

A PYRAMID LIST TO THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY

As an objective to take the first steps towards creating the lists of pyramid and pyramid-like monuments presented here, an elementary reckoning of those built before the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty is taken into consideration; they amount to 139 monuments. This article omits several royal tombs of the First Intermediate Period (Dynasties VII-X).

The following five lists of funerary and religious pyramids; and funerary, religious and civil pyramid-like monuments, contain limited information because of the space constraints of this entry. References to the monuments include: dynasties, common name, very limited or no description and occasional reference to the owner, location, uncertainties, subtotals and totals. Because of their complexity established numbering systems are avoided as much as possible except for Lepsius numbers, which are kept to a necessary minimum. Some chronological disagreements and brief commentaries follow the monument concerned. The question mark in parentheses (?) indicates the uncertainty of the item it follows: the present existence of the pyramid, the classification mentioned or the owner to whom it has been attributed.

1- Funerary pyramids

Funerary pyramids are layered, embankment-filled, solid, cross-walled and compound constructed creating forms of step, bent, benben and true pyramid shapes serving as: pyramid-tombs, pyramid-cenotaphs and ritual or subsidiary pyramids. Listed below are 109 pyramids of that nature:

THE STEP PYRAMID (LAYER PYR.) OF NETJERYKHET AT SAQQARA.

THE UNFINISHED LAYER PYRAMID OF SEKHEMKHET AT SAQQARA.

THE UNFINISHED PYRAMID OF NEBKARA AT ZAWYET EL ARYAN NORTH.

For an argument of the position of this pyramid in the Third Dynasty opposing its position in the Fourth Dynasty according to J-Ph Lauer, see N.Swelim, *Some problems on the history of the Third Dynasty* (Alexandria, 1983) 125-179.

THE LAYER PYRAMID AT ZAWYET EL ARYAN SOUTH.

THE BRICK PYRAMID AT ABU RAWASH, (LEPSIUS I).

Rediscovered on December 16, 1985, and appeared in a preliminary study, N.Swelim, *The brick pyramid at Abu Rawash, number I by Lepsius* (Alexandria, 1987). *5 funerary pyramids during the Third Dynasty (5 subtotal)*.

THE LAYER PYRAMID OF SNOFRU AT SEILA, EL FAYUM.

Excavation report in newsletter, *The pyramid of Seila locally called 'el Qalah'*, season 1987 (March 1987, unpublished); J.Leclant and G.Clere, *Orientalia* 57, Fasc. 3 (1988), 336, pl. XXXII, XXXIII, Figs. 40, 41.

THE PYRAMID OF SNOFRU(?) AT MEYDUM.

THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF SNOFRU(?) AT MEYDUM.

THE BENT PYRAMID OF SNOFRU AT DAHSHUR SOUTH.

THE SUBSIDIARY(?) PYRAMID OF SNOFRU AT DAHSHUR SOUTH.

Doubt that this pyramid is a subsidiary to the Bent pyramid is based on the fact that all the subsidiary pyramids in the time spanning between the subsidiary to Meydum and the subsidiary to Senusert I have bases that measure 1/5 of the base length of the principal pyramid. This pyramid and 3 others, SE of Khufu, south of the pyramids of Khafra and Userkaf are likewise doubtful because their base lengths are shorter or longer than that relationship.

THE RED PYRAMID OF SNOFRU AT DAHSHUR NORTH.
 THE GREAT PYRAMID OF KHUFU AT GIZA.
 THE SUBSIDIARY(?)PYRAMID SE OF KHUFU (G1C?) Discovered in Oct . 1992.
 THE NORTH PYRAMID OF A QUEEN(?) OF KHUFU AT GIZA.
 THE MIDDLE PYRAMID OF A QUEEN(?) OF KHUFU AT GIZA.
 THE SOUTH PYRAMID OF A QUEEN(?) OF KHUFU AT GIZA.
 THE ABANDONED PYRAMID PROJECT, REISNER'S 'G1X' AT GIZA.
 THE ABANDONED PYRAMID PROJECT, PETRIE'S TRIAL PASSAGES AT GIZA.
 THE ABANDONED PYR. PROJECT(?) JUNKER'S NEBENPYRAMIDE AT GIZA.
 THE PYRAMID OF DJEDEFRA AT ABU RAWASH.
 THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF DJEDEFRA AT ABU RAWASH.
 THE PYRAMID OF KHAFRA AT GIZA.
 THE SUBSIDIARY(?) PYRAMID OF KHAFRA AT GIZA.
 THE PYRAMID OF MENKAURA AT GIZA.
 THE EAST PYR. OF A QUEEN(?) SOUTH OF MENKAURA.
 THE MIDDLE STEP PYR. OF A QUEEN SOUTH WEST OF MENKAURA.
 THE WEST STEP PYR. OF A QUEEN WEST SOUTH WEST OF MENKAURA.
22 funerary pyramids during the Fourth Dynasty (+5=27 subtotal) .
 THE PYRAMID OF USERKAF AT SAQQARA.
 THE SUBSIDIARY(?) PYRAMID OF USERKAF AT SAQQARA.
 THE PYRAMID OF A QUEEN OF USERKAF AT SAQQARA.
 THE PYRAMID OF SAHURA AT ABU SIR.
 THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF SAHURA AT ABU SIR.
 THE PYRAMID OF NEFERIRKARA AT ABU SIR.
 THE PYRAMID OF SHEPSEKARA(?) ON AERIAL PHOTO OF ABU SIR.
 An unfinished pyramid seen northwest of the pyramid of Sahura and southeast of the sun temple of Userkaf on an aerial photograph in H.Ricke, *Das sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf, BÄBA 7* (Kairo, 1965) Tafel I.
 THE UNFINISHED PYRAMID OF RANEFEREF AT ABU SIR.
 THE PYRAMID OF NEUSERRA AT ABU SIR.
 THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF NEUSERRA AT ABU SIR.
 THE PYRAMID OF QUEEN KHENTKAUS AT ABU SIR.
 THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF QUEEN KHENTKAUS AT ABU SIR.
 THE NORTH SMALL PYRAMID AT ABU SIR.
 THE SOUTH SMALL PYRAMID AT ABU SIR.
 THE PYRAMID OF MENKAUHOR(?) AT DAHSHUR NORTH, (LEPSIUS L).
 R.Stadelmann, *Die Ägyptischen Pyramiden* (Darmstadt, 1985), 179, Abb. 23. It has been thought by other scholars that the pyramid under the village at Saqqara belongs to Menkauhor.
 THE PYRAMID OF DJEDKARA AT SAQQARA.
 THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF DJEDKARA AT SAQQARA.
 THE PYRAMID OF A QUEEN OF DJEDKARA AT SAQQARA.
 THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF A QUEEN OF DJEDKARA AT SAQQARA.
 THE PYRAMID OF UNAS AT SAQQARA.
 THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF UNAS AT SAQQARA.
21 funerary pyramids during the Fifth Dynasty (+27=48subtotal).

THE PYRAMID OF TETI AT SAQQARA.

THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF TETI AT SAQQARA.

THE PYRAMID OF QUEEN KHUIT AT SAQQARA.

THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID(?) OF QUEEN KHUIT AT SAQQARA.

Information on the existence of the two subsidiary pyramids of the queens of Teti: Khuit and Iput I, was given to me by J-Ph Lauer, whom I thank.

THE PYRAMID OF QUEEN IPUT I AT SAQQARA.

THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID(?) OF QUEEN IPUT I AT SAQQARA.

THE PYRAMID OF A QUEEN MOTHER; OF USERKARA(?)

Reused parts of this pyramid were found in the pyramid complex of Pepi I; information by A.Labrousse, whom I thank. The attribution that I am giving here, however, is tentative.

THE PYRAMID OF USERKARA(?) UNDER THE VILLAGE AT SAQQARA.

It was generally believed that this was the pyramid of Menkauhor before Stadelmann suggested the pyramid Lepsius L for this king see footnote 8. Stadelmann, *LÄ*, IV (Wiesbaden, 1982) 1219, dates this pyramid to the Third Dynasty; I do not believe that the architecture could support that early dating. Consequently I have suggested Userkara, but the pyramid could be from the First Intermediate Period as well.

THE PYRAMID OF PEPI I AT SAQQARA.

THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF PEPI I AT SAQQARA.

THE EAST PYRAMID OF QUEEN NOUBOUNET OF PEPI I AT SAQQARA.

THE MIDDLE PYRAMID OF A QUEEN OF PEPI I AT SAQQARA.

THE OCCIDENTAL PYRAMID OF A QUEEN OF PEPI I AT SAQQARA.

THE SOUTH PYRAMID OF QUEEN MERITITES II OF PEPI I AT SAQQARA.

A.Labrousse kindly showed me this very recent discovery when I visited the site on May 9, 1991. The name of the queen was found on a gateway in the enclosure wall of her pyramid.

THE FIFTH PYRAMID OF A QUEEN OF PEPI I AT SAQQARA.

THE PYRAMID OF MERENRA AT SAQQARA.

THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF MERENRA AT SAQQARA.

THE PYRAMID OF PEPI II AT SAQQARA.

THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF PEPI II AT SAQQARA.

THE PYRAMID OF QUEEN OUDJEBTEN AT SAQQARA.

THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF QUEEN OUDJEBTEN AT SAQQARA.

THE PYRAMID OF QUEEN NEITH AT SAQQARA.

THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF QUEEN NEITH AT SAQQARA.

THE PYRAMID OF QUEEN IPUT II AT SAQQARA.

THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF QUEEN IPUT II AT SAQQARA.

25 funerary pyramids during the Sixth Dynasty (+48=73 subtotal).

THE PYRAMID(?) OF ITY MENTIONED IN WADI HAMMAT. *LD II*, pl. 115, no. 41.

THE PYRAMID(?) OF NEFERKARA MENTIONED AT SAQQARA.

G.Jequier, *Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit*, 53.

THE PYRAMID OF KAKARA IBI AT SAQQARA.

3 funerary pyramids during the Eighth Dynasty(?) (+73=76 subtotal).

THE PYRAMID(?) OF MERYKARA MENTIONED AT SAQQARA.

J.E.Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1905-1906* , pl. 13-15.
1 funerary pyramid during the Tenth Dynasty(?) (+76=77 subtotal).
 THE PYRAMID OF AMENEMHAT I AT LISHT.
 THE PYRAMID OF SENUSERT I AT LISHT.
 THE SUBSIDIARY PYRAMID OF SENUSERT I AT LISHT.
 THE PYRAMID OF QUEEN NEFERU, SOUTH NUMBER 1 AT LISHT.
 THE PYRAMID OF PRINCESS ITAKAYET, SOUTH NUMBER 2 AT LISHT.
 THE PYRAMID SOUTH NUMBER 3 AT LISHT.
 THE PYRAMID WEST NUMBER 4 AT LISHT.
 THE PYRAMID WEST NUMBER 5 AT LISHT.
 THE PYRAMID NORTH NUMBER 6 AT LISHT.
 THE PYRAMID NORTH NUMBER 7 AT LISHT.
 THE PYRAMID EAST NUMBER 8 AT LISHT.
 THE PYRAMID EAST NUMBER 9 AT LISHT.
 THE WHITE PYRAMID OF AMENEMHAT II AT DAHSHUR.
 THE BRICK PYRAMID OF SENUSERT II AT EL LAHUN.
 THE BRICK PYRAMID OF QUEEN NEFERU AT EL LAHUN.
 THE BRICK PYRAMID OF SENUSERT III AT DAHSHUR.
 THE BLACK, BRICK PYRAMID OF AMENEMHAT III AT DAHSHUR.
 THE BRICK PYRAMID OF AMENEMHAT III AT HAWARA.
 THE BRICK PYRAMID(?) OF PRINCESS NEFERUPTAH AT HAWARA.

19 funerary pyramids during the Twelfth Dynasty (+77=96 subtotal).

THE STONE PYRAMID OF NORTH MAZGHUNA.
 THE BRICK PYRAMID OF SOUTH MAZGHUNA.
 THE BRICK PYRAMID OF AMENEMHAT(?) (LEPSIUS LIV).

The name of this king was found at the site of this monument. I thank Ahmed Moussa for giving me this information. It is difficult at this stage to draw any conclusions further than to date this pyramid to the Thirteenth Dynasty by the architecture.

THE BRICK PYRAMID OF KHINDJER AT SAQQARA.
 THE BRICK PYRAMID OF THE QUEEN OF KHINDJER AT SAQQARA.
 THE UNFINISHED BRICK PYRAMID AT SAQQARA (LEPSIUS XLVI).
 THE DEMOLISHED BRICK PYRAMID (LEPSIUS XLIV) AT SAQQARA.
 THE BRICK PYRAMID OF AMINIKIMAU AT DAHSHUR.
 THE BRICK PYRAMID(?) NORTH OF AMINIKIMAU AT DAHSHUR.

This and the following pyramid northwest of Aminikimau are suggested by D.Arnold, *MDAIK* 31, 172.

THE BRICK PYRAMID(?) NORTH WEST OF AMINIKIMAU AT DAHSHUR.
 THE BRICK(?) PYRAMID OF MERNEFERRA AY AT KHATAANA(?)

This pyramid and the two which follow are confirmed by pyramidions in the Cairo Museum: for the first two, *ASAE* LII, 471-479; the third is half a pyramidion which was reused as an anchor. It is on display east of the Atrium, above 23, temporary number is 5/1/15/12, thanks to May Trad. The preserved side is uninscribed; the hole of the anchor rope is worked through the upper part. Two partly preserved sides show the seated gods Anubis and Horakhty; a hand and part of an arm can be seen in front of the latter. The fourth side is the break, see plates I, II in, A. Nebbi "A half pyramidion as an Egyptian anchor shape" *GM* , 56 (1982)

THE SECOND BRICK(?) PYRAMID AT KHATAANA(?).

THE THIRD BRICK(?) PYRAMID.

THE UNIDENTIFIED BRICK PYRAMID (LEPSIUS LIX), EAST OF DAHSHUR(?).

THE UNIDENTIFIED SUBSIDIARY BRICK PYRAMID(?),(SUBSID. LEP. LIX).

15 funerary pyramids during the Thirteenth Dynasty (+96= 111 total funerary pyramids).

2- Religious pyramids, minor step pyramids.

Seven of the religious pyramids mentioned below are layered, squared-base constructions which differ from funerary pyramids by their lack of a substructure or funerary aspect; the eighth no longer exists.

THE LAYER PYRAMID OF HEBENU, ZAWYET EL MAYITEEN, MINYA.

THE LAYER PYRAMID 'EL SINKI' NAG AHMED KHALIFA, ABYDOS.

THE LAYER PYRAMID(?) UNDER THE CHAPEL OF AY, ABYDOS.

N.Swelim, *History of the Third Dynasty*, 100, footnote 2; C.T.Currelly in *Abydos III*, pl. XV.

THE LAYER PYRAMID OF NUBT, EL ZAWAYDA, NAQADA.

THE LAYER PYRAMID 'EL KULA' NAG EL MIAMARIYA, EDFU NORTH.

THE LAYER SAND STONE PYRAMID, EL GHENIMIYA, EDFU SOUTH.

THE LAYER GRANITE PYRAMID OF ELEPHANTINE, ASWAN.

THE PYRAMID(?) OF ATHRIBIS; OF DESCRIPTION DE L'EGYPTE.

8 religious pyramids during the Third Dynasty(?) (+ 111 = 119 Total pyramids).

3- Funerary pyramid-like monuments

Several mastabas have some likeness to pyramids in the concept of their architectural composition; for example: at Saqqara nos. 2302 and 2307 have mud tumuli imbedded; they are usually described as mud-filled cores, in plain brick facades; at Giza "T" has a recessed brick mastaba imbedded in a plain brick facing and there is a layer stone one at some distance east of it; at Bet Khallaf "K1" has a gravel tumulus embedded in its plain(?) brick facing; and "K2" has a stepped brick core imbedded in its plain(?) brick facing; at Zawyet el Aryan "Z 500" is a stone embankment rubble-filled structure; at Meydum no. 16 combines the features of having a mud tumulus with a plain brick white-washed facing imbedded in a recessed brick facade and no. 17 is composed of rubble-filled stone embankments constructed of limestone chipping superimposed creating a stepped core imbedded in a brick recessed casing. Some funerary pyramid-like monuments are selected because they share a structural or formative aspect with funerary pyramids.

EL DEIR, THE SQUARE BRICK MASSIF, ABU RAWASH(?).

The funerary aspect has not been proved; see an argument, however, in N.Swelim, *History of the Third Dynasty*, 36-91 and *The brick pyramid at Abu Rawash*, 91-95.

THE SARCOPHAGUS SHAPE(?) TOMB OF KHENTKAUS, AT GIZA.

MASTABET FAROUN, THE TOMB OF SHEPSESKAF AT SAQQARA.

THE MONUMENT 'DARA' OF KING KHUI(?) AT ARAB EL AMAIEM, BENI QURRA.

THE MASSIF OF MENTHUHOTEP AT EL DEIR EL BAHARI.

5 funerary pyramid-like monuments during Dynasties III, IV, IV, VIII(?) and XI, respectively (+119=124 subtotal).

4- Religious pyramid-like monuments.

Religious pyramid-like monuments share structural or formative aspects with layered and true pyramids.

FOUR TUMULI AT NAQADA.

THE BENBEN IN THE SUN TEMPLE OF USERKAF AT ABU SIR.

THE BENBEN IN THE SUN TEMPLE OF NEUSERRA AT ABU GHURAB.

FOUR FIFTH DYNASTY BENBENS KNOWN FROM TEXTS.

In the sun temples of kings Sahura, Neferirkara, Raneferef and Menkauhor; the names of these sun temples are found in J. von Beckerath, *Handbouch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (München, Berlin, 1984) 54-56, 181-183.

10 religious pyramid-like monuments during Dynasties II (the tumuli) and V (the benbens); (+124 = 134 sub total).

5- Civil pyramid-like monuments.

Other selected pyramid-like monuments share civil and structural engineering aspects with layer and true pyramids.

THE REVETMENT OF THE ARCHAIC TEMPLE AT HIERACONPOLIS.

THE DAM OF WADI GARAWI, WADI MILISAT, HELWAN.

HEET EL GHURAB SOUTH OF THE SPHINX AT GIZA.

TWO PEDESTALS OF AMENEMHAT III, BIYAHIMU, EL FAYUM.

5 other pyramid-like monuments during Dynasties I, IV, IV(?) and XII respectively (+134=139 total).

119 PYRAMIDS and 20 PYRAMID-LIKE MONUMENTS, giving a total of 139 MONUMENTS known to us from the Archaic to the Second Intermediate Period (as of FALL 1992).