SITTING BESIDE LEPSIUS

Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek
at the Griffith Institute

edited by

D. MAGEE, J. BOURRIAU and S. QUIRKE
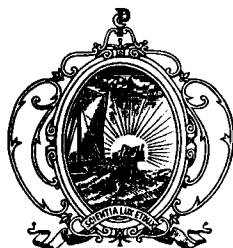
PEETERS

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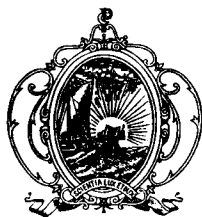and STEPHEN QUIRKE

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PEETERS

ONCE MORE *ḤR*, 'PYRAMID'?

Edward BROVARSKI

More than twenty years ago, I contributed an article to the student journal of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago asserting that the word *ḥr* ⚱△ meant "pyramid" (BROVARSKI 1975-1976, 1-3). My point of departure was a passage from the Abusir papyri *irw ḫt ḥȝw ḥr*, which I translated "those who were performing duties around the pyramid" (POSENER-KRIÉGER and DE CENIVAL 1968, pls. III-IIIA). In an article written in 1979, Hans GOEDICKE took strong exception to my treatment of the passage and proposed an entirely different translation for *ḥr*.

We shall return to Goedicke's article shortly, but first it may serve to review the various interpretations of the word *ḥr*. Petrie and Gauthier thought the term represented the proper name of a specific royal pyramid, although they differed as to which pyramid was intended, the former (PETRIE 1895, 56) being of the opinion that the term represented the pyramid of Mycerinus, while the latter (GAUTHIER 1907, 83; 1927, 33) thought is was that of Djedefre. BREASTED, on the other hand, believed it to be the name of one of the three smaller pyramids beside Mycerinus's own pyramid (1962, 94, n. c). *Wb.* III, 143, 12, interpreted *ḥr* as a name for the Giza plateau, while a number of different authorities thought it represented a general word for any plateau on which the pyramids were erected (BORCHARDT 1894, 92-93; GRDSELOFF 1948, 510-511; GRDSELOFF 1951, 131; FISCHER 1966, 67). In one and the same publication, Junker translated *ḥr* both as "pyramid" and "pyramid plateau of Giza" (JUNKER 1943, 14). It escaped my attention in 1976 that EDEL (1974, § 755) in his grammar of Old Egyptian had also translated *ḥr* "pyramid."

In an earlier publication, GOEDICKE himself (1967, 79) had translated *ḥr*, "Grabanlage." In her masterly translation and commentary to the Abusir papyri, POSENER-KRIÉGER (1968, 23) took exception to Goedicke's interpretation of *ḥr* as "Grabanlage," remarking that it did not make sense that the employees of the funerary temple of Neferirkare would have undertaken a complete tour of the Abusir plateau at morning and night.

POSENER-KRIÉGER (1968, 23) observed that a passage in the decree of Merenre in favor of the cult of Mycerinus, *irt ʿbw nw m ḥr.k ḥwt-nṯr.k*

implies that the *ḥr* was an element of the mortuary installation and, as GOEDICKE (1967, 79) emphasized, that the *ḥr* belonged to the deceased pharaoh. To Posener-Kriéger the *ḥr* represented the most elevated part of the mortuary ensemble, comprising the pyramid and without doubt also the ritual pyramid, as well as the northern installations (if they existed). She notes further that the same distinction between *ḥr* and *ḥwt-nṯr* is emphasized in the Pyramid Texts (SETHE 1960, Pyr. 1277-1278).[1] She translated *irw ḫt ḥȝw ḥr* as "Ceux qui accomplissent le rite autour du tombeau royal."

In the article published in 1979, GOEDICKE notes that the entry *pḥrw m ḥȝ ḥr* in POSENER-KRIÉGER and DE CENIVAL 1968, pl. VII-VIIA is followed by two columns, one listing a *ḥm-nṯr* priest, the other a *ḫnty-š*. The entry follows three others, each one concerned with *šzpw ḳbḥw* "those who receive libation." To Goedicke it seemed clear that a *šzpw ḳbḥw* "receiver of libation" is more likely to be connected with the low-lying part of the royal funerary installation such as the Valley Temple than the Mortuary Temple (1979, 142). To Goedicke this assumption seemed clear from the technical difficulties of transporting cool fresh water to the Mortuary Temple, while in the Valley Temple it would be readily available from the nearby canal.

I am not clear as to the relevancy of this argument to Goedicke's main thesis, since he ultimately maintains that *ḥr* should be understood as the upper area of the royal funerary complex, i.e. the Mortuary Temple in its entirety and the pyramid proper (GOEDICKE 1979, 144). In fact, there is little question that libations of water were made in the offering room or sanctuary at the back of the Mortuary Temple. A system of drainage employed for removing water and other liquids used during the temple ceremonies in the Mortuary Temple of Sahure comprised five stone basins lined with copper in different parts of the inner temple, including one basin in the sanctuary itself (EDWARDS 1985, 165-166). In the case of the offering room of Pepi I a large basin to receive water for libations again survives (LABROUSSE 1991, 90 and fig. on p. 91). In addition, the first entry in the traditional offering list inscribed on the walls of the offering rooms of Mortuary Temples and private tombs alike is "the pouring of water" (BARTA 1963, 47).

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[1] In actual fact, the word for pyramid in Pyr. 1277-1278 is written with an ideograph alone without phonograms, so that the value of the sign is uncertain. However, elsewhere in the Pyramid Texts, *mr* is written; see Pyr. 1650, 1653 c, 1656 b, 1657 b, 1657 d, 1660 b, 1661 c, 1662 c, 1663 c, 1664 c, 1665 c, 1666 c, 1667 c, 1668 c, 1669 b, 1670 c, 1671 c.

Goedicke continues by stating that the repeated entries concerning the supply of libation in POSENER-KRIÉGER and DE CENIVAL 1968, pls. VII/ VIIA are juxtaposed with the entry *pḥrw m ḥȝ ḥr* referring to a service carried out daily by a professional priest *ḥm-nṯr*) and a layman *(ḥnty-š)*. He observes further that *ḥȝw ḥr* 🏺△ as the locale of funerary services occurs also in POSENER-KRIÉGER and DE CENIVAL 1968, pl. IIIb in a heading over four columns, of which two concern the morning service (*ḥt dwȝt*) and two the evening service *(ḥt ḥȝw)*, each being performed by the aforementioned officiants. GOEDICKE (1979, 143) prefers to translate *iri ḥt* "to perform religious rites" (as does Posener-Kriéger), a well known meaning for the clause (*Wb.* I, 124, 9), and his translation is perhaps to be preferred to my more general "performing duties," especially as it is in accord with the mention of "morning" and "evening" offerings. Goedicke goes on that it would seem "most curious" that such rites were to be performed "around the pyramid." According to him, there is no indication that such rites were carried out in any other place than that architecturally designed for this purpose, namely the Valley and the Mortuary Temple.

Goedicke notes in addition that the previously cited passage helps further, as it refers to people who *pḥrw m ḥȝ ḥr* 🏺△. He remarks that the ceremony of *pḥrw ḥȝ inb* (*Wb.* I, 546, 1) might seem a tempting parallel, but is nevertheless misleading as there is no preposition **m ḥȝ*, "around," prior to late Egyptian (*Wb.* III, 10, 1). Thus it becomes necessary to consider the preposition *m* as introducing a noun *ḥȝ*. Such a word used as an architectural designation in conjunction with the royal funeral can only be envisaged as an extension of its basic meaning "behind," "rear."

Goedicke argues that *pḥr ḥȝ* is used idiomatically in Old Egyptian in the sense of "to serve ceremonially" without necessarily requiring a specific perambulatory notion beyond what is required by the cult. In ceremonies not based on perambulation, *ḥȝ* appears to be used in its basic sense of "back, rear," *pḥr ḥȝ* thus describing the "proceeding back" in the ritual performed in the innermost sanctuary away from public observance (1979, 143). Goedicke remarks that the Fifth Dynasty mortuary temples display this ritual aspect clearly in their architectural layout with its complete separation of the cult place in front of the eastern face of the pyramid from the rest of the Mortuary Temple. As the essential funerary cult for the deceased king was performed there, it is a justified assumption that this service should be reflected in the priestly records of the Abusir papyri.

As previously noted, according to Goedicke *ḥȝ ḥr* ⚜△ should be understood as the upper area of the royal funerary complex, i.e; the Mortuary Temple in its entirety and the pyramid proper. In connecton with the performance of ceremonies pertaining to the funerary cult, only the former would constitute an appropriate setting. Thus the entry in POSENER-KRIÉGER and DE CENIVAL 1968, pl. VIIi *phrw m ḥȝ ḥr* can be rendered "those who proceed in back of the upper, i.e., the Mortuary Temple." Goedicke thinks such a rendering makes equally good sense in the heading POSENER-KRIÉGER and DE CENIVAL 1968, pl. IIIb, *irw ḥt ḥȝ ḥr*, "those who perform the rites back of the mortuary temple." The architectural situation in the Fifth Dynasty mortuary temples conforms to this interpretation, where there are cult places behind the Mortuary Temple proper directly in front of the pyramid's east face.

To Goedicke the interpretation of *ḥȝ ḥr* as ⚜△ as "behind the mortuary temple" is corroborated by the third occurrence of the expression in POSENER-KRIÉGER and DE CENIVAL 1968, pl. Vb. According to him the entry reads: *nty m rs grḥ m sbȝ (?) n rȝw-šnʿw mḥty m wȝt ḥm-nṯr pḥr.f ḥȝ ḥr*, "who is on night watch in the doorway to the storeroom, which is north of the path of the *ḥm-nṯr*-priest when he proceeds in back of the upper, i.e., Mortuary Temple." GOEDICKE (1979, 145) evidently identifies "the path of the *ḥm-nṯr*-priest" with the axial path of the mortuary temple which culminates in the chamber with five niches on its west side (and perhaps also the passageway that leads out of the south side of this room and continues to the chamber directly against the pyramid's east wall). He thinks the reference in POSENER-KRIÉGER and DE CENIVAL 1968, pl. Vb apparently concerns the northern of two rooms (each supported by a column) located on either side of the entrance to the chamber with five niches that provide access in their turn to a group of magazines. That this chamber was so big that it needed a supporting column fits well its use as a station for a night guard (GOEDICKE 1979, 146).

To bolster his claim that that *phr ḥȝ* is used idiomatically in Old Egyptian in the sense of "to serve ceremonially" without necessarily requiring a specific perambulatory notion, Goedicke cites *Pyr. Übers.* III, 34. But Sethe does not assign this meaning to *phr ḥȝ* at all. He simply says that *phr ḥȝ* "herumgehen um" appears four times in the representations on the walls of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Deir el-Bahari (see NAVILLE 1895, pls. 10-11). *Wb.* I, 545, 12, similarly translates *phr ḥȝ r sp 4* at Deir el-Bahari as "zu vier Malen herumgehen" and adds "als Ceremonie beim Reinigen mit Wasser." Goedicke's translation of *phr ḥȝ* as "serve ceremonially" completely ignores the basic meaning of *phr* which incorporates

the notions of "turn, turn about," "revolve," "travel around," "circu-mambulate" (*Wb.* I, 544, 12-547, 7; FAULKNER 1964, 93).

Moreover, just as *Wb.* III, 10, 10-11, records no preposition **m-ḥ3* prior to the New Kingdom, so *Wb.* III, 8, 10-11, gives no references for *ḥ3* "rear" of a bulding prior to Ramesside times.[2] The earlier word for the "rear" of a building is *pḥwy. Wb.* I, 536, 2-3, does not give *pḥwy* with the meaning "end, last room, rear of a structure" before the New Kingdom. Nevertheless, according to *Wb.* I, 536, 1, *pḥwy*, "stern" of a ship, occurs already in the Old Kingdom (cf. JONES 1988, 164 [53]). *Pḥwy*, "end" or "rear" of a house, first appears with certainty in the course of the First Intermediate Period (DUNHAM 1937, 81-82).

As we have seen, Goedicke identifies the "storeroom, which is north of the path of the *ḥm-nṯr*-priest," with the northern of two rooms (each supported by a column) located on either side of the entrance to the chamber with five niches which provide access in their turn to a group of magazines in the Mortuary Temple of Sahure. But even though the mortuary temple of Sahure possesses two such rooms located on either side of the entrance to the chamber with five niches (VERNER 2001, plan on p. 286), the two rooms are lacking in the mortuary temple of Neferir-kare (Figure 1), in which the Abusir papyri were found and of which they form the archive (POSENER-KRIÉGER and DE CENIVAL 1968, pp. ix, xiii-xv).[3] So the northern of the two rooms obviously cannot be identical with the "storeroom which is north of the path of the *ḥm-nṯr*-priest."

POSENER-KRIÉGER translated the same passage in its entirety: "Celui qui est de veille dans la maison de la sortie des magasins au nord du chemin du prêtre funéraire lorsqu'il fait le tour de la pyramide" (1976, 34). She postulated that a block of magazines with a guardhouse attached was added in the time of King Unis in the northern part of the court (1976, 509-510). This block of magazines would by definition be "north of the path of the funerary priest when he goes around the pyramid."

Regrettably, there is no archaeological evidence that I am aware of for a block of magazines in the northern part of the court. The passage really presents a conundrum. It occurs to me that, if the "way of the funerary priest when he goes around the pyramid" includes the southern passageway around the latter, then the magazines to the north of that passageway might actually correspond to the extant block of magazines

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[2] For an Eighteenth Dynasty example, see MEEKS 1977, 234 (77.2556).

[3] The author would like to thank Prof. Laure Pantalacci, Director of the French Institute, Cairo, for permission to reproduce the Figure 1 from POSENER-KRIÉGER 1976b, fig. 32.

in the southwest corner of the temple (Figure 1 [14]). The difficulty in this case is that there is no "house" readily apparent here where the guardian might have been stationed, unless *pr* corresponds to one of the rectangular rooms at the entrance to the long galleries.

As we have seen, Goedicke's claim that *phr ḥ3* is used idiomatically in Old Egyptian in the sense of "to serve ceremonially" rests on no very firm foundation. Neither does his idea that a noun *ḥ3* means "rear" of a building in the Old Kingdom. It thus seems warranted to take *m-ḥ3* (𓄿𓏤) as an early occurrence of the compound preposition "around." It is not entirely clear why the scribe wrote *phr m ḥ3 ḥr* in POSENER-KRIÉGER and DE CENIVAL 1968, pl. VII-VIIA and *phr ḥ3 ḥr* in ibid., pl. V/VA, however. Certainly, the latter usage was hallowed by time, as in the ceremony *phr ḥ3 inb*, "going around the wall."

In the interim between 1976 and the present, three new references to the term *ḥr* have surfaced. The first of these was published by Posener-Kriéger. The other two are published for the first time in this article.

Cairo JE 52001 C

The first of these new occurences of *ḥr* is in a fragmentary papyrus from Saqqara that forms part of an account document (POSENER-KRIÉGER 1980, 86-91). The relevant entry reads *dmd n k3t nty m ḥr ʿ3*. Madame Posener translates: "Total de travaux qui ont lieu à la pyramide principale." The exact nature of the work done is obscured by an enigmatic hieratic group which seems to show a bird in a trap, and for which Mme. Posener offers the tentative reading of *sḫt*, a term which is attested in the vocabulary of architecture to designate the fabrication of brick or more rarely, that of stone. If bricks are indeed intended, the project involved may have been a brick ramp or ramps utilized in the construction of the pyramid.

Inscription from the Isis Temple[4]

The second occurrence of *ḥr* is on two fitting inscribed stone blocks found by the Harvard-Boston Expedition reused in the south wall of a "burial box" immediately west of Room T of the Isis Temple at Giza (REISNER 1926, 18-19). The two blocks are now in Boston, where they bear the

accession number MFA 31.248 + 31.249. The inscription (Plate 1) is regrettably incomplete and both the beginning and end are missing. As a result the context is very broken. What survives reads as follows.

(1)... my tomb-chamber in (the necropolis of) [Akhet]-Khufu[a]...

(2)... the king[b]... in order that it might be finished.[c] ... brought...

(3)... he/his...

(4)... His Majesty caused...

(5)... [he][d]... reduced (?)[e] at the bank (of the river)[f]...

(6)... what the *sem*-priest did on[g] the principal pyramid[h] for...

(7)... finished in the charge of the craftsman...

Comments

a. According to the text, the tomb of the official whose life the inscription commemorated was located in one of the cemeteries surrounding Khufu's pyramid at Giza. Given its find spot, the tomb was presumably located in the Eastern Field.

b. It is just conceivable that *in.tw n(.i) wḏ n nswt (r ꜥrḳ.t(i).f)* is to be restored, on the pattern of *Urk.* I, 186, 3.

c. For the *t(i)*-passive of the subjunctive *sḏm.f* as the object of a preposition, see DORET 1986, 48.

d. I believe I can make out the tail of a viper at the top of line 5.

e. The basic meaning of *ḥbi* (III inf.) is "deduct, substract; reduce, lessen" (*Wb.* III, 252, 1-5), none of which make very good sense in the present, broken context.

f. According to *Wb.* II, 25, 2-3, *mꜣꜥ* is attested with the meaning of "bank" of a river or a pool from the Middle Kingdom and Dynasty 18. In the reign of Pepy I, an official named Qereri "dug a pool of 100 meters on its every bank" (KANAWATI [1986], fig. 20c, pls. 3b, 8c). Kanawati actually translates *mꜣꜥ* in that context as "side" (ibid., 49).

g. For the preposition *m* with the meaning (to work) "on" (something), see e.g. *Urk.* I 38, 16, where work on the two false doors of Niankhsekhmet "was done on them *(im.sn)* in the presence of the king himself."

h. For *ḥr ꜥꜣ*, "the principal pyramid," see above, commentary on Cairo JE 52001 C.

Block from the Senedjemib Complex

The third and final occurrence of *ḥr* is on a loose stone with a fragmentary autobiographical inscription found in the court of the Senedjemib

Complex at Giza by the Harvard-Boston Expedition. The block (Figure 2; Plate 2) may derive from the façade of G 2384, since it appears by its character to fit nowhere else in the complex (BROVARSKI 2001, 30). Once again, the context is lost, but the text evidently related to the building of the speaker's tomb. G 2384 has been tentatively assigned to the elder son of Senedjemib Mehi, likewise named Senedjemib, who is depicted in his father's mastaba (BROVARSKI 2001, 2). The surviving text follows.

(1)... [Senedj]emib, he says: As for th[is] tomb-chamber [of mine]...

(2)... [belov]ed more than any servant of his[a], while any servant...

(3)... the pyramid "Beautiful are the places of Unis," the overseer of all the works of the king, Seshat...[b]

(4)... on the pyramid, namely the craftsmen and the crews of the boat...

(5)... his brother, the chamberlain of the great house, the royal master builder in [both houses (Lower and Upper Egypt)]...

Comments

a.   Senedjemib Inti tells us that he was rewarded by King Izezi *n špss.(i) mnḫ.(i) mrw.(i) ḥr 'Izzi r mit nb*, "because I was esteemed, trusted, and beloved by Izezi more than any peer of mine" (BROVARSKI 2001, 90, fig. 33). The terminal *-w* at the beginning of the second line suggests that the present Senedjemib was "beloved" of his sovereign.

b.   It seems likely that we have here the initial sign of a personal name. Both *nfr-sšm-sšЗt* (RANKE 1935, 200, 11) and *sšЗt-ḥtp* (RANKE 1935, 259, 18) are possibilities. In either case, we apparently have here a previously unattested overseer of works. Two officials by these names who bore the title *imy-rЗ kЗt nbt (nt) nswt* are too early and too late in date respectively to have supervised work on the pyramid of Unas as our overseer of works evidently did. The vizier and overseer of works Seshat-hetep Heti evidently died in the early Fifth Dynasty (STRUDWICK 1985, 136 [126]), whereas Nefer-seshem-seshat Khenu served Pepi II in the same capacity (KANAWATI 1980, 79; STRUDWICK 1985, 112 [89], 125 [109]).

Discussion and Conclusions

The principal Old Kingdom context for the term *ḥr* is in the autobiographical inscription of Debehen (*Urk.* I, 18, 10-16; HASSAN 1943, fig. 118; pl. 48). The passage in question reads as follows.

ir iz pn in nzwt bity Mn-kȝw-Rˁ [ˁnḫ ḏt r] rdi n(.i) st.f
    sk ḫpr [ḥm.f ḥr] wȝt r-gs ḥr
    r mȝȝ kȝt r Nṯr(y)-Mn-kȝw-Rˁ

"As for this tomb: It was the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkaure
    [living forever], who gave its site to me,
while [His Majesty] happened to be [on] the path beside the pyramid *(ḥr)*
in order to inspect the work on the pyramid 'Menkaure is Divine'."

GOEDICKE (1979, 146) translates the same passage differently. "As for this tomb, it was king Menkaure, living eternally, who granted its place to (me), namely, when it happened that his majesty proceeded on the way towards the upper half, in order to inspect the work concerning the pyramid 'Menkaure-be-divine.'"

Goedicke acknowledges that the translation differs from previous ones. There are in fact a number of objections to his translation. To begin with, a glance at the drawing and corresponding photograph provided by HASSAN (1943, fig. 118; pl. 48) reveals that there is insufficient space for the restoration of *sdȝt ḥm.f ḥr* (after *sk ḫpr*) proposed by Goedicke; *ḥm.f ḥr* barely fits the lacuna and *sk ḫpr.f* should not be ruled out.

To Goedicke the preposition *r* following *wȝt* introduces the goal of the road. He sees *gs* as the noun "half," "side" rather that part of the compound preposition *r-gs*. Consequently, *ḥr* has to be understood as qualifying *gs*, i.e. *gs-ḥr* "upper side." For him such a specification can only be seen in the frame of the entire royal complex of which it denotes the high-lying half as contrasted to the Valley Temple.

To sustain his translation, Goedicke is forced to conclude that ☥△ appears to be used in *gs-ḥr* adjectively. However, *ḥr(i)*, "who, which is over, upon; upper, lying on" (GARDINER 1964, § 79; ALLEN 2000, § 8.6.7), a prepositional nisbe, is written without determinative in the Old Kingdom (*Wb.* III, 133). Why the scribe who drafted the inscription chose to determine the adjective with the pyramid-sign in the present instance goes unexplained.

Observing that BREASTED (1962, 1, §211) had seen in *r gs ḥr*, "the road beside the pyramid," while REISNER (1931, 257) saw it as a reference to the edge of the pyramid plateau, an interpretation which was accepted by GRDSELOFF (1951, 131), GOEDICKE (1979, 147-148) argues that the topographical particularites rule out the former interpretation for two reasons: first no road has been found at the side of the Menkaure pyramid; second Debehen's tomb, whose site was granted by the king during an inspection tour, is located near the causeway, but quite a distance from the pyramid itself.

Certainly, no "road" in the modern sense has been found at the side of the Menkaure pyramid, but there are numerous "ways" or "paths" in the neighborhood of the Menkaure pyramid and there almost certainly were in antiquity as well. Moreover, the future site of Debehen's tomb, which is located in the quarry cemetery southeast of the Second Pyramid, would have been visible from the causeway of the Third Pyramid, as Menkaure passed by to inspect the work on his pyramid.

It has been noted above that POSENER-KRIÉGER (1968, 23) observed that a passage in the decree of Merenre in favor of the cult of Mycerinus, *irt ꜥbw nw m ḥr.k ḥwt-nṯr.k* implies that the *ḥr* was an element of the mortuary installation, and as GOEDICKE (1967, 79) emphasized, that the *ḥr* belonged to the deceased pharaoh. Indeed, the apposition between *ḥr* and *ḥwt-nṯr*, "(mortuary) temple," pretty much excludes Goedicke's notion that *ḥr* means mortuary temple. For sure, *ḥwt-nṯr* in this context means "mortuary temple', since the sanctuary of the mortuary temple was where the cult of the deceased king was maintained, while the "valley temple" was really only a glorified landing stage at the entrance of the pyramid complex.

It is interesting that two of the new occurences of *ḥr* make reference to *ḥr ꜥꜣ*, the "principal pyramid." The use of *ꜥꜣ* as an epithet used to modify the noun *ḥr* to my mind renders it unlikely that *ḥr* means the Mortuary Temple in its entirety and the pyramid proper (Goedicke) or the most elevated part of the mortuary ensemble, comprising the pyramid and without doubt also the ritual pyramid, as well as the northern installations (Posener-Kriéger). Posener-Kriéger realized this herself and in the context of the fragmentary papyrus from Saqqara, as we have seen, translated *ḥr ꜥꜣ* "la pyramide principale."

As before, I remain puzzled that there should be two different words for "pyramid," that is, *ḥr* and *mr*. There does not seem to be a chronological distinction between the two words. The earliest reference to *mr* is on a fragmentary relief from the "Valley Temple" of Sahure at Dahshur (FAKHRY 1961, fig. 234), while *ḥr* first appears in the autobiographical inscription of Debehen (*Urk.* I, 18, 11), which likewise belongs to the Fourth Dynasty; *mr* is the term used in the Pyramid Texts in the pyramids of Merenre and Pepy II (SETHE 1960, Utt. 599-601), but *ḥr* appears in the fragmentary decree of King Merenre on behalf of the pyramid and temple of Menkaure (*Urk.* I, 275, 2-3) as well as in an even more fragmentary second decree (*Urk.* I, 276, 12).

ḥr, pyramid," is presumably related to *ḥrw*, the "upper part, top" of something, a word attested since the Pyramid Texts (*Wb.* III, 142).

Perhaps it refers to the "superstructure" of the pyramid. The origin of
mr, on the other hand, is shrouded in mystery. Edwards (1985, pp. 280-
281) suggested with justifiable doubt that it was a *m*-formative from the
verb 'r, "to ascend."

The latest occurence of *ḥr* that I know of is in the restoration inscrip-
tion of Prince Khaemwaset, the son of Ramesses II, on the pyramid
of Unis at Saqqara (KITCHEN 1979, 874). The text is as follows: "His
Majesty commanded that the High Priest of Ptah, *sem*-priest, and King's
Son, Khaemwaset should restore the name of the King of Upper and
Lower Egypt, Unis, when his name could not be found on his pyramid."
It should be noted, however, that DRIOTON and LAUER (1937, 209) and
KITCHEN (1996, 567) translate 𓈖𓏏𓂝 in the inscription as "upon a/the face
of his pyramid." On the other hand, POSENER-KRIÉGER (1976, 24, n. 1)
agreed that it is a question of the word *ḥr*, which she translated in 1976
as "la partie la plus élevée de l'ensemble funéraire, la tombe royale at
ses annexes," but later (POSENER-KRIÉGER 1980, 86-91) decided was
"pyramid."

Jaromir Malek has himself been involved with pyramids, notably in his
book *In the Shadow of the Pyramids* and in his article on the where-
abouts of the pyramid of the Heracleopolitan king Merikare. The present
article is dedicated to him in grateful appreciation of a productive schol-
arly lifetime, much of which was spent in the service of Egyptology
through his work as an editor of the *Topographical Bibliography*.

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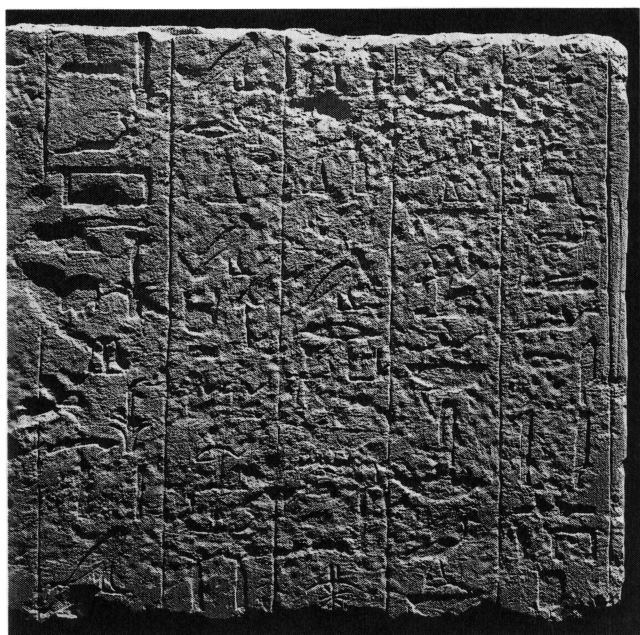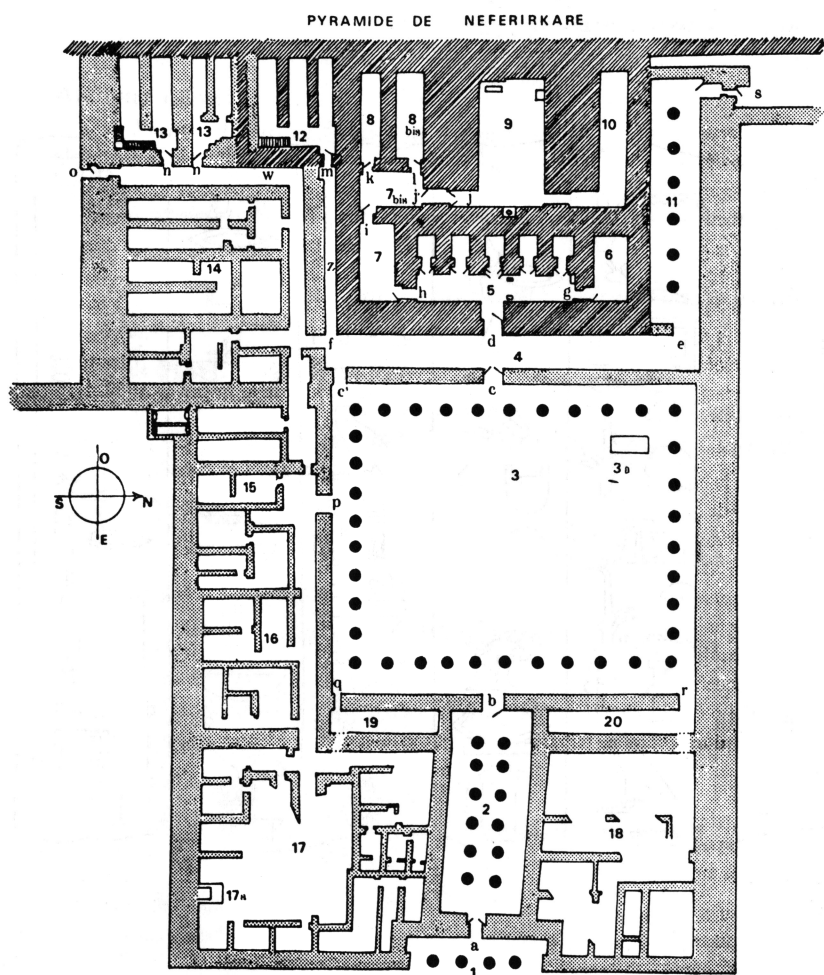1985   *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*. London: KPI

Plate 1.

Plate 2.

PYRAMIDE DE NEFERIRKARE

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.