

Contents

1	Introduction — 1
2	Traditional interpretation — 4
2.1	Location of Naref — 5
2.1.1	Reassessment of the different attempts at locating Naref — 5
	a. Identification of Naref with Abusir el-Meleq — 5
	b. Other suggestions — 17
2.2	References to Naref in the Herakleopolitan territory — 17
2.3	New perspective of analysis — 27
3	Philological analysis of the word Naref — 36
3.1	Constituents — 36
3.2	Revision of interpretations concerning spelling and etymology — 39
	a. Spellings and suggested transliterations — 39
	b. Analysis of spellings — 43
	c. Suggested translations and etymologies — 51
4	Interpretation of Naref — 54
4.1	Mythological contexts: analysis — 54
	a. Funerary sphere — 55
	Osirian aspect: burial of the god's body and relics — 56
	Solar aspect: entrance to the Beyond — 76
	b. Legal sphere: triumph and justification — 82
	c. Royal sphere: assumption of royal power — 104
4.2	Mythological contexts: interpretation – divine space and figure — 119
5	Osiris Naref, Osiris in/of Naref — 127
5.1	Iconography — 130
5.2	Epithets — 140
5.3	Priests — 149
6	Conclusions — 181
7	Catalogue of sources — 185
7.1	Remarks — 185
7.2	New Kingdom — 188
7.2.1	Statues and Stelae — 188
7.2.2	Tombs — 192
7.2.3	Temples — 198

7.2.4	Papyri —	200
7.2.5	Miscellany —	202
7.3	Third Intermediate Period —	204
7.3.1	Statues and Stelae —	204
7.3.2	Tombs —	210
7.3.3	Papyri —	216
7.3.4	Miscellany —	217
7.4	Kushite and Saite Periods —	220
7.4.1	Statues and Stelae —	220
7.4.2	Tombs —	233
7.4.3	Coffins —	235
7.4.4	Papyri —	240
7.4.5	Miscellany —	243
7.5	Last Dynasties (27th–30th) – Early Ptolemaic Period —	246
7.5.1	Statues and Stelae —	246
7.5.2	Temples and Naoi —	252
7.5.3	Coffins —	253
7.5.4	Papyri and Mummy Bandages —	258
7.5.5	Miscellany —	260
7.6	Ptolemaic and Roman Periods —	264
7.6.1	Statues —	264
7.6.2	Temples —	266
7.6.3	Coffins —	277
7.6.4	Papyri —	278
7.6.5	Miscellany —	283
8	Tables of spellings of Naref/Osiris Naref —	284
8.1	Table 5. Catalogue of spellings of Naref (funerary spells, hymns, Letters for Breathing, Osirian liturgies) —	284
8.2	Table 6. Catalogue of spellings of Naref —	303

References — 318

List of figures and tables — 350

Figures — 351

Indices — 364