Charles University in Prague
Faculty of Arts
Czech Institute of Egyptology

Doctoral dissertation

The Pyramid Complex of Djedkare-Isesi at South Saqqara and its Decorative Program

Mohamed Megahed

Program of the Study: Historical Sciences
Field of the Study: Egyptology
Supervisor: Prof. Mgr. Miroslav Bárta, Dr.

2016

Univerzita Karlova v Praze

Filozofická fakulta

Český egyptologický ústav

Disertační práce

Pyramidový komplex Djedkarea Isesiho v jižní Sakkáře a jeho výzdobný program

Mohamed Megahed

Studijní program: Historické vědy

Studijní obor: Egyptologie

Školitel: Prof. Mgr. Miroslav Bárta, Dr.

2016

Prohlašuji, že jsem disertační práci napsal samostatně s využitím pouze uvedených a řádně citovaných pramenů a literatury a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Praze, dne 15. srpna 2016

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own work and that I wrote it independently, using only duly listed and properly cited sources and references; and that it has not been submitted in connection with any other university course or in fulfilment of the requirements of the same degree or of any other.

In Prague, August 15, 2016

Klíčová slova:

Starověký Egypt, Stará říše, 5. dynastie, Dždedkare, Sakkára, architektura, pyramida, výzdoba, reliéfy, královská titulatura, zádušní domény, průvod božstev, Usir, královský majestát

Keywords:

Ancient Egypt, Old Kingdom, Fifth Dynasty, Djedkare, Saqqara, architecture, pyramid, decoration, reliefs, royal titular, funerary domains, procession of deities, Osiris, kingship

Abstrakt

Předložená práce si klade za cíl poprvé uceleně publikovat pyramidový komplex panovníka Dždedkarea a jeho výzdobný program. Dždedkareova vláda byla dosti významná a během ní došlo v egyptském státu k mnoha důležitým změnám. Podle dokladů Dždedkare reorganizoval královské zádušní kulty svých předchůdců v Abúsíru a do jeho vlády se datuje většina dochovaných fragmentů papyrů, jež se podařilo objevit v abúsírských pyramidových komplexech. Vedle různých dalších dokladů z období jeho vlády byla v králově pyramidovém komplexu objevena řada nálezů, jež dosud nebyly publikovány. Patří k nim i fragmenty reliéfní výzdoby, a předložená práce tak přispívá k hlubšímu porozumění a interpretaci vývoje královských reliéfů v závěru 5. dynastie.

Práce je rozčleněna do pěti kapitol, z nichž první přináší úvod k tématu a katalogu a předkládá přehled o stavu bádání ohledně výzdoby zádušních komplexů Staré říše. Další část kapitoly objasňuje metody, jež autor práce užil během k dokumentaci fragmentů reliéfů z Dždedkareova pyramidového komplexu. Dždedkareova vláda v kontextu 5. dynastie je předmětem druhé kapitoly, kde je nejprve prezentován přehled panovníků 5. dynastie a stručná charakteristika jejich vlád. Poté jsou podrobněji představena jména panovníka Dždedkarea a doba jeho vlády s ohledem na politické, společenské a náboženské změny, k nimž docházelo v polovině Staré říše. Kapitola se rovněž zabývá královou rodinou a jejími možnými členy, kteří jsou historicky doloženi.

Hlavní těžiště práce tvoří králův pyramidový komplex a jeho výzdobný program. Architektura komplexu je pojednána ve třetí kapitole. V úvodu je předložen přehled o dosavadních archeologických expedicích a poté následuje popis jednotlivých součástí pyramidového komplexu. Kromě informací zveřejněných dříve (zvl. Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977) byly do této kapitoly zahrnuty i dílčí výsledky současné egyptské aecheologické expedice. Tento nový výzkum odhalil některé nepřesnosti v dříve publikovaných plánech, a to zejména uvnitř pyramidy. Tuto novou dokumentaci bylo možné pořídit zatím jen v malé části pyramidového komplexu, neboť úplná dokumentace celé památky vyžaduje mnoho dalších sezón.

Fragmenty reliéfní výzdoby jsou tématem čtvrté kapitoly. V zádušním chrámu bylo od počátku výzkumů až po současnost nalezeno asi 2500 fragmentů reliéfů. Všechny dostupné fragmenty byly vyfotografovány a vektorizovány a byla vytvořena jejich databáze, jež usnadnila nalézt spoje a klasifikovat jednotlivé scény. Jelikož množství fragmentů reliéfů je

příliš velké pro jednu doktorskou práci, je zde prezentován jejich výběr. Tyto fragmenty zahrnují různá témata, jež byla kdysi vyobrazena v králově zádušním chrámu a odkazovala na jeho zádušní kult. Jejich klasifikace se řídila prací Andrzeje Ćwieka (2003). Většina fragmentů obsahuje části obvyklých scén, včetně krále ve společnosti bohů, udílení života *ꜥnḫ*, oslavy svátku *sed*, personifikací zádušních statků, atp. Byla však identifikována rovněž některá neobvyklá témata, jako např. scény odkazující na cizí země, či dokonce jedinečné vyobrazení legendy o zrození božského krále, jež nemá dosud ve Staré říši paralelu.

Poslední, pátá kapitola obsahuje shrnutí a diskusi ohledně pyramidového komplexu a jeho výzdobného programu. Zároveň jsou zde představeny další možnosti rozvoje zvoleného tématu a plány autora pro nadcházející období.

Abstract

The present thesis aims to publish pyramid complex of King Djedkare and its decorative program for the first time. The rule of King Djedkare was very significant and many important changes happened in the Egyptian state during his time. He is known to have reorganized the royal mortuary cults of his predecessors in Abusir; the remains of the papyrus archives discovered in three mortuary temples in Abusir are to a great extent related to this reorganization, as most of the preserved papyrus fragments come from the time of this king. Besides the other available evidence from his reign, numerous finds were discovered in the king's pyramid complex, which have, however, not been published until now. These include fragments of relief decoration and the present study thus can help us better understand and interpret the development of royal relief at the end of the Fifth Dynasty.

The thesis is divided into five chapters, the first chapter provides a guideline to the thesis and its catalogue, and presents an up to date state of research on the decoration of the royal mortuary complexes of the Old Kingdom. Another section in this chapter is devoted to the methods that the author followed during his documentation of the relief fragments from the pyramid complex of Djedkare. The reign of King Djedkare is discussed in the second chapter within the context of the Fifth Dynasty as a whole. An overview of the Fifth Dynasty kings and brief characteristics of their rules is presented first. Djedkare's names and reign is discussed in more detail within the frame of the political, social and religious changes which occurred in the mid Old Kingdom. In addition, the chapter provides an overview on the family of the king, and its possible historically attested members.

The main focus of the thesis is the pyramid complex of the king and its decorative program. The architecture of the monument is the subject of the third chapter. First, a detailed overview of the previous archaeological missions is given, and a description of the various parts of the pyramid complex follows. Besides information from the previously published works (especially Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977), the partial results of the current Egyptian archaeological mission have been included in this chapter. This recent work has helped to correct some of the earlier, inaccurate plans of the monument's architectural features, especially inside the pyramid. This new documentation could only be done for a small part of the pyramid complex and its full documentation will require many additional seasons.

The fragments of relief decoration are discussed in the fourth chapter. Around 2500 relief fragments were uncovered in the funerary temple of the king since the start of its

exploration until today. All the accessible fragments were photographed and vectoried, and a database of fragments was created, which makes it easier to find matches and classify the types of scenes. Since the very high number of relief fragments reaches far beyond the scope of a PhD thesis, a selection of the fragments is presented here. These fragments cover the various themes once present in the king's funerary temple, which show the royal cult of the king. The classification of the scenes follows the work of Andrzej Ćwiek (2003). In most of the relief fragments, the usual themes can be found, including the king in actions with gods; receiving *ꜥnḫ*, king during the *sed*-festival, personifications of funerary domains, etc. Some unusual themes were identified too, as for instance scenes referring to foreign countries, and even a unique theme of a birth-legend of the divine king, which does not have any parallel in the Old Kingdom thus far.

The fifth chapter offers a summary and conclusion of the thesis, which discusses the pyramid complex and its decorative program. In addition, the future prospects of this work and plans for the coming years are presented.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgment ……. 11

Chapter I: Introduction ……. 13

I.1 Objectives of the Research and Structure of the Thesis ……. 14

I.2 Methods of Research ……..... 16

I.3 The State of Research on the Decoration of the Royal ……..……..……... 19
Mortuary Complexes of the Old Kingdom

I.3.1 Valley Temples ……. 25

I.3.2 Causeways ……. 27

I.3.3 Mortuary Temples ……. 30

I.3.4 North Chapel evidence ……... 34

Chapter II: Position of Djedkare in the Fifth Dynasty ……..…….. 36

II.1 The Fifth Dynasty ……...……... 36

II.2 Djedkare, His Reign and Family ……....……... 45

II.2.1 The Reign of King Djedkare ……...……..... 45

II.2.1.1 The Names of King Djedkare ……... 46

II.2.1.2 The Rule of Djedkare ….……...……... 48

II.2.2 The Family of King Djedkare ……...……... 54

II.2.2.1 King's Parentage ……...……... 54

II.2.2.2 King's Wife / King's Mother? ……...……..... 56

II.2.2.3 King's Sons and Daughters of His Body ……...…….. 58

II.2.2.4 Other King's Sons and Daughters …….…….... 62

Chapter III: The Pyramid Complex of Djedkare ……...……...……... 64

III.1 Reused Blocks from Djedkare's Pyramid Complex ……...…….. 64

III.2 History of Archaeological Research and Exploration of Djedkare's …… 66
Pyramid Complex

III.3 Architecture of Djedkare's Pyramid Complex ……...……...…... 70

III.3.1 The Pyramid ……...…….……... 71

III.3.1.1 The Superstructure ……...……... 71

III.3.1.2 The Substructure ……....……... 72

III.3.2 The Mortuary Temple ……...……...…….... 78
III.3.3 The Causeway ……...…...……..... 87
III.3.4 The Valley Temple ……...……... 87

Chapter IV: The Decorative Program of the Pyramid Complex of Djedkare ……... 88
IV.1 Decorative Program of the Valley Temple ……...……..... 88
IV.2 Decorative Program of the Causeway ……...…….…... 88
IV.3 Decorative Program of the Funerary Temple ……...……. 89
IV.3.1 Royal Titulary ……...……... 90
IV.3.2 Royal Scenes ……...…….……..……... 101
IV.3.3 *Sed*-Festival ……...……...……... 121
IV.3.4 Birth-Legend ……...……..…… 131
IV.3.5 Giving Life ……...…….…… 140
IV.3.6 Royal Triumph ……...……...……..... 151
IV.3.7 Processions of Deities ……...……. 158
IV.3.8 Funerary Domains ……...…….…… 202
IV.3.9 Queen's Titles ……...……..... 258

Chapter V: Conclusions ……...…….……..……... 264

List of Abbreviations ……...…….....……... 270

Bibliography ……...……..... 272

Plates ……...……..……... 315

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to the members of the Czech Institute of Egyptology, many of whom were supporting me during the writing of this thesis. First of all, my thanks go to Prof. Miroslav Verner and Prof. Miroslav Bárta for their guidance and advice, and for the many discussions we had over the subject of this thesis.

Thanks also belong to Dr. Vivienne G. Callender, Prof. Peter Jánosi, Dr. Andrzej Ćwiek who were always ready to consult with me the problematic relief fragments. Their experience was invaluable and I appreciate the stimulating discussions with these renown scholars.

My work would never be possible without the help and support of my colleagues from the Ministry of Antiquities. I am grateful to Mohamed Badr, Nagat Yaakoub, Khaled Mahmoud and Osama Hamed for their enormous help and patience during my documentation work in the storerooms of the Supreme Council of Antiquities at Atfih, Saqqara and Giza. Special thanks go to all the members of the Saqqara Inspectorate, especially the late Kamal Wahid, Sabry Farag, Mohamed Youssef, Ragab Turky and Dr. Hany El Tayeb. Many thanks go to Eng. Vladimír Brůna and Eng. Zdeněk Marek for their assistance in the documentation of the pyramid complex of King Djedkare with modern methods and processing this data.

I am indebted to Prof. Ola el-Aguizy for her kind assistance in my search for Ahmed Fakhry's archive, and to Prof. Ann Macy Roth and Prof. Patricia Piacentini for sharing with me the photographs related to the earlier excavations in Djedkare's pyramid complex.

I would like here to express my gratitude to Dr. Zahi Hawass for allowing me to publish here photographs from his excavation of the Pyramid Lepsius no. 29. My thanks also go to Dr. Vassil Dobrev for his support and inspiration, and for kindly providing me with access to the fragments uncovered by the IFAO Mission. I appreciate the help of Prof. Philippe Collombert, director of the French Archaeological Mission at South Saqqara, and Audran Labrousse, former director of the French Mission for shared with me the unpublished evidence from the pyramid complex of Pepy I and for taking me to an exciting excursion to the storerooms of the French Mission at Saqqara.

I also would like to thank my best friends and dear colleagues Dr. Mohamed Ismail Khaled, Dr. Ramadan Hussein, Mohamed El-Attar, Nashwa Gaber and Sahar Mabrouk.

Thanks also belong to the late Dr. Nicole Alexanian and the photographer Ahmed Amin for their assistance during some of the documentation work, and for photographing some of the

finds in the Giza storeroom. I am also indebted to Sandro Vannini for friendship and photographing for me some of the blocks *in situ* in the pyramid complex of the king.

Many thanks go to the Czech government for providing me with a scholarship during the initial part of my study in Prague, and to the members of the Czech Institute of Egyptology for accepting me as one of them. My special thanks go to Dr. Filip Coppens, Doc. Jiří Janák and Doc. Jana Mynářová for their friendship and support, numerous coffee discussions and football matches. My heartfelt thanks go to my family and my wife Hana for their endless support and patience.

Last but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Angela Murock Hussein for correcting my English.

The work on this thesis was supported by the Grant of the Charles University in Prague (2010–2013, GA UK 51910) and by the stipendium for young scholars of the Hans-Goedicke-Foundation (2014).

Chapter I
Introduction

The reign of King Djedkare is one of the key eras in the Fifth Dynasty history, when the socio-economic development from the earlier rules of the dynasty resulted in significant administrative reforms as well as important religious changes. The reign of Djedkare is a broad subject for discussion because its many aspects deserve to be studied in detail.[1] The present thesis concentrates on the funerary monument of the king and its relief decoration.

The pyramid complex of King Djedkare in South Saqqara and its significance in the development of Old Kingdom royal monuments have been discussed by many scholars (among others Fakhry 1961-b, 180–181; Stadelmann 1997, 180–184; Lehner 1997, 153–154; Verner 2002, 324–332; Verner 2014, 178–181). It has been noticed that, in many ways, the architecture of the pyramid complex followed the pattern used by the earlier kings at Abusir. For instance, we see here the last example of the inclination of the descending corridor into the pyramid's substructure. There is, however, also some degree of innovation. The two massive structures (proto-pylons) in the eastern part of the funerary temple – of which only the southern one is archaeologically attested thus far – are especially interesting in this respect and no suitable interpretation has been yet presented.

Besides the activities of John Perring, Ludwig Borchardt and Auguste Mariette in the 19th century, the most extensive exploration of the pyramid complex of Djedkare was by the Egyptian mission headed by Abdel Salam Hussein (Drioton 1947, 520–521) and Ahmad Fakhry (Fakhry 1959, 10, 30–31), and later in 1980s by Mahmoud Abdel Razek (Leclant 1982, 67[q]) and Salah el-Nagar (El-Naggar 1999, 102). In 2001–2002, two short seasons of survey were carried out, the first season from April 2nd until April 26th 2001, the second season from 1st of April until 28th of April 2002. The work was undertaken by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (IFAO), headed by Bernard Mathieu (Mathieu 2001, 545–546, no. 22; Mathieu 2002, 527, no. 21).

However, the results of the archaeological work by the Egyptian missions have never been fully published. No precise archaeological plan is available and therefore, most of the

[1] Several PhD students of Egyptology currently concentrate on the reign of King Djedkare, the most important ones include: a prosopography of the officials associated with the reign of Djedkare is under preparation by Oliver Gauert (Philipps-Universität Marburg), and recent discoveries associated with the reign of Djedkare are studied by Aurore Ciavatti (Paris-Sorbonne University)

discussions on the king's monument are based on the plans and measurements of Vito Maragioglio and Celeste Rinaldi, published in the 8th volume of their *L'architettura delle piramidi menfite* in 1977. Unfortunately, these plans are inaccurate in many details. The French mission documented the burial apartments of the king, as well as of the traces of the north chapel, which is under preparation for publication by Audran Labrousse (personal communication).

It is important to mention that during the above-mentioned archaeological campaigns, only a part of the pyramid complex was explored, including the pyramid's substructure and a large part of the funerary temple. Other parts of the complex have never been investigated, including the valley temple, the causeway, some parts of the funerary temple (pl. 1). Furthermore, the pyramid itself has never been cleaned and documented from the outside.

In addition to the architecture of the pyramid complex, numerous finds were uncovered during the excavations. More than 2500 relief fragments, dozens of fragments of statues, and many pottery finds were collected by the excavators since the 1940s. These objects have been deposited in the storerooms of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA), today the Ministry of Antiquities (MA), and in the storerooms of the French mission at Saqqara. They have been unavailable to the scientific community for more than seven decades. Only a few fragments were published by Mohamed Moursi (1987), while some others were mentioned in publications, without photographs or drawings (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 160–167).

In 2009, the author of this thesis obtained permission from the SCA to document and publish the relief fragments from the pyramid complex of Djedkare at South Saqqara from the previous Egyptian excavations. In 2011, he was granted access to the relief fragments collected by the French mission. In addition, since 2010, he re-opened the Egyptian mission at the site. The aim of the author is to prepare a detailed publication of the material from Djedkare's pyramid complex. This includes a detailed documentation, classification and analysis of the relief fragments and other finds, as well as detailed documentation of the architecture of the monument, using both traditional and modern methods.

I.1 Objectives of the Research and Structure of the Thesis

As mentioned above, the reign of King Djedkare remains a fruitful subject for research. The king's reign is discussed in *Chapter II* within the context of the Fifth Dynasty as a whole. There is not much direct historical evidence associated with this king. Little can be found in the

royal annals and a few finds with the king's name are known from Egypt itself and the areas outside its borders. Recent French excavations in Ayn Sokhna and Gebel el-Jarf have revealed new evidence connected with the reign of Djedkare. However, these have not yet been published. Djedkare's reign is discussed here within the framework of the political, social and religious changes during the middle of the Old Kingdom. In addition, the chapter provides an overview on the family of the king, and its possible historically attested members (*Chapter II.2.2*).

The main focus of the thesis is, however, the pyramid complex of the king. The architecture of the monument is the subject of *Chapter III*. First, a detailed overview of the previous archaeological missions is given. A description of the various parts of the pyramid complex follows. Besides information from the previously published works (especially Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977), the partial results of the current Egyptian archaeological mission have been included in this chapter (especially in *Chapter III.3*). This recent work has helped to correct some of the earlier, inaccurate plans of the monument's architectural features, especially inside the pyramid. This new documentation could only be done for a small part of the pyramid complex and its full documentation will require many additional seasons.

The major subject of this thesis is the fragments of relief decoration, discussed in *Chapter IV*. As mentioned above, around 2500 relief fragments were uncovered in the funerary temple of the king since the start of its exploration until today. The majority of these were found by the Egyptian missions in 1940s and 1950s, a smaller portion in the 1980s, and others were uncovered by the French mission in 2001–2002. In addition, several hundreds of fragments were discovered by the re-opened Egyptian mission, which has been working in the pyramid complex since 2010. All the accessible fragments were photographed and vectorised, and a database of fragments was created, which makes it easier to find matches and classify the types of scenes (see more details in *Chapter I.2* below).

No original documentation from the previous excavations has yet available to the author. Documents and photographs related to the missions of Abdel Salam Hussein and Ahmad Fakhry, which were recorded by Alexandre Varille and Klaus Baer, are kept in the archives of the University of Milan (A. Varille) and the Oriental Institute in Chicago (A. Fakhry/K. Baer). Attempts to get access to the latter have been so far unsuccessful. The former archive was briefly presented by Patricia Piacentini at the Abusir and Saqqara conference in 2015, and she kindly provided the author of this thesis with some of the documentation. The photographs show the context of the discovery of some of the relief blocks in the funerary temple of the king. Such photographs might help the author in the future in his attempts to

reconstruct the themes of the relief decoration, in the particular areas and rooms of the king's funerary temple. The selection of photographs from Milan, moreover, includes evidence of some relief fragments, which the author has not been able to locate in the storerooms of the SCA.

Since the very high number of relief fragments reaches far beyond the scope of a PhD thesis, a selection of the fragments is presented here, the author selected 166 fragments, which some can be joined together. These fragments cover the various themes once present in the king's funerary temple, which show the royal cult of the king. The classification of the scenes follows the work of Andrzej Ćwiek (2003). In most of the relief fragments, the usual themes can be found, including the king in actions with gods; receiving ʿnḫ, king during the *sed*-festival, personifications of funerary domains, etc. Some unusual themes were identified too, as for instance scenes referring to foreign countries, and even a unique theme of a birth-legend of the divine king (*Chapter IV.3.4*), which does not have any parallel in the Old Kingdom thus far.

Chapter V offers a summary and conclusion of the thesis, which discusses the pyramid complex and its decorative program. In addition, the future prospects of this work and plans for the coming years are presented.

The present thesis, includes the preliminary results of the documentation of the pyramid complex, and a selection of the relief fragments. It constitutes a solid basis for future work. The aim will be to prepare a complete publication of the pyramid complex of King Djedkare, including both its architecture and its decorative program, giving a much more complete overview of the preserved relief fragments as well as other decorative elements (statues etc.), which were found in the monument.

I.2 Methods of Research

During work on this thesis, the author faced many difficulties. In 2008, he obtained permission from the Supreme Council of Antiquities to document and publish the finds from the previous Egyptian expeditions in Djedkare's pyramid complex. The finds were, however, not always easy to trace and document. More detailed documentation needs to be done in the future.

The fragments of reliefs that have been collected from the pyramid complex of King Djedkare, and the associated anonymous "queen's" pyramid, were stored during the work of

A. Hussein in 1945 in a storeroom directly to the south of the mortuary temple of the king. Later, A. Fakhry transported the fragments found both by A. Hussein and by himself to Giza, to be stored in the rock cut tombs located to the south of the causeway of the pyramid of Khafre, near the Cairo University rest house where he was staying. In addition, A. Fakhry numbered the fragments but did not mark which ones were found by A. Hussein and which ones by him. Only some of the fragments bear dates referring to the year 1945 (pl. 2), which would have indicated that they came from A. Hussein's excavations.

In 1961 the Antiquities Service appointed a committee, comprised of Abd el-Hamid Zayed, Hishmat Messiha and Ahmed El Sawy, to make an inventory of the objects from the Giza tombs used by A. Fakhry as storerooms. The committee placed all the fragments found by A. Hussein and A. Fakhry into boxes, mixing fragments from the pyramid complex of Djedkare and those from Snofru's Bent Pyramid. Some of these boxes were then moved to the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, while other boxes remained in Giza. The latter were re-discovered by the Giza inspectors after the unrest of January 2011, when looters broke into the rock cut tombs in Giza where some boxes were marked by the 1961 committee as coming from el-Shawaf pyramid and the temple of the queen. Later in 2011, these boxes were transported to the central storeroom in Giza where the author documented the relief fragments later that same year.

In 2007, the SCA started a project to rearrange the basement of the Egyptian Museum, and some objects from the basement were sent to other storerooms. Some boxes with fragments from Djedkare's pyramid complex were transported from the museum to the magazine at Atfih, where the author documented these fragments in 2010–2011.

In the meantime, the author discovered that some boxes were still located in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. A request to the SCA was submitted in 2012 to move the boxes to one of the magazines at Saqqara. The boxes were transported to Storeroom no. 1, where the author documented the fragments in the same year.

The author's aim is to move all the fragments from Djedkare's pyramid complex and the associated anonymous "queen's" complex from Giza and Atfih storerooms back to Saqqara. Permission to move the fragments was granted by the Ministry of Antiquities in early 2016, and is planned for the near future. This will not only bring the fragments to a single location near their original provenance but will also make their documentation for the future publication easier. For instance, possible joins could not be verified when the fragments were stored in different places.

Besides the work of the Egyptian mission, the French mission at Saqqara allowed the author to include in his study the fragments of reliefs, which were uncovered by the IFAO in 2001 and 2002. These fragments were kept at the Tabbet el-Guesh site, and were moved to the storeroom near Djedkare's pyramid complex in 2015. Hundreds of fragments have been uncovered during the past archaeological seasons of the renewed Egyptian mission, and these are kept in the same storeroom.

The documentation by the author of the contents of the various storerooms was restricted by time as well as space conditions. Thus, the author took working photographs which are suitable for the basic description and study of the fragments but are not suitable for final publication. Further photographic documentation by a professional photographer will be needed in the future.

The line drawings of the fragments were done by the author, on the basis of the available photographs, using Adobe Illustrator. In many cases, it was not possible to check the drawings from the individual fragments themselves, because of the present storage of many fragments in different locations makes this difficult. For the final publication of course, all the drawing will be counter-checked with the fragments.

The catalogue (*Chapter IV*) is based on a database of finds from Djedkare's pyramid complex, which was created for various types of evidence and is used also for finds from the new excavations. Each entry in the catalogue consists of a header and a description.

The header contains the basic information about each fragment, and is designed to suit not only the present thesis but also future work, which will include a larger variety of evidence. First of all, the header mentions the material, which in all the case of all the selected fragments is limestone. Fragments of red granite and Egyptian alabaster were not included in this thesis. In addition, the type of relief is specified in the header.

The header also includes the excavation number given to the fragments by A. Fakhry. Since the fragments are kept in three different storerooms, the header includes an entry for the registration number of the fragments in the respective storerooms. However, none of the fragments have been registered yet. The committee number is referring to the above mentioned committee of 1961. The box number refers to the boxes in which the committee stored the fragments and numbered them. The fragments are still kept in these boxes.

The header also contains the date of the discovery, current location of the fragment, its size, the name of the excavator who found it, and the provenance of the fragment. Bibliographical references are given for fragments that have been discussed previously. Fragments which obviously belong together are discussed as one entry.

The arrangement of the fragments under each theme followed the excavation number given to them by A. Fakhry, however, in both themes processions of deities (*Chapter IV.3.7*) and funerary domains (*Chapter IV.3.8*) a direction arrangement was used also.

The description of each entry gives the basic information concerning the preserved parts of the relief and colors, possible identification of the scene, and references to parallels from other Old Kingdom pyramid complexes and tombs. The entries are arranged into groups according to the theme of the reliefs, and each theme comprises the individual relevant entries, after which follows a detailed discussion of each theme. The fragments in each theme are arranged according to their excavation numbers.

The catalogue also includes plates, where both the photographs and the line drawings of each entry are presented. In some cases, suggested reconstructions of scenes in red are included in the plates, as well as some parallels from other pyramid complexes. The scale of the photographs and the drawings of the fragments were reduced to fit in the plates. Scales 1:2, 1:2.5, 1:4, 1:5 and sometimes 1:10 were deemed the most suitable scales for each fragment. A few fragments are shown 1:1 due to their small size.

Despite the large number of preserved fragments of relief decoration from Djedkare's pyramid complex, the decorative program remains too fragmentary and no complete scenes can be reconstructed thus far. The present thesis constitutes the first step of a long-term research project, which aims to present all the finds from Djedkare's pyramid complex to scholars.

I.3 State of Research on the Decoration of the Royal Mortuary Complexes of the Old Kingdom

Royal pyramid complexes undoubtedly constitute one of the prominent subjects of study in Egyptology. It is these royal monuments, which have attracted significant attention and have been studied continuously since the times of the first travelers and archaeological explorers. The ongoing excavations in the pyramid fields of the Old and Middle Kingdoms still provide us with valuable new material, information, and evidence concerning this subject. In spite of the large amount of information discovered, our knowledge about the pyramid complexes, either their construction methods or the function of some of the rituals that were practiced within the complexes, are still far from being clear (Ricke 1944; Ricke 1950; Arnold 1977; Allan 1994, 5–28; O'Connor 1999, 135–144; Verner et al. 2006, 172–184; Lehner 1997, 202–239; Verner 2002, 62–101). Thus, there is need for more detailed studies on pyramid complexes

of the Old Kingdom, their architectural elements, and their decorative programs. In the following pages the principal attention will be paid to the survey of known facts and data concerning the decoration of individual pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom.

Fascination with ancient Egyptian pyramids has a very long history, reaching as far back as antiquity. Besides the ancient Egyptians themselves who showed interest in their monuments (especially in the New Kingdom as is attested by visitors' graffiti and restoration activities, for instance see Navrátilová 2007). Greek authors included the pyramids in their works, with many historically inaccurate stories associated with these monuments. Similarly, Arab scholars (al-Baghdadi 1965) in the Medieval Age provided descriptions and accounts of the pyramids. They were followed later by many European travelers, who came to Egypt to see and admire the wonders of the world. In many cases, pyramids were ascribed various functions, such as granaries, an idea first suggested by the 5th-century Latin writers Julius Honorius and Rufinus (for detailed discussions and valuable references on this topic see Lehner 1997, 38–69).

A more scientific approach was taken, starting in the 19th century and since then, the Egyptian pyramids have been studied continuously. The methods and aims were dictated by the times. Early scholars concentrated on basic descriptions and lists of monuments, while later Egyptologists explored individual pyramid complexes in more detail (LD I–II).

There are several major obstacles that stand between us and a better understanding of the nature, form, and function of the pyramid complexes. The most important is the fact that many of the complexes are, to a great extent, in a bad state of preservation. Not only have the pyramids lost some of their ancient glory, their chambers, corridors, and walls have often disappeared, but so have their associated temples and causeways, as well. For example, less than 10 % of the complex of King Sahure is preserved. Moreover, the pyramid complexes have been used and dismantled since antiquity (Goedicke 1971).

In addition, many architectural elements and large parts of the decoration of the pyramid complexes were moved from their original contexts during the past excavations, either to museums all over the world, or for security reasons to the storerooms of the SCA. In many cases, none or only a very small amount of documentation of the original archaeological circumstances is available to us today. Thus, our understanding of these elements is limited.

Another problem when dealing with the pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom is that many of these monuments were never fully excavated, although the excavations started more than a century ago. Even sites which have been excavated before, can today be re-explored with modern approach and methods to bring new data and valuable information to light. For example, in Giza, a new satellite pyramid of Khufu was found not long ago (Hawass 1996), or

in Abusir, the recently discovered limestone decorated blocks from the causeway of King Sahure have given scholars valuable information about the king's family and the economy of his time (Hawass, Verner 1996; El Awady 2009; Khaled 2008-a).

In addition, the materials from the past excavations have not always been properly published. Therefore, after decades of archaeological work, some finds and evidence remain inaccessible to scholars, and therefore we still cannot discuss, compare or analyse materials from many pyramid complexes. This thesis represents a good example of how much we need to reconsider old documentation and results of previous studies.

Since this thesis deals particularly with the decorative program of Djedkare-Isesi's pyramid complex, before discussing in details the reliefs themselves, one must start with a brief survey on the royal reliefs from the Old Kingdom royal mortuary complexes. Scholars interested in this topic face many difficulties and challenges because our understanding of the decorative programs of the royal pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom is very dependent on their state of preservation and on the state of exploration and availability of the material. As mentioned above, many of the pyramid complexes were explored only partially, and some have been unpublished until now.

Not much decoration was found in the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet, where it consisted of six panels placed in the substructure of the Step Pyramid and the so-called South Tomb (Firth, Quibell 1935, 33–34, 59–60, pls. 15–17, 40–42; Lauer 1957, 1–16; Friedman 1995, 1–42; Goedicke 1997, 33–48).

The first large group of Old Kingdom royal reliefs were found in the statue cult temple of the Bent Pyramid complex of Snofru at Dahshur, including a long procession of personifications of funerary estates (Fakhry 1959; Fakhry 1961-a). These reliefs were discovered and published decades after the publication of the most complete Old Kingdom royal reliefs, from the complexes of Sahure and Pepy II, but the exploration of the complex was never fully completed. Thus, its re-examination became an urgent need to researchers. As a result, the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo (DAI) has started to re-study the reliefs found by A. Fakhry. Hopefully, future studies of the entire body of material will add to our knowledge of the subject (Alexanian 2014-a, 10–15; Alexanian 2015, 27–30). Moreover, the ongoing exploration of the Bent Pyramid complex has brought to light more fragments of highly important relief decoration, which will provide us with further information about this monument (Alexanian, Bebermeier, Blaschta 2012, 1–30 (with further references); Alexanian 2013, 31–42; Alexanian 2014-b, 15–19; Alexanian, Bebermeier, Blaschta, Ramisch, Schütt,

Seidlmayer 2015, 54, pl. III; Alexanian, Blaschta, Kahlbacher, Nerlich, Seidlmayer 2015, 72–73, pls. III–V; Alexanian, Arnold, Blaschta, Pinke, Seidlmayer 2015, 85, pl. II-b).

Not much has survived of the reliefs from the other Fourth Dynasty pyramid complexes. Several fragments of relief decoration were found in the area of Khufu's mortuary complex at Giza, but none of them *in situ*. More blocks were reused in the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht and some blocks seem to have been reused in Wenis's pyramid (Youssef 2011, 820–822, pls. 43–45; Verner 2014, 184). These fragments, however, do not allow us to draw a precise picture of the development of the royal decorative program under Khufu's reign. Still, we can still recognize scenes showing the king celebrating the *sed*-festival (Lauer 1949, pl. 2; Hassan 1960, 23–24, pl. 6b; Goedicke 1971, 29–47), and a procession of personifications of nomes and funerary estates (Goedicke 1971, 16–19). Moreover, scenes of boats, offering bearers and cattle, and other scenes, perhaps were part of the relief decoration of Khufu's complex (Goedicke 1971, 11–13; Do. Arnold 1999-b, 224; Do. Arnold 1999-c, 224–225; Do. Arnold 1999-d, 226–227; Do. Arnold 1999-e, 227–228; Do. Arnold 1999-f, 228–229; Flentye 2011-a, 337–361; Flentye 2011-b, 77–84; Jánosi 2015, 21–23).

In recent years, modern methods have been increasingly employed in the exploration of the Fourth Dynasty monuments. In 2015, the SCA announced the launch of an Egyptian-International Project, using non-invasive and non-destructive surveying techniques for scanning the Egyptian Pyramids under the title "ScanPyramids". The project is being conducted by a consortium composed of the SCA, the Faculty of Engineering at Cairo University, and the Heritage Innovation and Preservation Institute (HIP), France. This project aims to scan the Bent and the Red Pyramids of Snofru and the Great Pyramid of Khufu, by using a wide spectrum of scientific methods composed of infrared and modulated thermography. In the meantime, the project is using muons detection, photogrammetry, and lasers to study the pyramids (2015, http://www.scanpyramids.org). The project builds on earlier projects of a similar nature carried out in the 1960s'(see Alvarez et al. 1970, 832–839). The final results of the project is not yet available, however, the primary and unpublished results from the pyramid complex of Khufu show differences in temperatures between some of the blocks of the lower course of the eastern face of the pyramid. The researchers have announced that the scanning discovered a cavity under the king's funerary temple (2015, http://www.scanpyramids.org)

Some more information concerning the pyramid of Khufu might be revealed in textual sources. During the campaign of 2013 the joint French mission, Université Paris-Sorbonne and the IFAO working in Wadi El Jarf discovered a collection of papyri dating to the end of Khufu's reign. The papyri can be divided into two groups. A large part represents accounts of daily and

monthly deliveries of food to officials. The other part is a diary of a person called Merer and it refers to the transportation of limestone blocks from Tura to the construction site of King Khufu's pyramid complex in Giza (Tallet 2013, 1015–1024; Tallet 2014, 38–49). This unique source will hopefully make us better able to understand the procedures of the construction of Khufu's monument.

Khafre's mortuary complex contained less relief decoration than Khufu's (see for instance Do. Arnold 1999g, 265–267; Junker 1951, 38–39, fig. 17, pl. 16a), but it housed numerous statues and other architectural elements (Hölscher 1912, 17, figs. 7–8; Spiekermann 2013, 112–115). One relief depicting captives was perhaps from the mortuary temple of Khafre (Hölscher 1912, 110, figs. 162–163; Do. Arnold 1999-g, 265–2267; Flentye 2011-b, 87). Two architraves with the name of Khafre were found reused in the pyramid of Amenemhat I at List (Goedicke 1971, 23–24; Arnold 1999, 263–264; Jánosi 2015, 17–18).

For the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, reliefs in the mortuary complexes are more often attested. According to Dorothea Arnold's calculations, the relief decoration in Sahure's funerary complex includes at least 370 m of running wall reliefs (Do. Arnold 1999-a, 98). This number should be, however, increased, due to the recent discovery of the decorated blocks from Sahure's causeway (Hawass, Verner 1996; El Awady 2009; Khaled 2008-a). Reliefs found in Sahure's and Niuserre's pyramid complexes are partly published (Borchardt 1907; Borchardt 1910; Borchardt 1913; Hawass, Verner 1996; El Awady 2009; Khaled 2008-a). Both of these complexes are, however, only partially explored. Thus, future work, especially on the causeway of Sahure, will hopefully add new material to the study of the royal relief program in the Old Kingdom. Additional evidence can be drawn from the sun temple of Niuserre, but it was a specific type of monument with a different decorative program than those for the pyramid complexes (Bissing 1905; Bissing, Kees 1922; Bissing, Kees 1923; Bissing, Kees 1928; Nuzzolo 2007-a; Nuzzolo 2007-b; Nuzzolo 2011; Nuzzolo 2015, 366–392). While Neferirkare's and Neferefre's pyramid complexes did not contain reliefs (both complexes were built of mudbricks), evidence from the pyramid complexes of Menkauhor and Djedkare have not yet been published. Exploration and documentation of Djedkare's pyramid complex was reinitiated by the author of this thesis in 2010. Besides the basic documentation of this funerary complex and the remains of its decoration, modern methods of documentation are involved. This work includes 3D scanning of the outside and inside the pyramid, kite photography, satellite images, etc. (see *Chapter III.2,* p. 70). The pyramid complex of Wenis provides a useful comparison for the earlier reliefs, showing that the same types of themes were repeated on the monuments of different kings. The publications of the reliefs and their reconstructions,

however, are rudimentary and they are not sufficient to understand the full relief program of the complex (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977; Labrousse, Moussa 1996; Labrousse, Moussa 2002).

The Sixth Dynasty pyramid complexes also possess a very limited amount of material. Not many relief fragments have survived from the monument of Teti (Lauer, Leclant 1972). The pyramid complex of Pepy I has been explored for many years by the French mission MAFS, but the final publication has not yet appeared (it is under preparation by A. Labrousse). However, a few reliefs have been published individually (Leclant 1974, 182–184, figs. 25–27; Lauer 1979, 141–142, pl. 3b; Leclant 1979, pl. 17, fig. 25; Leclant 1980). Merenre's pyramid complex is still largely unexcavated, and only a very small part of its funerary temple has been uncovered (Lauer 1972, 586–592; Lauer 1973, 330–332; Leclant 1982, 59–60). Therefore, our knowledge of the royal relief programs during the Sixth Dynasty is based mostly on the mortuary complex of Pepy II at South Saqqara (Jéquier 1938; Jéquier 1940). This is, moreover, the only Old Kingdom pyramid complex, where many of the reliefs are restored *in situ*. This publication is perhaps the most complete of the available works on the subject. Many of the scenes were, however, reconstructed on the basis of a few small fragments and therefore these reconstructions are not entirely reliable (see for instance Jéquier 1938, pls. 18, 36, 41; Ćwiek 2003, 216–217).

As shown above, our knowledge of the decorative program of the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes is based on a few incompletely explored examples. Thus our knowledge is rather limited. Despite this fact, several valuable studies have appeared in recent years, which have attempted to summarize and compare the scenes from the different pyramid complexes. D. Stockfisch's dissertation on the decoration of the royal funerary complexes (Stockfisch 2003) produced an overview of the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes and a classification of the preserved scenes. It is a very useful study, including the catalogue of the scenes, which is very useful for anyone studying the Old Kingdom reliefs, even though the reproduction quality is not always very good (especially with larger scenes).

Another useful dissertation on the subject appeared in 2003 by A. Ćwiek, who focused not only on the scenes themselves, but also on the development of the themes over the course of the Old Kingdom. He provided a useful classification of the themes and scenes, which is mostly followed in the present thesis. In my opinion, both the above-mentioned works are among the best approaches to the subject of the Old Kingdom royal relief decoration program.

Despite the late date of the reliefs (Middle Kingdom), a useful comparison to the subject has been provided by the 2008 dissertation of A. Oppenheim, dealing with the reliefs from the

pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur. In addition, the relief decoration of the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht (Jánosi 2015) represents another valuable tool to understand many of the Old Kingdom royal reliefs. Many of the Old Kingdom themes and motifs can be found among these later reliefs, which moreover constitute a connection between the Old Kingdom scenes, and the decoration of the Middle and New Kingdoms and later royal as well as divine monuments. (The many and important relief fragments from the temple of Senwosret I are still unpublished. The documentation is in the Department of Egyptian Art of the MMA). The Middle and New Kingdom reliefs sometimes provide us with many useful parallels as they often contain similar motifs and themes to the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes but these are usually better preserved. In particular, the scenes from Deir el-Bahri and Luxor temples seem valuable in this respect (Lacau, Chevrier 1959; Naville 1895; Naville 1896; Naville 1901; Naville, Clarke 1908; Beaux, Karkowski, Majerus, Pollin 2012; Nelson 1981).

On the basis of the so-far published and accessible evidence, we can to some extent, reconstruct the motifs, which once decorated the individual parts of the pyramid complexes. As we have seen above, the purpose of this chapter is to present the state of the research on the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes and their relief decoration, rather than giving a detailed study about the evolution of these pyramid complexes and their decoration. Detailed and comprehensive studies were recently made by the above mentioned scholars (see also for instance Verner 2014 with earlier bibliography).

I.3.1 Valley Temples

The valley temple constituted the principal entryway into the pyramid complex from the Nile valley and was its starting component. In fact, it was the first structure proceeding from the east, from the Nile valley, as a real transitional link between the Nile valley and the sacred compound of the king.

Of the Old Kingdom valley temples, only a few examples have been explored. The valley temple of Khafre contained no reliefs, and we gain most of our information from the valley temples of Sahure, Wenis, Pepy II, and above all the valley temple of Snofru.

The latter cannot be considered a true valley temple but was perhaps connected with the *sed*-festival of the king and associated with the king's statues (see Stadelmann 2011). A relatively large part of its decoration has survived in fragments, and can be reconstructed. For example, we have large sections of a scene depicting a procession of personifications of estates, all of which are *ḥwt*-estates (Fakhry 1961-a, 17–58; Do. Arnold 1999-a, 84–86, figs. 49–50;

Do. Arnold 1999-d), a theme followed by later kings until the Middle Kingdom. Other relief fragments depicted Snofru embraced by different gods and goddesses (Fakhry 1961-a, 91–94, 126, 133, figs. 81, 141, 164). In addition, fragments with *sed*-festival scenes were found in Snofru's valley temple at South Dahshor (Fakhry 1961-a, 65–70, 73–80, 85–91, 107, figs. 43–47, 55–61, 68–80, 111, 112).

Other themes found in this monument show Snofru fowling with a net (Fakhry 1961-a, 110, figs. 117–118), inspecting cattle, and planting trees (Fakhry 1961-a, 180–85, 101, figs. 63, 65–67, 99–104), visiting sanctuaries (Fakhry 1961-a, 60–62, 71–73, 165 figs. 35–42, 48–54, 269–270), running with the Apis (Fakhry 1961-a, figs. 96–98), hitting the ball (Fakhry 1961-a, fig.149), stretching the cord (Fakhry 1961-a, figs. 90–95), and towing models of boats (Fakhry 1961-a, figs. 18, 79–83).

As already mentioned above, new fragments of reliefs which most likely came from this monument, have been recently found re-used in the New Kingdom transportation road by the German mission (Alexanian, Bebermeier, Blaschta 2012, 5–30; Alexanian 2014-b, 15; Alexanian, Bebermeier, Blaschta, Ramisch, Schütt, Seidlmayer 2015, 53, pl. II-b; Alexanian, Blaschta, Kahlbacher, Nerlich, Seidlmayer 2015, 68–73, pls. III–V; Alexanian, Arnold, Blaschta, Pinke, Seidlmayer 2015, 85, pl. II-b).

The valley temple of Sahure was explored by L. Borchardt, who collected and published a number of relief fragments. These show a procession of deities holding *wȝś*-scepters and *ꜥnḫ*-signs, together with a slaughtering scene in the bottom register (Borchardt 1913, 95–99, pl. 19), the king sitting on the throne inside a chapel wearing the *sed*-festival cloak (Borchardt 1913, 115, pl. 45–46), driving the four calves (Borchardt 1913, 115–116, pl. 47), the king as a sphinx/griffin slaying his enemies (Borchardt 1913, 83–84, pl. 8) and royal boats (Borchardt 1913, 84–86, pl. 9).

Additional information comes from the valley temple of Wenis in Saqqara. The relief fragments show the king during the *sed*-festival run (Labrousse, Moussa 1996, 71–72, doc. 10, fig. 47, pl. 10), the king rowing in a boat and boats depictions (Goedicke 1971, 86–94, 97–100) bowing officials (Labrousse, Moussa 1996, 76–77, doc. 20–22, fig. 57–59, pl. 11), captives (Labrousse, Moussa 1996, 97–98, doc. 57, fig. 98, pl. 15), and procession of deities (Labrousse, Moussa 1996, 73–75, 96–97, doc. 13–18, 56, figs. 50–55, 97, pls. 10–11, 15).

This overview shows that our information about the decoration of the valley temples from the Old Kingdom is very limited. Many of the so far identified scenes are attested only in very small fragments, especially in the case of Wenis. The study of the reliefs from the Old Kingdom valley temples will still require a detailed analysis of all the available materials and

evidence, but one can conclude with a degree of certainty that the themes depicted on the walls of the valley temples of the Old Kingdom allowed the kings to have a safe journey to the afterlife. The kings, by accomplishing their commitments (fowling with a net, inspecting cattle and planting trees, visiting sanctuaries, running of Apis, king slaying his enemies, etc.), received in return the eternal rule of the country and the blessing and acceptance of the deities (embracing, procession of deities, offerings through slaughtering), and thus the kings would be transformed into immortal gods (Ćwiek 2003, 325–343).

I.3.2 Causeways

A detailed account of the causeways has been presented recently (Reader 2004; El Awady 2009, 86–120). However, new evidence has been unearthed in recent excavations of the causeway of Snofru's Bent Pyramid complex at Dahshur. Thus the reliefs of the most complete causeways during the Old Kingdom will be discussed, since we need to illustrate a complete picture of royal relief program at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, and its impact on the royal reliefs at the end of the Old Kingdom and later in the Middle Kingdom.

The causeway of the Bent Pyramid at Dahshur is perhaps the second to be built by Snofru after the causeway of the Meidum's pyramid (Rowe 1931-a). As far as the causeway of the Bent Pyramid is concerned, only the upper end and the area where the causeway joins to the so-called valley temple had been excavated by A. Fakhry (Fakhry 1959, 36–39, fig. 1) and recently the DAI excavated the so-called lower causeway which connects the harbour and the so-called valley temple (Alexanian, Bebermeier, Blaschta 2012, 10–14). Several relief fragments were collected from a road built during the New Kingdom (Alexanian 2013; Alexanian 2014-b, 16–17). These fragments very likely originate from the so-called valley temple, since no decorated causeway existed at the Bent Pyramid.

The causeway of Sahure in Abusir can be considered the most important of all causeways during the Old Kingdom, due to the good state of preservation of its decoration. L. Borchardt, who did the first systematic excavation of the site between 1907–1908, discovered relief blocks in the lower part of the causeway where it joins with the valley temple. The reliefs show Sahure as a sphinx or griffin trampling his enemies, and also a scene that depicts deities leading foreign enemies (Borchardt 1913, 18–23, 79–83, pls. 5–8).

The special significance of this causeway is connected with the excavation of the SCA (Hawass, Verner, 1996; El Awady 2009) in the upper part of the causeway. Since 1994 this excavation has brought to light outstanding relief blocks from the inner sidewalls of the

causeway. Whereas the north wall depicts scenes of the dragging of the pyramidion, the funerary furniture and offerings, butchers, military exercises, the training of crews, procession of officials, royal boats, the arrival of expedition from Punt, Sahure celebrating the bringing of the and trees, rewarding the members of the Punt expedition, King Sahure fowling with clap nets, fishing in the marshes with a seine, a procession of funerary estates from Lower Egypt, and the king with his family and courtiers (Hawass, Verner 1996; Khaled 2008-a; El Awady 2008; El Awady 2009; El Awady 2010; El Awady 2011-a; El Awady 2011-b).

In addition, the Egyptian mission continues its excavations in the upper part of the north side of the causeway, where there is a large block still under the sand, perhaps depicting King Sahure enthroned facing the processions of funerary estates, which were depicted on several blocks found just to the east of it.

A large part of the causeway has yet to be excavated, especially the upper and middle parts of the south side, and the middle part of the north side (El Awady 2009, 118 footnote 819). It is possible that more blocks with reliefs will be discovered there.

Wenis's causeway has added informative iconographic evidence to our knowledge of royal reliefs from the Old Kingdom. The causeway is considered to be one of the longest causeways in the Old Kingdom, 720 m. long (Labrousse, Moussa 2002, 5, footnote 18). It was largely excavated by S. Hassan together with Z. Ghoneim (Hassan 1938; Hassan 1955) and A. M. Hussein (Hussein 1943). However, the most extensive excavation and publication of the reliefs were done by A. Labrousse and A. Moussa (Labrousse, Moussa 2002).

Recently, in 2005, the Egyptian Expedition of the SCA rediscovered a late period shaft tomb of Wedjahor from the Twenty Seventh Dynasty (Barsanti 1902, 209–212) in the middle of the causeway. During this research a decorated block from the original causeway was found. The relief consists of two registers, the upper one is almost destroyed, but we still can see, in both registers, traces of men leading animals. A photograph of this block was published by T. El Awady (El Awady 2009, 110 footnotes 749–750, fig. 65) who did not notice that the block was reused as a sarcophagus, and it has a hollow for a body hewn on one side (pl. 3a-b).

The reliefs on Wenis's causeway did not differ significantly from those of Sahure. They show the king as a griffin trampling a Libyan chief, a battle with Asiatics, a procession of captives and booty, boats with raised masts, Asiatics paying homage, boats bringing palm columns and cornices from Aswan, market scenes, goldsmiths, metal beaters, the production of metal vessels, wild animals and hunting in the desert, life and work in different seasons of the year, bringing in the herds, a procession of deities, officials, offering bearers, festive completion

of building works, female dancers, emaciated Bedouins, and a procession of funerary estates (Labrousse, Moussa 2002).

Recently A. D. Espinel published papers from J. Černý's diaries, now kept in the Griffith Institute in Oxford. In these papers, J. Černý recorded some fragments with relief decoration, perhaps during his visit to A. M. Hussein's excavation in the causeway of Wenis between 1941 and 1943. The reliefs show scenes of the officials with their titles, the transportation of the pyramidion in the presence of the king, the transportation of furniture, war scenes, and the arrival of a boat expedition from a foreign land (Espinel 2011, 50–70).

The last causeway to be discussed here is that of Pepy II from the Sixth Dynasty at South Saqqara. The causeway was excavated by G. Jéquier (Jéquier 1940, 8–17). The inner of the side limestone walls was decorated with reliefs, which resemble those of Sahure and Wenis. It included the king as a sphinx and a griffin devastating Asiatic and Libyan enemies, captives and booty, the king sitting on the throne and in front of him is a procession of deities and funerary estates (Jéquier 1940, pls. 12–28).

As we have seen from the above presented examples of the causeways from the Old Kingdom mortuary complexes, the relief decoration of the causeways followed a specific relief program. This was comprised of the same motifs and concepts as the scenes from the valley and funerary temples. Their purpose was to guarantee the king a safe journey to the afterlife. In addition, the reliefs of the causeway show scenes of the king's achievements during his lifetime, as well as daily life scenes, e.g. mark scenes, courtiers, and hunting in the desert.

The decoration pattern was arranged from the eastern part of the causeway towards the west. In the lower and central parts of the causeways were scenes showing the king as a sphinx or a griffin devastating his enemies, together with war scenes, captives and booty, the king fowling with clap nets, fishing in the marshes. Thus, we can see here scenes of processions of deities, the arrival of expedition boats from foreign lands and quarry missions, the completion of the king's funerary complex by placing the pyramidion on the top of the pyramid, the procession of the funerary furniture and bearers of offerings, the procession of officials, and a large procession of funerary estates. Even though the specific representations of the king in some parts of the funerary temples too, the causeways portray them in much more detail and with references to the construction of the monument, which was the most important life-long project of each king. Moreover, we can find here references to some specific events of the kings' lives. For instance, on the causeway of Sahure we see a scene from the expedition returning from Punt and bringing the frankincense trees, or boats loaded with red-granite columns for the king's funerary temple arriving from the Asuan quarries in the causeway of

Wenis. The western part of the causeways contained the figure of the king seated on his throne and facing long processions of gods, nomes and estates. Such lists of hundreds of the royal funerary estates, which presumably "financed" the project of the pyramid construction (Vymazalová 2015, 233–238) was found in the causeways of Sahure, Wenis and Pepy II. The scenes on the royal causeways comprise motifs expressing that the king accomplishing his responsibilities and as a reward, he receives the eternal rule of the country and the support of the deities. The decoration of the causeways seems to a certain degree to reflect the real events of the individual king's life in comparison to the more ritual-oriented decoration of mortuary temples.

I.3.3 Mortuary Temples

The mortuary temples were perhaps the second element to develop in the architecture in the royal tombs, after the burial places of the kings. Many scholars see the funerary stelae, which were erected in pairs against the front façade of the royal tombs at Umm El Qa'ab (for list of the stelae see Fischer 1963, 41–43, pls. 5–6b), as the earliest form of the mortuary temples of the Old Kingdom (Ricke 1950, 14–19, 26, Ćwiek 2003, 29). However, Snofru was the first to build a kind of a small sanctuary to the east side of the Meidum pyramid (Petrie 1892, 8–11), and later also built a small offering place to the east side of the Bent Pyramid in Dahshur (Fakhry 1959, 75–87; Stadelmann 1997, 95, fig, 26). Both structures had limited decoration, but the so-called valley temple of the Bent Pyramid perhaps had two decorated stelae with the names of the king (Fakhry 1959, figs, 38–41). The king's Red Pyramid includes an unfinished structure, which has sometimes been interpreted as the first attempt at a funerary temple (Stadelmann 1997, 101–104). In this temple, fragments of reliefs showing Snofru wearing the *sed*-festival cloak and the king seated on the throne were found (Stadelmann 1983, 233, pl. 73).

Khufu, the son and successor of Snofru, constructed his funerary temple in the east side of the pyramid. Although it suffered from destruction, fragments of relief decoration were found near the funerary temple, suggesting that it was once decorated with scenes. The reliefs depict boats or ships (Reisner, Smith 1955, 4–5, 5 n. 6 [12], fig. 7), a half-sky-sign bearer (Reisner and Smith 1955, 5 n. 6 (4), fig. 7), the king wearing the Red Crown visiting sanctuaries (Hassan 1960, 21–2, fig. 4, pl. 6a; Ćwiek 2003, 196–197), or *sed*-festival scenes (Hassan 1960, 23, pl. 5b). The placement of some of Khufu's relief decoration within his funerary complex has been subject of discussion among scholars (Hassan 1960, 20, 22; Reisner, Smith 1955, 4; Hawass 1987, 518, 803, plan 35; Ćwiek 2003, 197; Flentye 2011-a, 339–346).

The funerary temple of Weserkaf, the founder of the Fifth Dynasty, was built to the south of the pyramid, perhaps due to the location of the pyramid complex inside the area delimited by the so-called Dry Moat (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, fig. 39). This location was perhaps chosen by the king for political purposes to support Weserkaf's rule (Verner 2014, 30, 154). Not much relief decoration remains from the original relief program of the mortuary temple of Weserkaf, only fragments have been found scattered within the temple (Labrousse, Lauer 2000). Among them were fragments depicting scenes of boats and sailors (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 70–76 doc. nos .13–31, figs. 79–98). Other fragments included parts of scenes of spearing fish (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 77–78, doc. 32–33, figs. 99–102), fowling with the throw-stick (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 81, doc. 45, fig. 114 a–b), a desert hunt (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 81–82, doc. 47–50, figs. 116–119), and fowling with a clap net (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 106–109, doc. 138–151, figs. 210–233). Fragments of a hippopotamus hunt scene (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 110–111, doc. 152, figs. 224), as well as scenes showing the king smiting his enemies were once depicted on the walls of the mortuary temple (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 111–113, doc. 156–160, figs. 228–232). Another fragment perhaps suggests a depiction of a *sed*-festival scene (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 121–122, doc. 193, figs. 265).

A huge limestone block showing running troops and the names of Weserkaf was found reused upside down in the entrance corridor of the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht (see Jánosi 2015, 15–16, cat. no. 3, pls. 4, 149 with more reference to the relief).

There is no doubt that the pyramid complex of King Sahure is the best preserved complex of all the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes, from an archaeological and iconographical point of view, Sahure set up, perhaps unintentionally, a model of the layout for the rest of the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes. Besides founding the royal cemetery of Abusir (Verner 2014, 158–160), his complex contains several new architectural components (side entrance, porter's lodge, palm columns), which never existed in pyramid complexes before, and perhaps were results of the influence of the sun cult (Verner 2014, 160). Moreover, for the first time, the plan of the mortuary temple underwent significant modification (Verner 2014, 161). However, these changes had their effect on the decoration, our main focus here, is one of the major inventions of Sahure.

The decoration of the mortuary temple emphasized, above all, the divine nature of King Sahure. It depicts scenes showing the king triumphing over his enemies, Asian captives and booty, gifts from Syria, Libyan captives and booty. Meanwhile, the scenes of the side entrance show processions of deities and fecundity figures. In the passage, which surrounded the open courtyard, were scenes showing Sahure with his retinue and standard bearer, the king making

an offering to Bastet, boats, a hunt in the swamps, a procession of gods, the king with his retinue, the bringing of offering beasts, the king and protective gods, the king hunting in the desert, *sed*-festival scenes, and scenes of suckling the king. The scenes of the transverse corridor, separating the *Totenopfertempel* from the *Verehrungstempel*, show Sahure rewarding his courtiers, female dancers, the bringing of cabinets and temple equipment, and offering gifts. The intimate part of the temple contained scenes of funerary estates from Upper and Lower Egypt, butchers, Nile deities, and the *bꜣw* of Nekhen and Pe.

The rest of the royal reliefs of the funerary complexes of the Fifth Dynasty did not show any innovations beyond those of Sahure and they were standardized. The same themes, like those were also found in Sahure's mortuary temple, depicting a procession of deities, a procession of courtiers, offerings bearers, captives, a procession of funerary estates, *sed*-festival scenes, and suckling the king, were found in the funerary complexes of Niuserre and Neferirkare. However, the surviving reliefs from the funerary temple of the latter is limited (Borchardt 1909, 28–30, fig. 27–32).

Unpublished fragments of relief decoration were found in the pyramid complex Lepsius 29, probably belonging to King Menkauhor, in Central Saqqara (for a different dating of the pyramid see Berlandini 1979, 3–28; Stadelmann 1990, 73 footnote 33; Málek 1994, 203–214; Stadelmann 1997, 77–78; Hawass 2010, 153–170). The exploration of this monument was undertaken by the SCA in 2005. The work revealed not only important details about architecture of the pyramid, but also some fragments of relief decoration from the funerary temple. These included for instance a block(?) with a procession of animals, fragments of the *ḫkrw*-frieze (pl. 4), and fragments of the ceiling with the motif of the five-pointed starts, still bearing traces of blue colours.

The remains of the relief decoration uncovered from King Wenis's mortuary temple were published (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977). However, the descriptions of the scenes are not very detailed. The material needs to be re-examined, because it includes some scenes of particular importance. For instance, a scene of the coronation of the king was attested for the first time. One cannot, however, rule out that such scenes were also part of the scenes in the funerary temples of Wenis' predecessors (see for instance the faience inlays of Neferefre, Landgráfová 2006, 21, 22, 71– 72, 109, figs. 3–4, F0020 and F0024, F1185 and F1187).

As we have mentioned above, the relief decoration of Pepy I, uncovered by the French MAFS at South Saqqara, still awaits its publication. The relief program of the pyramid complex of Pepy I seems not to have differed from previous programs. The scenes show Pepy I smiting his enemies (Leclant 1980), scenes of a goddess suckling the king (Leclant 1979, pl. 17, fig.

25), or a procession of offering bearers (Leclant 1974, 182–184, figs. 25–27). In a personal communication (email message on 19th of February 2016), A. Labrousse stated that the future publication of the relief decoration of the temple of Pepy I will be presented in two general themes, the capacity of the King to maintain the order of *Maat,* and consequently his welcome in the divine world. According to Labrousse's message, the disposition of the reliefs will follow O'Connor's proposal on this matter (O'Connor 1999), that the scenes were a "grand tableau", with more or less bound sequences, with the exception of the decoration of the offering chapel and the doors (the "cliché" of the victory of Pepy I over enemies). Several relief fragments from the king's offering hall, which were published recently, refer to Pepy I's queens (Labrousse 2015).

As A. Labrousse indicated, the themes depicted in the funerary complex of Pepy I were probably copied in the funerary complex of Pepy II, thus the disposition of the scenes should be the same for both complexes. However, except for the south wall of the chamber (vestibule) before the *antichambre carrée*, where in the western part of the wall G. Jéquier (1938, pl. 36) reconstructed a scene of the Pepy II receiving an *ꜥnḫ* from Nekhbet in the presence of Wadjet (we have mentioned that the reconstruction made by G. Jéquier is purely hypothetical, see discussion in *Chapter IV.3.5,* p. 146). In the vestibule of Pepy I, the king is depicted in front of goddess Seshat.

The preserved themes from the temple of Pepy I are as follows: 1. maintaining *Maat*: the *sed*-festival; 2. defeating the forces of nature: smiting enemies, hunting in the desert, harpooning the hippopotamus, fowling in the marshes; 3. consolidating the order of the world: visiting sanctuaries, assemblies of deities, erection of the pole of Min; 4. guarantee of a safe passage to the afterlife and metamorphosis into an immortal god: suckling of the king, the welcome, interlacing, and kissing by deities, presentation of the *ꜥnḫ*-sign, the king in front of an offering table, and processions.

According to A. Labrousse (personal communication), Merenre I decorated the courtyard of the funerary temple of Pepy I, which was originally left undecorated similar to the courtyard in the pyramid complex of Pepy II. Merenre's decoration includes the representation of himself and his father Pepy I making offering to divinities, perhaps to consolidate his legitimacy.

The last group of relief decoration to be discussed here are the scenes from the pyramid complex of King Pepy II (Jéquier 1938). The scenes show different themes, such as, king on a papyrus-skiff boat in the marshes defeating the forces of disorder in the form of a hippopotamus (Jéquier 1938, pl. 22; Jéquier 1940, pls. 32–34). For the first time since the beginning of the

Fifth Dynasty, the walls of the open courtyard were left entirely undecorated in the funerary temple of Pepy II. It is possible that the relief decoration was replaced by another form of art, for example the large number of prisoners' statues, which were found in the temple and may have once been placed in the court. Moreover, another good parallel the open court of Neferefre (Verner 1985-a; Verner 1985-b; Benešovská 2006).

The transverse corridor depicted scenes of Pepy II performing the ritual run of the *sed*-festival, smiting the Libyan chief in the presence of his family, and the feast of the god Min (Jéquier 1938; pls. 8–11, 14–16, 17–19). However, in other parts of the temple are scenes depicting the king being suckled by goddesses (Jéquier 1938, pls. 30–31, 33). In the vestibule the king was depicted another time smiting his enemies in the presence of the goddess Seshat, and hunting in the desert (Jéquier 1938, pls. 36–38, 40–4311, 14). Processions of deities and the high officials of the country were depicted on the walls of the *antichambre carrée*, while on the north wall of this chamber the king is receiving an *ꜥnḫ* from the goddess Nekhbet (Jéquier 1938, pls. 46–60). In the offering chapel, the typical theme shows the king sitting in front of the offering table facing offerings and offering bearers was represented (Jéquier 1938, pls. 61–107).

I.3.4 North Chapel evidence

Besides the three major architectural parts of the Old Kingdom pyramid complex, the north chapels of Djedkare could contain relief decoration. These chapels were located in front or above the entrance of the royal pyramids of the Old Kingdom. In Djedkare's pyramid complex the entrance into the pyramid was originally located inside the north chapel (for details about the ground plan of Djedkare's north chapel and other north chapels prior to Djedkare see *Chapter III.3.1.2*). Little has survived of the decoration of these structures from the Old Kingdom.

Besides Djedkare, the remains of north chapels were documented in the pyramid complex of Neferefre (Verner et al. 2006, 14–15) and later in the monuments of Wenis (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 60–61, fig. 38) and Teti (Firth, Gunn 1926, 8–9, fig. 2; Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1962, 49–50, pl. 7; Lauer, Leclant 1972, 43–44, pls. 21 a–b, 36). Moreover, in the funerary complex of Pepy I, fragments of relief decoration were found, which perhaps represent parts of the decoration of the king's north chapel (Lauer 1968-b, 26). In Merenre's pyramid complex J. Ph. Lauer detected a north chapel as well (Lauer 1971–1973, 64). Among the preserved examples, the north chapel of Pepy II is remarkable because some

of its decoration could be reconstructed. The fragments contain parts of scenes of processions of fecundity figures, the unification motif *sm3-t3.wy*, the souls of Pe, and depictions of offerings (Jéquier 1933, 141–142, fig. 1–2; Jéquier 1936, 2–5, fig. 1–4).

In addition to the kings' pyramid complexes, north chapels were also found in pyramid complexes of queens from the Sixth Dynasty (Jánosi 1995, 148). Moreover, the north chapel was a common architectural feature in the Middle Kingdom (for detailed discussions and valuable references on this topic see Jánosi 1995; for the north chapel of Senwosert III see Oppenheim 2012).

Chapter II
Position of King Djedkare in the Fifth Dynasty

To understand the monument of King Djedkare, the architectural features, its innovations as well as the program of its relief decoration, one must study first the rule of the king. The position of Djedkare in the development of the Fifth Dynasty is often emphasized, however, not many details are usually presented by scholars. However, the main subject of this thesis is the decoration of the king's pyramid complex and not his rule. Therefore, the rule of Djedkare will be discussed here rather briefly within the context of the political and socio-economic development of the Fifth Dynasty.

II.1 The Fifth Dynasty

The Fifth Dynasty in general represents a new era in the history of the Old Kingdom. By the end of the Fourth Dynasty the image of the strong god/king had started to decrease and as a result, we witness a development in the Egyptian society, which redefined the mutual relationship between the king and his family on the one side, and the "ordinary" people on the other side. Traces of this development can be found starting at the beginning of the dynasty, while the strongest changes occurred around its middle.

It seems that the end of the Fourth Dynasty and the rise of the Fifth Dynasty was an important enough time for the ancient Egyptians that it was remembered until the Second Intermediate Period (the Hyksos era), when the transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Dynasty was recounted in a story on the Westcar Papyrus. This texts gives an account of the divine birth of the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty and connects them to the sun god Re (For detailed discussions and valuable references on the Westcar Papyrus see Erman 1890; Lefebvre 1949; Derchaine 1969, 19–25; Hornung 1973, 33–35; Blackman 1988; Goedicke 1993, 23–36; Jenni 1998, 113–141; Bagnato 2006; Spalinger 2007, 174–184; Lepper 2008). The text is historically inaccurate but it clearly reflects the strong impact this period left on the history of the country. It was apparently acknowledged by the Egyptians themselves as a new era.

The origin of the founder of the Fifth Dynasty is uncertain. The meaning of the name Weserkaf, *Wśr-kꜣ.f* "His *ka* is powerful", might indicate that the king's ascent to the throne took

place in a time of upheaval. However, no great changes seem to have occurred through his coming to power, either in the country or in the administrative offices. In addition, his Horus name *ỉr-mꜣʿt* "He who has established order" also emphasizes his strong position and general support for his role as a founder of the dynasty. It is noteworthy that Weserkaf chose for himself a Horus name, which is quite similar to that of Snofru, *Nb-mꜣʿt* "Lord of order", and both these kings were founders of a new royal line, the Fourth and the Fifth Dynasties (Verner 2104, 29; Bárta 2016).

There are no direct sources concerning Weserkaf's parentage. However, some scholars favor the idea that he might have been the son of Menkaure and Khentkaus I (Altenmüller 2010, 272). On the other hand, others consider him only as a son of Khentkaus I and brother of Shepseskaf (Verner 2014, 30). Weserkaf was probably married to Neferhetepes (Callender 2011, 158–165), who was buried in the monument to south side of Weserkaf's mortuary temple. Only one child of Weserkaf is known from the surviving evidence, namely, a daughter called Khamaat. She was married to the high priest of Ptah, Ptahshepses, and according to the biography of her husband, Khamaat was the eldest daughter of the king (Dorman 2002, 101).

Some activities of Weserkaf inside and outside of Egypt have been documented. As mentioned on the Palermo Stone (Wilkinson 2000, 152–159), he donated land and offerings to the cult of different gods and goddesses all over the country; in Heliopolis, Buto, in the temple of Montu in Tod, and the temple of Hathor "the lady of the Mouth of the Valley" in Tehna (Verner 2014, 33–34).

Among the many finds from unknown locations, some pieces of evidence were found outside of Egypt, which show perhaps trading activities during the reign of Weserkaf. A small calcite vessel (National Archaeological Museum of Athens, no. 4578) has been discovered on the island of Kythera in Greece. It bears the name of the sun temple of Weserkaf (Sethe 1917, 55–58; Verner 2014, 36). However, as it was suggested by M. Verner one must be careful with such finds, since it might have been moved to Kythera island in much later times (Verner 2014, 36).

Weserkaf built his pyramid complex, *Wʿb-iśwt-Wśr-kꜣ.f* "Pure are the places of Weserkaf", between the north-east corner of Djoser's pyramid complex and the Dry Moat which surrounds the complex (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 37–40, fig. 39). This location of the monument did not allow Weserkaf or his architect to build the funerary temple to the east side of the pyramid, and therefore it was constructed to the south (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 40–62). The volume of the pyramid is very modest compared to the earlier Fourth Dynasty ones, and it now looks ruined to a great extent. To the south of the mortuary temple of Weserkaf, a pyramid

complex of the royal wife Neferhetepes, mentioned above, was built (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 141–154).

Although the funerary temple of Weserkaf was built on the south and not, as was the custom during the Fourth Dynasty, to the east of the pyramid (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 56–59, figs. 42, 66–69, pls. 25–27). The architectural layout of the temple shows that it continued to have an entrance hall, open courtyard, five niche chapel, and an offering chapel built in the east side of the pyramid (Verner 2014, 156). The temple contained elements that were considered innovative during that period. For instance, the colossal seated granite statue, which did not survive completely (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 50–51, fig. 52–53, 72a–b, pl. 8), only the head was found (Egyptian Museum, JE 52501). In the temple, fragments of relief decoration were found, which came from scenes representing the king on a hunt, the royal sailing boat, the papyrus thicket, oarsmen, and cargo boats (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 63–140). Moreover, a relief decoration was found reused, built upside down into the entrance corridor of the pyramid of Amenemhat I at List. It recorded a visit of Weserkaf to the temple of Bastet (Jánosi 2015, 15–16, pl. 4, 149 with more reference to the relief).

Weserkaf also established the new tradition of constructing sun temples, which were connected in their function to the royal pyramid complexes (Ricke 1965–1969). He built his sun temple, *Nḫn-Rˁ* "Re's Nekhen", in north Abusir and its architecture is thought to have been inspired by the funerary complex of the king (valley temple – causeway – upper temple), and perhaps also by the sun temple in Heliopolis (Verner 2014, 199). Sun temples were established by all the following Fifth Dynasty kings until Menkauhor (see below).

The German-Swiss joint mission found in the sun temple of Weserkaf (Ricke 1969, 139–146, pl. I) a head made of dark greywacke that was part of a statue of the king (Egyptian Museum, JE 90200). At first some scholars believed it could be part of a statue of the goddess Neith (Ricke 1969, 139–148; El-Sayed 1982, vol. I, 3, vol. II, 262–263 Doc. 183). However, it is now considered to be a head of a statue of Weserkaf (Verner 2014, 200).

Sahure, the successor of Weserkaf and his son, decided to build his pyramid complex in Abusir, near Weserkaf's sun temple (Ricke 1965–1969). Sahure's mortuary complex was called *Ḥˁ-bꜣ-Sꜣḥw-Rˁ* "Sahure's *bꜣ* appears in glory".

Sahure chose for himself a golden Horus name, *Bikwy-nbw* "Two golden Falcons", which was held before by Khufu (Verner 2014, 36; Leprohon 2013, 35, 38). The repetition of this golden Horus name might have been used to stress the king's association with his predecessor Weserkaf, which can be explained as a father-son relationship, comparable to

Snofru and Khufu (Leprohon 2013, 38, note 49; Dobrev 1993, 190, note 41). Interestingly, this golden Horus name was repeated by Merenre from the Sixth Dynasty (Leprohon 2013, 43).

There are no direct sources concerning Sahure's parentage. However, from contemporary sources we can suggest that he was the son of Weserkaf. Queen Neferhetepes was the mother of Sahure and perhaps the wife of Weserkaf (El Awady 2009, 240–244; Callender 2011, 158–165; Verner 2014, 37). In addition, the similarities of the golden Horus name of the two kings, Weserkaf and Sahure, can be taken as evidence of a family relationship, as was suggested by V. Dobrev (1993, 190, note 41) and M. Verner (2014, 37). Moreover, it seems that during his reign, Sahure paid due attention to Weserkaf's funerary complex as well as to the pyramid complex of his mother Neferhetepes (Verner 2014, 158). Fragments of the relief decoration found in Weserkaf's funerary temple might indicate secondary alterations by Sahure (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 117, docs. 176–177, figs. 248–249; Verner 2014, 158).

Besides the attention which Sahure gave to the construction of his own mortuary complex, he also devoted considerable interest to other cult places and temples all over the country. One may see his activities in the temple of Esna (Verner 2014, 42), and the temple of the god Min in Coptos (Verner 2014, 41–42). According to the Palermo stone (Wilkinson 2000, 160–171), he also donated lands and offerings to various places and deities, e.g. Heliopolis, Nekhbet, Wadjet, Re, Ptah, Hathor (Verner 2014, 40–41).

Substantial trading activities of Sahure, and his expedition to Punt, are recorded in the annals as well as in the relief decoration of his pyramid complex (Wilkinson 2000, 168–171; El Awady 2009, 253–257). Sahure's foreign ventures were also directed to other places, e.g. Byblos (Borchardt 1913, 27–28, pls. 12–13; Dunand 1939, 272 no. 3920, pl. 125), Ebla and Anatolia (Verner 2014, 44). Following the tradition of other kings of the Third and Fourth Dynasties, Sahure sent mining expeditions to Wadi Maghara, the Turquoise Terraces in Sinai (Gardiner, Peet, Černý 1955, 59 nos. 8–9; Gardiner, Peet, Černý 1952, pls. V.8, VII.9; Wilkinson 2000, 168–171), and to other places (Verner 2014, 45).

The pyramid complex of Sahure is considered to be the best-preserved from the Old Kingdom (Borchardt 1910; Borchardt 1913; El Awady 2009); it contained new elements in both architecture and decoration, which were followed by the rest of the Old and Middle Kingdom kings (see *Chapter I.3.3*, p. 31).

Sahure followed his father Weserkaf and built a sun temple *Śḫt-Rᶜ* "Re's field". Archaeologically the temple has never been identified. However, it is mentioned in the titles officials (Jones 2000, 51 no. 256, 376 no. 1394, 504 no. 1887, 537 no. 2004; Kaiser 1956; Winter 1957; Janák, Vymazalová, Coppens 2011).

As we have mentioned before (see *Chapter I.3.2*, pp. 27–28), the recently discovered relief decoration of the causeway of King Sahure provides us with new materials concerning the royal family of the Fifth Dynasty, including the parentage of King Neferirkare. Thanks to this discovery, we know now that Neferirkare was the son of Sahure and his name before the ascension to the throne was Ranefer (El Awady 2009, 250).

During the reign of Neferirkare we can observe an increase of the power of the high officials and priests. This development, however, commenced in the early Fifth Dynasty, as the marriage of princess Khamaat indirectly indicates. At the time of Neferirkare, the most important offices were no longer in the hands of the members of the royal family. For instance, the office of the vizier, which was held until the end of the Fourth Dynasty by close relatives of the king, was now held by non-royal officials (Strudwick 1985, 321; Bárta 2016). At this time the first standardized system of ranking titles was introduced by Neferirkare (Bear 1960, 296–301). From about this time onwards the growing importance of the high officials can be traced through their splendid tombs and valuable equipment. For instance, in the tomb of Rawer at Giza, over a hundred statues and statuettes were found. The tomb contained about twenty-five *serdabs* and twenty niches with the statues of Rawer (Hassan 1932, 1–61).

Further changes can be found in texts, which reflect the special authority of the king. In his autobiography Ptahshepses, the High Priest of Ptah, states that the king, probably Neferirkare, allowed him to kiss the royal foot (Dorman 2002, 102). Another case shows the physical power of the king's insignia when someone touched it, as Rawer's inscription informs us (Hassan 1932, 15; Strudwick 2005, 305–306).

Despite the interesting changes which apparently occurred during Neferirkare's reign, the king was not able to finish his funerary complex, called *Bꜣ Nfr-ir-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "Neferirkare is *bꜣ*". It was located in Abusir and the king planned his pyramid to be bigger than the one of Sahure. However, the funerary complex of Neferirkare was not finished by the king himself, and construction work was finished in mud brick by his successor Niuserre. Thanks to the discovery of the papyrus archive in the funerary temple of Neferirkare (Posener-Kriéger 1976; Posener-Kriéger, De Cénival 1968), we understand how the cult and rituals functioned in the funerary complexes of the Old Kingdom.

Neferirkare also constructed a sun temple, *Śt-ib-Rꜥ* "Place of Re's Pleasure". This temple has not yet been discovered but it is well attested in the cited archive. The texts show that the sun temple played an important role in the economy of the pyramid complex of the king, and that offerings coming from the residence were sent to the pyramid complex of Neferirkare and Neferefre through his sun temple (Posener-Kriéger 1976, 288–291, 299–301,

575; Posener-Kriéger, Verner, Vymazalová 2006, 351–352; Vymazalová 2015, 160, 244–245, 254–255; on economy of the Fifth Dynasty see also Papazian 2012).

Shepseskare's reign and parentage are entirely hypothetical (Verner 2000, 581–602), and thus he represents a good example of how little we know about the Fifth Dynasty kings. Only the king's Horus name, *Śḫm-ḫʿw*, has been preserved on fragments of sealings (Kaplony 1981, 289–294, figs. 81 no. 1, 2, 6, 82 no. 3–5; Verner et al. 2006, 230 no 92, 231 no. 94, 96, 233 no. 109, 234 no. 112, 262 no. 228). In the Royal Canon of Turin (RCT), he is attributed a 7 year reign (Gardiner 1959, pl. III, column 20; Barta 1981, 23; von Beckerath 1997, 155; Verner 2014, 56), however, there is no archaeological evidence to support this.

Neferefre would probably have suffered the same obscurity as Shepseskare, however, the discovery of his pyramid complex at Abusir has made the wish of the king to be remembered to come true (Verner, et al. 2006; Posener-Kriéger, Verner, Vymazalová, 2006).

M. Verner's suggestion, based on the builder's inscription that has been found in the king's unfinished complex, that Neferefre perhaps died young after only reigning for two years, might be correct (Verner, 2006-a, 399–401). This is supported by the unfinished state of the king's complex at the time of his death and the analysis of the anthropological remains of the king found in the burial chamber of his pyramid (Strouhal, Němečková 2006, 513–518).

The pyramid complex of the king, *Nṯry-bȝw-Nfr.f-Rʿ* "Divine are the powers of Neferefre", as well as his sun temple, *ḥtp-Rʿ* "The offering table of Re", were never been finished. The former monument was later enlarged by his successor, and the remains of another papyrus archive were discovered in this funerary temple (Posener-Kriéger, Verner, Vymazalová 2006).

Due to the short reign of Neferefre (Verner 2014, 56–61) and the little information we know about his retinue, we remain in need of more discoveries that will increase our knowledge of that period of the Fifth Dynasty.

Niuserre's reign (for the regnal years of Niuserre see Verner 2014, 61) is in many ways a turning point in the history of the Old Kingdom (Bárta 2005; Bárta, Dulíková 2015; Dulíková 2016). He was one of the most influential kings, during whose reign fundamental changes in the society seem to have been accomplished.

Niuserre came to the throne most probably as a son of Neferirkare, and very likely, after his twin brother Neferefre died (Verner 2014, 62). He was supported by his mother Khentkaus II and by high officials who in return enjoyed an increase in power. These officials built splendid tombs with royal architectural features, including for instance the tomb of Ptahshepses

in Abusir or Ti at Saqqara. Some of the king's daughters married non-royal officials, following the tradition started by Weserkaf (see also Bárta, Dulíková 2015).

During the reign of Niuserre, and in the following period, several important offices in the state passed from father to son, and thus they were under the control of a small number of families of high officials (Bárta 2013-b, 168). At the same time, it seems that during that time the so-called "democratization of the afterlife" began to develop in the rituals of the non-royal tombs, after they had been initially monopolized in the royal cult (Sørensen 1989, 109–125; Bárta 2013-a, 268). However, other scholars are against this thinking (Hays 2011, 115–130). Those innovations had a significant impact on the subsequent development of the society, religion, architecture, and the design of the non-royal tombs and their decoration (Bárta 2013-b, 153–175; Bárta 2005, 105–129; Vymazalová forthcoming).

The most important of these innovations is the emergence of a new type of tomb (Bárta 2005, 106–117). For instance, Ptahshepses from Abusir, although he began his career as a barber of the king, introduced several important elements in his tomb that were exclusive to royal architecture (portico-, statue chapels, open courtyard, etc.). Moreover, Ptahshepses was the second known person during the Old Kingdom – the first was Ptahshepses, the High Priest of Ptah – who as a non-royal received the honor of marrying the king's daughter, princess Khamerenebty (Baud 1999, 534–535).

Innovations that occurred in Niuserre's funerary complex at Abusir, called *Mn-iśwt-Ni-wśr-Rˁ* "Enduring are the (cult) places of Niuserre", also perhaps result from the important development in Egyptian society during his reign. The desire of Niuserre to keep his mortuary complex within the royal cemetery of his predecessors at Abusir had a great impact on the plan and the direction of the king's mortuary temple. Niuserre founded his complex in an unsuitable place, between the pyramid of Sahure from the north and the pyramid of Neferirkare to the south (Borchardt 1907). This choice was made for economic reasons and also practical purposes. At the time of Niuserre's ascent to the throne, he had to finish three pyramid complexes, Neferirkare, Khentkaus II and Neferefre, thus it was expensive to establish a new royal cemetery elsewhere than Abusir. In the main time, Niuserre took advantage of the already existing unfinished structures in this area left by Neferirkare (Verner 2002, 311; Verner 2014, 173)

As a result of a lack of space, the plan of his funerary temple was L-shaped and not, as it had been since the reign of Sahure, T-shape. Moreover, a part of this temple was moved to the south of the east-west axis of the pyramid (Verner 2002, 314).

L. Borchardt found, during his investigation of the temple, one of the most important innovations within this complex, a large granite statue of a recumbent lion (Borchardt 1907, 17, 68–69, figs. 7, 47), perhaps once placed in the transverse corridor, west of the outer part of the temple, to protect the entrance of the inner part of the temple. The idea to place such a statue may have been motivated by the statue of the Great Sphinx in Giza (Verner 2014, 174). The temple also housed another important innovation, the two massive structures, "Eckbauten", known as the prototype pylons, which stand at the northeast and southeast corners of the mortuary temple. The same structures were present also in the pyramid complex of Djedkare (see *Chapter III* 3.2, pp. 85–86). In addition, the plan of the *antichambre carrée* developed its final form here in Niuserre's funerary temple (for a recent discussion on the chamber during the Old Kingdom see Megahed 2016-a, 239–258).

Thanks to Niuserre's sun temple, *Šsp-ib-Rᶜ* "Re's Delight", built in Abu Ghurab a few kilometers north of Abusir, our knowledge of this unique kind of temple devoted to the cult of the sun god Re expands. Written evidence from the Old Kingdom indicates that kings of the Fifth Dynasty, from Weserkaf to Menkauhor, built six temples. However, archaeological remains of only two of them have been found, they belong to Weserkaf (Ricke 1965; Ricke 1969) and Niuserre (Bissing 1905; Bissing, Kees 1922; Bissing, Kees 1923; Bissing, Kees 1928).

The sun temple was constructed according to the same pattern as the funerary complexes of the kings, although without the pyramids, which were replaced with obelisks. The complex of the sun temple of Niuserre consists of a valley temple connected to the sun temple (= pyramid temple) by means of a causeway. Nevertheless, the sun temple of Niuserre and its function is still under discussion among scholars (for recent discussion on sun temples see Verner 2014, 199–226; Nuzzolo 2007-a; Nuzzolo 2007-b; Nuzzolo 2011; Nuzzolo 2015, 366–392; Janák, Vymazalová, Coppens 2011).

Despite the little information we have, the reign of King Menkauhor (the reign of Menkauhor and Djedkare is a subject of a PhD dissertation "Etudes sur la fin de la V^{e} dynastie: les règne de Menkaouhor, Djedkarê-Isesi et Ounas" by Aurore Ciavatti in Paris-Sorbonne University) will remain one of the most important of the Fifth Dynasty. Our information concerning Menkauhor's parentage is very limited, but scholars were able to find indirect evidence to provide different solutions for the king's origin (Verner 2014, 76; Vymazalová, Coppens 2008, 38).

The most important of the few attested changes during his reign, was the change of the form of his throne name. Instead of the name of Re, which was part of the titulary since Sahure,

the king introduced Horus calling himself *Mn-kꜣw-Ḥr* (‘lasting are the *kꜣw* of Horus’). This significant change is not explained by any archaeological evidence; thus scholars can only speculate the reasons behind such an important change.

The changing of the king’s throne name and the short reign of perhaps only nine years (Barta 1981, 23; von Beckerath 1997, 155) had no effect on the cult of the supreme god Re. Menkauhor followed the tradition of building his own and the last sun temple in the Old Kingdom, *ꜣḫt-Rʿ* “Re’s horizon”, the temple has not yet been located. Priestly titles incorporating the name of Menkauhor’s sun temple, *ꜣḫt-Rʿ,* are known from the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty (Wilson 2001; Voss 2004, 155–158).

Another essential change made by Menkauhor was moving the place of his pyramid complex, *Nṯry-iśwt-Mn-kꜣw-Ḥr,* away from the royal cemetery of Abusir. The place of the pyramid of Menkauhor has not been convincingly located by scholars, although the Pyramid Lepsius no. 29 has been considered one of the possible burial places of Menkauhor (Berlandini 1979, 23–35; Hawass 2010, 157–159). Perhaps this pyramid could be the eternal abode of King Menkauhor, such a suggestion is supported by the architectural design of the substructure of the pyramid (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 62; Hawass 2010, 159) and the fragments of reliefs found during the cleaning of the pyramid complex (see *Chapter I.3.3*, p. 32 and pl. 4).

The non-royal cemetery to the north of the Step Pyramid (Baud 1997, 69–87), which is dated to the reign of Menkauhor (El Tayeb 2014-a, 34), probably belonged to his entourage and relatives. The location of the cemetery, few hundred meters to the south-east of Menkauhor’s pyramid, is also important evidence that the Pyramid Lepsius no. 29 belonged to this king.

King Djedkare was succeeded by Wenis,[2] who built the smallest pyramid in the Old Kingdom, *Nfr-iśwt-Wniś*. Like Djedkare, we do not know the parentage of Wenis, although it has been suggested that he could have been a son of Djedkare, perhaps by the anonymous queen buried to the northeast of Djedkare’s pyramid complex (Callender 2011, 191). Moreover, the name of Wenis was allegedly found in the mortuary temple of Djedkare’s queen (Fakhry 1961-b, 182). However, the present author could not locate any reliefs with the name of Wenis excavated by A. Fakhry.

However, one might take another theory by W. Helck into consideration, where he suggested that Wenis was of non-royal blood and came from Delta (Helck 1991, 163–168; Helck 1994, 103–106). In addition, it was suggested by H. Altenmüller, the destruction caused by Wenis to earlier Second Dynasty royal tombs and non-royal tombs from the middle of the

[2] The reign of Djedkare will be discussed in detail in the following *Chapter II.2*.

Fifth Dynasty could be a good argument that Wenis's route to the throne was not quite peaceful (Altenmüller 1974, 12–13). In addition, recently M. Verner stated that Wenis perhaps reused blocks bearing the name of Khufu in his burial chamber (Verner 2014, 90–91). The blocks depict the king harpooning a hippopotamus (Youssef 2011, 820–822, pls. 43–45; Stasser 2013, 63–69).

In my opinion, all the above mentioned evidence cannot be taken to indicate that Wenis did not keep the high officials from the reign of Djedkare in their positions. On the contrary, we can see the continuity of many of these officials in their positions during Wenis. The new king did not want to weaken the administrative system of the state, but wanted control with the help of these officials. In many ways this was a mutually beneficial relationship between the two sides, the King and the high officials.

However, the most important achievement of Wenis were the Pyramid Texts carved on the walls of the substructure of his pyramid. We must wonder whether the decorated burial chambers in the non-royal tombs, which began to emerge in the reign of Djedkare (for the decorated burial chambers in the Old Kingdom see Davies 1901, 30–31; Junker 1940; Junker 1947, 108–122; Altenmüller 1998, 208–218; Kanawati 2010 (with further references); Daoud 2005), are in any way related to the appearance of the Pyramids Text in Wenis's pyramid. These decorated burial chambers probably reflected religious and political changes that arose in the reign of Djedkare and which later resulted in the Pyramid Texts.

II.2 Djedkare, His Reign and Family

II.2.1 The Reign of King Djedkare

Within the Fifth Dynasty, which was discussed in *Chapter II.1*, the reign of King Djedkare deserves a more detailed discussion. His rule was one of the longest in the Fifth Dynasty (besides Niuserre's rule) and therefore it represented a period of stability. It was also a time of development in administration, religion, and other aspects of the Egyptian culture (for chronology of the Fifth Dynasty see Verner 2006-c, 136–143)

II.2.1.1 The Names of King Djedkare

The five names of the king expressed the political program of Djedkare, which was defined at the time of his ascension to the throne (von Beckerath 1984; Dobrev 1993, 180–184; Leprohon 2103, 40).

The throne name, *Ḏd-kꜣ-Rʿ,* means "Re's spirit endures" or "Re's spirit is eternal". Unlike his predecessor, King Menkauhor, Djedkare included the name of Re in his throne name. This is usually considered to be a return to the tradition of the royal throne names that had existed since the mid Fourth Dynasty. The reason for Menkauhor's decision is unknown today but it does not have to be understood as a kind of protest or a sign of neglect of the cult of Re. It is possible that Menkauhor had this name before he became king, as seems to be indicated by an inscription in the tomb of prince Werkaure in Abusir (Vymazalová, Coppens 2013-b; Krejčí, Arias Kytnarová et al. 2015, 278). Moreover, a number of seal impressions bearing this king's name were found in Neferefre's mortuary temple and these suggest that King Menkauhor took good care of the funerary cult of Neferefre during his reign (Verner et al. 2006, 230 no 92, 231 no. 94, 96, 233 no. 109, 234 no. 112, 262 no. 228). Whether or not there was any break of tradition behind this name choice during the reign of Menkauhor, which Djedkare needed to "make up" for remains a question.

Djedkare is one of the names that can be found in inscriptions in the king's pyramid complex. This name can also be found in the names of funerary domains of the king, both in his own monuments (see *Chapter IV.3.8*), as well as in several non-royal tombs (Jacquet–Gordon 1962, 295, 319).

Similar to other kings' birth names, the birth name of Djedkare, *ʾIssi*, is difficult to translate (see *Chapter IV.3.1* discussion, p. 100). This name does not occur in the decoration of the king's funerary monument but is attested in non-royal contexts. It appears, for instance, in the inscription of Sennedjemib Inti, in Ptahhotep's maxims or on a king's tablet from Karnak (Schneider 1996, 172). It was also included in baculiform personal names where this element is always written in a cartouche (e.g. Nikauisesi or Baefisesi, etc.), however one non-royal individual of the late Sixth Dynasty adopted the plain name Isesi, written without a cartouche (Gourdon 2007, 94 no. 5). The king's birth name appears also in the names of funerary domains in non-royal tombs (Jacquet–Gordon 1962, 294–297, 299, 301, 307–309, 355, 374, 381, 388–390, 392–394, 399–401, 418, 423–426). In addition, the name of Isesi is written in two letters from the Abusir papyrus archive found in the funerary temple of Neferirkare (Posener-Kriéger 1976, 453, 467), which thus helps in dating the documents (Posener-Kriéger 1976, 484–490).

The king's Horus name, *Ḏd-ḥʿw*, has the meaning "(Horus) Enduring of Appearances in Glory" or "Eternal is the Appearance in Glory of Horus". This name occurs on some fragments of relief decoration from the king's pyramid complex (see *Chapter IV.3.1*). It is also attested in the Abusir papyrus archives from the pyramid complexes of Neferirkare and Neferefre (Posener-Kriéger 1976, 3–4, 484,490; Posener-Kriéger, Verner, Vymazalová, 2006, 234–235, 237), and it is moreover the only royal Horus name attested in the latter king's archive (Posener-Kriéger, Verner, Vymazalová, 2006, 333).

The Nebty name of King Djedkare was *Ḏd-ḥʿw-Nbty*, including the same elements as the king's Horus name. Such a practice was not very common in the Old Kingdom but is attested for instance for kings like Snofru, Weserkaf, Sahure and Pepy II. The golden Horus name was *Bik-nbw-ḏd* "The Golden Falcon Endures" or "The Golden Falcon is Eternal". The two names are attested in the fragments of decoration from the king's pyramid complex (see *Chapter IV.3.1*).

It can be noted that all the names of King Djedkare, except his birth name, are based on the same element – *ḏd* "enduring" or "eternal". Such a unity in names is not common among the Old Kingdom rulers and in the Fifth Dynasty it can only be associated with Neferefre, with the element *nfr* "perfect" or "beautiful", and with Wenis with the element *wꜣḏ* "fresh" (Leprohon 2013, 40–41). Therefore, this unusual selection of names might be an indication that Djedkare intended to emphasize the stability of his rule. The assumption that this might have been a reaction to Menkauhor's rule, however, would be based only on the two kings' names. It is worth mentioning in this context that some architectural elements found in the king's pyramid complex had the shape of the *ḏd*-symbols (Megahed 2016-b). On the other hand, one can compare Djedkare's *ḏd* pillars to the friezes of the *ḏd*-signs that were found in the Step Pyramid complex and were decorated lintels in the temple T (Lauer 1938, 551–565, figs. 74–77, pl. ci; Drioton, Lauer 1939, figs. 21, 52–53).

In later times some Egyptian kings adopted the name Djedkare. For instance, the fifth ruler of the Eighth Dynasty adopted the same throne name and became king as Djedkare Shemay = "the nomad" (von Beckerath 1984, 66–67, no. 5). The Twenty-Fifth Dynasty ruler Shebitko adopted not only the same throne name but also his Horus and Nebty names were identical to those of Djedkare (von Beckerath 1984, 208–209 no. 5). The names *Ḏd-ḥʿw* and *Ḏd-kꜣ-Rʿ* were also used by the Thirteenth Dynasty King Sebekhotep I, and the Second Intermediate Period King Anati. However, these two kings used a different hieroglyphic form of the names, including a dual form with two *ḏd*-signs (von Beckerath 1984, 90–91, no. 12, 110 no. 28, 118). This evidence seems to indicate that Djedkare of the Fifth Dynasty was

remembered and respected by pharaohs in much later history, and that some of them (especially Shebitko) clearly wished to be linked to him by their names (Kahl 2002, 31–42).

II.2.1.2 The Rule of Djedkare

Djedkare ruled for a long period (von Beckerath 1975, 473–474; von Beckerath 1997, 155; Barta 1981, 23; Megahed 2011-a, 627). In the RCT he is given 28 years (Gardiner 1959, pl. III, column 3 no. 24), while Manetho attributes to him 44 years (for Manetho see Hornung, Krauss, Warburton 2006, 34–36; Waddell 1940, 50–51). The highest known date, which can be directly ascribed to his rule was the year of the 22nd occasion of the cattle-count, found in the papyrus archive from Neferirkare's funerary temple (Posener-Kriéger, De Cenival 1968, pls. 41, 41 A; Posener-Kriéger 1976, 490; Verner 2008-a, 34; Verner 2014, 80). Another high date, most likely referring to this king's reign, is the year after the 20th occasion of cattle count that can be found in a Hieratic inscription in Shepespuptah's tomb in Abusir (Vymazalová, Dulíková 2012, 344). The exact length of the king's reign is, however, difficult to specify because it is not certain whether the cattle-counts during the Old Kingdom were held every other year (for the problems with cattle counts in the Old Kingdom see Nolan 2003; Nolan 2008; Nolan 2015; Verner 2001, 413; Gundacker 2006, 315–344).

Djedkare's reign was long enough to celebrate the royal jubilee. His first *sed*-festival is recorded on a small alabaster vase, now in Louvre no. E 5323 (Ziegler 1997, 464, fig. 1; Hornung, Staehelin 2006, 16–17, 34), and this information is further supported by the inscription in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti, the vizier of Djedkare. This inscription includes a royal decree sent by the king to his vizier, mentioning the construction of a palace for the *sed*-festival of the king by Senedjemib Inti (Brovarski 2001, 96–101). In conclusion, we can therefore estimate a minimum reign of at least 30 to 40(+x) years for Djedkare.

The administrative papyrus archives found in Abusir provide us with unique material referring to the organization and economic background of the royal mortuary cults in Abusir. A large portion of the preserved documents was written in the reign of Djedkare, who reorganized the affairs at the Abusir necropolis after moving the workforce to a new site in South Saqqara (Posener-Kriéger, Verner, Vymazalová 2006, 327–329). The archives contain textual evidence particularly valuable for our understanding of how the cult and rituals functioned in the funerary complexes of Kings Neferirkare and Neferefre (Posener-Kriéger 1976; Posener-Kriéger, De Cenival 1968; Posener-Kriéger, Verner, Vymazalová 2006; Vymazalová, Coppens 2011-b; Vymazalová, Coppens 2013-a; Vymazalová 2015). The

papyrus archives from the pyramid complexes of these two kings include letters written in the reign of Djedkare as well as royal decrees issued by this king. These documents show that Djedkare organized the operation of the funerary cults, assigning the right to share of the deliveries for the royal mortuary cult (Posener-Kriéger 1985). Other documents from the archives inform us about the actual performance of cult within the temple, the function of certain chambers and their relationship to the architecture of the pyramid complexes, the economic connection of the royal cults with state institutions, etc. (Vymazalová 2015, 239–338). It is possible that Djedkare's re-organization of the royal cults in Abusir was a result of the king's desire to stress his strong links to Abusir and the kings buried there. On the other hand, these acts might have also been due to the economic situation of the state in the king's reign (Vymazalová 2015, 298, 345–347).

The long reign of Djedkare perhaps gave him the possibility to support the local temples of deities all over the country. Not much archaeological evidence for this. A fragment of relief decoration was found in Abydos, which might have come from a building from the reign of Djedkare in the region (Simpson 1995, 7 no. OK 2). In addition, a lower part of a limestone statue of Djedkare (Egyptian Museum SR2/15691/ Temp. 4.4.17.1) was found in the temple of Khontamenty-Osiris in Abydos. It depicts the king seated on the throne and on the base of the statue the throne and the Horus names of the king are inscribed (Petrie 1902, 28, pl. 55.2; Verner 2014, 80, 87–88, fig. 16). These two pieces of evidence show that Djedkare paid attention to this cultic center, and it is worth mentioning that Osiris perhaps occurred in the decoration of his pyramid complex (see *Chapter IV.3.7*, Cat. no. 56). Activities at Abydos might also be associated with the occurrence of Osiris in the offering formulas of officials in the mid-Fifth Dynasty (Griffiths 1980, 113–114; Mathieu 2010, 77–78; Bárta 2013-a, 268).

At least five viziers are known to have lived until the reign of Djedkare, however, it is difficult to know for certain whether some of them were in the office of vizier during Djedkare's reign. Most probably Ptahhotep Desher was one of the first viziers of Djedkare, who built his tomb in North Saqqara (tomb no. 41–C 6, Mariette 1885, 123–126). His tomb is sometimes dated to the reign of Menkauhor (Strudwick 1985, 85–86), but other scholars offer different dates (Baer 1960, 74), which indicate that he might have held the office of vizier in the early reign of Djedkare (Verner 2014, 83).

Rashepses became vizier after the middle of the reign of Djedkare, soon after the year of the 10th cattle count. This is suggested from the style of the decoration of his tomb and the distribution of Rashepses's titles and several dates in the tomb inscriptions. The above mentioned date, after the year of the 10th cattle count, on a Hieratic inscription on a loose block

was found in corridor no. 3 during the recent cleaning of the tomb (El Tayeb 2014-a, 7–13, 171, fig. 230) and the vizier title only appears in the burial chamber (El Tayeb 2014-a, 160; El Tayeb 2014-b) and the entrance of the tomb (El Tayeb 2014-a, 70), which both belonged to later stages of the tomb's construction. A letter from Djedkare to vizier Rashepses was recorded in the tomb in the north and south walls of the main entrance (El Tayeb 2014-a, 70–74, figs. 70–72). Thus the title was held by Rashepses in the last years of his life (Verner 2014, 82). In addition, it seems that Rashepses was responsible for the construction of the pyramid complex of Djedkare, as he held the title of overseer of all works of the king (El Tayeb 2014-a, 9). This is further confirmed by the biographical inscription of Kaemtjenenet, which mentions that the vizier Rashepses was sent to the Tura quarries (Schott 1977, 448–451; Strudwick 2005, 285).

Other viziers are known from the reign of Djedkare as well. Senedjemib Inti held the office of vizier perhaps in the late part of Djedkare's reign (Brovarski 2001). As it has been mentioned above he received three letters from Djedkare, one of them mentioning a construction of a *sed*-festival palace (Brovarski 2001, 96–101). This indicates an advanced stage of the king's rule. Senedjemib Inti probably became the vizier later than Rashepses.

Ptahhotep I could have held the office during the last years of the king's reign (Strudwick 1985, 87–88; Baer 1960, 74) or, as seems more probable, in the middle of his reign (Verner 2014, 83). To the number of viziers, one can add Akhtihotep II, the son of vizier Ptahhotep I, who might have overlapped with Senedjemib Inti in the position (Verner 2014, 83). Seshemnefer (III) might have held the office at the end of the reign of Djedkare (Altenmüller 2008, 160), even though some scholars suggest a much earlier date for this vizier (Strudwick 1985, 139 no. 131). Also Seshemnefer II might have been in the office earlier in Djedkare's reign (Altenmüller 2008, 160).

Name of the Vizier	**Location of the tomb**	**Reign of Djedkare**
Ptahhtop Desher	Saqqara no. 41 – C 6	Early
Seshemnefer III?	Giza 5170	Early to Middle
Reshepses	Saqqara L 16 – S 902	Late middle reign
Ptahhotep I	Saqqara no. 42 – C 7	Middle/Late
Ptahhotep I	Saqqara D 62	Late
Senedjemib Inty	Giza 2370	Late
Akhtihotep II	Saqqara D 64	Late

Table 1. Viziers during Djedkare's reign and their possible occupation of the office.

The increasing independence of officials perhaps moved Djedkare to introduce a set of administrative reforms. This trend in the social development has its roots in the late Fourth–early Fifth Dynasty when non-royals started to penetrate into the highest levels of state administration (Helck 1954, 58; Baer 1960, 300; Helck 1975, 18–22; Bárta 2013-a, 270; Bárta 2013-b, 171–172), but the increase in importance and independence of some dignitaries is particularly clear starting in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty according to the archaeological evidence, the biographical inscriptions, etc. (Vymazalová forthcoming). These social changes might have been the impetus for composing the Maxims of Ptahhotep requested by King Djedkare, in order to remind the officials that loyalty to the king was the only way to become successful (Vymazalová forthcoming).

Djedkare's reforms in the bureaucracy were meant to prevent the decline of the king's power in this period (Bárta 2013-a, 272; Bárta 2013-b, 171). The importance of these reforms is connected to the establishment of the office of the *ỉmy-rꜣ Šmʿ* "overseer of Upper Egypt". It was perhaps Rashepses who was the first holder of this title (Baer 1960, 274; El Tayeb 2014-a, 8), but other scholars believe that it was actually Kai who held this office first, already in the reign of Niuserre (Strudwick 1985, 142–144; Moreno García 2013-b, 118–119). H. Kees stated that since the first two holders of this office are buried in the capital and not in the provinces, so the office must have been controlled from the Residence (Kees 1932, 88). It has been noted that this title was often held by the viziers based in the capital (Moreno García 2013-b, 119). Whether the office of overseer of Upper Egypt was an honorary or an actual office is still a matter of debate (Brovarski 2013, 95–96).

According to M. Bárta, Djedkare also established three special administrative offices to control three economically important nomes of Upper Egypt, namely the 10th, 15th, and 20th nomes (Bárta 2013-a, 272; Bárta 2013-b, 171). J. C. Moreno García showed convincingly that only some of the officials in the nomes may be considered local governors; they held the titles of *śšm-tꜣ* "leader of the land" (Jones 2000, 976, 978, nos. 3604–3605, 3609), *ỉmy-rꜣ wp*(*w*)*t* "overseer of commissions" (Jones 2000, 92, 95 nos. 385, 395) and *ḥḳꜣ ḥwt ꜥꜣt* "ruler of a great *ḥwt*" (Jones 2000, 672, nos. 2460, 2462), which were sometimes enhanced by the title *rḫ nśwt* of the nome (Moreno García 2013-b, 111–112). In addition, a shift can be traced in the importance of these nomes, which these potentates ruled in the mid Fifth Dynasty. Thus, the tombs of these officials can be found in El-Hagarsa (nome 9), Hammamiya (nome 10), Bersha and Tehna (nome 15) and Deshasha (nome 20) in the first half of the Fifth Dynasty, while the second half of the Fifth Dynasty brings us evidence from El-Hawawish and El-Hagarsa (nome 9), Zawiyet el-Mayitin (nome 16), and the Sheikh Said and Bersheh (nome 15) (Moreno García

2013-b, 114–115). The precise date of these changes can hardly be assigned to the reign of one ruler because the dating of many of these tombs is the matter of discussion. At the same time, the reasons behind these changes remain unclear (for more details, see Moreno García 2013-b, 115). It is worth mentioning that the mid-Fifth Dynasty administrative development is mostly associated with Middle Egyptian sites and this perhaps reflects an improvement in the agricultural production and organization of this part of the country (Moreno García 2013-b, 116).

Besides Middle Egypt, the western part of the Delta was paid particular attention in this period. For instance, we may mention some of the titles of Fetekti who was the overseer of nomes 1 and 2 of Lower Egypt and the overseer of the new *niwt* estates of the pyramid complex of King Djedkare (Moreno García 2013-b, 116–117; Porter, Moss, Malek 1981, 166–167, 179, 201). This last example clearly shows that Djedkare tried to control the organization of the important nomes of Egypt, which provided resources to the king.

The evidence shows that the king's interest in Middle Egypt and the western Delta provinces went hand in hand with an increase of the power of the local officials who had themselves buried in their nomes instead of the capital, and at the same time some supra-regional offices were established in the late Fifth Dynasty to keep the king in control (Moreno García 2013-b, 119–120).

In the reign of Djedkare, we find evidence concerning various aspects of the king's activity outside of Egypt. Djedkare's long reign certainly allowed him to conduct commercial and trading exchanges with various regions, including Syro-Palestine, as well as to send expeditions to Sinai in order to obtain copper and turquoise.

The mining expeditions are recorded in rock inscriptions of Wadi Maghara, where three records refer to the reign of Djedkare (Gardiner, Peet, Černý, 1955, 60–62, 65). One of the inscriptions (Gardiner, Peet, Černý, 1955, 60–61; Gardiner, Peet, Černý, 1952, pl. VII no. 13; Strudwick 2005, 137) records the arrival of an expedition sent by the king to Wadi Maghara. The rock inscription is dated to the 4th cattle count in the reign of King Djedkare. The inscription is divided into three vertical registers. The first register from right gives the date of the expedition, the second was reserved for the king's titles, while the third contains the names and titles of the officials who were sent with this expedition. Recently, this inscription was revised by J. Baines and R. Parkinson (Baines, Parkinson 1997, 9–27), who argued successfully that this text referred to an oracular consultation (Baines, Parkinson 1997, 10). Recently, the inscription was studied from another point of view by F. Kammerzell (2001, 153–164), who

believes that the expedition mentioned in this inscription was sent by Djedkare in order to obtain stone for a new altar for the sun temple of Weserkaf.

The second inscription of Djedkare in Wadi Maghara (Gardiner, Peet, Černý, 1955, 61–62; Gardiner, Peet, Černý, 1952, pl. VIII no. 14; Strudwick 2005, 137) records another expedition sent by king to this place. The inscription is dated to the year after the 9th cattle count and it is accompanied by a figure of the king smiting the chief of the Bedouins. The third inscription of Djedkare in Wadi Maghara (Gardiner, Peet, Černý, 1955, 62; Gardiner, Peet, Černý, 1952, pl. IV no. 15; Strudwick 2005, 137) does not record a date.

Another record of Djedkare was recently identified among the inscriptions in Wadi Maghara. This record was published before, but the name of the king was not recognized at that time (Gardiner, Peet, Černý, 1955, 62; Gardiner, Peet, Černý, 1952, pl. IX no. 19). P. Tallet noticed that this inscription contains the *sꜣ Rᶜ* name of Djedkare, *sꜣ Rᶜ Issi* (Tallet 2012-b, 29, doc. 8). To my knowledge this is the only attested mention of the *sꜣ Rᶜ* name of this king.

Some more inscriptions, which were most likely related to the activities of Djedkare in Wadi Maghara, were found recently in Ain Sokhna, and in addition seal impressions with the king's Horus name were discovered on the same site (Tallet, 2010, 18–22; Tallet 2012-b, 222–229 doc. nos. 249–250, fig. 12-1).

Additional evidence concerning Djedkare's foreign activities can be found in the mortuary temple of Djedkare. In spite of fragmentary state of preservation of the relief decoration, one fragment, which was found in the king's complex by the late A. Fakhry, depicts the remains of a place called *Wnt* together with *mrw* trees or *mrw* wood (Megahed, in preparation). Another find, namely a cylinder seal of an official associated with Djedkare's and Menkauhor's pyramid complexes (Museum of Fine Arts Boston no. 68.115), perhaps shows contacts from the reign of Djedkare with north-west Anatolia (Verner 2014, 87).

Djedkare's activities were also directed to the south of Egypt. On another relief fragment from the funerary complex of Djedkare (Grimm, 1985; Grimm 1988) mentioned the king's activity in the Eastern Desert and Nubia. Djedkare probably sent an expedition into this area to acquire various commodities (see also Verner 2014, 87). It has been suggested that this fragment depicts three unknown African toponyms, *Bꜣṯ/Bṯ, Śnsḫ* and *Ḥst*, in the Nubian region (Grimm, 1985, 37). According to the inscription on the fragment, gold and electrum were brought from this expedition together with the 30 *mnḳ*-trees (Grimm 1985).

On one of the fragments from Djedkare's pyramid complex, several toponyms were depicted (Megahed in preparation), among them the name of *Pnt*. We know from the autobiographies of Harkhuf (Marcolin 2006, 293; Sethe 1933, 120–131; Edel 2008, 654, fig. 8;

Baines 1999, 29; Baines 2007) and Iny (Marcolin, Espinel 2011, 570–615) that during Djedkare's reign an expedition was sent to Punt under the leadership of the official Bawerdjed. The memory of this journey and the bringing of a dwarf was an enough important event to be recounted by both Harkhuf and Iny in the later Old Kingdom.

In Wadi Hammamat an inscription of Ptahhotep naming Isesi (LD, 115 no. i) gives us evidence on expeditions sent to the quarries during this king's reign. In addition, the name of Djedkare was found also in other places, for instance, in Toshka in the south and Byblos to the north east of Egypt (Verner 2014, 87). The expeditions to quarries are naturally related to the king's building activities, which besides the pyramid complex of the king included monuments in cultic centers in different parts of Egypt (see above).

II.2.2 The Family of King Djedkare

We do not have much information about the members of Djedkare's family and even his queen has not yet been identified. On the other hand, it is possible to trace some of the royal sons and daughters of the king. The king's sons/daughters of his body will be presented in detail in this chapter, while other sons and daughters, whose relationships to the king are doubtful, will be only shortly mentioned at the end of this chapter.

II.2.2.1 King's Parentage

The available evidence does not provide us with enough information concerning the family affiliation of Djedkare. King Djedkare ascended to the Egyptian throne after Menkauhor's death. The family connection between the kings who were buried in Abusir and Djedkare is not known. It is clear that Djedkare's throne name fits with the types of names used by the Fifth Dynasty royal family – it is similar above all to the names of Shepseskare and Neferirkare. Moving the site of his funerary complex from Abusir, several kilometers to the south, might indicate that Djedkare was not from the same family, or that he came from a side branch of the royal family tree. However, the reasons for this move might have been more practical than familial.

M. Verner suggested that the reason Djedkare built his funerary complex in South Saqqara and abandoned the Abusir royal cemetery is due to the lack of space in the cemetery (Verner, Callender 2002, 105–106; Verner 2014, 84). On other hand R. Stadelmann suggested that the Abusir necropolis still had space for three or four more pyramid complexes

(Stadelmann 1997, 180). In M. Verner's opinion, however, both Menkauhor and Djedkare could not establish their pyramid complexes in the free area to the south-east of Neferefre's unfinished pyramid because their complexes would lie off the Abusir axis. Thus, they chose to leave the necropolis completely (Verner, Callender 2002, 105). It is important to mention that Menkauhor moved his site close to the Step Pyramid complex (as did Weserkaf before him and Wenis and Teti after him). At the same time, Djedkare was not the first king to use the area known today as South Saqqara. Years before Djedkare's reign, King Shepseskaf moved his burial place to South Saqqara, where he built his unusual royal monument mid-way between Netjerykhet's and Snofru's pyramids. Djedkare built his pyramid complex a few hundreds of meters to the north of king Shepseskaf's *Mastabat faraoun*.

The exact reasons for this choice may be associated with the direction of development of the city of *ỉnb-ḥḏ*, Inebuhedj, during the Old Kingdom. J. Málek suggests that the capital city was moved southwards in the late Old Kingdom (Málek 1997, 92–93), and it became associated with Pepy I's pyramid city. However, such a move could have started in the time of Djedkare, whose pyramid is built just to the west of the suggested location of this settlement. Despite the change in the site of the royal monument, Djedkare paid much attention to the religious cults of the Abusir kings as well as their funerary cults (Verner, Callender 2002, 106–107; see also above).

Some scholars consider Djedkare to be a son of Menkauhor or a son of Niuserre (Verner 2014, 59). Unfortunately, it is not possible to compare the physical remains of these three rulers because only parts of Djedkare's body have survived.[3] The anthropological examination of the remains of this king's body, which were found in his pyramid (Batrawi 1947, 97–111; Strouhal, Gaballa 1993, 104–118), seems to indicate that Djedkare died at the age of 50–60 years (Strouhal 2002, 119–132). The evidence shows that the latest date attested from the reign of Djedkare is *rnpt sp 21* (*22?*)*, ꜣbd 4 ꜣḫt, św 12* (Verner 2008-a, 34; Posener-Kriéger, De Cenival 1968, pls. 14, 14A; Posener-Kriéger 1976, 490). If the census happened biennially, this would make the king around 6–16 years old at the time of his ascension to the throne. This estimated age would allow us indeed to consider both Niuserre and Menkauhor as possible fathers of Djedkare. The biennial schema of the census in Djedkare's reign is, however, disputable (see

[3] The author of this thesis is planning to start a project of detailed examination of the physical remains of the members of the royal family of the Fifth Dynasty, including the fragments of the mummies of Kings Neferefre and Djedkare, and their comparison to the royal females from Abusir. Examination of princesses who were buried in Abusir is being processed by the anthropologists of the Czech Mission.

above) and thus Djedkare might have been slightly older at the time of his ascension. Still, both Niuserre and Menkauhor could be considered as fathers.

II.2.2.2 King's Wife / King's Mother?

The written evidence does not provide us with the name of Djedkare's queen. As pyramids for minor queens were not usual until the time of Teti, we may presume that Djedkare had one main wife and no more wives at one time. The majority of scholars suppose that the king's wife was buried in the anonymous pyramid complex to the north-east of the king's own complex in South Saqqara (Baer 1960, 299; Fakhry 1961-b, 181; Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 98–106; Kuchman Sabbahy 1982, 159; Moursi 1987, 185–193; Dodson 1988, 125; Jánosi 1989, 187–202; Stadelmann 1997, 180; Verner 2002, 330; Megahed 2011-a). The previous archaeological exploration of the complex did not bring enough evidence regarding the time of the construction of this monument. At the same time, a connection between both complexes has been supposed because of their relative locations (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, pl. 16, fig. 1) but their adjoining areas have never been properly excavated. Yet, the building methods, material, and the style of the relief decoration of both complexes are the same. Thus, at this moment, we presume that both complexes of the king and the "queen" were constructed in the same period, i.e. the reign of King Djedkare.

The size and the unusual features of this anonymous "queen's" complex (Jánosi 1989, 201–202) indicate that its owner was an important queen, who received unparalleled privileges. It was imitated later by the queens buried around the pyramid complex of Pepy I nearby. This fact might support the supposition that the owner was of royal blood, and could provide the king with legitimacy at his ascension (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 98). Even though we know nothing regarding this complex owner, we can presume that the lady was either Djedkare's wife or his mother.

The king's wife is one candidate for the owner of the anonymous complex and such a suggestion is accepted by many scholars (see Baer 1960, 299; Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 98–106; Verner 2002, 330; Dodson 1988, 125; Seipel 1980, 220). It cannot be said whether the king was a younger brother of the previous king, or if he was simply not from the royal family at all (see above *Chapter II.2.2.1*). Considering his young age at the time of ascension, the latter does not seem very likely. If Djedkare belonged to the side branch of the family, he might possibly have belonged to the lineage of Neferirkare–Neferefre–Shepseskare, which was interrupted by Niuserre and Menkauhor. The choice of his throne name with the elements of *k3*

and *Rᶜ* might support this suggestion (see above *Chapter II.2.2.1*), however, no substantial evidence can confirm it.

From the available evidence concerning royal females in the late Fifth Dynasty, some scholars have suggested that Meresankh IV could be Djedkare's queen (Reisner 1936, 408; Seipel 1980, 221–222). This queen is known from the mastaba D5 at the necropolis, which dates from the time of Menkauhor and Djedkare and is located along the north side of the Step Pyramid of Netjerykhet in Saqqara (Mariette 1889, 182–183). The titles inscribed on her limestone false door, which was found in her tomb, do include royal titles, exactly like those ascribed to queens of the Fifth Dynasty (Callender 2011, 192). V. G. Callender stated that one of the queen's titles, *ḫrp*[*t*] *sšmt šnḏt*, is a title usually held by widow queens, such as queens Neferhetepes and Khentkaus II (Callender 2011, 192). Although, if the anonymous "queen's" complex belonged to Meresankh IV, how can we explain that she built another tomb? If we presume that she helped the king to ascend the throne, and died within his reign, he would have buried her in the pyramid. If she lived longer than he did, then building tomb D5 for herself would mean that someone else usurped the pyramid after Djedkare's death, while Meresankh IV was still alive. This might explain the alterations in reliefs from the "queen's" pyramid complex (Moursi 1987, 189, fig. 3), but this speculation is not supported by any substantial evidence.

It is, however, also possible that the wife of Djedkare, who helped him to ascend the throne at the beginning of his reign, died before her husband and was buried in the anonymous pyramid complex, while Meserankh IV might have been her successor in the position of queen.

Djedkare's mother seems to be another possible owner of the anonymous pyramid complex, and this suggestion seems legitimate when taking into consideration the presumed young age of the king at the time of his ascension (see above). A similar situation is attested from the time of Niuserre, who came to the throne at a young age as well. During his reign, he showed gratitude to his mother, Khentkaus II, by promoting her funerary complex and adding to it some royal features (e.g. the satellite pyramid) (Verner 1995, 38–41). The monument of Khentkaus II was functionally (but not architecturally) connected with the pyramid complex of King Neferirkare, the queen's royal husband (Vymazalová 2015, 137, 154–155, 243–247). If Djedkare's mother was the owner of the anonymous complex, she was perhaps not the wife of Menkauhor because she is not buried near him. This would support the suggestion that Djedkare was from another branch of the royal family. A fragment of a red granite false door was found in the anonymous "queen's" pyramid complex, bearing remains of an inscription in incised

hieroglyphs. This inscription seems to include a part of titles of the owner. We can trace here the title *ḥmt nśwt* but no indications of the title *mwt nśwt* can be seen on this fragment.

Both the wife (either Meresankh IV or another queen of royal blood) and the mother of Djedkare, whose name is unknown, can be considered as owners of the anonymous pyramid complex. To identify the original owner is not possible without further investigations of the monument itself and other royal cemeteries of the time.

II.2.2.3 King's Sons and Daughters of His Body

Raemkai

Raemkai was buried in the L-shaped mastaba, D3, at the north side of the Step Pyramid of Netjerykhet in Saqqara (Mariette 1889, 178–181). The tomb originally belonged to the judge Neferirtenes and was usurped by Raemkai. His titles and epithets include: *iry-pˁt, ˁꜣ Dwꜣw, wr ỉdt, ḥm st, ḥm Dwꜣw, ḥry-tp Nḫb, ḥry-tp Nḫb n ỉt.f, ḫry-ḥb ḥry-tp, sꜣ nzwt, sꜣ nśwt n ḫt.f, zš mḏꜣt nṯr, smr wˁty, śmśw snwt*.

According to B. Schmitz, Raemkai's titles are traditional titles of the Fourth Dynasty, which were borne by the eldest sons of the king (Schmitz 1976, 87–88). The mastaba in which Raemkai was buried can be, according to its decoration program, dated to reign of Neferirkare–Niuserre (Fischer 1995, 82–84; Baud 1999, 72). On the other hand, Raemkai reused the mastaba and he could have lived during the reign of Djedkare (Hayes 1953, 94). The fact that Raemkai reused a tomb of an official instead of building his own might indicate that this king's son died unexpectedly.

W. Hayes considered Raemkai the eldest son of Djedkare (Hayes 1953, 94), who could have lived during or after the reign of Djedakre (Hayes 1953, 100). On the decoration of the mastaba of Raemkai, one of the funerary domains has the name *ỉꜣt ỉssi* (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 355, no. 12; Hayes 1953, 100). This idea of Raemkai being the son of the King was later adopted by many scholars (Baer 1960, 99; Porter, Moss, Málek 1981, 487–488; Fischer 1995, 82–84; Baud 1999, 510).

None of the available publications seem to take into consideration the possibility that Raemkai was son (or the eldest son) of King Menkauhor. We do not have much evidence about the reign and family of this ruler, but the lack of evidence cannot exclude him as a father of Raemkai. This interpretation would not be valid if Djedkare was Menkauhor's eldest son. However, no such evidence is available at the moment.

Neserkauhor

The cemetery of Djedkare's family in Abusir remains a puzzle. The cemetery was discovered by the Czech mission in Abusir and it belonged to some members of the king's family who died during his reign (Verner, Callender 2002). The satellite image of the site, together with aerial photographs, show that other structures existed around the Djedkare's family cemetery. Is it possible that the Abusir sand hides a tomb of another king's wife, buried next to her ancestors? A similar situation is known from the cemetery around the pyramid complex of Pepy I, where the king's wives, and also wives of his successors, were buried (Labrousse 2012, 299–308). In such a case, however, Djedkare would have had more than one wife (possibly one after another).

Prince Neserkauhor was the owner of Mastaba C in Djedkare's family cemetery on the south side of the causeway of the pyramid of Niuserre in Abusir (Verner, Callender 2002, 55–61). The following titles and epithets are attested for him: *iry-pˁt, sȝ nśwt śmśw nt ḫt.f mry*(*.f?*)*, ḫry-ḥbt ḥry tp, śmr wˁty, śš mḏȝt-nṯr, ḥry śštȝ* (*n*) *mdw nṯr, wr diw* (*m*) *pr Ḏḥwty, imȝḫw ḫr nṯr ˁȝ, sȝ nśwt.*

The titles of Neserkauhor indicate that he was the eldest son of a king, presumably King Djedkare. His titles attested on the lintel of his mastaba are similar to the titles of the eldest son and the successor of King Sahure, the future king Neferirkare (El-Awady 2009, 246–252), who was designated as "the hereditary prince, the king's eldest son, the chief lector priest" on the reliefs in his father's monument. Djedkare's son Neserkauhor, moreover, was "the scribe of the God's book, one who is privy to the secret of the God's words, the greatest of the five in the house (temple) of Thoth, and the one revered with the Great God". These titles indicate knowledge of magic, hieroglyphic script, religious texts, and sacred spells, i.e. connection to ritual activities in relation to the king.

What was the destiny of Prince Neserkauhor? His mastaba shares the same architectural features with the other tombs of Djedkare's family cemetery (Verner, Callender 2002, 56–57), and it is attested that the whole cemetery of this king's family in Abusir was dated to the year after the 17th cattle count, *rnpt* (*m*-)*ḫt sp 17* (Verner, Callender 2002, 68, 105). Even though no remains of a burial or a coffin were traced during the excavation, fragments of wooden statues of the prince were discovered in the tomb (Verner, Callender 2002, 60–61). One of the statue-pedestals (Náprstek Museum P 5699) bore the title *sȝ nśwt n ḫt.f śmśw, mry*(*.f*) and the name of Neserkauhor. The finds clearly indicate that the mastaba was indeed used for the burial of the prince, and that Neserkauhor apparently died before his father. This would argue against the suggestion of El-Awady that Neserkauhor became King Wenis (El-Awady 2009, 247–249 note

1376). If both Raemkai and Neserkauhor were Djedkare's eldest sons, it is not clear whether the king had two eldest sons from two different wives, or whether one held the title after the death of the other prince.

The possibility of Menkauhor as the father of Neserkauhor, based on the similarity in name of both persons, was presented by M. Verner (Verner 1990, 74). But this was refuted by the same author due to the date of the tomb of Neserkauhor, which was later than the tomb of Khekeretnebty. The similarity of names is striking and might suggest that a family relationship did exist between the two individuals. The question then is what exactly the relative dating of the tombs in Djedkare's family cemetery tells us? Could Neserkauhor be indeed Menkauhor's son who lived until the reign of Djedkare? This interpretation would not be valid if Djedkare was Menkauhor's eldest son, however, no such evidence is available at the moment.

Khekeretnebty

Princess Khekeretnebty was owner of Mastaba B in Djedkare's family cemetery on the south side of the causeway of the pyramid of Niuserre in Abusir. Later, during Old Kingdom, the mastaba was reused by Tisethor (Verner, Callender 2002, 13–53). Khekeretnebty's titles and epithets include: *ỉm3ḫt ḫr ỉssi, ỉm3ḫt* (*ḫ?*)*r nśwt, ỉm3ḫt* (*ḫ?*)*r nṯr ʿ3, ỉm3ḫt ḫr nṯr ʿ3, mrrt* (*nt*) *ỉssi, mrrt.f rʿ nb, s3t nśwt, s3t nśwt nt ḥt.f, s3t nśwt nt ḥt.f mrt.f*.

According to V. G. Callender, Khekeretnebty was a true daughter of King Djedkare (Verner, Callender 2002, 133), bearing the title *s3t nśwt nt ḥt.f mrrt nt ỉssi* and *s3t nśwt n ḥt.f mrrt.f rʿ nb*, but having the additional *mrrt nt ỉssi* and *mrrt.f rʿ nb* titles that are very unique for a princess (Verner, Callender 2002, 136).

In his analysis of the anthropological skeletal remains from the Djedkare's family cemetery at Abusir, E. Strouhal compared the remains of the princess's body with the remains that were discovered in the burial chamber of the pyramid of King Djedkare in South Saqqara (Batrawi 1947, 97–111; Strouhal, Gaballah 1993, 104–118). The comparison showed a high degree of similarity between both of them. Further similarities were attested between Khekeretnebty and Tisethor, who was 15–16 years old when she died (see below). Therefore, there is a high possibility that Khekeretnebty was the mother of Tisethor who was buried later in the same mastaba (Strouhal 2002, 119–132). In such case, the princess must have been married but perhaps outlived her spouse, or was buried separately from him. For comparison, Niuserre's daughter Sheretnebty was buried in her husband's tomb in Abusir South (Vymazalová, Dulíková 2012, 2014; Bárta et al. 2014; Vymazalová 2015, 149–152).

Hedjetnebu

Princess Hedjetnebu was owner of Mastaba K in Djedkare's family cemetery on the south side of the causeway of the pyramid of Niuserre in Abusir (Verner, Callender 2002, 85–98). Her titles and epithets included: *im3ḫt ḫr ntr ʿ3, s3t nśwt nt ḥt.f*.

According to V. G. Callender, Hedjetnebu was a true daughter of Djedkare and sister of Princess Khekeretnebty, bearing the title *s3t nśwt nt ḥt.f* (Verner, Callender 2002, 133). The anthropological analysis of the skeletal remains of Hedjetnebu shows that the princess might have died when she was 18–19 years old (Strouhal 2002, 121). As in the previous case, E. Strouhal compared the remains of the princess's body with the remains discovered in the burial chamber of the pyramid of King Djedkare in South Saqqara. The comparison showed a high degree of similarity between the princess and the king, and also between Hedjetnebu, Khekeretnebty and Tisethor.

Tisethor

Princess Tisethor was buried in the tomb of Khekeretnebty, Mastaba B in Djedkare's family cemetery (Verner, Callender 2002, 21–23). Her titles are: *ḥkrt nśwt mrt.f, im3ḫt.f, nbt im3ḫt ḫr ntr ʿ3, ḫr nśwt*.

E. Strouhal stated that Tisethor was 15–16 years old when she died and also the comparison between Khekeretnebty and Tisethor shows the highest proportion of identical features (Strouhal 2002, 121). Morphological analysis, corroborated by serology (blood typing), revealed close proximity between Khekeretnebty and the adolescent girl Tisethor, which can be interpreted as a sign of a close family relationship. Khekeretnebty, for which the mastaba was built, died at age 30–35 years, Tisethor, for which the mastaba was enlarged some time later, lived only 15–16 years. Their 14–20-year difference in age at death, plus the undetermined time lapse between burials of both, suggest the possibility that Tisethor was a daughter of Khekeretnebty than that they were sisters (Strouhal 2002, 131).

According to V. G. Callender the title *ḥkrt-nśwt*, which was held by Tisethor, is very common for women who were present at the royal court, but the addition *mrt.f* to the title is rare in the Old Kingdom (Verner, Callender 2002, 137). This suggests that the appearance of Tisethor in the royal court was due to her connection to Khekeretnebty. Tisethor was 15–16 years when she died, which means that she did not hold the title because of her profession but it was because of her royal affiliation, being a granddaughter of the king.

II.2.2.4 Other King's Sons and Daughters

Besides the true sons and daughters, other holders of the title *s3 nśwt* and *s3t nśwt* were attested, who were connected with Djedkare's family / rule, but their affiliation is not certain. As mentioned above, the titles *s3 nśwt, s3 nśwt n ḥt.f* and *s3t nśwt, s3t nśwt nt ḥt.f* are still unclear today (Schmitz 1976). It has been shown that some of the individuals who bore these titles were actually not children of kings. Some of the *s3 nśwt* and *s3t nśwt* were certainly not from the royal family (Altenmüller 2008).

One of the officials with this title who lived in the reign of Djedkare was Isesiankh, the owner of Mastaba D 8 at the north side of the Step Pyramid (Mariette 1889, 189–191; Quibell 1909, 24–25). Although, B. Schmitz considered Isesiankh to be a son of the king who bore the title *s3 nśwt* (Schmitz 1976, 88, 90), it is not enough to rely only on the title itself. Some scholars consider Isesiankh a son of Meresankh IV and a brother of Kaemtjenenet (Smith 1971, 187–188), others suggest that he could have been the son of the latter (Simpson 1979, 493–494; Harpur 1987, table 2.54; Strudwick 1985, 71–72 no. 26). These genealogical considerations are not based on direct evidence but on the similarity of the titles and the plan of their matabas. M. Baud dated the tomb of Isesiankh to the reign of Wenis (Baud 1997, 71–72, 78, no. 23). Although, we cannot rule out that he could have been a king's son.

Another official who is considered to be a royal son of Djedkare, is Kaemtjenenet, the owner of Mastaba D 7 on the north side of the Step Pyramid (Mariette 1889, 187–189). However, Kaemtjenenet held the title *s3 nśwt śmr wʿty* (men carrying this title were not genuine king's sons, see Schmitz 1976, 30–32, table 3; Junker 1934, 113; Junker 1953, 70), and in his biography he described some stages of his life – he was a sailor, who was put on the path to a career in shipping, expeditions, and holding the title *ỉmy-r3 k3t nbt nt nśwt*. Under these circumstances, it is more likely that *s3 nśwt* has been acquired by Kaemtjenenet as a promotion and he was not a true royal son. M. Baud, moreover, considered him the father of Isesiankh (Baud 1999, 591).

Another person from Djedkare's reign, Khentkaus, was married to Senedjemib Mehy, the eldest son of Senedjemib Inty. She bore the title *s3t nśwt nt ḥt.f* (Schmitz 1976, 119–123; Brovarski 2001, 143). Nothing is known about her father, but we cannot rule out that she was a daughter of Djedkare.

One more woman, who was considered a daughter of Djedkare was Heknunebty. According to M. Baud, Djedkare could have been her father. However, the title *s3t nśwt nt ḥt.f* is not attested for her (Baud 1999, 530).

As we have seen in the previous pages, it is difficult to find specific and reliable evidence of Djedkare's parentage. There are no sources that directly tell us who his parents were, and the anonymous queen's pyramid complex, located to the northeast of the king's, may have been constructed for his royal mother. As for his sons and daughters, all evidence linking them to Djedkare is not reliable.

Chapter III
The Pyramid Complex of Djedkare

The pyramid complex of King Djedkare in south Saqqara is the source of relief fragments, which constitute the major focus of this thesis. Therefore, the pyramid complex and its architecture provide us with the context for the study of the reliefs themselves. Unfortunately, the results of the past excavations have not been published and the documentation of those excavations has not been made available to scholars (see more in *Chapter III.2*). As a result, there has been no cohesive archaeological site history for the entire pyramid complex to date. This is rather unfortunate because the precise find-spots of the relief fragments within the pyramid complex might help us interpret the partially preserved scenes, and to reconstruct to some degree the decoration program for individual parts of the complex. A. Fakhry stated that the finds in the temple were discovered scattered and "it was impossible to tell whether anything … lay near its original place" (Fakhry 1961-b, 181). This serves to illustrate that the damage done by the ancient stone robbers contributed to losing the context of the scenes. We may nevertheless gain additional understanding of the discovered fragments, as well as archaeological circumstances related to the architecture of the pyramid complex and its development in the centuries and millennia following the late Fifth Dynasty.

Due to the unavailability of the documentation from the archaeological exploration, the author's study is based mainly on the description of the architectural features of the pyramid complex, and on the description of the individual fragments of reliefs (*Chapter IV*) – both without the proper archaeological context.

III.1 Reused Blocks from Djedkare's Pyramid Complex

During the campaign of 1938–1939 J. Ph. Lauer found several blocks with relief decoration among the casing blocks of the southern face of Wenis's pyramid and in the eastern side of the mortuary temple. They bear the names and image of Djedkare (Lauer 1939, 453–454). These fragments were published much later, in the final publication of the mortuary temple of Wenis (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 125–129).

In total, there are nine fragments. Eight of them are included in the discussion in the respective sections of the catalogue, according to the themes of their depiction. They include

scenes showing the royal titulary (see *Chapter IV.3.1*, Cat. nos. 1–5), fragments of royal scenes (*IV.3.2*, Cat. no. 13), fragment of a *sed*-festival (*IV.3.3*, Cat. no. 32), and a fragment of a scene of the king being given life (*IV.3.5*, doc. 4). The only fragment which is not included in the catalogue of this thesis will be introduced here (pl. 5). It measures 45 × 43 × 36 cm and contains two registers that are separated by a sky with five-pointed stars. Under the sky small traces of the figure of the vulture goddess Nekhbet (←) remain, only the rush with shoots (Gardiner Sign List M 22) of her name are preserved. Two vertical lines of inscription (→↓) remain on the relief, and it reads: *ḏd mdw di.n.i n.k ꜥnḫ wꜣś* [*nb*] /// *Ḥwt-Ḥr Ỉ*[*ssi*] "An invocation of words, I gave you [all] life and dominion […] Hathor I[sesi]".

Scholars have differing opinions concerning the fragments of Djedkare that were reused in the pyramid complex of Wenis. J. Ph. Lauer, who found the fragments, stated that they are proof that King Wenis usurped the funerary complex of his predecessor, Djedkare, and his ascension to the throne was a result of their conflict. Thus, Wenis should be considered the founder of the Sixth Dynasty (Lauer 1939, 454). Klaus Baer later adopted the same theory (Baer 1960, 298). A. Fakhry suggested that Prince Khaemwaset, in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, reused the fragments in the pyramid of Wenis during restoration work (Fakhry 1961-b, 182); other scholars (Munro 1993, 10; Stadelmann 1994, 330) agree with this theory. Fakhry's idea might be correct since many of the fragments were found in the casing of the southern face of the pyramid, where an inscription of Prince Khaemwaset is also carved on the pyramid's casing (Drioton, Lauer 1937, 201–211).

The supposition that Khaemwaset reused the blocks from the funerary temple of Djedkare could explain why the complex was already in a bad state of preservation before the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Fakhry 1961-b, 182). As a result, the prince did not pay any particular attention to restoring it.

It is known that Khaemwaset also restored other pyramids in Saqqara and Giza, for instance the Step Pyramid (Gomaá 1973, 63) (Gomaá 1973, 62–63, 65). Most likely, Khaemwaset's intention in doing such restoration work was to the keep the memory of the rulers and places alive, especially after the massive reuse of building materials in the pyramids of the Middle Kingdom and in the Delta (Gomaá 1973, 64).

Another re-used block from Djedkare's monument is a granite doorjamb, which was found reused in front of the well chamber in Amenemhat I's pyramid at Lisht. The doorjamb has an erased inscription of Djedkare's titulary and name (Jánosi 2015, 18–19, Cat. no. 7, pls. 8b–d–9). A similar doorjamb can still be seen lying to the north of the *antichambre carrée* in the mortuary temple of Djedkare (pl. 6), with the same inscription (↓←), which reads:

[*Ḥr-ḏd-ḫʿw*]	"Horus Djedkhau (Perpetual-of-rising),
nswt bity	King of Upper and Lower Egypt
ḏd-ḫʿw-nbty	The one affiliated with the Two Ladies, Djedkhau,
bjk-nbw-ḏd	Horus of gold Perpetual,
ḏd-kȝ-Rʿ	Djedkare,
dj ʿnḫ ḏd wȝś ḏt	given (granted) life, endurance and power forever".

The reasons for the doorjamb's re-use in Amenemhat I's monument are unclear. Its similarity to the doorjamb of Djedkare's *antichambre carrée* seems to indicate that it was originally a part of the king's pyramid complex at Saqqara. If so, this would indicate that Djedkare's pyramid complex was in a bad state of preservation by the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. There is no evidence that Djedkare's cult was renewed in the Middle Kingdom, as was the case with those of some other Old Kingdom rulers. It is possible that the degree of damage in the king's pyramid complex was the result of its close proximity to the late Old Kingdom capital of Mennefer. On the other hand, we can presume that it must have taken some effort to transport the block from Saqqara to Lisht. The builders of Amenemhat I's pyramid complex thus might have intentionally wanted to use this piece in the Lisht pyramid as a form of piety towards an important Old Kingdom ruler. We nevertheless cannot rule out the possibility of another monument of Djedkare with the same pattern of doorjambs closer to Lisht.

III.2 History of Archaeological Research and Exploration of Djedkare's Pyramid Complex

J. S. Perring undertook the first investigation of the funerary complex of Djedkare in the 19th century (Vyse 1840–42, 51–52). In his manuscript, Perring estimated the side of the base of the pyramid to be 82.3 m. long and the height of the pyramid to be 24.4 m (Perring 1842, 12). Afterwards, K. R. Lepsius visited the complex, and he attributed No. XXXVII to the pyramid (LD I, 198).

It is worth mentioning that the local name for Djedkare's pyramid is "El-Shawaf El-Qibly" or "The Southern Sentinel", to distinguish it from "El-Shawaf El-Bahry" = Pepy I's pyramid (Megahed 2011-a, 617). The name El-Shawaf comes from the watch stations constructed in high places at the site to warn the inhabitants of Saqqara village of encroachments by the Bedouins (Perring 1842, 12).

It is said that in December 1880 Gaston Maspero found his way to the king's pyramid, during his search for Pyramid Texts but after finding that the walls of the substructure of the pyramid did not contain any texts, he abandoned the funerary complex completely (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 64; Verner 2002, 324–325). However, V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi were perhaps incorrect when they associated the opening of Djedkare's pyramid with G. Maspero, because in his article "The Discovery of the Pyramid Texts", R. T. Ridley stated that G. Maspero arrived to Cairo on the 5th of January 1881. Therefore, it is more likely that the one who opened the pyramid for August Marriette in 1880 was *rais* Mohamed Shahin (Ridley 1983, 74–80).

In 1945 the Egyptian Antiquities Department established "The Pyramid Studies Project", which was initially supervised by Abdel Salam Hussein. This project began in1945 with the investigation of the pyramid complex of Djedkare – and this was the start of archaeological exploration of the king's funerary monument in earnest. Around the same time, A. Hussein also began work at the two pyramid complexes of King Snofru at Dahshur, and perhaps around them in the Dahshur cemeteries as well.

Abdel Salam Hussein, who was assisted by Alexander Varille, pursued a short season at the pyramid complex of King Djedkare, concentrating mainly on the interior of the pyramid and the funerary temple of the king to the east of the pyramid. There are only limited records of his explorations of the valley temple and no documentation for the causeway. Most of the documentation by these early explorers was assumed to be lost after their deaths (Fakhry 1959, 10). However, recently the University of Milan purchased a part of A. Varille's archive, which includes some of A. Hussein's and A. Varille's documentation from Djedkare's pyramid complex (Piacentini 2010, 64–68). This documentation consists of excavation cards for some of the fragments of relief decoration found in the funerary temple, as well as general photographs of the site during the exploration, which were presented recently at a conference in Prague in 2015. Yet, the archive kept by the University of Milan has not been accessible to scholars until today. Patrizia Piacentini has kindly provided the author of this thesis with some photographs after her Prague presentation in June 2015, which included photographs from other Old and Middle Kingdom monuments beside Djedkare's pyramid complex. The complete information on A. Varille's archive has been so far unavailable and it is not clear whether the records in Milan contain the entire archive from Hussein's 1945 excavations, or only a part of the documentation done by A. Varille himself.

After the sudden death of A. Hussein in the United States in 1949, followed by the death of A. Varille in a car accident in France in 1951, Ahmed Fakhry was appointed the new director

of the Pyramid Studies Project by the Egyptian Antiquities Department in March of 1951. From the 30th of October 1952 until the 31st of December of the same year, A. Fakhry continued the excavation in the pyramid complex of King Djedkare. During the same season, he also worked at the Bent Pyramid, the southern pyramid complex of Snofru in Dahshur. This may have been the reason why he did not give much attention to the pyramid complex of Djedkare itself.

During the first ten days of his work at Djedkare's pyramid complex, Fakhry concentrated mainly on the eastern part of the funerary temple of the king (Fakhry 1959, 30). On the 10th of November, he moved the work to the so-called "queen's" pyramid complex (Megahed 2011-a, 616–634). It seems that when he arrived at the temple, it was already in a very bad state of preservation (Fakhry 1959, 31). By the end of December, A. Fakhry ceased his excavations at Saqqara. During his work, hundreds of fragments of the relief decoration were collected from both the king's and the "queen's" pyramid temples (Moursi 1987, 188).

Additionally, burials of horned snakes were uncovered in the north east part of the mortuary temple of Djedkare. A. Fakhry found them inside more than 52 pottery vessels of different shapes, the snakes were wrapped in bandages of linen and covered by clay. Some of these pots were sealed with cloth, others had cords around them so that they could be carried. Outer clay stoppers were not found (Fakhry, unpublished manuscript).

A. Fakhry was assisted by Klaus Baer, who was studying in Egypt on a Fulbright grant under the supervision of A. Fakhry at that time. No documentation from his excavations seems to have survived, or at least, none has been available to scholars to date. The archive of the Egyptology papers of Klaus Baer is kept in the Oriental Institute Museum Archives of the University of Chicago. According to the published inventory of Baer's archive, it contains photos, notes and plans, which are said to be reserved for a future publication (Wilfong 1993, 290). This confirms that A. Fakhry, in collaboration with Baer, was preparing a publication of his work in Djedkare's funerary complex. Baer's archive has been, however, inaccessible to the present author.[4]

Another part of the documentation was probably kept in Egypt, and was finally given to A. Fakhry's followers in the Faculty of Archaeology at Cairo University. A small part of A. Fakhry's manuscript, an introduction to his unfinished publication, was kindly given to the author by Ola el-Ogazy. This manuscript will be included in the future final publication of the pyramid complex of King Djedkare.

[4] In 2014 the author requested access to these files from the Oriental Institute Museum Archives. In 2015 however, he was told by the Museum Archivist that the files concerning Baer's documentation from Djedkare's complex were misplaced in the archive (correspondence dated 17th of November 2015).

The fragments of relief decoration from the excavations of A. Hussein and A. Fakhry have been stored in several storerooms of the Ministry of Antiquities in Egypt, and cataloged by the present author. The majority of the fragments bear numbers given by A. Fakhry, while some fragments have no numbers. However, not all of the numbered fragments were found by A. Fakhry, and it is very difficult today to identify the finder of each fragment. Some of the fragments also bear dates, which confirm that these pieces were discovered in October 1945, i.e. during A. Hussein's work. Other fragments with numbers – but without dates – appear among the photos of A. Varille, indicating that they were also found in 1945. Only full access to A. Varille's and K. Baer's archives would enable the author to distinguish between the fragments found by Hussein and those found by A. Fakhry. Some of the boxes in which the fragments are stored were labeled as coming from the "queen's" pyramid complex. These labels constitute the only available clue concerning the original place of discovery for the fragments. Though it is obvious that there was some confusion about the placement of the fragments because some relief fragments were published by M. Moursi as originating from the "queen's" pyramid complex but the present author found them placed in boxes labelled as coming from the king's pyramid complex. It is therefore impossible to confirm their place of origin without access to the original documentation, including the archives of K. Baer and A. Varille.

In 1980 Mahmoud Abel Razek cleaned the northern part of the funerary temple of Djedkare (pl. 7-a). It was this work that revealed coffins made of clay and wood, and also several remains of snake sculptures dating to the New Kingdom and the Late Period (Leclant 1982, 67[q]).

In February 1986, during the preparation of his PhD thesis, Salah El-Naggar was able once again to reach the funerary apartment of the king's pyramid, after he had cleaned the entrance and the descending corridor (El-Naggar 1999, 102).

In 2001, the French Archaeological Institute in Cairo (IFAO) began its activities in the pyramid complex of Djedkare, which continued for two seasons under the direction of Bernard Mathieu. The courtyard in front of the north side of the pyramid was cleaned and restoration work was done both inside and outside of the pyramid itself. Additionally, some fragments of relief decoration were collected from the old debris from previous excavations. The results of this work have never been published, but the members of this mission kindly provided the present author with the reports on their campaigns (Mathieu 2001, 545–546, no. 22; Mathieu 2002, 527, no. 21) and with plans (kindly provided by Audran Labrousse). Access to the relief fragments was kindly allowed by Vassil Dobrev and these fragments were later moved from the storeroom at Tabbet el-Guesh to the storeroom next to the funerary temple of Djedkare.

Djedkare's pyramid complex has been, since the beginning, an Egyptian concession and after the two seasons by the IFAO, the site returned to the SCA. In 2010 the Pharaonic Sector of the SCA re-commenced its work in the pyramid complex. The project has been headed by the present author who intended, first of all, to document the pyramid complexes of the king and the "queen". In 2010, a short mission was carried out in the "queen's" pyramid temple, during which the north-western part of the temple was cleaned and documented (Megahed 2011-a). The second season in 2011 was interrupted by the Lotus Revolution after only three days of work (Megahed 2011-b, 27; Jánosi, Megahed 2015, 52).

Since 2013 the work has continued in the king's pyramid complex, in the form of short archaeological seasons. During the past three seasons, several parts of the funerary temple were cleaned and documented in detail, including a section in the south-western part of the temple and two more sections of the eastern part of the temple (Jánosi, Megahed 2015; Megahed, Jánosi 2016). During this work, several hundreds of fragments of relief decoration were collected in the temple, some of which had been noticed (but not collected) by A. Hussein or A. Fakhry, while others had not (Megahed, Jánosi 2016).

In 2015 a 3D documentation of the substructure of Djedkare's pyramid was started, its 3D laser scanning is a non-contact technology of direct data collection methods, creating a point cloud, which is then processed by a specific computer program to acquire a 3D reconstruction of the scanned object.

This 3D documentation of the pyramid of King Djedkare is the first of its kind to be made in an Old Kingdom pyramid. The first stage of the documentation included installation of control points in 120 the substructure of the pyramid, and their geodetic measurement. This measurement is particularly important for placing the 3D model of the pyramid's substructure in a wider model of geodetic points of the whole pyramid complex (Megahed, Vymazalová, Brůna, Marek 2016, 38–49).

III.3 Architecture of Djedkare's Pyramid Complex

The architecture of the pyramid complex of King Djedkare has already been presented in print by many scholars. The following pages thus aim to summarize the information, and in addition, add some new details based on the recent work of the Egyptian mission in south Saqqara.

III.3.1 The Pyramid

III.3.1.1 The Superstructure

The original name of Djedkare's pyramid was *Nfr-ḏd-kꜣ-Rᶜ* "Djedkare is Perfect/Beautiful". Two versions of the name, *Nfr-ḏd-kꜣ-Rᶜ* and *Nfr-ỉssi*, were included in a number of titles of officials from the time of Djedkare onwards (Jones 2000, nos. 584, 1379, 1964, 2302, 2531, 3455). The former variant of the name can be found in some of the fragments of relief decoration from the king's funerary temple (see *Chapter IV.3.8* Cat. no. 108, pls. 143–144) but the name *Nfr-ỉssi* has not yet been attested on any of the relief fragments.

The pyramid of Djedkare was badly damaged over time (pl. 7-b). Its destruction possibly started prior to the Middle Kingdom, as indicated by the fact that one of the re-used blocks that may have come from Djedkare's pyramid complex and was found in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht (see above *Chapter III.1*). As a result of the reuse of its building material throughout succeeding generations, the pyramid of Djedkare lost its casing and a part of the core of the pyramid, and its superstructure reaches now only 24 meters in height (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 66).

J. Perring estimated the base of the pyramid to be 82.3 m. along each side (Vyse 1840–1842, 52), however, later measurements taken by V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi proved that the side of the base was 78.75 m. (150 cubits) long and the angle of the sides was 52º (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 66; Stadelmann 1997, 180). These measurements indicate that the slope of this pyramid was defined by the Egyptian builders as *sḳd* of 5 palms and 2 fingers, i.e. the ratio of the height to half of the base of the pyramid was 7 : (5 + 1/2) palms. According to the calculations attested in the Rhind mathematical papyrus (for the papyrus see Peet 1923); for the calculations in relation to pyramids, see for instance Rossi 2004; Vymazalová 2015, 42–51), the original height of Djedkare's pyramid would have been almost 95 + 1/2 of a cubit, i.e. 50,1 m.

The core was probably constructed as a six-stepped-pyramid, with each step being about 7 m. high (Jánosi, Megahed 2015, 54). It was built of small blocks of local limestone and irregular limestone chips, quarried from the nearby Wadi Tafla, and joined together with clay mortar (Klemm, Klemm 2010, 136). However, the new archaeological investigation at the site since 2010 has revealed that not all of the core was built in this manner. At least the lowest course of the core masonry, on the eastern side of the pyramid, was built of large, fine limestone blocks. These blocks actually formed the western part of the rooms of the funerary temple,

which reached into the pyramid's core. However, more work is needed in the future to understand the construction method fully.

The pyramid was encased with fine white limestone blocks from the quarry sub-district of Tura-Massara, which lies on the eastern bank of the Nile, almost opposite to the site of south Saqqara (Klemm, Klemm 2010, 139). Some casing blocks, especially the bottom courses on the northern side, are still *in situ* (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 66). During its brief work on the northern side of the pyramid, the IFAO mission cleaned a part of the masonry and restored some of the casing blocks to their original places (Megahed 2014-c, 8). On different parts of the pyramid, backing stones between the core and the casing blocks can still be seen.

The western and southern sides of the pyramid have never been properly cleaned or documented, and this is planned to be done in the future. In addition, the core of the pyramid has never been cleared of the debris, which covers it. This will not be an easy task; however, it may bring to light a great deal of evidence concerning the ancient construction methods. Such evidence was revealed in the pyramid of Pepy I after the cleaning of its core by the French mission. A small part of the so-called "queen's" pyramid was uncovered in 2010 by the present author, showing that the core was constructed of large blocks of local limestone and smaller rough blocks, joined with mortar in some places (Megahed 2011-a, 621). Besides the construction details, numerous Hieratic inscriptions can be expected on the blocks of the core masonry, which would provide us with another type of evidence concerning the construction of the pyramid of King Djedkare. Such inscriptions are well-documented in many Old Kingdom monuments.

III.3.1.2 The Substructure

The funerary apartment inside Djedkare's pyramid was constructed as an open pit, in the same way that was used previously in Abusir (Stadelmann 1997, 180). According to R. Stadelmann (1997, 180) the underground part of the pyramid reaches approximately 9 m. deep under but the recent geodetic measurements by the Egyptian mission in 2015 revealed that the difference between the floor level of the northern chapel and the burial chamber is 6.83 m.

The entrance into the pyramid is unusual; it is not situated on the face of the pyramid as in the other true Old Kingdom pyramid complexes, but it opens into the floor of the courtyard in front of the northern face of the pyramid. V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi stated that this was the first known case of such an arrangement (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 88, 90, observations no. 1). However, there are a few examples with a similar plan. The first such appeared on the

pyramid of Khafre at Giza, which has two entrances aligned with each other. One of them, the older entrance, is located in the ground about 30 m. north of the pyramid (Verner 2002, 226), not on the pyramid's north-south axis, but shifted 12.45 meters east of the axis (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1966, 52). The second similar case is to be found in the entrance of the pyramid of Weserkaf at Saqqara, where the entrance is located to the north of the pyramid's base as well (Labrousee, Lauer 2000, 143; Vyse 1840–1842, 39; Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1970, pl. 1 fig. 1, pl. 3 figs. 1 and 5; Verner 2002, 275).

In addition to its unusual location in the ground in front of Djedkare's pyramid, the entrance is not located in the pyramid's north-south axis but it is shifted about 2.60 m to the west of it (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 66). It should be stressed that Djedkare's pyramid is the only pyramid in the Old Kingdom that has the entrance shifted to the west of the north-south axis. All the other pyramids have entrances either in the precise north-south axis, or shifted to the east of the north-south axis, as e.g. the above-mentioned pyramid of Khafre, but also the Red Pyramid at Dahshur (Stadelmann 1997, 101), or the Great Pyramid of Khufu where the entrance is shifted more than seven meters to the east of the north-south axis (Verner 2002, 196). This positioning of the entrance was explained by V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi as a simple error in the measurements and calculations made by the ancient architects (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 90, Observation no. 1.) M. Verner offered a different explanation, supposing that this shift was related to the addition of the *serdab* to the substructure (Verner 2014, 178).

The entrance into the pyramid was originally located inside the north chapel, which is entirely lost today. However, its position and the ground plan can be easily traced by the pavement blocks of the surrounding courtyard of the pyramid. It is one of the earliest north chapels attested; the existence of this type of chapel prior to Djedkare's north chapel is attested on Snofru's Bent Pyramid in Dahshur (Fakhry 1959, 41–42, pl. 7, fig. 6) and in the funerary complex of Neferefre in Abusir (Verner et al. 2006, 14–15). Djedkare's north chapel was a small limestone structure. According to the earlier measurements of V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi, it was 6.71 m × 4.69 m in area. In the south side of this chapel, i.e. by the wall of the pyramid, was probably placed a false door (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, pl. 12, fig. 1; Stadelmann 1997, 180; Jánosi 1995, 146). In the more recent plan of the north chapel, which was documented in detail by the IFAO mission in 2001 and 2002, the original appearance of the north chapel was reconstructed by Audran Labrousse who is planning to publish it.

The entrance of the pyramid leads into the descending corridor (pl. 8). The pyramid of Djedkare is the last one with the corridor angled slightly to the east, a tradition started by Neferirkare and maintained by the Abusir kings and queens (Verner 2002, 326) and perhaps

also by Menkauhor in north Saqqara (Hawass 2010, fig. 4; Vymazalová, Coppens 2008, 35). This inclination has not been satisfactorily explained by scholars but it might have reflected some specific funerary belief, which we no longer understand.

The descending corridor measures, according to the plans of V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi, 15.90 m in length, 1.25 m. in width and 1.27 m. in height (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, pl. 12 fig. 2). However, other authors give different measurements (e.g. Stadelmann 1997, 180). The recent measurements of the Egyptian mission in 2015 revealed that the width of the corridor is 1.38 m. and the height is 1.30 m. The corridor still contains the large granite casing blocks on the upper part of its walls while its bottom part is cased with limestone. The corridor appears to be very well preserved and only its lower part shows some damage, particularly on the ceiling (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 66). At the southern end of the descending corridor, one may notice a large granite block, which once served as a portcullis, making the inner apartments inaccessible. This block was lifted in modern times (later than 1962 when V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi visited the pyramid), however we have found that a tunnel was hewn in the body of the pyramid by tomb robbers in ancient times, to avoid removing this blocking device. The robbers' tunnel ends in the vestibule.

The vestibule at the end of the descending corridor is encased with fine white limestone. Part of the eastern casing is now destroyed. The vestibule was 4.22 m. long, 2.04 m. wide and 2.23 m. high (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, pl. 12, fig. 1–2). However, the recent measurements by the Egyptian mission in 2015 revealed that the width is about 2.08 m. and the height is 2.21 m. The ceiling was formed with one large slab of limestone, which is about 4.8 m. long, 3.25 wide and 1 m. thick. The weight of such a block can reach 24,000 kilograms (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 66).

In the southwest corner of the vestibule, an assemblage was found, comprised of broken clay vessels and their seals. It is possible that those vessels were the remains of the ritual of breaking or "killing" the red vessels (Verner 2002, 326; Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 90, Observation no. 3).

The horizontal corridor opens from the south wall of the vestibule. It runs in the north-south axis of the pyramid and was 1.27 m. wide, 1.27 m. high and 17.59 m. long (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, pl. 12, fig. 1–2). Only its southern part is damaged, otherwise it is well preserved. A granite portcullis, consisting of three pink granite blocks, divided the horizontal corridor (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 68), but these blocks were lifted in modern times.

The funerary apartment of Djedkare consists of three chambers: the antechamber, the burial chamber, and the newly introduced element, the *serdab*.

The antechamber has an east-west orientation and it measures 3.78 × 3 m (the recent measurements are very similar, namely, 3.71 × 3 m). Only part of its lower eastern wall is preserved: up to approximately 2.10 m above the level of the floor (El-Naggar 1999, 102), or 2.04 m. as suggested by recent measurements taken by the Egyptian mission in 2015. The missing part of the eastern wall allows us now to see the core of the pyramid from the inside, which consists of small chips of local limestone. The chamber was paved with limestone blocks; however, many of them are missing now.

A part of the ceiling of the antechamber has been preserved, consisting of huge limestone buttress beams that form a vaulted ceiling, with the apex of vault at a height of 4.57 m (El-Naggar 1999, 102). Each of the two sides of the vault is composed of three slabs of limestone. The southern slabs are entirely preserved, but of those in the north, only part of the middle remains as well as small traces of the other two slabs. On the north side, the slabs are shorter (4.31 m.) because they lie on the granite lintel above the entrance, leading from the horizontal corridor. Meanwhile the southern slab measures 5.10 m. The upper face of the lintel was carved at a slope (16 cm) to withstand the pressure of the ceiling slabs (El-Naggar 1999, 102).

From the eastern wall of the antechamber (pl. 9), a horizontal corridor leads into the *serdab* with three niches. It was thought to be 1.6 m. long and 0.7 m. wide (Stadelmann 1997, 180) but the recent measurements by the Egyptian mission in 2015 demonstrated that this corridor is 1.51 m. long and 1 m. high. The niches are well preserved, except for the southern niche, where the floor was removed (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 68, 70). The *serdab* is oriented north-south and it measures 6.74 × 2.06 m (Stadelmann 1997, 180) and 2.10 m. high. The walls of the niches were smoothed, and the flat ceiling consisted of large horizontal slabs of limestone. The plan of the *serdab* is slightly irregular because some of the niches do not have walls at right-angles.

The interpretation of this part of the pyramid has been the subject of debate. For instance, H. Ricke connected the *serdab* with the cult of the Abydenien gods and the White Crown of Upper Egypt (Ricke 1950, 123–124, 208, figs. 49, 56). On the other hand, M. Verner suggested that the *serdab* might function as the seat of Osiris (Verner 2014, 178), and this suggestion can be supported with the increasing evidence of this god's cult from the middle of the Fifth Dynasty. We should also mention that Osiris, or a deity connected with him, was possibly depicted on fragments of relief decoration found in the mortuary temple of Djedkare (see *Chapter IV.3.7* doc. 7). Other scholars (Mathieu 1997, 294–302) associated this new room in the pyramid's plan with the introduction of the Pyramid Texts under Wenis, which are

strongly connected with Osiris. Furthermore, a *serdab* might have existed in the Headless Pyramid in Saqqara, a structure thought most likely to belong to Menkauhor. During a recent excavation of that pyramid, Z. Hawass expressed the belief that that a cut in the bedrock to the east of the antechamber was for a *serdab* (Hawass 2010, 157). If this interpretation is correct, it would make it the earliest attestation of a *serdab* in a pyramid's plan.

The western wall of the antechamber is almost entirely lost today, only the very bottom part of the wall and some imprints can be traced on the preserved parts of the floor. These remaining traces allow us to identify the passage leading from the antechamber to the burial chamber. That this passage was 1.18 m long and 1.27 m. wide, and presumably 1.27 m. high (Maragiogli, Rinaldi 1977, 72).

The burial chamber is rectangular and is also very badly preserved (pl. 10-a). It measured 7.87 × 3.12 m. and its height reaches 4.59 m. The chamber is covered with a vaulted ceiling built in the same manner as the ceiling of the antechamber. It is constructed of six limestone slabs on each side. These slabs are still in position, except for the western end of the southern side, which is damaged. There are some similarities in the construction of the ceilings of both the antechamber and the burial chamber. This is logical because both rooms were likely constructed at once, with the dividing wall between them supporting the ceiling. The vaulted ceiling of the two rooms was composed of two layers of limestone slabs (El-Naggar 1999, 103) but three layers were presumed by V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi in their older plan (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, pl. 12, fig. 3).

Some interesting construction details have been noticed by the Egyptian mission in 2014 and 2015 in the burial chamber and the antechamber. For instance, pieces of wood were placed in the seams between some of the ceiling slabs in order to fill gaps between the blocks (pl. 10-b). These wooden pieces were apparently used by the builders to strengthen the ceiling, and were then covered with reed mats and then pink mortar. These details were originally well masked, and are hardly visible even today.

The limestone floor of the burial chamber is partly missing but some of the foundation blocks are visible today. The foundation of the antechamber and the burial chamber is made of white limestone and consists of two levels of blocks.

The side walls of the burial chamber are badly damaged as well and many of the fine limestone casing blocks are missing today, revealing the masonry of the pyramid's core. The space behind the west, north and the top of the south walls of the chamber is filled in with rubble and stone chips cemented by mortar *tafla* (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 72). The IFAO mission carried out some consolidation work, however parts of the core's masonry have been

falling down recently and therefore an overall consolidation of the burial chamber and the antechamber needs to be done very soon.

Inside the burial chamber, S. El-Naggar noticed Hieratic quarry marks and construction lines for levelling, written and drawn in red paint (El-Naggar 1999, 103). The recent investigation identified numerous Hieratic inscriptions on the blocks of the walls and the ceiling, as well as the core blocks, the floor and foundation blocks of both the burial chamber and the antechamber. These Hieratic quarry marks and builder's inscriptions were written in red, black, brown and yellow paint, and include names of officials, names of work groups, construction lines and marks, and measurements (Dobrev, Verner, Vymazalová 2011, 12).

Fragments of grey-black basalt were found in the burial chamber, which might have come from the sarcophagus. The western part of floor in the burial chamber indicates that the sarcophagus was embedded in the floor, reaching about 12 cm below floor level. From the discovered fragments, it can be presumed that the sides of the sarcophagus were about 24 cm thick (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 72). The fragments are still situated in the burial chamber today.

A small square hole was found in the floor, about 3.4 m. from the west wall and 40 cm. from the south wall of the burial chamber. It measures about 0.7 m. on each side and it was 0.85 m deep (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 72), or 0.77 m. on each side and it was 0.87 m deep according to the recent measurements by the Egyptian mission in 2015. Inside this hole Abdel Salam Hussein found human remains, and it seems that all of them belonged to the same individual (Batrawi 1947). In addition to this, an alabaster vessel with the name of Djedkare was found inside the hole, together with fragments of other vessels of the same material, and parts of wrapped viscera (Batrawi 1947, 99). These vessels might have been some of the king's canopic jars but the present location of these finds is unknown, thus they cannot be documented in detail.

The human remains have drawn considerable attention. Considering the fact that the descending corridor of the pyramid was blocked until recently, and the pyramid apartments were accessible only through a narrow robber's passage, A. Batrawi, who examined the remains, concluded that it is improbable that the body was placed at a later date. Therefore, the human remains, which are kept now in the anatomy department in El-Kasr El-Ainy Faculty of Medicine, are most likely the remains of King Djedkare himself (Batrawi 1947, 99). In his report, A. Batrawi stated they were the remains of a mummified body belonging to a man about 50 years old (Batrawi 1947, 100). The remains were re-examined by E. Strouhal and M. Gaballah who compared them to remains from burials from the so-called family cemetery of

Djedkare in Abusir (Strouhal, Gaballah 1993, 104–118; for the cemetery see Verner, Callender 2002).

III.3.2 The Mortuary Temple

Djedkare built his funerary temple in standard fashion on the eastern side of the pyramid on a plateau overlooking the modern village of Saqqara. An exception to this rule in the Old Kingdom is the funerary temple of Weserkaf, which was built in the southern side of the pyramid due to its location between the dry moat and the enclosure wall of the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet.

Due to the pyramid's location on a hill, and the size of the temple itself, it was necessary to level the ground and an embankment can still be seen in the southeast part of the temple. Two *sondages* were made in the area, which indicate that a network of walls with the inner spaces filled with sand and stone chips supported the temple (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 74). The same method of terracing the ground was also used in the so-called "queen's" pyramid complex to the northeast of the king's pyramid. This was proven in 2011 when modern robbers dug a hole in the northeast part of the "queen's" funerary temple and hit the embankment of the temple (Megahed 2014-c, 12).

In 2013 the SCA started a project to clean and document the temple (see above *Chapter III.1*; Megahed 2014-c; Megahed, Jánosi 2016). The temple at first gives the impression that it was heavily damaged (pl. 11); however, recent work has shown that the funerary temple of Djedkare is much better preserved than most of the other temples of the Old Kingdom, perhaps with the exception of those belonging to Menkaure and Sahure. Even though the walls of the temple have not survived, we can clearly follow the layout of the temple on its remaining pavement. Some areas, however, have never been properly cleaned and documented, such as the northeastern section.

It is worth mentioning that in the southwestern corner of the temple, where its southern wall meets the east face of the pyramid, the construction of the temple and the casing of the pyramid took place at the same time. The outer walls of the temple had the usual inclination of about 82° (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 74, 76).

It is worth mentioning that in the southwestern corner of the temple, where its southern wall meets the east face of the pyramid, the construction of the temple and the casing of the pyramid took place at the same time. The outer walls of the temple had the usual inclination of about 82° (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 74, 76).

The public part of the temple starts in the area where the causeway (C) meets the funerary temple (T) (see pl. 1). The *pr wrw* (T.a.1) measures about 5.20 × 20.80 m. Its side walls were built of local limestone with the interior of the northern (T.a.2) and southern (T.a.3) walls encased with fine white limestone, of which the first course is still *in situ*. The walls were over 4 m thick, and the hall probably had a vaulted ceiling. The pavement of the *pr wrw* is missing, with only small remnants of a pavement of Egyptian alabaster, which still can be found *in situ* in the north west corner of the room (Jánosi, Megahed 2015, 57, fig. 5). Today, a large limestone block lies in the eastern part of this room, which was perhaps a part of the relief decoration of its western wall (see *Chapter IV.3.5* Cat. no. 41, pls. 65–66; Megahed forthcoming).

On the northern and southern side of the entrance hall there are groups of storerooms (T.d.9–14 and T.f.4–9). Both groups can be reached through passages from the central part of the temple, from the transverse corridor (see below).

From the entrance hall one enters the open courtyard (T.e), which is 23.40 m long east-west and 15.60 m wide north-south. The floor of the courtyard, which is almost entirely destroyed, was made of Egyptian alabaster and only a few floor slabs can still be seen *in situ*. Underneath the remains of the foundation blocks are visible. The courtyard contained granite columns: 4 on the short sides and 7 on the long ones. There are no remains of the granite bases of these columns in the courtyard but traces of their original position can be identified. Some fragments of the columns are still in the temple. Most likely, the name and epithets of the king were engraved on the shafts of these columns.

The open courtyard once contained an alabaster altar, fragments of which have been found in the temple. As in other attested examples from the Old Kingdom, it was an altar of Egyptian alabaster decorated with relief scenes (for more details on this altar and altars from the funerary temples of Sahure, Niuserre and Teti see Megahed 2014-a). A. Fakhry found fragments of Egyptian alabaster with reliefs during his investigation of the site in 1952 (Megahed 2014-a, 56); unfortunately, we do not know exactly where those fragments were found. Only seven fragments remain and they are very small in size, but the reliefs are carefully carved.

Despite the poor state of preservation of the altar, we can attempt a reasonable reconstruction of one of the fragments (Megahed 2014-a, 57, figs. 3-e, 4), which bears a female personification of a *ḥwt*-estate. On a standard on top of her head is placed the *ḥwt*-sign with remains of the name of Djedkare, and in front of it are the remains of the domain's name. Her hands are outstretched in front of her body, and she is carrying an offering table shaped like the

ḥtp-sign, on which is placed a loaf of bread and a *ḥz*-vase. She also holds a *w3s*-scepter in her hand. Three *ꜥnḫ*-signs hang on three different cords around her fingers, wrist, and forearm and these can also be seen below the offering table. The remains of the name of this *ḥwt* can be reconstructed as: *śrwḏ*, which means "to strengthen /to perpetuate".

The central part of the temple, which is only accessible through an entrance in the western wall of the courtyard, begins with a long, N-S orientated transverse corridor (T.m.1). This part of the temple constituted the division between the private and public sections. The transverse corridor measures about 3.12 m in width, and its inner walls were lined with white limestone (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 76). To the north and south of the east wall of the corridor there are two doors leading to the two E-W oriented sets of rooms and storerooms (T.d and T.f). These rooms are located in the north and south behind the open courtyard and the entrance hall.

The northern group (T.d) was explored and documented by the Egyptian mission in 2015. The first two rooms (T.d.1–2) are of different sizes, both long and E-W oriented and both (T.d.1–2) had floors made of Egyptian alabaster, some remains of which we can still be seen today. Each room gives access to a storeroom to the south (T.d.3–4). These rooms are similar in size and have nicely preserved limestone floors with clearly visible traces of the walls.

The eastern end of the room T.d.2 provides access to a long corridor with E-W orientation (T.d.8), which leads to the south to six N-S oriented storerooms (T.d.9–14). These storerooms are located to the north of the entrance hall *pr wrw* (T.a). Their floors are only partly preserved but the original size of the rooms can be reconstructed and their total number estimated.

One of the most interesting parts of Djedkare's funerary temple is a side portico (T.d.7), which is located almost in the middle of the north side of the room (T.d.2). This portico was once supported by two columns, which have not survived. Round holes once containing the bases of the columns are very large, indicating that the columns were perhaps made of granite. The columns' bases have been removed entirely from their places, and due to the care given to their removal, it seems a high probability that these bases, with their columns, were re-used in another royal funerary complex.

This portico gave access to the area to the north-east of the king's pyramid (T.g), which was perhaps connected with the "queen's" pyramid complex to the northeast of the king's funerary complex (TQ). The area T.g contained some later structures built of mud-brick, perhaps dating to the Late Period. This area was partly explored by M. Abdel-Razeq whose photographs show these structures clearly, while today they are almost gone.

The south end of the eastern wall of the transverse corridor (T.m.1) gives access to the southern group of rooms and storerooms (T.f), which is oriented E-W. Two entrances probably existed there. The first gave access to the first room (T.f.1), which seems to have been quite large and perhaps was not connected to the other rooms. The second entrance leads to two long corridors (T.f.2–3), one running along the room T.f.1 and the other one probably giving access to the storerooms on its northern side (T.f.4–9). These storerooms were located to the south of the entrance hall *pr wrw* (T.a), and were similar in size to those on the north (T.d). The large area to the south of these storerooms (T.h) has never been documented properly. Remains of some structures are visible there, however neither their form nor their date can be verified at the moment.

The west wall of the transverse corridor (T.m.1) contains the only entrance into the private part of the funerary temple (T.b, T.m.2–3 and T.n). Its floor was raised above the rest of the temple by 80 cm and was reached by three broad steps.

In spite of the ruined appearance, the private part of the temple can still offer – together with the whole funerary temple of Djedkare – the best picture we have of the layout of Old Kingdom temples (Jánosi, Megahed 2015, 60).

The private part of the temple begins with the above-mentioned stairs leading to a chapel with the five niches (T.m.2). The chapel has a N-S orientation, with its longer side measuring about 5.35 m. Because of the poor preservation of this part of the temple, we cannot determine if the niches were constructed at a higher level than the floor of the room, nor do we know the size of the niches. Considering the width of the room, each niche must have been less than 1 m wide.

The chapel has two more doors: one to the north gives access to a group of storerooms (T.n) while the second to the south leads to the rectangular room called the vestibule (T.b.1). The northern group contains 12 storerooms arranged in three sections (T.n.1–13). The western sections perhaps reached the core of the pyramid (compare to the southern storerooms below). The central section seems to have had access to the offering chapel.

The vestibule, located to the south of the five-niche chapel, has been completely obliterated today. V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi (1977, 78) stated that in its southern wall was an entrance leading to two rooms to its south (T.b.3–4). This part of the temple is largely destroyed but the work of the Egyptian mission in this area in 2014 revealed that the room T.b.3 was also connected on its west side to the corridor T.b.5, thus adding another precise detail to the previously existing plan.

The western room (T.b.4) also provided access to the corridor (T.b.5), which was oriented N-S and leads to four more storerooms (T.b.6–9). The area of the storerooms was briefly explored by the Egyptian mission in 2014, showing a nicely preserved limestone floor with traces of walls. The work revealed that the western wall of the room T.b.7 – and perhaps the three other rooms as well – was built just against the core of the pyramid. Large, good quality limestone blocks were used to build the walls of this storeroom, with some traces of construction marks in red paint still visible. The same method was also used in the pyramid complex of queen Khentkaus II at Abusir (Verner 1995, 16–18) and the pyramid complex of King Neferefre (Verner et al. 2006, 13).

Another entrance was probably located in the southern part of the west wall of the vestibule, which once lead to the west into the *antichambre carrée* (T.b.2). During their study of the complex, V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi recorded the chamber as a square room of 10 × 10 cubits, i.e. 5.20 × 5.20 m. (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, pl. 14, fig. 1). However, during the work of the Egyptian mission in 2014, exact measurements of the chamber were taken, showing that it was a rectangular room; it measures 9 × 8 cubits (Megahed, Jánosi 2016). The floor of the chamber is now missing and we can see the foundation and the sub-foundation of the floor, which consists of irregular and smaller slabs of poor quality local limestone held together with mud and mortar (Megahed 2016-a). The foundation blocks show traces of the side walls of the chamber, including the west wall and part of the south wall, while the foundation blocks on the remaining sides are missing.

A column was placed in the center of the room where its red granite base is still located. The column itself has partly survived but has fallen on the floor of the temple. It was a palm column made of red granite; the diameter of the remaining part of the column's shaft is 0.65 m. at the top and 0.73 m. at the bottom (Megahed 2016-a). Columns of this type were typical for funerary complexes since the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty (Borchardt 1910, 43–51; Phillips 2002, 51–57; Verner 2006-b, 343–355).

Djedkare's column bears an inscription, measuring 51 × 51 cm, arranged in four vertical Hieroglyphic lines that provide the titles and the names of Djedkare. The inscription reads:

Ḥr Ḏd ḫʿw	"Horus Djedkhau (Horus "Perpetual-of-rising")
Ḏd-ḫʿw-nbty Bik-nbw-ḏd	the one affiliated to the Two ladies, Djedkhau, Golden falcon Perpetual
nśwt bity Ḏd-kȝ-Rʿ (*di*) *ʿnḫ ḏd wȝś*	King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djedkare, given (granted) life, endurance, power

mry Nḫbt nbt Šmʒʿw Beloved of Nekhbet, mistress of Upper Egypt

di ʿnḥ ḏd wʒś ḏt given (granted) life, endurance, power, forever"

The goddess Nekhbet, the representative of the Upper Egypt, is depicted on the column in her usual form, a vulture standing on a basket, which is mounted on a lily plant, symbol of Upper Egypt. The combination can be read as "Nekhbet, mistress of Upper Egypt". The use of the lilies here is very interesting, because the explanation is open to many interpretations. One explanation could be a mistake by the ancient artist who engraved the inscription on the red granite column: he may have changed the flowering sedge with lilies, as both plants are symbols of Upper Egypt. However, a similar depiction of the same inscription of the goddess Nekhbet was engraved on the red granite columns of Niuserre (Borchardt 1907, 68, fig. 13) and Wenis (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 25, fig. 14–17). We also find the same inscription on the red granite columns of the open court of the funerary temple of Sahure, however, the flowering sedge, another symbol of Upper Egypt, was also present (Borchardt 1910, 43–51, figs. 44, 45, 48). Even though the precise reasons for the choice of the lily plant on this column are unclear at the moment, it has been noticed by P. Jánosi (personal communication) that the lily was also preferred on other monuments from later period where it was carved on limestone, including scenes from the pyramid temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur (Oppenheim 2008, pl. 36), and scenes from the chapel of Hathor in the temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (Beaux et al. 2012, pls. 5 and 25).

Miroslav Verner suggested that, since the chamber lies to the south of the axis of the funerary temple, symbolically, it is under the protection of the southern goddess Nekhbet (Verner 2002, 328). The idea of a division in the pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom among representatives of Upper and Lower Egypt is well known (Ćwiek 2003, 316; Megahed 2014-c, 59). This division is obviously seen in the architecture and the wall decoration of the complexes – e.g., the decoration featuring the procession of deities, fecundity figures and personifications of funerary domains in the pyramid complex of Sahure, which we find on the west wall of the south side entrance to the funerary temple. The southern half depicts the Upper Egyptian gods and fecundity figures (Borchardt 1913, pl. 29), while the northern half of the wall depicts the Lower Egyptian gods and fecundity figures (Borchardt 1913, pl. 30). The same division was represented on both sides of the causeway of Pepy II, where funerary domains are walking to the king, who is depicted enthroned in the upper part of the causeway. On the southern wall are the domains from Upper Egypt, while those on the northern wall represent Lower Egypt (Jéquier 1940, 14–17, pls. 21–23, 25–28). Another obvious division between Upper and Lower Egypt is depicted on the columns of the open courtyard of Sahure. The

columns of the southern half of the court were decorated with the names and titles of Sahure, together with the name of Nekhbet, while the columns of the northern half bear the names and titles of Sahure, accompanied by the name of the Lower Egyptian goddess Wadjet (Borchardt 1910, 43–51, figs. 44, 45, 48; Verner 2006-b, 343). Another occurrence of such a division is found too in the funerary temple of Wenis (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 23–31, figs. 12–18).

From the time of Djedkare onwards, the location of the *antichambre* was between the vestibule and the offering chamber. The only exception to this model is the *antichambre carrée* of the anonymous "queen's" pyramid complex northeast of Djedkare's pyramid complex (Megahed 2016-a).

The offering chapel, which is oriented E-W (T.m.3), is accessible through an entrance in the west side of the northern wall of the *antichambre carrée*. A second door in the north wall connected the offering hall to the northern storerooms (T.m.5) according to the plan of V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi (1977, pl. 14, fig. 1). The offering chapel is usually located on the same axis of the pyramid and the funerary temple. The width of the room is about 5.2 m but its length is difficult to determine. Its western wall has probably never been reached due to the rubble sliding down from the pyramid and accumulating at its base. A similar situation applies to the western parts of the northern and southern storerooms. We may presume that the offering room reached the core of the pyramid as did the recently explored storeroom T.b.7 (see above).

The floor of the offering room has not survived, however we can assume that it was made of Egyptian alabaster as was the case in the pyramid temple of the "queen" (Megahed 2011-a, 623). Some of the fragments collected from Dejdkare's funerary temple were made of quartzite: they perhaps came from one of the false doors, either from the offering chapel or the one that stood in the pyramid's north chapel.

The surrounding open courtyard (T.o) is entered from a door in the northern wall of the transverse corridor (T.m.1) and it leads to the northern side of the pyramid (T.p) with its northern chapel (see above).

It is noteworthy that almost all the preserved parts of the pavement of the funerary temple of Djedkare was made from blocks of different sizes, and a specific characteristic of the floor in this temple was the intentional use of numerous patching stones. A detailed documentation of the explored parts of the temple by the Egyptian mission revealed that the patching stones were not a necessity caused by low quality material, because they can be noticed at many places where an easier solution might have been found by the architects. Such extensive use of patching stones in the temple must have required much time and effort. Patching stones

have been documented not only in the limestone blocks in the floor of the temple but also in granite on a door jamb, and not only on the floor but also within the walls (noticed in storeroom T.b.7). Some of the patching stones measure only a few centimeters, which suggests that, possibly, they could have been prepared together with the larger blocks of the floor or the walls on the spot. The reason for this interesting feature in the pyramid complex of Djedkare is unknown at the moment.

In addition, we might notice that Djedkare preferred to use a "softer" construction material than that which was used in the royal cemetery of Abusir. For instance, the use of the Egyptian alabaster in Djedkare's pyramid complex can be seen as a kind of alternative to the hard stone (especially basalt) used in Sahure's and Niuserre's pyramid complexes (see e.g. Verner 2014, 178). The question remains whether this change of material might have had some religious or other type of significance as well.

The satellite pyramid (T.l) is situated on the southwestern side of the funerary temple and was accessed from the southern end of the transverse corridor. It had its own enclosure wall. Small remains of the superstructure have survived; they have been cased with fine white limestone with a slope of 65° (Stadelmann 1997, 182). The pyramid's substructure was very simple: after the entrance in the north face of the pyramid follows the descending corridor, which is 1.6 m long and changes in the horizontal corridor leading to a room which is completely obliterated (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 84).

To the east of both groups of the storerooms (T.d.8–14 and T.f.3–9), there are two structures, the so-called "Eckbauten" (T.i and T.j). They were built of local limestone and cased with fine white limestone. The massifs have been reported to be equal in size (see further below) and square in ground plan, with the sidewalls measuring 20 m., while their height was around 5 m (Sourouzian 1981, 143–144; Jánosi, Megahed 2015, 59–60, fig. 3).

The southern "massif" (T.i) is better preserved than the northern one (T.j), because it still retains part of its casing on the eastern side. The blocks of the southern "massif" still bear red paint construction lines, marks, and measurements, but they are hardly visible today. The massif today has a hole in the central part of its northern wall, which is a result of modern attempts to find a substructure to this building.

The northern massif is not very well preserved. Previous scholars considered it as having more or less the same size as the southern massif (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 76, pl. 13), however, each structure seems to show different measurements and layout (Jánosi, Megahed 2015, 59). The northern massif is still covered with rubble and sand, and therefore its precise measurements and features cannot be specified at the moment. These two "massifs" are

a good example to demonstrate how much we need to reconsider the old plans of Djedkare's funerary complex.

These peculiar structures are similar in shape to those that were found at Abusir in the funerary temple of Niuserre (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 94, Observation no. 11) but they are much larger, square and more prominent within the temple's plan. It is noteworthy to mention that such structures never appeared in any other Old Kingdom funerary temple. Therefore, their presence makes the funerary complex and funerary temple of Djedkare a special case in the architecture of pyramid complexes during the Old Kingdom. Presently, it is difficult to interpret these two "massif" structures. Some scholars identify them as "proto-pylons" (Sourouzian 1981, 143–144). However, a better-founded interpretation is not possible without some new information gained from archaeology.

From the western end of the causeway, before the entrance to the *pr wrw*, there was a pathway leading south (T.c.3), which was explored and documented by the Egyptian mission in 2014. On the floor of several rooms in this area (T.c.1–3) we can find some scratched Hieroglyphic inscriptions (11 inscriptions) with funerary formulas dated to the Sixth Dynasty (Roccati 1977, 108–116).

In the beginning of area T.c, where the entrance of the southern massif is located, the staircase (T.c.4) still exists, which perhaps led to the roof of the temple. Only three steps survive today; they were made of limestone blocks.

The pathway leads further south through a doorway (still marked on the pavement by its sockets) into a passage running along the eastern and southern side of the southern massif. Another two sockets were found at the southern end of the passage, indicating that a door must have existed at that place too. The doorway was apparently used often, as is indicated by the heavy traces of the door left on the pavement stones. It is not clear at the moment whether the pathway ends at the south wall of the southern massif, or leads to the area north of it because this area has not yet been explored.

Existence of a similar pathway leading from the western part of the causeway to the north has been suggested in the plan of V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi. This area, however, has not been investigated.

The king's pyramid and the funerary temple were surrounded by an enclosure wall, of which only part of its northern side can be seen today. It is 4.16 m thick at the base (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 82). Other parts of the enclosure have still not been explored.

III.3.3 The Causeway

V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi stated that the length of the causeway of Djedkare (C) was about 220 m. (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, 86; Megahed 2014-c, 17–18, fig.24–25; Jánosi, Megahed 2015, fig. 5). No written records refer to any excavation in this area, except for the westernmost end, where the causeway reaches the funerary temple. In his manuscript, J. Perring estimated the width of the causeway to be 10.9 m. (Vyse 1840–1842, 51).

The causeway ran in an east-west direction with a slight inclination to the south in its eastern part. The base of the causeway was constructed with shallow trenches that were cut into the natural bedrock for the placement of the foundation blocks. Low embankments were necessary in some places along the course of the causeway as well.

The whole floor of the causeway was probably paved with fine white limestone blocks. However, the remains of an alabaster floor can be seen at the western end of the causeway near the side exit (T.c). The limestone side-walls of the structure had vertical faces on the inside and sloping faces on the outside (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, observation. no. 18), and they were about 2.35 m thick. The corridor between the walls of the causeway was about 2.5 m. wide. The ceiling was probably made of slabs of limestone decorated with five-pointed stars (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, observation. no. 18), but only one small block of the ceiling slabs was discovered, decorated with the above-mentioned stars.

III.3.4 The Valley Temple

The causeway connected the funerary temple and the valley temple (V). At the eastern end of the causeway, A. Varille found some blocks with relief decoration in 1945 (Grinsell 1947, 143) but it is not clear whether they were collected on the ground or after a small scale excavation. The current location of these blocks is unknown. A. Fakhry noted that among the houses of the Saqqara village, large granite blocks were visible and that they also probably came from the temple (Fakhry 1961-b, 181). Yet, no serious excavation has been undertaken in the area (Megahed 2014-c, 18). Recently, the village has been developed towards the west, and the valley temple, together with the eastern part of the causeway, is now completely surrounded and even covered by houses (Megahed 2014-c, 17–18, fig.24–25). This makes any exploration of the structures impossible.

Chapter IV
The Decorative Program of the Pyramid Complex of Djedkare

IV.1 Decorative Program of the Valley Temple

The valley temple of the pyramid complex of Djedkare has not been well explored (see *Chapter III.3.4*), and therefore its decorative program is hard to describe. During the short excavation of the area, red granite blocks were found, presumably belonging to this building, and there were remains of walls with relief decoration, in situ (Fakhry 1961-b, 181; Verner 2002, 329; Grinsell 1947, 143). To identify these reliefs specifically out of the known set of relief fragments from the complex is impossible today. No further exploration of the valley temple is possible today due to the modern village of Saqqara, which now completely covers this area (*Chapter III.3.3*).

On the basis of the information attested from Sahure's and Wenis's valley temples (see *Chapter I.2.1*), the decoration in Djedkare's valley temple perhaps included scenes related to royal boats, the king slaying the enemies of Egypt, captives, the king during the *sed*-festival, processions of deities, bowing officials, and slaughtering scenes.

IV.2 Decorative Program of the Causeway

The causeway of Djedkare's pyramid complex has not been explored thus far. Perhaps its western end was exposed during the excavations of A. S. Hussein and/or A. Fakhry who cleaned the entrance of the funerary temple. The major part of the causeway, however, has been covered with sand and rubble since the antiquity. The recent work in the causeway of Sahure's pyramid complex in Abusir revealed that valuable evidence can be found around the causeway, along its sides (El Awady 2009). It is therefore possible that some remains of the walls of Djedkare's causeway might be discovered in the future.

The decoration of Djedkare's causeway perhaps included scenes similar to the causeways of Sahure, Wenis and Pepy II (see *Chapter I.2.2*). These include scenes showing the

royal boats, the king slaying the enemies of Egypt, war scenes and captives, the king engaged in various activities, scenes associated with the construction of the pyramid complex, the procession of deities, nomes and funerary estates. Sahure's causeway also contains a scene commemorating his expedition to the land of Punt. Historical sources indicate that Djedkare also sent an expedition to this exotic land (see *Chapter II.2.1*). We can presume that the decorative program of Djedkare's causeway might have included one or more scenes related to this important event.

IV.3 Decorative Program of the Funerary Temple

As explained above (*Chapter III.2*), over 2500 fragments of relief decoration have been uncovered in the pyramid complex of King Djedkare at South Saqqara during its exploration by the Egyptian and French missions in the last century. Several hundred more fragments have been discovered since 2010 by the current Egyptian mission headed by the present author. In all likelihood, additional fragments should come to light in future excavations.

The present thesis includes a selection of the numerous fragments, demonstrating the variety of themes depicted in the king's monument. The classification of the scenes follows A. Ćwiek's dissertation (Ćwiek 2003), with slight changes when necessary. For instance, some of the scenes classified by Ćwiek in separate groups are treated here in one group due to the limited number and size of the fragments.

IV.3.1 Royal Titulary

Cat. no. 1. Royal Inscription
(pl. 12)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. –
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. –
Box no. –
Date of the Discovery: 1938–1939
Current Location: Wenis's pyramid
Dimensions: H. 48 cm; W. 93 cm; Th. 23 cm
Discovered by: Jean-Philippe Lauer
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple?
Bibliography: Lauer 1939, 453–454; Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 126–127, Doc. no. 123, fig. 148, pl. XXXVIII.

This group is comprised of five matching fragments of relief decoration showing parts of the king's name and titulary (↓→). Nothing remains of the king's figure; but parts of his Horus name are present within the scene.

The scene is divided into two sections; the right section is the main one. It depicts the falcon-god Behdety (→) hovering above the king's titulary, in a pose of protection (for comparison see Borchardt 1913, pl. 65). He is stretching his left wing above the king's titles, while the right wing is down, also holding a *šn*-sign in its talons. Above the bird is written: [*ḫnty*] *ỉtrt šmʿ* "[foremost/who is in front of the] Upper Egyptian *ỉtrt*-shrine".

Under the falcon is written the king's titulary and a protection formula; it reads: *Ḥr Ḏd-ḫʿw /// nfr nṯr nb* "Horus Djedkhau (One Enduring of appearances in glory) the perfect god, lord…".

The goddess Wadjet is depicted in her usual form as a cobra in front of the king's titulary. She is resting on a basket and a spray of papyrus plants. The combination can be read as *W3ḏt nbt mḥw* "Wadjet, mistress of the marshland". Wadjet is holding/offering a *w3ś*-scepter with the *šn*, symbols of dominion and eternity, to the king's Horus name. Above the cobra goddess is written [*W3ḏt nbt*] *Dp* "[Wadjet the mistress] Buto".

The left section of the scene includes three vertical lines of inscription (↓←), it reads:

1- [*ḏd mdw di n.i n.k*] *ꜥnḫ wꜣś snb///*

2- *ḏdt nb ꜣwt-ib nb///*

3- *Nbt Šꜣwt?///*

1- "[An invocation of words, I give you all] life, dominion, and health,

2- all stability, all delight, […]

3- mistress of the fates? […]" (Stockfisch 2003, 5.8.a no. 4)

However, *Šꜣwt* can be read as "shallow" or "sandbank", but with a different spelling (Hannig 1995, 886 no. 32057).

It is worth mentioning that these fragments were reused in Wenis's pyramid (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 126–127, Doc. no. 123, fig. 148, pl. XXXVIII).

Cat. no. 2. Part of the King's Cartouche

(pl. 13-a)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. –

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. –

Box no. –

Date of the Discovery: 1938–1939

Current Location: Wenis's pyramid

Dimensions: H. 16 cm; W. 30 cm; Th. 24 cm

Discovered by: Jean-Philippe Lauer

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple?

Bibliography: Lauer 1939, 453–454; Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 127, Doc. no. 125, fig. 150, pl. XXXVIII.

This is a fragment of relief decoration showing parts of the king's name written horizontally (←). The name of *Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* was written inside the cartouche followed by the blessing formula *di ꜥnḫ*.

It is worth mentioning that this fragment was reused in Wenis's pyramid (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 127, Doc. no. 125, fig. 150, pl. XXXVIII). It was also noted that the relief showed chisel marks (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 127).

Cat. no. 3. Part of the King's Cartouche

(pl. 13-b)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. –

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. –

Box no. –

Date of the Discovery: 1938–1939

Current Location: Wenis's pyramid

Dimensions: H. 17.5 cm; W. 18 cm; Th. 55 cm

Discovered by: Jean-Philippe Lauer

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple?

Bibliography: Lauer 1939, 453–454; Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 128, Doc. no. 126, fig. 151.

This is a fragment of relief decoration that shows parts of the king's name written in a column (↓). The name of *Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* was written inside the cartouche which has a double outline.

It is worth mentioning that this fragment was found near the south side of Wenis's pyramid (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 128).

Cat. no. 4. Part of the King's Cartouche

(pl. 14)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. –

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. –

Box no. –

Date of the Discovery: 1938–1939

Current Location: Wenis's pyramid

Dimensions: H. 30 cm; W. 25 cm; Th. 30 cm

Discovered by: Jean-Philippe Lauer

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple?

Bibliography: Lauer 1939, 453–454; Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 128, Doc. no. 127, fig. 152, pl. XXXVIII.

This is a fragment of relief decoration showing parts of the king's name written in a column (↓→). The scene depicts two vertical registers. In the right register is written the name of *Ḏd-kȝ-Rˁ* inside the cartouche, and his *Nbty* name [*Ḏd-ḫˁw*]-*Nbty* "[One Enduring of appearances in glory] of the Two Ladies", is written under the cartouche.

Cat. no. 5. Royal Inscription
(pl. 15)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. –
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. –
Box no. –
Date of the Discovery: 1938–1939
Current Location: Wenis's pyramid
Dimensions: H. 80 cm; W. 96 cm
Discovered by: Jean-Philippe Lauer
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple?
Bibliography: Lauer 1939, 453–454; Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 128-129, Doc. no. 128, fig. 153, pl. XXXIX.

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of the king's name and epithets (→↓←). The top of the fragment depicts traces of the sky with five pointed stars. Two birds are depicted facing each other underneath the sky; but only parts of their bodies remain.

The tip of a left wing has been preserved of the left bird, one can determine that it was a vulture because of the type of feathers, while the head and the right wing remains of the right falcon. Both were depicted stretching one wing towards each other, while the other missing wings should point down.

The two birds are protecting the king's name, which is depicted under the left bird. Of the *serekh* with the king's Horus name, only the top part of the falcon's head wearing the double crown remained. Behind follows the top of the *nśwt* sign of the *nśwt bity* name.

Under the falcon is depicted the name of the goddess Wadjet. Only the upper parts of this inscription have remained: but we can read *W3ḏt D*[*p*] *di ꜥnḫ* "Wadjet of Buto, give (grant) life".

It is worth mentioning that this fragment was built into the masonry at the south side of Wenis's pyramid (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 128, pl. XXXIX).

Cat. no. 6. Part of the King's Cartouche

(pl. 16)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 48

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1101

Box no. 84

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 20 cm; W. 24 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This is a fragment of relief decoration showing parts of the king's name and title (↓→). However, nothing remains of the king's figure; only traces of his name and title were partially preserved. Most probably the falcon-god Behdety or the vulture goddess Nekhbet was depicted facing right, holding an *ꜥnḫ* by his/her claw, of which only the lower part remained.

The king's name and title was written in a vertical inscription, which reads: [*nśwt*]-*bity Ḏd*-[*k3*]-*Rꜥ*.

Cat. no. 7. Part of the King's Cartouche

(pls. 17–18)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 310

Giza register No. –

Committee No. 2687
Box no. 110
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Giza Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 20.5 cm; W. 36 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

Fragment of relief decoration showing the name of King Djedkare and part of a dedicatory formula. Only the bottom of the *Ḏd*-sign, the left hand of the *kꜣ* and part of the cartouche of Djedkare's throne name are preserved. To the left the incomplete verb (↓→) [*mr*]*y* "beloved" is visible. Note the fine rendering of the two reeds showing the feathering of the leaves in relief.

Cat. no. 8. Part of the King's Golden Name
(pl. 19)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 365
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1441
Box no. 90
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 15 cm; W. 22.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This is a fragment of relief decoration showing traces of the king's Golden name. Only the left half of the collar sign from Djedkare's Golden Falcon name, *Bỉk-nbw-ḏd* "The Golden Falcon endures", is preserved on the fragment.

Cat. no. 9. Part of the King's Horus Name

(pl. 20)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 424

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1500

Box no. 90

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 13 cm; W. 19 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of the king's Horus name (←). The incompletely preserved signs (except for the *ḥʿw*-sign) of Djedkare's Horus name, *Ḏd-ḥʿw* "[One] Enduring of appearances in glory", is visible. Above the name, the lower ends of the feathers of the falcon-god Behdety or the vulture goddess Nekhbet remained. The figure faces to the right. Note the fine rendering in relief of the individual signs.

Cat. no. 10. Part of the King's *nśwt bity* Name

(pl. 21)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 460

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1519

Box no. 90

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 29.5 cm; W. 21.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of the king's royal titulary (←). The two large signs of the *nśwt-bity* name are incompletely preserved. The royal title was written in a monumental scale, which indicates that the entire scene (now lost) belonged to a large-scale representation of the monarch.

The relief preserves traces of colour indicating that the sedge plant was green.

Cat. no. 11. Part of the King's Cartouche

(pl. 22)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 663

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1753

Box no. 94

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 17 cm; W. 19 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of the king's name (↓). The intact surface shows parts of Djedkare's name written inside the cartouche.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the outline of the cartouche and the inscription representing the name of Djedkare were green.

Cat. no. 12. Part of a Lintel

(pls. 23–24)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 665

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1755

Box no. 94
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 14 cm; W. 27 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of the king's royal titulary (→). It depicts the Horus name of Djedkare [*Ḏd-ḥꜥ*]*w* "[One Enduring of appearances] in glory" followed by the throne name of Djedkare *nśwt-bity* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*] "king of Upper and Lower Egypt [Djedkare] ("Re's spirit endures")", which was partly preserved. For instance, only small traces of the bottom part of the *ḥꜥ* sign together with the lower part of the *w*-sign remain from the king's Horus name. Of the throne name only the bottom part of sedge plant and the bee are preserved.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the dividing lines under the name of Djedkare and the inscriptions themselves were blue and green.

Discussion

In Pyr. §§ 763–764 a wish to the king was made: "O King, succeed to your throne at the head of the living, for it is the dread of you which is on their hearts. May your name live upon earth, may your name endure (?) upon earth, for you shall not perish, nor shall you be destroyed for ever and ever…" (Faulkner 1969, 139).

The name for the ancient Egyptians played a great role in both life and afterlife, they considered the name a necessary component of their identity. With their names they were distinguished upon earth and immortalized in the afterlife. Therefore, they wished for their names not to be forgotten, and to be said during rituals after their deaths (Janák 2012, 66–72).

It took the ancient Egyptians a long time and a great deal of experimentation to reach the form and the formula of the royal titulary (Dobrev 1993, 180–184). It is clear that the Horus name is the most important, and was the first, among the five names held by the ancient Egyptian kings. Icons of animals had been used since the Predynastic period as symbols for chieftains and rulers, however, the falcon was the most important of these symbols, and the kings of Ancient Egypt were acting as Horus on earth (Leprohon 2013, 12).

The second name that came to existence after the Horus name in the royal titulary of the

ancient Egyptian kings is the Golden Horus/ Falcon name. The name was first introduced in the reign of Den (Leprohon 2013, 15). However, in his discussion on the Golden Horus name Spalinger (2015, 331–350) argues that the title might have appeared later in the reign of Snofru or Khufu (Spalinger 2015, 332). Nevertheless, the first attested use of the hieroglyphic group that integrates the falcon on a standard over the "gold" sign was in the reign of Netjerykhet (Schäfer 1933, 6–15, fig. 6.f).

The reign of Den was one of the most significant in ancient Egyptian history, it witnessed dynamic changes. Besides introducing of the Golden Horus name, it was in his reign that the title *śwty-bity*, "the one of the sedge and bee", was introduced. Later, during the reign of Adjib, this name became in *nśwt-bity*, "the one who belongs to Upper and Lower Egypt" (Leprohon 2013, 8). Perhaps at the same time, mid to late First Dynasty, the *Nbty* name was used (Leprohon 2013, 17). However, other scholars have suggested that the name might have been in use since the reign of Aha, or even earlier (Quirke 1990, 22–23; Wilkinson 2001, 203).

The royal titulary and epithets were given to the king, at least in the New Kingdom, by the supreme god, on the day of his accession to the throne (Leprohon 2013, 9, for detailed discussions and valuable references on this topic of the "Royal Titulary", see Gardiner 1957, 71–76; von Beckerath 1984; Dobrev 1993, 179–204; Allan 2001, 64–66; Borrego Gallardo 2010; Leprohon 2013; Spalinger 2015, 331–350).

The royal titulary of Djedkare, which is preserved on the fragments of relief decoration from his funerary complex, do not show any differences from other kings.

The Horus name of Djedkare, *Ḏd-ḫʿw* "[One] Enduring of appearances in glory", was depicted in few fragments (Cat. nos. 1, 5, 9, 12). Of these four instances, the Horus name was written twice within the *serekh* (Cat. nos. 1 and 5) and twice without (Cat. nos. 9 and 12). Notwithstanding, the Cat. no. 12 was perhaps part of an architrave above a door (pl. 24); we see a similar inscription depicted in an architrave in Wenis's pyramid complex (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1976, 79, Doc. no. 21, fig. 46, pl. XXIX).

Among our discussed fragments, Djedkare's *Nbty* name *Ḏd-ḫʿw-Nbty* "[One] Enduring of appearances in glory of the Two Ladies", can be found depicted on one fragment only, Cat. no. 4 (pl. 14), it is noteworthy that the fragment was found reused in Wenis's pyramid complex (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1976, 128, Doc. no. 127, fig. 152, pl. XXXVIII).

The Golden Horus/Falcon name of Djedkare *Bik-nbw-ḏd* "The Golden Falcon endures" was possibly depicted on one fragment, Cat. no. 8, however, only traces of the golden sign remained from the scene.

The throne name of *Ḏd-kꜣ-Rʿ* "Re's spirit endures" appears on several fragments (Cat.

nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12) in different scales.

The *s3-Rꜥ* "Son of the Re" epithet has not been attested so far in the fragments of relief decoration found in the pyramid complex of Djedkare.

Djedkare birth name was *ỉssi*. The meaning of the name *ỉssi* is unknown but comparable words can be found in ancient Egyptian text, for instance, *ỉss* "to catch with a net" or *ỉssyt* "net" (Hannig 1995, 104). Nevertheless, R. J. Leprohon (2013, 40, footnote. 63) has suggested that the king's birth name maybe derived from the imperative verb *ỉs* "to go".

In the fragments that have been examined in this thesis, the name *ỉssi* was not depicted. This is in accordance with the general "rule" that this name never appears on official monuments of the monarch. On the other hand, on a fragment that was found in the pyramid complex of Djedkare's anonymous queen, the name *ỉssi* was depicted inside a cartouche. It should be mentioned, however, that the cartouche was secondarily altered on the fragment (Moursi 1987, 189, fig. 3). The birth name *ỉssi* was used by officials from Djedkare's reign, it was written in their tombs and was part of their own names and of the names of funerary domains (see *Chapter II.2.1.1* above).

IV.3.2 Royal Scenes

Cat. no. 13. Part of the King's Name and Figure

(pl. 25)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. –

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. –

Box no. –

Date of the Discovery: 1938–1039

Current Location: Wenis's pyramid

Dimensions: H. 37 cm; W. 45 cm

Discovered by: Jean-Philippe Lauer

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple?

Bibliography: Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1976, 125, Doc. no. 120, fig. 145, pl. XXXVIII.

The figure of the king (←) in this relief is almost lost, however, traces of his face and head were partly preserved on the right side. He wears the red crown with an exceptionally long spiral. The left side of the relief surface shows traces of inscriptions. Next to the crown, the incompletely preserved royal name (↓) *Ḏd-kꜣ*-[*Rꜥ*] was written inside the cartouche and followed by the designation (↓←) *nṯr nfr* "Djedkare, the perfect god" (for a detailed study on this epithet see Berlev 2003, 19–35; Tillier 2011, 159–174). The left and equally incomplete column bears traces of the goddess Wadjet in her snake form (not preserved) mounted on a basket. The basket is supported by the papyrus plant. Below this emblem, traces (↓→) of the *mrj* sign are visible. The arrangement of these signs clearly show that this text should be read as "Djedkare, the perfect god beloved of Wadjet". Below this text a new line started with the sign *ḥtp*[*wt*]*?*, probably indicating that divine offerings were presented to the figure to the right (for the identification of the figure see discussion).

Cat. no. 14. Royal Inscription

(pl. 26)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 33
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1086
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 15 cm; W. 16.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The fragment shows a small part of the king's lower left leg (←). In the lower left corner of the surface are three diagonal lines, probably denoting the king's left leg and part of the bull's tail. He is probably wearing a bull's tail attached to his kilt (not preserved), only a small part of the tail remains in the scene. Because of the angle of the leg, the king was perhaps depicted running.

Behind the figure of the king, a blessing formula is written in a vertical inscription. It reads: [*s3*] *ʿnḫ ḥ3*[*.f nb*] "All protection and life are behind him".

Cat. no. 15. Part of a Throne
(pl. 27-a-b)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 376
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1452
Box no. 90
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 16 cm; W. 10 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The relief fragment depicts traces of a border pattern, which probably belonged to a depiction of a throne (→) (see the reconstruction in pl. 27-b). Only a small part of the upper back of the throne has remained on the scene. There are traces of colour on this fragment indicating that the throne was green.

Cat. no. 16. Part of the King's Figure
(pl. 28)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 392
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1468
Box no. 90
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 14 cm; W. 17.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The fragment depicts a large toe of a figure facing to the left. According to the size of the toe, its shape and the base line, it must have been the representation of the king or a male deity. The fragment is too small and therefore it cannot be specified whether the toe was of the right leg or the left leg. Furthermore, the traces reveal that this was a bottom scene, since under the base line a dado appears on the fragment. No colours are preserved.

Cat. no. 17. Part of a Female Goddess and the King
(pl. 29)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 430
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1506
Box no. 90

Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 19.5 cm; W. 15.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The surface of this fragment shows the upper and slanting line of a left foot (→), which is in the foreground. Behind it, the incomplete ankles of two legs of a standing female figure are preserved (←). The ankles show carefully carved anklets and a thin line above them denotes the hem of the tight fitting gown of the female figure. Even though only a very small part of the depiction remains, the position of their feet indicates that this piece was a part of a large representation of the king standing opposite a female deity, who probably embraced the monarch. Parallels are well-known from other Old Kingdom pyramid complexes (pl. 30) (see for comparisons Borchardt 1913, pl. 18; Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 81–83, Doc. nos. 26–27; Jéquier 1938, pls. 8, 12, 30, 31, 33). The relief is finely carved and still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the goddess' figure was yellow ochre.

Cat. no. 18. Part of a Throne and Trestle
(pl. 31)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 488
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1547
Box no. 90
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 21 cm; W. 18 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This relief fragment contains traces of the back of a throne (←). Behind the throne is a

trestle that is filled with walking sticks (for comparison see pl. 32 and El Awady 2009, pl. 6). Under the trestle the upper part of an object or an inscription remained. However, due to the missing lower part of the relief more cannot be identified.

Cat. no. 19. Part of the King's Figure and a Male Deity
(pls. 33–34)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: low relief
Excavation No. 601
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1641
Box no. 91
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 36 cm; W. 70 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This large fragment shows parts of two male chests, both oriented right (→) and the upper part of an arm between them. The latter clearly belongs to the torso to the right. Both chests are close to each other, indicating a close contact between the two figures (pl. 34).

The left torso is better preserved and wears a special costume, which consists of straps of cloth around the body, the so-called *Königsjacke*. Since the *Königsjacke* is worn throughout Egypt's history only by the monarch (Borchardt 1933, 13–18; Ćwiek 2008, 38–60), one can assume that this incomplete figure once depicted a king, most likely Djedkare.

The second torso on the right side of the fragment shows a vertical and a horizontal line on the chest of the figure, which suggest that the figure wore a tunic, perhaps held up by shoulder straps. The upper part of the right arm is shown hanging beside the figure's body. It is important to note that despite their closeness the two figures are not facing each other, but looking in the same direction. This orientation is not unusual (see the discussion below).

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the figures was reddish-brown and that of the *Königsjacke* was green.

Cat. no. 20. Part of the King's Figure

(pl. 37)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 655

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1688

Box no. 93

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 21 cm; W. 38 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment contains traces of one incomplete figure, most likely, of a striding male (→). The figure is lost, only the front part of the left foot remains. One can judge from the large scale of the foot that it belonged to the king's figure or a deity. In front of the foot is depicted the *ḥḥ*-sign, "millions".

At the bottom of the fragment is a border pattern, consisting of horizontal and vertical lines.

The fragment still bears traces of colour, the vertical lines at the bottom of the fragment were green.

Cat. no. 21. Part of the King's Figure and a Female Goddess

(pls. 38–39)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 741

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1877

Box no. 96

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 14.5 cm; W. 25.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The surface of this fragment is worn, but traces of two incomplete figures can be discerned. Of the first figure, standing to the right (←), only the incomplete upper lines of his right arm remain within the scene. Despite the incomplete state of preservation of the figure we can conclude that it probably depicts a striding figure of the king.

Of the second figure, the bottom part of a collar with pendants and what seems to be a lock of hair can be traced on the fragment. These indications seem to show that the second figure was a female (→), however, both the collar and the hair have a slightly unusual shape. Therefore, the interpretation of this figure is not confirmed (for comparison see pl. 40 and Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, fig. 52).

The position of the collar of the second figure and the king's arm seem to indicate that the two figures are depicted very close to each other. It is possible that this fragment belonged to a scene showing the king being embraced by a goddess.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the male figure was reddish-brown and that of the female was yellow-ochre, while her dress was green and the hair was black.

Cat. no. 22. Part of the King's Figure
(pl. 41)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 760
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1693
Box no. 93
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 15.5 cm; W. 35 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment shows traces of the top part of the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt (→) and the bottom part of an outstretched wing. Behind the crown, traces of three hieroglyphs are visible: the papyrus umbel, the top of the *p*-sign and traces of the *ḥwt*-sign (↓→). These traces can be reconstructed as: *W3ḏt P ... ḥwt* (?), ["The goddess] Wadjet of Pe… [Mistress of a] temple… (?)". Thus, it can be presumed that behind the monarch, adorned with the double crown, this female deity was represented holding or embracing the king.

Above this scene was likely the figure of the hovering vulture goddess Nekhbet or the falcon. Since the lines of the feathers pointed towards the left, the opposite direction of the king, who faces right, one can suggest that it is a double winged deity, perhaps of Nekhbet (for comparison see Jéquier 1938, pls. 32–33)

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the papyrus plant and the *p*-sign were painted green.

Cat. no. 23. Part of the King's Figure
(pl. 42)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 783
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1734
Box no. 94
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 32.5 cm; W. 32 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment was part of a large male figure, probably the king striding (←). The fragment shows a small part of the king's back, wearing the royal *šnḏwt* kilt, a belt adorned with zigzag lines and a bull's tail attached to it. Only the upper portion of the tail is preserved.

Cat. no. 24. Part of the King's Figure

(pl. 43-a)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 790

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1761

Box no. 94

Date of the Discovery: 1945

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 10.5 cm; W. 14 cm

Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This relief contains only tiny traces of a male figure of which only a small part of the left foot remains on the fragment (→). In front of the preserved thumb, the bottom part of a staff is visible. One can presume from the large scale of the relief and the type of staff that this fragment once belonged to a scene depicting the king standing and holding the staff (for comparison see Jéquier 1938, pls. 8, 12, 18).

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the figure was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 25. Part of a Throne and the King's Figure

(pl. 43-b)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 801

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1771

Box no. 94

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 14 cm; W. 10.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

Only small traces of the back of a right leg (→) remain on the right side of the fragment. To the left the bottom, a throne's front part remains. This fragment was once part of a larger scene, most likely depicting the king sitting on the throne (compare Cat. no. 26).

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the king was reddish-brown and that the throne was green.

Cat. no. 26. Part of the King's Figure
(pl. 44)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 837
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1988
Box no. 97
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 47 cm; W. 35 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This relief shows traces of a right instep (←) of a male figure. The large scale of the relief suggests that it was part of a larger scene depicting the king standing (for comparison see Jéquier 1938, pls. 8, 10 middle left).

The fragment represents the bottom part of a scene; on its lower part a dado is carved on the same limestone block. The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the figure was reddish-brown and that the dado was black and reddish.

Cat. no. 27. Part of a Throne and the King's Figure

(pl. 45)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 861

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1965

Box no. 97

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 12 cm; W. 18.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This relief fragment contains only small traces of the lower part of a throne, together with small traces of heels of a male figure (←). One can suppose from the depiction of the throne that the male figure represents the king (for comparison see Borchardt 1907, fig. 6, pl. 16; Jéquier 1938, 54–55; Jéquier 1940, 19–20) (compare Cat. no. 25).

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the king was reddish-brown and that the throne was green.

Cat. no. 28. Part of the King's Figure

(pl. 46)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 1005

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2083

Box no. 98

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 21 cm; W. 25.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The relief fragment shows the front part of an instep (←), belonging to a male figure. One can presume from the large scale of the foot that it is part of a figure of the king or a deity.

Under the foot is a dado, carved on the same limestone block. Thus, it seems that the fragment is part of the bottom of a scene. The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the dado was reddish.

Cat. no. 29. Part of the King's Figure
(pl. 47)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 1148
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 2204
Box no. 101
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 21 cm; W. 18 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The fragment contains traces of the left hand of a male figure facing right (→). One can assume from the size of the hand, fingers, and the carefully carved nails and cuticles that this fragment was part of a large-scale scene depicting a figure of the king holding the *mkś*-scepter in his hand. Only traces of its middle part remain.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the king's figure was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 30. Part of the King's Figure
(pl. 48-a)
Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 1166
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 2186
Box no. 100
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 8 cm; W. 13 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The relief fragment depicts the lower part of the left hand of a figure holding a staff (?) (→). One can presume from the large scale of the hand that the fragment was part of a depiction of the king or a deity.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the king's figure was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 31. Part of the King's Figure and a Female Goddess
(pl. 48-b)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. DJ 137 and DJ 195
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. –
Box no. –
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: El-Shawaf Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 132.5 cm; W. 60.5 cm
Discovered by: Upper: Mohamed Megahed; Lower: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This relief consists of two fragments showing traces of two incomplete standing figures facing each other.

Of the first figure on the right side of the fragment, only part of the right foot (←) is preserved. It can be assumed that this was the king. He is standing and holding the *mkś*-scepter in his hand (not preserved), only the lower half of the staff remains.

Behind the king's figure stands a goddess facing right (→). Her figure is also incomplete; only traces of her back and lower part remain in the relief. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress and anklets. One can assume from the position of the feet of the two figures that the goddess was standing face to face with the king and embracing him (for comparison see Jéquier 1938, pls. 8, 12).

Discussion

Representations of the chieftains, as large figures performing rituals or accompanied by other figures, for instance, gods or humans, can already be traced back to rock shelters dated to the sixth millennium BCE (Bárta 2015-a, 487–493). The main figure of the chieftain appears on the rock art paintings from Wadi Sura II in Gilf Kebir 6500–4400 BCE (Riemer 2013, 38; Bárta 2014, 188–201) and in the decoration on objects from the Early Dynastic Period, for instance the Narmer palette. He was usually depicted larger than other figures in the same scene. Thus the canon of decorum was fully established from the very beginning of Egyptian history (Málek 1999, 56–82).

Fragments of the decorated granite doorjamb from Khasekhemwy's enclosure at Hierakonpolis (Quibell 1900, pl. 2; Engelbach 1934, 183–184, pl. XXIV) represent the first attested attempt at depicting the king on wall reliefs. Some other fragments, also made of granite for Khasekhemwy, were found in Hierakonpolis (Alexanian 1998, 1–30). Netjerykhet followed these attempts, in his pyramid complex, six panels were found placed in the substructure of the Step Pyramid and the so-called South Tomb, decorated with a large figure of the king during the *sed*-festival and visiting divine chapels (Firth, Quibell 1935, 33–34, 59–60, pls. 15–17, 40–42; Lauer 1957, 1–16; Friedman 1995, 1–42; Goedicke 1997, 33–48). Recently a decorated block, the so-called "snake pillar" with the Horus name of Netjerykhet, was found reused in the funerary temple of queen Iput I, to the northeast of the Teti's pyramid (Hawass 1994). In addition, fragments of a shrine of Netjerykhet were found in Heliopolis with a record of celebrating the *sed*-festival and inspecting two fortresses of gods (Weill 1911–1912, 9–26; Smith 1949, 133–137, figs. 48–53; Ćwiek 2003, 193 note 794).

The stela of Qahedjet (Louver inv. E 25982) is considered an important step in the evolution of royal depiction. The stela depicts Qahedjet wearing the White Crown and embraced by god Horus *Ḥrw m ḥwt-ʿ3t* "Horus in the Great Enclosure" (Vandier 1968, 16–22; Ziegler 2004, 72–73).

The largest group of royal reliefs depicting the king dates to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty (the reign of Snofru) and derives from the so-called statue temple of that monarch at South Dahshur. Its so-called valley temple was decorated with reliefs showing different depictions of Snofru (Fakhry 1959; Fakhry 1961-a). The later pyramid complexes of the kings of the Old Kingdom contained various scenes showing the king either by himself or engaged in activities with gods and goddesses. A typology of these scenes was presented by A. Ćwiek (2003) and D. Stockfisch (2003).

The fragments depicting Djedkare's figure found in his mortuary temple at South Saqqara were not numerous and were, moreover, very small, and thus the present author could not follow a typological scheme. As a result, all the fragments depicting traces of Djedkare's figure are grouped here in one chapter.

It is evident that a large part of the relief program of Djedkare's mortuary complex followed the scheme established since the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. Thus, we cannot see a vast evolution in Djedkare's themes. For instance, Cat. no. 13. pl. 25, depicts the name of goddess Wadjet in her snake form resting on the basket and umbel of papyrus plants. The same depiction of the goddess's name can be found on a relief decoration from the funerary temple of Niuserre (Borchardt 1907, 94, pl. 72).

In a personal communication with P. Jánosi, he suggested that the figure of the king in Cat. no. 13 could be a representation of a royal statue of the king. In Jánosi's opinion the large size of the inscription on the relief do not suit the smaller face of the king, and thus Djedkare was not represented as a living person, but probably as a statue. P. Jánosi supports his argument by citing similar representations of royal statues in the valley temple of Wenis (Labrousse, Moussa 1996, 71–72, Doc. no. 10, fig. 47, pl. X; Jánosi 2015, 77 note 129). Moreover, a representation of a royal statue was found in the relief decoration of the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht-North (Jánosi 2015, 76–77, cat. no. 106, pl. 82). However, the relief fragment belonging to Djedkare's complex (Cat. no. 13) is not complete enough to confirm this interpretation.

Cat. nos. 15, 18, 25, 27 feature parts of the throne. In all cases it is the "box-shaped" throne (Kuhlmann 1977, 57–60, 82–83, pl. 1, figs. 1a–b). However, there is no example where the unification motif, *sm3-t3.wy,* is preserved, which would usually appear in the lower left/right

corner of the throne.

Depictions of kings sitting on thrones or of the thrones themselves are well attested in royal reliefs from the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes. The representation of the king sitting on the throne, usually the *ḥwt* throne, is connected to part of the *sed*-festival. For instance, fragments of reliefs depicting Snofru sitting inside a chapel and wearing the Red Crown probably came from one of the pillars from the so-called valley temple (Fakhry 1961-a, 107, fig. 111–112). Moreover, a fragment was found by S. Hassan depicting Khufu sitting on the throne and probably from the southern wall of the king's causeway (Hassan 1960, 23, pl. VI B).

Sahure was repeatedly shown sitting on the throne during the *sed*-festival, in reliefs from the valley temple (Borchardt 1913, 54–55, 115, pl. 45) as well as the mortuary temple (Borchardt 1913, 52–54, 56–57, 114–116, pls. 42–44, 47). Other scenes representing Wenis sitting on the throne were perhaps connected to the *sed*-festival (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 86, Doc. no. 31, fig. 57, pl. XXXI). Another fragment showing the top part of the Red Crown and the *sed*-festival chapel (Jéquier 1938, pl. 109) might have depicted the king sitting on a throne, since representations of the king inside the chapel always shows him sitting on the throne.

Scenes showing kings of the Old Kingdom receiving *ꜥnḫ* from gods and goddesses always depict the kings sitting on the throne (Niuserre, Borchardt 1907, fig. 6, pl. 16; Pepy II, Jéquier 1938, 45–49, pls. 54–57; for Djedkare and the possible placement of this scene within the pyramid complexes see *Chapter IV.3.5*). Themes depicting the kings sitting on the throne behind the offering tables were also found in the funerary temples of Wenis (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 89, Doc. no. 38, fig. 64, pl. XXXII) and Pepy II (Jéquier 1938, pls. 61, 81).

Scenes from the causeways showing kings sitting on thrones were also recovered. Relief decoration was found among the blocks of the causeway of Sahure (pl. 32), showing the king sitting on the throne and celebrating the bringing of the *ꜥnd* trees (El Awady 2009, 166–168, figs. 82–83, pl. 6). Another relief also from the causeway of Sahure depicts him sitting on the throne and fowling with a clap net (El Awady 2009, 215–217, pl. 13). Moreover, the causeway of Wenis depicts scenes of the king sitting on the throne (Labrousse, Moussa 2002, 48–50, Doc. nos. 46–47, figs. 60–63) in front of processions of officials (Labrousse, Moussa 2002, 59–61, Doc. no. 62, figs. 79) and funerary domains (Labrousse, Moussa 2002, 82–84, Doc. no. 91, figs. 114). A similar scene was found in the south wall of the causeway of Pepy II in South Saqqara depicting the king sitting on the throne and facing the procession of deities (Jéquier 1940, 14–17, pls. 19–23).

The king sitting on the throne was perhaps attested among the inscriptions and decoration of the fragments of the faience inlays and Egyptian blue from Neferefre's pyramid complex, showing the unification motif *sm3-t3.wy* (faience Landgráfová 2006, 23, 75, fig. 5, F0086, Egyptian blue Landgráfová 2006, 115, EB052, EB048).

In the sun temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurab, fragments of relief decoration were found depicting the king sitting on the throne inside the *sed*-festival chapel. Depictions of the empty throne standing inside the *sed*-festival chapel are also known (Bissing, Kees 1923, pls. 4, 6 no. 13, 10 no. 24, 11 no. 27, 16 no. 39, 17, 19, 20 nos. 46–47, 21 no. 50b, 22 nos. 51–52; Bissing, Kees 1928, pls. 12 nos. 222–223, 226, 14 no. 241).

Reliefs showing the goddess Seshat seated on the throne were recovered from the funerary temple of Weserkaf (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 112, Doc. no. 157, fig. 229a-b), and from the open courtyard of Sahure (Borchardt 1913, 10–15, 72–78, pl. 1).

The fragmentary state of preservation of the scenes with the throne from Djedkare's pyramid complex prevent us from identifying the stock scene to which they once belonged. Since they come from the funerary temple, they might have belonged to scenes of giving the *ʿnḫ* or the scenes showing the *sed*-festival of the king. Other possibilities, however, cannot be excluded. The fragments with the throne are very small but cannot belong to the same scene. We notice the same scale for two fragments, Cat. nos. 15 and 27, however, the relief on the two fragments have different orientations. The same may be noticed also for Cat. nos. 18 and 25. This indicates that the four fragments were part of four different scenes depicting the king sitting on the throne.

Cat. no. 18 (pl. 31), which depicts traces of a trestle for staffs, demonstrates excellent technique for relief decoration. This piece is comparable to a scene from Sahure's causeway (El Awady 2009, 175, fig. 84, pl. 6) (pl. 32). Djedkare's trestle likely represents a smaller copy of the scene of Sahure with its width measuring 23 cm and 31 high, while the width of Djedkare's is 17 cm (since the relief is not complete we cannot determine the height). However, it is not clear at the moment if Djedkare's trestle of staffs was also in the decoration of the causeway, like that of Sahure. The fragment could be part of either the decoration of the funerary temple or the causeway, but the archaeological work of A. Hussein and A. Fakhry were mostly done in the funerary temple.

One of the fragments depicting Djedkare with an unknown deity is essential, Cat. no. 19 (pls. 33–34). As it has been mentioned in the description of the fragment, the left figure wears the so-called *Königsjacke* which is exclusively a royal dress worn by the ancient Egyptian kings (Borchardt 1933; Ćwiek 2008, 38–60; for a complete list of Old Kingdom kings wearing

the *Königsjacke* see Ćwiek 2008, 38, footnote 5). In this fragment we have the simple version, consisting of a simple cloth jacket with long ties and short sleeves (Borchardt 1933), while the elaborate version of the *Königsjacke*, consisting of two figures of winged falcon, started to be used perhaps from the time of Wenis onward (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 101, Doc. no. 54, fig. 80, pl. XXXIV).

The position of the right figure, very close to the king's figure, and the absence of the king's left arm, suggests that the king might be following/walking behind a deity, and thus the king could be embracing the deity with his left arm. Moreover, the reconstruction of the fragment shows that the figure of the king was probably 256 cm (5 cubits) high (pl. 34)

The king embracing a deity from behind might look odd, and thus a third figure, probably a deity behind the king and facing the same direction, should complete the scene. There is a parallel to such a composition of figures, perhaps from the reign of Khufu, as was suggested for one of the reused fragments in Amenemhat I at Lisht (Goedicke 1971, 44–45, no. 20). In H. Goedicke's interpretation, the back figure seems to hold the front one's shoulder from behind. Thinking of possible identifications for the figures from Djedkare, one might assume that it is a composition of god – king – god (→). One should note that the strap visible on the torso of the right figure suggests that his dress had two shoulder straps (god Khnum in pl. 35), which almost certainly points to a deity as well. Down to the Eighteenth Dynasty, the gods wore the two shoulder strap dress and the kings the one shoulder strap dress, practically without exception (Schuller-Götzburg 1990). This would mean that we have here a god followed by a king. A possible, though distant parallel is the scene of the ritual of ancestors in the upper part of the south wall of the upper courtyard from the temple of Deir el-Bahari of Hatshepsut (Karkowski 2001, 135–136). The scene is badly damaged (pl. 36), however, the figures are clear. In the scene Thutmose I is standing and embraces Amun from behind, at the same time Amun is offering the *ʿnḫ* to Hatshepsut who is standing in front of both figures. The idea is that they are somehow merged as divine and earthly fathers of Hatshepsut. Thutmose I's pose is thus not the gesture of protection, but rather of "joining" the god. The comparison of the scene of Djedkare in Cat. no. 19 to the scene of Thutmose I and Amun is mentioned here only to compare the arrangement of the figures, especially the position of the king behind a deity. Thus it must be stressed that the meanings of the scenes were not necessarily the same. In the scene of Deir el-Bahari, the meaning was to emphasize the relationship between Hatshepsut and her father, Thutmose I, and her eligibility of the throne. However, in the case of Djedkare, the purpose was to show the king's acknowledgment and acceptance by the deities.

The baseline on Cat. no. 20 (pl. 37) is not a dado or a sky with five-pointed starts, or

even the simple baseline. Parallels have been documented in other pyramid complexes and suggest that the fragment might be part of a lintel above an entrance. For instance, in the mortuary temple of Teti, a large lintel was found and it might have come from the doorway of the entrance between *pr wrw* and the courtyard (Lauer, Leclant 1972, 60-62, no. 1, figs. 15 a–b, pls. 22, 23a).

The same type of baseline was also found in the funerary temple of Pepy II above the entrance to the vestibule (Jéquier 1938, pls. 36, 39) and above the entrance of the offering chapel (Jéquier 1938, pls. 54, 55). However, other examples of the same baselines perhaps were not parts of lintels (Lauer, Leclant 1972, 93–94, no. 4 pl. 33c; Jéquier 1938, pl. 22).

Three fragments, Cat. nos. 17, 21, 31 (pls. 29, 38, 48-b) show the king embraced by a female deity. From the scale of the fragments it is evident that they come from large scale scenes, showing the king standing very close to the goddess with their figures overlapping each other.

Large standing representations of the king accompanied by male and female deities with their figures overlapping occurred for the first time in the above mentioned stela of Qahedjet (Vandier 1968, 16–22; Ziegler 2004, 72–73). However, this depiction became common starting in the reign of Snofru (Fakhry 1961-a, 91–98, 101, 126, figs. 84, 91, 105, 141).

The relief decoration of the pyramid complex of Sahure represents the most complete royal decoration in the Old Kingdom, and a standing depiction of the king with another deity was found only on one relief showing the suckling of the king (Borchardt 1913, 35–36, 93–95, pl. 18). The same scene was found also among the reliefs of the funerary temple of Niuserre, however, the king was depicted with the goddess Sekhmet (Borchardt 1907, 39–41, figs. 21, 23).

For the first time attested in the decoration of the pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom, Wenis was depicted between two female deities, as is shown in the reconstruction by A. Labrousse (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 81–83, Doc. nos. 26–27, figs. 51–53, pl. XXX). Another large figure of Wenis standing between two male deities during the coronation ceremony was also found in his funerary temple at Saqqara (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 95–97, Doc. nos. 47–49, figs. 73–75, pl. XXXIV). While other fragments depict him being suckled by a goddess (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 84, Doc. no. 28, fig. 54, pl. XXIX).

Thus far, only one fragment showing a large-scale scene of the king together with one or more deities from the funerary temple of Pepy I has been published (Leclant 1979, fig. 25, pl. XVII). However, more such representations of Pepy I exist and will be published by A. Labrousse soon (see *Chapter 1.1*).

The largest number of royal reliefs showing the standing king originate from the funerary temple of Pepy II. There, the king was depicted on the pillars of the open courtyard (Jéquier 1940, 23–24, pl. 45) and in scenes in the transverse corridor (Jéquier 1938, 17, 19–20, 22, pls. 8, 12, 18). The side walls of the staircase leading to the five-niched chapel show the suckling of the king in a smaller scale (Jéquier 1938, 24, pls. 30–33).

The decoration of the south wall of the vestibule of the funerary temple of Pepy II shows the king standing together with the goddess Wadjet (Jéquier 1938, 30, pls. 36–38). However, the reconstruction made by G. Jéquier of this wall showing the king receiving an *ꜥnḫ* from the goddess Nekhbet (Jéquier 1938, 31, pl. 36; Stockfisch 2003, no. 5.6.21; El Awady 2009, fig. 50) is completely theoretical. Another relief, which probably was in the entrance hall of king's mortuary temple, shows Pepy II being embraced by a male deity (Jéquier 1940, 22, pl. 38).

As we have seen, all the relief decoration showing large-scale representations of kings together with deities was found in the funerary temples of the pyramid complex of the Old Kingdom. This is also true for Snofru's statue temple in South Dahshur. As a result, it can be safely assumed that the three fragments, Cat. nos. 17, 21, 31 (pls. 29, 38–39, 48-b) depicting Djedkare with female deities, also were originally situated in the king's pyramid temple. The preserved fragments indicate that at least two such scenes, oriented in opposite directions, were part of Djedkare's decoration program.

IV.3.3 *Sed*-Festival

Cat. no. 32. Part of the King's Figure and a Royal Inscription

(pl. 49)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. –

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. –

Box no. –

Date of the Discovery: –

Current Location: Wenis's pyramid

Dimensions: H. 50 cm; W. 77 cm; Th. 50 cm

Discovered by: Audran Labrousse and et.al

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple?

Bibliography: Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 125-126, Doc. no. 121, fig. 146, pl. XXXVIII; Ćwiek 2003, 231.

This fragment was found built inside the south side of the pyramid of Wenis at Saqqara. It shows King Djedkare (←), probably running in the *sed*-festival. He is wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt and holding in his hand the *nḫꜣḫꜣ*-flail.

The inscription above the king's figure is partly preserved. Only one sign remains, it reads: *Nfr* "Perfect". However, *Nfr* could not be part of *nṯr nfr* since, in that case, *nṯr* should precede the word *nfr* (see e.g. Jéquier 1938, pl. 61, 63; Borchardt 1911, 14–16).

In front of the king's face and above him are two vertical lines inscription (↓←). The right one is the king's Golden Falcon name *Bik-nbw*-[*ḏd*] "The Golden Falcon [Endures]" and he is referred to as *nṯrw mrj* "Beloved by Gods". The left line still preserves traces of the word *šmꜥ* "south" and traces of *di ꜥnḫ* "given life".

One interesting note on this relief, so far, this is the only known depiction of a king running the *sed*-festival wearing the red crown, since all other depictions shows kings wearing the white crown.

Cat. no. 33. Parts of *ḏnbw*-Markers

(pl. 50)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. DJ 16

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. –

Box no. –

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: El-Shawaf Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 21 cm; W. 16 cm

Discovered by: Bernard Mathieu

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of the *sed*-festival theme. The scene depicts two *ḏnbw*-markers, which are typically found in scenes of the king running in the *sed*-festival.[5] The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the markers were green.

Cat. no. 34. Part of the King's Figure

(pl. 51)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 162

Giza register No. –

Committee No. 1215

Box no. 85

Date of the Discovery: 1945

Current Location: Giza Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 29 cm; W. 34.5 cm

Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

[5] Note that the rendering of the *ḏnbw*-markers in this relief is different from that in Cat. no. 38, pl. 59. The *ḏnbw*-markers in Cat. no. 39 are smaller in size and better carved.

Bibliography: –

The fragment shows the upper part of the king (←), probably sitting on a throne. He wears the white crown of Upper Egypt and the divine beard. The rounded shape of the king's shoulders clearly indicates that he is draped in the *sed*-festival cloak. The eye of the king's figure was once inlaid.

Cat. no. 35. Part of the King's Figure
(pl. 52)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. Left: 391, Right: 704
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. Left:1467, Right: 1923
Box no. Left: 90, Right: 97
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: Left: H. 12.5 cm; W. 7 cm, Right: H. 33.5 cm; W. 28 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

Only traces of the king's hands and knee remain on the fragment. He is most likely sitting on a throne, dressed in the *sed*-festival cloak, and holding the *ꜣwt*-scepter and the *nḫꜣḫꜣ*-flail, which are also partly preserved (for comparison see Bissing, Kees 1923, pls. 9 no. 20c, 16 no. 39, 41).

Most likely, the king is sitting inside a shrine, of which only a short vertical line remains on the lower right edge of the fragment (for similar depictions of shrines see pl. 53 and Bissing, Kees 1923, pls. 4 no. 11a, 10 no. 24; Bissing, Kees 1928, pl. 12 no. 223).

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the king was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 36. Part of the King's Figure

(pls. 54–55)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 822

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1983

Box no. 97

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 51 cm; W. 26 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

The fragment shows the king (←) during the *sed*-festival run. He is wearing the *šnḏt* royal kilt with a bull's tail attached to it (in the Old Kingdom it is only the king who wears this type of garment: see Zelenková 2010, 141–166). His left arm is bent upward in front of his chest, his left hand holds the *mks*-container. Behind the king's figure is written a vertical line of hieroglyphs that comprise a blessing inscription. The inscription reads: *sꜣ* [*ꜥnḫ*] *ḥꜣ.f* [*nb*] "All protection and life are behind him".

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the king was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 37. Part of a Figure of an Official

(pl. 56)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 905

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1716

Box no. 93

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 21 cm; W. 28 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The fragment shows the lower part of a striding male figure (→). The figure is holding a flail in his right hand (the hand is not preserved), of which only its front part remains in front of the figure's left leg. This fragment might have belonged to a *sed*-festival scene, showing an official (for comparison see pl. 57 and Bissing, Kees 1928, pls. 2/111, 7/181).

It is worth mentioning that some corrections to the relief were made on the outline of the left leg of the figure. The fragment represents the bottom of a scene, because under the figure was a double line.

Cat. no. 38. Part of the King's Figure
(pl. 58)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 1061
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 2011
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 36.5 cm; W. 14.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The relief depicts traces of a right foot with the heel raised (→). The large scale of the figure, as well as the specific position of the foot, indicates that it is most likely the foot of the king. Lines under the king's figure indicate that this was the bottom register of the scene's "dado".

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the king was reddish-brown and that of the dado was black and reddish-brown lines.

Cat. no. 39. Parts of an Official's Figure and *ḏnbw*-markers

(pl. 59)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 1111

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2061

Box no. 98

Date of the Discovery: 1945

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 40.5 cm; W. 34.5 cm

Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

The relief on this fragment consists of two vertical sections. The left half of the scene must be part of a *sed*-festival scene, due to the presence of two *ḏnbw*-markers. Above is depicted a striding male figure (←), which seems to be a part of a figure of an attendant of the royal festival. We might presume, on the basis of similar scenes from other royal monuments (pl. 60), that he is following the king (Borchardt 1907, 85, fig. 62; Bissing, Kees 1923, pl. 22/54; Bissing, Kees 1928, pl. 18/44c).

Nothing remains of the right half, however, very small traces of an unidentified hieroglyphic sign are visible on the top right edge of the fragment.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the male figure was reddish-brown and that of the *ḏnbw*-markers were green.

Discussion

ʿnḫ wȝś nb snb nb ȝwt-ib nb mi Rʿ ḏt ... [*di n.i n*] *k ḥḥ m ḥbw sd nbw ḏt* "*(granted) all life, endurance, health, and all joy like Re, forever*"*… I (Nekhbet) give you millions of all Hebseds, forever*" (Jéquier 1938, 37, pl. 46).

The *sed*-festival, or "the festival of rejuvenation", is considered to be the most important royal festival celebrated during the king's life (for valuable references on this theme see Ćwiek

2003, 225, footnote 956). Through this festival and its associated rituals, the king renewed his rule over the country (Hornung, Staehelin 2006, 97). It is generally believed, that the *sed*-festival was celebrated after 30 years of a king's reign and after that was repeated at regular intervals. However, some Old Kingdom kings did not keep this tradition and they depicted the celebration of the *sed*-festival in their pyramid complexes, even though their reigns were not long enough to have celebrated the festival in reality (for Old Kingdom kings who ruled less than 30 years and depicted their *sed*-festival in reliefs and objects, Khafre: Hölscher 1912, 94, figs. 85–86; Weserkaf: Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 120–123, Doc. nos. 191–196, figs. 263–268; Sahure: Borchardt 1913, pls. 45–46; Quibell 1912, 15, 147, pl. 89; Neferefre: Landgráfová 2006, 21–22, F0524, F0689, F0710, EB017, EB052, EB058, EB121; Menkauhor: Borchardt 1911, 37–38, no. 40, pl. 10; Verner 2014, fig. 15; Teti: Quibell 1909, pl. 54 no. 3).

This theme was a standard motif in the royal relief program of the Old Kingdom (Hornung, Staehelin 2006, 49–76; Hornung 1991, 169–171), although most monarchs of that period probably never celebrated the festival. The evidence from the Old Kingdom is too scarce to make a clear comparison with attestations from later periods. Therefore, any historical conclusions must remain tentative.

Certainly, the *sed*-festival was an ancient celebration and even though there are no reliefs showing *sed*-festival from Early Dynastic royal monuments, other evidence refers to the celebration of the *sed*-festival by the early kings (for detailed studies on this subjects see, Munro 1961; Serrano 2002; Bárta 2015-a). For instance, in the enclosures at Hierakonpolis, two maceheads were found, one of King Scorpion and the other of King Narmer. Both mace-heads show celebrations of the *sed*-festival (Quibell 1900, 8–10, pls. 26b and 26c). In addition, a sealing of King Djer was found at Abydos, depicting him wearing the cloak, which is associated with the *sed*-festival, and sitting on a throne (Petrie 1901, 30, pl. 15). Four ivory labels document a *sed*-festival of King Den (Petrie 1900, 21, pls. 11/5, 14/12; Petrie 1900, 21, pls. 14–16; Dreyer et al. 1998, 163–164, pl. 12f; Dreyer 2003, 94, pl. 18g). Moreover, at Abydos an ivory statue was discovered depicting a king in the *sed*-festival cloak (Petrie 1903, 24, pl. 2/3 and 13). At the same site, two statues of King Khasekhemui were found depicting him seated and wearing the *sed*-festival cloak (Quibell 1900, 8–10, pl. XLI/left; Quibell, Green 1902, 27, 28, 44). Red granite fragments were found in Hierakonpolis depicting Khasekhemui celebrating the *sed*-festival (Alexanian 1998, 1–21) A statuette of unknown provenance of the Second Dynasty King Ninetjer, depict him seated and wearing the *sed*-estival cloak (Simpson 1956, 45–49, pl. IV).

Inscriptional evidence from Abydos also documents the *sed*-festival, such as a fragment of a bowl made of limestone referencing a *sed*-festival of King Den (Dreyer 1990, 80, fig. 9, pl. 26d). A fragment of an alabaster jar recording a *sed*-festival of King Qa'a was found by F. Petrie (1900, 20, pl. 8/6–8).

The most complete representations of the *sed*-festival in the Old Kingdom are those from the sun temple *Šsp-ib-Rˁ*, of Niuserre at Abu Ghurab (Bissing 1905; Bissing, Kees 1922; Bissing, Kees 1923; Bissing, Kees 1928; Kaiser 1956; Kaiser 1971). They show the king during various stages of the ceremony (pl. 61), including *sed*-festival run, the king sitting in a chapel wearing the *sed*-festival cloak once as the king of Upper Egypt and another time as the king of Lower Egypt, the purification of the king etc. (Bleeker 1967, 100–101). In the Old Kingdom royal pyramid complexes, however, the cycle of the *sed*-festival theme is very fragmentary. Most likely, the theme was depicted in a more abbreviated form in the pyramid complexes where it constituted only one of many important themes while in the sun temples it was the main focus of the decoration. It is worth mentioning that the *sed*-festival scenes can be found even in the pyramid complexes of kings who did not rule long enough to celebrate this jubilee, for instance, Sahure (Verner 2014, 37), and Nerferefre (Verner 2014, 56–58). Thus, it is possible that all *sed*-festival scenes played a symbolic role, regardless of the length of rule of the monarchs.

The first relief depiction of the *sed*-festival during the Old Kingdom is represented in Netjerykhet's six panels from the substructure of the Step Pyramid and its so-called South Tomb in Saqqara (Firth, Quibell 1935, pls. 15–17, 40–42; Lauer 1936, pl. XXXV; Friedman 1995, 1–42). From the Fourth Dynasty, fragments of reliefs of the *sed*-festival were found in the funerary monuments of Snofru at Dahshur (Fakhry 1961-a, figs. 43, 55, 58, 68, 111, 112; Stadelmann 1983, 233–234, pl. 73). Moreover, a block that depicts Khufu sitting on a throne and wearing the *sed*-festival cloak was found in Giza (Lauer 1949, 111–128; Reisner, Smith 1955, figs. 6a–b, 7 no. 37-3-4h; Hassan 1960, pl. 6b).

During the Fifth Dynasty the *sed*-festival theme can be found more frequently. Fragments of relief decoration from the funerary temple of Weserkaf suggest that the king might have celebrated the *sed*-festival (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 120–123, figs. 263–268, Doc. nos. 191–196). Of course, the historical validity of royal reliefs cannot be taken for granted, and for many kings, scenes are the only evidence for a *sed*-festival associated with their reigns.

Blocks that depict King Sahure during the *sed*-festival ceremonies are known. One of them (pl. 62), however, is an unusual scene which was found reused in the Apa Jeremias monastery at Saqqara (Quibell 1912, 15, 147, pl. 89). According to many scholars it depicts

King Sahure performing the ritual run of the *sed*-festival (Ćwiek 2003, 188, fig. 49; El Awady 2009, 76), between the two goddesses, Nekhbet and Wadjet, who are giving the king *ꜥnḫ*-signs. However, more recently P. Jánosi has correctly suggested that the king is seated on the throne (Jánosi 2015, 34, 9f). Other scenes with the *sed*-festival ceremonies were found in the king's funerary complex at Abusir (Borchardt 1913, pls. 45–46).

Depictions of the *sed*-festival were present among the decoration of the fragments of the faience inlays and tablets of Egyptian blue that substituted for relief decoration in Neferefre's pyramid complex. For instance, the king was depicted running, holding the *mks*-container, sitting and carrying the *nḫ3ḫ3*-flail (Landgráfová 2006, 21–22, F0524, F0689, F0710, EB017, EB052, EB058, EB121).

As mentioned above, the complete cycle of the *sed*-festival rituals was found in the sun temple of Niuserre (Bissing 1905; Bissing, Kees 1922; Bissing, Kees 1923; Bissing, Kees 1928; Kaiser 1956, 104–116; Kaiser 1971, 87–105). However, in Niuserre's funerary temple in Abusir, only one scene was recovered, likely depicting the king running with the *nḫ3ḫ3*-flail (Borchardt 1907, 85, fig. 62).

In the funerary temple of Wenis were found several fragments with the *sed*-festival, depicting the king during different phases of the festival (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 71–72, 85, 86, 87, 112, figs. 55, 57, 59, 60,105, pl. XXXI, XXXVI, Doc. nos. 29, 31 34, 35, 79; Labrousse, Moussa 2002, 71, fig. 47, pl. X, Doc. no.10).

Despite the lengthy duration of the excavations of the pyramid complex of King Teti, especially, the funerary temple, not much of its relief decoration was recovered. Therefore, only few fragments of relief decoration survive, depicting the king performing the ritual run and sitting in a chapel (Lauer, Leclant 1972, 62–64, figs. 16, 17, 21, pls. XXIII B, C, XXIV C, XXXIII; Quibell 1909, pl. LIV/7).

In the funerary complex of Pepy II at South Saqqara, several fragments of relief decoration were found. These reliefs depict the king performing the ritual run and sitting in a chapel (Jéquier 1938, pls. 8, 18, 21, 109; Jéquier 1940, pls. 40, 43; Munro 1961, 61–74).

We also learn from statues and textual evidence that other kings of the Old Kingdom celebrated their *sed*-festival; however, the ritual was not depicted in the surviving relief decoration from their funerary complexes (Hölscher 1912, 94, figs. 85–86; Posener-Kriéger 1976, 118–120, 561; Verner 2014, 79, fig. 15; Hornung, Staehelin 2006, 17, Pepi I).

The fragments that were recovered from the funerary complex of Djedkare showing the *sed*-festival theme do not display any deviation in the themes from those seen on other Old Kingdom examples. Some of the reliefs show the king running, Cat. nos. 32, 36, 38 (pls. 49,

54–55, 58), or sitting, Cat. no. 35 (pl. 52), one fragment depicts him wearing the *sed*-festival cloak, Cat. no. 34 (pl. 51), in another fragments he is holding *ꜣwt*-scepter and the *nḫꜣḫꜣ*-flail, Cat. no. 35 (pl. 52). Nevertheless, Cat. no. 35 (pl. 52) consists of two fragments that fit together. One, Cat. no. 35 left, is kept in the storeroom of Saqqara and, Cat. no. 35 right, is in the storeroom of Atfih. The *ḏnbw*-markers (Spencer 1978, 52–55), which are connected with the *sed*-festival, are also present in the fragments of Djedkare, Cat. nos. 33, 39 (pls. 50, 59). Besides the king, other figures were apparently depicted in the scenes, one of which is partly preserved, Cat. no. 39 (pl.59). It represents an official, who was most likely carrying the half-sky-sign, a theme that was characteristic of the *sed*-festival (compare to Reisner, Smith 1955, fig. 7 no. 37–3–4h; Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 121–122, fig. 265, Doc. no. 193; Borchardt 1907, 85, fig. 62; Bissing, Kees 1923, pl. 22/54; Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 112, fig. 105, pl. XXXVI, Doc. no. 79) or holding the sunshade behind the king (compare to Bissing, Kees 1928, pl. 18/44c; Goedicke 1971, 56/29).

Djedkare might be one of the few kings of the Old Kingdom who actually celebrated the *sed*-festival. Several sources attest to the length of his reign which possibly amounted to more than 40 years (Waddell 1940, 51; Barta 1981, 23; von Beckerath 1997, 155; Posener-Kriéger, De Cenival 1968, pls. 41–41A; Posener-Kriéger 1976, 490–491; Verner 2001, 408; Verner 2014, 80–81, see also the anthropological examination of his bones by Batrawi 1947; Strouhal, Gaballah 1993, 104–118; Strouhal, Vyhnálek, Gaballa, Saunders, Woelfli, Bonani, Němečková 2001, 15–23). Fragments of relief decoration were found in Djedkare's pyramid complex in South Saqqara, or reused in Wenis's complex (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 125–126) that depict the king during the rituals of the *sed*-festival. There are also other sources that refer to the celebration of this important festival by Djedkare. For instance, the *sed*-festival of Djedkare is attested in the royal letter sent to the king's vizier Senedjemib Inti. In this letter a building of a large palace about 525 x 231 meters (Verner 2010, 93), is referred to, specifically for the king's *sed*-festival (Brovarski 2001, 97–101). Furthermore, an inscription preserved on a small alabaster vase (Louvre No. E 5323) records "1st occasion of the *sed*-festival of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Djedkare, beloved by the *bꜣw* of Iunu, granted with life, endurance and power forever" (Ziegler 1997, 464, fig. 1). The *sed*-festival of Djedkare was further mentioned in a reference on a fragment from the papyrus archive of Neferirkare (Posener-Kriéger, De Cenival 1968, pls. 1A-B, 2A-C, 88B; Posener-Kriéger 1976, 3–13, 118–120, 324–327, 561).

IV.3.4 Birth-Legend

Cat. no. 40. Part of a Circumcision
(pls. 63–64)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 426
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1502
Box no. 90
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 11 cm; W. 15 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Megahed, Vymazalová 2011; Megahed, Vymazalová 2015

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of four figures, two small children in the center (→), and one larger figure on each side of the fragment. The small figures (→) represent two boys, depicted naked and standing one behind the other. The boys' heads and shoulders are lost, while parts of their bodies and their legs remain on the fragment. The left hand of the first (right) boy is reaching up, his arm is bending towards his head. We can also presume that the second boy (left) was depicted with the same gesture. They were probably shown sucking their fingers, a gesture typical for the depiction of Egyptian children in ancient times. The boys' right arms hang alongside their bodies and it is worth noting that the first boy's arm is longer than the second boy's arm.[6] This may indicate that the first boy was taller or older than the other one.

The left side of the fragment shows parts of two female figures (→). The first one from right is shown kneeling or sitting behind the boys and she stretches her arms to touch and/or hold them with her hands in a tender, calming way. Her right arm reaches to the second boy's knees. The second female figure is nearly lost, only traces of her left arm is preserved behind the boys (pl. 64).

[6] Interestingly, except for the arm, everything else on the boys, the legs and hips, seems to be the same size.

The fourth figure on the right side of the fragment is facing left (←), directly facing the three previously mentioned figures. Even though not much is preserved of this figure, it seems to be a male, sitting or kneeling opposite the boys. His hands are reaching out to the first boy, the left hand holding the boy's little penis while his right hand holds a long tool. The tool is narrower at one end and slightly thicker at the end that is touching the boy. The male is apparently shown engaged in the operation of circumcision.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the female figure was yellow.

Discussion[7]

This scene, even though preserved only in a small fragment, evokes many questions. Only a few ancient Egyptian circumcision scenes have been preserved, none of them associated with a royal funerary monument. Therefore, both the meaning of this scene, and its ritual context within the pyramid complex of Djedkare merit some discussion.

Even though male circumcision was practiced in Egypt from the Predynastic times on, very little direct evidence about the operation itself is available from the millennia of Egyptian history. The reliefs and statues showing both noble and lower classes of the society circumcised, and physical mummified remains from all periods of the Egyptian history, indicate that circumcision was generally practiced among the Egyptian population (Bailey 1996; de Wit 1972; Feucht 1995, 245–255; Spigelman 1997, 91).

Discussions have taken place concerning the age at which boys were circumcised. According to generally accepted opinion, the operation was performed at puberty in the Old Kingdom, but starting from the New Kingdom, infant circumcision is also attested (Bailey 1996, 24–25, 26; Rosalind, Janssen 1990, 90–98). It is presumed that the practice changed over time, and the ages at which the operation was performed had a relatively wide range (Bailey 1996, 25). It is worth mentioning that in modern Egypt today, the operation is performed by both Muslims and Christians at a very young age, in most cases during the first week after birth (Megahed, Vymazalová 2011, 156–157; Megahed, Vymazalová 2015, 286–287).

The operation of circumcision is not mentioned in the ancient Egyptian medical papyri (Nunn 1996, 169–171), even though a few medical cases have been discussed as relating to complications after circumcision (see Bailey 1996, 19; Spigelman 1997, 92). It cannot be ruled

[7]This chapter is largely based on previously published articles by the author and Hana Vymazalová, 2011 and 2015, in which the fragment and its interpretation have been discussed in detail.

out that the operation itself was performed not by physicians, but rather the priesthood (Bailey 1996, 25).

The origin of the practice of circumcision in ancient Egypt is not known, but various medical reasons can be suggested for the operation (Feucht 1995, Spigelman 1997, 96–98). Herodotus refers to the hygienic advantage of male circumcision (Herodotus, Histories II, §37). From Egypt, this practice seems to have spread to other nations too (Herodotus, Histories II, §104), including, among the Jews through Abraham's covenant (Genesis 17, 10–14), and probably also Islam where circumcision is recommended (Bukhari, Book 72, Hadith 779) for ritual cleanliness.

The relationship mentioned by Herodotus between circumcision and Egyptians religion, indicates that circumcision could possibly have had a specific religious connotation (see also de Wit 1972, 41–42). This would correspond well to the magical-religious framework of the ancient Egyptian culture in general, where most of the traditions (as well as all other aspects of life) were closely associated with religious belief (Megahed, Vymazalová 2011, 158).

It has been suggested before that circumcision in ancient Egypt could be related to the idea that each creature contains both a male and female soul, as the Egyptian gods incorporated both motherly and fatherly sides (for references see Feucht 2003, 82, see also Vachala 2007, 660). This concept is, however, not known from Egyptian sources (Feucht 2003, 82).

Even though depictions of circumcised men are quite common in Egyptian reliefs, paintings and statuary, scenes of the act of circumcision are rather rare. A few scenes have been so far interpreted as "circumcision scenes", a few of them are of Old Kingdom date, while the others come from the New Kingdom. The scenes differ from each other but all seem to be relevant for comparison with and interpretation of our relief fragment.

For a long time, the non-royal scene from the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Ankhmahor in Saqqara (see Badawy 1978, 42, fig. 60; Kanawati, Hassan 1997, 49–50, pls. 19, 55b) was considered to be the oldest depiction of circumcision. It is close in date to our relief fragment. The meaning of this depiction was the subject of debate (see for instance, Grunert 2002; Müller 1906, 60–62; Nunn 1996, 169–171; Roth 1991, 62–72; Spigelman 1997; Vachala 2007; Westendorf 1999, 467–469; Wiedemann 1907, 375–376). The long-accepted interpretation of the relief as a "circumcision scene" was re-considered by Stefan Grunert who, in his detailed study of both the depictions and the texts, showed that the scene actually belonged to a larger decorative motif showing the ritual purification of a funerary priest (Grunert 2002). This motif includes the depiction of a manicure and pedicure, body shaving, and pubic shaving, the last of which was previously interpreted as a circumcision. The pubic shaving was done in two steps:

the first step involved two men, one touching the other's pubic area with a knife. The second part shows three men, one touching the other's pubic area with a round object, and a third man holding the latter strongly, indicating that this part of the process was painful. The first scene seems to depict shaving while the latter scene shows the "aftershave" application (Megahed, Vymazalová 2011, 159). It has been suggested that the round tool from the latter scene could represent an anaesthetic applied before the circumcision, and A. Badawy suggested that it could be the "stone of Memphis", or a carbonate of lime known to Dioscorides and Pliny (Badawy 1978, 19). In a shaving scene however, we can interpret this object as alum, called *al-shaba* in Arabic (Megahed, Vymazalová 2011, 159). This chemical compound, which can be found in the Egypt's western desert (Picon, Vichy, Ballet 2005, 43–58), was widely used in ancient Egyptian medicine for its astringent quality, and it was (and still is today) widely used as a soothing agent after shaving. The application of the alum on freshly shaved skin is rather painful, and this could correspond to the second scene from Ankhmahor's tomb.

Besides Ankhmahor's relief, similar depictions of body and pubic shaving can be found in other Old Kingdom tombs (Grunert 2002, 141). In the tomb of Khentika (James 1953, pl. 11) and in the tomb of Niankhkhnum, shorter versions of the manicure-pedicure-shaving scene appear where a razor of a different shape is used to shave the pubic area (Grunert 2002, 141–142, fig. 2; Moussa, Altenmüller 1977, fig. 10; Roth 1991, 68–70, fig. 4.3, also for instance Nunn 1996, 171).

It is clear that even though the scene from the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Ankhmahor is close in date to our fragment and it shows general similarities, it cannot be used as a parallel to our scene.

Some texts of Middle Kingdom date seem to have referred to the act of circumcision (Bailey 1996; Roth 1991, 71) but there is only one relief scene preserved from the period, which shows a clear parallel to our fragment. In addition, some other scenes seem to be relevant for its interpretation. The former, known from the temple ascribed to Khonsu the Child, north-east of the temple of Mut at Karnak (Pillet 1952), is visually similar to our scene. The latter examples on the other hand, were found in the Luxor Temple and in the temple at Deir el-Bahri (Brunner 1964, 162–166). They provide us with a better understanding of the context from which such a scene might have come. All these scenes are much later in date than our example, but they show remarkable features and they seem to refer to either a king's or a god's life.

The Eighteenth Dynasty scenes in the Deir el-Bahri temple of Hatshepsut and its variant in the Amenhotep III reliefs in the Luxor temple, constituted part of the legend of the divine birth of a king (Gayet 1894, pls. LXII–LXVII; Naville 1896, pls. XLVI–LV). In later times,

similar scenes of the divine birth of a god decorated the walls of the mammisis (the birth-chapels), the subsidiary buildings in divine temples of the Late Period, Ptolemaic, and Roman times (Arnold 1996, 39; Daumas 1958; Kockelmann 2011; Wilkinson 2000, 73). The sequence of events recorded in the relevant part of the temples at Deir el-Bahri and Luxor as well as possible small fragments of the theme found in the Ramesseum, culminated in Amun's physical union with the queen mother and the king's birth with the assistance of various divinities, above all Khnum, who created the baby's limbs (Brunner 1964). According to scholars, the last scenes of the sequence, where the gods and goddesses bestow upon the king and his *ka* many years of reign and life, included the process of circumcision. However, this is not depicted explicitly (Brunner 1964, 162–166, 191–193; Nagel 1952). The circumcision undoubtedly appears in this context as part of the king's ritual transition associated with birth.

A scene from Karnak, from the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty (Pillet 1952, 104; Gaballa 1967), is much less well preserved, and only a handful of the steps of the birth-legend can be recognized (Pillet 1952, 78–81). The legend probably referred to the birth of a king, or of a god-child (Bailey 1996, 20), that can be compared to the above-mentioned Eighteenth Dynasty scenes (Brunner 1964). The part of this legend that shows the circumcision scene is over 4 meters long and shows two boys, naked and facing left. Two female figures, most likely goddesses, kneel behind them, the front one holding the boys' arms. Two male gods follow behind the women on the right-hand part of the scene, both holding a *w3ś*-scepter and an *ꜥnḫ*-sign. Facing the boys, a male figure is shown kneeling, holding a long tool in one hand while the fingers of the other hand grasp the piece of skin that is being removed by means of the long tool (detail of the scene in Pillet 1952, 103, fig. 12). Two more standing figures are depicted in the scene, of which only their legs remain. This scene from Karnak is remarkably similar to our South Saqqara fragment, including the position of the figures, the two little boys accompanied by a female, and the long tool used by the male for the circumcision (Megahed, Vymazalová 2011, 161).

The similarity of the scene from Karnak to the scene from the Djedkare's funerary temple leaves no doubt that the latter depicts circumcision, and we regret that it was not better preserved. The arrangement of both scenes is the same, as well as the gestures of the persons involved, and the tool used for the operation.

A flint knife had previously been considered the tool used for circumcision but the two true circumcision scenes show another type of instrument. The character of the tool cannot be precisely recognized, it is a "poorly-defined instrument" (Bailey 1996, 25) of a long and narrow shape, with one end thicker, as shown on the Djedkare's fragment. We can presume that it was

a kind of a sharp knife (Megahed, Vymazalová 2011, 161) but it is also possible that a small knife was used by the operator while the long tool was a pen held by goddess Seshat who used the blood as her ink (Altenmüller 2013).

Because Fakhry's excavation records have not been available, the place of discovery of the fragment within the funerary temple is not known; we therefore cannot be sure from which part of the temple the scene originated. In addition, we do not know which other scenes were associated with the circumcision scene and what the context of this scene was within the decoration program of the pyramid complex (Megahed, Vymazalová 2011, 161).

In addition to the unknown context, the identity of those depicted in the scene is also not known – but two possible interpretations of the scene come to mind:

i) it might concern the circumcision of royal children as part of the life of king's family, or

ii) it might refer to the circumcision of the baby king and his *ka*, in company of a goddess, a mother and the operator.

The former possibility identifies the scene as a depiction of the royal family, showing important stages in the family's life. However, no parallels to such scenes are known from any other royal monuments. On the other hand, the slight difference in size of the boys could be due to the hand of the artist. The latter possibility seems more probable at the moment (Megahed, Vymazalová 2011, 162).

In the Deir el-Bahri, Luxor and Karnak scenes, circumcision is clearly associated with birth rituals, and therefore seems to have been performed on young children. Circumcision, described as "losing foreskin", was performed on infants (*sedjet*). It seems to be attested also from the Middle Kingdom in an inscription from Khnumhotep's tomb in Beni Hassan (Bailey 1996, 20; Newberry 1893, 65; for other terms associated with circumcision see for instance Bailey 1996, 18–23; Feucht 2003; Roth 1991, 68 and passim; Westendorf 2005). The fragment from the Djedkare's funerary temple shows that the same procedure was also practiced in the Old Kingdom. The small fragment of relief therefore casts doubt on the previously accepted view that circumcision was performed on boys in adolescence (for instance, Bailey 1996, 19, 21; Nunn 1996, 171; Strouhal 1992, 28–29).

The fragment preserved in the Djedkare's funerary temple is a much more modestly sized scene than the later New Kingdom examples. The reconstruction is only approximate (pl. 64), and many details remain unknown, for instance, the postures of the male and female (kneeling or sitting) close to the children. Nor do we know the possible nature of the support placed under the children's feet. We can however notice the size of the figures: the boys were

ca. 11.5 cm tall while both the male and the female figures were ca. 18 cm tall if kneeling, and even more if sitting. The small dimensions of the scene indicate that it was probably part of a larger theme shown on one of the walls of the king's funerary temple (Megahed, Vymazalová 2011, 161, fig. 7). However, the male and female figures must be deities, since they interact with the king and other deities (see below).

The fragment from the Djedkare's pyramid complex seems to be a clear parallel to the Karnak scene, which formed part of a divine-birth legend. According to Brunner (1964, 198), the divine birth of kings (including the circumcision as shown above) was documented in the New Kingdom temples belonging to the canonical temple motifs. There are some indications that the divine birth of a king had been depicted at least since the Old Kingdom (Brunner 1964, 196; also Montet 1902, 49; Sayce 1903, 250).

An important piece of evidence, namely fragments of the king's birth scene, were recently discovered in the Middle Kingdom pyramid complex of Senwosret III in Dahshur (Oppenheim 2011). Even though the "circumcision scene" has not been attested among the preserved fragments from that monument, there is no doubt that the depictions of a king's birth belong among motifs shown in royal decoration programs many centuries before the Deir el-Bahri and Luxor temples were built. Moreover, in Dahshur, the scene is attested in a royal pyramid complex. It is very probable that, as in the case of other important scenes, the motif of the king's birth also appeared in earlier monuments (Oppenheim 2011, 188).

For the above-mentioned reasons, we can safely assume that the scene of circumcision found in Djedkare's funerary temple was part of a larger theme, showing the king's birth-legend and his acceptance by the gods (Megahed, Vymazalová 2015, 279), similar to the scenes of Senwosret III, Hatshepsut, and Amenhotep III. The similarity to the scene in Karnak is startling and, as in many other cases, it might be due to the copying of old motifs by later kings. This practice is well known for many New Kingdom monuments and reliefs, for which the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes often served as models for such scenes. At the moment, no other parts of the king's birth scene known from Dahshur, Karnak and Luxor have been identified among the fragments from Djedkare's pyramid complex, however work on this site is still in progress (Megahed 2011-a; Megahed, Vymazalová 2011, 162).

Even though there is a lengthy time gap between each of the reliefs under discussion, the social and religious development over the centuries must not be underestimated nor overlooked. A clear continuity in tradition between the Old Kingdom and later periods can be observed in various fields (for instance, Bialostocka 2010; Janák, Vymazalová, Coppens 2011; Vymazalová, Coppens 2011, 376–377). For our present purpose, it is the ancient Egyptian

concept of renewal and rejuvenation that has particular relevance here. It was particularly strong in all periods and constituted the basis of many rituals, including the funerary rituals and daily temple rituals, etc. (Coppens 2007). The motif of a king's divine birth relates closely to renewal and rejuvenation. Daumas (1958, 499) thought that scenes of the divine birth, and even the story from papyrus Westcar describing the birth of three future kings, refer to ancient mystery plays celebrated every year as part of the renewal and rejuvenation rituals – not only for individuals but also for the kingship (e.g., Bell 1985).

The main question is: what was the meaning/function of the circumcision scene in these royal monuments? The act of circumcision seems to have had a strong symbolic connotation, marking a specific moment in the king's life. In cultures where circumcision is associated with birth rituals, this act – the sacrifice of a tiny body part – would ensure the health and well-being of the child (Adamson 1985, 180). This however cannot be conclusively proven for ancient Egypt, where circumcision is usually considered a form of an initiation ceremony in puberty (Adamson 1895, 180; Robins 1999, 56–57). According to J. Quack, the lack of written references to circumcision as an important moment in life in biographic inscriptions might lead us to believe that circumcision was probably not understood as a rite of passage between childhood and adulthood (Quack 2012, 612, 622), but rather, as a group-defining ritual or social ritual, like in Jewish culture (Quack 2012, 621). On the other hand, H. Altenmüller (2013, 27–28) considers circumcision in the birth-legend to be a rite of passage, namely marking the change between childhood and the rule of the new king. He believes that the act symbolized the ascension of the king to the throne by right of his mythical father, the sun-god (Altenmüller 2013, 27–29), marking a new beginning. In addition to this explanation, circumcision itself was a very important symbolic act, which in our opinion had a strong association with Creation. Spell 17 of the Book of the Dead (Knight 2001, 336) reads: "It means the blood which fell from the phallus of Re when he took to cutting himself. Then there came into being the gods who are in the presence of Re …" (Faulkner 1985, 45). Thus the gods Hu and Sia were created from the blood of Re's phallus, and these gods personified the concepts of Powerful Words and Thought as the prerequisites for the act of creation (Janák 2005, 88, 157). The spell therefore may indicate that Re received his creative power only after his circumcision, which would in turn explain the circumcision in the birth-legend as one of the conditions for becoming a king. For their association with the Creator, Hu and Sia accompanied the solar god on his daily journey, as the sunrise was understood as a repetition of the act of creation. Similarly, creation was also repeated at the moment of the re-birth of a deceased person in the other world, therefore Hu and Sia appear in funerary texts and scenes (Janák 2005, 88, 157). The scene of circumcision

might therefore relate to the concept of renewal and perhaps even to certain renewal rituals. At the same time, this specific meaning of the royal circumcision explains why this depiction had not been included in the decoration programs of non-royal tombs (as with scenes of the *sed*-festival). At the same time, non-royal tombs in a way reflected this important scene, as for instance in the tomb of Ankhmahor where the ritual act of becoming a funerary priest through ritual purification was shown in a very similar way (Megahed, Vymazalová 2011, 158–159).

The right part of scene 15, which is depicted in the lower register on north wall of the middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahari and represents the birth of queen Hatshepsut, shows the goddess Seshat recording years of life and reign of the new-born. According to H. Altenmüller, the goddess actually recorded the new beginning i.e., the first year of the new king's reign, and for this she used the blood of the circumcised child instead of ink. This appears to be another indication that the rule of the new king can only begin after his circumcision (Altenmüller 2013, 28–29). In the Luxor and Deir el-Bahari scenes the goddess soaks her pen in a cup that contains the blood while the circumcision itself is not shown. On the fragment of the circumcision scene from Djedkare's pyramid complex, the long and narrow tool visible above the operator's hand in Altenmüller's view might also be the pen of Seshat who perhaps stood behind the operator and soaked it in the fresh blood of the child (perhaps similar to the scene at Karnak) (Altenmüller 2013, 16, 28). This suggestion seems very tempting even though the reconstruction of the goddess' figure behind the operator seems very problematic (see above) and is purely theoretical (see pl. 64 and Megahed, Vymazalová 2015, fig. 6).

The left part of scene 15 shows Khnum and Anubis with or without a disk. The disk was shown only in some of the versions of the birth-legend, including Dahshur and Deir el-Bahari. Yet it was completely omitted in the scenes in Luxor and Karnak, where Anubis stands straight with a staff in his hand. No part of this motif remained on Djedkare's scene from Saqqara.

Djedkare's pyramid complex was the place of the king's burial, resurrection and cult, and therefore the motif of renewal and rejuvenation would have played a very important role in its decoration. Among other scenes with this meaning (e.g., the *sed*-festival), the scene of royal circumcision and its association with Creation (through the gods Hu and Sia) seems to merit a place in the royal decoration program of the pyramid complex. It is therefore very likely that the decoration program covering the walls of the king's funerary temple included scenes of the king's birth and re-birth, referring to both this and the next life.

IV.3.5 Giving Life

Cat. no. 41. The King Receiving Life

(pls. 65–66)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. DJ 157

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. –

Box no. –

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Funerary temple of Djedkare

Dimensions: H. 135.5 cm; W. 240 cm; Th. 98 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare's funerary temple, *pr-wrw* hall

Bibliography: Goyon 1969, pl. 40 and p. 156 n. 2; Ćwiek 2003, 189; Stockfisch 2003, 63, no. 5.8.1; El Awady 2009, 76; Megahed 2011-b, fig. 2; Megahed 2014-c, 12, fig. 14; Jánosi, Megahed 2015, 57, fig. 6a–b; Megahed forthcoming

This huge relief block preserves an important scene showing Djedkare with four deities. The king (→), is sitting on the throne (not preserved on the block) and receives *ꜥnḫw* from the goddess Hathor standing in front of him. He is wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, the royal false beard that is tied to his chin with straps, and a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads and bracelets on his right arm. His left hand is stretched downward, perhaps in front of his knee with his hand (palm) opened upward to receive three *ꜥnḫ*-signs, while his right hand is resting on his side holding three knots, which can mean that he already received another three *ꜥnḫ*-signs.

The king's name and title (now almost entirely missing) was written in a vertical inscription in front of his face (↓→), which reads: [*nśwt-bity*] *Ḏd-kȝ-Rꜥ*.

Hathor faces the king and is shown in her usual human form (←). She wears a long tripartite wig, a long tight-fitting dress that is held up by shoulder straps exposing her right breast, a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, and a tight choker necklace. She is also wearing her usual horned sun disk headdress. In front of the goddess' face is written in a vertical inscription with her name and epithet (↓→). The name is almost complete and reads:

Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt nht “Hathor, the Lady of the Sycamore”. The goddess is stretching her right arm upward holding an *ꜥnḫ*-sign with her hand and offering it to the nose of the king, while her left arm is bent in front of her body giving the king another three *ꜥnḫ*-signs into his left hand.

Behind the king, Wadjet (→), in her usual human form, embraces the king from behind. The left hand is holding the king’s left shoulder while the right hand is holding his right arm. She wears a long tripartite wig, a long, tight-fitting dress that is held up by shoulder straps, a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, and a vulture-headdress with the erect *uraeus* replacing the head of the vulture. The inscription above her head shows her name and epithet (↓→). Her name is incomplete but can be reconstructed as: [*Wꜣḏ*]*t, Dp* “Wadjet of Dep (Buto)”.

The scene is flanked by two male deities, Horus and Seth. On the right side of the scene, behind the goddess Hathor, stands Horus of Behdety. He is depicted falcon-headed (←) and wears a tunic that is cinched at the waist by a belt with a *tyet*-knot (Gardiner Sign-list V39) hangs from the front. His right hand holds a *wꜣś*-scepter. The left hand is not preserved, however, we can suggest that he is holding an *ꜥnḫ*-sign.

Above Horus’ head his name and epithets are written (↓←). The name is only partly preserved and can be restored as: [*Bḥ*]*dty nṯr* [*ꜥꜣ*] *sꜣb šwty ḫnty ỉtrt* [*šmꜥ*] “Horus of Behdety, the great god, variegated of feathers, foremost/who is in front of the southern chapel”. Moreover, a speech (↓←) by Horus to Djedkare was carved in a vertical inscription in front of the god. It reads: *ḏd mdw dỉ.n.ỉ n.k ꜥnḫ ḏd wꜣś nb ꜣwt-ỉb nb snb nb* “An invocation of words, I gave you all life, endurance and dominion, all delight and all health”.

The god Seth is depicted with his characteristic animal head (→), behind goddess Wadjet on the left side of the scene. He is wearing a long wig, a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, a tunic that is preserved to the top of the buttocks and is cinched at the waist by a belt covered with finely incised rectangles, and a bull’s tail. He is holding a *wꜣś*-scepter with his left hand, with the right hand he likely held an *ꜥnḫ*-sign.

In front and above Seth’s head a vertical inscription gives his name and epithets (↓→), which read: [*Nw*]*bty wr ḥkꜣw* “The-One-Who-Belongs-To-Nubt (or “The Ombite [=Seth]”), Great of Magic”. Moreover, there is a speech (↓→) by Seth to Djedkare. It was written in a vertical in front of the god, and reads: *ḏd mdw dỉ.n.ỉ n.k ꜥnḫ snb wꜣś nb* [*ꜣwt-ỉb nb*] “An invocation of words, I gave you all life, health and dominion [and all delight]”.

It is worth mentioning that the surface of the head and wig of god Seth shows an ancient restoration. The damaged area was filled with a kind of mortar and the surface smoothed. As is customary with royal reliefs of this epoch, the eyes of the figures were once inlaid with precious

stones. Moreover, in the speeches of Horus and Seth, the word *w3ś* was written in a clever way. The artist used the top of the *w3ś*-scepter held by the two deities as a sign in the composition.

The relief preserves traces of colour indicating that the skin of goddess Hathor was yellow. Note the fine rendering in relief of the individual figures and signs.

Cat. no. 42. Part of the King's Figure and Female Goddess

(pls. 67–69)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 1156

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2177

Box no. 100

Date of the Discovery: 1945

Current Location: Funerary temple of Djedkare

Dimensions: 1) H. 36.5 cm; W. 100 cm; 2) H. 21.5 cm; W. 62.5 cm; 3) H. 16.5 cm; W. 44 cm; 4) H. 14.5 cm; W. 23.5 cm; 5) H. 11.5 cm; W. 17 cm; 6) H. 15 cm; W. 19 cm; 7) H. 7.5; W. 8.5; 8) H. 18; W. 16.

Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein

Provenance: Djedkare's funerary temple

Bibliography: Megahed forthcoming

These seven matching relief fragments show the lower part of a standing female deity (←). Her upper body did not survive, and thus her identity remains in question. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress, bracelets and anklets. Her left arm is stretched in front of her body to present three *ꜥnḫ*-signs to the king's extended hand. Moreover, a vertical inscription was carved behind the goddess. This inscription is nearly lost, only the upper part of the *nśwt*-sign remained on the scene.

In front of the goddess, King Djedkare (→), is seated on the throne and receiving *ꜥnḫ*-signs from her. Of the king's figure, only one hand remains, with the palm opened upward to receive the *ꜥnḫ*-signs. It seems to be his left hand, which was probably placed above his knee.

The relief preserves traces of colour indicating that the skin of the king was reddish-brown and that of the goddess was yellow, while her dress and the anklets were green.

Cat. no. 43. Part of the King's Figure

(pl. 70)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 865

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1961

Box no. 97

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Funerary temple of Djedkare

Dimensions: H. 23.5 cm; W. 26 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare's funerary temple

Bibliography: Megahed forthcoming

The traces on this relief fragment are few but characteristic, it can thus be identified as part of an *ꜥnḫ*-giving scene. The preserved part of the relief shows, King Djedkare seated on a box throne (←). He is wearing a kilt, with decorative motifs that mark it as the *šnḏt* royal kilt.

Most likely his left hand is resting on his side holding three *ꜥnḫ*-signs, of which two remain on the fragment. For comparison see the famous scene from Niuserre's temple (pl. 71 and Borchardt 1907, fig. 6, pl. 16).

The relief preserves traces of colour indicating that the top part of the throne was green.

Cat. no. 44. Part of the King's Figure

(pl. 72)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. –

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. –

Box no. –

Date of the Discovery: 1938–1939

Current Location: Wenis's pyramid

Dimensions: H. 20 cm; W. 19.5 cm; Th. 20 cm

Discovered by: Jean-Philippe Lauer

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Lauer 1939, 453–454; Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 127, Doc. no. 124, fig. 149, pl. XXXVIII; Ćwiek 2003, 190; Megahed forthcoming

The fragment depicts only small remnants of an *ꜥnḫ*-giving scene. It shows King Djedkare, perhaps seated on the throne (→), and probably wearing the Double Crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. In front of the king's face, and slightly above the level of his head, is his name [*Ḏd*-]*kꜣ*-[*Rꜥ*], written inside the cartouche. Only traces of the *kꜣ*-sign remain.

In front of the king's figure was depicted another figure of a god or a goddess, of whom only traces of the right hand remain, presenting an *ꜥnḫ*-sign to the king's nose. The deity was most likely standing in front of the king.

It is worth mentioning that this fragment was built in the southern side of Wenis's pyramid (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 127, Doc. no.124, fig. 149, pl. XXXVIII) and the relief on this fragment was intentionally destroyed (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 127).

Discussion

There is no doubt that the relief program of Djedkare falls along the lines of what was already depicted on the walls of the temples of the Fifth Dynasty kings in Saqqara and Abusir. The theme under discussion here shows continuity, however, with very small changes and modifications.

In the pyramid complex of Djedkare, at least four different scenes of *ꜥnḫ*-giving are known. They represent the highest number of scenes of this type among the published material from the Old Kingdom royal pyramid complexes. Considering the fact that the causeway and valley temple of Djedkare were largely unexplored, a higher number of such scenes might have been originally depicted in the king's complex.

The scene that is depicted on Cat. no. 41 (pls. 65–66) still can be found in the *pr-wrw*. This scene is not only well preserved, but it shows more figures involved in the action than in any of the previously known scenes. The scene on Cat. no. 42 (pls. 67–69), which is reconstructed from seven fragments, is on a larger scale and most likely came from a larger

scene than Cat. no. 41 and Cat. no. 43.[8] The fragment of the fourth *ꜥnḫ*-giving scene was found reused in the southern side of Wenis's pyramid (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 127, Doc. no. 124, fig. 149, pl. XXXVIII).

Most scholars assign the oldest attestation of an *ꜥnḫ*-giving theme to King Sahure (Ćwiek 2003, 188, fig. 49; El Awady 2009, 76), based on the relief that was found in Apa Jeremias' monastery at Saqqara (Quibell 1912, 15, 147, pl. 89). This block depicts the king during his *sed*-festival (see pl. 62 and *Chapter IV.3.3*, pp. 128–129) between the two representative goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nekhbet and Wadjet, who are presenting *ꜥnḫ*-signs to him. However, the *ꜥnḫw* are not presented to the king by the hands of the goddesses, but are attached to their *wꜣś*-scepters. To my knowledge, the goddess Wadjet was never depicted directly presenting the *ꜥnḫ*-sign to the king in any of the pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom (Megahed forthcoming). It is worth noting that such a scene, with slight modifications, was depicted in the relief decoration of King Amenemhat I at Lisht, where the scene shows the king seated and celebrating part of his *sed*-festival (Jánosi 2015, 33–35).

The first true attestation of the *ꜥnḫ*-giving theme known so far was present among the inscriptions and decoration of the fragments of the faience inlays that substituted for relief decoration in Neferefre's pyramid complex (Landgráfová 2006). For instance, god Seth was designated in these inscriptions as he "who gives all life" (Landgráfová 2006, 38, F0361). In other instances, the faience inlays bore inscriptions like "he gives life" or "given all life" (Landgráfová 2006, 39, F0184, F0583, F1205). Moreover, some of the fragments show the king seated on the throne while a goddess stands in front of him (Landgráfová 2006, 19, 75 no. F0086). Unfortunately, only the bottom part of the fragments remains. However, with the help of parallel scenes from earlier and later relief decoration, we may reconstruct this fragment as belonging to an *ꜥnḫ*-giving scene (Landgráfová 2006, 19). The most important is the fragment that shows an *ꜥnḫ*-sign being presented to Neferefre's nose (Landgráfová 2006, 19, 74 no. F0083).

The block which was found by Borchardt in the western wall of the transverse corridor of Niuserre's mortuary temple at Abusir (Borchardt 1907, fig. 6, pl. 16; Ćwiek 2003, 188–189, fig. 27; El Awady 2009, 76; Stockfisch 2003, no. 5.6.1), and which depicts the king receiving life from the god Anubis. This represents, in my opinion, the first complete attestation of the theme of the *ꜥnḫ*-giving during the Old Kingdom (pl. 71). It depicts the king sitting on the

[8] The reconstruction of Cat. no. 41 shows the height of the king to be about 135 cm without the throne, and Hathor 114 cm high without her horned sun disk headdress. While in reconstruction of Cat. no. 42 the king is 223 cm high and the height of the goddess 165 cm.

throne, holding three ꜥnḫ-signs with his left hand and receiving three more ꜥnḫ from Anubis, who is presenting another ꜥnḫ to the king's nose. Behind the king stands the goddess Wadjet, who is embracing him. This scene might have been the inspiration for the scene depicted in Cat. no. 41 of Djedkare.

A different version of an ꜥnḫ-giving scene has been found in the precinct of the *Ka* house of Pepy I at Tell Basta in the Delta (Habachi 1957, 8, 14–18, fig. 2, pl. 2). The representation is on the outer side of the lintel of the southern entrance into the precinct. It depicts Pepy I standing and adorned with the *Atef* crown (pl. 73). In front of the king stands the goddess Bastet, and she holds in her left hand the *wꜣś*-scepter, while the right hand was extended to present an ꜥnḫ to the king's nose. The scene is flanked by Horus of Edfu and Hathor of Dandara. The whole scene is captioned as "giving all lives".

The last scenes to be discussed here are those belonging to King Pepy II. Among the many fragments found in the funerary complex of the king at South Saqqara, we can identify a few of them as ꜥnḫ-giving scenes. The most important is the one, which G. Jéquier identified as coming from the north wall of the square antechamber, above the door leading to the offering chapel (Jéquier 1938, 46–47, pl. 54; Ćwiek 2003, 190–191; Stockfisch 2003, no. 6.5.28; El Awady 2009, 76). The scene depicts the king sitting on the throne and receiving one ꜥnḫ from the goddess Nekhbet, who is standing in front of him. Behind Pepy II stands Anubis who is holding a *wꜣś*-scepter.

Another reconstruction was made by G. Jéquier on the western end of the south wall of the vestibule (Jéquier 1938, 31, pl. 36; Stockfisch 2003, no. 5.6.21; El Awady 2009, fig. 50). The reconstruction shows the king standing and receiving one ꜥnḫ from the goddess Nekhbet (pl. 74). Behind the king stands the goddess Wadjet, from whom only her title survives. However, only the upper part of the scene remains, together with a small part of the king's kilt and foot. The reconstruction of the scene as one of ꜥnḫ-giving is thus purely hypothetical.

On the other hand, a more satisfactory reconstruction is presented by Ćwiek for the lintel of the door in the south wall of the vestibule (Ćwiek 2003, 190–191, fig. 90). It depicts the king sitting on the throne, probably receiving an ꜥnḫ from Seth, while behind the king stood Horus Behedety. The whole scene was flanked by Nekhbet and Wadjet. Another two possible fragments belonging to the same theme were found in the temple (Ćwiek 2003, 190–191).

As we have seen in the preserved examples, the ꜥnḫ-giving theme during the Old Kingdom had two forms. In one, the king is enthroned, receiving ꜥnḫ-signs from a god or a goddess. In the case of Niuserre and Djedkare, the king is receiving seven lives in total, while in case of Pepy II he is only receiving one. The second type of depiction of this theme showed

the king standing and receiving only one *ꜥnḫ*. The lintel of the doorway of Pepy I from Tell Basta is actually the only preserved example in the Old Kingdom of the *ꜥnḫ*-giving scene with the king standing. The standing position was used more often in the Middle Kingdom, for instance in the decoration of the White Chapel (Lacau, Cheveier 1959, pls. 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 28, 30, 37), and during the New Kingdom, in the temples of Hatshepsut at Deir El Bahari (Naville 1895, pls. II, V, XII; Naville 1901, pls. XCIX, CVI; Naville, Clarke 1908, pl. CLXIV; Beaux et al. 2012, pls. 16, 41), and in Karnak temple, where Kings Sety I and Ramesses II were depicted receiving *ꜥnḫ* from different deities (Nelson 1981, pls. 7, 8, 78, 104, 199, 258, 259).

The deities who were offering the *ꜥnḫ* in the Old Kingdom scenes differ from one king to another. Putting the fragments of the faience inlays of Neferefre aside, since we do not know which deity was presenting to the king the *ꜥnḫ* or *ꜥnḫw*, the god Anubis is the first deity attested as taking part in this ritual during the Old Kingdom. He was present in the case of Niuserre, while Hathor and maybe another, unknown goddess were depicted with Djedkare. Bastet was depicted with Pepy I and Nekhbet with Pepy II.

The deities who appeared presenting the *ꜥnḫ* among our discussed examples were selected very carefully. It seems that Anubis played an important role in *ꜥnḫ*-giving. As we have seen, he is depicted in the scene of Niuserre (Borchardt 1907, fig. 6, pl. 16). The role of Anubis was obvious in ancient Egypt, besides being the protector of the necropolis, the Pyramid Texts portray him as the prince of the court of justice, Pyr. § 1713 (Faulkner 1969, 253). In another instance, he presides over the God's Booth, Pyr. §896 (Faulkner 1969, 157). Most importantly, he, together with the king, gave offerings to the deceased in the necropolis (Barta 1968).

Another important deity who appears in connection with *ꜥnḫ*-giving is the goddess Hathor. The king was considered to be the eldest son of Hathor and, in most cases, the royal wives and mothers were connected to this goddess (Friedman 2008, 137–140). The cult of Hathor is also well represented in the Old Kingdom mortuary complexes, since at least the middle of the Fourth Dynasty. Hathor's cult was referred to in both art and architecture of the royal complexes (Allam 1963, 3–23; Stockfisch 2003, 329–331; Friedman 2008; Hölscher 1912, 17, fig. 7; Seidel 1996, 21, fig. 9 (15); Reisner 1931, 109–110, nos. 9–12).

In addition, as the daughter of Re and also his partner, Hathor was connected with this supreme god. For instance, in the Fifth Dynasty sun temples, priests who served in the sun temples bore titles including *ḥm-nṯr,* priest of Re and Hathor (Nuzzolo 2007-a, 234–239, pl. 2; Winter 1957, 228; Voss 2004). Interestingly, except for Hathor, Re was not linked to any other female goddess in the Old Kingdom.

It must be stressed that festivals of both Anubis and Hathor were celebrated in the mortuary temples of the Old Kingdom (for the Hathor feast see, Posener-Kriéger, De Cénival 1968, pl. 19A; Posener-Kriéger 1976, 557–558; Spalinger 2013, 617; Desroches-Noblecourt 1995; Verner 2014, 150–151. For the Anubis feast see, Bissing, Kees 1928, pls. 29–30; Helck 1977, pl. II.10; Posener-Kriéger, Verner, Vymazalová 2006, 249, pl. 31C; Vymazalová 2016, 333, 335). Moreover, Hathor's feast was the only feast of a female goddess recorded in the Abusir papyrus archives.

Concerning the lintel of Pepy I, it is understandable that the goddess Bastet is the main deity in the *ꜥnḫ*-giving theme, as the lintel was from the main cult place of the goddess in Tell Basta.

The goddess Nekhbet was depicted on the door lintel of the north wall of the *antichambre carrée* in the mortuary temple of Pepy II. This scene needs to be considered, since we expect on the north wall to have the representative of Lower Egypt, the goddess Wadjet, instead of the representative of Upper Egypt, the goddess Nekhbet. It is possible that the reason for this was the position of the room, which was located in the southern part of the temple, traditionally Nekhbet's domain.

Considering the above-presented evidence from the Old Kingdom royal pyramid complexes, we may note that the fragments of relief decoration from Djedkare's complex provide us with the largest number of *ꜥnḫ*-giving scenes so far attested among the Old Kingdom's royal decoration program. The king's mortuary temple contained at least four scenes of this type, each of which was almost to the same scale, an indication that the ceremony was considered important enough to be repeated in different parts of his mortuary complex.

All of these scenes seem to show the king in a seated position, which is somewhat unusual, as we are accustomed to seeing the king standing in direct contact with different gods, e.g. in the suckling, embracing, coronation and foundation ceremony themes. On at least three occasions, he is shown receiving seven sets of life-offerings, and one wonders why this number was chosen (for the symbolism of number seven in see Rochholz 2002; Ćwiek 2003, 188, 332–333). We are aware that Djedkare had one of the longest reigns in the Fifth Dynasty. Were these presentation of life scenes a token of his gratitude to the gods for the length of his reign? One of the scenes shows Hathor, Horus, Seth and Wadjet, the most important of the Egyptian gods associated with kingship, perhaps to stress that this king's reign or his passing into the afterlife had received the approval of these four deities.

The existence of the *ꜥnḫ*-giving scenes on the lintels of the doorways of chambers and corridors in the Old Kingdom funerary temples can be interpreted as referring to the role of the

ceremony in transforming the king between one sphere and another. The mortal king-god became an immortal divinity, who joined with gods in the afterlife. Most of the deities who were depicted giving the kings the symbol of the life are in fact related to the supreme god of the state in the Old Kingdom, the sun god Re.

Moreover, this representation of the *ꜥnḫ*-giving scenes above the doorways, probably confirms the king's transformation by the gods. The bestowing upon the king of "life forever" was the result of his work keeping the world ordered and defeating the evil forces of nature. These activities are well represented within the decorative relief programs of the Old Kingdom royal complexes, particularly, the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. For instance, the king was shown in scenes of hunting the hippopotamus in the *pr-wrw* (Jéquier 1940, pl. 32; Ćwiek 2003, 219–220; Stockfisch 2003, no. 6.5.3), of the king smiting his enemies (Jéquier 1938, pl. 36; Jéquier 1940, pl. 32; Ćwiek 2003, 204–205; Stockfisch 2003, no. 6.5.22), of the king hunting in the desert in the vestibule (Jéquier 1938, pl. 41; Stockfisch 2003, no. 6.5.20), or of the king visiting the chapels of the gods in their cult places in the *antichambre carrée* (Jéquier 1938, pls. 46–60; Stockfisch 2003, no. 6.5.25–28). In all these previously mentioned locations in the mortuary temples the *ꜥnḫ*-giving scenes were found on the lintels of the doorways. If we exclude the theoretical reconstruction of the *ꜥnḫ*-giving scene, which was made by G. Jéquier on the western end of the south wall of the vestibule (see pl. 74, Jéquier 1938, 31, pl. 36; Stockfisch 2003, no. 5.6.21; El Awady 2009, fig. 50), we can conclude with some degrees of certainty that the *ꜥnḫ*-giving scenes are usually on the lintels of the doorways in the outer and inner parts of the funerary temples of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. This finds support in the *ꜥnḫ*-giving scene of Pepy II on the lintel of the doorway in the north wall of the *antichambre carrée* (Jéquier 1938, 46–47, pl. 54; Ćwiek 2003, 190–191; Stockfisch 2003, no. 5.6.28; El Awady 2009, 76), and the reconstruction of the *ꜥnḫ*-giving scene on the lintel of the door in the south wall of the vestibule of Pepy II (Ćwiek 2003, fig. 90). Another piece of evidence to support our suggestion is the lintel of Pepy I from Tell Basta (Habachi 1957, 8, 14–18, fig. 2, pl. 2). Furthermore, we can presume from the position of the *ꜥnḫ*-giving scene of Djedkare Cat. no. 41 (pls. 65–66), which is still in the *pr-wrw* of the king's funerary temple, that it once formed a lintel or tympanum for one of the *pr-wrw* doorways. I assume it belonged to the west wall of the *pr wrw* hall.

King	**position**	**Crown**	**God/goddess**	**Accompany god/goddess**
Sahure	Sitting	Double	Nekhbet/Wadjet	---------
Neferefre	Sitting	--------	--------	--------
Neferefre	Sitting	--------	Unknown	---------
Neferefre	Sitting	--------	Female Unknown	---------
Niuserre	Sitting	Feather	Anubis	Wadjet
Djedkare	Sitting Sitting Sitting Sitting	Double -------- --------- ---------	Hathor Female unknown Unknown Unknown	Wadjet/Seth/Horus ---------- --------- ----------
Pepy I	Standing	Atef	Bastet	Horus/Hathor
Pepy II	Sitting Sitting	---------- ---------	Nekhbet Seth?	Anubis Horus /Nekhbet/Wadjet

Table 2 An overview of the *ꜥnḫ*-giving scenes from the pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom kings.

IV.3.6 Royal Triumph

Cat. no. 45. Part of a Human Figure
(pl. 75)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 62
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1115
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 12 cm; W. 9 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

Only traces of one leg of perhaps a sphinx or griffin have been preserved on the fragment, together with an open palm. The hand probably belongs to an enemy, who once was depicted falling with his arms stretched upwards, being preyed upon by the king. Thus, the fragment probably depicts traces of the theme of "trampling enemies", in which the king is depicted as a sphinx or griffin trampling a fallen foe (see for comparison pl. 76 and Jéquier 1940, pls. 16 upper, 18, bottom left).

Cat. no. 46. Part of a King's Figure
(pl. 77)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 768
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1700
Box no. 93
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 23 cm; W. 32 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

On the right half of the preserved surface, the relief depicts part of a back of a royal figure facing right. He probably wears the royal kilt, *šnḏwt*, with a bull's tail attached to it. Only a small part of the tail, the kilt and its belt remain on the fragment.

Behind the figure of the king is an incomplete vertical inscription (↓→) with the blessing for the king that reads: *s3 ʿnḫ ḥ3*[*.f nb*] "All protection and life are behind him".

The relief still preserves traces of colour indicating that the sign *ḥ3* was green.

Cat. no. 47. Part of a Human Figure and Inscriptions
(pl. 78)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 886
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1834
Box no. 95
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara storeroom
Dimensions: H. 20 cm; W. 17 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The surface has two incomplete registers preserved, divided by the sky with five-pointed stars. The upper register of this relief contains traces of two human male figures, both kneeling. The first figure (→) is incompletely preserved, with only traces of his foot and leg remaining within the scene. The figure is depicted with his knee on the ground. The second figure (←) in this fragment is also badly preserved, only traces of his foot remain. One can assume from the position of the foot that it was depicted in a kneeling position, like the first figure. The interpretation of this scene is unclear, as the position of the two kneeling males is not common.

The lower register depicts traces of an inscription (→↓); which is incompletely

preserved. It includes *sft,* "slaughtering/death", and another word, which started with *d*, possibly *dś,* "knife".

Cat. no. 48. Part of a Human Figure and a Paw
(pl. 79)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. DJ 01
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. –
Box no. –
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: El-Shawaf storeroom
Dimensions: H. 14.5 cm; W. 27 cm
Discovered by: Bernard Mathieu, et al.
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This relief must be part of a scene of trampling the enemies. Only a small part of the scene remains on the fragment, showing traces of a paw touching a head. Only a small part of the pads and claws of a sphinx or a griffin (←) are preserved. Under the claws, a human head is depicted (→), of which hair and a part of an ear remain. This figure most likely represented a fallen enemy being trampled by the king in his guise as a hieracosphinx or griffin.

Cat. no. 49. Part of a Paw
(pl. 80)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. without
Giza register No. –
Committee No. without
Box no. 110
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Giza storeroom

Dimensions: H. 12.5 cm; W. 8 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This relief decoration shows traces of perhaps a paw of a sphinx or griffin (←), which represents the king as a beast. Only part of the right? paw showing claws and pads remains. The claws can be compared to the reconstruction of G. Jéquier from the causeway of Pepy II (Jéquier 1940, 11–12, pls. 15–18), particularly the way in which the claws which are hanging.

Discussion

The theme of an Egyptian king trampling the enemies was one of the canonical motifs of royal art since the earliest periods. The Gilf el-Kebir caves contain many of the ideological concepts and practices that are considered fundamental themes for the expression of Egyptian royal ideology and religious beliefs in later periods in the Nile valley. In this very ancient place, some themes that were connected with the development of the Egyptian kingship seem to have emerged in prehistoric times, such as depicting the king in his human form or as a sphinx or a griffin smiting his enemies (Hall 1986; Schoske 1994).

One such theme is attested in the left part of the Cave of the Beasts at Gilf el-Kebir, it depicts a large figure of a "chieftain" holding what is probably a mace to smite a much smaller figure of an "enemy". Under this depiction two rows of human figures were represented with their arms raised up (Bárta 2010, 39–47).

The motif of the chieftain or king smiting/slaying an enemy in both human and animal form was frequently used in scenes on various objects dated to the Predynastic period, e.g. Naqada I (Dreyer et al. 1998, 112, figs. 12.1, 13, pl. 6 d–f). The scene was also depicted on a wall painting in tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis (Naqada IIC) (Quibell, Green 1902, pls. 75–78).

Later on during the Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods, the significant symbolism of this theme was demonstrated on different royal objects (Hall 1986, 4–7, pls. 5–9); the Narmer palette remains the most substantial example of its kind (Quibell 1900, pl. XXIX; Vandier1952, 595–599, figs. 391–392)

The largest number of such scenes in one place dated from the beginning of the Old Kingdom is the rock art from Wadi Maghara. The scenes were carved on cliff faces at this major Egyptian source for turquoise and are dated from the reign of Djoser onwards (Gardiner, Peet,

Černý 1952; Gardiner, Peet, Černý 1955). The ubiquity of royal images at this location is connected to the need to assert the presence and continuous control of the Egyptian king over the natural resources in the region.

In the Old Kingdom mortuary complexes, we find this theme quite regularly. The scenes show the kings smiting enemies in their human forms in the funerary temples, while they are depicted as sphinxes or griffins in the valley temples and causeways.

The scene of smiting an enemy or enemies was a part of a larger scene of the "royal triumph" (Hall 1986; Schoske 1994; Stockfisch 2003, 202–230; Ćwiek 2003, 199–211, however, A. Ćwiek considers the motives: the king smiting enemies, king as sphinx or griffin trampling enemies, Seshat recording captives and booty, war scenes as different motifs of the same theme, see also David 2011). The royal triumph theme consists of various tableaux, starting with the scene of king smiting enemies, and also including registers of processions of deities and booty, either humans or cattle, being counted by a seated figure of goddess Seshat. We cannot exclude the war theme as part of the royal triumph. Another scene, which might have been related is a scene depicting the names of foreign cities that the king presumably conquered, or at least controlled. Such lists of foreign nations are well attested in temples and on royal statues from the New Kingdom (Epigraphic Survey 1932, pls. 101–102; Hawass 2006, 129–139). However, one relief fragment from Djedkare's funerary complex indicates the possible existence of such a list during the Old Kingdom (Megahed in preparation).

The royal triumph theme is attested in several Old Kingdom pyramid complexes. Fragments were found in the funerary complex of Weserkaf depicting Seshat in seated position, a procession of deities, tied prisoners, and remains of an inscription reading: *nb ḫ3swt* "foreign countries" (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 111–113, Doc. nos. 156–160, figs. 228–232). As was mentioned previously, such fragments must have come from the royal triumph theme.

Almost all the elements of the royal triumph theme are depicted in the funerary complex of Sahure in Abusir. In the valley temple, a large block was found depicting the king as a griffin trampling fallen enemies (Borchardt 1913, 21–23, pl. 8). Other royal triumph episodes were presented in the causeway, including processions of deities and prisoners (Borchardt 1913, 18–21, pl. 5–7). In addition, the theme was represented in the mortuary temple of Sahure, namely on the walls of the open courtyard, where the scenes with goddess Seshat counting the booty and processions of prisoners and cattle were depicted (Borchardt 1913, 21–23, pls. 1–4).

The same motifs were used in the mortuary temple of Niuserre. Despite the fragmentary state of preservation of the decoration program of the complex, L. Borchardt was able to identify fragments depicting the king in human form smiting his enemies and tied prisoners

(Borchardt 1907, 86–88, figs. 63–64, 66), while the south and north walls of the lower part of the causeway showed the king in his sphinx or griffin form slaying his enemies, processions of deities and Libyans, Asiatics and Puntite prisoners (Borchardt 1907, 46–49, figs. 29, 31, pls. 8–12), and perhaps goddess Seshat counting the booty (Borchardt 1907, pl. 11) .

The mortuary temple of Wenis revealed several fragments of the royal triumph theme (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 89–94, Doc. nos. 39–45, figs. 65–71, pls. 32). War scenes, which might be considered part of this theme as well, were depicted on the walls of the causeway (Labrousse, Moussa 2002, 21–23, Doc. nos. 5–10, figs, 16–21, pl. 1b; Hassan 1938, 520, pl. 95). The causeway and the valley temple appear to have contained the scene of the procession of deities, prisoners, and Seshat counting the booty (Labrousse, Moussa 1996, 96–99, Doc. nos. 56–57, 60, figs. 97–98, 101, pls. 15; Labrousse, Moussa 2002, 19–20, figs. 14–15).

One of the few reliefs from the funerary complex of Pepy I which have been published, depicts the king in his human form slaying two Libyans, and the goddess Seshat counting the booty (Leclant 1980, 49–54, pl. 2; Labrousse 1991, 60–61).

The relief decoration of the funerary complex of Pepy II, like that of Sahure, presents one of the best assemblages of royal reliefs of the Old Kingdom. Within the fragments from the valley temple of Pepy II were found some that depict the goddess Seshat and enemies (Jéquier 1940, pls. 5–6), whereas fragments depicting the king as a sphinx and griffin were collected in the lower part of the causeway, together with procession of deities and prisoners (Jéquier 1940, 9–12, pls. 12–18). In addition, in the funerary temple were found fragments that depict Pepy II in his human form, smiting enemies (Jéquier 1940, 22, pls. 36–38; Jéquier 1938, 14, 26–30, pls. 8–11, 36–38, 40).

A few fragments of the royal triumph theme have been found in Djedkare's pyramid complex; however, they show interesting differences in comparison to the other attestations of the theme. All of the fragments were found in the king's mortuary temple, where the previous excavations in 1945 and 1952 were mainly carried out (Megahed 2011-a, 618). On the other hand, there are no records of any archaeological investigation of the king's valley temple and causeway (see also *Chapter III.3.3–III.3.4* above). The fragments of the theme from Djedkare's funerary temple, however, include even those motifs, which in the other pyramid complexes occurred in the valley temples and causeways.

In the Cat. nos. 45, 48, 49 (pls. 75, 79, 80) we have a depiction of the king as a sphinx or griffin trampling his enemies. Such a depiction was usually presented in the lower part of the causeway, as attested in the complexes of Niuserre, Wenis, and Pepy II. In the case of

Sahure it was, however, found *in situ* in the valley temple (Borchardt 1913, 21–23, pl. 8).

It is rather difficult to explain the reason why this scene was found in the pyramid temple of Djedkare, because no documentation has been available. We cannot exclude the possibility that the fragments, Cat. nos. 45, 48, 49, were moved in ancient or modern times from other parts of the complex to the pyramid temple. This, however, seems doubtful because reasons for doing so in ancient times can hardly be found (especially not from the valley temple up to the pyramid temple). Additionally, as we mentioned before, no activities were carried out in the lower part of causeway or in the valley temple in modern times to our knowledge. Maybe this theme (the griffin) was part of the relief decoration of the mortuary temple in Djedkare's time (compare the sphinx statues found within this precinct, see below).

It should be pointed out that the fragmentary state of preservation of Djedkare reliefs makes it difficult to affirm a precise assignment to different themes. For instance, Cat. no. 46 (pl. 77), which depicts remains of the king's body bent forward could be a part of our discussed theme "royal triumph", where the king is smiting his enemies, or it might have perhaps belonged to the *sed*-festival run (see *Chapter IV.3.3 Sed*-Festival, Cat. no. 36, pls. 54–55). The form, however, seems more likely from the curve of the king's back.

The funerary temple of Djedkare once contained statues of prisoners and sphinxes of different shapes and sizes (Megahed 2016-b, forthcoming). These express the same concept as the triumph theme, in sculptural form. It is noteworthy that Kaemtjenenet's biographical inscription refers to this decorative element. It informs us that the king and Kaemtjenenet brought a sphinx and its base in boats to the funerary complex to be placed in its perfect place for eternity (Schott 1977, 448; see also Vymazalová 2015, 45–46).

IV.3.7 Processions of Deities

Fragments of Relief Decoration Showing Processions of Deities Looking/Marching Left (←).

Cat. no. 50. Part of a *w3ś*-Scepter
(pl. 81-a)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 17
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1070
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 21.5 cm; W. 13.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

Nothing much remains on this fragment of relief decoration. Only traces of a *w3ś*-scepter (←) are preserved. From the direction of the upper part of the *w3ś*-scepter we can suggest that it was carried by a deity who was facing left (←).

Cat. no. 51. Upper Part of a Deity
(pl. 81-b)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 36
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1089
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 13.5 cm; W. 23.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The first figure (from left) in this relief fragment represents a striding deity (←). Its figure is incomplete, thus, only traces of his head and shoulders are preserved on the scene. It depicts him as a falcon-headed god, wearing a long wig and a broad collar. His right arm seems to be outstretched in the same manner as the arms of the deities who carry a *wȝś*-scepter. His left arm, which does not remain in the fragment, was at his side, probably holding an *ʿnḫ*-sign. Another deity was perhaps standing behind the falcon-headed deity. His figure is completely destroyed, with only the upper part of a *wȝś*-scepter remaining on the fragment to indicate his presence.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the deity was reddish-brown and that of the wig was green.

Cat. no. 52. Part of a Deity
(pl. 82-a)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 40
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1093
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 11 cm; W. 28 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Megahed 2016-a, 245, fig. 5

The fragment displays a very fine carved relief showing traces of two deities striding (←). The first (from the left) is a male figure, wearing a long wig and a broad collar. Only a small part of his chest, left shoulder and upper arm remain on his figure. Behind the left shoulder

there are traces of an inscription, perhaps representing the general blessings (↓←), it reads: *dj ꜥnḫ* "gives life".

The second deity on the right is completely lost, however, traces of the *wꜣś*-scepter, which is supposedly carried by the deity, are preserved on the fragment.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the first deity was reddish-brown and that his wig was and the broad collar were black, while that of the *wꜣś*-scepter of the second (right) deity was green. The background of the fragment was blackish-grey.

Cat. no. 53. Upper Part of Sobek
(pl. 82-b)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 65
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1118
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 14.5 cm; W. 33.5 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment contains the upper part of a relief depicting a striding deity (←). Of the deity's figure, only his head and parts of his shoulders remain on the relief. It is a crocodile-headed deity (Sobek), wearing a long wig and a broad collar. His right arm (not preserved) seems to have been outstretched to carry a *wꜣś*-scepter, of which only its top part remains. In front of the face of the deity, there are traces of the determinative *nỉwt*. This inscription most likely gave the name and cult place of this deity. Another inscription, behind the head of this deity, perhaps gave the name and the general blessings. The inscription includes a round sign (the sign can be one of the Gardiner Sign List D 12, S 21, Aa 1), and under it are traces of a sign with a pointed top.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the wig of the deity was green. It is also notable that his eye was once inlaid.

Cat. no. 54. Part of a Deity
(pl. 83-a)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 66
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1119
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 18 cm; W. 15 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The figure in this relief fragment is incomplete, it shows traces of a striding male deity (←). Only parts of his left leg, left arm and hand remain on the scene. The deity wears a short kilt with a curved hem that divides the garment into two sections. His left arm is depicted by his side, while he holds an *ꜥnḫ*-sign in his hand. It is also notable that the relief shows indications that it was corrected by re-carving the inside part of the left arm.

Cat. no. 55. Part of a Deity
(pl. 83-b)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 155
Giza register No. –
Committee No. 1208
Box no. 85
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Giza Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 19 cm; W. 34 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of two deities, perhaps striding (←). The first deity (from the left) is badly destroyed, only traces of his back, left arm and hand remain in the scene. The deity wears a short kilt with a belt. His left arm is down by his side; the incompletely preserved hand with a closed palm outward seems to have been holding an *ꜥnḫ*-sign.

Behind figure are two lines, which perhaps represent small parts of separating lines. It is also notable that the scene shows indications that it was altered.

Cat. no. 56. Parts of Deities
(pls. 84–86)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 405
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1481
Box no. 90
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 25.5 cm; W. 23.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Baer 1960, 297; Griffiths 1980, 44, 236–237; Eaton-Krauss 1987, 233–236; Lorton 1985, 114 and n. 4)

This relief fragment has, for a long time, been considered the first depiction of Osiris in ancient Egypt. The relief shows two striding deities (←). The first deity (from the left) is depicted as a male, only traces of his figure are visible on the fragment, including traces of his long wig, left shoulder, upper left arm, and left part of his chest. His left arm is down by his side, and he probably carries in his hand an *ꜥnḫ*-sign. Above the back of the deity's head, there

are traces of an inscription with a name. This inscription is incomplete (↓←), however, we can read the remains of the signs *śt* and *ir*, which seem to constitute the name of *Wsir* "Osiris". The writing of the god's name with the sign of *śt* first and the sign of *ir* underneath is not as typical as the reverse arrangement (for variants of writings of the name, see Leitz 2002-a, 528).

Of the second figure, remains only the upper part of a *w3ś*-scepter, together with tiny traces of his head. Most likely, his right arm (not preserved) is outstretched to carry the *w3ś*-scepter. Above the scepter, we find a vertical line separating the sections of the two deities. Above and slightly in front of the deity's head there are traces of inscription, of which only an *f*-sign remains.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the first deity, "Osiris", was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 57. Part of a *w3ś*-Scepter
(pl. 87)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 500
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1559
Box no. 90
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 23 cm; W. 22.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows a small part of a *w3ś*-scepter (←). From the direction of the top of the *w3ś*-scepter one can suggest that it was carried by a large figure of a deity, who was facing left (←).

Cat. no. 58. Part of a Falcon-Headed Deity
(pl. 88)
Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 508
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1567
Box no. 90
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 17.5 cm; W. 12 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment contains very fine carved relief decoration. It shows parts of a striding male deity (←), only traces of his figure remain on the scene. It shows him as a falcon-headed deity. Of his figure, only part of the head, right shoulder, breast and upper arm remain, and he is wearing a broad collar. Above the deity's head an *f*-sign is preserved. In front of this sign, traces of a vertical line can be seen, which probably separated the sections with the two deities.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the falcon-headed deity was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 59. Lower Part of a Deity
(pl. 89)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 592
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1632
Box no. 91
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 17.5cm; W. 34 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration contains two registers that were separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars. The fragment represents the left edge of a procession of deities.

The upper register shows the lower part of a striding male deity (←). His figure is badly destroyed, only the bottom part of his legs and feet remain on the fragment. In front of his feet is the bottom part of a *wꜣś*-scepter, which he must have held in his right hand. To the right of the scepter, two vertical lines are carved, which might indicate a beginning of another register, most probably columns of hieroglyphic inscriptions (for comparison see Jéquier 1938, pls. 50, 52). Moreover, we can notice that the base line on which the deity is standing is not connected to the vertical lines.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the figure was reddish-brown and that the *wꜣś*-scepter was green, while the floor line was black and the sky was light blue.

Cat. no. 60. Part of a Deity and *pr-nw* Shrine
(pl. 90)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 597
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1637
Box no. 91
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 29 cm; W. 32.5 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The figure of a striding deity (←) on this fragment is destroyed to a great extent. Only traces of his right arm, which was outstretched downward to hold a partly preserved *wꜣś*-scepter remains. In front of the deity, traces of the Lower Egyptian shrine *pr-nw* is depicted, only its upper part remains on the fragment.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the male deity was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 61. Female Deities
(pl. 91)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 674
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1786
Box no. 94
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 17.5 cm; W. 25 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows, perhaps, traces of two deities (←). Of the first figure (from the left), only the left shoulder remains. Behind it follows another deity, this one a standing female. Her figure is badly destroyed, thus, only a small part of her head and wig remain, together with her chest, shoulders and upper arms. She wears a long wig, a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, a tight choker necklace, and a tight-fitting dress held up by shoulder straps. Her right arm is outstretched forward to hold a partly preserved *wꜣś*-scepter. Her left arm is down at her side, and her left hand (not preserved) was probably holding an *ꜥnḫ*-sign.

Cat. no. 62. Part of a Male Deity
(pl. 92-a)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 714
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1933

Box no. 97
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 20 cm; W. 20.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The figure is of a striding male deity (←), which in this relief is incompletely preserved. Small traces of his upper body remain on the fragment, including the back of a wig and the left shoulder. He wears a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads. Above his head are traces of *nb*-sign.

The right part of the fragment shows vertical and horizontal lines that constitute the corner border of the scene. These show that this was the end of a register.

Cat. no. 63. Part of a Male Deity and Inscriptions
(pl. 92-b)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 721
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1940
Box no. 97
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 38.5 cm; W. 19 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The relief in this fragment contains two registers, which are separated by lines and sky with five-pointed stars. The top register shows the lower part of a male deity (←). Only the right foot remains on the relief. In front of the foot, there are traces of the bottom part of a *w3ś*-scepter.

The bottom register contains an incomplete inscription containing the remains of the general blessing (↓←). The inscription reads: [*di ꜥnḫ ś*]*nb ꜣwt*[-*ib nb*] "[given all life,] health and delight".

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the male deity and some of the inscription (*śnb*, *ꜣwt*) were reddish-brown. The rest of the inscription was green, while the sky was blue.

Cat. no. 64. Part of a Male Deity

(pl. 93)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 747

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1776

Box no. 94

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 18 cm; W. 21.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

The relief in this fragment contains a very fine carved figure of a striding male deity (←). However, a large part of his figure is destroyed, only his belly, kilt, small traces of his legs, part of his left hand remain on the relief. His left palm is closed outward to hold an *ꜥnḫ*-sign, most of which is destroyed. Perhaps, his right arm (not preserved) is outstretched forward to hold a *wꜣś*-scepter. The kilt of the deity has a belt tied with a knot and a stripe reaching to the belly, along with a curved hem that divides the garment into two sections.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the male deity was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 65. Part of a Female Deity

(pl. 94)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 752
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1744
Box no. 94
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 13.5 cm; W. 26 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows traces of two deities (←). The first figure (from the left) is badly destroyed, only the bottom part of a female figure remains. She wears a tight fitting dress and traces of her feet with anklets can be seen on the fragment. In front of the feet, the bottom of the *w3ś*-scepter is depicted. The second figure is completely destroyed, with only small traces of a *w3ś*-scepter remaining.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the *w3ś*-scepter of the second deity was green.

Cat. no. 66. Part of a Male Deity
(pl. 95)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 794
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1764
Box no. 94
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 15.5 cm; W. 20.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The figure in the relief is almost completely destroyed. It shows traces of the head of a male deity (←), together with the left shoulder in a finely rendered carving. He wears a long wig, divine beard, and carries what is possibly a standard on his head, of which only the bottom part is preserved. Two stripes hang from the back of the standard. The beard and the standard might indicate that this deity was a nome-personification (compare for instance to Borchardt 1913, pl. 31)

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the male deity was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 67. Part of a Male Deity

(pl. 96)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 810

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1860

Box no. 96

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 11.5 cm; W. 19.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

A large part of a figure of the striding male deity (←) in this relief is destroyed, only traces of his right foot remain on the fragment. In front of the foot, the bottom of the *w3ś*-scepter can be seen, which the deity holds in his right hand (not preserved).

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the male deity was reddish-brown, and that of the *w3ś*-scepter was green, while the floor line was black.

Cat. no. 68. Parts of Deities

(pl. 97)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 811
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1891
Box no. 96
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 14 cm; W. 25.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The relief on this fragment shows traces of two figures of deities (←). The figure of the first deity (from the left) is almost completely destroyed, except for traces of an *ꜥnḫ*-sign, which he/she held in his/her hand. The second figure shows a striding male deity, whose figure is badly destroyed and only tiny traces of his legs remain on the fragment. The two vertical lines in front of his right leg are the traces of a *w3ś*-scepter, which the deity holds in his right hand (not preserved).

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the second male deity was reddish-brown, and that of the *w3ś*-scepter was green, while the *ꜥnḫ*-sign of the first missing figure was black.

Cat. no. 69. Part of a Male Deity
(pl. 98)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 840
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1985
Box no. 97
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 57 cm; W. 34.5 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows traces of two registers (←) that are separated by lines and sky with five-pointed stars. The upper register is completely destroyed.

The bottom register depicts traces of a striding male deity (←), the figure is somewhat damaged, however, it is a finely carved relief. Traces of his head, body, and parts of his arms remain on the fragment. He wears a long wig, a broad collar with several layers of beads, and a kilt with a belt that was tied with a knot. His left arm is at his side, while his right arm is outstretched in the same manner as deities who carry *wꜣś*-scepter (for comparison see Cat. no. 89, pls. 123–124).

Cat. no. 70. Parts of Male Deities
(pl. 99)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 906
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1721
Box no. 94
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 17 cm; W. 49 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Megahed 2016-a, 246–247, fig. 9

In this relief, traces of two striding male figures (←) remain. The first (from the left) is badly destroyed, only the lower part of his legs and feet are preserved. In front of his feet is the bottom part of a *wꜣś*-scepter, which the deity holds in his right hand (not preserved). To the left of the *wꜣś*-scepter are traces of the Upper Egyptian *pr-wr* shrine (see for comparison Labrouse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 105, Doc. no. 66, fig. 92, pl. 35).

Of the second figure, nothing remains except of the bottom part of the Upper Egyptian *pr-wr* shrine and a *wꜣś*-scepter.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the first male deity was reddish-brown, and the *w3ś*-scepters were green, while the floor line was black.

Cat. no. 71. Part of a Male Deity
(pl. 100)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 908
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1720
Box no. 94
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 34 cm; W. 31 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This relief contains a large male figure (←). The fragment is badly destroyed, thus, the figure is missing many of it is details. Only traces of a wig, left shoulder and upper left arm remain on the fragment. The figure wears a long wig, a broad collar with several layers of beads, and drop-shaped pendants. Traces of shoulder straps suggest that the figure wears a tunic. By comparing other royal reliefs from the funerary temple of Sahure, one can say that this is a large figure of a deity (for comparison see pl. 35 and Borchardt 1913, pl. 18).

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the deity was reddish-brown, and that of the wig and the broad collar were green.

Cat. no. 72. Parts of Male and Female Deities
(pl. 101)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 922
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1850

Box no. 96
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 43 cm; W. 45.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This relief contains two registers that are separated by lines and sky of five-pointed stars. The relief is badly destroyed, however, in the upper register we can see traces of three figures walking left (←). The first figure (from the left) is incompletely preserved, it shows a female deity of which only her left arm is preserved. There are also traces of her wig, which is hanging behind the figure's left arm. The second figure is a striding male deity. His figure is partly destroyed. His body, arms and traces of his legs remain. He wears a short kilt with a belt tied with a knot and a stripe reaching to his belly. The kilt has a curved hem that divides the garment into two sections. His right arm is outstretched forward to hold a partly preserved *w3ś*-scepter in his right hand, while his left arm is at his side and holding an *ꜥnḫ*-sign in his hand. The third figure on this fragment is a standing female deity. Only her right hand and the lower part of her legs and feet remain on the fragment. She wears a bracelet on her right wrist, anklets, and a long tight-fitting dress. Her right arm is outstretched, holding a partly preserved *w3ś*-scepter in her right hand.

Of the bottom register remains only a row of five-pointed stars and below it the remains of an inscription (↓←), which reads: [*ś (?)*] *ꜥnḫ ḫnty i3ww*[*t.f*] "life, Khentyiwatef" (= Ptah) (Leitz et al. 2002-a, 778).

This deity was mentioned on the Palermo Stone, where King Sahure donated land to Khentyiwatef in the Memphite nome (Wilkinson 2000, 161). A funerary estate with the name of the deity *śrwḏ ḫntj i3wwt.f* was depicted among the funerary estates on Wenis's causeway (pl. 102) (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 175; Labrousse, Moussa 2002, 102, Doc. no. 112 fig. 144). Furthermore, the high priests of Ptah, Ptahshepses and Sabu, were priests of Khentyiwatef, whose name means "Pre-eminent of his standards" (Mariette, 1885, 110–114, 411–416; Dorman 2002, 106; Kees 1915, 61–62).

Cat. no. 73. Part of a Male Deity

(pls. 103–104)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 954

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1830

Box no. 95

Date of the Discovery: 1945

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 35 cm; W. 32.5 cm

Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Megahed 2016-a, 247, fig. 10

These four matching fragments of relief decoration show traces of two striding deities (←). A part of the first figure (from the left) remain on the scene, including traces of his head, body, and parts of his arms. He wears a long wig, a beard, a broad collar with several layers of beads, and a kilt with a belt and a stripe in front of his belly and a curved hem that divides the garment into two sections. His left arm is down by his body, while his left hand is holding an *ꜥnḫ*-sign, of which a small part remains. His right arm is outstretched to hold the *wꜣś*-scepter, which is not preserved. The second figure does not remain on the relief, except for a tiny trace of the upper part of the *wꜣś*-scepter and the deity's right thumb. From the yellow colour of the thumb, one can suggest that it belonged to a female deity.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the first deity was reddish-brown, and that of the wig was black, while the broad collar was green. The thumb of the second deity was yellow, and the *wꜣś*-scepter of the second figure was green.

Cat. no. 74. Part of a Male Deity

(pl. 105)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 990

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 2149
Box no. 99
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 19.5 cm; W. 19 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This badly weathered relief fragment shows traces of a male figure (←). His figure is almost destroyed and the surface of the relief has suffered considerable damage. Thus, only traces of his left leg and the left arm remain. The figure is wearing a kilt with a curved hem that divides the garment into two sections, and holds an *ꜥnḫ*-sign with his left hand, which is almost entirely destroyed. Behind the figure we can see traces of a *nb*-sign, most likely from the general blessings by a deity.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the deity was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 75. Part of a Male Deity and Inscriptions
(pl. 106)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 1050
Saqqcara register No. –
Committee No. 2128
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 41 cm; W. 41 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This finely carved relief perhaps depicts the god Seth (←), whose figure is not preserved. Only the upper part of the ears of a Seth-animal remains on the fragment. Above the figure there are traces of an inscription (↓←) written in columns that are separated by a vertical line. To the left, the sign *šmˁ* can be identified. While to the right are the traces of a separate inscription, which includes *nṯr* (?) and *nb* (for comparison see pl. 107 and Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 95–97, Doc. nos. 47–49).

Cat. no. 76. Part of a Deity
(pl. 108)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 1063
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 2013
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 9.5 cm; W. 9 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This small fragment of relief decoration shows traces of human figures (←). The figures are badly destroyed. Of the first figure (from the left), only a small part of his/her wig remains. The second figure on this fragment is completely destroyed, only traces of the *wꜣś*-scepter that was held by the figure remains. The depiction of the *wꜣś*-scepter suggests that the relief is part of a procession of deities.

Cat. no. 77. Part of a Male Deity
(pl. 109)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 1064
Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2014
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 10.5 cm; W. 8.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The fragment displays a very fine relief with traces of a male figure (←). His figure is badly destroyed, with only traces of his wig, neck, and left shoulder remaining. The figure wears a broad collar with several layers of beads. The relief carving on this fragment is different from most of the relief fragments depicting deities.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the deity was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 78. Part of a Male Deity and *w3ḍ*-Scepter
(pl. 110)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 1093
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 2043
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 13.5 cm; W. 12.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

In this fragment was depicted traces of two figures (←). The first figure (from the left) is almost lost, with only traces of the divine wig remaining on the fragment. The length of this

wig indicates that this was a female deity. The *w3ś*-scepter that is depicted behind the first figure belonged to another deity whose figure is completely lost.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the wig of the first figure and the *w3ś*-scepter of the second figure were green.

Cat. no. 79. Part of Horus

(pl. 111)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 1108

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2058

Box no. 98

Date of the Discovery: 1945

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 26 cm; W. 39 cm

Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This large fragment of relief decoration shows traces of a god with a falcon-head (←). His figure is incomplete, only traces of his right shoulder and head remain. He is depicted as falcon-headed deity (Horus) wearing a broad collar, consisting of several layers of beads. An inscription (↓←) in front of the figure reads *nṯr ꜥ3* "Great God". The figure of the deity had an inlaid eye of which is no longer preserved.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the deity was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 80. Part of a Male Deity

(pl. 112)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 1109

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2059
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 29 cm; W. 14 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

Two figures are depicted in this relief, showing traces of striding males (←). Only tiny traces of the first figure (from the left) remain, including a small part of his/her left arm.

The second figure is more complete; it depicts a striding male deity. He is wearing the divine beard, a kilt with a belt and a stripe in front of his belly. His right arm is outstretched to hold a partly preserved *wȝś*-scepter. Above the deity's figure is written an inscription with his name and the general blessings (↓←). The name is incomplete; it reads: *Ḫnty* /// "The foremost of […]". Of the general blessings, only traces the *f*-sign remain. Thus, the identification of the deity remains uncertain.

Cat. no. 81. Part of a Seth Figure
(pl. 113)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 1110
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 2060
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 9 cm; W. 22 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Megahed 2016-a, 247–248, fig. 12

A fragment of relief decoration showing part of a deity (←). The scene depicts traces of a Seth figure. He is presented in his usual form, with the head of the Seth-animal with a typical long snout and a wig. The figure of Seth has an inlaid eye of calcite and obsidian set into a copper frame. In front of and above the head of the deity, an inscription was carved, of which only traces of a round sign remain, possibly representing the determinative *niwt*.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the wig of Seth was black.

Cat. no. 82. Part of a Male Deity and Inscriptions
(pls. 114–115)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 1119
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 2069
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 64 cm; W. 37 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

These two matching fragments of relief decoration show traces of striding deities (←). Only traces of the first figure (from the left) remain on the relief. The relief depicts a male figure, of which only small traces of his left arm remain.

The second figure is completely destroyed, only traces of the deity's name remains on the fragment. The inscription is incomplete (↓←), it reads: [...] *ḥkꜣw ḫnt*(*t*) [*t*...] "[…] of magic, the foremost of […]". Even though the full name of the deity is not preserved, this might refer to the goddess Werethekau or to the god Seth, who in another scene referred to as "great of magic" (see *Chapter IV.3.5,* Cat. no. 41, pls. 65–66). One must also note the large scale of the figures, which might suggest that the relief could be part of a large scene, perhaps depicting the king with deities.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the deity was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 83. Parts of Deities and Inscriptions

(pls. 116–117)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 1145

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2207

Box no. 101

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 40.5 cm; W. 51.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This relief contains two registers that are separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars. The upper register contains traces of two deity figures (←). The first figure (from the left) is almost completely destroyed. It depicts a male deity, of which only traces of his legs and feet remain. The deity holds a *w3ś*-scepter, probably in his right hand (not preserved), only the bottom part of the scepter remains. The second figure is of a female deity. Her figure is also almost completely obliterated, only traces of her feet remain. She holds a *w3ś*-scepter in her right hand (not preserved), of which only its bottom part is extant.

Of the bottom register remain only traces of one figure (left), which is incompletely preserved. It depicts a male fecundity figure. The figure wears a wig and the divine beard that is tied to his wig with straps. Above the fecundity figure is written a vertical inscription (↓←), separated by a vertical line from the previous section. The inscription reads: *di.f ꜥnḫ Wn* "He gives life, Wen" (Leitz 2002-a, 374).

In front of Wen there are the remains of two inscriptions separated by a vertical line, most likely for two missing figures. Of the first inscription from the left, only a small part of an unreadable sign remains. The second inscription (↓←) suggests that the missing figure was female. The inscription reads: *di.ś ꜥnḫ W3ḏt* "She gives life, Wadjet".

On the right side of the fragment are traces of a vertical line, perhaps separating the procession of deities from another register behind them, and thus the fragment could be part of a multi-figured relief composition.

Fragments of Relief Decoration Showing Processions of Deities Looking/Marching to the Right (→).

Cat. no. 84. Parts of Horus and Seth
(pl. 118-a)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 168
Giza register No. –
Committee No. 1221
Box no. 85
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: Giza Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 16.5 cm; W. 73 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Megahed 2016-a, 246, fig. 7

This large fragment of relief decoration shows traces of two deities (→). The scene (from the right) depicts a falcon-headed deity wearing a long wig and a broad collar. Only a small part of his chest and his shoulders remain on the fragment. The deity carries a *w3ś*-scepter, of which only traces of its top remain. The inscription (↓→), which can be seen in front of the deity, identifies him as *Bḥdt* "Behdet", indicating that this was Horus Behdety.

The second deity, who is depicted standing behind Horus Behdety, is without a doubt Seth. He is presented here in the usual manner, with a Seth-like snout and trapezoidal-shaped ears, which are missing their tops. He carries a *w3ś*-scepter, of which only traces of its top have been preserved. The inscription (↓→) in front of the figure reads: *Nbwt* "Ombos".

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of Horus still was reddish-brown. Both figures had their eyes inlaid, probably with calcite and obsidian set into a copper eye socket. The inlay of Horus' eye is lost but the eye of Seth remains.

Cat. no. 85. Parts of a Female Deity

(pl. 118-b)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 476

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1535

Box no. 90

Date of the Discovery: 1945

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 33.5 cm; W. 25.5 cm

Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

The relief on this fragment contains traces of two figures of deities (→). The first figure (from the right) is nearly destroyed, only traces of her right leg and arm remain. She wears bracelets on her right wrist, while she holds an *ꜥnḫ*-sign with her hand.

The second figure was probably also of a striding female deity. Her figure is almost completely lost, only traces of her left leg remain on the fragment. The figure is not carrying a *wȝś*-scepter, and thus she might be an offering bearer.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the first figure was yellow.

Cat. no. 86. Parts of a Female Deity

(pl. 119-a)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 483

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1542

Box no. 90

Date of the Discovery: 1945

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 14 cm; W. 26 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The surface of this relief once showed a female figure (→). However, the figure is incomplete. It depicts a standing female deity, of which only the upper part remains. It shows traces of her head and wig, together with her chest, shoulders, and the left upper arm. She wears a long wig, a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, and a tight-fitting dress held up by knotted shoulder straps. Her left arm is outstretched to hold a partly preserved *w3ś*-scepter. In front of the figure's head there are traces of a hieroglyphic inscription.

The relief underwent corrections, which can be seen on the bottom right corner of the fragment. The damaged area was filled with a kind of mortar and the surface was smoothed to write the sign *w3ś*. A similar depiction of an inscription close to the *w3ś*-scepter can be seen on a relief from the funerary temple of Teti (pl. 119-b), where a vertical inscription containing *ḏd w3ś* is written in front of the deity (Lauer, Leclant 1972, pl. XXII A, fig. 15a–b).

Cat. no. 87. Parts of Deities
(pl. 120)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 504
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1563
Box no. 90
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 10 cm; W. 28.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

In this relief decoration are traces of two figures (→). The first figure (from the right) is lost. It evidently depicted a standing male deity. His right arm is down at his side, probably holding an *ꜥnḫ*-sign in his hand (not preserved). The left arm is outstretched to hold a partly preserved *wꜣś*-scepter.

The second figure is also of a standing male deity. His figure is also lost. Only traces of his left arm is remains, outstretched to hold a partly preserved *wꜣś*-scepter.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the male deities was reddish-brown, while the *wꜣś*-scepters were green, and the background of the scene was greyish.

Cat. no. 88. Parts of a Deity and Inscriptions
(pls. 121–122)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 593
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1633
Box no. 91
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 55.5 cm; W. 32.5 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The fragment contains a very fine relief with traces of a striding male deity (→). The figure is almost completely destroyed. His left arm is outstretched to hold a partly preserved *wꜣś*-scepter. In front of the deity is depicted a *pr-wr* shrine, the Upper Egyptian shrine, above which are traces of a vertical line of hieroglyphics reading: *ḏd nb* "all stability".

On the right edge of the fragment, there is another vertical inscription, separated from the figure of the deity by means of a vertical line. The inscription (↓→) reads: *ḥtp*[*w*] *nb ḏfꜣw* [*nb*] "All offerings and [all] provisions".

The fragment still bears traces of colour, indicating that the skin of the male deity and the surface of the *pr-wr* shrine were reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 89. Parts of Male and Female Deities

(pls. 123–124)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 594

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1634

Box no. 91

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 33.5 cm; W. 59 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

These two matching fragments of relief contain traces of two registers, separated by lines and a sky with a row of five-pointed stars. The upper register contains traces of three deities (→). The first figure (from the right) is almost complete, only his head and chest are missing. The striding male deity is shown wearing a short kilt with his right arm at his side, he holds an *ꜥnḫ*-sign in his hand. The left hand, which is supposed to hold the *wꜣś*-scepter, is not preserved on the scene.

The second figure is also of a striding male deity, missing the head and chest. He is depicted wearing a short kilt with a belt and a curved hem that divides the garment into two sections. His right arm is down at his side, and he holds an *ꜥnḫ*-sign in his hand. The left arm is outstretched to hold a partly preserved *wꜣś*-scepter, which is missing the upper part.

The third figure was of a standing female deity. Only her thighs are preserved on the fragment. She is wearing a long tight-fitting dress. Her left arm is outstretched to hold a partly preserved *wꜣś*-scepter.

Only the row of five-pointed stars remains on the bottom register, the rest of the register is completely lost.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the male deities was reddish-brown, while that of the *wꜣś*-scepter of the second figure was green.

Cat. no. 90. Parts of a Male Deity

(pls. 125–126)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 596

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1636

Box no. 91

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 25.5 cm; W. 29 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

On this fragment appear traces of the upper part of a striding male personification of a nome (?) (→). He wears a long wig, broad collar, and a false beard that is tied to his wig with straps. His left hand (not preserved) holds a *w3ś*-scepter, while his right hand is at his side holding what is probably an *ꜥnḫ*-sign (not preserved).

On the head of the male figure is the symbol of the nome, of which only a tiny part remains, most probably representing the eighteenth Upper Egyptian nome *ꜥnty* (Helck 1974, 116–118).

Cat. no. 91. Parts of a Male Deity

(pl. 127)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 636

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1646

Box no. 91

Date of the Discovery: 1945

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 32.5 cm; W. 49.5 cm

Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This relief shows traces of a striding male deity (→). However, the upper part and the feet of the figure are missing. He is depicted wearing a short kilt with a curved hem that divides the garment into two sections. His right arm (not preserved) is at his side, and he holds an *ꜥnḫ*-sign in his hand. The left arm is not preserved on the fragment, but possibly was outstretched to hold a *wȝś*-scepter, which is partly preserved (for comparison see Cat. no. 72. pl. 101). In front of the figure are traces of the determinative of the *pr-nw* shrine, i.e. the shrine of Lower Egypt.

Cat. no. 92. Parts of a Female Deity
(pl. 128)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 641
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1656
Box no. 91
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 16 cm; W. 24 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

On this relief, two figures are depicted (→). The first figure (from the right) depicts a standing female deity, only her upper part remains, including her head, shoulders, and chest. She wears a long wig, a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, and a tight-fitting dress held up by shoulder straps. Her right arm is at her side, probably to hold an *ꜥnḫ*-sign in her hand (not preserved). The left arm is outstretched to hold a *wȝś*-scepter (not preserved). On the deity's head are two vertical lines with only traces of her attribute.

The second figure is completely lost, only the upper part of a *w3ś*-scepter remains. Above it, on the top left edge of the fragment, traces of two incomplete hieroglyphic signs can be seen, one of them could be an *ꜥnḫ*-sign.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of deity was yellow, the broad collar was green, and the hair was red. This feature is quite unusual but red-haired deities can be found for instance on fragments of reliefs from the pyramid complex of Senwosret III (Oppenheim 2008, 159–162, pl. 65).

Cat. no. 93. Parts of Male Deities
(pl. 129)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 653
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1686
Box no. 93
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 23 cm; W. 22 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This relief decoration consists of two registers that are separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars. The upper register contains traces of a striding male figure (→). Only parts of his feet remain on the fragment.

The bottom register depicts a figure of a jackal-headed male deity. Only his ears and the top of his head remain on the relief, and he is depicted wearing a wig. The jackal-headed deity was most likely one of the *b3w* of Nekhen, known from scenes of similar type from other kings' pyramid complexes (for instance the square antechamber of Pepy II, see Jéquier 1938, pls. 50, 53, and from the funerary temple of Wenis, see Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 97–100, Doc. nos. 50–52).

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the male deity depicted in the upper register was reddish-brown, while the head and the ears of jackal-headed deity depicted on the bottom register were black.

Cat. no. 94. Parts of a Male Deity
(pl. 130-a)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 672
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1784
Box no. 94
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 13 cm; W. 8.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

We can recognize on this relief traces of two figures from a procession of deities (→). The first figure (from the right) is almost completely lost, only part of the back side of his right leg remains. Of the second figure, only the lower end of his/her *w3ś*-scepter is partly preserved.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the male deity was reddish-brown, while the *w3ś*-scepter was green.

Cat. no. 95. Parts of Male and Female Deities
(pl. 130-b)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 737
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1881
Box no. 96
Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 10 cm; W. 26 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This relief decoration consists of two registers, separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars. The upper register contains traces of two figures of deities (→). The first figure (from the right) is lost, only his right foot and a tiny part of his left foot remain on the relief. The position of the feet and the colours indicate that this was a striding male deity. The second figure was of a standing female deity. Her figure is also almost completely lost, with only the lower part of her legs and her feet remaining. She wears anklets on her legs and holds a partly preserved *w3ś*-scepter, of which only its bottom part remains in the scene. Nothing remains of the bottom register.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the male deity was reddish-brown, while that of the female deity was yellow, and the anklets were painted green.

Cat. no. 96. Parts of a Male Deity
(pl. 131-a)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 750
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1746
Box no. 94
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 9.5 cm; W. 22 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The relief decoration on this fragment consists of two registers that are separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars. The upper register contains traces of two figures of

deities (→). The first figure (from the right), of a striding male deity, is almost lost, only a small part of his right foot remains. The second figure is also of a striding male deity and only a tiny trace of his left foot remains on the fragment. Of the bottom register, nothing remains.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the deities was reddish-brown, while the sky was blue.

Cat. no. 97. Parts of a Male Deity

(pl. 131-b)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 895

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1853

Box no. 96

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 22.5 cm; W. 15 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

The relief on this fragment shows a striding or standing figure rendered in a large scale (→). The figure is lost, with only parts of his left arm remaining. The arm is outstretched to hold a *w3ś*-scepter, which is incomplete. Thus the figure might belong to a procession of deities.

It is worth mentioning that on the fragment, an older relief runs through the figure's arm.

Cat. no. 98. Parts of Male Deities and Inscriptions

(pl. 132)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 1107

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2057

Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1945
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 45.5 cm; W. 64.5 cm
Discovered by: Abdel Salam Hussein
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Megahed 2016-a, 247, fig. 11

The relief on this fragment shows traces of three deities (→). The first figure (from the right) is almost completely lost. It seems to have been a striding male deity, only the back part of his long wig and his upper right arm remain.

The second deity is a human-headed male who wears a long wig and a broad collar. Only his head, part of his chest, shoulders, and left arm remain. Most likely the deity's right arm is down at his side, holding an *ꜥnḫ*-sign (not preserved), while the left arm is outstretched to hold a partly preserved *wꜣś*-scepter with his hand. Above the deity's figure a vertical inscription is written, giving his name and the general blessings (↓→). However, the name of the deity is missing. The inscription reads: [*di*].*f ꜥnḫ nb snb nb* "he [gives] all life, and all health".

The third figure depicted on this fragment was a ram-headed deity. The figure is almost completely lost, only the traces of his head remain, showing a ram-face and twisted horns. Above the deity's figure, a vertical inscription is written, separated from the inscription of the previous deity by a vertical line. The inscription contains the general blessings (↓→), but the name of the deity is almost completely lost. The inscription reads: [*ḥnmw*] *///t di.f ꜥnḫ ḏd wꜣś nb* "[Khnum of …]t, he gives all life, stability and dominion". The identification of the god is not certain, however, a depiction of Khnum with the "*t*" can be found in reliefs from the pyramid complex of Senwosret III (Oppenheim 2008, 270, pl. 180).

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the male deities was reddish-brown, the *wꜣś*-scepters and some of the hieroglyphic inscriptions were green, and the wig of the second deity and some of the hieroglyphic inscriptions were black.

Note that the details of the ram-headed deity represent the stylistic characteristics and high quality relief carving evident in Djedkare's pyramid temple.

Discussion

There is no doubt that according to the Egyptian royal ideology, all of the gods of Egypt protected and legitimized the ancient Egyptian kings, and accepted the kings among themselves. Since the Prehistoric period, kings were depicted in the presence of gods, either for protection or for the performance of the kings' commitments towards the world and its order (see for instance Ćwiek 2003, 160–19; Stockfish 2003, 121–134, 242–280).

The processions of deities occur in different parts of the funerary complexes, and in various types of scenes. Usually they are associated with the personifications of nomes and funerary domains, or with offering bearers. Meanwhile, processions of deities alone are not so common (Ćwiek 2003, 264).

References to the gathering of the deities in front of the king can be often found in the Pyramid Texts. For instance, spells Pyr. §§ 24, 614, 766, 941, 1473, 1486, 1490, 1617, 1647, 1648, and 1131 all refer to assemblies and processions of deities made by different gods for the king, for instance Atum, Horus, or Geb.

The scenes in the royal pyramid complexes include both male and female deities, and they are shown in the same uniform fashion since the first iconographical depictions until the end of the Old Kingdom. The males are depicted striding with human bodies and human- or animal-headed, usually wearing long wigs, broad collars, and short kilts with a belt and a curved hem that divides the garment into two sections. Sometimes they wear tunics with knotted straps covering the upper part of the body (Borchardt 1913, pls. 28–30), and even false beards held on by straps. One of the arms, depending on the direction of the figure, is down at the deity's side and the same hand holds an *ꜥnḫ*-sign. The other arm is outstretched to hold a *wꜣś*-scepter.

The female deities were depicted with human bodies and human- or animal-headed, however, they are shown standing. They wear long wigs, tight choker necklaces, broad collars consisting of several layers of beads, bracelets, tight-fitting dresses held up by shoulder straps, and anklets on their legs. One of the arms, depending on the direction of the figure, is down at the figure's side holding an *ꜥnḫ*-sign in the hand. The other arm is outstretched to hold a *wꜣś*-scepter.

Above the figures of the deities, vertical hieroglyphic inscriptions are often carved. The inscriptions that correspond to different figures are often separated by a vertical line but in some cases this line is missing (Borchardt 1913, pl. 19). The associated inscriptions comprise the general blessings, the names of the deities, their epithets and sometimes the names of their cult places. The general blessings that accompany the deities show different forms in different

pyramid complexes, they can even have a different form for different deities within the same scene. Some of the deities are depicted standing behind the shrines of Upper or Lower Egypt, *pr-wr* and *pr-nw*, and this feature is especially typical for the procession of deities in the square antechamber (Megahed 2016-a).

The depiction of the deities was presented in different contexts among the reliefs of the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes and thus we can proposal in this study a typology, which can be divided into several types:

Type 1: The earliest depiction of a procession of deities is perhaps among the relief decoration of Khufu's funerary complex. These seem to be representations of male and female personifications of nomes (Goedicke 1971, 13–16, no. 2) depicted in the forms of deities. They are shown carrying offering tables shaped like the *ḥtp*-(offering) sign, on which is placed a loaf of bread. They also hold a *w3ś*-scepter in this hand, while three *ꜥnḫ*-signs hang on three different cords around their fingers. The same types of representation are also depicted in other complexes of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (Borchardt 1913, pls. 25–27, 31; Labrousse, Moussa 2002, figs. 113–115, 131, 139, 140; Jéquier 1940, pl. 25, see also Vymazalová 2015, 175–200). The identification of each nome is given in a form of a standard on his/her head.

Type 2: In other scenes, various deities are depicted together with the personifications of nomes, funerary domains, and fecundity figures (Borchardt 1913, pls. 28-30; Borchardt 1909, figs. 29–30; Labrousse, Moussa 2002, figs. 124, 135, 137; Jéquier 1940, pls. 5, 19–21, 24–26). The identifications of the deities are given in inscriptions above their heads.

Type 3: A procession of male and female deities accompanies the scene of Seshat recording captives and booty, or in the so-called "Libyan family" (Borchardt 1913, pl. 5; Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 90–91, Doc. no. 40, fig. 66, pl. XXXII; Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 112–113, Doc. no. 159, figs. 231a–b; Labrousse, Moussa 2002, figs. 14–15; Jéquier 1940, pls. 12–14; Jéquier 1938, pls. 36, 38–39). Here the gods are identified by their names, e.g. Seth, Sopdu, Wadjet, etc.

Type 4: The last group presents an assembly of deities accompanying the king, or coming to the king together with officials and slaughtering scenes (Borchardt 1913, pls. 20–23; Borchardt 1909, Fig. 28; Borchardt 1907, figs. 68–71; Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 97–99, 102–105 Doc. nos. 50, 58–65; figs. 76a–c, 84-91; Labrousse, Moussa 2002, 77–78, 94, 96–97, 110, figs. 108–110, 121–123, 133–134, 136–138, 167, pls. XVIb, XVIII, XVIIIa, XVIIIb-c, XIXb, Doc. nos. 88, 101–102, 104–106, 128; Lauer, Leclant 1972, 10–11, 73, Doc. nos. 1, 20, fig. 15b, 35, pl. XXII–XXIII; Jéquier 1938, pls. 46–47, 54, 56, 58, 60).

The locations of these last mentioned groups of deities vary from one complex to another. They can be found occasionally among the relief decoration of the valley temples (Borchardt 1913, 36–37, pl. 19; Jéquier 1940, pl. 6), but was also depicted at the lower and upper parts of the causeway (Borchardt 1913, pl. 5; Labrousse, Moussa 2002, figs. 14–15, 124, 135, 137; Jéquier 1940, pls. 5, 12–14, 19–21, 24–26). However, they were presented frequently in the mortuary temples of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, at the side entrances (Borchardt 1913, pls. 29–30), in the vestibule (Jéquier 1938, pls. 36, 38–39) and the *antichambres carrées* (Jéquier 1938, 34–53, pls. 46–60), or in other locations (Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 90–91, Doc. no. 40, fig. 66, Pl. XXXII).

On some fragments, the Upper and Lower Egyptian shrines, *pr-wr* and *pr-nw*, are depicted in front of the deities (Borchardt 1913, pl. 19; Borchardt 1907, Fig. 70–71; Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 105, Doc. no. 66, fig. 92, pl. XXXV; Jéquier 1940, pl. 6; Jéquier 1938, pls. 22, 50, 52–53, 58, 60). In previously published pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom, these shrines in type 1, 2 or 3 are not attested and only type 4 occurrs, but not always (Borchardt 1913, pl. 20–23; Borchardt 1909, fig. 28; Borchardt 1907, fig. 71 top; Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 102–103, 105, Doc. nos. 58, 61, 65; figs. 84, 87, 91; Labrousse, Moussa 2002, 77–78, 94, 96–97, 110, figs. 108, 133–134, 136–138, 167, pls. XVIb, XVIII, XVIIIa, XVIIIb-c, Doc. nos. 88, 101–102, 104–106, 128; Lauer, Leclant 1972, 61, Doc. no. 1, fig. 15b, pl. XXII, XXIII; Jéquier 1938, pls. 46–47, 54, 56, 58, 60).

The scenes showing gods together with officials and slaughtering scenes belong to type 4. It seems to be a scene with a specific meaning. The earliest scene of this type is known from Sahure's valley temple (pl. 133). In this case, the gods are presented above a scene of preparation of meat offerings together with the highest officials of state and lector priests (Borchardt 1913, 36–37, 95–99, pl.19). In later pyramid complexes, scenes showing processions of gods, again together with high officials and slaughtering scenes, facing large figures of the king, occur on the walls of the square antechamber (see Megahed 2016-a, 251–252). The scene from Sahure's valley temple and the scenes from the square antechambers seem very similar to each other.

Among the relief fragments from Djedkare's pyramid complex, we find depictions of deities, which indicate their strong association with kingship. The gods gather waiting for the king in order to honour him by supporting his activities or bringing him offerings. The gods here are legitimizing and accepting the king's actions in both the mortal and divine spheres. The fragmentary state of preservation of the relief decoration, however, does not allow us to identify the location of the individual fragments. It is even impossible to distinguish between

the depictions of the deities in the "procession" scenes and in the "assembly" scenes (see the classification of Ćwiek 2003). Therefore, all the fragments are discussed within this one chapter about "depictions of deities".

The fragments of relief decoration which belong to this theme, and were collected from the mortuary temple of Djedkare, show a general continuity of the motif that was established at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty. The available fragments show representations of the deities facing both right and left. Some of the preserved fragments show that the deities were depicted in at least two registers, divided by lines and skies with five-pointed stars at the very top of the registers.

The fragments under discussion were rendered in various scales, the smallest corresponds to a register that measured about 50 cm in height and the largest over 140 cm. This seems to indicate that the preserved fragments came from several different places in the funerary complex. The deities depicted in larger scales presumably come from scenes which show them engaged in an action with the king, while the ones in smaller scales with more registers seem to correspond to processions and/or assemblies of deities. The registers were separated by a stripe of five-pointed stars which is known also from scenes showing personifications of funerary domains (see *Chapter IV.3.8*). Of course, several fragments still bear colours (Cat. nos. 51, 52, 53, 56, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 85, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98), which often helps to differentiate the male and female figures.

The *pr-wr* shrine of Upper Egypt was depicted on one fragment, Cat. no. 88 (pls. 121–122), while the Lower Egyptian *pr-nw* shrine was depicted on two fragments, Cat. nos. 60 and 70 (pls. 90, 99). The former was facing right while the latter two were facing left. The scale of these figures is the same but it is difficult to determine whether these three fragments belonged to different parts (walls) of one scene or to multiple scenes. The Cat. no. 88 (pls. 121–122) bears an inscription reading *ḥtp*[*w*] *nb ḏfȝw* [*nb*] "all offerings and [all] provisions", which indicates that it came from a scene that related to provisioning the king's cult. This seems to be typical for scenes showing offering bearers or scenes of personification of funerary domains, where an inscription of similar type opens or introduces the procession of estates (Jéquier 1940, pl. 19) or a procession of deities and fecundity figures (Borchardt 1913, pls. 20, 24, 25, 26; El Awady 2009, pls. 13–14). The presence of the shrine is, however, not typical for the latter examples, but one might see similarities between the Cat. no. 88 (pls. 121–122) and a relief fragment from Sahure (Borchardt 1913, pls. 19).

There is no such indication on the other two fragments, and therefore their original location in the temple remains unknown. They might have been part of the relief decoration of the *antichambre carrée*, resembling the depictions from the square antechamber of Pepy II (see more in Megahed 2016-a, 250).

One can observe some interesting features in the depictions of deities. For instance, the female deity depicted on fragment Cat. no. 92 (128) has red hair, which might be an indication of the foreign origin of the goddess. Her name is not preserved. Another example of a red headed goddess and also a god is known from the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur (Oppenheim 2008, 159–162, pl. 65).

The size and the scale of some fragments, Cat. nos. 71, 75, 79, 82, 84 (pls. 100, 106, 111, 114–115, 118-a), suggest that they might be part of some larger scale scenes. It is clear that those fragments, especially Cat. nos. 82, 84, depicts the gods in themes involving the king. These can for instance belong to the scenes of *ꜥnḫ*-giving (see *chapter IV.3.5* on the *ꜥnḫ*-giving theme), suckling (Borchardt 1913, pl. 18; Jéquier 1938, pl. 30, 32), and hunting in the desert (Jéquier 1938, pl. 41).

One might notice on fragment Cat. no. 54 (pl. 83-a), that the palm of the male deity, who is facing left and holding an *ꜥnḫ*-sign, is depicted with his fingers inward while the palms of deities on other fragments who are facing the same left direction were depicted with their fingers outward, Cat. nos. 55, 64, 72, 73, 74 (pls. 83-b, 93, 101, 103–104, 105). Even though the latter is quite unnatural, it seems to be the more typical in the other pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom, where deities facing left were also depicted with the palm outward during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (Borchardt 1913, pls. 5, 19, 21, 23, 26, 30; Labrousse, Moussa 2002, fig. 123–124; Jéquier 1938, pls. 52, 53, 56; Jéquier 1940, pls. 25–26).

It is worth mentioning that all male human-headed deities were depicted wearing the divine beard, Cat. nos. 66, 69, 73, 80, 90, 98 (pls. 95, 98, 103–104, 112, 125–126, 132), perhaps to indicate their divine status.

One fragment, Cat. no. 56 (pls. 84–86), possibly contains the first known depiction of the god Osiris (Baer 1960, 297; Griffiths 1980, 44, 236–237; Lorton 1985, 114 and n. 4; Eaton-Krauss 1987, 233–236). The identification of this deity is a subject of discussion because the fragment shows him as an ordinary human figure, not in his well-known mummified form. The latter form would become typical for this god in later times, and its earliest appearance, except for determinatives in inscriptions, date to the Middle Kingdom.

Strangely, some scholars consider Osiris as a foreign deity who was introduced to the ancient Egyptian religion at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, based on the determinative which

follows the name of Osiris in offering formulas and epithets (Shalomi-Hen 2006, 115–136; Shalomi-Hen 2015, 462). This determinative, however, was used after the names of other gods as well, including some very ancient gods, for instance Iunu and Montu (Borchardt 1913, 95–96, pl. 19). The suggestion made by R. Shalomi-Hen (2006, 90), that the seated figures of the gods refer to foreign people is insupportable.

Osiris's name emerged around the middle of the Fifth Dynasty in the private offering formulas and epithets, however, some scholars suggest that the name might have existed since the Fourth Dynasty (Barta 1968, 287). The name appeared, for instance, on the false door of the high priest of Ptah, Ptahshepses (Dorman 2002; Kloth 2002; 15–16, no. 29), who lived at least as early as the reign of Neferirkare (Verner 2014, 54). It is, of course, difficult to specify, under which particular king of the Fourth/Fifth Dynasty this false door was decorated. On the other hand, M. Nuzzolo suggests an earlier example of the name of Osiris, namely, on the false door of Ity, which in his opinion dates from the early Fifth Dynasty rather than the reign of Niuserre (Nuzzolo, no. 22 forthcoming), which is usually suggested. Moreover, M. Nuzzolo identifies another early attestation for the name of Osiris on the offering table of Habneswt, which, in his opinion, should be dated to the reign of Weserkaf (Nuzzolo, no. 3 forthcoming). Yet, the dating of these inscriptions is usually placed by scholars to the later part of the Fifth Dynasty.

Besides the offering formulas, the name of Osiris can be also found in the Pyramid Texts. It is worth mentioning that on our fragment, the name of *Wsir* "Osiris" is written in the same way as in the Pyramid Text, for instance, Pyr. §§ 20, 22, 482, where the sign of the throne (Gardiner Sign List Q 1) was followed by the sign of an eye (Gardiner Sign List D 4), but without the determinative of a god, (Gardiner Sign List A 40) which was not required on our fragment.

The rise of Osiris in the late Fifth Dynasty went hand in hand with other changes in religious beliefs, which in the reign of Djedkare resulted in ending the construction of the Fifth Dynasty sun temples (Mathieu 2010, 104; Shalomi-Hen 2015, 462). The reign of his successor, Wenis, saw the introduction of the Pyramid Texts in the king's burial apartments (Janák, Vymazalová, Coppens 2011, 438, 442 no. iv). In addition, religious changes also became apparent in the modification of the king's pyramid, which from his reign onwards housed a *serdab* (see *Chapter III.3.1.2*, pp. 75–76). This feature of the king's burial apartment can be linked to the cult of Osiris as well (Mathieu 2010, 104).

The suggested reconstruction of Cat. no. 56 (pl. 86) shows the god as an anthropomorphic figure with red ochre skin and the usual male-god hairstyle, reaching to just under the shoulders. He was most likely striding and possibly holding a *wȝś*-scepter, similar to the other divine figures shown on the fragments. The space between the presumed top of the god's head and the *ir* sign indicates that the head of the deity was most likely human. There was no room to depict deities who might possibly be associated with Osiris, e.g. Anubis, Khentamenthiw, or Wepwawet, who all had jackal heads with long ears. Moreover, the reconstruction of the inscription above the deity's head, based on the other preserved reliefs, shows that the name of the god consisted only of the name Osiris, and no other element. Therefore, it seems that the relief showed Osiris in a form of a man.

In my opinion, this fragment shows the earliest depiction of god Osiris, as indicated by the name that remains above his figure, in its early, elsewhere unattested, form. It is clear that the depiction of Osiris went through formative changes in the following period, so that in the Middle Kingdom he already had the form of mummified king of the dead.

Interestingly, in the later Ptolemaic period in the temple of Edfu, in the second western chamber, the so-called Throne of the Gods chamber (room E), Osiris is depicted twice in this room in his human form. Once, he is shown seated on the throne on the south wall (de Rochemonteix, Chassinat 1984, 144; de Rochemonteix 1892, pl. XXII-b, no. 18). The other, on the north wall (de Rochemonteix, Chassinat 1984, 151; de Rochemonteix 1892, pl. XXII-a, no. 15), is more important to our discussion of Cat. no. 56. He is depicted as a striding deity holding the *wȝś*-scepter and *ꜥnḫ*-sign, however, he is wearing the *Henu*-crown without a base, which is comprised of two ostrich feathers, wavy ram's horns, two uraei, a solar disc and a nemes (for this crown see Vassilika 1989, 307 no. OFN 1).

IV.3.8 Funerary Domains

Fragments of Relief Decoration Showing Striding Personifications of Funerary Estates Looking/Marching Right (→).

Cat. no. 99. Lower Part of an Estate
(pl. 134)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. DJ 04
Saqqara register No. –
Box no. –
Date of the Discovery: 2001–2002
Current Location: El-Shawaf storeroom
Dimensions: H. 18 cm; W. 39 cm
Discovered by: Bernard Mathieu
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The fragment shows two incomplete registers separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars. The upper register depicts the remains of a figure of a female personification of a funerary estate (→). The figure is incomplete, only her right lower leg and foot are preserved. She wears a long, most probably tight-fitting dress. The outline of her left lower leg is barely visible at the very left edge of the relief fragment.

The lower register must have depicted another funerary estate, but the figure is completely lost. Only the upper part of the food offerings, stacked into a basket and carried on the person's head, remains. The offerings consist of figs and a loaf of bread.

Cat. no. 100. Parts of Estates
(pl. 135)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 26
Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1079

Box no. 84

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 31 cm; W. 38.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 163, XIII

This fragment shows parts of two registers separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars.

The upper register depicts (from right to left) remains of the lower parts of two female personifications of funerary estates. Of the first personification, only her legs and feet can still be seen. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress and anklets. In front of the figure, a vertical inscription with the name of the funerary estate was once written, but only a small part of the *niwt*-determinative remains.

The second figure in this register has been badly destroyed too, only her feet are partly preserved. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓→) with the name of the funerary estate; the name is only partly preserved. The inscription reads: /// *t n* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rʿ*] "[… Djedkare]".

The lower register depicted two other personifications of funerary estates; of the first (from right to left) only a small part of her raised left arm can be seen on the fragment.

Of the second personification in this register, only a small part of her left arm and a hemispherical basket filled with food offerings are partly preserved. Her left arm, which is decorated with a bracelet, is raised up to support the basket with one hand. The basket is filled with lettuce, figs, and a piece of meat.

Cat. no. 101. Part of an Estate

(pl. 136-a)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 39

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1092

Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 31 cm; W. 30 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 163, XII

Fragment of low relief decoration showing two incomplete funerary estates and the text for a lost third one.

From the first personification (from right to left) only her right arm remains, which was hanging beside her body (see the figure behind in pl. 136-a). A larger part of the second figure in this scene is preserved. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress, and a bracelet on her right lower arm. On the figure's chest are traces of a collar and around her neck a choker necklace is still visible. The head and the left arm, which is raised probably to support a basket, are partly lost. Her right hand is by her side, holding a leash, which was probably tied to an animal (not preserved), striding in front of the female figure. A vertical inscription (↓→) with the name of the funerary estate is written in front of the figure. The inscription reads: *grgt Ḏd-kꜣ-Rˁ* "Foundation of Djedkare".

The third personification on this fragment is missing. Only remains of the vertical inscription (↓→), which represents part of the name of this funerary estate has been preserved. The inscription reads: /// *ḥst* [*Ḏd*]*/kꜣ/*[*Rˁ*] "[…] favor of [Djed]ka[re]". It is noteworthy that there are secondary marks or scratches on the surface of the fragment, at least one of the marks represents a *di*-sign.

Cat. no. 102. Parts of Estates
(pl. 136-b)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. Upper: 42; Lower: 1020
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. Upper:1095; Lower: 2098
Box no. Upper: 84; Lower: 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: Upper: H. 39 cm; W. 26 cm; Lower: H. 9 cm; W. 8 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 161, 165, VI, XVIII

These fragments show parts of two registers separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars. In both registers, striding female personifications appear.

The upper register only shows the heel of a striding figure. The figure has been almost completely lost, so that only her heel has remained.

The lower register depicts (from right to left) the upper parts of two female personifications. The first is almost completely lost, with only the right arm, shoulder and part of her long wig surviving. She wears a long tight-fitting dress, held up by shoulder straps. Only the right straps is visible on the fragment.

Of the second figure in this register, only remains of her upper torso are preserved. She wears a long wig and possibly a long, tight-fitting dress, held up by shoulder straps that expose her left breast. She is also wearing a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, a tight choker necklace, and bracelets. She carries a crescent-shaped basket on her head, which is supported by her left hand holding the basket's front rim. The basket is not resting directly on the figure's head, but on the padded ring on the figure's head (Khaled 2008-b, fig, 9 and 11). The right arm of the figure seems to have been bent across her chest, holding a vessel.

The basket contains different types of miscellaneous offerings, consisting of vegetables and fruits, such as, figs and melons, and different kinds of breads and vessels. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓→) with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved. The inscription reads: *///- nbt P /// Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "The mistress of Pe […] Djedkare".

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personifications was yellow.

Comment: This *niwt* funerary estate is a particularly important theme in Egyptian art. To my knowledge, this is the first depiction from the Old Kingdom so far of a funerary estate with the epithet of the goddess Wadjet. Even though the name of this estate is incompletely preserved, the form of the names that include a name of a god or a goddess is most often associated with *mr ꜥnḫ* + king. An interesting parallel to this case can be found in the tomb of the vizier Merefnebef at Saqqara (pl. 137), where a *niwt* funerary estate with the name *Mry-*

nb(*t*)-*P*-ꜥ*nḫ ʾIssi* "The lady/mistress of Pe desires that Izezi live" (Myśliwiec et al. 2004, 136 (2), pl. XX). Therefore, based on the evidence from the tomb of Merefnebef we can reconstruct the name of the *niwt* funerary estate on Djedkare's fragment as [*Mry*] *nb*(*t*) *P* [ꜥ*nḫ D̲d-kꜣ-R*ꜥ], "the mistress of Pe desires that Djedkare live".

Cat. no. 103. Part of a Nome and an Estate

(pl. 138)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 51

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1104

Box no. 84

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 15 cm; W. 32.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief shows parts of a striding female personification of a funerary estate and a male personification of a nome. The first figure (from right to left) depicts a female personification for funerary estate, which is almost completely lost, only a small part of her right leg and hand are preserved. Her right hand is by her side, holding either a leash (likely tied to an animal) or the stem of a lotus flower.

From the second, male figure, only the front part of his short kilt and the left hand are preserved. The hand holds a staff, probably a *wꜣś*-scepter.

The relief still bears colour indicating that the skin of the female was yellow and that of the nome was reddish-brown.

Cat. no. 104. Parts of Estates

(pl. 139)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 67
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1120
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 39 cm; W. 24.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 162–163, X

This fragment shows parts of two registers separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars. In both registers, striding female personifications of funerary estates were depicted.

The upper register shows (from right to left) remains of two striding female personifications. The first one is, except for a small part of her right thigh, almost completely lost.

The second figure in this register has been also destroyed, with only remains of her lower legs preserved on the fragment. The surviving parts show her wearing a long and tight-fitting dress, and anklet(s). In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓→) with the name of the funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved. The inscription reads: */// mrwt* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rˁ*] "[...] is the love of [Djedkare]".

The lower register depicts two other female personifications of funerary estates, The first one (from right to left) has been almost completely lost, only a part of her head survives, which shows her wearing a long wig. She carries a conical basket on her head, in which two loaves of bread are visible.

The second personification on this register has been almost completely lost. Only part of her left arm remains. The position of the raised arm shows that she held the front rim of a conical basket that contained food offerings, of which only a loaf of bread remains.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personifications depicted on the upper register was yellow.

Comment: Even though the name of the estate in the upper register is not complete, it is worth mentioning that the noun *mrwt* seems to be attested for the first time in the name of a

royal funerary estate in Djedkare's reliefs. Moreover, in the reconstruction of the scene, we should expect another word to precede *mrwt* (for comparison see Cat. no. 144).

Cat. no. 105. Parts of a *ḥwt* Estate

(pl. 140)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. Right: 73; Left: 72

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. Right: 1126; Left: 1125

Box no. Both: 84

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: Right: H. 19.5 cm; W. 20 cm; Left: H. 18 cm; W. 21.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 160, I

These fragments of relief decoration show remains of personifications of funerary estates and a nome personification.

The fragment depicts (from right to left) the remains of one nome, a *ḥwt* funerary estate and a *nỉwt* funerary estate. The first figure (from the right) has been completely lost. Only part of an inscription survives, perhaps bearing the name of a nome, which would have been written on a standard on the figure's head. Only one hieroglyphic sign partly survives and it represents a bull (Gardiner Sign List: E1 or E2). Nome standards incorporating a bull sign can be found in some of nomes of Lower Egypt (see discussion below p. 257).

The second figure is badly preserved, only small parts of her head and face survive. She wears a long wig and carries on her head the name of Djedkare inside a *ḥwt*-sign. The *ḥwt*-sign was placed on a standard.

Behind the *ḥwt*-sign is written a vertical inscription (↓→) containing the name of the *ḥwt*. The inscription reads: *ḥwt Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ: nfr irt* [*P*]*tḥ n Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "the *ḥwt* of Djedkare (named) beautiful is what was created by Ptah for Djedkare".

Of a third figure only traces of the conical basket carried on her head are preserved in this scene. The offerings in the basket cannot be identified.

The relief still shows colour indicating that the skin of the personification carrying the *ḥwt*-sign was yellow and that her hair was painted black.

Comment: The same name of this *ḥwt* funerary estate of Djedkare was held by a *niwt* funerary estate, Cat. no. 126, *nfr irt Pt*[*ḥ n Ḏd-kꜣ-Rˁ*]. It is, so far, the earliest attestation of this estate's name in the Old Kingdom. It is attested later with the same direction (→) as a *niwt* funerary estate with the name of Wenis in his pyramid complex (Labrousse, Moussa 2002, 98, Doc. no. 108 (4), fig. 140) and also in the tomb of the vizier Merefnebef at Saqqara with the name of Wenis and Teti (Myśliwiec et al. 2004, 137 (4 and 15), pl. XX). A *ḥwt* funerary estate with the same name and the name of Teti is attested in the tomb of Sabu (Mariette 1885, 383; Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 417, no. 3).

Cat. no. 106. Parts of Estates
(pl. 141)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 74
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1127
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 24.5 cm; W. 32.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This relief decoration shows parts of three striding female personifications of funerary estates.

The first figure is almost completely lost, only remnants of her right shoulder and head are extant. She wears a long wig and carries a conical basket on her head, which contains offerings, such as bread, cakes, a bunch of grapes, a bundle of flax, and a duck.

Of the second figure the upper torso is preserved. It shows her wearing a long wig and we assume that like the other figure, she also wore a long, tight-fitting dress held up by shoulder straps that exposes her left breast. She is wearing a broad collar consisting of several layers of

beads, and bracelets. She carries a conical basket on her head, and raises her left arm to support the basket by holding its rim at the front. The basket contains offering, however, due to the poor state of preservation of the fragment and the loss of the upper part of the basket, it is not possible to say what the basket contains. Her right arm is bent at the chest hold a bundle of flax, which is no longer preserved.

In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is lost, with only remains of the name of Djedkare written inside a cartouche.

The third figure in this fragment is lost, only small remains of her left arm survive. We assume that her arm is raised to support a basket on the head of the figure. In front of the figure was probably a vertical inscription with the name of the funerary estate. The name is lost completely now, but the upper edge of a cartouche can still be seen.

Traces of colour indicate that the skin of the personifications was yellow and the broad collar and the bracelets were painted green.

Cat. no. 107. Parts of an Estate
(pl. 142)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: low relief
Excavation No. 94
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1147
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 13 cm; W. 15 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief shows part of a striding female personification of a funerary estate (→). Only part of her left arm has survived. It is raised to support the conical basket that was placed on her head by holding its rim at the front. The personification is wearing a bracelet.

Cat. no. 108. Parts of Estates

(pls. 143–144)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. Right 159; Left 152

Giza register No. –

Committee No. Right 1212; Left 1205

Box no. 85

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Giza Storeroom

Dimensions: Right H. 40 cm; W. 30; Left H. 33.5 cm; W. 35.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 162, VIII and IX

These two relief fragments depict parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates in two registers. While the top of the upper register is lost, the lower register preserved only remains of the sky with five-pointed stars.

In the upper register (from right to left) five female personifications of funerary estates are shown. The first figure is almost completely lost, but the preserved parts show her wearing a long tight-fitting dress and anklets. From the figure, only her right elbow and right leg remain in the scene. Her right arm is bent up at the chest, perhaps to hold an offering.

The second figure is almost complete. She wears a long wig, and a long tight-fitting dress held up by shoulder straps. She is also wearing a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, a tight choker necklace, bracelets, and anklets. She carries a conical basket on her head, containing three loaves of bread. Her raised left hand supports the basket by holding its front rim. Her right arm is down by her side holding a bundle of lotus flowers, some of which are open while others are still closed. In front of the figure a vertical inscription (↓→) provides the name of this funerary estate: *wꜣ*[*ḥ*] *Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "Djedkare is abundant".

The third personification on this register is almost complete as well. She wears a long wig and a long tight-fitting dress held up by shoulder straps. She is also wearing a broad collar consisting of several layers of bead, a tight choker necklace, and bracelets. Most likely she carried a broad basket on her head, which is now lost. Her raised right arm is bent at the elbow to support the basket.

Her left arm is bent across her chest holding two papyrus stems, which rest on her left shoulder. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓→) with the name of this funerary estate: *grgt Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "Foundation of Djedkare".

A large part of the fourth personification is lost. She is wearing a long wig, a long tight-fitting dress held up by shoulder straps, a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, and a tight choker necklace. She carries a conical basket on her head, of which only the bottom is preserved. She is raising up both her arms to support the basket from two sides. In front of the figure the vertical inscription (↓→) is incompletely preserved, but can be read: *nfr mr? Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "Beautiful/perfect is the pyramid of Djedkare". Traces of other inscriptions are visible above this text, but only one sign 𓊃 (Gardiner Sign List N 38, *grgt*; Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 162) is discernible.

The fifth personification is completely lost. Only the upper part of the cartouche of Djedkare (*Ḏd-*[*kꜣ*]*-Rꜥ*), forming the estate's name, remains.

The existence of a lower register is clear from the row of stars at the bottom of the fragment, but nothing is preserved of the estates from that register.

The relief still bears traces colour indicating that the skin of the personifications was yellow and the inscriptions were green, while the the sky in the lower register was painted blue.

Comment: The funerary estate, *wꜣ*[*ḥ*] *Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "Djedkare is abundant" was common in the Old Kingdom royal relief, it was found for instance with the name of Khufu (Junker 1934, fig. 28; Kanawati 2002, 28, pl. 45), Khafre (Hassan, 1943, 113, fig. 58), Weserkaf (Junker 1938, 209 (28), pl. IV), Ikauhor (Brovarski 2001, 70 (4), pl. 35), and twice in Sahure's causeway, each time written in a different way (Khaled 2008-a, 112, 185). The same name of Djedkare's funerary estate was found in the tomb of Ptahhotep II, but this time with the name of *Ỉssi* in the cartouche (Dümichen 1869, Pl. 15 (15); Paget, Pirie, Griffith 1898, 26, 30–31, pl. 34; Harpur, Scremin 2008, 355).

The funerary estate *grgt Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "Foundation of Djedkare" was very common in both royal and non-royal funerary domains and is attested for a number of kings. However, in my opinion, this funerary estate is unique. It seems that the artist mistook the name of this estate with the one that was depicted in front of it, which is called *grgt Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*. This switching of the two estates might therefore be explained as a mistake of the artist/or a scribe (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 162). We can assume that the artist was copying the names from a papyrus scroll (or another transportable medium), and therefore the switch was made by mistake. The name of an estate that includes the name of the king's pyramid raises a number of questions. Firstly, the name might actually refer to the king's pyramid city, *nfr mr Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*. However, the estate

was most likely in use already during the life of the king, i.e. during the construction of his pyramid complex (Vymazalová 2015). Moreover, what kind of nourishment or offerings could the pyramid city present to the king in his own funerary complex?

Cat. no. 109. Parts of a Nome
(pl. 145)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 647
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1655
Box no. 91
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 18.5 cm; W. 26. 5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

The fragment shows parts of two registers separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars.

The upper register depicts part of a striding, probably female, deity or a nome (for comparison see Borchardt 1913, pls. 28–31). Her figure is lost, and only the lower part of her body have remains within the scene. She wears a long dress and is carrying a *w3ś*-scepter, of which only its bottom part remains.

Of the lower register only a small part of the offerings carried in a basket remain. The figure itself has been completely lost. The offerings consist of bread and other unidentified items.

Cat. no. 110. Parts of Estates
(pl. 146)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 691

Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1910
Box no. 97
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 7 cm; W. 20 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This small fragment shows the dividing line and part of a sky with five-pointed stars. Of the upper register only the toe of a right foot and the heel of a female personification (→) is preserved. The lower register once depicted another personification (→), but only the upper edges of the offerings carried in a basket remain. These offerings consist of a loaf of bread and a melon. Traces of colour indicate that the personification's skin was yellow, thus she was probably a woman.

Cat. no. 111. Part of an Estate
(pls. 147–148)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 888
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1849
Box no. 96
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 41.5 cm; W. 58 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 161, VII

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of a striding female personification and remnants of the name of another funerary estate.

The fragment depicts (from right to left) parts of two figures. The first figure is almost completely lost, only the upper and lower legs are preserved. She wears a long tight-fitting dress. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓→) with the name of this funerary estate, the name is only partly preserved. The inscription would have once read: *nfr ḥs* [*P*]*tḥ* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*] "Perfect is Ptah's favor for Djedkare".

The second figure is completely lost. Only the remains of a vertical inscription (↓→) with the name of this funerary estate, which was written in front of the missing figure, are preserved. The inscription reads: /// *m* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*] "[…] Djedkare".

Comment: It seems that the noun *ḥz* was written without the feminine ending *t*, and the preposition n was not presented on the fragment.

In any case, with either interpretation of the name of this estate, it appears to be the first occurrence attested of such a name among the Old Kingdom royal funerary estates. It is worth mentioning that names that include the adjective *ḥz* are only associated with Ptah.

Cat. no. 112. Parts of Estates
(pls. 149–150)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 991
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 2148
Box no. 99
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 8.5 cm; W. 23.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

A fragment of relief decoration showing parts of two striding female personifications of funerary estates (→).

The figures are incomplete, only remnants of two feet belonging to two different personifications, remain on the fragment. Of the first figure (from the left), traces of an anklet have been preserved on the left leg. The second figure is also almost lost, only traces of her

right foot remain, there are remnants of the back hoof of an animal, which was probably led on a leash by the personification (for comparison see Mourad 2015, pl. 88b, the lower register, ninth personification from right).

It still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personification and the animal were yellow and the dado was green.

Cat. no. 113. Part of an Estate
(pl. 151)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 999
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 2077
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 28 cm; W. 11.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 161, IV

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of a striding female personification of a funerary estate and a partial inscription for another.

The fragment depicts (from right to left) parts of the personification's right arm. The hand is missing, but it is possible to see that it once held a bird by its wings. Since the head and the tail of the bird are missing, the species cannot be identified.

The second figure is completely lost. Only the vertical inscription (↓→) with the name of this funerary estate in front of the missing figure is incompletely preserved. The inscription reads: *ḥtpt /// Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "the satisfaction […] of Djedkare".

It is worthy of mention that another sign was written behind the name of the funerary estate, of which only small remains of foot of a bird can be distinguished next to the cartouche.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personification was yellow.

Cat. no. 114. Parts of Estates

(pl. 152)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 1001

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2079

Box no. 98

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 16.5 cm; W. 26 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (→).

The fragment depicts (from right to left) parts of two figures of female personifications of funerary estate. The first is lost, only small remnants of her head and shoulders survive. She wears a long wig and supports a crescent-shaped basket resting on a padded ring (*Ḥawaya*) on her head. Her left hand is most likely holding the basket's front rim. The basket almost certainly contained food offerings, such as vegetables, some of which are dangling from the basket.

The second figure is also almost lost, only small remains of her head are preserved. She wears a long wig and carries a conical basket on her head, which is resting directly on the head. Her raised left hand supports the basket by holding its front rim. In front of the figure was written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate, the name is completely lost, with only an upper edge of the frame of a cartouche preserved.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the surface of the padded ring *(Ḥawaya)* on the head of the first female personification was green.

Cat. no. 115. Part of an Estate

(pl. 153)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 1026
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 2104
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 6.5 cm; W. 11 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows a part of a striding female personification of funerary estate (→).

There are the remains of a figure of a striding female personification. The figure is incomplete, only small parts of her thighs remain. Her right hand is down at her side holding a bundle of lotus blossoms. Some of the flowers are open while others are closed. The estate is wearing a many-ringed bracelet.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personification was yellow, the bundle of lotus flowers was green, and the blossoms and buds were red.

Cat. no. 116. Part of an Estate
(pl. 154)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 1028
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 2106
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 24 cm; W. 26.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of a striding female personification of a funerary estate (→).

The figure on the fragment is almost lost, only her right foot, her lower left leg, and incomplete left leg remain. She wears an anklet and traces of her gown are still visible. In front of the figure was written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate but only the lower part of an *ꜥnḫ*-sign and a *niwt*-sign are partially preserved. From the position of the previously mentioned signs, it seems that the name of the funerary estate was long enough to reach the bottom part of the register in front of the feet of the personification.

The fragment represents the bottom of a scene, because under the representation was a dado carved on the same limestone block.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personification was yellow.

Cat. no. 117. Part of an Estate
(pl. 155)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 1029
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 2107
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 19 cm; W. 9.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of a striding female personification of a funerary estate.

The piece depicts the figure's right hand, holding a water bird by its wings. Judging from the tail and the leg of the bird, it might be a pintail duck (Houlihan 1992, 71–73).

Cat. no. 118. Parts of Estates

(pl. 156)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 1120

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2070

Box no. 98

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 38 cm; W. 21 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 160, II

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates.

The fragment depicts (from left to right) the remains of two figures. The first is not well preserved, only small parts of her right arm, which was by her side, remain. She holds a bird by its wings, of which only the remains of wings can be discerned. Therefore, the species of the bird cannot be identified.

The second figure on this fragment has been lost as well, but a part of the front of her body remains. She wears a long tight-fitting dress and anklets. Her left arm seems to have been raised up, certainly to support a basket placed on her head, by holding its front rim. Her right arm is bent across her chest, to carry a duck from the pintail species (Houlihan 1992, 71–73). In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓→) with the name of this funerary estate. The inscription reads: *mr Ḏḥwty ꜥnḫ Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "Thoth desires that Djedkare live".

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personifications was yellow.

Comment: So far this particular *niwt* of a funerary estate is the earliest attestation in the Old Kingdom. Later it was depicted twice among the Lower Egyptian funerary estates together with the Seventh Nome of Upper Egypt, in Mehu's tomb at Saqqara, as a *niwt* funerary estate (Altenmüller 1998, 129, fig. 26b). Another time, it was shown as a *ḥwt* funerary estate from the sixteenth nome of Upper Egypt (Altenmüller 1998, 125, fig. 29b), both with the name

of King Teti and facing in the same direction (→). It was also attested among the funerary estates of Pepy II as a *niwt,* also facing in the same direction (→) (Jéquier 1940, pl. 23) but in this case the word *ꜥnḫ* is written with the three signs . Moreover, all of the above-mentioned *niwt* and *ḥwt* estates were depicted on south walls looking towards the west. Therefore, we can assume that Djedkare *mr Ḏḥwty ꜥnḫ* funerary estate was located on a south wall.

Cat. no. 119. Parts of Estates
(pls. 157–158)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. Upper: 1123; Lower: 56
Saqqara register No. -
Committee No. Upper: 2073; Lower: 1109
Box no. Upper: 98; Lower: 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 68 cm; W. 39.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 161, 166, III, XXV

These fragments of relief decoration show parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (→). On it, there are parts of two registers separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars. The upper register depicts (from right to left) the remains of two personifications. The first is incomplete, only small remains of her right leg and foot remain. She wears a long tight-fitting dress and anklet.

The figure that had was behind the first in this register is completely lost. We presume that she was holding a rope, which can be seen restraining an animal, a scimitar-horned oryx (Houlihan 1996, 45–48) that would have been walking in front of her. In front of the missing figure and above the oryx is written a vertical inscription (↓→) with the name of this funerary estate, the name is only partly preserved. The inscription reads: */// kꜣ ///* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*] "[…] spirit […] Djedkare".

The lower register depicts the upper part of another female personification. Only remains of her figure are extant, including her face, left shoulder, and arm. She wears a long wig and most probably wore a tight-fitting dress, held up by two shoulder straps that expose her left breast. Her left arm was bent across her chest or belly, to carry a bundle of lotus blossoms. We notice that some of the flowers are open while others still closed. She carries a hemispherical basket placed on a padded ring (*Ḥawaya*) on her head. It is filled with food offerings, such as, several loaves of bread, cake, meat, two cucumbers tied together, and vessels. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved: *Mr Ḏd-kꜣ*-[*Rꜥ*] "[…] love Djedkare".

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personifications was yellow and that of the sky was blue.

Fragments of Relief Decoration Showing Striding Personifications of Funerary Estates Looking/Marching Left (←).

Cat. no. 120. Part of an Estate
(pl. 159)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 37
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1090
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 13 cm; W. 16 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of a striding female personification of funerary estate holding a basket on her head (←).

The figure has been largely obliterated, with only small parts of her head and right arm remaining. She wears a wig and a bracelet and carries a conical basket on her head, while her right hand is raised up to support the basket by holding its front rim.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personification was yellow.

Cat. no. 121. Parts of Estates
(pl. 160)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 38
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1091
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 23.5 cm; W. 20.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 166, XXVII

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates.

The extant relief shows (from left to right) parts of two female figures. The first figure is incomplete, with only small remains of her body preserved. She wears a long wig and probably a long, tight-fitting dress. Her left arm is bent across her chest, and she holds a bird, probably a duck. It seems that one leg hangs straight down.

The second figure on this fragment has been lost, only remnants of the front part of her belly and thighs can be discerned. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate, which is only partly preserved. The inscription reads: *ꜥb Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "Purified is Djedkare". It is so far the first and the only example, of such a name in any royal funerary complex in the Old Kingdom.

The name of this funerary estate was read differently by H. Jacquet-Gordon (1962, 166, no XXVII, 54). It was read *ꜥwy? /// Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "The two vessels […] Djedkare".

Cat. no. 122. Parts of Estates

(pl. 161)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 46

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1099

Box no. 84

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 23.5 cm; W. 19 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←). There are registers separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars.

The upper register depicts the remains of one personification, of which only the left foot remains. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress, of which only the lower edge is visible.

The lower register depicts one personification, but only part of the crown of her head remains. She carries a conical basket on her head and is supporting the basket by holding its rim at the back with her raised left hand. The basket contains food offerings, such as several loaves of bread and fruits. Her right arm is probably bent across her chest holding two papyrus stems, which may have been leaning against her right shoulder.

Cat. no. 123. Part of an Estate

(pl. 162)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 50

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1103

Box no. 84

Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 23 cm; W. 23 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←).

There are (from left to right) two funerary estates depicted. The first is incomplete, only her upper part remains. She wears a long wig and a long, tight-fitting dress with shoulder straps that expose her right breast. She is also wearing a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, and a tight choker necklace. She carries a conical basket on her head, of which only a small part can be seen. Her raised right arm shows that she was supporting the basket by holding its front rim. Her left arm hangs alongside her body. In front of the figure is a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is almost completely lost, with only slight remains of a cartouche with the name of Djedkare still visible.

The second personification on this fragment is completely lost, however, part of the vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate can still be seen. Only remains of a cartouche with the name of Djedkare (*Ḏd*-[*k3*-*Rꜥ*]) are extant.

Cat. no. 124. Part of an Estate
(pl. 163-a)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 61
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1114
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 12 cm; W. 16 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows a part of a striding female personification of a funerary estate (←).

The single figure is almost completely lost, only small sections of her right arm remain in the scene. The arm is raised up, probably to support a basket that was placed on her head. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is almost completely lost, only the upper part of the cartouche with the name of Djedkare (*Ḏd*-[*k3*]-*Rˁ*) remained.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personification was yellow.

Cat. no. 125. Part of an Estate
(pl. 163-b)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 63
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1116
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 15.5 cm; W. 25 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration has parts of two striding female personifications of funerary estates (←).

The first one (from left to right) is largely destroyed. Only slight remains of her long wig and her left arm remain. Her left arm is down by her side.

The second figure in this fragment is also lost, only some sections of her upper part remain, including the chest and parts of the arms. She wears a long wig and a long tight-fitting dress that is held up by shoulder straps that expose her right breast. Most likely, she carries a

basket on her head, and her right hand is raised up to support the basket from the front rim. Her left arm is bent across her chest holding two papyrus stems which rest on her left shoulder. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is almost completely lost, only remains of a cartouche with the name of Djedkare remain from the name.

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personification was yellow and the dress was red, while the background of the scene was blueish-grey.

Cat. no. 126. Part of an Estate
(pl. 164)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 71
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1124
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 14.5 cm; W. 8.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of a striding female personification of funerary estates (←).

The fragment depicts (from left to right) two personifications. The first is incomplete; only her lower left arm with a bracelet can be seen hanging by her side. The hand is holding what seems to be part of two cheese mats held together by a rope and used as a handle.

The second figure in this fragment is completely lost. In front of the missing figure is a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved. The inscription reads: *Nfr ir*[*t*] *Pt*[*ḥ*] [*n Ḏd-kȝ-R*ˁ] “Beautiful is what was created by Ptah for Djedkare”.

Cat. no. 127. Lower Parts of Estates

(pl. 165)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 75

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1128

Box no. 84

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 25 cm; W. 33.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 166, XXVI

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←). The fragment is divided into two registers, separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars.

The upper register depicts (from left to right) the remains of three personifications. The first is destroyed, with only small remains of her left lower leg and foot still visible. She wears a long tight-fitting dress and anklet(s).

The second figure in this register is more complete, however, only the lower part of her body is preserved. She wears a long tight-fitting dress, bracelets, and anklets. Her left hand is down by her side holding three tufted ducks (Houlihan 1992, 74) by their wings. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved: *Mr* [*Ḏḥwty?*] *ꜥnḫ* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*] "[Thoth] desires that [Djedkare] live".

The third figure is almost completely lost, only her right foot remains underneath the vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The incompletely preserved inscription reads: *Mr ///t ///* ꜥ*nḫ Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*] "[…] desires that Djedkare live".

The relief still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personifications was yellow.

Cat. no. 128. Upper Parts of Estates

(pl. 166)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 77

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1130

Box no. 84

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 25.5 cm; W. 26 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←).

The fragment depicts (from left to right) two personifications. Of the first figure only the upper part remains, showing her head, chest, and part of her upper arm. She wears a long tripartite wig and a long tight-fitting dress that was held up by shoulder straps. She is also wearing a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads and a tight choker necklace. Her left arm is at her side, while her raised right hand supports the hemispherical basket on her head. The basket is placed on a padded ring (*Ḥawaya*) and is filled with food offerings, such as several loaves of bread, a cake, a melon, figs, and lettuce.

The second figure in this fragment is also partly lost. Only the small remains of her upper part appear in this scene, including her face, chest, and right arm. She wears a long wig and a long, tight-fitting dress, which is held up by two shoulder straps that expose her right breast. She is also wearing a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, a tight choker necklace, and bracelets. She carries a conical basket on her head, supporting it with her right hand by holding its front rim. The basket contains food offerings, including several loaves of bread. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is almost completely lost, only traces of a cartouche with the name of Djedkare are extant.

It still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personifications was yellow and the wigs were black.

Cat. no. 129. Parts of Estates
(pls. 167–168)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 134
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1187
Box no. 84
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 48 cm; W. 36.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 166–167, XXVIII

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates in two registers separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars.

The upper register depicts (from left to right) the remains of two personifications. The first is partly incomplete, only her torso and lower part remain. She wears a long tripartite wig and a long, tight-fitting dress, which is held up by two shoulder straps. Most likely, she carries a basket on her head, since both arms are raised up to support the basket by holding its rim from two sides. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate, the name is only partly preserved. The inscription reads: /// *ḥ* /// *ꜥnḫ* [*ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*] "[…] Djedkare to live".

The second personification in this register is lost, only a small part of her right arm remains. The arm is bent across her chest, probably to carry an offering. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved: /// *Pt*[*ḥ*] /// *ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "[…] Ptah […] Djedkare".

Of the lower register, only the sky with five pointed stars remains.

Cat. no. 130. Parts of Estates

(pl. 169)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 160

Giza register No. –

Committee No. 1213

Box no. 85

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Giza Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 12 cm; W. 11 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates in two registers, separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars.

The upper register shows traces of one personification. The figure is lost, only her right foot and the front part of the left foot remain.

The lower register also depicts the remains of one personification. The figure has been lost. Her right hand was holding the front rim of a conical basket that was placed on her head. The basket contains two different kinds of bread.

Note that some carving corrections were made to the outlines of the feet of the female personification in the upper register.

Cat. no. 131. Parts of Estates

(pl. 170)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 393

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1469

Box no. 90

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 24 cm; W. 43 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←).

The fragment depicts (from left to right) the remains of three personifications. The first is destroyed, only small sections of her left arm remain in the scene. She wears a long wig.

The second figure on this fragment has been destroyed too, only partial remains of her chest, left shoulder and the right hand are extant. She wears a long wig and a long, tight-fitting dress that is held up by shoulder straps. Her left arm is bent across her chest, and she is carrying a duck on her arm. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is almost completely lost, with only a bit of a cartouche with the name of Djedkare surviving.

The third figure is also incomplete. It shows the remains of the upper part of a personification, including her head and right arm. She wears a long wig and a tight choker necklace. She carries a hemispherical basket, resting on a padded ring (*Ḥawaya*) on her head. Her right arm is raised up to the basket to hold its front rim. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is almost completely lost; only remains of a cartouche with the name of Djedkare remained from the name.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personifications was yellow.

Cat. no. 132. Part of an Estate
(pl. 171)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 466
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1525
Box no. 90
Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 8 cm; W. 13 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows a part of a female personification of a funerary estate (←).

Of the figure, only part of her right arm remains in the scene. Traces of her raised right arm suggest that she was carrying a basket on her head, holding its front rim. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is almost completely lost, but remains of a cartouche with the name of Djedkare are visible.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personification was yellow.

Cat. no. 133. Upper Part of a *ḥwt*-Estate and an Estate
(pl. 172)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 506
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1565
Box no. 90
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 24 cm; W. 15 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 164, XIV

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of a female personification of a funerary estate and of a *ḥwt* (←). The fragments show parts of two registers separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars. No figures or parts of figures were preserved in the upper register.

The lower register depicts (from left to right) traces of a *ḥwt*-sign belonging to a personification of a *ḥwt*-estate. We presume that the name of Djedkare was written inside the *ḥwt*-sign and placed on a standard on the head of the personification. Behind the *ḥwt*-sign is a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this *ḥwt*. The inscription reads: [*ḥwt Ḏd-kȝ-Rᶜ:*] *mr ỉnpw ᶜnḫ Ḏd-kȝ-Rᶜ* "*ḥwt* of Djedkare, Anubis desires that Djedkare live".

Of the next personification only traces of her right arm remain. She wears bracelet(s). Her raised hand is supporting a basket placed on her head. A part of her hand and the edge of the basket remain, indicating that she bore a conical basket, decorated with horizontal stripes.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personification was yellow.

As far as I know, this is the only attestation of a *ḥwt* funerary estate with this name and no parallels are known before or after the time of Djedkare. However, a *niwt* funerary estate with the same name, *mr ỉnpw ᶜnḫ,* but belonging to Neferirkare, was depicted in the tomb of Pehenuka, dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty (LD II, pl. 47). Other *niwt* funerary estates with the names *mr ỉnpw ᶜnḫ* and *mr ỉnpw ᶜnḫ n* are attested among the funerary estates of Unis (Labrousse, Moussa 2002, 106, Doc. no. 121 (3), fig. 153; Labrousse Moussa 2002, 106, Doc. no. 120 (3), fig. 152).

Cat. no. 134. Upper Part of an Estate
(pl. 173)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 523
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1565
Box no. 90
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 34 cm; W. 30 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←).

The fragment depicts (from left to right) the remains of two funerary estates. The first is partly preserved, only the upper part of the female personification survives. She wears a long wig and probably a long, tight-fitting dress that was held up by shoulder straps. She carries a hemispherical basket on her head, supporting it with her right hand by holding its rim at the front. The basket contains food offerings. However, due to the bad state of preservation of the fragment we cannot identify the offerings. Her left hand is bent across her chest, while she holds a duck by its wigs. The duck is from the pintail species (Houlihan 1992, 71–73). In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is almost completely lost, only remains of a cartouche appear.

The second figure in this fragment is completely lost. In front of the missing figure is written a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved. The inscription reads: *Nfrw ///* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*] "Beautiful is […] Djedkare".

The surface of the relief fragment is weathered and the figure has worn away, making details of the scene difficult to discern.

Cat. no. 135. Upper Parts of Estates
(pl. 174)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 577
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1617
Box no. 91
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 18.5 cm; W. 21 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows the remains of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←).

The fragment depicts (from left to right) two personifications. The first figure is completely lost, but traces of her crescent-shaped basket and some contents are preserved. The basket contains food offerings, such as a pomegranate?.

The second personification on this fragment is also partly lost. Only remains of her right arm remain in this scene. She carries a conical basket on her head and she is raising her right hand to support the basket by holding its front rim. The basket contains food offerings, such as bread loaves.

Cat. no. 136. Part of an Estate
(pl. 175-a)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 667
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 1757
Box no. 94
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 17 cm; W. 10 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows part of a female personification of a funerary estate (←).

The fragment depicts traces of one female figure, but only parts of her right arm and right breast have remained. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress held up by shoulder straps that expose her right breast, and a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads. Traces of her raised right hand suggest that she was carrying a basket on her head. Her left arm, which does not survive, was bent across her chest holding two papyrus stems over her left shoulder, part of which are preserved in the scene. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved. The inscription reads: *mn* (*?*) /// [*Ḏd-kȝ-R*ˁ] "[…] Djedkare".

Cat. no. 137. Part of an Estate

(pl. 175-b)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 756

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1727

Box no. 94

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 14 cm; W. 18.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows part of a striding female personification of funerary estate (←).

The fragment depicts one female figure, of which only remains of her left arm are still visible in this scene. The hand is down by her side holding a bird by its wings. The head and the tail of the bird have been lost. Therefore, its species cannot be identified.

Cat. no. 138. Lower Part of an Estate

(pl. 176)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 785

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 1737

Box no. 94

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 30 cm; W. 31.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 166, XXIV

This fragment of relief decoration shows part of a striding female personification of a funerary estate (←). The fragment show parts of two registers separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars.

The upper register depicts the bottom part of one personification. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress, and bracelets. Her left arm is alongside her body, holding a duck from the pintail species (Houlihan 1992, 71–73) by its wings. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved. The inscription reads: */// ḥtpwt ///* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rᶜ*] "[…] the offerings of [Djedkare]". The missing part of the name of this funerary estate can perhaps be compared with Cat. no. 150 (pl. 189), where the name is complete: *Mn ḥtpwt Ḏd-kꜣ-Rᶜ* (see below, p. 248).

Only the rows of stars remain from the lower register. It still bears traces of colour indicating that the sky was blue.

Cat. no. 139. Parts of Estates
(pls. 177–178)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. Upper. 847; Middle. 846; Lower. 843
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. Upper. 1979; Middle. 1980; Lower. 1982
Box no. 97
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: Upper. H. 34.5 cm; W. 24.5 cm; Middle. H. 17.5 cm; W. 15 cm; Lower. H. 46.5 cm; W. 20.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 165, XX–XXI

These are fragments of relief decoration showing parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates arranged in two registers separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars.

The upper register depicts (from left to right) the remains of two personifications. The first is badly destroyed, only represented in small sections of her left hand, holding a bird by its wings. The head and the tail of the bird have been lost, therefore, the genus cannot be identified.

The second figure in this register is incomplete, only parts of her feet remain. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate, which is only partly preserved. The inscription reads: [*ḏ*]*f*[*ꜣw*] [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rˁ*] "[Djedkare's] provisions (?)".

The lower register depicts two other personifications. The first one (from left to right) is lost, with only her upper part extant. She wears a long wig and a long, tight-fitting dress, which is held up by two shoulder straps. She is also wearing a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, a tight choker necklace, and bracelets. She carries a conical basket on her head, which contains food offerings, such as several loaves of bread, cake, and two cucumbers (?) tied together. The surface of the basket was decorated with horizontal zigzag lines. Her right hand is raised up to support the basket by holding its rim from the front, while the left hand is down by her side holding a rope, which was probably tied to an animal.

The second personification on this register is only partly preserved, only a small part of her right foot remains. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved: *Mn ḫˁw* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rˁ*] "Enduring is [Djedkare's] appearance in glory".

Lines under the figures of the lower register indicate that this was the bottom register of the scene as a dado lies below.

The relief, on the surface of the middle fragment, still bears traces of colour indicating that the tight choker necklace was green. We notice that, under the representations, was a dado and it was carved from the same limestone block.

Cat. no. 140. Part of an Estate

(pl. 179)

Material: Limestone

Type of the document: Low relief

Excavation No. 874

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1846

Box no. 95

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 9.5 cm; W. 14 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

These three matching fragments of relief decoration are showing parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←).

The first one (from left to right) is mostly incomplete, only small remnants of her upper part can be seen. She wears a long wig and a long, tight-fitting dress, which is held up by two shoulder straps. She is also wearing a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, and has the remains of a tight choker necklace.

Of the second personification, only a small part of the body remains, perhaps she wears a long, tight-fitting dress.

The traces of colour preserved indicate that the skin of the first personification was yellow, while the broad collar was green and red, and the wig was painted black. The colour of the dress of both figures was green.

Cat. no. 141. Parts of Estates
(pls. 180–181)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 877
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1843
Box no. 95
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 22 cm; W. 42 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

These fragments of relief decoration show parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←).

The fragments depict (from left to right) two personifications. The first is lost, with only parts of her legs and a hand still visible. She wears a long and tight-fitting dress. Her left hand is alongside her body and is clutching the rope handle of a vessel.

The second figure in this fragments is mostly destroyed. Only sections of her lower part remain. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved: *Nfr-ḥzwt* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*] "Beautiful/perfect of favors is [Djedkare]".

The third figure on this fragments is completely lost. In front of the missing figure is a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved. The inscription reads: *///mr* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*] "[...] desire [Djedkare]".

The fragments still bear traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personifications was yellow and the dresses were red, while the background of the scene was blue.

Comment: This name of funerary estate was common among the royal and private funerary estates in the Old Kingdom. The same name of the funerary estate is found in the tomb of the vizier of Djedkare, Senedjemib Inti, at Giza (G 2370), as a *ḥwt* funerary estate with the name of *ʾIssi* in the *ḥwt*-sign (Brovarski 2001, 56 (11), pl. 46; LD II, pl. 76b).

Cat. no. 142. Parts of Estates

(pl.182)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 883

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1837

Box no. 95

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 15 cm; W. 28 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←), in two registers separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars.

The upper register depicts (from left to right) two personifications. The first is largely destroyed, with only remains of her legs and feet in the scene. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress, and anklets. She probably holds a rope in one of her hands, since an animal is walking in front of her figure, but only its back part is extant.

The second personification on this register is even more damaged. Only a small part of her right foot remains in this scene. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is lost with only a small part of the *nỉwt*-sign still visible.

No figures are preserved in the lower register. Only the top of a *ḥwt*-sign is visible at the edge of the fragment.

It still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personifications was yellow.

Cat. no. 143. Lower Parts of Estates

(pl.183)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 916

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1794

Box no. 95

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 33 cm; W. 50 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 166, XXIII

This fragment of relief decoration shows small parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←).

We can discern (from left to right) the remains of three personifications. The first is so badly destroyed that only part of her left foot remains. She wears an anklet.

The second figure in this fragment is also destroyed, with only small remnants of her torso and upper legs surviving. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress, and bracelets. Her left hand is alongside her body, and she is holding a kind of vessel. In front of the figure is a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved: *Nj kꜣ* [*ḏd-kꜣ-Rˁ*] "Djedkare belongs to the *ka*/ The *ka* belongs to Djedkare".

The third figure is even more damaged. Only small portions of her thighs can be seen on the fragment. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress and her left arm is probably down by her side holding a bundle of lotus flowers, of which just a small part is extant. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved: *///ḏfꜣwt* [*ḏd-kꜣ-Rˁ*] "[…] provisions of [Djedkare]".

The fragment still bears traces of colour, indicating that the skin of the personifications was yellow.

Cat. no. 144. Part of an Estate
(pl.184)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 989
Atfih register No. –
Committee No. 2189
Box no. 100
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Atfih Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 38 cm; W. 15 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows a part of a striding female personification of a funerary estate (←).

The fragment bears the remains of one personification. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress held up by a shoulder strap that exposes her right breast. She has a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads and a tight choker necklace. Her raised right arm suggests that she carries a basket on her head, holding its front rim.

The upper part of the relief's surface is weathered and the remaining colour has worn away.

Cat. no. 145. Part of an Estate

(pl.185-a)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 1016

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2094

Box no. 98

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 6 cm; W. 17 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←).

The fragment depicts (from left to right) scant remains of two personifications. The first is lost, only a small section of a long wig can be seen.

The second figure in this fragment is lost too, with only small remains of her chest and right arm still extant. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress, which is held up by shoulder straps. Her raised right arm suggests that she carries a basket on her head, holding its front rim. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is completely lost, discernible only by the remains of a cartouche with the name of Djed[ka]re.

It still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personification was yellow.

Cat. no. 146. Lower Part of an Estate

(pl.185-b)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 1084

Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 2034
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 16 cm; W. 21 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 165, XIX

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of a striding female personification of a funerary estate (←).

The scene shows (from left to right) one personification of funerary estate. The figure is partly destroyed. Only traces of her legs are still visible. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress. Her left hand is probably alongside her body, holding a vessel, of which only the bottom part remains. In front of the figure is a vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved: *mr /// nfr*(*?*) *ꜥnḫ* [*ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*] "[…] desires that [Djedkare] live".

The second figure in this fragment is completely lost. In front of the missing figure is a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is only partly preserved: *mr /// [ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ]* "[…] desires that [Djedkare …]".

Cat. no. 147. Upper Parts of Estates
(pl.186)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 1085
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 2035
Box no. 98
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 22 cm; W. 26 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 165, XVIII

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←).

The fragment depicts (from left to right) the remains of two personifications. The first is lost, only small pieces of her head and arms survive. She wears a long wig, a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, and a tight choker necklace. She carries a hemispherical basket, resting on a padded ring (*Ḥawaya*) on her head. The basket contains food offerings, such as breads. Her right hand is raised up to support the basket by holding its rim from the front.

The second figure in this fragment is badly destroyed, only small traces of her right arm are preserved. She raises her hand most likely to support a basket on her head by holding its front rim. In front of the figure is written a vertical inscription with the name of this funerary estate. The name is almost completely lost, only the upper part of Djedkara's cartouche (*Ḏd*-[*kꜣ*]-*Rᶜ*) remains.

Cat. no. 148. Lower Part of an Estate

(pl.187)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 1086

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2036

Box no. 98

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 14.5 cm; W. 11.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows part of a striding female personification of a funerary estate and two registers separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars.

The upper register depicts one personification. The figure is incomplete, only small sections of her legs and feet survive. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress, and anklets. Her left hand holds a rope, which was tied to an animal walking in front of her figure. Only the back part of the animal remains.

From the lower register, only the row of stars is preserved. It still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personifications was yellow and that the anklets were green.

Cat. no. 149. Part of an Estate

(pl.188)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 1100

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2050

Box no. 98

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 15 cm; W. 15.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 164, XVII

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of a striding female personification of funerary estate (←).

The fragment depicts the remains of one personification. The figure is badly destroyed, only part of her lower body is still visible. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress. Most likely, her left hand is held down alongside her body, grasping at least two ducks by their wings. The two birds belong to the tufted duck species (Houlihan 1992, 74). Only the remains of their heads survive on the fragment. In front of the figure is written an incomplete vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate: *bnr mrwt Ḏd-kȝ*-[*Rᶜ*] “Sweet of love is Djedkare”.

This is so far the first and only attested example of this name in any royal funerary complex of the Old Kingdom.

Cat. no. 150. Part of an Estate

(pl.189)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 1126

Atfih register No. –

Committee No. 2132

Box no. 99

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Atfih Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 44.5 cm; W. 33.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 164, XV

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of a striding female personification of a funerary estate (←).

It depicts (from left to right) the remains of two estates. The first personification is only partly preserved, her head and shoulders are lost. She wears a long wig and a long, tight-fitting dress. Her left arm is bent across her chest carrying a bird.

Of the second figure only the incomplete vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate remains. The inscription can be restored as: *mn ḥtpwt* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rˁ*] "Enduring are [Djedkare's] offerings".

This fragment is a bottom scene, because under the representations is a dado is carved from the same limestone block.

This particular *niwt* funerary estate is also known from the funerary estates of Sahure (Khaled 2008-a, 143–144).

Cat. no. 151. Lower Parts of Estates

(pl.190)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 1141

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 2211

Box no. 101

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 25 cm; W. 33 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 164, XVI

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←).

The fragment depicts (from left to right) two personifications. The first is lost, only parts of her legs and feet remain. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress and anklets.

The second figure in this fragment is lost, only small parts of her legs and her feet have remained. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress. In front of the figure is written an incomplete vertical inscription (↓←) with the name of this funerary estate: *///ꜣ* [*ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*] "[…]ꜣ [Djedkare]".

The fragment is a bottom part of a scene, because under the representations is a dado carved from the same limestone block.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personification was yellow. It is also noteworthy that the scene shows traces that it was modified.

Cat. no. 152. Part of the King's Cartouche

(pl.191)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 69

Saqqara register No. –

Committee No. 1122

Box no. 84

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 12.5 cm; W. 6.5 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This small fragment of relief shows the incomplete cartouche of Djedkare. Because of the size of the signs, we can assume that the cartouche once belonged to a vertical text naming a funerary estate. No traces of colour remain.

Cat. no. 153. Lower Part of an Estate
(pls.192–193)
Type of the document: Low relief
Material: Limestone
Excavation No. 154
Giza register No. –
Committee No. 1207
Box no. 85
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Giza Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 43.5 cm; W. 26.5 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 167, XXIX

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of a striding female personification of a funerary estate in two registers, separated by lines and a sky with five-pointed stars.

The upper register depicts (from left to right) one estate. The figure is partially destroyed, only remains of her left lower section have survived. She wears a long, tight-fitting dress and anklet(s). Her left hand is beside her body, holding a rope leash joined to the neck of a calf, whose head is missing. The back of the calf is most likely covered with a piece of sackcloth used for the protection.

Of the second figure, only the incomplete vertical text naming the funerary estate is still visible. The inscription reads: */// r ///* [*Ḏd-kȝ-Rˁ*] "[…r …Djedkare]".

Of the lower register, only the line of stars remains.

The fragment still bears traces of colour indicating that the skin of the personification was yellow and the dress and some of the inscription were green, while the sky was blue.

Cat. no. 154. Upper Parts of Estates

(pl.194)

Type of the document: Low relief

Material: Limestone

Excavation No. 285

Giza register No. –

Committee No. 2662

Box no. 110

Date of the Discovery: 1952

Current Location: Giza Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 21 cm; W. 33 cm

Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry

Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple

Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of striding female personifications of funerary estates (←).

The fragment depicts (from left to right) three estates. The first is completely lost, only a small part of a hemispherical basket survives in this scene.

The second figure is badly destroyed, only the upper part of her head and right arm remain. She wears a long wig and bracelet(s). Her right hand is raised to support a conical basket, which she carries on her head. She holds its front rim. The basket contains food offerings, such as several loaves of bread.

The third figure on this fragment has also been lost. Only small parts of her right arm remain. She carries a hemispherical basket on her head, supporting it with her right hand, which is holding the front rim.

Traces of colour indicate that the skin of the personifications was yellow and the bracelets and conical basket were green, while the wig of the second personification was black.

Discussion

One of the most essential challenges that the ancient Egyptian kings had to face during the Old Kingdom, and possibly earlier, was to ensure the flow of offerings to their pyramid

complexes, during their lifetimes and, most importantly, after their deaths. In addition, the kings had to guarantee the existence of the offerings to the cults of their retinue, and family (see for instance Verner 2014, 128–136; Vymazalová 2015).

The only way to guarantee this was to have sufficient numbers of royal funerary estates to supply the complexes with agricultural produce, livestock, or the products of workshops. The king had to establish, reuse, or donate the estates (Moreno García 2013-a), so that these estates might disburse their products to the royal tomb and the tombs of the royal entourage (Strudwick 2005, 190–191, 364–365). Thus, the funerary estates were the backbone of the Egyptian economic system in the Old Kingdom (Moreno García 1999, 209–284), together with other institutions of the state, such as the *pr šnᶜ*, *ḫnw*, *pr nśwt* (see for instance Verner 2014, 99–136; Papazian 2012; Andrássy 2008).

H. Jacquet-Gordon presented a detailed study of the funerary domains of the Old Kingdom in 1962. However, Moreno García (1999) also contributed to the subject and recently M. I. Khaled's PhD dissertation (2008-a) presented a large corpus of Sahure's funerary domains from newly discovered blocks from the king's causeway at Abusir. All these studies have enlarged our understanding of the economic distribution mechanisms of the Old Kingdom remarkably.

Funerary estates made their first appearances on ivory labels from Abydos (Dreyer 1998), together with the administrative titles of high officials dated to the Early Dynastic period (Lacau, Lauer 1959; Lacau, Lauer 1965; Engel 2013, 19–40). At the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty the royal funerary estates reached their final depicted form in the statue-cult temple of the Bent pyramid of Snofru at Dahshur. During his 1952 excavation, A. Fakhry found fragments of relief decoration on the lower part of the walls of the central hall of the temple, depicting procession of female figures who represent the royal estates from the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt (Fakhry 1961-a, 17–58).

Since its first iconographical appearance in the statue-cult temple of Snofru, the funerary estates listed in royal pyramid complexes were represented in the same form until the end of the Old Kingdom. They appear as female figures wearing long tripartite wigs and long tight-fitting dresses held up by shoulder straps. Each figure wears a broad collar consisting of several layers of beads, a tight choker necklace, bracelets, and anklets. Usually the females carry baskets on their heads. The baskets come in various shapes and contain food offerings of different types. In general, each personification of a funerary estate supports the basket by holding its front rim with one hand, while the other hand hangs straight down by her side holding another offering. Occasionally, she holds the basket with both hands (Khaled 2008-a,

94, 121; Labrousse, Mousa 2002, Doc. no. 99, fig. 126; Jéquier 1940, pl. 27–28; Mourad 2015, pls. 30b, 35a, 86; Harpur, Scremin 2008, 54, 56, 355). In addition to baskets on their heads, estates may carry flowers, vessels, living or dead birds, and sometimes ropes to which are tied small animals. In front of each figure a vertical inscription is regularly written, giving the name of each royal funerary estate. Every name, includes the name of the respective king. These funerary estates could be *niwt* or *ḥwt* domains.

Most certainly, the feminine gender of the two words *niwt* and *ḥwt* in the Egyptian language played an important role in the feminine iconography of the royal funerary estates, and funerary domains in general (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 26–28). While the estate-personifications were depicted in feminine form in the royal mortuary complexes since the time of Snofru until the end of the Old Kingdom, the situation was different in non-royal tombs, which date to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty. For instance, in the tomb of Iinefer at Dahshur, funerary estates were depicted as both male and female personifications (Alexanian 1999, 71–73, pls. 14–18). Such iconography was repeated on other non-royal monuments. However, the names, which were written in front of the male figures, still had feminine endings (*t*) (LD II, pl. 31a; Junker 1934, 173; Junker 1938, 38–39).

The tendency to present both male and female figures as personifications of funerary estates in non-royal tombs was slightly altered in the Fifth Dynasty, from this period on the female personifications of funerary estates were more frequent in the decoration of the offering chapels, appearing together with only two or three male personifications (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 27). It is generally accepted that by the end of the Fifth Dynasty the iconography of the female personifications for funerary estates dominated the theme (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 27). However, some recent discoveries dating to this period seem to show male, as well as female, personifications of estates even to the end of the Fifth Dynasty (for instance in the tomb of Rashepses, see, El-Tayeb 2014-a, 148–152, pl. 192–198).

As mentioned above, the feminine iconography of the funerary estates was most likely due to the feminine character of the two words, *niwt* and *ḥwt*, regardless of the actual name of the place itself. Therefore, all villages and cities should be considered feminine, which is usual in Semitic languages, especially in Arabic.

The fragments of relief decoration, which present the theme of the funerary estates and were collected from the mortuary temple of Djedkare, show the continuity of the motifs established at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty. The reconstruction of the scene based on the preserved fragments shows figures facing both right and left, which indicate that such scenes were depicted on more than one wall, perhaps two opposite each other. Such an arrangement is

known from the funerary temples of Sahure (Borchardt 1913, 105–111, pls. 26–29, 31) and Niuserre (Borchardt 1907, 78–79, pl. 53).

Djedkare's fragments also show that the scene of one wall included at least three registers, each measuring 55 cm in height. This makes the size of the registers in Djedkare's scene of the funerary estates slightly larger than similar scenes depicted in other Old Kingdom funerary temples, e.g. Sahure (Khaled 2011, 515). However, all the fragments under discussion show the same scale, except for two of them, Cat. nos. 153 and 154 (pls. 192–194), which seem to have been rendered on a larger scale than the rest. This may suggest that they come from a different place within the funerary temple.

Skies with five-pointed stars separated the individual registers, Cat. nos. 99, 100, 102, 104, 108, 109, 110, 119, 122, 127, 129, 130, 133, 138, 139, 142, 148, 153 (pls. 134, 135, 136-b, 139, 143–144, 145, 146, 157–158, 161, 165, 167–168, 169, 172, 176, 177–178, 182, 187, 192–193). One can tentatively say, due to the state of preservation of Old Kingdom royal reliefs, that the sky with five-pointed starts was first introduced to this type of scene by Djedkare. However, it was depicted on the alabaster altars of Sahure (Borchardt 1910, 48–51, pls. 51–54; Wartke 1977, 145–156), Niuserre (Borchardt 1907, 68–69, pls. 14–15), Djedkare (Megahed 2014-a, 56–62), and later in the Sixth Dynasty on the alabaster altar of Teti (Málek 1988, 23–34).

Some of the fragments, Cat. nos. 116, 139, 150, 151 (pls. 154, 177–178, 189, 190) were carved above a dado, proving that these fragments must have come from the bottom register. The dado is composed of two broad bands, 8.5 cm in thickness, divided by 2 cm wide lines. The fact that several fragments still bear colours, Cat. nos. 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 124, 125, 127, 128, 131, 132, 133, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 148, 151, 153, 154 (pls. 136-b, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143–144, 146, 149–150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 157–158, 195, 163-a, 163-b, 165, 166, 170, 171, 172, 176, 177–178, 179, 180–181, 182, 183, 185-a, 187, 190, 192–193, 194) suggests that the entire scenes were painted, as were other examples from the Old Kingdom, e.g. Sahure (Khaled 2008-a, 63) and Wenis (Labrousse, Moussa 2002, 97, Doc. no. 108, pl. XIX (a), 100, Doc. nos. 110, pl. XIX (b), 101, Doc. no. 111, pl. XIX (c), 103, Doc. no. 114, pl. XX (b)).

The iconographical style of Djedkare's procession of funerary estates follows the usual layout of this type of composition, depicting the female personifications of the funerary estates in several registers, walking, perhaps, towards the large enthroned or standing figure of the king (see e.g. Jéquier 1940, pls. 19–28), or inside of the funerary temple (see e.g. Borchardt 1913, pls. 28–31). One can observe some interesting features among the different depictions. For

instance, the crescent-shaped and hemispherical baskets always rest on a padded ring, while the conical-shaped baskets were placed directly on the estates' heads. The placement of the padded ring was already in use since the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty (Khaled 2008-b, 200, footnote 8). However, the situation was sometimes different in non-royal tombs (Myśliwiec et al. 2004, pl. XX and LXII e–f; Mourad 2015, pls. 30a, 31b, 85b), where we may note the use of the padded ring with the conical-shaped basket. The situation was different during the Sixth Dynasty, however, at least during the reign of Pepy I. In the relief decoration of the king's funerary complex at South Saqqara, the padded ring was depicted together with conical-shaped baskets.[9]

In addition, the names of the *ḥwwt* and *niwwt* funerary estates from Djedkare's mortuary temple possess some interesting details. It has been noted upon that estates of different kings sometimes had the same names (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 125–200; Khaled 2008-a). Some of the domains attested in Djedkare's mortuary temple have parallels among the estates of other kings, but with the other kings' cartouches. Such evidence can be found in both the royal pyramid complexes as well as in non-royal tombs. Among the fragments from Djedkare's mortuary temple under discussion, in five of these cases, Cat. nos. 102, 104, 111, 121, 149 (pls. 136-b, 139, 147–148, 160, 188), the domain of Djedkare is the earliest attested example.

Some of the king's funerary estates can be found depicted in non-royal tombs (Vymazalová 2015, 205–218, Khaled 2016, forthcoming), where they sometimes use the king's birth name, Izezi, instead of his throne name Djedkare. For instance, the estate, *Nfr-ḥswt* [*Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*] "Beautiful/perfect of favors is Djedkare" (Cat. no. 141), has a parallel in the tomb of Djedkare's vizier, Senedjemib Inti, at Giza (G 2370) as a *ḥwt* funerary estate with the name of *Ỉssi* (Brovarski 2001, 56 (11), pl. 46; LD II, pl. 76b). The incompletely preserved name of an estate that might be reconstructed as [*Mry*] *nb*(*t*) *P* [*ꜥnḫ*] *Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*, "The mistress of Pe [desires that] Djedkare [live]" (Cat. no. 102), has a parallel in the tomb of the vizier Merefnebef at Saqqara, where an estate *Mry-nb*(*t*)*-P-ꜥnḫ Ỉssi* , "The lady/mistress of Pe desires that Izezi live", is depicted (Myśliwiec et al. 2004, 136 (2), pl. XX). All the fragments found to date in Djedkare's funerary complex do not include the king's birth name (see *chapter IV.3.1* discussion, p. 100).

[9] This fact was also noticed by the author among the unpublished material from the pyramid complex of Pepy I kept in the storerooms of Saqqara.

Cat. no. 101 (pl. 136-a) depicts an inscription with a name of a *niwt* funerary estate, *grgt Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*. This name *grgt* was common among the royal and private funerary estates in the Old Kingdom.

It is important to point out here the difference between the three terms *ḥwt*, *niwt*, and *grgt*. The *ḥwt* was perhaps the most important and largest of the three institutions, it was a kind of a royal storage or administrative centre (Moreno-García 2013-b, 88). In addition, another type of *ḥwt* was known at least from the Early Dynastic, called *ḥwt-ꜥꜣt,* "great *ḥwt*". This term indicates that a *ḥwt-ꜥꜣt* might be larger than the normal *ḥwt* (Verner 2014, 131).

The term *niwt,* "settlement", was smaller than a *ḥwt*, and it was characterised by its agricultural nature. Perhaps a *ḥwt* estate was in charge of several *niwt*, and the products of them were collected in the *ḥwt* (Moreno-García 1999, 118–124). On the other hand, *niwt* represents one of the fundamental components of the ancient Egyptian economy, since it embodied an agricultural settlement that can be compared with the modern village, or the Arabic term *ezba* (Khaled 2008-a, 188).

The term *grgt,* "foundation", was connected also with *ḥwt* and *niwt*. However, the meaning of this term remains problematic. It also forms an agricultural unit, perhaps established by the Nile banks (Moreno-García 1996, 116–138, for more details on the three terms see Khaled 2008-a, 29–33).

It is not unique that both *ḥwt* and *niwt* funerary estates of one king would have the same name. This feature is also attested with other the royal funerary estates, for instance, those of Sahure (Khaled 2008-a, 130–132). Among the fragments from Djedkare's mortuary temple, we can find for instance both a *ḥwt* and a *niwt* estate called *nfr irt Ptḥ n Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ,* "Beautiful is what was created by Ptah for Djedkare" (Cat. nos. 105 and 126).

In some instances, both types of domains are attested with the same name, but not from the same source. Estates that are attested as one type of domain in the fragments from Djedkare's mortuary temple can be found as the other type of domain but with the same name (sometimes including Isesi instead of Djedkare) in non-royal tombs. Thus, for instance the *niwt* funerary estate called *mr Ḏḥwty ꜥnḫ Ḏd-kꜣ-Rꜥ*, "Thoth desires that Djedkare live" (Cat. nos. 118 and 127), is depicted twice in Mehu's tomb at Saqqara, once as a *niwt* funerary estate and another time as an *ḥwt* funerary estate (Altenmüller 1998, 125, 129, figs. 26b, 29b). Also, the above mentioned estate from Merefnebef's tomb at Saqqara *Mry-nb*(*t*)*-P-ꜥnḫ ʾIssi*, "The lady/mistress of Pe desires that Isesi live", is a *ḥwt*-estate, while the fragment from Djedkare's funerary temple shows a *niwt*-estate of the same name (Cat. no. 102).

Cat. no. 105 (pl.140) depicts traces of a nome, however, the name is preserved only partly and included a sign of a bull on a standard. This could have been a part of the names of the sixth, tenth, eleventh, or twelfth nomes of Lower Egypt (Helck 1974, 163–167, 175–182), but no Upper Egyptian nome contains such a sign.

Two fragments, Cat. nos. 153 and 154 (pls. 192–194), depict the funerary estates of Djedkare on a different scale. They are larger than the figures on all the other fragments. This difference in scale suggests that these two fragments must come from another scene of funerary estates, which was depicted in another place in the pyramid complex of the king.

Even though, there are no records of any archaeological investigation of the king's causeway, and the previous excavations are said to have been concentrated mainly in the funerary temple of the king (Megahed 2011-a, 618), we cannot rule out the possibility that blocks that once formed the upper part of the side walls of the causeway were moved and demolished in the mortuary temple in ancient or modern times, thus accounting for the differences in size.

IV.3.9 Queen's Titles

Cat. no. 155. Title of a Queen
(pls.195–196)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 287
Giza register No. –
Committee No. 2664
Box no. 110
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Giza Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 37.5 cm; W. 15 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: Moursi 1987, 185–193, fig. 12; Callender 2011, 191.

This relief fragment shows parts of an inscription representing titles of a queen, written in a vertical column (↓→). Only small remains of the titles have been preserved within the scene, reading: *wrt ḥts*, *wrt ḥst*, *nśwt* /// "Great one of the *ḥts*-scepter, greatly praised, the royal […]".

On the right side of the fragment is preserved one vertical line, which represents one of the two dividing lines. This fragment most likely comes from a lintel (Moursi 1987, 190).

Cat. no. 156. Epithet of a Queen?
(pl.197)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 761
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1692
Box no. 93
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom

Dimensions: H. 15.5 cm; W. 15 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of an inscription and a vertical line to the left of it (↓←). Only a few signs have been incompletely preserved, including the name of goddess Hathor and, underneath it, the remains of the word *mr*[*t*]. This inscription might be a part of an epithet "beloved of Hathor", or a name, possibly Merethathor? (see discussion, p. 263)

No such name is attested for a queen (or any other woman) in the Old Kingdom. Similarly constructed names are occasionally attested, including, for instance, Nyankh-Hathor from the Third Dynasty (Callender 2011, 57) or Meret-Nebty, the wife of King Sahure from the Fifth Dynasty (Callender 2011, 166–171).

Cat. no. 157. Title of a Queen
(pls.198–199)
Material: Limestone
Type of the document: Low relief
Excavation No. 914
Saqqara register No. –
Committee No. 1680
Box no. 93
Date of the Discovery: 1952
Current Location: Saqqara Storeroom
Dimensions: H. 38 cm; W. 26 cm
Discovered by: Ahmed Fakhry
Provenance: Djedkare Mortuary Temple
Bibliography: –

This fragment of relief decoration shows parts of an inscription, which possibly includes a queen's titles (↓←). The fragment depicts two vertical columns of inscriptions separated by a vertical line.

The right column is better preserved than the left one, it probably represents an

inscription which reads: [*m33t*] *Ḥr Sṯ* "She who sees Horus and Seth", i.e. the title of a queen. The left column contains only the small remains of an inscription representing the word *m33* "overseeing/seeing".

Discussion

The fragments under discussion were found in the king's pyramid complex, as indicated on the boxes in which these fragments were placed. Other fragments referring to royal women that were previously published by M. Moursi (1987, 189–190, fig. 3 and 7), are not included in this study because they come from the so-called queen's pyramid complex, which will be published separately.

Nevertheless, among the fragments published by M. Moursi as found in the anonymous queen's complex (Moursi 1987, figs. 3 and 12), at least one fragment, Cat. no. 155, seems to have been found in the king's funerary temple. This fragment was found by the author during his documentation work in the box no. 110 at Giza storeroom. This box came from "the king's temple", according to what was written in Arabic handwriting on its cover.

The fragments from Djedkare's pyramid complex that refer to queens are not numerous. This is not unusual because we know only a few incomplete scenes from the other kings' funerary complexes of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties that depict figures or names of the royal wives and mothers of kings. For instance, among the scenes which were uncovered in the funerary complex of King Weserkaf, the first king of the Fifth Dynasty, there was no mention of the name of his wife, Queen Neferhetepes. The queen's name was depicted only on one relief fragment presenting the queen's funerary domains (Labrousse, Lauer 2000, 157–159, fig. 365a–b, Doc. no. 272).

However, the name of Neferhetepes, together with her figure, is depicted in the funerary complex of her son, King Sahure. Two blocks on the south wall of the king's causeway show the royal mother, Neferhetepes, together with Sahure's royal wife, Meretnebty, engaged in a royal ceremony (El Awady 2009, 240–244; Callender 2011, 158–165). Moreover, the name and figure of Sahure's wife, Meretnebty, were depicted in the funerary temple and the causeway (Borchardt 1913, 57–58, 116–118, pl. 48/2; El Awady 2009, 244–246, Callender 2011, 165–171).

The wife of Neferirkare, Khentkaus II, has a pyramid complex in Abusir next to her husband's monument (Verner 1995; Callender 2011, 171–179) and she is also attested in his funerary complex. Her name was carved on a block from Neferirkare's funerary temple, which

was found in the village of Abusir (Posener–Kriéger 1976, 531, fig. 34; Verner 2014, 50, fig. 8; Verner et al. 2006, pl. xxiii, fig. 0.5). Another piece of evidence for the name of Khentkaus II found in the mortuary temple of her husband Neferirkare at Abusir is a diorite plate with the name of the queen (Borchardt 1909, 68, fig. 73). In addition, the name of Khentkaus was found on papyri from the archive of Neferirkare's funerary temple, for instance, in the tables of duties (Posener-Kriéger 1976, tableau II, also Vymazalová 2015, 154–157).

Evidence of another queen who held the name of Khentkaus was recently discovered in Abusir and probably dates to the time of Neferefre. A large tomb (AC 30) was found in Abusir to the south of the mortuary temple of Neferefre (Verner 2014, 58; Krejčí 2016, 22–39). This tomb contained builders' inscriptions mentioning the name Khentkaus and her titles of "King's wife" and "King's mother" (Verner 2014, 58; Krejčí, Arias Kytnarová, Odler 2015, 33–35; Krejčí 2016, 32–37). Even though no records have survived concerning Neferefre's wife, it has been suggested that these inscriptions refer to Khentkaus III who might have been the wife of Neferefre and the mother of one of his successors, possibly Shepseskare or Menkauhor (Verner 2014, 59; Krejčí, Arias Kytnarová and Odler 2015, 40; Krejčí 2016, 38). However, it should be also taken into consideration that the blocks with these builders' inscriptions might have referred to Queen Khentkaus II, whose tomb is located very nearby and who held the same titles. The use of leftover blocks of unfinished monuments is well-known for the Abusir cemetery. For instance, it has been documented for the sun temple of Sahure, where Borchardt found blocks with builder inscriptions bearing the name of Sahure's sun temple *Śḫt-Rᶜ* in the core of the south wing of the enclosure wall of Niuserre's pyramid (Borchardt, 2009, 54–55; Verner 2014, 208), or finished monuments like the pyramid of Weserkaf, which is used in the tomb complex Lepsius no. 25 (Verner 2008-b, 220, 222, 224, nos. 23, 34, 44).

The only wife known so far for Niuserre is Queen Reputnebu (Callender 2011, 182–184), whose name was inscribed on a small fragment of a statue found in the valley temple of King Niuserre. The statue bears the inscription "King's wife Reputnebu" (Borchardt 1907, 25; Vachala 1979). Elsewhere in the temple, L. Borchardt found the queen's title written on another fragment (Borchardt 1907, 109, fig. 88). Nevertheless, remains of the queen's name and title were found among the fragments of relief decoration from the funerary temple of Khentkaus II at Abusir (Verner 1995, 85, s. no. 10; Verner 2014, 64).

After the reign of Niuserre we cannot find neither names nor scenes featuring royal mothers or wives in the funerary complexes of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty. It is from other contemporary sources, not the kings' monuments, that we are provided with evidence of the names of Wenis's queens (Saad 1940, 683–685; Bieger, Munro, Brinks 1974, 35–54; Munro

1993, 20, 26–123; Jánosi 1995-b, 372–378; Jánosi 1996, 37–39, 138–139; Callender 2011, 195–206). The lack of the names and depictions of the royal women in the kings' funerary complexes is also the rule for the Sixth Dynasty, with exception of the queen Ankhenes-pepy I, the wife of the Pepy I (Callender 2011, 249–258). One fragment was found in the funerary temple of Pepy I at South Saqqara. It shows the figure, name, and title of the queen (Labrousse 2010, 314, fig. 7).

It is therefore not surprising that very few fragments bearing the titles of a queen/queens were uncovered from the pyramid complex of King Djedkare at South Saqqara. Two of the fragments under discussion here (Cat. nos. 155 and 157) depict the titles of the queen, which were known before and were held by different royal females. They are attested for both the mothers and the wives of kings, and thus it cannot be specified whether the reliefs refer to Djedkare's mother or his spouse, or both.

The title on Cat. no. 155 (pls. 195–196) was first read by M. Moursi (1987, 190, fig. 12) as *wrt ḥts*, *wrt ḥst*, *nśwt* "Great one of the *ḥts*-scepter, greatly praised, the royal […]". However, this reading has been rejected by V. G. Callender (2011, 191). V. G. Callender read the title as *wrt ḥts*, *wrt ḥst*, *tjst* [*Ḥr*] "Great one of the *ḥts*-scepter, greatly praised, she who sits with Horus".

However, we can propose that the first reading given by M. Moursi was correct, the title can be read as *wrt ḥts*, *wrt ḥst*, [*ḥmt*] *nśwt* "Great one of the *ḥts*-scepter, greatly praised, the royal [wife]". It is obvious that what remains on the bottom right edge of the fragment is the top part of the *św* plant (Gardiner Sign List M 23), and the upper part of the sign fits with the left direction of the inscriptions. If V. G. Callender's identification of the title was correct, we would expect Horus to precede the *tjst* (Gardiner Sign List U 33), while on this fragment the supposed *tjst* is depicted first.

Another fragment of relief decoration (Cat. no. 157) preserves parts of a queen's title [*m33t*] *Ḥr Stẖ* "She who sees Horus and Seth". This title is common for females, including royal mothers and wives. In our case here the depiction of the word *m33* in the left column of this fragment is unusual for female titles in the Old Kingdom. One might suppose that the word "overseeing" or "seeing" could be a part of the inscription that preceded the title of the queen and formed a caption to the scene. Most likely, the queen is following the king who is overseeing something. It is worth mentioning the queens Neferhetepes and Meretnebty appear in a scene with King Sahure overseeing the arrival of the Punt expedition and the delivered goods, with caption carved in front of the three figures (El Awady 2009, pl. 5). The arrangement of the inscriptions in Cat. no. 157, however, seems to indicate that in this case the *m33* referred to the activity of the queen heself. The title [*m33t*] *Ḥr Stẖ* of the queen in the right column is

written in the same arrangement as the title of queen Meresankh IV on her false door (Mariette 1885, 183).

The last piece of evidence we can discuss here is Cat. no. 156 (pl. 197). It shows the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription, which mentions *mrt Ḥwt-ḥr*, possibly another reference to the *mrt* sanctuary of Hathor. However, other interpretations are possible as well. This fragment might have contained a name of a queen, Meret-Hathor? This name is composed of two elements: *mrt* "beloved", and Hathor. But this goddess's name occurs rarely in royal female names known from the Old Kingdom. For the entire Old Kingdom, only queen Nyankh-Hathor from the Third Dynasty includes the name (Callender 2011, 57). The name Meret-Hathor has never been attested in the Old Kingdom for females of royal families. Such a name was, however, found in the papyrus archive from the temple of Neferirkare (Posener-Kriéger, De Cenival 1968, pl. XV, A), and it was most likely held by a male official.

Another suggestion for reading this inscription is an epithet of a queen: *mrt Ḥwt-ḥr* "beloved of Hathor". However, this epithet, thus far, is not attested in the Old Kingdom, where the royal women were designated as beloved of "Neith, the Two Ladies (Nebty), Khnum, all the gods, Djehuty and Anubis".

It is evident that other queens from the Old Kingdom held the same titles as Djedkare's queen, for instance, the title *wrt ḥts* was held for the first time by queen Sesher in the First Dynasty (Callender 2011, 26–27). Later, together with the title *mꜣꜣt Ḥr Stḫ*, first held by queen Shesemet in the First Dynasty (Callender 2011, 21–26), the title of *wrt ḥts* became one of the most commonly used titles for queens during the entire Old Kingdom (Callender 2011, 57). While the title *wrt ḥst* was first held by Meretites I of the Fourth Dynasty (Callender 2011, 66–79), and the title *ḥmt nswt* was first held by queen Nymaat-Hap I, wife of King Khasekhemwy and mother of King Djoser (Callender 2011, 49–52).

Some fragments with inscriptions related to Djedkare's queen, show alteration to her name or title. This is attested on two fragments that were found in the anonymous queen's complex, to the northeast adjacent to Djedkare's pyramid complex in South Saqqara (Moursi 1987, 189–190, fig. 3 and 7). These fragments raise a question: Could these alterations have occurred because of an early death of the main queen during the lifetime of Djedkare, when another woman took her place?

Chapter V
Conclusions

The previous chapters of this thesis, dedicated to the reign of King Djedkare, present our historical knowledge about the king, his family, and his reign (*Chapter II*). In addition to this, the principal focus of the study has been the king's pyramid complex (*Chapter III*) and its decorative program (*Chapter IV*).

The reign of King Djedkare was one the longest of the Fifth Dynasty, however, concrete evidence of his reign and parentage is rather scarce. This is partly due to insufficient exploration, not only of his royal pyramid complex and its surroundings, but also the tombs of many of his high officials. In recent years, several studies focusing on King Djedkare and his era have been undertaken (see above *Chapter II.1*), which will hopefully shed more light on various aspects of the king's reign.

King Djedkare ruled long enough to affect specific social and economic developments, which started at an earlier stage of the Old Kingdom and culminated in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty. As shown in *Chapter II*, the ongoing process of delineating power and loyalty between the king and his high officials after the inclusion of the non-royal individuals in the highest levels of the state administration at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, there was a strong impact on the society and the well-being of the non-royal social classes at that period (see esp. Baer 1961; Strudwick 1985; Bárta 2005; Bárta 2013-b; Vymazalová forthcoming; etc.). This can be witnessed in the rising number and increasing size of their tombs and in their access to luxurious tomb equipment. Even the form and content of the royal biographies, in which a narrative form prevailed, was found in tombs of officials where the central figure was changed from the king to the tomb-owner at the end of the Fifth Dynasty (Kloth 2002, 243–244; Vymazalová forthcoming). The highest offices were held by members of a few powerful non-royal families. In Djedkare's reign (and the following period), this is well attested, for instance in the case of viziers. In some cases, a son of a vizier also became vizier, as with Ptahhotep I and his son Akhtihotep II, Senedjemib Inti and his son Mehi, or the members of the Seshemnefer family (see *Chapter II.2.1.2*). The transfer of the vizier's office among the attested holders was not necessarily from father to son directly, but members of several powerful families in the office. This can on the one hand be related to the increasing influence of these

families (e.g. Bárta 2013-a; Bárta 2013-b), and on the other hand it can very well be associated with the system of education in the Old Kingdom where sons were taught by their fathers, and often learned the routine in their fathers' offices (Vymazalová, Coppens 2011-a, 18–19). The same idea is also reflected in Ptahhotep's Maxims (5,5), where the king asks the old vizier to prepare his son to take over the office (for translation, see e.g. Žába 1956, 18–19, 71 nos. 36–41; Simpson 2003, 131; Lichtheim 2006, 63). Officials taught their sons the merits and gave them the experience to become trustworthy officials. This provided the king with another trustable and capable man in office.[10] It is not a coincidence that Ptahhotep's Maxims date to Djedkare's time.

The social changes came hand in hand with innovations in religious beliefs, when the god Osiris started to appear in the offering formulas of non-royal officials in the mid-Fifth Dynasty (Barta 1968, 287; Griffiths 1980; Mathieu 2010; Bárta 2013-a, 268). His figure is attested for the first time in Djedkare's reliefs (see *Chapter IV.3.7*, Cat. no. 56, pls. 84–86). Shifts in beliefs associated with royal funerary cults occurred as well, as the so-called sun temples of the Fifth Dynasty were not built after Djedkare's time, and the Pyramid Texts appeared in the king's burial apartments under his successor, Wenis. Djedkare's rule can thus be considered a transformative period during which the same concepts received a new form, and these changes were undoubtedly reflected in one way or another in the monuments of Djedkare himself.

The pyramid complex of Djedkare represents an important point in the development of royal monumental architecture. It included the first complete so-called *serdab* in the substructure of the pyramid, and the so-called massifs or "proto-pylons" are built in the eastern part of the funerary temple (see *Chapter III*). The pyramid complex of the king is connected with a smaller complex for a queen, who might have been his wife, or, perhaps more likely, his mother. This connection indicates a functional (cultic and economic) closeness of the two pyramid complexes, which reflects an important role for this anonymous queen during the king's reign. Similarly, such a connection existed between the earlier Fifth Dynasty pyramid complex of Neferirkare and the monument (a mastaba later turned into a pyramid complex) of his spouse Khentkaus II in Abusir (Verner 1995; 2014; Vymazalová 2015).

Even though Djedkare's pyramid complex has been explored since the 1940s, its architecture is not very well known and the existing plans of the pyramid complex (Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1962, pl. 6; Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, pl. 16) are not accurate. Some

[10] I would like to thank H. Vymazalová for discussion on this subject.

parts of the funerary temple have not yet been documented, while other parts need to be corrected in the plans (*Chapter III.3*). For instance, the shape and size of the square antechamber, the passage along the east side of the southern massive, and one of the storerooms on the eastern face of the pyramid have been documented by the latest Egyptian archaeological mission headed by the author, and the plan of the pyramid complex needs to be corrected with the help of this new documentation. In addition, documentation of the burial apartments of Djedkare's pyramid was undertaken, which brought slight corrections to the plan of the pyramid's substructure (Megahed, Vymazalová, Brůna, Marek 2016).

The main part of the present thesis focuses on fragments of relief decoration, which were uncovered by the previous Egyptian missions in the pyramid complex of Djedkare, directed by A. Hussein in 1945 and by A. Fakhry in 1952. As the number of the uncovered fragments counts in thousands, the present work presents some preliminary results of a long-term study of the relief decoration from Djedkare's pyramid complex. Several hundreds of relief fragments have been selected for this preliminary study, in order to provide a basic overview of themes of the decorative program. Even this preliminary result allows us to point out some noticeable features of the decoration of Djedkare's pyramid complex.

The preserved material is very fragmentary. Identification of the scenes and motifs on the relief fragments from Djedkare's pyramid complex were naturally compared to the published scenes from other Old Kingdom pyramid complexes. As was stressed in the introduction, very little has survived from the decoration of these monuments, and not all the material has been published, which makes this task even more difficult (*Chapter I.3*). Middle Kingdom examples, as well as some New Kingdom scenes, were of great help in identifying of some of the scenes on the preserved fragments.

Most of the attested scenes from Djedkare's pyramid complex are well known from other royal monuments of the Old Kingdom, and include the king in activities with gods, royal triumphs, processions of gods and slaughtering scenes, or processions of personifications of funerary estates. These scenes show continuity of style and themes, which had developed since the earliest historical times of the pharaonic state. They formed a pattern very closely associated with the ancient Egyptian royal ideology.

In addition, some fragments show the remains of several scenes of the king during the *sed*-festival celebrations. This motif occurs in pyramid complexes of other Old Kingdom kings, however, it also was one of the main subjects depicted in the Fifth Dynasty sun temple of Niuserre. Since Djedkare did not build such a temple, it is possible that he included the *sed*-festival scenes in his pyramid complex, which were shown also in other pyramid complexes of

the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, but in more detail in the sun temple of his predecessor. However, obscure the system of *sed*-festival celebrations in the Old Kingdom seems to be, Djedkare ruled long enough to have celebrated his *sed*-festival and this event is even attested in texts from tombs of his officials (e.g. king's letter in Senedjemib Inti's tomb).

Besides these well-known themes, details of other scenes have been attested in earlier Old Kingdom monuments that were present in Djedkare's funerary complex. For instance, scenes of royal triumph showing the king in form of a griffin have been known from other monuments (e.g. Sahure's and Niuserre's pyramid complexes). However, one fragment from Djedkare's funerary temple (Cat. no. 45) shows an open palm of an enemy, which has its only Old Kingdom parallel from the time of Pepy II. Another example is a fragment showing the king walking with (and perhaps embracing) a deity and wearing a "*Königsjacke*" (Cat no. 19). Even though this type of dress is known for other Old Kingdom kings as well (Wenis, Teti and Pepy II), this is the only attested scene in the Old Kingdom of this particular composition where the king wears it.

Besides these interesting details, one theme shown on Djedkare's relief fragments has not been attested in any other Old Kingdom monument until now. It is a fragment of a scene of circumcision, which most likely comes from a theme of a birth-legend of the divine king, a subject well-known from New Kingdom temples (see esp. Brunner 1964; Megahed, Vymazalová 2011; Megahed, Vymazalová 2015). The fragments under discussion, however, prove that the previously proposed hypothesis about a much earlier date of this theme (Oppenheim 2011, 188) was correct. Due to the insufficient exploration and partial preservation of the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes (see *Chapter I.3*) we cannot exclude that the motif of the birth-legend was included in other royal monuments of that time. This theme might have been a part of the decoration of the pyramid complexes and/or of the Fifth Dynasty sun temples, where the king was a member of the divine triad together with Re and Hathor (Helck 1984, 67–72; Voss 2004, 162–164; Janák, Coppens, Vymazalová 2011).

Discussing the individual scenes, motifs, and themes of Djedkare's relief fragments, it was the principal aim of the author to identify the original locations of the themes within the funerary temple of the king, and to associate individual scenes with specific rooms. Because the place of discovery of the individual fragments is unknown (see *Chapter I.1*), the meaning/function of the themes themselves is the only indication for the identification of the respective locations. This task can only be partly fulfilled at this point of the work (as many more fragments still need to be analyzed). It is worth mentioning, however, that at least four scenes of the king being given life by gods are attested on the preserved fragments from

Djedkare's pyramid complex (see *Chapter IV.3.5*). These scenes were obviously carved on lintels above the entrances leading from one room of the temple to another (see also Megahed forthcoming).

It seems that some areas in the temple might have been undecorated. This seems to be true the case of the open courtyard, where the relief decoration might have been at least partly replaced by statuary, as indicated by the fragments of limestone statues of prisoners found in Djedkare's pyramid complex (Megahed 2016-b). A parallel for these sculptures is known from the later pyramid complex of King Pepy II, whose open courtyard had no relief decoration, and statues of prisoners were found there as well (Jéquier 1940, 23–24, 27–29; Leclant, Lauer 1969, 55–62; Hill 1999-a; Hill 1999-b). Other, earlier examples of the use of prisoner statues exist, namely in the pyramid complexes of Neferefre in Abusir (Verner 1985-a, 145–152; Benešovská 2006: 407–410) and others. In this case of Neferefre, however, the lack of relief decoration and inclusion of prisoners' statuettes was due to the early death of the king, whose pyramid complex was finished in mud-brick by his successor (Verner et al. 2006). On the other hand, in the pyramid complexes of Djedkare and Pepy II, the appearance of the statues in the open courtyard was intentional.

The present thesis does not aim to provide a complete overview of all the scenes and motifs, which have survived on the relief fragments from Djedkare's pyramid complex. Instead, the decision was made to concentrate on scenes, which are closely connected to the king himself, his interactions with the gods and to scenes associated with his funerary cult. On the other hand, scenes showing officials with sticks in their hands bending in front of the king, scenes showing a desert hunt, offering scenes, scenes referring to foreign cities and numerous fragments with stars and *ḫkrw*-decoration have not been included in this thesis. Hundreds of relief fragments were also found during the recent archaeological explorations in the pyramid complex, and more are expected to appear in the future seasons as well.

The many fragments from Djedkare's pyramid complex, which will still be analyzed in the future, are expected to reveal more topics of discussion that will be included in the final publication. It is likely that some more unique features or even some more unique scenes will be identified on the fragments, which will help us better understand the relief decoration of the Old Kingdom royal monuments. Besides the relief fragments, other finds are waiting to be studied, including the statues and architectural features (e.g. Megahed 2016-b). The detailed analysis of all the preserved fragments and the related finds will form the basis of the reconstruction of the relief decoration of the different rooms of Djedkare's pyramid complex, which is the main aim of the future publications.

During the study of Djedkare's relief decoration it became clear that some detailed smaller subjects deserve a closer look, which would help the identification of different scenes and enhance our understanding of their meanings. For instance, a detailed study on the royal costumes in the Old Kingdom with its relation to the nature of the scene would be of great help. Such a study can answer many questions, for example, why is the king adorned with a particular crown or dress in this or that scene? Is there a relation between the king's garment and his actions?

The present thesis shows the historical potential of the documented data and finds related to the funerary monument of King Djedkare. Its architecture as well as relief decoration are still poorly understood and will require further, more detailed studies in the future. This is an arduous, time-consuming task, requiring several seasons of archaeological work and documentation, and, of course, financing over many years. However, it is already evident that this study on the reliefs of Djedkare's pyramid complex contributes to our understanding of this monument and the history of that period. This thesis is a first step to provide scholars with new facts.

List of Abbreviations

ÄgAbh	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen(Wiesbaden).*
ÄAT	*Ägypten und Altes Testament (Wiesbaden).*
AegHelv	*Aegyptiaca Helvetica (Bâle, Genève).*
ÄF	*Ägyptologische Forschungen (Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York).*
ÄgLev	*Ägypten und Levante. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachgebiete (Vienna).*
Anthropologie	*International Journal of Human Diversity and Evolution (Brno).*
AntWelt	*Antike Welt. Zeitschr. für Archäol. und Kulturgesch. (Zurich, Mayence).*
ArchVer	*Archäologische Veröffentlichungen. Deutsch. archäol. Inst., Abt. Kairo (Berlin, Mayence).*
ArOr	*Archiv orientální. Quart. Journ. of African and Asian Stud. Inst. orient. de Prague (Prague).*
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (Cairo).*
BÄBA	*Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde (Cairo, Wiesbaden).*
BACE	*Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology. Macquarie Univ. (Sydney).*
BeitrÄg	*Beiträge zur Ägyptologie. Inst. für Afrikan. und Ägyptol. der Univ. Wien (Vienna).*
BIE	*Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien, puis Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte (Cairo).*
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Cairo).*
BMFA	*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, Mass.).*
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie (Paris).*
CASAE	*Cahiers. Suppl. aux ASAE (Cairo).*
CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris).*
CRAL	*Compte rendu de l'Académie lyonnaise de recherche archéologique (Lyon).*
eDAI-F	*e-Forschungsberichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Berlin).*
EA	*Egyptian Antiquities*
ENiM	*Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne (Montpellier).*
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen (Göttingen).*
GOF	*Göttinger Orientforschungen (Wiesbaden).*

HÄB	*Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim).*
Isis	*Isis. Internat. Rev. devoted to the Hist. of Sc. and its Cult. Influences (Washington, D.C.).*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Egypt Explor. Soc. (London).*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston, New York).*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Dept. of Near Eastern Lang. and Civilis., univ. de Chicago (Chicago, Ill.).*
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie (Wiesbaden).*
LD	*Lepsius (K.R.), Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, 1849–1859 (Berlin).*
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo (Wiesbaden, Mayence).*
MIFAO	*Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Cairo).*
Mon.Piot	*Monuments et mémoires. Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettr., Fond. Piot (Paris).*
NGWG	*Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.- hist. Kl., Fachgruppe I: Altertumswiss. (Göttingen).*
OLA	*Orientalia lovaniensia analecta. Dép. d'étud. orient., univ. cathol. (Louvain).*
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Berlin).*
Or	*Orientalia. Comment. periodici Pontif. Inst. biblici (Rome).*
PES	*Prague Egyptological Studies / Pražské egyptologické studie (Prague).*
RdE	*Revue d'égyptologie. Soc. franç. d'égyptol. (Paris, Louvain).*
RecTrav	*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris).*
SAK	*Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur (Hamburg).*
SAOC	*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations (Chicago).*
SDAIK	*Sonderschrift des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (Mayence).*
Sokar	*Sokar. Die Welt der Pyramiden (Berlin).*
Sphinx	*Sphinx. Rev. crit. embrassant le domaine entier de l'égyptol. (Uppsala).*
VarAeg	*Varia aegyptiaca (San Antonio, Tex.)*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Verb. der wissenschaftl, Gesellsch. Österreichs (Vienna).*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde. (Leipzig, Berlin).*

Bibliography

Adamson, P. B.

1985 'Some rituals associated with parturition in antiquity', *Folklore* 96/2: 176–183.

Al-Baghdadi, A. L.

1965 *Kitab al-fiadah wa' L-I'tibar,* translated by Zand, K. H., John, A., Videan, I. E. in: The Eastern Key, London, Allen and Unwin.

Alexanian, N.

1998 'Die Reliefdekoration des Chasechemui aus dem sogenannten fort in Hierakonpolis', in Grimal, N. (ed.), *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire*, BdÉ 120, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1–21.

1999 *Dahschur II, Das grab des Prinzen Netier-aperef Die MastabaII/1 in Dahschur*, Mainz am Rhein: Zabern.

2013 'Zu zwei Relieffragmenten vom Taltempel der Knickpyramide in Dahschur', *Études et Travaux* 26: 31–42.

2014-a 'Alte Funde – neu entdeckt: Relieffragmente aus dem ältesten dekorierten Pyramidentempel Ägyptens', in *Archäologie in Ägypten: Magazin des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 2: 10–15.

2014-b 'Dahschur, Ägypten: die Arbeiten der Jahre 2012 und 2013', *eDAI-F* 2014/1: 15–19.

2015 'Die Reliefs aus dem Taltempel der Knickpyramide in Dahschur und andere Funde aus den Grabungen Ahmed Fakhrys', *eDAI-F* 2015/1: 27–30.

Alexanian, N., Bebermeier, W., Blaschta, D., Ramisch, A., Schütt, B., Seidlmayer, S. J.

2015 'The Necropolis of Dahshur: Seventh excavation report autumn 2009 and spring 2010', *ASAE* 86: 51–65.

Alexanian, N., Blaschta, D., Kahlbacher, A., Nerlich, A., Seidlmayer, S. J.

2015 'The Necropolis of Dahshur: Eighth excavation report autumn 2010 and spring 2011', *ASAE* 86: 67–79.

Alexanian, N., Arnold, F., Blaschta, D., Pinke, J., Seidlmayer, S. J.

2015 'The Necropolis of Dahshur: Ninth excavation report autumn 2011 and spring 2012', *ASAE* 86: 81–89.

Alexanian, N., Bebermeier, W., Blaschta, D.

2012 'Untersuchungen am unteren Aufweg der Knickpyramide in Dahschur', *MDAIK* 68: 1–30.

Allam, S.

1963 *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Rieches)*, MÄS 4, Berlin: B. Hessling.

Allan, J. P.

1994 'Reading a Pyramid', in Berger, C., Clerc, G., Grimal, N. (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant I. Ètudes Pharaoniques*, BdÉ 106/4, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 5–28.

2001 *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Altenmüller, H.

1972 *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, ÄgAbh 24, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

1974 'Zur Vergöttlichung des Unas im Alten Reich', *SAK* 1: 1–18

1998 *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*, ArchVer 42, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

2008 'Family, ancestor cult and some observations on the chronology of the late Fifth dynasty', in Vymazalová, H., Bárta, M. (eds.), *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt (The Third Millenium B.C.)*, Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 144–161.

2010 'Die Erzählungen des Papyrus Westcar. Geschichte am Hof des Königs Cheops und die Prophezeiung der Geburt der Könige der frühen 5. Dynastie als Söhne des Sonnengottes', in Brinkmann, V. (ed.), *Sahure. Tod und Leben eines grossen Pharao*, Frankfurt am Mainz: Liebighaus Skulpturensammlung, 265–273.

2013 'Anubis mit der Scheibe im Mythos von Geburt des Gottkönigs', *SAK* 42: 15–35.

Alvarez, L. W., Anderson, J. A., El Bedwei, F., Burkhard, J., Fakhry, A., Girgis, A., Goneid, A., Hassan, F., Iverson, D., Lynch, G., Miligy, Z., Moussa, A. H., Sharkawi, M., Yazolino, L.

2008 'Search for Hidden Chambers in the Pyramids', *Science* 167: 832–839.

Andrássy, P.

2008 *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Staat des Alten Reiches und seine Institutionen*, IBAES XI, Berlin/London: Golden House Publications.

Arnold, Di.

1977 'Rituale und Pyramidentemple', *MDAIK* 33: 1–14.

1996 *Die Tempel Ägyptens. Götterwohnungen, Baudenkmäler, Kultstätten*, Augsburg: Bechtermünz Verlag.

1997 'Royal cult complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms', in Shafer, B. E. (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 31–85.

1999 'Cast of an Architrave of King Khafre', in Arnold, Do., Roehrig, C. H., Ziegler, Ch. (eds.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 263–264.

Arnold, Do.

1999-a 'Royal Reliefs', in Arnold, Do., Roehrig, C. H., Ziegler, Ch. (eds.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 83–101.

1999-b 'Man with a Sunshade', in Arnold, Do., Roehrig, C. H., Ziegler, Ch. (eds.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 224.

1999-c 'Woodcutter among Trees', in Arnold, Do., Roehrig, C. H., Ziegler, Ch. (eds.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 224–225.

1999-d 'Head of a Female Personification of an Estate', in Arnold, Do., Roehrig, C. H., Ziegler, Ch. (eds.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 226–227.

1999-e 'Billy Goat', in Arnold, Do., Roehrig, C. H., Ziegler, Ch. (eds.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 227–228.

1999-f 'Soldiers Running with a Rope', in Arnold, Do., Roehrig, C. H., Ziegler, Ch. (eds.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 228–229.

1999-g 'Group of Archers', in Arnold, Do., Roehrig, C. H., Ziegler, Ch. (eds.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 265–267.

Badawy, A.

1978 *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of 'Ankhm'ahor at Saqqara*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Baer, K.

1960 *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, the Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*, Chicago: University of Chocago Press.

Bagnato, D.

2006 *The Westcar Papyrus. A Transliteration, Translation and Language Analysis*, Wien: Edition Atelier.

Bailey, E.

1996 ‘Circumcision in ancient Egypt’, *BACE* 7: 15–28.

Baines, J.

1999 ‘Prehistories of literature: performance, fiction, myth’, in Moers, G. (ed.), *Definitely: Egyptian Literature. Proceedings of the Symposium ‘Ancient Egyptian Literature – History and Forms’, Los Angeles, March 24–26, 1995*, LingAeg SM 2, Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 17–41.

2007 ‘Travel in Third and Second Millennium Egypt’, in Adams, C., Roy, J. (eds.), *Travel, Geography and Culture in Ancient Greece, Egypt and the Near East*, *Leicester Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society*, Oxford: Oxbow, 5–30.

Baines, J., Parkinson, R. B.

1997 ‘An Old Kingdom record of an oracle? Sinai Inscription 13’, van Dijk, J. (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, Groningen: STYX Publications, 9–27.

Barguet, P.

1951 ‘Un groupe d’enseignes en rapport avec les noms du roi’, *RdE* 8: 9–19.

Barsanti, A.

1901 ‘Ouverture de la pyramide de Zaouiét el-Aryan’, *ASAE* 2: 92–94.

1902 ‘Découverte du puits d’Ouazhorou a Sakkarah’, *ASAE* 3: 209–212.

Bárta, M.

2005 ‘Architectural Innovations in the Development of the Non-Royal Tomb During the Reign of Nyuserra’, in Jánosi, P. (ed.), *Structure and Significance*. *Thoughts on Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 33, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 105–129.

2010 *Swimmers in The Sand*, Prague: Dryada.

2013-a ‘Egyptian Kingship during the Old Kingdom’, in Hill, J. A., Jones, Ph., Morales, A. J. (eds.), *Experiencing Power, Generating Authority, Cosmos, Politics, and the Ideology of Kingship in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 257–283.

2013-b ‘Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers: Executive Power in the Third Millennium B.C.’, in Moreno García, J. C. (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, HdO 104, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 153–175.

2014 ‘Prehistoric mind in context. An essay on possible roots of Ancient Egyptian civilisation’, in Kristiansen, K., Šmejda, L., Turek, J. (eds.), *Paradigm Found: Archaeological Theory*

– *Present, Past and Future. Essays in Honour of Evžen Neustupný*, Oxford: Oxbow, 188–201.

2015-a 'The oldest mythological run in Egyptian Western Desert? On the possible origins of the sed feast in Ancient Egypt', in Sázelová, S., Novák, M., Mizerová, A. (eds.), *Forgotten Times and Spaces: New Perspectives in Paleoanthropological, Paleoetnological and Archeological Studies*, Brno: Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences; Masaryk University, 487–493.

2016 'Abusir paradigm' and the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty', in Hein, I., Billing, N., Meyer-Dietrich, E., (eds.), *The Pyramids Between Life and Death. Proceedings of the Workshop Held at Uppsala University Uppsala, May 31st to June 1st, 2012*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, BOREAS. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 36, 51–74.

Bárta, M., Dulíková, V.

2015 'Divine and Terestrial: Power Rhetorics in Ancient Egypt (Case of Nyuserra)', in Coppens, F., Janák, J., Vymazalová, H. (eds.), *7. Symposium zur Königsideologie, Royal versus Divine Authority. Acquisition, Legitimization and Renewal of Power, Prague, June 26–28, 2013*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 31–47.

Bárta, M., Vymazalová, H., Dulíková, V., Arias, K., Megahed, M., Varadzin, L.

2014 'Exploration of the necropolis at Abusir South in the season of 2012. Preliminary Report', *ÄgLev* 24: 15–38.

Barta, W.

1968 *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, ÄF 24, Glückstadt: Augustin.

1981 'Die Chronologie der 1. bis 5. Dynastie nach den Angaben des rekonstruierten Annalensteins', *ZÄS* 108: 11–23.

Batrawi, A.

1947 'The Pyramid Studies, Anatomical reports', *ASAE* 47: 97–111

Baud, M.

1997 'Aux pieds de Djoser, les Mastabas entre fossé et enceinte dela partie nord du complexe funéraire', in Berger, G., Mathieu, B. (eds.) *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la necropole de Saqqara: dediées à Jean-Philippe Lauer*, Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 69–87.

1999 *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, BdE 126, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Beaux, N. et al.

2012 *La chapelle d'Hathor, temple d'Hatchepsout à Deir El-Bahri, 1. Vestibule et Sanctuaires 3. Planches*, MIFAO 129/3, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

von Beckerath, J.

1975 'Asosi', in Helck, H., Otto, E. (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 473–474.

1984 *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, MÄS 49, München: Deutscher Kunstverlag.

1997 *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten*, MÄS 46, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Bell, L.

1985 'Luxor Temple and the cult of the royal ka', *JNES* 44/4: 251–294.

Benešovská, H.

2006 "Statues from the Pyramid Complex of King Raneferef", in Verner, M. et al. *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef. The Archaeology, Abusir IX*, Prague: Czech Institute Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 360–437.

Berlandini, J.

1979 'La pyramide "ruinée" de Saqqara-nord et le roi Ikauhor-Menkauhor', *RdE* 31: 3–28.

Berlev, O.

2003 'Two Kings—Two Suns: On the Worldview of the Ancient Egyptians', in Quirke, S., ed., *Discovering Egypt from the Neva: The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D. Berlev*, Berlin: Achet-Verlag, 19–35.

Bialostocka, O.

2010 'Hatshepsut's Regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex of her Temple at Deir el-Bahari', in Dolinska, M., Beinlich, H. (eds.), *8th Egyptological Tempeltagung: Interconnections between Temples*, KSGH 3/3, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 13–24.

Bieger, C., Munro, P., Brinks, J.

1974 'Des Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nbt und #nwt in Saqqara 1. Vorbericht über die Arbeiten der Gruppe Hannover im Herbst', *SAK* 1: 35–54.

Bissing, F. W. von

1905 *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures) I. Der Bau*, Berlin: Alexander Duncker.

Bissing F. W. von, Kees, H.

1922 *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Philologische und

Historische Klasse 31/3, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

1923 *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures) II. Die kleine Festdarstellung*, Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

1928 *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures) III. Die grosse Festdarstellung*, Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

Blackman, A. M.

1988 *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians, Transcribed from the Papyrus Westcar (Berlin Papyrus 3033)*, Reading: J. V. Books.

Bleeker, C. J.

1967 *Egyptian Festivals, Enactments of Religious Renewal*, Studies in the History of Religions 13, Leiden: Brill.

Borchardt, L.

1907 *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re'*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1, WVDOG 7, Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

1909 *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-ke-Re*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 5, WVDOG 11, Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

1910 *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'a³ḥu-reʿ, Band I: Der Bau*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 6, WVDOG 14, Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

1911 *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum zu Kairo, Nr. 1–1294, Teil 1: Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 1–380*, Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.

1913 *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-Re' II. Die Wandbilder. Text*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 7, WVDOG 26, Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

1922 *Gegen die Zahlenmystik an der grossen Pyramide bei Gise*, Berlin: Verlag von Behrend & Co.

1933 'Die Königsjackte', in *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*: *seinen wissenschaftlichen Freunden und Bekannten, zu seinem 70. Geburtstage am 5. October 1933 überreicht von Ludwig Borchardt*, Leipzig: Pries, 13–18.

1937 *Einiges zur dritten Bauperiode der grossen Pyramide bei Gise*, Berlin: Springer.

Borchardt, L., Croon, L.

1928 *Die Entstehung der Pyramide an der Baugeschichte der bei Meidum nachgewiesen*, Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde 1, Berlin: Springer.

Borrego Gallardo, F. L.

2010 *El "título áureo" del rey durante el Reino Antiguo egipcio: Estudio textual, semiológico e histórico*, Madrid: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

Brovarski, E.

2001 *The Senedjemib Complex I: The Mastabas of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Khnumenti (G 2374), and Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), 2 vols.*, Giza Mastabas 7, Boston, Mass.: Museum of fine Arts.

2013 'Overseer of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms', *ZÄS* 140: 91–111.

Brunner, H.

1964 *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines altägyptischen Mythos*, ÄgAbh 10, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Bussmann, R.

2010 Die Provinztempel Ägyptens von der 0. bis zur 11. Dynastie: Archäologie und Geschichte einer gesellschaftlichen Institution zwischen Residenz und Provinz, Leiden: Brill.

Callender, V. G.

2011 *In Hathor's Image I. The Wives and Mothers of Egyptian Kings from Dynasties I–VI*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts.

Chassinat, E.

1901 'Les fouilles d'Abou Roash (1900–1901) par l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire', *CRAIBL* 45/5: 617–619.

Clagett, M.

1989 'The early Egyptian annals on stone, generally called the Palermo Stone', in Clagett, M. (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Science. A Source Book. Volume* 1: *Knowledge and Order*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 184, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 47–141.

Coppens, F.

2007 *The Wabet. Tradition and Innovation in Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Period*, Prague: Charles University in Prague.

Coppens, F., Vymazalová, H.

2010 'Long Live the King! Notes on the Renewal of Divine Kingship in the Temple', in Bareš, L., Coppens, F., Smoláriková, K. (eds.), *Egypt in Transition. Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 73–102.

Ćwiek, A.

2003 *Relief Decoration of the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom. Studies in the Development, Scene Content and Iconography*, Warsaw University (PhD dissertation).

2008 'Fate of Seth in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari', *Études et Travaux* 22: 38–60.

David, A.

2011 'Devouring the enemy: ancient Egyptian Metaphors of Domination', *BACE* 22: 83–100

Davies, N. de G.

1901 *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, ASE 10, London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Daoud, K.

2005 'Animate decoration and burial chambers of private tombs during the Old Kingdom: New evidence from the tomb of Kairer at Saqqara', in Pantalacci, L., Berger-El-Naggar, C. (eds.), *Des Néferkarê aux Montouhotep. Travaux archéologiques en cours sur la fin de la VI^e^ dynastie et la Première Période Intermédiaire*. *Actes du colloque CNRS – Université Lumière Lyon 2, tenu le 5–7 juillet 2001*, Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée 40, Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 107–127.

Daumas, F.

1958 *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*, Annales de l'Université de Lyon 3. Série Lettres 32. Paris: Belles Lettres.

1959 *Le mammisis de Dendara*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Derchaine, Ph.

1969 'Snefrou et les rameuses', *RdE* 21: 19–25

Desroches-Noblecourt, Ch.

1995 Amours et fureurs de La Lointaine. Clés pour le compréhension de symboles égyptiens, Paris, Stock-Pernoud.

Dobrev, V.

1993 'Considérations sur les titulatures des rois de la IV^e^ dynastie égyptienne', *BIFAO* 93: 179–204.

Dobrev, V., Verner, M., Vymazalová, H.

2011 *Old Hieratic Palaeography I, Builder's Inscriptions and Mason's Marks from Saqqara and Abusir*, Prague: Charles University in Prague.

Dodson, A. M.

1988 'The tombs of the Queens of the Middle Kingdom', *ZÄS* 115: 123–136.

Dorman, P. F.

2002 'The Biographical Inscription of Ptahshepses from Saqqara: A Newly Identified Fragment', *JEA* 88: 95–110.

Dreyer, G.

1990 'Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 3./4. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 46: 53–90.

1998 *Umm el-Qaab I: das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse*, ArchVer 86, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Dreyer, G., Hartung, U., Hikade, T., Köhler, E. C., Müller, V., Pumpenmeier, F.

1998 'Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 9./10. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 54: 77–167.

Dreyer, G., Hartmann, R., Hartung, U., Hikade, T., Köpp, H., Lacher, C., Müller, V., Nerlich, A., Zink, A.

2003 'Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 13./14./15. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 59: 69–138.

Drioton, Ét.

1947 'Les travaux archéologiques du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte en 1946–47', *CRAIBL* 91: 519–527.

Drioton, Ét., Lauer, J. Ph.

1937 'Une Inscription de Khamous sur la face sud de la Pyramide D'Ounas à Saqqarah', *ASAE* 37: 201–211.

1939 *Sakkarah, Les monuments de Zoser*, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale.

Dulíková, V.

2016 *The Reign of King Nyuserre and Its Impact on the Development of the Egyptian State: A Multiplier Effect Period during the Old Kingdom*, Charles University in Prague (PhD dissertation).

Dümichen, J.

1869 *Resultate im Sommer 1868 nach Ägypten entsendeten archäologisch-photographischen Expedition. Theil 1*, Berlin: Duncker.

Dunand, M.

1939 *Fouilles de Byblos. I*, Paris: P. Geuthner.

Eaton-Krauss, M.

1987 'The earliest representation of Osiris?', *VarAeg* 3/3: 233–236.

Edel, E.

1981 *Hieroglyphische Inschriften des Alten Reiches*, Abh. Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften 67, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag**.**

2008 *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan. I Abteilung. Band 1. Architektur, Darstellungen, Texte, archäologischer Befund und Funde der Gräber QH 24 – QH 34p*, Paderborn: F. Schöningh.

El Awady, T.

2008 'Kaswedja: an overseer of expeditions', in Vymazalová, H., Bárta, M. (eds.), *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt (the Third Millennium B.C)*, Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 162–169.

2009 *Abusir XVI. Sahure – The Pyramid Causeway. History and Decoration Program in the Old Kingdom*, Prague: Charles University in Prague.

2010 'Modified scenes and erased figures from Sahure's causeway reliefs', in Hawass, Z., Der Manuelian, P., Hussein, R. B. (eds.), *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, Supplément ASAE 40, Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 79–92.

2011-a 'A problematic Scene from Sahure's Causeway', in Bárta, M., Coppens, F., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 189–199.

2011-b 'The problem of *Bat*', in Callender, V. G., Bareš, L., Bárta, M., Janák, J., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Times, Signs and Pyramids: Studies in Honor of Miroslav Verner on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 25–30.

El-Naggar, S.

1999 *Les voutes dans l'architecture de l'Égypte ancienne*, BdE 128, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

El-Tayeb, H.

2014-a *The Tomb of Reshepses (LS 16) at Saqqara*, Cairo University (PhD dissertation in Arabic).

2014-b 'The burial chamber of Rashepses at Saqqara', *EA* 44: 8–9.

El-Sayed, R.

1982 *La déesse Neith de Sais. T. 1., Importance et rayonnement de son culte*, BdE 86/1–2, Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Engel, E. M.

2013 'The Organisation of a Nascent Satae: Egypt until the Beginning of the 4th Dynasty', in Moreno García, J. C. (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, HdO 104, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 19–40.

Engelbach, R.

1934 'A Foundation Scene of the Second Dynasty', *JEA* 20: 183–184.

Epigraphic Survey,

1932 *Medient Habu II: The Later Historical Records of Ramses III*, Oriental Institute Publications 9 Chicago: University of Chicago.

Erman, A.

1890 *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar. I. Einleitung und Commentar. II. Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar. Glossar, palaeographische Bemerkungen und Feststellung des Textes*, Berlin: W. Spemann.

Espinel, A. D.

2011 'Blocks from the Unas causeway recorced in Černý's notebooks at the Griffith Institute, Oxford', in Strudwick, N., Strudwick, H. (eds.), *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives, Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150 BC*, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 50–70.

Fakhry, A.

1959 *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur I. The Bent Pyramid*, Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices.

1961-a *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II. The Valley Temple*, *Part I. The Temple Reliefs*, Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices.

1961-b *The Pyramids*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

unpublished 'EL-Haram EL-Shawaf, The Pyramid Complex of *Ḏd-kȝ-rʿ*', unpublished manuscript.

Faulkner, R. O.

1969 *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

1985 *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead,* London: The British Museum Press.

Feucht, E.

1995 *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten. Die Stellung des Kindes in Familie und Gesellschaft nach altägyptischen Texten und Darstellungen*, Frankfurt – New York: Campus Verlag.

2003 'Pharaonische Beschneidung', in Meyer, S. (ed.), *Egypt – Temple of the Whole World/ Ägypten – Tempel der Gesamten Welt: Studies in Honour of Jan Assmann*, Leiden: Brill, 81–94.

Firth, C. M., Quibell, J. E.

1935 *Excavation at Saqqara, The Step Pyramid, I–II,* Caire: Institut français d'archéologie Orientale.

Firth, C. M., Guun, B.

1926 *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I*, Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Fischer, H.

1963 'Varia Aegyptiaca', *JARCE* 2: 15–51.

1995 'The Protodynastic period and Old Kingdom in the Metropolitan Museum of Art', in *Kunst des Alten Reiches: Symposium im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991*, SDAIK 7, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 81–90.

Flentye, L. A.

2011-a 'The Development of the Giza Necropolis in the Early Fourth Dynasty', in Bárta, M., Coppens, F., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 337–361.

2011-b 'The decorative programmes of the pyramid complexes of Khufu and Khafre at Giza', in Strudwick, N., Strudwick, H. (eds.), *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives, Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150 BC*, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 77–92.

Friedman, F.

1995 'The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex', *JARCE* 32: 1–42.

2008 'The Menkaure Dyad(s)', in Thompson, S. E., Der Manuelian, P. (eds.), *Egypt and Beyond: Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon his Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University, June 2005*, Providence: Department of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies, Brown University, 109–144.

Gaballa, G. A.,

1967 'New evidence on the birth of Pharaoh', *Or* 36: 299–304.

Gardiner, A. H.

1957 *Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs (third edition)*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

1959 *The Royal Canon of Turin*, Oxford, University Press

Gardiner, A. H., Peet, T. E., Černý, J.

1952 *The Inscriptions of Sinai I, Introduction and Plates*, Excavation Memoir Egypt Exploration Society 36, London: Egypt Exploration Society.

1955 *The Inscriptions of Sinai II, Translations and Commentary*, Excavation Memoir Egypt Exploration Society 45, London: Egypt Exploration Society, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press.

1959 *The Royal Canon of Turin*, Oxford: Griffith Institute at the University Press.

Gautier, H.

1925 'Le roi Zadfré successeur immédiate de Khoufou-Khéops', *ASAE* 25: 178–180.

Gayet, A,

1894 *Le temple de Louxor*, Paris: Ernest Leroux.

Goedicke, H.

1970 *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, BWZKM 5, Wien: Verlag Notring.

1971 *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition.

1993 'Thoughts about Papyrus Westcar', *ZÄS* 120: 23–36.

1997 'Zoser's Funerary Monuments, 2. The "Heb-sed court"', *BACE* 8: 33–48.

Gomaà, F.

1973 *Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis*, ÄgAbh 27, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Goneim, Z.

1956 *The Buried Pyramid*, London – New York: Longmans, Green.

1957 *Horus Sekhem-khet. The Unfinished Step Pyramid at Saqqara. Vol. I*, Cairo: Service des antiquités et l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Gourdon, Y.

2007 *Recherches sur l'anthroponymie dans l'Égypte du III^{e} millénaire avant J.C.: signification et portée sociale du nom Égyptien avant le moyen empire*, Université Lumière Lyon (PhD dissertation).

Goyon, G.

1936 'Le mécanisme de fermeture de la pyramide de Khéops', *RdE* 2: 1–24.

1969 'Le chaussée monumentale et le temple de la vallée de la pyramide de Khéops', *BIFAO* 67: 49–69.

1978 'Les rangs d'assises de la grande pyramide', *BIFAO* 78: 405–413.

Griffiths, J. G.

1980 *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult*, Studies in History of Religion 40, Leiden: Brill.

Grimm, A.

1985 'Das Fragment einer Liste fremdländischer Tiere, Pflanzen und Städte aus dem Totentempel des Königs Djedkare-Asosi', *SAK* 12: 34–40.

1985 '*T3-nbw* "Goldland" und "Nubien", Zu den Inschriften auf dem Listenfragment aus dem Totentempel des Djedkare', *GM* 106: 23–27.

Grinsell, L.

1947 *Egyptian Pyramids*, Gloucester: Bellows.

Grunert, S.

2002 'Nicht nur sauber, sonder rein. Rituelle Reinigungsanweisungen aus dem Grab des Ankhmahor in Saqqara', *SAK* 30: 137–151.

Gundacker, R.

2006 *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, BeitrÄg 22, Veröffentlichungen der Inst. für Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 104, Wien: Afro-Pub.

Habachi, L.

1957 *Tell Basta*, SASAE 22, Cairo: Institut français d'archélogie orientale.

Haikal, F.

2011 'Tradition and Religion: transmission of culture versus similarity of beliefs', in Vymazalová, H., Megahed, M., Ondráš, F. (eds.), *Ancient Echoes in the Culture of Modern Egypt*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts, 9–27.

Hall, E. S.

1986 *The Pharaoh Smites His Enemies: A Comparative Study*, MÄS 44, Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag.

Hannig, R.

1995 *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch–Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr.)*, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 64, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

2003 *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 98, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Harpur, Y.

1987 *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, London – New York: KPI.

Harpur, Y., Scremin, P.

2008 *The Chapel of Ptahhotep: Scene Details,* Oxford: Oxford Expedition to Egypt.

Hassan, A. F.

1980 *Lawrence Durrell and the Alexandria Quartet: Influences Shaping his Action*, Durham University (Ph.D. dissertation).

Hassan, S.

1932 *Excavations at Giza 1. Season 1929–1930*, Oxford: The University Press.

1938 'Excavations at Saqqara 1937–1938 (with four plates)', *ASAE* 38: 503–522.

1943 *Excavation at Giza 1932–1933, Vol. IV*, Cairo: Faculty of Arts.

1955 'The causeway of *Wnis* at Saqqara', *ZÄS* 80: 136–144.

1960 *Excavations at Giza X. Season 1938–39. The Great Pyramid of Khufu and its Mortuary Chapel*, Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Offices.

Hawass, Z.

1987 *The Funerary Establishment of Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura,* Michigan University Microfilm, An Arbor.

1994 'A Fragmentary Monument of Djoser from Saqqara', *JEA* 80: 45–56.

1996 'The discovery of the Satellite Pyramid of Khufu (GI–d)', in Der Manuelian, P. (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 379–398.

1997 'The Discovery of the Harbors of Khufu and Khafre at Giza', in Berger, C., Mathieu, B. (eds.), *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqara dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer*, Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III, 245–256.

2003 *Secrets from the Sand: My Search for Egypt's Past*, New York: H.N. Abrams.

2006 'A new colossal seated statue of Ramses II from Akhmim', in Czerny, E., Hein, I., Hunger, H., Melman, D., Schwab, A. (eds.), *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak* 1, OLA 149, Leuven: Peeters, 129–139.

2010 'The excavations of the Headless pyramid, Lepsius XXIX', in Hawass, Z., Der Manuelian, P., Hussein., R. (eds.), *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, Supplément ASAE 40, Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 153–170.

Hawass, Z., Verner, M.

1996 'Newly Discovered Blocks from the Causeway of Sahure', *MDAIK* 52: 177–186.

Hayes, W.

1953 *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, from the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom*, *Vol. 1,* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Hays, H.

2011 'The death of the Democratisation of the afterlife', in Strudwick, N., Strudwick, H. (eds.) *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives, Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150 BC*, Oxford and Oakville, Short Run Press, Exeter, 115–130.

Helck, W.

1954 *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des äyptischen Alten Reiches*, ÄF 18, Glückstadt – Hamburg – New York: J. J. Augustin.

1974 *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, TAVO B/5, Wiesbaden: L. Reichert.

1975 *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend vor Chr.*, Handbuch der Orientalistik Abt.1: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, Bd. 1: Ägyptologie Absch. 5, Leiden – Köln: Brill.

1977 'Die „Weihinschrift" des Neuserre', *SAK* 5: 47–77.

1984 'Heliopolis und die Sonnenheiligtümer', in Holthoer, R. (ed.), *Sundries in Honour of Torgny Säve-Söderbergh*, BOREAS 13, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 67–72.

1991 'Überlegungen zum Ausgang der 5. Dynastie,' *MDAIK* 47: 163–168.

1994 'Gedanken zum Mord an Teti,' in Bryan, B.M., Lorton, D. (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, San Antonio, Texas, 103–106.

Hill, M.

1999-a '173. Kneeling Captive', in Arnold, Do. – Roehrig, C. H. – Ziegler, Ch. (eds.). *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 440–441.

1999-b '174. Kneeling Captive', in Arnold, Do. – Roehrig, C. H. – Ziegler, Ch. (eds.). *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 441.

Hölscher, V.

1912 *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Hornung, E.

1973 'Die „Kammern" des Thot-Heiligtums', *ZÄS* 100: 33–35.

1991 'Sedfest und Geschichte', *MDAIK* 47: 169–171.

Hornung, E., Staehelin, E.

2006 *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, AH 20, Basel: Schwabe.

Hornung, E., Krauss, R., Warburton D. A.

2006 'King Lists and Manetho's *Aigyptiaka*', in Hornung, E., Krauss, R., Warburton, D. A., (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology,* HdO 83, Leiden–Boston: Brill: 33–36.

Houlihan, P. F.

1992 *The Birds of Ancient Egypt*, Cairo: The AUC Press.

1996 *The Animal World of the Pharaohs*, Cairo: The AUC Press.

Hussein, A. M.

1943 'Fouilles sur la Chaussée d'Ounas (1941–1943)', *ASAE* 43: 439–442.

Jacquet–Gordon, H.

1962 *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, BdÉ 34, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

James, T. H. G.

1953 *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi*, Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of Egypt 13, London: Quaritch.

Janák, J.

2005 *Brána nebes: bohové a démoni starého Egypta [The Gate of Heaven: Gods and Demons of Ancient Egypt]*, Prague: Libri.

2012 *Staroegyptské náboženství II, Život a úděl člověka [The Ancient Egyptian Religion: The life and fate of men]*, OIKOYMENH 171, Prague: Oikoymene.

Janák J., Vymazalová H., Coppens F.

2011 'The Fifth Dynasty "sun temples" in a broader context', in Bárta, M., Coppens, F., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 430-442.

Janák, J., Megahed, M., Vymazalová, H.

2011 'Healing water in Egyptian tradition: from the ancient Egyptian *cippi* to the modern *tasit el-khada*', in Vymazalová, H., Megahed, M., Ondráš, F. (eds.), *Ancient Echoes in the Culture of Modern Egypt*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 28–46.

Jánosi , P.

1989 'Die Pyramidenanlage der 'anonymen Königin' des Djedkare-Isesi', *MDAIK* 45: 187–202.

1995 'Bemerkungen zu den Nordkapellen des Alten Reiches', *SAK* 22: 145–168.

1995-b 'Ägyptologie', *OLZ* 90: 372–378.

1996 *Die Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen: Untersuchungen zu einem Grabtyp des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, Denkschrift der Gesamtakademie 13, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

1998 'Reliefierte Kalksteinblöcke aus dem Tempel der 12. Dynastie bei ^{C}Ezbet Rushdi el-Saghira (Tell el-Dab^{C}a)', *ÄgLev* 8: 51–81.

2015 *The Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I at List-North, The Reliefs*, New York – New Haven –London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art – Yale University Press.

Jánosi , P., Megahed, M.

2015 ‘Eine fast vergessene Pyramidenanlage, Der Grabbezirk des König Djedkare-Isesi’, *AntWelt* 2/2015: 51–60.

Jeclant , J.

1982 ‘Travaux de la mission archéologique Française de Saqqarah, campagne 1980’, *ASAE* 78: 55–61.

Jenni, H.

1998 ‘Der Papyrus Westcar’, *SAK* 25: 113–141.

Jéquier, G.

1933 ‘Rapport Préliminaire sur les Fouilles Executees en 1932–1933, Dans la Partie Meridionale de la necropole Memphite’, *ASAE* 33: 140–145.

1936 *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II. Tome 1. Le Tombeau Royal*, Fouilles à Saqqarah, Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

1938 *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II. Tome 2. Le temple*, Fouilles à Saqqarah, Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

1940 *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II. Tome 3. Les approches du temple*, Fouilles à Saqqarah, Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

Jones, D.

2000 *An index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom* I–II, BAR International Series 866, Oxford: Archaeopress.

Junker, H.

1934 *Giza II. Die Mastabas der beginnenden V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof*, Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky.

1938 *Giza III. Die Mastabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfrienhof*, Wien – Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky.

1940 *Giza IV. Die Mastaba des KAjmanx (Kai-em-anch)*, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Pholosophisch-historische Klasse 71.1, Wien – Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky.

1947 *Giza VIII. Der Ostabschnitt des Westfriedhofs: Zweiter Teil*, Wien: Rohrer.

1950 *Gîza IX. Das Mittelfeld des Westfriedhofs*, Wien: Rohrer.

1951 *Gîza X. Der Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide: Westteil*, Wien: Rohrer.

1953 *Gîza XI. Der Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide: Ostteil*, Wien: Rohrer.

Kahl, J.

2002 ‘Zu den Namen spätzeitlicher Usurpatoren, Fremdherrscher, Gegen- und Lokalkönige’, *ZÄS* 129: 31–42.

Kaiser, W.

1956 'Zu den Sonnenheiligtümern der 5. Dynastie', *MDAIK* 14: 104–116.

1971 'Die kleine Hebseddarstellung im Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre', *in Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke*, BÄBA 12, Wiesbaden, 87–105.

Kammerzell, F.

2001 '„... within the Altar of the Sun". An unidentified hieroglyph and the construction of the sun temple *Nḫn-Rʿw*', *LingAeg* 9: 153–164.

Kanawati, N.

2002 *Tombs at Giza, II, Seshathetep/Heti (G5150), Nesutnefer (G4970) and Seshemnefer II (G5080)*, ACER 18, Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

2010 *Decorated Burial Chambers of the Old Kingdom*, Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.

Kanawati, N., Hassan, A,

1997 *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara Vol II, The Tomb of Ankhmahor*, ACER 9, Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

Kaper, O. E.

2001 'Myths: Lunar cycle', in Redford, D. B. (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt, vol II*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 480–482.

Kennedy, J. G.

1970 'Circumcision and excision in Egyptian Nubia', *Man, New Series* 5/2: 175–191.

Kaplony, P.

1962 'Gottespalast und Götterfestungen in der ägyptischen Frühzeit', *ZÄS* 88: 5–16.

1981 *Die Rollsiegell des Alten Reiches I–III*, MonAeg 3A–C, Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth.

Karkowski, J.

2001 'The decoration of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari', in Szafarański, Z. E. (ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut and her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw: Warsaw University Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo, 99–157.

Kees, H.

1915 'Eine Liste Memphitischer Götter im Tempel von Abydos', *RecTrav* 37: 57–76.

1928 'Die grosse Festdarstellung', in Bissing, F. W. v., *Das Re - Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures) III*, Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

1932 'Beitrage zur altägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung und der Geschichte des Feudalismus: 1, Oberägypten', *NGWG* 12: 85–119.

Khaled, M. I.

2008-a *The Old Kingdom Royal Funerary Domains: New Evidence from the Causeway of the Pyramid Complex of Sahure*, Charles University in Prague (PhD dissertation).

2008-b 'Old Kingdom funerary domains: A question of dating', in Vymazalová, H., Bárta, M. (eds.), *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt (The Third Millennium B. C.)*, Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University in Prague, 194–213.

2011 'A Visitor at the Causeway of Sahure at Abusir', in Bárta, M., Coppens, F., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 512–517.

2016 'The Donation of Royal Funerary Domains in the Old Kingdom', in Landgráfová, R., Mynářová, J. (eds.), *Rich in Years, Great in Victories: Studies in Honour of Tony Spalinger*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, forthcoming.

Klemm, D., Klemm, R.

2010 *The Stones of the Pyramids. Provenance of the Building Stones of the Old Kingdom Pyramids of Egypt*, Berlin – New York, Walter de Gruyter GmbH

Kloth, N.

2002 *Die (auto-) biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches: Untersuchgen zu Phraseologie und Entwicklung*, BSAK 8, Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.

Knight, M.

2001 'Curing cut or ritual mutilation? Some remarks on the practice of female and male circumcision in Graeco-Roman Egypt', *Isis* 92/2: 317–338.

Kochelmann, H.

2011 'Mammisi (Birth-House)', in Wendrich, W. (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Los Angeles, http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0026wfgr.

Krejčí, J.

2016 'Die Mastaba der Königin Chentkaus III. (Grab AC 30) in Abusir', *Sokar* 32: 22–39.

Krejčí, J., Arias Kytnarová, K., et al.

2015 *Abusir XXIV. Mastaba of Werkaure I, Old Kingdom Strata*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts.

Krejčí, J., Arias Kytnarová, K., Odler, M.

2015 'Archaeological excavation of the mastaba of Queen Khentkaus III (tomb AC 30) in Abusir', *PES* 15: 28–42.

Kuchman Sabbahy, L.

1982 *The Development of the Titulary and Iconography of the Ancient Egyptian Queens from Dynasty One to Early Dynasty Eighteen*, University of Toronto (PhD dissertation).

Kuhlmann, K. P.

1977 *Der Thron im Alten Ägypten. Untersuchungen zu Semantik, Ikonographie und Symbolik eines Herrschaftszeichens*, Abhandlungen DAIK. Ägyptologische Reihe 10, Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.

Labrique, F.

2003 'Khonsou et la neomenie, à Karnak', in Budde, D., Sandri, S., Verhoeven, U. (eds)., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit. Zeugnisse aus Stadt und Tempel als Spiegel des interkulturellen Kontakts*, OLA 128, Leuven: Peeters, 195–224.

Labrousse, A.

1991 *Regards sur une Pyramide,* Paris: Fondation Electricité de France.

2010 'Huit épouses des Pépy I^{er}', in Woods, A., McFarlane, A., Binder, S. (eds.), *Egyptian Culture and Society. Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati I–II,* Supplément ASAE 38, Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 297–314.

2012 'Recent discoveries at the necropolis of King Pepy I', in Evans, L. (ed.), *Ancient Memphis – Enduring is the Perfection. Proceedings of the International Conference held at Macquarie University, Sydney on August 14–15, 2008*, OLA 214, Leuven: Peeters, 299–308.

2015 'Les reines de la sale de la aux offrandes de Pépy I^{er}', in Legros, R. (ed.) *50 ans d'énterité; jubilé de la Mission archéologique française de Saqqâra. Mission archéologique de Saqqarah V*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 167–179.

Labrousse, A., Lauer, J. P., Leclant, J.

1977 *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, BdE 73, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Labrousse, A., Lauer, J. P.

2000 *Les complexes funéraires d'Ouserkaf et de Néferhétepes*, BdE 130/1-*2*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Labrousse, A., Moussa, A.

1996 *Le temple d'accueil du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, BdE 111, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

2002 *La chaussée du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, BdE 134, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Lacau, P., Lauer, J. P.

1913 'Note sur les travaux de l'Institut français d'archéologie du Caire (1912–1913)', *CRAIBL* 57/7: 517–524.

Lacau, P., Lauer, J. P.

1959 *La pyramide à degrés IV. Inscriptions gravées sur les vases*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

1961 *La pyramide à degrés IV. Inscriptions gravées sur les vases, Fasc. 2., Texte,* Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

1965 *La pyramide à degrés V. Inscriptions gravées sur les vases,* Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Lacau, P., Cheveier, H.

1959 *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^er^ a Karnak, Planches,* LE Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Landgráfová, R.

2006 *Abusir XIV. Faience Inlays from the Funerary Temple of King Raneferef. Raneferef's Substitute Decoration Programme*, Prague: Charles University in Prague.

Lane, E. W.

1860 *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians Written in Egypt During the Years 1833, –34 and –35, Partly from Notes Made During a Former Visit to That Country in the Years 1825, –26, –27, and –28, Vol. I*, London: Murray.

Lauer, J.-P.

1936–1939 *La Pyramide a degrés l'architecture I–III,* Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

1938 'Restauration et transfert au Musée Égyptien d'un panneau orné de faïences bleues, extrait de la Pyramide à Degrés à Saqqarah', *ASEA* 38: 551–565.

1939 'Fouilles du Service des antiquités a Saqqarah. Secteur de la pyramide a degrés (novembre 1938 – mai 1939). IV. La pyramide d'Ounas', *ASAE* 39: 447–456.

1948 *Etudes complémentaires sur les monuments du roi Zoser a Saqqarah*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

1949 'Note Complémentaire sur le temple funéraire de Khéops', *ASAE* 49: 111–128.

1957 'Remarques sur les stèles fausses-portes de l'Horus Neteri-khet (Zoser) à Saqqarah', *Mon.Piot* 49: 1–16.

1967 'Au complexe funéraire de l'Horus Sekhem-khet. Recherches et travaux menés dans la nécropole de Saqqarah au cours de la campagne 1966–1967', *CRAIBL* 111/4: 493–510.

1968 (1698-a) ‘Recherche et découverte du tombeau sud de l’Horus Sekhem-khet dans son complexe funéraire à Saqqara’, *RdE* 20: 97–107.

1968-b ‘Travaux et Recherches à Saqqarah, Capagens 1966–67 et 1967–68’, *BSFE* 52: 15–27.

1969 ‘Au complexe funéraire de l’Horus Sekhem-khet. Recherches et travaux menés dans la nécropole de Saqqarah au cours de la campagne 1967–1968 et 1968–1969’, *CRAIBL* 113/3: 460–479.

1971-1973 ‘Nouvelles recherches à la pyramide de Meren-Re’, *BIE* 53–54: 63–69.

1972 ‘Recherches et travaux à Saqqarah: campagnes 1970–1971 et 1971–1972’, *CRAIBL 1972*: 577–600.

1973 ‘Recherches et travaux à Saqqarah: campagnes 1972–1973’, *CRAIBL 1973*: 323–340.

1979 ‘Travaux et recherches à Saqqarah (15 Décembre 1974–28 Mars 1975)’, *ASAE* 63: 137–142.

Lauer, J.-Ph., Leclant, J.

1972 *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Téti*, BdE 51, Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

Leclant, J.

1974 ‘Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1972–1973’, *Orientalia* 43/2: 171–227.

1979 *Recherches dans la Pyramide et au Temple haut du Pharaon Pépi I^{er} a Saqqara*, SABMD 6, Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten.

1980 ‘La ‘famille libyenne’ au temple haut de Pepi I’, in Vercoutter, J. (ed.), *Livre du Centenaire (1880–1980)*, MIFAO 104, Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 49–54.

1982 ‘Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1979–1980’, *Orientalia* 51/1: 49–122.

Leclant, J., Lauer, J.-Ph.

1969 ‘Découverte de statues de prisonniers au temple de la pyramide de Pépi I’, *RdE* 21: 55–62.

Lefebvre, G.

1949 *Romans et contes égyptiens de l’époque pharaonique*, Paris: A. Maisonneuve.

Lehner, M.

1997 *The Complete Pyramids*, London: Thames and Hudson.

Leitz, Ch.

2002-a *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band II*, OLA 111, Leuven: Peeters.

2002-b *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band III*, OLA 112, Leuven: Peeters.

2002-c *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band VI*, OLA 115, Leuven: Peeters.

Leitz, C., et al.

2002-a *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band V*, OLA 114, Leuven: Peeters.

2002-b *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band VII*, OLA 116, Leuven: Peeters.

Lepper, V. M.

2008 *Untersuchungen zu pWestcar. Eine philologische und literaturwissenschaftliche (Neu-) Analyse*, ÄgAbh 70, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Leprohon, R. J.

2013 *The Great Name: Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary,* Writings from the Ancient World 33, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Lichtheim, M.

2006 *Ancient Egyptian Literature, A Book of Reading, Volume 1: The Old and Middle Kingdom,* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Lorton, D.

1985 'Considerations on the origin and name of Osiris', *VarAeg* 1/3: 113–126.

Málek, J.

1988 'The "Altar" in the Pillared Court of Teti's Pyramid-Temple at Saqqara', in Baines, J. et al., *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards*, Occational Publications 7, London: Egypt Exploration Society.

1994 'King Merikare and His Pyramid', in Berger, C., Clerc, G., Grimal, N. (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant I. Ètudes Pharaoniques*, BdÉ 106/4, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 203–214.

1997 'The temples at Memphis. Problems highlighted by the EES survey', in Quirke, S. (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt. New Discoveries and Recent Research*, London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 90–101.

1999 *Egyptian Art*, London: Phaidon Press Limitted

Maragioglio, V., Rinaldi, C.

1962 *Notizie sulle Piramidi di Zedefra, Zedkara Isesi, Teti,* Torino: Tip. Artale.

1966 *L'architettura delle piramidi menfite* V, Rapallo: T. Canessa.

1967 *L'architettura delle piramidi menfite* VI, Rapallo: T. Canessa.

1970 *L'architettura delle piramidi menfite* VII, Torino: Artale.

1977 *L'architettura delle piramidi menfite* VIII, Torino: Artale.

Marcolin, M.

2006 'Iny, a Much-Travelled Official of the Sixth Dynasty: Unpublished Reliefs in Japan', in Bárta, M., Coppens, F., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005.*

Proceedings of the Conference held in Prague (June 27–July 5, 2005), Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 282–310.

Marcolin, M., Espinel, A. D.

2011 'The Sixth Dynasty Biographic Inscription of Iny: More Pieces to the Puzzle', in Bárta, M., Coppens, F., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 570–615.

Mariette, A.

1885 *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire (publié d'après le manuscrit de A. Mariette par G. Maspero)*, Paris: F. Vieweg.

Mathieu, B.

1997 'La signification du serdab dans la pyramide d'Ounas', in Berger, C., Mathieu, B. (eds.), *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra, dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer*, OrMonsp 9, Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 289–304.

2001 'Travaux de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale en 2000–2001', *BIFAO* 101: 449–610.

2002 'Travaux de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale en 2001–2002', *BIFAO* 102: 437–614.

2010 'Mais qui est donc Osiris? Ou la politique sous le linceul de la religion (Enquêtes dans les Textes des Pyramides, 3), *ENiM* 3: 77–107.

Megahed, M.

2011-a 'The Pyramid Complex of "Djedkare's Queen" in South Saqqara Preliminary Report 2010', in Bárta, M., Coppens, F., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 616–634.

2011-b 'Neue Forschungen im Grabbezirk des Djedkare-Isesi', *Sokar* 22: 25–35.

2014-a 'The Altar of Djedkare's funerary temple, from South Saqqara', in Lekov, T. – Buzov, E. (eds.), *Cult and Belief in Ancient Egypt. Proceeding of The Fourth International Congress for Young Egyptologists, September 25–27 Sofia*, Bulgaria: Bulgarian Institute of Egyptology, 56–62.

2014-c 'Die Wiederentdeckung des Pyramidenbezirks des Djedkare-Isesi in Sakkara-Süd', *Sokar* 28: 6–19.

2016-a 'Antichambre Carrée in the Old Kingdom, Its Reliefs and Function', in Landgráfová, R., Mynářová, J. (eds.), *Rich in Years, Great in Victories: Studies in Honour of Tony Spalinger*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 239–258.

2016-b ‘Group of Royal Sculptures from the Pyramid Complex of Djedkare-Isesi at South Saqqara, Preliminary Report,’ *PES* 17, forthcoming

Forthcoming ‘New ʿ*nḫ*-giving scenes from the pyramid complex of Djedkare’, in Kuraszkiewicz, K. O., Kopp, E., Popielska-Grzybowska, J. (eds.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, Warsaw.

In Preparation ‘Names of foreign toponyms from the pyramid complex of Djedkare at south Saqqara’.

Megahed, M., Jánosi, P.

2016 ‘The Pyramid Complex of Djedkare at Saqqara-South, Recent Results and Future Prospects,’ in Bárta, M., Coppens, F., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, in preparation.

Megahed, M., Vymazalová, H.

2011 ‘Ancient Egyptian royal circumcision from the pyramid complex of Djedkare’, *Anthropologie* 49/2: 155–164.

2015 ‘The South-Saqqara circumcision scene: a fragment of an Old Kingdom birth-legend?,’ in Coppens, F., Janák, J., Vymazalová, H. (eds.), *7. Symposium zur Königsideologie, Royal versus Divine Authority, Acquisition, Legitimization and Renewal of Power, Prague, June 26–28, 2013*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 275–287.

Megahed, M., Vymazalová, H., Brůna, V., Marek, Z.

2016 ‘Die Pyramide des Djedkare-Isesi in 3-D, Neue Methoden zur Dokumentation der königlichen Grabkammer’, *Sokar* 32: 38–49.

Mercer, S. A. B.

1952 *The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary*, New York – London – Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co.

Messiha, H.

1983 ‘The Valley Temple of Khufu (Cheops)’, *ASAE* 65: 9–18

McPherson, J. W.

1941 *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo: Ptd. N. M. Press.

Montet, P.

1902 *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique. Annales du Musée Guimet*, BdE 15, Paris: E. Leroux.

Moreno García, J. C.

1996 ‘Administration territorial et organisation de l’espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C.: *grgt* et le titre ʿ(*n*)*ḏ-mr grgt*’, *ZÄS* 123: 116–138.

1999 *Ḥwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e Millénaire*, Paris: H. Champion.

2013-a 'Land Donations', in Frood, E., Wendrich, W. (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles. http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002hgp07.

2013-b 'The territorial administration of the kingdom in the 3rd millennium', in Moreno García, J. C. (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, HdO 104, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 85–151.

Moussa, A. M., Altenmüller H.

1977 *Das Grab des Niauchchnum und Chnumhotep*, ArchVer 21, Mainz am Rhein: Phillip von Zabern.

Mourad, A. L.

2015 *The Tomb of Ptahhotep I*, ACER 37, Oxford: Aris and Phillips Ltd.

Moursi, M.

1987 'Die Ausgrabungen in der Gegend um die Pyramide des *D̲D-K3-Rˁ* "*ISSJ*" bei Saqqara', *ASAE* 71: 185–193.

Müller, W. M.

1906 *Egyptological Researches. Results of a Journey in 1904*, Washington: Carnegie Institute.

Munro, P.

1961 'Bemerkungen zu einem Sedfest-relief in der Stadtmauer von Kairo', *ZÄS* 86: 61–74.

1993 *Der Unas-Friedhof Nord–West I. Topographisch-historische Einleitung. Das Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nebet und Khenut,* Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.

Myśliwiec, K., et al.

2004 *Saqqara I: The Tomb of Merefnebef*, Warsaw: ZAS PAN & Neriton.

Nagel, G,

1952 'Décoration d'un temple de Mout a Karnak', *ArOr* 20: 90–99.

Naville, E.

1895 *The Temple of Deir el Bahari I, Plates I–XXIX, The North-Western end of the Upper Platform*, London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

1896 *The Temple of Deir el Bahari II, the Ebony Shrine – Northern Half of the Middle Platform.* London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

1901 *The Temple of Deir el Bahari IV, Plates LXXVIL–CXVIII, The Shrine of Hathor and the South Hall of Offerings*, London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Naville, E., Clarke, S.

1908 *The Temple of Deir el Bahari VI, Plates CLI–CLXXIV, The Lower Terrace, Additions and Plans*, London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Navrátilová, H.

2007 *The Visitors' Graffiti of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and North*, Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Set Out.

Nelson, H. H.

1981 *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Vol I., Part I., the Wall Reliefs*, Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Newberry, P.

1893 *Beni Hasan I*, London: Kegan Paul.

Nolan J. S.

2003 'The Original Lunar Calendar and Cattle Counts in Old Kingdom Egypt', in Bickel, S., Loprieno, A. (eds.), *Basel Egyptology Prize 1. Junior Research in Egyptian History, Archaeology, and Philology*, AegHelv 17, Basel: Schwabe, 75–97.

2008 'Lunar intercalations and "cattle counts" during the Old Kingdom: the Hebsed in context', in Vymazalová, H., Bárta, M. (eds.), *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt (The Third Millennium B.C)*, Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 44–60.

2015 'Cattle, Kings and Priests: Phyle Rotations and Old Kingdom Civil Dates', in Der Manuelian, P., Schneider, T. (ed.), *Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Perspectives on the Pyramid*, Harvard Egyptological Studies 1, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 337–365.

Nour, M., Iskander, Z., Osman, M., Moustafe, A.

1960 *The Cheops Boat I*, Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Offices.

Nunn J. F.

1996 *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Nuzzolo, M.

2007-a 'The Sun Temples of the V Dynasty: a Reassessment', *SAK* 36: 217–247.

2007-b 'Sun Temples and Kingship in the ancient Egyptian Kingdom', in Goyon, J. C., Cardin, C. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists II*, OLA 150, Leuven: Peeters, 1401–1410.

2010 'The V Dynasty Sun Temples Personnel, An overview of titles and cult practise through the epigraphic evidence', *SAK* 39: 289–312.

2011 'New Archaeological Investigation in the Sun Temple of Niuserra', in Bárta, M., Coppens, F., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 664–679.

2015 ‘The *Sed*-Festival of Niuserra and the Fifth Dynasty Sun Temples’, in Der Manuelian, P., Schneider, Th. (eds.), *Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom, Perspectives on the Pyramid Age*, Harvard Egyptological Studies 1, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 366–392.

Sun temples and the Royal Ideology in the Old Kingdom, Prague: Czech Institute Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, forthcoming.

O’Connor, D.

1989 ‘New Funerary Enclosures (*Talbezirke*) of the Early Dynastic Period at Abydos’, *JARCE* 26: 51–86.

1999 ‘The Interpretation of the Old Kingdom Pyramid Complex’, in Guksch H., Polz D. (eds.), *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens Reiner Stadelmann gewidmet*, Mainz: Phillippe von Zabern, 135–144.

2009 *Abydos. Egypt’s First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris*, London: Thames & Hudson.

Oppenheim, A.

2008 *Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur: The Pharaoh and Deities*, New York University (PhD dissertation).

2011 ‘The early life of pharaoh: divine birth and adolescence scenes in the causeway of Senwosret III at Dahshur’, in Bárta, M., Coppens, F., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 171–188.

2012 ‘The North and South Walls of Senwosret III’s North Chapel at Dahshur’, in Evans, L. (ed.), *Ancient Memphis “Enduring is the perfection”. Proceedings of the International Conference held at Macquarie University, Sydney on August 14–15, 2008*, OLA 214, Leuven: Peeters, 397–424.

Paget, R. F. E., Pirie, A. A., Griffith, F. LI.

1989 *The tomb of Ptahhotep* (bound with Quibell, J. *The Ramesseum*), London: Bernard Quaritch.

Papazian, H.

2012 *Domain of the Pharaoh. The Structure and Components of the Economy of Old Kingdom Egypt*, HÄB 52, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.

Parker, R. A.

1950 *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 26, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Peet, T. E.

1923 *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus BM 10057 and 10058. Introduction, Transcription, Translation and Commentary*, London: University Press of Liverpool.

Perring, J. S.

1842 *The Pyramids of the Southward of Gizeh and at Abou Roash: also, Campbell's tomb, and a section of the rock at Gizeh: from actual survey and admeasurement*, London: James Fraser, Regent Street; and John Weale, High Holborn.

Petrie, W. M. F.

1883 *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, London: Field a Tuer, The Leadenhall Press.

1892 *Medum*, London: Nutt.

1900 *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties. 19001. Part I,* EM 18, London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

1901 *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties. 1901. Part II,* EM 21, London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

1902 *Abydos I*, London: The Egypt Exploration Fund

1903 *Abydos II*, EM 24, London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Petrie W. M. F., Mackay, E., Wainwright, G.

1910 *Meydum and Memphis III*, London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Phillips, P.

2002 *The Columns of Egypt,* Manchester: Peartree Publisher.

Piacentini, P.

2010 'The Egyptological Archives of the Università degli Studi di Milano', in Piacentini, P. (ed.): *Egypt and the Pharaoh from the Sand to the Library: Pharaonic Egypt in the Archives and Libraries of the Università degli Studi di Milano*, Milano: Università degli Studi di Milano, Skira, 61–114.

Picon, M., Vichy, M., Ballet, P.

2005 'L'alun des oasis occidentales d'Égypte: Reserches sur le terrain et recherches en laboratoire', in Borgard, P., Brun, J. P., Picon, M. (eds.), *L'alun de Méditerranée. Colloque international, Naples, 4–6 juin 2003–Lipari, 7–8 juin 2003*, Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 43–58.

Pillet, M.

1952 'Les scènes de naissance et de circoncision dans le temple nord-est de Mout, à Karnak. I. La naissance. II. La circoncision', *ASAE* 52: 77–104.

Porter, B., Moss, R. L. B., Malek, J.

1981 *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings* III^2. *Memphis. Saqqâra to Dahshűr*, Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Posener, G.

1965 'Sur l'orientation et l'ordre des points cardinaux chez les Égyptiens', in Schott, S. (ed.), *Göttinger Vorträge vom ägyptologischen Kolloquium der Akademie am 25. und 26. August 1964*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 69–78.

Posener-Kriéger, P.

1976 *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (Les papyrus d'Abousir). Traduction et commentaire* I–II, BdE 65, Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

1985 'Décrets envoyés au temple funéraire de Rêneferef', in Posener-Kriéger, P. (ed.) *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar, BdE* 97, Cairo, 195–210.

1995 'Fragments de papyrus', in Verner, M., *Abusir* III. *The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus*, Prague: Academia, 133–142.

1997 'News From Abusir', in Quirke S. (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt, New Discoveries and Recent Research*, London: British Museum Press, 17–23.

Posener–Kriéger, P., De Cenival, J. L.

1968 *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Fifth Series. The Abu Sir Papyri*, London: Trustees of the British Museum.

Posener-Kriéger, P., Verner, M., Vymazalová, H.

2006 *Abusir X. The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef. The Papyrus Archive*, Prague: Charles University in Prague.

Quack, J. F.

2012 'Zur Beschneidung im Alten Ägypten', in Berlejung, A., Dietrich, J., Quack J. F. (eds.), *Menschenbilder und Körperkonzepte im Alten Israel, in Ägypten und im Alten Orient*, Tübingen: Morh Siebeck, 561–651.

Quibell, J. E.

1900 *Hierakonpolis* 1, London: Bernard Quaritch.

1909 *Excavations at Saqqara 1907–08*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

1912 *Excavations at Saqqara 1908–9, 1909–10*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Quibell, J. E., Green, F. W.

1902 *Hierakonpolis* 2, London: Bernard Quaritch.

Quirke, S.

1990 *Who were the Pharaohs? A history of their names with a list of cartouches*, London: British Museum Publications.

de Rochemonteix,

1892 *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire. T. 10., P. 1., Le temple d'Edfou*, Paris: Leroux.

de Rochemonteix, M., Chassinat, É.

1984 *Le Temple d'Edfou, I, 1*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Reader, C.

2004 'On Pyramid Causeways', *JEA* 90: 63–71.

Reisner, G. A.

1931 *Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

1936 *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reisner, G. A., Fisher, C.S.

1911 'The Work of the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition', *BMFA* 9: 54–59.

Reisner G. A., Smith, W. S.

1955 *A History of the Giza Necropolis* II, *The Tomb of Hetep-Heres the Mother of Cheops*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ricke, H.

1935 'Der „Hohe Sand" in Heliopolis', *ZÄS* 71: 107–111

1944 *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reichs I*, BÄBA 4, Zürich: Borchardt-Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo.

1950 *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reichs II*, BÄBA 5, Cairo: Schweizerisches Institut für ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde.

1965 *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf* I. *Der Bau*, BÄBA 7, Cairo: Schweizer Instituts für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo.

1969 *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf* II. *Die Funde*, BÄBA 8, Cairo: Schweizer Instituts für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo.

Ridley, R. T.

1983 'The Discovery of the Pyramid Text', *ZÄS* 110: 74–80.

Riemer, H.

2013 'Dating the rock art of Wadi Sura', in Kuper, R. (ed.), *Wadi Sura – The Cave of Beasts, A Rock Art Site in the Gilf Kebir (SW–Egypt)*, Köln: Heinrich-Barth-Institut, 38–41.

Robins, G.

1999 'Hair and the construction of identity in Ancient Egypt, c. 1480–1350 B.C.', *JARCE* 36: 55–69.

2001 'Color symbolism', in Redford, D. B. (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt I*, Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 291–294.

Roccati, A.

1977 'Excursus, Graffiti in the temple of the pyramid of Isesi (1)', in Maragioglio, V., Rinaldi, C., *L'architettura delle piramidi menfite* VIII, Torino: Artale: 108–116.

1982 *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 11, Paris : Editions du Cerf.

Rochholz, M.

2002 *Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration. Untersuchung zum Symbolgehalt der machtgeladenen Zahl 7 im Alten Ägypten,* ÄAT 56, Harrassowitz Verlag. Wiesbaden.

Rosalind, M., Janssen, J. J.

1990 *Growing up in Ancient Egypt*, London: The Rubicon Press.

Rossi, C.

2004 *Architecture and Mathematics in Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press.

Roth, A. M.

1991 *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom. The Evolution of a System of Social Organization*, SAOC 48, Chicago: Oriental Institute oft he University of Chicago.

Roth, S.

2006 'Der Herrscher im Fest, Zur rituellen Herrschaftslegitimation des ägyptischen Königs und ihrer Außendarstellung im Rahmen von Festen', in Bröckelmann, D., Klug, A. (eds.), *In Pharaos Staat, Festschrift fur Rolf Gundlach zum 75. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 203–249.

Rowe, A.

1931-a 'The Eckley B. Coxe, Jr., Expedition Excavations at Meydum, Egypt 1929–1930', *The Museum Journal, Pennsylvania* XXII/1: 5–84.

1931-b 'Excavations at Meydum', *The University Museum Bulletin, Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* II/6: 190–194.

1932 'Excavations at Meydum', *The University Museum Bulletin, Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* III/3-4: 77–78.

Saad, Z.

1940 'A preliminary report on the excavation at Saqqara, 1939–1940', *ASAE* 40: 675–714.

Sayce, A. H.

1903 *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark.

Schäfer, H.

1933 'Der Reliefschmuck der Berliner Tür aus der Stufenpyramide und der Königstitel *Ḥr-nb*', *MDAIK* 4: 1–17.

Seidel, M.

1996 *Die königlichen Statuengruppen* I: *Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie*, HÄB 42, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag.

Sethe, K

1917 'Ein ägyptisches Denkmal des Alten Reiches von der Insel Kythera mit dem Namen des Sonnenheiligtums des Königs Userkaf', *ZÄS* 53: 55–58.

1933 *Urkunden des Alten Reichs I*, Leipzig: Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung.

Schuller-Götzburg, T. V.

1990 *Zur Semantik der Königsikonographie. Eine Analyse des Bildprogramms der südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor,* BeitrÄg 9, Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien, 54, Vienna.

Schmitz, B.

1976 *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-NJSWT "Königssohn"*, Habelts Dissertationsdrucke: Reihe Ägyptologie 2, Bonn: Habelt.

Schneider T.

1996 *Lexikon der Pharaonen*, München: Deutsche Taschenbuch Verlag.

Schoske, S.

1994 *Die Erschlagen der Feinde: Ikonographie und Stilistik der Feindvernichtung im alten Ägypten,* Ann Arbor: UMI.

Schott, E.

1977 'Die Biographie des Ka-em-Tenenet', in Assmann, J., Feucht, E., Grieshammer, R. (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*. *Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto*, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 443–461.

Seidel, M.

1966 *Die königlichen Statuengruppen I: Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie*, HÄB 42, Hildeshei.

Seipel, W.

1980 *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Königinnen der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches: Quellen und historische Einordnung*, Hamburg University (PhD Dissertation).

Serrano, A. J.

2002 *Royal Festivals in the Late Predynastic Period and the First Dynasty*, BAR International Series 1076, Oxford: Archaeopress.

Shalomi-Hen, R.

2006 *The Writing of Gods: The Evolution of Divine Classifiers in the Old Kingdom*, GOF 38, London: Oxford University Press.

2015 'The Dawn of Osiris and the Dusk of the Sun-Temples: Religious History at the End of the Fifth Dynasty', in Der Manuelian, P., Schneider, T. (ed.), *Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Perspectives on the Pyramid*, Harvard Egyptological Studies 1, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 456–469.

Simpson, W. K.

1956 'A statuette of king Nyneter', *JEA 42*: 45–49.

1979 'Topographical notes on Giza mastabas', in Görg, M., Pusch, E. (eds.), *Festschrift Elmar Edel: 12. März 1979*, ÄAT 1, Bamberg: M. Görg, 489–499.

2003 The *Literature of Ancient Egypt, An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry, New Haven, London: Yale University Press.*

1980 *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I. Sekhemka (G1029); Tjetu I (G 2001); Iasen (G2196); Penmeru (G 2197); Hagy, Nefertjentet, and Herunefer (G 2352/53); Djaty, Tjetu II, and Nimesti (G 2337X, 2343, 2366*), Giza Mastabas 4, Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts.

1995 *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania–Yale Excavations at Abydos*, Publications of the Pennsylvania – Yale Expedition to Egypt No. 6, New Haven and Philadelphia: Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Smith, W. S.

1949 *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, London: Oxford University Press.

1971 'The Old Kingdom in Egypt and the Beginning of the First Intermediate Period', in Edwards, I. E. S., Gadd, C. J., Hammond, N. G. L. (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, Early History of the Middle East*, *Volume 1, Part 2*, 3rd edition, Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 145–207.

Sørensen, J. P.

1989 'Divine access: The so-called democratization of Egyptian funerary literature as a socio-cultural process', in Englund, G. (ed.) *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians: Cognitive Structures and Popular expressions*, Uppsala: University of Uppsala, 109–125.

Sourouzian, H.

1981 'L'apparition du pylône', *BIFAO* 81 *Suppl*: 141–151.

Spalinger, A. J.

2007 'Osiris, Re, Cheops', *ZÄS* 134: 173–184.

2013 'Further Thoughts on the Feast of *W3gj*', *Études et Travaux* 26: 616–624.

2015 'Concepts of Kingship: The Golden Horus name ', in Coppens, F., Janák, J., Vymazalová, H. (eds.), *7. Symposium zur Königsideologie, 7th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology, Royal versus Divine Authority, Acquistion, Legitimization and Renewal of Power, Prague, June 26–28 2013,* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 331–350.

Spencer, J.

1978 'Two Enigmatic Signs and Their Relation to the Sed-festival', *JEA* 64: 52–55.

Spiegel, J.

1971 *Das Auferstehungsritual der Unas-Pyramide. Beschreibung und erläuterte Übersetzung*, ÄgAbh 23, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Spiekermann, A.

2013 'Seelenbeobachtungen": die Bedeutung der Grabstatuen', in Haag, S., Hölzl, R., Jánosi, P. (eds.), *Im Schatten der Pzramiden: die österreichischen Grabungen in Giza (1912–1929). Eine Ausstellung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien, 22. Jänner bis 20. Mai 2013*, Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 102–117.

Spigelman M.

1997 'The Circumcision scene in the tomb of Ankhmahor: The first record of emergency surgery?', *BACE* 8: 91–100.

Stadelmann, R.

1982-a 'Snofru und die Pyramiden von Meidum und Dahschur', *MDAIK* 36: 437–449.

1982-b 'Die Pyramiden des Snofru in Daschur Erster Bericht über die Ausgrabungen an der nördlichen steinpyramide', *MDAIK* 38: 379–393.

1983 'Die Pyramiden des Snofru in Dahshur. Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen an der nördlichen Steinpyramide, mit einem Exkurs über: Scheintür oder Stelen im Totentempel des AR', *MDAIK 39*: 237–241.

1990 *Die Großen Pyramiden von Giza*, Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt.

1994 'König Teti und der Beginn der 6. Dynastie', in Berger, C., Clerc, G., Grimal, N. (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant I. Ètudes Pharaoniques*, BdÉ 106/1, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 327–335.

1997 *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden. Vom Ziegelbau zum Weltwunder*, Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 30, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

2011 'The heb-sed Temple of Senefru at Dahshur', in Bárta, M., Coppens, F., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 736–746.

Stadelmann, R., Alexanian, N., Ernst, H., Heindl, G., Raue, D.

1993 'Pyramiden und Nekropole des Snofru in Dahschur. Dritter Vorbericht über die Grabungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Dahschur', *MDAIK* 49: 259–294.

Stasser, Th.

2013 *La Mère royale Seshseshet, et les débouts de la VI^{e} dynastie*, Bruxelles, Éditions Safran.

Stockfisch, D.

2003 *Untersuchungen Zum Totenkult des ägyptischen Königs im Alten Reich: Die Dekoration der Königlichen Totenkultanlagen*, Schriftenreihe Antiquitates 25, Hamburg: Kovač.

Strouhal, E.

1992 *Life of the Ancient Egyptians*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

2002 'The Anthropological Evaluation of Human Skeletal Remains from the Mastabas of Djedkare Isesi's Family Cemetery at Abusir', in Verner, M., Callender, V. G., *Abusir VI. Djedkare's Family Cemetery*, Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 119–132.

Strouhal, E., Němečková, A.

2006 'Identification of King Raneferef according to Human Remains Found in the Burial Chamber of the Unfinished Pyramid', in Verner, M. et al., *Abusir IX. The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef. The Archaeology*, Prague: Czech Institute Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 513–518.

Strouhal, E., Gaballa, M. F.

1993 'King Djedkare Isesi and his Daughters', in Davies, W. V., Walker, R. (eds.), *Biological Anthropology and the Study of the Ancient Egypt*, London: British Museum London, 104–118.

Strouhal, E., Vyhnánek, L., Gaballa, M. F., Saunders, S., Woelfli, W., Bonani, G., Němečková, A.

2001 'Identification of Royal Skeletal Remains from Egyptian Pyramids', *Anthropologie* 39/1: 15–23.

Strudwick, N.

1985 *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, Studies in Egyptology, London: KPI.

2005 *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, Writings from the Ancient World 16, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Swelim, N.

1987 *The Brick Pyramid at Abu Roash, Numbered 1 by Lepsius,* Alexandria, Archaeological Society of Alexandria.

Tallet, P.

2010 'Prendre la mer à Ayn Soukhna au temps du roi Isési', *BSFE* 177–178 Juin–Octobre: 18–22.

2012–a 'New Inscriptions from Ayn Soukhna 2002–2009', in Tallet, P., Mahfouz, S. (eds.), *The Red Sea in Pharaonic Times. Recent Discoveries along the Red Sea Coast. Proceedings of the Colloquium held in Cairo / Ayn Soukhna 11th–12th January 2009*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 105–115.

2012–b *La zone minière pharaonique du Sinaï–I. catalogue complémentaire des inscriptions du Sinaï*, MIFAO 130, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

2013 'Les papyrus de la mer Rouge (ouadi el-Jarf, golf de Suez)', *CRAI* 2013 II: 1015–1024.

2014 'Des papyrus du temps de Cheops au ouadi el-Jarf', *BSFÉ* 188, Fevrier 2014: 25–49.

Tillier, A.

2011 "À propos de *nṯr nfr* comme épithète divine: contribution à l'étude d'Osiris-roi au Moyen Empire", *RdE* 62: 159–174.

Vachala, B.

1979 'Ein weiterer Beleg für die Königin Repewetnebu?', *ZÄS* 106: 176.

2007 'Obřízka ve starém Egyptě, ikonografické a textové doklady', *Vesmír* 86: 660–664.

Valloggia, M.

1952 *Abou Rawash I, Les complexe funéraire royal de Rêdjedef*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Vandier, J.

1952 *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne I*, Paris: A. et J. Picard.

1968 ‘Une stèle égyptienne portant un nouveau nom royal de la IIIe dynastie’, *CRAIBL*: 16–22.

Verner, M.

1985-a ‘Les Statuettes de Prisonniers en bois d’Abousir’, *RdE* 36: 145–152.

1985-b ‘Les sculptures de Rêneferef découvertes à Abousir’, *BIFAO* 85: 267–280.

1988 ‘Excavations at Abusir: season 1987 – preliminary report’, *ZÄS* 115: 163–171.

1990 ‘A late Dynasty 5 cemetery at Abusir’, *ZÄS* 117: 72–79.

1995 *Abusir III. The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus,* Praha: Universitas Carolina, Academia.

2000 ‘Who was Shepseskara, and when did he reign?’, in Bárta, M., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, ArOr Supplementa 9, Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 582–585

2001 ‘Archaeological remarks on the 4th and 5th dynasty chronology’, *ArOr* 69: 363–418.

2002 *The Pyramids: Their Archaeology and History*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo.

2006-a ‘An Unusual Burial Practice’, in Czerny, E., Hein, I., Hunger, H., Melman, D., Schwab, A. (eds.), *Timeless Studies in honour of Mannfred Bietak I*, OLA 149, Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA: Peeters, 399–401.

2006-b ‘The Columns of Abusir’, in Bárta, M. (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology. Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague, May 31–June 4, 2004*, Prague: Academia, 343–355.

2006-c ‘II.4 Contemporaneous Evidence for the Relative Chronology of Dyns. 4 and 5’, in Hornung, E., Krauss, R., Warburton, D. A., (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology,* HdO 83, Leiden–Boston: Brill: 124–143.

2008-a ‘The System of dating in the Old Kingdom’, in Vymazalová, H., Bárta, M. (eds.), *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt (The Third Millennium B.C)*, Prague: Czech Institute Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 23–43.

2008-b ‘Builders’ marks’, in Krejčí, J., Callender, V. G., Verner, M., et al., *Abusir XII. Minor Tombs in the Royal Necropolis. The Mastaba of Nebtyemneferes and Nakhtsare, Pyramid Complex Lepsius no. 24 and Tomb Complex Lepsius no. 25*, Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 216–228.

2010 ‘Several considerations concerning the Old Kingdom royal palace (ʿḥ)’, *Anthropologie XLVIII/2*: 91–96

2014 *Sons of the Sun, Rise and Decline of the Fifth Dynasty,* Prague: Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts.

2015 ‘Sanctuary *Meret* and the Royal Cult’, in Coppens, F., Janák, J., Vymazalová, H. (eds.), *7. Symposium zur Königsideologie, Royal versus Divine Authority, acquisition, Legitimization and renewal of power*, *Prague, June 26–28, 2013*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 325–330.

Verner, M. et al.

2006 *Abusir IX. The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef. The Archaeology,* Prague: Czech Institute Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague.

Verner, M., Callender, V, G.

2002 *Abusir VI. Djedkare’s Family Cemetery*, Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague.

Vassilika, E.

1989 *Potlemaic Philae*, Leuven: Peeters.

Voss, S.

2004 *Untersuchungen zu den Donnenheiligtümern der 5. Dynastie. Bedeutung und Funktion eines singulären Tempeltyps im Alten Reich*, Hamburg University (PhD dissertation).

Vymazalová, H.

2015 *The Administration and Economy of the Pyramid Complexes and Royal Funerary Cults in the Old Kingdom*, Prague (unpublished habilitation thesis).

2016 ‘Feasts in written evidence from the 5th Dynasty royal necropolis of Abusir’, in Landgráfová, R., Mynářová, J. (eds.), *Rich in Years, Great in Victories: Studies in Honour* of Tony Spalinger, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 331–340.

Forthcoming ‘Self-presentation in the late Old Kingdom (Dynasties 5–6)’, in Bassir, H. (ed), *Self-Presentation in Ancient Egypt*, Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, forthcoming.

Vymazalová, H., Coppens, F.

2008 ‘König Menkauhor, Ein kaum bekannter Herrscher der 5. Dynastie’, *Sokar* 17: 32–39.

2011-a *Moudrost svitků boha Thovta: Vědecké poznání za vlády faraonů*, Prague: Charles University in Prague

2011-b ‘Statues and Rituals for Khentkaus II. A reconsideration of some papyrus fragments from the queen's funerary complex’, in Bárta, M., Coppens, F., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 777–791.

2013-a ‘The Clothing Ritual in the Royal Temples of Abusir – Image versus Reality’, in Beinlich, H. (ed.), *9. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Kultabbildung und Kultrealität*,

Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 3/4, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 367–377.

2013-b ‘Two hieratic inscriptions from the tomb of Werkaure (Lepsius Pyramid No. XXIII) in Abusir’, in Bárta, M., Küllmer, H. (eds.), *Diachronic Trends in Ancient Egyptian History, Studies dedicated to the memory of Eva Pardey*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts, 123–135.

Vymazalová, H., Dulíková, V.

2012 ‘Sheretnebty, a king’s daughter from Abusir South’, *ArOr* 80: 339–356.

2014 ‘New evidence on princess Sheretnebty from Abusir South’, *ArOr* 82/1: 1–19.

Vyse, H.

1842 *Appendix to Operations Carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh in 1837. Containing a Survey by J. S. Perring, ESO. Civil Engineer, of the Pyramids at Abou Roash, and to the Southward, Including those in Faiyoum. III*, London: Fraser.

Waddell, W. G.

1940 *Manetho*, London.

Wartke, R. B.

1977 ‘Zum Alabaster-Altar des Königs Sahu-Re’, *ZÄS* 104, 145–156.

Weeks, K. R.

1994 *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000: including G 6010 (Neferbauptah), G 6020 (Iymery), G 6030 (Ity), G 6040 (Shepseskafankh)*, Giza Mastabas 5, Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts.

Weill, R.

1911–1912 ‘Un temple de Noutirkha–Zosir à Héliopolis’, *Sphinx* 15: 9–26.

Westendorf, W.

1999 *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin,* Brill, Leiden, Boston, Köln.

2005 ‘Noch einmal: Das Wort „ama“ Knabe/Jüngling/ Unbeschnittener/ Unreiner’, *GM* 206: 103–110.

Wiedemann, A.

1907 ‘W. Max Müller, Egyptological Researches’, *OLZ* 7: 374–376.

Wilfong, T. G.

1993 ‘The Egyptological papers of Klaus Baer in the Oriental Institute Museum Archives’, in Silverman, D. P. (ed.), *For his Ka. Essays offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 285–323.

Wilkinson, R. H.

1994 *Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art*, London: Thames & Hudson.

2000 *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*, London: Thames & Hudson.

Wilkinson, T. A. H.

2000 *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt: The Palermo Stone and Its Associated Fragments*, London: Kegan Paul.

2001 *Early Dynastic Egypt*, London: Routledge.

Wilson, E. G.

2001 *The Cult of Re in the Old Kingdom*, Sydney, Thesis of the degree of doctor of philosophy, Division of Humanities, Department of Ancient History (Egyptology).

Winter, E.

1957 'Zur Deutung der Sonnenheiligtümer der 5. Dynastie', *WZKM* 54, 222–233

de Wit, C.

1972 'La circoncision chez les anciens Egyptiens', *ZÄS* 99: 41–48.

Youssef, M.

2011 'New scenes of hunting a hippopotamus from the burial chamber of Unas', in Bárta, M., Coppens, F., Krejčí, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague: Charles University in Prague, 820–822.

Žába, Z.

1956 *Les Maximes de Ptaḥḥotep*, Praha: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd.

Zelenková, L.

2010 'The Royal Kilt in Non-Royal Iconography? The Tomb Owner Fowling and Spear-Fishing in the Old and Middle Kingdom', *BACE* 21: 141–166.

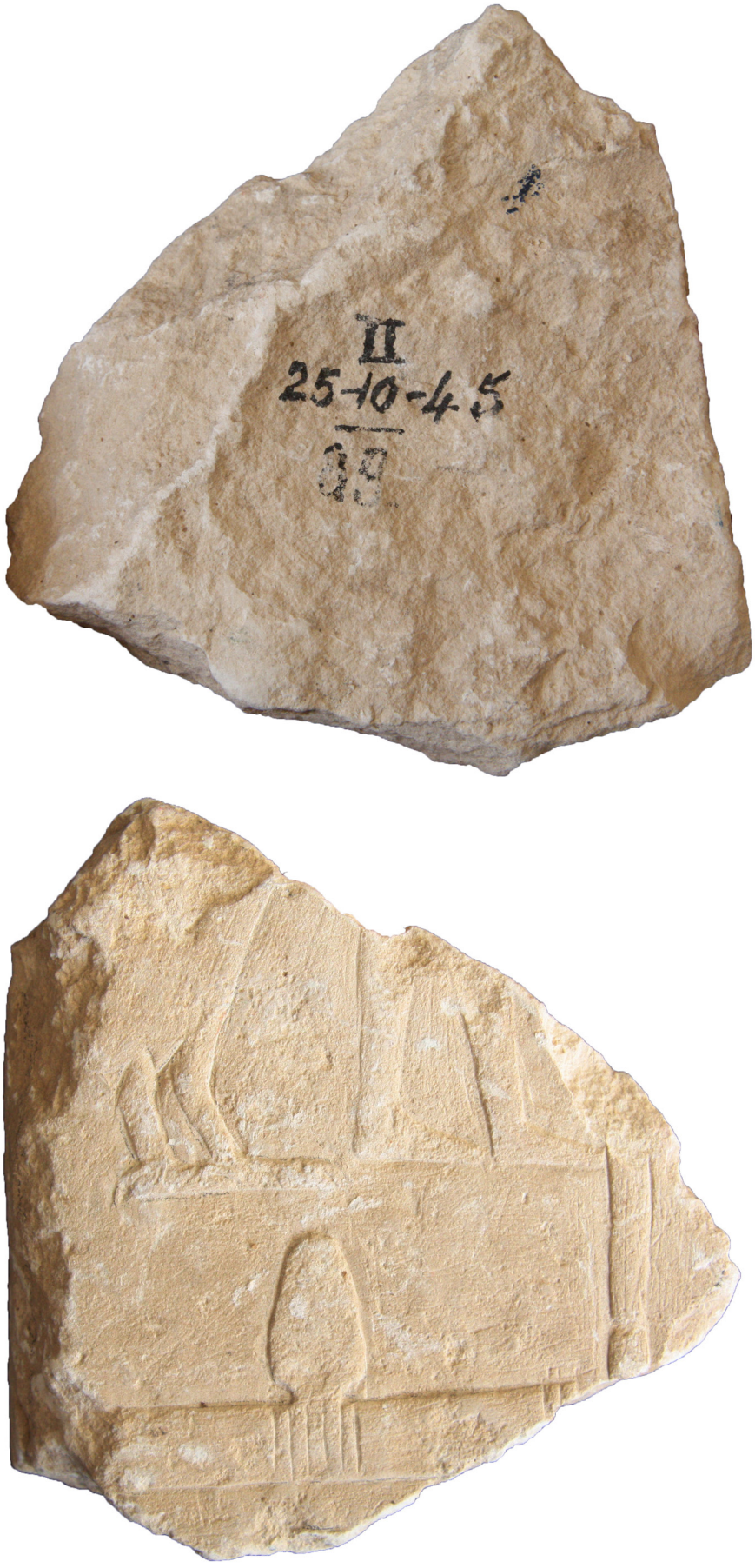
Ziegler, Ch.

1997 'Sur quelques vases inscrits de l'Ancien Empire', in Berger, C., Mathieu, B. (eds.), *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra, dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer*, OrMonsp 9, Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 461–469.

2004 'Qahédjet', in Institut du monde arabe (ed.) *Pharaon*: *exposition présentée à l'Institut du monde arabe à Paris, du 15 octobre 2004 au 10 avril 2005*, Paris: Institut Du Monde Arabe, Flammarion, 72–73.

Pl. 1. Plan of the pyramid complex of Djedkare in south Saqqara showing the actual system of numbering sectors used by the author (M. Megahed after Maragioglio, Rinaldi 1977, pl. 16, fig. 1).

PLATE 2



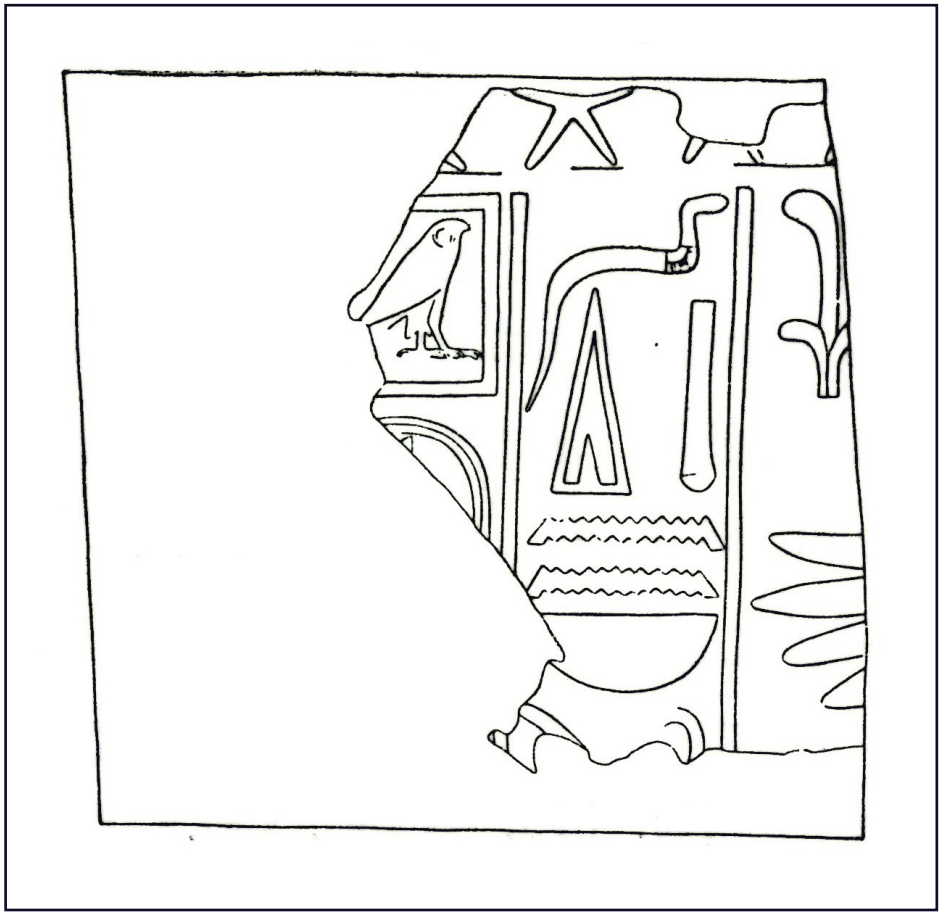
Pl. 2. One of the relief fragments with a date of discovery written on the back side, indicating that this fragment was found during A. Hussein's exploration of Djedkare's pyramid complex (photograph M. Megahed).

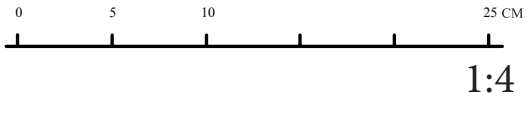
A

B

Pl. 3. Decorated block from Wenis's causeway, found in the shaft tomb of Wedjahor at Saqqara (photograph M. Megahed).

Pl. 4. Relief fragment with remains of a *ḫkrw*-frieze, found in the pyramid complex Lepsius 29 at Saqqara (photograph M. Megahed).





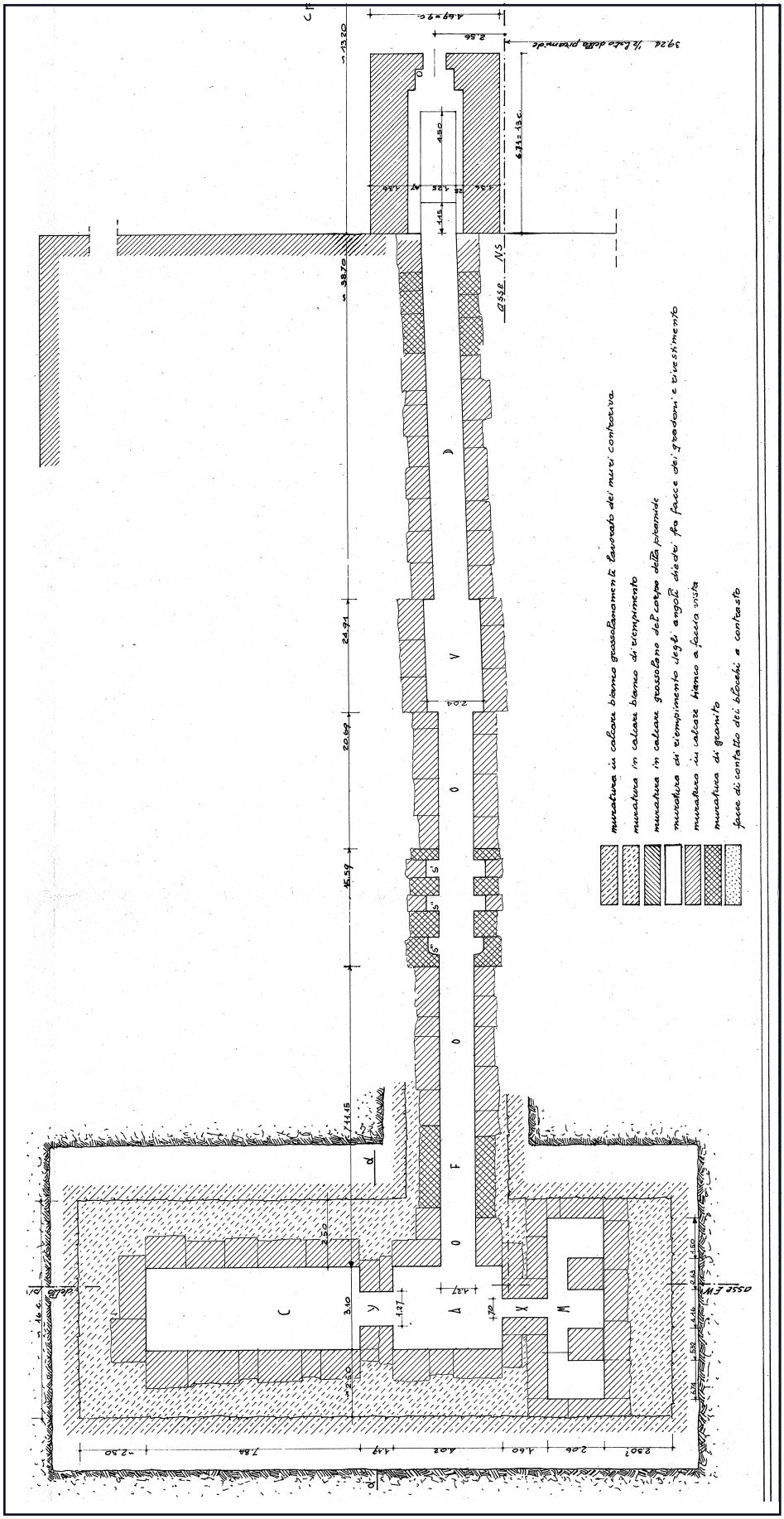
Pl. 5. Drawing of a relief fragment with traces of Djedkare's name, found in the pyramid complex of Wenis (after Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, fig. 147).

Pl. 6. A red granite doorjamb with the name of the king found in Djedkare's pyramid complex (photograph M. Megahed).

A

B

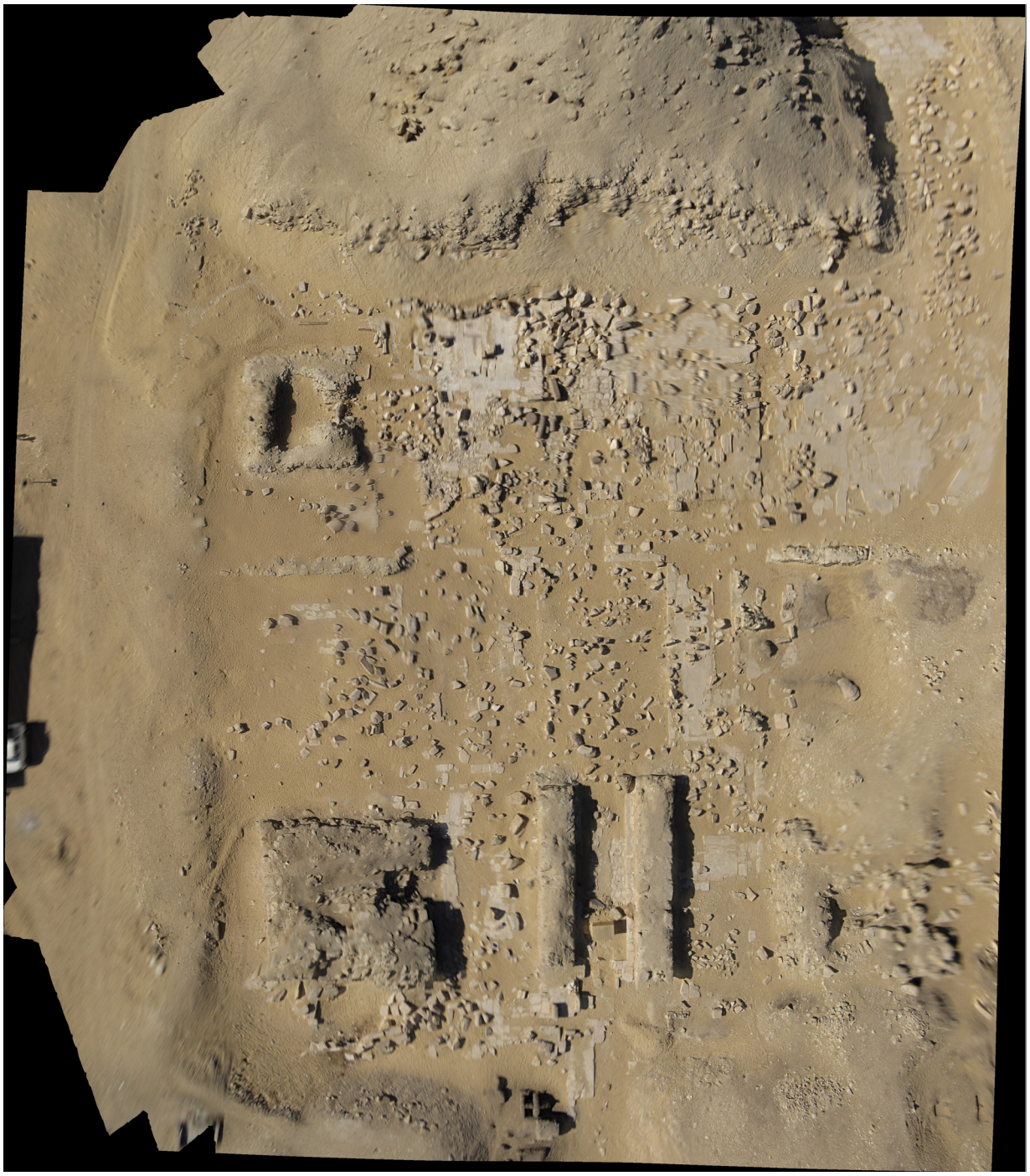
Pl. 7. View to the northern side of the pyramid complex during the work of M. Abdel Razeq in 1980 (photograph H. El-Tayeb) and the same place in 2015 (photograph M. Megahed).



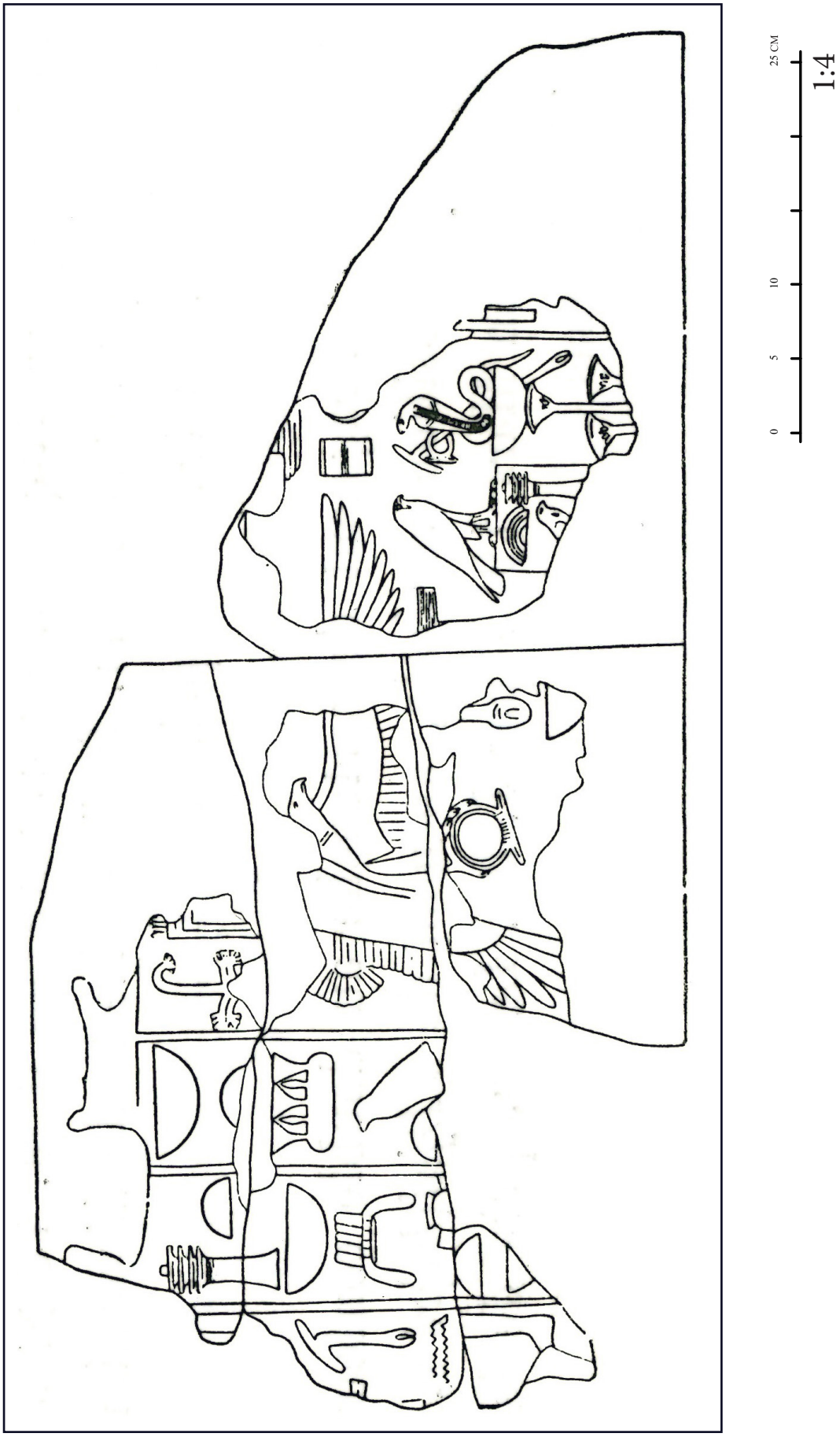
Pl. 8. Plan of the substructure of Djedkare's pyramid (after Maragiogli, Rinaldi 1977, Pl. 12).

Pl. 9. The antechamber of Djedkare's pyramid, view from west, with the entrance to the *serdab* in the east wall (photograph S. Vannini).

Pl. 10. a-The burial chamber of Djedkare's pyramid, view from east (photograph S. Vannini) b-Detail of the chamber's ceiling showing a wooden piece between the ceiling blocks (photograph M. Megahed).

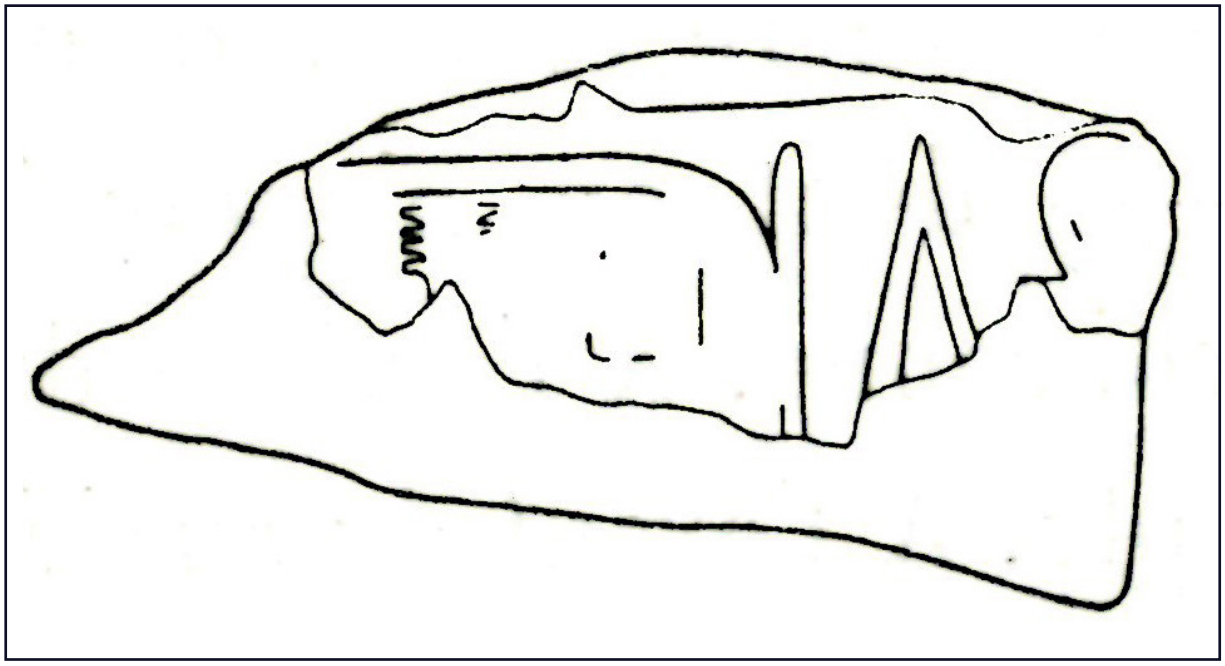


Pl. 11 Photogrammetric aerial view of the funerary temple of Djedkare's pyramid complex, achieved by kite photography (V. Brůna).

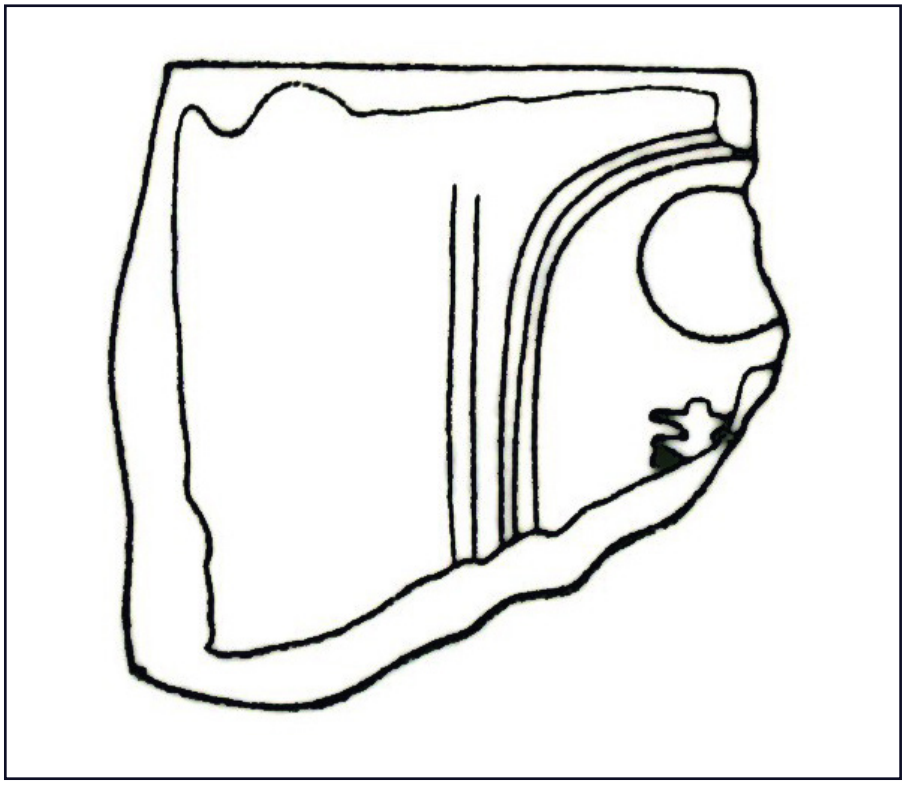


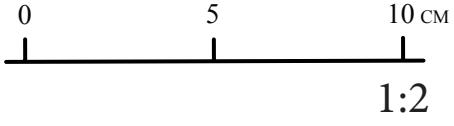
Pl. 12. Drawing of reused fragments in Wenis's pyramid, show royal inscription of the Horus name of Djedkare and other names of protective deities, Cat. no. 1 (after Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, fig. 148).

A

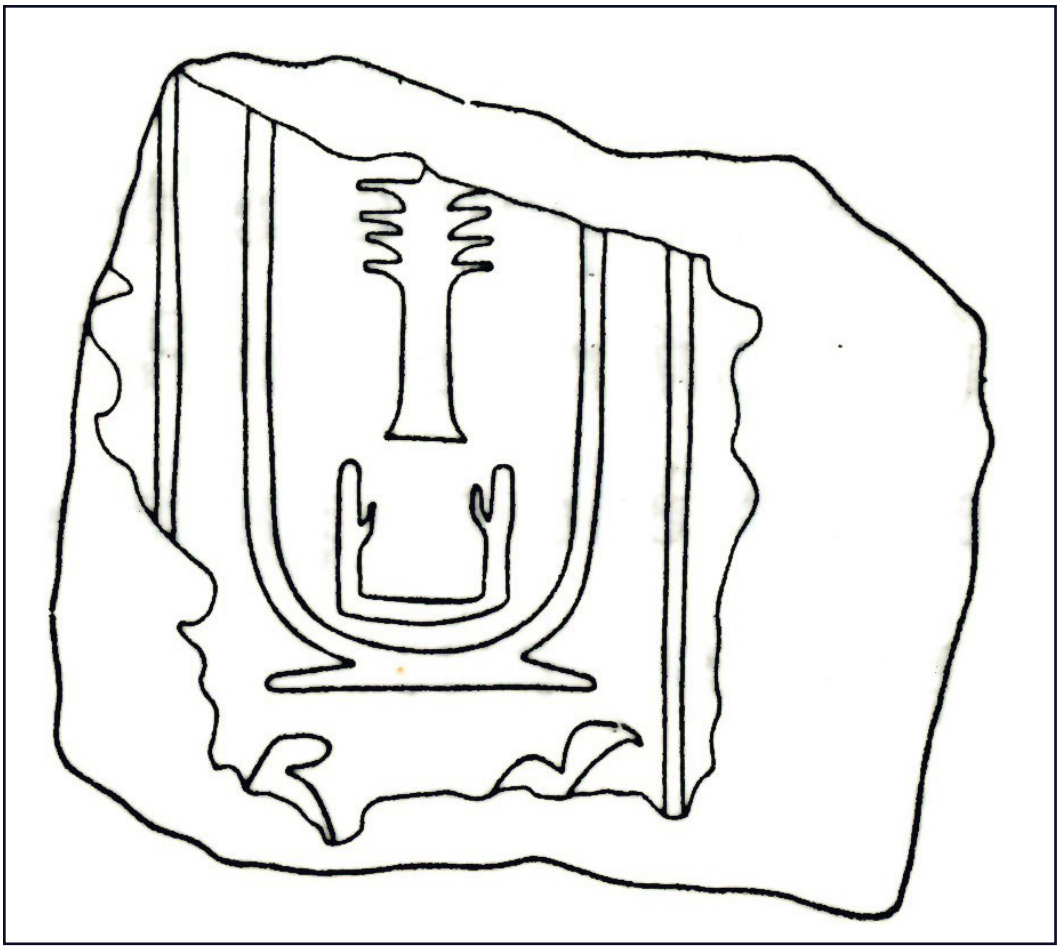


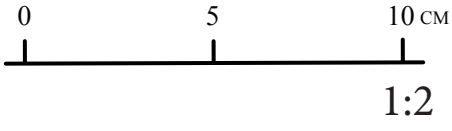
B



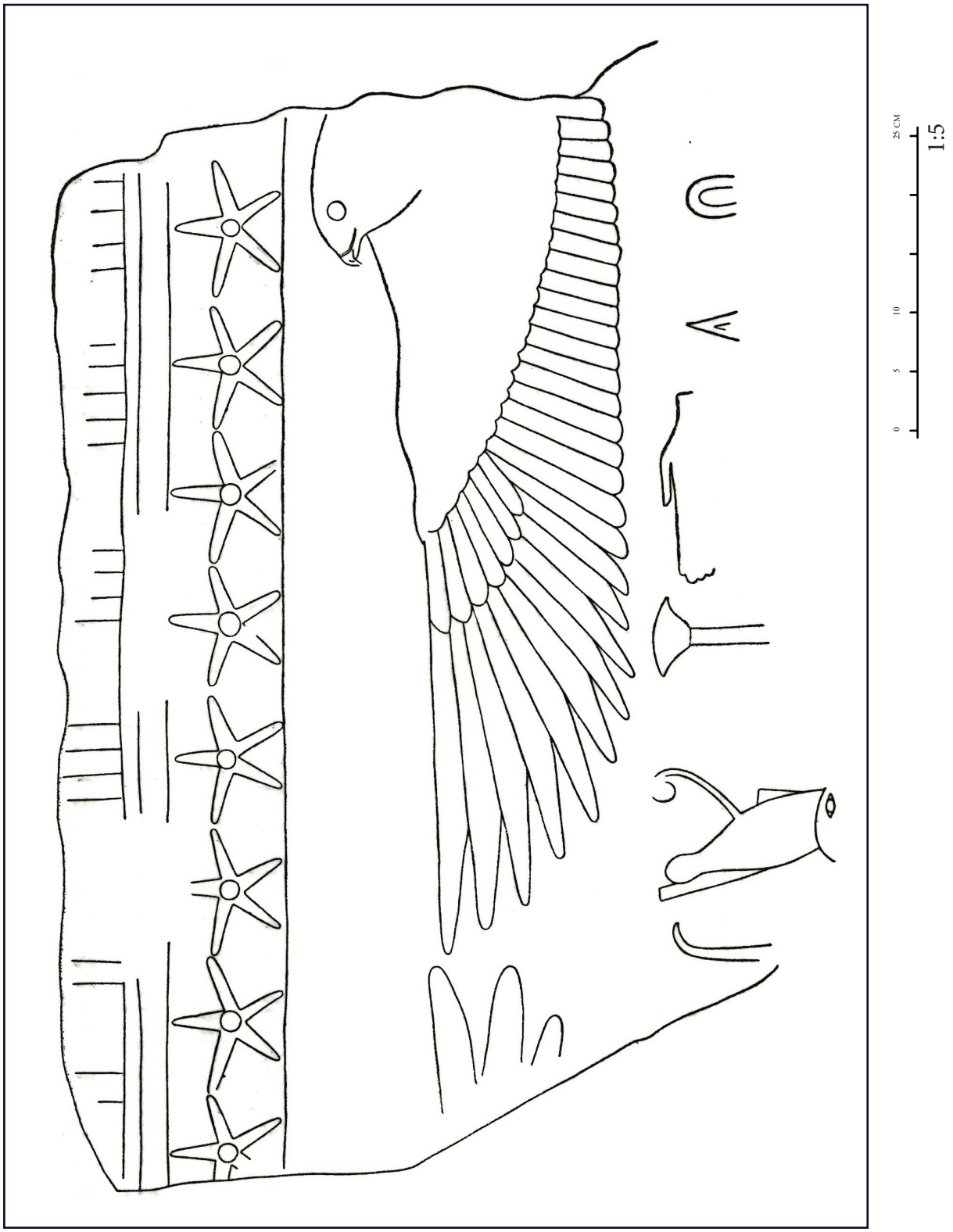


Pl. 13. a and b-Drawings of fragments were reused in the pyramid of Wenis and depicting King Djedkare's cartouche, Cat. nos. 2 and 3 (after Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, figs. 150 and 151).

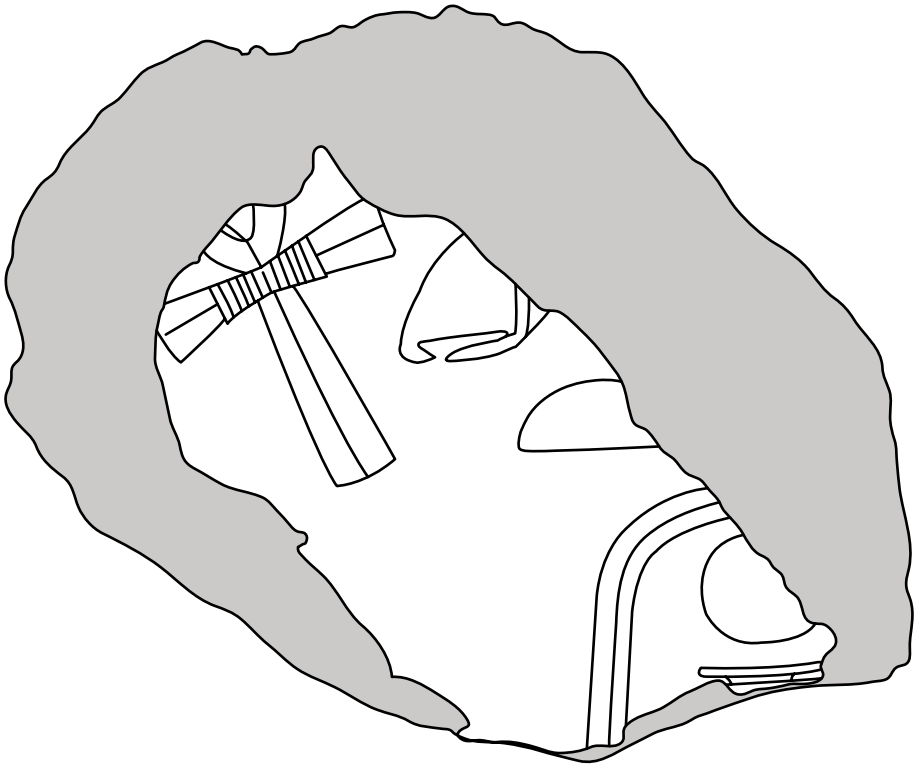




Pl. 14. Drawing of a reused fragment in Wenis's pyramid, which shows King Djedkare's cartouche and his *Nbty* name, Cat. no. 4 (after Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, fig. 152).

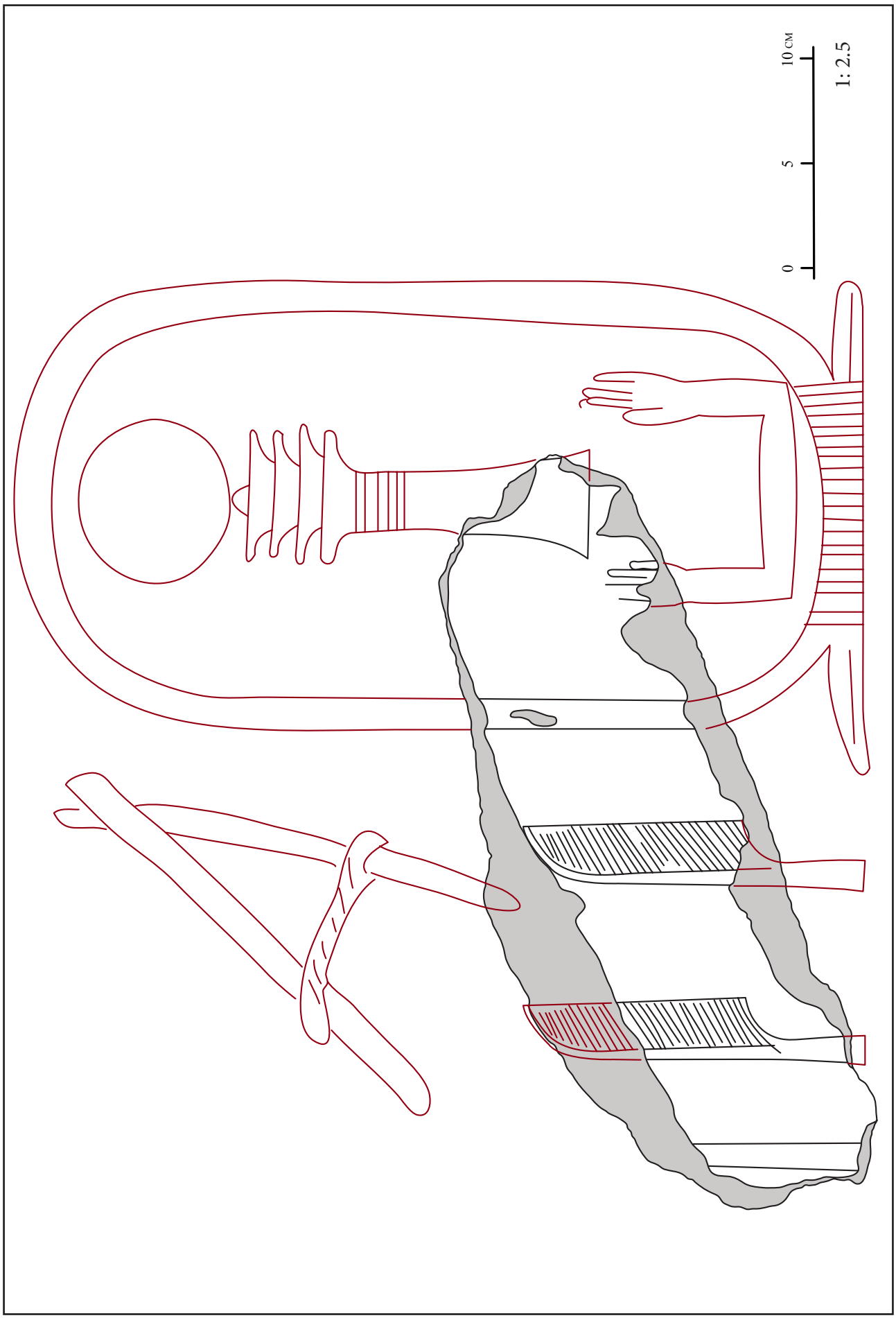


Pl. 15. Drawing of a large reused fragment in Wenis's pyramid, depicting Djedkare's *nśwt bity* name together with the name of goddess Wadjet, Cat. no. 5 (after Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, fig. 153).

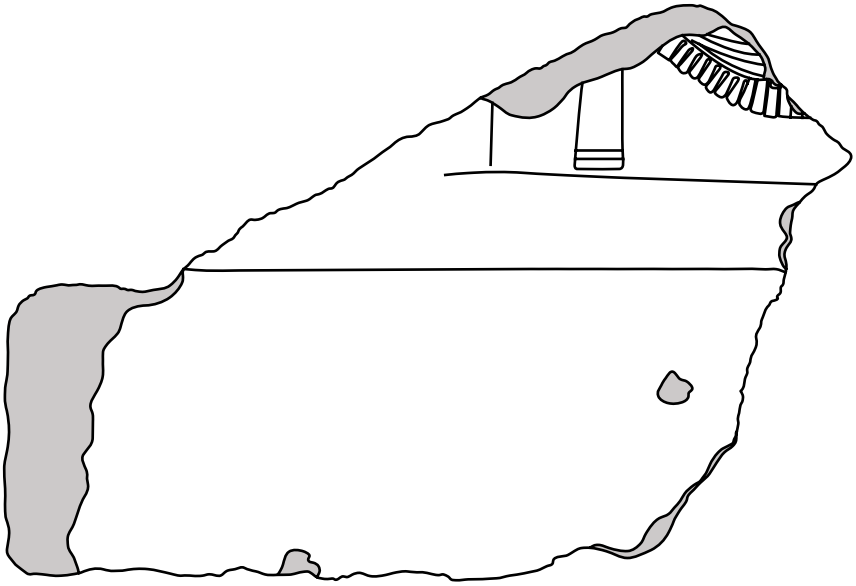


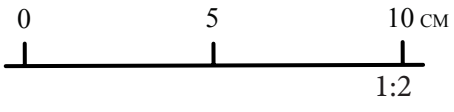
Pl. 16. Fragment of relief showing traces of the *nświt bity* name of King Djedkare, Cat. no. 6.

Pl. 17. Fragment of relief showing traces of Djedkare's cartouche, Cat. no. 7

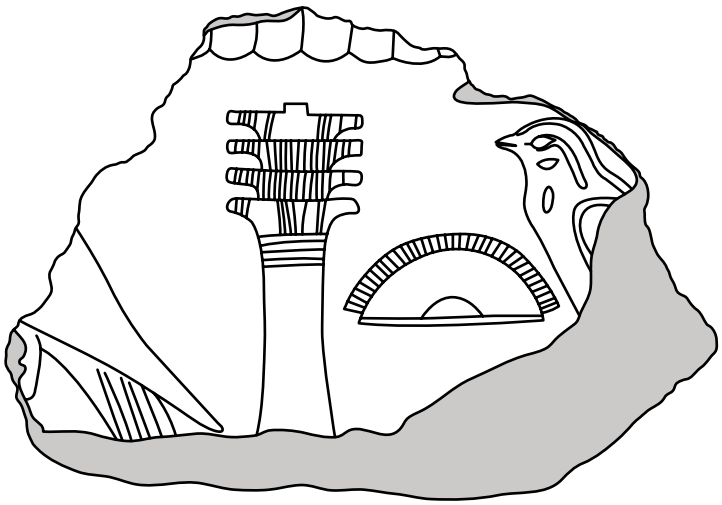


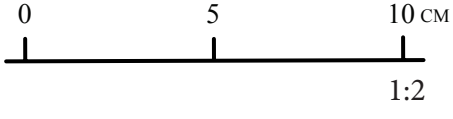
Pl. 18. Reconstruction of Djedkare's cartouche, Cat. no. 7.



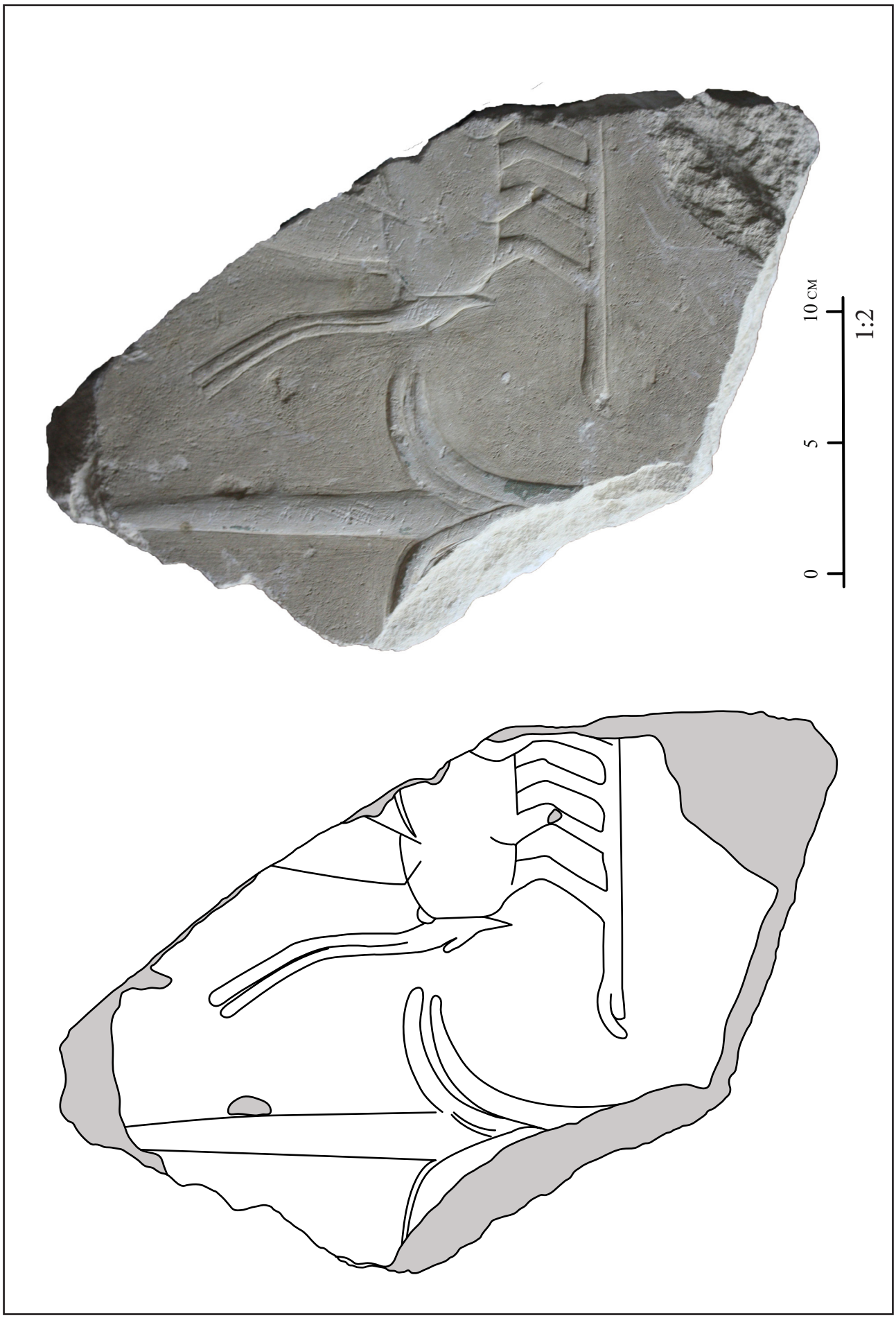


Pl. 19. Fragment of relief showing traces of the Djedkare's Golden Falcon name, Cat. no. 8.

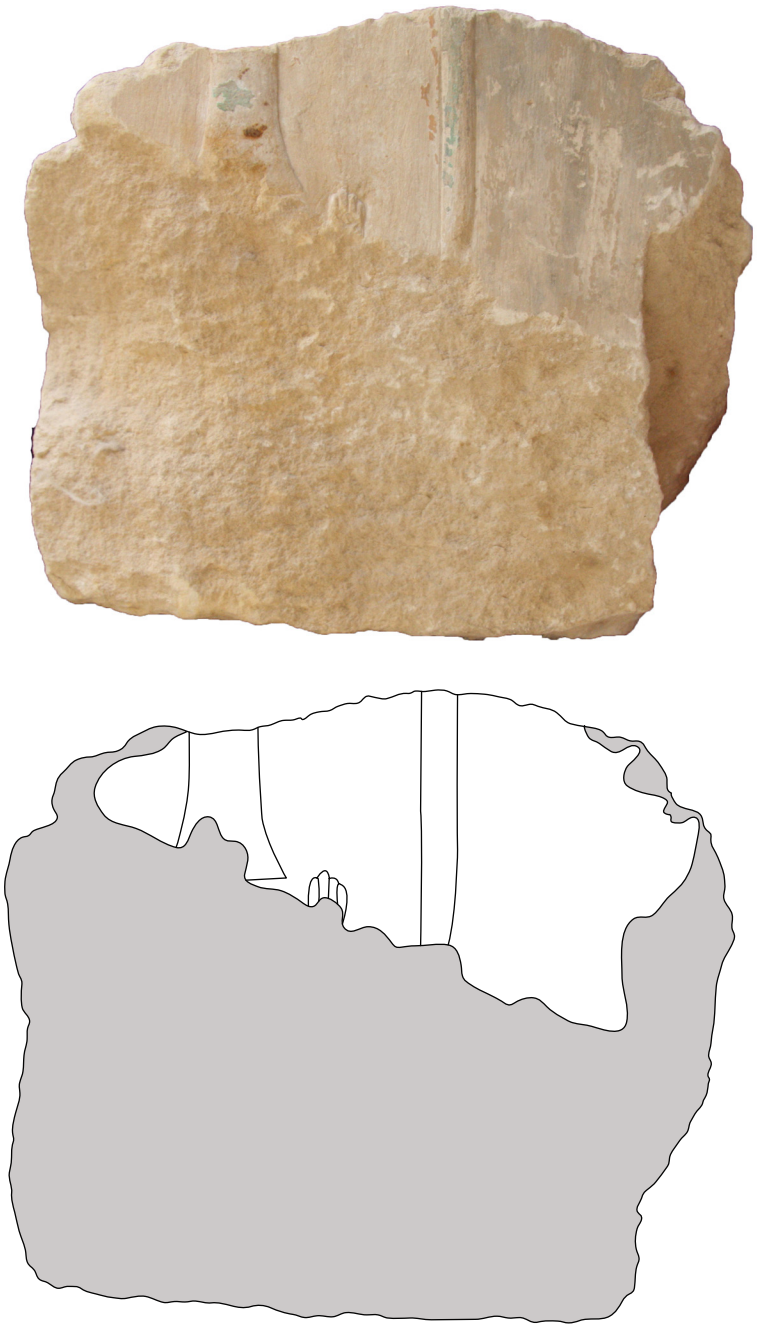




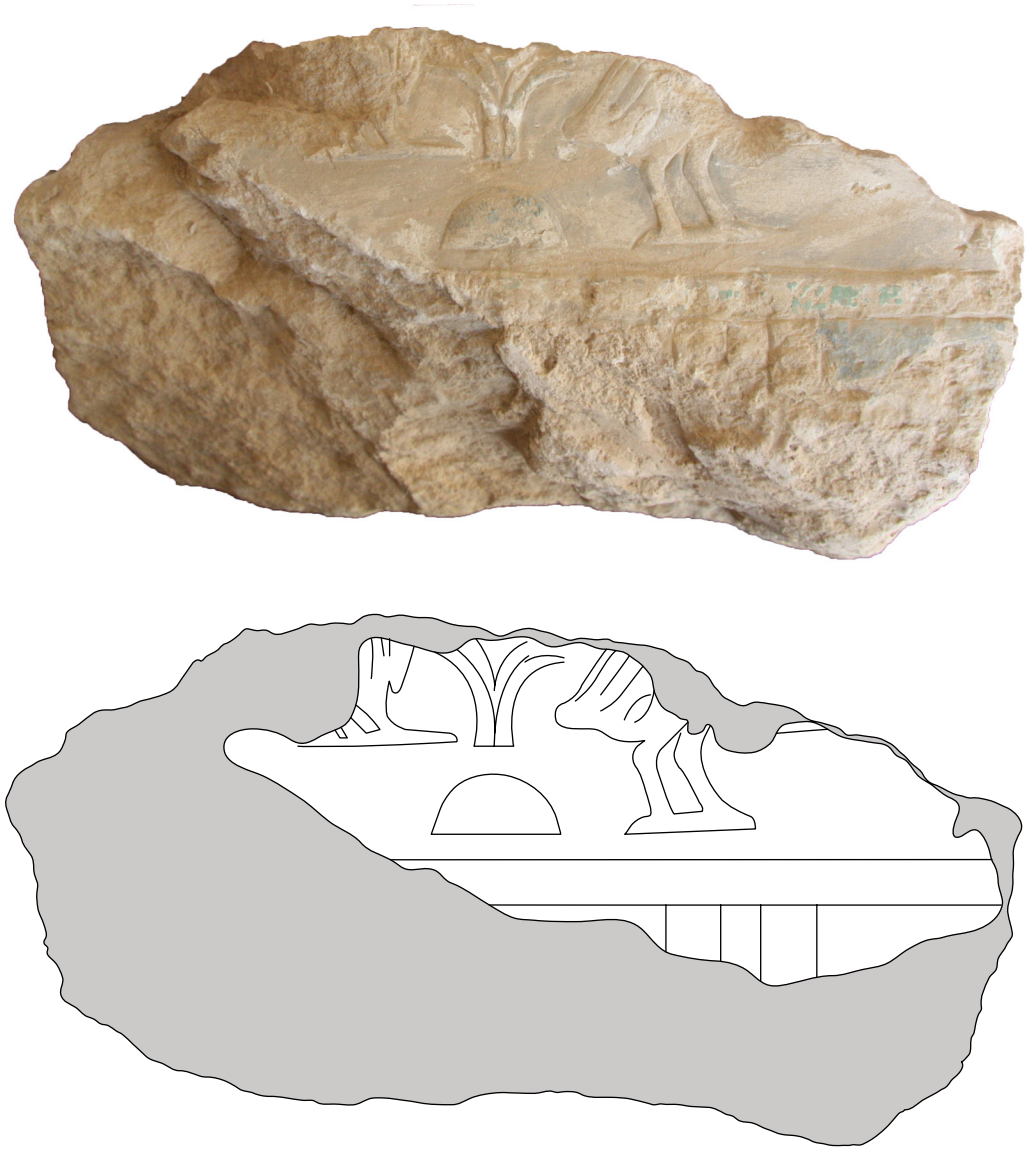
Pl. 20. Fragment of relief showing parts of King Djedkare's Horus name, Cat. no. 9.

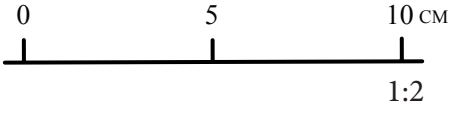


Pl. 21. Fragment of relief showing parts of the *nśwt bity* name of Djedkare, Cat. no. 10.

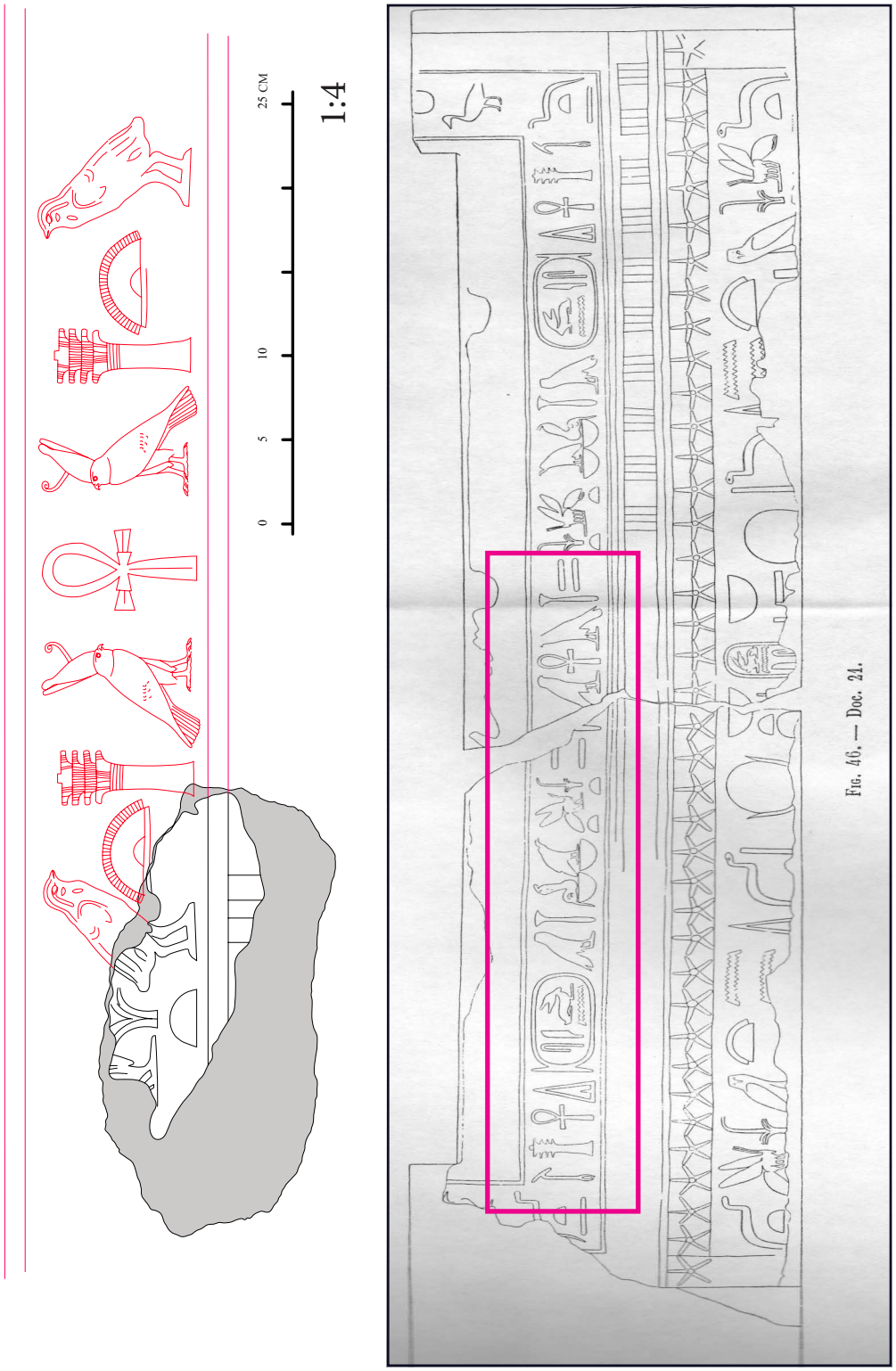


Pl. 22. Fragment of relief showing parts of Djedkare's cartouche, Cat. no. 11.

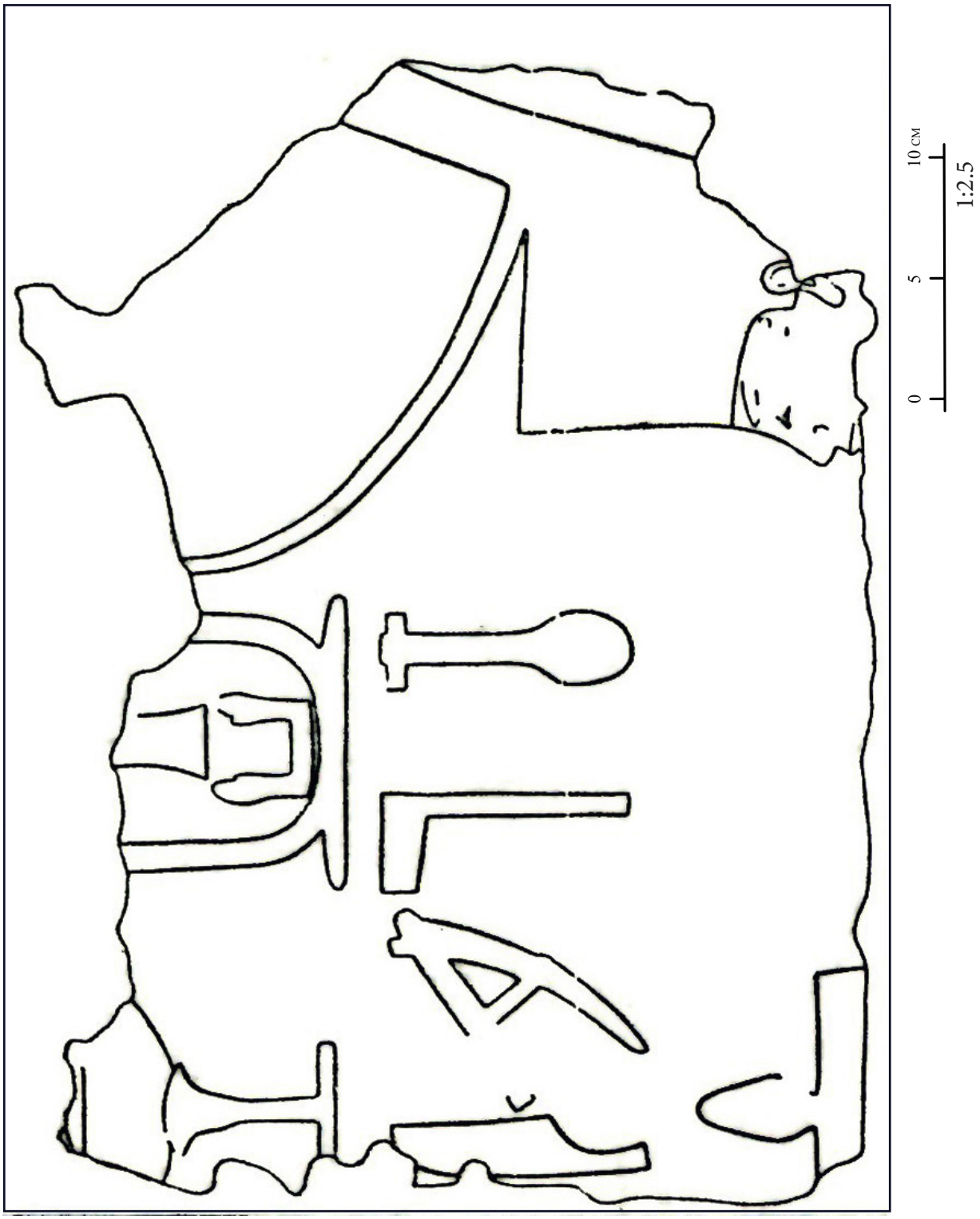




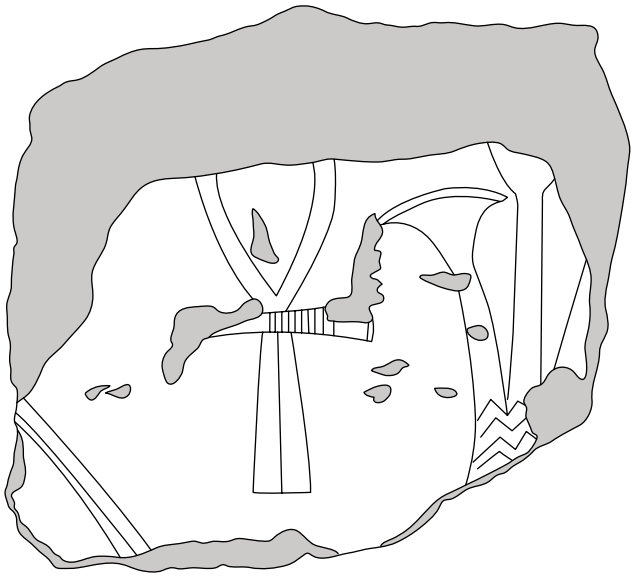
Pl. 23. Fragment of a lintel showing the Horus and the *nśwt bity* names of Djedkare, Cat. no. 12.

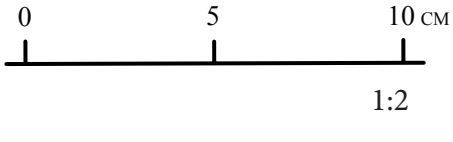


Pl. 24. Reconstruction of Cat. no. 12 (top) and a similar inscription on a lintel from Wenis's pyramid complex (bottom, after Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, fig. 46).



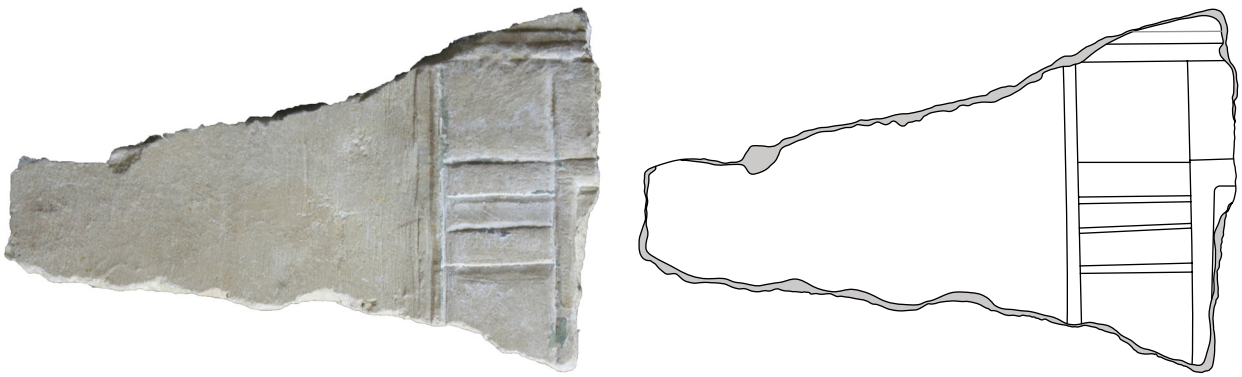
Pl. 25. Drawing of a reused fragment in Wenis's pyramid, which shows parts of Djedkare's name inside a cartouche and the king's figure, Cat. no. 13 (after Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, fig. 145).

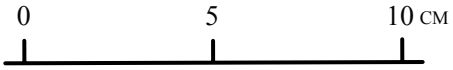




Pl. 26. Fragment of relief showing parts of Djedkare's left leg and a blessing formula, Cat. no. 14.

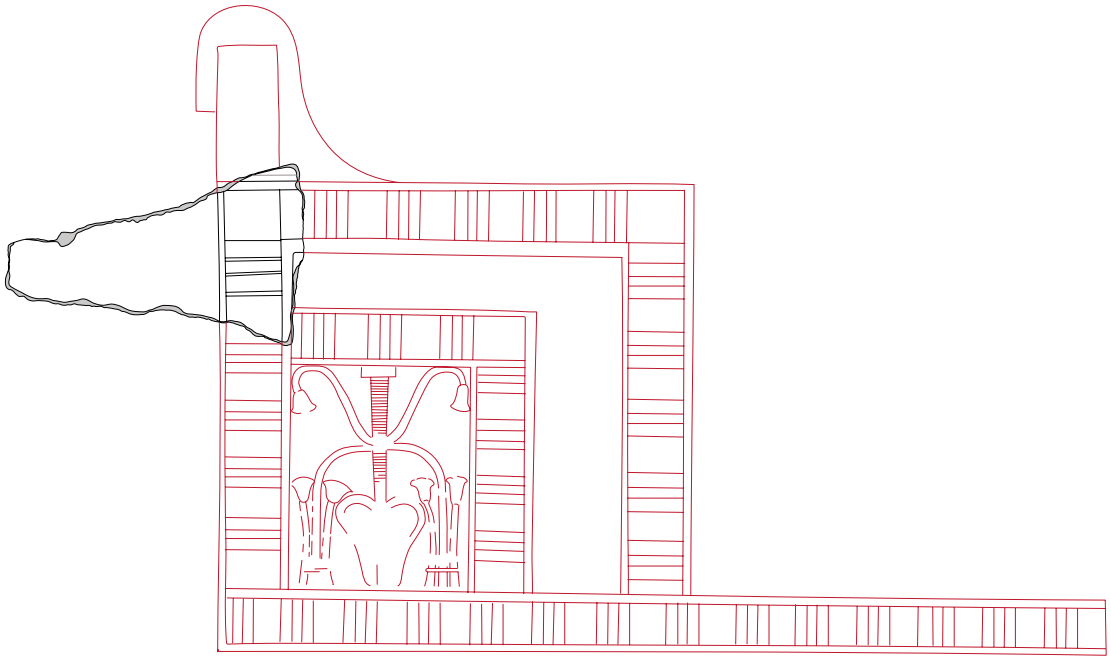
A

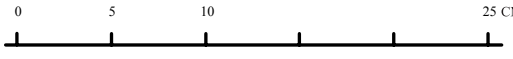




1:2

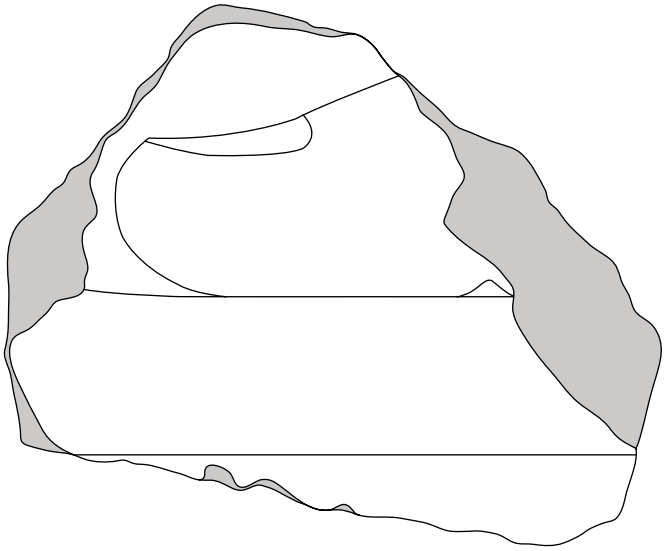
B

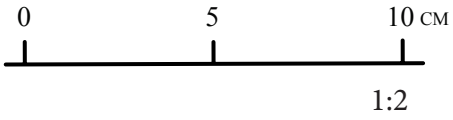




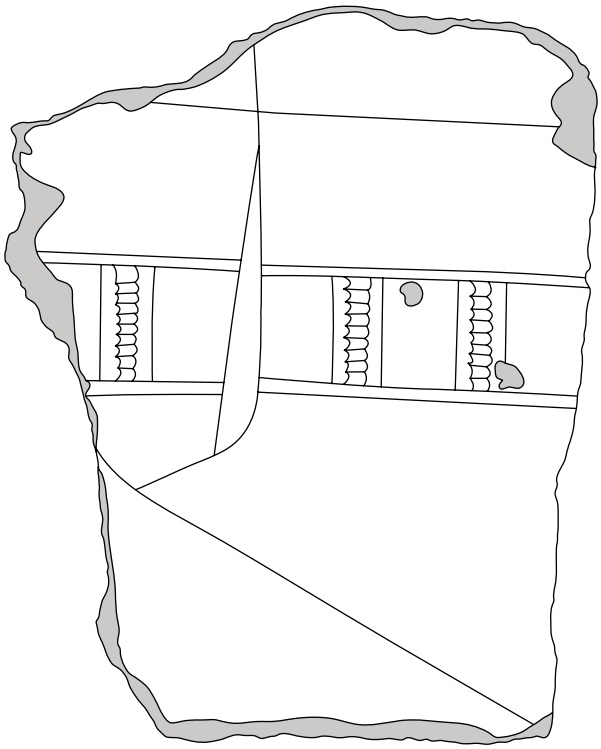
1:4

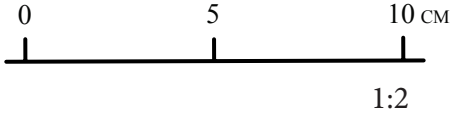
Pl. 27 a-Fragment of relief depicting parts of a throne and its reconstruction (b), Cat. no. 15.



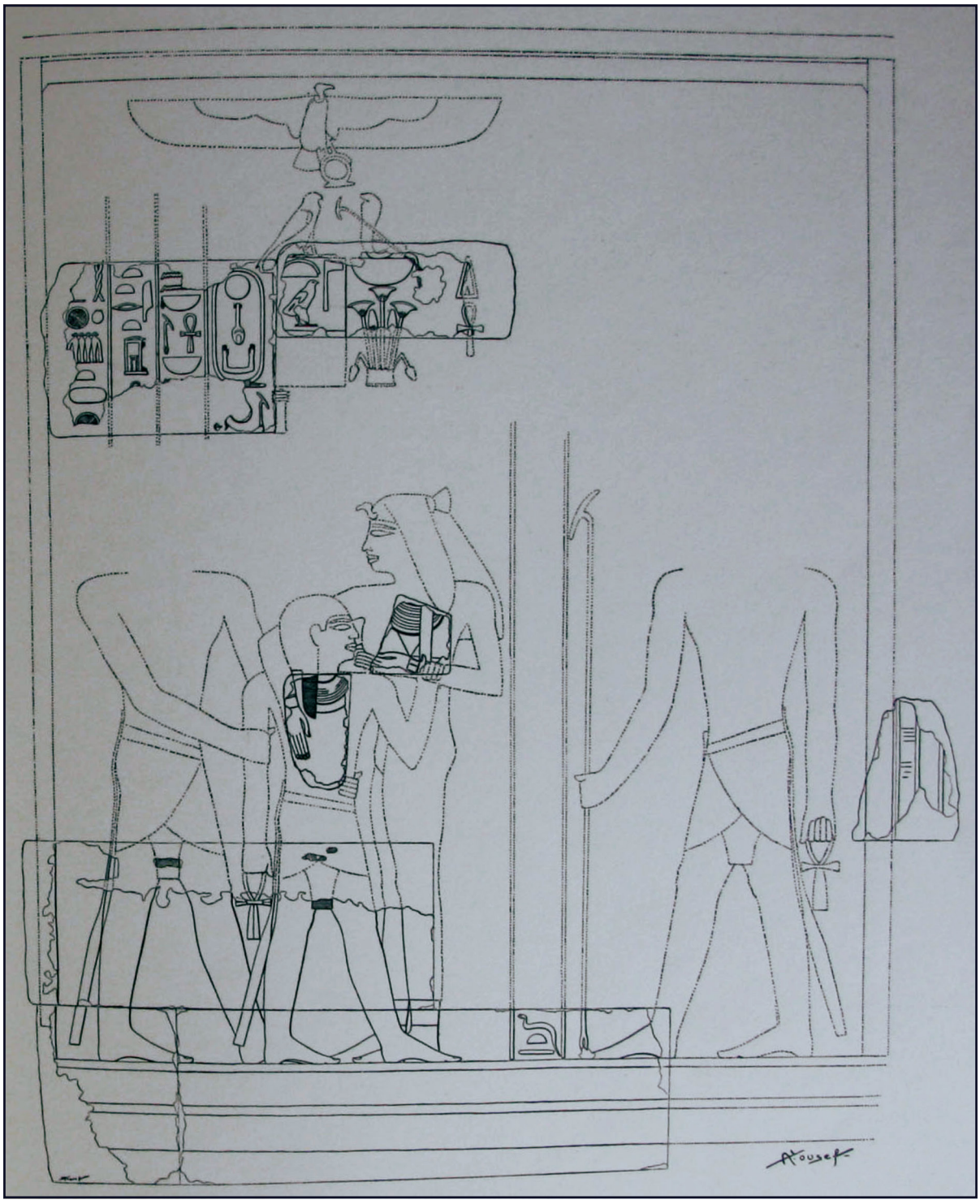


Pl. 28. Fragment of relief showing traces of a large toe of a striding figure, prehaps of Djedkare, Cat. no. 16.

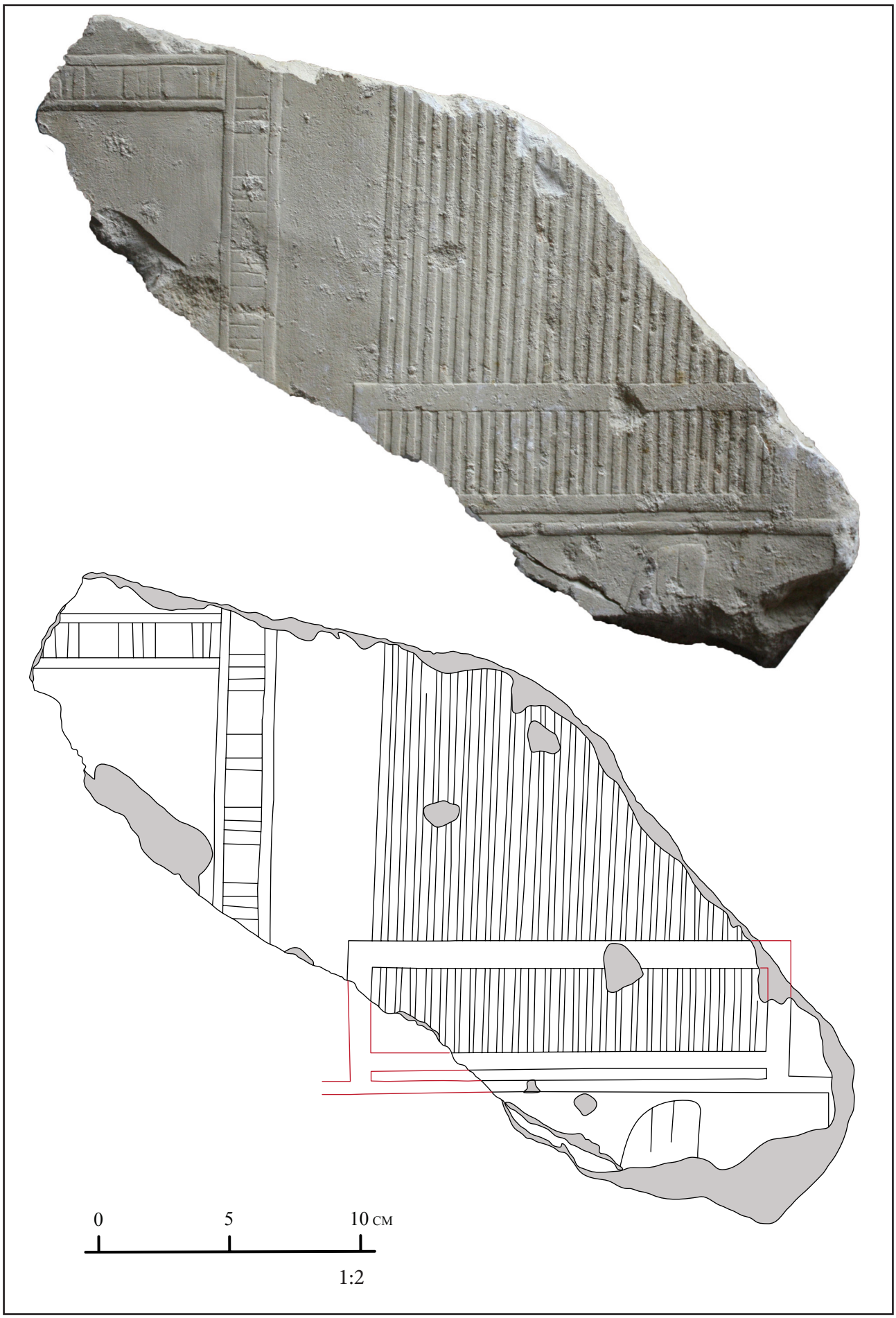




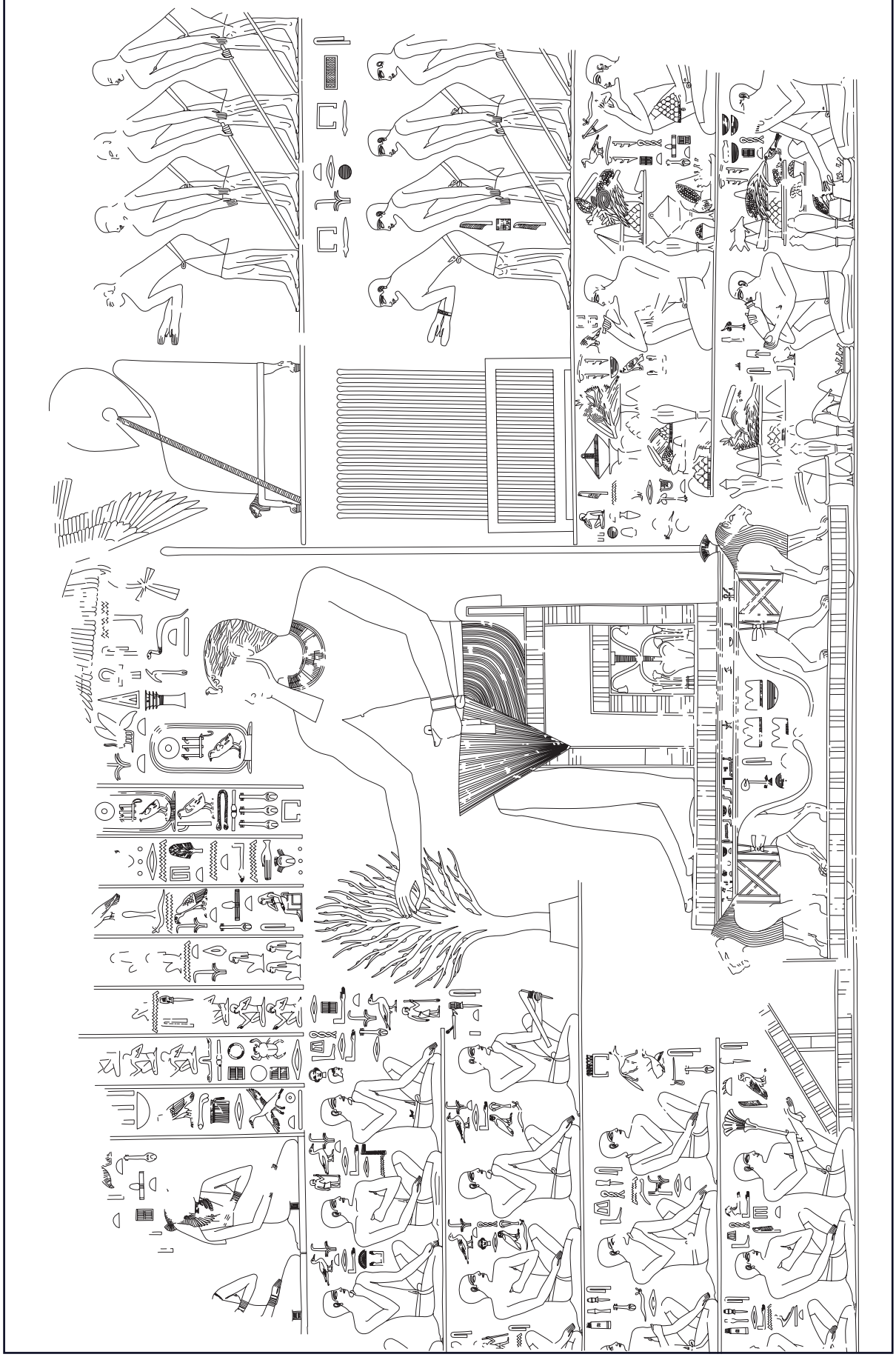
Pl. 29. Fragment of relief showing a part of the king's foot and an icomplete figure of a female goddess, who probably embraced the king, Cat. no. 17.



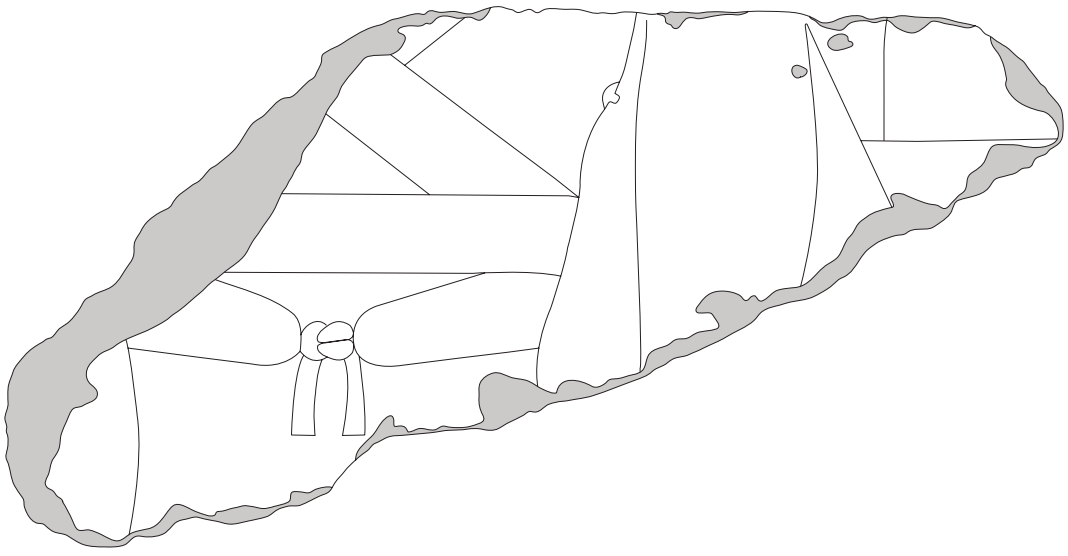
Pl. 30. Reconstruction of a scene from the pyramid complex of Pepy II showing the same position of the feet as Djedkare's fragments Cat. no. 17 (after Jéquier 1938, pl. 30).

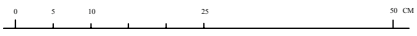


Pl. 31. Fragment of relief depicting parts of a throne and a restle that is filled with walking sticks, Cat. no. 18.



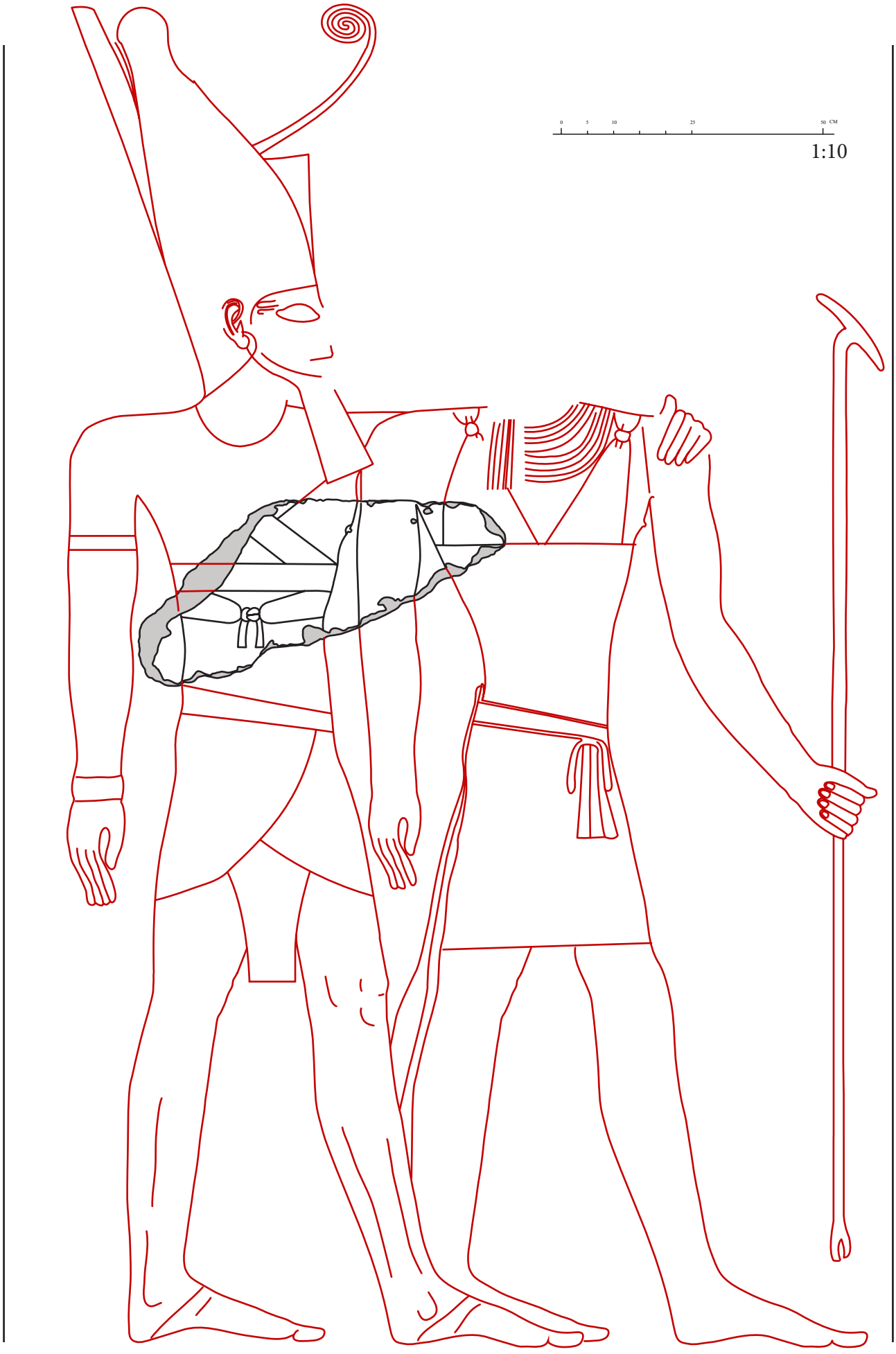
Pl. 32. Drawing of a scene from Sahure's causeway showing a trestle with walking sticks (after El Awady 2009, pl. 6).





1:10

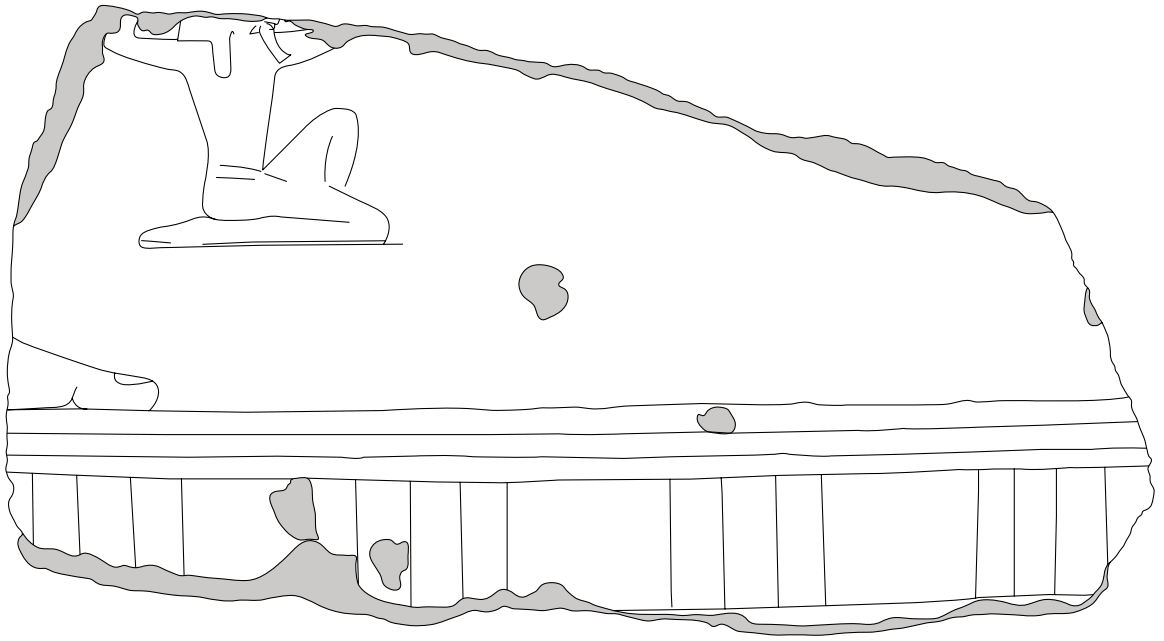
Pl. 33. Fragment of relief showing traces of Djedkare's figure wearing the so-called *Königsjacke*, and a male deity, Cat. no. 19.

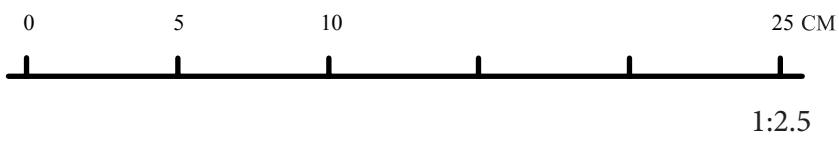


Pl. 34. Reconstruction of the scene, which shows Djedkare and a male deity, Cat. no. 19.

Pl. 35. Sahure nurtured by a goddess from Sahure's valley temple (after Borchardt 1913, pl. 18).

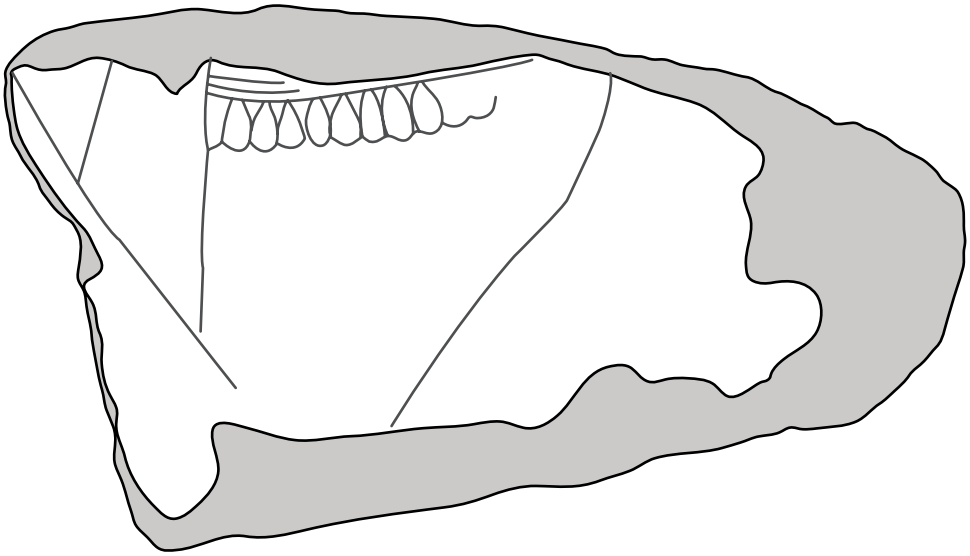
Pl. 36. Thutmose I embraces Amun from behind, south wall of the upper courtyard, the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (photograph by A. Ćwiek).

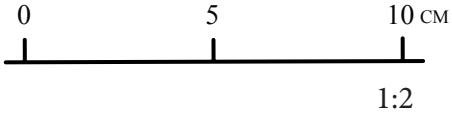




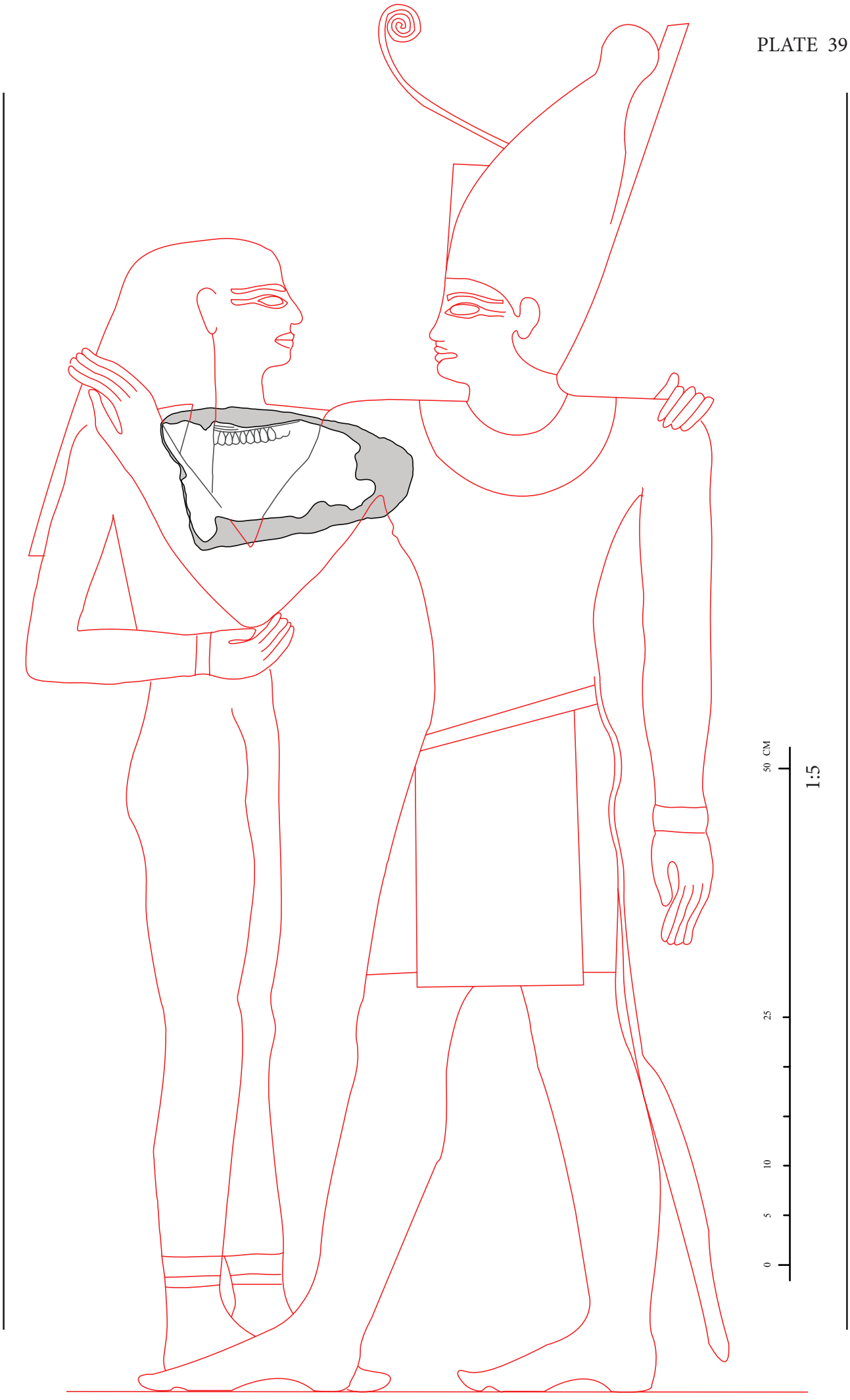
1:2.5

Pl. 37. Fragment of relief depicting a part of Djedkare's figure and of a *ḥḥ*-sign, Cat. no. 20.

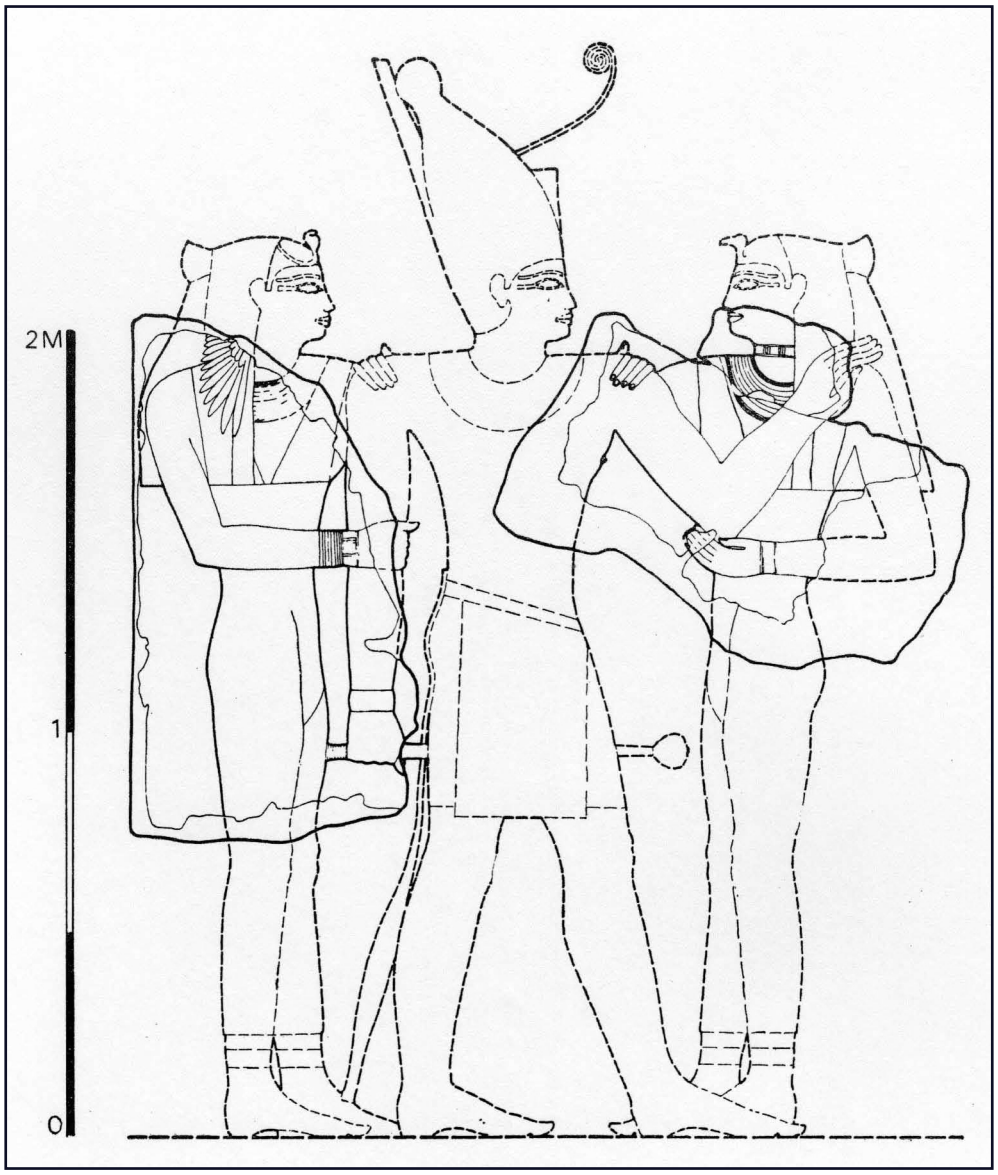




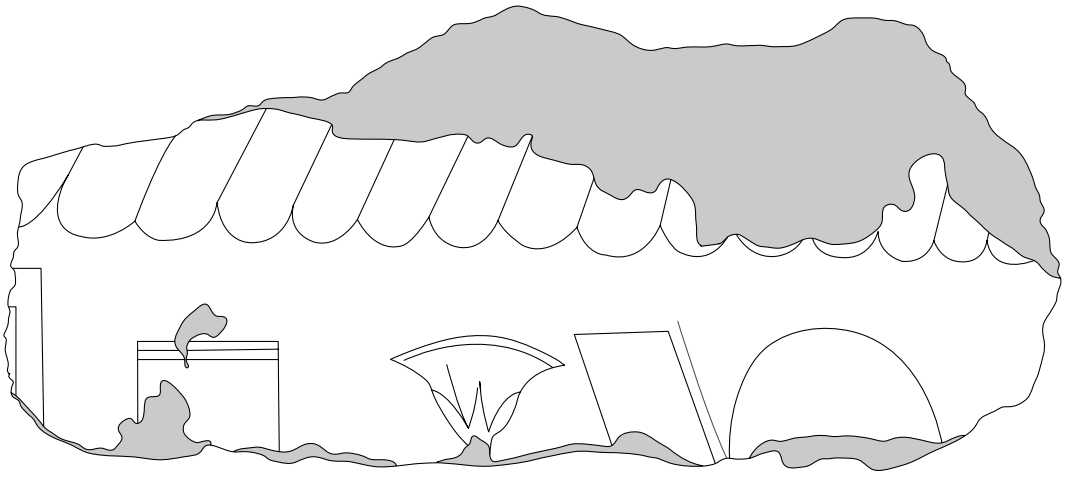
Pl. 38 Fragment of relief showing a part of Djedkare's figure and a female goddess, Cat. no. 21.

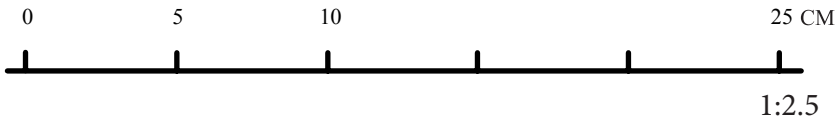


Pl. 39. Reconstruction of the scene of the king with a goddess, Cat. no. 21.

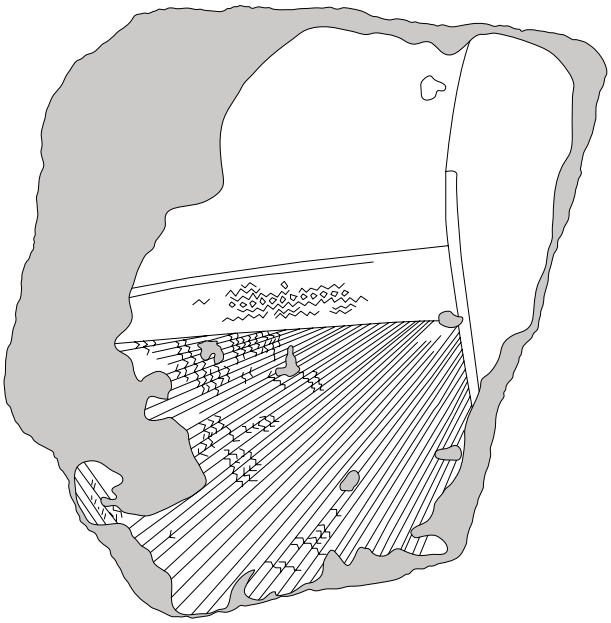


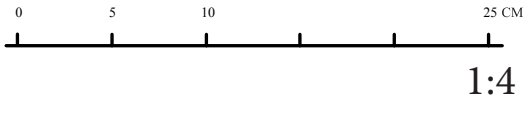
Pl. 40. Wenis between two goddesses from his pyramid complex (after Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, fig. 52).





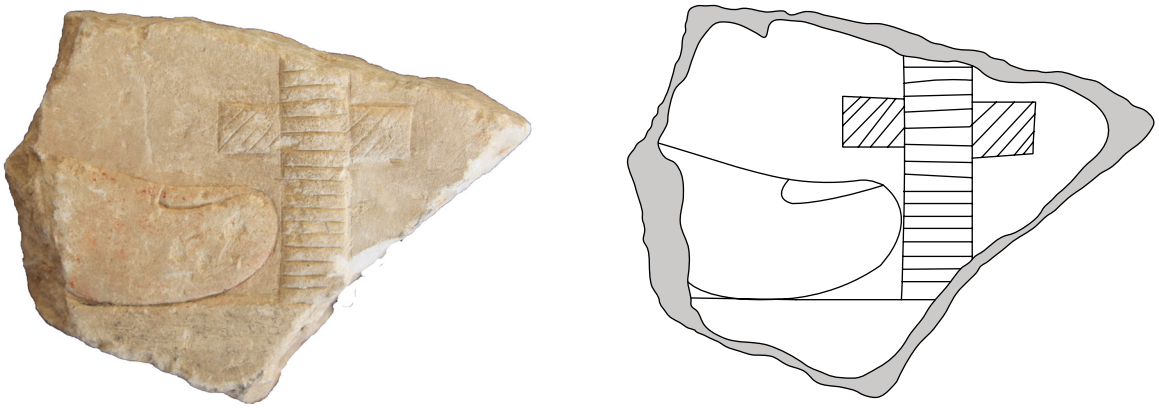
Pl. 41. Fragment of relief showing the top part of the double crown and a part of Wadjet's name, Cat. no. 22.



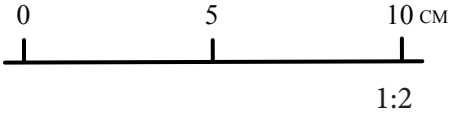


Pl. 42. Fragment of relief depicting parts of Djedkare's figure in the royal *šnḏwt* kilt, Cat. no. 23.

A

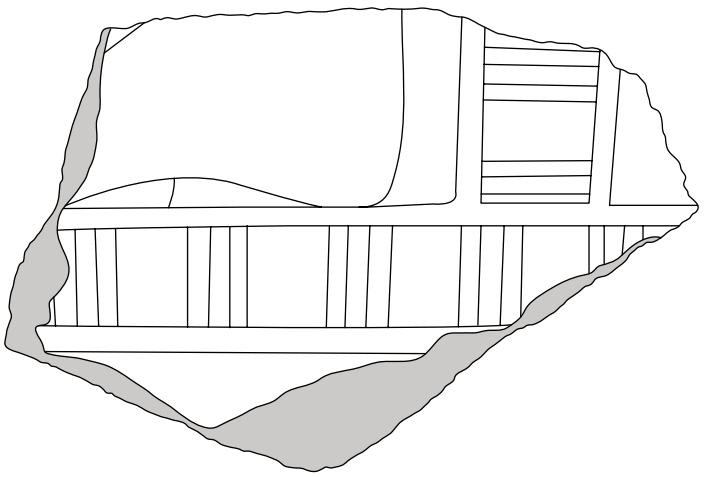


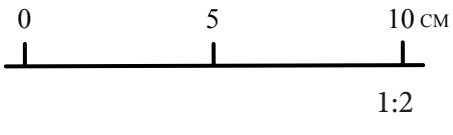
B



Pl. 43. a-Two fragments of relief showing parts of Djedkare's figure holding the staff, Cat. no. 24, and (b) sitting on the throne, Cat. no. 25.

Pl. 44. Fragment of relief showing traces of Djedkare's figure, Cat. no. 26.



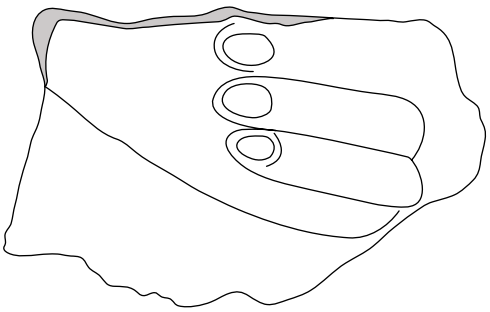


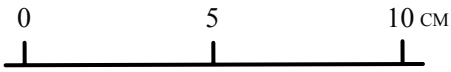
Pl. 45. Fragment of relief depicting a part of a throne and of Djedkare's figure, Cat. no. 27.

Pl. 46. Fragment of relief showing traces of a foot of Djedkare or of a deity, Cat. no. 28.

Pl. 47. Fragment of relief depicting a part of Djedkare's hand holding the *mkś*-sceptre, Cat. no. 29.

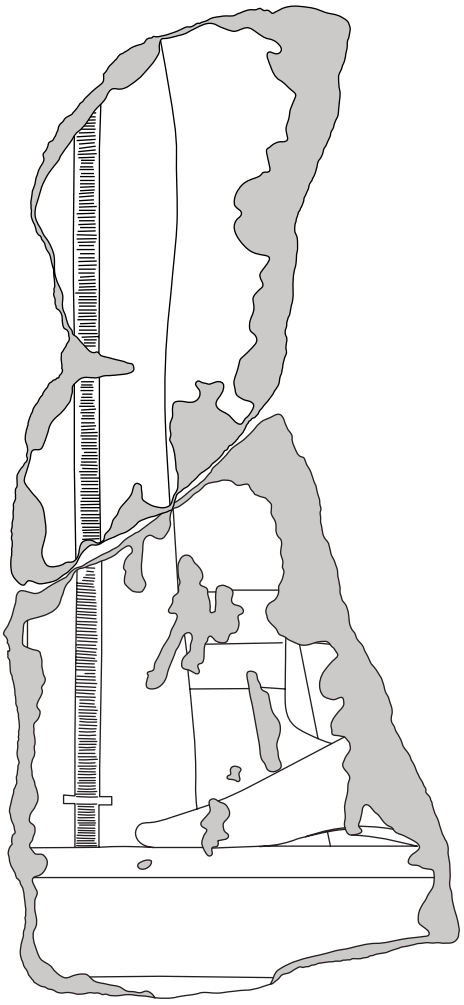
A





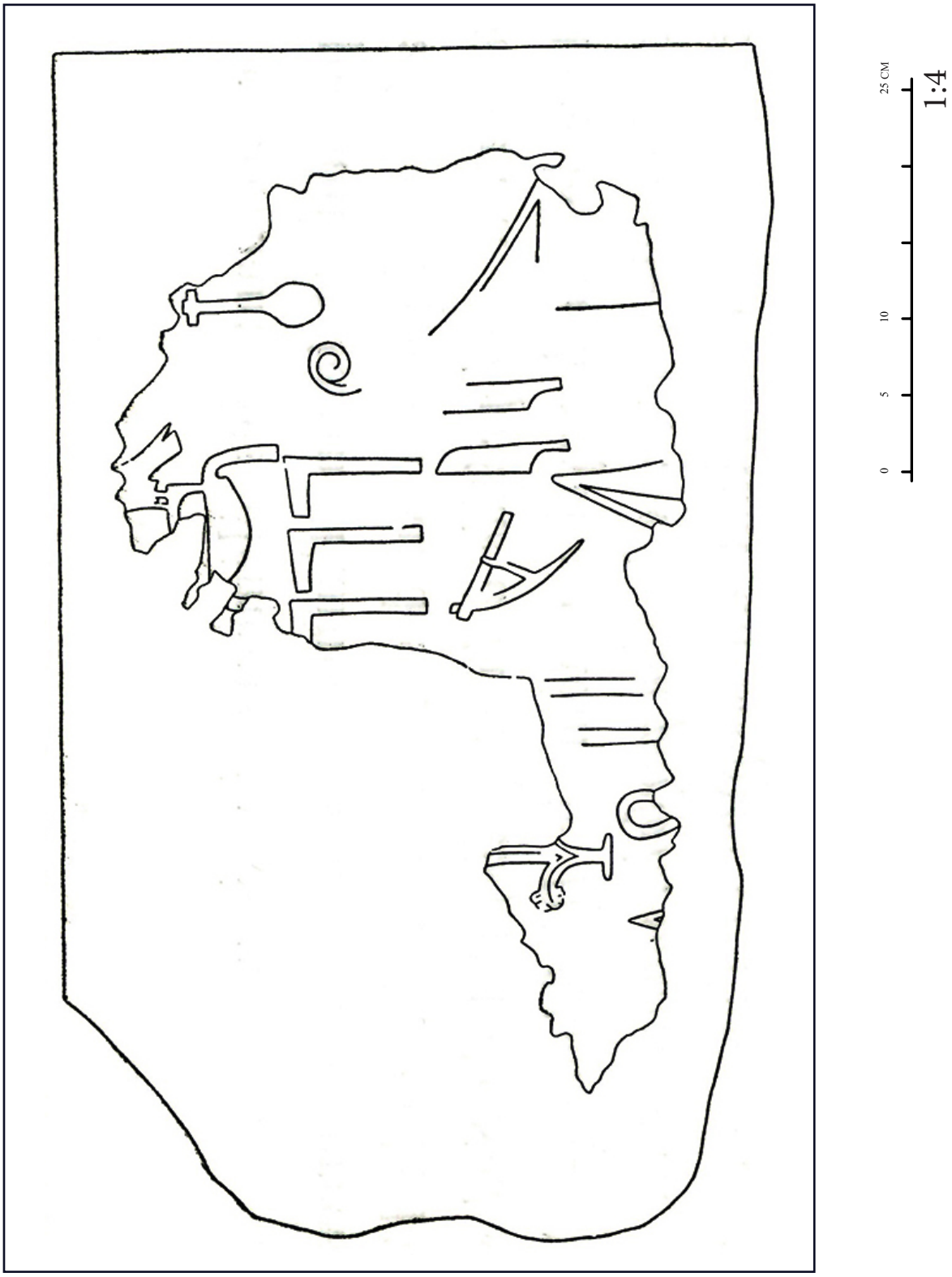
1:2

B

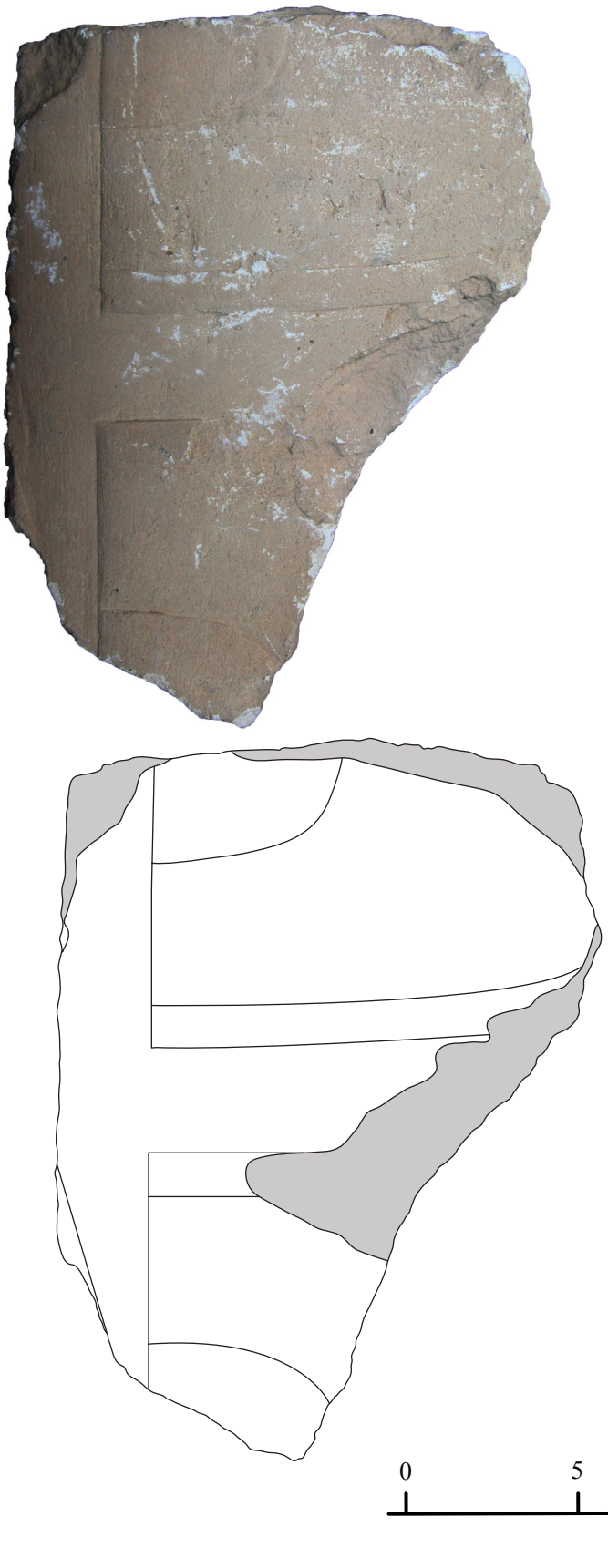


1:10

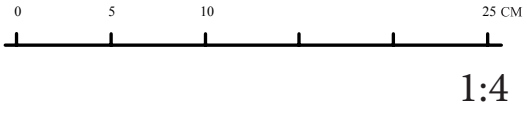
Pl. 48. a-Fragment of relief depicting a part of Djedkare's hand, Cat. no. 30; b-Two large fragments of relief showing Djedkare holding the *mkś*-sceptre and a female goddess, Cat. no. 31.



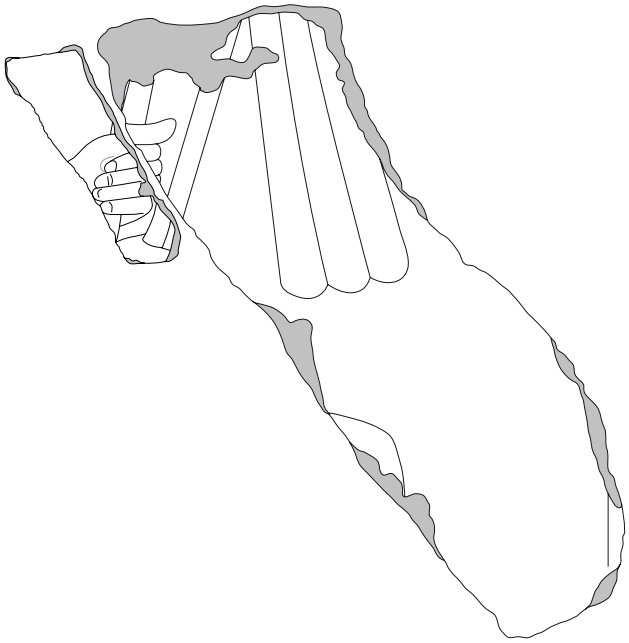
Pl. 49. Drawing of a reused fragment from Wenis's pyramid depicting a part of Djedkare's figure and inscription; a part a *sed*-festival scene, Cat. no. 32 (after Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, fig. 146).

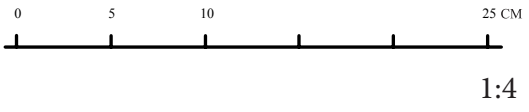


Pl. 50. Fragment of relief showing traces of two *ḏnbw*-markers, typically found in scenes of the king running in the *sed*-festival, Cat. no. 33.

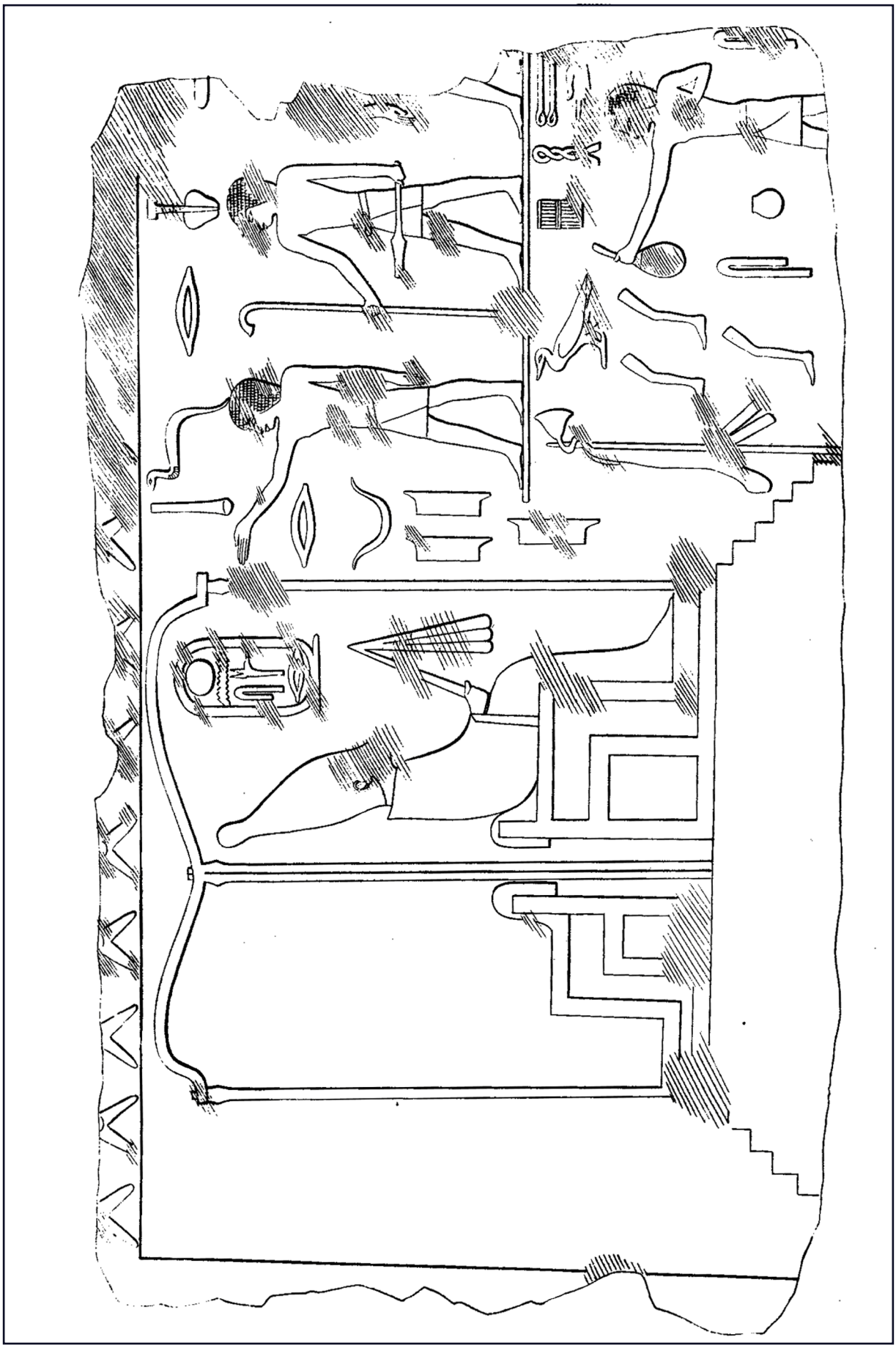


Pl. 51. Fragment of relief depicting a part of Djedkare's figure wearing the *sed*-festival cloak, Cat. no. 34.



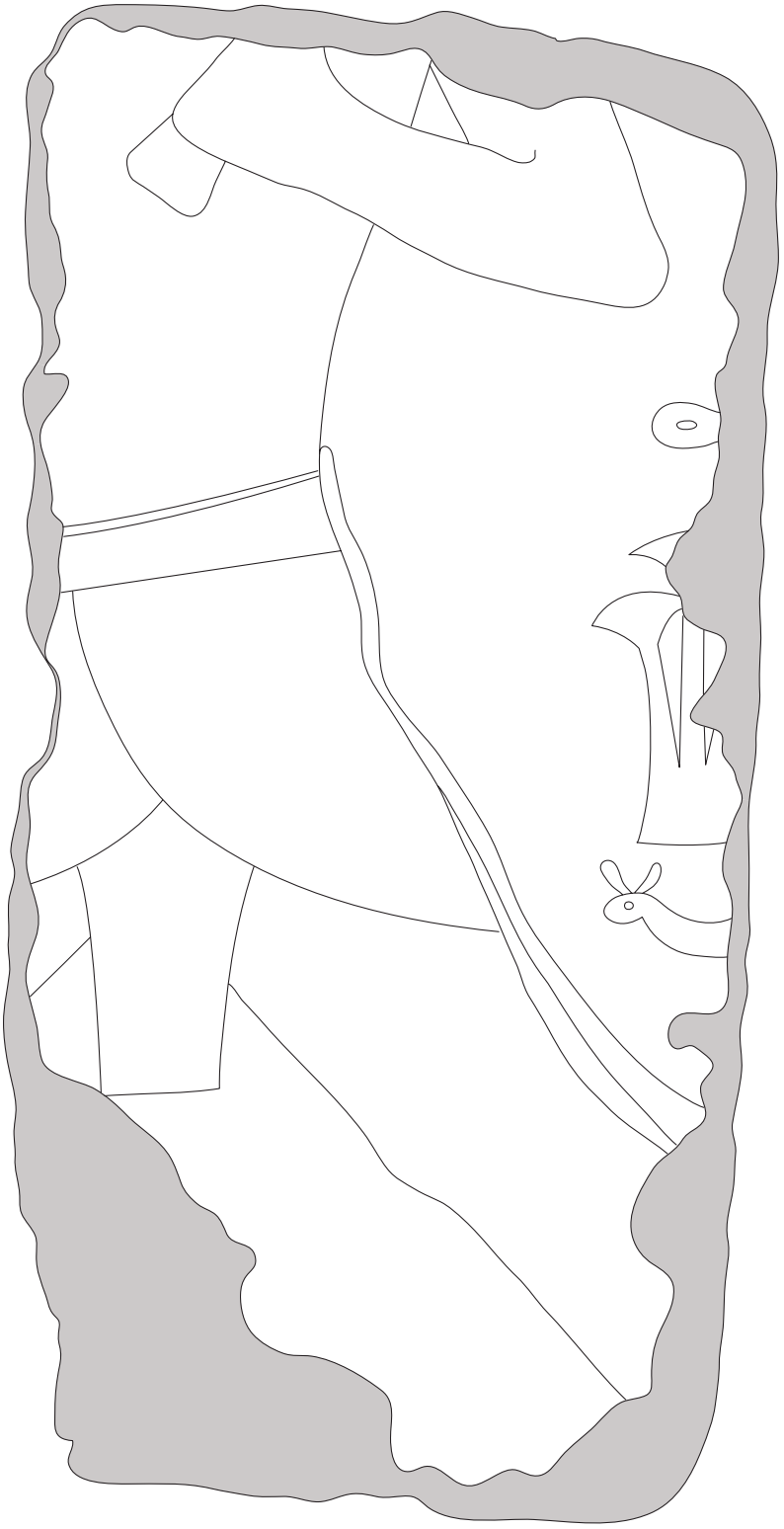


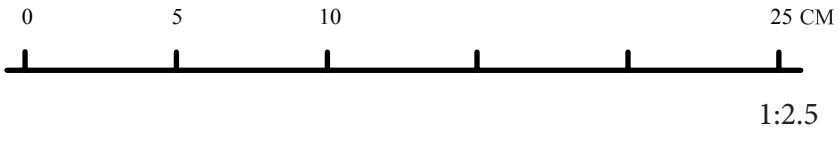
Pl. 52. Two fragments of relief showing traces of Djedkare's figure prehaps sitting on the throne, dressed in the s*ed*-festival cloak, and holding the *ȝwt*-scepter and the *nḫȝḫȝ*-flail, Cat. no. 35.



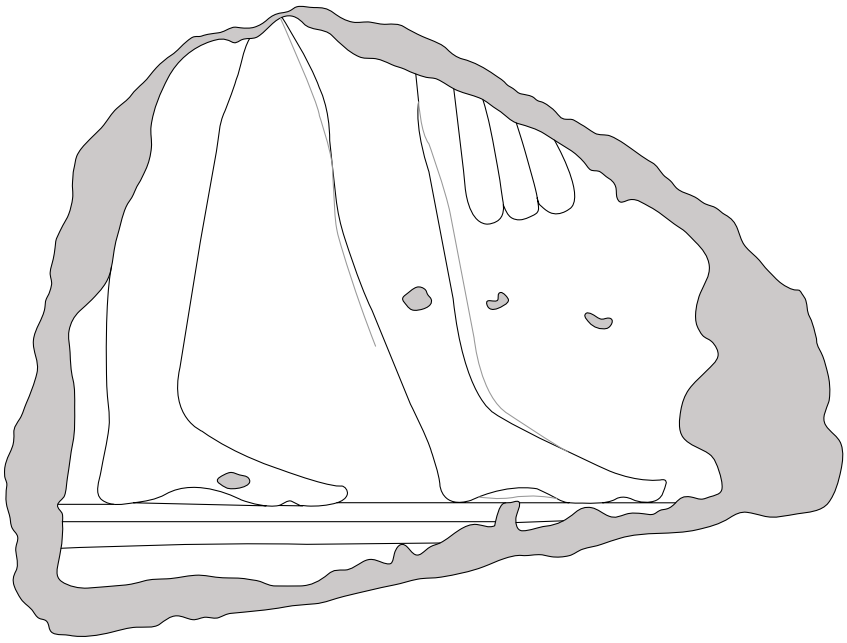
Pl. 53 A scene of the *sed*-festival of King Niuserre from his sun temple at Abu Ghurab (after Bissing, Kees 1923, pl. 4 no. 11a).

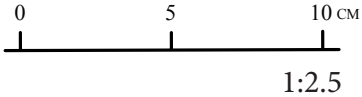
Pl. 54. Fragment of relief showing a part of Djedkare's figure during the *sed*-festival run, Cat. no. 36.



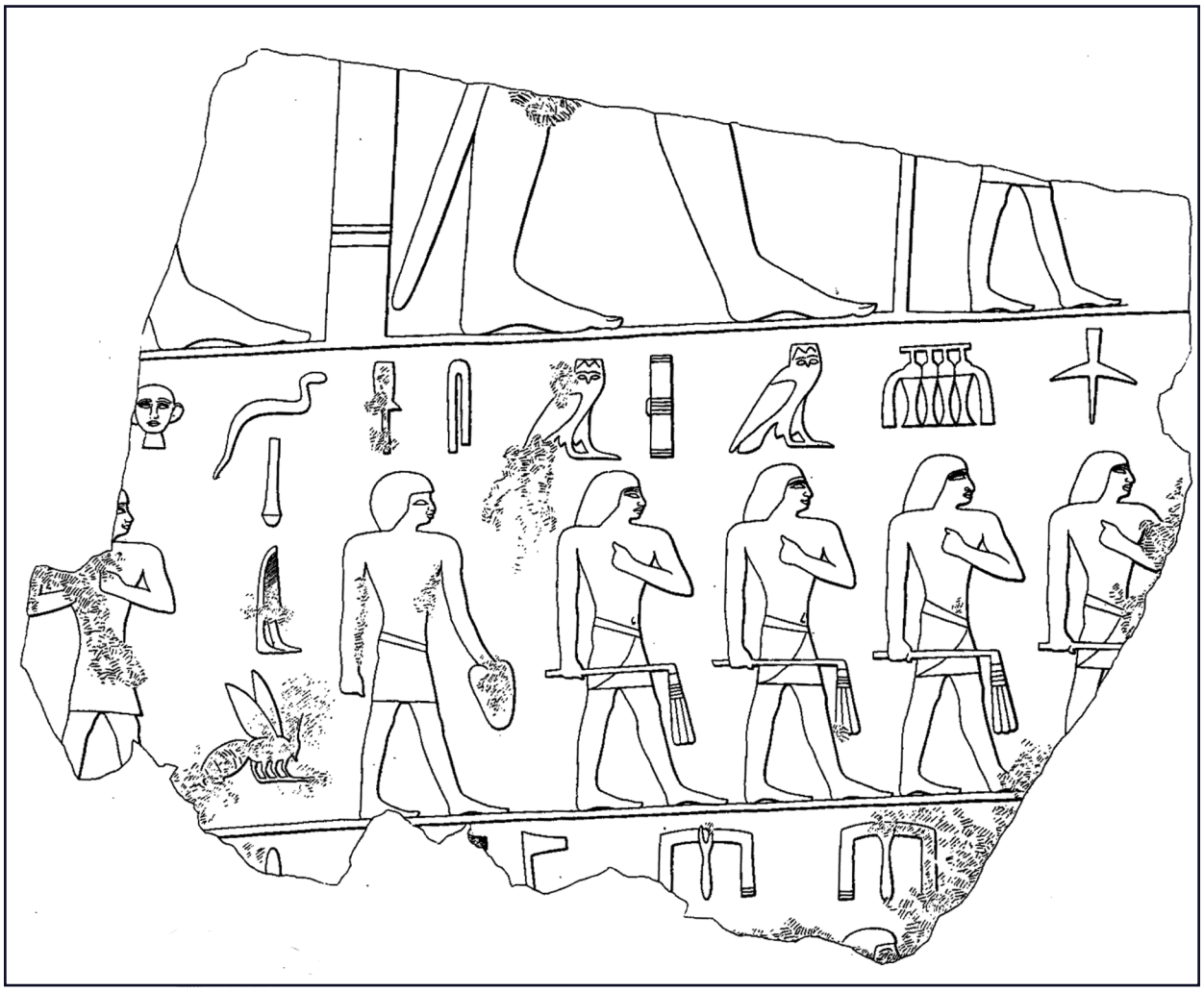


Pl. 55. Drawing of the fragment of relief depicting Djedkare during the *sed*-festival run, Cat. no. 36.

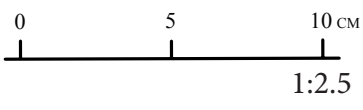




Pl. 56. Lower part of a striding male figure, Cat. no. 37.

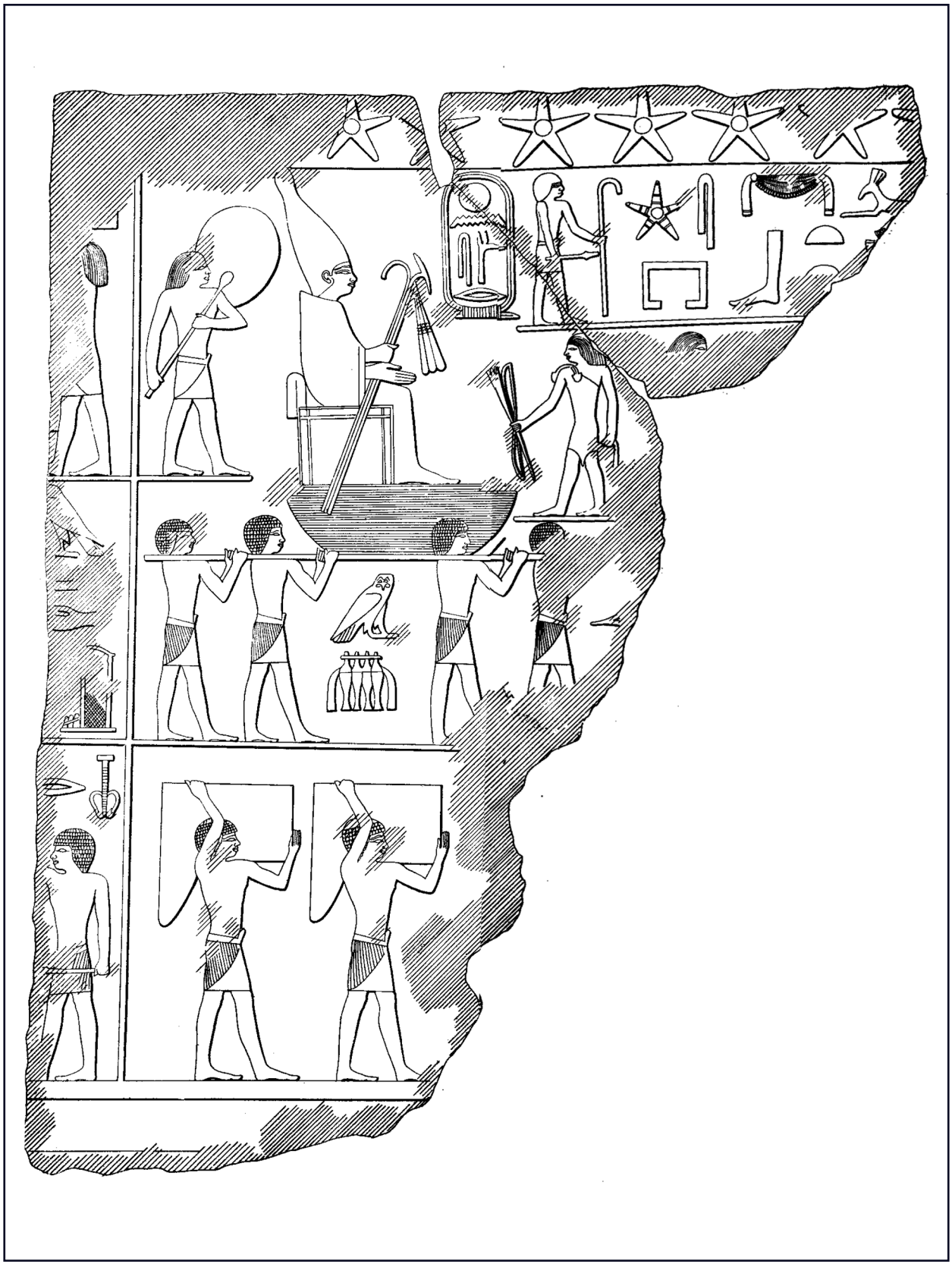


Pl. 57. A scene of Niuserre's *sed*-festival from his sun temple at Abu Ghurab, showing officials (after Kees, Bissing 1928, pl. 2/111).

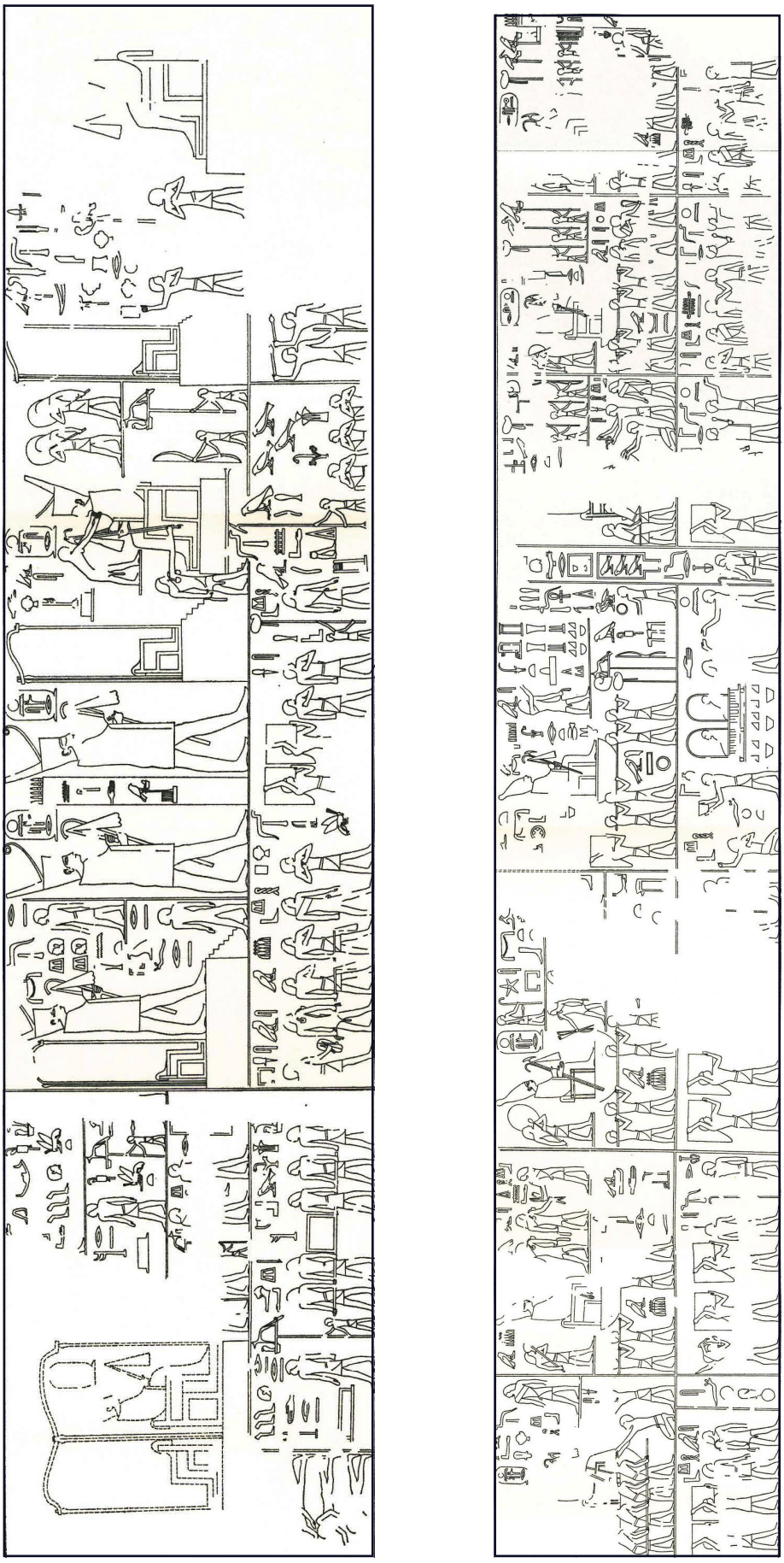


Pl. 58. Fragment of relief showing traces of a right foot with the heel raised, Cat. no. 38.

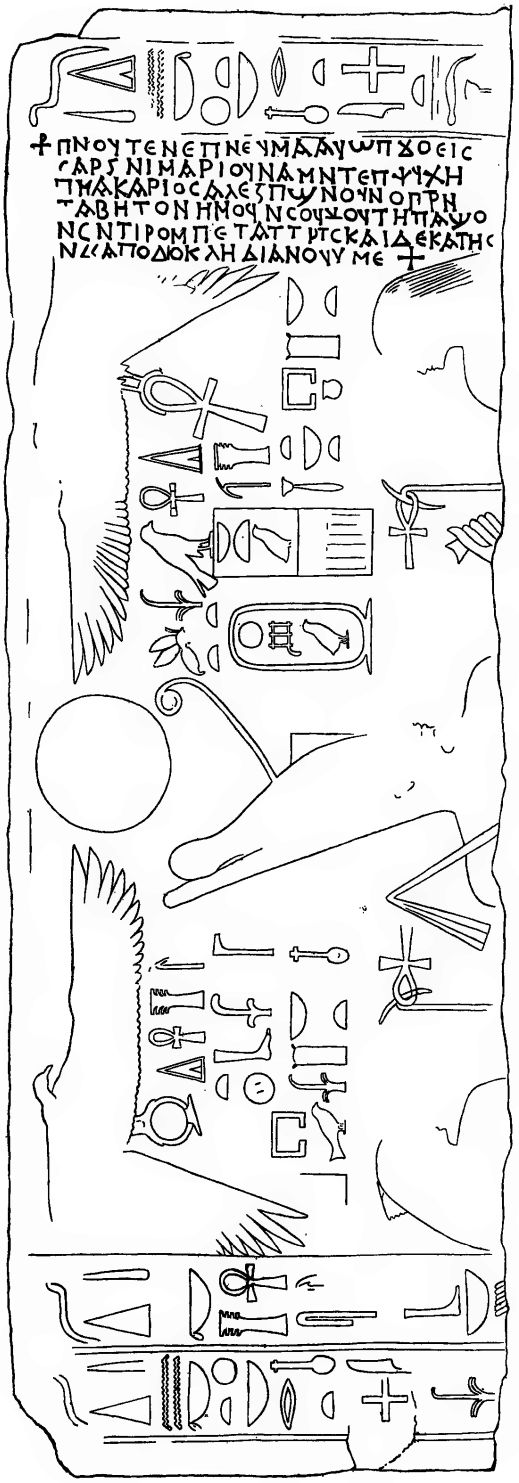
Pl. 59. Fragment of relief depicting parts of a striding male figure and *ḏnbw*-markers of the *sed*-festival, Cat. no. 39.



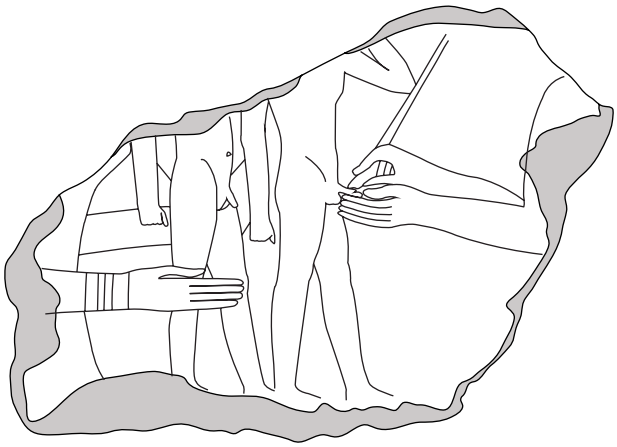
Pl. 60. A scene of Niuserre's *sed*-festival from his sun temple at Abu Ghurab (after Bissing, Kees 1928, pl. 18/44c).

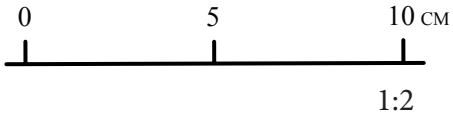


Pl. 61. Scenes of Niuserre's *sed*-festival from his sun temple at Abu Ghurab (after Kaiser 1971, fig. 5).

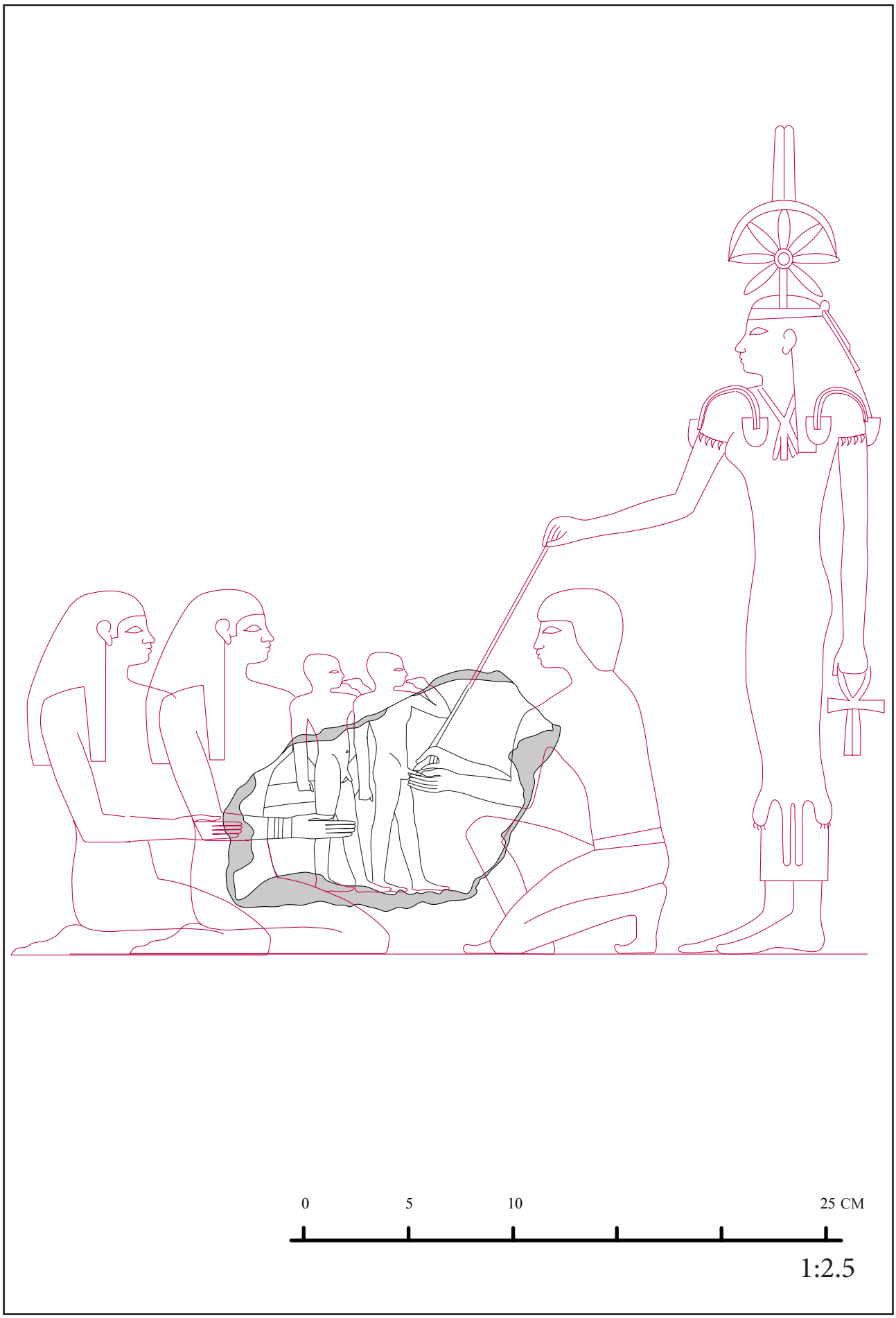


Pl. 62. Block reused in Apa Jeremias' monastery at Saqqara showing Sahure seated on the throne and receiving the *ʿnḫ*-signs from Nekhbet and Wadjet (after Quibell 1912, pl. 89).



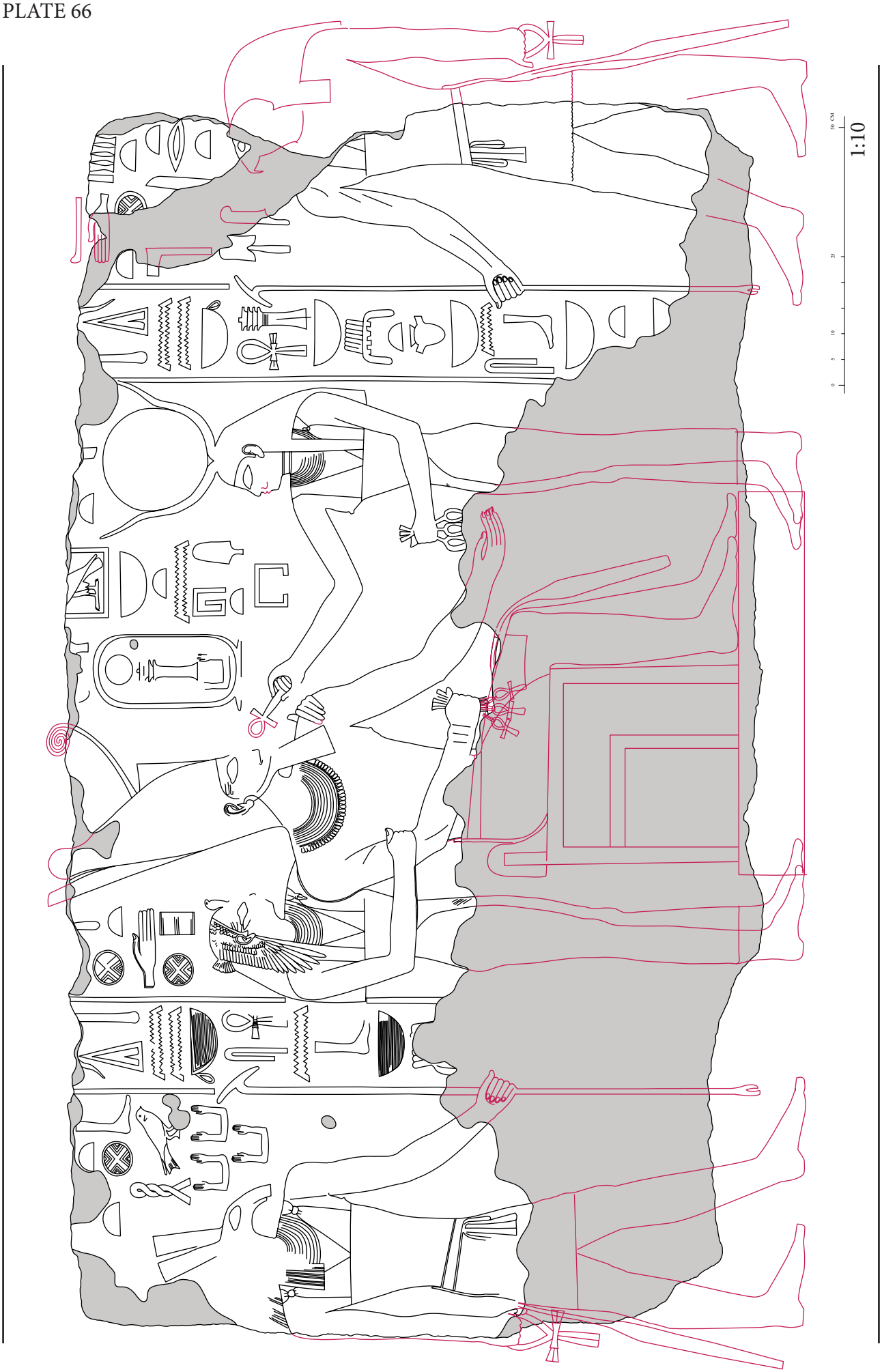


Pl. 63. Fragment of relief depicting circumcision from the pyramid complex of Djedkare, Cat. no. 40.

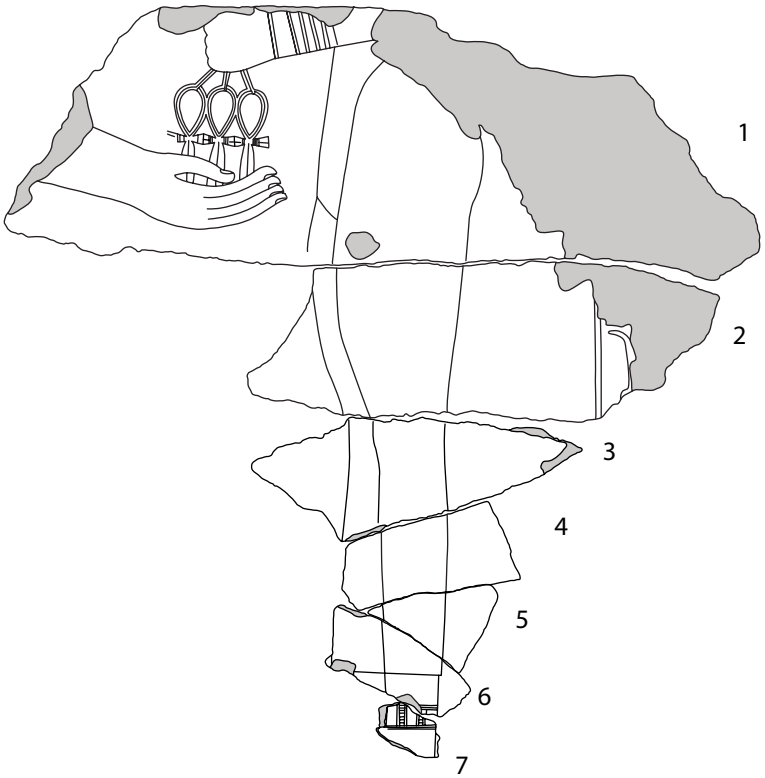


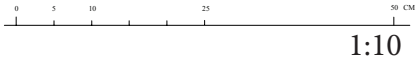
Pl. 64. A theoretical reconstruction of the scene depicted on the fragment Cat. no. 40.

Pl. 65. Block of relief decoration bearing an *ʿnḫ*-giving scene, the *ʿnḫ*-sings being presented to Djedkare by goddess Hathor, Cat. no. 41 (photograph S. Vannini).



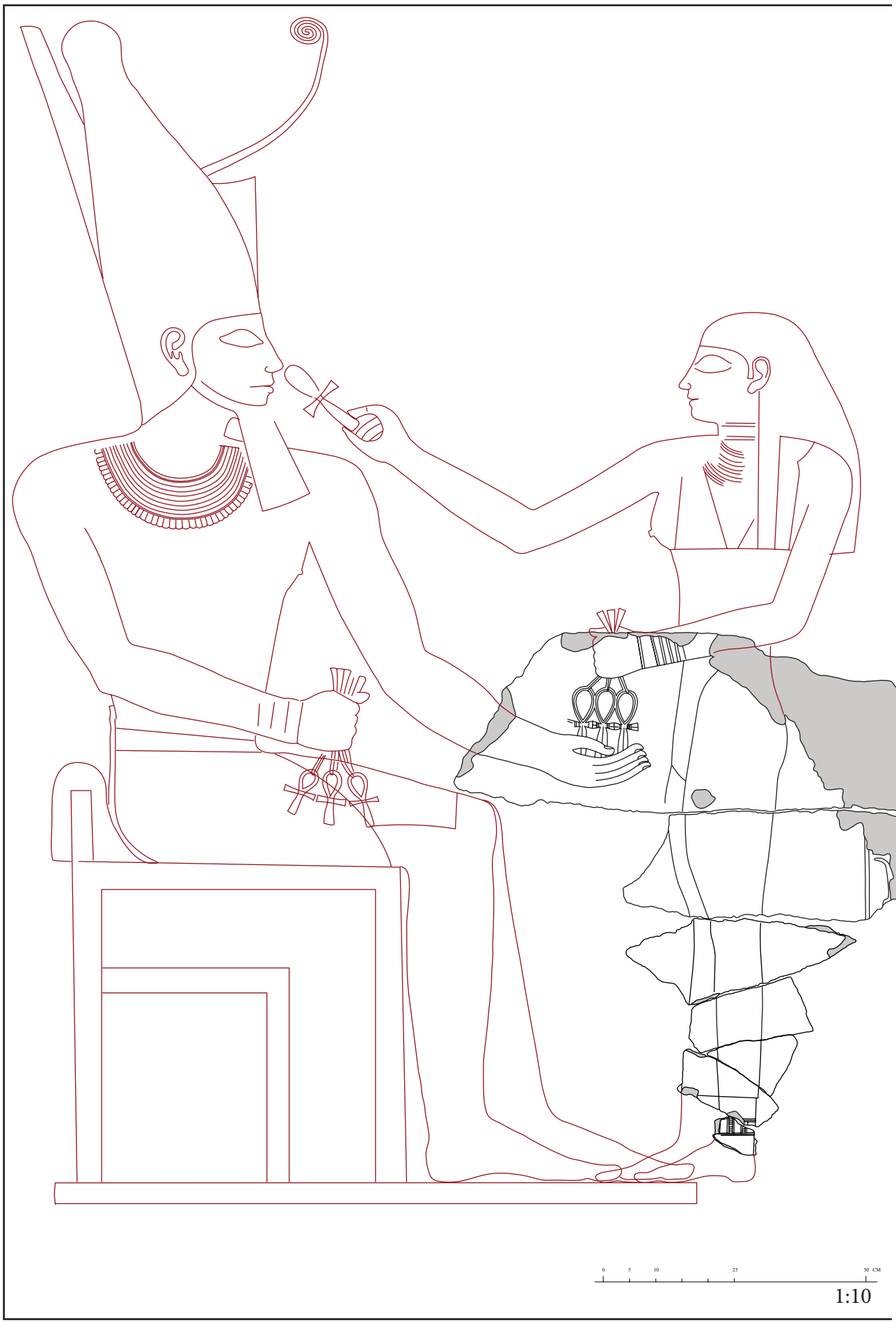
Pl. 66. Drawing and reconstruction of the scene depicted on fragment Cat. no. 41.



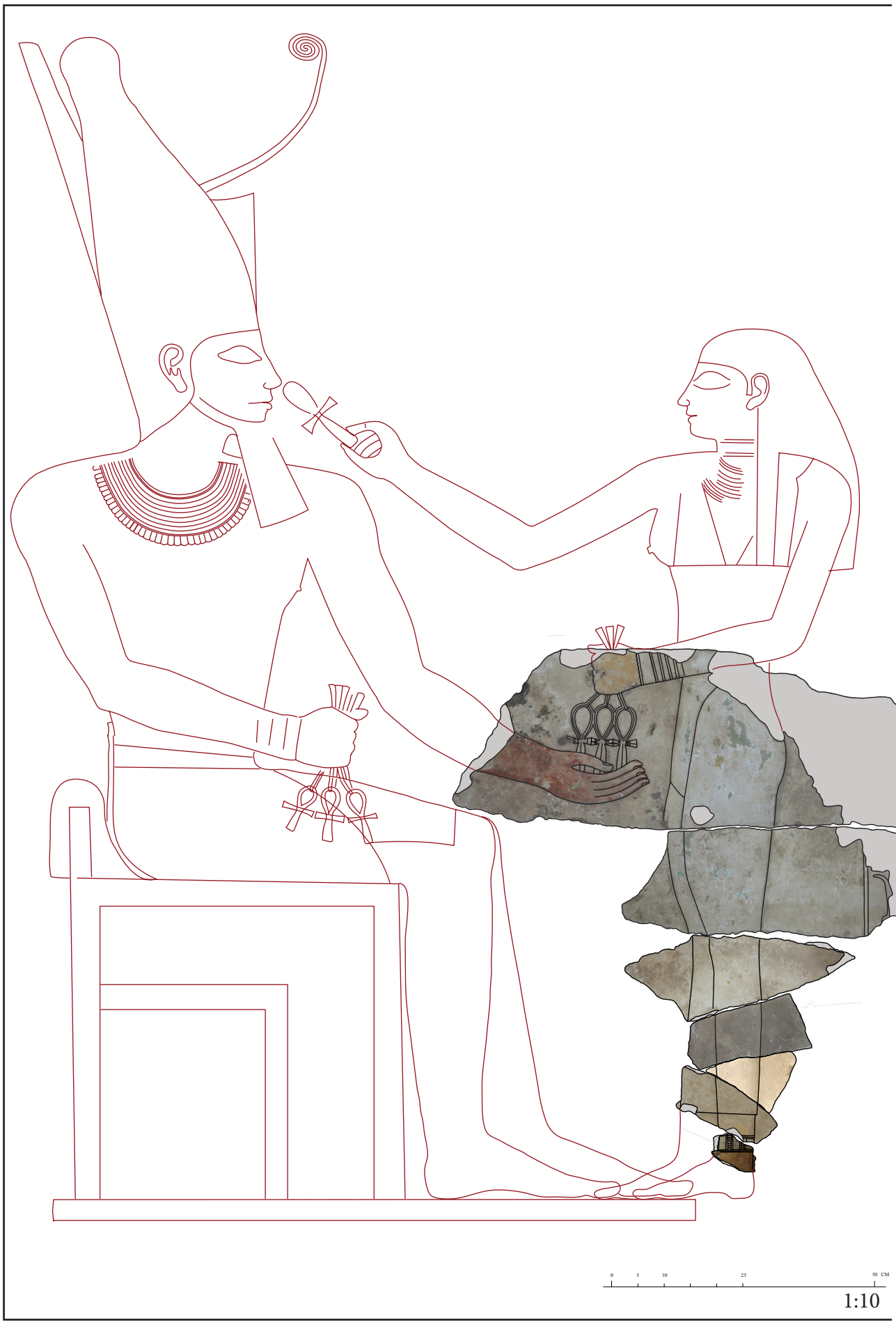


1:10

Pl. 67. Seven fragments showing *ꜥnḫ*-sings being presented to Djedkare by a female goddess, Cat. no. 42.



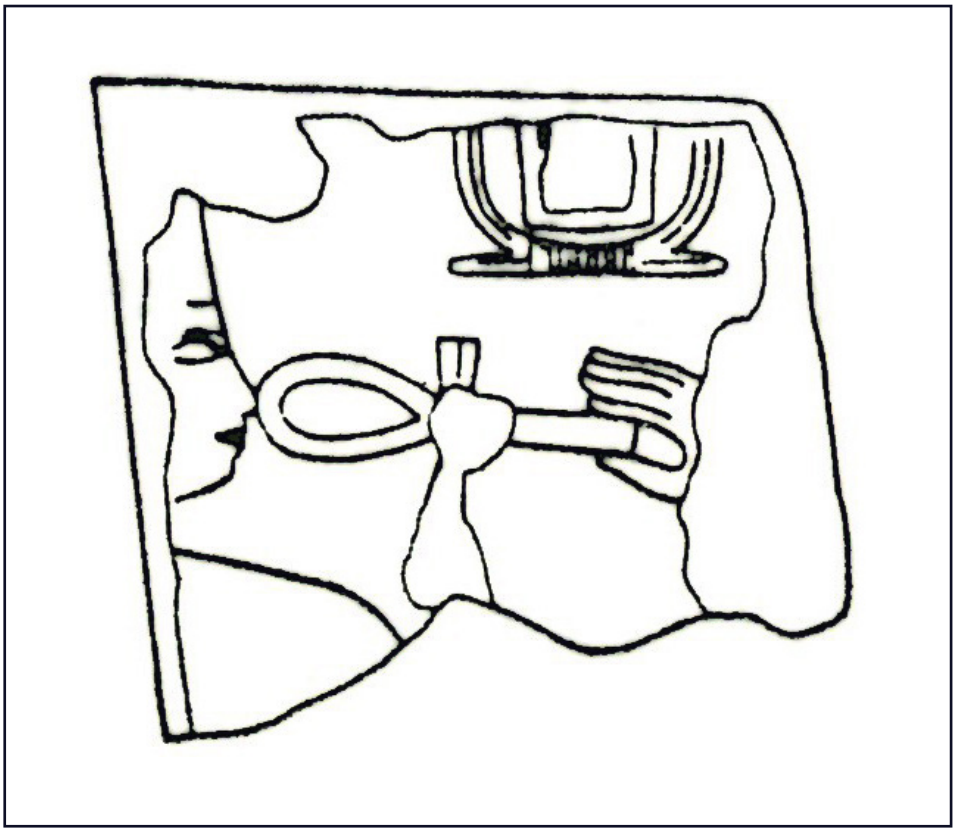
Pl. 68. Reconstruction of fragments in Cat. no. 42 showing Djedkare sitting on the throne and receiving *ʿnḫ*-sings.

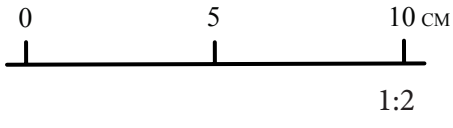


Pl. 68. Reconstruction of fragments in Cat. no. 42 showing a female goddess presenting *ʿnḫ*-sings to Djedkare.

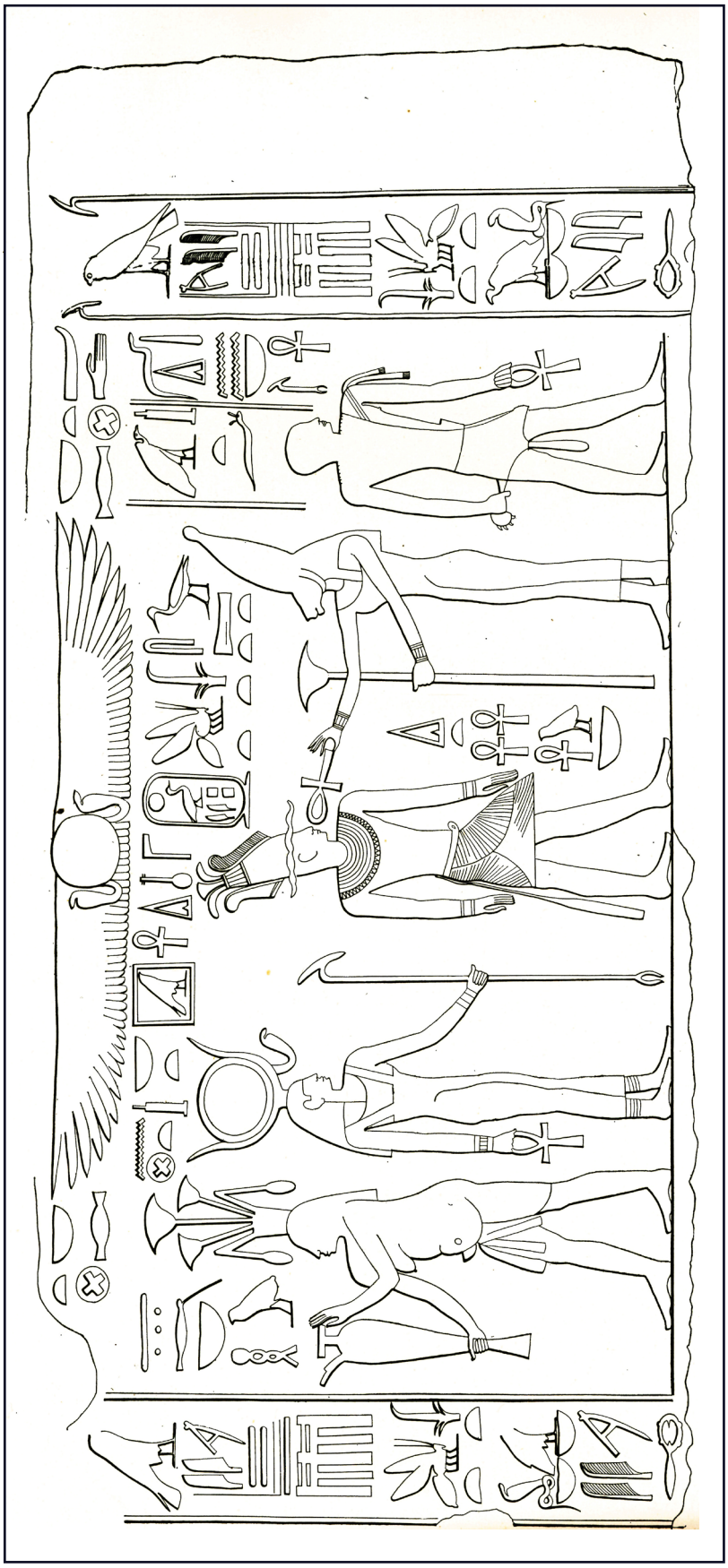
Pl. 70. Fragment of relief showing a part of Djedkare's figure sitting on the throne and receiving *ꜥnḫ*-sings, Cat. no. 43.

Pl. 71. Large block showing Niuserre receiving *ʿnḫ*-sings from Anubis, Berlin 16100, (photograph M. Megahed).

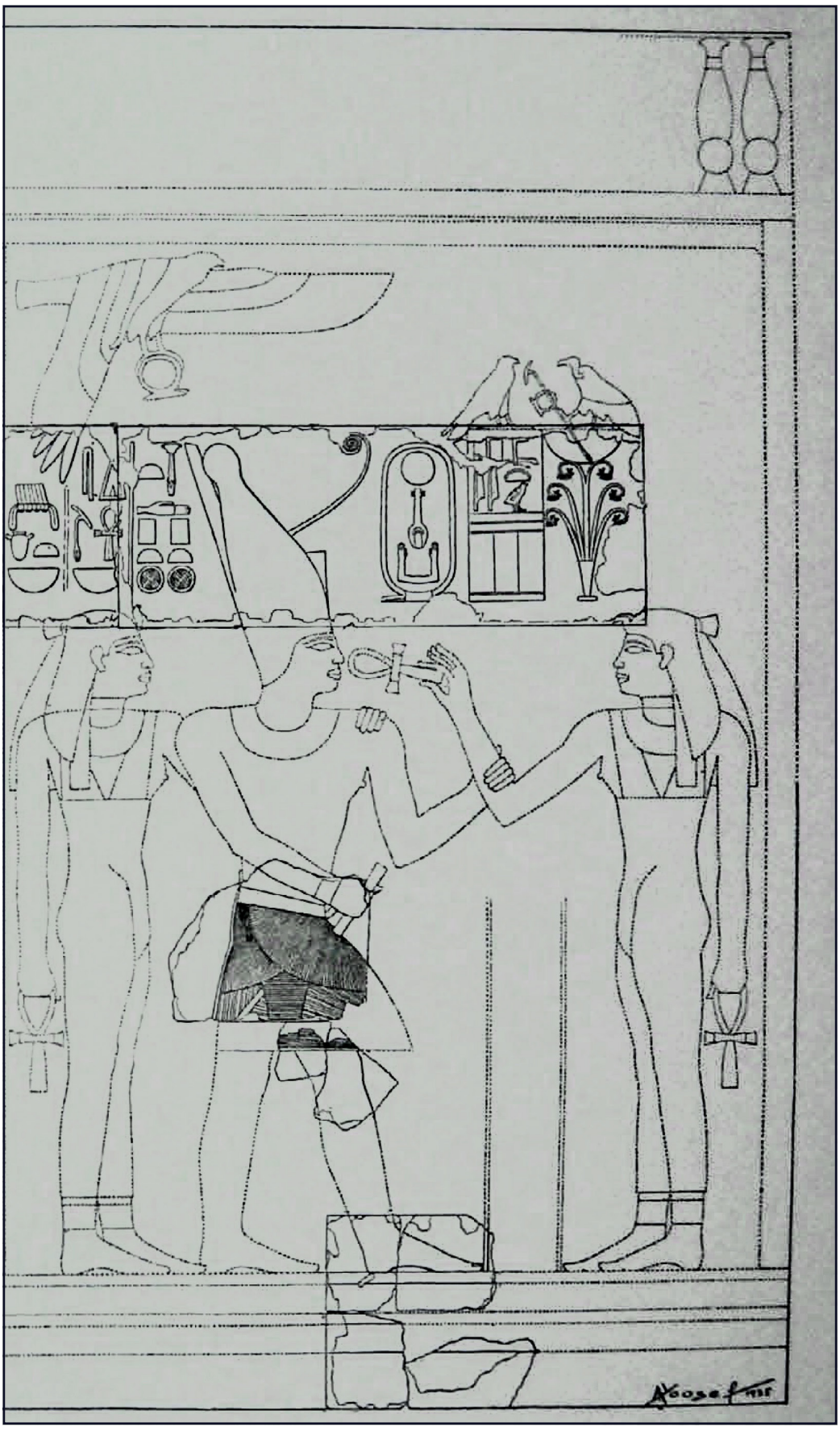




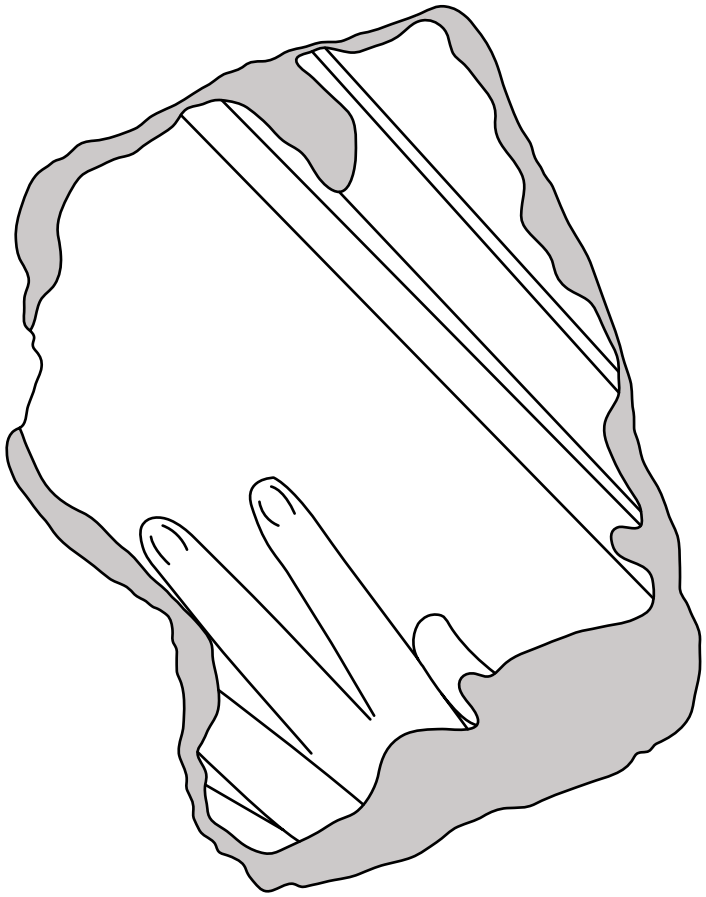
Pl. 72. Drawing of a reused block from the pyramid of Wenis showing Djedkare receiving *ʿnḫ*, Cat. no. 44 (after Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, fig. 149).

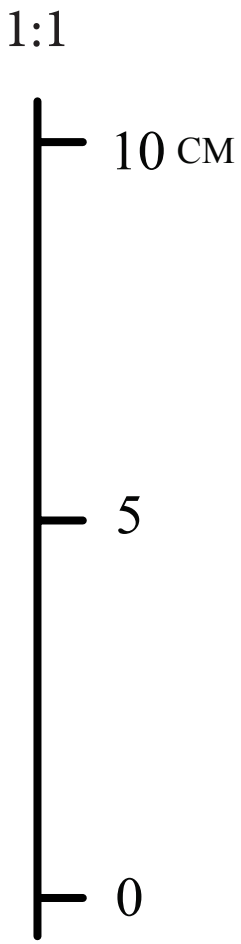


Pl. 73. Scene of the *ʿnḫ*-giving of Pepy II from Tell el-Basta (after Habachi 1957, fig. 2).



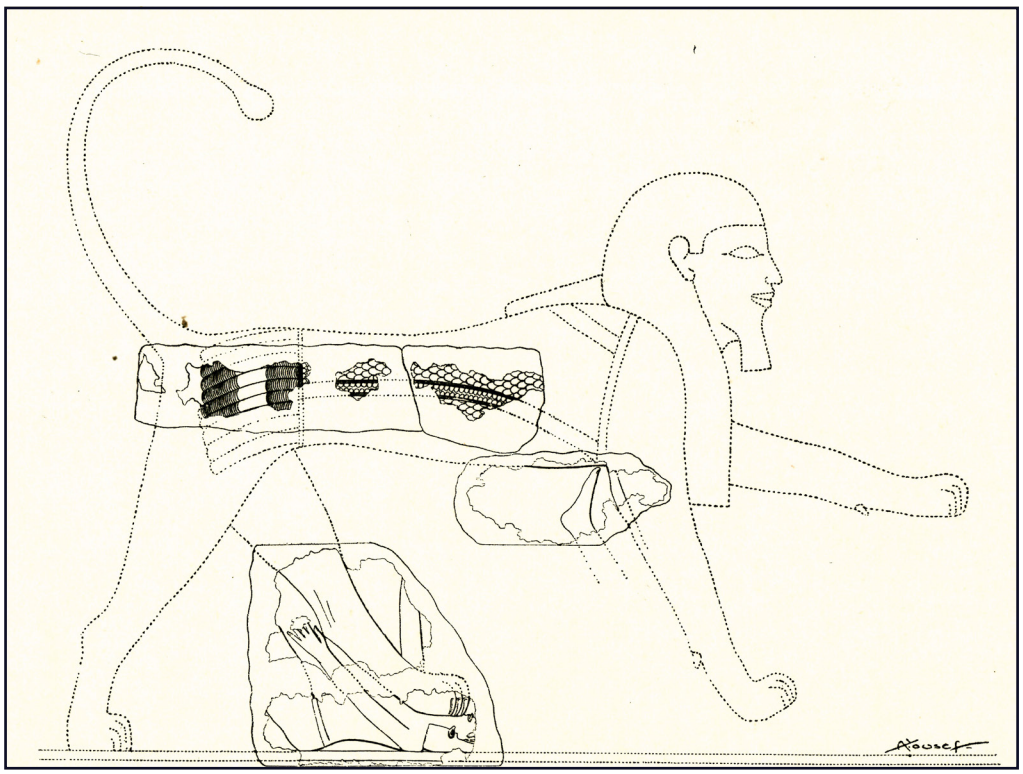
Pl. 74. Reconstruction of an *ʿnḫ*-giving scene of Pepy II on the south wall of the vestibule of his fumerary temple (after Jéquier 1938, pl. 36).





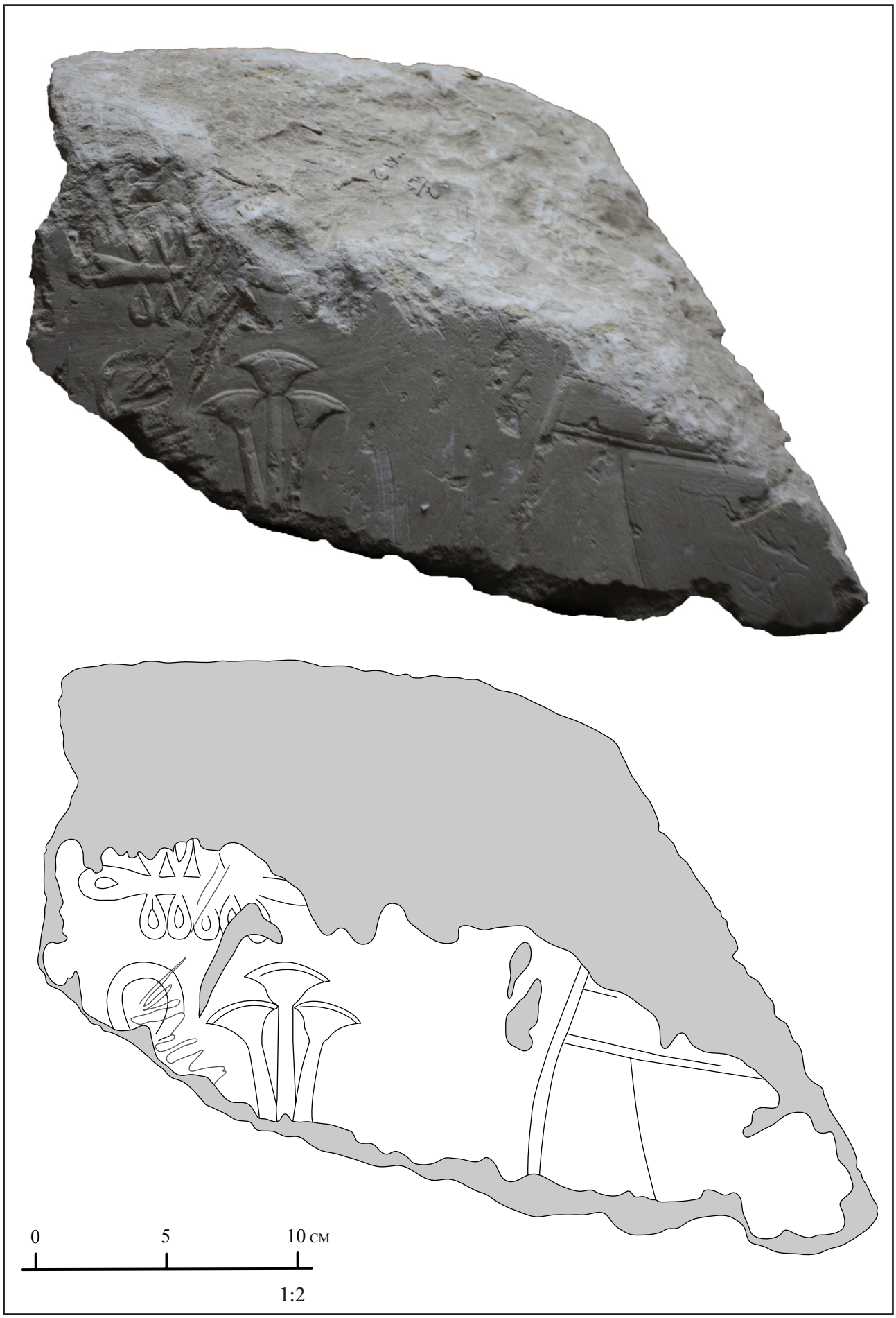
Pl. 75. Fragment of relief showing traces of one leg of a sphinx or griffin and an open palm of a human figure, Cat. no. 45.

A

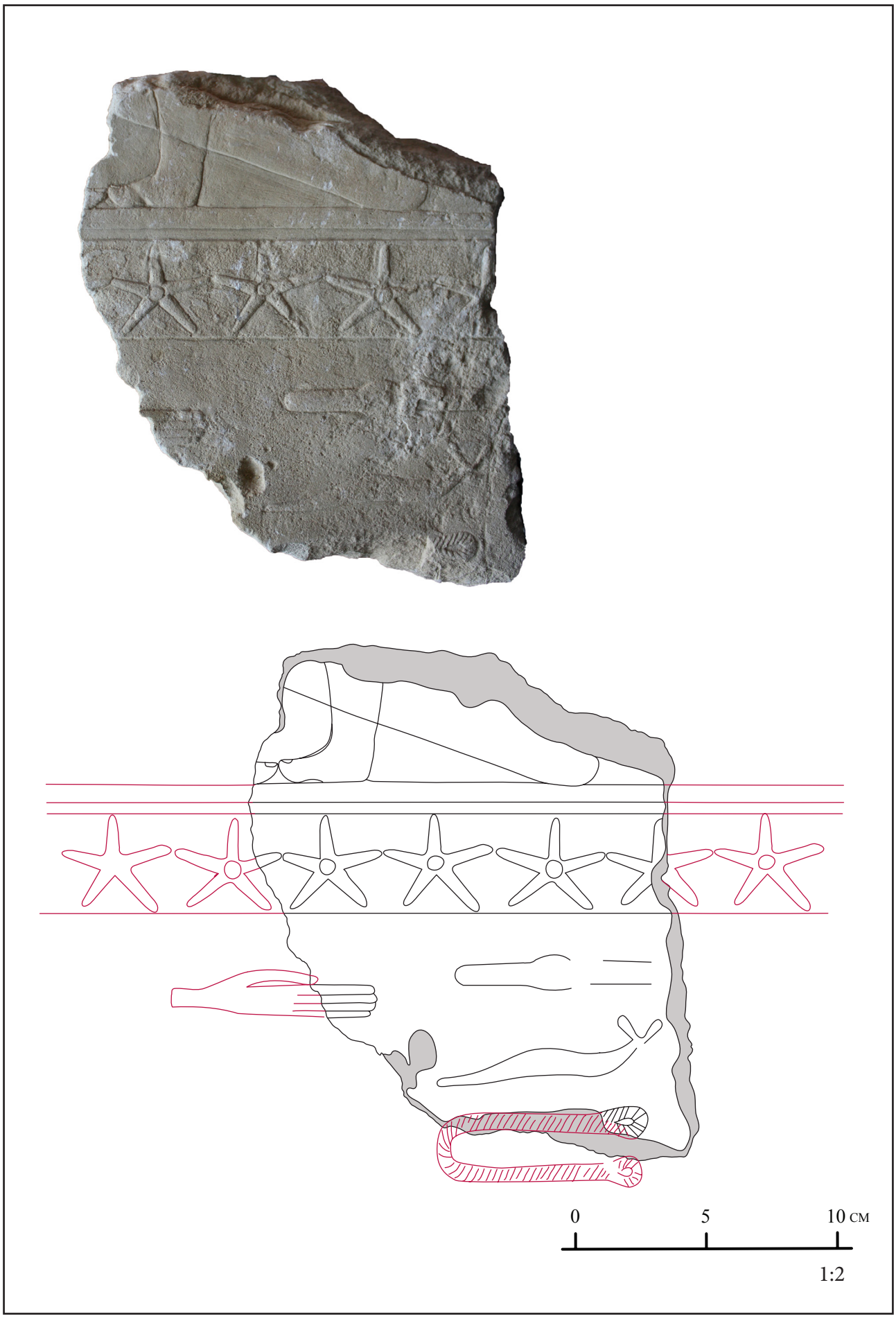


B

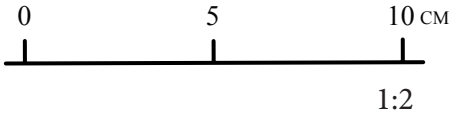
Pl. 76. Royal triumph from the pyramid complex of Pepy II and b-detail of the scene (after Jéquier 1940, pls. 16 upper, 18, bottom left).



Pl. 77. Fragment of relief depicting a part of Djedkare's figure together with a blessing inscriptions, Cat. no. 46.

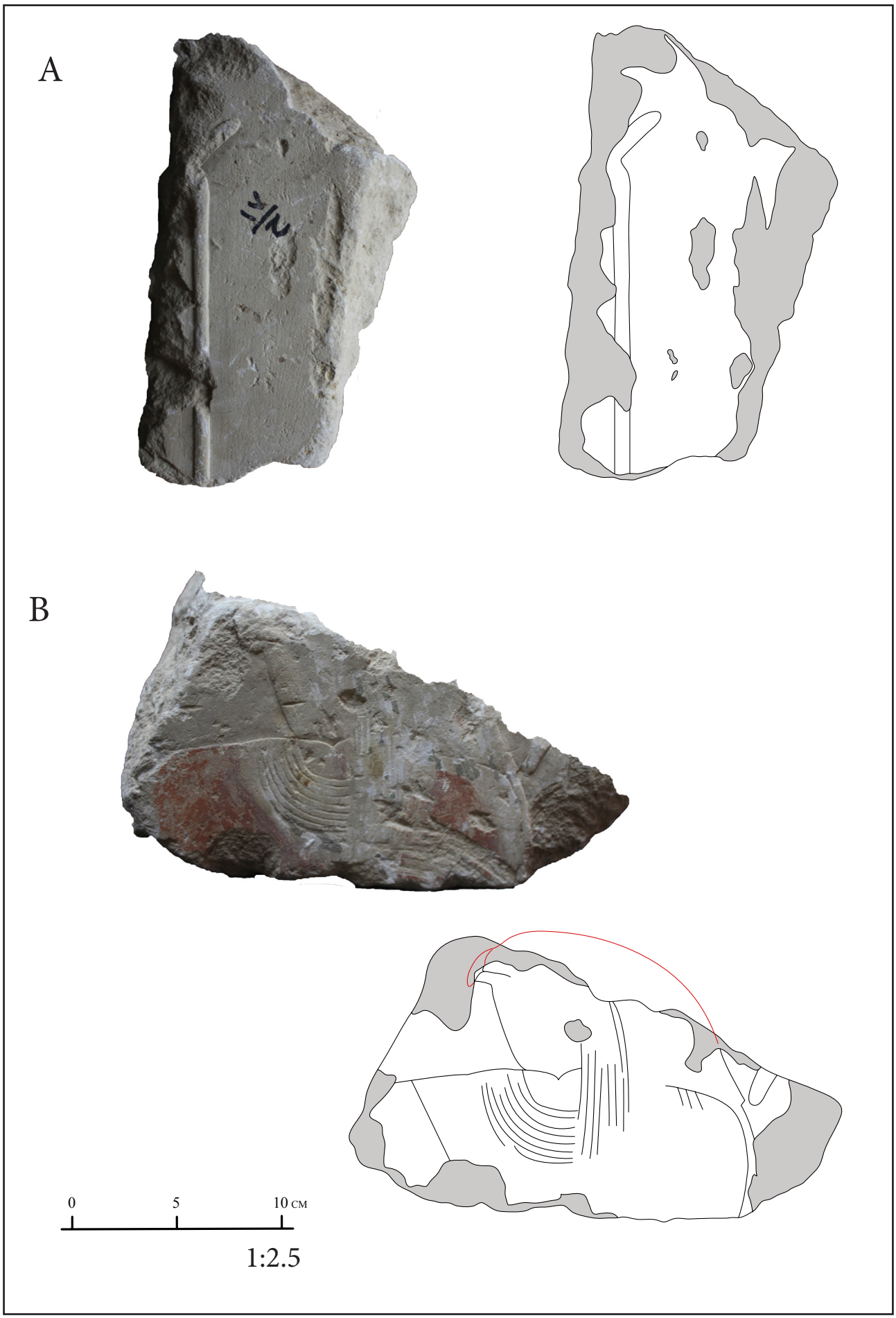


Pl. 78. Fragment of relief showing parts of human figures and inscriptions, Cat. no. 47.

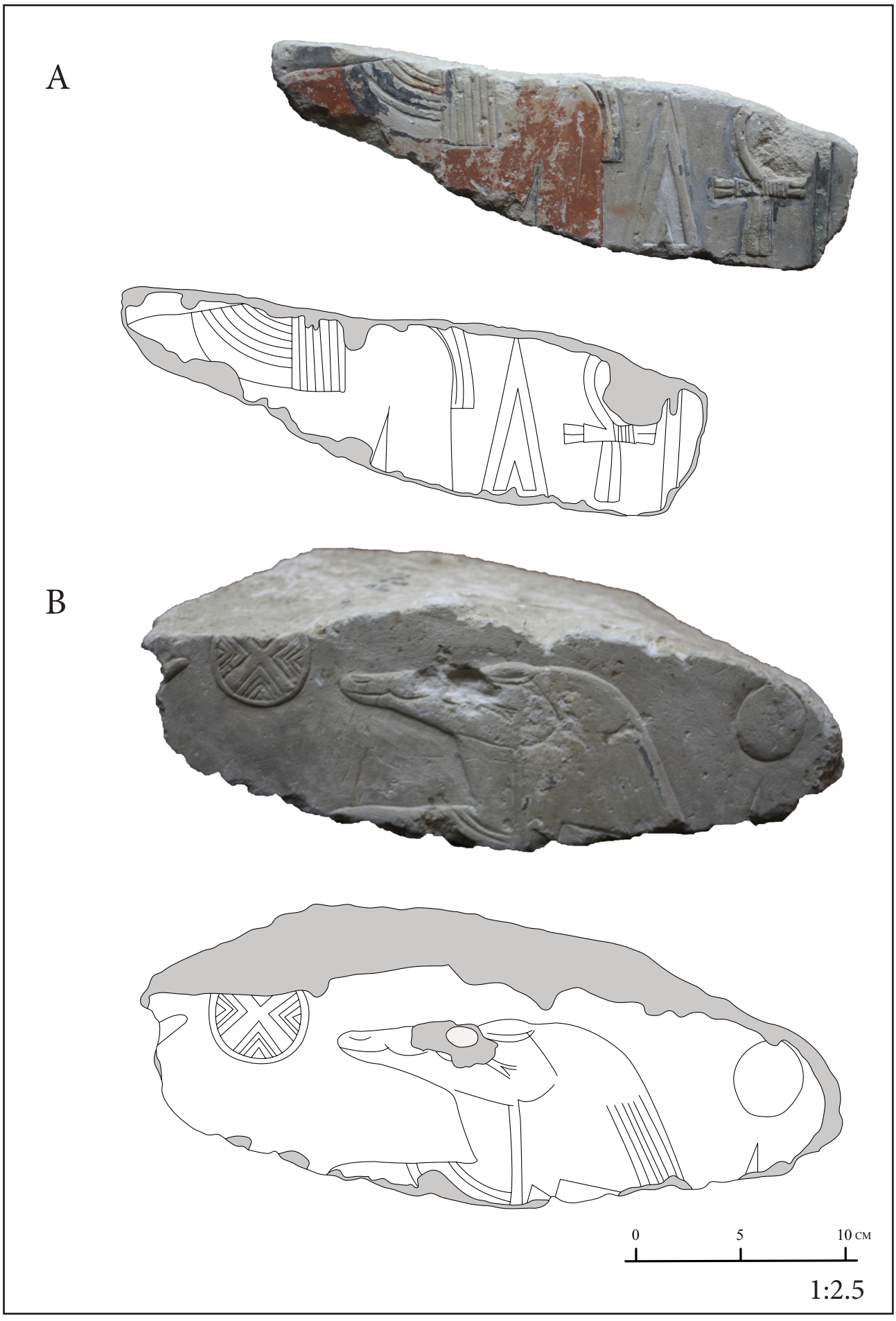


Pl. 79. Fragment of relief showing traces of a paw touching a head of a human figure, Cat. no. 48.

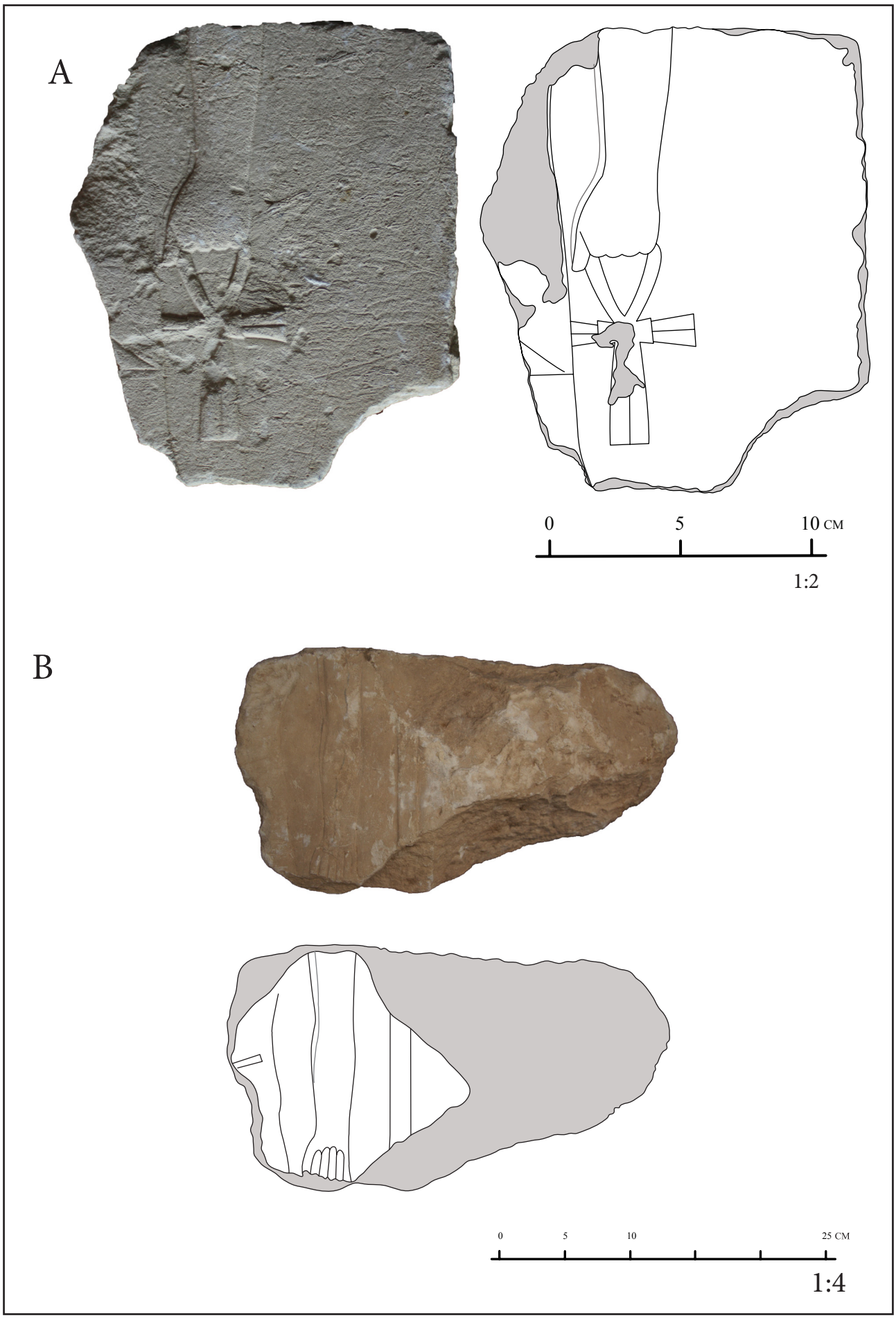
Pl. 80. Fragment of relief depicting parts of a paw, Cat. no. 49.



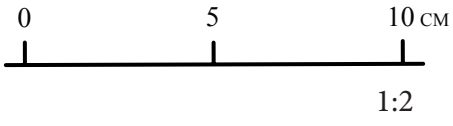
Pl. 81. a-Fragment of relief showing a part of a *w3ś*-sceptre, Cat. no. 50; b-Upper part of a deity with a falcon-head, Cat. no. 51.



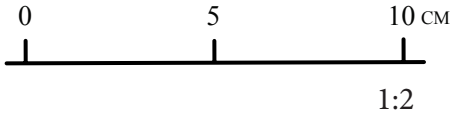
Pl. 82. a-Fragment of relief showing traces of a deity and insriptions, Cat. no. 52; b-Upper part of Sobek, Cat. no. 53.



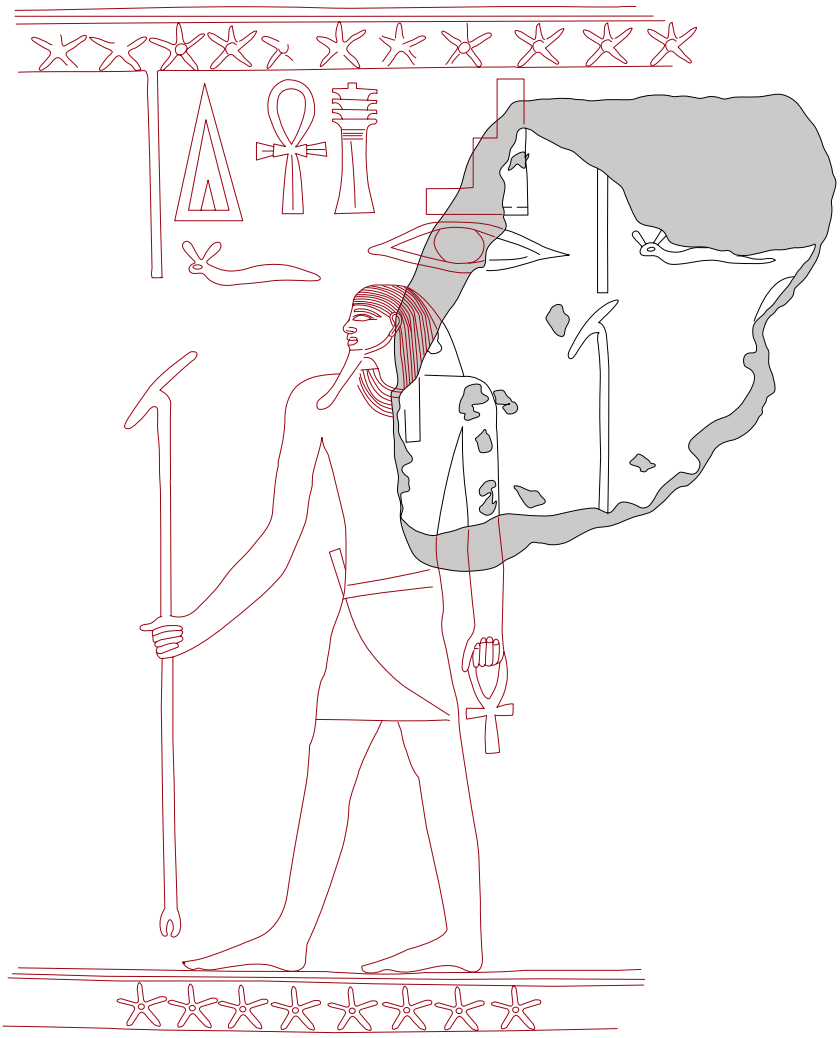
Pl. 83. Two fragments of relief depicting traces of striding male deities holding *ʿnḫ*-sign in their hands, Cat. nos. 54 and 55.

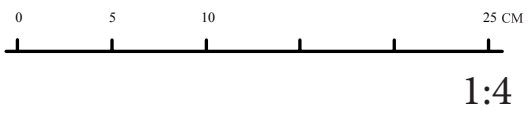


Pl. 84. Fragment of relief showing traces of a deity's figure and the name of Osiris, Cat. no. 56.



Pl. 85. Drawing of Cat. no. 56, which depicts a part of a striding deity with an incomplete name of Osiris.



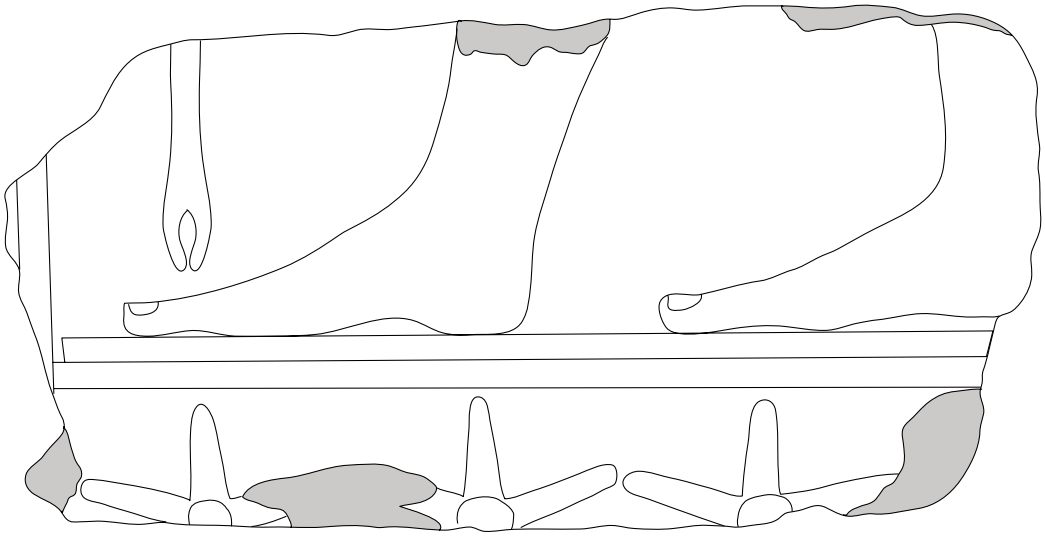


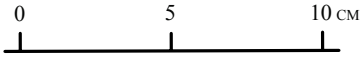
1:4

Pl. 86. Reconstruction of fragment Cat. no. 56 showing a striding human figure of Osiris.

Pl. 87. Fragment of relief showing a part of a *wꜣś*-sceptre, Cat. no. 57.

Pl. 88. Fragment of relief depicting traces of a falcon-headed deity, Cat. no. 58.

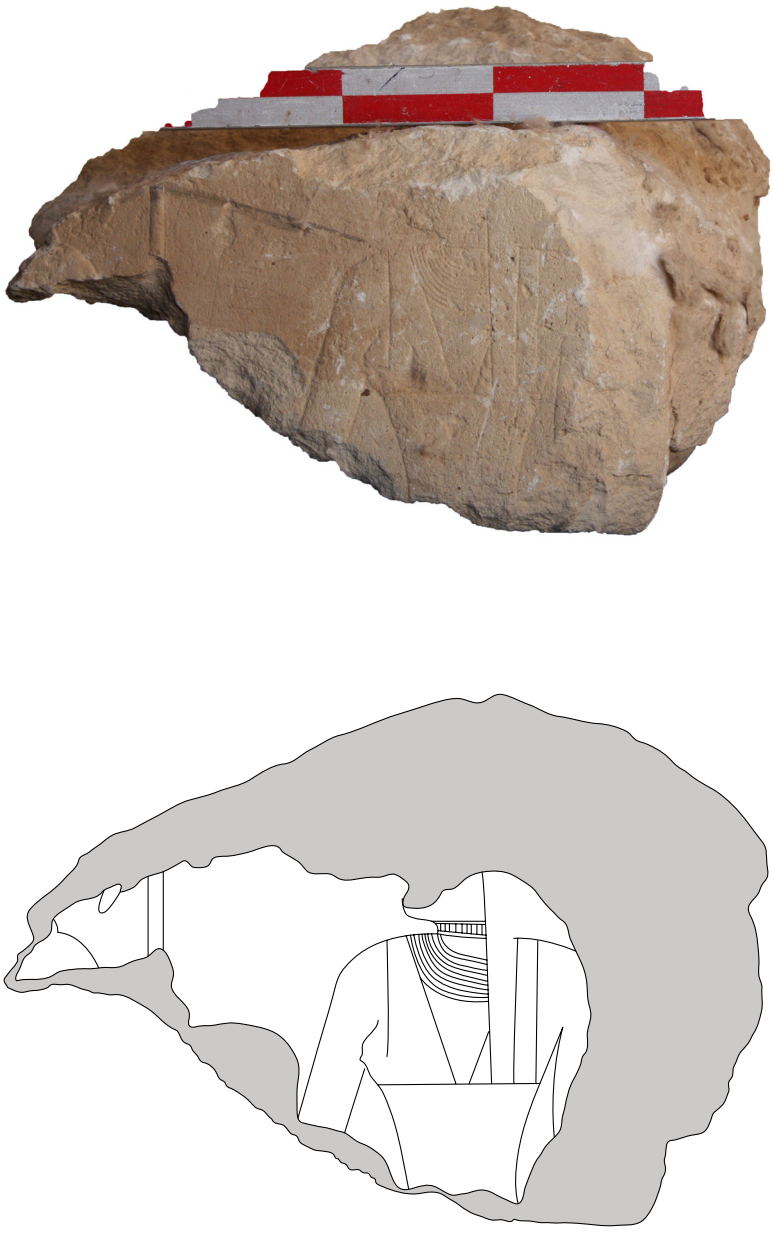




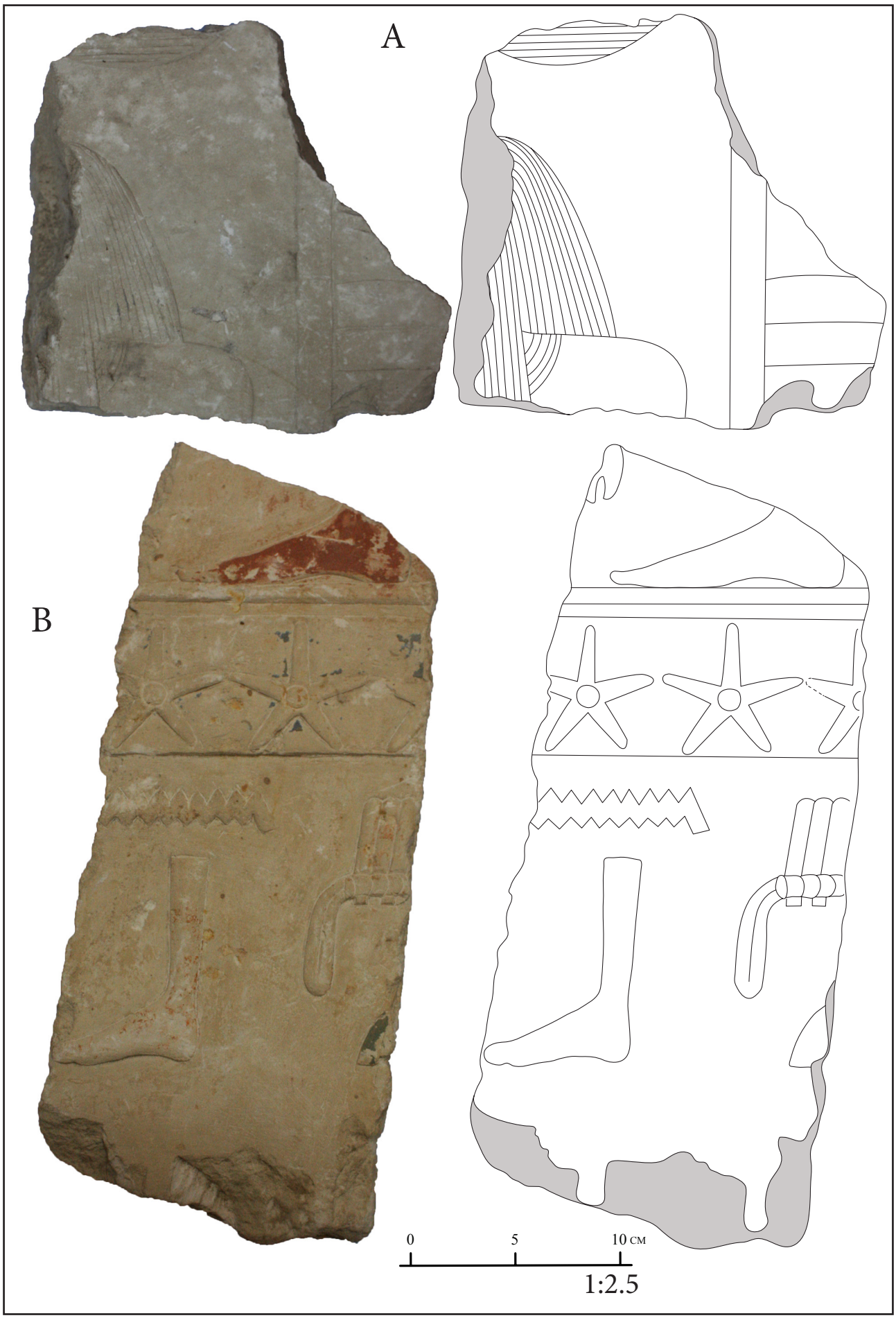
1:2.5

Pl. 89. Fragment of relief depicting traces of a lower part of a male deity, Cat. no. 59.

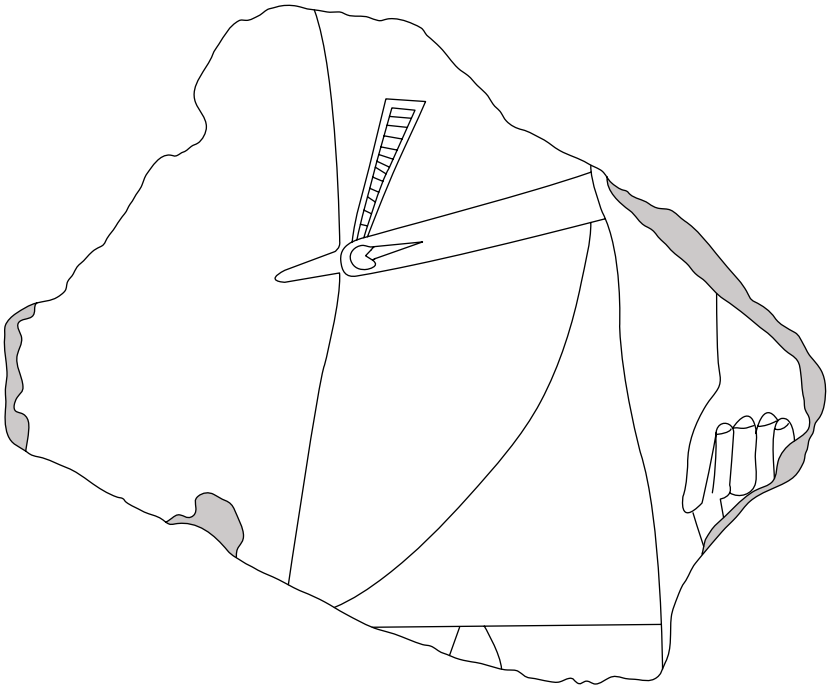
Pl. 90. Fragment of relief showing a part of a deity holding a *w3ś*-sceptre and in front of him traces of the *pr-nw* shrine, Cat. no. 60.

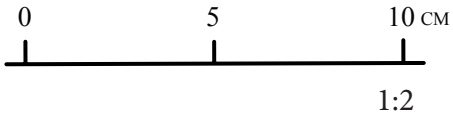


Pl. 91. Fragment of relief showing a part of a female deity, Cat. no. 61.

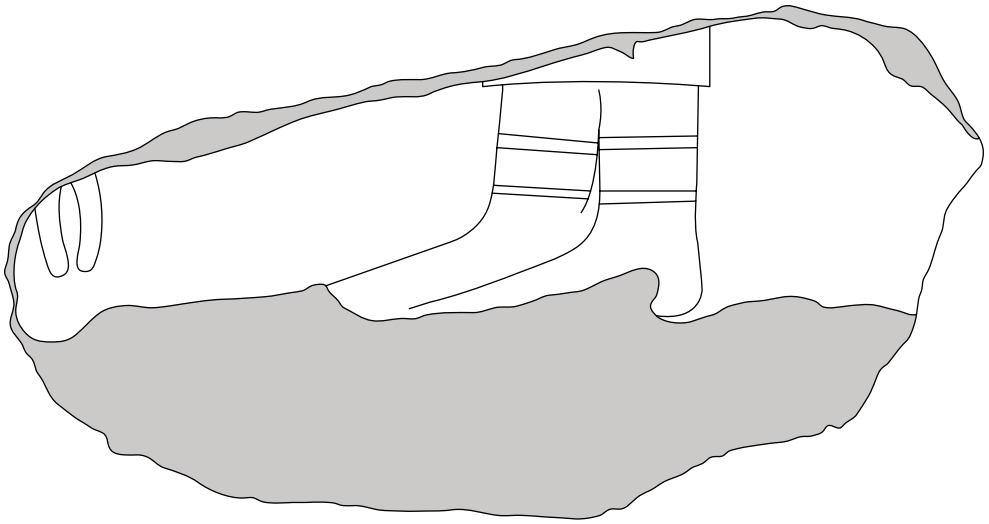


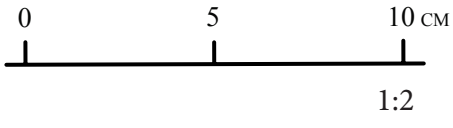
Pl. 92. a-Fragment of relief showing a part of a male deity, Cat. no. 62; b-Fragment of relief showing traces of a male deity and inscriptions, Cat. no. 63.



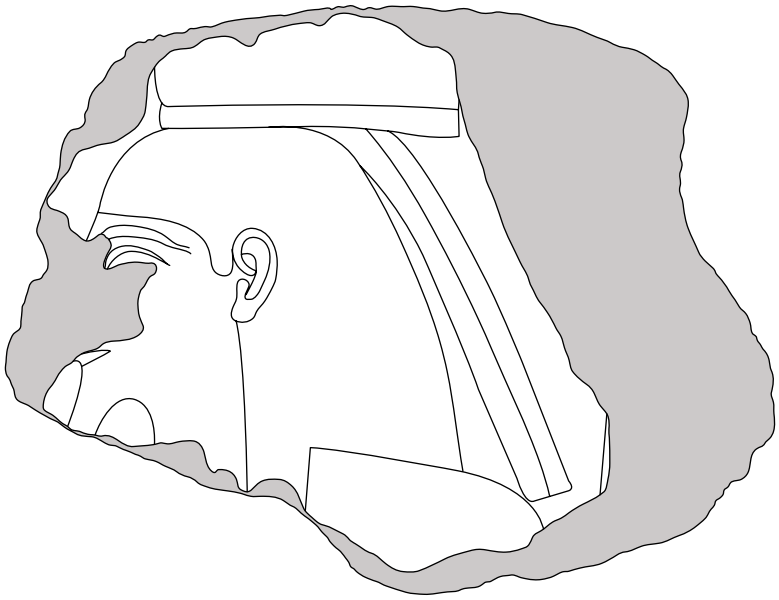


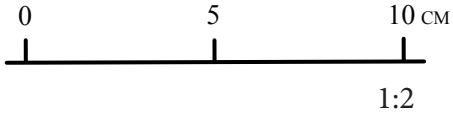
Pl. 93. Fragment of relief showing a part of a striding male deity holding an *ʿnḫ*-sign, Cat. no. 64.



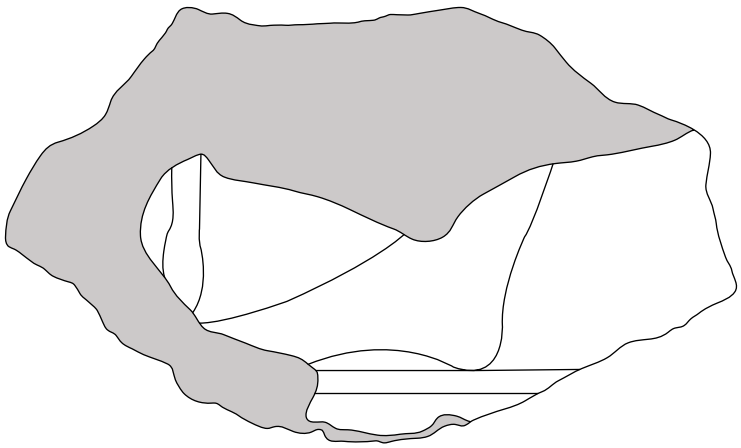


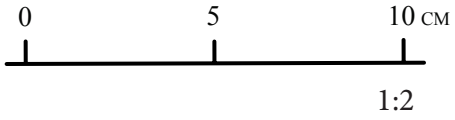
Pl. 94. Fragment of relief depicting the lower part of a female deity and a *w3ś*-sceptre, Cat. no. 65.



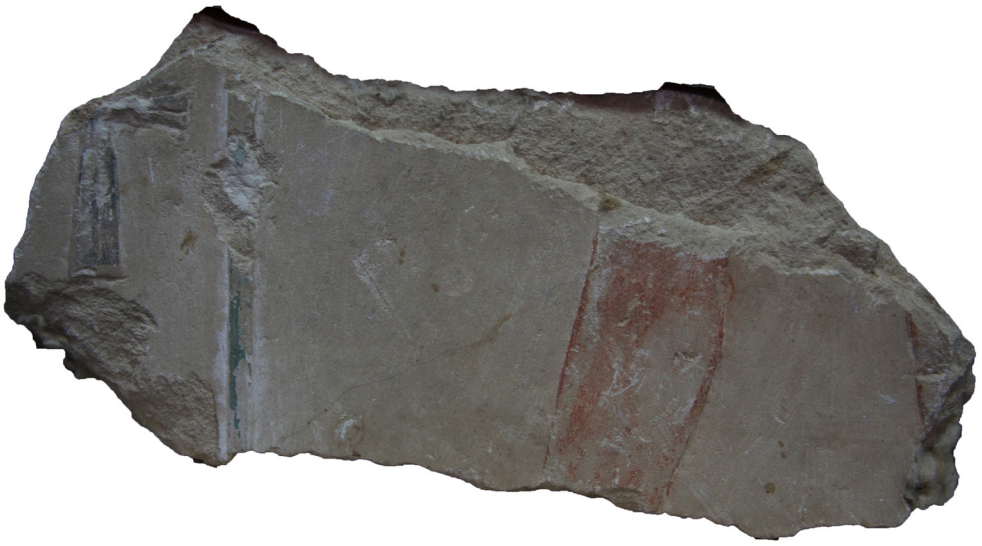


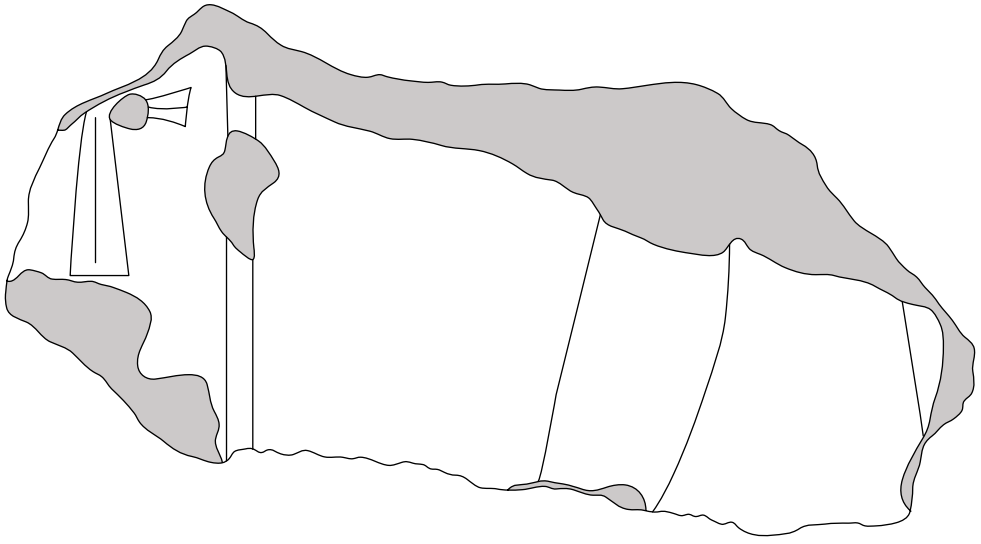
Pl. 95. Fragment of relief showing a part of a nome-personification, Cat. no. 66.

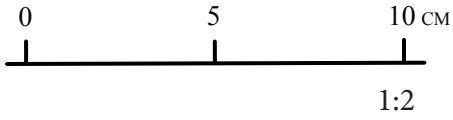




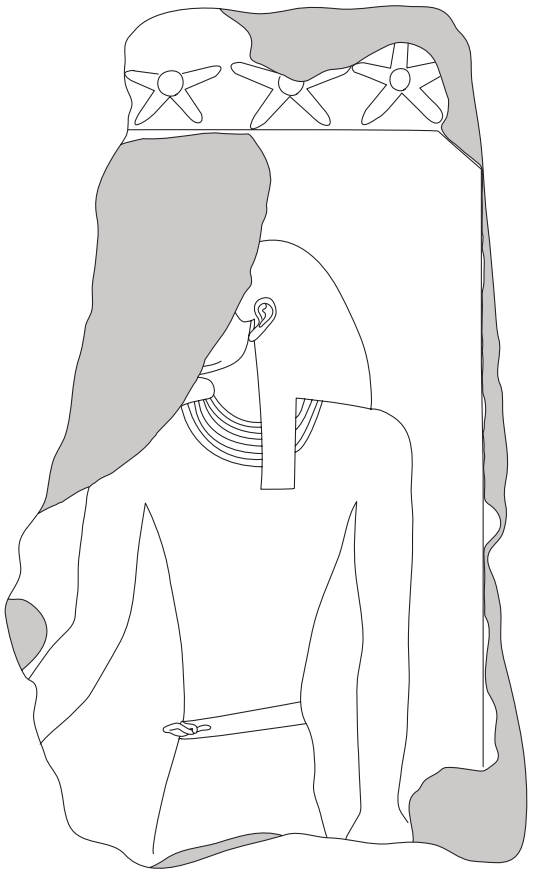
Pl. 96. Fragment of relief showing traces of a right foot of striding male deity and a *w3s*-sceptre, Cat. no. 67.

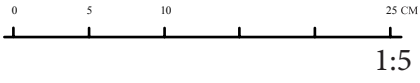




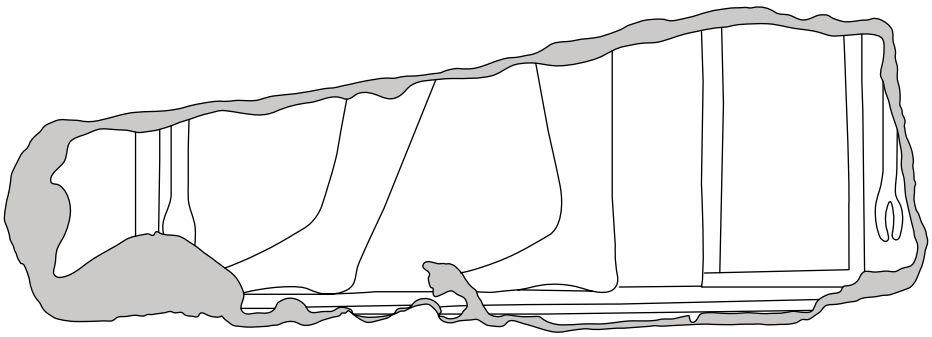


Pl. 97. Fragment of relief depicting parts of two deities, Cat. no. 68.





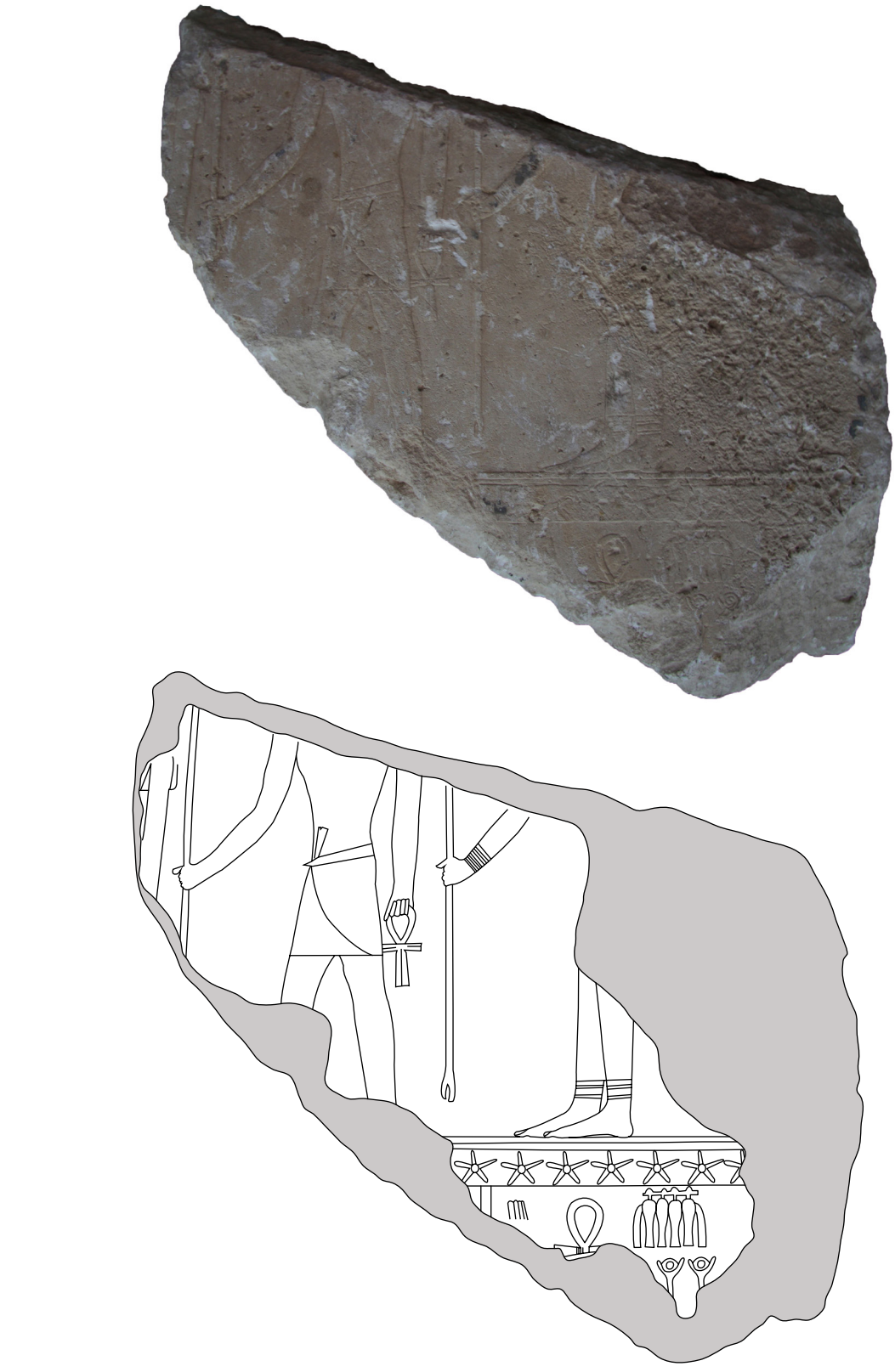
Pl. 98. Fragment of relief depicting the upper part of a male deity, Cat. no. 69.



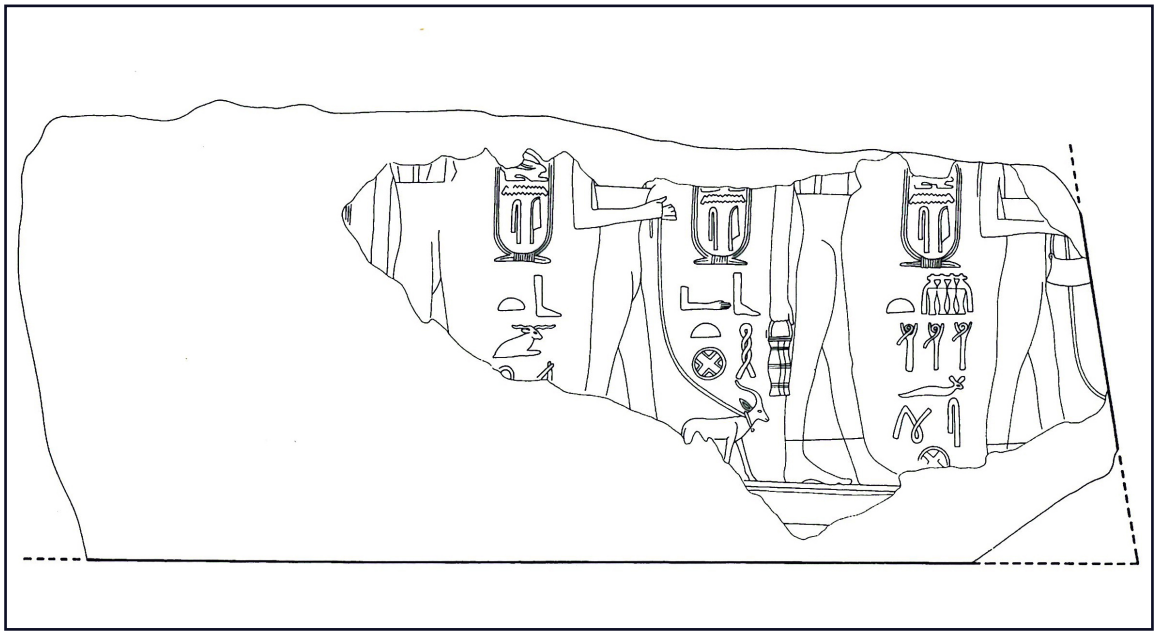
1:4

Pl. 99. Fragment of relief showing a part of a male deity holding a *w3ś*-sceptre and behind him are traces of the *pr-wr* shrine, Cat. no. 70.

Pl. 100. Fragment of relief showing a part of a large figure of a male deity, Cat. no. 71.

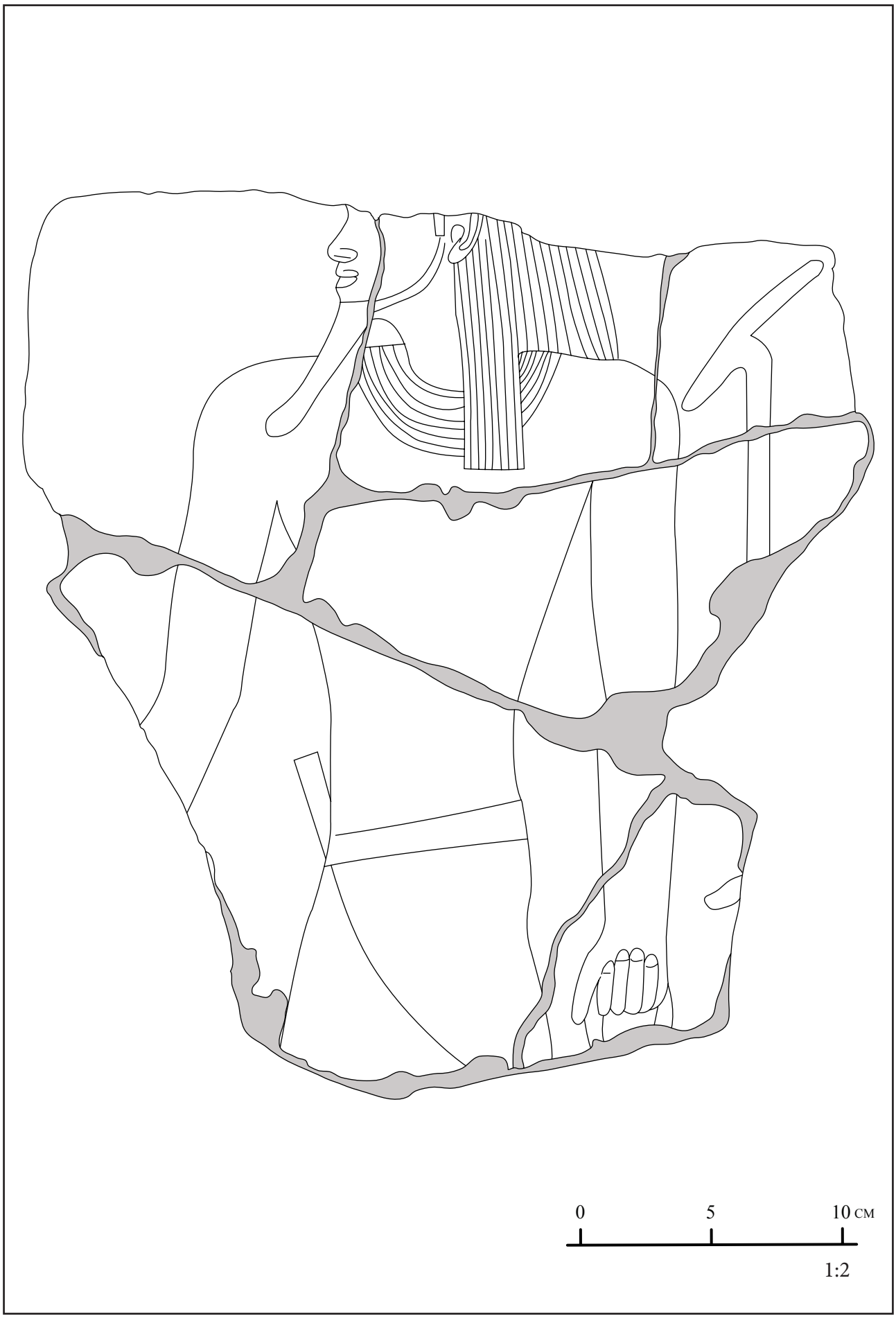


Pl. 101. Large fragment of relief showing parts of a procession of male and female deities, Cat. no. 72.

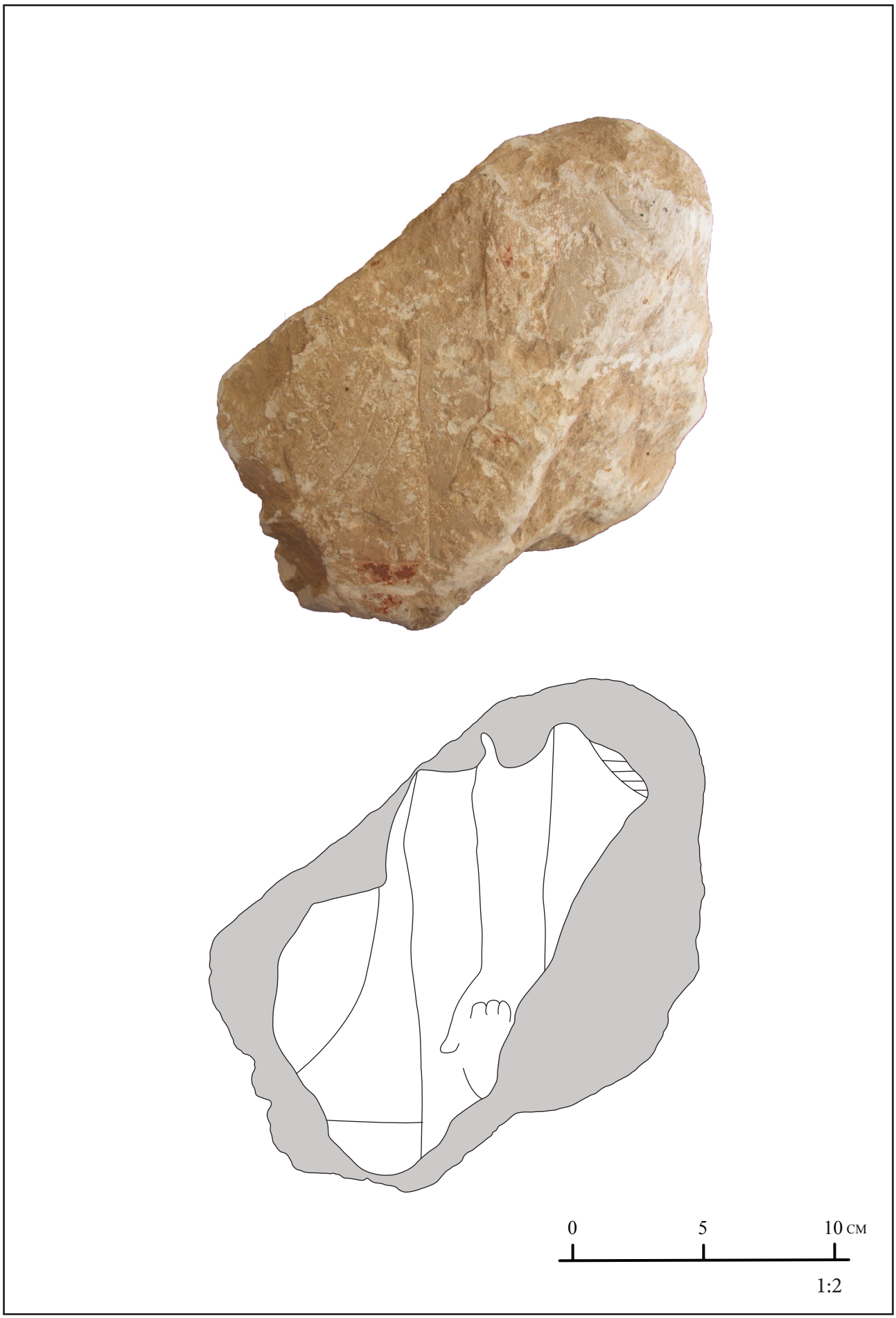


Pl. 102. A scene showing the name of Khentyiwatef from Wenis's causeway (after Labrousse, Moussa 2002, fig. 144).

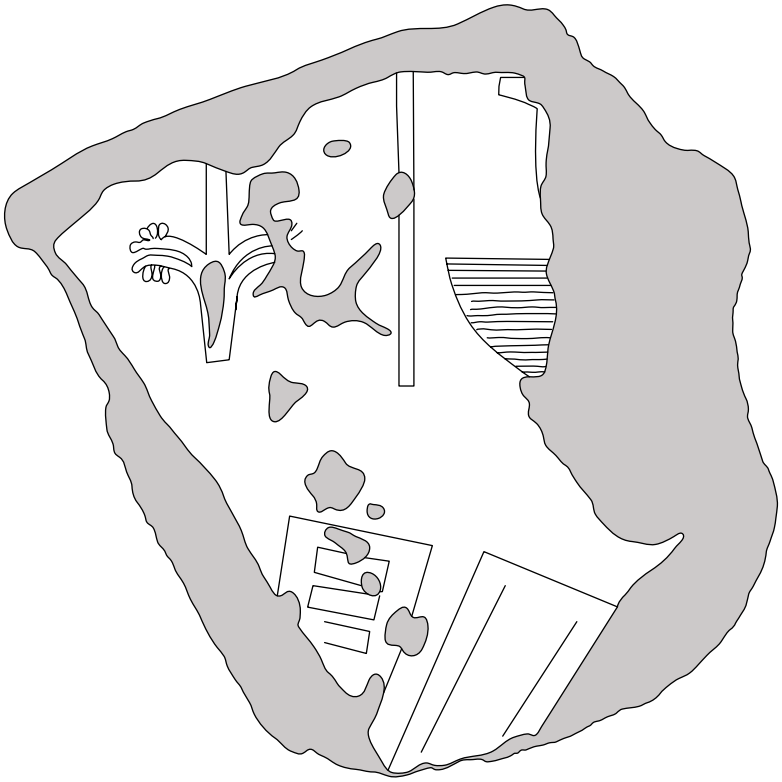
Pl. 103. Four matching fragments depicting parts of figures of male deities, Cat. no. 73.

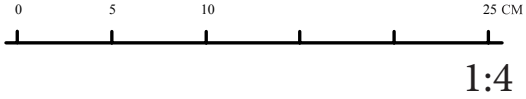


Pl. 104. Drawing of the fragments Cat. no. 73.



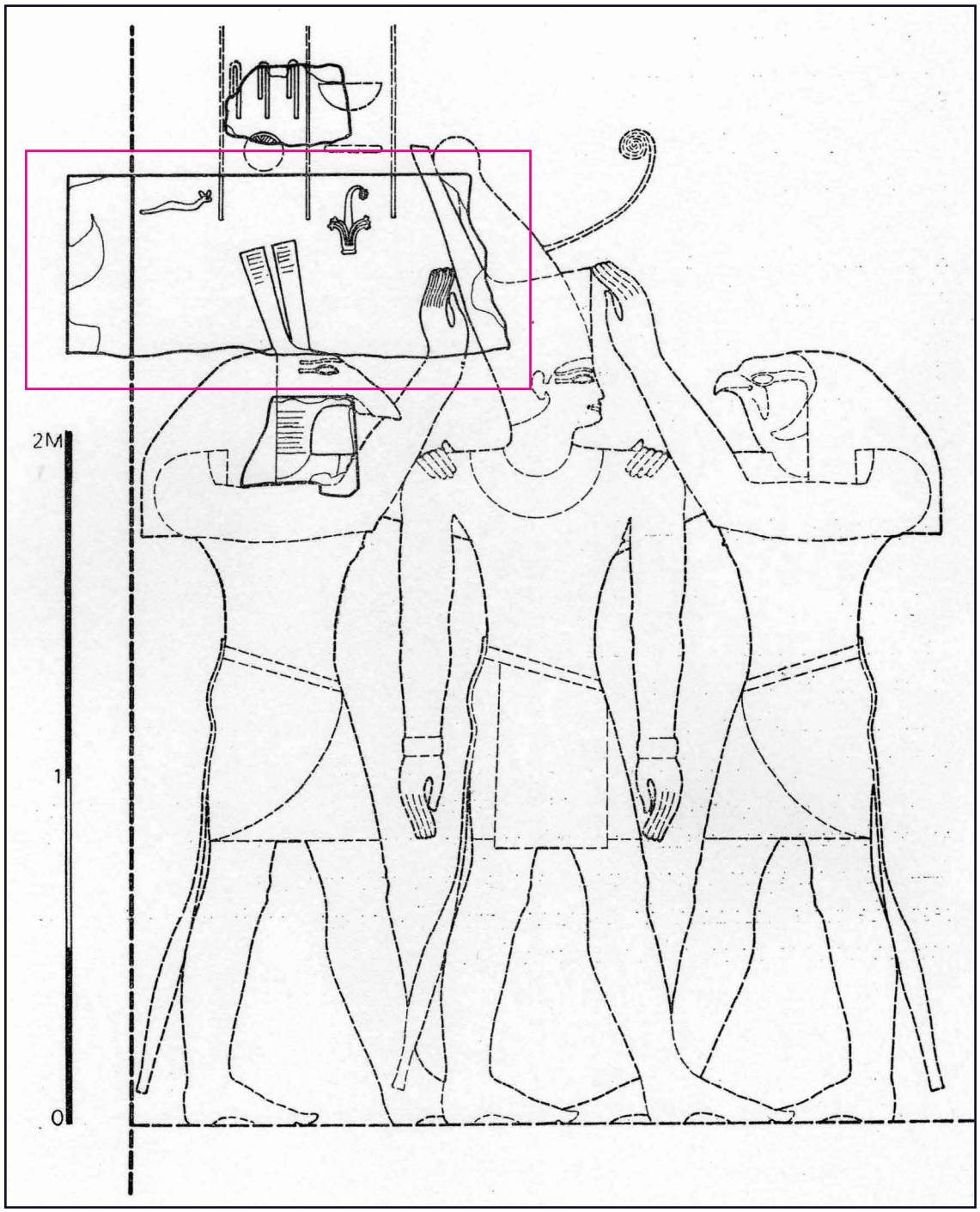
Pl. 105. Fragment of relief shows parts of a male deity, Cat. no. 74.



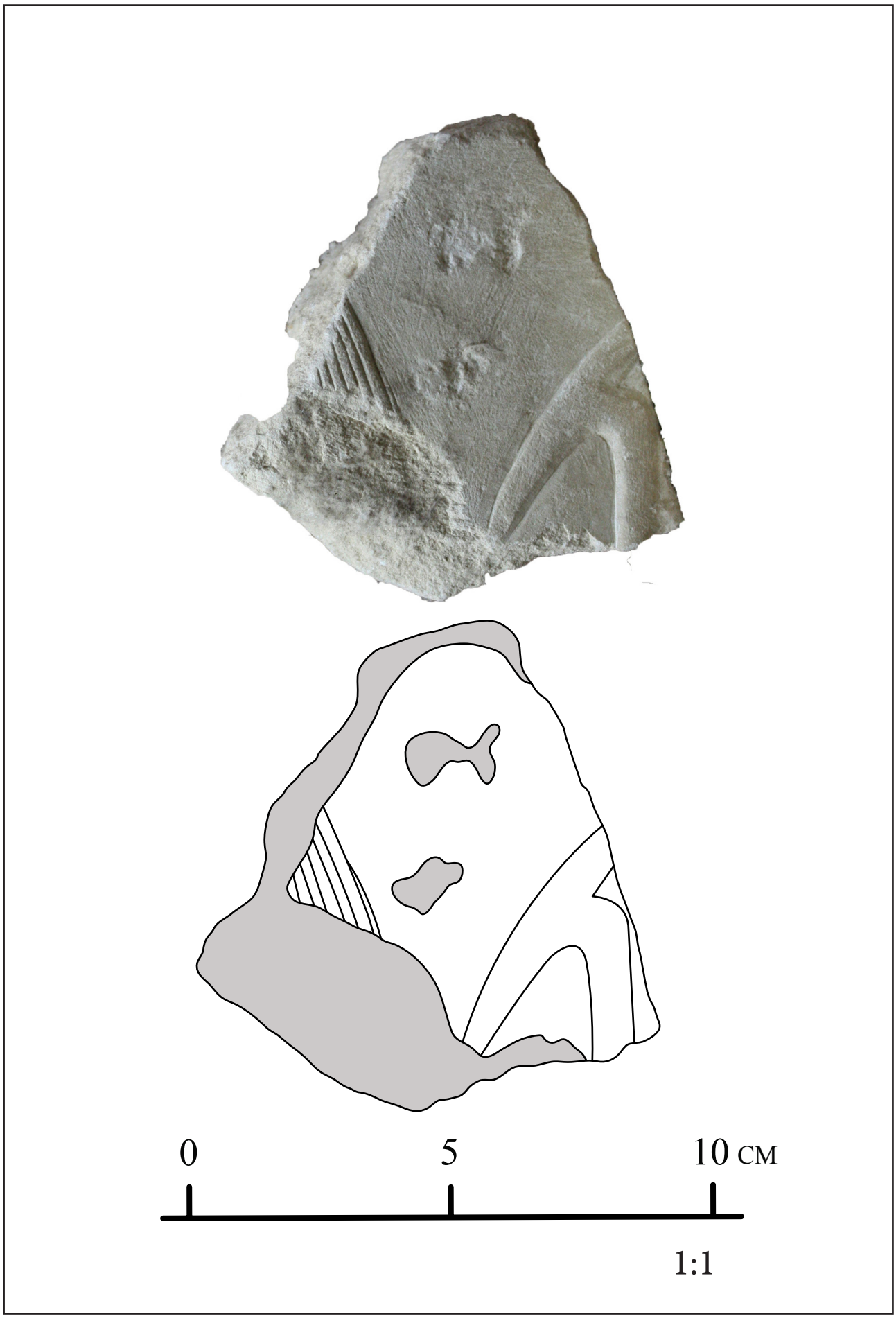


1:4

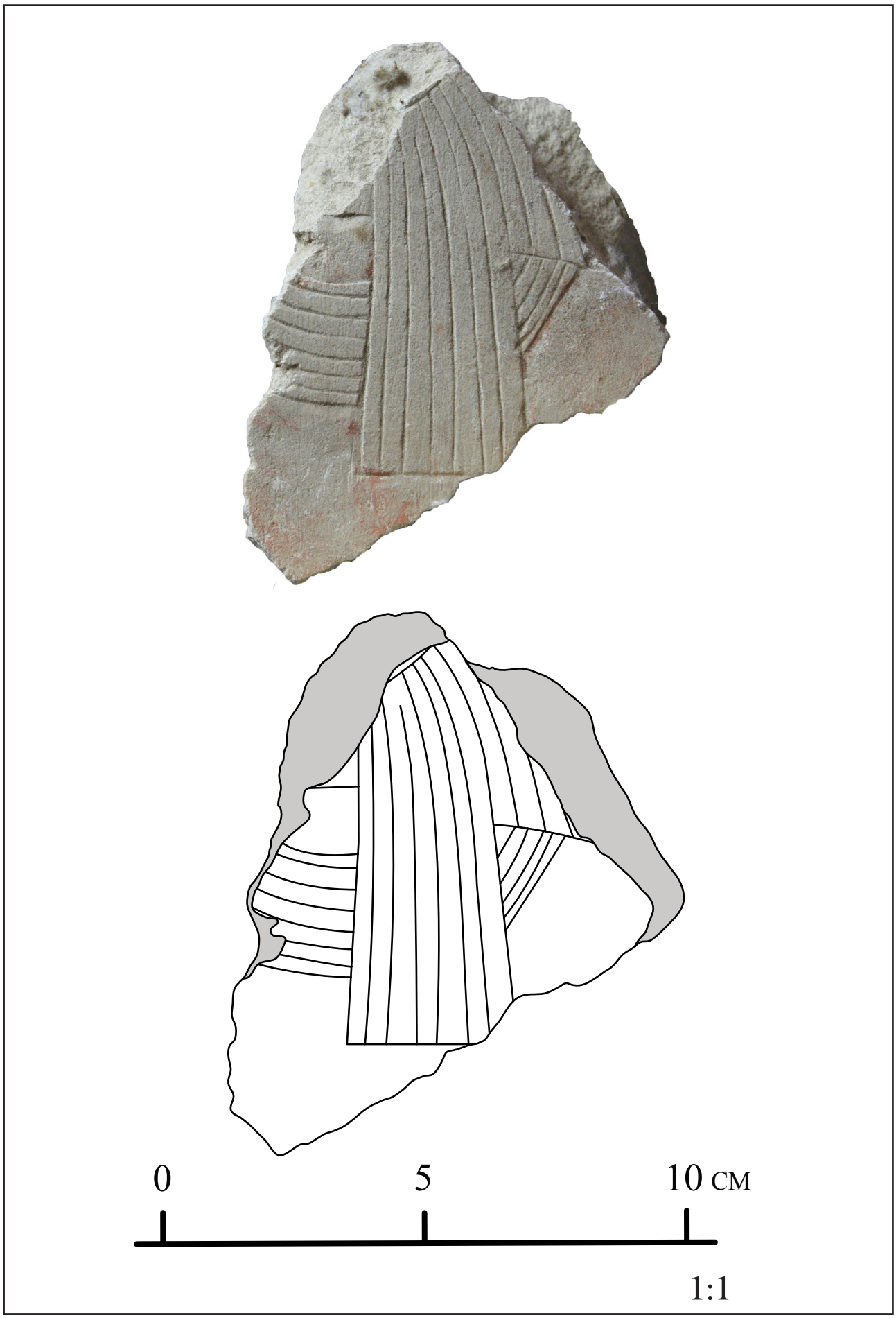
Pl. 106. Fragment of relief shows the upper part of the ears of a Seth-animal and inscriptions, Cat. no. 75,



Pl. 107. King Wenis being crowned by Horus and Seth, from the king's pyramid complex (after Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, fig. 73).



Pl. 108. Fragment of relief depicting a part of a wig of a deity and a *w3ś*-sceptre, Cat. no. 76.



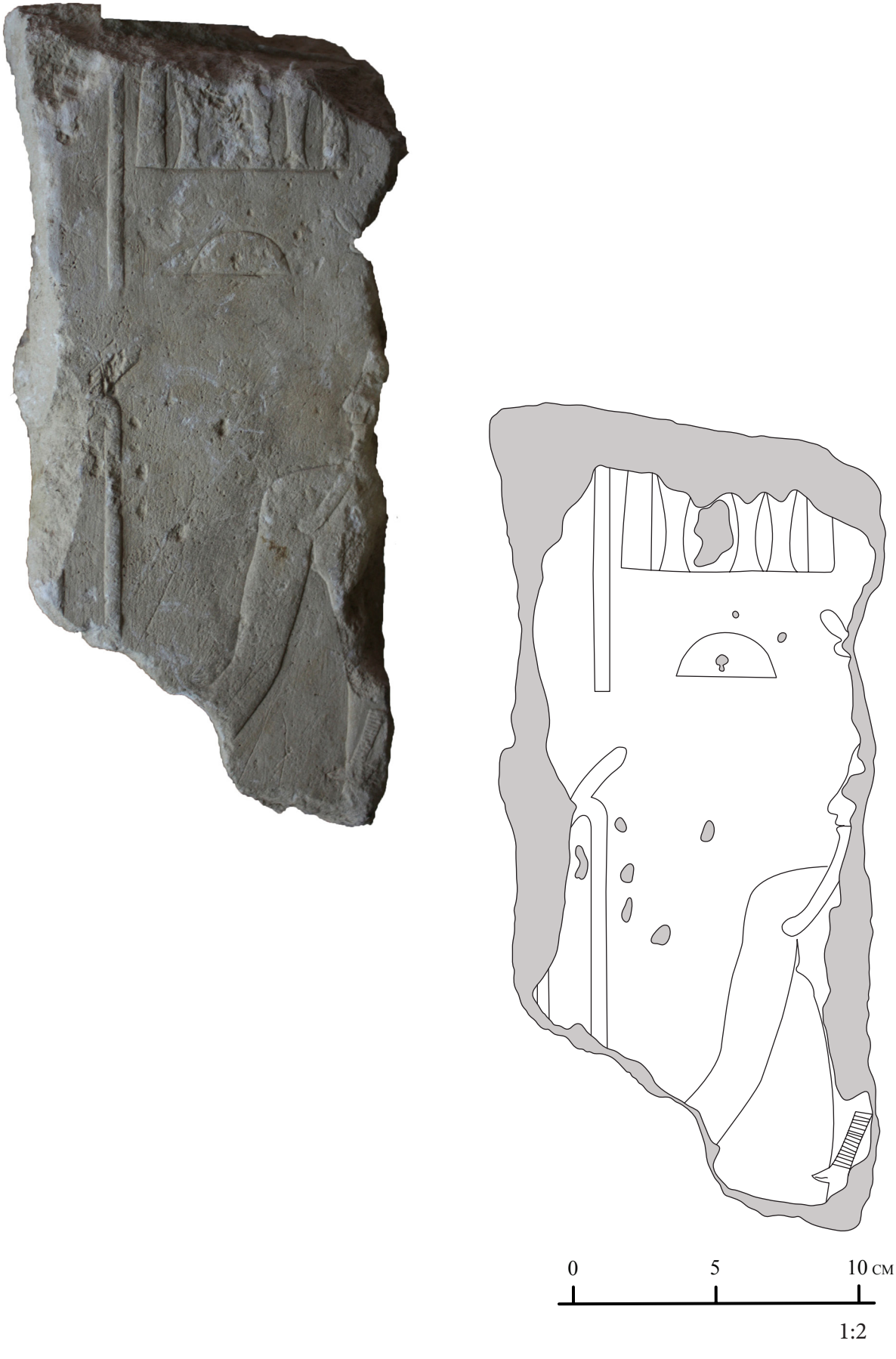
Pl. 109. Fragment of relief depicting a part of a wig and a broad collar of a male deity, Cat. no. 77.

0 5 10 CM

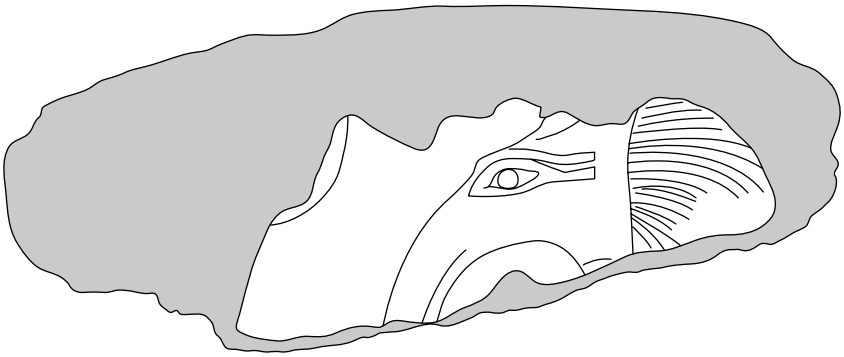
1:2

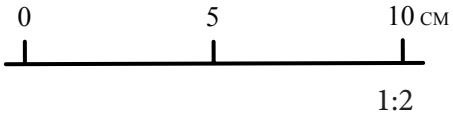
Pl. 110. Fragment of relief showing traces of a wig of a male deity and a *w3ś*-sceptre, Cat. no. 78.

Pl. 111. Large fragment of relief showing traces of the head of Horus, Cat. no. 79.

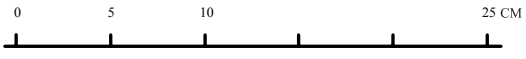


Pl. 112. Fragment of relief showing a part of a male deity holding a *w3ś*-sceptre, Cat. no. 80.



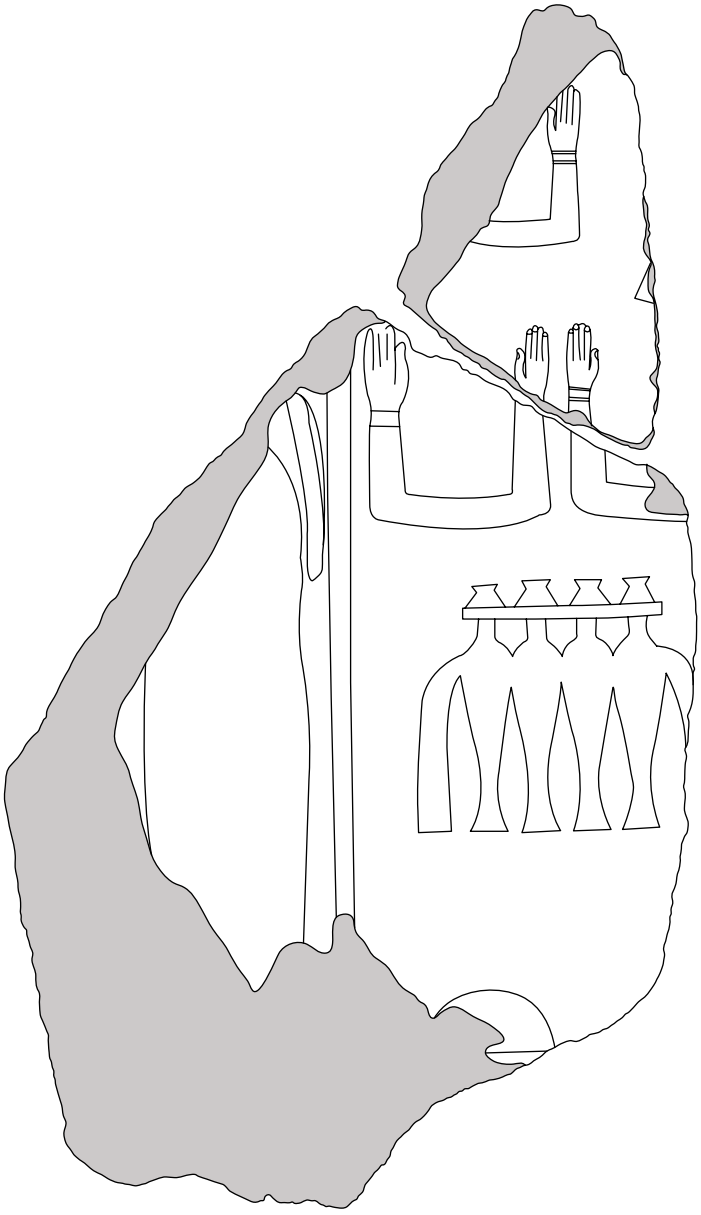


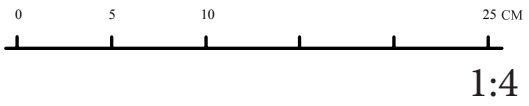
Pl. 113. Fragment of relief showing traces of the head of Seth with an inlaid eye, Cat. no. 81.



1:4

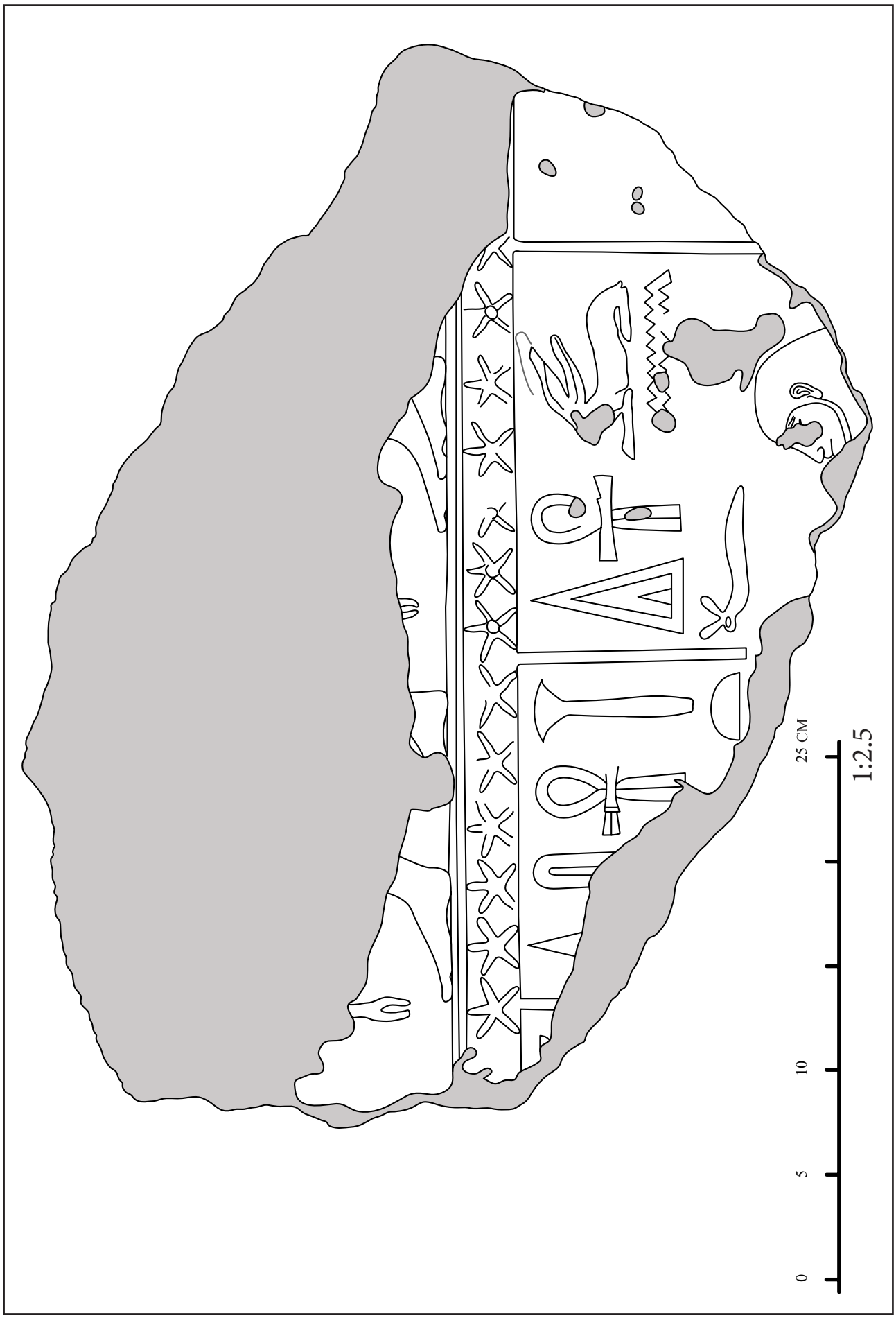
Pl. 114. Large fragment of relief showing a part of a male deity and an inscription, Cat. no. 82.



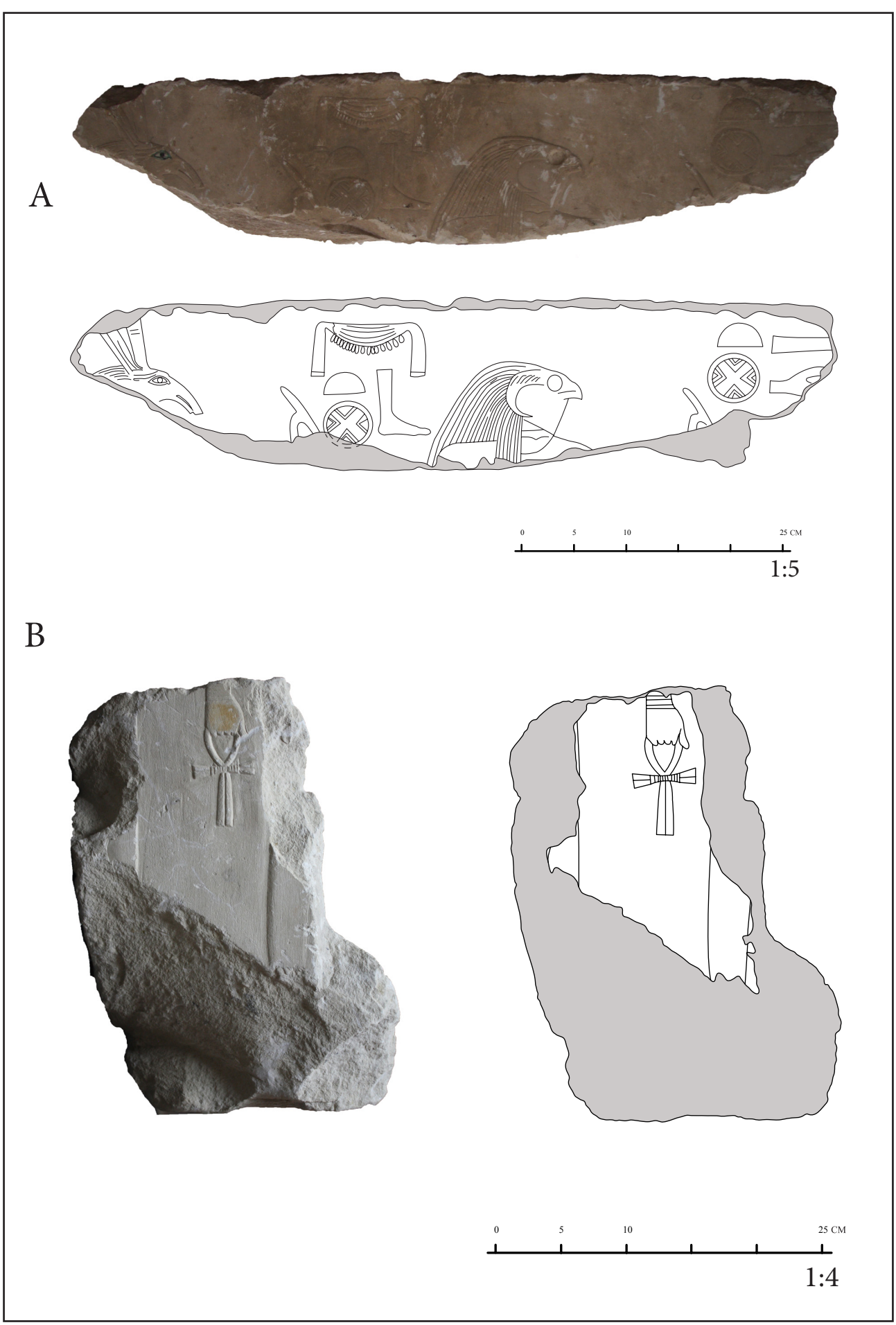


Pl. 115. Drawing of the fragment Cat. no. 82.

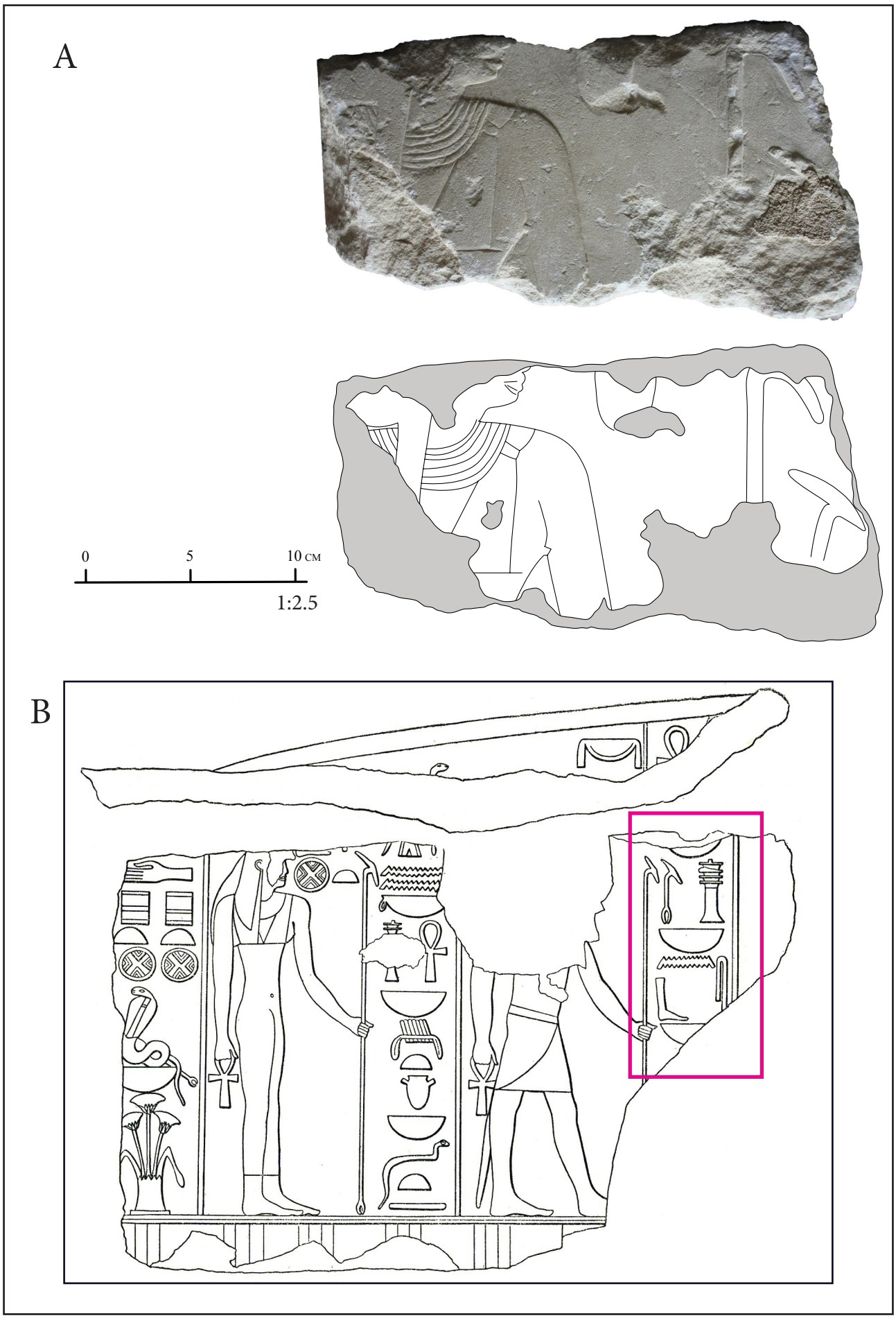
Pl. 116. Fragment of relief depicting a procession of deities in two registers, Cat. no. 83.



Pl. 117. Drawing of fragment Cat. no. 83.



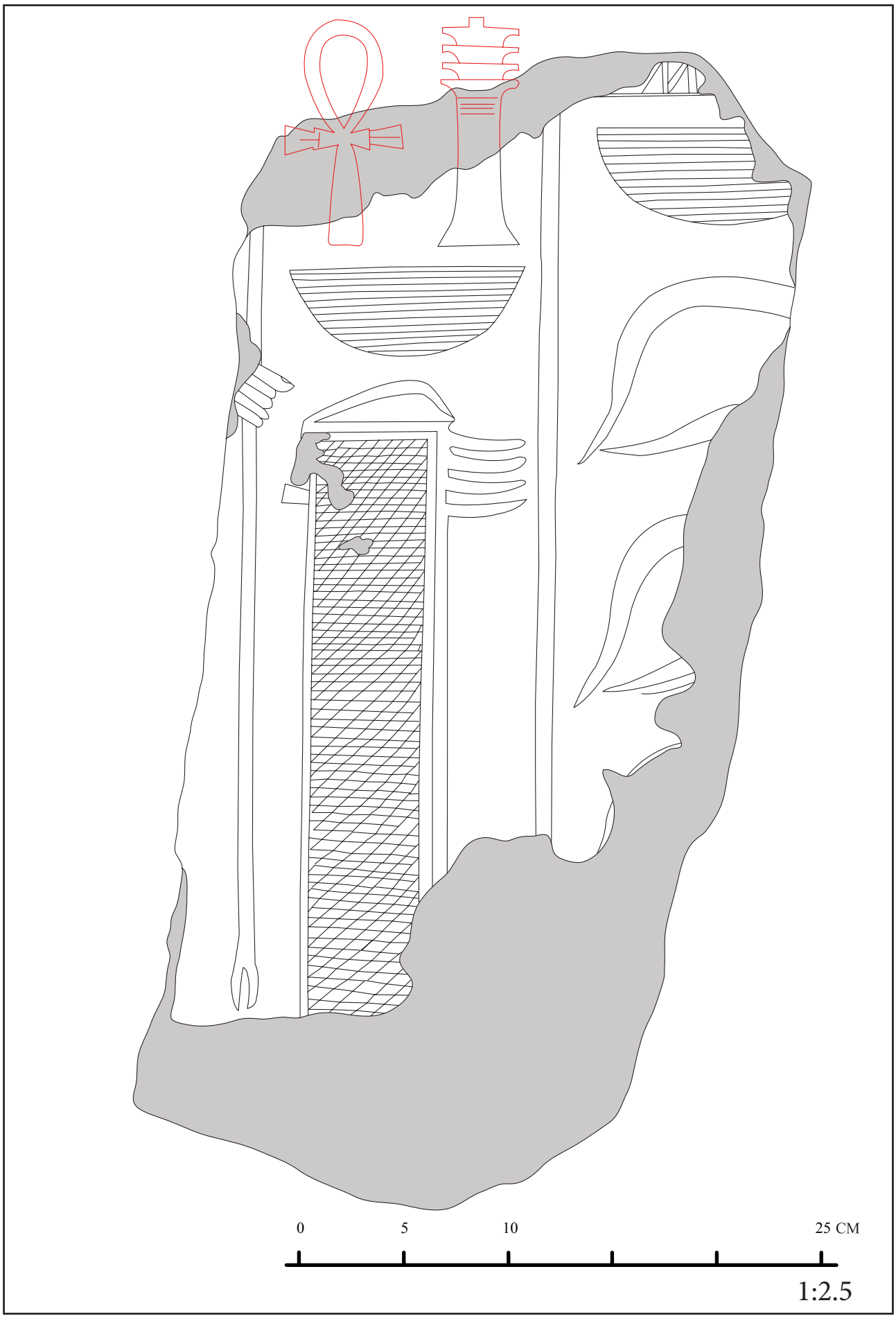
Pl. 118. a-Fragment of relief showing parts of Horus and Seth with inscriptions, Cat. no. 84; b-Fragment of relief showing a part of a female deity holding an *ʿnḫ*-sign with her hand, Cat. no. 85.



Pl. 119. a-Fragment of relief whowing an upper part of a female deity and inscription,
Cat. no. 86; b-Fragment of relief from the funerary temple of Teti (after Lauer, Leclant 1972, fig. 15b).

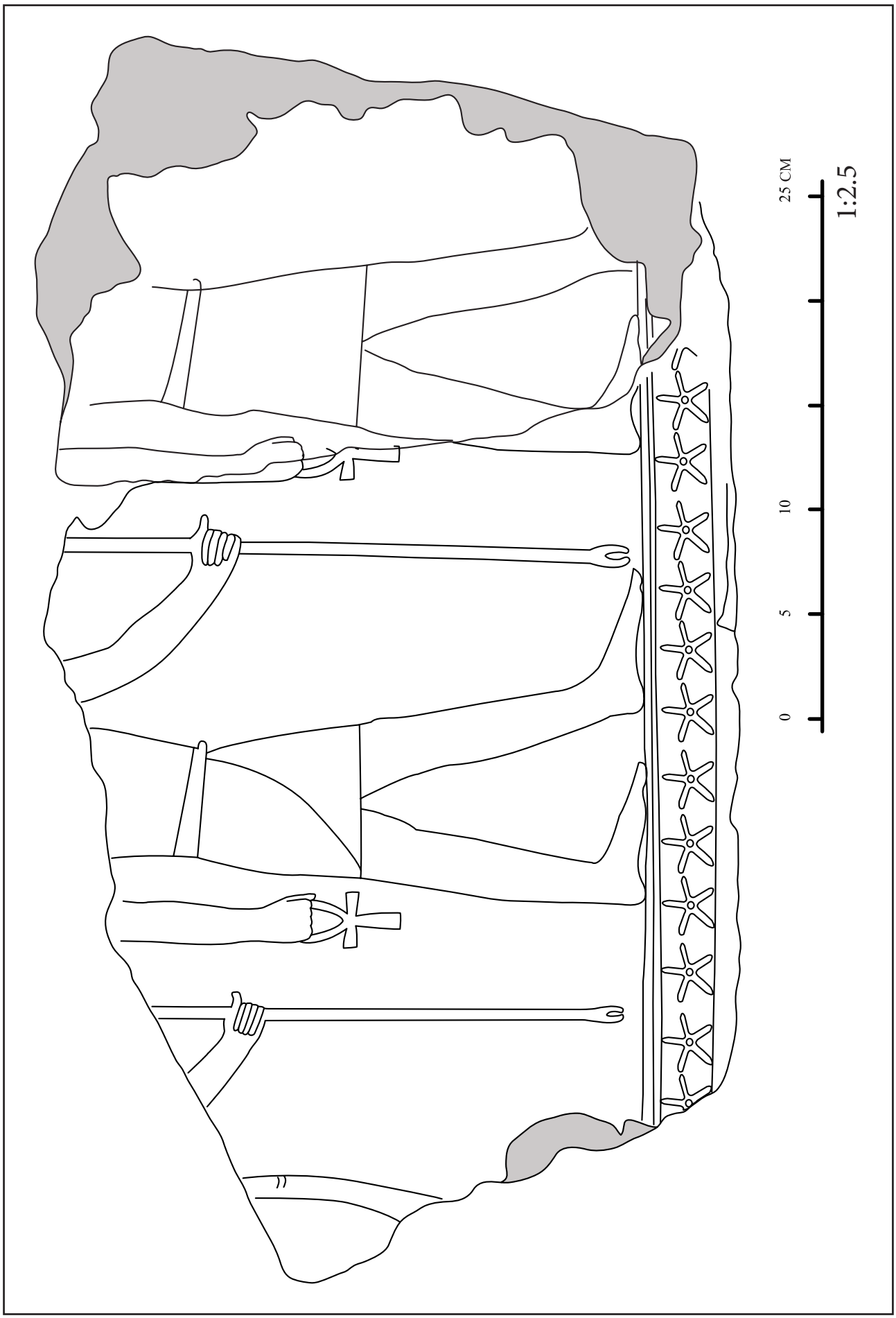
Pl. 120. Fragment of relief showing a part of a procession of male deities, Cat. no. 87.

Pl. 121. Fragment of relief depicting a part of a male deity, *pr-wr* shrine and inscriptions, Cat. no. 88.

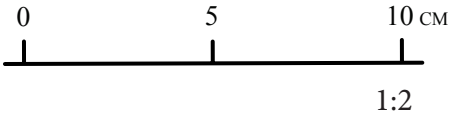


Pl. 122. Drawing of fragment Cat. no. 88.

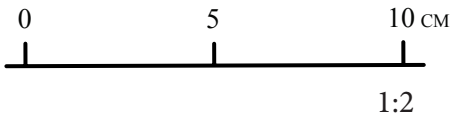
Pl. 123. Two fragments of relief showing a part of a procession of male and female deities, Cat. no. 89.



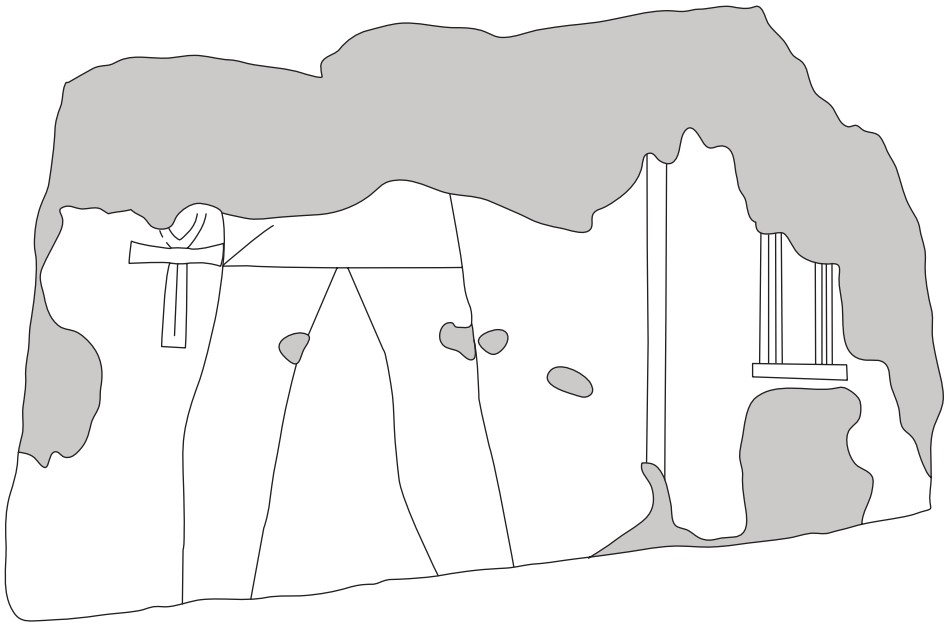
Pl. 124. Drawing of the two fragments depicting male and female deities, Cat. no. 89.

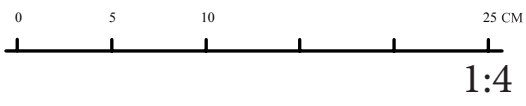


Pl. 125. Fragment of relief showing traces of the upper Egyptian nome *ʿnty*, Cat. no. 90.

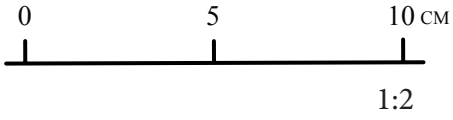


Pl. 126. Drawing of the fragment Cat. no. 90.

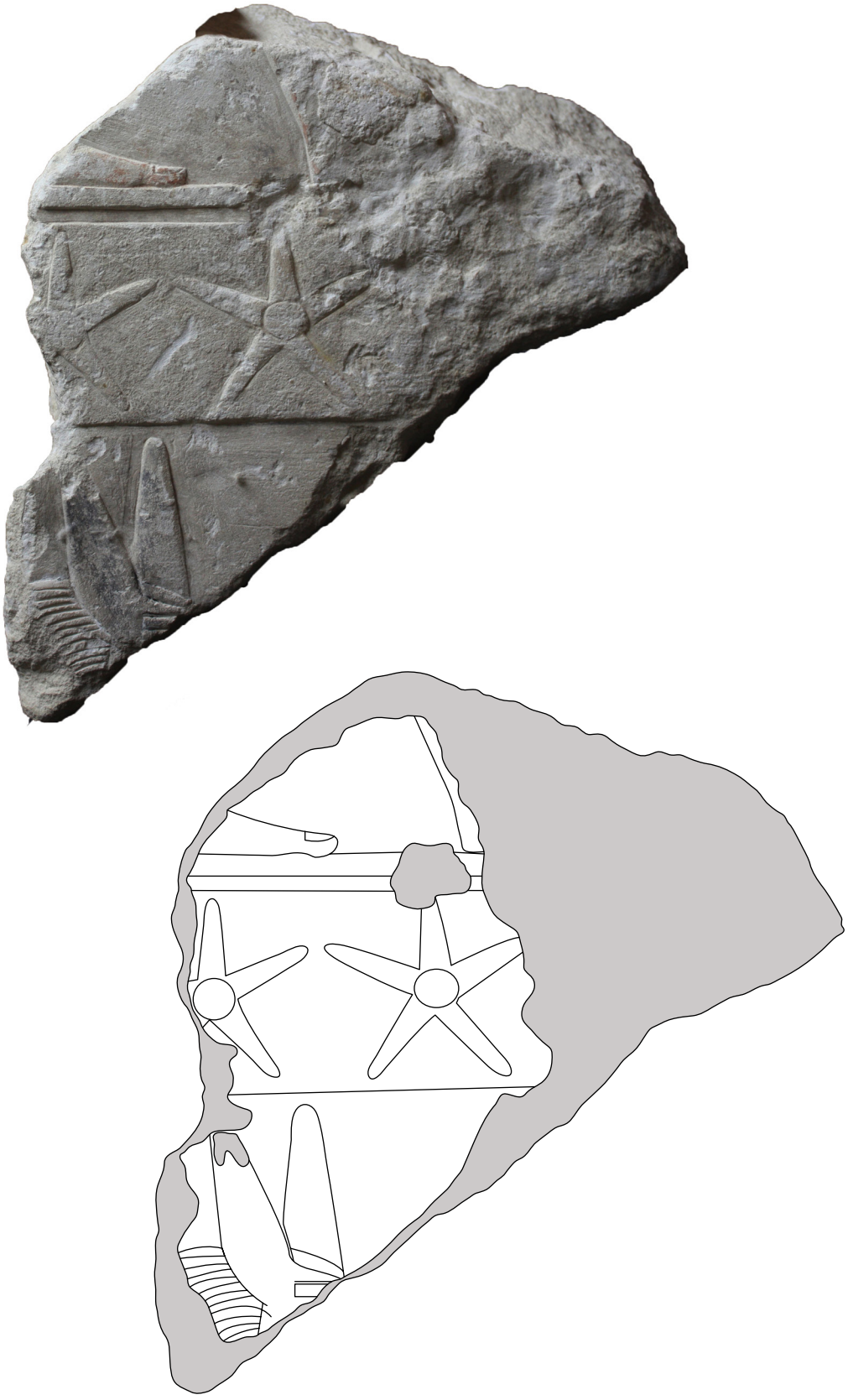




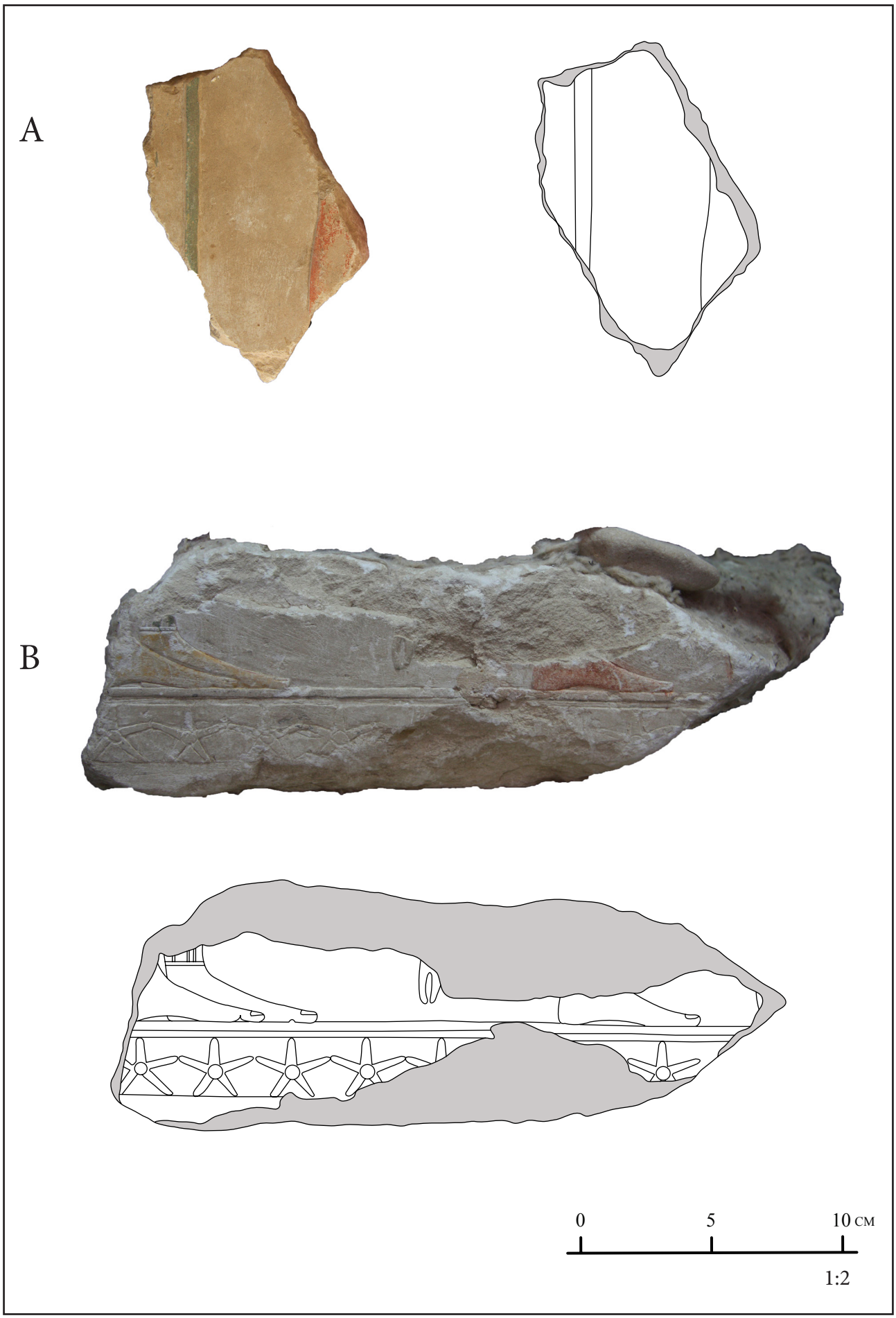
Pl. 127. Fragment of relief showing a part of a male deity holding a *wȝś*-sceptre and *ʿnḫ*-sign in his hands, Cat. no. 91.



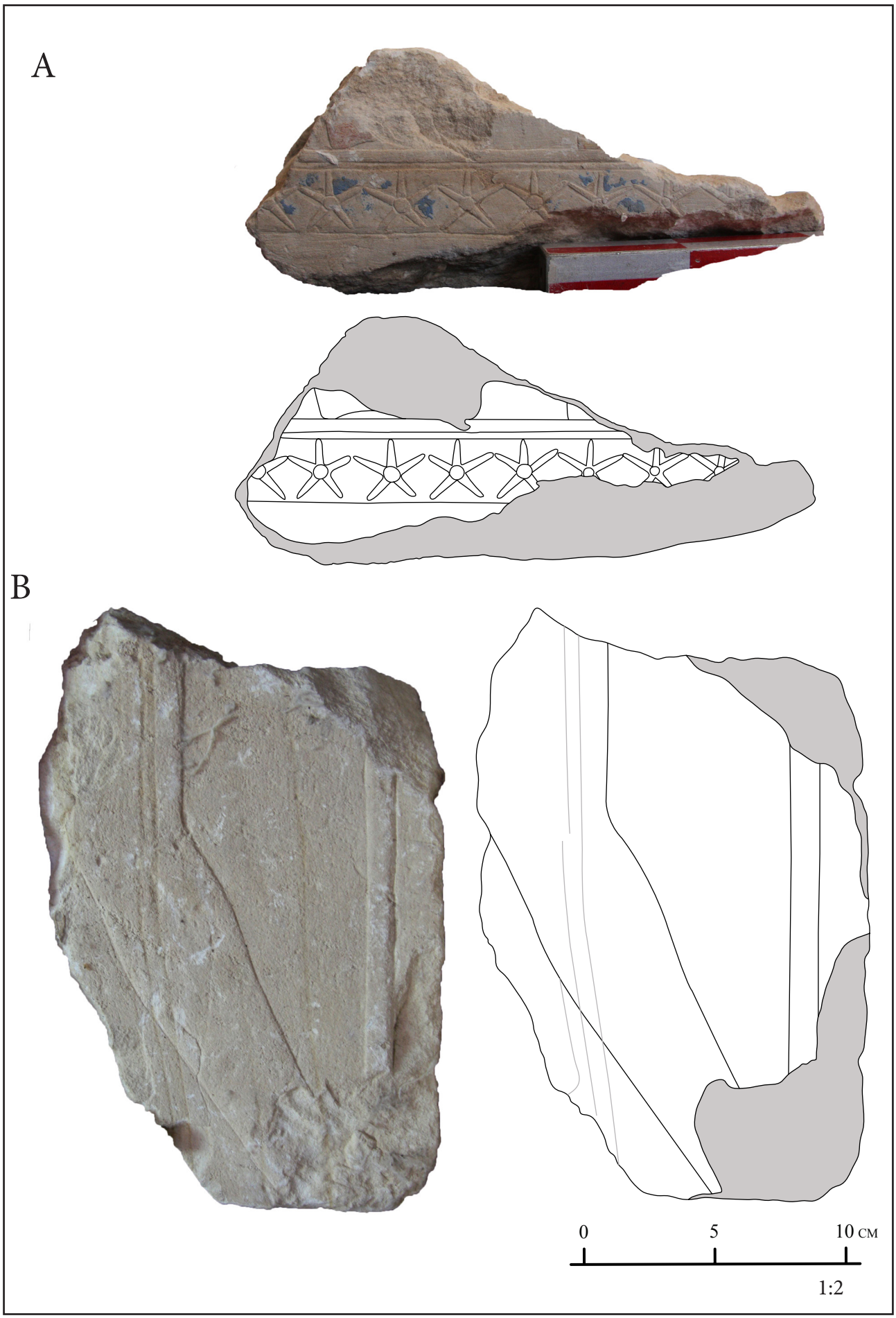
Pl. 128. Fragment of relief showing a part of a female deity with a wig panited red, Cat. no. 92.



Pl. 129. Fragment of relief depicting two registers, on the bottom register is depicted jackal-headed deity, Cat. no. 93.

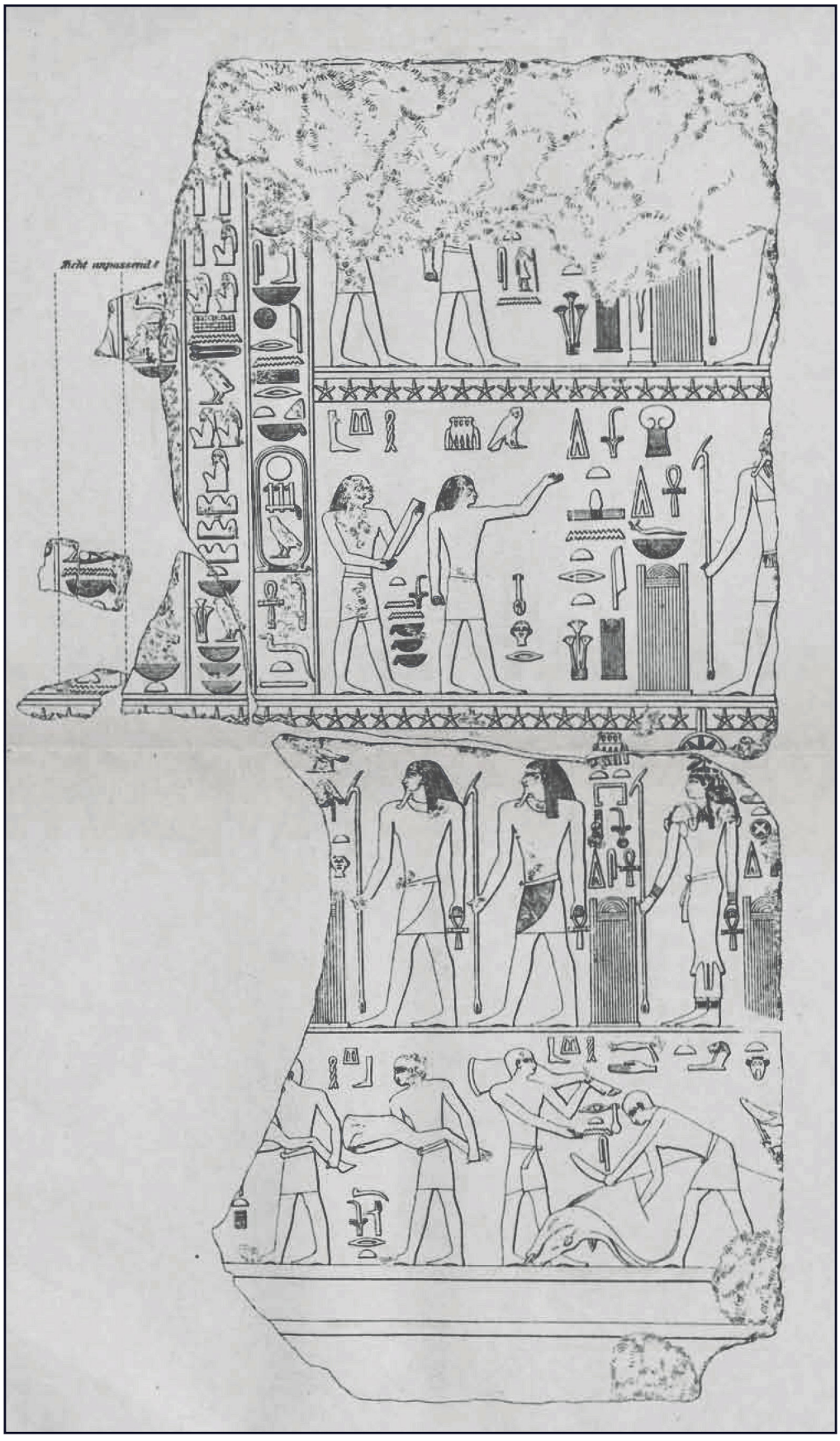


Pl. 130. a-Fragment of relief showing a part of a male deity and a *w3ś*-sceptre, Cat. no. 94; b-Fragment of relief showing a part of a procession of male and female deities, Cat. no. 95.

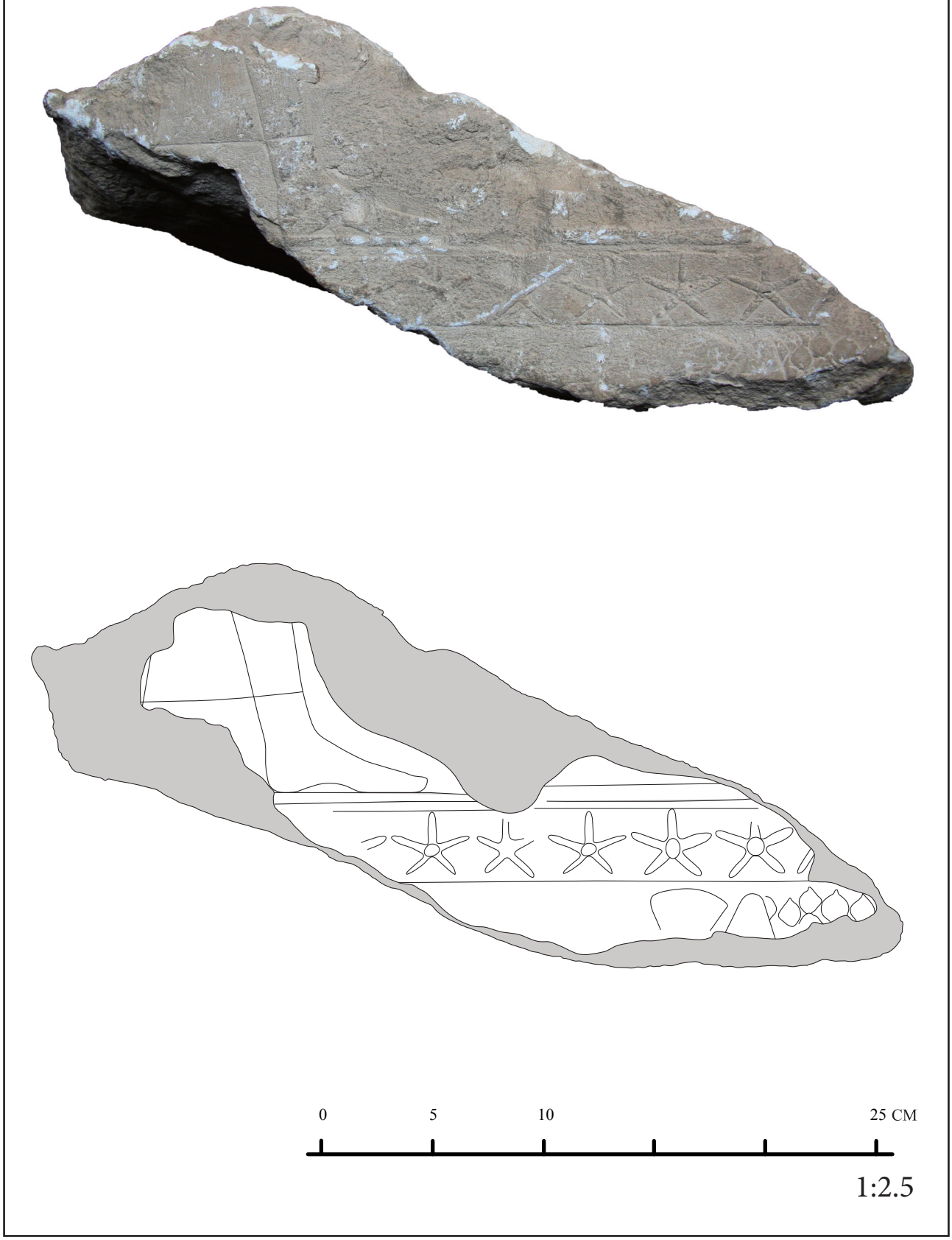


Pl. 131. a-Fragment of relief depicting a procession of deities in two registers, Cat. no. 96; b-Fragment of relief showing an arm of a male deity and *w3ś*-sceptre, Cat. no. 97.

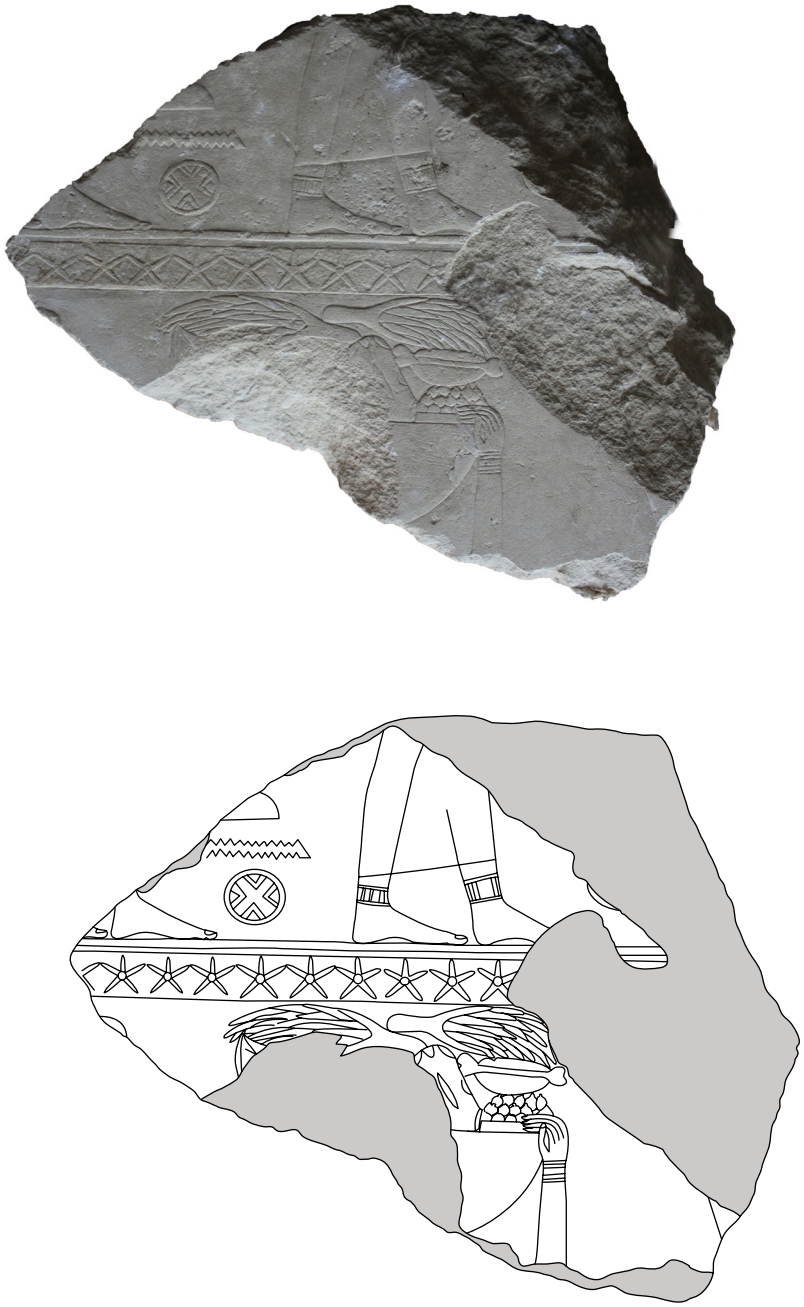
Pl. 132. Fragment of relief showing a part of a procession of male deities, Cat. no. 98.



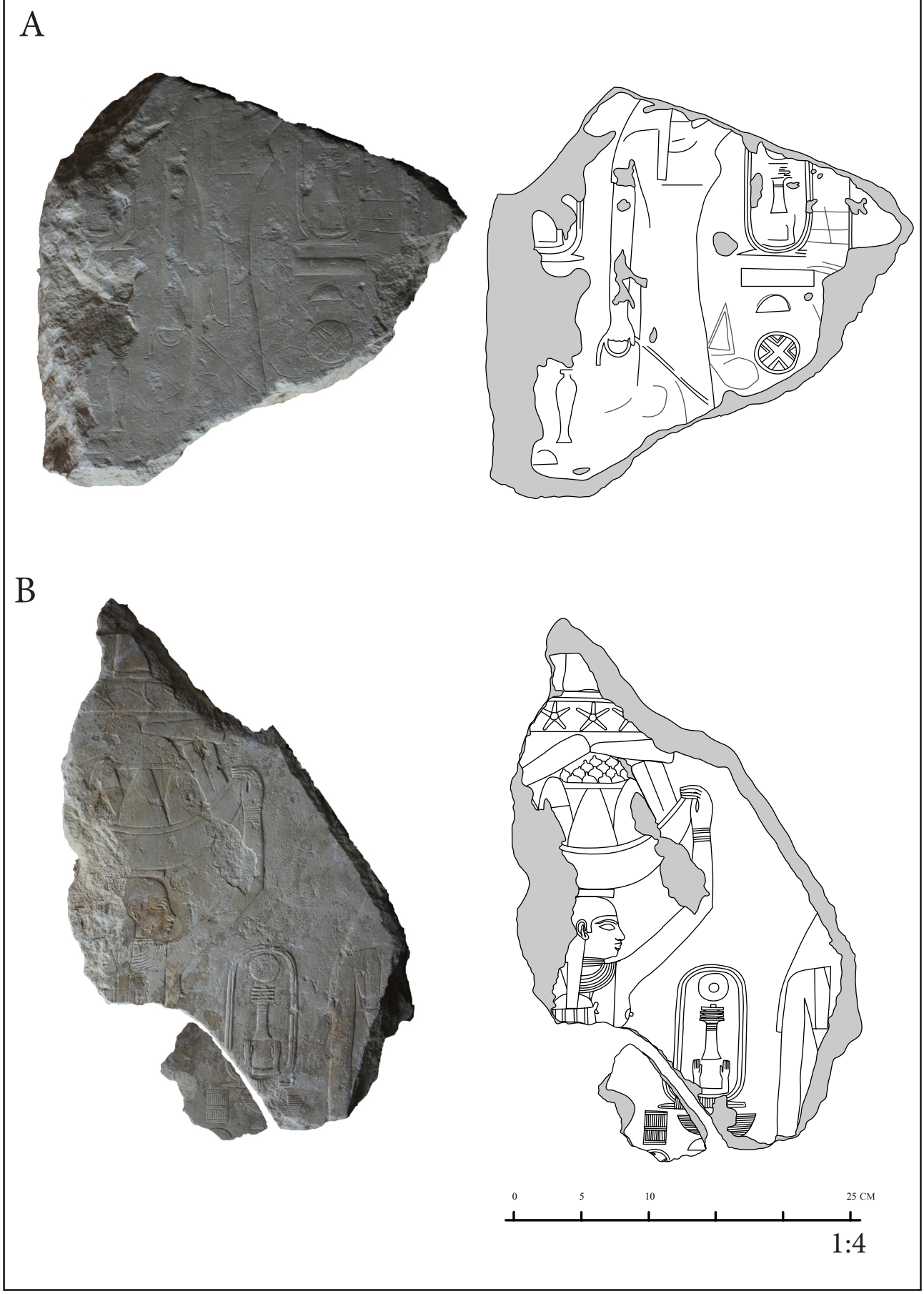
Pl. 133. The scene from Sahure's valley temple, showing gods together with officials and slaughtering scenes, from Sahure's valley temple (after Borchardt 1913, pl. 19).



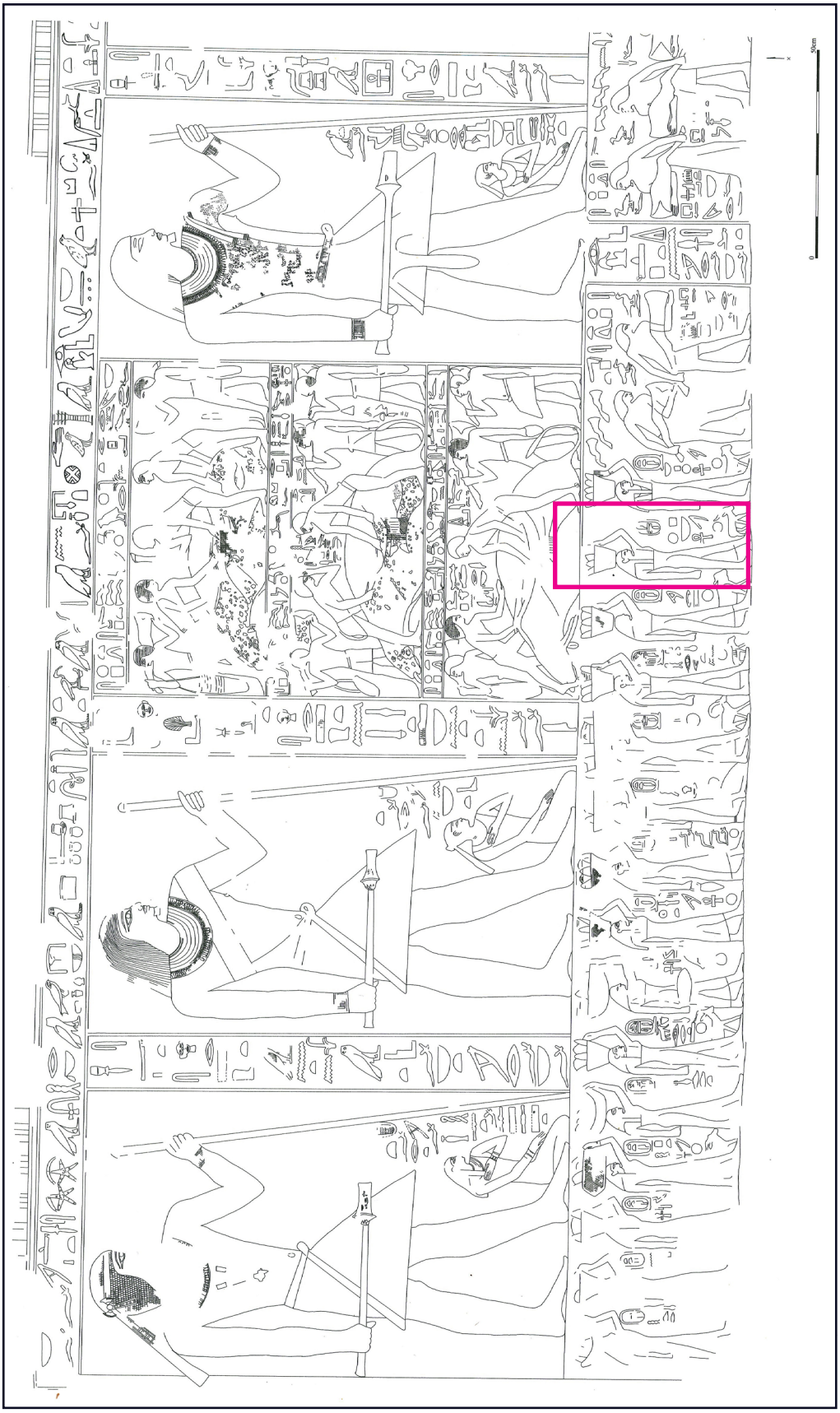
Pl. 134. Fragment of relief showing a part of a female personification of a funerary estate, Cat. no. 99.



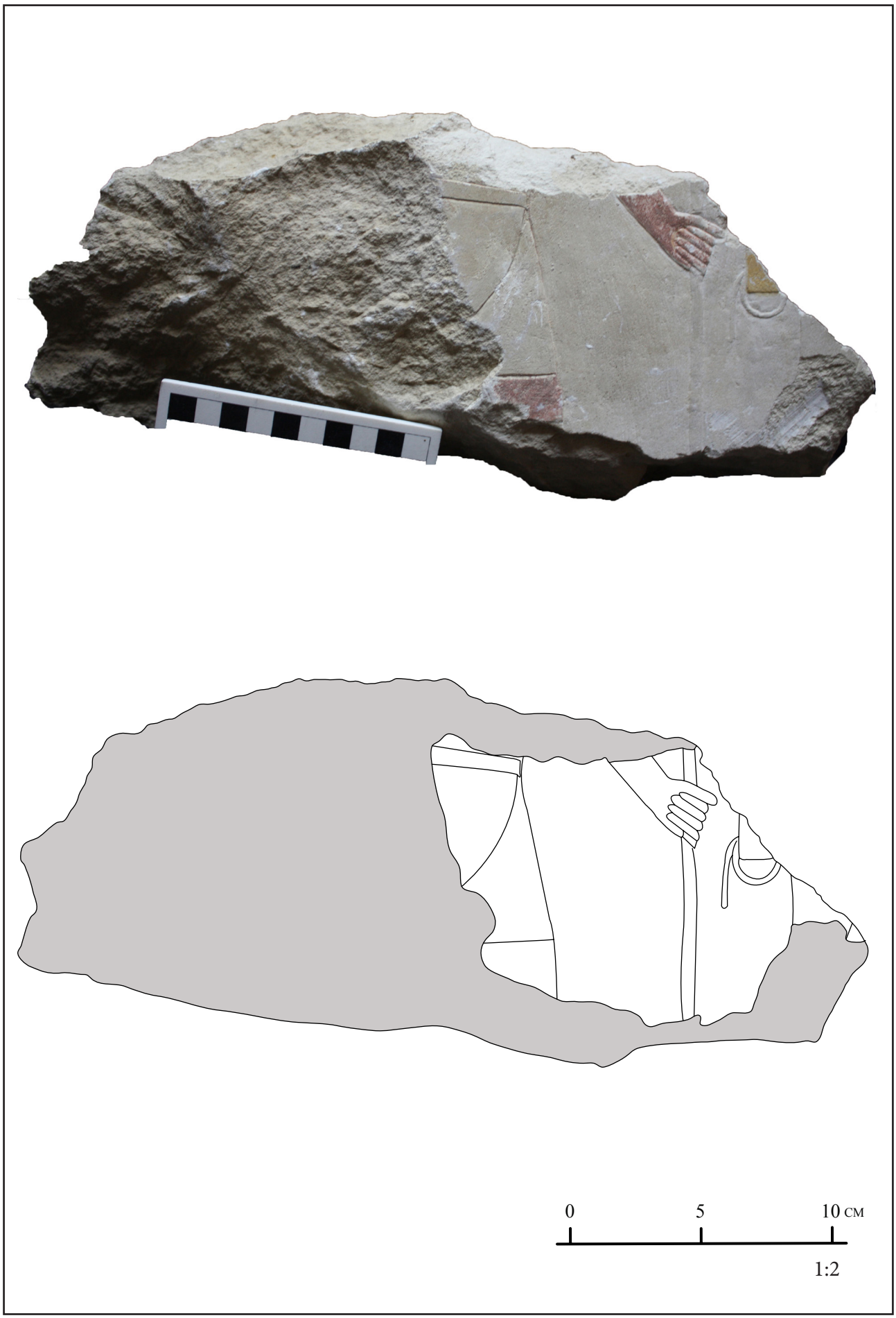
Pl. 135. Fragment of relief showing parts of two registers of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 100.



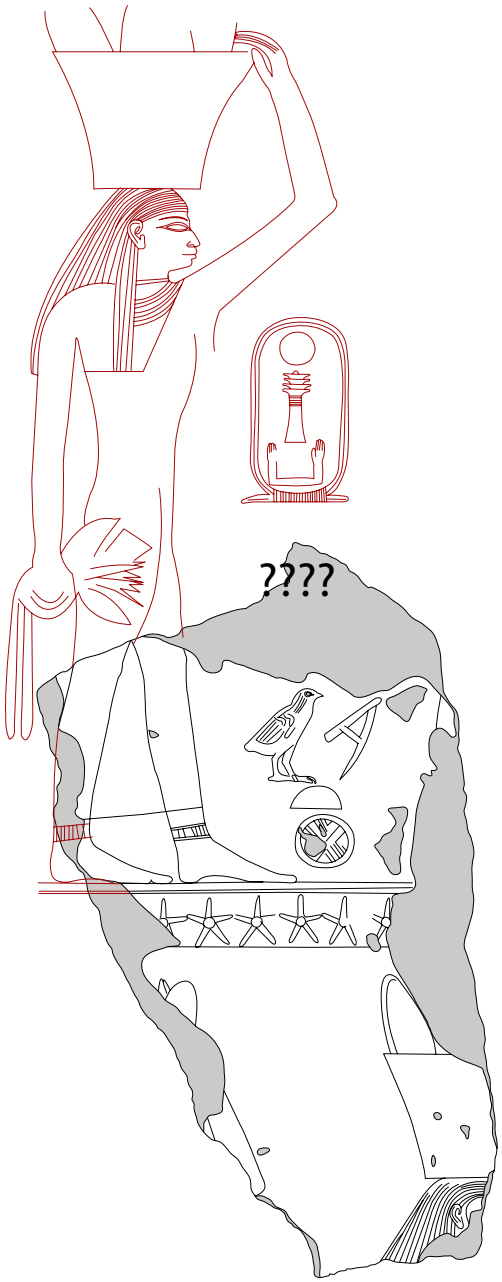
Pl. 136. a and b-Two fragments of relief showing parts of personifications of funerary estates, a-Cat. no. 101; b-Cat. no. 102.

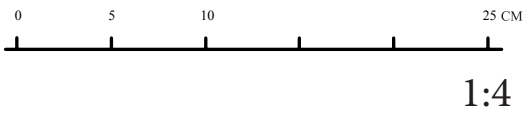


Pl. 137. Relif from the tomb of Merefnebef mentioning the funerary domains *Mry-nb*(*t*)*-P-ꜥnḫ Ỉssi* (after Myśliwiec et al. 2004, pl. XX).

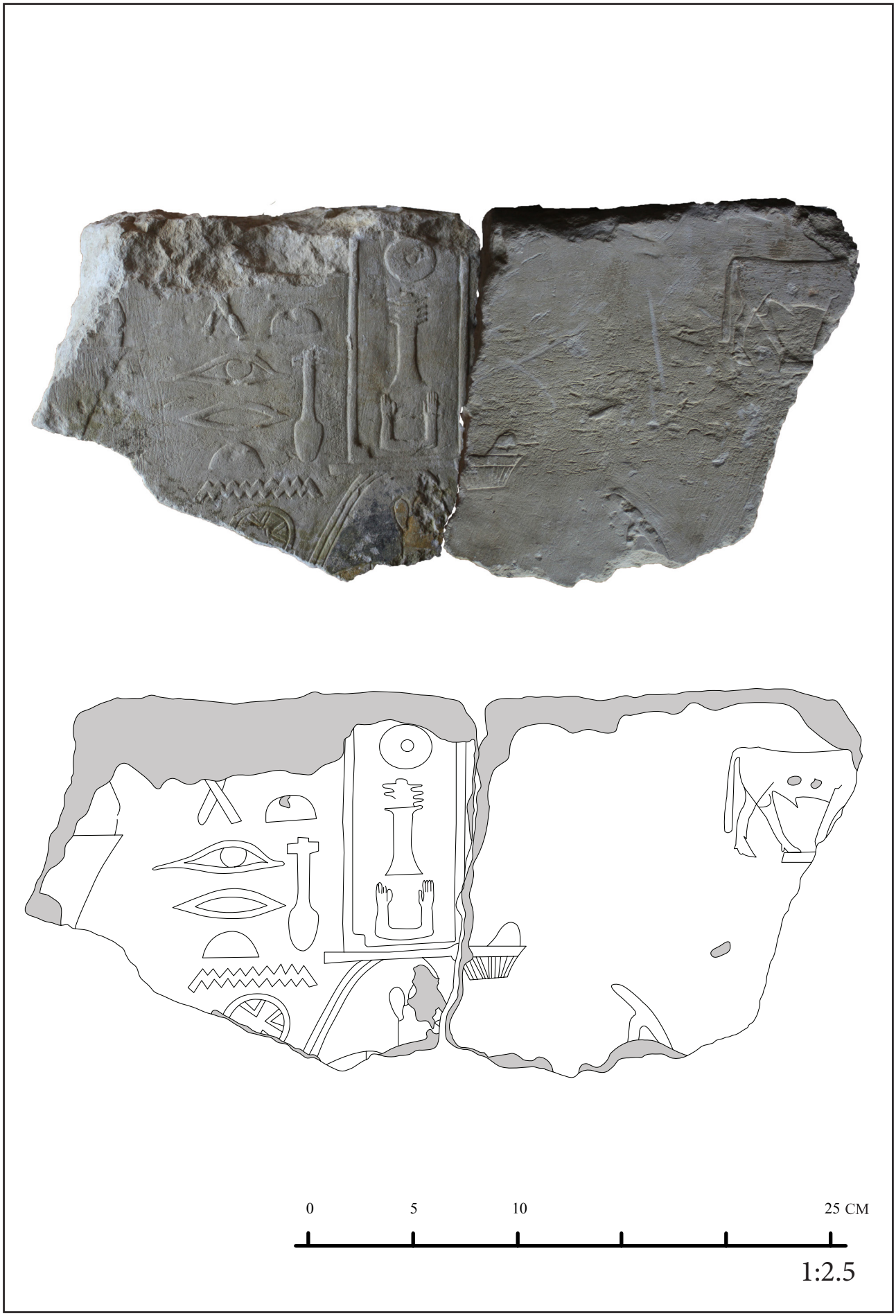


Pl. 138. Fragment of relief depicting a part of personifications of a nome and a funerary estate, Cat. no. 103.



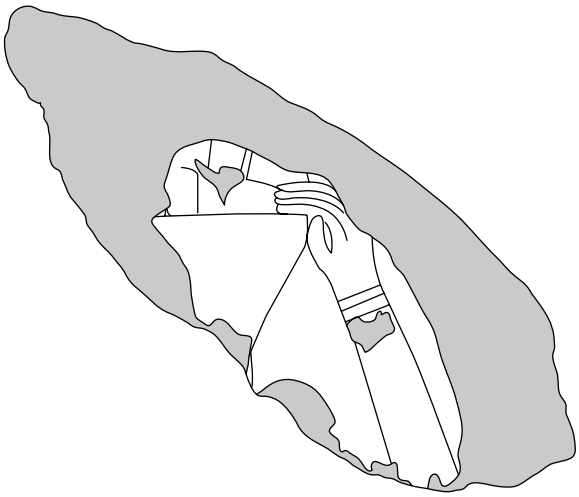


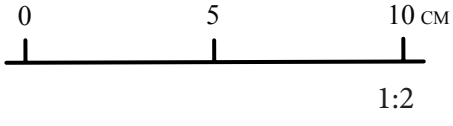
Pl. 139. Fragment of relief showing parts of two registers with traces of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 104.



Pl. 140. Fragments of relief showing remains of personification of funerary estate, *ḥwt* funerary estate and a nome personification, Cat. no. 105.

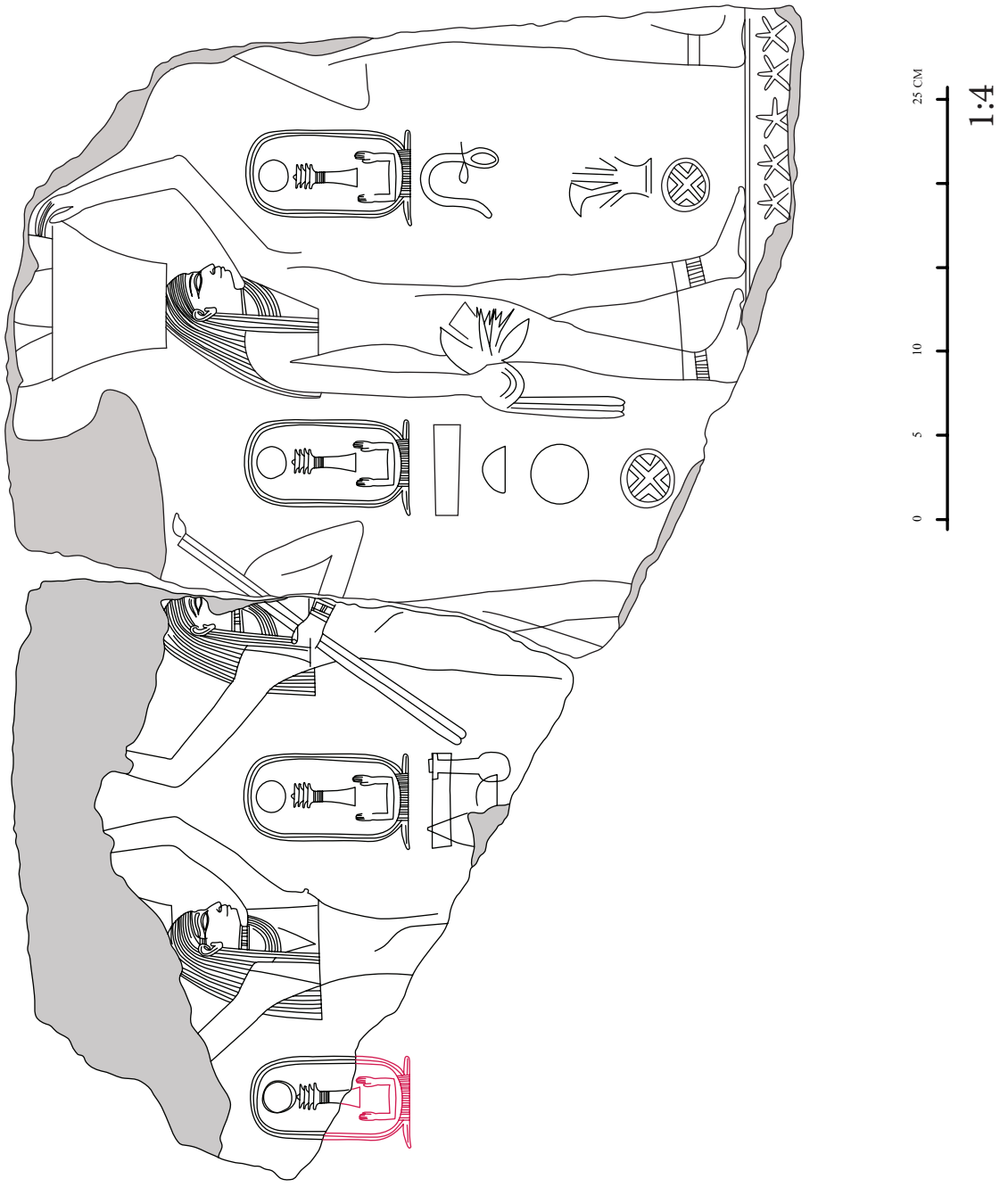
Pl. 141. Fragment of relief depicting parts of three personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 106.



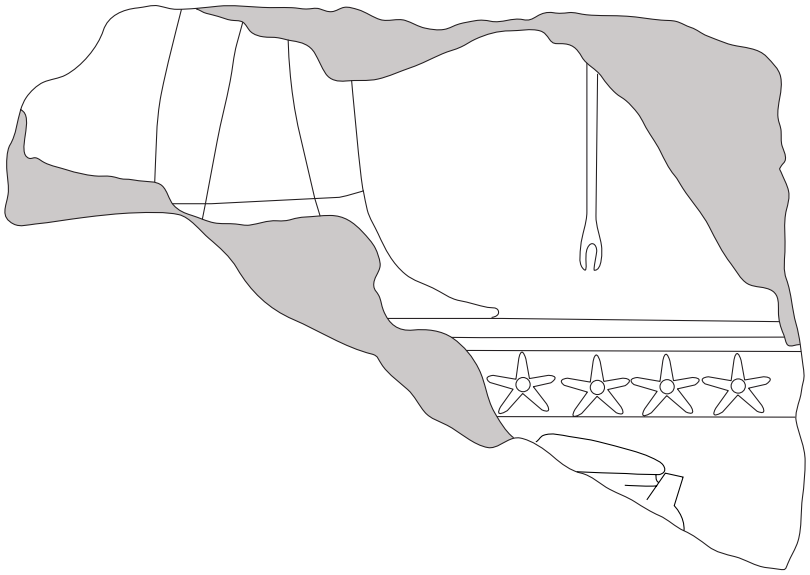


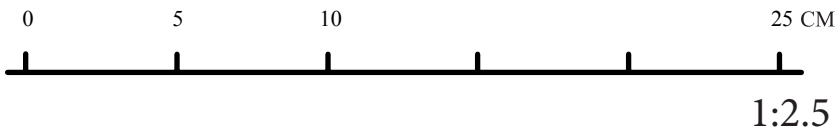
Pl. 142. Fragment of relief depicting a part of a personification of funerary estate, Cat. no. 107

Pl. 143. Two fragments of relief depicing parts of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 108.

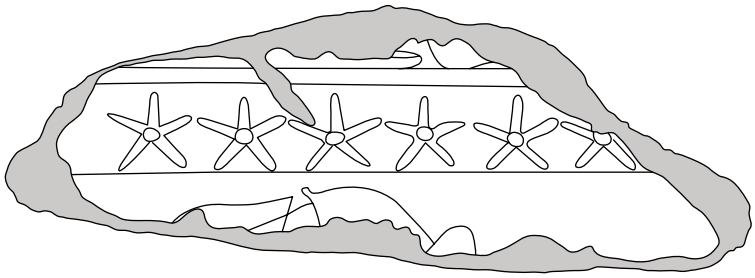


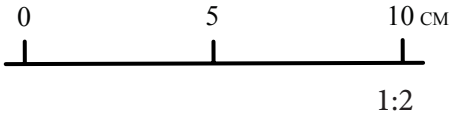
Pl. 144. Drawing of the two fragments of relief showing parts of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 108.





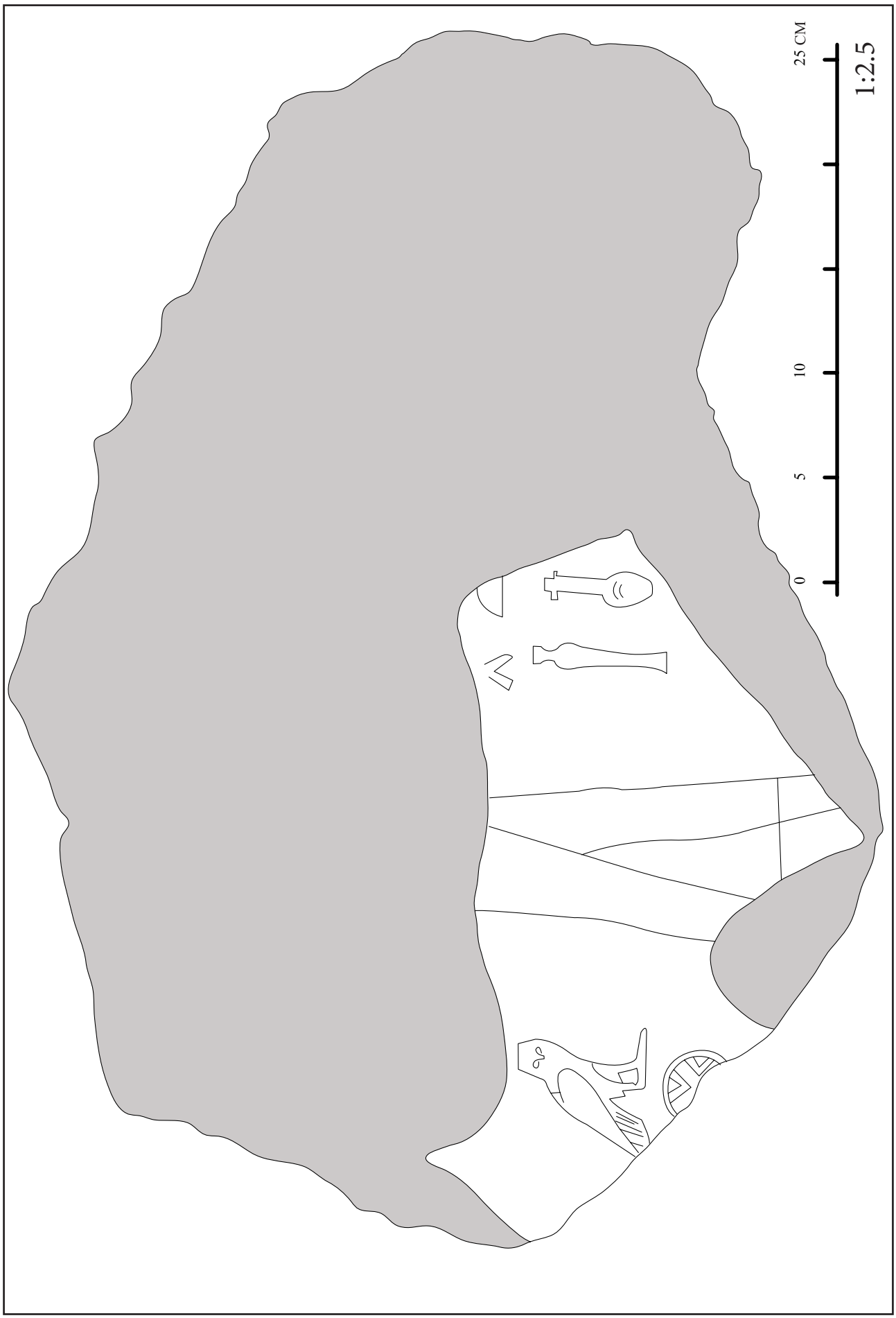
Pl. 145. Fragment of relief showing parts of two registers of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 109.



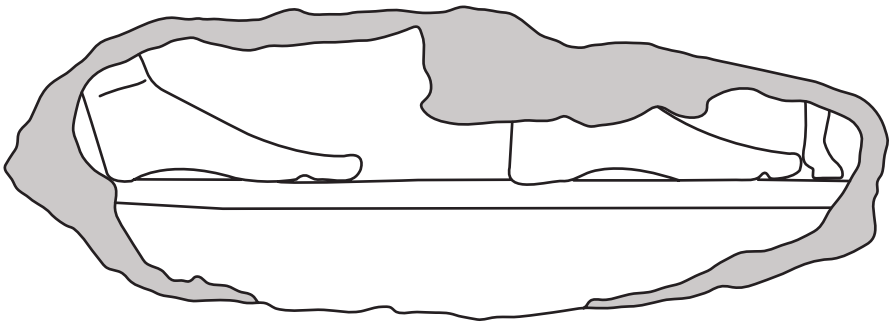


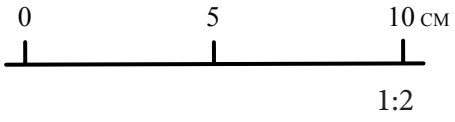
Pl. 146. Fragment of relief showing parts of two registers of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 110.

Pl. 147. Large fragment of relief showing parts of two personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 111.

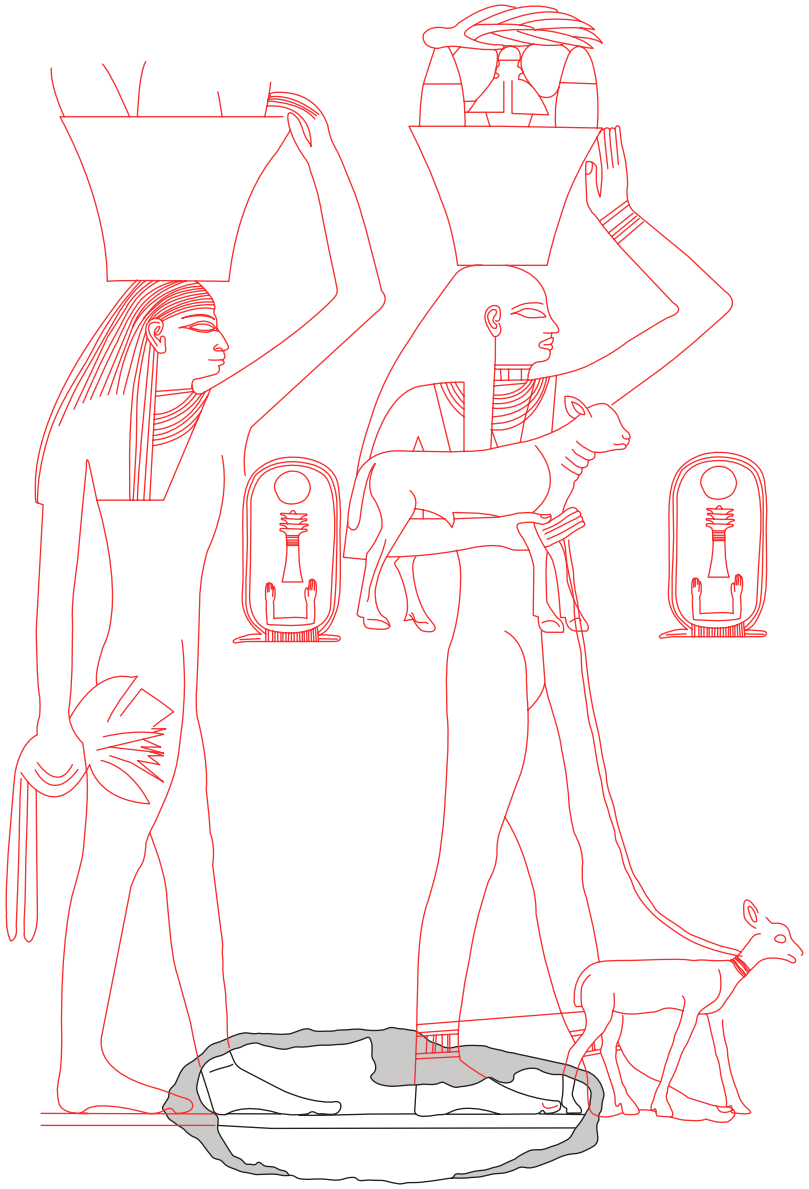


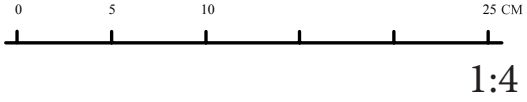
Pl. 148. Drawing of the large fragment of relief, which shows parts of two personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 111.





Pl. 149. Fragment of relief showing parts of two personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 112.

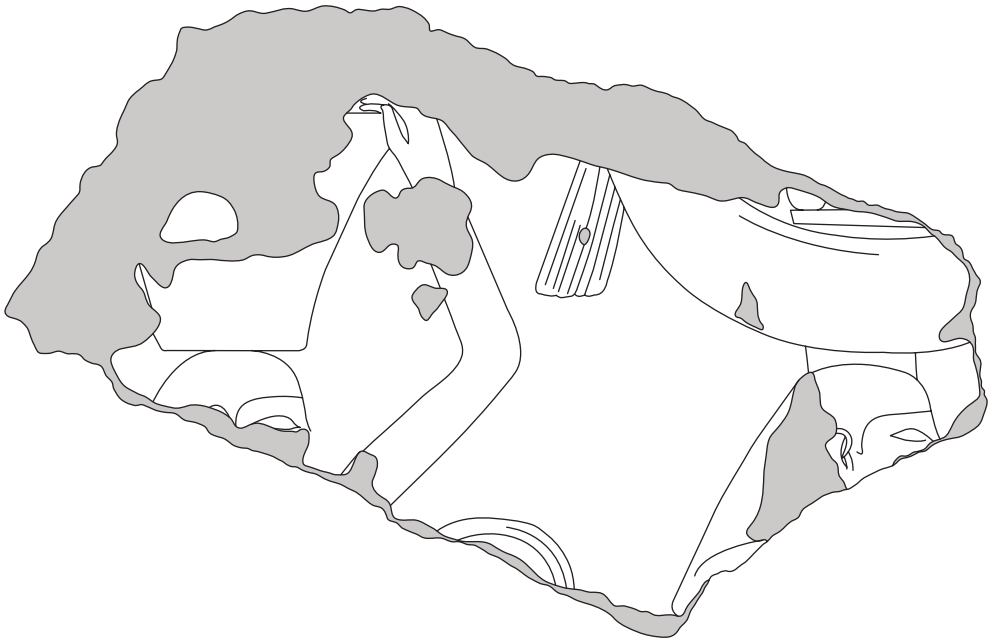


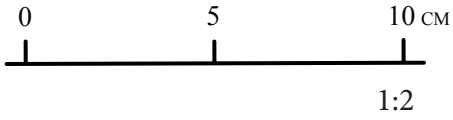


1:4

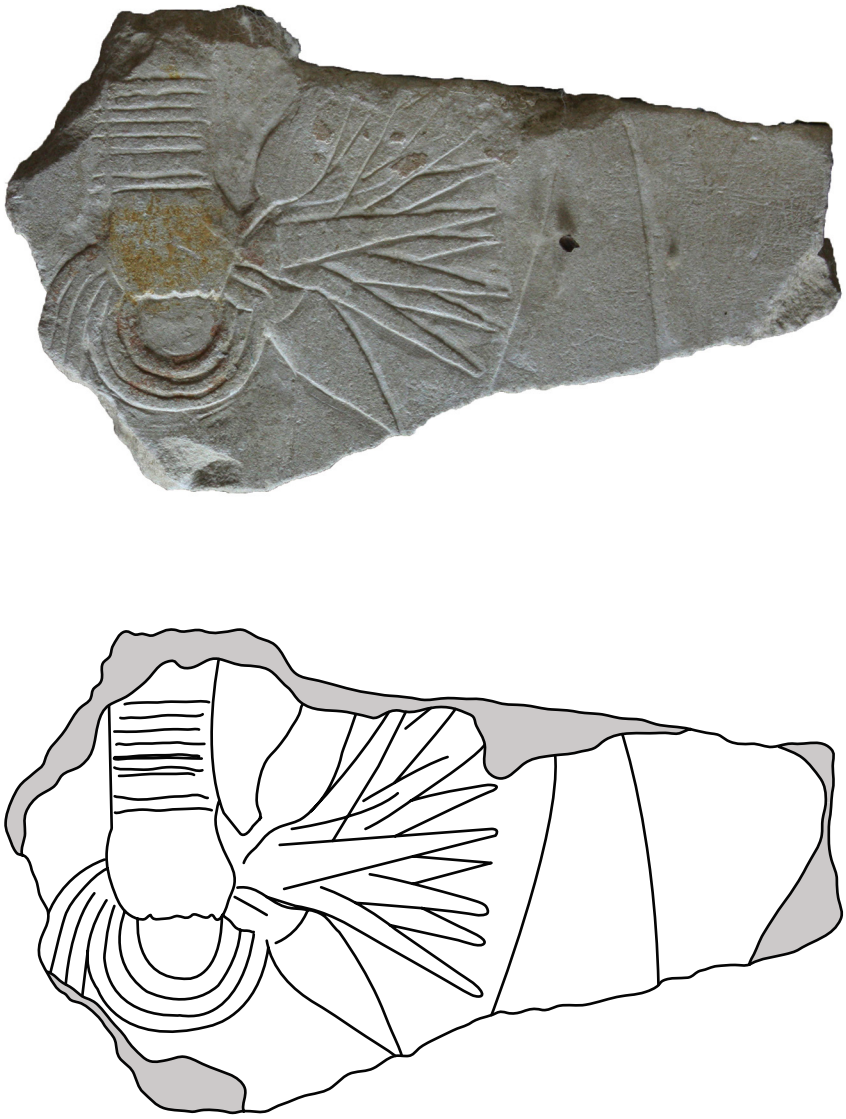
Pl. 150. Drawing of the fragment of relief, which shows parts of two personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 112.

Pl. 151. Fragment of relief showing parts of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 113.

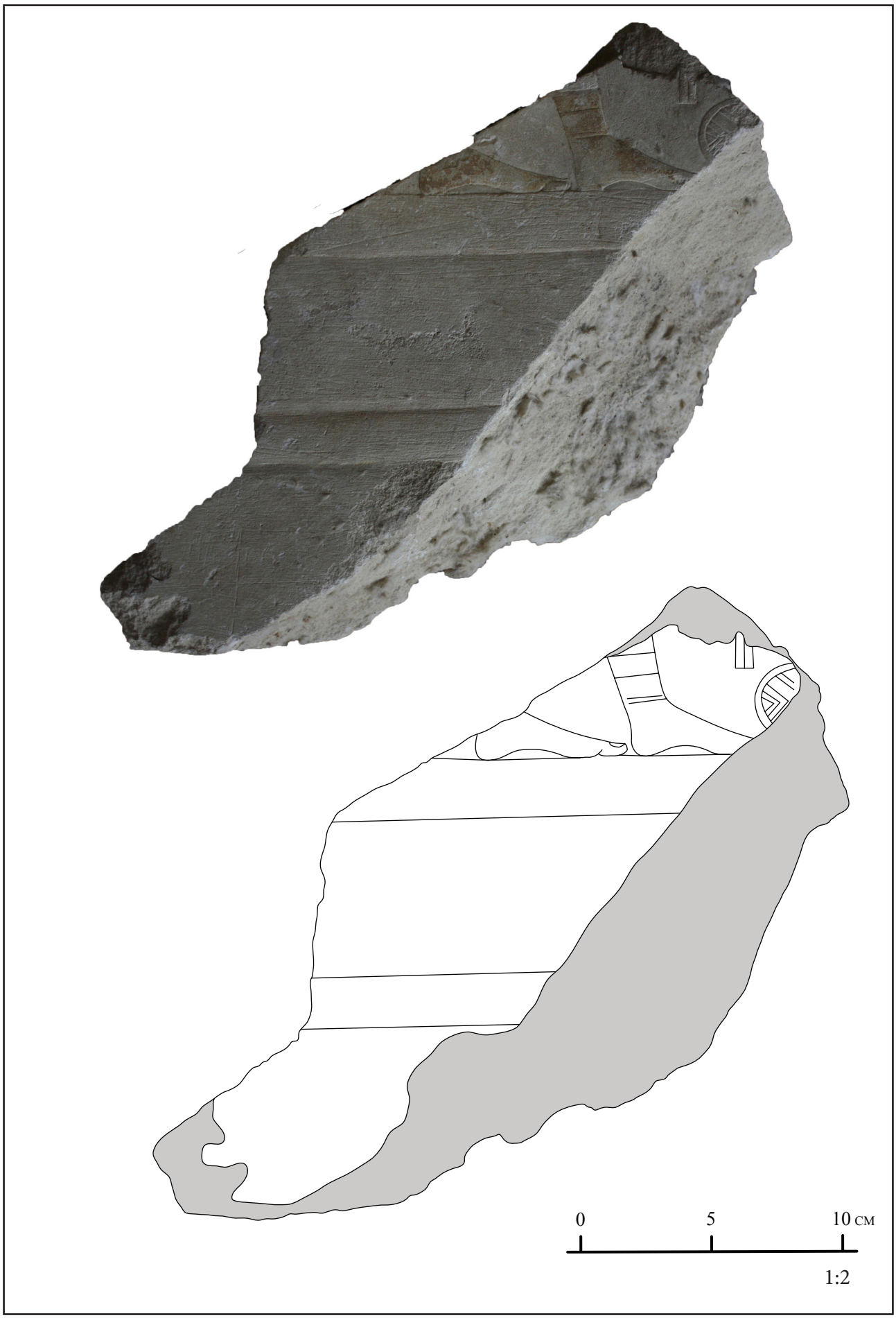




Pl. 152. Fragment of relief showing parts of two personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 114.



Pl. 153. Fragment of relief showing a part of a personification of funerary estate, Cat. no. 115.

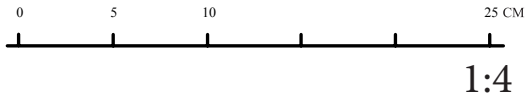


Pl. 154. Fragment of relief depicting a part of a personification of funerary estate, Cat. no. 116.

Pl. 155. Small fragment of relief showing a part of a personification of funerary estate, Cat. no. 117.

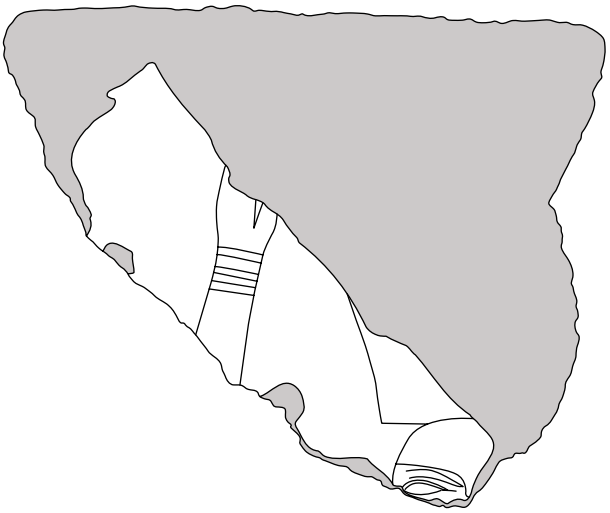
Pl. 156. Fragment of relief showing parts of two personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 118.

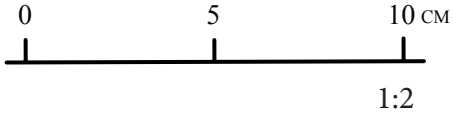
Pl. 157. Two matching fragments of relief showing personifications of funerary estates in two registers, Cat. no. 119.



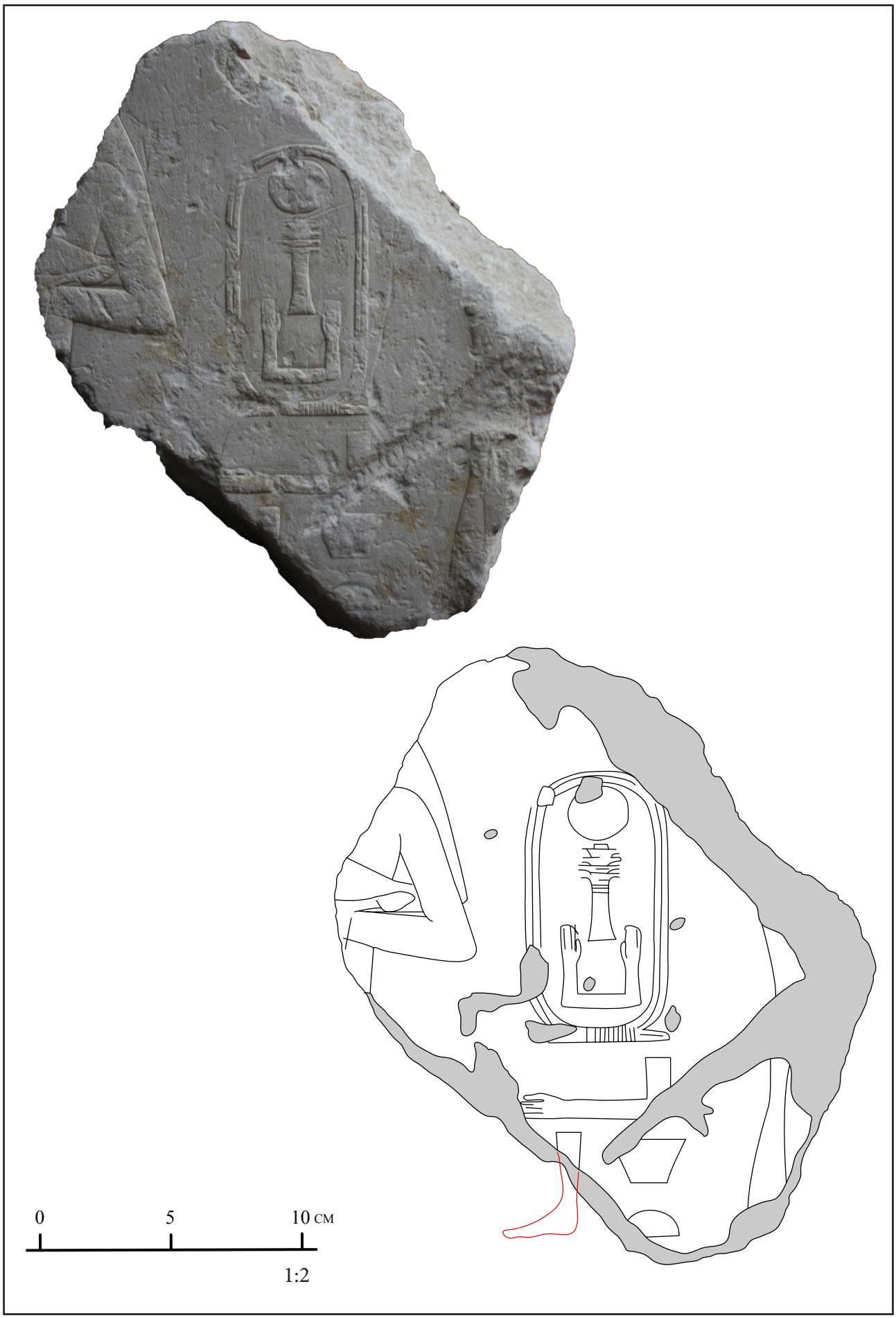
1:4

Pl. 158. Drawing of the two matching fragments of relief, which show parts of personifications of funerary estates in two registers, Cat. no. 119.

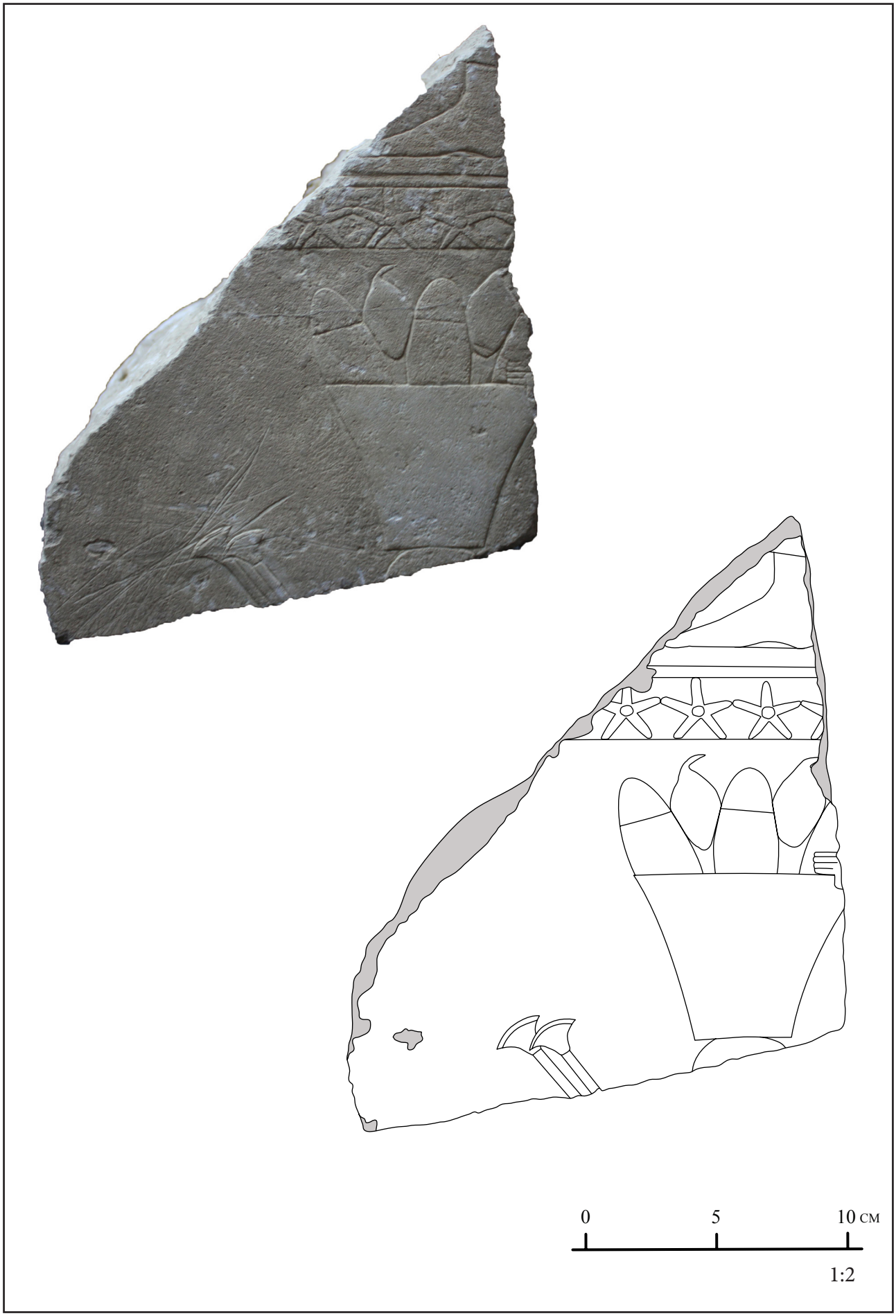




Pl. 159. Fragment of relief showing a part of a personification of funerary estate, Cat. no. 120.

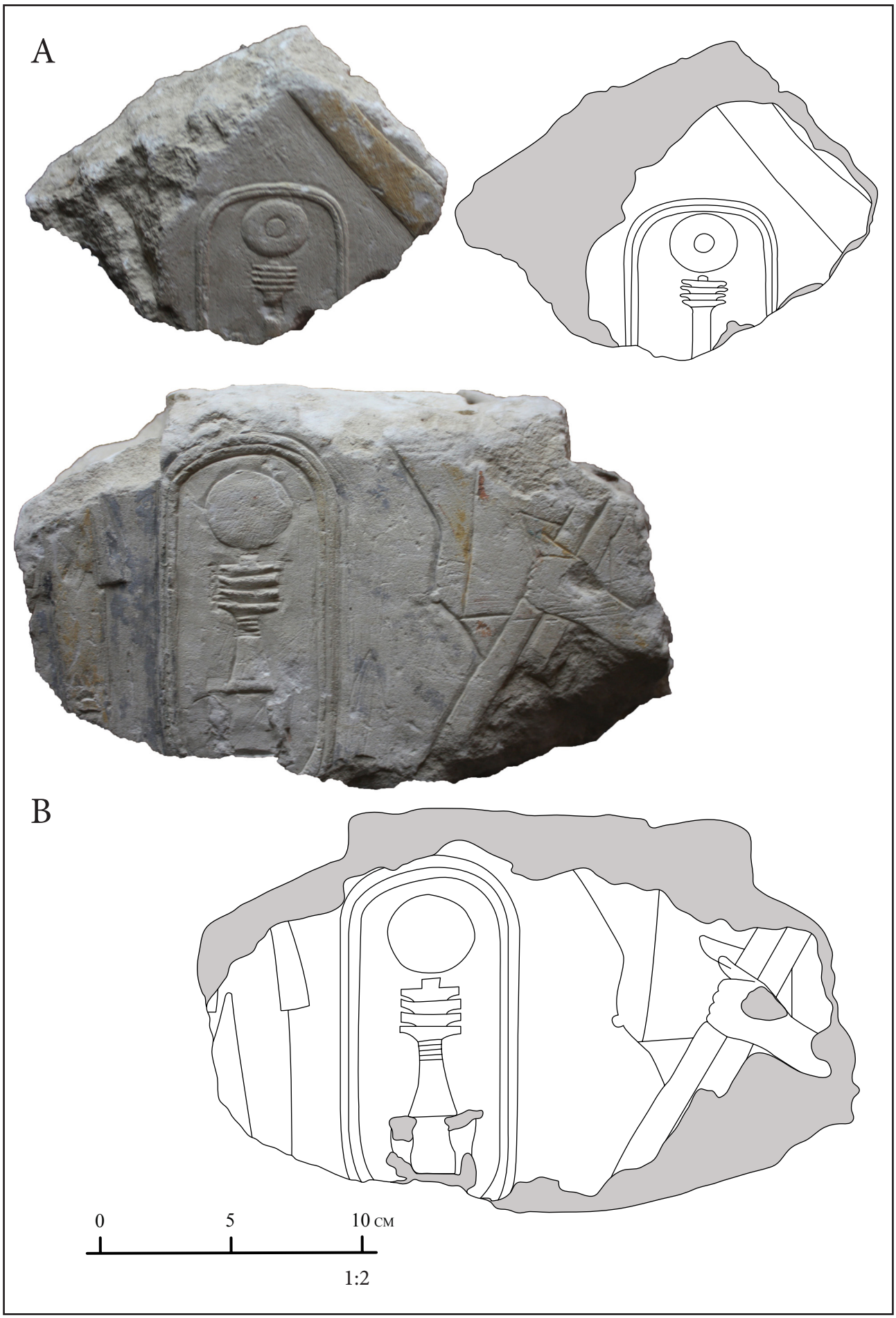


Pl. 160. Fragment of relief showing parts of two personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 121.

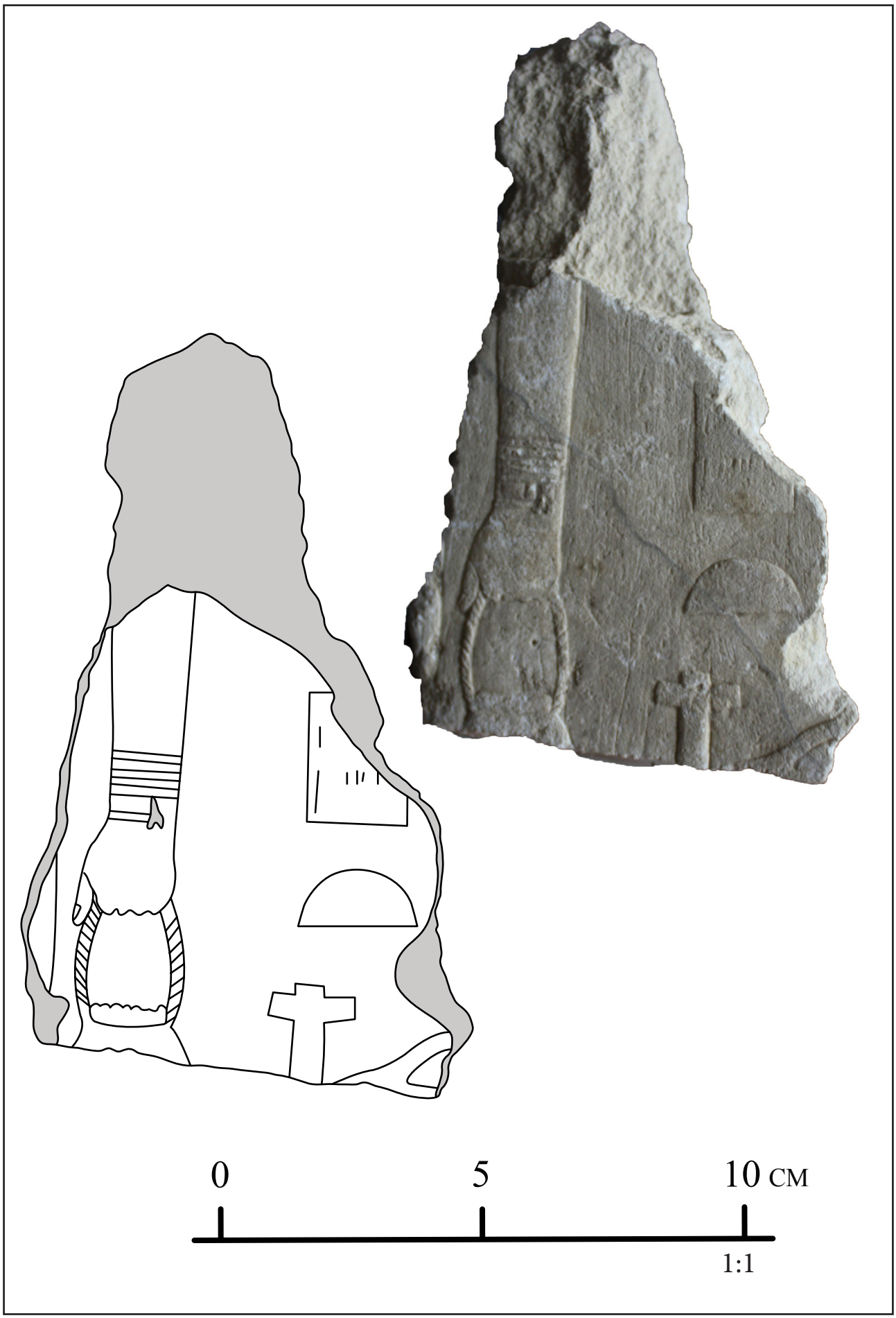


Pl. 161. Fragment of relief showing parts of two personifications of funerary estates in two registers, Cat. no. 122.

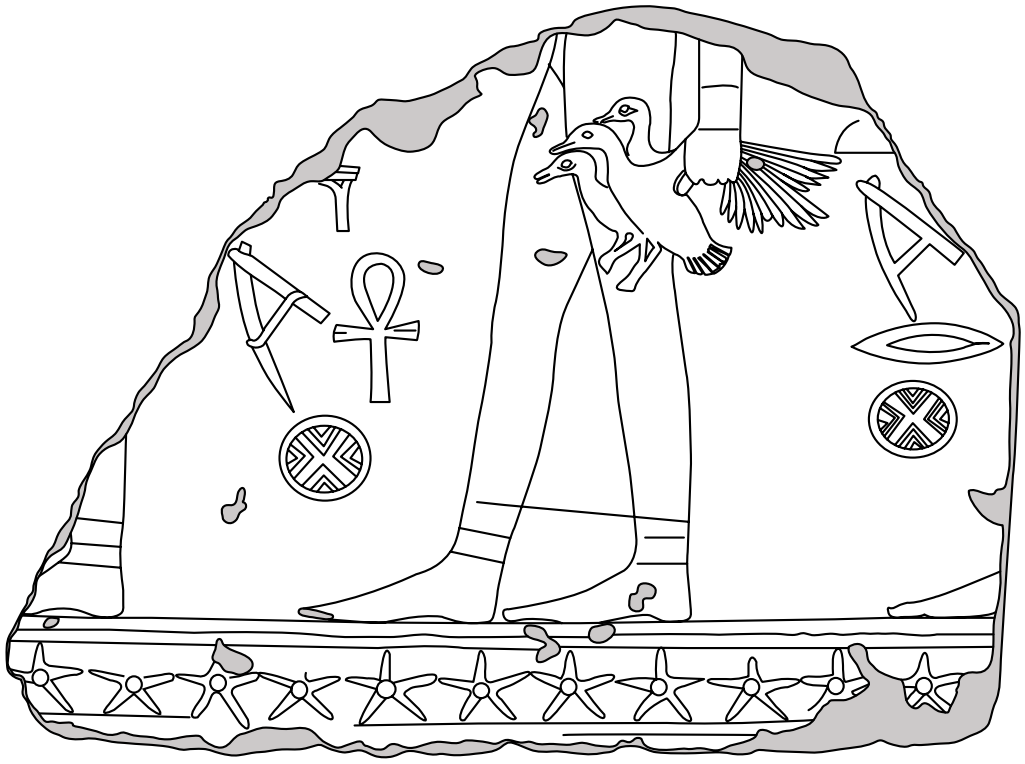
Pl. 162. Fragment of relief showing parts of two personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 123.



Pl. 163. a and b-Fragments of relief showing parts of personifications of funerary estates, a-Cat. no. 124; b-Cat. no. 125.

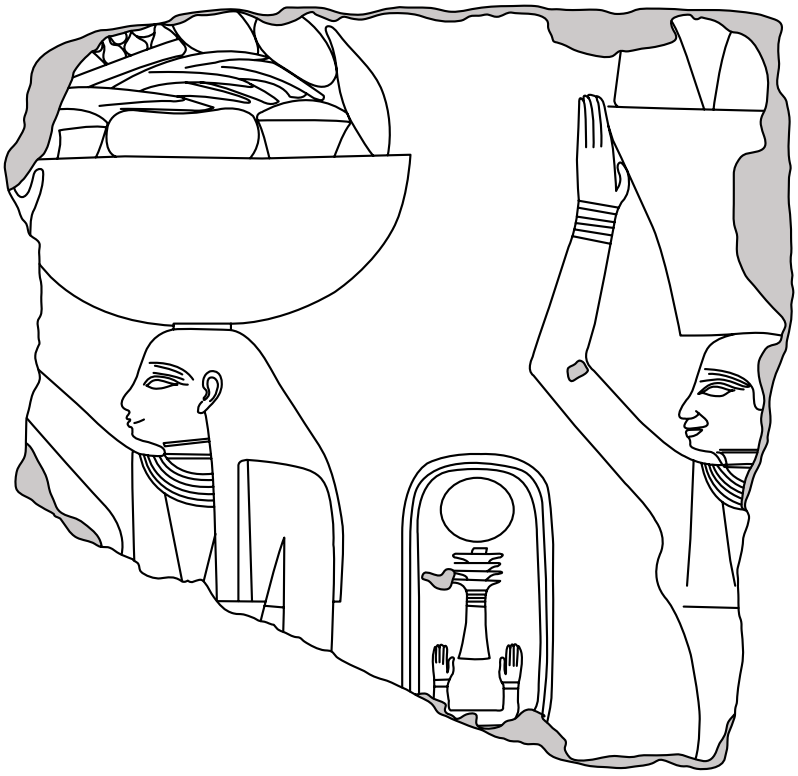


Pl. 164. Fragment of relief showing traces of a personification of funerary estate, Cat. no. 126.



1:2.5

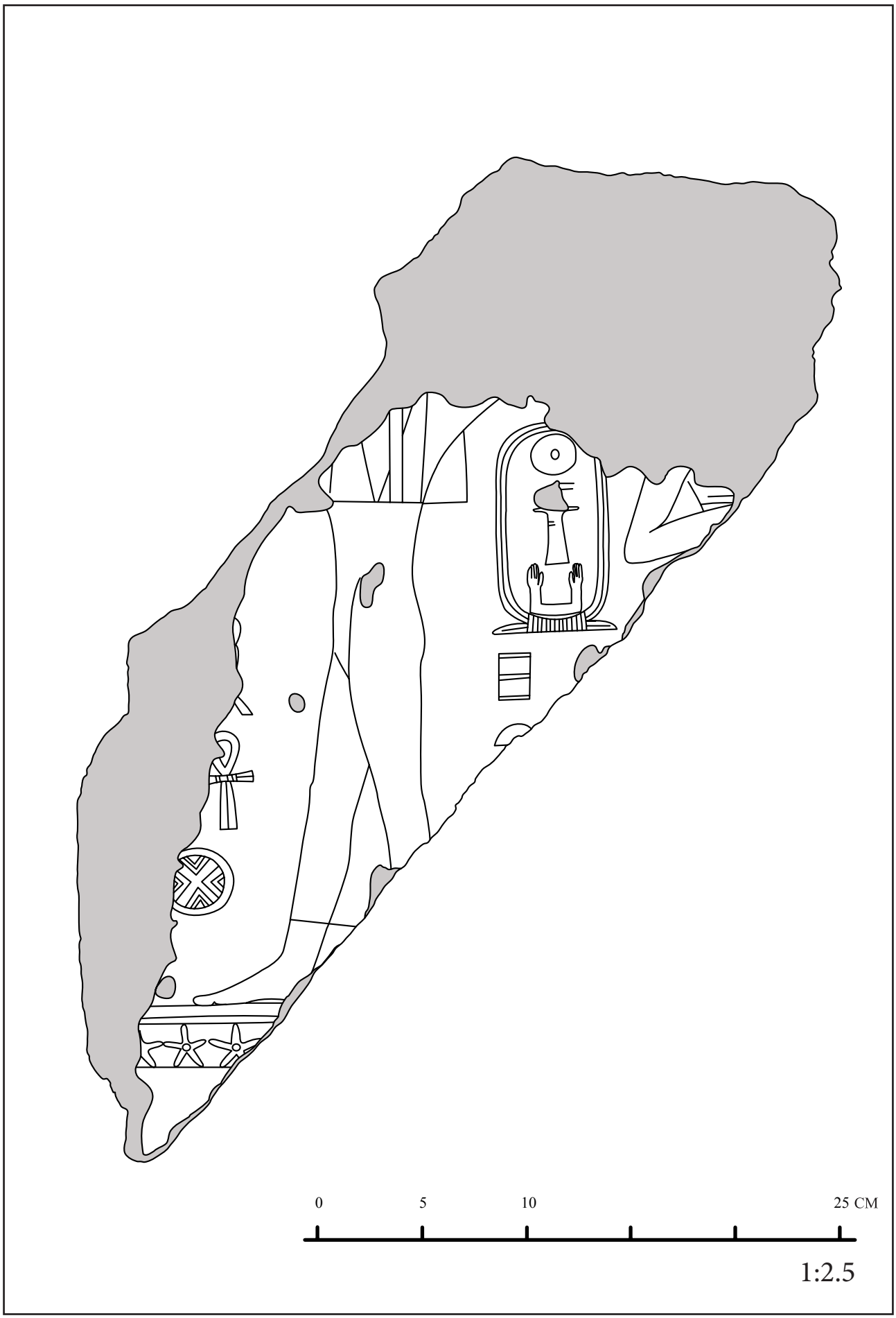
Pl. 165. Fragment of relief showing parts of personifications of funerary estates in two registers, Cat. no. 127.



1:2.5

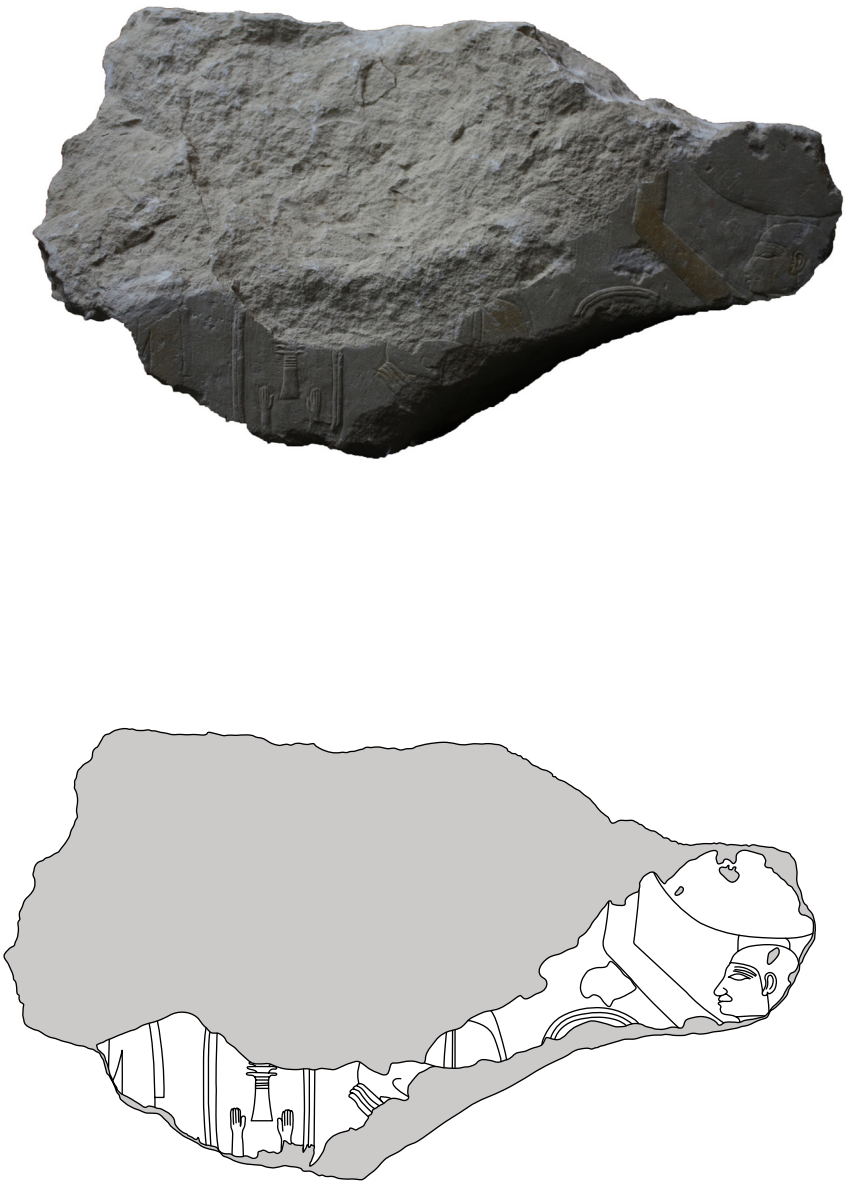
Pl. 166 Fragment of relief showing parts of two figures of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 128.

Pl. 167. Fragment of relief showing parts striding personifications of funerary estates in two registers, Cat. no. 129.

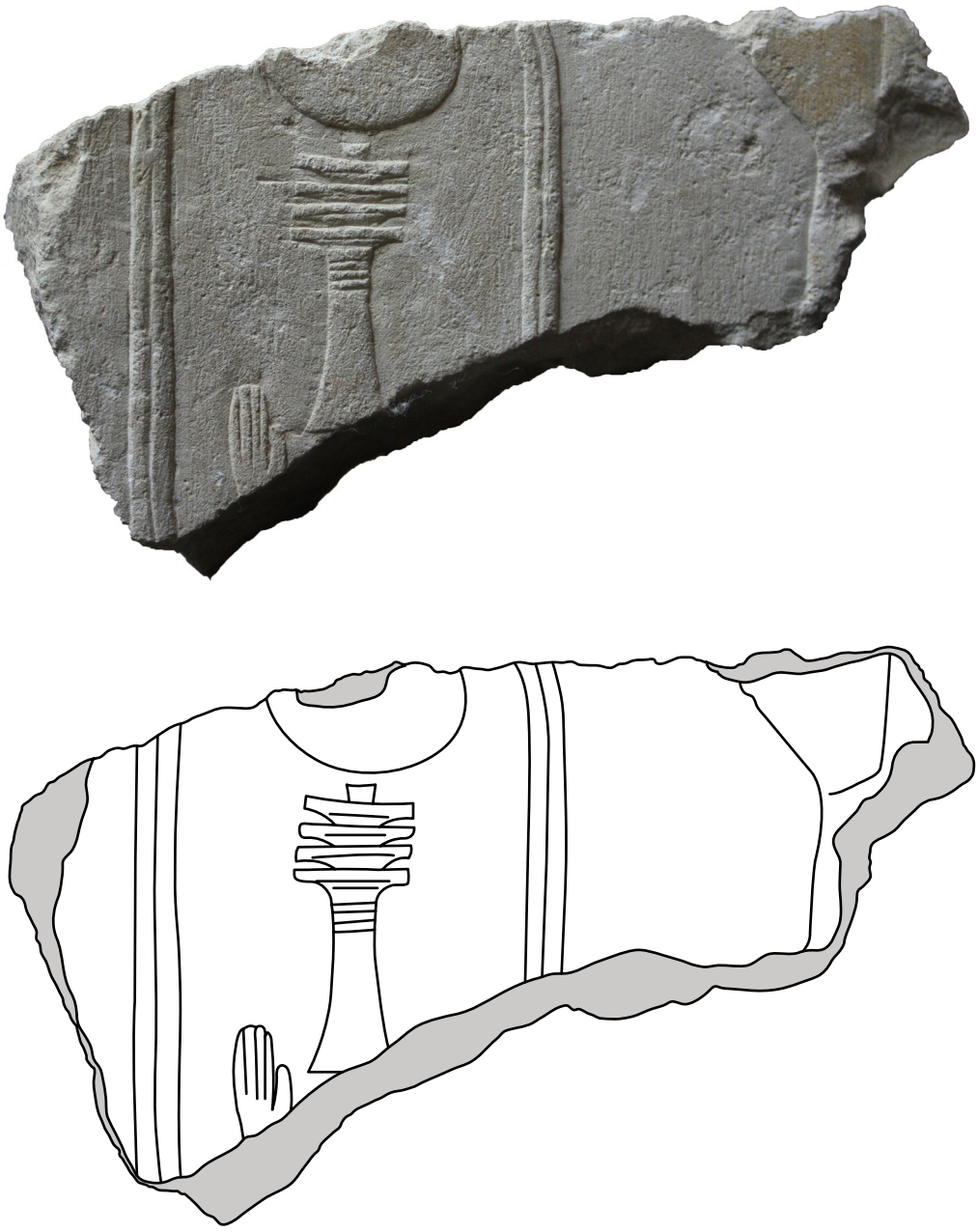


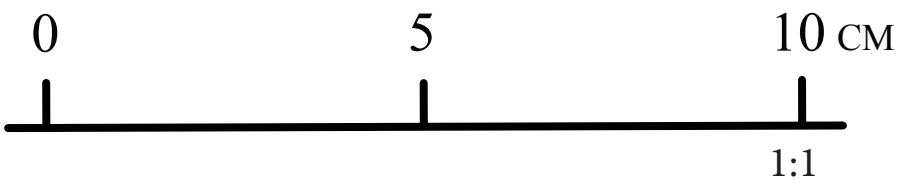
Pl. 168. Drawing of relief, which shows parts of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 129.

Pl. 169. Fragment of relief showing parts of personifications of funerary estates in two registers, Cat. no. 130.



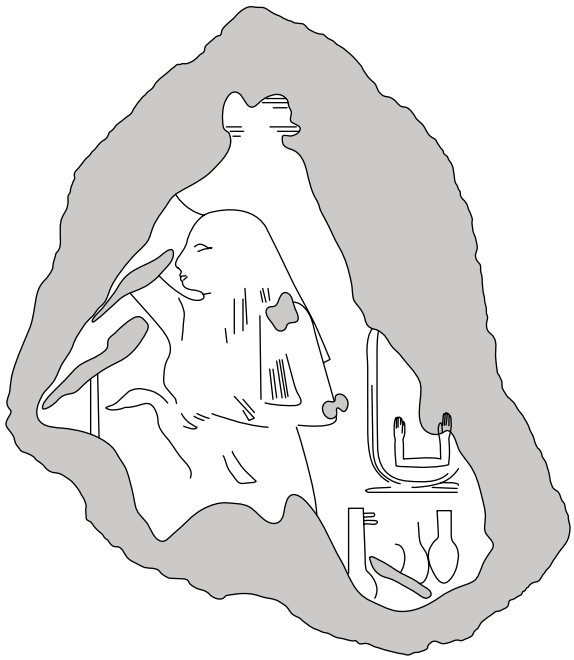
Pl. 170. Fragment of relief showing traces of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 131.

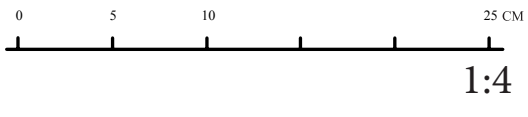




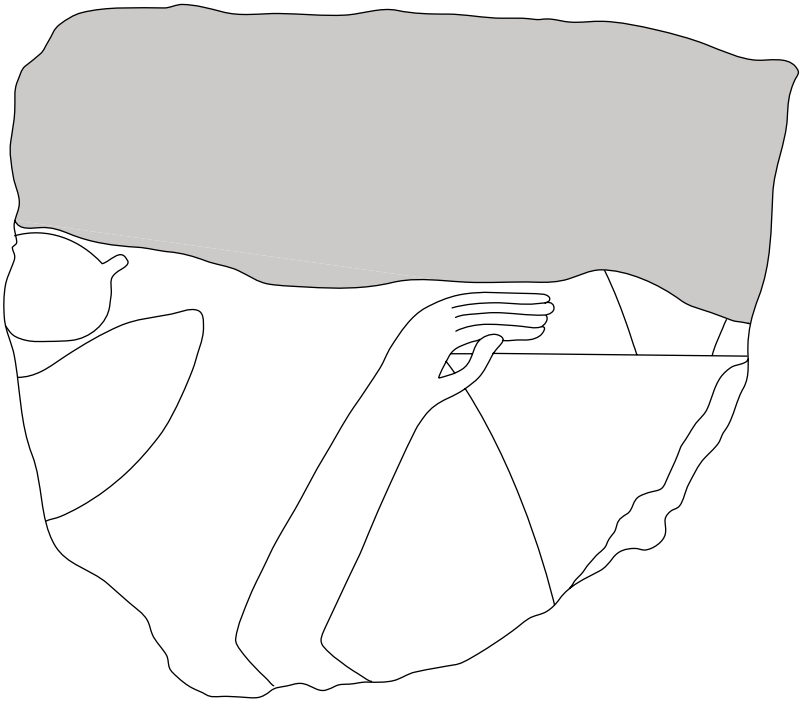
Pl. 171. Fragment of relief depicting a part of a personification of funerary estate and its name, Cat. no. 132.

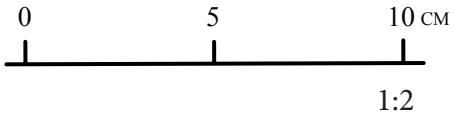
Pl. 172. Fragment of relief showing parts of a female personification of funerary estate and a personification of a *ḥwt*-estate, Cat. no. 133.



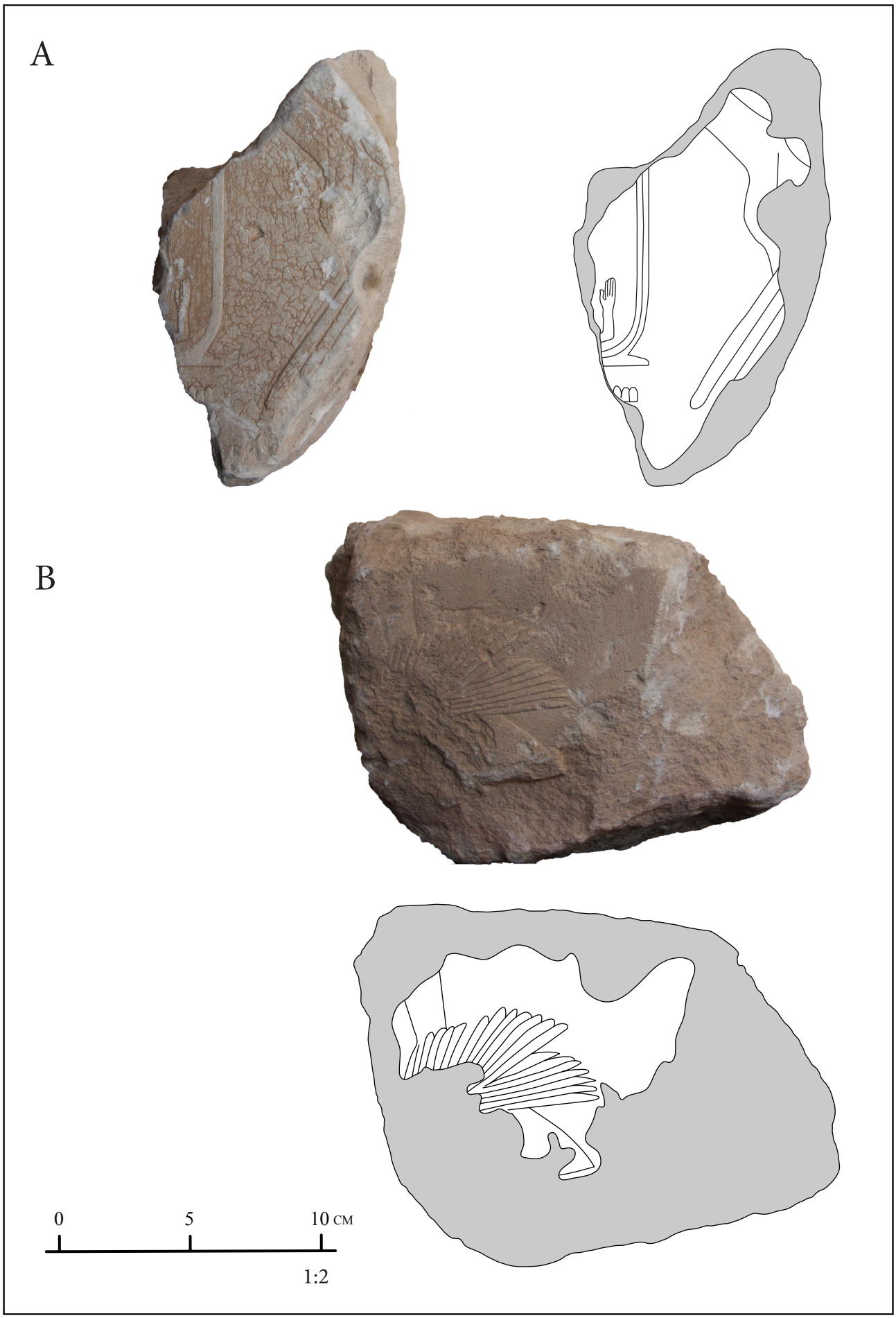


Pl. 173. Fragment of relief showing traces of two personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 134.

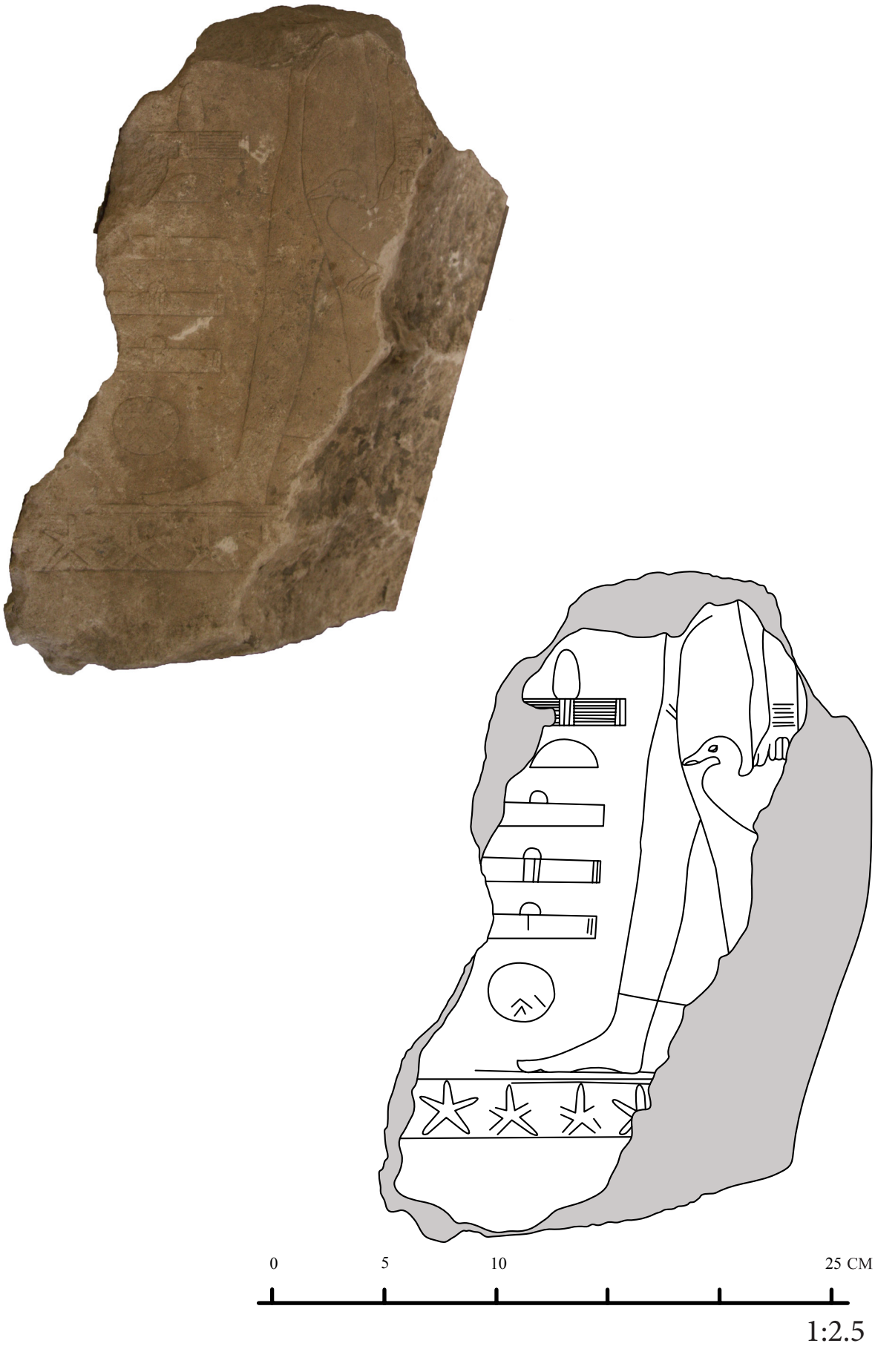




Pl. 174. Fragment of relief depicting parts of two personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 135.

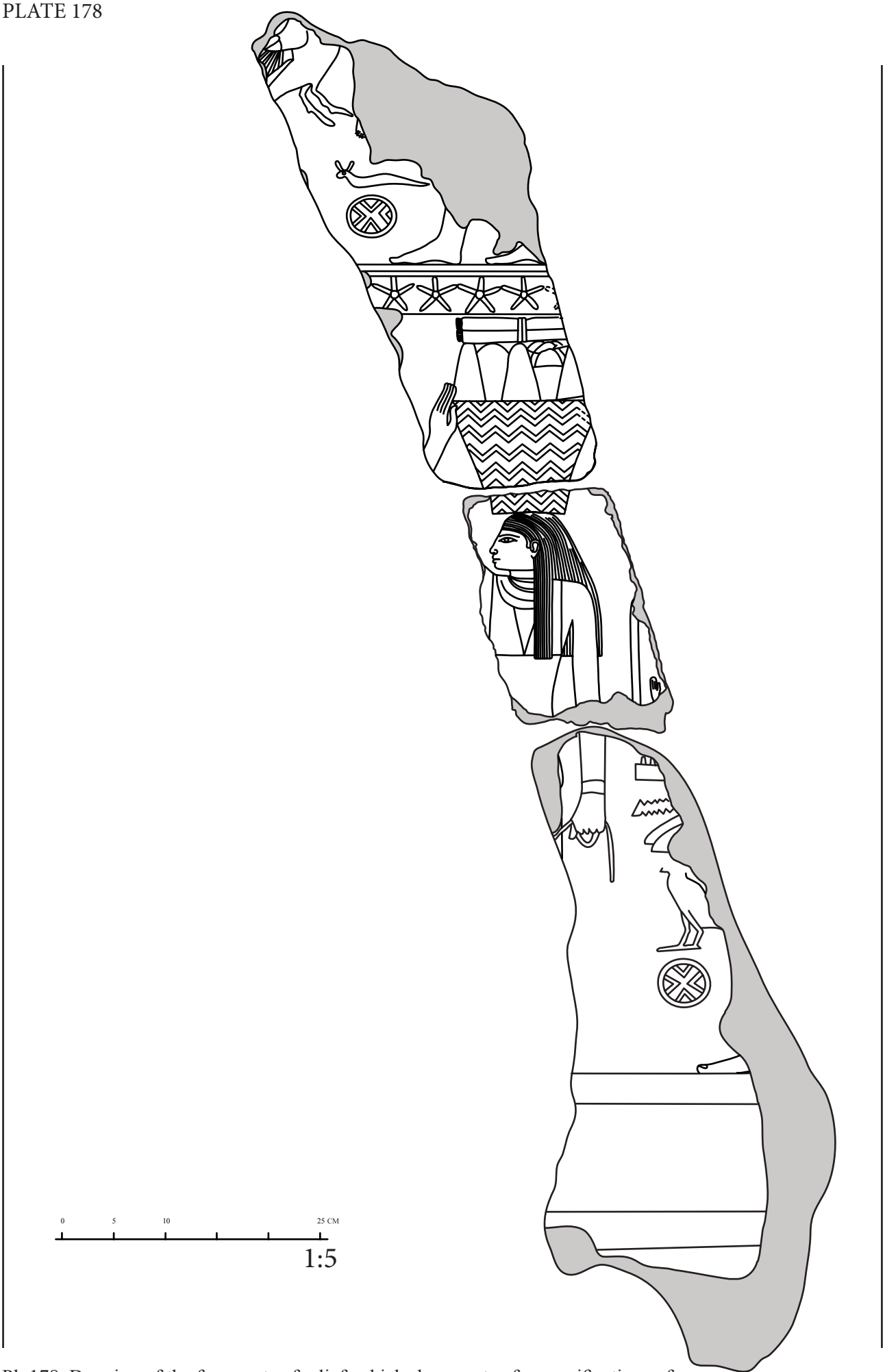


Pl. 175. a and b-Fragments of relief depicting parts of two personifications of funerary estates, a-Cat. no. 136; b-Cat. no. 137.

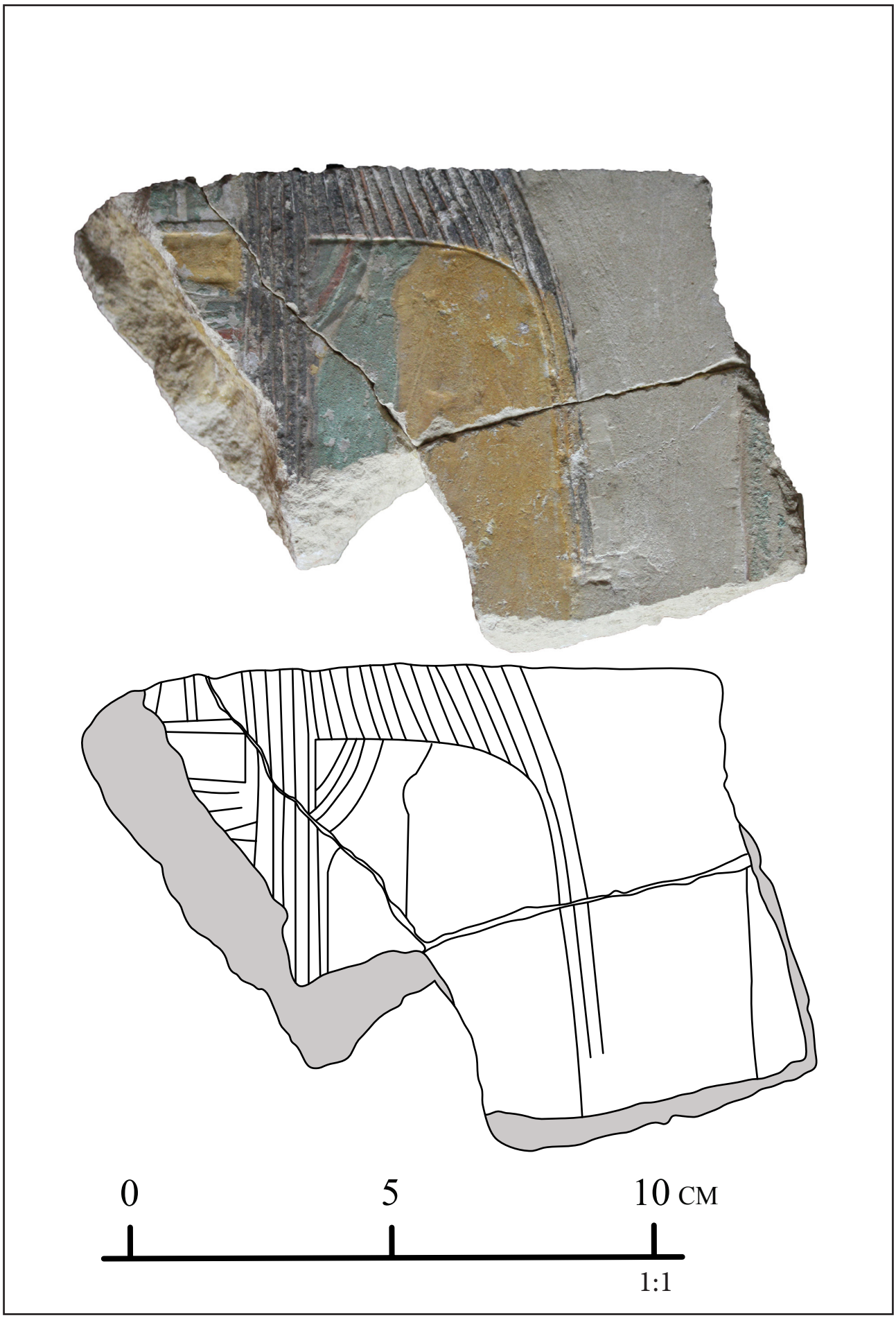


Pl. 176. Fragment of relief depicting a part of a personification of funerary estate, Cat. no. 138.

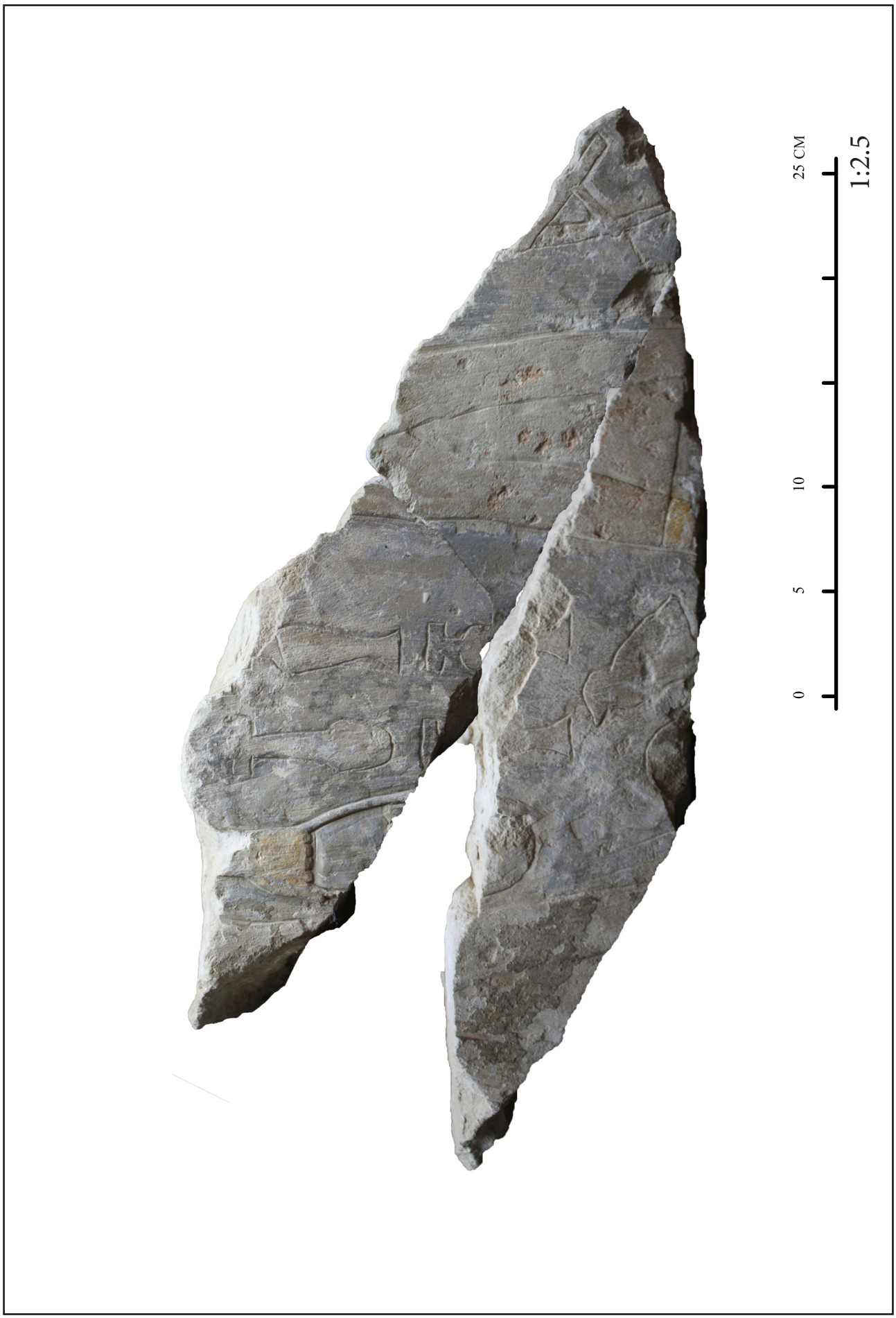
Pl. 177. Three matching fragments of relief showing parts of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 139.



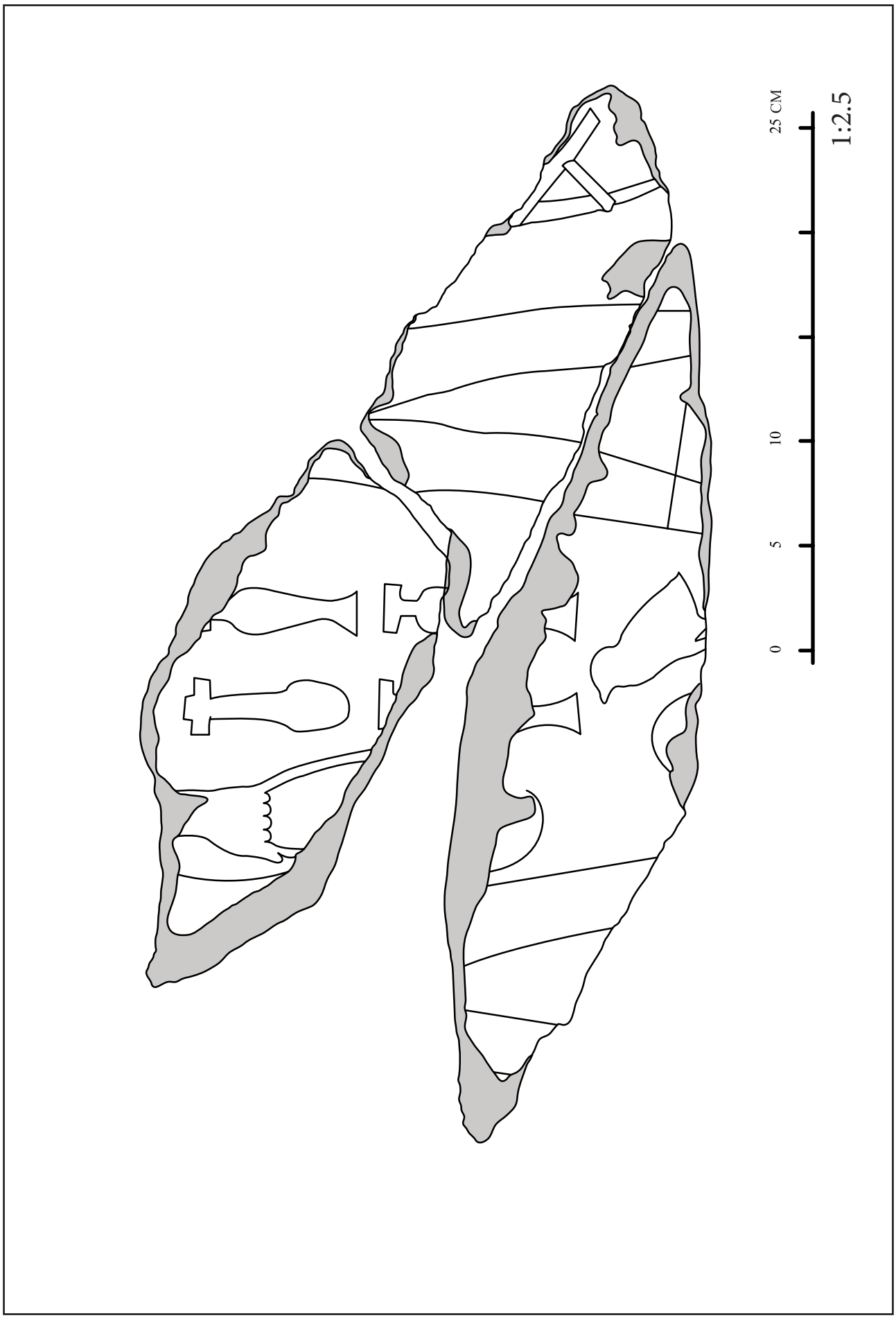
Pl. 178. Drawing of the fragments of relief, which show parts of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 139.



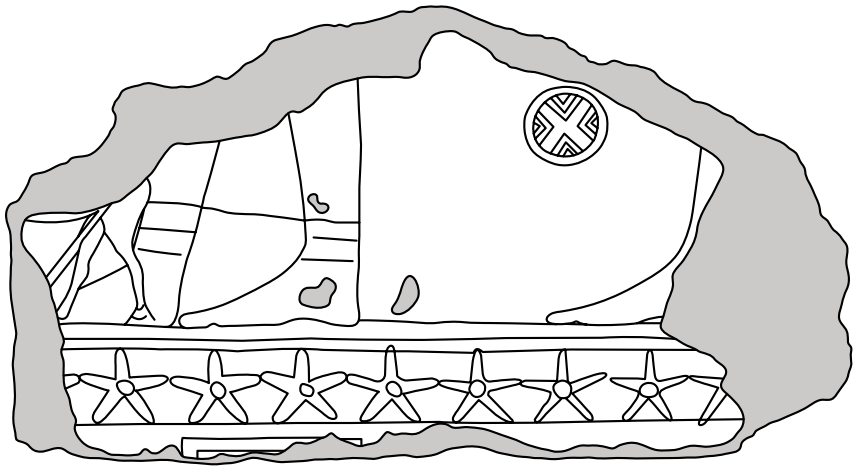
Pl. 179. Three matching fragments of relief showing parts of a personification of funerary estate, Cat. no. 140.

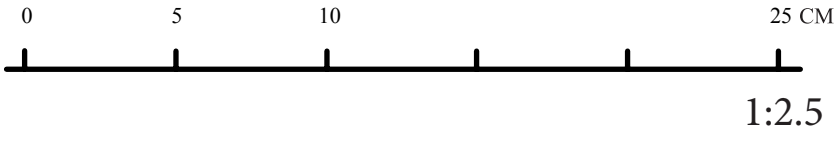


Pl. 180. Three matching fragments of relief depicting parts of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 141.

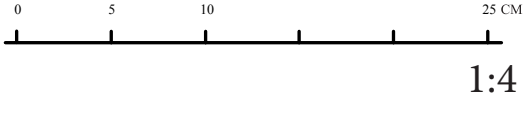


Pl. 181 Drawing of the fragments of relief, which show parts of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 141.



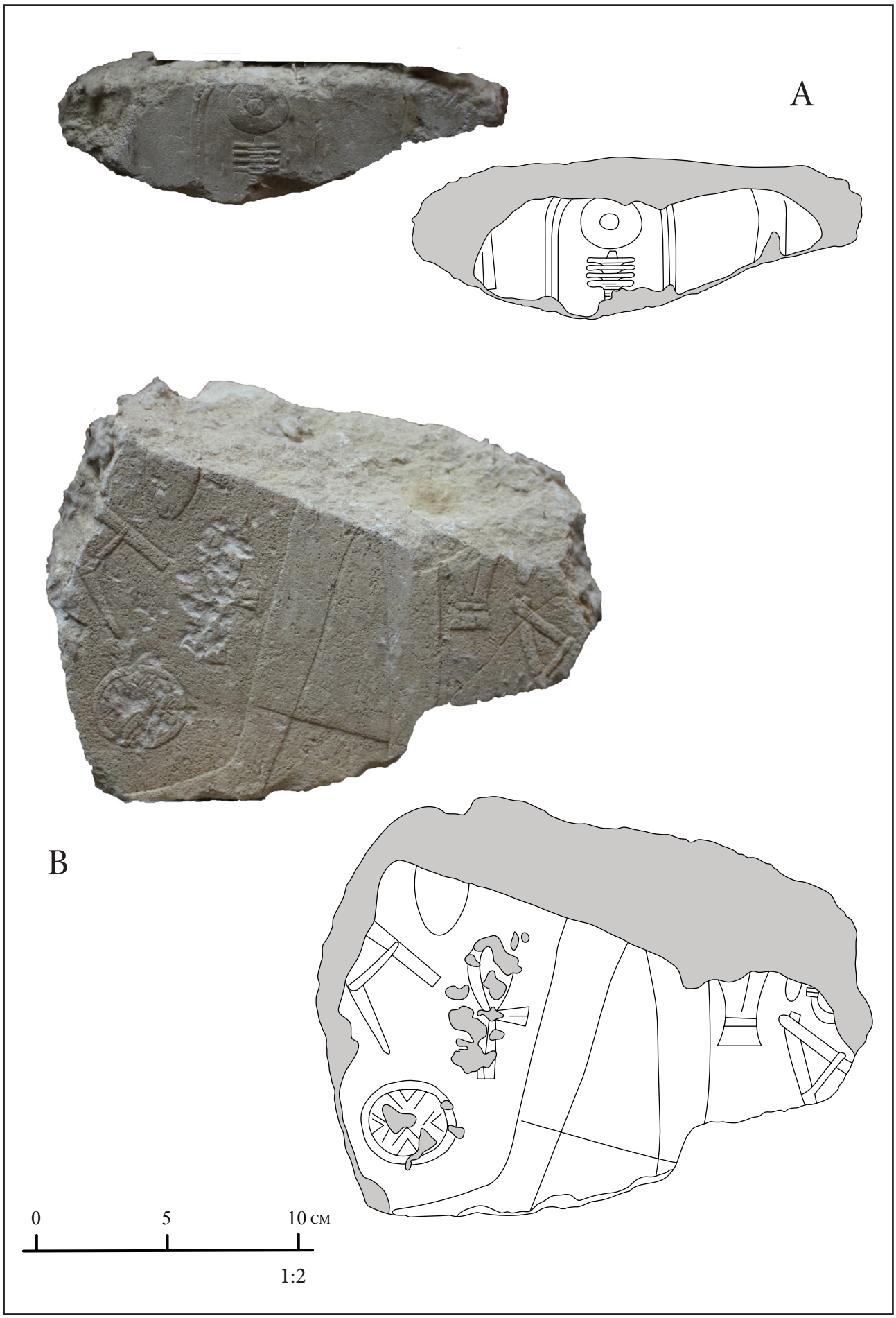


Pl. 182. Fragment of relief depicting parts of personifications of funerary estates in two registers, Cat. no. 142.



Pl. 183. Fragment of relief with traces of female personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 143.

Pl. 184. Fragment of relief depicting a part of a personification of funerary estate, Cat. no. 144.



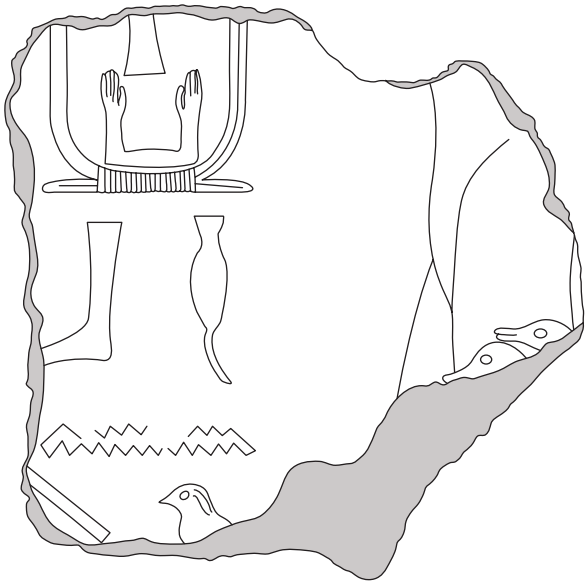
Pl. 185. a and b-Fragments of relief depicting parts of personifications of funerary estates, a-Cat. no. 145; b-Cat. no. 146

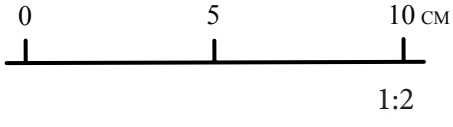
Pl. 186. Fragment of relief showing parts of two personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 147.

0 5 10 см

1:2

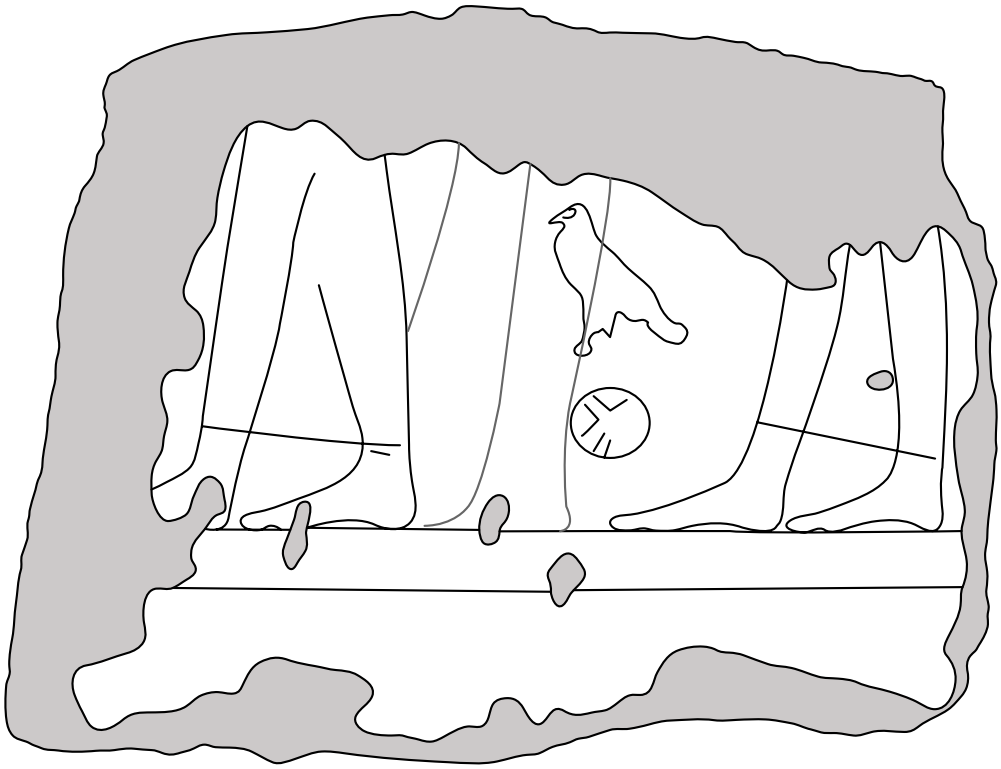
Pl. 187. Fragment of relief depicting a part of a personification of funerary estate, Cat. no. 148.





Pl. 188. Fragment of relief depicting a part of a personification of funerary estate, Cat. no. 149.

Pl. 189. Large fragment of relief depicting a part of personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 150.

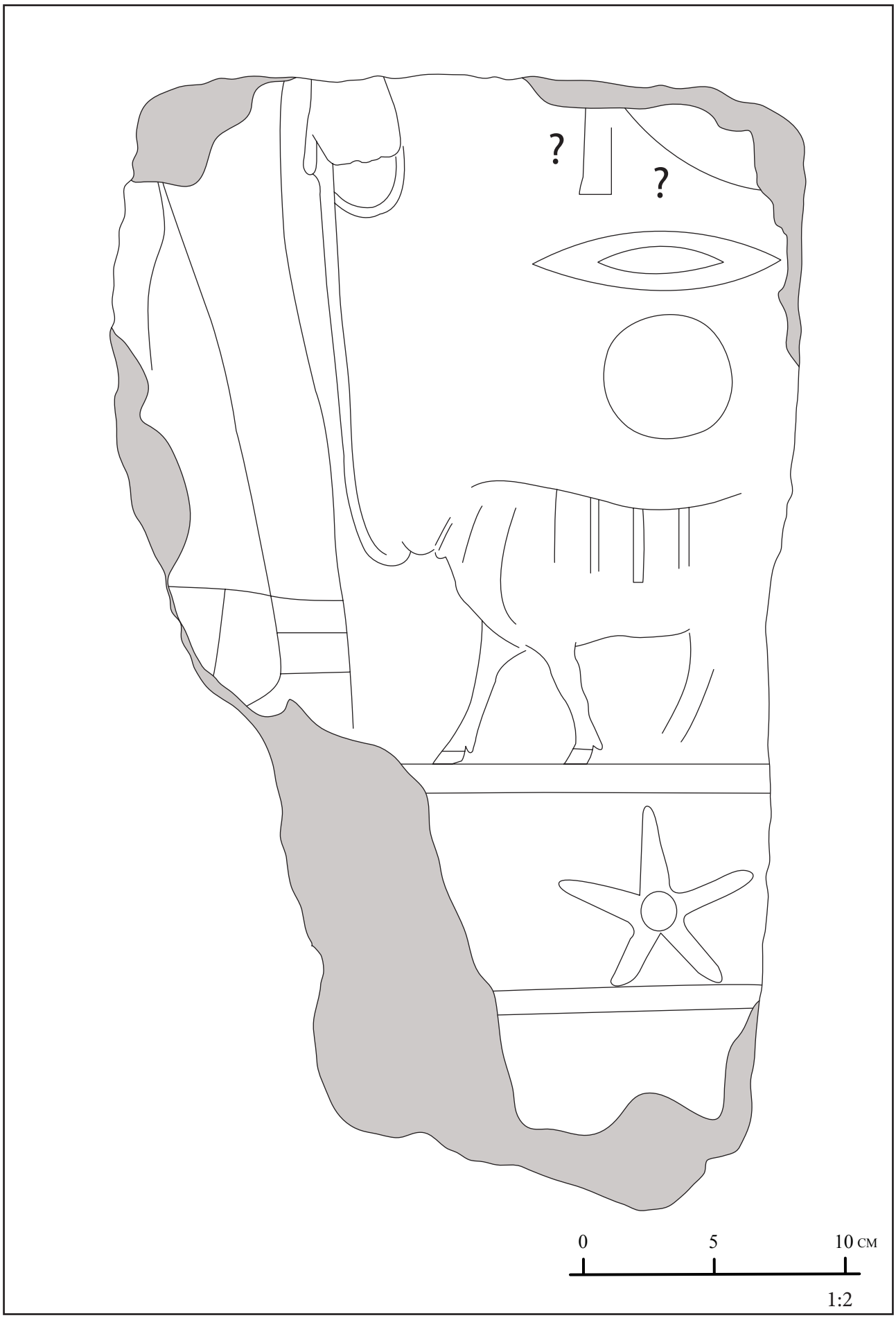


1:2.5

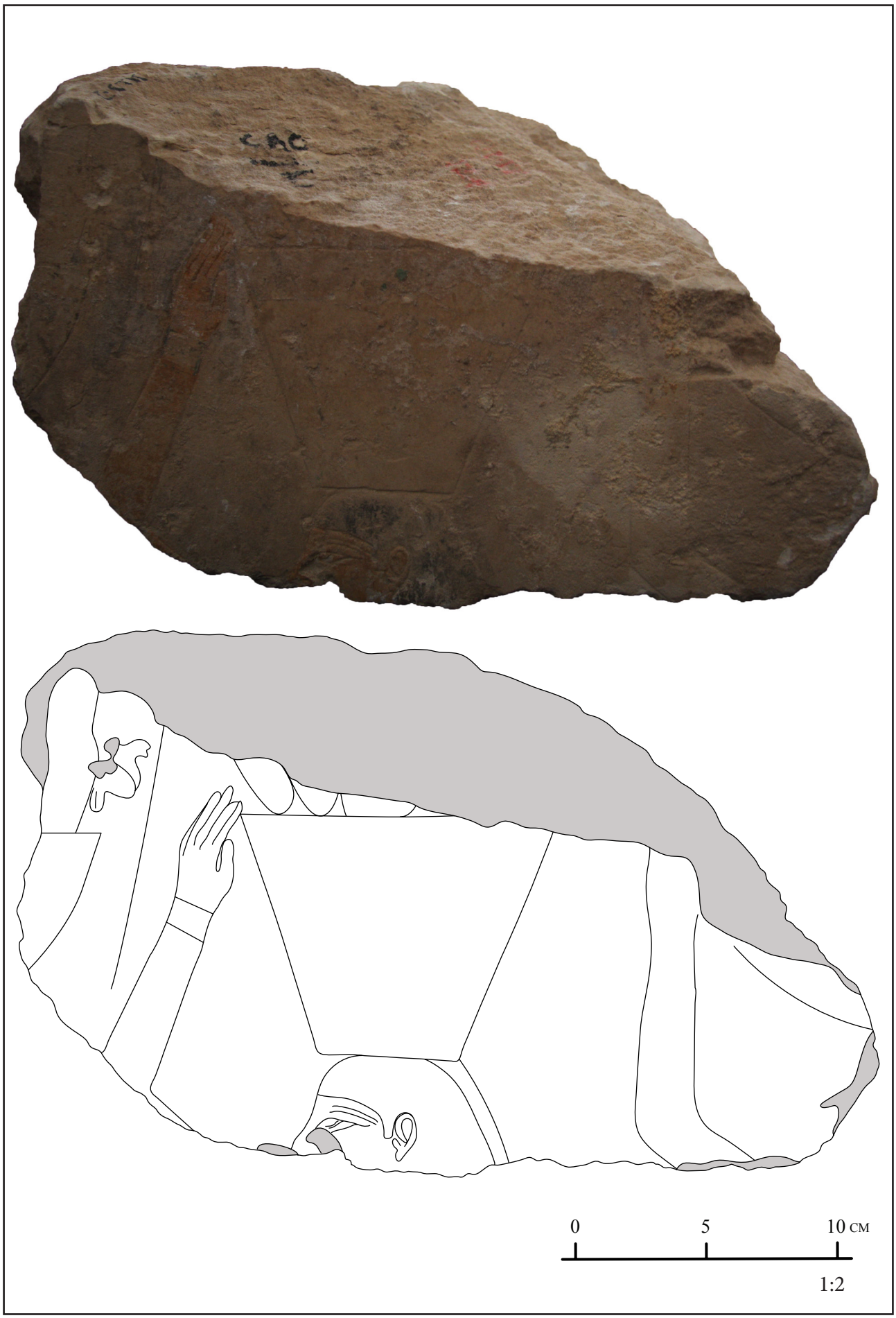
Pl. 190. Fragment of relief depicting lower parts of two personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 151.

Pl. 191. Fragment of relief depicting parts of the cartouche of Djedkare, which prehaps belonged to a name of a personification of funerary estate, Cat. no. 152.

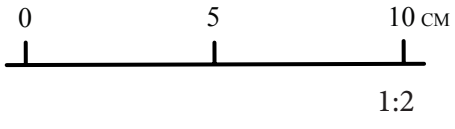
Pl. 192. Large fragment of relief showing the lower part of a personification of funerary estate and a calf, Cat. no. 153.



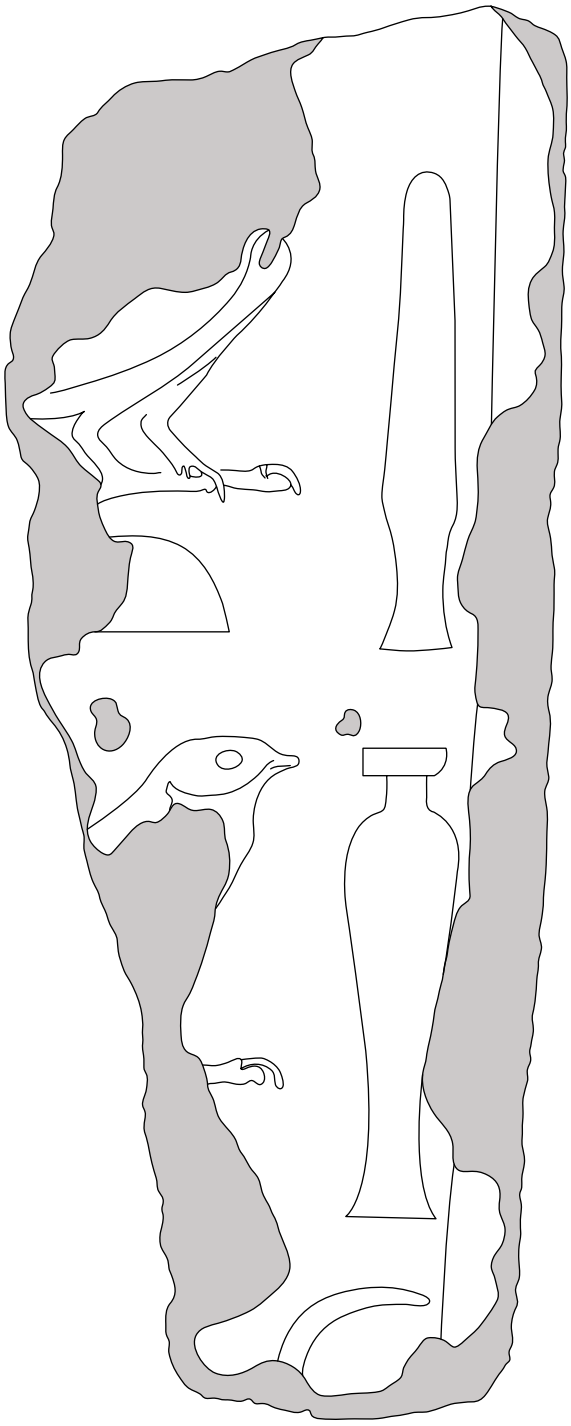
Pl. 193. Drawing of the fragment of relief, which shows the lower part of a personification of funerary estate and a calf, Cat. no. 153.

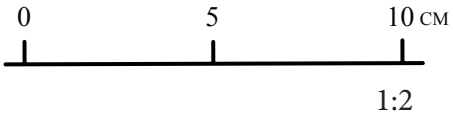


Pl. 194. Large fragment of relief showing parts of three personifications of funerary estates, Cat. no. 154.

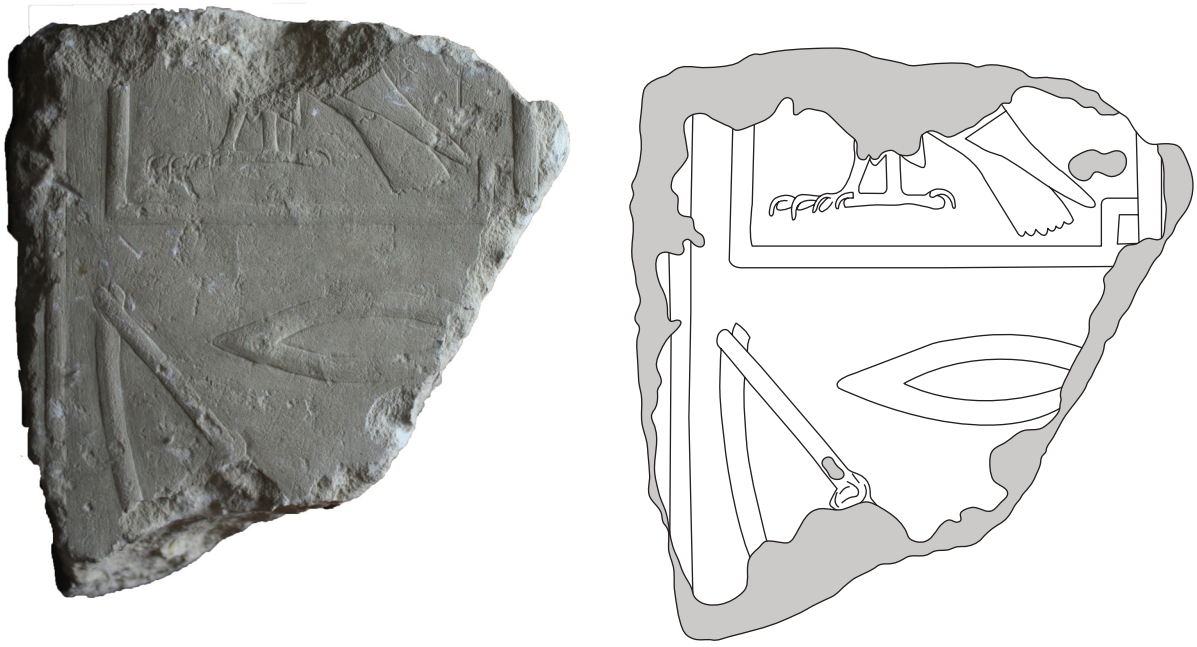


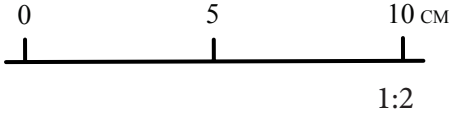
Pl. 195. Fragment of relief showing parts of an inscription representing titles of a queen, Cat. no. 155.





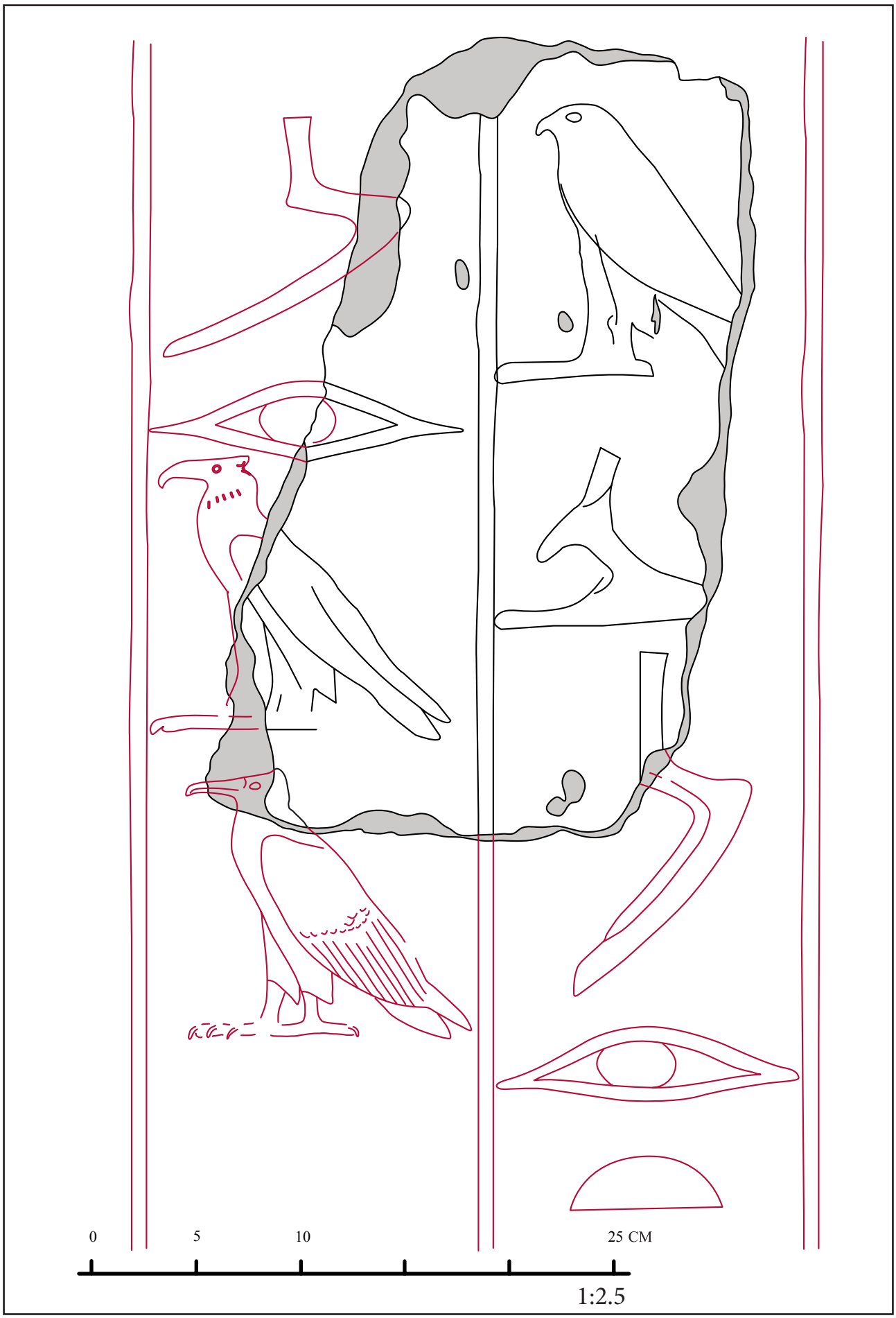
Pl. 196. Drawing of the fragment of relief, which shows parts of an inscription representing titles of a queen, Cat. no. 155.





Pl. 197. Fragment of relief depicting a part of an epithet or name of a queen, Cat. no. 156.

Pl. 198. Fragment of relief depicting a part of titles of a queen, Cat. no. 157.



Pl. 199. Drawing of fragment Cat. no. 157.