

**ABUSIR XVI
SAHURE – THE PYRAMID
CAUSEWAY**

HISTORY AND DECORATION
PROGRAM
IN THE OLD KINGDOM

Tarek El Awady

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements viii

List of figures ix

List of plates xiii

Abbreviations and Bibliography xiv

Chapter I	Introduction 1
I.1	State of the Research on the Old Kingdom Royal Tombs 1
I.2	Scope of the Research 6
I.3	Objectives of the Research 7
I.4	Methods of the Research 8
Chapter II	Old Kingdom Royal Mortuary Complexes 10
II.1	Royal Tombs from the Early Dynastic Period; Origins and Development of the Royal Tomb 10
	II.1.1 Abydos: Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty 10
	II.1.2 Saqqara: Royal Tombs of the Second Dynasty 16
II.2	Royal Mortuary Complexes of the Old Kingdom – An Overview 18
	II.2.1 The Third Dynasty – Djoser Type Pyramids 19
	II.2.2 The Fourth Dynasty – Post-Meidum Type 25
	II.2.3 The Fifth Dynasty 34
	II.2.4 The Sixth Dynasty 39
II.3	Evolution and Major Features of Royal Mortuary Complexes 42
	II.3.1 The Third Dynasty 42
	II.3.2 The Fourth Dynasty 42
	II.3.3 The Fifth Dynasty 43
	II.3.4 The Sixth Dynasty 44
Chapter III	Royal Relief Program in the Old Kingdom 45
III.1	Origins and Development of the Program 45
	III.1.1 Early Dynastic Period 45
	III.1.2 The Third Dynasty 46
	III.1.3 The Fourth Dynasty 47
	III.1.4 The Fifth Dynasty 49
	III.1.5 The Sixth Dynasty 50
III.2	The Typological Definition and Function of the Program 50
	III.2.1 Maintaining Maat 52
	III.2.2 Defeating the Evil Forces of Nature 57
	III.2.3 Consolidating the World of Order 65
	III.2.4 Safe Passage to the Netherworld and Transformation into an Immortal God 73
III.3	The Relief Program and Architecture; the Relation and Function of the Program 80
III.4	Narrative in Royal Relief Program 82
Chapter IV	Causeways of Old Kingdom Royal Mortuary Complexes 86
IV.1	Origins of the Pyramid Causeway 86
IV.2	Typology of Old Kingdom Causeways 91
	IV.2.1 The Causeway of Sneferu’s Meidum Pyramid 91
	IV.2.2 The Causeway of the Bent Pyramid of Sneferu – Dahshur 93
	IV.2.3 The Causeway of Khufu 94
	IV.2.3 The Causeway of Djedefre 101
	IV.2.5 The Causeway of Khafre 102

	IV.2.6 The Causeway of Menkaure 103
	IV.2.7 The Causeway of Shepseskaf 105
	IV.2.8 The Causeway of Userkaf 106
	IV.2.9 The Causeway of Neferirkare 107
	IV.2.10 The Causeway of Renefererf 107
	IV.2.11 The Causeway of Niuserre 107
	IV.2.12 The Causeway of Djedkare 109
	IV.2.13 The Causeway of Unas 110
	IV.2.14 The Causeway of Teti 114
	IV.2.15 The Causeway of Pepy I 114
	IV.2.16 The Causeway of Merenre 114
	IV.2.17 The Causeway of Pepy II 115
IV.3	<i>Relief Decoration Program</i> 115
	IV.3.1 Defeating the Forces of Disorder 116
	IV.3.2 Supporting the World of Maat 117
	IV.3.3 Eternal Life after Death 118
Chapter V	Sahure's Causeway 121
V.1	History of the Archaeological Exploration 121
	V.1.1 Early Exploration Work 121
	V.1.2 SCA Excavation from 1994–2004 122
V.2	Archaeological Context 128
V.3	The Architecture of the Causeway 130
	V.3.1 The Embankment 131
	V.3.2 The Passage 131
	V.3.3 The Casing 133
Chapter VI	Typology of the Newly Discovered Scenes 135
VI.1	Sahure's Royal Fleet 135
	VI.1.1 King Sahure Maneuvering the Sail 135
	VI.1.2 The Escort Sailboats 141
	VI.1.3 Notes on Sahure's Royal Fleet 153
VI.2	The Arrival of Sahure's Expedition from Punt 155
	VI.2.1 Sahure's Punt Expedition Returns 155
	VI.2.2 King Sahure and the <i>ʿnd</i> Trees from Punt 160
	VI.2.3 The Queen Mother and the King's Wife Witnessing the Event 161
	VI.2.4 Sahure's Courtiers and High Ranked Officials 163
VI.3	Sahure Celebrating the Bringing of the <i>ʿnd</i> Trees 166
	VI.3.1 The Royal Family with the Elite Courtiers of Sahure 170
	VI.3.2 The Banquet Scene 174
VI.4	Rewarding the Members of Sahure's Expedition to Punt 184
VI.5	Processions of the Pyramidion and the Funerary Furniture 186
	VI.5.1 The Depiction of Food 187
	VI.5.2 Dragging the Pyramidion 189
	VI.5.3 Procession of the King's Funerary Furniture 194
	VI.5.4 Food Bearers and Slaughtering Oxen 197
	VI.5.5 The Emaciated Bedouins 202
VI.6	Military Exercises and Training of Sahure's Nautical Crews 206
	VI.6.1 Lessons in Archery 206
	VI.6.2 Fighting with Sticks 208
	VI.6.3 Wrestling 210
	VI.6.4 Rowing the Boats 211
	VI.6.5 Assembling of the Officials 212
VI.7	King Sahure Fowling with Clap Nets 215
	Or, Closing Ten Nets by the King Himself with One Rope 215
	VI.7.1 Sahure Fowling in the Marshes 215

	VI.7.2 The Personifications of Offerings or the Fecundity Figures	219
	VI.7.3 The Ten Clap Nets	221
	VI.7.4 Transferring of the Spoils	223
	VI.7.5 The Royal Suite Accompanying the King in the Marshes	226
VI.8	Fishing in the Marshes with a Seine	228
Excursus I	Old Kingdom Royal Boats	232
I.1	Sources of Information	232
	I.1.1 The Archaeological Material	232
	I.1.2 The Iconographical Material	233
I.2	The Meaning of the Boat Graves in Old Kingdom Royal Funerary Complexes	234
	I.2.1 Previous Approaches and Theories	234
	I.2.2 A New Approach towards understanding the Meaning of the Boat Graves in Royal Funerary Complexes	236
Excursus II	The Royal Family of Sahure	240
II.1	Sahure's Queen Mother	240
	II.1.1 Scenes of the Queen Mother, Neferhetepes, on Sahure's Causeway	242
	II.1.2 The Identity of the Queen Mother, Neferhetepes	242
II.2	Sahure's Royal Wife	244
	II.2.1 The Newly Discovered Scenes of the Royal Wife	244
	II.2.2 Meretnebty and her Relationship to Neferhetepes	245
II.3	Sahure and the Problem of his Successor	246
	II.3.1 Depictions of the Mysterious King Neferirkare in the Mortuary Temple of Sahure	247
	II.3.2 Newly Discovered Scene Solves the Mystery of Neferirkare	247
	II.3.3 The Mystery of Sahure's Two Eldest Sons	250
	II.3.4 Other sons of King Sahure	251
	II.3.5 Sahure's Grandson	251
Excursus III	The <i>ḥnd</i> Trees of Punt	253
VII	Conclusion	258
VII.1	Origin and Function of the Causeway	258
VII.2	Definition of the Decoration Program	259
	VII.2.1 Defeating the Forces of Disorder	259
	VII.2.2 Supporting the World of Maat	259
	VII.2.3 Eternal Life after Death	260
VII.3	Questions Left to be Answered	260
VII.4	Plans for Future Study and Excavation	260
	Glossary of Egyptian Terms	262
	Index of Selected Names and Sites	264

List of Figures

- Fig. 1 Plan of Sahure's pyramid complex showing the sites of the recent excavation around the upper part of the causeway, No. 1 refers to the area excavated by Z. Hawass in 1994 (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 2 Plan of the royal cemetery at Umm El Qa'ab (after Lehner)
- Fig. 3 The site of the cemetery at Umm El Qa'ab with the cliffs (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 4 The enclosure of Khasekhemwy known as Shunet El Zebib at Abydos (photo M. Verner)
- Fig. 5 The tomb complex of Den at Umm El Qa'ab showing the subsidiary graves around the royal tomb (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 6a Funerary stela of king Djer of the First Dynasty (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 6b Funerary stela of king Semerkhet of the First Dynasty, Egyptian Museum in Cairo (photo M. Zemina)
- Fig. 7 Plan of the archaic cemetery in Saqqara (after Treasures of the Pyramids, drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 8 Reconstruction of the tomb of Merneith at Saqqara (after Lauer)
- Fig. 9 Satellite photo of the site known as Giser el-Mudir at Saqqara (Quick Bird, Digital Globe Inc.)
- Fig. 10 One of the so-called boundary stela from Netjerikhet's complex. The stela depicts the Horus name of king Netjerikhet and the names and the titles of the two royal ladies Hetephernebtj and Inetkaes, Egyptian Museum in Cairo (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 11a Aerial photo of Netjerikhet's pyramid complex at Saqqara (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 11b Plan of the mortuary temple of Netjerikhet (drawing L. Wellner)
- Fig. 12 Panel with the depiction of Netjerikhet and his titles and name (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 13 The so-called 'snake pillar' depicting the name of Netjerikhet with figures of jackals and lions. It was discovered in the area of Teti pyramid cemetery; originally it was part of the Netjerikhet's pyramid complex (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 14 Aerial view of the Meidum pyramid (photo K. Garrett)
- Fig. 15 The two funerary stelae of king Sneferu from his Bent Pyramid complex at Dahshur. The stelae depict king Sneferu sitting on a low back chair with his names and titles written. Among them is Horus name *Nb m³t* (after Fakhry)
- Fig. 16 The Sneferu's Bent Pyramid at Dahshur with the remains of the so-called valley temple (?) (photo B. LeVa)
- Fig. 17 The area of the mortuary temple of Sneferu's North Pyramid with reconstruction of some architectural elements of the temple. Also a reconstruction of the pyramidion is shown (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 18 Plan of the funerary complex of Khufu at Giza showing the mortuary temple, the satellite pyramid and the pyramids of queens (drawing M. Haase)
- Fig. 19 Plan of Userkaf's pyramid complex at Saqqara (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 20 Satellite image of Sahure's pyramid complex at Abusir (Quick Bird, Digital Globe Inc.)
- Fig. 21 Plan of Sahure's pyramid complex at Abusir (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 22 Plan of Unas' pyramid complex at Saqqara (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 23 Pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara (photo J. Malátková)
- Fig. 24 Plan of the pyramid complex of Pepy II (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 25 King Scorpion wearing the white crown digging a canal (?) during a celebration of an unknown event (drawing J. Malátková)

- Fig. 26 Khasekhemwy with goddess Seshat performing the ritual of founding a temple, Egyptian Museum in Cairo (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 27 Netjerikhet performing the ritual of visiting the divine shrines depicted on one of the panels underneath the Step Pyramid at Saqqara (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 28 Sneferu's funerary domains from the so-called valley temple of the king's Bent Pyramid at Dahshur (after Fakhry)
- Fig. 29 One of the re-used blocks of Khufu from the pyramid of Amenemhet I at El Lisht (after Goedicke)
- Fig. 30 Burial chamber of Pepy I with the Pyramid Texts (photo S. Vannini)
- Fig. 31 Sahure wearing the *Heb-Sed* garment, and sitting on a throne (after Borchardt)
- Fig. 32 Niuserre during the ritual of *Heb-Sed* from his sun temple at Abu Ghurab (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 33 King Unas being crowned by Horus and Seth (after Labrousse, Lauer)
- Fig. 34 The scene known as driving the four calves from the mortuary temple of Sahure (after Borchardt).
- Fig. 35 The king (?) as a lion devastating his enemies and receiving help from a goddess (drawing J. Malátková).
- Fig. 36 King Unas smiting an enemy. Scene from his mortuary temple at Saqqara (after Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant)
- Fig. 37 Fragments of a scene of King Niuserre in the form of griffin slaying enemies (after Borchardt)
- Fig. 38 King Sahure hunting desert animals (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 39 King Pepy II harpooning a hippo, scene from his mortuary temple at Saqqara (after Jéquier)
- Fig. 40 King Userkaf spearing the fish, scene from his mortuary temple at Saqqara (after Labrousse, Lauer)
- Fig. 41 King Sahure fowling using a clap net, scene from the newly discovered blocks from the king's causeway (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 42 King Sahure maneuvering the sail of his boat, most probably heading to the shrines *Pr-nzr* and *Pr-wr* (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 43 The assembly of deities from the valley temple (?) of Sahure at Abusir (after Borchardt)
- Fig. 44 King Sahure giving offering to the goddess Bastet (after Borchardt)
- Fig. 45 The depiction of *'ntjw* trees from Punt (?) from the so-called valley temple of king Sneferu (after Edel)
- Fig. 46 Rewarding the officials after a successful expedition to Punt, scene depicted on the causeway of Sahure at Abusir (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 47 The ritual known as 'Stretching the Cord' being performed by king Sneferu and goddess Seshat in his temple at Dahshur (after Fakhry)
- Fig. 48a King Niuserre is depicted being suckled by a lion-headed goddess (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 48b King Pepy I is depicted being suckled by a goddess (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 49 The mysterious king Qahedjet being embraced by the god Horakhty (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 50 Pepy II receiving an *ankh* from the goddess Nekhbet (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 51 King Pepy II sitting at the offering table and facing the offering bearers (after Jéquier)
- Fig. 52 King Pepy II sitting on a throne and facing the procession of his funerary domains (after Jéquier)
- Fig. 53 King Sahure with the Frankincense trees from Punt, scene depicted on Sahure's causeway at Abusir (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 54 King Pepy II performing the ritual of killing an animal, scene from his mortuary temple at Saqqara (after Jéquier)
- Fig. 55 (top) The famous scene from Unas' causeway at Saqqara, known as the 'famine scene' and (bottom) the newly discovered similar scene from Sahure's causeway at Abusir (photo M. Zemina)

- Fig. 56 Satellite picture of Abusir and Saqqara with Abusir Wadi (Quick Bird, Digital Globe Inc.)
- Fig. 57 Remains of a hieroglyphic text mentioning *Stp-s3* fragment from the causeway of Sahure (photo K. Voděra)
- Fig. 58 Aerial photo showing the mortuary area on the eastern side of the Meidum pyramid and the route of the causeway (photo M. Zemina)
- Fig. 59 Plan of the complex of the Bent Pyramid at Dahshur showing the route of the causeway (after Fakhry)
- Fig. 60a The map of the pyramid complex of Khufu (after Perring)
- Fig. 60b The map of the pyramid complex of Khufu (after Lepsius)
- Fig. 61 Aerial view of the Giza pyramids showing the causeway of Khafre (middle) connected between the valley and mortuary temple of the king's pyramid complex (photo K. Garrett)
- Fig. 62 The funerary temple and part of the causeway of Menkaure (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 63 Plan of the pyramid complexes of Neferirkare and Niuserre showing the causeway of Niuserre (after Borchardt)
- Fig. 64 Part of the causeway of Unas with a reconstruction of part of the side walls (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 65 Part of a scene representing a procession of the animals from the causeway of Unas, recently discovered in a filling of a Late Period shaft (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 66 Reconstruction of the pyramid complex of Pepy II, view from his valley temple (after Jéquier)
- Fig. 67a Part of the head and the chest of an Asiatic being smashed under the paw of a sphinx or a griffin (?). New fragment from the causeway of Sahure (photo T. El Awady)
- Fig. 67 Scene from the causeway of Sahure showing deities leading captives (after Borchardt)
- Fig. 68 Recently discovered funerary domains from Sahure's causeway (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 69 Sahure's complex – causeway on the satellite map with level lines (V. Brůna)
- Fig. 70 The excavation of Sahure's pyramid complex directed by L. Borchardt showing the causeway of Sahure completely unexcavated (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 71 The 1994 excavation season of upper northern part of Sahure's causeway (photo courtesy Z. Hawass)
- Fig. 72 The upper southern side of Sahure's causeway with the blocks revealed (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 73 The upper northern side of Sahure's causeway with the blocks revealed (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 74 Part of Sahure's causeway's embankment showing the masonry (photo T. El Awady).
- Fig. 75 Remains of the drainage channel from the causeway of Sahure as found by Borchardt (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 76 Remains of the *in situ* limestone casing blocks from the upper northern part of Sahure's causeway (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 77 One of the masons' inscriptions found on the masonry of Sahure's causeway (photo P. Rabbit)
- Fig. 78 King Sahure maneuvering the sail of the royal boat (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 79 The name of a sailboat 'Sahure's palace' (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 80 Running sailors removing the ropes (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 81a The overseer of the quarry-work, Kaaper and the overseer of the prospectors, Menia returning from Punt (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 81b Puntite people with and interpreter (standing with his arm raised) on one of the boats returning from Punt (photo M. Frouz)

- Fig. 82 King Sahure celebrating the bringing of the *ṯnd* trees (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 83 Sahure's family and high officials (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 84 Sahure's officials and craftsmen attending the banquet celebrating the return of the king's expedition to Punt (photo K. Voděra)
- Fig. 85 Musical troupes and sailors celebrating the return of the king's expedition to Punt (photo K. Voděra)
- Fig. 86 Group of officials (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 87 The Overseer of commissions, Kaswedja attending the celebration of the return of the king's expedition to Punt (photo K. Voděra)
- Fig. 88 Rewarding the members of Sahure's expedition to Punt (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 89 Different food and drinks for the ceremony of finishing the royal pyramid complex (photo M. Zemina)
- Fig. 90 Two rows of men dragging the pyramidion (photo M. Zemina)
- Fig. 91 Procession of funerary furniture and butchering the oxen (photo M. Zemina)
- Fig. 92 Part of the scene with butchers (photo M. Zemina)
- Fig. 93 Detail of the 'famine scene' from Sahure's causeway (photo M. Zemina)
- Fig. 94 An archer shooting at a target, being trained by an instructor (photo M. Zemina)
- Fig. 95 A lesson in fighting with sticks (photo M. Zemina)
- Fig. 96 Sahure's boat crewmen wrestling (photo M. Zemina)
- Fig. 97 Assembling of the officials of Sahure (photo M. Zemina)
- Fig. 98 King Sahure fowling with clap nets (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 99 Fecundity figures carrying offerings (photo K. Voděra)
- Fig. 100 The birds trapped in one of the clap nets (photo K. Voděra)
- Fig. 101 Transferring the catch into cages (photo K. Voděra)
- Fig. 102 The fishermen pulling the net heavily loaded with fish (photo P. Rabbit)
- Fig. 103 The fish (drawing J. Malátková)
- Fig. 104 God Hapy (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 105 Queen Mother Neferhetepes and Sahure's royal wife Meretnebtj (photo M. Frouz)
- Fig. 106 Sahure's two eldest sons (photo M. Frouz)

List of Plates

- Pl. 1 King Sahure maneuvering the sail (SC/south/2002/01)
- Pl. 2 The escort boats (SC/south/2002/02)
- Pl. 3 The escort boats (SC/south/2002/03)
- Pl. 4 The escort boats (SC/south/2002/04)
- Pl. 5 The arrival of Sahure's expedition from Punt (SC/south/2003/07)
- Pl. 6 Sahure celebrating the bringing of the *nd* trees (SC/south/2003/06)
- Pl. 7 Rewarding the members of Sahure's expedition to Punt (SC/south/2002/05)
- Pl. 8 Rewarding the members of Sahure's expedition to Punt (SC/south/2005/A1)
- Pl. 9 Processions of the pyramidion and the funerary furniture (SC/north/1994/03)
- Pl. 10 Processions of the pyramidion and the funerary furniture (SC/south/1994/02)
- Pl. 11 Processions of the pyramidion and the funerary furniture (SC/north/1994/01)
- Pl. 12 Military exercises and training of Sahure's nautical crews (SC/north/1994/04)
- Pl. 13 King Sahure fowling with clap nets (SC/north/2003/05)
- Pl. 14 King Sahure fowling with clap nets (SC/north/2003/06)