



Inhumations privées dans la nécropole de Pépy Ier

Rémi Legros

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Miroslav Bárta / Filip Coppens / Jaromír Krejčí (editors)

ABUSIR AND SAQQARA IN THE YEAR 2015



FACULTY OF ARTS,
CHARLES UNIVERSITY

**ABUSIR AND SAQQARA
IN THE YEAR 2015**

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ABUSIR AND SAQQARA IN THE YEAR 2015

Miroslav Bárta – Filip Coppens – Jaromír Krejčí (editors)

**Faculty of Arts, Charles University
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This volume is dedicated to the memory of Nicole Alexanian (1965–2016)



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ARCHAIC PERIOD AND THE OLD KINGDOM

Miroslav Bárta – Katarína Arias Kytarová – Martin Odler – Zdeňka Šůvová

'Killed' for eternity. Artefacts and ritual behaviour from a unique ceremonial structure in Abusir South **1**

The principal aim of this contribution is to provide a preliminary report, analysis and interpretation of a Fifth Dynasty structure discovered in Abusir South during the 2014 season. This structure is square-shaped in ground plan, built entirely of mud bricks. It is located immediately to the north of the Fifth Dynasty mastaba of Neferinpu (about 2370 BC, early reign of Djedkara), which was excavated during the seasons of 2006 and 2007. The archaeological context seems to reflect a single, short-term event of a specific symbolical handling, perhaps a performance related to the burial ceremonies, and ending with the ritual of breaking the red sherds as evidence provided by the pottery and stone pounders seems to suggest.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Abusir – Fifth Dynasty – cemeteries – burial ceremonies – ritual of breaking red sherds

Edith Bernhauer

Erscheinungen und Wandel in der Privatplastik des Alten Reiches

23

Abstract: Die Privatstatuen des Alten Reiches sind bisher nur in Einzelartikeln ohne den Blick auf das Ganze, das heißt alle Statuentypen der Zeit, zu werfen, publiziert. Ihre Aufstellungsmöglichkeiten, teilweise zeitabhängig, schließen im Grab alle Räume, außerhalb das Dach und den Eingangsbereich mit ein. In den Tempeln sind sie dagegen selten belegt. Typologisch lassen sich nur im Serdab alle Statuentypen finden. Je nach Grabtyp (Mastaba, Felsgrab, Mischform aus beiden) können etwas unterschiedliche Dekonationskonzepte mit Statuen beobachtet werden. Parallel zur Vergrößerung des Verwaltungsapparates ab der 5. Dynastie nehmen die Anzahl der Gräber und die dazugehörigen Statuen zu. Insbesondere ab Niusere fallen die „Pseudogruppen“, „Familiengruppen“ und „Statuen mit der Kauernden“ auf. Entsprechend der zeitlichen Nutzungslage, darin spiegeln sich dann die Statuentypen wieder, sind die zwei Hauptnekropolen in Giza und Sakkara zu sehen. So ist zum Beispiel zu beobachten, dass die Beamten der Verwaltungsschicht durch Leserstatuen und ihre häufig dazugehörenden Statuenkomplexe mehr das Bild von Sakkara als das von Giza prägen. Auch ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen, dass mehr Holzstatuen in der 6. Dynastie aus Sakkara als aus Giza bekannt sind. Da allerdings die Nekropole von Sakkara noch weiterer Ausgrabungen bedarf und fundierte statistische Auswertungen bisher fehlen, müssen viele Fragen offen bleiben. Dieser Artikel kann daher nur ein Versuch sein, sich den komplexen Fragestellungen zur Privatplastik im Alten Reich anzunähern.

Keywords: Altes Reich – Serdab – Mastaba – Felsgrab – Scheintür – Privatplastik

Vivienne Gae Callender

Some Sixth Dynasty Queens: an historical perspective

39

Abstract: In contrast to the numerous names on the royal king lists, the number of known Egyptian queens is surprisingly small; even more noticeable is the limited quantity of secondary literature regarding these women. Thus, it is of great significance

that, over the last thirty years or more, a small number of archaeologists have increased that list of queens. Amongst these additions there have been some thrilling discoveries of Old Kingdom queens from South Saqqara to Abusir – the most recent addition being found only in the last months of 2014. These discoveries all add to our knowledge and understanding of these royal women in both minor and major ways – usually dependent upon the amount of evidence still remaining at the cemetery sites.

Once, we knew a little – mainly about their pyramids – regarding just ten queens who lived in the Sixth Dynasty. Today, thanks to a group of French archaeologists working at South Saqqara, that list now numbers nineteen named queens and two others whose names are not known. As a result of those discoveries, we also understand much more about the queen's importance and status in her society for this period because of their work. The women themselves are still enigmatic, and their royal role is not by any means properly understood, but in this discussion I would like to offer some ideas about the impact on Egyptian history made by some of those queens from the Sixth Dynasty.

Keywords: female gender role – cartouches – family discord – erasures – queens – Teti – Khuit – Ankhenespepy I – Ankhenespepy II – Pepy I – Pepy II – Neith – Merenre I – Merenre II

Vassil Dobrev

A necropolis from the First Intermediate Period at Tabbet el-Guesh (Saqqara South) 53

Abstract: The IFAO Mission at Tabbet el-Guesh has already revealed the existence of two priests' necropolis at the excavated area of 60 x 50 m. One of them is from the end of the Old Kingdom (Sixth Dynasty) and is characterized by rectangular or square mud brick structures which are in fact enclosure walls surrounding and protecting open-air courtyards where funerary chapels, storerooms and shafts with burial chambers were built into the mountain. The ancient Egyptians called this type of funerary structure *per djet*, 'house of eternity'. The other necropolis is from the beginning of the Late Period (Twenty-Sixth and Twenty-Seventh Dynasties) and its tombs are organised in several North-South rows of small mud brick mastabas orientated East-West.

During the excavation season 2012–2013, the Mission discovered several small mud brick structures that could be dated to the First Intermediate Period (Seventh–Eighth Dynasties) and seem to be just a fraction of a much larger necropolis. Some of these structures are very simple, just white plastered niches with funerary shafts behind them, but others resemble to the so-called house-mastabas, characterised by a small courtyard and a low surrounding wall to the East. The house-mastabas H 1 and H 2' present an interesting feature on their eastern sides: an inscribed lintel was added over the false door stela, which has an offering table in front of it. The traditional Old Kingdom disposition of stela + offering table is modified here by the addition of a lintel over the stela and this could be considered as a criterion for dating structures from the First Intermediate Period.

Keywords: First Intermediate Period (FIP) – necropolis – house-mastabas – criteria for dating FIP structures – restoration of priest's funerary cult

Veronika Dulíková – Radek Mařík

Complex network analysis in Old Kingdom society: a nepotism case 63

Abstract: The current state of Egyptological research faces a problem to process the huge volume of data. Researchers have dealt with the datasets consisting of thousands of entities. Such a volume cannot be evaluated efficiently and rigorously using a traditional manual manner of paper and pencil. Although methods of complex networks (CNA) have been used for the quantification of a number of historical aspects, nobody has yet applied CNA to the Old Kingdom context. This paper proposes a new approach based on the method of complex network analysis which

provides new possibilities for the better understanding of the Old Kingdom social and administrative developments. The treatise demonstrates the first promising results of this technique on an assessment of nepotism in the second half of the Old Kingdom exemplified in the numerous illustrative graphical visualizations.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Fifth Dynasty – Nyuserre – complex network analysis – social network analysis – nepotism – society – administration – titulary – relational data mining

Andrés Diego Espinel

A neglected hunting scene from Saqqara (Pitt rivers 1926.14.6) and the iconography of the desert hunters during the Old Kingdom **85**

Abstract: Desert hunting is a well-known scene type in Old Kingdom monuments. They have been extensively analysed by egyptologists, who have mainly taken into account both their symbolic and social meanings and the animal information depicted on them. However, few authors have devoted specific studies on the iconography of the desert hunters. The present study takes into consideration their clothes, tools and gestures, analysing their development in time and space during the Old Kingdom. Moreover, depictions of the Old Kingdom desert hunters, their implements and techniques are compared with data from other periods, shedding light on the role of desert hunting and hunters during the pyramid age.

To this end, an unpublished fragmentary relief of a hunting scene, probably dating from the Sixth Dynasty, will be firstly examined. It is the relief Pitt Rivers 1926.14.6, donated in 1926 to the Oxonian museum by Cecil Mallaby Firth, who discovered it somewhere in Saqqara. Despite of its fragmentary state, it is an important document as it is the only known non-royal depiction of an Old Kingdom bowman in a Memphite hunting scene.

Keywords: Desert hunting – iconography – private tombs – pyramid complexes – Old Kingdom

Laurel Flentye

Royal and non-Royal statuary of the Fourth Dynasty from the Giza Necropolis **123**

Abstract: This article traces the development and interrelationships between royal and non-royal statuary during the Fourth Dynasty at the Giza Necropolis. Evidence for life-size statues and small-scale statuettes is attributed to the reigns of Khufu through Menkaura. Implicit within this discussion is the variety of contexts in which statuary occurred at Giza, namely the pyramid and valley temples of the royal pyramid complexes as well as the mastabas and rock-cut tombs in the surrounding cemeteries. From the outset, statuary is a feature of Khufu's reign in the early Fourth Dynasty at the Giza Necropolis. Although Khufu's pyramid complex is mostly destroyed, statue fragments are assigned to it including those excavated by Selim Hassan. Also attributed to Khufu's reign are a variety of sculptural types in the non-royal sphere, namely the seated statue of Hemiunu discovered in his serdab (G 4000), the reserve heads mostly found in the shafts or burial chambers of the mastabas of the Western Cemetery, as well as evidence for statue platforms. In the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), different statue types also decorated the mastabas belonging to members of the royal family, such as the bust of Ankh-haf (G 7510), the scribal statues of Ankh-haf (G 7510) and Kawab (G 7120), and the seated statues of Kawab (G 7120) and Khufu-khaf I (G 7140) which are dated from Khufu's through Khafra's reigns. Their reconstruction in exterior chapels as well as offering chambers attests to the diversity of contexts in which statuary occurred as well as their particular function within the decorative program.

Based on the absence of a statuary program in Khufu's pyramid complex, Djedefra's statues from Abu Rawash provide a significant link between Snefru's and Khafra's statuary programs, which must have impacted the development of statuary

in the mid to late Fourth Dynasty at Giza. Djedefra's statues from Abu Rawash range in type, iconography, size, and materials which certainly is reflected in the statuary program of Khafra. Reconstructions of Khafra's pyramid and valley temples with seated and standing statues suggest that statuary was probably more a feature of the decorative program than relief decoration. In the non-royal sphere, the statue chamber of Minkhaf (G 7430) in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000) may resemble the layout of Khafra's pyramid temple based on Herbert Rieke's reconstruction, but certainly reflects the interest in statue niches also evident in Kawab's exterior chapel (G 7120).

In the late Fourth Dynasty, Menkaura's pyramid complex continues the predilection for statuary, both in the pyramid and valley temples, ranging in type, iconography, size, and materials, including an emphasis on the monumental. The series of greywacke triads from Menkaura's valley temple are almost three-dimensional relief decoration, which must have had a programmatic layout. Stylistically, Menkaura's greywacke statues have greater modeling as compared with Khafra's anorthosite gneiss statues. In the non-royal sphere, the rock-cut tombs in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), Khufu-Khafra Quarry, Central Field, and the Menkaura Quarry Cemetery were probably influenced by the statuary programs in the pyramid complexes and vice versa, particularly the use of multiple images of the tomb owner and gesture between statues, e.g., the rock-cut statues of Meresankh III (G 7530sub). However, the addition of servant statuettes in Meresankh III's rock-cut tomb (G 7530sub) reflects an interest in daily life iconography, occurring in both statuary and relief decoration, but also essential to the tomb owner's afterlife. In this respect, the Fourth Dynasty at Giza witnessed an expansion in the use of freestanding and rock-cut statuary in differing contexts, suggesting that three-dimensional representation became an important feature of the overall programmatic layout and cultic function of the tomb, similar to the statuary programs in the royal pyramid complexes.

Keywords: niches – pedestal – rock-cut – scribal – serdab – statues

Lucie Jirásková

Model stone vessels of the Old Kingdom – their typology and chronology

145

Abstract: Assemblages of model stone vessels unfortunately never got enough attention of scholars dealing with the material culture of the Old Kingdom in the past. The article thus attempts to show their value, especially in respect of chronology. Firstly, the group was typologically described. The author divided vessels into several classes regularly appearing within the Old Kingdom burial chambers. Reflecting their numbers and material used for their production, the assemblages were compared. Such an analysis led to several "stages" with particular pattern of distribution. The turning points between them also reflected not only major changes in the burial and funerary customs, but also more general changes in the ancient Egyptian society.

During the whole Old Kingdom, the assemblages of model stone vessels represented social markers. In the Fourth and first half of the Fifth dynasty, they were made exclusively from travertine, and appeared in the tombs of members of the royal family and the highest officials. By the middle of the Fifth dynasty, the limestone sets took the place of earlier pottery model vessels, and found their way to the burial chambers of middle class officials. The Sixth dynasty brought another major change. Burial equipment became wealthier, and there was no more need for "humble" model vessels made of stone. From the beginning of the Sixth dynasty, the model stone vessels were slowly substituted by copper pieces, and by the middle of the Sixth dynasty they almost disappear in favour of real vessels made of different materials.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – stone vessels – travertine – limestone – typology – chronology

Mohamed Ismail Khaled

Notes on the crews of workmen of Sahura

157

Abstract: The new discovery from the northern wall of the causeway of Sahura at Abusir has added to our knowledge of the programme of royal scenes depicted on

the Old Kingdom's royal complexes. The reliefs came to light during the excavation by the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities' mission around the pyramid complex of King Sahura, which started in 1994 and continued from 2002 until 2004. The exploration by the Egyptian team has so far revealed scenes listing a large number of crews of workmen who participated in different royal activities in the presence of the king himself. This paper sheds more light on the crews of Sahura, as well as presenting new names.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Fifth Dynasty – Sahure – Abusir – causeway – relief decoration – workmen – crews.

Evgeniia Kokina

Alone or together: for whom were the private tombs of the Old Kingdom built? 163

Abstract: Among the private tombs of the Old Kingdom there were so-called family tombs and family tomb complexes. Recent excavations at Saqqara and Abusir brought to light new examples of such tomb types. As the analysis of the Old Kingdom data shows tombs intended for one person were quite rare. At the same time the presence of several shafts did not influence in most cases the decoration of tombs which remained to be dedicated only to one person. The analysis of the cemeteries in the Memphite area and provinces reveals only about 300 private tombs in which cult places for other people besides the tomb owner were allocated. A cult place can be identified by false doors, offering table scenes, offering bearer scenes, depictions of priests, offering formulae, offering lists, offering tables, statues, offering rooms. The article intends to show who and how could obtain such a cult place besides the tomb owner; how the presence of cult places correlated with the number of shafts; why additional cult places were allocated; how such joint tomb possession was regulated.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – private tomb – tomb decoration – cult place – family

Jaromír Krejčí

Nakhtsare's cemetery in central Abusir – the burial ground for the royals? 173

Abstract: A group of four tombs aligned along the north–south axis is located to the south and east of the mortuary temple of King Raneferef in the southern part of central Abusir and has been named the Nakhtsare cemetery. The results of the archaeological excavations of these much destroyed mastabas (excavated 1994–2016) represent an important supplement to our understanding of the development of the Abusir Royal Necropolis. Following the completion of the archaeological research, it is time to make an interim report on the group of these mastabas.

Keywords: Abusir – Fifth Dynasty – mastaba – royal family – royal mother – royal son – Raneferef – Khentkaus III – architecture

Hella Küllmer

„Das Verteilen von Gold“ – Einige Überlegungen zu den Webereien des Alten Reiches 185

Abstract: After Hermann Junker published the Mastaba of Seneb in Giza V in the year 1941, including a study on some few other "Rewarding the female weavers"-reliefs, there has been little attention on this topic. This article provides a detailed description of the scenes and a discussion of the economic importance of the distribution of gold and other goods. A study of the titles and the social status of the persons engaged in the weaveries of the Old Kingdom shows a special connection to the king and the palace.

Keywords: weavers – titles – market – exchange – reward – Old Kingdom – reliefs

Audran Labrousse

Derniers hommages aux reines: Les autels de Noubounet et Inénék/Inti 201

Abstract: During the excavation of the family necropolis of King Pepy I, inscribed fragments of altars were collected in the mortuary complexes of two of his wives:

Nebu-wenet and Inenek/Inti. These last tributes to the queens once belonged to the north chapel built on the access to the pyramid and to the offering room of the cult temple. We have now, for the first time, some knowledge of the altars of the north chapels. The altars belonging to the offering rooms, added to those already known, allow important differences in style, disposition of texts and material.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Pepy I – South-Saqqara – altar – Nebu-Wenet – Inenek/Inti

Rémi Legros

Inhumations privées dans la nécropole de Pépy I^{er} 211

Abstract: La nécropole de Pépy I^{er} est aujourd'hui connue essentiellement pour les complexes funéraires du roi et des reines de la VI^e dynastie. Pourtant, de nombreux particuliers sont venus là pratiquer leurs dévotions et, pour certains, s'y faire inhumer, constituant ainsi ce qui apparaît comme un véritable lieu de mémoire.

Trois grandes phases se distinguent, qui témoignent de l'évolution de cette nécropole royale, dans sa perception et son occupation. L'Ancien et le Moyen Empires se caractérisent par une continuité de l'activité rituelle dans le temple. Ensuite, jusqu'au Nouvel Empire au moins, les sépultures de particuliers se multiplient, mais conservent une certaine considération pour les installations royales. C'est à la Basse Époque enfin qu'il faut situer la cessation des pratiques funéraires.

Keywords: Pépy I^{er} – inhumations privées – sacralité – lieux de mémoire

Émilie Martinet

L'administration des nomes de Basse-Égypte sous l'Ancien Empire 219

Abstract: In contrast to Upper Egypt, titles related to the Delta's administration are scarce on all levels: nomes but also in the region as a whole. Hence, the fact is that there are so few studies devoted to the organisation of this region during the Old Kingdom.

Although the epigraphic sources show that there was a territorial division initiated by the palatine elite, the nomes cannot be considered as provinces at the beginning of the Old Kingdom, in the sense where nothing proves their administrative nature at that time. This paper highlights the lack of a systematic and complete organisation based on the nome unit in Lower Egypt during the Old Kingdom. However, it is possible to perceive the importance of other administrative structures all along this period that we will describe, as well as a direct intervention of the royal power in some Lower Egypt sites.

In order to have a better understanding of the administration of Lower Egypt, one needs to take into consideration all the different officials, regardless of the position they held in the hierarchy and their sphere of influence. This paper tackles the importance of the supra-provincial level made up of men who played a role between the central institutions and province. With respect to the elites directly buried in the nomes of Lower Egypt under the Sixth dynasty and who have adopted the "formal palatine culture", it is unclear whether they had an influence on the entire nome. In any event, these elites were included in the Court society, as the elites of Upper Egypt.

In this paper, we will develop a more informal model of the Delta's administration than previously proposed. This model is based on a crossover study of the historical and archaeological sources dated from the end of the Old Kingdom, may they be royal or private. The ongoing process of territorial division especially in the oriental Delta, even at the end of the Fifth dynasty, is one of the factors which could explain the establishment of a peculiar administrative system in this part of the country.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Delta – nomes – administration – elites – local temple

Mohamed Megahed – Peter Jánosi

The pyramid complex of Djedkare at Saqqara-South – Recent results and future prospects 237

Abstract: Until recently the pyramid complex of Djedkara at Saqqara-South was

considered one of the most neglected royal funerary monuments of the Old Kingdom. Identified only in 1945/46 the complex has seen a number of brief investigations, which however remained unpublished or largely passed without notice. Yet, recent surveys and documentation started by the SCA in 2010 have shown that this king's mortuary complex is better preserved than most of the pyramid temples of the late Fifth and entire Sixth Dynasty. While the valley temple must be considered entirely lost under the present-day village of Saqqara the other parts of the complex are quite well preserved and yield a number of interesting features. Despite this, no complete documentation of the monument has been achieved thus far and the entire complex with its different architectural parts remains largely a riddle. The plans by Vito Maragioglio and Celeste Rinaldi (published in 1962 and 1977) still forming the major basis for any scientific engagement, are – as can be gathered after the observations/ documentations of the initial campaigns – misleading or wrong. This paper is briefly surveying the temple's main features and present condition. As the main focus of the paper the results of the recent work at Saqqara and future prospects is presented and discussed. The importance of the building and its potential for the art and architecture of the Old Kingdom highlighted.

This paper aims also to provide some new results of a project that started in 2009 with the aim to publish the material from the archaeological excavations of pyramid complex of Djedkare in South Saqqara. Numerous fragments of relief decoration were collected by the Egyptian missions in the king's complex, and therefore, a selection of fragments are presented in this paper.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Fifth Dynasty – Djedkare – Saqqara–South – mortuary complex, architecture – relief decoration

Massimiliano Nuzzolo (with the collaboration of Patrizia Zanfagna)

Patterns of tomb placement in the Memphite necropolis. Fifth Dynasty Saqqara in context 257

Abstract: This article investigates the patterns of spatial distribution of tombs in the Saqqara necropolis during the Fifth Dynasty. After some preliminary considerations on the tombs spatial distribution and GIS-analysis, and the peculiarities of the other main contemporary necropolises of the Memphite area (e.g., Giza and Abusir), attention will be focused on Saqqara, either because it was the main cemetery of private people during the above period, or, and most importantly, because its overall topographical development has still to be fully understood. By crossing several kinds of data, including size and location of tombs, titles of tomb owners, and landscape phenomenology (accessibility and visibility of tombs and royal monuments), the paper shall provide some new insights into the historical dynamics of formation of the sacred landscape of the necropolis at the Fifth Dynasty.

Keywords: Saqqara – Fifth Dynasty – private tombs – spatial analysis – titles – social status

Martin Odler

For the temples, for the burial chambers. Sixth Dynasty copper vessel assemblages 293

Abstract: The article is a preliminary report on an assemblage of copper vessels found in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of the official Inti at the Abusir South cemetery (towards the end of the period of ca. 2305–2118 BC). The most important assemblage of full-size and miniaturized copper vessels comes from Shaft A of the complex with the burial of Inti Pepyankh, probably a relative or a client of Inti. The vessels contained a written reference to the ritual of funerary repast (*pr.t-hrw*), and their role in the ritual is explored in the article. The assemblage from this tomb is studied also from the point of view of regularized production of artefacts. It is then compared to other assemblages of copper vessels from Sixth Dynasty Egypt connected to the funerary repast and the Opening of the Mouth ritual. On the basis of the collected evidence, it is argued that the scope of vessels present in the burial equipment was similar to the vessels used in contemporary temples. The occurrence of the same types of vessels in several

specimens in full-size as well as miniaturized versions is explained as a possible trace of the agency of different participants in the provision of the burial equipment.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Sixth Dynasty – copper vessels – funerary repast – Opening of the Mouth ritual – artefact regularization – agency

Adel Okasha Khafagy

New excavation at North Saqqara. Soped-Hotep tomb 317

Abstract: This is a report on the re-discovery of the mastaba of Soped-hotep dating to the Fifth Dynasty. The mastaba was found in 2013 when an illegal digging in the North Saqqara area led to the exposure of the tomb's chapel. The tomb was originally discovered by Mariette and labeled as D15, being located about 150 m east of the tomb of Ti. This report provides an account of the mastaba's architecture, decoration and later history as reflected through archaeological finds.

Keywords: Saqqara – Old Kingdom – Fifth Dynasty – mastaba – Seped-Hotep

Dominic Perry

Requisition economics in provincial centres and Abusir in the Old Kingdom 331

Abstract: The article examines the Old Kingdom's economic institutions from a new theoretical perspective: the theory of "requisitioning". It suggests that the Crown instructed and empowered consumers to collect goods directly from producers. Doing so, it avoided the institutional burden inherent in more redistribution-based systems. Evidence for this practice may be observed in various textual sources from Abusir, the Wadi al-Jarf accounts, royal decrees and autobiographies. It is concluded that requisitioning – legitimized appropriation – may have occurred in Egypt during these periods; its prominence, however, fluctuated wildly over different periods and regimes. The Crown's attitude frequently changed and requisitioning could be treated either as a necessary tool of management, or a harmful practice requiring prohibition.

Keywords: Redistribution – Requisitioning – Royal Economy – Abusir papyri – royal decrees

Marie Peterková Hlouchová

Gods with solar aspects in selected written and epigraphic sources of the Old Kingdom 345

Abstract: In the Old Kingdom the cult of the main sun god Re reached one of its peaks which was reflected even in written material of that period. On the contrary, other gods with connection to the sun, such as Atum, Shu, Horus, Sokar, Nefertem or Weneg, are not attested so often and, moreover, some of these gods appears only in the religious texts. This study is based on an analysis of selected written sources of the Old Kingdom coming from the Memphite area: the Palermo Stone, papyri from Abusir, seal impressions and the South Saqqara List. The Gebelein papyri are also included, as a sample of provincial documents. Most of these sources have not been studied in this way so far. The material is rather selective and is somehow connected to the royal sphere. The majority of evidence is dated to the Fifth Dynasty, to the period when the cult of Re reaches its zenith. Therefore, it is worth comparing the frequency of the attestations of Re and other deities with solar aspects. This *sondage* provides us with interesting and significant information concerning various gods of the solar religion.

Keywords: sun cult – Palermo Stone – Abusir papyri – seal impressions – South Saqqara List – Gebelein papyri

Patrizia Piacentini

Excavating the egyptological archives of the Università degli Studi di Milano: The Varille's documentation on the pyramid complex of Djedkare-Izezi at Saqqara 355

Abstract: Between 1944 and 1949, Varille worked as epigraphist at Saqqara for the Antiquities Service. He joined the mission of Abdel Salam Mohammed Hussein on

the excavations of the funerary complex of Djedkare-Izezi, but because of the premature death of both archaeologists their results were never published. Some large folders found in the Varille archives, housed in the University of Milan, contain materials that can be useful to understand the way in which the excavations were carried on and some of the objects discovered. This unpublished documentation consists in photographs, cards with notes and photographs, and a short report on the excavations. The aim of the article is to present and analyse these materials, as well as to discuss the role of some of the people who worked with Varille on the site, who are mentioned in his papers.

Keywords: Saqqara – Djedkare-Izezi – Alexandre Varille – Mohammed Hussein – Hassan Ahmed Osman – Fatouh Effendi

Joanne Rowland – Geoffrey John Tassie

A new funerary monument dating to the reign of Khaba: The Quesna mastaba in the context of the Early Dynastic–Old Kingdom mortuary landscape in Lower Egypt **369**

Abstract: King Khaba of the Third Dynasty is most closely associated with the site of Zawiyet el-Aryan due to the finding of a series of stone vessels in and around mastaba Z500 inscribed with his *serekh*. Apart from a few *serekhs* on seal impressions found in Upper Egypt at Elephantine and Hierakonpolis, he is virtually unknown outside of the Memphite region. There are also unprovenanced references to Khaba, including the seal impression UC11755. Many have assumed that the king was buried in the Layer Pyramid, or mastaba Z500, although some, including Swelim have questioned this. In 2010 a mud-brick mastaba (14.1 × 9.0 m) oriented north–south, was discovered at the central Delta site of Quesna, with the excavation of this structure completed in 2014. From one of the two burial chambers within the mastaba, a mud seal impression bearing the *serekh* of King Khaba was identified. The initial analysis of the pottery vessels from this mastaba indicated a date from Huni to Khufu, but analysis of the most recently excavated vessels may include new types, and possibly inscriptions. A small number of stone vessel fragments were also located, which appear to be of a similar stone type to those from Zawiyet el-Aryan. The exact placement of Khaba in the succession of rulers of the Third Dynasty is much debated, and so the finding of this mastaba in the Delta brings fresh data which may contribute towards this debate. Architectural comparisons between Z500 and the Quesna mastaba will also help to illuminate this little known reign.

Keywords: Delta – mastaba tomb – Quesna – Old Kingdom – Khaba – funerary

Saleh Soleiman

An attempt to identify the erased figures of offering bearers in some scenes of Kagemni's tomb at Saqqara **391**

Abstract: This study deals with the figures of nine offering bearers in the tomb of Kagemni, Teti cemetery at Saqqara. Some of these figures and all the identification texts had been for some reason erased. Detailed inspection of the erased texts leads to the conclusion that one of these representations is of Gemni, the eldest son of Kagemni and eight of the representations are of Kagemni/Gemnika, the second son of Kagemni.

The subsequent erasures of these two individuals may be the result of a dispute or power struggle between the sons of Kagemni's first marriage and the son of his marriage to the daughter of king Teti. Tetiankh, being of royal blood, would have been in a more powerful position and had the authority to carry out the erasures. Another possible explanation is that the erasures were part of the punishment of Gemni and Kagemni/Gemnika for involvement in the conspiracy to assassinate Teti.

Keywords: Saqqara – Teti – Kagemni – Teti cemetery – offering bearers

Anthony J. Spalinger

The trope issue of Old Kingdom war reliefs **401**

Abstract: A discussion of the repeated topos of the Libyan enemy in Old Kingdom royal depictions. The presence of this one common enemy of Egypt within repeated

written and pictorial sources from the Old Kingdom parallels indicates a nationalist feeling, one connected to the self-identity of the Egyptians, can be traced to a very early time in history. Of great importance is that this “theme” persists throughout Egyptian history. Libyan–Egyptian relations must be seen as not merely hostile in attitude from a primordial era but also as a theme that could be re-used over and over to magnify the kings’ military performances.

Keywords: persistent enemies of Egypt – Libya – Libyan family scene – Pepi I – Pepi II – Sahure – war reliefs

Joris van Wetering

The Macramallah burials, Wadi Abusir, Saqqara

419

Abstract: The Macramallah burials or M burials, found by Rizkallah Macramallah (in 1936) within the lower Wadi Abusir, are for several reasons an atypical feature in the funerary landscape of Saqqara. Here, an interpretation is proposed that links these burials to the funeral of certain members of the royal family of the First Dynasty who were buried within the elite cemetery at North Saqqara. It is argued that these persons formed the household of a high ranking deceased during the period. His body was at the embalming station which was situated at the entrance to the Saqqara necropolis (lower Wadi Abusir). There, the priests took care of the body’s embalming process while the souls of the buried servants took care of the needs of the deceased’s soul. It is also argued that the M burials may be indicative of the arrival of high ranking members of the royal family in the Memphite region during the reign of *Horus Den* (or just before it) which may suggest that Memphis became the capital of the Old Kingdom polity (First Dynasty to Eighth Dynasty) during this reign (mid-First Dynasty).

Keywords: Wadi Abusir – Macramallah burials – embalming stations – First Dynasty – Memphis – capital

Hana Vymazalová – Katarína Arias Kytnarová

The development of tomb AS 68c in Abusir South: burial place of the king’s daughter Sheretnebtj and her family

435

Abstract: The article presents a brief summary of the evidence on the rock-cut tomb of princess Sheretnebtj in Abusir South, and its development over time. The archaeological evidence is complemented by the analysis of pottery finds from the chapel, burial shafts and burial chambers in this tomb.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Abusir South – rock-cut tomb – burial shafts – pottery finds – Sheretnebtj

Hana Vymazalová – Gabriele Pieke

Iti and his statuette from the tomb of Princess Sheretnebtj in Abusir South

451

Abstract: The paper presents a discussion concerning the identity of Iti, an official attested in the tomb of princess Sheretnebtj in Abusir South. The up-to-date available evidence is summarised and analysed in this paper, in order to present the possible explanations for Iti’s identity, as either the princess’ husband or her offspring.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Abusir South – rock-cut tomb – serdab – statuette – Sheretnebtj – Iti

Leslie Anne Warden

Serdab, cult, and ‘home’: Domestic life and relationships in Old Kingdom mastabas

467

Abstract: Serdabs housed statues of the deceased, acting as a supplementary home for the deceased’s *ka*. They have been understood to provide a point of participation for his cult. Closer examination of the corpus of tombs with serdabs shows that the role of this architectural feature was dependent in part upon its location: in the offering

room itself, the rooms before or after the offering chamber, or external to the chapel. Distinct locational traditions dominated Saqqara vs. Giza tombs, but within that framework there was a place for individual decision making in the number and location of serdabs placed in a tomb. Different locations served different purposes, with specific statuary types correlating to specific serdab locations. When both location and statuary are considered together, the serdabs appear to mimic spheres of the home in all of its multiple levels of decorum, with the formality increasing as the serdabs were placed in conceptually more 'private' areas of the mastaba. The serdab was not a simple addition or insurance for the cult of the deceased. Serdabs, especially those located outside of the offering chamber, were rather focused on recreating the home in a conceptual (rather than architectural) manner and establishing bonds to family. The serdab and its statuary thus served as a compliment to the cultic and ideological concerns apparent in the artistic program and the architecture of the tomb.

Keywords: serdab – mastaba – Old Kingdom – Saqqara – Giza – Abusir – statuary – architecture – kinship

Ayano Yamada

Some remarks on the evolution of the workers organization of the pyramid construction in the Old Kingdom through the examination of the so-called Mason's mark. **489**

Abstract: As transforming the volume and construction method of pyramids changed, it is assumed that the number of workers and their organization also necessarily changed. Although this assumption has been discussed in previous studies, the first appearance of the workers' organization named 'pr and its formation in the Fifth–Sixth Dynasty needs further consideration. This paper then reinterprets the phased development of the workers' organization as a stage through an analysis of the ratio of the appearance of the masons' mark. In addition, the factors which strongly influenced the changes in the worker's organization are examined.

As a result of the analysis, no team marks or names of organizations had appeared in the Third Dynasty (First stage). Some phyle-signs' team marks first appeared on the north pyramid in Dahshur, in the reign of Snefer (Second stage). The 'pr team name prefixed with the King's name (crew name) also appeared in this reign, but it is incised on a copper chisel, not painted on the stone. In the Third stage, from Khufu to Menkaure, a typical style of the workers' organization was completed: the crew name – phyle-signs' team mark – a single sign that refers to the smallest workers' group. According to Roth and other studies, it has been suggested that most of the names of those workers' organizations were involved with nautical terms. However, the oldest example where the sign of 'pr with the King's name was written is a copper chisel. In other words, the crew name may not be derived from nautical terms; it seems that originally it was the name of the carpenters' group. As well as changing society, innovations and improvements to do with the construction technology of the pyramid were spectacular during the First to Third stages. Because the timing of construction innovations and the stage of each change corresponded to each other, it can be inferred that the changes in the workers' organization at that time were forced by technical and physical necessity. After the middle of the Fifth Dynasty, interesting inscriptions were written that show the names of high officials and their titles (Fourth stage). In this case, the political and economic aspects of that period, and especially "the collapse of the Old Kingdom", were affected rather than the technical factors.

Keywords: workers' organization – formation – stage – factor – 'pr

Mohammad M. Youssef – Břetislav Vachala

Vier Grabplatten mit Opfertischszene aus Saqqara und Abusir

503

Abstract: Four interesting funerary limestone relief slabs were discovered in the Memphite necropolis in the past, which remained yet unpublished and are so far unknown.

Two of them were discovered in 1966 in the area to the west of the Nefer tomb, near the Unas causeway in Saqqara, by Ahmed Moussa (reg. nos. 16204a, 16204b), and the third one in 1994 on the western border of the contemporary Muslim cemetery at Abusir by Mohammad M. Youssef (reg. no. 19156). The central dominant motif in the decoration of these slabs represents the offering-table scene, where the owner receives various kinds of offerings. Their names are occasionally added. The owners of the stelae are Tisatjet (m.; reg. no. 16204a), Nesptah (f.; reg. no. 16204b) and Denegnefer (m.; reg. no. 19156). One can suggest to date the slabs to the late Archaic Period (mid Second Dynasty: reg. no. 16204a; late Second Dynasty: reg. no. 19156) and the early Old Kingdom (late Third Dynasty: reg. no. 16204b). A similar limestone relief slab belonging to an unknown person was recently found in the South Abusir cemetery by the Czech mission (exc. no. 15/AS 39/2013). Its possible dating is early Fourth Dynasty.

Keywords: funerary relief slabs – Saqqara – Abusir – mortuary cult – funerary repast

THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

Jan-Michael Dahms – Elisabeth Kruck

Ipiemsaef: a new insight into his tomb, his coffin, and his burial equipment 513

Abstract: In 1906/07 J.E. Quibell excavated the tomb of Ipiemsaef and Khenu in the Teti Cemetery in Saqqara. Although it was intact little attention was paid to the burial as well as to the associated coffins. Furthermore the inscriptions of the coffin of Ipiemsaef (Sq8C) are not part of A. de Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts. The article introduces new aspects of the textual compilation of the coffin of Ipiemsaef which includes new parallels for the Nut-texts as well as for p.Gardiner II, and it presents new ideas concerning the burial arrangement and its dating.

Keywords: Ipiemsaef – Khenu – J. E. Quibell – Teti Cemetery – Saqqara – Sq8C

Zahi Hawass

The statue of Dedu-Amon 527

Abstract: The article provides a detailed description of a statue of Dedu-Amon, currently in the private collection of Heide Betz (San Francisco). The serpentine statue of Dedu-Amon as a standing man, striding forward, can be dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty based on a comparison with similar statues.

Keywords: Middle Kingdom – Thirteenth Dynasty – statuary – private collection

Ken Yazawa

The late Middle Kingdom shaft tombs in Dahshur North 531

Abstract: Since most of the Middle Kingdom shaft tombs in Egypt have been thoroughly plundered, until now analyses of cemeteries have relied on the patchy evidence of the remaining objects. However, the subterranean structure of the tombs was usually unaffected by robbery. It is possible to complement the lack of information and obtain an overall view of the cemeteries by analyzing these structures. This paper classifies the shaft tombs in Dahshur North by form and size, and then examines the relationship between date, social status of the owner and the result of the classification. Orientation of the shaft tombs is also investigated, and the result describes its significant relationship to the funerary landscape of the Saqqara–Dahshur region.

Keywords: Dahshur North – Middle Kingdom – shaft tomb – social status – funerary landscape

THE NEW KINGDOM

Robert Parker*An undisturbed minor burial in the Teti Cemetery*

545

Abstract: The discovery of an undisturbed burial is of importance for several reasons; it affords context to the burial assemblage which hints at the significance attached to the various objects interred by the people that performed the burial. It also provides a glimpse of possible social conditions such as wealth and status as applied to the deceased. Non-elite burials contain a wealth of information on the lower classes of Memphite society thereby representing a 'silent majority' who mainly speak to us not through biographies, monuments or inscriptions but through the nature, context and origin of their funerary assemblage.

Macquarie University, through the Australian Centre for Egyptology under the directorship of Naguib Kanawati, found such a burial during excavations in the Teti cemetery in January, 2008. Located in the N–W sector of the cemetery this intact minor burial contained several bodies complete with almost thirty artefacts including a large amount of imported ceramics.

Analysis of the previously unpublished contents will suggest the burial to have occurred either during the reigns of Hatshepsut or more likely Thutmose III. Context and type of artefact illustrate the possible burial practices of the common man at this period of Egypt's history. Further this interment will be compared with other minor burials in the Teti cemetery in an attempt to gain a more balanced understanding of this burial type.

Keywords: context – Cypriote – intact – minor burial – trade

Stéphane Pasquali*Les fouilles d'Auguste Mariette Saqqara (1858–1875). Les tombeaux du Nouvel Empire*

557

Abstract: A study about an important part of Auguste Mariette's excavations at the necropolis of Saqqara by means of archives of the time (handwritten and photographic archives of Théodule Devéria, the 'inventaire de Boulaq', etc.). The list of all inscribed objects from the New Kingdom is provided.

Keywords: Saqqara – Abydos – Auguste Mariette – Théodule Devéria – Boulaq Museum

Maarten J. Raven*What the butler saw: the life and times of Ptahemwia, royal butler at Memphis*

583

Abstract: Ptahemwia was royal butler in Memphis, presumably during the reigns of Akhenaten and Tutankhamun. His tomb was found in 2007 by the joint Expedition of the Leiden Museum and Leiden University in the New Kingdom cemetery at Saqqara. It contains a number of wall-reliefs and inscriptions which, together with the architectural information and the remains of the funerary gifts, allow us to reconstruct Ptahemwia's biography. This information also helps to reconstruct the various tasks of a royal butler in general and provides further details on the political climate at Memphis during the Amarna and post-Amarna period.

Keywords: Memphis – Saqqara – Ptahemwia – royal butler – Amarna period – Tutankhamun

Nico Staring*Toward a prosopography of New Kingdom tomb owners in the Memphite necropolis*

593

Abstract: This contribution takes as its point of departure the observation that the relationship between individual tombs in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara is still poorly understood and that no coherent internal patterns have been established. The organisation of this vast elite necropolis and the spatial distribution of tombs therein are here studied by analysing the prosopographical data of 448 individuals:

the tomb owners. After introducing the prosopographical method and its challenges, in particular as concerning the case study of Saqqara, its research potential will be demonstrated. The distribution of tombs according to the titles (occupational, rank, and honorific) of their owners and the observable changing patterns through time provide a first, tentative indication for the rationale of their distribution. Since the location of a majority of New Kingdom tombs is today lost, knowledge of the rationale underlying tomb placement is pivotal to allow for making statements about the original appearance and development of this necropolis. This research potential is illustrated with selected case studies.

Keywords: New Kingdom – Prosopography – spatial analysis – tomb placement – titles

LATE PERIOD AND BEYOND

Renata Landgráfová – Filip Coppens – Jiří Janák – Diana Míčková

Myth and ritual in the burial chamber of the shaft tomb of Iufaa at Abusir: Snakes and snake-like beings **613**

Abstract: The shaft tomb of Iufaa at Abusir dates to the turn of the Twenty-Sixth and Twenty-Seventh dynasties and the extent of its interior decoration is unique among Late Period tombs. Only the Theban tomb of Padiamenipe (TT33) contains a similar range and extent of texts and representations. The unfinished western wall of Iufaa's burial chamber, as well as the upper part of the northern wall, contain a number of representations of snakes and snake-like creatures alongside their accompanying texts. Snakes similar to some of these creatures can be found in the 6th hour of the Amduat, that is, the deepest regions of the Underworld, whereas others have been identified on the astronomical ceiling at Esna, as well as in Papyrus Jumilhac. The northern wall of the burial chamber, which is the focus of the present paper, is almost entirely taken up by the text of the ritual of the purification of the Egyptian king, adapted for Iufaa. A comparison of the motifs in the text of the ritual indicated that the short mythological compositions and allusions to mythological events that accompany the snake-like beings hold, in fact, the myths that explain and underlie the various actions of the purification ritual.

Keywords: Abusir – Late Period – shaft tomb – Iufaa – snakes

Hassan Nasr el-Dine

La répartition des cimetières saïtes à Saqqara **627**

Abstract: Ce travail a essayé de mieux comprendre la répartition des cimetières de Basse Époque, et l'évolution de la nécropole à travers les époques tardives, y compris l'époque ptolémaïque. Pour aborder le sujet, on a tenté de présenter les tombes dont l'emplacement bien connues, puis celles dont l'emplacement est inconnu. Ensuite, on a indiqué les parties différentes où se regroupes ces tombes: au sud de la pyramide d'Ounas, sur l'emplacement du temple bas d'Ounas, dans le secteur au nord de la chaussée d'Ounas, autour de la pyramide d'Ouserkaf, autour du complexe de Djéser et entre la monastère de St. Jérémie et l'enceinte de Sekhemkhet.

Keywords: Saqqara – Basse Époque – Saïte – Bakenrenef – tombe – nécropole – cimetière – emplacement connu et inconnu

Květa Smoláriková

Some remarks on the architectural and religious aspects of the Late Period's shaft tombs **641**

Abstract: From an architectural point of view the construction of the Late Period's shaft tomb kept certain rules: its superstructure consists of a huge enclosure wall with a square plan, in front of the eastern wall could be a mortuary cult installation; but the feature most typical is a massive limestone burial chamber with vaulted roof and lavishly decorated walls, built at the foot of a huge and deep main shaft. This is

connected with the surface by narrow vertical subsidiary shaft(s) and long horizontal passage(s) starting from the bottom; and one cannot omit the embalmer's deposit strictly situated to the southern part, more precisely to the SW-corner of the funeral complex. And I would like to stress the latter feature especially, because it seems – judging from our research – that location of embalming remnants had direct connection with religious texts depicted on the southern walls of the burial chamber. Here, beside a list of offerings, a series of Spells from the Pyramid Texts mentioning resurrection were clearly identified. My central concern here is to examine these particular Spells in both religious and cultural contexts, using the background in architectural disposition.

Keywords: Late Period – shaft tomb – burial chamber – Pyramid Texts – Embalmer's deposit

VARIA

Hana Navratilova

Miscellanea Graffitica I

649

Abstract: *Miscellanea Graffitica* fill in on different aspects of graffiti studies in the Memphite area. The paper revisits 1) aspects of graffiti research methodology and research history, 2) archived records of the texts from the temple of Userkaf including visitors' graffiti, and 3) a Ramesside figural graffito found in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur, which is part of an extensive graffiti corpus dating to the New Kingdom that includes both textual and figural graffiti. It is a testimony to ancient skill and craftsmanship and its unusual features resemble period ostraca produced in the communities of Western Thebes, including Deir el-Medina. The character of the drawing inspires a reading of the piece as a caricature or satirical portrait showing upturned ideals of Egyptian elites. The piece inspires hypotheses regarding not only assumed purposes (or lack of) of the drawing, but also its wider social setting. The apparent skill of the maker is also an indicator of his social position and invites speculations about the community of workmen or artists.

Keywords: Graffiti – visitors – draughtsmen – scribes – epigraphy – Memphis – New Kingdom

Christian Orsenigo

James E. Quibell records on Saqqara in the archives of Alexandre Varille

675

Abstract: This paper provides an overview of some archival materials from James E. Quibell archive, which is preserved at the Università degli Studi di Milano (State University of Milan, Italy). This wealth of materials (more than 3500 photographic prints, notebooks, etc.) is the object of an on-going project supported by a grant from The Michela Schiff Giorgini Foundation started in 2014. The paper presents some general considerations that emerged from the analysis of the photographs and illustrates through some different case studies the importance of the discovery of this documentation as well as that of the handwritten one. Besides documenting the major discoveries made by Quibell in Saqqara, the archival materials preserved in Milan is precious not only for the archaeological research *stricto sensu*, but also for the history of antiquities collecting and provides plenty of information on how could be working in Saqqara at the beginning of the XXth Century.

Keywords: Egyptological Archives – Università degli Studi di Milano – James E. Quibell – Saqqara

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Foreword

Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens and Jaromír Krejčí

The *Abusir and Saqqara* meetings have been organised already four times by the Czech Institute of Egyptology at the Charles University in Prague – in 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015 (Bárta and Krejčí, eds. 2000; Coppens, ed. 2002; Bárta, Coppens and Krejčí, eds. 2005 and Bárta, Coppens and Krejčí, eds. 2011). Over the years this event has become an established tradition to look forward to. Indeed, taking place every five years, it has developed into an effective and informative platform bringing scholars up to date with the most recent developments in the field, at Abusir and Saqqara in particular, but also taking into consideration the neighbouring pyramid fields as well as all other evidence and research relevant for gaining a better understanding of the primary subject of the conference. Scholars of Egyptian archaeology, philology, art history, anthropology, natural sciences and other disciplines active on the pyramid fields, but also colleagues whose works elsewhere has an impact on the history of the pyramid fields, meet for a week to discuss the latest development and discoveries in their respective fields and establish further cooperation.

It was not different during the last meeting that took place in Prague during June 22–26, 2015. In the present volume we offer 43 contributions by 53 scholars covering different fields and periods. The overwhelming number of the 31 contributions is dedicated to various aspects of Old Kingdom archaeology and most present specific aspects linked with archaeological excavations, both past and present. The successive period of the Middle Kingdom is represented by three studies; the New Kingdom period features four and the Late Period three articles, respectively. Finally, the volume is closed with two more studies which cannot be strictly dated to a specific period. The very nature of the individual contributions reflects well the current situation in Egyptology characterized by a focus on archaeology, the theory of artefacts, iconographic and art historian studies, and the research of largely unpublished archival materials. What is – rather unfortunately given the present state of affairs – in great demand are multidisciplinary projects making use of the current hi-tech standards in world archaeology. Such projects in most cases fail due to the current restrictions in sampling strategies and subsequent analyses, unlike, for instance, in Sudanese archaeology. As long as this situation persists, hardly any significant progress in the current quality of Egyptian archaeology and Egyptology in general can be envisaged.

The final but perhaps most important and heartfelt words are going to our dear colleague and friend Nicole Alexanian. This fine German scholar and close friend of many of us was made to leave this world too early. She devoted her professional career to the study of the Old Kingdom period, site, tombs and the Dahshur pyramid field in particular. She was the author of many stimulating articles and studies and a monograph on the tomb of Netjeraperef. In accord with her family, we take the liberty to dedicate the present volume to her. We are convinced that her name and memory will remain everlasting and will thus fulfil one of the most important wishes of the Ancient Egyptians – achieving endless and blessed presence through your deeds and thoughts. It is the very hope of the editors that she would enjoy the current volume and discussions on many themes emerging through the rich collection of the texts presented below.

It is probably not out of place here to thank all the contributors for their cooperation during the editorial process. Our sincere thanks go to Jolana Malátková and Martin Odler for their invaluable help during the preparation of the volumes and to the Serifa publishing house. We also wish to thank all members of our institute for their help and encouragement.

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Inhumations privées dans la nécropole de Pépy I^{er}

Rémi Legros

Les travaux de la MAFS, depuis plus de cinquante ans, ont permis d'accroître considérablement notre connaissance de la zone de Saqqâra-sud. La fouille de *Ppy-Mn-Nfr* – dont le nom est supposé être à l'origine de celui de Memphis – permet désormais de proposer un premier bilan de l'activité sur cette partie du site et de sa continuité d'occupation à travers les âges.

L'étendue des découvertes ne permet pas une étude systématique dans le cadre d'un tel article. L'objectif de cette communication sera donc de brosser à grands traits, période après période, un tableau des activités privées, pratiques cultuelles et inhumations, au sein de la nécropole pour montrer comment elle était reconnue et utilisée par les différentes populations qui s'y sont succédé.¹

De la VI^e dynastie à la fin du Moyen Empire (Fig. 1)

Cette première grande phase se caractérise par une continuité du culte dans le temple royal.² Bien sûr, les troubles de la PPI ont généré des interruptions ponctuelles, mais, d'une manière globale, le culte du pharaon est toujours pratiqué. La conséquence en est que les inhumations privées demeurent pour la plupart en dehors du temple royal, contenues au delà de son enceinte. Le secteur dévolu aux complexes des reines, probablement délimité par une seconde enceinte, était quant à lui investi par le dépôt de tables d'offrandes et de fausses-portes (Fig. 1), témoignages de dévotion populaire envers les souveraines (Legros 2016, 235–253).

La fin de l'Ancien Empire

L'organisation de la nécropole témoigne d'aménagements progressifs par rapport à un programme initial qui n'est que partiellement appliqué. Ainsi, le secteur des reines n'est pas fixé définitivement et évolue au gré des circonstances et de l'installation de nouveaux complexes. Pour cette raison quelques tombes de particuliers ont pu être retrouvées à l'intérieur du complexe d'Ânkhnespépy III (Fig. 1.1). L'une d'elles est d'ailleurs antérieure à la pyramide (Grimal, Adly et Arnaudès 2005, 231).

Cette configuration n'est pourtant pas la plus fréquente et les inhumations des notables, durant la VI^e dynastie, sont généralement maintenues au delà de la nécropole royale. En raison de la configuration topographique des lieux, beaucoup d'entre elles ont dû être reléguées sur le côté ouest. Les recherches dans ce secteur ont été très limitées jusqu'à ce jour, mais la découverte récente de blocs d'un mastaba d'Ouni (Collombert 2015) laissent supposer que des particuliers parmi les plus influents étaient inhumés là (Fig. 1.2). Les images satellites modernes comme les anciennes cartes confirment d'ailleurs la densité des installations sur toute la zone qui s'étend en direction de la nécropole de Mérenrê (de Morgan 1897, 8).

¹ Ce travail repose essentiellement sur un dépouillement des archives de la mission. Outre le rapport annuel publié dans les *Orientalia*, j'ai consulté les rapports internes inédits rédigés par A. Labrousse. À l'exception de très rares exemples, il est l'inventeur de toutes les découvertes évoquées dans cette communication et ma dette est grande à son égard. Pour les aspects techniques liés à l'inventaire du mobilier, je remercie également P. Péro.

² L'architecture du temple sous la VI^e dynastie fait l'objet d'une monographie, actuellement sous presse à l'IFAO : A. Labrousse, *Le temple funéraire du roi Pépy I^{er}. Le temps de la construction*.

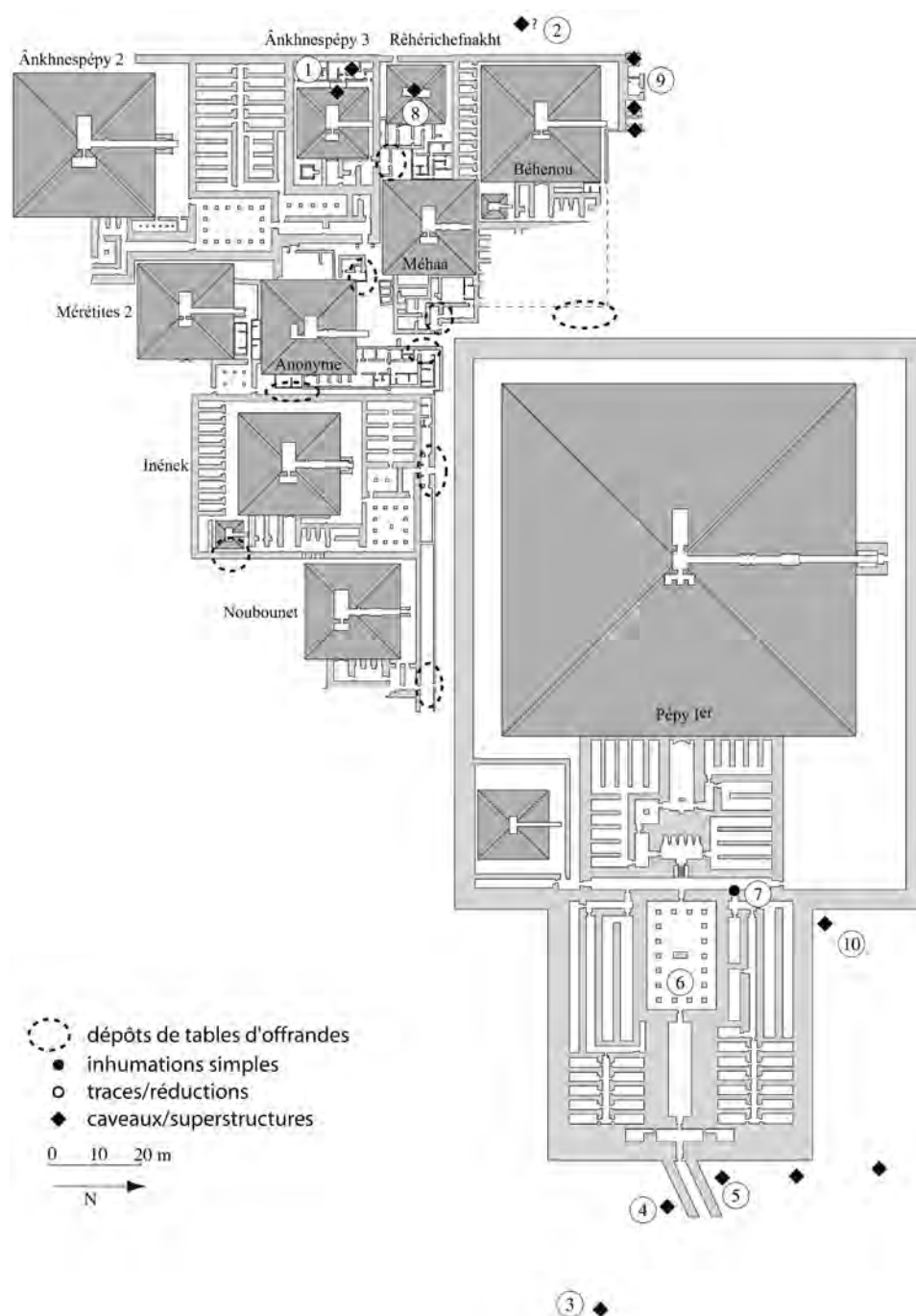


Fig. 1. Plan général de la nécropole de Pépy I^{er}, occupation à l'Ancien et au Moyen Empires.

La face est de la nécropole est traditionnellement un secteur de choix même si, dans le cas particulier de ce site, l'espace disponible est assez réduit. Un mastaba a néanmoins été retrouvé à l'occasion d'un sondage, à quelques dizaines de mètres à l'est du mur d'enceinte du roi, au sud de la chaussée montante (Fig. 1.3).³ Peut-être ce mastaba se trouvait-il d'ailleurs au delà d'un second mur d'enceinte, qui n'a pas été dégagé à ce jour, mais qui devait se trouver ici, englobant l'ensemble des complexes de reines.

Assez rapidement l'espace intermédiaire entre les deux enceintes⁴ est investi par les particuliers, probablement dès le règne de Pépy II. Certaines sépultures ont été

³ Ce mastaba appartenait à un dénommé Méryrê-ânkh qui est notamment *khenty-ché* de la pyramide de Pépy I^{er} (Leclant et Clerc 1989, 363, figs. 29–30).

⁴ Cet espace n'existe a priori que sur le côté est de la nécropole. Ailleurs, il est occupé par les complexes des reines.

retrouvées et semblent dater de la fin de la VI^e dynastie. C'est le cas par exemple de la tombe de Hémy (Leclant 1977, 244 ; Leclant 1984, 367), au sud de la chaussée montante (Fig. 1.4). D'autres inhumations de ce secteur le long de la façade du temple sont plus tardives et renvoient vraisemblablement à la période héracléopolitaine. La tombe d'Imi, du côté nord de la chaussée (Fig. 1.5) a livré une fausse-porte assez caractéristique de la fin de la PPI.⁵

Le Moyen Empire

Alors que la reconquête de l'Égypte sous Montouhotep II semble brutalement mettre un terme aux activités dans la nécropole de Pépy I^{er} (Leclant 1983, 483), une restauration a lieu assez rapidement, peut-être dès la fin de la XI^e dynastie.⁶ Le culte du roi est repris, sous une forme beaucoup plus réduite (Leclant et Clerc 1986, 258–259), mais à l'instigation des plus hautes autorités de l'État (Berger 1990).⁷

Les cultes privés, dont témoigne le dépôt de petits monuments par les particuliers, semblent cesser dans la nécropole des reines pour se concentrer désormais dans l'enceinte du temple royal (principalement des statues).⁸ Cet espace (Fig. 1.6) est alors réservé à des personnages influents, en lien direct avec le culte du pharaon (Leclant et Berger 1996).

Le temple royal étant toujours en activité, les particuliers ne peuvent y installer les inhumations, du moins pas dans les secteurs toujours opérationnels. Une tombe, aménagée dans l'embrasement d'une porte⁹, dans la partie nord du temple (Fig. 1.7), pourrait en revanche constituer l'indice que certaines des salles n'étaient plus utilisées pour le culte officiel.

Le secteur auparavant dévolu aux reines est désormais accessible et l'on observe l'implantation de plusieurs sépultures dans cet espace. L'une des premières (Fig. 1.8) est sans doute celle de Rêhérichefnakht.¹⁰ Monumentale, cette sépulture apparaît comme un véritable complexe avec tombe et temple attenant. D'autres sépultures ont été retrouvées également dans le secteur de la famille royale, notamment au nord de l'enceinte de Béhénou (Fig. 1.9). Enfin, quelques indices laissent supposer que des sépultures ont pu être installées à l'extérieur de l'enceinte, notamment sur le côté nord de la nécropole (Fig. 1.10).

Pour cette première grande phase, on constate donc un certain respect des structures royales, lié à la continuité relative des rites en rapport avec le pharaon. Les conditions d'accès, apparemment très strictes au départ, s'adoucissent progressivement et les particuliers entrent peu à peu dans des espaces qui leur étaient jusqu'alors inaccessibles. Seul le temple royal est encore épargné, même si quelques intrusions ponctuelles annoncent déjà l'occupation massive des périodes suivantes.

Le Nouvel Empire (Fig. 2)

La Deuxième Période Intermédiaire n'a pas été reconnue explicitement sur la fouille. Ce hiatus dans notre documentation indique vraisemblablement que la cessation des rites est survenue à ce moment. Pourtant, si le culte royal est abandonné, ce n'est pas le cas pour la nécropole, qui trouve au Nouvel Empire un regain d'intérêt significatif. En effet, plus d'une centaine de tombes ont pu être dégagées pour cette période. Trois cas de figures peuvent être distingués.

⁵ Ces inhumations, au matériel abondant, feront l'objet d'une publication spécifique.

⁶ L'évolution du temple de Pépy I^{er} après l'Ancien Empire fait l'objet d'une publication en cours de finalisation : A. Labrousse, *Le temple funéraire de Pépy I^{er}. Le temps de la destruction*.

⁷ Les cartouches de Sésostri II et III, notamment, sont attestés (Leclant 1983, 483 ; Leclant et Clerc 1987, 318), ainsi qu'un Aménemhat (Leclant et Clerc 1986, 259, fig. 33).

⁸ Cf. Leclant 1975, 207 ; Leclant 1978, 280 et 281 ; Leclant 1982, 433, fig. 23–24. Voir aussi Leclant et Clerc 1986, 259, fig. 35 ; Leclant et Clerc 1987, 318, figs. 35–36.

⁹ Porte T (Leclant 1975, 208–209).

¹⁰ La datation de ce monument n'est pas certaine et varie entre la fin de la XI^e dynastie et le début de la XII^e (Berger–El Naggar et Labrousse 2005 ; Grimal, Adly et Arnaudès, 2006, 215–216).

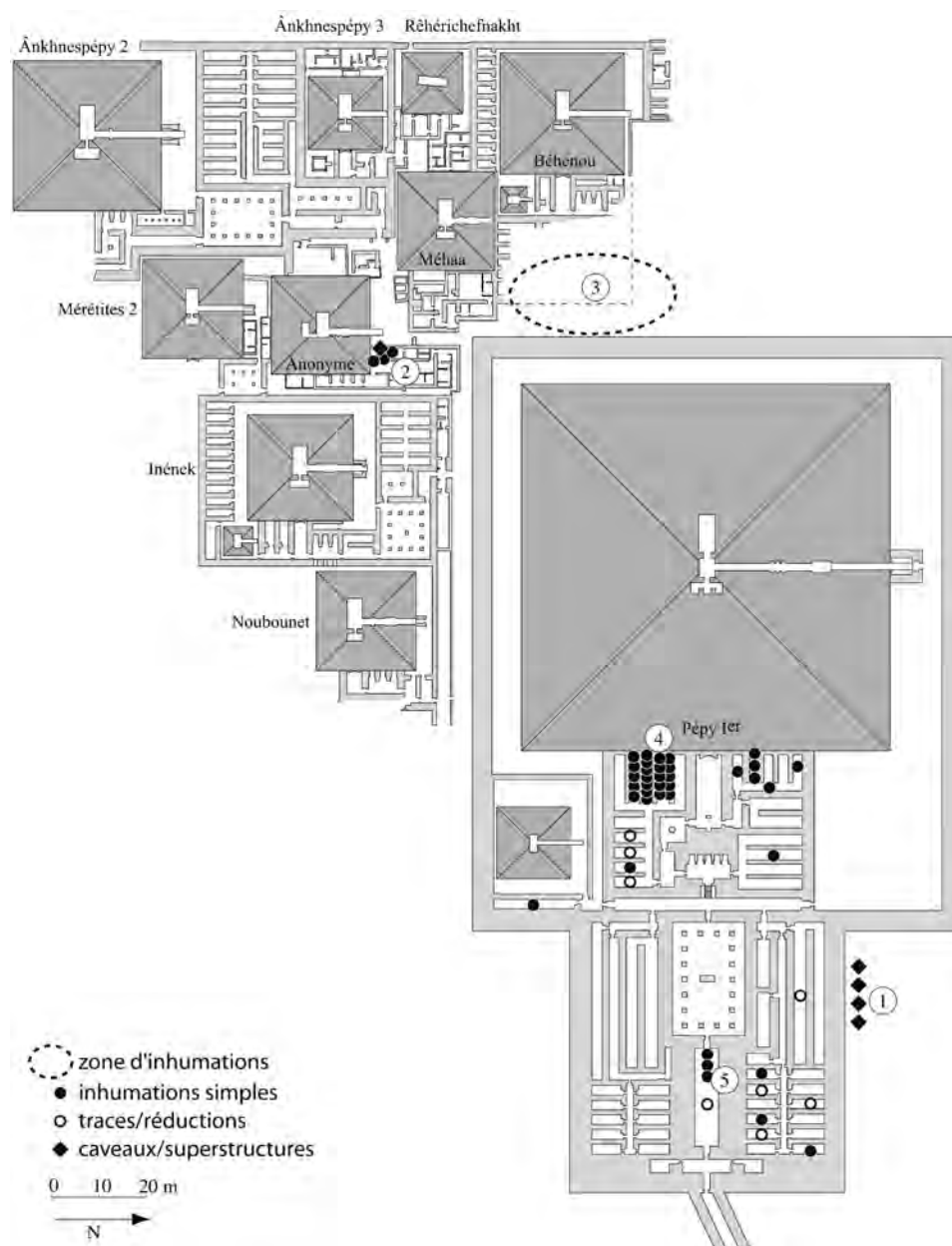


Fig. 2. Plan général de la nécropole de Pépy I^{er}, occupation au Nouvel Empire.

Certaines inhumations, juste effleurées par la fouille, montrent que des particuliers sont venus installer leur sépulture en dehors de l'enceinte du roi, en particulier le long du mur nord de l'avant-temple (Fig. 2.1) et au dessus du temple funéraire du complexe anonyme *Sw* (Fig. 2.2 : Leclant et Clerc 1990, 364).

Un autre ensemble assez développé se trouvait à l'ouest du complexe royal, installé sur les ruines du complexe de la reine Béhenou (Fig. 2.3). Là, plus d'une trentaine de sépultures ont pu être dégagées.¹¹ Elles ne tiennent pas compte des structures préexistantes, déjà détruites à cette époque par les carriers. Les personnes inhumées sont apparemment de rang modeste : le mobilier est très simple, voire inexistant ;¹² les sarcophages, à l'exception notable d'un exemplaire en terre cuite, sont généralement de simples caisses, le plus souvent sans décoration.

¹¹ Je dois les informations sur cette nécropole à Xavier Hénaff, qui en dirige la fouille depuis 2014 et en prépare la publication. La limite nord de ce secteur d'inhumations n'a pas encore été atteinte et d'autres sépultures sont à envisager.

¹² L'absence de tout mobilier funéraire pour beaucoup d'inhumations ne permet pas d'exclure catégoriquement une extension chronologique jusqu'à la Basse Époque.

Le troisième ensemble est de loin le plus complet et le plus riche. Il s'agit des inhumations réalisées dans le temple même du roi. Celles-ci sont installées principalement dans les magasins du temple, qu'elles réutilisent en guise de superstructure. À raison de plusieurs inhumations par magasin, et sachant que certains étaient construits sur deux niveaux, il faut considérer que ce bâtiment devait à l'époque ressembler à une sorte de catacombe (Fig. 2.4). Beaucoup de ces inhumations ont été perturbées et d'autres détruites. L'action des carriers, qui ont démantelé le bâtiment, a eu pour conséquence de faire disparaître un certain nombre d'entre elles et, si certains secteurs du temple apparaissent aujourd'hui vierges de sépultures sur le plan que nous proposons, il s'agit avant tout d'une conséquence de ces destructions (Leclant 1979, 362–363). Il est légitime de penser que l'ensemble du bâtiment était rempli de ces inhumations du Nouvel Empire.

L'étude complète de ce matériel reste à faire et les considérations chronologiques devront faire l'objet d'une attention particulière.¹³ Les inhumations les plus précoces pourraient remonter à la XVIII^e dynastie¹⁴ alors que les plus tardives vont au moins jusqu'à la XXII^e.

Il est important de rappeler ici que la nécropole de Pépy I^{er} a fait l'objet d'une restauration par Khaémouaset, le fils de Ramses II, comme l'attestent les fragments d'inscription qui ont été retrouvés près de la pyramide du roi, dans le périclès sud (Leclant et Clerc 1994, 385 et figs. 22–23). Cette restauration aurait eu lieu alors que l'endroit était déjà en activité en tant que nécropole privée puisque les premières inhumations sont apparemment antérieures. Et si elles continuent ensuite bien au delà, on notera toutefois qu'aucune sépulture de particulier n'a été retrouvée dans la salle du culte royal à proprement parler. Peut-être faut-il y voir une prise en considération de la nature particulière de cette pièce, pourquoi pas à l'initiative du prince ramesside ?

Le fait est que l'accès au temple est assez rapidement remis en cause. À la fin de cette période, les cheminements sont bloqués et des inhumations, installées par exemple dans la salle qui précède la cour à piliers en bloquent définitivement le passage (Fig. 2.5). Le temple existe toujours, il est connu ainsi que sa vocation originelle, mais le culte du pharaon n'est plus exercé.

Rappelons enfin que toutes ces inhumations sont de qualité très variable. Certaines bénéficient d'un mobilier abondant avec des lots complets d'ouchebtis et de vaisselle funéraire, voire avec des objets de prestige. D'autres sont beaucoup plus modestes, le corps du défunt est alors simplement roulé dans une natte, parfois sans aucun mobilier (Leclant 1979, fig. 9).

La plupart de ces inhumations sont anépigraphes. Quelques exceptions peuvent être relevées, comme par exemple un chevet au nom du <directeur> du double grenier, *Iménémipet* (Leclant 1971, 233 et figs. 28–29). Certains magasins ont également été inscrits sur une paroi avec la titulature du défunt.¹⁵ Enfin, quelques très rares stèles ont pu être retrouvées (Leclant 1983, 483, fig. 29).¹⁶

À partir de la Basse Époque (Fig. 3)

La nécropole de Pépy I^{er}, dans son ensemble, a servi de carrière de pierre dès le Nouvel Empire, comme il a été dit plus haut. Le temple royal toutefois était encore épargné dans sa plus grande partie (Leclant 1978, 280). À partir de la Basse Époque, il semble que les destructions se soient étendues. L'usage en tant que nécropole est

¹³ La publication des inhumations du Nouvel Empire a été confiée à Anne Minault-Gout.

¹⁴ Un fragment de calcaire retrouvé près de la porte d'entrée du temple mentionne un Touthmosis (Leclant 1977, 244).

¹⁵ Notamment sur le jambage de la façade du magasin XXVI. Comparer avec les découvertes similaires du temple d'Ounas (Labrousse, Lauer et Leclant 1973, 37, figs. 22–23).

¹⁶ Le mastaba découvert au dessus du temple du complexe anonyme *Sw*, évoqué plus haut, portait la trace en négatif de l'emplacement de deux stèles, non retrouvées.

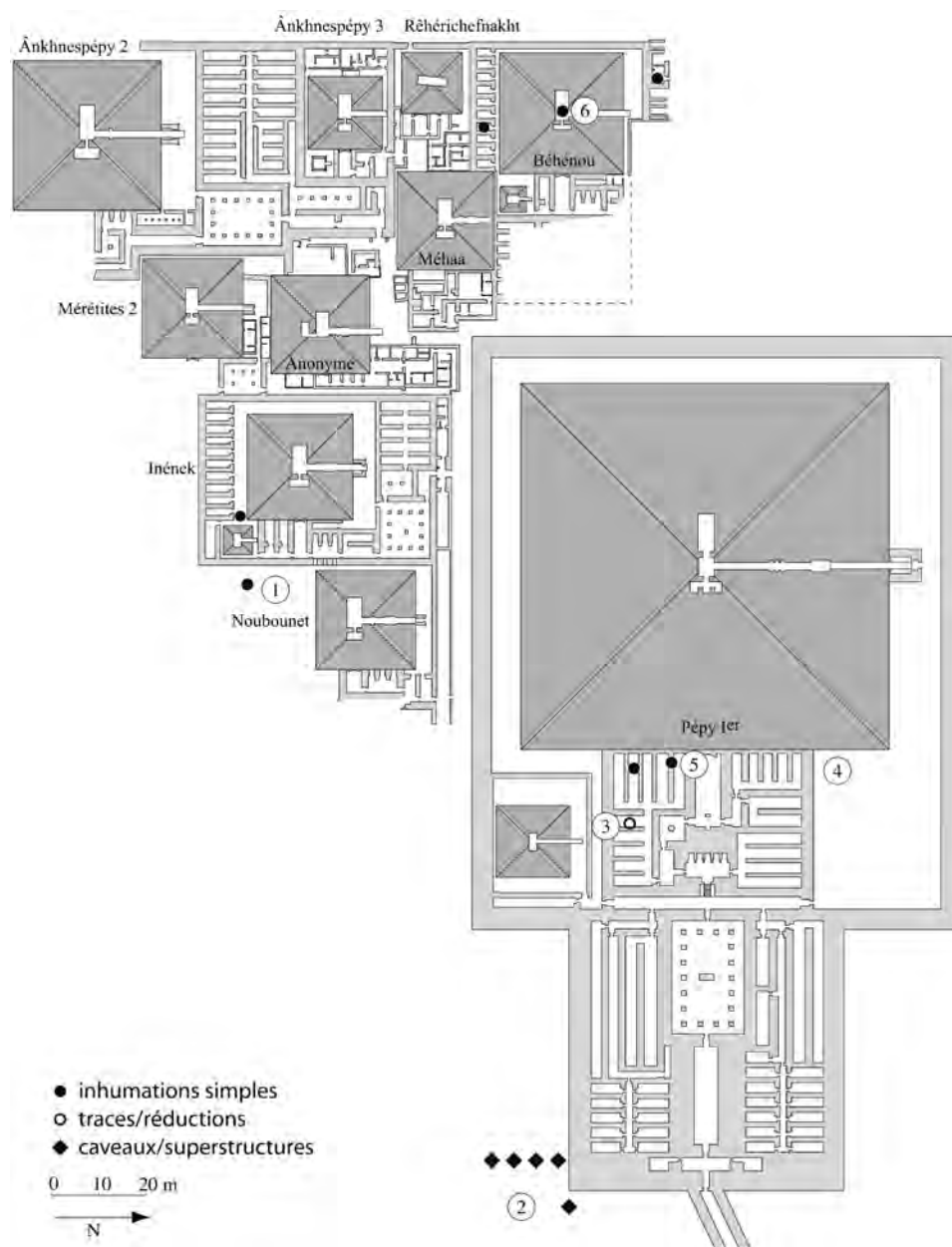


Fig. 3. Plan général de la nécropole de Pépy I^{er}, occupation à partir de la Basse Époque.

toujours attesté, mais de manière très ponctuelle et disparate. Le contexte archéologique pour cette période est très perturbé et les rares indices que l'on retrouve sont essentiellement des petits objets hors contexte. Les amulettes datant de cette période sont très nombreuses et attestent d'une activité funéraire en parallèle à l'action des carriers. Certains de ces petits objets retrouvés dans des inhumations (Clerc 2015, 140, figs. 1–2) montrent une continuité d'occupation, comme l'ensemble découvert au sud du complexe de Noubounet (Fig. 3.1). Quelques amulettes, malgré l'absence de contexte archéologique, fournissent des indications chronologiques intéressantes pour l'ensemble de la nécropole. C'est le cas en particulier de quelques exemplaires réalisés en verre sur noyau, qui datent sans doute de l'époque hellénistique (Clerc 2015, 142–143). Une amulette représentant une grappe de raisin a vraisemblablement été fabriquée entre 325 et 200 av. J.-C. ; une autre, en forme de phallus, entre 200 et 50 av. J.-C.¹⁷

Par ailleurs, certaines structures reconnues à l'angle sud-est de l'enceinte royale laissent à penser qu'un lot de tombes saïtes était installé là (Fig. 3.2). Extérieures au

¹⁷ G. Clerc évoque également une tête féminine dont la datation pourrait aller jusqu'au premier siècle de notre ère (Clerc 2015, 142).

complexe royal, elles sont malgré tout alignées sur lui, ce qui atteste d'une prise en compte du bâtiment originel, au moins architecturale (Leclant et Clerc 1985, 356 et fig. 18).

L'action des carriers elle-même semble s'être faite avec une certaine forme de considération pour les restes humains du Nouvel Empire. Des réductions de sépultures conduisent les gens de l'époque à réaliser des charniers dans lesquels ils rassemblent les dépouilles des inhumations antérieures. Ainsi, dans le magasin VI' (Fig. 3.3), un lot de onze crânes a été déposé, vraisemblablement pour les préserver. Un dépôt de statuettes de bronze (Leclant 1979, 363), retrouvé près de l'angle nord-est de la pyramide (Fig. 3.4), montre encore que la sacralité du lieu était toujours reconnue. L'une des dernières inhumations conservées se trouve probablement au cœur du temple intime, au sommet du mur sud du premier magasin (Fig. 3.5).

Malgré tous ces témoignages de pratiques cultuelles, c'est bien à cette période qu'il faut situer la fin des pratiques funéraires dans la nécropole de Pépy I^{er}. L'abandon du site et son ensablement entraînent une cessation complète d'activité jusqu'au haut moyen-âge.¹⁸ L'activité des carriers reprend finalement de manière intensive avec l'époque mamelouke.

Plus surprenante fut la découverte de rites réalisés au sommet de la pyramide de Béhénou. Alors que la pyramide avait été démantelée depuis un certain temps déjà, son cratère était comblé par le sable éolien. En cet endroit (Fig. 3.6), un rite original a été pratiqué : quarante-neuf vautours ont été retrouvés sacrifiés et enterrés dans des paniers, répartis dans dix-neuf fosses (Grimal, Adly et Arnaudès 2009, 156–157). Il ne s'agit pas de bêtes simplement abattues, mais véritablement sacrifiées car les ailes ont été détachées du corps. De plus, associé à ces « inhumations », on a retrouvé un petit parchemin dans un paquet ficelé, qui porte un texte en pseudo-écriture arabe. Cette découverte, pour le moins atypique, nous montre que cette nécropole, après plus de trois millénaires, bénéficiait toujours, d'une certaine manière, d'une aura de sacralité.

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¹⁸ Quelques rares blocs ont été retrouvés portant une inscription copte.

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