

Sonderdruck
aus den

MITTEILUNGEN
DES
DEUTSCHEN
ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS
ABTEILUNG KAIRO

BAND 54

1998



VERLAG PHILIPP VON ZABERN · GEGRÜNDET 1785 · MAINZ

On the Pyramid of Ameny-Qemau and its Canopic Equipment

By NABIL SWELIM and AIDAN DODSON

(Plates 54-55)

The 1957 discovery of the pyramid of the Thirteenth Dynasty king Ameny-Qemau at South Dahshur was one of the more important, yet most obscure, events in the history of pyramid exploration. Incidents immediately following it prevented any substantive publication of the monument appearing until a decade after its discovery; the objects found have hitherto escaped publication altogether. This paper aims for the first time to reconstruct the events surrounding the find, consider the full architectural/historical context of the pyramid, building upon the pioneer work of MARAGLIO and RINALDI, and publish the material that is known to have been recovered from it¹).

I. The Discovery

The pyramid of Ameny-Qemau²) lies upon a small hill, 1.150 metres S.E. of the Bent Pyramid, and approximately a kilometre S.S.W. of the pyramid of Ammenemes III at Dahshur (fig. 1). It overlooks Lake Dahshur from the west at a distance of 500 metres, and the wadi leading to the lake from the south, at a similar distance. Its location seems to have escaped the notice of even such a keen spotter of ruined pyramids as LEPSIUS³).

However, in 1957, an American scientist and publisher, CHARLES ARTHUR MUSES, approached the Antiquities Service with a view to undertaking excavations at Dahshur and Matariya⁴). Excava-

¹) This paper's origins go back over a decade, when SWELIM received photographs of the canopic jars from the pyramid from the late LABIB HABACHI. They had been previously passed to the latter for publication by the late SHAFIK FARID. We would like to thank various friends and colleagues for their help in the preparation of the paper, including JAROSLAW DOBROWOLSKI (for drawing figure 3), DOUG HAWK (for contemporary press cuttings), SALIMA IKRAM (for research in the Temporary Register of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo), JOHN LARSON, RAIS MOHAMMED ABDEL MAWGOOD (for sharing memories of the site at Saqqara), Mrs. LILLIAN NADIM SWELIM (for translations from the Italian), KIM RYHOLT (for discussion of problems of Second Intermediate Period chronology) and EDWARD F. WENTE. Part II and the Appendices to this paper are the work of SWELIM, while DODSON is responsible for the bulk of Parts I, III and IV.

²) The second element of the name, *ḳ*, was originally read as *ḳmw*, but now as *qmḳw*, on the basis of G. POSENER, *Les Asiatiques en Égypte sous les XIIe et XIIIe dynasties*, Syria 34 (1957), 145-63. The reading is further discussed by S. QUIRKE, *Royal Power in the 13th Dynasty*, *Middle Kingdom Studies*, ed. QUIRKE (New Malden, 1991), 129, where he additionally concludes that the name derives from the root 'to create', rather than 'harvest worker'. On the proposal that the name should be interpreted as 'Qemau [son of] Ameny', see K. RYHOLT, *A Bead of King Ranisob and a Note on King Qemaw*, GM 156 (1997), 97-100, and below p. 330.

³) See Appendix 1 for a discussion of any connexion with the problematic structure, 'Ziegelpyramide No. LIX'.

⁴) A principal source for the story of the events surrounding the discovery of the pyramid is SAMI GABRA's autobiographical *Chez les derniers adorateurs du Trismégiste: la nécropole d'Hermopolis Touna el Gebel* (Cairo: Government Printing Office, 1971), 203-7. Other sources are given in nn. 10ff, below. See also DODSON, *The Strange Affair of Dr Muses*, KMT 8:3, 1997, 60-3; cf. n. 11, below.

tions began at Dahshur under MUSES' direction in association with SAMI GABRA, south of the Black Pyramid of Ammenemes III. SHAFIK FARID, Chief Inspector for Lower Egypt, was also involved in the work.

Excavations initially revealed Old Kingdom mastabas, one of which, belonging to a certain Ipi, contained a pair of standing, headless statues⁵). The final two weeks of work, however, brought to light what first appeared to be a mastaba, but on further investigation proved to be a pyramid⁶). The discovery was made known via annual summaries of fieldwork⁷), but MUSES' sponsorship of the work was shortly brought to a sudden halt at the end of the season⁸). On 20 June, Dr MUSES was detained at Cairo airport, on charges relating to antiquities and currency allegedly found in his possession⁹). The most important charges were overturned at appeal in June 1958¹⁰), but MUSES seems never to have returned to Egypt, and he apparently never completed the book he stated that he was writing on his discovery¹¹).

Following this debacle, work at the site was abandoned. However, some time later, those parts of the pyramid substructure which had been exposed were examined in detail by VITO MARAGIOGLIO and CELESTE RINALDI, who published their report in 1968¹²). No further substantive work seems to have been carried out, although some scrutiny of the area was carried out in the mid 1970s¹³). Apart from a discussion of the pyramid's chronological placement¹⁴) and an incomplete discussion of the objects found¹⁵), little else appears to have been thus far published concerning this most important structure.

II. The Pyramid Complex

THE PYRAMID

The scanty ruins of Ameney-Qemau's pyramid are scattered around the central pit in which the substructure had been constructed. MARAGIOGLIO and RINALDI were unable to locate any route for supplying materials such as white limestone, quartzite and bricks, and thus surmised that these supplies may have come along the wadi to the south.

To construct the superstructure of the monument, the site was prepared by removing the surface sand and uncovering the bed rock (fig. 2). The levels in the west were a little higher than in the east.

⁵) GABRA, *Chez ...*, 205, 209; cf. *PM* III², 895. The name of the tomb's owner is reported in *Rocky Mountain News* (hereafter *RMN*) 12 May 1958, 32.

⁶) GABRA for some reason had doubts as to the monument's status (cf. DIA 'ABOU-GHAZI, *Last Excavations, Organisation des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Vies et Travaux* II: *Sami Gabra, from Tasa to Touna* [Cairo, 1984], who calls it 'a mastaba built on the top of the hill').

⁷) H.B. (RUNNER), *Ausgrabungen in Gise, Saqqâra, Memphis, Dahshur*, *AfO* 18 (1957-8), 479-80, based on information given out by SELIM HASSAN on 2 September 1957 at the 24 Congress of Orientalists; LECLANT, *Orientalia* NS 27, 81-3, used a press release, supplemented by HASSAN's remarks. The discovery also featured in the contemporary press.

⁸) DIA 'ABOU-GHAZI, *Vies et Travaux* II, 32.

⁹) As well as by GABRA, and in various press reports, the events are recounted by E. F. WENTE, *NARCE* 25 (July 1957). Cf. below footnote 29 and p. 326.

¹⁰) *RMN* 27 June 1958, 68.

¹¹) *RMN* 13 April 1958, 8. MUSES has proposed an account for publication in a forthcoming issue of *KMT*.

¹²) MARAGIOGLIO and RINALDI, *Note sulla piramide di Ameney 'Aamu*, *Orientalia* NS 37 (1968), 325-38.

¹³) D. ARNOLD / R. STADELMANN, *Dahshur - Erster Grabungsbericht*, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 174, Abb. 3, Taf. 112. The possible location of two more pyramids in the area was noted (see fig. 1).

¹⁴) DODSON, *The Tombs of the Kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty in the Memphite Necropolis*, *ZÄS* 114 (1987), 36-44.

¹⁵) DODSON, *The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt* (London, 1994) [hereafter *CEKE*], 30, 114-5.

Following this, three large trenches were dug in the bed rock with a level bedding: two ran east west and the third joined them on the west side. Toward the east the pair of trenches ended in an open area roughly levelled by extracting the superficial rock and accumulating it on the limits of this side.

The trench surrounds a rough square, upon which the pyramid nucleus was built. The top of this rough square was not level; thus, it decreased from 120 cm at the south west corner to 90 cm above the level of the south trench at the south east corner. The nucleus brickwork is still *in situ* above this feature, which measures:

North side	East side	South side	West side
44.20 metres	45.20 metres	44.80 metres	45.30 metres
= 84.351 cubits	= 86.259 cubits	= 85.496 cubits	= 86.450 cubits

The outer walls of the trenches were covered with crude brickwork and a little limestone. The width of the trench on each side of the pyramid is:

North side	East side	South side	West side
6.50 metres	6.00 metres	5.85 metres	6.20 metres
= 12.40 cubits	= 11.45 cubits	= 11.16 cubits	= 11.83 cubits

The level bedding and width of the trenches surrounding the brickwork of the nucleus allows for a foundation, backing masonry and outer facing for a pyramid of a base length of 100 cubits (52.40 metres)¹⁶). The following pyramids have a base length ranging from 90–110 cubits, two of which date to the Thirteenth Dynasty, possessing the same base length:

PYRAMID	base length in cubits
Giza GIa	90
Giza GIc	90
Giza GIb	94
Dahshur, Ammenemes II	95 (?)
South Saqqara, Khendjer	100
Mazghunah, South Pyramid	100
Dahshur, Bent Pyramid 'subsidiary' ¹⁷)	101
Saqqara, Unas	110
Mazghunah, North Pyramid	110 (?)

The brickwork surrounding the trenches would have to be explained as either the foundation of the pavement or some element associated with the construction of the monument.

¹⁶) MARAGIOGLIO and RINALDI introduced the option of a narrow pyramid court and a wavy thin wall of bricks surrounding the monument: cf. *Orientalia* 37, 329.

¹⁷) Since the base-length of this pyramid exceeds one fifth of the base length of the Bent pyramid, one might question this monument's true classification as a subsidiary. On the other hand, the pyramids south of those of Chephren and Userkaf also show this peculiarity.

THE TEMENOS

In their report, MARAGIOGLIO and RINALDI point out some destruction on the east side which could indicate the former presence of an upper temple. It is difficult without any further clearance to determine details of a causeway or other elements of the pyramid complex. The north trench of the pyramid superstructure, however, is 6.50 metres wide for 26.26 metres from the west, and then suddenly widens to 9.60 metres, as is shown in fig. 2. This widening is created by turning the outer brickwork 3 metres northward, then 8 metres eastward, after which it is lost for 11.50 metres, before reappearing, aligned with the first part, for 12.40 metres; the trench may have never been completed in the areas of these missing sections. Consequently, it is likely that this rectangular projection was intended for the stone foundation for a northern chapel; the building process will have been discontinued at an early stage.

THE SUBSTRUCTURE

The substructure was constructed in a roughly squared central pit. A ramp approaching from the east appears to be on the axis of the nucleus, with an entrance displaced a little, 0.65 metres, to the south. The ramp and pit were probably excavated after the pyramid's nucleus was set¹⁸). The ramp began at the same level as the area directly east of the nucleus and a little to the east of the side line¹⁹). MARAGIOGLIO and RINALDI were unable to measure either the descending angle of the ramp or the depth of the pit.

The rock wall of the ramp is level in the upper part of the north side and unfinished at the west end of the south side. There appear to be no traces of a connection between the descending ramp and the constructions in the central pit. Perhaps the work was discontinued, or finished off quickly with less care. Consequently the ramp that should have led to the substructure was filled in.

The substructure was entered by a narrow passage, blocked by dry masonry from an early age, although the lower parts were neatly built in brick. To the east, masses of chippings and a large limestone block were found *in situ*. The constructions that lay in the pit were lined with limestone blocks of approximately 1.5 to 0.60 metres thickness, a fill being observed between this masonry and the rock wall of the pit.

The basic scheme of the extant substructure is shown in fig. 3:

- A sloping corridor (A) descends westwards, to be followed by a short horizontal passage (B); from this, a visitor would ascend a vertical shaft (C-D) to a second horizontal passage (D-E), still in a westward direction.
- This shaft would be closed at the top by a large vertically dropping quartzite block. From the end of the horizontal passage, a second vertical shaft (E-F) ascends to a third horizontal westward-leading passage ending in a north-south chamber (G). The shaft was designed to be closed by a large quartzite block sliding from the south.
- From G, a stairway (H)²⁰) leads in a northward direction to a second apartment (I). A second stairway leads out of this room in a westward direction to give access to the antechamber (J). In the antechamber the sarcophagus lid was stored until the burial took place.
- This lid was slid into the burial chamber (K) after the interment had taken place, closing the great quartzite monolith that combined the features of a sarcophagus and canopic chest, by containing separate cavities for the mummy and the canopic equipment.

¹⁸) For the construction of the pyramid nucleus with a 'construction gap' allowing continued access to the substructure-cutting, cf. D. ARNOLD, *Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry* (New York and Oxford, 1991), 179-81.

¹⁹) This means that it probably began from the pyramid facing and could support a base length of 100 cubits.

²⁰) This area was badly damaged; a stairway is suggested by MARAGIOGLIO and RINALDI.

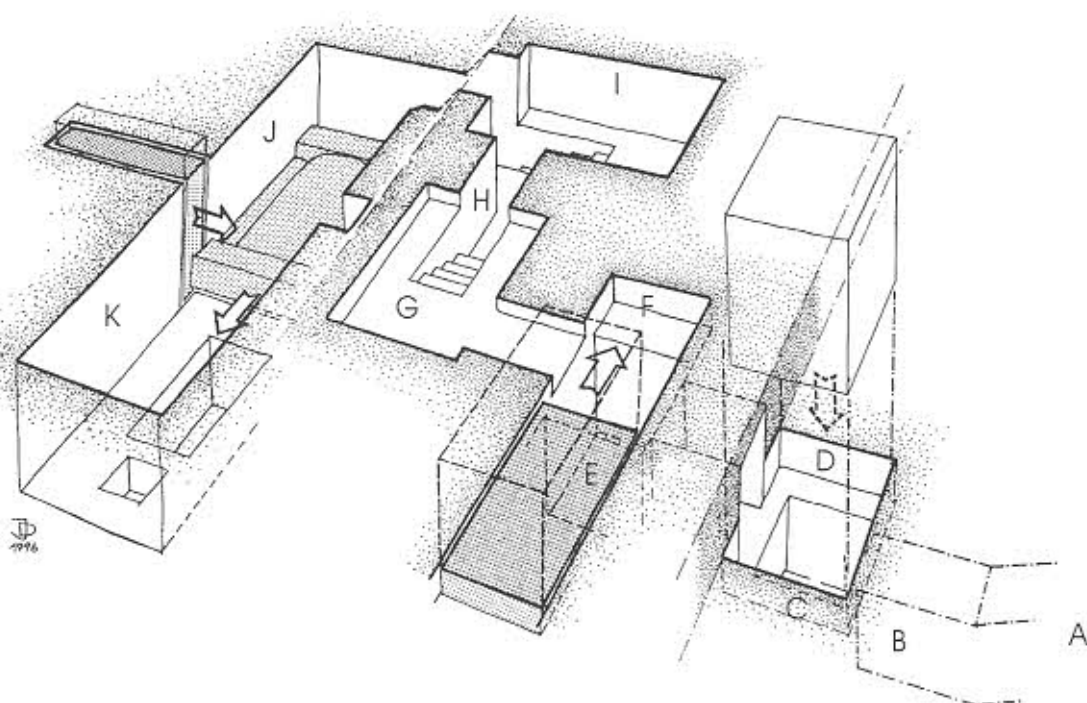


Fig. 3: Reconstructed layout of the substructure of the pyramid of Amen-y-Qemau (after MARAGIOGLIO and RINALDI)

- The burial chamber would have been sealed off by a quartzite slab sliding from the west, and thus separating it from the antechamber.

The plan of the substructure is very similar to, but slightly less developed than that of the North Pyramid at Mazghuna. The two monuments should therefore be closely linked chronologically, with Amen-y-Qemau's regarded as the earlier²¹).

III. The Canopic Equipment and other Finds


From the nearly-contemporary tomb of Hor, we have a fairly good idea of the kind of material that was to be found in a king's tomb of the Thirteenth Dynasty²²). However, the devastated state of Amen-y-Qemau's monument left little chance of substantial survivals; aside from a set of broken canopics, to be discussed shortly, only one fragment can be traced²³). Entered in the Cairo Museum Temporary Register (TR) as $\frac{25}{60} \frac{11}{4}$, it is the edge of a flat calcite object, 0.9 cm thick, conceivably part

²¹) Cf. also below, pp. 326 ff. and 330. For a full discussion of the relative dating of Thirteenth Dynasty pyramids, see DODSON, *ZÄS* 114, 36-44, pace M. LEHNER, *The Complete Pyramids* (London, New York 1997), 184-7.

²²) *PM* III², 888-9; cf. DODSON, *ZÄS* 114, 42.

²³) There remains very considerable uncertainty as regards the fate of much of the material recovered (cf. n. 29, below), and it is possible that other items may have been found, not susceptible at present to identification.

of an offering table, although such an item is absent from Hor's sepulchre. From the photograph in the Register²⁴), it does not seem to be from a stela of the types found in that king's tomb²⁵). The

Ameny-Qemau fragment bears the end of a band of text: . This is easily restored as having read '[Ameny-Qema]u, true [of voice]²⁶).

We have no clues as to where TR $\frac{25|11}{60|4}$ originated within the pyramid, although the antechamber seems most likely; however, the remaining items certainly came originally from the burial chamber, its floor entirely filled by the giant combined sarcophagus/canopic chest. The actual canopic cavity lies at its south (foot) end, the normal orientation for such containers. From the parallel of the approximately contemporary interment of Hor, one would assume that a wooden inner chest was formerly present, but no fragments of such are recorded. On the other hand, remains of four calcite jars were recovered (pl. 54-55, fig. 4):

- A. Description: Fragments making up complete jar, bearing the Imseti formula, incised and filled with blue/green pigment.
 Dimensions²⁷): Height 26.5 cm, Diameter 20.5 cm.
 Present Location: Uncertain²⁸).
 Text: *ist stp st.t hr* Isis, delimit your protection about
msti nty im.t Imseti, who is in you;
imshy hr msti the honoured before Imseti,
nsw imny-qm3w m3' hrw King Amen-y-Qemau, true of voice.
- B. Description: Fragments making up almost complete jar, bearing the Hapy formula, incised and filled with blue/green pigment.
 Dimensions: Height 27.5 cm, Diameter 21.5 cm.
 Present Location: Uncertain; a portion, made up of three glued fragments and measuring overall 13.9 × 8.2 × 0.12 cm, is Cairo TR $\frac{25|11}{60|1}$ ²⁹). It includes a large part of the text area. A piece of the rim, measuring 10 × 1.8 cm, with the top left-hand corner of the text panel, is TR $\frac{25|11}{60|3}$.
 Text: *nbt-hwt [st]p st.t hr* Nephthys, delimit your protection about
hpy nty im.t Hapy, who is in you;
imshy hr hpy the honoured before Hapy,
[n]sw imny-qm3w m3' hrw King Amen-y-Qemau, true of voice.
- C. Description: Fragments making up partial jar, with most of its upper part missing, bearing the Duamutef formula, incised and filled with blue/green pigment.

²⁴) It has not thus far proved possible to examine physically any items recovered from the pyramid.

²⁵) Cairo JE 30951-2.

²⁶) The w-quail chick is legless: cf. below, p. 328.

²⁷) Estimated from scale on photograph.

²⁸) According to PM III², 890, the canopic material from the pyramid is preserved in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, under the Temporary Register numbers $\frac{25|11}{60|1-4}$. However, as already noted, $\frac{25|11}{60|4}$ is not from a canopic, and the remaining numbers of the block do not represent any of the material represented in the FARID photographs. Nothing of the present jar appears to be in the Temporary Register.

²⁹) It is possible that the reason for the separation of certain fragments from the bulk of the jars is that they were caught up in the events following Muses' arrest (cf. RMN 13 April 1958, 8).

Two pieces bear numbers in ink³⁰): 'A637', on fragment of shoulder, and 'A696m²' on a rim sherd.

Dimensions: Height ~ 19 + x cm.

Present Location: Uncertain; part of the shoulder (8.2 cm wide), with the upper parts of the left-hand text columns, is Cairo TR $\frac{2511}{601} 2$.

Text: *[...]p sꜥ.t hr* [...] , delimit your protection about
[... dꜣwꜥ-mꜣwꜥ]fnty im.t [Duamut]ef, who is in you;
imꜥ[hꜥ]y hr dꜣwꜥ-mꜣwꜥ the honoured before Duamutef,
nsw [...] King [...].

D. Description: Fragments making up complete jar, bearing the Qebhsenuf formula incised and filled with blue/green pigment.

Dimensions: Height 26 cm, Diameter 19 cm.

Present Location: Uncertain.

Text: *slqt stꜥ sꜥ.t hr* Selqet, delimit your protection about
qbꜥh-sn.wfnty im.t Qebhsenuf, who is in you;
imꜥhy hr qbꜥh-sn.wf the honoured before Qebhsenuf,
nsw imny-qmꜥw mꜥ' hrw King Ameny-Qemau, true of voice.

There remains confusion as to whether anything of the lids were found. EDWARD F. WENTE remarks that 'the jars, as usual, had lids representing the four sons of Horus'³¹). A contemporary newspaper report also mentions 'covers from four canopic jars found in the tomb'³²). However, no such elements are included in the FARID photographs, nor do they appear to be in the Cairo Temporary Register. Their existence thus remains uncertain.

DISCUSSION

The jars basically conform to the size, shape and textual content that becomes broadly standard from the latter half of the Twelfth Dynasty. The precise textual formulation is that characterised by SETHE as 'Type III'³³), whose distinguishing features are the writing out of the initial Π of *stꜥ-sꜥ*, together with ending the first section with *imꜥt/t*, rather than *hr.t/t*. The type specimens come from the reigns of Sesostrius III and Ammenemes III, being the jars of Princesses Menet³⁴) and Sithathorinet³⁵).

Given the problems in precisely fixing Ameny-Qemau within the Thirteenth Dynasty, it is interesting to compare his jars with those of the fourteenth king, Hor³⁶), and those of the latter's daughter

³⁰) The nature of the numbers marked on sherds is unclear. They were presumably applied before arrival at the Egyptian Museum, since they do not square with any of the numbering systems used there.

³¹) NARCE 25, [1]. In response to an enquiry, Professor WENTE tells us: 'My recollection is that the description I gave of them came solely from a conversation I had with Sami Gabra. I rather doubt now that the stoppers of the jars had the animal heads of the 4 sons of Horus at this early date, and perhaps the statement I made was based on a mention of the 4 sons on the body of each jar. I do not remember ever actually seeing the jars' (personal communication, 3 March 1996).

³²) Denver Post 24 July 1957.

³³) K. SETHE, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern, und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche* (Berlin, 1934),

1*. The text-types mentioned in this paper are reproduced at figure 5.

³⁴) CG 4005-6, from Dahshur (G. A. REISNER, *Canopics* (CCG) [Cairo, 1967], 3-4).

³⁵) MMA 16.1.45-8, from Lahun (G. BRUNTON, *Lahun I: the Treasure* [London, 1920], pl. 14).

³⁶) CG 4019-22 (REISNER, *Canopics*, 11-4; CEKE, 146).

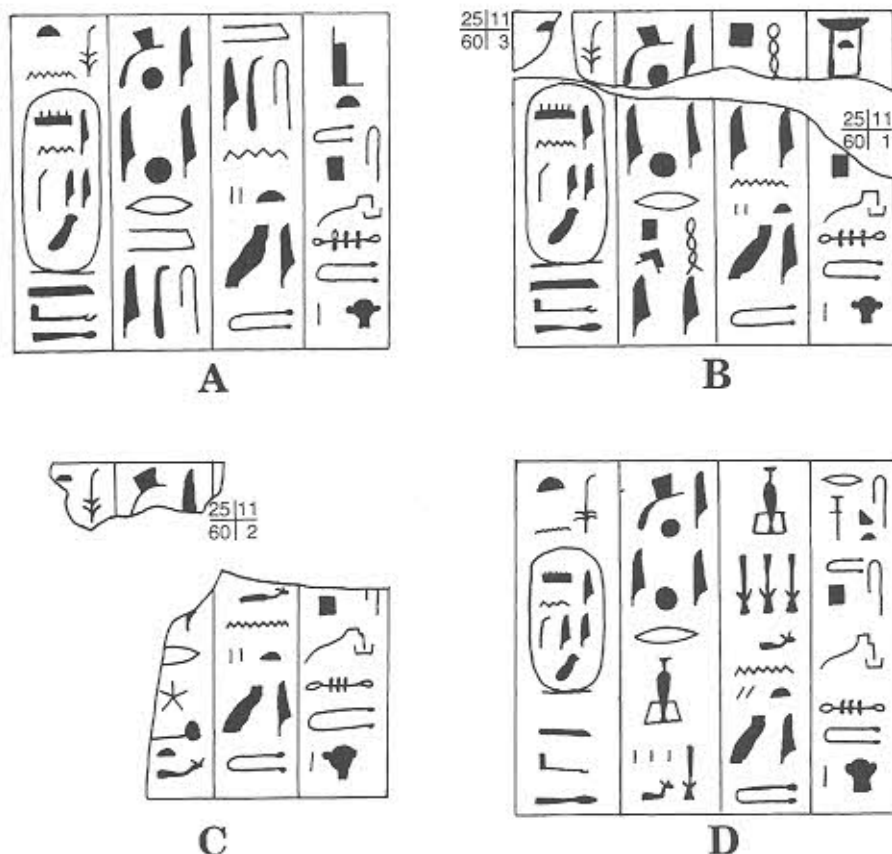


Fig. 4: The canopic texts of Ameny-Qemau

Typus III :	GODDESS		GENIUS		GENIUS NN
Typus IV :	GODDESS		GENIUS		GENIUS NN
Typus V :	GODDESS		GENIUS		GENIUS NN
Typus VI :	GODDESS		GENIUS		GENIUS NN
Typus VII :	ISIS / NEPTHYS		GENIUS		GENIUS NN
	NEITH / SELQET		GENIUS		GENIUS NN

Fig. 5: Canopic formulae of the late Middle Kingdom (after SETHE)

Typus III: Ameny-Qemau; Princesses Menet, Sithathoriunet

Typus IV: Hor, Sobkemsaf (jars)


Typus V: Hor (chest)

Typus VI: Princess Nubhetepthikhered (jars)

Typus VII: Princess Nubhetepthikhered (chest)

ter, Nubheteptikhered³⁷). Both individuals had been buried in tombs built into shaft-graves along the north side of the Dahshur pyramid of Ammenemes III³⁸).

Dimensionally, all the vases are very similar; likewise, their shapes conform to Middle Kingdom norms. In addition, the *f*-vipers all lack the rear of their bodies, and both kings' jars have their bird signs deprived of legs. Those of Nubheteptikhered lack birds altogether. These features clearly distinguish the Thirteenth Dynasty jars from the late Twelfth Dynasty group.



However, no set is precisely the same as another in the area of text-formulae. The two kings' jars are the most alike, but with differences which might point to Ameny-Qemau's being the earlier³⁹). Hor's comply with SETHE's 'Type IV', in failing to spell out , and using *hr* for *im*⁴⁰). This type persists into the Seventeenth Dynasty⁴¹), with the implication that jars bearing it should be later than those with Type III, attested in only the Twelfth and (now) Thirteenth Dynasties. Pointing in a similar direction is the fact that Hor's chest⁴²), and the jars of Nubheteptikhered, bear versions of the canopic formula (Types V and VI) which move a step further away from Type III, dropping *stp-sj* at the opening of the formula in favour of *hsp wy* – the concept of protective embrace⁴³) that becomes the core of most subsequent canopic formulae⁴⁴). In addition, these two types add the phrase *dd-mdw (in)* at the beginning, thus heralding the introduction that becomes normal from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards. Of course, one should be careful of drawing any far-reaching conclusions from such a small sample of material.

Turning to the royal names inscribed on the jars of Hor and Ameny-Qemau, a number of interesting points arise. One is the fact that while Hor employs the full title, *nsw-bity*, Ameny-Qemau is only called *nsw*⁴⁵). Looking at the full range of extant royal canopic equipment, the vast majority use simply '*nsw*', ranging from the early Seventeenth Dynasty chest of Djehuty, through those of mid-Eighteenth Dynasty kings, down to Apries of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty⁴⁶). Only a tiny number use '*nsw-bity*', principally those of Tutankhamun (isolated use on two coffinettes only)⁴⁷), Smen-

³⁷) CG 4007-10 (REISNER, *Canopics*, 4-7).

³⁸) PM III², 888-9.

³⁹) The fact that Hor's texts are disposed over three columns, whereas Ameny-Qemau's are written in four, is of no import, since four columns appear in the Twelfth Dynasty (e.g. Sithathorionet), contemporary with Hor (Nubheteptikhered), and in the early Eighteenth Dynasty (Ahmes-Nefertiri: JE 26255 [C. LILLYQUIST, *Some Dynasty 18 Canopic Jars from Royal Burials in the Cairo Museum*, JARCE 30, 1993, 111-4]).

⁴⁰) The latter substitution might have been intended to remove at least one of the potentially-dangerous bird-signs from the text. On the other hand, the *sj*-goose remained (albeit halved), and the same effect could have been achieved by substituting  for ; such a phonetic writing of the king's nomen had avoided the use of the Horus-hawk. On the omission or mutilation of hieroglyphs for prophylactic reasons, see P. LACAU, *Suppressions et modifications de signes dans les textes funéraires*, ZÄS 51 (1913), 1-64.

⁴¹) On the canopic jars painted on the inner lid of the canopic chest of King Sobkemsaf (Leiden AH 216: CEKE, 118, 152-6).

⁴²) Cairo JE 51266. CEKE, 144.

⁴³) *hsp* is probably best translated as 'enfold' in this context, given that the usual translation of the word is 'hide' (FAULKNER, CD, 163). *stp-sj* is used in most subsequent formula-types, but in a more subsidiary position, with an 'embracing' clause at the beginning of a text.

⁴⁴) By the Eighteenth Dynasty, *hsp* is supplemented by other words with similar implications, each goddess/genius pairing using a different synonym (see CEKE, 143). The first steps towards this are already seen on the chest of Nubheteptikhered (SETHE's Type VII).

⁴⁵) GABRA used this to question Ameny-Qemau's regal status, regarding him as only a prince with the title 'maître du sud'. Cf. his attempts to also deny that the tomb was actually a pyramid, n. 6, above.

⁴⁶) CEKE, 146-69, 174-83. GABRA's arguments had been countered at the time on similar grounds by WENTE, NARCE 25, [2].

⁴⁷) Cairo JE 60687, 60691.

des⁴⁸), Amenemopet (chest only)⁴⁹), and Harsiese⁵⁰). That there can be no significance in this variation is shown by the random nature of this distribution, although emphasising that 'nsw' is clearly the fundamental designation for a deceased monarch. The same phenomenon of the general use of 'nsw' is also seen on royal coffins, the only extant users of 'nsw-bity' being Hor⁵¹), Taa II⁵²), Tuthmosis I⁵³), Neferneferuaten⁵⁴), and the Saite coffin provided for Mykerinos⁵⁵).

The other difference concerns the choice of cartouches on the jars. On Hor's, the prenomen is found on the Imseti and Duamutef jars, the nomen on those of Hapy and Qebhsenuf. Based on the Ameney-Qemau fragments in the Cairo Temporary Register, which only preserve one (nomen) cartouche, together with remains of the Hapy formula, it had been assumed that a similar situation existed in Ameney-Qemau's set, with the Imseti and Duamutef jars adorned with the king's hitherto-unknown prenomen⁵⁶). However, the photographs here published show that all four jars bore the nomen.

This exclusive use of the nomen seems at first sight curious, since the prenomen is generally seen to be the usual mode of designating a king, where only one name is employed, from the end of the Old Kingdom until the very end of the Third Intermediate Period and later, when the nomen comes to the fore⁵⁷). However, looking at funerary equipment of the Second Intermediate Period, the situation appears rather less singular. Taking canopics first, of the three extant Seventeenth Dynasty, only that of Inyotef V⁵⁸) includes a prenomen, albeit in the same cartouche as the nomen. Those of Djehuty⁵⁹) and Sobkemsaf II⁶⁰) carry only a nomen. Likewise, the coffins of Inyotef V⁶¹) and VI⁶²), together with Kamose, have only a nomen (without even a cartouche in the latter case)⁶³).

IV. The King

The discovery that all four canopic jars of Ameney-Qemau bore his nomen removes the main hope of easily ascertaining his prenomen, and thus tying him into the Thirteenth Dynasty through the Turin Canon or other documents, given his apparent absence under the guise of his nomen from

⁴⁸) Metropolitan Museum of Art 47.60, and Paris, Aubert Collection.

⁴⁹) Cairo JE 86068.

⁵⁰) Cairo JE 59900. The texts of all these are provided in *CEKE*, 168, 172, 176, 178.

⁵¹) Cairo CG 28106.

⁵²) Cairo CG 61001.

⁵³) Cairo CG 61025.

⁵⁴) Cairo JE 39627.

⁵⁵) British Museum EA 6647. All original texts from royal coffins will be published in DODSON, *The Coffins and Canopic Equipment from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (in preparation).

⁵⁶) *CEKE*, 30.

⁵⁷) M.A. LEAHY, *Saite Royal Sculpture: a Review*, *GM* 80 (1984), 69-70. Pasenhor, looking back from the Year 37 of the reign of Shoshenq V, uses plain nomina in recounting his royal ancestors (Louvre AF 123; M. MALININE/G. POSENER/J. VERCOUTTER, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, I [Paris, 1968], 30-1).

⁵⁸) Sekhemre-wepmaet: Louvre E 2538; *CEKE*, 150.

⁵⁹) Berlin 1175; *CEKE*, 148.

⁶⁰) Sekhemre-wadjkhau (?): Leiden AH 216; *CEKE*, 152.

⁶¹) Louvre E 3019.

⁶²) Nubkheperre (BME A 6652).

⁶³) DODSON, *Coffins*; the latter situation, however, may be due to lack of space on the 'stock' coffin, since the preceding Taa II includes both his cartouches. Inyotef VII (Sekhemre-heruhirmaet), probably short-lived successor of Inyotef VI, had his prenomen inscribed on his coffin (Louvre E 3020): one might imply that the practice of using both prenomen and nomen was reverted to in the latter half of the Seventeenth Dynasty.

any other monuments⁶⁴). However, the implication of the canopic formulation, that he should precede Hor, is wholly consistent with the typological position of Ameny-Qemau's sarcophagus/canopic chest amongst the period's funerary monuments⁶⁵).

This places the pyramid between the Hawara monument of Ammenemes III and the North Pyramid at Mazghuna, which in turn precedes the Southern Mazghuna monument, and finally that of Khendjer. The latter, and the tomb of Hor, are the only royal sepulchres of the dynasty securely tied into its chronological structure. Ameny-Qemau ought thus to fall amongst the first dozen kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty. In view of the extreme rarity of the '-Qemau' element in royal names, there might seem a high likelihood that it is he who is referred to in the nomen of King Hetepibre-Hornedjhiyotef-si-Qemau, known from material from near Asyut and the eastern Delta⁶⁶). If the latter monarch has been correctly identified with Turin VI.12's Sehetepibre, Ameny-Qemau would then logically become the preceding Smenkare. However, this equation has been disproved by the discovery that the latter's nomen was actually Nebnuni⁶⁷).

On the other hand, if one follows RYHOLT in reading Ameny-Qemau's name as meaning 'Qemau, (son of) Ameny', taking the 'Ameny' as being Ammenemes V⁶⁸), this would seem to imply that he had the prenomen Sehetepibre (T.VI.8), and was separated from his alleged 'son', Hornedjhiyotef, by the reigns of Iuefni, Ammenemes VI and Nebnuni. RYHOLT nevertheless takes an alternative view of the Turin Sehetepibres, making VI.8 Hornedjhiyotef and holding that the nomen of the king at VI.12 remains unknown. This would leave Qemau without a known prenomen, and also absent from the Turin Canon⁶⁹).

In the present state of knowledge it is difficult to definitively choose between these options, although DODSON tends to lean towards the T.VI.8 Sehetepibre equation. In any case, it is clear that Ameny-Qemau should be placed amongst the earlier kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty⁷⁰).

Appendix 1: LEPSIUS Pyramid LIX is identified with the north pyramid of Mazghunah.

Nearly seventy alleged pyramids were logged by CARL RICHARD LEPSIUS' great expedition. Although a number have proven not to be actual pyramids⁷¹), all but one have been identified by mod-

⁶⁴) Cf., however, the curious fragment published by HANS GOEDICKE, *A puzzling inscription*, *JEA* 45 (1959), 98-9, which may name him, as was pointed out to me by KIM RYHOLT (personal communication, 30 August 1996). For this piece, see also H. FISCHER/R. CAMINOS, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Paleography*³ (New York, 1987), 49.

⁶⁵) DODSON, *ZÄS* 114, 40.

⁶⁶) G. DARESSY, *Remarques et notes*, *RT* 16 (1894), 133; A. KAMAL, *Rapport sur le nécropole d'Arabe-el-Borg*, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 80; L. HABACHI, *Khata'na-Qantir: Importance*, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 458-70, pl. IX. STEVEN QUIRKE would also take the names as evidence for a father to son succession, although noting that there remains the possibility of Hornedjhiyotef's father being a non-royal Qemau (*MK Studies*, 129).

⁶⁷) G. CASTEL and G. SOUKIASSIAN, *Dépot de stèles dans le sanctuaire du Nouvel Empire au Gebel Zeit*, *BIFAO* 85 (1985), 290, pl. LXII. We thank KIM RYHOLT for this reference, and for other points discussed with DODSON in September 1996.

⁶⁸) RYHOLT, *GM* 156 (1997), 97; ID., *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 B.C.* (Copenhagen, 1997), 214 f. For the proposal that the compound nomina of the Thirteenth Dynasty represent filiations, see RYHOLT, *A Reconsideration of Some Royal Nomens of the Thirteenth Dynasty*, *GM* 119 (1990), 101-13, and RYHOLT, *op. cit.*, 207-9.

⁶⁹) RYHOLT, *GM* 156 (1997), 95-100; ID., *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 B.C.* (Copenhagen 1997), 11 f. and 214 f., where it is argued that this reign is concealed in the *wsf*-entry at T. VI.7.

⁷⁰) For various older discussions, cf. W. C. HAYES, *Egypt: from the Death of Ammenemes III to Seqenenre II*, *CAH*² II, ch. ii, 7, who preferred to make Ameny-Qemau identical with the well-known (Ameny-Inyotef-)Ammenemes VI, and J. VON BECKERATH, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (Gütersloh, 1964), 233.

⁷¹) For example, L. XXXIII-IV are the North and South Buildings of the Step Pyramid enclosure.

ern research, most recently L.I, the Brick Pyramid at Abu Rowash⁷²); that exception is L. LIX. This monument has long puzzled us, and one might have initially speculated that it could represent the pyramid of Ameny-Qemau. Part of the problem has been a discrepancy in LEPSIUS' reports: on the plate in the *Denkmäler* itself⁷³), it is stated to be 'östlich' of Dahshur (village); this is, however, corrected to 'west' in the text volume produced after his death⁷⁴). The latter also gives other data concerning the monument, which is stated to be:

- A destroyed pyramid clearly seen as a black square, the side of which measured 75 paces (= 58 metres = 110 cubits), oriented to the cardinal points and surrounded by a white circle (of stone chippings) several metres thick;
- 3/4 hour's walk away from the southern end of the main Dahshur necropolis.

COMMENT: a 3/4 hour's walk away from the southern end of the main Dahshur necropolis (i.e. the Bent Pyramid), should cover a distance of about 3000 metres; this makes Ameny-Qemau's pyramid too close and brings us to the pyramids of Mazghunah (See Fig. 1);

- Closer to Dahshur village than L. LVI, LVII and LVIII (the Bent Pyramid, its subsidiary and the Black Pyramid).

COMMENT: there is more than one Dahshur:

- It lies in an Arab cemetery built of brick and stone.

i. Manshiyet Dahshur close to the Black Pyramid;

ii. Zawiyet Dahshur close to the pyramids of Mazghunah (See Fig. 6b);

iii. Dahshur village, close to the pyramids of Mazghunah (See Fig. 6b);

COMMENT: the site of the pyramid of Ameny-Qemau is bare of any modern cemetery. ERNEST MACKAY's work in 1912 at the northern pyramid of Mazghunah⁷⁵), however, mentions a Coptic cemetery over the site of his excavation, and a dike (the Gisir Dahshur, adjacent to a drainage canal). For the latter, see Fig. 6b.

Further to these statements LEPSIUS' plan of pyramid LIX is redrawn here as fig. 6a, and certain features lettered for further analysis:

- A: a pyramid oriented to the cardinal points and surrounded with chippings, a feature also mentioned in the text.

COMMENT: the chippings might, of course, have been quarried away since LEPSIUS' day, the bricks recycled and every trace of the pyramid's base denuded.

- B: another small pyramid.

COMMENT: this is most probably a queen's pyramid; subsidiary pyramids were not built subsequent to Sesostri's I's monument at Lisht. The relative position of this queen's pyramid is similar to the pyramid of the queen of Khend-

⁷²) SWELIM, *The Brick Pyramid at Abu Rowash: No. 1 by Lepsius. A Preliminary Study* (Alexandria, 1987).

⁷³) LD I, pl. 43.

⁷⁴) LD Text I, 209 (n. 1).

⁷⁵) W. M. F. PETRIE, E. MACKAY and G. A. WAINWRIGHT, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* (London, 1912), 50-3.

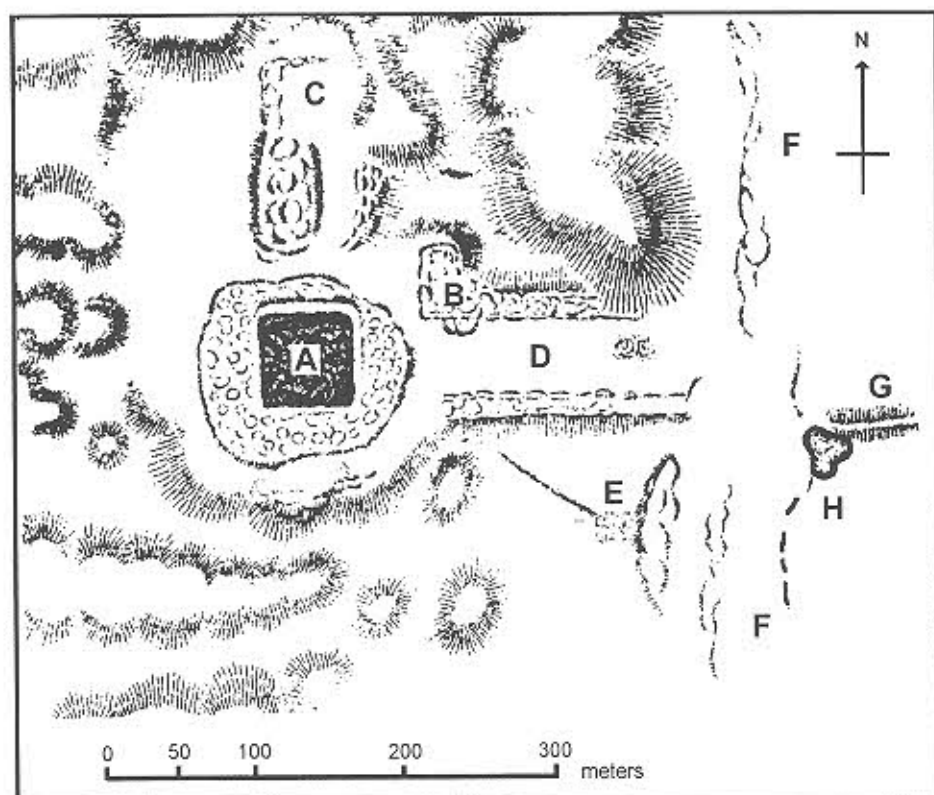


Fig. 6a: Lepsius Pyramid LIX (from LD I, Taf. 43)

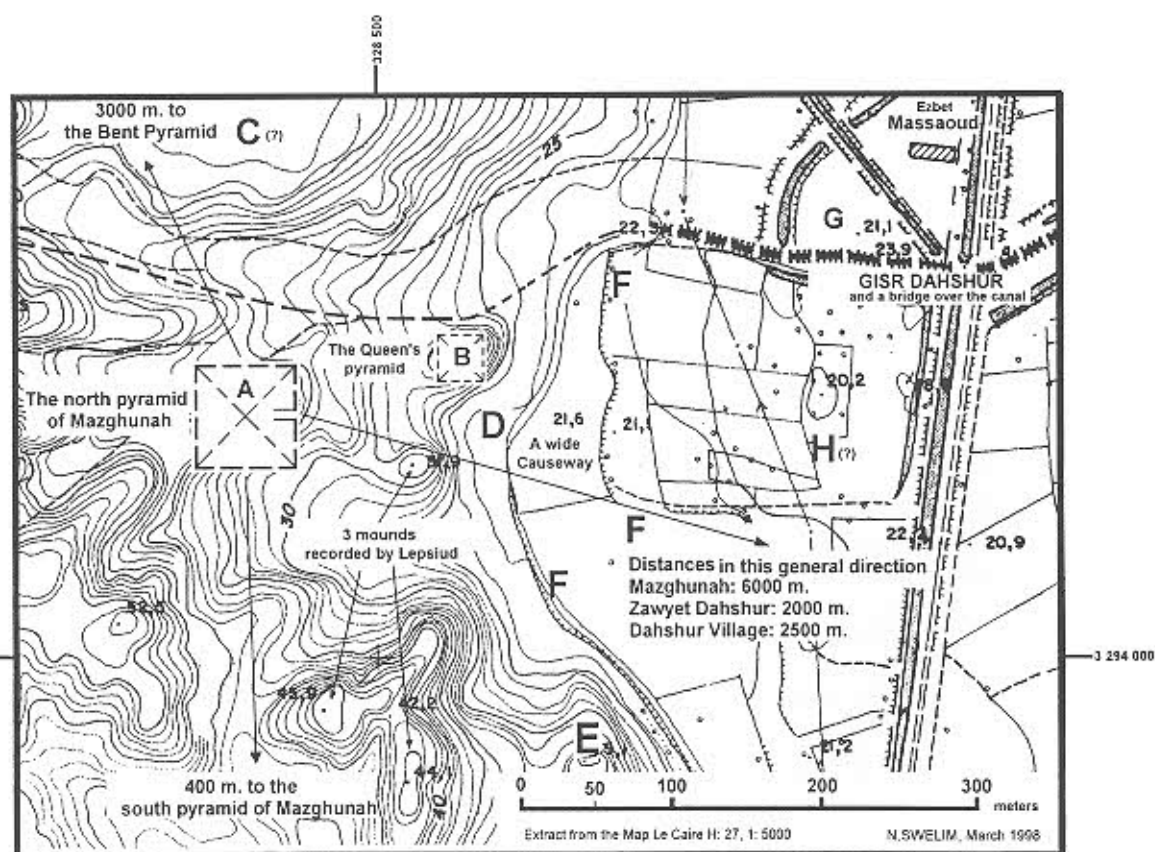


Fig. 6b: The north pyramid of Mazghunah = Lepsius Pyramid LIX

C: a long white building.

D: a causeway 50 metres wide.

E: an apparently rectangular building, with a path(?) descending in a north-westerly direction.

F: the desert edge lying at a distance of 300 metres from the pyramid.

G: a dike.

H: an unidentified feature.

jer. This feature could have become buried after LEPSIUS' visit.

COMMENT: this feature could also have become buried after LEPSIUS' visit.

COMMENT: a broad causeway 30 metres wide is to be found at the Black Pyramid and something similar in the complex of Khendjer. At L. LIX this feature seems to be 50 metres wide and could have become buried subsequent to the drawing of LEPSIUS' plan.

COMMENT: this feature could have become buried after LEPSIUS' visit.

COMMENT: in the description of LEPSIUS, there is no mention of Lake Dahshur which is 500 metres east of Amen-y-Qemau's pyramid. It may be noted that both pyramids of Mazghunah are at a distance of 300 metres from the edge of the desert which should remain a feature unlikely to have changed over the past century- and-a-half.

COMMENT: dikes may be found alongside irrigation canals and drainage canals, and as basin division dikes. The one on the plate should be a basin dike insignificantly recorded on Fig. 6b; but it could be a more important one to the north. Such dikes have changed a little since the building of the High Dam at Aswan and modern roads have been paved on top of many of them.

COMMENT: this feature could have become buried after LEPSIUS' visit.

Although few of the elements discerned by the Prussian expedition can be easily paralleled in the known components of any of the pyramid complexes south of the main Dahshur necropolis, the distinctly summary examinations carried out in them makes this difficulty less significant than might otherwise be the case. More positively, however, one can safely exclude the equation of LEPSIUS LIX with the pyramid of Amen-y-Qemau, and state that the balance of probability would point to its identity with the northern pyramid of Mazghunah.

Appendix 2: Summary List of the Pyramids of the Thirteenth Dynasty

Given the fact that the kings of the late Twelfth Dynasty and those of the Seventeenth all constructed pyramids, one would assume the continuation of the tradition throughout the Thirteenth. However, the latter dynasty's thirty-plus monarchs are matched by only eight potential kingly pyramids, leaving a considerable shortfall⁷⁶).

⁷⁶) Cf. the tomb of Hor as a possible archetype for many of the 'missing' tombs.

To the Thirteenth Dynasty we can attribute ten actual pyramids, and two pyramidia in the Cairo Museum⁷⁷):

Mazghunah:	North Pyramid (LEPSIUS LIX).
Mazghunah:	pyramid of the queen(?) of the owner of LEPSIUS LIX.
Mazghunah:	South Pyramid.
Dahshur:	'Central' pyramid of Ammenemes ? V ? (LEPSIUS LIV).
South Dahshur:	pyramid of Amen-y-Qemau.
South Saqqara:	pyramid of Khendjer (LEPSIUS XLIV).
South Saqqara:	pyramid of the queen of Khendjer.
South Saqqara:	Unfinished Pyramid (LEPSIUS XLVI) ⁷⁸).
Pyramidia in Cairo:	Merneferre Ay. Another from Ezbet Rushdi el-Kibira (Tell el-Dab'a) ⁷⁹ .

Appendix 3:

Relative positions of Middle Kingdom Pyramids in Dahshur/Mazghunah area

The following table gives the distances in metres between 5 pyramids, namely the Bent Pyramid, the Black Pyramid, Amen-y-Qemau's pyramid (A-Q), Mazghunah northern pyramid (MN) and Mazghunah southern pyramid (MS).

	Bent	Black	A-Q	MN	MS
Bent	0	1400	1450	3000	3400
Black	1400	0	1100	3000	3450
A-Q	1450	1100	0	1800	2230
MN	3000	3000	1800	0	450
MS	3400	3450	2230	450	0

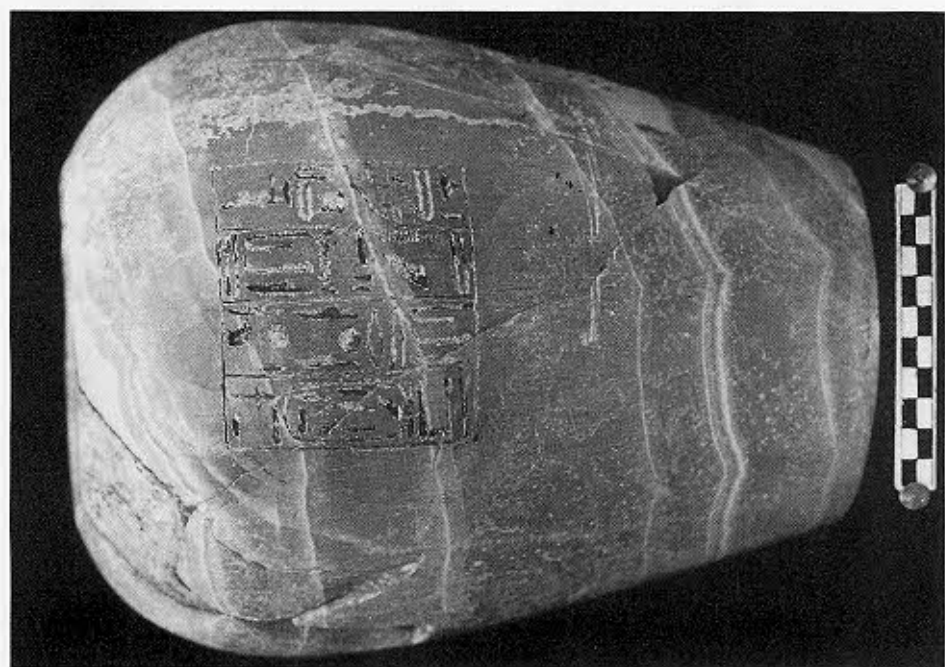
Abstract

The publication of the canopic jars from the Thirteenth Dynasty pyramid of king Amen-y-Qemau at South Dahshur, together with remarks on aspects of the sepulchre's discovery and context amongst the royal tombs of the late Middle Kingdom. The canopic jars and their inscriptions are discussed in connexion with other examples of the same general date from Dahshur.

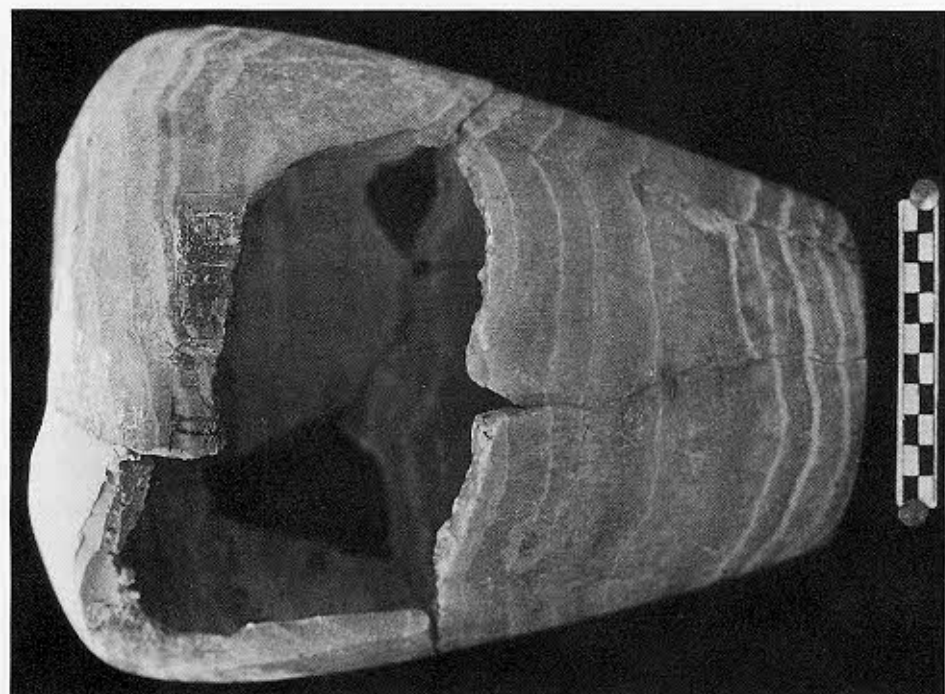
⁷⁷) The pyramids are mapped conveniently by LEHNER, *Complete Pyramids* (London, New York, 1997), 10.

⁷⁸) The owner has now been identified by RYHOLT as bearing the Nebty-name *Wsr-h'w*.

⁷⁹) HARACHI, *ASAE* 52, 471-9; RYHOLT, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 B. C.* (Copenhagen 1997), 82, 146 f., n. 254, argues strongly that these items were the result of the plundering of the Memphite royal cemeteries by the Hyksos, who also transported many other items of sculpture to Tell el-Daba (e.g. CG 392 ff.).

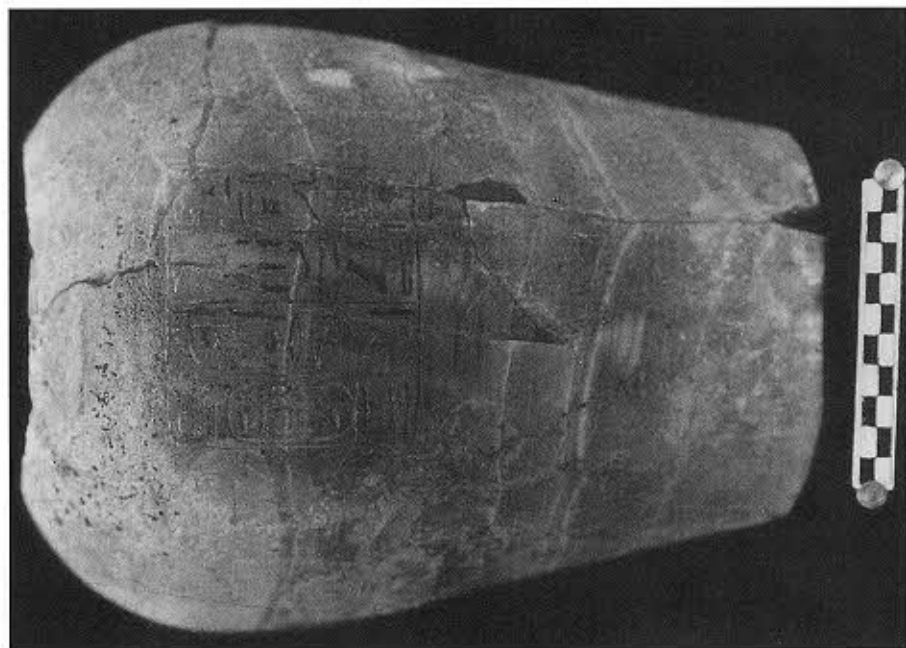


a) The Imseti jar (A) of Amenemhat

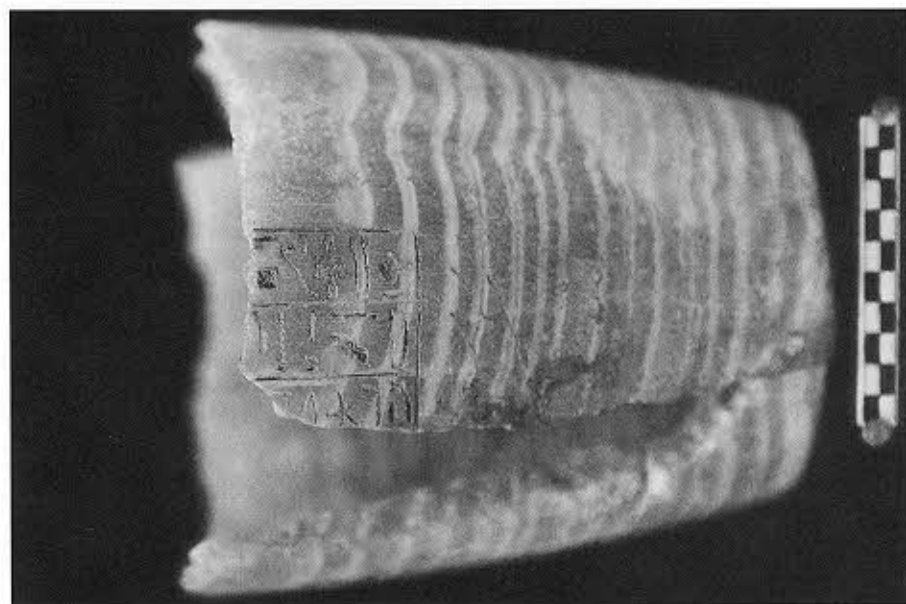


b) Fragments of the Hapy jar (B); the missing parts include

25	11	25	11
Cairo TR	60	1	60
			3



b) The Qebehsenuef jar (D)



a) Fragments of the Duamutef jar (C); the missing parts include

25 | 11
Cairo TR 60 | 2