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BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Two Old Kingdom officials connected with boats*

Two unpublished Old Kingdom false-door fragments are studied. Both owners hold titles which show that they performed duties connected with boats.

A. The Royal Academy of Cordoba (Spain) has recently acquired a well preserved and quite interesting ancient Egyptian piece.¹ It is the drum traditionally positioned below the lintel of a limestone false-door, with the names and titles of the owner carved in low relief on the central convex section (fig. 1).

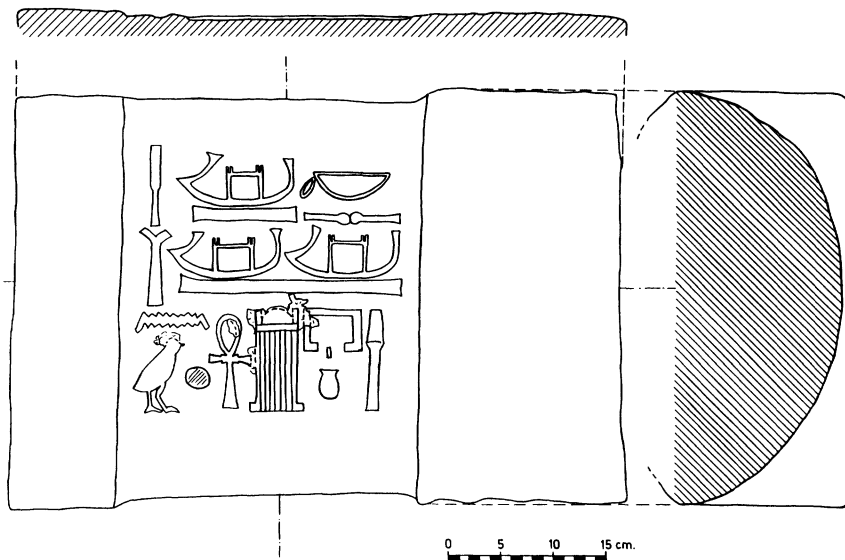


FIG. 1. Drum of a false-door from the mastaba of Ankhu.

Inscription



hrp 'pr(w) *kzw*

hrp pr-nw 'nhw

'Crew commander of *kz*-ships, director of the *per-nu* sanctuary, Ankhu'.





* I am grateful to the Real Academia de Córdoba for permission to publish Ankhu's false-door drum which is in their collection, and to M. D. Valdés for drawing the piece. I am also grateful to J. Malek for offering me the drawing of Per-nedju's false-door panel for publication and for making the notes of W. E. Crum, held in the Griffith Institute Archive, available to me. He also provided me with valuable information on the piece and comments on my manuscript. H. G. Fischer and H. Goedicke also kindly offered me their comments. Responsibility for the final form of this article is, nevertheless, entirely mine.

¹ See the catalogue *La colección egipcia de la Real Academia de Córdoba* (Córdoba, 1999), 141, inventory number 1981/1/299.

Commentary

(1) The inscription is arranged in three horizontal lines, to be read from right to left. However, the first two word-signs of the first title, describing the owner's duties, have been written vertically at the left end, for visual reasons. The title *hrp* 'pr(w) *kzw*, 'crew commander of *kz*-ships', which occupies the upper two lines, is otherwise only attested as part of the titulary of the dwarf Seneb.² It is noteworthy that the inscription carved on Seneb's false-door jamb at Giza also displays the first two word-signs following three *kz*-ships. On the other hand, the same title, carved on the base of his famous *ka*-statue, displays the signs in the expected word order.³ The inscription on this statue associates Seneb with the *per-nu* sanctuary at Buto, as is also the case with Ankhu in the Cordoba piece.

Concerning the *kz*-ships, Junker pointed out that, because of the honorific transposition of the title, the ships were probably not for private use, but intended for royal or temple administration. Nevertheless, honorific (?) transpositions of this kind are not uncommon in nautical titles. A few examples suffice to illustrate this:

	<i>imy irty</i> 'pr(w) <i>wi</i> ʒ	'captain of the boat's crew' ⁴
	<i>shd</i> <i>wi</i> ʒ/dpt	'inspector of the boat' ⁵
	<i>zš n zšw</i> <i>wi</i> ʒ/dpt	'scribe of the boat's phyle' ⁶
	'pr(w) <i>wi</i> ʒ/ḥ'w	'master of the boat' ⁷

Rather than regarding these as honorific transpositions, the word order seems to follow the basic sequence that goes from the general to the more specific referents, common in enumeration of members of a boat's crew or an expedition. The close relationship between officials holding nautical titles and those connected with mining expeditions is well known.⁸

Kz-ships were wooden rowing boats used on the Nile. The shape of their hulls was very similar to that of funerary or sacred barks (*wi*ʒ, *nšmt*, etc.) but their deckhouses (an awning on simple forked crutches) display the simplest design.⁹ Little is known about the origin of the word *kz*.¹⁰

(2) Buto (modern Tell el-Farain) is located in the northwestern Delta, to the east of the Rosetta branch of the Nile. During the third millennium BC, it was a seaport with Palestinian trading contacts.¹¹ Buto's

² H. Junker, *Giza*, V (Vienna and Leipzig, 1941), 38, fig. 5a. D. Jones, in *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London, 1988), 93 (no. 189), recorded Seneb's nautical title, but he could not have known about Ankhu's.

³ Cairo JE 51280: Jones, *Glossary*, 109, fig. 29a; H. G. Fischer, 'Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom', *MMJ* 8 (1973), 9, fig. 2.

⁴ *Urk.* I, 56, 4; 92, 3, 8; 95, 3; 141, 16; 148, 8; M. Valloggia, 'Les amiraux de l'oasis de Dakhleh', in F. Geus and F. Thill (eds), *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris, 1985), 361 f.; Jones, *Glossary*, 69 f. (no. 86).

⁵ *Urk.* I, 92, 9; 230, 6; R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub* (Leipzig, 1928), Gr. 3, 4; Jones, *Glossary*, 99 f. (no. 220).

⁶ *Urk.* I, 149, 12; Jones, *Glossary*, 102 (no. 232).

⁷ Anthes, *Felseninschriften*, Gr. 2, 3; Jones, *Glossary*, 69 (no. 85).

⁸ E. Eichler, *Untersuchungen zum Expeditionswesen des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Göttinger Orientforschungen 26; Wiesbaden, 1993), 163 ff.; Valloggia, in *Mélanges Vercoutter*, 355 ff.; P.-M. Chevereau, 'Contribution à la prosopographie des cadres militaires de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire', *RdE* 40 (1989), 3–36.

⁹ For wooden boats in the Old Kingdom see, J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, V (Paris, 1969), 659–886. A general description can be found in D. Jones, *Boats* (London, 1995).

¹⁰ *Wb.* V, 139.

¹¹ D. B. Redford, 'Notes on the History of Ancient Buto', *BES* 5 (1983), 67–101; J. Yoyotte and Th. von der Way, 'De Bouto historique à Bouto archaïque', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 213 (1996), 76 f.; D. Faltings, 'Ergebnisse der neuen

per-nu sanctuary,¹² of which so little is known, originally belonged to the goddess Wadjet in the town of Pe. It is uncertain whether Ankhu and Seneb performed their duties at Buto or at a subsidiary shrine, perhaps located in the Memphite area.

(3) The owner of the Cordoba piece, Ankhu, holds a title otherwise only recorded for Seneb, i.e. 'crew commander of *kz*-ships'. They both had priestly connections with Buto, since the former was 'director of the *per-nu* sanctuary' and the latter a 'priest of Wadjet, mistress of the *per-nu* sanctuary' (*hm-ntr W3dyt nb(t) pr-nw*).¹³

In the tomb of a like-named Ankhu,¹⁴ buried just south of Seneb's mastaba (west of Khufu's pyramid), the owner holds two titles in common with Seneb: 'one (who is carried) on a litter'¹⁵ and 'overseer of the water canal (?) of the Great House' (*wr-ꜥ imy-r š pr-ꜥ š*).¹⁶ This coincidence would suggest that the owner of the Cordoba piece and that of this tomb, from whence not much inscribed material has been recovered, were one and the same person.

(4) The presence of a tomb owned by another dwarf (*Nmi*),¹⁷ called Per-ni-ankhu, north of the tomb of Seneb might indicate, as suggested by Hawass, that the far southern end of the western field of Khufu's pyramid was reserved for individuals of their physiognomy.¹⁸ This, along with pictorial evidence of dwarfs involved in boating activities,¹⁹ suggests that Ankhu might himself have been a dwarf.

Notably, two Old Kingdom inscriptions from the Wadi Hammamat also mention a certain Ankhu. In the first, he is referred to as *imy-r š*,²⁰ and in the other as *imy-r (m)šꜥ*, 'overseer of troops'.²¹ A third Ankhu is mentioned in Magharah (Sinai), acting as *hrp nfrw*, 'director of recruits'.²² It is uncertain if any of these officials can be identified with the owner of the Cordoba false-door fragment although a connection between officials with nautical titles and mining expeditions was noted above.

(5) As for the dating of the piece, it is certainly Old Kingdom. For more precision one has to rely to a great extent on the dating of the part of the cemetery where Ankhu's mastaba is located, and above all, on the dating of Seneb's funerary monument. The latter has traditionally been dated to the end of the Fifth Dynasty, to the Sixth Dynasty and recently to the Fourth Dynasty.²³ It is to this last date that we will assign to Ankhu's monument now in Cordoba, whose most probable place of origin was a mastaba at the southern end of the western field at Giza.

Ausgrabungen in Buto. Chronologie und Fernbeziehungen der Buto-Maadi-Kultur neu überdacht', in H. Guksch and D. Polz (eds), *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens* (Mainz am Rhein, 1998), 35–45; id., 'Canaanites at Buto in the Early Fourth Millennium BC', *Egyptian Archaeology* 13 (1998), 29–32.

¹² D. Arnold, 'Per-nu', *LÄ* IV, 932–3. See also H. Altenmüller, 'Buto', *LÄ* I, 887–9.

¹³ Junker, *Giza* V, 16, 41, fig. 6. For the title see, W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Ägyptologische Forschungen 18; Glückstadt, 1954), 42, n. 115.

¹⁴ Junker, *Giza* V, 128–33, pl. x, and plan; PM III², 100–3, plan XIII.

¹⁵ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 39 f.

¹⁶ Junker, *Giza* V, 130 f., fig. 34, for Ankhu; 12 f., 27, fig. 4a, for Seneb. These titles are also discussed in id., *Giza*, III (Vienna and Leipzig, 1938), 211 f. Seneb is actually shown being carried on a litter in Junker, *Giza* V, 84, fig. 20. For the title *imy-r š*, rendered as 'officier de transport', see Chevreau, *RdE* 40, 22. Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, 173, relates the title with the 'captain' of mining expeditions. See also O. Goelt, 'The Nature of the Term *pr-š* during the Old Kingdom', *BES* 10 (1989/90), 77–90.

¹⁷ On the topic see, e.g., O. El-Aguizy, 'Dwarfs and Pygmies in Ancient Egypt', *ASAE* 71 (1987), 53–60; E. Thompson, 'Dwarfs in the Old Kingdom in Egypt', *BACE* 2 (1991), 91–8; V. Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford, 1993).

¹⁸ Z. Hawass, 'The Statue of the Dwarf *Pr-n(j)-nh(w)* Recently Discovered at Giza', *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 160.

¹⁹ Junker, *Giza* V, 9 (no. 13), 11, fig. 1.

²⁰ G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat* (Paris, 1957), 48 (no. 9); Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, 52 (no. 70).

²¹ Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, 57 f. (no. 23), pl. ix; Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, 7 (no. 84).

²² A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet and J. Cerny, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, I (EES Excavation Memoir 45, London, 1952), pl.viii; *ibid.*, II (London, 1955), 62 f. (no. 16); Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, 34 (no. 16).

²³ N. Cherpion, 'De quand date la tombe du nain Seneb?', *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 35–54, esp. 44 f.; Hawass, *MDAIK* 47, 161 f.

B. The second piece bearing a title connected with boats is an upper part of a limestone false-door owned by Per-nedju (*Pr-ndw*) of the Sixth Dynasty. He was buried at Saqqara, west of the Step Pyramid, although the exact location of his tomb is unknown.²⁴ Formerly in the collection of the British diplomat John Barker, the false-door was sold at Sotheby's in London on 15–16 March, 1833, as lot number 235. A drawing made on the occasion is reproduced here as figure 2. Subsequently, the monument became part of the John Lee collection and was described by J. Bonomi.²⁵ The piece was sold again at Sotheby's in London on 13–14 June, 1921, as lot number 187.

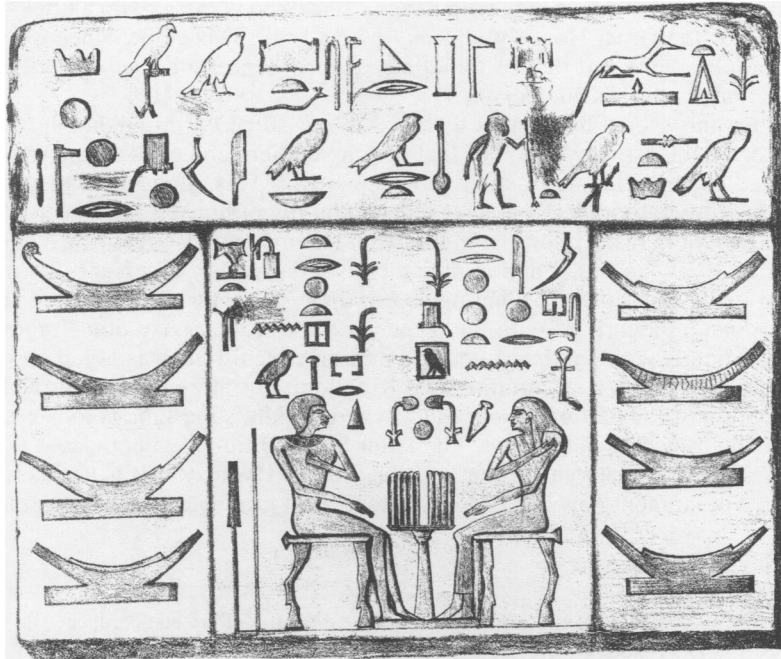


FIG. 2. Upper part of a false-door belonging to Per-nedju.

The false-door measures c. 84 cm high by 104 cm wide. The 'header' consists of two inscribed horizontal lines with a standard funerary formula, but without the titles and names of the beneficiaries. The latter are included in the central panel, above the figures of the deceased and his wife, who are depicted sitting facing each other and sharing the loaves placed on the funerary table that stands between them.²⁶ The sculptor has endeavoured to arrange the pictorial and inscriptional material symmetrically. Only Per-nedju's *mdw*-staff and *sh̄m*-sceptre, displayed vertically behind him in an unusual way,²⁷ break the symmetry of the scene. At each side of the central panel there is a column with four boats, one above the other. These eight boats, differing in their profiles from each other, are related

²⁴ PM III², 611–12. The area was excavated by Mariette, but he does not mention him in *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1885), edited by G. Maspero.

²⁵ J. Bonomi, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Museum of Hartwell House* (1858), 80 (no. 561). It was also recorded by A. Wiedemann, 'Texts of the Collection of Mr. Lee', *PSBA* 11 (1889), 420 (no. 6). W. E. Crum saw the object when it was in Lord Amherst's collection, and made a copy of its texts. He gave the notebook containing his copy to A. H. Gardiner and it is now catalogued in the Griffith Institute Archive as Gardiner Notebook 66, with Crum's copy on the upper part of page 17.

²⁶ Note that the chairs' legs are taurine rather than leonine, as on the false-door of his wife, Cairo CG 1506; L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, I (CG; Cairo, 1937), 211, pl. 44.

²⁷ See A. Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe im pharaonischen Ägypten* (MÄS 33; Munich, 1976); H. G. Fischer, 'Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt', *MMJ* 13 (1978), 5–32.


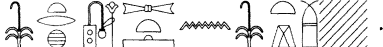
to Per-nedju's main title, describing his occupation as scribe of enrolment for the (boats') crews. The width of the two columns of boats, as well as the height of the 'header', is approximately half the length of the sides of the square central panel. Thus, the scale of the boats is considerable, making the composition of the piece quite original.

Transcription


- (1) (*hṭp*) *dī nsw hṭp (dī) Ḥnpw ḥnty zh-ntr qrst.f m hrt-ntr*²⁸ *m st imnt[ṭ] iʿw nfr wrt m nb imʿh hr ntr ʿ*
 (2) *rḥ nsw zš tzt ʿprw n hrt-nsw Pr-ndw*
 (3) *rḥt nsw imʿhṭ hr hī.s Ni-ʿnh-ḥwtḥr*²⁹
 (4) *ḥʿ t ḥʿ ḥnqt*³⁰


Translation

(1) A boon which the king grants, and (also) Anubis, foremost of the divine booth,³¹ (namely) his burial in the cemetery, in the western desert, and a very good old age as possessor of provisions before the great god, (2) (for) the acquaintance of the king, scribe of enrolment for the crew of the royal property, Per-nedju, (3) (and for) the acquaintance of the king, provisioned before her husband,³² Ni-ankh-Hathor. (4) A thousand loaves and a thousand beer jars (for both of them).

Another title held by Per-nedju is . The second title is written differently in an inscription on a false-door jamb now in Cairo³³ .

The compound term *hrt-nsw* has been honorifically transposed to precede *ʿprw*, and the preposition *n* has been relocated, apparently for graphic reasons.³⁴ The latter can be taken as genitival or datival, without changing the title's nuance. The term *hrt-nsw* is problematic, and I have not been able to find another example. The closest parallel for it may be *hrt-ntr*, denoting the 'cemetery', literally 'what is under god'.³⁵ Similarly, *hrt-nsw* has been rendered as 'royal property'.

On two other inscribed false-door fragments Per-nedju is called  *zš ʿprw*, 'scribe of the crew'.³⁶

And finally, he holds the title  *zš tzt ʿprw ḥʿw*, 'scribe of enrolment of the boat's crew'.³⁷

²⁸ For this writing see H. G. Fischer, 'The Evolution of the Composite Hieroglyphs in Ancient Egypt', in id., *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal* (New York, 1980), 8 f. For the town-determinative following the *ḥ3st*-sign see, id., *Varia Nova. Egyptian Studies*, III (New York, 1996), 28, n. 110.

²⁹ For the reading of the proper name see, Fischer, *Varia Nova* III, 55–60.


³⁰ The lotus stems of the signs for *ḥʿ* are bent forward. Note also that the vase sign for *ḥnqt* is tipped toward the wife's face.

³¹ For a discussion on *ḥnty sh ntr*, see, Fischer, *Varia Nova* III, 45–9.

³² On the wife's epithet, see D. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich* (Hamburg, 1983), 141, n. 3.

³³ Cairo CG 1689: L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, II (CG; Cairo, 1964), 136.



³⁴ H. G. Fischer, 'Graphic Transposition of the Indirect Genitive', *JARCE* 3 (1964), 123 f.

³⁵ See H. Goedicke, 'Titles for Titles', in S. Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden in Altägypten* (Tübingen, 1994), 229, for a discussion on *hrt-nsw* as part of the common administrative title . H. G. Fischer (personal communication 25 February 1999), suggests that *hr* in this inscription can be translated as 'conveying', thus 'scribe of enrolment of the crews who convey the king'.

³⁶ Cairo CG 1684 and 1690: Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 134, 137. In the first inscription, it can be read [...]*zš ʿprw m* [...], what might be restored as '[overseer] of scribes of the crews', as stated in PM III², 611.

³⁷ Cairo CG 1690: Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 137. For the title, see Valloggia, in *Mélanges Vercoutter*, 357; Jones, *Glossary*, 103 (no. 233).

The latter makes it clear that Per-nedju's title recorded in the piece under consideration refers to the boats' crews, which explains the depiction of eight boats flanking the central panel. These must have been the boats of the recruits (belonging to the royal property) that Per-nedju was supposed to register, acting as scribe of enrolment.³⁸

Per-nedju also held the title *zš šnwt*, 'scribe of the granary' , and probably that of *imy-r mšc*, 'overseer of troops' .³⁹

Summary

The two inscribed monuments studied above add information on nautical titles and contribute to the knowledge of two Old Kingdom high officials of the royal administration. The first piece belongs to Ankhu who has the unusual title, 'crew commander of *kz*-ships' also held by the dwarf, Seneb. Ankhu's tomb is located to the west of Khufu's pyramid, with very little inscribed material preserved in it. The second piece, belonging to Per-nedju, also mentions a rare title connected with boats. From a stylistic point of view, the division of the panel's space and the artist's interest in symmetry are noteworthy as these features break an exact equilibrium and avoid repetition in the composition. The careful design of the boats increases the significance of these two pieces for the study of ancient Egyptian boats.

JOSÉ M. GALÁN

Reconstruction of the kilt represented on a statue of Neferefre*

The reconstruction of the statue of Neferefre (Cairo JE 98171) shows that one kind of royal kilt was represented in sculpture much earlier than is commonly stated.

DURING their excavations in Abusir, Czech archaeologists found a very interesting group of statues of the Fifth Dynasty king Neferefre.¹ What is perhaps the most original is now in the Cairo Museum, registered as JE 98171 (pl. XIX, 2). The statue presents many features which are quite rare, or even unique, in the royal statuary corpus of the Old Kingdom as presently known. These features are the close-cut head-dress,² the falcon embracing the king's head,³ the *hḏ*-mace which Neferefre holds in his right hand⁴ and the kilt. The kilt is almost completely destroyed. The only preserved details are the

³⁸ On the title *zš izt*, see Jones *Glossary*, 103 (no. 233); Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 101, n. 74.

³⁹ On his wife's false-door, he is referred to only as *zš* ('scribe'); Cairo CG 1506: Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 211, pl. 44. A different Per-nedju, mentioned in the mastaba of Ka-ni-nisut, holds the title *imy-r ššr*, 'overseer of linen': H. Junker, *Gîza*, II (Vienna and Leipzig, 1934), 151, 165, fig. 18, 22, pl. xi.b.

* I wish to thank Paul Barford for correcting my English.

¹ M. Verner, 'Les sculptures de Neferefre découverte à Abousir', *BIFAO* 85 (1985), 267–80.

² Apart from the two heads of Neferefre found together with JE 98171 (Verner, *BIFAO* 85, pls. xlv, lviii), a similar headdress (a very short wig or a cap) is known to me only from the so-called 'head of Shepseskaf' in Boston (MFA 09.203: PM III², 30) and from two royal heads in Brussels (E. 7117: J. Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien*, I (Paris, 1927), 7–8, pl. v) and in the Petrie Museum in London (UC 14282: *L'art égyptien au temps des pyramides* [exhibition catalogue] (Paris, 1999), 263–4 (no. 101)).

³ In addition to another head of Neferefre (Verner, *BIFAO* 85, pl. xlv), I know of only two similar examples: a head fragment (of Cheops ?) in Boston (MFA 27.1466: PM III², 12) and the famous statue of Chephren in the Cairo Museum (CG 14: PM III², 22). See also A. Bolshakov, 'Royal Portraiture and «Horus-Name»', in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1999), 311–32.

⁴ As well as another statue of Neferefre (Verner, *BIFAO* 85, pl. xlix), I know of only two examples of representations of this mace in royal statuary: a Mycerinus triad (Boston MFA 09.200: PM III², 27) and a statue of Neuserre (Rochester NY 42.54 and Cairo CG 42003: PM II, 136; B. V. Bothmer, 'The Karnak Statue of Ny-user-ra (Membra Dispersa IV)', *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 165–70, pls. 44–9).