey of the Inner Arrangement of the Pyramid of Meidum: Discovery of Two Corridors and Two Chambers, in: *Eighth Congress of Egyptologists, Abstracts of Papers*, p.67.

³⁴¹ According to V. Dobrev, referring to hypothesis by D. Wildung and to the facts that the true funerary temple is absent and the entrance corridor in the pyramid is high enough to enable move without bending, it is possible that the monument was never intended to be a tomb, even in its earliest stage (personal communication).

chapel has been erected on the east side of the pyramid. A short, winding passage led to a small open court with an offering table flanked by two tall, uninscribed stelae. Similar stelae stood possibly to the east of the satellite pyramid, where some kind of an offering place was likewise placed. Petrie found there a relief fragment with legs of a falcon.³⁴² Most probably it came from a stela with the king's Horus name, resembling those found at the Bent Pyramid at Dahshur. A causeway led towards the cultivation, where there are remains of what may be interpreted as limestone and mudbrick walls of a valley temple.³⁴³ The site has not been excavated and doubts about the plan of the building cannot be cleared. Judging from what can be seen today this much-destroyed temple was a rather simple structure. No evidence on a possible decoration was found, except for a limestone fragment with a large splay-topped *kheker* in relief, discovered in the vicinity.³⁴⁴ This singular find seems to be, however, of much importance. Its style and, especially, the size (the reed bundle is c. 0.52 m = one cubit high) points strongly to its provenance from a royal building, the valley temple of Sneferu being the only candidate at Meidum.³⁴⁵ A possibility that a building decorated with royal reliefs once existed or, at least, was planned at the site, is further confirmed

³⁴² Petrie, Mackay, Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis III*, pp.11-12.

³⁴³ In fact the remains are usually described in the literature as 'brick walls' (e.g. Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.100). One can, however, notice huge (although much denuded) limestone blocks from the wall cores at the spot.

³⁴⁴ Petrie, Mackay, Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis III*, p.5, pl.20,3. The fragment is now in the Petrie Museum (UC 31114). For the date of occurrence of the *khekers* inside the buildings see chapter V.4 below. It should be noted that the *hkr*-sign occurred in form of *dipinti* among the 'quarry marks' at Meidum (Petrie, Mackay, Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis III*, pl.VI,22).

³⁴⁵ According to Wildung, RdE 21 (1969), p.137, it is possible that the *mrt* of Sneferu, mentioned in the annals of Neferirkara (Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, pp.39-40; Urk. I, 247, 15-16), was located at Meidum. It may have been identical with or connected to the valley temple. Further evidence for a cultic activity at the site may be derived from a find in the chapel of the pyramid of a statuette with the text mentioning 'Gods who are in *Dd-Snfrw*' (Berlin 20581, Wildung, op.cit., p.136 and n.5)

by a sculptor's trial piece found in a quarry north of the pyramid. It shows a king, apparently Sneferu.³⁴⁶

The stelae set against the eastern face of the pyramid had been left undecorated. Why their execution was not finished when Sneferu came back to Meidum to build a true pyramid cannot be explained. Possibly, as suggested by M. Lehner,³⁴⁷ the work on enlarging the pyramid had not yet been completed at the moment of the king's death, and the stelae were still covered with constructional debris. It should be noted, however, that the fragment with remains of falcon legs in relief found by Petrie proves that the king's titulary appeared on the stelae beside the satellite pyramid. Moreover, the New Kingdom graffiti on the walls of the chapel prove not only that it was accessible at that time, but also that the visitors recognized the monument as belonging to Sneferu, for which an inscriptional evidence must have existed.

SNEFERU: Seila

The pyramid of Seila, although not a funerary (burial) monument, should be analysed in relation to the beginning of Sneferu's reign and his pyramid complex at Meidum. Seila pyramid was built at the eastern edge of Fayum, about 11 km west of Meidum (almost exactly on the same latitude), on the top of the locally highest hill.³⁴⁸ The presumed criterion for its localization (a vicinity of a local royal residence), lack of a burial chamber and other features it shares with the so-called Minor Step Pyramids seem to indicate that the pyramid of Seila is just one of this group of monuments, planned at the same moment. The only difference (beside slightly greater

³⁴⁶ PM IV, p.95; A. Rowe, MDIK 3 (1932), pl.XXIX; Abubakr, *Kronen*, fig.18.

³⁴⁷ *Complete Pyramids*, p.100.

³⁴⁸ L. H. Lesko, Seila 1981, JARCE 25 (1988), pp.223, 226, 228-235; I. E. S. Edwards, The Pyramid of Seila and its Place in the Succession of Snofru's Pyramids, in: *Studies Aldred*, pp.88-96. I am grateful to Dr Nabil Swelim for the discussion of the results of his work at Seila before the final publication, which is hopefully forthcoming.

dimensions) is the confirmed existence of the cult installations, found at the eastern side of the pyramid. A statue and an offering table of peculiar shape were found outside the big robbers' trench cut in the north wall of the monument. A substantial mud brick chapel existed on the east side. Two round-topped stelae were found lying there in debris. One of them is uninscribed,³⁴⁹ the other bears the Horus name and the cartouche of Sneferu in relief.³⁵⁰ The occurrence of stelae at Seila seems to confirm strongly the hypothesis by R. Stadelmann on different role of the mortuary temples proper (adjoining the tomb), where the false door stood in the sanctuary, and that of the chapels with round-topped stelae (*Stelenheiligtumern*), apparently serving as the royal cult places not related to the tomb (connected thus to 'cenotaphs').³⁵¹

SNEFERU: South Dahshur

After he had moved both the residence and the royal burial site to Dahshur, Sneferu started to build the Bent Pyramid and its associated structures (fig.14).³⁵² The pyramid itself, with two almost independent systems of internal rooms, has a lot of features not easy to interpret. It was set inside a square enclosure, with a satellite pyramid to the south and a stela

³⁴⁹ An important factor, albeit not easy to explain in view of the fact that the chapel obviously served the cult. Would this suggest a relatively late date for erecting the stelae?

³⁵⁰ For a photo, see Edwards, in: *Studies Aldred*, fig.1b. The approximate measurements of the stela are: height, 140 cm, width, 60 cm, and thickness, 35-40 cm (ibid., n.7).

³⁵¹ R. Stadelmann, Scheintür oder Stelen im Totentempel des AR, MDAIK 39 (1983), pp.237-242. The problem of the occurrence and meaning of the round-topped stelae in the Archaic Period and the Old Kingdom still needs to be fully explored. They did occur in non-royal contexts before the MK (pace R. Hözl, Round-Topped Stelae from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period. Some Remarks on the Decoration of the Lunettes, in: *Atti VI Congresso*, I, pp.285-289), a notable example is the stela of Netjeraperef found in the 'valley temple' at Dahshur South, but this is indeed rare and rather exceptional. But even if generally restricted to the royal sphere, they are not easy to interpret. Should one look for a continuation (or at least some links) in the tradition (in regards to an architectural setting and a function) from the Umm el-Qaab royal tombs through the examples of Sneferu to the stelae placed in front of the *Heb-sed* chapel at Abu Gurab?

³⁵² PM III², pp.877-888. R. Stadelmann, Pyramiden und Nekropole des Snofru in Dachschr, MDAIK 49 (1993), pp.259-294.

sanctuary on the east side. This chapel was a quite simple building composed of two walls of Turah limestone roofed with slabs,³⁵³ enlarged by mud-brick walls. Between this structure and the pyramid side there was a wider enclosed space, where two tall round-topped stelae stood. Only the stumps of them remained. An offering table, a large limestone slab in form of the *hetep*-sign, was placed between the stelae.

On the east side of the satellite pyramid was an offering place with two round-topped stelae inscribed with Sneferu's names. One of them, fairly well preserved in its upper part, is now erected in front of the Egyptian Museum (fig.15).³⁵⁴ The composition of the stela shows a large, rectangular *serekh* with a falcon perched on it. Inside the frame royal titulary was inscribed, with the king's figure (→) as a large determinative. Sneferu is represented seated on a throne in the *heb-sed* garment, wearing the White Crown and holding a flail.³⁵⁵

A causeway with walls of Turah limestone linked the pyramid temenos with the edge of the cultivated area. It passed by a small, rectangular building assumed by the excavator, Ahmed Fakhry, to be the earliest known valley temple. As stated by M. Lehner, however: 'This structure is in fact a combination of both mortuary and valley temple, with features that are developed later in both. It has the court, pillars and architectural statues found in later mortuary temples, and it is situated about halfway down to the valley.'

³⁵³ The ceiling is decorated with stars (Ricke, Appendix to Fakhry, *Sneferu*, I, cf. pp.75-87).

³⁵⁴ JE 8929c. The dimensions of the stela are: preserved height: 372 cm, breadth: 127 cm, thickness: 32 cm (Tiradritti, *Egyptian Museum*, p.50). Aldred in *Egyptian Art*, where the detail of the stela is pictured on fig.24, gives for 'total height' the number of c.197 in.=500 cm (p.243). Possibly a theoretically restored original height was meant. On the other hand, Stadelmann (*Pyramiden*, p.98) assumes after Ricke that the stelae were as high as 9 m.

³⁵⁵ The stela, with the king facing right, was obviously the left-hand (i.e. the southern) one. One may only guess if on the other piece Sneferu was represented in the Red Crown.

A second causeway probably ran from this to a dock or landing stage.³⁵⁶ This last assumption seems very probable in light of the research in made by D. Arnold and R. Stadelmann. The presumed existence of a valley temple proper at the site where the causeway sinks under the sand of the wadi at the edge of the desert was not confirmed in the field, and possibly only a small dockyard should be expected.³⁵⁷

The so-called ‘valley temple’ was discovered and excavated by A. Fakhry in the 1950s.³⁵⁸ Built to the north of the causeway, it comprised a rectangular stone building, surrounded with mud-brick walls. The temple has been much destroyed, probably in the New Kingdom, but some walls preserved *in situ* as well as many decorated blocks and parts of statues, pillars and stelae found in the debris, allowed for a reconstruction of the original appearance of the building (fig.16). In front of the southern façade there was a small court created by separating part of the causeway. Outside its southern wall two stelae were set. A doorway led inside the building, where the corridor (‘Central Hall’ of Fakhry) passed by two long rooms on each side, and opened to a courtyard. Behind the open area of the court ten rectangular pillars (in two rows of five) supported the roof in the northern part of the temple. Hidden behind them were six chapels with striding statues of Sneferu emerging from the back wall (fig.17).³⁵⁹ The ‘Central Hall’, walls of the court (in its roofed N part only), the pillars and façades of the niched chapels were decorated in relief. On the jambs of the chapels large figures of the king were represented, facing towards the interior of the naos. The titulary and heraldic elements occupied the space on lintels. The pillars in front of the statue

³⁵⁶ Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p. 104. The monument is thus usually labelled a ‘so-called valley temple’ or a ‘statue temple’. Nevertheless, Lauer interpreted it as a funerary temple proper (*Mystère des Pyramides*, p.126).

³⁵⁷ MDAIK 31 (1975), p.173. Also a more recent research did not manage to trace the pyramid town of the Bent Pyramid. It must have been located more to the south (S. Seidlmayer, personal communication).

³⁵⁸ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II.1 and II.2.

³⁵⁹ Actually parts of only two of them were found (Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II.2, pls.33-37).

chapels seem to be decorated on three sides (back, i.e. N sides were left undecorated). They were of two kinds, those of the back row being slightly larger. Scenes represented involved king alone or two or three persons. In the preserved fragments one can distinguish multiple representations of the *Heb-Sed* run; the king seated in a kiosk; royal visits to sanctuary of Horus *Dbꜣwtj*, and to *pr-wr* and *pr-nzr*; inspecting cattle and trees (plantations?);³⁶⁰ run of the Apis bull; the foundation ceremony; and the king being embraced by various deities, including Seshat, Nekhebet and a lioness goddess.³⁶¹ Nile figures presenting offerings were also depicted. The upper portions of the entrance corridor and the courtyard walls (the roofed portion beside the pillars) bore the large-scale representations of the king and deities (a.o. Min, possibly also Seth) during various ceremonies. Fragments of a fowling scene (with a net) were also found. Lower registers, the best preserved, comprised long rows of personifications of funerary estates, walking towards the chapels. The figures were arranged according to the geographical pattern, nome after nome, those on the west wall representing Upper Egypt, and those on the east wall being the Lower Egyptian ones.

SNEFERU: North Dahshur

The decision of beginning a new project on the site just one kilometre to the north was made probably in 28 or 29 year (or, to be precise, before the 15th census) of Sneferu's reign.³⁶² Simultaneous work on the Red Pyramid and the final design of the Meidum monument did not, however, cause an abandonment of the Bent Pyramid complex. Possibly the southern Dahshur pyramid was considered a satellite pyramid for the new royal tomb (the Red

³⁶⁰ See the new restoration and discussion of these scenes by E. Edel, *Studien zu den Relieffragmenten aus dem Taltempel des Königs Snofru*, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.199-208.

³⁶¹ Assumed by the excavator to be Sakhmet. This identification is now widely contested, the deity being interpreted as Bastet or simply 'a lion goddess'.

³⁶² PM III², p.876. Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, pp.100-105.

Pyramid).³⁶³ The ‘valley temple’ seems to fulfil its role in these new conditions and there is extensive evidence that the cult of Sneferu was still maintained there in the Middle Kingdom.³⁶⁴

Nevertheless, when the Red Pyramid had been finished to serve as the final resting place of the king, a need to provide a proper place for offerings led to the construction of a mortuary temple on the east of the pyramid. It was in some way intermediary between the simple chapels at Meidum and Dahshur South, and the large and complex temple of Khufu. The temple of the Red Pyramid consisted of a sanctuary that may have contained a false door stela,³⁶⁵ a portico courtyard, and two stone chapels (representing probably the South and North Buildings). These probably housed royal statues. Few limestone fragments decorated in relief, found during the excavations, show the king in the *Heb-Sed* robe.³⁶⁶ On the courtyards north and south of the temple there were round sockets in the soil, probably designed for inserting plants. Remains of mud-brick walls prove that the temple had not been finished at the moment of Sneferu’s death, and it was hastily finished by Khufu. These circumstances explain also the unfinished state of the causeway. The valley temple, rudimentary remains of which were seen at the end of the nineteenth century, was recently re-discovered by S. Seidlmayer. Auger core drillings proved that it had been built in limestone.³⁶⁷

³⁶³ Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.98. It is a modification of the idea expressed by Lauer (Sur la pyramide de Meidoum et les deux pyramides du roi Snéfrou à Dahchour, Or 36 (1967), p.253) that the Red and the Bent pyramids at Dahshur served as a tomb and a South tomb respectively.

³⁶⁴ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II.2, pp.1-3.

³⁶⁵ R. Stadelmann found some granite fragments that he interpreted as having come from a false door.

³⁶⁶ R. Stadelmann, MDAIK 39 (1983), pp.233-234, pl.73.

³⁶⁷ The layer of compact limestone chips was recorded 6.5 m below present surface. The site of the valley temple is now cut by a modern canal (where limestone blocks were dug out onto the shores by a dredger) and it stretches, unfortunately, towards a military area on the west. Traces of the brick walls of causeway leading from the Red Pyramid towards the lower temple (visible today as a line of bushes on the surface), were recorded during the

At this very site the famous decree of Pepy I was found, exempting the *hntjw-šj* of the pyramid town from taxation.³⁶⁸

KHUFU: Giza

Khufu probably inherited throne after the premature death of older sons of Sneferu, including Nefermaat of Meidum Mastaba 16, the anonymous prince buried in the Mastaba 17 at Meidum, and Kanefer of Dahshur. Like his father before him, Khufu decided to make a shift of the residence and the royal necropolis. For his burial ground he chose a desert plateau at what is now Giza. Possibly a man of middle age, he nevertheless planned his funerary monument on a scale incomparable even with the achievements of his father. The highest date attested for his reign (the 11th census) would confirm the entry of the Turin Canon where he is credited with 23 years.³⁶⁹ During this time he was able to build a huge mortuary complex with the biggest tomb ever constructed.³⁷⁰ The name of the pyramid was *šht-Hw.f.w(j)* ('Horizon of Khufu').³⁷¹ The Great Pyramid and its associated structures were surrounded by a virtual town of stone mastabas for the royal offspring and officials. It is still discussed if there were successive changes of the internal design of the pyramid. It seems that it has been completed together with the adjoining temples, and the only thing left for a successor was to bury boats for the celestial travels of the king (and this in fact was fulfilled by Djedefra). The mortuary temple built against the east side of the pyramid suffered much destruction. Traces of walls and pillars preserved on the basalt

Egyptian excavations in the 90s. (S. Seidlmayer, personal communication, cf. also N. Alexanian, S. Seidlmayer, *Survey and Excavations at Dahshur*, EA 20 (2002), pp.3-5).

³⁶⁸ Urk. I, 209-213; Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, pp.55-77.

³⁶⁹ There are, however, serious doubts if the graffito on a block from above the boat grave at Giza does in fact record the counts of Djedefra. See M. Verner, *Archaeological Remarks on the 4th and 5th Dynasty Chronology*, *Archiv orientální. Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies* 69 (2001), pp.375-377 for a summary of the discussion of this crucial chronological problem. Cf. n below.

³⁷⁰ PM III², pp.11-19; Petrie, *Pyramids and Temples*.

³⁷¹ Or possibly *šhtj-Hw.f.w(j)* 'Khufu is the one belonging to the Horizon'.

pavement enabled a partial reconstruction of its plan. The arrangement of the destroyed western part of the temple (and the presumed existence of statue niches and an offering chapel with a false door) remains, however, a matter of speculation. The limestone walls of the temple (possibly the walls of the cluster surrounding the courtyard) were once decorated with reliefs. Several fragments were found during the excavations and cleaning works in the vicinity.³⁷² The themes that can be recognized include the *Heb-Sed* (a.o. a block with Khufu seated in the chapel and a large scale representation of the king wearing the *khat*-headdress, accompanied with a long text mentioning the pyramid),³⁷³ and the Feast of the White Hippopotamus.³⁷⁴ It seems very probable that also the causeway had been decorated and some of the fragments could possibly have come from there. Although there is no definite evidence for it (e.g. a block with decoration executed at angle to masonry bed), this assumption may be supported by the famous account by Herodotus. He admired the causeway (taken by him mistakenly to be a constructional ramp), writing thus: ‘it took ten years’ oppression of the people to make the causeway for the conveyance of the stones, a work not much inferior, in my judgement, to the pyramid itself. This causeway is five furlongs in length, ten fathoms wide, and in height, at the highest part, eight fathoms. It is built of

³⁷² Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, figs.2-4, 7;. It is not entirely certain which of the fragments might be attributed to the mortuary temple, and which came a chapel of one of the queens’ pyramids (G I-b). Smith (HESPOK, p.158) was of opinion that the occurrence of a star-band in the decoration (e.g. the fragment 24-12-545 on fig.7 in Reisner, Smith, op.cit) suggests the former possibility, assuming thus that it could not occur in a queen’s relief, which is perhaps true for the Fourth Dynasty. Certainly some fragments on fig.7 (large scale falcon figures (37-3-4c, 37-3-4d, 24-11-548, the latter in sunk relief on a granite piece), the *pr-nzr* on a boat (24-12-546), and a half-sky bearer (37-3-4h) derived from the mortuary temple of the king.

³⁷³ Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, figs.6a-b.

³⁷⁴ Hassan, *Giza*, X, pp.20-24, 34-35, figs. 2-4, 7, 8, pls.V-VIII, cf. J.-P. Lauer, ASAE 49 (1949), 111-123, fig.3, pl. I. Hassan interpreted the figure of the king wearing a long scarf as a record of a royal visit to Heliopolis. However, it is certainly part of a scene of *hb-hdt* (cf. Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, I., doc.62). A fragment with a lower part of the king’s torso and a *bs3w*-apron (pl.VII A) interpreted by Hassan as showing Khufu ‘performing a ritual dance’ (ibid., p.34), i.e. during the *Heb-Sed* run, may have belonged to a scene of smiting enemies.

polished stone and is covered with carvings of animals'.³⁷⁵ A block with a depiction of captives, found by U. Hölscher near Khafra's valley temple (see below), in fact may have come from the causeway of Khufu.

The valley temple of Khufu has been located recently.³⁷⁶ It appears that the structure employed large quantity of basalt and limestone, however, no decorated blocks were found *in situ*. Some of the blocks found at Lisht came probably from there.³⁷⁷ Others were assigned to the mortuary temple but their provenance is by no means certain.³⁷⁸ Recently Do. Arnold attributed the blocks with the *Heb-Sed* scenes to Sneferu on account of their different, distinctive style.³⁷⁹

DJEDEFRA: Abu Roash

The successor of Khufu, Djedefra, was recognized for a long time as an usurper on the throne, breaking the proper line of the 'Giza kings'. This view has been completely changed recently.³⁸⁰ He appears to have been a

³⁷⁵ Herodotus, *History*, II, 124, cited after Smith, *HESPOK*, p.158. One may recall in this context the remark by W. S. Smith: 'It has been suggested that the list of 'radishes, onions and garlic' for the workmen which Herodotus saw on the face of the pyramid was probably an offering-list on one of the temple's walls (Herodotus, II, 125).' (ibid.).

³⁷⁶ G. Goyon, *La chaussée monumentale et le temple de la vallée de la pyramide de Khéops*, BIFAO 67 (1969), pp.49-69; H. Messiha, *The Valley Temple of Khufu (Cheops)*, ASAE 65 (1983), pp.9-18. cf. also Z. Hawass, *The Discovery of the Harbors of Khufu and Khafre at Giza*, in: *Études Lauer*, pp.245-256.

³⁷⁷ This refers to nos.1-6 and 56-59 in Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., nos.10-22, 29-30, 53 and possibly 60.

³⁷⁹ *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.191-192 (no.41a-b). It would not be easy, however, to suggest a building from which the fragments could have come, unless it was the valley temple of the Red Pyramid, a possibility that perhaps does not conform well with the jubilee theme, but even worse with the fact that the mortuary temple and causeway were apparently unfinished at the moment of Sneferu's death. The question of provenance in respect to the themes represented in various parts of the mortuary complex will be treated in chapter V.1.

³⁸⁰ For an exhaustive critical review of the older concepts see recently: V. Dobrev, *A propos d'une statue fragmentaire du roi Menkaourê trouvée à Abou Rawash*, in: *Études Lauer*, pp.155-166. The 'thriller' theory advocated a.o. by Chassinat (the memory of Djedefra 'fut abolie par raison d'État' - *Mon Piot* 25 (1921-22), pp.69, 75), and Reisner (Djedefra had killed his elder brother Kawab, and his own life, as an usurper, was 'shortened by the action of the princes of legitimate line, either by assassination or in

legitimate ruler, and no *damnatio memoriae* procedure was aimed against him. Moreover, it seems that he ruled for a longer time than the 8 years ascribed to him by the Turin Canon.³⁸¹ These are important conclusions in respect to the question to which extent his pyramid complex was finished.

Djedefra chose for his burial place Abu Roash about 8 km north of Giza, at the northern end of the Memphite necropolis, close to the site of Letopolis. There, on the top of the local hillocks dominating the valley, he planned his mortuary complex, bearing name *Shdw-Dd.f-R(w)* ‘Djedefra is a *Sehed*-star’.³⁸² The site, excavated by M. Chassinat at the beginning of the 20th century, has been under investigation of the Franco-Swiss expedition led by M. Valloggia since 1995.³⁸³ New research improved much our former knowledge of the monument. It seems that it merged some old and new features. The pyramid tomb, placed inside a rectangle temenos oriented north-south, was conceived as a true pyramid³⁸⁴ of about the same slope angle as the pyramid of Khufu, but much smaller, having c. 106 m of the side length. It was apparently cased, at least partly, with granite.³⁸⁵ The question if the pyramid superstructure had been finished is difficult to answer, in view of much destruction of the site that started in Roman times and continued into

battle’ – *Giza I*, p.28) is now regarded as ‘une idée absurde et ahistorique’ (Dobrev, *op.cit.*, p.157).

³⁸¹ The well-known *dipinti* on one of the roofing slabs of Khufu’s boat grave (A. M. Abubakr, A. Y. Mustafa, *The Funerary Boat of Khufu*, BÄBA 12, 1971, p.11, fig.6) mentioning the tenth census might refer to Djedefra and not to Khufu as previously assumed. A longer reign would conform to the Manethonian record of 25 years of Ratoises=Radjedef (cf. M. Valloggia, in *Études Lauer*, p.421, n.9).

³⁸² PM III², pp.1-3.

³⁸³ M. Valloggia, *Le complexe funéraire de Radjedef à Abou-Roasch: état de la question et perspectives de recherches*, BSFE 130 (1994), pp.5-17; *id.*, *La descenderie de la pyramide de Radjedef à Abu Rawash*, in: *Études Lauer*, pp.417-428.

³⁸⁴ Proved by the discovery of bed foundations for the casing blocks, inclined in order to reduce the angle of casing from c.60° to c.52°. A hypothesis that Djedefra built a step pyramid (an idea which was supported by a suggestion that the pyramid temple was located on the north side of the pyramid), advocated by Maragioglio and Rinaldi, Edwards and Swelim, should thus be rejected (cf. Edwards, *Pyramids*, pp.145-146).

³⁸⁵ According to Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.121, to the height of 20 courses at least.

the 19th century.³⁸⁶ The substructure of the monument was set in a deep excavation in the rock, comprising a descending passage and a burial chamber, now both open to the sky. The upper enclosure included a satellite pyramid,³⁸⁷ a boat pit and a mortuary temple on the east side of the main pyramid. Only the foundation blocks are preserved, even the pavement slabs have been robbed. Remains of a big gate can be traced, with a large open court in front of it. The area to the NE was built up with mud-brick constructions (mostly workshops) in the two periods of maintaining the cult of the king in the Old Kingdom (i.e. during the Fourth and the Sixth Dynasties, with a clear *hiatus* in the Fifth Dynasty).³⁸⁸ Although so tiny remains are preserved, one might suppose that the temple must have been finished, as the finds of architectural elements (granite columns)³⁸⁹ and vast assemblage of statuary³⁹⁰ prove. Possibly the limestone walls were

³⁸⁶ Petrie stated that in his time (1880-81) three hundred camel-loads of stone were being taken from the site a day (*Pyramids and Temples of Giza*, p.140).

³⁸⁷ The satellite pyramid, the existence of which to the southwest of the main pyramid has been suggested since a long time, was actually discovered in April 2002. Some unique features of that monument, namely the three chambers, and the existence of a sarcophagus and possibly also canopic vases, led Z. Hawass to suppose that in fact it was a tomb of a queen and not a true satellite pyramid.

³⁸⁸ It has been assumed that the temple was 'hurriedly built in brick' (Edwards, *Pyramids*, p.145) but this proved to be false. The brick buildings are only secondary installations, mostly later workshops.

³⁸⁹ Chassinat, *Mon. Piot.* 25 (1921-22), p.55. The columns were re-used in the nearby convent of Nahiya. At least one of them bears traces of Djedefra's titulary.

³⁹⁰ To the widely known sculptures, listed by PM III2, pp.2-3 (cf. Vandier, *Manuel III*, pp.15-17; H. Altenmüller, *Königsplastik*, LÄ II, 561 and n.19-21) one should add about 1000 fragments of statues of Djedefra (most of which are quartzite and only c.20 gneiss pieces) stored in the IFAO. It is interesting to note that most of them represented king wearing the *nemes* and the White Crown, but virtually no traces of the Red Crown can be found. None of the fragments seems to come from a sphinx sculpture. The king was represented striding or seated, sometimes with royal women accompanying him. There were separate sculptures of the royal offspring and it seems that the material chosen for sculptures varied according to the person represented. The king's statues were made of quartzite (the gneiss fragments possibly came from a statue of Menkaura, like a piece found by Petrie and discussed recently by V. Dobrev – cf.n), the statues of the sons were made of granite, and those of the daughters of limestone. (M. Baud, *La statuaire de Rêdjedef*. Rapport préliminaire sur la collection de l'IFAO, in: *L'art de l'Ancien Empire*,

dismantled for re-use of blocks or to be burned into lime. This assumption can be corroborated by a single, but extremely meaningful, bit of evidence: an unpublished limestone fragment, bearing a figure of a lion in relief, found by Chassinat.³⁹¹

The causeway, beginning at the northern side of the temenos runs downward to the valley. It is the longest (c.1.5 km) and biggest (up to 12 m high at the break of the plateau) causeway known. As it was never excavated, one can say nothing concerning its architecture and decoration. The same applies to a presumed valley temple.

KHAFRA: Giza

Khafra, the successor of Djedefra and son of Khufu, returned to Giza, building his funerary complex to the southwest of the pyramid of his father.³⁹² It is one of the best-preserved examples of the Old Kingdom architecture (fig.18). The pyramid, named *Wr-H'f-R'(w)* ('Great is Khafra') although ten meters lower than the Great Pyramid, was located on a higher ground. Both the valley and the mortuary temples were built of megalithic blocks of local limestone with extensive use of granite and travertine for casing and flooring. The pillars in both temples, as well as, possibly, the 12 colossal striding statues of the king, standing once around the great court in the mortuary temple,³⁹³ were of granite. A vast statuary programme included

pp.35-61. I am much indebted to Dr Michel Baud for the discussions on various aspects of Djedefra's reign and his funerary complex).

³⁹¹ Found during the re-excavation of finds collected by Chassinat, buried in the court of his excavation house (M. Baud, personal communication).

³⁹² PM III², pp.19-26.

³⁹³ The statues, which apparently decorated the court, disappeared without any trace, although hundreds of fragments of other sculptures were found during the excavations of the complex. A possible explanation is that the statues were taken out and usurped by Ramesses II. According to M. Lehner the 8 or 9 pink granite statues re-inscribed for this king, found in Tanis, Bubastis and Memphis, attributed recently to Senwosret I (H. Sourouzian, Standing royal colossi of the Middle Kingdom reused by Rameses II, MDAIK 44 (1988), pp.229-254), may have come from Khafra's pyramid temple. It seems

striding and seated statues of the king, queen (?) and gods, and possibly also sphinxes, made of various materials (anorthosite gneiss (so-called 'Chephren's diorite'), travertine, limestone and greywacke).³⁹⁴ On the contrary, the relief decoration was much limited, the only certain evidence being the titulary executed in sunk relief on the granite doorframes. On the southern and northern gates of the valley temple Khafra is called *mrj Hwt-Hrw ꜥnh dt* and *mrj B3stt ꜥnh dt* respectively (fig.19).³⁹⁵ It seems that no other reliefs decorated the valley temple, which was otherwise richly furnished with statuary (the twenty-three royal statues in the main hall and two dyads of the king seated aside a goddess in the chambers behind the entrances).

Some objects found outside Giza may be attributed to the mortuary temple. Two fragments of jambs or pillars (see below) preserved Khafra's titulary.³⁹⁶ One of them bears the *serekh* with both main names (*Wsr-jb* and *Hꜥ.f-Rꜥw*) inscribed inside the panel. On the other one is preserved the lower part of the *serekh* and the title *nswt bjtj*, with the signs facing right, probably followed once by *nbtj wsr-m*, the Golden name, and the cartouche.³⁹⁷

A lintel, still embedded in the wall of the passage in the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht, presents more difficulties for its interpretation.³⁹⁸ A

that their bases would fit exactly the sockets in the court (Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.125).

³⁹⁴ For the discussion of the statuary program in Khafra's temples see: Seidel, *Statuengruppen*, pp.20-24. Strange as it is, but except for the striding statues from the courtyard in the mortuary temple (possibly re-used later, see the preceding note) no sculpture seems to have been executed in granite. A head in a private collection in Paris (recently exhibited in the Louvre), published by C. Vandersleyen (*Une tete de Chephren en granit rose*, RdE 38 (1987), pp.194-197), resembling closely the famous statue CG 14 (lacking only the falcon figure), is almost certainly a forgery.

³⁹⁵ Hölscher, *Chephren*, p.16, figs. 8, 9. Z. Hawass in Petrie, *Pyramids and Temples*, p.123, gives incorrect readings "Beloved of Bastet, Giving Life" and "Beloved of Hathor".

³⁹⁶ Naville, *Bubastis*, pl.XXXII B (presently in the British Museum, EA 1098) and Hölscher, *Chephren*, p.55, fig.45.

³⁹⁷ This arrangement of Khafra's titulary occurs e.g. on the support for an altar in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, found at Bubastis (MMA 07.228.24; Hayes, *Scepter*, I, p.64, fig.41).

³⁹⁸ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, pp. 13-23, and Do. Arnold, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.224, with a photograph taken *in situ*, where only the cartouche with

big cartouche of Khafra is flanked by the falcon figures wearing the double crown and with the erect uraei in front of them (apparently parts of the Horus name), facing towards the centre of the block, and two representations of hovering falcons, both facing outwards. Most probably they protected figures of the king. The reason for such a unique orientation is that the vertical elements on which the decoration continued (of which the abovementioned fragments are probably examples), were not mere doorjambs, but framing pillars of the striding statues in the courtyard of the mortuary temple as well. Figures of the king would face a statue and not a doorway;³⁹⁹ the titulary topped by the Horus names was facing the opening.⁴⁰⁰

Three finds from different spots and circumstances raised the question if the limestone walls of the temples or the causeway of Khafra had been decorated. Hölscher found in the debris of the Valley Temple a block, representing part of two registers of a scene of leading captives, resembling much those decorating once walls of Sahura's, Niuserra's and Pepi II's causeways. Apparently it came from the north wall of a causeway, judging from the orientation of the figures in the upper register, proceeding to the

mutilated signs is visible. After Goedicke's publication, it appeared possible to uncover the entire block and make a cast of it. Hence the corrected description and new dimensions in Arnold's entry in the catalogue.

³⁹⁹ For an analogous arrangement (figures of the king in relief, facing the striding statue) see Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II.1, fig.119. The reconstruction by H. Ricke in: BÄBA 5, pp.50-52, figs.17-19, pl.2 does not include relief representations of the king, although there would be space for inserting them between the titulary and the statues. It is thus assumed that the falcons hover above the statues.

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. the discussions of the architrave by Goedicke and Arnold (cf.n.345), both referring to the reconstruction by Ricke. However, Ricke's concept should be corrected not only in respect to the form of the king's names in the *serekhs* (as already stated by Goedicke), but also to the type of statues (reconstructed as seated ones) and their framing. Cf. the original reconstruction in Hölscher, *Chephren*, fig.16 on p.28, where, however, both the form of the statues and the arrangement of the titulary on the frames are not correct. According to M. Lehner, model sculptures found during re-excavation of the so-called "workmen's barracks" west of Khafra's pyramid represent the statues of the court. Their form (a striding figure of the king wearing the White Crown, with an inverted 'L'-shaped projection of the pillar over the crown) conforms to a probable restoration (Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.125).

left.⁴⁰¹ The motive represented in the lower register is unique: a bounded Asiatic (?) prisoner, turned back (i.e. rightwards), is facing an Egyptian soldier.⁴⁰² The Egyptian is wearing a crossed sash and is extending his arm towards the captive, while holding the other hand at his mouth. It is not clear how to explain the position of the axe represented behind the soldier. The relief resembled much the best work of the Fifth Dynasty and Steindorff stated that ‘der Stein aus einem der Totentempel von Abusir, vielleicht dem von Sahu-re stammt und als Werkstein nach Gise verschleppt worden ist’.⁴⁰³ This hypothesis was rightly, as it seems, refuted by W. S. Smith, pointing out that there was no need to transfer blocks from Abusir to Giza for re-use, with enough material available at the site. The discovery of Khufu’s reliefs proved the possibility of local origin of the relief; also the style would accord well with a dating to the Fourth Dynasty.⁴⁰⁴ The block could have come from Khufu's causeway; the only possible counterargument against such a provenance concerns a relatively large distance between the presumed place of origin and the find spot. Another possibility, and the most obvious one, is that the block came from the wall of the causeway or the mortuary temple's court of Khafra. This last localization was advocated by Ricke,⁴⁰⁵ but the

⁴⁰¹ Judging from their size, equal to that of the figures in the lower register (in both cases the height could be restored as c.37 cm) they cannot be gods, but a row of captives.


⁴⁰² And not a priest, as assumed by Steindorff, in: Hölscher, *Chephren*, p.111. The crossed sash seems to be a typical dress of archers, cf. a block from Lisht (MMA 22.1.23; Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, no.43, pp.74-77, citing parallels from the causeway of Unis and the temple of Mentuhotep Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahari). Such crossed bands were probably called *št* (Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, p.842). The Lisht block with archers, usually dated to the Fourth or the early Fifth Dynasty, was tentatively attributed by Do.Arnold to Khafra on account of its stylistic and iconographic resemblance to Hölscher's block (*Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.189).

⁴⁰³ Steindorff, in: Hölscher, *Chephren*, p.110. The Semitic captive was also compared to the representation in Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*, pls.8, 10-12 (ibid., p.111).

⁴⁰⁴ Smith, HESPOK, p.158. Also the height of the registers, as far as it can be reconstructed, points against the attribution to Sahura’s causeway (the dimensions being c.37 cm for a figure of a captive on the Giza block, and 31.7 cm on Berlin no.21782 (the block with Seth and Sopdu).

⁴⁰⁵ Ricke, *Bemerkungen*, II, pp.50-54, 116.

causeway seems a more probable place.⁴⁰⁶ Since no traces of other decorated limestone blocks were found in Khafra's complex, this must remain unsupported.⁴⁰⁷ A block found in the cemetery south of the Khafra's pyramid and once dated to the Old Kingdom, proved much later in date, given its crude style.⁴⁰⁸

Another block, however, found during the work of the EES team at Memphis (re-used in the construction of staircase for the dais of Merenptah) was attributed to Khafra on account of the presumed occurrence of his name in the cartouche (fig.20).⁴⁰⁹ The decoration comprises part of a register with bowing officials and a text in vertical columns above them. The subject clearly points to the provenance from a mortuary temple. Judging from the published drawing the style and workmanship of the relief are fairly good,⁴¹⁰ and at first glance nothing contradict the attribution. The existence of the limestone reliefs in Khafra's complex would be thus confirmed. Unfortunately, this attribution has to be seriously challenged. Firstly, the cartouche is only partly preserved, and the sign r^c is superposed over h^c () in a manner that never occurred in the cartouches of Khafra when written horizontally (they always display r^c and h^c in apposition and superposed


⁴⁰⁶ Cf. however the remarks in Smith, *Art and Architecture*, p.258, n.32, where the author points out that at the causeway: 'no decoration was observed on the walls near the foot. I had thought that weathering of the walls made this uncertain, but Hölscher's earlier examination should be respected.'

⁴⁰⁷ One has to remember, however, that the walls of the complex structures were stripped off the blocks in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty. The blocks were used e.g. for the restoration works at the Great Sphinx. Also the Dream Stela is in fact the reused lintel from the entrance to Khafra's mortuary temple (Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.132).

⁴⁰⁸ Junker, *Giza*, X, p.38. The fragment was thought to have come from the causeway of Khafra, which was refuted by Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p.10, n.11: 'the assumption (...) seems unlikely because of the style of carving – high and very crude, with no modelling and far inferior to Khufu's delicate reliefs (...) In view of the crudeness of the carving it should no doubt be dated later and its origin is possibly the late sanctuary of Isis located in this section of the cemetery'.

⁴⁰⁹ D. Jeffreys, J. Malek, Memphis 1984, JEA 72 (1986), p.13, fig.7 (block stored in the 'Petrie Magazine' at Mit Rahina, no. SCHISM 506 A).

⁴¹⁰ Note the detailed internal design of the δ -sign, not easy to render in facsimile, as stressed by the author of the drawing.

together above *f* (i.e. ).⁴¹¹ Secondly, the writing of the title *r3-n-šmsw* (*n nfr-ḥprw*)⁴¹² with the genetival *n* after *r3* is unparalleled in the Old Kingdom and points towards a later date.⁴¹³ The block should probably be dated to the Middle Kingdom, most probably to Senuseret III, whose name *Hḥ-k3w-Rḥ(w)* would perfectly fit into the broken right part of the cartouche.⁴¹⁴ The stone could have been transported to Memphis from the mortuary complex of the king at Dahshur (beside, the distance much less than from Giza).

The question, whether any reliefs ever existed in Khafra's mortuary complex (beside those on granite doorframes), must therefore remain open.





BAKA (?): Zawiyet el-Aryan

The Unfinished Pyramid at Zawiyet el-Aryan⁴¹⁵ was constructed by a king who had his cartouche name written with *k3* and an uncommon sign.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹¹ Cf. V. Dobrev, *Considerations sur les titulatures des rois de la IVe dynastie égyptienne*, BIFAO 93 (1993), pp.179-204, esp. figs.3, 9,19, 26, 38, 45.

⁴¹² On this and other titles introduced by *r3-šms* see Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p.71. Cf. also K. Sethe in: Borchardt, *Saḥu-Reḥ*, II, pp.85, 121 ; H. Junker, *ZÄS* 77 (1941), pp.3ff.

⁴¹³ For the comparable Old Kingdom scenes and captions see Borchardt, *Saḥu-Reḥ*, pls.9,17,52 ; Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p.71 (no.42, MMA 15.3.1163) = *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, pp.265-266 (no.103).

⁴¹⁴ Especially the variant T3 of Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, p.199. One has to note a strange possibility of occurrence of what seems to be exactly the same name in an Old Kingdom context. In the famous scene of Sahura's desert hunt, one of the accompanying officials (the last one in the fourth register from the bottom behind the king) is named     (Borchardt, *Saḥu-Reḥ*, II, pl.17). The cartouche is much mutilated and it is possible that the sign *hḥ* (*j*) was miscopied for *mn* (of *Mn-k3w-Rḥ(w)*, the man's name being Menkaura-ankh). Such was obviously the opinion of Sethe in Borchardt, *Saḥu-Reḥ*, II, p.91. Otherwise one has to assume *Hḥ-k3w-Rḥ(w)* as a royal name of one of predecessors of Sahura, which seems improbable.

⁴¹⁵ PM III², p.313.

⁴¹⁶ Many proposals as how to read this name have been offered up to date, none of them satisfactorily explaining the unparalleled sign standing beside *k3* and thus none widely accepted. The readings Nebka, Neferka, Wehemka, Baka, Horka, Bikka and Sethka have been suggested (for references see M. Verner, *Archiv orientální* 69 (2001), p.380). Such a name should conform to Bicheris of Manetho, unless this one is a corruption of Nebkara, which was recorded on a dipinti at Zawiyet el-Aryan (though without a cartouche and thus it is not certain if this is really a royal name).

Contrary to some considerations in the past, there is now little doubt that the monument dates from the Fourth Dynasty, its owner possibly having been a successor of Khafra.⁴¹⁷ The pyramid was excavated by Barsanti at the beginning of the XXth century and it is usually assumed to have been unfinished because of the king premature death. This may certainly be the case, given that he can hardly be traced in any written records.⁴¹⁸ He was attributed no more than two years' reign and obviously this time was long enough only to excavate the enormous pit in the rock (for the burial apartments) and to fill it with granite and limestone blocks. Virtually no superstructure was built. The same should refer to the subsidiary buildings. The non-existence of temples, although difficult to check given that since a long time the area has been a military zone, was a logical assumption. Some doubts have been raised, however, with a report by J. P. Lepre, who managed to enter the site in 1987 and recorded the remains of 'granite columns' at the area east of the pyramid,⁴¹⁹ as well as traces of causeway and the site of a presumed valley temple at a distance of c.300 m northeast of the main structure.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁷ But it cannot be excluded that he was Khafra's direct predecessor, given the obvious relation to Djedefra and his pyramid complex at Abu Roash, visible in the overall design of the Unfinished Pyramid, the existence of an oval sarcophagus (paralleled only by the piece of a presumed sarcophagus of Djedefra, found by Petrie), and the find of a plaque with Djedefra's name at Zawiyet el-Aryan (I. E. S. Edwards, Chephren's Place in the Fourth Dynasty, in: *Studies Shore*, pp.97-105).

⁴¹⁸ Beside the dipinti on the blocks of the pyramid, no other contemporary inscriptions seem to record the enigmatic name in the cartouche. It has been suggested the he might have been identical with Baka, son of Djedefra or Baufra, son of Khufu, but these are pure speculations.

⁴¹⁹ Lepre, *Pyramids*, p.43. He further noted: 'Yet the ruined temple is there for all to see, and, interestingly, illustrates the fact that at least in this particular case, the mortuary temple was begun – and perhaps brought to completion – prior to completion of the pyramid itself' (ibid.).

⁴²⁰ Lepre, *Pyramids*, pp. 43-44. 'A few limestone blocks and numerous limestone fragments scattered around' were recorded by Lepre at the site of a presumed valley temple. It cannot be excluded, however, that his 'causeway' is in fact Barsanti's excavation dump. Such was the view of R. Klemm, D. Klemm, A. Murr, Zur Lage und

MENKAURA: Giza

Menkaura, who, like Khufu and Khafra, decided to build his funerary complex at Giza, chose for its site the area to the southwest of the great pyramids of his predecessors.⁴²¹ His pyramid stands thus in line pointing towards Heliopolis.⁴²² The pyramid of Menkaura named *Ntrj-Mn-k3w-R^c(w)* ('Menkaura is Divine'), though much smaller than its neighbours, was (at least partly) cased in large granite blocks. Also the mortuary temple was planned to be built of granite and limestone megaliths. This ambitious project had to be abandoned, no doubt because of the king's death. His successor Shepseskaf finished the temples in mudbrick, leaving the statues partly in unfinished state. The rough granite casing blocks of the pyramid were smoothed only in the area around the entrance and at the rear of the mortuary temple. The true relief decoration did not exist. The walls of the open court in the valley temple were decorated with panelling, which can be interpreted as a substitution for a planned pillared peristyle.⁴²³ It should be noticed, however, that the same pattern occurred in the small chamber in the pyramid (at the beginning of the horizontal passage, before the portcullises) and was used by the architects of the (almost contemporary) tombs of Khentkaus and Shepseskaf. The 'basalt' (but in fact probably greywacke)⁴²⁴ sarcophagus decorated with an elaborate palace façade (fig.21), was lost at sea when being transported to Europe. The only parallels are the sarcophagi of Shepseskaf

Funktion von Hafenanlagen an den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches, SAK 26 (1998), pp.173-189, considering a possible locations of a valley temple.

⁴²¹ PM III², pp.26-35. The results of the excavations conducted in 1906-10 by the American expedition led by G. A. Reisner are published in Reisner, *Mycerinus*.

⁴²² H. Goedicke, Giza: Causes and Concepts, BACE 6 (1995), pp.31-50; Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.106-107.

⁴²³ Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, pp. 134-137.

⁴²⁴ Most of the Old Kingdom royal sarcophagi, usually described as made of basalt or black granite, proved to be of greywacke (M. Wissa, À propos du sarcophage de Sékhemkhet, in: *Études Lauer*, pp.445-448).

and the prince Ptahshepses, buried in the valley temple of Unis.⁴²⁵ The restoration inscription near the entrance to the pyramid, in part hardly legible, is probably of Late Period date.⁴²⁶ There is, however, interesting evidence about the decoration on the pyramidion. According to a decree by Merenra, he had the capstone of Menkaura's pyramid inscribed.⁴²⁷

The record of an extensive statuary programme that was planned comes from the discovered completed and unfinished sculptures (preserved entirely or in fragments) including the seated travertine statue, the greywacke dyad of the king and a queen, and the greywacke triads representing Menkaura with Hathor and nome personifications. Apart from the decrees of later kings and part of a non-royal travertine stela, no texts dating from the Old Kingdom have been preserved in the temples.

The three small pyramids to the south of Menkaura's monument were intended as the tombs for his queens (G IIIb and c)⁴²⁸ and the king's satellite pyramid (G IIIa, the easternmost one, subsequently used for a burial of another royal lady). Their offering chapels were built of mud brick, the only decoration being the panelling of the walls.

SHEPSESKAF: Saqqara South

Shepseskaf was an immediate successor of Menkaura and was responsible for adjusting that king's funerary complex to the needs of the burial and the mortuary cult. He finished the temples of Menkaura in mudbrick and left much part of the statuary unfinished. For his own burial

⁴²⁵ A. Dodson, *On the Burial of Prince Ptahshepses*, GM 129 (1992), pp.49-51.

⁴²⁶ PM III²,1, p.33; J. Leclant, *Or* 38 (1969), p.252, fig.16c. For a suggestion that the inscription dates from the New Kingdom see C. M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millenaire*, BdÉ 70, Cairo 1976, p.13, n.4.

⁴²⁷ Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, pp.78-80, fig.6 (=Urk.I.276). M. Rebinguet, *Quelques réflexions sur les pyramidions de pyramides royales*, in: *Études Lauer*, p.367 considers this the first attestation of an engraved pyramidion and rightly asks: 'Doit-on se représenter le graveur escaladant les quelque 60 m de la pyramide?' (ibid., n.57).

⁴²⁸ Numbering of the Giza pyramids is the one proposed by Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p.55.

place he chose South Saqqara, half way between Dahshur site of Sneferu and the complex of Netjerykhet. His tomb, the so-called Mastabat el-Fara'un,⁴²⁹ bears a unique shape resembling a gigantic sarcophagus or an elongated *pr-nw* chapel with a barrel vault, although its internal chambers follow the plans of Menkaura's pyramid and the tomb of Khentkaus I.⁴³⁰ The rooms were constructed in granite, the burial chamber covered with an arched roof (a false vault). Also the bottom course of the superstructure casing was made of granite. It cannot be excluded, however, that the king intended to enlarge and rebuild his monument, perhaps into a pyramid, but was precluded from this by his premature death.⁴³¹ Only small part of the funerary temple was made of stone, the rest being finished in mud-brick, apparently by Shepseskaf's successor.⁴³² The only part of the temple executed comprised an offering hall with a false-door flanked by five magazines. No statue niches were recorded, but the number of the storerooms and a find of a part of the king's statue suggest that a statue-cult had been planned. The causeway and the valley temple, if such ever existed, have not been excavated. No traces of relief decoration were found in the complex.

⁴²⁹ PM III², pp.433-434. The monument, sometimes described as a 'gigantic mastaba' measured 99.6 m by 74.4 m, and was c.18 m high, with the walls' slope of 70°. The results of excavations by G. Jequier were resumed in *Le Mastaba Faraun*, Cairo 1928. The tomb was named *Qbhw-Špss-k3.f* which is sometimes rendered as "Cool is S." or 'Libation of S.' or even 'The Purified Pyramid' (Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.17). One may suggest, however, that the name was an allusion to *qbhw* 'firmament', which would fit the pattern of 'celestial' names of the pyramid complexes.

⁴³⁰ Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.139. One has to note that the often claimed similarity of the Giza monument of Khentkaus I to the Mastabat el-Fara'un is rather vague, the tomb of the queen being a kind of a two-stepped pyramid with a square base.

⁴³¹ Verner, *Die Pyramiden*, p.290.

⁴³² Maragioglio, Rinaldi, APM, VI, p.144f.

II.4. DYNASTY V

The list of the kings of the dynasty comprises nine names. The relative position of Shepseskara and Raneferef has been a matter of debate; the sequence of the other rulers seems well established. Again, as in the instance of most of the Old Kingdom kings, the lengths of the reigns are hypothetical, given much incomplete and even contradictory data. According to M. Verner, one may suggest the following list of names and dates.⁴³³

| King | Contemporaneous written evidence | Turin |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------|
| Userkaf | 4 + x | 7 |
| Sahura | 8 (?) + x | 12 |
| Neferirkara | 5 + x | ? |
| Neferefra | 1 + x | 1 |
| Shepseskara ⁴³⁴ | not attested | 7 |
| Niuserra | 8 + x | 11 + x |
| Menkauhor | not attested | 8 |
| Djedkara | 28 (29 ?) + x | 28 |
| Unis | 9 + x | 30 |

The tomb complexes of two kings (Shepseskara and Menkauhor) are missing, although various proposals concerning their location have been made (see below).

USERKAF: Saqqara

⁴³³ After M. Verner, *Archaeological Remarks on the 4th and 5th Dynasty Chronology*, *Archiv orientální* 69 (2001), p.416, with a minor change for which see the following note.

⁴³⁴ The position of this king (before or after Neferefra?) cannot be not established with certainty. Recent opinion is in favour of the latter possibility (M. Verner, *Who was Shepseskara and when did he reign?*, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.581-602).

The first king of the Fifth Dynasty⁴³⁵ decided to locate his tomb complex (fig.22)⁴³⁶ inside the Dry Moat of Netjerykhet's complex, close to its N-E corner.⁴³⁷ The obvious difficulties coming from this placement were apparently less important than a (presumed) symbolic link to the legendary ancestor and his monument.⁴³⁸ The pyramid called *W^cb-swt-Wsr-k3.f* ('Pure are the Places of Userkaf') was constructed of local limestone cased with better quality Turah stone. The core layers were laid rather haphazardly which caused its today appearance as a heap of rubble. The substructure consisted of an antechamber, a burial chamber and a strange room starting in the sloping corridor before the antechamber, running east and turning north.

⁴³⁵ For a reassessment of the king's reign (including the question of his relation to the preceding dynasty) see now R. Stadelmann, Userkaf in Saqqara und Abusir. Untersuchungen zur Thronfolge in der 4. und frühern 5. Dynastie, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.529-542.

⁴³⁶ PM III², pp. 397-398. The site was excavated by C. Firth (1928-29), J.-P. Lauer and A. Labrousse (1976-78) and A. El-Khouli (1982-85). The main publication is Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*.

⁴³⁷ Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, pp.39-40, cf. Swelim, in: *Pyramid Studies, Essays Edwards*, p.22. According to M. Lehner (*Complete Pyramids*, p.141) localization of Userkaf's temple to the south of his pyramid is a first example of returning to some elements of 'Djoser type' of pyramid complexes. It has also been suggested that this precise location was related to the altar in the N part of the complex (H. Altenmüller, *Bemerkungen zur frühen und späten Bauphase des Djoserbezirkes in Sakkara*, MDAIK 28 (1972), pp.9-10). One might, however, suggest that also another feature may have played some role. It is obvious that if the causeway had to run towards the cultivation, it must have crossed the Dry Moat. N. Swelim considered a possibility of bridges stretching over the fosse. In this respect it should be noted that the entrance to the mortuary temple (a possible starting point of the causeway) is in line with one of the dummy gates in the temenos wall. In the present author's opinion the routes from the gates may have been stretched to the bridges and outside the complex. Such a bridge would facilitate constructing of the causeway in the apparently still not filled-in moat.

⁴³⁸ Userkaf started a continuously recurring trend to place tombs around the Netjerykhet complex. Following his example, also his retainers entered (for the first time since the beginning of the Third Dynasty) the area between the moat and the temenos wall (M. Baud, *Aux pieds de Djoser. Les mastabas entre fossé et enceinte de la partie nord du complexe funéraire*, in: *Études Lauer*, pp.69-87). The holiness of the area was still highly recognized in the Late Period, when the Step Pyramid complex became the focal point of the shaft-tomb cemeteries (L. Bareš, *The Shaft Tomb of Udjahorresnet at Abusir*, Praha 1999, p. 24, n.30). This tradition seems to be related to the identification of the area as the primitive *t3-dsr*.

The mortuary temple was built on the south of the pyramid; only a small offering chapel was placed on the E side. It consisted of a central columned room paved with basalt, with walls of Turah limestone over a granite dado. The walls were decorated with offering scenes in relief. In the middle of the W wall a false-door of quartzite was placed. The chamber was flanked by two narrow rooms on either side. The mortuary temple proper is in some respects unique, not only because of its location to the south of the main pyramid, but most of all for the unique orientation of its main parts towards south and not in the direction of the pyramid. The entrance, located in the SE corner of the complex led through a transverse room and an entrance hall to an open court. It was surrounded on W, N and E side by a colonnade of monolithic granite pillars. On the S side was a colossal seated statue of the king, made of granite. The head of the statue was found in debris.⁴³⁹ South of the court two gates opened into a long transverse (N-S) corridor and a pillared room (some kind of a niched entranceway with eight pillars), leading ultimately to a room with five statue niches.⁴⁴⁰ A satellite pyramid occupied a separate court within the SW corner of the precinct. To the south of the king's complex are the pyramid tomb and the mortuary temple of his wife (?) Neferhetepes.

According to the excavators following themes might be attributed to precise rooms, according to their find spot:⁴⁴¹

- Transverse entrance room (*le vestibule d'entrée*): Naval procession of the king.
- Entrance hall: Fishing with a harpoon and fowling with a boomerang; desert hunt.

⁴³⁹ Cairo JE 52501. Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, pp.51-52, 65-66, figs.50-53, pl.8.

⁴⁴⁰ A restoration of this room at the place destroyed by a Late Period shaft is hypothetical, based on parallels from other temples and a find of part of a statue at the spot, cf. Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, pp.54-55.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.69.

- Pillared court: procession of estates, presentation of soldiers, processions of wild animals, bulls; scenes of slaughter and presentation of the offerings to the king; catching birds by the king.
- Pillared room and transverse corridor: the king hunting hippopotamus with a harpoon, smiting enemies and recording booty.
- Room with five niches: slaughter.
- Sanctuary (offering hall): slaughter.

To these one has to add some subjects found on fragments not attributed to a precise place: royal titulary, *heb-sed*, officials and courtiers, gods, military themes, parts of royal figures.

Neither the causeway nor the valley temple of Userkaf was excavated; in fact they cannot even be traced in the field. Some blocks found at Lisht, recently recognized as dating from this king's reign, may have derived from these parts of the complex. The reliefs on these blocks represent royal ship coming from the temple of Bastet and the accompanying guards, marching in ordered units (fig.23).⁴⁴²

Userkaf was the first king to build a 'classical' sun temple at Abusir, some distance north from his tomb complex. Named 'Stronghold of Ra' (*Nḥn-Rꜥ(w)*) underwent many changes of design, establishing an architectural pattern for later monuments. Although it probably furnished vast programme of statuary, no traces of the relief decoration has been discovered.⁴⁴³

SAHURA: Abusir

⁴⁴² A. Oppenheim in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, pp.265-267 (nos.103-104). It is possible that also other fragments, attributed formerly to Unis, should be ascribed to Userkaf. It is noteworthy that the block with running troops (no.103 = Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, no.42, pp.68-74)) bears the decoration designed at angle to its bed, which suggests its provenance from the causeway. Another important feature is the apparently unfinished state of the relief in its lower part, where the stars and a baseline had not been executed.

⁴⁴³ H. Ricke, *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf, I. Der Bau*, Cairo 1965 (=BÄBA 8); *II. Die Funde*, Cairo 1969 (=BÄBA 11).

Sahura, who succeeded Userkaf, located his tomb complex at Abusir, in the vicinity of his predecessor's sun temple, founding a new royal burial ground used for most of the Fifth Dynasty.⁴⁴⁴ His pyramid complex, *H^c-b3-S3hw-R^c(w)* ('Ba of Sahura appears') is the first of approximately standardized complexes of the second half of the Old Kingdom (fig.24).⁴⁴⁵ The pyramid had a base length of 78.75 and height 47 m, and its substructure, partially lined with granite, included a simple burial chamber covered with huge gabled roof. Sahura's mortuary complex is unique in being excavated almost entirely.⁴⁴⁶ The decorated blocks discovered during the excavations form the biggest set of the Old Kingdom royal reliefs.⁴⁴⁷

The valley temple had two doorways, the main one on the east, and the side one on the south.⁴⁴⁸ 'Landing ramps' ascended to both entrances that were eight- and four-columned porticoes. The main entrance led on the axis of the temple to a T-shaped hall with the roof supported by two columns, giving access to the causeway. A large block found in situ at the N wall of the portico, represented the king as a sphinx trampling his enemies⁴⁴⁹ and the

⁴⁴⁴ A detailed analysis of the development of the necropolis was presented by Jaromir Krejčí in his unpublished PhD thesis *Stavebně-historický vývoj abúsirské královské nekropole v době Staré říše – Building and Historic Development of the Abusir Royal Necropolis During the Old Kingdom*, Prague 1999, summarized in id., The origins and development of the royal necropolis at Abusir during the Old Kingdom, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.467-484.

⁴⁴⁵ PM III², pp.326-335.

⁴⁴⁶ This was achieved in 1902-08 by the expedition of baron von Bissing, directed by L. Borchardt. The primary publication is Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re^c*, I and II. Although it has been assumed for a long time that the German expedition had excavated the complex *in extenso*, in 1996 new blocks were discovered at the causeway. It appeared that a large part of the area immediately adjacent to the causeway still awaits exploration.

⁴⁴⁷ Beside the decorated blocks found during the excavations at the site, one should mention a fragment with a female personification of estate assumed to have come from the mortuary temple (New York MMA 55.52; PM III², p.326) and a block showing Sahura running between Nekhebet and Wadjet, found in the monastery of Apa Jeremias (J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-10)*, Cairo 1911, pl.39, p.147).

⁴⁴⁸ M. Lehner (*Complete Pyramids*, p.142) suggests that this apparently unsymmetrical arrangement reflects the location of the royal palace southwards from the temple.

⁴⁴⁹ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re^c*, II, pl.8.

state ship in the upper register.⁴⁵⁰ Another large relief records offerings to gods before their shrines (assembly of deities) (fig.25).⁴⁵¹ A block found at the spot, attributed by Borchardt to the upper temple,⁴⁵² shows a suckling scene with Nekhebet and Khnum involved. Among the subjects that can be traced in the preserved fragments are also marsh scenes, offering-bearers and slaughter.⁴⁵³

The causeway, 235 m long, led to the upper enclosure. The limestone walls were decorated for their entire length with reliefs. It seems that at the lower (i.e. close to the valley) part of the causeway there were processions of deities leading foreign captives.⁴⁵⁴ The upper part bore representations of what one may assume to be the ceremonies made on the occasion of termination of building of the pyramid. They were arranged in five registers and included scenes of dragging of the pyramidion, preparing funerary equipment and food, procession of officials and soldiers, dancers, wrestlers and archers engaged in competition, and ‘starving Bedouin’ watched by officials.⁴⁵⁵

The mortuary temple formed a template for all subsequent examples. A granite doorway led to a covered corridor (*Umgang*) leading around a columned court. The corridor surrounds the court from all sides, its western part (*Querraum*) being a forerunner of later transverse corridors. The outer

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., pl.9.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., pl.19

⁴⁵² For a critical view of this attribution see ch. III.6 below.

⁴⁵³ Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*, II, pl.15.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., pls.5-7. On account of analogy with Niuserra’s causeway Borchardt assumed that large figures of the king as sphinx and griffin were focal points of these processions (Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*, II, p.18).

⁴⁵⁵ Z.Hawass, M.Verner, Newly Discovered Blocks from the Causeway of Sahure, MDAIK 52 (1996), 177-86. It has been expected that the publication will be continued, insofar that details concerning the dimensions of the blocks and their exact position on the causeway were not given. I am much indebted to prof. Miroslav Verner, who kindly showed me the drawings of the causeway blocks and discussed their meaning.

walls of the corridor bore scenes of fishing and fowling (N part)⁴⁵⁶ and of the desert hunt (S part).⁴⁵⁷ The inner walls were decorated with the scenes of the king presenting offerings to gods (S part, where famous representation of Bastet was found, but possibly also in the N part),⁴⁵⁸ various ceremonial activities of the king and his courtiers (a.o. the *heb-sed* rituals).⁴⁵⁹ Also singers and dancers were represented (on the N wall of the S part, and the S wall of the N part respectively), accompanying some unidentified rituals, as well as animals driven in procession.⁴⁶⁰ On both parts of the E wall of the ‘transverse corridor’ the sea ship expedition leaving and coming from abroad was represented.⁴⁶¹ Similar theme occurred probably on the W wall of the E part of the corridor along with the representation of processions.⁴⁶² The court was paved with basalt slabs and around the open space there was a portico colonnade with the roof supported by sixteen granite palm-capital columns. The columns (as elsewhere throughout the complex) were decorated with the royal titulary. In the middle of the court was a white travertine altar, decorated with *zm3-t3wj*, fecundity figures and personifications of nomes.⁴⁶³ The reliefs on the walls of the court portico showed scenes of the king smiting enemies and receiving booty (Libyan chief massacred in the presence of his family on the S wall,⁴⁶⁴ and an analogous ‘Asiatic’ scene on the N

⁴⁵⁶ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.16.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pl.17.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pls.32-34. An assumption of Do. Arnold (Royal Reliefs, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.95) that the *sed*-festival scenes were depicted on the W wall of the court cannot be corroborated. It is not certain if the scene of offering to Behedeti represented on the W wall formed part of the *heb-sed* cycle. For the discussion of this fragment see ch. III.3.

⁴⁵⁹ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.65.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pls. 54, 56.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pls.11-13.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, pl.14.

⁴⁶³ R. Wartke, Zum Alabaster-Altar des Königs Sahu-Rē, ZÄS 104 (1977), pp.145-156, pls.VII-VIII; cf. Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, I, p.48, figs.51-54.

⁴⁶⁴ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pls.1-2.

wall,⁴⁶⁵ of which some fragments remained representing a booty including bears and vessels). On the S section of the W wall the *Heb-Sed* scene was represented.

The side entrance located to the south of the mortuary temple, leading from the east to rooms between the temple proper and the satellite pyramid, was decorated with the procession of deities, fecundity figures and personifications of estates, as well as with the slaughter scenes in the lower register.⁴⁶⁶

The west wall of the *Querraum* was a facade of the *Totenopfertempel*. To the N and S of the main axis and the entrance to the inner rooms were two large niches, each with a supporting papyrus-bundle column, with the doorways leading to two sets of storerooms. The wall bore representations of the king with the gods, including probably suckling scenes in the niched central entrance.⁴⁶⁷ The massive inner temple to the west of the *Querraum* had already all the parts known from later complexes, including the five-statue room. Its floor, as well as possibly the stairway leading to it, was made of travertine. The niches, once containing the king's statues, were paved with travertine, and had walls made of red granite and the doorframes of grey granite. They were closed with double-leaf doors. Southwards from this chamber two narrow rooms that later become the vestibule and the square antechamber led (after a double turn) to the offering chapel (inner sanctuary) on the temple's and pyramid's axis. The multiple magazines were located to the south and north of the main set of rooms. Judging from the fragments found in the inner temple, the decoration consisted of the representations of

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., pls.3-4.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., pls.28-30. The block from pl.28 is now in the Liebieghaus in Frankfurt (cat. no.6 in: *Liebieghaus -Ägyptische Bildwerke III*, pp.33-48).

⁴⁶⁷ Borchardt mentioned the find of a fragment bearing part of a scene of suckling the king (*Sa3hu-Re*^c, I, p.54), but, as stated by D. Arnold (Royal Reliefs, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.100 n.90), the piece cannot be identified among the fragments published in *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II.

the rows of offering bearers, and the souls of Nekhen and Pe flanking the false-door in the sanctuary. The offering chapel, 13.60 m long and 5.20 m wide,⁴⁶⁸ was paved with travertine and had a granite dado. Its roof was vaulted. The false-door set against the pyramid wall was made of granite and probably decorated with gold and copper. Some pieces discovered there might have come from a travertine altar.⁴⁶⁹ The room possibly contained also a black granite statue and an offering basin with a drain of copper tubes. Similar limestone basins and copper drains (part of an elaborate drainage system running through the temple) were discovered in the northern storerooms beside the sanctuary.

Many of the reliefs discovered by L. Borchardt bear traces of copyists' grid lines, proving that they were sources for later designers. This activity is usually attributed to the Late Period, but it may have started already in the New Kingdom, when the sanctuary of 'Sakhmet of Sahura' was functioning in the southern part of the mortuary temple (perhaps with some relation to the relief representation of the offerings to Bastet).⁴⁷⁰

Sahura's sun temple has not been discovered. A graffito on a block found in Niuserra's complex suggests that it may have been located at Abusir south of his pyramid.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁸ These dimensions (26 x 10 cubits) were changed in the later temples to 30 x 10 cubits (15.75 x 5.20 m). It seems that the new proportions (attested a.o. in the sanctuaries of Unis, Teti, Pepy I and Pepy II), became standard for the rest of the Old Kingdom, appearing again in the Twelfth Dynasty in the complex of Senwosret I at Lisht. In this respect it seems significant that the earlier version was used for the plan of the offering chapel of Hatshepsut in her temple at Deir el-Bahari, where the decoration obviously copied an Old Kingdom original.

⁴⁶⁹ R. Wartke, ZÄS 104 (1977), p.156 and fig.5.

⁴⁷⁰ See J. Baines, The destruction of the pyramid temple of Sahure, GM 4 (1973), pp.9-14.

⁴⁷¹ It is possible that the sun temple of Sahura was located at the site of later pyramid of Niuserra and was eventually dismantled during construction of this monument (M. Verner, Who was Shepseskara, and when did he reign, in: *Abusir-Saqqara 2000*, pp.591-592, cf. W. Kaiser, MDAIK 14 (1956), 108 n.2 and 112 n.2). Such a position would be at variance with a presumed rule that the sun temples were located north from the kings' pyramids.

NEFERIRKARA: Abusir

Neferirkara ascended to the throne although he was not a son of Sahura, but probably his brother.⁴⁷² He built his pyramid complex *B3-Nfr-jr-k3-R(w)* ('*Ba* of Neferirkara') at Abusir some distance south-west from that of Sahura.⁴⁷³ His tomb was designed first as a step pyramid and only subsequently re-built into a 'classical' pyramid, intended to be as much as 72 m high. A stepped core was built of local limestone cased with well-laid limestone retaining walls, but the final casing, barely started, was of granite. The substructure consisted of the antechamber and the burial chamber, both covered with huge limestone gabled roofs. No traces of the sarcophagus were found. Not only the pyramid but also the rest of the complex bears traces of being finished in haste. The inner temple including the offering hall and five statue niches was built in stone, but the *wsh*t and *pr-wr*w were completed in mud-brick and furnished with wooden columns in form of bundles of lotus stalks and buds. Only the foundations for a valley temple and a causeway had been built before the king's death, and those structures were later completed by Niuserra who included them into his own funerary complex. Neferirkara's complex reduced thus to the upper enclosure became a settlement area for the priests serving the king's cult, which resulted in a luckily preservation of the temple's papyrus archives. Part of the mortuary temple executed in stone was decorated with reliefs, of which only minute traces remained. In the offering chapel the king was represented with his *ka* behind him and facing the

⁴⁷² The evidence of Pap. Westcar on the relations of the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty reflects a legendary and not a historical order. Four sons of Sahura, including the eldest one, Netjeryrenra, are attested in the inscriptions on the temple walls in his complex. Changes of the representations of Neferikara in Sahura's complex (re-designing of his dress and adding a royal beard and the cartouche), reflecting his enhanced status, suggest that he was not supposed to inherit the throne.

⁴⁷³ PM III², pp.339-340. The site was excavated by L. Borchardt in 1908 (Borchardt, *Nefer-i'r-ke3-Re*). Some additional research on the pyramid was conducted by Maragioglio and Rinaldi, cf. *APM* VII, pp.112-175. For recent considerations on the architecture of the pyramid see M. Verner, Remarks on the Pyramid of Neferikara, *MDAIK* 47 (1991), pp.411-418.

offering bearers.⁴⁷⁴ One fragment, which has to be attributed to another room or the transverse corridor, preserved the hand of a large figure of a deity.⁴⁷⁵

A block found in the village of Abusir came probably from Neferirkara's mortuary temple. It shows figures of the royal mother Khentkaus and 'king's eldest son' Neferra, possibly the later king Neferefra.⁴⁷⁶

To the south of the king's pyramid the funerary complex of his wife Khentkaus was located. This outstanding queen was probably the mother of Neferefra and Niuserra and her exceptional status was reflected in the architecture and decoration of her pyramid and mortuary temple.⁴⁷⁷

SHEPSESKARA: Abusir ?

Neither the precise length of his reign (apparently very short one) nor the exact position of it within the dynasty (before or after Neferefra?) can be established with the now available evidence. It is suggested that his planned pyramid is the monument at northern Abusir, half way between Sahura's complex and the sun temple of Userkaf. If so, it seems to be hardly begun at the moment of the king's death and obviously no parts of the complex, beside a trench for the pyramid substructure, were executed.⁴⁷⁸

NEFEREFRA: Abusir

⁴⁷⁴ Borchardt, *Nefer-i'r-ke3-Re*^c, pp.28-30, figs.27-31.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., fig.27, the fragment on the right. Only a hand holding an *ankh* and the rest of an inscription behind the person is preserved. The text may be plausibly restored as [*dj.n.(j) n.k h^c.tj m*] *nswt bjtj hr st* [*Hrw*], a divine speech proving that the person is a god. Apart from a large scale of the figure, also in the form of the block-pattern border the fragment differs from those of the sanctuary.

⁴⁷⁶ Posener-Kriéger, *Archives d'Abou Sir*, p.531. Cf. also M. Verner, *Un roi de la V^e dynastie: Rênefer ou Rênefer?*, BIFAO 85 (1985), pp.281-284.

⁴⁷⁷ M. Verner, *The Pyramid Complex of the Royal Mother Khentkaus*, Prague 1994.

⁴⁷⁸ For the critical survey of the evidence on this king see M. Verner, *Who was Shepseskara and when did he reign?*, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.581-602.

The tomb of Neferefra was intended to be a pyramid with a base of 65 m square. However, a premature death of the king forced stopping of the work at an early stage, with only first step of the core built. After completion of the burial chamber in an excavated trench and the funeral, the monument was roofed and covered with desert boulders. A low mastaba-like building with a square base was intended to resemble a mythical primeval hill, *jꜣt*. Its name was *Ntrj-b3w-Nfr.f-Rꜥ(w)* ('Divine are the *Bas* of Neferefra'). Of the other parts of the complex, only the mortuary temple was constructed by Neferefra's successors.⁴⁷⁹ The first stage, perhaps completed immediately after the king's death, included building of the offering room with a granite false-door and an altar. The temple was extended and rebuilt in mud-brick by Niuserra. The columned entrance with limestone lotus-stalk columns led to a transverse corridor from which opened five large magazines. In one of them two wooden cult boats surrounded by thousands of carnelian beads were discovered. The northern part of the temple comprised ten magazines, in which archives of administrative papyri were found. The storerooms yielded also stone vessels, flint knives and frit tablets and faience inlays for wooden boxes and cult vessels. In the southern part of the funerary temple was a hypostyle hall with a roof supported by twenty wooden lotus-bud columns placed on limestone bases. Many statue fragments of diorite, basalt, limestone, quartzite and wood were found in the ruins of the court, including a sculpture of the seated king with Horus falcon behind his neck and small wooden figures of the traditional Egypt's enemies. Another part added to the southeast of the main temple is a large slaughter area called in the papyri the 'Sanctuary of the Knife'. In the last stage a columned courtyard and a new entrance with two six-stemmed papyrus columns were added in front of the

⁴⁷⁹ M. Verner, Excavations at Abusir season 1982 – preliminary report – the pyramid temple of Raneferef, ZÄS 111 (1984), pp.70-78; id., Excavations at Abusir. Preliminary Report 1997/8, AZÄS 126 (1999), pp.70-76; id., *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids*, pp.133-154.

temple. 24 wooden palm columns surrounded the court. It seems that no part of the complex (except perhaps for the false-door) was decorated with reliefs. According to M. Verner the walls of the courtyard might have been decorated with paintings.⁴⁸⁰

NIUSERRA: Abusir

Niuserra, who ascended to the throne as the second one of sons of Neferirkara and Khentkaus, devoted his reign to an extensive building activity. His interests concentrated at Abusir and the area north of it (now called Abu Gurab), and concerned not only building his mortuary complex and a sun temple, but also completing the unfinished projects of deceased members of his family. He was responsible for finishing and re-building of the funerary complexes of his parents Neferirkara and Khentkaus, and his elder brother Neferefra, as well as for assesment of burials for his queens (pyramids Lepsius nos. XXIV and XXV).⁴⁸¹

During his long reign, estimated to last over thirty years,⁴⁸² Niuserra managed to complete his mortuary complex⁴⁸³ *Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-R^c(w)*⁴⁸⁴ ('The Places of Niuserra Endure') (fig.26). He located his own pyramid not in line with earlier monuments, but close to the north-eastern corner of Neferirkara's

⁴⁸⁰ M. Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids*, p.153.

⁴⁸¹ J. Krejčí, The origins and development of the royal necropolis at Abusir during the Old Kingdom, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, p.480; Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids*, pp.79-83.

⁴⁸² The confirmed contemporary dates for this and other rulers (see the beginning of this chapter) sometimes can hardly support hypotheses based on other evidence. In the case of Niuserra the estimated length of his reign was suggested on account of two assumptions: that he celebrated his *Heb-Sed*, and that already in the Old Kingdom this ritual was performed after thirty years of a king's reign. Both assumptions are conjectural. Cf. von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, p.155 (suggesting as much as 35 years for Niuserra's reign). T. Schneider (*Lexikon der Pharaonen*, Munich 1996, p.281) estimates the length of this king's reign as 25 years.

⁴⁸³ PM III², pp.335-339. The complex was excavated by the German team in 1902-04 (Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re^c*).

⁴⁸⁴ It is perhaps significant that a name of a building *mn-b3w-Nj-wsr-R^c(w)*, containing the same stem *mn*, occurred in the text accompanying the scene of Niuserra being presented life by Anubis and Wadjet (Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re^c*, pl.16, see ch. III. 8 below).

pyramid, stressing thus his relationship to his father. He even used Neferirkara's causeway and the foundations of a valley temple, including them into his complex. Niuserra's pyramid had dimensions comparable with those of Sahura and consisted of a core of local material built in steps and cased with fine limestone. The substructure resembled that of Neferirkara, with two chambers covered with gabled roofs of three huge limestone beams each. Because of topographic obstacles (earlier mastabas on a planned complex axis) his mortuary temple is partially moved southwards. It was connected with the valley temple by means of a causeway, 'usurped' from Neferirkara's project. A plan of the valley temple reveals similarities to that of Sahura, with two entrances: the main eight-columned portico on the east, and a secondary four-columned doorway leading to the building from the southwest. The columns had the form of papyrus-bundles and were inscribed with the king's titulary. A new, important feature was the main room having three niches, obviously for cult statues. As with other valley temples the rooms led to a causeway entrance. The building interior had basalt floors and red granite dado⁴⁸⁵ and the walls were decorated with fine reliefs. The subjects recorded include a scene of suckling the king by a lion goddess,⁴⁸⁶ and marsh and agriculture activities. The causeway leading towards the upper enclosure had basalt dado and the limestone walls above it decorated with large relief figures of the king as a sphinx or griffin trampling enemies.⁴⁸⁷ Limestone statues of fettered captives were placed along the walls. The ceiling was painted blue and studded with yellow stars. After a sharp turn northwestwards the causeway approached the outer part of the mortuary

⁴⁸⁵ The amount and diversity of costly materials used for building Niuserra's temples are very impressive. Basalt flooring, granite and basalt orthostates, granite and quartzite doorjambs, lintels and thresholds, granite columns and architraves, travertine altars and offering tables, as well as basalt waterspouts and quartzite drainage basins – all these prove the importance assigned by the king to the wealth of the architecture (cf. the discussion of the building materials in Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, pp.141-156).

⁴⁸⁶ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, p.41, figs.21, 23.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.46-49, pls.8-12

temple. It consisted of an entrance hall flanked by two sets of magazines, and an open court with a portico of sixteen granite papyrus-bundle columns. The columns were decorated with a royal protocol.⁴⁸⁸ Some travertine fragments found in the temple derived from an altar that once stood in the court.⁴⁸⁹

The reliefs found in the outer temple depicted members of the royal court. The inner temple located inside the pyramid's enclosure wall comprised standard elements, albeit arranged in a somewhat unusual way, reflecting the abovementioned move of the outer temple towards south. The doorway from the courtyard opened into a small transverse corridor, paved with basalt and with basalt orthostates as a dado. A large niche opened in the N section of the W wall. In this niche a fragment of a large granite statue of a lion was found.⁴⁹⁰ Relief on a block attributed to the wall space between the niche and the niched entrance with steps (which led westwards inside the inner temple), represented the king enthroned, receiving *ankh*-signs from Anubis in the presence of Wadjit (fig.27).⁴⁹¹ One may suggest that the southern part of the room (much destroyed) comprised a similar niche as found in the northern part.⁴⁹² The entrance in the W wall of the corridor led to a bigger room oriented N-S, with five statue-niches. A doorway in the W wall opened to five magazines built against the pyramid wall.⁴⁹³ Another door gave access to the square antechamber with a roof supported by a single column (since then a standard element of the inner temple), which led in turn to the offering chapel on the axis of the pyramid and storerooms adjacent it

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., pl.13.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., pls.14-15.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., figs.7, 47, pp.16-17. For some considerations on the meaning of the niche and the statue see ch.V.2 in the Conclusions.

⁴⁹¹ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*, pp.88-90, pl.16.

⁴⁹² That the relevant part of the temple was much destroyed is clear from the plan in the publication. However, given the overwhelming idea of symmetry in the architecture it seems almost certain that a counterpart niche must have existed. This would be confirmed also by a parallel arrangement in the temple of Sahura.

⁴⁹³ These are sometimes erroneously taken for the statue niches themselves, see e.g. Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, fig. on p.148.

on the north. In the western wall of the chapel was set a granite false-door. The vaulted ceiling of the room was decorated with stars. Decorated fragments that may be attributed to the sanctuary depict offering lists and offering bearers. The scenes that could not be assigned to a particular place are the offering to Bastet and the *Heb-Sed*. The complex included also a satellite pyramid within its own court, southeast of the main pyramid. A new feature of the complex is a pair of massive blocks of masonry ('protopylons') at the corners of the pyramid court.

Some distance north of Abusir Niuserra built his sun temple *Šzꜣp-jb-Rꜥ(w)*, 'Delight of Ra'.⁴⁹⁴ Constructed in several stages, it eventually received the form resembling the earlier monument of Userkaf (with the upper and lower enclosures joined by a causeway), but with a large obeliskoid structure in the middle of the upper enclosure. It remains the only such monument (of the two actually excavated) that yielded evidence of its relief decoration. There were two main themes: the so-called 'Seasons' in the room adjacent to the obeliskoid on the south (named the *Weltkammer* by the excavators) and the *Heb-Sed*. This last theme occurred in two different sets: in the ambulatory (*Sacristei*) in the southwestern part of the great court beside the *Weltkammer* (the *Kleine Hebseddarstellung*), and in the long south corridor leading to these rooms along the southern wall of the enclosure (the *Grosse Hebseddarstellung*).⁴⁹⁵

It should be stressed that the quality of the reliefs in the sun temple is much inferior compared to those in the mortuary complex. The decoration (even the king's figures in the *Heb-Sed* scenes) was executed rather

⁴⁹⁴ Excavated between 1898 and 1901 by L. Borchardt and H. Schäffer (published as von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum I – II*).

⁴⁹⁵ These subjects and the way they were represented in Niuserra's temple reflect fundamental concepts of the mutual relations of the solar god and a king. This crucial question is discussed in the Conclusions. The basic publications of the reliefs from the sun temple at Abu Gurab are: von Bissing, Kees, *Re-Heiligtum III*; von Bissing, Kees, *Reliefs*; Edel - Wenig, *Jahreszeitenreliefs*.

carelessly and in a timesaving manner of removing the background only around the outlines of the figures. This contrasts sharply with the apparently high standard of the reliefs in the pyramid temples and causeway, where even the enemies' figures were represented with a wealth of details and had inlaid eyes.⁴⁹⁶ The reason for such a difference is not clear.

MENKAUHOR: North Saqqara? Dahshur?

Menkauhor chose for his tomb another site than Abusir, but the exact localization is unknown. A possible identification of the pyramid Lepsius no. XXIX at North Saqqara (the so-called 'Headless Pyramid') as his monument *Ntrj-swt-Mn-k3w-Hrw* ('Divine are the Places of Menkauhor'),⁴⁹⁷ has recently been rejected.⁴⁹⁸ On the other hand a hypothesis that his tomb is the pyramid Lepsius no. L at Dahshur, has not been confirmed by the results of the fieldwork.⁴⁹⁹

No decorated blocks that could be attributed to Menkauhor's complex have been found up to date. A relief from Saqqara showing Menkauhor being presented with offerings (including flower bouquets) came from a New Kingdom tomb.⁵⁰⁰

DJEDKARA: South Saqqara

Following his predecessor, also Djedkara chose to build his funerary monument outside the dynasty's traditional burial ground at Abusir. His

⁴⁹⁶ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*, fig.29, pl.12.

⁴⁹⁷ J. Berlandini, La pyramide "ruinée" de Saqqara-nord et le roi Ikauhor-Menkauhor, RdE 31 (1979), pp.3-28.

⁴⁹⁸ By J. Malek, who attributes the monument to the Herakleopolitan king Merikara (King Merikare and His Pyramid, in: *Hommages Leclant*, 4, pp.203-214).

⁴⁹⁹ Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.179; id. MDAIK 38 (1982), pp.382-383, pl.89; Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.102. Such a possibility was suggested by L. Borchardt (*ZÄS* 42 (1905), p.9) on account of the mention of the king's pyramid name in the Dahshur decree of Pepy I.

⁵⁰⁰ It has been sometimes erroneously dated to the Fifth Dynasty (e.g. K. Michałowski, *L'art de l'ancien Egypte*, Paris 1968, fig.234).

mortuary complex *Nfr-Jssj* ('Beautiful/Perfect is Isesi') was constructed in a new place at South Saqqara (fig.28).⁵⁰¹ The much ruined pyramid, standing on a high ground overlooking Saqqara village (and called now El-Shawaf, 'The Sentinel'), has for the first time a standard plan with a burial chamber, an antechamber and a room with three niches. Like in the earlier pyramids of the Fifth Dynasty, a huge triple-gable roof covered the rooms, and the corridor leading to the interior was blocked with a set of three portcullises. For the first time a small offering chapel was built at entrance to the pyramid. The mortuary temple adjacent to the pyramid on the east was excavated in 1946-49 by A. S. Hussein and A. Varille who unfortunately both died before publishing their work.⁵⁰² The causeway (the course of which can be discerned on the desert surface) and the valley temple under the modern village were almost not researched.⁵⁰³ The plan of the mortuary temple reveals all the standard parts: the long entrance hall *pr-wrw* and the court paved with travertine slabs, with eighteen granite palm-columns surrounding the courtyard. This central part of the temple was flanked by two sets of magazines and two large courts, closed from the east by two massive masonry 'pylons' standing on both sides of the entrance hall. The inner temple separated from the outer one by a transverse corridor comprised a standard set of rooms: a chamber with five statue niches, a vestibule and a square antechamber with a single column, and the offering hall. The satellite

⁵⁰¹ One may speculate on a possible relation to the mortuary complex of the royal palaces connected with celebration of the *Heb-Sed*, the plans for which were designed by Senedjemib-Inti (the owner of Giza 2370 A). For his important record see Urk I, 59-63; M. Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, I, Philadelphia 1989, pp.187-201. However, pace Stadelmann (*Pyramiden*, p.180), it is not sure if this man designed the complex and was overseeing the works. Among the high titles he bore there was no *jmj-r3 k3t nbt n nswt* or the like.

⁵⁰² PM III², p.424. Some more works around the complex were conducted by A. Fakhry and M. Moursi, cf. Fakhry, *Pyramids*, pp.180-181.

⁵⁰³ In 1945 a short-term sounding revealed limestone walls and a granite architrave at the site of a presumed valley temple (Fakhry, *Pyramids*, p181; Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *APM VIII*, pp.86-88). Brick constructions recorded to the north-west of this spot may be traces of the palace designed by Senedjemib-Inti (Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.183).

pyramid was located near the southeast corner of the main structure, within its own court. To the northeast of the king's pyramid a large mortuary complex of a queen was built, with most of the architectural features of the mortuary temple recalling the royal patterns.⁵⁰⁴ The reliefs found during the excavations of Djedkara's complex seem to have never been studied as a corpus.⁵⁰⁵ Only single pieces were published or mentioned. These include a large block, shown in two parts on photos by G. Goyon, who briefly discussed it. On the block the king is represented between deities: Seth and Wadjet on one side, and Hathor and Behedeti on the other (fig.29).⁵⁰⁶ Another fragment published by J. G. Griffiths has been taken to represent Osiris.⁵⁰⁷ It has been much discussed as an alleged unique representation of this god in the Old Kingdom.⁵⁰⁸ This identification may be, however, seriously doubted. It seems that the reliefs in the temple featured also Bastet.⁵⁰⁹ Another block preserved a fragmentary list of foreign toponyms and exotic products, being probably a record of a trade or exploration expedition.⁵¹⁰ According to S.

⁵⁰⁴ P. Janosi, Die Pyramidenanlage der "anonymen Königin" des Djedkare-Isesi, MDAIK 45 (1989), pp.187-202. Some of the reliefs from the queen's temple were published by M. Moursi (Die Ausgrabungen in der Gegend um die Pyramide des *Dd-k3-r^c* "Issj" bei Saqqara, ASAE 71 (1987), pp.185-193).

⁵⁰⁵ According to Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *APM* VIII, pp.64, 82f. and 104, the fragments have been stored in a 'Maison du Service de Giza'. The same refers to about 1000 pieces found by A. Fakhry in the queen's complex.

⁵⁰⁶ G. Goyon, BIFAO 67 (1969), pl.40 and p.156 n.2. The god standing behind Hathor has not been recognized as Behedeti by Goyon. For a further discussion of this important scene see ch. III.8.

⁵⁰⁷ J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, (Supplements to Numen 40), Leiden 1980, pp. 44, 236-237. The fragment is illustrated as the frontispiece.

⁵⁰⁸ D. Lorton, Considerations on the Origins and Name of Osiris, VA 1 (1985), pp.113-126; M. Eaton-Krauss, The Earliest Representation of Osiris?, VA 3 (1987), pp.234-236.

⁵⁰⁹ A block mentioned by B. Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt des Alten Reiches*, p. 40 (citing a personal communication by K. Baer).

⁵¹⁰ A. Grimm, Das Fragment einer Liste Fremdländischer Tiere, Pflanzen und Städte aus dem Totentempel des Königs Djedkare-Asosi. Zu drei bisher unbekanntem Toponymen, SAK 12 (1985), pp.29-41; id., *T3-nbw* "Goldland" und "Nubien". Zu den Inschriften auf dem Listenfragment aus dem Totentempel des Djedkare, GM 106 (1988), pp.23-28. It is noteworthy that an expedition to Punt under Djedkara is mentioned in the biography of Herkhuf.

Hassan also the subject of ‘seasons’ occurred in the decoration of Djedkara’s mortuary temple.⁵¹¹

Beside the reliefs, the excavations recovered limestone statues of bounded captives, calves, lion (offering-support?) and part of a sphinx.

UNIS: Saqqara

Unis may have reigned over 30 years. His pyramid complex *Nfr-swt-Wnjs* (‘Beautiful/Perfect are the Places of Unis’) is located at middle Saqqara, south of the Step Pyramid (fig.30). The site levelled for building of the pyramid and the mortuary temple was earlier the royal burial ground of the Second Dynasty. It is not clear to which extent the earlier tombs’ superstructures had already been destroyed when Unis decided to enter the area. The royal pyramid, of standard construction and architecture plan, is the smallest one in the Old Kingdom, but it is in this very pyramid where for the first time the Pyramid Texts were inscribed on the walls of the subterranean rooms. Parts of the walls of the burial chamber around the sarcophagus (the entire W wall and the rear parts of the S and N walls), made of huge travertine blocks, were decorated with an elaborate pattern of panelling, sculptured in a delicate relief and polychrome (fig.31).⁵¹² It represented a sacred reed-mat booth. The ceiling in the form of a gable roof was studded with golden stars against a blue background. The mortuary temple followed generally the plan of Djedkara, its outer part consisting of an entrance hall and a courtyard flanked both by storerooms (with the reduced ‘protopylons’ in front). The court was surrounded by a portico of eighteen granite columns with palm capitals. The inner temple separated from the courtyard by a usual transverse corridor, and entered by a set of stairs, comprised a room with five niches, a vestibule and a square antechamber (with a single quartzite column)

⁵¹¹ A brief remark in ZÄS 80 (1955), p.138, in a discussion of Unis’ causeway reliefs.

⁵¹² This ‘Prunkpalastfassade’ with six door-representations was painted not only green and black (as stated in Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.185), but also red, yellow, blue and white.

and the sanctuary. A huge granite false-door was set in the west wall of the room. The false-door was flanked by representations of souls of Nekhen and Pe, and the offering bearers (presumably approaching the king's figures) were pictured the walls of the chapel. Fragments of decorated blocks found scattered around the area prove that the reliefs in the mortuary temple included such issues as the king assisted by deities: suckled by a goddess, embraced or crowned by gods, as well as the king represented in some sort of activity: presenting four calves to Hathor, smiting enemies, performing the *Heb-Sed* rites.⁵¹³ The mortuary temple was connected to the valley temple at the edge of cultivated area by means of an extremely long (c.750 m) causeway. It was built of limestone blocks (including some stones from Netjerykhet's enclosure re-used in the foundations) along a wadi extending eastwards to the valley. The walls were decorated with reliefs on the whole length of causeway. The ceiling had a narrow opening along the axis, providing light into the space inside.⁵¹⁴ Among the remarkable subjects represented on the walls were ships transporting from Asuan granite columns for the pyramid temples, sea ships with foreigners, Egyptian soldiers engaged in battle with Asiatics, craftsmen at work, market scenes, desert game, gathering figs and honey, harvesting grain (probably parts of the 'seasons' cycle).⁵¹⁵ Several blocks bore famous representations of starving Bedouin.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹³ PM III², pp.417-422. The pyramid and the mortuary temple were excavated by A. Barsanti in 1900, C. Firth in 1929, J.-P. Lauer in 1936-39, A. H. Hussein and S. Hassan between 1937 and 1947, and by the IFAO team in 1974-76. The architecture and decoration of the temple are published in Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*.

⁵¹⁴ On the architecture of the causeway see M. A. M. Raslan, Academic and Applied Paper on the History of Architecture. The Causeway of Ounas Pyramid, ASAE 61 (1973), pp.151-169.

⁵¹⁵ The causeway was partly excavated by S. Hassan in 1937-38. The results were published in a series of reports: S. Hassan, ASAE 38 (1938), pp.519-521 and pls.XCIV-XCVII, id., ASAE 43 (1943), pp.441-442 and pls.XXIX-XXXII; id., The causeway of *Wnis* at Sakkara, ZÄS 80 (1955), pp. 136-139 and pls. XII-XIII. According to E. Drioton (BIE 25 (1943), pp.45-54), Hassan discovered 400 blocks. The whole material from the causeway available now has been published recently in Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*.

According to S. Hassan the scenes on the causeway followed a logical order, starting at the eastern end with themes from earthly life, perhaps even actual events of the pharaoh's life.⁵¹⁷ Proceeding westwards i.e. towards the realm of the other world, the character of the scenes changed; they include the king performing the *Heb-Sed* rites and at the end he was shown enthroned facing the processions of gods, nomes and personifications of estates, bringing him the offerings.⁵¹⁸ Two dummy ships of limestone blocks were modelled south of the upper part of the causeway.

The valley temple of Unis' complex was recently excavated by A. Labrousse and A. Moussa.⁵¹⁹ The temple was much destroyed but its plan has been restored. There were three entrances accessible by low ramps approaching the building from the 'harbour' area. The main doorway was situated on the east and conceived as a deep eight-columned portico. Two secondary portico entrances were located symmetrically on the S and N façades. Their roofs were supported by two columns each. All the columns were granite, with palm capitals.⁵²⁰ The way led inside the structure through two longitudinal rooms to a chamber (*antichambre*) in the northwestern

⁵¹⁶ E. Drioton, Une représentation de la famine sur un bas-relief égyptien de la Ve dynastie, BIE 25 (1943), pp. 45-54; S. Schott, Aufnahmen vom Hungersnotrelief aus dem Aufweg der Unaspiramide, RdE 17 (1965), pp.7-13; J. Vercoutter, Les "Affamés" d'Ounas et le changement climatique de la fin de l'Ancien Empire, in: *Mélanges Mokhtar II*, pp.327-337.

⁵¹⁷ The beginning of the causeway was actually explored in 1992 by A. Labrousse and A. Moussa, who discovered the fragments showing recording of booty and processions of divinities, no doubt leading captives to the king smiting or trampling enemies, the arrangement paralleled exactly in the decoration of Niuserra's and Pepy II's causeways (Labrousse, Moussa, *Ounas*, pp.95-99, doc.56-61).

⁵¹⁸ According to a description in ZÄS 80 (1955), p.137. Unfortunately neither the king's enthroned figure nor the processions were published. It must be stressed that the exact position of most of the known scenes on the causeway is uncertain, except for their attribution to N or S walls.

⁵¹⁹ In 1991-93 (Labrousse, Moussa, *Ounas*). They also conducted some research along the lower part of the causeway.

⁵²⁰ The columns of the east portico were 15 cubits high. In the opinion of A. Labrousse it is them that were represented in the famous scenes of ship transport on Unis' causeway (Labrousse, Moussa, *Ounas*, p.34-35 and n.20 and 21).

corner. From this room a door in the south wall opened to a room with three statue-niches (*salle du culte*) on the temple's axis, and three magazines.⁵²¹ Another doorway led westwards to the beginning of the causeway. On the columns and doorframes the royal titulary was inscribed.⁵²² The ceiling was studded with stars. The limestone walls of the porticoes and the internal chambers were decorated with reliefs. The subjects recorded from the fragments are: figures of the king (also represented between the gods), royal statues, large scale goddess, assembly of deities, royal attendants in the attitude of jubilation and bowing, processions of offering bearers and bulls, navigation scenes. A small fragment of text mentioning Orion seems to be unparalleled.⁵²³

Several blocks found in the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht might have come from the valley temple and the causeway of Unis.⁵²⁴

⁵²¹ The reconstruction of this ensemble is purely hypothetical and rests on parallels with Niuserra's valley temple (Labrousse, Moussa, *Ounas*, pp.59-60, cf. Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, pl.28).

⁵²² Two quartzite fragments with *dt* and *nswt bjtj* (Labrousse, Moussa, *Ounas*, p.69, doc.5, 6) came from a doorjamb.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, pp.86-87, fig.87, pl.14 (doc.50).

⁵²⁴ They are listed in Labrousse, Moussa, *Ounas*, p.89; cf. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, nos.42, 49-52 and 55 (attributed to the 'funerary temple of Unis?'). The block with running troops (Goedicke's no.42) has recently been redated to Userkaf (see n above). A large block with an alleged historical text (Goedicke, *op.cit.*, no.8, p.24-6, MMA 09.180.4) may be attributed to Unis' causeway.

II.5. DYNASTY VI

The sequence of the Sixth Dynasty kings is fairly certain. Nevertheless, the exact lengths of reigns are unknown and possible co-regencies (e.g. between Pepy I and Merenra) and rivalry (Userkara and Pepy I?) multiple doubts about the history of the period. A following list of the rulers and dates (as recorded in the Royal Canon of Turin and as confirmed by contemporaneous data) can be proposed:⁵²⁵

| King | contemporaneous sources | Turin |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|
| Teti | year after 6th census | ? (destroyed) |
| Userkara (?) | not attested | 2 years |
| Pepy I | 25th census | 20 years |
| Merenra-Nemtyemsaf I | year after 6 th census | 44 years |
| Pepy II | year after 31 st census | 90 + x years |
| Nemtyemsaf II (?) | not attested | 1 year |
| Nitocris (?) | not attested | 2 years |

TETI: Saqqara

The reasons for a dynastic caesura are not clear. Teti seems to be related to Unis, being a son by one Seshseshet. She was surely not a principal queen, and perhaps he had to marry Khuit, a princess of blood, to legitimize his rights to throne. His another wife became Iput I, the mother of later king Pepy I. Both queens were provided tombs close to the king's one, for which Teti chose a site at North Saqqara at the southern edge of the Archaic necropolis and north-east of Userkaf's pyramid. His mortuary complex *Dd-*

⁵²⁵ For a recent detailed discussion of the evidence in light of data from the newly discovered annals see M. Baud, V. Dobrev, *De nouvelles annales de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Une "Pierre de Palerme" pour la VIe dynastie*, BIFAO 95 (1995), pp.23-92; eorum, *Le verso des annales de la VIe dynastie. Pierre de Saqqara-Sud*, BIFAO 97 (1997), pp.35-42.

swt-Ttj ('The Places of Teti are Stable') comprised all the regular elements of which only the pyramid and the upper temple were excavated (fig.32).⁵²⁶ The pyramid follows the pattern established by Djedkara (and repeated later by Pepy I, Merenra and Pepy II), both in the dimensions (side length of 150 cubits and height of 100 cubits) and plan. The interior is inscribed with the Pyramid Texts. For the first time they are inscribed also on the sarcophagus. The 'palace façade' decoration imitating a matted booth was executed on the W wall and on the rear halves of the S and N walls, although (contrary to Unis' burial chamber) the room lacks the costly travertine casing. Outside the entrance a northern chapel was erected, with walls decorated by reliefs depicting offering bearers and the ceiling covered by stars. Against the pyramid's face, in the south wall of the chapel, was a false-door of black basalt. The mortuary temple resemble much those of Teti's predecessors, with the strict axuality, broken only by the position of the entrance. The causeway ended at the southeastern corner of the temple, its shift to the south from the main E-W axis of the complex was probably caused by the need to avoid an earlier structure (pyramid Lepsius no.XXIX). A long N-S corridor connected the gate at the causeway end with the entrance hall. It was covered with a false vault decorated with stars. On the tympana of this room the king was depicted between the tutelary gods of Upper and Lower Egypt (fig.33).⁵²⁷ Next to the entrance hall was a courtyard with eighteen square granite pillars (which reflects a return to the traditions of the Fourth Dynasty and Userkaf). A travertine altar in the middle of the court retained traces of

⁵²⁶ PM III², pp.393-396. The monument was excavated between 1951-70 by the French mission. The results are published in Lauer, Leclant, *Téti*. Additional research was made by A. Labrousse (*Pyramides à textes* I). Of the causeway and the valley temple virtually nothing is known. As noticed by M. Lehner (*Complete Pyramids*, p.156), an enormous embankment would have been necessary for providing a regular causeway from a hypothetical temple in the valley, given that the site of Teti's pyramid is high on the cliff.

⁵²⁷ Lauer, Leclant, *Téti*, pp.60-62, figs.15 a-b.

reliefs.⁵²⁸ Two sets of storerooms flanked the central part of the outer temple. The inner temple was designed according to the standard plan, with a transverse corridor opened at the southern end to the satellite pyramid court, and to the northern pyramid court at the other end.⁵²⁹ From the corridor a low stairway of travertine led to the statue chamber.⁵³⁰ The five niches had doorways framed in granite and inscribed with the king's titulary, and closed once with double-leaf doors. Next to this room the way led, through a vestibule and an antechamber, to the offering chapel. It has a vaulted ceiling and a granite false-door at the west end, resting on an enormous quartzite block. The walls were probably decorated with the depictions of offering bearers. Some fragments discovered in the temple may have come from here.⁵³¹

The satellite pyramid was placed in a standard position southeast of the main pyramid. Peculiar features are four basins (three made of quartzite and one of limestone) distributed around the satellite pyramid in its court.

Among the decorated fragments found in the temple area, which are difficult to assign to a particular place, one may discern the king in the *heb-sed* run as well as seated in the chapel, other episodes of the 'jubilee' with the

⁵²⁸ J. Malek, The 'Altar' in the Pillared Court of Teti's Pyramid-Temple at Saqqara, in: *Pyramid Studies. Essays Edwards*, pp. 23-34.

⁵²⁹ The floor of the corridor was paved with travertine slabs, the thresholds of the doorways were of granite (S) and basalt (N) (Lauer, Leclant, *Téti*, p.22-23). The entrance to the statue chamber was framed in granite (for a fragment of the jamb see *ibid.* fig.10)

⁵³⁰ Lauer, Leclant, *Téti*, pp.24, 27, pl. 13. Such stairs (suggested to have existed already in Sahura's temple cf. Borchart, *Sa3hu-Re*, I, p.54) seem to be a standard feature of the temples of the Sixth Dynasty. The difference of height emphasized the sanctity of the inner temple. It seems that a set of nine steps was conceived as referring to a symbolic number. It is repeated in numerous instances in later temples including e.g. the solar altar in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari.

⁵³¹ But no traces of the presumed representation of the king seem to be preserved. The fragment depicting Teti in the Red Crown (*ibid.*, pl.XXXIII at the top), seated in a kiosk must have come from a *heb-sed* scene in another part of the temple. The block is now on display in the Cairo museum (JE 39924). Note that the inlaid eyes of the figure are still preserved.

officials participating, the king smiting enemies, Wadjet, Seth, souls of Nekhen.⁵³²

The tomb complexes of Khuit and Iput I were located north of the king's pyramid. Recent excavations brought new information about the architecture and decoration of the queens' mortuary temples.⁵³³

USERKARA: ?

The existence of this king has been much doubted. Almost no evidence of his rule exists. The analysis of the records on the 'South Saqqara Stone' (i.e. the annals of the Sixth Dynasty inscribed on a block re-used later as a sarcophagus lid for Ankhesenpepy III) suggests that Userkara may have been a real, albeit ephemeral ruler.⁵³⁴ Nevertheless, at present no place for his burial monument can be pointed.

PEPY I: South Saqqara

Whether after struggle or co-ruling with Userkara, or immediately after Teti's death,⁵³⁵ his son by queen Iput I, Pepy I, ascended the throne and begun constructing of his mortuary complex at South Saqqara called *Mn-nfr-Ppy* ('The Perfection of Pepy is Established' or 'Pepy is Established and Beautiful') (fig.34).⁵³⁶ The pyramid resembles much that of Teti, with the

⁵³² Some blocks excavated by J. E. Quibell have not been found by the French team during the re-assembling of the finds. They are published as photos only (Lauer, Leclant, *Téti*, pl.XXXIII, after Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, III, 1907-1908, pl.LIV).

⁵³³ Z. Hawass, Recent discoveries in the pyramid complex of Teti at Saqqara, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.413-444.

⁵³⁴ M. Baud, V. Dobrev, De nouvelles annales de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Une "Pierre de Palerme" pour la VIe dynastie, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), pp.59-62.

⁵³⁵ T. Schneider, *Lexikon der Pharaonen*, Düsseldorf-Zürich 1996, pp.295-298, 480 (s.v. 'Pepi (Phiops) I' and 'Userkare', with references to the literature). Cf. the articles by M. Baud and V. Dobrev in the preceding notes. It is not certain whether the decision of Pepy to change his prenomen from Nefersahor to Meryra should be related to the alleged political troubles.

⁵³⁶ PM III², pp.422-424. The site is under research of Mission Archéologique Française à Saqqara since 1966. The principal publication of the complex is still in preparation. Thus

notable difference that the Pyramid Texts were inscribed on more of the walls, and on the sarcophagus, too. Its box bore the royal titulary in two lines, sculpted and covered with a golden leaf. Also the interior of the sarcophagus was gilded. As the texts expanded, the N and S walls around the sarcophagus were no more decorated extensively with the motif of the reed-mat booth (fig.35). This kind of decoration was reduced to a lower part of the west wall behind the sarcophagus, where the stone supports for a lid were constructed after execution and painting of the panelled design.⁵³⁷ A painstaking exploration of the pyramid substructure revealed finds of a granite canopic chest, a partly preserved canopic jar with its content, a wooden sandal (stripped of golden foil that once covered it), linen cloth and part of a wooden statuette. The area around the pyramid included a satellite pyramid and a vast northern court with a set of rectangular basins sunken in its floor, in line along the pyramid's face. At the entrance to the sloping corridor leading to the burial chamber, an offering chapel was erected. Traces of its decoration, including stars from the ceiling and offering bearers are preserved.⁵³⁸ The mortuary temple suffered much from the activity of the lime makers. Its plan could be restored, nevertheless, proving that it conformed to a standard scheme. Costly materials were abundantly used throughout the temple. The flooring was made of travertine, the pillars, architraves and doorframes were granite or quartzite. Of the relief decoration only tiny traces are preserved. These include scenes of suckling the king,⁵³⁹ and offerings in heaps (no doubt

far the Pyramid Texts were published, as well as the architecture of the pyramid and the northern chapel (Labrousse, *Pyramides à textes*, II, pp.1-46). Cf. Leclant, *Recherches Pepi I^{er}* and a popular account in Labrousse, *Regards sur une pyramide* and Labrousse, *Albuoy, Pyramides des reines*, pp.80-105.

⁵³⁷ As the N and S walls are much destroyed it must remain a matter of speculation if their lower parts near the sarcophagus were decorated as in the pyramids of Merenra and Pepy II.

⁵³⁸ Labrousse, *Pyramides à textes*, II, pp.8-19, figs.1,2,16,18-69, pls.I, III-VIII.

⁵³⁹ Labrousse, *Albuoy, Pyramides des reines*, p.88.

coming from the sanctuary).⁵⁴⁰ A number of limestone prisoners' statues were found in the southwestern part of the temple. It has been suggested that they were deposited along the causeway walls or in the mortuary temple, below the representations of the king maintaining order.

Excavations around the pyramid revealed unique pieces of evidence: three corner blocks of the temenos wall, with the royal titulary protected by tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, in form of a vulture and a cobra seated on a basket and presenting *w3s* and *šn* (fig.36).⁵⁴¹ These heraldic compositions are arranged in vertical panneaux, with Nekhebet in the upper and Wadjet in the lower ones. These blocks not only prove that the wall surrounding the pyramid was decorated,⁵⁴² but confirm an extremely high quality of the reliefs in the complex.

To the south of the royal pyramid were the mortuary complexes of his queens. Up to date seven of them were discovered, and partly explored and restored. They belonged to Ankhesenpepy II, Ankhesenpepy III, Inenek-Inti, Meritites, Mehaa, Nubunenet and an unknown 'queen of the west'. The abundance of evidence on the architecture and decoration of these monuments makes the site the most important area for understanding the ideology connected with the queens. Many decorated blocks, as well as

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid. p.104. Although many fragments were discovered during the decades of work, only a few were published. Most of the information on the decoration does not refer to the evidence of finds but to parallels in the Pepy II's and other complexes (see e.g. *ibid.*, pp.90-93). It is thus sometimes difficult to judge if some statements on the programme are based on unpublished data or on hypothetical assumptions.

⁵⁴¹ Labrousse, *Pyramides à textes*, II, pp.4-5. For excellent photos see Labrousse, Albuoy, *Pyramides des reines*, pp.134-137.

⁵⁴² As stated by A. Labrousse (*Pyramides à textes*, II, p.4) such a decoration remains unique for the Old Kingdom and may be interpreted as a forerunner of the panels with the royal protocol, which decorated the walls of the inner enclosure of the pyramid of Senwosret I at Lisht (cf. D. Arnold, *Senwosret I*, pp.58-63, figs.19-33, pls.32-36).

inscribed pillars, jambs, lintels, false-doors, obelisks and offering tables were found.⁵⁴³

MERENRA: South Saqqara

Nemtyemsaf, eldest son of Pepy I, who assumed a throne name Merenra, reigned for a short period. This is proved not only by written sources but also by the apparently young age of his mummy. During not more than nine years of his reign he constructed his mortuary complex at South Saqqara on the desert ridge bordered from the south by Wadi Tafla, used already by two of his predecessors. His pyramid *H^c-nfr-Mrj-n-R^c(w)* ('The Perfection of Merenra Appears') is located some distance into the desert west from Djedkara's and southwest from Pepy I's.⁵⁴⁴ Although the complex was researched since the XIX century, still the basic information on the temples is lacking. The pyramid and the associated northern chapel were published recently,⁵⁴⁵ the mortuary temple remains in large part unexcavated, except for the area of the sanctuary. It seems that both the tomb and the temple conformed to the standard plan of the Sixth Dynasty. No details on a causeway and a valley temple, presumably buried under the sands of Wadi Tafla, have been revealed up to date.

The substructure of the pyramid resembles that of Pepi I, with a similar distribution of the Pyramid Texts. The burial chamber was furnished with a greywacke sarcophagus and a red granite canopic chest. The sarcophagus, inscribed with lines of Pyramid Texts, was partially covered with a golden foil. As in Pepy I's pyramid, the western wall bore the palace façade or mat-

⁵⁴³ For an account of recent discoveries see Labrousse, Albuoy, *Pyramides des reines*, esp. pp.70-77, 106-155.

⁵⁴⁴ PM III², p.425. The pyramid was entered in 1881. In the second half of the XX century the complex has been under research by Mission Archéologique Française à Saqqara. It was actually excavated in 1971-72.

⁵⁴⁵ The pyramid: Labrousse, *Pyramides à textes*, II, pp.47-48, 56-76; the N chapel: *ibid.*, pp.49-55, figs.95, 97-117, pls. XVII-XX.

booth decoration, covered after its execution by a stone construction supporting the lid. The elaborately designed and sculptured pattern covered the lower part of the wall on a surface equal to a 'shadow' of the sarcophagus. It featured four false-doors with double leaves. Each door was represented as closed by two door-bolts. The palace façade was painted green. The ceilings in the chambers were decorated with white stars against a black background (fig.37). There are traces of haste in finishing of the decoration. The northern chapel, of which actually two corner stones were found in situ, had the walls decorated with a regular pattern of offering bearers and slaughter scenes. An important piece is part of a jamb of the frame of the false-door. It bears a fragment of a dedicatory text, enumerating the parts of the architectural ensemble of the chapel. This inscription is to be compared with a long-known testimony of the autobiography of Weni, recording quarrying and transporting of granite, greywacke and travertine monoliths for Merenra's pyramid complex.⁵⁴⁶

The sanctuary of the mortuary temple was paved with limestone and a base of the granite false-door was found in its western end. Among the finds were limestone offering tables. Traces of the decoration, partially outlined but not modelled, prove that the work in the temple was still at an early stage when the king died.⁵⁴⁷

PEPY II: South Saqqara

The reign of Neferkara Pepy II, claimed to be the longest ever recorded, may have lasted for over sixty years.⁵⁴⁸ Putting aside a much discussed question of an alleged gradual decline of the central government during his reign (that eventually led to a disorders of the First Intermediate

⁵⁴⁶ Urk. I 106. For further discussion of the inscription in Merenra's northern chapel see ch. .

⁵⁴⁷ J. Leclant, *ASAE* 78 (1982), p.60; id., *Or* 51 (1982), pp.433-434.

⁵⁴⁸ H. Goedicke, *The Death of Pepi II – Neferkare*, *SAK* 15 (1988), pp.111-121.

Period), one has to note that evidence coming from the architecture and decoration of his mortuary complex is not univocal in this respect.

Pepy II erected his mortuary complex at South Saqqara, at a spot close to the Mastabat el-Fara'un. It was named *Mn-ꜥnh-Ppy/Nfr-k3-Rꜥ(w)* ('Pepy is Established and Living' or 'Life of Pepy is Established'). The pyramid and its associated temples as well as the causeway were excavated almost *in extenso* by G. Jéquier between 1926 and 1936. Surrounded by the pyramid complexes of the king's queens Neith, Iput II and Wedjebten, the complex of Pepy II is (along with Khafra's and Sahura's complexes) one of the best-known royal mortuary monuments of the Old Kingdom (fig.38).⁵⁴⁹

The pyramid follows the standard plan of Pepy II's predecessors. Its dimensions and mode of construction likewise reflected a well established tradition with a notable exception of a girdle, 6.5 m wide added to the pyramid's base some time after its completion.⁵⁵⁰ The Pyramid Texts are inscribed on the walls of the burial chamber, the antechamber, the horizontal passage (on both sides of the portcullises) and the chamber at the end of the horizontal section of the corridor. The ceilings are decorated with a pattern of white stars on a black background. As in Merenra's pyramid the stars were executed in some instances in haste, with incisions or drawings replacing well-sculptured reliefs. The burial chamber with walls of single limestone monoliths was decorated (around the sarcophagus) with the niched pattern of the reed-mat booth. On the S and N walls (in the 'shadow' of the chest) the decoration featured false-doors painted green and topped with panels bearing royal titulary (fig.39). Like in other Sixth Dynasty pyramids the sarcophagus was made of greywacke and the canopic chest of red granite.

⁵⁴⁹ PM III², pp.425-431. The results of Jéquier's work are published in three volumes of Jéquier, *Pepi II*.

⁵⁵⁰ For the discussion of possible reasons for adding of this structure and a suggested connection with *Sed*-festival celebration see Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.161.

The northern chapel built against the entrance to the pyramid was decorated with standard motifs of slaughter and offering bearers bringing offerings to a seated king.⁵⁵¹

The mortuary complex extended eastwards down to the valley. It may be suspected that a long row of settlements connected with the pyramid-towns of Shepsekaf, Djedkara, Merenra, Pepy I and Pepy II occupied the area. No traces of these have been uncovered up to now, however. The entrance to the complex was located in the desert at an elevation c.25 m a.s.l., a fact that raises serious doubts about the reality of the 'harbours' of valley temples.⁵⁵² The façade of this 'valley' temple was approached by two ramps at its S and N ends, leading to a broad platform. A single door framed with granite and inscribed with the king's titulary opened in the middle of the façade. The first room inside the building was a small hypostyle hall with eight rectangular pillars. From this hall the way led through two transverse chambers to the door in the western wall opening into the beginning of the causeway. A single room with a staircase to the roof, and a tripartite chamber were located in the northeastern section of the building. The southern part of the valley temple was occupied by a set of magazines. The excavations revealed some decorated blocks from which some conclusions on the decoration scheme may be drawn. It seems that only the pillared hall was

⁵⁵¹ Actually only four blocks forming once parts of the chapel's walls were found. The ingenious restoration of the decoration of the chapel by G. Jéquier was subsequently confirmed by discoveries of similar structures in Pepy I's and Merenra's complexes (cf. Jéquier, *Pepi II*, I, pp.2-, figs.1-4; Labrousse, *Pyramides à textes*, II, pp.81-82, figs.154-157).

⁵⁵² Most of these 'harbours' are on considerably higher level than 16-16.5 m. a.s.l. estimated now to be a water level of the Old Kingdom and the core drillings at the spots usually reveal only the accumulation of sand (cf. n 103 above). The case of Pepy II is especially clear, as it seems virtually impossible that even highest floods in the Old Kingdom could have reached this level.

adorned with reliefs.⁵⁵³ The subjects represented included the gods in front of their chapels, the souls of Nekhen and Pe, the suppression of enemies and the hunt in a papyrus thicket.⁵⁵⁴

The causeway, bending twice to conform to the topographic features, led toward the upper enclosure. It was perhaps similar to the causeways of Sahura's and Unis' complexes. The walls in its lower part were decorated with a sequence of tableaux representing large figures of the king as a sphinx or griffin trampling enemies, facing the approaching rows of deities leading captives. The destruction of the foreign chiefs was done in the presence of their families and goddess Seshat, recording the event. As at the earlier causeways, decoration on the S and N walls varied according to a geographical pattern, representing Libyans and Asiatics respectively. At the upper part of the causeway long rows of gods and personifications bringing offerings to the king were represented. It seems that their focus was a figure of the king pictured seated at the very end of the causeway, facing the processions. Only the figure on the S wall was fragmentarily preserved, but it may be safely assumed from the overall scheme that the arrangement of the N wall was strictly symmetrical, differing only in heraldic details. A side entrance leading from the south opened in the causeway wall at the place of a second bend, just few meters before the entrance to the mortuary temple. The doorway to the temple was flanked with 'protopylons' that have been developed since Niuserra. Through a small transverse room with two side chambers, one entered the entrance hall (*vestibule*) and, next to it, an open court. The walls of the entrance hall were decorated with scenes of the king's triumph over the forces of disorder, either human or represented by a

⁵⁵³ Traces of painted hieroglyphs (cf. Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, figs.2-4) would suggest, however, that the decoration of the temple was partially executed in this timesaving manner.

⁵⁵⁴ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pls.4-9.

hippopotamus. Maybe a fowling scene was also featured.⁵⁵⁵ Some fragments apparently came from the scenes of suckling and embracing the king. They may be attributed to the first, intermediary room beside the entrance. The courtyard was paved in limestone and surrounded with a portico of eighteen quartzite pillars set on granite bases. The limestone walls were left undecorated, the pillars bore the only decoration at the court. Actually only one of them had been found and restored by Jéquier at the NW corner of the court. On the two sides of the pillar the king is represented embraced by gods, one of them being a falcon-headed sun-god.⁵⁵⁶ A large number of prisoners' statues found in the temple may have once lined the court.

A transverse corridor separated the outer temple from the inner one. The door at the southern end of the corridor led to a court of the satellite pyramid. It was of standard dimensions with the side 30 cubits sq., the T-shaped passage and the chamber were left unsmoothed. Another door at the north end of the corridor opened into the northern pyramid court with three basins sunk into the pavement. The transverse corridor was extensively decorated and Jéquier managed to restore the sequence of panneaux on the E wall.⁵⁵⁷ They included scenes of triumph (smiting enemies), the feast of Min (or, more properly, erecting of the *shnt*-pole), king's *Heb-Sed* run, and various versions of leading and embracing scenes. On the N wall the officials receiving their prizes in a ceremony of *šzp nbw* were depicted. From the fragments that can be assigned to the W wall it appears that this wall of the corridor bore more scenes connected with the *Heb-Sed*. A niched entrance (*niche de l'escalier*) to the inner temple had the walls decorated with scenes of suckling the king by goddesses in the presence of male gods.⁵⁵⁸ Those on

⁵⁵⁵ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pls.41-43.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pl.45. For the discussion of this pillar scenes see ch. IV.1.

⁵⁵⁷ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls.8,12,18.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pls.29-33.

the south side represented a.o. Hathor and Khnum, one of the assisting gods on the N wall of the niche being probably Horus.

A set of stairs led to the statue room with five niches encased in red granite. The middle one, slightly larger than the others, still held a limestone base of a life-size royal statue.⁵⁵⁹ Of the decoration of the room nothing can be said, beside a possibility that some fragments of smiting scene found in the vicinity and not attributed elsewhere, may have derived from here. Behind the niches, inside the block of masonry between the statue chamber and the offering hall, there was a closed space (a feature recorded also in earlier temples), for which a function of a serdab with hidden statues was suggested.⁵⁶⁰

A door in the south wall of the statue chamber led to a vestibule. Its S wall was decorated with a large scene of smiting of group of enemies by the king in the presence of Seshat (fig.40).⁵⁶¹ At the W end the king was welcomed by Nekhebet and Wadjit. On the lintel above the entrance to the southern magazines (at the E end of the wall) Pepy II was probably pictured seated receiving life from Seth and Horus assisted by Nekhebet and Wadjit.⁵⁶² On the E wall of the room another large *tableau* depicted the king hunting at the desert. Only the bottom part of the scene is preserved. The target of the hunt was apparently a large figure of an antelope or a similar animal. Jéquier tentatively restored the king's figure as aiming at the animal with a mace.⁵⁶³ However, such an attitude seems unparalleled and it is more probable that he was shooting the game with bow and arrows.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., p.25.

⁵⁶⁰ Jéquier suggested that a small travertine statuette representing Pepy II as a child (found actually in the square antechamber) may have been placed in this 'serdab' (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pp.30-31, pl.49). Cf. Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.163.

⁵⁶¹ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.36.

⁵⁶² For a possible restoration of the scene see ch.III.8.

⁵⁶³ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls.41-43.

⁵⁶⁴ See ch.III.21.

A door in the W wall, framed with large granite jambs and flanked with representation of the souls of Nekhen, opened into the square antechamber. Its ceiling was supported by a single octagonal quartzite column. The four walls of the chamber were decorated with depictions of the rows of gods standing beside their cult-shrines (as well as officials of the kingdom in the bottom registers), facing large figures of the king.⁵⁶⁵ The decoration of the S and W walls represented Upper Egyptian deities, that on the N and E walls the Lower Egyptian ones. On the W and E walls the gods were presented with offerings by priests. It is estimated that altogether almost 100 gods and 45 officials were depicted. On the lintel of the northern door, leading inside the offering chapel, the king was pictured enthroned and receiving life from Nekhebet and Anubis.

The sanctuary was a room of standard dimensions of 30 x 10 cubits, covered with a vaulted roof. Nothing remained of the false-door in the west wall. The decoration of the walls was substantially restored.⁵⁶⁶ At the rear ends of the S and N walls the king was shown enthroned with his personified *ka* behind him. He was facing a table with heaps of offerings and an extensive offering-list. The rest of both walls was occupied by several registers with long rows of the offering bearers (with the highest officials of the state among them), approaching the king. It has been estimated that on each wall there were as much as 140 figures. The E wall of the offering hall bore scenes of slaughter and additional representations of offerings, including furniture and vessels. Jequier suggested that the tympana were decorated with depictions of the day and night sun barks. Indeed a few fragments seem to show such a motif.

Three of Pepy II's queens had their own pyramid complexes built near the tomb of their husband. The complex of Neith erected to the NW of the

⁵⁶⁵ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls.46-58.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pls.61-104.

king's pyramid Neith, probably the oldest one, was most developed, comprising a gate with obelisks standing in front of it, an entrance chapel, court decorated with reliefs showing the queen and offerings, a chamber with three niches, and an offering room with presentation scenes. The complexes of Iput II to the SW of Neith's, and of Wedjebten to the S of the king's precinct, had the same elements.⁵⁶⁷ In all the three pyramids the chambers were inscribed with the Pyramid Texts. It seems that Pepy II was responsible for completing the burials of two queens named Ankhesenpepy (II and III)⁵⁶⁸ in Pepy I's pyramid complex.

⁵⁶⁷ The results of the investigations of G. Jéquier were published in *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, Cairo 1928, and *Les pyramides des Reines Neit et Apouit*, Cairo 1933.

⁵⁶⁸ On the four royal women of the Sixth Dynasty bearing this name, and their relation to Pepy I, Merenra and Pepy II see now V. Dobrev, The sarcophagus of Queen Mother Ankhesenpepy, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.380-396. In the sarcophagus chamber of Ankhesenpepy III were found many fragments of palace façade panelling carved in sunk relief and painted green and black. The chamber itself bore a line of inscription with the queen's titulary on all four walls. In the pyramid of Ankhesenpepy II fragments of the Pyramid Texts were discovered in February 2000 (Dobrev, *ibid.*, p.386 n.22).

II.6. DYNASTY VIII

The Seventh Dynasty of Manetho seems to have been completely fictive. Our knowledge of the Eighth Dynasty is limited to the names occurring on the kings' lists and very few contemporary monuments; neither the true number nor sequence of the rulers can be established.⁵⁶⁹ It is generally accepted that the Eighth Dynasty followed immediately the Sixth, the new kings being related to Pepy II Neferkara. The continuity of the tradition in the archaeological and epigraphic material, presumably reflecting political continuation, is especially obvious in the Memphite area. On the other hand, it is quite clear that the royal power decreased much and the funerary complexes of the period must have been rather not impressive constructions. In fact, apart from few names of the pyramids,⁵⁷⁰ only the tomb of Kakara Ibi at Saqqara South is known. It is a small, much destroyed stone pyramid, built in the immediate vicinity of Pepy II's complex.⁵⁷¹ Obviously the neighbourhood of the ancestor was an important factor. The pyramid of Kakara is the last royal tomb of the Old Kingdom to contain the Pyramid Texts, inscribed on the walls of the passage and the burial chamber. A small offering chapel on the east side of the pyramid was built of brick and thus bears no traces of relief decoration.

Two other monuments of the period under discussion can be considered. At Dara in the middle Egypt, a peculiar tomb attributed to the Eighth Dynasty was discovered.⁵⁷² Its superstructure had a form of a square

⁵⁶⁹ 27 kings ruling for 146 years may be taken into account (cf. von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, pp.151-152).

⁵⁷⁰ The pyramid of Ity, mentioned at Wadi Hammamat (LD II, pl.115, no.41; Urk. I 148,9) and the monument of Neferkara, known from an inscription at Saqqara (Jequier, *Neith et Apouit*, p.53). Cf. von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, pp.186, 188; N. Swelim, in: *Hommages Leclant*, p.342.

⁵⁷¹ G. Jequier, *La pyramide d'Aba*, Cairo 1935.

⁵⁷² On the excavations of the site, see: J. Vercoutter, *Dara: mission française 1950-1951*, CdE 27 (1952), pp.98-111; R. Weill, *Dara: Campagnes de 1946-48*, Cairo 1958. The

mudbrick construction with sloping sides and rounded corners. A square ground plan points to a definition of a pyramid, rather than a mastaba.⁵⁷³ The base length is as much as 130 m. From an entrance on the north side, a sloping and then horizontal passage runs to the burial chamber. The walls of the passage and of the chamber were lined with limestone slabs obviously robbed from Sixth Dynasty tombs nearby. A block found in a tomb south of the pyramid bears a fragment of an offering scene with a cartouche of one Khui, possibly a local ruler.⁵⁷⁴ The block may have come from the pyramid's offering temple.

During the excavations at Tell el-Da'ba several re-used Old Kingdom blocks were discovered. According to P. Janosi some of them had possibly come from an Eighth Dynasty pyramid complex. This is suggested not only by the style of the decoration, but also by the occurrence of (otherwise unattested) royal name Uny.⁵⁷⁵

proper name for the site should probably be Arab el-Amaiem, Beni Qurra (cf. N. Swelim, in: *Hommages Leclant*, p.344).

⁵⁷³ As was assumed by the first excavator, Ahmed Kamal (ASAE 12 (1912), pp.128ff.).

⁵⁷⁴ The name does not occur on the lists. Assigning this king to the Eighth Dynasty is of course purely hypothetical. One just takes into account the relative dating of the monument within the 'First Intermediate Period' and the assumption that Khui had ruled before the Herakleopolitans assumed the power. Moreover, being a local ruler, he does not fit into a definition of the Eighth Dynasty as the 'Memphite Kingdom'.

⁵⁷⁵ P. Janosi, *Reliefierte Kalksteinblöcke aus dem Tempel der 12. Dynastie bei 'Ezbet Rushdi el-Saghira (Tell el-Dab^ca), Ägypten und Levante 8 (1998), pp.51-81.*

Part III. SCENES - TYPOLOGY AND CONTENT

III.1. Composition Rules and Typological Scheme

The relief decoration in the temples is most clearly analysed according to the structure of a composition. A register system fundamental for the Egyptian art, developed already in the predynastic times,⁵⁷⁶ provides the scheme, which does not exclude, however, exceptions or modifications. The direction of reading of the registers (from the bottom upwards or the other direction) is not always obvious, and it seems to be not consistent.⁵⁷⁷ Concerning the Old Kingdom mortuary temples, where a large figure of the king constitutes a joining element of a scene, extending through the whole height of the wall, the issue of the sequence of the subregisters rarely raises serious problems. In general, it may be assumed that a lower register usually represents objects closer to the spectator, but all the registers belong to one-time display;⁵⁷⁸ the action depicted is divided into episodes by vertical borders and not according to the sequence of registers.⁵⁷⁹

According to Do. Arnold 'the Old Kingdom relief language is based on a strikingly small number of fundamental schemes'.⁵⁸⁰ She enumerated a

⁵⁷⁶ W. M. Davis, *The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art*, JAOS 96 (1976), pp.404-418.

⁵⁷⁷ Schäfer, *Principles*, p.166.

⁵⁷⁸ The question of 'narrative' character of reliefs was discussed by H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement. An Essay on Space and Time in the Representational Art of the Ancient Near East*, London 1951 (esp.pp.23, 85-87); H. J. Kantor, *Narrations in Egyptian Art*, AJA 61 (1957), pp. 44-54; G. A. Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art*, Mainz am Rhein 1976 (esp. pp.21-25 on the Old Kingdom royal reliefs) .

⁵⁷⁹ These remarks are, however, only partly valid for the *Heb-Sed* cycle in the sun-temple of Niuserra, where slightly different system of grouping and bordering scenes and subscenes was applied. As noted by Dorothea Arnold: 'Sequential group-action tableaux are often divided by vertical lines (...). Such lines seem analogous to those used in the transcriptions of ritual instructions (or other texts) on papyrus rolls. This correspondence is especially noticeable in the Niuserre Heb Sed scenes, which lacked the unifying elements of wall-high figures of the king or a god.' (Do. Arnold, *Royal Reliefs*, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.87).

⁵⁸⁰ Do. Arnold, *Royal Reliefs*, op.cit., p.83.

single figure, three or five figure compositions (according to a symmetry rule, with the king in the centre), and large ‘group-action tableaux’. But this is an oversimplification: two and four figures’ compositions exist (e.g. in the scenes of embracing, and of suckling the king respectively). Structural-thematic typologies were likewise proposed. They depend much on a definition of a ‘scene’. According to W. S. Smith the scenes are ‘rectangular units containing conceptually related subject matter’.⁵⁸¹ A. Labrousse and J.-P. Lauer assumed ‘nous appelons tableau un bas-relief limité par un cadre. L’action figurée pouvant comporter une ou plusieurs scènes et/ou registers’.⁵⁸² The terms ‘scene type’,⁵⁸³ ‘scene’, ‘subscene’, ‘theme’, ‘subject’ or ‘motif’ are not too precisely defined, but they are used here for convenience. One may propose a tentative definition of a ‘scene’ as a separate structural element of a composition involving a single figure of the king. Obviously the scope of different ‘scene types’ covers larger or smaller areas, with various and complicated relations between them. It may be argued that some themes do not constitute the scenes themselves, being a part only of a bigger unit. A good example would be an assembly of officials, often shown in a long cortege or grouped by few in several registers. In fact there are serious doubts about the definition of a separate *Huldigung* scene. Courtiers and officials are present in the scenes showing offering to gods, *Sed*-festival rites, hunting, sailing or landing ships, awarding of gold, etc., and only some of the representations may be assigned to regular ‘court’ scenes. Moreover, the divisions between types of scenes are not always sharply defined, and some motifs can be shared, as e.g. in the scenes of royal triumph, where Seshat recording booty (‘Libyan family’), gods leading captives, and similar texts occur, but the two variants of the triumph: smiting enemies with a mace, and trampling enemies by the king in a mythical animal

⁵⁸¹ Smith, *Interconnections*, p.140.

⁵⁸² Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, p.63, n.166.

⁵⁸³ Y. Harpur speaks of a ‘basic scene type’ (*Decoration*, pp.175-221).

form, should be carefully distinguished.⁵⁸⁴ On the other hand, the ‘Libyan family’ theme, although never constitutes a scene of its own, may be analysed separately.⁵⁸⁵ A recent typology proposed by D. Stockfish likewise mixes different levels of a composition. In her opinion, the relief decoration of the mortuary temples can be divided into six main groups, according to the relation with the king’s person as a central figure:

‘Die gruppen werden definiert durch:

1. den **‘kult handelnden’ König**: z.B. beim Heraustreten/Erscheinen vor Kapellen, beim Lauf
2. den **König im Umgang mit Menschen und Tieren**: z.B. beim Erschlagen der Feinde, Wüstenjagd
3. den **König im Umgang mit Göttern**: z.B. Umarmung, Belebung
4. den **König in Verbindung mit Prozessionen**: Götterprozessionen, Gefangenenvorführung, Gaugötter- und Domänenprozessionen, Opferbringerprozessionen
5. den **König in Verbindung mit Opfern**: Opfertischszenen, Opferanhäufungen
6. sonstige Bildelemente.’⁵⁸⁶

This typology takes an obvious advantage of being quite simple and clear. However, one may point that it is much inconsistent. Some themes seem to be divided artificially (e.g. smiting enemies and processions of captives assigned to different groups), or attributed uncorrectly (e.g. the assembly of deities interpreted as ‘Götterprozessionen’). On the other hand, the ‘Opfertischszenen’ and ‘Opferbringerprozessionen’ may belong in fact to one scene, in which a figure of the king, seated at the offering table, is a

⁵⁸⁴ Not only were they located in different places in the mortuary complex, but their meaning is slightly different (see below).

⁵⁸⁵ D. Stockfish, Bemerkungen zur sog. ‘libyschen Familie’, in: *Fs Gundlach*, pp.315-323.

⁵⁸⁶ D. Stockfish, Die Diesseitsrolle des toten Königs im Alten Reich, in: *Frühe ägyptische Königtum*, p.9.

unifying element. At the same moment it seems that a representation of the king at the offering table always involve rows of offering-bearers approaching him, but the offering-bearers can be also shown in connection with the king enthroned (and thus not in an ‘Opfertischszene’). But perhaps no fully satisfactory solution can be proposed. The following tentative typology (as reflected in the titles of chapters) is thus rather enumerating of motifs, based partly on the structure of the composition, partly on the presumed meaning and position of a scene in the temple. It bears thus some inconsistencies, too.⁵⁸⁷ The aim was to discern separate units of the programme, either scenes, subscenes or distinctive motifs, as far as they play their own role. It is therefore somewhat detailed. It is obvious, however, that some of these basic elements do not constitute separate themes; also some of them are just variants or at least might have been grouped according to the same idea they represent. A review of the scenes and motifs in the following chapters will enable, hopefully, some conclusions on the basic ideological units. This will be attempted in the summary (ch. III.42).

In fact virtually all the scenes involve the person of the king,⁵⁸⁸ but he can be represented active or passive (being the object of an activity); he can also be ‘half-active’, when he is not acting personally but is assisting an

⁵⁸⁷ Such a formulation of the typology, mixing in some way the assumptions and conclusions, might perhaps be criticised from a methodological point of view, but it seems the only one to be realistically used. We still lack a full and consistent typology of scenes, themes and motifs used in the decoration of temples and tombs (and perhaps this will never be achieved – cf. M. Müller, *Iconography: basic problems of the classification of scenes*, in: *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia*, II, Torino 1993, pp.337-345), and it seems that neither purely structural nor topographic approach can be proposed in this respect.

⁵⁸⁸ In the case of some rare themes, represented on the causeway walls, a.o. the scenes of fighting, ‘everyday life’ (market scenes and the Seasons), conclusion of building etc., it is not certain whether the king’s figure was present, but this should be presumed. A separate question is how this was achieved. Most probably the focal point of these representations was the king’s figure at the upper end of the causeway. Another theme where the king’s figure is presumed to exist is the rewarding of officials.

activity done in his name. One can suggest four main groups of scenes according to the king's role:

1. King seated at the offering table, or simply enthroned, facing the rows of offering-bearers, his retinue, gods, personifications, ships transporting goods etc. Without doubt these were the most important representations, the focal points of the whole programme.
2. King as an object of gods' activity: nursed, given life, embraced, crowned.
3. King active: offering to gods, enacting various rituals before the gods, killing enemies, hunting in the desert or in the marshes, celebrating the *Heb-Sed*, erecting the *shnt*-pole. Visits to sanctuaries and inspections also belong here rather than to the next type. They are records in short of king's activity, which (at least when visiting the sanctuaries) is to be presumed.
4. King 'half-active': In the case of 'assembly of deities', king is 'half-active', standing and watching (the activity is done in the name of the king, who is a witness to it).

III.2. King at the Offering Table

The key problem of the mortuary offering cult and the first occurrence of an offering chapel in the royal complexes was much discussed. The contributions by D. Arnold,⁵⁸⁹ R. Stadelmann⁵⁹⁰ and P. Janosi⁵⁹¹ were summarized by A. Labrousse and J.-P. Lauer.⁵⁹² It has been assumed that the

⁵⁸⁹ D. Arnold, *Rituale und Pyramidentempel*, MDAIK 33 (1977), pp.1-14; id., *Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms*, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp.59-61, 71-72.

⁵⁹⁰ Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.213; id. *Die Pyramiden des Snofru in Dahschur*, Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen an der nördlichen Steinpyramide mit einem Exkurs über Scheintür oder Stelen im Totentempel des AR, MDAIK 39 (1983), pp.237-241.

⁵⁹¹ P. Janosi, *Die Entwicklung und Deutung des Totenopferraumes in den Pyramidentempeln des Alten Reiches*, in: *Ägyptische Tempel*, pp.143-163; id., *Bemerkungen zu den Nordkapellen des Alten Reiches*, SAK 22 (1995), pp.145-168.

⁵⁹² *Ouserkaf et Neferhetepes*, p.56f. Note that Labrousse and Lauer do not consider Shepseskaf. Cf. above ch.I.5.

offering room (*le sanctuaire aux offrandes*) appeared first under Sneferu⁵⁹³ and disappeared (as it seems) under Khufu, Djedefra and Khafra. It reappeared under Menkaura.⁵⁹⁴ The first offering-room decorated with reliefs occurred in Userkaf's complex, and from Sahura on the offering room became to be a constant element of the mortuary temples.⁵⁹⁵ The examples of Sneferu, at least, confirm that the aim was to supply the offerings for the king's *ka* (tradition of stela sanctuary could be even traced back to Umm el-Qaab tombs). What seems to be true for Sneferu's reign is a development of the ideas concerning the ways the *ka* can move (changing orientation of the offering tables). The lack of evidence from Giza and Abu Roash may be due to an almost total destruction of the relevant parts of the temples. The hypothesis of a non-existence of the offering places in the Fourth Dynasty royal mortuary complexes seems to be based on rather uncertain ground of arguments *ex silentio*. It is only possible that a false door could have been placed not in the wall of a tumulus (a pyramid or a mastaba), but separated from it. Such a possibility may be confirmed by the existence of dummy gates in the wall of Netjerykhet's precinct. The offering lists that occurred not later than the Second Dynasty,⁵⁹⁶ prove further the early origins of the offering cult. It has been suggested that the offering rooms developed first in the non-royal funerary architecture. However, as shown by W. Barta, elements of a canonized ritualistic food offering list (his type 'A') were borrowed by private offering lists attested from the Fourth/Fifth Dynasty from the royal offering lists (as well as some parts of Opening of the Mouth

⁵⁹³ Fakhry, *Sneferu I*, fig.5 and 42.

⁵⁹⁴ Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, figs.32 (Khufu), 34 and 36 (Djedefra), 39 (Khafra), 44 (Menkaura).

⁵⁹⁵ Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*, I, pl.16.

⁵⁹⁶ W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, (MÄS 3), Berlin 1963, p.5ff. Cf. J. Kahl, *Zur Datierung der frühen Grabplatten mit Opfertischszene*, SAK 24 (1997), pp.137-145, where the author dates the earliest stone slabs with the 'offering table scene' found at Helwan, Saqqara and Abusir to the Second or Third Dynasties.).

ritual in the late Sixth Dynasty), which strongly confirms the assumption of the general direction of influence from royal to non-royal sphere.⁵⁹⁷ This is further confirmed by many features in the architecture and cult (e.g. the introduction of a lector-priest into the ‘private’ mortuary cult in the Fifth Dynasty). On the other hand, the ‘Opfertischszene’ occurred in a non-royal context as early as the First Dynasty,⁵⁹⁸ and its features were constantly developed.⁵⁹⁹ The question of its origin within the royal sphere must remain open for future research.

The scene is likewise connected with the emergence and development of the N chapel.⁶⁰⁰ Usually the processions of offering-bearers, gods, fecundity figures and other personifications approaching the king, as well as the slaughter of animals, are depicted in close proximity to the king’s figure.

Userkaf:

Given the uncertainty about the existence of the offering chapels in the Fourth Dynasty, this is probably the first occurrence of the offering table scene in the royal context. In the mortuary temple, on E wall of the court, in its N part, the king was depicted in striding position facing right; below and in front of him were the personifications bearing offerings.⁶⁰¹ On the S part of the same wall the king was probably shown seated (←).⁶⁰² On the W wall of the court a symmetrical arrangement to that on the E wall was likewise

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., p.47 ff.

⁵⁹⁸ The scene occurred on numerous sealings from the First Dynasty on (cf. Kaplony, *IÄF*, I, pp.37-40 and III passim).

⁵⁹⁹ P. Munro, *Brothälften und Schilfblätter*, GM 5 (1973), pp.13-16; C. E. Worsham, *A Reinterpretation of the So-called Bread Loaves in Egyptian Offerings Scenes*, JARCE 16 (1979), pp.7-10; M. Barta, *Archaeology and Iconography: *bd3* and *ʕprt* Bread-moulds and ‘Speisetischszene’ Development in the Old Kingdom*, SAK 22 (1995), pp.21-35.

⁶⁰⁰ P. Janosi, *Bemerkungen zu den Nordkapellen des Alten Reiches*, SAK 22 (1995), pp.145-168.

⁶⁰¹ Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépes*, fig.120.

⁶⁰² Ibid. – it is a purely hypothetical restoration based on the fact that the personifications are proceeding to the right.

hypothetically restored.⁶⁰³ A long cortege of personifications representing Upper and Lower Egyptian nomes was shown on the other parts of the walls, in a strange order: Lower E. on the W wall, Upper E. on the E wall.⁶⁰⁴ Some names and numbers referring to the personified estates are preserved.⁶⁰⁵ One particularly important fragment depicts the nome standard of 6th L.E. (Xois) and bears the text: (←↓) *jnt ḥtpt-ntr t ḥnkt* [...] *n r^c nb* ('bringing the divine offering of bread and bear ... of every day').⁶⁰⁶ Presentation of offerings and the offerings themselves constituted a large part of the decoration.⁶⁰⁷ The scene included also the presentation of domestic animals, mostly oxen,⁶⁰⁸ and desert animals(?).⁶⁰⁹

From the E offering chapel at the pyramid's side comes a fragment with a slaughter scene and another one showing the support of an offering-table.⁶¹⁰

Sahura:

In the mortuary complex of Sahura fragments of the offering-lists were found,⁶¹¹ and fragments depicting offering-bearers were discovered in the Valley Temple.⁶¹² The block showing the king enthroned on a dais decorated with lion-figures,⁶¹³ might have come from an offering scene, though the officials represented under the throne dais suggest rather a scene of the *Heb-Sed* or a similar one.

⁶⁰³ Ibid., fig.122. Fragments with the king's legs: doc.67, fig.139+ doc.68, fig.140.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., doc.51-66, figs.124-138, pp.83-89 (doc.51-60 – Upper E.; doc.61-66 – Lower E.). One would rather expect the connection of Upper Egypt (i.e. south) with west, and Lower Egypt (i.e. north) with east.

⁶⁰⁵ E.g.doc.64=fig.136.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., doc.61 a,b,c=fig.133a-b.

⁶⁰⁷ Presentation of offerings: ibid.,doc.92-101, figs.164-173, pp.96-98; offerings: doc. 107-137, figs.174-209, pp.98-105.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., doc.69,73-91=figs.141, 145-163, pp.90-96.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., doc.70-72=figs.142-144.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., doc.163= fig.235, p.114.

⁶¹¹ Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re^c*, II, pl.63.

⁶¹² Ibid., pl.58.

⁶¹³ Ibid., pls.43, 44.

Neferirkara:

Not too much of the decoration of the temple survived, but it obviously had been decided to be partially executed, even if the rest must have remained unfinished (only the inner section of the mortuary temple was built in limestone, and only this part was decorated).⁶¹⁴ Offering bearers were shown, on two fragments figures proceeding leftwards, on one fragment – rightwards.⁶¹⁵ Another fragment bears the text *dj qbhw...* (part of an offering list? fig.50).⁶¹⁶ Two pieces with a depiction of the royal *ka* (←), are not joining directly, but scale and arrangement confirms they came from the same scene, possibly once depicted on the S wall of the sanctuary). Fecundity figures were likewise represented.⁶¹⁷

Niuserra:

Fragments with the offering-list and offering-bearers were found in the mortuary temple.⁶¹⁸ A block with two registers of bowing officials facing right has been interpreted as showing an offering scene (‘Hohe Würdenträger opfern im Totentempel’). Possibly the reason was that the last man in the upper register (named *Nj-ꜥnh-Wsr-k3.f*) is turned left and holding a metal (presumably golden) vessel. Most probably, however, he does not make an offering, but has just received his award. The fragment comes thus from a scene of rewarding the officials.

Djedkara:

A block re-used in the pyramid core of the pyramid of Unis shows the king (←) wearing the Red Crown and presumably seated.⁶¹⁹ In front of him there is a part of a figure of Wadjet (?) on a papyrus and traces of a text: [...]

⁶¹⁴ Borchardt, *Nefer-i'r-ke3-Re*^c, p.28.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., fig.39.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., fig.27.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., fig.29-30 (it seems that the left hand fragment and a small piece on the top join together).

⁶¹⁸ Borchardt, *Ne-user-re*, fig.59; offering-bearers: figs.57,58.

⁶¹⁹ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, doc.120=fig.145, pl.38, p.125.

mrj, *hṭp* [...] ('beloved of (Wadjit), offering?'). The reason for considering this representation is the mention of an offering. But that it came from a sanctuary seems improbable as the king is wearing the Red Crown and not the *nemes*.⁶²⁰ Moreover, for the E offering hall this would require that the figure is the one from the N wall, which is excluded by the orientation to the left. There is a theoretical possibility that the piece derived from the E wall of the N chapel, but most probably the fragment comes from a *Sed*-festival scene.

Unis:

A fragment with a man seated behind an offering-table, facing right, published together with the material from the mortuary temple,⁶²¹ most probably has not come from there, but rather from a non-royal tomb in the vicinity.⁶²²

Teti:

The sanctuary was decorated with depictions of rows of offering-bearers. Representation of piled offerings is likewise preserved.⁶²³ Also the N chapel was decorated with the processions of offering-bearers, presumably approaching a seated figure of the king.⁶²⁴

Pepy I:

The E sanctuary was a room of standard dimensions with a false-door set into the W wall and a shelf along the N wall, furnished with offering basin(s).⁶²⁵ It is noteworthy that a base for a statue (?) (otherwise not entirely certain interpretation of the stone block), placed near the NW corner of the

⁶²⁰ See *infra* ch.V.2 for the discussion on the ideology of the headdresses.

⁶²¹ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, doc.38=fig.64, pl.32, p.89.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, p.89: 'si le bloc appartient bien à la décoration du temple, il peut provenir de la paroi Nord du sanctuaire' – this seems impossible on account of the iconography, and especially the small scale (cf. doc.73 and others with the offering bearers (doc.68-75=figs.94-101, pl.36, pp.106-109).

⁶²³ Lauer, Leclant, *Téti*, figs.52-64, pls.28D, 29A-D, pp.77-81 (offering bearers), and figs.65-68, pp.82-83 (offerings).

⁶²⁴ Lauer, Leclant, *Téti*, p.50.

⁶²⁵ For a reconstruction see Labrousse, *Regards sur une pyramide*, pp.90-91.

sanctuary,⁶²⁶ is in the position taken later by Amon-Ra sculpture, when the god's statue is first introduced into the king's offering chapel at Deir el-Bahari monument of Mentuhotep Nebhepetra.⁶²⁷ Fragments of the wall decoration showing offering bearers and offerings in heaps were preserved.⁶²⁸ According to A. Labrousse 'It is estimated that about 280 officials are depicted in this scene'⁶²⁹ (the assumption obviously relies on the better preserved decoration in Pepy II's sanctuary).

Concerning the N chapel,⁶³⁰ according to A. Labrousse, 'Le programme de la chapelle est connu, c'est celui du sanctuaire du temple funéraire réalisé à une échelle réduite de moitié'.⁶³¹ The programme, much standardized since Teti, included offering scenes, the S wall being occupied by the false-door stela flanked by three divinities in three registers on each side.⁶³² Stela width was: 0.84 m, and height: 1.83 m. According to A. Labrousse 'Sur les parois latérales, à l'est comme à l'ouest, le roi assis sur une trône, reçoit l'hommage de dignitaires chargés d'offrandes. Sur la parois d'entrée, au nord, des scènes de boucherie sont surmontées d'amoncellement d'offrandes.'⁶³³ It is to be stressed that this programme was copied by Senwosret I at Lisht.⁶³⁴ On the N tableau beside the entrance, there were three registers of slaughter scenes, and the offerings in the four upper registers.⁶³⁵

⁶²⁶ A similar feature i.e. a block placed at the NW corner of the offering hall was recorded in the funerary temple of Neferirkara. P. Posener-Kriéger suggested that the stone 'probablement servi à déposer des objets cultuels' (*Archives d'Abou Sir*, p.504).

⁶²⁷ Arnold, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, p.74-75. This introduction possibly post-dated Mentuhotep's reign, although Arnold stressed the fact that the reliefs in the sanctuary depicted a.o. enacting the ceremonies for Amon-Ra cf. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari*, II, 1974, pls.11, 19, 25, 30-33).

⁶²⁸ Ibid. pp.92-93.

⁶²⁹ Labrousse, Albuoy, *Pyramides des reines*, p.104. n.92.

⁶³⁰ Labrousse, *Pyramides à textes*, II, pp.8-19 (doc.1-45)

⁶³¹ Ibid., p.10, n.37; cf. Jéquier, *Pepi II*, I, p.3-5.

⁶³² Labrousse, *Pyramides à textes*, II, pp.10-19, doc.3-45, fig.23-69, pls.III,c-VIII.

⁶³³ Ibid, p.10.

⁶³⁴ Ibid., p.10, n.39. Cf. W.C. Hayes, *BMMA* 2 (1934), pp. 9-26, fig.16-24; D. Arnold, *Senwosret I*, pp.76-83, pls.49-57, and 99-102.

⁶³⁵ Labrousse, *Pyramides à textes*, II, doc.3-4, figs.23-25, pls.IIIc, IV.

Merenra:

The decoration of the N chapel included offering scenes.⁶³⁶ The false-door was flanked by representations of gods proceeding towards it (fig.92).⁶³⁷ The stela had width: 0.84 m and height: 1.83 m.

Pepy II:

In the sanctuary of the mortuary temple the king was represented seated at the offering table at the rear ends of the S and N walls (fig.91), facing the heap of offerings, the offering lists, and rows of attendants bringing various products.⁶³⁸ King was shown wearing the *nemes*-headgear, the falcon with the feather crown hovering above him. The eyes of the royal figure were inlaid.⁶³⁹ An important feature is a monolith block in the wall, in which the entire royal figure was executed.⁶⁴⁰ The arrangement and details seem to be copied by Hatshepsut.⁶⁴¹

The decoration of the N chapel was executed according to a standard scheme.⁶⁴²:

A block from Lisht of uncertain date (possibly post-Old Kingdom) shows two offering-bearers (?) overlapped, facing right.⁶⁴³

⁶³⁶ Labrousse, *Pyramides à textes*, II, pp.50-55, figs.97, 100-119, pls.XVIII-XX; Tableau S: .: doc.48-61, pp.51-55.

⁶³⁷ According to A. Labrousse there were 'Trois registres par tableau comportant chacun trois divinités soit deux ennéades en vis-à-vis.' (ibid., p.51 and n.109).

⁶³⁸ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.61. S wall of the room (the king), details: pls.63-65. Pl.62 – offering bearers. Details: pls.67-70 offering list; pls.70-76 offering bearers (pl.70: *jrj-p^ct t3jtj s3b* [...] leading the procession); pls.78-80 offerings). N wall of the room: pl.81 the king (W end of the wall) hovering falcon in the feather crown; pl.82: E end of the N wall. Offering list: pls.85-87; offering bearers: pls.87-91; offerings: pls.91-96. E wall: pl.97. Slaughter: pls.98-100; offerings: pls.102-104.

⁶³⁹ Ibid., pl.64.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., p.54 (the comment by Jéquier).

⁶⁴¹ Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, IV, pls.CVII-CXVII.

⁶⁴² Jéquier, *Pepi II*, I, pp.2-4. Labrousse, *Pyramides à textes*, II, p.81-82. N chapel: figs.147, 154-157. Decoration of the N chapel: figs.154-157 (Tableau N – Jéquier, *Pepi II*, I, fig.2; Tableau S – ibid., fig.4; Tableau E: ibid., fig.1).

⁶⁴³ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, no.48, p.85.

III.3. King enthroned, facing processions

Representations of the king seated on a throne and facing rows of offering bearers, decorating the upper end of the causeway, are known only from the complexes of Unis and of Pepy II. Nevertheless, it seems quite probable that the figures of enthroned king were depicted at all decorated causeways, certainly at the upper end, but possibly also several times at other places.⁶⁴⁴ It must have been an ultimate destination of the processions of offering bearers, personifications, gods leading captives etc., which were represented on most of the causeway walls. There were other figures of the king, shown as proceeding outwards, active in his duties (e.g. trampling enemies as a sphinx or griffin), but the enthroned figure was certainly the most important one. It is comparable in form and role with the royal figures in the sanctuaries, an important difference being the absence of an offering table in front of the king.

Khufu:

A block from Lisht attributed by H. Goedicke tentatively to the valley temple of Khufu,⁶⁴⁵ shows three personages proceeding leftwards, carrying the offerings (fig.80). Beside two females there is a man with the divine beard. All three figures bear the *j3t*-standards on their heads, which identify them as representations of nomes. Behind them was a chapel topped with *khekers*, in which the king was presumably seated, facing right. Rest of the hieroglyphic text [...] (*hntj*) *jtrt šm^c, ntr 3, prj m 3ht*, (...foremost of the Upper Egyptian shrine, the Great God, coming forth from the horizon not recognized properly in the publication,⁶⁴⁶ refers obviously to the falcon of

⁶⁴⁴ It is to be presumed at least for Sahura's causeway, where the scenes of concluding of the building and festival activity neighbour with processions facing the pyramid. Also the Khufu example from the next note suggests such a possibility.

⁶⁴⁵ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, pp.13-16 (no.2 = Boston MFA 58.322).

⁶⁴⁶ It seems that the text was completely misinterpreted. As Goedicke stated in *ibid.*, p.15: ‘ “... the shrine of Upper and Lower Egypt (and?) the house of the Great God (?) in the horizon.” The significance of this incomplete text is obscure. It is possibly to be linked to

Behedety represented below it. Protective deities in a bird form were hovering usually above the king's figures. Contrary to the opinion of Goedicke that the falcon 'express protection of the royal name underneath',⁶⁴⁷ the existence of the chapel as well as the position of the Golden Name of Khufu (apparently the caption to a figure) strongly suggest the occurrence of the king *in persona*. This would imply that the block comes from the upper portion of a wall. Most probably the chapel with the king's figure occupied the whole height of the wall. Judging from the scale of the figures the nomes approaching the king were distributed in four or five registers. A border line, visible between the personified nomes and the chapel, is a clear mark of a division; the king and the nomes belonged to two different but possibly similar scenes. One may suggest that there was a sequence of scenes, each involving the enthroned king and the approaching personifications. This suggests that the block might have come from the decoration of the N wall of the causeway.

Sahura:

According to G. Jéquier, a fragment from Sahura's complex depicting kneeling courtiers facing each other, might have come from the representation of the king enthroned.⁶⁴⁸ It cannot be decided whether the king was facing the processions or receiving homage.

Unis:

an annotation found in the temple of Sahure, and if so is to be restored, "royal offering for the shrine of Upper and Lower Egypt, the house of the Great God in the horizon", which would agree with the scene of the bringing of offerings depicted next to it. It should be noted that *3ht* was the name of Khufu's pyramid, to which an allusion seems to be made by the word "house", i.e., tomb, of the king.'

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., p.14. The falcon with outstretched wings might have been placed above the titulary symbolizing the royal presence when the king was not actually depicted, but it is obviously not the case here.

⁶⁴⁸ *Pépi II*, III, p.15, n.2., cf. Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*, II, pl.50.

The walls of the western end of the causeway bore large representations of the king enthroned, facing the approaching processions of estates, and surrounded by the rows of his officials.⁶⁴⁹

It seems that Unis was represented seated on both walls of the causeway, possibly not only at the upper end, but also (several times?) in the ‘official’ scenes of the middle section.⁶⁵⁰ Two blocks preserved traces of representations of the king. On one of them, coming from the N wall, one can recognize only the throne decorated with the *zm3-t3wj* and part of the royal dress, namely the triangular apron.⁶⁵¹ The other one, attributed to the S wall, is of great importance as it shows the upper part of the king’s figure (←), as well as three columns of text in front of him (fig.95).⁶⁵² The king, apparently seated in a chapel, is depicted with a short wig adorned with a uraeus, and with the royal beard.⁶⁵³ He is wearing the broad collar and a distinctive necklace with a pearl-shaped pendant. Judging from traces of damage, the eye was apparently incrustated. His bent front arm is holding the *mdw*-staff. In front of the king’s face his Horus name and cartouche are facing the representation of cobra Wadjit seated on a basket placed upon the papyrus plant. Behind this emblem is represented an elaborate lotus column,

⁶⁴⁹ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, figs. 130, 156. The representations are much reconstructed, but seem certain.

⁶⁵⁰ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, p.48. The authors suggest that the king was represented on the causeway walls at least three times in a big scale, twice in a middle scale and twice in a small scale (according to different register divisions of the scenes).

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., doc.47 (p.50, fig.61).

⁶⁵² Ibid., doc.46 (pp.48-49, fig.60, pl.VIIIa)

⁶⁵³ The beard seems to be added *a posteriori*. As noted by Labrousse and Moussa (ibid., p.49, n.152) such a procedure has been recorded in the funerary temple of Userkaf, and in the complex of Sahura, where it concerned the figures of Neferikara (in this latter case together with addition of other royal attributes, possibly after his ascendance to the throne).

supporting a bent roof of the chapel.⁶⁵⁴ To the left there are three partially preserved columns of the text. One can read (←↓):

- 1.[...] *jmj-r3 mš^c*⁶⁵⁵ [...] (‘...commander of the army...’)
- 2.[...] *m33 wsr* [...] (‘...seeing the power...’)
- 3.[...] *z3-R^c Wnjs nswt* [...] (...Son of Ra Unis,⁶⁵⁶ the king...)

The mention of a commander (commanders?) of the army might suggest the restoration of a scene of presenting the troops to the king. The text in which the signs are facing left is probably to be restored, starting from the right column leftwards, as referring to the king’s activity: ‘Son of Ra Unis. The king himself (*nswt ds*) is inspecting the power of commanders of the army...’

In the opinion of A. Labrousse, who stressed the differences in details, the two blocks have not come from parallel scenes on the N and S walls of the causeway respectively.⁶⁵⁷ Such a statement seems, nevertheless, too categorical.

Some other blocks from the causeway belonged probably to the ‘feast’ or ‘official’ scenes with the courtiers and officials paying homage to the king represented *in persona*. One can recognize a dais decorated with lion figures on one of the fragments.⁶⁵⁸ Also the block showing a hovering vulture with the *šn*-sign in the claws suggests the existence of the royal figure.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁴ Interpreted as a part of a ‘palanquin’ in PM III/1, p.418. Also the authors of the publication admit this possibility (‘un baldaquin, qui pourrait témoigner d’une chaise à porteurs’, *ibid.*, p.49). It is difficult to support such a view.

⁶⁵⁵ Apparently so, although this word has not been recognized by Labrousse and Moussa (cf. the translation in *ibid.*, p.49).

⁶⁵⁶ The cartouche is followed by a determinative representing a seated royal figure wearing a long wig with a uraeus, and holding the *mks*-container and the *hd*-mace.

⁶⁵⁷ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, p.50, n.156. These doubts found their expression in different restorations involving the two blocks in *ibid.*, figs.62 and 63.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, doc.62 (pp.59-60, fig.79, pl.XIIc).

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, doc.57 (p.55, fig.74). As the king must have been turned right, the block is to be assigned to the N wall. This is at variance with the fact that the vulture of Nekhebet (an Upper Egyptian symbol) is represented. Possibly the scenes included separate

Pepy II:

Jequier managed to reconstruct the decoration of the S wall of the end of the causeway.⁶⁶⁰ No fragments from the N wall were found, but it may be assumed that the decoration of both walls was symmetrical and parallel. On the preserved blocks the king is seated on a throne facing left, wearing the *pschent* and a triangular apron, and holding a staff and a handkerchief. His *k3* is standing behind him. Nile figures are represented on the throne's basis. Possibly a falcon was hovering above the king's head.⁶⁶¹ Texts include a.o.: (←↓) [...] *nswt ds* [...] '...the king himself...'; (↓→) [...] *jn.sn* [...] '...they fetch...'; (↓→) *htpt nbt jmjt mhꜣw šmꜥ jn.n.(j) n.k* [...] *hrj.(j) n hꜥ.tj hr nst Hrwm* [*nswt bjtj*] 'all the offerings which are in the Lower and Upper Egypt⁶⁶² I have fetched for you [...] that I have, that you may appear on the throne of Horus as [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt]'. The latter texts obviously refer to the approaching figures. The texts preceding the processions speaks also of [...] *nswt bjtj Nfr-k3-rꜥ m hꜣwwt Nfr-k3-rꜥ m* [...] ('[...] the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferkara in the Mansions of Neferkara⁶⁶³ in [...]'). Another important piece preserved a fragment of the text: (←) *r nwt-mr.k* 'to your pyramid-town'. Facing the king were deities leading the personifications of funerary estates.⁶⁶⁴ The accompanying text says: (↓→) [...] *wr hr ht nb mrꜣt.k* [...] ('[...] great [...] before/by all things you loves [...]').

representations for Upper and Lower Egypt set alongside on the same wall (ibid., p.55), an arrangement for which a parallel can be found at Abu Ghurab.

⁶⁶⁰ *Pepi II*, III, pl.19 gives a reconstruction of the S wall. For the W part with the king's figure see pl.20; cf. text pp.14-16.

⁶⁶¹ Depicted on a loose fragment on pl.20, not included into the reconstruction.

⁶⁶² In this very sequence, with the Lower Egypt enumerated first. Also on a fragment with the king's feet on pl.20, in the inscription in front of the throne, the sign of papyrus precedes that of *šmꜥ*-plant.

⁶⁶³ Lit. 'the towns of "Mansion of Neferkara" '.

⁶⁶⁴ Jequier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.21.

III.4. Offerings to Gods

Scenes where a large scale deity is presented an offering by the king are extremely rare in the pyramid temples, and should be interpreted as extremely important. Their structure and role obviously differ from those of the ‘assembly of deities’, where the offerings are made ‘collectively’ for the gods grouped at their chapels, by the priests in the presence of the king (see ch. III.5). Here the king presents the offering himself, to a deity seated on a throne. The offering itself is specified, contrary to the general designation *hṯp dj nswt* in the collective offering scenes. Notwithstanding that the evidence is scanty, it is to be stressed that the only preserved and identified examples show Bastet, Hathor (?) and possibly another goddess, and Behedety. This cannot be due to chance of preservation alone, but must reflect the fact of an exceptional position of these deities.

Sahura:

A block found in the south part of the funerary temple shows an offering to Bastet (fig.41).⁶⁶⁵ The goddess is facing right and holding the *w3ḏ*-sceptre (only the upper part of the scepter is actually preserved). The text records her name and epithets: *B3stt nb(t) ʿnh-t3wj, nbt H3bs, [...] nbt t3wj [m] swt [s nb]* (‘Bastet, Mistress of Ankh-Tawy,⁶⁶⁶ Mistress of Khabes,⁶⁶⁷ [...],

⁶⁶⁵ *Sa3ḥu-Reʿ*, II, pl.35, text pp.49, 113-114. The piece is among the most often cited ones. It has been suggested that this very scene contributed to the emergence of the cult of ‘Sakhmet of Sahura’ in the New Kingdom. Cf. J. Baines, *On the Destruction of the Pyramid Temple of Sahure*, GM 4 (1973), pp.9-14.

⁶⁶⁶ For the references on this toponym connected with the cults of Bastet, Sakhmet and Wadjit, located in the Memphite region, presumably at N Saqqara, see Zibelius, *Siedlungen des Alten Reiches*, p.55-56. The graphy of the word for ‘Mistress’, ‘Lady’, without the feminine ending is an archaic feature. This resembles the manner the common epithet of Hathor, *nbw*, ‘The Golden One’, was written, likewise without the *t* ending.

⁶⁶⁷ On this locality see Zibelius, *Siedlungen des Alten Reiches*, p.179. The site has not been identified, but it is related to the Red Crown (Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem*, 25(12)) and Wadjit is stated to be a resident in it (*hrj-jb H3bs*) in the CT VII, 167k, thus it is almost certainly a Lower Egyptian locality.

Mistress of the Two Lands, in [all her] places’).⁶⁶⁸ The king is represented facing the goddess, wearing the *atef*-crown, with his back arm lowered holding a handkerchief in the hand, with his front hand holding a vessel, offering sorghum⁶⁶⁹ (text: *jtt mjmj n B3stt*). The royal *k3* is standing behind the king. In front of the king are visible small steps, presumably leading to a dais with a throne on which the goddess was seated.

Another scene of the same scale likewise shows the king offering to Bastet.⁶⁷⁰ The king facing left, wearing the *atef*-crown, is presenting conical loafs. The figure of the goddess is not preserved. The fragment was found in the SE corner of the portico.

A fragment of a similar scale with the king wearing the *atef*-crown may have come from a parallel scene. The king, facing right, is offering with both hands a big loaf. The accompanying text gives the title of the scene: *skr t ḥd* (‘Sacrificing the White Bread’). In front of the king’s names traces of the horns of Hathor are visible.⁶⁷¹

A related scene of divine cult is also preserved fragmentarily.⁶⁷² The piece shows a lower part of the king's figure, wearing a triangular apron,

⁶⁶⁸ This epithet, often used as referring to Hathor (e.g. on the inscriptions of Menkaura’s triads), suggests that also Bastet had multiple cult places throughout the country. It occurred in the title of Kanefer at Dahshur who was *ḥm-ntr B3st.t m swt.s nbwt* (Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt des Alten Reiches*, p.40). Cf also n.687 below.

⁶⁶⁹ Or millet. *Mj mj* possibly designated both grains, which were cultivated in Egypt albeit less popular than barley and emmer wheat (D. J. Brewer, D. B. Redford, S. Redford, *Domestic Plants and Animals: the Egyptian Origins*, Warminster 1994, esp. Chapter 3). Sorghum and millet were possibly domesticated in the central Sudan (L. Krzyżaniak, *Les débuts de la domestication des plantes et des animaux dans le pays du Nil*, BSFE 96 (mars 1983), pp.4-13). It is noteworthy that *mj mj* does not appear in the Old Kingdom offering lists (which included various types of cereals; for details see: L. Cagiola, *Alcune note sui cereali dell’Antico Regno*, DE 9 (1987), pp.7-14). Does it mean that it was then still an exotic product? This would explain why it was offered to Bastet, as obviously something exceptional. Sethe in *Sa3ḥu-Re*^c, II, p.114 cites parallels from Deir el-Bahari (the offering addressed to Hathor (*jtt mjmj n Ḥwt-Ḥrw*)) and Luxor.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., pl.36.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., pl.38, text p.114. Sethe did not identify the deity, referred to simply as ‘einer Gottheit mit Rinderhörnern’.

⁶⁷² Ibid., pl.39, found in the SE corner of the portico.

facing right. In the back hand he holds a handkerchief, the front one must have been upraised. As there are no traces of a staff, possibly the king was presenting something hold within this hand. Text in front of the King: [s]k t3 ‘Sweeping the ground’.⁶⁷³ More to the right: a caption *sm Jtj-sn* - ‘the sem-priest, Iti-sen’. The figure labeled thus must have proceeded before the king.

A fragment of the same scale with a big triangular apron, found at the NE corner of the portico, may have come from another, similar scene.⁶⁷⁴

Two fragments found at the SW corner of the court, coming from the top of the wall, preserved part of a scene (of a large scale) of making an offering for the god (gods?) of the *jtrt*-shrines (*htp dj nswt n jt[rtj...]*) (fig.48).⁶⁷⁵ The orientation of the text would suggests that the priest represented before the chapels was facing left, standing presumably under the Wepwawet-standard (the front and back parts having been preserved on the two fragments, assumed from the scale and overall arrangement to come from the same representation). Possibly also the *nhn-n-nswt*-standard was present. The king himself was shown at the far left of the scene, a curved line visible at the very border of the fragment being the spiral of the Red Crown on the falcon's head in the royal Horus name (→). This would accord with the orientation of the texts in a shrine framed with the block-pattern and topped with the pointed *heker*-frieze, represented in the center of the fragment. The god seated once in the shrine described as *Bhdtj ntr-ꜣ*⁶⁷⁶ was

⁶⁷³ Such a restoration of the text (Sethe, in Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, p.114) seems reasonable. One has to assume, however, that the first sign (a basket with a handle, Gardiner’s V31) is in this case in reversal. Although the title of the scene seems clear, the ceremony itself does not. Could it be an early version of the last part of the daily ritual, known later as *jnjt rd(wj)* ‘removing the foot(print)’? On the meaning of this rite see H. Altenmüller, Eine Neue Deutung der Zeremonie des *init rd*, JEA 57 (1971), pp.146-153. That it may have occurred already in the Old Kingdom in a royal context is suggested by the gesture of a man in *Re-Heiligtum* III, pl.5, no.149.

⁶⁷⁴ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.40.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., pl.67, pp.69-70, 127.

⁶⁷⁶ This epithet, placed thus immediately after the god's name, is something very exceptional. In the Old Kingdom it designates the sun-god (especially when used without

facing left. Behind the Wepwawet-standard, to the right of it, there are two columns of the text of a god proceeding leftwards, of whom actually the top of the head is preserved below. The text goes on: *dd mdw: jn.n.(j) n.k nfrt nb, Bḥztj (?)*⁶⁷⁷ *nb Dnjt.*⁶⁷⁸ This was the end of the wall, which may suggest an attribution to the W end of the S wall of the court or the N end of the W wall,⁶⁷⁹ the latter possibility being in accordance with the deity represented (Behedeti acting as the Lower Egyptian counterpart of Seth of Ombos) and the presumed orientation of the king's figure, facing outside from the temple axis.⁶⁸⁰

a name, just as the 'Great God' e.g. in the offering-formulas), as well as few most important deities in the Pyramid Texts. Outside these texts it occurred only as an epithet referring to the king, in the Sinai inscriptions, on the statues, temple walls and sealings, most of the examples dating from the Fourth Dynasty. The function, development of meaning and various uses of this phrase were analysed by J. Baines, 'Greatest God' or Category of Gods?, GM 67 (1983), pp.13-28.

⁶⁷⁷ The interpretation of this name poses serious difficulties. It has been widely assumed to be a *hapax legomenon* (cf. Zibelius, *Siedlungen des Alten Reiches*, p.78). It can be noticed from the drawing that the signs were mutilated. What is clear is a *bḥ* hieroglyph on the top, lower part of *t* and a town-sign. Between them a horizontal stroke, taken to be a *z* (a door-bolt-sign), is visible. Looking at the traces and comparing them with the caption of Behedety on the other fragment one has to suppose, however, that the stroke is the index finger of a hand-sign erased later (? albeit one could not suggest any reason for that), or simply accidentally destroyed in a manner that shadowed the original form. Thus possibly we are dealing here with just another representation of Behedeti. In this instance there are two possibilities: either the two forms of this god were represented in the same scene, or the two fragments come from different (but similar and related) scenes.

⁶⁷⁸ This epithet, which could resolve the problem of the identity of the god, unfortunately only increases the degree of uncertainty. The toponym *Dnjt* is attested (beside the example in Sahura's temple) only in the text on an altar in the Turin museum, which, although late, reflects probably the Old Kingdom religious reality. It is there named as a cult-place of Neith, Sobek and Horus. This last name could possibly support the identification of 'Lord of Denit' as Behedeti. For the bibliography on *Dnjt* see Zibelius, *Siedlungen des Alten Reiches*, p.263-264. The name of *p3-dnjt* known from later sources, being a designation of the 'Eastern Canal' near Sile, seem to be not related to our toponym, except perhaps for a common root *dnj* 'dam off, restrain' cf. W. H. Shea, A Date for the Recently Discovered Eastern Canal of Egypt, BASOR 226 (1977), pp.31-38).

⁶⁷⁹ Borchardt, *Sa3ḥu-Re*^c, II, pp.69-70.

⁶⁸⁰ An argument that can possibly be raised against such an interpretation is that the representations of *jirt* that serve as determinatives to this caption are *pr-wr* and *zḥ-ntr* (and not the Lower Egyptian *pr-nw* or *pr-nsr*). The same two types of shrines are to be restored in the western, i.e. Upper Egyptian row of dummy chapels in the Heb-sed Court in Netjerykhet's complex; both types are represented in the Upper Egyptian scene on the

A piece with a partly preserved head of a large scale male figure facing right, presumably a god, comes from an unidentified scene.⁶⁸¹ It is of particular interest as the hair of the person were painted white, which led Borchardt to a suggestion that the god represented was Atum.⁶⁸² However, the text above and behind the figure seems to refer to the royal *ka*, as demonstrated already by Sethe, who pointed that it is not clear why the *ka*, represented more often as a newly born child, is in this instance 'als alter Mann dargestellt'.⁶⁸³

Niuserra:

A scene of offering to Bastet on a block found in the funerary temple of Niuserra (fig.42) forms the closest parallel to the abovementioned scene in Sahura's temple.⁶⁸⁴ It records an offering to *B3stt nb ʿnh (sh̄m)t šzmtt, jshʿjt b3w.s, nbt H3bs* ('Bastet, Mistress of Ankh-Tawy,⁶⁸⁵ The Powerful, She of the *shesmet*-girdle,⁶⁸⁶ Causing-to-appear-her-*bas*,⁶⁸⁷ Mistress of Khabes'). The

W wall of the antechamber in Pepy II's temple (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.50). *Zh ntr* was represented in the temple of Sneferu at Dahshur South (Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II/1, fig.269). Given that a common title of Behedeti was *hntj jtrt šmʿ* it is perhaps not surprising that it is referred to even in a 'northern' context. The presence of a snake-stela on Sahura's piece should also be noted. The two chapels are likewise represented on a fragment from the valley temple (*Sa3hu-Reʿ*, II, pl.22, p.39).

⁶⁸¹ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Reʿ*, II, pl.22. It is a little unclear from the captions on the plate where exactly the fragment was found (possibly in the sanctuary); neither is it stated in the text volume (pp.38, 102).

⁶⁸² Ibid., p.38. This example was not considered in Myśliwiec, *Atum*, II.

⁶⁸³ Sethe, in: Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Reʿ*, II, p.102. One might consider whether the reason for depicting the hair white was really a reference to an old age. A symbolism of colours connects white/silver with the moon, as paralleled to solar yellow/gold. It is a pure speculation, but perhaps one might imagine the king in a yellow *nemes*, accompanied by his *ka* with white hair, together acting symbolically for the sun and the moon (cf. remarks on the *nemes* and *khat* in ch.V.2).

⁶⁸⁴ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Reʿ*, fig.72, Berlin Inv.No.16101.

⁶⁸⁵ Only the signs *nb* and *ʿnh* are present in the third column of text (the first column with the goddess titulary). According to the assumption of Borchardt the available space on the top of the fourth line does allow for a theoretical restoration of the two *t3*-signs. The signs *sh̄m* and *h* of the name (epithet) Sakhmet would fit the rest of the space. Akhethotep (Saqqara, the Fifth Dynasty) was a prophet of *Sh̄mt nb(t) ʿnh* (Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt des Alten Reiches*, p.235).

⁶⁸⁶ Rather than Sakhmet and Shesmetet. It seems that both names, in later times referring to separate deities being independent entities of their own (albeit of similar character and

goddess, represented as lioness-headed, is facing right, holding a *w3d*-scepter. Behind her are represented two officials on two separate base-lines, facing left (no apparent vertical border line occurs). In the upper register traces of what possibly was a representation of a dais are preserved. This might suggest that these offerings are connected with some public ceremonies, most probably the *Sed*-festival. However, it is possible that it is a lower part of a throne with seated deity, parallel to Bastet in the lower register.

A fragment found at Lisht, representing a seated goddess, attributed to a ‘temple of the Fifth Dynasty (?)’ is another instance of the offering to a large scale deity.⁶⁸⁸ An anthropomorphic goddess, seated on a throne facing left, holds the *w3d* or *w3s*-sceptre in front of her, the other hand holding an *ankh*-sign. Before her are visible traces of what must have been a representation of an offering-stand.

strongly connected to each other), are in the Old Kingdom epithets referring to different forms of the leonine goddess of the sky, whose principal name was Bastet. It is possible that the name of Shesmetet means ‘She of the *Šzmt*-land’, the name for the girdle having been derived after the mineral coming from that region.

⁶⁸⁷ Or: ‘Lighting up her *bas*’. One should note an archaic graphy of the causative verb *sh^cj* with a prothetic *j* (as the vertical sign at the beginning of the column would plausibly be restored). Akhethotep at Saqqara (middle Fifth Dynasty) was a prophet of Sakhmet *jsh^cjt b3w.s m swt.s nbwt* (Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt des Alten Reiches*, p.235). The expression *b3w.s* in this epithet may be related to a name *h3-b3.s* ‘‘She of the thousand *bas*’’, which is a denominator of a part of the northern starry sky (e.g. as referring to Nut in Pyr. § 785c; cf. §§ 1285a, 1303c). Obviously it expresses the idea of the stars as the manifestations of the sky-goddess (J. P. Allen, *The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts*, in: W. K. Simpson (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, YES 3, New Haven 1989, p.15). The stars could possibly be identified as the souls of the dead. For an extensive discussion of *h3-b3.s* see E. Fiore-Marochetti, *Inscribed Blocks from Tomb Chapels at Hawara*, JEA 86 (2000), pp.48-49. The interpretation linking the two expressions would agree well with the role of Bastet as the personification of the northern sky. This is further confirmed by the fact that the expression *sh^cjt b3w.s* is attested later as an epithet of Hathor, who took over many features of the other cosmic goddesses (Mariette, *Dendera*, II, p.23).

⁶⁸⁸ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, no.24, pp.49-50.

III.5. Assembly of deities

In Pyr. § 941 Geb speaks to the king: ‘I assemble for you the gods who are on earth, that you may be with them and walk arm-in-arm with them’. In the scenes that may be called an assembly of deities the gods are represented in small scale as standing in front of their shrines, with officials and slaughter scenes added in lower registers. Offerings made by the priests, with the king attending, are the subject of the scene, but the assembly may also happen without officiants, chapels etc. A template for this scene is the decoration of Pepy II’s antechamber: W & E walls bear the first version, N & S walls – the other one. The second version, if preserved in fragments, may be not easy to distinguish from a procession of deities. The sense of the scene is probably that the prominent deities of the state, housed in two groups of *jtrt*-shrines,⁶⁸⁹ representing Upper and Lower Egypt, are given offerings in order to obtain divine favors in return. In the texts that occur in this context the gods speak of such favors as subduing the foreign countries to the king, giving life, stability, dominion and health, giving all the good things etc., and guaranteeing him millions of jubilees. The rows of shrines pictured in the square antechamber in Pepy II’s funerary temple were often compared to the architecture of the Heb-sed Court in the Step Pyramid complex, with a suggestion that the gods were assembled and the offerings took place during the *sed*-festival. It seems that a generic rather than specific act is represented.

Sahura:

A large block from the valley temple of Sahura preserved part of a scene of making offerings for Lower Egyptian deities (fig.25).⁶⁹⁰ The bottom register bears the picture of slaughtering oxen. Above, rows of gods proceed leftwards, each deity represented behind a Lower Egyptian chapel. Parts of three registers are preserved. In the two upper ones the gods are faced by two

⁶⁸⁹ For the meaning of *jtrt* cf. n. 276 above.

⁶⁹⁰ Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*^c, II, pl.19.

priests in each case. These are *hntj-m Nfr-hr* and *hrj-hbt Nj-k3w-nswt* in the third register from the bottom; they are facing god *Dw3w*, the personification of the royal beard. The captions referring to the persons in the fourth register are destroyed, only the end of the name *Jtj-sn* is preserved.⁶⁹¹ Nothing can be said about the god represented in this register, beside that it is a male deity. In front of his chapel a lower part of a *Schlangenstele* is preserved. This was sometimes taken to mean that the god is a personification of this enigmatic object, which is rather not the case, as the ‘snake stelae’ occur regularly at the representations of the *jtrt*-chapels. According to the text the priests are making the ‘royal offering for the Lower Egyptian (row of) chapel(s)’ (*htp-dj-nswt n jtrt mhw*). Below the registers with priests, in the second register from the bottom, the deities represented include Souls of Horus (*b3w Hr w*), Seshat (*hntt pr-mdt-nswt*) and Behedeti (*Hr w Bhdjt*). The scene was accompanied by several columns of inscriptions.⁶⁹² The text was the divine speech, enumerating the countries given to the king and listing other favours offered to him by the gods. The preserved text speaks of (←↓) [...] *Jwnw Mntw H3swt nb(w) H3w nbw* (‘[...] Junu, Mentju, all the Foreign/Desert Countries and the Hau Nebu’) and of [...] *nb snb nb hrj.(j) n šrt.k S3hw-R^c(w) ʕnh.tj dt* (‘[...] all [...] (and) all health that I have, to your nose, o Sahure, that you may live for ever’).⁶⁹³

⁶⁹¹ Possibly the same man is referred to in *ibid.*, pl.39 (the scene discussed above in ch.III.4).

⁶⁹² A piece at top left obviously does not join (as tentatively stated by Borchartd: ‘Nicht anpassend?’). It is not clear from the preserved fragments how many columns of the text are missing. Concerning the upper limits of the wall, it is sure, however, that one should expect at least one register above the preserved four. It is noteworthy that the representations of priests are confined to the two upper registers, and the texts likewise do not enter the lower register with deities (second from the bottom).

⁶⁹³ For the divine recitation formula *dj.n.(j) n.k* ‘I have given to you’ and the expression *hrj.(j)* ‘that I have’ lit. ‘which is by me’ (a prepositional nisbe) see Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, § 18.7, p.229f.

Few other fragments also preserved representations of rows of deities, including Behedeti, Wadjit and Thoth (described as *hntj Hmnw*).⁶⁹⁴ One piece, found in the southern portico, shows parts of two registers with deities facing right.⁶⁹⁵ One may recognize a.o. lioness-headed *Mhjt*, and three other goddesses bearing on their heads the *B3t*-emblem, a feather, and a vulture headdress, as well as male deities, including Heka and an ibis-headed god (presumably Thoth) *hntj hwt jbt*⁶⁹⁶ *nb* [...]. The accompanying text is a fragmentary divine speech: (↓→) [...] *nbt hr tbt.k rth.n.(j) n.k jbw rhjt nbt jn.n.(j) n.k ht nb(t) nfrt hrj.(j)* ('[...] all [...] under your feet, I restrained the hearts of all the Rekhyt, I fetched to you every good thing that I have.').


Niuserra:

A fragment from the funerary complex of Niuserra bears representation of Lower Egyptian deities. Parts of figures facing left, arranged in two registers are preserved: in the upper row there are two antropomorphic gods and one jackal-headed one; in the lower register there is a falcon-headed god standing in front of the *pr-nw*, Sebek of Imat (or Nehet) and a caption to a third deity (*Hrw Q3-ꜥ*).⁶⁹⁷ Possibly also another piece may have been a part of a scene of offering to gods (on the occasion of the *Heb-Sed?*). The fragment represents a goddess (→) holding *w3s* and two figures (←) behind her: an official holding a flail and a woman.⁶⁹⁸

Unis:

⁶⁹⁴ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^ꜥ, II, pl.21.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., pl.20.

⁶⁹⁶ The sign was recognized already by Sethe (in Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^ꜥ, II, p.99) as the fowling trap (Gardiner's T26, 27; for this precise variant () see Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, sign T 91. The bird-trap sign was discussed by H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, New York 1983, pp.42, 56, read there *sh*t). Thus the god is here referred to as 'Foremost of the Mansion of the Bird-trap' (*hntj hwt jbt*). For the discussion of this name and references see Zibelius, *Siedlungen des Alten Reiches*, p.189, n.1101.

⁶⁹⁷ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^ꜥ, fig.71 (Berlin No.16103,5,6,8,14).

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., fig.73 (Berlin No.16104).

A single fragment from the mortuary temple of Unis proves that the assembly of deities constituted part of the decoration. The piece shows a god (→) holding an *ankh* in his right hand, standing in front of the *pr-wr*.⁶⁹⁹

Pepy II:

A small fragment with a goddess facing left, standing behind the *pr-nw* was found in the valley temple of Pepy II.⁷⁰⁰ This single find may suggest that, as in Sahura's complex, the decoration of the valley temple included the collective offerings to the gods.

All the other pieces connected with this kind of scene came from the upper enclosure. Most of them were found in and restored theoretically in the square antechamber; some fragments discovered in the corridor (including two deities facing right, with the *pr-wr* between them)⁷⁰¹ seem to come originally from the antechamber as well. The arrangement of the scenes on all the four walls of the square antechamber was restored by G. Jéquier. Assembly of deities covers most of the wall space. On the S wall⁷⁰² the king, holding a staff and the *w3s*-sceptre in his right hand and a mace in his left one, proceeds towards right. He is preceded by a woman⁷⁰³ and the *sem*-priest *Tjtj*,⁷⁰⁴ holding an axe decorated with a crocodile head⁷⁰⁵ and a fan, turning his head backwards. Nekhebet in the form of a vulture is hovering over the king's figure. Facing the king are five registers, two lower ones comprising a row of bending officials and the scene of slaughtering of sacrifice animals

⁶⁹⁹ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, doc.66 (fig.92, pl.XXXV, p.105).

⁷⁰⁰ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.6.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*, II, pl.22, bottom.

⁷⁰² Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.46, and details on pl.47.

⁷⁰³ Unfortunately the upper part of the figure as well as the caption are lost. Given her proximity to the king, the person (a queen, a princess, a priestess?) must have been an important one. Compare the rare representations of women among the offering bearers in the sanctuary.

⁷⁰⁴ Tjeti occurs in various scenes throughout the temple. It is perhaps only accidental but in the late story of Neferkara and general Sasetet the king is spied by one Tjeti (cf. J. van Dijk, *The Nocturnal Wanderings of King Neferkarē^c*, in: *Hommages Leclant*, pp.387-393).

⁷⁰⁵ The form of the object is otherwise unattested.

respectively. In the three upper registers the deities facing left are represented. They are Seth (described as *nb Sw* ‘Lord of Su’),⁷⁰⁶ Khnum lord of Hermopolis (?) (*Hnmw nb [Hmnw?]*) and Montu, represented in the back of the uppermost register. There are no representations of chapels and the text in the fourth register from the bottom starts with *dj.f ʿnh* etc. with no mention of the offerings. Accompanying inscription arranged in columns (←↓), obviously the divine speech starting with the usual phrase ‘I have given to you...’, ends with [...] *n.k ḥḥ m ḥb(w) sd dt* (‘[...] for you millions of *Sed*-festivals eternally’). On the W wall of the room the overall arrangement of the registers was similar; important differences occurred, however, in details (fig.93). The king wearing the *nemes*-headcloth and holding a staff and the *w3s*-sceptre proceeds toward right, the protective bird deity being this time a falcon of Behedety. The three registers with deities included the representations of Upper Egyptian shrines and priests making offerings. In the uppermost register, where a window framed with a block-pattern frieze opened, baboons seated behind the *zh-ntr* shrines were represented.⁷⁰⁷ The decoration of the N wall copied the pattern of the S wall, the difference being in that the Lower Egyptian deities were represented. Neither shrines nor priests occur, contrary to what happens on the E wall, likewise representing Lower Egypt.⁷⁰⁸ Thus one may notice a correspondence of the programme of the S and N walls, and the W and E walls, respectively. On both the N and E

⁷⁰⁶ This town was located in the vicinity of Herakleopolis according to Pap. Harris 61 b, 15. The same epithet occurs in the titulary of Seth in the temples of Unis and Teti. Cf. Zibelius, *Siedlungen des Alten Reiches*, pp.201-202, where however only the Pepy II’s example is recorded.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid., II, pl.50, and details on pls.51-53. In the opinion of Jequier (ibid., p.45, n.2), the connection of baboons and Anubis with this type of shrine points towards its provenance from the Middle Egypt. He cites a relief from Memphis published by R. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, pl.LV as a clear example of the two shrine types (*pr-wr* and *zh-ntr*) for Upper Egypt and the unique (*pr-nw*) for Lower Egypt, criticising the view of Sethe (*Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, p.127) and Kees (*ZÄS* 57 (1922), p122).

⁷⁰⁸ N wall: ibid., pl.54, details on pls.56-57; E wall: ibid., pl.58, details on pl.59.

walls the bending officials and the gods face the king who is represented seated on a throne above the doorway.⁷⁰⁹

Among the Lisht fragments two came possibly from the scenes of assembly of deities. One of them, showing a procession of Lower Egyptian gods has been tentatively attributed to ‘a building of Pepi II (?)’.⁷¹⁰ On another fragment part of a (falcon-) head of a god is preserved, together with a caption that can be translated as ‘Lord of the Cat-town’.⁷¹¹

III.6. Suckling the King

In Pyr.§ 912-913 a divine mother says to the king: ‘O my son’, says she, ‘take my breast and suck it’, says she, ‘that you may live’, says she, ‘and be little (again)’, says she. You shall ascend to the sky as do falcons...’

Suckling of the king by a divine mother is one of the common themes in the Egyptian iconographic repertory.⁷¹² The subject of the symbolic role of *allaitement* in the coronation rites was studied to some extent by J. Leclant.⁷¹³ H. Altenmüller analysed the decoration of the gates in the mortuary temples in connection with later *mammisi*, which is in some way a reference to the concept of Gate of Nut developed by H. Ricke.⁷¹⁴ The subject seems to be a

⁷⁰⁹ Replacing thus the striding figures of the king on the S and W walls. For the discussion of the orientation and meaning of the figures and scenes in the antechamber see chapter IV.2 below.

⁷¹⁰ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, no.25 (pp.50-51).

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*, no.26 (=MMA 15.3.1708). An interesting feature is that of the three cat-signs in the town name, two have their tails curved behind their bodies, but one has the tail twisted round its leg, like in the representations of lions.

⁷¹² Various variants of the motif of suckling were discerned by F. Maruéjol, *La nourrice: un thème iconographique*, ASAE 69 (1983), pp.311-319.

⁷¹³ J. Leclant, *The Suckling of the Pharaoh as a Part of the Coronation Rites in Ancient Egypt. Le rôle de l'allaitement dans le cérémonial pharaonique du couronnement*, in: *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress for the History of Religions, Tokyo and Kyoto 1958*, Tokyo 1960, pp.135-145. According to Leclant this motif is connected with the idea of changing status from a prince to the king, and with promises of victory given by a goddess. He thus speaks of ‘allaitement de puissance’. Whether really the king is represented in an ‘attitude de domination’, as he suggests (*ibid.*, p.141), is doubtful, however, at least for the Old Kingdom.

⁷¹⁴ H. Altenmüller, *Geburtsschrein und Geburtshaus*, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.27-37.

crucial one in the programme of the temples, representing symbolically the idea of divine birth. Its repetition in different places is not accidental, but closely tied to the ideological structure of the mortuary complex (see the Conclusions).

It seems that the scene is not attested before the reign of Sahura. A large block found in the valley temple of his complex bears the scene of the king (←) being suckled by Nekhebet (→) (fig.45). They are accompanied by Khnum (→) and another male deity (←).⁷¹⁵ The king is wearing the *nemes*-headcloth with an elaborately curved uraeus on the forehead and the royal beard; the details of his titulary above, as well as his collar and the *shendjiti*-kilt, including his names recorded on the belt, are among the finest examples of the Old Kingdom relief. He holds the goddess' arm with his left hand, his right arm is lowered along the body.⁷¹⁶ The goddess, wearing her usual vulture-headress, is suckling the king with her breast held with her hand in a manner hiding the fingers.⁷¹⁷ Above the head her titles *ḥdt Nḥn(jt)* 'White of Nekhen' *nbt pr-wr* 'Mistress of the *Per-wer*' and possibly *nbt ḥ-nṯr šmꜥ* 'Mistress of the Upper Egyptian Divine Palace'.⁷¹⁸ Nekhebet is represented

⁷¹⁵ Borchardt, *Saḥu-Reꜥ*, II, pl.18; cf. I, fig.15 (the photo; the goddess is erroneously described as 'Göttin des Nordeslandes', which was subsequently corrected in vol.II, p.35, n.2).

⁷¹⁶ The hand of this arm could not have been empty. Judging from parallels in the complex of Pepy II, the king probably held an *ankh*-sign and a handkerchief.

⁷¹⁷ This unique feature, being at variance with the rules of Egyptian art that usually require representing the whole object in its most characteristic plan (and especially the important part of the human body should not be hidden), is paralleled only in the Niuserra example. It was first noticed by W. S. Smith (HESPOK, pp. 281 and 299). According to Do. Arnold this atypical representation of the hand emphasized the extraordinary role of *allaitement* of the king, allowing the artist to stress the role of the breast (*Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.280).

⁷¹⁸ Thus reconstructed by Sethe in Borchardt, *Saḥu-Reꜥ*, II, Text, p.94. Traces of the hieroglyph representing the plant of the South of the *ḥ-nṯr šmꜥ* are visible to the right of of the *pr-wr* shrine. Besides, there is virtually no evidence to support a commonly repeated statement that the goddess represented is 'Semat-Weret, the Great Wild Cow' of El-Kab. Obviously based on a misunderstanding coming from a discussion of various aspects of El-Kab goddesses, this statement is repeated also by Do. Arnold in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.280 (citing U. Verhoeven, Semat-weret, in: LÄ V, col.836-837),

again in the neighbouring scene, behind the left edge of the block. She is facing left, holding ankh-signs in both lowered hands.⁷¹⁹ In the scene of suckling the king Khnum, represented as ram-headed (with the horizontal horns of the *ovis longipes*) bears epithets *hntj pr-s3*, *hntj* (or *nb?*) *Hr-wr*, *hntj Qbhw* and *hntj* (or *nb*) *Nj3wwt*.⁷²⁰ He holds a *was*-sceptre with his right hand, and an *ankh*-sign with the left one. His title ‘Foremost of the House of Protection’ is of much significance in the light of the relation of this place with the Children of Ra (Shu and Tefenet) and the idea of divine birth.⁷²¹ The other god accompanying the scene (standing behind the king) cannot be identified, given that only part of his skirt and the hand embracing the king are preserved.⁷²² It might be suggested that the block formed once part of the south wall of the entrance niche in the valley temple.⁷²³

together with an erroneous information that the goddess represented on the Sahura block is lion-headed.

⁷¹⁹ Traces of her name are preserved above her head. An inscription in front of her face mentions ‘[...] gold and washing silver’. See the comments by Sethe in: Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, p.93. Notwithstanding the connections of El-Kab with the exploring and transporting precious metals of the Eastern Desert, he assumed nevertheless that the goddess gives to the king ‘mit der Verheißung der Silbergewinnung die Herrschaft über asiatische Länder’. As we now know that the Egyptians already in the predynastic period may have used auriferous silver (separated from the gold ores in the mines of Upper Egypt and Nubia), nothing seems to contradict the more logical connection of Nekhebet with the southern regions. On the origin of Egyptian silver see J. Ogden, *Metals*, in: I. Shaw, P. Nicholson (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge 2000, pp.148-176, esp. pp.170-171, cf. N. H. Gale, Z. A. Stos-Gale, *Ancient Egyptian Silver*, *JEA* 67 (1981), pp.103-115.

⁷²⁰ The last title was erroneously restored by Sethe as *nb pr-Hnmw*. It is, however, obvious on account of the parallel in Pepy II’s temple that the town-name *Nj3wwt* was written here (Zibelius, *Siedlungen Alten Reiches*, pp.86,106; cf. Jequier, *Pepi II*, II, pls.32, 33), the animal represented in a partly preserved hieroglyph being an ibex and not a ram. On Herwer and Niaut see Zibelius, *op.cit.*, pp.106-107, 171-172.

⁷²¹ For the discussion of *pr-s3* see Sethe in: Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II text, p.94.

⁷²² Sethe (*ibid.*, p.95) suggested Ra, which seems probable.

⁷²³ Although the block was found in ‘Torbau’, Borchardt attributed the scene to the niched doorway in the mortuary temple (*Sa3hu-Re*^c, I, pp.20, 54; II, p.35). However, as rightly stressed by Do. Arnold (*Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, pp.78-79, n.59), this seems unnecessary as parallels (e.g. in Niuserra’s complex, see below) point to a scheme of repetition of this theme on the walls of the niched entrances in both upper and lower temples. Moreover, transporting of the entire block of this size (during the presumed dismantling of the temples for stone) down to the valley temple would be unreasonable.

Neferirkara:

A fragment of big scale shows a hand holding *ankh*; the accompanying text behind the figure is a usual divine speech: ‘...[*h^c.tj m*] *nswt bjtj hr st [Hrw]*’.⁷²⁴ Both the text and the scale that differs much from the other fragments suggest it is not ‘*Reste von Königsfiguren*’ (as assumed by Borchardt). As it is difficult to assign the fragment to the sanctuary, it is possible that it came from the *Nischensaal*, (a possibility strengthened by the form of the block-pattern border, with a single interior band similar to that on the fragments with fecundity figures). It possibly represents a deity (Sebek? - as could be suggested from the orientation) accompanying suckling the king or a similar scene.

Niuserra:

A lion-headed goddess is shown suckling the king on the block found in the valley temple of Niuserra (fig.43).⁷²⁵ The king (→) wearing a short wig is represented in the usual manner in slightly reduced scale, holding the goddess’ arm. She is giving him her breast, the palm supporting it represented with fingers in perspective.⁷²⁶ It is difficult to say if there was a deity embracing the king from behind. It seems that a border line is preserved to the right, behind the goddess. Below her elbow there are some hieroglyphs that possibly formed a continuation of a divine speech above the figures. One may recognize *d(d) mdw s [...]* (?)⁷²⁷

Unis:

⁷²⁴ Borchardt, *Nefer-i’r-ke3-Re^c*, fig.27 right.

⁷²⁵ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re^c*, p.39-41. Berlin inv. no.17911.

⁷²⁶ Cf. above the example of Sahura.

⁷²⁷ The grammar and meaning of the inscription is by no means clear. One would expect *jn* after *dd mdw* or else a verb like *dj, jnj* etc., but maybe what followed the ‘recitation’ was just the name of the deity. One may suggest [*B3*]s[*tt*], which is otherwise to be expected judging from the leonine form of the deity. Her name is usually written with *s* preceding the *b3*-bird. Another, less probable possibility is *S[hmt]*. The assumption that it is the beginning of a name would agree with the fact that it is obviously the end of an inscription, its preceding parts having been written above the deity.

A block found in the funerary temple of Unis bears representation of the king (→) being suckled by an anthropomorphic goddess.⁷²⁸ It is possible that another such scene may have existed. On the lintel above ‘porte M’ (leading from the transverse corridor to the court of the satellite pyramid) the king was represented between Hathor (‘Mistress of Dendera’) and Ra (‘Lord of Maat’) (fig.52).⁷²⁹ Judging from the orientation and position of his cartouche, Unis was facing the goddess, and it seems that his head was at a lower level than those of the deities. A possible explanation of such a position is that he was suckled by Hathor.⁷³⁰

Pepy I:

A fragment from the temple of Pepy I depicts the king being nursed by an anonymous goddess (fig.44). The king (→) was wearing the *nemes*-headcloth and was shown without beard. The eyes were incrustrated. Of the goddess only the breast and the hand supporting it are preserved.⁷³¹

Pepy II:

⁷²⁸ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, doc.28 (fig.54, pl.XXIX, p.84). Note that contrary to the photo (and drawing) in this publication, on other published photographs a small, but important, fragment of the king’s wig is usually missing (e.g. Malek, *In the Shadow of the Pyramids*, p.102; Labrousse, Albuoy, *Les pyramides des reines*, fig. on p.43). It seems that the piece was lost before the block had been framed and exhibited in the Cairo Museum.

⁷²⁹ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, doc.25 (fig.46). Actually only the epithets and headdresses of the deities are preserved, the restoration of the scene being conjectural (a scene of coronation or giving life is likewise possible, see below). Nevertheless, it is quite obvious that the god bearing a sun-disk on his head and described as *Nb M3ʿt* cannot be Ptah (as assumed by the authors of the publication) but Ra.

⁷³⁰ Two symmetrical texts, starting behind the gods’ heads and going horizontally toward the exterior, record the divine favours: *dj.n.(j) n.k hʿ(tj) m nswt bjtj* (‘I have given to you that you may appear as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt’). This suggests another possible restoration, namely a coronation scene, to which a parallel could be found in the sealing of Unis (Kaplony, *Rollsiegel*, pl.96=*Wnjs* 19), representing the king seated on a throne, crowned by two gods, and in a neighbour scene led by Ra and Hathor. Such a scene (or a similar one, like giving life), with the king seated on a throne between two standing deities, would fit well the position on a lintel, having its parallels in Pepy II’s complex. Alternatively a heraldic scene with Ra and Hathor enthroned, facing the central cartouche of the king (paralleled in Kaplony, *Rollsiegel*, pl.88 = *Dd-k3-rʿ* 22) may be considered.

⁷³¹ Labrousse, *Regards sur une pyramide*, photo on p.145 (block E 1483); Labrousse, Albuoy, *Pyramides des reines*, p.88.

Two fragments of a large scale found in the valley temple suggest a scene of suckling the king, analogous to that known from Sahura's example, with Khnum and Nekhebet. One of the pieces bears part of the god's titulary (→) [*Hnmw n*]b *Hr-wr*, the other shows traces of two columns with the speech by the goddess: (←) [*dj*].*n*.(*j*) *n.k* [...] / [*dd mdw j*]n *Nhb(t)* [...].⁷³²

Two fragments of a suckling scene were found in the 'vestibule' i.e. the entrance hall (*pr-wrw*) of the mortuary temple. A goddess (→) and the king (←) holding her arm in the usual gesture were represented.⁷³³ According to Jéquier the reliefs may have come from the E wall of the passage leading to the vestibule, close to the granite gate at the end of the causeway.⁷³⁴

The big representations of the pharaoh being suckled in the presence of gods decorated once *niche de l'escalier* i.e. the niched entrance opening from the transverse corridor to the statue chamber. On the N wall the king (→) wearing the *nemes*-headcloth and the *shendjit*-kilt was suckled by an unidentified goddess. The king was embraced by a god standing at his back and facing the goddess. Behind her there was a vertical column of text and, to the right of it, another god represented.⁷³⁵ The titles of the god embracing the king are partly preserved: *hntj jtrt š[m^c]* (with a determinative of *pr wr*), *hntj Hbnw* (?), *hntj Jw* (?). These titles point to the identification of the god as Horus.⁷³⁶ On the S wall there was a parallel scene, with the king (←) wearing

⁷³² Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.9, pp.4-5.

⁷³³ Ibid., pl.38.

⁷³⁴ Ibid., p.22.

⁷³⁵ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.30 with details on pl.31.

⁷³⁶ The occurrence of the epithet 'Foremost of the Southern *jtrt*' in the titulary of a Lower Egyptian deity (which one would expect from the position of the relief on the N wall) can be explained with an assumption that the god represented was Horus in his aspect of Behedeti, who frequently bears that title. In such a case one would expect Seth Nubty in a corresponding place within a parallel scene on the S wall. On *Hbnw* (? Note a *hapax* graphy with a bird's leg 𓅓 , Gardiner's H7, instead of usual D58) cf. Zibelius, *Siedlungen des Alten Reiches*, pp.167-168 (the variant considered here is not recorded)). The enigmatic *Jw* is not easy to interpret, unless it is a variant graphy of *Nhn*, paralleled in the tomb of Djau at Abydos (Urk.I, 118,11; cf. Zibelius, *Siedlungen des Alten Reiches*, pp.119-122). This would accord well with Horus, who plays here the role of the Lower

the *shendjit* and holding the *ankh*-sign and a handkerchief.⁷³⁷ A goddess suckling the king is identified by the caption as Hathor.⁷³⁸ Of the two assisting deities, the one behind the king is not preserved, the other one (whose head has not survived) can be identified by his epithets *hntj t3w ntrw*, *hntj Jw-rd*, *hntj Nj3wwt*, *hntj šj* [...] as Khnum.⁷³⁹

Among the fragments found in the transverse corridor there is one that may have come from a suckling scene. Only lower parts of the figures are preserved. The king (→), facing an unidentified goddess, is obviously smaller, his head being once on the height of the nurse's breast. He holds an *ankh* and a handkerchief in the right hand; the left one, not visible on the preserved fragment, was presumably raised to support the goddess' arm.⁷⁴⁰ In accordance with the standard rules of the orientation, this scene may have been depicted on the W wall of the *niche de l'escalier* or the W wall of the corridor, to the north of the temple axis. A block-pattern border behind the goddess suggests a rather short panneau, with two figures only, thus pointing to the former possibility.

Egyptian counterpart of Seth, but bears epithets referring to his most important cult places, also in Upper Egypt.

⁷³⁷ Ibid., pl.32, with details on pl.33. The presence of a handkerchief in the king's hand would require similar feature in the abovementioned parallel scene on the N wall; the restoration on pl.30 includes, however, only the *ankh*-sign.

⁷³⁸ However, the reversed orientation of the goddess' name (facing left, when the deity was presumably facing right) poses serious problems for the attribution of the fragment. It was inserted into the reconstruction but is not adjoining the other fragments and most probably constituted part of another scene. It may have come from the W wall of the *niche de l'escalier*. Thus the goddesses (suckling or embracing the king) represented on the S and N part of the W wall would be Hathor and Bastet respectively, and those suckling the pharaoh on the S and N walls – Nekhebet and Wadjyt. Nekhebet would possibly better fit the scheme with Khnum assisting (paralleled in Sahura's valley temple). The only objection for such a restoration concerns the fact that both the name of Hathor and the vulture on the discussed fragment are facing the same direction. This would require a scene, where a goddess was standing behind the king.

⁷³⁹ For *Jw-rd* (probably modern Dairut or Rida near al-Minya) and *Nj3wwt* see Zibelius, *Siedlungen des Alten Reiches*, pp.26-28, 106. Traces of a sign below the *š*-hieroglyph look like the upper part of *rsj* or *šm^c* sign. Could it be that the 'Southern Lake' (i.e. the Fayum) is to be restored? This would be quite exceptional as referring to Khnum, the toponym being usually connected with Sebek.

⁷⁴⁰ Jequier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.29 bottom.

A relief in Princeton, showing a goddess nursing a royal child seated on her laps, dated by Ranke to Pepy II's reign,⁷⁴¹ is certainly a post-Old Kingdom piece,⁷⁴² as the style and attitude of the figures clearly demonstrate. One has to note, however, that somewhat similar scene occurred on a block from a late OK tomb of *Stw*, with a notable difference in that the child has his finger in the mouth instead of being suckled.⁷⁴³

That such a motive (a child held by a nurse) might have occurred in a royal context may be suggested on account of a relief from Lisht, published by Goedicke as a representation of 'a foreign woman?'⁷⁴⁴ Only upper part of a torso of a woman facing right is preserved. She holds a small child (of whom only the knees survived) with her left arm, her right hand probably supported the breast to facilitate nursing. There are serious doubts (already expressed by Goedicke) if the wig, and especially the winged adornment of the woman's dress⁷⁴⁵ could be attributed to any ordinary person, not speaking of a foreigner⁷⁴⁶. Moreover, a 'bending position' of the woman bearing a child, assumed to be not suitable for a goddess, seems to be an illusion.⁷⁴⁷ Thus the relief probably represented a (royal?) child⁷⁴⁸ being nursed by a

⁷⁴¹ H. Ranke, *Ein ägyptisches Relief in Princeton*, JNES 9 (1950), pp.228-236.

⁷⁴² Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p.146, n.382, citing an opinion of W. S. Smith that the relief originated from a late temple of Isis at Giza.

⁷⁴³ Berlin inv.no.13466. The suggestion by Ranke (JNES 9 (1950), p.236 n.59) that it could have imitated the Princeton relief is certainly wrong. The block is of somewhat original design, resembling in some features (but not being actually) a false door, topped with the offering-formula, and with Setju and his wife at the offering table in the central panel, surrounded from the sides and the bottom with the representations of family and retainers performing various activities. For a photo see e.g. Vandier, *Manuel*, II, 1, p.471, fig.292.

⁷⁴⁴ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, no.89, pp.145-146.

⁷⁴⁵ Resembling much the so-called *Königsjacke* known from the royal iconography.

⁷⁴⁶ Although not stated explicitly, obviously Libyans, who – both male and female - could wear crossed sashes, are meant, but the resemblance of this garment to our example is rather superficial.

⁷⁴⁷ It is clear from the angle of the woman's wig that the whole picture should be turned few degrees contra-clockwise.

⁷⁴⁸ The representations of a divine child e.g. Horus on the laps of Isis did not occur before the New Kingdom. However, as remarked by Goedicke (*Re-used Blocks*, p.146 n.383) 'the

divine mother (Nekhebet or Wadjyt being the most probable candidates given the winged ‘jacket’, as both these deities appear as vultures or with vulture headdress).

III.7. Embracing

This scene occurs in several types with two or three persons involved. The figures are shown in an attitude of close proximity (‘nose to nose’, fig.47),⁷⁴⁹ or the king is facing a god at larger distance. Embracing is not only a clear symbol of intimate relations but also a way of transferring of the life force *ka*.⁷⁵⁰ Sometimes a deity is supporting the king’s arm e.g. the pillar of Pepy II.⁷⁵¹ Such an arrangement (a god embracing the king) becomes a standard decoration of the pillars in the NK temples.⁷⁵²

Qahedjet:

A stela in the Louvre, coming probably from a royal funerary complex, bears a scene showing king Qahedjet embraced by a falcon-headed god (fig.12).⁷⁵³ It is the earliest example of the nose-to-nose attitude. The king (→) is wearing the White Crown and is dressed in a short kilt, with a dagger

only representation of a king as a naked infant dating from the Old Kingdom is the alabaster figure of Pepi II in Brooklyn’ and in all instances of relief representations before the New Kingdom a king is shown as a grown man with his royal insignia.

⁷⁴⁹ Probably the first instance of such an attitude is attested on the stela of Qahedjet. One should stress that it is much improbable that this ‘nose to nose’ attitude symbolizes sexual relations. Such an interpretation was suggested in the past, even referring to two men’s relations (famous example of Niankhnun and Khnumhotep, taken to be homosexuals by G. Reeder, *United for Eternity*, KMT 4,1 (1993), pp. ; for a different opinion see, however, J. Baines, *Egyptian Twins*, Or 54 (1985), pp.461-482). The fact that the king could have been represented thus with Horus or Ra points against it. At Abu Ghurab Niuserra was shown nose-to-nose with a strangely bearded god (our fig.47).

⁷⁵⁰ Pyr.§§ 1652-53 render this idea clearly: ‘O Atum-Khoprer (...) you spat out Shu, you expectorated Tefēnet, and you set your arms about them as the arms of a *ka*-symbol, that your essence might be in them’.

⁷⁵¹ It is a scene of *shṭp-jb* (cf. Lacau, Chevrier, *Chapelle Rouge*, p.426).

⁷⁵² Splendid standardized examples to be observed in the buildings of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Punt and the Birth porticoes at the middle terrace) and Medinet Habu.

⁷⁵³ E 25982. J. Vandier, CRAIBL 1968, pp. 16-22; Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs*, p.54-57 (no.4). For an excellent photo of the stela see *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p. 155.

at the belt, and an animal tail attached from behind. He is holding the *mks*-sceptre and a mace. The god is holding the king's front (left) arm embracing with his other hand the king's shoulder. Above the god's head is the royal serekh and a caption *Hrw m hwt-ꜥ3t*.⁷⁵⁴

Sneferu:

In the 'valley temple at South Dahshur, the king wearing the Double Crown was depicted embraced by Seshat, *nbt ꜥh-ntr*.⁷⁵⁵ Another scene of embracing shows the king (←) wearing the apron decorated with the motif of a bird carrying the sun-disk,⁷⁵⁶ facing an unidentified god. A small fragment shows the king posed nose to nose with a lion-headed goddess (fig.46).⁷⁵⁷ The caption is not preserved. The piece came from a bigger scene of Sneferu standing between two deities.⁷⁵⁸ Two fragments representing Nekhebet (in her antropomorphic form) may have come from a scene of embracing, given the relative position of her name and the royal titulary in the captions.⁷⁵⁹

Sahura:

⁷⁵⁴ 'The Great Mansion' seems to be the name of a shrine of the solar god at Heliopolis. Atum occurs frequently as *nb Hwt-ꜥ3t* (Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, IV, p.54; L. Habachi, MDAIK 15 (1957), p.72). Cf., however, n.157 above.

⁷⁵⁵ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, fig.81 (pillar E, side 2). Details are represented on figs.85-90. Note that the details on fig.86 differ somewhat from the reconstruction drawing of fig.81. The signs *h* and *nb* behind the rosette of Seshat (fig.85) do not help to restore the accompanying text.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., fig.105, with details on figs.106-109. The bird motif was not recognized by the artist (cf. fig.108). On this motif of sun-bearing bird (the *sj3t*) see D. C. Patch, A "Lower Egyptian" Costume: Its Origin, Development, and Meaning, JARCE 32 (1995), pp.93-115. To the examples enumerated by Patch one can add (beside Sneferu's) also those from a pillar of Senwosret I from Karnak (JE 36809, on display in the Cairo Museum; the side with falcon-headed Behedety), and from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (the second chamber of the Main Sanctuary of Amun on the the upper terrace; on the N wall Tuthmosis III is depicted twice wearing the *sj3t*).

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid., fig.141. It is possible that fig.142 joins the fragment in quest; the king would then be represented wearing the White Crown.

⁷⁵⁸ It has been rarely noticed that the hand on Sneferu's arm, painted red, belonged to a male deity, embracing the king from behind.

⁷⁵⁹ The figs.164 and 199 separated in the publication obviously come from the same representation of the goddess, showing her distinctive vulture-headdress.

The subject of the king embraced by deities has not been identified in Sahura's temples; a peculiar variant seems to be depicted, however, in respect to a queen. According to a restoration by Borchardt a queen (←) was embraced by a goddess (←) preceding her.⁷⁶⁰ Possibly to this scene belonged a fragment bearing a caption with a queen's titulary *m33t Hr̄w Sth̄, wr̄t ḥst, (d)stj, ḥmt nswt mrt.f.* Representations of queens are extremely rare in the royal mortuary temples and such a scene seems unparalleled.

Unis:

A scene of embracing involving three figures occurred in Unis' funerary temple.⁷⁶¹ Two goddesses embraced the king (→) holding a mace. The goddess facing the king supported his arm in a usual manner; the one standing behind was wearing a vulture headdress, thus it is possible that the two deities were Nekhebet and Wadjet.

Pepy II:

In the entrance hall (*pr-wrw*) Pepy was represented embraced by two deities. The king (→) is facing a falcon-headed god in a close, nose-to-nose attitude. The god holds the king's left arm. Of the other figure only the hand on the king's shoulder has been preserved.⁷⁶²

It seems that the walls of the transverse corridor bore several representations of Pepy being embraced by various deities. On the E wall, southwards from the E-W axis of the temple, the king (←) was depicted nose-to-nose with Hathor.⁷⁶³ A parallel scene might have been represented in

⁷⁶⁰ Borchardt, *Sa3ḥu-Re*^c, II, pl.48. Only the lower part of the goddess' arm is preserved. That a female deity was represented is confirmed by the bracelet on the wrist and yellow colouring of the arm.

⁷⁶¹ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, fig.52 (the reconstruction) and figs.51, 53, pp.81-84, pl.XXX = doc.26,27. A fragment with the legs of the king (←) and a goddess (→) (ibid., fig.62, p. 88, pl.XXXI = doc.36) might have come from a parallel scene.

⁷⁶² Jéquier, *Pepy II*, III, pl.38 top right. In a short discussion of the decoration of the vestibule (ibid., p.22) Jéquier did not consider the scene.

⁷⁶³ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.8 (tableau III), details on pl.10.

the N section of the corridor.⁷⁶⁴ In another composition the king (←) was also embraced by a goddess (only lower part of the figure preserved).⁷⁶⁵ It seems, however, that in this instance the figures were placed at some distance. The king's mace was held horizontally, aiming at the goddess' pubertal area. It has been suggested that such an attitude might have had some sexual connotation.⁷⁶⁶ Another scene of embracing, involving two figures, occupied part of the E wall of the corridor in its N section. The king (→) was facing a male deity.⁷⁶⁷

On two faces of a quartzite pillar found in the courtyard of the mortuary temple, the king is depicted embraced by a god (fig.84).⁷⁶⁸ In one instance it is a falcon-headed god with a solar disk on his head, presumably Ra-Horakhti. On the other side a male deity was likewise represented, but the identification is not possible, given that the upper parts of the figures are much mutilated.⁷⁶⁹ In both scenes the god is supporting the king's arm (the attitude known from the captions to later examples as *shṭp-jb*), and the king is holding the *ankh*-sign in the back hand.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid., pl.24 bottom. The fragment shows the legs of the king (→) and of a goddess (←).

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid., pl.12.

⁷⁶⁶ A. Eissa, Eine Metaphorische Geste der sexuellen Vereinigung, GM 184 (2001), pp.7-13, cf. W. Westendorf, ZÄS 94 (1967), pp.146-148.

⁷⁶⁷ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.18, p.21 (tableau X). Only the legs of the figures are preserved, but the restoration of the kind of a scene is certain. However, Jéquier misidentified the persons, restoring as the king the figure on the right, facing left. He was possibly misled by a tail that is shown attached to the figure's back, which occurs, however, also in the depictions of gods. A decisive argument for an identification of a person should be the relative position of the feet: in the scenes of embracing the king is always shown in the foreground.

⁷⁶⁸ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pp.15-16, fig.9, pl.45; id., ASAE 27 (1926), pl.III after p.104.

⁷⁶⁹ K. Myśliwiec suggested Atum, on account of parallel representations of Ra-Horakhti and Atum common in later temples. Such an identification is much conjectural, given that the first certain representation of Atum dates from the Middle Kingdom (Myśliwiec, *Atum*, II, p.211).

III.8. Giving Life

The idea of giving life, symbolized by presenting the *ankh*-sign by a divinity, is archaic (the earliest example occurring probably on a sealing of Narmer), and was reflected in innumerable cases and with many variants throughout the pharaonic history. In the mortuary complexes of the Old Kingdom this motif was represented in the crucial places in the inner temple (on the lintels and on the western wall of the transverse corridor, see the discussion of Niuserra's block below). This scene usually involve three or five persons.

Sahura :

A block discovered in the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara,⁷⁷⁰ but almost certainly coming from Sahura's mortuary complex, shows the king (←) in an attitude of a ritual run, wearing the White Crown and holding the *mks*-container and a flail (fig.49). However, two goddesses (Nekhebet and Wadjet) flanking the royal figure, are stretching their arms with *ankh*-signs towards him, the scene being thus a strange mixture of the 'Heb-Sed run' and 'giving life' themes.

Niuserra:

The famous representation of the king enthroned between Anubis and Wadjet was found *in situ* in the W façade of the inner temple (fig. 27).⁷⁷¹ Niuserra wearing the feather crown,⁷⁷² is receiving three *ankhs* from Anubis, who is presenting another *ankh* to the king's nose. Given that the king already holds three *ankhs* within his hand, it summarizes into seven *ankh*-signs, a symbolic number, reflecting the idea of seven lives. Assuming that

⁷⁷⁰ J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-10)*, Cairo 1911, pl.39, p.147.

⁷⁷¹ Berlin 16100. Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*, fig.6 (photo), pl.16 (drawing). On fig. 69 – back of the head of a god, possibly Anubis (or his counterpart) from a symmetrical scene (same scale).

⁷⁷² It is a crown with feathers of a falcon, contrary to the statement of Abubakr (*Kronen*, pp.39-40), who described it as 'Anedjty-krone', which in his terminology represented the ostrich-feather crown.

there was a counterpart representation in the S part of the transverse corridor, one may suggest that the idea of fourteen royal *kas* was thus referred to.

Djedkara:

A block from the mortuary temple, published by G. Goyon (fig. 29),⁷⁷³ bears part of scene being a closest parallel to Niuserra's example. The difference, reflecting probably different placement of the scene in the mortuary temple, is the occurrence of two more persons (it is thus a five-figure composition). Only the upper parts of the figures are preserved. The king (→) is wearing the *pschent* and is seated on a throne. Facing him stands Hathor wearing her usual headdress of sun-disk and horns. The goddess is captioned as *Hwt-Hrw, nbt nht*. She is offering three *ankh*-signs to the king, who extended his arm to get them. At the same moment the goddess stretches her arm holding another *ankh* towards the king's nose. The king had already got three *ankhs*, as may be assumed from three ends of the knots, visible above his right hand. The king is embraced from behind by Wadjet (captioned as *W3djt, Dptj*). She is wearing a vulture-headdress with the erect uraeus replacing the head of the bird. The scene is flanked by the figures of two gods, facing towards the three central figures and holding *was*-scepters. The one to the left is Seth, described as *Nwbtj, wr hk3w*. The other one has his head destroyed. Partially preserved hieroglyphic caption (←↓) included *s3b šwt*, 'variegated of feathers', thus it is little doubt that the god represented is Behedeti.⁷⁷⁴ All the figures had once their eyes incrustated.

⁷⁷³ G. Goyon, BIFAO 67 (1969), pl.40 and p.156 n.2. The two separate photos published by Goyon do not join properly and they were made from different angles. They have been digitally joined and enhanced in our fig.29.

⁷⁷⁴ The sign *t* and the determinative of town, as well as the rest of what probably was *ntr*-sign, are visible above the *s3b šwt*. The god standing behind Hathor has not been recognized as Behedeti by Goyon.

A block with the name of Djedkara built in the southern wall of Unis' pyramid preserved the head of the king (→), to whom is extended a hand holding an *ankh*.⁷⁷⁵

Pepy II:

Two joining fragments were found in the entrance hall, possibly coming from a tympanum. They preserved the titulary of Seth, preceded with *nb ḥk3[w?]*, and of Nekhebet (↓→).⁷⁷⁶ Possibly to this scene belong two fragments of a medium scale (head of a goddess with the vulture-headdress (→) and a face (←)).⁷⁷⁷ Among the fragments from the transverse corridor was a piece with the king's face (→) and an *ankh* in front of it.⁷⁷⁸ The lintel above the door in the S wall of the vestibule of the inner temple bore a scene not recognized by Jequier.⁷⁷⁹ On account of parallels on other lintels (especially the one above the doorway leading from the antechamber to the sanctuary) one can suggest a restoration (fig.90) with the king enthroned,⁷⁸⁰ facing right, probably receiving life from Seth. Behind the king was standing Behedeti.⁷⁸¹ Both gods were flanked by Nekhebet and Wadjet respectively. On the same wall, at the W end the king was shown between Nekhebet and Wadjet, but the restoration is much disputable.⁷⁸² Another such scene decorated the lintel of a door in the N wall of the square antechamber, leading to the offering chapel. The king enthroned, facing right, was receiving life from Nekhebet. Behind the throne was the figure of Anubis (captions: *tpj-*

⁷⁷⁵ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, doc.124 (fig.149, pl.38). It is to be noted that 'le relief semble avoir être martelé' (ibid., p.127).

⁷⁷⁶ Jequier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.35.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., pl.41.

⁷⁷⁸ Jequier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.23.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid., pl.36.

⁷⁸⁰ It appears that an enigmatic fragment placed above the middle of the doorway actually represents the king's knee.

⁷⁸¹ The partially preserved hieroglyphs on the top of the column in front of Wadjet (presumably the last one referring to the god) are to be restored as *bḥ* and *d*.

⁷⁸² Ibid., pl.36. Jequier himself admitted that the restoration is in large part purely hypothetical (ibid., p.30).

dw.f, nb t3-dsr).⁷⁸³ It seems that both plants in the *zm3-t3wj* motif on the throne were papyrus-plants. Possibly two more fragments, not attributed to any specific place in the temple, belong to similar scenes.⁷⁸⁴ Both are parts of large scale representations. On one of them a jackal-headed god (Anubis?) (→) extended his hand with an *ankh*-sign towards a figure of the king facing left (of whom actually only the upper part of the *mdw*-staff is preserved). On another piece a jackal-headed god is standing behind the king (both are facing right). The king is wearing a wig and the *seshed*-diadem (the upper part of the headdress not preserved) and was presumably enthroned. It might be suggested that the composition was completed with a figure of a deity facing the king, possibly in an attitude of giving life.

⁷⁸³ Ibid., pl.54, details on pl.55.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid., pl.108, top right and top left.

III.9. Coronation

In the foundation scene of Khasekhemui on the granite temple doorway from Hierakonpolis,⁷⁸⁵ in the upper register there is a scene that might possibly represent two standing figures holding their hands on the crown of a third, seated figure. The details are, however, much uncertain, given the damaged state of the relief. In the royal mortuary complexes of the Old Kingdom the only certain representation of a ceremony of coronation of the king by the gods⁷⁸⁶ is attested in the upper temple of Unis (fig.50).⁷⁸⁷ The scene involved Horus and Seth described as *nb t3 šmꜥ*, [*hntj*] *Sw*.⁷⁸⁸ Parallels to this scene can be found in the decoration of a box of Pepy II,⁷⁸⁹ (fig. 51) and on the sealings (fig.53, 54).⁷⁹⁰ The decoration of the lintel above gate M' (leading to the court of the satellite pyramid) in the mortuary temple of Unis (fig.52), might have displayed the scene of coronation (see above, ch.III.6).

III.10. Leading the king (presentation?)

Pepy II:

Some fragments coming from the decoration of the transverse corridor in Pepy II's mortuary temple represent Seth (→), the king (→), and another

⁷⁸⁵ R. Engelbach, A foundation scene of the second dynasty, JEA 20 (1934), pp. 183-184.

⁷⁸⁶ On the ideology of this scene in the context of royal accession rites cf. e.g. H. W. Fairman, The Kingship Rituals of Egypt, in: S. Hooke (ed.), *Myth, Ritual and Kingship. Essays on the Theory and Practise of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and in Israel*, Oxford 1958, pp.74-104 (esp. pp.78-85 for a discussion of accession and coronation as two events to be clearly distinguished); W. Barta, Bemerkungen zur Existenz der Rituale für Geburt und Krönung, ZÄS 112 (1985), pp.1-13. Relations between the accession and coronation rites and the *Heb-Sed* were analysed recently by R. Pirelli, Some Considerations on the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, *Annali Instituto Universitario Orientale* 54 (1994), pp.455-463.

⁷⁸⁷ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, pp.95-97, figs.74-75 (doc.47-49). Horus and Seth standing to the right and left of the king are mentioned in Pyr.§ 601, cf. also Pyr. § 390.

⁷⁸⁸ As noted in *ibid.* p.97 n.1 it is the first mention of this town, which occurs frequently in the titulary of Seth (cf. Lauer, Leclant, *Téti*, p.72; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.46).

⁷⁸⁹ JE 52021. Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, fig.27, p.39, cf. also ASAE 28, p.57 and pl.IV.

⁷⁹⁰ Kaplony, *Rollsiegel*, pl.96 (*Wnjs* 19) – the king crowned by two gods; pl.131 (*NN* 126) – the king crowned by Horus and Seth.

male god, possibly Horus.⁷⁹¹ The attitude of the figures, holding each other by hands, suggest a scene of leading the king (possibly an introduction into another scene?). Also some other fragments may have come from similar scenes.⁷⁹² This kind of composition is frequently attested in later temples. Usually two gods or a god and a goddess are leading the king towards a principal figure of a deity. In the case of Pepy II's mortuary temple, however, it is not certain whether such a figure existed, given that the king himself is usually a focus of the decoration. The scene was also depicted on sealings.⁷⁹³

III.11. Visiting Sanctuaries

The scene is attested only for Netjerykhet and Sneferu, having its closest parallels in the Heliopolis relief fragments of a naos of Netjerykhet (fig.56),⁷⁹⁴ and the relief of Sanakhte in Sinai. This latter one shows the king wearing the White Crown, holding a mace and a staff, preceded by the standard of Wepwawet and facing right towards a chapel in the form of the

⁷⁹¹ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.24.

⁷⁹² On pl.24, below the fragments with Seth and the king, there is a figure holding another person's hand with his front hand, and holding ankh within his back hand. Some of the pieces shown on pls.27 and 29 derived possibly from analogous representations, with the figures likewise facing right.

⁷⁹³ Kaplony, *Rollsiegel*, pl.59 (*S3hw-R^c 16*), pl.122 (*NN 47*) – the king between Horus and Seth; pl.96 (*Wnjs 19*) – the king led by Ra and Hathor (?); pl.146 (*NN 216*) – the king led by Hathor and Seshat.

⁷⁹⁴ Working on the partly unpublished fragments found by E. Schiaparelli at Heliopolis I found that two of the pieces stored in the Museo Egizio in Turin (S.Inv. 2671 (8/9)) join. One of them was published with different and both somehow inaccurate drawings by R. Weill (*Sphinx 15* (1911-12), no.12) and W. S. Smith (*HESPOK*, p.136, fig.53); the other one, a corner fragment, has never been pictured. Together, they show part of a scene of inspecting by the king of two *Götterfestungen*: *Nrw t3wj* and *Qbh ntrw*, described as the western and eastern one respectively. The two lines at the left-hand border seem to be lower parts of the two standards accompanying the king who was represented to the left of them, proceeding rightward. The name *Qbh ntrw* was known thus far only from the Palermo stone, recto V,11. Doubts raised as to a proper identification of the second ruler of the line V are therefore no more valid. Archaeologically established sequence Khasekhemui – Netjerykhet finds thus its confirmation in the annals. I am extremely grateful to Prof. Anna-Maria Donadoni-Roveri for allowing me to work with the fragments and the permission to publish them. I appreciate much the help and kindness I was granted in this respect by the late Dr. Enrichetta Leospo.

zh-ntr.⁷⁹⁵ ‘Visiting sanctuaries’ is possibly the predecessor of the scene of assembly of deities, presumably with the same purpose i.e. offering to god in his shrine in order to obtain divine favours. However, on which occasion this happens is not clear, the possibilities being a coronation, the *Sed*-festival or another ceremony; nor is it certain if the shrines were meant to be in their primitive locations, in the capital, or just generalised symbolic buildings of the afterlife. The Heliopolis scene certainly recorded inspecting two real *Götterfestungen Nrw t3wj* and *Qbh ntrw*, known from contemporary sources.⁷⁹⁶

Netjerykhet:


Of the six panels under the Step Pyramid and the South Tomb, three record the king’s visits to the shrines of important deities. All the six reliefs show undoubtedly subsequent phases of a unique ceremony.⁷⁹⁷ The first in the sequence (according to the suggestion of R. Friedman)⁷⁹⁸ i.e. northernmost stela under the Step Pyramid shows a sanctuary of Horus Behedeti (fig.11).⁷⁹⁹ It should probably be connected with the idea of enthronment. The place-name seems to be derived from *bḥdw* ‘throne seat’, and thus *Bḥdt* is ‘the

⁷⁹⁵ HESPOK, p.132 and pl.30c; Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl.4(3). The relief is now in the Cairo Museum.

⁷⁹⁶ That the two monuments were related (also in the terms of their localization?) is suggested by their designation as the western and eastern one. However, it contradicts the identification by R. Stadelmann of *Qbh ntrw* as the name of the Step Pyramid complex.

⁷⁹⁷ The structure and meaning of the representations on the panels as a unit and in a lot of details were thoroughly studied by F. D. Friedman, *The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex*, JARCE 32 (1995), pp.1-42.

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.14-18.

⁷⁹⁹ The deity is named *Bḥdt(j)* with a falcon-sign acting as a determinative. The fully developed writing of this nisba-adjectif did not occur before the Middle Kingdom and even in later times it is met only sporadically. Note that the glyph  in the god’s name is here reversed. In the opinion of Friedman (JARCE 32 (1995), p.18), this resulted from the fact that ‘the scribe/artist was accustomed to orienting the sign from left to right as in the title for Horus the Behdetite in the northern panel under the South tomb.’ One may express some doubts about this explanation given that scribes, especially at this early period, should have been rather accustomed to the dominating rightward orientation of the signs.

throne place'.⁸⁰⁰ It is noteworthy that the shrine has a form of the *pr-wr* and the king is wearing the White Crown. This scene starts the sequence of events, followed by the race (represented on the next three panels), and terminated with two scenes under the South Tomb, where the king is shown wearing the Red Crown before the chapel of Horus of Khem⁸⁰¹ and in the White Crown before the *pr-wr* (figs.57, 58). These two scenes stand for the symbolic coronation of Netjerykhet as the ruler of the Two Lands.⁸⁰² It is noteworthy that in all the three examples the activity of the king is referred to as $\text{𓆎} \text{ḥ}^c (m)$ ⁸⁰³, 'standing in'⁸⁰⁴ or 'halting at'.⁸⁰⁵ The same expression occurs in the scenes of the king visiting sanctuaries in Sneferu's Lower Temple at Dahshur South, and on Sanakhte's relief from Sinai.

Sneferu:

⁸⁰⁰ E. Otto, Behedeti, in: LÄ I, 683; W. Westendorf, Zur Etymologie des *bḥd*-Thrones, GM 90 (1986), pp.85-86.

⁸⁰¹ The question of an exceptional position of the god of Letopolis still remains to be fully explored. He occurs several times in the Pyramid Texts among the most important deities (e.g. §§ 810, 908e, 1641a, 1723a), but the role he played in the ideology of kingship is by no means clear. In Pyr.§ 810 the dead ruler is addressed thus: "Live the life, for you have not died the death, just as Horus who presides over Khem lives" (Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p.145), but this relates to eschatology and not the investiture of a king. It is obvious that his position was high especially in the early Old Kingdom, when his emblems appear on bracelets of Sneferu's statues (Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II.1, p.122, figs.134-135) and on Hetepheres' furniture (Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pp.92-93). Another factor that should be taken into account are the associations of Letopolis with the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. On the locality see Zibelius, *Siedlungen des Alten Reiches*, pp.186-189; F. Gomaà, Letopolis, in: LÄ III, 1090.

⁸⁰² It is an uncommon feature that the Lower Egyptian scene occurs here before the Upper Egyptian one. Usually the Upper Egyptian motives and symbols were given precedence as e.g. in the titles *nswt bjtj* and *nbtj*. One would expect this especially in a symbolic rendering of the coronation rituals. A possible reason for a different arrangement may have been the idea of an ideological frame: the king starts and ends the rituals wearing the (more important) Upper Egyptian crown. See the discussion on the duality of the country and the Upper Egyptian prominence in ch.V.2 below.

⁸⁰³ The preposition *m* is intended, though not written (Friedman, op.cit., p.18, citing P. Kaplony, *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, Wiesbaden 1966, p.44, referring to the examples of fuller writing from Niuserra's sun temple, and the Palermo Stone Rt.3,1, where *m* after ḥ^c should be understood).

⁸⁰⁴ Friedman, op.cit., p.18.

⁸⁰⁵ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, p.59.

In the ‘valley temple’ of the Bent Pyramid a visit to the shrine of Horus Djebauti was recorded,⁸⁰⁶ as well as halting at the *pr-wr* and the *pr-nzr* (fig.55).⁸⁰⁷ A fragment related to this scene preserved a hand holding a *nhh*-flail (the figure was facing left). The accompanying text probably mentioned Wepwawet(?) in connection with the *snwt*-shrine: [...] *w3[wt] s[...] snwt*.⁸⁰⁸ Other preserved fragments suggest that visiting the *pr-nw* and a shrine of the *zh-ntr*-type were likewise depicted.⁸⁰⁹

Khufu:

A block found at Giza bore traces of a scene with a large royal figure wearing the Red Crown and dressed in a one-strip garment and a long scarf hanging from his shoulder.⁸¹⁰ According to S. Hassan, citing Petrie’s interpretation of a decoration on a block from the Late Period gate at Memphis, the scene recorded a royal visit to Heliopolis.⁸¹¹ However, it has been subsequently demonstrated that the representation belonged to a scene

⁸⁰⁶ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, fig.35 (pillar A, side 1), details on figs.36-42.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid., fig.48 (pillar B, side 1), details on figs.49-54.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid., fig.55 (pillar B, side 2), details on figs.56, 57 (note a probable ʿ3 –sign preceding *snwt* on fig.57, not clearly rendered in the reconstruction). On account of a parallel to Netjerykhet’s stela (N panel under the South Tomb), one could tentatively suggest a restoration of the text as *mst Wp-w3wt Sd ntr-ʿ3 m snwt* (‘Mst-ing’ (‘dedication’ or ‘creation, fashioning’) ‘of (a standard? of) Wepwawet-Sed (by?) the Great God at the *snwt*-shrine’). The *mst*-ing of two Wepwawet-standards during the reign of Shepseskaf is recorded on the Palermo Stone (Verso 1,2; Schäfer, *Bruchstück*, p.32). A fragment with the king (←) running, attributed by Fakhry to pillar C, side 1 (ibid., fig.58) might have come from the same scene.

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid., fig.270 (note the two vertical lines, representing probably lower parts of the standards of Wepwawet and the throne cushion (the so-called ‘Khons-emblem’), and fig.269.

⁸¹⁰ Hassan, *Giza*, X, pp.21-24, fig. 4, pl.VIA. It is noteworthy that the king’s eye was once incrustated and, as it happened frequently with the figures in the pyramid temples, the incrustation was forcefully robbed. At a point, however, somebody filled the damaged space with a stone patch. Does it reflect the restoration activity of Khaemuset or the Late Period priests?

⁸¹¹ Ibid., p.21; Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, pl.V and p.11. Petrie referred to the stela of Pi(ankh)y recording his visit to Heliopolis and identified the scarf as the *sdb*-garment mentioned in the text.

of the Feast of the White Hippopotamus.⁸¹² This enigmatic ritual has been differently interpreted as a symbolic royal hippopotamus hunt, or a cultic activity of the king towards a beneficent deity.⁸¹³ The block of Khufu most probably came from the mortuary temple.⁸¹⁴ A strange piece with the representation of the *pr-nzr* on a boat, found in the area of the queens' pyramids, certainly came from the decoration of the royal complex, but the motif seems unparalleled.⁸¹⁵

Unis:

A fragment with a depiction of a palm-tree may have come from a scene of visit to Buto, but might also be attributed to the 'Seasons' theme, represented on the causeway walls.⁸¹⁶

Teti:

A fragment found in the mortuary temple of Teti shows two palm-trees and an elongated sign of the hieroglyph for 'route, way' ($\frac{\text{v}}{\text{a}}\frac{\text{v}}{\text{t}}$), a distinctive feature of the representation of a sacred enclosure in Buto.⁸¹⁷

⁸¹² A. Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter. Teil 1, Katalog*, Frankfurt am Main - Bern 1989, doc.62.

⁸¹³ H. Altenmüller, "Das 'Fest des weissen Nilpferds' und das 'Opfergefilde,'" in: *Hommages Leclant*, I, pp.29-44. W. Kaiser (Noch einmal zum *Hb-Hd.t*, MDAIK 53 (1997), pp.113-115) raised some doubts against Altenmüller's assumptions. Kaiser suggested also that a change in the meaning of the ceremony occurred during the V Dynasty, from a cultic action of the king towards *Hd.t* to a royal hippopotamus hunt. To the scenes discussed by Altenmüller one should add the example from the Lower North Portico in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (W. Kaiser, *Zwei weitere hb-hd.t-Belege*, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.451-459; originally published and discussed by F. Pawlicki, *Une représentation inconnue de la Fête de l'Hippopotame Blanc dans le Temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari*, ET 14 (1990), pp.16-28), an OK fragment from the Brooklyn Museum (inv. no. 67.175.2; Kaiser, in: *Studies Simpson*, op.cit), and a Late Period piece from Bruxelles (inv. no. E 5036; C. de Wit, *Une représentation rare au Musée du Cinquantenaire. La fête de l'Hippopotame Blanc*, CdÉ 33 (1958), pp.24-28).

⁸¹⁴ Contrary to the assumption of Hassan who attributed it to the S wall of the causeway. Obviously he was suggested by the direction (leftwards) the king is facing, which would indeed suit the S wall only. However, the fact that the king is wearing the Red Crown almost certainly excludes such a possibility, given a strict division of Upper and Lower Egyptian motifs in respect to the temple axis. Also the subject (official ceremony, with figures of attendants) fits much better into the programme of (the outer part of) the mortuary temple. Such was already the assumption of J.-P. Lauer, *ASAE* 49 (1949), p.113.

⁸¹⁵ Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, fig.7 (no. 24-12-546).

⁸¹⁶ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, fig.61, pl.XXXI, p.87 = doc.35.

A block re-used in the 11th century gate Bab el-Futih in Cairo preserved part of a scene of the Feast of the White Hippopotamus. A large figure of the animal, standing on a papyrus-sledge (?) and remains of the caption cannot allow a reconstruction of the context. It has been suggested that the relief dates from the Fourth Dynasty.⁸¹⁸

III.12. Inspecting Cattle-enclosures and Tree-plantations

Sneferu:

On two faces of the pillars in the ‘valley temple’ at South Dahshur the king was depicted visiting tree-plantations⁸¹⁹ and cattle-stalls.⁸²⁰ The reconstruction of the scenes by A. Fakhry was recently corrected by E. Edel.⁸²¹ It appears that Sneferu (←), wearing the feather-crown,⁸²² was inspecting fresh pine (ꜥš) and myrrh (ꜥntjw) trees, receiving their (and other trees, including figs) fruit from the fecundity figures represented at the bottom register. It has been suggested that exotic trees for this plantation

⁸¹⁷ Lauer, Leclant, *Téti*, pp.90-91, fig.87. The occurrence of the *w3t*-hieroglyph seems to exclude the suggestion in Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, p.87 n.1, that the fragment came from the ‘Seasons’ cycle. For the discussion of the appearance of the early precinct of Buto see M. Bietak, *Zu den heiligen Bezirken mit Palmen in Buto und Sais - Ein archäologischer Befund aus dem Mittleren Reich*, in: *Fs Thausing*, pp.1-18.

⁸¹⁸ E. H. Sawyer, *CdÉ* 11 (1936), p.468. Cf. Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, I, doc.63.

⁸¹⁹ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, fig.63 (pillar C, side 2), and details on figs.65-67, as well as fig.64 with the king’s head wearing a feather-crown, not included into the reconstruction. This piece, as well as fig.275 with plant leaves was inserted to the scenes by Edel (see below). Concerning the latter fragment, a comparison with a title (?) referring to *pr-ꜥ3* (followed with the representation of a leaf) on fig.233 raises some doubts about that attribution.

⁸²⁰ *Ibid.*, fig.99, details on figs.100-104.

⁸²¹ E. Edel, *Studien zu den Relieffragmenten aus dem Taltempel des Königs Snofru*, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.199-208.

⁸²² This headdress is composed of two tall feathers of a falcon, two horns of a bull, and two horns of a ram (of the species *ovis longipes*); usually it is placed upon the rounded wig and the *sšd*-diadem. It is the same crown that Sneferu is wearing on one of his Sinai stelae. Its name, as attested from the New Kingdom on, was simply *šwtj*, ‘the feathered one’ (cf. Abubakr, *Kronen*, pp.40-42). On its possible connection with the East see the Conclusions.

were brought from abroad, possibly from the land of Punt.⁸²³ In the other scene the king (→) wearing the *atef*-crown, dressed in the *shendjit*-kilt, and holding a staff and a mace, was visiting a stall of oryxes.⁸²⁴

III.13. Smiting Enemies

This theme, one of most distinctive ones in the pharaonic imagery, is a most common variant of the representation of a victorious ruler.⁸²⁵ It occurred as early as Nagada I.⁸²⁶ The evidence of Archaic examples (Cemetery U at Umm el-Qaab, Hierakonpolis Tomb 100, Narmer palette, tablet of Den etc.),⁸²⁷ as well as the Old Kingdom Sinai markers,⁸²⁸ and the Early Dynastic

⁸²³ E. Edel, *op.cit.*, p.206. It would be probably the first account of contacts with Punt, or more generally with the African areas south of Nubia, but by no means the only one in the royal mortuary temples of the Old Kingdom. The list of African toponyms preserved on a fragment from Djedkara's pyramid temple proves that importance ascribed to the foreign countries was reflected in such an 'onomastic' form (A. Grimm, *Das Fragment einer Liste Fremdländischer Tiere, Pflanzen und Städte aus dem Totentempel des Königs Djedkare-Asosi. Zu drei bisher unbekanntem Toponymen*, SAK 12 (1985), pp.29-41; *id.*, *T3-nbw* "Goldland" und "Nubien". *Zu den Inschriften auf dem Listenfragment aus dem Totentempel des Djedkare*, GM 106 (1988), pp.23-28).

⁸²⁴ In both cases the captions to the scenes begin with *m33* 'inspecting'.

⁸²⁵ J. Śliwa, *Some Remarks Concerning Victorious Ruler Representations in Egyptian Art*, *Forschungen und Berichte. Archäologische Beiträge*, Berlin 16 (1974), pp.97-117; *cf. id.*, *Zagadnienie przedstawień zwycięskiego władcy w sztuce egipskiej* (The Problem of a Victorious Ruler Representations in the Egyptian Art), *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace Archeologiczne* 16, Kraków 1973, pp.7-22. Of the five types analysed by Śliwa only two seem to be attested for the Old Kingdom, namely smiting defeated enemies and trampling them by the king as a sphinx. Motifs of counting of prisoners and dead enemies occurred already on Narmer macehead and Narmer palette, but were shown in a different way than those known from later periods. The scenes of conducting captured foes into the presence of the gods, and a ruler riding a war chariot became popular much later (in the New Kingdom).

⁸²⁶ On a painted vessel from grave U-239 at Umm el-Qaab, dated to late Nagada I (G. Dreyer et al., *Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 9/10. Vorbericht*, MDAIK 54 (1998), figs. 12.1 and 13).

⁸²⁷ For the catalogue of examples and the references see Hall, *Pharaoh Smites His Enemies*, figs.5-22b. A curious variant on an ivory cylinder from Hierakonpolis shows smiting of a foe by the king in an animal form (a catfish, expressing at the same moment the name of Narmer, holding a stick with both hands), see C. Dochniak, *An Early First Dynasty Adaptation of the Nar Hieroglyph to the Smiting Posture as a Possible Precursor to Hieroglyph A24*, VA 7 (1991), pp.101-107. A new example of a catfish smiting an enemy with a mace: G. Dreyer et al., *Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 9/10. Vorbericht*, MDAIK 54 (1998), fig.29, p.139.

and Old Kingdom sealings,⁸²⁹ prove its constant importance for an emerging and developing ideology of kingship. In the mortuary temples of the Old Kingdom rulers smiting of the enemies is usually depicted along with Seshat recording booty (so-called ‘Libyan family’ scene), and processions of gods leading captives. Given the long history of this motif, it is not excluded that it may have occurred in the complexes of Sneferu⁸³⁰ and Khufu.⁸³¹ However, the first certain example comes from the mortuary temple of Userkaf. Five fragments of the scene with Seshat recording booty were found.⁸³² What can be restored is a large figure of Seshat (→) seated on a throne and a fragment of a caption mentioning *skr ʿnh*.⁸³³ According to the publication the scene was represented in the transverse corridor or in the pillared hall in front of the statue niches.

Sahura:

In the mortuary temple of Sahura the subject occurred on the walls of the courtyard. On the southern wall the Libyans were depicted.⁸³⁴ Of the king, smiting a Libyan chieftain almost nothing remained, but the

⁸²⁸ It is a standard subject of the reliefs from Netjerykhet on. The scene is usually captioned as *d3j h3swt* or *skr h3swt*, ‘subduing/suppressing the foreign countries’ or ‘smiting the foreign countries’, but the enemy is often specified, like on Khufu’s stela at Wadi Maghara (Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no.7), where the text speaks of *d3j jwntjw*, ‘subduing of the Iuntyu’, or Niuserra’s marker from the same place, showing *skr mntw*. The relief of Sahura from Wadi Maghara (Cairo JE 38559) bears two captions: *skr mntw h3swt nbt*, ‘Smiting Mentju and all the foreign countries’ and *d3(j) h3swt nbt*, ‘Subduing all the foreign countries’ (cf. already Den’s tablet (BM 55586), with the texts on *zp tpj skr j3bt*, ‘first time/occasion of smiting the East(erners)’).

⁸²⁹ E.g. Kaplony, *Rollsiegel*, pl.59 (*S3hw-R^c* 16), pl.88 (*Dd-k3-R^c* 22), pl.112 (*Mr-n-R^c* / *Nfr-k3-R^c* 1).

⁸³⁰ A fragment showing an upraised arm with a bent stick, interpreted here as belonging to the ‘Hitting the Ball’ ceremony (see ch.III.31), might have come from a smiting scene, albeit this seems less probable.

⁸³¹ Hassan, *Giza*, X, pl. VIIA, cf. n.374 above.

⁸³² Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Neferhetepes*, figs.228-232, text pp.111-113 (doc.156-160).

⁸³³ *Ibid.*, doc.156, 157. Given that the figure of the king has not been preserved, it cannot be entirely excluded that Seshat accompanied here the scene of trampling enemies by the king as sphinx or griffin, but this seems improbable since the latter theme occurs, as it seems, only at the lower parts of causeways (see next chapter).

⁸³⁴ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re^c*, I, figs.11,12 (photos); II, pl.1.

acompanying registers are almost complete (fig.63). Seshat enthroned is shown in her usual dress and attitude with a pen and a papyrus roll. Before her there are three registers of kneeling Libyans. Captions named a.o. [...] *(d)šr, b3kt*. The text in front of Seshat goes on: ($\leftarrow\downarrow$) *zš m tnw(t) skr ʿnh(w) jny m h3st nbt*, 'recording the number of captives brought from all the foreign countries'. Not only men, but also the cattle and asses shown below Seshat, are the booty. Two deities, Ash, Lord of Tjehenu, and the Goddess of the West, witness the scene, being represented below the register with the animals. The goddess offers to the king 'the chief of Tjehenu' (*dj.n.(j) n.k h3tj-ʿ Tḥnw*).⁸³⁵ The text spoken by Ash is a promise of giving 'all the beautiful things that are in all the foreign countries' (*dj.n.(j) n.k ht nb(t) jmjt h3s(wt nbwt)*). At the very bottom, the wife of the smitten chief and his two sons are shown in desperate poses, begging for mercy. They are named *Hw(j)t-jt(j).s* (the woman), *Ws3* and *Wnj* (the boys). The scene has been copied many times in later temples, which included the names of the persons; given that still earlier versions are probable, the historicity of the event is much doubtful.⁸³⁶ Blocks with depictions of bears and Syrian vessels,⁸³⁷ apparently a booty, attributed to the N wall of the courtyard, suggest the existence of a parallel,

⁸³⁵ It is noteworthy that the tribe name is determined by three squatting figures holding feathers (preceding a *h3st*-sign). Given their position in the text it is doubtful if these could be interpreted as determinatives for the word *h3tj-ʿ*, thus creating plural (as apparently assumed by D. Stockfisch, *Bemerkungen zur sog. 'libyschen Familie'*, in: *Fs Gundlach*, p.315).

⁸³⁶ The 'historicity' of the representations of the royal triumph over (specified) enemies has been much doubted, given that the scene was copied many times through the centuries. Obviously there must have existed a 'primeval' example of the 'Libyan family' motif, but if this reflected in any way a historical reality is a moot point. On the other hand G. Dreyer is of opinion that e.g. the scene on the Narmer palette shows a concrete historical event that had been recorded also on a year tablet of Narmer found at Umm el-Qaab, with the catfish smiting a 'papyrus-man' (MDAIK 54 (1998), p.166, cf. fig.29, p.139). In most cases, however, the 'historical' scenes should not be understood literally (E. Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest*, Darmstadt 1966, passim; id., *Geist der Pharaonenzeit*, Zurich 1989, pp.147-163).

⁸³⁷ Berlin no.21831. For a colour photo see K.-H. Priese (ed.), *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, Mainz 1991, p.39 (no.24).

'Asiatic' scene.⁸³⁸ Possibly to this scene should be attributed fragments depicting the king's hand with a mace, a group of enemies, and figures of a family (→) with their arms raised in the gesture of begging for mercy.⁸³⁹

Niuserra

The scene of smiting enemies occurred in the mortuary temple of Niuserre, although the precise attribution has not been possible. Some connected fragments show a group of foreigners held by hair by the king. The smitten enemies hold daggers (the shafts down) and feathers within their hands.⁸⁴⁰ A leg of a massacred Asiatic (painted yellow), depicted in a smaller scale, proves that another such scene existed.⁸⁴¹ In the valley temple was found a piece depicting an arm (presumably the king's) with a bracelet on the wrist. The bracelet is decorated with a smiting scene.⁸⁴²

Unis

A large block found in the mortuary temple area⁸⁴³ bears a depiction of the king (→) smiting a single enemy (fig.59), presumably a Libyan (the figure is wearing a sash). A middle part of the king's figure has been preserved (from the shoulders down to knees). He is grasping the enemy at hair with his hand that is holding vertically a stick. The other arm is upraised

⁸³⁸ An important issue of the location of the enemy tribes/countries is to be only signalled here. It appears that the 'Nine Bows', threatening Egypt from three directions (north-east, north-west and south), had to be customized into the axial (thus two- or four-sided) symbolic geographical order. It seems that, at least during the Fifth Dynasty, this was achieved by a simplified scheme: Asiatics: N and E, Libyans: S and W). On this and related problems see G. Belova, The Egyptians' Ideas of Hostile Encirclement, in: *Seventh Congress of Egyptologists*, pp.143-148; cf. also S. Stadnikow, Gottkönig und Fremdländer. Universalistische Ausdrücke der Könige des Alten Reichs in Ägypten nach offiziellen Texten, MARG 9 (1994), pp.291-310. For a general survey of the evidence of the contacts of the Egyptians with the surrounding countries see D. Valbelle, *Les neuf arcs. L'Égyptien et les étrangers de la préhistoire à la conquête d'Alexandre*, Paris 1990.

⁸³⁹ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.2.

⁸⁴⁰ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, fig.64, Berlin no. 1610/11/15 and 17922.

⁸⁴¹ Ibid., fig.63.

⁸⁴² Ibid., fig.19, now in Berlin, no.17910.

⁸⁴³ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, fig.65, pl.XXXII, pp.88-90 (doc.39). The block was attributed to the causeway by Hall, *Pharaoh Smites His Enemy*, fig.22b.

(and presumably holding a mace). The king is dressed in the *shendjit*-kilt and wears the *khat*-headdress (as may be deduced from the part of it visible behind the king's back). An important feature, not common in smiting scenes, is the occurrence of the half-sky sign with *šn* hanging from it, and the text *s3 ʿnh (nb) h3 (f)* , ‘all the protection and life around him’ behind the king's figure. More to the left the block-pattern border is preserved, suggesting the end of the wall. A block with two registers may have come from this scene.⁸⁴⁴ In the upper register a god (←), preceded by Wepwawet standard, is leading a bounded captive, captioned as *skr ʿnh*. In the lower register probably a fragment of a caption for Seshat is preserved. At the far left end of the block are visible a wing and a tail of a protective vulture. It is oriented leftwards, which is at variance with a presumed orientation of the king's figure, but maybe there were two birds hovering above the ruler, an arrangement for which parallels exist, also in Unis' complex. Another piece shows two registers of kneeling Libyans, usually depicted before Seshat, in a begging attitude.⁸⁴⁵ A fragment confirms that also the king smiting a group of enemies was represented.⁸⁴⁶

Pepy I

A scene of smiting enemies, reconstructed from several fragments, represented the king (→) grasping two foreigners' hair with his hand, holding the *mks*-sceptre. One of the enemies has a square beard and wears a wavy armband, the other one has an oval beard and wears a typical Libyan dress. Behind them there was a representation of the ‘Libyan family’ (←) in a

⁸⁴⁴ Ibid., fig.66, pl.XXXII, p.90-91 (doc.40).

⁸⁴⁵ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, fig.67, pl.XXXII, p.92 (doc.41).

⁸⁴⁶ Ibid., fig.69, pl.XXXII, p.93 (doc.43).

typical arrangement. According to the excavators the scene must have been located in the vicinity of the entrance to the mortuary temple.⁸⁴⁷

Pepy II

The scene of smiting of Egypt's enemies occurred in several places in the mortuary complex of Pepy II. Fragments found in the valley temple show hand of Seshat writing, and arms of several enemies raised in begging gesture.⁸⁴⁸ In the corridor preceding the *pr-wrw* some fragments of a similar scene were found. The king was smiting several enemies.⁸⁴⁹ Another scene with a group of enemies, not attributed to a specific place in the temple, is likewise attested.⁸⁵⁰ In the *couloir transversale* one of the tableaux of the S part of the E wall depicted the king aiming with his mace at a bearded foe, presumably a Libyan. Nekhebet in form of a vulture was hovering above the ruler. Behind the king was a figure of the royal *ka* and (five?) officials witnessing the event, placed in narrow, superposed registers. Facing this scene was a common representation of the 'Libyan family' theme, with the wife and sons of the smitten chieftain bearing the same names as in Sahura's example. A column of a text in front of them ended with *n Nfr-k3-r(w) nb h3swt*, '...of Neferkara, lord of the foreign countries'. It is noteworthy that the orientation of the king's figure (→) in this tableau is different from those in the neighbouring scenes (embracing by Hathor and a ritual run), placed to the left of it.⁸⁵¹ Fragments coming from the vestibule of the inner temple,⁸⁵²

⁸⁴⁷ Labrousse, *Regards sur une pyramide*, pp.60-61; J. Leclant, La "famille libyenne" au temple haut de Pépi Ier, in: J. Vercoutter (ed.), *Livre du centenaire 1880-1980, Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, Le Caire 1980, pp.49-54, pl.2.

⁸⁴⁸ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pls.5-6.

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid., III, pl.36 (reconstruction of the scene), 37 (details). According to Jéquier (ibid., p.22, and n.1) a parallel scene, but with different enemies, was represented on a counterpart wall. Possibly from this latter scene came fragments depicted on pl.38 (Jéquier by error mentions pl.40)

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid., II, figs.2-5.

⁸⁵¹ Ibid., pls.8 (reconstruction of the tableau), 9-10 (details).

were attributed to the S wall of this chamber. A big scene with the king holding a bow in his hand grasping the enemies' hair (a group of foes being destroyed), occupied a middle section of the wall, as reconstructed by Jéquier (fig.40).⁸⁵³ Some fragments belonging to a smiting scene were also found in the statue chamber. They might have come from a scene parallel to the one in the vestibule. As there was probably no space for it on the N wall of the vestibule, it is possible that it once decorated the E wall of the statue chamber.

Lisht

One of the Lisht blocks bears a representation of a hand (presumably the king's) holding an arrow between the fingers (in a strange manner that finds no parallel). To the right of it an upraised hand is visible, suggesting the occurrence of a figure of a smitten foreigner. Thus it was probably a scene of triumph, where the king was grasping an enemy by hair.⁸⁵⁴

III.14. Trampling Enemies (King as Sphinx or Griffin)

The scene of *ptpt h3swt* is in many ways parallel to the killing of enemies by the king in his human form.⁸⁵⁵ It includes the same motifs (like Seshat recording the booty, the foreign family, rows of captives led by the gods etc.). At the same moment it is a distinctive cliché, well established within a Predynastic and Early Dynastic iconographic tradition of a ruler represented as an animal, destroying his enemies.⁸⁵⁶ The origins of the forms of a sphinx and a griffin are difficult to trace as the earliest certain evidence

⁸⁵² Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls.12-14; II, pl.36-38. Ibid., pl.36. A fragment pictured on pl.37, depicting a hand of Seshat and a papyrus with the text *wḏ Nfr-k3-r(w)*, apparently coming from this scene, has not been included into the reconstruction.

⁸⁵³ Ibid, pl.35.

⁸⁵⁴ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, no.23, pp.47-48; MMA 09.180.29. The block was attributed by Goedicke to 'a building of the V Dynasty'; it is difficult either to confirm, or to question this dating.

⁸⁵⁵ Development and meaning of this motif were analysed by S. Schoske in her PhD thesis *Ptpt h3swt. Die Unterwerfung des Feindes im alten Ägypten*, /Diss./ Heidelberg 1982.

⁸⁵⁶ E.g. as a lion on the Battlefield palette (BM EA 20791) or a bull on Narmer palette.

dates from the Fourth Dynasty and consists of sculpture.⁸⁵⁷ The examples of reliefs of Sahura, Niuserra, Unis and Pepy II provide evidence for the placement of this scene at the lower part of the causeway.⁸⁵⁸ According to M.-A. Bonhême and A. Forgeau it is to be compared with the ‘rituels d’envoutements pour neutraliser le monde extérieur.’⁸⁵⁹ In the opinion of A. Labrousse and A. Moussa the king was not only depicted on the two walls, but was symbolically standing in the centre of the way, defending access to the causeway.⁸⁶⁰

Sahura:

The first occurrence of this motif is attested on a large block found in situ in the valley temple of Sahura,⁸⁶¹ constituting once part of the N wall of the hall.⁸⁶² The king, represented as a hieracosphinx was proceeding

⁸⁵⁷ On the Old Kingdom sphinxes see U. Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im alten Ägypten*, Glückstadt 1948, ÄF 15, *passim*, esp. pp.32-36; C. Aldred, An Early Image-of-the-King, in: *Pyramid Studies. Essays Edwards*, pp.41-47; N. Cherpion, En reconsidérant le grand sphinx du Louvre A 23, RdE 42 (1991), pp.25-41; Z. Hawass, The Great Sphinx at Giza: Date and Function, in: *Atti VI Congresso*. I, pp.177-195; B. Fay, More Old Kingdom Sphinxes with Human Hands, GM 146 (1995), pp.29-36. Cf. also C. De Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne*, Leiden 1951. For a curious depiction of a striding sphinx above a serekh see Kaplony, *Rollsiegel*, *Dd-k3-R^c* 23 (an example of a squatting sphinx upon a serekh to be possibly noted on *Mrijj-R^c* 19). As for griffin, this mythical animal occurred on the Hunters palette, but later on there is a hiatus in its representation till the Fifth Dynasty. Nevertheless it is obviously an old motif that seems to be Egyptian in origin *pace* I. Flagge, *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des Greifen*, Sankt Augustin, 1975, p.11 (cf. pp.12-20 for a survey of the evidence on Egyptian griffins); cf. J. Quaegebeur, De l'origine égyptienne du griffon Némésis, in: *Visages du destin dans les mythologies. Mélanges Jacqueline Duchemin. Travaux et mémoires. Actes du colloque de Chantilly 1er-2 Mai 1980*, Paris 1983, pp.41-54.

⁸⁵⁸ One may cite an interesting remark by A. Fakhry in this respect, namely that the Great Sphinx at Giza is likewise placed at the lower part of Khafra's causeway (*Pyramids*, p.202). Similar position may be demonstrated for the representations of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. The queen is shown as a sphinx trampling enemies in the Lower Portico, on the N wall in the South wing and the S wall in the North wing (i.e. on the walls adjoining the ramp); in both cases the queen's figures are oriented towards the exterior of the temple.

⁸⁵⁹ Bonhême, Forgeau, *Pharaon*, p.42.

⁸⁶⁰ ‘le roi dans sa réalité symbolique (...) est en fait au centre de la voie, protégeant l'accès à la chaussée.’ (Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, p.20).

⁸⁶¹ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re^c*, I, fig.4; II, pl.8.

⁸⁶² The upper part of the block bore the scene with the state ship (Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re^c*, II., pl.9).

rightwards (i.e. outside the building), trampling a fallen enemy (fig.60). Due to a destruction of the block, actually only a back part of the animal survived, showing a lion's body and falcon wing and tail attached to it. It cannot be decided whether the creature represented was a griffin, or a human-headed sphinx with body parts of a bird. A hovering vulture, a triple-looped cartouche (preceded by *nb t3wj*) and captions are preserved above the animal. The texts referring to the king include an epithet *Hrw tm3-ꜥ*, 'Horus with a strong arm'⁸⁶³ and enigmatic and unparalleled *jr m ꜥwj .f nb t3wj* (possibly to be translated as 'he makes (executes) with his arms (being) the Lord of the Two Lands'). The inscription goes on *dj ꜥnh ddt nb snb nb 3wt-jb nbt, wn.f hntj k3w ꜥnhw dt*, 'given life and all stability, all health, all joy, may he be at the head of the living *kas* eternally.' Under the uprised and curved tail of the animal, there is a text that speaks of *Dhwtj nb jwntjw, Spd nb h3swt* (Thoth, Lord of the Iuntyw (and) Soped, Lord of the foreign countries), who is executing *ptpt mnꜥw*,⁸⁶⁴ 'trampling the Mentju'. It is obviously a designation of the king as the incarnation of these two gods.

Niuserra:

Both walls at the lower part of the causeway in Niuserra's complex were decorated with depictions of the king in the animal form, trampling enemies. A fragment from the S wall shows a head of an Asiatic and a figure of a Libyan as well as a common theme of the 'Libyan family'.⁸⁶⁵ Reliefs on the N wall seem to represent likewise Libyans, beside Asiatics and Puntites.⁸⁶⁶ It is noteworthy that the reliefs are executed with an extreme precision and the eyes of the figures were incrustated. The composition of the

⁸⁶³ This epithet is first attested on Khufu's stela in Sinai (Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no.7).

⁸⁶⁴ The way the three figures serving as determinatives are diversified is noteworthy. One of them is holding a feather, another is wearing a head-band, also the wigs are different.

⁸⁶⁵ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*, fig.29 (photo), pl.11, Berlin no.17919.

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pls.8-10 (Berlin nos. 17918, 17917, 17915/16.). The enemies' heads are shown in detail on pl.12.

large tableau at the causeway may be reconstructed. The king in a mythic animal form was proceeding outwards (i.e. down the causeway), facing the ‘Libyan family’. Behind a woman and her two sons were three columns of text, ending with: 1. [...] *hr(j)t.j*, ‘[...] which is by me’, 2. [...] *h3swt nb*, ‘[...] all the foreign countries’ and 3. [...] (*h^c.tj hr nst*) *Hrw dt*, ‘[...] (that you may appear on the throne of) Horus eternally’. Behind the inscription, rows of kneeling or striding captives (presumably led by gods) were arranged in several registers. The scene was ended with a block-pattern vertical border, and the cycle may have started again, as the scene was possibly repeated several times.

Unis:

Lower part of Unis’ causeway was probably decorated on both walls with the scenes of *ptpt h3swt*, of which the representations of leading captives and recording booty constituted parts.⁸⁶⁷ However, a representation of the king as a sphinx or griffin has not been preserved, the reconstruction being conjectural, based on parallels in other complexes.⁸⁶⁸

Pepy II:

At the lower part of the causeway some blocks were found that enabled reconstruction of representations of the king as sphinx (←) and as griffin (→).⁸⁶⁹ In another scene, where likewise a sphinx and griffin are to be restored (both proceeding rightwards), the griffin is bearing a *mnht* (a necklace counterpoise).⁸⁷⁰ The scene seems to be repeated several times.

⁸⁶⁷ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, pp.19-20, figs.14-21, For the gods leading Libyan and Asiatic captives cf. also Labrousse, Moussa, *Ounas*, pp.96-97, 99, figs.97, 101, pl.XV (doc.56,60). A fragment with Seshat recording booty was published *ibid.*, pp.97-98, fig.98, pl.XV (doc.57).

⁸⁶⁸ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, p.20.

⁸⁶⁹ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.15. For the details, on which the reconstruction of a falcon’s head of the griffin was based, see pl.18 top left. The beard of the sphinx is pictured on pl.17.

⁸⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pl.16, with details on pl.18.

According to G. Jéquier, not less than eight such figures existed (four at each wall of the causeway).⁸⁷¹

III.15. Seshat recording captives and booty (so-called 'Libyan family' scene)

In fact it is not a separate subject, but it always constitutes part of either the scene of smiting enemies or the scene of trampling foes by the king as sphinx or griffin.⁸⁷² It seems that the role of Seshat⁸⁷³ is not merely recording the number of captives and booty (as suggested by accompanying texts speaking of *zš m tñw(t)*).⁸⁷⁴ Judging from a fragment from Pepy II's funerary temple, where the text *wđ Nfr-k3-r(w)*, 'decree of Neferkara' is visible on the goddess' papyrus,⁸⁷⁵ the aim is to give the event a legal meaning. This is well in accordance with the attitude to record, archive and support with legal documents various kinds of the king's activity, noticed clearly in the Pyramid Texts as well as in the inscriptions in the temples.⁸⁷⁶

What should be stressed is the fact that we do not possess any examples of a parallel representation showing members of another tribe. The 'Libyan family' occurs on both southern and northern walls of causeways, and it is

⁸⁷¹ Ibid., p.11.

⁸⁷² The theme was thoroughly discussed by D. Stockfisch, *Bemerkungen zur sog. 'libyschen Familie'*, in: *Fs Gundlach*, pp.315-325. However, it seems that it is not too appropriate to consider both smiting and trampling scenes under a heading of 'Seshat recording booty' or 'Libyan family' although these motifs are clearly common features for them. The central issue should be the activity of the king.

⁸⁷³ On the origins and role played by the goddess see recently T. Schneider, *Das Schriftzeichen "Rosette" und die Göttin Seshat*, SAK 24 (1997), pp.241-267; cf. also Dia' Abou-Ghazi, *Seshat, die Klio der Ägypter*, Das Altertum, Berlin 15 (1969), pp.195-204.

⁸⁷⁴ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*, II, pl.I.

⁸⁷⁵ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.37 in the middle, a fragment not included into the reconstruction on pl.36.

⁸⁷⁶ To mention the *jmjt-pr* (a 'testament' i.e. a legal document for his heritage) hold by the king in various scenes. Cf. also Pyr.§ 475: 'Poor is the heir who has no document'. Certainly, this trend reflected a more general phenomenon of a 'bureaucratic mind' of the Egyptian society, according to the term proposed by B. Kemp in his *Ancient Egypt*. Also the detailed inscriptions in the royal mortuary temples, naming the gods with their various epithets, officials, estates, Egyptian and foreign toponyms etc. are set well within the tradition of onomastica, archives, annals, decrees and juridical causes.

possible that this exception in the symmetry rules reflects the origins and historical development of the motif.⁸⁷⁷

This motif occurred in the complexes of Userkaf,⁸⁷⁸ Sahura (fig.63),⁸⁷⁹ Niuserra,⁸⁸⁰ Unis,⁸⁸¹ Pepy I⁸⁸² and Pepy II.⁸⁸³

III.16. War Scenes

This theme, rarely depicted in the Old Kingdom,⁸⁸⁴ in the royal context is attested only in Unis' complex⁸⁸⁵ and on blocks found at the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht.⁸⁸⁶ The Lisht block, showing five bowmen facing leftwards in the attitude of shooting, has been attributed to the Fourth⁸⁸⁷ or Fifth⁸⁸⁸ Dynasty. The figures are intertwined in a distinctive manner (fig.62). Obviously it is a part of a bigger unit of archers shown in a battle,⁸⁸⁹ but an

⁸⁷⁷ A. R. Schulman, *Narmer and the Unification: a Revisionist View*, BES 11 (1991/92), pp.79-105.

⁸⁷⁸ Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Neferhetepes*, figs.228-232, pp.111-112 (the transverse corridor or the pillared hall in front of the statue niches).

⁸⁷⁹ Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*, II, pl.1 (beginning of the causeway).

⁸⁸⁰ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*, pl. 11 (beginning of the causeway).

⁸⁸¹ Labrousse, Moussa, *Ounas*, doc.56-57 and 60, pp.96-99; Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, pp.19-20, figs.14-21 (beginning of the causeway).

⁸⁸² J. Leclant, La "Famille libyenne" au temple haut de Pepi I^{er}, in: J. Vercoutter (ed.), *Livre du Centenaire, 1880-1980*, (MIFAO 104), Le Caire 1980, pp.49-54, pl.II.

⁸⁸³ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.12-14 (beginning of the causeway); II, pls. 8-10, 36-38 (*couloir transversale* and the vestibule of the inner temple).

⁸⁸⁴ A siege of a foreign fortress was represented in the tombs of Inti at Deshasha and Kaemhesit at Saqqara (Harpur, *Decoration*, pp.116-117). Both were commonly dated in the past to the Sixth Dynasty, but recent research suggests earlier dates (temp. Djedkara for Inti, and the Fifth or even the end of Fourth Dynasty for Kaemhesit). See Petrie, *Deshasha*, pl.IV; Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara. Teti Pyramid, North Side*, frontispiece; cf. HESPOK, p.182, figs.85,86.

⁸⁸⁵ S. Hassan, *The Causeway of Wnjs*, ASAE 38 (1938), p.520, pl.15; Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, pp.21-23, figs.16-21 (doc.5-10, 'scène de bataille en Asie').

⁸⁸⁶ New York, MMA 1922-22.1.23. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, pp.76-77.

⁸⁸⁷ By Do. Arnold, in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, pp.188-189 (no.39). She attributes the block to either Khufu or Khafra (comparing it with the block found by Hölscher at the causeway of the Second Pyramid at Giza).

⁸⁸⁸ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, pp.76-77.

⁸⁸⁹ And not during a shooting training or competition, a theme attested at Sahura's causeway, where a single Bowman with an instructor or a referee were represented. Archers shown in an attitude of standing easy were represented in the complex of Userkaf (Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, figs.285-287 = doc.213-215, 'archers au

overall context remains obscure. Also another block from Lisht seems to have preserved a part of a battle scene. On the fragment attributed tentatively to 'a building of the Old Kingdom',⁸⁹⁰ a face of a Libyan wearing two feathers with an arrow (?) projecting from his forehead. The man is either falling or fallen.⁸⁹¹ The scenes on blocks found by S. Hassan at Unis' causeway represent a battle of Egyptians and Asiatics (fig.61). They are engaged in a close combat (fighting with axes and daggers) as well as shooting. The figures are shown in a multitude of attitudes. Some of the foes are falling upside down. Rarity of (preserved) war scenes may be due to their presumed placement in the middle parts of causeways. It is possible, however, that there were more pictures of it, given the frequency of representations of running guards, led prisoners etc. The exact role of this kind of scene is uncertain, the fighting soldiers might have accompanied the king smiting enemies, but it is also possible that they occurred in a scene of termination of building, transporting the pyramidion etc. In this instance a probable meaning would be the record of difficulties and efforts taken to provide the king with necessary goods (an analogy to a representation of starving Bedouins, whose depiction stressed wilderness of the area from which the pyramidion stone had been brought). But most probably the scenes should be attributed to a larger theme of 'everyday life' attested at Unis' causeway, showing various activities of pharaoh's people, which in this instance would include military operations abroad.

repos'). A later parallel to the Lisht block occurred on a fragment found by S. Harvey in the pyramid complex of Ahmose I at Abydos. It represents the hands and bows of three archers facing left, each arrow pointing in a slightly different direction (J. Bourriau, Second Intermediate Period, in: I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford 2000, fig. on p.213).

⁸⁹⁰ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, pp.142-143 (no.87).

⁸⁹¹ Goedicke (ibid., n.368) cites possible parallels from the Middle Kingdom.

III.17. Martial Competitions

In the scenes represented on causeway blocks found in 1996 in the mortuary complex of Sahura there occurred wrestlers and stick-fighters,⁸⁹² and shooting archers.⁸⁹³ The occurrence of such sporting scenes among the themes represented at the causeway walls was quite unexpected. Wrestling is attested since predynastic times,⁸⁹⁴ and was commonly represented in private tombs (particularly in the Middle Kingdom, but the subject occurred already in the decoration of the Old Kingdom mastabas e.g. in the tomb of Ptahhotep and Akhethotep at Saqqara). In the Sahura's example six pairs of men engaged in a freestyle wrestling were represented, watched carefully by a referee. The fighting men are identified as members of the king's crew. In a register above the scene with wrestlers were depicted four pairs of men fighting with staffs; short captions above each pair concisely commenting the struggle. The stick-fighting has been known thus far only from the New Kingdom representations. It was even suggested that this kind of a combat competition had been borrowed from the Asiatic tradition.⁸⁹⁵ In the New Kingdom both wrestling and stick fighting accompanied royal festivities (the *Heb-Sed* or receiving foreign ambassadors), often represented side by side.⁸⁹⁶ It seems that for the Egyptians these two sports were closely tied together, which is confirmed by their occurrence on Sahura's block. The uppermost

⁸⁹² Z. Hawass, M. Verner, Newly Discovered Blocks from the Causeway of Sahure, MDAIK 52 (1996), pp.184-185, fig.2b, and pl.56b. Basic informations on the combat sports are collected in W. Decker, *Sports and Games of Ancient Egypt*, Cairo 1992, pp.71-82 (wrestling), 82-87 (stick fighting). For the pictorial material see W. Decker, M. Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten. Corpus der bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz und verwandten Themen. Teil 1: Text und Teil 2: Abbildungen*, Leiden 1994, chapters V.L-M.

⁸⁹³ Hawass, Verner, MDAIK 52 (1996), op.cit., p.184, pl.56a.

⁸⁹⁴ A pair of wrestling men is depicted on the Town palette.

⁸⁹⁵ J. Vandier d'Abbadie, Deux nouveaux ostraca figurés, ASAE 40 (1940), p.473.

⁸⁹⁶ The examples from the royal contexts include a.o. the scenes of raising the *Djed*-pillar during the *Sed*-festival of Amenhotep III shown in the tomb of Kheruef, Akhenaten's audience represented in the tomb of Meryre II at Amarna, an Amarna block from Karnak, and the scenes depicted under the window of appearances on the façade of the palace at Medinet Habu (W. Decker, *Sports and Games*, op.cit., pp.79-86, figs.45, 47-50).

register on the same block bore depiction of archers accompanied each by a man, interpreted as being an instructor.⁸⁹⁷ However, in the light of an overall context of the scenes on the blocks, one may suggest that what was actually represented was not a training, but another kind of a competition. The men accompanying the bowmen would be referees and not the archery instructors. This interpretation would be further confirmed by the fact that the second register from the bottom, on the same block, shows ships being paddled in a distinctive manner,⁸⁹⁸ rowers being depicted in different phases of stroking the oars, apparently racing. This suggests that all the four upper registers bore scenes representing various competitions, including combat sports and rowing races that accompanied the celebration of an important event, no doubt the termination of building the pyramid and placing the capstone.

Unis:

On a fragment from the causeway two men are represented that may have belonged to a scene of a martial competition (fig.64). Only the lower parts of the figures are actually preserved, but it is clear that they were turned one to another in an attitude resembling that of the stick-warriors.⁸⁹⁹ The partially preserved inscription between the men cannot help in the interpretation, but the overall context (the activity performed before the gate of a building of Unis, possibly an entrance to the mortuary temple or the pyramid complex), may support a hypothesis of a parallel to Sahura's scenes.

⁸⁹⁷ Such was a view of Hawass and Verner, MDAIK 52 (1996), op.cit., p.184.

⁸⁹⁸ For a parallel from the mortuary temple of Userkaf see ch.III.33 below.

⁸⁹⁹ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, doc.90 (fig.112, pp.81-82). According to the authors 'cette position affrontée rappelle une figure de la danse "au bâton" (J. E. Quibell, Saqqara (1907-1908), pl.LXII: (Nikauhor), avec une colonne de lende entre les danseurs; N. de G. Davies, Ptahhetep I, pl.XXI). Elle est aussi très proche d'un duo de danseurs"à la corde"du tableau de fête de la chaussée de Sahourê (Z. Hawass, M. Verner, MDAIK 52, 1996, p.182, pl.56 c).' (ibid., p.82, n.197).

A block from Lisht on which arrows in a target post are shown, might have derived from a similar context.⁹⁰⁰

III.18. Desert Hunt

Hunting desert game was a common activity of the élite in the Old Kingdom. However, a form of it, namely hunting with bow and arrows, seems to be a royal prerogative or at least was thus conceived in the official representations. Scenes showing desert hunt inside a fenced area are quite common, but during the Old Kingdom only the king might be shown shooting animals.⁹⁰¹ In a non-royal context the game is lassoed or hunted by dogs. A possible exception to this rule might have occurred in the tomb at Meidum, proving that the decorum rules at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty were still not too rigid.⁹⁰²

Userkaf:

Four small fragments coming probably from the decoration of the hall attest the first occurrence of this theme in the royal context. On one of them the king's outstretched arm (←), presumably shooting with a bow, is preserved; the others show animals of the desert: antilopes and a hedgehog in his hole.⁹⁰³

Sahura:

⁹⁰⁰ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, no.85. The evidence from Abusir and Lisht confirms an early tradition of target archery, otherwise attested mostly from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty on (cf. W. Decker, *Sports and Games*, op.cit., pp.34-46).

⁹⁰¹ Vandier, *Manuel*, IV/1, pp.791-793, 800-801; Smith, HESPOK, pp.167, 170, fig.65; H. Altenmüller, *Jagd*, LÄ III (1980), 224-230; Harpur, *Decoration*, p.82. The tomb owner might be represented hunting with bow and arrows since the very end of the Old Kingdom, but the rare examples are attested only in the provinces (e.g. Schäfer, *Principles*, fig.196 = N. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, London 1902, pl.XI).

⁹⁰² Klebs, *Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, p.68; cf. Petrie, *Meidum*, pl.IX. The scene is much destroyed, but the remains of the caption confirm that the hunt with a bow was represented. The desert hunt s representations at Meidum (on the niche walls in the chapels of Nefermaat and Itet, and on the N corridor wall of the chapel of Rahotep, cf. *ibid.*, pls.IX, XVII, XXVII) are the earliest recorded examples of this scene.

⁹⁰³ Labrousse, Leclant, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, doc.47-50 (pp.81-82, figs.116-119).

Until the publication of Userkaf's pieces the only certain example of hunting the desert game with bow and arrows came from Sahura's complex. The scene, preserved in its large part, occupied the eastern end of the southern wall of the *südlichen Umgangs*.⁹⁰⁴ A large figure of the king (→), shooting arrows, dominate the whole composition. He is wearing a short wig, a beard and a collar, and is clad in a triangular apron. The king is assisted by his *ka* (in form of a standard) and by four rows of officials standing behind him. The first one in the lowermost register is a vizier, named Werbauba. The first figure in the second register from the bottom had been re-worked. Royal attributes (including a uraeus and a square beard) were added, and the cartouche of Neferirkara together with the phrase *dj ʿnh dt* replaced the former caption. An elongated sign of the sky was placed above the person. In front of the royal figure there are four registers of desert animals, bordered by representations of fences. The game include various species: gazelles, antilopes, capricorns, deers, wild cattle and goats, jerboas, hedgehogs and hyenas. The animals are represented in a variety of poses and turned in various directions. Many of them has been shot with arrows. A figure of a sloughi dog biting an upturned gazelle prove that hounds has been let to catch the game. At the right edge of the scene the men of a battue crew are represented in the attitude of run, with lassoes and sticks. The lowermost register, under the fenced area, is entirely filled with a row of bowing officials, turned towards the king. The texts identify them as *smr(w) pr-ʿ3*, *hntjw-šj pr-ʿ3*, *šms(w) [...]*, [...] *53hw-Rʿ*. In front of the last three men there is a vertical caption *r3-šms nfr(w)*. The contrast between the irregular grouping of animals and the regular rows of the dignitaries behind the king and at the

⁹⁰⁴ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Reʿ*, II, pl.17, pp.30-35. The blocks with the king's figure are preserved in Berlin (inv.no.21783). The whole scene occupied an area of 3 x 8 meters.

bottom of the scene, may be interpreted as clear juxtaposition of chaos and order.⁹⁰⁵

Unis:

Several blocks found at the causeway of Unis' mortuary complex show the animals of the desert.⁹⁰⁶ The king's figure has not been preserved and the overall context is thus a little doubtful, but the scene seems to be a variant of the 'Seasons' theme as suggested by grouping of the animals and the captions. It would constitute a *presentation des animaux du désert* to the king shown seated at the end of the causeway. Some of the fragments bore representations of sloughi hounds hunting game, but there are no traces of arrows and the king's person obviously has not been involved.⁹⁰⁷

Pepy II:

A scene of a desert hunt on the N wall of the vestibule to the offering temple in Pepy II's complex has been preserved only in its bottom part. According to Jéquier the king (→) was smiting with his mace a large figure of an oryx.⁹⁰⁸ Much smaller figures of animals are crowded at the bottom of the scene, and beside the right border a god was depicted, facing left, presenting a weapon(?) to the king. This strange ritual killing of an oryx by Pepy II is often cited as reflecting changed ideology when compared with Sahura's desert hunt.⁹⁰⁹ The reconstruction by Jéquier, usually taken for

⁹⁰⁵ D. Arnold, *Royal Reliefs*, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.77.

⁹⁰⁶ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, doc.31-35 (pp.41-42, figs.45-49, pl.VII, 'animaux du désert') and doc.36-45 (pp.42-47, figs.50-59, pl.VII, 'chasse dans le désert').

⁹⁰⁷ As stated by Labrousse and Moussa: 'Bien que l'importance des lacunes ne permette aucune restitution de l'ensemble de la scène de chasse dans le désert, il est clair qu'il doit s'agir d'une chasse exécutée pour le roi, mais dans laquelle ce dernier n'intervient pas.' (ibid., p.42).

⁹⁰⁸ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.41 (with details on pl.42 and photo on pl.43).

⁹⁰⁹ H. Goedicke writing on Pepi II's example concluded that 'the underlying concept of this representation differs fundamentally from that of other similar scenes: it is not the naturalistic representation of a hunt in the desert, but the ceremonial aspect, climaxed by the ritual killing of the ibex, which is emphasized. The same tendency is encountered by the decoration of Pepi II's funerary monument, in which the lively naturalism of the royal

granted, is in fact questionable at several points. Firstly, it is not sure if the animal depicted was an oryx (only the front hooves are visible),⁹¹⁰ secondly - no parallel exists for a depiction of killing an animal with a mace. The position of the king's legs enables various theoretical reconstructions of his attitude. Most probably the animal was hunted with a bow (a depiction of a 'contact-shot' for which numerous parallels may be cited⁹¹¹). The alleged difference in the structure and meaning of the scenes of Sahura and Pepy II might have been thus overestimated, given also the difference in the position in the temples (and the available space). One has to stress the unique form the desert is represented – it resembles the 'mountain of water' in marsh scenes.

Some blocks found at Lisht could possibly be attributed to desert hunt scenes, representing wild animals: gazelles, antilopes and leopards or cheetahs.⁹¹² The fragments are stylistically close together and might have come from a single scene, but whether hunting with a bow was represented cannot be proved. A small piece shows figures of a dog and a lassoed animal.⁹¹³

temples of the V Dynasty is abandoned in favor of the hieratic solemnity of the ritual features.' (*Re-used Blocks*, pp.136-137, n.347).

⁹¹⁰ There is much confusion in the literature about the species of this (hypothetical!) animal. Jéquier himself described it as an 'antilope' (*Pepi II*, II, pp.31-32), but the drawing clearly shows an oryx (*Oryx Gazella*). Goedicke, on the other hand, wrote of 'a ritual killing of the ibex' (*Re-used Blocks*, p.136, n.347).

⁹¹¹ Commonly shown in the hunting scenes in the tombs of Theban officials of the New Kingdom. It is interesting to note that the tomb owners were represented there using the older technique of archery – hunting with the self bows, although the composite bows were introduced during the Second Intermediate Period. They were probably copying the Old Kingdom patterns, which means a 'usurpation' of royal prerogatives. Cf. J. K. Hoffmeier, *Hunting Desert Game with the Bow: a Brief Examination*, SSEA 6, no.2, December 1975. pp.8-13. An attitude of a 'contact shot' is attested in the Old Kingdom in the war scenes (shooting an enemy – Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, fig.17 (doc.6)), and in the depiction of a combat competition (shooting at a target-post – Hawass, Verner, *MDAIK* 52 (1996), pl.56).

⁹¹² Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, nos.79-82 (pp.132-135). Some of the Lisht fragments, suggested to belong to such scenes by W. S. Smith (*HESPOK*, p.179) were attributed to different contexts (Goedicke, *op.cit.*, pp.47-48, 132-133)..

⁹¹³ *Ibid.*, no.83 (pp.135-138).

III.19. Hippopotamus Hunt

The representations and texts from the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom times prove a symbolic value of this ritual hunt and the animal itself.⁹¹⁴ According to H. Altenmüller, a hippopotamus was conceived as a symbolic ‘threshold- (or transgression-) animal’ (*Schwellentier*) between this world and the afterlife.⁹¹⁵ The origin of the motif of a hippopotamus hunt can be traced in the Predynastic Period (a painted linen cloth from Gebelein)⁹¹⁶ and it retained its importance (with a somewhat different meaning as a symbolic victory of Horus over Seth) till Graeco-Roman times.⁹¹⁷ Hunting hippopotamus with harpoons is a common subject in the decoration of the Old Kingdom tombs.⁹¹⁸ It is noteworthy, however, that the tomb owner never

⁹¹⁴ T. Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive*, Uppsala, 1953; A. Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter. Teil I, Katalog*, Frankfurt am Main - Bern 1989, *Teil II, Textband*, Frankfurt am Main - Bern 1996. See also an interesting comparison of the different roles played by a hippopotamus and a crocodile in the Egyptian symbolic thought: P. Vernus, Ménès, Achtoès, l'hippopotame et le crocodile. Lecture structurale de l'historiographie égyptienne, in: *Religion und Philosophie. Festgabe Derchain*, pp.331-340.

⁹¹⁵ H. Altenmüller, Nilpferd und Papyrusdickicht in den Gräbern des Alten Reiches, BSEG 13 (1989), pp.9-21. Altenmüller's theory is well in accordance with the role of hippopotamus as a symbol of resurrection (according to P. Vernus, see the preceding note).

⁹¹⁶ K. Ciałowicz, Le plus ancien témoignage de la tradition du heb-sed?, *Folia Orientalia*, Kraków 33 (1997), pp.39-48, where a connection of the motif with a royal ‘jubilee’ celebrations is suggested.

⁹¹⁷ M. Alliot, Les plus vieilles traditions du temple d'Edfou, in: *Mélanges Mariette*, BdÉ 32, Le Caire 1961, pp. 297-302. According to Vandier (*Manuel*, IV, p.775), an observed renaissance of this motif in the New Kingdom (after its virtual non-existence during the Middle Kingdom) can be related to the expelling of the Hyksos. In the opinion of F. Pawlicki (Une représentation inconnue de la Fête de l'Hippopotame Blanc dans le Temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari, ET 14 (1990), p.27) the subsequent disappearance of the scene under the Ramessides may be due to a high esteem of Seth in this period. The representations of *hb-hdt* seem to disappear at the same time.

⁹¹⁸ A. Behrmann, Überlegungen zur Darstellung von Nilpferden im Papyrusdickicht in den Gräbern des Alten Reiches, GM 147 (1995), pp. 15-18. Contrary to the assumptions of H. Altenmüller (Nilpferd und Papyrusdickicht in den Gräbern des Alten Reiches, BSEG 13 (1989), pp.9-21), supporting his ‘transgression’ theory, Behrmann argued that the scenes in O.K. tombs do not refer to the killing of this animal, but rather to its capture. Hippopotami were captured alive and killed only occasionally or during a (royal) festival. The word *Hdt* usually translated as ‘white female hippopotamus’ might have had a meaning ‘visible, emerging from the water’ or ‘angered, raging’ (when captured and

spears himself the animal, being only a witness of the hunt. In the royal context, on the contrary, it is the king who aims at the hippopotamus.⁹¹⁹ The so-called ‘Feast of the White Hippopotamus’, of which a (symbolic?) hunt was a part, played an important role in the royal dogma.⁹²⁰

Userkaf

A scene representing the king hunting a hippopotamus with a harpoon is attested for the first time in the funerary temple of Userkaf. It was depicted in the pillared hall or in the transverse corridor (in front of statue niches). A small fragment shows the king’s hand (→) holding ropes and flotters.⁹²¹

Sahura:

A fragment from Sahura’s valley temple with a triple string of rope, assigned to the S wall of the portico, might have belonged to the scene of a hippopotamus hunt.⁹²² However, given the angle the rope runs and the details below it, it is more probable that the piece belonged to a representation of a boat.⁹²³

Pepy II:

On the N wall of the *vestibule* (i.e. the *pr-wrw*, the entrance hall of the mortuary temple) Pepy II was represented hunting a hippopotamus. The

injured). On the other hand, F. Pawlicki (ET 14 (1990), p.28) observed that the hippopotami depicted at Deir el-Bahari and in the Akh-Menu were painted red, and suggested that *hdt* did not actually mean ‘white’ but rather ‘light’ or ‘brilliant’.

⁹¹⁹ Represented for the first time on a sealing of Den (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl.7 = Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p.16, fig.7). This representation has been interpreted as depicting statues by M. Eaton-Krauss, *Statuary*, p.89.

⁹²⁰ See ch. III.11 above.

⁹²¹ Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, doc.152 (pp.110-111, fig.224). Possibly to this scene belong also two other fragments, including one with the text *mdd zp 4* [...], ‘hitting (?) four times [...]’ (ibid., doc.154-155, figs.226-227). Such a use of the word *mdd* (written with sign Aa24 of Gardiner’s list), seems unparalleled in this context. On the technique of hunting using the rope and flotters to stop the animal from running see Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, pp.12-13.

⁹²² Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.15.

⁹²³ Doubts about the attribution of the piece to a hippopotamus hunt scene were expressed by Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, p.110, n.259. Some other fragments shown in Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.16 apparently came from a scene of fowling in marshes.

scene has been restored from small fragments (fig.65).⁹²⁴ The king's figure (→) standing on a large papyrus boat occupied the whole height of the wall. He was aiming at the animal with a harpoon held within his right hand, at the same moment holding with the other hand the ropes and flatters already attached to the prey. The hippopotamus was turning back in an attitude of threatening. Nothing is preserved of the royal garment and insignia, except for a small fragment of a *šndwt*-kilt. The vulture of Nekhebet was hovering above the king and he was followed by his *ka* in form of a standard. In front of the king and facing him there were two standards held by armed *ankh*- and *was*-signs. Two men preceded the standards, facing the king. One of them, presenting a long stick, was designated as the king's eldest son (the name has not been preserved); the other one, placed above the former, was captioned as the Overseer of the Pyramid Town Ihy ([jmj]-r3 njwt-mr Jh[jj]). To the left and right of the main panneau there were several registers filled with rows of officials. Above the figure of the hippopotamus the row of figures beginning with a *sem*-priest *Ttj* was preceded by a large sign designated as a *pr-wrw*.⁹²⁵ Whether this means that this room is a symbolic stage for the ritual is far from certain. Behind the king, in the lowermost register a hippopotamus is shown tied to a sledge and hauled by a team of six men. It is apparently the next (final?) episode of the hunt.

III.20. Spearing Fish

Together with the theme of fowling they formed two main subscenes of the Marsh Hunt, common for a royal as well as for a non-royal decoration.⁹²⁶ It is noteworthy that in one of the earliest examples of such a

⁹²⁴ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.32 (details on pls.33, 34, text on p.20). Possibly to this scene belongs also a fragment with a head of a catfish on the top of pl.43.

⁹²⁵ The fragment published already in *ibid.*, II, pl.22.

⁹²⁶ Harpur, *Decoration*, pp.139-157, 176-204 (actually the repertory of the theme includes as much as 23 different subjects, cf. *ibid.*, p.176); E. Feucht, Fishing and Fowling with the

scene, in Nebemakhet's tomb (LG 86), the tomb owner is depicted standing in a boat and hunting birds with a split spear and not a throwing-stick.⁹²⁷

Userkaf:

Blocks showing elements of the scene were found in the mortuary temple of Userkaf, near the gate 'B'.⁹²⁸ Two figures of the king, spearing fish, and fowling with a throwing-stick, were facing each other. Of the former the head wearing the feather crown has been preserved.⁹²⁹

Sahura:

Fragments found in the valley temple, identified by Borchardt as *Jagd in den Sumpfen*, derived from a scene of fishing or fowling.⁹³⁰ Some of the fragments discovered in the northern portico of the mortuary temple may have depicted, beside the fowling scene (see below), also spearing fishes.⁹³¹

Spear and the Throw-stick Reconsidered, in: *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Kákosy*, pp.157-169. Against the interpretation that the scenes of fishing and fowling had a hidden meaning of sexual union (e.g. W. Decker, Einige Bemerkungen zum Thema "Frau und Leibesübungen im Alten Ägypten", in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Leibeserziehung und des Sports. Internationales Seminar für Geschichte der Leibeserziehung und des Sports. Hispa-Seminar. Wien, 17.-20. April 1974. Referate Band 1*, Wien 1974, pp.1-12; cf. D. Kessler, Zu den Jagdszenen auf dem kleinen goldenen Tutanchamunschrein, GM 90 (1986), pp.35-43), Feucht suggested that the reason for these representations was that the deceased wants to catch fish and birds in the hereafter as he used to do it in this world. Such a meaning encompasses both the deceased's need for pleasure and his need for sustenance in the afterlife.

⁹²⁷ Smith, HESPOK, p.169. The earliest example of the marsh theme occurred on the W wall of the outer corridor in the chapel of Hesyra (only traces of male figures and animal legs actually preserved, perhaps part of a fording scene; Harpur, *Decoration*, p.176, cf. Quibell, *Hesyra*, p.16, pl.VII [2]).

⁹²⁸ Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, pp.77-78. The fragments has been attributed to the E wall of the hall. The opposite wall may have been occupied by the scene of a desert hunt.

⁹²⁹ This well known fragment, exhibited in the Cairo Museum (JE 56600), retained traces of polychromy of the crown. Red, green and blue vertical stripes are still visible on the feathers.

⁹³⁰ Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*, II, pl. 15.

⁹³¹ *Ibid.*, pl.16. Y. Harpur (*Decoration*, p.185) stressed the fact that the figures of the king both spearing fish and fowling were facing right.

III.21. Fowling with a Throwing-stick

Hunting birds with a throwing-stick⁹³² was usually depicted symmetrically to spearing fish. The technical term for throwing the boomerang was *hsb hnmw*, which should be understood as ‘breaking (the neck) of the *Khenemu*-bird.’ This name, probably referred first to a specific species (the duck, *anas acuta*), and from the NK assumed more general meaning of fowling birds.⁹³³ One of the oldest examples of the scene in a non-royal context, in the mastaba of Neferirtenef at Saqqara (later Fifth Dynasty), probably was a copy of the representation in Sahura’s temple.⁹³⁴ A spell of the Pyramid Texts suggests some symbolic meaning of a ‘boomerang’: ‘...it dispels the evil, which is before me, it removes the evil, which is behind me, as with the throwsticks of Him who presides over Khem, which remove the evil which is before him and dispel the evil which is behind him.’ (Pyr. § 908).

Userkaf:

A block from Userkaf’s funerary temple seems to be the earliest evidence of the scene of fowling with a throwing-stick. It shows a (presumably the king’s) hand holding a bird.⁹³⁵ Another fragment, found nearby, bears part of a text (←↓): (*Wsr*)-*k3.f m33* [...] / *Wsr-k3.f* [...], perhaps a caption to the scene (*m33* meaning ‘inspecting’?).⁹³⁶

Sahura:

Fragments found in the *Nördlichen Umgang* show parts of a scene of fowling in the marshes.⁹³⁷ On the largest fragment the king’s hand (→), holding caught birds, and part of the caption mentioning *sht* is preserved. To

⁹³² *m^c3t*, from *m^c3* ‘to throw a stick’.

⁹³³ M. Herb, Das durch die Luft wirbelnde Wurfholz in den Bildern der Vogeljagd des fürstlichen Grabherrn, in: *Religion und Philosophie. Festgabe Derchain*, pp.165-177.

⁹³⁴ B.van de Walle, Le mastaba de Neferirtenef, BSFE 69 (1974), pp.6-19. Blocks from the mastaba are now in Brussels.

⁹³⁵ Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, doc.45 (p.81, fig.114a-b).

⁹³⁶ *ibid.*, doc.46, fig.115.

⁹³⁷ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re^c*, II, pl.16.

this scene may have belonged a piece depicting a princess (←) wearing a floral band on her head, and another one with a woman (→) on a boat.

Niuserra:

A fragment of a relief found in the valley temple of Niuserra may have come from a scene of fowling in marshes. It depicts a papyrus-thicket and several animals (including a genet, and chicks in a nest).⁹³⁸

Pepy II:

Several fragments discovered in the valley temple of Pepy II's complex belong to a scene of fowling.⁹³⁹ On one of them a depiction of a papyrus-thicket is preserved, together with the beginning of five columns of a text. The text goes on (from right to left):


1. (↓→) [*dd mdw dj.*] *n.(j) n.k* [...]
2. (↓→) *dd* [*mdw*] *dj.n.(j) n.k* [...]
3. (↓→) *sht nb h* [...]
4. (↓→) *3pdw*⁹⁴⁰ *nb(w) jmj(w)* [...]
5. (←↓) [...] *km3*⁹⁴¹ [...]

The first four columns belong to a divine speech, a deity promising the king the (products of?) the marshes and the birds therein.⁹⁴² The fifth column seems to be a caption to the scene, mentioning throwing a stick.

⁹³⁸ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*, fig.16 (Berlin inv.no.17908).

⁹³⁹ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.4. Note that the two fragments, one depicting a woman wearing a vulture headdress (presumably a queen), and another with a middle part of a woman's body join together.

⁹⁴⁰ What is actually depicted seems to be the sign G 168 of the Extended Library (Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, p.1143).

⁹⁴¹  Note that the sign depicting a throwing-stick is reversed. Traces of a hieroglyph above these two are probably the rest of a sickle-sign (U1). The rest of the column seems to be intentionally erased (?).

⁹⁴² It is difficult to suggest a specific god or goddess that played such an important role, given there are no parallels for the occurrence of a deity in the scenes of fowling or fishing, unless it was *Sht*, mentioned already in the Pyramid Texts, a patroness of fishing and fowling, connected also with the hippopotamus hunt (on this goddess see W. Gugliemi, *Die Feldgöttin Sh.t.*, WdO, Göttingen 7 (1973-1974), pp.206-227).

III.22. Fowling with a Net

Fowling with a net is a common theme in the decoration of tomb chapels and temples, bearing a clear symbolic meaning.⁹⁴³ As stated by B. Kemp: 'The use of animals as an allegory of untamed chaotic life-force survived into the religious art of the historic times, most notably in scenes of king and gods capturing wild birds (and in the Graeco-Roman period animals as well) in a huge clap-net, where texts and context make clear the symbolism of containment of disorder'.⁹⁴⁴ The clapnet scene in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari (Lower North Portico)⁹⁴⁵ occurred 'in a context that strongly implies a symbolic reference to triumph over hostile forces.'⁹⁴⁶ A scene of fishing with a dragnet seems to have a similar meaning, and in fact it has been very often placed parallel to a representation of a clapnet fowling.⁹⁴⁷ Trapping of wild fowl, especially song-birds (*gnw*) was frequently represented in the Old Kingdom tombs.⁹⁴⁸ The scene has been recorded in the temples of Sneferu at Dahshur-South⁹⁴⁹, Userkaf (N wall of the court),⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴³ On the symbolic meaning of the fishing- and fowling-net (*j3dt*) in the netherworld contexts see D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze in den altägyptischen Sargtexten*, ADAIK 9, Glückstadt 1976, esp. pp.11-17. Bidoli was concerned mostly with the Coffin Texts, it is clear, however, that the ideas that occurred in them have their antecedents in the Pyramid Texts (e.g. the "ferryman" texts); cf. also W. Guglielmi, LÄ IV, 465 (s.v. Netz).

⁹⁴⁴ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, p.47. For the references on such an interpretation see D. Wildung, LÄ II, 146-8 (s.v. Feindsymbolik), LÄ VI, 1009-1012 (s.v. Vernichtungsritualen), LÄ VI, 10521-1054 (s.v. Vogelfang); M. Alliot, *Les rites de la chasse au filet aux temples de Karnak, d'Edfou et d'Esneh*, RdE 5 (1946), pp.57-118; H. W. Fairman, *The Kingship Rituals of Egypt*, in: S. Hooke (ed.), *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*, Oxford 1958, pp.74-104, esp. pp.89-91.

⁹⁴⁵ Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, VI, p.8, pl.CLXIII.

⁹⁴⁶ Kemp, loc.cit.

⁹⁴⁷ Y. Harpur noticed (*Decoration*, p.203) that a piece from Pepy II's mortuary temple included by Jéquier among the fragments of a clapnet scene, represented in fact a dragnet fishing.

⁹⁴⁸ W. S. Smith (HESPOK, p.178) remarked on the earliest example of the scene in the chapel of Sekhemkara (LG 89): 'the Sekhemkara scene differs from the usual method of representation, resembling more the little panel in the 'Seasons' relief at Abu Gurob or the similar Unas example where men are catching song-birds in an ordinary clap-net.'

⁹⁴⁹ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II/1, figs.117a, 117b (upside down!), 117c, 118 (pigtail ducks flying – probably from the same scene). According to Y. Harpur: 'since there are no other scenes

Sahura,⁹⁵¹ Niuserra,⁹⁵², Unis (causeway),⁹⁵³ Pepy II (vestibule, i.e. the *pr-wrw*).⁹⁵⁴

III.23. Heb-Sed?: King's Run

The *Heb-Sed*, the royal 'jubilee' or the 'festival of rejuvenation', was one of most important events during one king's life if he decided to celebrate it,⁹⁵⁵ but even more important was the role it played in a universal ideology of kingship.⁹⁵⁶ It seems that a complete cycle of the *Heb-Sed* ceremonies,

of food acquisition preserved in the valley temple of Snefru, the clapnet could be a part of a ritual scene, with a different context from its seemingly daily life setting in private chapels. This, however, remains unproven, because the fragments are not in situ and there are no intact parallels in any other mortuary or valley temple dating to the Old Kingdom.' (*Decoration*, p.177, with n.127, referring to M. Alliot, RdE 5 (1946), pp.57-118).

⁹⁵⁰ Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, doc.138-141, *chasse à la panthe* (pp.105-107, fig.210-213); doc.142-151, *chasse au filet hexagonal* (pp.107-109, figs.214-233).

⁹⁵¹ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.15. (a fragment with song-birds in a cage).

⁹⁵² Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, fig.15 (four fragments, two of which preserved in Berlin, inv. no.17904/5).

⁹⁵³ Cf. Smith, *Interconnections*, fig.179. Y. Harpur noted (*Decoration*, p.197) that 'the papyrus thicket is very unusual for it is shown as two narrow columns, each with a cluster of umbels at the top, and therefore not unlike the stylised clapnet hides of the Fifth Dynasty. This could well be a variant in the royal decoration, with the usual form of papyrus being reserved for the king's fishing and fowling scenes, now destroyed. Just below the thicket there is a clapnet filled with captured pigeons similar to the scene in the temple of Neuserre.'

⁹⁵⁴ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, fig.6.

⁹⁵⁵ A much discussed controversy about a proper time to celebrate the *Heb-Sed* can be only briefly mentioned here. It is usually assumed that the 30th regnal year was a 'traditional' date for *zp-tpj hb-sd*. Thirty years (a span of a generation or 3 x 10 i.e. multiple of tens) must have been a symbolic number. It seems, however, that this rule was not operating before the New Kingdom. The dates of the 'jubilees' attested for the Old Kingdom not only do not conform to the rule, but are much controversial, to mention the two different dates (18th and 25th occasion of census) recorded for *zp-tpj* of Pepy I. Not only a date but also a historicity of the *Sed*-festivals of some kings (e.g. Netjerykhet and Hatshepsut) is disputable. Texts and representations, standardized in form and optative in meaning, cannot be taken to proof that an event was a real one and not the one wished to be celebrated in the afterlife.

⁹⁵⁶ E. Hornung, E. Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest*, AH 1, 1974; K. Martin, *Sedfest*, LÄ V, 782-790 with the bibliography, to which one should add some more recent works (i.a.): J. Gohary, *Akhenaten's Sed-festival at Karnak*, London - New York 1992; O. Mastenbroek, Het 'Sed-feest' in Voortijd en Oude Rijk, *De Ibis* 17 (1992), pp.86-97; D. Kessler, Widderallee, Widderstab und das Sedfest, in: *Studies Kákosy*, pp.343-353; D. B. Redford, East Karnak and the Sed-Festival of Akhenaten, in: *Hommages Leclant*, I, pp.485-492; C. Strauss-Seeber, Bildprogramm und Funktion der Weissen Kapelle in Karnak, in:

comparable to that in Abu Ghurab sun temple (fig.70), has not been depicted in any of the royal funerary complexes. But such a statement reveals in fact doubts about the reconstruction of sequence and proper meaning of the 'jubilee' rites. The question mark in the title of this chapter signalizes some uncertainty about the interpretation of the scene of the king's run as connected with the *Heb-Sed* rites. It is usually assumed that the ceremony of *phr zp 4 sht*,⁹⁵⁷ involving the king running with the *mks*-container and the *nh3h3*-flail, is an integral part of the *Sed*-festival rites. Obviously not all the variants of the run known from later times can be connected with the ideas of the 'jubilee',⁹⁵⁸ moreover, it has been suggested that the run with the flail and the *mks* is in fact an act of a 'territorial claim', which could be accomplished by the king at the accession to the throne, and only repeated during the jubilees in this life and in the afterlife.⁹⁵⁹ Contrary to some older interpretations,⁹⁶⁰ it seems that it had no obvious agricultural connotations,

Ägyptische Tempel, pp.287-318; M. Rochholz, Sedfest, Sonnenheiligtum und Pyramidenbezirk. Zur Deutung der Grabanlagen der Könige der 5. und 6. Dynastie, in: *Ägyptische Tempel*, pp.255-280; Ch. Sambin, J.-F. Carlotti, Une porte de fête-sed de Ptolémée II remployée dans le temple de Montou à Médamoud, BIFAO 95 (1995), pp.383-457; K. O. Kuraszkiwicz, Bemerkungen zur Rekonstruktion des Jubiläumsporthals Osorkons II., GM 151 (1996), pp.79-93; J. von Beckerath, Zum Jubiläum der Hatschepsut, in: *Essays Lipinska*, pp.15-20; J. Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe in Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari, ET 19 (2001), pp.82-112. For a recent popular account see G. Reeder, Running the Heb-Sed, KMT 4 no.4 (1993-94), pp.60-71.

⁹⁵⁷ The title of the rite according to *Re-Heiligtum II*, pl.13, no.336. Another caption that is met, namely *dj m sht* (ibid., ended with an enigmatic *hwr*) seems to refer to the whole ritual of a 'territorial claim' or to sacrificing the land as its part, and not to the run itself (*contra* Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, p.16). It is also the caption accompanying a scene depicting Hatshepsut's run with Apis, along the usual *phrr hp*.

⁹⁵⁸ At least three other forms of a ritual run may be distinguished, all obviously represented out of the *Heb-Sed* context, namely run with a steering oar and the *hpt*-instrument, with vases, and with four sticks and a bird (cf. Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, p.15, where, however, some confusion concerning the equipment involved in the runs occurred).

⁹⁵⁹ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, p.

⁹⁶⁰ Kees, *Opfertanz*, p.150ff.; according to Jéquier 'il s'agit d'un rite agraire donnant au roi le pouvoir de commander la germination donc assurant la fertilité de la terre de l'Égypte, rite très ancien, indépendant d'origine mais de nature, en son but, a être englobé dans la série de ceremonies destinées à assurer la permanence de la puissance royale.' (*Pepi II*, II, p.15).

but a wider meaning of the king's claim to the territory of Egypt, and also to the celestial realm.⁹⁶¹

Netjerykhet:⁹⁶²

Three of the six panels in the subterranean chambers of the Step Pyramid complex show the king running. As demonstrated by F. D. Friedman the reliefs should be read according to their placement under the pyramid and the South Tomb in the direction the figures are facing.⁹⁶³ Two sets of the panels form a unique programme, joining the space of both underground sets of rooms. The sequence of the scenes starts with a visit in the shrine of Behedety (a symbolic enthronement?). The two final panels showing 'halting at' the Lower and Upper Egyptian shrines refer to assuming the power and attributes connected with the two parts of the kingdom. On the middle panel under the pyramid Netjerykhet is represented in the attitude of run before the building described as *ḥ-ḥd wrw*, with a figure of a baboon seated on it (fig. 66), most probably a reference to the ancestors whose acceptance is important for the king.⁹⁶⁴ On the southern relief under the pyramid, and on the northern relief under the South Tomb, the king is represented running between the boundary markers (fig.67), which is at the same moment a clear reference to the aboveground architecture (the markers at the South Court; the track between them is exactly on line with the axis on which the panels are set). These two 'border' panels are very similar in design showing the

⁹⁶¹ Relations between this run and the *phr ḥ3 jnb*, more directly connected with the accession rites, are not easy to evaluate.

⁹⁶² Firth, Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, II, pls.15-17, 40-42; Lauer, *Pyramide à Degrés*, II, pl.XXXV. The panels were extensively discussed by F. D. Friedman, *The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex*, JARCE 32 (1995), pp.1-42 (with numerous references to the earlier literature, as well as new drawings of the reliefs).

⁹⁶³ Friedman, *op.cit.*, p.14.

⁹⁶⁴ According to Pyr. §§ 334, 949 the Great Ones from the 'Castle of the Mace' (as rendered by Faulkner) could oppose the king when coming to the sky. An interpretation by Friedman of the meaning of baboon figure (as a collective representation of the royal ancestors; discussed by her extensively in *op.cit.*, pp.24-26, with numerous references) may be further supported by an unpublished dipinto from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, showing Thutmosis I being venerated in form of a baboon seated in a shrine.

king running between the *dnbw*-markers, flanked by the emblematic signs.⁹⁶⁵ He is dressed in a penis-sheath and wearing the White Crown. A thorough analysis of all the elements of the design made by Friedman may be developed towards a slightly different explanation of the reliefs than the one proposed by her. According to Friedman, the figures of the king are in fact depictions of statues, in some way connected with the statue chapels of the Heb-Sed Court. The mention of *mst*-ing of the Wepwawet standard on the N panel of the South Tomb would have confirmed such a concept.⁹⁶⁶ But the interpretation of the reliefs as representing three dimensional statues seems doubtful. Another explanation is much more reliable and suits better the evidence, especially the noticeable differences in the design of the three ‘run’ panels. It seems that the six stelae were set along the presumed king’s path, and are to be understood as showing his real move – perhaps both in the above- and underground. In this latter case the king’s spirit, moving through the rock massive towards the South Tomb, appears in the corridor with the stelae, emerging from the wall. The differences in details of the two reliefs

⁹⁶⁵ Different opinions were expressed on the meaning of these emblematic signs: they may have been equivalents of the royal *ka*, symbolizing the supports of the sky (P. Barguet, *Au sujet d’une représentation royale*, ASAE 51 (1951), pp.205-215), or apotropaic symbols (Kees, *Opfertanz*, pp.119-131). On the boundary markers and half-sky signs see J. Spencer, *Two Enigmatic Signs and Their Relation to the Sed-festival*, JEA 64 (1978), pp.52-55. Doubts on the proper interpretation of the half-sky sign were expressed by N. B. Millet (*A Further Note on an Egyptian Sign*, GM 173 (1999), pp.11-12). Millet defends an older concept that it represented a lower pivot of a door, but the arguments are not convinceable in light of the early evidence. It seems that the interpretation of the sign as a pivot (‘or rather its (presumably) bronze shoe’ according to Millet) may be secondary and connected with a common idea of the doors of the sky etc. The sky-hieroglyph (*pt*) seems to represent originally the two joined wings of a bird (as can be demonstrated from its earliest form attested on the tags found in the tomb U-j at Umm el-Qaab). Thus the *šn*-sign attached to the half-skies finds its parallel in the *šn*- and *ʿnh*-signs hold within the claws of protective birds. When occurring under a scorpion figure or a fan, the *šn*-sign may represent a hole in the ground (according to Millet), but with the half-skies it is usually placed on the axis of the emblem and not under the ‘pivot’. In fact, however, the interpretations of Spencer and Millet are not contradictory, the ideas of a wing and a ‘wing’ i.e. a leaf of a door (of the sky) may be one and the same (as is exactly in the case of the Polish word ‘skrzydło’).

⁹⁶⁶ Friedman, *op.cit.*, pp.29-30.

can be explained as reflecting the idea of a suspense or incertitude (in a difficult ‘magical’ move, which was suggested by the fact that the standard of Wepwawet is carried by an armed *w3s*-sign when the king is moving), and of assuming a stability. This is the true sense of the appearance of the Wepwawet standard being fixed into the ground (on the N panel of the South Tomb), in perfect agreement with the meaning of the word *mst*.⁹⁶⁷ The king is really ‘reborn’ or ‘manifesting’ himself after a difficult journey. The direction of the movement is specified by the captions: *hr*⁹⁶⁸ *sbht*⁹⁶⁹ *rsj jmnt* (‘towards the door(way) to the south and west’) on the S panel under the pyramid, and *ms hr sbht jmnt rsj ʿnh* (‘manifesting in the western door on the south,⁹⁷⁰ alive (!)’) on the N panel under the South Tomb. It can be suggested that the way towards the entrance stairway of the South Tomb is referred to.⁹⁷¹ Thus the king is intended to emerge to the surface, eventually appearing on the South Court to run between the real markers, as well as to move through one of the dummy gates to run around the temenos wall (again to the south and west!) – both procedures in fact suggested by Friedman.⁹⁷²

Sneferu:

⁹⁶⁷ J. Baines, *Mswt* “Manifestation”?, in: *Hommages à François Daumas*, vol. I, Montpellier 1986, pp.43-50.

⁹⁶⁸ With *hr* as a preposition ‘on, upon, in, at, by’, as in the expression *hr w3t* ‘on the path’, but also *hr wnmj.f* ‘on his right’ (Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, p.86 (§ 8.2.10)).

⁹⁶⁹ *Contra* interpretation of Friedman (op.cit., p.29, with n.154, and pp.40-41), who interpreted the corner glyph with buttresses as an abbreviated form of *wsh*t (Gardiner’s Sign-list O15). It seems that the meaning ‘portal’, ‘doorway’ suits much better this use of the sign O14, referring directly to the panels set within ‘false door’ frames.

⁹⁷⁰ It is difficult to agree with Friedman (op.cit., p.29) that ‘the *rsj* and *jmnt* signs appear to have been inadvertently transposed.’ The difference between the two texts in respect to the relative position and orientation of the signs seems intentional and meaningful.

⁹⁷¹ But the existence of the backs of the doors with panels, designed in a corridor to the west of the room with reliefs, should be taken into account (cf. Lauer, *PD I*, p.108 and fig.89). It is possible that the moving westwards through the doors (to emerge in the western corridor) was planned.

⁹⁷² Friedman, op.cit., p.40. A possibility of the three ‘runs’ of the Step Pyramid complex, including the circuit of the *hnw*-bark in the Dry Moat is discussed in the Conclusions.

The king was several times represented on the walls of the pillars of the 'valley temple' at Dahshur South in the attitude of the ritual run.⁹⁷³

Sahura:

A fragment published by Borchardt depicts an official (→) carrying a standard with a falcon's figure (presumably an emblem for "the West"),⁹⁷⁴ following the king, who was shown in an attitude of running (as the angle of the tail of the royal garment proves).⁹⁷⁵ A large block, re-used in the monastery of Apa Jeremias, but most probably coming from the mortuary temple at Abusir, shows Sahura (←) running, wearing the White Crown and holding the usual flail and 'testament'. An unusual feature of this scene is the occurrence of two goddesses (Wadjet and Nekhebet) flanking the king's figure and extending the *ankh*-signs towards him (fig.49).⁹⁷⁶

Unis:

⁹⁷³ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II/1, fig.55 (pillar B, side 2): possibly the run ((←), a hand holding the flail), the texts speaks of the *snwt*-shrines; fig.58 (pillar C, side 1): *w3s* in a pose of *hnw* behind the king (←); fig.43 (pillar A, side 2); fig. 68 (pillar D, side 1=W side) only the elbow of the king's figure and the half-sky sign preserved (←); possibly also fig.43 (pillar A, side 2) with emblematic signs, including *dd* with arms carrying an oval, *nh*, *w3s* and half-skies (→).

⁹⁷⁴ This form of the emblem, with the falcon only (and without the feather) has its parallel in the graphy of *jmnt* on the panels of Netjerykhet. This variant of the sign has not been recorded either by Gardiner, or by Hannig in the Extended Library. It was obviously an earlier form, replaced later by a figure of a falcon holding a feather or a feather alone. This contradicts also the opinion of J. Ogdon that the 'hemisphere' sign replaced gradually the *j3t*-standard due to Heliopolitan influence (The *imnt*-Sign: the Meaning and History of the Symbol, Serapis 7 (1981-1982), pp.61-70; A Further Remark on the Symbolism of the *imnt*-Sign, Serapis 7 (1981-1982), pp.71-73).

⁹⁷⁵ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*, II, pl.46.

⁹⁷⁶ J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara, IV (1908-10)*, Cairo 1911, pl.39, p.147. The arrangement of this scene is paralleled on a relief of Amenemhat I from Lisht (MMA 08.200.5), depicting the king (→) running with the flail and the *mks*, flanked by *Bhdtj nb t3wj* and *Nhbt hdt Nhnj* on the left, and (jackal-headed) *tpj dw.f Jmj-wt nb t3wj* and *W3dj nbt t3wj* on the right. See R. Freed, in: *Abusir-Saqqara 2000*, pl.26; R. Stadelmann in: Schulz, Seidel (eds.), *World of the Pharaohs*, pp.110-111, and fig.11. Note that Stadelmann's statement that "in the center of the image the king stands..." is not correct as he is actually running. Also an assumption that the goddesses "because of their identical appearance can be differentiated only by identifying inscription" is inaccurate as Wadjet is identified by her distinctive cobra-head on the vulture headdress.

It is certain that the king was depicted in the mortuary temple running several times, although all the preserved examples are very fragmentary.⁹⁷⁷ One piece shows part of the royal arm (←), under which there is the hieroglyph of a hand, possibly the rest of the caption *dj m sht*.⁹⁷⁸ Two joining fragments found in the valley temple show partly preserved two small depictions of royal statues (←). One of them represented the king running, wearing the Red Crown and holding the *nh3h3* and the *mks*.⁹⁷⁹

Djedkara:

A fragment found built-in at the south side of Unis' pyramid, representing Djedkara wearing the Red Crown and holding the *nh3h3*-flail, may have come from a scene of run, judging from the way the flail is carried. The king is facing left and is referred to as *ntrw mrj*.⁹⁸⁰

Teti:

Three fragments found in the mortuary temple came from scenes of the king's run.⁹⁸¹

Pepy II:

Some fragments found in the valley temple may have depicted the king running. One of them shows a lower part of the figure of Pepi II (→) clad in a rectangular apron and the *ka*-standard behind him.⁹⁸² The position of the leg points to an attitude of run. Two associated fragments preserved traces of a

⁹⁷⁷ Labrousse, Leclant, Lauer, *Ounas*, doc.29, 34, 35 (pp.85, 87, figs.55, 59, 60, pl.XXXI).

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid., doc.108 (p.120, fig.133, pl.XXXVII).

⁹⁷⁹ Labrousse, Moussa, *Le temple d'accueil d'Ounas*, doc.10 (p.71, fig.47, pl.X). It seems that the other statue depicted above the one in the attitude of run, was representing the king striding, facing leftwards, holding the *hd*-mace and a staff. Depictions of the royal statues are rare in the pyramid temples. Beside the example of Unis and the one of Pepi II (see below), one may cite only a case of a statue of the king wearing the White Crown, shown with its back pillar, from the Sahura's complex (Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.38, cf. Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, § 111).

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid., doc.121 (p.125, fig.146, pl.XXXVIII).

⁹⁸¹ Lauer, Leclant, *Téti*, fig.16, pl.XXIII B, pp.62-63 ((←), back hand holding the *mks*); fig.17, pl.XXIII C, p.63 ((←) front hand holding the *nh3h3*-flail, from another scene than the preceding fragment), fig.21, pl.XXIV C, p.64 ((→), the king's leg in an attitude of run).

⁹⁸² Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.40 top right.

text mentioning *(hb)-sd*, and part of a figure of an attendant, holding vertically a stick on the axis of the body, presumably following the king. Another fragment depicted the king (←) running on a short baseline. This feature and the small scale suggest a representation of a statue.⁹⁸³ In the mortuary temple the king was depicted running on the walls of the transverse corridor.⁹⁸⁴

III.24. Heb-Sed : King in the Chapel

The king seated on a throne inside a shrine placed upon a dais (*tnt3t*) is one of most distinctive motifs in the Egyptian iconography referred to the *Heb-Sed* theme.⁹⁸⁵ It appeared in the Predynastic Period⁹⁸⁶ and survived till very late times. The subject was frequently depicted as heraldic scenes, with two figures of the king seated in two throne chapels arranged in an antithetic way. The crowns, symbols, texts and accompanying deities of both parts represent the Upper and Lower Egypt respectively. Such an arrangement occurred already in the Old Kingdom;⁹⁸⁷ however, it is not attested in the decoration of the funerary complexes, which would point towards a hypothesis that it is a symbolic *pars pro toto* representation of the whole

⁹⁸³ Ibid., pl.43 middle right. A parallel to this representation may be found in the valley temple of Unis.

⁹⁸⁴ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.8 (tableau II, E wall of the transverse corridor, the king (←) is accompanied by the goddess *Mrt šm^c*; to the left of this scene the king (←) was embraced by Hathor, to the right of it the king (→) was smiting enemies. It seems that there were at least two other representations of the run on the E wall of the corridor (pl.18 (=tableau IX), with traces of the figure of *Mrt*; and pl.21, from the N end of the wall, with the king (→) and *Mrt* (←)).

⁹⁸⁵ Ciałowicz, *Symbolika przedstawień władcy*, passim. On the *Sed*-festival throne platform see recently A. A. Kroll, The Representation of the « Sed-Platform » in the Early Dynastic Monuments, GM 184 (2001), pp.27-36.

⁹⁸⁶ A possibly earliest occurrence: K. Ciałowicz, Le plus ancien témoignage de la tradition du heb-sed?, *Folia Orientalia*, Kraków 33 (1997), pp.39-48.

⁹⁸⁷ Stela of Pepy II, Cairo CG 1295.

ritual. The two chapels shown on a single picture may be in fact one, serving an Upper and then a Lower Egyptian part of the ceremony successively.⁹⁸⁸

Sneferu

In the temple at South Dahshur the king (→) was represented wearing the Red or Double Crown (only the curved *h3b*-element is visible).⁹⁸⁹ On the stela found at the satellite pyramid of the Bent Pyramid, Sneferu is represented seated on a throne and wearing the Heb-Sed cloak and the Double Crown, and holding the *nh3h3*-flail.⁹⁹⁰ The king's figure may be taken for a large determinative closing the titulary; at the same moment the chapel was not actually depicted, but it may be suggested that its role was played to some extent by a giant serekh.

Also pieces found at North Dahshur represented the king in the 'jubilee' garment.⁹⁹¹

Khufu:

On a long block found at Giza was depicted the king seated in a chapel, facing right.⁹⁹² To the left of it there was another figure of Khufu, of

⁹⁸⁸ Such is the opinion of Kamil Omar Kuraszkiewicz, who dealt with this and other related problems in his unpublished PhD thesis on the *Heb-Sed*. I am much grateful to Dr. Kuraszkiewicz for inspiring discussions on the matter. One has to point, however, that the evidence from Abu Gurab is ambiguous. The king is shown there inside a double chapel, occupying one part only. The other one is much reduced (narrowed). Does it mean that there were two chapels placed side by side (and used in sequence), or just one, the depiction being a signal of the other part of the rite? Certainly the straightforward reconstruction proposed by A. Badawy (*Architecture*, I, fig.45), with the two chapels connected by their backs, is not reliable. The dais on the Heb-Sed Court in Netjerykhet's complex (if one assumes that it served as a *tnt3t* for the *Sed*-festival chapel(s)) has unfortunately preserved traces of only one corner of a shrine (in the SW corner, as drawn by Lauer, no more visible on the spot). It is thus uncertain whether there were two chapels side by side, or just one covering the whole surface. The existence of two flights of steps cannot be decisive in this respect.

⁹⁸⁹ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, figs. 111, 112.

⁹⁹⁰ Cairo JE 8929c. For a close view of the king's figure see V. Davies, R. Friedman, *Egypt*, London 1998, photo on p.71.

⁹⁹¹ R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), pp.233-234, pl.73

⁹⁹² Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, figs.6a-b.

much bigger scale and turned left. Only the head of the king, wearing the *khat*-headdress with a falcon at its back,⁹⁹³ is actually preserved.

Sahura:

A large block from under a window shows a figure of the king (→) in the chapel.⁹⁹⁴ An elongated *pt*-sign extends above the scene, under the aperture.⁹⁹⁵ Behind the king there were three columns of inscriptions with the standard royal titulary, bordered from the left with a block-pattern and the wall corner.

Unis:

On a fragment from the mortuary temple the king (→) is represented seated on a throne, wearing the *Heb-Sed* garb⁹⁹⁶ and holding the *nh3h3*-flail.⁹⁹⁷

Teti:

⁹⁹³ This rare form of decoration of a royal headdress is attested in the Old Kingdom on a fragment of (presumably Khafra's) travertine statue from Giza (L. Borchardt in: Hölscher, *Chephren*, fig. 143. The fragment was found SE of the mortuary temple. It was interpreted as coming from a queen's statue, but the bird with the *sn*-signs in its claws, of which a lower part is actually preserved, is certainly a falcon and not a vulture as assumed by Borchardt. It is clear from a distinctive shape of the tail). Concerning the *h3t*, as noted by J. Karkowski (Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe in Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari, ET 19 (2001), p.95), this headdress is usually worn by officiating kings or by kings depicted as recipients of a cult. Karkowski assumed that the example from Deir el-Bahari of Thutmose I wearing the *h3t* in a *Heb-Sed*-related scene is unparalleled (notwithstanding occasional uses of the *nms* in the jubilee context – *ibid.*, p.95, n.35). The example of Khufu proves an old tradition of the role of this particular headgear, further confirmed by its occurrence in Niuserra's Abu Ghurab scenes.

⁹⁹⁴ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*, II, pl.45.

⁹⁹⁵ It is noteworthy that it stretches only as long as the lower frame of the window.

⁹⁹⁶ This distinctive dress represented in reliefs and statuary, looking like a short cloak with a pronounced collar, was discussed by J. Larson (The Heb-Sed Robe and the 'Ceremonial Robe' of Tutankhamun, JEA 67 (1981), pp.180-181), who suggested that it is similar to or even identical with the coronation dress, which further confirms the noticed relations between the two ceremonies (e.g. R. Pirelli, Some Considerations on the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, *Annali Istituto Universitario Orientale* 54 (1994), pp.455-463). For a list of representations in sculpture in the round see H. Sourouzian, *Inventaire iconographique des statues en manteau jubilaire de l'époque thinite jusqu'à leur disparition sous Amenhotep III*, in: *Hommages Leclant*, I, pp.499-530.

⁹⁹⁷ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, doc.31 (p.86, fig.57, pl.XXXI).

A block, long and low, found by Quibell in the funerary temple preserved a head of the king's figure.⁹⁹⁸ Teti was shown seated in a chapel facing right, wearing the *Sed*-garment and the White (?) Crown (fig.68).⁹⁹⁹ He is holding the *3wt*-sceptre and the *nh3h3*-flail. Given the narrowness of the preserved fragment, no details of the scene represented can be worked out (except for a group of four (?) attendants to the right of the chapel and traces of a standard text [...] *nb ddt nb* [...] behind it).

Pepy II:

A fragment from the complex bears part of a representation of the shrine and the Red Crown of the royal figure.¹⁰⁰⁰ The king was facing right; behind him there were three columns of a text (↓→). Two columns started with *dd mdw*, the third one recorded the name of a deity, standing behind the king: *W3djt Dptj*. This suggests some kind of a heraldic scene.

A block built into the medieval gate Bab el-Nasr in Cairo shows an upper part of a scene of a king in the *Sed*-chapel. Although the style of the relief resembles much that of the Old Kingdom, the block probably came from a Twenty-Sixth Dynasty building, as suggested by Munro.¹⁰⁰¹

⁹⁹⁸ JE 39924; J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqarah, III, 1907-1908*, Cairo 1909, pl.LIV; re-published by Lauer, Leclant, *Téti*, pl.XXXIII (in both cases photo only).

⁹⁹⁹ The upper part of the crown is destroyed. It seems, however, that other restorations (the Red or Double Crown) are less probable, given the height and angle of the preserved traces. It is noteworthy that the incrustation of the eye has been partly preserved (still visible; the block is on display in the Cairo Museum).

¹⁰⁰⁰ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.109 (*fragments divers*).

¹⁰⁰¹ P. Munro, *Bemerkungen zu einem Sedfest-relief in der Stadtmauer von Kairo*, ZÄS 86 (1961), pp.61-74. Given that the cartouche is not preserved, only the form of the *nhn-nswt*-standard (called also the *hms*-emblem, cf. G. Posener, *Le nom de l'enseigne appelée "Khons"*, (𓆎), RdE 17 (1965), pp. 193-195) and of the chapel, as well as the form of the accompanying text may help with dating of the piece. The conclusions of Munro (the Late Period date and Memphis as the provenance site) are reasonable, though not without doubts.


III.25. Heb Sed : Other Episodes

Two joining blocks from Lisht, attributed to either Sneferu¹⁰⁰² or Khufu,¹⁰⁰³ show partly preserved two registers of the jubilee scenes (fig.69).¹⁰⁰⁴ In the uppermost register only traces of the steps to a throne dais are visible and part of an inscription speaking of ...*zp 4*..., ‘...four times...’ In the middle register is depicted a standard-bearer (→), accompanied by a kneeling *smr-w^ctj* (←),¹⁰⁰⁵ and goddess Meret of the South (←),¹⁰⁰⁶ standing on a rectangular base decorated with a gold-sign. Meret is addressing the king (whose figure is to be expected beyond the left edge of the preserved fragment) with an appeal *jj jnj jj jnj*, ‘come and bring, come and bring’. Behind the goddess and three horseshoe-shaped boundary markers, a row of officials is proceeding leftward. The six men are (from left to right): a *hrj-^hbt*, a *zm3-mnw*, an *jmj-jz*, and three *hrp-^ch*. Do. Arnold interpreted the signs in the lowermost register, below a band of stars (an elongated sky-sign topping the register), as referring to the action of ‘going out of’, ‘certainly a

¹⁰⁰² Do. Arnold, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, pp.191-192 (no.41a-b). On account of the style of the relief Arnold tentatively suggested the temple of the Red Pyramid as a place of provenance of the blocks.

¹⁰⁰³ Such was the dating by H. Goedicke (*Re-used Blocks*, pp.33-38). Goedicke attributed the blocks to the valley temple of Khufu, notwithstanding the difference in style between these pieces and other blocks from Khufu’s complex. However, as rightly noticed by Do. Arnold (op.cit., p.192, n.3), such a difference in style between the valley temple, and the mortuary temple and causeway, is not observed in any other pyramid complex of the Old Kingdom.

¹⁰⁰⁴ MMA 22.1.1-09.180.18.

¹⁰⁰⁵ The graphy of the title (with  written without a stroke) is confined to the Fourth Dynasty, as noted by Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p.37. To the examples cited by Goedicke (Junker, Giza, I, p.140; Cairo CG 51) one can add a sealing found in the satellite pyramid of Khafra with the titles of *z3-nswt šmsw*, *z3 n ht.f mrj.f* (or *mrj jtj*), *smr-w^ctj* (Hölscher, *Chephren*, p.107, fig.157.). A distinctive and unique (and presumably early) feature is also the fact that the sky-sign placed above the goddess is extending above the kneeling official as well. Such a use of this symbol is unparalleled, as this symbol occurred above the figures of gods and royal persons only. Obviously this rule of decorum was not established at the moment of the execution of the relief.

¹⁰⁰⁶ On this goddess see Gugliemi W., *Die Göttin Mr.t, Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation*, Leiden 1991.

part of another stage of the ritual'.¹⁰⁰⁷ However, this is obviously a misinterpretation, since the traces of a feathered wing and a rounded shape to the right of the inscription clearly belong to a winged disk, and the words ... *prj m...* formed part of its frequent epithet *prj m 3ht*, 'going out of the horizon'.¹⁰⁰⁸

In the temple of Sahura the king was shown in a procession with standard-bearers carrying the distinctive standards topped with emblems representing pharaohs' heads.¹⁰⁰⁹ It is noteworthy that it is one of very rare scenes where the king is wearing sandals.¹⁰¹⁰ In two similar scenes the king is represented barefoot.¹⁰¹¹ Another episode attributed to the *Heb-Sed* theme is a scene of anointing bulls (fig.71).¹⁰¹²

Half-sky-sign porters were depicted in the complex *Sed*-festival scenes at Abu Gurab.¹⁰¹³ They were shown carrying models (?) of this distinctive symbol, possibly to be used during the performance of the king's run along with the *dnbw*-markers. In the pyramid temples they are attested for Khufu,¹⁰¹⁴ Userkaf,¹⁰¹⁵ Niuserra,¹⁰¹⁶ Unis.¹⁰¹⁷

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.191.

¹⁰⁰⁸ The occurrence of the winged disk (the earliest attestation of this symbol, if the dating to Sneferu's reign is retained) has not been noticed by either Goedicke or Arnold.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.32.

¹⁰¹⁰ Placing a sandal on the king's foot is attested at Abu Gurab in a *Heb-Sed* scene. It is possible that Sahura's representation was preceded by a similar depiction. The significance of this and other cases of wearing sandals cannot be evaluated at the moment, but they are obviously not meaningless. Sandal-bearers play an important role in the early representations. Naked feet seem to have ambivalent meaning, depending much on the context and the person involved. On the role of sandals in religion and funerary beliefs see C. Alfano, *I sandali: moda e rituale nell'antico Egitto*, Citti di Castello 1987. Wearing sandals by a tomb owner is rare in the Old Kingdom, and there are only three instances when they are worn by minor figures (Harpur, *Decoration*, p.171, and n.125).

¹⁰¹¹ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.33 (found in the *Suddlicher Umgang*; the king (→) wearing the *šndwt*-kilt upon a triangular apron is followed by Neferirkara (cf. our fig.72) and the officials); pl.34 (very similar details, the king is likewise facing right).

¹⁰¹² Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.56. The block is now in the Liebieghaus in Frankfurt a. Main (Inv.no. 353). It has been republished and analysed *in extenso* by D. Franke, in: *Liebieghaus -Ägyptische Bildwerke III*, pp.59-67 (kat.no.17).

¹⁰¹³ von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum II*, pls.16 (39), 17 (42)?, 18 (44a,b,c), 19 (45b), 22 (54).

¹⁰¹⁴ Reisner, Smith, *Giza II*, fig.7 (no.37-3-4 b).

Probably to the *Sed*-festival theme belong dancers and singers represented in Sahura's funerary temple.¹⁰¹⁸ It is noteworthy, however, that similar representations were recorded (in a different context?) at the causeways of Sahura¹⁰¹⁹ and Unis.¹⁰²⁰

III.26. Foundation Ceremony

The foundation ceremony, one of most distinctive rites, was frequently depicted in the temples.¹⁰²¹ In the Old Kingdom, however, the only more extensive account of the various parts of this ritual was depicted in the sun temple of Niuserra at Abu Gurab.¹⁰²²

The earliest certain representation of the foundation ceremony in a royal mortuary complex comes from Sneferu's 'valley temple' at South

¹⁰¹⁵ Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétepès*, doc.193 (pp.121-122, fig.265).

¹⁰¹⁶ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*, fig.62.

¹⁰¹⁷ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, doc.79 (pp.71-72, fig.105, pl.XXXVI).

¹⁰¹⁸ Dancers: Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*, II, pl.54 bottom right (four fragments found in the *Nördlichen Umgang*. All depict women wearing 'Libyan-style' sashes, one of them bowing down with her head turned in a typical dancing attitude). Singers: *ibid.*, pl.54 bottom left (found in the *Südlicher Umgang*. Actually only two joining fragments depicting legs of three personages wearing short skirts are preserved).

¹⁰¹⁹ Z. Hawass, M. Verner, Newly Discovered Blocks from the Causeway of Sahure, *MDAIK* 52 (1996), p.122, fig.1 b (block sc-3). The woman performing dance, dressed in crossed sashes, are described as members of the *hnr*. For a discussion of the meaning of this term ('musical troupe?', 'concubines?') see Z. Hawass, *Silent Images: Women in Pharaonic Egypt*, Cairo 1995, p.57.

¹⁰²⁰ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, doc.90, 92 (pp.81-82, 84 with n.197, figs.112-113, 116). The interpretation of the personages represented on doc.90 (preserved only partially) is far from certain, as admitted by the authors. It is more probable that the fragment belonged to a combat scene (cf. above ch.III.17).

¹⁰²¹ On this rite and its representation see i.a.: el-Adly, *Gründungs- und Weiheritual*; A.M. Blackman, H.W. Fairman, The Consecration of an Egyptian Temple according to the Use of Edfu, *JEA* 32 (1946), pp.75-91; P. Montet, Le rituel de fondation des temples égyptiens, *Kêmi* 17 (1964), pp.74-100; B. Letellier, Gründungszeremonien, *LÄ* II, 912-914; K. Zibelius-Chen, Tempelgründung, *LÄ* VI, 385f.; A. Gutbub, A propos de quelques textes dogmatiques concernant la dédicace du temple et sa prise de possession par la divinité à Edfou, in: *Hommages à François Daumas*, II, Montpellier 1986, pp.389-407.

¹⁰²² For a detailed discussion and references see el-Adly, *Gründungs- und Weiheritual*, pp.37-51.

Dahshur. An episode of ‘stretching the cord’ (*pd-šs*)¹⁰²³ was depicted on a wall of the temple or a pillar side. The king (→), wearing the *bs3w*-apron, and goddess Seshat (←), wearing the star-like emblem on her head and dressed in her usual leopard-skin, were hitting the poles between which a rope is stretched (fig.73).¹⁰²⁴ It is not clear if there were any other figures or motifs accompanying the king and the goddess, as in the earlier example of Khasekhemui.¹⁰²⁵ It seems that the rite was thus presented in short as *pars pro toto*, since no other episodes are detectable on the preserved fragments. The *pd-šs* ceremony, frequently mentioned in written sources (especially in the annals),¹⁰²⁶ seems to be rarely depicted in the Old Kingdom. An alleged example of the ‘stretching the cord’ rite from the *hwt-k3* of Pepy II at Bubastis is based on a misinterpretation of attitude and gesture of the depicted figures.¹⁰²⁷ Also the fragments allegedly coming from depictions of the foundation ceremony in the pyramid temples of Sahura and Niuserra (as suggested by Borchartd) represent in fact some other rites.¹⁰²⁸

Another episode of the foundation ceremony was recorded in Pepy II’s mortuary temple. In a separate scene on the E wall of the transverse corridor the king was represented in the presence of a goddess. It seems that no specific activity was depicted, the two figures shown simply standing, facing each other. The king is holding a *mks*-sceptre and a mace, the goddess is wearing a vulture-headdress that enables her identification as Nekhebet.

¹⁰²³ On this ceremony see el-Adly, *Gründungs und Weiheritual*, *passim*, esp. pp.284-285 ; R. Park, Stretching of the Cord, in: *Seventh Congress of Egyptologists*, pp.839-848.

¹⁰²⁴ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II.1, fig.91, details on figs.90-95.

¹⁰²⁵ R. Engelbach, A Foundation Scene of the Second Dynasty, *JEA* 20 (1934), pp. 183-184.

¹⁰²⁶ E.g. Palermo Stone, recto V,11 (reign of Netjerykhet) with the record of *pd-šs* for the building *Qbh-ntrw*.

¹⁰²⁷ El-Adly, *Gründungs und Weiheritual*, pp.52-54; cf. Habachi, *Tell Basta*, pp.22,25.

¹⁰²⁸ El-Adly, *Gründungs und Weiheritual*, pp.33-37, 52.

Between them was a caption *rdjt pr...* dedication of the temple...(?).¹⁰²⁹ The text is probably to be restored as *rdjt pr n nb.f*, the title of an episode known from later foundation ceremony cycles.¹⁰³⁰ The orientation of the text is, however, exceptional, given that in all later examples it is the king who dedicates the temple to a god. On the contrary, in Pepy II's example it is the king who is the addressee of the phrase. Obviously it was his (mortuary-) temple that was referred to as *pr*. A parallel scene with Wadjet was restored for the E wall north of the door to *wsh.t*.¹⁰³¹ The two scenes seem to occupy symmetrical positions on the E wall of the transverse corridor. A fragment that possibly belonged to a similar scene represents the king (→) and a goddess, the king holding a *mks*-sceptre.¹⁰³²

III.27. Building Activity

Scenes and texts in the royal mortuary complexes referring to building activities were closely connected with erecting of the pyramid and the temples. It seems that they recorded precisely real events and not the 'clichés.' This assumption is best confirmed by the character of the activity and the objects depicted: representations of cargo ships of Unis, loaded with granite columns and cornices (fig.75, see ch. III.33), dragging the pyramidion (Sahura), dragging a royal statue (Userkaf). Also inscriptions refer to supply and building; not only non-royal ones (like famous texts of Weni and Khenu), but also those from the pyramid temples. These include important

¹⁰²⁹ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.12 (tableau VII), p.21. It seems that the episode was not recognized by Jéquier. The example of Pepy II is not discussed in el-Adly, *Gründungs- und Weiheritual*.

¹⁰³⁰ el-Adly, *Gründungs- und Weiheritual*, *passim*. An interesting suggestion concerning a possible occurrence of this rite in the context of royal burials has been made by N. Reeves (Observations on a model royal sarcophagus in the British Museum, RdE 45 (1994), pp.201-205).

¹⁰³¹ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.18, with details on pl.19. As stated by Jéquier (*ibid.*, p.21), the figure of the king on pl.18, rendered by error with the White Crown, should in fact be shown wearing the Red Crown.

¹⁰³² Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.26.

dedicatory texts (also of successors: Djedkara and Pepy II for Niuserra,¹⁰³³, Teti for Unis,¹⁰³⁴ a decree of an unknown king for Teti,¹⁰³⁵ etc.). Inscription of Merenra (or his successor?) listing the parts of the N chapel, and the materials they were made of, seems to be of particular importance in this respect.¹⁰³⁶

Khufu

A block found at Lisht records building of some part of the pyramid complex.¹⁰³⁷ Three columns of the text (↓→) are partially preserved:

1: [...] *m 3ht Hwfw* [...] '...in the Horizon of Khufu...'

2: [...] *kd hwwt ntr nt ntr-(3?)* [...] '...built Mansions of the God of the (Great?) God...'¹⁰³⁸

3: [...] *4?* (possibly *zp 4*, actually only three strokes are visible) *n dw3* [...] '...four times? of adoring...'

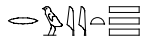

Userkaf:

A block found in the mortuary temple of Userkaf preserved part of a scene of transporting of a colossal royal statue.¹⁰³⁹ The statue, representing the king (→) enthroned, of which actually only the throne is visible, is shown being dragged. A large triple rope is attached to the sledge¹⁰⁴⁰ on which the

¹⁰³³ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*, figs. 131, 132 (=Berlin Inv.Nos.17933, 17934).

¹⁰³⁴ On a jamb in the mortuary temple: Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, doc.5 (p.18, fig.8, 'tableau Sud de la porte "A"').

¹⁰³⁵ Lauer, Leclant, *Téti*, p.84, fig.72, pl.XXXI.

¹⁰³⁶ Labrousse, *Pyramide à textes*, II, doc.49 (p.52, fig.105, pl.XVIIIb). The text from the S jamb of the false door frame in the N chapel speaks of (↓→) [...] *m (jnr?) hd r3wt mh(w)t rwt.f m m3t htp (.f m)* [...], '...in white limestone the northern entrance, its false door (made) of granite, (its) offering table (made of)...' For a discussion of various architectural elements and materials used in Merenra's mortuary complex, see C. Wallet-Lebrun,  et  dans la biographie d'Ouni (*Urk.* I 107, 1-6), VA 5 (1989), pp.27-58, and Addendum on pp.155-156.

¹⁰³⁷ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, no.5, pp.19-20 (=MMA 21.1.25).

¹⁰³⁸ Regarding the position and size of the *ntr*-sign, this seems the most probable restoration. Obviously there is no space for three such hieroglyphs and thus the restoration *ntrw* is excluded.

¹⁰³⁹ Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, pp.128-129, fig.288 (=doc.216).

¹⁰⁴⁰ Such is the assumption, although the sledge is not visible on the preserved fragment. The rope is not quadruple as stated in *ibid.*, p.129, but obviously consists of three strings.

statue is placed with its back turned towards the direction of move (i.e. leftwards). At the left end of the fragment the rope seems to divide, possibly to enable work of two teams of dragging men. The royal *ka* in form of a standard with hands is represented behind the statue. According to A. Labrousse, it is very probable that the object depicted is the colossal granite statue placed once at the southern side of the court in the mortuary temple, of which the well-known head with the *nemes*-headgear is preserved.¹⁰⁴¹

Sahura:

Two blocks found in 1996 at Sahura's causeway bear parts of a scene of transporting the pyramidion. Although the depiction of the pyramidion itself has not been preserved, on the extreme right of one of the blocks one can see a man pouring some liquid from a jar, apparently to facilitate moving of the sledge on which the stone was placed. To the left a group of men is represented dragging a rope, moving the load toward the pyramid (fig.74).¹⁰⁴² A caption above them mentions [...] *dꜥm bnbnt*, '[...] a pyramidion of? (clad with?) electrum'.¹⁰⁴³ A block presumably adjoining the abovementioned one to the left bore representation of the other part of the group, with men changing the arrangement of the rope in a distinctive manner.¹⁰⁴⁴

¹⁰⁴¹ Cairo JE 52501, cf. Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, pp.51-52, 65-66, figs.50-53, pl.8.

¹⁰⁴² Z. Hawass, M. Verner, Newly Discovered Blocks from the Causeway of Sahure, MDAIK 52 (1996), pp.181-182, pl.54 (block Sc-1). A fragment with the men dragging the rope is shown in drawing on fig.1 a.

¹⁰⁴³ A translation is not certain since the first part of the caption is destroyed; moreover, instead of the reversed phrase one would rather expect *bnbnt n dꜥm* or *bnbnt b3k m dꜥm* (cf. an inscription referring to the pyramidion of queen Udjebten: Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, pp.16-18 and fig.15= our fig.53)..

¹⁰⁴⁴ This block (Sc-2) was published by Hawass and Verner in MDAIK 52 (1996), op.cit., p.182, pl.56c with a photo only. Owing to a much eroded state of the piece, the details are barely visible. I am much indebted to prof. M. Verner who kindly showed me drawings of this and other fragments that are awaiting their publication. According to prof. Verner it is possible that the men represented are not 'performing a dance with a rope' as previously assumed (ibid., p.182), but they belong to the group of haulers of the pyramidion and are

III.28. Towing the Bark

Sneferu:

On the E wall of the entrance corridor to the temple at South Dahshur the king was shown running above a rectangular pool.¹⁰⁴⁵ It is not clear if the scene was that of dragging a boat, a ritual run being a possibility. Certainly on one of the pillars Sneferu was shown running and probably towing the bark, as proved by the fragments with the king's hand holding a rope attached to a bark, and a caption including a determinative of a bark-sign.¹⁰⁴⁶ The scene at Dahshur seems to be the only instance of such a theme in a royal mortuary complex.¹⁰⁴⁷ It is paralleled only by a decoration on a fragment of a wooden case, found under the Step Pyramid. On the photo published by C. Firth one can recognize a bark towed with a rope by the king facing right, under a star-band.¹⁰⁴⁸ Dragging of the boat, not by a king, however, but by several persons involved in the *Heb-Sed* ceremonies, was represented in the sun-temple at Abu Ghurab.¹⁰⁴⁹

III.29. Run of Apis

Sneferu:

At South Dahshur the king was represented in an attitude of run several times. In one instance the scene is identified by a caption as [p]hrr H[p],

involved in changing at a rope (which is shortened in a distinctive manner creating a loose section to facilitate the change).

¹⁰⁴⁵ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II.1, fig.18.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Ibid., figs.79-83. Possibly also the king's hand holding a *nhh*-flail (fig.80) belongs to this scene. Whether the bark being dragged is the *hnw*-vessel of Sokar cannot be decided.

¹⁰⁴⁷ A small fragment from the valley temple of Pepy II (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.42, bottom left) showing part of a person (the king? in the *Heb-Sed* robe?) holding a rope is too tiny to be evaluated.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Step Pyramid*, II, pl.109. Judging from the form of the boat (as far as can be seen on the photo) it is probable that the ceremony represented is dragging of the Sokar bark. Such is the interpretation of F. D. Friedman (JARCE 32 (1995), p.25 n.133, citing K. Kitchen, A. Gaballa, Or.38, p19, n.1).

¹⁰⁴⁹ Von Bissing, Kees, *Re-Heiligtum III*, pl.10.

‘running (of) Apis’.¹⁰⁵⁰ A ‘running of Apis’ is attested since the First Dynasty.¹⁰⁵¹ Performing of this obscure ceremony during the reign of Sneferu is attested in an entry of the Palermo Stone (the year after the eighth census).¹⁰⁵² E. Schott proposed a new restoration of Sneferu's scene, interpreted as a procession around the Gold House connected with running of the Apis bull.¹⁰⁵³ The rite was probably depicted also on a sealing of Sahura.¹⁰⁵⁴ The exact meaning of this ritual is not clear. According to D. Kessler, the king united with the living Apis during the annual festivals performed in a temple, ritualizing cyclic rejuvenation. In the New Kingdom this temple, a royal funerary temple of some sort, conceived as a palace of the solar god, was located to the east of Serapeum (where Osiris-Apis was worshipped), at the area of the Animal Necropolis.¹⁰⁵⁵

III.30. Driving the Four Calves

So-called ‘driving the four calves’ (of four different colouring) by the king in the presence of a deity occurred in the temples from the Old Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman period. This scene was shown by A. Egberts to have been closely related to the ritual of consecrating the *meret*-chests, and it had a multi-levelled meaning connected with the Osirian myth, as well as with the idea of a pastoral rulership. The four calves refer to the four cardinal

¹⁰⁵⁰ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II.1, fig.96, with details on figs.97, 98.

¹⁰⁵¹ W. K. Simpson, *A Running of Apis in the Reign of Aha and Passages in Manetho and Aelian*, Or 26 (1957), pp.139-142. Simpson discusses a diorite bowl from the Collection Michaelides with Aha's name and a record of ‘the first occasion of the running of the Apis’. This evidence confirms such an early origin of the rite as stated by Aelian XI,10 who attributed founding of the cult of Apis to Menes.

¹⁰⁵² ‘Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt, the fourth occasion of run of Apis.’ Also some earlier kings (Ninetjer, and possibly Den) performed this run (Schäfer, *Bruchstück*, pp.21, 24, 31).

¹⁰⁵³ E. Schott, *Das Goldhaus unter König Snofru*, GM 3 (1972), pp.31-36. According to Schott it was only during the reign of Khufu that the rituals of the Golden House became connected with the Opening of the Mouth.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Kaplony, *Rollsiegel*, pl.59 (*S3hw-R^c* 16).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Kessler, *Heiligen Tiere*, pp.57-94. On the cult of Apis see also E. Winter, *Der Apiskult im Alten Ägypten*, Mainz 1983.

directions.¹⁰⁵⁶ The king is usually depicted using distinctive attributes. Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari was shown (→) holding a wavy stick within her back hand, and a thin straight stick (askew down) in the front one.¹⁰⁵⁷

Sahura:

A fragment with two calves facing right proves the existence of the scene in the pyramid temple of Sahura.¹⁰⁵⁸ A theme of consecrating the *meret*-chests occurred in the complex as well; it could possibly be the first instance of a parallel appearance of the two scenes.¹⁰⁵⁹

Unis:

Three joining fragments coming from the mortuary temple of Unis show Hathor (←) holding a *w3s*-sceptre, and front halves of four calves (→) (fig.76).¹⁰⁶⁰ The transverse corridor has been suggested as an original place of the scene, but this seems by no means certain.¹⁰⁶¹

Pepy II:

The occurrence of the scene in Pepy II's complex is purely hypothetical. Jéquier suggested that there should be a scene on the N end of the E wall of the transverse corridor, which would be a counterpart to the scene of raising the *shnt*-pole, and that it could possibly be driving the four calves (on account of the N.K. parallels). As he himself admitted, however,

¹⁰⁵⁶ For an extensive discussion of both related scenes, their origin and meaning see A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-chests and Driving the Calves*, Vols. I-II, Leiden 1995 (= Egyptologische Uitgaven, 8/1-2).

¹⁰⁵⁷ Schäfer, *Principles*, fig.259.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*, II, pl.47 (left).

¹⁰⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 61, at the top (a fragmentary representation of a meret-chest with feathers and binds included by Borchardt to 'Opfergaben und Tempelgeräte'). For the discussion of both related scenes, their origin and meaning see A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-chests and Driving the Calves*, Vols. I-II, Leiden 1995 (= Egyptologische Uitgaven, 8/1-2).

¹⁰⁶⁰ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas* – doc.46 (fig.72, pl.33, pp.94-95). It is noteworthy that this ritual is done before Hathor. Notice an elaborate bracelet of the goddess.

¹⁰⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.94 n.2: 'Sur l'emplacement probable de cette scène, voir Jéquier, *Pépi II*, t.II, p.22, n.1 (couloir transversal)'.

no traces were found, and a fragment with *Mrt*-goddess and the block-pattern frieze that may have come from the extreme left part of the wall (from the scene of a ritual run?), may point against such a possibility.¹⁰⁶²

III.31. Hitting the Ball

This theme is known from the New Kingdom and late temples, the earliest certain example being the representation of Tuthmosis III in the Hathor shrine of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari. It is a ritual done before Hathor. The king is preparing to smite a ball (*skr hm3*), which is to be caught by priests (as an appropriate caption states).¹⁰⁶³

A piece from Sneferu's statue temple at South Dahshur may have preserved a fragment of a similar scene. As stated by the excavator it is 'a part of a large figure of Sneferu which was in all probability on one of the walls because it apparently belongs to a scene which would be much broader than any one of the pillars.'¹⁰⁶⁴ The fragment shows the king's arm upraised and holding a bent (olive-wood?) stick that resembles a branch of a tree (fig.77). The king was apparently facing right, contrary to Fakhry's statement ('...just in front of the club there is a horizontal rod which looks as if he was trying to strike it with his club'). This is confirmed by the orientation of the serekh and an emblem with a royal head, preserved below the arm (both belonged to a representation of the royal *ka*). At first glance it seems possible that we have here a smiting scene which, however, is less probable given the unique form of the stick. It is never used by the king when massacring enemies; on the contrary, it is exactly the device hold by Tuthmosis III in the

¹⁰⁶² Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, p.22.

¹⁰⁶³ Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, IV, pl.C. On the ritual playing the ball see: C. A. DeVries, A Ritual Ball Game?, in: *Studies in Honor of J. A. Wilson*, SAOC 35, Chicago 1969, pp.25-35; E. Otto, Schlagen des Balles, LÄ I (1975), 608; W. Decker, *Sports and Games of Ancient Egypt*, Cairo 1993, pp.114-115; cf. also J. F. Borghouts, The Evil Eye of Apopis, JEA 59 (1973), pp.114-150; E. Hornung, Pharao ludens, *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 51 (1982), pp.479-516.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II.1, fig.149 and p.129.

abovementioned scene at Deir el-Bahari.¹⁰⁶⁵ The difference lays in the gesture of the king. Tuthmosis III has both arms lowered and holds the stick horizontally with his right hand, bearing a ball in the left hand. Sneferu may have been shown with an upraised arm when going to hit with his stick a ball hold in the left, lowered hand. It is possible that a fragment from Niuserra's solar temple depicts part of an analogous scene, judging from an uncommon position of the king. He was facing left with back arm upraised and the front one lowered along the body.¹⁰⁶⁶ The only scene where a similar posture could occur is the *wps̄ bzn* ceremony, part of the foundation ritual.¹⁰⁶⁷ This is unlikely here, however, as there are no traces of the arch-like stream of *bzn*-substance,¹⁰⁶⁸ which is usually depicted as thrown by the king. A somewhat similar gesture occurs in the unique scene, preserved in the kiosk of Taharqa at Karnak. The king, depicted as running between the boundary markers of the *sed*-festival field, throws four balls in the four cardinal directions. In the other hand he holds a club-like object.¹⁰⁶⁹ The relation of this scene to the

¹⁰⁶⁵ In later versions of the 'Smiting the Ball' scene the sticks are either straight or club-like (Decker, op.cit., p.114). It is noteworthy that a strange bent stick is hold by Hatshepsut in the scene of driving the four calves before Amun-Ra in the *Chapelle Rouge* (Schäfer, *Principles*, fig.259). It is sharp at one end and cut-off at the other and is hold vertically within the queen's hand grasping the ropes.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Von Bissing, Kees, *Re-Heiligtum III*, pl.10, no.197.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Wps̄ bzn* has not been recorded on any of the OK monuments (el-Adly, *Gründungs- und Weiheritual*, p.62).

¹⁰⁶⁸ Wb I, 475. It is usually identified as gypsum or natron. In Pyr. § 101 *bzn* appears to be a grained substance, apparently food of some sort. The term occurs later in the contexts connected with pottery and faience production. This would point against the identification of *bzn* as gypsum (a view advocated by el-Adly, op.cit., pp.79, 290). On the other hand, it is difficult to link natron with pottery manufacture. Moreover, we know various names for both substances. One might suggest that *bzn* was simply powdered limestone, commonly used e.g. for plastering and whitewashing. It could have been used during the foundation ceremony for whitewashing the walls, but it is also posible that what was actually depicted was marking the plan and limits of a temple, the use analogous to spreading chalk on our tennis-courts. This term might have derived from an original meaning of 'flour' (as one may suggest on account of the Pyramid Texts example), generalized to denote (any?) white powdered material.

¹⁰⁶⁹ J. Leclant, R. A. Parker, C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, Providence and London 1979, pp.61-65, pl.25. See also Decker, op.cit., pp.115-116 and n.20.

ritual of throwing (or striking?) of the ‘Four Clay Balls’ connected with protection of Osiris was discussed by G. Goyon.¹⁰⁷⁰ Its occurrence within the jubilee context points, however, towards possible relations with the accession rites, parallel to shooting arrows in the four directions etc. It cannot be excluded that Taharqa, who often referred to ancient traditions, revived an old ritual. An alleged scene of smiting the ball in the Sneferu’s temple may be referred to a passage in the Pyramid Texts (§ 279d): ‘Set the rope aright, cross the Milky Way (?), smite the ball in the meadow of Apis!’¹⁰⁷¹ It is noteworthy that the run of Apis occurs among the themes depicted in the temple. The text goes on thus: ‘Behold, she comes to meet you, does the Beautiful West, meeting you with her lovely tresses, and she says: ‘here comes he whom I have borne’ (§§ 282-283). One may suggest that originally the ritual was connected (as it appears from the cited passages) with Hathor as well as with the run of Apis. Its probable meaning was claiming the possession of a (earthly or heavenly) territory and the subsequent recognition of the king as a child by the goddess. This is well in accordance with the later examples of the scene and with Taharqa example. The ideology of expressing the magical relations with the four cardinal points, widespread in the eschatological contexts,¹⁰⁷² may have originally derived from the royal accession rites, repeated during the ‘jubilee’ and in entering the afterlife.¹⁰⁷³

¹⁰⁷⁰ G. Goyon, *Textes mythologiques II. Les révélations du Mystère des Quatre Boules*, BIFAO 75 (1975), pp.349-399. Cf. also C. Ziegler, *À propos du rite des quatre boules*, BIFAO 79 (1979), pp.437-439; K. Martin, *Einige magische Kleindenkmäler griechisch-römischer Zeit im Übersee-Museum zu Bremen*, in: *Studies Kàkosy*, pp.411-421.

¹⁰⁷¹ Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p.63. For a different interpretation of the passage as referring to the ritual of ‘Smiting the Vase’ (*skr bđ* with the word *bđ* translated as a ‘vase’ and not a ‘ball’) see: L. Bongrani Fanfoni, *Il par. 279d dei Testi delle Piramidi. “Colpisci il vaso...”*, *Vicino Oriente* 4/2 (1981), pp.9-12. Both the lecture and the overall interpretation are doubtful, however, and the traditional rendering suits better the context where the king comes to heaven and claims his rights.

¹⁰⁷² To mention the deities protecting the sarcophagi and canopic chests, magical bricks etc.

¹⁰⁷³ This will be discussed below in the Conclusions. One may consider in this respect scenes where the king walks or runs with the four sticks. Usually taken to be part of the

III.32. Raising the *shnt*-pole

This theme occurred in the mortuary temple of Pepy II at the S end of the E wall of the transverse corridor.¹⁰⁷⁴ The ceremony of raising the pole (*sḥꜥ k3 shnt*) was done in the presence of the king and several deities standing on a star-baseline, including Min.¹⁰⁷⁵ Eight men in a cross-banded dresses and feathers in the hair,¹⁰⁷⁶ are climbing the four poles supporting a higher central one. They are secured by ropes held by ten men and watched by officials, among whom is a *hrj-ḥbt hrj-tp* directing the ceremony. The place of this activity is stated in a big ‘emblematic’ caption as the *pr-wrw*. The king (←) is sacrificing the pole with his sceptre. According to A. McFarlane the rite has southern origin, which might be confirmed by the fact that the king (presumably likewise in Pepy II’s temple as in all later examples) is wearing the White Crown.¹⁰⁷⁷ This would be in accordance with

foundation ritual, they may, in fact, be related to the symbolic ‘foundation’ of the kingship. The scene in Hatshepsut’s temple showing the king in a ritual run with four sticks (Navelle, *Deir el-Bahari*, IV, pl.47; the drawing shows four *w3s*-scepters, but my collation of the original relief has not confirmed this) is a symmetrical counterpart to the scene with the ball game, discussed above. It is also possible that the sticks are actually arrows, known from the ritual of shooting towards the four cardinal points (cf. W. Decker, *Sportliche Elemente im altägyptischer Krönungsritual. Überlegungen zur Sphinx-Steile Amenophis II*, SAK 5 (1977), 1-20). The first occurrence of such a motif is attested on the block from Gebelein, attributed to the First or Second Dynasty (Turin, Inv. Suppl. 12341. See S. Curto, *Nota su un rilievo proveniente da Gebelein nel Museo Egizio di Torino*, *Aegyptus* 33 (1953), pp.103-124; L. Morenz, *Zur Dekoration der frühzeitlichen Tempel am Beispiel zweier Fragmente der archaischen Tempels von Gebelein*, in: *Ägyptische Tempel*, pp.217-238, where the scene is interpreted as the ‘Following of Horus’ or the *Sed*-festival, and the four objects as the four arrows).

¹⁰⁷⁴ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.12 (tableau IV), details on pls.13-15.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Both his figure and the rest of a caption of the scene mentioning *shnt* (the name of this god’s shrine) clearly confirm the (assumed from many later parallels) connection of the scene with Min. It is not easy to explain, however, his position as the last one in the row of deities.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Interpreted as Egyptians by Jéquier (*Pepi II*, II, p.18), but taken by other scholars to be foreigners from Libya or Nubia (for references see McFarlane, *Min*, p.251, n.1359).

¹⁰⁷⁷ McFarlane, *Min*, pp.137, 251.

the position of the scene in the southern half of the room.¹⁰⁷⁸ The exact meaning of the ceremony (agricultural rite comparable to the present-day maypole? erection of the ancient cult-shrine? setting of a gnomon?) is not clear, notwithstanding more evidence from later examples.¹⁰⁷⁹

III.33. Nautical Scenes

The nautical scenes must have formed a large and important part of the decoration of the royal mortuary complexes, given the amount of material preserved. This fact obviously reflects the reality of Egypt with a dominant role of the water transport, which influenced also the concepts on travels in the divine sphere and in the beyond.¹⁰⁸⁰

In fact one can distinguish several subtypes of ‘nautical scenes’ collected together under this general caption. They differ according to the vessels represented (and therefore according to the meaning of a scene), and seem to be placed in different parts of the complexes.

Usually the scenes representing ships include one or several registers showing soldiers/guards/sailors running.¹⁰⁸¹

River ships and boats might have been depicted on the walls of causeways and valley temples. They were shown either under sail or being

¹⁰⁷⁸ Jéquier considered ‘driving the four calves’ as a possible counterpart for this scene on the N section of the E wall, but expressed much hesitation as no fragments preserved traces of this subject (*Pepi II*, II, pp.17-19).

¹⁰⁷⁹ McFarlane, *Min*, pp.251-252.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Starting from the famous depiction on Djed’s comb of a falcon god crossing the sky in his boat. The Pyramid Texts are full of references to the celestial watery areas, in both: the sky and the antisky, which has to be travelled by boat. These obvious connotations are not reflected, however, in the decoration of the royal pyramid temples, where all the ships and boats depicted seem to be real, mundane ones. The only exception is a possible representation of the sun barks in the sanctuary of Pepy II (see ch. III.40).

¹⁰⁸¹ The existence of representations of crew members usually suggests a nearby depiction of a vessel. This general rule may sometimes prove misleading, as is probably in the case of a block (recorded in situ!) in Niuserra’s temple (Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, fig.48) showing two sailors (→) running and carrying ropes. They were represented on a wall beside the entrance to a small room before the courtyard, between the two stripes of the block-pattern border.

rowed.¹⁰⁸² The representations might have been accompanied by long texts, like the one attributed to Khufu's building, asserting that 'never [happened?] the like to [a king?] before since a primeval time.'¹⁰⁸³ The inscription partially preserved on another fragment, possibly to be attributed to Khufu as well, described (or recorded fashioning?) parts of ships (including steering-oars) made from valuable materials.¹⁰⁸⁴ A royal (state-) ship was represented in the mortuary temple of Userkaf,¹⁰⁸⁵ and a block found at Lisht may have come from the valley temple in Userkaf's complex.¹⁰⁸⁶ As the preserved caption states, it depicted a scene of 'return from the temple of Bastet of the

¹⁰⁸² Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, nos.50-62 (pp.89-112). Particularly interesting are fragments no.50 (=MMA 09.180.26a-b), where the ship is captioned *dpt (?) ntr*, and no.62 (=MMA 22.1.13) with a depiction of a prow of a vessel with three knife-like protrusions adorned with *wḏ3t*-eyes. The block was dated by Goedicke to the Fourth or Fifth Dynasty, and by A. Oppenheim (*Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, no.46, pp.195-196) to the Fourth or the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. The form of the *wḏ3t*-eye, without the curved lower element, is attested in Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*^c, II, pl.9.

¹⁰⁸³ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, no.6, pp.20-23 (=MMA 09.180.6). It is doubtful if the text refers to the [construction?] of the papyrus boat shown on the fragment. Also the attribution to the valley temple can be questioned, the causeway being more probable localisation, given the reversed arrangement of the columns of the text.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, no.60, pp.105-106.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, doc. 13 (fig.79, + text p.71). The ship represented is adorned with a big bow placed vertically on a prow. This recalls a large bow depicted in the *Heb-Sed* scenes at Abu Ghurab. Many other fragments from Userkaf's temple belong to the '*parade navale du roi*' (doc.14-31= figs.79-98, text pp.70-76), including a depiction of the ship captain (doc.19).

¹⁰⁸⁶ One of the blocks found recently and published partially by A. Oppenheimer (*Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, no.104, pp.266-267). Attribution of this piece to the valley temple seems probable, given its dimensions (too big for a causeway block), as well as on account of a parallel with the placement of the depiction of Sahura's state ship. This would be further confirmed by the occurrence of a triple cartouche on Userkaf's block, recorded thus far only in the valley temple of Sahura (for the interpretation see ch.V.3 below). But a possibility exists that the Lisht block came from the mortuary temple like the fragments discussed above. The valley temple and the causeway of Userkaf's complex have not been discovered, and it is possible that they never existed. The themes usually depicted in valley temples and causeways might have been depicted therefore in the outer parts of the mortuary temple. This would be confirmed by the fact that two of the fragments of *parade navale* (Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, doc.30, 31=figs.97-98, and p.76) seem to represent transport ships.

ship [named] “The one who controls the subjects” ‘.¹⁰⁸⁷ Beside, the name of Bastet occurred again, followed by that of Shesmetet. The right-hand part of the block is occupied by the representation of running guards (fig.23). The royal titulary set in a heraldic arrangement with the cobra of Wadjet, suggests the ‘northern’ context.

A large block found in situ in the valley temple of Sahura preserved a large depiction of the state ship in the upper register (the lower one occupied by the representation of the king as a griffin trampling enemies).¹⁰⁸⁸ The ship’s sail is decorated with an elaborate pattern of rosettes, the winged disk and Behedety falcon, and the prow is adorned with a sun disk. The name of the ship is recorded as *b3 ntrj*. It is noteworthy that the vessel is sailing leftwards (the griffin in the lower register is proceeding the other direction, as if moving outside the temple). This may suggest that what is actually depicted is the coming back of the ship and not its leaving.

Some of the blocks found at the causeway of Unis showed ships, and troops and officials accompanying them, presumably represented in the port.¹⁰⁸⁹ One of the fragments bears a representation of a vessel interpreted as a royal bark approaching the embankment.¹⁰⁹⁰ It is possible, however, that a (model?) bark transported to the complex along with other funerary goods was represented.¹⁰⁹¹ An important ‘historical record’ coming from Unis’ causeway was found at Lisht.¹⁰⁹²

¹⁰⁸⁷ As noted by A. Oppenheim (op.cit., p.267, n.6) a similar title *nb rhyt* was recorded as the name of a royal ship in the mastaba of Merib at Giza (PM III², 1, pp.71-72, D. Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 1988, p.106 (no.243), 235 (no.23)).

¹⁰⁸⁸ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*, II, pl.9.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, doc.11-14 (pp.24-26, figs.23-26).

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ibid., doc.11 (p.24, fig.23).

¹⁰⁹¹ A strange prow of the vessel, and especially its position, with various offerings (vases and cups) represented above it, might suggest such an explanation.

¹⁰⁹² Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, no.8 (=MMA 09.180.4). The slightly bent columns of the text with the signs facing right suggest that the block came from the S wall of the causeway.

Transport barks were depicted on the walls of the causeway of Unis,¹⁰⁹³ and occur on the blocks found at Lisht.¹⁰⁹⁴ The scenes of Unis showed cargo vessels (fig.75) leaving for Elephantine (represented in the upper register as moving leftwards, which is indicated by the position of the steering-oars) and coming back with the load (in the lower register, facing right, i.e. the direction of the pyramid).¹⁰⁹⁵ This load was depicted in details and the accompanying inscriptions precise that the ships were transporting granite architectural elements: columns (*wḥw*), cornices (*znbw*), door-frames (*sb3w*), as well as enigmatic *zpwt*,¹⁰⁹⁶ for the pyramid ‘Perfect are Places of Son of Ra Unis.’ The palmiform columns, described as being twenty cubits long,¹⁰⁹⁷ were obviously those erected in the mortuary temple. It may be presumed that the ships were leaving and returning to the port in the presence of the king, although his figure cannot be traced in the preserved material.¹⁰⁹⁸ In the lowermost register were depicted the commanders of the troops, which suggest a baseline and thus a port embankment. It has been suggested since a long time that the events represented in this scene may have been referred to

¹⁰⁹³ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, doc.16-20 (pp.29-32, figs.28-34). For earlier discussions of the scene of transportation of the columns see the bibliography cited in *ibid.*, p.29, n.108, esp. G. Goyon, BIFAO 69 (1970), pp.11-41, pls.I-VII; *id.*, *Les bâtisseurs des grandes pyramides. Khéops*, Paris 1991, figs.38, 40 (a possible reconstruction of the ship with columns).

¹⁰⁹⁴ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, pp.86-88 (no.49 =MMA 2.1.16). The block, tentatively attributed by Goedicke to the funerary temple of Unis, bear part of two scenes: an official receiving a reward (?) was depicted in the lower register, and a transport vessel loaded with a large block of stone (Goedicke suggests a sarcophagus or an architectural element) in the upper one. Only a part of the ship is visible, the vessel being rowed by numerous people.

¹⁰⁹⁵ The scene belonged thus to the S wall of the causeway.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, doc.16, fig.28. The text was translated by B. Mathieu (*ibid.*, p.29), who has not proposed, however, any rendering for the *zpwt*.

¹⁰⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, doc.16, line 5.

¹⁰⁹⁸ It is noteworthy, however, that the inscription of doc.12 (fig.24) is arranged in columns with the signs oriented leftwards in the case of four preserved columns of the right-handed part of the inscription, and facing the other direction in the two left-handed columns. According to the restoration of Labrousse and Moussa (fig.34) this large text probably bordered the scene from the right (i.e. western) side. Differences in the orientation of the text may suggest the presence of the king to the right of it.

in the text of a certain Khenu, an overseer of *hntjw-šj* buried in the vicinity of the causeway of Unis.¹⁰⁹⁹ He directed an expedition on which he claimed: ‘[I brought the granite columns from?] Elephantine for the Majesty of Unis in 7 days.’¹¹⁰⁰

Sea ships leaving for Byblos (?)¹¹⁰¹ and coming back (with the ‘Asiatic captives’ or ‘Phoenicians’ aboard)¹¹⁰² were represented on the E wall of the *Querhalle (westlichen Umgang)* in Sahura’s mortuary temple.¹¹⁰³ The ships represented on the N part of the E wall of the room are starting their journey, those depicted on the S half of the wall are coming back. One can assume that the king was possibly represented (presumably twice) in the middle of the wall, with his back towards the axis, facing the leaving and returning fleet.¹¹⁰⁴ Some fragments found in the N part of the *östlichen Umgang* of the temple suggest that a parallel scene may have existed.¹¹⁰⁵ The Egyptian crew and the Asiatics are depicted in the attitude of ‘adoration’, addressing the king: ‘Hail to you, Sahura, the god of living! We see your perfection’.

One of the blocks from the S wall of Unis’ causeway shows Asiatic captives (?) on two sea-ships, together with Egyptian sailors addressing the king.¹¹⁰⁶ All the personages (the foreigners, among them a woman, as well

¹⁰⁹⁹ PM III/1, p.418, supplied with a new bibliography in Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, p.30, n.114.

¹¹⁰⁰ Translation based on A. Roccatti, *Litterature historique sous l’Ancien Empire égyptien*, p.132.

¹¹⁰¹ Actually three different explanations of the depicted event were proposed: either a military, or trade expedition, or else coming of a Syrian princess to marry the king (Vandier, *Manuel*, V/2, p.876). As noticed by Labrousse and Moussa (*La chaussée du roi Ounas*, p.27) the example of Unis points against the last possibility. Thus not a single event but a ‘cliché’ was represented, its precise character being not certain. J. Vercoutter, in *L’Egypte et la vallée du Nil* remains undecided, suggesting Asiatic visitors in Sahura’s scene (p.292), and prisoners in the one of Unis (p.310).

¹¹⁰² M. Bietak, *Zur Marine des Alten Reiches*, in: *Pyramid Studies*, pp.35-40.

¹¹⁰³ Borchardt, *Sašhu-Re*, II, pls.11-13; cf. a photo in vol.I, fig.14.

¹¹⁰⁴ Such a localisation of the king’s figures is confirmed by the orientation of the depicted people and of the accompanying texts. Although the ships on both parts of the wall are moving leftwards (north), the people are facing the centre of the composition.

¹¹⁰⁵ Borchardt, *Sašhu-Re*, II, pl.14.

¹¹⁰⁶ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, doc.15 (p.27-28, fig.27, pl.II b).

as two Egyptians on each ship) are facing right in an attitude of ‘adoration’. Labrousse and Moussa suggested a possible connection of this representation and the blocks depicting a fight between Egyptians and Asiatics (found in the middle sector of the causeway as well).¹¹⁰⁷

A possibility of the existence of the theme of ‘Journey to the West’ in the royal mortuary complexes, suggested by Y. Harpur, has not been confirmed thus far but cannot be excluded.¹¹⁰⁸ The placement of the nautical themes in the non-royal tomb chapels might have copied their position in the royal buildings. H. Goedicke noticed that the boats in Giza mastabas are represented above the entrance doors inside the cult chambers and referred this to the royal ships represented in the valley temples, and further remarked: ‘it seems that the scene originally shown in the limited space above the entrance of the funerary temple was eventually moved to a less restricted area in the Valley Temple.’¹¹⁰⁹ It seems, however, that such a localisation was not due to the fact that the area was ‘less restricted’, but was fully intentional: it was conceived that from the valley temple (or the entrance to the tomb) the spirit of the dead, either royal or non-royal one, had to start his journey.

It is not certain if the scenes of shipbuilding that may be connected with the nautical themes occurred in the royal mortuary complexes. The

¹¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p.27, and n.98.

¹¹⁰⁸ In the opinion of Harpur (*Decoration*, p.83): ‘These scenes do not appear in earlier Memphite chapels, therefore the subject is presumably a Giza innovation. The overt symbolism in ‘the journey to the West’ sets it apart from most of other subjects depicted in private tombs, and conveys the impression that the theme possibly derives from early representations of the ‘journey to the West’ of the king himself. Among the Old Kingdom blocks discovered at Lisht there are some well executed fragments of sailing boats which Goedicke has assigned to a royal monument of early Dynasty IV (1971, 86-118). Perhaps these formed part of a ‘journey to the West’ scene depicted in the pyramid complex of Khufu, and later imitated for officials buried in the West Field at Giza’.

¹¹⁰⁹ *Re-used Blocks*, p.22. The same opinion that the representations of the ships near the entrances of the mastabas copy the royal patterns was later expressed by Y. Harpur (*Decoration*, p.56) and A. Oppenheim (in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.266, n.4).

fragments from Lisht published by Goedicke might have come from non-royal buildings.¹¹¹⁰

III.34. Famine

Since the discovery on the blocks from Unis' causeway of the reliefs depicting emaciated Bedouins (fig.78),¹¹¹¹ it has often been suggested that the scene represented a desert tribe suffering hunger because of climatic changes. It was taken to support a hypothesis that the so-called Subpluvial (the Holocene Wet Phase) terminated about the end of the Fifth Dynasty. The scene was interpreted as depicting an action of the Egyptian officials who had come to help a desert tribe affected by drought.¹¹¹² It seems that this concept has been invalidated by recent research,¹¹¹³ and the discovery of blocks from Sahura's causeway showing part of a similar scene,¹¹¹⁴ strongly confirmed

¹¹¹⁰ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, nos.69-71 (pp.118-121).

¹¹¹¹ PM III, 1, p.420. The two blocks found by S. Hassan were recently republished by Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, doc. 93-94 (pp.85-86, figs.117-118). The block published in a drawing as doc.93 is lost, the other one is in the Louvre (E 17381). Cf. also E. Drioton, Une représentation de la famine sur un bas-relief égyptien de la Ve dynastie, BIE 25 (1943), pp. 45-54; S. Schott, Aufnahmen vom Hungersnotrelief aus dem Aufweg des Unaspyramide, RdE 17 (1965), pp.9-13.

¹¹¹² J. Vercoutter, Les "Affamés" d'Ounas et le changement climatique de la fin de l'Ancien Empire, in: *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, pp.327-337.

¹¹¹³ K. W. Butzer, 'Patterns of environmental change in the Near East during Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene times', in F. Wendorf and A. E. Marks (eds), *Problems in prehistory: North Africa and the Levant* (Dallas, 1975), 389-410; id., *Early Hydraulic Civilisation in Egypt. A Study in Cultural Ecology* (Chicago, 1976), 27; R. Said, *The River Nile. Geology, Hydrology and Utilization* (Oxford – New York, 1993), 59-60. It has usually been assumed that in the third millennium BC rains diminished to their present-day level and the Nile started to decline, reaching a minimum c. 2200 BC, when the 200 years long period of alternating low and high floods started (with the first phase of 50 years of low Niles that followed the fall of the Sixth Dynasty. Recent research suggests, however, that this view is at least partially false. It is obvious that constant desiccation of the climate of the Eastern Sahara is reflected in Egypt during the 3rd millennium (e.g. observed in changes of the desert fauna and flora), but setting of the caesura at the end of the Fifth Dynasty was supported mainly by the evidence of Unis' reliefs. Research made at west Saqqara by E. Mycielska-Dowgiałło and Barbara Woronko confirmed the evidence of several 'wet' phases of climate with (even catastrophic) rains during the Old Kingdom.

¹¹¹⁴ Z. Hawass, M. Verner, Newly Discovered Blocks from the Causeway of Sahure, MDAIK 52 (1996), pp.180, 182-184, fig.2 a, pl.55 b (block Sc-3).

new interpretations. In fact the ‘famine’ theme is probably only part of a scene of ‘transporting the pyramidion’, i.e. the conclusion of building of the pyramid. It appeared already under Sahura (and possibly earlier if we assume that he also could have copied the scene, at least from Userkaf, but maybe even from Khufu), not as a record of a drought and hunger, in a desert or even in Egypt itself, but to stress how wild and dangerous was the area where the stone for the pyramidion was searched.¹¹¹⁵ The ‘Bedouins’ may have participated symbolically in the ceremonies of terminating of building works. According to M. Verner, it is even possible that the ‘Bedouins’ had been brought to the court, to be presented to the king and the officials.¹¹¹⁶

III.35. Seasons and Daily Life

Various human activities of different seasons of the year including agriculture, horticulture, hunting and fishing, building papyrus-boats, as well as domestic and wild animals, and plants were represented in the *Weltenkammer* in the sun temple at Abu Ghurab,¹¹¹⁷ along with the personifications of the seasons. It was much discussed whether three or only two of the seasons were actually depicted.¹¹¹⁸ The subjects represented at

¹¹¹⁵ Such an interpretation, suggested by Hawass and Verner, is also admitted by Ch. Ziegler (in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.287, n.120), and by A. Labrousse and A. Moussa (*La chaussée du roi Ounas*, p.85, n.205).

¹¹¹⁶ Personal communication. This would explain the caption mentioning *pr-wrw* (obviously as the place where the event happened).

¹¹¹⁷ F. von Bissing, ASAE 53 (1956), pp.219-338; E. Edel, NAWG 4,1 (1964), pp.89-142, pls.1-4; id., NAWG 4,2 (1964), pp.142-217, pls.6-17; E. Edel, S. Wenig, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum der König Ne-user-Re^c*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung 7, Berlin 1974.

¹¹¹⁸ D. Arnold called this ‘a delicate question’ (*Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.281 n.3). The problem (strongly related to the question of an increasing divergence between the natural cycles and the civil calendar during the Old Kingdom) was discussed i.a. by W. S. Smith (*Interconnections*, pp.142-143), and by Edel and Wenig (*Jahreszeitenreliefs*, pp.10-11), who were of the opinion that only Akhet and Shemu were actually represented. On the other hand, F. von Bissing (*La chambre des trois saisons du sanctuaire solaire du roi Rathourès (V^e dynastie) à Abousir*, ASAE 53 (1956), pp. 319-338) defended an older concept that all the three seasons were present. It seems that the idea of non-occurrence of Peret is based mostly on the assumptions *ex silentio*, and finds

Abu Gurab did not include the market scenes or craftsmen in the workshops, common in non-royal tomb chapels. These motifs were present, however, in the decoration of the royal mortuary complexes.

Userkaf:

Several fragments found in the mortuary temple of Userkaf depicted cattle at the ford, as well as fishing with a net.¹¹¹⁹ It is difficult to establish whether they came from a scene of a marsh hunt or the ‘Seasons’ representation.

Niuserra:

Some fragments found in the mortuary temple were attributed by Borchardt to the *Jahreszeiten* scene, but in fact only two among them may have derived from such a context (including a representation of a man harvesting grain).¹¹²⁰ It is likewise possible that they came from a nearby mastaba.

Unis:

Among the blocks decorating once the causeway of Unis, many represented the theme of *Calendrier des saisons*.¹¹²¹ According to A. Labrousse and A. Moussa, three of the blocks, having similar composition and scale, may have belonged to a copy of the scenes in the *Weltkammer* in

rather weak support in the parallel evidence. Except for a doubtful Middle Kingdom example, all other complete representations show three Seasons. This refers to important scenes in the mastabas of Mereruka and Khentika (the tomb-owners painting the figures of the seasons), and the decoration of the vestibule of the chapel of Tuthmosis I at Deir el-Bahari. In this latter case the S wall of the room was divided into three registers, each containing a personification of a particular season (lower- *Šmw*, middle – *Prt*, top – *3ht*), as well as the personifications of months grouped in pairs (male-female) in subregisters (not published, cf. J. Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe in Hatshepsut’s Temple at Deir el-Bahari, ET 19 (2001), p.108).

¹¹¹⁹ Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, doc.218-224 (pp.130-132, figs.290-296).

¹¹²⁰ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*, fig.17. Berlin Inv. No. 17906/7. A piece showing the *pr-nw* shrine and a palm should be assigned to the scene of visiting Buto sanctuaries (cf. ch. III.11 above).

¹¹²¹ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, doc.28-45 (pp.36-47, figs.42-59, pls.VI-VII).

the sun temple at Abu Ghurab.¹¹²² All the published fragments can be attributed to the S wall of the causeway, and all seem to record the activities of the summer (*šmw*).¹¹²³ In the large-scale scenes were represented people harvesting grain, fishermen at channels filled with fish, and hunters with their hounds. Most of the other pieces bear representations of desert animals, including many species of antilopes, gazelles, giraffes, deers, felides, wild dogs, jerboas etc. The fragments obviously formed part of a scene of hunting in the desert. The game was lassoed, caught barehanded and hunted with hounds, possibly to be delivered to the king, but he was not hunting himself.¹¹²⁴

A unique case recorded thus far of a scene presenting the market place and craftsmen workshops is attested for the causeway of Unis. It is preserved on four blocks from the lowermost layer of the N wall, found in situ.¹¹²⁵ According to A. Labrousse they formed part of two large *tableaux*, composed of five registers (with two sub-registers). The two tableaux were separated by a vertical line, dividing the composition according to the themes represented.¹¹²⁶ The market scene included men selling fish and vegetables, and bartering (fish for cakes, fish for a wooden case, linen for an unknown content of a bag). A distinctive representation in the middle of the scene shows a man and a boy with two baboons hold in leash. The man is stealing a lettuce from a half-moon-shaped container. It has been suggested that this

¹¹²² Ibid., doc.28-30. Other fragments (doc.31-45) are of different scale but seem to belong to the same theme.

¹¹²³ Ibid., p.36. The assumption that the blocks came from the S wall is based on the orientation of the human figures, almost all of which are turned rightwards i.e. towards the pyramid.

¹¹²⁴ 'Il est clair qu'il doit s'agir d'une chasse exécutée pour le roi, mais dans laquelle ce dernier n'intervient pas.' (ibid., p.42).

¹¹²⁵ S. Hassan, ASAE 38 (1938), pl.XCVI. Republished with corrections in Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, doc.22 (pp.33-34, fig.36, pl.III).

¹¹²⁶ Ibid. p.35. It is doubtful, however, if such a division, without a wider border (of text columns or the block-pattern) would have marked a pronounced separation of two different scenes.

motif might have been copied from a neighbour mastaba of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, dismantled during the construction of Unis' causeway.¹¹²⁷ Several small fragments coming from the market scene show sellers with their offer: bread, fruit and vegetables, and sandals.¹¹²⁸ The scene representing craftsmen was located to the west of the market representations (fig.79). A metalurgical workshop was shown, with men occupied with various activities: weighing on scales and recording of the metal ore, sharpening an axe (*dm mshtjw*), heating silver (*srft ḥd*), fashioning and polishing (*sjnt*) vases, and hammering electrum sheets (*skr dꜣm*).¹¹²⁹

Among the Lisht blocks there were two representing agricultural activity: plowing and sowing, and harvesting.¹¹³⁰

III.36. Rewarding the Officials

This scene, entitled *šzp nbw* ('receiving of the gold'), was recorded in the decoration of the entrances to the N storerooms in the mortuary temples. This rare theme occurs also in non-royal tombs of the Old Kingdom,¹¹³¹ the earliest examples attested in the chapels of Nebemakhet (dancers being presented with gold ornaments) and Khufu-khaf II at Giza; the most complete form appeared on the entrance jamb of the chapel of Akhet-hotep in Louvre.¹¹³²

Sahura:

¹¹²⁷ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, p.33, n.118 (cf. H. Altenmüller, A.M. Moussa, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, p.81, and pl.10, fig.24).

¹¹²⁸ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, doc. 23-26 (p.34, figs.37-40, pl.IV)

¹¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, doc.27 (pp.35-36, fig.41, pl.V).

¹¹³⁰ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, nos.74 and 75 (pp.126-127). Goedicke notes that the first fragment (presently in Univ. Museum, Philadelphia, 58.10.2) shows a subject not recorded in the royal temples. Its provenance thus is much doubtful, although 'we must consider the possibility that scenes of daily life were first represented in royal temples and subsequently copied in the mastabas of the nobles' (*ibid.*).

¹¹³¹ Y. Harpur (*Decoration*, p.114), notes only six examples of this scene. Harpur, notwithstanding the early occurrence in the chapel of Nebemakhet, suggested that '...since there is a later parallel (...) in the temple of Sahure (...), an earlier royal prototype might have existed in Dynasty IV.' (*ibid.*).

¹¹³² Smith, HESPOK, pp.171-172, cf. Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*^c, II, p.63, fig.9.

A large fragment coming from the N wall of the *Querraum* where the entrance to the storerooms was located, shows three registers of a scene of rewarding the officials.¹¹³³ The scene is bordered by two vertical stripes of block-pattern indicating that the whole width of the wall has been preserved. In the upper register three men on the left side (→) and three others on the right (←) face towards the central figure of an official (→) holding a strange object (a pendant?). Below, two groups of three men face each other. The man in the left group closest to the centre bears a pectoral on his neck. His counterpart in the right group is captioned as *r3-šms n nfr šprw*. In the bottom register a similar arrangement may be restored. The first man on the left side proceeds rightwards, but his head and torso are turned leftwards. He is supporting with his hand a pectoral hanging from his neck. Next to him, a man with a raised arm proceeds rightwards. The figure of another man of the once existing group is destroyed. To the right a counterpart group is shown (←), with the central figure holding an unidentified object in his front hand, and a pendant in the near hand. A story recorded seems to be that in the bottom register the two men are receiving their ‘gold of praise’ and in the upper registers they are sequently receiving congratulations from their colleagues, turned towards them. Fragments of similar scenes include a representation of a large *B3t*-pectoral, and of an official (→) holding a seal (?), who is touching with his fingers a ribbon on his head. The text above his head states that he got his reward *m ḥzwt n [hr nswt]* ‘as a praise/favour from [before the king]’.¹¹³⁴ Other pieces preserved figures of bowing officials, including one holding a pectoral and captions [...] *nbw* and *šzp nbw*.¹¹³⁵

Niuserra:

Among the fragments from the mortuary temple showing bowing officials, there was one showing parts of two registers of the scene of

¹¹³³ Borchartd, *Sa3ḥu-Re*^c, II, pl.52.

¹¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pl.53.

¹¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pl.54.

rewarding.¹¹³⁶ In the upper one only the feet of people proceeding rightwards are preserved, the lower register bears a text: *m ht šzp nbw jn bjk-nbw-ntr sb3t* [...] ('After receiving gold from the Golden Falcon the Divine (i.e. Niuserra), (at?) the gate [...]').¹¹³⁷

One of the blocks found at Lisht bears a large scale representation of an official holding a necklace. A possibility of the scene of rewarding was admitted by Goedicke.¹¹³⁸ It is not certain, however, if the *šzp nbw* was depicted, given that the upper register showed part of a transport ship. Possibly the block belonged to the decoration of a causeway (a scene of navigation or embarkment of transport vessels).

III.37. Preparing and Carrying of the Funerary(?) Equipment and Offerings

The theme of *Verpacken und Transport von Opfertgaben* (as named by L. Borchardt) deserves a remark. It is related to detailed representation of the various offerings in front of the king in the sanctuaries and to the king's seated figure in the upper part of the causeway. Furniture, boxes, cases, vases have the same role as the food offerings, providing the king's needs. However, it is not obvious whether all the scenes of producing goods, packing and carrying them concern the offerings to be delivered to the king (in the sanctuary) or, at least sometimes, show preparing of a funerary equipment. This latter possibility, albeit less probable,¹¹³⁹ should be taken

¹¹³⁶ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, fig.51 on p.76.

¹¹³⁷ Or possibly: 'through/at the gate of the Golden Falcon the Divine'? A preposition *jn* would, however, suggest the first reading, the king being an agent of *šzp nbw* meant as the name of a ceremony (lit. 'after the Golden Falcon the Divine (has done) "receiving the gold"...').

¹¹³⁸ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, pp.86-88 (no.49 =MMA 2.1.16).

¹¹³⁹ One must take into account a still decreasing role of the funerary equipment proper (in favor of a 'magical' supply through offerings), the fact that can be observed during the Archaic Period and the beginning of the Old Kingdom. Storerooms in the tombs, filled with goods, still extensive in the Third Dynasty royal complexes (e.g. the comb-like underground galleries of Sekhemkhet's monument and of the Layer Pyramid), were

into account, given that the scenes on causeway walls (at least those in Sahura's and Unis' complexes) seem to record a single event (as e.g. the conclusion of the building and transporting a pyramidion or columns) and not only 'generic actions'. In this respect it is perhaps significant, that among the various 'equipment' offerings in the temple of Sahura there was a *mrt*-chest.¹¹⁴⁰

Userkaf:

'Porteurs des coffres' are represented on a fragment bearing also a caption mentioning a treasury (*pr-hd*).¹¹⁴¹ Possibly related are also two other fragments, one showing men carrying a big bag, the other mentioning 'excellent linen'.¹¹⁴² A much destroyed block shows a lower part of a scene of making of stone vases.¹¹⁴³

Sahura.:

Fragments showing packing (*htm*) and carrying of cases were found in the *südlicher Querraum*.¹¹⁴⁴ It is difficult to assign the scene to any particular place, but it should be noted that the figures on various pieces are proceeding in both directions. Among the blocks from the N wall of the causeway published by Hawass and Verner two show carrying of furniture and equipment.¹¹⁴⁵ This motif occurs in the context of concluding the building activities at the pyramid (including transporting of the pyramidion), and festivities and sport competitions accompanying this great event. Men proceeding toward the pyramid and carrying chairs, boxes and staffs are

dramatically reduced at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, In fact from the discovered remains it seems that only clothes and 'personal belongings' were deposited in the royal burial chambers. The rooms in the pyramids named sometimes 'magazines' could have hardly played such a role.

¹¹⁴⁰ Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*, II, pl.61 ('Opfergaben und Tempelgeräte', a fragment at the top).

¹¹⁴¹ Labrousee, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, fig.273, text p.124 (doc.201).

¹¹⁴² *ibid.*, fig.271 (doc.199) and fig.272 (doc.200).

¹¹⁴³ *ibid.*, fig.289, text pp. 129-130 (doc.217).

¹¹⁴⁴ Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*, II, pls.59,60.

¹¹⁴⁵ Z. Hawass, M. Verner, *MDAIK* 52 (1995), pp.181-182, pls.55, 56.

represented in the third of five registers. Food offerings are also fetched by female offering-bearers. It is reasonable to assume from the overall context that the loads (as well as the offerings represented in the uppermost register) are not a ‘god’s offering of every day’, but that the scene records a specific, single event. This could suggest a destination of the furniture and equipment in the burial apartments. But another possibility exists, namely that the things and food are being delivered to a place where the main part of the feast is celebrated, to be used there. This means that they are not the ‘funerary equipment’ proper.

III.38. Processions : Gods, Fecundity Figures, Nomes, Funerary Estates

Similarly to the case of the depiction of prisoners and booty, connected with the theme of destroying enemies, the rows of deities and personifications do not form separate scenes by themselves.¹¹⁴⁶ The procession is always bound for the figure of the king. This is sometimes located at a long distance in the decoration of the wall. The only seeming exception would be gods and fecundity figures represented at the side entrance of Sahura’s funerary temple (fig.81).¹¹⁴⁷ In this latter case, however, one might presume that the ultimate goal of the procession might have been located in the rooms to the west of the entrance, connected with the satellite

¹¹⁴⁶ One should stress a clear difference between the representation of deities (either with their chapels or without them) in the scenes of ‘assembly’, and those connected with fetching the offerings to the king. However, it is sometimes impossible to assign precisely a depiction of a deity to one of these classes, given the fragmentary state of many pieces.

¹¹⁴⁷ Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*, II, pls.28-31 (pl.28=S wall of the entrance room: Upper Egyptian gods including Herishef, nomes, estates (→); pl.29=W wall, S half: gods and fecundity figures (→); pl.30=W wall, N half: Lower Egyptian gods including Neith, nomes, estates (←); pl.31=N wall: nomes and estates (←)). Blocks from the Upper Egyptian scene stored in the Liebieghaus in Frankfurt am Main were discussed extensively by D. Franke in *Liebieghaus -Ägyptische Bildwerke III*, pp.33-48 (kat.no.6).

pyramid court.¹¹⁴⁸ One might expect a figure of the king represented there, or else its existence in a hypothetical N chapel of the satellite pyramid can be suggested.

Fecundity (sometimes called the ‘Nile’) figures were represented in different contexts, including processions and decoration of the thrones and altars, often in connection with the idea of *zm3-t3wj*. Only in the former instance female representations occur, the Niles joining the Two Lands always being depicted as men.¹¹⁴⁹ Personifications of nomes and funerary estates appear to be represented together, which reflects a strict geographical arrangement, with the figures of the nomes leading those of the estates carrying offerings.¹¹⁵⁰ Both are usually introduced by the deities representing various localities or regions. This topographical setting is not always obvious in the case of non-royal representations, where the number of the estates (gods and the nomes do not appear!) is much restricted.¹¹⁵¹ In the royal context, however, the estates are numerous and it seems that their existence (real or symbolic) in every nome was to be demonstrated. Only sporadically the nomes occurred alone. Such was the case of the decoration of some of the altars in the mortuary temples.¹¹⁵² This might be due to a restricted place for a

¹¹⁴⁸ It is difficult to agree with Goedicke (*Re-used Blocks*, p.16) that the decoration can be explained by the fact that the side entrance ‘has to be considered as a gateway to the storerooms connected with the temple.’

¹¹⁴⁹ For a vast diachronic survey of the form and role played by those representations see J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures. Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of the Genre*, Warminster 1985.

¹¹⁵⁰ These types of representations were discussed in (i.a.): Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, pp.126-135; Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, pp.15-16; W. Helck, *Güterprozession*, LÄ II, 919-921; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp.82-83. Still the most useful list of sources remains H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l’Ancien Empire égyptien*, BdÉ 34, Le Caire 1962. It includes also an important discussion of the types of the funerary estates (either *hwt* or *njwt*).

¹¹⁵¹ Luc Delvaux and Eugène Warmenbol developed an interesting idea that an ‘ideal’ number of thirty-six estates was operated in the Old Kingdom non-royal tomb chapels (Trois Seshemnefer et trente-six domaines, *JEA* 84 (1998), pp.57-70).

¹¹⁵² Sahura: Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*, I, figs.51-57; R. Wartke, *Zum Alabaster-Altar des Königs Sahu-Rē*, *ZÄS* 104 (1977), pp.145-156, pls.VII-VIII. Teti: J. Malek, *The ‘Altar’ in the Pillared Court of Teti’s Pyramid-Temple at Saqqara*, in: *Pyramid Studies*, pp.23-

decoration, but it seems that it reflected also in a satisfying manner the idea to be displayed: the whole country contributes for supporting the eternal existence of the king. Enumerating the funerary estates, created by a king to serve the needs of his cult, was a full concretisation and individualisation of this general idea. But in many cases (e.g. in the decoration of sanctuaries) this idea was displayed convincingly by the fecundity figures beside the throne.¹¹⁵³

The personifications occurred for the first time under Sneferu. In the ‘statue temple’ at Dahshur South the personified nomes and funerary estates occupied the lower register of the decoration of the walls of the entrance corridor and the covered part of the court (fig.82). They were already arranged according to the geographical key: those on the western wall representing Upper Egypt, the ones on the eastern wall representing Lower Egypt.¹¹⁵⁴ Also the Nile figures occurred in the decoration of the pillars in the temple.¹¹⁵⁵

Personified estates and divine figures leading them are attested for the mortuary complexes of Khufu (fig.80),¹¹⁵⁶ Userkaf,¹¹⁵⁷ Sahura,¹¹⁵⁸ Niuserra,¹¹⁵⁹ Unis,¹¹⁶⁰ Pepy II.¹¹⁶¹

34. The altar of Niuserra (Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, pls.14-15), however, bore representations of fecundity figures, personified (female) nomes, as well as personified (male) estates *hwt-(Nj-wsr-R*^c).

¹¹⁵³ Cf. Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.24.

¹¹⁵⁴ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II/1, pls.VIII-X. Reconstruction of distribution of estates on the walls: fig.8. Upper Egyptian estates: figs.9-12, 14-23. Lower Egyptian estates: figs. 13, 24-32. Some of the representations were of much bigger scale and it is suggested that they came from the temple walls or the sides of the pillars (ibid., p.19, cf. figs.13, 22, 23, 31, 32, 34).

¹¹⁵⁵ Ibid., fig.110. A slightly different reconstruction was proposed by E. Edel, Studien zu den Relieffragmenten aus dem Taltempel des Königs Snofru, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.199-208. The Niles (←), represented at the (usually not decorated!) bottom of the pillar, are bringing to the king 3s-fruits and figues. The accompanying text speaks of *jtt htp-ntr*, ‘fetching the divine offering’.

¹¹⁵⁶ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, pp.16-17, (no.3 = MMA 22.1.7): head of a female estate (*Hwfw)-nfr*. No.2 of Goedicke (pp.13-16, block in Boston MFA 58.322) shows three personages (two women and a man with the divine beard) proceeding leftwards, carrying the offering-trays. As suggested in ch. III.3 the representations possibly belonged to a

III.39. Slaughter

Slaughtering sacrificial animals constituted part of the repertory of decoration of the tombs since predynastic times.¹¹⁶² Ritual slaughter took place during the funeral, and was essential for the mortuary cult. The animals were killed with flint knives, which suggests an old tradition and multifaceted symbolism. A strange slaughter of the ‘fathers and mothers’ (i.e. the ancestors) is described in the famous Cannibal Hymn of the Pyramid Texts (§ 386a-b). In the royal mortuary complexes this theme did not form separate scenes, but may be considered a sub-scene, accompanying presenting offerings. Usually it was depicted in the lowermost registers. This action might have been addressed to gods (in the antechamber), or to the king (in the E and N sanctuaries). For the first time it occurred, as it seems, in the E

series of scenes, each depicting the king in the chapel and the processions approaching him, and may be attributed to the causeway of Khufu.

¹¹⁵⁷ Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Neferhetepes*, doc.51-66, figs.120, 124-138, pp.83-89 (doc.51-60 – Upper E.; doc.61-66 – Lower E.).

¹¹⁵⁸ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.25 (deities (→) including Thoth), pl.26 (personified estates (←)), pl.27 (female estates, proceeding both directions, from the *Vorraum*).

¹¹⁵⁹ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, fig.53 (two fragments of different scale, showing female estates with baskets on their heads). Fig.54 shows the cartouche of king Nebka in the name of an estate (*Nb-k3*)-*nfr*.

¹¹⁶⁰ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, doc.58-67 (pp.102-105, figs.84-93, pl.XXXV). It is probable that some, at least, of the fragments should be assigned to the scene of ‘assembly of deities’. This refers to doc.66, as well as possibly to doc.59 showing a goddess captioned as *Gbt* (?) of the *ḥ-ḥd* (?) (cf. *ibid.*p.103: ‘le “(palais) blanc de Gebep” cf. Wb, III, 203,4 auquel on peut ajouter Textes des Pyramides, § 185 et 334.’). The vast processions depicted on the causeway of Unis have been published and discussed in Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, pp.87-107, figs.120-160, pls.XVII-XXI (doc.96-121).

¹¹⁶¹ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.109 top; III, pl.5 (a fragment with a leg and *ankh*-signs suspended from a tray, found in the valley temple), pls.21-28, and pp.14-16 (decoration of the upper part of the causeway).

¹¹⁶² Vandier, *Manuel*, V, p.128f; A. Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche im Alten Ägypten und ihre Wiedergabe im Flachbild bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches*. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, Munich 1973.

sanctuary of the mortuary temple of Userkaf, on the E wall of the room.¹¹⁶³ On the walls of the side entrance in Sahura's mortuary temple this theme was depicted in the bottom register, under the processions of gods and personifications.¹¹⁶⁴ On the upper parts of the S and N walls beside the entrance, the gods of the Upper and Lower Egypt respectively were proceeding towards the interior of the temple. As stated in the accompanying texts, they were bringing the offerings from the two parts of the country to the king. It may be thus assumed that it is him, who is intended to be a recipient of the 'chosen meat cuts of the front legs (of oxen) and of (a) bird.'¹¹⁶⁵ But it is difficult to explain why in fact slaughter was represented at this very place of the temple. One of the possible explanations concerns the interpretation of the side entrance. It was placed to the south of the main temple area, beside the satellite pyramid. The entrance room, supported with two round columns, may have been connected with the satellite pyramid, playing role of an additional sanctuary of some kind. The scene occurred also in the valley temple of Sahura,¹¹⁶⁶ and in an unspecified place of Niuserra's complex.¹¹⁶⁷ Slaughter was depicted on all the four walls of the antechamber in Pepy II's temple, in the second register from the bottom. The lowermost register bore representations of officials witnessing the action done in the name of the king.¹¹⁶⁸

¹¹⁶³ Labrousee, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, doc.162-163 (pp.113-114, figs.234-235). One fragment of a slaughter scene was found in the *salle au cinq niches* (ibid., doc.161, p.113, fig.233).

¹¹⁶⁴ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pls.28, 31; D. Franke in *Liebieghaus -Ägyptische Bildwerke III*, kat.no.6, pp.33-48 (with many references to the subject of *Schlachtungszene*).

¹¹⁶⁵ *shpt stpt hpš 3pd(w)*, cf. Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.31.

¹¹⁶⁶ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pls.19, 57, 58.

¹¹⁶⁷ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, fig.56.

¹¹⁶⁸ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pls.97-101. It is noteworthy that between 1st and 2nd, as well as between 2nd and 3rd register there were sky bands with stars. Contrary to that, there was no sky representation above the third register (under the offerings).

III.40. Souls of Nekhen and Pe

The Souls of Nekhen and of Pe (*b3w Nhn*, *b3w P*), represented regularly as anthropomorphic figures with jackal and falcon heads respectively,¹¹⁶⁹ are commonly assumed to be personifications of the predynastic rulers of Hierakonpolis and Buto (and identified sometimes as the mythical ‘Followers of Horus’). They play an important role in the mortuary temples, reflected in the exceptional position on the doorframes (although their depictions do not form the ‘scenes’ proper), and confirmed by the Pyramid Texts.¹¹⁷⁰ They are depicted on the false-door frames in the E and N sanctuaries (Sahura, Unis, Merenra, Pepy II), but can also flank the real doorways (Pepy II). Their role is further stressed by the unique attitude in which they are often represented, namely that of *hnw*, kneeling and beeting of the breast, assumed also by the priests in the Old Kingdom funerary ritual.¹¹⁷¹

Sahura:

Fragments coming presumably from the decoration of the sanctuary preserved three figures of Souls of Nekhen (→) and one of a Soul of Pe (←). The accompanying texts spoke of (←↓) [...] *jmj.t t3-mhw* [...] and [...] *jmj.t hp* [...] ‘what the Lower Egypt bears’ and ‘what the Nile bears’, as well as of (↓→) [...] *jmj.t šm^c h^c(tj m nswt) bjtj (nh.tj dt)* ‘what the Upper Egypt bears, that you may appear as the Dual King, living forever’.¹¹⁷² One figure of a jackal headed Soul of Nekhen (→) in a smaller scale and dressed in a

¹¹⁶⁹ B. Schibler, Zur Ikonographie der Bau von Buto und Hierakonpolis, in: *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel. Beiträge Hornung*, pp.187-197. There are, however, notable examples of a ‘reversed’ iconography, where the Souls of Nekhen are falcon-headed and the Souls of Pe are jackal-headed (e.g. in the tomb of Ramesses I).

¹¹⁷⁰ For a detailed discussion of the Souls of Nekhen and Pe, as well as the Souls of Heliopolis, including remarks on their role in the *Heb-Sed* scenes at Abu Gurob see Kees, *Götterglaube*, pp.278-286.

¹¹⁷¹ E. J. Brovarski, *Varia*, Serapis 3 (1975-1976), pp.1-8; J. R. Ogden, Observations on a Ritual Gesture, after some Old Kingdom Reliefs, *JSSEA* 10 (1979-1980), pp.71-76.

¹¹⁷² Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re^c*, II, pl.23, cf. text pp.122-123.

different way (wearing a garb with two arm-strips) probably should be attributed to a different place in the temple.¹¹⁷³

Neferirkara:

A fragment representing possibly the back of a figure of Soul of Pe might have come from the frame of the stela (such an identification is confirmed by the sky-sign above the figure).¹¹⁷⁴

Unis:

According to the reconstruction, the frame of the false door in the sanctuary included three superimposed standing figurers of Souls of Nekhen and Souls of Pe, facing the stela made of granite, decorated in the lower part with a panelling(fig.83).¹¹⁷⁵ Three fragments came from the door frame.¹¹⁷⁶ The text on one of them runs: *b3w (Nhn) dj.sn.(n).f ʕnh dd w3s nb* ‘Souls (of Nekhen), (may) they give to him all life, stability and dominion’.¹¹⁷⁷ Two other fragments represent the kneeling (in the attitude of the *hnw*-rite) figures of the Soul of Nekhen (→) and two Souls of Pe (←).¹¹⁷⁸ Both pieces come from a lower portion of a wall, probably beside a doorway.

Pepy II:

Two fragments found at the valley temple site bear representations of the Souls.¹¹⁷⁹ One of the pieces shows a striding figure of a jackal-headed Soul of Nekhen, proceeding leftwards. This attitude is exceptional; given the usual rules of the orientation it would seem that the fragment was placed to the south of a doorway facing west, or to the west of a doorway facing north.

¹¹⁷³ Ibid., bottom left.

¹¹⁷⁴ Borchardt, *Nefer-i'r-ke3-Re*, fig.28 left.

¹¹⁷⁵ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, fig.35.

¹¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp.97-99, fig.76A-C, pl.XXXV (=doc.50). Note that the eyes of the figures are badly damaged. They had obviously been incrustated.

¹¹⁷⁷ The translation in *ibid.*, p.99: ‘les âmes (de Nekhen), qu’elles lui donnent vie et joi’ is somewhat imprecise in respect to *ʕnh dd w3s nb*. The dative *n* before the suffix *f* seem to be omitted by haplography, otherwise the text would require the use of a dependant pronoun *sw* (cf. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, p.49).

¹¹⁷⁸ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, figs.77-78, pl.XXXIV, p.99 (=doc.51, 52).

¹¹⁷⁹ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.5, bottom left and right.

Both these variants would exclude the possibility that the doorway in quest was a false-door (if this is to be expected in the valley temple, which seems doubtful), as false-doors almost invariably (the only exceptions being the stelae in the N chapels) face east. However, as clearly shown by the representation of the Souls of Nekhen in the vestibule (see below), they may have been placed to the north of a door facing east. Another fragment shows a figure kneeling in the attitude of the *hnw*-rite, facing left. Since the head has not been preserved, it is not clear if it represented the Soul of Nekhen or that of Pe.

In the west wall of the vestibule of the *temple intime*, there was a granite door leading to the antechamber. The wall beside the door, to the north of it, was decorated with three figures of the Souls of Nekhen superimposed in three registers.¹¹⁸⁰ No counterpart representations could have been placed to the south of the door for the lack of space. It is thus significant that the Souls of Nekhen were chosen to be depicted at the place where one may expect the ‘northern’ personifications.¹¹⁸¹

III.41. Solar Barks

This motif may have occurred in the sanctuary of Pepy II’s mortuary temple. Several fragments that were not assigned a specific place may have derived from the tympana in the sanctuary.¹¹⁸² As suggested by G. Jéquier, on the E wall tympanum two confronted barks might have been depicted, or the morning bark was shown on the E tympanum and the evening bark on the W

¹¹⁸⁰ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.44.

¹¹⁸¹ One might consider a possibility that the Souls of Pe might have been depicted beside the door in the N wall of the vestibule. No traces have been preserved, however, and it seems that at least the upper part of the E end of the N wall was occupied by depictions of the officials facing right, presumably towards a figure of the king, represented on the lintel (*ibid.*, pl.45). If only the Souls of Nekhen were present in the vestibule, it would be another instance of the domination of the Upper Egyptian symbolic (see the discussion of this issue in ch.V.2 below).

¹¹⁸² Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.105.

one, 'chacune accompagnée par des figures divines correspondantes et l'image du roi trônant sur le pont.'¹¹⁸³ This latter arrangement is paralleled in Hatshepsut's offering chapel at Deir el-Bahari.¹¹⁸⁴ Similar ideas seem to be reflected in the decoration of Room XVII in the Luxor temple, where the reliefs on the E and W walls depicted sun boats. It has been interpreted as a symbolic space for the daily journey of the sun.¹¹⁸⁵ The room is a hall for the offering table, thus forming a parallel to the Old Kingdom offering-rooms in the mortuary temples.

III.42. Summary

As already anticipated in chapter III.1, it seems that virtually all the relief decoration programme of the royal mortuary complexes concentrated around the person of the king. He was a central figure and the focus of bigger units of the composition that may be styled scenes. The king was involved, actively or passively, in various interrelations with other personages, either large-scale divine figures or small figures of gods, personifications and people. The gods and human beings were represented side by side, but the area where the depicted actions take place is obviously a mirror of the real, mundane world. It seems that beside the images of the sun barks discussed in the last chapter, no scenes represented the netherworld or celestial reality (as might be imagined after the Pyramid Texts). However, the question: what is in fact the Beyond? is not so easy to answer. But obviously it is not necessary to interpret the scenes involving deities as referring to distant areas of transcendence. They may well be 'mundane' in their essence. However, complex 'cosmic' notions present undoubtedly in the architecture and

¹¹⁸³ Ibid., p.65.

¹¹⁸⁴ Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, IV, pl.CXV (W wall; E wall unpublished).

¹¹⁸⁵ H. Brunner, Die Sonnenbahn in ägyptischen Tempeln, in: A. Kuschke, E. Kutsch (eds.), *Archäologie und Altes Testament. Festschrift für Kurt Galling zum 8. Januar 1970*, Tübingen 1970, pp.27-34.

decoration may point towards a symbolic interpretation of presumed ‘stages’ of some scenes. Concerning the time factor, one can distinguish two different types of scenes: those depicting real, singular events, and the ‘clichés’, representing ‘generic actions’. The first type (e.g. the activities connected with building of the pyramid complex) do not involve the gods. On the contrary, their occurrence is a signal of a generic representation, intended for symbolic, everlasting exposition or repeating of an event. There exists, however, a possibility that the scenes of singular actions were likewise designed to play a similar role, strengthening the ties of the king with his buildings (see below).

It can be suggested that the various and different themes and motifs analysed above might be grouped into several bigger assemblages according to their common meaning:

The first one is connected with the idea of a transfiguration of the king, essential for assuming divinity and his eternal life. This class of scenes includes the representations of the gods presenting the *ankh*-signs to the king (and thus endowing him a new life). Suckling the king by goddesses confirms his status of the divine child, expressing the concept of the divine birth.¹¹⁸⁶ This scene, repeated in different parts of the mortuary complex seems to mark important stages of the ideological programme. Crowning of the king, and embracing him by gods, are likewise the actions confirming the divine status. It would be tempting to assign the *Heb-Sed* theme to this group, although the meaning of the ‘jubilee’, presumably very complex, is still much enigmatic for us. Nevertheless, one might suggest that the scenes referring to assuming by the king of a new form of existence were supplemented with those showing him claiming and confirming his rights to the space he is supposed to live in. This concept is most clearly expressed in the depiction of the king’s ritual run.

¹¹⁸⁶ Cf. below ch.V.3.

Stages of the transfiguration are likewise present in the second assemblage, which reflects the concept of ‘support of the king’s *ka*’. The programme of this group of scenes is focused on the ‘passive’ figures of the king enthroned, and being nourished and presented with all goods: in the sanctuaries (after the first phase of the transfiguration had taken place inside the tomb) and at the top of causeway (after everything that happened in the upper temple). These representations refer to the concept of a continuous nourishment and supply, essential for the king’s *ka* to support his post-mortal existence. This group of scenes include all the processions of offering bearers, gods, fecundity figures, nomes and personified funerary domains. They are fetching the products (not only food, but virtually all the goods) to fulfil the king’s needs. He is assuming the resources not only of Egypt but also of the entire world. This is probably also the meaning of the rows of captives led by the gods, and processions of oxen. Possibly also other scenes of the causeways should be understood in that manner. Representations of the agricultural and hunting activities, craftsmen workshops, market scenes, making and packing of goods are intended to ensure the ‘support’ for the king’s *ka*. Moreover, the scenes showing transport and building activities might have been conceived as symbolic repetitions of these seemingly ‘singular events’. In some way the pyramid complex was thus built every day, ensuring an eternal existence of the buildings and thus the king’s safety.

A third great assemblage groups scenes concerning the king’s deeds, effective actions which reflect his duties. These include defending the country against the enemies, and the world against chaos. In the scenes where these concepts can be traced the notion of assuming the supplies is also present. Both themes are in fact mixed: e.g. the marsh hunt executed for catching fowl as food, is a symbolic repel of the chaotic forces as well. In this mode one can understand also the scenes of smiting enemies represented in the upper temple, and of trampling enemies at the causeway or the valley

temple (where the king having assumed a complex divine form is proceeding out of the complex). Overcoming enemies not only confirms *maat* and ensures the safety of the borders – of the country as well as of the world – but enables also taking the enemies their wealth. Another duty was executing government (hence the ‘court’ scenes), which must have been connected with travels around the country. Such an idea was probably reflected in the scenes showing state ships leaving for provincial towns and returning to the capital. Still another duty, perhaps the most important one to be executed by a ruler, was to supply the gods with all they need to ensure their reciprocity. It was reflected in the scenes showing making the offerings to deities. The decoration of the square antechamber is the best example.

The typological grouping of the scenes proposed above do not avoid some inconsistencies, which reflect, however, not the lack of the logical structure of the programme, but the weakness of a modern approach, inadequate to render complex meaning of the ancient ideology. Some themes cannot be easily assigned. This refers especially to ritual scenes such as dragging the bark, driving the four calves, hitting the ball, or raising the pole of Min. One might consider them as belonging to two different classes, but maybe they should form a separate unit. Some themes occur in the (at least at first sight) unexpected places. More detailed explanation of the structural position of the most important scenes will be proposed in the Conclusions.

Part IV. ORIENTATION OF FIGURES

IV.1. Orientation of Figures: Principal Rules

Analysing orientation of represented figures and the accompanying texts¹¹⁸⁷ is of great importance for establishing an exact meaning not only of a single scene, but of larger parts of the programme as well. It is the orientation that sets the persons, shown as involved in various activities, in the broader ideological scheme. Not only does it suggest the subject and the object of an act (which is usually to be deduced also from other features of the representation), but, what is more important, ascribes the directions of symbolic and cultic paths. A principal rule is that the main person is shown as if coming from the most inner room: a sanctuary or a burial chamber, proceeding outwards from the inside, and sideways from the axis. The main person is a recipient of the cult: it is usually assumed that in the instance of well known New Kingdom and later temples it is a god, in the royal mortuary complexes of the Old Kingdom - the king.¹¹⁸⁸ At first glance it seems that a 'change' occurred at some point during the Middle Kingdom, or at least before the Eighteenth Dynasty, but this is an oversimplification. Firstly, alleged changes in the ideology observed in Mentuhotep Nebhepetra's mortuary monument at Deir el-Bahari¹¹⁸⁹ are not reflected in the decoration

¹¹⁸⁷ There are aspects of the term 'orientation' which are only marginally treated here. In the Egyptian art a mutual dependence of a representation and the text related to it is most clearly demonstrated by the rule that they share the same orientation i.e. living creatures in the pictures and glyphs face the same direction. Exceptions, at least in well-designed royal monuments, are usually not accidental but reflect some ideas. This assumption possibly also refers to the texts where the columns are arranged in a retrograde manner. On these problems see Fischer, *Reversals*, passim. The problem of the orientation of secondary figures in large scenes is also not at issue here, although it might have some significance for the analyse of decorum rules.

¹¹⁸⁸ Who is likewise a god, at least in some way (cf. ch.I.1 above for a discussion), but for the clarity of the considerations a simplified antinomy: god-king is used.

¹¹⁸⁹ D. Arnold, *Vom Pyramidenbezirk zum "Haus für Millionen Jahre"*, MDAIK 34 (1978), pp.1-8; id., in: *Temple in Ancient Egypt*, pp.74-75.

of the Twelfth Dynasty pyramid temples. Secondly, the NK memorial temples at Western Thebes related to the royal tombs,¹¹⁹⁰ which might be compared with the OK pyramid temples, show in fact some divergence of the rules. It could have been easily assumed that Amun-Ra, as well as Ra-Horakhty, Hathor and other deities are the central figures in the temples and the king is shown as coming to the temple and proceeding inside, making offerings and doing rituals before the gods. This is, however, not entirely true. The example of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari is particularly significant in this respect. Not only, as in other memorial temples, is the (presumably dead?) king merged with Amun-Ra in the main sanctuary,¹¹⁹¹ but the existence of the Royal Cult Complex in the S part of the temple, with two offering chapels (styled after the OK patterns) for Hatshepsut and her father, Tuthmosis I, was accentuated by a secondary N-S axis of the temple. Virtually no great gods were present in this part of the monument, the kings being the recipients of the cult and hence the main figures, the focus of the entire decoration. On the other hand, it would be certainly wrong to assume

¹¹⁹⁰ G. Haeny, New Kingdom "Mortuary Temples" and "Mansions of Millions of Years", in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp.86-126.

¹¹⁹¹ There is some evidence at Deir el-Bahari that both Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis I were in some way identified with Amun. From a formal point of view Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III were equal co-rulers, but at the same time her primary and unique position was stressed in many ways in the decoration of the temple. The decoration underwent many alterations, not only 'damnatio memoriae' of the queen by Tuthmosis III and 'down with Amun' Amarna erasures and re-cuts, but also some obviously ordered by Hatshepsut herself. Some of them, sometimes not easy to be distinguished and interpreted, may be connected with her claimed divine status. The role of the queen's parents in the ideology of the temple is by no means simple. Amun replaced Tuthmosis I in the Divine Birth story, but it is the king who is the main figure on the N and S walls of the Bark room. A full discussion of the orientation in the decoration of multi-roomed main sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari (not to speak of the entire temple) would fall far beyond the scope of this work. One should stress, however, that the research having been continued on this subject might prove crucial for understanding a multi-layered and complicated ties of a king and a god in the ideology of kingship. Given the surprisingly large amount of Hatshepsut's references to the Old Kingdom tradition, such a study is of great value as it concerns much more than the early Eighteenth Dynasty kingship. I am much indebted to my colleagues from Deir el-Bahari mission, especially to Mirosław Barwik, Mikołaj Budzanowski, Janusz Karkowski and Zbigniew Szafrański for the inspiring discussions and observations.

that in the Old Kingdom it was always the king who was a central figure in the decoration of the temples. The obvious examples of the solar temple at Abu Gurab and fragments from provincial temples showing the king offering to gods¹¹⁹² contradict such an assumption. But also in the mortuary temples the rules of in-out and axis-side are sometimes broken for reasons that should be carefully explored. Certainly one cannot agree with D. Stockfish that there existed simple rules that ‘im Verehrungstempel als aktiver, handelnder König in der Regel nach außen gerichtet’, while ‘im Umgang mit den Göttern, insbesondere bei der Sängung und der Belebung, aber auch bei den Götterprozessionen des Totenopfertempels ist der König in das Tempelinnere hinein gerichtet’.¹¹⁹³ Such statements suggests the existence of two principles: that the king’s activity or his passive role are decisive factors in this respect, and that the interior of the inner temple is a gods’ space and this requires that the king is facing it. Both assumptions are wrong. The king is usually oriented outwards whether active or passive (as e.g. in the offering table scene in the sanctuaries or when enthroned at the end of the causeway). But sometimes he is facing the interior when active e.g. in the Desert Hunt scene of Sahura. Moreover, a closer look at the evidence shows that in most of the scenes where the king is shown with the deities (especially the suckling scenes *pace* Stockfish), he is turned with his back to the interior or to the axis.

Some peculiar cases of a ‘reversed’ or uncertain orientation are analysed in the next chapter. They reveal much information on the ideological programme, and in fact most of them are ‘exceptions’ only insofar as we compare them with the ‘rules’, which are defined by us. For the Egyptians they were consistent with a scheme. A proper identification of this scheme is related to the hypothesis of a ‘king’s path’.

¹¹⁹² E.g. the relief of Pepy II from Koptos (Petrie, *Koptos*, pp.1,4; *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, no.175, pp.349-350 (UC 14281).

¹¹⁹³ D. Stockfish, *Diesseitsrolle des Königs*, op.cit., p.10.

IV.2. Peculiarities of Orientation

A feeling for a symmetry favoured by the Egyptians forced some solutions in the architecture that enabled the axial separation of respective parts of the decoration. If everything is related to the axis, this axis must be precisely defined to allow for a clear distribution of scenes, texts or symbols on both its sides. Such a setting of an axis deserves sometimes symmetry also in number of some elements. Even numbers are much better in this respect than the odd ones. An exception to this rule may be observed in the arrangement of the pillars in the court of Sneferu's temple at South Dahshur.¹¹⁹⁴ Usually the Egyptian temples, when viewed from the front show either an even number of columns or two groups of pillars (as in the case of porticoes of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari), set symmetrically on both sides of a path leading to the interior. But at Dahshur there were ten pillars distributed in two rows by five, thus a spectator looking from the court towards the interior of the temple along a presumed axis have seen the middle pillar of the front row. Such an arrangement reflected the fact that there were six statue chapels at the back of the temple.¹¹⁹⁵ Spaces between the pillars and the W and E walls of the courtyard, and between the pillars themselves, were on axes with the chapels. This made no trouble for the feeling of symmetry concerning the architecture and sculpture (the statues placed frontally to the spectator), but raised serious troubles in respect to the relief decoration. The S side of the middle, axial pillar simply could not be decorated in a symmetrical manner, given that the decisive element – the king's figure – might have been represented only once and facing this or other direction,

¹¹⁹⁴ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II/1, pp.59-123 figs.35-137, with a detailed plan on fig.4.

¹¹⁹⁵ The question of the origin of precisely this number of chapels must be left aside here as inexplicable for a moment. It is enough to assume that the number of six reflected some important feature of the ideological programme. There were six relief panels of Netjerykhet, six storerooms in the valley temple of Khafra and six rooms in the front part of his upper temple, six 'magazines' in Menkaura's pyramid and in the tombs of Shepseskaf and Khentkaus etc.

which would obviously damaged the rule of symmetry. The pillars bore representations on three sides (the N sides were left undecorated, only painted yellow). The width of the S sides of the pillars of the front row (c.185 cm)¹¹⁹⁶ allowed only for a depiction of a single figure of the king, or two or three (but not more) persons involved in an action requiring their respective proximity. Due to an almost complete destruction of the temple A. Fakhry was able to suggest a precise attribution of a scene to a concrete pillar only in few instances. A relative position of the pillars cannot be established (they are thus captioned simply as ‘A’, ‘B’ etc.), but the attribution of the scene to a side (in terms of the cardinal directions) might be defined. It is presumed that on the E and W sides the king was oriented towards the court, i.e. southwards. Concerning the S sides one can notice such scenes and orientation of the king’s figure:

Pillar ‘A’: King’s run (→)

‘B’: King’s run (←)

‘C’: King’s run (←)

‘D’: King’s run (←)¹¹⁹⁷

‘E’: King (←) embracing Seshat¹¹⁹⁸

Analysis of a fragment depicted on fig.99 of the publication leads to an assumption that the S sides of the pillars of the back row were undecorated. This might mean that we have here at our disposal the whole evidence of the S sides of the front pillars. It is difficult to understand the direction of the king’s move on them. One would expect a similar (right- or leftward)

¹¹⁹⁶ As assumed by E. Edel (Studien zu den Relieffragmenten aus dem Taltempel des Königs Snofru, in: *Studies Simpson*, p.199) the front row included smaller pillars, the back row the larger ones (c.210 cm wide). The numbers are given by Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II/1, p.60, but their attribution is not explicit.

¹¹⁹⁷ The block, with the scene of a visit in the sanctuaries on the other side, was interpreted by Fakhry as a SE corner of a pillar, but it is obviously the SW corner.

¹¹⁹⁸ The side taken by Fakhry to be the N one (as expressed explicitly on p.65, probably by an error, as according to an earlier statement the N sides were undecorated) was almost certainly the W one.

orientation on all the pillars, or at least a ‘half-symmetrical’ arrangement where on three of the pillars the king is facing one direction and on the other two the other direction. But it seems that it was not the case, unless the restoration is false at some point. The results of the above investigation suggest that either some rules of the orientation of figures had not been defined at the time, or they differed from those of the later times. Against the first possibility one might raise the argument that the decoration of the other parts of Sneferu’s temple fits the usual scheme of the king facing outwards and the gods and personifications facing towards the interior of the building.¹¹⁹⁹

Large scenes decorating the walls the *wsh*t courtyard in the mortuary temple of Sahura at Abusir were reconstructed in much part, also due to finds of the blocks *in situ*, which allows some observations concerning the orientation of the king’s figures. On the S wall of the courtyard was a large scene showing smiting a Libyan chieftain in the presence of his family, and gods including goddess Seshat recording booty (fig.63).¹²⁰⁰ The king was facing right i.e. towards the west and the entrance to the inner temple. A parallel scene might have existed on the N wall of the *wsh*t.¹²⁰¹ Judging from the fragments that may be attributed to it, the scene mirrored the one on the S wall, the king’s figure facing left, towards west. The explanation of such an orientation is not easy. The king should be depicted as if moving out of the inner temple. But if one recalls the fact that there was a corridor (*Umgang*) around the courtyard, it appears possible that the representations of the king reflected his presumed path around the complex. This concept will be discussed more extensively in the Conclusions; what is important here is that

¹¹⁹⁹ This is confirmed not only by the processions of nomes and estates, but also by other scenes fragmentarily preserved *in situ*: a god holding *w3s*-sceptre, facing the king, with a large cartouche between them (W wall of the entrance corridor, cf. Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II/1, fig.18), and the king’s foot in the attitude of run (E wall of the court, *ibid.*, fig.25).

¹²⁰⁰ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, I, figs.11,12 (photos); II, pl.1.

¹²⁰¹ Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.2.

it involved a ‘magical’ moving of the king along the walls according to the orientation of his figures. In this case the king was supposed to move along the N wall of the southern corridor when going out, and along the S wall of the courtyard when coming back. An alternative way of return would be the S wall of the southern corridor where the desert hunt was depicted. In this scene the king was facing right, i.e. west, which is in accordance with the system proposed above.

The orientation of the figures of the king in the rooms of the *temple intime* in the pyramid complex of Pepy II seems at first glance to be not set according to a consistent rule. It is the only mortuary temple of the Old Kingdom, where most of the decoration of the sanctuary, the square antechamber, the vestibule and the transverse corridor might be reconstructed.¹²⁰² The results suggest a strange divergence of the directions the king is facing (fig.85). It is not possible to compare this arrangement with that of other mortuary temples, which have been destroyed too much, but the assumption that the rules were dramatically changed under Pepi II is doubtful. Probably such an arrangement was a typical one – and the one intended as logical. It can be explained only by the concept of the ‘king’s path’. The king is shown on the walls as if moving – and this is what in fact happens physically, involving the king’s *ka* – proceeding outside the temple and then coming back. His starting and final point is the western false-door in the sanctuary. He moves along the N and E walls of the antechamber,¹²⁰³ then along the W and S walls of the vestibule, and through the W, N and E walls of the statue chamber, to emerge into the transverse corridor. There the king’s figures face various directions in various scenes. They reflect the activities he

¹²⁰² Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pp.11-53.

¹²⁰³ In fact the king’s figure on the E wall of the antechamber was oriented leftwards, but this was forced by the position of the door at the S end of the wall. The king was represented on the lintel, facing the courtiers coming from the left. No other arrangement was possible in the available space.

is supposed to perform on his way out (to the courtyard) and coming back. The return of the king is planned along the E and S walls of the vestibule, and the S and W walls of the antechamber, to the entrance of the offering-room. It should be stressed that such an arrangement involves in most cases a rightward orientation of the king's figures, which is an original and dominant orientation of the Egyptian art and writing.¹²⁰⁴

Another instance of a presumed breaking of the rules of symmetry in Pepy II's mortuary complex concerns a pillar in the *wsh.t*. This quartzite monolith, one of the eighteen once existing pillars, was the only one left *in situ* by the robbers of stone. Having discovered it, G. Jéquier assumed that it must have been a corner pillar from the NW corner of the court, and decided to restore it at that place.¹²⁰⁵ It is still there, raising some doubts about the rightness of this restoration. A rectangular section indeed suggests that it is a corner pillar, but its attribution to a precisely defined corner of the court may be seriously disputed, given that it is broken at the base and therefore has no join with any of the (much damaged) bases. Two of the sides of the monument bear decoration (fig.84). In both cases it is a figure of the king embraced by a god. On the side set by Jéquier as the E one the king (←), wearing the White Crown, is facing a falcon-headed god with a sun-disk on his head, presumably Ra. On the neighbouring ('south') side the king (→) is embraced by an unspecified god. On this side the heads of the figures are destroyed, but the identification of the king's and the god's figures is certain as in both scenes the gods are supporting the king's arm (an attitude of *sh.tp-jb*). When analysing the decoration of the pillar one has to face the problem that there are no direct parallels from the Old Kingdom (the decorated pillars from the temple of Sneferu at South Dahshur are of different character). Nor

¹²⁰⁴ H. G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs. Part I. Reversals*, New York 1977 (esp. chapter I); id., *L'orientation des textes, Textes et langages*, I, pp.21-23; Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, p.17.

¹²⁰⁵ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, p.23-24, fig.9, and pl.45.

the later parallels can help in this respect. One may assume that an obvious reason for the fact that only two sides of the pillar were decorated, would be that only the 'outer', i.e. those facing the interior of the court, exposed to the sun, surfaces bore reliefs. But it cannot be entirely excluded that the rule was reverse, and the decorated sides were those hidden inside the porticoes. The fact that the decoration was executed in sunk relief cannot help in this case, as it was a usual way of sculpting the hard stone architectural elements, not depending on their position inside or outside the covered parts of a building. Whatever possibility is true some features of the decoration seems to be at variance with the orientation and position rules which might be expected. The king should be represented in a consistent way: either facing towards the interior of the temple, or turned back to it. But he is facing right i.e. off the temple on the 'S' side and facing left, i.e. towards the axis on the 'E' side. Another feature that seems difficult to explain is the White Crown. According to a strict 'geographical' distribution of the elements symbolizing Upper and Lower Egypt, noticed commonly in the temples, one would expect this crown to be shown on a pillar in the southern part of the court, or on the south or west side of a pillar in the northern part. Given the abovementioned remarks it seems that the only possible solution would be an attribution of the pillar to the SE corner, with the decorated sides facing the interior of the court. This would explain the White Crown, and the orientation of the king's figures would be consistent: towards the interior and towards the axis. This seemingly 'reversed' direction can be explained only in terms of the king's move back towards the sanctuary after he had left the temple.

But another possibility exists: an underestimated fact, which must be taken into account is that it is the sun god Ra, who is represented on one, at least, side of the pillar. The *wsh*-court is a place of a manifestation of Ra. This idea is most explicitly symbolized by the form of the altar in the sun-temple of Niuserra, with the four *h**tp*-signs surrounding a round glyph

representing the sun. This central feature is the place where Ra appeared to receive the offerings. The court of Pepi II was likewise the place where Ra appeared, so it was the god's space, and the orientation of the king towards the centre of the court, so towards the god, is perfectly explicable. This means that we came back to the point of departure: perhaps the restoration of Jéquier was correct. The occurrence of the White Crown can be easily explained: Upper Egyptian motifs were usually given precedence in the decoration and texts. The kings of the Old Kingdom were represented (likewise on reliefs and in sculpture in the round) much more often in the White Crown than in the Red Crown.

The seeming exceptions of the last three examples may in fact conform to the rules, providing a clue for a proper understanding of the ideological programme of the main parts of mortuary temples in the 'classical' pyramid complex: the *wsh*-courtyard and the rooms of the inner temple.

Part V. CONCLUSIONS

V.1. Periodization and Development Rules

Changes in the relief and sculpture programme were closely tied to the development of the architecture of the royal mortuary complexes. However, this relationship was not always direct and simple. New architectural concepts reflected not only a need to provide space for two- or three-dimensional sculpture, but also had to express the ideology by the architecture itself. The eschatological ideas that we can meet in somewhat mature form in the Pyramid Texts developed gradually and beside an obvious continuity of the traditions some ‘revolutions’ can be noticed, two most important ones made under Netjerykhet and Sneferu. Analysing changes in the architecture and the decoration programme one can distinguish five main phases in the development of the mortuary complexes through the Old Kingdom.

Archaic Period – since the first ‘royal’ tombs at Umm el-Qaab through Khasekhemui. For the moment the only constant feature of the relief decoration in the archaic mortuary complexes seems to be the existence of a pair of stelae with the royal names. Khasekhemui appears to have been an outstanding ruler, given that his monuments exceed in number, size and quality the earlier ones. The granite fragments of decorating once a building within the ‘Fort’ at Hierakonpolis fall aside the earlier traditions, but also do not conform easily to the Third Dynasty and later evidence. The themes of the king seated in the chapel and the foundation ceremony occurred for the

first time under Khasekhemui.¹²⁰⁶ Amount of the decoration made in hard stone and apparently rich ideological programme are exceptional.

However, one should be cautious about a possible over- and underestimation of this evidence. Apparently much of our view comes *ex silentio* – we ignore what has not survived in the royal tombs and the ‘Forts’. Future research on the Second Dynasty Memphite monuments and the Abydene enclosures may reveal some new data in this respect. High quality of relief in some works (including private stelae), vases, tablets etc. – prove continuous development of both: techniques and programme during the Second Dynasty.¹²⁰⁷

Third Dynasty. As already stated in chapter II.1, the evidence for this phase comes almost exclusively from Netjerykhet’s monuments, and it seems to be fundamental for understanding of all later developments. Evidence from the Step Pyramid enclosure, the first vast mortuary complex in the Memphite necropolis, include architecture, sculpture, reliefs, texts and other data. Later veneration of Netjerykhet as Djoser and the role played by the Step Pyramid during centuries as the focus of the necropolis and as a mythical place, need much more studying.¹²⁰⁸ Beside joining in one complex of the tomb and the *Talbezirk*, and development of the step pyramid form, the introduction of the dummy gates into the enclosure wall (in an evident contrast with the

¹²⁰⁶ The first theme is well attested on archaic monuments like Narmer’s macehead, and its occurrence in the ‘true’, architectural relief is thus anticipated.

¹²⁰⁷ A beautiful example of the achievements of the Second Dynasty is a stela representing a woman seated at the offering-table, found at Saqqara (now in the magazine on the site). See an excellent photo in S. Seidlmayer’s article in: Schulz, Seidel, (eds.), *World of the Pharaohs*, fig.60 (note that the name was erased and a new one cut in a much worse style).

¹²⁰⁸ It is possible that the Step Pyramid complex is a mythical *Pdw-šj*, as well as the template for the Cavern of Sokaris. Such designations as *Tnnt* should also be taken into account. As the main part of the *t3-dsr*, the complex influenced the identification of the king with the place that ultimately led to the attribution to Netjerykhet a new name of Djoser. A parallel for such an ‘invention’ might be a possible derivation of the name of legendary Menes from *Mn-nfr* (J. P. Allen, *Menes the Memphite*, GM 126 (1992), pp.19-22).

Abydene *Talbezirke*) is an important feature, thus far much underestimated. One should stress an almost total non-existence of a representational relief decoration in the aboveground parts of the complex. It is confined to the subterranean apartments, including the six panels, emblems and titulary on doorframes and star-decoration of the ceiling. The programme of the panels, albeit different from that in the later pyramid complexes, is not incidental, but seems to be carefully designed. It is noteworthy that there were no representations of offering bearers or processions of personifications in the complex. Still many storerooms have been filled with food and goods.

The next two phases, fluently passing from one to another, cover the reign of Sneferu and the period from Khufu to Userkaf. During that time the biggest changes occurred that reflected a constant search for innovations in the architecture and decoration programme.

Sneferu. A change of the form of the royal tomb (from a step pyramid to a true one), and of the form of the mortuary precinct (from rectangular N-S to a square E-W),¹²⁰⁹ coincided with the occurrence of the first extensively decorated temple at Dahshur South. Considering Sneferu's long reign as a separate phase and setting of the division after it is well founded; many scenes of the relief decoration occur for the first time, others do not occur later and the programme is focused on other themes. Some of the motifs are still obviously rooted in the archaic traditions, and some new features appear to be repeated only in the Sixth Dynasty (e.g. the decoration of the pillars). It seems that under Sneferu the architecture developed even quicker than the decoration: the 'valley temple' at South Dahshur already included parts that may be interpreted as the *pr-wrw*, the *wsht*-court and statue chambers. The offering chapel was placed directly at the pyramid. In the Red Pyramid complex the offering chapel and statue-cult place were for the first time joint in one architectural unit. The relief decoration was possibly not extant. But

¹²⁰⁹ Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, pp.80-105.

there were serious developments made under Sneferu that seem to reflect two new, revolutionary concepts: on the routes and mode the deceased king moves after his death and subsequent transfiguration (as shown best by changes in the orientation of the offering tables at Meidum and Dahshur), and on the idea of nourishment and supply of the king's *ka* that caused the occurrence of the long processions of personified domains bringing offerings, depicted on temple walls. Those representations replaced real food and equipment stored in the earlier tombs, and the absence of storerooms in Sneferu's pyramids is by no means accidental.¹²¹⁰ It seems that much of the rules of the decorum, still fluent in the Third Dynasty, were established during this phase.¹²¹¹

Khufu – Userkaf. Under Khufu the first extant decoration of the temples and causeway occurred. The first fully developed complex of the 'classical' scheme is proven in fact for Khafra, given that the valley temple of Khufu was barely located and no certain data about its architecture or decoration are available. The attribution of the reliefs found at Giza and Lisht to various parts of Khufu's complex is mostly much conjectural, based on (sometimes uncertain) parallels. On the other hand, the stress on the statue programme (and non-existence of the reliefs), allegedly noticed in the two later Giza complexes, is not necessarily true. Our view may be misled by the

¹²¹⁰ It seems that the economic system of funerary estates was devised not much earlier, as proved by the names of estates of Nebka (Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, p.79, fig.54) and Huni (Urk. I, 2.12). This was truly revolutionary concept that became basic for the whole ideology of eternal kingship. Also the project (that can be attributed to Sneferu) of building the Minor Step Pyramids throughout the country can be related to this issue (cf. *infra* in Addendum).

¹²¹¹ An important case of breaking of the decorum rules may be noticed i.a. in the tomb of Hesyra, where a possible depiction of the king (the only such case in a non-royal tomb of the Old Kingdom), presumably Netjerykhet, existed (W. Wood, A Reconstruction of the Reliefs of Hesy-re, JARCE 15 (1978), pp.9-24). Another example is a stela of Ibu-nesut from Dendera, displaying the serekh in connection with a non-royal name (cf. Rieke, *BABA* 5, fig.7). Also the *šn*-sign is met in this period outside the divine-royal context (e.g. as the collar on the statue of Ankhu, Louvre N40, and on the relief of Iynefer from Dahshur, Cairo JE 57121).

destruction of the buildings (Khafra), and the king's prematural death might have forced changes of the decoration programme (Menkaura). Certainly the programme of Menkaura's triads reflected the same ideas as the personifications of the nomes and estates in relief decoration of other pyramid complexes. Moreover, it is connected with the concept of the 'divine birth' of the king, represented here as the son of Hathor (and possibly Bastet). The exact form of Userkaf's complex is not known, since there is much uncertainty about the existence of the causeway and the valley temple. The most important development of this phase is the occurrence of the relief decoration in the offering-chapel. Many new themes appeared, including the nautical scenes, hunting, and triumphal scenes.

Sahura – to the end of the OK. In this phase one can notice much standardization of the architecture and relief decoration, although this did not stop a development. Changes in the programme are sometimes clearly observable, e.g. casus of the desert and the hippopotamus hunts, as well as the scenes of triumph of Sahura, compared to Pepy II's examples. They are assumed to be entirely different and the change of their location in the temple is stressed.¹²¹² Subphases should be applied to this stage of the presented scheme or even two separate phases conceived, but this would need better knowledge of Djedkara's and Menkauhor's achievements. Introduction of the Pyramid Texts and the decoration of the burial chamber under Unis is an important development. An important feature is also almost complete lack of decoration of the *wsh*t in the Sixth Dynasty mortuary temples. The walls were left plain, but the pillars might have been decorated (for the first time since Sneferu). It seems that it reflects a changed role of this part of the mortuary complex. The question of a precise date of introduction of some themes must remain unanswered. Many of them are recorded rarely and, presumably, late. Given the famous example of the 'famine' motif that

¹²¹² Do. Arnold, Royal Reliefs, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, pp.96-97.

appeared to derive from Sahura's complex (at the latest, but possibly even earlier), as well as notwithstanding the scantiness of the evidence, one has to consider looking back for the origins of some scenes as early as the reign of Khufu.

V.2. Architecture and Decoration. Structure of the programme.

The characteristics and mutual relations of various parts of a complex and the programme are most clearly expressed in the developed, classical scheme of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. But some order or balance may be observed already in Netjerykhet's complex. For the first time (the evidence for the Early Dynastic Period seems too scanty in this respect) many ideas known to us from later periods were displayed. But the Step Pyramid complex was still partly archaic, bearing obvious references to the architecture of the 'forts' (E and N entrances, 'token palace'='building askew', etc.). The main route of access to the early royal necropolis and to the Step Pyramid complex was from the north via Wadi Abusir. A visitor might have walked along and around the Dry Moat, and inside the temenos between the two southern stretches of the moat, towards the only real gate in the south part of the eastern wall – which possibly reflected the idea of the great *wsh*-sign.¹²¹³ One has to stress an important role of the panelled enclosure wall¹²¹⁴ with its fourteen dummy gates and of the Dry Moat for a possible enacting of the rituals of 'Going Round the Wall' and 'Dragging the *Henu*-bark.' This role might be taken later by (much underestimated in the research) temenos walls around the pyramids¹²¹⁵ and their surroundings. Also the ways inside the complex are not merely one route nor are they straight but

¹²¹³ F. D. Friedman, *The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex*, JARCE 32 (1995), pp.40-41.

¹²¹⁴ One has to bear in mind the fact of enlarging of the enclosure. The first temenos wall included probably two gates, reflecting the positions of the E and N entrances in the Abydene 'forts'. It is noteworthy that their position reflects possibly the same idea as the later 'paths' towards east and north, passing through E and N offering chapels of the pyramids.

¹²¹⁵ *Baugraffiti* from the pyramid of Pepy I mention even an administrator of the enclosure wall (V. Dobrev, *Les marques sur pierres de construction de la nécropole de Pépi Ier. Étude prosopographique*, BIFAO 96 (1996), pp.103-132). From the same complex derived a beautiful corner block (our fig. 36), one of rare preserved examples of once extant and complex decoration of the pyramid temenos walls.

they turn many times. The king was supposed to move around the various parts of the enclosure, with a possibility to emerge eventually through the 14 gates to the four cardinal directions.¹²¹⁶ Inside the precinct, various architectural units can be compared with those of the later mortuary complexes (fig.86).

Entrance colonnade = the *pr-wrw* entrance hall, with a ‘token palace’ on the south; its position is taken later by the first court in the New Kingdom mortuary temples.¹²¹⁷

South Court = the *wsh*-court, in the New Kingdom the second court. In the Step Pyramid enclosure the great courtyard is connected with the idea of the king’s territorial claim (as clearly demonstrated by the existence of the boundary markers). Later on there is evidence for the change of meaning: courts are connected mostly with royal statuary programme and the sun cult.

South Tomb = a satellite pyramid. Stelae in the underground chambers of the pyramid and of the South Tomb form one ideological unit, connected by the representation of the king’s run. This role is later taken by part of the decoration of the transverse corridor. This reflected a change of location from the substructure up to the aboveground; but still the role of connecting the tomb and the secondary tomb was retained. The panels provide the clue for a proper understanding of the ideology of the complex. The king was intended to move along the corridors according to the representations and texts: South and West, and then off the South Tomb.

Heb-Sed Court is later paralleled by the square antechamber, and the area east of the Step Pyramid by the offering chapel (as suggested by the stelae found by J.-P. Lauer).

¹²¹⁶ The fourteen dummy gates of Netjerykhet’s enclosure wall were obviously conceived as false doors. Their back parts were represented on the inner face of the wall. On the idea of fourteen *kas* of the king referred to in the number of gates see the next chapter.

¹²¹⁷ D. Arnold, in: *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, p.35.

The role the northern ‘temple’ played is unclear. Possibly it was also an offering place, connected to a slaughterhouse. It might have been a forerunner of the northern chapels of the later pyramid complexes.

Royal statues were present in the serdab(s?), at the Heb-Sed Court, in the ‘token palace’ at the entrance hall, and possibly in the South and North Buildings. The meaning of Netjerykhet’s serdab statue is not entirely clear, but two points seem important: the direction the king was facing (connected with his presumed destination in the northern sky), and the askew placement of the statue against the pyramid’s face (necessary for the king’s spirit to enter the statue? Or to face better the Circumpolar stars?).

The arrangement of the architecture and decoration of ‘classical’ complexes presumably reflects a need to set the programme along a single axis, oriented EW because of the change of the direction of approach. One reason for this would be looking for order and simplicity, which required straightening of the routes. Another reason can be seen in the fact that older forms of expressing the ever changing ideology (e.g. *Götterfestungen*, *jtrtj*, 14 gates, etc.) had to be replaced or ‘nested’. The archaic ‘feasts’ of *Šmst-Hrw*, *h^c nswt* and *h^c bjtj* (tax collection and assemblies of deities during the king’s travels around the country), a ‘territorial claim’ of the king running, accession ceremonies and the ‘rejuvenation’ rites of the *hb-sd*, were later all incorporated into the *Heb-Sed* theme.¹²¹⁸ New forms not necessarily reflect a new ideology. Changes of ideological concepts were also tied to the development of the decorum rules and techniques of relief.

¹²¹⁸ Or only interpreted as such by modern scholars? For instance, it has been much discussed, but possibly cannot be decided, whether the Early Dynastic representations such as the king seated in the chapel and running between the boundary markers on a tablet of Den (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl.XI, 14) depict the *Heb-Sed*, or some other rituals e.g. the ‘Appearance of the King’.

Symmetry and Focus, Axes and Directions, Divisions of the Mortuary Complex

An interpretation of the mortuary complex depends much on the presumed mode of 'reading' of its constitutive parts. Axes and directions that can be discerned in the 'classical' complex, when analysed carefully, are highly informative in this respect. The main axis goes EW. Along this line the buildings of the complex are set.¹²¹⁹ It divides the complex into two less or more symmetrical parts, which are clearly differentiated also in the decoration programme. The second important axis is the NS line of the entrance corridor of the pyramid. Secondary directions can be also defined and some axes are broken. In fact the NS divisions are more than one, and they constitute borders dividing the complex into parts. They are obviously expressing concepts of successive stages and of gradual focusing of the ideological programme. There is, however, a serious problem concerning the direction of 'reading' them.

Distinguishing parts of a royal mortuary complex is closely related to the interpretation of the function of various elements of the programme, including the scenes decorating the walls of rooms. A structural sectioning into the mortuary temple, the causeway and the valley temple, based on obvious architectural divisions, is the one used since a long time. In the mortuary (upper) temple the *Verehrungstempel* and the *Opfertempel* are distinguished.¹²²⁰ J. Brinks developed an idea that four main parts of the

¹²¹⁹ It should be noticed, however, that the direction of the causeway is standardized as exactly EW only under Menkaura. The causeways of the pyramids of Sneferu, Khufu, Djedefra and Khafra were going askew (and even bent once or twice). They resemble in this respect causeways of Userkaf's and Niuserra's sun temples. For a possible astronomical explanation of this feature see R. A. Wells, *The 5th Dynasty Sun Temples at Abu Ghurab as Old Kingdom Star Clocks: Examples of Applied Ancient Egyptian Astronomy*, in: (S. Schoske ed.), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses, München 1985*, vol 4, Hamburg 1991, pp.95-104.

¹²²⁰ Cf. n.120 above.

mortuary temples can be enumerated according to their presumed function: the funerary complex, the *Sed*-festival-complex, the divine-cult complex and the sun-cult complex.¹²²¹ All these functions are noticeable, but such a distinction of the ‘complexes’ seems to be unsupported by the evidence of the reliefs. Brinks also suggested that the themes represented in the large non-royal tomb chapels of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties referred to those of the royal temples being likewise connected to the four specific functions. This concept has been criticized by Y. Harpur, who analysed the problem and decided that ‘only the offering room in the multi-roomed chapel consistently follows the pattern of reliefs in a temple.’¹²²²

A different approach may be proposed that can help to establish primary divisions of the funerary complex. One has to refer to a fundamental idea of rebirth, being a birth to a new life, as expressed in the relief decoration. Birth concept was most clearly present in suckling and embracing scenes depicted near the gates. It appears that there were three different places where such scenes occurred: *niche de l’escalier* in the transverse corridor, the gate between the causeway and the entrance hall to the *Verehrungstempel*, and the valley temple entrance.¹²²³ Importance of gates as places of real and symbolic *passage* is quite obvious. It is confirmed also by the evidence of the Abusir papyri.¹²²⁴ The suckling scenes at the doorways suggest a tripartite division of the complex temples, the parts being different from our ‘mortuary temple’, ‘causeway’, and ‘valley temple’. Mortuary temple is clearly bisected (bearing a characteristic T-shaped plan with the inner temple included inside the square enclosure wall). On the other hand, the valley temple and the causeway form a unity (with no apparent border between the two visible in the decoration).

¹²²¹ Brinks, *Entwicklung*, p.46; id., LÄ III, 1214-1231.

¹²²² Harpur, *Decoration*, p.109.

¹²²³ For the examples see chapter III.6.

¹²²⁴ Posener-Kriéger, *Archives d’Abousir*, II, p. 496 (*rwt h3t*), p. 500 (*sb3 n hnw*).

Tomb: Royal pyramids reveal not only EW and NS axes in the plan of the internal chambers, but also directions not merely horizontal nor vertical, including sloping corridors and star-shafts.¹²²⁵ It is usually assumed that the superstructures of the royal tombs (in various forms) represented the primeval hill with a strong solar connotations, while the subterranean parts belonged to the netherworld.¹²²⁶ It has even been suggested that placing of the burial chamber in the superstructure of the pyramids of Sneferu and Khufu reflected those kings' wish to be identified with the sun-god.¹²²⁷ The Pyramid Texts introduced under Unis were executed in sunk relief filled in with green-blue paste. It is often assumed that this form resembled the colour of faience tiles of Netjerykhet and probably reflected the same idea. The evidence of the decoration of the burial apartments is, however, much underestimated. Stars decorating ceilings of the underground chambers of the Step Pyramid, re-appeared under Unis (in the meantime such a decoration occurred probably only in the temples). Stars of Unis were painted blue on white (not yellow against blue background as usually stated!)¹²²⁸ and it seems that the idea they expressed developed gradually further as later the white-on-black pattern became to be used in the pyramid chambers. At the same moment, the star-decoration on the ceilings in the temples showed yellow

¹²²⁵ Recorded thus far only in Khufu's pyramid (R. Stadelmann, R. Gantenbrink, Die sogenannten Luftkanäle der Cheopspyramide. Modellkorridore für den Aufstieg des Königs zum Himmel, MDAIK 50 (1994), pp.285-294).

¹²²⁶ A. Piankoff described a pyramid as 'the solar mountain, the Ben Ben, the obelisk dedicated to the sun. It was the primeval hill which first rose from the flood at the creation of the world (...) the pyramid, this mountain, was loaded with life-forming energy; it was the centre of the earth, the place where the nether and the upper worlds communicated.' (*The Pyramid of Unas*, Princeton 1968, pp.4-5). For a possible identification of the pyramid as Geb see below.

¹²²⁷ Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.117.

¹²²⁸ Labrousse, *Pyramides à textes*, I, pl.III, p.201. Erroneously described as yellow-on-blue in (i.a.): Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.186; Verner, *Pyramidy. Tajemství Minulosti*, p.293; Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.155.

stars on a blue background.¹²²⁹ This difference is by no means accidental. The ceilings inside the pyramid represented the night sky or antisky, while those in the temples depicted the day sky. The netherworld and the earth were thus differentiated.¹²³⁰ Another much underestimated feature is the palace-façade decoration (variously described as ‘palace façade’, ‘paneling’, ‘matting’, ‘*serekh*’, etc.). After its appearance and extensive use in the Archaic times¹²³¹ it occurred also in the ‘mature’ Old Kingdom. It could decorate both the exterior and interior of the tomb (Menkaura: inside the pyramid and in the temple courtyards, also the queens’ pyramid temples; Shepseskaf and Khentkaus: external walls of the tombs). Palace-façade design decorated the sarcophagi of Menkaura, Shepseskaf and Ptahshepses.¹²³² In the Sixth

¹²²⁹ It seems, however, that the ceilings of the *wsht* and the *pr-wrw* in the temple of Pepy I were decorated with white stars on a blue background (Labrousse, *Viewing a Pyramid*, pp.66, 72). Cf. also the remarks in Labrousse, Moussa, *Chaussée du roi Ounas*, p.17, n.21.

¹²³⁰ Green-light blue vs dark blue-black (L. Manniche, Green Monkeys, in: *Eighth Congress of Egyptologists*, p.119). It seems that these two colour sets were clearly distinguished by the Egyptians. Yellow and white refers obviously to the sun and the moon, thus symbolizing day and night. On these problems see J. Baines, Color Classification and color terminology: ancient Egyptian color terminology and polychromy, *American Anthropologist* 87 (1985), pp.282-297; Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic*, pp.104-125. It seems that the star-motif design in various rooms of the pyramid was further differentiated by the use of either raised relief (corridor) or sunk relief (antechamber and burial chamber). The five-pointed stars were oriented with the ‘free’ arm towards west (cf. Labrousse, *Pyramides à textes*, II, pp.34, 62-65, 85-88; Labrousse, Albuoy, *Pyramides des reines*, pp.58-59, 63).

¹²³¹ K. Kroeper, L.Krzyżaniak, Two Ivory Boxes from Early Dynastic Graves in Minshat Abu Omar, in: *The Followers of Horus. Studies Hoffman*, pp.207-214. The question of the provenance and the role of the *serekh* in the early royal dogma has been much discussed (e.g. M. Atzler, Einige Erwägungen zum *srh*, *Oriens*, Leiden, 23-24 (1974), pp.406-432). See recently (i.a.): A. O. Brien, The *Serekh* as an Aspect of the Iconography of Early Kingship, *JARCE* 33 (1996), pp.; S. Hendrickx, Arguments for an Upper Egyptian Origin of the Palace-façade and the *serekh* during Late Predynastic-Early Dynastic times, *GM* 184 (2001), pp.85-110; A. Jiménez-Serrano, The Origin of the Palace-façade as Representation of Lower Egyptian Élites, *GM* 183 (2001), pp.71-81.

¹²³² The date of the burial of this prince (a ‘king’s son’) is much controversial. Dodson suggested that he was a member of Pepy II’s family who re-used a sarcophagus dating from the end of the Fourth Dynasty (A. Dodson, On the Burial of Prince Ptahshepses, *GM* 129 (1992), pp. 49-51). This seems a plausible assumption that would be corroborated by the fact that the representation on the belt of Ptahshepses (the hovering falcon, a royal attribute) is an obvious loosing of the decorum rules. This would point towards a date of the burial in the late Sixth Dynasty. On the other hand, the argument that the sarcophagus,

Dynasty pyramid chambers the panels representing a palace wall were supplied with the representations of gates, no doubt conceived as the false-doors (fig.39). Panelling was set only on the parts of the walls of burial chambers around the sarcophagi.¹²³³ The design underwent important changes: panels were big and colourful under Unis and Teti, reduced and green-black in the later Sixth Dynasty. No panelling and stars are recorded in the burial chambers for the period between Netjerykhet and Unis, but it cannot be excluded that canopies set on wooden frames inside the Bent and Khufu's pyramids bore such a decoration.¹²³⁴

Satellite tomb.¹²³⁵ Position: initially south of the main pyramid, then regularly to the SE = S of the mortuary temple. It is doubtful that it was a symbolic tomb, either for the king or his statue, used during the *Heb-Sed*.¹²³⁶ Certainly there exists important evidence for statue-burials.¹²³⁷ It was not a *ka*-tomb (this can be considered an inappropriate term; cf. *infra* on the characteristics of *ka*) but a second(ary) tomb. The statue placed there would be a replacement body (this reflects the concept of a mummy as a sculpture, the

having only two parallels, must be much earlier, seems reasonable. Also non-royal stone sarcophagae might have been decorated with a 'palace-façade' design. For a list of occurrences see H. Altenmüller, in: *Études Lauer*, p.14.

¹²³³ A magnificent example of detailed execution of the panels is preserved in the pyramid of Merenra (Labrousse, *Pyramides à textes*, II, pls.XXXII a,b, XXXIII a,b, (described by error as 'partie est de la façade du palais entourent le sarcophage.' It is obviously the western part.). See also J. Rousseau, *Les panneaux gravés des appartements d'Ounas, Pépi I^{er} et Mérinré*, DE 47 (2000), pp.65-77.

¹²³⁴ Panelling and reed-matting decoration might have referred to the idea of the *Jenseitspalast* of the dead (H. Altenmüller, *Prunkscheintür*). This same concept may have been reflected in the canopies surrounding royal burials, of which most outstanding examples were discovered in KV 55 and KV 62, but which possibly formed a part of burial assemblage already in the Old Kingdom. This is suggested not only by the funerary equipment of Hetepheres, but also by traces of such canopies in the burial chambers of Sneferu and Khufu (M. Lehner, in: *Fs Stadelmann*, pp.133-140)

¹²³⁵ Various theories on a possible origin and function of the satellite pyramids were summarized in Lehner, *Pyramid Tomb of Hetepheres*, pp. 78-79.

¹²³⁶ Firth, Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, p.20; Brinks, *Entwicklung*, pp.76-94.

¹²³⁷ Lehner, *Pyramid Tomb of Hetepheres*, pp.76-78.

aim is not 'preservation' but 'transformation' of the body)¹²³⁸ in case the original mummy would have been destroyed. Architecturally the satellite pyramid was a copy of the main tomb and the related structures. Offering chapels with stelae existed on the E side of the satellite pyramids of Sneferu at South Dahshur and at Meidum, but no associated cult structures were recorded at later satellite pyramids. Probably it was assumed that in case of such a need, the king 'sleeping' in the 'replacement mummy' could go forth through the N corridor outside the pyramid and enter the mortuary temple. This explains the position of the satellite pyramid and conforms to the role of the transverse corridor.

N chapel: It was a second sanctuary, of smaller dimensions and secondary meaning. It can be related with the position of the northern stars. It has been suggested that the relative position and meaning of the N and E chapels might have been paralleled in some way in the position of the N and S niches with false-doors in the non-royal tombs of the Old Kingdom.¹²³⁹

The upper temple was clearly divided in two parts (the *Totenopfertempel* and the *Verehrungstempel*), with the transverse corridor as both a border and a key space (the statue chamber and the way from the sanctuary opening to the corridor, the king's run, since Netjerykhet through Pepy II – between the border-markers, joining S and N). Doorways were open from the corridor to the statue chamber, the courtyard, the satellite pyramid and the N court of the

¹²³⁸ J. H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, London 2001, p.48.

¹²³⁹ P. Janosi, *Bemerkungen zu den Nordkapellen des Alten Reiches*, SAK 22 (1995), pp.145-167. Janosi suggested that the N *Kultstelle* of a mastaba might have derived from an association with the entrance to the subterranean parts (a shaft or a sloping corridor towards the burial chamber, located in the Fourth Dynasty on the south). Leaving aside the question of the date of appearance of the N chapel, this is a plausible concept. The S false-door was obviously the primary one. However, one has to take into account a rarely referred to evidence from Edfu, where the N niches of the mastabas were larger and obviously more important. This feature was explained by the orientation towards Hierakonpolis, the most important religious centre at the period of emergence of the state (C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Les tombes à niches orientées*, in: *Miscellanea Gregoriana. Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel I Centenario dalla fondazione del Pont. Museo Egizio (1839-1939)*, Vatican 1941, pp.63-72).

pyramid (the corridor opened thus to the four cardinal directions). The door leading to the room with statues may be considered the most important one in the temple,¹²⁴⁰ and the true border between the outer parts and the *temple intime*. It is clearly stressed by the decoration of the door-niche including the scenes of nursing the king.

Totenopfertempel. The northern part of the building was occupied by the magazines. The main rooms of the inner temple, leading towards the sanctuary, were arranged along a broken axis in the middle and southern part of the temple. The question arises why the rooms could not have been set along a straight axis. The answer must be related in some way to the position of the statue chamber. This can be explained by a need to place the statues exactly on line with the false-door in the E sanctuary and the main, E-W architectural (and presumably ritual) axis of the outer temple. The sanctuary or the offering chapel: undoubtedly the most important place in the temple. The king was shown there seated in front of the offering table, receiving offerings brought to him by long cortege of officials. On the N wall in the sanctuary of Pepi II the entire king's figure was carved on one, enormous block (8 m long).¹²⁴¹ This feature not only proves the importance of the king's figures in the sanctuary, but bears far reaching implications for reconstructing of the ideology of two-dimensional representations. The inner temple included a 'statue mount' with a hidden 'serdab' (recorded in Pepi II's temple) and the room with statue niches, facing the exit to the transverse corridor (both spaces for statues representing possibly the idea of *tpht*).¹²⁴² It is noteworthy that the decoration of the nearby room (the transverse corridor) may have

¹²⁴⁰ The importance of this doorway is stressed by the fact that in the complex of Neferirkara, largely built of cheaper materials, it was the only architectural structure constructed of granite. As observed by P. Posener-Kriéger (*Archives d'Abou Sir*, II, p.501): 'Il est évident que nous pénétrons, par cette porte, dans un des lieux les plus saints du temple'.

¹²⁴¹ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, p.54.

¹²⁴² Cf. supra n.125.

been connected with the statuary (as suggested by Niuserra's relief, showing the king enthroned between Anubis and Wadjet, representing probably a statue, possibly one of those in the statue chamber). Offerings and statue cult were thus joined in one architectural unit.

Verehrungstempel. The courtyard was connected with the vertical axis. The scenes on the walls inside the court and in the ambulatory around it showed various activities of the king, including smiting enemies and hunting, making offerings to gods and celebrating the *Heb-Sed*. Entrance hall and the preceding gate chamber (*Breite Halle*) belonged to this part of the temple. The latter room included scenes of suckling and embracing.

Causeway: Figures of the king at the upper end of the causeway, where he is shown enthroned and facing the approaching procesions of gods and offering bearers, prove the role of this place important as a third 'sanctuary' beside the E and N offering chapels. However, contrary to what happened in those rooms, here the offerings were not presented physically but only in a 'magic' manner (this assumption raises the question of a cult practise – the offerings were almost certainly confined to the upper enclosure; it is unclear how the cult of statues in the valley temple was realized). Strikingly enough, this idea seems to be reflected in the fact that no offering table was shown in front of the king. Obviously the concept represented was much more than merely receiving food. This is confirmed by the decoration of the other parts of causeways. In the middle section were represented scenes that may be interpreted as related to producing goods (not only craftsmen workshops and market places, but also the agricultural and hunting activities). The scenes of trampling enemies by the king represented as a sphinx or griffin, together with representations of rows of captives led by gods towards the king, decorated the lower ends of causeways. The causeway decoration might be thus conceived as a reflection of the entire world, from the royal palace outside, through the land of Egypt and its people, and the foreign countries

and their inhabitants. Active role of the king is evident from his representations at the middle and lower sections of causeways; he is destroying enemies, meeting his troops, witnessing other activities. The role of ‘narrative’ scenes of transport of a pyramidion or cargo ships etc., displaying a unique, single event, is not clear. It is noteworthy that in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari some themes analogous to those known from causeways, namely the obelisks, and trampling and smiting enemies, were located in the lower porticoes. In the case of triumphal scenes not only the subject, but also the position and orientation of the royal figures are paralleled.

Valley Temple: The division between the causeway and the valley temple is not stressed forcefully in the architecture and certainly it is not expressed in the decoration. The king was represented in a sphinx or griffin form likewise at the lower end of the causeway as in the valley temple. The role of valley temples was much discussed in the past. The evidence of the reliefs (as well as the architecture and sculpture programme) points strongly against the hypotheses of the connection with embalming ritual and the identification of these buildings as the *zh ntr* of Anubis, or the *jbw* or *w^cbt*.¹²⁴³ The valley temple was first of all the monumental gateway of the mortuary complex, an entrance from a perspective of the people, and an exit for the king. If one assumes that the whole complex represented the sky, the valley temple might have played a role of a ‘heaven’s door.’ In some way the gates of a valley temple can be compared to a doorway of a naos, from which the transfigured dead emerges in a statue form (as in the famous example of Mereruka). The valley temples with their two entrances might have been conceived as *ʿ3wj*

¹²⁴³ B. Grdseloff, Nouvelles données concernant la tente de purification, *ASAE* 51 (1951), pp.129-140; H. Altenmüller, Die Bedeutung der „Gotteshalle des Anubis“ im Begräbnisritual, *JEOL* 7 no.22 (1971-1972), pp.307-317; Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.27.

pt.¹²⁴⁴ Such an identification is strongly suggested by the fact that the two gates of Khafra's lower temple were dedicated to sky-goddesses Hathor and Bastet (as the inscriptions on the jambs and the statuary from the niches prove).

Mortuary complex as a mirror of cosmos:

The entire complex encompass several layers of meaning ('nested concepts' of A. M. Roth). One of these represented a cosmographic interpretation. Three spheres: the earth, the sky and the netherworld were defined and symbolized in the elements of the mortuary complex. The role of the Pyramid Texts is crucial in this respect: they speak of the king's paths around the buildings of the precinct and outside it, starting from the sarcophagus, and bear direct references to the parts of the complex and their roles.¹²⁴⁵ It is as a whole an image of the cosmos of which the sky constitutes the most important part. The gods are there and the king is bound for it.¹²⁴⁶ Hence the names of the complexes referred to the sky or its parts.¹²⁴⁷ The whole complex was a large simulacrum of the sky.¹²⁴⁸ But at the same

¹²⁴⁴ E. Brovarski, *The Doors of Heaven*, Or 46 (1977), pp.107-115; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, pp.91-102.

¹²⁴⁵ For details with citations of relevant passages of the Pyramid Texts see ch. V.3 below.

¹²⁴⁶ The best account of the cosmology of the afterlife (including the discussion of the main toponyms) can be found in the article of J. P. Allen, *The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts*, in: *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, Yale Egyptological Studies 3, New Haven 1989, pp.1-28.

¹²⁴⁷ As e.g. *3ht* of Khufu or *shdw* of Djedefra.

¹²⁴⁸ D. O'Connor, *The Interpretation of the Old Kingdom Pyramid Complex*, in: *Fs Stadelmann*, pp.135-144. This applies to the Step Pyramid complex as well (cf. D. Friedman, *Notions of Cosmos in the Step Pyramid Complex*, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.337-51). *Dipinti* left in the buildings of the precinct by New Kingdom pilgrims taken to record exaggerated impressions, should probably be understood more explicitly (e.g. 'The Scribe Ahmose came to see the Temple of Djoser. He found it as though heaven were inside it, Ra rising within, heaven raining myrrh and incense dripping upon it.' (V. Davis, R. Friedman, *Egypt*, London 1998, p.63)). Also the probable name for an upper temple (upper enclosure) recorded in the sun-temple of Userkaf, namely *hrt* (*nt R^c(w) m Nhn-R^c(w)*); H. Stock, *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Userkaf* (Bericht über der erste Kampagne 1954/55), ZÄS 80 91955), p.143, + pl.XIV, fig.4) can be a word-play with *hrt*, 'heaven'.

moment, three parts of the complex might have represented the entire cosmos: a tripartite division of earth, sky and the netherworld, but not paralleled directly in the division of the temples; the spheres interchanged fluently. The Earth meant Egypt with all the foreign countries surrounding it and was represented by the valley temple and the causeway. The Netherworld (=antisky?) was inherent in the pyramid chambers: Nut (sarcophagus), *Duat* (burial chamber), *Akhet?* (antechamber).¹²⁴⁹ The ‘Serdab’ might have been the Cavern of Nun (or mansion of Osiris).¹²⁵⁰ They were all set within the mound of the pyramid, representing god Geb. The satellite pyramid possibly belonged to *Duat* sphere as well.¹²⁵¹ It can plausibly be suggested that the east and north sanctuaries, where the places of emergence of the king from the Netherworld can be located, were the Field of Reeds (E) and Field of Offering (N).¹²⁵² The transverse corridor is a transitive space.¹²⁵³ The king emerged from there into the courtyard. The *wsht* was probably interpreted as the *Akhet*.¹²⁵⁴ This is the central part of the temple – *wsht* as the place of

¹²⁴⁹ As suggested by J. Allen, Reading a Pyramid, in: *Hommages Leclant*, I, pp.5-28. One can doubt, however, such an identification of the antechamber, given the interpretations of the ‘serdab’ and E and N sanctuaries (cf. infra). The whole interior of the pyramid should probably be interpreted as *Duat*.

¹²⁵⁰ According to B. Mathieu, La signification du serdab dans la pyramide d'Ounas. L'architecture des appartements funéraires royaux à la lumière des Textes des Pyramides, in: *Etudes Lauer*, pp. 289-304.

¹²⁵¹ The secondary tomb should be interpreted in the same way as the tomb proper. Moreover, the *Duat* was located in the south-east according to some Pyramid Texts. According to a recent astronomical interpretation both *S3h*-Orion and the *Dw3t* are located in the southern sky, south of the ecliptic (R. Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte und Jenseitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten*, ÄA 59, Wiesbaden 1997, pp.144, 155, 214).

¹²⁵² ‘Causeway of Happiness north of the Field of Offerings’ is mentioned in Pyr.§§ 1198 and 1199.

¹²⁵³ It would be tempting to see there an enigmatic *mr Knztj* of the Pyramid Texts (the southern *Knzt*-region itself to be located between the square antechamber and the corridor?).

¹²⁵⁴ Pace D. O’Connor – his concept reflects the idea of the *3ht*-glyph where the sun-disk emerges from among the hills and the idea of pylon towers. However, the form of the alleged ‘pylons’ in the pyramid complexes to which he referred is much uncertain. The *Akhet* would be something different or more than this, moreover, in the Old Kingdom the

ascendance and communication, but at the same moment the primeval island.¹²⁵⁵ In general, the *Verehrungstempel* was the realm of the living: the sky and the earth were meeting.

A cosmological ‘frame’ of the buildings of the mortuary complex and their decoration can be observed in both macro- and microscale. Basalt floors might have represented earth, black cultivated land; red granite columns with plant capitals – flora of Egypt or the primeval marsh; the ceilings, studded with stars, and the roofs with lion-shaped waterspouts, symbolized the sky.¹²⁵⁶ The same framing can be seen in the relief decoration. The scenes are bordered by a dado at the bottom (bands of black, yellow and red, i.e. the earth) and the elongated sky-hieroglyph with stars at the top. It seems that the *w3s*-scepters (representing supports of the sky), flanking scenes in later times, do not occur yet. They appear, however, in the ‘cosmological frames’ of the royal titulary (fig.87) which is quite often set in a heraldic manner within a rectangle formed by the sky-sign, the two *w3s*-scepters, and an elongated sign of the earth (*t3*) at the bottom.¹²⁵⁷ This latter element is sometimes supplied with two bearded heads representing Aker gods.¹²⁵⁸ Such a setting of the royal names and epithets is a visualisation of an idea (similarly to what is expressed by a cartouche) that the king claims the right to the whole world that is in fact filled in with his person.

word was written with the crested ibis and the *t3*- signs and not with the sign N 27 of Gardiner’s list.

¹²⁵⁵ Do. Arnold, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.94-96.

¹²⁵⁶ Arnold, *Tempel*, pp.47-49.

¹²⁵⁷ In the New Kingdom it occurs above the bands of dado in the wall framing. It seems that it was introduced into this position after the Old Kingdom.

¹²⁵⁸ It has not been recorded by J. Ogdon, *Some Notes on the Name and Iconography of the God 3kr*, VA 2 (1986), pp.127-135, where the author referred to the form of the signs in the Pyramid Texts. Considering the representation of Aker as a glyph of land with human heads attached to its sides, he even stated that: ‘Knowing of the common origin of „art” and „writing” in ancient Egypt, one would have expected to find in these „artistic” images nothing else than an enlarged version of the indicators mentioned above, but this is not the case.’ (ibid., p.129).

Principle of Duality:

As a mirror of the rectangular cosmos with its symmetry and strict axiality,¹²⁵⁹ the mortuary complex reflects an overwhelming concept of duality that is probably one of the most fundamental ideas in the Egyptian *Weltanschauung*,¹²⁶⁰ and which found multiple expressions in the Egyptian art.¹²⁶¹ It is most obvious in the division along the EW axis that enabled direct representation of the duality of the kingdom, with south part of a temple, the southern walls, gates, columns etc. representing Upper Egypt and the northern ones representing Lower Egypt. West was associated to south, and east to north.¹²⁶² It was a direct consequence of the hierarchy of the cardinal points of the Egyptians: prominence of the south, where the sun has

¹²⁵⁹ As ingeniously summarized by C. Aldred: ‘The Egyptian was highly conscious of the box-like structure of his world, traversed by two co-ordinates at right angles: the generally south-north flow of the Nile, and the east-west passage of the sun across the ceiling of the heavens, which was supported by a third axis. The contiguous planes of this environment are carefully defined as separate entities and are to be found in the fully developed Egyptian temple, which is strictly cubic and is a model of the universe at its creation. Every temple relief is framed by a geometrical figure, the baseline being the earth-glyph (—) and the ceiling line the sky-sign (—) which is sometimes supported by was-sceptres (𓏏 𓏏) at the ends, standing for the poles that keep the heavens aloft at its four corners. Such an orthogonal feeling for space is seen even in such decorative features as the block-pattern border which often frames compositions, or the rectangular word-groups of hieroglyphic inscriptions, or the units that comprise scenes in reliefs and paintings or even the disposal of elements within a circular area.’ (*Egyptian Art*, London-New York 1980, p.13).

¹²⁶⁰ E. Hornung, *Idea into Image*, New York 1992, esp. ch.4 ‘The Egyptian concept of borders and the theory of bipolar thinking’.

¹²⁶¹ At the same moment the symmetry in the overall design often coincided with diversifying of details. See: H. Balcz, *Symmetrie und Asymmetrie in Gruppenbildungen der Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, MDAIK 1 (1930), pp.137-152; W. Westendorf, *Zur Symmetrie der Scheintür*, GM 69 (1983), pp.81-82; E. Hornung, *Zur Symmetrie in Kunst und Denken der Ägypter*, in: *Ägypten – Dauer und Wandel*, SDAIK 18, Mainz a. Rhein 1985, p.72. S. Schoske, *Symmetrophobia. Symmetrie und Assymetrie in der altägyptischen Kunst*, in: *Symmetrie in Kunst, Natur und Wissenschaft. Mathildenhöhe Darmstadt, 1. Juni bis 24. August 1986*, Darmstadt 1986, pp.151-156. Schoske argues that the deviations of details express dynamics, as confronted with the static aspects based on the principle of axiality.

¹²⁶² In the royal funerary complexes this rule is most clearly visible in the arrangement of the chapels in the Heb-Sed Court of the Step Pyramid complex (the western row of buildings representing the Upper Egyptian *pr-wrw* and *zh-ntr*-shrines and the eastern one the Lower Egyptian *pr-nw*-shrines) and in the square antechamber of Pepy II (the association of the S and W walls with Upper E. and the N and E walls with Lower E.).

its zenith and from where the Nile flows, then of the west, the ‘right-hand’ (*jmnt*).¹²⁶³ The exceptions to this rule in the OK and later were rare.¹²⁶⁴ The associations S (U.E.)-W and N (L.E.)-E are almost a rule in the relief decoration.¹²⁶⁵

Scenes:

The existence of North and South scenes is most clearly observable in the themes of Desert Hunt and Marsh Hunt, reflecting differences in landscape and natural conditions between S deserts and N swamps. The position of these scenes in the mortuary temple of Sahura (on the S and N walls of the S and N part of the *Umgang* respectively) fits perfectly the scheme of symmetrical duality. Such a ‘natural’ diversification may be discerned also in the architecture of the pyramid precincts: the satellite pyramid (desert hills) vs. the basins at the N court (the Delta lakes).¹²⁶⁶

Deities:

¹²⁶³ G. Posener, *Sur l'orientation et l'ordre des points cardinaux chez les Égyptiens*, Göttingen 1965 (NAWG 1965. No. 2. = Göttinger Vorträge), pp. 69-78. It is striking that in the Egyptian thought the prominence of the south, based on geographical features conforms so well with the prominence of Upper Egypt reflecting the direction of the historical ‘Unification’ impulse (expanding of the Naqada culture from Upper Egypt northwards, and gradual incorporation of the Middle Egypt and the Delta). The coincidence, being

¹²⁶⁴ E.g. north is connected with west and south with east on the decoration of the N tympanum in the Upper Shrine of Anubis in the temple of Hatshepsut. The directions are represented by the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt and the feathers of ostrich and falcon. On the other tympanum, however, the arrangement conforms to the tradition (Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, 1896, pl.9, p.43; cf. L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, fig. 91).

¹²⁶⁵ An exception is to be noticed in the location of the Upper Egyptian gods and estates on the E wall, and the Lower Egyptian on the W wall of Userkaf’s courtyard. But the reconstruction seems to be not entirely certain (cf. Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétepes*, doc.51-66, figs.124-138, pp.83-89 (doc.51-60 – Upper E.; doc.61-66 – Lower E.)).

¹²⁶⁶ According to R. Stadelmann (in: *Studies Simpson*, p.796) the N part of Netjerykhet’s complex, possibly added to the original plan, represented the Delta marshes. At the same moment only the southern part of the Step Pyramid complex remained ‘crowded’ with buildings, which might have represented the hilly Upper Egypt.

Hathor¹²⁶⁷ and Bastet.¹²⁶⁸ These two sky goddesses played most important role in the royal ideology of kingship and eschatology, being divine mothers of the pharaoh.¹²⁶⁹ They occurred together on a lintel from the house of *ka* of Pepi I at Bubastis (fig.88).¹²⁷⁰ Their role in the valley temple of Khafra has been recognized long ago and suggestions were made as to parallel functions in other valley temples.¹²⁷¹ However, the evidence from the mortuary complexes has been much underestimated. This was partly due to a fact that Bastet is in fact only one form of appearance of the cosmic lion-goddess, the *Raubkatzengöttin* of W. Westendorf.¹²⁷² In this respect she could

¹²⁶⁷ F. Daumas, Hathor, LÄ II, 1024-1033; Kees, *Götterglaube*, pp.241-246. The basic work of S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)*, MÄS 4, Berlin 1963, seems now somewhat outdated in parts concerning the origins of the goddess. A new account of the issue of solar and astral aspects of Hathor is given in P. A. Орехов /R. A. Orekhov/, Солярный и астральный аспекты образа Хатхор (по данным ранней иконографии и Текстам Пирамид), in: О. К. Павлова /O. K. Pavlova/ (ed.), Древний Египет: язык – культура – сознание, Moscow 1999, pp.177-184 (papers from the conference Ancient Egypt. Language – Culture – Consciousness, 12-13 March 1998, in Russian). For the New Kingdom evidence see A. Roberts, *Hathor Rising. The Serpent Power of Ancient Egypt*, Totnes 1995. In the scholarly analyses the primitive role of Hathor as a sky-goddess and female counterpart of the sun god has sometimes been much shadowed by her later features as a goddess of love, music etc. This led to underestimation of the evidence, clearly noticed e.g. in the translation of the Pyramid Texts by Faulkner who regularly renders ‘Mansion of Horus’ instead of ‘Hathor’ and ‘Lady of On’ instead of ‘Lady of Dendera’ (Pyr.§ 207; cf. his remarks in *Pyramid Texts*, p.51).

¹²⁶⁸ Z. El-Kordy, *La déesse Bastet*, Cairo 1968; E. Otto, Bastet, LÄ I, 628-630. Bastet was worshipped not only at Bubastis but also in Heliopolis, in the latter case as a daughter of Atum (J. Vandier, RdE 18 (1966), p.80).

¹²⁶⁹ Pyr.§ 1111: ‘My mother Bastet has nursed me...’; Pyr.§ 466: ‘are you the god, the eldest one, the son of Hathor?’. Pepy I stressed the filiation from Hathor (as well as from Atum) in a special manner in his titulary (e.g. a door-jamb from Tanis: Petrie, *Tanis I*, p.6, pl.I no.2; two blocks from Tell Basta: Naville, *Bubastis*, p.6, pl.XXXII).

¹²⁷⁰ Habachi, *Tell Basta*, pp.8, 14-18, fig.2, pl.2; Fischer, *Dendera*, p.40, fig.8. The lintel is now in Cairo (JE 72133). Another case when both goddesses occurred together (on a sealing of Shepsekaf) was suggested by Kaplony, *IÄF*, III, p.699, n.105, but the identification of the goddesses is much doubtful.

¹²⁷¹ Labrousse, Moussa, *Le temple d'accueil d'Ounas*, pp.25-26; Stockfisch, Die Diesseitsrolle des toten Königs im Alten Reich, in: *Frühe ägyptische Königtum*, p.13. These assumptions were based almost exclusively on the evidence of the inscriptions on the gates of Khafra’s valley temple (Hölscher, Chephren, pp.16-17, figs.7-8, pl.VIII, our fig.19) and Menkaura’s triads.

¹²⁷² W. Westendorf, Die Geteilte Himmelsgöttin, in: *Fs Brunner-Traut*, pp.341-357; id., Die "Löwenmöbelfolge" und die Himmels-Hieroglyphe, MDAIK 47 (1991), pp.425-434.

have been named Sakhmet,¹²⁷³ ‘The Powerful’, or Shesmetet, ‘The One of the Šzmt-land’.¹²⁷⁴ Both names seem to have been epithets that became to denote separate deities.¹²⁷⁵ Also leopard-goddesses, albeit distinctive entities, bore close celestial connotations. Both Hathor and Bastet as a celestial cow and lioness were female counterparts of the sun god who could be imagined as a bull¹²⁷⁶ or a lion.¹²⁷⁷ The goddesses represented daily and night skies respectively which was in accordance with their geographical assignement to the South and North. Hathor and Bastet stayed thus for the Upper and Lower Egyptian celestial vaults. Their primary cult-places were Dendera and Bubastis,¹²⁷⁸ two among the most important centres of Upper and Lower Egypt. It is not entirely clear, however, if they came from these towns or the

¹²⁷³ Although later separate deities, the two goddesses were closely tied and even worshiped in a syncretic form of Sakhmet-Bastet in Letopolis (S. Sauneron, *Sekhmet hntt h3s*, Kemi 11 (1950), pp.120-122). That Sakhmet was a cosmic goddess in the Old Kingdom is further proved by the title of Akhethetep (Saqqara, Fifth Dynasty) who was *hm-ntr Shmt jsh'jtt b3w.s m swt.s nbwt*, ‘a prophet of Sakhmet who causes to appear her *bas*, in all her (cult-) places’ (cf. n.684 above).

¹²⁷⁴ Somewhere in the east, possibly in Sinai. Names of the mineral *šzmt* and the *šzmt*-apron are probably secondary to the toponym.

¹²⁷⁵ Bastet, Sakhmet and Shesmetet played virtually identical role in the Pyramid Texts: ‘I will ascend and rise up to the sky. My heart is Bastet’ (Pyr. § 1310); ‘its heart is Sakhmet the Great’ (Pyr. § 1547); ‘My mother Bastet has nursed me...’ (Pyr. § 1111); ‘The King is conceived by Sakhmet, and it was Shezmetet who bore the King’ (Pyr. §262); ‘This King (...) was conceived by Sakhmet, the King was borne by Shezmetet’ (Pyr. § 2206). Also the cult of the goddesses was maintained by the same persons e.g. Nefermaat of Meidum, Hemiunu and another official of Giza were priests of both: Bastet and Shesmetet. It is significant that the two former were viziers.

¹²⁷⁶ Bull of the Sky with whom the king is identified in the Pyramid Texts. The young sun born by the sky is described as a ‘calf of gold’ (Pyr. § 1029; cf. Kees, *Götterglaube*, p.233, n.3).

¹²⁷⁷ Hence e.g. the mixed form of a sphinx representing the king merged with the sun god. It is striking that on the Protodynastic palettes the king was represented in an animal form of a bull or a lion. Whether this means that he was already identified with the sun god cannot be proven, but it is probable, given that much of the imagery of the palettes refer to ‘cosmic’ themes (W. Westendorf, *Uräus und Sonnenscheibe*, SAK 6 (1978), pp.201-225).

¹²⁷⁸ It is significant that even much later when the character of Bastet has been much changed there existed a sanctuary in Bubastis called ‘a window (*wsj*) of the sky’ (S. Sauneron, *Villes et legendes d’Égypte* (§ XXX-XXXIII), BIFAO 69 (1971), pp.43-59). The role of Bubastis in the Old Kingdom is stressed by the fact of existence of the royal houses of *ka*; a diorite stand for an offering tray, dedicated by Khafra and serving in the cult of Ra, bought at Zagazig, might have derived from Bubastis (Hayes, *Scepter*, I, fig.41).

towns were ‘granted’ to them. Both goddesses seem to be artificial creations as reflected by their names,¹²⁷⁹ and it is possible that at some point they were settled in Dendera and Bubastis. A complicated but perfectly logical, multilayered, not only geographical but also cosmological meaning can be ascribed to them, as well as different animal forms, cult places, stones¹²⁸⁰ and metals.¹²⁸¹

Hathor: South / daily sky / cow / Dendera / greywacke/ gold.

Bastet: North / night sky / lioness / Bubastis / travertine/ silver.

These two goddesses were the two most venerated as proved by multiple mentions of endowments for them in the annals.¹²⁸² When analysing the roles of Hathor and Bastet in the decoration of the mortuary complexes it appears that they occur more often than other deities and in the most important scenes (such as suckling the king, giving life, embracing and being given offerings). Hathor was represented alongside with Ra on the lintel in the mortuary temple of Unis (fig.52) and as a large determinative figure in the text on the gate jamb in the same building.¹²⁸³ She was shown in a scene of offering by Sahura, represented in a large scene of giving life to Djedkara

¹²⁷⁹ Hathor: ‘Mansion of Horus’. It has been suggested that this meant the celestial realm (cf. ‘Cosmic mansion (κόσμου) of Horus’ in Plutarch, *De Iside*, 556), or else the Egyptian state (H. Goedicke, SAK 22 (1995), p.135). Bastet: ‘She of Bubastis’ or ‘She of the ointment-vessel’ (Kees, *Götterglaube*, p.29). In this latter case her name would not be a nisba-adjective derived from a town name. The name of Bubastis read by G. Dreyer on one of the tablets from tomb U-j at Abydos might point in favor of the first possibility.

¹²⁸⁰ Greywacke was connected with Hathor (W. Wood, JEA 60 (1974), p.92) and travertine with Bastet (H. G. Fischer, *Marginalia*. 3. An Alabaster Crown, GM 122 (1981), pp.21-30). Again the geographical location of the quarries influenced these connotations. See below on the triads of Menkaura, and Excursus on the materials.

¹²⁸¹ An *epitheton constans* of Hathor was *Nbw* (Wb.II, 293,3), ‘the Gold’ or ‘the Golden One’ (originally without a feminine ending), a clear reference to a daily sky with dazzling sun light. Silver is presumed for Bastet on account of its lunar (so the night-sky) connotations.

¹²⁸² For Hathor: in the *r3-šj* of Sahura (Urk.I, 244.15), in *H^cj-b3* (the pyramid) of Sahura (Urk.I, 244.17), H. of *Šht-R^c(w)* (Urk.I, 244,5); H. of the Sycamore in the *mrt* of Sneferu (Urk.I, 247.15-16);

¹²⁸³ (...) *Hwt-Hrw mrj dj ḥnh nb w3s dd* (...) (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, doc.107 (fig.132, pl.XXXVII)). In both cases the representations were located in the S part of the temple.

and mentioned on one of the blocks re-used in the pyramid of Unis.¹²⁸⁴ Bastet occurred in two famous scenes in Sahura's and Niuserra's temples, receiving offerings from the king.¹²⁸⁵ It is significant that the state ship of Userkaf was represented as coming from the temple of Bastet-Shesmetet. Bastet was represented also in a procession of deities on the causeway of Unis.¹²⁸⁶ One of the funerary domains of Pepy II bore name *s^cnh B3stt Nfr-k3-r^c*, 'Bastet gives life to Neferkara',¹²⁸⁷ and estate names *mr B3stt ^cnh* (+the king's name) are attested for Niuserra and Djedkara.¹²⁸⁸ Shesmetet was represented in Userkaf's mortuary temple.¹²⁸⁹ The evidence of the reliefs is further strengthened by that of the statuary. The dyads representing Khafra with Bastet and Hathor were placed in the large niches at the entrances to the valley temple.¹²⁹⁰ A statue of 'a lion' found in the niche at the N part of the transverse room in the mortuary temple of Niuserra most probably represented Bastet.¹²⁹¹ A head of a lion statue was found at Giza in the filling

¹²⁸⁴ Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, doc.122 (fig.147).

¹²⁸⁵ According to B. Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt des Alten Reiches*, p.40, referring to an observation by K. Baer, Bastet occurred also on a block from Djadkara's complex.

¹²⁸⁶ Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, doc.103 (fig.135). She was not recognized by the authors of the publication, but a partly preserved caption leaves no doubt about the identity of the goddess. On the other hand, the translation of the text referring to the figure represented on doc.104 (fig.136), given as "puisse-t-elle donner tout la vie, Bastet" (p.96) seems unsupported. The preserved glyphs suggest that possibly the name of Wadjyt should be read. Bastet is also mentioned on a fragment from Unis' mortuary temple (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant, *Ounas*, doc.91 (fig.116)).

¹²⁸⁷ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.19.

¹²⁸⁸ Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt des Alten Reiches*, p.39-40. It should be stressed that some names that can be interpreted as referring to funerary domains, and including the name of the goddess, occurred on the vases from under the Step Pyramid (*grgt B3stt* – PD V no.45; *df3 B3stt* – PD IV no.67; *df3w B3stt* – PD IV nos.63-66).

¹²⁸⁹ Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, doc.209=fig.281.

¹²⁹⁰ Of the two once existing dyads only fragments of the group with Bastet are actually preserved (Cairo CG 11=JE 27385 and CG 1245). The original placement, dimensions and material (anorthosite gneiss) of the statues stress their extraordinary meaning. Cf. Seidel, *Statuengruppen*, doc.4, pp.17-20; Ricke, *Bemerkungen AR*, II, p.101f; V. Vikentiev, *Aspects symboliques du monument de Chephren comparé à celui de Seti I^{er} à Abydos et à l'édifice de Saqqarah-Sud*, BIE 39 (1964), p. 19f.

¹²⁹¹ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re^c*, figs.7 and 47. Borchardt suggested that the lion's figure represented a guardian of the entrance (ibid., pp.16-17). In the opinion of Do. Arnold (Royal Reliefs, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.97), the statue was 'an

of the boat-shaped trench north of the mortuary temple of Khufu.¹²⁹² There is a striking possibility, almost overlooked before,¹²⁹³ that the programme of statuary in the valley temple of Menkaura included not only greywacke triads representing the king with Hathor, but also similar sculptures featuring him with Bastet and made of travertine.¹²⁹⁴ But the evidence for the overwhelming presence of the ‘hathoric’ and ‘leonine’ elements in the mortuary complexes is far more complex, including i.a. the frieze with Hathor heads from Sahura’s complex,¹²⁹⁵ lion figures decorating thrones of statues,¹²⁹⁶ the ‘lion-

allusion’ to goddess Bastet. Looking at the temple’s plan one might suggest that a parallel niche with a statue of Hathor existed in the now much destroyed southern part of the corridor (cf. n.489 above). It is possible that in fact the niches housed dyads similar to those from the valley temple of Khafra.

¹²⁹² Hassan, *Giza*, X, p.37 and pl.XIc. According to the excavator the piece was made of ‘brown sandstone’ (quartzite?) and ‘very finely carved and life-like.’

¹²⁹³ E.g. not considered in the extensive discussion of Menkaura’s triads in Seidel, *Statuengruppen*, pp.25-53.

¹²⁹⁴ Reisner found in the valley temple pieces of group statues that he described as ‘Fragments of nome triads (?) of alabaster’ (*Mycerinus*, p.110). He realized that ‘a number of very small fragments of alabaster statues which seem to be parts of triads similar to the slate triads suggest that the nome triads of Lower Egypt were of alabaster.’ However, he himself expressed immediately doubts about such an attribution: ‘But as alabaster and slate were concealed under the paint so that the finished triads have looked alike, this conclusion is probably fallacious...’ But his first impression was probably correct. The argument concerning a possible paint covering the statues is not valid given that for the Egyptians the symbolic value of the material was still operating even if hidden. The Lower Egyptian triads, perhaps partly unfinished like much of the statuary in the complex, disappeared mostly due to the fact that travertine was willingly used for production of vessels and statuettes. The workshops on the spot clearly prove such activity. The material of the statues was re-used and the fate concerned also the greywacke triads albeit in lesser degree: only few of the (twenty two?) once existing groups survived, mostly smashed into pieces. There is, nevertheless, some possibility that few pieces escaped destruction. An unfinished travertine head of a lioness in Berlin, inv.no.21762, 19 cm high, identified as coming from a throne or an offering table, conforms to presumed dimensions of the triads. Even more conspicuous is part of a travertine group in Hildesheim (Seidel, *Statuengruppen*, doc.2=pp.10-12, pl.2a, fig.4). It was reconstructed by Seidel as a dyad, but nothing contradicts an assumption that the piece might have been part of a triad and the estimated dimensions (2 cubits high) fit the Menkaura triads very well.

¹²⁹⁵ Berlin inv.no.19902.

¹²⁹⁶ In Pyr.§ 1224 the king speaks of his stay in heaven: ‘I sit on this iron throne of mine, the faces of which are those of lions...’ On the *Löwenthrone* see K. P. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten. Untersuchungen zu Semantik, Ikonographie und Symbolik eines Herrschaftszeichens*, Glückstadt 1977, pp.61-63. The identification of the *Löwenthrone* with Bastet was suggested by Kaplony, *IÄF*, n.1863. At Saqqara Akhetotep of the early

bed' from the Step Pyramid complex,¹²⁹⁷ lion statues and lion-shaped offering tables etc.¹²⁹⁸ It is especially significant that the water-spouts on temple roofs represented lions.¹²⁹⁹ This feature strongly supports a hypothesis that the temples were conceived as a simulacrum of the sky.

An interesting and thus far inexplicable fact is that Neith, one of most important deities of the Thinite period, for whom a cult at Memphis during the Old Kingdom is well attested, also in the royal mortuary complexes,¹³⁰⁰ did not play any role comparable to Bastet in the decoration of the mortuary temples. It is striking as she could well have been a northern counterpart of Hathor and she was paralleled to Bastet already in the Second Dynasty.¹³⁰¹

While Hathor and Bastet were celestial mothers of the king, Nekhebet and Wadjet were his terrestrial mothers as patrons of the state. The two

Fourth Dynasty bore the title of *hm-ntr B3stt hrjt hndt* (Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt des Alten Reiches*, p.40). Bastet was interpreted as a *Throngöttin* by Schweizer, *Löwe und Sphinx*, p.27f.

¹²⁹⁷ Firth, Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, pl.56. It seems that it is exactly the *Löwenmöbel* occurring in the Heb-Sed scenes at Abu Ghurab, representing the heaven as a place of the king's rebirth, related to the concept of the sky as the *Raubkatzengöttin* (cf. W. Westendorf, *Die "Löwenmöbelfolge" und die Himmels-Hieroglyphe*, MDAIK 47 (1991), pp.425-434). It is striking that both the artefact and its pictures at Abu Ghurab show fourteen lion-heads attached to the bed in a distinctive manner: four at each longer side and three at each shorter one. This number and arrangement can hardly be accidental. One might refer it to the fourteen dummy gates in the Step Pyramid temenos wall and the idea of fourteen *kas* of the king. The coincidence of the number was noticed by P. Jordan (*Riddles of the Sphinx*, New York 1998, p.69) who wrote: 'It is interesting to note that a throne-base or table of Djoser's is decorated with fourteen lion's heads (...). Were these the guardians of the fourteen gates of his pyramid complex?'

¹²⁹⁸ Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, fig.47 ('fragmente des großen Granitlöwen').

¹²⁹⁹ E.g. Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, I, fig.85 ; Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, fig. 44 (Berlin, inv.no.16700), cf. Schäfer, *Principles*, pl.46,3 ; D. Wildung, in : A.-M. Donadoni-Roveri, F. Tiradritti (eds.), *Kemet. Alle sorgenti del tempo*, Ravenna 1998 , p.289.

¹³⁰⁰ Neith *hntt hwt H^c.f-R^c(w)* was mentioned on the false-door in the tomb of Tjetji (together with Hathor *hntt hwt H^c.f-R^c(w)*) (PM III, 1, p.302). For other examples of priestesses of Neith at Giza see Junker, *Giza*, I, p.252; id., *Giza*, VI, p.244.

¹³⁰¹ They occur together represented on stone vessels from under the Step Pyramid (Lacau, Lauer, PD V, pl.16 and IV, p.37).

goddesses might have been depicted in animal form¹³⁰² It seems that the two goddesses were represented quite often in anthropomorphic form. The largest figure of a divinity recorded thus far (a block found at Lisht, showing part of a goddess' head with a vulture headdress), estimated as four meters high, represented probably Nekhebet or Wadjet (fig.89).¹³⁰³ Nekhebet occurred already in the 'valley temple' of Sneferu at South Dahshur.¹³⁰⁴

Another pairs of state gods representing Upper and Lower Egypt respectively were Khnum and Sebek¹³⁰⁵, and Seth/Nubty and Horus/Behedety.¹³⁰⁶

¹³⁰² Additional notions of duality can be discerned in the forms they may assume: a vulture (a bird) and a cobra (a snake). They are connected with ideas of flying and crawling, ascending and descending, sky and earth.

¹³⁰³ MMA 08.200.56. Published by A. Oppenheim in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, pp.348-349 (no.174), cf. Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pl.18 for a parallel of the headdress. The fact that the eye of the figure was once incrustated is an important factor for dating. As noticed by Oppenheim, this kind of decoration of reliefs does not occur after the Old Kingdom. To the examples of Unis and Teti cited by her, one can add reliefs of Khufu, Sahura, Niuserra, Djedkara, Merenra and Pepy II.

¹³⁰⁴ Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II/1, figs.164 and.199. The two fragments published as separate ones obviously join. Judging from the position of the king's arm, they formed once part of a scene of *shtp-jb*.

¹³⁰⁵ This rather unexpected high position of Sebek as an northern counterpart of Khnum reflects probably not only his presumed Delta connections, but also the importance of Fayum, which rose to prominence since at least the reign of Sneferu (A. Čwiek, *Fayum in the Old Kingdom*, GM 60 (1997), pp.17-22; P. Piacentini, *Il Fayyum nell'Antico Regno*, in: *Archeologia e papiri nel Fayyum. Storia della ricerca, problemi e prospettive. Atti del convegno internazionale Siracusa, 24-25 Maggio 1996, Siracuse 1997*). Sebek's figure is recorded many times in the material from the royal mortuary complexes, e.g. Niuserra (Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, fig.71) and Userkaf (Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Néferhétépès*, doc.208 = fig.280 and p.126. Only *d* of *Šdt(j)* is preserved. Note a strange 'flower' on the god's head).

¹³⁰⁶ Both gods are Upper Egyptian deities. They represented two of the most important Archaic centres, namely Hierakonpolis and Naqada, rivalling possibly since the predynastic times, and certainly during the Second Dynasty. Attempts by Hetepsekhemui and Khasekhemui to contend the two gods and their retainers might have been a first step towards future assignment of the tutelary roles to Seth and Horus. Paired since the First Dynasty (e.g. in the title *Nbwj* of Adjib), only secondarily they were assumed to be patrons of two parts of the state. See Kees, *Götterglaube*, pp.209 and n.3; 197-198, who refers to the scene of *Heb-Sed* of Niuserra where both gods are involved (*Re-Heiligtum III*, pls.18-19). However, the assumption of Kees that Seth and Horus started to play 'heraldic' roles for Upper and Lower Egypt as late as the Middle Kingdom is certainly wrong. The first

It should be emphasized that beside the abovementioned gods and goddesses, only few deities (notably Ra, Anubis, Min and Seshat) were represented as a large scale figures in the mortuary temples.¹³⁰⁷

Foreign nations:

Libyans representing a real direction of the west, where they lived, but connected with a symbolic direction of the south and Asiatics linked to the east, or north-east, but placed symbolically in the north, were shown smitten or trampled. Such representations occurred i.a. on the walls of causeways or at the courtyard of Sahura. Three or four enemies including Nubians, Puntites, Bedouins were depicted rarely.

Attributes and symbols:

White and Red Crowns obviously conformed to the rules of symbolic symmetry, occurring in the Upper and Lower Egyptian scenes respectively. The same may be suggested for the two types of feather crowns, representing possibly West and East (see ‘The Attributes and their Meaning’ below). Dresses, attributes (scepters etc.) do not show N-S division connotations, rather they are connected with the kind of activity. A possible exception might have been the *bs3w*-apron and the ‘Lower Egyptian costume’.¹³⁰⁸ A clear division of the ‘south’ and ‘north’ elements concerns heraldry (first of all the animals of Nekhebet and Wadjet,¹³⁰⁹ and plants of Upper and Lower Egypt), titulary¹³¹⁰ as well as the texts accompanying the scenes.

instance of such a role can possibly be noticed in the decoration of the throne of Khafra’s statuette (W. S. Smith, WZKM 54 (1957), fig.2).

¹³⁰⁷ Given an important role of Thoth in the Pyramid Texts one would expect his presence along with Ra. However, it has not been thus far confirmed in the material.

¹³⁰⁸ D. C. Patch, A “Lower Egyptian” Costume: Its Origin, Development, and Meaning, JARCE 32 (1995), pp.93-115. Cf. n. 753 above. These two distinctive dresses are connected with wearing the White and Red Crowns already on the Narmer palette.

¹³⁰⁹ These were a vulture and a cobra when shown seated on heraldic plants, and vultures when hovering above the king (interchanging with Behedeti falcon). Vultures were not diversified according to their Upper and Lower Egyptian connotations (a cobra head, attested already in the reliefs of Niuserra and Djedkara in the depictions of the vulture headdress of Wadjet, does not occur in the representations of the bird itself, contrary to

Duality of the country

The precedence of Upper Egypt, regularly stressed also in the royal titulary and iconography, texts and emblematic representations, had natural and historical reasons, reflecting the direction and mode of the unification of protodynastic Egypt. The examples of the Red Crown¹³¹¹ and Behedeti¹³¹² prove that some long-existing Upper Egyptian symbols were given a secondary meaning of a connection with the Delta. The aim was to create a fictive, but ideologically welcome, duality. Sometimes precedence was given to Lower Egypt ‘artificially’, for the sake of some symmetry (notable examples can be observed in the texts of Pepy II and at Abu Ghurab).

Attributes and their meaning:

Relations of the royal dress with the kind of his activity and an overall context of the representations were surveyed best for the New Kingdom.¹³¹³

later examples). The falcon of Behedeti regularly occurring on the pillars at Deir el-Bahari on the E and W sides (while Nekhebet and cobra-headed Wadjyt on the S and N sides respectively), does not seem to take such a rigidly established position in the Old Kingdom reliefs.

¹³¹⁰ A complex issue of the form and meaning of various names, titles and epithets of the Old Kingdom rulers can be but mentioned here. The evidence for the Fourth Dynasty has been studied in an excellent way in: V. Dobrev, *Considérations sur les titulatures des rois de la IV^e dynastie égyptienne*, BIFAO 93 (1993), pp.179-204 and pls.I-XVI. To this add now: M. Baud, *Une épithète de Rêdjedef et la prétendue tyrannie de Chéops. Etudes sur la statuaire de Rêdjedef II*, BIFAO 98 (1998), pp.15-30.

¹³¹¹ This symbol occurred already on a vase fragment coming from Naqada and dated to Naqada I period (G. A. Wainwright, *JEA* 9 (1923) pp.26-33; now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no.1895.795).

¹³¹² Although different views were expressed concerning the origin of this deity, it seems clear now that Edfu was his primitive site (*pace* Gardiner, *Horus the Behdetite*, *JEA* 30 (1944), pp.23-60). Both Behedeti and Nubti occurred as Upper Egyptian gods in the *Heb-Sed* scene at Abu Ghurab. Only gradually Horus Behedeti assumed a value of a Lower Egyptian counterpart of Seth. Cf. R. Weill, *bḥd-t du Nord et bḥd-t du Sud. L’Horus bḥd-tj en sa condition primitive*, *RdE* 6 (1951), pp.229-231; E. Otto, *Behedeti*, in: *LÄ* I, 683.

¹³¹³ E.g. T. Schuller-Götzburg, *Zur Semantik der Königsikonographie. Eine Analyse des Bildprogramms der südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, Vienna 1990 (= *Beiträge zur Ägyptologie* 9 = *Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien*, 54). Much of the Old Kingdom evidence was collected by E. C. Felder, *Kopfbedeckung* and Staehelin, *Tracht*. However, studying of the relations between a scene type and the royal garment and accoutrements depends much on a completeness of any set

But an analysis of the occurrences of the royal attributes in the Old Kingdom representations can reveal the original meaning of some of them. The *nemes*-headdress in sculpture and reliefs occurred in the most important representations. These include the focal statues: e.g. Netjerykhet's from the serdab,¹³¹⁴ Khafra's CG 14 with Horus seated behind the head of the king,¹³¹⁵ Menkaura's in Boston,¹³¹⁶ the colossal head Userkaf from the courtyard of his mortuary temple.¹³¹⁷ The king was represented wearing the *nemes* also in the focal relief representations: those in the offering rooms (where he was depicted seated at the offering table) and in the suckling scenes. The meaning of the *nemes*, including its role in the Pyramid Texts, was extensively studied by K. Goebis,¹³¹⁸ but she based mostly on texts and the iconographic evidence¹³¹⁹ allows a step further in the interpretations. One can suggest that the *nemes*, resembling with its ray-like stripes the sign N28 of Gardiner's list (sun rising above a hill), was in fact conceived as a symbol of the raising sun,¹³²⁰ representing thus the idea of a resurrection. The traditional colours of this headdress (golden and blue, so solar and celestial) agree well with this interpretation.¹³²¹ It would be further confirmed by the examples of parallel uses of the *nemes* and the *khat*. They are sometimes painted yellow and white

of representations analysed, which is of course difficult to find in the case of the Old Kingdom temples.

¹³¹⁴ JE 49158.

¹³¹⁵ The statue is the only one of Khafra with a divine beard. It obviously was placed on the axis of the valley temple, as the middle –presumably the most important - statue at the W wall of the T-shaped room. The programme of statuary in the valley temple of Khafra is reconstructed and discussed in Seidel, *Statuengruppen*, pp.20-24.

¹³¹⁶ MFA 09.204. Discussed by P. Lacovara and N. Reeves (The Colossal Statue of Mycerinos Reconsidered, *RdE* 38 (1987), pp.11-115) and V. Dobrev (Observations sur deux statues de Menkaourê du Musée de Boston, *DE* 27 (1993), pp.9-18).

¹³¹⁷ Cairo JE 52501.

¹³¹⁸ Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgehalt des *nms*, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), pp.154-181.

¹³¹⁹ Felder, *Kopfbedeckung*, pp.5-10.

¹³²⁰ It is significant that when the sun-disk was introduced into the iconography of royal headdresses in the new Kingdom, it has been placed upon the *nemes*.

¹³²¹ In the New Kingdom the *nemes* can be also painted yellow with red details – again solar colouring.

respectively which suggests they represented the sun and the moon.¹³²² The king wearing the *nemes* in the suckling scenes holds a handkerchief and the *ankh* within his hands. Other headdresses (the White, Red and Double Crowns) were connected with scepters. The *nemes* occurred together with the *w3s*-sceptre and the *mdw*-staff (a lotus-bud-topped stick) in the antechamber of Pepy II. The *w3s*, no doubt a divine attribute, is shown in the king's hand in the *Heb-Sed* scenes at Abu Ghurab. One might suggest that the *w3s*-sceptre and the staff represent divine and human government.

On the other hand the king is shown wearing the *pschent* and holding the staff in the scenes at the upper ends of causeways. This clearly refers to his mundane government as the dual king, and indeed he is presented there in this role, facing the processions of bearers of goods from Egypt and the entire world, as well as receiving his troops. The White and Red Crowns were obviously representing Upper and Lower Egypt (and thus the south and the north) respectively.¹³²³ But it seems that the feather crowns, differentiated by the kind of feathers,¹³²⁴ likewise show strong geographical connotations. The

¹³²² At Deir el-Bahari, on the S wall of the second chamber of the Main Sanctuary, Hatshepsut is shown twice, censuring and offering to Amun. She is wearing a yellow *nemes* on the first representation (closer to the west) and a white *khat* on the other one. The secondary role of the *khat* in respect to the *nemes* is confirmed by the inscriptions on the statues of Tutankhamun from the antechamber of his tomb: the one wearing the *nemes* (JE 60707) was 'T. living forever like Ra every day' and the one with the *khat* (JE 60708) was 'Excellent god, full of glory, a proud ruler, the king's *ka* Horakhty, Osiris and Lord of the Two Lands, Nebkheperura, justified.' For the O.K. examples of both headdresses see Felder, *Kopfbedeckung*, pp.1-10.

¹³²³ This does not mean that their roles were confined to this world. Cf. the analysis of the complex meaning of the White Crown: K. Goebis, Some Cosmic Aspects of the Royal Crowns, in: *Eight Congresses of Egyptologists*, pp.447-460.

¹³²⁴ Named the 'Anedjtj Feder-Krone' and 'Horus Feder-Krone' by A. M. Abubakr (cf. *Kronen*, pp.38-43). Beside the feathers, they are constructed of horns of a ram and of a bull, and might be supplied with sun-disks. Although it has been assumed that the crown with two ostrich feathers was called *šwtj* (Abubakr, op.cit., p.43-46), it seems that the names *šwtj* and *hnw* might have been applied to both headdresses, being a general designation of 'a (double) feathered one' and 'a horned one'. On various feathered headdresses see: Federn und Federkrone, LÄ II, 142-145; K. Myśliwiec, Quelques remarques sur les couronnes à plumes de Thoutmosis III, in: *Melanges Mokhtar*, II, pp.149-160.

headdress with ostrich feathers was linked to the west, the one with the feathers of a falcon represented the east. It is clear from a much consistency of their use in the representations in the ‘western’ and ‘eastern’ contexts, not only in the mortuary complexes, but also in Sinai. It is tempting to make a suggestion that the five statue niches contained the statues of the king representing his renewed, divine form and his power over the four cardinal directions. The statue in the central niche represented the king wearing the *nemes*,¹³²⁵ the two southern ones showed him in the White Crown and the ostrich-feather crown (S + W), and the two northern ones depicted him in the Red and falcon-feather crown (N + E). It is difficult to suggest a simple and clear meaning of the *atef*-crown,¹³²⁶ but three points could be made. Since the very beginning it is a crown of both Ra (at Abu Ghurab) and the king.¹³²⁷ Its resemblance to the *heker*-frieze (in both form and colouring) suggests similarity of the meaning. The colourful reed-bundles, feathers and horns, were often supplemented with sun-disks. Altogether they probably represented the idea of variety and fertility of the nature.¹³²⁸ The *atef* very often appeared together with a triangular apron. It is connected with the scenes of offering to gods and might have borne an additional meaning of

¹³²⁵ The assumption that the central niche contained the statue of the king represented ‘as Osiris’ made by P. Posener-Kriéger (*Archives d’ Abou Sir*, II, p.502), and frequently cited, was in fact based only on the occurrence of the *nemes* on the determinative figure in the text of one of the papyri. Neither is the *nemes* an attribute of Osiris nor the inscriptions in the temples mention him, it is therefore not necessary to refer to this god.

¹³²⁶ See, however, G. Matthiae Scandone, *La corona Atf*, *Studi classici e orientali*, Pisa 25 (1976), pp.23-36.

¹³²⁷ It is not, as often stated, the crown of Osiris. Firstly, representations of this god appear late, and secondly, the Osiris’ headdress is usually the White Crown with added feathers, and not the true *atef*-crown. The earliest occurrence of the *atef*: Fakhry, *Sneferu*, II/1, figs. 99,100,138, 144, 145, 147, 148, 279. For the interpretation of the *atef* as representing duality of the country see Abubakr, *Kronen*, pp.19-20.

¹³²⁸ Such is also a presumed meaning of *hkr*-bundles, often topped with a sun-disk, occurring not only in the friezes, but also at the prow of the sun-god’s bark. Although originally they were purely architectural features reflecting techniques of construction of archaic buildings, it seems that already in the Old Kingdom a symbolic value was added, causing appearance of the *hkr*-frieze in both the royal and non-royal contexts.

male potency symbol, given a possible sexual connotation of the apron.¹³²⁹ Pepy II appears in the scene with Nekhebet and Anubis in the antechamber seated on a throne, wearing the triangular apron and holding the *mdw*-staff, the top of which bears clearly phallic shape. The same accoutrements occurred in the causeway scenes mentioned above. All these features, as well as his representations with a mace held towards the pubertal area of a goddess, prove that the decoration bore numerous indirect references to the sexual activity of the king, as well as to his positive influence on the fertility of the nature. Other attributes have less specific uses and are more difficult to be analysed. For instance, the exact meaning of the *šndwt*-kilt, if there was one, remains unclear.

Excursus: Materials:

The idea of duality was expressed not only in the relief and sculpture programme, but also in the different materials used in the architecture and sculpture. A symbolic meaning of various stones might have been a decisive factor for their use.¹³³⁰ It seems that greywacke and granite represented Upper Egypt, while travertine and limestone were connected with Lower Egypt.¹³³¹

¹³²⁹ One has to admit that this cannot be proved in an indisputable manner, but can only be derived from obvious associations. For the examples of his form of a royal dress see: Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*, II, pls.17, 32, 39-41; id., *Ne-user-Re*, p.84, fig.61; Labrousse, Moussa, *La chaussée du roi Ounas*, doc.47 (p.50, fig.61); Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.54; id., *Pepi II*, III, pl.20.

¹³³⁰ On this subject see recently J. Baines, Stone and other materials in Ancient Egypt: Usages and values, in: Ch. Karlshausen, T. De Putter (eds.), *Pierres égyptiennes...Chefs-d'œuvres pour l'Éternité*, Mons 2000, pp.29-41.

¹³³¹ As proved e.g. by the examples of block statues of Hetep from Saqqara (cf. A. G. Shedid, in: Seidel, Schulz, *World of the Pharaohs*, pp.127-129). A slightly different choice was employed for Amenhotep III's statues in the courtyard of his mortuary temple. They were made of granite (S part) and quartzite (N part), with quartzite symbolizing Lower Egypt (R. Schulz, H. Sourouzian, in: ibid., pp.188-190). The connection of greywacke with Upper Egypt and travertine with Lower Egypt was overlooked by M. Seidel in his otherwise ingenious reconstruction of the statuary programme of Khafra's valley temple (*Statuengruppen*, pp.20-24). Now it seems quite certain that the greywacke statue CG 16, of which only a leg is actually preserved, bore the White Crown and stood in the S (i.e. 'Upper E.') part of the temple. The programme shows a strict axiality, with

Such a diversification reflects the areas of origin of different stones, Upper Egypt for greywacke (Wadi Hammamat) and granite (Asuan), Lower Egypt for travertine (Wadi Garawi) and limestone (Tura). Basalt, anorthosite gneiss and quartzite played special roles. Black basalt was used in the Old Kingdom architecture for floors and orthostates. It represented the earth.¹³³² While basalt was a ‘chthonic’ material, anorthosite gneiss was ‘celestial’ and ‘solar’.¹³³³ Chephren’s statue CG 14 and his dyad with Bastet, most important sculptures were made of this material.¹³³⁴ Quartzite was likewise a ‘solar’ stone.¹³³⁵ The statuary programme of Djedefra’s funerary complex is highly informative: the king’s statues were made of quartzite, those of his sons of granite and those of the daughters of limestone.¹³³⁶ This suggests an additional value of male/active/ Upper Egyptian as contrasted to female/passive/Lower Egyptian. Such connotations might be further confirmed by the roles ascribed to Seth and Horus in the state heraldry and in the mythology,¹³³⁷ and are in accordance with D. Wildung’s theory on the

the most important statues in the central hall made of anorthosite gneiss (with CG 14 on the first place), and greywacke and travertine statues placed in the S and N parts respectively.

¹³³² J. K. Hoffmeier, *The Use of Basalt in Floors of Old Kingdom Pyramid Temples*, JARCE 30 (1993), pp.117-123; J. A. Harell, T. M. Bown, *An Old Kingdom Basalt Quarry at Widan el-Faras and the Quarry Road to Lake Moeris*, JARCE 32 (1995), pp.71-91.

¹³³³ S. Aufrère, *L’univers mineral*, pp.698-699. Recent research in the quarry at Gebel el-Asr revealed that this stone when seen in the full sun produces strong reflexes (I. Shaw, *Survey and Excavation at the Ancient Pharaonic Gneiss Quarrying Site of Gebel el-Asr, Lower Nubia, Sudan and Nubia*. Bulletin of the Sudan Archaeological Research Society 3 (1999), pp.13-27).

¹³³⁴ It was quarried only in the Old and Middle Kingdom and used almost exclusively for royal statues. Rare later examples of statues made of anorthosite gneiss are possibly all the results of a re-use of an older sculpture (e.g. a Nineteenth Dynasty block-statue of Chai-hapi in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, ÄS 64).

¹³³⁵ Aufrère, *L’univers mineral*, pp.698-699. Possibly there were several reasons for such a connotation, not only its colouring and hardness, but also provenance from a quarry located near Heliopolis (Gebel Akhmar).

¹³³⁶ Cf. supra n.388.

¹³³⁷ Passive, almost ‘female’ attitudes of Horus contrasted with brutal, ‘male’ deeds of Seth, most clearly expressed in the episode of the myth describing the rape of Horus by Seth. Cf. K. Myśliwiec, *A propos des signes hiéroglyphiques "hr" et "tp"*, ZÄS 98, 2 (1972), pp.85-99; id., *Un passage des Textes des Pyramides et la rencontre d'une tradition*

original meaning of the White and Red Crowns.¹³³⁸ The roles attributed to the symbols of the two lands seem to reflect the historical reality of the ‘Unification’, during which the ‘active’ Upper Egypt subdued the ‘passive’ Lower Egypt.

The problem of employing various materials to express fundamental concepts of the ideological programme of the royal mortuary complexes should not be underestimated. It seems that a careful choice of a stone was made,¹³³⁹ not only according to its hardness, colour or rarity, but first of all because of its symbolic values. In this respect one may oppose strongly a widespread opinion that the Giza pyramids represent the peak of the development of the Old Kingdom ideology of kingship, as expressed in the pyramid complexes. It is true only as far as concerns the manifestation of this ideology by the architecture itself, mostly in the enormous dimensions of the tombs. Certainly, it has been recognized that in the later mortuary complexes an emphasis was laid rather on the development of temples and their decoration. But still the appearance of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty pyramids, much smaller and less perfectly built than those of the Fourth Dynasty, dominates scholars’ view of that period, causing hypotheses of a decrease of the royal power and the resources available to the kings, which might have influenced changes of the mode of expression of the ideology. However, that another forms of expression were chosen not necessarily means that this was forced or even parallel with a policy of ‘cost cuts’. In fact labour and financial resources that were at disposal of e.g. Khufu and Niuserra were perhaps similar. The former used them to build the largest of the pyramids,

égyptienne avec une tradition grecque à l'époque ptolémaïque, in: M. Bietak et al. (eds.), *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten. Festschrift Gertrud Thausing*, Vienna 1994, pp.154-158.

¹³³⁸ As representing male and female symbols of potency and fertility (D. Wildung, *Zur Formgeschichte der Landeskronen*, in: *Studien Westendorf*, pp.967-980).

¹³³⁹ Other materials used are far more difficult to be traced, the evidence coming mostly from texts, but it is obvious that imported wood, semi-precious stones and metals were extensively employed. In the reliefs the eyes of the figures were often inlaid with stones set in copper frames, and some elements might have been covered with a golden foil.

but the adjoining temples were relatively modest, with some use of basalt and granite, and with the decoration still not too extensive. Much of the costs was connected with quarrying and transport of local limestone mass for the pyramid core and Tura limestone for casings. On the contrary, Niuserra's complex with its less impressive pyramid reveals a richness of the materials¹³⁴⁰ and perfection in the execution of details¹³⁴¹ that reflect enormous labor and cost, with no attempts for a thrift visible.

¹³⁴⁰ See p.145, and n.483 above.

¹³⁴¹ Note that even the foreign captives' eyes in the reliefs of the causeway were incrustated. An impressive perfection of design and precision of execution of details stay in a striking contrast with a truly crude style of Niuserra's reliefs at Abu Ghurab. I cannot suggest a reliable explanation for this fact. A precise dating of the execution of the reliefs within a king's reign is almost impossible for the Old Kingdom period, but a gradual development or decline of artistic skills is rather not the case. Maybe the answer is simply an individual skill (or its lack) of a chief sculptor. One can notice similar differences between the reliefs from Unis' mortuary temple, usually very beautiful and detailed, and those from his causeway, sometimes very crude in style and execution (e.g. the war scene).

V.3. Architecture and Decoration. Function of the programme.

Transfiguration and Divine Birth

A long-standing discussion of a question whether the mortuary complexes were primarily conceived as ‘a stage for the funeral’ or ‘the deceased king’s eternal residence’¹³⁴² should be resumed in favor of the latter concept. No references to the burial rites can be found in the relief decoration but it appears that the whole mortuary complex represented something more than merely a static *Jenseitsarchitektur*. It was a gigantic ‘Resurrection Machine’,¹³⁴³ which was intended to help the king to assume a new form of existence and to support his continuous life as a god in this eternal abode.¹³⁴⁴ The aim of this is explicitly stated in numerous texts spoken by the gods and offering bearers depicted in the pyramid temples. Bringing the goods and offerings, captioned as *ḥtpt-ntr*, they explain their intentions: *ḥꜥ.tj m nswt bjtj*, ‘that you may appear as the Dual King.’¹³⁴⁵ On a practical level these aims were to be realized through an enormous institutional system organized around the king’s mortuary complex. From the royal decrees and the Abusir papyri it is clear that the cult practice was based on complicated temple economy and work of the priests and *ḥntjw-šj* arranged in *phylae*.¹³⁴⁶

¹³⁴² Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.27.

¹³⁴³ According to the term introduced by V. Davis and R. Friedman (*Egypt*, London 1998, p.53).

¹³⁴⁴ Whatever might have been the degree of the king’s divinity in this life, after the transfiguration he was a true god, regularly referred to as *ntr* (see Goedicke, *Die Stellung des Königs im Alten Reiches*, pp.40-42). It is possible that epithets *ntr nfr* and *ntr ʿ3* differentiated these roles of a pharaoh, the latter one occurring in the Old Kingdom on the statues and wall decoration of the mortuary temples and on the Sinai markers, referring to the afterlife divine status of the king.

¹³⁴⁵ It seems that the ‘personifications’ of the pyramid complexes were referred to with a term *sdfbt*, ‘a provisioning one’ (H. Goedicke, Zur „Personifizierung” der Pyramide, WZKM 56 (1960), pp.52-54). Cf. Pyr.§: ‘The god is provided with a god’s offering, the King is provided with this bread of his.’

¹³⁴⁶ Cf. (i.a.): Posener-Kriéger, *Archives d’Abou Sir*, passim, esp. pp.588-609; A. M. Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom*, SAOC 14, Chicago 1991, passim; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp.141-149; Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, pp.234-235. A recent detailed discussion

Transfiguration of the king into a new being, supplying him with all he needs, and enacting his various activities that included meeting gods and people as well as destroying enemies and hunting animals – all these aims were inherent in the relief decoration. It is a difficult matter to establish how much of this was actually realized in the mortuary complex and how much was ‘transferred’ into the outer world. It seems certain, however, that the reliefs were not merely symbolic or ‘instructive’ but contained magical power for materialization.¹³⁴⁷

It seems that the essential role in the transfiguration of the king to a new form of life was played by Anubis.¹³⁴⁸ He was represented as giving life to the king in the square antechamber (on a lintel above the doorway to the sanctuary in Pepi II’s complex) and in other rooms of the inner temple (Niuserra’s scene, fig.27). A text preserved on a jamb of one of the statue niches in Pepy II’s temple speaks of *Ppy [...] Jnpw mrj*.¹³⁴⁹ Anubis was obviously a patron of the inner temple. It is to this role that a reference was made in a widespread epithet *hntj zh-ntr*. It seems clear that *zh-ntr* was the

of various aspects of this issue may be found in Т. Н. Савелева, *Храмовые хозяйства Египта времени Древнего Царства*, Moscow 1992 (Т. N. Savel’eva, *The Egyptian Temple Economy in the Old Kingdom*, in Russian). The roles played in this cultic service by the courtiers (‘friends’ and ‘acquaintances’ of the king) was discussed by M. Baud, *Le palais en temple. Le culte funéraire des rois d’Abousir*, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.346-360.

¹³⁴⁷ The same should refer to the reliefs in the non-royal tomb complexes. J. Malek assumed that ‘the original reason for the decoration of tomb-chapels was to provide the spirit (ka) of the deceased with the necessities of its continuous existence in the after-life. On stelae of the Second Dynasty the tomb-owner is seated at the table above which is a list of offerings which could be read if anybody wanted to make the ‘presentation of offerings by voice.’ (*In the Shadow of the Pyramids*, p.51). This is basically true, but the interaction with the ‘spirit of the deceased’ was perhaps indispensable, moreover, the reliefs might probably act by themselves, without a spectator. See n.1358 below.

¹³⁴⁸ The role of Anubis as the god of embalming, his role as *hrj sšt3 n pr-dw3t* (cf. K. T. Rydström, DE 28 (1994), p.65f.), his relation to the *jmj-wt*-‘fetish’, and connections with the architecture etc. should be further studied. *Mst*-ing of the *jmj-wt* in the *snwt*-shrine (recorded in the annals of Den, cf. Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, pp.156-157) and all similar references may refer to this issue, especially when one assumes that the *snwt*-shrine was probably identical with the *Stelenheiligtum*, and later on possibly with the inner temple.

¹³⁴⁹ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, p.25.

name of the offering hall.¹³⁵⁰ The importance of the representations of Anubis should be stressed, as contrasted with a noticeable non-existence of the depictions of Osiris. The two gods appear often together in the offering formulae in non-royal tomb chapels. Both are also the gods most often referred to in the Pyramid Texts. But there were virtually no representations, nor even mentions in a text, of Osiris, Isis or Nephthys in the mortuary temples.¹³⁵¹ These deities were artificial religious concepts, with the meaning confined to the burial context.¹³⁵² Their frequent occurrences in the Pyramid Texts reflect the fact that these spells served a specific aim, different from that of the decoration in the temples. They belong to the netherworld only. This perhaps means that the dead king was Osiris only temporarily, inside the tomb. On the other hand, some variants of the deities crucial for the programme of the temples are in the Pyramid Texts completely absent (Behedeti) or rarely referred to (Nubti).¹³⁵³ They obviously belong to the sphere of the earth.

Rebirth of the king is possible due to his celestial and terrestrial divine mothers: Hathor and Bastet, Nekhebet and Wadjet.¹³⁵⁴ In fact they are all female counterparts of the sun god with whom the king's father is already merged. A fatherhood of Ra is suggested in the scenes of embracing the king

¹³⁵⁰ And not part of the valley temple *pace* Altenmüller, Die Bedeutung der „Gotteshalle des Anubis“ im Begräbnisritual, JEOL 7 no.22 (1971-1972), pp.307-317.

¹³⁵¹ The alleged exception to this rule (the figure in a row of deities on a block from the temple of Djedkara, with a caption that may be interpreted as 'Osiris', see n.507 above) seems much doubtful. It would confirm the cult of Osiris as a local god at some site (Busiris?), but the reading of the name is by no means certain. At any rate, it seems to have no relation to the role of the king as Osiris in the funerary complex.

¹³⁵² Although it has often been claimed, it seems that there is no 'competition' or 'hostility' between the 'solar' (or 'Heliopolitan') and 'Osirian' concepts in the Pyramid Texts. Osiris being primarily the dead king or a hypostasis of all the dead rulers in the netherworld is by no means a competitor for the sun god. The idea of the 'Sun of the Netherworld' that eventually led to the New Kingdom concept of the solar-Osirian duality in the eternal cycles of the world developed gradually and is not easily traced in the Pyramid Texts, where Osiris is identified mostly as Orion.

¹³⁵³ Seth Ombite or He of Ombos is mentioned in Pyr.§§ 204, 371, and 2251.

¹³⁵⁴ On the role of Nekhebet and Wadjet as the king's mothers see Pyr.§§ 910-911. Cf. also M. Werbrouck, La déesse Nekhbet et la reine d'Égypte, Arch. Or. 20 (1950), pp.197-203.

after his ‘birth’ (e.g. in the *pr-wrw* of Pepy II)¹³⁵⁵ and in the scenes on the lintels where he is paralleled with Hathor, but it is often not stressed nor expressed explicitly for the simple reason that it is something obvious.¹³⁵⁶ A fundamental problem of a throne succession is related to this issue. The exceptional position and role played by queen-mothers and their identification as goddesses should be further explored, but it seems that they assumed divine status comparable in many ways with that of a pharaoh.¹³⁵⁷ It is clear from such evidence as the pyramidal tombs,¹³⁵⁸ Pyramid Texts (including the recently discovered example of Ankhesenpepy II), many elements of the decorum (for instance Behedety falcons, the winged sun-disk, the miniature sky-sign above the name, the *w3s*-sceptre),¹³⁵⁹ and the *hm-ntr* priests serving their cult (instead of the usual *hmw-k3*). Some of these queens assumed a higher status only after their death, as obviously was the case of Iput, mother of Pepy I.¹³⁶⁰

The roles of divine and terrestrial, human and divine mothers were merged in the complex. As it seems, a concrete architectural placement of the

¹³⁵⁵ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.38. The king is shown nose-to-nose with a falcon-headed god; a neighbouring scene represented Hathor suckling the king.

¹³⁵⁶ Similarly to the custom of the Annals where the filiations in royal titulary included mothers’ names only. It has been assumed as obvious that the king is a son of his predecessor, only the identity of the mother should be specified.

¹³⁵⁷ On this issue see i.a.: L. Sabbakhy, The king’s mother in the Old Kingdom with special reference to the titles *s3t-ntr*, SAK 25 (1998), pp.305-310; M. Baud, *Famille royale*, pp.333-345.

¹³⁵⁸ Janosi, *Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen*, pp.5-72.

¹³⁵⁹ For the decoration of the mortuary temples of queens see Janosi, *Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen*, pp.123-180. The exceptional roles of Hathor and Bastet in the programme can be traced from the preserved fragments (ibid., pp.151-152; cf. Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, fig.8, p.15)).

¹³⁶⁰ D. Magee, A *hmt-ntr* of Queen Iput I. Fragments copied by Battiscombe Gunn from a tomb at Saqqara, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.229-240; Z. Hawass, Recent discoveries in the pyramid complex of Teti at Saqqara, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.413-444.

representation of the king's re-birth may have influenced later forms of the myth of 'divine birth of the king'.¹³⁶¹

The meaning of other gods attending at the 'birth' scenes can be suggested. Khnum and Sebek represented Upper and Lower Egypt respectively but played also specific roles connected with their mythical connotations. In Pyr.§ 524 the king addresses Khnum: 'Hail to you (...) May you refashion me ...'.¹³⁶² The king is also explicitly called the son of Khnum.¹³⁶³ As for Sebek, it might be suggested that it was his character that was referred to with the aim of suggesting the king's immediate maturity. In Pyr.§ 510 the king speaks of himself: 'I appear as Sobk son of Neith, I eat with my mouth, I urinate and copulate with my phallus, I am the owner of the seed who takes women from their husbands whenever he wishes, according to his desire'.

The set of two divine mothers nursing the king, each accompanied by two gods, represented on the entrance walls at main doorways is clearly what is described in Pyr.§ 488: 'Hail to you, you Two who are reconciled, you two daughters of the four gods who preside over the Great Mansion, you who came forth at the voice to me, being naked, for I have looked on you as Horus looked on Isis, I have looked on you as the Snake looked on the Scorpion, I have looked on you as Sobk looked on Neith, I have looked on you as Seth looked on the Two who are reconciled'.¹³⁶⁴

¹³⁶¹ An idea that the 'birth houses' derived from Old Kingdom prototypes in the funerary temples was recently raised by H. Altenmüller, although he admitted that their identification is not obvious (*Geburtsschrein und Geburtshaus*, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.27-37). Altenmüller suggested *antichambre carrée*, but it appears now that the entrance rooms fit much better this concept. On this issue and the *mrt*-chapels see also Baud, *Famille royale*, p345-346.

¹³⁶² A well-known image of a divine potter is thus referred to. The text goes on: 'You are one of the two pillars of the Great Mansion' which seems to be a clear reference to the position of the god's representations in the temples.

¹³⁶³ In Pyr.§ 1238.

¹³⁶⁴ This passage is forwarded by an address to Horus in the Horite Mounds, Seth in the Sethite mounds and Iaru in the Field of Rushes, possibly references to the square

King's Path

The mortuary complex: directions and ways of movement

Orientation of the king's figures on reliefs, in relation to the principles of a position and orientation of various elements of the programme, reflect the way the king moves through the complex. Contrary to a common modern view (influenced much by the present state of the buildings, even the best preserved late temples), the reality of the temples was principally not that of static, but the one of movement. This is especially true for the royal mortuary complexes which served the transfiguration of the king as well as enabling and supporting his existence and rule after death. These aims were realized through both the material (architecture) and ritual media. This required, however, not only the activity of the priests, but also an active participation of the object.

This concept of the king's movement reflects the Old Kingdom idea of *ka*.¹³⁶⁵ It is the life force that emerged from the creator god Atum and has been continuously transmitted through the generations of gods and people. *Ka* is a generic idea, but at the same moment can be an individual entity ('me and my double').¹³⁶⁶ A question where does *ka* exist when separated from the body after death is not easy to answer, but it is certain that one has to join it – 'to go to one's *ka*'). *Ka* was moving from the tomb outside through the false-

antechamber and the offering hall (Pyr.§ 487, cf. § 1475). Maybe 'the Great Mansion' denotes the *temple intime*. This would be confirmed by the spell cited in the preceding note.

¹³⁶⁵ It would be difficult to claim the full understanding of the character and roles played by the 'double'. This difficult and multi-aspected subject was extensively explored by L. Greven, *Der Ka in Theologie und Königskult der Ägypter des Alten Reiches*, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1952 (=ÄF 17); U. Schweitzer, *Das Wesen des Ka* (esp. pp.40-51) and recently by A. Bolshakov, *Man and His Double*. These important studies covered much larger area than the subject of the royal *ka* only but it seems that still much more research in this field could be made. See recently B. Ockinga, Hatshepsut's Election to Kingship: the Ba and Ka in Egyptian Royal Ideology, BACE 6 (1995), pp.89-102.

¹³⁶⁶ All the most important representations of the king involve a figure of the royal *ka* standing behind, either in form of a standard or personified.

door.¹³⁶⁷ Another important question is how the symbolic and physical relations between the underground and the aboveground were realized. It seems that relative positions of the sarcophagus chamber and the offering chapel (or more precisely, the burial and the false door) in terms of horizontal and vertical axes were an important factor in designing of the tomb. The body should be placed immediately under the false-door or, at the latest, on line with it along an E-W axis. The deceased was presumed to move upwards and emerge through the false-door. This suggests the existence of the concept of a 'lift' of some kind, imagined in later times in the representations of bird-like *bas* flying up the burial shafts and outside the tomb chapels. Not entirely clear are the relations between *ka*, *ba* and *akh*. It seems that an ultimate aim of all the burial activities is a transfiguration of the dead into an *akh*.¹³⁶⁸ In the Pyramid Texts the king speaks: 'me and my *ka*.' It seems that the sense of 'me' is in this case personality, identity i.e. *ba* ('soul', 'psyche', 'power' but also any form of a manifestation).¹³⁶⁹ After the transfiguration the dead king's *ba* and *ka* join (again), and he becomes an *akh*, (still) having his own *ka*. The parts should not be separated. *Ka* is a vital force that needs nourishment. This may be realized by absorbing the immaterial essence of food. Hence the continuous need for offerings. But a man needs much more to live than simply food ('a thousand of linen, a thousand of travertine vessels...' of the offering formulae) and thus also other goods have to be delivered to *akh* to enable him to absorb their essence.

¹³⁶⁷ The formula that enabled to exit through the door of the tomb and enter it again is given in the ch.72 of the Book of the Dead.

¹³⁶⁸ G. Englund, *Akh – une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique*, Uppsala 1978.

¹³⁶⁹ L. V. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, Chicago 1968; E. Brunner-Traut, *Die Geburt der Idee von der Unsterblichkeit der Seele im Alten Ägypten*, Universitas, Stuttgart 21 (1966), pp.973-981; R. B. Finnestad, *On Transposing Soul and Body into a Monistic Conception of Being: An Example from Ancient Egypt*, Religion, London 16 (1986), pp.359-373; A. de Jong, *The Function of the Ba in Ancient Egyptian Anthropology*, in: *Atti VI Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia*, Turin 1993, I, pp.237-241.

Ka supports and carries the personality ('me'), enables all kind of activities including capability of movement.¹³⁷⁰ In fact, however, it is not merely *ka* that moves, but *akh*. Essential role was played by the false-door, through which the dead in his new form could emerge from the tomb. This concept underlied the existence of E and N sanctuaries. Multiple false-doors for one person might have existed, as proved by *casus* Netjerykhet. The fourteen dummy gates in the enclosure wall not only enabled the king's move towards different directions, but might have already been connected with the idea known from later sources of the fourteen *kas* of the king and the sun god.¹³⁷¹ That the concept of seven lives of a pharaoh (doubled for him as a Dual King, which explains the number of fourteen), was developed in the Old Kingdom, is strongly suggested by the number of *ankh*-signs presented to the

¹³⁷⁰ It is expressed in Pyr.§ 18: „O King, the arm of your double is in front of you ! O King, the arm of your double is behind you ! O King, the foot of your double is in front of you ! O King, the foot of your double is behind you !”. Faulkner commented upon this fragment that ‘this jingle may mean that the king’s double strides along at his side, arms and legs swinging back and forth’ (*Pyramid Texts*, p.5), but in fact the passage presents a view of the *ka* who is not at the king’s side, but inside him.

¹³⁷¹ F. W. von Bissing, Versuch einer neuen Erklärung des Ka’i der alten Aegypter, in: Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, 5, München 1911, pp.3-15; A. H. Gardiner, Some Personifications, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 38 (1916), pp.83-95. That the fourteen dummy gates in the Step Pyramid temenos wall represented fourteen real doorways of the Memphite residence of the king was a view advocated by J.-P. Lauer (Drioton, Lauer, *Sakkarah*, pp.9-10). The number of the gates does not seem to be accidental, however, as it could have been conceived as 2 x 7 (doubling for Upper and Lower Egypt the seven lives of the pharaoh). The number and arrangement of the gates were subsequently copied in the complex of Sekhemkhet and on Middle Kingdom royal sarcophagi (S. Ikram, A. Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*, London 1998, p.252 and fig.347), as well as on the sarcophagus of Merenptah (Jéquier, *Manuel I*, p.329, fig.222). On this issue see H. Kees, Die 15 Scheintüren am Grabmal, ZÄS 88 (1963), pp.97-113. The occurrence of this unusual number in various contexts can be explained by this primary meaning. This might refer to the number of fourteen attested in: accretion layers added to the core in the Third Dynasty step pyramids, granite blocks forming the burial chamber in the South Tomb of Netjerykhet, statues of Khufu mentioned on the Cairo fragment of the annals, days during which Ruddjedet has to cleanse after having given birth, the hills in BD 148, boundary stelae of Akhetaton, columns in the kiosk of Traian on Philae, members of the Theban ennead in the Roman mammisi at Dendera. One may notice that another widely met ‘sacred’ number of forty-two is a triple of fourteen.

king by gods in the scenes of ‘giving life’.¹³⁷² The origins and use of false-doors in the royal mortuary complexes and in private tomb-chapels are the subject of some controversy and should be studied further. Possibly the Egyptian concept of the false-door is as old as the so-called ‘domestication’ of the burial.

The king’s appearance¹³⁷³ and his subsequent moving is closely connected with the idea of Wepwawet, ‘Opener of the Ways’. The Pyramid Texts speak on his role explicitly: ‘You have come forth through/to the door, appearing as king, elevated as Wepwawet’ (*pr.n.k jr ʿrrt; hʿ.tj m nsw k3.tj m Wp-w3wt*).¹³⁷⁴ Another spell suggests an identification of the king with Wepwawet: ‘Go and come... for you are enduring in life!... You shall ascend to the sky, you shall become Wepwawet... the sky is given to you, the earth is given to you...’.¹³⁷⁵

It seems that the relief decoration in the royal mortuary complexes reflects the ways and directions the king was supposed to move after he had revived in the burial chamber and was able (partly thanks to recitation by himself of the spells of the Pyramid Texts)¹³⁷⁶ to move freely, emerging from

¹³⁷² Noticed first by M. A. Murray, *Ritual Masking*, in: *Melanges Maspero*, I, pp.252: ‘I would call the attention to the symbolism of the group: the king holds three ankh-signs, which he has just received from Anubis, who presents him with three more, and at the same moment holds one to the royal nostrils. The god of the Death is therefore presenting the Pharaohs with seven lives.’

¹³⁷³ *Hʿj* (Wb III, 239) is a common term used for describing of the appearing of the king. The semantic field of this verb includes the rising of sun and stars, royal or divine epiphany, as well as a general designation of the royal crowns, all these contributing to the complex meaning of such phrases as *hʿ.tj m nswt bjtj*, ‘may you appear as the Dual King’.

¹³⁷⁴ Pyr. § 1638a-b. (F. D. Friedman, *JARCE* 32 (1995), p.36, translation after that of P. Munro, *ZÄS* 86, p.72). For the *ʿrrt* as the door at the entrance to a palace see Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, p.150.

¹³⁷⁵ Pyr. §§ 1006, 1009c, 1010h.

¹³⁷⁶ W. Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte für den verstorbenen König*, *MÄS* 39 (1981); cf. Altenmüller, *LÄ* V, 14-23. The hypotheses connecting the Pyramid Texts with burial rites (J. Spiegel, *Das Auferstehungsritual der Unas-Pyramide. Beschreibung und erläuterte Übersetzung*, *ÄA* 23, Wiesbaden 1971; H. Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, *ÄA* 24, Wiesbaden 1972) found little

the tomb to the outside world.¹³⁷⁷ Subsequent stages of his journey are described in the Pyramid Texts that could be referred not only to the netherworld and celestial areas but to their symbolic representations in the architecture of the mortuary complexes as well.¹³⁷⁸ In the ‘classical’ pyramid complex he started from the sarcophagus and ‘walked’ through the burial chamber and the antechamber towards the ‘serdab’ with its three niches.¹³⁷⁹ From there he crossed the mass of the pyramid to emerge through the false-door set in the west wall of the sanctuary.¹³⁸⁰ The niches in the E wall of the ‘serdab’ are thus ‘doors of Geb’,¹³⁸¹ as clearly expressed in Pyr.§ 1713: ‘[the earth] speaks to you, the gate of the earth-god is opened for you, the doors of Geb are thrown open for you that you may go forth at the voice and

support in the recent research on the wider ideological context and analyses of the texts themselves.

¹³⁷⁷ The question of existence or non-existence of the false-doors in the Fourth Dynasty complex is crucial in this context. An important observation that bears much significance for this issue was made by M. Lehner concerning the pyramid of Menkaura: ‘At the bottom, 16 courses of red granite casing were left undressed, apart from token patches around the entrance to the pyramid and behind the inner mortuary temple. Along with the actual burial, freeing the pyramid face seems to have been an integral part of activating the tomb.’ (*Complete Pyramids*, p.134).

¹³⁷⁸ J. P. Allen, *The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts*, in: *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, Yale Egyptological Studies 3, New Haven 1989, pp.1-28. A difficult question that might be posed is whether such names as Duat, Field of Offering and Field of Reeds refer to areas of the cosmos of which the royal tomb and sanctuaries are merely models, or else the tomb and the offering rooms just were Duat and the Fields?

¹³⁷⁹ This undecorated room was obviously not a statue chamber or a magazine for food (Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.235), but was conceived to be the doorway ‘out’. The discussion by B. Mathieu (*La signification du serdab dans la pyramide d'Ounas. L'architecture des appartements funéraires royaux à la lumière des Textes des Pyramides*, in: *Etudes Lauer*, pp. 289-304) goes towards such a concept but without explicit conclusions, as he did not consider the eastward direction of the king’s move through the wall, but only his presumed way along the polar corridor. Why there were exactly three niches is not clear.

¹³⁸⁰ One can relate to this aim the ‘ferryman’ texts like Pyr.§ 1091: ‘O *Hr.f-h3.f*, ferry me over to the Field of Rushes’.

¹³⁸¹ And the tomb itself might be identified with Geb, which would accord well with the identification of the sarcophagus with Nut. A filiation of the king to Geb is given in the ‘sarcophagus spells’ of the Pyramid Texts, and it is Geb who grants endurance to the pyramid. On Geb in the Pyramid Texts see F. T. Miosi, *Some Aspects of Geb in the Pyramid Texts*, BES 10 (1989/90), pp.101-107; T. Martinelli, *Geb et Nout dans les Textes des Pyramides. Essai de compréhension du caractère masculin de Geb et de la Terre ainsi que du caractère féminin de Nout et du Ciel*, BSEG 18 (1994), pp.61-80.

spiritualize yourself, O King...’. At the same moment, if the sanctuary can be seen as the Field of Reeds, the false-door played role of the *ʿ3wj pt*, as described in Pyr.§ 525: ‘The doors of the sky are opened, the doors of the firmament are thrown open at dawn for Horus of the Gods, he goes up into the Field of Rushes, he bathes in the Field of Rushes...’.¹³⁸² The form of the royal false-door differed from that of the non-royal ones as it probably did not bear a usual rectangular panel with the dead person’s figure shown seated at the offering table.¹³⁸³ From the offering chapel where the king realised his rest and assumed nourishment (fig.91), he could move through the square antechamber and the vestibule (and later back, which is reflected in the orientation of the S and W walls) to the outer space (with an alternative way through a hidden ‘serdab’ into the statues in the statue chamber). The square antechamber was possibly conceived as representing ‘the Mounds of Horus and their gods’ and ‘the Mounds of Seth and their gods’ (fig.93).¹³⁸⁴ But he could also choose another aim and direction of the move: from the burial apartments along the polar corridor of the pyramid to emerge through the false-door in the northern chapel. This structure was an intermediary point on the way towards the Circumpolar regions. Decoration, parallel with that of the main sanctuary of the mortuary temple, suggests the function of the room: to provide a meal for the king before he resumed his journey. In a cosmic interpretation of the funerary complex the northern chapel played a role of

¹³⁸² Cf. also Pyr.§ 1361: ‘The doors of the sky are open for you, the doors of the firmament are thrown open for you, the doors of the tomb are opened for you, the doors of Nut are unbolted for you’.

¹³⁸³ This was noticed by P. Janosi who speaks of a ‘so-called false-door’ (Die Entwicklung und Deutung des Totenopferraumes in den Pyramidentempeln des Alten Reiches, in: *Ägyptische Tempel*, p.144). A possible explanation for the lack of a panel with the offering table scene might be the the existence of a statue placed in front of the stela.

¹³⁸⁴ They are mentioned in numerous spells along with the Field of Reeds. The Sethite and Horite Mounds represented the *tells* with settlements, of the Upper and Lower Egypt respectively. Pyr.§ 1475: ‘Atum has assembled the nomes for you, he has given the cities of Geb for you, having spoken about it, (even) the Mounds, the Mounds of Horus, the Mounds of Seth, and the Field of Rushes’.

the Field of Offerings (fig.92).¹³⁸⁵ An idea relevant to the roles of the E and N sanctuaries is the interpretation of the offering table as the ‘two Fields of Offerings’ attested in the M.K. and N.K sources.¹³⁸⁶

The idea that the king rests in his coffin only temporarily can be noticed already in Netjerykhet’s complex. He was supposed to move from the burial chamber around the corridors to the Blue Chambers and along the stelae through the rock to the subterranean parts of the South Tomb, to the ‘secondary burial chamber’ and out, up the entrance corridor, towards the west. This underground movement reflects in some way what was supposed to occur also aboveground, leading ultimately to three ‘runs’ performed by the king: *phr sht* between the markers at the South Court, *phr h3 jnbw* around the complex after having emerged outside the walls through one of the gates, and possibly also the *hnw*-bark procession around the complex inside the Dry Moat.¹³⁸⁷ All three rituals together gave the king a possession and control of

¹³⁸⁵ Again the Pyramid Texts provide a relevant passage: ‘The doors of the sky-windows are opened, the doors of the Lower *Tt* are thrown open; O you Two Enneads, take me with you to the Field of Offerings, in accordance with my translation to a „Blessed One”.’ (Pyr.§ 1203). The ‘doors of the sky-windows’ might be portcullises of the polar corridor, the ‘doors of Lower *Tt*’ (i.e. the pyramid mound?) might represent the false-door in the N chapel, and the Two Enneads were depicted on the walls flanking the false-door (as at the pyramid of Merenra, cf. n.634 above).

¹³⁸⁶ M. Heerma van Voss, Die Beiden Opfergefilde als Opfertisch, in: *Studien Westendorf*, pp.805-807. The author refers to an Old Kingdom title of ‘scribe of the *wdhw*-table and overseer of the two Fields of Offerings’ that might be directly related to the idea discussed here. One should mention also an identification of the half-loaves on the offering tables as reeds, clearly a secondary interpretation, referring to the concept of the Fields: P. Munro, Brothälften und Schilfblätter, *GM* 5 (1973), pp.13-16; C. E. Worsham, A Reinterpretation of the So-called Bread Loaves in Egyptian Offering Scenes, *JARCE* 16 (1979), pp.7-10.

¹³⁸⁷ The Dry Moat was probably a simulacrum of a real moat that could serve the procession during which a bark was dragged along it. This would be further confirmed by the discovery made by Polish mission in 1999 of a wooden ritual(?) harpoon decorated with snakes’ figures (K. Myśliwiec, West Saqqara. Excavations 2000, *PAM* 12 (2001), p.116, figs 8 and 9; Z. Godziejewski, *PAM* 12, pp.124-5, figs. 3a-c). It was (re-?) deposited in a Sixth Dynasty context in a strange structure leading from the Moat towards the pyramid. Styled Corridor 1 by the excavators, it is a 22 m long corridor, ended with a chamber opening in its NE end. It does not resemble any of the burial shafts or chapels in the vicinity and it is possible that it may predate the Sixth Dynasty necropolis. A curious coincidence (?) is the fact that the shape of the corridor with the chamber resembles that of the harpoon and their dimensions are exactly ten times the length of the harpoon.

three realms: the Sky, the earthly kingdom and the Netherworld.¹³⁸⁸
Circumambulation (*phr*) was a crucial idea in the ancient Egyptian magic.¹³⁸⁹

The way of the king along the decorated walls had to be connected in some way with an assumption that he can manifest himself or become incarnated in a relief representation.¹³⁹⁰ Realizing another possibility,¹³⁹¹ the king's *akh* might have appeared in a statue, but not from 'nowhere'. He had to move into it. One may suppose that immediately after he received his offerings on an altar in the E sanctuary and this enabled him to go forth,¹³⁹²

Considering the earlier tradition (attested at the North Cemetery at Abydos) and later occurrences in the pyramid complexes, one might expect also the boat burials around the Step Pyramid enclosure, probably in some relation with the Dry Moat.

¹³⁸⁸ These or similar ceremonies might have been performed by priests in the later pyramid complexes. Abusir papyri speak of 'going round the *hr* (the upper enclosure of the pyramid?)' (Posener-Kriéger, *Les Papyrus d'Abousir*, I, p.509). Two priests (a *hm-ntr* and a *hntj-šj*) circumambulated the pyramid each morning and evening sprinkling it with natron water. They were departing from the south door of the temple and returning through the north door. According to Lehner (*Complete Pyramids*, p.235) this clockwise tour may have symbolized the circuit of the sun. It seems, however, that a link with the king's 'going round' is much probable, the two interpretations not being mutually exclusive.

¹³⁸⁹ R. K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practise*, SAOC 54, Chicago 1993, *passim*.

¹³⁹⁰ Relief representations were therefore not only 'symbolic' or merely 'guiding the king'. It seems that the 'incarnation' of a person into a relief was meant very realistically. This is proved by the fact that the ceremony of Opening the Mouth might have been performed on reliefs as well as on mummies and statues. The fact that the whole royal figure in Pepi II's sanctuary was executed on one enormous block of stone should be understood according to the same idea. It seems that the aim might be to avoid joints between blocks; without them the king's 'sit in' inside the figure was facilitated. It is further proved by the often damages of one's figure, not only in the *damnatio memoriae* procedure, but also to avoid a possible harm to the dead by a represented living creature. The Old Kingdom examples include not only curtailed animal signs in the Pyramid Texts, but also clear traces of damage of figures on the Lisht blocks and on the blocks of Djedkara re-used in the pyramid of Unis.

¹³⁹¹ It may be assumed that reliefs and statuary, although could have been executed in wood or metal, were especially apt for housing one's *ka* when made in stone. This reflected a notion of eternity immanent in stone that was expressed in the funerary architecture (J. R. Ogdon, Some reflections on the meaning of the 'megalithic' cultural expression in Ancient Egypt (with reference to the symbolism of stone), VA 6 (1990), pp.17-22).

¹³⁹² One should bear in mind, however, that another important activity made at the king's person was his bath. Numerous Pyramid Texts speak of this activity being done at the Field of Rushes. This is well in accord with the elaborate systems of outflow for liquids

he could move (along the walls of the antechamber and vestibule or through the hidden ‘serdab’) to the statues in the five-niched chamber. There the rituals of Opening the Mouth,¹³⁹³ and those of the daily cult,¹³⁹⁴ enabled him to ‘separate his back from the wall’¹³⁹⁵ to move further and receive the offerings in the court.¹³⁹⁶ The ‘wheels’ depicted under the throne on Niuserra’s relief might suggest this idea was symbolized by the statues being movable. The officials represented on the same relief flanked both sides of his ‘beautiful way’ as the text explicitly states. It seems that this path is referred to at Abu Ghurab scenes showing processions to the *wsht*-court (fig.94) and the *pr-wrw*.¹³⁹⁷

The king’s route in the complex was conceived to be made in stages. The ‘birth’ scenes on the gateways suggest the changes into new, developed forms of existence. In the transverse corridor the emerging from the netherworld was finished. From there the king entered the realms of this

used in the sanctuaries. Possibly they were used not only when purifying the offerings but for the ritual bath of the king’s statues as well.

¹³⁹³ A. M. Roth strongly argued for an interpretation of this rite as referring to the activities done at a child’s birth (Fingers, Stars, and the ‘Opening of the Mouth’: the Nature and Function of the *ntrwj*-blades, *JEA* 79 (1993), pp.57-79). Such a concept fits perfectly the idea of rebirth of the dead in a statue.

¹³⁹⁴ As described in the Abusir Papyri. See the summarized view of the rites in Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, p.235.

¹³⁹⁵ Pyr. §§ 1938-39: ‘O King, raise yourself off on your left side, sit up on your right side, sit on the pure thrones of Re, separate your back from the wall (?), your hand being on your altar. Your thousand of bread (...) is with me (?) in the middle of the Broad Hall.’ The route of the king from the sarcophagus through the offering chapel and the statue to the *wsht*-courtyard is described.

¹³⁹⁶ The crucial role of statues in the ideological programme of the mortuary complexes was stressed by D. Arnold. However, one has to develop his reasoning a step further: statue cult was not the aim in itself, realized to enable the king’s existence in the Beyond, but only a means of enabling his transformations and movement, a stage in his afterlife route.

¹³⁹⁷ The block shows a figure of a divine falcon being carried to the *wsht*. The text speaks of [...] *hwt-ntr ḥꜥ m wsht* [...], ‘(leaving?) the inner temple and halting at the *wsht*-court’. The text on another fragment (*Re-Heiligtum II*, pl.18, no.44d) speaks of [...] *tp w3t r wsht pr-wrw*, which was rendered by P. Posener-Krieger (*Archives d’Abou Sir*, p.497), as ‘le debut de chemin vers le cour *wsht*: le *pr-wrw*’. However, such an interpretation reversing direction of the move is not necessary. Obviously the way to the *wsht* (first) and the *pr-wrw* (next) is described.

world and the sky. When the E offering chapel represents thus Field of Reeds, the transverse corridor or precisely the gate to the courtyard, opened to the full sun, might be interpreted as the entrance to the *Akhet*. Hypaethral temples and courtyards were connected with the sun cult, the offerings were made in an open space. The vertical axis is the usual way of communication with the sky.¹³⁹⁸ The open court served thus as the place of the ascendance of the king. But his destiny was not only ascending to the sky but also descending down to earth. It seems that both these aspects of the king's afterlife were parts of an eternal cycle of continuous move between the sky and the earth, and possibly the netherworld (antisky?), as well as his travels on earth.¹³⁹⁹ No fate limited the king: according to the Pyramid Texts he does whatever he likes,¹⁴⁰⁰ so he moved freely. The two aims of this ascending were the Imperishable Stars and the sun god. Means of ascending varied: a ladder (perhaps rather a symbolic term for any device enabling ascending), a staircase, various bird forms, incense. Most instructive in this respect is the role of the *shedshed*.¹⁴⁰¹ A crucial role of Wepwawet also for this aspect of

¹³⁹⁸ This idea of the *axis mundi* was best expressed by the obelisks joining the earth and the sky as symbolic doorways between the two realms. It seems that there is no chance in the fact that the stem *thn* occurs in the designation of an obelisk as well as in the word for a 'door leaf.' The location of obelisks in front of the gates of the temples and tomb complexes would be a consequence of such a meaning. It is much probable that they were set at the entrances to royal mortuary complexes as well. This is suggested by their occurrence in the pyramid complexes of the queens (including two beautiful examples of *Jnnk-jntj* at South Saqqara). Such a possibility remains unconfirmed till now. The alleged obelisk top found at Abusir is uninscribed and the only Old Kingdom royal monuments of this kind, beside those known from the inscription of Sabni at Asuan, is the obelisk of Teti from Heliopolis (L. Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt. Skyscrapers of the Past*, Cairo 1984, pp.42-45) and the piece of Pepi II from Tanis (P. Montet, *Kêmi* 5 (1935-1937), p.5).

¹³⁹⁹ Cf. Pyr. § 1245: '...for the Followers of Horus will cleanse you, they will recite for you the 'Spell for Him Who Ascends,' they will recite for you (the Spell for) Him Who Travels', and Pyr. § 1249: 'Recite four times: „May the King ascend to the sky, may the King descend to the earth”'.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Pyr. § 412: 'The King's lifetime is eternity, his limit is everlastingness, in this his dignity of: „If he wishes, he does; if he dislikes, he does not"'. Cf. Pyr. § 510.

¹⁴⁰¹ Pyr. §§ 539-540, 800a, 1036a. Cf. Frankfort, *Kingship*, p.364, n.49. The falcons of the Golden Name of Sneferu, depicted on the Hetepheres' baldachin, hold large ostrich feathers resembling the *shedshed*.

the king's move is thus confirmed. There are no doubts that the courtyards served the king's cult.¹⁴⁰² He was offered the 'offering of the *wsh*' there, which is expressed in the offering lists and in the Pyramid Texts.¹⁴⁰³ On the other hand there are some indications that the sun god was meant to appear in the court of the pyramid temples, at least during the Sixth Dynasty. The question arises whether these different connotations were differentiated also in the shape or decoration of the altars (especially their upper surfaces). The example of the great altar in Niuserra's sun temple points towards such a possibility. In some respect it is like a false-door, but used to communicate with the upper spheres vertically.¹⁴⁰⁴ But maybe the king was here merging with the sun god. This identification may have taken place also in the sky. But most of the appropriate Pyramid Text spells refers to the king as a protégé of Ra, sometimes even the sun god's secretary.¹⁴⁰⁵ He is travelling aboard the bark of sun or presiding the Conclaves and governing. Having spent some time in the sky, the king descended to the earth with a double aim: to protect and govern the country,¹⁴⁰⁶ and to get nourished and supplied. The Pyramid Texts mention three meals the king received in the sky, and two on the earth.¹⁴⁰⁷ According to another spell, the king was 'ascending as a bird, descending as a snake.'¹⁴⁰⁸

¹⁴⁰² H. Ernst, *Der Kult in den Opferhofen der Totentempel des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, SAK 29 (2001), pp.41-53 *contra* the interpretation of J. Malek (The „Altar” in the Pillared Court of Teti's Pyramid at Saqqara, in: *Pyramid Studies*, pp.23-30) who denied that any offerings were presented on the altars on the courtyards.

¹⁴⁰³ E.g. Pyr. § 214: 'O king, stand up and sit down to a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, roast meat of your rib-joints from the slaughter-house, and *ith*-bread from the Broad Hall'.

¹⁴⁰⁴ See below in the Addendum (on the sun temples).

¹⁴⁰⁵ Pyr. §§ 490-491, 954-955.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Both the realms of living and of the dead: 'Go, that you may govern the Mounds of Horus; go, that you may govern the Mounds of Seth; go, that you may govern the Mounds of Osiris' (Pyr. § 218).

¹⁴⁰⁷ Pyr. §§ 121-122, 717. It is important that the meals are offered to the king by Ra.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Pyr. §§ 1248-49. Ascending the sky in a bird form deserves no comment. The connection of the idea of descending towards the earth in a snake form should be further studied. It concerns the meaning of the snake-stelae, the decoration of Netjerykhet's door-

While the inner space of the courtyard was devoted to his rejuvenation (including the *Heb-Sed* theme), on the outer walls in the rooms around the *wsh*t and in the *pr-wrw* the king realised his duties for maintaining order, hunting animals and fishing. Scenes of smiting enemies and assuming booty that occurred on the courtyard in Sahura's complex, were subsequently moved to the *pr-wrw* and the inner temple. Some of the activities depicted in the *Verehrungstempel* were probably enacted by the king on the way back (see below).¹⁴⁰⁹

Next step of the king's journey was realised outside the mortuary temple. The king's figure at the upper end of the causeway (fig.95) was the focal point for the processions of gods, personifications and people bringing goods and provisions from the entire world (fig.96).¹⁴¹⁰ The king having received them was proceeding along the causeway and through the valley temple in his divine form,¹⁴¹¹ trampling enemies as a sphinx or griffin (fig.60). He was thus protecting the country, but also fighting for his

jamb from Saqqara, Ouroboros, snakes on royal sarcophagi, the representations of Harsomtut as a primeval god at Dendera etc. There is an obvious connection of snake with earth, and with the idea of emerging and hiding (in a hole), thus chthonic connotations are logical.

¹⁴⁰⁹ This would explain e.g. orientation of the royal figure in the desert hunt scene of Sahura.

¹⁴¹⁰ Cf. Pyr.§ 847: 'O King, you have enclosed every god within your arms, their lands and all their possessions. O King, you are great and round as the circle which surrounds the *H3w-nbwt*'. A feeling for a possibly complete enumerating of the names and toponyms, clearly based on the 'onomastical' tradition, is astonishing. Even such distant countries as almost mythical Tefrore (from where lapis-lazuli was imported) were represented (cf. the block of Khufu with the foreign oxen found at Lisht (MMA 22.1.3 = *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, no.36, p.186; cf. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, pp.18-19). For the localisation of Tefrore see A. Nibbi, *hsbd* from the Sinai, GM 19 (1976), pp.45-47; W. J. Tait, *The Mountain of Lapis-lazuli*, GM 20 (1976), pp.49-54. Two other oxen on the block of Khufu represent the *h3w-nbw* and *h3w-t3w*). References to African countries and products (Sneferu, Sahura, Djedkara) and Nubian silver mentioned in connection with Nekhebet (Sahura) are to be seen in this mode as well.

¹⁴¹¹ The example of Sahura suggests even a direct identification with the gods, namely with Thoth and Sopdu.

booty.¹⁴¹² The doorway at the entrance to the valley temple was an ultimate border of the different realms, the gate of the sky. Here the scenes of suckling appeared again,¹⁴¹³ enacting the ‘divine birth’ to the outer world. From there the king could travel to all the distant parts of the state (on another possibility of direct communication between the sky and provincial sites see below). We lack a firm evidence of what existed outside the valley temples at the area of *r3-šj*, but the valley temple was a starting point of the king’s trip into the country to protect it,¹⁴¹⁴ govern, and collect provisions.¹⁴¹⁵ This explains why a state ship is there represented (fig.97), along with the large representation of the king in a mythical animal form (as a sphinx or griffin, no doubt a divine entity), destroying enemies.¹⁴¹⁶ This occurs after all the transformations and assuming all the dignities.¹⁴¹⁷ It is significant that the

¹⁴¹² The texts explicitly mention not only enemies, but the *df3(w)* as well (e.g. Jéquier, *Pepi II*, III, pl.13).

¹⁴¹³ Cf. the remarks in ch.III.6.

¹⁴¹⁴ Representations of the king on Sinai markers can be interpreted as depicting him in this divine, afterlife role. This is suggested by the use of the epithet *ntr-ꜥ3* and may explain the fact that the Horus name is oriented the other direction than the figure of the king and his cartouche. The two roles of the pharaoh are thus differentiated.

¹⁴¹⁵ It would be tempting to suggest a connection with this issue of the famous Pyramid spells allegedly repelling Osiris (Pyr.§§ 1267-77: ‘May Osiris not come with this his evil coming, do not open your arms to him: Go southward, go to Nedit, go nothward, go to *ꜥd3!*’ etc.). Concrete sites in the South and North are further enumerated. A careful look at the context reveals that this litany is inserted between frames of the two parts of the offering formula concerning the ‘tomb and house’ (Pyr.§§ 1264-66) and ‘pyramid and temple’ (Pyr. §§ 1278-79) of the king. A suggested sense might be that the gods are not welcome because they should wait for the king in their cult places. At the end of the litany the king says: ‘If I come with my double, the mouths of the gods will be opened and will request that I descend to [the Lower Sky, and I will descend] to the place where the gods are.’


¹⁴¹⁶ A royal sphinx is likewise represented at the prow of the state ship. It is noteworthy that the decoration of the state ship included the winged sun-disk and rosettes on the sail and a disk on the prow. It was obviously conceived as a divine, solar vessel. The name of the ship is *b3 ntrj*, that can be rendered as ‘Divine Manifestation’.

¹⁴¹⁷ In this respect one should stress the fact that the most important statues in the valley temple of Khafra, beside the focal, ‘divine’ statue CG 14, were two ‘serekh’ statues with the falcon Horus seated on the back of the throne carved as a large serekh (one of them actually preserved (CG 9), cf. Seidel, *Statuengruppen*, pp.20-24). It does not conform very well with a usual disuse of the Horus name after the king’s death. Possibly Khafra was

only examples of triple-string cartouches occur in the valley temples.¹⁴¹⁸ One may suggest that as the double cartouche reflects possibly the idea of duality of the Egyptian kingdom, the triple one bears an allusion to the three realms possessed by the king, thus symbolizing a completeness of his power.¹⁴¹⁹ Another subject represented in the valley temple is offering to gods assembled at their cult shrines (fig.25). The content and arrangement of the scene form a parallel to the decoration of the square antechamber and obviously refers to the king's duties in attracting the divine reciprocity for the country as well as for himself. In both cases this scene is in some way a bordering one, representing a final stage of the king's activity.

One cannot be certain about the king's way back into the complex. It is not reflected in the direction of the king's figures on the walls of valley temples and causeways, but – significantly – can be clearly traced in the transverse corridor,¹⁴²⁰ and especially in the *Totenopfertempel*. The king is there represented as walking out of the temple on the N and E walls (square antechamber) and the W and N walls (vestibule), and coming back on the E

represented thus as a transformed into divine form, albeit again ruling 'Horus in his palace'.

¹⁴¹⁸ There are only two examples of a triple cartouche: on a block of Userkaf found at Lisht, most probably coming from his valley temple, with a scene of a visit of a state ship to Bubastis (?), and on a wall in Sahura's valley temple (a block preserved in situ) with the depiction of the king as a sphinx. The only evidence to be compared to the idea of a triple-looped cartouche is a fragmentary text on a block that possibly derived from the E tympanum of the sanctuary of Pepy II (where the solar bark might have been depicted). It shows the signs (↓→) which constituted part of a word (*3ht*) *hnwt*, 'inner horizon', or else *hnw*, 'a rower' (of the sun-ship), preceded by  *nb t3w*. This last phrase seems to have no parallel in the Old Kingdom.

¹⁴¹⁹ In Pyr.§ 895 the king is addressed: 'The Great Ennead which is in On assigned you to your great throne, that you may sit, O King, at the head of the Ennead as Geb, chiefest of the gods, as Osiris at the head of the Powers and as Horus, Lord of men and gods'. Cf. also Pyr.§ 899: 'O King, may your name live at the head of living; may you be a spirit, O King, at the head of spirits; may you have power at the head of Powers'.

¹⁴²⁰ The scene of leading the king traced in the Pepi II's temple can be referred to Pyr.§ 392: 'Horus and Seth take hold of my hands and take me to the Netherworld.' This passage was assumed to be part of Utterance 271 (an 'ascension' text), but it is clearly connected with the next spell (Utt.272) in which 'the king demands admission to the Beyond', according to the title given by Faulkner.

and S walls (vestibule) and S and W walls (antechamber). This means that it was intended for the king to move back (through the false-door in the sanctuary) into the pyramid to take a rest in a ‘bedroom’ of the burial chamber.¹⁴²¹ Thus the overall concept seems to include cyclical sequence of events,¹⁴²² reflecting earlier mundane life of a pharaoh: dream in a bedroom, morning toilet and meals, various activities of the day, separated by meals, and his evening coming back to the bedroom. The funerary complex is therefore not a symbolic, but a real, ‘physical’ eternal abode of the king.

It appears thus that the king lived after his death in the same territory - albeit in the other reality - as before. The afterlife Egypt was not a distant area of the ‘other world’, but was essentially the same Egypt populated by ‘spirits’ of the dead, sleeping in their tombs, and going out to receive the offerings, and possibly to perform other activities. They were present in the same space although their communication with the living was not easy.¹⁴²³ Since the reign of Sneferu tombs of the courtiers consistently clustered around the royal complex. Necropolis was the afterlife Residence (*nwt*) and nome (*sp3t*).¹⁴²⁴ In the afterlife the king was still the ruler of his subordinates,

¹⁴²¹ Identification of the sarcophagus with the sky or goddess Nut is well attested. The idea of a ‘celestial’ bed can be also connected with such evidence as ‘lion bed’ at the *Heb-Sed* as a representation of the sky, Tutankhamun’s ‘cosmic’ animal beds, etc. In the Pyramid Texts the burial chamber is called *pr-dw3t*, a clear reference not only to the *Duat*, but to the ‘Morning-room’ or ‘Toilet-room’ of the palace as well (Lehner, *Pyramids*, pp.27, 235).

¹⁴²² Pyr.§ 705: ‘I am that eye of yours which is on the horns of Hathor, which turns back the years from me, I spend the night and am conceived and born every day’. Similarly in Pyr.§ 698: ‘My seat with Geb is made spacious, my star is set on high with Re, I travel to and fro in the Field of Offerings, for I am that Eye of Re which spends the night and is conceived and born every day’. It seems that the idea of cyclical appearance of the king and his coming back to the tomb is summarized at the end of the Cannibal Hymn (§ 414): ‘the King is this one who ever appears and hides (himself)’. The translation by Faulkner (*Pyramid Texts*, p.84) of *h^c h^c jmn jmn* as ‘ever appears and endures’ seems erroneous concerning the meaning of the second verb. He obviously has taken it for *mn*, ‘to endure’ written with a prothetic *j*, but it is more probable that it is *jmn*, ‘to hide, to conceal’. Thus *h^c jmn* means ‘to appear and to disappear’.

¹⁴²³ The communication might have been realized by the Letters to the Dead.

¹⁴²⁴ H. Goedicke, *The Egyptian Idea of Passing from Life to Death (An Interpretation)*, Or 24 (1955), pp.225-239. Goedicke discussed a sentence *pr.n (j) m nwt, h3j.n(j) m sp3t*. He

a ‘foremost of the living *kas*’ (*hntj k3w ʿnhw*) and ‘leader of living *kas*’ (*sšm k3w ʿnhw*). His courtiers were eternally tied to his person, fulfilled their duties in the *palais en temple*,¹⁴²⁵ and depended upon his largess. This required actualization of the data in case of a somebody’s promotion or, on the contrary, falling into disgrace.¹⁴²⁶ Theoretically the names and titles of the officials depicted in a mortuary complex represent thus the last stage of the king’s reign.¹⁴²⁷

The king after his death and transfiguration was ‘dully enrolled and recorded in the list of monarchs, and the record of his reign formally

translated it as ‘I came forth from the residence and I went down into the cemetery’, taking *nwt* as ‘the Town’ i.e. the residence of the living king, but this might be figurative for the funerary establishments as well.

¹⁴²⁵ As termed by Michel Beau. Courtiers and officials of various rangs (royal friseurs and manicurists assuming a relatively high position, as those who were allowed to touch the king) were represented in the relief decoration that reflected their role in the (mundane and afterlife) court, but they also took part in the royal cult practice (M. Baud, *Le palais en temple. Le culte des rois d’ Abousir*, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.344-360).

¹⁴²⁶ Numerous cases of damage or re-cutting of the officials’ figures or names, or some words in the formulae, prove the importance of a proper representation of a man in the afterlife. These procedures can be noticed in both royal temples and non-royal tombs. They had various aims. Sometimes the *jm3hy hr nswt* phrase was at some point replaced by the *jm3hj hr smjt jmntt*, which possibly reflected increasing of the distance from the king’s person (a case recorded in the tomb of vizier Merefnebef at Saqqara). Sometimes the names or the whole figures of officials depicted on the temple walls were erased (e.g. Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pls.17, 33, cf. I, p.32) or replaced by others; on the other hand some re-cuts were corrections considered important: higher titles assumed (and thus the status of a person enhanced) had to be recorded for the eternity (e.g. Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*^c, fig.56b). This refers also to the kings themselves. After the ascendance to the throne rulers had their earlier images re-cut, adding royal attributes and changing the former names into the cartouches. Beside the well-known example of Horemheb (in his tomb at Saqqara), such cases of ‘enhancing status’ occurred also in the Old Kingdom: for Neferirkara in Sahura’s complex (Borchardt, *Sa3hu-Re*^c, II, pls.47,48, cf. our fig.72) and probably Sahura in Userkaf’s mortuary temple (Labrousse, Lauer, *Ouserkaf et Neferhetepes*, doc.177, fig.249).

¹⁴²⁷ The assumption of N. Kanawati (*Governmental Reforms*, p.) that *Jdj*, *Jhj-hnt* and *Hnw*, viziers represented in the temples of Pepi II, should be dated to the beginning of the king’s reign, is therefore to be questioned. One of the ordinary *smr-wʿtj hrj-hbt* who assumed the function of a vizier, had his titles added to his figure on the N wall of the main sanctuary (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl.90; the titles of *t3jtj z3b t3tj* are engraved in smaller hieroglyphs in front of the official’s face. Unfortunately the name has not been preserved).

deposited in the archives among men.’¹⁴²⁸ It is not clear how the Egyptians imagined precisely the relations in this respect between the dead kings and the living pharaoh,¹⁴²⁹ but it seems that the ancestors supported the living pharaoh in his governance and controlling chaos.¹⁴³⁰ Possibly he was an incarnation (*hm*)¹⁴³¹ not only of Horus but also of all the dead rulers. As suggested already by A. H. Gardiner, this idea was probably expressed by the iconographic motif of the winged sun disk.¹⁴³² The piety presented by the kings towards the dead rulers would have been much more than merely an expression of an admiration of outstanding persons or a reference to an ‘auld lang syne’ made to legitimize one’s deeds.¹⁴³³ Such representations as the famous scene at Abydos showing Sethi I and the future Ramesses II presenting offerings to the royal ancestors (represented as the Kings’ List), should not be taken as ‘symbolic’, nor are they exceptional in any way. They reflected rituals that played an important role in the ideology of kingship not only because the worship of the ancestors was a man’s duty. The idea of mutual dependance and reciprocity was something understood very

¹⁴²⁸ Redford, *King-lists, Annals, Day-books*, p.68. Redford cites two spells from the Pyramid Texts mentioning the annals (*gnwt*): Pyr.§ 1160 (‘he sets his annals among men, love of him among gods’), and Pyr.§ 2085 (‘Pepy is recorded among them as a great recorded one who has been rapt away to the West.’).

¹⁴²⁹ D. Stockfisch, Die Diesseitsrolle des toten Königs im Alten Reich, in: *Frühe ägyptische Königtum*, pp.5-19.

¹⁴³⁰ One cannot agree with a statement of Z. Hawass that the reliefs recorded i.a. the king’s ‘victories over his enemies in the hereafter, as seen from the scenes of the king smiting and capturing them’ (MDAIK 52 (1995), p.180). The foreign enemies belong to this world and not to the afterlife. They do not threaten the king personally, but are a danger for the kingdom and, representing chaotic forces, for the order of the world. Anyway, the fight with them seems to be realized on earth and not in the unspecified beyond.

¹⁴³¹ For this meaning of the word *hm*, e.g. in the expressions like *hm n nswt N* ‘the incarnation of kingship in (the person called) N’, see Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, pp.31-32.

¹⁴³² A. H. Gardiner, Horus the Behdetite, JEA 30 (1944), pp.23-60. See also M. Werbrouck, A propos du disque ailé, CdE 32 (1941), pp.165-171; D. Wildung, Flügelsonne, LÄ II, 277-279.

¹⁴³³ The subject of the attitude of later Egyptians towards the rulers of the past was extensively explored in D. Wildung’s *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, covering the evidence for the kings of the first four dynasties. The sources concerning the rulers of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties are still awaiting to be collected.

realistically. The dead kings were constantly present in the world, albeit in a different manner, and they could support the ruling pharaohs in reward for supporting their *kas* with appropriate offerings.

The question of the attitude of the pharaohs toward their ancestors and predecessors is especially important in analysing usurpations of earlier monuments or re-use of parts of them. This is the case of Old Kingdom blocks built in the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht.¹⁴³⁴ H. Goedicke stated that ‘The “Lisht blocks” (...) pose two principal problems: where they come from and why they were incorporated into the Middle Kingdom structure.’¹⁴³⁵ The first question can be answered with some degree of certainty: they derived from the royal mortuary complexes, from all the parts of them, not only from the valley temples. Even if the attribution of scene themes might be sometimes misleading, the granite lintels of Khafra, coming undoubtedly from his upper temple, are a decisive evidence in this respect. They suggest also the answer for the second issue. It has been widely assumed (albeit such a view was also criticized) that Amenemhat I re-used the stones from his famous predecessors’ buildings as a kind of a ‘foundation deposit’ legitimizing his rule.¹⁴³⁶ Now it seems improbable. The blocks seem to be collected randomly and used with no care for the kings’ names and representations. An obvious interpretation must be simply a ‘building material’ hypothesis. Again the lintels of Khafra suggest the solution. Something really dramatic must have happened to leave those enormous blocks at disposal of Amenemhat I. It can be seriously doubted if this reason could have been the alleged unrests of the First Intermediate Period. A

¹⁴³⁴ Other instances of such procedures should be also evaluated, but the date and mode of re-use is not always clear. This refers to the blocks of Djedkara built into the S side of the pyramid of Unis beside the inscription of Khaemwaset. If this means that the blocks were inserted during the restoration work in the Nineteenth Dynasty, a question arises why they were taken from a remote building. The lintel of Sahura found in the monastery of Apa Jeremias prove, however, that the stones might have been dragged from a large distance.

¹⁴³⁵ *Re-used Blocks*, p.4.

¹⁴³⁶ *Ibid.* p.5-7.

possible explanation is an earthquake. It might have destroyed the temples.¹⁴³⁷ This would explain the fact that obviously most of the blocks derived from the upper parts of the walls, as far as can be judged after their decoration.

This, and other issues, should be further studied in the future. At the moment this work has been offered, with all the reservations, as another brick to the wall of our knowledge.

¹⁴³⁷ Such a hypothesis would conform to the doubts about the provenance of the blocks raised by W. S. Smith (HESPOK, p.157), and more recently by D. Arnold.(Hypostyle Halls of the Old and Middle Kingdom?, in: *Studies Simpson*, pp.39-54). Any temple might have been destroyed by an earthquake. But one cannot agree with the statement of Arnold that the themes represented not necessarily were confined to the decoration of the mortuary complexes. This is exactly the case; allowing some uncertainty because of scantiness of evidence, it is much improbable that the blocks could have derived from the Old Kingdom divine temples and other buildings.

Addendum.

Three types of monuments seem to have been founded on the concepts discussed above and strongly related to the ideology of the royal mortuary complexes. These were the sun temples, the provincial royal houses of *ka*, and the Minor Step Pyramids.

Sun temples and their relation to the royal mortuary complexes

The sun temples of the Fifth Dynasty¹⁴³⁸ were built with an enormous effort and intended to serve for a long time (perhaps even eternally, like the mortuary complexes). They were not merely temples of some of the gods, witnessing a ‘Heliopolitan influence’ coming from a topographical proximity of this religious centre. Ra was a principal divinity, the king of gods, whose position in the divine sphere was unparalleled and uncontestable. He embodied many aspects of transcendence as the creator of the world and guarantor of Maat.¹⁴³⁹ It was to Ra that the king was compared, and it was with him that the king had to communicate to ensure the stability and wealth of the human realm. The *Re-Heiligtum* of Niuserra is highly informative in this respect. Some features of the preserved architecture and decoration reflect the ideological foundations quite clearly. It seems that the

¹⁴³⁸ I leave aside the question of the earlier architectural expressions of the solar cult. It seems quite certain that the Sphinx temple at Giza is a forerunner of the later sun temples (H. Ricke, *Das Harmachistempel des Chephren in Giseh*, in: BÄBA 10, Wiesbaden 1970, pp.1-43; R. Anthes, *Was veranlasste Chephren zum Bau des Tempels vor der Sphinx*, in: BÄBA 12, Fs Ricke, Wiesbaden 1971, pp. 47-58). Its resemblance to the *wsh*-courts in the mortuary temples is striking and strongly confirms their alleged function as a place of communication with the sun-god. On the other hand it is doubtful if the alleged examples of the Third Dynasty were really sun temples or altars (cf. H. Goedicke, *Bemerkung zum Alter der Sonnenheiligtümer*, BIFAO 56 (1957), pp.151-153, criticised by J. Kahl, *Das Alter der Sonnenheiligtümer*, GM 143 (1994), pp.81-83).

¹⁴³⁹ It would be far out of scope of this work to deal with the mutual relations of Ra, Atum, Horakhti, Khepri and other solar deities. That the subject is complicated can be proved enough by recalling the fact that Ra-Horakhti, the principal god of Niuserra’s sun temple, is regularly represented in the Pyramid Texts as two paralleled gods: Ra and Horakhti. Only one spell seems to refer to the ‘syncretic’ form.

Weltkammer was an offering chapel where Ra was represented on the walls facing offerings and processions of offering bearers (representing personified both time and space aspects of the cosmos: the Seasons and the Nomes) led by the king (fig.98). Contrary to D. Arnold's assertion¹⁴⁴⁰ it seems to be a real offering room,¹⁴⁴¹ arranged similarly to the offering chapels in the mortuary temples. One may even imagine a false door in the back wall.¹⁴⁴² In fact its existence was not taken into account, because it has been assumed that this was the entrance to the winding corridor leading up around the base of the

¹⁴⁴⁰ *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst*, s.v. Weltenkammer.

¹⁴⁴¹ W. S. Smith (*Interconnections*, p.142) discussing the decoration of the room assumed that 'Above the doorway, the Nomes approached a central seated figure of the Sun God Ra.' But immediately in the next paragraph he referred to a new restoration by Wenig, where 'the Nomes follow the activities of two seasons instead of preceding the personifications of three, as Fischer and I thought before.' Leaving apart the questionable assumption that only *Akhet* and *Shemu* were represented, one may suggest that the decoration of both side walls of the chapel (at the rear part) comprised the figures of the god, perhaps seated at an offering table, facing the processions approaching him with the figures of Nomes followed by the personified Seasons. Only behind them the activities of the seasons were depicted. A fragment (*Re-Heiligtum III*, no.318) showing the offerings, the upper part of the *pschent*, and a part of the caption [*R^c(w)*]-*Hrw-3htj* [*nb*]-*m3^ct nb-t3wj* [*nswt?*] *ntrw* formed probably a part of this representation. Fragments no.570 and 571 (Edel, Wenig, *Jahreszeitenreliefs*, pl.24) most probably have not come from 'Nord- oder Südwand' (ibid.), but from the rear (i.e. N) parts of the W and E walls respectively. Especially important is no. 571, where the falcon-headed god wearing the solar disk on his head and holding the *w3s*-sceptre is facing right. He is labelled [*R^c(w)*]-*Hrw-3htj*, [*nb*] *pt*, [*nb*] *m3^ct*. The cartouche and the Golden name of Niuserra facing the god suggest that the king himself was leading the procession. From an overall arrangement of the scene it may be assumed that the god was seated on a high throne dais while the king was facing him standing at the front of the processions approaching in several registers. One has to admit that such a restoration requires a negation of the rule of isocephaly in respect to the god and the king. It is noteworthy that on both fragments the procession starts with the U.E. nomes. This, as well as the fact that that *Shemu* activities were depicted on both E and W walls (ibid., colour plates A-D) and, on the other hand, both *Shemu* and *Akhet* personifications appeared on the E wall (ibid., pls.1,2), may prove that the decoration of both longer walls of the room was strictly symmetrical.

¹⁴⁴² And even more: taking into account a possible existence of statues in the sanctuary, one could plausibly suggest that the scene in *Re-Heiligtum*, III, no. 359, where an offering to Ra in a 'southern *tpht*' is shown, actually shows the *Weltkammer*. The caption 'southern' possibly does not refer to the relative position of the niche in a row of statue-niches (as could be understood by parallel with the royal mortuary temples), but may point to a location of the room. Possibly *tpht* could have designated both a niche and a room, in which a statue was placed. This would suggest that there was a statue of Ra-Horakhti in the *Weltkammer*.

obeliskoid.¹⁴⁴³ But the reason for this feature has not been reliably explained. Why in fact somebody had to climb up the obelisk, even if there was a terrace around the base of the upper part?¹⁴⁴⁴ A reasonable explanation of the corridor should be in agreement with the fact that the obeliskoid lacks a burial chamber, the fact which, by the way, contradicts an interpretation of the sun temple as a mortuary complex of Ra,¹⁴⁴⁵ connected mostly with his setting in the west. On the contrary, it seems that this very structure was meant mainly to contact with the god at noon.¹⁴⁴⁶ He could appear on the top

¹⁴⁴³ Von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum*, I, p.11. Although some fragments with the *Heb-Sed* theme were found inside the corridor, it is much doubtful if they originally came from there. The width of the corridor, as well as the fact that there were no light apertures, indicate that it was not decorated.

¹⁴⁴⁴ However, one has to admit a possibility that the feast of ‘Ra on the roof’ (*tp hwt*), mentioned in the *Weihinschrift* in the valley enclosure, may have taken place there.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.146. A similar idea occurred in M. Rochholz, *Sedfest, Sonnenheiligtum und Pyramidenbezirk*, in: *Ägyptische Tempel*, pp. 276-277, where the author suggests an interpretation of the pyramid precinct of the ‘Anonymous Queen’ of Djedkara-Isesi as a late form of a solar temple and a real ‘Pyramidengrab für den Sonnengott’. A relation to the setting sun is also a view advocated by H. Goedicke, who expressed opinion that ‘so-called “sun temple” (...) the commonly used label is in so far misleading as the place concerns the sun’s setting, an event which has significance for mankind only in its desire of a renewed rising the next day.’ He further denied the connection of the sun temples with the king’s afterlife, assuming that ‘Userkaf separated the religious aspect from his eschatological expectations.’ (Abusir-Saqqara-Giza, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, p.406). For a traditional view, linking the sun temples with the individual kings’ mortuary complexes see W. Kaiser, *Zu den Sonnenheiligtümern der 5. Dynastie*, MDAIK 14 (1956), pp.104-116; E. Winter, *Zur Deutung der Sonnenheiligtümer der 5. Dynastie*, WZKM 54 (1957), pp.222-233; O. Mastenbroek, *Egyptische Zonneheiligtömmen*, *De Ibis* 15 (1990), pp.13-23.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Just as later obelisks mirrored the sun-rays falling down from zenith (*wpt*). This not necessarily means that the East and West i.e. rising and setting forms of the sun were insignificant in the solar temples. Possibly all three aspects were balanced and had their expression in the architecture and cult. But one cannot agree with Stadelmann that ‘Die Lage der Sonnenheiligtümer am Westlichen Wüstenrand wie der Totentempel, ihre bauliche Ähnlichkeit mit diesen und ihre Kultrichtung nach Westen läßt sie als Totentempel des Sonnengottes Re verstehen’ (*Pyramiden*, p.164). Firstly, the topographical location (and the architecture, depending on it) seems to be motivated by a need to place the sun temples close to royal mortuary complexes, for reasons which are discussed below. It can be doubted if they were conceived simply as the ‘western’ counterparts of the ‘eastern’ temple at Heliopolis (H. Goedicke, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, pp.403 and n.27, 406). Secondly, the ‘orientation to the West’ reflects the main axis of the sun temple but not necessarily the cultic directions which are connected with an offering place, located in this case on the S side; from an analysis of the axes and

of the obeliskoid¹⁴⁴⁷ and then move down and along the corridor (as if along a lightning-conductor), to emerge eventually through the false-door in the sanctuary. It is not thus an entrance to the corridor, but an exit, exactly as the opening in the pyramid's north wall masked by a stela in the N chapel was not a doorway in, but out – for the king. Revived and moving from his sarcophagus and through the chambers and corridors of the pyramid, the king emerged through a false-door to fly up and join eventually the circumpolar stars. But first he had to receive his offerings. In a similar way Ra was appearing on the top of the obeliskoid and moving down along the corridor, emerging to the *Weltkammer* to receive the offerings.¹⁴⁴⁸ It is certainly not accidental that the offering room at Abu Gurab is situated on the south of the obeliskoid. This reflects an important ideological difference when compared with the position of the sanctuaries at the pyramids (E and N sides). In fact Ra's way is reverse in respect to the king's. He is descending to the earth, the king is ascending to the sky. The second place (again to be directly compared with the royal complexes) where the sun god could appear to receive offerings was the great altar in the court. The round glyph in the centre and the four *hetep*-signs around it are not only symbols of 'offerings to Ra',¹⁴⁴⁹

directions in the royal mortuary complexes it appears that many of them might have functioned at the same time. Lastly, it seems that the sun temples fulfilled a complicated role connected with the cult of the god in many of his aspects (a.o. as the ruler of the universe governing and stimulating the nature - Lord of the Sky and Lord of Maat, King of Gods and Lord of Egypt, and as the king's father with Hathor as a divine mother), but the eschatological associations, if present, are connected with the pharaoh's person and not with Ra.

¹⁴⁴⁷ One might refer to the hypothesis of G. Goyon (*Le secret des bâtisseurs des grandes pyramides. Khéops*, Paris 1990, p.159, fig.52) that the top of the obeliskoid might have been adorned with a large golden disk.

¹⁴⁴⁸ And possibly also to communicate with the humanity in a most direct way: Sinai inscription no.13 (temp.Djedkara) records that 'the god caused that a treasure was found in the chamber of the (sun-temple) „Residence of Re” in the god's own writing' (translation after H. Goedicke, *Unity and Diversity in the Oldest Religion of Ancient Egypt*, in: H. Goedicke, J. J. M. Roberts (eds.), *Unity and Diversity. Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, Baltimore and London 1975, p.275, n.63).

¹⁴⁴⁹ M. Lehner interprets the altar as a 'giant hieroglyph for "May Re be satisfied"'. (*Complete Pyramids*, p.152).

but they represent the physical place where the god appears (the centre), facing the four (and perhaps symbolically all) directions (as the orientation of the *hetep*-signs shows; this is paralleled by the orientation of the offering tables placed in front of the false-doors, always displaying the *hetep*-glyph from a perspective of the dead emerging through the magical doorway). Complicated problems of the exact meaning and the forms of cult in sun temples (e.g. the relations between various forms of the sun god, as well as the role of sky goddesses Hathor and Bastet) remain to be analysed anew. Neither is it entirely clear how the presumed concept of merging of the sun god with the king was understood and realized. The existence of the two round-topped stelae in front of the *Heb-Sed* chapel should be taken into account.¹⁴⁵⁰ They have been interpreted as parallel to the stelae at the royal pyramids of Sneferu,¹⁴⁵¹ but in that case one should perhaps assume the existence of a place of offerings to the king. What seems obvious, however, is the occurrence of the same two great ideas as reflected in the pyramid complexes: a transformation and a nourishment and supply. The first one is related to the king (the *Heb-Sed* theme), the other one, connected here with the idea of reciprocity, to the sun god ('Seasons'). In relation to the latter, one can stress an important factor in functioning of the royal mortuary complexes. Pyramid complexes and sun temples were tied with ideological and economic bounds that do not reflect merely architectural similarities and topographic proximity. There is nothing incidental in the fact that offerings were transferred from the sun temple to a king's mortuary temple.¹⁴⁵² This was clearly a stage in the overall system of 'reversion of offerings' (*wdb htpw*). Exactly as the king was receiving his nourishment from the sun god, his subordinates were supplied by him, eventually re-distributing the boon

¹⁴⁵⁰ Borchardt, *Re-Heiligtum* I, p.49.

¹⁴⁵¹ R. Stadelmann, Scheintür oder Stelen im Totentempel des AR, MDAIK 39 (1983), pp.237-242. This parallel was noticed already by Wildung in RdE 21 (1969), p.142.

¹⁴⁵² Posener-Kriéger, *Archives d'Abou-Sir*, II, pp.519-520.

among the lower-ranked ones.¹⁴⁵³ This ‘feeding chain’ of the afterlife (following exactly the mundane customs), reflected the structure of the world, where the king acted as an intermediary between the divine and humanity – in all spheres.

The sun temples served during a king’s life and after his death, for the afterlife as well as for mundane affairs, being a universal medium to contact with the transcendence.¹⁴⁵⁴ Another suggestion follows such an interpretation of the role of the sun temples. There exists a coincidence in time between the end of the period of building sun-temples (and falling into disuse of the existing ones) and the disappearance of relief decoration from the walls of the *wsht*-courts in the mortuary temples. It seems that during the Sixth Dynasty the decoration at the courts was reduced to the pillars. The example of Pepy II suggests that this was not accidental and the change had particular ideological reasons. He reigned for a long time and managed to complete most of the buildings in the complex, together with their decoration. Thus it seems to be intentional that the walls of the court were bare of reliefs, while in the earlier temples (e.g. Sahura’s) they could have displayed such themes as smiting enemies and recording booty. Now the only subject allowed became a communication of the king with the sun-god, which is reflected in the decoration of Pepy II’s pillar (cf. ch.IV.2). Possibly the *wsht* became to serve as a place of ascending and descending not only for the king, but for the

¹⁴⁵³ This is the concept of being an *jm3hw hr* someone. For the translation see Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, § 8.2.13, p.87 (‘honored by’), § 21, p.297 (‘worthy attention by’). On the meaning of *jm3hw* (*jm3hj*) see: J. Asmann, Totenkult, Totenglauben, LÄ VI, 659-676; Kees, *Totenglauben*, p.27f., K. Janssen-Winkel, Zur Bedeutung von *jm3h*, BSEG 20 (1996), pp.29-36. On the king as an *jm3hw* see: J. Saint-Fare Garnot, The *jm3h* and the *jm3hww* in the Pyramid Texts, in: S. A. B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary*, New York. London. Toronto 1969, pp.95-106.

¹⁴⁵⁴ M. Lehner considering the huge mudbrick model boat at Abu Gurab stated that ‘this colossal simulacrum of a ship perhaps signifies the mythic boat in which the sun god sailed across the ocean of the sky. It also hints that the sun temple, like the pyramid complex, was seen as a symbolic port to the world of the gods.’ (*Complete Pyramids*, p.152).

sun-god as well. As the place of manifestation of Ra who descended to receive offerings, the courtyard of the king's mortuary temple replaced in this role the sun temple with its obeliskoid and court.¹⁴⁵⁵ This might suggest an increasing importance of the 'afterlife' factor (with decreasing of the *Diesseitsrolle*) in the communication with the divine sphere. But it is also possible that the two roles were now split between the mortuary temples and the temples of gods throughout the country. The latter type developed intensively in the Sixth Dynasty and it is probable that the provincial temples served aims fulfilled by earlier sun-temples.

Outside the capital: Minor Step Pyramids and royal Houses of *ka*.

Minor Step Pyramids¹⁴⁵⁶ located at various sites of Upper Egypt were chamberless structures, which excludes their role as tombs. It has been suggested that they were markers of a royal presence in the provinces and symbols of power¹⁴⁵⁷ or else the local centres of a royal cult.¹⁴⁵⁸ This latter interpretation seems more probable in light of the evidence from Seila. The Minor Step Pyramids might have been conceived as the places of appearance

¹⁴⁵⁵ One may assume that it was in accordance with a continuous tendency towards a more clear and ordered ideological programme. In this way the *wsht* became a border point between earth and heaven only, more 'earthly' scenes of controlling chaos having been moved to the entrance hall and the transverse corridor.

¹⁴⁵⁶ G. Dreyer, W. Kaiser, *Die kleine Stufenpyramiden Ober- und Mittelägyptens*, MDAIK 36 (1980), pp. 43-59; Swelim, *Third Dynasty*, pp.100-115; A. Ćwiek, *Date and Function of the so-called Minor Step Pyramids*, GM 162 (1998), pp.39-52.

¹⁴⁵⁷ O. Mastenbroek, *Raadselachtige trappenpyramiden*, *De Ibis* 15 (1990), pp.62-74.

¹⁴⁵⁸ This view was summarized by S. J. Seidlmayer, *Town and State in the Early Old Kingdom. A View from Elephantine*, in: J. Spencer (ed.), *Aspects of Early Egypt*, London 1995, pp.122-125. The temporal coincidence between the emergence and subsequent abandonment of the project, and the occurrence of a procession of funerary domains in the temple of Sneferu at South Dahshur was stressed by Seidlmayer, who noted that: '(the M.S.P.) would represent a project of mapping the royal cult across the country; exactly as the representations in the temples do, but in a concrete, not in abstract manner' and 'Constructing these monuments throughout the country could have served to make explicit and intelligible the ideological background of the economic demands of the state on a local level.'(op.cit., p.124).

of the king in the provinces - after his death¹⁴⁵⁹ - by means of direct communication with the sky, not through the mortuary temple. They were the places of descendance and ascendance, which would confirm the interpretation of step pyramids as monumental 'stairways to heaven.' The project of erecting the Minor Step pyramids was connected with a twofold concept: of protection of the country by the king, and of his provisioning by the offering places that must have been planned to be erected at the pyramids. As proved by unfinished Sinki pyramid at Abydos, the project was abandoned at some point, possibly in favour of concentration of all means in the 'capital' area (this including Seila M.S.P. – perhaps the only one finished and functioning).¹⁴⁶⁰ The same idea may be traced in the development of provincial *ḥwwt-k3* during the Sixth Dynasty.¹⁴⁶¹ This might have reflected referring to the Fourth Dynasty traditions that clearly occurred in that period. But perhaps the idea was not abandoned completely in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. That the royal cult was maintained in provincial centres at that time is suggested by discoveries of a pillar of Userkaf at Tod, sculptures of Khufu and Djedkara, and the latter king's relief at Abydos, etc.¹⁴⁶² In the

¹⁴⁵⁹ *Contra* Seidlmayer, op.cit., p.122. He cites Baer (*Rank and Title*, p.45) for the evidence that the cult at the pyramids was celebrated already during the king's lifetime, suggesting a similar situation for the M.S.P., but this seems not necessary. In both cases the main aim was to serve after the king's death. The themes of royal coronation and festivals, recorded in the decoration of the funerary temples as well as in the palace name from the cone of Huni at Elephantine, refer to the eternal life of the pharaoh.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Although Huni was suggested as the builder of the M.S.P., except for Seila monument, it is more probable that all of them were the work of Sneferu. Cf. A. Ćwiek, *Fayum in the Old Kingdom*, GM 160 (1998), pp.17-22.

¹⁴⁶¹ S. Seidlmayer, in: J. Spencer (ed.), *Aspects of Early Egypt*, op.cit., pp.125-126, with references. It is a brilliant study of the place of the royal *ka*-houses within the system of the state administration, religious policy and economy. It has been much discussed whether the provincial temples were conceived as 'houses of *ka*' already in the Early Dynastic times. On different views of this subject see Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, p.65f, and D. O'Connor, *The Status of Early Egyptian Temples: An Alternative Theory*, in: *Followers of Horus*, pp.83-98.

¹⁴⁶² The relief might be attributed to a divine cult temple but the statues point to a place of the royal cult.

Fifth Dynasty there is an important evidence of Sahura's dyad.¹⁴⁶³ Certainly its provenance from Koptos (very probable in light of the fact that the god of the fifth nome is represented; it was actually bought at Thebes) is significant. It is certainly not Khafra's re-used sculpture,¹⁴⁶⁴ nor could it come from (or be destined for) the valley temple of Sahura¹⁴⁶⁵ as there was no place for such a statue there.

In the Sixth Dynasty the royal *ka*-houses became to be founded widespread in the country. They existed i.a. in Memphis, Zawiyet el-Mayetin, Asjut, Akhmim, Ombos and Elkab, possibly also at Hierakonpolis and Abydos, and given the roles of Hathor and Bastet discussed above, there is no coincidence in the fact that much of the evidence comes from Dendera and Bubastis.

¹⁴⁶³ MMA 18.2.4 (*Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, pp.269-272 = no.108). This group is often compared to Menkaura's triads in respect of its presumable meaning.

¹⁴⁶⁴ As suggested by Seidel, *Statuengruppen*, p.42. Sahura used anorthosite gneiss for his statues, as proven by chips found at Abusir, a hypothesis of the attribution to Khafra is not necessary. On the other hand, it seems unprobable that the statue was shipped from the Memphite region to Thebes. Most probably it derived from Koptos and one should look for its logical role there.

¹⁴⁶⁵ As tentatively assumed by M. Hill, in: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, p.271.

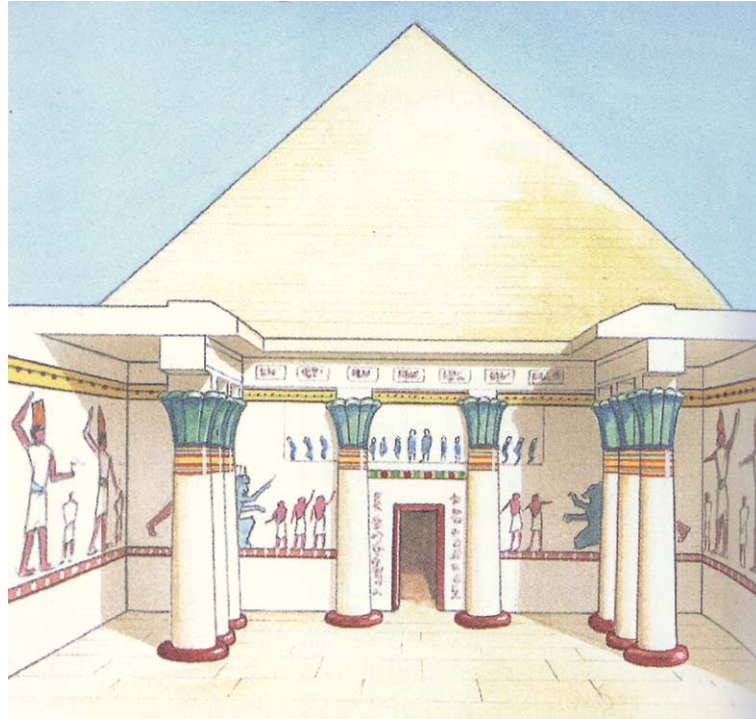


Fig.1. Reconstruction of the court in the mortuary temple of Sahura (after Wilkinson, *Complete Temples*, p.122)

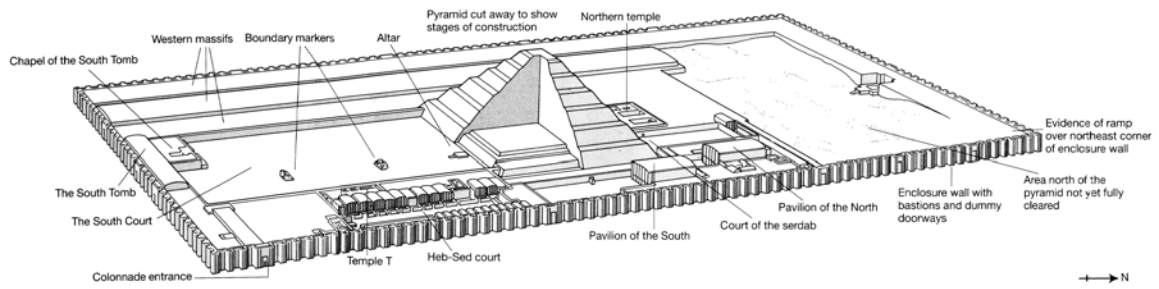


Fig.2. Step Pyramid complex.

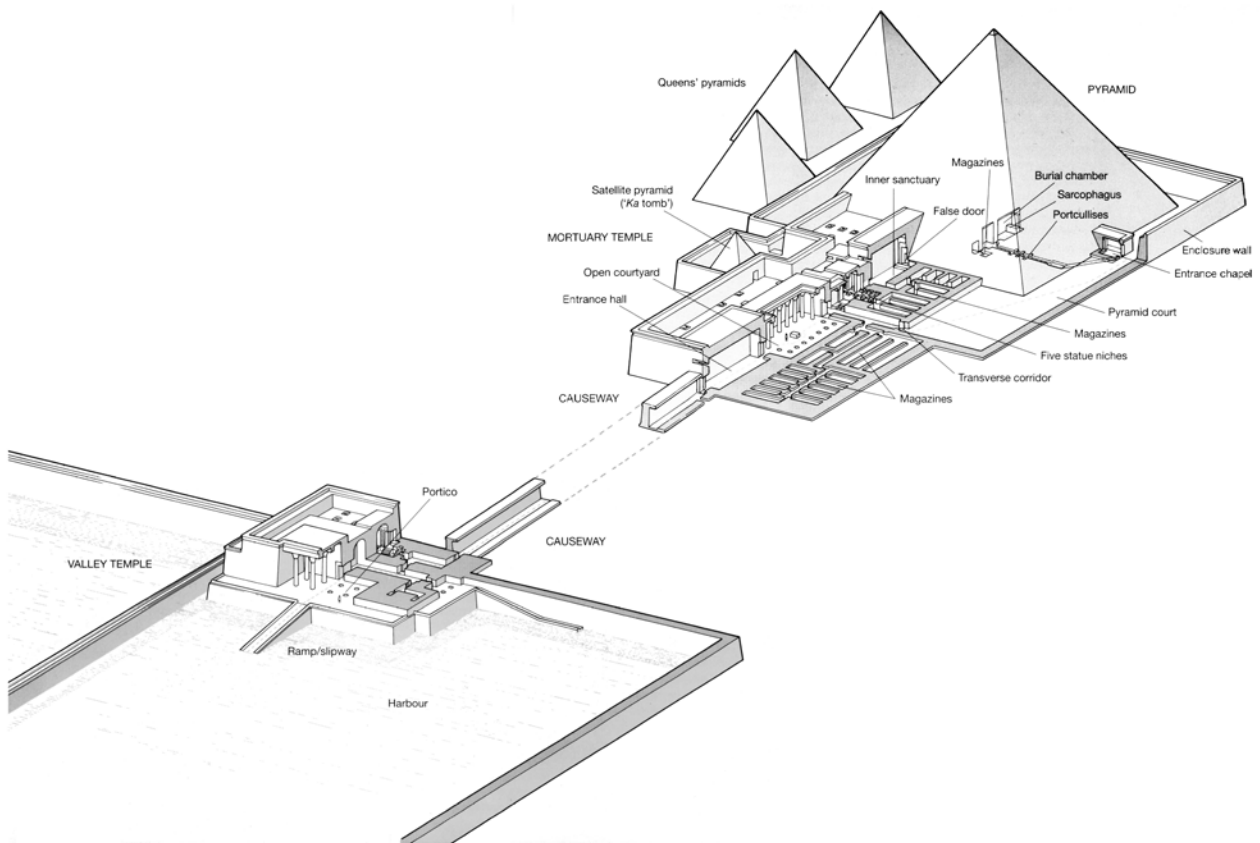


Fig.3. 'Classical' pyramid complex.

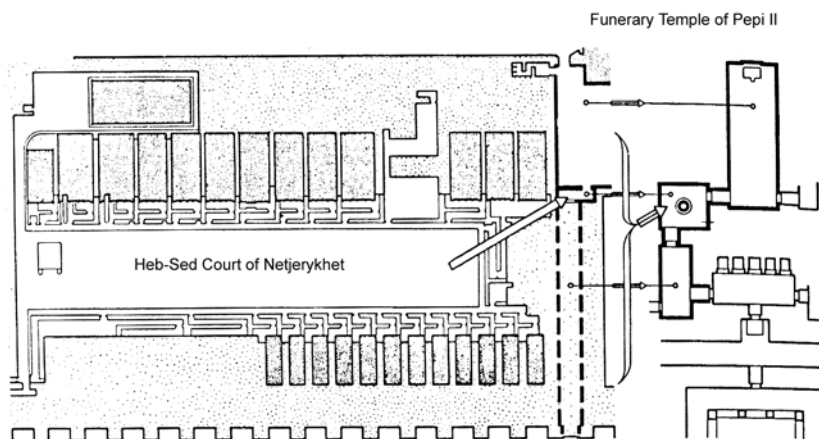
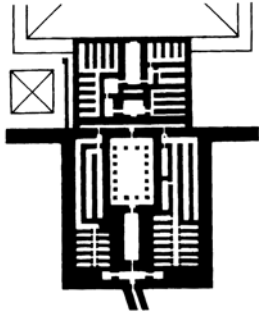
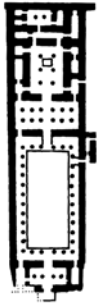


Fig.4. Comparison of the position of the Heb-Sed court and other features in Netjerykhet's complex, and the vestibule and square antechamber in Pepy II's mortuary temple (after Ricke).



Pepi II's mortuary temple



Merenptah's palace

Fig.5. Comparison of plans of the mortuary temple of Pepy II and the palace of Merenptah at Memphis.

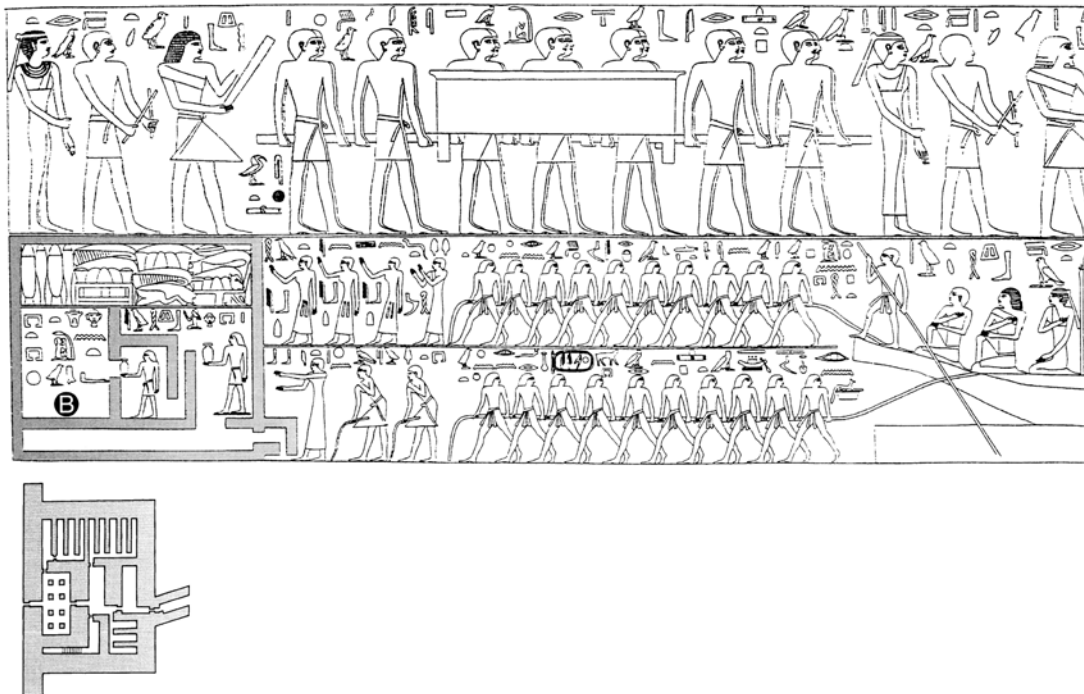


Fig.6. *Wabet* of Pepy-ankh (from his tomb at Meir) compared to the valley temple of Pepy II (after Lehner).

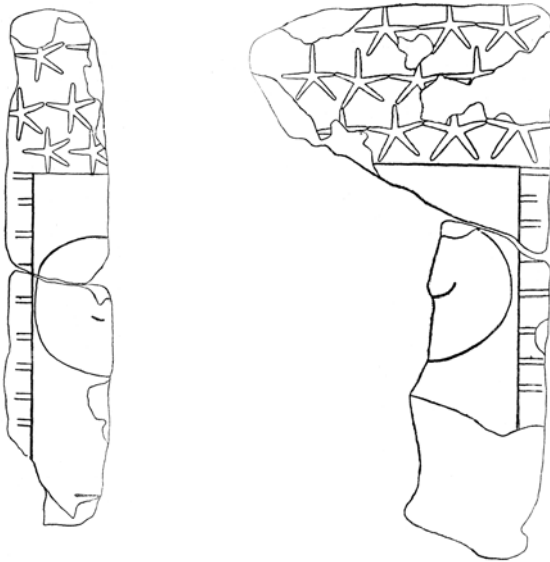
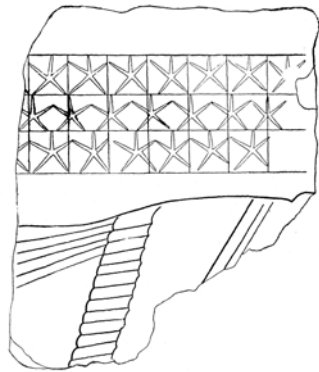


Fig.7. Three rows of stars on fragments from the 'valley temple' at South Dahshur.

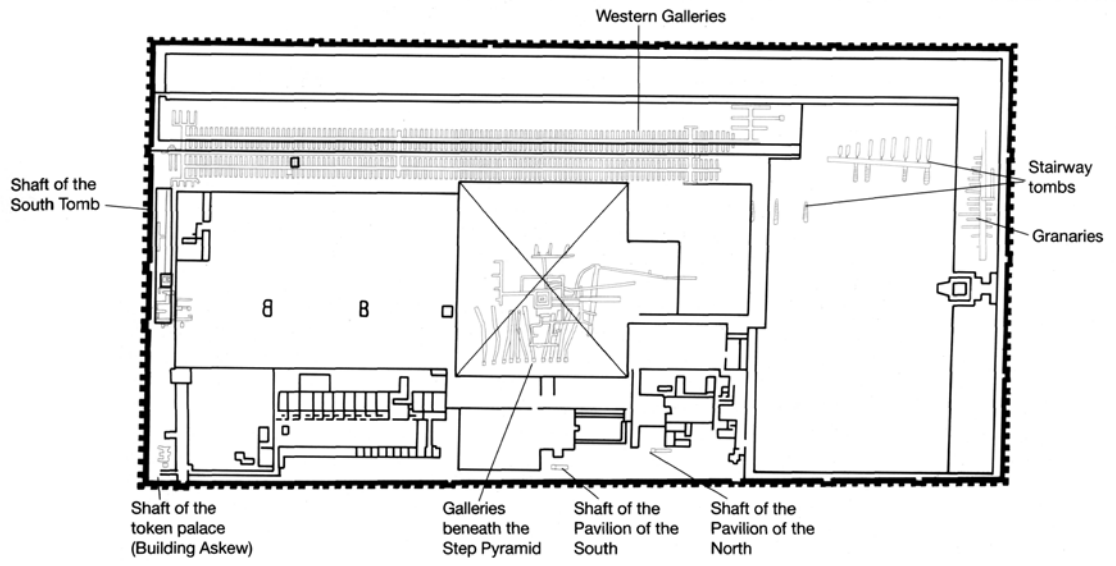


Fig. 8. Plan of the Step Pyramid complex.

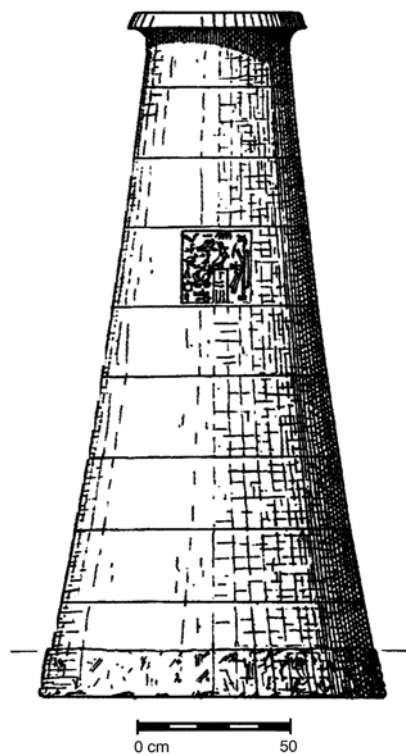


Fig. 9. Reconstruction of a boundary cone of Netjerykhet.



Fig. 10. Boundary stela of Netjerykhet.

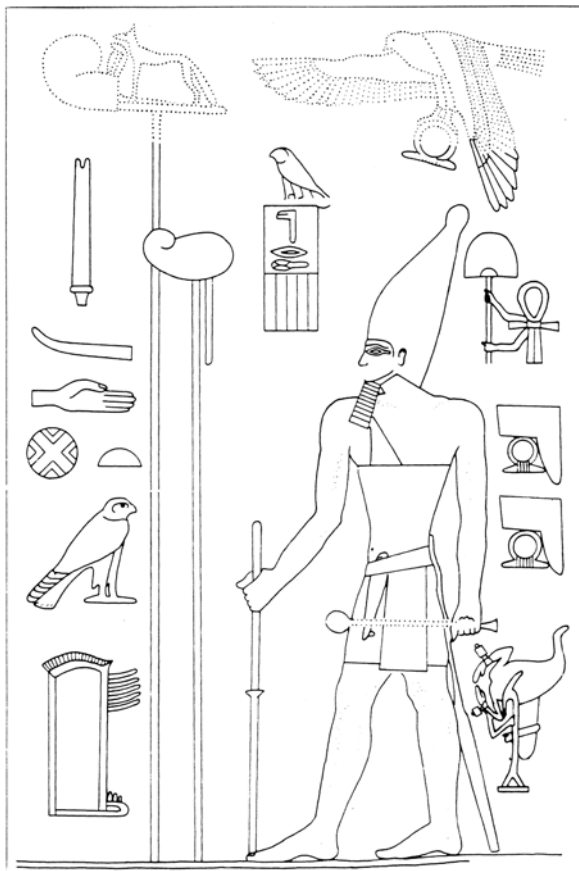


Fig. 11. Netjerykhet before the shrine of Behedeti. N stela under the Step Pyramid.



Fig. 12. Stela of Qahedjet in the Louvre.

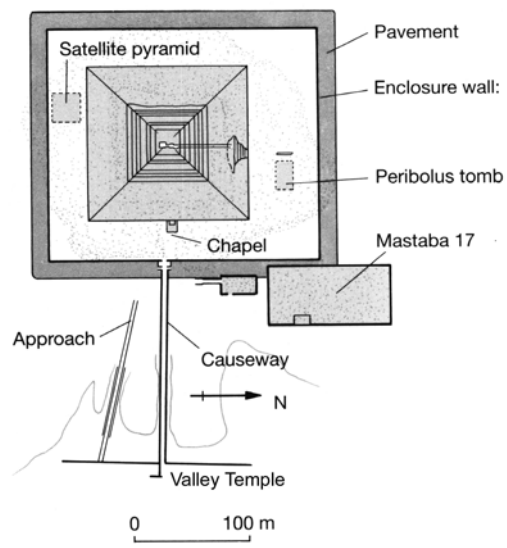


Fig.13. Meidum. Plan of the pyramid complex.

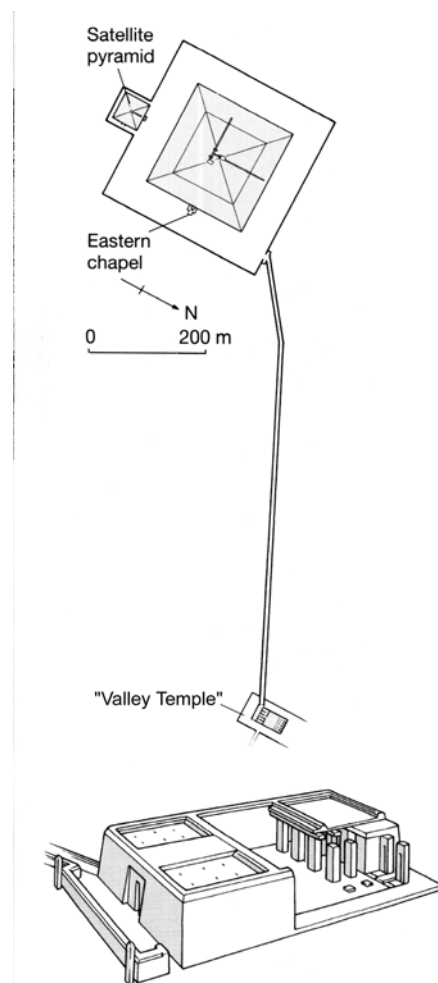


Fig.14. Plan of the Bent Pyramid complex.

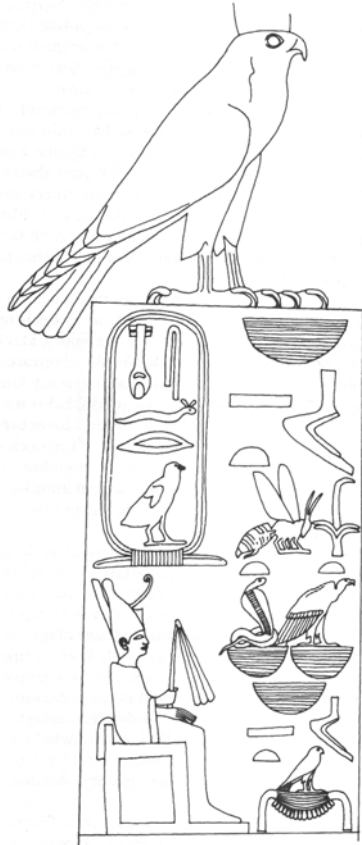


Fig.15. Design on the stela of Sneferu from South Dahshur.

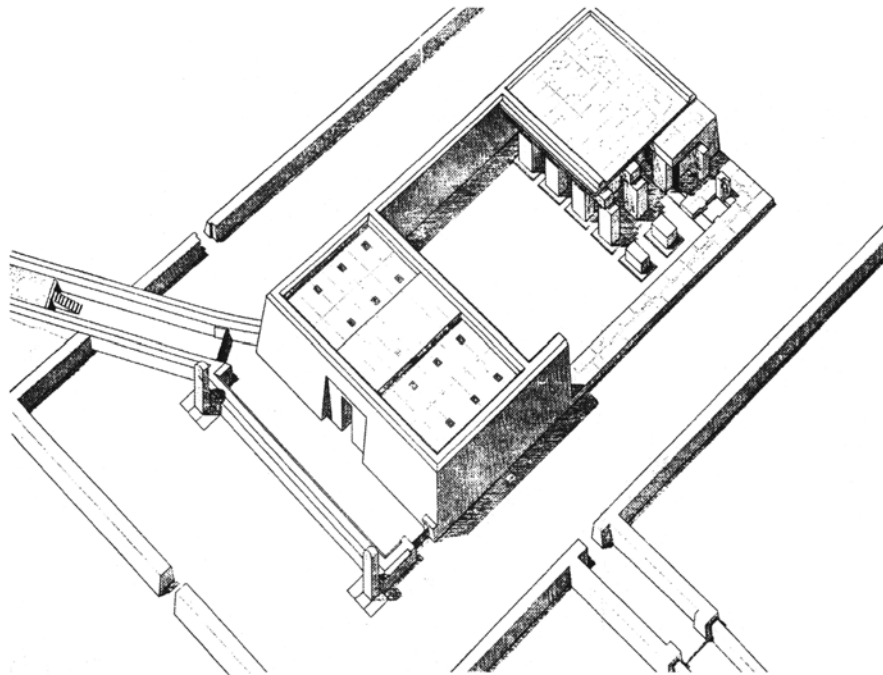


Fig.16. South Dahshur. Axonometric view of the 'valley temple'.

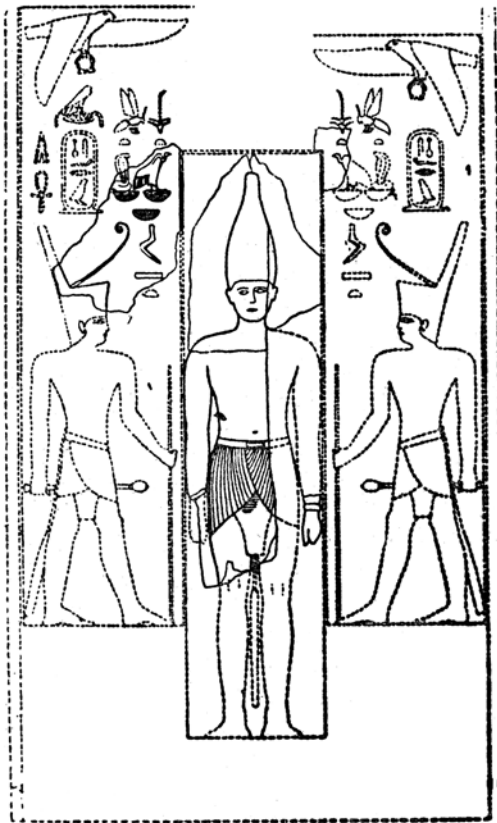


Fig.17. 'Valley temple' of Sneferu at South Dahshur. Reconstruction of a statue niche (after Fakhry).

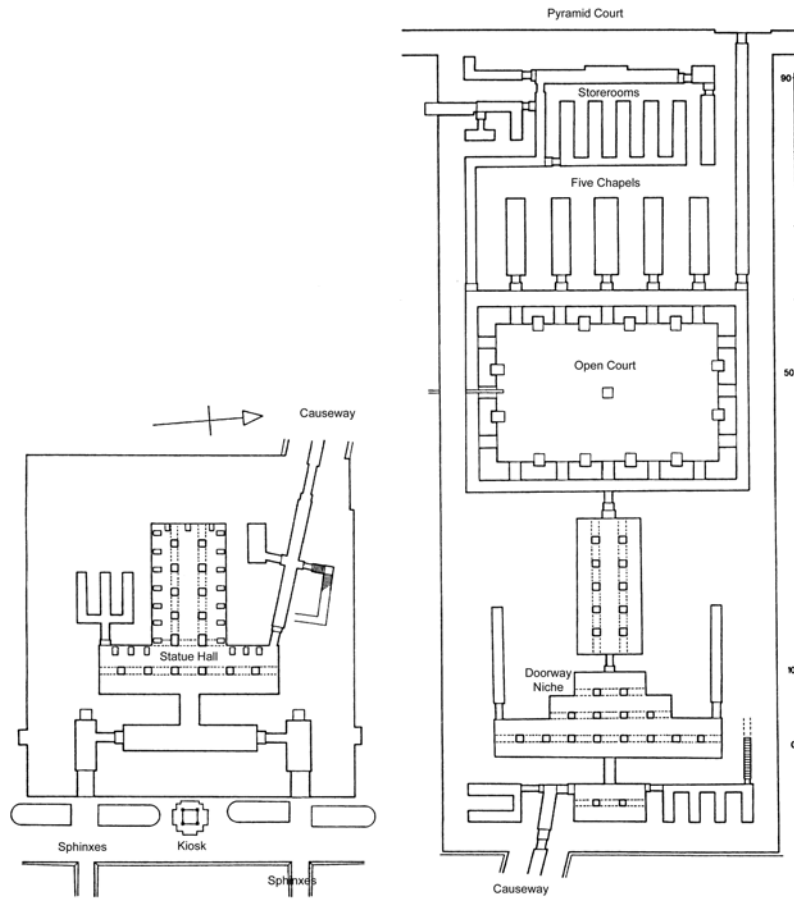


Fig.18. Plan of the mortuary complex of Khafra.



Fig.19. Inscriptions on the gates of Khafra's valley temple.

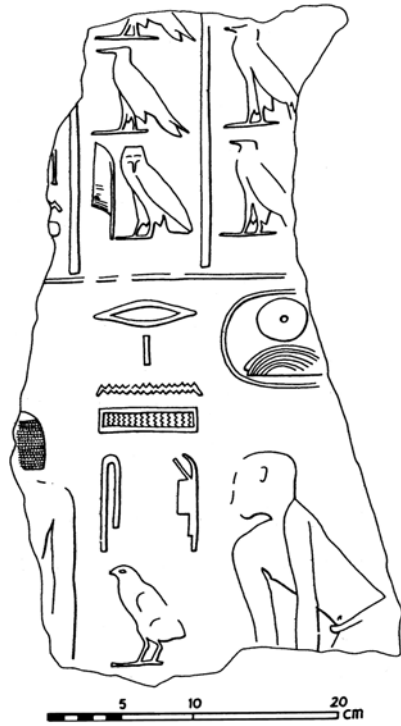


Fig.20. A block found at Mit Rahina allegedly coming from Khafra's mortuary complex.

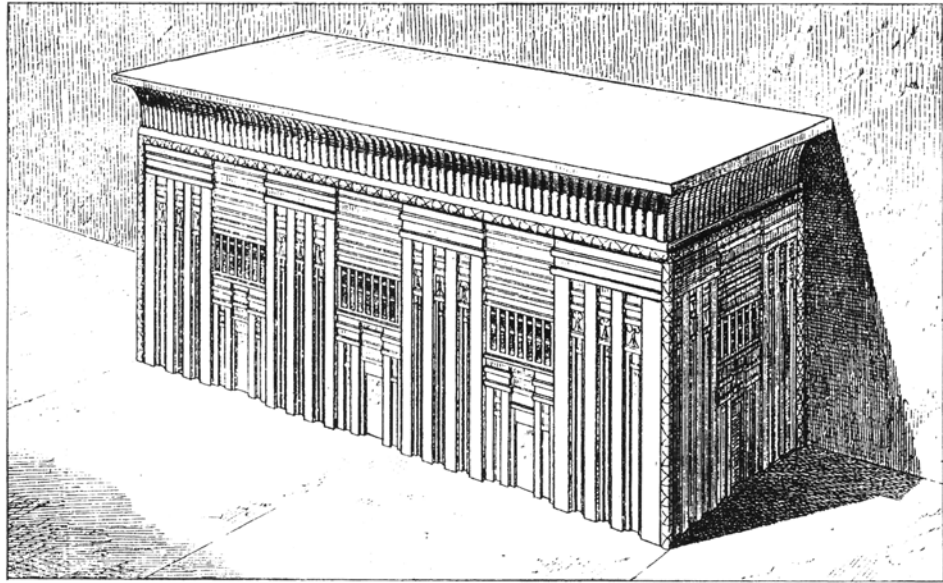


Fig.21. Sarcophagus of Menkaura.

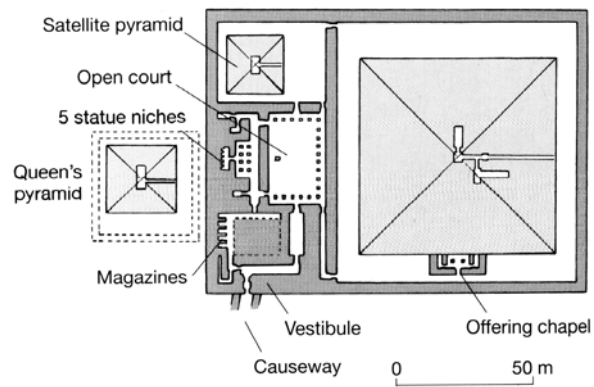


Fig.22. Plan of the mortuary complex of Userkaf.



Fig.23. Running troops. Block found at Lisht, probably originally from Userkaf's causeway.

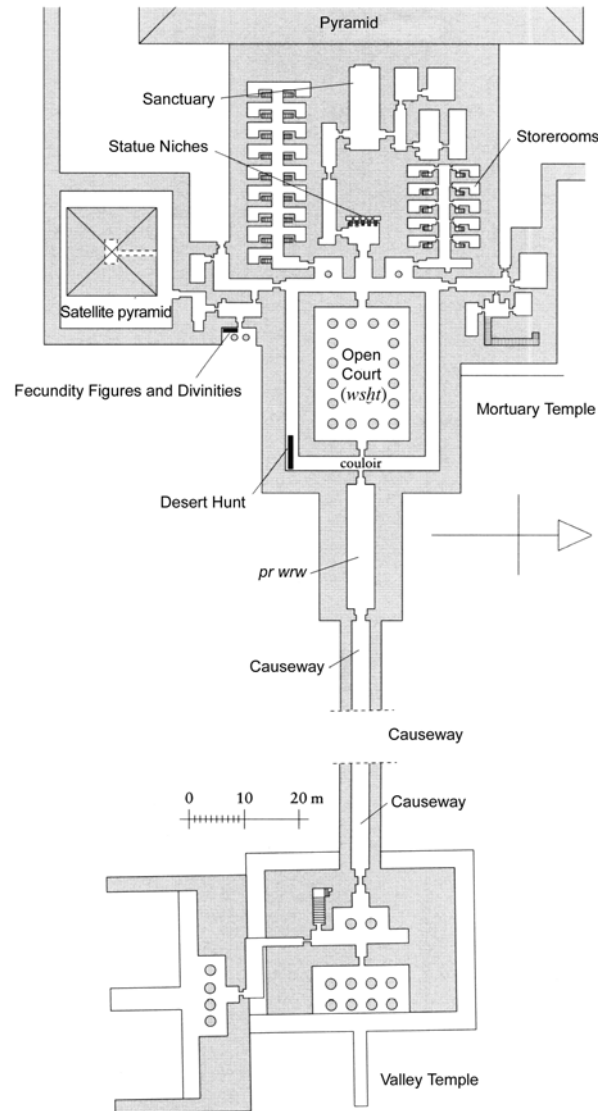


Fig.24. Plan of the temples in the mortuary complex of Sahura.

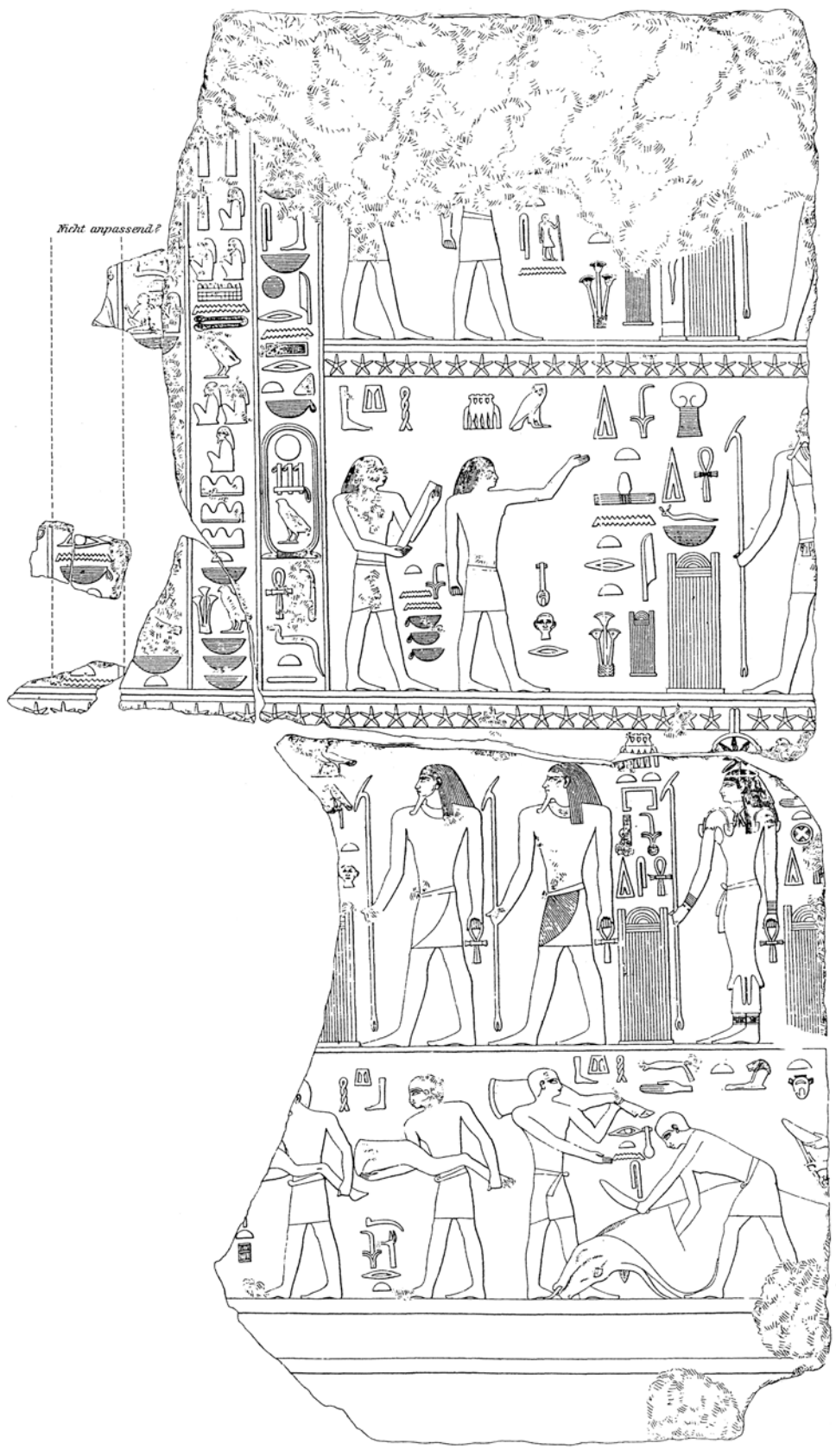


Fig. 25. Offerings to gods in their chapels. Valley temple of Sahura.

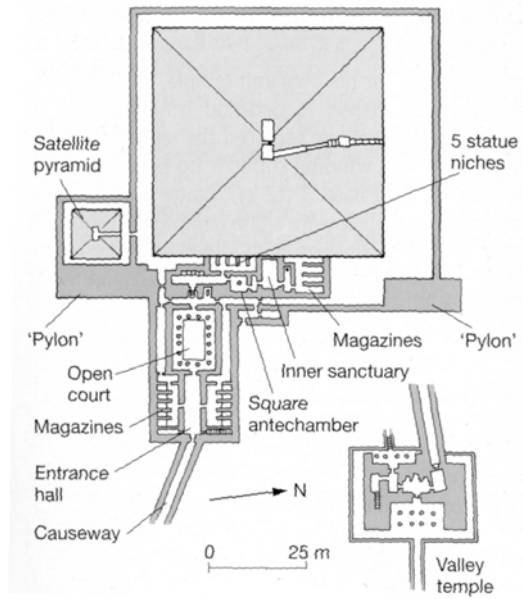


Fig.26. Mortuary complex of Niuserra.

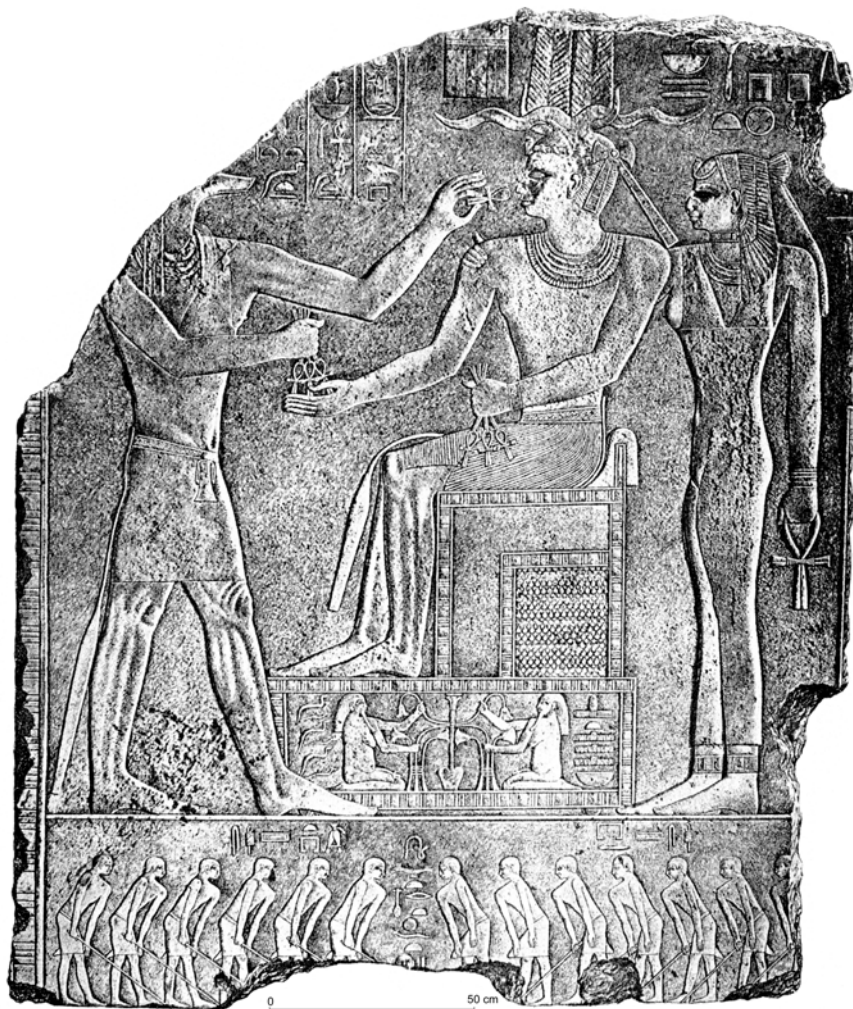


Fig.27. Niuserra receiving life from Anubis and Wadjet.

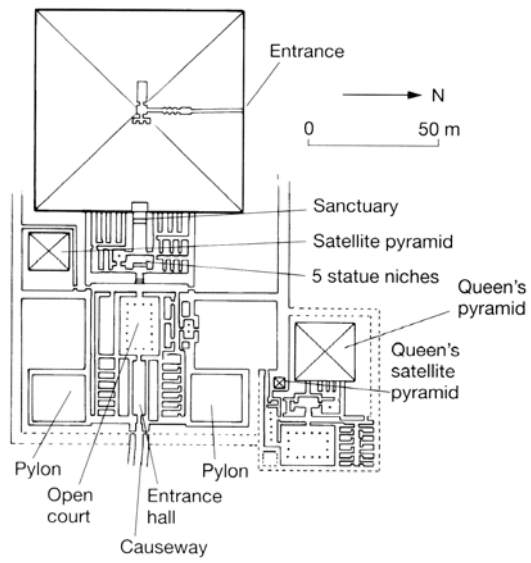


Fig.28. Mortuary complexes of Djedkara and an anonymous queen.



Fig.29. Djedkara receiving life from Hathor in presence of Wadjit and Horus and Seth.

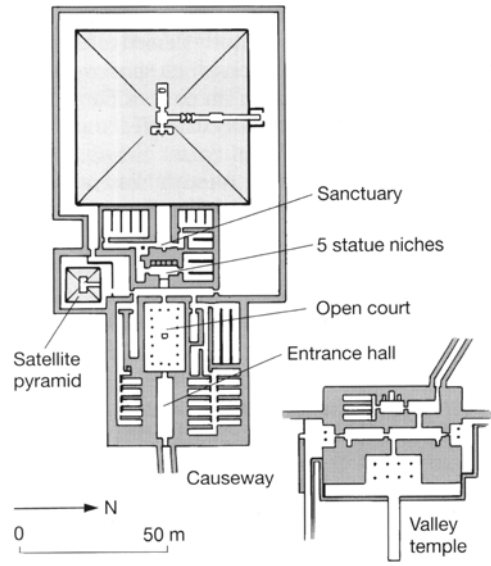


Fig.30. Plan of the mortuary complex of Unis.

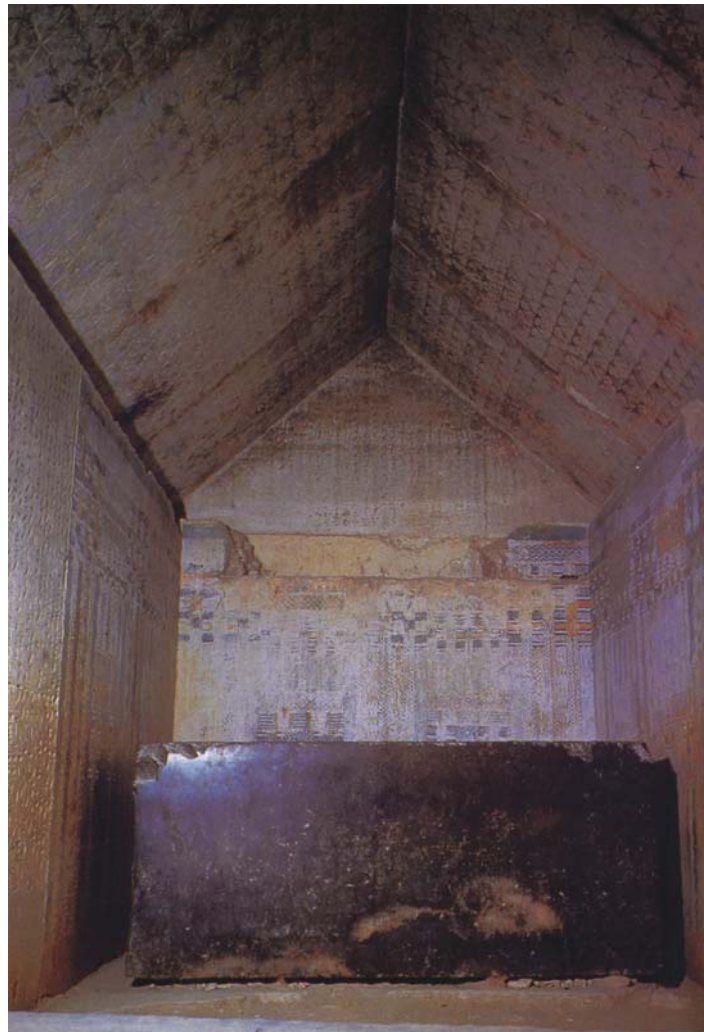


Fig.31. Burial chamber of Unis

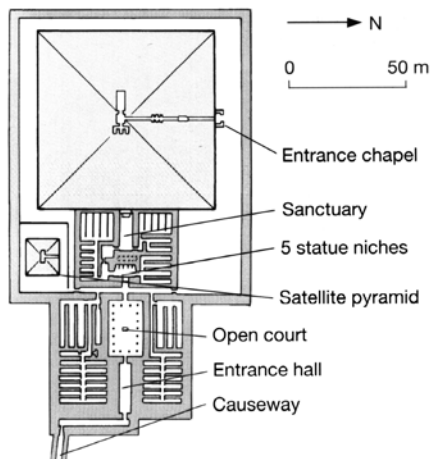


Fig.32. Plan of the pyramid and the mortuary temple of Teti.

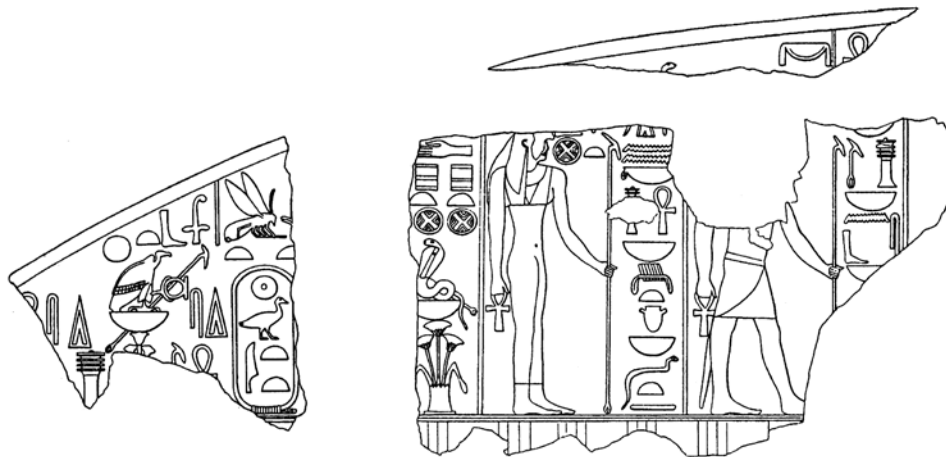


Fig.33. Mortuary temple of Teti. Fragments from the W tympanum of *pr-wrw*.

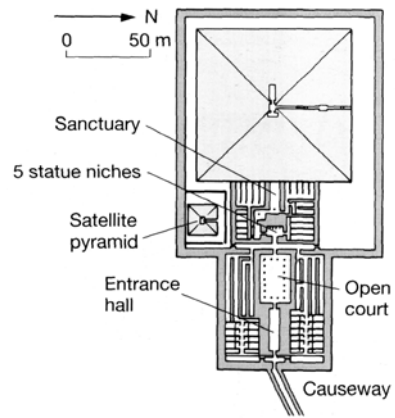


Fig.34. Plan of the pyramid and the mortuary temple of Pepy I.



Fig.35. Burial chamber of Pepy I.



Fig.36. Corner block from the temenos wall in Pepy I's complex.

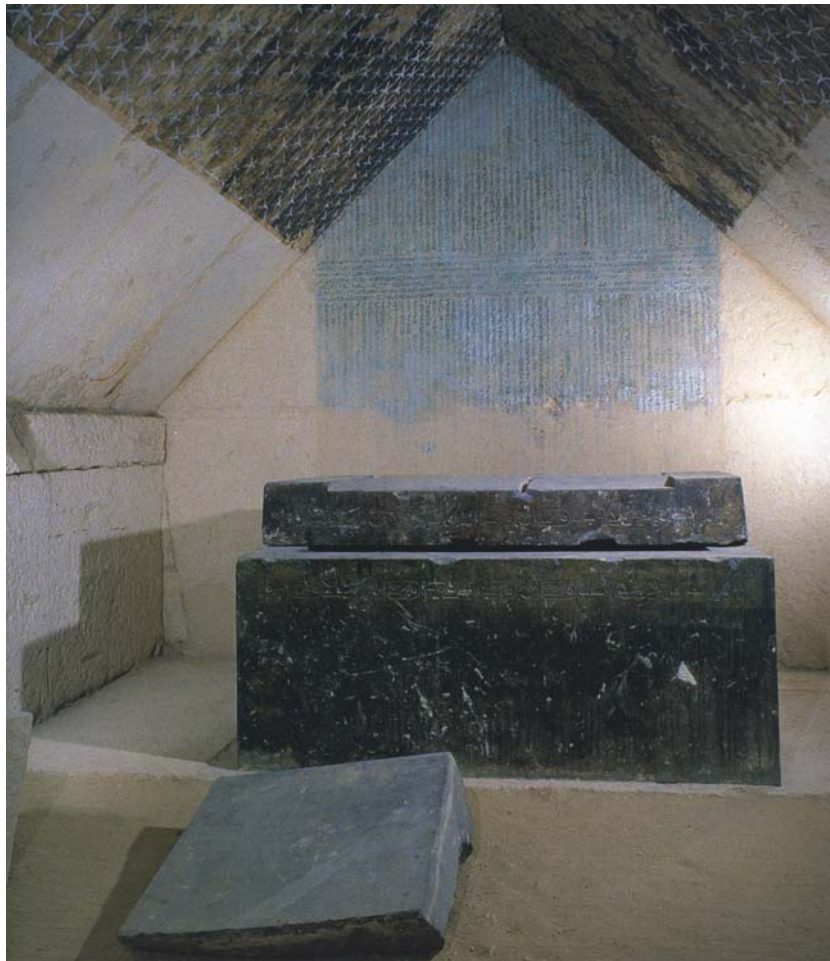


Fig.37. Burial chamber of Merenra.

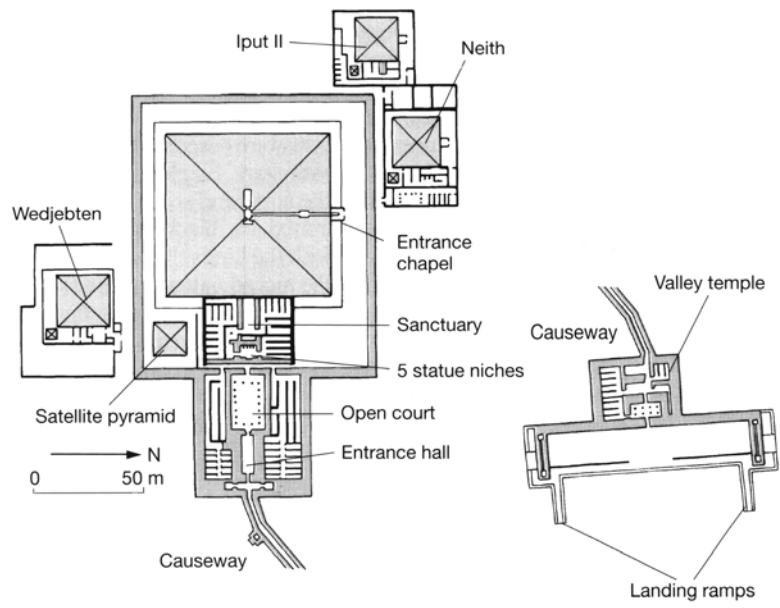


Fig. 38. Plan of the complexes of Pepy II and his queens.

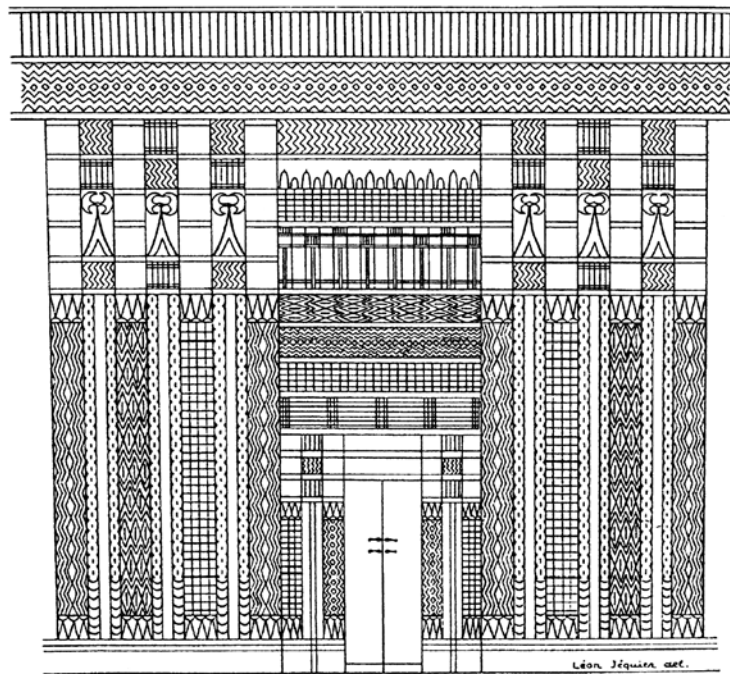


Fig.39. False-door design from the burial chamber of Pepy II.



Fig.40. Mortuary temple of Pepy II. S wall of the vestibule.

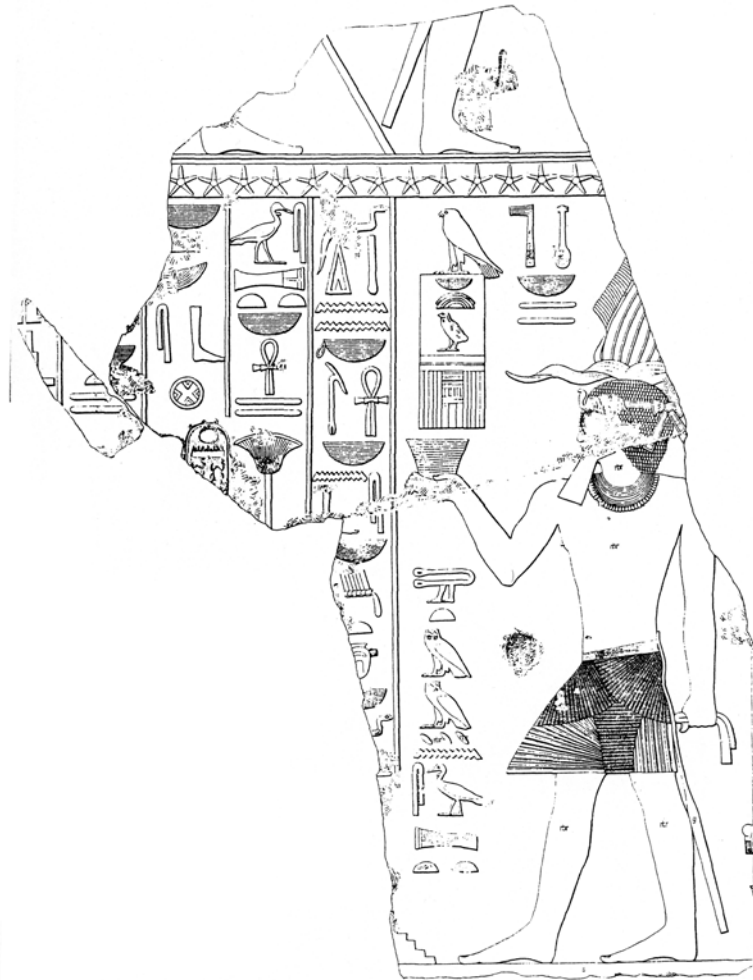


Fig.41. Sahura offering to Bastet.



Fig. 42. Niuserra offering to Bastet.

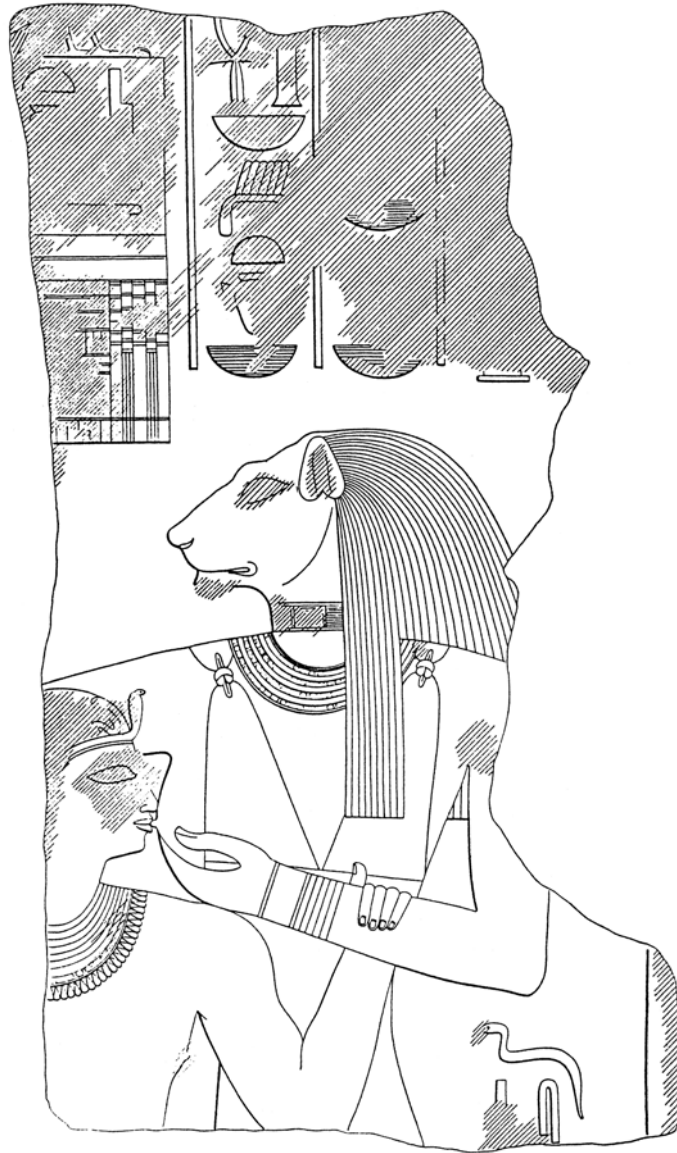


Fig.43. Niuserra suckled by a lion-goddess.



Fig.44. Pepy I being suckled.

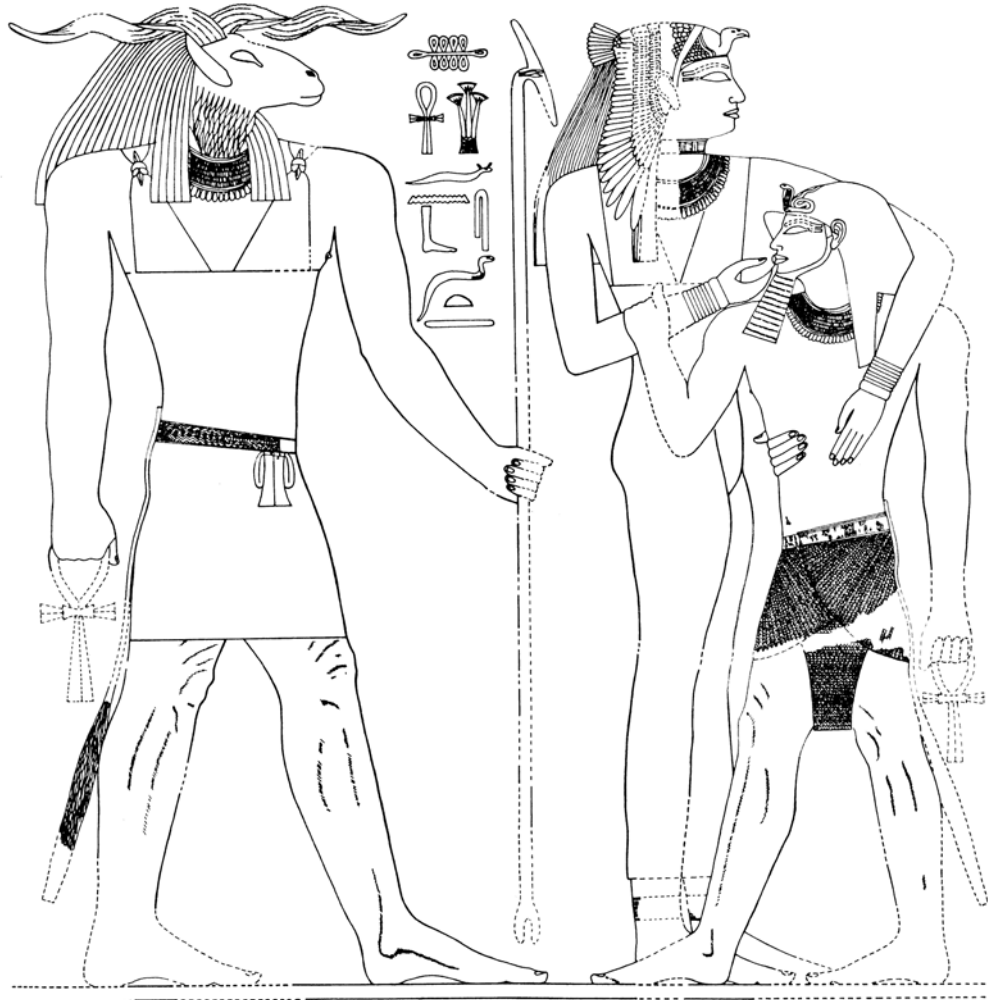


Fig.45. Sahura suckled by Nekhebet accompanied by Khnum.

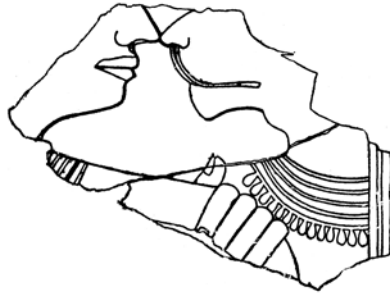


Fig.46. Sneferu embraced by a lion-goddess.

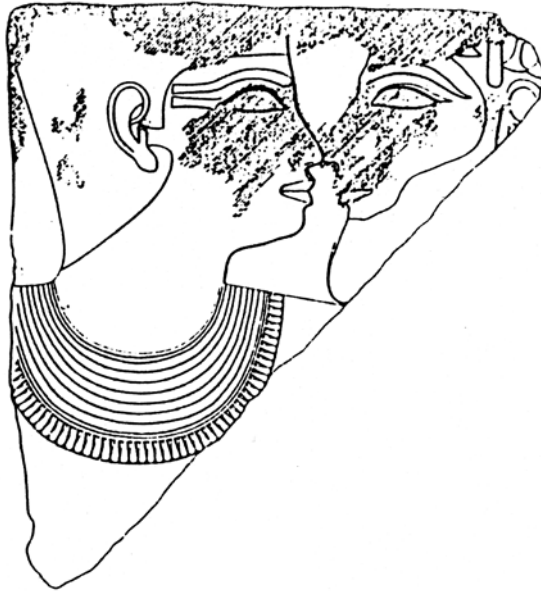


Fig.47. Niuserra nose-to-nose with a god.

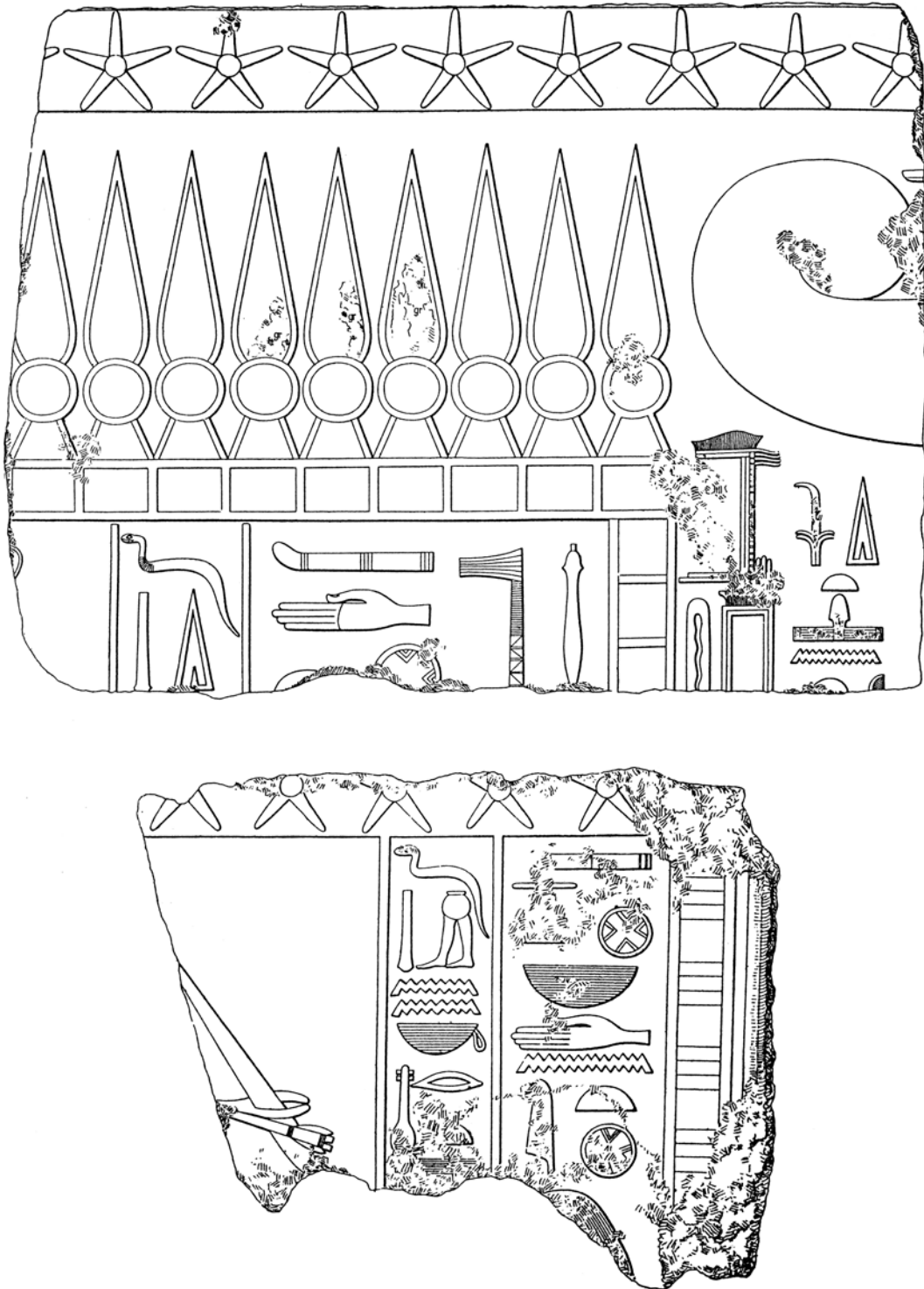


Fig.48. Offering to Behedeti. Fragments from the courtyard of Sahura's mortuary temple.

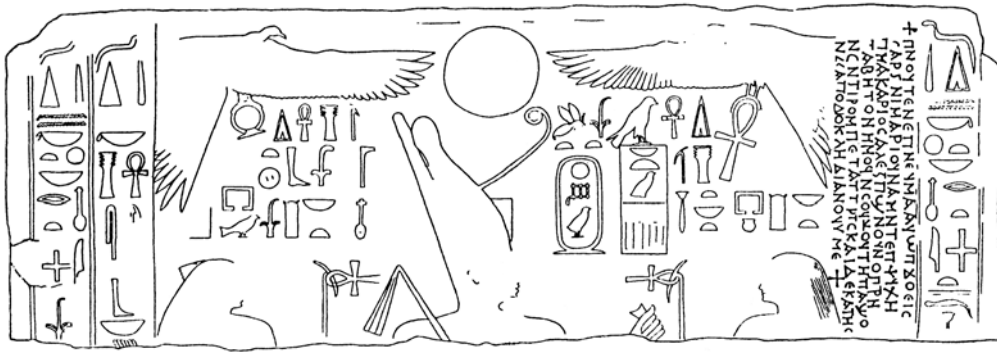


Fig.49. Sahura running and receiving life from Nekhebet and Wadjet.

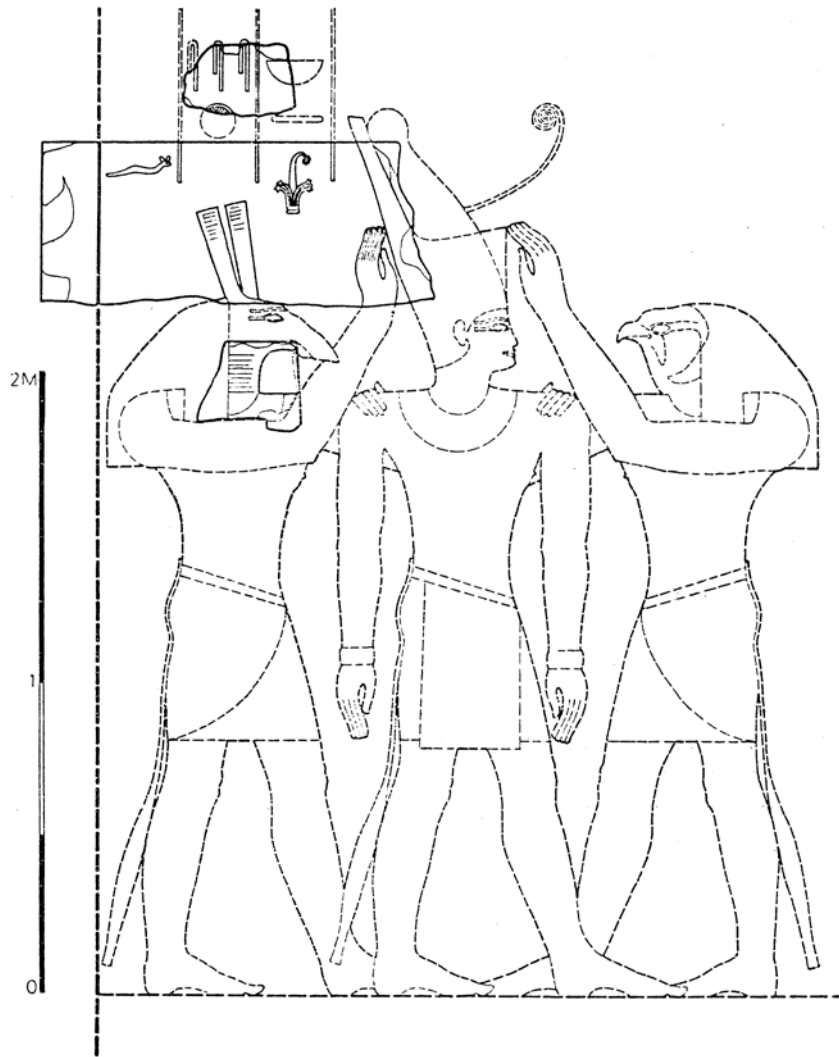


Fig.50. Unis crowned by Seth and Horus.

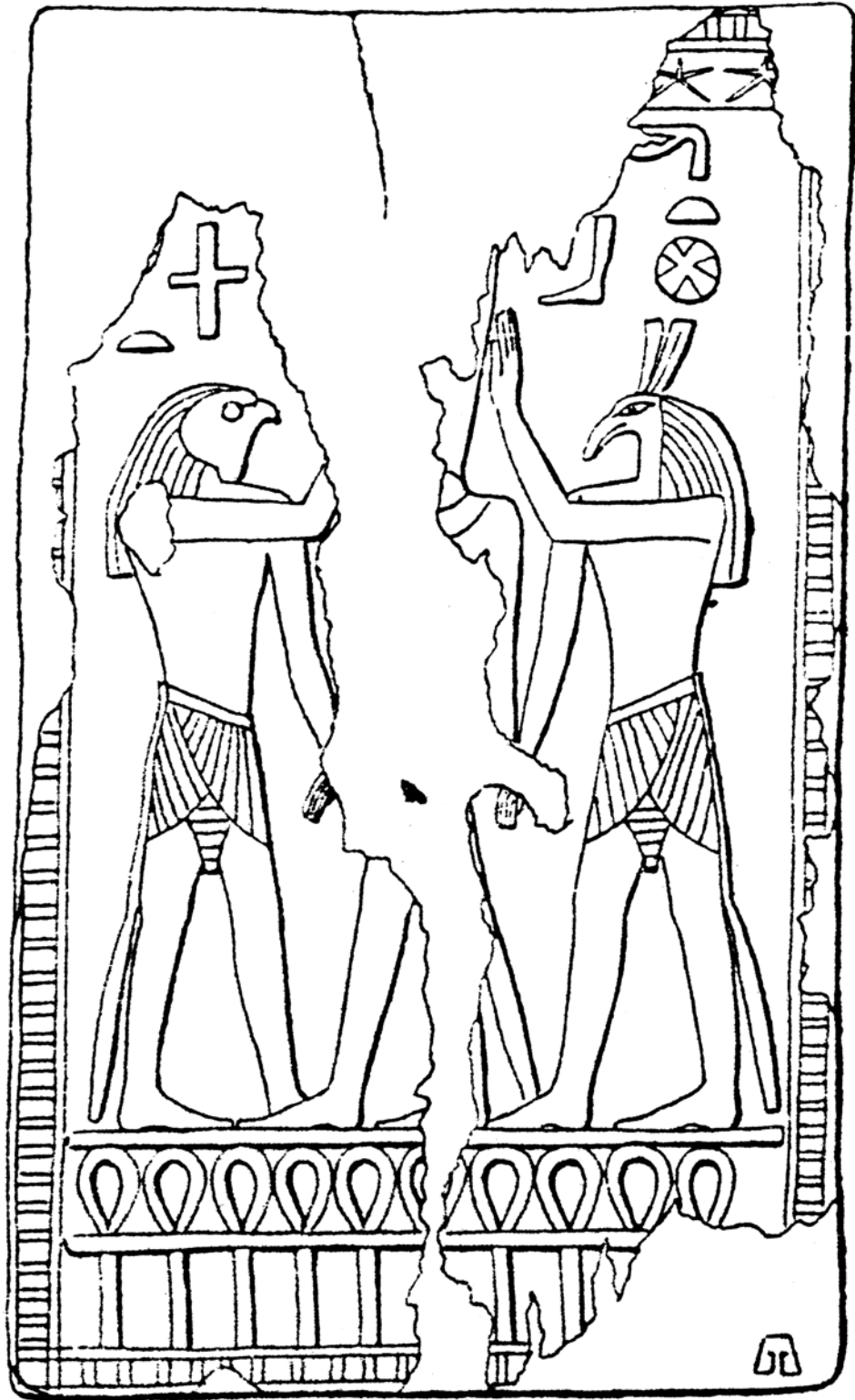


Fig.51. Coronation of Pepy II by Horus and Seth.

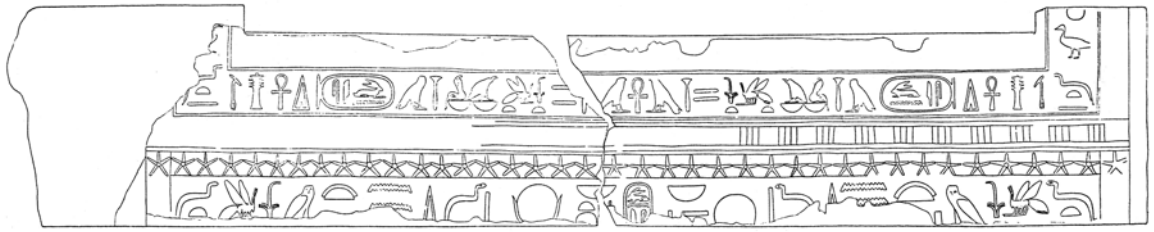


Fig.52. Lintel from the mortuary temple of Unis.

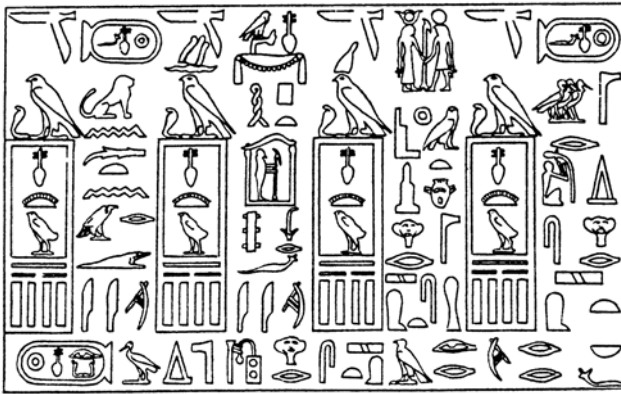


Fig.53. Sealing of Neferefra.



Fig.54. Sealing of Neferirkara.

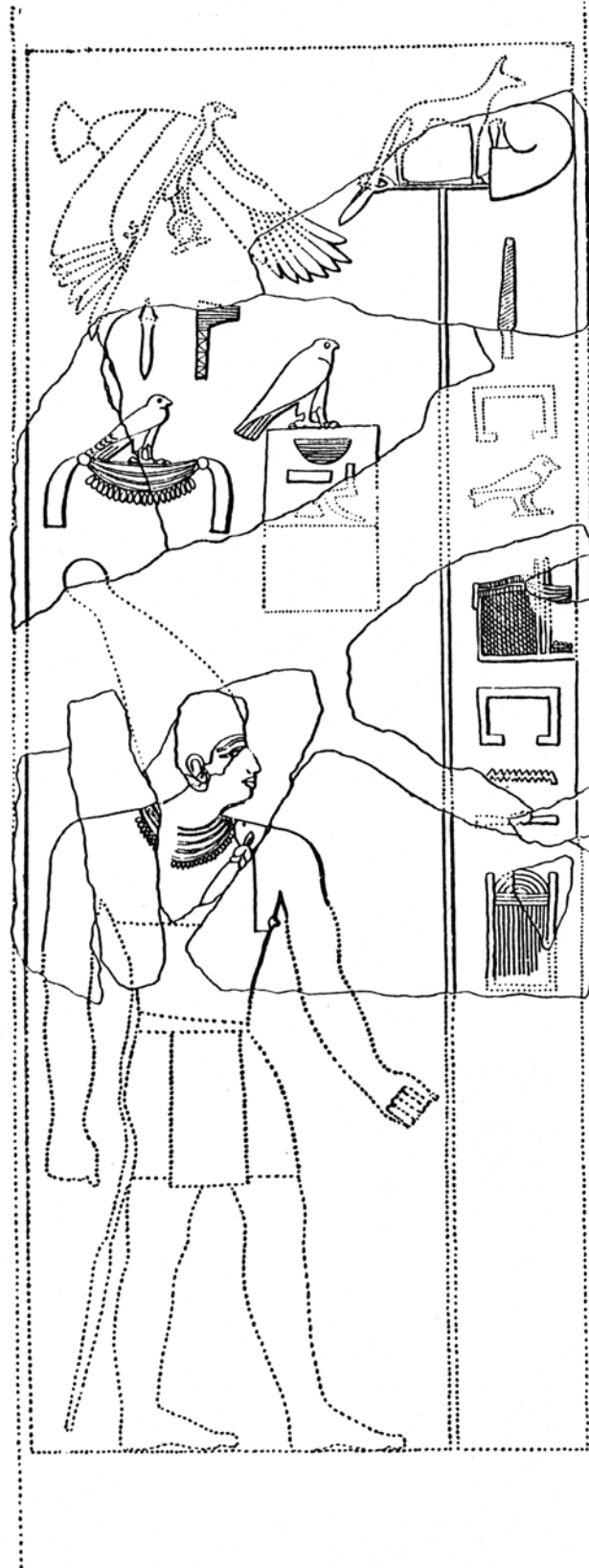


Fig.55. Sneferu visiting the *pr-wr* and *pr-nzr*.

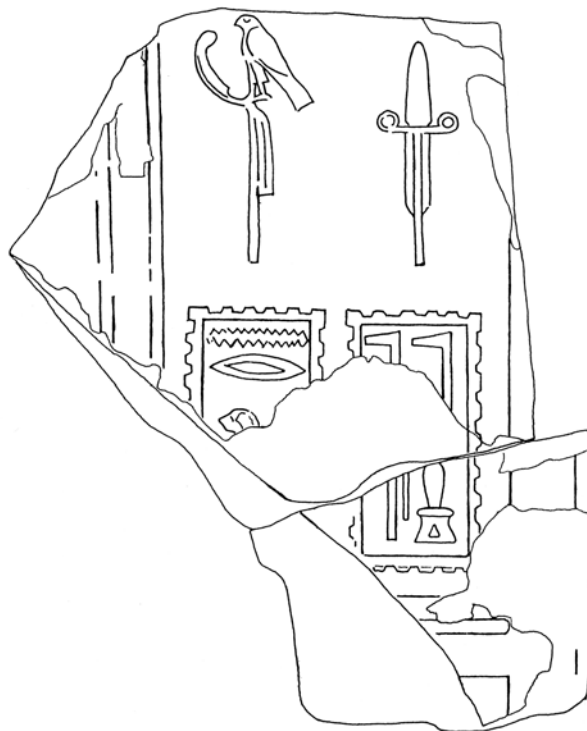


Fig.56. Fragment of a shrine of Netjerykhet from Heliopolis with record of inspecting two Götterfestungen.

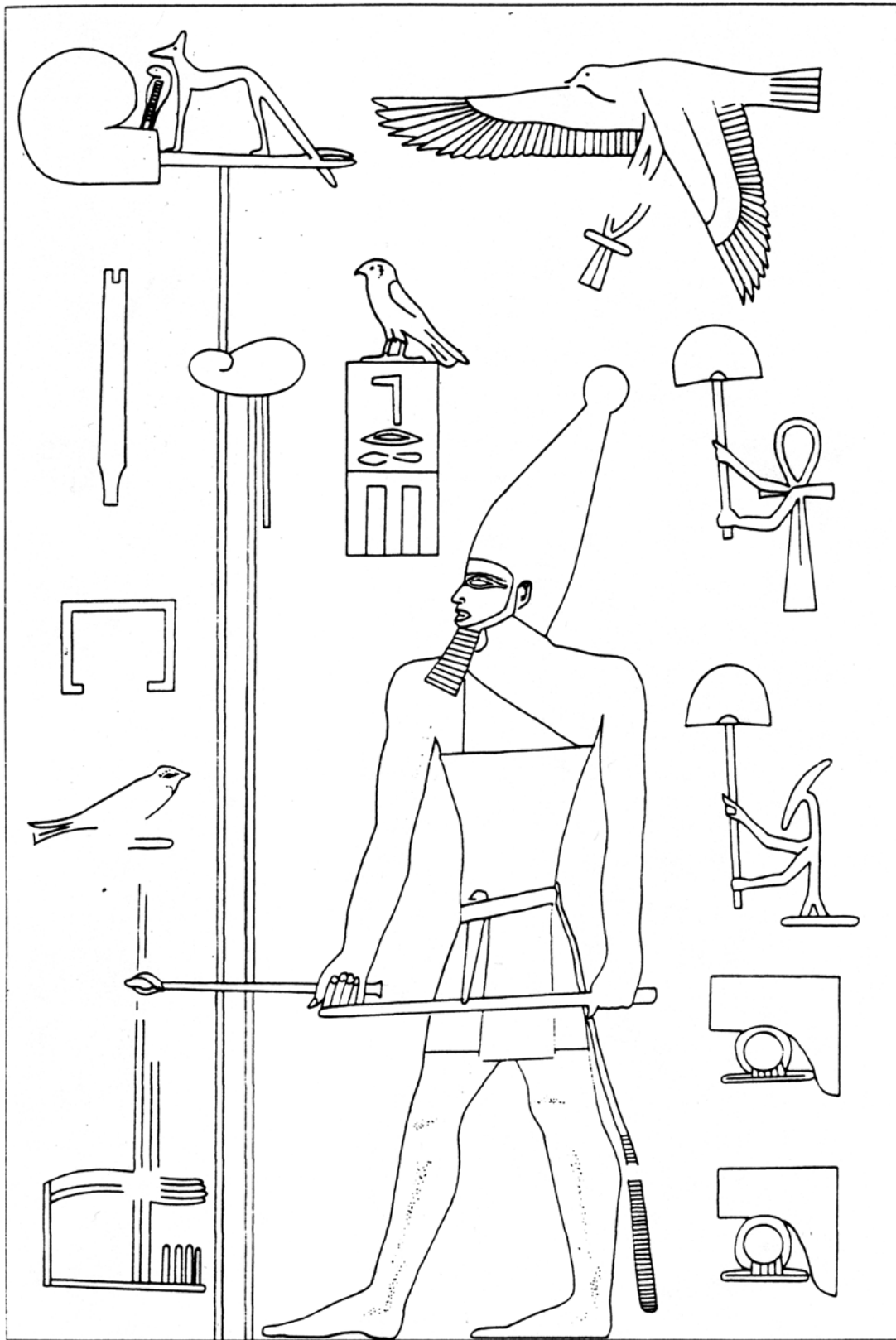


Fig.57. Netjerykhet visiting the *pr-wr*.

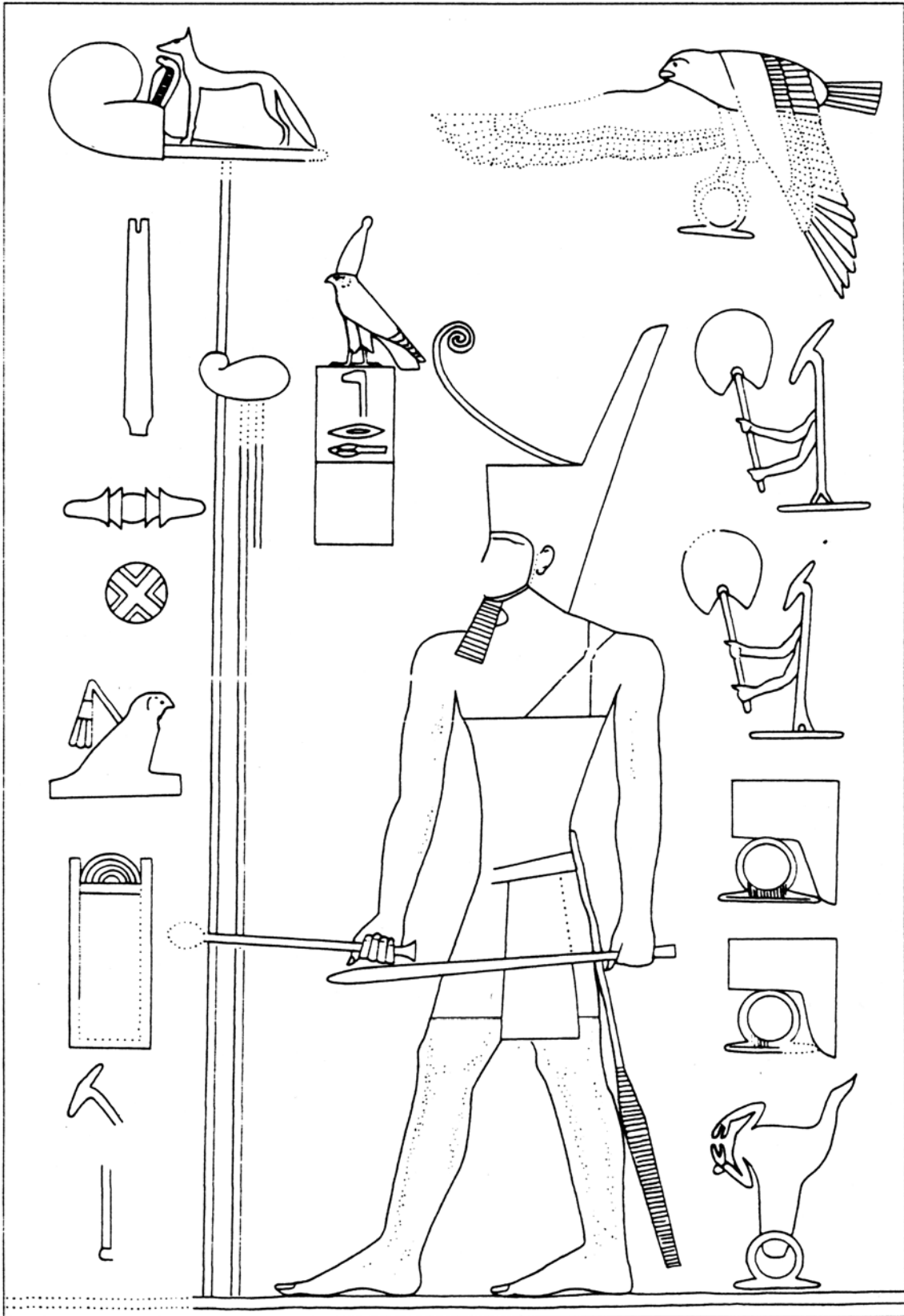


Fig.58. Netjerykhet visiting the shrine of Horus of Khem.

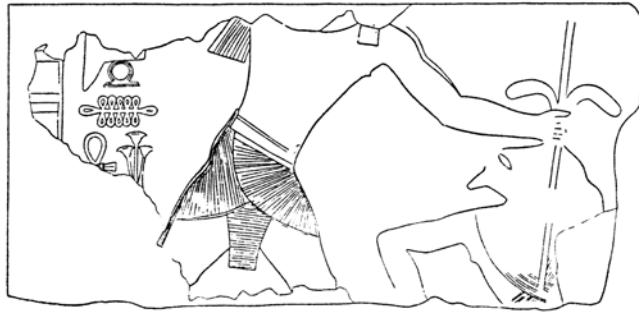


Fig.59. Unis smiting an enemy.

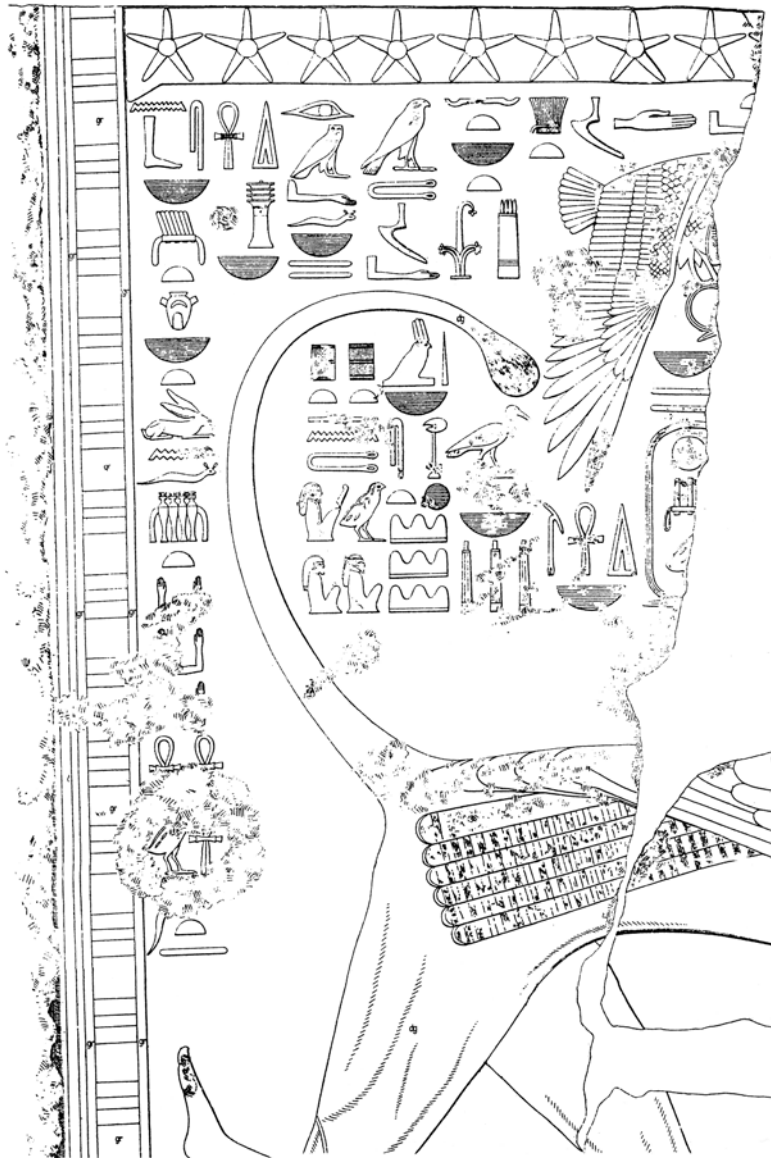


Fig.60. Sahura trampling enemies.



Fig.61. Egyptians fighting enemies on the causeway of Unis.

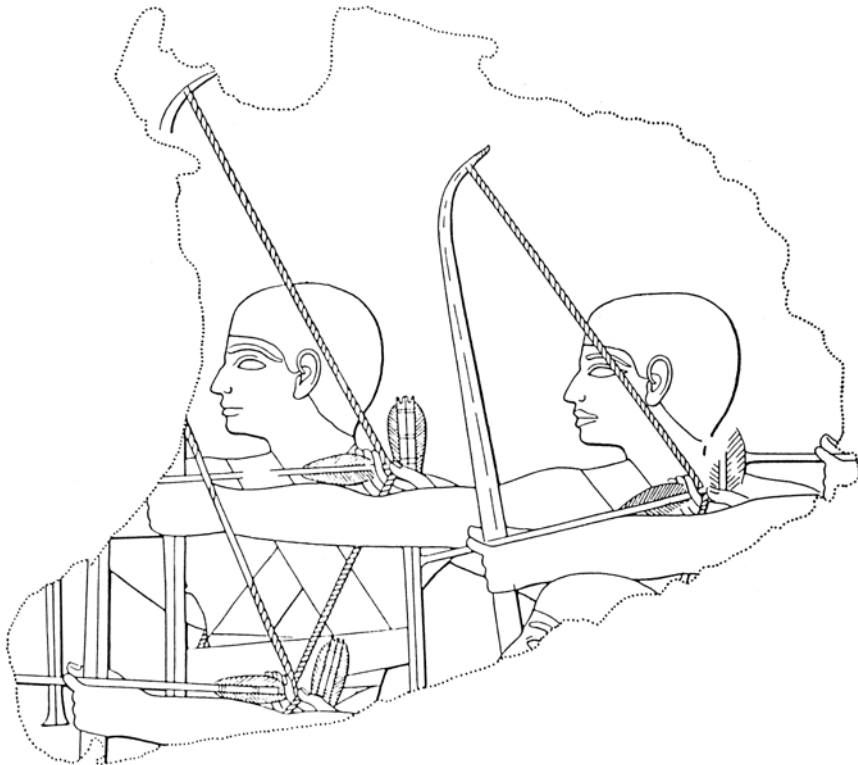


Fig.62. Archers from Lisht.

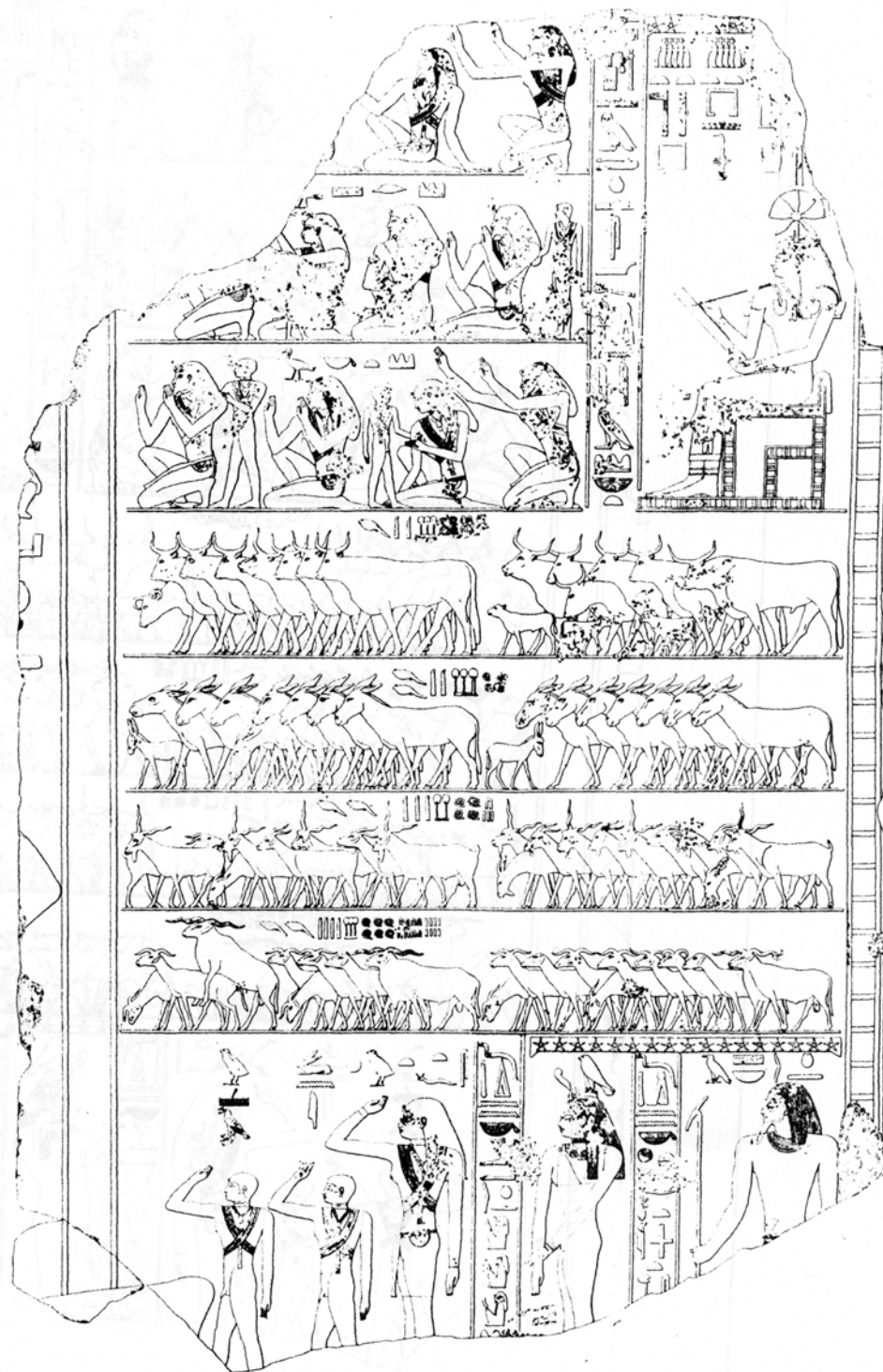


Fig.63. 'Libyan family' of Sahura.

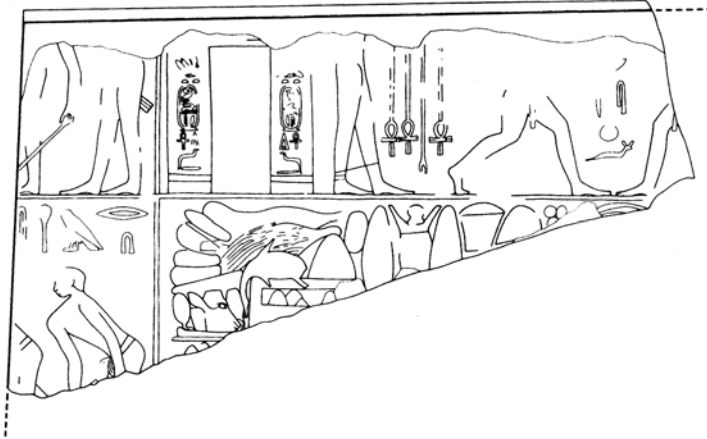


Fig.64. Block from the causeway of Unis.

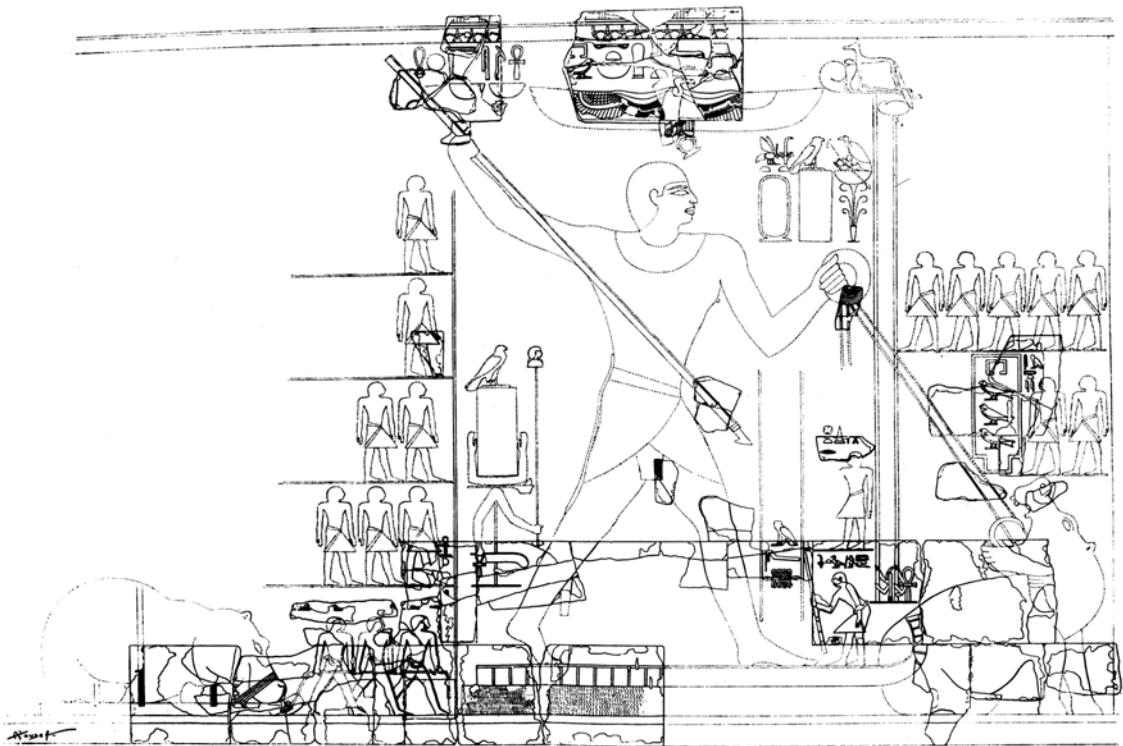


Fig.65. Pepy II hunting hippopotamus.

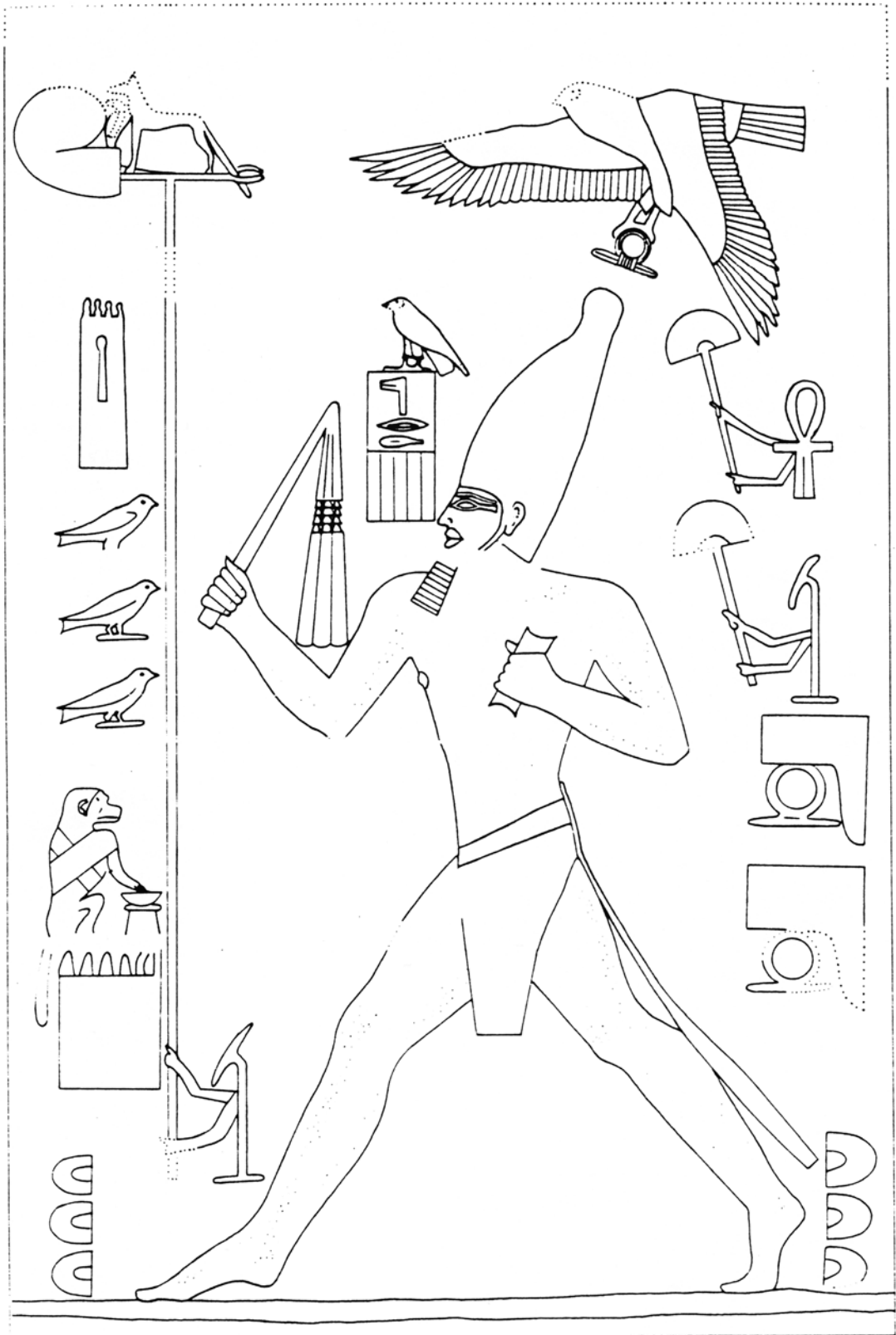


Fig.66. Netjerykhet running before the aH-HD wrw.

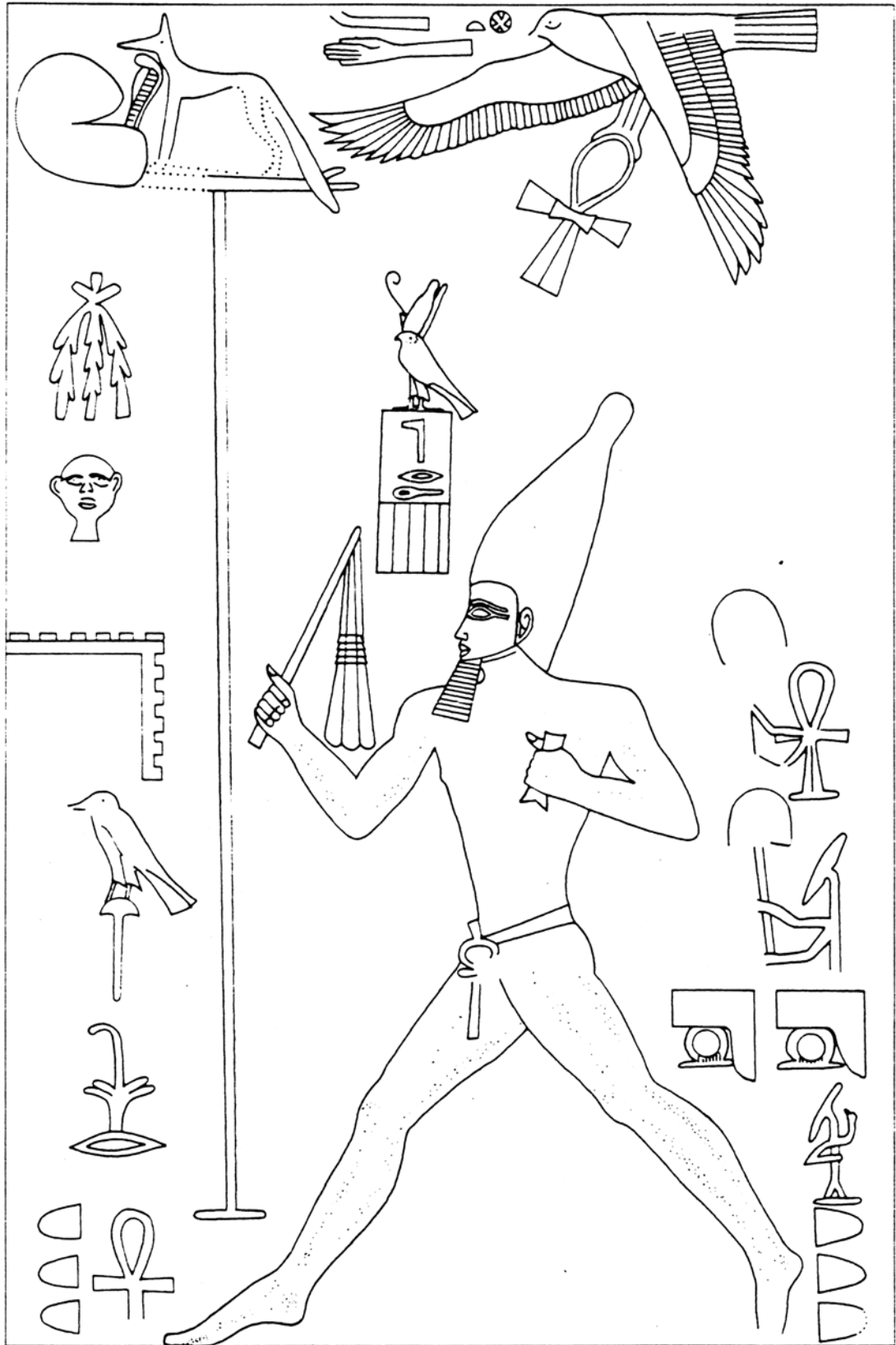


Fig.67. Netjerykhet in a ritual run.

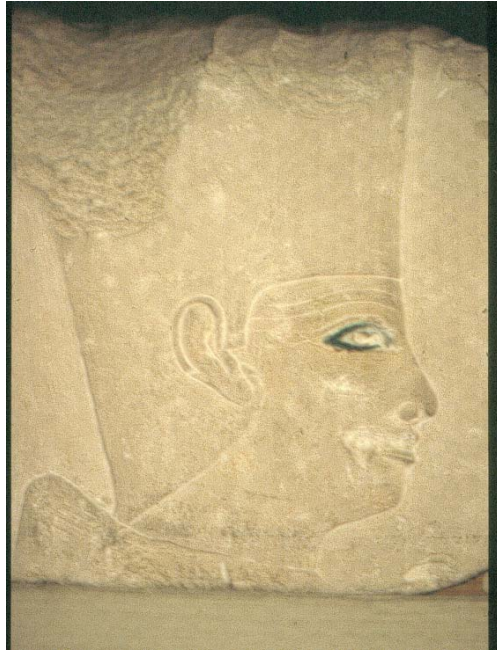


Fig.68. Teti wearing the *Heb-Sed* garb.



Fig.69. Celebrating the *Heb-Sed*. A block from Lisht.

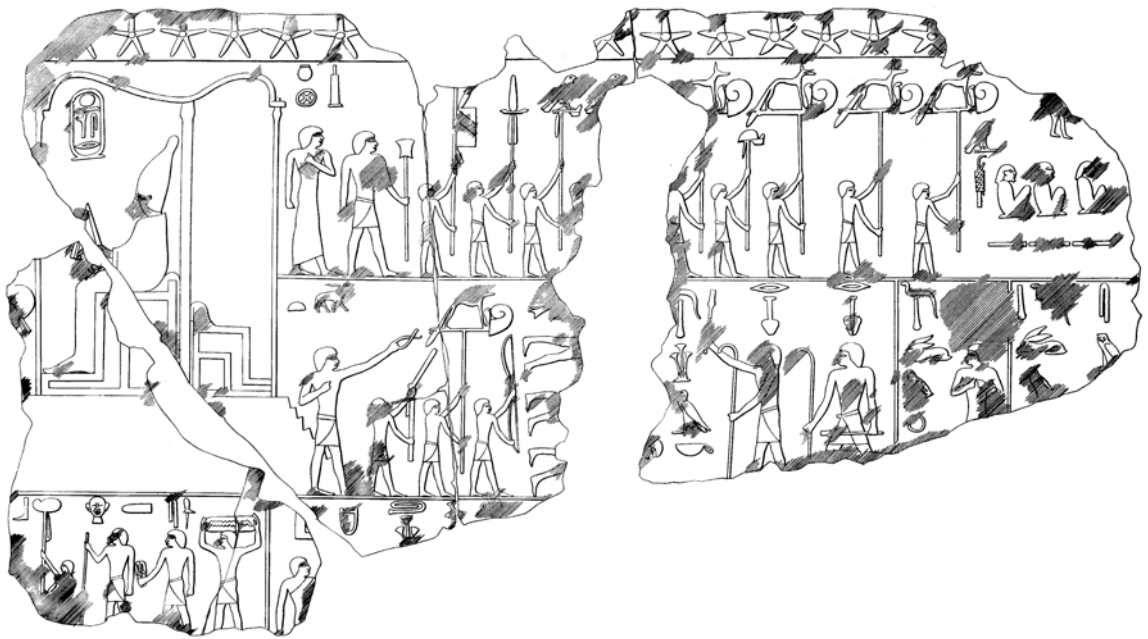


Fig. 70. *Heb-Sed* ceremonies of Niuserra (Abu Ghurab).



Fig. 71. Anointing bulls in the presence of Sahura.



Fig.72. Neferirkara in the temple of Sahura.

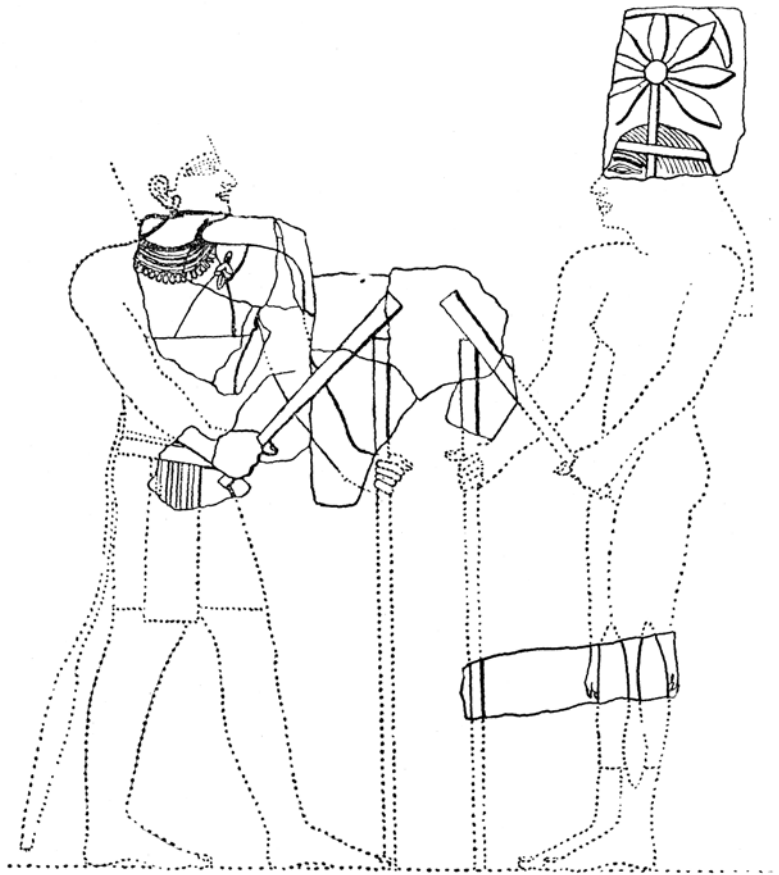


Fig.73. Sneferu and Seshat at the foundation ceremony.

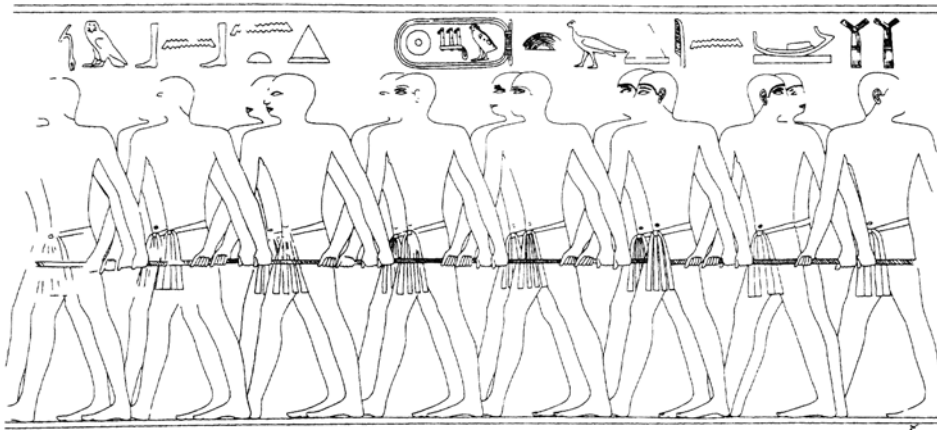


Fig.74. Dragging a pyramidion. Causeway of Sahura.

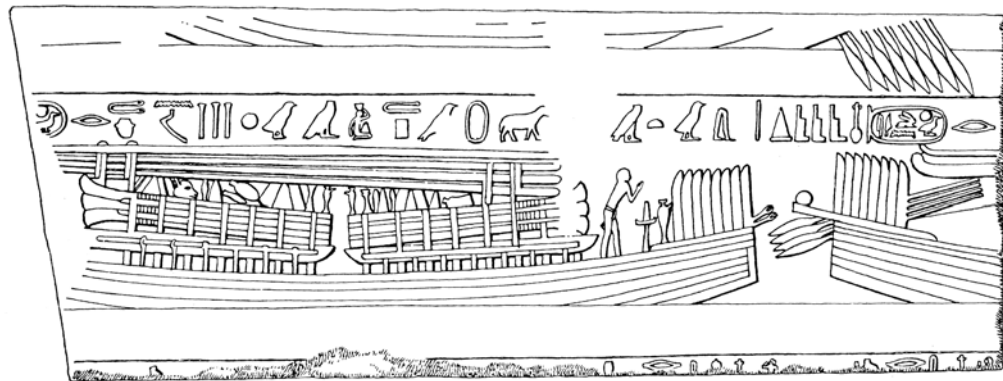


Fig.75. Cargo ship loaded with granite columns. Causeway of Unis.

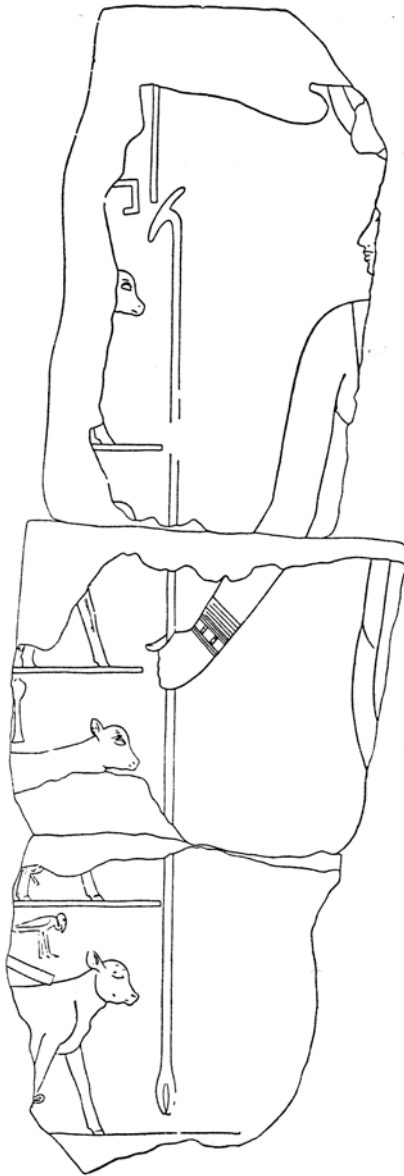


Fig.76. Driving the four calves before Hathor.



Fig.77. Hitting a ball (?) at South Dahshur.



Fig.78. 'Famine' scene from the causeway of Unis.

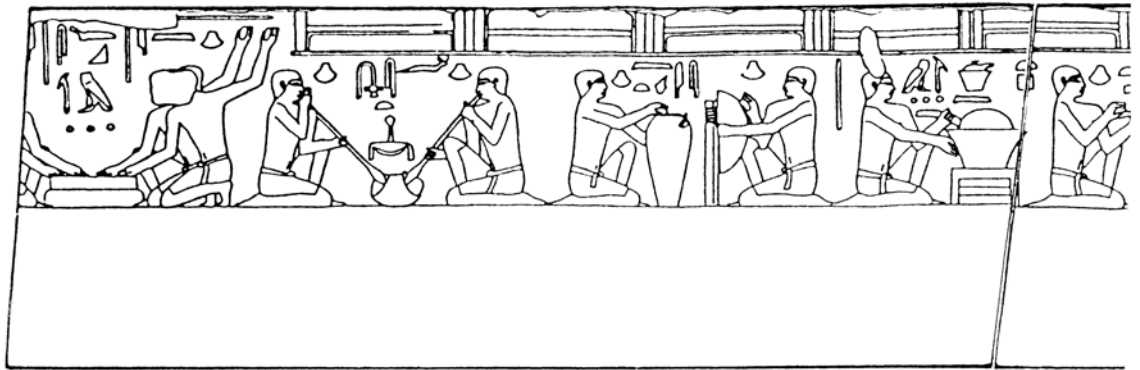
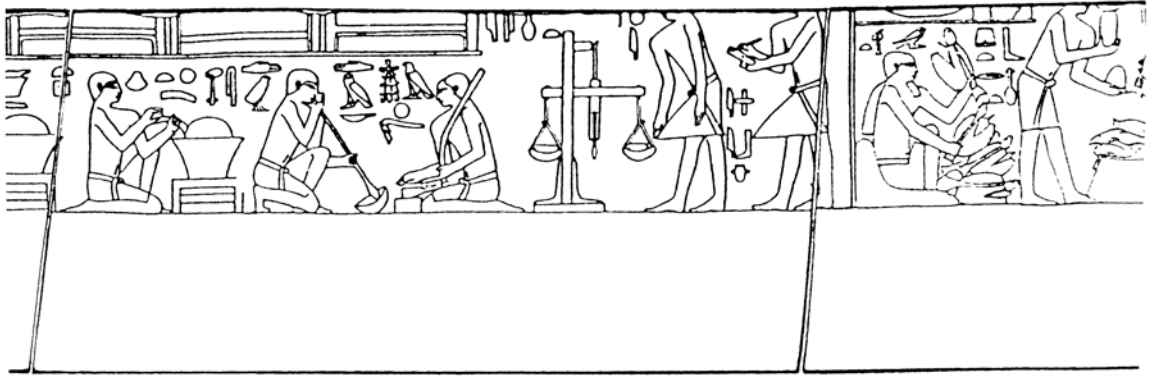


Fig.79. Craftsmen from the causeway of Unis.

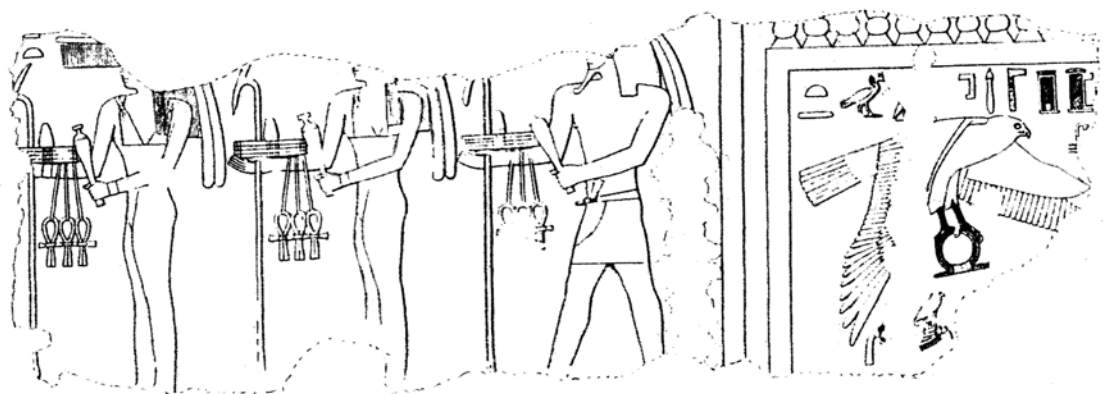


Fig.80. Block of Khufu from Lisht.

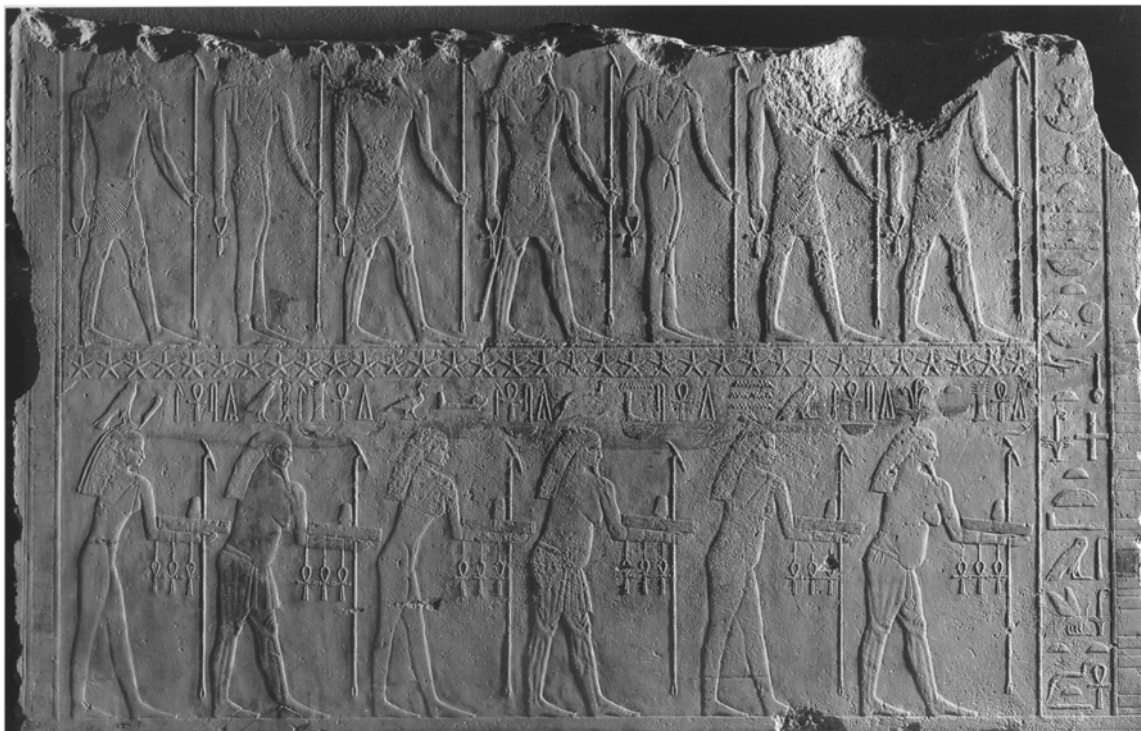


Fig.81. Procession of the gods and fecundity figures (mortuary temple of Sahura).

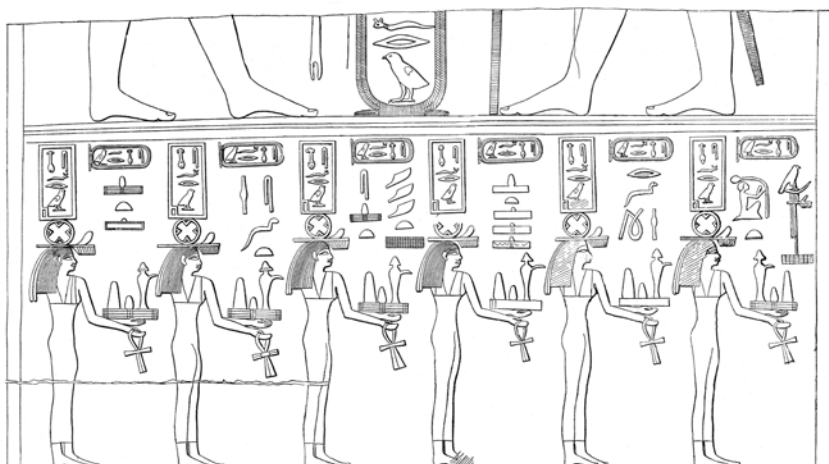


Fig.82. Procession of personified estates at South Dahshur.

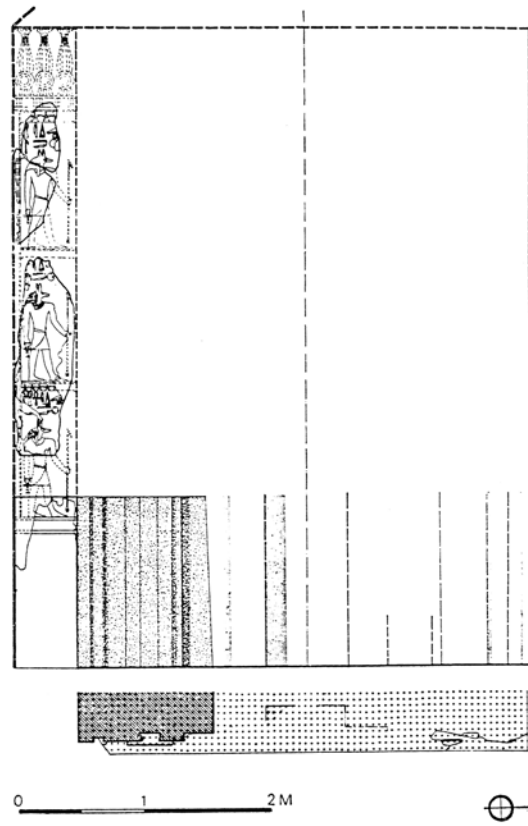


Fig.83. Reconstruction of the W wall in the sanctuary of Unis.

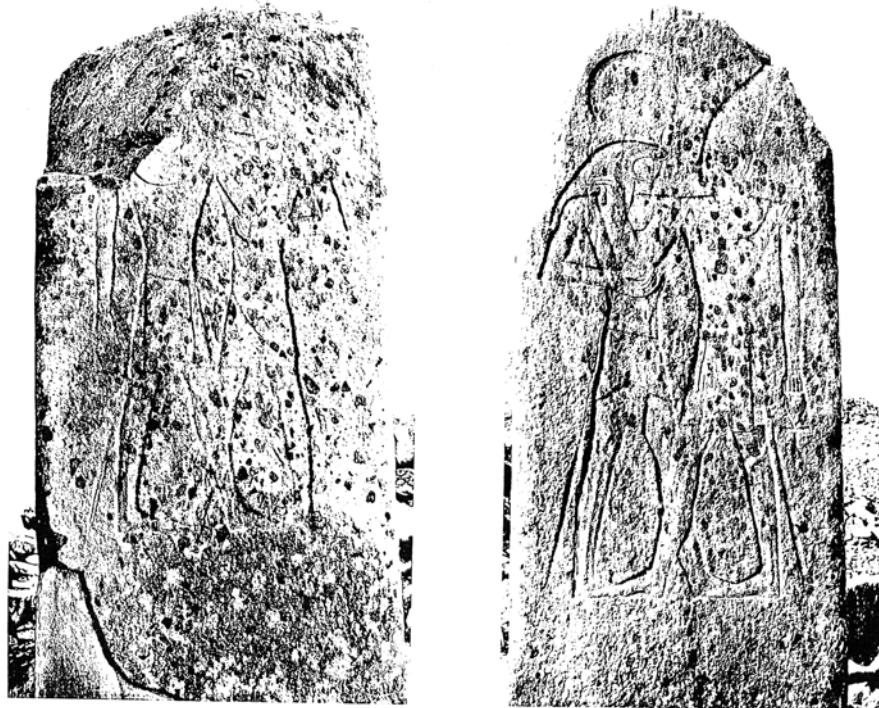


Fig.84. Pillar on the courtyard of the mortuary temple of Pepy II.

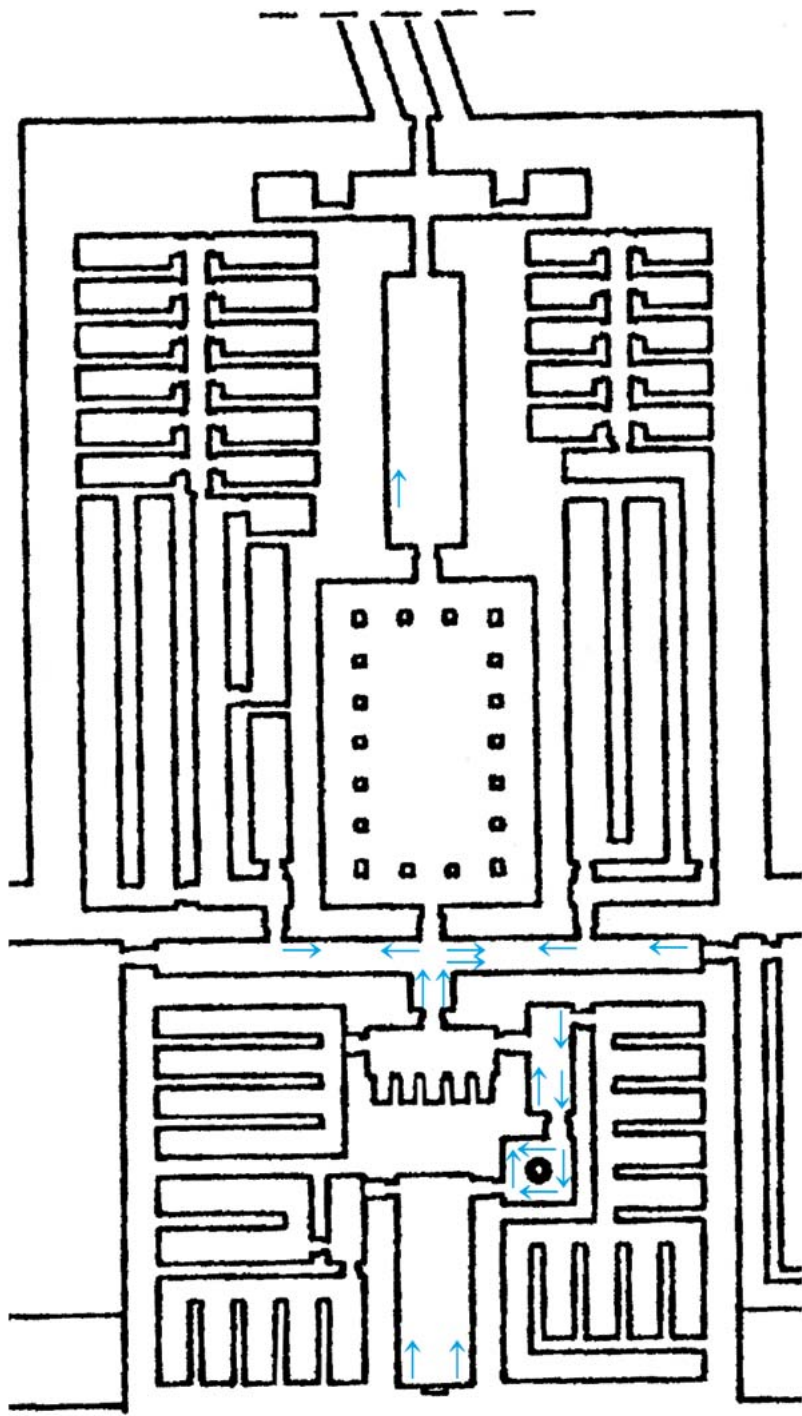


Fig. 85. Mortuary temple of Pepy II. Orientation of the king's figures on the walls.

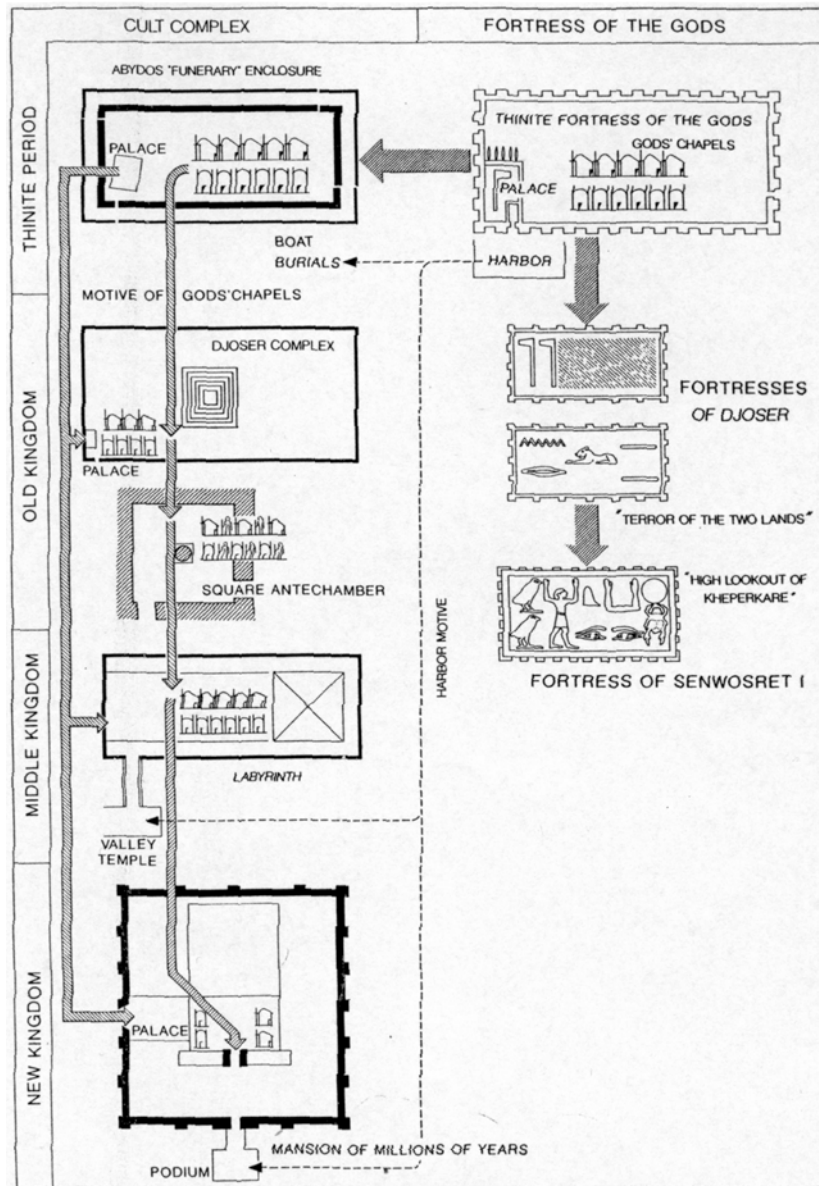


Fig.86. Development of the aspects of palaces, chapels of the gods, and landing stages from the Fortresses of the Gods to the Mansions of Millions of Years (according to D. Arnold).

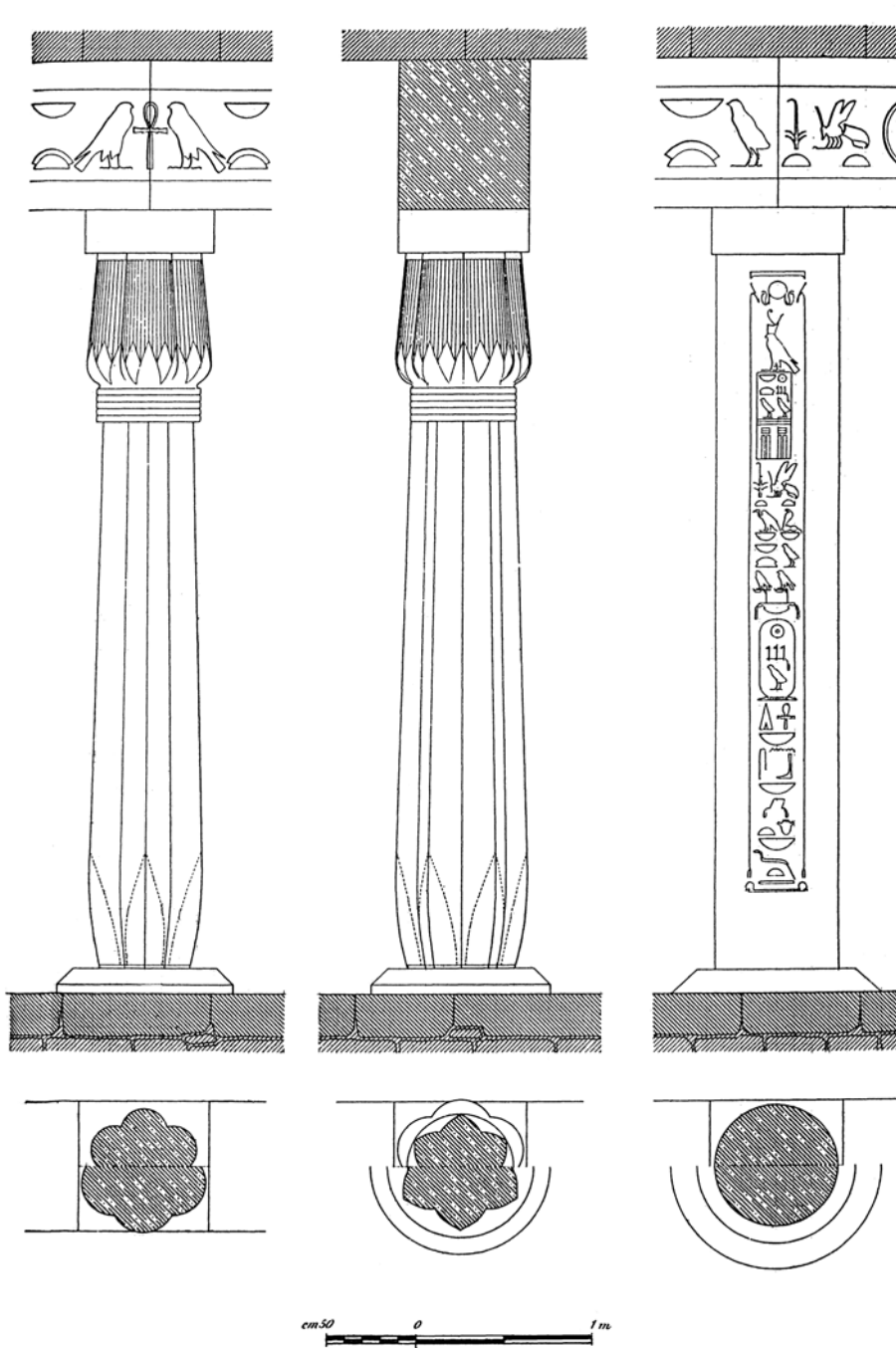


Fig.87. Royal titulary in a cosmological frame on the columns in Sahura's funerary complex.

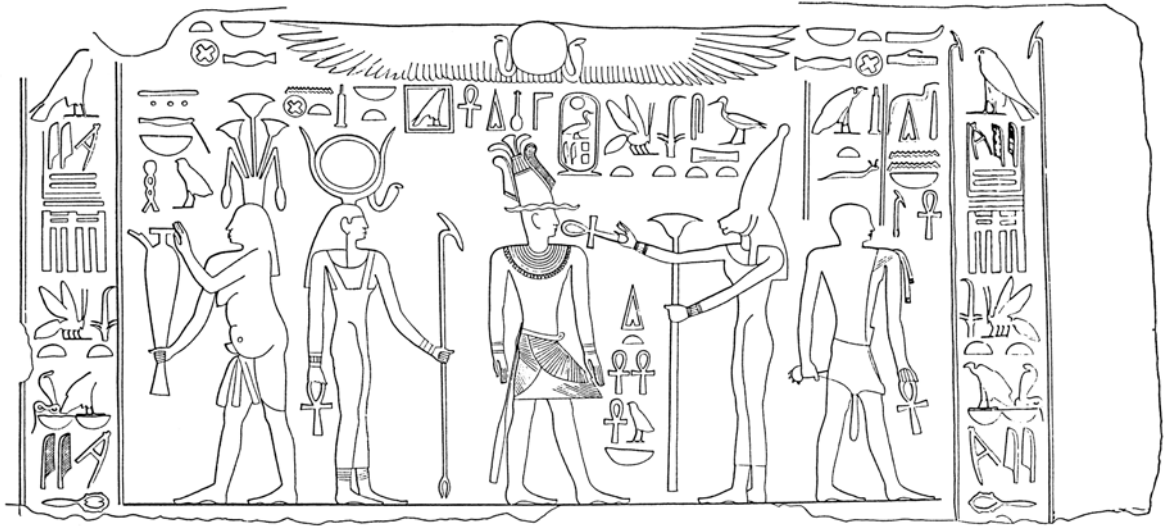


Fig.88. Lintel of Pepy I from Bubastis.



Fig.89. Head of a goddess from Lisht.

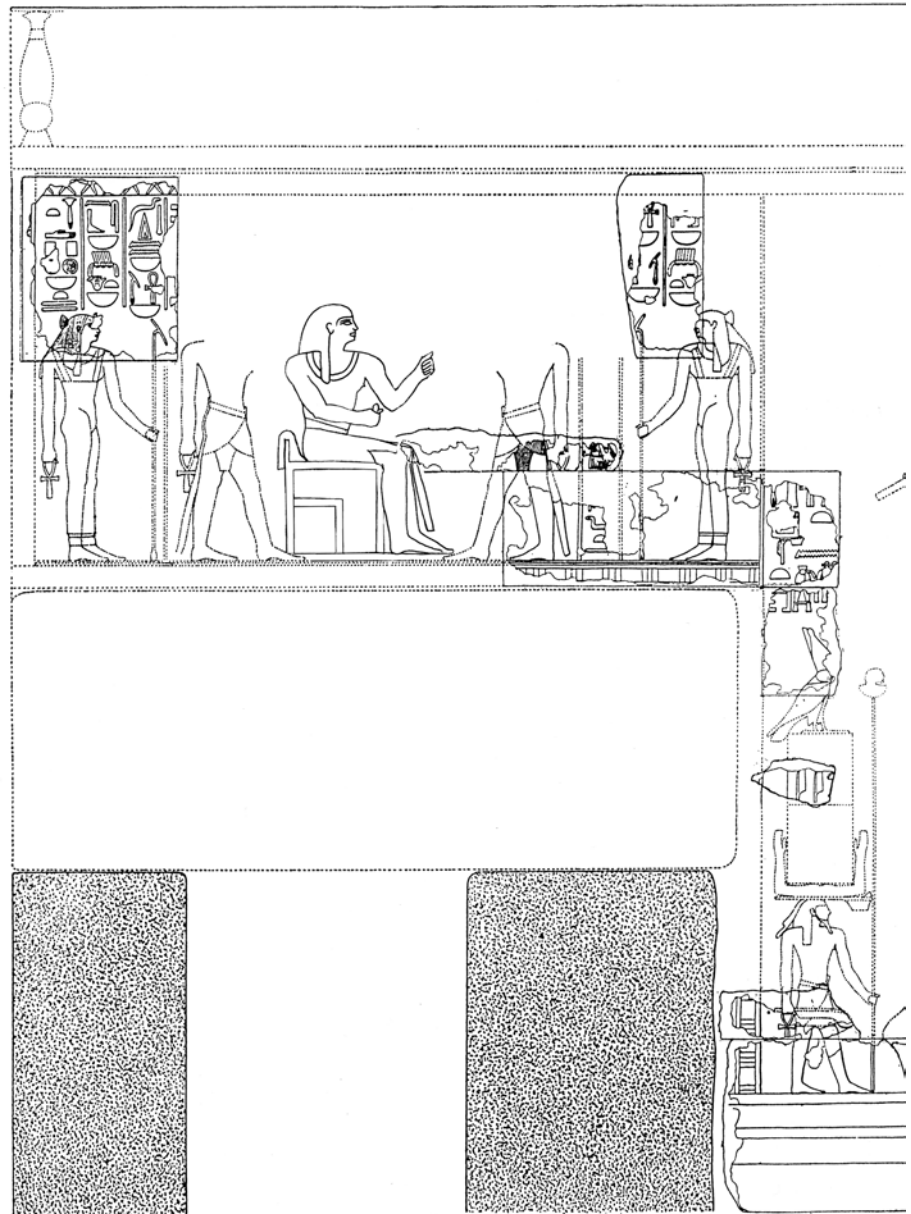


Fig.90. Reconstruction of a scene on a lintel. S wall of the vestibule in the mortuary temple of Pepy II..

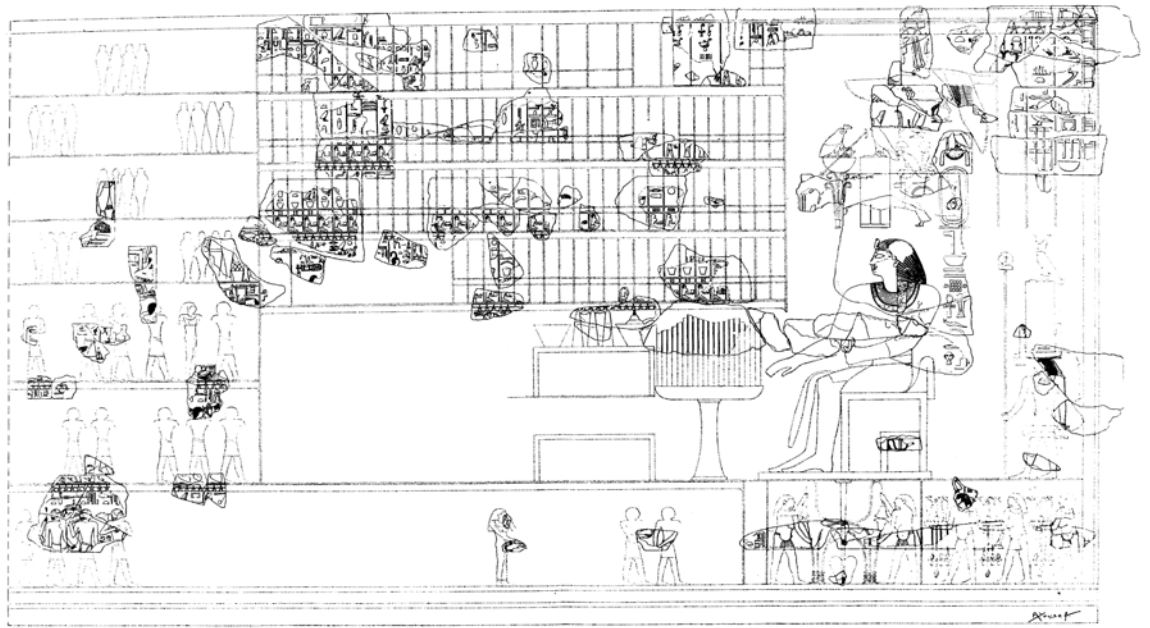


Fig.91. Reconstruction of the S wall in Pepy II's sanctuary.

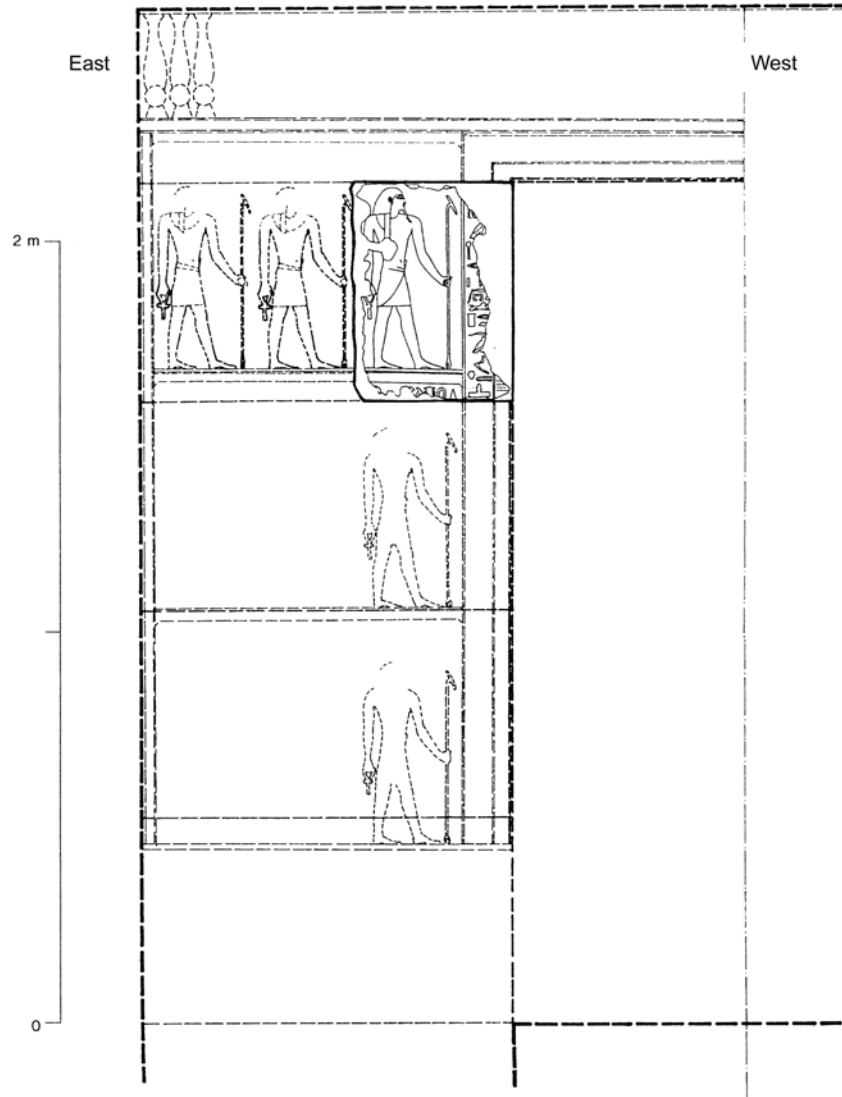


Fig.92. S wall of the northern chapel of Merenra.

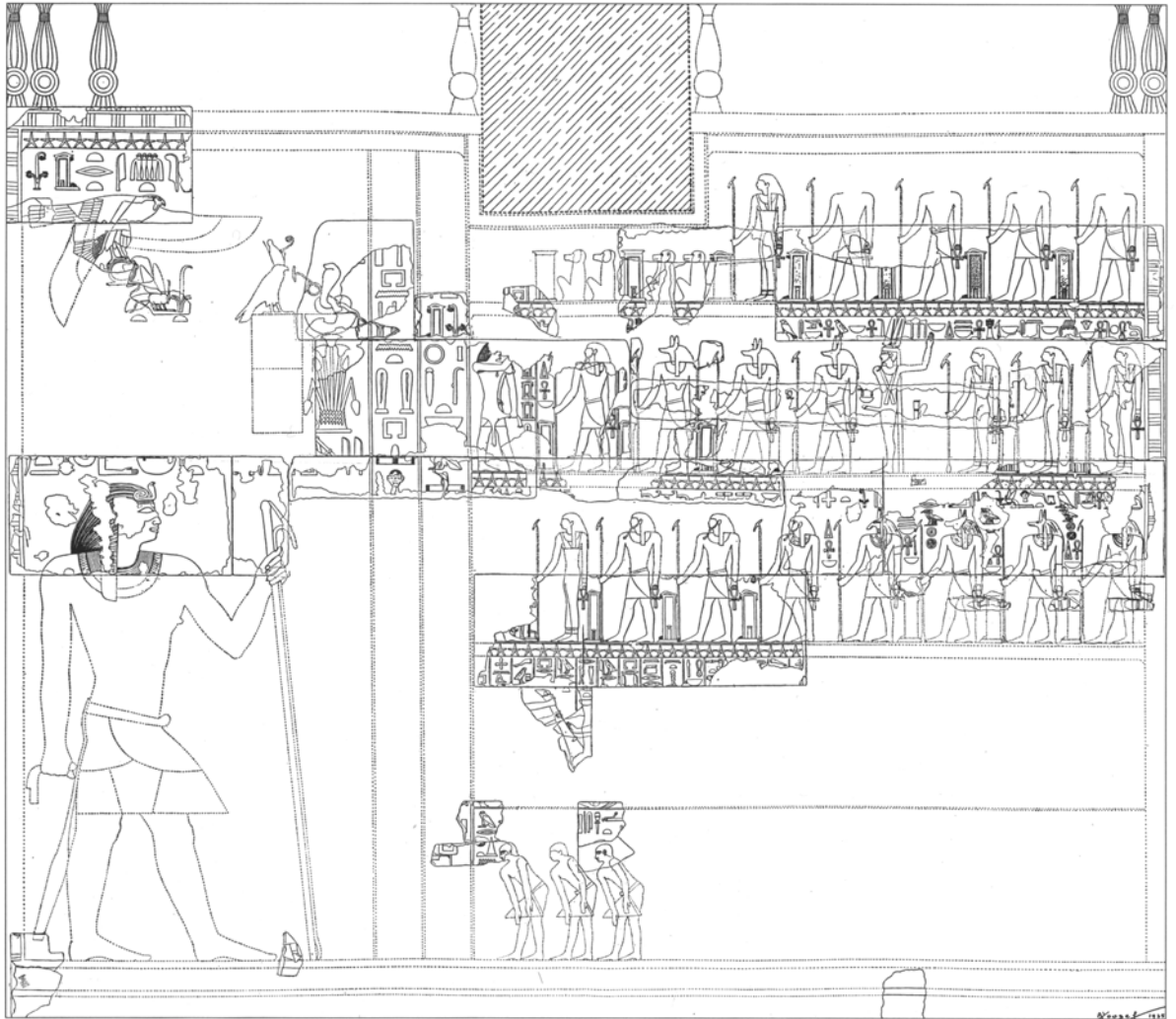


Fig.93. Assembly of deities. W wall of the antechamber in Pepy II's mortuary temple.

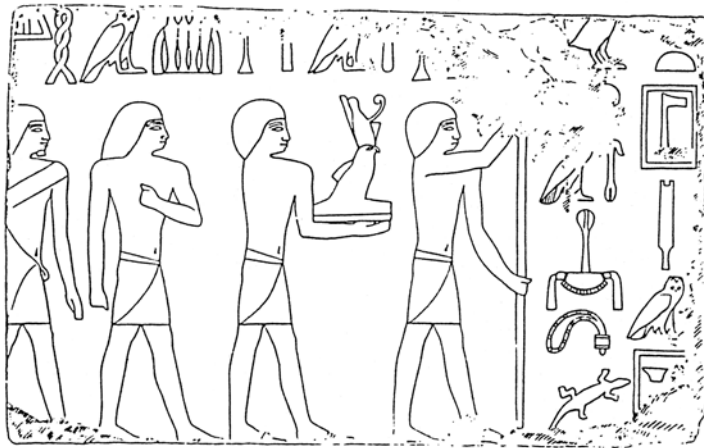


Fig.94. Procession to wsxt.



Fig.95. Unis' figure from the causeway.



Fig.96. Oxen of Khufu.

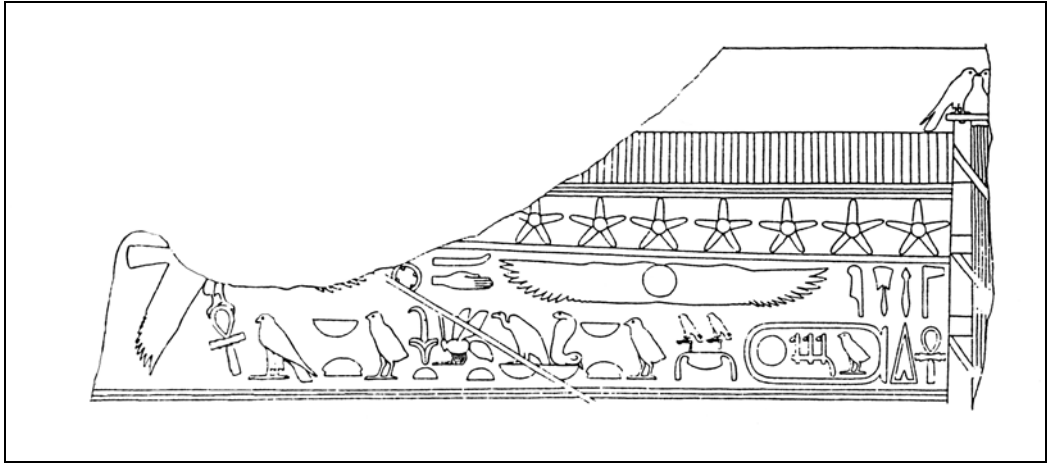


Fig.97. Decoration of the sail of a ship of Sahura.

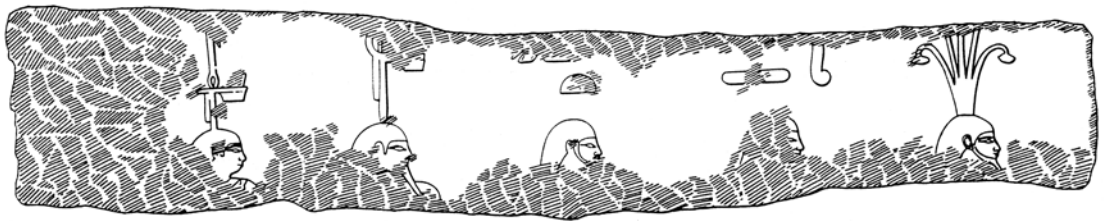


Fig.98. Ra-Horakhti and the Nomes (Abu Ghurab).