

The Realm of the Pharaohs

Essays in Honor of Tohfa Handoussa



Volume I

Edited by
Zahi A. Hawass,
Khaled A. Daoud
and Sawsan Abd El-Fattah

CAHIER N° 37



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Cover Illustration:
Massive golden finger ring
(University Museum, inv.-no. 1929).



Dr. Tohfa Handoussa and Dr. Zahi Hawass, 2008.

THE REALM OF ANCIENT EGYPT
ESSAYS IN HONOR OF
TOHFA HANDOUSSA

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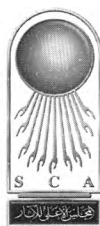
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BOAT GRAVES IN THE OLD KINGDOM ROYAL FUNERARY COMPLEXES

*Tarek EL AWADY**

Among the fruitful results of the archaeological season 2002, the Egyptian expedition working in the area on the upper southern side of Sahure's causeway at Abusir uncovered four huge inscribed blocks depicting a scene of Sahure's royal fleet.¹ (Pls 1-4, Figs 1-4) The scene shows King Sahure maneuvering the sail of his royal sailboat. Evidence suggests that he was depicted in the same manner on his second royal sailboat of which only the name of the boat survived (*ntrj Bꜣ*). The two royal sailboats are accompanied by a magnificent convoy of sailboats that are decorated with various shapes of divine figures on their prows and sterns. Unfortunately, only the remains of nine sailboats can be identified. The accompanying sailboats are depicted on a smaller scale than the two royal boats of Sahure and are shown in two registers on each block.² The sailboats are depicted at the moment of reaching their destination. This is confirmed by the depiction of rows of running men carrying ropes and short sticks, most likely to help in mooring the sailboats.³

The discovered scenes of Sahure's royal fleet should contribute to the longstanding questions concerning the function of royal boats and the boat graves in royal funerary complexes of the Old Kingdom. In fact, the scenes of Sahure's royal fleet are considered to be the only well preserved and informative iconographic evidence of royal boats from the Old Kingdom.

I.1 Sources of Information

H. Altenmüller's study on boat graves of the Old Kingdom is one of the most recent detailed studies.⁴ His study on the function of the boats and boat graves in the royal funerary complexes was comprised mostly of boat scenes from Old Kingdom non-royal tombs. The following discussion will not include these non-royal scenes because I believe that they have a completely different meaning and function. In fact, scholars who have dealt with this subject have many different interpretations that can only be explained by the lack of evidence and material, which can be used in such studies.

I.1.1 The Archaeological Material

The boat graves inside the royal funerary complexes are still an open subject for discussion among scholars who have developed different interpretations for their existence. The reasons for these inconsistent theories are due to the following facts:

1. Boat graves have not been found in all the royal funerary complexes from the Old Kingdom.⁵ However, there is no conclusive means to determine with certainty which pyramid complexes do not have boat graves, due to the incomplete archeological investigation around the Old Kingdom royal funerary complexes.⁶

2. The number, location and orientation of boat graves in the royal funerary complexes differ as the following list shows:

- Five boat graves were found in Khufu's funerary complex at Giza: two boat graves oriented east-west are on the south side of the pyramid, two boat graves oriented north-south are on the east side of the pyramid (flanking the mortuary temple), and finally the fifth boat grave oriented east-west on the upper northern side of the causeway.⁷ (Plan 1)

- One boat grave, oriented north-south, was found to the east of Djedefre's pyramid at Abu Rawash.⁸ (Plan 2)

- Five boat graves have been found around the mortuary temple of Khafre at Giza; two boat graves on the northern side of the mortuary temple and another two boat graves on the southern side of the temple, all four boat graves were oriented east-west. The fifth boat grave was located on the southern side of the mortuary temple and oriented north-south.⁹ (Plan 3)

- One boat grave was found to the south of Neferirkare's pyramid at Abusir. The orientation of the grave is east-west.¹⁰ (Plan 4)

- Two wooden boats were found in a magazine of the mortuary temple of Reneferef at Abusir (now in Port Said National Museum) (Plan 5). The two boats were oriented east-west, however the orientation east-west was due to the size and the orientation of the room in which the two boats were discovered.¹¹ In his comments on these two boats, H. Altenmüller connected them with the two boats of Reneferef, which were mentioned in the Abusir Papyri.¹² However, he admitted that the two boats in the papyri are of a different form and one of the boats seems to be an earthly boat while the other seems to be a celestial boat.¹³

- Two boat graves that are side by side were found on the upper southern side of the causeway of Unas at Saqqara. The graves are oriented east-west.¹⁴

- Only two boats were discovered dismantled in the two graves on the south side of Khufu's pyramid at Giza. The eastern boat was reconstructed and is exhibited in the Boat Museum to the south of the Great Pyramid.¹⁵ (Fig. 5)

I.1.2 The Iconographical Material

The new scene of Sahure's royal fleet is at present the only scene that provides detailed information about Old Kingdom royal boats. Before discovering this scene, scenes of royal boats were known from fragments,¹⁶ and mostly not in situ.¹⁷ However, it is important to stress that the papyri-form boats with the prow and stern which resemble Khufu's reconstructed boat and the two boats of Sahure on SC/south/2002/01 were exclusively for kings.¹⁸ (Figs 1, 5) This can be seen by the remains which survived from the depictions of royal boats. It can also be easily proved by examining the forms of the boats that are depicted on the walls of the non-royal tombs; where the boats never resemble the discovered boat of Khufu or the two boats of Sahure depicted on SC/south/2002/01.

The scanty amount of royal iconographic material regarding royal boats is in contrast to the relatively rich iconographic material of private boats used by non-royal persons belonging to different social classes.¹⁹ The scenes of non-royal boats refer to the fact that the form of Khufu's Papyri-form boat and the two leading boats of Sahure SC/south/2002/01 were reserved exclusively for kings. In other words, these boats were part of the royal regalia in the Old Kingdom.

I.2 The Meaning of the Boat Graves in Old Kingdom Royal Funerary Complexes

Scholars, who have dealt with the problem of the function of the boat graves in the royal funerary complexes, can be classified into three groups, each with a different theory.²⁰ The first group of scholars believes that the boat graves, whether they contained real wooden boats or never contained boats, represent symbolic solar boats for the king's use in the afterlife.²¹ The second group of scholars opposed the theory that the king had to have solar boats for his transport in the afterlife.²² They believe that the boat graves are funerary boats used for the king's last trip (his funeral) to his eternal resting place.²³ The third group of scholars believe in the multifunction of the boat graves in the Old Kingdom royal funerary complex: solar boats, funerary boats and state boats.²⁴ However, other scholars concluded that it was too difficult to determine the actual function or the real purpose of the king's boats with the available evidence.²⁵

I.2.1 Previous Approaches and Theories

Selim Hassan, after discovering the five boat graves around the mortuary temple of Khafre in the working season 1934-1935, made a detailed study about the problem of boat graves inside the royal funerary complexes.²⁶ His study was more or less a group of interpretations and analysis of the funerary and religious texts especially the Pyramid Texts, on which he relied and concluded that all the boat graves inside the royal funerary complexes were intended to house solar boats for the king's daily journeys to the east and to the west.²⁷ Hassan not only considered all the boat graves with the east-west orientation to be solar boats but also those with the north-south orientation, because

as Hassan explained, the sun god in his day solar boat was said to turn southward in order to reach the west and take the night solar boat which, in return, was said to turn northward at the end of its journey in order to reach the east.²⁸

Eight years after the published study of Selim Hassan, the two boat graves on the south side of Khufu's pyramid were discovered by Kamal El Mallakh in 1945. He published several articles in newspapers announcing 'the discovery of the Solar Barques of Khufu'.²⁹ It was obvious that El Mallakh was influenced by Hassan's theory.

J. Černý was among the first scholars who went against El Mallakh's theory concerning the meaning of the two wooden boats on the south side of Khufu's pyramid.³⁰ Černý's argument against the solar meaning of the boat graves can be summarized as follows:

1. The discovered boat of Khufu does not show any of the solar boats' motives and items.
2. The kings were not asked to bring a new *mskt* or a new *m'ndt* to the sun god Re.
3. Kings were only allowed to accompany the sun god on his two daily journeys as traveling companions.³¹

Černý concluded his notes by suggesting that the two newly (at that time) discovered boats of Khufu together with the two boats to the north and south of the mortuary temple were intended for the king's use in traveling through the four cardinal directions of the sky. The fifth boat near the causeway was the one that carried the king's body to his eternal resting place.³²

Trying to find a clue to the dilemma, Ahmed Fakhry returned (after Selim Hassan) to the Pyramid Texts in his study of the boats.³³ His research can be concluded as follows:

1. According to the Pyramid Texts, at least eight different boats were intended to be used by the king in the afterlife.
2. Two of the eight boats were solar boats for the two journeys of the king crossing the heaven.
3. The lack of material and evidence for the boats mentioned in the Pyramid Texts in addition to the boats and boat graves of the royal funerary complexes prompted him to designate the boats 'ritual' or 'funerary boats'.³⁴

Abdel Moneim Abu Bakr stated that the five boats of Khufu had different uses and functions. He believed that three of them were used by the king in his pilgrimages to the sacred shrines in Upper and Lower Egypt, the fourth boat was used during the ceremonies of the king's coronation and the fifth boat was used either for the 'sons of Hours' or to carry the king's mummy to its final resting place.³⁵

Mark Lehner approached the problem with a less detailed statement. He said that the boats, which were buried within the royal funerary complexes, could have been symbolic transport mechanisms for the king. He suggests that the dismantled boat was connected with Khufu's final earthly voyage to his pyramid.³⁶

Z. Hawass agrees with Ahmed Fakhry that not all of the five boat graves around Khufu's pyramid are solar boats.³⁷ Hawass believes that Khufu was a unique king for he changed the concept of the king and made himself a manifestation of the sun god Re.³⁸ As Re, Khufu needed two solar boats to cross the heaven, those were the two southern boats with their axes east-west. At the same time, Khufu as Horus had to use another two boats to control and to spread his power over Upper and Lower Egypt. Those were the two boats to the north and the south of the mortuary temple. Hawass concluded his contribution to the subject with a suggestion that Khufu's fifth boat might have been connected with the cult of Hathor.³⁹ However, Hawass's interpretation does not explain why Khafre has five boat graves on the eastern side of his pyramid.

M. Verner introduced and discussed almost all the factors related to the problem of royal boat graves and concluded that in the broad sense of the subject the boat graves were meant principally to provide the deceased king with a mode of transport in the netherworld. In his opinion, scholars should not ignore the fact that the funerary beliefs and the religious ideas were in a continuous state of change, and it is not safe to come to a precise conclusion for the problem.⁴⁰

As stated previously, H. Altenmüller introduced the last detailed study on the problem.⁴¹ His results relied mostly on the scenes of boats on the walls of non-royal tombs and emphasized the idea that the deceased needed two significant boats: one for night navigation and one for day navigation.⁴² Moreover, he tried (by using the depictions of boats in non-royal tombs) to prove that the sailing boat is the night boat while the row boat is the day boat! According to him the already constructed boat of Khufu (the eastern one of the two boats found on the south side of Khufu's pyramid) is the night boat while the western boat (still in its grave) is the day boat of the king. Although I agree with Altenmüller that the king had two boats and these two boats always sailed in a fleet, I disagree with his interpretation that the two boats were exclusively assigned for night and day journeys. I also disagree that the boat under sail represents a night boat while the boat using oars represents the day boat because of the following reasons:

1. The newly discovered scene from the causeway of Sahure depicts the king maneuvering the sail on one of his two boats with evidence that he is depicted doing the same deed on the second boat, of which only the prow and the sail are preserved. (Pl. 1, Fig. 1) Therefore the two king's boats are depicted under sail with the oarsmen waiting to change from sailing the boat to rowing the boat. This means that there is not a designated boat exclusively for the night journey or the day journey, as both of the king's boats are depicted under sail.
2. Standing behind the king are the remains of a relatively large sunshade, and there is another sunshade lying behind the king on the deck. The existence of the sunshades proves that the journey is taking place during the day and not at night. I believe that Altenmüller's study provides useful information

concerning the meaning of navigation scenes in Old Kingdom non-royal tombs, however, the results of his research cannot be applied to the problem of the royal boat burials.

1.2.2 A New Approach to the Meaning of the Boat Graves in the Royal Funerary Complexes

As we stated before, Sahure's navigation fleet depicts the two boats of the king sailing in a convoy of several royal boats with their prows and sterns decorated with heads of sacred birds, animals and plants.⁴³ Only the two boats of the king are in the traditional papyri-form, completely identical with the already reconstructed and exhibited boat of Khufu. Also the two boats of Sahure are dedicated to the two goddesses Wadjet and Nekhbet.⁴⁴ Perhaps the scene refers to the king visiting the two sanctuaries of the two goddesses, or even visiting the different temples of the gods and goddesses of Egypt and putting one of his two boats under the protection of the goddess Wadjet, the representative of Lower Egypt, and the second boat under the protection of Nekhbet, the representative of Upper Egypt. This could be an attempt to emphasize the duality of the king by referring to the two distinguished boats for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Sahure is depicted maneuvering the sail of his two boats as the earthly god Horus. This is made evident by the titles of Sahure as a ruling king, with the depiction of Nekhbet hovering above him and spreading her protection. (Pl. 1) Also a very interesting graffito was found behind the king's head. The graffito represents the falcon-god Horus. This graffito indicates that the king was the manifestation of Horus in his papyri-form boat. Therefore, someone to whom the meaning of the scene was still known and recognized engraved this graffito. Again, it was the king (Horus) fulfilling one of his offices or obligations (leading his two boats to visit the sacred chapels of the gods and goddesses).

It is likely that the two papyri-form boats were among the king's regalia. If our assumption is right, the other royal boats will be identified as escort boats saved for the king's retainers or his followers as the Egyptian term *šmsw Hr*, 'followers of Horus', refers. The idea of *šmsw Hr* made the writer of this article reflect on the titles of the crews working on Sahure's boats that represent various meanings of *šmsw Hr*,⁴⁵ and therefore, reinforce the concept that the additional boats are for the king's retainers. This also emphasizes that these boats are serving Horus, Lord of the Two Lands. The crews working on the accompanying boats of Sahure held the titles:

'*pr šmsw Sšhw-R' štp tšwj* 'Crew of the retainers of Sahure, Pacificator of the Two Lands'.⁴⁶

'*pr rhw ntrwj-nbw* 'Crew of those who are known to the two lords of gold'.⁴⁷

'*pr jst Hr Nb h'w* 'Crew of the gang of Horus, *Nb h'w*'.

'*pr mrjw Sšhw-R' wr* 'Crew of the beloved ones of the great Sahure'.⁴⁸

pr šmsw Sḥw-R' Hr Nb nfrt 'Crew of the retainers of Sahure, Horus-Lord of beauty'.⁴⁹

pr Smrw nbtj Nb ḥ'w 'Crew of the companions of (the affiliated one to) the two ladies -Nb ḥ'w'.⁵⁰

pr mrjw Hr Nb ḥ'w 'Crew of the beloved ones of Horus -Nb ḥ'w'.⁵¹

pr sbwt(yw) Hr Nb ḥ'w 'Crew of the steersmen of Horus -Nb ḥ'w'.⁵²

It is clear that the idea and the meaning of the king on his two boats accompanied by the escort boats of his retainers represent the concept of Horus and his *šmsw* 'Retainers'. Let us not forget that archaic depictions on royal monuments show boats of the retainers or 'followers of Horus'. The following examples emphasize the importance for the king to be accompanied and followed by his retainers:

1. On the verso of the famous palette of King Narmer is a representation of a boat fronted by a depiction of a hawk that allows a reading of *wjw Hr* 'Horus' boat'.⁵³ (Pl. 5) Above the boat is a depiction of another hawk holding what appears to be a weapon, that made Boreux read it as the sign group *šmsw Hr* 'followers of Horus'.⁵⁴
2. On a label assigned to king *Hr-ḥ*⁵⁵ is a representation of a boat. Above the boat is a depiction of a hawk perched on a small boat. However, Selim Hassan believed it was not a boat but a variant of the group which is depicted on the famous palette that is discussed above. He read the sign group as *šmsw Hr* 'followers of Horus'.⁵⁶ (Pl. 6)
3. On the Ivory Label of King Semer-Khet,⁵⁷ is a representation of two boats, the upper one has a prow shaped like an animal (Jackal-headed?), while the upper part of the mast is shaped as the sign *šmsw*, followed by the a depiction of a hawk. The sign combination can be read as *šmsw Hr* 'followers of Horus'. (Pl. 7) The prow of the previous boat has a shape that can be identified as a jackal-head, resembling the two boats depicted on Sahure's causeway with their prows and sterns shaped as jackal heads.⁵⁸
4. The label of king *Kḥ-ḥ* depicted a boat with the sign group *šmsw Hr* 'followers of Horus'.⁵⁹ (Pl. 8)

It seems that the king personified as the god Horus used the traditional papyri-form boats in all his transport. The correlation between Horus and the papyri-form boat is confirmed by many representations of the falcon Horus perched above the deckhouse of papyri-form boats.⁶⁰

The number of the royal boats, which are depicted on Sahure's causeway, can explain the reason why Khufu and Khafre each have five boat graves in their pyramid complexes. They include: two papyri-form boats for the king's use and the remaining three boats are for his followers. The number three, to the ancient Egyptians, refers to abundance.

However, the king can also only have his traditional two boats believing that his retainers will join him in the afterlife or maybe, as Verner explained, the funerary beliefs were in a continual state of change throughout the Old Kingdom.⁶¹ Moreover,

there might have been a significant change in the funerary customs during the Fifth Dynasty, where one room in the innermost part of the king's mortuary temple was devised to house two symbolic boats for the king, instead of burying two boats in graves and one or two boat graves for the boats of the king's retainers. The only evidence we have is from the Abusir Papyri, which refers to the existence of two boats inside the king's temple.⁶² The housing of symbolic boats inside the mortuary temples might explain why boat graves have not been discovered (until now) in the Sixth Dynasty royal funerary complexes.

I have linked the newly discovered scene of Sahure's navigation fleet and the long standing problem of boat graves in the Old Kingdom royal funerary complexes for two main reasons:

1. The two boats of Sahure, which are leading the fleets, are identical to the already discovered and reconstructed wooden boat of Khufu.
2. The mode of the depiction of the king (maneuvering the sail) refers to a special occasion that required the king himself to maneuver the sail as if he is fulfilling one of his obligations as a king.

The idea that the king had two royal or state boats can be attested to by a number of titles that pertain to officials from the Old Kingdom who were attached to the royal boats, for instance the title *htm(w)-ntr m wšwy ʕ(wy)* 'God's sealer in the two great boats',⁶³ and *jmj-rʔ ʕprwj n wšwy ʕ(wy)* 'Overseer of the two crews of the two great boats'.⁶⁴

These two portly boats, as they are referred to in the depictions, provided the king with a proper and luxurious means of transportation as the king of the Two Lands. However, it was not their only function. They were also used to help in the royal construction projects by bringing the precious materials for construction and decoration. This is made evident by the scene that was discovered in 1993 from the northern wall of Sahure's causeway.⁶⁵ The scene depicts men dragging the pyramidion of the king's pyramid. The accompanying text describes the scene as '(bringing) the pyramidion (cased with) electrum to the pyramid 'the soul of Sahure rises' by the two ship crews'.⁶⁶ Also, the Old Kingdom officials who bore the title *htm(w)-ntr m wšwy ʕ(wy)* 'God's sealer in the two great boats', addressed themselves as *jnn hkr nswt m hšwt rsjt* 'bring the king's treasure from the southern lands'.⁶⁷

Finally, it is more likely that the two king's boats with their majestic form were among the tools that the kings used to enhance their superiority and control not only over the hearts of their people but also the hearts of their enemies. In this sense we have to recall the title of the 'God's sealer in the two great boats': *htmty-ntr m wšwy ʕwy dd nrw Hr m hšwt jnn hkr nswt m hšwt rswyt* 'God's sealer in the two great boats who places the dread of Horus (i.e. the king) in foreign lands, who brings the king's treasure from the southern lands'.⁶⁸ However, this title can also be translated as 'God's sealer in the two great boats which place the fear of Horus (i.e. the king) in foreign lands, and bring the king's treasure from the southern lands'. It is likely that the latter translation is

most accurate because it is only mentioned in connection with the two boats, while the other title of the 'God's sealers' is well-known and it is not connected with the above mentioned epithets. If our assumption is correct, it would explain the reason for the depiction of the so-called emaciated Bedouins of Sahure which was connected with the bringing of the pyramidion of Sahure's pyramid.⁶⁹

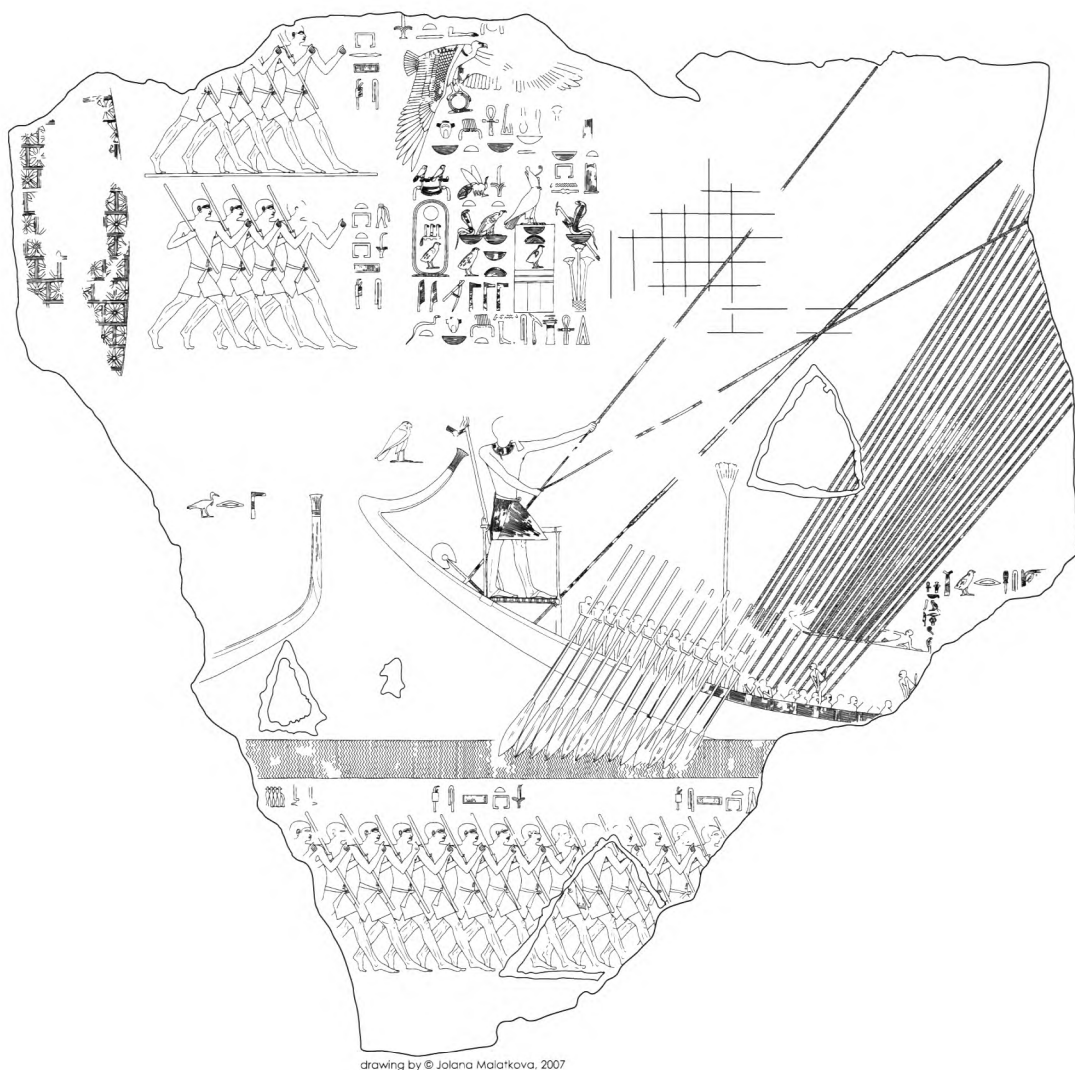
The fact that the two boats of the king were sailing in a magnificent royal fleet emphasizes the idea of Horus and his followers. This idea, in my opinion, represents a proper and reasonable context for the study of the royal boat grave in the Old Kingdom. However we are still far from the final word on this subject as the afterlife function of these boats is still not completely known, or more precisely the nature of service that these boats provided for the deceased king is not defined.

Endnotes

- * It is an honor for me to dedicate this article to Professor Tohfa Handoussa, my first teacher of Ancient Egyptian religion. It was her attitude towards ancient Egypt that made me continue my study in Egyptology.
- 1 I would like to thank Dr. Zahi Hawass who trusted me with the publication of the newly discovered scenes from Sahure's causeway. I am also very grateful to Noha Abdul Hafeez and Eng. Jolana Malatkova for their work on the line drawings. The members of our expedition include Mashhor Aziz Eldin and Mostafa El Hoksh. Our chiefs of workers are Rafaat El Shahat and Talal El Keriti. Finally, I would like to thank Mrs. Brook El Awady for editing my article and Mr. Mohamed Megahed for his help with the preparation of the plans and the plates used in this article.
- 2 The scene of Sahure's royal fleet is published in: T. El Awady, *Pyramid Causeway in the Old Kingdom; Evolution of the Architecture and Definition of the Relief Decoration Program*, Ph. D. diss., Charles University (2006).
- 3 The so-called 'Running sailors' appeared in scenes of sailing boats depicted in the non-royal tombs, for example: W. M. F. Petrie, *Deshasheh*, 1897, *EEF* 15 (London, 1899), pl. 6; P. Duell, et al., *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 2 vols, *OIP* 31 and 39 (Chicago, 1938), pl. 144; H. Junker, *Giza. Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizäus unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza*, VI (Vienna, Leipzig, 1934), fig. 22; A. M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-Hay* (Mainz am Rhein 1971), pl. 16; M. Verner, *Abusir I. The Mastaba of Ptahshepses. Reliefs I/1-2* (Prague, 1986), pls 6, 7; N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza, I, Kaiemankh (G4561) and Seshemnefer I (G4940)* (Oxford, 2001), pls 19, 41, 44; Kanawati, A. McFarlane, *Deshasha, The Tombs of Inti, Shedw and Others* (Sydney, 1993), pls 7, 32 (two subsidiary registers depict running sailors carrying ropes and an oar); C. Ziegler, *Le Mastaba d'Akhethetep: une chapelle funéraire de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1993), fig. in 66-67, pl. in 144. It also might be worthy to mention the scene in the tomb of *Ihy* which was reused by *Idut* (N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara*, II, *The Tombs of Iynefert and Ihy* (reused by *Idut*) (Oxford, 2003), pls 56, 57). The scene shows a group of more than five men wearing loincloths and dragging a boat by a rope.
- 4 Altenmüller, 'Funerary Boats and Boat Graves of the Old Kingdom', *ArOr* 70/3 (2002), 269-272.
- 5 A list of all royal boat graves in the Old Kingdom (from Khufu to the end of the Sixth Dynasty) was made by Verner ('Funerary Boats of Neferirkare and Raneferef' In: *Studies Kákosy*, 587-602.) Another list of all royal and non-royal boat graves of the Old Kingdom was made by Altenmüller (*ArOr* 70/ 3, 269-272.)
- 6 For example, only one boat grave was found to the east of King Djedefre at Abu Rawash, yet it is likely to find more than one boat grave around the pyramid if the area is investigated further. See Altenmüller, *ArOr* 70/3, 270.
- 7 PM III², 15f.; M. Z. Nour, et al., *The Cheops Boats I* (Cairo, 1960), 7-8; V. Maragioglio, C. Rinaldi, *L Architettura delle Piramidi Menfite*, IV (Torino-Rapallo, 1965), 70-72, pls 1, 9-10. See also a discussion in Hawass, *The Funerary Establishments of Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura* (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania; Um I, 1987), 53 – 85.
- 8 PM III², 1; E. Chassinat, 'À propos d'une tête en grès rouge du roi Didoufri (IV^e dynastie) conservée au Musée du Louvre,' in: *MonPiot* 25 (1921-1922), 56-57; Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *L Architettura delle Piramidi Menfite*, V (Torino-Rapallo, 1966), 24f, pl. 4.
- 9 PM III², 26; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza VII* (Cairo, 1943), 56-66, figs 19-22; Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *Piramidi Menfite* V, 70-72, pls 5, 11.
- 10 Verner, In: *Studies Kákosy*, 587-602. It might be worthy to note that in the Abusir-Papyri of Neferirkare four boats or more were mentioned, two of them appeared to be placed in a sealed room inside the mortuary temple, while the others were buried in graves around the pyramid. See P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (Les papyrus d'Abousir)*. Traduction et commentaire I-II, *BdE* 65/1-2 (1976), 429-439.
- 11 Verner, in: *Studies Kákosy*, 592-594.
- 12 Altenmüller, *ArOr* 70/3 (2002), 271. See Also P. Posener-Kriéger, 'Quelques pièces du matériel cultuel du temple funéraire de Rénéferet,' *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 293-304.

- 13 Altenmüller, *ArOr* 70/ 3, 271, note no. 13.
- 14 PM III², 420; G. Goyon, 'Les navires de transport de la chaussée monumentale d'Ounas', *BIFAO* 69 (1971), 36-37, pl. 2.
- 15 Nour et al., *The Cheops Boats*, 1, 1ff.; A. M. Abubakr, A. Y. Moustafa, 'The funerary boat of Khufu,' *BĀBA* 12 (1971), 1-18.
- 16 It is also interesting that among the fragments with depictions of royal boats, a relatively large portion of a scene that depicts Sahure's boat (*ntrj B.*) was discovered by L. Borchardt in the valley temple of Sahure. L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ša3hu-re*, I-II (Leipzig, 1910-1913), II, pl. 8.
- 17 Most of the iconographical material concerning royal boats was discovered in Lisht on blocks reused in the construction of the pyramid of Amenemhat I (Twelfth Dynasty). See H. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht* (New York, 1971), 86-118.
- 18 Also, in some cases only inscriptions that include the name of the royal boat and the destination of the boat are preserved. A. Oppenheim, in: Do. Arnold, K. Grzymski and C. Ziegler (eds), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999), 318, no. 103.
- 19 Altenmüller, *ArOr* 70/3, 269-272.
- 20 The different theories and interpretations concerning the meaning of boat graves in the royal funerary complexes of the Old Kingdom are presented in detail in two main studies. The first is by Verner in his article on the boat grave of Neferirkare and the two wooden boats of Reneferef. Verner, in: *Studies Kákosy*, 587-602. The second and the most recent study was done by Altenmüller in his article in: *ArOr* 70/3, 272-273.
- 21 see Hassan, *Giza* VI, XIV.
- 22 J. Černý, 'A note on the recently discovered boat of Cheops,' *JEA* 41 (1955), 75-79.
- 23 For example, M. Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids* (London, 1997), 119.
- 24 See Abubakr and Moustafa, *BĀBA* 12 (1971), 1-18; A. Fakhry, *The Pyramids* (Chicago, 1961), 106-107.
- 25 I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, 9th ed. (Harmondsworth, 1991), 133.
- 26 Hassan, *Giza* VI/ I, 40ff.
- 27 Hassan, *Giza* VI, XIV.
- 28 Hassan, *Giza* VI, 55.
- 29 See Černý, *JEA* 41, 75, especially n. 3.
- 30 Černý, *JEA* 41, 75-79.
- 31 Černý, *JEA* 41, 76-78.
- 32 Černý, *JEA* 41, 78.
- 33 Fakhry, *The Pyramids*, 106 - 107.
- 34 Fakhry, *The Pyramids*, 107.
- 35 Abubakr and Moustafa, *BĀBA* 12 , 1-18.
- 36 Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, 119.
- 37 Petrie, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, 1883 (new edition with an update by Z. Hawass (London, 1990), 111-115.
- 38 Stadelmann was the first one who believed that Khufu changed the cult of the king in his lifetime and made himself Re. His theory is based on the fact that the title *ꜥꜣ R* 'Son of Re' started directly with Khufu's successors and the name of the king's pyramid *ꜥꜣꜣ ꜥꜣꜣꜣ* 'Khufu's horizon'. See R. Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden: vom Ziegelbau zum Weltwunder* (Darmstadt, 1985), 126.
- 39 Hawass, 'The Programs of the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Fourth Dynasty', in: D. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden, 1995), 227-228.
- 40 Verner, in: *Studies Kákosy*, 206.
- 41 See p. 299.
- 42 Altenmüller, *ArOr* 70/ 3, 269-290.
- 43 Similar boats with animals and birds have never been found in the Old Kingdom. Only boat prows have appeared with the shape of a hedgehog's head on both royal and private monuments, see B. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs: 4000 Years of Egyptian Shipbuilding* (London, 1970), 35.
- 44 See discussion in El Awady, *Pyramid Causeway*, 173-174.
- 45 Still Ch. Boreux is the first and perhaps the only scholar who studied detailed representations of the '*šmsw Hr*' boats, see Boreux, *Études de Nautique Égyptienne. L'art de la navigation en Égypte jusqu' à la fin de l'Ancien Empire. Premier Fascicule* (Second Fascicule), *MIFAO* 50 (Cairo, 1924), 85ff.
- 46 El Awady, *Pyramid Causeway*, 179.
- 47 El Awady, *Pyramid Causeway*, 183.
- 48 El Awady, *Pyramid Causeway*, note no. 1075.
- 49 See '*šmsw Hr*' in D. Jones, *An Index of the Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, II. *BAR International Series* 866 (Oxford, 2000), 993, No. 3657.
- 50 El Awady, *Pyramid Causeway*, 191.
- 51 El Awady, *Pyramid Causeway*, 193.
- 52 El Awady, *Pyramid Causeway*, 194.
- 53 J. Quibell, 'Slate palette from Hierakonpolis,' *ZĀS* 36 (1898), pl. XII.
- 54 Ch. Boreux, *Études Nautique*, 90. See also Hassan, *Giza* VI/I, 36.

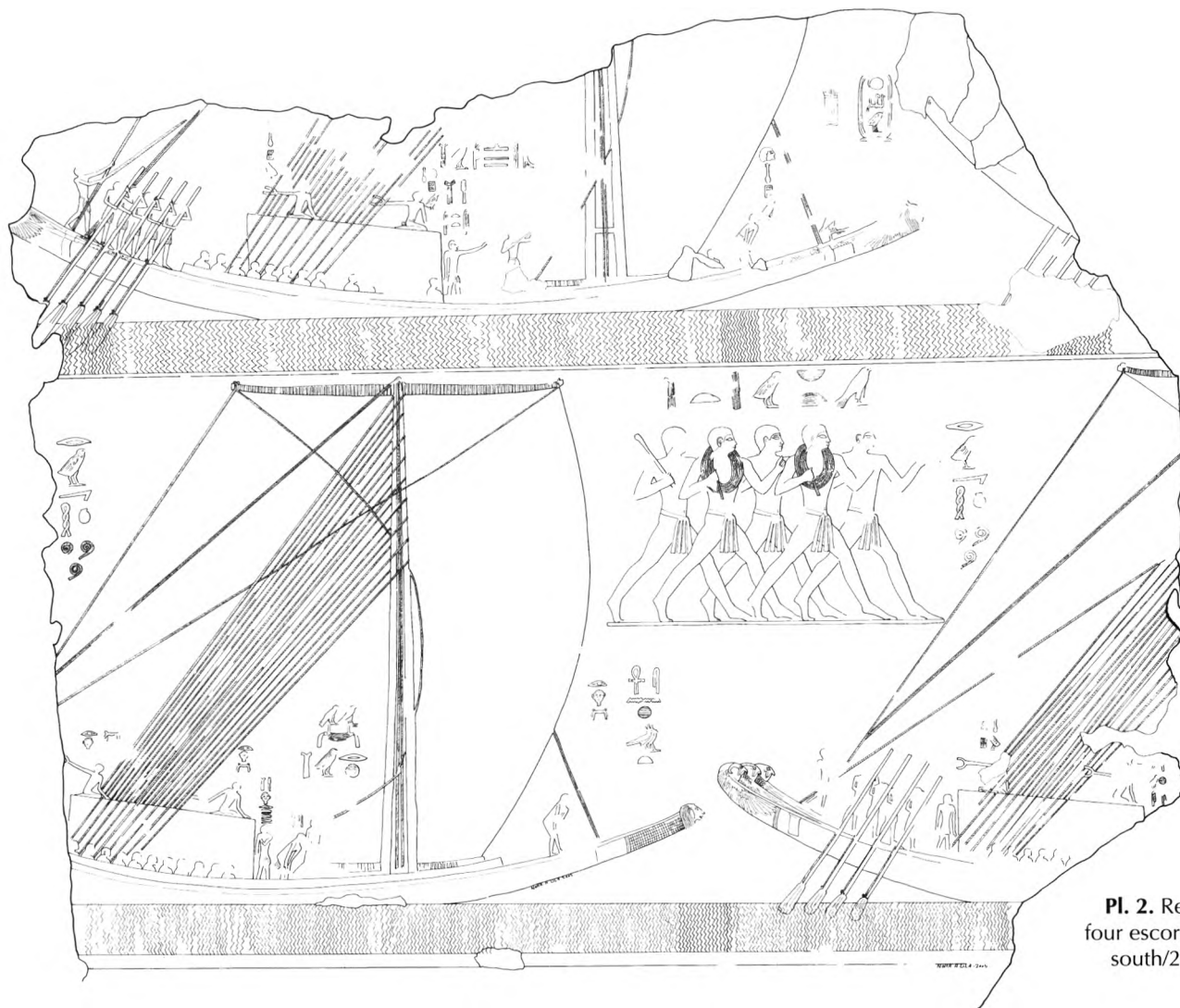
- 55 Newberry, in Brunton, *Great Ones of Ancient Egypt*, 45, fig. 5.
- 56 Hassan, *Giza VI/I*, 37.
- 57 Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, I (London, 1900), 42, Pl. XVII (26).
- 58 For different shapes of prows, see Landström, *Ships*, 12ff.
- 59 Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, Pl. XII (29).
- 60 W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1961), fig. 10.
- 61 Verner, in: *Studies Kákosy*, 602.
- 62 Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives Néferirkare*, 179.
- 63 Jones, *Index II*, 769, no. 2796, with connection to Horus, no. 2797.
- 64 Jones, *Index I*, 78-79, no. 343.
- 65 Hawass and Verner, 'Newly Discovered Blocks from the Causeway of Sahure', *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 181.
- 66 Hawass and Verner, *MDAIK* 52, 181.
- 67 See Jones, *Index II*, 769-779, no. 2797.
- 68 Jones, *Index II*, 769-779, no. 2797.
- 69 The scene from the northern wall of Sahure's causeway proved that these were captives who were among the Bedouins who attacked the king's expedition when they were looking for the stone for the pyramidion.



Pl. 1. King Sahure maneuvering the sail of his royal boat, also the prow and the name of a second royal boat still can be seen (SC/south/2002/01).



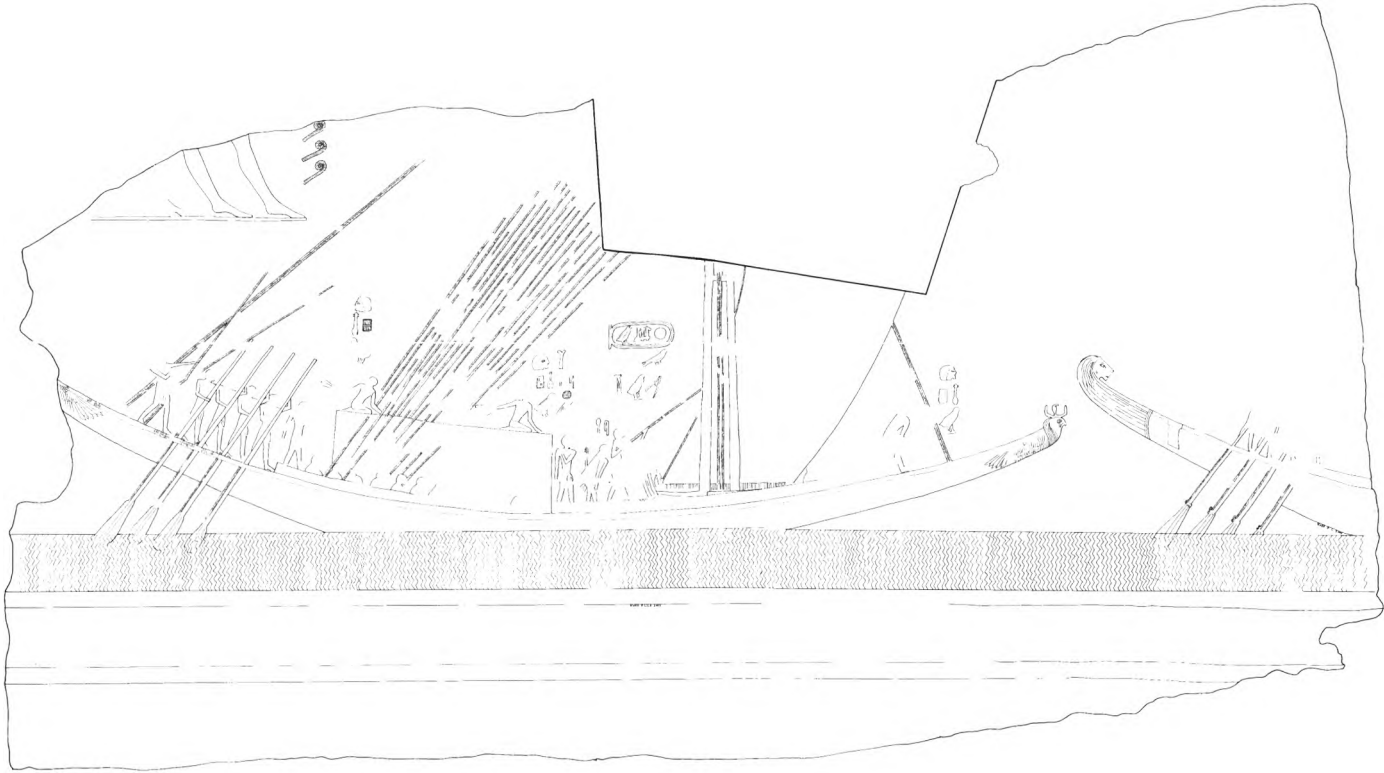
Fig. 1. (SC/south/2002/01).



Pl. 2. Remains of
four escort boats (SC/
south/2002/02).



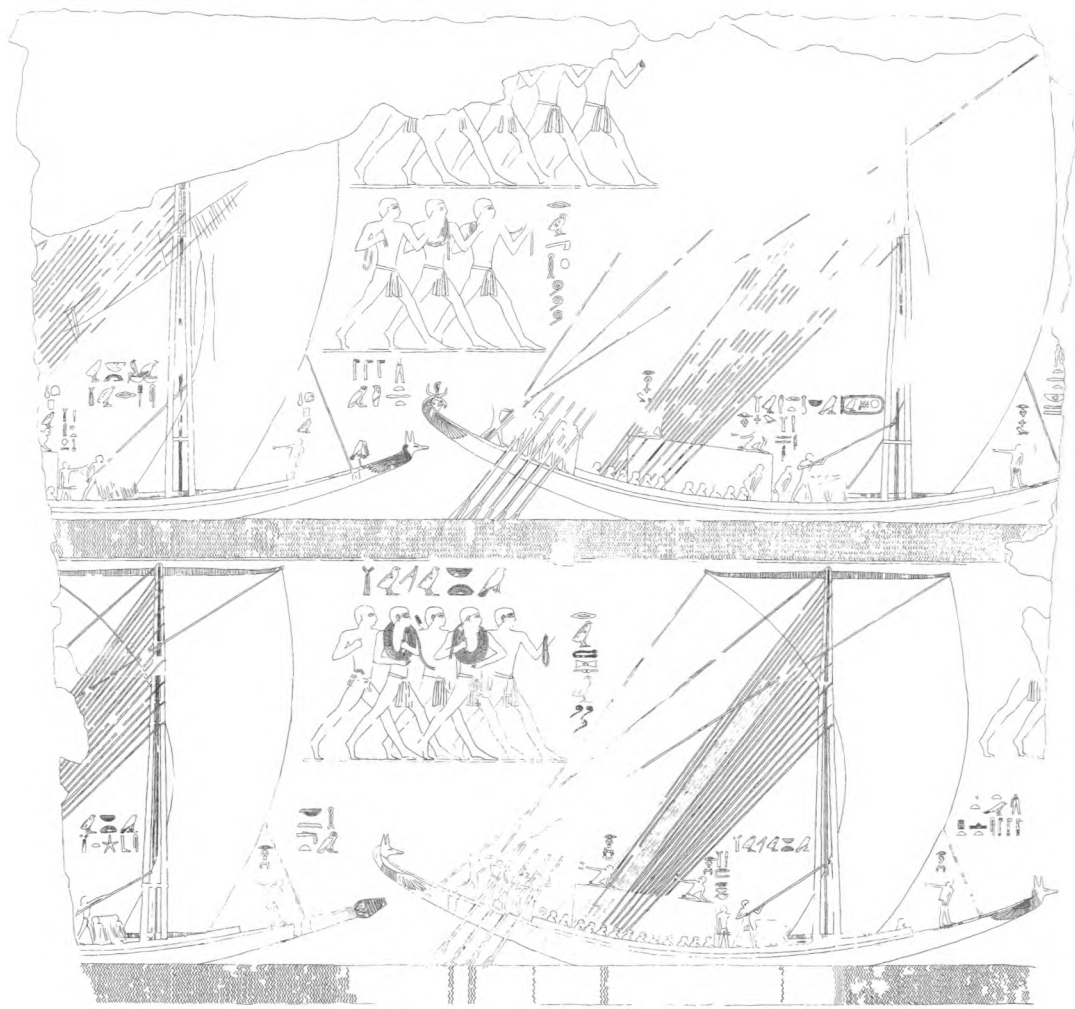
Fig. 2. (SC/south/
2002/02).



Pl. 3. Remains of two escort boats (SC/south/2002/03).



Fig. 3. (SC/south/2002/03).



Pl. 4. Remains of four escort boats (SC/south/2002/04).

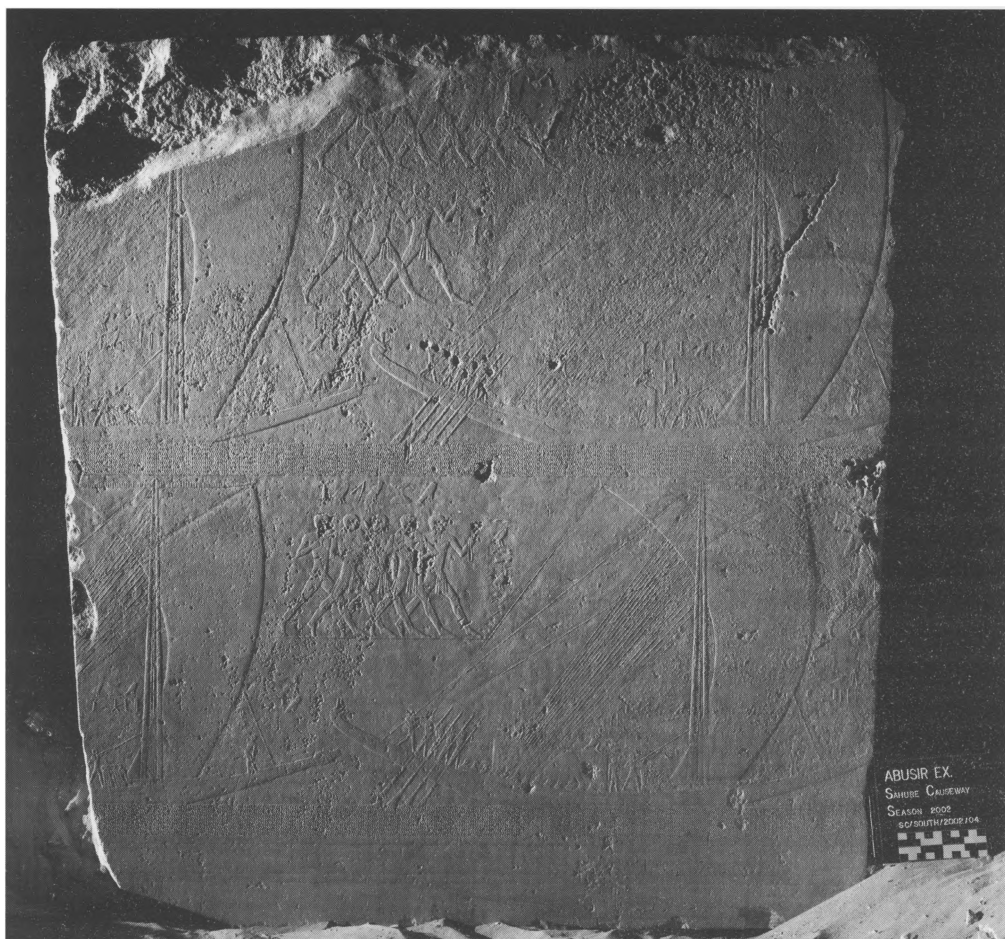


Fig. 4. (SC/south/2002/04).

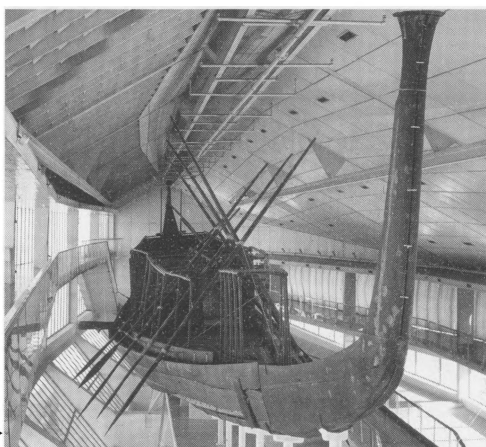


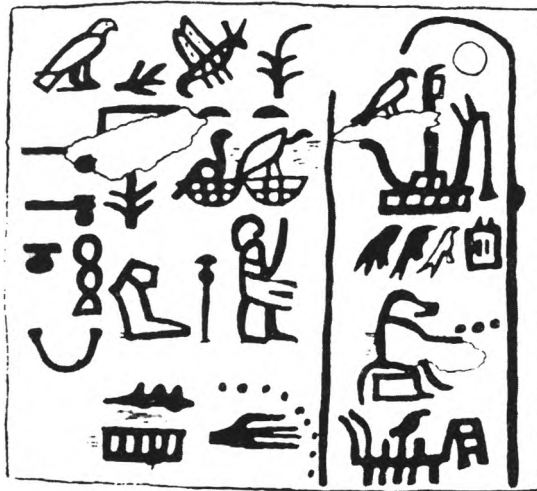
Fig. 5. The royal boat of Khufu at Giza. ►



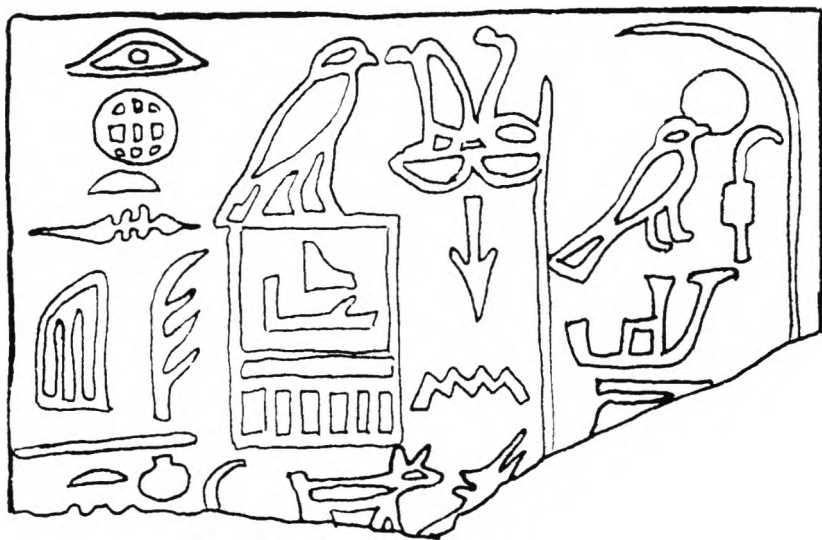
Pl. 5. The boat depiction on the famous palette of Narmer (After J. E. Quibell, 'Slate Palette from Hierakonpolis', *AZ* 36 (1898), pl. XII).



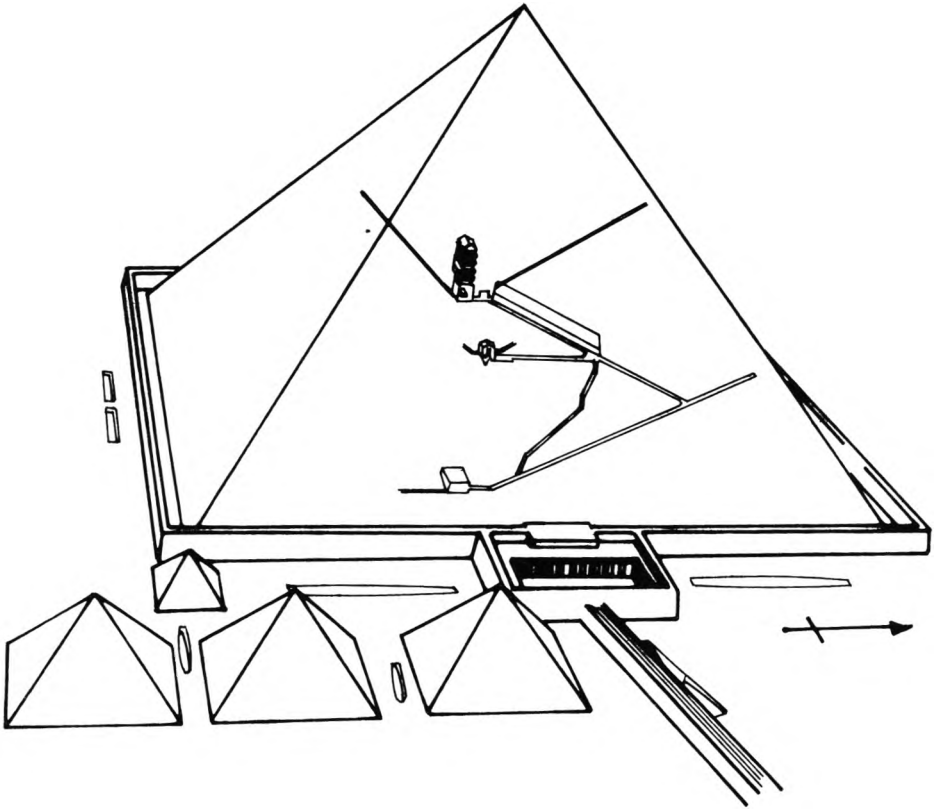
Pl. 6. The *Šmsw Hr* boat of Horus Aha (After P. Newberry, in Brunton's, 'Great Ones of Ancient Egypt', 45, fig. 5).



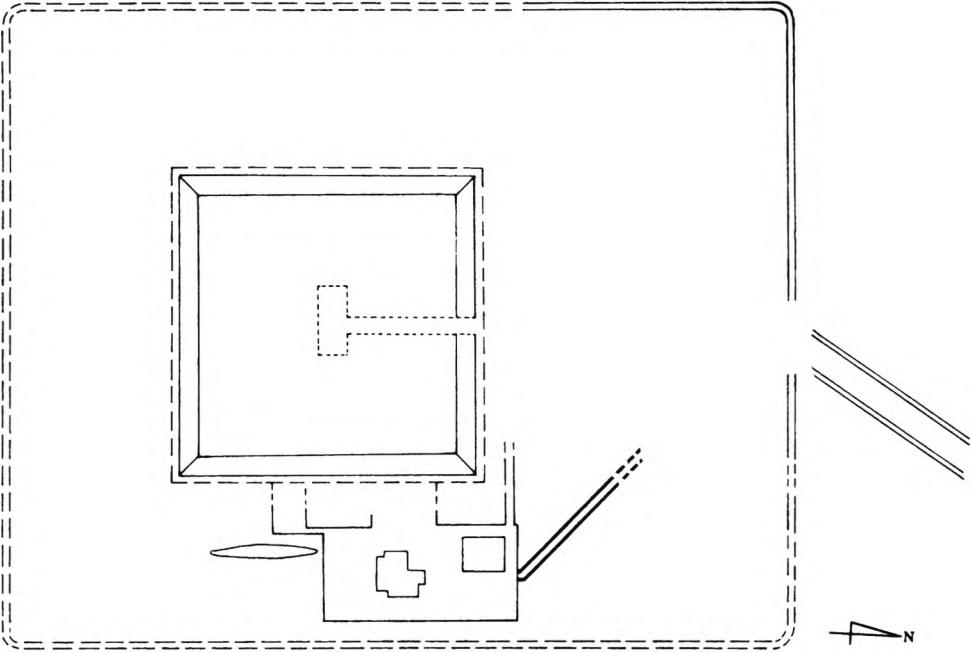
Pl. 7. The *Šmsw Hr* boat of Semer-Khet (After W. M. F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, XVII).



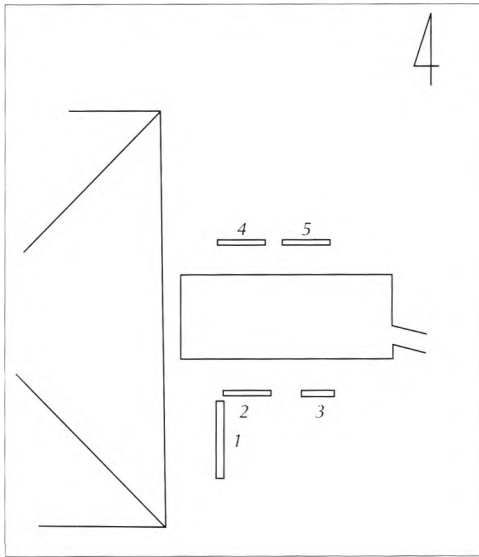
Pl. 8. The Šmsw Hr boat of Ka Aa (After Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. XII).



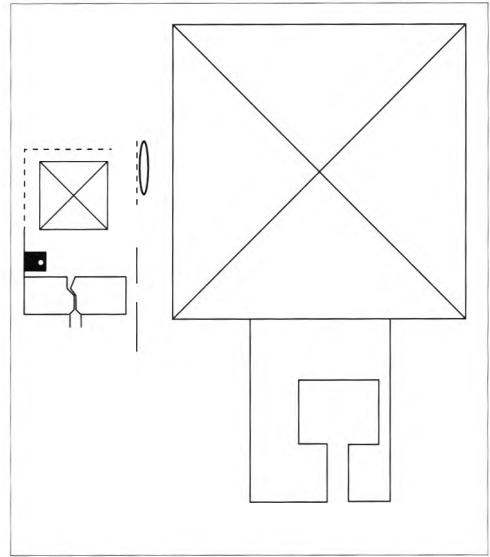
plan 1. The five boat graves of Khufu's pyramid complex.



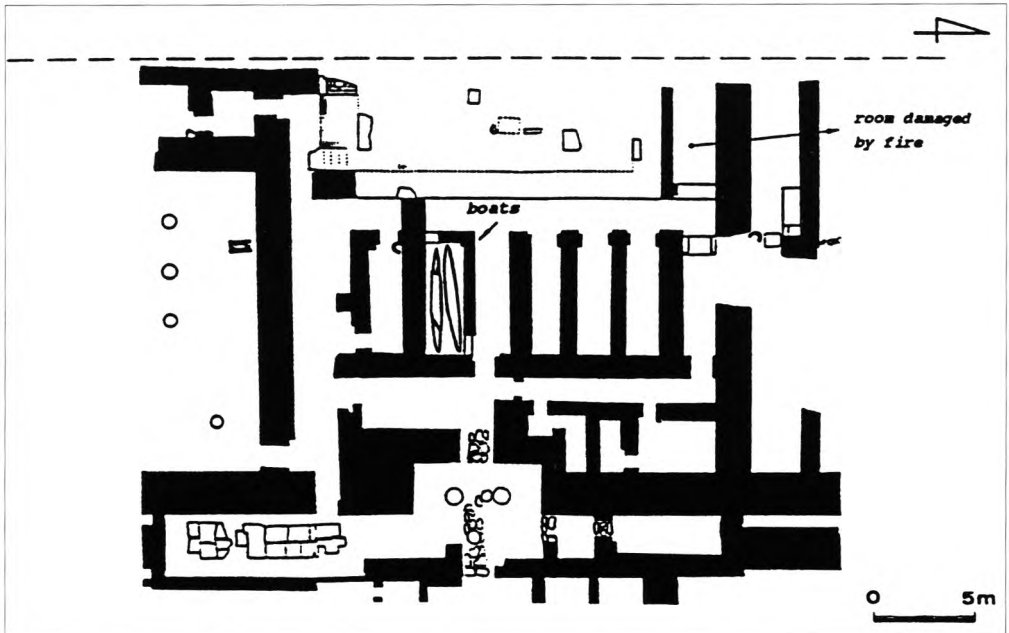
Plan 2. The boat grave of Djedefre to the east of his pyramid at Abu Rawash.



Plan 3. The five boat graves of Khafre's pyramid complex at Giza.



Plan 4. The boat grave of Neferirkare to the south of his pyramid at Abusir (After M. Verner, in: *Studies Kákósy*, Fig. 1).



Plan 5. The location of the two boats inside the mortuary temple of Reneferet at Abusir (After Verner, in: *Studies Kákósy*, Fig. 5).

SUPPLÉMENT AUX ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

CAHIER N° 37

PUBLICATIONS DU CONSEIL SUPRÊME DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE