Provincial Art in the Old Kingdom and its sources

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Declaration

I, Roshini Thomas, certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university of institution.

9 October, 2017

Summary of Thesis

Memphis was the centre for all artistic developments in the Old Kingdom. Most elite tombs were decorated with scenes representing daily life, funerary beliefs and religious iconography. The aim of this project was to study the artistic influence of Memphis in provincial tombs. This was achieved through a detailed study of tomb decoration in provincial elite tombs dating from the Fifth to the Eighth Dynasties, together with a comparative analysis with tombs in the capital. The spear fishing and fowling scene by the provincial tomb owner was chosen as the theme to be studied, each detail and feature of this scene was carefully compared and analysed with similar scenes from the capital. In addition, attempt was made to trace the artists who decorated provincial tombs. Generally, it was found that the artists who decorated the tombs of the important provincial officials had exposure to or began their careers in the capital and used the superior tombs from the capital as their sources of inspiration. It was also found that, towards the end of the Old Kingdom the Middle provinces such as Deir el- Gebrawi, Meir and El-Hawawish were beginning to influence the other southernly provinces.

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Introduction

Funerary art of the Old Kingdom flourished in Memphis, the long-standing capital in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. During this time officials who administered Upper Egyptian provinces built their tombs in the capital so as to retain a close connection to the king. However, in the Sixth Dynasty governors handling the administration of the provinces, were building their tombs in the provinces they governed. These tombs were mainly cut into the cliffs on either bank of the Nile and were decorated with a repertoire of scenes similar to those found in elite tombs at Memphis. This development prompts the following questions: Did the inspiration for the new provincial art derive from Memphite tombs? Can specific features of scenes shown in provincial tombs be traced to identifiable Memphite origins? Can individuals responsible for this transfer of artistic styles be identified? Can their sources of inspirations and their social status be identified and examined? This study aims to answer these major questions through a careful examination of artistic details in provincial tombs and a comparison with tombs in the capital.

Previously, major studies on Egyptian art have concentrated on examining the development of stylistic representations in Memphite cemeteries with limited investigation of provincial art and/or artists. Robins, a leading expert in Egyptian art points out in *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, that since most of the decorated tombs were built in the capital in the earlier part of the Old Kingdom, there was no local tradition or schools of art in the provinces. If this analysis is correct, all artistic styles and inspirations must have originated from the capital. Thus, high officials buried in their province would have had to rely on the artists based in the capital who were mostly employed in the royal workshops. [1] Due to the nature of her publication being a

[1] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, revised edition, (Cambridge, 2008), p. 80-81.

general overview on Egyptian art, she does not provide an analysis on the link and artistic interrelations between Memphis and the provinces.

Harpur analysed artistic representations and stylistic developments in *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*. She listed all Old Kingdom wall scenes thematically and chronologically, discussing themes and stylistic representations and their development suggesting that direct artistic links with Memphis may have existed at provincial sites such as Deshasha, Zawyet el-Amwat, Sheikh Said, Deir el Gebrawi, El-Hawawish, and Meir.[2] Although she mentions artistic links between the provinces and the capital her consideration is limited.

According to Smith in *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Paintings in the Old Kingdom*, it is almost impossible to discover the influence of a particular artists in the work of other tombs by means of stylistic comparison.[3] Nevertheless, Smith also commented that the imprint of the genius of a superior craftsman can occasionally be felt in small details and can probably be detected in a general way in the style of a particular period.[4] However a study such as this requires a detailed examination of tomb decoration.

Woods attributes a variety of reasons for artistic similarities in *'A day in the marshes',* such as kinship, workshops operating in confined areas, tombs dating to the same period that are located in close proximity to one another which were probably decorated by the same artist (similarly trained). She has suggested variations and standardizations and compiled a detailed corpus of all marsh scenes. While she has concentrated on the development of such scenes in the Memphite cemeteries, she also recommends a further investigation of the artistic interrelations in the provinces.[5]

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[2] Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: studies in orientation and scene content,* (New York, 1987), p. 11.
[3] W. S. Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, (London, 1949).
[4] Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 359.
[5] A. Woods, *A 'day in the marshes': a study of Old Kingdom marsh scenes in the tombs of the Memphite cemeteries,* Thesis (PhD) -- Macquarie University, Sydney, 2008).

Lashien, in a recent publication on *The Nobles of El-Qusiya in the Sixth Dynasty* was able to demonstrate that individuals with the title *zš pr-mḏt nṯr pr-ꜥ* 'scribe of the house of sacred records' may be associated with artistic duties and may have been artists. She speculates whether the 'sacred record' could have been the scenes and inscriptions in the tomb itself with the 'scribe' being the painter of the sacred records of a person's life, meant for the afterlife.[6] Her work opens up a window through which one can compare and identify the artistic influence and similarities between provincial and Memphite tombs. However, her research is primarily focussed on the provincial site of El-Qusiya. It is necessary to study the artistic styles and influences present in all other provincial tombs.

In the study *Artists in the Old Kingdom: Techniques and achievements.* Kanawati and Woods have highlighted that individuals who held the two titles 'outline draughtsmen' and 'scribe of the house of sacred records' are usually shown performing artistic duties and were represented in very prominent positions.[7] For example, the '*zš pr-mḏꜣt nṯr pr-ꜥ'* Ihyemsapepy/Iri is seen painting a jar, a statue and a shrine in the tomb of Pepyankh the Black at Meir.[8] Seni the *'zš qdwt'* and Isesi the '*zš pr-mḏꜣt nṯr pr-ꜥ'* were depicted in prominent positions in the tombs they decorated and Seni in his biography states his artistic duties in the tomb of Tjeti-Iker at Akhmim.[9] The signature of the *'zš qdwt pr-Mꜣtjt'* Pepyseneb who decorated the tomb of Djau is seen in the most noticeable position, immediately opposite to the entrance in between the large figures of Djau/Shemai and his son Djau.[10] At Meir the '*zš pr-mḏꜣt nṯr prꜥ'*

[6] M. Lashien, *The nobles of El-Qusiya in the Sixth Dynasty: A historical study*, (Wallasey, 2017), p. 145.
[7] N. Kanawati & A. Woods, *Artists in the Old Kingdom: Techniques and Achievements,* with photographic contributions by E. Alexakis and drawings by S. Shafik, (Cairo, 2009).
[8] A. M. Blackman, *The rock tombs of Meir,* 5, (London,1914), p. 28, pl. 19; N. Kanawati & L. Evans, with contributions by E. Alexakis, A. McFarlane, A. L. Mourad, S. Shafik, A. Suleiman. B. Thompson, N. Victor, *The cemetery of Meir: The tomb of Pepyankh the Black,* Vol II, (Oxford, 2014), pl. 74.

[9] N. Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, Vol I, (New South Wales, 1980), p. 19, pl. 5, fig. 8.
[10] N. G. Davies, W. E. Crum, G. A. Boulenger, *The rock tombs of Deir el Gebrawi, part 2, Tomb of Zau and tombs of the northern group,* (London, 1902), pl. 10; N. Kanawati with contributions by E. Alexakis, S. Ikram, A. McFarlane, M. Schultz, S. Shafik, E. Thompson, N. Victor, and R. Walker, *Deir el Gebrawi: The southern cliff, The tomb of Djau/Shemai and Djau,*Vol III, (Warminster, 2012), p. 43, pls. 19-22, 62, 75.

Kaiemtjenenet appears a number of times in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle.[11] Therefore, an investigation is necessary to assess whether individuals with these titles have held artistic functions and held a prominent position in their society.

To date there is no clear distinction between a scribe (one who records administrative documents) and a painter (an artist) in ancient Egyptian scholarship, since the word used to describe writing is also used to describe painting.[12] The title *zš pr-mḏt nṯr pr-ꜥ* 'scribe of the house of sacred records' is generally not used to refer to artists, although when deconstructed, the word *zš* means a 'writer or painter' and *pr-mḏt nṯr* a 'divine library or an archive'. In the temple of Edfu there is a library, called *pr-mḏt,* a small room at the back of the entrance to the vestibule.[13] This room perhaps had access to prototypical drawings or representations of cultically effective statuary and cult objects, and probably even a total repertoire of scenes for temples and tombs[14] thus, indicating a possible artistic link to this title.

The main objective of this research project is to identify artistic similarities between tombs in the Upper Egyptian provinces and those in the capital and use this data to determine whether the same artist or groups of artists were employed across these locations. Owing to the limitations of time and word count of this study and the enormous volume of tomb decoration, one common scene was chosen for an in-depth analysis, namely the spear fishing and fowling scene. It was chosen due to its popularity in tombs both in the capital and the provinces across Egyptian art history. It should be noted that fishing and fowling scenes were found in royal reliefs at Saqqara and Abusir, this motif was eventually adopted by the elite and became a standard representation in most tombs throughout ancient Egyptian art history. Some

[11] N. Kanawati, with contributions by E. Alexakis, A. L. Mourad, S. Shafik, N. Victor and A. Woods, *The cemetery of Meir: The tomb of Pepyankh the middle*, Vol I, (Oxford, 2012), pp. 38, 41 pls. 79-82.
[12] J. A. Wilson, "The Artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom", in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6, No. 4 (1947) p. 235; N. Kanawati and A. Woods, *Artists,* p. 9.
[13] A. H. Gardiner, "The house of Life", *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24 (1938), p. 177.
[14]D. O'Connor, "Sexuality, Statuary and the Afterlife; Scenes in the tomb-chapel of Pepyankh (Heny the Black). An interpretive essay", in *Studies in Honour of William Kelly Simpson, Vol 2,* (Museum of Fine arts: Boston, 1996), pp. 627-628.

fragmentary scenes are attested in the mortuary temples of Userkaf, Sahure and Niuserre.[15] This work limited itself to the discussion of artistic motifs and did not include styles, proportions and compositions. As a discussion on styles require photographs of high quality or an actual visit to the tombs which was not possible at this time, this discussion will be included in the Phd. Proportions were not factored in as the likelihood of arriving at original conclusions were limited, given that they were regular in any one period of Egyptian art. Compositions on the other hand would have expanded the scope of this study, therefore this study limited itself to one single artistic motif. In order to refine the test group a limitation on the time period was applied, accordingly the tombs that were selected date between the Fifth – Eighth Dynasties. Provincial tombs that contain a spear fishing and fowling scene by the tomb owner were chosen.

These provinces were situated in Upper Egypt and the majority of the scenes are well recorded and published, thus providing reliable evidence. The first step was data collection to access the list of tombs containing the fishing and fowling scenes. Second, publications and tomb reports were accessed, including the original and the recently rerecorded and republished tombs. The plates, figures and line drawings from these published works were then analysed by creating separate lists of standard and rare factors in the scenes on the principle that the repetition of rare minor details indicates the same artistic hand or the transfer of inspiration. From the iconographic evidence gathered, each minor detail and feature observed in the scene from the provincial tombs was compared with those found in tombs from the capital of the same period. While iconographic details were being studied, simultaneously the epigraphic titles of individuals depicted within the tombs who were described as *zš qdwt* 'outline draughtsman' and *zš pr-mḏꜣt nṯr prꜥꜣ* 'scribe of the house of sacred records' were identified. The depictions of these individuals within the tomb was examined and wherever possible were traced back to Memphite tombs that contained similar scenes and details. A separate chapter is devoted to each

[15] L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re*, (Leipzig, 1907).

province that contains a two-part analysis on the details in fishing and fowling scenes. The bulk of the chapter which contains the comparative analysis of the artistic features is laid out in tables included within the main text of the study. Consideration was also given to the individuals with the suggested artistic titles. Examination of the depiction of these individuals included their location, the activities they performed and the objects that they held in their hands. For the convenience of the reader all illustrations are included in a second volume. A comparative analysis of the collected evidence proved to be the most effective form of study for the investigation on the artistic interrelations between Memphis and the provinces of Upper Egypt.

Deshasha

1. Tomb of Iteti/Shedu

In the Old Kingdom, Deshasha[16] served as the main cemetery for the 20th nome in Upper Egypt. The presence of merely three decorated tombs belonging to governors indicates a short-lived provincial administration. Its close proximity to the capital may have discouraged its need for individual administration. The earliest of the governors[17] Inti held the nomarchic titles of the Fifth Dynasty and is dated to the reign of Djedkare, while the last governor Shedu[18] held nomarchic titles of early Sixth Dynasty and is dated to the reign of Teti.

The latter contains a spear fishing and fowling scene.[19] Petrie, who originally recorded the tombs at Deshasha, dated Shedu to the reign of Teti, [20] while others accepted a latter part of the Sixth Dynasty.[21] Some scenes depicted in the tomb were popular in the transition period between the end of the Fifth to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.[22] Additionally, the representation of Shedu fishing on the façade of the tomb under the portico, can be seen in Memphite tombs dated to the late Fifth and early Sixth Dynasty.[23] Thus, based on the artistic features and depictions in the tomb, this paper accepts the early Sixth Dynasty date for Shedu.[24]

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[16] W. M. F Petrie, *Deshasheh* (London, 1898); N. Kanawati & A. McFarlane, *Deshasha: The Tombs of Inti, Shedu and others* (Sydney, 1993).
[17] Petrie, *Deshasheh,* pp. 9-11, 44-46, pls. XV-XXV; Kanawati & McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pp. 39-63, pls. 14-21, 40-56.
[18] The jurisdiction of the governors of this province is unclear. For discussion on the provinces see Kanawati & McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pp. 11-14.
[19] Petrie, *Deshasheh,* pp.10-11, pls. XXII, XXIII; Kanawati & McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pls. 16, 44, 48.
[20] Petrie, *Deshasheh,* p. 4.
[21] Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 220; K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: the structure of the Egyptian administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties* (Chicago, 1973), p. 288; N. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt* (Warminster, 1980), p. 89; Harpur, *Decoration,* p. 279 [623].
[22] Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 67.
[23] Ibid., p. 117.
[24] J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égytienne* 2 (Paris, 1952), p. 300; Petrie, *Deshasheh,* p. 4; Kanawati & McFarlane, *Deshasha*, p. 44.

Artists

Although the earlier tombs of Inti[25] lacks the spear fishing and fowling scene in question, a man named Ipi[26] appears on the west wall, north of the shrine in his tomb. He is described as *zš pr mḏꜣt* 'scribe of the house of records'[27] and appears seated along with another individual facing the tomb owner on a boat. Since the title appears above the two men, the possibility of the title belonging to both should not be excluded. However, as Ipi is depicted before the other man the title perhaps belongs to him. Similarly, in the tomb of Kagemni dated to the late reign of Djedkare is a further individual named Ipi[28] attested as *zš pr-mḏꜣt nṯr pr-ꜥꜣ* 'scribe of the house of sacred records of the Palace'[29]. He is depicted carrying birds towards the tomb owner on the lower register of the west wall in the right section of Room IV[30]. It is important to note that individuals with this title do not appear anywhere else in the chapel of Kagemni, nor do they appear in other tombs where scribes are shown performing administrative duties.[31] Thus, implying that these individuals may not have been administrative scribes but perhaps were involved in other duties that had scribal components. It is also significant to note that Ipi is seen carrying birds in the tomb of Kagemni.

Individuals with the title 'scribe of the house of sacred records' are similarly depicted elsewhere performing this task, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters.

Artistic similarities

[25] Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pp. 4-8, 42-44, pls. 2-14; Kanawati & McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pp. 15-38, pls. 1-14, 23-39.
[26] H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glü ckstadt, 1935-1977), 1, 22:15.
[27] D. Jones, *An Index of ancient Egyptian titles, epithets and phrases of the Old Kingdom* (Oxford, 2000), p. 848 [3099].
[28] Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 22:15.
[29] D. Jones, *Index*, p. 849 [3104].
[30] Bissing, *Gem-ni*-kai 1, pl. 10; Harpur and Scremin, *The chapel of Kagemni: Scene details*, p. 151, 496 [detail] 239, [context drawings] 13.
[31] Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, p. 146.

A close assessment of the fishing and fowling scene from the tomb of Shedu at Deshasha revealed a number of similar artistic features with tombs in the Senedjemib complex at Giza and the tomb of Kagemni at Saqqara. Senedjemib Inti[32] served as vizier under King Djedkare and Izezi while Senedjemib Mehi [33] served as vizier to Unis, hence placing their tombs prior to the tomb of Shedu, which allows for the transference of artistic details to be possible. As for Kagemni, his tomb is dated to the reign of Teti, [34] as his career extended from the reign of Djedkare to that of Teti, thus making his tomb possibly concurrent to that of Shedu.

Feature Number	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs. 1.1-1.5)	
	TOMB OF SHEDU[35]	**OTHERS TOMBS**
		Capital
1.	A female family member stands in front of the tomb owner in the prow holding a lotus to her nostrils.	Kagemni, [36] Niankhkhnum & Khnumhotep. [37]
2.	A son (presumably) stands alone on a separate register closest to the tomb owner's boat which appears as though he is actually standing on the boat with a spare spear and throw stick.	Senedjemib/Mehi.[38]
3.	The minor figures in the fowling scene are hunting hippopotamus in front of the tomb owner.	Senedjemib/Inti,[39] Senedjemib/Mehi,[40] Kagemni[41]

[32] E. Brovarski, *The Senedjemib complex*, (eds.) P. der Manuelian & W.K. Simpson (Boston, 2001), p. 23.
[33] Ibid, p. 30.
[34] Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 149 [548].
[35] Petrie, *Deshasheh,* pp. 9-11, 44-46, pls. XV-XXV; Kanawati & McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pp. 39-63, pls. 14-21, 40-56.
[36] F. W. Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai* I (Berlin, 1905), Taf. iv [2]; C. M. Firth & B. Gunn, *Excavation at Saqqara: Teti Cemeteries*, 2 vols (Cairo, 1926) I, p. 115 [9], II, pls. 9, 52; Y. Harpur & P. Scremin, *The chapel of Kagemni: Scene details* (Oxford, 2006), p. 76, [detail] 120, [context drawing] 8.
[37]A. M. Moussa & H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz/ Rhein, 1977), pp. 58-60, Taf. 4, Abb. 5 pp. 60-1, Taf. 5, Abb. 6.
[38] R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien:Ergänzungsband* (Leipzig, 1897-1913), Taf, XII; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, p.135, pl. 108 [a], figs. 100-101; Lepsius, *Denkmäler: Ergänzungsband*, Taf, XI; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, p. 136, pl. 109, figs. 102-3.
[39] Lepsius, *Denkmäler Erg*, Taf, XVII; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, pls. 15 [c], figs. 24-5; Lepsius, *Denkmäler:Erg*, Taf, XVIII; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, pls. 16, 17 [a], figs. 26-7.
[40]Lepsius, *Denkmäler:Erg*, Taf, XII; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, pl. 108 [a], figs. 100-101; Lepsius, *Denkmäler: Erg*, Taf, XI; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, pl. 109, figs. 102-3.
[41]Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* I, Taf. IV; Firth & Gunn, *Teti Cemeteries*, I, p. 115, II, pls. 9 [B], 52; Harpur & Scremin, *The chapel of Kagemni: Scene details*, p. 76, [detail] 120, [context drawing] 8.

4.	The hippopotamus giving birth and the crocodile awaiting its birth with its mouth open.[42]	Senedjemib/Mehi,[43] Kagemni [44]
5.	The water beneath the boat is broken up with vegetation papyrus buds and lotus flowers shown in the water attached to the baseline.	Kagemni[45]
6.	The two decoy birds held are in the tomb owner's hands by their legs and face in the same direction.	Senedjemib/Inti.[46]

Analysis

The fishing and fowling scene from the tomb of Shedu exhibits features that are similarly found in tombs dated just before the Sixth Dynasty, particularly to the tombs of Senedjemib/ Inti and Mehi. These similarities may be seen in the female figure smelling the lotus, the minor figures hunting hippopotamus in front of the tomb owner and the crocodile awaiting the birth of a hippopotamus calf beneath the boat. Although these features appear to be commonly depicted in most tombs, the motif of the crocodile awaiting the birth of a hippopotamus calf is unattested in any other provincial tomb. This motif was most likely gained from the capital, it may have been brought to Deshasha by the same artists who worked in the capital. Additionally, the rare scene of painters working on the *Hn* box depicted on the east wall of the chapel in Shedu's tomb[47] is also attested on the east wall of the chapel in the tomb of Senedjemib/Mehi,[48] the son of the vizier Senedjemib/Inti. A further point of significance is in that the first governor of

[42] The rare feature of the crocodile awaiting the birth of the hippopotamus is also attested in the tomb of Mereruka and Mereri who are dated to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.
[43]Lepsius, *Denkmäler:Erg*, Taf, XII; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, pl. 108, figs. 100-101; Lepsius, *Denkmäler: Erg*, Taf, XI; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, pl. 109, figs. 102-3.
[44] von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* I, Taf. IV; Firth & Gunn, *Teti Cemeteries*, 115 [9], II, pls. 9, 52; Harpur & Scremin, *The chapel of Kagemni: Scene details*, p. 76, [detail] 120, [context drawing] 8.
[45] Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, Taf. IV; Firth & Gunn, *Teti Cemeteries*, I, p. 115, II, pls. 9, 52; Harpur & Scremin, *The chapel of Kagemi: Scene details*, p. 76, [detail] 120, [context drawing] 8.
[46] Lepsius, *Denkmäler: Ergänzungsband*, Taf, XVII; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex, p.* 38-9, pls. 15, figs. 24-5; Lepsius, *Denkmäler: Ergänzungsband*, Taf, XVIII; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex, p.* 38-40, pls. 16, 17, figs. 26-7.
[47] Petrie, *Deshasheh*, p. 8, pl. XIII; Kanawati & McFarlane, *Deshasha*, p. 19, pls. 3, 28.
[48] Brovarski, *The Senedjemib complex*, p. 147, fig 116a; Moussa & Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, p. 135 n.786.

Deshasha, dated to the reign of Djedkare is a man named Inti, who not only bears the same name as Senedjemib/Inti, but is also dated to the same period. Governors who were sent to the provinces on behalf of the king were most likely sons/ relatives of trusted, loyal officials. In this regard, could Inti of Deshasha be related to the family of viziers of Giza (Senedjemib)?

Architecturally and artistically the tomb of Shedu seems to be heavily influenced by Memphite features. The close proximity of Deshasha to the capital may also have been an influencing factor, particularly by tombs that date to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty. On account of the artistic similarities displayed between the tombs in the Senedjemib complex and Shedu, the presence of the individual named Ipi with the title 'scribe of the house records', in the tomb of Kagemni and Inti, the similar name and date between Inti and Senedjemib/Inti it is possible that the artists who decorated the tombs at Deshasha originated from the capital. They may have been brought to the province when these governors were appointed to Deshasha. They may have also been influenced by the tombs of the great viziers who served the king in the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth.

Zawiyet el-Maiyitin

1. Tomb of Khunes

The officials of the 16th nome used the site of Zawiyet el-Maiyitin to build their tombs, two tombs found at this site contain fishing and fowling scenes. Of these one belongs to the nomarch Khunes [49]. Some scholars[50] date him to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty while others [51] to the Sixth. Harpur on the other hand dates him in between the reigns of Isesi and Teti.[52] The fowling scene in the tomb of Khunes[53] bears a close resemblance to that in the tomb of Werirni which is located in the neighbouring province of Sheikh Said. [54] Both Davies and Harpur have noted these similarities and attributed them to either artistic influence or the workmanship of the same artist. [55] This scene is not only comparable to that of Weirni but also has a number of similarities to a fowling scene from the mid Fifth Dynasty Memphite tomb of Iyinefret at Giza.[56] Some of these similar details are as follows.

[49] Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II. 105-109; A. Varille, *La tombe de Ni-Ankh-Pepi à Zâouyet el-Mayetiñ* (Le Caire, 1938), pp. 9-13, figs. 2-9.
[50]N. de G. Davies, *The rock tombs of Sheikh Saïd* (London, 1901), p. 15; H. Brunner, *Die Anlagen der ägyptischen Felsgräber bis zum Mittleren Reich*, (Glückstadt, 1936), p. 35.
[51]Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 215-216; H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the third millennium B.C., down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt* (New York: 1968), p. 19 n.83, 67; Kanawati, *Governmental reforms*, pp. 51-52; F. Gomaà, *Ägypten während der Ersten Zwischenzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 115-116.
[52] Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 20.
[53] L, *Denkmäler* II. 105-109; Varille, *La tombe de Ni-Ankh-Pepi à Zâouyet el-Mayetiñ*, figs. 2-9.
[54]Davies, *Sheikh Säid*, pp. 14-24, pls. VIII-XVI.
[55] Davies, *Sheikh Säid*, p. 15; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 11, 20.
[56] W. Schürmann, *Die Reliefs aus dem Grab des Pyramidenvorstehers Ii-nefret* (Karlsruhe, 1983).

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs. 2.1-2.6)		
	TOMB OF KHUNES[57]	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	**Provinces**
1.	Khunes wears a long necklace and a pendant in the fowling scene.	Iyinefret[58]	
2.	The tomb owner's wife is the only family member in the fowling scene.	Iyinefret,[59]	Werirni[60]
3.	The tomb owner's wife is seen holding his front leg, while sitting in front of him.	Iyinefret,[61]	Werirni[62]
4.	The oarsmen are shown at a reduced scale on the deck of the papyrus boat. [63]	Iyinefret,[64]	Werirni[65]
5.	An ibis, a lapwing and a hoopoe are seen perched on top of the umbels throughout the papyrus thicket.		Werirni[66]
6.	The papyrus boat is seen without a wooden board.	Iyinefret[67],	Niankhpepy[68]
7.	Aggressive behaviour depicted by the hippopotamus beneath the boat.		Werirni[69], Niankhpepy[70] (suggested)
8.	No fish are depicted in the horizontal strip of water beneath the boat in a fowling scene.	Iyinefret,[71]	Werirni[72]

[57] Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II. 106 [a]; Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, p. 12, fig. 4.
[58] Schürmann, *Ii-nefret*, pl. 6b.
[59] Ibid.,
[60] Davies, *Sheikh Säid*, pl. XI.
[61] Schürmann, *Ii-nefret*, pl. 6b.
[62] There is an indication of what looks like a bent knee next to the front foot of the tomb owner that may belong to his wife.
[63] The feature is unattested in any other provincial tomb.
[64] Schürmann, *Ii-nefret*, pl. 6b.
[65] Davies, *Sheikh Säid*, pl. XI.
[66] Ibid.,
[67] Schürmann, *Ii-nefret*, pl. 6b.
[68] Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pl. IX.
[69] Davies, *Sheikh Säid*, pl. XI.
[70] Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pl. IX.
[71] Schürmann, *Ii-nefret*, pl. 6b.
[72] Davies, *Sheikh Säid*, pl. XI.

2. Tomb of Niankhpepy

The second tomb belongs to Niankhpepy who was mostly a provincial administrator, whose date and responsibilities as provincial administrator are uncertain.[73] Harpur dates him to the reign of Pepy I or later. [74] Due to the fragmented condition of the fishing scene in his tomb only some details could be compared and analysed.

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 2.4-2.6)	
	TOMB OF NIANKHPEPY	**OTHER TOMBS**
		Capital
9.	The tomb owner's wife/ daughter/ sister is shown squatting with one knee bend up in between the tomb owner's leg, she appears to be holding a lotus flower to her nostrils	Iyinefret[75]
10.	The tomb owner's son is seen spear fishing alongside the tomb owner as he stands on the same boat	Seshemnefer IV,[76] Nekhbu,[77] Remni[78]

Analysis

Based on the examination of the fowling scene in the tomb of Khunes, it appears that some features (features 1- 4) are similarly depicted in the tomb of Iyinefret at Giza. An artistic influence can be observed between these tombs. A link between them is further strengthened by the close time period as Iyinefret is dated to the mid Fifth Dynasty and Khunes to late Fifth

[73] Eva Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches*, (Hildesheim, 1976), p. 120.
[74] Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 20.
[75] Schürmann, *Ii-nefret*, pl. 6b.
[76] H. Junker, *Gîza, Band XI*, (Wien und Leipzig, 1944), Abb. 60, Taf. I, xvi [d].
[77] W. S. Smith, "A Judge goes fishing" Bulletin *of the Museum of Fine Arts* 56 no. 304 (1958), pp. 58-63, fig. 2.
[78] Kanawati, N., *(et al.) The Teti cemetery at Saqqara: the tomb of Remni*, IX, (Oxford, 2009), pl. 12-15, 46, 47.

or early Sixth Dynasty. It seems likely that, the artist who decorated the tomb of Khunes originated from the capital, as the depictions seem to be influenced by those in the tomb of Iyinefret at Giza. Additionally, the 16th nome probably had a long connection to the capital since there are 11 nomarchs and 5 provincial administrators known from this province over an extended period of time.[79] Thus, suggesting a constant interaction with the capital, which would have allowed access to the artists from the capital. Second, it is possible that the artist who decorated the tomb of Khunes was the same individual who decorated the tomb of Werirni at Sheikh Said, since many features in both tombs are similar. The close proximity of Sheikh Said to Zawiyet el- Mayitin would have allowed the artist to travel from province to province without much difficulty, even though he originated from the capital. The artistic similarities, the (suggested) artist and the manner in which he is depicted in the tomb of Werirni at Sheikh Said will be discussed in the following chapter.

[79] N. Sinclair, "The Development and Decline of Provincial Rule from the Old to the Middle Kingdom: An Analysis of the Tombs and Titles of the Senior Officials of Upper Egypt", PhD thesis, Macquarie University (Sydney, 2013), p. 107.

Sheikh Said

I. Tomb of Werirni

The cemetery of Sheikh Said served as one of the burial sites for the officials of the 15th nome. The rock tombs at this site were recorded by Davies who dated Werirni to an early part of the Fifth Dynasty. [80] Based on the fact that Werirni held a priesthood in the cult of Neuserre he could be dated to late Fifth Dynasty as other scholars have suggested. [81] According to Davies, there are evident artistic similarities between the tombs of Werirni and Khunes at Zawiyet el Maiyitin. [82] He attributes these to the hiring of the same artist Ptahkhuu, [83] who is depicted in Werirni's tomb. Ptahkhuu appears in a banquet scene which is depicted on the south wall, he is the first individual depicted on the lower register, he is seated and appears to be entertained while perhaps enjoying a meal.[84] His name and title appear before him, he is designated as *gnwty/ḳśty ḫkrw nzwt* 'sculptor of the king's regalia'.[85] This title is significant because it implies that he was involved in a department that handled the royal emblems or insignia that the king possibly used on a daily basis. Therefore, suggesting that he was possibly attached to the royal workshop. His depiction in this provincial tomb, in a context such as the banquet scene is interesting and brings to mind other examples in which artists with the title 'scribe of the house of sacred records were depicted in prominent positions. [86] Could he have been employed at Sheikh Said in his capacity as a sculptor? According to the depiction of Ptahkhuu in this

[80] Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pp. 40-41.
[81] H. Kees, *Studien zur aegyptischen Provinzialkunst*, pp. 31-32; Smith *HESPOK*, p. 215-16; Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 289; Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, p. 53; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, pp. 4,15-16; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 280.
[82] Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pp. 14-24, pls. 7-16.
[83] Ibid., p. 15.
[84] Ibid., p. 15, pl. X.
[85] Jones, *Index*, p. 998 [3700], p. 999 [3702].
[86] For example, Pepyseneb in the tomb of Djau and Djau/Shemai- Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi*, 2, pl. 10; Kanawati *Deir el Gebrawi*, III, pls. 19-22, 62, 75; (Iri in the tomb of Pepyankh the black- Blackman, *Meir*, V, pl. 19; Kanawati & Evans, *Meir*, II, pl. 74); Kaiemtejenenet in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle- Kanawati, *Meir*, I. pp. 38, 41 pls. 79-82.

circumstance, together with his title it is indicative that he may have originally hailed from Memphis, where he possibly worked in the royal workshop as a sculptor. It is possible that Davies was probably right in suggesting that Ptahkhuu was the artist who decorated the tomb of Werirni.

Artistic similarities

The north wall in the tomb of Werirni presents a damaged scene of the tomb owner standing on a papyrus boat with an extended papyrus thicket behind him.[87] Due to the degree of destruction of this scene it is unclear whether, Werirni is fowling or pulling papyrus. However, on close examination of the position and the item he is seen holding in his right hand, which is raised, it appears that he is wielding a weapon, perhaps a throw-stick. Additionally, since Davies has previously commented on the considerable artistic similarities between the tombs of Werirni and Khunes, [88] based on which it can be suggested that Werirni is depicted fowling rather than pulling papyrus.

The similar elements observed in the fowling scene of Khunes and Werirni were listed in the previous chapter. These are portrayed in the depiction of the oarsmen who appear on a reduced scale on the deck of the papyrus boat, the placement of the hippopotamus in the horizontal strip of water which exhibits aggressive behaviour and the lack of any fish or other aquatic organisms beneath the boat.

Other notable features that bear a close likeness to a fowling scene from the capital appears on the north wall in the tomb of Kayemnofret at Saqqara.[89] Kayemnofret was originally dated to the reign of Pepy II by Baer,[90] and held 9 titles relating to the priesthoods of rulers, pyramids

[87] Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. XI.
[88] Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II. 105-109; Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, figs. 2-9.
[89]W. K. Simpson, *The offering chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts*, (Boston, 1992), pp. 4-7, figs. 4-5, pls. 2 [a], 3, 4, 6 [a], pl. A.; D. Dunham, "A "Palimpsest" on an Egyptian Mastaba Wall" *AJA* 39, No. 3 (1935), pp. 300-309.
[90] Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 142 [523].

and sun temples of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties among others, he was later dated to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty by Harpur.[91]

An analysis of this scene reveals a change in the design and layout, which Dunham suggests was such that the tomb owner can be seen in a prominent role.[92] Although, this change exposes the poor, crude and hasty completion[93] of the scene by the artists, it does not fail to exhibit the superior workmanship in the uppermost sections.[94] Nevertheless, the features used for a comparative analysis with the tomb of Werirni are listed below.

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 3.1-3.3)	
	TOMB OF WERIRNI	**OTHER TOMBS**
		Capital
1.	A butterfly is seen in the top left corner above the papyrus thicket in between two birds.[95]	Kayemnofret[96]
2.	A sharp five-pointed intricate design is depicted within the umbels.[97]	Kayemnofret[98]
3.	The depiction of a turtle dove, a lapwing and an ibis standing on the umbels in the papyrus thicket in the same position facing right.[99]	Kayemnofret[100]
4.	The papyrus thicket is shown with thick stems and no gaps in between.[101]	Kayemnofret[102]
5.	the genet/mongoose is shown approaching the young fledglings in their nests.[103]	Kayemnofret[104]

[91] Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 359.
[92] Dunham, *Palimpsest*, p. 308.
[93] Ibid.,
[94] Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, p. 4.
[95] Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. XI.
[96] Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, figs. 4-5, pls. 2 [a], 3, 4, 6 [a], pl. A.
[97] Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. XI.
[98] Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, figs. 4-5, pls. 2 [a], 3, 4, 6 [a], pl. A.
[99] Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. XI.
[100] Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, figs. 4-5, pls. 2 [a], 3, 4, 6 [a], pl. A.
[101] Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. XI.
[102] Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, figs. 4-5, pls. 2 [a], 3, 4, 6 [a], pl. A.
[103] Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. XI.
[104] Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, figs. 4-5, pls. 2 [a], 3, 4, 6 [a], pl. A.

6.	The detail in the second register of the adjacent scene shows a minor figure pulling a stalk of papyrus from the thicket belonging to the fowling scene.[105]	Kayemnofret[106]
7.	An attendant is shown standing on the same boat facing the tomb owner offering a lotus flower to him.[107]	Kayemnofret[108]

The similar artistic features mentioned above between the tombs of Werirni and Kayemnofret are noteworthy. It should also be mentioned that both individuals held priesthoods in the cult of Neuserre and are dated to latter part of the Fifth Dynasty. They may have been contemporaries and in that way influenced one another or used the same artists to decorate their tombs. An interesting characteristic in the tomb of Kayrmnofret is that, there are no representations of a wife, children or named dependants. This has led scholars to believe that he may have died before being married or having children.[109] However Roth has suggested the lack of a spouse in tomb decoration can be used as an artistic feature indicative of the Fifth Dynasty.[110]

Although it is tempting to infer that Kayemnofret may have died before the completion of his tomb, which led to the artist abandoning the tomb and proceeding to the next tomb, perhaps to Sheikh Said, however this can only be suggested at this time. Nevertheless, the similar titles, the close time period, together with the artistic similarities between Werirni and Kayemnofret indicates a possible artistic influence and further suggests they were contemporary.

[105] Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. XI.
[106] Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, figs. 4-5, pls. 2 [a], 3, 4, 6 [a], pl. A.
[107] Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. XI.
[108] Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, figs. 4-5, pls. 2 [a], 3, 4, 6 [a], pl. A.
[109] Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, pp. 4-7.
[110] A. M. Roth, "The Absent spouse: Patterns and Taboos in Egyptian Tomb Decoration", *JARCE* 36, (1999), 37-53.

El-Qusiya

The officials of the 14th nome of El-Qusiya were buried in two cemeteries Quseir el-Amarna and Meir. It appears that the site of Quseir el-Amarna was abandoned in favour of Meir.[111] This change of location may have occurred for a number of reasons such as changes in the political/religious beliefs or topographical limitations or even a change in the governing family, as evidenced at Deir el Gebrawi where a new line of successors chose to use the southern cliff to build their tombs abandoning the earlier northern cliff.[112] A chronology for the tombs at El-Qusiya was put forward by Blackman.[113] This is now under reconsideration and a new chronology for the main officials is suggested, as follows: Khewenwekh (Early-middle Pepy I), Pepyankh the Elder (Pepy I-Merenre), Sobekhotep (End Pepy I -Merenre), Pepyankh the Middle (Early- middle Pepy II), Nyankhpepy the Black (Middle-late PepyII), Pepyankh the Black (Late- end Pepy II), Heni (end Pepy II- Dynasty 8).[114] With the exceptions of the tomb of Pepyankh-wer (the elder), Sobekhotep and Nyankhpepy-kem (the Black) all of the tombs mentioned above contain a spearfishing and /fowling scene by the tomb owner which will be analysed below.

[111] A. El-Khouli & N. Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna: the tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh* [et al.] (Sydney, 1989); N. Kanawati, "Chronology of the Old Kingdom Nobles of El-Qusiya revisited" in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in honour of Edward Brovarski*, (eds.) Z. Hawass, P. der Manuelian and R. B. Hussein, (Le Caire, 2010).
[112] N. de G. Davies, *The rock tombs of Deir el Gebrawi*, 2 vols (London, 1902); N. Kanawati, *Deir el Gebrawi*, 2 vols (Oxford, 2005, 2007).
[113] A. M. Blackman, *The Rock tombs of Meir* Vol I (London, 1914-53), pp. 5-11.
[114] Kanawati, *Chronology*, p. 217.

1. Tomb of Khewenwekh

Khewenwekh was the first known overseer of priests at El-Qusiya to excavate a tomb at Quseir el-Amarna. He was originally not dated by Blackman[115] however Kanawati offered a new chronology for the officials of El-Qusiya and dated Khewenwekh to the reign of Pepy I.[116] Although the size of his tomb is small, the decoration within is of a reasonably high quality,[117] suggesting that the artist who decorated the tomb was of some experience and therefore may have been brought from the capital or trained in the capital.

Artists

Depicted on the east wall of the chapel is a man named Iuhu,[118] designated as *'zš mḏɜt nṯr pr-ɜ'* 'scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace'.[119] The *pr-ɜ* in his title meaning 'palace or great house' indicates that he spent a period of training or employment in the capital perhaps in the palace workshop. He is seen presenting the tomb owner with a goose and his figure is in a prominent position on the wall opposite the entrance. Based on his title, prominent placement in the tomb decoration and the fact that he is seen holding a bird, could point to Iuhu being the artist that decorated the tomb of Khewenwekh. Similarly depicted in the chapel of Mereruka [120] is a young offering bearer named Iuhi. He is represented with a pigtail and disc hairstyle and is seen accompanying the children of other noble families and relatives of the tomb owner.[121]

[115] Blackman, M*eir* I, pp. 5-11.
[116] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el- Amarna*, p. 25; Kanawati, *Chronology*, p. 209.
[117] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el- Amarna*, p. 41.
[118] Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, 18:15.
[119] Jones, *Index*, p. 849 [3104]; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el- Amarna*, p. 38, pls. 3, 21, 41, 44.
[120] Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, p.153.
[121] P. Duell, *The mastaba of Mereruka* (London, 1938), pls. 81-82; N. Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and his family: The tomb of Mereruka* Part III:1(Oxford, 2010), pl. 96.

Additionally, his name is also a variant of the rare name Iuhu, similar to the individual encountered in the chapel of Khewenwekh. Furthermore, the youth who appears behind Iuhi in the chapel of Mereruka is named 'Sobekhotep', [122] who could be the similarly named eldest son of Pepyankh the elder, the successor of Khewenwekh at El-Qusiya. On examining the tomb of the son of Mereruka, Meryteti, the sixth offering bearer depicted on the north wall of Room C3 is also named Iuhi and appears to be carrying geese in his hands and is designated as 'scribe'.[123] Could Iuhu seen in the tomb of Khewenwekh, be the same individual depicted in the tomb of Mereruka and Meryteti?

Artistic similarities

The west wall in the tomb of Khewenwekh contains a scene depicting the tomb owner spear fishing scene[124]. Khewenwekh is shown in the standard position for this type of activity.[125] A fishing scene from the capital dating from the early Sixth Dynasty, that displays close similarities to the scene in the tomb of Khewenwekh, belongs to Mereruka. [126]

[122] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna,* p. 25.
[123] N. Kanawati & M. Abder-Raziq *et al., Mereruka and his Family: Part I: The tomb of Meryteti* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 16, 37, pl. 50.
[124] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el- Amarna,* p. 46, pls. 1, 38.
[125] A. Woods, "A 'day in the marshes': a study of Old Kingdom marsh scenes in the tombs of the Memphite cemeteries", PhD thesis, Macquarie University (Sydney, 2008), pp. 134-135.
[126] Duell, *Mereruka,* 2 Vols ; Kanawati, et al *Mereruka and his family, Tomb of Mereruka Part III:1*.

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 4.1-4.12)	
	TOMB OF KHEWENWEKH[127]	**Capital**
1.	The water weeds shown beneath the boat are normally depicted beneath both the prow and the stern of the boat. In this depiction it is only present under the stern of the boat in both tombs.	Mereruka[128]
2.	The five species of fish found in the mound of water are equally found in the tomb of Mereruka.[129]	Mereruka[130]
3.	A *mugil* is depicted in the same angle in the mound of water in front of the tomb owner. [131]	Mereruka[132]
4.	The presence of an eel in the mound of water which is a feature only attested in the tomb of Khewenwekh in the provinces.[133]	Mereruka[134]
5.	A small quail is depicted standing on an umbel facing right in the same position in the scene.[135]	Mereruka[136]
6.	The presence of a grasshopper on the water weeds.[137]	Mereruka[138]

[127] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna,* pls. 1,13, 37-38.
[128] Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 9, 15, 18; Kanawati et al, *Mereruka*, III:1, pls. 11-12, 15b, 67, 69.
[129] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna,* pls. 1,13, 37-38.
[130] Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 10; Kanawati et al, *Mereruka*, III:1, pls. 12-13, 67-68.
[131] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna,* pls. 1,13, 37-38.
[132] Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 11, 10; Kanawati et al, *Mereruka*, III:1, pls. 13, 67, 68.
[133] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna,* pls. 1,13, 37-38.
[134] Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 10, 11; Kanawati et al, *Mereruka*, III:1, pls. 12-13, 67-68.
[135] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna,* pls. 1,13, 37-38.
[136] Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 10; Kanawati et al, *Mereruka*, III:1, pls. 13, 67-68.
[137] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna,* pls. 1,13, 37-38.
[138] Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 10, 11, 12, 13; Kanawati et al, *Mereruka*, III:1, pls. 13-14, 67-68.

Analysis

Based on the similarity of names and a number of specific artistic similarities between the tomb of Khewenwekh and Mereruka, the individual Iuhi/Iuhu designated as 'scribe of the house of sacred records' in the tomb of Khewenwekh may be the same individual depicted in the tomb of Mereruka. The similar details in the scenes include the presence of an eel in the mound of water; the presence of the same species of fish depicted in the mound and the presence of a grasshopper with the spiracles in the abdomen region beneath the wings depicted in detail in both tombs. These details were not standardized features, as they do not commonly appear in the same position with the same details in other tombs. These may have been specific to Khewenwekh's artist, Iuhu who may have been influenced by or was familiar with the decoration in Mereruka's tomb. Additionally, in the tomb of Mereruka, Iuhi appears standing in front of Sobekhotep, who is likely to have been the similarly named son of Pepyankh the Elder, the successor of Khewenwekh, their presence next to each other is also significant as it may indicate their possible kinship.[139]

It is possible that Iuhu, son of Khewenwekh was educated and trained in the capital as was common for the children of nobility before they were sent to the provinces.[140] If so, this would have allowed him to be accustomed to the magnificent tombs in the capital, particularly that of Mereruka's given that he may be the same individual depicted in his tomb. The representations of Iuhu/Iuhi as a youth in the tomb of Mereruka and his son Meryteti and as an adult holding the title of 'scribe of the house of sacred records in the palace' in that of Khewenwekh, together together with the artistic similarities between the two tombs, suggests that Iuhu/Iuhi spent a period of education/training in the capital, was familiar with the scenes

[139] Lashien, *El-Qusiya,* p. 154.
[140] For a statement made by Qar of Edfu dated to the same period see M. El- Khadragy, "The Edfu offering niche of Qar in the Cairo Musuem" *SAK* 30, (2002) pp. 206-207, 21; K. Sethe, *Urkunden des alten Reichs*: Heft I (Leipzig, 1903), p. 254:1; N. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Atlanta, 2005), p. 343.

in Mereruka's tomb and was likely inspired by them in the decoration of Khewenwekh's resting place.

2. Tomb of Pepyankh the Middle

Pepyankh the Middle, succeeded his father Sobekhotep[141] at El-Qusiya. According to his biography and the depictions in his tomb as a mature aged man, it seems likely that he may have begun his early career in the capital before being sent to the provinces as an older official. In following Kanawati's new chronology it appears Pepyankh the Middle was the son of Sobekhotep, who was presumably the son of Pepyankh the Elder and therefore can be dated to the early part of the reign of Pepy II.[142] It should be noted that Pepyankh the Middle is seen seated on a block chair with the side representing the *ht*-sign which is associated with royalty, for example kings and queens such as Niuserra, Wenis, Merysankh III, Rekhetre, Bunefer, and Khentkaus are depicted on similar chairs.[143] It appears that Pepyankh the Middle may have been depicted on this chair in order to legitimise his royal descent, through his grandmother, Seshseshet. His royal lineage and the likelihood that he began his career in the capital presents an opportunity for him to have access to the sophisticated artists who were mostly attached to the royal workshops.

Artists

An artist frequently featured in the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle is a man named Kaemtjenenet,[144] designated as *zš pr-mḏꜣt nṯr sḫḏ zš*(*w*)*-qwdt* 'scribe of the house of sacred

[141] Lashien, *El-Qusiya,* pp. 38-41. He was possibly buried in the capital as no tomb belonging to him has been discovered at Meir or Quseir el-Amarna.
[142] Earlier scholars have dated Pepyankh the Middle to the end of the Sixth Dynasty. For example: A.M. Blackman, *The Rock tombs of Meir, The tomb-chapel of of Pepi 'Onkh the middle son of Sebkhotpe and Pekhernefert* IV (London, 1924), pp. 18-19; Baer, *Rank and Title,* p. 289 [133], Fischer, *Dendera,* p. 86 n.386; N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: evidence on its economic decline* (Warminster, 1977), p. 153 [88]; N. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms,* (Warminster, 1980), p. 91; Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung,* pp. 121-25; Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit,* p. 105; N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their holders* (London, 1985), p. 201; Harpur, *Decoration,* p. 280 [650]; Kanawati., N *et al., The Cemetery of Meir: Pepyankh the middle* Vol I, (Oxford, 2012), pp. 24-26.
[143]Kanawati, "Chronology of the Old Kingdom Nobles of El-Qusiya revisited", p. 214.
[144] Ranke, *Personennamen,* 1, 340:1.

records of the palace,[145] inspector of the outline draughtsmen/painters'.[146] He is depicted in prominent positions throughout the tomb, appearing twice on the east wall, once at the head of a row of men in the marshlands, presenting the tomb owner with birds and once in the boat along with the tomb owner and his wife.[147] He is also seen on the west section of the north wall, where he is ahead of all the offering bearers in the third register, carrying a papyrus plant, geese and holding a rope tied to an ox.[148]

A man with a similar name and title is depicted in the tomb of the vizier Mehu at Saqqara.[149] He has been dated to the period between mid-Pepy I to Merenre.[150] In this tomb, Kaemtjenenet appears with Mehu on a boat in the marsh scene and is also represented a number of times in the row of offering bearers, presenting fowl and burning incense or reciting from a scroll.[151] Based on artistic details which will be discussed in the following section, it appears that the tombs of Mehu and Pepyankh the Middle were decorated by the same artist.

Additionally in the earlier tomb of Senedjemib/ Inti from Giza who served as a vizier under Isesi, is a depiction of a man also named Kaemtjenenet designated as *zš pr-mḏꜣt nṯr ḥm-kꜣ* 'scribe of the house of the sacred records' and 'funerary priest'.[152] He is depicted in the sixth register of the south wall in the offering room, where he is carrying a tray of offerings and holding a brace of birds by their wings.[153] It is questionable whether Kaemtjenenet depicted in the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle is the same as the one from the Senedjemib complex. However, since they bear the same name and hold the same title, 'scribe of the house of sacred records', it is likely that they may have been related to each other. It was not uncommon for the

[145] Jones, *Index*, p. 849 [3104].
[146] Jones, *Index*, p. 965 [3560].
[147] Blackman, *Meir* IV, pls. VIII, XVII; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pls. 79, 81.
[148] Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. IX; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pl. 88.
[149] H. Altenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara* (Mainz/Rhein, 1998).
[150] Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 153 (middle of Pepy II's reign); Kanawati, *Governmental reforms*, 34 (revised date- reign of Pepy I); Strudwick, *Administration*, 101-102 (early to middle of Pepy I's reign; Baer, *Rank and title*, 83, 290 (early part of Pepy II); Harpur, *Decoration*, 40-41 (mid Pepy I to Merenre).
[151] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 52, 56,60, 63, 66, 69, 100.
[152] Brovarski, The *Senedjemib Complex*, p. 87.
[153] Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, pl. 61.

sons or grandsons to be named after an ancestor and carry on with the same profession. Therefore, it seems likely that here we are dealing with a father and son who served successive viziers as artists.

Artistic similarities

The scenes in the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle shares a number of similarities and details with the scenes in the tomb of Mehu, not found in any other tombs. The nature and number of similar details may even suggest direct artistic links or that the two tombs were decorated by the same hand.

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 4.3-4.6)	
	TOMB OF PEPYANKH THE MIDDLE	**Capital**
1.	The three decoy birds held by the tomb owner in the fowling scene are all of the same species and are looking in the same direction.[154]	Mehu[155]
2.	The tomb owner's wife is seen wearing a lotus crown with three flowers.[156]	The closest example where flowers of the same size are seen is found in the tomb of Mehu.[157]
3.	The papyrus thicket shows no individual stems.[158]	Mehu[159]
4.	A mongoose/genet climbing up the papyrus stem and catching one of the fledgling between its jaws.[160]	Mehu[161]

[154] Blackman, *Meir,* IV, pl. XVII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pl.81.
[155] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[156] Blackman, Meir, IV, pl. VII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pl. 80.
[157] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[158] Blackman, *Meir,* IV, pl. VII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pls. 80, 81.
[159] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[160] Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. XVII; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pl. 81.
[161] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.

5.	A looped seating mat usually taken on fowling trips is placed on the boat.[162]	Mehu[163]
6.	A hippopotamus attacking the crocodile. This is a rather infrequent motif which may suggest that it was an event witnessed by the artist while accompanying the tomb owner.[164]	Mehu[165]
7.	The depiction of spare spears behind the tomb owner.	Mehu[166]

However, the most significant detail unique to these tombs is the horizontal placement of the spare spears above the tomb owner's figure in the spear fishing scene.[167] Accordingly, it is reasonable to infer that the artist responsible for the decoration of Pepyankh the Middle's tomb was either influenced by the similar arrangement of the spears in the slightly earlier tomb of Mehu, or that both tombs were decorated by the same artist. Such an unusual placement of the spears appears could be the artist's "signature". Additionally, the depiction of Kaemtjenenet with the title 'scribe of the house of sacred records' in both tombs, may well suggest that he was responsible for the decoration of the two tombs at Saqqara and Meir. It is also relevant to look for artistic similarities between the scenes in the tombs of Senedjemib/Inti [168] and Pepyankh the middle,[169] since the likely artist of the latter tomb, Kaemtjenenet, may have been a descendant the similarly named earlier individual depicted in the tomb of Senedjemib/Inti. Similar artistic details in the two tombs include: a family member/ official/ attendant shown standing facing the major figure, the stern of the boat is straight, the umbels above the papyrus thicket are spaced regularly, birds are shown flying in rows above the papyrus thicket, and the birds are also shown flying in the same direction in each row, predatory behaviour is exhibited by the animals climbing up the stalk, birds trying to defend their nests from the predators and

[162] Blackman, *Meir* IV, pls. VII, XVII; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pls. 80, 81.
[163] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[164] Blackman,*Meir* IV,pl. VII; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pl. 80
[165] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, pp. 187- 188.
[166] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 12.
[167] Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. VII; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pl. 80; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 12.
[168] Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, pls. 100-103.
[169] Blackman, *Meir* IV, pls. VII, XVII; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pls. 80, 81.

butterflies with outstretched wings shown in the marsh scene.[170] It is doubtful whether the scenes in the tomb of Inti were a direct artistic influence for those in the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle. However, the interesting depiction of two individuals with the same name and same title makes it worth considering whether they were related to one another.

Analysis

As with the artistic similarities between the tomb of Khewenwekh and Mereruka, the similarities between the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle and Mehu are noticeable. In addition to the depiction of the individual with the same name and title, Kaemtjenenet 'scribe of the house of sacred records', these similarities point to them possibly being decorated by the same individual. It is likely that the origins of this family at El-Qusiya were indeed from the capital and that they brought the artists from the capital to decorate their tombs in the provinces.

3. Tomb of Niankhpepy the Black

Artists

Niankhpepy the Black was the son of Pepyankh the Middle and like his father, he too held the title *zš mḏꜣt nṯr* 'scribe of the sacred records'.[171] As such, Kanawati dates him to late Pepy II's reign.[172] His tomb does not have scenes of the tomb owner spear fishing and fowling. However, on the north panel of the west wall of Room 1, there is a depiction of a son, named Iuhi, described as *zš mḏꜣt-nṯr pr-ꜥꜣ* 'scribe of the sacred records of the Great house'.[173] He is the first individual represented on the second register and appears to be burning incense before his

[170] Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, pls. 100-103; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pls. 80, 81.
[171] Jones, *Index*, p. 857 [3132]
[172] N. Kanawati., (et al.), *The cemetery of Meir: The tomb of Niankhpepy the Black*, Vol III (Oxford, 2015), pp. 18-20.
[173] Jones, *Index*, p. 858 [3134].

father.[174] Interestingly, a man with this rare name, described as 'inspector of ka servants', left a graffito on the south wall of Room 1 in the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle. It is possible that it belonged to the same Iuhi who may have served his grandfather in this capacity.[175] The east wall in the tomb of Niankhpepy the Black depicting the tomb owner viewing activities in the marshlands contains a number of similarities to a similar scene depicted on the east wall in the tomb of his father.[176] Similarities occur in the following details, both tombs owners appear wearing a leopard skin,[177] the layout of the activities such as bird trapping and fish netting are laid out in the same manner over the four registers, [178] the actions of the haulers and the positions that they are depicted in are also similar. [179] Other similar details include the straps used by the fishermen to pull the nets, [180] the number of haulers represented in the bottom register[181] and the action of men plucking feathers of geese and roasting fowl in the third register [182] are seen in both tombs.

The only noticeable difference between the above described scenes from the tomb of Niankhpepy the Black and Pepyankh the Middle, is in the quality of the rendering, for it is evident that the artist who decorated the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle was far more experienced and skilled. This is based on the intricate details he included in rendering the scenes, for example in the second register of the above-mentioned scene the two haulers in the middle are depicted with one foot raised on their heel which would have been required for additional support while pulling the nets,[183] while all the other haulers have their feet flat on the

[174] A. M. Blackman, *The rock tombs of Meir*, V, The tomb-chapels A, No. 1 (That of Ni-'Ankh-Pepi the Black) A, No. 2 (That of Pepi 'Onkh with the 'good name' of Ḥeny the Black), A, No. 4 (That of Ḥepi the Black), D, No. 1 (That of Pepi), E, Nos. 1-4 (Those of Meniu, Nenki, Pepi'Onkh and Tjetu) (London, 1953), pl. IX (name is not recorded); Kanawati et al, *Meir*, III, p. 32, pls. 9(b), 65.
[175] Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 3; Kanawati et al, *Meir* III, p. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pl. 75 (f).
[176] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XIII; Kanawati et al, *Meir* III, pl. 69.
[177] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XIII; Kanawati et al, *Meir* III, pl. 69; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pl. 79.
[178] Ibid.,
[179] Ibid.,
[180] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XIII; Kanawati et al, *Meir* III, pl. 69; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pl. 79.
[181] Ibid.,
[182] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XIII; Kanawati et al, *Meir* III, pl. 69; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pl. 79.
[183] Kanawati, *Meir* I, pl. 79.

register. It is possible that our artist has gained such experience and attention to detail from his work in the Memphite workshops. If indeed it was Iuhi who decorated his father's tomb it is then logical to think that he was inspired by the decoration in his grandfather's tomb, which was achieved by a prominent artist from the capital. It was not uncommon for the son to decorate his father's tomb as can be seen in the tomb of Nehwet-desher whose tomb was decorated by his son Shepsipumin at El-Hawawish and Khewenwekh's possibly decorated by his son Iuhu.[184]

Analysis

Although there are no spear fishing and fowling scenes from this tomb for a comparative analysis. The details from the marsh scenes referred to above indicate that perhaps the artist who decorated the tomb of Niankhpepy the Black was his son Iuhi, who held the title *zš mḏꜣt-nṯr pr-ꜥꜣ* 'scribe of the house of sacred records' , and who was most probably influenced by the decoration in the tomb of his grandfather, Pepyankh the Middle. A further close comparative examination of other scenes and details from both tombs is required to solidify this claim

4. Pepyankh the Black

Pepyankh the Black, the son of Niankhpepy the Black, has been dated to the end of the Pepy II's reign.[185] He did not hold any artistic titles. However, there were a number of artists prominently depicted in his tomb. Foremost among these is Ihyemsapepy/ Iri described as *ḫrj-ḥbt zš pr-mḏꜣt nṯr pr-ꜥꜣ* 'lector priest, scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace'.[186] On the north wall, where the tomb owner views the work of the craftsmen,[187] Iri is represented as

[184] N. Kanawati, *The rock tombs of El-Hawawish: The cemetery of Akhmim*, Vol 8 (Sydney, 1980-), p. 11; El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el Amarna*, pl 44.
[185] Baer, *Rank and Title*, 70, 289 [134]; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 303; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 280 [649]; Kanawati, "Chronology of the Old Kingdom Nobles of El-Qusiya revisited", p. 217.
[186]Jones, *Index*, p. 849 [3104]; N. Kanawati & L. Evans, *The cemetery of Meir: the tomb of Pepyankh the Black*, Vol II (Oxford, 2014), p. 14.
[187] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XVIII; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* II, pl. 72.

the second largest figure after the tomb owner and is seen squatting and painting a chest.[188] He also appears on the east wall painting a jar while seated,[189] and again on the north panel of the east wall standing in the second bottom register while the tomb owner is viewing the marshland activities.[190]

An interesting scene, also on the east wall, portrays Iri seated on the ground before a table full of food, with the inscription behind him saying 'Iri, who is clothed in the finest linen and the Upper Egyptian linen' and it appears that he is being served a roasted bird by attendants.[191] It should also be noted that the name Ihyemsapepy was formed with a royal cartouche, which was presumably a privilege granted by the king.[192] It is possible that Iri was much older and more experienced than the others in the workshop as he is seen wearing a long kilt and appears seated while working. Another individual named Iri is depicted on a fragment from the tomb of Metjetji, he is seen holding a document in one hand and is described as *zš pr-mḏꜣt nṯr pr-ꜥꜣ* 'scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace.[193] Metjetji probably belongs to the reign of Pepy I. He too like Niankhpepy the Black, the father of Pepyankh the Black, held the epithet 'The honoured one before Wenis, his lord'.[194] Interestingly, an earlier reference to a man with the same name Iri and the title *zš pr-mdꜣt nṯr,* 'scribe of the house of sacred records' can be found in the tomb of Senedjemib/Inti depicted on the south wall of the offering room, where he carries a goose.[195]

As the time period between all three Iri's is vast, it is impossible that they were the same individual. However, since they held the same name and the same title *zš pr-mdꜣt nṯr,* 'scribe of the house of sacred records', it is possible that they may have been part of the same family

[188] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XIX; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* II, pl. 73.
[189] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XXI; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* II, pl. 74.
[190] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XXX; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* II, pl. 90.
[191] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XXX; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* II, p. 49, pl. 90.
[192] Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, p. 162.
[193] C. Zielger, *Catalogue des steles, peintures et reliefs egyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Premiere Periode Intermediare vers 2686-2040* (Paris, 1990), p. 134.
[194] Jones, *Index*, p. 19 [87].
[195] Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, p. 85.

of artists who decorated tombs of very high and important officials in the capital and the provinces.

Artistic similarities

The fowling scene in the tomb of Pepyankh the Black has a number of similarities with those found in four tombs from the capital.

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 4.7-4.12)	
	TOMB OF PEYANKH THE BLACK[196]	**Capital**
1.	The tomb owner holds the throw stick horizontally above his head.[197]	Metjetji[198]
2.	The tomb owner holds several decoy birds by their legs facing in the same direction.[199]	Sendjemib/Inti,[200] Metjetji[201]
3.	The presence of eels in the water beneath the boat in a fishing and fowling scene.[202]	Senedjemib/Inti,[203] Senedjemib/ Mehi[204]
4.	A fisherman using a hand net depicted in a small skiff in front of the tomb owner, he is seen bending over as if to pull in the nets.	Senedjemib/Inti,[205] Senedjemib/ Mehi[206]
5.	The tomb owner's wife holds a bird. This is a rare feature as wives generally held flowers or nothing at all in most spear fishing and fowling scenes.[207]	Metjetji.[208]
6.	A pile of equipment and food products are shown on the stern of the boat.	Metjetji[209]

[196] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XXIV, XXVIII, LVII, LX; Kanawati & Evans, *Meir* II, pls. 34, 41, 84, 88.
[197] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XXVIII, LX; Kanawati & Evans, *Meir* II, pls. 41, 88.
[198] P. Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi* (Riggisberg, 1976), p. 12.
[199] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XXVIII, LX; Kanawati & Evans, *Meir* II, pls. 41, 88.
[200] Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex,* pls.16-17.
[201] Kaplony, *Methethi,* p. 12.
[202] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XXIV, XXVIII, LVII, LX; Kanawati & Evans, *Meir* II, pls. 34, 41, 84, 88. (this feature is only attested in this tomb in the provinces)
[203] Lepsius, *Erg.,* XVII; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex, p.* 38-9, pls. 15, figs. 24-5; Lepsius, *Erg.*, xviii; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex,* pp. 38-40, pls. 16, 17, figs. 26-7.
[204] Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien: Ergänzungsband*, Taf, XII; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex,* p. 135, pl. 108 [a], figs. 100-101; LD. *Erg.*, xi; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex,* p. 136, pl. 109, figs. 102-3.
[205] Lepsius, *Erg.,* XVII; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex, p.* 38-9, pls. 15, figs. 24-5; Lepsius, *Erg.*, xviii; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex, p.* 38-40, pls. 16, 17, figs. 26-7.
[206] Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien: Ergänzungsband*, Taf, XII; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex,* p. 135, pl. 108 [a], figs. 100-101; LD. *Erg.*, xi; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex,* p. 136, pl. 109, figs. 102-3.
[207] Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XXVIII, LX; Kanawati & Evans, *Meir* II, pls. 41, 88.
[208] Kaplony, *Methethi,* p. 12.
[209] Ibid.,

Analysis

Upon careful examination and comparison of the spear fishing and fowling scenes found in the tomb of Pepyankh the Black and the other tombs at El-Qusiya, a number of aspects emerge. It is evident based on the artistic similarities and the numerous depictions of individuals with the title ‘scribe of the house of sacred records’ that the decoration of the tombs at El-Qusiya is clearly influenced by tombs in the Memphite cemeteries. Tombs belonging to important officials from the capital dated to the Sixth Dynasty appear to have the most number of similarities. Artists such as Kaemtjenenet and Iri were clearly prominent, skilled and possibly came from an artistic family with generations of similarly named and titled artists who worked on important tombs. They were influential and enjoyed a successful career in the capital before working on the tombs in the provinces. Other artists at El-Qusiya such as Iuhu/Iuhi were sons and/ grandsons of the provincial officials who were most likely trained in the capital and effectively drew inspiration from prominent tombs such as those belonging to Mereruka in the capital.

Deir el- Gebrawi

The Old Kingdom officials who governed the 12th province used two cemeteries to build their tombs, at Deir el-Gebrawi, one in the northern cliff and the other in the southern cliff. In scholarship, the relative ordering of the cliffs has been challenging to determine.[210] On re-recording the tombs, Kanawati agrees with the original dating as suggested by Davies, in that the northern cliff was put to use before the southern cliff and therefore dates the tombs in the former to the reigns of Teti and Pepy I[211] and the latter to the reigns of Merenra and Pepy II.[212] Based on this chronology the tombs in the northern cliff that have a spear fishing and fowling scene by the tomb owner belong to Henqu I (dated to the late reign of Teti), Hemre I (end Teti-Early Pepy I), Henqu II (early-middle Pepy I).[213] And the tombs in the southern cliff are those belonging to Ibi dated to the reign of Merenre[214] and Djau/ Shemai and Djau dated to Pepy II.[215]

[210] Davies who originally recorded and published the tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi preferred placing the northern cliff before the southern. N. de. G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi, Part 1, Tomb of Aba and smaller tombs of the Southern Group* (London, 1902), pp. 38-42; N. de. G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi, Part 2, Tomb of Zau and Tombs of the Northern Group* (London, 1902).
; Later, this ordering has been reversed and accepted by, Kees, *Provinzialkunst*, pp. 9-11; Brunner, *Felsgräber*, p. 45; Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 222; Stock, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 12; Baer, *Rank and title*, pp.102-103; Fishcer, *Dendera*, p. 130; Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, pp. 50-51; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, pp. 90, 101; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 280; Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, p. 208; Gomaà, *Eresten Zwischenzeit*, pp. 93-94.
[211] Kanawati., N., *et al., Deir el- Gebrawi*: *the northern cliff*, I (Oxford, 2005).
[212] Kanawati., N., *et al., Deir el-Gebrawi: the southern cliff: The tomb of Ibi and others*, II (Oxford, 2007). Kanawati., N., *et al., Deir El-Gebrawi. Volume III, the Southern Cliff, the Tomb of Djau/Shemai and Djau* (Warminster, 2012).
[213] Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, p. 20.
[214] Kanawati., N., *et al., Deir el-Gebrawi: the southern cliff: The tomb of Ibi and others*, II (Oxford, 2007). pp. 19-22.
[215] Kanawati., N., *et al., Deir El-Gebrawi. Volume III, the Southern Cliff, the Tomb of Djau/Shemai and Djau* (Warminster, 2012), pp. 19-25.

1. Tomb of Henqu I

According to Davies and Kanawati, Henqu I belonged to the late reign of Teti[216], this paper accepts the same. Henqu I held the title *zš mḏꜣt-nṯr* 'scribe of the god's book', [217] there were no other dependants depicted in the tomb that held any artistic titles. It is likely that Henqu I, like most provincial governors, first served in the capital before being sent to the provinces. This is supported by one of his titles which described him as 'honoured before Ptah-Sokar'.[218]

Artistic similarities

The tomb owner is depicted fishing on the north wall of the chapel, while standing on a papyrus boat, holding a spear in the standard position, which was the standard depiction for such scenes.[219] Certain details within this scene bear a close similarity to scenes from earlier tombs from Saqqara dating from the mid - late Fifth Dynasty, these belong to Irenkaptah,[220] Hetepherakhti,[221] and Neferirtenef.[222] These similarities are listed below:

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 5.1-5.5)		
	TOMB OF HENQU I[223]	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	**Provinces**
1.	A zig-zag frieze[224] above the spear fishing scene.	Irenkaptah.[225]	Hesi-Min.[226]

[216] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi* II (1902), p. 29, pl. xxiii; *Kanawati, Deir el- Gebrawi*, I, pp. 20, 23.
[217] Jones, *Index*, pp. 857-858 [3132].
[218] Jones, *Index*, p. 24 [114]. A title held in reference to the capital.
[219] Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 8, 39.
[220] A. M. Moussa and F. Junge, *Two tombs of craftsmen* (Mainz/Rhein, 1975), pl. 12.
[221] T. H. Mohr, *The Mastaba of Hetep-Her-Akhti*: *study on an Egyptian tomb chapel* (Leiden, 1943), fig. 34 pl. 2.
[222] B. van de. Walle, *La chapelle funeraire de Neferirtenef* (Bruxelles, 1978), pl.1.
[223] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* II (1902), p. 29, pl. xxiii; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 8, 39.
[224] This form of frieze was common in the capital and the provinces until the end of the Fifth Dynasty. For example: Épron- Wild, *Ti*, pls. 156-57, 159, 164; Moussa- Altenmüller, *Nefer*, pl. 1; Moussa- Junge, *Two tombs*, pl. 12; Moussa- Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, figs. 4; Kanawati, *Giza* 2, pls. 52-54, 57; Kanawati- Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pls. 43-44; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IV, figs. 14, 16-18; Vol VI, fig. 6.
[225] Moussa- Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl 12.
[226] N. Kanawati, *The rock tombs of El-Hawawish* IV (Sydney, 1983), pls. 2, 12.

2.	The angle of the spear is almost horizontal measuring at 4°.[227]	Hetepherakhti.[228] Neferirtenef.[229]	
3.	The sharp bent angle of the tomb owner's arms in which he holds the spear.[230]	Hetepherakhti[231] and Neferirtenef.[232]	
4.	The wife of the tomb owner is absent from the spear fishing scene. [233]	Hetepherakhti,[234] Kaiemankh,[235] Senedjemib/Inti	
5.	A son depicted in a larger size than the others stands in front of the tomb owner holding a spare spear in his hand.[236]	Neferirtenef,[237] Kaiemankh,[238]	

Analysis

Examination of the artistic details demonstrates that features such as the zig zag frieze, the horizontal angle of the spear and the sharp bend of the arms are found in tombs belonging to the Fifth Dynasty which precede the time of Henqu I. The artist who decorated Henqu's tomb may have been influenced by these earlier Memphite tombs. Since Henqu I came to the provinces from the capital it is likely that he was inspired by the great tombs at Giza and Saqqara and perhaps even hired an artist from the capital who travelled to Deir el-Gebrawi to decorate elite tombs in the provinces.

[227] Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 8, 39.
[228] Mohr, *Hetep-Her-Akhti*, fig. 34 pl. 2.
[229] Walle, *Nefertrtenef*, pl.1.
[230] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* II (1902), p. 29, pl. xxiii; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 8, 39.
[231] Mohr, *Hetep-Her-Akhti*, fig. 34 pl. 2.
[232] Walle, *Nefertrtenef*, pl.1.
[233] Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 8, 39.
[234] Mohr, *Hetep-Her-Akhti*, fig. 34 pl. 2.
[235] Junker, *Gîza 4*: *Die Maṣṭaba des Kai-em-anch* (Wien & Leipzig, 1940), pp. 27-35, Abb. 8; Kanawati, *Giza* I: *Kaiemankh (G4561) and Seshemnefer I (G4940)* (Warminster, 2001), pp. 30-2, pls. 7 [a, b], 8 [a, b], 31.
[236] Such a position suggests that he may have been the eldest son of the tomb owner. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pl. 8, 39.
[237] Walle, *Nefertrtenef*, pl.1.
[238] Junker, *Gîza 4*: *Die Maṣṭaba des Kai-em-anch* (Wien & Leipzig, 1940), pp. 27-35, Abb. 8; Kanawati, *Giza* I: *Kaiemankh (G4561) and Seshemnefer I (G4940)* (Warminster, 2001), pp. 30-2, pls. 7 [a, b], 8 [a, b], 31.

2. Tomb of Hemre/Isi I

Hemre was possibly the eldest son of Henqu I, which can be suggested due to the relatively large size in which he is depicted in the tomb of Henqu I. Additionally, he held some of the same titles as his father, including 'great overlord of U.E.12', hence he may have succeeded his father. Kanawati dates Hemre I to the end of Teti- early Pepy I, [239] although Davies suggests that some of Hemre's other titles are characteristic of the Fifth Dynasty. [240] Artistic features such as the representation of husbands and wives seated side by side, the bead-net patterned dress worn by the tomb owner's wife and the manner in which the tomb owner holds the perfume jar up to his nose with his thumb and index finger were common in the period Teti-early Pepy I and have been identified in the tomb of Hemre I. [241] This indicates that Hemre I belonged to the period between Teti-early Pepy I. Although there are no dependants with the title 'scribe of the house of sacred records' depicted in his tomb, there are two individuals bearing the title of 'scribe and overseer of the funerary estate' depicted on the north wall.[242]

Artistic similarities

The tomb owner is seen fowling on the south wall. He is facing right, which is not the usual direction for a fowling scene and he stands on a papyrus boat, holding a throw stick above his head. He is accompanied by his wife and three men.[243]

[239] Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, p. 20
[240] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, pp. 2, 39.
[241] Kanawati, *Akhmim*, p. 65
[242] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, p. 2, pl. 19.
[243] Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 140.

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 5.1- 5.6)		
	TOMB OF HEMRE I	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	**Provinces**
6.	A zig-zag frieze[244] above the fowling scene.[245]	Irenkaptah.[246]	Hesi-Min. [247]
7.	The tomb owner's wife stands on the same papyrus boat behind him and is seen holding her husband with both arms. Her left hand is wrapped around his body and her right hand at his side.[248]	Irenkaptah,[249] Neferirtenef,[250] Neferseshemptah,[251]	Hesi-Min.[252]
8.	The tomb owner holds the throw stick above his head horizontally.[253]	Neferirtenef,[254]	
9.	The tomb owner wears a shoulder length wig without a headdress.[255]	Irenkaptah,[256] Hetepherakhti,[257] Neferirtenef,[258] Neferseshemptah[259]	

An interesting detail about this scene is the depiction of the family members and their relatively large size in relation to the tomb owner. This is especially significant in the depiction of the

[244] This form of frieze was common in the capital and the provinces until the end of the Fifth Dynasty. For example: Moussa- Junge, *Two tombs*, pl. 12; Moussa- Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, figs. 4; Kanawati, *Giza* 2, pls. 52-54, 57; Kanawati- Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pls. 43-44; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IV, figs. 14, 16-18; Vol VI, fig. 6.
[245] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* II (1902), p. 27; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 23, 50.
[246] Moussa-Junge, *Two tombs*, pl. 12.
[247] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, IV, pls. 2, 12.
[248] Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 23, 50. (This particular posture of a wife in a marsh scene is extremely rare and attested in very few tombs)
[249] Moussa-Junge, *Two tombs*, pl. 12.
[250] Walle, *Nefertrtenef*, pl.1.
[251] Moussa-Junge, *Two tombs*, pl. 6. (Possibly holding him with two hands, very fragmented scene, but you can see what looks like an arm near the back leg of the tomb owner in the spear fishing scene.)
[252] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, IV, pls. 2, 12.
[253] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* II (1902), p. 27; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 23, 50.
[254] Walle, *Nefertrtenef*, pl.1.
[255] Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 23, 50.
[256] Moussa-Junge, *Two tombs*, pl. 12.
[257] Mohr, *Hetep-Her-Akhti*, fig. 34 pl. 2.
[258] Walle, *Nefertrtenef*, pl.1.
[259] Moussa-Junge, *Two tombs*, pl. 6.

wife who is almost the same size as her husband. Perhaps she may have been of a royal descent or from a prominent family, or held her own important status. Additionally, a man carrying a spare throw stick standing in front of Hemre I is also depicted in a relatively large size, even though no titles or inscriptions remain, it is possible that he was his son.

3. Tomb of Henqu II

According to the biographical inscription of Henqu from his tomb, he states that he began his career under his brother Hemre I.[260] This relationship and the close proximity of their tombs strongly suggests that they were both sons of Henqu I.[261] Like his father and his brother, Henqu II was also 'great overlord of U.E. 12'. There are no dependants with artistic titles such as 'scribe of the house of sacred records' or 'scribe' represented in his tomb. Nevertheless, the tomb owner is depicted in a fishing scene which will be compared and analysed below.

Artistic Similarities

The fishing scene is depicted on the north wall of the chapel. The scene looks crowded, as if the artist was trying to fit in all the details and did not have enough space on the wall, perhaps the scene was added in after the design of the tomb, or the tomb size was small, which could indicate a later date in the Sixth Dynasty. He stands on a wooden board on the papyrus boat, usually used for better footing, with the typical 'water mound' in front of him. All the fish depicted in this tomb appear to be large in proportion to the rest of the scene. For example, the fish depicted on the end of Henqu's spear appear almost as big as the tomb owner himself.[262]

[260] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, 30; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, p. 73 pls. 66-67.
[261] Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, p. 19.
[262] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pl. XXIII; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 26(a), 54-55.

This fishing scene has a number features similar to three scenes at El-Hawawish that are dated to the reigns of Teti and Pepy I.[263] For example the way in which the tomb owner's right-hand clasps the spear, is similar to those found in the tombs at El-Hawawish, especially that found in the tomb of G97.

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II. figs 5.1- 5.29)		
	TOMB OF HENQU II[264]	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	**Provinces**
10.	The steep angle at which he holds the spear, measuring between 23° - 32°.	Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep.[265]	
11.	The tomb owner holds the spear with both arms that are almost straight.[266]	Kaiemankh[267]	Hesi-Min.[268]
12.	The major figure wears a long necklace and pendant.[269] This feature is only attested in this tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi.	Iyinefret,[270] Saib[271], Nikauisesi.[272]	Khunes[273]
13.	Punters shown on the stern of the boat which is a feature unattested in any other tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi.[274]		F1,[275] G97[276] and G126,[277]
14.	The depiction of the lotus flowers in the water beneath the boat and in the column of the water. [278]		F1,[279] G97[280]

[263] N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* VI (Warminster, 1987), fig. 3; N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* VIII, (Sydney, 1989), fig. 5; N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* IX (Sydney, 1989) fig. 15.
[264] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pl. XXIII; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 26(a), 54-55.
[265] Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, pp. 58-60, Taf. 4, Abb. 5.
[266] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pl. XXIII; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 26(a), 54-55.
[267] Junker, *Gîza 4*: *Die Maṣṭaba des Kai-em-anch* (Wien & Leipzig, 1940), pp. 27-35, Abb. 8; Kanawati, *Giza* I: *Kaiemankh (G4561) and Seshemnefer I (G4940)* (Warminster, 2001), pp. 30-2, pls. 7 [a, b], 8 [a, b], 31.
[268] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, IV, pls. 2, 12.
[269] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pl. XXIII; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 26(a), 54-55.
[270] Schürmann, *Ii-Nefret*, Abb. 6, 21.
[271] A. M. Roth, *A cemetery of palace attendants: including G 2084-2099, G 2230+2231 and G 2240* (Boston, 1995), pls. 73 (a, b), 181.
[272] N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Tomb of Nikauisesi* (Warminster, 2000), pp. 39-41, pls. 1 [a, b],18, 19-20, 50.
[273] Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II. 106 [a]; Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, p. 12, fig. 4.
[274] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pl. XXIII; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 26(a), 54-55.
[275] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VI (1986), pp. 11-12, pl. 1 [c], fig. 3.
[276] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*VIII (1988), p. 15, fig. 5.
[277] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IX (1989), p. 31, fig. 15.
[278] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pl.XXIII; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 26(a), 54-55.
[279] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VI (1986), pp. 11-12, pl. 1 [c], fig. 3.
[280] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*VIII (1988), p. 15, fig. 5.

15.	The presence of the *Tilapia* swimming in the same direction, facing right is under the boat. [281]		G97[282]
16.	The presence of an individual in a separate boat behind the tomb owner with their hand raised above their head.[283]	Ihy/Idut[284]	G126,[285] G97[286]

Of special interest is the curious depiction of an individual on a boat behind the tomb owner. According to Davies this is the tomb owner's wife Khentika, 'wielding a weapon in her right hand while holding a stem of a lotus in her left.'[287] Another interpretation for this depiction is that it could be a fisherman who holds a fishing line and a club in the raised hand.[288] The colour in which this person is depicted is red-brown, the typical colour used to depict men. However, Kanawati suggests that Henqu's wives were differentiated based on their colour, meaning that this individual could be Nebet, the other wife of Henqu who was depicted in a red-brown colour on the south wall in an offering table scene.[289] Additionally, the depiction of a clearly defined breast on this individual, the presence of a strap on her knee length dress and the fact that she is depicted in a larger scale than the other individuals or attendants indicates that she was of importance, perhaps the wife of the tomb owner. It can be alternatively suggested that this depiction is indeed that of his wife, Nebet, not wielding a weapon but perhaps pulling papyrus.

Analysis

Two conclusions can be drawn from having examined the artistic details from the tombs in the northern cliff. Firstly, as Davies and Kanawati have rightly argued, the tombs in the northern cliff are to be dated before the southern cliff since the artistic features listed above shows

[281] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pl.XXIII; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 26(a), 54-55.
[282] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*VIII (1988), p. 15, fig. 5.
[283] The posture was usually occupied by a fisherman, this type of fishing technique with a club in a hand raised over their head and a fish link.
[284] N. Kanawati & M. Abder-Raziq, *The Unis cemetery at Saqqara, Vol. 2: The Tombs of Iynefert and Ihy (reused by Idut)* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 18-19, pls. 7, 37 [b].
[285] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IX, p. 31, fig. 15.
[286] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*VIII, p. 15, fig. 5.
[287] Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi*, II, p. 29.
[288] Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, p. 69. This type of fishing was seen in the Memphite region.
[289] Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 31, 57.

similarities to scenes from tombs that date mid-late Fifth dynasty.[290] Namely, features such as the bead net dress worn by the tomb owner's wife, the side by side representation of the husband and wife and the tomb owner holding a perfume jar with his thumb and index finger are features that point to the Fifth dynasty. Secondly, the artistic program at Deir el-Gebrawi seems to have more in common with the contemporary tombs at El-Hawawish than any other province. Details such as the depiction of a single lotus flower in the mound before the tomb owner, the angle and position of the tomb owner's arms holding the spear, the piercing of the fish in the middle of the body and the zig-zag frieze above the scene show that the artist was familiar with these details from the tombs at El-Hawawish and may have imitated them in the tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi. Based on the number of similarities listed above, it is likely that the artist/s who decorated the tombs of Henqu I, Hemre I and Henqu II were either influenced by or were the same who decorated the tombs of their contemporaries at Akhmim.

4. Tomb of Ibi

Ibi was the first nomarch to be buried in the southern cliff. [291] In his biography he states that he received his nomarchic appointment in the reign of Merenre, thus establishing his date securely.[292] Like Henqu I, he too held the title *zš mḏꜣt-nṯr* 'scribe of the sacred records' but unlike his predecessors Hemre I and Henqu II, he did not hold a vizierial title.

Artists

In his tomb, there are five individuals who are of interest due to the titles they held. They are as follows:

[290] Such as those belonging to Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, Irenkaptah, Hetepherakhti, and Neferirtenef.
[291] Davies, *Der el-Gebrawi,* I, p. 8; Naguib Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi,* II.
[292] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi,* I, pp. 21-22, pl. VII; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi,* II, p. 54, pls. 29, 54, 73.

1. Mesni designated as *mḫnk zš* 'confidant',[293] 'scribe'.[294] He appears on the north wall in a workshop scene where he is depicted watching a painter seen seated on an elevated stool painting a statue. Mesni is shown carrying a scribal palette over his shoulder and wearing a projecting kilt which indicates his higher status over the other workmen who wear a wrap-around kilt. This may demonstrate that he was an experienced or master artist who was inspecting or overseeing a junior artist.

2. M….tj designated as *jmj-r zš*(*w*) 'overseer of scribes'.[295] He appears on the east wall in a line of men described as 'his brothers, who do what he favoured', these men were probably blood relatives or men whom the tomb owner considered important.

3. Rensi designated as *sḫḏ zš*(*w*) *jmj-r ḥm*(*w*)- *kɜ* 'inspector of scribes'.[296] He appears on the east wall of the offering recess carrying geese in his hands facing the tomb owner.

4. Seni designated as *qstj* 'sculptor'.[297] He is depicted in the workshop scene, sculpting a statue. His high status is indicated by his projecting kilt, suggestsing that he may have been a man of some importance, or considerable skill.

5. Seni designated as *zš jmj-r pr jmj-jb nb.f* 'scribe, overseer of the house, favourite of his lord'.[298] He appears seated on the north wall recording the number of animals on a board or scroll.

Additionally, there are other unnamed dependants who bear titles such as 'overseer of carpenters', 'carpenters of the Residence', 'craftsman' and 'stonemason' depicted alongside a number of scribes. It is interesting as to the number of skilled personnel that were titled and depicted in Ibi's tomb, perhaps suggesting his royal or relatively high status. Based on their

[293] Jones, *Index*, p. 44 [1680].
[294] Jones, *Index*, p. 834 [3040].
[295] Jones, *Index*, p. 206 [769].
[296] Jones, *Index*, p 955 [3522].
[297] Jones, *Index*, p. 998-999 [3700].
[298] Jones, *Index*, p. 114 [461].

depictions and prominent positions that Mesni and Seni were depicted in, it seems they may have been the skilled artists who were employed for the decoration of Ibi's tomb. The former for painting the scenes, and the latter for incising reliefs

Artistic similarities

Ibi is seen standing on the papyrus boat which is fitted with a wooden board, facing right with a spear, having caught two fish. He is accompanied by several individuals, some of whom are family members and others who are individuals that perhaps served him in his household.

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs, 5.11- 5.29)		
	TOMB OF IBI	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	**Provinces**
17.	The tomb owner holds the throw stick horizontally over his head. [299]	Rashepses,[300] Neferirtenef,[301]	Hemre I[302]
18.	The tomb owner holds the spear at an angle of 6° in the spear fishing scene.	Hesi/ reused by Seshemnefer[303]	
19.	The tomb owner holds the spear with both arms sharply bent.	Hetepherakhti,[304] Neferirtenef, [305] Mereri[306]	Henqu I[307]
20.	The tomb owner's wife is seen squatting between his legs on the papyrus boat in the spear fishing and fowling scene with one knee raised and one hand on her chest.[308]	The only tomb in the capital where the wife is depicted in this posture in a fowling scene is in the tomb of Iyinefret[309]	Niankhpepy[310]

[299] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pp. 12-14, pl. III, IV, V, VI; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, p27-32, pls. 7,9, 10, 46-47, 67-68.
[300] Lepsius, *Denkmaler* , II. 60.
[301] van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 1
[302] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* II (1902), p. 27; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 23, 50.
[303] N. Kanawati & M. Abder-Raziq, *The Tomb of Hesi* (Warminster, 1999), pls. 11, 12, 14, 53
[304] Mohr, *Hetep-Her-Akhti*, fig. 34 pl. 2.
[305] van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 1.
[306] W. V. Davies, Saqqâra *I: The mastabas of Mereri and Wernu* (London, 1984), pls. 5, 8 (B).
[307] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* II (1902), p. 29, pl. xxiii; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 8, 39.
[308] This is a rare position for the tomb owner's wife in such scenes.
[309] Schürmann, *Ii-Nefret*, Abb. 6, 21.
[310] Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pl. IX.

21.	The tomb owner's son is seen on the same boat imitating his father, (striding, holding a spear, with two fish at the end of the spear) in both the spear fishing and fowling scene.	Seshemnefer IV[311] Nekhbu[312]	

Unlike the fowling scene, there is no depiction of a papyrus thicket in front of the tomb owner in the fishing scene. However, there is a small mound in front of Ibi and in front of his son depicted individually. This mound is interesting because it is individually represented as if floating in the air, and not connected to the water beneath the boat as was common for such marsh scenes. The wavy lines representing water in the short mound are horizontal while the wavy lines under the boat are vertical.[313] Typically the water in the mound is depicted as vertical lines rather than horizontal. This particular detail of water lines being depicted in both directions in a marsh scene is similarly found in the example in the tomb of Hem-min at El-Hawawish. It is also identical to the wavy water lines found in the tomb of Irenkaptah at Saqqara in the fish netting scene where the wavy lines depicted in a mound in the top register are horizontal while the water beneath the boat is vertical, as is similarly depicted in the tomb of Ibi.

5. Tomb of Djau/Shemai and Djau

Ibi was succeeded by his son Djau/Shemai, who was succeeded by his similarly named son Djau.[314] Djau/Shemai may have died prematurely as his son Djau built and was buried in the same tomb as his father.[315] The dating for the tombs in the southern cliff is secure in that Ibi

[311] Junker, *Gîza* XI, pp. 139-42, Abb. 60, Taf. i, xvi [d].
[312] Smith, in *Bull. Boston Musuem* lvi [304], fig. 2.
[313] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pl. III; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pl. 46, 67.
[314] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, 1-13, pls. I-XV; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, III.
[315] Kanawati, *Deir el -Gebrawi*, III, p. 20

was appointed as a nomarch under Merenre, accordingly, his grandson is dated to the latter part of Pepy II's reign. [316]

Artists

There are two individuals that have been depicted in this tomb who held artistic titles, namely Wadjy who is designated as *zš* 'scribe or painter' and Pepy-Seneb/Nes…. who is designated as *zš qdw*(*t*) *pr-Mɜtjt* 'draughtsman of the temple of Matit'.[317] Both artists appear in prominent positions in the tomb. The former is depicted on the east section of the north wall on the top register of a workshop scene, where he is seen seated on an elevated stool probably painting a statue. Above him is the inscription …. [*j*]*n zš Wɜḏjj* '… by the scribe /painter Wadjy'.[318] The second artist in depicted on the east section of the north wall which mentions 'the draughtsman of the temple of Matit, Pepy-seneb, his true name, Nes..' this depiction appears on the most prominent wall of the tomb in between the depiction of both father and son.[319] The location of this inscription in such a conspicuous setting points to the importance of the artist. It is reasonable to think that he was perhaps the one who decorated the tomb of Djau/Shemai and Djau.

Artistic similarities

Since the scenes in the tomb are damaged, we need to rely on both the earlier tomb reports by Davies and the more recent ones by Kanawati. Additionally, since the tomb was meant for both father and son it is sometimes not clear which Djau played a prominent role in scenes unless the beautiful name Shemai of Djau the father was used to identify him.

[316] Kanawati, *Akhmim,* p. 139; Baer, *Rank and Title,* pp. 157, 295 [592]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, III, pp. 19-25.
[317] Jones, *Index*, p. 876 [3209]
[318]Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II. pl. X; Kanawati, *Deir el -Gebrawi*, III, pp. 43-44 pls. 19-21, 62, 75.
[319] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi,* pl. IX; Kanawati, *Deir el -Gebrawi,* III, p. 43, pls. 19, 20 (a), 62, 75.

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the the illustrations in Vol II, figs 5.16-5.29)		
	TOMB OF DJAU[320]	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	Provinces
22.	The fishing and fowling scenes flank the entrance door-way. The former is on the east section of the south wall and the latter on the west section.[321]	Niankhkhnum, Khnumhotep, Rashepses,[322] Senedjemib/Inti, Senedjemib/Mehi,[323] Nekhbu,[324] Itti, Seshemnefer IV.	Pepyankh the Middle.
23.	The major figure holds the throw stick horizontally above his head in the fowling scene.[325]	Neferseshemptah and Seankhtiu, Rashepses,[326] Neferirtenef,[327] Metheti,[328] Meryraunefer/Qar,	Ibi,[329] Hemre/Isi I[330]
24.	The presence of turtles in the water beneath the boat.	Hesi,[331]	
25.	The composition of the water is broken with vegetation: papyrus buds, lotus and flowers which are attached to the baseline.	Mehu[332], Wernu[333]	Shedu,[334] Ibi[335]

[320] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi* II, pp. 5-6, pl. v; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi* II, p. 4 pls. iii, iv; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi: The southern cliff, the tomb of Djau/Shemai and Djau,* Vol III, pls. 57.
[321] Fishing and fowling scenes that flank the doorway are most commonly seen in the late Fifth dynasty tombs from Giza and Saqqara. It is not common to find them in the provinces occupying this position, this feature is only seen in the tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi and one other tomb belonging to Pepyankh the middle at Meir. As mentioned earlier the artist who decorated the tomb of Pepyankh the middle was originally from the capital, and therefore it can be argued that likewise the artist who decorated the tomb of Djau/Shemai and Djau could also be originally from the capital since the decoration shows influence coming from the capital, namely in features such as these.
[322] LD., II. 60
[323] Lepsius., Taf, XII; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex,* p. 135, pl. 108, figs. 100-101; LD. *Erg.*, XI; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, p. 136, pl. 109, figs. 102-3.
[324] Smith, in *Bull. Boston Musuem* lvi [304] (1958), pp. 58-60, fig. 2
[325] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. III, IV, V, VI; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pls. 7,9, 10, 46-47, 67-68.
[326] LD., II. 60
[327] van de Walle, *Nefererirtenef*, pp. 65-9, pls. 1, 20.
[328] Kaplony, *Methethi*, Nr. 1, 1 [a].
[329] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pl. V, VI; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pls. 11, 12, 47, 68.
[330] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* II (1902), p. 27; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 23, 50.
[331] N. Kanawati & M. Abder-Raziq, *The Tomb of Hesi* (Warminster, 1999), pls. 11, 12, 14, 53
[332] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[333] W. V. Davies, Saqqâra *I: The mastabas of Mereri and Wernu* (London, 1984), pls. 5, 8 (B)
[334] Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. xxii; Kanawati & McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pls. 16 [b], 48
[335]Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pl. III, IV, V, VI; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pls. 7,9, 10, 46-47, 67-68.

26.	The presence of a frog sitting on the water line below the boat in the spear fishing scene.	Kagemni,[336] Mereri[337]	

Analysis

There are several features in these scenes that are similar to earlier scenes from the capital. Scenes from tombs belonging to high ranking individuals such as Rashepses,[338] Senedjemib/Inti and Sendjemib/Mehi, and Iyinefert, dating from the Fifth Dynasty and those dating from the Sixth Dynasty such as Mehu, Hesi and Kagemni seem to be influential.

The presence of several turtles shown in the water below the boat in the fishing and fowling scene is significant because, other scenes where turtles are clearly depicted are in the tomb of Hesi and Mehu at Saqqara. Thus, implying a direct artistic imitation from the capital at Deir el-Gebrawi. An artistic detail with regard to these turtles found in the tomb of Djau is the design on the shell of the turtle is deep and concentric. On closer examination of the water band in the tomb of Ibi, there is a depiction of a *Tetrodon fahaqa* in the fowling scene which has the same deep concentric circles on its body. It is reasonable to say that the artist who decorated the tomb of Djau not only used the tombs from the capital as a source of influence but also used the tomb of Ibi. The proximity of their tombs and the familial relationship between the tomb owners further justifies this influence. The feature of the tomb owner's front foot being raised is rare. It is unlike the standard representation where the front foot is usually flat. The only other examples of this feature are seen in Aswan in the tombs of Khewenes and Sabni II. It is possible that towards the end of the reign of Pepy II the artistic influences coming from the capital to

[336] von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* I, Taf. IV; Firth & Gunn, *Teti Cemeteries*, 115 [9], II, pls. 9, 52; Harpur & Scremin, *The chapel of Kagemni: Scene details*, p. 76, [detail] 120, [context drawing] 8.
[337] W. V. Davies, Saqqâra *I: The mastabas of Mereri and Wernu* (London, 1984), pls. 5, 8 (B)
[338] Rashepses was a vizier and the overseer of the royal documents who is dated to the reign of Isesi.

the provinces were perhaps shrinking, which then led the middle provinces such as Meir, El-Hawawish, and Deir el-Gebrawi to begin influencing the other provinces?

El- Hammamiya

Tomb of Kai-khent (A2)

Artists

The officials buried in the cemetery at El-Hammamiya governed the 10th province as early as the Fifth Dynasty,[339] with no known Sixth Dynasty tombs discovered at this site. The decoration of the earliest tombs are in bas-relief and they reflect themes and patterns typical of the Fifth Dynasty.[340] The tombs of El-Hammamiya have been dated by scholars to a varying time period from the Fourth Dynasty to late Fifth Dynasty.[341] None of the tombs found at El-Hammamiya depict a spear fishing and fowling scene, however the tomb of Kaikhent (A2) who is dated to the early Fifth Dynasty[342] is of interest due to the presence of an individual named Hekaib with the title *'zš pr mḏꜣt nṯr'* 'scribe of the house of sacred records'.[343] He appears on the right side of the west wall, he is seen holding a staff and a sceptre.[344] No other individual with the title 'scribe of the house of sacred records' can be attested in any other tomb in this province.

The son of Neferseshemre found in the capital dated to early-middle of Teti's reign is similarly named Hekaib and held the titles 'attendant of the pyramid: one steadfast of places is Teti, and judge and overseer of scribes'. It is unlikely that the two individuals were related to one another due to the varying time period between the two men. However, it is possible that Hekaib from

[339] N. Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom* (eds.) C. A. Hope, A McFarlane (Sydney, 1992), pp. 37- 40.
[340] Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 216; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 126; A. El-Khouli & N. Kanawati, *The Old Kingdom tombs of El-Hammamiya* (Sydney, 1990), p. 14.
[341] M. Ernest, G. Brunton & W. M. F. Petrie, *Bahrein and Hemamieh* (London, 1930), p. 36-37 (reign of Khufu); Kees, *Provinzialkunst*, p. 27 (early Fifth Dynasty); Brunner, *Felsgraber*, pp. 21-22 (middle of Fifth Dynasty); Smith, *HESPOK*, pp.216-217 (Fifth Dynasty); Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 11(Fifth Dynasty); Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 294 (late Fifth Dynasty); El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Hammamiya*, pp. 12, 16.
[342] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pp. 11-19.
[343] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, p. 29.
[344] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pp. 9, 42, 43.

El-Hammamiya was the artist who decorated the tomb of Kaikhent, based on the prominent position[345] he was depicted in and the items he held in his hand, the sceptre and the staff indicating a position of high rank or status. He was perhaps trained in the capital before he came to the middle provinces.

[345] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 38,39. Other individuals who were depicted in this position were his sons and daughter and individuals with the title 'acquaintance of the king'

El-Hawawish

The officials who governed the 9th province of Upper Egypt in the Old Kingdom used the cemetery of El-Hawawish to build their tombs, these officials have been dated to a varying time period ranging from the end of Niuserre in the Fifth dynasty to Pepy II in the Sixth.[346] Of the 53 decorated tombs, 8 tombs that contain scenes of the tomb owner spear fishing[347] are relevant to this study, those belonging to:

Hesi-Min, Hem-min, Tjeti/Kai-hep, Shepsipumin, Bawi, Hesi-Min/Sesi, Ka-hep/Tjeti-Iker and Shepsipumin/Kheni.

1. Hesi-Min (M22)

The earliest tomb containing a spear fishing belongs to Hesi-Min which is dated by many scholars to the late Fifth Dynasty[348] and some to the early Sixth Dynasty.[349] Using architectural, inscriptional and titulary evidence, Kanawati dates Hesi-Min to the late Fifth Dynasty under the reign of Djedkare.[350] Hesi-Min held the rare title 'overseer of the works of the king'[351] which was also held by his contemporary Kai-khent at El-Hammamiya,[352] which suggests that they originated from Memphis and were sent to the provinces, after they began their administrative careers in the capital.[353] On examining Hesi-Min's tomb, there are no surviving dependants with the artistic title 'scribe of the house of sacred records' depicted in his tomb, which in this paper is accepted as a title given to artists. The two unnamed individuals depicted

[346] P. Newberry, "The inscribed tombs of Ekhmim", *LÄAA*, IV, (Liverpool, 1912), pp. 99-120; N. Kanawati, & A. McFarlane, *Akhmin in the Old Kingdom, Part I: Chronology and Administration* (Sydney, 1992) *Passim.*
[347] There are no fowling scenes found at El-Hawawish.
[348] Fischer, *Dendera,* p. 11; Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit,* p. 83; Strudwick, *JEA* 72, p. 225; Valloggia, *Chron.d'Eg.* pp. 62, 163; der Manuelian, *JNES* 47, pp. 202-203; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, IV, pp. 8-10; Kanawati, *Akhmim,* I, pp. 32-34.
[349]Harpur, *Decoration,* pp. 41-42.
[350] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, IV, pp.8-10; Kanawati, *Akhmim,* I, pp. 32-34.
[351] Jones, *Index*, p. 262 [949].
[352] Mackey, *Hemamieh,* pl. 20.
[353] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, IV, p. 10.

on the west wall of the chapel below the spear fishing scene[354] only have the title *zš* 'scribe/painter', which is insufficient to interpret as artist.

Artistic similarities

Artistic similarities have been noted between the tomb of Hesi-Min and those from the capital for example Harpur suggests the artistic similarities between the tomb of Hesi-Min and the tomb of Ti from Saqqara.[355] The details in the spear fishing scene from the tomb of Hesi-Min was compared to a number of similar scenes from tombs dating from the mid-late Fifth dynasty. Those with the most number of similar features depicted in this type of scene are tabulated below:

Feature Number	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 6.1-6.17)	
	TOMB OF HESI-MIN (M22)[356]	**OTHER TOMBS**
		Capital
1.	A zig zag frieze particularly above a spear fishing scene.	Irenkaptah[357]
2.	The angle of the spear measures 24°.	Niankhkhnum Khnumhotep [358]
3.	The manner in which the arms of the tomb owner are spread wide open, appearing almost horizontal.	Kaiemankh[359]
4.	The binding of the spear on the shaft which appears close to the mound of water.	Neferirtenef [360]
5.	Hesi-Min is accompanied by the son who is also depicted spear fishing on the same boat. The angle of the spear and the horizontal angle of his arms are similar to Hesi-Min	Seshemnefer IV[361]

[354] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, IV. pl. 2, figs, 12, 13.
[355] She compares the papyrus boat building scene. Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 30, 41-42.
[356] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, IV, pp. 19-21, pl. 2, 12, 13.
[357] Moussa-Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 12.
[358] Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 4, fig. 5.
[359] Junker, *Gîza 4*: *Die Maṣṭaba des Kai-em-anch* (Wien & Leipzig, 1940), pp. 27-35, Abb. 8; Kanawati, *Giza* I: *Kaiemankh (G4561) and Seshemnefer I (G4940)* (Warminster, 2001), pp. 30-2, pls. 7 [a, b], 8 [a, b], 31.
[360] van de Walle, *Nefererirtenef*, pp. 65-9, pls. 1, 20.
[361] H. Junker, *Gîza XI: Der Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide* (Wien, 1953), pp. 139-42, Abb. 60, Taf. i, xvi [d].

6.	Hesi-Min is also accompanied by his wife, who appears close behind his leg possibly holding him with both her arms which is a rare posture for a wife in a spear fishing scene.	Irenkaptah,[362] Neferseshemptah and Seankhtiu[363]
7.	The shape of the papyrus boat, including the bindings which are at irregular intervals that become smaller at the prow and the stern.	Neferirtenef[364]
8.	The combination of a frog and a grasshopper sitting beneath the stern of the boat	Seshemnefer IV[365]
9.	The presence of a fisherman wearing a piece of clothing with a single strap holding a club in his hand seated on a separate boat behind the tomb owner's boat, in the same direction and position.	Ihy/Idut[366]

Analysis

Based on the artistic similarities found in the scenes between Hesi-Min and those at the capital it is evident that the artist who decorated the tomb of Hesi-Min was from the capital and was familiar with the tombs at the capital and replicated some of those details in the tomb of Hesi-Min. The detail of a crocodile swallowing a fish, which is depicted below the boat is a rare feature.[367] This feature only appears in later tombs belonging to high officials such as Kagemni, Mereri and Mehu. This indicates two points 1. That this feature was not a standard and it was perhaps a real event actually witnessed either by the tomb owner and/the artist who decorated his tomb. 2. Perhaps the artist who decorated the tomb of Hesi-Min was influenced by an earlier tomb which belonged to a high official which has not been discovered yet. Other features such as the zig zag frieze which is only seen above the spear fishing scene and the posture of the tomb owner's wife holding the tomb owner with both her hands are similarly seen in the tombs

[362] Moussa & Junge, *Two Tombs,* pl. 12.
[363] Moussa & Junge, *Two Tombs*, pp. 22-3, pl. 6.
[364] van de Walle, *Nefererirtenef,* pp. 65-9, pls. 1, 20.
[365] Junker, *Gîza* XI, pp. 139-42, Abb. 60, Taf. i, xvi [d].
[366] N. Kanawati & M. Abder-Raziq, *The Unis cemetery at Saqqara, Vol. 2: The Tombs of Iynefert and Ihy (reused by Idut)* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 18-19, pls. 7, 37 [b].
[367] This is the only provincial tomb where this feature is attested, making it evident that it was an influence from the capital where it was popular among the elite tombs, which the artist who decorated the tomb of Hesi-Min was familiar with.

of Irenkaptah and Neferseshemptah and Seankhtiu which are dated to the reigns of Izezi and Unis and located in the Unis causeway. Thereby suggesting that the artists of these mid-late Fifth Dynasty tombs may have originated from the same workshops. The above discussion also sheds light on the debate of dating Hesi-Min, who may belong to the late Fifth Dynasty.

2. Hem-Min (M43)

Artist

Hem-Min was originally dated by Newberry to the Twelfth Dynasty[368] however on recording the tombs at El-Hawawish, Kanawati dated Hem-Min to the early part of Teti's reign[369]. In recent years that date has been reconsidered in light of other evidence from architectural features such as the burial chambers, the presence of porticoes, the false door, the scenes and the inscriptions, and a date to the beginning of Unis' reign seems plausible.[370] Hem-Min held the title *jmj-r Šmʿ* 'overseer of Upper Egypt' which he received under Djedkare since the earliest known holder of this title is Rashepses[371] who is dated to the reign of Djedkare[372]. Kanawati suggests that with the introduction of this office in the capital a similar office was established in Upper Egypt and was first located in the central province of Akhmim.[373] There are no surviving depictions of individuals who held any scribal or artistic titles in the tomb of Hem-Min.

[368] Newberry, *LÄAA IV*, Tomb no. 25, p. 115.
[369] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish,* V, pp. 8-10.
[370] Kanawati, *Akhmim,* p. 34.
[371] Lepsius, *Denkmäler, Tafelwerke II, Band III* pl. 60-64; Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, p. 152.
[372] J. E. Quibell, *Saqqara* 3, (Le Caire, 1907-1908), pl. 61:2; Sethe, *Urk.* 1, pp. 179-80.
[373] Kanawati, *Akhmim*, I, p. 37.

Artistic Similarities

On comparing the spear fishing scene found in the tomb of Hem-Min to similar scenes at the capital, like the scene in the tomb Hesi-Min, Hem-Min's spear fishing scene displays many similarities to scenes from mid-late Fifth dynasty tombs. Some of these features are tabulated below:

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 6.1-6.17)	
	TOMB OF HEM-MIN	**OTHER TOMBS**
		Capital
10.	The mound of water in the spearfishing scene reaches waist height of the standing figure of the tomb owner.[374]	Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep[375]
11.	The mound of water is curved on the side facing the major figure and straight on the opposite side[376]	Niankhkhnum, Khnumhotep,[377] Neferirtenef.[378]
12.	A rare feature is identified in the depiction of the water in the mound of water before the tomb owner. This water is usually depicted with wavy lines that are vertical as a continuation of the wavy water lines from below the boat. However, in this depiction the wavy water lines are horizontal.	Irenkaptah,[379] A later scene with similar horizontal wavy water lines is found in the Ibi[380] at Deir el-Gebrawi.
13.	In the rows of birds flying above the papyrus thicket is a depiction of a bird, possibly a turtle dove is the top left-hand corner depicted with both its wings flapped backwards.	Irenkaptah.[381]

[374] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, V, pls. 1, 3 (a), fig. 6-7.
[375] Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (1977), pp. 58-60, Taf. 4, Abb. 5 150-2, Taf. 74-5
[376] This feature is only attested in the tomb of Hem-Min among all the provincial tombs.
[377] Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (1977), pp. 58-60, Taf. 4, Abb. 5 150-2, Taf. 74-5
[378] van de Walle, *Nefererirtenef*, pp. 65-9, pls. 1, 20.
[379] Moussa-Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 11, 12.
[380] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pp. 12-14, pl. III, IV, V, VI; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, p27-32, pls. 7,9, 10, 46-47, 67-68.
[381] Moussa-Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 12.

Analysis

Based on his titles it seems possible that Hem-Min may have originated in the capital, like his predecessor Hesi-Min, he was then sent to the provinces. Being the first governors or officials being sent to the provinces it is safe to assume that they would have relied on the capital for skilled artists and artistic inspirations while building their tombs. It seems likely that both the artists of Hesi-Min and Hem-Min used earlier tombs belonging to mid-late Fifth dynasty as inspiration. They may have employed the same artists or used these earlier tombs from the capital to imitate, as Hesi-Min and Hem-Min were the earliest decorated tombs at El-Hawawish, there may not have been any other earlier tombs at the province to imitate.

3. Tjeti/ Kai-hep

Artists

According to his biographical inscriptions Tjeti/Kaihep is dated to the reign of Merenre.[382] He was most likely the son of Shepsipumin the first nomarch who was 'great overlord of Akhmim'.[383] His long list of titles indicates that he spent some time in the capital before being sent to govern Akhmim.[384] On the east wall of his tomb is a fragmented scene of some birds flying which is indicative of a possible spear fishing or fowling scene, since not much has survived an artistic comparison with other tombs is not possible. However, there are two individuals, depicted in this scene who are of interest for this paper. The first figure appears to be holding a *Hoopoe* in his hand and is described as *sḥḏ zš qdwt Ḫwj-n-Ptḥ*[385] 'the

[382] Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, pp. 270-273; A. McFarlane, "The First nomarch at Akhmim: The identification of a Sixth Dynastie biographical Inscription. *GM* 100 (1987), 63-73; N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* VIII (Sydney, 1987), p. 62, pl. 14, fig. 35.
[383] Kanawati, *Akhmim*, p. 97.
[384] N. Kanawati, *The Rock tombs of El-Hawawish*, III (Sydney, 1982), pp. 7-8. 'overseer of the royal harem' and 'the high priest of Re', N. Strudwick, Review of The Rock tombs of EL- Hawawish: The cemetery of Akhmim vols III-IV *JEA* 72 (1986), p. 225. W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (New York, 1954), p. 49, Kanawati, *Akhmim*, pp.97- 98, Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, III, pp. 7-8.
[385] Jones, *Index*, p. 965 [3560].

superintendent of draughtsmen/painters, Khewi-n-Ptah'[386] and the second individual is described as *ỉmy-r zš pr ḥwj* [387] 'the overseer of the scribe of the house, Khewi'[388]. Given their titles and the context in which they were depicted in can be compared to other artists such as Kaemtejenenet from Meir and Seni and Isesi from El-Hawawish who were depicted accompanying the tomb owner and his family in similar marsh scenes. Tjeti/Kaihep may have been also been accompanied by his family, since the first woman depicted on the left fragment of the same scene is designated as 'noble woman of the king' she may have been his sister/daughter/wife, indicating this may have been a spear fishing or fowling scene with the family. Thus, indicating that these individuals were of some status to be depicted along with a female relative of the tomb owner, in addition to the titles they held its seems likely they were artists who decorated the tomb.

Interestingly, an individual who held the same name as *Ḫwj-n-Ptḥ* 'Khewi-n-Ptah' designated as *sḥḏ zš* (*w*) *pr mḏɜt-nṯr pr-ᶜɜ* [389] 'inspector of scribes of the sacred records of the palace' has been identified in the tomb of Neferseshemptah which is found in Teti's cemetery dated to Sixth dynasty.[390] He is depicted carrying a large piece of meat towards the tomb owner along with the other offering bearers. Perhaps Khewi-n-Ptah was the artist who decorated the tomb of Nefershemptah, since he held the artist title 'inspector of scribes of the sacred records of the palace'. Could the earlier Khewi-n-Ptah depicted in the tomb of Neferseshemptah have been the same individual as the Khewi-n-Ptah, from the tomb of Tjeti/Kai-hep? As Lashien rightly suggests although the tomb of Tjeti/Kai-hep and Neferseshemptah are separated by about 50 years, with the tradition of sons being named after their fathers, or grandfathers and following

[386] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, III, pp. 10, 24, fig. 13.
[387] Jones, *Index*, p. 212 [788].
[388] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, III, pp. 10, 24. fig. 13.
[389] Jones, *Index*, p. 959 [3540]
[390] A. B. Lloyd, A. J. Spencer, A. el-Khouli, *Saqqara Tombs III: The mastaba of Neferseshemptah* (London, 2008), pp. 9, 24, pl. 21.

in their profession. [391] Therefore, it is possible that the artist who decorated the tomb of Tjeti/Kai-hep was the either the son or the grandson of Neferseshemptah's artist, Khewi-n-Ptah since both held the same name and similar titles.

4. Shepsipumin (G 97), Bawi (G126), Hesi-Min/ Sesi (F1)

The owner of G97 was probably Shepsipumin, whose father Nehewet-Desher was buried in the adjacent tomb G95.[392] Shepsipumin was initially dated to late Pepy I-Merenre[393], but based on the architectural and artistic features in this tomb, [394] he is now placed early in Pepy I's reign.[395] The architectural and artistic details found in the tomb of Hesi-Min/Sesi (F1) suggests a relatively early date between Pepy I – early Pepy II.[396] Bawi's tomb (G126) is located halfway between the tombs of Shepsipumin and Hesi-Min/Sesi, based on the artistic and architectural features the tomb can be dated to Pepy I-early Pepy II.[397] Thus all three tombs appear to be in the same time period, they may have been contemporaries.

The titles *'zš nswt ḫft ḥr'* 'personal scribe of the royal records'[398] and *'ḥqꜣ ḫrt-nṯr'* held by Hesi-Min's sons, were titles held by individuals mainly in the capital. This suggests that Hesi-Min may have begun his career in the capital before being sent to Akhmim and/ that his sons were trained and educated in the capital as was common for the sons of provincial officials. Two of his other sons held the scribal title *zš pr* 'scribe of the house'[399] and both of them appear in the spear fishing scene accompanying their father.[400] It is unclear whether this title was administrative or artistic, however based on how individuals with the artistic title have

[391] Lashien, *El-Qusiya,* pp. 151- 152, The tombs from Teti's cemetery are very popular and artists were familiar with them and the artists at sites such as Meir, Deir el-Gebrawi and El-Hawawish. may have been influenced by them (Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 11; Lloyd, Spencer and el-Khouli, *Neferseshemptah* III, p. 24, pl. 21.
[392] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish,* VIII, pp. 9-13; Kanawati, *Akhmim,* pp. 53-54.
[393] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish,* VIII, p. 14.
[394] Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration,* p. 63; Kanawati, *Akhmim,* p. 51.
[395] Kanawati, *Akhmim,* p. 51.
[396] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish,* VI, p. 10.
[397] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IX, p. 30.
[398] Jones, *Index,* p. 839 [3063]; Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung,* p. 141; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VI, p. 8 (This office was closely connected with the person of the king and was rarely held by provincial administrators).
[399] Jones, *Index,* p. 847 [3095].
[400] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish,* VI, p. 8, fig. 3.

accompanied the tomb owners in marsh scenes as previously seen,[401] and the claim that his son makes stating that he was one who made the tomb for his father, Hesi-Min,[402] it is possible that one or both of his sons were artists who may have been involved in decorating their father's tomb.

Artistic similarities

All three tombs mentioned above, G97, G126[403] and F1 seem to have limited space on the walls and the scenes appear to be reduced to fit on these walls. The details and style of the spear fishing scene are very similar in all three tombs. These details will be tabulated and discussed below.

The angle of the spear which the tomb owner holds is steep and is similar to the earlier depiction in the tombs of Niankhkhnum, Khnumhotep and the tomb of Hesi-Min at El-Hawawish. [404] Due to this angle the piercing of the fish is in the middle of the body, rather than the eye of the fish which is seen in the later tombs. The papyrus thicket is absent in all three scenes, however there is an outline indicating that there was a 'mound of water' depicted in front of the tomb owner, this mound in all three scenes appears to be higher than the head of the tomb owner. Also in front of the tomb owner is an individual who is presenting the tomb owner with spare spears. Behind the tomb owner punters are shown on the stern of the boat in all three scenes in the same posture, with their bodies leaning forward standing on a register which appears to be floating in the air. They are holding a pole with their left hand above their head and right hand below. Their body posture appears as if to represent the act of pushing the boat forward with force. [405]

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[401] Iri, Pepyankh the Black- Blackman, *Meir,* 5, pl. 19; Kanawati & Evans, *Meir* II, pl. 74; Kaiemtjenenet Pepyankh the Middle- Kanawati, *Meir,* I, p. 38, 41 pls. 79-82.

[402] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VI, p. 11.
[403] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IX (1989), p. 31, fig. 15.
[404] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IV, pl. 2, fig. 12 and Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* V, pl. 1, fig. 7.
[405]E. Thompson, "Depiction of the tomb owner in the old kingdom cemetery at El- Hawawish", PhD thesis, Macquarie University (Sydney, 2010), p.161. The importance of the feature of a punter to the tomb owners at El-Hawawish is underlined by the fact that a named son is poling the skiff of his father. However, although punting would have been an essential method of proceeding through the marshes, this motif is not repeated in the two later spear-fishing scenes in the tombs of the nomarchs, *Ttj-jqr,* H26, and *Hnj,* H24.

An earlier spear fishing scene where punters are depicted is in the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep. The shape of the boat is the same in all three tombs. In that, both the prow and stern of the boat curves up, the binding of the boat is wide and excessive and tapers towards the ends of the boat. Additionally, the presence of a crocodile beneath the boat is similarly depicted in the tombs G126, G97. The spear fishing scene in all three tombs have several similarities to the provincial tomb belonging to an official from Deir el-Gebrawi. This tomb belongs to Henqu I and he is also dated to the reigns of Teti-Pepy I.[406] Thus it seems likely that these officials were contemporaries of one another and that the artists who decorated the tombs G 97, G126 and F1 were all the same. They were possibly from the capital since there is evidence to suggest that the owners of the tombs served in the capital before they were sent to govern Akhmim. It is also likely that these artists may have started to travel between provinces perhaps looking for work while they were away from the capital.

5. Ka-hep/Tjeti-Iker (H26)
Artists

Ka-hep/ Tjeti-Iker is dated by scholars to a varying time period from the Sixth Dynasty to the Heracleopolitan period.[407] Based on the architectural and artistic styles Harpur and Kanawati date him to Pepy II's reign mostly mid to late.[408] There are two dependants depicted in Tjeti's tomb with artistic titles Seni titled as *zš qdwt* 'draughtsman/painter'[409] and Isesi titled as *zš pr mḏꜣt nṯr prꜥꜣ* 'scribe of the house of sacred records'.[410] The tomb of Tjeti-Iker (H26) presents a rare and clear example of the fact that individuals who held these titles were artists.

[406] Kanawati, *Akhmim*, pp. 68-69.
[407] Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 278 [396, 541]; Brovarski, *Mélanges* 1, p. 132ff; Fischer. *Dendera*, p. 313, 576; Gomaa, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, p. 84ff.; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 281; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p.127; Kees, *Provinzialverwaltung, NGWG* 12 [1932], pp. 108-110.
[408] Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 25-26; N. Kanawati, *The Rock tombs of El-Hawawish* I, (Sydney, 1980), p. 14.
[409] Jones, *Index*, p. 876 [3208].
[410] Jones, *Index*, p. 849 [3104].

For example, on the south wall of Tjeti's tomb is the biographical inscription of Seni which states the following, 'The painter Seni says, it was I who decorated the tomb of the count Kheni, and it was I also who decorated this tomb, I being alone'.[411] Thus, this informs us that the artist Seni who held the title 'draughtmen/painter' was the one who decorated the tomb of Ka-hep/Tjeti-iker and that of his son, Kheni. On examining the decoration in the tomb of Ka-hep/Tjeti-iker and of Kheni, there are a number of similarities in the scenes thereby making Seni's claim to be true, that both tombs were decorated by the same artist.

Both Seni and Isesi appear on the south wall in the tomb of Ka-hep/Tjeti-iker on a register behind the tomb owner, both wearing projecting kilts, a sash around their shoulder, a decorative collar and bracelets and holding a scroll in their hands. [412] The significance of them holding scrolls in their hands points to them being involved in the decoration of the tomb. Another reference to the workmanship of Seni is mentioned on the north wall of the chapel, where an inscription states that 'Seni made this' possibly referring to the decoration.[413] The fact that Seni's involvement in the tomb decoration is emphasised so much, makes one wonder if he wasn't trying hard to reiterate the fact that although his brother Isesi was also an artist, he was the one who decorated both tombs, thus, suggesting that Isesi who held the title 'scribe of the house of sacred records' was also an artist.

Artistic similarities

Like all the previously discussed tombs at El-Hawawish, the tomb of Ka-hep/Tjeti-Iker only contains a scene of the tomb owner spear fishing. On careful examination of the scene the artist Seni seems to have been particularly influenced by two earlier tombs, that of Mehu from Saqqara and the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle from Meir. Some similarly rendered features are as follows:

[411] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* I, p. 19.
[412] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, I, p. 24 fig. 13.
[413] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, I, p. 24.

Feature Number	Significant Features (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 6.1-6.17)		
	TOMB OF TJETI-IKER[414]	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	**Provinces**
1.	Presence of lotus buds and leaves amongst the birds flying in the papyrus thicket[415]	Mehu[416]	
2.	The detail of the wife holding two lotus blooms, she holds one up to her nose in her hand and the other by her side in her other hand while seated on the papyrus boat.		Pepyankh the Middle (Meir) [417]
3.	The horizontal angle in which he holds to the spear	Mehu[418]	Pepyankh the Middle [419]
4.	The umbels in the papyrus thicket have straight and structured tops rather than curved tops.	Mehu[420]	Pepyankh the Middle[421]
5.	The presence of the only insect seen above the papyrus thicket among the birds is depicted in the top left corner of the scene.		Pepyankh the Middle[422]
6.	The presence of the aggressive hippopotamus in the water below the boat.	Mehu[423]	Pepyankh the Middle [424]
7.	Pile of equipment and seat on the stern of the boat	Mehu[425]	

[414] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* I (1980), pp. 19-20, pl. 5, fig. 8.
[415] This detail is not found in the scene from the tomb of Kheni H24 considering the artists who worked on both tombs were the same.
[416] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[417] A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir Part IV, The tomb-chapel of Pepi 'Onkh the middle son of Sebkhotpe and Pekhernefert* (London, 1924), pl. XVII; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pl. 81.
[418] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[419] Blackman, *Meir*, pl. VII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pl. 80
[420] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[421]Blackman, *Meir*, pl. VII, XVII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pl. 80, 81.
[422]Blackman, *Meir*, pl. VII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pl. 80.
[423] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[424] Blackman, *Meir*, pl. VII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pl. 80.
[425] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.

Analysis

Based on the similarities mentioned above it seems likely that the artists Seni and Isesi who decorated the tomb of Kahep/Tjeti-Iker, were influenced by the decoration in the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle at Meir. Furthermore, the artist who decorated the tombs of Mehu at Saqqara and Pepyankh the Middle at Meir were the same individual.[426] As mentioned previously, the artist Kaiemtejenet with the title *zš pr mḏꜣt nṯr pr-ꜥꜣ*, 'scribe of the house of sacred records', is seen accompanying the tomb owner and his family in the fowling scene.[427] Similarly, Seni and Isesi who also held artistic titles were depicted in the spear fishing scene in the tomb of Tjeti-Iker. Therefore, this demonstrates that individuals with the artistic title 'scribe of the house of sacred records' could in fact be the artists who decorated the tombs, they were depicted in intimate moments with the tomb owner and his family and were usually seen in the spear fishing and fowling scenes. It also demonstrates that the artistic influence and the artists initially came to the provinces from the capital and then perhaps continued working on other tombs in other provinces, thereby transferring artistic ideas and designs from one province to another.

6. Shepsi-pu-min/Kheni

Artists

Shepsipumin is believed to be the son of Kahep/Tjeti-iker (H26),[428] Brovarski dates them both to the Heracleopolitan Period.[429] Harpur and Kanawati date Kheni to the Sixth Dynasty during the reign of Pepy II.[430] As seen in the neighbouring tomb of his father Ka-hep/Tjeti-iker,

[426] Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, p. 254.
[427] Kanawati, N., *et al., The cemetery of Meir: The tomb of Pepyankh the middle*, Vol I (Oxford, 2012), p. 38, 41 pls. 79-82.
[428] Kanawati, *Akhmim*, pp. 129-135.
[429] E. Brovarski, "Akhmim in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period" in *Mé langes Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* 1, (Cairo, 1985), pp. 134-35.
[430] Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 25-26; N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* II, (Sydney, 1981), p. 14.

similarly there are two depictions of the brothers Seni and Isesi in Kheni's tomb. Seni appears behind the tomb owner in the spear fishing scene on the south wall he is designated as *zš pr mḏꜣt-nṯr pr-ꜥꜣ* 'scribe of the house of sacred records' and standing behind him in the same scene is his brother Isesi also titled as *zš pr mḏꜣt-nṯr pr-ꜥꜣ* 'scribe of the house of sacred records'.

The brothers stand on the top register behind Kheni, and are similarly dressed in collars, sashes and short pointed kilts. Above them is the following inscription 'the scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace, who decorated this tomb'.427 It is unclear who this inscription belongs to as both held the title 'scribe of the house of sacred records' perhaps at different points in their careers as artists. It is evident that these two brothers were involved in the decoration of both (H26) and (H24).

Interestingly on the west wall of the shrine in the tomb of Kheni, seven men are depicted performing the funerary ceremony. Amongst them there are two individuals named Isesi, the second Isesi is described as 'lector priest'.[431] It is likely that this individual may have been the artist Isesi since it was common for individuals who held the artistic title 'scribe of the house of sacred records' to also hold the title of 'lector priest'. [432]Additionally, Kaimtejennet the artist who decorated the tombs of Mehu at Saqqara and the tomb of Pepyankh the middle at Meir is similarly depicted in the tomb of Mehu, where he stands amongst men performing the funerary ceremony.[433] In the tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi is a sculptor named Seni and a 'ka priest' named Isesi. The tomb of Ibi is dated to the reign of early-mid Pepy II placing him earlier than Ka-hep/Tjeti-iker and Shepsipumin/Kheni. There are artistic similarities in the scenes in the tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi and those at El-Hawawish.[434] Thus could Seni and Isesi have worked in the tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi prior to working on tombs (H26) and (H24)?

[431] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* III, fig. 24
[432] J. A. Wilson, "The Artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom", *JNES* 6, (1947) p. 245, n.68.
[433] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 8.
[434] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* II, p. 13.

Artistic similarities

Artistically the tombs of Tjeti-iker and Kheni show a lot of similarities in composition and content. It is highly likely for the tombs to have identical scenes and details since the same artists worked on both tombs. Apart from the standardized commonalities which appear in most spear fishing scenes in the capital and the provinces, there are a few specific details in the scene from the tomb of Shepsipumin/Kheni that seem to have been influenced by the tombs of Pepyankh the middle from Meir and Mehu from Saqqara. Those details are listed below

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 6.1-6.17)		
	TOMB OF KHENI[435]	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	**Provinces**
1.	Officials/attendants hold spare spears		Pepyankh the Middle[436]
2.	The tomb owner's wife kneels in between her husband's legs	Mehu[437]	
3.	The stern of the boat is short and curves up gradually	Mehu[438]	Pepyankh the Middle[439]
4.	The choice and position of items on stern of skiff	Mehu[440]	Pepyankh the Middle[441]
5.	The looped cushion in the pile of items[442]	Mehu[443]	Pepyankh the Middle[444]

Analysis

The tombs of Mehu at Saqqara, Pepyankh the middle at Meir, Tjeti-Iker/Kahep and Shepsipumin/Kheni at El-Hawawish all have similar artistic details and these seem to be linked

[435] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* II (1981), pp. 19-21, pl. 1, fig. 1
[436] Blackman, *Meir,* IV, pl. XVII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pl. 81.
[437] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[438] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[439] Blackman, *Meir,* IV, pl. XVII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pl.81.
[440] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[441] Blackman, *Meir,* IV, pl. XVII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pl. 81.
[442] This feature is only seen in the tomb of Kheni at El-Hawawish
[443] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[444] Blackman, *Meir*, IV, pl. XVII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pl.81.

because of the artists who decorated their tombs. Like Kaimetejenenet, Seni and Isesi most likely originated from the capital and then moved to the provinces to decorate the tombs of the officials who governed the provinces. They may have begun their careers at the capital, then moved to Meir, Deir el-Gebrawi finally to El-Hawawish. The artistic similarities in these tombs indicates the transference of ideas, design and artists. Seni and Isesi were mostly inspired by the tombs decorated by Kaimtejennet, probably because he was also from the capital and the tombs that we decorated belonged to celebrated individuals. They included themselves into the scenes accompanying the tomb owner and his family and even went to the extent of leaving an extremely rare and important biography stating their role in the decoration of the tombs at El-Hawawish.

El-Hagarsa

El-Hagarsa is located on the border of the 8th and 9th provinces of Upper Egypt. The two Old Kingdom tombs depicting spear fishing and fowling by the tomb owner belong to Mery-aa and Wahi - the only known 'counts' from this cemetery.[445] Scholars date Mery-aa to a wide range of dates - the Sixth Dynasty[446], shortly after the Sixth Dynasty[447], early Eighth Dynasty[448] and the First Intermediate Period[449]. One of Mery-aa's daughters is named Bebi as is Wahi's wife. If she is one and the same, this suggests that Wahi may have been in office after Mery-aa which places Wahi in the late Eight dynasty in line with Kanawati's dating.[450] The combination of the close proximity of their tombs, the identical names of many of the dependants represented in both tombs and the similar artistic details in both tombs, makes it likely that the decoration in both tombs was executed by the same artist/s. There are no known dependants from either tomb bearing any artistic titles.

The fishing scene and fowling scene in the tomb of Mery-aa appear side by side on the same wall, with the tomb owner facing to the right in both scenes. Instead of standing on a papyrus boat with his back foot raised, he is shown standing directly on the register with both his feet flat. Similarly, Wahi is also depicted standing on a register with both his feet flat. There is no mound of water in front of both tomb owners. There are no known dependants with any scribal or artistic titles depicted in either tombs.

[445]W. M. F. Petrie, *Athribis*, (London, 1908), pp. 3-4, pls. 6-9; N. Kanawati, *The tombs of El-Hagarsa* III, (Sydney, 1995).
[446] Petrie, *Athribis*, p. 2 (Sixth Dynasty); Sethe, *Urkenden* 1, p. 266) Sixth Dynasty
[447] W. Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben: die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.-11. Dynastie Ägyptens* (Wiesbaden, 1965), p. 38.
[448] Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pp. 28-29.
[449] Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 225; Brunner, *Felsgraber*, p. 62; Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 130; W. K. Simpson, "Polygomy in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom *JEA* 60 (1974) p. 100; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 281.
[450] Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, p. 13.

Artistic similarities

No.	**Significant Features** (the numbers correspond to the features highlighted in the illustrations in Vol II, figs 7.1-7.9)			
	TOMB OF MERY-AA[451]	**TOMB OF WAHI**[452]	**OTHER TOMBS**	
			Capital	**Province**
1.	Mery-aa stands directly on the register. There is neither a boat, nor water band beneath him.	Wahi stands directly on a register. There is neither papyrus boat nor water band beneath him.		Khunes [453]
2.	Mery-aa holds the spear at a 23° angle. Because of this, the fish have been pierced in the middle of their bodies.	Wahi holds the spear at a 29° angle. The fish have been pierced in the middle of their bodies.	Niankhkhnum, Khnumhotep[454]	Hesi-Min,[455] Henqu II[456]
3.	Tomb owner wears a lotus garland in the fowling scene	Tomb owner wears a lotus garland in the marsh scene		This feature is unattested in any other tomb in the capital or the provinces.
4.	The papyrus thicket is shown with the stems separated and widely	The papyrus thicket is shown with the stems separated and widely spaced		Sabni I,[457] Sabni II,[458] Khunes [459]

[451] Petrie, *Athribis* (1908), pp. 3, 16, pl. vii; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III (1995), p. 38, pls. 14, 15, 42, 44-5.
[452] Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III (1995), pp. 17-18, pls. 5 [b], 6, 28-30.
[453] Edel, *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p. 544, 561 Abb. 9,10, 28, Taf XXI, XXIV; This feature is uncommon as most depictions of the tomb owner spear fishing and/fowling are depicted with him standing on a wooden board or on a papyrus boat.
[454] A. M. Moussa & H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* Taf. 4, Abb. 5 Taf. 5, Abb.6
[455] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, IV, pp. 19-21, pl. 2, 12, 13.
[456] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pl.XXIII; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 26(a), 54-55.
[457] E. Edel, *Die FelsgräBernekropole Der Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* (eds.) K. J. Seyfried & G. Vieler Paderborn, 2008) p. 66, Abb. 36, Taf. XIV.
[458] Edel, E., *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p 752, Abb. 13-15, Taf. XLIII.
[459] Edel, *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p. 544, 561 Abb. 9,10, 28, Taf XXI, XXIV.

	spaced in the spear fishing scene			
5.	Two papyrus stalks on either end of the papyrus thicket are leaning or bending over away from the thicket.	_____		Sabni II [460](Aswan)
6.	No body of water is depicted in the spear fishing and fowling scene	No body of water is depicted in the spear fishing scene	Niankhkhnum Khnumhotep, [461]	Khunes,[462] and Ankhitfi[463]
7.	Tomb owner wears a kilt with the hem projecting to a point, instead of a sporting or ordinary kilt.	_____		Sabni II[464] (Aswan)

Analysis

As tabulated above, some details found in the spear fishing and fowling scenes in the tombs of Mery-aa and Wahi have features that are found mostly in tombs at Aswan. Details, such as the angle of the spear held by the tomb owner, the absence of a body of water beneath the boat appear to have been influenced by tombs dating from an earlier period. These tombs at El-Hagarsa may have been influenced primarily by other provincial tombs such as Hesi-Min at El-Hawawish and Henqu II at Deir el-Gebrawi.

There are no artistic features in the subject scenes to suggest a date earlier than the Sixth Dynasty. However, certain features from other scenes within the tomb may point to an alternative date, perhaps a later date in the Sixth Dynasty. Such features include the depiction

[460] Edel, E., *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p 752, Abb. 13-15, Taf. XLIII.
[461] A. M. Moussa & H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* Taf. 4, Abb. 5 Taf. 5, Abb.6
[462] Edel, *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p. 544, 561 Abb. 9,10, 28, Taf XXI, XXIV.
[463] Vandier, *Moçalla*, pls. XIV, XL.
[464] Edel, E., *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p 752, Abb. 13-15, Taf. XLIII.

of Mery-aa's wife who appears in an equal size seated alonnside her husband whom she is holding in an intimate embrace. A relevant suggestion put forth by Roth is that the disappearing wife of the tomb owner in the decoration is a phenomenon that occurs during the last two reigns of the Fifth Dynasty, she further states that wives reappear in their husband's tombs in the early Sixth Dynasty.[465] Similarly, the depiction of Mery-aa holding the perfume jar up to his nose with his thumb and index finger also became a common depiction in the Sixth dynasty, the earliest example of this feature can be seen in the tomb of Ptah-hotep.[466] The lack of conventional features such as the absence of a water mound in front of the tomb owner, the lack of a papyrus thicket, the lack of a water band and a papyrus boat might indicate the impoverished period of Pepy I and beginning of Pepy II.[467] Therefore, owing to the artistic features referred to above from Mery-aa's tomb, these may suggest Petrie was correct in placing the tomb of Mery-aa in the Sixth Dynasty. On examination, the fishing and fowling scene from the tombs of Mery-aa and Wahi do not yield much in terms of artistic features for a complete comparative analysis. However, some other features belonging to other scenes in these tombs, may need to be studied further in order to find additional artistic similarities to other tombs which may show artistic influences which could in due course help date these tombs as accurately as possible.

[465] A. M. Roth, "The Absent Spouse: Patterns and Taboos in Egyptian Tomb Decoration", in: *JARCE*, Vol. 36 (1999). pp. 37-53.
[466] J. Swinton, *Dating the tombs of the Egyptian Old Kingdom* (Oxford, 2014), p. 208. The earliest examples of Ptah-hotep is shown holding a jar of unguent to his face with his left hand. Swinton, p. 214.
[467] Kanawati, *Akhmim*, p. 109.

Gohaina

Gohaina served as a necropolis for three towns, the two Old Kingdom rock-cut tombs at this site belong to Khewi/Tjeti-iker and to Resity. The cemetery is situated close to El-Hawawish and is part of the 9th nome in Upper Egypt. Of the two tombs, only the former has a fishing and fowling scene. Since there are no biographical inscriptions or a royal cartouche, a relative date can be established based on the workmanship and the style in the tombs. Accordingly, these tombs can be dated to the late-end of the Sixth Dynasty. [468] The decoration in the tomb of Khewi primarily displays close similarities to the decoration found in the neighbouring cemetery of El-Hawawish.

Tomb of Khewi

Khewi was also known as Tjeti-iker he held the titles 'count, administrator of the estate and sole companion'. He is depicted in a fishing and fowling scene on the north wall. This depiction presents some unusual features which will be listed below.

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 8.1-8.15)		
	TOMB OF KHEWI	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	**Provinces**
1.	Khewi holds the spear at a 6° angle.	Hesi r/u Seshemnefer[469] Nekhbu,[470] Mehu[471],	Ibi[472] Kheni/Shepsipumin

[468] Y. el-Masry, "Two Old kingdom rock-cut tombs at Gohaina" *BACE* 15 (2004), pp. 89-106.
[469] N. Kanawati & M. Abder-Raziq, *The Tomb of Hesi* (Warminster, 1999), pls. 11, 12, 14, 53
[470] Smith, in *Bull. Boston Musuem* lvi [304], fig. 2
[471] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[472] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pl. III, IV; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pls. 7,9, 10, 46, 67.

2.	The spear is two headed with two points of equal length.	Neferirtenef,[473]	Hem-Min,[474] Kai-hep/Tjeti-iker[475]
3.	No papyrus thicket is shown in the spear fishing scene.	Hermeru/Mereri[476]	Henqu II,[477] Bawi,[478] Ibi,[479] Khunes[480] Ankhtifi[481]
4.	The papyrus thicket extends half the width of the fowling scene in front of Khewi.		Pepyankh the middle[482]
5.	Cattle are shown fording the river in a fowling scene.		Djau[483]

Artistic similarities

Some of the features represented in the tomb of Khewi are traditional while others are rare. Most of the standard/traditional features are similar to the Sixth Dynasty tombs at Saqqara including the composite arrangement of the fishing and fowling scenes and the angle of the spear. However, other features are similarly seen in provincial tombs. The likelihood of the tombs at El-Hawawish influencing the decoration at Gohaina is possibly because of the proximity of the sites. It can also signify that the provinces were using the same artists who most likely originated from the capital. Indeed, towards the end of Sixth Dynasty, less artists appear to have come from the capital to the provinces, which may have resulted in innovative features such as the presence of a dog[484] and canopy[485] on the boat in the fishing scene.

[473] Walle, *Nefertrtenef*, pl.1.
[474] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, V, pls. 1, 3 (a), fig. 6-7.
[475] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* I (1980), pp. 19-20, pl. 5, fig. 8.
[476] W. V. Davies, Saqqâra *I: The mastabas of Mereri and Wernu* (London, 1984), pls. 5, 8 (B)
[477] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pl.XXIII; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 26(a), pp. 54-55.
[478] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IX (1989), p. 31, fig. 15.
[479] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pl. III, IV; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pls. 7,9, 10, 46, 67.
[480] Edel, *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p. 544, 561 Abb. 9,10, 28, Taf XXI, XXIV.
[481] J .Vandier, *Moçalla : la tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep*, (Le Caire, 1950), pl. XIV, XL.
[482] Blackman, *Meir*, IV, pl. XVII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pl.81.
[483] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pl. III; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pls. 58,69,70.
[484] The most unusual depiction in the fowling scene is the presence of a dog between the Khewi's legs, which is a feature unparalleled in any other tomb. Although Peck suggests that Mery of Naga ed Der is accompanied by two dogs in a fowling scene, but it is hard to determine since the scene is poorly preserved.
[485] The papyrus boat carries a canopy at the stern with two steersmen, under this canopy is a male figure, in front of whom stands another man burning incense. This feature is unattested in any fishing scene in any other tomb.

Naga ed Ĉer

The cemetery at Naga ed Ĉer was used by the officials of the 8th nome from the Pre-dynastic period to the Middle Kingdom. The only tomb with a fowling scene belongs to Meru, who held the title 'overseer of priests'.[486] It appears that he was responsible for the local cult of Onuris.[487] This tomb is situated high on the upper part of the slope of the cemetery and is the only recorded tomb of a senior official. [488] Peck tentatively dates Meru to the Ninth Dynasty[489] but he could belong to an earlier period in Pepy II's reign as proposed by Kanawati. [490] The small size of his tomb is consistent with the trend to construct small tombs in the periods from Pepy I to the beginning of Pepy II.[491] The headdress worn by the women in the tomb of Meru and the position of the lotus flower held close to their nostrils is identical to that found in the tomb of Kaihep/Tjeti (M8) who is dated from Merenre to early Pepy II.[492] Smith, while discussing the artistic representations notes that they are very crude and indicative of what was considered the style of the Intermediate Period. [493] On the other, Kanawati suggests this is possibly a result of poor workmanship, which can be attributed to the impoverished period of Pepy I beginning of Pepy II.[494]

In the fowling scene on the south wall, Meru is depicted standing on a papyrus boat. He is accompanied by his two sons, wife and a daughter, perhaps even a couple of dogs.[495] The first standing male in front of Meru, facing forward wears a yellow kilt. He holds a yellow and blue

[486] C. N. Peck, "Some decorated tombs of the first intermediate period at Naga ed-Dêr", PhD thesis, Brown University (Michigan, 1959), p. 100.
[487] C. N. Peck, *Naga ed-Dêr*, p. 55.
[488] E. Brovarski, The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed Dêr, PhD thesis, University of Chicago (Chicago, 1989), p. 92.
[489] Peck, *Naga ed Dêr*, pp. 92-132, pls. 7-16.
[490] Kanawati, *Akhmim*, p. 108 (the shooting of animals with bow and arrow is familiar in the Middle Kingdom and not represented in private tombs of the Old Kingdom except in that of Meru at Naga ed Dêr and Ibi at Deir el Gebrawi.)
[491] Kanawati, *Akhmim*, p. 109.
[492] Ibid.,
[493] Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 89-90.
[494] Kanawati, *Akhmim*, p. 109.
[495] Peck, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, p. 117.

bird and designated as *sḫḏ zš mḏꜣt ḥm-nṯr* 'inspector of scribes of sacred records'.[496] This individual with the artistic title is shown accompanying the tomb owner with his family, while holding a bird. This corresponds with all the other previously noted examples from Meir and El-Hawawish of the artist accompanying the tomb owner and his family on a trip to the marshes, holding a bird. This suggests that the above-mentioned individual designated as 'inspector of scribes of sacred records' may have been the artist who decorated the tomb of Meru.

Artistic similarities

Although Smith and Peck date the decoration in the tomb of Meru to the Middle Kingdom or First Intermediate Period based on the crude/haphazard arrangement with the ill proportioned figures. Peck suggests that some features are also found in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi.[497] Thus it is necessary to compare the details to other tombs and see if the influence could be from earlier tombs which may then place Meru in the Sixth Dynasty rather than the First Intermediate Period or the Middle Kingdom.

No.	**Significant Features** (the numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 10.1-10.10)		
	TOMB OF MERU [498]	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	**Provinces**
1.	Meru is seen standing on the papyrus boat with both feet flat on the deck.[499]		Khenty. [500]
2.	Meru wears a wrap-around kilt with a projecting point.	Saib[501]	Khunes[502] (Zawiyet el-Maiyitin)

[496] This transliteration is offered by Peck, *Naga ed-Dêr*, p. 118. The following could be an alternative transliteration sHD zS pr-mDAt 'inspector of the scribes of sacred records'. Jones, *Index*, p. 958 [3536].
[497] Peck, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, p. 123.
[498] Peck, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, pl. XV.
[499] This detail is normally attested in papyrus pulling scenes, however it is seen here in a fowling scene.
[500] M. Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom tombs at Thebes: I, the tomb of Unas-Ankh no 413: II, the tomb of Khenty no. 405: III, the tomb of Ihy no. 186* (Mainz/Rhein, 1977), pp. 20-1, fig. 46, pl. 12. Two examples from El-Hagarsa depict the tomb owners Mery-aa and Wahi with both feet that are flat, however in these examples they stand directly on the register, rather than on a papyrus boat.
[501] A. M. Roth, *A cemetery of palace attendants: including G 2084-2099, G 2230+2231 and G 2240* (Boston, 1995), pls. 73 (a, b), p. 181.
[502] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Taf II, Band IV pls. 106 9a; Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, fig. 4.

3.	Meru's wife and daughter are both squatting with one knee raised on the papyrus boat, each with one hand in front. Each holds a lotus flower to her nose.[503]	Iyinefret	Niankhpepy[504] (Zawiyet el-Maiyitin) Setka Idu
4	The papyrus boat on which Meru stands is depicted without a wooden deck.	Iyinefert[505] Saib[506]	Niankhpepy[507] (Zawiyet el-Maiyitin) Bawi (G126)[508] at El-Hawawish,
5.	The papyrus thicket in front of the Meru is shown with widely spaced and separated papyrus stems.[509]	Itti.[510]	Niankhpepy[511] (Zawiyet el-Mayitin) Idu[512] (Dendera)
6.	The boat that Meru stands on has stylistic features such as the excessive binding, a curved stern and prow, and a thick mid-section.		*Hesi/Sesi at El-Hawawish,*

Analysis

Based on the features examined above, the fowling scene in the tomb of Meru has many similarities with the scenes from Zawiyet el-Mayitin. The tombs at Zawiyet el-Mayitin are definitely dated earlier than that of Meru especially Niankhpepy who is dated to the late reign of Pepy I. The boat that Meru stands on is also similar to those found in the scenes at El-Hawawish[513] such as those belonging to Bawi (G126) and Hesi-Min/Sesi (F1) who are dated to the reign of Pepy I. Relevant features including the shape, the curvature of the prow and stern,

[503] Several other tombs show the wife of the tomb owner holding a lotus flower to her nose. However, an identical depiction of the wife with all three features is seen in the tomb of Niankhpepy.
[504] Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, pls. 4, 9.
[505] Schürmann, *Die Reliefs Aus Dem Grab des Pyramidenvorstehers Ii-Nefret* (Karlsruher, 1983), Abb. 6, 21.
[506] Roth, *Palace Attendants*, pls. 73 (a, b), p. 181.
[507] Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, pls. 5, 9.
[508] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IX (1989), p. 31, fig. 15.
[509] This feature is usually seen at provinces.
[510] Papyrus stems are usually seen touching each other without gaps. One earlier example widely spaced papyrus stems from Giza in the scene at the tomb of Itti.
[511] Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, pls. 5, 9.
[512] W. M. F. Petrie, *Dendereh*, pp. 8, 45, pl. v.
[513] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, VI, Fig 3, VIII, fig 5, IX, fig 15; Kanawati, *Akmim*, p. 110.

and the excessive binding on the boat are similar to the above-mentioned examples from El-Hawawish.

The above analysis suggests that the tomb of Meru can be dated to an earlier time period, based on the small size of his tomb, the titles he held, the decoration in his tomb, and the artistic similarities between the tomb of Meru and those at Zawiyet el-Mayitin and El-Hawawish. This raises the possibility that the artist who decorated the tomb of Meru was influenced by the tombs of Niankhpepy and those at El-Hawawish dated to the reign of Pepy I -beginning of Pepy II. Furthermore, the tomb of Kai-hep/Tjeti (M8) at El-Hawawish dated to the reign of Mernere-early Pepy II has similar artistic features as those seen in the tomb of Meru.[514] Thus, it seems likely that Meru should be dated to the Sixth dynasty rather than the Ninth dynasty. Additionally, as the artist at Naga ed-Der appears to be influenced by tombs belonging to Meru's contemporaries, this sheds light on the stream of artistic influence springing from the provinces rather than the capital, towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty.

[514] Kanawati, *Akhmim*, p. 109.

El-Qasr wa es-Saiyad

The two nomarchs who governed the 7th province was Thauty, who was buried in tomb (T73) and his son Idu/Seneni buried in (T66).[515] Both individuals have been dated to the Sixth Dynasty[516] and held a number of titles in common, suggesting a father-son relationship. Both held priesthoods in the pyramids of Pepy I, Mernere and Pepy II, which indicates that they probably served in the capital before being sent to the provinces.[517] As such, it is highly likely they were familiar with the decoration in the tombs of important individuals in the capital and the artists who decorated them. And may have subsequently employed some celebrated artist to decorated their tombs.

Interestingly, on the south wall of Thauty's tomb is a fragmented depiction of him receiving offerings. In front of Thauty, on the lower register is an inscription that reads as follows, 'the lector priest and scribe of sacred records, Werirni'[518]. Except for his name and his title, the depiction of Werini has not been preserved. In the above-mentioned offering scene, Werirni is depicted amongst the sons of the tomb owner Thauty. Werirni's title, which is suggested to be an artistic title, [519] together with his depiction among the family members, makes it likely that he may have been the artist who decorated the tomb of Thauty and perhaps the artist who decorated the tomb of Idu.

Of the two tombs, only the tomb of Idu/Seneni has a fishing and fowling scene by the tomb owner.[520] In the tomb of Idu there are no dependants with any artistic titles that have survived nor is there an evidence of the individual named Werirni 'scribe of the sacred records'.

[515] P. Montet, *Kêmi* 6 (1936), pp. 81- 129; Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra-Dom (Qasr wa es-Saiyad*.
[516] Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 288 [83], 295 [562]; Kanawati, *Egyptian administration in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 48-49, 60.
[517] Brunner, *Felsgräber*, pp. 46-47.
[518] Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra-Dom (Qasr wa es-Saiyad),* p. 43.
[519] Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, p. 154.
[520] Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra-Dom (Qasr wa es-Saiyad),* pls. 7-8,52-53.

Tomb of Idu/Seneni (T66)

On the northern part of the east wall Idu is seen fishing and on the southern end he is depicted fowling with a throw stick.[521] The arrangement of the scenes flanking the entrance on the inside of the chapel is similar to those found in the tomb of Ibi and Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi and Pepyankh the middle at Meir. [522] The style of the decoration is of a high quality, the rendering of the head of the tomb owner in the fishing and fowling scene does not show the crudeness expected of 'provincial art'. The scenes are very similar to contemporary tombs at Saqqara, for example those of Mereruka, Kagemni, Khentika.[523]

Artistic similarities

On comparing the fishing and fowling scenes found in the tomb of Idu to those found in the tombs at the capital, a number of similar features suggest that the artist who decorated the tomb of Idu was influenced by the scenes in those tombs belonging to important officials, particularly viziers.

[521] Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old kingdom cemetery at Hamra Dom (El-Qasr wa es-Saiyad)*, p. 30, pls. 7, 8, 52, 53.
[522] Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 199-200; Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra-Dom (Qasr wa es-Saiyad)* pl. 7, 8, 52, 53.
[523] Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra-Dom (Qasr wa es-Saiyad)*, p.31.

No.	**Significant Features** [524] (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 9.1-9.12)		
	TOMB OF IDU	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	**Provinces**
1.	The fishing and fowling scene appears as a composite scene, where the figures of the tomb owner are opposite each other, and flank the internal entrance inside the chapel. This type of arrangement was mostly common in Saqqara and was standardized in elite tombs in the mid Fifth Dynasty.[525]		Ibi,[526] Pepyankh the Middle [527]Djau.[528]
2.	The depiction of an aggressive hippopotamus attacking a crocodile in a fowling scene. This depiction is mostly seen in Saqqara tombs dating from the Sixth Dynasty. [529]	Kagemni[530], Mereruka,[531]	Pepyankh the Middle[532]
3.	Idu holds the spear at a 6° angle which appears almost horizontal across his body.	Hesi r/u Seshemnefer,[533]	Ibi[534]
4.	The shape of Idu's eye is distinctively large almost disproportionate to his face.	Nefer & Ka-hay [535]	Tjeti-iker [536] & Shepsipumin[537] (El-Hawawish)
5.	The fowling scene depicts the wife of the tomb owner in the prow of the boat with	Irenkaptah,[539] Mereruka,[540] Hesi r/u by	

[524] Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra-Dom (Qasr wa es-Saiyad),* pls. 7, 8 52, 53.
[525] Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 199-200.
[526] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pp. 12-14, pl. III, IV, V, VI; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pp. 27-32, pls. 7,9, 10, 46-47, 67-68.
[527] Blackman, *Meir,* pls. VII, XVII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pls. 80, 81.
[528] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pp. 1-13, pls. I-XV; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* III, pls.4 (b), 5 (a), 5(b), 6 (a), 57, 58, 69-70.
[529] Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 258.
[530] von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* I, Taf. IV; Firth & Gunn, *Teti Cemeteries*, 115 [9], II, pls. 9, 52.
[531] Duell, *Mereruka,* pls. 10, 11, 12, 13; Kanawati, *Mereruka,* III:1, pls. 16, 69, 70.
[532] Blackman, *Meir,* V, pl. XXVIII, LX; Kanawati & Evans, *Meir*, II, pls. 41, 88.
[533] N. Kanawati & M. Abder-Raziq, *The Tomb of Hesi* (Warminster, 1999), pls. 11, 12, 14, 53.
[534] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pp. 12-14, pl. III, IV, V, VI; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pp. 27-32, pls. 7,9, 10, 46-47, 67-68.
[535] Moussa & Altenmüller, The *tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*, (Mainz/ Rhein, 1971), pl. 2.
[536] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* I (1980), pp. 19-20, pl. 5, fig. 8.
[537] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* II (1981), pp. 19-21, pl. 1, fig. 1
[539] Moussa & Junge, *Two tombs of craftsmen*, pl. 12.
[540] Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 10,11,12,13; Kanawati, *Mereruka*, part III: 1, pls.15 (b), 69.

	her head turned backwards looking at the tomb owner[538]	Seshemnefer,[541] Seankhuiptah[542]	
6.	There are three lotus buds depicted in the papyrus thicket, which are leaning/bending, these are identically depicted in both tombs, and are positioned in the same spot.	Seankhuiptah[543]	

Analysis

It seems that the artist who decorated the tomb of Idu was inspired by some very prominent tombs. Some of the tombs that inspired the decoration in the tomb of Idu belong to Mereruka, Kagemni, Seankhuiptah and Ibi these date to the Sixth Dynasty. The tomb of Idu has many similarities particularly to the tomb of Seankhuiptah from the Teti Cemetery at Saqqara who is dated to the reign of Teti.[544] In addition to the artistic similarities between the scenes in the tombs, both individuals held similar titles. These included Seankhuiptah's title 'priest of the pyramid: One steadfast of places is Teti' and 'attendant of the pyramid: One steadfast of places is Teti'. Similarly, Idu held the title 'inspector of the priests of the pyramid Me-nefer-Pepi, Kha-nefer Merenre, and Men-ankh-Neferkare'.[545] Based on the fact that both held priesthoods in the pyramids, Seankhuitptah in the pyramid of Teti and Idu in the pyramids of Pepy I, Mernere and Pepy II and the similarities in the minor artistic details in the fishing and fowling scenes, it is likely that Idu may have looked to his counterpart who served in the capital for inspiration.

Additionally, it is also interesting to note the similarities between the tombs at Qasr es-Saiyad and those found in other provinces. Kanawati notes the architectural similarity between the tomb of Thauty and Kaihep/Tjeti at El-Hawawish.[546] Such features make it likely that the provincial governors also looked to the other provinces perhaps for influences or to be different

[538]This feature is unattested in any other provincial tomb additionally it can be seen in the royal mortuary temple of Sahure.
[541] N. Kanawati & M. Abder-Raziq, *The Tomb of Hesi* (Warminster, 1999), pls. 16, 53.
[542] Kanawati, N., & Abder-Raziq,M, *(et al.) The Teti cemetery at Saqqara: The tombs of Neferseshemre and Seankhuiptah*, Vol III, (Warminster, 1998), pls. 69, 76.
[543] Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, *The Teti cemetery at Saqqara* III, pl. 69, 76.
[544] Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, *The Teti cemetery at Saqqara* III, p. 41.
[545] Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra-Dom (Qasr wa es-Saiyad),* p. 28.
[546] Kanawati, *Akhmim,* p. 117.

in their own creations. As previously mentioned marsh scenes were copied by the elite from the originals in the royal mortuary temples of earlier kings. The feature of the wife of the tomb owner standing in front of her husband, with her head turned back toward him while pointing forward is similar to the royal original found in the mortuary temple of Sahure, it is also unattested in any other provincial tombs thus far. Thus, indicating that artistic motifs and scene details were taken over by the Memphite elite from royal tradition, which were in turn taken over by the provincial elite.

Dendera

The cemetery at Dendera was used by the officials who governed the 6th nome, its main periods of activity is from the Sixth to the Twelfth Dynasty.[547] The only tomb with a fishing scene belongs to Idu I.[548] Based on the style, content, reliefs, paintings and inscriptions, Fischer states that Idu's tomb was inscribed and decorated as early as the reign of Pepy II.[549] Idu I held some important titles including 'overseer of Upper Egypt' and 'ruler of the funerary estate of the Pyramid of Neferkare- Pepy II'.[550] Idu I may have been a contemporary of Thauty and Idu who are also dated to the reign of Pepy II and who were also associated with the pyramids of Merenre and the two Pepy's.[551] Fischer suggests that there may have been a kinship between Thauty of Qasr es-Saiyad and Idu I of Dendera.[552]

There are no known dependants with any scribal or artistic titles depicted in the surviving parts of the tomb of Idu I. However, if Idu I of Dendera was related to Thauty of Qasr es-Sayiyad, it is possible that they may have used the same artists at both provinces A comparative analysis of the fishing scene from Idu's tomb to others from the provinces and the capital may point towards the sources of inspiration that were used by the artist who decorated the tomb of Idu I.

Artistic Similarities

The following table lists the significant features of the fishing scene in the tomb of Idu I and compares them with earlier or contemporary tombs from both capital and provinces in order to identify other tombs with similar details.

[547] Petrie, *Dendereh*, p. II.
[548] Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. V.
[549] Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 93.
[550] Jones, *Index*, p. 679 [2486].
[551] Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 97.
[552] Ibid.,

No.	**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 11.1-11.10)		
	TOMB OF IDU I [553]	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	**Provinces**
1.	The spear fishing depiction is facing left, instead of facing right.[554]	Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep,[555] Mereri,[556] Mehu[557]	Pepyankh the Black(Meir)[558]
2.	Idu holds a spear with both hands and in his right hand holds a coil or a retrieving line.	_____	Ankhtifi (Moalla)[559] Setka (Aswan)[560]
3.	Idu's wife is seen squatting on the papyrus boat in between his legs with one knee raised.	Iyinefret[561]	Niankhpepy (Zawiyet el-Mayitin),[562] Meru (Naga ed Der)[563]
4.	The papyrus thicket in front of Idu is shown with separated and widely spread out stems.	Itti (Giza)	Shedu (Deshasha),[564] Niankhpepy (Zawiyet el-Mayitin)[565]
5.	Above the papyrus thicket, lotus buds and leaves are inserted amongst the flying birds.	Seankhuiptah[566](Saqqara),	Kaihep/Tjeti-ikr (Meir),[567]
6.	The angle of the spear held by Idu measures 6 - 8°.		Pepyankh the Black[568]
7.	The angle of the stern of the boat is sharply pointing upwards.		Pepyankh the Black[569]

[553] Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. V.
[554]The tomb owners were usually depicted facing right in spear fishing scenes.
[555] Moussa & Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, Taf. 74.
[556] W. V. Davies, Saqqâra *I: The mastabas of Mereri and Wernu* (London, 1984), pls. 5, 8 (B)
[557] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[558] Blackman, *Meir,* V, pl. XXIV, LVII; Kanawati & Evans, *Meir*, II, pls. 34, 84.
[559] J .Vandier, *Moçalla : la tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep*, (Le Caire, 1950), pl.XIV, XL.
[560] Edel, *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: III. Abteilung.* Taf LXXII.
[561] Schürmann, *Ii-Nefret*, Abb. 6, 21.
[562] Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, pls. v, ix (B,C).
[563] Peck, *Some decorated tombs of the First intermediate period at Naga-ed-Der*, pl. XV.
[564] Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. xxii; Kanawati & McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pls. 16 [b], 48.
[565] Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, pls. v, ix (B, C).
[566] Kanawati, & Abder-Raziq,*The Teti cemetery at Saqqara: The tombs of Neferseshemre and Seankhuiptah*, Vol III, pls. 69, 76.
[567] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, I, pl.5, fig. 8.
[568] Blackman, *Meir,* V, pl. XXIV, LVII; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir,* II, pls. 34, 84,
[569] Blackman, *Meir*, V, pl. XXIV, XXVIII, LVII, LX; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir*, II, pls. 34, 41, 84, 88.

8.	The presence of a seat or some other form of equipment on the stern of the boat.		Pepyankh the Black[570]
9.	The binding of the boat is irregular and becomes narrower at the prow and stern of the boat.		Pepyankh the Black[571]

Analysis

As tabulated above, the details found in the spear fishing scene in the tomb of Idu I are similarly found mostly in provincial tombs dating to the reign of Pepy II. Features such as the angle of the spear, the irregular binding of the boat and the presence of equipment, perhaps a seat or food as seen on the boat are identical with the tomb of Pepyankh the Black.[572] Additionally, similarities are also found with the tomb of Meru at Naga ed Der and Idu at Qasr es Sayad. The close proximity of these provinces may have been an influencing factor in the features being copied. Furthermore, if there is a familial connection between Thauty of Qasr- es Sayyad and Idu I of Dendera it may be possible that the same artists travelled between provinces, decorating tombs of close family members. It is also possible that these artists were looking to the superior tombs in the middle provinces such as Meir, El-Hawawish and Deir el-Gebrawi for inspiration rather than the capital as seems to be the case towards the end of the Old Kingdom.

[570] Blackman, *Meir,* V, pl. XXIV, XXVIII, LVII, LX; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir,* II, pls. 34, 41, 84, 88.
[571] Ibid.,
[572] Ibid.,

El-Khokha

The three Old Kingdom tombs found in the 4th provincial nome of Upper Egypt in the cemetery of El-Khokha[573] belong to Unis-ankh, Khenty and Ihy these tombs have been studied by Saleh. He dated Unis-ankh to the end of the Fifth Dynasty or the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.[574] Unis-ankh was followed by Ihy and Khenty who are dated to the Sixth Dynasty. [575] Saleh states that Ihy was the father of Khenty based on the fact that a son named Khenty is depicted in the tomb of Ihy.[576] However Kanawati has reversed the order and states that Khenty was probably the father of Ihy and notes the architectural similarities of the former to Kai-hep/Tjeti (M8) of El-Hawawish.[577] He further states that Ihy and Khenty may have been contemporaries of Kai-hep/Tjeti (M8) and Kheni-ankhu (H15) of El-Hawawish.[578] It is evident that there is a kinship between Ihy and Khenty, based on the fact that their tombs were built close to each other, the presence of the name Khenty in the tomb of Ihy, and the similar titles and responsibilities that they held.

The tomb of Ihy most likely contains a fishing scene by the tomb owner[579] while the tomb of Khenty has a fowling scene.[580] Both scenes are badly damaged and only the fowling scene in Khenty's tomb can be used for a comparative analysis.

[573]P. E. Newberry, "A sixth Dynasty tomb at Thebes", *ASAE* IV, (1903), pp. 97-100, pls. I-III.
[574] Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom tombs at Thebes*, pp. 12-17, 27.
[575] Saleh, *Three old kingdom tombs at Thebes*, p. 27.
[576] Saleh, *Three old kingdom tombs at Thebes*, p. 27; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, pp. 132-136.
[577] Saleh, *Three old kingdom tombs at Thebes,* pl 7; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, III, fig, 1.
[578] Kanawati, *Akhmim*, pp. 114-115.
[579] On the northern wall of his tomb is a fragmented scene of a man who is standing, possibly on a boat, with his arm raised, possibly holding a spear or a throw stick. The tomb owner is depicted wearing a short kilt or wrap and a necklace. Behind the tomb owner is a boy standing on a separate register, holding a spare spear in his hand. This detail of a boy holding spare spears behind the tomb owner usually appears in spear fishing scenes, therefore it is possible that this was a spear fishing scene although no other details such as the presence of fish, a papyrus thicket or a mound of water have survived to confirm this.
[580] Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, pp. 20-1, fig. 46, pl. 12.

Tomb of Ihy

The tomb of Ihy is situated on the north-east part of the Khokha-hill and is next to the tomb of Khenty. The two tombs share the same court and lead into each other. Scholars have dated both Khenty and Ihy to the Sixth Dynasty but some such as Brunner, Scharff, Fischer and Landstrom have assumed a late Sixth Dynasty date for Ihy.[581] He held a number of titles including 'great overlord of the nome', 'the one who is privy to the secret of every word brought to the nome' and 'the one who is favourite of the king and tenant of his two banks', suggesting that he was an important official, who was possibly in the capital before coming to Thebes.

Tomb of Khenty

The tomb of Khenty is situated on the Khokha hill and is dated to the Sixth Dynasty.[582] The titles held by Khenty are 'chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt' 'great overlord of the nome' and 'the one who is privy to the secret of every word that is brought to the nome'.[583] These titles can suggest that like most provincial officials he may have started his career at the capital before being sent to the provinces. There are no names of dependants with any scribal or artistic titles that have survived in the tomb.

[581] Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom tombs at Thebes*, p. 26.
[582] Saleh, *Three Old kingdom tombs at* Thebes, pp. 22, 27 (Details that support this date are the beds being made by male attendants, the scene with the small figure offering his master a jar of drink, the domestic scenes, handicrafts and slaughtering scenes, the types of vases and vessels, and the styles of hair and dress)
[583] Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom tombs at Thebes,* p. 18.

Artistic similarities

On the northern wall is a fairly damaged depiction of the tomb owner fowling. He stands on a boat, accompanied by his son who stands on a register behind him, imitating the stance of his father. He is also accompanied by his daughter who stands in front of him.[584]

The following table lists the significant features of the fowling scene in the tomb of Khenty and compares them with the earlier or contemporary tombs from both the capital and the province in order to establish if there were one or more tombs with similar details.

No.	**Significant Features** (the numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 12.1-12.4)		
	TOMB OF KHENTY[585]	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	**Provinces**
1.	The tomb owner holds 2 decoy birds in his hands, they are of different species and one is clearly a Hoopoe because of a crest on its head.[586]	Hesi r/u Seshemnefer[587] and Meru/Teti-seneb[588] [Saqqara]	
2	Both of Khenty's feet are flat on the boat, as opposed to the back foot normally being raised in a fowling scene, his son who is also fowling in the same scene is depicted with both flat feet. [589]		Meru[590] (Naga ed der)
3.	The tomb owner's son is an active participant, he stands behind the tomb owner in the same position as his father, he holds a throw stick	_____	

[584] Saleh, *Three Old kingdom tombs at* Thebes, fig. 46, pl. 12.
[585] Ibid.,
[586] This feature is unattested in any other upper Egyptian province, it was mostly seen in elite tombs at Saqqara.
[587] N. Kanawati & M. Abder-Raziq, *The Tomb of Hesi* (Warminster, 1999), pls. 16, 53.
[588] Lloyd et al, *Saqqâra Tombs* II (1990), pp. 10-11, pl. 6
[589] This detail is usually represented in papyrus pulling scenes however is also found in two examples from the provinces. One here at Thebes and the other at Naga ed-der.
[590] Peck, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, pl. XV.

	behind his head and a spare throw stick in his other hand[591]	

Analysis

Due to the poor condition of the spear fishing and fowling scenes found in both Old Kingdom tombs at Thebes, it is hard to find conclusive sources of inspirations in the decoration of these tombs. The themes depicted in the tombs appear to be typical of Old Kingdom art. The only features that can be commented on are the fact that Khenty is seen holding a *Hoopoe* as a decoy bird, which is rare, the detail of the crest on top of the bird's head may suggest a skilled artist who was equipped to create such detail. The other rare feature is the depiction of the Khenty's son who is also seen fowling, for this type of depiction is unattested elsewhere.

[591] Sons are often depicted in spear fishing and fowling scene imitating their father's posture however they are mainly depicted in front of or beside the tomb owner. This detail is unattested in any other tomb either in the capital or the provinces yet discovered.

Moalla

Whether Moalla[592] is considered to have had a residing nomarch during the latter years of the Sixth Dynasty, depends on the dating accepted for Ankhtifi and his father, Hetep. Ankhtifi is dated by various scholars between the Eighth and the Ninth Dynasty.[593] Others including Kanawati date him to late Sixth dynasty or the beginning of the Eighth Dynasty.[594] The addition of the epithet *ikr* after Ankhtifi's name is more characteristic of the late Sixth Dynasty, for example as seen in the tomb of Tjeti-Ikr (Akhmin), Inkhrt-ikr (Naga ed Der), Tjeti-ikr (Gohaina), who are dated to the latter part of the Sixth Dynasty, which could suggest a late Sixth Dynasty date. If so, Ankhtifi may have been appointed at the end of the dynasty when he also appears for the first time at Aswan.[595] The tomb of the nomarch Ankhtifi contains a spear fishing and fowling scene.[596] According to the inscriptions found in his tomb, Ankhtifi refers to the situation in the nomes 2-5, his command by the crown to take control in Edfu, his involvement at the battle at Thebes, and his administrative, militaristic and economic victories.[597] There are no known dependants with any scribal or artistic title depicted in the tomb of Ankhtifi. It is generally held that towards the end of the Old kingdom due to political and climatic conditions the central Memphite administration was losing its control over Upper Egypt. This may have entailed a loss of to artistic influence and skilled artists from the capital.

[592] J. Vandier, *Moçalla: la tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep*, (Le Caire, 1950); D. Spanel, "The Date of Ankhtifi of Moalla", in *GM* 78 (1984), pp. 87-94.
[593] Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, pp. 30-41.
[594] von Beckerath, The Date of the End of the Old Kingdom of Egypt in: *JNES* 21 147; Martin Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches*, 207; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in the Old Kingdom Egypt*, p. 105.
[595] Kanawati, *Akhmim*, p. 157.
[596] Vandier, *Moalla*, pp. 129-143, pls. XIII, XIV, XL.
[597] Vandier, *Moalla*, inscription 2- 163, inscription no 5- 186, inscription no 7- 202; Kanawati, *Akhmim*, p. 158.

Artistic similarities

The decoration in the tomb of Ankhtifi is badly damaged, however from what is available, it appears that the artists at Moalla used the standard representations that were popular in Memphis. Features such as the depiction of the tomb owner standing on a papyrus boat, with a spear or a throw stick, a water band beneath the boat and a papyrus thicket were some of the standardized features that appeared in most scenes. Some features and representations are unique in character and style, and can be compared to those similarly found in scenes at Aswan and Thebes. [598] Although the spear fishing scene contains some unusual features which will be discussed below, it is a remarkable depiction, with some colourful intricate details. For example, the artist has painted the fish with elaborate details from which they can be clearly identified.

The following table will list the significant features found in the fishing and fowling scene in the tomb of Ankhtifi and will list other tombs where a similar feature is depicted.

No.	**Significant Features** (the numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 13.1-13.23)		
	TOMB OF ANKHTIFI [599]	**OTHER TOMBS**	
		Capital	**Provinces**
1.	The tomb owner holds the spear at a sharp angle between 23° and 32° in a spear fishing scene.	Niankhkhnum Khnumhotep[600]	Hesi-Min[601](El-Hawawish), Henqu II[602] (Deir el-Gebrawi), Mery-aa,[603] Wahi[604] (El-Hagarsa)

[598] Vandier, *Moçalla*, p. 45.
[599] Vandier, *Moçalla*, pls. XIV, XL.
[600] Moussa & Altenmüller,*Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, Taf. 4, Abb. 5.
[601] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, IV, pp. 19-21, pl. 2, 12, 13.
[602] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pl.XXIII; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 26(a), 54-55.
[603] Petrie, *Athribis*, pp. 3, 16, pl. vii; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, p. 38, pls. 14, 15 [upper], 42, 44-5.
[604] Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III (1995), pp. 17-18, pls. 5 [b], 6, 28-30.

2.	The tomb owner holds a spear and a retrieving line in a spear fishing scene.[605]		Idu I (Dendera)[606], Setka (Aswan)[607]
3.	Due to the angle of the spear held by Ankhtifi, the fish appear to be pierced in the middle of its body.[608]	Niankhkhnum Khnumhotep,[609] Hermeru, Shepsipumin [610] (G97)	Henqu II[611] (Deir el-Gebrawi), Bawi[612], Sabni II[613], Setka[614]
4.	The stern and prow of the papyrus boat project sharply upwards from the waterline, and has excessive binding[615]		Meru[616] (Naga ed- Dêr), Khunes[617] (Aswan), Sabni II[618] (Aswan),
5.	Both boats in the fishing and fowling scene do not have a wooden plank[619]	Iyinefret[620]	Khunes [621](Zawiyet el Maiyitin), Khewenwekh,[622] Niankhpepy,[623] Bawi[624], Meru[625] (Naga), Djau[626] (Deir el-Gebrawi), Shepsipumin/Kheni,[627] Khunes,[628] Sabni II[629] (Aswan)

[605] This is an unusual feature seen only in one other example in the tomb of Idu I at Dendera.
[606] Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl, V.
[607] Edel, *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: III. Abteilung.* Taf LXXII.
[608] Vandier, *Moçalla*, pls. XIV, XL.
[609] Moussa & Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, Taf. 4, Abb. 5.
[610] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*VIII (1988), p. 15, fig. 5.
[611] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pl.XXIII; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pls. 26(a), 54-55.
[612] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IX (1989), p. 31, fig. 15.
[613] Edel, E., *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p 752, Abb. 13-15, Taf. XLIII.
[614] Edel, *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: III. Abteilung.* Taf LXXII.
[615] Vandier, *Moçalla*, pl. XIII.
[616] Peck, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, pl. XV.
[617] Edel, *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p. 544, 561 Abb. 9,10, 28, Taf XXI, XXIV.
[618] Edel, E., *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p 752, Abb. 13-15, Taf. XLIII.
[619] Vandier, *Moçalla*, pls. XIII, XIV, XL.
[620] Schürmann, *Ii-Nefret*, Abb. 6, 21.
[621] Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II. 105-109; Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, figs. 2-9.
[622] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 1,13, 37-38.
[623] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 1,13, 37-38.
[624] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IX (1989), p. 31, fig. 15.
[625] Peck, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, pl. XV.
[626] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pls. V; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, III, pls. 4, 57, 69.
[627] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* II (1981), pp. 19-21, pl. 1, fig. 1
[628] Edel, *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p. 544, 561 Abb. 9,10, 28, Taf XXI, XXIV.
[629] Edel, E., *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p 752, Abb. 13-15, Taf. XLIII.

6.	The absence of a horizontal strip of water beneath the boat in a spear fishing scene	Niankhkhnum Khnumhotep,[630] Neferirtenef.[631]	Niankhpepy,[632] Khunes (Aswan)[633]

Analysis

A noticeable detail from the table above in that there seems to be a few similarities between the features found in the tomb of Ankhtifi and primarily those tombs belonging to high officials from Deir el-Gebrawi, particularly to that of Henqu II. As is evidenced by the equivalent angle of the spear, the absence of a wooden board on the papyrus boat, which was used for better footing, the presence of a papyrus thicket in the fowling scene and the absence of the same in the fishing scene indicate a possible influence from Deir el-Gebrawi. Additionally, this link may also point to a date in the late Sixth Dynasty or the beginning of the Eighth Dynasty.

There are evident similarities between Setka of Aswan and Ankhtifi making it likely that one may have influenced the other. As previously mentioned, the residency of nomarchs in the south, particularly at Aswan and Moallla may have occurred at the same time, which would make the influence or transference of ideas high. Artistic similarities in the scenes include the sash around the body, the identical kilt worn by the tomb owners, the spear and the retrieving line held by the tomb owner, the squatting posture of the tomb owner's female relative between his legs, the large fish beneath the boat in the fowling scene, the presence of the horizontal strip of water in the fowling scene and the lack of the same feature in the fishing scene. Thus, suggesting that these tombs either had the same artists or were influenced by each other.

[630] Moussa & Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, Taf. 4, Abb. 5.
[631] Walle, *Nefertrtenef*, pl.1.
[632] Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pl. IX.
[633] Edel, *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p. 544, 561 Abb. 9,10, 28, Taf XXI, XXIV.

Qubbet el-Hawa

The officials of Aswan, the 1st nome of Upper Egypt, used the peak of Qubbet el-Hawa, to build their rock-cut tombs. Aswan possibly prospered through trade during the reigns of Merenre and Pepy II.[634] Smith states that the caravan leaders of the south were better known for their historical inscriptions rather than the meagre decoration of their tombs which have been dated to the Sixth Dynasty. He further states that even though the style of the scenes are based on Memphite origins, they appear to be from a time later than the actual date of the tombs.[635] A clear attempt to carry on the artistic Memphite tradition was evident especially in tombs and stelae of the late Sixth Dynasty.[636] At Aswan the four tombs with spear fishing and fowling scenes are in the tombs of Sabni I (QH 26), Khunes (QH 34h), Sabni II (QH 35e) and Setka (QH 110).[637]

Like Djau/Shemai and Djau from Deir el-Gebrawi, Sabni I shared a tomb with his father Mekhu. It was originally built for his father, which was then expanded to incorporate space for Sabni I as well.[638] Some of the titles held by Khunes were 'lector priest', 'sole companion' and he was described as 'honoured one before the great god'.[639] Both Sabni II and Sabni I held the designation of 'confidant of the king in the south', which emphasises their presence in the south and a close connection with the capital.[640] The titles of Setka include: 'prince and governor,

[634] W. B. Emery, *Egypt in Nubia* (London, 1965), pp. 139-155.
[635] Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 226.
[636] D. Mostafa, "Glimpses on tombs and funerary equipment from Provincial sites in Middle and Upper Egypt in the First Intermediate Period", Proceedings *of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists Actes du Neuvième Congrès International des Égyptologues*, Vol II, (Belgium, 2007), p. 1327.
[637] E. Edel, *Die FelsgräBernekropole Der Qubbet El-Hawa, Bei Assuan: I. Abteilun*, (eds.). K.J. Seyfried & G. Vieler (Parderborn, 2008).
[638] D. Vischak, *Locality and Community in Old Kingdom Provincial Tombs: The Cemetery at Qubbet El Hawa*. (ed.) David O'Connor (New York, 2006) p. 74.
[639] D. Vischak, *Locality and Community in Old Kingdom Provincial Tombs: The Cemetery at Qubbet El Hawa* p. 336.
[640] D. Vischack, *Community and Identity in Ancient Egypt: The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Qubbet El-Hawa* (New York, 2014) p. 29.

inspector of the priests of the pyramid of Pepy II and overseer of the foreign lands'.[641] With the titles including the name of Pepy II, the tombs at Aswan may well belong to the Sixth Dynasty.

Artistic similarities

The tombs indicate that the owners generally had the wealth to build large tombs but lacked the skilled artists to decorate them.[642] The fishing and fowling scene in the tomb of Sabni 1 is related to the larger relief version on the east wall of Khunes' tomb, based upon the nearly identical shape and proportions of the tomb owner and compositional elements including the location of family members.[643]

The following table lists the significant features found in fishing and fowling scenes from the above-mentioned tombs at Aswan and lists the comparative tombs where similar scenes are found.

[641] M. R. Jenkins, "Tomb of Setka at Qubbet el-Hawa: *BACE* 11, (2000) p. 68.
[642]Sinclair, "The Development and Decline of Provincial Rule from the Old to the Middle Kingdom: An Analysis of the Tombs and Titles of the Senior Officials of Upper Egypt", PhD thesis, Macquarie University (Sydney, 2013) p. 49.
[643] Vischak, *Community and identity in ancient,* p. 66.

No.		**Significant Features** (The numbers correspond to the features highlighted on the illustrations in Vol II, figs 14.1-14.28)					
		SABNI I[644]	**KHUNES**[645]	**SABNI II**[646]	**SETKA**	**OTHER TOMBS**	
						Capital	**Provinces**
1.	The tomb owner is seen in a fishing and fowling scene striding on the papyrus boat with both feet raised.[647]		X	X			
2.	The wings of the decoy birds are not extended and flapping.[648]		X		X	Kayemnofret,[649] Iynefert/Shanaf,[650] Remni[651]	
3.	Two tilapia's caught on the end of the tomb owner's spear. [652]		X			Niankhkhnum Khnumhotep,[653]	
4.	The barbs on the end of the spear protrude through the head/body of the fish.	X				Niankhkhnum Khnumhotep,[654]	Khewenwekh/ Tjeti,[655] Ibi,[656] Djau[657]

[644] E. Edel, *Die FelsgräBernekropole Der Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* (eds.) K. J. Seyfried & G. Vieler Paderborn, 2008) p. 66, Abb. 36, Taf. XIV.
[645]Edel, *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p. 544, 561 Abb. 9,10, 28, Taf XXI, XXIV.
[646] Edel, E., *Qubbet El-Hawa Bei Assuan: I. Abteilung.* p 752, Abb. 13-15, Taf. XLIII.
[647] This feature is unattested anywhere else in the capital or the provinces.
[648] This feature is unattested in any other province other than at Qubbet el Hawa.
[649] Simpson, *Kayemnofret,* figs. 4-5, pls. 2 [a], 3, 4, 6 [a], pl. A.
[650] Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, *The Tombs of Iynefert and Ihy (reused by Idut),* pls. 7, 37 [b].
[651] Kanawati, *The Teti cemetery at Saqqara: the tomb of Remni,* IX, pl. 47
[652] This feature is unattested any other provincial tomb.
[653] Moussa & Altenmüller,*Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep,* Taf. 4, Abb. 5.
[654] Ibid.,
[655] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna,* pls. 1,13, 37-38.
[656] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi,* I, pl. III; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi,* II, pls. 7,9, 10, 46, 67.
[657] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi,* II, pls. V; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi,* III, pls. 4, 57, 69.

5.	The tomb owner's wife/daughter and or sister are shown squatting on the papyrus boat with one knee raised.				X	Iyinefret[658]	Niankhpepy,[659] Ibi[660]
6.	The papyrus boat is shown without a wooden board.		X	X	X	Iyinefret[661]	Khunes (Zawiyet el-Maiytin)[662], Khewenwekh[663] Niankhpepy,[664] Bawi,[665] Djau,[666] Shepsipumin[667]
7.	A pile of equipment or food shown on the stern of the papyrus boat in fowling scenes including a headrest.	X	X			Irenkaptah[668] Metheti[669] Hesi,[670] Inumin,[671] Merefnebef,[672] Mehu,[673] Nekhbu.[674]	Pepyankh the middle,[675] Pepyankh the black,[676] Pepaynkh the black.[677]
8.	The composition of water is broken up with vegetation – papyrus	X		X		Mehu[678]	Shedu,[679] Ibi,[680] Djau.[681]

[658] Schürmann, *Ii-Nefret*, Abb. 6, 21. Only example from the capital.
[659] Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pl. IX.
[660] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pp. 12-14, pl. III, IV, V, VI; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, p. 27-32, pls. 7,9, 10, 46-47, 67-68.
[661] Schürmann, *Ii-Nefret*, Abb. 6, 21.
[662] Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II. 106 [a]; Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, p. 12, fig. 4.
[663] El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 1,13, 37-38.
[664] Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pl. IX.
[665] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* IX (1989), p. 31, fig. 15.
[666] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pls. V; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, III, pls. 4, 57, 69.
[667] Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* II (1981), pp. 19-21, pl. 1, fig. 1
[668] Moussa-Junge, *Two tombs*, pl. 12.
[669] Kaplony, *Methethi*, Nr. 1, 1 [a].
[670] Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, *The Tomb of Hesi* (Warminster, 1999), pls.17, 19, 54
[671] N. Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara: The tomb of Inumin*, Vol VIII (Oxford, 2006), pl. 44.
[672] K. Mysliwiec, *The Tomb of Merefnebef* (Varsovie, 2004), pls. xxi, lxiii, lxv.
[673] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[674] Smith, in *Bull. Boston Musuem* lvi [304], fig. 2
[675] Blackman, *Meir*, IV, pl. XVII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pl.81.
[676] Blackman, *Meir*, V, pl. XXIV, XXVIII, LVII, LX; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir*, II, pls. 34, 41, 84, 88.
[677] Ibid.,
[678] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[679] Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. xxii; Kanawati & McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pls. 16 [b], 48
[680] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, pl. III, IV, V, VI; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pls. 7,9, 10, 46-47, 67-68.
[681] Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, pls. III, V; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* III, pls.4, 57, 58, 69, 70.

	buds, lotus flowers shown in the water attached to the baseline.						Pepyankh the black[682]
9.	The hippopotamus exhibits aggressive behaviour and attacks a crocodile in the spear fishing scene.	X				Inumin,[683] Mehu[684]	Pepyankh the middle[685]

Analysis

The responsibilities of these southern nomarchs at Aswan were mainly to do with trade with the lands south of Egypt. Artistically the scenes found in their tombs still try to adhere to the Memphite traditions. On examining the artistic similarities between the tombs at Aswan and similar scenes from the capital and the provinces, it is clear that several features found at Aswan are also present in a number of tombs at the capital and the provinces. It seems likely that when the influence of royal workshops at Memphis declined, the art became provincialized.[686] This signifies that when the source of artistic inspiration declined at Memphis, prominent middle provinces, perhaps began functioning as the artistic centres for the other provinces located near the southern borders of Egypt. Accordingly, most similarities are observed in provincial tombs dating from the late Sixth Dynasty, such as Meir, El-Hawawish, and especially Deir el-Gebrawi. In addition to the artistic similarities, architecturally the tombs at Aswan have their longer axis parallel to the façade which is a feature similarly seen at Moalla and Deir el-Gebrawi.[687]

[682] Blackman, *Meir,* V, pl. XXIV, XXVIII, LVII, LX; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir*, II, pls. 34, 41, 84, 88.
[683] Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara: The tomb of Inumin,* Vol VIII, pl. 44.
[684] Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.
[685] Blackman, *Meir,* IV, pl. XVII; Kanawati, *Meir*, I, pl.81.
[686] Mostafa, *Glimpses on tombs and funerary equipment from provincial sites in Middle and Upper Egypt in the First Intermediate Period*, p. 1327.
[687] Mostafa, *Glimpses*, p. 1333.

Thus, it seems that towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty and with the decline of Memphite artistic influence. The owners of the tombs in the southern provinces were using the tombs from the middle provinces for inspiration in the decoration of their tombs.

Conclusion

In the late Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties the central administration began posting officials to the provinces. Significantly this gave them opportunities for exposure to the trends and styles in tomb decoration prevalent in the capital, which they applied to their provincial tombs. It is important to recognise that the officials in the provinces were representing the king and that they would have had access to commission skilled artists from the capital. As, previously there were no elite provincial tombs, this new development of officials building tombs in the provinces, created a niche for artists, who were originally trained and experienced in decorating elite tombs in the capital.

The present study compiled and analysed nearly 80 spear fishing and fowling scenes, both from the Memphite and provincial cemeteries dating from the Fifth to the Eight Dynasties. The first aim of this study has been to identify Memphite influences on provincial art. This was achieved through a detailed comparative analysis of the minor features in the scenes, focussing on details such as the posture of the tomb owner, the position of the minor figures, the specific flora and fauna and their layout within these scenes. As mentioned earlier, the provincial elite aspired to follow the decoration of the important officials mainly found in Giza and Saqqara. The study demonstrates that the artists who decorated provincial tombs either replicated specific details from their own prior work or were inspired by tombs that were considered to be the benchmark in terms of the standard of artistic representations such as Kagemni, Mereruka, Hesi, and Mehu.

The second aim of this study was to enquire who decorated the provincial tombs and whether these individuals held a special status in their society. It was found that the artists who originated from the capital may have held the title of *zS pr-mDAt nTr* ‘scribe of the house of sacred records’. Individuals with this title were depicted in prominent positions with the tomb owner and his family. They were particularly close to the family and often accompanied them on fishing and fowling trips, they were depicted being entertained with food and music in front

of the tomb owner. They were shown wearing the projecting kilt which designated an elite status. They were also depicted holding birds which may be in relation to their roles are artistic scribes. Some examples of these individuals are Ipi in the tomb of Kagemni, Iuhu in Khewenwekh, Kaemtejenent in Pepyankh the Middle, Rensi in Ibi, Khewi-n-ptah in Tjeti/Kaihep and an unnamed individual in the tomb of Meru. This interesting detail of scribes being depicted holding birds, requires further research in order to find their significance. These men were not depicted with any other administrative scribes suggesting that they held artistic responsibilities rather than administrative responsibilities.

A subsidiary result of this study was the progress or development of 'provincial art' that can be observed by late Sixth Dynasty. The artists and the artistic influences primarily impacted the middle provinces such as Deir el-Gebrawi, El-Hawawish and Meir at the end of the Fifth and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasties. These provinces which initially received the artistic influences in turn became the centre for the other provinces. The development of 'provincial art' may be seen in the artistic influences that the middle provinces had on the other southernly provinces towards the end of the Old Kingdom.

Although it was not the objective of this study to date the Old Kingdom tombs in the provinces, it has been noticed that most provincial tombs with rare or innovative features that tend to be pushed to the First Intermediate Period can be brought forward to the end of the Old Kingdom, when Memphite tradition was not forgotten but was scarce.

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