

THE DEPICTION OF THE TOMB OWNER IN THE OLD KINGDOM CEMETERY OF EL-HAWAWISH IN UPPER EGYPT

A documentation and analysis of the representations of tomb owners
at El-Hawawish and other provincial sites



A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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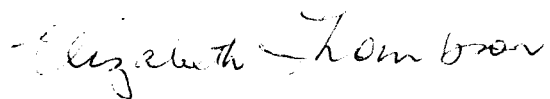
2010

DECLARATION

I certify that my thesis entitled: “The Depiction of the Tomb Owner in the Old Kingdom Cemetery of El-Hawawish in Upper Egypt: a documentation and analysis of the representations of tomb owners at El-Hawawish and other provincial sites” has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

The research within is my own work and the contribution of others is duly acknowledged where it has been used.

Dated this 5th day of May 2010.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Elizabeth Thompson". The ink is dark and the handwriting is fluid, with the first name and last name clearly distinguishable.

Elizabeth Thompson

ABSTRACT

The area chosen as the focus of the study was the Old Kingdom necropolis of El-Hawawish at Akhmim. This provincial cemetery was selected because of the large number of decorated tombs available for study within a single nome and the breadth of the dating span from the mid-Fifth to the Eighth Dynasties.

The aim of this study was to closely examine the wall scenes in which the tomb owner was the principal focus, to identify the activities in which he chose to portray himself and to make a detailed analysis of the manner in which these activities were depicted. While the primary focus was the tombs at El-Hawawish, attention was also given to comparisons with other similarly dated provincial sites and with the capital, Memphis. Five principal occupations, or activities, of the tomb owner were scrutinised and similarities and differences noted.

A number of specific questions, relating to the tomb owner's choice of his depictions were posed, such as the effect of the physical isolation of El-Hawawish from the capital, the impact of the status of the tomb owner and the importance of family relationships. Consideration was also given to the extent to which the tomb owners and/or the artists developed a distinct provincial style or incorporated features from tombs in other provinces or the capital. Finally, an attempt was made to identify specific aspects of the data which could provide reliable dating criteria. By this detailed observation, the thesis aimed to gain a greater understanding of the intention of the tomb owner in decorating his tomb and in presenting himself in his social milieu, particularly within his family setting and his province.

As a result the study of the depictions of the tomb owner and the artistic style of his chosen themes and motifs has provided an understanding of the importance placed on the tomb owner's role and status in society. Comparative analysis of the interaction between the provinces and the capital indicated areas and periods where the traditional forms of the capital were preserved while still allowing the provincial tomb owners the opportunity for individual input.

The stylistic study and analysis of the scenes was found to provide a useful method of cataloguing information and, through observing changes and developments, assist in suggesting appropriate dating criteria.

For Harry

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Titles

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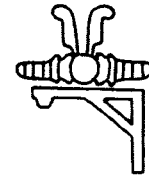
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION



1.1 Introduction to the Site

The cemetery of El-Hawawish

The necropolis of El-Hawawish, the principal cemetery of Akhmim, is found on a spur of the desert escarpment on the east bank of the Nile, approximately 450kms south of Memphis, the administrative centre of the Old Kingdom. Akhmim was the capital of the ninth Upper Egyptian nome and inscriptions in the tombs reveal that those buried there were high and middle ranking officials including viziers, governors of Upper Egypt and two senior administrative groups of officials, the Overseers of fields and serfs and the Superintendents of priests. The cemetery is the largest provincial necropolis of the Old Kingdom containing more than 880 tombs. Although the majority of these are unfinished or undecorated, 53 contain scenes and inscriptions in relief or painting forming the largest collection of decorated provincial tombs of this period and providing a valuable source of information on the administrative duties as well as the leisure activities of their owners.¹

The earliest of the officials possibly served under Neuserre or Djedkare in the Fifth Dynasty. While only a small number of tombs may be dated to this dynasty, the major tomb owners amongst them have chapel areas which are among the largest in the cemetery with complex burial passages, shafts and chambers. Their wall scenes, although often fragmentary, are of a high standard and are executed on good quality limestone or on fine white gypsum plaster. The greatest number of tombs in the cemetery have been dated to Dynasty 6, particularly to the reigns of Pepy I and Pepy II, with a smaller number considered to have been built and decorated after the end of Dynasty 6, possibly to Dynasty 8.²

¹ See **Part II: Catalogue of Tombs, Stelae and other Stone Fragments**. A small number of tombs contain inscriptions only, for example, tombs G23 and M45a, but these have been omitted since they contribute no useful information to the present study which is focussed on scene content and detail.

² The dating used in this study is that proposed by Kanawati, N.–McFarlane, A., *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom. Part I: Chronology and Administration* (Sydney, 1992).

The Tomb Owners

The 53 tombs with inscriptions mentioned above, bear witness to each tomb owner's attempt to provide as complete a record of his position within society, both at a personal and an administrative level.³ Prominent among the Fifth Dynasty titles are those of greatest/great one of the ten(s) of Upper Egypt *wr md Šm*,⁴ overseer of the King's works *jmj-r k3t nswt*,⁵ juridicial official/magistrate *z3b ʿd-mr*,⁶ overseer of the new settlements *jmj-r njwwt m3wt*,⁷ overseer of the phyles of Upper Egypt *jmj-r z3w Šm*,⁸ overseer of the great court/hall of justice *jmj-r hwt-wrt*,⁹ overseer of the *hmw-ntr* priests *jmj-r hmw-ntr*.¹⁰ In the Sixth Dynasty, two tomb owners hold the title of vizier *t3tj z3b t3tj*,¹¹ one (possibly two) are overseers of the army/expedition leaders *jmj-r-mš*¹² and six inscribe the title of nomarch *hrj-tp ʿ3*¹³ on their walls among other high positions. Three major groups of officials are seen in the Sixth Dynasty: the nomarchs, overseers of fields and serfs and superintendents of priests. A detailed study of these administrative positions has been undertaken¹⁴ and it is not the purpose of the present study to examine these in depth, except where the position and status of the tomb owner specifically conveys, or influences, his representations.

1.2 Previous Studies on El-Hawawish and Recent Studies on Artistic Style

Twenty eight tombs were visited in 1912 by Newberry who published the twenty seven inscribed chapels, giving the tomb owners' names and titles and a brief mention of the scenes and the plans of the chapels.¹⁵ Vandier published a further tomb following his visit in 1936, that of Qrrj.¹⁶ The complete recording of the cemetery was undertaken by N.

³ Tomb owners names and titles are published in Kanawati, N., *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. X, pp. 28-31, 35-41 (names); pp. 45-52 (titles).

⁴ Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*. 2 vols, (Oxford, 2000).

⁵ Jones, *Index*, I [949].

⁶ Jones, *Index*, II[2947].

⁷ Jones, *Index* I [582].

⁸ Jones, *Index* I [759].

⁹ Jones, *Index* I [628].

¹⁰ Jones, *Index* I [652].

¹¹ Jones, *Index* II [3706].

¹² Jones, *Index* I [551].

¹³ Jones, *Index* II [2382].

¹⁴ See **Appendix I: The Major Groups of El-Hawawish Officials in the Sixth Dynasty** for the list of these three groups of officials. A fuller discussion is found in Kanawati-McFarlane, *Akhmim I* (Sydney, 1992).

¹⁵ Newberry, P.E., "The Inscribed Tombs of Ekhmim", in *LAAA IV* (1912), pp. 99-120.

¹⁶ Vandier, J., "Une Tombe Inédite de la VI^e Dynastie à Akhmim", in *ASAE* 36 (1936), pp. 33-44, now given the number Q15 in the cemetery.

Kanawati between 1979 and 1992 and published in ten site reports.¹⁷ A detailed study of the administration of the province followed his reports and a chronological order for the officials buried there, was proposed.¹⁸ Further studies on the pottery and colour conventions of the Hawawish tombs were produced in 2006 by C. Hope and A. McFarlane.¹⁹ A compilation by E. Brovarski of the stele and coffins from Akhmim which are held in various collections and museums was published in 1985.²⁰ Although written before the final recording of the cemetery was completed, Brovarski proposed dates for the then-known tomb owners published by Kanawati together with the study of the stelae and coffins and a sequence for the governors of the nome using titles and palaeographic details as dating criteria. In a recent article V. G. Callender continues the paleographic studies of the Akhmim coffins and stelae, concentrating on the writing of the name of Hathor.²¹ Short references to individual scenes have been included in general works although most were written before the full publication of the cemetery. Smith, in his major work on painting and sculpture in the Old Kingdom makes only a brief comment on the Akhmim tombs based on the reports of Newberry and Vandier.²² Harpur, in her later thesis on decoration in Old Kingdom tombs,²³ only had available at the time of her publication, 1987, the first five volumes of the El-Hawawish reports. More recently, J.C. Moreno Garcia in his study of some of the senior administrators buried in the provincial centres at Elkab and El-Hawawish, notes the repetition of names and lines of succession in certain families together with their administrative duties.²⁴ At El-Hawawish these positions are primarily the Sixth Dynasty nomarchs and overseers of fields and serfs.²⁵

The tomb decoration of the Sixth Dynasty nomarch at El-Hawawish, Kai-hep/Tjeti-iqer, H26, was part of the analysis of three Old Kingdom chapels proposed to a number of eminent Egyptologists with the aim of interpreting the decorative programmes of each and

¹⁷ Kanawati, N., *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vols. I-X (Sydney, 1980-1992). In this study all El-Hawawish excavation reports will be referred to by the abbreviation, H, followed by the volume number in Roman numerals.

¹⁸ Kanawati, N.-McFarlane, A., *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom. Part I: Chronology and Administration* (Sydney, 1992)

¹⁹ Hope, Colin A.-McFarlane, A., *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom, Part II: The Pottery, Decoration Techniques and Colour Conventions* (Oxford, 2006).

²⁰ Brovarski, *Akhmim*, pp. 117-153

²¹ Callender, *Hathor*, pp. 87-95.

²² Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 218.

²³ Harpur, Y., *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content* (London, 1987).

²⁴ Moreno Garcia, *Deux familles*, pp. 95-128.

²⁵ For a discussion of the dating of the officials of El-Hawawish, see below, p. 6-9.

the results of their individual analyses were published in 2006.²⁶ Each scholar was offered the same three chapels to which they were permitted to add one more if desired. Two of the chapels were from Memphite cemeteries (Giza and Saqqara) and the third was the tomb of the El-Hawawish nomarch, Kai-hep/Tjeti-iqer, H26. The neighbouring tomb of Heni/Shepsi-pu-Minu, H24, was chosen as the extra chapel by A. Bolshakov. These studies placed emphasis on the value of the stylistic analysis of wall scenes.

Major studies have greatly added to the understanding of the art of Old Kingdom wall scenes. These have included the seminal works of Schäfer on the general principles of Egyptian art and Stevenson Smith on sculpture and painting in the Old Kingdom.²⁷ More specific studies have been undertaken by such scholars as Harpur on the development of tomb decoration, Cherpion, whose analysis and sequencing of particular features of figures and scene details assists in dating tombs, Gaballa, on the narrative quality of scenes, Weeks on the importance of awareness of context and content for a proper understanding of scenes, Robins, on her study of proportion, van Walsem on the interpretation of iconography, Vischak on community and identity, Woods on the identification and organization of scene elements as dating criteria and Hartwig on the interpretation and reflection of the tomb owner's image/identity.²⁸

Monographs and papers presented at International Conferences and in Egyptological journals have offered insightful information on particular themes, motifs and comments on the value of stylistic analysis. Edna Russmann stated at the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, that "The ultimate purpose of studying Egyptian art.... is to increase our understanding of the culture that produced it"²⁹ and this comment, together with the responses generated by it, draws attention to the study of Egyptian art as a valued and viable aspect of Egyptian history. Among the responses published following the Congress, Hourig Sourouzian stated that Egyptian art "should be considered an important factor, equal and parallel to the study of language and literature" and that in other disciplines, art history is an integral part of our knowledge of ancient cultures. Unfortunately in Egyptology, she continues, "stylistic or iconographic evidence is sometimes considered

²⁶ *Dekorierter Grabanlagen im Alten Reich: Methodik und Interpretation*, eds. M. Fitzenreiter and M. Herb, (London, 2006).

²⁷ Schäfer, *Principles*; Smith, *HESPOK*.

²⁸ Harpur, *Decoration*; Cherpion, *Mastabas*; Gaballa, *Narrative*; Weeks, *Egyptology and the Social Sciences*; Robins, *Proportion*; van Walsem, *Iconography*; Vischak, *Elephantine*; Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting*, respectively.

²⁹ Russman, *Art*, p. 26.

superficial” particularly when used as a dating mechanism.³⁰ William Kelly Simpson agrees that the “specialist in Egyptian art is generally considered a second-class citizen” compared to those who specialize in other areas such as text, history, language and religion.³¹ Nadine Cherpion in her study of the details of male and female faces and figures in reliefs, however, was able to narrow accepted dates and provide a sequence based on stylistic evidence concluding that “style thus becomes a very concrete and reliable means of dating a relief, although it must remain a supplementary criterion”.³²

In the Egyptian provinces of the Old Kingdom certain aspects of wall scenes such as the accompanying inscriptions, the rank and titles of tomb owners, palaeography and the symbolic or religious intention of the decoration have been the subject of much valuable research. Little has been done, however, in the area of stylistic analysis of wall scenes in the provinces. The present study will attempt, by concentrating on the representations of the Hawawish tomb owners, to add to, and enlarge upon, the information and comments offered by scholars particularly regarding iconography.

The breadth of the occupation of the cemetery of El-Hawawish, covering a period from the Fifth to the Eighth Dynasties, allows for a rich variety of artistic styles to be observed. Through these observations it is hoped that implications may be drawn concerning the intention of the tomb owners in decorating their burial places and for a clearer sequence of owners within the cemetery as well as the extent of influence from one to another. Such implications may be supported by the fact that a small number of these officials originally commenced their careers at the capital, Memphis, as did other provincial tomb owners. Comparisons will be made throughout the study with tomb scenes both in the capital and in other provinces to note whether, or where, these influences may be observed.

The relative isolation of the provinces and the possible lack of skilled craftsmen, particularly towards the end of the Old Kingdom, resulted in a distinctive rendering of many of the traditional themes, a point which is well known. Other aspects, such as the pride of these provincial tomb owners in their social and administrative positions (or the importance of self promotion in tomb decoration), may play an equal, if not more dominant role in the expression of the traditional themes. It is the intention of this study to explore

³⁰ Sourouzian, *Response*, pp. 39, 40.

³¹ Simpson, *Response*, p. 38

³² Cherpion, *Human Image*, p. 112.

this aspect in the Hawawish wall scenes, as well as to seek signs of influence from Memphite tombs and look for any evidence of interaction with other provincial sites.

All the available published archaeological material on El-Hawawish and other Upper Egyptian sites has formed the basis of this thesis. The results, however, draw on the writer's own observations as an epigrapher working on site for 25 years in Egypt, twelve of which have been spent in Upper Egyptian tombs.³³

1.3 Dating the Cemetery

Two tombs in the cemetery have inscriptions which give firm dates: the inscribed stone slab of *K3j-hp/Tj* (tomb M8) gives an account of his career under Pepy I and Merenre³⁴ and *Qrrj* (tomb Q15) in his tomb states that he was *shd hm-ntr hrj-tp nswt pr-ꜥ3* in the time of Meryre/Pepy I.³⁵ Connections with the capital through the inclusion of a king's name in that of a tomb owner or a member of his family are found in tomb L23 of *Ppjj-ꜥnh.ns*, *Ppjj-snb*, eldest son of *Mmj*, owner of tomb B12, and *Q3r/Ppjj-nfr* of tomb L31.³⁶ Priestly positions which refer to institutions belonging to a king are those of *Mddj* of tomb K1 who was *shd hm-ntr hwt-k3 Ppjj*, *B3wj* of tomb K5 was a possible priest of the *k3*-chapel of Pepy and *Jjj/Mrjj* owner of tomb C9 was responsible for grain used in payment in the *k3*-chapel of Pepy.³⁷ The presence of royal names incorporated in a tomb owner's name or texts which affirm that an official served under a king or in priestly service of a religious institution with a king's name may be helpful in dating a tomb owner but must be considered with other evidence. This evidence may include administrative positions and ranking systems, palaeographic details, artistic style and architectural features.

Newberry gave a general dating period of "the Sixth to the Twelfth Dynasties" for the tombs without offering reasons.³⁸ Vandier acknowledged that the inscriptions in the tomb of *Qrrj* which he recorded in 1936 state that this official served under Pepy I/Meryre but says that the style is so lacking in skill and so far removed from contemporary Memphite traditions that the representations are similar to those of the First Intermediate period.³⁹ Having made this observation, which points to the difficulties in accepting a known date

³³ See comments on the value of intimate, first-hand knowledge by Sourouzian, *Response*, pp. 40, 41.

³⁴ *H VIII*, 62, fig. 35; *H VI*, 61, fig. 31; Ziegler, *Stèles*, pp. 270-73; Moreno Garcia, *Deux Familles*, pp. 95-128.

³⁵ *H VI*, figs. 20b, c

³⁶ *H IX*, fig. 2a (L23); *H VII*, fig. 11 (B12); *H VI*, figs. 14, 15 (L31).

³⁷ *H VIII*, fig. 15 (K1); *H VIII*, fig. 19 (K5); *H VII*, fig. 7a (C9).

³⁸ *LAAA IV*, 99.

³⁹ *ASAE* 36 (1936), p. 33.

for a tomb with an unconventional provincial style of art, Vandier still states his belief that the remaining tombs date from the end of Dynasty 6 to Dynasty 12.

In his study of the stelae from Akhmim, Brovarski uses iconographic and palaeographic features to assist in dating and draws comparisons with stelae from Naga ed-Dêr, El-Qasr wa es-Sayyad, Gebelein, Dendera and Coptos. These comparisons lead him to believe that a date in the late Old Kingdom up to the Heracleopolitan period is indicated for the majority of the Hawawish tombs. The issue raises the question whether the very distinctive rendering of figures and inscriptions on stelae point to a separate school of artistic tradition independent of the artistic style of wall scenes rather than an indication of a date at the end of the Old Kingdom or later.

Family relationships, evident in the repetition of names and titles observed by Harpur and Kanawati,⁴⁰ together with the sequence of administrative positions such as the succession of nomarchs proposed by Kanawati and Brovarski, provide links between Akhmim tomb owners. Such indications of a family connection through names are observed in adjacent tombs, for example of *Ttj-jqr* (H26) and *Hnj* (H24), where the entrance doorway text of *Ttj-jqr* states that *Hnj* decorated the tomb of his father, *Ttj*.⁴¹ These tombs are also connected by a biographical inscription accompanying the figure of the artist *Snj* who claims that he decorated both tombs.⁴²

Location as well as inscriptions and titles may also link tombs. For example, the adjacent tombs of *Ttj-jqr* (H26) and *Hnj* (H24) are a little to the east of the tomb of *Nbt* (H27) and of *Hnj-ḥnw* (H15) whose tomb is slightly higher.⁴³ Their proximity, similarity in architectural features, particularly the use of pillars, the type of shafts and burial chambers, as well as the repetition of names and titles indicate a family sequence.⁴⁴

A study of architectural features of the Hawawish tombs – size, plan, types of shafts, and styles of false doors for example – provides evidence supporting a dating span for the tombs from Dynasty 5 to Dynasty 8. Reisner found that the cruciform plan of the (possible) earliest Hawawish tomb of *Mn-ḥh* (G84) occurs in Memphite tombs in the Fourth to Fifth Dynasties and that the L- and T-shaped chapels of *Mmj* (M23), *Hzzj-Mnw* (M22) and *ḥnw*

⁴⁰ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 21; Kanawati–McFarlane, *Akhmim I*, passim.

⁴¹ *H I*, p. 19, figs. 7, 19.

⁴² *H I*, p. 19, fig. 8 (H26).

⁴³ *H II*, pp. 14-17, figs. 1-3 (H24); *H I*, pp. 14-17, figs. 5, 6 (H26); *H III*, pp. 37-40, figs. 24, 25 (H27); *H IV*, pp. 32-37, figs. 22-27 (H15).

⁴⁴ Kanawati, *Akhmim I*, p. 127-130.

(M21) are usual in well-dated tombs of Giza and Saqqara from the Fourth to the early Sixth Dynasties.⁴⁵ Vertical shafts are the earliest form of access to burial chambers at Giza during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Sloping shafts are adopted in tombs of officials in the capital in mid Fifth Dynasty and are the usual form in the Sixth Dynasty. At El-Hawawish vertical shafts are present in tombs dated by a variety of criteria to the Fifth Dynasty up to the early Sixth Dynasty. Sloping passages combined with vertical shafts are found in the mid to late Fifth Dynasty tombs of the major officials, *Mmj* (M23), *Hzzj-Mnw* (M22) and *Hm-Mnw* (M43) with sloping passages becoming the main type of shaft leading directly to burial chambers in tombs dated from Merenre and early Pepy II at el-Hawawish.⁴⁶

False doors also provide indications of dating. In the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty, false doors in Memphite tombs are very large, almost square in shape with a plain frame and one or two broad jambs and wide apertures on either side of the panel with large single figures of the tomb owner or his wife featured on the jambs.⁴⁷ Similar doors are found at El-Hawawish in the tombs of *Mnw-ḥnh* (G84), *Mmj* (M23), *Hzzj-Mnw* (M22), *Dw3-Mnw* (L6) and *3-Mnw* (L8), all with suggested dates of Neuserre to late Djedkare.⁴⁸ In the second half of the Fifth Dynasty two new features appear on Memphite false doors: torus moulding surrounding the door and a curved cornice above.⁴⁹ These distinctive additions are first seen at El-Hawawish in the tombs of *Hm-Mnw* (M43) and *Mrrw* (F12) dated to Unis-early Teti.⁵⁰ These features, together with narrower and more numerous jambs, are characteristic of all Sixth Dynasty false doors in the capital and at El-Hawawish.

The dating proposed by Kanawati in his site reports and study is based on architecture, biographical inscriptions and the succession of tomb owners through names and administrative titles. The dating suggested in these publications is generally accepted in the present thesis. The results of the study of artistic style such as the present thesis, while not addressing the dating of the Hawawish tombs specifically, may, however, either confirm or suggest changes to this dating.

⁴⁵ Reisner, *Giza I*, pp. 203, 296. See also Harpur, *Decoration*, Tables 5.1-5.3.

⁴⁶ *H IV*, figs. 3 (M22); *H V*, figs. 14 (M23), 2 (M43). Thompson, *Architecture*, pp. 115-123; 200-206; Tables 13-17.

⁴⁷ Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 15ff.

⁴⁸ *H I*, fig. 2; *H V*, figs. 12, 15; *H IV*, figs. 2, 15; *H VI*, figs. 4, 5; *ibid*, figs. 7, 9.

⁴⁹ Weibach, *Scheintür*, pp. 133-5; Vandier, *Manuel II*, pp. 401-403; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 13-17, 35, 36.

⁵⁰ *H V*, fig. 2; *H IX*, fig. 2b.

1.4 Aim and Methodology

The aim of the study

In their focus on wall scenes, the archaeological reports are broadly descriptive in nature, concentrating on the major features of the tombs and the dominant themes of the scenes, rather than providing a study of the fine details. There is limited space devoted to comparisons with tombs of similar date in other provincial cemeteries or where influences from the capital may have been absorbed. The present thesis therefore, aims to contribute to this knowledge by undertaking a study of several major motifs in both the Hawawish wall scenes and those of other provincial cemeteries and, by using stylistic analysis, examine closely the details in those motifs noting similarities and changes between them.

The study will cover five occupations or activities of the Hawawish tomb owners and the contexts in which these appear in tomb wall scenes and on stelae. This investigation will concentrate on the themes in which the tomb owner is the focus, especially on the features and details of his figure and the manner of rendering these features.

From the general nature of the proposed aims given above, certain questions present themselves:

- How does the provincial context of the Hawawish cemetery influence the decorative programme of the tombs?
- Is there any interaction noted between the El-Hawawish scenes and those of other provincial tombs in the treatment of broad themes or of smaller details?
- To what extent is the decorative programme of a provincial cemetery like El-Hawawish, influenced by Memphite tombs? Does the physical distance from the capital, Memphis, have an impact?
- Is the economic production of the Akhmim province reflected in the wall scenes?
- Does the rank and administrative position of the tomb owner influence the choice of motifs and the style of their expression?
- Can a sense of 'kinship' and continuation of artistic tradition and style be seen in the tombs of generations of a single family?
- To what extent can a study of the artistic style of the type used in this thesis provide useful dating criteria?

The present study, using the material collected in the publications, attempts, by using stylistic analysis and comparison, to add to a greater understanding of the intention of the

tomb owner in decorating his burial place, of the value he placed on his position within his community and the individual stamp he gave to a traditional art form.

The Methodology

INTRODUCTION

The decorative programme of any tomb would have been achieved through the collaboration of both tomb owner and his master artist. The primary input of the tomb owner to the decorative programme is possibly to be found in the choice of certain themes and the amount of wall space allocated to them, for these would reflect his position and its importance within the administrative hierarchy and his community. The contribution of the artist would certainly be reflected in the rendering of individual figures and the interaction of these with each other within the setting of the scenes. In addition it is possible that the master painter may have been involved in the overall layout of the decorative programme of any tomb. This is particularly evident at El-Hawawish in the adjacent tombs of *Ttj-jqr* H26, and *Hnj* H24, whose tombs were painted under the direction of the same artist, Seni, according to the inscription next to his figure in the spear fishing scene of *Ttj-jqr*⁵¹. Similarities between the two tombs are striking both in the position in the tomb of the major themes, and in numerous details. For example, both spear fishing scenes occupy the south wall to the east of the entrance,⁵² the palanquin scenes are on the north wall opposite the entrance,⁵³ the tomb owner journeying in a sailing vessel is on the south wall to the west of the entrance,⁵⁴ and, in identical postures, each tomb owner watches bull fighting on the west wall, south of an engaged pillar.⁵⁵ Details such as the posture of the viewing tomb owner, the movement of dancers and the design of the palanquin are almost identical in each. Inscriptions reveal another reason for the similarity, a father-son relationship, with *Hnj* completing the decoration of *Ttj-jqr* possibly following *Ttj-jqr*'s death.⁵⁶ This relationship and the use of the same artist or family of artists speaks of a close collaboration between tomb owner and artist.

Observation of both the wall scenes in the chapels of the capital and earlier tombs in the cemetery of El-Hawawish undoubtedly provided inspiration for both tomb owner and

⁵¹ H I, fig. 8.

⁵² H I, fig. 8, H26; H II, fig. 18, H24.

⁵³ H I, fig. 13, H26; H II, fig. 21, H24.

⁵⁴ H I, fig. 9 H26; H II, fig. 19, H24.

⁵⁵ H I, fig. 10, H26; H II, fig. 20, H24.

⁵⁶ H I, p. 19, fig 19a.

artist. Close ties between family members and the use of artists on more than one tomb, as noted above, have produced similar decorative schemes. The suggestion that artists used ‘copy books’ as guides is highly disputed.⁵⁷ Books of instruction are known in the New Kingdom⁵⁸ but there is no firm archaeological evidence from this period to support their existence in the Old Kingdom.⁵⁹

The variety in themes, motifs and features, when examined closely, should provide an insight into the motives prompting the tomb owner when decorating his tomb. Both the *choice* of themes and their details and the *absence* of others will reveal information about his official status and standing within his community and family and his personal values.

In this thesis these attitudes and characteristics will be sought through a careful study of his depictions. Comparisons with contemporary and earlier tomb owners within the cemetery of El-Hawawish and with those of tomb owners in other provinces and in the capital may assist in the interpretation of the presentation of “self” by the Hawawish officials.

The intention of the present study is to collect and closely examine those scenes where the tomb owner is participating in an activity/occupation in which he chooses to portray himself. By identifying these chosen activities and then by close observation of the manner in which the tomb owner is depicted, as well as situations where these activities appear, a greater perception of the status and the personal values of the tomb owner may be revealed.

Not every tomb owner included the same activities in his wall scenes and pertinent information about individual tomb owners may be revealed by the choices made.

THE TOMBS AND THEIR DECORATION

The tombs in the cemetery of El-Hawawish are all rock cut, hewn directly into the face of the escarpment at different heights the lowest at approximately 1.60m, the highest at 2.30 m. above sea level. The mountain is composed of limestone aggregate and varies in its quality. The best quality stratum was identified and appropriated by the earliest tomb owners of the Fifth Dynasty to cut their large and impressive chapels, frequently with

⁵⁷ Kanawati-Woods, *Artists*, p. 41; Van Walsem, *Iconography*, p. 51.

⁵⁸ Hartwig, *Tomb Painting*, pp 19-28.

⁵⁹ W.S. Smith notes the discovery of two wooden tablets at Giza that appear to be guides for drawing hieroglyphs, birds and fish, but whether they were a form of copy book or simply a student’s practice guide, is unknown. *HESPOK*, p. 358

extensive forecourts before them (see level M on the surveyor's diagrams, *H X*, fig. 15, and photo plate on p.47 of Kanawati–Scannell, *A Mountain Speaks*).

In the late Sixth Dynasty, the nomarchs *Ttj-jqr* of tomb H26 and *Hnj* of tomb H24 chose a higher level where the mother rock was still of a reasonable quality although not as fine as the Fifth Dynasty level. This allowed the nomarchs to cut pillared porticos at the entrance to their chapels even when there was insufficient space for a forecourt (see photo plate, p.52 in *A Mountain Speaks*).

The inscriptions, figures and scenes which form the basis of this study are primarily found as painted decoration on the internal walls of the tombs but are occasionally in the form of low, carved relief, particularly on the external surfaces of tombs, for example on the façades, architraves, jambs, entrance thicknesses and exterior pillars, in the tombs of *Mn-ḥ* (G84), *Mmj* (M23), *Mrrw* ... (F12), *Ttj-jqr* (H26) *Hnj* (H24) and *B3wj* (B7).⁶⁰

The surfaces of walls were smoothed, coated either with a thin limestone wash if the stone was good, or a mud plaster undercoat to fill uneven surfaces on poor quality stone before a lighter wash was overlaid on the mud plaster.⁶¹ Paint was then applied. Fragments of limestone and plaster have fallen from some walls, but have been recorded and photographed. Kanawati proposed that some at least of these fragments would have originally been placed in shallow niches cut into the chapel walls. A number of stelae now in various museums with a provenance of Akhmim may have come either from niches such as these or from tomb entrances. While the study focuses on the carved and painted decoration presently existing on the Hawawish tomb walls, reference, where appropriate, is made to these stelae⁶². The statues, coffins and other artefacts from Akhmim provide a rich study in their own right but were not used as part of the present data base of this thesis.

THE THEMES DEPICTED⁶³

The wall scenes within the Hawawish tombs are diverse in subject matter and rich in detail.

Most tombs include topics which are considered traditional and essential such as the offering table scene, but a few depict motifs rarely, or never, seen in Memphite tombs,

⁶⁰ *H I*, pl. 16, fig. 4; *H V*, fig. 15; *H IX*, fig. 7a; *H I*, figs. 7, 19; *H II*, pp. 17, 18; *H IX*, fig. 18c respectively.

⁶¹ A detailed description of the preparation of the walls, the plasters used and their composition is presented in Hope–McFarlane, *Akhmim*, II, p.169–172.

⁶² See **Part II**: *Catalogue of stelae and other stone fragments with a provenance of Akhmim*.

⁶³ See **Part II**, Appendix II: *Themes depicted at El-Hawawish*.

such as the tomb owner watching bull fighting. While the resources available to the owners are reflected in the range of themes within the decorative programme of these tombs, this diversity conveys pertinent clues about the individual choices and input of each of the tomb owners as well as valuable information about their occupations and status.

The themes found in the wall scenes can be broadly grouped into two main categories: first, those centred around the occupations of the tomb owner where he himself plays a prominent role and second, those activities undertaken by his priests, craftsmen, entertainers and field workers.

The activities in the first category were grouped under the following themes:

- the tomb owner standing, usually viewing the work of his estates
- the tomb owner seated, usually before an offering table
- spear fishing
- travelling in a palanquin
- travelling by boat

Several sub-themes were studied as being pertinent to each of these. For example, under the major theme of the tomb owner seated before an offering table are the following sections: the tomb owner seated alone, seated with his wife on the same chair, with his wife seated on the opposite side of the table.

Among the second category of activities are funerary rituals, marsh and water motifs including fishing by various methods, fowling with a clapnet, agricultural and animal husbandry tasks and crafts and professions. Although these activities and occupations are varied and rich in information, restrictions of space together with the primary focus of the study on the tomb owner himself, did not allow their inclusion in the present thesis.⁶⁴

The broad dating period of the cemetery, from the Fifth to the Eighth Dynasties provides evidence for stylistic changes and allows valuable comparisons to be made within the cemetery. As well as analysis of the iconography of the Hawawish tombs, scenes from other published provincial tombs were collected and studied together with a representative number of Memphite images, particularly from Giza and Saqqara. While it is not the

⁶⁴ The original purpose of this study was to examine all the wall scenes of these tombs, identifying the major themes and their features. These themes and the tombs in which they are found are also listed in **Appendix II**. As the study progressed this was found to be too broad an aim for a single thesis and as a result the focus has been restricted to representations of the major figure of the tomb owner and his occupations.

purpose of the thesis to concentrate on the dating of the tombs, some observations on stylistic change in tomb iconography may result in comments on the given dating of a tomb.

EXPLANATION OF TERMS

Each tomb was given a number by the excavator and the surveyor (see the survey report, *El-Hawawish*, vol. X, p. 24, pls. 6-9, figs. 13-21). In this study the references to tomb owners' names and tomb numbers will follow those used in the published site reports. The archaeological reports will be abbreviated to the following: *H* indicates the Hawawish cemetery, followed by the volume number as a Roman numeral. Therefore, *H VI*, pl. 2, fig. 5, is a reference to the site report, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish*, volume six, plate two, figure five. Line drawings are used as the clearest form of information and are supported by the photographic plates when appropriate.

Reference will be made to the position of wall scenes in various locations in the tomb. These include the portico, the main room, the shrine area and very rarely, a secondary chamber. The main room of the tomb, which will be the first on entering if the tomb has more than one room, in this study is called the *chapel*. Rooms cut into the wall of the chapel opposite the entrance are here called *shrines* as they contain one or two false doors and sometimes offering platforms and basins similar to the inner rooms called offering chambers in Memphite tombs. *Secondary chambers* are found in a small number of tombs and only one has painted scenes on plaster: M8 of *K3.j-ḥp/Tj*.⁶⁵ Burial chambers associated with each tomb are accessed by shafts usually cut into the floor in close proximity to the false door but none are decorated.

CHRONOLOGY AND DATING

Tombs in the study span the period from the Fourth to the Eighth Dynasties. Although the cemetery of El-Hawawish appears to begin its occupation from the mid-Fifth Dynasty, influences upon the decoration within its tombs reflect traditions laid down in the previous dynasty. A broad dating framework is used with tombs grouped into the following periods:

Early Fourth Dynasty

Snefru, Khufu

⁶⁵ *H III*, pl. 3, figs. 11, 12; in the publication it is referred to as the main recess.

Mid to late Fourth Dynasty	Djedefre, Khafre, Menkaure, Shepseskaf
Early to mid Fifth Dynasty	Userkaf, Sahure, Neferirkare, Shepseskare
Late Fifth Dynasty	Menkauhor, Djedkare/Isesi, Unis
Early Sixth Dynasty	Teti, Pepy I
Mid Sixth Dynasty	Merenre, early Pepy II
Late Sixth Dynasty	Mid-late Pepy II
Eighth Dynasty	

The major references consulted for the dating of the tombs include the site reports of El-Hawawish, volumes 1-X, published by Naguib Kanawati, and the following research study, N. Kanawati–A. McFarlane, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom, Part I: Chronology and Administration*, which considers other Upper Egyptian provinces as well as El-Hawawish. The dating suggested in both provincial and Memphite site reports by various scholars was carefully noted, together with information in sources such as: B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, Volumes III, IV and V; Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*; N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d’Ancien Empire*; and N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*.

1.5 The Form of the Study

PART I

CHAPTER 1

Introduction, literature review, aim and methodology

CHAPTERS 2-6

The activities of the tomb owners are grouped into the five following categories, each examined in a separate chapter with a summary and comments:

2. The tomb owner standing and represented either as a youthful or a mature figure
3. The tomb owner seated, usually, but not always, at an offering table
4. The tomb owner spear-fishing in the marshes
5. The tomb owner travelling in a palanquin
6. The tomb owner journeying in a boat

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

PART II

MAP OF EGYPT showing Old Kingdom sites.

CATALOGUES

Catalogue of the decorated tombs at El-Hawawish discussed in this study

Chronological order of the tombs at El-Hawawish

Catalogue of stela and other stone fragments with an El-Hawawish provenance

LISTS

Lists of tomb owners at El-Hawawish and other Upper Egyptian provinces as referred to in the individual chapters.

TABLES

Tables which formed part of the data base are reproduced here: such tables are drawn up with the features of each of the activities of the tomb owners at El-Hawawish and for the activities of tomb owners in other provinces.

The tables identify -

- the **name** of the official, the **number of his tomb** according to the publications *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: the Cemetery of Akhmim* Vols I - X, by N. Kanawati (1980-1992) and the **reference** in these archaeological reports;
- the **dating period** which is assigned to each tomb owner
- the **position** in the tomb where the activity is found;
- the **gender** of the owner of the tomb or stela
- the presence of his **wife, children or accompanying animals**.
- the various distinguishing **features** (a-z)

ILLUSTRATIONS⁶⁶

- i. Every scene where an El-Hawawish tomb owner appears is reproduced in the order in which the different activities appear in the text.
- ii. Selected scenes where a tomb owner appears in a similar activity from another province or from Memphite tombs are reproduced.

APPENDICES

- I. The major groups of El-Hawawish officials in the Sixth Dynasty
- II. Themes depicted at El-Hawawish

⁶⁶ Line drawings have been chosen for providing the clearest rendering of scenes and details.

CHAPTER 2

THE STANDING TOMB OWNER⁶⁷ AT EL-HAWAWISH: DEPICTIONS IN TOMBS AND ON STELAE



INTRODUCTION

The standing tomb owner is represented in various postures and contexts in 35 of the 53 decorated tombs at El-Hawawish and on 13 stelae. These depictions appear on the façade of the tomb, on the entrance thicknesses, the jambs and lintels of the tomb owner's false door, on the faces of pillars and on the tomb walls. The dating span is from the Fifth to the Eighth Dynasties. Although normally the tomb owner would be shown standing in at least as many scenes as he is when seated, at El-Hawawish the number of standing representations is less.⁶⁸

Chapter 2 is divided into two parts according to figure types:

- The tomb owner as a youthful figure (PART A)
- The mature figure (PART B)

Focus of this chapter:

- The features observed in representations of the standing tomb owner, his figure type, posture and dress.
- The relationship and interaction of family members depicted close to the standing tomb owner, and accompanying animals.
- Observations of the context of the standing tomb owner, especially those themes and motifs which contribute information through their choice and stylistic details linking various tomb owners within the cemetery of El-Hawawish and between El-Hawawish and other provincial cemeteries.

⁶⁷ See **Part II** for a *List of tomb owners at El-Hawawish (Akhmim) and other Upper Egyptian provinces by Chapter: Chapter 2*. See page 51ff. of this chapter for this list arranged by specific types of posture.

⁶⁸ The seated tomb owner, usually at his offering table, is found in 43 of the 53 decorated tombs and in 21 of the 30 stelae.

PART A. THE TOMB OWNER DEPICTED AS A YOUTHFUL FIGURE

Figs. 2.1–2.7, 2.9–2.12, 2.14, 2.15, 2.17–2.24a,c, 2.26c,e–2.29a,c,d, 2.30e–j, 2.30l, 2.31–2.35a, 2.35c–2.48

Definition

The figure of a youthful tomb owner invariably assumes a striding pose, shoulders square to the viewer, both feet flat on the ground or register line, holding a staff and possibly a sceptre. This stance with its variations is called in this study, the **formal posture** and it appears in 28 tombs and 9 stelae.⁶⁹ The youthful tomb owner also is shown in a more informal pose leaning on his staff with one hand resting on the knob at the top and with the other arm extended along the staff with the hand holding it at approximately the centre of its length. The feet may be flat on the ground or register line or one leg may be bent with the foot raised on the toes. In the present study this is called the **informal posture**.

2.1 Posture⁷⁰

Three variations (Postures I, II, III) of the standing posture of this youthful figure type were found. In this study, *Postures I and II* are referred to as the ‘formal posture’; *Posture III* is referred to as the ‘informal posture’.

2.1.1 Formal posture I (with staff and/or sceptre): description

Figs. 2.1, 2.3, 2.11, 2.14b, 2.22a, 2.24a, 2.26g, 2.30g (a selection)

In well-preserved scenes at El-Hawawish, the high numbers of tomb owners standing in the upright, formal posture holding a staff and sceptre indicate that at this cemetery, this is the most desirable posture for tomb owners. It appears in 28 out of the 35 tombs which feature standing figures, whereas the informal posture is only seen in 7. This follows the trend in Memphite tombs where there are very few instances of the informal pose for major figures particularly in the relaxed, bent leg position.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Many scenes are incomplete due to the painted plaster having been lost from the walls and in several tombs it is difficult to see whether a sceptre may have been present. There is only one clear representation of a standing tomb owner holding a sceptre without a staff: *Ḳ3-Mnw*, L8, on the left jamb of his false door (*H* VI, fig. 9).

⁷⁰ A list of El-Hawawish tomb owners in the various standing postures is provided on p. 52 of the chapter.

⁷¹ See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 127, 128, Tables 6.2 and 6.3.

In the formal posture the tomb owner is depicted in a striding movement with shoulders square to the viewer and both feet flat on the ground. A sceptre is grasped in the hand by the side and a staff is held at shoulder level away from the tomb owner's body, usually at a slight angle with the head of the staff drawn in and its base on the ground.⁷² This posture is usual throughout the period of the Old Kingdom both in tombs at the capital and in the provinces. It is seen in all contexts and does not alter with changes in the dress of the tomb owner, whether the kilt is long or short, or if the kilt style is fitted or with a projecting point or whether the leopard skin robe is worn.

There is no marked difference in the formal posture between the earlier and the later examples except for a tendency to hold the staff with the hand a little below the shoulder level in some Fifth Dynasty provincial tombs, for example *Dw3-Mnw*, L6 at El-Hawawish (right jamb of false door), *K3.j-ḥnt* (A2) and *K3.j-ḥnt* (A3) at El-Hammamiya and *Jntj* at Deshasha.⁷³

A variation of the formal pose with the staff grasped by the hand held at hip level, is restricted in wall scenes at Memphis to the earlier part of the Old Kingdom (Third,⁷⁴ Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties) usually on false door jambs and side panels,⁷⁵ but not in early provincial tombs (at El-Hawawish, El-Hammamiya, El-Hagarsa, Deshasha or Sheikh Said) except on the jambs of a false door in one early Fifth Dynasty tomb at Tehna.⁷⁶ At El-Hawawish, it only appears in the tomb of *Hnj*, H24 (mid-late Pepy II) and at other provincial sites from the mid Sixth Dynasty, particularly in scenes of the tomb owner supervising work on his estate.⁷⁷ The posture becomes common on provincial stelae and architraves dated to the late Sixth to the Eighth Dynasties.

⁷² Staffs are also depicted held vertically in front of the body (see Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 126-127, Table 6.1) with the base raised a little above the ground. This is generally seen in earlier depictions of standing figures (dated from the Third to the Fifth Dynasties) and is not found at El-Hawawish although it appears in the neighbouring cemeteries of El-Hagarsa, Nome 9 (Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* I, pl. 22b) and El-Hammamiya, Nome 10 (El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 62) in tombs dated to the early Fifth Dynasty.

⁷³ *H* VI, fig. 5; Kanawati-El-Khouli, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 49c, 60; Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 31.

⁷⁴ For example, *Hzzj-Rc*: Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, pl. 25

⁷⁵ For example, *Hwfw-hc.f* (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 33); *Whm-k3.j* (Kayser, *Uhemka*, p. 33); *ḥnh* (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 44); *Pth-ḥtp* II (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. VIII).

⁷⁶ The tomb of *Nj-k3-ḥnh* II (No. 15), personal examination.

⁷⁷ For example, *Ppjj-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* (Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. VIII), *Dcw* (Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. VI).

2.1.2 Formal posture II (empty hands): description

Figs. 2.12a,b, 2.21, 2.22b, 2.24c, 2.40

Five tomb owners at El-Hawawish are represented in this posture, holding neither a staff nor a sceptre and with their empty hands placed alongside their bodies.⁷⁸ Three of the officials, *Qrrj*, Q15, *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, and *B3wj*, BA48, have the same orientation in their respective tombs: on the south side of the east wall, perhaps indicating that they are close in time to one another.⁷⁹ Similarities in the choice of pictorial motifs for *Hzzj-Mnw* and *B3wj*, particularly in the agricultural scenes, support the hypothesis that they are close in time although the similarities may be due instead to shared professions as both *Hzzj-Mnw* and *B3wj* are overseers of fields and serfs. The one owner of an architrave, who is also depicted with his hands by his side, *Mr-ḥf*, holds the title of Superintendent of stores which is concerned with agricultural production.⁸⁰

This is also the posture for *Nbt* of tomb H27, the only female tomb owner depicted in a standing pose at El-Hawawish.

2.1.3 Informal posture III: description

Figs. 2.6, 2.23b, 2.29a, 2.35c (flat foot pose); 2.9, 2.26c,h, 2.30h (raised foot pose)

There are two variants to the informal posture:

- The tomb owner leans forward slightly, resting on his staff either with both feet flat on the ground, or
- In an even more relaxed position, with the near leg is straight and the foot flat on the ground while the other leg is bent with the heel raised and the foot resting on the toes. This latter posture is found in Memphite scenes from the Fourth Dynasty.⁸¹ In almost all the scenes where the tomb owner is shown in this last relaxed leg position, he is viewing the various activities of his estate or the presentation of animals.

⁷⁸ *Qrrj*, Q15 (*H VI*, figs. 20c, 21a); *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42 (*ibid*, fig. 6); *B3wj*, BA48 (*H VII*, fig. 24b); *Rḥw-r-3w-sn*, BA17 (*ibid*, fig. 15); *Nbt*, H27 (*H III*, fig. 27).

⁷⁹ The biographical inscription of *Qrrj*, Q15, states that he served under Pepy I (*H VI*, pp. 48, 49, figs. 20b,c) but there is no textual indication of any reigning king in the tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, and *B3wj*, BA48. On architectural and stylistic grounds Kanawati proposes that they held office early in the reign of Pepy II (*Akhmim I*, pp. 186, 187).

⁸⁰ *H VII*, p. 49, pl. 8, fig. 35b.

⁸¹ *Nfr..w* at Medum (Petrie, *Medum*, pl. XXVIII, fragment) may be the earliest. See Harpur for a list of other tomb owners, *Decoration*, Table 6.3 (flat foot posture), Table 6.2 (supporting and free leg posture). To this list can be added the Saqqara tombs of *Jnw-Mnw* (Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* VIII, pl. 48); *Nj-k3w-Jzzj* (Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* VI, pl. 67a); *Rmnj* (Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* IX, pl. 45).

Both variations of the informal posture are common in other provincial cemeteries, with fewer numbers of figures in the informal posture with feet flat on the ground, than in the more relaxed position with one leg bent. The posture with both feet flat is first seen at El-Hammamiya in the late Fifth Dynasty tombs of *K3.j-ḥnt* (A2) and *K3.j-ḥnt* (A3). In the Sixth Dynasty it is restricted to Meir, Deir el-Gebrawi, El-Hammamiya, El-Hawawish and possibly Qasr wa es-Saiyad (U.E.nomes 7 to 14). The latest date where the pose is found in the provinces, is late Pepy II in the posture of *Ḥnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish.⁸² Throughout the provinces, tomb owners depicted with the relaxed leg posture date from Teti (*Jtj/Šdw*, Deshasha, and *Mrw/Bbj*, Sheikh Said) to Dynasty Eight (*ḥnj.tj.fj*, Mo'alla) (U.E. nomes 3 to 20).

A frequently-seen context for standing tomb owners is the watching or viewing by the tomb owner of various activities apparently taking place on the estates which he controls, for example, the procession of cattle as part of the cattle count or registration, work in the fields and marshland, bull fighting and hunting in the desert. In this context, the posture and dress of viewing tomb owners at El-Hawawish varies but with an emphasis on the formal posture. The greatest consistency of the image is found in scenes of viewing the cattle count at El-Hawawish where tomb owners are shown in a formal posture with a staff held in the outstretched far hand and a sceptre in the near hand. In all other provincial scenes with the same context, tomb owners are depicted in a relaxed posture leaning on the staff either in the flat foot pose or the relaxed leg position with one foot raised. In the scenes of viewing bull fighting, *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Ḥnj*, H24, adopt the informal posture, leaning on the staff with one leg bent. A similar pose, without the relaxed leg position, is seen in the figure of *Jn-jt.f*, BA63, as he watches a desert hunt.⁸³

2.2 Position and Orientation

At El-Hawawish, depictions of the standing tomb owner are almost equally distributed between two of the interior walls, with 12 on the north wall and 11 on the west wall, including the false door with slightly fewer numbers on the south and east walls, 9 and 8 tombs respectively. The high-ranking officials *Ttj* M8, *Ḥnj-ḥnw* H15, *Ttj-jqr* H26, *Ḥnj*,

⁸² Harpur includes *ḥnj.tj.fj* at Mo'alla (*Decoration*, Table 6.3) but although the feet are almost flat in the reproduction in Vandier (*Mo'alla*, pl. 39), the distinctly bent knee of the far leg would place this pose with the figures of the relaxed leg group. His date in Dynasty Eight would also isolate him from the consistently earlier date of the other examples.

⁸³ For a description of distinctive features of viewing scenes, see p. 56ff.

H24, and B3wj B7, are also depicted as standing figures on the faces of pillars in their chapels and portico (B7). The north wall may have been favoured because in 8 of the 12 tombs, this wall is sited opposite the entrance. When the east wall is opposite the entrance, 4 of the 8 tombs also depict the tomb owner in this position. In no tomb does either the south or the west wall face the entrance as the irregular nature of the face of the mountain means that most tombs face south or south-west.

It would appear that this position facing the entrance to the tomb for the figure of a tomb owner is deliberately chosen to impress visitors as they enter the tomb. The importance of this positioning is clearly seen in the chapel of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, where it is made even more effective by the large size of the tomb owner, his formal posture (with staff and sceptre), his dress (leopard skin robe, long wig, broad collar), and his accompanying family (wife and two eldest sons).⁸⁴ Apart from smaller standing figures of *Ttj-jqr* on his façade architrave and the pillars in his chapel and another half size figure of the tomb owner observing various profession on the south wall, this depiction opposite the entrance is the only standing formal representation of *Ttj-jqr* in the tomb.

A similar position and formal posture of the tomb owner is represented in the neighbouring tomb of *Hnj*, H24; here, however, there is no leopard skin robe over the kilt, although sandals are worn. No family members accompany the tomb owner.

2.3 Dress of Tomb Owner and Objects Held

2.3.1 Kilts

Figs. 2.12a, 2.30c, 2.39, 2.30g (selected fitted kilts)

Figs. 2.4a, 2.6, 2.14b, 2.24a, 2.26g, 2.30i (selected pointed kilts)

Short kilts fitted close to the body and without any projecting edge are an early style worn by kings and elite officials in Memphite representations dating from the First to the Fifth Dynasty.⁸⁵ In the provinces the style is worn by the Fifth Dynasty tomb owners at Tehna, El-Hammamiya and Deshasha⁸⁶ but is rarely seen on major figures at El-Hawawish except

⁸⁴ *H I*, fig. 13.

⁸⁵ For example, the Narmer palette, CG14716 (*Cairo Museum Masterpieces of Egyptian Art*, pp. 26, 41), Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. 29; the Scorpion macehead, Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I* pls. 25, 26, Ashmolean Museum (E.3632), Malek, *Egyptian Art*, pl. 35; *Hzzj-r*^c (Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, pl. 25); *Mr-jb* (LD II, pls. 21, 22); *Hwfw-h*^c.f I (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 33); *Ssm-nfr I* (Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 51).

⁸⁶ *Nj-k3-nh* II, Tehna (personal examination); *K3-j-hnt I*, A2 (El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 46, 48); *Jntj* (Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pls. 31, 39).

as the garment worn under a leopard skin robe in Sixth Dynasty depictions. Short, fitted kilts remain the common dress for attendants, servants and workers throughout the Old Kingdom.

El-Hawawish tomb owners are normally dressed in the pointed kilt with a hem approximately at knee-level from the earliest to the latest depictions. The small changes which can be observed may provide useful evidence for dating. Kilts worn by tomb owners dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty, such as *Mmj*, M23, *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22 and *ʕ-Mnw*, L8, at El-Hawawish, have a slightly rounded front profile, a hem positioned at, or above, the knee-cap and, when visible, an overlap which is only partly wrapped around the kilt, its hem rising to a broad, diagonal flap.⁸⁷ These features are seen in Fifth Dynasty kilts in other provincial wall scenes, for example, *K3.j-m-nfrt* at El-Hagarsa and *Jntj* at Deshasha,⁸⁸ and in tombs at the capital, for example, *Rʕ-hʕ.f-ʕnh*, *Nswt-nfr* and *Jtj* at Giza.⁸⁹

By the end of the Fifth Dynasty, in both Memphite and provincial tombs, this overlap extends to the far edge of the kilt and the back leg of the standing figure. This is the usual style of the wrap of the kilt in all Sixth Dynasty wall scenes. At the same time, the front edge of the kilt extends further forward and becomes increasingly pointed as the dynasty progresses. These features are seen early in the Sixth Dynasty at El-Hawawish in the kilts of the son (a nomarch) of *Nhwt-dʕr* G95, *Mmj*, B12, and *Qrrj*, Q15, and in a more exaggerated form late in the dynasty in the tombs of *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24.

2.3.2 Leopard skin robes

Figs. 2.4d, 2.8, 2.19, 2.23b, 2.30c,g,l, 2.50, 2.52, 2.54, 2.55 (selected)

Marked differences are depicted in the manner of wearing the leopard skin robe in Memphite and provincial tombs between the Fourth to early Fifth Dynasty and the Sixth Dynasty. In the earlier style, the pelt covers the back of the wearer's body, with the tail curving from the small of the back and passing over the hip to hang between the legs. This type of pelt has small, narrow paws, one of which rests along the back leg of the wearer while the other paw hangs down with the tail. Although seen in the Fourth and early Fifth

⁸⁷ *H V*, fig. 15; *H IV*, fig. 6; *H VI*, fig. 9.

⁸⁸ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa I*, pl. 20; Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pls. 29, 36a,b,c.

⁸⁹ *LD II*, fig. 9; Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 29; Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, fig. 49.

Dynasty Memphite examples,⁹⁰ it is not present at El-Hawawish and rarely in other provincial cemeteries being found only at Deshasha (nome 20) and Tehna (nome 16).⁹¹

The newer style which appeared in Memphite scenes in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty and continued throughout the Sixth Dynasty, is the usual style worn by El-Hawawish tomb owners. In these depictions the pelt covers almost all the upper body and kilt of the wearer with the two paws, now broad in form, lying on the kilt and the tail hanging between the legs of the wearer.

A detail of the leopard skin robes worn by tomb owners dated to Pepy II and later at El-Hawawish, is the broadening and lengthening of this tail of the skin. In the depictions of *Jn-jt.f*, BA63, *Tjt-jqr* (H26) and *B3wj*, BA14, and the fragment from tomb M52 (H92:F21/39), (see *Figures 2.23b, 2.26e, 2.33, 2.19*) the end of the tail is almost level with the ankles of the wearer. All show a decorative patterning along the length of the tail which further links these depictions. These features are not found in leopard skin robes at any other provincial site.

A distinctive variation in the posture of El-Hawawish tomb owners when wearing the leopard skin, is the manner in which one of the paws of the pelt is looped up and held in the same hand which holds the sceptre. This pose is restricted to El-Hawawish and is not found in any other Memphite or provincial wall scene. This posture appears in six tombs whose owners are dated to the reigns of Pepy I (G95, B12, both as mature figures) and Pepy II (L31, BA48, H26, H24, as youthful figures) (see *Figures 2.49a-g*). The posture may have been adapted from an earlier Memphite pose of tomb owners holding the tail (but not the paw) of the leopard skin robe.⁹²

2.3.3 Sandals

Figs. 2.8, 2.9, 2.26b, 2.30g, 2.30i-l



Sandals are worn only by three El-Hawawish tomb owners depicted as youthful figures (*B3wj*, G126, *Tjt-jqr*, H26, *Hnj*, H24) and three as mature men (*Nhwt-dšr*, G95, *Għs3*,

⁹⁰ For example, *Hwfw-h3.f* I (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 33), *Mr-jb* (LD II, pl. 22), *3nh* (Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 44) and *Nswt-nfr* (Kanawati, *Giza II*, pl. 53). It is found once in the provinces in the tomb of *Nj-k3-3nh* II, at Tehna (personal examination).

⁹¹ *Jntj* at Deshasha (Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 31); *Nj-k3-3nh* II (north wall, tomb 15) at Tehna (personal observation).

⁹² For example, *Whm-k3.j* (Kayser, *Uhemka*, pl. 18); *K3.nj-nswt* (Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 18).

GA11, *Hnj*, H24). They are only worn by standing representations of tomb owners, never by seated figures.

The reason for the depiction of sandals is unclear. Each of the above officials is from a different time period and is depicted in a different context in his chapel. *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, is much earlier in time (late Teti) while *Ghs3*, GA11, and *Hnj*, H24, are dated to mid-late Pepy II. *Nhwt-dšr* and *Hnj* were nomarchs, while *Ghs3* and *B3wj*, G126, were overseers of fields and serfs. Siebels in her study of the wearing of sandals in Old Kingdom wall scenes, found that rank did not appear to be a determining factor and that, although worn in a variety of situations, these were generally outdoor activities. She concludes that “to wear sandals appears to be simply a matter of personal choice” and that tomb owners appeared to include sandals at least once in their wall scenes.⁹³ This was not found to be so amongst the Hawawish officials as only 5 out of the 35 tomb owners in a standing posture in this cemetery appear in sandals. Conversely, *Hnj* of tomb H24 appears in sandals in every wall scene where he is shown standing except when spear fishing.

The changing style of sandals can be a useful dating indicator.

- The representations of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties show basically a backless sandal.
- An extra strap around the heel is added in the late Fifth Dynasty depictions and throughout the Sixth Dynasty, is the only type worn by the Hawawish officials.
- A large loop is present at the top of the sandals of Fourth and Fifth Dynasty Memphite tomb owners and on those of the provincial Fifth Dynasty officials, *Jntj* at Deshasha and *K3.j-ḥnt* (A2) and *K3.j-ḥnt* (A3) at El-Hammamiya.⁹⁴
- The loop becomes much smaller in the early Sixth Dynasty in Memphite tombs, for example in *ḥnh-m-ḥr*, *Mrrw-k3.j*, *K3-gmn.j* and *Mhw* before disappearing altogether.⁹⁵
- The small sandal loop in *B3wj*, G126, and *Nhwt-dšr*, G95,⁹⁶ may support an early Sixth Dynasty date for them.

⁹³ Siebels, *Sandals*, in *BACE* 7 (1996), pp. 75-88.

⁹⁴ Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 31; Kanawati-El-Khouli, *Hammamiya*, pls. 41 (A2); 62 (the wife of A3). The similarity with sandals with the same loop such as *Wp-m-nfrt* (Hassan, Giza II, fig. 219) and *Nfr* (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nefer and Kahay*, fig. 26) is clear.

⁹⁵ Kanawati-Hassan, Giza II, pl. 45; Duell, *Mereruka* I, pls. 14, 23 B; Harpur-Scremin, *Kagemni*, figs. 13, 15; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 18, 30.

⁹⁶ *H* IX, fig. 15 (G126); *H* VIII, fig. 4 (G95).

Although a detail, the small sandal loop can be added to other evidence linking *B3wj* with the family group of tombs comprising the nomarch, *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, and the unknown owners of tombs G97 and G98. Other iconographic similarities especially between G126 and G97, include the depiction of an unguent jar held to the tomb owner's face with two fingers and the position and composition of the spear fishing scene.

In other provinces the same changes in sandal styles can also be observed. The Fifth Dynasty tomb owners *Wr-jr-n.j*, at Sheikh Said and *Hw-ns*, at Zawiyet el-Maiyetin, both wear sandals without the strap behind the heel.⁹⁷ Likewise at El-Hammamiya, *K3.j-hnt* (A2) is shown in the backless sandal on the entrance thicknesses to his chapel (the only time he appears in sandals).⁹⁸ In the neighbouring tomb of *K3.j-hnt* (A3) however, only his wife wears this type of sandal while the tomb owner himself is shown without any footwear throughout the tomb.⁹⁹ The mid-late Fifth Dynasty tomb owner *Jntj* at Deshasha, standing together with his wife, is shown to have adopted the new style with the strap around the heel while his wife continues to wear the older fashion without the heel strap.¹⁰⁰ The sandal with the heel strap continues to be the usual style in Sixth Dynasty (and later) provincial scenes.

Sandals are frequently worn by provincial tomb owners in viewing contexts with the greatest number in scenes of viewing the work of the fields and marshlands. At El-Hawawish, the nomarchs wear sandals in two viewing scenes: *Ttj-jqr* (H26) and *Hnj* (H24) while watching a bull fight and *Hnj* also while supervising the cattle count. In the viewing scenes of other provinces, three tomb owners wear sandals when viewing the presentation of cattle: *Jttj/Šdw* at Deshasha, *Jbj*, Deir el-Gebrawi and *W3hj* at el-Hagarsa. Five tomb owners wear sandals while observing the work of the fields and marshes: *Wr-jr-nj* at Sheikh Said, *Hw-ns* at Zawiyet el-Maiyetin, *Ppjj-ṣnh-hrj-jb* and *Ppjj-ṣnh/Hnj-km* at Meir and *Dṣw* at Deir el-Gebrawi. Also at Deir el-Gebrawi, *Jbj* wears sandals while viewing six registers combining the motifs of a desert hunt, animal presentation and bull fighting.

The rare combination of a formal posture, the wearing of the leopard skin robe and sandals, adopted by *Hnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish in his cattle viewing scene, appears to reflect a sense

⁹⁷ *Wr-jr-n.j* (Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. 16); *Hw-ns* (LD II, pl. 107).

⁹⁸ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 41.

⁹⁹ Ibid, pl. 62.

¹⁰⁰ Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 31.

of responsibility with which the tomb owner viewed his task.¹⁰¹ This combination of formal posture and dress is not found again at this cemetery for any viewing scene but is seen at Meir in the figures of *Nj-ḥh/Ppjj-km* and *Ppjj-ḥh-ḥrj-jb* as they watch the work of the fields and marshes.¹⁰² The wearing of a leopard skin itself is rare in El-Hawawish viewing scenes and appears only once more on the figure of *Jn-jt.f* (BA63) who is watching a desert hunt leaning on his staff in the informal posture.

2.3.4 Objects held: staffs, sceptres, folded cloths

At El-Hawawish:

The staff is held by all tomb owners depicted as youthful figures except in two tombs. In the formal posture, sceptres as well as staffs are often shown although less frequently than the staffs. This disparity may be due to the loss of wall decoration. In the informal posture only the staff is present. No tomb owner at El-Hawawish holds the staff and sceptre together in the same hand. No standing tomb owner at this cemetery, whether shown as a youthful or a mature figure, is depicted with a cloth in his hand. At this cemetery folded cloths are only held in the hands of seated tomb owners.

Comparison with other sites:

In other provinces, for example, Deshasha, Meir, Deir el-Gebrawi and Aswan in the tombs of *Jttj/Šdw*, *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km*, *Jbj* and *Dḥw* and *Mḥw*,¹⁰³ tomb owners are depicted holding the staff and sceptre together in the same hand. Harpur found that this pose was primarily a provincial one with only two examples found in the capital at Giza.¹⁰⁴ The tombs where staffs and sceptres are held together in the provinces are all dated to the Sixth Dynasty – from Teti to Pepy II.

Memphite tomb owners hold staffs when standing in the formal posture as do the Hawawish tomb owners, but very frequently hold a folded cloth rather than the sceptre in

¹⁰¹ *H II*, fig. 26. *Hnj* holds one paw of the leopard skin in the same hand which holds the sceptre. This detail is not found again in any other provincial viewing scene and rarely in Memphite wall scenes, for example, *Qḥr* (Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 21).

¹⁰² Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 13; Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 8.

¹⁰³ Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 51; Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 26; Kanawati, *Gebrawi II*, pl. 52; Davies, *Gebrāwi I*, pl. IX; de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.*, p. 145, respectively.

¹⁰⁴ Harpur, *Decoration*, Table 6.5.

the other hand.¹⁰⁵ This detail is continued in the provinces in the hands of tomb owners of the late Fifth Dynasty at Zawiyet el-Maiyetin and Sheikh Saïd where *Hw-ns* and *Wr-jr-nj* are viewing the work of the fields and marshlands.¹⁰⁶ Each holds a staff and a folded cloth while all other provincial officials, including those at El-Hawawish, hold a staff and sceptre while observing the activities on their estates. The reviewed depictions of Memphite tomb owners holding cloths indicate that this feature is confined to standing figures in the Fifth Dynasty.

In the Sixth Dynasty the reverse appears: folded cloths are held in the hand of seated, but not standing, figures, for example, *Mhw*, *ꜥnh-m-ꜥHr*, *Hntj-k3.j* and *K3-gm-nj*.¹⁰⁷ Staffs and sceptres are usual for these standing tomb owners. Although *Mrrw-k3.j* lived at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, standing depictions of his figure show him holding a folded cloth on several walls and on pillar faces.¹⁰⁸ By using this feature he continues the characteristics of Fifth Dynasty representations. When his son, *Mrjj-Ttj*, is depicted standing in his own rooms within his father's tomb, *Mrjj-Ttj* holds a staff and sceptre and never appears with a folded cloth.¹⁰⁹

2.4 Accompanying Wives, Sons and Daughters¹¹⁰

Figs. 2.2, 2.4a, 2.6, 2.9, 2.16a, 2.22a, 2.23a,b, 2.26e, 2.48, 2.50-2.53 (selection of wives)

Wives are depicted standing with the tomb owner in 16 of the 35 tombs which have representations of standing tomb owners at El-Hawawish and on two architraves and one stela with a provenance of Akhmim.

¹⁰⁵ Staff held away from body, sceptre in other hand: for example, *Sndm-jb/Jntj* (Brovarski, *Sennedjemib Complex I*, figs. 34-37, 67b, 68), *Hnm-nt.j* (ibid, fig. 88), *Sndm-jb/Mhj* (ibid, figs. 97, 108, 109, 114, 115; Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, pls. 18, 49; *Mr-jb* (Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 11); Roth, *Palace Attendants*, pls. 142, 150.

Staff held in similar manner but folded cloth in other hand: for example, *Rꜥ-šps* (LD II, pl. 60); *Hwfw-hꜥ.f* I (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 27); *Sndm-jb/Mhj* (Brovarski, *Sennedjemib Complex I*, fig. 97, 98, 107, 110); *Sndm-jb/Jntj* (ibid, fig. 42, 43); *K3.j-m-nfrt* (Badawy, *Iteti*, fig. 29); Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, pls. 24, 26, 50; Roth, *Palace Attendants*, pls. 143-145, 170, 171, 189, 198); *Nj-ꜥnh-hnmw* (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, fig. 12), *Htp-hr-3htj* (Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 44), *Pth-htp* (Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hotep*, pls. 31, 32).

¹⁰⁶ LD II, pl. 107; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 16.

¹⁰⁷ Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 9, 53, 75; Kanawati-Hassan, *Teti Cem. II (Anhkmahor)*, pls. 33, 45-47, 60b-62; James, *Khentika*, pls. 7, 13, 14, 19, 23, 27-30; Harpur-Scremin, *Kagemni*, figs. 13, 15, 18, 24, 25, 30, 35, 36 (although he is shown once on a pillar face in Room 3 with a folded cloth, ibid, pl. 157); all standing with a staff and sceptre.

¹⁰⁸ Duell, *Mereruka II*, pls. 71, 112, 150, 167, 175, 180 (selected examples).

¹⁰⁹ Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka I*, pls. 44a, 4547, 51, 53, 54, 55.

¹¹⁰ For a list of the Hawawish tomb owners standing with their wives, references and position in tomb, see page 53.

2.4.1 Location and posture of wives

Wives are depicted with tomb owners in 16 of the 35 tombs which contain standing representations of youthful tomb owners. They accompany their spouses on entrance jambs and thicknesses ¹¹¹ and on internal tomb walls and pillar faces. The greatest number of these depictions (seven) appear on north walls, five of which are on walls opposite the entrance.

In some tombs, wives do not appear at all, although the children of the tomb owner are shown with him. It is difficult to assess whether the depictions of wives were intentionally limited in number or omitted altogether from wall scenes as decoration is rarely complete in any tomb. In the two adjacent, and almost complete, tombs of the nomarchs *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, this contrast between depictions of wives is marked.

Ttj-jqr's wife *Rst* stands with him only once but is depicted here almost the same size as her husband. They stand on the north wall in a position opposite the entrance to the tomb in a conspicuous place clearly visible to relatives and other visitors to the tomb.¹¹² Conversely, neither of *Hnj*'s two wives is shown standing with him in any context in the tomb although they are depicted seated at their own offering tables,¹¹³ with one also kneeling on his spear fishing skiff.¹¹⁴ The wife of *Ttj-jqr* also is present in the tomb owner's spear-fishing scene but is not shown at her husband's offering table nor does she have an offering table of her own in his tomb. As there is only one burial chamber in this tomb, presumably for *Ttj-jqr* himself, it is possible that his wife was buried in a tomb of her own.

Wives accompanying standing tomb owners at El-Hawawish are always shown in a standing posture. None appear in a kneeling attitude except when accompanying the tomb owner in his spear fishing scenes. However, there is a marked difference in the posture and position of the standing wives relative to the tomb owner, between the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty depictions and within the Sixth Dynasty itself. The position of wives in

¹¹¹ M23, *Mmj* (both jambs); F12, *Mrrw*... (right jamb only); M22, *Hzzj-Mnw* (right entrance thickness); K4, *B3wj* (left entrance thickness). The entrances to many tombs have been damaged or lost altogether due to degradation of the surface of the mountain over time and it may be presumed that decoration here would have been present in many more tombs when they were originally cut.

¹¹² H I, fig. 13.

¹¹³ H II, 16, 17, figs. 1, 4, 23, 25. The wives' offering table scenes are positioned on walls above shafts and burial chambers which are presumably those of each wife.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, fig. 18.

relationship to the tomb owner and to a certain extent, the height and size of the women, is a dating indicator.

In the Fifth Dynasty wall scenes at El-Hawawish, the representations of the couple are marked by a physical closeness.¹¹⁵ This follows the traditional rendering of couples in Memphite tombs of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.¹¹⁶ The body of the tomb owner overlaps part of the figure of his wife as she extends both her arms to either grasp his shoulder or his chest and near arm. The toes of her forward foot touch, or pass behind, his heel. See *ʿ3-Mnw*, L8 (left jamb of his false door), *Dw3-Mnw*, L6 (jambs of false door).¹¹⁷ This same proximity is observed in other Fifth Dynasty provincial tombs, for example, *K3.j-m-nfrt* at El-Hagarsa, *Jntj* at Deshasha and *Hw-ns* at Zawiyet el-Maiyetin.¹¹⁸

Also in the Fifth Dynasty, the wife is invariably shown at approximately the same height as the tomb owner. This may be partly due to the position in the tomb of these Fifth Dynasty figures as most are placed on the jambs of false doors, for example, *Dw3-Mnw*, L6, *ʿ3-Mnw*, L8 and *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22 at El-Hawawish and similarly at other provincial Fifth Dynasty cemeteries, for example, El-Hagarsa (*K3.j-m-nfrt*), and El-Hammamiya (*K3.j-hnt* I and II).¹¹⁹ These false doors, following the Memphite tradition of this period, have broad single jambs which contain large scale figures of the tomb owner and/or his wife.

In the Sixth Dynasty, wives in Memphite and provincial scenes, including El-Hawawish, continue to stand with their husbands but, from the time of Teti, are shown a little apart from them, a feature which becomes more pronounced in tombs dated to the end of Pepy II and later.¹²⁰ Wives in Sixth Dynasty depictions rarely touch their spouses; they place their hands by their sides and there is no touching or overlapping of the feet of the women with those of their husbands.

¹¹⁵ See the remarks of Cherpion in *Sentiments Conjugal*, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches* (Mainz, 1991), pp. 33ff.

¹¹⁶ For example, *Hwfw-hʿf* (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 33); *Nswt-nfr* (Junker, *Giza* III, figs. 27, 28); *Ssm-nfr* I (Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 50); *Nj-mʿt-Rʿ* (Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 232); *Mr-ʿnh.f* (ibid, III, fig. 16); *Nfr* (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 7).

¹¹⁷ *H* VI, fig. 9 (L8); ibid, fig. 5 (L6).

¹¹⁸ Memphite examples: *Hwfw-hʿf* (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 33); *Nswt-nfr* (Junker, *Giza* III, figs. 27, 28); *Ssm-nfr* I (Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 50); *Nfr* (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 7). Provincial examples: Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* I, pl. 19; Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pls. 29, 31, 39; *LD* II, pl. 105.

¹¹⁹ *H* VI, fig. 9; ibid, fig. 5; *H* IV, fig. 15; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* I, pls. 19-21; *LD* II, pl. 107; El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 43, 46, 62, 65.

¹²⁰ For example, *Tjt-jqr*, H26, *H* I, fig.13; *Tjt*, I49, *H* VIII, fig. 10; *Rhw-r-3w-sn*, BA17, *H* VII, fig. 14.

During the Sixth Dynasty the proportion of the figures of the women (and the men) alters becoming more slender in the body and limbs. At El-Hawawish standing wives dated from late Teti/early Pepy I to mid Pepy II (for example, in tombs F12, B12, L31, G42, BA63 and GA11) are one third to one half of the height of their spouses and are rarely depicted touching him. At the very end of the Sixth Dynasty and in tombs dated to the Eighth Dynasty, wives are again the same height as their husbands and now are shown standing before, and facing, him (for example, BA14, B7).¹²¹

At El-Hawawish, in a small number of tombs, dated to the period late Pepy I-mid Pepy II, the usual position of the wife next to her husband changes and she is shown standing in front of him invariably in a smaller size and often holding his staff, for example Q3r, L31, Jn-jt.f, BA63, Mmj, B12, Hzzj-Mnw, G42.¹²² All these women, whether standing before or behind their spouses, face the same direction as he does.

At El-Hawawish this common direction of both husbands and wives changes in tombs dated to the very end of the Sixth Dynasty and the Eighth Dynasty. In the tombs BA14 and B7, whose owners both have the name, B3wj, the wives stand opposite their husbands, and face them¹²³ (see Figures 2.33, 2.35b). Both women are of normal height i.e. almost the same height as their husbands.

2.4.2 Dress of wife and objects held

2.4.2.1 Dress

The dress of women changes very little from the earliest to the latest periods at El-Hawawish. This consists of a form-fitting garment with two straps passing from below the breast and over the shoulders. Wigs are long with a lappet over the shoulder on all but two of the wives: those of Mrrw..., F12 and Ttj-jqr, H26, who wear short wigs. The wife of Mrr... ties a fillet and streamer around her wig.¹²⁴

¹²¹ The usual posture of wives shown to one side of the tomb owner is ambiguous as it can be interpreted as a position behind or next to him. But in the tomb of B3wj, B7, the wife's position in front of, and facing her husband, is clarified by her posture of presenting two pairs of birds to him while he raises a hand to acknowledge the offering.

¹²² Q3r, H VI, fig. 15; Jn-jt.f, H VII, figs. 20, 21; Mmj, H VII, fig. 9b; Hzzj-Mnw, H VII, fig. 5.

¹²³ BA14, B3wj, H VII, fig. 18; B7, B3wj, H IX, fig. 17b.

¹²⁴ See Cherpion, *Mastabas*, p. 67, 68, Critère 44, who notes that this style is found from the time of Isesi until Pepy II. This last date is that proposed for Ttj-jqr but no streamer or ribbons appear on her short wig either while standing or kneeling in the spear fishing scene.

The type of collar worn by women can assist in dating. Broad collars together with anklets and bracelets are the usual items of jewellery. In addition, the wives of *ʿ3-Mnw*, L8, *Dw3-Mnw*, L6, and *H3jj-Mnw*, M22, wear a ‘choker’ necklet.¹²⁵ Each of these tombs is dated to mid-late Fifth Dynasty. Choker and broad collars are both worn by other provincial wives in wall scenes at Tehna, El-Hammamiya, El-Hagarsa and Deshasha in tombs dated to the Fifth Dynasty.¹²⁶ The wearing of both collars together, according to the research of Cherpion, occurs from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty at Giza and in the Fifth Dynasty at Saqqara to the reign of Isesi.¹²⁷

The use of the choker collar can be found, although rarely, in tombs dated to the Sixth Dynasty. At El-Hawawish, this occurs in the tomb of the early Sixth Dynasty nomarch, *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, whose wife *Jsj* sits at her offering table in formal attire wearing a bead-net dress, a choker and a broad collar and elaborate bracelets.¹²⁸

2.4.2.2 Objects held

Birds

Birds are depicted in the hands of two El-Hawawish wives standing with their spouses, *ʿ3-Mnw*, L8 (Fifth Dynasty) and *B3wj*, B7 (Eighth Dynasty),¹²⁹ although this is an unusual action for wives.

On the left jamb of his false door, the wife of *ʿ3-Mnw* holds a large bird by the base of its wings. Its rounded head, plump body and a short, straight beak, are all features characteristic of turtle doves,¹³⁰ often depicted in Memphite wall scenes in the hands of children, for example, the small son of *Tjj*¹³¹ and in registers of offerings, for example, *K3.j-m-ʿnh* at Giza.¹³² As the rock pigeon, with similar characteristics to the turtle dove, prefers an arid environment to marsh or riverside locations,¹³³ it may be a rock pigeon that

¹²⁵ *H* VI, fig. 5 (left jamb of false door); *ibid.*, fig. 9 (seated with tomb owner on the panel of his false door and standing on the left jamb); *H* IV, fig. 15 (standing on panel of false door).

¹²⁶ The wives of *Nj-k3-ʿnh* I (tomb 13) and *K3-hp* (tomb 12), personal examination, Tehna; *Df3.j-dd* (El-Khouli- Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 28; *K3.j-hnt* (A2), *ibid.*, pls. 46, 50, 51 (seated); *K3.j-hnt* (A3), *ibid.*, pls. 62, 67, 68, 70 (seated and standing with tomb owner); *K3.j-m-nfrt* (Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* I, pls. 19, 21); *Jntj* (Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 39 – a narrower choker collar).

¹²⁷ Cherpion, *Mastabas*, pp. 68-70, Critère 45, 46, Tables, pp. 191-193.

¹²⁸ *H* VIII, fig. 3a.

¹²⁹ *H* VI, fig. 9; *H* IX, fig. 17b.

¹³⁰ Houlihan, *Birds*, p. 103.

¹³¹ Wild, *Ti*, pls. 171, 125.

¹³² Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 37a.

¹³³ Houlihan, *Birds*, p. 101.

is represented in an Upper Egyptian locality such as El-Hawawish. However, the influence of major Fifth Dynasty Memphite tombs such as that of *Tjj* cannot be discounted. The architecture, style of false door, dress and position on the mountain of El-Hawawish all point to a date in the Fifth Dynasty for *ʕ3-Mnw* and the inclusion of this detail, found in major tombs of the capital dated to the same period like *Tjj*, also supports this date for *ʕ3-Mnw*.

The wife of the vizier, *B3wj* owner of tomb B7, who possibly dates to the Eighth Dynasty, faces her husband as she offers him a pair of birds in each hand while he raises one hand in a gesture of acceptance or acknowledgement.¹³⁴ A similar gesture is found in an offering context in the cemetery of El-Hagarsa on the opposite escarpment but still in the same province. In the tomb of *Mrjj-ʕ3* (D18) a son of the tomb owner faces him and offers a bird in either hand to his father who also raises a hand towards the offering.¹³⁵

Lotus

Lotus blossoms are held to the face by the standing wives of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *Mrrw*, F12, and *Hnj*, H24, and by women on three stelae with a provenance of El-Hawawish.¹³⁶ All the women hold the stem immediately behind the flower head and grasp it with the whole hand.

Several variations are found in the manner of holding the lotus stem. In the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties in Memphite tombs, women occasionally hold the stem between a finger and thumb, as does for example, *Mrs-ʕnh* III on her south door jamb, but more commonly grasp it with the whole hand, as does for example, the wife of *Hwfw-hʕf* I.¹³⁷ The stem may be looped with a single loop, for example, the wife of *Sšm-nfr* I, or with multiple strands as in the case of *Mrs-ʕnh* III,¹³⁸ and these loops may be shown either above the hand, for example in the tomb of *Nfr*, or below it, as in the tomb of *Nj-ʕnh-hnmw*.¹³⁹ The free end of the stem beyond the loop(s) is short. From the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty looped stems disappear in Memphite wall scenes and the single stem becomes longer, as

¹³⁴ H IX, fig. 17b (B7).

¹³⁵ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pl. 43.

¹³⁶ H IV, fig. 15 (M22); H IX, fig. 7a (F12); H II, fig. 13 (H24, pillar face); Stelae CG1580, H VI, fig. 27a; CG1584, H VI, fig. 28b; Oriental Inst. 378, H VI, fig. 30b. The female tomb owner, *Wnw-Mnw*, G79, also holds a lotus: H III, fig. 26 (jambs of false door).

¹³⁷ Dunham–Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 3b; Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 34.

¹³⁸ Kanawati, *Giza* I, pls. 42, 48 (single loop); Dunham–Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 12 (multiple loops).

¹³⁹ Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-Hay*, pls. 26, 27; Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, figs. 5, 6.

can be seen in the lotuses in the hands of *Jdwt*, the wives of Unis, and *W^ctt-ht-Hr*, the wife of *Mrrw-k3.j* and the wife of *Nfr-sšm-Pth*.¹⁴⁰

In provincial wall scenes, the looped stem is rarely depicted but is found in tombs dated to the Fifth Dynasty at El-Hammamiya and Tehna. Each tomb owner's wife holds a lotus to her nose with the stem in a single loop above her hand.¹⁴¹ Lotuses continue to be held by standing wives in a number of provincial Sixth Dynasty tombs but none shows a looped stem.¹⁴² The lotus is still held behind the flower head but now the stem is very long.

At El-Hawawish, although it can be clearly seen that the wife of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, is holding a lotus to her nose, it is unfortunate that the wall scene here is lost and part of the hand of the wife and the lotus stem immediately next to it are also lost. No single or multiple loops can be seen in the lotus stem, which would support the date in the Fifth Dynasty for this tomb although other criteria, titles, architectural and stylistic details, indicate this date.

2.4.3 Position and posture of children of the tomb owner

Figs. 2.24a,d, 2.29c, 2.30l (sons).

At El-Hawawish, sons and more rarely, daughters, are depicted in 19 of the 35 decorated tombs where the tomb owner is standing and on one architrave (associated with tomb M8). Many tombs no longer contain complete wall scenes but it is surprising that in the preserved scenes, a designated son is depicted only once with the standing tomb owner.

There is a preference for sons, particularly eldest sons, to be present with the tomb owner in two specific locations: either making offerings to his father or standing with him in the viewing context. On walls opposite registers of food offerings a son often leads attendants bringing items to the tomb owner with the son himself sometimes wringing the neck of a goose, for example, *Nhwt-dšr*, G95; *B3wj*, BA48; *Q3r* L31. In the second context, sons stand with the tomb owner observing the presentation and slaughtering of cattle and

¹⁴⁰ Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cem.* II (all plates where Idut appears); Munro, *Unas-Friedhof I* (all plates where the wives appear); Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka II* (all plates where Waatetkhetor appears); Lloyd, Spencer–el-Khouli, *Saqqara Tombs III*, pls. 21, 22.

¹⁴¹ El-Khouli–Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 46 (*K3.j-hnt*, A2) this wife also holds a lotus with a looped stem when she is seated, pl. 51; Fraser, *ASAE* 3 (1902), pl. 3 (*Nj-k3-nh* I); *K3-hp* (personal observation).

¹⁴² For example, Deshasha: Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pls. 49, 52 (*Šdw*); Quseir el-Amarna: El-Khouli–Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 46a (*Hw.n-wh*); El-Hagarsa: Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa I*, pls. 29a (*Hwj*), 32, 37 (*n-nhj*).

viewing the work of the fields and marshes or a desert hunt, for example, *B3wj*, BA48; *Q3r* L31; *Ghs3*, GA11; *Ttj-jqr*, H26; *Jn-jt.f*, BA63.

All these tomb owners shown with sons hold senior positions: two are nomarchs, two are overseers of fields and serfs, one a superintendent of priests and one holds a priestly role in the cult of the local god, Min. The presence of the sons may be seen as an acknowledgement of the succession to the father's position and as training and experience for that eventual position. This appears to be of particular importance to *B3wj*, BA48, as he includes his son with him in three different scenes.

Sons accompanying tomb owners at El-Hawawish are rarely depicted as young children, although the small child accompanying *3-Mnw*, L8, and his wife, is naked as is usual in depictions of the very young and stands close to his parents.¹⁴³ This close proximity is also seen in his posture in the panel of the false door where he places his arm around the waist of his mother seated at the offering table.¹⁴⁴ This is typical of sons in Fifth Dynasty scenes who, like wives, reach out towards the tomb owner, connecting with him by touching or holding his staff and/or his leg or kilt. The physical closeness of members of families is noted in Fifth Dynasty tombs in other provincial cemeteries, for example, at El-Hammamiya, *K3.j-hnt* (A2) and *Deshasha*, *Jntj*,¹⁴⁵ and in tombs of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties at the capital, for example, *Hwfw-h^c.f* I, *S3m-nfr* I, *S33t-htp/Htj* and *Nj-htp-hnmw*.¹⁴⁶

As well as the physical linking of the children to the tomb owner noted above (by grasping his staff or touching his body), a number of the children turn their heads and face towards the tomb owner although their bodies conform to the same direction as he does. This characteristic detail of Fourth and Fifth Dynasty depictions at Memphis,¹⁴⁷ is also found in a small naked male child holding the tomb owner's staff and turning to touch his leg in the early Fifth Dynasty tomb of *K3.j-hnt* (A2) at El-Hammamiya in the provinces.¹⁴⁸ This pose with the head turned towards the tomb owner further supports the sense of dependency

¹⁴³ *3-Mnw*, H VI, fig. 9.

¹⁴⁴ This tomb, L8, is dated to Djedkare/Isesi in the Fifth Dynasty. Unfortunately, few Fifth Dynasty tombs at El-Hawawish are completely preserved and more depictions of tomb owners with sons (and daughters) may have originally existed.

¹⁴⁵ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 43, 46, 48; Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pls. 29, 37.

¹⁴⁶ Simpson, *Kawab*, figs. 29, 30; Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 48; Kanawati, *Giza* II, pl. 45; Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 10.

¹⁴⁷ For example, Dunham-Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 7; Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 11, *Mr-jb*; Kanawati, *Giza* II, pls. 42, 45, 47, *S33t-htp/Htj*; Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, fig. 17, *Nfr-b3w-Pth*; Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hotep*, pl. 31, *Pth-htp* II.

¹⁴⁸ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 46.

already conveyed by the physical closeness of the children, and may be intended to confirm the status of the child within the family group.

Sons standing close to the tomb owner in Sixth Dynasty scenes and depicted as adults, are shown small in size compared to the tomb owner, either standing independently or holding the tomb owner's staff. They wear pointed kilts, broad collars and, in the tombs of Q3r, L31, and *Hnj*, H24, long wigs. A lector priest's sash is also worn by the son of *Hnj*.

Children accompanying the tomb owner stand on the same baseline as their father or on a register close to him. In the late Sixth Dynasty, a new stylistic development occurs: a small figure, sometimes identified as the son of the tomb owner, is depicted close to the face of the tomb owner offering him a jar in one hand and a bowl in the other, for example, the small figure of the adult son of *Mrjj-ḥ* at El-Hagarsa.¹⁴⁹ The presence of this miniature figure, placed opposite the face of the standing tomb owner and 'floating' without a register line, places him at the very end of the Sixth Dynasty or later. 'Floating' figures of offering bearers with a bowl, or a bowl and jar are found on stelae from Naga ed-Dêr, Coptos, Dendera and Mo'alla dated from the end of the Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate period.¹⁵⁰ A small, unidentified figure offering a haunch of meat to the face of *B3wj*, B7, at El-Hawawish, adds support for the dating of this tomb to a period from the end of the Sixth to the Eighth Dynasties.¹⁵¹

The importance of sons, and particularly eldest sons, is conveyed by their presence with the tomb owner. Their depiction as adults, their formal posture and dress in the viewing scenes supports this position. Conversely, small female figures presumed by the context to be daughters but without any family designation are rarely included.¹⁵² The minor position which they play in the presentation of the tomb owner's family is marked.

¹⁴⁹ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pls. 37, 38.

¹⁵⁰ For example, Hayes, *Scepter I*, fig. 83; Fischer, *Three Stele*, figs. 3 (p. 62), 5 (p. 64); Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr*, Stela 3, pl. 3, Stela 73, pl. 26, Stela 75, pl. 28, Stela 84, pl. 32; Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 110, 111, fig. 22A; Vandier, *Mo'alla*, fig. 1.

¹⁵¹ *H IX*, fig. 17a.

¹⁵² In tombs G126 of *B3wj* (*H IX*, fig. 15); L31, Q3r (*H VI*, fig. 14); BA17, *B3wj* (*H VIII*, fig. 14).

2.5 Animals accompanying the Standing Tomb Owner

2.5.1 El-Hawawish

Figure: 2.33

A pet animal appears only once with a standing tomb owner at El-Hawawish. The senior Eighth Dynasty official *B3wj*, BA14, dressed in a leopard skin robe over a long kilt, stands with his wife facing him with a small dog standing between them.¹⁵³ Part of an offering list appears next to the couple and a partial scene of cattle crossing through water is in a register below, but the remainder of the wall scene is now lost therefore the context is unclear.

Pets, and particularly dogs, are frequently found beneath the chair of tomb owners seated before their offering tables or when the tomb owner is travelling in his palanquin. It may have been expected that they would accompany the Hawawish tomb owners while viewing the work of their estates but, while animals are occasionally found in this context at other provinces, there are no instances at this cemetery.

2.5.2 Other provinces

The earliest provincial scene where a dog accompanies the standing tomb owner, is found on the west wall of the senior official *K3.j-hnt*, A3, at El-Hammamiya dated to the early Fifth Dynasty.¹⁵⁴ At Sheikh Said in the tomb of *Srf-k3.j* (late Djedkare) a dwarf(?) leads a dog on a leash close to the tomb owner.¹⁵⁵ In the late Fifth Dynasty (reign of Unis) *Hw-ns* and *Wr-jr-nj*, viewing agricultural activities in their respective provinces of Zawiyet el-Maiyetin and Sheikh Said, are accompanied by retainers with two dogs and a baboon on leashes.¹⁵⁶ No further animals appear with standing tomb owners in the provinces until the late Sixth Dynasty. In tombs dated from mid Pepy II to the Eighth Dynasty, they are included in a viewing context such as the cattle viewing scenes of *Dꜥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi and *W3hj* at El-Hagarsa where two *tsm* hounds with collars and a monkey accompany *Dꜥw* and a single hound stands with *W3hj*.¹⁵⁷ In other contexts which are unclear, the animals are simply present in scenes with the tomb owner and his family, for example, the dogs in

¹⁵³ H VII, fig. 18.

¹⁵⁴ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 64.

¹⁵⁵ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 6.

¹⁵⁶ LD II, pl. 107; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 15.

¹⁵⁷ Davies, *Gebrawi I*, pl. 9; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa III*, pl. 20.

the tombs of *ʿn-ʿnhj* and *W3hj* at El-Hagarsa and *Sbk-ḥtp* at Mo'alla.¹⁵⁸ All these are of the type called *tsm* or hunting hounds and all are shown standing except for a bitch who sits at the feet of *W3hj*. All wear collars with ties hanging free beneath the throat.

The distinctive inclusion of a baboon in the scenes of *Hw-ns* and *Wr-jr-nj* may have taken its inspiration from the late Fourth-early Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Nb-m-3ḥtj* at Giza, where the tomb owner stands watching five registers of professions and crafts and is accompanied by his pet baboon and a monkey.¹⁵⁹ A monkey and a hound accompany *Nfr-sšm-pth* and *Nfr-jrt-n.f* at Saqqara.¹⁶⁰ Both tomb owners stand under a canopy while watching agricultural activities like the provincial officials, *Hw-ns* and *Wr-jr-nj*, with the shelters of *Nfr-sšm-pth* and *Wr-jr-nj* having similar decorated panels. *Nfr-sšm-pth*, like the two provincial officials, holds a folded cloth and wears the earlier type of sandal without the strap at the back.

The depiction of single dog, standing behind or before his owner, is often portrayed¹⁶¹ but a particularly marked similarity can be observed between the Memphite elite official *Rʿ-ḥʿ.f-ʿnh* at Giza standing with his *tsm* hound and the provincial tomb owner *K3.j-ḥnt*, A3, at El-Hammamiya.¹⁶² In each, the composition with the large animal standing close to the man and overlapping his staff, is very similar. Both may be reasonably close in time, possibly early-mid Fifth Dynasty.

FINDINGS

- In posture and dress, provincial tomb owners, including those at El-Hawawish, show a close adherence to the artistic style and details noted in contemporary Memphite tombs in the Fifth and early Sixth Dynasties. Between El-Hawawish and other provincial cemeteries there appears to be some interaction or adoption of motifs and artistic style but there is a greater formality at El-Hawawish in pose and dress in all contexts which appears to reflect the formal traditions established at Giza. At the same time, individual details appear at El-Hawawish, apparently independent of styles in the capital for example, the manner of holding one paw of the leopard skin robe in the same hand that holds the sceptre. Likewise the absence

¹⁵⁸ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* I, pl. 32; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pls. 24, 26; Vandier, *Mo'alla*, p. 275.

¹⁵⁹ LD II, pl. 13.

¹⁶⁰ Moussa-Junge, *Two Craftsmen*, pl. 3; van de Walle, *Neferirtenefer*, pl. 12.

¹⁶¹ For example, Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 9; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pl. 32; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. VI.

¹⁶² LD II, pls. 9; El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 64.

of folded cloths in the hands of standing El-Hawawish officials, which is a common feature in the hands of Memphite tomb owners, is a noticeable omission. The reason may be due to the small numbers of depictions of standing tomb owners in tombs dated to the Fifth Dynasty at El-Hawawish, for this appears to be a feature more common in this dynasty in wall scenes in the capital becoming infrequent in the Sixth Dynasty.

- Wives and children, particularly eldest sons, accompany the youthful standing tomb owner in half of the scenes and often in the more important positions within the tomb. In Fifth Dynasty tombs, the couple appear together on entrance jambs and thicknesses and on the jambs of false doors. In the Sixth Dynasty, wives stand with their spouses watching the work of the estate or receiving offerings. Sons, and particularly eldest sons, also stand with the tomb owner in these last two situations. In this manner their appearance here affirms their duties after the tomb owner's death both in provisioning the tomb and as successors to their father's position. Their depiction as adults, their formal posture and dress particularly in the viewing scenes validates this position. The almost negligible presence of daughters is very noticeable.
- Changes in the iconography of the figures can assist in dating, for example, the positioning of the two figures of tomb owner and wife when shown together (closely overlapped or separate), the alteration in the style of kilts (fitted, partly wrapped on the diagonal, or with an excessively pointed front profile), of leopard skin robes, sandals, and the inclusion or absence of jewellery, such as the 'choker' necklace worn by wives and the manner of holding lotuses. At El-Hawawish the position of the wife, vis-à-vis the tomb owner, changes at the end of the Sixth Dynasty and a new position for the wife appears, now opposite and facing him, instead of alongside and oriented in the same direction as her husband.
- The insistence on the formal presentation of the Hawawish tomb owners, expressed in size, posture, dress and accompanying insignia appears to reflect their desire to communicate the importance of their position in the province. This is also conveyed by the positioning within the tomb of one of the major representations of these tomb owners. Nearly half the total number of depictions of the youthful figure of the tomb owner are placed on the wall opposite the entrance at El-Hawawish, a position where family (and descendants) are most likely to gain their first

impression of the deceased. The dominance of the formal posture with staff and sceptre and the wearing of the leopard skin robe in these depictions supports this.

PART B. THE TOMB OWNER DEPICTED AS A MATURE FIGURE¹⁶³

Definition

The term ‘mature’ refers here to a figure type with a thickened torso which is the same width from the upper chest to the waist, that is, where there is no tapering of the torso profile into a narrower waist. A figure with a ‘paunch’ shows a broadening of the body towards the waist where the belly becomes rounded and protrudes above the belt of the kilt.



These two types of representations of mature figures are found in ten tombs at El-Hawawish and on one architrave with a provenance of Akhmim. No scenes at El-Hawawish depict the corpulent figure type characterised by rolls of fat around the body and frequently with pronounced and even pendulous breasts which can be found in some Memphite tombs. Apart from these physical characteristics, the most typical features of mature representations of tomb owners are the wearing of a longer kilt and an erect posture with the figure holding a staff in the far hand.

2.6 Posture of Mature Figures

2.6.1 El-Hawawish

Figs. 2.8, 2.16b, 2.24b, 2.26d,e, 2.29b, 2.30d,k, 2.35b, 2.39

All mature figures are portrayed in a formal posture with feet flat on the register line and with the shoulders square to the front except those of *Mmj* and his father, *Jn-jt.f*, on *Mmj*'s architrave, CG1586, who are depicted with ‘turned’ or ‘folded’ shoulders¹⁶⁴ (see *Figure 2.39*).

¹⁶³ See list with references of tomb owners depicted as a mature figure at El-Hawawish and in other provinces on p. 54 of this chapter.

¹⁶⁴ In these figures, the far shoulder is square to the viewer with the arm extended and the far hand holding a staff, but the near shoulder is turned forward and shoulder, arm and hand are placed over, i.e. on top of, the body (*H VII*, fig. 34a).

A staff is held by all except *B3wj*, BA48, although it may originally have been present¹⁶⁵ and *B3wj*, B7 who raises his far hand in a gesture of acknowledgement to his wife who is presenting him with birds.¹⁶⁶ All figures stand erect with none leaning on the staff in the more relaxed posture sometimes assumed by standing figures. A sceptre is carried by the earlier tomb owners, *Dw3-Mnw*, L6, *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, *Mmj*, B12, *Q3r*, L31, and *B3wj*, BA48, but not by *Ttj-jqr*, H26, *Hnj*, H24 and *B3wj*, B7, nor by any figures on the architrave of *Mmj*, CG1586.

Throughout the cemetery the representations of the mature tomb owner at El-Hawawish are characterised only by a slight paunch above the waistline or by a thickened waist. No exaggerated breasts or pronounced corpulence appear. The slight paunch together with the holding of a staff and a sceptre is usual until the middle of the reign of Pepy II when sceptres are no longer carried by these mature figures. Staffs but not sceptres, are held in the hands of mature figures dated to mid-late Pepy II, those of the nomarchs, *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24. The later vizier, *B3wj*, B7, dated to Dynasty 7 or 8, holds neither a staff nor a sceptre.

2.6.2 Posture and figure type: other provinces

From the known Fifth Dynasty tombs in the provinces, no depictions of mature figures remain although a few tomb owners appear in slightly longer kilts, which is one of the indicators of older officials.¹⁶⁷ The earliest example of a tomb owner with a mature figure appears to be that of *Hw.n-wh* at Quseir el-Amarna, dated to Pepy I, on the entrance thicknesses of his tomb.

Three mature figure types are depicted in provincial wall scenes: those with thickened waists, those with a slight paunch and those with corpulent figures. The greatest numbers are found in the first figure type. Thickened waists appear on the depictions of *Ppjj-ḥnh-wr* at Quseir el-Amarna, *Ppjj-ḥnh/Hnj-km* (A2) and *Nj-ḥnh/Ppjj-km* (A1) at Meir, *Q3r/Mrjj-Rḥ-nfr* at Edfu, *Sbk-ḥtp*, *Hnmw-hnw* and *Mḥw* at Aswan and *Mrjj-ḥ3*, *W3hj* and possibly *ḥn-*

¹⁶⁵ The upper part of the figure of *B3wj* is missing (*H* VII, fig. 24a) and this includes his far arm which would have held the staff, if it had been present. Since his sceptre is clearly seen and since he holds both staff and sceptre in other representations (see figs. 23, 25), it may be presumed to be also present here.

¹⁶⁶ The far hand of *B3wj*, B7, is raised towards his wife who offers him birds; his other arm and hand are missing (*H* IX, fig. 17b).

¹⁶⁷ For example, *K3-j-hnt* (A3), El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 44; *Jntj*, Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 29.

ḥnj at El-Hagarsa and Jdj at Abydos.¹⁶⁸ A paunch is shown above the belt of the kilts of Hw.n-wh at Quseir el-Amarna, Ppjj-ḥh-hrj-jb at Meir, Jbj at Deir el-Gebrawi and Stj-k3 at Aswan, Hnnjj at Naga ed-Dêr, Htp at Coptos and possibly Nfr-jw at Dendera.¹⁶⁹ Corpulent figures with a clear depiction of rolls of fatty tissue around the chest is found on the figure of Jhjj at Thebes. Pronounced breasts are shown on representations on pillar 1 and the west (left) door thickness of Nj-ḥh/Ppjj-km at Meir, the south (left) door thickness of Mrjj-ḥ at El-Hagarsa and on a pillar in the tomb of Stj-k3 at Aswan.¹⁷⁰ Neither of these features appears on the figures of El-Hawawish tomb owners.

All mature provincial figures are shown in an erect formal pose and none leans on a staff in the relaxed position frequently seen in standing tomb owners depicted as younger men. The El-Hawawish tomb owners with one exception, the architrave of Mmj, appear with shoulders square to the front, but three provincial tomb owners, one at Quseir el-Amarna and two at Meir have 'turned' or 'folded' shoulders like Mmj where the near arm hangs down, not by his side, but is placed over, and covers, part of his body.¹⁷¹ The near hand in provincial figures with a 'turned' shoulder is occasionally shown holding the diagonal edge of the kilt with the thumb tucked under the edge. This pose is not found at El-Hawawish but appears at Meir on the entrance thicknesses of the tombs of Ppjj-ḥh-hrj-jb and possibly Nj-ḥh/Ppjj-km and also at Quseir el-Amarna on the left/north entrance thickness of the tomb of Hw.n-wh.¹⁷² The mature figures on the architrave of Mmj at El-Hawawish do not hold the edge of their kilts but a corner of the overlap, a feature noted in the tomb of Q3r at Giza.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 27b; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 16; *ibid*, pl. 5; El-Khadragy, *Edfu Offering Niche*, in *SAK* 30 (2002), p. 219, fig. 7; de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.*, pp. 196, 198, 144; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pls. 34b, 19; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 75, respectively.

¹⁶⁹ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 36a,b; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 6[2]; Kanawati, *Gebrawi* II, pl. 44, Davies, *Gebrâwi* I, pl. 10; Jenkins, *Setka*, in *BACE* 11(2000), pl. 17; Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr*, pl. 52(2); Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pl. 23 (No. 26); Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 82, respectively.

¹⁷⁰ Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl.18, photo pl. 65; Blackman, *Meir* V, pls. 6[1], 5; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pl. 34b; Jenkins, *Setka*, in *BACE* 11(2000), pl. 17, p. 74.

¹⁷¹ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 36a (*Hw.n-wh*); Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 6 (*Ppjj-ḥh-hrj-jb*); Blackman, *Meir* V, pls. 5, 6 (*Nj-ḥh-Ppjj-km*, A1).

¹⁷² Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. VI[1],[2]; *ibid* V, pl. V[2]. Here the hand is a little apart from the edge of the kilt; El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 36a, respectively.

¹⁷³ Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 15, 21.

2.6.3 Posture and figure type: Memphite tombs

Figures: 2.51, 2.55–2.57

Corpulent figures in Memphite tombs appear on entrance thicknesses and tomb walls from the Third Dynasty and on jambs of false doors in the Sixth Dynasty.¹⁷⁴ In the early depictions corpulent figures wear short kilts, for example, *H^c-b3w-skr* at Saqqara;¹⁷⁵ this changes early in the Fourth Dynasty to longer kilts.¹⁷⁶ In the Sixth Dynasty, as well as the true corpulent figure, a further type of mature figure is depicted having a slightly thicker waistline of which *Mrrw-k3.j*, standing with two male figures in his pillared chamber, room 13, is a typical example.¹⁷⁷ Associated with corpulent figures is the ‘turned’ shoulder which first appears in Memphite tombs at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and then throughout the Sixth Dynasty. Another variation to the mature posture in Memphite figures with the ‘turned’ shoulder, is the holding of the diagonal edge of a kilt with the thumb tucked under the edge.¹⁷⁸ This last pose is not found at El-Hawawish but is depicted at Meir and at Quseir el-Amarna as mentioned above.

Fischer found that exaggerated indications of corpulence, expressed by rolls of fatty tissue around the chest and pendulous breasts, first appeared in the figures of *R^c-h^c.f-^cnh* and *K3-^cpr* who are dated to the early Fifth Dynasty.¹⁷⁹ Harpur notes an earlier example in the seated figure of the early Fourth Dynasty official *Mtn*.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁴ See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 54, 55, 131–133, Tables 4, 8, 6, 9; Fischer, *A Scribe of the Army*, in *JNES* 18(1959), pp. 244–248; Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 304. To the extensive list of Memphite tomb owners in Harpur the following can be added from Saqqara: *Mhw* (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 4a, 5a, 18, 55); *Mr.f-nb.f* (Mysliwiec, *Merefnebef*, pls. 13, 17); *K3-^cpr* (Kanawati–Hassan, *Teti Cem.* I, pls. 16a, 50a,b); *Nj-k3w-Jzzj* (Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* VI, pls. 6a,b, 45, 46); *Jj-nfrt* (Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* II, pl. 34a,b).

¹⁷⁵ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 1.

¹⁷⁶ For example, *Hm-jwnw* (Junker, *Giza* I, fig. 23b); *K3.j-w^cb* (Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 4).

¹⁷⁷ Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 154–156, 212b,c.

¹⁷⁸ For example, *Hntj-h3.j* (James, *Khentika*, pl. 7); *nh-m^c-Hr* (Kanawati–Hassan, *Teti Cem.* II, pl. 36 a,b); *Nj-k3w-Jzzj* (Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* VI, pls. 45, 46); *K3-^cpr* (Kanawati–Hassan, *Teti Cem.* I, pl. 50a,b); *Jj-nfrt* (Kanawati–Abder-Raziq), *Unis Cemetery* II, pl. 34a,b); *S3bw-Jbbj* (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, pl. 65, CG1565); *S3m-nfr* IV (Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 73a,b); *nhw* (Goyon, *Ankhon*, in *KEMI* XV, pl. VII[8]).

¹⁷⁹ Fischer, *A Scribe of the Army*, in *JNES* 18[4] (1959), p. 245.

¹⁸⁰ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 131. This figure type is also frequently seen in three-dimensional sculpture from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, for example, the seated statues of *Hm-jwnw* (Kayser, *Hildesheim*, pl. 13); *Phr-nfr* (Ziegler, *Statues*, pp. 116–118, E3027); *St-k3* (ibid, pp. 64–76, E12629); the Seated Scribe, ibid, pp. 204–208 (E3023).

2.7 Position in the Tomb

At El-Hawawish no decoration on tomb entrance thicknesses remains intact where mature or corpulent figures may have appeared. The single example of entrance decoration in the cemetery with this type of figure is the architrave of *Mmj*, now in the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (CG1586) and possibly dated to the mid-Sixth Dynasty, which shows repeated representations of the tomb owner and his family. Among these are male figures with a thickened waist and pronounced breast. Two are of *Mmj*, and one is his father *Jn-jt.f*.¹⁸¹ The former may be the same *Mmj* of tomb B12; both have the title of *jmj-r wpt*.

Mature figures are found within El-Hawawish tombs in the following places: on the jamb of the tomb owner's false door (*Dw3-Mnw*, L6), on a pillar face (*B3wj*, B7), facing an offering list and piled offerings (*Nhwt-dšr*, G95) and offering bearers (*Mmj*, B12), and once facing four short registers of outdoor activities including agriculture, boat-building and boatmen jousting (*Tjt-jqr*, H26). Most of the wall before the figure of *Q3r*, L31 is now lost although facing him are the partial figures of two males whose dress suggests that they may be sons. The remaining tomb owners are depicted alone on narrow walls (*B3wj*, BA48, *Ghs3*, GA11 and *Hnj*, H24). No particular wall or place in these tombs appears to be of special importance for the positioning of depictions of mature tomb owners.

A deliberate symmetrical arrangement of these figures is seen on entrance thicknesses in early Memphite tombs where a more youthful representation is placed opposite a corpulent or mature figure of the tomb owner. Similar positioning may have appeared at El-Hawawish on the jambs of the Fifth Dynasty false doors. In the tomb of *Dw3-Mnw*, L6, the tomb owner is shown with a slight paunch on the right jamb but the corresponding figure on the left jamb, although similarly dressed in a leopard skin, is lost below the chest.¹⁸² Two other Fifth Dynasty false doors, those of *3-Mnw*, L8, and *nhw*, M21,¹⁸³ depict a youthful figure of the tomb owner on the left jamb but the right jamb, where mature representations occasionally appear, is now lacking any decoration.

The symmetrical positioning appears to be replicated in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of *B3wj*, BA48, where two narrow walls on either side of a central shrine area are filled with

¹⁸¹ H VII, p. 48, fig. 34a (CG1586). See also Kanawati-McFarlane, *Akhmim I*, pp. 193, 196-7.

¹⁸² H VI, fig. 5.

¹⁸³ H VI, fig. 9 (L8); H V, fig. 24 (M21).

depictions of the standing tomb owner. On the left wall the tomb owner appears as a younger man and on the right, as a mature figure with a paunch.

2.8 Dress and Objects held: staffs, sceptres

2.8.1 El-Hawawish

Possibly the earliest existing depiction at El-Hawawish of a mature tomb owner is the Fifth Dynasty tomb owner *Dw3-Mnw*, L6, who stands with his wife on the right jamb of his false door. He wears a short, pointed kilt, the only tomb owner at El-Hawawish and in other provincial depictions of mature or corpulent tomb owners to do so. The wearing of a longer kilt is so consistent as a feature of mature figures at this cemetery that the slight paunch on the figure of *Dw3-Mnw* is unusual. However an early representation in a Memphite tomb also shows a corpulent tomb owner in a short kilt, *H^c-b3w-skr* (Third Dynasty) and it is possible that this, or a similar, depiction influenced *Dw3-Mnw* or his artist.

Mature tomb owners are depicted with short hair or wear a close-fitting wig, leaving the ear exposed, broad collars and bracelets. Sandals are worn by *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, *Ghs3*, GA11 and *Hnj*, H24, all having a strap passing behind the heel, the form of sandal usual from the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.

At El-Hawawish Sixth Dynasty tomb owners shown as mature men usually wear a leopard skin over a long kilt. Two exceptions are found: *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and the repeated figures of *Mmj* on his architrave, CG1586. The absence of the leopard skin may be due to the context in which *Ttj-jqr* appears, i.e. observing a variety of outdoor activities. The figures on the architrave of *Mmj* are unique amongst the depictions of mature men at El-Hawawish as each is shown with a ‘turned’ shoulder and each holds a corner of the overlap of his long kilt.

Four tomb owners hold one of the paws of the leopard skin with the same hand that holds a sceptre: *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, *Q3r*, L31, *Mmj*, B12 and possibly *B3wj*, BA48. In this last scene both the tomb owner’s hand and the paw are missing but the angle of the pelt indicates that the paw would have been looped-up and held by the tomb owner’s near hand. A further tomb owner, *B3wj*, BA14, may also be included. Although dressed in a long kilt and a leopard skin robe, his hand holding the sceptre is now lost from the wall but the looped up paw remains and suggests the posture. This manner of holding the looped-up paw together

with the sceptre is peculiar to this cemetery and appears in depictions of both mature and youthful tomb owners. The posture is not found in any other provincial or Memphite scene.

The wearing of the leopard skin robe is associated with religious duties and while most of the Hawawish tomb owners shown as mature men have titles indicating priestly functions, the three overseers of fields and serfs, *Mmj*, B12, *B3wj*, BA48 and *Ghs3*, GA11 do not list any titles pertaining to religious duties. The son of *Mmj*, however, states that he decorated tomb B12 for his father, and records a title of *sm3-Mnw* ‘stolist of Min’ a title usually held by the nomarchs.¹⁸⁴ It is very probable that *Mmj* himself held the same priestly position of *sm3-Mnw*. Kanawati proposes that in this period – the end of the reign of Pepy I – there was no nomarch residing at Akhmim and that the overseers of fields and serfs, *jmjw-r wpt mrt 3ht*, were the senior administrators at this time.¹⁸⁵ Of the remaining tomb owners represented as mature figures, *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, *Tjt-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24 are nomarchs and, together with *B3wj*, B7, are overseers of priests. Tomb owners who are represented as mature figures appear to hold the most senior positions in this province.

A staff is held in the hands of all El-Hawawish tomb owners shown as mature men until the latest depiction of a mature tomb owner in this cemetery, *B3wj*, B7. A sceptre is usually carried as well as the staff until the middle of the reign of Pepy II when sceptres are no longer held by mature figures. The latest officials at El-Hawawish to be shown as mature men without sceptres, are the nomarchs dated to mid-late Pepy II, *Tjt-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24. The vizier, *B3wj*, B7, possibly dated to the Eighth Dynasty, has a paunch but holds neither a staff nor a sceptre.

Another El-Hawawish official portrayed without a sceptre is *Mmj*, standing with family members on his architrave (CG1586), an absence most probably determined by his particular posture. Alone among the Hawawish depictions, *Mmj* and his father *Jn-jt.f* stand in the ‘turned’ or ‘folded’ shoulder pose and although they hold a staff in their far hands they grasp the corner of the overlap of their kilts in the other hand. Perhaps the difficulty of holding a sceptre together with the edge of the kilt overlap has led to its absence, although it did not prevent a number of the Hawawish tomb owners from holding the sceptre and a paw of their leopard skin robe together. *Mmj* is, perhaps, following similar Memphite postures such as *Q3r* with whom he may be contemporary.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ H VII, p. 21, fig. 11.

¹⁸⁵ Kanawati–McFarlane, *Akhmim* I, pp. 185, 186, 200–203.

¹⁸⁶ Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 21.

2.8.2 Other provinces

Fig. 2.53

As at El-Hawawish, long kilts are worn by all the provincial tomb owners when depicted as mature figures. The leopard skin robe, however, which appears over almost all the kilts of the mature El-Hawawish officials (with the exception of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Mmj*, CG1586) is only found in one other province, Aswan. Here, two tomb owners are represented as mature figures wearing leopard skin robes over a long kilt: *Mhw* and *Stj-k3*.¹⁸⁷ Neither official, however, holds a paw of the leopard skin like the Hawawish tomb owners. Short wigs are worn by all mature provincial officials but sandals are only included in two of the depictions of these figures, *Jhjj* at Thebes and *Ppjj-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir.¹⁸⁸

Staffs are held by every provincial tomb owner when depicted as a mature man except for *Stj-k3* at Aswan on one of his pillar faces.¹⁸⁹ While staffs are usual, sceptres appear in the hands of less than half of the officials who date to Merenre-Pepy II.¹⁹⁰

Two other provincial tomb owners depicted as mature men raise both arms in the gesture of 'adoration,' *Hw.n-wh* at Quseir el-Amarna and *Jbj* of Deir el-Gebrawi on the east (right) entrance thickness to their tombs.¹⁹¹ This posture of adoration is not seen at El-Hawawish, possibly due to the degradation of tomb entrances where it is usually found.

2.8.3 Memphite tombs

Fig. 2.55

While most mature figures of tomb owners at El-Hawawish wear leopard skin robes only one Memphite tomb owner depicted as corpulent or mature figure was found wearing the animal skin over his kilt, *Hwfw-ḥf*, G7140, at Giza, on the northern side of the tomb

¹⁸⁷ de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.*, p. 144 (*Mhw*); Baines–Malek, *Atlas*, p.72), Jenkins, *Setka*, in BACE 11 (2000), pp. 73, 74 (*Stj-k3*).

¹⁸⁸ Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 18 (*Jhjj*); Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 16 (*Ppjj-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb*).

¹⁸⁹ Jenkins, *Setka*, in BACE 11 (2000), pl. 17 (*Stj-k3*).

¹⁹⁰ Aswan: *Mhw*, *Hnmw-ḥtp* and possibly *Sbk-ḥtp* (de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.*, pp. 144, 198, 196); Edfu: *Q3r/Mrjir-ḥnfr* (El-Khadragy, *Edfu Offering Niche*, in *SAK* 30 (2002), p. 219, fig. 7); Abydos: *Jdj* (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 55, CG1575); Meir: *Nj-ḥnh/Ppjj-km* (Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 6[1]).

¹⁹¹ El-Khouli–Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 36b (*Hw.n-wh*); Kanawati, *Gebrawi* II, pl. 44 (*Jbj*). In this pose, both hands are raised up before the face with the curved fingers uppermost and the thumb below them. For a study of the significance of the adoration gesture with a listing of examples, see El-Khadragy, M., *Adoration gesture*, in *SAK* 29 (2002), pp. 187–202. The similar pose of 'invocation' differs in having only one hand raised and this hand is shown with the palm facing the viewer with the thumb uppermost and straight fingers. No mature El-Hawawish tomb owner is shown in either posture.

façade.¹⁹² The figures of mature El-Hawawish tomb owners closely resemble his solid body, square shoulders, slightly rounded breast and paunch. They grasp a staff as he does but, unlike him, hold one of the paws of the leopard skin in the near hand together with a sceptre. No other Memphite or provincial tomb owner holds one paw like this although among the Memphite scenes a similar posture shows youthful tomb owners dressed in a short kilt and a leopard skin and holding the *tail* of the pelt, but not the paw, in the near hand together with a sceptre.¹⁹³ *Hwfw-h^c.f* also features a knot or clasp at the shoulder of his leopard skin similar to those on the robes of the Fifth Dynasty tomb owners, *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Dw3-Mnw*, L6, and the Sixth Dynasty official, *Q3r*, L31, at El-Hawawish. This knot lies along the shoulder and appears as a narrow rectangular shape with ties hanging down from it.¹⁹⁴ Such details seen in the Fifth Dynasty depictions at El-Hawawish suggest a knowledge of the decoration in major Memphite tombs.

Sandals occasionally appear on the feet of corpulent Memphite figures with more of these tomb owners being found in the Sixth Dynasty tombs at Saqqara.¹⁹⁵

Staffs are usually carried by both corpulent Memphite tomb owners and by mature provincial officials but instead of sceptres in the other hand, folded cloths are frequently substituted by the Memphite officials.¹⁹⁶ No standing tomb owners at El-Hawawish hold a folded cloth but at Quseir el-Amarna and at Aswan tomb owners with thickened waists and long kilts are shown carrying cloths.¹⁹⁷

2.9 Accompanying Wives, Sons and Daughters

Wives do not usually accompany their husbands when these are depicted as mature figures. At El-Hawawish only three couples are found. In the Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Dw3-Mnw*, L6, his wife stands close to him on one of the jambs of his false door, and on a pillar face in the

¹⁹² Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 27.

¹⁹³ For example, *Whm-k3.j* (Kayser, *Uhemka*, pl. 18); *K3.nj-nswt* (Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 18); *S33t-htp* (ibid., fig. 28, central panel of his false door, more clearly seen in Kanawati, *Giza II*, pl. 45).

¹⁹⁴ *Hwfw-h^c.f* (Simpson, *Kawab*, figs 27, 33); see also *S33t-htp* (Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 28, Kanawati, *Giza II*, pl. 45); *Nswt-nfr* (ibid. pl.53)

¹⁹⁵ For example, *Nfr*, Fifth Dynasty, Unis Cemetery (Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nefer and Kahay*, pl. 26); *Mhw* Sixth Dynasty, Unis Cemetery (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls, 4a, 18); *Nj-k3w-Jzzj*, *K3-pr*, Sixth Dynasty, Teti Cemetery (Kanawati–Abder Raziq, *Teti Cem.* VI, pl. 46; Kanawati–Hassan, *Teti Cem.* I, pl. 50).

¹⁹⁶ For example, *K3-w^cb* (Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 4); *Hwfw-h^c.f* (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 27); *Sndm-jb/Mhj* (Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex*, fig. 107); *Jdw* (Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 34); *Ttw II* (Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I*, fig. 20).

¹⁹⁷ *Ppjj-^cnh* (El-Khouli–Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 27b); *Sbk-htp* (de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.* p. 196); *Stj-k3.j* (Baines–Malek, *Atlas*, p. 72).

portico of *B3wj*, B7, his wife faces him offering birds to her husband. Both wives are full-size figures. A wife also stands facing *B3wj*, BA14, who is dated to the same period as *B3wj*, B7, the Eighth Dynasty. The figure of *B3wj*, BA14, has a number of features found in mature tomb owners, a long kilt, staff and a leopard skin robe with a paw possibly looped up in his hand but his figure is now lost in the upper part and no paunch or corpulence can be seen. He has been included with the other El-Hawawish tomb owners because of the features which are typical of mature figures. No other wives are present in the depictions of mature tomb owners at El-Hawawish.

In other provincial wall scenes, as at El-Hawawish, wives rarely accompany tomb owners shown as mature men. Full size wives stand with *Jntj* at Deshasha, *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi, *Jhjj* at Thebes and *Nfr-jw* at Dendera while smaller figures of wives face their husbands *Mhw* and *Hnmw-htp* at Aswan.

Children do not usually accompany mature tomb owners, although a son stands with *Jhjj* at Thebes and with *Q3r: Mrrjj-R^c-nfr* at Edfu. Both these sons reach towards the tomb owner to touch his hand.¹⁹⁸

FINDINGS

- The earliest representation of a mature tomb owner in any provincial cemetery is possibly found in the tomb of the mid Fifth Dynasty official *Dw3-Mnw*, L6, at El-Hawawish.¹⁹⁹ In other provincial depictions the thickness noted in the waist of *Jntj* at Deshasha, dated to the late Fifth Dynasty, may be the earliest provincial example outside El-Hawawish.²⁰⁰ In the Sixth Dynasty at El-Hawawish, the earliest tomb owner clearly showing a mature figure, the nomarch *Nhwt-d3r*, G95, dates to the end of the reign of Teti or the beginning of Pepy I.²⁰¹ All remaining instances of this figure type in the provinces are found in tombs dating from Pepy I to the Eighth Dynasty.
- The El-Hawawish depictions are distinctive in the following respects: the moderation in which the figures of mature tomb owners are shown with no exaggerated corpulence, the consistent addition of a leopard skin robe which is only

¹⁹⁸ Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 18; El-Khadragy, *Edfu Offering Niche*, in *SAK* 30 (2002), fig. 7.

¹⁹⁹ *H* VI, fig. 5; a slight paunch only is apparent.

²⁰⁰ See Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 12 and Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 29. It is difficult to assess whether this is an intentional broadening of the waist and thus a true depiction of a mature figure. The depiction of *Q3-Mnw* may also be queried for the slight thickening of the waist.

²⁰¹ *H* VIII, fig. 4.

seen on one other mature official in provincial depictions, the manner of catching up one of the paws of the leopard skin and holding it in the same hand which holds a sceptre, a posture not seen in any other Memphite or provincial scene, and the wearing of sandals. Four tomb owners wear sandals at El-Hawawish and three of these are mature men.

- No sons and only three wives accompany mature tomb owners. The absence of sons, particularly the eldest sons frequently seen accompanying the youthful tomb owner, may indicate that the sons have already established themselves independently in their own careers and were possibly even constructing their own tombs. The absence of wives with ageing husbands suggests that they may have predeceased them.
- Some influence from Memphite scenes can be noted in the Fifth Dynasty depictions at El-Hawawish particularly from the Fourth Dynasty tomb at Giza of *Hwfw-h^c.f*, G7140, with his mature figure type showing a thickened waist, long robe and leopard skin. A similar figure type and undoubtedly a major influence on Sixth Dynasty representations in the provinces, will have been the early Sixth Dynasty depiction of *Mrrw-k3.j* on the north wall in his pillared room 13 at Saqqara. His stance, long kilt and mature figure type are similar to those of *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish, while his figure and its context are repeated almost exactly at Meir in the tomb of *Ppjj-^cnh/Hnj-km*.²⁰² Many of the provincial tomb owners would have been appointed to their nomes after some period in administration in the capital and it would not be unusual for the style of wall scenes of the major tombs at Giza and Saqqara to be continued in the provinces.
- The distinctive posture associated with mature males at Memphis, is the figure with the ‘turned’ shoulder. Frequently depicted on chapel entrances and pillars at Saqqara²⁰³ it is found once at El-Hawawish in the figures of *Mmj* on his architrave CG1586, and at Meir in the entrance thicknesses of *Ppjj-^cnh-hrj-jb* and *Nj-^cnh-Ppjj-km* and at Quseir in the same place in the tomb of *Hw.n-wh*.²⁰⁴ The repetition of such details supports the presumption that these officials and their artists were very familiar with the decorative style of tombs at the capital.

²⁰² Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 154-156; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 6.

²⁰³ For example, *Hntj-k3.j* (James, *Khentika*, pl. 7); *^cnh-m-^c-Hr* (Kanawati-Hassan, *Teti Cem.* II, pl. 36); *Nfr-ssm-R^c* (Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* III, pls. 46a, 47b, 49b, 51b, 52b, 54b, 56); *Nfr-ssm-Pth* (personal observation); *Nj-k3w-Jzzj* (Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* VI, pls. 45, 46) at Saqqara; see also *Jdw* (Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 23b) at Giza.

²⁰⁴ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 6; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 5; El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 36, respectively.

- The El-Hawawish tomb owners who are represented as mature figures, hold the most senior positions in the Akhmim nome: *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, *Tj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, are Nomarchs and also overseers of priests, as is the vizier *B3wj*, B7. The remaining officials who include mature representations in their tombs hold priestly titles and/or are overseers of fields and serfs or overseer of the apportionment of the god's offering in the two houses.
- The leopard skin which covers much of the upper body and almost half of the kilt, is visually an important addition to the representation of each of these older Akhmim tomb owners and accentuates their seniority both in years and rank. The carrying of a sceptre by the majority of mature tomb owners likewise supports this presentation.
- At El-Hawawish the lack of the feature of exaggerated corpulence in the depiction of mature tomb owners which are evident in the major tombs in the capital and other provinces, together with the addition of new features such as the wearing of a leopard skin robe over the long kilt with the holding of one paw with the sceptre, emphasises the individual character and independence of the Hawawish officials and sets them apart from their contemporaries in other Memphite and provincial sites.

List of El-Hawawish tomb owners in standing postures

A. YOUTHFUL FIGURE TYPE²⁰⁵

FORMAL POSTURE I

Table 1a (b, c)

Fifth Dynasty

L6, *Dw3-Mnw*, H VI, fig. 5, west wall, both jambs of false door

M23, *Mmj*, H V, fig. 15, façade, both jambs

M21, *ḥḥw*, H V, fig. 24, west wall, left jamb, false door

L8, *3-Mnw*, H VI, fig. 9, west wall, left jamb, false door (right jamb lost)

M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, H IV, fig. 6, right entrance thickness; fig. 15, west wall, left jamb, false door; fig. 16, *north wall

Sixth Dynasty

F1, *Hzzj-Mnw*, H VI, fig. 2, south wall (apertures of false door)

CA1, *B3wj*, H VIII, fig. 7, south wall

Q4, *Wbnw*, H VI, fig. 18b, *north wall

B12, *Mmj*, H VII, fig. 9b (left figure), north wall

K5, *B3wj*, H VIII, fig. 18, east wall; fig. 19, south wall

C9, *Jjj*, H VII, fig. 7, west wall (north)

L31, *Q3r*, H VI, fig. 15, west wall

²⁰⁵ Arranged by tomb number, tomb owner's name, reference, position of depiction in tomb

K4, *B3wj*, *H VIII*, fig. 17a, west wall; fig. 17c, left door thickness
M8, *Ttj*, *H III*, fig. 9, pillar 4, south face; fig. 10, west wall, left jamb, false door; fig. 11, * north wall, recess
M52, ..., *H X*, fig. 4 (fragment)
G42, *Hzzj-Mnw*, *H VII*, fig. 5, *east wall (north)
BA63, *Jn-jt.f*, *H VII*, fig. 20 (left figure), north wall
BA48, *B3wj*, *H VII*, fig. 23, north wall; fig. 24b, *east wall (south); fig. 25, south wall
H15, *Hnj-ḥw*, *H IV*, fig. 25, central pillar, south face
H26, *Ttj-jqr*, *H I*, fig. 7, façade, architrave; fig. 9, south wall (west); fig. 13, *north wall; fig. 16, pillar faces (b,d,e,f,g); fig. 20a, east engaged pillar; figs. 22+*H II*, fig. 14b, east wall
B83, *B3wj*, *H IX*, fig. 21, east wall
G49, ..., *H IX*, fig. 9b, *east wall
GA11, *Ghs3*, *H VII*, fig. 27, north wall; fig. 30, south wall
H24, *Hnj*, *H II*, figs. 7-12, pillar faces; fig. 15, west engaged pillar; fig. 21, *north wall; fig. 26, east wall, shrine

Sixth – Eighth Dynasties

I49, *Ttj*, *H VIII*, fig. 10; *north wall
BA17, *Rḥw-r-3w-sn*, *H VII*, fig. 14; *north wall
G66, *Mddj*, *H IX*, fig. 11 (standing before offering table), south wall
B7, *B3wj*, *H IX*, fig. 17a, pillar 1, west face; fig. 18b, engaged pillar 5.

Stelae (male owners)

Stela Orinst. 10491, *Jmj*, *H VII*, fig. 35a
Stela Egyptian Museum, J d'E 88010, *Jdw/Nnjj*, *H IX*, fig. 28
Edinburgh 1910:76, *Wsr-Mnw*, *H VI*, fig. 26a
CG1586, *Mmj*, *H VII*, fig. 34a (right figure)
CG1624, *Mrrj*, *H VII*, fig. 34c
CG1611, *Hnwjj*, *H VIII*, fig. 32a
CG1669, *Q3r/Ppjj-nfr*, *H VI*, fig. 29a
Edinburgh 1910:94, *Tjj*, *H VI*, fig. 26b
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago 31700, *Ttj*, *H VI*, fig. 31

Stelae (female owners)

CG1580, *Mr-njwt*, *H VI*, fig. 27a
CG1584, *K3j*, *ibid*, fig. 28b
Oriental Institute 378, *Twtj*, *ibid*, fig. 30b

FORMAL POSTURE II

Table 1a (e)

Q15, *Qrrj*, *H VI*, fig. 20c; east wall; fig. 21a, north wall
H27, *Nbt*, *H III*, fig. 27; south wall
G42, *Hzzj-Mnw*, *H VII*, fig. 6; east wall (south)
BA48, *B3wj*, *H VII*, fig. 24b; east wall (south)
BA17, *Rḥw-r-3w-sn*, *H VII*, fig. 15; east wall

Stela

Rijksmuseum F1938/1.4, *Mr-ḥw.f*, *H VII*, fig. 35b

INFORMAL POSTURE III

Table 1a (h)

BA63, *Jn-jt.f*, *H VII*, fig. 21(right fig.); north wall
GA11, *Ghs3*, *H VII*, fig. 27; north wall

Table 1a (g)

B7 B3wj, H IX, fig. 18a; pillar 2.²⁰⁶

Table 1a (f)

G126, B3wj, H IX, fig.15;*north wall

H26, Tj-jqr, H I, fig. 10; west wall; fig. 20b; west engaged pillar

H24, Hnj, H II, fig. 17; south wall; fig. 20; west wall

EL-HAWAWISH TOMB OWNERS STANDING WITH WIVES²⁰⁷

Fifth Dynasty

L6, Dw3-Mnw, H VI, fig. 5; west wall, both jambs of false door

L8, 3-Mnw, H VI, fig. 9; west wall, left jamb of false door (right jamb lost)

M22, Hzjj-Mnw, H IV, figs. 6, 7 entrance thicknesses; 15, west wall. False door: tomb owner on left jamb, wife on right jamb

Sixth Dynasty

F12, Mrrw..., H IX, fig. 7; right entrance jamb

G126, B3wj, H IX, fig. 15; north wall *

B12, Mmj, H VII, fig. 9b; north wall

L31, Q3r, H VI, fig.15; west wall

M52, ..., H X, fig. 4 (fragment)

G42, Hzjj-Mnw, H VII, fig. 5; east wall

BA63, Jn-jt.f, H VII, fig. 20 (left figure), 21 (right figure); north wall

H26, Tj-jqr, H I, fig. 7 (entrance architrave); fig.13; north wall *

GA11, Ghs3, H VII, fig. 30; south wall

End Sixth to Eighth Dynasties

I49, Tj, H VIII, fig. 10; north wall *

BA17, Rhw-r-3w-sn, H VII, figs. 14, north wall *; 15, east wall

BA14, B3wj, H VII, fig. 18; north wall *

Architrave and stela

CG1586, Mmj, H VII, fig. 34a, architrave

Field Museum Chicago 31700, Tj, H VI, fig. 31, architrave

CG1611, Hnwj, H VIII, fig. 32a, stela

EL-HAWAWISH TOMB OWNERS STANDING WITH SONS AND DAUGHTERS²⁰⁸

Fifth Dynasty

M23, Mmj, H V, fig. 15; west wall, both jambs of the tomb owner's false door

M21, nhw, H V, fig. 24; west wall, left aperture of false door

L6, Dw3-Mnw, H VI, fig. 5; west wall, both jambs of false door

L8, 3-Mnw, H VI, fig. 9; west wall, left jamb of false door (right jamb lost)

M22, Hzjj-Mnw, H IV, fig.15, west wall, right and left apertures of false door; fig. 16; north wall, shrine

Sixth Dynasty

G126, B3wj, H IX, fig. 15 (no designation but size, dress and pose suggest family, 1 female*, 2 males); north wall

G95, Nhwt-dsr, H VIII, fig. 4; east wall

K5, B3wj, H VIII, fig. 18; east wall

C9, Jjj, H VII, fig. 7; west wall

L31, Q3r, H VI, fig.14; west wall (5 possible sons, 1 female*, no designation); fig. 16; north wall

BA63, Jn-jt.f, H VII, fig. 20 (left figure); fig. 21 (right figure); north wall

²⁰⁶ This posture is rare in both Memphite and provincial tombs being only found once in the provinces in the tomb of Jntj at Deshasha (Petrie, *Deshasha*, pls. 6,7,12,14; Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pls.29, 35(b), 39.

²⁰⁷ An asterisk* denotes the wall opposite the entrance to the tomb.

²⁰⁸ Arranged by tomb number, tomb owner's name, references, position in tomb All references are to sons unless indicated by * which refers to the presence of a daughter.

BA48, *B3wj*, *H VII*, fig. 23; north wall, fig. 24; east wall, fig. 25; south wall
H15, *Hnj-ḥnw*, *H IV*, fig. 25; south face of central pillar
B83, *B3wj*, *H IX*, fig. 21, east wall
H26, *Tj-jqr*, *H I*, fig. 13; north wall, fig. 14b; east wall
GA11, *Ghs3*, *H VII*, fig. 30); south wall
H24, *Hnj*, *H II*, fig. 26; east wall

End Sixth to Eighth Dynasties

I49, *Tj*, *H VIII*, fig. 10; north wall
BA17, *Rḥw-r-3w-sn*, *H VII*, fig. 14*(no designation); north wall

Architrave

Field Museum Chicago 31700, *Tj*, *H VI*, fig. 31; architrave

B. MATURE FIGURE TYPE²⁰⁹

Fifth Dynasty

Dw3-Mnw, L6, *H VI*, fig. 5, west wall, right jamb of false door *

Sixth Dynasty

Teti-beginning Pepy I

Nhwt-dšr, G95, *H VIII*, fig. 4, east wall

Late Pepy I- early Pepy II

Mmj, B12, *H VII*, fig. 9b, north wall, right figure
Mmj, CG1586, *H VII*, fig. 34a, architrave, figures 2, 3, 4*
Q3r, L31, *H VI*, fig. 16, north wall, left side
B3wj, BA48, *H VII*, fig. 24a, east wall, left side

Early-mid Pepy II

Ghs3, GA11, *H VII*, fig. 29, east wall, west face of partition wall
Tj-jqr, H26, *H I*, fig. 11, west wall, north *

Late Pepy II

Hnj, H24, *H II*, fig. 23, north wall, east of shrine*

Eighth Dynasty

B3wj, BA14, *H VII*, fig. 18, north wall²¹⁰
B3wj, B7, *H IX*, fig. 17b, pillar 1, south face

List of Standing Tomb Owners in other provinces depicted as a mature figure²¹¹

Sixth Dynasty

Ḥw.n-wh: Quseir el-Amarna (El-Khouli–Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 36a,b); Pepy I
Jhjj : Thebes (Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 18); Pepy I
Ppjj-ḥnw: Quseir el-Amarna (El-Khouli–Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 27b); late Pepy I
Ppjj-ḥnw-hrj-jb: Meir (Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 6; Merenre–early Pepy II
Q3r/Mrjj-R-ḥnfr: Edfu (El-Khadragy, *SAK 30* (2002), fig. 7); Merenre
Jbj : Deir el-Gebrawi (Kanawati, *Gebrawi II*, pl. 44); Merenre–early Pepy II
Mḥw: Aswan (de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.* p. 144); mid-Pepy II
Nj-ḥnw/Ppjj-km : Meir (Blackman, *Meir V*, pls. 5,6; mid-Pepy II
Ppjj-ḥnw/Hnj-km : Meir (Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 16); late Pepy II

²⁰⁹ Arranged by tomb number, tomb owner's name, references, position in tomb.

²¹⁰ The upper part of the figure of *B3wj* is now lost and no details of chest or waist can be seen but his long kilt and leopard skin robe suggests that originally he would have been shown as a mature figure with a thickened waist or a paunch.

²¹¹ Arranged by tomb owner's name, province, references and dates. An asterisk * identifies figures with thickened waists. The remainder have slight paunches above the waistline of the kilt.

Hnmw-hnw: Aswan (de Morgan, *Cat.de mon.* p. 198)

Sbk-htp: Aswan (ibid, p. 196)

Stj-k3: Aswan (Jenkins, *BACE* 11 (2000), pl. 17, Baines–Malek, *Atlas*, p.72); late Pepy II–end Dyn.VI

Jdj: Abydos (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 75, CG1575)

Hnnjj: Naga ed-Dêr (Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr*, pl. 5(2), MFA 25.625): late Pepy II.

Sixth to Eighth Dynasty

Htpj: Coptos (Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pl. 23(26), Florence 6375)

Mrjj-ʕ3: El-Hagarsa (Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pl. 34b)

Eighth Dynasty

W3hj: El-Hagarsa (ibid, pl. 19a)

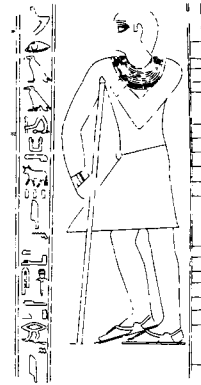
Nfr-jw: Dendera (Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 82)

PART C. THE VIEWING TOMB OWNER

2.10 The Viewing Tomb Owner at El-Hawawish and the Context of the Scenes

The ‘viewing’ scenes are the most frequently depicted activities of the standing male tomb owner after those where he is receiving offerings.

The large scale figure of the tomb owner stands to one side of the wall scene with several registers of activities opposite. An accompanying column of text before him defines his presence: the inscription invariably



begins with ‘*m33*...’ and is followed by a list of the activities he is observing. The word ‘*m33*’ is variously translated as ‘viewing’²¹², ‘seeing’²¹³, ‘inspecting’²¹⁴, ‘looking at’²¹⁵ and in this study the first term will be used. At El-Hawawish, the tomb owner is observing the following activities:

1. a procession of cattle including a count of the herds (“*viewing the cattle count...*”)
2. varied agricultural or marsh activities (“*viewing the work of the fields/marshlands...*”)
3. desert hunting (“*viewing the lassoing of wild game...*”)
4. bull fighting (“*viewing the bull-fight...*”)

There is no interaction between the tomb owners and these activities: a vertical column of text separates him from them in every case. The sole link with the work of the fields and marshlands and of the cattle count, are the recording (or reporting) scribes placed at the

²¹² For example, Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex*, p. 49, pl. 42; Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, pp. 18, 20, pls. 30, 31; Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, pp. 32, 47, 49, 50, figs. 26, 39, 40, 42.

²¹³ For example, Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 4, 5; Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* II, pp. 12-13, pl. 8;

²¹⁴ For example, Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex*, pp. 123, fig. 88; pp. 134, 137, figs. 96-98; p. 137, figs. 104-5; Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nefer and Kahay*, p. 19, pls. 1,2; p. 24, pl.7.

²¹⁵ Altenmüller, *Mehu*, p. 113, pl. 18; p. 134, pl. 30.

beginning of each register immediately before the figure of the tomb owner. Comments on the viewing scenes at El-Hawawish follow. Brief comparisons with depictions in other provinces and the capital are included to note similarities and differences.

2.10.1 Viewing the cattle count

Table 2.1 (s)

Ttj-jqr (H26): *H* I, 21, fig. 9. South wall, west of entrance, chapel. Early-mid Pepy II

Hnj (H24): *H* II, 38, fig. 26. East wall of shrine. Mid-late Pepy II.

B3wj (BA48): *H* VII, 37, fig. 23. North wall. Mid-late Pepy II.

At El-Hawawish in existing complete wall scenes with this motif, only three tomb owners are accompanied by a text stating that they are viewing registers of animals which are being presented to them. These officials are all dated to the reign of Pepy II, but partially preserved scenes and fragmentary texts indicate that the motif and the activity have been included in the information on tomb walls since the earliest appointments to the province in the Fifth Dynasty. No viewing texts presently remain on the walls of the Fifth Dynasty officials *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Hm-Mnw*, M43, but remnants of cattle and desert animals indicate that both tombs may have contained processions of animals.²¹⁶ Accompanying texts in the tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, support the proposition that this may have been a viewing scene. Above the master drover and the herdsman leading cattle is the text *jnt jmjw-r tẓwt r ḥs[b] nw [pr]-dt* ‘bringing the master drovers to the count’. The text is very similar to that accompanying the viewing scene in the late Sixth Dynasty tomb of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, which refers to the ‘cattle-tax of bulls...and [all kinds of] small animals’.

It is unfortunate that in the tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw* M22, the wall beyond the presentation of prime bulls and the herds of cattle and goats with their herdsman and the recording scribes has been damaged and the rest of the scene is lost. It is here that the figure of the tomb owner would have logically appeared but, as this section of the wall is now entirely missing, his presence can only be conjectured.²¹⁷ However since few Fifth Dynasty tombs at El-Hawawish contain wall scenes and texts which are completely preserved, it cannot be assumed that this was the earliest, or the only, Fifth Dynasty viewing scene.

Texts accompanying the cattle presentation motif point to the purpose and importance of its inclusion in the wall scenes. The inscriptions in the tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, above, and those of *B3wj*, BA48, infer that this occasion must occur over a considerable period of time

²¹⁶ *H* IV, figs. 8, 11 (M22); *H* V, figs. 6, 9 (M43).

²¹⁷ See the photograph of this damaged section of the west wall in *H* IV, pl. 2.

for the animals are being “brought from the towns of...” according to the text in *B3wj*’s tomb, indicating that this census involved a coming together at a central place from a number of outlying pastures or villages. Iconographic details such as the small plants and bushes under or near the feet of the herds in *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, may support the statement that the animals were brought together from fertile country areas. A later stage in this accounting of the herds is indicated by the registers of scribes, master drovers and a single file of animals, possibly the choice beasts, wearing elaborate collars, brought into the presence of the tomb owner.

Cattle form the largest species of animal being presented and accounted for in each of the scenes at El-Hawawish, although in the late Sixth Dynasty tombs, a single gazelle and oryx and two goats are present with the cattle. In the viewing scenes in other provinces only cattle are presented in Fifth Dynasty representations (at El-Hammamiya) and in a tomb dated to Teti (at Deshasha). In Sixth Dynasty scenes, desert animals are included but only at Deir el-Gebrawi from late Teti-early Pepy I, goats from early Pepy II at Meir and Deir el-Gebrawi, and asses at Meir and El-Hagarsa from mid-Pepy II.

The formal attitude and dress of the Hawawish tomb owners, each holding a staff and sceptre and, in the most complete scene of *Hnj*, H24, with the addition of a long wig, broad collar and a leopard skin over his kilt,²¹⁸ indicates the importance of these responsibilities to the tomb owners. The large numbers of beasts²¹⁹ both domestic and wild, under the care of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, supports this. In contrast to the formality of the Hawawish tomb owners, each of the viewing tomb owners in other provincial cattle count scenes adopt the informal pose leaning on their staffs, frequently with the relaxed leg position.

Recording scribes appear to be an essential element and are present in all the cattle count viewing scenes at El-Hawawish and other provinces except those of the late Sixth Dynasty officials at El-Hagarsa. Scribes are not present in scenes of the general presentation of cattle, i.e. scenes without a viewing text.

²¹⁸ *Hnj*, H24 (*H* II, fig. 26). *Jj-mrjj* at Giza watching marsh activities is possibly the only Memphite tomb owner wearing a leopard skin while viewing (Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, pl. 40). Other provincial officials wearing the animal skin while viewing are: *Jtj/Šdw* (a vintage scene, Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 53); *Ppjj-nh-hrj-jb* (an agricultural scene, Blackman, *Meir* IV, pls. 4, 8); *Jn-jt.f* (a desert hunt, Kanawati, *H* VII, fig. 21).

²¹⁹ The extraordinarily large numbers written above the beasts would appear excessive given the amount of land available for grazing animals. It is possible that the animals were hand- or stall-fed but even if this were so, the large numbers are still difficult to accept.

2.10.2 Viewing the work of the fields/marshlands

Table 2.1 (t)

<i>Ttj-jqr</i> (H26):	<i>H</i> I, 22, fig. 11. West wall, chapel. Early–mid Pepy II
<i>Hnj</i> (H24):	<i>H</i> II, 18, fig. 17. South wall, chapel. Mid–late Pepy II.
<i>Ghs3</i> (GA11):	<i>H</i> VII, 41, fig. 30. South wall, chapel. Mid–late Pepy II.

Three tomb owners are depicted viewing the work of the fields and marshland at El-Hawawish: the nomarchs, *Ttj-jqr* H26 and *Hnj* H24 with *Ghs3* GA11 who may be related to the nomarchic family through marriage.²²⁰ The scene viewed by *Hnj* has the broadest range of agricultural motifs with two registers of sowing, ploughing, reaping and binding sheaves and carrying the sheaves away. The completion of the harvesting motif is depicted with the transfer of the harvested grain into silos and the recording of the yield. The granary scene in *Hnj* is the only depiction of granaries at El-Hawawish and one of eight known representations in provincial tombs.²²¹

Together with the depictions of the agricultural work, both *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* include the motif of boatmen fighting, the only tombs in the cemetery to depict this motif. The purpose of this activity is not clear and may be a game for the amusement of the participants (or the tomb owner) or a contest between rival boatmen.²²² Frequently depicted in Memphite tombs, this motif is included in agricultural scenes in the late Fifth Dynasty at Zawiyet el-Maiyetin and in the late Sixth Dynasty at Deir el-Gebrawi.²²³ Both *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* also include registers of goats browsing on trees, head butting behaviour in goats and men with staffs pulling down branches for the goats to browse.²²⁴ The motif of cattle fording is included in three other tombs at El-Hawawish as well as those of *Ttj-jqr* H26 and *Hnj* H24

²²⁰ *H* I, fig. 11 (H26); *H* II, fig. 17 (H24); *H* VII, fig. 30 (GA11).

²²¹ *Jtj/Šdw*, Deshasha (Petrie, *Deshasha*, pl. 23, Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 47a); *Mrjj-ʿ3* and *W3hj*, el-Hagarsa (Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pls. 36, 28, 31); *Hwj/Ttj-jqr*, Geheina (El-Masry, *Gohaina*, *BACE* 15 (2004), p. 103, fig. 4a); *T3wtj*, Qasr wa es-Saiyad (Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 33); *Wnjs-ʿnh* and *Jhjj*, Thebes (Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pls. 3, 18); *ʿnh-tj-ff*, Moʿalla (Vandier, *Moʿalla*, p. 115).

²²² The various reasons for this interaction between boatmen are proposed in Vandier, *Manuel* V, pp. 510–531; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 153–155; Bolshakov, *Boatmen Jousting*, *BSEG* 17(1993), pp. 29–39.

²²³ *Hw-ns* (LD II, pl. 105[b]); *Nj-ʿnh/Ppjj* (Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi* pls. 5,6); *Jbj* (Davies, *Gebrāwi* I, pls. 4,5); *Dʿw*, Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. 5).

²²⁴ Goats foraging on the leaves of trees are found in two other tombs at El-Hawawish, but as isolated motifs among others in a register (*Hzij-Mnw*, G42, and *Ghs3*, GA11, *H* VII, figs. 3c and 30, respectively). On *Ttj-jqr*’s east wall, a whole register is given to the motif, with each of the components repeated twice: trees, men pulling down branches, smaller kids and pairs of leaping and head-butting goats. Herdsmen using hooked staffs to bring down leaves or branches for the goats to feed on are not found in any other similar provincial wall scene but appear in the Saqqara tomb of *Nfr* and *K3-h3.j* (Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-Hay*, pls. 4, 18, 19).

with *Ghs3* GA11,²²⁵ and although several of these are fragmentary, the number appears to indicate the importance or popularity of this motif over other activities associated with a similar environment, e.g. fishing with a dragnet and fowling with a clapnet which are both depicted in only four tombs.²²⁶ The damaged nature of many scenes cannot preclude more examples being originally present. As at El-Hawawish in the tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, the earliest depiction of cattle fording in other provinces is in the tomb of *Hw-ns* at Zawiyet el-Maiyetin, dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty. From the beginning of the Sixth to the Eighth Dynasties the motif is found at Deshasha, Deir el-Gebrawi, Meir, and El-Hagarsa.²²⁷ Cattle fording is frequently found in tombs of the capital dating from the early Fifth Dynasty.²²⁸

No viewing texts accompany the scenes of agricultural work in the tombs of the overseers of fields and serfs, *Mmj*, B12, *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, and *B3wj*, BA48, but the addition of motifs and details not shown in the viewing scenes of the nomarchs *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, make the scenes of the overseers of fields and serfs particularly full of life. These include: a supervisor leaning on his staff in the harvest field (*Hzzj-Mnw*, G42)²²⁹, a quail feeding amongst the grain stubble in the field (*Mmj*), the grain bundled into oval-shaped baskets in the harvested field (*Mmj* and *B3wj*), a threshing floor scene with a group of donkeys treading the grain (*Mmj*), a fieldhand with a three-pronged fork at one side of the threshing scene who is most probably mounding up the threshed grain (*Mmj*) and another younger fieldhand follows the donkeys carrying a stick/crook over his shoulder with a small basket looped over it (*Mmj*). This youth is part of the team of departing donkeys laden with sheaves for threshing. His far hand is towards the rump of the donkey before him and the other hand holds the end of a hooked staff which he carries over his shoulder. Looped over the staff is a woven basket of the type which (in an agricultural context), holds seed for the sowers or for coaxing sheep or donkeys to move forward. It may possibly define the youth's task in the harvesting routine or may simply carry the daily provisions frequently

²²⁵ *H* IV, fig. 18 (M22); *H* III, fig. 5a (M8, fragment); *H* I, fig. 12 (H26); *H* II, fig. 22 (H24); *H* VII, fig. 30 (GA11); *ibid*, fig. 18 (BA14).

²²⁶ *H* I, fig. 12 (H26); *H* II, fig. 22 (H24); *H* VII, fig. 30 (GA11); *H* VIII, fig. 13 (H41).

²²⁷ *Jntj* (Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pls. 14, 46); *Hm-Re/Jzj*, *Jbj*, *D^cw* (Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pls. 20, 5, 6); *Ppjj-^cnh/Hnj-km* (Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 30; *W3hj*, *Mrij-^c3* (Kanawati, *Hagarsa* III, pls. 20, 23; 37, 40.).

²²⁸ Vandier, *Manuel* V, pp. 104-109; Harpur, *Decoration*, Table 7 [23]

²²⁹ This figure stands next to a harvester in the grain field. No title or label is visible but his posture (leaning on his staff in the relaxed leg position) and dress (wearing a pointed kilt when fieldhands wear fitted kilts or a variety of abbreviated belts or are naked) indicate his more senior role. Supervisors in an agricultural context are known from Giza and Saqqara (see Harpur, *Decoration*, Table 8 [35]) but this figure in *Hzzj-Mnw*'s chapel is the only example in a provincial harvesting scene.

seen next to workers, together with other necessities which accompany the bird catchers and goat herders in *3ht-htp*'s tomb at Saqqara and the fish-gutter in the tomb of *Nj-ꜥnh-hnmw/ Hnmw-htp*. This small vignette (the basket looped over a workman's staff and carried over his shoulder) is unique to El-Hawawish among provincial scenes, but it is also found at Saqqara in the tombs of *Tjj* and *Pth-htp*. These added details show an intimate knowledge of the agricultural processes as may be expected of officials whose titles indicate their charge over these activities.²³⁰

The mid Fifth Dynasty tomb of the major official, *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, has a fragmentary scene with an inscription of flax harvesting, the only preserved scene of this activity at El-Hawawish and the earliest fragment of agricultural work in the fields/marshes in this cemetery.²³¹ The same theme is found in the late Fifth Dynasty tombs of *Wr-jr.n.j* at Sheikh Said and *Hw-ns* at Zawiyet el-Maiyetin and in the mid-late Sixth Dynasty tombs of *Ppjj-ꜥnh-hrj-jb* at Meir and *Jbj* and *Dꜥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi.²³²

The basic agricultural cycle is depicted in the wall scenes of other provincial tomb owners: sowing, ploughing, reaping, making sheaves, transporting to the threshing floor, storing in granaries. Small details within these scenes, also found at El-Hawawish, are: the presence of quails in a grain field,²³³ (Meir, El-Hagarsa), fieldhands with cupped hands either testing or eating grain (Sheikh Said, Zawiyet el-Maiyetin, Meir, Deir el-Gebrawi),²³⁴ and goats

²³⁰ Ziegler, *Akhet-hetep*, p. 35; Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 12; Wild, *Ti* II, pl. 167; *LD* II, pl. 102b, LS 31.

²³¹ *H* IV, p. 25, fig. 18. This is the only preserved scene of flax harvesting in the cemetery although a fragment from the tomb of *Ttj/K3.j-hp*, M8, showing a male figure with a handful of stalks may have been part of a flax harvesting scene (*H* III, fig. 5a). Slightly above this figure is the head of an ox with a yoke across its horns suggesting a ploughing motif. If this were so, then the figure grasping the stalks is more likely to be part of a grain harvesting scene.

²³² Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 16; *LD* II, pls. 106b, 107; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 14; Davies, *Gebrâwi* I, pl. 12, II, pl. 6.

²³³ This depiction of a small bird among the grain stalks, identified as the Common Quail (*Coturnix coturnix*, Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 74-78), is a rare detail found only at El-Hawawish in this scene and then in just two other provincial tombs, *Ppjj-ꜥnh-hrj-jb* at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 14) and *W3hj* at El-Hagarsa (Kanawati, *Hagarsa* III, pl. 21). Harpur notes the inclusion of quails in harvesting scenes first occurs at the end of the Fifth and beginning of the Sixth Dynasty (*Decoration*, pp. 215, 216, Table 8, pp. 369-374) where they appear in the tombs of *Shm-k3.j*, Giza, and *Mrrw-k3.j* and *Mhw* at Saqqara (Simpson, *Masabas of the Western Cemetery*, fig. 4; Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl. 168; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 20a, 23a). The vizier, *Hzzj* in the Teti cemetery can be added to this list (Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 52).

²³⁴ The detail of the cupped hands seen here is proposed as the action of extracting grain from the seed heads by crushing or rubbing the husks off between the palms to provide the harvesters with something to eat: see Vandier, *Manuel* VI, p. 96, 97, Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 213 (Table 8 [39], pp. 369-375 lists tombs where this detail occurs. Only three tombs at Giza and two at Saqqara include it, with eight in provincial tombs). This activity is possibly also the pose of the worker in the centre of the grain field of *Hnj*, H24 (*H* II, fig. 17). Although the man's hands are now lost the position of his arms indicate that he may have held grain in cupped hands.

leaping up into trees (Deshasha, Meir). New motifs not in scenes at El-Hawawish include a flute player in a harvest field (Meir);²³⁵ a fieldhand drinking from a jar (Sheikh Said, Zawiyet el-Maiyetin, Deir el-Gebrawi),²³⁶ and a cow scratching its muzzle with its hind hoof (Meir).²³⁷

The quail in *Mmj*'s scenes moving among the stalks closely resembles the bird in the tomb of *Shm-k3.j*, at Giza in its slender form and longer legs more than the plump quails close to the ground of *Hzzj* and *Mrrw-k3.j* at Saqqara. Many parts of the wall scenes at El-Hawawish are damaged and details now lost and *Mmj*, B12, dated to mid-late Pepy I is, at present, the earliest known instance of this motif in the provinces. But since other overseers of fields and serfs *B3wj*, BA48, and *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, include very similar agricultural scenes in their tombs, quails may have originally featured in their harvesting scenes as well.

2.10.3 Viewing the lassoing of wild game (the desert hunt)

Table 2.1 (v)

Jn-jt.f (BA63): *H VII*, 34, fig. 21. North wall. Early-mid Pepy II

At El-Hawawish, where scenes are complete, hunting in the desert is found with a viewing tomb owner and text only once. In the tomb of *Jn-jt.f*, BA63, the text before the tomb owner states that he is *m33 sph ʿwt h3st jn nww* 'viewing the lassoing of wild game by the hunters...'.²³⁸ The scene in *Jn-jt.f* features a hunter holding the loop of a lasso in one outstretched hand while striding towards a group of fleeing long-horned oryx, accompanied by his hunting dog which is attacking the leg of the last animal. A slightly undulating baseline indicates the desert floor.

²³⁵ Flute players in a harvesting context are found in a small number of Memphite tombs: at Giza (1 example) and Saqqara (five examples), (Siebels, *Agriculture*, pp. 173,174) but this detail at Meir appears to be the only instance of a flautist in a register of goats browsing in a scene where the tomb owner is viewing agricultural work.

²³⁶ This detail is depicted in the harvesting scenes of only four provincial tombs: *Wr-jr-n.j* (Sheikh Said); *Hw-ns* (Zawaiyet el-Maiyetin); *Jbj* and *Dʿw* at Deir el-Gebrawi. It also appears infrequently at Giza and Saqqara: six tombs altogether, see Siebels, *Agriculture*, p. 171.

²³⁷ This rare detail which only appears once in the provinces in the tomb of *Ppjj-ʿnh-hrj-jb* (Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 14 (right) is found in a small number of Memphite tombs: in the mid-and late-Fifth Dynasty Saqqara tombs of *Ntr-wsr* (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 22), *Rʿ-špss* (LD Erg, pl. 39a), *Tjj* (Wild, *Ti* III, pl. 142) and *Jj-nfrt* (Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cem.* II, pl. 44b). At Giza a number of cows are with suckling calves while scratching the muzzle, e.g. *J3sn* (Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery* I, fig. 30) and *Jj-mrjj* (Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, fig. 34).

²³⁸ *H VII*, p. 34, fig. 21, north wall. Early-mid Pepy II.

Although there is neither a viewing inscription nor a watching tomb owner, four other El-Hawawish tombs include this motif: *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, where a hunting dog stands on undulating desert ground, possibly part of an extensive hunting scene,²³⁹ *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, a striding hunter holding a lasso with his dog behind him,²⁴⁰ *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, another striding hunter with a lasso and a hunting dog following a herd of oryx,²⁴¹ while in the scene of *Hnj*, H24, a kneeling hunter, stick in hand, points forward. His hound attacks the leg of an ibex while another (or the same) hunter with a lasso moves forward towards a herd of oryx. Before them, a lion stands astride an ibex and bites its neck while two other hunting dogs attempt to bring down another animal. Speckled, undulating ground beneath the men and animals supports the desert setting.²⁴²

The common elements are clear: the hunter with a lasso, his hunting dog, fleeing ungulates, the depiction of an undulating desert floor. New features are introduced in the scene of *Hnj*, H24: the figure of a kneeling and pointing huntsman and a lion attacking an oryx. All are placed on south walls. The dating span of these tombs is from mid-late Fifth Dynasty (M22); Teti-early Pepy I (G95, G42) to late Pepy II (H24).

Provincial comparisons

In the provinces seven depictions are found: two tombs at Qasr wa es-Saiyad (*Tw3tj*; *Jdw/Snnj*); two at Deir el-Gebrawi (*Jbj*, *Dʿw*); one at Naga ed-Der (*Mrw*); two at Mo'alla (*Sbk-ḥtp*; *nh-tj.fj*).²⁴³ The only scene to include a viewing text is found at Deir el-Gebrawi in the tomb of *Jbj*. Dating span: Merenre–mid-Pepy II to Dynasty 8 (Mo'alla)

The following comparisons point to the similarities and differences between the desert hunting scenes at El-Hawawish and other provincial cemeteries. The difference in posture and dress of the two provincial viewing tomb owners is marked. *Jn-jt.f*, BA63, at El-Hawawish, assumes a formal posture with feet flat on the baseline and wears a leopard skin robe and a lector priest's sash. The only other provincial viewing tomb owner, *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi, wears a short, pointed kilt, no leopard skin and leans on his staff in the

²³⁹ *H* IV, figs. 8,11 (the remaining section of the wall is now lost : see *H* IV, pl. 1 for the condition of the wall)

²⁴⁰ *H* VIII, fig. 3b middle register, right.

²⁴¹ *H* VII, fig. 3c, upper register, right

²⁴² *H* II, fig. 19.

²⁴³ Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 16 (*Tw3tj*), pl. 10 (*Jdw/Snnj*); Kanawati, *Gebrawi II*, pl. 52 (*Jbj*); Davies, *Gebrāwi II*, pls. 9, 15 (*Dʿw*); Peck, *Naga ed-Dér*, pl. 10 (*Mrw*); Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pls. 42, 45, 46 (*Sbk-ḥtp*; *nh-tj.fj*).

informal posture with one leg bent and the foot of that leg raised and resting on the other foot.

In scenes without a viewing tomb owner at El Hawawish each scene (except the fragment in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, in which only the hunting dog remains) include a hunter with a lasso. This feature is not part of any of the other known provincial hunting scenes. Hunters using bows and arrows do not appear at el-Hawawish but are present in five of the seven provincial scenes.²⁴⁴ A hunter kneeling on one knee and pointing, with his hound at his side is depicted in *Jbj*, *T3wtj*, and *Jdw/Snnj* but appears once only in the scene of *Hnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish.

The rare inclusion of a lion attacking a desert ungulate is only found in the provinces at El-Hawawish (*Hnj*) and Deir el-Gebrawi (*Jbj* and *Dꜥw*). There is no ‘copying’ of the motif from the tomb at El-Hawawish to those at Deir el-Gebrawi as each site depicts a different type of hunting behaviour of the lion. In the scene of *Hnj* the lion has attacked from the rear launching itself on top of the gazelle and is about to kill by biting it on the neck. In the depictions of *Jbj* and *Dꜥw* the killing technique is one of suffocation, the lion placing its mouth over the muzzle of its prey. Both reflect accurate observation on the part of the artists and may have originally been inspired by the hunting scenes at Saqqara for example, in the tombs of *Pth-htp*, *Mrrw-k3.j* and *Mrjj-Ttj*.²⁴⁵

No smaller desert animals such as hedgehogs or hares appear at El-Hawawish, but are present in the hunting scenes of *Jbj*, *Dꜥw*, *T3wtj*, *Jdw/Snnj*, *ꜥnh-tj-fj*.

Memphite comparisons

In Memphite tombs, hunting desert animals has been part of the decorative programme since the Fourth Dynasty, with the scenes of *Nfr-m3ꜥt*, *Jtt* and *Rꜥ-htp* at Medum and *Mtn* at Abusir,²⁴⁶ where the components of kneeling hunters, hunting dogs, desert ungulates and small animals such as hedgehogs and hares are already present. Hunting with a lasso

²⁴⁴ This rare depiction in Old Kingdom scenes is found initially in the royal funerary temple of Sahure, (Borchardt, *Sahure* II, pl.17) and then only in the tombs of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi (Kanawati, *Gebrawi* II, pl. 52), *Jdw/Snnj* at Qasr wa es-Saiyyad (Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 10) and *Mrw* at Naga ed-Der (Peck, *Naga ed-Dêr*, Pl. 10). In the First Intermediate Period, hunters with bows and arrows are depicted in the tombs of *ꜥnh.tj.fj* and *Sbk-htp* at Mo’alla (Vandier, *Mo’alla*, fig. 45-46, pp.93-95, pp.271-274.

²⁴⁵ Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 32; Duell, *Mereruka* I, pls. 24, 25; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka* I, pl. 46.

²⁴⁶ Petrie, *Medum*, pls. 9, 17, 27; *LD* II pl. 6.

appears in the Fifth Dynasty in *R^c-m-k3.j* and *3htj-mrw-nswt*²⁴⁷ and lions are part of the hunt in the tombs of *Pth-htp*, *Mrrw-k3.j* and his son *Mrjj-Ttj* (see above).

Stylistically, a sense of greater action and movement is conveyed in the Hawawish scenes through the repetition of the legs of the herds of fleeing gazelles. In the other provincial scenes the animals are not grouped nor is there any urgency in their movements and the effect is a more static rendering of the hunt.

While the standard motifs of the themes of the cattle census, agricultural work or desert hunting, are found in many of the tombs at Giza and Saqqara, it is the inclusion of individual, and often quite small, motifs which indicate the transference of ideas and influences from specific tombs in the capital to provincial wall scenes. Constraints of space have not allowed all these motifs to be discussed here. A repetition of motifs can be seen where provincial tomb owners are close in time to major tombs with distinctive features in the capital, for example, the late Fifth Dynasty viewing scenes of *Hw-ns* and *Wr-jr-n.j* at Zawiyet el-Maiyetin and Sheikh Said respectively which reflect in their agricultural scenes, close links with Memphite tombs dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty, in both content and details.

2.10.4 Viewing the bull fight

Table 2.1 (u)

<i>Ttj-jqr</i> (H26):	<i>H</i> I, 21-2, fig. 10. West wall, chapel. Early-mid Pepy II
<i>Hnj</i> (H24):	<i>H</i> II, 23-4, fig. 20. West wall, chapel. Mid-late Pepy II
<i>Rhw-r-3w.sn</i> (BA17):	<i>H</i> VII, 26, fig. 15. East wall. Dynasty 8

This motif is rare and is only seen in provincial tombs with sixteen known Old Kingdom examples in total. The greatest number of bull fighting scenes are found at El-Hawawish. Three tombs at this cemetery feature this motif with a viewing text: *Ttj-jqr* (H26), *Hnj* (H24), and *Rhw-r-3w.sn* (BA17), while three have no accompanying viewing texts: *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22; *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42; unknown owner, Tomb K21.²⁴⁸ In other provincial cemeteries, three tombs at El-Hagarsa include bull fighting, Deir el-Gebrawi and Qasr wa es-Saiyad, two, and the tombs at Deshasha, Meir and Aswan, one each. It is remarkable that the greatest number of tombs with this motif are found in the same province: the Ninth

²⁴⁷ Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 56; Wreszinski, *Atlas* III, pl. 69.

²⁴⁸ *H* I, pp. 21-2, fig. 10; *H* II, pp. 23-4, fig. 20; *H* VII, p. 26, fig. 15; *H* IV, figs. 8, 11; *H* VII, fig. 3c; *H* VIII, fig. 24b.

Nome of Upper Egypt, *Hnt-Mnw*, which contains the cemeteries of El-Hawawish and El-Hagarsa, nine tombs altogether.

Tomb owners viewing bull fighting with accompanying texts are only found at El-Hawawish. The bull fighting motif is, however, included as part of viewing the cattle count and cattle presentation in wall scenes of tombs in six provinces: at Deshasha, Meir, Deir el-Gebrawi, Qasr wa es-Saiyad, El-Hagarsa and Aswan.²⁴⁹ As well as having the greatest number of tombs with the bull fighting theme, a comparison between the El-Hawawish tombs with those in other provinces shows that a greater number of animals were engaged in this activity at El-Hawawish: four pairs of bulls in the two tombs of the nomarchs, *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24 and 2 pairs in *Rhw-r-3w-sn*, BA17. The other provincial tombs show one pair in each.

The following sequence in the actions of the fighting bulls can be observed. Three stages are depicted:

- (i) the meeting head on of two opposing bulls,
- (ii) the tossing up from the ground of one of them, and
- (iii) the descent to the ground head first of the vanquished animal.

All are present in the scenes of both *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, with stage (ii) being repeated twice in each. This action (ii) appears to be considered the most typical or important. All of the El-Hawawish scenes (except for the fragmentary motif in tomb K21) include it, from the earliest in the tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22 (dated to the mid-late Fifth Dynasty) to the latest *Rhw-r-3w-sn*, BA17 (dated to Dynasty VII-VIII). In the wall scenes of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22 and *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, a single pair of bulls is placed in a register of individual motifs. In tomb G42, for example, to one side of the bull fight is the motif of goats leaping up into a tree and on the other, a desert hunter with his hound and a herd of gazelles. But in both registers it is the action of the bull being tossed up from the ground that has been chosen to represent this motif.

The prominence of movement (ii), which would possibly require the greatest strength on the part of one of the bulls, supports the suggestion that the contest between the two

²⁴⁹ *Jtj/Šdw*, Deshasha: Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, p. 54, pl.51; *Ppjj-ṣnh/Hnj-km* (A2), Meir: *Meir* V, p. 41, pl. 32; *Jbj*, Deir el-Gebrawi: Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. 11; Kanawati, *Gebrawi* II, p. 44, pl. 52; *Dṣw*, Deir el-Gebrawi: Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, p. 9, pls. 9, 15; *T3wtj*, Qasr wa es-Saiyad: Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, p. 53, pl. 31; *Jdw/Snnj*, *ibid*, pl. 8; *Mrjj* (C2), El-Hagarsa: Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* I, p.60, pl. 43; *Mrjj-ṣ* (D18), El-Hagarsa: Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, p. 35-6, pl. 37-39; *W3hj* (D4), El-Hagarsa: *ibid*, p.16, pls. 20, 22; *Hw-ns* Aswan: de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.* p. 160, 161.

animals is part of a selection process to find the prime bull of the herd for breeding purposes. The proximity of bull fighting with animal husbandry motifs and with the procession of chosen cattle to the tomb owner, underlines this proposal. The importance of the motif is evident in the presence of the tomb owner, as Kanawati points out,²⁵⁰ who is sited immediately next to the bull fight, and by the accompanying text itself which refers specifically to watching the bull fight although other activities are shown in adjacent registers.

The postures of the herdsman accompanying or controlling the bulls are remarkable for their vitality and similarity in the scenes of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22 and *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42. Both men lean well back, legs wide apart for balance with the heel of the rear foot raised. In contrast, the upright stance of the herdsman of *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, with feet flat on the ground, appears restrained. All the men hold sticks in upraised hands with those of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* held horizontally above their heads. The herdsman of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22 and *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42 bring their hands over their heads and down behind their shoulders with the sticks at an angle. The impression is one of much greater energy and force than in the scene of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj*. While the bull fighting motif is not found in Memphite tombs, the vitality of the posture in the first two tombs (M22 and G42) is seen in the figures of men forcibly deterring predatory animals from attacking newborn calves or goats' kids, for example in *Nj-ḥh-Hnmw* / *Hnmw-ḥtp*, and *Hw-ns* or beating recalcitrant donkeys, as in *Htp-ḥr-3ḥtj*.²⁵¹

Provincial bull fighting scenes without a viewing text

No tomb owner in the provinces is said to be 'viewing' a bull fight but the motif of a pair of bulls fighting is included in the wall scenes of six provinces (excluding El-Hawawish) where the bull fighting motif is part of viewing the cattle count and cattle presentation scenes.²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Kanawati, *Bullfighting*, BACE 2 (1991), p. 56.

²⁵¹ Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 8; LD II, pl. 108; Mohr, *Hetep-her-Akhti*, fig. 51.

²⁵² *Jttj/Šdw*, Deshasha: Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, p. 54, pl. 51; *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnj-km* (A2), Meir: *Meir* V, p. 41, pl. 32; *Jbj*, Deir el-Gebrawi: Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. 11; Kanawati, *Gebrawi* II, p. 44, pl. 52; *Dḥw*, Deir el-Gebrawi: Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, p. 9, pls. 9, 15; *T3wtj*, Qasr wa es-Saiyad: Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, p. 53, pl. 31; *Jdw/Snnj*, *ibid*, pl. 8; *Mrjj* (C2), El-Hagarsa: Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* I, p. 60, pl. 43; *Mrjj-3* (D18), El-Hagarsa: Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, p. 35-6, pl. 37-39; *W3hj* (D4), El-Hagarsa: *ibid*, p. 16, pls. 20, 22; *Hw-ns* Aswan: de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.* p. 160, 161.

References to bull fighting in provincial tombs other than at El-Hawawish

Listed by province from north to south (6 provinces, 12 scenes)

Deshasha UE 20:

Jttj/Šdw, Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 18; Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 51. West wall.

Meir UE 14:

Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km, Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 32. East wall.

Deir el-Gebrawi UE 12:

Jbj, Davies, *Gebrāwi I*, pl. 11= Kanawati, *Gebrawi II*, pl. 52. North wall

Dḥw: Davies, *Gebrāwi II*, pl. 9. North wall.

El-Hagarsa UE 9:

Mrjj, C2; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa I*, pl. 43. South wall.

Mrjj-ḥ, D19: Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa III*, pls. 37, 39. South wall; pls. 42, 44. North wall.

W3hj, D4: Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa III*, pls. 20-23. South wall.

Qasr wa es-Saiyad UE 7:

Jdw/Snnj: Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 8. East wall.

Tw3tj: Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 31. North wall

Aswan UE 1:

Hw-ns: de Morgan, *Cat.des mon.I*, pp. 160-161; (Pillar 1, west face); Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa*, pl. 22. South wall.

Summary of features

- number of pairs of bulls: 1 pair is usual except for 2 pairs in *Dḥw*(Gebrawi), *Mrjj*, C2 and *W3hj*, D4 (El-Hagarsa).
- herdsman with raised stick: 5 scenes *Jttj/Šdw*, (Deshasha); *Jbj*, (Gebrawi); *Hw-ns* (Aswan); *Mrjj-ḥ* (without stick)and *W3hj* (El-Hagarsa).
- posture of bulls:
 - i. meeting head on: *Dḥw*(Gebrawi), *Mrjj*, C2, and *W3hj* (El-Hagarsa); *Hw-ns* (Aswan).
 - ii. tossing up of one bull: *Jbj* and *Dḥw*(Gebrawi); *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km*, (Meir); *Jdw/Snnj* (Qasr wa es-Saiyad); *Mrjj*,C2 and *W3hj* (El-Hagarsa).
 - iii. one bull thrown to ground headfirst: *Jttj/Šdw*, (Deshasha); *Tw3tj* (Qasr wa es-Saiyad); *Mrjj*,C2 and *Mrjj-ḥ* (El-Hagarsa); *Hw-ns* (Aswan).
- adjacent motifs:
 - animal husbandry, mating/calving/suckling/milking: *Jttj/Šdw*, (Deshasha); *Jbj* (Gebrawi); *Tw3tj* (Qasr wa es-Saiyad); *Mrjj-ḥ* (El-Hagarsa).
 - procession of cattle/fording/presentation of offerings: *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km*, (Meir); *Dḥw*(Gebrawi); *Mrjj*, C2, and *W3hj* (El-Hagarsa), *Hw-ns* (Aswan).

2.10.5 Additional viewing scenes in provincial tombs not found at El-Hawawish:

- a vintage scene
- craftsmen at work
- offerings
- marshland activities of the tomb owner

Viewing the vintage:

Deshasha: *Jtj/Šdw*;

Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 16, Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 53 (gathering grapes, pressing the wine (mostly lost) with an *jmj-r* pr supervising, filling jars). *Jtj/Šdw* with staff, sceptre, long wig, leopard skin robe.

*Viewing craftsmen at work.*²⁵³

Meir: *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km A2*;

Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 16 (jewellery manufacture, metalworking, forming stone vessels and a statue). *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km* wears long kilt.

Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 19 (draughtsmen and sculptors). *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km* seated with folded cloth.

Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 21 (carpenters). Tomb owner's figure lost.

Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 26 (inspecting cloth). *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km* holds staff and sceptre together, wears long wig and sandals.

Deir el-Gebrawi: *Jbj*;

Davies, *Gebrāwi I*, pls. 13-16, Kanawati, *Gebrawi II*, pl. 53 (carpenters, metal workers, jewellery manufacture, forming stone vessels and statues, wooden boat building). *Jbj* seated with staff.

Viewing the presentation of offerings:

Deshasha: *Jtj/Šdw*,

Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 52 (mixed offerings, birds, fruit and vegetables, live animals, jars of beverages). *Jtj/Šdw* with staff and sceptre.

Meir: *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km A2*

Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 29 (offerings from his estate, birds, meat portions (remainder of offerings lost). Tomb owner seated with staff and sceptre.

*Viewing the activities of the marshlands.*²⁵⁴

Deir el-Gebrawi: *Jbj*;

Davies, *Gebrāwi I*, pl. 3, Kanawati, *Gebrawi II*, pl. 46 (activities of the marshlands, catching fish and throwing the spear). *Jbj* spear fishing.

Davies, *Gebrāwi I*, pl. 5, Kanawati, *Gebrawi II*, pl. 47 (activities of the marshlands, capturing nests and birds). *Jbj* bird hunting.

Davies, *Gebrāwi I*, pl. 5, Kanawati, *Gebrawi II*, pl. 48 (catching birds in a clapnet, boatmen bringing produce from the marshes). *Jbj* seated with staff.

Deir el-Gebrawi: *Dḥw*;

Davies, *Gebrāwi II*, pl. 6.

Qasr wa es-Saiyad: *Jdw/Snnj*;

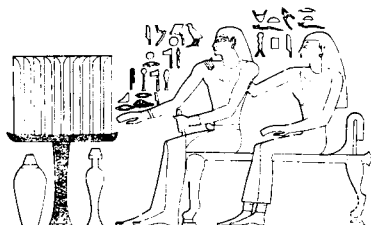
Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pls. 8 (catching birds). *Jdw/Snnj* bird hunting.

²⁵³ At El-Hawawish in the tomb of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, a partially preserved viewing text refers to the tomb owner as "[viewing the exaction] of the cattle tax of bulls...and small animals" (*H I*, p. 21. fig. 9). But although a procession of animals is found in the lowest register, the upper two registers opposite the standing tomb owner show carpenters, a sculptor working on a statue and metal workers; there is no text referring to these craftsmen.

²⁵⁴ At El-Hawawish, although there are several spear-fishing scenes, all these begin with the verb *stjt* 'spearing'. None include the 'viewing' verb *m33*.

CHAPTER 3

THE SEATED TOMB OWNER²⁵⁵ AT EL-HAWAWISH: DEPICTIONS IN TOMBS AND ON STELAE



INTRODUCTION

At El-Hawawish, the tomb owner is shown seated in 43 of the 53 decorated tombs dated from the mid-late Fifth Dynasty to the Eighth Dynasty (*Figs. 3.1–3.42*) and on nineteen stelae (*Figs. 3.43–3.61*)

The tomb owner at the offering table

- Thirty-seven tombs depict the owner seated before an offering table.
- In two tombs the tomb owner and his wife each sit at a separate table.
- Husbands and wives occupy a seat together before an offering table in ten scenes.

The tomb owner seated but not at the offering table

- The tomb owner is seated alone and without an offering table on two entrance lintels, once on an entrance thickness and once on the panel of a false door. All these are in tombs dated to the Fifth Dynasty.²⁵⁶
- Two more scenes also show the wife seated with the tomb owner but without offering tables. One is dated to Teti, the other to the beginning of Pepy II.²⁵⁷
- Three chapels depict the deceased seated in a palanquin.²⁵⁸
- On the walls of five tombs the tomb owner is shown seated: before a biographical inscription (in tombs G95 and BA14), before an offering list (K5), before a

²⁵⁵ See **Part II: List of Tomb Owners at El-Hawawish (Akhmim) and other Upper Egyptian Provinces by Chapter: Chapter 3.** See also **Table 3.1** and **3.2** for an analysis of the features.

²⁵⁶ Entrance lintels: tombs G84 (H I, fig. 4), M23 (H V, fig. 15); entrance thickness: tomb M23 (H V, fig. 17); panel of false door: tomb M22 (H IV, fig. 15).

²⁵⁷ H VIII, fig. 21 (K16); *ibid.*, pl. 11a, fig. 17b (K4). The outstretched hand of the owner of tomb K4 toward an uncarved space in this incomplete scene most probably indicates that this was conceived as an offering table scene.

²⁵⁸ H I, fig. 13 (H26, *Tj-jqr*); H II, fig. 21 (H24, *Hnj*); H VII, fig. 6 (CA1, *B3wj*); this motif is treated in a separate chapter.

slaughtering scene in the same tomb (K5), adjacent to a spear fishing scene (G97) and observing registers of craftsman and a desert hunt (H24).²⁵⁹

- The tomb owner holds a staff separating his figure from the texts and the activities in all these scenes except in K5.
- The dating span of these depictions of seated tomb owners without tables is from late Teti (G95) to the Eighth Dynasty (BA14).

Where wall scenes are complete, these depictions of husband and wife seated together are in tombs dated from the Fifth Dynasty to the end of the reign of Pepy I.

The frequent occurrences of this theme indicate that the offering table scene is one of the most important motifs in tomb decoration and its absence may be due to wall decay or to the failure to complete the decoration. Setting up a stela within the chapel may have remedied this situation. The stelae from Akhmim attest to this use of independent stone memorials, possibly placed above, or near, the entrance to the burial shaft. Eighteen stelae depict the offering table motif: six of male owners seated alone, five of women seated alone and six with both a man and a woman at the table. In a further stela, a standing female is shown before an offering table.

This chapter focusses on the attributes of the seated tomb owner, those of his wife, son(s) and daughter(s), pets and their interaction with the tomb owner.

3.1 Position and Orientation in the Tomb

1. Entrance lintel: *Mnw-ḥnh*, G84; *Mmj*, M23 (these are not offering table scenes).²⁶⁰
2. Entrance thicknesses: *Mmj*, M23 (left side of entrance, offering table scene; right side, no table)²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ Tombs G95, *Nhwt-dšr* (H VIII, fig. 3b); G97, ... (H VIII, fig. 5); K5, *Bšwj* (H VIII, figs. 18, 19); H24, *Hnj* (H II, figs. 11, 19); BA14, *Bšwj* (H VII, fig. 17).

²⁶⁰ H I, fig. 4; H V, fig. 15. The lack of vertical lines on the lintel of *Mnw-ḥnh* separating his figure from the accompanying text support other criteria giving a date in the first half of the Fifth Dynasty to *Mnw-ḥnh*. (Kanawati, *Administration*, pp. 24-26). Harpur found that the partitioning of the figure of the tomb owner from the following text by a single or a double line as on the lintel of *Mmj* (M23) was a frequently-used feature from the late Fifth Dynasty on entrance lintels (Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 44).

²⁶¹ H V, figs. 16, 17. No chair is visible on the right thickness but the close positioning of the feet and the angle of the lower legs leaves no doubt that this is a seated figure. More examples of entrances decorated with seated figures may have been originally present in this cemetery, but are lost due to weathering of the façades and doorways. However this feature may not have continued beyond the Fifth Dynasty at El-Hawawish. Harpur notes that seated tomb owners in entrance thicknesses are found at Giza up to the reign of Neuserre when the standing pose becomes more usual, while at Saqqara only one example is listed, *šhtj-ḥtp*, near the Unis causeway, who is also dated to Neuserre. Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 53, 54; Table 4.8; Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, pp. 34, 35, 116-119 (*šht-ḥtp*).

3. Panel of false door: *Dw3-Mnw*, L6; *ʕ3-Mnw*, L8; *ʕnhw*, M21; *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22; *Jjj*, C9; *Ttj*, M8; *Wnw-Mnw*, G79; the false door fragment of *Mmj*, CG1587.²⁶² All west walls.
4. The remaining depictions are found on the chapel walls: west wall, 10; north wall, 11; east wall, 11; south wall, 7.

The west wall is the preferred position for depictions of the seated tomb owner on chapel walls and false door panels with 16 examples and a further 2 possible. This wall is usually to the left on entering the tomb, a location maintained even though the orientation of the tomb causes the left wall to be a north wall.

3.2 Posture, Dress and Objects held

3.2.1 Dress

Figs. 3.16, 3.19, 3.29 (selected short kilts); 3.5, 3.6a, 3.14 (pointed kilts); 3.1- 3.3a, 3.9, 3.11a, 3.13, 3.24 (leopard skins)

The dress of seated El-Hawawish tomb owners is normally a short, half-pleated kilt with no projecting edge. In the almost-complete depictions of the nomarchs dated to the second half of the reign of Pepy II, *Hnj*, H24 and *Ttj-jqr*, H26, it is clear that there are no projecting points on their kilts. However three officials, *ʕ3-Mnw*, L8, *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22 (both dated to mid-late Fifth Dynasty) and *W3h...*, Q2 (Pepy I) have exaggerated, elevated points on their kilts.²⁶³ As many scenes have sustained damage, more examples of this style of kilt may have originally been present.

Seated tomb owners wear leopard skin robes over kilts in four tombs dated to the mid Fifth and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasties (*Mnw-ʕnh*, G84, *Dw3-Mnw*, L6, *Mmj*, M23 and *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1), as do *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, and the owner of tomb G97 and *Q3r*, L31 dated to late Teti up to end Pepy I. Neither of the two nomarchs of Pepy II, *Hnj*, H24 and *Ttj-jqr*, H26 wear leopard skin robes when seated.

Comparison with other sites:

The trend at El-Hawawish for seated tomb owners to wear short leopard skin robes over kilts in the mid-Fifth to first half of the Sixth Dynasty follows that seen in Memphite

²⁶² *H VI*, fig. 5; *ibid*, fig. 9; *H V*, fig. 24; *H IV*, fig. 15 (no table); *H IX*, fig. 2b; *H VII*, fig. 8a; *H X*, fig. 9a; *H III*, fig. 26; *H II*, fig. 23; *H VII*, fig. 34, respectively.

²⁶³ *H VI*, fig. 9; *H IV*, fig. 9; *H VI*, fig. 17b, respectively.

scenes with examples found primarily in tombs of the Fifth Dynasty, for example, *Nfr-b3w-Pth*, *Jj-mrjj*, *S3m-nfr* II, *Shm-k3.j* at Giza and *W3š-Pth*, *Pth-htp* I, *Nfr-jrt-n.f*, *Nfr/K3-h3.j* at Saqqara.²⁶⁴

3.2.2 Posture and objects held

The objects held by the tomb owner are the lotus, sceptre, staff, folded cloth or unguent jar.

The seated tomb owner holding a lotus before his face

Fig. 3.5

Only one tomb owner at El-Hawawish is depicted holding a lotus before his face: *3-Mnw*, of tomb L8, who is shown seated before an offering table on the panel of his false door grasping in his far hand the short stem of a lotus immediately behind the flower head²⁶⁵ and holding a sceptre in his near hand. His wife is seated on the same chair and a young, unidentified boy (possibly a son) stands with them. Details such as the choker collar around the neck of his wife, the amulet worn by the tomb owner, the bull's leg of the chair, the stand of the table holding the bread loaves are indicative of a date for this tomb owner in the Fifth Dynasty, possibly to the reign of Djedkare/Isesi.²⁶⁶

Comparison with other sites:

Fig. 3.63

The motif of the tomb owner holding a lotus to the nose is uncommon for male tomb owners in both Memphite and provincial scenes. It is first found in Fifth Dynasty tombs in the capital although in very small numbers. Harpur lists only four Fifth Dynasty Memphite examples, *Ttj-m-z3.f* and *Jj-mrjj* at Giza and *Hnmw-htp* and *Jrw-k3-Pth* at Saqqara.²⁶⁷ The remaining seven representations are dated to the late Sixth Dynasty and the First Intermediate Period.

²⁶⁴ Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, figs. 22, 44; Kanawati, *Giza II*, pl. 63; Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I*, fig. 3 (all Giza); James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*, pl. 21; Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 38; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pls. 2, 3, 5; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 29 (Saqqara).

²⁶⁵ *HIV*, fig. 9.

²⁶⁶ See Cherpion, *Mastabas*, pp. 69-70; 60-61; 34; 51.

²⁶⁷ See Harpur, *Decoration*, Table 6.11.Gunn MSS XIV.45[2].Nbk.9.9; Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, fig. 36, pl.19a; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, figs. 20, 25; McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, pls. 12, 43, 44. Note the arguments put forward by McFarlane for dating *Jrw-k3-Pth* to the late Fifth Dynasty rather than the Sixth as in Harpur (McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, pp.16-19).

No examples of the tomb owner holding both a lotus and a sceptre were found in Memphite tombs.²⁶⁸

Amongst the small number of provincial officials depicted holding a lotus to the face only *Mrr* (stela CG1651) of Gebelein also holds a sceptre as does *ʿ3-Mnw*. This is dated to the end of the Sixth Dynasty or later.²⁶⁹ Other provincial tomb owners holding lotuses only are *Q3r/Mrjir^c-nfr* of Edfu, *Tw3w* (N359), *Imrrj* (N71) and *Jn-jt.f* (N3907), of Naga ed-Der and *Mrr* (CG1651) of Gebelein.²⁷⁰ Consequently *ʿ3-Mnw* at El-Hawawish may be the earliest provincial example thus indicating a direct influence from the capital rather from any other provincial source.

Two ways of holding the lotus are depicted in the Memphite scenes:

- either the stem is grasped behind the flower head (*ʿ3-Mnw*; *Jrw-k3-Pth*), or
- a circular loop of stem is grasped close to the flower (*Jj-mrjj*; *Hnmw-htp*).

Further similarities can be noted:

- The stiff, pointed kilt of *ʿ3-Mnw* at El-Hawawish, is also worn by *Jj-mrjj*, *Hnmw-htp* and *Jrw-k3-Pth*.
- Similar offering table pedestals and the nested ewers and basins on stands beneath the tables appear in *Hnmw-htp* as in *ʿ3-Mnw*.

The seated tomb owner holding a sceptre

Figs. 3.1, 3.3a, 3.5, 3.11b, 3.61

Sceptres are not held alone at El-Hawawish but are shown with staffs and, more rarely, cloths and lotuses in the other hand. Two early officials at Akhmim depict their seated figures on the entrance lintels to their tombs, *Mnw-ʿnh*, G84 (Neuserre), and *Mmj*, M23 (Djedkare/Isesi).²⁷¹ Neither sits before a table. Details of the near hand of both officials are no longer visible but the near arm is raised up to the chest, like the position of the arm

²⁶⁸ But note the similar pose of *Nj-k3w-Jzzj* at Saqqara who holds a sceptre upright in his near hand like *ʿ3-Mnw*, and raises the other arm towards his face. The far hand is now lost but possibly held an unguent jar; there is no indication of the stem of a lotus alongside the tomb owner's forearm (Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* VI, pl. 48).

²⁶⁹ Kubisch, *Gebelein Stele*, in *MDAIK* 56, pl. 33, fig. 2. *Mrr* is seated with his wife but not before an offering table. Facing him are two registers of sons and daughters.

²⁷⁰ El-Khadragy, *Edfu Offering Niche*, in *SAK* 30 (2002), p. 216, fig. 6; Peck, *Naga ed-Dér*, pl. 1; Wreszinski, *Bericht*, pl. 23; Kubisch, *Gebelein Stele*, in *MDAIK* 56, pl. 33, fig. 2, respectively.

²⁷¹ *H I*, fig. 4; *H IV*, fig. 15.

when a sceptre or baton is held against the shoulder as depicted on lintels at Giza in the Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties.²⁷²

From the mid-Fifth Dynasty the position of the sceptre changes from this earlier depiction where it rests against the shoulder, and is now being held away from the body in a more or less upright position, with its base in the lap of the tomb owner.²⁷³ This is the position of the sceptre of ʕ-Mnw, L8, of El-Hawawish and the nomarch, *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, who holds an upright sceptre in his near hand and a long staff with his far hand.²⁷⁴ There is no offering table before *Nhwt-dšr*; who, instead, faces a biographical text and registers of family members presenting offerings. *Nhwt-dšr* (Teti-Pepy I) is the only clear example of a seated tomb owner holding both a staff and sceptre at El-Hawawish and possibly the earliest among other provincial scenes.

One further example is found on the stela, Florence 7584, from El-Hawawish. The owner is an unknown nomarch seated with his wife and dated by Kanawati to Merenre.²⁷⁵ There is no offering table before them. Like ʕ-Mnw, this nomarch carries a sceptre but, unlike ʕ-Mnw, rests the sceptre against his shoulder.²⁷⁶ In his near hand he holds a folded cloth.

Comparison with other sites:

Fig. 3.62

A close comparison to Florence 7584 is that of the Fifth Dynasty official *Nfr-b3w-Pth* at Giza, seated on the jamb at the entrance to his third chamber, with a sceptre against his shoulder and a cloth in his hand.²⁷⁷ His wife is seated close to him in a pose similar to the couple in stela Florence 7584. Both women share the same name, *Hnwt*, written identically. Although far removed from each other in time, it may be that there is a family connection originating in Memphis, which the unknown nomarch of the Akhmim stela wished to emphasise.

²⁷² For example, *Jwn-Mnw* (Hassan, *Giza VII*, fig. 10); *Nfr-b3w-Pth* (Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, fig. 16); *Špsj* (Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 62).

²⁷³ For example, *Giza: Nj-m3ʕt-Rʕ* (Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 23); *K3-nj-nswt II* (Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 20); *Hnw* (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*, pl. 9). Saqqara: *Wr-jr.n-Pth* (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*, pls. 28, 29); *Tjj* (Wild, *Ti*, pl. 172); *Hʕ-Jnpw* (Ziegler, *Stelès*, pp. 207-209).

²⁷⁴ *H VIII*, pl. 2, fig. 3b.

²⁷⁵ *H VII*, p. 50

²⁷⁶ *H VII*, fig. 37a, pl. 10b.

²⁷⁷ Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, fig. 16.

From the Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties at Giza, tomb owners depicted on panels of false doors are shown resting sceptres or batons against the far shoulder with the end clasped against the chest.²⁷⁸ Sceptres again appear in the hands of seated tomb owners early in the Sixth Dynasty, but now are held out before the body and not against the shoulder. These depictions are frequently found on the façade and are combined with the gesture of invocation. They appear to be confined to the Teti cemetery at Saqqara and all are dated to the reigns of Teti and early Pepy I.²⁷⁹

No representations are found in provincial tombs of a seated tomb owner before an offering table holding only a sceptre, although Ziegler mentions an unknown official on a Louvre stela seated before an offering table, extending one hand to the loaves and holding an upright sceptre in the other.²⁸⁰ Ziegler proposes a First Intermediate Period date for the stela and a possible Upper Egyptian provenance for this unusual feature of a sceptre in a table scene.

The seated tomb owner holding a staff

Figs. 3.38b, 3.39, 3.42

At El-Hawawish in tombs with well-preserved wall scenes, a staff alone does not appear in the hand of any seated tomb owner until late Pepy II when the nomarch, *Hnj*, H24, is depicted viewing registers of various crafts and a hunting scene.²⁸¹ The latest example of the staff held by seated tomb owners is the Eighth Dynasty senior official, *B3wj*, BA14, facing a biographical inscription.²⁸²

In the wall scene of *Ttj-ꜥ3*, H41, a late Sixth Dynasty nomarch and the possible son of *Hnj*, H24,²⁸³ *Ttj-ꜥ3* is seated before an offering table holding a long staff in his far hand.²⁸⁴ With the exception of *Ttj-ꜥ3*, H41, a staff is not held when the deceased is seated at an offering table. All these officials are seated alone.

²⁷⁸ For example, *Špsj* Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 62; *Tntj*, Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 105; *Ttj*, James, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, pl. 6; *Nfr-sšm-Hwfw/Ššj*, *ibid.*, pl. 11; *R-Mw*, *ibid.*, pl. 16. On lintels: *Nj-mꜥt-Rꜥ*, Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 231; *Jwn-Mnw*, Hassan, *Giza VII*, fig. 10 (before offering table).

²⁷⁹ For example, *K3-gm-nj* (Firth–Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* II, pl. 59); *ꜥnh-m-ꜥ-Hr* (Kanawati-Hassan, *Teti Cem.* II, pls. 1, 34); *Hntj-k3.j* (James, *Khentika*, pl. 6); *K3-ꜥpr* (*Teti Cem.* I, pl. 49b).

²⁸⁰ Ziegler, *Stèles*, pp. 290–291, No. 58.

²⁸¹ *H II*, fig. 19. The wall surface is damaged and the area of the other hand is now lost and it may be that he held a folded cloth in this hand as in the scene on the west wall of *Jbj*'s tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi. Like *Hnj* this tomb owner is observing registers of crafts and entertainment as well as the recording of accounts (Davies, *Gebrāwi I*, pl. VIII).

²⁸² *H VII*, fig. 17b.

²⁸³ See *H VIII*, p. 29, Kanawati–McFarlane, *Akhmim I*, pp. 30, 130.

²⁸⁴ *H VIII*, fig. 12.

Although the staffs are clearly visible in the scenes of *Hnj*, *Tjt-ꜥ3* and *B3wj*, the near arms of each man, are lost. Each may have held a sceptre or a folded cloth in his near hand. One El-Hawawish stela depicts the owner, *Nbj*, seated with his wife and holding a staff in his far hand and a folded cloth in the other.²⁸⁵

Both a staff and a sceptre are held by the nomarch *Nhwt-dšr*, G95. No seated tomb owner at El-Hawawish holds both of these items after *Nhwt-dšr*.

A staff is held in the far hand and an unguent jar in the near hand of the unknown owner of tomb G97 who, owing to the position of his tomb adjacent to *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, may be a relative, possibly a nomarch and the eldest son of that official.²⁸⁶

Comparison with other sites:

Tomb owners seated with a staff and sceptre appear at El-Hagarsa, Edfu, Zawiyet el-Maiyetin, Meir, Deir el-Gebrawi, Mo'alla, and Aswan.²⁸⁷ None is seated before a table but offerings are presented to *Ppjj-ꜥnh/Hnj-km*, *Hwj*, *Mrjj-ꜥ3* and *Dꜥw* (south wall) as to *Nhwt-dšr*, and *Dꜥw* faces a biographical text on the east wall. *Ppjj-ꜥnh/Hnj-km* (A2) of Meir and *Jbj* and *Dꜥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi wear the same stiffly pointed kilts as *Nhwt-dšr*.

Apart from the architrave of *K3-m-nfrt* in his mid Fifth Dynasty tomb at El-Hagarsa, all other provincial examples of this theme are dated from mid Pepy II to the Eighth Dynasty. Consequently *Nhwt-dšr* of tomb G95, who is dated to the end of the reign of Teti – early Pepy I would appear to be the latest example of a seated tomb owner holding a staff and sceptre at El-Hawawish and the earliest after *K3-m-nfrt* among other provincial tomb owners.

The seated tomb owner holding a folded cloth

Folded cloths appear in the hands of seated male officials in wall scenes in eleven tombs at El-Hawawish. In many scenes the hands and upper body of the tomb owner are damaged

²⁸⁵ Ziegler, *Stèles*, pp. 164, 165; Kanawati, *H IX*, p. 55, pl.6b. Ziegler dates the stela to the end of the Sixth Dynasty, *ibid*, p. 164, while Kanawati suggests a date before the beginning of Pepy II.

²⁸⁶ *H VIII*, p. 14, figs. 1,5; Kanawati-McFarlane, *Akhmim I*, pp. 51, 52.

²⁸⁷ *K3-j-m-nfrt*, Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. III (although this figure at the end of an architrave is like an enlarged hieroglyph); *Qꜥr/Mrjj-Rꜥ-nfr*, El-Khadragy, *Edfu Offering Niche*, in *SAK 30* (2002), p. 205, fig. 2; *Jtj*, *LD II*, pl. 110f; *Ppjj-ꜥnh/Hnj-km*, Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 29; *Jbj*, Davies, *Gebrâwi I*, pl. 12; *Dꜥw*, Davies, *Gebrâwi II*, pls. IV, VIII, X; *Mrjj-ꜥ3*, Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa III*, pls. 12, 41; *ꜥnh-tj-jf*, Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pl. VI; *Hwj*, de Morgan, *Cat.des mon.*, p.157.

giving a much lower number of examples than expected. In two of the five tombs belonging to women the hands are shown empty with all fingers extended.²⁸⁸

In contrast to the relatively low number of tomb owners in wall scenes holding folded cloths, the percentage of owners of stelae in a similar pose is much higher. Of a total of eighteen El-Hawawish stelae where the deceased is seated, twelve are depicted with a cloth: eight male and four female.

With two exceptions, all figures of the deceased holding folded cloths are seated at offering tables. Only the representations of *Hnj*, H24, at the base of one of the pillars in his chapel and on the stela of *Nbj*, lack offering tables.²⁸⁹ Both men hold staffs in their far hand and a cloth in the near hand.

Regardless of the direction that the tomb owner is facing, it is the near hand which holds the cloth in nine of the eleven tombs.²⁹⁰ The other arm is invariably extended towards the table with the hand open.²⁹¹ A variation to this extended arm is seen in the figure of *Ttj*, I49, whose arm is bent up with the open hand level with his shoulder.²⁹²

The hand holding the cloth is shown resting on the lap in all but three of the wall scenes. In these, the deceased holds the cloth against his chest.²⁹³ Conversely, on the Hawawish stelae, the cloth is held against the chest in all except three of the stelae.²⁹⁴

The first representations of this theme are dated to late Pepy I (in tombs Q15 and N20). Folded cloths continue to be held by tomb owners during the reign of Pepy II and by one later official dated to the end of the Sixth Dynasty (I49).

²⁸⁸ *Nbt*, H27 (*H III*, fig. 27); the unknown female owner of tomb G124 (*ibid*, fig. 13b).

²⁸⁹ *H II*, fig. 7 (*Hnj*, H24); *ibid IX*, pl. 6, see also Ziegler, *Stèles*, pp. 165, 166 (*Nbj*, Louvre C234).

²⁹⁰ In tombs Q15, K5, K18, L21, G42, H26, H24, I49 and twice in GA11. In a third depiction in this last tomb, the owner holds the cloth in his far hand, as in tombs N20 and B83.

²⁹¹ The single exception at El-Hawawish is in tomb K5 of *B3wj* who holds an unguent jar to his face with his far hand (*H VIII*, fig. 18).

²⁹² *Ttj*, I49 (*H VIII*, fig. 9b). This gesture appears similar to the invocation pose on the façades of several Saqqara tombs, for example, *K3-gm-nj* (Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* II, pl. 59); *Hntj-k3.j* (James, *Khentika*, pl. 6); *nh-m-ḥr* (Kanawati-Hassan, *Teti Cem.* II, pls. 43, 35); *K3-ḥpr* (*ibid.* I, fig. 49b). The hand of *Ttj* however, is shown with the palm facing down and the thumb below the fingers whereas in the invocation gesture the hand is depicted with the palm up and the thumb on top.

²⁹³ In tombs N20, *Tjj* (*H VI*, fig. 23b); B83, *B3wj* (*H IX*, fig. 21); GA11, *Ghs3* (one of three depictions, *H VII*, fig. 27).

²⁹⁴ Cloths held against the chest: Women: *3tt-k3* (Turin Supp. 1263); *Bndt* (CG1667); *Hnwt* (BM1061); *Ṣpsjt-k3w/Jrjt* (CG1585). Men: *Jdj/Jtj* (CG1581); *Wsr-Mnw* (Edinburgh 1910:76); *K3-wd3.j* (CG1582); *B3wj* (Hildesheim 1875); possibly *Mrj* (Florence 7583). Cloths held on the lap: the unknown Nomarch (Florence 7584); *Q3r/Ppjj-nfr* (CG1669); *Nbj* (Louvre C234), all men.

The usual depiction of this cloth is a rigid loop of folded material usually with ends of different lengths, one shorter than the other. A variation appears in the near hand of *Hnj*, H24, and *Sfhw*, L21, in their offering table scenes.²⁹⁵ Here the folded cloth closely resembles a roll-like object as held by the wife of the nomarch, *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, seated at her own offering table next to that of her husband. She is the only woman to be shown holding a cloth in a wall scene in the cemetery,²⁹⁶ although this depiction is repeated in the stelae of four women and three men (see n. 41).

Comparison with other sites:

In tombs in the capital, representations of the deceased with a cloth or roll in one hand and a staff in the other are found in tombs from the Fourth Dynasty, although most are dated to the Fifth. The greatest number is found at Giza with none of the tomb owners seated at offering tables.²⁹⁷ This cloth or roll appears to be the same item found in the clenched hands of statues and, while comparisons between three-dimensional media and the two-dimensional representations on tomb walls may be questionable, the shape of the objects in the hands is identical. Fischer in his study of this shape²⁹⁸ suggests that it takes its form from the bolt of cloth seen in depictions of linen in the grave goods provided for the tomb owner among offerings on chapel and burial chamber walls²⁹⁹ and is the determinative in titles such as ‘the overseer of the wardrobe’ and ‘keeper of linen’.³⁰⁰

Folded cloths appear in the hands of seated tomb owners at Giza in the Fourth Dynasty,³⁰¹ and at both Giza and Saqqara from the Fifth Dynasty.³⁰² Roll-like objects are less frequently seen.³⁰³

²⁹⁵ *H* II, fig. 7; *ibid.* fig. 24.

²⁹⁶ *H* VIII, fig. 3a.

²⁹⁷ For example, Giza: *Snb* (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 18); *Hwfw-h^cf*, G7140 (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 30); *R^c-wr* (Hassan, *Giza* I, fig. 15); *Wšš-pth* (Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 11); *Nfr-bšw-Pth* (Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, fig. 12); Saqqara: *Tjj* (Wild, *Ti*, pl. 172); *Wr-jr.n-Pth* (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I, pl. 17); *Nj-kšw-Inpw* (Ziegler, *Stèles*, p. 152).

²⁹⁸ H. G. Fischer, *An Elusive Shape*, in *MMJ*, Vols. 1-11 (1968-1976), pp. 143-155.

²⁹⁹ For example, LD II, pl. 103a (*Pth-htp* I, Saqqara); Kanawati-Hassan, *Teti Cem.* II, pls. 65, 66 (*nh-m-^c-Hr*); Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 15 (*Ppjj-^cnh/Hnj-km*).

³⁰⁰ Gardiner’s Sign List: N 18 (following S 26), *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 507.

³⁰¹ For example, *Hwfw-h^cf* I and II (Simpson, *Kawab*, figs. 28, 49); *Wšš-Pth* (Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 11); *Nj-kšw-R^c* (LD II, pl. 15, no. 86).

³⁰² For example, Giza: *Jj-mrjj* (Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, fig. 16); *Sndm-jb/Jntj* (Brovarski, *Sennedjemib Complex* I, fig. 61); *Ttw* (Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery* I, figs. 23, 24). Saqqara: *Tjj* (Wild, *Ti*, pl. 172); *Nfr-jrt.n.f* (van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pls. 5, 8); *Hntj-kšj* (James, *Khentika*, pl. 29); *Mrrj* (Davies et al, *Mereri and Wernu*, pl. 14).

³⁰³ Giza: *Jrj-n-šhtj* (Hassan, *Giza* VI, fig. 9); *Sšm-nfr/Jwff* (*ibid.*, VII, fig. 49); Saqqara: *Wr-jr.n-Pth* (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I, pl. 28); *Sš-mrjj* (Fischer, *Varia*, p. 3ff., fig. 1; Bresciani, *Stele Bologna*, p. 19ff., pls. 1, 2).

Cloths are held by provincial tomb owners from the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty with *Nj-k3-ḥnh* (No.13) at Tehna being the earliest. The natural manner in which his folded cloth lies along his lap is almost identical to the earlier depictions of *Hwfw-ḥf* I (G7140) and *K3.j/K3-pw-nswt* (G4651) at Giza.³⁰⁴ None of these tomb owners sits before an offering table. The replication of this detail, together with the same type of jars and stands, although small, indicates a familiarity with the Giza tombs by the Tehna artist or *Nj-k3-ḥnh* himself. The slightly later Fifth Dynasty tomb owners at El-Hammamiya and Sheikh Said, however, do not hold cloths nor does the similarly-dated *Hzzj-Mnw* of tomb M22, in his well-preserved table scene at El-Hawawish.³⁰⁵

From the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, the representations of seated tomb owners holding cloths in provincial tombs, multiplies. Three tomb owners dated to the reign of Teti, at Deshasha, Gebrawi and Thebes,³⁰⁶ two dated to Pepy I, at Abydos and Quseir el-Amarna³⁰⁷ and two dated to Merenre, at Edfu and Meir³⁰⁸ are followed by the greatest number of tomb owners holding cloths, nine officials of Pepy II at Meir, Deir el-Gebrawi, El-Hagarsa, El-Qasr wa es-Saiyad, Thebes and Aswan.³⁰⁹ Four later officials dated to the period from the end of the Sixth to the Eighth Dynasties also hold folded cloths at Geheina, Dendera, Coptos and Thebes.³¹⁰

The cloth is held on the lap of the tomb owner in all depictions except for the three tomb owners at Meir, *Wnj* at Abydos, *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi, *Jn-k3.f*, Coptos, *Jn-jt.f*, Thebes and *ḥb-jḥw*, at Dendera who each hold the cloth against the chest.

³⁰⁴ *Nj-k3-ḥnh* (Frazer, *Tehneh*, in *ASAE* 3 (1902), pl. 4, and personal examination); *Hwfw-ḥf* (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 28); *K3.j/K3-pw-nswt* (Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 15). It is interesting to also note the close similarity between this last tomb (ibid. fig. 16) and that of *Nj-k3-ḥnh* in the rendering of the jars on very tall stands below their offering tables.

³⁰⁵ See El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, p.16, pls.38-40, 43, 46, 47, 50, 59, 63, 65-67, 70, 73; Davies, *Sheikh Säid*, pls. 4,9; *H* IV, pl. 17.

³⁰⁶ Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 54 (*Šdw*); Kanawati, *Gebrawi* I, pl. 37 (*Hnqw* I); Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 4 (*Wnjs-ḥnh*).

³⁰⁷ Fischer, *Varia*, pl. 20, fig. 5 (*Wnj* CG 1574); El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Quseir*, pls. 40, 43 (*Hw.n-wh*).

³⁰⁸ El-Khadragy, *Edfu Offering Niche* in *SAK* 30 (2002), p. 216, fig. 6 (*Q3r*); Blackman, *Meir* IV, pls. 12, 15 (*Ppjj-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb*).

³⁰⁹ *Nj-ḥnh-Ppjj-km*, *Ppjj-ḥnh/Hnj-km* (Blackman, *Meir* V, 9, 11, 15, 19); *Jbj* (Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pls. 8, 19); *ḥn-ḥnhj* and *Mrjj*, Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* I, pls. 34-37, 44, 45; *Tw3wtj* and *Jdw-mnz3* (Söderberg, *Hamra Dom*, pls. 13, 29, 45); *Jhjj* (Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 14); *Hw-ns* (de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.*, p. 159, 160) respectively.

³¹⁰ El-Masry, *Gohaina*, in *BACE* 15 (2004), fig. 5 (*Tjt-jqr/Hwj*); Fischer, *Dendera*, fig. 40 (*ḥb-jḥw*); Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pl. 11 (*Jn-k3.f*); Fischer, *Dendera*, fig. 39 (*Jn-jt.f*).

The seated tomb owner holding an unguent jar to the nose

Figs. 3.9, 3.12–3.14, 3.18b, 3.44, 3.49, 3.53

Representations in wall scenes of the seated tomb owner holding an unguent jar at El-Hawawish are restricted to five tombs, F1, G126, G97, Q2, K5, all male officials, with an additional depiction in tomb H24, where the wife of the deceased holds an unguent jar to her nose.³¹¹

The owners of three stelae also hold an unguent jar, two are male and one, female.³¹² Two distinct ways of holding the unguent vessel are shown:

- either grasping a much larger jar in the centre with the whole hand, as in the wall scenes of *Hzzj Mnw*, F1, *W3h...*, Q2, and *Htpt*, the wife of *Hnj*, H24, and in the stela of *Mnw-m-h3t*³¹³ - or -
- holding the end of a smaller jar between thumb and forefinger with the rest of the fingers raised almost vertically (*B3wj*, G126, the unknown owner of tomb G97, and *B3wj*, K5, with the two owners of stelae, *B3wj* and *Jkw*).³¹⁴

All except two of these officials are seated before offering tables and extend the other hand towards the loaves. The owners of tomb G97 and K5 do not sit before tables and the owner of tomb G97 holds a staff in his other hand and *B3wj*, K5, a cloth. No detail of the form of these jars, such as a rim, is shown.

Only the jar of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, indicates the material from which it is made. The surface is mottled red and green, either reproducing the type of stone used, or imitating a desirable stone,³¹⁵ which may also explain the colouring of the unguent jar presented to *Nb-jb* by a son at Deir el-Gebrawi, white with blue patches/spots, or the jar held by *Mrjj-ʿ3* of El-Hagarsa which is described as white with black spots.³¹⁶ None of the jars at El-Hawawish is inscribed with the unguent it contains as are the jars of *Pth-htp* II at Saqqara and *Mrjj-ʿ3* at El-Hagarsa which are labelled *stj-hb* oil.³¹⁷

³¹¹ *H* VI, fig. 2; *ibid.* IX, fig. 15; *ibid.* VIII, fig. 5; *ibid.* VI, fig. 17b; *ibid.* VIII, fig. 18; *ibid.* I, fig. 23, respectively.

³¹² *B3wj* (CG20504), *H* VIII, fig. 34a; *Mnw-m-h3t* (Moscow 1.1.a5567(4104)) *ibid.* fig. 34b; *Jkw* (Allard Pierson Museum 3400) *H* VII, fig. 35c, respectively.

³¹³ *H* VI, pl. 1a, fig. 2; *ibid.* VI, fig. 17b; *ibid.* II, fig. 23; *ibid.* VIII, fig. 34b, respectively.

³¹⁴ *H* IX, fig. 15; *ibid.* VIII, fig. 5; *ibid.* VIII, figs. 18,19; *ibid.* VIII, fig. 34a; *ibid.* VII, fig. 35c.

³¹⁵ Hope-McFarlane, *Akhmim* II, p.204.

³¹⁶ Kanawati, *Gebrawi* I, p.86, pl. 60; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, p. 41, pl. 46b.

³¹⁷ Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 38, see also photograph in Cherpion, *Mastabas*, pl. 44; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pl. 46b.

Comparison with other sites:

Figures 3.64a-c, 3.68b

Harpur notes that this pose of the deceased holding a perfume jar to his face is found in offering table scenes from the reign of Unis although most examples are from Dynasty 6.³¹⁸ Cherpion agrees though dates the earliest example, *Pth-htp* II from Saqqara, to the reign of Isesi,³¹⁹ while Harpur and Strudwick place him in the reign of Unis.³²⁰ The Hawawish officials holding unguent jars are dated from the period Teti to late Pepy I except for *Htpj* the wife of *Hnj*, H24, who is dated to mid-late Pepy II.

The highest title of any of the officials holding unguent jars at El-Hawawish is that of overseer of fields and serfs and overseer of the god's offering in the two houses (*Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, and *B3wj*, G126). No nomarchs are represented holding an unguent jar. A possible exception may be the unknown owner of tomb G97 who may have been a nomarch.³²¹ If so, then his would be the only depiction of an official of this rank holding an unguent jar in the cemetery. In the well-preserved scenes of the nomarchs of Pepy II, *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, neither tomb owner holds an unguent jar.

In other provincial cemeteries unguent jars are held by tomb owners dated from the reign of Teti until the Eighth Dynasty. The earliest examples are the viziers, *Jzj* of Edfu and *Hm-rʿ/Jzj* in the northern mountain of Deir el-Gebrawi. Both officials hold their jars at the end between thumb and forefinger in the manner of *Pth-htp* II from Saqqara possibly the earliest Memphite scene, as do a number of senior officials from the Teti cemetery (see below). *Nfr* from Edfu, *Hnqw* II and *Nb-jb* at Gebrawi follow the earlier officials, *Jzj* (Edfu) and *Hm-rʿ/Jzj*(el-Gebrawi) at their respective cemeteries.³²² At Meir, *Ppjj-ʿnh-hrj-jb*, at El-Hagarsa, *Jwff* and *Mrjj-ʿ3*, and at Naga ed-Dêr, *Ppjj-snb*, all grasp the jar at the end.³²³ The senior official of Abydos, *Jww*, dated to Pepy I, shown with *ʿnh-n.s-Ppjj* on the stela, CG1439, however, holds the centre of the jar with his whole hand,³²⁴ as *Hzzj-Mnw*,

³¹⁸ *Decoration*, pp. 126, 263.

³¹⁹ Cherpion, *Mastabas*, p. 54, Table p. 178.

³²⁰ Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 87, 88.

³²¹ Kanawati-McFarlane, *Akhmim* I, pp. 51, 52.

³²² Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1933), pl. 14[1,2]; Kanawati, *Gebrawi* I, pls. 53, 56, 60.

³²³ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 12; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* I, pl. 39; *ibid.*, III, pl. 46b; Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr*, pl. 22[1].

³²⁴ Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, pl. 31.

F1, at El-Hawawish, *Hw.n-wh* at Quseir el-Amarna, dated to the same reign,³²⁵ and the slightly later tomb owners, *Wjw/Jjjw* at Sheikh Said, *H3gj* and *Mrrw/Jjj* at Naga ed-Dêr.³²⁶

In the tombs of the capital, the grasp of the mid-late Fifth Dynasty official, *Pth-htp* II, who holds his jar at the end, is seen again in the depictions of *3ht-htp*, *Nfr-sšm-Pth*, *Mrrw-k3.j* and *Hntj-k3.j* all from Saqqara and dated from Unis to Teti-Pepy I.³²⁷ The second manner of holding the jar with the whole hand around the body of the vessel is shown in the similarly-dated tombs, also from Saqqara, of *Jhjj* (re-used by *Jdwt*), *Mhw*, *Nfr-sšm-R^c* and *Pth-špss* II.³²⁸ A smaller number of tomb owners holding unguent jars are found at Giza with most allocated dates from Pepy I to Pepy II. Both ways of holding the jar are shown: *Q3r*, *Jtj* and *Sšm-nfr/Jwffj* hold it at the end, *Ttw* and *Jdw* I with the hand grasping the centre of the vessel.³²⁹ All of these tomb owners sit before offering tables.

Where details are clear in published scenes, a small number of stylistic similarities can be observed between tomb scenes in the capital and in the provinces, e.g the decoration of the jars with diagonal lines in *Hm-r^c/Jzj* at Deir el-Gebrawi and *Hw.n-wh* at Quseir el-Amarna.³³⁰ At Saqqara the unguent jar of *3ht-htp* is also shown with similar diagonal lines. Sealed jars are depicted at Deir el-Gebrawi in each of the scenes where the tomb owner holds an unguent jar and in the scenes of *Hw.n-wh* of Quseir el-Amarna, *Jzj* of Edfu and *Ppjj-^cnh-hrj-jb* of Meir. At Giza, the jar of *Q3r* also appears to be sealed. The holding of a folded cloth in one hand and an unguent jar in the other like *B3wj*, K5, at El-Hawawish is found again in the tomb of *Hw.n-wh* at Quseir el-Amarna. Both may have adopted this from *Mrrw-k3.j* at Saqqara who is shown with a jar and folded cloth on the east wall in room A12, with *B3wj* holding his unguent jar with the same grasp as *Mrrw-k3.j*. No other wall scenes were found where the deceased held both of these items.

³²⁵ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 43.

³²⁶ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 23; Zeigler, *Stèles*, pp. 195, 196; Peck, *Naga ed-Dêr*, pl. 12.

³²⁷ Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 38; Petrie, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 5; Capart, *Rue de Tombeaux*, pl. 102; Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 117; James, *Khentika*, pl. 21. More examples from the same cemetery also follow this position, for example, *K3-^cpr* (Kanawati-Hassan, *Teti Cem.* I, pl.51); *Mrrj* (Davies et al, *Mereri and Wernu*, pl. 12); and from the Unis cemetery, *^cnh-mrjj-r^c*, son of *Mhw* (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl.86).

³²⁸ Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cem.* II, pls. 67, 68, 70; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 75; Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* III, pl. 58; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 28.

³²⁹ Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 30; Junker, *Giza VIII*, fig. 58; Hassan, *Giza*, VII, fig. 50; Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery* I, fig. 16; Junker, *Giza VIII*, fig. 32, respectively.

³³⁰ Colour: *Hm-r^c/Jzj* (Kanawati, *Gebrawi* I, p. 56, pl. 46); *Hw.n-wh* (El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 2), both have a white body with red lines.

While the earlier, major tombs at Saqqara appear to be the main source of the unguent jar motif for later officials in the provinces, the choice of which pose to adopt appears to be an individual one. Within each cemetery, however, the continuation of motifs and details from one tomb to another is evident, for example, the poses of the tomb owners and details of the unguent jars in all the Deir el-Gebrawi scenes: *Hm-r^c/Jzj* I (Teti–early Pepy I), *Hnqw* II (early–mid Pepy I), *Nb-jb* (mid–late Pepy I).³³¹

The holding of unguent jars appears primarily in the period Teti–Pepy I at El-Hawawish. In other provincial tombs with a clear sequence of tomb owners this period extends to Merenre–early Pepy II, but no later. The motif is present in the tombs of *Hm-r^c/Jzj* I, *Hnqw* II and *Nb-jb* at Deir el-Gebrawi (dated to the end Teti–mid Pepy I) but not in the tombs of *Jbj* or *D^cw*. At Meir it appears in the tomb of *Ppjj-^cnh-*hrj-jb** (D2) (Merenre–early Pepy II) but not in *Nj-^cnh-Ppjj-km* (A1) or *Ppjj-^cnh/Hnjj-km* (A2). That these later tomb owners, the most senior in their provinces, choose not to be shown in this manner appears to indicate that the inclusion of this motif, as for others, for example, sceptres, is not indicative of, or linked to, the rank of a tomb owner but is due to its popularity in a certain period and following its appearance in the capital.

FINDINGS

- Altogether 37 tombs at El-Hawawish still preserve the scene of the seated tomb owner. The preferred location for this theme is the west wall of the chapel. The theme has distinctive features although the posture and dress of seated El-Hawawish tomb owners show little change.
- A lotus in the hand of a male tomb owner is an unusual motif in Old Kingdom wall scenes. Only one seated mid-late Fifth Dynasty tomb owner at El-Hawawish (*3-Mnw*, L8) is depicted holding a lotus before his face. This dating and rarity reflects the Memphite situation and other provincial sites, where it is also uncommon. It also suggests a direct Memphite influence as the Hawawish example may be the earliest provincial example. The Hawawish example presents other similarities to Memphite scenes: stiff, pointed kilt, offering table pedestals and the nested ewers and basins on stands.
- At El-Hawawish staffs appear in the hands of senior and middle ranking officials from the mid-Fifth to the Eighth Dynasty, held in the earliest instances by the figure

³³¹ Kanawati, *Gebrawi* I, pls. 46, 53, 60 respectively.

of the tomb owner seated at the end of entrance lintels. From the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty in the provinces the seated figure holding a staff faces a biographical inscription or registers of the various activities, but is not before an offering table.

- Rare variants of this motif appear to date to the late Dynasty 6 or the First Intermediate Period. A lone staff is held by only one tomb owner at El-Hawawish when seated at an offering table: *Ttj-ꜥ3*, of tomb H41 dated to the very end of the Sixth Dynasty or later. This unusual pose is not found in any other provincial wall scene or at the capital. A stela from Akhmim does depict the owner seated with a staff but no table is present: *Nbj* (Louvre C234).³³²
- Sceptres alone are held by seated officials at El-Hawawish dating from the mid-Fifth Dynasty to Teti-early Pepy I when a sceptre is shown with a staff in the hands of the nomarch, *Nhwt-dšr* G95. There is no evidence in wall scenes of sceptres held by seated officials after *Nhwt-dšr* but damage to the walls of later seated officials prevents this possibility from being ignored. Although at El-Hawawish sceptres do not appear in the hands of seated tomb owners dated after the beginning of the reign of Pepy I, in other provincial tombs they continue to be held by seated tomb owners dated to the end of the Sixth and Eighth Dynasties. For example, *Mrjj-ꜥ3* at El-Hagarsa and *ꜥnh-tj-fj* at Mo'alla.
- Folded cloths are usual in the hands of male tomb owners in offering table scenes. Four women owners of stelae, in a seated posture but not before offering tables are, however, shown holding cloths against the chest. This unusual detail is not evident in any other provincial tomb in the Sixth Dynasty.
- Folded cloths first appear at El-Hawawish in the hands of officials holding priestly positions dated to late Pepy I. Two of these men are also overseers of Fields and Serfs. No decorated tombs of Sixth Dynasty nomarchs are known at this cemetery until *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, dated to the beginning of the reign of Pepy I, who is depicted holding a staff and sceptre but not a folded cloth. When the nomarchs *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, assume their positions from the middle of the reign of Pepy II, folded cloths appear again in the hands of tomb owners. These men, who bear titles of the highest rank are now no longer depicted holding sceptres. In other provincial tombs, however, sceptres continue to be held by seated tomb owners dated to the end of the Sixth and Eighth Dynasties, for example, *Mrjj-ꜥ3* at El-Hagarsa and *ꜥnh-tj-fj* at Mo'alla.

³³² H IX, pl. 16a = Ziegler, *Stèles*, p.165.

- At El-Hawawish and other provincial necropoli, the position of the cloth – against the chest or in the lap – appears to be a personal choice. Neither pose is indicative of, or restricted to, a certain period, and in the tomb of *Ghs3*, GA11 at El-Hawawish, both positions are shown.
- Only two representations at El-Hawawish show the deceased holding both a cloth and a staff: *Hnj*, of tomb H24, and *Nbj*, of the Louvre stela, C234. This stela was made by the eldest son of the deceased, the superintendent of artists, *Snj*, whose identification with the artist who decorated the tomb of *Hnj* has already been suggested.³³³ The similarity of this detail may further support the link between them.
- Unguent jars held by tomb owners are only found in tombs dated to the period Teti to Pepy I at El-Hawawish although they continue to be seen in other provincial wall scenes up to the Eighth Dynasty. At El-Hawawish, they are held by overseers of fields and serfs and overseers of the god's offering in the two houses; never by nomarchs. Officials buried at this cemetery appear to follow fairly closely the trends in decoration of the Memphite tombs particularly those at Saqqara. When officials at Saqqara cease to be shown holding unguent jars in the reign of Pepy I, then so do those at El-Hawawish.

3.3 The Seated Tomb Owner accompanied by his Wife

3.3.1 The tomb owner and his wife seated together at El-Hawawish

Figs. 3.2, 3.6a, 3.7, 3.9, 3.10, 3.12, 3.14, 3.16, 3.23, 3.25, 3.61

Wives are shown seated on the same chair as their husbands in the earliest of the tombs at El-Hawawish dated to the mid-late Fifth Dynasty (in tombs L6, L8, M22, M43), then in the early Sixth Dynasty (in tombs F1, G126). The last examples appear in tombs dated to Pepy I (in tombs Q2, Q15, K18, K4). In each of these scenes the couple are seated before an offering table. A further tomb (K16, dated to Teti) depicts the tomb owner and an unidentified woman, presumably his wife, seated together but without an offering table. The couple are offered lotuses by a male figure, possibly their son.

³³³ *H IX*, pp. 54, 55.

Posture, size and position of the wife

At El-Hawawish where the couple are seated together, the physical distance between their bodies varies between the earlier and the later representations and although there is little variation in the position of the legs and feet of the wife there are distinctive differences in the arrangement of the arms and hands:

- In Fifth Dynasty tombs the tomb owner and his wife are depicted physically close to each other with the woman's far arm stretched behind the husband's body and her hand holding his far shoulder. Her knees are portrayed overlapping the body of her husband and, with the exception of *Hnwt.s*, the wife of *ʿ3-Mnw* (L8); her shoulder and part of her breast are covered by his shoulder.³³⁴ While the position of the knees of wives is unclear in many of these scenes, their legs can be clearly observed behind the chair seat in *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *Dw3-Mnw*, L6 and *ʿ3-Mnw*, L8.
- From the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty the wife's torso is well separated from her husband. Her legs are now placed to the front of the chair,³³⁵ generally with her knees just touching the back of the tomb owner.³³⁶ In the two latest representations of couples seated together, *B3wj*, K4, and *Qrrj*, Q15, dated to Pepy I, even the knees of the women are separated from the body of the tomb owner. No further wall scenes in tombs at El-Hawawish feature the tomb owner and his wife together on a chair after the beginning of the reign of Pepy II.
- New positions for the arm of the wife appear in the Sixth Dynasty. In the early Sixth Dynasty tomb of *B3wj* (G126) the wife's far hand, instead of passing around the shoulder of the husband, now rests on his near shoulder. Two Akhmim stelae depict couples with arms in a similar position but here the near hand is placed on the man's shoulder: *Hngj* seated next to his mother, *Hnwt* (BM1061) the owner of the stela, and *Htpt-Mnw*, the wife of *Nbj* (Louvre C234).³³⁷ This unusual placement of the hand against the shoulder is also rare in other provincial tombs (see below).

³³⁴ *Dw3-Mnw* (L6), *H* VI, fig. 5; *ʿ3-Mnw* (L8); *ibid*, fig. 9; *Hzzj-Mnw* (M22), *H* IV, figs. 8,9; *Hm-Mnw* (M43), *H* V, fig. 9.

³³⁵ Four of the five El-Hawawish stelae depicting couples seated together also show the legs of the wife to the front of the chair seat: *Mnw-m-h3t*, Moscow 1.1.a.5567 (*H* VIII, fig. 34b); *B3wj*, CG20504 (*ibid*, fig. 34a); *Unknown nomarch*, Florence 7584 (*H* VII, fig. 37a); *Hnwt*, BM 1061 (*H* VI, fig. 301). In the fifth stela, the wife of *Nbj* (Louvre C234) is depicted with her legs behind the seat (Ziegler, *Stèles*, p. 165; *H* IX, pl. 6b).

³³⁶ *Hzzj-Mnw* (F1), *H* VI, fig. 2; *B3wj* (G126), *H* IX, fig. 15; *Wth...*(Q2), *H* VI, fig. 17b; *Hzzj-Mnw* (K18), *H* VIII, fig. 22b; *B3wj* (K4), *ibid*, fig. 17b; *Qrrj* (Q15), *H* VI, fig. 22a.

³³⁷ *H* VI, fig. 30a; *ibid* IX, pl. 6b; Ziegler, *Stèles*, p. 165.

Although most of the women place their other hand on, or over, their laps³³⁸ two interesting variations appear:

- In the first of these positions, the wife of *ʿ3-Mnw* (L8) grasps her husband's arm just above the elbow with straight, extended fingers passing behind his upper arm with her thumb to the front. No other wives are shown with hands in this position at El-Hawawish although a similar hand position appears in a number of other provincial tomb scenes (see below).
- In the second position, the wives of the tomb owners, *Dw3-Mnw* (L6) and *Hzzj-Mnw* (F1) and of *B3wj* and *Mnw-m-ḥ3t* owners of stelae, CG20504, and Moscow 1.1.a.5567 (4104), place their open hands on the waist of their husbands.³³⁹

Comparison with other sites:

Provincial comparisons

Figs. 3.65b, 3.76

Depictions of the deceased and his wife seated together on the same chair are found in other provincial tombs dating to the early-mid Fifth Dynasty at Tehna and El-Hammamiya and to the late Old Kingdom – First Intermediate period at El-Hagarsa and Mo'alla.

The close position of the bodies of the seated tomb owner and his wife noted in the Fifth Dynasty tombs at El-Hawawish, is found in the similarly dated tombs of *K3.j-ḥnt* (A3) at El-Hammamiya, *Jntj* at Deshasha, *Nfrt-ḥr* at El-Hagarsa and possibly on a fragment from the tomb of *Wr-jr.j.* at Sheikh Said.³⁴⁰

³³⁸ This hand position is seen in the major Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *H IV*, figs. 8, 9 (although the hand is lost in other major, earlier tomb of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, dated to Teti) and in the Sixth Dynasty tombs of *B3wj* (G126), *H IX*, fig. 15; *W3h.*(Q2), *H VI*, fig. 17b; *Qrrj* (Q15), *ibid*, fig. 22a; *B3wj* (K4), *H VIII*, fig. 17b.

³³⁹ *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, *H VI*, fig. 2; *B3wj*, CG 20504, *H VIII*, fig. 34a; *Mnw-m-ḥ3t*, Moscow 1.1.a.5567 (4104), *ibid*, fig. 34b.

³⁴⁰ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 63; Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 28; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa I*, pl. 22b; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 13[c]. Note that the depiction of *K3.j-ḥnt* (A3) on pl. 63 with the very close positioning of the tomb owner and an unidentified woman, presumably his wife, is completely different to other scenes of the seated couple (see pls. 59, 66, 67, 70) where the body of the woman is quite apart from the tomb owner. This may be caused by the type of chair (or the depiction of two chairs) on which they are seated, since in pls. 59, 66, 67, there is a separate cushion behind each figure. A similar chair with a cushion for both the man and the woman, is seen in Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 25, pl. 68).

The complete separation of the two figures seen at El-Hawawish in the tomb of *Qrrj* (Q15) is usual in provincial scenes in the Sixth Dynasty, for example, *Wnjs-ḥnh* and *Jhjj* at Thebes, *Hnqw* I and *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi and *Jdj/Jd* at Abydos.³⁴¹

As at El-Hawawish, most couples are seated with the knees of the wife overlapping the body of her husband. All the Sixth Dynasty wives at El-Hawawish are depicted with their legs to the front of the chair but many women in other Sixth Dynasty provincial chapels place them to the back of the chair following the usual position in the Fifth Dynasty exemplified by the wives of *Nj-k3-ḥnh* at Tehna and *Srf-k3.j* at Sheikh Said.³⁴² As almost an equal number of provincial tomb scenes depict the wife seated with her legs to the front, there seems to be no pattern as to which pose is selected.

The position of the wife's hand resting on her husband's arm, depicted on the panel of the false door of *ḥ3-Mnw*, L8, at El-Hawawish, is found in the scenes of *K3.j-ḥnt* (A3) at El-Hammamiya, *Tmrrj* (N248) and *Tw3w* (N359) at Naga ed-Dêr, and *ḥnh-tj.fj* at Mo'alla where all the wives place open hands with extended fingers on the upper arms of their husbands.³⁴³ A similar position of the hand is seen in *Hnqw* I at Deir el-Gebrawi, *Wnjs-ḥnh*, Thebes, *Jn-k3.f*, Coptos and *Mrjj-ḥ3*, El-Hagarsa except that here the hand of the wife is closed around the upper arm of the tomb owner.³⁴⁴

No scenes were found in other provincial tombs where the fingers of the wife's hand passed behind the arm of the tomb owner with her thumb to the front as in the false door panel of *ḥ3-Mnw*, L8, at El-Hawawish.

The variation where the wife places her open hand on the waist of her husband at El-Hawawish (*Dw3-Mnw*, L6, *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, and the stelae of *B3wj* and *Mnw-m-ḥḥt*), is only found at three other provincial sites, at Tehna (*Nj-k3-ḥnh* I), at El-Hagarsa (*Nfrrt-ḥr*) and at El-Qasr wa es-Saiyad (*Tw3wtj*).³⁴⁵ *Nj-k3-ḥnh* and *Nfrrt-ḥr* are dated to the early-mid Fifth

³⁴¹ Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pls. 6[1], 14; Kanawati, *Gebrawi* I, pl. 37; Davies, *Gebrâwi* I, pl. 12, possibly just touching his back; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 77 (CG1588). A separation of the figures of the tomb owner and his wife is also found in the Fifth Dynasty tombs of *K3.j-ḥnt* (A2) and *K3.j-ḥnt* (A3) at El-Hammamiya due to the type of chair (s) on which they are seated: El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 47, 50 (A2), 59, 66, 67 (A3).

³⁴² Fraser, *Tehneh*, in *ASAE* 3 (1902), pl. 3; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 4.

³⁴³ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 63, 70; Peck, *Naga ed-Dêr*, pls. 5 and 2; Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pl. 6. These fingers lie on the outside of the tomb owner's arm not underneath as in *ḥ3-Mnw*.

³⁴⁴ Kanawati, *Gebrawi* I, pl. 37; Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 6 (1); Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pl. 11, no. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pls. 42, 43.

³⁴⁵ Frazer, *ASAE* 3(1902), pl. 4 (right side); Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* I, pl. 22b (the position of the arm of the woman which reaches fully across the body of the man is unusual in seated figures but a similar position

Dynasty and may have been contemporaries of *Dw3-Mnw* at El-Hawawish who shares similar titles.³⁴⁶

The unusual pose at El-Hawawish where the woman rests her hand against the shoulder of the seated tomb owner (*B3wj*, G126 and *Nbj*, stela Louvre C234), is also rare in other provinces, occurring at Sheikh Said (*Ttj-ḥnh/Jj-m-ḥt*), and at Deir el-Gebrawi (*Hnqw* II), and also on the stela of *Jdj/Jd* from Abydos.³⁴⁷ Two marked differences may be noted however:

- only in the representations of *B3wj* (G126) and *Jdj/Jd* from Abydos do the women raise their *far* hands and place them on the near shoulder of their husbands;
- the wives on the Hawawish stelae and in the wall scenes at Sheikh Said and Deir el-Gebrawi pass their *near* arms across their bodies to place their hands on the near shoulders of the tomb- or stela- owner. All of these tomb owners except for *Jdj/Jd* are dated to Teti - early Pepy I. The Abydene stela is possibly late Old Kingdom-First Intermediate period.

Memphite comparisons

Figs. 3.64b, 3.65a, 3.68b, 3.75

In the Fourth and early to mid Fifth Dynasty depictions of the tomb owner and his wife seated together on a long chair³⁴⁸ show more usually a close positioning of the two figures with the man's body overlapping the woman's, for example, *Jwn-Mnw*, *Whm-k3.j*, *Shm-k3.j* (on lintels), *K3.j/K3-pw-nswt*, *Sš3t-ḥtp*, *Sšm-nfr* II and III at Giza, and *Wr-jr.nj.j* at Saqqara. Less frequently they display a separation of bodies but with the woman's knees either overlapping the body of the tomb owner, for example, *Whm-k3.j*, or just touching his back, *Nswt-nfr*, Giza.³⁴⁹

Occasionally both close and separate positions of the seated couple appear in the same tomb. On the north entrance thickness to the third chamber the wife of *Nfr-b3w-Pth* is seated close to her husband with her far arm and shoulder hidden by his body and her hand

is found in standing couples in the capital, for example, *Mr-ḥnh.f* (Hassan, *Giza* III, fig. 16), *Whm-k3.j* (Kayser, *Uhemka*, p. 33); Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 28b.

³⁴⁶ Kanawati-McFarlane, *Akhmim* I, pp. 25, 26, 203, 208.

³⁴⁷ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 29; Kanawati, *Gebrawi* I, pl. 53; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 77 (CG1588).

³⁴⁸ Depictions of the couple seated together on a high-sided armchair are not studied as no examples of this were found at El-Hawawish.

³⁴⁹ Hassan, *Giza* VII, fig. 10; Kayser, *Uhemka*, p. 25; Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery* I, fig. 3; Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 15; Kanawati, *Giza* II, pls. 44, 47; *ibid*, pl. 63; Brunner-Traut, *Seschemnofers* III, pl. 3; James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I, pl. 38; Kanawati, *Giza* II, pls. 52, 53; Kayser, *Uhemka*, p. 32

touching his back, but on the south thickness the wife's shoulder, body and near hand are apart from his figure.³⁵⁰

With rare exceptions,³⁵¹ it is usual in Memphite scenes that the woman is depicted with her knees behind the tomb owner's body and the chair regardless whether the figures face left or right. A complete separation of both the bodies and the knees of the tomb owner and his wife when seated together on one chair is not found in any Memphite scene.

The position of the wife's hand holding the upper arm of the tomb owner just above the elbow (ʿ3-Mnw, L8, at El-Hawawish) is frequently seen in Fifth Dynasty scenes at Giza. While most wives place their near hands with fingers extended³⁵² on the man's arm, a smaller number close their fingers around the arm.³⁵³ Only one woman, the wife of K3.j/K3-pw-nswt (early Fifth Dynasty) is depicted holding her husband's arm in exactly the same manner as ʿ3-Mnw with her thumb to the front and her fingers behind the man's arm.³⁵⁴

Common throughout the Fifth Dynasty, is the position of the wife's hand on, or just touching, the waist of her husband when seated together.³⁵⁵ The El-Hawawish posture where the far hand of the wife is placed against the shoulder of her husband (B3wj, G126 and Nbj, Louvre C234) was not found in Memphite tombs.

3.3.2 Other positions of the wife accompanying the seated tomb owner at El-Hawawish and other provincial cemeteries.

Wives seated at their own tables

Fig. 3.11a

³⁵⁰ Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, pls. 16, 17.

³⁵¹ For example, Nj-wd3-Pth (Abu-Bakr, Giza, fig. 95A); K3-m-nfrt (Badawy, *Iteti*, fig. 27, pl. 32). In both scenes the woman's knees overlap the tomb owner's body and her legs are to the front of the chair.

³⁵² For example, Giza: W̄hm-k3.j (Kayser, *Uhemka*, p. 24); S̄s3t-htp (Kanawati, Giza II, pl. 44); Jn-k3.f/Rwd-k3 (Hassan, Giza VI, fig. 119); Šhm-k3.j (Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I*, fig. 3); Saqqara: Nj-ʿnh-Ḥnmw (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 25).

³⁵³ For example, Hwfw-ḥʿf II (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 49); Špss-k3.f-ʿnh (Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, fig. 57); K3-mnj (Hassan, Giza III, fig. 88).

³⁵⁴ Junker, Giza III, fig. 15 (G4651).

³⁵⁵ Giza: W̄hm-k3.j (Kayser, *Uhemka*, pp. 25, 32); Špss-3htj (Hassan, Giza III, fig. 84); S̄sm-nfr II (Kanawati, Giza II, pl. 63); S̄sm-nfr III (Brunner-Traut, *Seschemnofers III*, pl. 3); Šhm-k3.j (Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I*, fig. 3); Saqqara: Nj-k3w-Rʿ (Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, pl. 19). The following wives just tip the back of the tomb owner at the waist: Giza: K3.j/K3-pw-nswt Junker, Giza III, fig. 14; Nfr-b3w-Pth (Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, pl. 17); Nfr I (Junker, Giza VI, fig. 11); Mdw-nfr (Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiano*, fig. 32, pl. 25); Saqqara: Wr-jr.n-Pth (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*, pl. 28).

In Dynasty 6 at El-Hawawish the wives of the nomarchs, *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, *Jsj*, and *Hnj*, H24, *Htpj*, are present in the offering table scenes of their husbands but are seated at a separate table near that of the tomb owner. *Jsj* is shown as large as her husband but neither the height of the loaves on her table nor the table itself is as great as those of *Nhwt-dšr*, nor are the loaves as numerous as his.³⁵⁶ *Nhwt-dšr* is dated to Teti – beginning Pepy I. *Htpj*, the wife of the later nomarch *Hnj*, dated to Pepy II, is also seated at her own table near that of her husband but her figure and table are much smaller, between one third and one quarter the size of *Hnj* and his table.³⁵⁷ No other wives at El-Hawawish are depicted in this manner.

In other provinces, wives seated at their own tables close to the tomb owner's offering table are found at Deshasha (in the tomb of *Jntj*, late Fifth Dynasty), at Naga ed-Dêr (on the stela of *H3gj*, Pepy I?) and at Aswan (in the tomb of *Hw-ns*, mid-Sixth Dynasty).³⁵⁸ These women are full size figures but with smaller tables than those of the tomb owner.

Wives seated on the opposite side of the tomb owner's table

Fig. 3.50

The position of a wife seated on the opposite side of her husband's offering table is found once at El-Hawawish, on the stela of *B3wj* (Hildesheim 1875) and only in a limited number of provincial cemeteries: at El-Hammamiya, *K3.j-hnt* (A2) and *K3.j-hnt* (A3) (Fifth Dynasty), at Meir, *Ppjj-ḥnh-hrj-jb* and *Ppjj* (Merenre-early Pepy II) and at Abydos, stela of *Jww* (early-mid Sixth Dynasty).³⁵⁹ All these women are full-size figures with the wives at El-Hawawish and Meir holding a lotus to their face.

Wives standing next to the seated tomb owner

Figs. 3.3c, 3.6b, 3.17, 3.42, 3.66a

A small number of scenes in provincial cemeteries depict wives standing next to seated tomb owners. There are four instances at El-Hawawish and the same number from different provinces.

³⁵⁶ H VIII, fig. 3a. There are 14 loaves on the table of *Nhwt-dšr* and 10 on that of *Jsj*.

³⁵⁷ H II, fig. 23.

³⁵⁸ Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 38 (the wife's table is lost but her pose and the surrounding motifs make this very probable); Ziegler, *Stèles*, p. 196; de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.*, p. 160.

³⁵⁹ H VII, fig. 37b (Hildesheim 1875); El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 39, 43, 46 (A2), 65 (A3); Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 9; *ibid* V, pl. 46; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, pl. 31 (CG1439).

Facing the tomb owner: at El-Hawawish this posture is first seen in the tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Mmj*, M23, both dated to the reign of Djedkare/Isesi.³⁶⁰ Each wife in facing her husband, visually depicted ‘before’ him. Although both scenes show damage in the area of the women’s (and the men’s) figures it can be clearly seen that *Mmj*’s feet overlap those of his wife and it can be estimated that the feet of *Hzzj-Mnw* and his wife also overlap. Both women are smaller in proportion to the seated tomb owner, approximately half his size. There is no offering table.

In the tomb of *Mmj* (B12) dated to Pepy I, the large figure of his wife stands facing him but at some distance away, with his offering table, offerings and an abbreviated slaughtering scene intervening.³⁶¹

In the tomb of *B3wj* (BA14) dated to the Eighth Dynasty,³⁶² a woman stands in front of the seated tomb owner (but at a lower level) facing the same direction as he does. Again there is no offering table.

The figures of most of the Hawawish women are damaged and few details of their hands survive except for the wife of *Mmj* who is clearly seen holding a looped lotus stem in her extended far hand. The same extended hand position is seen in the wife of *B3wj* (BA14) and it is possible that she originally held a lotus also. The association of lotuses with standing women is observed in a much earlier scene at El-Hawawish. The wife of *Hzzj-Mnw* (M22) stands facing her seated husband on the panel of their northern false door with part of the flower-head of a lotus visible against her thigh although the hand which would have held it, is now missing.³⁶³

While no wives at El-Hawawish stand ‘behind’ their seated husbands, each of the wives in the remaining provincial examples occupies this position and all face the same direction as their husband.³⁶⁴ Three of the women, the wives of *ʿn-ʿnhj* and *Jwfw* at El-Hagarsa and of *Ppjj-ʿnh-hrj-jb* at Meir stand apart from their husbands each holding a long-stemmed lotus to her face. The wife of *Q3r* at Edfu does not hold a lotus but places her far arm around her

³⁶⁰ *H IV*, fig. 15 (panel of the north false door); *ibid V*, fig. 17 (right/east) entrance thickness).

³⁶¹ *H VII*, fig. 10.

³⁶² *H VII*, fig. 17.

³⁶³ *H IV*, fig. 15.

³⁶⁴ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa I*, pls. 34, 37 (*ʿn-ʿnhj*); *ibid*, pl. 39 (*Jwfw*) both offering table scenes; Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 5(2), forecourt frieze; El-Khadragy, *Edfu Offering Niche*, in *SAK 30* (2002), p. 219, fig. 7 (upper lintel of false door).

husband's shoulder. These four provincial officials are dated to the much narrower period of Merenre to mid-Pepy II.

No wives are depicted kneeling before, to the side, or 'under' the chair of their seated husbands at El-Hawawish and only a small number of wives in this position are found in other provincial cemeteries³⁶⁵ and all date to the period Teti – Pepy I. Only two of the tomb owners accompanied by kneeling wives sit before an offering table, *Jzj* of Edfu and *Ndm-jb* of Abydos. Each wife holds a lotus to her face.

Memphite comparisons

Fig. 3.66b

At Memphis the most frequent alternative position for accompanying wives is seated opposite the tomb owner at his offering table. These depictions date from the Fourth Dynasty with the greatest number being in Fifth Dynasty tombs. Most are found on the panels of false doors or on the wall close to the false doors.³⁶⁶ All the wives are depicted as large as the tomb owner and none carries a lotus. The representation of the wife seated at her own table near the offering table of the tomb owner is less common.³⁶⁷

In a small number of instances, primarily at Saqqara, wives are portrayed standing with seated husbands.³⁶⁸ Almost all the women are placed behind the tomb owner and face the same direction as he does. None hold lotuses. The dating range of these examples is very broad, from the reign of Neuserre (*Nfr-sšm-Pth/Shntjw* at Saqqara) to the late Sixth Dynasty.

³⁶⁵ *Hm-rʿ/Jzj* (Kanawati, *Gebrawi* I, pls. 49, 63); *Jzj*, Edfu (Ziegler, *Stèles*, pp. 78, 79); *Ndm-jb*, Abydos (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 83, CG1616).

³⁶⁶ For example, Giza: *Nj-ḥtp-Ḥnmw* (Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 10); *Jrtj* (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 48); *Špsj* (ibid. VI, fig. 62); *Nj-kʿw-Rʿ* (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, pl. 19, CG 1414); *K3-mnj* (Hassan, *Giza* III, fig. 95A); *Ffj* (ibid. I, fig. 169); Saqqara: *Nfr*, *Wr-bʿw* and *Sn-jt.f* (Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-Hay*, pls. 29, 36, 38, 39); *K3-j-ḥp* (Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 21); *Wr-jr.n-Pth* (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I, pl. 3); *Nj-kʿ-Rʿ* (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, pl. 19); *Nn-ḥft-k3.j* (ibid. pl. 40, CG1484).

³⁶⁷ For example, *Medum*: *Nfrt* (Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 15, Harpur, *Maidum*, p. 118, fig. 99); Giza: *K3-ḥj.f* (Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 32: here the woman holds a lotus in her lap); Saqqara: *K3-ḥ3.j* (Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-Hay*, pl. 32).

³⁶⁸ Saqqara: Moussa–Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 7 (*Nfr-sšm-Pth/Shntjw*); Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, pl. 50, no. 1536A (*Jpj*); Firth–Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.*, pl. 77D, E (*Rʿ-ḥr-tp/Jtj*); Giza: Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 25 (*Q3r*).

The position of the wives at El-Hawawish who stand and face the tomb owner, is found once at Giza in the early Fifth Dynasty tomb of *R^c-wr* at Giza who is seated opposite the standing figure of his mother, *Htp-hr.s.*³⁶⁹

Where there is a clear depiction of the hands of the women, all the provincial wives who stand next to their seated husbands, hold lotuses, a detail not found at Memphis. The sole exception to this posture amongst provincial wives is *Jntj* the wife of *Q3r* of Edfu (Merenre-Pepy II) who stands alongside her seated husband and places her far arm around his shoulder with her near hand hanging by her side.³⁷⁰ The pose of *Q3r*'s wife most closely resembles the women accompanying *R^c-hr-tp* and *Jpj* at Saqqara (dated to Pepy II-end Dynasty 6) in size and pose. None of these women holds a lotus but each grasps the shoulder or body of her husband with her far hand.

Comment:

This posture of the wife of *Q3r*, on the upper lintel of his false door³⁷¹ is not seen amongst other provincial wives standing with seated tomb owners and may imply that this false door was originally made for a Saqqara tomb for *Q3r*. The false door is part of an offering niche which was found in situ in *Q3r*'s tomb at Edfu. It shows a considerable variation in the quality of the carving of the inscriptions and figures with some parts being of a much finer quality than others. It has been suggested that the separate pieces of the offering niche were done by different craftsmen and some, especially the false door, perhaps by "inadequate local craftsmen".³⁷² El-Khadragy notes that the higher titles held by *Q3r* and his eldest son, *Jzj*, only appear on the false door and proposes that this part of the assemblage was completed last.³⁷³ From his biography and titles it is known that *Q3r* served in the administration at Memphis in a senior capacity and it may be proposed that he had already prepared, or was in the process of preparing, a tomb for himself at Memphis before his appointment to Edfu.

Suggestions that Memphite tombs, or elements of their tombs, were built or carved for provincial officials such as *Q3r* of Edfu and *Ttj-k3.j-hp* (M8) of Akhmim, before returning to administer their own nomes in Upper Egypt have been put forward by Kanawati and Moreno Garcia following the discovery of a number of small mud-brick tombs in the

³⁶⁹ Hassan, *Giza I*, fig. 5.

³⁷⁰ El-Khadragy, *Edfu Offering Niche*, in *SAK* 30 (2002), fig. 7.

³⁷¹ *Ibid*, pp. 203-228.

³⁷² Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 226, 227.

³⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 227.

north-west corner of the Teti cemetery by Kanawati.³⁷⁴ The posture of the wife of Q3r which is observed only in Memphite wall scenes and never in the provinces, together with the evidence of Q3r's biography and titles on the false door supports the proposal that the offering niche may have been made while he served at Memphis and later taken down to Edfu, just as Weni took inscribed stone pieces with him to his tomb at Abydos.³⁷⁵

The uniform quality of the stone itself indicates that all parts of the offering niche came from the same quarry (Tura?) and while only conjectural, it is proposed that the pieces were then carved at the capital. If this were so, it is possible that the variation in quality of the carving may have been due to haste in completing the false door at Memphis following the elevation of Q3r to his position as nomarch of Edfu, as much as to the work of a less skilled artisan in the provinces.

3.3.3 Objects held by wives: lotuses, folded cloths, unguent jars

Lotuses

Figs. 3.6b, 3.17, 3.31, 3.45, 3.48, 3.50

Lotuses are the items most frequently found in the hands of wives and female tomb owners and are more usual in Fifth and early Sixth Dynasty depictions in the provinces. At El-Hawawish, lotuses are held by wives standing with tomb owners, *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, the owner of tomb M52, and *Mmj*, B12 (who holds a looped stem) and by kneeling wives in the spear fishing scenes of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, and on stelae (Hildesheim 1875, *B3wj*; Florence 7582, *Wtt-hzz(t)*, and CG1613, *Jrt*).³⁷⁶ These women grasp the stem behind the flower head with the whole hand like *Nbt*, a queen of Unis, and *Jdwt* at Saqqara.³⁷⁷

Looped lotus stems are held by women in Memphite tombs dated to the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, for example, *Mrs-5nh* III and the wife of *Snb* at Giza, and the wives of *Nj-5nh*-

³⁷⁴ Kanawati, *Interrelation*, in *BACE* 15 (2004), pp. 51-62; Moreno Garcia, *Deux familles*, in *Rev. d'E*, 56 (2005), pp. 95-128.

³⁷⁵ Sethe, *Urkunden* I, 98-110.

³⁷⁶ *H* IV, fig. 15; *H* X, fig. 6a (Fragments H92:F77, F78); *H* VII, fig. 10; *H* I, fig. 8; *H* II, fig. 18; *H* VII, fig. 37b; *ibid.*, fig. 36a; *H* VIII, fig. 32b, respectively.

³⁷⁷ Munro, *Unas-Friedhof* I, pl. 12; Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cem.* II, pl. 71. Unis' queen, Nebet, may have introduced this manner of holding the lotus stem and been the model for Idut and the wives of Mereruka (see for example Duell, *Mereruka* I, pl. 9) and Nefersehemptah (see Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pls. 97, 101) who were daughters of Teti. All grasp the stem of the lotus with the whole hand and without a loop in the stem.

Hnmw/Hnmw-htp and *Nfr/K3-ḥ3.j* at Saqqara,³⁷⁸ but are rare in the provinces. Here they are shown in the hands of the wife of the early Fifth Dynasty tomb owners, *K3.j-ḥnt*, (A2), at El-Hammamiya, *Nj-k3-ḥnh* I (no. 13) and *K3-ḥp*, (no. 12), at Tehna, and later by the wife of the Sixth Dynasty nomarch, *Ppjj-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* of Meir in their offering table scenes.³⁷⁹

Folded cloths

Figs. 3.11a, 3.43, 3.51

Depictions of women holding cloths are rare in the provinces. At El-Hawawish the wife of the nomarch *Nhwt-dšr* of tomb G95 sits before her offering table holding a cloth or roll in her lap and four stelae owned by women show them holding the cloth or roll against the chest. On the Abydene stelae of *Jww* (CG 1439) and *H3gj* (Louvre C160) the women accompanying them hold cloths on their laps.³⁸⁰ Both women are seated before offering tables. Folded cloths were not found in the hands of Memphite wives.

Unguent jars

Fig. 3.44

Images of women holding unguent jars are also rare. In the provinces three depictions are found at El-Hawawish, *Htpt*, the wife of the nomarch *Hnj* of tomb H24, *Jkw*, owner of stela Allard Pierson 3400, and thirdly, at El-Hagarsa in the same nome, *Jbj*, the wife of *Mrjj*, C2, holds an unguent jar on the panel of her false door.³⁸¹ The jars are held in two ways:

- *Htpt* and *Jbj* in almost identical poses grasp a large jar with the whole hand
- *Jkw* holds a tiny jar between finger and thumb. The pose of *Jkw* is unusual for a woman although very similar to the depictions of the Hawawish male tomb owners: *B3wj* of stela CG 20504, *B3wj* of tomb K5 and the unknown owner of tomb G97.³⁸²

The remaining depictions of women holding unguent jars are from Saqqara. The jars are held with the whole hand grasping the centre of the vessel: *Jdwt* is the earliest (Unis-Teti) with the others dated to Pepy I or Pepy II; *Bhnw* (wife of *Q3r/Ppjj-nfr/Mrjj-r^c-nfr*) on the

³⁷⁸ Dunham–Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, figs. 8, 12; Junker, *Giza* IV, fig. 23; Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pls. 4,5, figs. 5,6; Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nefer*, pls. 1,2,27.

³⁷⁹ El-Khouli–Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 51; Fraser, *Tehneh*, in *ASAE* 3 (1902), pl.3 (*Nj-k3-ḥnh* I), *K3-ḥp*, personal examination; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 9.

³⁸⁰ Photo in Brovarski, *Abydos* II, p. 23, Fig. 2.1; Ziegler, *Stèles*, pp. 195, 196.

³⁸¹ *H* II, fig. 23; *ibid*, VII, fig. 35c; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pl. 44.

³⁸² Doubts as to the authenticity of the stela of *Jkw* are put forward by McFarlane in Kanawati–McFarlane, *Akhmim* I p. 242.

panel of her false door, *Nsyt*, on her false door panel, *Hnwt*, on her alabaster tablet of sacred oils, and *Hnwtj*, on her false door panel.³⁸³ In all the depictions, apart from the stela of *Jkw* at El-Hawawish, the women hold the jars with the whole hand.

FINDINGS

- The study of representations of women accompanying seated tomb owners (usually wives, but in two instances, a mother) at El-Hawawish offers evidence for dating and for stylistic links with other provincial and Memphite cemeteries.
- Representations of wives seated together with the tomb owner on the same chair were the most numerous of all the depictions of the couple: eleven tombs and five stelae at El-Hawawish (see Table 1a[c], [e]) and seventeen provincial tombs (see Table 1b[c]). The next most frequently found posture was that of women standing next to the seated tomb owner: four tombs at El-Hawawish, with the same number (four examples) in provincial tombs.
- Using evidence drawn from the tomb owners' titles, biographical inscriptions, architecture, the forms of false doors, and iconographic details, the Hawawish representations of the couple seated together are dated from the early-mid Fifth Dynasty to late Pepy I-Merenre. The latest example at El-Hawawish of a tomb owner seated on the same chair as his wife, *Qrrj*, Q15, can be dated by his inscription which states that he served under Pepy I.³⁸⁴
- Well-decorated tombs at El-Hawawish which can be dated to the reign of Pepy II by evidence from family relationships and titles as well as architectural and stylistic details never show the tomb owner seated together with his wife.
- This scene does not survive in El-Hawawish tombs dated to the period after the end of the Sixth Dynasty but the motif reappears occasionally in other provincial tombs from the end of the Sixth Dynasty to the First Intermediate Period, for example, *ḥh-tj.fj* at Mo'alla and *Mrjj-ʿ3* at El-Hagarsa, as well as on a number of stelae from Naga ed-Dêr and Coptos.
- At Giza, the latest example of a couple seated on the one chair before an offering table, is possibly *Q3r*, dated to Pepy I, who is seated with his mother, *Hnwt*,³⁸⁵ while at Saqqara the latest examples date to the reign of Teti may possibly be *Wʿtt-*

³⁸³ Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cem.* II, pls. 67, 68, 70; James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I, pl. 34, no. 1330; Jequier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 36; *ibid.*, fig. 102; Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* pl. 70[2].

³⁸⁴ *H VI*, fig. 20c.

³⁸⁵ Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 30.

ht-Hr, wife of the vizier of Teti, *Mrrw-k3.j*, seated with her husband in the scene where the tomb owner is playing senet with a son,³⁸⁶ or *Jrt-n-3htj*, one of the two wives of *Rmnj* seated with him at his offering table who has a suggested date of late Teti or early Pepy I.³⁸⁷

- The decorative scheme of the Hawawish tombs appears to follow the Memphite examples in this respect ceasing to incorporate this motif in wall scenes at approximately the same time.
- The characteristic feature in Fifth Dynasty tombs at El-Hawawish and in other provinces is the close position of the figures of the tomb owner and his wife when seated on the same chair. This is a reflection of similar depictions dated to the same period in Memphite tombs, particularly at Giza.
- The close placement of tomb and wife disappears in the Sixth Dynasty at El-Hawawish with a complete separation of the two figures appearing in the tomb of *Qrrj*, Q15, dated by inscription to Pepy I. This separation between the body of the tomb owner and his wife continues in other provincial scenes, but not at El-Hawawish (as the depiction of *Qrrj* and his wife is the last of a couple seated together in this cemetery) until to the end of the Old Kingdom – First Intermediate Period.
- The motif of the woman standing with a seated male, uncommon at El-Hawawish is also rare in both Memphite and provincial tombs.
- In Memphite scenes with one exception, the woman stands behind or next to the seated tomb owner facing the same direction as he does. The exception in the early Fifth Dynasty tomb of *R^c-wr* at Giza whose mother, *Htp-hr.s*,³⁸⁸ stands before him and faces him may be contemporary with the earliest representations of this pose at El-Hawawish, *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Mmj*, M23, both with a proposed date of the reign of Djedkare/Isesi in the Fifth Dynasty.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁶ Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl. 172. The upper part of the wall and scene is lost and there is no record of her name.

³⁸⁷ Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* IX, pls. 49, 51.

³⁸⁸ Hassan, *Giza I*, fig. 5.

³⁸⁹ Suggestions for the dating of the tomb of *R^c-wr* vary, see Strudwick, *Administration* p. 114 (92) for a range of dates from Reisner (4th–early 5th Dynasty), Baer (6th Dynasty). Cherpion agrees with Reisner (Cherpion, *Mastabas*, p. 227) and Harpur (late 5th–early 6th Dynasty), *Decoration*, p. 268. While the Hawawish Fifth Dynasty scenes are damaged, it can be clearly seen that the wife of *Hzzj-Mnw* (M22) wears a choker collar and a broad collar like the mother of *R^c-wr*. Cherpion found that the latest examples of women wearing both collars was in tombs dated to Isesi (Cherpion, *Mastabas*, pp. 68-70, Crit. 46, Table, p. 192).

- Where wall scenes are complete, all depictions of provincial women in this standing pose, except one, the wife of Q3r of Edfu,³⁹⁰ hold lotuses. None is held by women in similar scenes at the Memphite cemeteries. The posture of the wife of Q3r standing without a lotus in her hand, a pose only found in Memphite scenes of standing wives with seated tomb owners, provides stylistic evidence for the existence of a Saqqara tomb for Q3r, built before he took up his position as nomarch at Edfu.
- Women are depicted of equal size to the tomb owners whether the couple are seated on the same chair, or opposite each other at the tomb owner's offering table. When wives are seated at their own tables however, the size of the woman varies at El-Hawawish between earlier and later scenes. The wife of *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, dated to Teti, seated at her own table near that of the tomb owner, is shown as large as her husband, but in the tomb of *Hnj*, H24, dated to late Pepy II, his wife and her offering table are approximately one quarter the size of his figure and table.
- The reduced size of accompanying wives which first appears in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty in Memphite scenes commented on by Roth and Swinton³⁹¹ is not evident in scenes where the tomb owner and his wife are seated together in an offering table scene. The full-size or almost full-size wife seated with the tomb owner at El-Hawawish continues to be seen until the latest depiction of the couple in the tomb of *Qrrj*, Q15, dated to Pepy I.
- Unusual positions are noted in the arms and hands of two El-Hawawish women: the first is found in the grasp of her husband's arm by the wife of ʿ3-*Mnw*, L8, and the second, in the placing of the hand of the wife of *B3wj*, G126, against the shoulder of her husband. The first appears to show a specific link with a Memphite tomb, while the second is apparently restricted to the provinces.
- Fifth Dynasty wives when seated with their husbands in tombs at the capital and in the provinces commonly place their near hands on or over their laps or they hold the upper arm of the tomb owner, motifs seen in the offering table scenes of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and ʿ3-*Mnw*, L8, at El-Hawawish.

³⁹⁰ El-Khadragy, *Edfu Offering Niche*, in *SAK* 30 (2002), pp. 203-228, fig. 7.

³⁹¹ Roth, *Little Women*, in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, ed. M. Barta (2006), pp. 281-296; Swinton, *Wives*, in *BACE* 14 (2003), pp. 95-109. Swinton proposes that the smaller size of the women was adopted when the motif of the tomb owner fishing and fowling in the marshes was introduced into the decorative scheme of Old Kingdom wall scenes.

- The unusual depiction in *3-Mnw*, L8, of the wife's stiffly extended fingers passing behind the tomb owner's upper arm with her thumb to the front is restricted to El-Hawawish and is not seen in any other provincial wall scene. An identical Memphite example, however, is found in the early Fifth Dynasty tomb owner, *K3.j/K3-pw-nswt* at Giza. The repetition of such details suggests a knowledge of this Giza tomb or, perhaps, a relationship between the Hawawish and the Giza tomb owners or their artist(s).
- The depiction of the wife's hand resting against the shoulder of her husband in the wall scene of *B3wj* G126, and on the stelae of *Hngi/Hnwt* and *Nbj* at El-Hawawish, appears to be a pose originating in the provinces. It is not found in any Memphite scene but is included in provincial tombs dated to the same period as the Hawawish examples, Teti to Pepy I, at Sheikh Said (in *Ttj-ḥnh/Jj-m-ḥtp*) and Deir el-Gebrawi (*Hnqw* II) and on the late Sixth Dynasty stela from Abydos of *Jdj/Jd*.
- Although lotuses are usual in the hands of females in tombs of the capital, they are rarely held by wives accompanying tomb owners at El-Hawawish or at other provincial sites. When found in the hands of women these are wives of Fifth to early Sixth Dynasty tomb owners.
- The women of the Akhmim nome are distinguished from other provincial wives for being the only females in tomb wall scenes to hold a folded cloth (the wife of *Nhwt-dšr*, G95) or an unguent jar (the wife of *Hnj*, H24, and the wife of *Mrjj*, C2, at El-Hagarsa) although none of the husbands of these women holds the same object.

3.4 The Seated Tomb Owner accompanied by Sons and Daughters

3.4.1 El-Hawawish

Figs. 3.5, 3.6b, 3.7 (figure lost), 3.11a,b, 3.49, 3.64b, 3.66a, 3.67, 3.68b

Children are associated with seated tomb owners in wall scenes in twelve tombs and on two stelae.³⁹² The identification of offspring is clear from inscriptions accompanying the figures in the tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *ḥnhw*, M21, *Hm-Mnw*, M43, *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, where sons are depicted, whereas *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, *Hnj*, H24, and the two stelae, include both sons

³⁹² More examples may be proposed mostly on the grounds of position and size, for example, the large figure of a male facing *Ttj-jqr*, H26, separated from him by his offering table and a pile of food and drink offerings. The figure is damaged and only isolated hieroglyphs remain. This scene is very similar to one in the neighbouring tomb of *Hnj*, H24, also damaged but where sufficient hieroglyphs exist to identify a son through his titles.

and daughters. The manner in which other figures are represented and their close positioning to the tomb owner (and his wife if present) although not identified by inscriptions as sons and daughters suggests that they are his children.

Dating range

- Sons appear with the seated tomb owner in four of the earliest tombs in the cemetery, dated to the mid to late Fifth Dynasty: *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *ʿnhw*, M21, *ʿ3-Mnw*, L8 and *Hm-Mnw*, M43,³⁹³ but no daughters are depicted near the seated tomb owner in this period.
- In the Sixth Dynasty, both sons and daughters are present with the seated tomb owner in tombs dated to the following periods:
 - Teti, three tombs: *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, the unknown owner of tomb K16 and *Nhwt-dšr*, G95³⁹⁴
 - Pepy I: three tombs, *Qrrj*, Q15, *Wʿh...*, Q2, and *Mmj*, B12,³⁹⁵
 - Pepy II: *Hnj*, H24.³⁹⁶
- The depiction of two female harpists under the offering table of *Ttj-ʿ3*, H41,³⁹⁷ (late Sixth Dynasty) may also be included since females playing the harp close to the deceased in wall scenes in other provinces and in the capital are identified as daughters (see below).
- The stelae of *B3wj* (CG20504) and *Nbj* (Louvre C234) also depict sons and daughter(s).³⁹⁸

Position in tomb: position of the children relative to the tomb owner

With three exceptions all the depictions where children appear close to seated tomb owners are offering table scenes on west walls. Sons are shown in the broad apertures of false doors in the Fifth Dynasty tombs of *ʿnhw*, M21, and *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, offering or censuring,

³⁹³ *H* IV, fig. 15, false door apertures; figs. 8, 9, table scene, south wall (M22); *H* V, fig. 24, aperture of false door, table scene (M21); *H* VI, fig. 9, panel of false door (L8); *H* V, figs. 6, 9, table scene, west wall (M43), an eldest son on the far side of the table and a possible young son beneath the table.

³⁹⁴ *H* VI, fig. 2, table scene, south wall (F1); *H* VIII, fig. 21, east wall (K16); *H* VIII, figs. 3a, table scene, north wall, 3b, south wall (G95).

³⁹⁵ *H* VI, fig. 21a, table scene on adjacent wall (Q15); *ibid*, fig. 17b, table scene, west wall (Q2); *H* VII, fig. 10, table scene, offerings and slaughtering motif, east wall (B12).

³⁹⁶ *H* II, fig. 24, west wall, shrine; fig. 25, north wall, shrine, table scenes (H24).

³⁹⁷ *H* VIII, fig. 12, table scene, west wall (H41).

³⁹⁸ *H* VIII, fig. 34a, CG20504 ; *H* IX, pl. 6b, Ziegler, *Stèles*, p.165.

to their father.³⁹⁹ Most seated tomb owners at El-Hawawish dated to the Fifth Dynasty, are shown with just one child close to them.

Children are positioned opposite and facing the tomb owner in most scenes at El-Hawawish although exceptions occur. In the family group of ʿ3-Mnw, L8, the small son is depicted behind or next to, his mother, holding her around the waist.

In the Sixth Dynasty, family groups of sons and daughters together with the wife of the tomb owner, appear in three tombs, G95, B12, H24 and on stela CG20504. In each of these, the family group is separated from the tomb owner by an offering table and piles of food and drink (B12, H24), a biographical text (G95), a staff (Louvre stela of Nbj). The children of B3wj, owner of the stela CG20504, occupy a register below the seated owner and his wife but this arrangement is very probably dictated by the vertical shape of the stela.

In every El-Hawawish scene, the children stand in the presence of the seated tomb owner, except for the two kneeling women playing harps near the offering table of the late Sixth to Eighth Dynasty nomarch Tj-ʿ3, H41, who may be daughters although no inscriptions identifying them as such have survived.

No children are depicted either standing or kneeling beneath the tomb owner's chair at El-Hawawish although a kneeling male appears in this position in the tomb of Hm-Mnw M43.⁴⁰⁰

Iconography of depictions of sons and daughters

Although children are not always identified by inscription certain stylistic details link them to the tomb owner (and sometimes to his wife if seated together). Depictions of very young sons seem to be restricted to the Fifth Dynasty tombs at El-Hawawish and are characterised by the following.

- The small size of their figures, their dress and their position close to the tomb owner. This is evident in the tombs of ʿ3-Mnw, L8, and Hzzj-Mnw, M22, and perhaps in the offering table scene of Hm-Mnw, M43. In this last tomb a large

³⁹⁹ Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 21, 22. As apertures narrowed in the late Fifth Dynasty, they were no longer decorated with figures of children, dependants or offering bearers. This feature supports the mid-Fifth Dynasty date for the Hawawish tomb owners, ʿ3-Mnw, ʿnhw and Hzzj-Mnw, and may place them slightly earlier than the reign of Djedkare.

⁴⁰⁰ H V, p. 19, figs. 6, 9. His name, Hwj, is given above his head but most of the inscription which would have revealed his title is lost except for a *pr* sign; Kanawati proposes that this may be [*jmj-r*] *pr*.

section of the wall surface on the far side of the table of the tomb owner has been lost but the presence of a small child below, or next to, the table in the original decorative scheme is indicated by the hieroglyph *s3* and the depiction of a pet hoopoe on a leash under the table.⁴⁰¹ Young children, and particularly boys, are frequently depicted in tombs of the capital holding hoopoes, pigeons and lapwings.⁴⁰² The unusual detail in the scene of *Hm-Mnw* is the use of a leash tethered to the leg of the bird. In other depictions the children invariably grasp the wings near the body.⁴⁰³ No other existing provincial tomb scene shows a hoopoe being held by a child.

- The youthfulness of very young children is conveyed by their small stature, their naked appearance with the sidelock hair style and their pose of a finger to the mouth.
- Their age and dependency is indicated by the manner in which they touch their parents and/or hold the staff of the tomb owner. At El-Hawawish, despite the loss of details in many scenes, these characteristics can be clearly seen in the sons accompanying *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *ʿ3-Mnw*, L8. The small boy in *ʿ3-Mnw*'s false door panel is not identified by inscription but the affectionate pose of the child's arm around the waist of the woman seated next to the tomb owner, most probably his mother, hints that this is their son.
- When depicted as adults, no son or daughter touches the tomb owner or his wife at El-Hawawish; they stand opposite separated by the offering table and/or a pile of food and drink offerings. In the absence of a table, this separation is achieved by a biographical text (in tomb G95, south wall scene) or the staff of the seated tomb owner (the stela of *Nbj* Louvre C234).
- Details of dress as well as posture can provide information on the age or status of accompanying children. The necklets worn by the young children in the offering table scenes of *ʿ3-Mnw*, L8, and *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, may help to identify them as

⁴⁰¹ *H V*, figs. 6, 9.

⁴⁰² For example, Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hotep*, pl. 31 (eldest son holds a pigeon and a hoopoe); Kaplony, *Methethi*, fig. 12 (ducks(son), kingfisher (daughter)); Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pls. 49, 51 (sons hold a lapwing and a hoopoe); Brovarski, *Sennedjemib Complex I*, figs. 114, 115 (son holds a pigeon and a hoopoe).

⁴⁰³ A similar and equally unusual method of holding a bird is that of the wife of *ʿnh-tj-fj* at Mo'alla in his spear fishing scene where she holds the end of a lotus stem which is looped around the neck of a duck acting like a rope (Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pl. 40).

sons.⁴⁰⁴ Harpur observes that the type of pendant around the neck of a child in these two scenes is only worn by the tomb owner or sons of the tomb owner.⁴⁰⁵

Duties of sons: as offering bearers

The principal task of adult sons is clearly to present offerings to the tomb owner. The single example of a very young son offering an object is found in the table scene of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, where an unidentified child (a son?) holds a bunch of lotuses toward the seated tomb owner, a unique motif in Old Kingdom wall scenes according to Harpur.⁴⁰⁶

Offerings presented by adult children to tomb owners seated at offering tables include:

- *Geese* – two sons are depicted presenting geese to their father in the Fifth Dynasty tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Hm-Mnw*, M43, and a further son in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of *Qrrj*, Q15, dated by inscription to Pepy I, also offers a large goose to his father.⁴⁰⁷ His figure appears on the north wall but immediately adjacent to the seated tomb owner and his wife on the west wall. No other scenes remain on intact walls depicting the presentation of birds by identified sons to the tomb owner seated at an offering table at El-Hawawish.⁴⁰⁸
- *Forelegs of meat* – the sons of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, *Hnj*, H24, *B3wj*, stela CG20504 and *Nbj*, Louvre stela C234. While there are no representations of sons offering forelegs in Fifth Dynasty tombs at El-Hawawish, the motif becomes common at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty with the earliest depictions found in the tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, and *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, dated to Teti and to the beginning of the reign of Pepy I respectively.⁴⁰⁹

No long registers of offering bearers appear in any Sixth Dynasty El-Hawawish wall scene as in the processions of men carrying geese and forelegs on the long north-south walls of offering rooms in Memphite tombs. The reduced area of available wall space in the Hawawish tombs will be partly the reason, but another may be that preference appears to be given to the presentation of live animals and to slaughtering. This is noticeable in the

⁴⁰⁴ *H* VI, fig. 9; *ibid.* IV, figs. 8, 9.

⁴⁰⁵ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 135, footnote 88.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 135. A further example may be added if the large unidentified figure offering lotuses to the seated tomb owner and his wife is their son in tomb K16 (*H* VIII, fig. 21).

⁴⁰⁷ *H* IV, fig. 15; *ibid.* V, figs. 6, 8; *ibid.* VI, fig. 21a.

⁴⁰⁸ But note that sons present geese to a small number of standing tomb owners, for example, *Nhwt-dšr*, G95 (*H* VIII, fig. 4); *Q3r*, L31 (*H* VI, fig. 14); *Tj*, I49 (*H* VIII, fig. 10). Another male offering a goose to the standing female owner of tomb G79, *Wnw-Mnw*, is unidentified (*H* III, fig. 26).

⁴⁰⁹ *H* VI, fig. 3 (F1); *H* VIII, fig. 3b (G95).

tombs of the nomarchs *Hnj*, H24, and *Ttj-jqr*, H26, where the wall decoration is almost complete. Here, the east walls are devoted to two registers of slaughtering and two of animals in procession approaching the tomb owner seated at his offering table.⁴¹⁰ No geese are offered to either tomb owner.

Sons censuring to the tomb owner

The sole instance at El-Hawawish of a named son censuring to his father occurs in the mid-Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22. This figure stands in the right aperture of his father's false door and with his far hand begins to raise the lid of a censer.⁴¹¹ Other unidentified figures, priests or relatives, are shown censuring to seated tomb owners at El-Hawawish but none are known to be sons.

Position and role of daughters

Daughters who are positioned close to the seated tomb owner are identified by inscription in only two tombs, those of the nomarchs *Nhwt-dšr*, G95 and *Hnj*, H24, and on the stela of *B3wj* (CG20504), and by proximity and dress, though not by inscription, in the tomb of *B3wj*, B12.⁴¹² In each case the daughters are part of a family group accompanying the tomb owner's wife.

No daughters are depicted presenting offerings to a seated tomb owner at this cemetery. They carry lotuses in the tombs of *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, and *Hnj*, H24, and on the stela of *B3wj* (CG20504) but hold them to their face rather than offering to the tomb owner.

They are possibly present in the registers of unidentified men and women providing music for the tomb owner (*Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Ttj-ʕ3*, H41), where the female harpists may be daughters of the tomb owner.⁴¹³ Wall scenes in the capital and the provinces, however, identify women playing harps close to offering tables as the tomb owner's wives⁴¹⁴ or daughters.⁴¹⁵ In the tombs of the Sixth Dynasty nomarchs, *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, a

⁴¹⁰ *H* II, fig. 26 (east wall of the shrine); *H* I, fig. 14 (east wall north of the engaged pillar).

⁴¹¹ *H* IV, fig. 15.

⁴¹² *H* VIII, fig. 3b; *H* II, fig. 25; *H* VIII, fig. 34a; *H* VII, fig. 10, respectively.

⁴¹³ *H* IV, figs. 8, 9; *H* VIII, fig. 12. Harpists in a register of dancers are also found in tombs H26, *Ttj-jqr* (*H* I, fig. 12) and H24, *Hnj* (*H* II, fig. 22, redrawn in *H* IX, fig. 37a).

⁴¹⁴ See Mysliwiec, *Merefnebef*, pls. 19, 22, 23; Barsanti, *Samnofir*, p.155, fig.9.

⁴¹⁵ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pls. 9, 10 (*Ppjj-ʕnh-ḥrj-jb*); *LD* II, pl. 109, Zawiyet el-Maiyitin, at wife's offering table scene (*Hw-ns*); de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, pl. 25 (*Snfrw-jn-jst.f*).

register of harpists and dancers perform for the tomb owner in his palanquin.⁴¹⁶ Although none is designated as children of the tomb owner, the name given to two of the male dancers in *Hnj*'s scene, *Ttj*, are those of sons known elsewhere in the tomb and is specifically used within the nomarchic families at El-Hawawish. The name given to three of the female dancers, *Nfr-tntt*, is also that of known daughters of nomarchs. It may be proposed that all are children of the tomb owner.

Details of dress can provide information on the age of accompanying children. The youth of the daughter of *B3wj* (CG20504) is conveyed by her plait and disc hair style.⁴¹⁷ The long wigs of the two small females with the wife of *Mmj* (B12) must denote older women despite their small size. Their relationship to either the tomb owner or his wife is not indicated but may be assumed from their position near the offering table.⁴¹⁸

3.4.2 Provincial wall scenes

Sons and daughters are present in offering table scenes in provincial tombs dating from the Fifth Dynasty to the First Intermediate Period. Unlike El-Hawawish where no daughters are found in the Fifth Dynasty representations – although many walls are damaged and some tombs may have originally included daughters near the seated tomb owner – daughters do appear in tombs dated to this dynasty at El-Hammamiya in the tomb of *K3.j-hnt* (A2) and at El-Hagarsa in the tomb of *Nfrr-hr*.⁴¹⁹

Iconography and position of sons and daughters

Fig. 3.66a

Apart from sons shown as very young children in two Fifth Dynasty tombs at El-Hawawish (M22 and L8) similar representations rarely appear in other provincial necropoli. Examples are found in:

- the early-mid Fifth Dynasty tombs of *K3.j-hnt* (A2) and *K3.j-hnt* (A3) at El-Hammamiya where two small, naked male figures accompany the standing tomb

⁴¹⁶ *Ttj-jqr* (H I, fig. 12); *Hnj* (H II, fig. 22, redrawn in H IX, fig. 37a).

⁴¹⁷ H VIII, fig. 34a. E. Staehelin, *Tracht*, in *MÄS* 8 (1966) p. 181. See also the discussion by Kanawati in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, pp. 292-293, with reference to the two depictions of the female owner of a false door at Busiris, one as an older woman, the other as a younger one whose differences are commented upon by Fischer, *Busiris*, in *MMJ* 11(1976), pp. 166-167, figs. 8, 9.

⁴¹⁸ H VII, fig. 10, right side.

⁴¹⁹ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 38; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* I, pl. 22(b).

owners, both holding his staff with the child in tomb A2 turning to place a hand on the tomb owner's knee;⁴²⁰

- a tomb dated to Pepy II, the son of *ʿn-ʿnhj* at El-Hagarsa, stands with his finger to his mouth behind the tomb owner at his offering table, the typical pose indicative of very young children;⁴²¹ and;
- the two daughters of *Ppjj-ʿnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir, playing harps near the offering tables of their mother and father,⁴²² who may also be considered of a young age because of their plait and disc hairstyle, a feature associated with younger women.⁴²³

In the Hawawish scenes the dominant position and pose for children appearing with the seated tomb owner, is standing opposite and facing him. This is also usual for children in other provincial scenes with variations:

- sons and daughters may be placed behind him, for example, at El-Hagarsa where *ʿn-ʿnhj*'s small son and daughter-in-law stand with his wife behind his chair,⁴²⁴ and similarly, the small figure of a son of *Hm-Rʿ/Jzj* at Deir el-Gebrawi stands behind his father's chair holding birds and a lotus;⁴²⁵
- children of the following provincial tomb owners all kneel with one hand on the breast and the other in the lap: the register of sons behind the tomb owner's wife in the tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi and the large family group of *Ppjj-ʿnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir and the sons of *Qʒr* of Edfu.⁴²⁶

None of these are offering table scenes. No kneeling figures identified as family members are depicted with seated tomb owners at El-Hawawish.

Duties of sons: as offering bearers

As at El-Hawawish, the sons of tomb owners in other provinces are not depicted presenting the meat offering of a foreleg in tombs dated to the Fifth Dynasty. In this dynasty in other provincial tombs, it is a single male servant who carries a foreleg in a register of varied offerings including live birds and animals, e.g at Tehna, *Nj-kʒ-ʿnh* (tomb no.13), and as

⁴²⁰ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 46, 60.

⁴²¹ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa I*, pls. 34, 37. See for example, the small sons of *Tjj* (Wild, *Ti*, pl.31) and *Nj-ʿnh-Hnmw* (Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, figs. 5, 6).

⁴²² Blackman, *Meir IV*, pls. 9,10.

⁴²³ See Kanawati, *Iconographic Peculiarities*, pp. 292, 293.

⁴²⁴ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa I*, pls. 37.

⁴²⁵ Davies, *Gebrāwi I*, pl. 20 and Kanawati, *Gebrawi I*, pl. 49.

⁴²⁶ Davies, *Gebrāwi I*, pl. 15; Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 14; El-Khadragy, *Edfu Offering Niche*, in *SAK* 30 (2002), p. 216, fig. 6; *ibid*, p. 219, fig. 7.

part of a small slaughtering scene at Sheikh Said, *Srf-k3.j* and *Wr-jr.n.j*.⁴²⁷ The well preserved reliefs in the early Fifth Dynasty tombs at El-Hammamiya include long registers of offering bearers but none of the figures is designated as a son.⁴²⁸

From the reign of Pepy I, registers of offering bearers appearing near the tomb owner's table include identified sons, for example, in the tombs of *Hw.n-wh* at Quseir el-Amarna, *Q3r/Mrjj-R^c-nfr* and *S3bnj I* at Edfu and *Sn-ndsw.j* at Dendera. In other provincial tombs none of the offering bearers are labelled as sons or other family members, for example, at Meir in the tombs of *Ppjj-^cnh-hrj-jb*, *Nj-^cnh-Ppjj-km* and *Ppjj-^cnh/Hnjj-km*.⁴²⁹

Details of these registers of offering bearers and the items they carry are beyond the scope of this thesis, except to note that presumed family members in this context are all adults, are generally males and carry live geese or wring the necks of geese or carry forelegs.⁴³⁰

Sons censing to the tomb owner

The motif of sons censing before the tomb owner is observed in five provincial wall scenes. The earliest example is found in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of *K3.j-hnt* (A2) at El-Hammamiya on the architrave of the chapel doorway. The tomb owner is seated before an offering table in the central section with sons and a daughter on either side. Two unidentified male figures stand to the right of the central panel facing *K3.j-hnt*, one holding a *hs* jar towards him and the other, an incense burner.⁴³¹ Their size (the same as the son and daughter on the register above) and position may indicate that they are close family if not sons.

In the following provincial tombs the figures censing to the tomb owner are all identified as sons. At Sheikh Said in the tomb of *Ttj-^cnh/Jj-m-htp*, at Quseir el-Amarna in the tomb of *Hw.n-wh*, and on the lintel of *Jzj* from Edfu, the small figures of sons, each raising the lid

⁴²⁷ Frazer, *Tehneh*, in *ASAE* 3 (1902), pl. 5; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pls. 4, 10, respectively.

⁴²⁸ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 47 (*K3.j-hnt*, A2, 13 figures); pl. 63 (*K3.j-hnt*, A3, 11 figures in two incomplete registers).

⁴²⁹ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 44; El-Khadragy, *Edfu Offering Niche*, in *SAK* 30 (2002), pp. 206, 207, figs. 2, 3; Bruyère et al, *Tell Edfou I*, 1937, pl. 14; Fischer, *Dendera*, fig.31a; Blackman, *Meir IV*, pls. 9, 12; *ibid V*, pls. 9, 11, 33, 34.

⁴³⁰ But note in the tomb of *Jhjj* at Thebes that, below a register of males carrying mixed offerings to the seated tomb owner and his wife, a second register comprises all women who carry a variety of offerings including a foreleg and geese (Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 14), and at Deir el-Gebrawi in the tomb of *Jbj* designated daughters carry live geese and other items and lead animals (Davies, *Gebrâwi I*, pl.17).

⁴³¹ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 38.

of a censer, are depicted beneath the tray of the offering table.⁴³² On the stela/architrave of *S3bnj* from Edfu, the second man in a row of four men and three women, of whom only the first is designated a son, offers incense.⁴³³ From the same cemetery, the eldest son of *Nfr* may also be censuring but the drawing of the lid is awkward and an unguent jar may be intended.⁴³⁴ A rare action is depicted in the tombs of *Hnqw* II and *Nb-jb* at Deir el-Gebrawi with sons standing and facing their father offer large unguent jars to his face.⁴³⁵ Apart from the single Fifth Dynasty depiction in the chapel of *K3.j-ḥnt* (A2) at El-Hammamiya, the remaining provincial tombs with the motif of sons censuring to the tomb owner are dated to the reigns of Teti and Pepy I.

Position and role of daughters

Figs. 3.68a,c

Except for the rare instance in the tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi, females designated as daughters do not carry offerings of geese, live animals and food towards the seated tomb owner.⁴³⁶

Daughters identified by an accompanying text, play harps close to the seated tomb owner at Zawiyet el-Maiyetin where two female harpists (the first of whom is labelled ‘his daughter’) kneel in a short register of musicians on the far side of the wife’s offering table, and at Meir two young women kneeling behind the tomb owner’s wife at his offering table are also identified as his daughters.⁴³⁷ The youthfulness of the daughters of *Ppjj-ṣnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir is conveyed by their plait and disc hair style.

Four more provincial tomb owners are accompanied by harpists who are not described as daughters but whose close position may indicate a family link with the tomb owner. In the tomb of *Wnjs-ṣnh* at Thebes four unnamed harpists perform with dancers on the north wall,⁴³⁸ and a similar register of four harpists accompanied by dancers in the tomb of *Jhjj* face the seated tomb owner. At Meir two kneeling women play harps in superposed

⁴³² Davies, *Sheikh Sâid*, pl. 29; El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 40; Ziegler, *Stèles*, pp.78,79.

⁴³³ Bruyère et al, *Tell Edfou* I, pl.14.

⁴³⁴ Ibid, pl.15.

⁴³⁵ Kanawati, *Gebrawi* I, pls. 56 and 60 respectively.

⁴³⁶ Davies, *Gebrâwi* I, pl. 17.

⁴³⁷ LD II, pl. 109 (tomb of *Ḥw-ns*); Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 9 (*Ppjj-ṣnh-ḥrj-jb*).

⁴³⁸ Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 3. This is the greatest number of female harpists appearing together in a provincial scene.

registers below the seated tomb owner in *Ppjj-ḥnḥ/Hnjj-km*'s tomb and a single harpist is depicted under the chair of *Ttj-jqr/Hwj* at Geheina.⁴³⁹

Most of the harpists face towards, or in the same direction as the tomb owner. The representation at Geheina is unusual in that the harpist kneeling beneath the chair of *Ttj-jqr/Hwj* is depicted facing 'backwards' that is, the opposite way to that of the tomb owner. This position of the harpist may be more correctly interpreted as sitting before and facing the tomb owner and next to his offering table as in the scenes of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Ttj-ḥ3*, H41, at El-Hawawish.⁴⁴⁰ Lack of space beneath the table may have caused *Ttj-jqr*'s artist to transpose the figure of the harpist to the only available free area under *Ttj-jqr*'s chair. The artist has used the same orientation in the marsh scene where the dog accompanying *Ttj-ḥ3* on his papyrus skiff is also facing 'backwards'.⁴⁴¹

The scene of *Hw-ns* at Zawiyet-el-Maiytin, dated to Unis, is the earliest provincial depiction of an identified daughter playing the harp to a seated tomb owner. The remaining scenes of named daughters playing harps, are found in tombs dated from the period Merenre-early Pepy II to the end of Dynasty 6. The earliest depiction of unidentified harpists (possibly daughters) may be the female harpist at El-Hawawish in the tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, dated to the reign of Djedkare. Stylistically there is little difference between any of the provincial representations. All the women play the usual arched harp with its 'shovel-shaped' sound-box.⁴⁴² None of the harps in the publications show the decorative detail of the *wḏ3t*-eyes painted on the sound-box of *Hzzj-Mnw* at El-Hawawish.

3.4.3 Memphite wall scenes

The position and iconography of children accompanying the tomb owner: very young children

Figure 3.67

In Memphite tombs young children are frequently depicted close to the tomb owner (and his wife if present) in wall scenes dated to the Fourth and the Fifth Dynasties. As noted at El-Hawawish their youthfulness is shown in the following characteristics:

⁴³⁹ Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 18. Of the seated tomb owner only part of *Jhjj*'s leg remains together with the bases of his chair legs and the dog beneath. An offering table could easily fit in the missing space before the harpists; Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 19 (not a table scene); el-Masry, *Gohaina*, in *BACE* 15 (2004), p. 104, fig. 5.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid; *H IV*, fig. 9; *H VIII*, fig. 12.

⁴⁴¹ El-Masry, *Gohaina*, in *BACE* 15 (2004), p. 101, fig.2. A "left-handed" artist?

⁴⁴² Hickman, *Musique*, pp. 164-173; Manniche, *Music*, pp. 25-28.

- they are invariably small in stature, frequently naked, often shown with the forefinger to the mouth⁴⁴³ and always physically connected to the parent(s). This connection may be simply standing behind the feet of the tomb owner, or holding his staff⁴⁴⁴ or reaching out to touch him with their hands. The children touch the tomb owner or his wife in one of three ways: with the flat of their hands against his/her leg or arm,⁴⁴⁵ with their arms passing completely behind and around the tomb owner's leg⁴⁴⁶ and, more rarely, with the tips of their fingers.⁴⁴⁷

The posture of the (probable) young son of *ʿ3-Mnw*, L8, at El-Hawawish, holding the waist of his mother in their offering table scene,⁴⁴⁸ is not found in any Memphite scene.⁴⁴⁹

The holding of a pet hoopoe is another feature associated with the young children of Memphite tomb owners.⁴⁵⁰ Possibly the earliest depiction appears in the Fourth Dynasty tomb of *Mrs-ʿnh* III where two small naked females, possibly daughters, though not identified as such, standing close to *Mrs-ʿnh*, hold hoopoes by the wings which is the way that these birds are held in all later examples.⁴⁵¹ Most of the scenes where hoopoes are held by children were found to be in tombs dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty with a smaller number seen in chapels dated to the first half of the Sixth Dynasty. The latest

⁴⁴³ Naked children with finger to mouth: Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 24; Harpur, *Maidum*, figs. 72, 78, 84, 89 (*Nfr-m3ʿt* and *3tt*); Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 29 (*Hwfw-hʿ.f* I); Dunham-Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 7 (*Mrs-ʿnh* III); Junker, *Giza* I, fig. 51 (*J3btj.t*); Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, figs. 5, 6 (*Nj-ʿnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-htp*); Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, figs. 36, 39 (*Sn-jt.f* and *Wr-b3w*); Épron-Wild, *Ti*, pl. 31 (*Tjj*).

⁴⁴⁴ While children, particularly sons, frequently hold the staff of a male tomb owner, a similar connection is made with a mother by a (presumed) son and daughter in the tomb of *Snb* at Giza. Here the wife holds a long-stemmed lotus flower to her face and the two children facing her reach out and hold the stem (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 23).

⁴⁴⁵ Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 30, *Hwfw-hʿ.f* I (but note that this small female is dressed like an adult); Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 11, *Mr-jb*; Kanawati, *Giza* II, pl. 45, *Sš3t-htp/Htj* (two children behind the tomb owner, one resting a hand against his upper arm, the second child reaching towards his thigh), pl. 47; Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 133, *3ht-htp*; McFarlane, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, pl. 44, *K3.j-m-ḥst*.

⁴⁴⁶ Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 29 (a daughter holding her father's forearm), *Hwfw-hʿ.f*; Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 32, *K3.j-m-ʿnh*; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, pl. 19, CG1414, *Nj-k3w-Rʿ*; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 13; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nefer*, figs. 36, 39, the false doors of *Sn-jt.f* and *Wr-b3w*.

⁴⁴⁷ Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 48, the small son of *Sšm-nfr* I holds the staff in one hand and places the tips of the fingers of his other arm on his father's leg.

⁴⁴⁸ *H* VI, fig. 9.

⁴⁴⁹ This position of the hand however, is seen in the pose of the wives of *Tntj* (der Manuelian, *The Giza Tablet of Tjenti*, in *Egyptian Museum Collections* II, *SCA Cairo*, pls. II A,B) and *W3š-Pth* who place their arms around the waist of their husbands (Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 12) and of *Mrs-ʿnh* and her mother in their *zšš-w3d* scene (Dunham-Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 4).

⁴⁵⁰ The hoopoe (*Upupa epops*) with its distinctive crest, curved beak, banded wings and wedge-shaped tail (Houlihan, *Birds*, pp.118-120) is easily identified in the hands of young children. It is commonly found in marsh scenes and although usually depicted with its crest displayed or fully extended, it is also shown with the crest 'folded down' as Houlihan describes it (*GM* 155 (1996) p. 27), an aspect noted in several of the scenes where these birds are held by children.

⁴⁵¹ Dunham-Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 7.

depiction is in the tomb of *Mrrj* dated to the end of Teti's reign – Pepy I.⁴⁵² The depiction of a hoopoe on a leash, possibly held by a young son, near the offering table of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, at El-Hawawish appears to be unique – no similar representations were found in Memphite tombs.

The traditional depiction of young children of tomb owners appears to change after the late Fifth Dynasty. Identified children accompanying tomb owners in the Sixth Dynasty are depicted as adults, though small in size and sometimes shown with a sidelock, with the sons wearing kilts and the daughters, the usual long robes of adult females.⁴⁵³

The duties of sons: as offering bearers

In the early tombs of the capital family members are rarely identified as offering bearers⁴⁵⁴ and items being presented to tomb owners are varied, with live birds of different species dominating and taking precedence over bearers with forelegs.⁴⁵⁵

At the end of the Fifth Dynasty and throughout the Sixth Dynasty, particularly at Saqqara in the Teti cemetery, long registers of offering bearers now occupy the entire length of the long north and south walls of E-W offering rooms. Sons are still rarely identified as offering bearers among them.

The registers of offerings now follow a distinct pattern: bearers of forelegs are depicted first then bearers of geese. With few exceptions, the same number of offering bearers carry

⁴⁵² Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 48; LD II, pl. 73=Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex I*, pls. 114, 115; Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 31; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pls. 49, 51, 64, 45; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 34, pp. 34, 35, entrance jambs (*Htp-hr-3htj*); Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, figs. 6, 21, pl. 74 (*Nj-nh-Hnmw/Hnmw-htp*); Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pls. 31, 32 (*Pth-htp*); Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II*, pl. 6 (*3ht-htp*); van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 1 (*Nfr-jrt-n-f*); Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 7 (*Htp-k3.j*); Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cem. II*, pl. 62 (*Jdwt*) tomb owner herself holding a hoopoe; Duell, *Mereruka I*, pls. 46, 48 (*Mrrw-k3.j*); Mysliwiec, *Merefnebef*, pl. 21 (*Mr.f-nb-f*) his wife holding a hoopoe in a bird hunting scene; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem. V*, pl. 53 (*H3j*) one son and one daughter holding hoopoes in a spear fishing scene; Davies et al, *Saqqāra Tombs I*, pls. 5, 9 (*Mrrj*); Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 53 (*Mhw*), a daughter.

⁴⁵³ Note that in Mereruka's tomb his son, *Mrrj-Tj*, holds hoopoes and wears a sidelock (sometimes with a disc at the end), but he is always shown in a kilt (Duell, *Mereruka II*, pls. 46, 48). In the same tomb however, most of the young children playing games are all naked, see *ibid* pls. 162-165. For the few exceptions of apparent, but not identified, small sons of the tomb owner, see F/N 256.

⁴⁵⁴ But see identified sons in Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 34, an eldest son with a foreleg (*Pth-htp*); Petrie–Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 9, four named sons carrying forelegs on the jambs of the false door (*Pr-sn*) who all hold the foreleg low across the body with arms almost fully extended similar to the unusual pose of the son of *Nhwt-dsr*, G95, at El-Hawawish (*H VIII*, fig. 3b).

⁴⁵⁵ For example, *Giza II*, pl. 57 (*Nswt-nfr*), pl. 47 (*S33t-htp/Htj*); Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 21 (*K3.j-htp*); Brunner-Traut, *Seschemnofers III*, Beilage 1 (*S3m-nfr III*).

forelegs and geese, the usual number being four or five of each.⁴⁵⁶ The greatest number is found in Mereruka's tomb in chamber (A10) where eight bearers carry forelegs. This same number is also depicted in the bearers offering forelegs to *Ppjj-ḥḥ-hrj-jb* seated at his offering table at Meir.⁴⁵⁷

Sons censing to the tomb owner

Figures censing to the tomb owner appear in Memphite tombs dated from the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasties. The relationship of relatives, including sons and daughters, accompanying tomb owners is not always identified in the Fourth and early Fifth Dynasty scenes when apparently it would appear obvious to viewers through the iconography that these were family members, for example, *Hwfw-ḥḥ.f I*, *Snb* and *Nfr* at Giza.⁴⁵⁸ In the late Fifth and throughout the Sixth Dynasty censing figures however, are now frequently designated as sons and occasionally as eldest sons, for example, *Sn-nw*, *Mr-ḥḥ.f*, *Jdw*, *Hwfw-snb II* at Giza, *Mttj*, *Nj-ḥḥ Ppjj*, *Nj-k3w-Jzzj*,* *Jnw-Mnw*,* *Hr-mrw** at Saqqara.⁴⁵⁹

The broad apertures of Fourth and early Fifth Dynasty false doors frequently feature figures of the tomb owner's children and dependants. These may present offerings to the tomb owner seated in the panel of the false door like *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish where the sons of the tomb owner offer a goose (left aperture) and incense (right aperture).⁴⁶⁰ Similar depictions are observed in the Fifth Dynasty false door apertures in tombs at Memphis. At Giza, a son of *Ffj* stands with a censer on the left and an unidentified male in the same position in the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp* offers incense. In the Sixth Dynasty one son of *Jdjj* offers a goose on the left aperture and another on the right offers incense.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁶ For example, Munro, *Unas Friedhof*, pl. 26 (*Nbt*); Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka I*, pls. 49, 50 (*Mrjj-Ttj*); Duell, *Mereruka I*, pls. 57, 65, 90; James, *Khentika*, pl. 21 (*Hntj-k3.j*); Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 56, 63, 64 (*Mḥw*).

⁴⁵⁷ Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 12.

⁴⁵⁸ Simpson, *Kawab*, figs. 30, 33; Junker, *Gizā V*, fig. 5b; Ziegler, *Stèles*, p. 169, 171. The date of the dwarf, Seneb, is disputed, with some scholars preferring a date in the Fourth Dynasty, and others, the late Sixth Dynasty. Cherpion reviews this problem in *BIFAO* 84 (1984), pp. 35-54, with the arguments for and against the earlier date which she espouses. Harpur, in a later publication, prefers the late Sixth Dynasty date (*Decoration*, p. 269[212]). More recently, Woods, in *Egyptian Culture and Society. Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati* (ASAE, 2010), pp. 301-331, offers a comprehensive argument for a late Fourth–early Fifth Dynasty date for this tomb.

⁴⁵⁹ James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*, p. 19 [1136]; Hassan, *Giza III*, fig. 16; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 39; Junker, *Gizā VII*, fig. 48a; Ziegler, *Stèles*, p. 142; Hassan, *Saqqara II*, fig. 3; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* VI, pl. 48; Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* VIII, pl. 42; Hassan, *Saqqara III*, fig. 39, respectively. The asterisk * denotes an eldest son.

⁴⁶⁰ *H IV*, fig. 15.

⁴⁶¹ Hassan, *Giza I*, fig. 169; Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, CG1423, pl. 23; *ibid*, CG1449, pl. 32.

The position and role of daughters

Young daughters, like sons, appear close to the tomb owner and his wife in Memphite scenes from the Fourth Dynasty. They appear as individuals on false door panels and apertures⁴⁶² and as a group or in a register on chapel walls with the tomb owner's sons, either standing or kneeling.⁴⁶³

Not all their representations are labelled and, as with undesignated sons, unnamed females close to the tomb owner exhibit youthful characteristics for example, very occasionally with a side-lock and with the forefinger to the mouth, and naked.⁴⁶⁴ Others appear with the plait and disc hair style.⁴⁶⁵ More often they appear as adults, sometimes resting their hands against the body of the tomb owner or holding the leg or arm of a parent.⁴⁶⁶ Unlike sons, daughters do not hold the staff of the tomb owner, rarely make offerings to him⁴⁶⁷ and are usually depicted with their hands on the breast or by the side of their bodies or holding lotuses and/or birds.⁴⁶⁸

The activity represented in wall scenes which daughters most commonly perform for the tomb owner is to provide music for him, invariably on the harp. Occasionally daughters are identified singing as part of this musical group⁴⁶⁹ and may be among the dancers which are often found in registers near the musicians.⁴⁷⁰ The motif of harpists is usually associated with offering table scenes, with the musicians accompanied by registers of food and drink

⁴⁶² Hassan, *Giza* III, fig. 39 (panel); *ibid.*, VI, fig. 119; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, CG 1414, CG1456 (apertures).

⁴⁶³ For example, Junker, *Giza* VI, pl. 16a; Schürmann, *Ii-nefert*, fig. 19, (standing, identified females); Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 21 (unnamed females in a line behind the tomb owner's wife); Kanawati, *Giza* II, pl. 63; van der Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 6 (kneeling daughters behind kneeling sons).

⁴⁶⁴ Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 29 (*Hwfw-h3.f*I); Dunham-Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 7 (*Mrs-ḥnh* III).

⁴⁶⁵ For example, Hassan, *Giza* VI, fig. 11; *ibid.*, VIII, fig. 34a; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 106, CG1778; Ziegler, *Stèles*, p.143.

⁴⁶⁶ For example, Simpson, *Kawab*, figs. 29, 30 (*Hwfw-h3.f*I); Kanawati, *Giza* I, pls. 48, 49 (*Sšm-nfr* I), 32 (*K3.j-m-ḥnh*); Kanawati, *Giza* II, pls. 44, 45=Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 30 (*Sš3t-ḥtp*); Hassan, *Giza* VI, fig. 11 (*Jrj-n-3ḥtj*).

⁴⁶⁷ But see the false door panel of *Špsj* at Giza where five figures including three females, extend linen, jars and bread loaves towards the seated tomb owner and his wife (Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 62).

⁴⁶⁸ Two undesignated small female children near Meresankh III, hold hoopoes and a lotus (Dunham-Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 7); two unnamed females, holding a hoopoe and a golden oriole?, near Hesi in his spear fishing scene (Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 53); a named daughter holds a hoopoe next to Mehu and his wife (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 53). None of these are offering table scenes.

⁴⁶⁹ For example, Junker, *Giza* IV, fig. 9= Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 32 (the tomb of *K3.j-m-ḥnh*); Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38 (*Jdw*).

⁴⁷⁰ Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38 (*Jdw*).

and family members or servants presenting offerings.⁴⁷¹ In such scenes, daughters,⁴⁷² granddaughters⁴⁷³ and wives accompanied by daughters⁴⁷⁴ who play the harp always adopt a kneeling posture facing the tomb owner.

The harp played by the woman seated next to the offering table of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish features *wd3t*-eyes painted on the sound-box, a detail seen in the Memphite tombs of *Nj-ḥh-hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp* and *3ht-ḥtp* close to the Unis Causeway at Saqqara and both dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty.⁴⁷⁵

FINDINGS

- Young sons and daughters are depicted in close contact with the seated tomb owner in Fourth and Fifth Dynasty wall scenes at Memphis and in the Fifth Dynasty tombs at the provincial cemeteries of El-Hawawish and El-Hammamiya. While only sons are found in tombs dated to this period at El-Hawawish this may be due to the extensive damage sustained by the Fifth Dynasty chapels. No daughters are shown but may have originally been included as many of the Fifth Dynasty tombs have sustained much damage to the walls. The earliest tomb where a designated daughter accompanies a seated tomb owner is dated to the reigns of Teti -beginning Pepy I, the nomarch, *Nhwt-dšr*, G95.
- The following conventions are observed in depicting young children associated with seated tomb owners in Memphite scenes: they are small in size, naked, sometimes place a finger to the mouth and wear the side-lock or plait and disc hairstyle. Frequently sons, but occasionally daughters, hold a hoopoe. In provincial scenes, small, naked sons accompany tomb owners but the side-lock does not appear nor do children carry hoopoes. The possible single exception to this last feature is found at El-Hawawish in the tomb of *Hm-Mnw*, M43. No figure of a son remains except for the hieroglyph *s3* with a hoopoe nearby beneath the tomb owner's offering table, clearly indicating that a son must have originally been positioned here. The motif of a young son holding a hoopoe does not appear in any

⁴⁷¹ For example, *K3.j-ḥnt* (Roth, *Palace Attendants*, fig. 147); *K3hj.f* (Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 38b); *Bj3/Jrrj* (Wilson, *Sixth Dynasty Inscriptions*, in *JNES* 13 (1954), fig. 1); *Snfrw-jn-jšt.f* (Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, pl. 106).

⁴⁷² Roth, *Palace Attendants*, fig. 147 (*K3.j-ḥnt*); Hassan, *Giza V*, fig. 105 (*Wr-hww*); Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38 (*Jdw*); Wilson, *Sixth Dynasty Inscriptions*, in *JNES* 13 (1954), fig. 1 (*Bj3/Jrrj*); Ziegler, *Stèles*, p. 143 (*Mttj*); Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, pl. 106 CG1778 (*Snfrw-jn-jšt.f*) = de Morgan, *Dahchour*, p. 25.

⁴⁷³ Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 38b (*K3hj.f*).

⁴⁷⁴ Barsanti, *Samnofir*, in *ASAE* I (1900), p. 155, fig. 9.

⁴⁷⁵ Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 25, pl. 69; Ziegler, *Stèles*, pp. 87, 158.

provincial scene except at El-Hawawish, yet is a common one in Memphite wall scenes particularly in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty. Its presence at El-Hawawish appears to indicate a strong link between *Hm-Mnw* or his artist and the capital though there is insufficient information to indicate a particular Memphite tomb. The very individual manner of holding the bird by a leash seen at El-Hawawish is unattested at any other site, Memphite or provincial, in the Fifth or Sixth Dynasties.

- The depiction of very young sons and daughters changes at the beginning of the Sixth with some isolated exceptions. From this time the children of the tomb owner are depicted as adults at Memphis and in all provincial cemeteries although some sons and daughters show a combination of the features typical of very young children as well as those of adults, for example, *Mrjj-Ttj*, the son of *Mrrw-k3.j* at Saqqara, wears a sidelock hairstyle and holds a hoopoe, but is dressed as an adult in a pointed kilt.
- Adult children do not touch their parents, a posture typical of young children, and are separated from the tomb owner by his staff, a text, or the offering table.
- The duties of sons associated with the seated tomb owner are primarily to present food offerings and to engage in the ritual of censuring to the tomb owner. Registers of bearers carrying mixed items and live animals with an emphasis on birds of various types are usual in Memphite and provincial tombs in the Fifth Dynasty although only sons offer geese. This is noted at El-Hawawish with adult sons presenting a single goose to the tomb owner in the mid-late Fifth Dynasty tombs, M22, of *Hzzj-Mnw* and M43, *Hm-Mnw*. Forelegs of meat become the main offering by sons in the Sixth Dynasty at the capital and in the provinces, although geese are still infrequently presented. This continuation of the Fifth Dynasty tradition of sons offering geese is found at El-Hawawish in a tomb dated by inscription to Pepy I, *Qrrj*, Q15.
- Only one identified son is depicted censuring to the tomb owner at El-Hawawish. This is in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, where the figure of the son censuring, is placed in an aperture of the tomb owner's false door. The apertures of Fifth Dynasty false doors in tombs at the capital frequently feature sons here also. Named sons who are shown censuring in other provincial tombs appear first in the early Fifth Dynasty chapel of *K3.j-hnt*, A2, at El-Hammamiya; the remaining provincial examples are dated to the reigns of Teti and Pepy I.

- Young daughters accompanying seated tomb owners exhibit youthful characteristics as do young sons in Fourth and Fifth Dynasty tombs at Memphis and at El-Hammamiya in the provinces, although no depictions of very young daughters remain on the walls of the Fifth Dynasty tombs at El-Hawawish. Daughters rarely present offerings and are primarily concerned with providing music, particularly with the harp.
- Harpists are present on walls at El-Hawawish. They are not designated as daughters although it may be assumed that they are, since female harpists are named and identified as daughters in other provincial tombs and in the capital in association with offering table scenes.

3.5 Animals accompanying the Seated Tomb Owner

3.5.1 El-Hawawish

Figs. 3.6a, 3.7, 3.18b, 3.29, 3.58 (dogs); 3.9 (monkey)

Species

The **dogs** appearing in these scenes are of the type referred to as hunting dogs, *tsm*, and are similar physically to the basenji, with slender bodies, upright ears and tails curled tightly above their backs.⁴⁷⁶ The **monkeys** are most probably of the family of Long-tailed Monkeys, in particular *Cercopithecus aethiops*, commonly called the Green Monkey. These are characterised by their small size, slender frame and long curving tail held level with, or over the back when moving.⁴⁷⁷ The distinctive band across the forehead and the sides of the face of these monkeys is seen on the animal climbing on the canopy of the palanquin of *Ttj/jqr*, H26.⁴⁷⁸

Tomb owners with accompanying animal; position; date

DOGS

- *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, an offering table scene; a dog standing beneath the shared seat of the tomb owner and his wife. (Djedkare-Isesi)
- *Hm-Mnw*, M43, an offering table scene; a dog standing beneath the table. (Unis)
- *B3wj*, K5, seated dog beneath chair of tomb owner holding an unguent jar to his face—no visible table (Late Pepy I)

⁴⁷⁶ *LÄ* III, pp. 78-82; Houlihan, *Animal World*, pp.75-80; Osborn, *Mammals*, pp. 57-68.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 39, 40.

⁴⁷⁸ *H* I, fig. 13.

- *Sfhw*, L21, an offering table scene; a dog seated on its haunches under the tomb owner's chair. (Early-mid Pepy II)
- *Q3r/Ppjj-nfr*, stela CG1669, an offering table scene; a standing dog beneath the tomb owner's chair. (Late Merenre-early Pepy II)

MONKEYS

- *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, an offering table scene; a fragmentary figure of a monkey seated on a wooden chest beneath the shared chair of the tomb owner and his wife.⁴⁷⁹ (Teti)

No scenes depict dogs and monkeys together at El-Hawawish.

Posture

Standing:

In three of the five tomb scenes portraying dogs the animals are standing alert with ears pricked and facing the same direction as the tomb owner with one exception. In the offering scene of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, the dog stands on the far side of the table and faces the tomb owner. This animal, together with the presence of a hoopoe on a string/leash, is most probably part of the entourage of his son whose figure is now lost but whose presence is identified by hieroglyphs.

Seated:

In two scenes dogs are seated on their haunches with ears pricked and facing the same direction as the tomb owner. The dogs wear collars with ties behind the head, in the tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *B3wj*, K5 and *Sfhw*, L21 and on the stela of *Q3r/Ppjj-nfr* CG1669. Ties appear both at the front and back of the neck and body of the animal in the scenes of *B3wj*, K5, and *Sfhw*, L21. In the single example of a monkey beneath a tomb owner's chair at El-Hawawish, in tomb F1 of *Hzzj-Mnw*, the animal is seated on its haunches with the front legs raised. The paws are no longer visible but the angle of the front legs may indicate that the monkey is placing food in its mouth.

FINDINGS

- Dogs are the favoured animal accompanying seated tomb owners and four of the five instances where dogs are shown (excluding the palanquin scene) are offering table scenes. Although the nature of the scene is consistent, the pose of the dogs varies and suggests that this is the personal preference of the tomb owner.

⁴⁷⁹ H VI, fig. 2.

- Both dogs and monkeys are depicted under the tomb owner's chair and although this may actually be so, it may also be interpreted as 'next to' the chair in the same way that female harpists shown 'under' the chair of the tomb owner may be understood as 'next to.' The orientation of the animals (both dogs and monkeys) is consistent and replicates the direction of the tomb owner. No dogs are given names in any of the Hawawish scenes.
- Dogs accompany seated tomb owners holding the highest administrative offices in the period mid-Fifth Dynasty to the reign of Unis (in tombs M22 of *Hzzj-Mnw* and M43, of *Hm-Mnw*). They do not appear again until early-mid Pepy II when they are represented in the tombs of middle-ranking officials in tombs K5, *B3wj* and L21, *Sfhw* and on the stela CG1669 of *Q3r*. All these are offering table scenes. Dogs are not present, however, in the almost complete table scenes of the nomarchs of Pepy II, *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24 although one accompanies the palanquin of *Hnj*.
- No existing scenes show monkeys with the seated tomb owner at El-Hawawish until the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty where one appears in the tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, a middle ranking official. Thereafter monkeys only accompany the palanquin scenes of the nomarchs *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, dated to mid-late Pepy II, or are found climbing the rigging on their sailing ships. The absence of pets beneath the chair of the tomb owner in tombs dated to Pepy II may be due to a greater formality apparent in the posture and dress of these nomarchs.

3.5.2 Provincial scenes

Figs. 3.72 (dog), 3.76 (monkey)

In other provinces accompanying animals are found in tombs with a dating span from the early Fifth to the Eighth Dynasties. Dogs and monkeys are depicted in the following provincial tombs with the seated tomb owner:

- Tehna: *Nj-k3-5nh*, tomb no.13, a dog; (early Fifth Dynasty)
- El-Hammamiya: *K3j-jhnt*, A3, a dog and two monkeys; (early Fifth Dynasty)
- Sheikh Said: *Srf-k3j*, a monkey on a leash held by a dwarf; (mid Fifth Dynasty)
- Deshasha: *Jntj*, two dogs; (late Fifth Dynasty)
- Deir el-Gebrawi: *Hm-R5/Jzj*, *D5w*, dogs, *Jbj*, monkeys; (Sixth Dynasty, Teti-late Pepy II)
- Thebes: *Jhjj*, *Jn-jt.f*, dogs; (early-mid Pepy II)
- Meir: *Ppjj-5nh-hrj-jb*, dogs; (Merenre-early Pepy II)
- Naga ed-Dêr: *Tmrrj* N71, *Mrw/Jjj*, dogs; (end Teti-early Pepy II)

- Edfu: Q3r/Mrjrr^c-nfr, a monkey; (Merenre)
- Dendera: ʿb-jhw, a dog; (VIII)
- Gebelein: Mrr CG1651, dogs; (VIII)⁴⁸⁰

Dogs: position and posture

Dogs accompany the seated tomb owner in twelve provincial tombs. The animals are present in scenes where the tomb owner is either seated before an offering table or is presented with offerings except for the depiction of *Jntj* at Deshasha. Here, two dogs on leashes are held by an attendant facing the seated tomb owner and his wife. While not immediately next to their chair it may be understood that the animals are in the presence of the tomb owner and possibly ready to go with him on an excursion. Servants nearby hold sandals, a linen bag and a kilt and both animals and servants such as these usually accompany the tomb owner in palanquin and ‘viewing’ scenes.

Three positions are found for dogs beneath the chair of the tomb owner: seated, standing or supine.

Seated: The animals are seated on their haunches beneath the tomb owners’ chairs at Meir, Thebes, Dendera and Gebelein.

Standing or walking: Deshasha, Deir el-Gebrawi and Naga ed-Dêr.

Supine: In three tombs the dogs lie *supine* with forelegs stretched out before them. Below the chair of *K3.j-hnt*, A3, and his wife at El-Hammamiya, the dog rests its muzzle on its paws. In the table scenes of *Nj-k3-ʿnh* at Tehna and *Ppjj-ʿnh-hrj-jb* at Meir the heads of the dogs are raised with the animal grasping an object in their jaws. This item is clearly seen to be a bird in *Nj-k3-ʿnh*’s scene and very possibly is food of some sort in that of *Ppjj-ʿnh-hrj-jb*.⁴⁸¹

Usually a single animal is depicted in provincial tombs but more than one animal is depicted in the following scenes. In the tomb of *K3.j-hnt*, A3, at El-Hammamiya, two monkeys play together alongside a dog, and the artist of *Mrr* at Gebelein, places two dogs facing each other with noses touching. In both scenes the animals are placed below the

⁴⁸⁰ Fraser, *Tehneh*, in *ASAE* 3 (1902), pl. 5; El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 63; Davies, *Sheikh Sâid*, pl. 4; Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 28; Kanawati, *Gebrawi I*, pl. 49/Davies, *Gebrâwi II*, pl. 20; Davies, *Gebrâwi II*, pls. 19, 4; Davies, *Gebrâwi I*, pls. 7, 19; Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pls. 4, 18; Fischer, *Dendera*, fig. 39; Blackman, *Meir IV*, pls. 9, 12; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pls. 23, 24; Peck, *Naga ed-Dêr*, pl. 12; El-Khadragy, *Edfu Offering Niche*, in *SAK* 30 (2002), p. 206, fig. 2; Fischer, *Dendera*, fig. 40; Kubisch, *Gebelein Stele*, in *MDAIK* 56 (2000), p. 257, fig. 2.

⁴⁸¹ Blackman suggests that it is a “piece of meat” (*Meir IV*, p. 30).

chair of the tomb owner and his wife. In the tomb of *Dꜥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi a bitch with three pups suckling is shown standing on a separate, higher register line beneath his chair.

No collars or ties are depicted around the necks of the dogs in the two earliest Fifth Dynasty representations, i.e. in the Fifth Dynasty tombs at Tehna and El-Hammamiya, but are usual in the Sixth Dynasty scenes. Ties or ends are commonly shown hanging below the collar of the animal but in the tomb of *Hm-Rꜥ/Jzj* at Deir el-Gebrawi, two stiff ties are depicted above the neck of the dog on the north wall while a loop appears above the collars of the dogs accompanying *Ppjj-ꜥnh-hrj-jb* at Meir.⁴⁸²

Monkeys: position and posture

Four provincial tombs include monkeys with the seated tomb owner: at El-Hammamiya and Sheikh Säid dated to the early-mid Fifth Dynasty (*K3.j-hnt*, A3, and *Srf-k3.j*) and at Deir el-Gebrawi and Edfu dated to the period Merenre-early Pepy II (*Jbj* and *Q3r/Mrjirꜥ-nfr*).⁴⁸³

All have the slender appearance of the common Green Monkey. The animals depicted in the tombs of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi and *Q3r/Mrjirꜥ-nfr* of Edfu) appear to be females and are shown with pendulous breasts. The female monkey beneath the chair of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi wears a broad collar, bracelets and anklets.

Single animals accompany the tomb owners at all the sites except at El-Hammamiya where two monkeys are shown playing together in the chapel of *K3.j-hnt*, A3.

In the remaining tombs where monkeys are included, the animal is once shown standing/walking (on the east wall table scene of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi) and in three scenes, seated on their haunches and eating from a bowl or basket of fruit (?) beneath the tomb owner's chair. The earliest of these three depictions is the mid-Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Srf-k3.j* at Sheikh Said and here the monkey is accompanied by a dwarf holding a leash attached to the animal's collar. In the Sixth Dynasty scenes of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi and *Q3r/Mrjirꜥ-nfr* of Edfu the animals are shown without an attendant and in a much larger size. In each the monkey extends one paw to the fruit and the other to its mouth.

⁴⁸² Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. 19; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 12.

⁴⁸³ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 63; Davies, *Sheikh Säid*, pl. 4; Davies, *Gebrāwi* I, pls. 7 (walking monkey), 19 (seated monkey, eating); El-Khadragy, *Edfu Offering Niche*, in *SAK* 30 (2002), p. 206, fig. 2.

FINDINGS

- In most provincial scenes where dogs accompany the seated tomb owner the usual pose of the animals is either seated or standing/walking. The more uncommon supine pose is depicted in two of the earliest provincial tombs at the cemeteries of Tehna and El-Hammamiya and once in a mid-Sixth Dynasty tomb at Meir. The pose is not seen at El-Hawawish.
- Monkeys are only found accompanying the seated tomb owner at El-Hawawish in one early Sixth Dynasty scene (of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1) but appear in this position in tombs dated to the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties in other provinces. The most common action shows the monkeys eating, usually from a bowl or basket and always in a seated posture. This is first seen in the provinces in the mid-Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Srf-k3.j* at Sheikh Sâid.
- The presence of animals with the tomb owner when seated at an offering table is more prevalent in the provinces in tombs dated to the Fifth and early-mid Sixth Dynasties. At El-Hawawish both dogs and monkeys are absent from table scenes in the tombs of the nomarchs dated to mid-late Pepy II, *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24. A similar situation is found at Meir where pet dogs are present beneath the chair of *Ppjj-ḥh-hrj-jb* dated to Merenre–early Pepy II but not beneath those of either of the later nomarchs in this province, *Nj-ḥh-Ppjj-km*, A1, and *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km*, A2, dated mid-late Pepy II. The absence of pets in the tombs dated to the end of the reign of Pepy II at Meir can be also observed at Deir el-Gebrawi in the two neighbouring tombs of *Jbj* and *Dḥw*. In the earlier tomb of *Jbj* the tomb owner includes a monkey in two offering table scenes but not a dog, while his grandson, *Dḥw*, does not include either animals in his table scenes. However, when seated in another situation, i.e. with staff and sceptre before registers of mixed activities and offerings, *Dḥw* is accompanied by a bitch and her pups.
- Beneath *Dḥw*'s seat the bitch with her pups occupy a central position on a raised register line leaving sufficient space below them for another object or animal either seated or standing on the base line. A similar arrangement is found in the tomb of *Pth-htp* at Saqqara where a monkey stands on the baseline beneath the tomb owner's chair and three dogs stand on a register line above the monkey.⁴⁸⁴ In *Dḥw*'s scene the area beneath the bitch and pups is now missing although a partially

⁴⁸⁴ Paget–Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 35.

preserved group of hieroglyphs and a curved line are visible. It is proposed that these hieroglyphs, oriented to the left like the seated figure of *D^cw*, may belong to another animal, possibly a monkey, which was originally present in this space.⁴⁸⁵ Additional support for the proposal that a monkey was depicted here may come from the fragment of a curved line which begins at the base of *D^cw*'s chair leg. This is very similar to the depiction of the leashes of monkeys attached to a chair leg under the seats of *K3-pw-Pth* and *Jnw-Mnw* at Saqqara.⁴⁸⁶

3.5.3. Memphite scenes

Figs. 3.69-3.73 (dogs), 3.74, 3.75 (monkeys)

Dogs: position and posture

Standing/walking: Harpur⁴⁸⁷ notes that the earliest example of an animal accompanying a seated tomb owner is the dog standing under the chair of *Nfr-m3^ct* at Giza⁴⁸⁸ dated to the early Fourth Dynasty. From the same site and similarly dated to the Fourth Dynasty, standing dogs are shown before the seated figures of *Mrs-^cnh* III and *Snb*.⁴⁸⁹ At Saqqara a standing dog accompanies *P^hn-wj-k3.j* and a group of three hounds stand on a separate register with a monkey below them under the seat of *Pth-^htp*.⁴⁹⁰ These Saqqara tomb owners are dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty.

Seated: Examples date to the mid-late Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties.⁴⁹¹ Depictions of dogs sitting on their haunches beneath the chairs of their owners are the most numerous of the three positions in Memphite tombs as in the provincial wall scenes. There is almost no variation in the pose: ears pricked, front legs braced, all facing the same direction as the seated tomb owner. All of the seated dogs wear collars (a detail missing from most of the depictions of standing dogs). An exception is the dog with *Tjj* which has no collar.

⁴⁸⁵ Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. 4.

⁴⁸⁶ Borhardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 91; Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* VIII, pl. 51b.

⁴⁸⁷ *Decoration*, p. 80.

⁴⁸⁸ LD II, pl. 17c.

⁴⁸⁹ Dunham-Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 8; Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 18.

⁴⁹⁰ LD II, pl. 47; Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 35: all the animals with *Ptah-hetep* are on leashes held by a servant.

⁴⁹¹ *Saqqara*: Epron-Wild, *Ti*, pl. 172; Hassan, *Saqqara* II, fig. 35; Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* VI, pl. 48; Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* VIII, pl. 50a; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 15; Mysliwiec, *Merefnebef*, pls. 19, 23 (with monkey). *Giza*: Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 35; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 26 (with a supine dog); Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery* I, fig. 23.

Supine: A small number of dogs are shown lying full-length in the supine pose beneath the chairs of seated tomb owners. Most examples are dated to the Fifth Dynasty with *Jj-Mrrjj* at Giza possibly the earliest tomb where this pose is seen.⁴⁹²

While all the bodies of these dogs lie parallel to the ground, variations in the position of the head and legs are found. The dogs beneath the chairs of *Jj-mrjj* and *J3sn* fold their front legs under their bodies and rest their heads on the ground while the animal with *Shm-k3.j* places his muzzle on his outstretched paws. The dogs under the chairs of *Nj-m3't-r'*, *Q3r* and *Jnw-Mnw* raise their heads above their outstretched front legs and each looks alertly ahead except for the dog with *Jnw-Mnw* which turns its head backward. Most have collars and ties.

No Memphite scenes are found where the dog is eating (either supine or in any other pose) as noted at Tehna and Meir.

Monkeys: position and posture

Monkeys may appear alone or with dogs in either a walking or a seated pose. They are frequently depicted wearing a collar with a leash held by a dwarf or another retainer. When in a seated position they are invariably shown eating from a bowl or basket.

Walking/standing: In this pose the animal has all four feet on the ground with the tail held high and curving over the back, as, for example, the monkeys under the chairs of *Dbhñj* and *Njwj-ntr* at Giza and of *Pth-htp* at Saqqara.⁴⁹³ The animal in the scene of *Pth-htp* is on a leash held by a servant standing behind the tomb owner's chair. While it is usual to find these active animals held in check by leashes in the hands of dwarfs or other retainers, an unusual detail in the tomb of *K3-pw-Pth* at Saqqara shows the leash attached to the base of the front leg of the tomb owner's chair.⁴⁹⁴ Another monkey is shown in the offering table scene of *Jnw-Mnw* at Saqqara, similarly tethered to the base of his owner's chair leg, although this animal has climbed on to the back of a hound lying

⁴⁹² Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, fig. 36 (*Jj-mrjj*); Roth, *Palace Attendants*, fig. 187 (*Nj-m3't-R'*); Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 26 (*Q3r*, with two dogs, one seated, one standing); Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I*, fig. 32 (*J3sn*); Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 7 (*Shm-k3.j*); Kanawati, *Teti Cem. VIII*, pl. 51b (*Jnw-Mnw*, a dog with a monkey).

⁴⁹³ Hassan, *Giza IV*, fig. 119; Junker, *Giza X*, fig. 44; Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 35, respectively.

⁴⁹⁴ Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, pl. 91 (CG1711).

beneath the chair.⁴⁹⁵ This rare juxtaposition of the two animals is also found at Giza where a standing monkey balances on the back of a walking dog.⁴⁹⁶ In a small number of scenes a monkey is depicted again in a standing pose but now balanced on the head of a retainer, often a dwarf. In the tombs of *Jdw I /Nfr* and *K3-nfr* at Giza this motif appears under the chairs of the tomb owners.⁴⁹⁷

Seated: A small number of tombs depict a monkey seated on its haunches beneath the tomb owner's chair, for example, of *Jj-nfrt* and his wife⁴⁹⁸ and *Mr.f-nb.f* at Saqqara, each animal holding a plate piled with fruit in one paw with the monkey in this last scene raising the other paw to its mouth.⁴⁹⁹ At Dahshur a monkey sits under the seat of *Snfrw-jn-jst.f* with a basket of figs placed on the ground before it; it is unclear from the published illustrations whether the animal is placing any food in its mouth.⁵⁰⁰ Monkeys are frequently shown seated on the heads of their keepers, for example, in the tomb of *Nj-k3w-Jzzj* at Saqqara a servant with a monkey seated on his head is placed next to the tomb owner's chair.⁵⁰¹ The animal balancing on the man's head is eating from a pile of fruit held in one paw and is on a leash.

FINDINGS: EL-HAWAWISH, OTHER PROVINCES AND MEMPHITE SCENES

- At El-Hawawish, dogs accompany tomb owners seated at their offering tables in four of the five instances where dogs are shown. Although the nature of the scene is consistent, the pose of the dogs varies either standing/walking or seated on the haunches, and suggests that this is the personal preference of the tomb owner. Each of the animals is shown under (or next to) the chair of the tomb owner.
- Dogs are first found with major officials at El-Hawawish, in the period mid-Fifth Dynasty to the reign of Unis in tombs M22 of *Hzzj-Mnw* and M43, of *Hm-Mnw*, then in early-mid Pepy II in the tombs of middle-ranking officials in tombs K5, *B3wj* and L21, *Sfhw* and on the stela CG1669 of *Q3r*. They are not depicted with the nomarchs dated to the mid-late period of the reign of Pepy II, *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24 when seated at offering tables.

⁴⁹⁵ Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* VIII, pl. 51b.

⁴⁹⁶ Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 36 (*Shtpw*). This vignette is not found beneath the tomb owner's chair.

⁴⁹⁷ Junker, *Giza VIII*, fig. 35 (*Jdw I /Nfr*); Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, fig. 263 (*K3-nfr*).

⁴⁹⁸ Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cem.* II, pl. 43.

⁴⁹⁹ Mysliwiec, *Merefnebef*, pl. 23.

⁵⁰⁰ Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, pl. 106 (CG1777).

⁵⁰¹ Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* VI, pl. 48.

- Monkeys only appear once in scenes with the seated tomb owner at El-Hawawish in tomb F1, *Hzzj-Mnw*, a middle ranking tomb owner, dated to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.
- In Memphite tombs both dogs and monkeys accompany the seated tomb owner (although rarely at an offering table) from the Fourth Dynasty to the middle of the Sixth Dynasty. The walking or standing pose is usual in the earliest scenes for both dogs (for example, *Nfr-mꜣt* and *Mrs-ꜥnh* III, Fourth Dynasty) and monkeys (*Dbhꜥnj* and *Njwj-ntr*, mid-late Fourth Dynasty) all in tombs found at Giza. Seated dogs beneath the chair begin to be found from mid-Fifth to the first half of the Sixth Dynasties (for example, *Štpw*, Giza, end Fifth Dynasty and *Tjj*, Saqqara, mid-Fifth Dynasty) and monkeys (for example, *Jj-nfrt*, Saqqara and *Snfrw-jn-jš.t.f*, Dahshur, from the end Fifth–beginning Sixth Dynasties).
- The earliest inclusion of animals with seated tomb owners in the provinces are the dogs depicted in tombs dated to the early Fifth Dynasty at Tehna and El-Hammamiya and the mid Fifth Dynasty at El-Hawawish in the tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22. They continue to be present until early Pepy II in the Sixth Dynasty at El-Hawawish and to the end of the Old Kingdom/Dynasty 8 at other sites, for example, *ꜥb-jhw*, Dendera, *Mrr*, Gebelein and *Jn-jt.f*, Thebes.
- Within the decorative programme of chapels at Memphis, dogs and monkeys are rarely depicted with the tomb owner when he is seated at an offering table⁵⁰² but are present in this position at El-Hawawish from the earliest to the latest examples, i.e. from the mid-late Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, to the tomb of *Bꜣwj*, K5 dated to early Pepy II.⁵⁰³ At other provincial cemeteries both dogs and monkeys are included in almost every offering scene, again from the earliest to the latest examples. The exception is noted at Deir el-Gebrawi where neither animal is represented in offering table scenes except in the tomb of *Jbj* where a walking monkey appears under his chair in the two table scenes in the offering recess.⁵⁰⁴
- The early depictions of dogs in a standing/walking posture at El-Hawawish, *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Hm-Mnw*, M43, may have been reproduced from the Fourth and

⁵⁰² Examples where animals appear in offering table scenes at Giza: *Štpw* (Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 35, a seated dog); *Njwjntr* (Junker, *Giza* X, fig. 44, a walking monkey); *Jdw* I (Junker, *Giza* VIII, fig. 35 (a monkey on the head of a dwarf); *Ttw* I (Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery* I, fig. 23, a seated dog); at Saqqara: *Jnw-Mnw* (Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* VIII, pl. 51b (a monkey and a supine dog); *Mr.f-nb.f* (Mysliwiec, *Merefnebef*, pls. 19, 23, dogs and a monkey).

⁵⁰³ No table is presently visible in *Bꜣwj*'s scene but the pose and situation of the tomb owner indicate that an offering table may have been part of the original composition (*H* VIII, fig. 18).

⁵⁰⁴ Davies, *Gebrāwi* I, pls. 7, 19.

early Fifth Dynasty tombs at Medum and Giza, possibly those of *Nfr-m3ꜥt* and *Mrs-ꜥnh* III where standing dogs accompany seated tomb owners, although not at offering tables. While the presence and pose of dogs may be traced to influences from the capital, their attendance on tomb owners seated at offering tables seems to be a variation introduced in the provinces, possibly first at El-Hawawish.

- A further variation is noted in the earlier provincial sites of Tehna and El-Hammamiya where the administrators depict their accompanying dogs in a supine pose. This supine pose never appears at El-Hawawish and is not noted in Memphite scenes until the mid-Fifth Dynasty. That the existence of such postures may have been present in wall scenes, now lost, of early tombs in the capital cannot be discounted.
- This supine posture offers evidence for a direct artistic influence between the provincial cemeteries of Tehna and Meir. Both include a supine dog beneath the tomb owner's chair in an offering table scene. This pose in the mid-Sixth Dynasty provincial tomb of *Ppjj-ꜥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir (north wall scene) closely follows the early Fifth Dynasty scene of *Nj-k3-ꜥnh* at Tehna. Both animals are shown eating something, which at Tehna, is clearly seen to be a bird. These two scenes are the only examples of a dog lying beneath (or beside) the tomb owner's chair and eating. Although well separated in time, the two nomes and their cemeteries are comparatively close geographically and it is conceivable that the major tombs at Tehna could have been visited by *Ppjj-ꜥnh-ḥrj-jb*. Similarities in small details may indicate familiarity with scenes in the Memphite tombs by provincial tomb owners and/or their artists. The seated dog beneath the chair of *Ppjj-ꜥnh-ḥrj-jb* (west wall scene) for example, wears a carefully drawn collar with two broad ties below the neck and a loop above it. Ties and loops are frequently shown attached to collars but are invariably behind the neck of the animal⁵⁰⁵ but this particular style of collar and loop with ties below is only noted around the neck of the dog accompanying *K3-gmn.j* at Saqqara in his palanquin scene. *Ppjj-ꜥnh-ḥrj-jb*'s dog has a pendulous growth beneath its jaw (on site observation by the writer) while *K3-gmn.j*'s hound is shown with a triangular shape under its mouth, suggested by Harpur to possibly be a wattle, spittle, or the dog's tongue.⁵⁰⁶ The rarity of this detail and its combination

⁵⁰⁵ For example, see *Ttw I* (Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I*, fig. 23); *Mr.f-nb.f* (Mysliwiec, *Merefnebef*, pl. 23); *Jnw-Mnw* (Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* VIII, pl. 50a).

⁵⁰⁶ Harpur-Scremin, *Kagemni*, pl. 291, p. 429. See also Keimer, *BIFAO* 55 (1955), pp. 7-20, especially fig. 3.

with the style of collar suggests a knowledge of this particular Saqqara scene by *Ppjj-ḥh-ḥrj-jb*'s artist.

- Monkeys in a walking pose are depicted, like dogs, under the chairs of Memphite tomb owners from the Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties. This walking posture is not found at El-Hawawish and only once in another provincial tomb, that of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi. Depictions of seated monkeys (usually eating from a bowl or basket of fruit) appear in the late Fifth and early Sixth Dynasty in Memphite tomb scenes, while similar representations are found in the provinces from Djedkare to early Pepy II in the tombs of *Srf-k3.j* at Sheikh Said (Djedkare), *Hzzj-Mnw* (F1) (late Teti) at El-Hawawish, *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi (Merenre–early Pepy II), and *Q3r/Mrjjr-ḥ-ḥfr* of Edfu (Merenre–early Pepy II).
- Variations in the manner in which the monkeys eat the fruit may offer information on the links between provincial tomb owners or their artists and between the provinces and the capital. In the scenes of *Srf-k3.j* at Sheikh Said, *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi, *Q3r/Mrjjr-ḥ-ḥfr* of Edfu and *Snfrw-jn-jst.f* at Dahshur, monkeys eat from a basket resting on the ground. At Saqqara, the monkeys depicted beneath the chairs of *Jj-nfrt* and *Mr.f-nb.f* do not eat from a container on the ground but from a smaller, flat dish which they hold in one paw at mid-body height.⁵⁰⁷ This is probably the pose of the monkey in *Hzzj-Mnw*'s scene at El-Hawawish (F1). This particular motif appears to be limited to the period late Fifth – early Sixth Dynasties in the Memphite cemeteries and would support a date late in the reign of Teti or slightly after, for *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, at El-Hawawish.
- From the above comments it is clear that few influences can be traced between provincial cemeteries although a direct connection appears to be evident in the poses of the supine dogs eating under the chairs of *Nj-k3-ḥh* at Tehna and *Ppjj-ḥh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir. Apparent direct links between provincial and Memphite scenes are infrequent, but can be observed for example in the supine pose of the dogs in *K3.j-ḥnt* at El-Hammamiya and *Jj-mrjj* at Giza and the depictions of the collars and pendant growth(?) on the dogs in the tombs of *K3-gmn.j* at Saqqara and *Ppjj-ḥh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir.
- The most notable feature of the scenes of accompanying animals at El-Hawawish and other provincial cemeteries is the number of innovative details introduced for

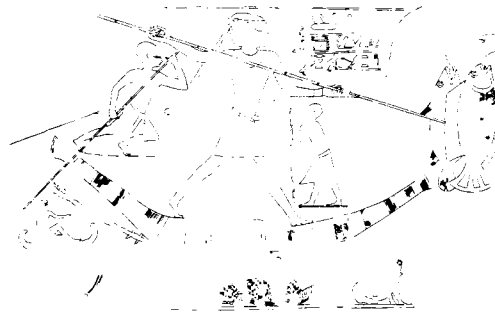
⁵⁰⁷ Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cem.* II, pl. 43; Mysliwiec, *Merefnebef*, pl. 23.

example, the presence of dogs in offering table scenes, the supine pose of the dog eating, the bitch with pups suckling beneath the chair of *Dꜣw* at Deir el-Gebrawi and the two monkeys playing together next to a supine dog in the scene of *K3.j-hnt* (A3) at El-Hammamiya.

- The appearance of dogs and monkeys may also be useful as dating markers. The standing pose for dogs is the earliest position for these animals in Memphite tombs and also at El-Hawawish. Seated animals appear in scenes at the capital in the late Fifth Dynasty and from the early Sixth Dynasty at Akhmim and in other nomes. Monkeys seated on their haunches and eating from a bowl or a plate of fruit appear in the late Fifth–early Sixth Dynasties in the capital and are similarly found in the provinces including El-Hawawish where they are first seen in the early Sixth Dynasty. The provincial tomb scenes appear to follow the trends in the capital relatively soon after they appear in Memphite scenes which would indicate a reasonably immediate access to, and knowledge of them, by the provincial officials and their artists.

CHAPTER 4

THE TOMB OWNER AT EL HAWAWISH: SPEAR-FISHING IN THE MARSHES⁵⁰⁸



INTRODUCTION

The earliest indications of fishing and fowling scenes are found in royal monuments. Schäfer⁵⁰⁹ has interpreted a fragment found by Petrie in the tomb of the First Dynasty king, Den/Udimu, at Abydos, as an early representation of a fish-spearing scene⁵¹⁰ but further scenes are not known until the Fifth Dynasty, when fragments from the funerary temples of Userkaf and Sahure at Abu Gurab indicate that fishing and fowling scenes were present.⁵¹¹ The repertoire of scenes of these royal funerary monuments will have formed the store of motifs from which the king's relatives and officials drew their own tomb decoration.

Among these elite tombs of nobles and officials, the earliest spear-fishing scene is found in the tomb of *Htp-ḥr-ḥtj* at Saqqara, dated to Neuserre–Isesi,⁵¹² and for combined scenes, the joint tomb of *Nj-ḥḥ-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp*, in the same cemetery, dated to the same period.⁵¹³ In the provinces, the chapel of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish with a proposed date of late Isesi, contains the earliest surviving provincial spear-fishing scene.⁵¹⁴ The motif is not found again in tombs outside the Memphite cemeteries until the reign of Unis at El-Hawawish in the chapel of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, and in the reign of Teti at Deshasha in the tomb of *Jttj-Šdw*.⁵¹⁵ From this time, the motif proliferates in tombs in the cemeteries of both the capital and the provinces.⁵¹⁶

⁵⁰⁸ See **Part II: List of Tomb Owners at El-Hawawish (Akhmim) and other Upper Egyptian Provinces by Chapter: Chapter 4.** See also **Table 4.1** and **4.2** for an analysis of the features.

⁵⁰⁹ Schäfer, *Principles*, p. 243, fig. 256

⁵¹⁰ Petrie, *Abydos I*, pl. XI (8)

⁵¹¹ Borchardt, *Saḥu-R` I*, pl. 15; II, pl. 16, Vandier, *Manuel IV*, fig. 399.2.; *Ne-user-Re`*, fig. 16

⁵¹² Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, figs. 34, 34b, pl. II

⁵¹³ Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, figs. 5, 6, pls. 2, 5, 6

⁵¹⁴ *H IV*, pl. 2, fig. 12

⁵¹⁵ *H V*, pl. 1, figs. 6, 7; Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 44

⁵¹⁶ The development of the spear-fishing motif in the context of marsh scenes is examined by Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 176–204, Table 7, pp. 355–367. See also Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*. For a review and listing of fish- and bird-hunting scenes see: Vandier, *Manuel IV*, p. 716ff; Decker–Herb, *Bildatlas I*, pp. 382ff.

In the tombs of the elite officials in the Memphite cemeteries, marsh excursions include bird and hippopotamus hunting as well as spear-fishing. At El-Hawawish only spear-fishing is depicted, although the fragmentary scene in the tomb of *Ttj*, M8, may have originally been part of a bird hunting motif. All that remains of a presumed marsh scene in this tomb is a group of birds apparently rising up from a thicket and the head and hand of a small male figure grasping a hoopoe at the base of the wings. Male figures accompanying tomb owners in bird-hunting scenes invariably carry birds of various species including a hoopoe, as in the scenes of *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw*, *Jj-nfrt* and *Hzzj* at Saqqara.⁵¹⁷ However, sons or family members present in spear-fishing scenes also hold birds, fish and extra spears, such as the small sons of *K3.j-m-ḥnh* at Giza, and *Htp-ḥr-3ḥtj* and *Mrrj* at Saqqara, who all carry hoopoes in their fathers' spear-fishing scenes.⁵¹⁸ Given the absence of any bird hunting scenes at El-Hawawish and the evidence of a continuing preference for the spear-fishing motif in tombs dated earlier and later than tomb M8, this fragmentary marsh scene may also be the remains of a spear-fishing scene and is thus included here.

Eight spear-fishing scenes are extant in tombs at El-Hawawish. All are found in tombs of Akhmim administrators with the highest rank and titles of the period in which they served. The titles of the two earliest *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22 (Djedkare) and *Hm-Mnw*, M43 (Unis) with *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1 (late Teti) are prominently placed with the motif, but fewer titles accompany the remaining spear-fishing tomb owners. This is particularly noticeable in the scenes of *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, nomarchs in the reign of Pepy II. The tomb owners spear-fishing in the remaining scenes are *B3wj*, G126 (end Teti-early Pepy I) a possible overseer of fields and serfs, the unknown owner of tomb G97 (early Pepy I) and the nomarch *K3.j-hp/Ttj*, M8 (early Pepy II).⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁷ Moussa-Altenmuller, *Nianchchnum*, pls. 6, 74; Kanawati, *Unis Cem.* II, pl. 37; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 54.

⁵¹⁸ Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 31; Davies et al, *Saqqara Tombs I*, pls.5, 8; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 34. For identification and description of hoopoes, see Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 118-120. Feucht in her article “Fishing and Fowling with the Throw-Stick Reconsidered” describes the bird held by the son of *K3.j-m-ḥnh* as a *rhjt* bird (in *Studia Aegyptiaca*, vol. 14, p.161). The distinctive erect, full crest and long, downward-pointing beak indicate that it is a hoopoe rather than a lapwing/*rhjt* bird which has a smaller crest at the back of the head and a short, straight beak (see Houlihan, *ibid*, pp.93-96).

⁵¹⁹ *Hzzj-Mnw* (M22), *H* IV, fig. 12; *Hm-Mnw* (M43), *H* V, fig. 7; *Hzzj-Mnw* (F1), *H* VI, fig.3; *B3wj* (G126), *H* IX, fig. 15; (G97), *H* VIII, fig. 5; *K3.j-hp/Ttj*, (M8), *H* III, fig. 13; *Ttj-jqr*, (H26), *H* I, fig. 8; and *Hnj*, (H24), *H* II, fig. 18. Little remains of the scene in M8: birds in flight with the remnants of figures, one holding a hoopoe.

4.1 Inscriptions, Purpose and Position in the Tomb

Accompanying inscriptions in the El-Hawawish spear-fishing scenes, provide information on the purpose of the activity. All refer to the action of the tomb owner as ‘spearing a catch of fish in the marshlands’, and three of the earlier texts add the information that the marshlands are in the north.⁵²⁰ In the two earliest tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22 and *Hm-Mnw*, M43 (mid-late Fifth Dynasty), the motif is on the west wall to the left of the entrance. As the spear-fishing action in each scene is directed to the right, in these two tombs the tomb owner is facing, and spearing his fish, towards the north which appears to be a deliberate choice reflecting the accompanying inscriptions. The same choice of wall is kept in the spear-fishing scene in tomb G97 (early-mid Sixth Dynasty). This scene is also on the wall to the left of the entrance but because of the orientation of the tomb, this is now a north wall, with the tomb owner facing right, that is, to the east. In each of these scenes the spear-fisherman is facing toward the interior of the tomb. One wall only is decorated in the tomb of *B3wj*, G126, the north wall opposite the entrance. The spear-fishing motif is placed here with the tomb owner facing right, which is towards the east, as in tomb G97.

This orientation changes in the tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, *K3.j-hp/Ttj-jkr*, H26 and *Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj*, H24. Now the motif is placed on the south wall which, in tombs H26 and H24, is the entrance wall to the chapel with both men facing towards the entrance doorway. From the interior of the tomb, both spear-fishing motifs are to the left of the entrance doorway, an orientation identical with the composite fishing and fowling scenes in the capital established in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty.

The importance of the motif is conveyed in the amount of wall area allocated to it: each extends the full height of the wall, except for the small tomb of *B3wj*, G126, where several motifs are compressed together on the one wall and the spear-fishing motif is in the lower half of the wall. The coverage across the width of the walls varies in each tomb from half the width of the wall to the whole wall.

The theme of spear-fishing in the marshes is accepted in this study as reflecting an episode in the life of the tomb owner. In two scenes from other provincial sites, however, additional motifs are included conveying a sense of religious ritual. A highly individual

⁵²⁰ *Hzzj-Mnw* (M22), *H* IV, fig. 12; *stjt mḥt ʕ wrt n...stjt mḥt...šʕw...m pḥww* ‘spearing a very great catch of fish in the marshlands...in the far north’; *Hm-Mnw* (M43), *H* V, fig. 7; *stjt mḥt ḥn3 š3w pḥww* ‘spearing a catch of fish while traversing the northern marshlands’; *B3wj* (G126), *H* IX, fig. 15; *šʕw pḥww stjt mḥt* ‘the marshlands of the far north spearing a great catch of fish’.

treatment of the skiff and its features is seen at Geheina in the same province of Akhmim, in the late Sixth Dynasty tomb of *Ttj-jkr/Hwj*.⁵²¹ At the far end of the stern in his spear-fishing scene two men wield long steering oars beneath a columned pavilion which shelters a priest offering incense to an unidentified seated figure (the tomb owner?). Before the pavilion another pours water into a ewer and basin. A kneeling man immediately behind the tomb owner and gesturing towards him, looks back to these purification activities. This is reminiscent of the funerary rites by priests which are usually depicted next to, or above, the offering table scene. Another provincial marsh scene also includes a feature with a possible funerary significance. At Aswan, *S3bnj* (Nr. 35) is offered incense like *Ttj-jkr* at Geheina, but here by a small male figure standing in front of him.⁵²² This tomb is dated like *Ttj-jkr*, to the end of the Sixth Dynasty.

4.2 Iconography of the Scene

Comparisons of the following distinctive features of the spear-fishing theme, were made between scenes at El-Hawawish, other provinces and tombs in the Memphite cemeteries.

- 4.2.1 the posture and dress of the tomb owner
- 4.2.2 the papyrus skiff; items on the stern of the skiff
- 4.2.3 the spear: angle of the shaft of the spear, its position in relation to the tomb owner's body and the placement of the point of the spear
- 4.2.4 the 'mound of water' in relation to the tomb owner; its height, shape and position
- 4.2.5 the papyrus thicket
- 4.2.6 the presence and position of the tomb owner's wife
- 4.2.7 the position and action of sons accompanying the tomb owner
- 4.2.8 the figure of a punter in the stern of the skiff
- 4.2.9 the water band with weeds, lotuses, crocodiles and hippopotami beneath the skiff; frogs and grasshoppers on water weeds next to the skiff

4.2.1 Posture and dress of the tomb owner

In its most basic interpretation, the spear-fishing scene is dominated by the large-size figure of the tomb owner standing on a skiff of bound reeds.⁵²³ Before him is a thicket of

⁵²¹ el-Masry, *Gohaina*, in *BACE* 15 (2004), pp. 89-99, fig. 2.

⁵²² LaFarge, *Museums of Egypt*, p.155.

⁵²³ Rafts and simple boats of reeds and bark have been used for marsh and river travelling by people living in these environments throughout history. Knowledge of the correct time to harvest and dry the reeds to

papyrus and an inlet or bay of water, shown rising up vertically in front of him and commonly known as the ‘mound or mountain of water.’ The depiction of this vertical area of water apparently rising from the horizontal waterband beneath the tomb owner’s skiff, in reality may represent the water appearing before him as the skiff pushes through the papyrus thicket.⁵²⁴ This view allows the artist to display the fish successfully speared by the tomb owner. In this way the artist is able to combine two actions: the skilful spearing of the fish in the water of the marsh and the display of this success by raising them.⁵²⁵ Birds and butterflies fly above the umbels of the papyrus thicket and predatory animals climb amongst the stems, preying on the young birds in the nests built there. Below the skiff is a water band in which are fish of various types, lotus flowers, buds and leaves, hippopotami and crocodiles. Grasshoppers and frogs sit on the water weeds beneath the prow and stern of the skiff.

The tomb owner extends both arms wide to hold the two-pronged spear which is commonly shown with two fish impaled on the points in the vertical ‘mound of water’ and braces his feet on a wooden board in the centre of the skiff. He is usually accompanied by members of his family, either with him on the skiff or on registers close by. Variations exist in all aspects of the motif, for example, the presence of both the ‘mound of water’ and the wooden board, and these will be addressed in later sections.

Posture

Position of feet

Figs. 4.4, 4.8

The usual stance of the tomb owner with widely separated legs and with the forward foot flat on the central board of wood while the rear foot is raised on the toes, is common to most of the El-Hawawish scenes. There are two exceptions, *B3wj*, G126, and *Hnj*, H24, where the forward foot appears to stand directly on the curving upper edge of the papyrus skiff.⁵²⁶

make a watertight skiff allows one or more people to stand safely and travel easily through the still and usually shallow waters of marshes, see W. Thesiger, *The Marsh Arabs*, passim and photos 46-49; Dawson, *Papyrus Boat*, in *JEA* 10 (1924), pl. 10[2], a reed canoe from Abyssinia. See also The State Library of Victoria Archives, “Canoeing at Maloga, Photo no. H39469, for Australian aborigines in bark rafts.

⁵²⁴ See Evans, *Animal Behaviour*, pp. 192, 193.

⁵²⁵ The depiction of this ‘mound of water’ is examined below.

⁵²⁶ *H IX*, fig. 15; *HI*, fig. 18.

Position of the arms

Figs. 4.1a, 4.2a,b-4.6a, 4.8-4.20

The spear-fisherman carries his spear across the front of his body at shoulder level or slightly below the shoulders with the arms raised to support it.⁵²⁷ In the scene of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, dated to the reign of Unis, the spear is held in an unusually low position across the chest, with the spear lying along the forearm of his left or forward arm. This rarely-seen position with the spear lying along the arm, is observed in the figures of *Hnmw-htp* at Saqqara, *Snḏm-jb/Mhj* and *ḥtj-mrw-nswt* at Giza, all dated to the mid-late Fifth Dynasty.⁵²⁸ In the provinces, the spear of *Dꜥw* at Deir el-Gebrāwi is also placed in this position.⁵²⁹

Variations in the extension of the arms holding the spear and in the height and position of the hands are noted between the earlier and the later scenes at El-Hawawish. In the earliest fishing scene at this site, *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, dated to the reign of Djedkare in the Fifth Dynasty, holds the spear very high across his shoulders with his arms widely extended. This pose and the position of *Hzzj-Mnw*'s spear is found in the almost identical pose of *K3.j-m-ꜥnh* at Giza and similarly, although in a less exaggerated form, in that of *ḥt-htp* and *Jrj-n-k3-Pth* at Saqqara, all dated to mid-end Fifth Dynasty.⁵³⁰ This action of widely held arms and high position of the spear is also clearly reproduced in the provincial scene of *Ppjj-ꜥnh-hrj-jb* at Meir.⁵³¹

During the Sixth Dynasty, this position of the arms changes with the forward arm now less straight. By the late Sixth Dynasty at El-Hawawish, both arms are bent at a sharper angle, for example, in the tomb of *Hnj*, H24, dated to mid-late Pepy II. This trend is seen earlier in Memphite tombs, for example, *Mhw*, *Jnw-Mnw* and *Mrrj* at Saqqara.⁵³² Sharply bent arms occasionally appear even in Fifth Dynasty tombs and this, together with the spear held at a sharper angle, may be influenced by the position of the motif on the wall, for example, *Hnmw-htp* in his portico scene and *Jnw-Mnw* on the narrow west wall of room 1,

⁵²⁷ In the marsh scene of *Mhw* at Saqqara, the spear passes behind his shoulders, Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 12, 13. This is the only example of a spear held in this position known to the writer.

⁵²⁸ Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, pl. 5; Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex I*, pls. 100, 101; Decker-Herb, *Bildatlas*, K2.30.

⁵²⁹ Davies, *Gebrāwi II*, pl. V. The arm/spear position of *Ppjj-ꜥnh-hrj-jb* at Meir is similar (Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. VII).

⁵³⁰ Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 31; Petrie-Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 6; Moussa-Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 12.

⁵³¹ Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. VII.

⁵³² Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 12, 13; Kanawati, *Teti Cem. VIII*, pl. 44; Davies et al, *Saqqara Tombs I*, pls. 45, 46.

where both motifs occupy restricted areas.⁵³³ The same sharply bent arms are observed in a similarly restricted position in the provincial scene of *Hw-n-wh* at Quseir el-Amarna.⁵³⁴

Position of the hands

Changes are also noted in the position and height of the hands. In tomb M22 of *Hzzj-Mnw*, his right hand holding the spear towards its end, is higher than his head, a position which would have provided the greatest forward thrust of the spear. Hands in this high position are less usual in fishing scenes but are found in the postures of *Hnmw-htp* at Saqqara and *Hnqw/Jj.f* at Deir el-Gebrawi both of whom hold their spears with their right hands level with, or slightly above, their heads.⁵³⁵ This right hand of the tomb owner held high behind the figure of *Hzzj-Mnw* at El-Hawawish, is lowered to the level of the shoulders in the later El-Hawawish scenes of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, *B3wj*, G126, and *Špsj-pw-Mnw*, G97, until it is level with the upper chest in the late Sixth Dynasty tombs of *Ttj-jkr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24.

The hands holding the spear offer features for comparison. Only two scenes at El-Hawawish show a complete left hand supporting the shaft of the spear towards its point or barb: those of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, and *B3wj*, G126. In each, the fingers curl around the shaft with the forefinger extended and with the curve of the palm indicated. In all other El-Hawawish spear-fishing scenes this hand is no longer present or damaged and its position is unclear. This same position is usual in other provincial spear-fishing scenes where the hand is visible.

The butt end of the spear is grasped in the hand of the tomb owner in one of two distinctive ways at El-Hawawish:

- In the first, the shaft continues beyond the hand supporting it. The forefinger of this right hand lies along the underside of the spear and the remaining fingers curl around the shaft. This is seen at El-Hawawish in *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1 and *B3wj*, G126. The same hand position is depicted in Memphite scenes, for example, *Sndm-jb/Mhj* at Giza, and *Mhw* at Saqqara.⁵³⁶
- In the second manner, the end of the spear is cupped in the palm of the right hand of the tomb owner with all the fingers clasped around the end. This is the grasp of

⁵³³ Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 5; Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* VIII, pl. 44.

⁵³⁴ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 38.

⁵³⁵ Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 5; Kanawati, *Gebrawi I*, pl. 54.

⁵³⁶ Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex I*, pls. 100, 101; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 12, 13

the spear in the late Sixth Dynasty scenes of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24.⁵³⁷ The second manner of holding the end of the spear is found in the provincial spear-fishing scene of *Mrjj-ꜥ3* at El-Hagarsa.⁵³⁸ This cupping of the hand around the end of the spear appears to have been more usual in tombs dated to the late Sixth Dynasty.

- In a more common method of holding the end of the spear in Memphite and provincial scenes, the hand clasps the spear with the index finger over the end, for example, *Htp-ḥr-3ḥtj*, *3ḥt-ḥtp*, *K3.j-m-ꜥnh*, *Nḥbw*,⁵³⁹ and *Ppjj-ꜥnh-ḥrj-jb* and *Ppjj-ꜥnh/Hnj-km* at Meir, *Jbj* and *Dꜥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi, *Hw.n-wh* at Quseir el-Amarna.⁵⁴⁰

Dress and accessories

Figs. 4.1a, 4.2b, 4.6a, 4.8-4.11, 4.14-4.20

In all the El-Hawawish tombs where the major figure is complete, tomb owners are dressed in a belted, wrapped kilt with a flap at the front. This is frequently described as a shendjit or sporting kilt but, as Brovarski points out when querying the use of the term, this kilt when worn by the elite, is different from the true shendjit kilt worn by kings when hunting in the marshes.⁵⁴¹ In these royal examples, the front panel tapers to its base, whereas when worn by the elite tomb owners, this panel widens greatly at the lower edge with distinctly concave sides.⁵⁴² The earliest provincial officials depicted spear-fishing, the Fifth Dynasty officials at El-Hawawish, *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Hm-Mnw*, M43, wear this style of kilt and it is the usual garment worn in provincial marsh scenes throughout the Sixth Dynasty up to the period early-mid Pepy II, for example, *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi and *Ppjj-ꜥnh-ḥnj-km* at Meir. In tombs dated to the end of the Sixth to the Eighth Dynasties, variations to this standard style of kilt appear for example, *Jhjj* at Thebes and *ꜥnh-tj.fj* at Mo'alla, where the front panel is shown as a narrow strip of material.⁵⁴³

⁵³⁷ See Kanawati-Scannell, *A Mountain Speaks*, colour plate opposite p. 11. The complete and detailed hand of *Ttj-jqr* illustrates the artist's desire to portray the grip as accurately as possible. Each of the fingers with its light coloured nail and white cuticle at the base is curled around the end of the shaft with the curved area of the palm painted in a lighter skin colour to indicate depth.

⁵³⁸ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pl. 45.

⁵³⁹ Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 34; Petrie-Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. VI; Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 31; Smith, *A Judge Goes Fishing*, in *BMFA* LVI (304), fig. 2.

⁵⁴⁰ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 7; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 24; Davies, *Gebrāwi* I, pl. 3; Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. 5; El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 38.

⁵⁴¹ Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex* I, p. 40, note 43, pls. 24, 25 (the tomb of Senedjemib Inti).

⁵⁴² The exaggerated broadening at the bottom of the flap narrows again in some provincial marsh scenes in the later Sixth Dynasty, for example, *Dꜥw*, Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. V; *Jdw* I, Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. V.

⁵⁴³ Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 15(1); Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pls. 14, 40.

Kilts worn by Memphite officials in well-preserved spear-fishing scenes, are held in place by a belt with a loop tie at the front of the waist. In its most complete depiction, the loop is continued with one or two ties.⁵⁴⁴ An interesting addition to the El-Hawawish kilts is a stiff vertical tab above the belt at the waist in the kilts of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22 and *Hm-Mnw*, M43. This is not present on any of the kilts worn by other tomb owners when spear-fishing at either El-Hawawish or at any other provincial cemetery. It is, however, frequently found as part of the dress of Fourth and Fifth Dynasty Memphite tomb owners in both standing and seated postures in wall scenes and on statues.⁵⁴⁵

Every El-Hawawish spear-fisherman wears a short wig tied with a fillet and a banded streamer with one short and one long end.⁵⁴⁶ This is the usual wig and accessory worn by tomb owners in Memphite and provincial marsh scenes and is first observed in private tombs at the capital in the reign of Neuserre becoming the usual headpiece in these motifs from the reign of Unis until the end of the Old Kingdom.⁵⁴⁷ No variations appear, although in other provincial scenes these are noted, for example, at Geheina, the fillet of *Ttj/jqr* has additional lotus decoration at the side and only one streamer, a looped 'necklace' ending in lotus heads is worn by *W3hj* at El-Hagarsa, and a beard is clearly shown beneath the chins of *Ppjj-ḥh-hrj-jb* and *Ppjj-ḥh-hnj-km* at Meir and *Hw.n-wh* at Quseir el-Amarna.⁵⁴⁸

4.2.2 The skiff of the spear-fisherman

Figs. 4.a, 4.2b–4.4, 4.6, 4.8–4.20

The skiff on which the spear-fisherman stands is made of bound papyrus stems probably with a flat-bottomed hull.⁵⁴⁹ A wooden board, usually shown as a horizontal line at the centre of most skiffs, would have strengthened the craft and provided a stable platform for the spear-fisherman. It is present in each of the El-Hawawish craft. The wood graining of the central board is clearly indicated in the El-Hawawish scene of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22.⁵⁵⁰ A noticeable change is observed in the height (or the amount) of the wooden board shown

⁵⁴⁴ For example, Petrie–Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. VI (*3ht-htp*); van de Walle, *Neferirteneb*, pl. 1 (*Nfr-jrt-n.f*); Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* VI, pl. 50 (*Nj-k3w-Jzzj*).

⁵⁴⁵ For example, *Masterpieces of Egyptian Art: Cairo Museum*, ed. F. Tiradritti, p. 48 (*Hzzj-R^c* CG1427 – CG1428); Simpson, *Kawab*, pls. 26–29, 31, 33 (*Hwfw-ḥ^c.f I*); Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. 1 (*H^c-b3w-Skr*); Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nefer*, pls. 1, 2 (*Nfr*); Paget–Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pls. 34, 35, 38 (*Pth-htp*); McFarlane, *Unis Cem.* I, pls. 4b, 25–27, 41, figs. 1, 4, 7, 8 (*Jrw-k3-Pth*).

⁵⁴⁶ Cherpion notes that the earliest official wearing a short wig and fillet is *Htp-hr-3htj* at Saqqara dated to Neuserre (*Mastabas*, p. 59, Crit. 33, Table p. 182).

⁵⁴⁷ Staehelin, *Tract*, p. 146

⁵⁴⁸ Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 7; Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 24; El-Khouli–Kanawati, *Quseir*, pl. 38.

⁵⁴⁹ Dawson, *Papyrus Boat*, in *JEA* 10 (1924), p. 46, pl. 10.

⁵⁵⁰ *H IV*, fig. 12, pl. 2.

above the edge of the papyrus skiff in the El-Hawawish depictions, being greater in the mid-late Fifth Dynasty depictions of the skiffs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Hm-Mnw*, M43, than in all other later scenes where the board is narrow.

Provincial tomb owners stand on a wooden board within the spear-fishing skiff in most instances. The variations include: *Dꜥw* (Deir el-Gebrâwi), *Nj-ꜥnh-Ppjj* (Zawaiyet el-Maiyitin), *Hw.n-wh* (Quseir el-Amarna), *ꜥnh-tj.fj* (Moalla), who stand directly on the papyrus skiff; and, *Mrjj-ꜥ3* and *W3hj* (El-Hagarsa) who stand with both feet flat on a register line with no skiff present.⁵⁵¹

The stance of all the provincial spear-fishermen is the usual position, except for *Dꜥw* where the position of the feet is reversed with the forward foot raised on the toes and the back foot flat, and for *S3bnj* (Nr 35) at Aswan who raises himself on the toes of both feet.⁵⁵²

A wooden board is present in all the Memphite spear-fishing scenes with the feet of the tomb owner in the usual position of forward foot flat and rear foot raised on the toes. A variation appears in the marsh scene of *Snfrw-jnj-jst.f* at Dahshur and in the portico spear-fishing scene of the joint tomb of *Nj-ꜥnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-htp* at Saqqara. Here the forward foot rests on the board but the rear foot is raised on the toes which rest against the curved edge of the stern of the skiff and not on the board.⁵⁵³

The reeds forming the body of the skiff, are lashed together with two loops of rope around the hull of the skiff in the scenes of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *Ttj-jkr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, but multiple strands are used to lash the skiffs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, *B3wj*, G126 and tomb G97. In M22, this binding is knotted and tied at the upper edge of the hull. In H26 and H24 the edge is finished with a continuous single line of rope without any knotting or ties and in tombs F1, G126 and G97 this upper edge is without any finish.⁵⁵⁴

Binding of two or three rounds of rope around the hull with the single rope along the upper edge is usual, for example, in *Nhbw* at Giza, and *Nfr-jrt-n.f*, *Nj-ꜥnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-htp*, *Jdwt*,

⁵⁵¹ See also the bird-hunting scene of *Hw-ns* at Aswan where the tomb owner stands on a base line. No skiff is shown here although it is present in the facing spear-fishing scene (de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.* p.159).

⁵⁵² Davies, *Gebrâwi* II, pl.V; Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pl. IX b-c; El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Quseir*, pls. 1, 38; Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pl. XIV; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pls. 45; *ibid*, pls. 28, 30; *Museums of Egypt*, p.155. Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, p. 69, suggests that this alteration to the pose of the feet and the slight backwards lean of the body in the scene of *Dꜥw* is the artist's attempt to depict the moment of raising the two fish with the tomb owner bracing himself against their weight.

⁵⁵³ Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 105; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 5, pl. 4

⁵⁵⁴ For depictions in wall scenes of the construction of papyrus skiffs, see Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, fig. 40, *Jj-mrjj*; Wild, *Ti* II, pl 110, *Tjj*; Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 32, *Pth-htp* II; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 27, *Htp-hr-3htj*.

Mrrw-k3.j, *H3j*, *Nj-k3w-Jzzj*, *Šꜥnh-wj-pth* and *Mrrj* at Saqqara. The knotted finish to the binding at the stern in M22, is rarely seen. It is found, however, at the stern of *Htp-ḥr-3ḥtj*'s spear-fishing skiff and also at the prow and stern of the craft carrying herdsman in the scene of cattle crossing through water in *Tjj*, and on some of the skiffs used by the jousting boatmen in the same tomb.⁵⁵⁵

Multiple strands of binding, observed at El-Hawawish in the scenes of tombs F1, G126 and G97, are also used in *Htp-ḥr-3ḥtj*'s skiff. In the provinces this type of lashing binds the hull of *Dꜥw*'s skiff at Deir el-Gebrawi, which is wide like the hulls of F1, G126 and G97 at El-Hawawish. Hulls of greater width are also seen in the provincial scenes of *Nj-ꜥnh-Ppjj* at Zawiyet el-Maiyitin, *Hnqw/Jj.f* at Deir el-Gebrawi and *S3bnj* (Nr.35) at Aswan.

The prow and stern of the skiffs are generally gently curved or angled upward from the waterband with the stern higher than the prow in all visible examples at El-Hawawish. A pronounced change is seen in the skiffs of the owners of F1, G126 and G97 where more sharply raised sterns and prows alter the shape of the hulls. The reduced space available for the spear-fishing motif in these smaller tombs may have been a factor in the altered angle of these hulls.

The angle from waterline of prow and the stern of skiffs at El-Hawawish is as follows:

- Stern:* 30° – M22, H26, H24
- 35-40° – F1, G126 (missing in G97)
- Prow:* 20° – H26, H24 (missing in M22)
- 30° – G126
- 50° – G97 (missing in F1)

Both prow and stern are missing from the scene in M43.

The stern of the papyrus skiffs at El-Hawawish and in other provincial fishing scenes are only a little higher than the prow. At Giza and Saqqara high sterns are usual, particularly in earlier scenes; this is clear in comparisons of the high angle of the sterns of *H3jj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish and those in the Fifth Dynasty scenes of *Nj-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ* and *K3.j-m-ꜥnh* at Giza and *Htp-ḥr-3ḥtj* and *Nfr-jrt-n.f* at Saqqara.⁵⁵⁶

A distinctive change in the profile of the skiff becomes common in provincial marsh scenes in the later Sixth Dynasty. An unusually angular profile of a hull is first seen in the

⁵⁵⁵ Mohr, *Hetep-her-ahkti*, fig. 34 (multiple rounds of lashing are close together at the stern of this skiff); Wild, *Ti* II, pls. 111.

⁵⁵⁶ Roth, *Palace Attendants*, pl. 185; Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 31; Mohr, *Hetep-her-ahkti*, fig. 34; Van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 1.

provinces in the spear-fishing skiff of *Ppjj-ᵑḥ-ḥrj-jb* at Meir.⁵⁵⁷ At El-Hawawish, a straighter line is given to the stern of *Hnj*'s skiff, H24, while at Aswan, Mo'alla and Geheina in tombs dated from the reign of Pepy II to Dynasty 8, the usual curved form of the skiff is replaced with almost straight lines in the angled prow and stern and a more horizontal appearance to the hull.⁵⁵⁸ Although this shape of hull is not seen in the spear-fishing skiffs at Giza or Saqqara; it is the form of a long papyrus boat carrying an official in the tomb of *Mḥw* at Saqqara.⁵⁵⁹

Items on the skiff

Figs. 4.8, 4.10, 4.12, 4.16, 4.18

Additional items which would make his journey into the marshland more comfortable for the tomb owner, are not found on board the skiffs of spear-fishermen at El-Hawawish until the latest scene of *Hnj*, H24, dated to the reign of Pepy II.

The spear-fishing scenes at El-Hawawish in tombs M22, F1, G126 and G97 (dated from the mid Fifth up to early Sixth Dynasties) have sufficient space for at least a mat or a reed seat, since the accompanying family members behind the tomb owner are elevated on register lines above the stern as if making room for such items. However, nothing is shown in the stern of these early to mid Sixth Dynasty skiffs.

In the scene of *Hnj*, H24, dated to mid-late Pepy II, at the stern of his skiff and beneath his raised heel are three items, a rectangular mat, a curved reed seat and a looped reed form. Among other provincial cemeteries, only two tomb owners at Meir, *Ppjj-ᵑḥ-ḥrj-jb*, dated to Merenre-early Pepy II and *Ppjj-ᵑḥ/Hnj-km*, dated to late Pepy II like *Hnj*, include the same three items in the stern of their skiffs.⁵⁶⁰

Items on board skiffs were generally not a common feature in Memphite tombs dated to the Fifth or the early Sixth Dynasties, for example, they are not present in the scenes

⁵⁵⁷ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. VII.

⁵⁵⁸ *S3bni* (Nr 26), de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.*, p. 146; *Hw-ns*, *ibid.*, pp. 158, 159; *S3bnj* (Nr 35), LaFarge, *Museums of Egypt*, p.155; *ᵑḥ-tj-fj*, Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pls. XIV, XL; *Ttj-jqr/Hwj*, el-Masry, *Gohaina*, in *BACE* 15 (2004), fig. 2.

⁵⁵⁹ Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 32.

⁵⁶⁰ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 7; *ibid.*, V, pl. 24.

of *Sndm-jb/Jntj* or *Sndm-jb/Mhj*, *Nj-m3 ʿt-Re* and *Sšm-nfr* IV at Giza, or in *Nj-ʿnh-Hnmw-Hnmw-ḥtp*, *Nfr-jrt-n.f*, *Ḥtp-ḥr-3ḥtj*, *Jj-nfrt* and *Mrrw-k3.j* at Saqqara.⁵⁶¹

Among the few items which appear, the woven reed seat/back-rest is the most common item together with the rectangular mat or case. *Jrj-n-k3-ptḥ*, at Saqqara dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty, may possibly be the earliest with this feature, although the slightly earlier tomb owner, *K3.j-m-ʿnh* at Giza, carries a basket of fruit and perhaps vegetables and a mat on the stern of his fishing craft.⁵⁶²

In tombs dated to the reigns of Unis and Teti, at the end of the Fifth and beginning of the Sixth Dynasties, other personal equipment is added, for example, sandals and gloves on the skiff of *Ḥzj* and a chest with scribal equipment behind *Jdwt/Jhjj* at Saqqara.⁵⁶³ At Dahshur, *Snfrw-jnj-jst.f* carries a bag and a looped reed cushion.⁵⁶⁴ In tombs of the capital, the remaining marsh scenes with items on the tomb owner's skiff, are dated to Pepy I: *Nḥbw* at Giza, and *Jnw-Mnw*, *Mttj* (a bird-hunting scene) and a fragment from the tomb of *Sšm-nfr/Jwff* all at Saqqara. Each adds individual items to the usual ones: *Nḥbw*, a head-rest, *Jnw-Mnw*, a whisk of the same brachiomorphic type found again on the stern of *Ḥzj*'s skiff in his bird-hunting scene, *Mttj*, white and blue lotuses, *Sšm-nfr/Jwff*, a basket of birds and several jars.⁵⁶⁵

Comment

Distinctive changes are seen in certain features of the skiffs at El-Hawawish from the earliest to the later tombs. The wide wooden board on which the tomb owner stands in M22 and M43, dated to the mid-Fifth Dynasty and to the reign of Unis, becomes narrower in tombs F1, G126, G97 (dated to Teti–Pepy I) and H26 (early–mid-Pepy II). It is not present at all in H24 (late Pepy II). The use of multiple lashing around a fairly wide hull with a more sharply raised prow and stern links the El-Hawawish tombs of F1, G126 and G97. These features do not appear in the later scenes of H26 and H24 at this cemetery where both board and hull are narrow and the lashing uses fewer rounds. The small wall space in tombs F1, G126 and G97, and the probable desire to include many themes and

⁵⁶¹ GIZA: Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex*, pls. 24-5, 100-1; Roth, *Palace Attendants*, pl. 185; Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 60; SAQQARA: Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pls. 5, 74-5; Van de Walle, *Neferirteneft*, pl. 2; Mohr, *Hetep-her-ahkti*, fig. 34; Kanawati, *Unis Cem.* II, pl. 37; Duell, *Mereruka* I, pls. 9, 10.

⁵⁶² Moussa-Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 12; Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 31.

⁵⁶³ Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 53; Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 7.

⁵⁶⁴ Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 105.

⁵⁶⁵ Smith, *A Judge Goes Fishing*, in *BMFA* 56 (1958), 58-60, fig.2; Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* VIII, pl. 44; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 54; Kaplony, *Methethi*, fig. 1a; Barsanti, *Samnofir*, in *ASAE* 1(1900), fig. 14.

details in the reduced wall area may be factors resulting in the shorter skiffs with their more sharply raised prows and sterns. These three tombs are clearly similar and made for possibly contemporary officials and perhaps were even decorated by members of the same artistic family such as the later tombs of *Ttj-jkr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24. There seems to be, however, little copying by later tomb owners (or their artists) of the style of earlier tombs within the cemetery, for example, the tied binding around the hull of the skiff in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, is never repeated in later scenes, and the wide hulls in tombs F1, G126 and G97, with their multiple lashing, possibly introduced by *Hzzj-Mnw*, owner of F1, the earliest of the group, are limited to these tombs which span the period, Teti–early Pepy I.

Some details of papyrus skiff construction at El-Hawawish may have come from sources in the capital, for example, the tied binding of the upper profile at the stern of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, replicates that seen in the contemporary, or slightly earlier, tombs of *Htp-hr-3htj* and *Tjj* at Saqqara, and this detail helps to support a mid–late Fifth Dynasty date for *Hzzj-Mnw*.

From the period late Teti–early Pepy I, provincial tomb owners introduced their own variations to these features, for example, the spear-fisherman standing directly on the skiff without the wooden board being present, even occasionally dispensing with the skiff altogether as at El-Hagarsa in the scenes of *Mrjj-3* and *W3hj*; the use of multiple strands of rope binding the papyrus hull; and, from mid-Pepy II, a straighter line to the hull, which becomes very angular in scenes at the end of the Sixth Dynasty and in tombs dated to the Eighth Dynasty.

Tomb M22 of *Hzzj-Mnw* at El-Hawawish has numerous iconographic features which strongly suggest a mid–late Fifth Dynasty date for the tomb which, together with the titles of the tomb owner, indicate that he originated from Memphis, or began his administrative career there. The artist who decorated *Hzzj-Mnw*'s tomb has continued the current styles in tombs of the capital and has included features observable in Memphite tombs. The absence of items on the stern of skiffs in so many of the contemporary, or earlier, impressive marsh scenes in the capital, is one such detail transferred to this provincial tomb. The slightly later tombs in the cemetery, F1, G126 and G97, where the influence of M22 can be seen in other features, have, again like *Hzzj-Mnw*, also omitted these items.

In the later tomb of *Hnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish, dated to mid–late Pepy II, the choice and position of the accompanying items are the same as those on the stern of the skiff of the

slightly earlier tomb of *Ppjj-ḥh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir although here in this last tomb they are much more detailed and realistic in appearance. This artist is clearly familiar with the fine representations at Saqqara. The well-executed items at Meir may have been copied by the artist of *Hnj* but were much less carefully or skilfully interpreted.

4.2.3 The spear: its angle and position

Figs. 4.1a, 4.2b, 4.9, 4.14 (steep angle); 4.3, 4.6a, 4.8, 4.10, 4.11, 4.17 (almost horizontal)

The spear used by the tomb owners consisted of a shaft and a single or double barbed point. At El-Hawawish, the natural segments or joins of the reed shaft are shown in the scenes of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *B3wj*, G126, and *Ttj-jkr*, H26,⁵⁶⁶ and two spears show the points at the ends although no details of barbs, if they were originally present, can now be seen: *Hm-Mnw*, M43, and *Ttj-jkr*, H26. A small part of the lashing holding the barbed point to the shaft is visible at the end of the spear of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22.

The angle

The angle at which the spear is held at El-Hawawish varies between 10 and 22°:

22°	<i>Hzzj-Mnw</i> , M22	Dynasty 5(mid)
20°	<i>Hm-Mnw</i> , M43, tomb G97	Dynasty 5 (late)
15°	<i>B3wj</i> , G126	Dynasty 6 (late Teti–early Pepy I)
10°	<i>Hzzj-Mnw</i> , F1	Dynasty 6 (late Teti):
10°	<i>Ttj-jqr</i> , H26, <i>Hnj</i> , H24	Dynasty 6 (mid–late Pepy II)

Comparison with other sites

Tombs with a date from the Fifth Dynasty to late Teti, show a steeper angle than the later tombs dated to mid-late Pepy II, of the nomarchs *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, where the spear is almost horizontal. The steeper angles to the spears of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22 and *Hm-Mnw*, M43, follow those found at Memphis, for example, in the Fifth Dynasty scenes of *Nj-ḥh-hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp* at Saqqara, where the angle is 30° in the portico scene and in the combined fish-and bird-hunting scene in the same tomb where the angle is 20°.⁵⁶⁷ At Giza, *Sndm-jb/Mhj* also holds his spear at this angle.⁵⁶⁸ This 20° angle and the greater length of the spear between the forward hand of the tomb owner and the point of the spear

⁵⁶⁶ *H IV*, fig. 12; *H IX*, fig. 15; Kanawati-Scannell, *A Mountain Speaks*, colour plate opposite p.11.

⁵⁶⁷ Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, fig. 5, pls. 4, 74. The steep angle in the portico scene (pl.5) may be due to the narrow space available.

⁵⁶⁸ Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex I*, pls. 12, 13

seen in the combined fishing-fowling scenes of *Nj-ᵐḥ-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp* at Saqqara are features of the spear-fishing scene of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish.

Provincial spear-fishing officials, exhibit the same trends in their scenes. Those with suggested earlier dates in the Sixth Dynasty, for example, *Hnqw/Jj.f*, at Deir el-Gebrâwi and *Šdw* at Deshasha, both dated to Teti, also have steeply angled spears;⁵⁶⁹ those tomb owners dated to the mid-late Sixth Dynasty, for example, *Jdw* I at Dendera, *Jdw/Snnj* at el-Qasr wa es-Saiyad, *Ppjj-ᵐḥ/hrj-jb*, D2, at Meir and Deir el-Gebrâwi: *Dᵐw* at Deir el-Gebrâwi show spears held at a slight angle.⁵⁷⁰ In tombs dated to the end of the Sixth to the Eighth Dynasties, *Mrjj-ᵐ* and *W3hj* at El-Hagarsa, *ᵐḥ-tj.fj* at Mo'alla and *S3bnj* (35) at Aswan, the steep angle for spears, that is, of 20° or more, is again found.⁵⁷¹

The spear point

The spear point may pierce both fish either through the eye or the body:

- in the earliest spear-fishing scene at El-Hawawish in tomb *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, the end of the spear and the 'mound of water' are now lost from the wall as in the slightly later scene of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, but the angle of the shaft indicates that the barb may have entered the head of the fish just below the gills in both scenes;
- in the three tombs dated Teti-Pepy I, *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, *B3wj*, G126 and G97, the point enters, or is aimed at, the body of the fish; and,
- in the scenes of *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, dated to mid-late Pepy II, it again pierces the eye of the fish.

Comparison with other sites

At Giza and Saqqara, in scenes in elite tombs dated from the mid-Fifth Dynasty to Pepy I, the point consistently enters the eye of the fish except in the spear-fishing depictions in the tombs of *Nj-ᵐḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* and *Hr-mrw* at Saqqara, dated to Neuserre and Pepy I respectively and the scene of *3ḥtj-mrw-nswt* at Giza, dated to Unas-Teti, where it passes through, or below, the gills into the body of the fish.⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁹ Davies, *Gebrâwi* II, pl. 23; Kanawati-Mc Farlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 44.

⁵⁷⁰ Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. V; Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pls. 7, 52; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. VII; Davies, *Gebrâwi* II, pl. V.

⁵⁷¹ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pls. 42, 45 (*Mrjj-ᵐ*), 28, 30 (*W3hj*); Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pls. XIV, XL; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa*, pl. LVI.

⁵⁷² Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pls. 5, 74, 75; Hassan, *Saqqara* III, fig. 42; Decker-Herb, *Bildatlas* I, K2.30.

In the provincial tomb of *Hnqw/Jj.f* at Deir el-Gebrawi, the spear enters the body of the fish as in the similarly-dated tombs at El-Hawawish, F1, G126 and G97. The later tombs H26 and H24, in this cemetery and in other provinces where the owners are dated to Pepy II, the spear point almost always passes through the eye of the fish. In tombs dated to the end of Dynasty 6–Dynasty 8, for example, of *S3bnj* (.35) at Aswan, *Mrjj-ꜣ* and *W3hj* at El-Hagarsa and *ꜥnh-tj.fj* at Moꜥalla, the spear again enters the body.

Comment

The spears held by the tomb owners at El-Hawawish and in other provincial scenes are held at a steeper angle and enter the body of the fish in scenes where tomb owners are dated to the late Fifth Dynasty up to the end of the reign of Teti or early Pepy I. In tombs dated to the reign of Pepy II, the level of the spear is almost horizontal and pierces the fish through the eye. Changes occur again at the end of the Sixth Dynasty through to the Eighth Dynasty when the angle is again steep and the point again enters the body of the fish.

The similarity of the steep angle and the greater length of the spear in tomb M22 of *Hzjj-Mnw* at El-Hawawish with these two features in the joint tomb of *Nj-ꜥnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp* is again noticeable, as with the manner of holding the spear high behind the head mentioned above. It is very possible that *Hzjj-Mnw* brought these stylistic details from this major tomb at Saqqara when he came from the capital to administer Akhmim. The later tombs, M43, G126 and G97, follow *Hzjj-Mnw* in the angle of their spears and, with F1, all pierce the fish through the body. The almost horizontal level of the spears and the change to spearing the fish through the eye in tombs H26 and H24, replicate the same position and angle as the spear-fishing tomb owners at Meir, Deir el-Gebrawi and Qasr wa es-Saiyad dated to Merenre–Pepy II. The scene of *Ttj-jqr*, at Geheina, where the point enters the eye and the spear is held in an almost horizontal position and high on the tomb owner's body, may indicate a date in early–mid Pepy II rather than later as some of the scenes' individual additions may suggest.

4.2.4 The 'mound of water': its height, shape and position

Figs. 4.2b, 4.4, 4.6a, 4.8, 4.9–11, 4.17 (selected)

Various reasons are proposed for the depiction of the vertical area of water in front of the spear-fisherman in these scenes which is commonly referred to as the ‘mound’ or ‘mountain’ of water.⁵⁷³ These reasons may be briefly summarized as follows.

It is the desire of the artist:

- to depict the setting of the marshland where this activity occurs, and to show both the act of spearing taking place in the water beneath the skiff and the successful result of this action; and,
- to combine this with the importance of depicting the tomb owner in an erect, confident or powerful posture, a characteristic which appears to be directly adopted from Fifth Dynasty royal precedents of this motif.

To achieve the various aspects to be portrayed in the one scene, the viewer is presented with multiple aspects of the theme, a convention observed in the combination of vertical and horizontal representations noted in tables piled with food. Thus, in spear-fishing scenes, the viewer is presented with an aerial view of the water opening up as the skiff pushes a passage through the reeds (note that the prow is almost always partially over this ‘mound of water’), and a profile or side view of the tomb owner spearing the fish in the water. In many scenes the ‘mound of water’ is full of fish of different types and sometimes lotuses. The ‘mound of water’ is dominated by the representations of two large fish, usually a *Tilapia nilotica* and a *Lates niloticus*, which the tomb owner has caught on his two-pronged spear.⁵⁷⁴

The height

The height, and to a lesser extent the shape, of the ‘mound of water’ varies considerably and was examined to note the implications of a development, if any, of this feature. This examination found that at El-Hawawish the height of the ‘mound of water’ varies from a low level in the late Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, where it is level with the waist of the tomb owner, to a height above the tomb owner’s head in the slightly later tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, *B3wj*, G126, and G97, all dated to the period Teti–early Pepy I, then a

⁵⁷³ See Schäfer, *Principles* (1974), p. 243; Junker, *Giza IV*, pp. 28-32; Vandier, *Manuel IV*, pp. 731-733; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 20; Klebs, *ZÄS* 52 (1915), p. 23; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, pp. 65-74; Davies, *Gebrâwi I*, p. 12.

⁵⁷⁴ Detailed descriptions of these fish and their habitat are outlined in Brewer and Friedman, *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 74, 75 (*Lates Niloticus*), 76-79 (*Tilapia nilotica*); also Vandier, *Manuel IV*, pp. 722, 725, 730; Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte*, pp. 68, 69; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 20-23.

lowering of the height again in the two later fishing scenes of *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24 dated to Pepy II where the ‘mound of water’ is level with the upper chest.

Comparison with other sites

At Saqqara the ‘mound of water’ in the tomb of *Nj-ḥh-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp* is low, only reaching to the chest of the spear-fisherman and is slightly above the waist in the chapel of *ḥtj-mrw-nswt* at Giza. This is the same height at El-Hawawish in the tomb of *Hm-mnw*, M43 and possibly of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22. All these tombs are dated from Neuserre to Unas-Teti. A change is observed in the scenes of the slightly later tombs of *Hzzj* and *Mḥw* at Saqqara, dated to Teti and Pepy I where the level of the ‘mound of water’ is that of the top of the head of the spear-fishermen. It would appear that in earlier scenes the ‘mound of water’ was lower in height than in scenes of a later date.

The shape: El-Hawawish and Memphis

The spear-fishing motifs of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, *B3wj*, G126 and in tomb G97 (late Fifth – early Sixth Dynasties), follow the usual shape adopted by Memphite artists, that is, with a rounded edge closest to the spear-fisherman and a straight edge at the far side, for example, in *Jrj-n-k3-ptḥ* and *Mḥw* at Saqqara.⁵⁷⁵

A change occurs in the El-Hawawish scenes of *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, where the ‘mound of water’ acquires a distinctive elongated rectangular shape. This shape, also seen in the spear-fishing scenes at Qasr es-Saiyad in the tomb of *Jdw/Snnj*, and of *Mrjj-ḥ* and *W3hj* at El-Hagarsa,⁵⁷⁶ is a form only found in the provinces, and here may be a dating indicator only in tombs of the period mid–late Pepy II and to the Eighth Dynasty.

The fish

As well as the two large fish, the Nile Perch, *Tilapia nilotica* and the Bolti fish, *Lates niloticus*, speared by the tomb owner, the ‘mound’ usually contained a variety of smaller fish. Only in tombs F1 and G97 at El-Hawawish are there fragmentary indications of one or two smaller fish below the two major fish of the Perch and the Bolti. In some provincial scenes lotus leaves and flowers are included and once, in the tomb of *W3hj* at El-Hagarsa, a

⁵⁷⁵ Moussa-Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 12; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 12, 13.

⁵⁷⁶ *H I*, fig. 8; *H II*, fig. 18; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa III*, pl. 28; Säve-Söderberg, *Hamra Dom*, pls. 7, 52; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa III*, pls. 28, 45.

small boat with rowers.⁵⁷⁷ Very rarely, the ‘mound’ is filled with zigzag lines denoting water. These lines usually rise vertically from the waterband below as in the scenes of *Ttj-jkr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, but in the spear-fishing motifs of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, at El-Hawawish the zigzag lines are horizontal, that is, across the width of the ‘mound of water’ even though the waterband itself in these tombs is shown with vertical zigzag lines.⁵⁷⁸ Another unusual detail is found in the depiction of the two fish caught on *Hm-Mnw*’s spear. Here the fish are shown quite apart from each other whereas in all other scenes the bodies or the fins of the fish overlap.

4.2.5 The papyrus thicket

Figs. 4.2b, 4.6a, 4.8 (selected)

At El-Hawawish no trace now remains of the papyrus thicket or the ‘mound of water’ in the earliest spear-fishing scene of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22. In the tomb of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, dated to Unis, the area of the thicket is very large with indications of much bird and animal life. It may be presumed that the tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw* would originally have been equally rich in these details.⁵⁷⁹

Conversely, no provision has been allowed for a thicket in any of the three subsequent tombs dated Teti–early Pepy I: F1, G126 and G97. In these scenes, the large area of the ‘mound of water’ in front of the fisherman fills all the wall space before him, even extending over the border defining the scene. A similar lack of conventional elements is found in the provinces in the spear-fishing scenes of *Hnqw/Jj.f* (67) and *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi.⁵⁸⁰

In the later spear-fishing scenes of *Ttj-jkr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish, a large and well-defined papyrus thicket with birds flying above is once again included although no other birds or animals are shown amongst the stems of the thicket.

⁵⁷⁷ Lotus leaves: *B3wj* (G126), Kanawati, *H. IX*, fig. 15; *W3hj*, Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa III*, pl. 28. Lotus flowers: G97, Kanawati, *H. VIII*, fig. 5; *Hnqw/Jj.f*, Davies, *Gebrâwi II*, pl. 23.

⁵⁷⁸ Kanawati, *H. V*, figs. 6, 7 (M43).

⁵⁷⁹ This tomb (although now in an incomplete state) contains the only indications at El-Hawawish of the detailed marsh life seen in the spear-fishing and bird hunting scenes of the capital, particularly at Saqqara. See the studies of Houlihan, *Wildlife*, in *GM* 155 (1996), pp. 19-53; Aufrère, *La Loutre*, in *DE* 41 (1998) pp. 8-28.

⁵⁸⁰ Kanawati, *Gebrawi I*, pl. 54; Davies, *Gebrâwi I*, pl. 3. The spear-fishing scene of *Dꜥw* may also be included as it includes an abbreviated thicket and no mound of water; Davies, *Gebrâwi II*, pl. 5).

Bird and insect life in the thicket

Figs. 4.4.2b, 4.9–4.11, 4.16

The earlier tomb of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, features butterflies both above and against the green area designating the thicket. Isolated birds, one of which is a heron, stand on umbels. A nest with young birds and a parent bird swooping down on a preying animal is shown.⁵⁸¹ The detail of the attacking parent bird seen in marsh scenes at Saqqara from mid-Dynasty 5 and particularly popular from the time of Teti, is rare in the provinces. Apart from *Hm-Mnw* at El-Hawawish, it is noted in the fowling scenes of *Šdw* at Deshasha, *Jbj* and *Dʿw* at Deir el-Gebrawi and *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km* of Meir.⁵⁸² Butterflies above the thicket in marsh scenes are seen in elite Memphite tombs from the reign of Neuserre⁵⁸³ but are not depicted against the stem area of the thicket until the time of Unis.⁵⁸⁴ The heron is frequently seen among and above the umbels of the papyrus but is not found on umbels low against the stems before the reign of Teti in the capital.⁵⁸⁵ Butterflies are included in the provincial fowling scenes of *Jbj* and *Dʿw* at Deir el-Gebrawi and a heron in the bird-hunt of *Šdw* at Deshasha.⁵⁸⁶

The composition of the thicket

The umbels are depicted in either three (in M43, H24) or four (in H26) staggered rows with those in the earlier scene of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, more natural in appearance with their spreading, rounded tops. *Hm-Mnw* includes two long-stemmed lotus flowers above his umbels and among the flying birds, a detail which appears in the scene of *Mhw* at Saqqara where a papyrus umbel and several buds are shown among the birds.⁵⁸⁷ The artist of *Ttj-jkr* has placed clumps of lotus leaves and buds above the umbels of his thicket and between the birds, while separate leaves and buds are interspersed with birds in the fishing scene of

⁵⁸¹ Evans suggests that the depictions of nests with eggs or nestlings placed on curving papyrus stalks with protective parent birds and stalking predators such as genets, should be understood that as taking place at ground or water level. The nests would have been constructed on fallen, older stems of the papyrus which had formed a mat on the surface of the marsh (Evans, *Animal Behaviour*, pp. 43, 44).

⁵⁸² Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 48; Davies, *Gebrāwi* I, pl. 5; *ibid.* II, pl. 3; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 28.

⁵⁸³ See *Nfr* and *K3-ḥ3.j* but not in a fishing/fowling context; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nefer*, pl. 1.

⁵⁸⁴ *Jj-nfrt*: Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cem.* II, pl. 37; *H3j*: Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 53 (note the second butterfly shown in a profile view in this last tomb); *Mhw*: Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 12, 13.

⁵⁸⁵ For example, Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 13; *H3j*: Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 54; *Nj-k3w-Jzzj*: *ibid.* VI, pl. 50; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pls. 108–9.

⁵⁸⁶ *Jbj* and *Dʿw*: Davies, *Gebrāwi* I, pl. 5, II, pl. 3 respectively; *Šdw*: Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 48.

⁵⁸⁷ Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 12

Jdw at Dendera.⁵⁸⁸ No other provincial spear-fishing scene includes this detail although single buds are scattered between the birds above the thicket in *Jbj*'s fowling scene and *Hm-R^c/Jzzj*'s marsh scene at Deir el-Gebrawi.⁵⁸⁹ At Saqqara, lotus buds are placed between the flying birds in the marsh scenes of *S^cnhwj-Pth*⁵⁹⁰ and in *Mhw* noted above. This depiction, or combination, of water plants among the flying birds in the upper part of the thicket in these scenes enhances the concept that an area of water in this marshy setting is continuing beyond the papyrus in the foreground.

Above the thicket

A variety of birds are shown above the thicket and in the scene in *Hm-Mnw*, M43, the depiction of the birds is most natural with variations in their flight direction and the irregular spacing between them. In the capital, this natural rendering of the flock of birds, together with the inclusion of wading birds standing on, and amongst, the umbels is found in the scenes of *K3.j-m-^cnh* at Giza, *Htp-hr-3htj*, *Jrj-n-k3-ptḥ* and *Nfr-jrt-n.f* at Saqqara all dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty.⁵⁹¹ The informality or naturalness here, is not depicted as effectively in other provincial spear-fishing scenes, but is achieved in the fowling, or *sšš-w3d*, scene of *Wr-jr-n.j* at Sheikh Said.⁵⁹² In the later scenes of *Ttj-jkr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish and in other provinces, both umbels and the flock of birds are more rigid in form and arrangement, with umbels even geometric in the shape in the late Sixth–Eighth Dynasty tomb of *W3hj* at El-Hagarsa.⁵⁹³

Comment

It is unfortunate that only three scenes with papyrus thickets remain at El-Hawawish, but the importance given to this feature can be seen in the large wall area allocated to it in these scenes. Details support a late Fifth Dynasty–early Sixth Dynasty date for the earliest more complete rendering of a papyrus thicket in *Hm-Mnw*, M43, such as the attacking bird, seen in the capital from mid-Dynasty 5; the butterfly against the stems of the thicket, appearing from the reign of Unis; and, the heron standing on a papyrus umbel in the thicket, found from the time of Teti. The more natural flight and arrangement of the birds above

⁵⁸⁸ Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. V.

⁵⁸⁹ Davies, *Gebrāwi* I, pl. 5; *ibid* II, pl. 22.

⁵⁹⁰ Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* III, pl. 76.

⁵⁹¹ Kanawati, *Giza* I, pls. 7, 31; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, pl. 72, fig. 34; Moussa–Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 12; Van der Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. VI. This freedom in the depiction of the birds continues into the early Sixth Dynasty, for example, in the spear-fishing scene in the tomb of *Mhw* at Saqqara, Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 12.

⁵⁹² Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. XI.

⁵⁹³ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pl. 28.

the thicket and the rounded heads of the papyrus umbels in M43 are typical of Fifth Dynasty marsh scenes in the capital. All these point to the owner of M43, *Hm-Mnw*, importing these features from Memphite tombs, and most probably, from Saqqara.⁵⁹⁴ A near-contemporary official in the provinces, *Šdw* at Deshasha, has similar characteristics and it may be conjectured that there was either some interaction between these tomb owners at Deshasha and El-Hawawish, or that each separately brought ideas from the capital for their tombs.

There is no copying or transfer of features from the important early scene in M43 at El-Hawawish by the later tomb owners *Ttj-jkr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24. Both these tombs, H26 and H24, are painted by the same artist and both share the same characteristics which are more typical of an independent provincial artist than of any earlier model at Giza or Saqqara. From the reign of Pepy I the major administrative posts are held by provincial tomb owners and there is a lessening of artistic ties with the capital. The different and more rigid style of the papyrus umbels in the scenes of these nomarchs of Pepy II, H26 and H24, together with a new treatment of the ‘mound of water’ are the reflection of an independent elite.

4.2.6 The presence and position of the tomb owner’s wife

Figs. 4.1a, 4.7a,d, 4.8, 4.9, 4.13, 4.14, 4.18–4.20

Members of the tomb owner’s family frequently accompany him on spear-fishing excursions. His wife and son(s) are usually present but occasionally daughters also, and once, at Quseir el-Amarna in the tomb of *Hw-n-wh*, a granddaughter. A wife appears on the skiff with the tomb owner in three of the seven spear-fishing scenes at El-Hawawish: *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *Ttj-jkr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24. The scene of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, is damaged in the area where the wife may be expected, but in the almost-complete scenes of *Hzzj-Mnw* F1, *B3wj* G126 and G97, all dated to Pepy I, no wife is included although son(s) and a daughter are present. At other provincial cemeteries, seven of the twenty-one tombs include designated wives.

Possibly the earliest provincial spear-fishing scene where the wife accompanies the tomb owner is depicted in the tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish, dated to the reign of Iseki. The following features are noted. Shown slightly less than half his height, she stands

⁵⁹⁴ Harpur, *Decoration*, pp.183, 196: notes that two distinctive styles of rendering the thicket can be observed at Giza and Saqqara with that at Giza being more geometrical and rigid in appearance while that of Saqqara is more natural and free.

behind his rear leg which partly obscures her body. The upper part of her body is damaged and fragments indicate that she wore a long wig and possibly a choker collar, but no details of her arms remain to show whether she held the leg of her spouse. This position next to the rear leg of her husband, is indicative of a date in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty to the early Sixth Dynasty and is seen at Giza in the relief of *3ht-mḥw* (G2375) and of *Snfrw-jnj-jst.f* at Dahshur.⁵⁹⁵ A similar pose but with the wife standing behind the front leg and/or foot of the tomb owner in spear-fishing scenes, is found in the tombs of *Nj-ḥh-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp* and *Jrj-n-k3-ptḥ* at Saqqara.⁵⁹⁶ No further examples of this position of the wife were found in spear-fishing scenes although it is depicted in bird-hunting scenes.⁵⁹⁷

Each of these scenes and others in tombs securely dated from the reign of Neuserre to Unis, are characterized by a closeness or an interaction between the tomb owner and his wife. There is an overlapping of the two figures and in each, the wife touches or gestures towards him. All the women wear long wigs and ‘choker’ collars around the neck and two decorate their fillet and tie headdresses with large lotuses. The position, pose and dress of *Hzzj-Mnw*’s wife at El-Hawawish are characteristic of this period and support the mid-late Fifth dynasty date suggested for this tomb.

An alternate position where the wife kneels close to, or between, the feet of the tomb owner and holds his leg or reaches towards him, is found in the late Fifth Dynasty fishing scenes of *Nfr-jrt-n.f* at Saqqara, *3ht-mrw-nswt* and possibly *Nḥbw* at Giza, and in the tombs of *Rmnj* and *Hr-mrw* at Saqqara, dated to late Teti and Pepy I.⁵⁹⁸ The wife of *Sndm-jb/Mḥj* at Giza, squats between his feet but does not hold or reach towards him in his spear-fishing scenes although in his bird-hunting scene she kneels behind his front foot and holds this forward leg.⁵⁹⁹

From the reign of Teti both standing and kneeling positions for the accompanying wife are adopted. *Wṛtt-ḥt-ḥr/Sšsšt*, wife of Teti’s vizier, *Mrrw-k3.j*, and a daughter of Teti, must

⁵⁹⁵ PM III, 87/Giza Archives project unpublished material, ID no. A5798_NS; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 105, CG1775

⁵⁹⁶ Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, pls. 74, 75; Moussa-Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 12.

⁵⁹⁷ For example, *Nfr-jrt-n.f*, Van der Walle, *Neferirtenef*, fig.1; *Jrj-n-k3-ptḥ*, Moussa-Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 12; *Rḥ-špss*, LD II, pl. 60.

⁵⁹⁸ Van der Walle, *Neferirtenef*, fig.1; Decker-Herb, *Bildatlas* I, Nr K2.30; Smith, *A Judge Goes Fishing*, in *BMFA* 56 (1958) 56-60, fig. 2; Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* IX, pls. 45, 46; Hassan, *Saqqara* III, fig. 42. In the scene of *Nḥbw*, although the forward hand of the wife is now missing, the space does not allow for this hand to reach the front leg of the tomb owner.

⁵⁹⁹ Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* I, pls. 100-101 (spear-fishing); pls. 102-103 (bird-hunting).

have been an influence on contemporary and later, depictions of wives. In his spear-fishing and bird-hunting scenes, she stands slightly behind his forward foot but does not touch or gesture towards *Mrrw-k3.j* although she does turn her head towards him as she points towards the marsh in the bird-hunting scene.⁶⁰⁰ In the spear-fishing scene of the vizier *K3.j-gm-nj*, his wife stands behind his forward foot like *Sšsšt* and, as with the princess, does not touch her spouse. In the remaining section of the bird hunting scene however, she continues the earlier tradition of holding his leg as does the wife of the later official, *Jnw-Mnw*, dated to Pepy I, in her husband's spear-fishing scene.⁶⁰¹

From the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty at Memphis, the kneeling pose becomes more prominent but varies from the earlier Fifth Dynasty marsh scenes as now the wife does not touch the tomb owner and is centrally placed between his feet rather than closer to one leg as previously, for example, the wife of the Saqqara tomb owner, *H3j*, whose career spans the reigns of Djedkare/Unis and Teti.⁶⁰² Earlier features and characteristics are still retained by certain tomb owners both at Memphis⁶⁰³ and in the provinces. The pointing gesture for example, appears at Meir with a kneeling wife in a spear-fishing scene.⁶⁰⁴

The continuation of the standing pose for the wife in tombs at Saqqara dated to Teti and early Pepy I, is only found once in the provinces. At Deshasha, the wife of *Jttj/Šdw*, whose tomb is dated to the reign of Teti, stands a little apart before him in his fishing scene,⁶⁰⁵ but not touching or turning towards him as in the scenes of *Sšsšt* and *S'nh-wj-Pth* at Saqqara. Wives in a standing position do not appear again at El-Hawawish or in any provincial spear-fishing scene until the end of the Sixth Dynasty and to Dynasty Eight. The pose is found however, in two bird-hunting scenes in the tombs of *Ppjj-Šnh/Hnjj-km* at Meir, and *Jdw/Snnj* at Qasr es-Saiyad, both mid-late Pepy II, where wives are shown both standing and pointing.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁰ Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl. 9 (spear-fishing), pl. 15 (bird-hunting).

⁶⁰¹ Harpur-Scremin, *Kagemni*, pl. 125, figs. 8, 9 (*K3.j-gm-nj*); Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* VIII, pl. 44 (*Jnw-Mnw*). A similar pose is seen in the wife of *S'nh-wj-Pth* who stands behind the front foot of her husband holding his leg and pointing like *Sšsšt*: Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* III, pl. 76.

⁶⁰² Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 53

⁶⁰³ Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 11, 13. Here there is a duplication of all the characteristics of the earlier Fifth Dynasty wives who kneel between the feet of their husbands. This wife sits close to the front leg of the tomb owner, holding it with one hand while the other is placed on her lap. She wears a long wig with a large lotus headdress in both marsh scenes and a 'choker' collar in the bird-hunting scene.

⁶⁰⁴ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. VII.

⁶⁰⁵ Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 44. For a review of the dates proposed for this tomb, see *ibid.* pp. 42-44.

⁶⁰⁶ Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 28; Säve-Söderberg, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 8

All other wives in provincial fishing scenes in tombs dated later than the reign of Teti in the Sixth Dynasty, kneel between the feet of the tomb owner. This is the position of the wives of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish. Each kneels on both knees on a mat and holds a lotus in each hand. Long wigs and lotus headdresses now give way to short wigs tied with a simple fillet and streamer.

From the earliest to the latest spear-fishing scenes, most women hold a lotus. The lotuses are grasped just behind the flower head except in the two Eighth Dynasty tombs of *W3hj* at El-Hagarsa and *ʿnh-tj-ff* at Moʼalla where the straight stem is held either half-way (*W3hj*) or almost at the end (*ʿnh-tj-ff*).⁶⁰⁷ A single lotus is usual except in the El-Hawawish tombs of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* where two blooms are held, one in each hand.⁶⁰⁸ This detail is not in any of the Memphite marsh scenes but is found in the bird-hunting scene of *Ppjj-ʿnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir⁶⁰⁹ and may indicate an artistic link between the Meir and El-Hawawish tombs.

Comment

The position and pose of the standing wife of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish have parallels in the major tombs at Saqqara dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty, but not to any later tombs. *Hzzj-Mnw* is possibly the first to introduce a spear-fishing scene in the provinces but no other provincial tomb owner or artist copies this depiction of a wife, nor do the later tomb owners *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish, dated to the reign of Pepy II. The wives kneeling on both knees in these two tombs, H26 and H24, follow the example of Memphite wives who are shown in a kneeling posture from the late Fifth Dynasty and early Sixth Dynasty. Nor is there any copying or link with another provincial fishing scene, for in all these provincial marsh scenes, wives kneel on one knee. These wives also hold a single lotus, except for the wife of *Ppjj-ʿnh-ḥrj-jb* of Meir who, like the wives in H26 and H24, holds two.

Wives are absent from the spear-fishing scenes in the three smaller El-Hawawish tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, *B3wj*, G126 and tomb G97, dated to the period Teti–early Pepy I, and various reasons are proposed for this absence. Among suggestions put forward for the absence of wives noted in Memphite scenes⁶¹⁰ are: the early death of the women possibly

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸ Kanawati, *H I*, fig. 8; *H II*, fig. 18.

⁶⁰⁹ Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl.XVII.

⁶¹⁰ Wives are not included, for example, in the spear-fishing scenes of *K3.j-m-ʿnh* (Giza); *Htp-ḥr-3htj*, *3ht-htp*, *Jj-nfrt* and *Hzi* (Saqqara).

connected with child-bearing, divorce of wives who have fallen out of favour, and the physical limitations of reduced tomb size and therefore less available wall area.⁶¹¹

Several points are clear when considering reasons for the absence of the wives in the three El-Hawawish tombs, all of which are relatively close in position in the cemetery: first, that each tomb owner does not exclude the presence of his wife from other scenes within the tomb; two, that each of these three tombs is very small in area and the various motifs are somewhat crowded together in a restricted wall space; third, that, in the rendering of the spear-fishing motif, each is very clearly influenced by the others seen in the repetition of similar, if not identical details; and finally, the dominance of the accompanying male figures punting, identified as sons in the scene of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, and possibly also sons in the other two tombs.

4.2.7 The position and action of sons accompanying the tomb owner

Sons accompany the tomb owner spear-fishing in ten provincial tombs, six of which are found in the El-Hawawish cemetery. The sons are engaged in three different activities: standing on the papyrus skiff before the tomb owner and imitating his spearing action, or standing before or behind the tomb owner presenting him with, or holding, spare spears.

The pose of the son imitating the action of his father

Figs. 4.1a, 4.13, 4.17

The earliest spear-fishing scene of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish includes his eldest son before him on the wooden board at the centre of the skiff, imitating the same spear-fishing action.⁶¹² The scene is damaged but his feet, part of his arms and the steep angle of the spear, are clear. Only one other provincial spear-fishing scene shows a son in the same action as the tomb owner. At Deir el-Gebrâwi in the tomb of *Jbj*, his eldest son stands before him, as in the scene of *Hzzj-Mnw*, although now on a raised register line.⁶¹³ The angle of his spear, his pose, the details of his dress and the manner of showing his speared fish in a separate area of water, are a repetition of the depiction of *Jbj*. Both sons are approximately half the size of the tomb owner.

The following scenes from the Memphite cemeteries include a son before the tomb owner, also in the spear-fishing posture: the eldest sons of *Snfrw-jnj-jšt.f* and of an unknown tomb

⁶¹¹ Roth, *Absent Spouse*, in *JARCE* 36 (1990), pp. 37-53; Swinton, *Wives*, in *BACE* 14 (2003), pp. 95-109.

⁶¹² Kanawati, *H IV*, figs. 12, 13.

⁶¹³ Davies, *Gebrâwi I*, pl. III.

owner (Cairo fragment CG1782), both of Dahshur, the sons of *Nhbw* of Giza, *Hr-Mrw* and an unknown tomb owner (Cairo Temp 6.12.24.5), and *Rmnj* from Saqqara.⁶¹⁴ The spear is almost horizontal in each except for the son of *Snfrw-jnj-jst.f*, who, like *Hzzj-Mnw* at El-Hawawish, directs his spear down at an angle. This son, together with those in the fishing scenes of *Hr-Mrw*, *Rmnj* and the Saqqara fragment, all stand behind their fathers' forward foot. The other sons stand a little to the front of the tomb owner. Another scene which may be included is the marsh scene of *Sšm-nfr* IV of Giza of which only the lower part remains. A small striding unidentified male figure stands before the tomb owner and in the same posture but on a separate register and may be his son. All the figures of these sons are half, or slightly less than half, the size of the tomb owner.

Sons holding or presenting staffs or spears to the tomb owner

Figs. 4.4, 4.8, 4.16

Five spear-fishing scenes at El-Hawawish depict small male figures, possibly sons, standing before and facing, the tomb owner. The earliest may be the damaged marsh scene of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, dated to the reign of Teti, a further three to early Pepy I, *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, *B3wj*, G126 and tomb G97, while the last, *Hnj*, H24 is dated to late Pepy II.

The two scenes in G126 and H24 show these figures presenting or holding staffs (or perhaps spears, no details are present) toward the spear fishing tomb owner. Although in other scenes the figure is missing, accompanying texts indicate that the figure of the son stood there originally. All are approximately half the size of the tomb owner. The scenes in tombs G126 and H24, show the staffs or spears held vertically in front of the figures.⁶¹⁵

Other male figures, some of whom are identified sons of the tomb owner, for example, those of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish, are shown in registers behind the skiff holding spears, as would be appropriate, among other items such as staffs, oars, birds, lotuses, sandals, baskets and containers of clothing. Sons of provincial officials similarly attending their fathers in a spear-fishing context accompany *Šdw* of Deshasha, *Ppjj-ṣnh-ḥrj-jb* and

⁶¹⁴ Borchartdt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 105, CG 1775; *ibid*, CG1782; Smith, *A Judge Goes Fishing*, in *BMFA* 56 (1958), 58-60, fig. 2; Quibell, *Saqqara* III, pl. LI (3); Hassan, *Saqqara* III, fig. 42; Kanawati, *Teti Cem.* IX, pls. 45, 46.

⁶¹⁵ Kanawati, *H V*, figs. 6, 7; *H VI*, fig. 3; *H IX*, fig. 15; *H VIII*, fig. 5.

Ppjj-ḥnh/Hnjj-km at Meir, *Hnqw/Jj.f* at Deir el-Gebrawi, *Jhjj* of Thebes, *Jdw I* of Dendera and *W3hj* of Hagarsa.⁶¹⁶

In Memphite spear-fishing scenes, small figures of sons presenting spears to their fathers, appear in the tombs of *K3.j-m-ḥnh*, at Giza, and *Nfr-jrt-n.f* and *3ḥt-ḥtp* at Saqqara all dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty.⁶¹⁷ All stand close to the tomb owner's front foot on the wood board of the skiff, facing the same direction as their fathers and holding spears vertically before them. The small son of *Snḏm-jb/Mhj* at Giza, dated to mid-Unis, repeats the pose of these sons, but is placed on a raised register line before his father and not on the skiff.⁶¹⁸

Comment

The motif of the tomb owner's son, usually his eldest son, standing before him and imitating his father's pose of spearing fish, is rare amongst both Memphite and provincial tombs. *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish, is the earliest and only example from the mid-late Fifth Dynasty in the provinces. This motif in the tomb of *Snfrw-jnj-jst.f* at Dahshur is very similar to M22 and the two tombs may be close in time. No other El-Hawawish marsh scene repeats this feature, and it is only found once more in the provinces in the later tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi. The posture of the spear-fisherman's son presenting him with spears is first added to the scene of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, at El-Hawawish, then copied by successive tomb owners from the time of Teti to Pepy II. This motif was in use in the capital in tombs dated from Isesi and may have been brought from there by *Hm-Mnw*. While popular at El-Hawawish, it is only seen in three other provincial tombs.⁶¹⁹

4.2.8 The figure of a punter in the stern of the tomb owner's skiff

Figs. 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.14

Three tomb owners in spear-fishing scenes at El-Hawawish, all dated to late Teti–early Pepy I, are accompanied by a male figure positioned behind them propelling the skiff forward using a long pole: *B3wj*, G126, *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1 and the owner of tomb G97.⁶²⁰ In reality the men must have been standing in the stern of the skiff but in all three scenes they

⁶¹⁶ Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 44; Kanawati, *H* IV, fig. 12; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. VII; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XXIV; Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. XXIII; Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 15 (1); Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. V; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pl. 28.

⁶¹⁷ Van der Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. VI; Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 31; Petrie–Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pl. VI.

⁶¹⁸ Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex*, pl. 100.

⁶¹⁹ *Jdw* I, Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. 5; *Ppjj-ḥnh/Hnjj-km*, Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 24; *Hnqw/Jj...f*, Kanawati, *Gebrawi* I, pl. 54.

⁶²⁰ Kanawati, *H* IX, fig. 15; *H* VI, fig. 3; *H* VIII, fig. 5.

are shown on short registers above the stern. They lean well forward with both legs bent, the rear foot far back, arms grasping a long pole which passes across their bodies and the stern of the skiff into the water band. The punter in the scene of *B3wj*, G126, raises himself on his toes for maximum leverage. Hieroglyphs in front of the figure in the scene of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, designate him as a son⁶²¹ but no text identifies the status of the other two men.

Punters are among the very few who appear in spear-fishing or bird-hunting scenes in the cemeteries of either the capital or the provinces. In the capital they are found in tombs dated to the Fifth Dynasty:

- the joint tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp* (a punter standing at the rear in both the spear-fishing and bird-hunting scenes), *Jrw-k3-Pth* (a bird-hunting scene) at Saqqara, *Jj-nfrt* at Giza and an unknown tomb owner of the fragment, Berlin 14103 of Giza/Saqqara? (four punters, two in the prow and two at the stern in a fish-spearing scene);⁶²² and,
- three provincial tombs feature men poling in marsh scenes: punters stand behind *Hw-ns* and *Nj-ḥnh-Ppjj* at Zawiyet el-Maiyitin and a similar man with a punting stance (the pole is missing) is at the stern of the skiff in the spear-fishing scene of *Hnqw/Jj.f* at Deir el-Gebrawi.⁶²³

Punters accompany the tomb owner on the same skiff in two marsh scenes other than spear-fishing: the hippopotamus hunt⁶²⁴ and the ‘papyrus pulling’ or *zšš w3d* scene.⁶²⁵ Other marsh scenes depict men poling skiffs in a separate boat near the tomb owner hunting in the marshes⁶²⁶ or to propel skiffs with offering bearers carrying a variety of foods, birds, young animals and other items.⁶²⁷ The poles are used, with oars, as weapons in the ‘boatmen fighting’ scenes.⁶²⁸ While the posture of the men in most of these scenes is similar to the El-Hawawish punters, all stand on the skiff and not on a separate register line, and none raises himself on his toes as the punter in the El-Hawawish scene of *B3wj*,

⁶²¹ H VI, fig. 3.

⁶²² Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 74; McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, pls. 15, 46; Schürmann, *li-nefret*, pl. 6a,b; Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, pl. 377.

⁶²³ LD II, pl. 106; Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepy*, pl. IX; Davies, *Gebrâwi II*, pl. XXIII.

⁶²⁴ For example, Duell, *Mereruka I*, pls. 10, 11, 19.

⁶²⁵ For example, Dunham–Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 4; Hassan, *Giza*, fig. 123; Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 36; Épron–Daumas, *Ti I*, pl. 46; Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 127. For a fuller list see Harpur, *Zšš w3d Scenes*, in *GM 38* (1980), p. 53ff.

⁶²⁶ Duell, *Mereruka I*, pls. 10, 11, 13; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* VI, pl. 50; Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex*, pls. 42, 43.

⁶²⁷ Munro, *Unas-Friedhof*, pls. 11, 34; Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. VII; Davies et al, *Sâqqara Tombs I*, pl. 25A; Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex I*, pls. 29, 30, 104, 105; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 37.

⁶²⁸ For a list of scenes of fighting boatmen see Bolshakov, *Boatmen Jousting*, in *BSEG* (1993), p. 29ff.

G126. When the stance of fighting boatmen was examined, all were found to have one foot flat on the skiff for balance even though the other foot was often raised on the toes, except for men punting in a register of fighting boatmen next to the spear-fishing scene of *Dꜥw* at Deir el-Gebrâwi. At least two of these men are on the toes of both feet.⁶²⁹

Comment

It is interesting that this feature of punters in spear-fishing scenes, so rare in both Memphite and provincial tombs, is included in three El-Hawawish spear-fishing scenes, all dated to the period, late Teti–early Pepy I, and that at least one of the punters is a son of the tomb owner. The Memphite precedent where a punter accompanies the tomb owner on the same skiff in a spear-fishing scene is the double fishing and bird-hunting scene of the mid-Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Nj-ꜥnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp* at Saqqara but neither punter is described as his son. The similarity of the postures between the punter with his wide stride and energetic thrust of his pole in the spear-fishing motif of *Nj-ꜥnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp* at Saqqara and El-Hawawish punters, adds to the suggestion of close artistic links between the capital and the provinces in the mid-late Fifth and early Sixth Dynasties.

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, *Tj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24.

4.2.9 The waterband: water weeds, frogs and grasshoppers on the water; weeds, lotuses, crocodiles and hippopotami beneath the skiff.

The waterband

The spear-fishing motif in the mid–late Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, occupies the full width and approximately three-quarters of the height of the west wall of the chapel, providing sufficient space for a deep band of water below the skiff containing fish, a crocodile and a hippopotamus, as well as floating swamp weed with a resting grasshopper and a frog above the weed. In the slightly later tomb of the overseer of Upper Egypt *Hm-Mnw*, M43, much of the skiff and the waterband is lost.

⁶²⁹ Davies, *Gebrâwi* II, pl. V.

The smaller wall areas in the late Teti–early Pepy I tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, *B3wj*, G126 and tomb G97, have resulted in a condensed version of the spear-fishing theme in these tombs. Each does however, include a deep waterband beneath the skiff and although the waterband is damaged in each, it is clear from the space given to this and the inclusion of fish, lotuses, a crocodile and a hippopotamus, that this was as an important element to these three officials as it was to the earlier owner of M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*.

In the two late Sixth Dynasty tombs with spear-fishing scenes, those of *Ttj-jkr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, dated to mid-late Pepy II, a larger wall area is again allocated to this theme. The full height and width of the wall is used, with emphasis on the large figure of the tomb owner and on the papyrus thicket with its area of water. The waterband beneath the skiffs of both these tomb owners however, is now much less prominent being very narrow and decorated with dark zigzag lines. The similarity between the two scenes is marked.⁶³⁰

The swamp weed

Figs. 4.1a,b, 4.3, 4.4, 4.6a, 4.8, 4.10 4.11–4.18

Between the skiffs and the water line, the swamp weed, *Potamogeton lucens* L., is depicted close to the stern of five of the El-Hawawish spear-fishing scenes. Four strands are shown above the water line, with another curving down into the water in tomb M22 of *Hzzj-Mnw*, with a spotted frog or toad⁶³¹ and a grasshopper on separate strands behind the stern. Neither a frog nor a grasshopper is seen again in any complete wall scenes at El-Hawawish. The prow of *Hzzj-Mnw*'s skiff is now lost and it cannot be assessed whether there were water weeds here also.⁶³² Only a single strand at the stern appears in tombs F1, of *Hzzj-Mnw*, and G126, of *B3wj*, with none indicated in tomb G97. Unfortunately the waterbands with weeds are damaged in each of these tombs and this inclusion, or lack, of waterweeds at the prow cannot be assessed.

⁶³⁰ According to inscriptions both tombs were decorated by the same artist, or artistic family. For the biography of the artist, *Snj*, see *HI*, pp. 19, 20, pl. 5, fig. 8.

⁶³¹ The head and throat of this amphibian are no longer present but the short hind limbs and round spots along the back suggest that this is a toad. Possibly an ancestor of either the Nile Valley Toad (*Bufo kassasii*) or the Egyptian Toad (*Bufo regularis*) both of which are commonly found in marshy, vegetated areas along the Nile. The Nile Valley toad is characterised by patches of various sizes on its back, the Egyptian Toad by medium-sized warts along its back (Baha el-Din, *Reptiles* (Cairo, 2006), pp. 28-36, Toads; 37-45, Frogs; figs. 1-9.

⁶³² Harpur found that water weeds appeared behind skiffs in private tombs dated from Neuserre, but at the prow and stern only from the reign of Teti, *Decoration*, pp. 201, 257. To Harpur's sole example in a tomb dated to the reign of Teti, *K3-gm.nj*, can be added the scene of *Hzzj* dated by inscription to Djedkare-Unis-Teti (Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 54). The remaining examples date from Pepy II.

Lotuses

Figs. 4.3, 4.5, 4.17

The area below the stern in the spear-fishing scene of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, is filled with a large blue lotus and buds which stand above the waterline.⁶³³ A similar lotus is found again in the ‘mound of water’ and in the waterband in tomb G97. A blue lotus on a long stem is also placed above the water and below the prow of the skiff of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi in both his spear-fishing and bird-hunting scenes and the same type of lotus with buds is interspersed with fish, crocodiles and hippopotami in the waterband below the skiff.⁶³⁴ At the same cemetery, lotus buds and leaves in the deep waterband of *Dʿw* float freely between the fish, crocodile and hippopotamus. The depictions of the lotuses and buds in both scenes of *Jbj* however, are completely different. Here the flowers are fairly regularly spaced along the baseline, often in a group of a lotus flower with a bud on either side and most strikingly, they are shown partly behind the fish or the animals in the waterband. This same composition is observed in the scene of *K3-gm.nj* in the Teti cemetery at Saqqara.⁶³⁵

Frogs and grasshoppers

Figs. 4.1a,b, 4.10, 4.14

While two provincial fishing scenes include frogs on, or near, the weeds, *Ppjj-ʿnh-ḥrj-jb* of Meir, and *Dʿw* of Deir el-Gebrawi,⁶³⁶ none depict grasshoppers or any similar insects here. Even in the major tombs of the capital, grasshoppers are rare with almost all examples found in tombs at Saqqara and in scenes of bird-hunting or the hippopotamus hunt, not in spear-fishing scenes as in *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish. The earliest depiction of a frog in a spear-fishing scene in the capital, may be in the mid-Fifth Dynasty Saqqara tomb of *Nj-ʿnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp*.⁶³⁷ The majority of marsh scenes with frogs and/or grasshoppers are found in late Fifth Dynasty scenes, mostly at Saqqara, although a small number of tombs are dated to the reign of Teti or early Pepy I.⁶³⁸ The skill with which the grasshopper and frog are drawn in *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish, as well as many other details, suggests that they may have been copied from a royal example. These details

⁶³³ This depiction of the raised lotus flowers is a characteristic of the blue lotus which can have stalks up to 1m. high above the waterline, Hepper, *Pharaoh's Flowers*, pl. 16.

⁶³⁴ Davies, *Gebrāwi* I, pls. 3-6; Kanawati, *Gebrawi* II, pls. 46, 47.

⁶³⁵ Firth-Gunn, *Teti Cem.* II, pl. 53[2]; Harpur-Scremin, *Kagemni*, pls. 27, 31, 33, 34, 36, 41, 42.

⁶³⁶ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 7; Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. 5.

⁶³⁷ Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 74.

⁶³⁸ For example, Duell, *Mereruka* I, pls. 9-13; Harpur-Scremin, *Kagemni*, line drawing p. 494, pls. 32, 33; *Hzzj*: Kanawati-Abder Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 54; *Mttj*: Kaplony, *Methethi*, fig. 1a.

certainly indicate an individual, talented artist possibly trained at Memphis, or brought from the capital to decorate this tomb.

Crocodiles and hippopotami

Figs. 4.1a, 4.4, 4.5, 4.8, 4.10–4.12, 4.17–4.19

A crocodile, partly damaged, is painted in the waterband in *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *B3wj*, G126. The detailed scales and hide of the crocodile below the centre of the tomb owner's skiff in M22 are rendered in yellow and brown producing an almost three-dimensional appearance. A fragmentary patterned area with these colours below the skiff of *B3wj*, G126, possibly indicates the remnants of the body of a crocodile here and an even more fragmentary patch of square scales in the same position in the spear-fishing scene of G97 may also be a repetition of this feature. A hippopotamus sitting on its haunches with its head raised and mouth wide open, is added to the waterbands of M22, G126 and H24, although in this last scene the position of the hippopotamus has moved to the broad base of the inlet of water, possibly because of the narrowness of the waterband and the large size of the animal. Both animals are well separated in the waterband in the scenes at El-Hawawish; there is no interaction between them such as the aggressive behaviour noted in the attacking of the crocodile by the hippopotamus or the crocodile awaiting the birth of a young hippopotamus.

The repetition of the motif of a hippopotamus and a crocodile in tombs M22, G126 and G97, together with the depth of their waterbands and the inclusion in each scene of the fisherman in his small skiff, is striking in its similarity. Tomb F1 of *Hzzj-Mnw*, has unfortunately lost all the lower part of the tomb owner's skiff and any fish or animals in the water below it but has a plain waterband like M22, G126 and G97. *Hzzj-Mnw*'s spear-fishing scene has close links with G126 and G97 through the punter behind the tomb owner and the figure of the son standing in front and facing him, and again with G97 in the inclusion of lotuses in each.

FINDINGS

- The presence of the spear-fishing motif, even in the limited number of examples available for study, points to its value to the El-Hawawish tomb owners. While only eight scenes of the tomb owner hunting in the marshlands are extant at this cemetery, specific features contribute to the following comments on this value.

- At least five of the eight tomb owners who include this motif in their wall scenes, hold the highest positions in the province: *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *Hm-Mnw*, M43, *Ttj*, M8, *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24. In the period late Teti–early Pepy I, *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, *B3wj*, G126 and the unknown owner of tomb G97, were middle ranking administrators with titles of Overseers of apportionments of the god's offering in the two houses and of fields and serfs which, at the time, may have been the most senior administrative positions.⁶³⁹ Damaged plaster surfaces now lost from tomb walls may have possibly contained more examples, particularly in the tombs of other known holders of the nomarchic position such as *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, and *Ttj-ꜥ3*, H41.
- The large wall area allocated to the theme together with the dominating figure of the deceased, indicates the importance of the motif to the tomb owner even in the smaller tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, *B3wj*, G126 and tomb G97. Of the three, the unknown owner of tomb G97 provides the largest area of his north wall for the spear-fishing scene, extending it to the full height of the wall like the two earlier major tombs, *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22 and *Hm-Mnw*, M43, although his actual wall height is half the height of those tombs. The probable desire to include as many motifs as possible, or those motifs important to the tomb owner, has resulted in a reduced depiction of spear-fishing in these tombs. Nevertheless, regardless of the smaller spear-fishing areas in these three tombs, F1, G126 and G97, many additional features are present including a punter, a son presenting a staff or spear and, in tombs G97 and G126, a fisherman in a small boat behind the tomb owner together with a deep waterband which includes aquatic plant and animal life.

Aspects of the depiction of the spear-fishing motif show links between the El-Hawawish tombs and those of the capital. Several may be dating indicators, as the following selection of features shows:

- Changes in the posture of the tomb owner when spear-fishing are noted in the position of the arms and the grasp of the spear. The arms are stretched wide with the spear passing across the body at the level of shoulders and held at a steep angle of approximately 20-22°, in the El-Hawawish depictions of M22 and M43 dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty. This is achieved by the far hand being raised above the head of the tomb owner. The same features are noted in similarly dated

⁶³⁹ Kanawati–McFarlane, *Administration*, Chapter 8, particularly pp. 179, 180, 190, 196.

Memphite tombs, for example, *3ht -htp, Jrj-n-k3-Pth*.⁶⁴⁰ During the Sixth Dynasty and particularly toward the end of that dynasty, the spear-fisherman's arms are more sharply bent and the spear is almost horizontal between his hands.

- The height of the 'mound of water' is level with the waist of the El-Hawawish and Memphite tomb owners dated to the period mid Fifth to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasties after which it rises, reaching the level of the head of the tomb owner. The 'mound' alters its shape from a rounded to a rectangular form in the late Sixth Dynasty and the papyrus thicket becomes more stiffly rendered and less natural in appearance.
- The shape of the hull of the skiff, the presence or absence of a wooden deck, the knotting and securing of the lashed papyrus stems forming the hull, and the presence of items on board the skiff, change in their depiction from the early to the late Sixth Dynasty. At the end of this dynasty and in tombs dated to Dynasty 8, even the most essential elements are occasionally ignored in the provinces such as the lack of a skiff altogether, as in the spear-fishing scenes of *Mrjj-ʿ3* and *W3hj* at El-Hagarsa.
- The position and posture of the wife accompanying the tomb owner on his skiff is also indicative of an earlier or later period. During the Fifth Dynasty in Memphite scenes, the close placement of the wife vis-à-vis the tomb owner is marked, with her body overlapping his and her hands touching or holding him as she stands either next to his front or his rear leg. From the early Sixth Dynasty this position and posture for wives is no longer common and a kneeling pose between the legs of the tomb owner becomes usual for provincial wives throughout the Sixth Dynasty.
- The figure of a son on the tomb owner's skiff emulating his father's spear-fishing posture, is a rare addition to both Memphite and provincial scenes. This feature may have appeared first in the El-Hawawish tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, before its presence is noted in the late Fifth Dynasty tombs of *Sšm-nfr* IV at Giza or *Snfrw-jnj-jšt.f* at Dahshur. A son is also named as a punter on the skiff of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, at El-Hawawish.
- The rare feature of punters accompanying spear-fishermen in provincial spear-fishing scenes, takes its inspiration from earlier Memphite models. For the El-Hawawish artists, this model is possibly the tomb of *Nj-ʿnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-htp* at Saqqara, as the same vigour of the pose of the punter here is found and reproduced

⁶⁴⁰ Petrie–Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 6; Moussa–Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 12.

in the wide stride and energetic thrust of the pole of the accompanying punter in the scenes of *B3wj*, G126, *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1 and the owner of tomb G97.

The adoption or reproduction in provincial tombs of specific elements noted in major Memphite tombs can also be found, for example, in the well-known posture of the wife standing next to the tomb owner and pointing with an outstretched arm towards the thicket in the marsh scene of Mereruka at Saqqara. This posture is repeated by the artists of *Ppjj-ḥh /Hnjj-km* at Meir, and *Jdw/Snnj* at Qasr es-Saiyad, although these tombs were decorated at a much later period. Stylistic links such as these between the capital and the provinces appear to express the desire of provincial artists (or tomb owners), often in periods later than the Memphite example, to reproduce or attempt to emulate, the superior work of major Memphite tombs.

CHAPTER 5

THE TOMB OWNER AT EL-HAWAWISH:

TRAVELLING IN A PALANQUIN⁶⁴¹



INTRODUCTION

A palanquin is commonly defined as a litter or a covered chair or couch borne by means of poles resting on bearer's shoulders. Depictions are found on royal artifacts from the earliest dynastic period in Egypt and an actual example is provided by the reconstructed, beautifully crafted wooden carrying chair of queen Hetepheres of the Fourth Dynasty.⁶⁴²

Only three tombs at El-Hawawish contain extant scenes of their owners travelling in a palanquin. The tomb owners are identified by their rank and titles but no further information is given regarding the purpose or destination of the excursion. As these are officials of the highest rank it may be assumed that more depictions may have been present in scenes now lost from walls of tombs whose owners were of equal status. Even though the number of examples is limited, they offer information which indicates a detailed knowledge by the tomb artist(s), of similar depictions in the capital or of actual carrying chairs.

The tomb owners at El-Hawawish with an extant palanquin scene are:

B3wj (CA1), vizier, Pepy I;

K3.j-ḥp/Tj-jqr (H26), nomarch, mid-Pepy II; and

Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj (H24), nomarch, late Pepy II.⁶⁴³

5.1 Position in the Tomb

B3wj, CA1

This scene is only fragmentary and is situated on the east wall in the upper part, directly opposite the entrance to the tomb. No other decoration remains on this wall.

⁶⁴¹ See **Part II: List of Tomb Owners at El-Hawawish (Akhmim) and other Upper Egyptian Provinces by Chapter: Chapter 5.** See also **Table 5.1** and **5.2** for an analysis of the features.

⁶⁴² G. Reisner, *Giza II*; G., Johnson, *Hetepheres*, in *KMT* vol. 6/1 (1995), photograph, p. 44.

⁶⁴³ *H VIII*, pp. 22, 23, fig.6; *H I*, pp. 23, 24, fig.13, pl.1a; *H II*, pp. 25, 26, fig. 21, pl.2b; *H X*, p.20, fig.9b.

K3.j-ḥp/Ttj-jqr, H26; and *Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj*, H24

Situated on the north wall of the chapel opposite the entrance, the motif in both tombs occupies the full height of wall and approximately 1/3 of the width of the wall. Both tomb owners are facing registers of marsh activities: clap-netting, drag-netting, dancers and cattle crossing through water.

5.2 Posture and Dress of the Tomb Owner

B3wj, CA1

The head of the tomb owner only is preserved, wearing a short wig.

Ttj-jqr/K3.j-ḥp, H26

Little remains of the figure of tomb owner and his carrying chair; part of a whisk held in front of *Ttj-jqr*'s figure is seen in his far hand. The tomb owner's names and titles are preserved.

Hnj/Špsj-pw-Mnw, H24

This scene is almost complete. Above and before the figure of tomb owner are his titles and name. The tomb owner sits in a high-backed chair with high solid sides and a foot enclosure. The chair back is at the same height as the top of *Hnj*'s head. His chest, hips and the upper part of his kilt are hidden behind the side of the chair.

His far hand is extended, holding the handle of a whisk with three tails hanging down in front of his chest; his near arm is over the high side of the chair, bent at the elbow, the hand grasping the upper edge of the chair. His lower legs are vertical with the feet flat on the floor of the carrying chair. He wears a short wig, collar and bracelets and a pointed kilt.

5.3 The Palanquin

B3wj, CA1

Only the shrine-like roof of a shelter and the upper part of two supporting poles remains above the head of the tomb owner. The rest of his figure is lost. The identification of this scene as a palanquin scene may be questioned.

Ttj-jqr/K3.j-hp, H26 and *Hnj/Špsj-pw-Mnw*, H24

Both chairs are surmounted by an ornate, double canopy,⁶⁴⁴ decorated with horizontal bands of *dd*-pillars, double lotuses and Isis knots. Above this is a frame supported on wooden poles. Each chair has a straight, high back, high rectangular sides and an enclosure for the feet. It rests on a thick wooden base above a narrow pole on the shoulders of the carriers. Five male bearers remain from the original number in the scene of *Ttj-jqr*; eight men bear the chair of *Hnj*. All are dressed in waist belts with ties at the front.

Before and behind the chair are attendants placed on half-registers. One monkey climbs on the side of the sloping frame in *Ttj-jqr*'s scene and two, in the scene of *Hnj*. Beneath the chair of *Hnj* and standing among the bearers, is a dog on a leash held by a small figure, possibly a dwarf.

Comment

Although at El-Hawawish there are only three palanquin scenes, more may have been present particularly in tombs of the nomarchs and other senior officials, since the three extant palanquin motifs are in the tombs of a vizier (*B3wj*, CA1) and two nomarchs (*Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24). In the almost complete palanquin scene of *Hnj*, his image is accompanied by his highest titles, among them being count, overseer of Upper Egypt, great overlord of the Akhmim nome, and treasurer of the king.⁶⁴⁵

The scenes in the chapels of the nomarchs of Pepy II, *Ttj-jqr*, and *Hnj* were both decorated by the same artist,⁶⁴⁶ and the palanquin motif in each is very similar. The scene of *Hnj* is the most complete, and it may be presumed that the lost portions of *Ttj-jqr*'s scene would have included the same features. The third possible palanquin scene in the chapel of the earlier vizier, *B3wj*, CA1, dated to Pepy I, is indicated by a fragment on the upper part of the east wall which shows the roof of a shelter supported on poles over the head of a male figure behind whom is the top of a cushion and the backrest of a chair. The roof has a distinctive shrine-like curve and it has been suggested that this fragment may represent a statue in a shrine,⁶⁴⁷ but cushions and backrests do not appear behind statues of figures being transported in shrines.⁶⁴⁸ While the evidence for considering this fragment of *B3wj*'s wall as a palanquin scene is limited, it still offers characteristics to support its inclusion

⁶⁴⁴ The 'double' canopy may possibly be understood as indicating both sides of the canopy, that is, each side having a single, decorated, arched upper section.

⁶⁴⁵ See *H II*, pp. 7-9 for the list and ranking of his titles.

⁶⁴⁶ *H I*, p. 19, fig. 8, the biographical text of *Snj*.

⁶⁴⁷ Kanawati, *H VIII*, p. 22.

⁶⁴⁸ See Krause, *Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, passim.

here. If carrying-chairs with shrine-like roofs are limited to the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the reign of Teti in the capital (see below) this may support a slightly earlier date, perhaps Teti, for the tomb of *B3wj* at El-Hawawish, which is also indicated by certain titles held by this tomb owner which are typical of Fifth Dynasty administrative officials.⁶⁴⁹

The importance of the palanquin motif in the decorative scheme of the tomb is conveyed in its position and the wall area allocated to it as well as by the listing of the tomb owner's highest rank and administrative titles. In each of the three chapels where the palanquin motif appears, the scene is in a prominent position on walls directly opposite the entrance to the tomb where it dominates the wall area.

5.4 An Overview of the Iconography of Palanquin Scenes

5.4.1 Inscriptions and purpose

Palanquin scenes are depicted in royal contexts from the time of Narmer⁶⁵⁰ and in private tombs from the Fourth Dynasty.⁶⁵¹ At Medum, *Nfr-m3't*, dated to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, is possibly the earliest example of a tomb owner travelling in this manner.⁶⁵² The motif continues to be included in tombs throughout the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, primarily in tombs of the capital but also in the provinces at El-Hawawish, Deshasha, Meir and Deir el-Gebrawi. Although carrying chairs could be relatively simple and were clearly a very useful means of transport,⁶⁵³ the chair in its more elaborate form as a palanquin, was a display of high social rank and importance. Brovarski notes that evidence suggested "that the use of the carrying chair was a prerogative granted by the king who also appointed noble youths of the residence to carry it" referring to the biography of the vizier, *W3š-ptḥ*.⁶⁵⁴ But for most of the senior officials carried in palanquins, the bearers were probably men of lower rank.

The position of the palanquin scene on the wall may assist in indicating its destination. Generally situated in the upper parts of tomb walls, most are surrounded by registers of

⁶⁴⁹ Kanawati, *H VIII*, pp. 20, 21.

⁶⁵⁰ Vandier, *Manuel I*, pp. 601-604, suggests the Scorpion macehead as the earliest example.

⁶⁵¹ For a complete list of Memphite tomb owners carried in palanquins, see Harpur, *OEE Database*, Scene 11.7.

⁶⁵² Petrie, *Medum*, pl.21; Harpur, *Maidum*, fig.77.

⁶⁵³ For example, *Wr-ḥww*, LD II, pl.43. *Nj-nḥ-Ḥnmw*, Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, pl. 42.

⁶⁵⁴ Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex I*, pp. 46, 47.

bearers of equipment. Occasionally texts mention the purpose of the journey,⁶⁵⁵ but accompanying hieroglyphs usually only give the tomb owner's name and titles. In two scenes at Saqqara where the carrying chair is set down and the poles and bearers are no longer present, texts describe the tomb owner as 'viewing the produce of his estate'⁶⁵⁶ or viewing/ watching' the musicians and dancers',⁶⁵⁷ and at Meir, *Ppjj-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* watches from his set-down palanquin 'the reaping of the barley and the pulling of flax'.⁶⁵⁸ Below the palanquin of *S3bw/Jbbj* there is a statue-dragging scene with a son censuring and then a register of slaughtering. The same two motifs are positioned below the earlier palanquin scene of *Snḏm-jb/Jntj* at Giza.⁶⁵⁹ Like *Nfr-Ḥwj* at Giza, who is returning "after seeing the work that was done in his tomb of the necropolis",⁶⁶⁰ the depictions and texts of *Nfr-sšm-R* and *Pth-ḥtp* II in palanquins at the base of the jambs of their false doors indicate that they had travelled to their tombs to take part in a religious task.⁶⁶¹ While the religious intent of these visits is plain, it is difficult to see this as the reason for other palanquin depictions. At Saqqara, the palanquin scenes of *Ḥzj* and *Sḥnh-wj-Pth* are close to depictions of marsh activities including spear fishing and fowling, and *Mrjj-Tjt*'s east wall scene is above a fowlyard and registers of bird-feeding together with presentation of animals.⁶⁶²

5.4.2 The palanquin: its construction and shape

The construction of carrying chairs appears in the workshop scenes of the carpenters of *Jbj* and *Dḥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi.⁶⁶³ The usual word for the palanquin or carrying chair, *ḥdwt*, is used here with the further information that the chair of *Dḥw* is made of the precious wood, ebony. The distinctive black and yellow colouring of this wood can be seen in the palanquins which appear with other furniture in the wall scenes in the tomb of *Shntjw/Nfr-sšm-ptḥ* at Saqqara.⁶⁶⁴ Carrying chairs (without bearers) are depicted among items being prepared for the use of the tomb owner, as in the tomb of *Wr-jr.n-Pth* at Saqqara, or carried

⁶⁵⁵ For example, *Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw* is described as "Going down to the field, supervising each work of the field", Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 60.

⁶⁵⁶ For example, *Pr-nb*, Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 51.

⁶⁵⁷ For example, *Jdw*, Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38.

⁶⁵⁸ Blackman, *Meir* IV, p. 38, pl. 14.

⁶⁵⁹ *S3bw/Jbbj*: Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, pl. 21; *Snḏm-jb/Jntj*: Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* I, fig. 40.

⁶⁶⁰ Roth, *Palace Attendants*, pp. 145-146, fig. 191.

⁶⁶¹ Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* III, pl. 58; Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 39.

⁶⁶² Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pls. 54, 55; Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* III, pl. 69; Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka* I, pl. 48 (east wall scene).

⁶⁶³ Davies, *Gebrāwi* I, p. 19, pl. 14; *ibid* II, p. 11, pl. 10.

⁶⁶⁴ Moussa-Junge, *Two Tombs*, p. 19 and frontispiece colour plate.

in registers of offering bearers presenting jars, linen, birds, oxen and young animals to the tomb owner, for example, *Sš3t-htp* at Giza, *Tjj* and *Mrrw-k3.j* at Saqqara.⁶⁶⁵

The two styles of carrying chairs and the posture of the occupant

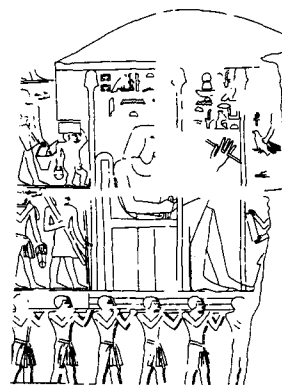
Vandier describes two styles of palanquins: a ‘true chair’ form and a ‘chaise longue’ style in which the occupant is half-reclining.⁶⁶⁶ The tomb owner is seated alone in each except for two scenes, one in the offering chapel of *W^ṛtt-ht-ḥr/Sšsšt*, the wife of *Mrrw-k3.j*, and another in the chapel of their son, *Mrjj-Ttj*.⁶⁶⁷ In *W^ṛtt-ht-ḥr*’s scene *Mrjj-Ttj* squats before her in her palanquin and in *Mrjj-Ttj*’s own rooms in the mastaba of his father, he shares the palanquin with another figure, now only partly preserved. Attendants and relatives stand near the palanquin in all the examples, usually on higher registers on either side of the chair. Both types of chairs are attached to poles and carried by retainers.

The ‘true chair’

Figs. 5.2- 5.6, 5.10, 5.11

This carrying-chair is block-like in shape and rests on a base attached to the carrying poles, although the means of attachment are rarely shown. The chair is sometimes provided with a foot rail and has a backrest usually covered with a cushion.

The sides are of several struts or panels, although in *W^ṛtt-ht-ḥr*’s chair the side is solid and decorated with a carved seated lion, an appropriate symbol for the daughter of a reigning king.



Hnmntj, son of *Sndm-jb/Jntj*, Giza

Most of the occupants rest their forearms along the top edge of the side-piece, in contrast to the position of the arms of the seated figures in the ‘chaise longue’ where the side-piece comes up high under the armpit. Although the occupant of this type of carrying-chair appears to sit on top of the seat, for example, *Nfr-m3^ct*, *W^ṛtt-ht-ḥr* and *Mttj*, it may be assumed that they were seated lower ‘inside’ the block-like seat.⁶⁶⁸

The position of the tomb owners seated in the true chair is clearly seen in the depiction of this type of seat and its occupant in the palanquin scene of *Hnmntj*, the son of *Sndm-jb/Jntj*,

⁶⁶⁵ James, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, pl. 29; Kanawati, *Giza* II, pl. 44; *Ti*, I, pl. 17; Duell, *Mereruka* I, pl. 14.

⁶⁶⁶ Vandier, *Manuel* IV, p. 329ff.

⁶⁶⁷ Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka* II, pl. 69 (north wall of offering room, B5); Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka* I, pl. 47 (north wall, room C1).

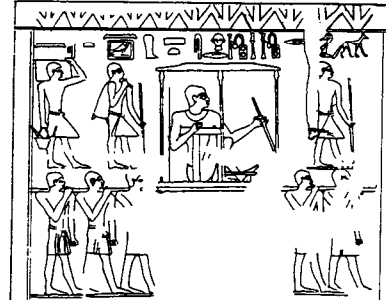
⁶⁶⁸ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 21; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka* II, pl. 69; Kaplony, *Methethi*, fig. 2.

at Giza. The belt at the waist of this tomb owner just appears above the side of the chair while the lower part of his body is hidden behind it.⁶⁶⁹ The artistic ‘rule’ that all parts or aspects of objects or bodies must be seen and not hidden is not applied here, nor in the palanquin scenes of *Snb* and *Pth-ḥtp* whose bodies are also hidden behind the solid sides of their chairs.⁶⁷⁰ The lower legs of all seated figures in ‘true chairs’ are vertical from the knees down and the feet are flat on the base of the carrying-chair and close together.

The ‘chaise longue’

Figs. 5.7, 5.8, 5.12

The second type of carrying-chair, which Vandier calls the ‘chaise longue’, is a low seat placed directly on a base resting on carrying poles. This chair has a back, sometimes covered with a cushion, and side pieces formed of spaced struts, through which the tomb owner’s figure can be seen.



Jtj-sn, Giza

The occupant sits with knees drawn up and legs slightly extended. A low enclosure is provided for the feet as in the ‘true chair’ form, and when tomb owners travelled in this type of chair, the enclosure ‘fence’ must have been particularly useful for bracing the feet. The feet of tomb owners in this type of chair are usually apart, generally with both feet flat on the base,⁶⁷¹ although a small number of tomb owners sit with one foot resting on its heel with the toe raised.⁶⁷²

The whole of the near arm of the seated figure in the ‘chaise longue’ is placed over the side of the chair which, in early depictions, comes to the armpit of the sitter.⁶⁷³ The hand rests on the top edge of the side piece. In scenes dated to the reign of Teti at Saqqara, the side is lower and the position of the near arm changes, with the forearm now lying along the top of the side piece.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁶⁹ Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex*, pl. 86.

⁶⁷⁰ Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 20; Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 39.

⁶⁷¹ Épron–Daumas, *Ti I*, pls. 16, 18 (*Tjj*); Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, pl. 60 (*Nj-ḥḥ-Hnmw*); Duell, *Mereruka II*, pls. 157, 158 (*Mrrw-k3.j*); Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family I*, pl. 47 (*Mrij-Tjj*); Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, pl. 50 (*Jpj*).

⁶⁷² Hassan, *Giza V*, fig. 122 (*Jtj-sn*); Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38 (*Jdw*); Harpur–Scremin, *Kagemni*, pl. 280, fig. 17 (*K3-gm-nj*); Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery III*, pls. 69, 75 (*Sḥ-wj-Pth*).

⁶⁷³ For example, Hassan, *Giza V*, fig. 122 (*Jtj-sn*); Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 240 (*Nj-m3-t-R*); Simpson, *Qar and Idu* fig. 27 (*Q3r*); Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, pl. 60 (*Nj-ḥḥ-Hnmw*); Williams, *Perneb*, fig. 34 (*Pr-nb*); and Verner, *Abusir*, pls. 53–55 (*Pth-šps*).

⁶⁷⁴ For example, Duell, *Mereruka II*, pls. 157, 158 (*Mrrw-k3.j*); Harpur–Scremin, *Kagemni*, pl. 280, fig. 17 (*K3-gm-nj*); Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery II*, pl. 71 (*ḥḥ-m-ḥr*); Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery III*, pls. 69, 75 (*Sḥ-wj-Pth*).

The far hand is raised and usually holds a short wand between the fingers. In rare examples, a staff and sceptre are carried, for example, *Nfr-m³t*, and *Pth-ḥtp*, or a folded cloth, for example, *Hnmntj*, or a fly whisk, for example, *Špss-k3.f-ḥ* and possibly *Q3r* and *Jdw* at Giza and *Mrjj-Ttj*, *Mrw* and *Jpj*, at Saqqara.⁶⁷⁵

Variations in the position of the arms are observed in the following officials: the far arms of *Nfr-Ḥwj*, *Pth-špss* and *Nj-m³t-Rᶜ*, reach forward and the hand is extended towards a male figure. In similar gestures, *Pr-nb*, *Q3r* and *Mttj*, receive, or acknowledge, a scroll offered by an official.⁶⁷⁶ *Tjj* stretches a hand downward, as does *Mrrw-k3.j* in an almost identical pose possibly copied from this earlier scene in *Tjj*.⁶⁷⁷ An unusual hand position is found in the palanquin scene on the east wall of the first room in *Mrjj-Ttj*'s chapel. Here the hand of an adult clasps that of a smaller person kneeling alongside.⁶⁷⁸ Unfortunately the upper part of the wall is lost and the identity of the figures is unknown, but may be conjectured to be father and son, *Mrrw-k3.j* and *Mrjj-Ttj*.

5.4.3 The canopy over the chair

The chair is usually surmounted by a shelter constructed of a rectangular, wood frame rising from the base of the chair. This is supported by poles in the form of slender 'tent-pole' columns shaped like the hieroglyph 𓂏, Gardiner's number O29.⁶⁷⁹ One at each corner is usual but additional poles occasionally are shown.⁶⁸⁰ A horizontal ceiling at some height above the head of the seated tomb owner is usual, above which is a shallow vault. A variation is noted in the shrine-like roof over the chairs of *Sšm-nfr* at Dahshur, *Pr-nb*, *Pth-ḥtp* II and *Nfr-sšm-Rᶜ* at Saqqara.⁶⁸¹ This is the type of canopy above the head of *B3wj*, CA1, at El-Hawawish. A further variation is seen in the unusual upper frame of diagonal

⁶⁷⁵ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 21; Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 39; Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex*, fig. 86; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 27, 38; Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka* I, pl. 47; Lloyd et al, *Saqqara Tombs* II, pl. 7; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, pl. 50, respectively.

⁶⁷⁶ Roth, *Palace Attendants*, fig. 191, pl. 102b; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pls. 53-55; Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 240; Hayes, *Scepter*, fig. 51; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 27; Kaplony, *Methethi*, fig. 2, p.22.

⁶⁷⁷ Épron-Wild, *Ti* I, pl. 26; Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 157, 158.

⁶⁷⁸ Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka* I, pl. 48.

⁶⁷⁹ Vandier prefers to describe the top of the columns as lotiform in shape, *Manuel* IV, p. 340.

⁶⁸⁰ For example, *Hnmntj*: Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex*, fig. 86; *Sšm-nfr*, de Morgan, *Dahchour* II, fig. 3.

⁶⁸¹ de Morgan, *Dahchour* II, fig. 3; Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 51; Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl.39; Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* III, pl. 58. Possibly *Pth-ḥtp/Tfw* (Hassan, *Saqqara* II, fig. 58) may be included here since the images on his false door jambs, although incomplete, appear to be almost identical to those of *Pth-ḥtp*.

side pieces which meet a second horizontal roof above the chair of *Jpj*, and possibly also of *Mrjj-Ttj* at Saqqara.⁶⁸²

Decorative elements are added to the canopies of *Mrjj-Ttj* and *Jpj*. Two semi-circular frames in the upper part of the canopy of *Jpj* are filled with an elaborate design of *dd*-pillars, palace façade elements and double lotuses which recall the decoration of blue faience tiles in the funerary complex of Djoser at Saqqara. A similarly-decorated panel, but rectangular in shape, fills an area above the head of *Mrjj-Ttj* in the palanquin scene on the north wall of room 1 in his chapel. While the upper part of his father's palanquin scene is lost, it is very possible that this innovative feature would have been introduced first in a major tomb such as *Mrrw-k3.j*'s and then copied in the adjacent chapel of *Mrjj-Ttj*. Where palanquin scenes are complete in tombs of the capital, no other were found decorated like that of *Mrjj-Ttj* and *Jpj*.

Occasionally, palanquins are shown without a canopy, for example, *Snb*, *Nfr-m3t* and *Wtt-ht-hr/Sšsšt*, all of the 'true chair' type.

5.4.4 Palanquin bearers and shade bearers

Palanquin bearers

Carrying chairs are supported on poles⁶⁸³ borne by two rows of retainers of varying numbers. The actual number is difficult to assess. Although two rows of bearers on either side of the chair are necessary, the wall scenes often show only one row but 'doubling' of the figures is clear, for example, in the scenes of *Mrjj-Ttj* and *K3-gm-nj*.⁶⁸⁴

The poles are held by the bearers in one of two ways: either with both hands raised at shoulder level, the usual method, or with one hand only, the other hanging by the side. This last manner of holding the poles is found in the scenes of *Snb*, *Jtj-sn*(Giza), *Sšm-nfr* (Dahshur) *Nj-nh-Hnmw*, *K3-gm-nj*, *Mrjj-Ttj*, *S3bw/Jbbj* and *Snh-wj-Pth* (Saqqara).

The bearers of *Sšm-nfr* carry in their free hands, a sceptre (?), those of *K3-gm-nj*, a baton, while the bearers in *Mrjj-Ttj*, hold a cloth. This position of the arms with one hand only

⁶⁸² Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, pl. 50; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka* I, pl. 47.

⁶⁸³ The position of the poles passing completely beneath the chair and lashed to it are clearly seen in the scene of *Tjj* (Wild, *Ti* I, pl.16). In *Mrrw-k3.j* the poles are only positioned part of the way under the front and back of the chair and secured there (Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 157-158).

⁶⁸⁴ Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka* I, pls. 47, 48; Harpur–Scremin, *Kagemni*, p. 425, pls. 278, 281, 283, 284.

supporting the pole and the other by the side is not found after the period Teti–Pepy I. In rare instances the bearers hold the poles at hip level: *Nfr-m3ꜥt* at Medum and *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Wꜥtt-ht-hr* and *Mrjj-Ttj* (in his east wall scene) at Saqqara.

All the bearers are men except for those who carry the palanquin of *Wꜥtt-ht-hr*. Here four women are shown in this position, most probably an artistic substitute for men, as a mark of favour to the women and respect for *Wꜥtt-ht-hr*, since the combined weight of the chair, the princess and her son (if he were actually seated with her) would be impossible for the four women.

Male bearers wear a garment consisting of a belt around the waist with loose ties hanging at the front, although short kilts are worn by the porters of *Snb*, *K3-gm-nj* and *H3j*, possibly also of *Nfr-m3ꜥt* and *Q3r*. The garments of the bearers of *Sndm-jb/Jntj* appear to be a combination of a kilt and the ties, perhaps indicative of a change in artistic style at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the reign of Teti. The different methods of support of the poles, that is, with one or two hands also indicate a change in style at this time.

Shade bearers

The purpose of the canopy would have been to shelter the tomb owner from the elements while travelling in the palanquin but further protection was provided by retainers carrying shades on long poles. These shades consist of a rectangle of cloth held taut by two crossed diagonal pieces of wood or reed and elevated over, or next to, the palanquin by a long pole. The narrow top of the pole passes through the intersection of the crossed pieces. A loose flap of material hangs down from one of the short sides of the shade and is often fringed at the end.⁶⁸⁵ The number of carriers of these shades who accompany the palanquin varies from one (in *Snb* and *Sndm-jb/Jntj*) to five (*Jpj*) increasing in number from the earliest to the latest examples.

Most palanquin scenes are positioned in the upper part of the wall and many have been damaged in this area, but where scenes are reasonably complete it appears that this feature is omitted in earlier tombs with the exceptions of *Snb* and *Sndm-jb/Jntj*. No shade bearers appear with the palanquins of *Nfr-m3ꜥt* (Medum), *Špss-k3.f-ꜥnh*, *Jtj-sn*, *Nj-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ*, *Hnmntj*, *Q3r* and *Ttj* (Giza), *Nj-ꜥnh-Hnmw*, *Tjj* and *Mrrw-k3.j* (Saqqara) or *Pth-špss* (Abusir). Shade

⁶⁸⁵ For a discussion on the construction of sun-shades, see Fischer, *Sunshades*, in *MMJ*, vols. 1-11, 1968-1976, pp. 63-68.

bearers begin to accompany palanquins from the reign of Teti and only in tombs at Saqqara. Two appear with *K3-gm-nj*, one, possibly two, with *ṛnh-m-ṛ-hr* and *Wṛtt-ht-hr*, two and three with *Hzz* and *Sṛnh-wj-Pth*, five with *Jpj*.⁶⁸⁶

Shades are not shown with set-down palanquins or in palanquins depicted at the base of jambs of false doors.⁶⁸⁷

5.4.5 Accompanying retainers

In scenes where the tomb owner is actually travelling in the carrying-chair, he is surrounded by retainers carrying linen bags, boxes and chests of all types and a variety of personal items such as staffs, sandals, fans and headrests. The amount of equipment apparently needed for one of these journeys hints that it may have been an extensive one. Pet animals on leads held by retainers, sometimes dwarfs, are present in most of the scenes and are usually positioned close to the tomb owner, often among the bearers of the palanquin. Dogs and monkeys are the usual companions although *Jtj-sn* at Giza, includes a small baboon.

5.4.6 The dress of tomb owners travelling in palanquins

Where details of the seated tomb owner's dress are clear, this appears to be the short, pointed style of kilt. An unusual addition to the hem of the kilts of men squatting in the 'chaise longue' type of chair, for example, *Nj-ṛnh-hnmw*, *Mrrw-k3.j* and *K3-gm-nj*, is a small cylindrical shape whose purpose is unknown but perhaps may be a weight to keep the hem of the kilt from lifting.⁶⁸⁸ A similar object is shown at the bottom of the kilt of *Ppjj-ṛnh-hrj-jb* at Meir, described by Blackman as painted "blue and white with a black edge".⁶⁸⁹ Also at Meir, *Ppjj*, owner of tomb D1, sits on a bed opposite his wife, wearing a pointed kilt with a small rectangular object attached to the edge of his kilt. Blackman proposes that this may be a scribal palette suspended from his belt,⁶⁹⁰ but it might again be a weight similar to that worn by *Mrrw-k3.j* and *Ppjj-ṛnh-hrj-jb*.

⁶⁸⁶ von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pl. 22; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* II, pl. 71; Wreszinski, *Atlas* III, pl. 11; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 55; *ibid.*, III, pl. 75; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, pl. 50.

⁶⁸⁷ Set-down chairs: *Jdw*, Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38; *Pr-nb*, Ransom, *Perneb*, fig. 34. Palanquins at base of false doors: *Sšm-nfr*, de Morgan, *Dahchour* II, fig. 3; *Pth-htp*, Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 39; *Pth-htp/Tfw*, Hassan, *Saqqara* II, fig. 58; *Nfr-sšm-Rṛ*, Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* III, pl. 58.

⁶⁸⁸ Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 60; Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl. 157, 158; Harpur–Scremin, *Kagemni*, pl. 280. A similar inference is drawn by Harpur in Harpur–Scremin, *Kagemni*, p. 426.

⁶⁸⁹ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 14, p. 38.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 45, p. 58.

A leopard skin covers the kilts of *Pth-htp*, *Mttj* and *Jpj*. In addition, *Pth-htp* has a beard which, with the leopard skin and the inclusion of a sceptre and staff, possibly indicates a greater formality due to the situation of his representation which is at the base of a jamb of his false door.

Most of these tomb owners wear short wigs, broad collars and bracelets. *Pth-htp* ties a fillet with short streamers around his wig. *Hnmntj* and *Jpj* alone wear long wigs and *Mrjj-Ttj*, son of *Mrrw-k3.j*, has the distinctive plait and disc headdress indicative of his young age.

5.5 Comparison of El-Hawawish Representations with Memphite Scenes

‘True chairs’ are first found in the elite tombs of the capital in the early Fourth Dynasty with the tomb of *Nfr-m3t* at Medum possibly the earliest. They are last seen at Giza in the palanquin scenes of *Sndm-jb/Jntj* and *Hnmntj* at the end of the Fifth Dynasty thereafter appearing at Saqqara in the chapels of *Wtt-ht-hr* and *S3bw/Jbbj* in the reign of Teti, and then in *Mttj* and *Jpj* dated to Pepy I. None of these tomb owners place the near arm over the side of the chair like *Hnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish, and none have sides which are as high as that of *Hnj*. This is the position of the near arm which is fully seen over the high sides of the ‘chaise longue’ type of chair in palanquin scenes and which is found up to the reign of Unis, for example, *Jj-mrjj*, *Jtj-sn* and *Nj-m3t-Rc* (Giza), *Nj-nc-Hnmw*, *Pr-nb* (Saqqara) and *Pth-spss* (Abusir). However, from this time onward this arm is shown resting on, or close to, the horizontal top of the side piece, as in *Mrrw-k3.j*, *K3-gm-nj*, *nc-m-nc-Hr* and *S3bw/Jbbj*. The individual characteristics of the two types of carrying chairs, and the pose of the tomb owners seated in them, appear to lose their separate identity in the Sixth Dynasty. This is reflected in the scenes of *Hnj* and *Ttj-jqr* at El-Hawawish.

At El-Hawawish, the chairs of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* appear to be a combination of the ‘true chair’ and the ‘chaise longue’ styles seen in the Memphite chapels. Similarities with the ‘true chair’ scenes at Memphis are apparent in the almost-complete scene of *Hnj*. His body is hidden behind the side of the chair but it is clear that, like all Memphite tomb owners seated in ‘true chairs’, he sits well above the floor of the palanquin with his lower legs vertical and his feet flat on the base. The point of his short kilt projects above his knees and is higher than his waist, a characteristic of all men seated in ‘true chairs’.



Spsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj

However, a very typical feature of sitters in the ‘chaise longue’ is the high side of the chair which comes up under the armpit with the near arm fully shown over the side. This is the position of the side of the chair of and the arm of *Hnj*. The feet of the sitter are placed within the foot enclosure in the ‘chaise longue’ style of carrying chair and this is also found in the scene of *Hnj*.

Whisks are frequently held by tomb owners seated in palanquins in tombs in the capital, for example, *Špss-k3.f-ḥ* in the tomb of *Jj-mrjj* at Giza, *Mrjj-Ttj*, *Mrw* and *Jpj* at Saqqara. Without exception, the tomb owners in the Memphite palanquin scenes hold their whisks by a long rod against their shoulders with the tails hanging down behind their bodies. Whisks are also held by *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* at El-Hawawish but with a completely different action, extending their arms out before them and grasping the whisks by a short handle.⁶⁹¹ The arm position of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* is the usual one when a baton is held by tomb owners seated in palanquins, and perhaps the Hawawish tomb owners, or their artist, *Snj*, have chosen to substitute a whisk for the usual baton. Perhaps a whisk is a more useful item in an Upper Egyptian provincial palanquin journey.

A comparison of the decorative top of the canopy depicted in the Memphite chapels of *Mrjj-Ttj* and *Jpj* at Saqqara with the palanquin scenes of the two nomarchs at El-Hawawish provides points of great similarity. The decorative elements of the two Saqqara canopies and those at El-Hawawish include *dd*-pillars, double lotuses and Isis-knots. The shape of the canopies of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* however, is closer to that of *Jpj*, each depicting two semi-circular panels with similar motifs beneath a frame with sloping sides and a flat top. The panel of *Mrj-Ttj*’s canopy is decorated with similar motifs but is rectangular in shape, similar to the canopy sheltering *Dḥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi.⁶⁹²

Shrine-like roofs to palanquins are seen in the chairs of *Pr-nb*, *Pth-ḥtp* and *Nfr-sšm-Rḥ* (Saqqara) and *Šsm-nfr* (Dahshur) all dated to the late Fifth Dynasty and to the reign of Teti. The fragment on the east wall in tomb CA1 of *B3wj* at El-Hawawish with its very similar curved roof supported by ‘tent-pole’ columns, suggests that this tomb owner may also be travelling in a palanquin although little else remains of it.

⁶⁹¹ Whisks are held before the face of tomb owners in other settings, however, for example, *Wsr-ntr* at Saqqara (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 24); *K3j-ḥnt* (A3) at El-Hammamiya (El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 63).

⁶⁹² Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka* I, pl. 47; Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. 8.

Monkeys are frequent companions of Memphite tomb owners in their palanquins. They walk next to the carrying chair, or to the front or behind it, usually on leashes held by retainers, but none climb up on the canopy frame. In the Hawawish scenes of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj*, monkeys are shown on the upper frame of the canopy. While climbing monkeys are not present in any of the complete palanquin scenes in the capital, they may have originally been included in the major tombs dated to the reign of Teti at Saqqara, such as *Mrrw-k3.j* and *K3-gm-nj*, whose upper sections are now lost. The Hawawish artist(s) may have added this detail seen in these now-lost sections of palanquin scenes in the capital, or it may be one of the new features originating in the province.

Shade-bearers are infrequently depicted with palanquins in Memphite tombs dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty scenes and in all presently-known examples, they accompany the carrying-chair in tombs dated to the early Sixth Dynasty primarily at Saqqara. At El-Hawawish neither *Ttj-jqr* nor *Hnj* include shade-bearers in their palanquin scenes.

5.6 Comparison of El-Hawawish Representations with Provincial Scenes

The 'true chair'

Fig. 5.11

Among the provincial tomb owners being carried in a palanquin, only the nomarch and vizier of Pepy II, *Ppjj-ḥnh/Hnjj-km*, of Meir, sits in a 'true chair'⁶⁹³ like both *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* at El-Hawawish. The side of *Ppjj-ḥnh/Hnjj-km*'s seat is not as high as the Hawawish chairs and his arm is only partly over the side piece whereas the full arm of *Hnj* is shown.

The 'chaise longue'

Fig. 5.12

In all other provincial scenes, including the badly damaged motif of *Šdw* at Deshasha, the tomb owner sits in a 'chaise longue'.⁶⁹⁴ The figure and chair in the palanquin scene of the earlier nomarch at Deir el-Gebrawi, *Jbj*, has been lost but his son, *Dḥw*, seated in a 'chaise longue'⁶⁹⁵ rests his arm along the top edge of the side like all the tomb owners at Saqqara in the time period, Teti-Pepy I. The detail of the full arm of the seated tomb owner shown over the high side of these chairs, which is also the position of *Hnj*'s arm at El-Hawawish,

⁶⁹³ Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 31

⁶⁹⁴ Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 44

⁶⁹⁵ Davies, *Gebrâwi* II, pl. 8

is the pose of the nomarch and vizier *Ppjj-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir dated to Merenre-Pepy II, as he sits in his ‘set-down’ chair.⁶⁹⁶

The canopy

A canopy similar to those of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* is found above the palanquin of *Ppjj-ḥnh/Hnjj-km* at Meir, except that here only one semi-circular panel is shown, not two as at El-Hawawish. One other tomb owner in the provinces includes a decorated panel in his canopy: *Dḥw* of Deir el-Gebrawi, but here the area is rectangular, not semi-circular, which is the same shape of panel that is found in the north wall palanquin scene of *Mrjj-Ttj* at Saqqara. The rectangular upper part of *Jbj*’s palanquin, now without any details, may also have been filled with decorative elements originally.⁶⁹⁷

A monkey climbs along the outer frame of both canopies at El-Hawawish, and of the canopy of *Ppjj-ḥnh/Hnjj-km* at Meir but is not included in any other complete provincial palanquin scene. Two more monkeys accompany *Ppjj-ḥnh/Hnj-km*’s entourage. These sit on the shoulders and heads of two attendants like the monkey on the head of the dwarf behind the palanquin of *ḥnh-m-ḥ-Hr* at Saqqara.⁶⁹⁸

Whisks

Ppjj-ḥnh/Hnjj-km, *Jbj* and *Dḥw* carry whisks as do *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj*, but, unlike the Hawawish nomarchs, these men rest their whisks over their shoulders like all the Memphite examples. And, like the Memphite examples, the Meir and Deir el-Gebrawi tomb owners hold a baton between the fingers of the other hand, a feature omitted from the Hawawish scenes.

Shade-bearers

No shade-bearers accompany the palanquins of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* at El-Hawawish, but are found alongside all palanquins at Meir and Deir el-Gebrawi. They are absent from set-down palanquin scenes such as that of *Ppjj-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir.

⁶⁹⁶ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 14

⁶⁹⁷ Davies, *Gebrāwi* I, pls. 8,9

⁶⁹⁸ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 59; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* II, pl. 71.

Context

Registers of various pursuits are shown opposite the palanquins of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* including marsh activities of fishing with a drag-net and capturing birds using a clap-net and a register of male and female dancers and harpists. Another provincial palanquin scene originally included a similar feature: a fragment of *Jbj*'s scene at Deir el-Gebrawi shows two pairs of female dancers wearing the plait and disc headdress similar to the Hawawish dancers. The same entertainment for the tomb owner is provided for *Jdw* at Giza where two registers of dancers and musicians perform for *Jdw* in his set-down palanquin although here the dress and movements of the dancers are more restrained in contrast to the more energetic provincial dancers.⁶⁹⁹

FINDINGS

- The Hawawish palanquin scenes combine a number of features already seen in earlier tombs at Giza and Saqqara, but those of *Ttj-jkr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, include new motifs not evident in the Memphite tombs. The apparent practice of educating or training the younger members of provincial nomarchic families in the capital before taking up administrative positions in the various nomes,⁷⁰⁰ would have exposed them to the major Memphite tombs with their fine decoration. This exposure will have been reflected to a greater or lesser extent in their own tombs when they returned to the provinces and can be observed in the repetition of certain motifs and details.
- The tomb owner of the earliest existing and complete palanquin scene in the provinces, *Ppjj-^hnh-hrj-jb* of Meir, coming from Memphis to govern the province in the time of Merenre-Pepy II, appears to have reproduced some distinctive features of palanquin scenes in the capital: in particular, the intriguing weight (?) shown attached to the hem of his kilt and otherwise found only in the scenes of *Nj-^hnh-Hnmw*, *Mrrw-k3.j* and *K3-gm-nj* at Saqqara. His depiction of the full arm over the high side of his 'chaise longue', seen up to the end of the Fifth Dynasty at Giza, Saqqara and Abusir, is not usual amongst tombs dated to Teti–Pepy II at Saqqara, where the forearm of the sitter in all 'chaise longue' and 'true chair' scenes rests along the horizontal top of the side piece of the chair.

⁶⁹⁹ Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38

⁷⁰⁰ For example, *K3.j-hp*, M8, at El-Hawawish: *H* III, pp.7, 8, 14; *Q3r* at Edfu: Sethe, *Urk.* I. 254:1-4, Daressy, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 136; *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi, Davies, *Gebrâwi* I, pl.23, Sethe, *Urk.* I.142:9-13.

- This high side of the carrying chair and the position of the tomb owner's full arm over it are features found in the tomb of *Hnj*, and most probably in the damaged scene of *Ttj-jqr*, at El-Hawawish. They do not appear in any other provincial carrying chair scene apart from the set-down palanquin of *Ppjj-ḥh-hrj-jb*. It is possible that, as these are features of Fifth Dynasty palanquins in the wall scenes of the capital, *Hnj* and *Ttj-jqr* at El-Hawawish may either have observed them either in the capital, at Meir or in earlier scenes at El-Hawawish, now lost from tomb walls. The possibility that the same artists, or members of the same family of artist/craftsmen, may have been employed at both the cemeteries of El-Hawawish and Meir, must also be considered.
- The palanquin scene in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnj-km*, the grandson of *Ppjj-ḥh-hrj-jb* at Meir, however, shows the greatest number of similarities to the Hawawish scenes. Dated as the two Hawawish tomb owners are to mid-late Pepy II, he alone among the provincial tomb owners, sits in a palanquin of the 'true chair' type, with the same curved and decorated canopy surmounted by an outer frame with a monkey climbing over it. The similarity with the canopy of *Jpj* at Saqqara is striking except that the canopy of *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnj-km* has only one semi-circular decorative section, not two as the canopies of *Jpj*, *Ttj-jkr* and *Hnj*. The carefully detailed canopy of the Hawawish nomarchs appears to indicate a familiarity with palanquins which the artist, *Snj*, has seen, either from a source elsewhere, as in a tomb scene such as *Jpj*'s at Saqqara, or an actual example. At Meir, no similar palanquin is present in the earlier tomb of *Ppjj-ḥh-hrj-jb*, and it is very likely that the later depiction of *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnj-km* in the same cemetery, is partly copied from the Hawawish scenes, particularly the palanquin canopy with the monkeys climbing over it and the depiction of the 'true chair' on which the tomb owners sit. The action of the monkeys climbing over the canopy appears to be a provincial variation to the usual depiction of accompanying animals on leashes and may have been introduced by the Hawawish tomb owners.
- The way of holding the whisks by *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* is again an individual detail restricted to the Hawawish cemetery and is not found in any other Memphite or provincial palanquin scene.
- *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* do not include shades and shade-bearers in their palanquin scenes. This absence is characteristic of scenes in tombs dated to the late Fifth Dynasty in

the capital. From the reign of Teti, however, shade-bearers are a common feature at Saqqara and appear in all the other provincial palanquin scenes.

- The inclusion of registers of dancers and musicians opposite the palanquin of *Jdw* at Giza⁷⁰¹ appears in the two El-Hawawish palanquin scenes of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj*, who, with *Jbj* of Deir el-Gebrawi, also watch dancers from their carrying chairs.

In summary, the palanquin scenes of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* appear to be directly influenced by scenes in some of the tombs of the high officials in the capital. *Jpj* at Saqqara would seem to have been a model in his use of the 'true chair' and the distinctive style of his canopy, although there seem to be precursors of this canopy in the earlier scene of *Mrj-Ttj* and possibly in the palanquin of his father, *Mrrw-k3.j* at Saqqara. The position of the arm of the seated tomb owner fully seen over the side of the chair and the lack of shade-bearers are features seen in Giza tombs. As well, the register of dancers opposite *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj*, is present in the Giza palanquin scene of *Jdw*. The connection with the Giza and Saqqara tombs is unclear but it can only be proposed that while *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* may have spent time in the capital themselves and became familiar with the decoration of the great mastabas there, they may also have been able to employ artists trained in the capital and who perhaps had worked in some of these tombs, or that their artist, *Snj*, was trained in the same school as the Giza craftsmen. Some influence appears to come as well from the slightly earlier provincial tomb of *Ppjj-ᵑḥ-ḥrj-jb* at Meir and from the possibly contemporary *Dᵑw* at Deir el-Gebrawi. Perhaps the Hawawish artist, *Snj*, or his family, had worked with the craftsmen who decorated these tombs.

The earlier palanquin scene in the tomb of *B3wj*, CA1, at El-Hawawish, with its shrine-like canopy appears to have had no influence on the later tombs of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* but another model for these two tombs at El-Hawawish may be considered. This is *Ttj/K3.j-ḥp*, owner of tomb M8 at El-Hawawish, sent to administer the province by Merenre.⁷⁰² Most of the wall scenes in this large tomb have been lost but remnants indicate a high standard of workmanship, and although no palanquin scenes remain now these could have provided the inspiration for those of *Ttj-jkr* and *Hnj*.

As noted above, the Hawawish nomarchs *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* include details which can be traced to Memphite palanquin scenes. They have, however, added individual features, such

⁷⁰¹ Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 69-70, dates this tomb to Pepy I, while Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, pp. 155-156, prefers a date early in the reign of Unis. Stylistic details observed in this study appear to support this earlier date.

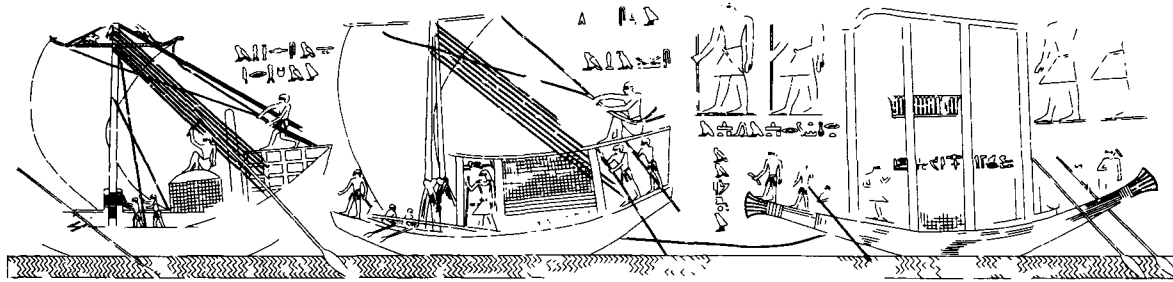
⁷⁰² Kanawati, *H III*, pp.7-32, figs.1-114

as the manner in which their whisks are held and the inclusion of monkeys climbing on the roof of the palanquin, but also omitted others such as shade-bearers, features which indicate a confidence and a certain independence from the traditions and style of the capital.

CHAPTER 6

THE TOMB OWNER AT EL-HAWAWISH:

TRAVELLING IN A SAILING SHIP OR A PAPYRUS BOAT⁷⁰³



INTRODUCTION

The scene of the tomb owner travelling in a ship or a boat is found in eight tombs at El-Hawawish. These tombs date from the reign of Djedkare in the Fifth Dynasty to the Eighth Dynasty. One scene appears in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, one in the chapel of *Mrrw...*, F12, dated to Teti, five dated to mid-late Pepy II and one to the end of the Sixth Dynasty. The titles of *Mrrw...*, F12, are too damaged to assess but the remaining tomb owners all held high administrative positions. *Ttj-jqr*, H26, *Hnj*, H24, and *Ttj-ʿ3*, H41, were related and all were nomarchs, while *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, *B3wj*, BA48, and *Ghs3*, GA11 held the position of overseers of fields and serfs with *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, also a superintendent of priests.

Two types of representations of this journey appear. In the scenes of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *Hnj*, H24, *Ttj-ʿ3*, H41, *Ghs3*, GA11, and possibly *Ttj-jqr*, H26,⁷⁰⁴ a male figure with a staff, or a staff and sceptre, stands before the deck-house of a sailing ship which, in the almost complete scene of *Hnj*,⁷⁰⁵ is the middle vessel in a procession of three vessels. Two of

⁷⁰³ See **Part II: List of Tomb Owners at El-Hawawish (Akhmim) and other Upper Egyptian Provinces by Chapter: Chapter 6.** See also **Table 6.1** for an analysis of the features.

⁷⁰⁴ The tomb owner is not shown in the usual position here although he is in the neighbouring tomb of *Hnj*, H24, which is so similar in its representations. Two suggestions are offered for the absence of *Ttj-jqr*: 1. it may be possible that the artist has simply omitted the figure although the position of the bottom of the sail extending across the open area where he would normally stand makes this unlikely; and 2. that the tomb owner has already died and that this is the actual burial procession. This last proposal is the more probable one and is supported by inscriptions at the entrance to the tomb of *Ttj-jqr* where the tomb owner's eldest son, *Hnj*, claims to be responsible for the making, or completion, of the tomb of his father, *Ttj* (H I, p.19, fig.19a).

⁷⁰⁵ This tomb owner is the only figure named on board these ships, see H II, fig.19, but the similarity in pose and position of the figures in comparable scenes appears to indicate that these are also representations of the tomb owner.

these are wooden ships under full sail and the third is a papyrus craft bearing a coffin and/or a statue shrine. This last boat is the only remaining part of what may be a similar scene in the tomb of *Mrrw...*, F12.

A different rendering of the boat journey appears in the chapels of *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, and *B3wj*, BA48. Here, a male figure, most probably the tomb owner, is seated under a canopy in a papyrus boat which is being hauled by a number of men shown at a slightly higher level, possibly indicating that they are walking along a bank or shore next to the river or a canal. In *Hzzj-Mnw*'s scene, a wooden ship under sail precedes the papyrus craft. It is quite possible that a towing boat was originally in this space assisting the haulers on the shore.

6.1 The Tomb Owner Journeying by Water at El-Hawawish

Figs. 6.1–6.8

6.1.1 Inscriptions and purpose of journey

Only in the tombs of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish, do texts accompany this motif. Orders and responses to and from the helmsman and the sailor controlling the main braces are written above the sailing ships: 'turn ...to the left', 'I shall do as you ask' (*Ttj-jqr*, H I, p. 20, fig. 9) and 'do not turn towards the land, steersman', 'cause it to go to the east, do not ferry it across' (*Hnj*, H II, p. 21, fig. 19). It is the caption before the prow of the papyrus craft bearing the coffin of *Hnj*, however, which indicates the destination of the ships: 'in peace, in peace, to the beautiful west, among the honoured ones'.⁷⁰⁶ This text and the presence of the coffin/statue shrine on the papyrus boat, together with the *drjyt*-mourners and the four accompanying (though unidentified) males wearing lector priest sashes, point to the funerary nature of the journey. Whether this is simply for the provisioning of the tomb with its funeral furniture, most probably the coffin and/or the statue shrine, or an enactment of the final burial voyage is not known.⁷⁰⁷ The presence of the tomb owner himself on board supports the proposal that this journey is one of preparation for the furnishing of the tomb and confirms that it is not the final burial procession as is found in some tomb scenes.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁶ H II, p. 21, fig. 19.

⁷⁰⁷ This enactment ritual is the proposal of Kanawati in *SAK* 9 (1981), pp. 224, 225.

⁷⁰⁸ For example, Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 130-131; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 35. A list of scenes and a discussion of the various stages of the funerary journey are compiled in Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), pp. 201-218 and Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, pp. 95-105; Bolshakov, *GM* 121(1991), pp. 31-54; Lashein,

Although no texts now remain in the register of three ships in the scene of *Ttj-ʿ3*, H41, or in the fragmentary scene in *Mrrw..*'s tomb, F12, the presence of the coffin indicates that these two scenes must also be funerary in intent. Although only single sailing ships remain in the damaged scenes of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Ghs3*, GA11, a similar purpose may be proposed because of their iconography and position in the chapel, i.e. proceeding towards the entrance of the tomb, which is the orientation of every other sailing ship journey at El-Hawawish. However, these isolated ships do not offer sufficient features to positively establish them in a funerary context.

The composition of the two remaining scenes appears to indicate that the tomb owner is travelling for a different purpose. The presumed, though unidentified, tomb owners, *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, and *B3wj*, BA48, sit under a canopy on a papyriform craft which is being pulled along by a number of men. The water weeds beneath the stern of *Hzzj-Mnw*'s boat and the presence of the haulers close by on a bank of the river or canal, point to a shorter journey, apparently close to a marshy side of the river or a canal.⁷⁰⁹ As overseers of fields and serfs and of the apportionments of the god's offering in the two houses,⁷¹⁰ this journey may be part of their supervision of the production of temple, or royal, offerings within the nome.⁷¹¹ The presence of another, unidentified male figure facing the tomb owner in these two scenes may support this last proposal. *Hzzj-Mnw*, extending his hand towards this person, appears to acknowledge or receive a document, as from a supervisor or scribe.⁷¹²

6.1.2 Position and orientation of the motif

East wall: *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22 and *Mrrw..*, F12.

South wall: *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, *B3wj*, BA48, *Ghs3*, GA11, *Ttj-jqr*, H26, *Hnj*, H24, *Ttj-ʿ3*, H41.

In each tomb, all the boats are directed toward the entrance of the tomb, regardless of the orientation of the wall where they are depicted. Thus the boats in tombs M22 and F12

Transportation, in *Egyptian Culture and Society. Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati II* (ASAE, 2010), pp. 1-12.

⁷⁰⁹ Boreux, *Nautique*, pp. 155, 156, draws attention to the necessity of using sails and oars in the strong current of the Nile, but for manoeuvring vessels close to the shore, haulers would be more useful.

⁷¹⁰ *H VII*, pp. 9, 12, fig. 6 (*Hzzj-Mnw*); pp. 36, 38, fig. 24b (*B3wj*).

⁷¹¹ See Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 66, 222, for a discussion of these titles.

⁷¹² A similar presentation of a document is noted in the scene of *Ppjj-nh-hrj-jb* at Meir. Here, the tomb owner is seated on a ship under sail and is shown accepting (or giving) a document roll to a male figure standing before him (Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 16).

proceed towards the south, those in G42, BA48, H24, H41 and GA11 to the west, and in H26 to the east.⁷¹³

Context of the motif

Hzzj-Mnw, M22

- Marshland activities: pulling and carrying papyrus and the construction of papyrus skiffs.

Ttj-jqr, H26, and Hnj, H24

- This motif is placed in the upper part of the entrance wall. Below this register of boats the tomb owner stands (H24), or sits (H26), facing narrower registers of men working at various crafts: carpenters, metal-workers, sculptors, and wine-pressing as well as a register featuring a desert hunt in *Hnj*'s scene, and herdsmen presenting animals to the tomb owner in *Ttj-jqr*'s scene.

Ghs3, GA11

- Marshland activities: cattle crossing through water, catching birds in a clap-net and fishing with a drag-net are found on the east end of the long south wall of. Fragment of browsing goats.

Hzzj-Mnw, G42

- Small vignettes of browsing goats, a herdsman and two fighting bulls, a huntsman with a dog in a small desert hunt scene.

B3wj, BA48

- Two registers of agricultural activities – harvesting, binding and loading sheaves on the backs of donkeys.

Mrrw., F12, and Ttj-3, H41

- The boat processions of these tomb owners are found on walls which are too damaged to provide any information on the surrounding scenes.

In summary, the funerary nature indicated by the transporting of the tomb owner's coffin in the tombs of *Mrrw.*, *Ttj-jqr*, *Hnj* and *Ttj-3*, and the reference to the destination of the ships, "the beautiful west", is clear. The position of this motif on the wall, however,

⁷¹³ This orientation in tomb H26 agrees physically with the instruction to the helmsman in the scene of *Hnj*, H24, "cause it (the ship) to go to the east" (H II, fig. 19). This is the correct geographic site of burials at El-Hawawish, i.e. the tombs are in the eastern cliffs. This does not contradict the other statement that they are proceeding "to the beautiful west among the honoured ones" as this reflects a religious belief.

amongst a number of varied activities (which may, or may not be regarded as funerary) and the presence of the tomb owner supervising or observing these, appears to infer that the boat journeys are one among many of the other activities and tasks undertaken by him in his lifetime.

6.1.3 The iconography of the scene

6.1.3.1 Position and posture of the tomb owner

Figs. 6.1a, 6.6-6.8

On ships under sail tomb owners assume a formal erect posture, holding a staff and sceptre, dressed in a pointed kilt, long wig, a lector priest's sash: *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *Ghs3*, GA11, *Hnj*, H24 and *Tj-3*, H41.

In a procession of three ships, the tomb owner stands on board the middle ship, under the shelter of an awning before the deck-house cabin amidships. Only the figure of *Hnj* is identified, however, as the same pose and position are found in the other unidentified male figures in these situations, it is presumed that they also are representations of the tomb owner.

In the tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, and *B3wj*, BA48, two unidentified figures, suggested to be the tomb owners, are seated under a canopy towards the rear of a papyriform craft. Few details remain but a retainer or accompanying official faces each tomb owner and *B3wj* extends one hand towards the figure kneeling before him.

6.1.3.2 Number and type of vessel

Sailing ships

Figs. 6.1a, 6.5-6.8

Single sailing ships only remain on the walls of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Ghs3*, GA11, both of which carry the unidentified figure of a standing male amidships. The position of the *Ghs3*'s boat at the end of his south wall may indicate that it is not part of a procession of ships. Extensive quarrying of the east wall in *Hzzj-Mnw*'s tomb, M22,⁷¹⁴ prevents any sure identification as to whether this is a single ship or one in a line of vessels.

⁷¹⁴ See H IV, pl. 8b.

Three ships form a procession in the scenes of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, *Hnj*, H24 and *Ttj-ʕ*, H41. In this line of boats, the sailing ship carrying the owner, is second. Two wooden ships each with a full sail are followed by a papyriform craft.

Papyriform vessels

Figs. 6.2–6.4, 6.8

In the tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, a single papyriform craft is hauled by men on shore. Possibly three boats were originally present although nothing remains now between a sailing ship at the head and the papyriform boat.

The tomb of *Bʕwj*, BA48, contains a single papyriform craft hauled by men on shore.

The papyriform vessels of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, *Hnj*, H24 and *Ttj-ʕ*, H41, bear a wooden coffin under a shrine-like canopy supported on poles. In the scene of *Hnj*, a towing rope can be seen passing from the second sailing ship to the papyrus boat.

6.1.3.3 Features of the vessels

Hulls

The wooden sailing boats at El-Hawawish have flat transoms, well-raised sterns and are fitted with either a single pole or a bipod mast to carry the sail. A cabin is situated amidships behind the mast, with an awning fore and aft which is supported in front by a forked pole (second ship of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24). A smaller cabin with a slightly domed roof amidships acts as a base for a seated helmsman who controls the rudder (first sailing ship of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24). The sides of both cabins are covered by woven material. An aftercastle is at the stern in these ships: a raised open-work platform where the sailor, who controls the upper braces of the sail, sits or stands.

The hulls of papyriform craft have a wooden board in the centre for stability: *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, *Bʕwj*, BA48. The papyrus craft of *Hnj* (H24) which carries his coffin, has decorative ends finished in the form of large papyrus umbels. No wooden centre boards are shown to support the coffin and/or shrine; these boats are possibly to be considered as wooden papyriform craft and not boats actually made from papyrus reeds.

Steering oars are at the stern of sailing and papyriform vessels; the number of steering oars varies from one to three.⁷¹⁵ Two methods of operating the steering oars are shown: either by holding the end of the shaft of the oar in the hands, or by holding a short tiller connected to the upper end of the steering oar. The first method is the one most frequently found at El-Hawawish, but the second is used by the helmsmen in the leading wooden sailing ships of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj*, and possibly in the papyrus boat carrying the coffin of *Mrrw...*, F12.

The mast and its attachment to the deck

Figs. 6.1a,b, 6.5–6.8

Two types of masts are shown on the sailing ships:

- a single pole mast (in the first ship of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24) fixed to the deck with strong wooden supports or ‘knees’, or
- bipod masts of two sections, cross-braced, fastened to the deck by twisted rope lashing (on the second ship of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj*).⁷¹⁶ A number of taut backstays are fastened between the upper section and the stern of both types of mast to make their position more secure: *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *Ttj-jqr*, H26, *Hnj*, H24, *Ttj-ʕ3*, H41, and *Ghs3*, GA11. At the base of each leg of bipod masts, rope trusses are wound around before passing diagonally to the deck or hull where they are fastened. In the scene of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, a tightening rod is shown passing through the twisted rope.⁷¹⁷ The detailed plaiting of the trusses in tomb M22 is loosely copied on the bipod masts of the other ships.

Comment

The detailed plaiting of the trusses in tomb M22 is not attempted in the scenes in tombs H24 and GA11. The trusses drawn around the two cross-pieces at the base of the bipod mast in *Ttj-jqr*’s scene in tomb H26, are very confused. Formed into a figure-of-eight shape, they show no means of attachment to the deck or hull, and appear to have the lower yard of the sail passing through them.

⁷¹⁵ Boats with single steering oars: *Ttj-jqr*, H26, *Hnj*, H24, *Ttj-ʕ3*, H41 (first of the sailing ships); *Mrrw...*, F12, *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42 (papyrus craft); Boats with two steering oars: *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *Ttj-jqr* H26, *Hnj* H24, *Ttj-ʕ3* H41 (second sailing ship in H26, H24 and H41); *Ttj-jqr*, H26, *Hnj*, H24 (papyrus craft with coffins); Boats with three steering oars: *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42 (sailing ship), *B3wj*, BA48? (papyrus boat).

⁷¹⁶ For the construction of these ‘knees’ see the diagram in Landström, *Ships*, fig. 211; for the rope lashing, see *ibid.* figs. 116, 120, 126.

⁷¹⁷ *H IV*, fig.17.

*The sails and the control of the sail**Figs. 6.1a, 6.5, 6.6*

The single, large sail is depicted in three-quarter view on each sailing ship, and is shown drawn up to the top of the mast and fully extended. The sail shape is rectangular with the same width at both top and bottom except in the ships of *Hnj*, H24, where the sails appear to narrow slightly toward the lower edge. The bottom of the sails of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *Ghs3*, GA11, and possibly *Hnj*, H24, are depicted at the level of the deck, but this lower edge in the scene of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, is shown a short distance above the deck.⁷¹⁸

Two braces, or ropes, are attached to the ends of the upper yard and held by a man standing or sitting on the rear platform, or aftercastle, controlling the movement of the sail. Sailors manipulating the braces stand on the first of the sailing ships in the line of vessels in *Ttj-jqr*, H26, *Hnj*, H24, and *Ttj-3*, H41, and are seated with knees raised in the second of their two sailing ships. A seated man also operates the sail braces on the ship of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22.

Where clearly visible as seen in the first sailing ship of *Ttj-jqr*, the upper yards are horizontal but in the first sailing ship of *Hnj*, the ends of the upper yard curve upward, a detail noted in the ships at Thebes, Meir and Deir el-Gebrawi (see below).

Comment

Although *Ghs3*, *Hnj* and *Ttj-jqr* are all dated to the reign of Pepy II, this depiction of the raised sails of *Ttj-jqr* indicates a slightly earlier date within this period than *Ghs3* and *Hnj* according to Landström's observations.

Decoration and/or construction details

Horizontal lines across the width of the sails of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Ttj-jqr*, H26, indicate the manufacturing technique, that is, of separate horizontal pieces of fabric joined together. Checked lines on the sides of the deckhouses possibly represent woven material, either of reeds, palm leaves or linen.

Wood graining identifies the material of the coffins of *Mrrw...*, F12, *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Ttj-3*, H41.⁷¹⁹ The vertical lines of this graining in *Ttj-jqr*'s scene suggest, with the cornice

⁷¹⁸ Landström found that at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty the shape of the sail changed from trapezoidal to rectangular, with the lower yard no longer resting on the side of the hull, but raised and held in place above the deck by a number of rope stays (*Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 47).

⁷¹⁹ H IX, fig. 8; *ibid.* I, fig. 9; *ibid.* II, fig. 19; *ibid.* VIII, fig. 12b, respectively.

above, that this is a shrine for a statue and the height of the cornice of the object (now damaged) beneath the canopy in *Hnj*'s scene in tomb H24, also indicates a statue shrine. Wood grain also appears on the plank within the papyrus boat carrying *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, forming a base supporting the canopy over the seated tomb owner as well as his retainers.⁷²⁰

6.1.3.4 Personnel/attendants on board

Figs. 6.1a, 6.2-6.8

- *Drjyt*-mourners appear at bow and stern in kneeling posture with one hand on the breast, the other hand by the side, and wearing a fillet around the head⁷²¹ (*Hnj*, *Ttj-jqr*).
- Helmsmen operate steering oars (or rudders) at stern of sailing and papyriiform vessels.
- Sailor with a pole (*Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24): a man stands in the bow holding a long pole which trails diagonally backwards; probably a sounding pole for checking the depth of the water. This sailor grasps the forestay rope for support (if it is a sailing ship) with the other hand.
- A man with a baton, possibly a pilot, stands before this sailor with the sounding pole on the towed papyriiform craft of *Hnj*, H24.
- A sailor kneeling in the bow of the papyrus boat of *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, grasps a rope which possibly may have been attached to a small boat in front of the tomb owner's papyrus craft. It is also possible, as Davies suggests in his commentary on a similar detail in the first of *Dꜥw*'s ships, that the sailor may be letting down an anchor.⁷²²

Monkeys on rigging or yards

Fig. 6.6

Two monkeys are shown on the first sailing ship in the tomb of *Hnj*, H24; one walks along the upper yard and the other climbs up the backstay near the top of the mast.

⁷²⁰ *H VII*, fig. 3.

⁷²¹ See Fischer, *Drjyt-mourners*, in *Varia*, p.39ff; Wilson, *Funeral Services*, in *JNES* 3 (1944), p.204.

⁷²² Davies, *Gebrāwī II*, p. 9.

6.2 The Tomb Owner Journeying by Water in Provincial Tombs

Figs. 6.9-6.12

6.2.1 Inscriptions and purpose of scene

Depictions with funerary intent

Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km of Meir

The ferrying of the coffin on a papyrus boat across water, to and from the purification place and the embalmers' workshop is depicted. Accompanying hieroglyphs above the men hauling the boat, infer that this is not the final journey to the necropolis, for they state that this is "to be repeated ... (after) a very good old age".⁷²³

Jbj and Dʿw at Deir el-Gebrawi

A ship under sail tows a papyrus craft bearing a coffin beneath a canopy with *drjyt*-mourners and priests attending.⁷²⁴

Hm-Rʿ/Jzj at Deir el-Gebrawi

A papyrus boat with a coffin precedes a sailing ship with the tomb owner on board.⁷²⁵

K3.j-ḥnt, A2, at El-Hammamiya

The owner's wife, *Jwff*, sits in a papyrus boat which carries a *ḥn*-shrine or chest possibly holding her statue. She is accompanied by an *jmj-r ḥm-k3*, and it may be proposed that she is taking the shrine to a sacred place or to her tomb as part of its furniture. *K3.j-ḥnt* follows in his own ship.

Ppjj-ḥh-ḥrj-jb at Meir

Four sailing ships (two with unidentified figures of authority amidships who may be the tomb owner) bear no coffins or shrines, yet the accompanying text states that this voyage is

⁷²³ Blackman, *Meir* V, p. 52, pl. 42.

⁷²⁴ Davies, *Gebrāwi* I, pl.10 (*Jbj*); *ibid* II, pl.7 (*Dʿw*).

⁷²⁵ Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl.20. The wall is damaged but Davies suggests that the fragment of a hand holding a staff is possibly that of the tomb owner, *ibid*, p.25. A figure in the prow wearing a pointed kilt and holding a sceptre raises his other hand in a gesture towards the large seated figure of the tomb owner and his family at the end of the register. No *drjyt*-mourners are on the papyrus boat and their absence, together with the action of a man poling in the stern, water weeds beneath the boat and no towing rope, may indicate that this journey is at an end and that they are coming to, or have arrived, at their destination on the bank or edge of the river or canal.

to “the goodly west...to the [western] cemetery hill,”⁷²⁶ indicating that their destination is the necropolis.

Comment

The similarity between the funerary journeys at Meir and Deir el-Gebrawi with those in the Hawawish tombs of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, *Hnj*, H24 and *Ttj-ʿ3*, H41, is marked. The composition of the procession is the same, with coffins on papyrus craft being towed by sailing ships, although the number of vessels is much greater in *Dʿw*’s scene at Deir el-Gebrawi.⁷²⁷ Details in the shape of the masts, sails and hulls and the method of steering are quite different between the Hawawish and Gebrawi depictions however, and are discussed below.

Depictions of other types of journeys:

No provincial scene depicts a papyrus boat carrying the tomb owner pulled by men on the shore as in the scenes of *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, and *B3wj*, BA48, at El-Hawawish.

6.2.2 Position and orientation

The greatest number of scenes of the tomb owner travelling by water are found on west walls. Approximately half of the boats proceed in a southerly direction, and half to the north.⁷²⁸

The consistent orientation of the boats toward the entrance at El-Hawawish is only seen in other provincial chapels in the tombs of *K3.j-hnt*, A2, at El-Hammamiya, *Hm-Rʿ/Jzj* at Deir el-Gebrawi, and *Ppjj-ʿnh-hrj-jb* at Meir. This orientation in respect to the entrance of the tomb does not seem to have the significance in the other provinces as it does at El-Hawawish.

The context of the motif

Hm-Rʿ/Jzj at Deir el-Gebrawi, *Hw-ns* at Aswan

- artisans and craftsmen⁷²⁹

⁷²⁶ Blackman, *Meir* IV, p. 44, pl. 16.

⁷²⁷ *Dʿw* states in his biography that this is a joint tomb for his father and himself, done out of filial affection and the desire to be with his father in the one tomb (Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, p.13, pl.13). The large figures of father and son stand at the end of the funeral procession and it is possible that the additional number of papyrus boats and sailing ships are to provide for both men (ibid, pl.7).

⁷²⁸ Boreux, noting that funerary boats were oriented in various directions, proposes the direction of the necropolis from the town may be the deciding factor in the direction of these boats (*Nautique*, p.149).

⁷²⁹ Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. 19; de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.*, p. 160.

Ppjj-ϵnh/Hnjj-km at Meir

- agricultural activities ⁷³⁰

Srf-k3.j at Sheikh Said

- marsh motifs ⁷³¹

K3.j-ḥnt at El-Hammamiya, *Ppjj-ϵnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir, *Hw-ns* at Aswan

- processions of animals ⁷³²

Hm-Rϵ/Jzj, *Jbj*, *Dϵw* at Deir el-Gebrawi

- dancers ⁷³³

K3.j-ḥnt at El-Hammamiya, *Jhjj* at Thebes

- offering bearers ⁷³⁴ which may be linked with the provisioning of the tomb.

6.2.3 Iconography of the motif

6.2.3.1 Position and posture of the tomb owner

The erect, formal pose with staff and sceptre, usual at El-Hawawish, appears only in *Ppjj-ϵnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir.

The informal stance with a staff placed under the armpit and the near hand resting on the top of the staff is adopted by: *K3.j-ḥnt*, El-Hammamiya, *Srf-k3.j*, Sheikh Said, *Jntj*, Deshasha, and *Hm-Rϵ/Jzj*, Deir el-Gebrawi. *Jntj*'s pose is more relaxed, leaning slightly on his staff with the far leg bent, resting on the ball of the foot with the heel raised. His far hand resting on the staff holds a folded cloth/handkerchief.⁷³⁵ Tomb owners with this posture are dated to the Fifth Dynasty or to the reign of Teti at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.

⁷³⁰ Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 22 (Room B, south wall, east scene).

⁷³¹ Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. 5.

⁷³² El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 45; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 16; de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.*, p.160.

⁷³³ Davies, *Gebrâwi* II, pl. 20; *ibid* I, pl. 10; *ibid* II, pl. 7.

⁷³⁴ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 44; Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 19.

⁷³⁵ This posture is discussed by Harpur, *Decoration*, pp.127-128, Table 6.2, 6.3, 6.4 (add *Srf-k3.j*, pl. 5). Harpur notes that the pose of holding the staff under the armpit with both feet flat is preferred for the tomb owner in the "journey to the West" scenes. *Jntj*'s pose is unusual in this context being generally found in scenes of viewing outdoor activities. Note that in Harpur's list, *Jntj*'s inclusion of the folded cloth in the hand holding the staff is only found at Giza in the Fifth Dynasty tombs of *Nswt-nfr*, *Rϵ-ḥϵ.f-ϵnh* and *3ḥtj-mrw-nswt*, *ibid*, pp. 323, 324.

Tomb owners standing beneath awnings: *Srf-k3.j* at Sheikh Said, *Hw-ns* at Aswan; tomb owners seated beneath awnings: *Ppjj-ᵑḥ-ḥrj-jb* at Meir, *Hm-Rʿ/Jzj* at Deir el-Gebrawi (north wall scene).⁷³⁶

6.2.3.2 Type and features of vessels

Hulls

Wooden hulls on sailing ships: *K3.j-ḥnt*, *Jntj* and *Srf-k3.j* sit low in the water as does the ship of *Hnj*(H24) at El-Hawawish. The hull of *Ttj-jqr* rides much higher in the water as does the ship carrying *Ppjj-ᵑḥ-ḥrj-jb* at Meir with a greater length of stern rising up from the water.

Sterns rise at a shallower angle in tombs of an earlier date: *K3.j-ḥnt* A2 at El-Hammamiya and *Jntj* at Deshasha, both 25°.

Sterns of a later date rise more sharply, for example, *Ppjj-ᵑḥ/Hnj-km* of Meir, *Dʿw*, of Deir el-Gebrawi, *Jhjj* of Thebes, at 40°, *Jtj* of Gebelein, at 45°.

The prow of the vessel carrying *K3.j-ḥnt* in his wife's procession and both prow and stern of *Ppjj-ᵑḥ-ḥrj-jb*'s ship, are decorated with the recurved head of a hedgehog. This detail never appears at El-Hawawish.

Aftercastles: *Jbj* and *Dʿw* at Deir el-Gebrawi;⁷³⁷ *Ppjj-ᵑḥ/Hnj-km*.⁷³⁸ No other provincial ships carry this platform.

Comment

Some differences can be seen between the Hawawish and provincial papyrus craft particularly in shape of the hulls. With their long, relatively narrow hulls and prow and stern gently angled upward, the Hawawish papyriform boats are most similar to those of *Ppjj-ᵑḥ/Hnj-km* at Meir. The funerary craft in the three tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi, are shorter in length with the prow and stern rising more sharply from the water-line and

⁷³⁶ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 16; Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. 19. The scene of *Ppjj-ᵑḥ-ḥrj-jb* is the only provincial example where the pose of the tomb owner follows the usual position according to Boreux, when two ships are depicted (*Nautique*, p. 159). Boreux observed that in the first ship, the tomb owner was shown standing, and in the second was seated. This is not found in the representation of *Hnj* at El-Hawawish who is standing in the ship which is second in line, or in the scene of *Hm-Rʿ/Jzj* at Deir el-Gebrawi where the tomb owner is seated in the first ship and standing in the second.

⁷³⁷ Davies, *Gebrāwi* I, pl. 10; *ibid* II, pl. 7.

⁷³⁸ Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 22.

then flattening or curving slightly down towards the ends. The shrine-like roof of the canopy over the coffin is usual in all, although the number of supporting columns varies between two in the canopies for funerary furniture (in the upper register of *Jbj* and in the scene of *Dꜥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi) and four for larger coffins (at El-Hawawish, Meir and in the lower register of the scene of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi).

Sails and masts

The sails of most provincial ships are always shown in three-quarter view. Two variations appear:

- the sails of the two ships on the north wall of *Hm-Rꜥ/Jzj* of Deir el-Gebrawi are almost triangular in shape tapering down to the deck,⁷³⁹
- the sails of *Wnjs-ꜥnh* and *Jhjj* at Thebes, *Ppjj-ꜥnh/Hnjj-km* at Meir, *Dꜥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi and *Hw-ns* at Aswan are shown in a frontal view with the sail square-on to the viewer.⁷⁴⁰

The lower edge of the sail at deck level: (El-Hawawish in the tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22) *K3.j-ḥnt*, El-Hammamiya, *Srf-k3.j*, Sheikh Said, and *Jntj*, Deshasha (all Fifth Dynasty).

The lower edge of the sail is raised up approximately one third of the height of the mast above the deck: *Wnjs-ꜥnh* and *Jhjj* at Thebes, *Jbj* and *Dꜥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi, *Ppjj-ꜥnh/Hnjj-km* and *Ppjj-ꜥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir. This position seems to be the result of presenting the sails square-on to the viewer, necessitating a higher yard to clear the roof of the cabin. None of the sails of these last three ships at Meir, Deir el-Gebrawi and Thebes, is taken up to the top of the mast as are all other sails.

The outer ends of the upper yards of the sail are slightly curved upwards in all provincial sailing ships (as in the first of *Hnj*'s ships at El-Hawawish): those of *Ppjj-ꜥnh/Hnjj-km* at Meir and *Dꜥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi being the most exaggerated.

⁷³⁹ Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl. 19. Landström believes this shape to be correct and a continuation of the trapezoidal –shaped sails of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, which provided a smaller and more easily controlled sail area, particularly for smaller vessels (*Ships*, pp. 43, 44, 48). Boreux (*Nautique*, pp. 364, 365) and Vandier, (*Manuel V*, pp. 815, 816, 819–821) in discussing this triangular sail, propose that it is the usual rectangular shape but seen from a different view. This view is that of the lower yard-arm turned by the wind so that it is in a perpendicular plane to the keel of the ship (or 'end-on' to the viewer); thus two planes are shown in the one sail. Vandier uses the parallel of the representations of the human figure which combine profile and frontal views.

⁷⁴⁰ Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pls. 5,19; Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 22 (chapel, south wall); Davies, *Gebrāwi* II, pl.7; de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.*, p.160.

Single pole masts: *Wnjs-ḥnh* and *Jhjj*, Thebes, *Jtj*, Gebelein and four of the five sailing ships of *Dḥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi.

Bipod masts: *Jntj* and *Hm-Rḥ/Jzj*, Deir el-Gebrawi.

Angled wooden ‘knees’ brace the masts of *Hm-Rḥ/Jzj*, *Jbj* and *Dḥw* ‘s ships at Deir el-Gebrawi. There is no indication of the way in which the remaining masts were secured. No rope trusses are visible at the base of masts.

Steering oars

Steering oars were essential to manoeuvre both sailing and papyriform vessels. The papyrus craft bearing the tomb owner’s coffin or other funerary equipment of *Jwff*, (wife of *K3.j-ḥnt*), *Ppjj-ḥnh/Hnjj-km* and *Dḥw*, like *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* at El-Hawawish use two steering oars in the stern while *Jbj* has one. Ships under sail have either one or two steering oars and it is possible that the number and the type may indicate an earlier or later date.

Sailing ships in the Fifth Dynasty tombs of *K3.j-ḥnt*, *Srf-k3.j* and *Jntj* have two helmsmen in the stern of each. Sailing ships in tombs dated to the Sixth–Eighth Dynasties, have one helmsman: *Hm-Rḥ/Jzj*, *Jbj*, *Wnjs-ḥnh*, *Jhjj*, *Hw-ns* and *Jtj*.

Two tombs combine single and double steering oars in their procession of sailing ships. At Meir in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb*, one ship uses a single steering oar while three boats (two with masts down) have two. At Deir el-Gebrawi in the tomb of *Dḥw* one ship uses two steering oars and another four ships under sail use single oars. This number of steering oars is observed in the boat processions of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* at El-Hawawish where the leading boat under sail has one and the following vessels – one sailing and one towed papyriform boat – have two steering oars. The sailing ships at El-Hawawish depict both steering oars on the same side of the hull, like *Jntj* of Deshasha.

The ship of *Wnjs-ḥnh* is steered by a helmsman seated on the domed roof of a cabin like the helmsmen on the first sailing ships of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj* at El-Hawawish.

Tillers which assist steering oars appear in: *Jbj* and *Dḥw*, Deir el-Gebrawi, *Jhjj*, Thebes, *Hw-ns*, Aswan, *Mrjj*, Deshasha, *Ppjj-ḥnh/Hnjj-km*, Meir and *Jtj* at Gebelein. Tillers appear on provincial boats between the reigns of Merenre–Pepy II.

Decoration and construction details

Woven pattern on the deck cabin: *Ppjj-ḥh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir, as in the ships of *Ḥzjj-Mnw* (M22), *Ttj-jqr* (H26) and *Hnj* (H24) at El-Hawawish.

Comment

Provincial boats bearing coffins and funerary equipment show all the characteristic form of skiffs made from papyrus reeds with the prow and stern in the shape of a papyrus umbel, but were most probably constructed of wood. The weight of the wooden coffins and shrines with the canopies over them, as well as attendant priests and helmsmen, infer that this craft would have been constructed of a stronger material than reeds. The same conclusion must be made concerning the papyriform boat bearing *Ḥm-Rᶜ/Jzj* of Deir el-Gebrawi on his north wall.⁷⁴¹ As well as the tomb owner seated beneath a canopy, this boat carries a mast and sail yet its shape and the rope bindings on the hull are that of a true papyrus skiff.

6.2.3.3 Personnel/attendants

- *Drjtt*-mourners are found in most provincial funerary boat scenes with the exception of *Ḥm-Rᶜ/Jzj* at Deir el-Gebrawi. In the most complete funerary scene in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnj-km* at Meir,⁷⁴² two women are accompanied by lector- and embalming priests, and here and in the scene of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gebrawi,⁷⁴³ the women are designated as *drjtt*-mourners. The women kneel with one knee raised and one hand on the breast with the other hanging by the side and all face forward as at El-Hawawish.⁷⁴⁴
- A sailor with sounding pole holding the forestay: *K3.j-ḥnt* (A2), El-Hammamiya.⁷⁴⁵
- Sailors holding sounding pole which trails backward (as in H26, H24 at El-Hawawish): *K3.j-ḥnt* (A2) El-Hammamiya, *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnj-km*, Meir and *Mrjj*, Deshasha.⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴¹ Davies, *Gebrâwi* II, pl. 19.

⁷⁴² Blackman, *Meir* V, pls. 42, 43.

⁷⁴³ Ibid, II, pl. 7.

⁷⁴⁴ An exception to this kneeling pose is seen in the first boat in the west wall scene of *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnj-km* which has not yet left the shore. Here the two women stand with arms hanging by their sides, apparently watching the embalming priest boarding the craft, *ibid.* pl. 43.

⁷⁴⁵ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 37.

⁷⁴⁶ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 35, 37, 44, 45; Blackman, *Meir* V, pls. 22, 42, 43; Petrie, *Deshasha*, pl. 27.

- Sailors holding forestay: *K3.j-ḥnt* (A2), El-Hammamiya, *Jntj*, Deshasha, *Wnjs-ḥnh*, Thebes, and *Dḥw*, Deir el-Gebrawi.⁷⁴⁷
- Helmsmen: *K3.j-ḥnt*, (A2), El-Hammamiya, *Srf-k3.j*, Sheikh Said, and *Jntj*, Deshasha (two helmsmen); *Ḥm-Rḥ/Jzj*, *Jbj* Deir el-Gebrawi, *Wnjs-ḥnh*, *Jhjj*, Thebes, *Ḥw-ns*, Aswan and *Jtj*, Gebelein (one helmsman).
- Sailors operating braces:
 - seated toward the back of the roof of the cabin in the centre of the ship (*Ḥm-Rḥ/Jzj*, *Ppjj-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb*)
 - in the stern by men standing (*K3.j-ḥnt*, *Srf-k3.j*, *Jntj*) or seated (*Wnjs-ḥnh*, *Ḥw-ns*).

Animals on board

Monkeys accompany seven provincial vessels, all sailing ships except one: the papyriform boat of *Jwff* at El-Hammamiya carrying her *ḥn*-shrine, depicts a monkey on the stern. The main brace-lines or ropes supporting the mast are the usual position for these animals, either shown climbing up: *Ḥm-Rḥ/Jzj*, Deir el-Gebrawi, *Jntj* and *Mrjj* Deshasha, and *Wnjs-ḥnh* at Thebes; or climbing downward: *K3.j-ḥnt* at El-Hammamiya.

Monkeys walk along the deck cabin roof or the awning of *Ḥm-Rḥ/Jzj* at Deir el-Gebrawi and the lower yard of *Ppjj-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* of Meir where the monkey appears to be tethered. None are found in the same position as one of the two animals at El-Hawawish on the leading ship of *Ḥnj*, walking along the top yard of the sail, although -

A monkey sits in the middle of the top yard and another climbs up the mainstay near the top of the mast on the sailing ship of *Mrjj* at Deshasha.

Comment

The majority of these animals are of the type commonly called the Green Monkey and are characterized by their small size, slender frame and long curving tail held up level with, or over, the back.⁷⁴⁸ A different species appears to be reproduced in the scenes of *K3.j-ḥnt* (A2) at El-Hammamiya. This animal, with its larger head and short tail arching

⁷⁴⁷ El-Khouli-Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 35, 37; Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 32; Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 5; Davies, *Gebrāwi II*, pl. 7.

⁷⁴⁸ *Cercopithecus aethiops*. Osbourn, *Mammals*, pp. 39, 40.

up from its buttocks before dropping down, appears to be a member of the smaller type of baboon called the Hamadryas Baboon.⁷⁴⁹

6.3 The Tomb Owner Journeying by Water in Memphite Tombs

6.3.1 Purpose/type of journey

Figs. 6.9, 6.13-6.15

Possibly the earliest identified tomb owners travelling in a boat appear in wall scenes during the early Fourth Dynasty are *Mrs-ḥnh* III and *Snb*, at Giza.⁷⁵⁰ The motif may have been adapted from royal precedents. The finely-carved blocks featuring sections of large sailing ships found by Goedicke at Lisht and dated by him to royal monuments from the early Fourth Dynasty, may have been part of a procession of state by the king to visit the sacred precincts of the gods at sites like Abydos.⁷⁵¹

Funerary processions in elite Memphite tombs with boats carrying the coffin, statue box and other grave goods appear in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty: *Htp-ḥr-3ḥtj* and *Pth-ḥtp* at Saqqara.⁷⁵² In the provinces the funerary purpose of the procession of sailing ships towing a papyrus boat which bears a coffin and statue box seen at El-Hawawish, Meir and Deir el-Gebrawi, is clear.

A different type of funerary journey is found in Memphite tombs. These journeys take two forms:

- Papyrus craft bearing funerary furniture are shown being towed along a waterway either by two lines of men hauling from the bank, for example, *Q3r* at Giza,⁷⁵³ or
- Papyrus craft bearing funerary furniture are shown being towed by a boat propelled by men rowing, and with a single line of men hauling from the edge of the water, for example, in *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp*, *Htp-ḥr-3ḥtj*, *Pth-ḥtp*, *Jhjj/Jdwt* and possibly *Mrrw-k3.j*, at Saqqara and *Snfrw-jnj-jšt.f* at Dahshur.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁴⁹ Papio hamadryas. Ibid, pp. 32-37.

⁷⁵⁰ Dunham-Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 5; Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 4.

⁷⁵¹ Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks at Lisht*, pp. 86-118.

⁷⁵² Dunham-Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 5; Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 4; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 2; LD II, fig. 101b.

⁷⁵³ Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 24.

⁷⁵⁴ Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, pls. 8, 12, 13; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 2; LD II, pl. 101b; Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 8; Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cem.* II, pl. 56; Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 130, 131 (the damaged south wall shows only the boat being rowed, the upper register is lost); de Morgan, *Dahchour* II, pl. 22, see also Wilson, *Funeral Scenes*, pl. 14.

The scenes in the chapels of *Snfrw-jnj-jst.f* at Dahshur, *Jj-nfrt* and *Nb-k3w-hr* at Saqqara,⁷⁵⁵ show a further, and later, stage in the funerary journey. Here, the coffin or statue box is shown passing over a wavy surface which is suggested by Wilson to be the last stage of the journey across the desert to the tomb.⁷⁵⁶ The artistic interpretation of this procession is explicit: the smooth waterband beneath the boat in the earlier part of the journey has given way to an undulating line. The papyrus craft has changed, becoming flatter in the hull (except for the scene in the tomb of *Jj-nfrt*) and more sled-like in appearance. It carries no helmsman in the stern, a feature which is always present when the boats are on water.⁷⁵⁷ All these details suggest that the coffin and funerary furniture have been transferred to a different craft, though still papyriform in shape, but now better suited to this stage of the journey.

Comment

The suggestion that this stage of the funerary journey is set in the desert, may be queried for the following reasons. In scenes which depict the desert, such as the setting for the hunting of wild animals, this land is shown as undulating. In every instance however, the desert surface is never shown as a regular, wavy line but is varied and irregular (often with vegetation). It is placed above the horizontal register line, that is, the lower edge is horizontal and the upper edge is varied and irregular. In the funeral boat scenes of *Hnmw-htp*, *Pth-htp*, *Snfrw-jnj-jst.f*, *Jj-nfrt* and *Nb-k3w-hr*, the area beneath the boats is bordered by two wavy lines which, in turn, rest on the horizontal register line. The area bordered by the wavy lines in the scene of *Nb-k3w-hr* was originally coloured blue, according to the description of Hassan, which would support the proposal that this represents water.⁷⁵⁸ A fragment from the tomb of *Ftk-t3*, south Abusir, gives additional information. Here, part of a boat carrying a sled with a naos accompanied by a figure, is shown on a wavy band painted with zig-zag lines which is the usual means of designating water in the Old Kingdom.⁷⁵⁹ The wavy band itself is within two horizontal lines like the band of water normally appearing under ships. Perhaps this fragment shows the transition in the journey between a waterway (indicated by the two horizontal lines) either the river or a canal, and the uneven, marshy edge of the desert (the wavy

⁷⁵⁵ Kanawati–Abder Raziq, *Unis Cem.* II, pl 38; Hassan. *Saqqara I*, figs. 4, 8.

⁷⁵⁶ Wilson, *Funeral Scenes*, p. 207.

⁷⁵⁷ An exception is found in the joint tomb of *Nj-nh-Hnmw/Hnmw-htp* where the funerary craft travelling over wavy lines each have a helmsman with a steering oar (Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pls. 8, 9, 12, 13).

⁷⁵⁸ Hassan, *Saqqara I*, p. 24.

⁷⁵⁹ Verner, *Fetekta*, in *MDAIK* 50 (1994), pp. 295–305, pl. 49b.

area between them).⁷⁶⁰ Or is it the *wrt*-channel as suggested by Verner (*Fetekta*, p.299)? But note that the boats in the designated *wrt*-channel (*d3t wrt*) in the scenes of *Nj-ḥnh-hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp* at the Unis Causeway at Saqqara⁷⁶¹ are the only craft found in these funerary depictions with steering oars, a feature otherwise associated with boats in water of some depth.

6.3.2 The iconography of the scene

6.3.2.1 Position and posture of the tomb owner on board

Figs.6.10, 6.16-6.18

The formal standing posture of the Hawawish tomb owners is only found at Saqqara: *Phn-wj-k3.j*, *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp*, *Jrw-k3-Pth*, *H3j* and at Abusir in the tomb of *Pth-šps*.⁷⁶² Most are dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty with *H3j* the latest, serving under Isesi, Unis and Teti.

The most common pose of the tomb owner on board ships in the Memphite cemeteries, is the informal standing position with the end of the staff placed under the armpit and with one hand resting on the top. Both feet are flat on the deck.⁷⁶³

The seated pose is much less frequently found in Memphite tombs, occasionally on ‘pleasure trips’, more usually on board sailing ships. These so-called ‘pleasure trips’ are made in papyrus boats.⁷⁶⁴ In the provinces, a very similar depiction is seen at El-Hammamiya, where the wife of *K3.j-hnt* (A2), *Jwff*, sits in a papyrus boat manned by three rowers with paddles and a helmsman with a steering oar in the stern, like *Mrs-ḥnh* III.⁷⁶⁵ Both women hold lotus flowers to the nose.

⁷⁶⁰ Kanawati suggests that this “marshy or muddy area” refers to the Delta region, noting the nearby depictions of palm trees, shrines and references to Sais in the tombs of *Jj-nfrt* and *Nb-k3w-Hr* (Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cem.* II, p. 21).

⁷⁶¹ Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, pls. 8, 9, 12, 13.

⁷⁶² LD II, pl.45; Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, fig. 9; McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, pl. 48; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 56; Verner, *Abusir*, pl. 8, respectively.

⁷⁶³ *Mr-jb* (LD II, fig. 22d= Vandier, *Manuel* V, pl. 37); *Hwfw-ḥ3.f* II (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 47); *K3.j-m-ḥnh*, *Sšm-nfr* I (Kanawati, *Giza* I, pls. 37, 41, 44=LD II, pl. 28); *Sš3t-ḥtp*, *Nswt-nfr* (Kanawati, *Giza* II, pls. 44, 52, 54); *Sndm-jb/Jntj*, *Hnmntj* (Brovarski, *Sennedjemib Complex*, figs. 39, 82b); *Nfr/K3-ḥ3.j* (Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nefer*, pl. 16); *Tjj* (Épron-Wild, *Ti*, pl. 49); *K3.j-m-rhw* (Mogensen, *Le Mastaba égyptien*, figs. 9, 11); *Mhw* (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 10); *Hnmw-ḥtp* (Petrie–Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pl. 17); *Snfrw-jnj-jšt.f* (*Atlas* I, pl. 409).

⁷⁶⁴ For example, Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 14a (*Snb*); Schürmann, *li-nefert*, pls. 7a,b (*Jj-nfrt*); Schäfer, *Principles*, pl.34= *Atlas* I, 376 (Berlin 15420) (*Htp* (though here the woman is standing); *HESPOK*, fig. 63; Dunham–Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 5 (*Mrs-ḥnh* II and *Mrs-ḥnh* III).

⁷⁶⁵ El-Khouli–Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 51.

In tombs of the capital, tomb owners are seated in ships in the following scenes: at Giza: *Sn̄b*, *Nfr*, *Sšm-nfr* I, *K3.j-m-ḥnh*; at Saqqara: *Ftk-t3*, *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Mḥw*, *S3bw/Jbbj* (these last two scenes share the same detail of the tomb owner holding a flywhisk over his shoulder); at Dahshur: *Snfrw-jnj-jšt.f.*⁷⁶⁶

At Memphis, several tombs include a figure facing the tomb owner on board sailing ships. Some of these clasp one hand to the chest or shoulder in a gesture of reverence or obedience to an instruction,⁷⁶⁷ but others, extending their hands, offer, or read from, an unrolled papyrus.⁷⁶⁸ All these Memphite examples are found at Saqqara. Of them, only *S3bw/Jbbj* is seated. Only once in a provincial tomb is a similar action shown. In the boating scene of *Ppjj-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir, the tomb owner sits on a chair under the awning of his sailing ship accepting a rolled papyrus (or a staff/baton?) from an unidentified figure before him.⁷⁶⁹

Comment

The seated posture of tomb owners on board, appears to be limited to earlier tombs with the latest, *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Mḥw* and *S3bw*, dated to the reign of Teti. Only two tomb owners seated on board, are found at El-Hawawish; these are travelling on papyriform craft without sails: *Ḥzjj-Mnw* (G42) and *B3wj* (BA48). In other provincial sites two tomb owners are seated on sailing ships: *Ppjj-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir and *Ḥm-R^c/Jzj* at Deir el-Gebrawi.

The papyriform boats of the two El-Hawawish tomb officials, *Ḥzjj-Mnw* and *B3wj*, which are hauled along by a line of men on the edge of a waterway, appear to be the only examples of this form of transport for tomb owners amongst the scenes in the provinces and in the capital.

A detail of interest in the boating scenes of *Ḥzjj-Mnw* (G42) and *B3wj* (BA48), at El-Hawawish, are the figures standing opposite and facing the seated tomb owner. In the

⁷⁶⁶ Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 14b; *ibid* VI, fig. 16; Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 44; Junker, *Giza* IV, pl. 7 (Giza). LD II, pl.96=Vandier, *Manuel* V, fig. 315; Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl. 140, 142-144; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 20a,b; *Atlas* III, pl. 112 (Saqqara); de Morgan, *Dahchour*, pl.19, respectively.

⁷⁶⁷ For example, *Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw/Ḥnmw-ḥtp* (Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, fig. 11); *Jrw-k3-Pth* (McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, pl. 48); *Ḥnmw-ḥtp* (Petrie–Murray, *Seven Memphite Chapels*, pl. 17); *3ḥt-ḥtp* (Ziegler, *Akhetetep*, pp. 66, 67).

⁷⁶⁸ For example, *Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw/Ḥnmw-ḥtp* (Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, fig. 10); *R^c-m-k3.j* (Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 56); possibly *S3bw/Jbbj* (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 21=Vandier, *Manuel* V, pl. 37). For a study of document presentation in wall scenes see der Manuelian, *Presenting the Scroll*, in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. 2, pp. 561-588.

⁷⁶⁹ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 16.

scene of *B3wj*, this figure offers an object to the outstretched hand of the tomb owner. *B3wj*, in extending his arm, appears to accept this object which may be a papyrus document as in the scenes of *Hnmw-htp* at Saqqara and *Ppjj-ḥh-hrj-jb* at Meir.⁷⁷⁰

6.3.2.2 Features of vessels

Deck-houses and awnings

Figs. 6.16, 6.17

Awnings to the front and the rear of cabins are found on most of the Saqqara ships with the tomb owners standing (or sitting on a chair at the stern for *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Mḥw* and *Ftk-t3*)⁷⁷¹ beneath them, but awnings or shelters are only found on a small number of ships at Giza and at Dahshur.⁷⁷²

Deck-houses are relatively small on ships without awnings at Giza and the tomb owner standing before, or next to, them is often depicted taller than these cabins, for example, *Mr-jb*, *Nswt-nfr*, *K3-nj-nswt* and *Hnmntj*.⁷⁷³ This has a parallel in the provinces in the scene of *Jntj* at Deshasha.⁷⁷⁴

The awning is generally extended towards, and attached to, the mast in Memphite ships. In a few ships in tombs at the capital, the awning is even carried past the mast to a point approximately halfway between the mast and the prow.⁷⁷⁵

The forked pole supporting the end of the awning on the Hawawish sailing ships of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, *Hnj*, H24, *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Ttj-3*, H41, is clearly indicated in the Giza scene of *Sndmjb/Jntj*, and in the Saqqara boating scenes of *Tjj* and *Hnmw-htp*.⁷⁷⁶ In this last scene

⁷⁷⁰ Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 10; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 16.

⁷⁷¹ Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 140, 142–144; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 20a,b, sailing ships under oars; LD II, pl. 96=Vandier, *Manuel* V, fig. 315. *S3bw/Jbbj* is also seated under an awning on a wooden ship but one without sails, *Atlas* III, pl. 112.

⁷⁷² Dunham–Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 5 (*Mrs-ḥh* III, not a ship under sail); Hassan, *Giza* V, fig. 104 (*Wr-ḥww*); Junker, *Giza* IV, pls. 7 (*K3.j-m-ḥh*); Hassan, *Giza* VI, fig. 168 (*Nj-k3w-Ḥwt-ḥr*, not a ship under sail); Brovarski, *Sennedjemib Complex*, fig. 39 (*Sndmjb/Jntj*); de Morgan, *Dahchour* II, pl. 19 (*Snfrw-jnj-jst.f*) respectively.

⁷⁷³ LD II, pl. 22d; Kanawati, *Giza* II, pls. 52, 54; Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 22; Brovarski, *Sennedjemib Complex*, pl. 82b, respectively.

⁷⁷⁴ Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 32.

⁷⁷⁵ *Hzzj* (Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 56), *Tjj* (Épron–Daumas, *Ti* I, pls. 47–49) at Saqqara; *Sndmjb/Jntj* (Brovarski, *Sennedjemib Complex*, fig. 39, slightly forward of the mast) at Giza; *Snfrw-jnj-jst.f* (de Morgan, *Dahchour* II, pl. 19) at Dahshur.

⁷⁷⁶ Brovarski, *Sennedjemib Complex*, fig. 39; Épron–Daumas, *Ti*, pls. 47–49; Petrie–Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pl. 17.

the roof continues past the pole to the mast, as in the ship of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and beyond it, in the ships of *Tjj*.

Aftercastles at the stern of provincial sailing ships are not found in Memphite ships.

Comment

Only the boating scene of *Hnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish shows a main deck-house with woven sides on the ship bearing the tomb owner, which is the second ship in line, although a patterned area amidships in the damaged scene of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, indicates that his ship may also have had a centrally-placed cabin with sides covered by woven material. This feature is noted in Fifth Dynasty scenes at Giza and Saqqara (see below, *Decoration and construction details*). A different and smaller cabin with a vaulted roof takes the place of this main deck-house in the first boat in the procession of ships in *Hnj*, H24, and *Ttj-jqr*, H26. This cabin has woven sides (shown as a checked pattern), and acts as a seat for the helmsman who controls the large steering oar. An almost identical cabin with a seated helmsman appears on the ship of *Wnjs-ḥnh* at Thebes.⁷⁷⁷ No examples of a similar cabin with a vaulted roof are found in the Memphite tombs. Instead, an awning extends from the central deck-house to the stern and helmsmen with steering oars either stand beneath, or sit on the awning.

At El-Hawawish, tomb owners on sailing ships stand beneath an awning amidships which extends forward from the roof of the deck-house, or, if seated in a papyriform boat without sails, under a canopy at the stern of their boats. Awnings are infrequently found on provincial sailing ships, and then only on one ship in a line of boats: *Srf-k3.j*, at Sheikh Said, *Ppjj-ḥnh-hrj-jb* and *Ppjj-ḥnh/Hnj-km* at Meir, *Hm-R/Jzj* (north wall) and *Dʿw* at Deir el-Gebrawi, *Hw-ns* at Aswan, and on the papyrus craft of *Ttj-jqr/Hwj* at Geheina.⁷⁷⁸ Awnings are frequently depicted, however, on Memphite ships, particularly at Saqqara.

The roof of the awning on the ships of *Hnj*, *Ttj-jqr* and *Ghs3* at El-Hawawish stops well before the mast where it is supported by a forked pole. The awning on the ship of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, however, continues past its pole to the mast as on the ships of *Hnmw-ḥtp* at Saqqara and *Srf-k3.j* at Sheikh Said.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷⁷ Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 5.

⁷⁷⁸ Respectively, Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 5; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 16, V, pl. 22; Davies, *Gebrâwi* II, pls. 19, 7; de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.*, p. 160.

⁷⁷⁹ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 5.

*The mast: type and method of securing to the deck**Figs. 6.16–6.20*

Bipod masts are the usual means of supporting the sails of Memphite ships. Single pole masts are occasionally depicted on smaller craft such as *Snb*'s sailing boat, but rarely on larger ships, for example, *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Jpj* and *Mḥw*.⁷⁸⁰ Both types of masts appear on the ships of *Mrrw-k3.j* and *Mḥw* as they do at El-Hawawish in the scenes of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj*, and at Deir el-Gebrawi in the tomb of *Dꜥw*. The masts were secured at the base by rope trusses or by strong wooden blocks or frames. Both types are found on the ships of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj*. Only the wooden supports, however, are depicted on the ships in other provincial tombs.

The rope truss securing the mast to the deck

This type of truss possibly first appeared on royal sailing ships. Fragments of sailing ships on re-used blocks from Lisht dated to the late Fourth–early Fifth Dynasty exhibit with great clarity, the twisted loops of these trusses and the short rods passing through to tighten them,⁷⁸¹ and reliefs from the Unis Causeway also depict twisted rope trusses with tightening rods either side of the base of tripod masts.⁷⁸²

In the elite tombs at Saqqara of *Tjj* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*, and at Giza in the tomb of *Jtj-sn* and Dahshur, in the scenes of *Snfrw-jnj-jst.f*, sailing ships show similar trusses formed of loops of multi-stranded rope passing around each side of the lowest cross-piece of the bipod masts. This rope is then twisted and each loop then crosses diagonally down to the deck.⁷⁸³ Short rods are threaded through to tighten the trusses.

Comment

Detailed trusses are clearly seen in the earliest of the sailing ships at El-Hawawish, in the tomb of the Fifth Dynasty official, *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22. The mast trusses on later ships at this cemetery are much more simply rendered. Their use appears to have been superseded by wooden supports in the early Sixth Dynasty in the capital and it is to be

⁷⁸⁰ Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 146; Duell, *Mereruka II*, pls. 140-145; Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, pl. 111; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 19a,b, although bipod masts are shown dismantled and lying along the roof of the cabin in the cargo ships on pls. 21a,b.

⁷⁸¹ Fragments from unknown tombs: MMA 22.1.13, New York; MMA 09.180.129; Royal Ontario Museum Toronto 958.49.3, in Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, pp.106-113. See also the fragment, Brooklyn 35.640, believed to be from the temple of Sahure: Harpur–Sharawi, *JEA* 74 (1988), pp.57-8, fig. 1, pl. VI(2).

⁷⁸² Hassan, *ZAS* 80, fig. 2, p.139.

⁷⁸³ Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 77; Petrie–Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pl. 17; Hassan, *Giza V*, pl. 123; Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, pl. 104, respectively.

queried whether the provincial artists of later tombs at El-Hawawish, particularly in tombs which date to the reign of Pepy II, fully understood the use of the trusses. Whether the use and form of the truss was understood at El-Hawawish, it was still included in sailing ships up to the end of the Sixth Dynasty (in tomb H41, of the nomarch, *Ttj-ꜥ3*) but never in any other provincial scene. The inclusion of such a distinctive detail underlines the apparent strength of a local style specific to El-Hawawish and independent of any other provincial influence.

Sails and rigging

Figs. 6.16, 6.18

In Memphite sailing ships of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties the sail narrows towards the lower edge: see *Mr-jb*, *K3.j-m-ꜥnh*, *K3-nj-nswt* and *Nfr* at Giza,⁷⁸⁴ *K3.j-m-rḥw* and *Rꜥ-špss* at Saqqara.⁷⁸⁵ The lower edge of the sail appears to be on, or close to, the deck.

From the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty the upper and lower yards to which the sail is attached now become equal in length, and the sails assume a rectangular shape. The lower yard is now raised above the deck. These new features are possibly first seen in the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j* at Saqqara. An unusual detail in the second sailing ship of *Ttj-jqr* at El-Hawawish, is the position of the lower yard which is placed behind the mast, so that the full uninterrupted width of the yard to which the lower edge of the sail is attached, is seen by the viewer. This is also found in three of the ships in *Mrrw-k3.j*'s procession.⁷⁸⁶

In the ship of *Jpj* at Saqqara the sail is shown square-on to the viewer with the width equally disposed on either side of the mast. The yards are not horizontal but curve upward toward the ends. This view of the sail is not seen at El-Hawawish, but is adopted in the provinces by the artists of *Hm-Rꜥ/Jzj* and *Dꜥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi, *Wnjs-ꜥnh* and *Jhjj* at Thebes and *Ppjj-ꜥnh/Hnj-km* at Meir.⁷⁸⁷

⁷⁸⁴ LD II, pl. 22; Junker, *Giza* IV, pl. 7; Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 22; Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 16.

⁷⁸⁵ Mogensen, *Le Mastaba égyptien*, fig. 9; LD II, pl. 164.

⁷⁸⁶ Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 142-144.

⁷⁸⁷ Davies, *Gebrâwi* II, pls. 20 and 7; Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pls. 5, 19; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 22.

Decoration or construction details of the ships

A woven pattern appears on the deck houses in the scenes of *Nj-ḥ-Hnmw/Hnmw-htp*, *Nfr/K3-ḥ3.j*, *Ftk-t3* and *Mḥw* (Saqqara), and *Snfrw-jnj-jšt.f* (Dahshur).⁷⁸⁸ A small section of the cabin of the ship of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish (mid-Fifth Dynasty) indicates that a similar pattern was present. The well-preserved deck cabin of the sailing ship in the scene of *Hnj*, H24 (dated to mid-Pepy II), at the same cemetery shows a chequered pattern with horizontal bands at the lower edge indicating the woven material apparently used to cover the sides. The one provincial scene where the woven pattern still partially remains is on the cabin of the ship of *Ppjj-ḥ-hrj-jb* at Meir.⁷⁸⁹

The horizontal, broadly-spaced lines across the width of large sails showing their construction of separate pieces of cloth, is clearly seen on the ships of *Snfrw-jnj-jšt.f* at Dahshur.⁷⁹⁰ The same lines are visible in the Hawawish ships of *Hzzj-Mnw* (M22) and *Ttj-jqr* (H26), as well as *Ppjj-ḥ-hrj-jb* at Meir, and *Hw-ns* at Zawiyet el-Maiyitin.⁷⁹¹ In the provinces, the elaborate details in the sails of the ships of *Wnjs-ḥ* and *Jhjj* at Thebes,⁷⁹² are not found in private tombs in the cemeteries of the capital. Its unique appearance among the other provincial sailing ships appears to support the presence of a local, skilled craftsman. However, the magnificent sail of the ship of Sahure with its complex decoration provides a royal precedent from the Fifth Dynasty which may well have been copied in a simpler form by officials in the capital and later in the provinces.⁷⁹³

The boats bearing coffins and funerary equipment which show all the characteristics of skiffs made from papyrus reeds, were most probably constructed of wood. Nevertheless, all have the prow and stern in the form of a papyrus umbel and often are shown with the details of the reed construction and the binding of true papyrus skiffs.

The weight of the combined wooden coffin, the canopy covering it, the helmsmen with one or two steering oars, the official mourners as well as priests, must indicate that this craft was constructed of a material stronger than reeds. Some evidence that these papyriform boats were of wood is found in scenes of workmen constructing wooden ships. Many of

⁷⁸⁸ Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, figs. 10, 11; Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nefer*, pl.s. 16, 17; LD II, pl. 96; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 19a; *Snfrw-jnj-jšt.f* (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 104).

⁷⁸⁹ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 16.

⁷⁹⁰ Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 104.

⁷⁹¹ H IV, fig. 17; *ibid.* I, fig. 9; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 16; Vandier, *Manuel* V, fig. 328(2).

⁷⁹² Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pls. 5, 19, Frontispiece and Colorplate A(f).

⁷⁹³ Borchardt, *König Sa3hu-Re*, pl. 9.

these have prows and sterns which are shaped like a papyrus umbel,⁷⁹⁴ and in the boat building scene of *R^c-htp* at Medum, two carpenters are working with an adze and chisel on a wooden hull but adding a detail only appropriate to a papyrus boat. (*Fig. 6.21*). It is the action of one of these men with his chisel directed into the rope binding at the prow which gives a clear indication that he is reproducing (by carving), the ropes that hold the reeds of the traditional papyrus boat together although both men are building a wooden boat.⁷⁹⁵

6.3.2.3 Personnel/attendants on board

Figs. 6.13, 6.16–6.18

Drjyt – mourners:

- Two *drjyt*-mourners usually accompany the coffin or statue shrine of the deceased in each of the funerary processions found in the Memphite cemeteries.⁷⁹⁶ The women kneel and face forward when travelling in the papyrus boats except in the scene of *Jdw* at Giza where the women stand facing in towards the statue shrine with its opened door. The standing pose is found once in a provincial tomb in the tomb of *Ppjj-^cnh/Hnjj-km* at Meir, where the two *drjyt*-mourners watch the arrival of the chief embalming priest. In both scenes the papyrus craft is stationary.
- The *drjyt*-mourners in Memphite scenes kneel on both knees and, with one exception, place their hands on their laps.⁷⁹⁷ The provincial mourners kneel on one knee only, with the other raised, and place one hand on the breast with the other hanging by the side.

Helmsmen and steering oars

- Helmsmen operating steering oars stand in the stern of all the Memphite ships with rare exceptions. In these ships the helmsman is seated, for example, *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Mhw* and *Jpj* at Saqqara. *Mrrw-k3.j* may have introduced this feature; on the first three of his sailing ships the awning at the stern acts as the seat for the helmsmen,

⁷⁹⁴ For example, Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 8; Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl. 153.

⁷⁹⁵ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 11.

⁷⁹⁶ *Giza*: *Jdw* and *Q3r* (Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 24, 35); *Saqqara*: *Nj-^cnh-Hnmw-Hnmw-htp* (Moussa–Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pls. 8, 9); *Htp-hr-3htj* (Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 2); *Pth-htp* (LD II, pl. 101b); *Nb-k3w-Hr* (Hassan, *Saqqara* I, figs. 4, 8); *Jhjj/Jdwt* (Kanawati, *Unis Cem.* II, pls. 56, 57); *Mrrw-k3.j* (Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl. 130; *Dahshur*: *Snfrw-jnj-jst.f* (de Morgan, *Dahchour* II, pl. 22).

⁷⁹⁷ Harpur notes that women are shown kneeling on both knees until the Sixth Dynasty (possibly beginning early in the reign of Pepy II), when the pose changes to kneeling on one knee (*Decoration*, pp. 138-139, Table 6.17).

who use a tiller to manipulate the steering oar.⁷⁹⁸ This also may be the first example of a tiller in an elite Memphite tomb.

Pilot and sailors

- One, or sometimes two, men stand in the prow of the Memphite ships, apparently acting as pilots. They hold the forward stay or rope which passes from the top of the mast to the prow, for example, *Snb*, *Sndm-jb/Jntj*, *Hnmntj*, *Nfr*, *K3.j-m-ḥnh*, *Jj-mrjj* at Giza, *Tjj*, *Nfr/K3-ḥ3.j*, *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp*, *3ḥt-ḥtp*, *Jj-nfrt*, *Mḥw*, *Ftk-t3* at Saqqara,⁷⁹⁹ or a long staff held upright, which is sometimes shown with a forked base, for example, *Snfrw-jnj-jst.f*, Dahshur, *Sšm-nfr I*, *K3-nj-nswt*, *Wr-ḥww*, *Mr-jb*, Giza, *Jrw-k3-Pth*, *Rḥ-špss* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*, Saqqara.⁸⁰⁰ Both the stay and a staff are held by men in the prow of the ships of *Tjj*, *Phn-wj-k3.j* (each by a separate man) and *Nfr/K3-ḥ3.j* (by the same man), at Saqqara.⁸⁰¹
- In a small number of Memphite scenes, the sailor in the prow holds a long pole, possibly for testing the depth of the water, which slopes diagonally back and down to enter the water some distance behind the prow, for example, in *Mrs-ḥnh III*, *Ḥwfw-ḥḥ.f II*, *K3.j-m-ḥnh* at Giza, and *Hzzj* and *Jpj* at Saqqara.⁸⁰²
- Only on the ships of *Hzzj* at Saqqara, are the two actions shown: the sailor in the bow grasps the stay with his far hand and holds in his other hand, a long pole which trails back into the water like the sailor in the bow of each of the ships of *Ttj-jqr* and *Hnj*.
- The sailors controlling the braces or ropes at each end of the upper yard of the sail stand in the stern of the ships in scenes at Giza, for example, *Sšm-nfr I*, *K3.j-m-ḥnh*, *K3-nj-nswt*, *Nfr*, *Sndm-jb/Jntj*, and *Hnmntj*,⁸⁰³ and at Saqqara in the tombs of *Tjj*, *3ḥt-ḥtp* and in one of *Nfr/K3-ḥ3.j*'s ships.⁸⁰⁴

⁷⁹⁸ Duell, *Mereruka II*, pls. 140-142.

⁷⁹⁹ *Giza*: Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 14b; Brovarski, *Sennedjemib Complex*, figs. 39, 82b; Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 16; Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 37a; Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, fig. 25; *Saqqara*: Épron-Daumas, *Ti I*, pls. 47-49; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nefer*, pls. 16, 17; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, figs. 9, 10; Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, pp. 66, 67; Kanawati, *Unis Cem. II*, pl. 35; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 19a,b; *LD II*, pl. 96.

⁸⁰⁰ Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, pl. 109; Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 44; Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 22; *LD II*, pl. 43a; *ibid.*, pl. 22a; McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, pl. 48; Petrie-Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pl. 17; *LD II*, pl. 64.

⁸⁰¹ Épron-Daumas, *Ti I*, pl. 48; *LD II*, pl. 45b; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nefer*, pls. 16, 17.

⁸⁰² Dunham-Simpson, *Meresankh III*, fig. 5; Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 47; Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 37a, Junker, *Giza IV*, pl. 3; Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem. V*, pl. 56; Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, pl. 111.

⁸⁰³ Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 44; Junker, *Giza IV*, pl. 7; Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 22; *VI*, fig. 16; Brovarski, *Sennedjemib Complex*, figs. 39, 82b.

⁸⁰⁴ Épron-Daumas, *Ti I*, pls. 47, 48; Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, pp. 66, 67; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nefer*, pl. 16;

- More usually at Saqqara these sailors are shown seated or kneeling on the awning at the stern, for example, in *Tjj* (in the ships above the entrance doorway), *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp*, *Nfr/K3-ḥ3.j*, *Jrj-n-k3-Pth*, *Hnmw-ḥtp*, *Mrrw-k3.j*, *H3j*, *Mḥw*, and also at Dahshur in *Snfrw-jnj-jst.f.*⁸⁰⁵ Variations are occasionally seen.⁸⁰⁶
- Ropes attached to the sails may be held with hands together, for example, *Mrrw-k3.j*, *H3j* and *Mḥw* at Saqqara,⁸⁰⁷ or with separated hands grasping individual ropes, for example, *Snb* at Giza. This appears to be the usual grip depicted in Memphite tombs up to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.⁸⁰⁸ From this time the style changes to the grasp with hands together, as in *Mrrw-k3.j*.

Comment

The standing or seated position for sailors manipulating braces, appears to be determined by the presence or absence of a rear awning. When these awnings are not included the sailors are able to stand unhindered on the stern deck. Likewise the awnings commonly seen on ships at Saqqara provide a higher platform and remove the necessity to stand to gain better control of the sail.

Both seated and standing poses are adopted at El-Hawawish by men operating the sail braces. In the scenes of *H3jj-Mnw*, M22, *Ttj-jqr*, H26, *Hnj*, H24 and *Ttj-ḥ3*, H41, the men sit on the rear awning when it is present and stand when an aftercastle platform is in the stern. The seated position on the rear awning is the one commonly used at Saqqara from the Fifth Dynasty on. Both knees are raised by the seated sailor on *Hnj*'s ship, like *Jrj-n-k3-Pth*, *Hnmw-ḥtp*, *Jrw-k3-Pth* and *Mrrw-k3.j* at Saqqara.⁸⁰⁹

The manner in which the ropes are held may be a feature to assist in identifying the influences from one cemetery to another. The Hawawish sailors of *Ttj-jqr*, *Hnj*, and *Ttj-ḥ3* to hold both ropes together in their hands. This grasp differs to that used in the

⁸⁰⁵ Épron-Daumas, *Ti* I, pl. 49; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, figs. 9, 10; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nefer*, pl. 17; Moussa-Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 8; Petrie-Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pl. 17; Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 142-145; Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* II, pl. 56; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 19; Wreszinski, *Atlas* I, pl. 410.

⁸⁰⁶ For example, the sailors of *Rḥ-spss*, *Jrw-k3-Pth* and *Phn-wj-k3.j*, are seated more forward on the cabin roof, LD II, pl. 64a; McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, pl. 48; LD II, pl. 45b; those of *Jpj* sit on the deck next to the cabin.

⁸⁰⁷ Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl. 144; Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 56; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 19.

⁸⁰⁸ For example, *Hnmntj* (Brovarski, *Sennedjemib Complex*, pl. 82b), Giza; *Tjj* (Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 77; Épron-Daumas, *Ti* I, pls. 46-49); *Nfr/K3-ḥ3.j* (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nefer*, pls. 16, 17); *Jrw-k3-Pth* (McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, pl. 48); *Rḥ-spss* (LD II, pl. 64); *ḥt-ḥtp* (Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, pp. 66, 67); *Jrj-n-k3-Pth* (Moussa-Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 8), *Mrrw-k3.j* (Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 140-143), Saqqara.

⁸⁰⁹ Moussa-Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 8; Petrie-Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pl. 17; McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, pl. 48 (in three out of four ships); Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 142, 143.

Memphite scenes. In one of the earliest scenes in the capital, *Snb* at Giza, the ropes are held together with the near hand while the other far hand stretches up to steady or haul on one of them.⁸¹⁰ This separation of hands with either each holding a separate rope, or one hand reaching up to grasp the far rope and the near hand holding the two strands together like *Snb*, continues to be the usual grasp of the ropes when the detail is clear, in almost all the Memphite scenes up to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.⁸¹¹ The sailors of *Mrrw-k3.j* (on his last two ships), of *Hzzj* and *Mḥw* at Saqqara hold the ropes together in both hands as do the Hawawish sailors.⁸¹² It seems that once again there is a change in style – in this instance in the position of the hands holding the sail braces, or in the method of controlling the sails – at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty. El-Hawawish scenes of *Ttj-jqr*, *Hnj*, and *Ttj-ʿ3*, officials dated to Pepy II or later, adopt the newer style seen at Saqqara. It is unfortunate that the sole Fifth Dynasty sailing scene at this cemetery in tomb M22, that of *Hzzj-Mnw*, is damaged in the area where this detail could be observed, but from the position of the near hand it may be proposed that each hand holds a separate rope as the Fifth Dynasty tomb owners at Memphis.⁸¹³

Animals on ships

In Memphite wall scenes, monkeys are the favoured animals accompanying the tomb owner when he travels on ships; a single exception was found where dogs were present.

Giza

No scenes of monkeys accompanying the tomb owner travelling on a ship were found.

Saqqara

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>Mḥw</i> | a dwarf, standing on the roof of the deck cabin holds the leashes of two dogs as well as a monkey which is seated on his shoulder. ⁸¹⁴ |
| <i>Hnmw-ḥtp</i> | a monkey tethered and shown walking along the cabin roof. ⁸¹⁵ |
| <i>Hzzj, S3bw/Jbbj</i> | a monkey walking along the cabin roof. ⁸¹⁶ |

⁸¹⁰ Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 14b.

⁸¹¹ For example, *Hnmntj* (Brovarski, *Sennedjemib Complex*, pl. 82b), Giza; *Ttj* (Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 77; Épron-Daumas, *Ti I*, pls. 46-49); *Nfr/K3-ḥ3.j* (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nefer*, pls. 16,17); *Jrw-k3-Pth* (McFarlane, *Irukaptah*, pl. 48); *Rʿ-špss* (LD II, pl. 64); *3ḥt-ḥtp* (Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, pp. 66, 67); *Jrj-n-k3-Pth* (Moussa-Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 8), *Mrrw-k3.j* (Duell, *Mereruka II*, pls. 140-143) Saqqara.

⁸¹² Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 144; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem. V*, pl. 56; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 19.

⁸¹³ *H IV*, fig. 17.

⁸¹⁴ Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 19b.

⁸¹⁵ Petrie–Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pl. 17.

⁸¹⁶ Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem. V*, pl. 56; Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, pl. 21.

Hẓj and *Mḥw* monkeys climbing up the rigging and in *Mrrw-k3.j* a monkey walks along the top yard arm.⁸¹⁷

Dahshur

Snfrw-jnj-jšt.f a large tethered monkey walks along the roof of the deck cabin.⁸¹⁸

Monkeys climbing up and down the rigging of sailing ships appear in scenes at five other provincial sites. While this position for monkeys is the most popular one amongst provincial artists, in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥḥ-ḥrj-jb* at Meir, the tomb owner, or his artist, chooses to include only the pose of the tethered monkey on the deck cabin roof in his scene.⁸¹⁹ This large animal walking towards the stern, away from the seated figure of the tomb owner, strongly echoes the composition of *Snfrw-jnj-jšt.f* at Dahshur.

FINDINGS

- The inclusion of the motif of the tomb owner on board a sailing ship is restricted to the most senior class of officials at El-Hawawish, with one exception: in the Sixth Dynasty, all are nomarchs except for *Gḥs3*, GA11, who is an overseer of fields and serfs. It is proposed that a relationship with the nomarchic family, perhaps by marriage,⁸²⁰ may have permitted an official outside the rank of nomarch, such as *Gḥs3*, to include the motif. This proposed link with the nomarchic family appears to be supported by the formality of his depiction, standing with staff and sceptre on his sailing ship like the pose of the nomarchs, *Hnj* and *Ttj-ḥ3* and the earlier major Fifth Dynasty administrator, *Hẓjj-Mnw*, M22.
- The purpose of the journey of the tomb owner in a sailing ship is made clear in one of the two most complete scenes at El-Hawawish, that of *Hnj*, tomb H24, by the accompanying texts and information from the type of craft in the tomb owner's procession of vessels. Behind the sailing ship on which the tomb owner stands, is a papyriform boat bearing a coffin and possibly a statue shrine accompanied by *ḏrjjet*-mourners and helmsmen. The inscription before the boat indicates that it is on a 'journey to the west' either taking funerary items to the tomb, or as an enactment of

⁸¹⁷ Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cem.* V, pl. 56 (it is unfortunate that the upper part of the wall is damaged in *Hẓj*'s scene and that the top yard is no longer present. A monkey walking along this yardarm would provide another point of similarity with the Hawawish scenes); Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 19a; Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl. 140.

⁸¹⁸ Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 104.

⁸¹⁹ Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 16.

⁸²⁰ The name of the wife of *Gḥs3*, *Shjht*, is otherwise only held by the daughters of the nomarchs *Nhwt-dšr*, G95, *Hnj*, H24, *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and the wife of the owner of tomb M52 who is possibly the father of the nomarch, *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj*, of tomb M8.

the final burial procession of the tomb owner. Similar processions, although less complete, which must also be funerary in intent are found in the tombs of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, *Ttj-ʿ3*, H41, and *Mrrw...*, F12. Two fragmentary scenes in tombs M22 of *Hzzj-Mnw*, and GA11 of *Ghs3*, which show the tomb owner standing on a sailing ship in a similar pose, may also be part of a funerary journey but as the damaged wall surface retains no evidence of an accompanying boat bearing a coffin or shrine, then this conclusion must be conjectural.

- The boat journeys depicted in the tombs of the two middle rank officials, holding the position of overseers of fields and serfs, *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, and *B3wj*, BA48, take a different form. These tomb owners are shown seated under a canopy in a papyriform boat hauled by men on a bank or shore nearby; both tomb owners are accompanied by an unidentified attendant. The type of boat, the method of hauling it, the presence of the attendant and the inclusion of waterweeds and lotuses beneath the craft appear to indicate that the journey takes place in one of the canals or waterways of the tomb owner's estate and it is proposed that this is a journey of inspection or supervision by the overseers of fields and serfs.
- Depictions of tomb owners travelling on board sailing ships are found at nine other provincial cemeteries. There are, nevertheless, very few similarities in the motifs between the Hawawish depictions and other provincial wall scenes. These similar features include 'aftercastles' in the stern of sailing ships (at Deir el-Gebrawi, in the ships of *Jbj* and *Dʿw*), the inclusion of a small domed cabin amidships (on the ships of *Wnjs-ʿnh* and *Jhjj*, at Thebes), the pose of the pilot holding the forestay and the diagonal pole (in the scene of *K3.j-hnt* at El-Hammamiya), and the upright stance of the tomb owner holding a staff on the first of the ships of *Ppjj-ʿnh-hrj-jb* at Meir. These similarities may indicate a shared knowledge between the artists who decorated the Hawawish tombs and those who worked in other provincial cemeteries, or a familiarity with important tombs at other sites. No Memphite tomb scenes depict motifs similar to the journeys of the overseers of fields and serfs at El-Hawawish. The following comparisons refer to the activity of travelling by sailing vessels only.
- The greatest influence on the Hawawish tombs featuring sailing vessels appears to have come from Memphis and particularly from Saqqara. As biographical inscriptions and titles indicate, many of the most senior officials at El-Hawawish spent some period of their life in the capital and will have been influenced by the

cultural trends there.⁸²¹ A comparison with some of the features in Memphite tomb scenes illustrates this. At El-Hawawish, all tomb owners on sailing ships are shown in a formal pose, standing upright holding a staff, or staff and sceptre, under an awning before the deck cabin. This more formal pose of the Hawawish officials is found at Saqqara and Abusir in tombs dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty up to the reign of Teti, for example, *Phn-wj-k3.j*, *Nj-ᵑnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-htp* and *Pth-špss*. In the provinces, the formal pose is seen once, at Meir, in the tomb of *Ppjj-ᵑnh-hrj-jb*, although this tomb owner does not stand beneath an awning.

- At El-Hawawish all tomb owners on sailing ships stand beneath an awning which extends forward from the deck cabin. Awnings on sailing ships are rare at Giza although frequently seen in depictions at Saqqara. In the provinces, awnings are not common. However, this feature in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Srf-k3.j* at Sheikh Saïd, is very close in its depiction of the awning extension with its attachment to the mast to that seen in the similarly dated tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, at El-Hawawish. At Saqqara, the same awning extension to the mast appears, for example, in the scene of *Nj-ᵑnh-Hnmw/Hnmw-htp*. This detail appears to be an early feature. In the two late Sixth Dynasty scenes of *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, the awning clearly stops well before the mast.
- At El-Hawawish masts are secured to the hull by rope trusses on sailing ships from the earliest scene in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, throughout the Sixth Dynasty to the latest depiction in a tomb dated to the Eighth Dynasty, H41. Similar trusses are shown on ships in tombs dated to the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties in the Memphite cemeteries but not in Sixth Dynasty scenes there. No trusses at the base of masts appear in other provincial cemeteries. The artist of the Fifth Dynasty official, *Hzzj-Mnw* of tomb M22, appears to have been clearly influenced by Memphite traditions and the later Sixth Dynasty artists of El-Hawawish by the scenes in M22.
- The sails of the ships of *Ttj-jqr*, H26 and *Hnj*, H24, are controlled by ropes from the ends of the upper yard. The sailor holding these ropes grasps them together with both hands at El-Hawawish. This is not the grasp of sailors in Fifth Dynasty depictions where hands hold the ropes separately. It is the position of hands only

⁸²¹ See, for example, the biography of *Ttj/K3.j-hp* (tomb M8 at El-Hawawish) in McFarlane, *Nomarch*, in *GM* 100 (1987), pp. 63-70; Kanawati, *Interrelation*, in *BACE* 15 (2004), pp. 51-62; Kanawati, *Niankhpepy*, in *GM* 201(2004), pp. 49-61.

observed at Saqqara at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, for example in the tombs of *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Hzzj* and *Mḥw*. It is not found in other provincial sailing ship scenes.

- If a tiller is correctly identified in the papyriiform funerary boat of *Mrrw...* (F12) at El-Hawawish, dated to Teti,⁸²² then this would be the earliest appearance of a tiller in the provinces, and an early adoption after the introduction of this feature in the Memphite tombs at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.
- On the sailing ship of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, the pilot in the prow holds the forestay with one hand and a (sounding?) pole which trails diagonally back into the water with his other hand. At Giza, the sailors hold a pole (but not the forestay) in a similar manner in the Fourth- Fifth Dynasty tombs of *Mrs-ḥnh* III, *Hwfw-ḥḥ-f*, and *K3.j-m-ḥnh*. Only once at Saqqara in the scene in the early Sixth Dynasty tomb of *Hzzj* are both forestay and pole held by the man in the prow. This position is seen once more in the provinces, in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of *K3.j-ḥnt*, A2, at El-Hammamiya.
- A monkey walks along the top yard arm and another climbs along the top mainstay of the first ship of the line of ships in the tomb of *Hnj* at El-Hawawish. At Saqqara a monkey on a yard arm is found on the first of the ships on the pillared hall in the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j*. As the motif of the tomb owner travelling on boats is often depicted in the upper registers of walls, a position where scenes are frequently damaged or lost, many more examples may have been incorporated into the original decorative programme of tombs. Monkeys are depicted climbing the rigging on sailing ships in seven provincial tombs but none are found walking along the top yard arm as in *Hnj*'s scene.
- Although certain features observed at El-Hawawish can be traced to earlier examples in tombs of the capital, particularly to Saqqara, other details cannot be found in any Memphite scene. Firstly, ships under sail are never shown towing a papyrus funerary boat and secondly, tomb owners are not shown seated under a canopy while travelling on a papyriiform boat pulled along by haulers on a bank or shore nearby.
- The distinctive details of El-Hawawish scenes which do not appear in other provincial chapels (the formal pose, position and dress of the tomb owners when travelling on sailing ships, the detail of the mast trussing, the depiction of the

⁸²² H IX, fig. 8.

officials holding the position of overseers of fields and serfs, shown seated in a papyrus boat hauled by men on land) point to an art style specific to El-Hawawish. The strength of this local style may lie in the importance of the major Fifth Dynasty official, *Hzzj-Mnw*, owner of tomb M22, whose sailing ship scene is the earliest example of this motif at El-Hawawish. Although incomplete, this depiction exhibits characteristics which show a familiarity with depictions of journeys by ship in Fifth Dynasty royal and non-royal tombs, and a skill in the rendering of them which suggest that the artist was from, or trained in, the capital. The influence of this tomb on the Sixth Dynasty nomarchs at El-Hawawish appears to be marked and can be observed in the repetition of details from the scene in *Hzzj-Mnw* which are included in the later tombs at this cemetery until the Eighth Dynasty. The inclusion of the mast trussing is a feature exclusive to El-Hawawish, never appearing in other provincial depictions.

- Although the insularity of the province has been suggested and certain thematic similarities pointed out, the motif of ‘the tomb owner travelling by sailing ship or papyrus boat’ is rendered differently in each tomb. Even between two neighbouring tombs (H24 and H26) one of which includes a text claiming to be decorated by the same artist,⁸²³ small but significant variations are noted (for example, the heights of the lower yards of the sails, the style of the trusses at the base of the masts, the width of the hulls where they enter the water, the height of the stern above the water-line). It is quite clear that although an artist may have stated that he decorated two tombs, like *Snj* at El-Hawawish,⁸²⁴ differences in details indicate that other craftsmen/artists were involved in the work even though the decorative plan of the tomb may have been laid down by *Snj*.
- Finally, all other representations of the tomb owner shown in the wall scenes of his tomb depict him in a large size, frequently almost at full wall height. Despite this usual dominance of the deceased in the decorative scheme of his tomb, his presence is predominantly one of a passive nature. In contrast, the depiction of the tomb owner journeying by boat shows him reduced to the same scale as the other men on board, a rendering which conversely gives the impression that this is a ‘real’ episode in his life. The distinctive difference in the position and rank of the two classes of officials (the nomarchs and the overseers of fields and serfs) is clearly

⁸²³ See the autobiographical text of the artist, *Snj*, in *Ttj-jqr*’s tomb: *H I*, p.19, pl. 5, fig. 8.

⁸²⁴ *H I*, p.19, pl. 5, fig. 8.

seen in the type of boat in which they travel, their stance and the tasks in which they are involved. The motif of 'the tomb owner travelling by sailing ship or papyrus boat' at El-Hawawish has considerable importance as it allows us to observe the tomb owner participating in an activity which informs us about his duties and position within his society.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS



The intention of this study was to document and analyse the artistic style of the representations of the tomb owners in the inscribed and decorated tombs of the Old Kingdom cemetery of El-Hawawish in Upper Egypt. In order to achieve this, it focused on five key occupations or activities of the tomb owners where their presence played a dominating role: the tomb owner seated, usually at an offering table; the tomb owner standing, usually viewing the work of the estate; the tomb owner spear fishing; travelling in a palanquin; or, journeying in a sailing ship or papyriform craft.

The purpose of this analysis was to attempt to find answers to a number of questions which arose following a review of the literature related to El-Hawawish. The main aim of the study was to attempt to form a better understanding of the tomb owner's intention regarding the decoration of his tomb and how this reflected his position within society. This society would have consisted of several levels, all of which would have had an impact: his family, his local community of administrative assistants and those holding religious positions, members of various professions as well as the workers on his estates. Interaction most probably would also have existed between the El-Hawawish elite and a wider community from nearby provinces and ultimately, the royal and administrative authorities in Memphis. To achieve this aim, specific questions were posed in the opening chapter and formed the objectives of the present study.

7.1 The Importance of Status

The first consideration related to the influence of the tomb owner's status and the responsibilities of his administrative position, expressed through the content, quantity and position of his chosen themes in his wall scenes and the artistic style of their presentation.

Status, implied by administrative position, appears to have been of the greatest importance to the Hawawish tomb owners. It is conveyed through the choice of activities in which they take part, in the depictions of their figures through posture, dress and insignia, as well as the position of their representations in the tomb and the amount of wall space allocated.

Two activities of high-ranking officials at El-Hawawish are particularly indicative of their status: travelling on a sailing ship and in a palanquin. Only officials of the highest level depict themselves on sailing ships which appear to be part of a journey carrying equipment to their burial sites. In the mid-late Sixth Dynasty, this activity is included in the tombs of three officials who belong to successive generations of nomarchs. Travelling in a palanquin appears only in the tombs of a vizier and two nomarchs. The ability to engage in both these activities conveys a powerful sense of their wealth and the importance of their position.

Their high status is reinforced by the erect formal posture which these high ranking officials commonly assume in their standing representations. Invariably holding a staff and usually a sceptre, the formality is highlighted by the wearing of a leopard skin robe over their kilts. The preference of positioning the tomb owner's formal and large-scale figure, with its accompanying titles, on the wall opposite the entrance, supports the apparent intention to impress visitors to his tomb.

While the largest number of depictions of the Hawawish tomb owners show them as youthful figures, some of the senior officials are depicted as mature men in long kilts and leopard skin robes with thickened waists or a slight paunch. These mature figures convey a sense of prosperity but at the same time, are notable for their restraint and dignity and their lack of the exaggerated corpulence frequently found in Memphite scenes.

The middle ranking officials with the titles of overseers of fields and serfs or overseers of the god's offering in the two houses depict a different aspect of a provincial official's life. In unique representations, two of these officials depict themselves seated under a canopy on papyriform vessels hauled along canals by men on the banks and it is proposed that this is a journey of inspection of the agricultural work shown in adjacent registers. This motif is positioned on the lower half of the complete south wall in both tombs, with adjacent walls devoted to scenes of land production and animal husbandry. The dominance of these motifs in the wall area of the whole tomb stresses the importance of their tasks and supervisory responsibilities.⁸²⁵

⁸²⁵ The wall scenes of the third group of El-Hawawish officials, the superintendents of priests, do not indicate an emphasis on any one activity in their wall scenes. Only in the inclusion of depictions of sacred oils are they more numerous than overseers of fields and serfs, and equal in number to the nomarchs.

The same emphasis can be noted in the scenes of the higher ranking officials. One of the chief tasks performed by the nomarchs is the reviewing of the work of the estates under his control which are allocated by the administration in Memphis. The full walls of registers of grain production, harvesting and storage, together with the selection of prime animals for breeding and the careful practices in animal husbandry support, by pictorial means, the apparent intention of these officials: to show that they are fulfilling their responsibilities. Notable among the motifs is that of bull fighting, most probably for the selection of breeding stock. This activity is never found in Memphite wall scenes and its importance to the economy of the provinces of Upper Egypt, and the ninth nome in particular, is conveyed by its occurrence in so many provincial wall scenes. Its value to the ninth nome of Akhmim, which includes both El-Hawawish and El-Hagarsa, is evidenced by the fact that, of the sixteen known bull fighting scenes in provincial tombs, six are found at El-Hawawish and three at the neighbouring cemetery of El-Hagarsa.

A further activity presented in the wall scenes of the elite tomb owners, is spear fishing in the marshlands. Although only eight depictions are found at El-Hawawish, five are in tombs whose owners are of the highest rank, the remainder being the middle-ranked overseers of fields and serfs. In each tomb the motif has been allocated a large wall area and this is particularly noticeable in smaller tombs where wall space is restricted. The importance of this motif to the tomb owner, for example, is evident in the scene of *B3wj*, G126, in its positioning on the wall opposite the entrance, the only area in the tomb where decoration is preserved and possibly the only wall to be originally decorated. On this wall are the essential motifs of the tomb owner seated at his offering table with food provisions and priests engaged in the purification ritual, receiving offerings from family members together with a small vignette of slaughtering. The remaining quarter of the wall space has been devoted to a detailed spear fishing scene. Although no administrative titles remain,⁸²⁶ the iconography indicates that this tomb owner had the means and the time to pursue an activity usually related to a senior administrative position. Alternatively, if not actually undertaking this activity, *B3wj* is able to include it with confidence, placing himself on the same level with the senior officials in the cemetery who also depict themselves spear fishing. Another high status motif is that of dancers, musicians and craftsmen who only appear in tombs of the most senior officials. Two of these men are dated to the Fifth

⁸²⁶ Inscriptions indicate that a son was an overseer of apportionments in the two houses and it is possible that his father, *B3wj*, G126, held the same position (*H IX*, fig. 15).

Dynasty (M22, M43) and the remainder, all nomarchs, to the reign of Pepy II (H26, H24, H41) together with the slightly later owner of tomb I49, a possible brother of H41.

7.2 The Role of Family

Linked to the importance of conveying the tomb owner's own status, is the position and status of family members. The presence of wives in most tombs is marked. The importance of one tomb owner's wife may be proposed in the case of the late Sixth Dynasty official, *Ghs3*, GA11, whose highest title is overseer of fields and serfs. *Ghs3* is depicted on his south wall in a formal pose with staff and sceptre, standing on board a sailing ship. As stated above, only officials with the title of nomarch or higher appear on sailing ships in their wall scenes. It is conjectured that *Ghs3* may have been permitted to include the motif of travel by sailing ship through a possible link with the nomarchic family. His wife's name, *Shjht*, is only held in the cemetery by daughters of nomarchs and it is proposed that this woman is a daughter or a granddaughter of a nomarch herself. Names such as those noted in the generations of Akhmimic nomarchs, *K3.j-hp*, *Ttj* and *Hnj*, are repeated from father to son and grandson, with distinguishing variations, within families at El-Hawawish. This repetition of names appears to be a clear statement of the value of family connections. Further study of the repetition of the names of wives of tomb owners at El-Hawawish may produce similar links between families.

Sons of officials of senior rank, especially eldest sons in the Sixth Dynasty, are present in prominent positions particularly on two occasions: making offerings to the tomb owner or standing with him viewing the work of the estate. Their presence here affirms their duties both in the provisioning of the tomb and as successors to their father's position. This is supported by the formal posture and dress in which sons appear on these occasions. Sons and daughters, especially those depicted as very young children, are consistently depicted in close physical contact with their parents. Even when shown as adults, sons invariably hold the tomb owner's staff, a posture which, again by iconographic means, confirms their relationship with the tomb owner and the family identity.

The importance of family identity may also be deduced from the repetition of similar themes, as noted above, in tombs known to belong to members of the same family. This is observed in the wall scenes of the two nomarchs, father and son, *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, where it is particularly noticeable in scenes of spear-fishing, the palanquin journey and travelling by sailing ship. *Ttj-ꜥ3*, owner of tomb H41, a nomarch dated to the very end

of the Sixth Dynasty and a possible son of *Hnj*, H24, continues the theme of travelling on a sailing ship, even though the small size of his tomb with its meagre decoration on poor quality plaster, speaks of reduced means. The importance of the motif is again clearly illustrated by the case of *Ghs3*, of tomb GA11, who also depicts himself on a sailing ship. Without any textual evidence of a career at the highest administrative level, his connection to the nomarchic family is possibly through marriage, as indicated earlier. The value of this family connection (if indeed it existed) is expressed by *Ghs3* in his inclusion of the sailing ship journey.

7.3 The impact of Provincial Isolation; Evidence of Influence from Memphis.

In partnership with the dominating influence of the responsibilities of the administrative positions of the Hawawish officials, is the fact of the relative isolation of their province from the capital. This resulted first in the emphasis on land production and animal husbandry in the content of their wall scenes noted above. A second consideration was the need to remain faithful to the traditions laid down in the tombs of the Memphite cemeteries, some possibly owned by relatives of the Hawawish officials. Combined with these forces is an apparent desire to reflect both their successful career in their administrative positions and assert their individual stamp in the decoration of their tombs, for, as each tomb bears witness, no two tombs are identical.

The continuation of traditional themes in the decorative programme of the wall scenes is evident in such basic motifs as the tomb owner seated at his offering table or standing and receiving offerings, together with an offering list accompanied by various food items and beverages. The false door with its inscriptions and images of the tomb owner with family members, and the inclusion where possible, of engaged statues,⁸²⁷ were also important elements contributing to the overall message and impact of the tomb.

A close examination of the wall scenes at El-Hawawish, and other provincial cemeteries, highlights a number of specific features identical with those in wall scenes in cemeteries of the capital which appear to point to an intimate knowledge of certain Memphite tombs. Such information may have been transferred to the Hawawish tombs either by the artist(s) or the tomb owner himself. A pertinent example is the position of the hand of the wife of

⁸²⁷ Engaged statues are present in the Fifth Dynasty tombs of *Hsji-Mnw*, M22 (*H* IV, p. 12, a single figure), and *Mmj*, M23 (*H* V, pp. 40, 41, pls. 7a, 8a: 24 figures, the largest number of engaged statues in any provincial tomb).

ʿ3-*Mnw*, L8, at El-Hawawish, seated with him before his offering table. She places her open hand on his arm with the fingers behind the arm and her thumb to the front. This grasp is not found again at El-Hawawish or in any other provincial scene. An identical depiction, however, is seen in the early Fifth Dynasty tomb of *K3.j/K3-pw-nswt* at Giza.⁸²⁸ The image of the mature figure of *Mrrw-k3* wearing a long kilt in his pillared hall is followed closely in the figures of *Ttj-jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish and *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km* at Meir.⁸²⁹ The design of the canopies of the palanquins of *Ttj-jqr*, *Hnj*, *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km* and *Dʿw* at Deir el-Gebrawi reproduces, with slight variations, the distinctive canopies of *Mrrj-Ttj* and *Jpj* at Saqqara.⁸³⁰ More specifically, the unusual ‘weight’ on the kilt of *K3-gm-nj* at the same site, appears also on the kilts of *Ppjj-ḥh-hrj-jb* and *Ppjj* at Meir.⁸³¹ In posture, the vigorous stride of the punter accompanying *Nj-ḥh-Hnmw* on his spear fishing skiff, is caught at El-Hawawish in the scenes of *Hzzj-Mnw*, F1, *B3wj*, G126, and the unknown owner of tomb G97. These examples, among others, suggest a direct Memphite influence on provincial tomb decoration.

Although, as shown above, there are examples of the incorporation of Memphite motifs in El-Hawawish wall scenes, at the same time there are many features which point to a distinct local input. Unusual and individual details appear in Fifth Dynasty tomb scenes, such as the wife of ʿ3-*Mnw* holding a large bird, a son of *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, offering a bunch of lotuses to his seated parents, and the son of *Hm-Mnw*, M43, holding a hoopoe by a leash.⁸³² From the early Sixth Dynasty at El-Hawawish, further distinctive postures and details appear in wall scenes, such as in the depictions of mature tomb owners wearing a leopard skin robe, usually over a long kilt, and holding a staff and sceptre. In every instance the paw is looped up and grasped it in the same hand which holds the sceptre. This posture does not appear in any other provincial tomb and is not seen in mature or corpulent figures in Memphite tombs. The unique depiction of a tomb owner seated under a canopy and travelling on a papyriiform craft drawn by men on shore is prominently positioned in the tombs of the overseers of fields and serfs, *Hzzj-Mnw*, G42, and *B3wj*, BA48. Although similar boats hauled by men are seen in Memphite tombs, these bear funerary furniture. No

⁸²⁸ Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 15; fig. 65a in the present work.

⁸²⁹ *H* I, fig. 11; *H* II, fig. 10; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 6.

⁸³⁰ *H* I, fig. 13; *H* II, fig. 21; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 31; Davies, *Gebrâwi* II, pl. 8; Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka* I, pl. 47; *Cairo Museum Catalogue*, pl. 62b.

⁸³¹ Harpur-Scremin, *Kagemni*, fig. 17; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 14; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 45.

⁸³² *H* IV, fig. 9; *H* IV, fig. 9; *H* V, fig. 9.

other scenes are found in which tomb owners are shown travelling in this manner, either in Memphite or provincial tombs.

Unusual and beautiful items placed beneath the tomb owner's chair in his offering table scenes at this cemetery, illustrate the individual input of a tomb owner as well as indicate his wealth and status. Of particular interest are the two chests below the chair of *B3wj*, BA14, one decorated at the corner with a duck's head, the other with the head of a gazelle,⁸³³ and the large, covered bowl decorated with lotuses on a stand beneath the chair of *Mmj*, B12.⁸³⁴ Of value to the unknown female owner of tomb G124, are the contents of the chest under her chair, which are placed on its lid: a mirror, a sealed unguent jar and a spouted jar.

While there are frequent instances of the transference of ideas between Memphite and provincial tombs, there appears to be little evidence of the same interaction between tomb owners and/or their artists in the wall scenes of Upper Egypt. Such interaction may have produced similarities such as the close rendering of the canopies of the palanquins of *Ttj jqr*, H26, and *Hnj*, H24, at El-Hawawish with that of *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km* (A2) at Meir. It is equally possible however, that each may have been influenced by the palanquin motif of *Jpj* at Saqqara, which is almost identical. Only in small details can connections be proposed between provincial scenes and one such detail may be the addition of monkeys climbing on the supports of the canopies of the palanquins at El-Hawawish and Meir. This detail is not found in any of the Memphite palanquin scenes and climbing monkeys are only observed on provincial palanquins.

Each provincial cemetery has its individual character and scene content. Although all tombs include the essential themes, each has an individuality in its overall scene content as well as in the details of motifs. The Hawawish wall scenes focus on the produce of the land and animal husbandry; at other sites a different emphasis can be observed. At Meir, for example, in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km* (A2), all the walls in room (A) feature jewellery making, metal working, carpentry, painters, sculptors, stone jar manufacture. The products of the fields and marshes of the province are promoted only on one wall in room (B) and animal rearing on single wall in room (F). The activities watched by *Ppjj-ḥh/Hnjj-km* in

⁸³³ H VII, fig. 17b.

⁸³⁴ H VII, fig. 10 (B12). Similar bowls are found close to Memphite tomb owners seated at their offering tables: for example, the detailed bowl immediately positioned next to the seated figure of *Jrw-k3-Pth* at Saqqara (McFarlane, *Unis Cem.* I, pl. 43).

room (A), however, indicate a different emphasis in this tomb, with the various occupations of craftsmen and artists appearing to reflect the tomb owner's interests or perhaps, the high level of skills of local craftsmen.⁸³⁵

The influence of major Memphite tombs is undisputed. The high quality wall decoration of these tombs has been absorbed or transferred to provincial scenes in one of two ways: either through observation by provincial administrators who were originally from Memphis or who were sent there as younger family members for instruction, or through artists trained in Memphis. Certain tombs and periods appear particularly pivotal. The Fifth Dynasty continued the vigour and innovative details emerging in the Fourth Dynasty (the Medum wall paintings, for example) and introduced further new themes and details (seen in the wall scenes of *Nfr-b3w-Pth* at Giza, or *Nj-ḥh-Hnmw/Hnmw-ḥtp* and *Nfr* and *K3-ḥ3.j* among others, at Saqqara). At the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, as previously mentioned, the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j* incorporated new postures and scene details which were repeated in later tombs in the provinces. Political and economic changes, together with the increasing independence of the elite administrators in the provinces at the end of the Sixth Dynasty are reflected in the wall scenes at El-Hawawish and other provincial cemeteries. The increasing separation from the artistic traditions seen in the great Memphite tombs of the Fifth and early Sixth Dynasties can be observed in provincial wall scenes in the changed proportions of figures,⁸³⁶ the inclusion of unusual postures⁸³⁷ and details,⁸³⁸ and in the crowding of motifs on walls often with a disregard for registers.⁸³⁹ This may have been due to the lack of artists skilled in the Memphite traditions or a deliberate choice of local artists and artisans. The apparent greater freedom expressed in themes and details may reflect an increased importance and dominance of the local community over traditional models.

At El-Hawawish, the influence of the earliest tombs in the cemetery such as the major Fifth Dynasty administrators, *Hzzj-Mnw*, M22, and *Hm-Mnw*, M43, (possibly forebears of the later nomarchs) cannot be underestimated. In tomb M22 particularly, all the elements of later tomb decoration in the cemetery have already been laid down: the tomb owner travelling by sailing ship, spear fishing, processions of livestock, the presentation of

⁸³⁵ Blackman, *Meir* V, pls. 15-21, 22, 30, 32.

⁸³⁶ *H* IX, figs. 17a, 18a, (Tomb B7).

⁸³⁷ *H* VIII, fig. 9b (Tomb I49), the tomb owner seated with his hand raised at his offering table.

⁸³⁸ El-Masry, *BACE* 15 (2004) fig. 2, in the spear fishing and bird hunting scene.

⁸³⁹ See the lower section of the east wall in Room B (Tomb A2) at Meir, Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 30.

accounts with a possible punishment motif, bull fighting, and the remnant of a desert hunt. The impression that this tomb had on later wall decoration in the cemetery is seen in the continuation of themes mentioned above, and of details, such as the complex trussing of the mast on sailing ships, still found in the scene of *Tj-3*, H41, dated to the end of the Sixth Dynasty, although by this time, that method of securing masts was out-of-date.

7.4 Artistic style as dating criteria

Throughout the study comparisons of details in Memphite scenes with those at El-Hawawish have indicated that certain motifs in Memphite tombs, particularly in the Fifth Dynasty, were followed closely by the provincial officials and their artists, allowing for a reasonably accurate date for these features in provincial tombs. At the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, the influence of the major tomb of Mereruka at Saqqara, as noted earlier, appears in certain wall scenes in the provinces. From this time on, however, provincial tombs begin to take on their individual characters.

Changes in the iconography of depictions of the tomb owner are recognised as indicative of dynastic periods and even of reigns within these periods. These have been noted within the study, for example, in the posture of the tomb owner and his wife when standing or seated together (closely overlapping or separated), in differences in dress (such as the manner of wearing the leopard skin, or the change in style of sandals) and jewellery (the inclusion or absence of the 'choker' necklet and multiple bracelets). Also useful for dating are the changes in various elements of the context of the tomb owner, such as the design of offering tables, the shape of cushions and chair legs, the shape of the sail and the type of mast support on ships and the form of the hull.

The present study has, however, not been primarily concerned with the dating of tombs. In regard to the use of artistic style as dating criteria, the evidence nevertheless, would support its relevance especially in the period Fifth-early Sixth Dynasty. Given the results of this study, the writer would ultimately agree with the statement that, regarding dating, an emphasis on artistic style, although relevant, "must remain a supplementary criterion"⁸⁴⁰ at the present time, but that it may play a part in supporting or refining dates already proposed. While the application of artistic criteria is not a completely reliable method of dating, sometimes they are, perforce, the only dating evidence available. It is hoped that the research undertaken here will contribute to this process.

⁸⁴⁰ Cherpion, *Human Image*, p. 112.

The study of artistic style in the depictions of the Old Kingdom tomb owners at El-Hawawish has proved to be a valuable means of understanding and interpreting the intentions of these officials. Their choice of themes and the manner in which these are conveyed to the viewer – by position, size, amount of dedicated wall space together with dress and insignia - has clearly revealed the focus of these tomb owners in decorating their tombs: that is, as a statement of status, of valued family connections, and a presentation of the tomb owner as an important and successful member of the Memphite administration.

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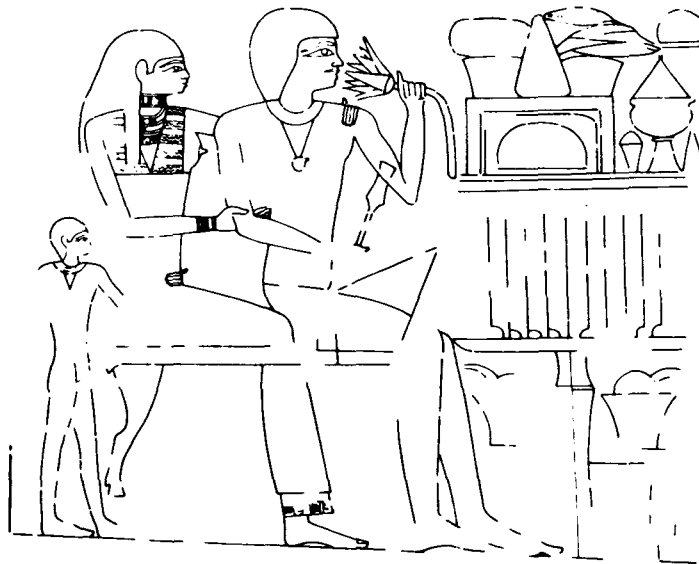


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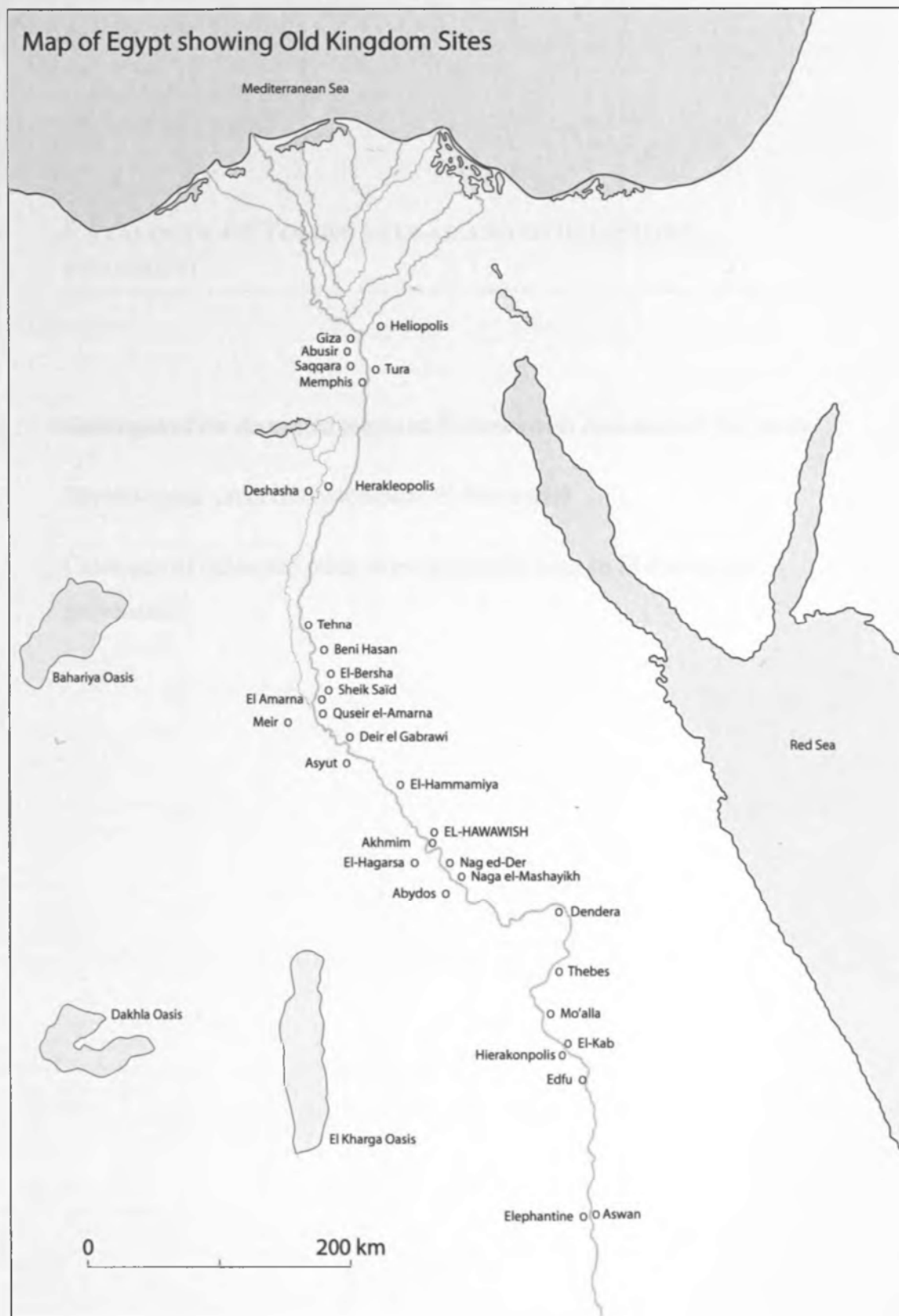
Titles

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4. Agricultural scenes
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CATALOGUE OF TOMBS, STELAE AND OTHER STONE FRAGMENTS

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Catalogue of the decorated tombs at El-Hawawish discussed in this study

Sorted by tomb number (in alphanumeric order), owner, date and reference in

N. Kawawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vols. 1-X

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>B6-7 <i>B3wj</i> (VIII)
Volume IX
Portico pillars and entrance, pls. 2, 3, 4b;
figs. 17, 18</p> <p>B12 <i>Mmj</i> (late Pepy II)
Volume VII
Chapel, north wall, fig. 9b
Chapel, east wall, fig. 10
Chapel, south wall, pl. 1b; fig. 11</p> <p>B83 <i>B3wj</i> (middle-late Pepy II)
Volume IX
Chapel, east wall, fig. 21</p> <p>C3 <i>Bhn</i> (VIII)
Volume I
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Volume VII
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Volume VI
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Volume IX
Entrance, pl. 4a; fig. 7a
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Volume VII
Chapel, west wall, fig. 4
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Chapel, east wall, pl. 1a; figs. 5, 6
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Volume IX
Chapel, east wall, fig. 9b</p> <p>G66 <i>Mddj</i> (VIII)
Volume IX
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Volume III
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Volume I
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Volume VIII
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Chapel, east wall, pls. 4a, 7b; fig. 4
Chapel, south wall, pls. 2, 8; fig. 3b</p> <p>G97 ... (early Pepy II)
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Volume IX
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Volume IX
Chapel, west wall, fig. 13b</p> <p>G126 <i>B3wj</i> (late Teti-early Pepy I)
Volume IX
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Volume IV
Chapel, pillar, fig. 25</p> <p>H24 <i>Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj</i> (late Pepy II)
Volume II
Chapel, south wall, pl. 1, figs. 16a; 17-19
Chapel, west wall, pl. 6a; figs. 4, 20
Chapel, north wall, pls. 2-3, 6b, 7; figs. 21-23; with additions in Volume IX, fig. 37a and Volume X, fig. 9b
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Chapel east wall, fig. 5
Pillars, figs. 7-14a
Engaged pillar, figs. 15, 16b
Shrine, west wall, pls. 4, 8a; fig. 24
Shrine, north wall, pls. 5, 8b; fig. 25
Shrine, east wall, pl. 9; fig. 26</p> <p>H26 <i>K3j-ḥp/Tt-jqr</i> (middle Pepy II)
Volume I
Façade, figs. 7, 19
Chapel, south wall, pls. 2, 5, 6; figs. 8, 9, and 21a
Chapel, west wall, pl. 3; figs. 10, 11
Chapel, north wall, pls. 4, 7, 9; figs. 12, 13
Chapel, east wall, pls. 8, 10; figs. 14, 15
Chapel, engaged pillars, pl. 11; fig. 20
Pillars, fig. 16
Shrine, west wall, pl. 12; fig. 17
Shrine, north wall, pl. 13c; fig. 18
Shrine, east wall, pl. 13b; fig. 22 with an addition in Volume II, fig. 14b</p> |
|--|--|

- H27** *Nbt* (early-middle Pepy II)
Volume III
Chapel, south wall, pl. 10; fig. 27
- H41** *Tt-3* (late Pepy II-end VI)
Volume VIII
Chapel, west wall, fig. 12b
Chapel, north wall, figs. 13a,b
Chapel, east wall, fig. 12a
- I49** *Ttj* (end VI-early VIII)
Volume VIII
Chapel, north wall, pl. 4c; fig. 10
Chapel, east wall, fig. 9b
- J2** ... (VIII)
Volume VIII
Chapel, east wall, fig. 8b
- K1** *Mddj* (late Pepy I-early Pepy II)
Volume VIII
Chapel, east wall, fig. 15
- K4** *B3wj* (early Pepy II)
Volume VIII
Entrance, fig. 17c
Chapel, west wall, pl. 10b; fig. 17a
Chapel, north wall, pl. 11 a; fig. 17b, d
- K5** *B3wj/Jd...* (late Pepy I-Merenre)
Volume VIII
Chapel, east wall, fig. 18
Chapel, south wall, fig. 19
- KI6** ... (late Teti)
Volume VIII
Chapel, east wall, fig. 21
- KI8** *H3jj-Mnw/Mrjj* (late Pepy I-early Pepy II)
Volume VIII
Chapel, south wall, fig. 22b
Chapel, west wall, fig. 23a
- K21** ... (late Pepy I-early Pepy II)
Volume VIII
Chapel, south wall, fig. 24b
- L6** *Dw3-Mnw* (Neuserre or earlier)
Volume VI
Chapel, west wall, pls. 2a, 5; figs. 5, 6
- L8** *3-Mnw* (late V)
Volume VI
Chapel, false door, pl. 6a; fig. 9
- L2I** *Sfhw/Hn-Mnw* (early Pepy II)
Volume VI
Chapel, north wall, fig. 12b
Shrine, west wall, pls. 2b, 6b; fig. 11
Shrine, east wall, pl. 8d; fig. 12a
- L23** *Ppjj-3nh-n.s/3nh-n.s-Ppjj* (early Pepy II)
Volume IX
Chapel, north wall, fig. 2a
- L3I** *Q3r/Ppjj-nfr* (late Pepy I-early Pepy II)
Volume VI
Chapel, west wall, pls. 2c-d, 7a;
figs. 14, 15
Chapel, north wall, fig. 16
- L42** ... (late Pepy I-early Pepy II)
Volume IX
Chapel, north wall, fig. 3b
- M8** *K3.j-hp/Ttj* (early Pepy II)
Volume III
Chapel, west wall, figs. 5b, 6
Chapel, east wall, fig. 5a
Pillars, pls. 1-2; figs. 7-9;
Volume 9, fig. 37b
Main recess, north wall, pl. 3; figs. 11-12
Shrine, west wall, figs. 10, 14; with an
addition in Volume X, fig. 9a
Shrine, east wall, pl. 4a; fig. 13
Volume III
Inscribed stone fragments, figs. 18, 19
- M21** *3nhw* (early Djedkare)
Volume V
Chapel, false door, pl. 4c-d; fig. 24
- M22** *H3jj-Mnw* (late Djedkare)
Volume IV
Entrance, pl. 5; figs. 6-7
Chapel, south wall, pls. 1, 3a-c;
figs. 8-11
Chapel, west wall, pls. 2, 3d; figs. 12, 13
Chapel, east wall, fig. 14
Shrine, west wall, false door, pl. 4; fig. 15
Shrine, north wall, pl. 7a; fig. 16
Shrine, east wall, pls. 7b, 8; figs. 17, 18
- M23** *Mmj/Nnj ...* (early Djedkare)
Volume V
Façade and entrance, pl. 7d; fig. 15
Entrance thicknesses, pl. 7b,c; figs. 16-17
Fragments, fig. 18
- M43** *Hm-Mnw* (early Unis)
Volume V
Chapel, west wall, pls. 1-3, 4a-b; figs. 6-9
Chapel, north wall, fig. 10a
- M52** ... (early Pepy II)
Volume X
Fragments. pl. I; figs. 3-5, 6a
- N20** *Ttj* (late Pepy I-Merenre)
Volume VI
Chapel, east wall, pl. 4; fig. 23b
- Q2** *W3h-...* (late Pepy I)
Volume VI
Chapel, west wall, fig. 17b
- Q4** *WbnwlWbnj* (late Pepy I)
Volume VI
Chapel, north wall, pl. 7b; fig. 18b

Q13 *Jww(?)hrj-jb* (late Pepy I–Merenre)
Volume VI
Chapel, west wall, pl. 3c; fig. 19b

Q15 *Qrrj* (late Pepy I)
Volume VI
Chapel, east wall, pls. 3b, 8b,c; fig. 20b,c
Chapel., north wall, pl. 9b; fig. 21a
Chapel, west wall, pl. 3a; fig. 22
Chapel, south wall, pl. 9a; fig. 21b

BA14 *B3wj* (VIII)
Volume VII
Chapel, west wall, fig. 17b
Chapel, north wall, fig. 18

BA17 *Rhw-r-3w.sn* (VIII)
Volume VII
Chapel, west wall, pl. 3; fig. 16
Chapel, north wall, figs. 13, 14
Chapel, east wall, fig. 15

BA48 *B3wj* (early–middle Pepy II)
Volume VII
Chapel, west wall, fig. 22b
Chapel, north wall, fig. 23
Chapel, east wall, pl. 6a; fig. 24
Chapel, south wall, pl. 6b; fig. 25

BA63 *Jn-jt.f/Bhnt* (early–middle Pepy II)
Volume VII
Chapel, west wall, fig. 19b
Chapel, north wall, pl. 5; figs. 20, 21

CA1 *B3wj* (early–middle Pepy I)
Volume VIII
Chapel, east wall, fig. 6b
Chapel, south wall, pls. 3, 9; fig. 7

GA11 *Ghs3/Nbjj* (mid–late Pepy II)
Volume VII
Chapel, west wall, fig. 26b-c
Chapel, north wall, pl. 4a; fig. 27
Chapel, east wall, pl. 4b; figs. 28, 29
Chapel, south wall, fig. 30
Shrine, east wall, fig. 31

Chronological order of the tombs at El-Hawawish

Reference: Kanawati, N., *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom, Part I: Chronology and Administration*, pp.295-96

DYNASTY 5

Neuserre

G84

L6

early Djedkare

M23

M21

L8

late Djedkare

M22

beginning Unis

M43

M44

M45a

N15

N16

DYNASTY 6

Teti

F12 early

F15

G98

K16

F1 late

end Teti–beginning Pepy I

G95

G126

G22

G23

DYNASTY 6 (cont.)

early–mid Pepy I

CA1

G97

late Pepy I

Q2

Q4

Q15

B12

Q13

K5

N20

end Pepy I–beginning Pepy II

C9

G119

G124

K21

L42

L31

K18

K1

K4

early–mid Pepy II

M8

M52

M51

L21

L23

DYNASTY 6 (cont.)

BA63

G79

BA48

H27

B62

G42

H15

H4

H6

C8

H26

mid–late Pepy II

B83

G49

H24

GA11

END DYNASTY 6

–BEGINNING DYNASTY 8

H41

I49

DYNASTY 8

C3

J2

B6-B7

G66

BA17

BA14

Catalogue of stelae and other stone fragments with a provenance of Akhmim

Names of owners in Egyptian alphabetical order

NAME	MUSEUM NUMBER	EL-HAWAWISH REFERENCE
<i>3tt-k3</i>	Turin Supp. 1263	<i>H VI</i> , p. 60, pl. 13b, fig. 29b
<i>Jmj</i>	Orinst. 10491	<i>H VII</i> , p. 49, pl. 8a, fig. 35a
<i>Jkw</i>	Allard Pierson Museum 3400	<i>H VII</i> , p. 49, pl. 9a, fig. 35c
<i>Jrt</i>	CG1613	<i>H VIII</i> , pp. 60, 61, pl. 12a, fig. 32b
<i>Jdj/Jtj</i>	CG1581	<i>H VI</i> , pp. 59, 60, pl. 11b, fig. 27b
<i>Jdw/Nnjj</i>	J d'E 88010	<i>H IX</i> , p. 54, pl. 5, fig. 28
<i>Wsr-Mnw</i>	Edinburgh 1910:76	<i>H VI</i> , p. 58, pl. 10a, fig. 26a
<i>Wtt-hzz(t)</i>	Florence 7582	<i>H VII</i> , pp. 49, 50, pl. 9b, fig. 36a
<i>B3wj</i>	CG20504	<i>H VIII</i> , p. 61, pl. 13b, fig. 34a
<i>B3wj</i>	Hildesheim 1875	<i>H VII</i> , pp. 50, 51, pl. 11a, fig. 37b
<i>Bndt</i>	CG1667	<i>H VIII</i> , p. 61, pl. 13a, fig. 33b
<i>Mmj</i>	CG1586	<i>H VII</i> , pp. 48, 49, pl. 7a, fig. 34a
<i>Mmj/Nj-ḥnh-Mnw</i>	CG1587	<i>H VII</i> , p. 48, pl. 7b, fig. 34b
<i>Mnw-m-ḥ3t</i>	Moscow I.1.a 5567	<i>H VIII</i> , pp. 61, 62, fig. 34b
<i>Mr-ḥnh.f</i>	Rijksmuseum F1938/1.4	<i>H VII</i> , p. 49, pl. 8b, fig. 35b
<i>Mr-njwt</i>	CG1580	<i>H VI</i> , p. 59, pl. 11a, fig. 27a
<i>Mr.jj</i>	Florence 7583	<i>H VII</i> , p. 50, pl. 10a, fig. 36b
<i>Mrrjj</i>	CG1624	<i>H VII</i> , pp. 48, 49, pl. 7c, fig. 34c
<i>Nbj +Htpt-Mnw</i>	Louvre C234	<i>H IX</i> , p. 55, pl. 6b
<i>Nbj</i>	Louvre C235	<i>H IX</i> , pp. 54, 55, pl. 6a
<i>Ḥnwjj</i>	CG1611	<i>H VIII</i> , p. 60, pl. 11b, fig. 32a
<i>Ḥnwt</i>	BM1061	<i>H VI</i> , p. 60, pl. 14a, fig. 30a
... (a Nomarch)	Florence 7584	<i>H VII</i> , p. 50, pl. 10b, fig. 37a
<i>Špsjt-k3w/Jrjt</i>	CG1585	<i>H VI</i> , p. 38, pl. 10, fig. 28
<i>Q3r/Ppjj-nfr</i>	CG1669	<i>H VI</i> , pp. 60, 62, pl. 13a, fig. 29a
<i>K3-wd3.j</i>	CG1582	<i>H VI</i> , p. 59, pl. 12a, fig. 28a
<i>K3j</i>	CG1584	<i>H VI</i> , pp. 59, 60, pl. 12b, fig. 28b
<i>Tjj</i>	Edinburgh 1910:94	<i>H VI</i> , pp. 58, 50, pl. 10b, fig. 26b
<i>Twtj</i>	Oriental Institute 378	<i>H VI</i> , p. 61, pl. 14b, fig. 30b
<i>Ttj (M8)</i>	Field Museum, Chicago 31700	<i>H VI</i> , p. 61, pl. 15, fig. 31

**LIST OF TOMB OWNERS AT EL-HAWAWISH (AKMIM) AND
OTHER UPPER EGYPTIAN PROVINCES BY CHAPTER**

Chapter 2 – The Standing Tomb Owner at El-Hawawish

(M) refers to Mature figure of tomb owner

By province, date, tomb number, tomb owner and reference

EL-HAWAWISH

Neuserre

L6, *Dw3-Mnw*, *H VI*, pl. 2a, fig. 5 (M)

Djedkare/Isesi

M23, *Mmj*, *H V*, fig. 15

M21, *ḥnw*, *H V*, fig. 24

L8, *ḥ3-Mnw*, *H VI*, fig. 9

M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, *H IV*, figs. 6, 15, 16

Teti

F12, *Mrrw*, *H IX*, fig. 7a

F1, *Hzzj-Mnw*, *H VI*, fig. 2

End Teti–early Pepy I

G95, *Nhwt-dšr*, *H VIII*, fig. 4 (M)

G126, *B3wj*, *H IX*, fig. 15

CA1, *B3wj*, *H VIII*, fig. 7

Late Pepy I

Q4, *Wbnw*, *H VI*, fig. 18b

Q15, *Qrrj*, *H VI*, figs. 20c, 21a

B12, *Mmj*, *H VII*, figs. 9b (M), 11

K5, *B3wj*, *H VIII*, fig. 18, 19

End Pepy I–beginning Pepy II

C9, *Jjj*, *H VII*, fig. 7

L31, *Q3r*, *H VI*, fig. 15, 16 (M)

K4, *B3wj*, *H VIII*, fig. 17a, c

Early–mid Pepy II

M8, *Ttj*, *H III*, fig. 9, 10, 11

M52, ..., *H X*, fig. 10 (fragment)

G79, *Wnw-Mnw*, *H III*, fig. 26

H27, *Nbt*, *H III*, fig. 27

G42, *Hzzj-Mnw*, *H VII*, figs. 5, 6

BA63, *Jn-jt.f*, *H VII*, figs. 20, 21

BA48, *B3wj*, *H VII*, figs. 23, 24a (M), 25

H15, *Hnj-ḥnw*, *H IV*, fig. 25

H26, *Ttj-jqr*, *H I*, figs. 7, 9, 10, 11 (M), 13, 16, 20, 22+*H II*, fig. 14b

Mid–late Pepy II

B83, *B3wj*, *H IX*, fig. 21

G49, ..., *H IX*, fig. 9b

GA11, *Ghs3*, *H VII*, figs. 27, 29 (M), 30

H24, *Hnj*, *H II*, figs. 7-12, 15, 17, 20, 21, 23 (M), 26

End Dynasty 6–beginning Dynasty 8

I49, *Ttj*, *H VIII*, fig. 10

Dynasty 8

BA17, *Rḥw-r3w-sn*, *H VII*, figs. 13, 14

BA14, *B3wj*, *H VII*, fig. 18 (M)

G66, *Mddj*, *H IX*, fig. 11 (standing before offering table)

B7, *B3wj*, *H IX*, figs. 17b (M), 18

Stelae and Fragments

Stela Orinst. 10491, *Jmj*,
 Stela Egyptian Museum, J d'E 88010, *Jdw/Nnjj*,
 Edinburgh 1910:76, *Wsr-Mnw*,
 CG1586, *Mmj*,
 Rijksmuseum F1938/1.4, *Mr-ḥf*,
 CG1624, *Mrrj*,
 CG1580, *Mr-njw*,
 CG1611, *Hnwjj*,
 CG1669, *Q3r/Ppjj-nfr*,
 CG1584, *K3j*,
 Edinburgh 1910:94, *Tjj*,
 Field Museum of Natural History,
 Chicago 31700, *Ttj*,
 Oriental Institute 378, *Twtj*.

H VII, fig. 35a
H IX, fig. 28
H VI, fig. 26a
H VII, fig. 34a (M)
H VII, fig. 35b
H VII, fig. 34c
H VI, fig. 27a
H VIII, fig. 32a
H VI, fig. 29a
H VI, fig. 28b
H VI, fig. 26b

H VI, fig. 31
H VI, fig. 30b

OTHER PROVINCES

By province, tomb owner, date, reference

Deshasha UE 20

<i>Jntj</i>	late V	Kanawati–McFarlane, <i>Deshasha</i> , pls. 29, 31, 32, 34-37, 39
<i>Jttj/Šdw</i>	Teti	ibid, pls. 45, 46, 49, 51-53, 57

Tehna UE 16

<i>Nj-k3-ḥf</i>	V Userkaf	Frazer, <i>ASAE</i> 3 (1902), none
(No. 13)		
<i>Nj-k3-ḥf</i>	V	unpublished

Zawyet el-Mayitin UE 16

<i>Ḥw-ns</i> (2)	V Unis	LD II, pls. 105a, 107, 109
<i>Nj-ḥf-Ppjj</i> (14)	VI Pepy I	Varille, <i>Ni-ankh-Pepi</i> , pl. 11

Sheikh Said UE 15

<i>Srf-k3.j</i>	V late Djedkare	Davies, <i>Sheikh Saïd</i> , pl. 6
<i>Wr-jr.n.j</i>	V early Unis	ibid, pls. 13, 15
<i>Ttj-ḥf/Jj-m-ḥtp</i>	VI Teti–early Pepy I	ibid, none
<i>Mrw/Bbj</i>	VI Teti–Pepy I	ibid, pls. 17, 19
<i>Wjw/Jjjw</i>	VI Merenre–beg. Pepy II	ibid, pl. 24
<i>Hpj</i>	VI early–mid Pepy II	ibid, none

Quseir el-Amarna UE 14

<i>Ḥw.n-wh</i>	VI Pepy I	Kanawati, <i>Quseir el-Amarna</i> , pls. 32-36, 39
<i>Ppjj-ḥf-wr</i>	VI Pepy I–late	ibid., pls. 26-28

Meir UE 14

<i>Ppjj-ḥf-hrj-jb</i> (D2)	VI Merenre–early Pepy II	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> IV, pls. 4, 6, 8, 11, 14, 16
<i>Nj-ḥf-Ppjj-km</i> (A1)	VI mid Pepy II	ibid, V, pls. 4-6, 8, 10, 12-14
<i>Ppjj-ḥf/Hnjj-km</i> (A2)	VI late/end Pepy II	ibid, V, pls. 16, 25 (2), 26, 27, 30
<i>Ppjj</i> (D1)	VI	ibid, V, pl. 44

Deir el-Gebrawi UE 12

<i>Ḥm-r/Jzj I</i>	VI Teti	Davies, <i>Gebrâwi</i> II, pls. 18, 19 Kanawati, <i>Gebrawi</i> I, pls. 43, 44, 47
<i>Ḥnqw/Httj:Ḥnqw I</i>	VI Teti	ibid, pls. 37(left), 38, 40a,b
<i>Ḥnqw II</i>	VI Pepy I	ibid, pl. 56 (left)
<i>Nb-jb</i>	VI	ibid, none
<i>Jbj</i>	VI Merenre–early Pepy II	Davies, <i>Gebrâwi</i> II, pls. 7, 9, 10, 18 Kanawati, <i>Gebrawi</i> II, 32, 44, 57
<i>Dꜥw</i>	VI mid–late Pepy II	Davies, <i>Gebrâwi</i> II, pls. 6, 7, 9, 12

El-Hammamiya UE 10

<i>K3.j-ḥnt</i> (A2)	V early	El-Khouli–Kanawati, <i>El-Hammamiya</i> , pls. 41, 43, 44, 46, 48, 49
<i>K3.j-ḥnt</i> (A3)	V early	ibid, pls. 56, 58-60, 62, 64, 68, 69
<i>Dḥ.j-dd</i> (A1)	V early	ibid, pls. 28-30
<i>Rḥ-ḥtp</i> (C5)	V early-mid	ibid, none

El-Hagarsa UE 9

<i>K3.j-m-nfrt</i> (A3)	V mid (Neuserre /earlier?)	Kanawati, <i>El-Hagarsa</i> I, pls. 19, 20
<i>Nfrt-ḥr</i> (A6)	V mid–late	ibid, none
<i>ḥn-ḥnj</i> (B13)	VI early–mid Pepy II	ibid, pls. 31, 32, 34/36
<i>Jwfw</i> (B8)	VI mid Pepy II	ibid, pl. 38b, 40
<i>Mrjj</i> (C2)	VI mid-late Pepy II	ibid, pls. 42, 43, 44/5, 46
<i>Mrjj-ḥ</i> (D18)	end VII–VIII	ibid, III, pls. 34, 37/8, 42/43
<i>Wḥj</i> (D4)	VIII	ibid, pls. 19, 20-2, 24/6, 29
<i>Hffj</i> (D14)	VIII	ibid, pl. 32

Geheina UE 9

<i>Hwj/Tjqr</i>	VI late–VIII	el-Masry, <i>Gohaina</i> , pp. 89-106, figs. 3, 4b
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Abydos UE 8

<i>Jww</i> Louvre C161	early–mid VI	Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , pp. 59, 61
<i>Stj-jb</i> Louvre 293	Pepy II	ibid, pp. 216-7
<i>Jdj</i> CG1457	Pepy II or later	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, pl. 35; Brovarski, <i>For His Ka</i> , p. 34, fig. 2.6
<i>Wnj</i> CG1574	Teti–Pepy I	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, pl. 75; Fischer, <i>Egyptian Studies</i> I, pl. 20, fig. 5; Richards, <i>JARCE</i> 39 (2002), fig. 15
<i>Jww</i> CG1439	Pepy I	ibid I, pl. 31
<i>Ndm-jb</i> CG1616	late Pepy I	ibid II, pl. 83

Naga ed-Dêr UE 8

<i>Mrw/Jjj</i> N3737	Merenre–early Pepy II	Peck, <i>Naga ed-Dêr</i> , pls. 11, 13
<i>Tmrrjj</i> N248	Pepy I–early	ibid, pl. 6
<i>Hḥgj</i> Louvre C160	Pepy I ?	Zeigler, <i>Stèles</i> , p. 195-6
<i>Hnnjj</i> MFA 25.625	VI	Dunham, <i>Naga ed-Dêr</i> , pl.5 (2)
<i>Tmrrjj</i>	VI mid–late	Lutz, <i>Tomb Steles</i> , pl. 14, No. 27 Dunham, <i>Naga ed-Dêr</i> , pl. 13 (2); N3746

Qasr wa es-Saiyad UE 7

<i>Tḥwtj</i>	VI Merenre–early Pepy II	Säve-Söderbergh, <i>Hamra Dom</i> , pls. 14, 28c, 31
<i>Jdw-mnz</i>	VI	ibid, pl. 45
<i>Jdw/Snnj</i>	VI Pepy II early–mid	ibid, pl.9

Dendera UE 6

<i>Mnj</i>	VI Pepy II?	Petrie, <i>Dendereh</i> , pl. 1
<i>Mrrj</i>	VI Pepy II/ VII	ibid, pl.8A; Fischer, <i>Dendera</i> , pl. 16b, fig.27
<i>ḥb-jḥw</i>	VIII, early	Fischer, <i>Dendera</i> , pl. 24, fig. 40
<i>Snnj</i>	VI	ibid, pl. 26, fig. 43, Edinburgh 1910.96
<i>Nj-jbw-nswt</i>	V?	ibid, pls. 2, 3, J d'E 89071; BM 1267
<i>Jdw I</i>	VI Merenre–early Pepy II	ibid, pl. 5
<i>Tḥwtj</i>	VI Pepy II	ibid, pl. 17b
<i>Nfr-jjw</i> Met. Mus. 12.183.8	VIII	Hayes, <i>Scepter</i> I, fig. 82
<i>Jndjj</i> Met. Mus. 25.2.3	VIII	ibid, fig. 83

Coptos UE 5

<i>Htp-nbj</i> Dublin 1892.224	VI (late)	Fischer, <i>Coptite Nome</i> , pl. 5 (No. 2)
<i>Httj</i> Vienna 5894	Pepy II (late)	ibid, pl. 7 (No. 4)
<i>Nj-hb-sd-Ppjj</i> Vienna 5893	VI (late)	ibid, pl.8 (No. 5)
<i>Dff</i> Seattle 11.11	Pepy II (late)	ibid, pl. 9 (No. 7)
<i>Hntj</i> Karlsruhe H. 41	VI (late)	ibid, pl. 11 (No. 9)
<i>Hnms</i> Or. Inst. 12105	end VI–beginning VIII	ibid, pl. 16 (No. 17)
<i>Htpj</i> Florence 6375	VI–beginning VIII	ibid, pl. 23 (No. 26)

Thebes UE 4

<i>Wnjs-^cnh</i>	VI late Teti–early Pepy I	Saleh, <i>Three Old Kingdom Tombs</i> , figs. 3, 4
<i>Jhjj</i>	VI early–mid Pepy II	ibid, pls. 16 = fig. 57, 18
<i>Snj-jqr</i>	VI	ibid, fig. 2

Gebelein UE 4

<i>Jtj</i> Turin 1614	end VI–VIII	<i>Egyptian Civilization</i> (Museum Turin, 1988), pl. 124,125
<i>Kd.s</i> Berlin 24032	end VI–VIII	Fischer, <i>KUSH</i> 9 (1961), 44-53, pl. 10
<i>Hq3-jb</i> BM 1671	end VI–VIII	Polotsky, <i>JEA</i> 16 (1930), 194—199, pl. 29

Mo'alla UE 3

<i>Hknw</i>	VI	Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , pp. 205-6
<i>3nh.tj.fj</i>	end VI–VIII	Vandier, <i>Mo'alla</i> , pl.6=22, 14, 39, 40
<i>Sbk-htp</i>	end VI–VIII	ibid, pp.269-271, 274-5, 281

Edfu UE 2

<i>Jzj</i>	VI Teti/early Pepy I	<i>Tell Edfou</i> III, 1939, figs. 34a, b, 35
<i>Q3r/Mrjir^c-nfr</i> JE 43370-43371	VI Merenre	El-Khadragy, <i>SAK</i> 30, figs. 4, 7

Aswan UE 1

<i>Hw-ns</i>	VI	de Morgan, <i>Cat. des mon.</i> , p. 160-161
<i>Hr-hw.f</i>	VI Pepy II early	ibid, pp. 164-166, 173
<i>Mhw-S3bnj</i>	VI	ibid, pp. 144, 148
<i>Hnmw-htp</i>	VI Pepy II	ibid, 197, 198
<i>Sbk-htp</i>	VI	ibid, p. 196
<i>Ppjj-nht/Hq3-jb</i>	VI end Pepy II	ibid, p. 151
<i>St-k3</i>	VI Pepy II	Jenkins, <i>Aswan</i> , pls. 13, 14, 16, 17

Chapter 3 – The Seated Tomb Owner at El-Hawawish

By province, date , tomb number, tomb owner and reference

EL-HAWAWISH

Fifth Dynasty

Neuserre

G84, *Mnw-ḥh*, *H I*, pl. 1b, fig. 4
L6, *Dw3-Mnw*, *H VI*, pl. 2a, fig. 5

Djedkare/Isesi

M23, *Mmj*, *H V*, fig. 15, 16, 17
M21, *ḥhw*, *H V*, fig.24
L8, *ḥ3-Mnw*, *H VI*, fig. 9
M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, *H IV*, pls.1, 4, figs. 8, 9, 15 (no table, false door panel)

Unis

M43, *Hm-Mnw*, *H V*, figs. 6, 9

Sixth Dynasty

Teti

F12, *Mrrw*, *H IX*, fig. 2b
F1, *Hzzj-Mnw*, *H VI*, pl. 1a, fig. 2
K16, ..., *H VIII*, fig.21 (no table)

End Teti–beginning Pepy I

G95, *Nhwt-dšr*, *H VIII*, pls. 6, 7, 8, fig. 3a, fig. 3b(no table)
G126, *B3wj*, *H IX*, fig.15

Mid Pepy I

G97, ..., *H VIII*, fig. 5 (no table)

Late Pepy I

Q2, *W3h...*, *H VI*, fig. 17b
Q13, *Jww(?) -hrj-jb*, *H VI*, fig.19b
Q15, *Qrrj*, *H VI*, pl. 3a, fig. 22a
B12, *Mmj*, *H VII*, fig. 10
K5, *B3wj*, *H VIII*, fig. 18, 19 (no table)
N20, *Tjj*, *H VI*, pl. 4b, fig. 23b

End Pepy I–beginning Pepy II

C9, *Jjj*, *H VII*, fig.8a
G119,..., *H IX*, fig.12b
G124, ..., *H IX*, fig. 13b
K18, *Hzzj-Mnw*, *H VIII*, fig.22b (no table but arm outstretched as if to table)
L31, *Q3r*, *H VI*, pl. 2d, fig.15
K4, *B3wj*, *H VIII*, pl.1 1a, fig.17b (no table but arm outstretched as if to table)
K1, *Mddj*, *H VIII*, fig.15
L42, ..., *H IX*, fig. 3b?

Early–mid Pepy II

M8, *Ttj*, *H III*, fig. 6, 18 (Fragment M8.F4); *H X*, fig. 9a
M52, ..., *H X*, figs. 3-6 (fragments)
L21, *Sfhw*, *H VI*, pl. 6b, fig. 11
L23, *Ppjj-ḥh-n.s.*, *H IX*, fig. 2a
G79, *Wnw-Mnw*, *H III*, fig. 26
H27, *Nbt*, *H III*, fig.27
G42, *Hzzj-Mnw*, *H VII*, fig. 3a
H26, *Ttj-jqr*, *H I*, pls. 12,13, fig. 17, 18

Mid-late Pepy II

B83, <i>B3wj</i> ,	<i>H IX</i> , fig. 21
G49, ...,	<i>H IX</i> , fig. 9b
GA11, <i>Ghs3</i> ,	<i>H VII</i> , pl. 4, figs. 27, 28, 31
H24, <i>Hnj</i> ,	<i>H II</i> , pls. 4, 5, figs.11 (pillar), 19 (no table), 24, 25

End Sixth to Eighth Dynasties

End Dynasty 6–beginning Dynasty 8

H41, <i>Tjt-ʿ3</i> ,	<i>H VIII</i> , fig. 12a
I49, <i>Tjt</i> ,	<i>H VIII</i> , fig. 9b

Dynasty 8

BA17, <i>Rhw-r3w-sn</i> ,	<i>H. VII</i> , fig. 16
BA14, <i>B3wj</i> ,	<i>H VII</i> , fig.17b (no table)
G66, <i>Mddj</i> ,	<i>H IX</i> , fig. 11 (standing before offering table)

Stelae and Fragments

Turin Supp. 1263, <i>3tt-k3</i> ,	<i>H VI</i> , pl. 13b, fig. 29b
Allard Pierson Museum 3400, <i>Jkw</i> ,	<i>H VII</i> , pl 9a, fig. 35c
CG1613, <i>Jrt</i> ,	<i>H VIII</i> , pl. 12a, fig. 32b
CG1581, <i>Jdj</i> ,	<i>H VI</i> , pl. 11b, fig. 27b
Edinburgh 1910:76, <i>Wsr-Mnw</i> ,	<i>H VI</i> , pl.10a, fig. 26a
Florence 7582, <i>Wtt-hzz(t)</i> ,	<i>H VII</i> , pl. 9b, fig. 36a
CG20504, <i>B3wj</i> ,	<i>H VIII</i> , pl. 13b, fig. 34a
Hildesheim 1875, <i>B3wj</i> ,	<i>H VII</i> , pl.11a, fig. 37b
CG1667, <i>Bndt</i> ,	<i>H VIII</i> , pl. 13a, fig. 33b
CG1587, <i>Mmj/Nj-ʿnh-Mnw</i> ,	<i>H VII</i> , pl. 7b, fig. 34b (F/D panel)
Moscow I.1.a 5567, <i>Mnw-m-h3t</i> ,	<i>H VIII</i> , fig. 34b
Florence 7583, <i>Mr.jj</i> ,	<i>H VII</i> , pl. 10a, fig. 36b
Louvre C234, <i>Nbj</i> and <i>Htpt-Mnw</i>	<i>H IX</i> , pl. 6b
Louvre C235, <i>Nbj</i>	<i>H IX</i> , pl. 6a
BM1061 <i>Hnwt</i> ,	<i>H VI</i> , pl. 14a, fig. 30a
CG1669, <i>Q3r/Ppjj-nfr</i> ,	<i>H VI</i> , pl. 13a, fig. 29a
CG1582, <i>K3-wd3.j</i> ,	<i>H VI</i> , pl. 12a, fig. 28a
Edinburgh 1910:94, <i>Tjj</i> ,	<i>H VI</i> , pl. 10b, fig. 26b
Florence 7584, Nomarch, ...- <i>Mnw</i> ,	<i>H VII</i> , pl. 10b, fig. 37a

OTHER PROVINCES

By province, tomb owner, date and reference

Deshasha UE 20

<i>Jntj</i>	late V	Kanawati–McFarlane, <i>Deshasha</i> , pls. 28, 38
<i>Jtj/Sdw</i>	Teti	ibid, pls. 53b, 54

Tehna UE 16

<i>Nj-k3-ʿnh</i> (No. 13)	V Userkaf	Frazer, <i>ASAE</i> 3 (1902), pl. 5
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Sheikh Said UE 15

<i>Srf-k3.j</i>	V late Djedkare	Davies, <i>Sheikh Saïd</i> , pl. 4
<i>Wr-jr.n.j</i>	V early Unis	ibid, pl. 9
<i>Tjt-ʿnh/Jj-m-htp</i>	VI Teti–early Pepy I	ibid, pl. 29
<i>Wjw/Jjjw</i>	VI Merenre–beg. Pepy II	ibid, 23
<i>Hpj</i>	VI early–mid Pepy II	ibid, pl.31
<i>Mrw</i>	VI early–mid Pepy II	ibid, pl.20

Quseir el-Amarna UE 14

<i>Hw.n-wh</i>	VI Pepy I	El-Khouli–Kanawati, <i>Quseir el-Amarna</i> , pls. 39, 40, 43
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Meir UE 14

<i>Ppjj-ṣnh-hrj-jb</i> (D2)	VI Merenre–early Pepy II	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> IV, pls. 5, 9, 11, 12, 15
<i>Nj-ṣnh-Ppjj-km</i> (A1)	VI mid Pepy II	ibid V, pls. 9-11
<i>Ppjj-ṣnh/Hnjj-km</i> (A2)	VI late/end Pepy II	ibid V, pls. 15(4), 19, 29, 32, 33(1), 34
<i>Ppjj</i> (D1)	VI	ibid V, pls. 45, 46

Deir el-Gebrawi UE 12

<i>Hm-r^c/Jzj</i> I	VI Teti	Davies, <i>Gebrâwi</i> II, pls. 17, 19, 20
		Kanawati, <i>Gebrawi</i> I, pls.
<i>Hnqw</i> I	VI Teti	ibid pls.
<i>Hnqw</i> II	VI Pepy I	ibid pls.
<i>Nb-jb</i>	VI	ibid pl.
<i>Jbj</i>	VI Merenre–early Pepy II	Davies, <i>Gebrâwi</i> II, pls. 4, 6-8, 12, 15, 17-19
<i>D^cw</i>	VI mid-late Pepy II	ibid, pls. 4, 8, 9-13

El-Hammamiya UE 10

<i>K3.j-ḥnt</i> (A2)	V early	El-Khouli–Kanawati, <i>El-Hammamiya</i> , pls. 38-40, 43, 46, 47, 50
<i>K3.j-ḥnt</i> (A3)	V early	ibid, pls. 59, 63, 65, 67, 70
<i>R^c-ḥtp</i> (C5)	V early-mid	ibid, pl. 73b

El-Hagarsa UE 9

<i>K3.j-m-nfrt</i>	V mid (Neuserre /earlier?)	Kanawati, <i>El-Hagarsa</i> I, pls. 19, 20
<i>Nfrt-ḥr</i>	V mid-late	ibid, pl. 22b
<i>ṣn-ṣnhj</i>	VI early–mid Pepy II	ibid, pls. 34, 35, 37
<i>Jwfw</i>	VI mid Pepy II	ibid, pl. 39
<i>Mrjj</i>	VI mid–late Pepy II	ibid, pls. 44, 45
<i>Mrjj-ṣ3</i>	end VII–VIII	ibid, III, pls. 41-43, 46
<i>W3hj</i>	VIII	ibid, pls. 24, 25

Geheina UE 9

<i>Hwj/Tjt-jqr</i>	VI late–VIII	el-Masry, <i>BACE</i> 15, pp. 89-106, figs. 5, 7
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Abydos UE 8

<i>Jww</i>	early–mid VI	Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , pp. 59, 61
Louvre C161		
<i>Jdj</i> CG1457	Pepy II or later	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, pl. 35; Brovarski, <i>For His Ka</i> , p. 34, fig. 2.6
<i>Wnj</i> CG1574	Teti–Pepy I	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, pl. 75; Fischer, <i>Egyptian Studies</i> I, pl. 20, fig. 5
<i>Jww</i> CG1439	Pepy I	ibid I, pl. 31
<i>Nḏm-jb</i> CG1616	late Pepy I	ibid II, pl. 83

Naga ed-Dêr UE 8

<i>Imrrjj</i> N248	end Teti–early Pepy I	Peck, <i>Naga ed-Dêr</i> , pls. 3, 5
<i>Tw3w</i> N359	Pepy I	ibid, pls. 1, 2
<i>Mrw/Jjj</i> N3737	Merenre–early Pepy II	ibid, pl. 12
<i>Imrrjj</i> N71	Pepy II?	Wreszinski, <i>Bericht</i> , pls. 23, 24
<i>Dšr</i>	early–mid VI	ibid, pl. 24
<i>H3gj</i> MFA25.676	Pepy I ?	Dunham, <i>Naga ed-Dêr</i> , pl. 11
<i>H3gj</i>	Pepy I ?	Zeigler, <i>Stèles</i> , p. 196
Louvre C160		
<i>Jn-jt.f</i> N3907	VI late?	Dunham, <i>Naga ed-Dêr</i> , pl. 26
<i>Ppjj-snb</i> N298	VI early–mid?	Lutz, <i>Tomb Steles</i> , pl. 23 (45)
<i>Ppjj-snb</i> N235	VI mid?	Dunham, <i>Naga ed-Dêr</i> , pl. 22 (1)
<i>ṣnh-ḥ3.f</i> N258	VI mid–late VI	Lutz, <i>Tomb Steles</i> , pl. 25 (48) N.158/160

Qasr wa es-Saiyad UE 7

<i>Tw3wtj</i>	VI Merenre–early Pepy II	Säve-Söderbergh, <i>Hamra Dom</i> , pls. 13(V), 19, 28, 29
<i>Jdw-mnz3</i>	VI	ibid, pl. 45, 69

Dendera UE 6

<i>Mnj</i>	VI Pepy II?	Petrie, <i>Dendereh</i> , pl. 1
<i>Mrrj</i>	VI Pepy II/ VII	ibid, pl.8A; Fischer, <i>Dendera</i> , fig.27
<i>Sn-ndsw.j</i>	VI Pepy II	Fischer, <i>Dendera</i> , fig.31a
<i>3b-jhw</i>	VIII, early	Fischer, <i>Dendera</i> , fig. 40
<i>Snnj</i>	VI	ibid, fig. 43, pl. 26
Edinburgh 1910.96		

Coptos UE 5

<i>Jn-k3.f</i>	VI	Fischer, <i>Coptite Nome</i> , pl. 11 (8)
JE 68916		
<i>Wsr</i> CG1442	VIII	ibid, pl. 13
<i>Tw3tj</i> CG57201	VIII	ibid, pl.14

Thebes UE 4

<i>Wnjs-ꜥnh</i>	VI late Teti–early Pepy I	Saleh, <i>Three Old Kingdom Tombs</i> , pls. 4, 6
<i>Hntj</i>	VI Merenre–earlyPepy II	ibid, pl. 8
<i>Jhjj</i>	VI early–mid Pepy II	ibid, pls. 14, 18
<i>Jn-jt.f</i>	end VI	Fischer, <i>Dendera</i> , p. 200, fig. 39
CG20009		

Gebelein UE 4

<i>Jtj</i>	end VI–FIP	Egyptian Museum Turin
Turin 1614?		
<i>Jrj</i>	FIP	Ziegler, <i>Egyptian Antiquities</i> , p. 28 E 27211
<i>Dmj</i>	FIP	Sternberg, <i>GM</i> 28, pp. 55 -59, figs. 1,2
Hildesheim 4590		
<i>Mrr</i> CG1651	late VI–FIP	Kubisch, <i>MDAIK</i> 56, p. 257, fig.2, pl. 33

Mo'alla UE 3

<i>3nh.tj.fj</i>	late Pepy II–FIP	Vandier, <i>Mo'alla</i> , pl.6
<i>Sbk-htp</i>	late Pepy II	ibid, pp.266-268

Edfu UE 2

<i>Jzj</i>	VI Teti–early Pepy I	Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , pp. 78, 79
Louvre: E 14329		
<i>Q3r/Mrjrr-ꜥnfr</i>	VI Merenre	El-Khadragy, <i>SAK</i> 30, p. 203-228, figs. 2, 3, 6, 7
JE 43370-43371		
<i>S3bnj</i>	VI early Pepy II	Bruyère et al, <i>Tell Edfou</i> , 1937, pl. 14
<i>Nfr</i>	VI Pepy I	ibid, pl. 15

Aswan UE 1

<i>Hwj</i>	VI	de Morgan, <i>Cat. des mon.</i> , p. 157
<i>Hw-ns</i>	VI	ibid, p. 159-161

Chapter 4 – The Tomb Owner at El-Hawawish: Spear Fishing in the Marshes

By province, tomb owner, date and reference

EL-HAWAWISH

<i>Hzzj-Mnw</i> (M22)	V late Djedkare	<i>H</i> IV, pp.19-20, pl.2, fig.12
<i>Hm-Mnw</i> (M43)	V early Unis	<i>H</i> V, pp. 18,19, pl.1, figs.6,7
<i>Hzzj-Mnw</i> (F1)	VI late Teti	<i>H</i> VI, pp.11,12, pl.1c, fig.3
<i>B3wj</i> (G126)	VI end Teti-early Pepy I	<i>H</i> IX, pp. 30, 31, fig.15
... (G97)	VI early Pepy I	<i>H</i> VIII, p.15, fig. 5
<i>K3.j-hp/Ttj</i> (M8)	VI early Pepy II	<i>H</i> III, pp. 24, 25, fig. 13
<i>K3.j-hp/Ttj-jkr</i> (H26)	VI mid Pepy II	<i>H</i> I, p.19, pl.1, fig. 8
<i>Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj</i> (H24)	VI Late Pepy II	<i>H</i> II, pp. 19, 20, pl.1,fig.18

OTHER PROVINCES

Deshasha

<i>Jttj-Šdw</i>	VI Teti	Kanawati-McFarlane, <i>Deshasha</i> , pl. 44
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Zawiyet el-Maiyitin

<i>Nj-ʿnh-Ppjj</i>	VI Pepy I	Varille, <i>Ni-ankh-Pepi</i> , pl. 9 (b,c)
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Quseir el-Amarna

<i>Hw.n-wh</i>	VI Pepy I	El-Khouli–Kanawati, <i>Quseir</i> , pls.1, 38
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Meir

<i>Ppj-ʿnh-hrj-jb</i>	VI Merenre-early Pepy II	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> IV, pl.7*
<i>Ppj-ʿnh/Hnjj-km</i>	VI late Pepy II	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> V, pl. 24* (or bird-hunting)*?

Deir el-Gebrawi

<i>Hnqw/Jj.f</i> (67)	VI Pepy I	Davies, <i>Gebrâwi</i> II, pl. 28/Kanawati, <i>Gebrawi</i> I, pl. 54
<i>Hnqw/Httj</i> (39)	VI Pepy I	Davies, <i>Gebrâwi</i> II, pl.2/Kanawati, <i>Gebrawi</i> I, pl. 39
<i>Jbj</i>	Merenre–early Pepy II	Davies, <i>Gebrâwi</i> I, pl. 3*
<i>Dʿw</i>	VI mid–late Pepy II	Davies, <i>Gebrâwi</i> II, pl. 5*

Geheina

<i>Ttj-jkr/Hwj</i>	end VI–early VIII	El-Masry, <i>Gohaina</i> , pp. 89-99, fig. 2*
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El-Hagarsa

<i>Mrjj-ʿ3</i>	end VI–VIII	Kanawati, <i>Hagarsa</i> III, pls. 9, 14, 15, 45*
<i>W3hj</i>	VIII	Kanawati, <i>Hagarsa</i> III, pls. 5b, 6, 28, 30

Qasr wa es-Saiyad

<i>Jdw/Snnj</i>	VI early–mid Pepy II	Säve-Söderbergh, <i>Hamra Dom</i> , pls.7, 52*
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Dendera

<i>Jdw I</i>	VI Merenre–early Pepy II	Petrie, <i>Denderah</i> , pl. 5
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Thebes

<i>Jhjj</i>	VI early–mid Pepy II	Saleh, <i>Three Old Kingdom Tombs</i> , pl. 15(1)
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Mo'alla

<i>ʿnh-tj.fj</i>	VIII	Vandier, <i>Mo`alla</i> , pls. 14, 40*
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Aswan

<i>S3bnj</i> (tomb Nr 26),	VI.	de Morgan, <i>Cat. des mon.</i> , p.146*
<i>Hw-ns</i>	VI	de Morgan, <i>Cat. des mon.</i> , pp.158,159*
<i>S3bnj</i> (Nr 35)	VI–VIII.	<i>Museums of Egypt</i> , ed. H.LaFarge, p.155*

* indicates bird-hunting as well as spear-fishing in tomb

Chapter 5 – The Tomb Owner at El-Hawawish: Travelling in a Palanquin

By province, tomb owner, date and reference

EL-HAWAWISH

<i>B3wj</i> (CA1)	VI. Pepy I	<i>H</i> VIII, pp. 22, 23, fig.6
<i>K3.j-ḥp/Ttj-jqr</i> (H26)	VI. mid Pepy II	<i>H</i> I, pp. 23, 24, fig.13, pl.1a
<i>Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj</i> (H24)	VI. late Pepy II	<i>H</i> II, pp. 25, 26, fig. 21, pl. 2b; <i>H</i> X, p. 20, fig. 9b

OTHER PROVINCES

Deshasha

<i>Jttj/Šdw</i>	VI Teti	Kanawati–McFarlane, <i>Deshasha</i> , p. 48, pl. 44 (mostly destroyed)
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Meir

<i>Ppjj-ṣnh-ḥrj-jb</i>	VI Merenre–early Pepy II	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> IV, p. 38, pls. 14, 23
<i>Ppjj-ṣnh/Hnjj-km</i>	V late Pepy II	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> V, p. 39, pls. 31, 59

Deir el-Gebrawi

<i>Jbj</i>	VI Merenre–early Pepy II	Davies, <i>Gebrâwi</i> I, p. 15, pls. 8, 9
<i>Dṣw</i>	VI mid–late Pepy II	Davies, <i>Gebrâwi</i> II, p. 11, pl 8

Chapter 6 – The Tomb Owner at El-Hawawish: Travelling in a Sailing Ship or a Papyrus Boat

By province, tomb owner, date and reference

EL-HAWAWISH

<i>Hzzj-Mnw</i> (M22)	late Djedkare	<i>H</i> IV, pp. 25, 26, fig. 17
<i>Mrrw...</i> (F12)	Teti	<i>H</i> IX, p. 17, fig. 8a
<i>Hzzj-Mnw</i> (G42)	mid Pepy II	<i>H</i> VII, p. 13, fig. 3c
<i>B3wj</i> (BA48)	mid Pepy II	<i>H</i> VII, p. 38, fig. 25
<i>K3.j-hp/Ttj-jqr</i> (H26)	mid Pepy II	<i>H</i> I, pp. 20, 21, fig. 9
<i>Hnj/Špsj-pw-Mnw</i> (H24)	late Pepy II	<i>H</i> II, pp. 21, 22, fig. 19
<i>Ghs3/Nbjj</i> (GA11)	late Pepy II	<i>H</i> VII, pp. 41, 42, fig. 30
<i>Ttj-ʿ3</i> (H41)	end Dyn.6–Dyn.8	<i>H</i> VIII, pp. 30, 31, fig. 12

OTHER PROVINCES

Deshasha

<i>Jntj</i>	late V	Kanawati–McFarlane, <i>Deshasha</i> , pl. 32
<i>Mrjj</i>	Pepy I (?)	Petrie, <i>Deshasheh</i> , pl. 27

Zawiyet el-Maiyitin

<i>Hw-ns</i>	Unis	LD II, pl. 109; Vandier, <i>Manuel</i> V, fig. 328(2)
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Sheikh Said

<i>Srf-k3.j</i>	late Djedkare	Davies, <i>Sheikh Saïd</i> , pl.5
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Meir

<i>Ppjj-ʿnh-hrj-jb</i>	Merenre–early Pepy II	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> IV, pl.16
<i>Ppjj-ʿnh/Hnj-km</i>	late Pepy II	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> V, pls. 22, 23, 42, 43

Deir el-Gebrawi

<i>Hm-Rʿ/Jzj</i>	Teti	Davies, <i>Gebrāwi</i> II, pls.19, 20
<i>Jbj</i>	Merenre–early Pepy II	Davies, <i>Gebrāwi</i> I, pl.10
<i>Dʿw</i>	mid–late Pepy II	Davies, <i>Gebrāwi</i> II, pl. 7

El-Hammamiya

<i>K3.j-hnt</i> (A2)	early V	El-Khouli–Kanawati, <i>El-Hammamiya</i> , pls. 35, 37, 44, 45
<i>Jwff</i> (wife)		pls. 44, 50, 51

Geheina

<i>Ttj-jkr/Hwj</i>	end VI–early VIII	El-Masry, <i>Gohaina</i> , pp. 89-99, fig. 2
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Thebes

<i>Wnjs-ʿnh</i>	Unis–Teti	Saleh, <i>Three Old Kingdom Tombs</i> , pl. 5; Landström, <i>Ships</i> , fig. 133
<i>Jhjj</i>	early–mid Pepy II	Saleh, <i>Three Old Kingdom Tombs</i> , pl. 19

Gebelein

<i>Jtj</i>	VI–VIII	Leospo, <i>La Tomba Dipinta</i> , pl. 6
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Aswan

<i>Hw-ns</i>	VI	de Morgan, <i>Cat. des mon.</i> , p. 160
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Unknown Tomb Owners

Fragment	IV (mid–late)-V (early)	New York MMA 22.1.13, in <i>Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids</i> , pp.322-324.
Fragment	IV (mid–late)-V (early)	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. 958.49.3, <i>ibid</i> , p.325

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Table 2.2 Provincial Tombs

Chapter 3: The Seated Tomb Owner

Features and Key to Tables: El-Hawawish and other provinces

Table 3.1 El Hawawish Tombs

Table 3.2 Provincial Tombs

Chapter 4: The Tomb Owner Spear-Fishing in the Marshes

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Chapter 6: The Tomb Owner Travelling in a Sailing Ship or a Papyrus Boat

Features and Key to Tables: El-Hawawish and other provinces

Table 6.1 El-Hawawish and Provincial Tombs

*asterisks in the tables indicate the presence of a feature

FEATURES – Chapter 2: The Standing Tomb Owner

Key to Table 2.1 and Table 2.2: El-Hawawish and other provincial tombs

Features

- a. tomb owner as a mature figure
- b. holding staff
- c. holding sceptre
- d. holding lotus
- e. hands by sides, empty
- f. hand over knob of staff, 'relaxed leg' pose
- g. knob of staff under armpit
- h. hand over knob of staff, flat foot pose
- i. wearing a fitted kilt
- j. wearing leopard skin
- k. wearing long kilt
- l. wearing sandals
- m. accompanied by wife
- n. sons (S)/daughters (D) present
- o. pets present

Motifs near standing tomb owner

- p. figure censing to tomb owner
- q. offering a lotus
- r. figure offering foreleg/birds

The Tomb Owner in Viewing scenes

- s. the cattle count
- t. the work of the fields and marshlands
- u. bull fighting
- v. the desert hunt
- w. viticulture
- x. offerings
- y. craftsmen
- z. activities of the marshlands: spear-fishing (Sf); hunting birds with the throwstick (Hb)

Table 2.1 El-Hawawish Tombs

[illegible]

Table 2.1 El-Hawawish Tombs

[illegible]

CHAPTER 2: THE STANDING TOMB OWNER

Table 2.1 El-Hawawish Tombs

Tomb owner	Position in tomb	m/f	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o
fig. 20a	E engaged pillar			*	*												
fig. 20b	W engaged pillar			*				*		*				*			
fig. 22	shrine, E wall			*	*							*		*			
Mid-late Pepy II																	
B83, <i>B3wj</i> , <i>H IX</i> , fig. 21	E wall	m		*	*							*					S ?
G49, ..., <i>H IX</i> , fig. 9b	E wall	m		*	*							*					
GA11, <i>Ghs3</i> , <i>H VII</i> , fig. 27	N wall	m		*						*		*					
fig. 29	E wall		*	*	*							*	*	*			
fig. 30	S wall			*	*										*	S	
H24, <i>Hnj</i> , <i>H II</i> , figs. 7, 8	Pillar 1, N, E, W faces	m		*	*												
figs. 9, 10	Pillar II, W, N faces			*	*												
fig. 10	Pillar II, E face		*	*									*				
fig. 11	Pillar III, W face			*							*	*					
fig. 12	Pillar III, N, E faces			*	*												
fig. 15	W engaged pillar			*	*						*	*		*			
fig. 17	S wall (E)			*				*		*							
fig. 20	W wall (S)			*				*		*				*			
fig. 21	N wall (W)			*	*									*			
fig. 23	N wall (E)		*	*								*	*	*			
fig. 26	E wall, shrine			*	*							*		*		S	
End Dynasty 6- beginning Dynasty 8																	
I49, <i>Ttj</i> , <i>H VIII</i> , fig. 10	N wall	m		*	*										*		
Dynasty 8																	
BA17, <i>Rhw-r3w-sn</i> , <i>H VII</i> , fig. 14	N wall	m		*											*	D	
fig. 15	E wall						*								*		
BA14, <i>B3wj</i> , <i>H VII</i> , fig. 18	N wall	m		*								*	*		*		*
G66, <i>Mddj</i> , <i>H IX</i> , fig. 11 (standing before offering table)	S wall	m		*									*				
B7, <i>B3wj</i> , <i>H IX</i> , fig. 17a	Pillar I, W face	m		*	*												
fig. 17b	Pillar I, S face		*									*			*		

Table 2.1 El-Hawawish Tombs

[illegible]

CHAPTER 2: THE STANDING TOMB OWNER

Table 2.2 Provincial Tombs

Nome/Site/Tomb owner	Position in tomb	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
UE 20 Deshasha																	
<i>Jntj</i>	Chapel: south wall		*			*		*				*		*	*S/D		
	Chapel: west wall		*	*		1				*	*		*	*	*D		
	Shrine: north wall			*				*		*				*			
	Shrine: south wall		*	*										*	*D		*
	Pillar faces I		*N	*N,W				*S									
	II		*N	*N				*S									
	III		*S N	*S,N,E				*S									
<i>Jtj/Sdw</i>	Chapel: north wall(W)		*	*													
	Chapel: north wall(E)		*	*							*						
	Pl. 53																
	Chapel: north wall(W) Pl. 52		*	*													
	Chapel: west wall			*													
	Chapel: south wall		*	*										*?			
	Chapel: east wall		*	?													
	Shrine: west wall(F/D), jambs		*	*			*						*				
	Portico (a)		*	*													
	Entrance passage walls (a) (b)		*	?											*S		
UE 16 Tehna																	
<i>Nj-k3-5nh</i> II (No.15)	Corridor: F/D		*	*													
	Chapel: north wall (E)		*	*						*	*				*S		

CHAPTER 2: THE STANDING TOMB OWNER

Table 2.2 Provincial Tombs

Nome/Site/Tomb owner	Position in tomb	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
UE 16 Zawiyet el-Maiyitin																	
<i>Hw-ns</i> (No. 2)	LD II pl. 105a		*		*	R								*	*SsD		
	LD II pl. 107		*		*	F							*		*S	*	d, d, b
	LD II pl. 109		*	*							*						
<i>Nj-ṣnh-Ppjj</i> (No. 14)	Varille, pl. XI pillar face		*											*			
UE 15 Sheikh Said																	
<i>Srf-k3.j</i>	Thickness (N) to room 2										*					*	d
	Rear wall, main room (L, R)		*	*						*	L				*S		
<i>Wr-jr-n.j</i>	West wall		*										*			*	d, d, b
<i>Mrw/Bbj</i>	Entrance thickness (N)			*							*						
	West wall			*													
	East wall		*		*	F								*	*Ss		
					c												
<i>Wjw/Jjjw</i>	West wall: F/D jambs		*														
	East wall (N)						*							*	*S		
UE 14 Quseir el-Amarna																	
<i>Hw.n-wh</i>	Façade (N,S)		*	*										*	*Ss		

Table 2.2 Provincial Tombs

UE 14
Meir

CHAPTER 2: THE STANDING TOMB OWNER

Table 2.2 Provincial Tombs

Nome/Site/Tomb owner	Position in tomb	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
<i>Ppjj-ṣnh /Hnjj-km (A2)</i>	North wall (E) <i>Room A</i> <i>Seated tomb owner</i>																
	East wall <i>Room A</i>																
	West wall <i>Room A</i>	*				*						*					
	North wall <i>Room B</i>																
	West wall <i>Room B</i>		*	*							*			*	*S		
	West wall (S) <i>Room B</i> <i>Seated tomb owner</i>		*	*									*				
	East wall (N) <i>Room B</i>						*						*		*S		
	East wall (S) <i>Room B</i> <i>Seated tomb owner</i>																
	Pillar 4 (E face) <i>Room B</i>		*	*													
	South wall <i>Room F</i> <i>Seated tomb owner</i>																
<i>Ppjj D1</i>	East wall (N)		*	*										*			
UE 12																	
Deir el-Gebrawi																	
<i>Hm-r^c/Jzj I</i>	Entrance: lintel		*											*			
	Entrance: jamb (W)		*?														
	West wall: F/D frame (S)			*											*S		
	W.wall: F/D frame (N)			*													
	North wall (Section C-D)		*	*							*			*	*S		
	North wall (Section E)								*						*S		
	South wall (E)						*		*								
							?		?								
<i>Hnqw/Httj: Hnqw I</i>	West wall: F/D jambs		*														
	West wall		*	*													
	East wall (a)		*	*							*						
	East wall (b)		*	*			*						*				

CHAPTER 2: THE STANDING TOMB OWNER

Table 2.2 Provincial Tombs

Nome/Site/Tomb owner	Position in tomb	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
	North wall <i>Seated T/O</i>																
<i>Hnqw</i> II	East wall			*													
<i>Nb-jb</i>	none																
<i>Jbj</i>	Entrance thickness (E)	*										*		*			
	Entrance thickness (W)		?	?										*			
	East wall		*	*										*			
	North wall (W)		*	*			*						*	*			
	North wall (E) <i>Seated T/O</i>		*														
	Shrine: North wall		*	*										*	*SDs		
	Shrine: North wall, F/D jambs		*	*													
	South wall (W) <i>Seated T/O</i>		*														
	South wall (E) <i>Spear fishing</i>													*	*Ss D		
	South wall (W) <i>Bird hunting</i>													*	*Ss D		
<i>D'w</i>	Entrance thickness (W) raised hands pose																
	Entrance thickness (E)		*	*													
	West wall (N)		*	*									*	*			
	West wall (S)		*	*									*	F			
	North wall (W)		*	*													
	North wall (E)					*											
	Shrine: North wall					*								*			
<i>Nfr-tp-w3?</i>	North wall	*	*	*								*					
<i>Nfr-hwt?</i>	West wall	*	*?	*								*					
	East wall		*	*													
UE 10 El-Hammamiya																	
<i>Dβ.j-dd</i> (A1)	Entrance thicknesses		*	*										*			

Table 2.2 Provincial Tombs

[illegible]

CHAPTER 2: THE STANDING TOMB OWNER

Table 2.2 Provincial Tombs

Nome/Site/Tomb owner	Position in tomb	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
UE 9																	
El-Hagarsa																	
<i>K3.j-m-nfrt</i> (A3)	Entrance to S burial chamber		*	*							*			*			
	South shrine: West wall		*	*							L						
<i>Sbk-nfr</i> (B18)	Entrance thickness (R)		*	*													
<i>Hwj</i> (B19)	West wall		*	*										*			
<i>ʿn-ʿnhj</i> (B13)	East wall (S)		*	*?										*	*D	*	
	West wall F/D jambs		*	*												d	
<i>Jwfw</i> (B8)	East wall (N)		?	?										*	*S		
<i>Mrjj</i> (C2)	Entrance thickness (E) raised hands pose																
	West wall F/D jambs		*	*													
	South wall						*							*			
<i>Mrjj-ʿ3</i> (D18)	West wall : figure offers bird										*			*			
	North wall (W): 1 hand raised..Figure offers 2 birds										*			*	*Ss Dd		
	Entrance thicknesses (N) raised hands pose										*						
	Entrance thickness (S)	*	*									*					
	South wall (L figure) son offers bowl, jar						*										
	South wall (R figure) son? offers foreleg																
<i>W3hj</i> (D4)	Entrance thickness (S)	*	*									*					

CHAPTER 2: THE STANDING TOMB OWNER

Table 2.2 Provincial Tombs

Nome/Site/Tomb owner	Position in tomb	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
	South wall						*						*		*D	*	d
	West wall		*	*							*			*		*	d
	North wall (E)		*	*													
<i>Hffj</i> (D14)	Entrance (W)		*	*													
UE 9 Geheina																	
<i>Hwj/ Tj-jqkr</i>	Chapel: West wall (N)		*	*							*		*				
	West wall (S)						*						*				
UE 8 Abydos																	
<i>Jww</i> CG1439	F/D Stela: jambs		*														
<i>Jww</i> Louvre C161-163	F/D: jambs, side panels		*	*													
<i>Jdj</i> CG1457	F/D: outer jambs		*	*													
<i>Ndm-jb</i> CG1616	F/D Stela																
<i>Wnj</i> CG1574	F/D: jambs		*	*													
<i>Stj-jb</i> Louvre 293	Stela: figure (L)	*	*	*								*					
	figure (R)		*	*													
<i>Hnw</i> CG1615	Stela		*	*										*	*Ss		
UE 8 Naga ed-Dêr																	
<i>Tmrrjj</i> N248	West wall								*								
									?								
<i>Mrw/Jjj</i> N3737	West wall		*	*							*		*	*	*S,D		
	East wall		*	*									*		*S		
<i>H3gj</i>	Stela C160 Louvre		*	*										*	*Ss		
<i>Hnnjj</i>	Stela MFA 25.625	*	*	*								*					

CHAPTER 2: THE STANDING TOMB OWNER

Table 2.2 Provincial Tombs

Nome/Site/Tomb owner	Position in tomb	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
<i>Tmrrjj</i>	Stela Lutz 27, Dunham N3746		*	*										*			
UE 7																	
Qasr wa es -Saiyad																	
<i>Jdw/Snnj</i>	South wall						*										
	East wall																
	<i>Bird hunting</i>																
<i>T3wtj</i>	Façade: stela																
	South wall		*	*							*				*S		
	North wall (niche)						*										
							?										
	East wall																
<i>Jdw-mnz3</i>	Façade		*	*													
UE 6																	
Dendera																	
<i>Jdw I</i>			*	*											*Ss?		
<i>Mnj</i>	F/D jambs		*	*													
<i>Mrrj</i>	Architrave		*	*								*					
											?						
<i>3b-jhw</i>	F/D jambs		*	*						*							
										/							
<i>Nj-jbw-nswt</i> BM 1267	Stela			*							*						
J d'E89071	Stela			*							*						
<i>Snnj</i> Edinburgh 1910.96	Stela		*	*							*			*			
<i>T3wtj</i>	Stela		*	*													
<i>Nfr-jjw</i>	Stela: F/D jamb (L)	*				*								*			
	F/D jamb (R)		*	*										*			

CHAPTER 2: THE STANDING TOMB OWNER

Table 2.2 Provincial Tombs

Nome/Site/Tomb owner	Position in tomb	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
<i>Jndjj</i>	Stela		*	*										*			
UE 5 Coptos																	
<i>Htp-nbj</i> Dublin 1892.224	Stela		*	*										*			
<i>Httj</i> Vienna 5894	Architrave		*	*										*	*Ss		*
<i>Nj-hb-sd-Ppjj</i> Vienna 5893	Stela		*	*										*			
<i>Dff</i> Seattle 11.11	Stela		*	*										*			
<i>Hntj</i> Karlsruhe H. 41	Stela		*	*										*			
<i>Hnms</i> Or. Inst. 12105	Stela		*	*										*			
<i>Htpj</i> Florence 6375	Stela	*	*	*?								*	*				*
UE 4 Thebes																	
<i>Wnjs-nh</i>	Fragment: Saleh, fig. 3 Met. Museum: 22.3.325		*	*											*S?		
	Fragment: Saleh, fig.4		*	*													
<i>Jhjj</i>	North wall (E)	*	*									*	*	*	*Ss?		
	Pillar 1 (R)			*										*?			
<i>Snj-jqr</i>	Pillar (L)		*	*													
UE 4 Gebelein																	
<i>Jtj</i> Turin 1614	Wall unknown					*					*	*	*	*			
	Stela		*									m		*	*S?	d, d	

CHAPTER 2: THE STANDING TOMB OWNER

Table 2.2 Provincial Tombs

[illegible]

CHAPTER 2: THE STANDING TOMB OWNER

Table 2.2 Provincial Tombs

Nome/Site/Tomb owner	Position in tomb	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
	F/D, jamb (R)	*	*	*													
UE 1 Aswan																	
<i>Hw-ns</i>	Pillar 2 (L)		*	*													*
	Pillar 4 (L)		*									*					
	South wall		*	*										*			
<i>Hr-hw.f</i>	Façade (L)						*						*				*
	Façade (R)		*	*													
<i>S3bnj/Mhw</i>	Entrance thickness (R)		*	*							*	*		*	*S		* ?
	Entrance thickness (L)		*	*								*			*S		
	South wall (<i>Mhw</i>)		*	*			*										
	Entrance thicknesses (R, L) (<i>S3bnj</i>)		*	*							*						
<i>Sbk-htp</i>	Pillar 2	*	*		*	F c						*					*
	Pillar 3	*	*	*								*					
<i>Hnmw-hnw</i>	Pillar 1		*	*										*			
	Pillar 2		*	*								*					*
	Pillar 3		*	*							*	*		*			*
<i>St-k3.j</i>	Pillar 1						*										
	Pillar 2		*														
	F/D, inner jamb (L)					*											
	F/D, inner jamb (R)	* ?				*						*					

FEATURES – Chapter 3: The Seated Tomb Owner

Key to Table 3.1: El-Hawawish Tombs

Features

- a. tomb owner seated alone, no table
- b. seated alone at offering table
- c. seated with wife at offering table, same chair
- d. tomb owner and wife seated at separate tables
- e. seated with wife, no table
- f. seated with wife standing
- g. son/daughter present
- h. tomb owner holding a sceptre and/or staff
 - i. holding a lotus
- j. holding an unguent jar
- k. holding a folded cloth
- l. tomb owner wearing leopard skin
- m. dog or monkey under chair
- n. mat under feet of tomb owner
- o. box beneath chair

Motifs near Seated Tomb Owner

- p. figure censing to tomb owner
- q. priests in funerary ceremony
- r. tomb owner presented with lotus
- s. harpists/dancers and clappers
- t. slaughtering
- u. spear fishing

Key to Table 3.2: Provincial Tombs

Features

- a. tomb owner seated alone, no table
- b. seated alone at offering table
- c. seated with wife at offering table, same chair
- d. tomb owner and wife seated
 - i. on either side of the same table
 - ii. at separate tables
- e. seated with wife, no table
- f. tomb owner seated
 - i. with wife standing
 - ii. with wife kneeling
- g. son/daughter present
- h. tomb owner holding a sceptre and/or staff
 - i. holding a lotus to his nose
- j. holding an unguent jar to his face
- k. holding a folded cloth
- l. tomb owner wearing leopard skin
- m. dog or monkey under chair
- n. mat under feet of tomb owner
- o. beneath chair of seated tomb owner
 - i. box
 - ii. ewer and basin
 - iii. bowl
 - iv. stand/table
 - v. mirror
 - vi. figure

Motifs near Seated Tomb Owner

- p. figure censing to tomb owner
- q. priests in funerary ceremony
- r. tomb owner presented with lotus
- s. harpists/dancers and clappers
- t. slaughtering
- u. tomb owner hunting in the marshes
- v. figure offering jar/bowl
- w. no table with bread loaves but
 - i. offerings piled on a stand
 - ii. jars in a rack

CHAPTER 3: THE SEATED TOMB OWNER

Table 3.1 El-Hawawish Tombs

Tomb owner	Position in tomb	m/f	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o
<i>Mnw-ṣnh</i> , G84	Entrance lintel	m	*							/*				*			
<i>Dw3-Mnw</i> , L6	Panel of F/D:west wall	m			*									*		*	
	Lower lintel of F/D																
<i>Mmj</i> , M23	Entrance lintel	m	*							/*				*			
	L and R entrance thicknesses		L*					R*									
<i>ṣnhw</i> , M21	Panel of F/D:west wall	m		*													
<i>3-Mnw</i> , L8	Panel of F/D:west wall	m			*				*?	*/	*						
<i>Hzzj-Mnw</i> , M22	South wall	m			*				*?						*d		
	Panel of F/D:west wall							*	*								
	West wall																
<i>Hm-Mnw</i> , M43	West wall	m			*				*								%
<i>Mrrw</i> , F12	South wall	m		*													
<i>Hzzj-Mnw</i> , F1	South wall	m			*							*		*	*m		*
K16, ...	East wall	m					*										
<i>Nhwt-dšr</i> , G95	North wall	m				*								*			*
	South wall		*							**							*
<i>B3wj</i> , G126	North wall	m			*							*					*
..., G97	North wall	m	*							/*		*		*			
<i>W3h...</i> , Q2	West wall	m			*							*					
<i>Jww(?) -hrj-jb</i> , Q13	West wall	m		*													
<i>Qrrj</i> , Q15	West wall	m			*								*				
<i>Mmj</i> , B12	East wall	m		*												*?	*
<i>B3wj</i> , K5	East wall	m	*									*	*		*d	*	
<i>Tjj</i> , N20	East wall	m		*									*				%
<i>Jjj</i> , C9	North wall	m		*													
	Panel of F/D:north wall			*													
G119,...	North wall	f		*					*?								
G124, ...	West wall	f		*													*
<i>Hzzj-Mnw</i> , K18	South wall	m			*								*				*

CHAPTER 3: THE SEATED TOMB OWNER

Table 3.1 El-Hawawish Tombs

Tomb owner	Position in tomb	m/f	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o
Q3r, L31	West wall	m		*										*			
	Panel of F/D: west wall			?													
B3wj, K4	North wall	m			*												
Mddj, K1	East wall	m		*													*
L42, ...	North wall	f?		?													
K3(j)-hp/Ttj, M8	Panel of F/D:	m		*?													
M52, ...	fragments	m															
Sfhw, L21	West wall	m		*									*		*d		
Ppjj- ^c nh-n.s, L23	North wall	f		*													
Wnw-Mnw, G79	East wall	f		*													*
	Panel of F/D: east wall			*													
Nbt, H27	South wall	f		*												*	*
Hzzj-Mnw, G42	North wall	m		*									*				*
K3(j)-hp/Ttj-jkr, H26	North wall, shrine	m		*		N							*			W*	
	West wall, shrine					*											
B3wj, B83	East wall	m		*									*?				
G49, ...	East wall	m		*													
Ghs3, GA11	North wall, chapel	m		*													
	East wall, chapel			*									*				*
	East wall, shrine			*									*				*
Hnj/Spsj-pw-Mnw, H24	North wall, shrine	m		*												* T/O,	
	West wall, shrine			*					*?				*			*	*
	South wall		*							/*							
	Pillars I, II		*							/*			*				
Ttj- ^c 3, H41	East wall	m		*						*?/*						?	
Ttj, I49	East wall	m		*									*				
Rhw-r3w.sn, BA17	West wall	m		*													
B3wj, BA14	West wall	m	*					*		/*							*

D refers to dancer(s) H refers to harpist(s)

Table 3.2 Stelae from El-Hawawish

CHAPTER 3: THE SEATED TOMB OWNER

Table 3.3 Provincial Tombs

Nome/Site/ Tomb owner	Position in tomb	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s
UE 20 Deshasha																				
<i>Jntj</i>	Shrine: west wall		*?		*								*							
	Chapel: east wall				?	*			*											
<i>Jtj/Šdw</i>	Chapel: west wall	*							*											
	Shrine: south wall		*									*								
UE 16 Tehna																				
<i>Nj-k3-ꜥnh</i> (No.13)	West wall?					*						*								
	East wall?		*											*d						
UE 15 Sheikh Said																				
<i>Srf-k3.j</i>	West wall			*									*	*						
														m						
<i>Wr-jr-n.j</i>	South wall		*															*	*	
<i>Mrw</i>	South wall		*													* vi	*	*		
<i>Wjw/Jjjw</i>	F/D panel West wall		*								*									
<i>Ttj-ꜥnh/Jj-m-htp</i>	West wall			*				*					*			*vi	*			
								s												
<i>Hpj</i>	East wall	*							*											
	West wall		*																	
UE 14 Quseir el-Amarna																				
<i>Ḥw.n-wh</i>	North wall		*					*				*					*			
								s												
	East wall		*								*	*								

Table 3.3 Provincial Tombs

[illegible]

Table 3.3 Provincial Tombs[illegible]

Table 3.3

Provincial Tombs

[illegible]

Table 3.3 Provincial Tombs

[illegible]

Table 3.3

[illegible]

Table 3.3 Provincial Tombs

[illegible]

Table 3.3 Provincial Tombs

[illegible]

CHAPTER 3: THE SEATED TOMB OWNER

Table 3.3 Provincial Tombs

Nome/Site/ Tomb owner	Position in tomb	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s
<i>Jrj</i>	Stela E27211					*														
<i>Mrr</i>	Stela CG1651					*		* s d	*					*d *d						
UE 3 Mo'alla																				
<i>3nh.tj.fj</i>	NW wall?					*			*							*v				
<i>Sbk-htp</i>	West wall					*			*											
UE 2 Edfu																				
<i>Jzj</i>	Lintel Louvre E14329		*				*ii	* s			*					*vi wife	*			
<i>Q'r/Mrjrr^c- nfr</i>	Niche: architrave JE43370- 43371					*		* s d ?	*							*m				
	Niche: stela	*					* ii * ii	* s d	*			*				*vi wife				
	F/D: lintel	*					*i	* s		*										
	F/D: panel		*								*									
<i>S3bnj</i>	F/D: stela					*		* s d ?	*											
<i>Nfr</i>	Serdab: stela					*		* s			*						*			

CHAPTER 3: THE SEATED TOMB OWNER

Table 3.3 Provincial Tombs

Nome/Site/ Tomb owner	Position in tomb	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s
UE 1																				
Aswan																				
<i>Hwj</i>	Pillar	*							*								*			
<i>Hw-ns</i>	N/West wall		*									*								
	South wall				*							*								
					ii															
	Pillar face (west)		*														*			

FEATURES – Chapter 4: The Tomb Owner Spear Fishing in the Marshes

Key to Tables 4.1 and Table 4.2: El-Hawawish and Provincial Tombs

Features

- a. Posture of tomb owner: tomb owner stands with hands wide apart and almost straight or slightly bent
- b. Tomb owner stands with arms sharply bent
- c. The spear is held at approximately shoulder level
- d. The spear is held at the level of the chest/armpit
- e. The spear is almost horizontal
- f. The spear is held at an angle of 20° or more
- g. The end of the spear is held in the palm of the hand
- h. The end of the spear extends beyond the hand
- i. The point of the spear pierces the fish through the eye/head
- j. The point of the spear pierces the fish through the body
- k. The tomb owner stands on a wooden board within the papyrus skiff
- l. The tomb owner stands directly on the papyrus skiff
- m. The papyrus reeds are bound with double rope lashing (D) or multiple ropes (M)
 - # The lashing is knotted at the edge
- n. Items are carried on board the skiff
- o. The tomb owner's wife stands behind the rear leg (R) or before the front leg (F) of the tomb owner
- p. A wife (W) or daughter (d) kneels between the legs of the tomb owner
- q. A son stands before the tomb owner also in a spear fishing posture
- r. A male figure/son stands with a pole at the stern of the skiff
- s. A son holds or offers a spear to the tomb owner
- t. A fisherman is in a boat at the stern/behind the skiff of the tomb owner
- u. Shape of the 'mound of water': 1 rounded side, 1 vertical side
- v. 'Mound of water' shown with both sides vertical: with rounded top (R), or horizontal top (H)
- w. Height of 'mound of water': at, or above head of tomb owner
- x. Height of 'mound of water': to chest level
- y. Height of 'mound of water': to waist level
- z. No papyrus thicket present
- aa. Rows of umbels
- bb. Rows of birds above papyrus thicket
- cc. Butterflies above papyrus thicket
- dd. Bird's nests in thicket
- ee. Predatory animal in thicket
- ff. Band of water contains: fish (F), crocodile (C), hippopotamus (H), Frog (Fr), grasshopper (G), butterfly (B)
- gg. lotuses under skiff

CHAPTER 5: THE TOMB OWNER SPEAR-FISHING

Table 4.1 El-Hawawish Tombs

Tomb owner	Position in tomb: wall + orientation on entering tomb (R/L)	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v
Djedkare/Isesi																							
M22, <i>Hzzj-Mnw</i> , H IV, figs. 12, 13	West wall (L) S	*		*			*		*	?	?	*		D #		*		*		*	*	?	?
Early Unis																							
M43, <i>Hm-Mnw</i> , H V, figs. 6, 7	West wall (L) S	?			*		*	-	-	*		*		?		-	-	?	-	-	-	*	
Late Teti																							
F1, <i>Hzzj-Mnw</i> , H VI, fig. 3	South wall (R)	*		*		*			*		*	*		M			d	?	*	*			
End Teti – early Pepy I																							
G97, H VIII, fig. 5	North wall (L)	*		*		*		?	?		*	*		M					*		*	*	?
G126, <i>B3wj</i> , H IX, fig. 15	North wall (opposite entrance)	*		*?	*?		*		*		*	?		M					*	*	*	*	
Early-mid Pepy II																							
M8, <i>Ttj</i> , H III, fig. 9	East wall (R)																						
H26, <i>Ttj-jqr</i> , H I, fig. 8	South wall (R)	*			*	*		*		*	*		D	*		*							*
Mid-late Pepy II																							
H24, <i>Hnj</i> , H II, fig. 18	South wall (R)	*			*	*		*		*	*?		D	*		*			*				*

Orientation on entering tomb: R (to the right), L (to the left)

CHAPTER 5: THE TOMB OWNER SPEAR-FISHING

Table 4.2 Provincial Tombs

Nome/Site/ Tomb owner	Position in tomb	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	
UE 20 Deshasha																											
Jtj/Šdw	Portico: west wall	*	*	*			*			*		*		D		*F				*						*	
UE 16																											
Zawiyet el-Maiyitin																											
Nj-ṣnh-Ppjj	Fragment											*					*	*	*								
UE 14																											
Quseir el-Amarna																											
Hw.n-wh	West wall		*	*		*		*		*		*	D		Gd						*			*			
UE 14																											
Meir																											
Ppjj-ṣnh- hrj-jb D2	East wall	*		*		*		*		*		*		D	*		*			*		?		?		*	
																	B										
																	f										
Ppjj-ṣnh /Hnjj-km A2	South wall Room B		*	*	*	*		*		*		*		D	*					*		*			*		
				?	?																						
UE 12																											
Deir el-Gebrawi																											
Hnqw I (39)	North wall		*		*	*			*	?		*		M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Hnqw II (67)	North wall	*		*			*		*		*	*		M	*	-	-	-	-	*	*			R		*	
Jbj	South wall (L)		*	*		*		*		*		*		D			*	*						R		*	
Dṣw	South wall (L)	*			*	*		*		*		*		M									None				
UE 9																											
El-Hagarsa																											
Mrjj-ṣ3	North wall	*		*			*	*			*														*		
W3hj	North wall	*	*				*		*	*						*								*		*	
		1	1													Bh								H			

CHAPTER 5: THE TOMB OWNER SPEAR-FISHING

Table 4.2 Provincial Tombs

[illegible]

FEATURES – Chapter 5: The Tomb Owner Travelling in a Palanquin

Key to Table 5.1: El-Hawawish and the Provinces

Key to Table 5.2: Memphite Cemeteries

Features

- a. 'true chair'
- b. 'chaise longue'
- c. set-down chair
- d. backrest: High/Low
- e. cushion
- f. high side to chair
- g. near arm of tomb owner wholly over side
- h. near arm rests on top of side piece
- i. far hand holds wand
- j. hand holds fly whisk
- k. holds staff/sceptre
- l. holds folded cloth/lotus
- m. hand extended
- n. feet flat on base of chair
- o. one foot resting on heel with toe raised
- p. feet within foot-rail/on top of foot-rail
- q. simple canopy
- r. decorated canopy: semi-circular
- s. decorated canopy: rectangular
- t. shrine-like canopy
- u. palanquin bearers: number
- v. shade bearers: number
- w. accompanying pets: monkeys/dogs (number)

CHAPTER 4: THE TOMB OWNER TRAVELLING IN A PALANQUIN

Tables 5.1 El-Hawawish and Provincial Tombs; Table 5.2 Memphite Cemeteries

5.1 El-Hawawish and Provincial Tombs

Site/Tomb owner	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t
El-Hawawish																				
<i>B3wj</i> (CA1)	?			*H	*															*
<i>K3.j-hp/Ttj-jqr</i> (H26)	*			*H						*								*		
<i>Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj</i> (H24)	*			*H		*	*			*				*		*/		*		
Deshasha: <i>Jttj/Šdw</i>		*																		
Meir: <i>Ppjj-ᵑnh-hrj-jb</i>		*	*	*H	*	*	*		*					*						
<i>Ppjj-ᵑnh/Hnj-km</i>	*					*	*		*	*				*				*		
Deir el-Gebrawi: <i>Jbj</i>	?	?								*										
<i>Dᵑw</i>		*		*L	*	*		*	*	*				*					*	

5.2 Memphite cemeteries

Site/Tomb owner	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t
Dahshur																				
<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	*			*L	*						*/			*						*
Medum																				
<i>Nfr-m3ᵑt</i>	*			*L							*/			*		/				
Giza																				
<i>Snb</i>	*			*L		*														
<i>Špss-k3.f-ᵑnh</i>		*		*H		*	*			*							*			
<i>Jtj-sn</i>		*		*H		*	*		*						*	*/	*			
<i>Nj-m3ᵑt-Rᵑ</i>		*				*	*						*							
<i>Snḡm-jb/Jntj</i>	*			*H		*		*	*?											
<i>Hnmntj</i>	*			*H	*			*	*			*/		*			*			
<i>Nfr-Hwj</i>		*		*H		*	*						*	*			*?			
<i>Jdw</i>		*	*	*H		*	*		*	*?					*	*/				
<i>Q3r</i>		*		*H		*	*			*			*	*		*/				

CHAPTER 4: THE TOMB OWNER TRAVELLING IN A PALANQUIN

Table 5.2 Memphite cemeteries

Site/Tomb owner	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s
<i>Tj</i>		*									*/-						*		
Saqqara																			
<i>Nj-^cnh-Hnmw</i>		*		*H		*	*		*					*		*/	*		
<i>Tj</i>		*				*							*	*					
<i>Pr-nb</i>		*	*	*H	*	*	*						*	*					
<i>Pth-htp II</i>	*?										*/								
<i>Pth-htp/ Tf</i>	*?																		
<i>Mrrw-k3.j</i>		*				?		*					*	*					
<i>W^rat-ht-hr/ Sšst</i>	*			*L	*							/*		*					
<i>K3.j-gm-nj</i>		*		*H	*	*		*	*						*	*/			
<i>Nfr-sšm-R^c</i>																			
<i>Hzi</i>																	*		
<i>^cnh-m-^c-Hr</i>		*		*H	*	*		*	*										
<i>S^cnh-wj-Pth</i>		*		*L	*	*		*		*?					*		*		
<i>S3bw/Jbbj</i>	*					*		*	*?					*		*/			
<i>Mrw</i>									*	*									
<i>Mrij-Ttj (N.wall)</i>		*				*	*		*	*				*					*
<i>Mttj</i>	*?	*?	*?			*	*						*						
<i>Jpj</i>	*			*H	*				*	*				*		/*		*	
Abusir																			
<i>Pth-špss</i>		*		?	?	*	*						*	*		*/			

FEATURES – Chapter 6: The Tomb Owner Travelling in a Sailing Ship or a Papyrus Boat

Key to Table 6.1: El-Hawawish and other Provincial Tombs

Features

The following features were isolated as specifically relevant to the scenes at El-Hawawish.

- a. the wall and position in the chapel where these scenes are found
- b. the number of boats
 - (i) with sails up
 - (ii) with sails and masts down
 - (iii) carrying a coffin/shrine
 - (iv) without sails/masts
- c. type; wooden / papyrus or papyriform
- d. one boat being
 - (i) towed by another boat
 - (ii) hauled by men on the bank or shore
 - (iii) unknown/incomplete scene
- e. position of boat carrying the tomb owner (in a line of boats)
- f. tomb owner standing with
 - (i) staff (ii) staff and sceptre (iii) leaning on staff
- g. tomb owner seated
- h. male figure(s) standing or kneeling and facing tomb owner
- i. *drjt*-mourners on boat with coffin
- j. steering oars operated by
 - (i) men standing in the stern (ii) man seated on the deck or cabin roof
- k. number of rowers
- l. pilot
- m. man with a sounding pole
- n. man controlling sail with ropes
 - (i) seated (ii) standing
- o. lower edge of sail
 - (i) at deck level (ii) above the deck
- p. (i) single pole mast (ii) bipod mast
- q. shape of sail (i) broad at the top and bottom
 - (ii) broad at the top and narrow at the bottom
 - (iii) unknown/incomplete scene
- r. monkey(s) on rigging/ sail/ deck
- s. decoration or construction details on
 - (i) sails (ii) cabin (iii) coffin/canopy (iv) hull
- t. in water below boats (i) water-weeds (ii) lotuses

CHAPTER 6: THE TOMB OWNER TRAVELLING IN A SAILING SHIP OR PAPYRUS BOAT

Table 6.1 El-Hawawish and other Provincial Tombs

Site/tomb owner	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
El-Hawawish																
<i>Hzij-Mnw</i> (M22)	E	(i) 1	w	(iii)	?	(i) (ii)?	-	-	-	(i) 2	12 +	?	?	(i)	(i)	(i)
<i>Mrrw...</i> (F12)	E	(iii) 1	p	(iii)	?	-	-	-	*?	(i) 1	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Hzij-Mnw</i> (G42)	S	(i) 1 (iv) 1	w p	(ii)	3?	-	*	*	-	(i) 3,1	-	-	?	(i)?	(i)?	(i)
<i>B3wj</i> (BA48)	S	(iv) 1	?	(ii)	?	-	*	*	-	(i) 2	-	-	?	-	-	-
<i>K3.j-hp/ Ttj-jqr</i> (H26)	S	(i) 2 (iii) 1	w2 p1	(i)?	?	no T/O	-	-	*	(i) 2 (ii) 1	6	-	*	(i) 1 (ii) 1	(ii)	(i)
<i>Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj</i> (H24)	S	(i)2 (iii)1	w2 p1	(i)	2	(ii)	-	-	*	(i) 2 (ii) 1	?	*	*	(i) 1 (ii) 1	(i)	(i)
<i>Ghs3</i> (GA11)	S	(i)1	w	(iii)	?	(ii)	-	-	-	?	?	*	?	?	(i)	(i)
<i>Ttj-3</i> (H41)	S	(i)2 (iii)1	w2 p1	(iii)	2	(i) (ii)?	-	-	*?	(i) (ii)	-	?	?	?	?	(i)
Deshasha																
<i>Jntj</i>	W	(i)1	p	-	1	(iii)	-	*	-	(i)2	?	*	-	(ii) deck	(i)	(i)
<i>Mrjj</i>	?	(i)1 (iii)1	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	(ii)1	-	*	*	-	(ii)	(i)
Sheikh Said																
<i>Srf-k3.j</i>	W	(i)2 (iv)1	w	-	1 + 2 (son)	(iii)	-	-	-	(i)2	?	*	?	(i) (ii)?	(i)	?
Meir																
<i>Ppjj-ḥnh- hrj-jb</i>	E	(i)2 (ii)2	w	-	2, 3 (son)?	(i) 1	* 2	*	-	(i) 1,2	11 ?	*	* 3, 4?	(i)	(ii)	(i)

CHAPTER 6: THE TOMB OWNER TRAVELLING IN A SAILING SHIP OR PAPYRUS BOAT

Table 6.1 El-Hawawish and other Provincial Tombs

Site/tomb owner	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	
<i>Ppjj-ḥnh /Hnjj-km</i> pl.42	W	(ii)2 (iii)2	w p	(i)	no T/O	-	-	-	*	(i)2 (ii)1	8	*? *?	*? *?	-	-	-
pl.43	E	(iii)2	p	(ii)	no T/O	-	-	-	*	(i)2	-	*? *?	*? *?	-	-	-
Deir el-Gebrawi																
<i>Hm-rḥ/Jzj</i>	N E	(i)2 (i)1 (iii)1	w p	-	1,2 2	(iii)	* *	- -	--	(i)1 ?	--	* *? *?	- * *?	(i)2 (i)	(i) (ii)	(i) (i)
<i>Jbj</i>	W	(i)2 (iii)2	w p	(i)	?	-	-	-	*	(ii) deck	-	* *	- -	(i)	(ii)	-
<i>Dḥw</i>	W	(i)5 (iii)2	w p	(i)2	no T/O	-	-	-	*	(i)2 (ii)5	-	* *	- -	(i)	(ii)	(i) (i)
El-Hammamiya																
<i>K3.j-Hnt</i> (A2) Pl. 35	N	(i)1	w	-	1	(iii)	-	-	-	(i)2	-	? *	*? *	(ii) deck	(i)	(i) (i)
Pl.44-45	W	(ii)2	w	-	3	(iii)	-	-	-	(i)3	7 11	- *	- *	-	-	-
<i>Jwff</i> (wife) Pl.44	W	(iv)1	p	-	2 (wife)	-	*	*	-	(i)2	7	- -	- -	-	-	-
Pl.51	E	(iv)1	p	-	-	-	*	-	-	(i)1	3	- -	- -	-	-	-
Geheina																
<i>Ttj-jqkr/Hwj</i>	N	(iv)1	p	-	-	-	*	*	-	(i)2	-	- -	- -	-	-	-
Thebes																
<i>Wnjs-ḥnh</i>	S	(i)1 (ii)2	w	(ii)	no T/O	-	-	*	-	(ii)1	4?	* *	- *	(i) deck	(ii)	(i) (i)
<i>Jhjj</i>	W	(i)1	w	-	no T/O	-	-	-	-	(ii) 1deck	3?	* *	*? *?	? deck	(ii)	(i) (i)
Gebelein																
<i>Jtj</i>	?	(i)1	w	-	?	(i) ?	-	*	-	(ii)1	-	? ?	? ?	(i)?	(ii)	(i) (i)
Aswan																
<i>Hw-ns</i>	W	(i) 1 (iii)1	w p	(i) ?	2?	?	-	-	-	(i) 1 (ii)1 deck	6	*? *?	? ?	(i)	(ii)	?

Comment* all El-Hawawish boats are directed *towards the entrance of the tomb* regardless of the orientation of the wall where they are located; the boats of G42, BA48, GA11 proceed to the west; the boats of H26 and H24 proceed to the east

FIGURES



The figures are supplied
on a CD which is
attached to the back
cover of this volume.

APPENDIX I

THE MAJOR GROUPS OF EL-HAWAWISH OFFICIALS IN THE SIXTH DYNASTY

The major groups of El-Hawawish officials in the Sixth Dynasty

Listed in chronological order

NOMARCHS	OVERSEERS OF FIELDS AND SERFS	SUPERINTENDENTS OF PRIESTS
G98 and G97 (?)	F1 <i>Hzzj-Mnw/Zzj</i>	Q15 <i>Qrrj</i>
G95 <i>Nhwt-dšr/Mrjj</i>	K18 <i>Hzzj-Mnw/Mrjj</i>	N20 <i>Tjj</i>
M8 <i>K3.j-ḥp/Ttj</i>	K4 <i>B3wj</i>	C9 <i>Jjj/Mrjj*</i>
H15 <i>Hnj-ḥnw(?)</i>	B12 <i>Mmj</i>	K18 <i>Hzzj-Mnw/Mrjj</i>
H26 <i>K3.j-ḥp/Ttj-jqr</i>	G42 <i>Hzzj-Mnw/Zzj</i>	K1 <i>Mddj*</i>
H24 <i>Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj</i>	BA48 <i>B3wj</i>	G42 <i>Hzzj-Mnw/Zzj</i>
H41 <i>Ttj-ḥ</i>	GA11 <i>Ghs3/Nbjj</i>	L21 <i>Sfhw/Hn-Mnw</i>
C3 <i>Bhn</i>	G66 <i>Mddj</i>	L31 <i>Q3r/Ppjj-nfr #</i>
Unknown Nomarch: stela Florence 7584		

Nomarchic titles:¹

ḥrj-tp ʿ3 n Hnt-Mnw: great overlord of Akhmim

ḥrj-tp ʿ3 n spʿt: great overlord of the province

Titles of overseers of fields and serfs:²

jmj-r wpt 3ḥt mrt m prwj: overseer of apportionments of fields and serfs in the two houses

jmj-r wpt ḥtpt-ntr m prwj: overseer of apportionments of the god's offering in the two houses

Titles of superintendents of priests:³

shd ḥm-ntr: superintendent of priests

shd ḥm-ntr Mnw: superintendent of the priests of Min

shd ḥm-ntr ḥwt-k3 Ppjj: superintendent of the priests of the ka-chapel of Pepy

Other major title holders

t3tj-z3b-t3tj: vizier/judge and vizier

B3wj (tomb CA1)

B3wj (tomb B7)

jmj-r mšʿ: overseer of the army

B3wj (tomb B7)

¹ For an explanation of the two titles and the sequence, see Kanawati, *Akhmim* I, pp. 49-54, 91-107, 127-138, 147-151.

² Ibid, pp. 180-197.

³ Ibid, McFarlane, Chapter X, "Holders of Priesthoods", pp. 226-240.

APPENDIX II

THEMES DEPICTED AT EL-HAWAWISH

1. Activities of the tomb owner
2. Funerary rites and activities
3. Marsh/water scenes
4. Agricultural scenes
5. Animal husbandry
6. Professions and crafts
7. Frequency of themes at El-Hawawish: 53 decorated tombs

Themes depicted at El-Hawawish

Theme, number and tomb where they are found

1. Activities of the Tomb Owner

The Tomb Owner seated

- ***alone at an offering table*** (27)
M23, M21, F12, G95, Q13, B12, N20, C9, G119, G124, L31, K1, L23, L42, M8, L21, G79, H27, G42, G49, H26, H24, B83, GA11, H41, I49, BA17
- ***with perfume jar to nose***
no table (2) G97, K5;
at table (3) F1, G126, Q2
- ***with wife at an offering table*** (9)
M22, L6, L8, M43, F1, G126, Q2, Q15, K18
- ***at an offering table, wife seated at a separate table*** (2)
G95, H24
- ***with wife, no table*** (4)
K16, G97, K5, K4

The Tomb Owner standing

- ***with wife facing each other*** (2)
BA14, B7
- ***before an offering table*** (1)
G66

The Tomb Owner

- ***standing before an offering list*** (4)
CA1?, G95, BA14, BA17
- ***seated before an offering list*** (1)
K5
- ***standing receiving offerings*** (19)
M22, L6, G95, G126, B12, K5, L31, K4, G42, Q15, L21, BA48, H27, H26, H24, G66, I49, BA17, G66
- ***sitting (usually before offering table) receiving offerings*** (11)
M22, M23, M43, F1, G95, Q13, G119, G79, H24, B83, GA11
- ***presented with a lotus*** (2)
M22, K16
- ***spearfishing*** (8)
M22, M43, F1, G97, M8?, G126, H26, H24
- ***fowling*** (1)
M8?
- ***travelling in a palanquin*** (3)
CA1?, H26, H24
- ***in a sailing ship*** (6)
?M22, F12, H26, H24, GA11, H41
- ***in a papyriform boat*** (2)
G42, BA48

The Tomb Owner in “viewing” scenes (10)

- “viewing the cattle...” H26, H24, BA48
- “viewing the goodly work of the fields” H26, H24, GA11
- “viewing the bull-fight...” H26, H24, BA17
- “viewing the desert hunt...” BA63, ?H24

Animals/pets associated with Tomb Owner

- Dogs (5) M22, M43, K5, L21, H24, BA14
- Monkeys (3) F1, H26, H24

Entertainment

- Dancers before Tomb Owner (5) M43, M8, H26, H24, I49
- Musicians before Tomb Owner (3) M22, M43, H26, H24, H41
- Playing board games no examples

2. Funerary rites and activities

Priests purifying, wiping away footprints, etc. (4)	B12, H26, H24, ?G126
Priests reading from roll (4)	L6, M43, K4, G119
Offering <i>nw</i> -pots (3)	G84, ?G95, H27
Offering incense to Tomb Owner (7)	G84, M23, M22, Q15, K4, L21, H27?
Depiction of sacred oils (13)	M43, B12, C9, K18, L31, L21, L23, G42, G79, H26, H24, B83, BA17
Depiction of burial ceremony (1)	M8
Funerary boat procession (3)	H26, H24, H41
Slaughtering scene (18)	M22, L6, M43, F12, K16, Q2, G126, K5, B12, M8, L21, G42, G79, BA48, BA63, H26, H24, BA17

3. Marsh/Water Scenes

Boat building (2)	M22, H26
Boatmen's games (2)	H26, H24
Fishing with a dragnet (4)	H26, H24, GA11, H41
Fowling with a clapnet (4)	H26, H24, GA11, H41
Single fisherman with a line or net (5)	M22, G97, G126, H26, H24
Cattle crossing through water (6)	M22, M8, H26, H24, GA11, BA14
Harvesting flax/papyrus (1)	M22
Preparing/drying fish (1)	GA11
Hippo in water (4)	M22, G126, H26?, H24?
Crocodile in water (5)	M22, G97, G126, H26, H24
Frog/grasshopper on water weed (1)	M22

4. Agricultural Scenes

Sowing/ploughing (7):	L6, M8, G42, H26, H24, GA11, BA17
Harvesting (6)	M8, B12, G42, BA48, H26, H24
Donkeys carrying loads (6)	B12, G42, BA48, H26, H24, GA11
Threshing floor/donkeys treading (1)	B12
Heaped grain (2)	GA11, H24
Granaries (1)	H24
Goats in trees (4)	BA63, G42, H26, GA11
Herding goats (3)	M22, H26
Bread and beer making (10)	G126, K21, B12, G42, L31, BA63, H26, H24, GA11, BA14
Wine production (1)	H24
Man cooking before a fire (3)	G126, BA63
Punishment scene (2)	M22, H26

5. Animal Husbandry

Mating bull and cow (2)	M22, H24
-------------------------	----------

Birth of calf (1)	H24
Milking (1)	H24
Bull fighting (6)	M22, K21, G42, H26, H24, BA17
Desert hunt (5)	M22, G95, G42, BA63, H24

6. Professions and Crafts

Scribes (3 + 4) (Tomb Owner or sons with scribal titles)	M22, H26, H24 + L8, F1, B12, CA1
Painters (3) (+ 2 by statement of Tomb Owner's son)	M8, H26, H24 + G95, B12
Sculptors/ stone vessel manufacture (3)	M22, H26, H24
Potters (none)	
Metal workers (3)	M22, H26, H24
Jewellery making (none)	
Leather workers (none)	
Carpenters and staff making (2)	H26, H24
Depiction of board game (2)	H26, H24, G79, G66?
Bed-making (2)	H26, H24

7. Frequency of themes at El-Hawawish: 53 decorated tombs

Offering table scenes are the most frequent theme: 38 examples (found in all periods)

Tomb owner and wife at same table (10 tombs): (Dynasty 5–to end Pepy I/early Pepy II).
Thereafter tomb owner sits alone at the table.

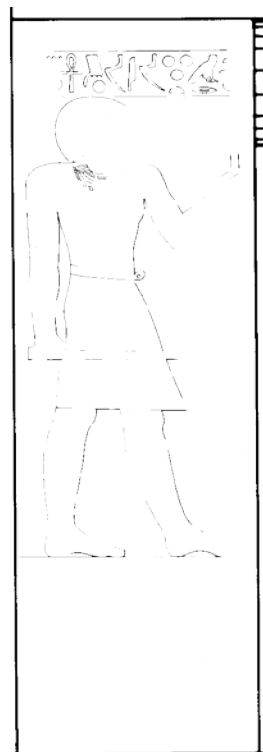
Slaughtering scenes: 18 tombs (all periods)

Bread and beer making scenes: 10 tombs (from G126 – BA14, end Teti–Dynasty 8)

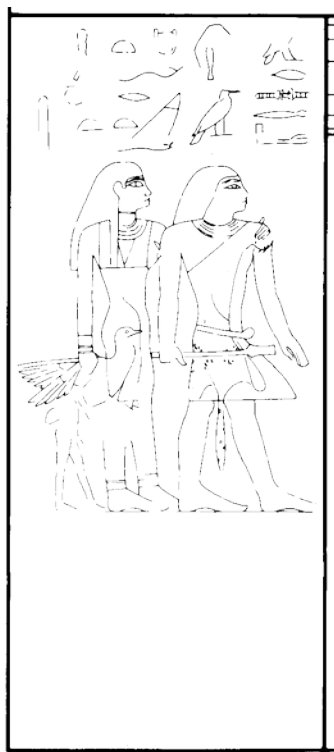
Viewing scenes: 10 scenes, 6 tombs (only appear in tombs dated to early–mid Pepy II)

FIGURES

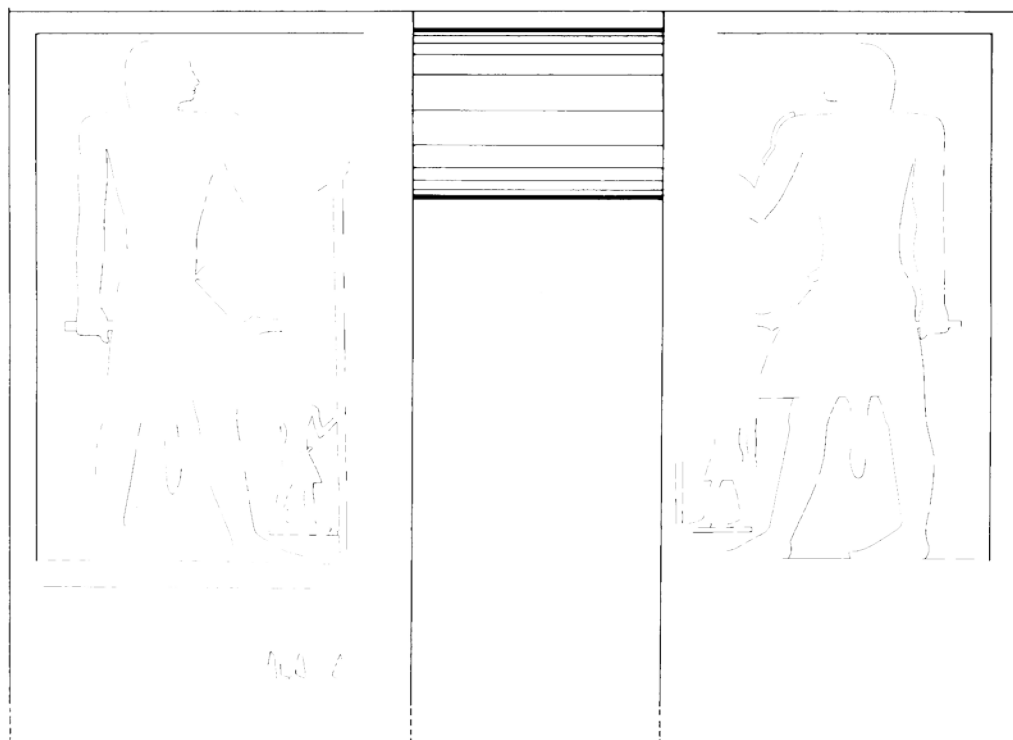
Djedkare/Isesi



2.1. M21, *ḥnw*, H V, fig. 24

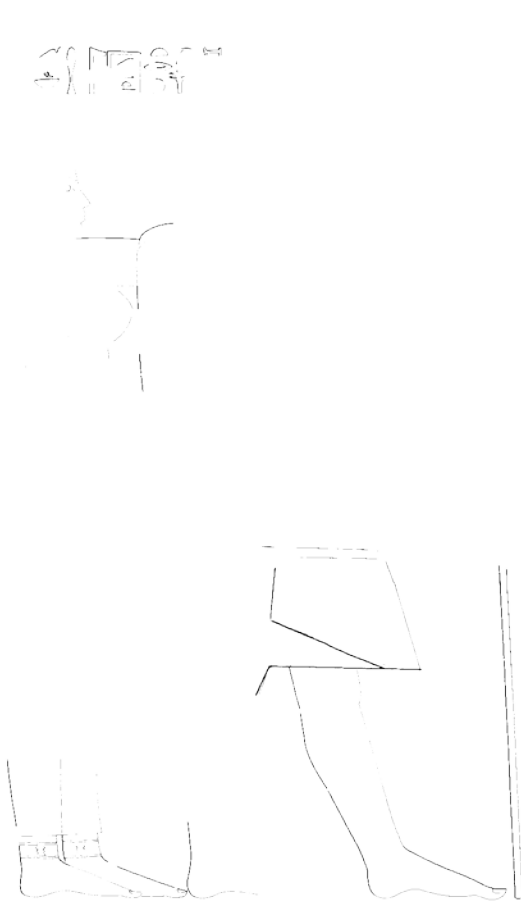


2.2. L8, *ḥ-Mnw*, H VI, fig. 9

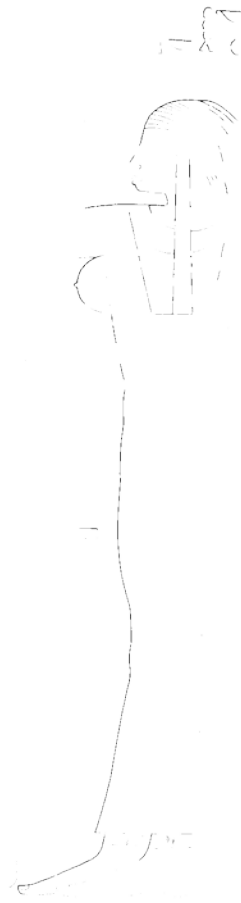


2.3. M23, *Mmj*, H V, fig. 15

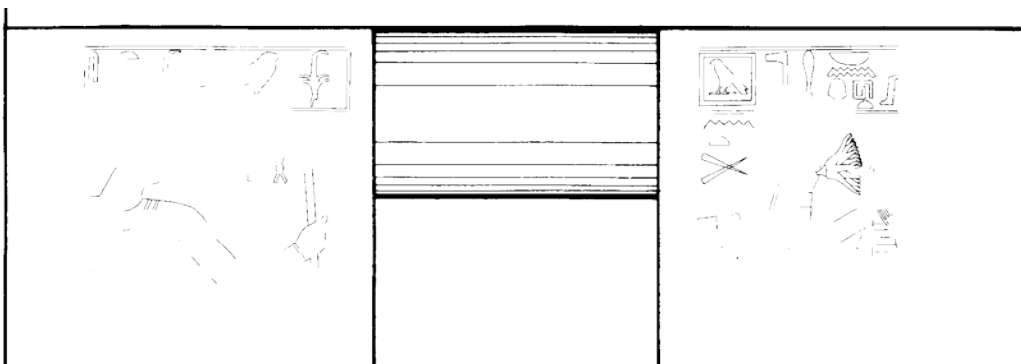
Djedkare/Isesi



2.4a. M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, H IV, fig. 6



2.4b. M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, H IV, fig. 7



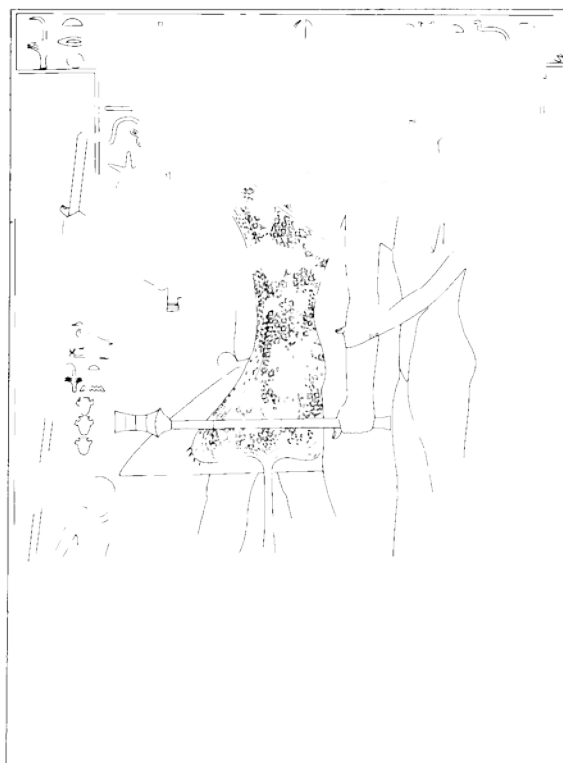
2.4c. M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, H IV, fig. 15

Djedkare/Isesi



2.4d. M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, H IV, fig. 16

Neussere



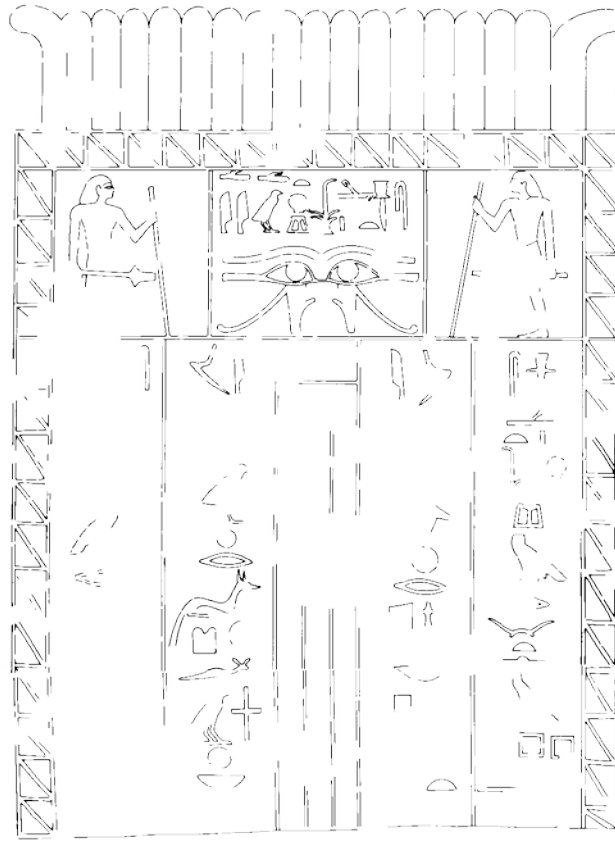
2.5. L6, *Dw3-Mnw*, H VI, pl. 2a, fig. 5

Teti



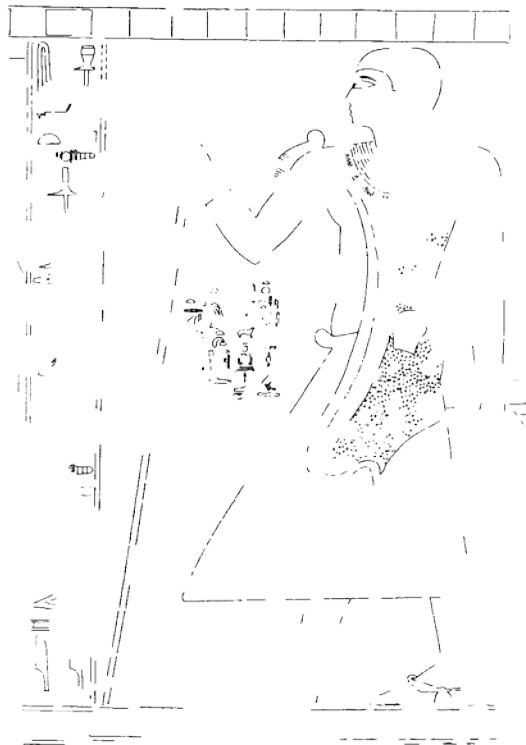
2.6. F12, *Mrrw*, H IX, fig. 7a

Teti



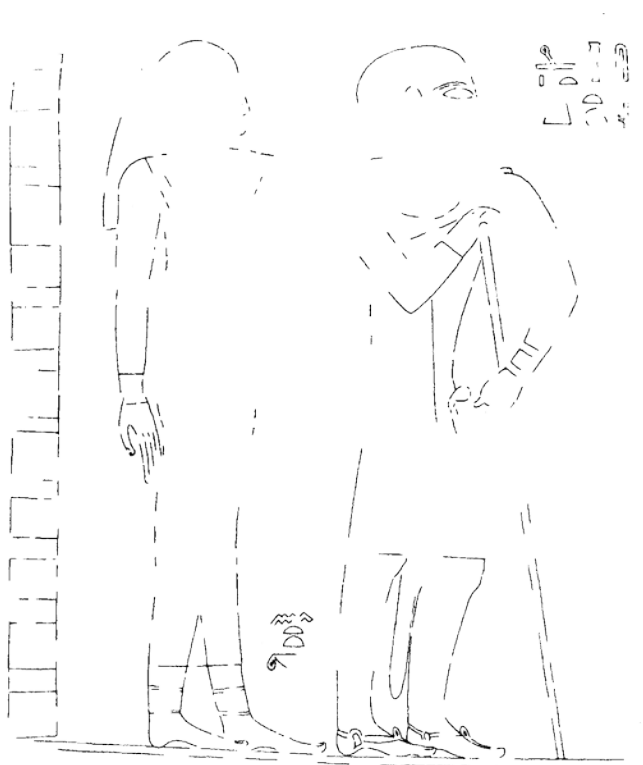
2.7. F1, *Hzzj-Mnw*, H VI, fig. 2

End Teti – early Pepy I



2.8. G95, *Nhwt-dšr*, H VIII, fig. 4

End Teti – early Pepy I

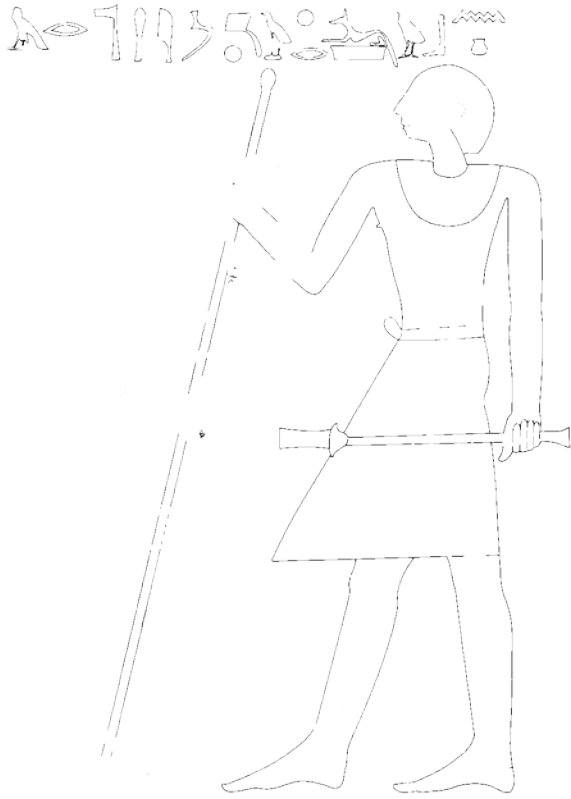


2.9. G126, *B3wj*, H IX, fig.15



2.10. CA1, *B3wj*, H VIII, fig. 7

Late Pepy I



2.11. Q4, *Wbnw*, H VI, fig. 18b



2.12a. Q15, *Qrrj*, H VI, fig. 20c

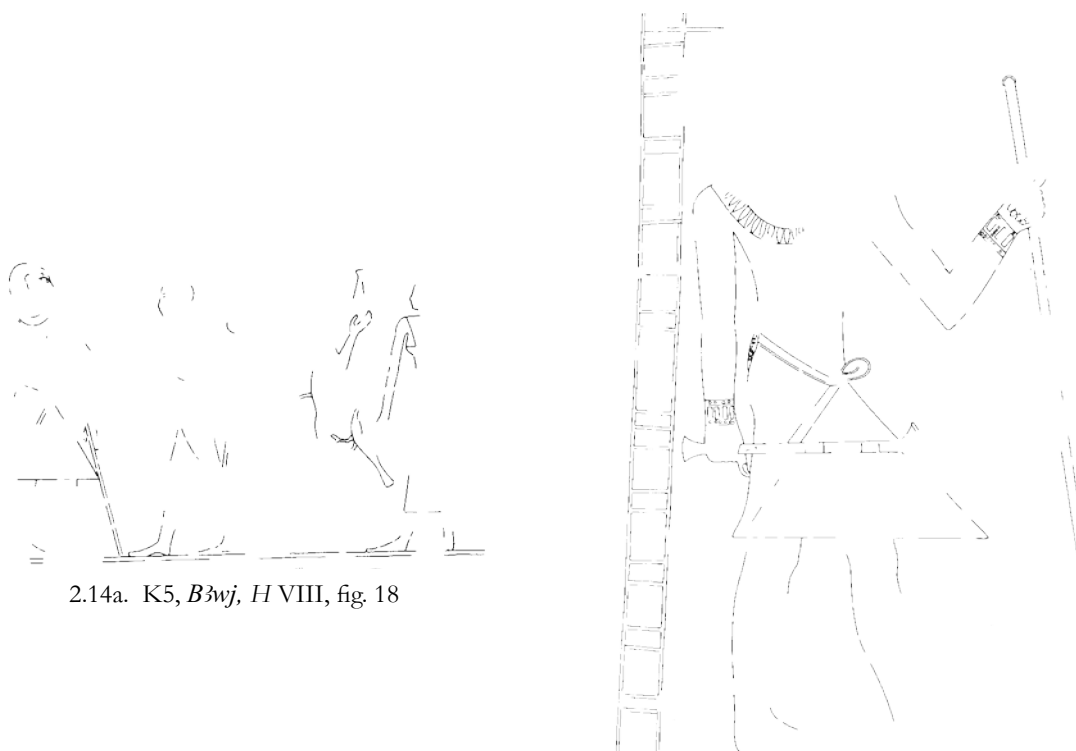


2.12b. Q15, *Qrrj*, H VI, fig. 21a

Late Pepy I



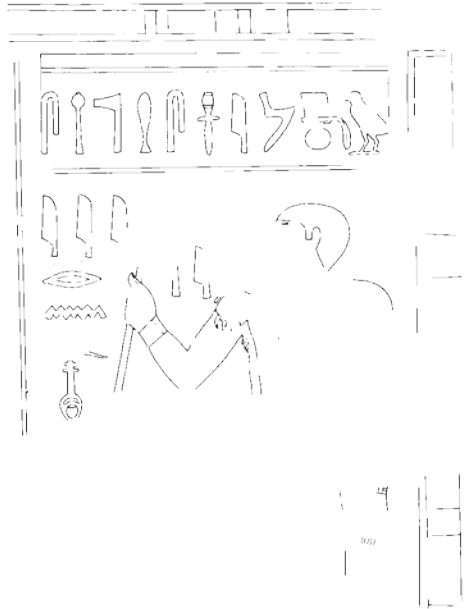
2.13. B12, *Mmj*, H VII, fig. 9b



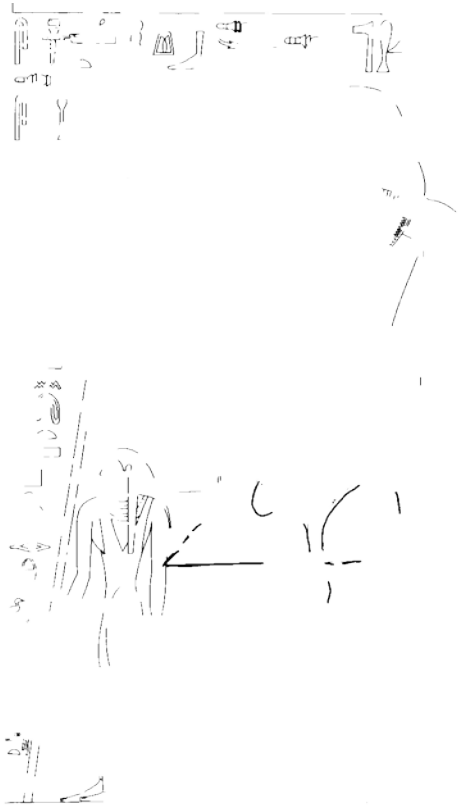
2.14a. K5, *B3wj*, H VIII, fig. 18

2.14b. K5, *B3wj*, H VIII, fig. 19

End Pepy I – beginning Pepy II

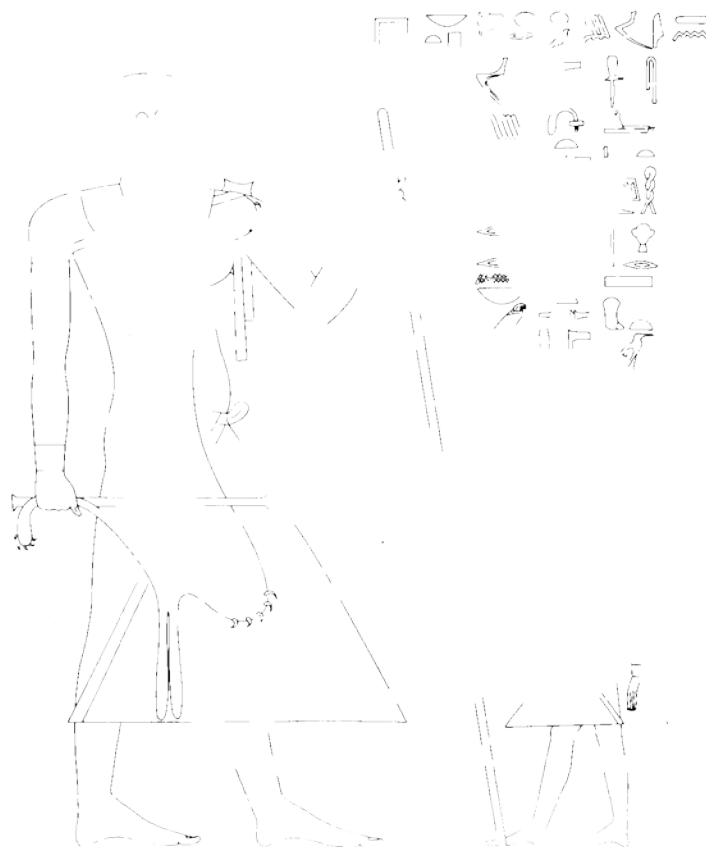


2.15. C9, *Jjj*, H VII, fig.7



2.16a. L31, *Q3r*, H VI, fig.15

End Pepy I – beginning Pepy II



2.16b. L31, Q3r, H VI, fig.16

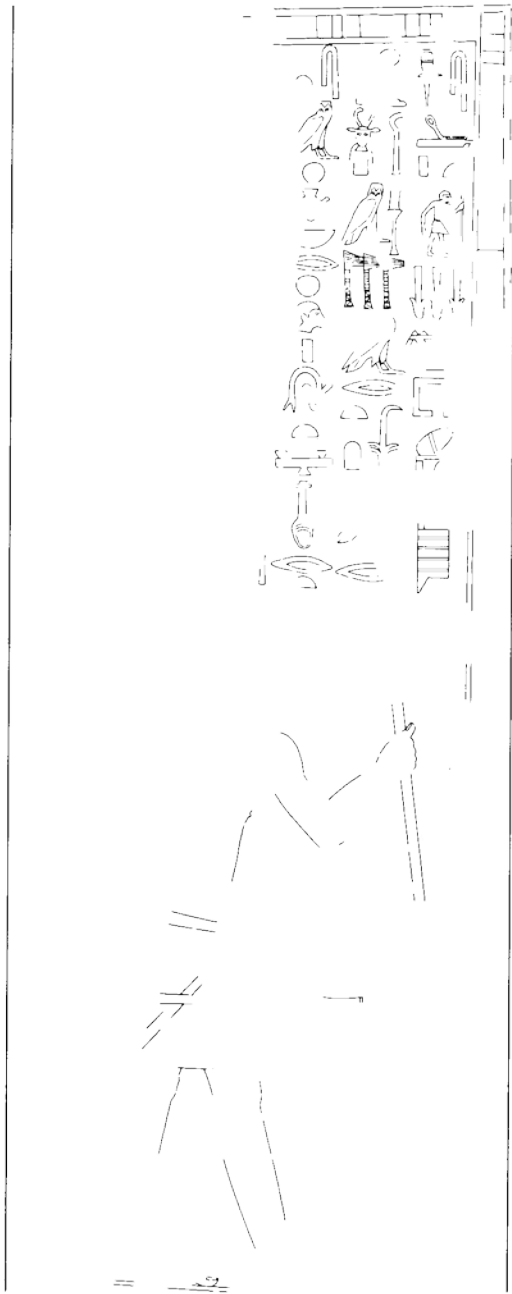


2.17a. K4, B3wj, H VIII, figs.17a



2.17b. K4, B3wj, H VIII, figs.17c

Early – mid Pepy II

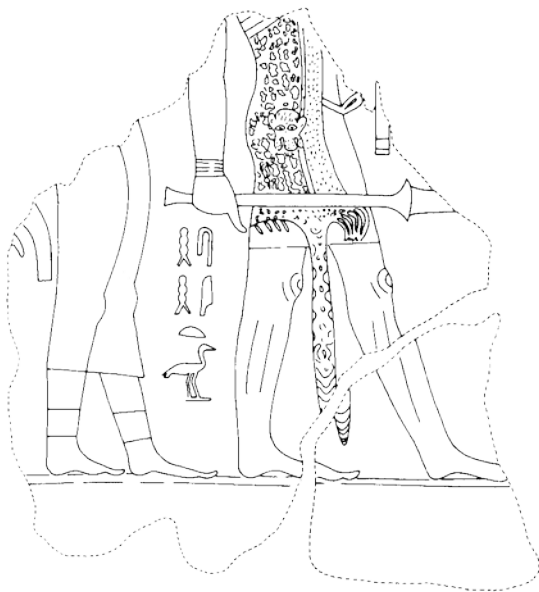


2.18a. M8, *Tj*, H III, fig. 9

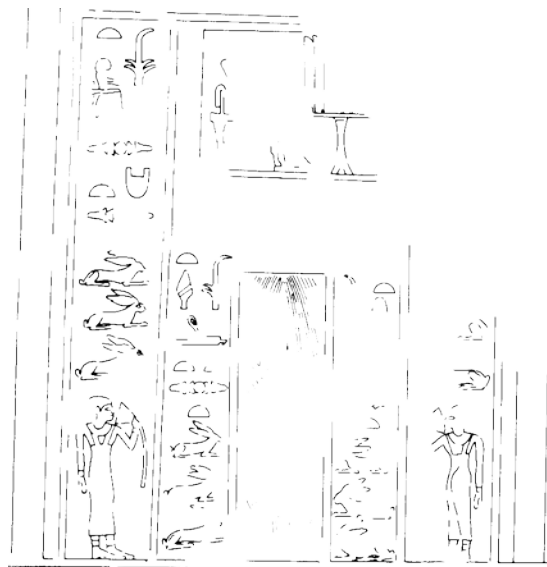


2.18b. M8, *Tj*, H III, fig. 11

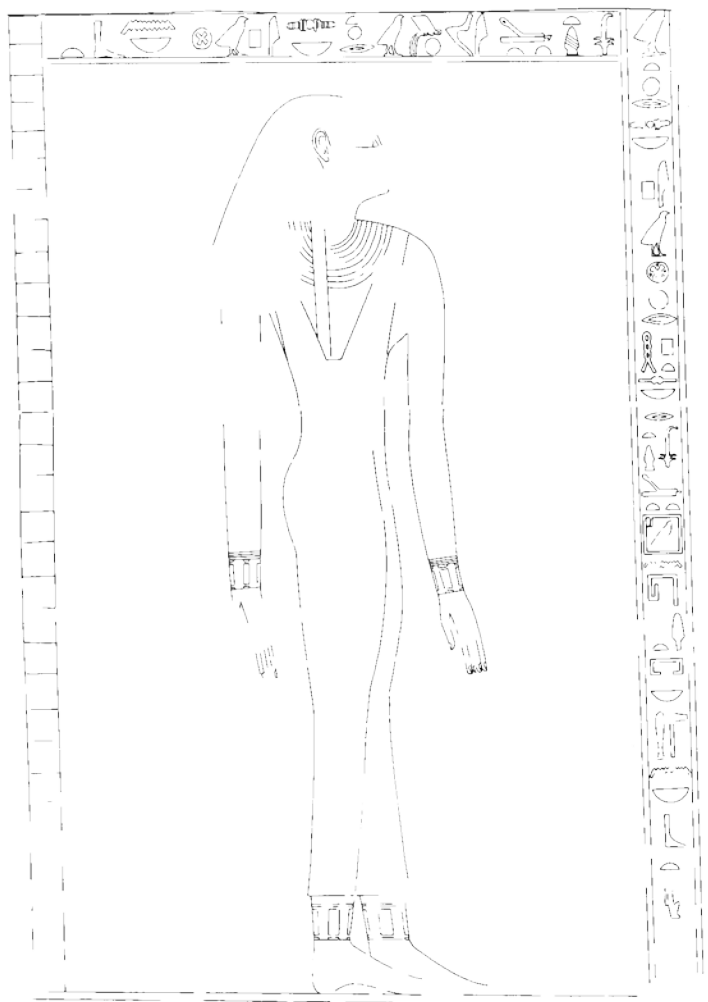
Early – mid Pepy II



2.19. M52, ..., *H X*, fig. 10

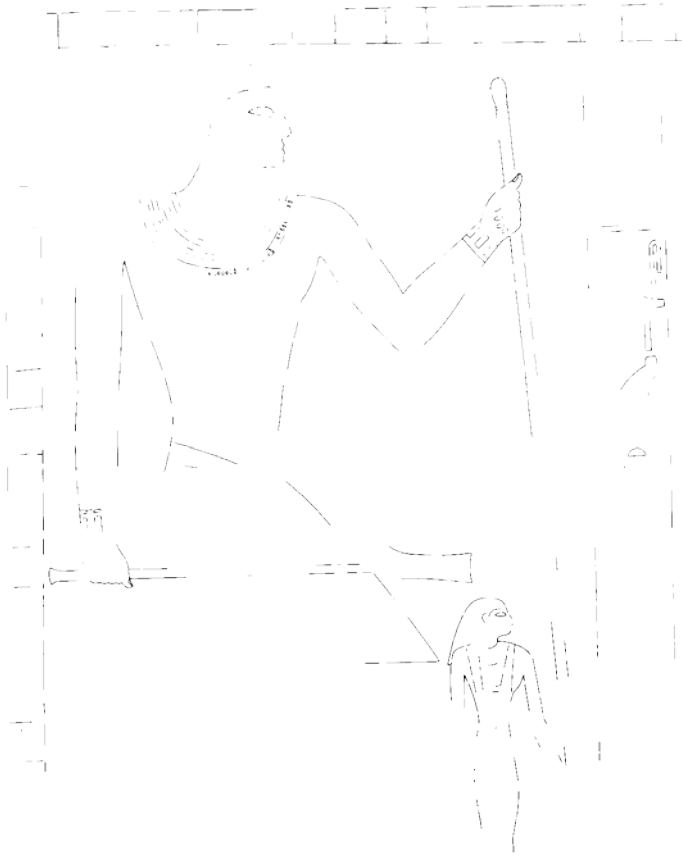


2.20. G79, *Wnw-Mnw*, *H III*, fig. 26

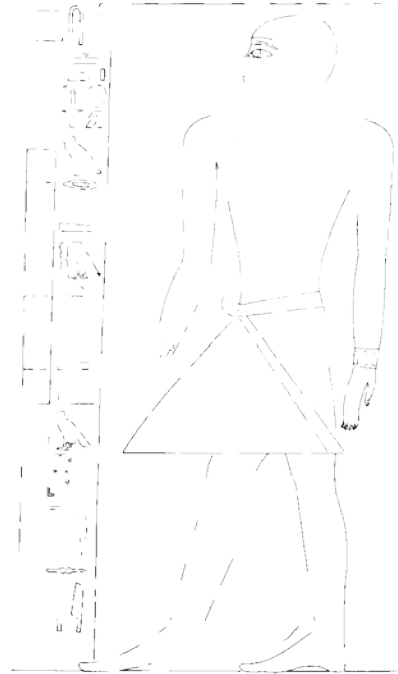


2.21. H27, *Nbt*, *H III*, fig. 27

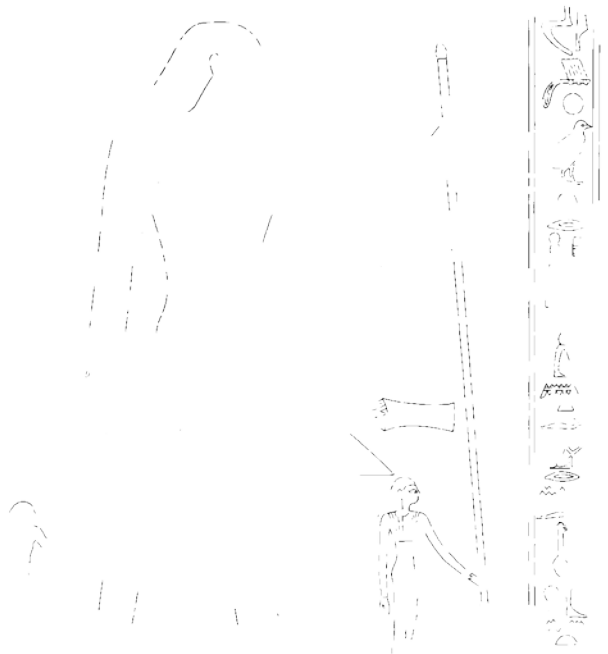
Early – mid Pepy II



2.22a. G42, *Hzzj-Mnw*, H VII, fig. 5

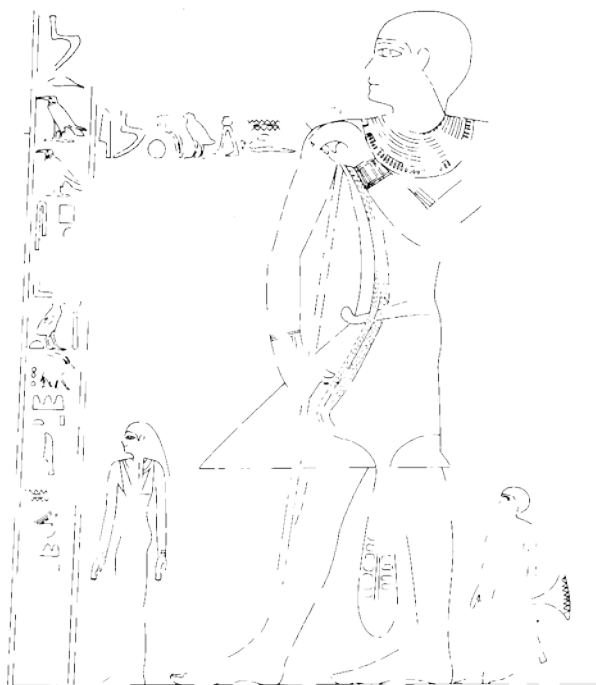


2.22b. G42, *Hzzj-Mnw*, H VII, fig. 6

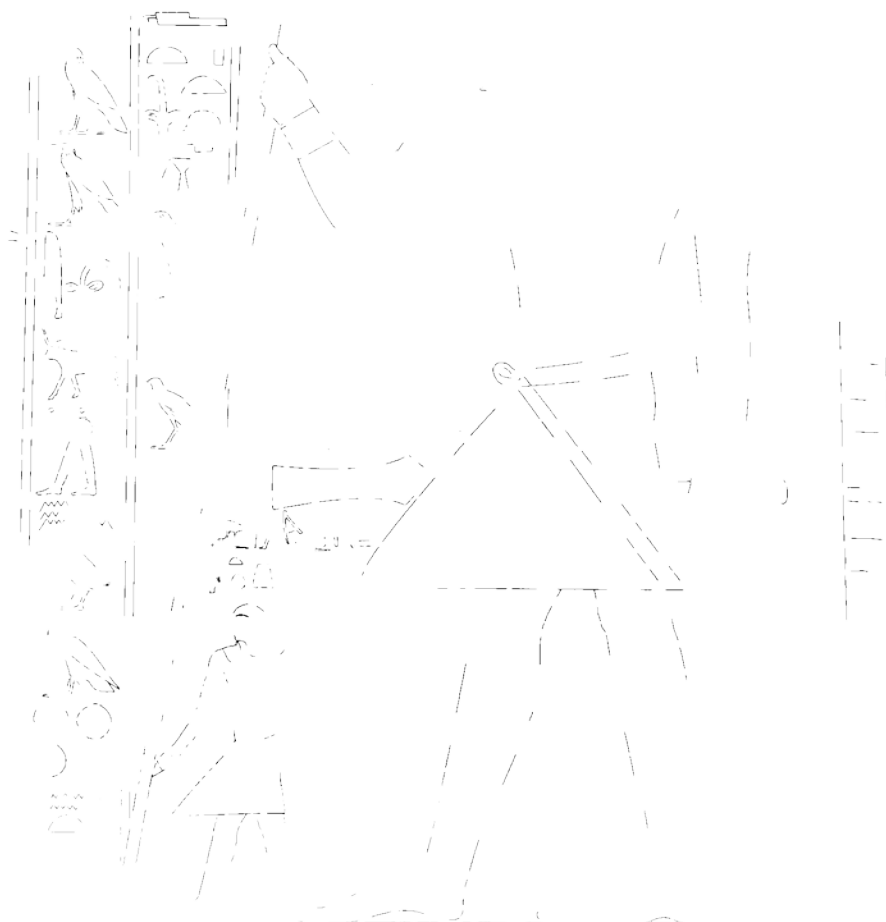


2.23a. BA63, *Jn-jt.f*, H VII, fig. 20

Early – mid Pepy II



2.23b. BA63, *Jn-htf*, H VII, fig. 21

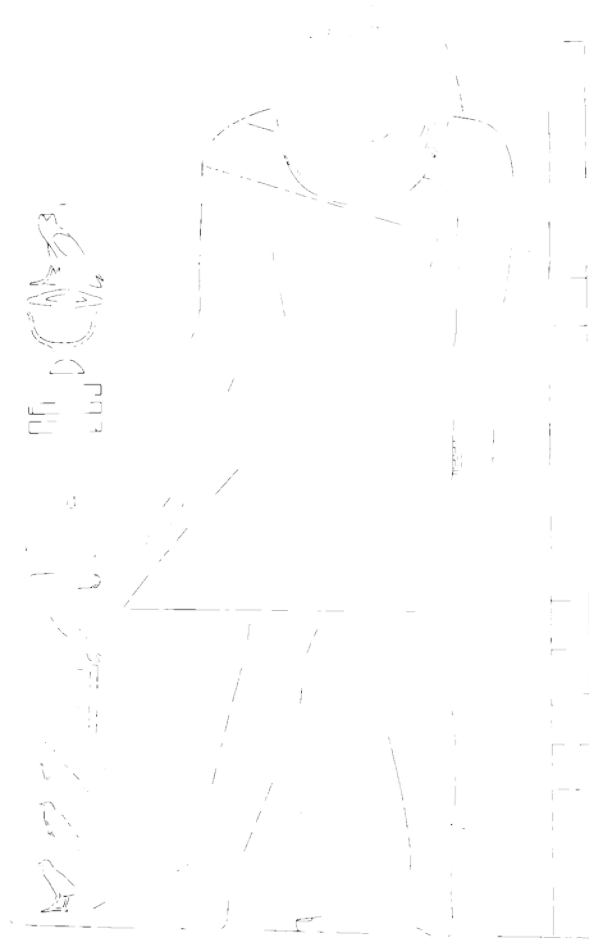


2.24a. BA48, *Bt-htf*, H VII, fig. 23

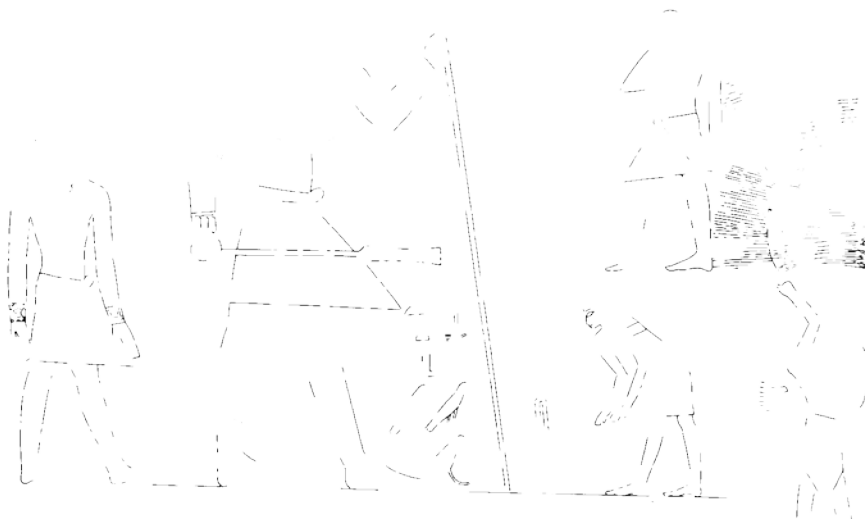
Early – mid Pepy II



2.24b. BA48, *B3wj*, H VII, fig. 24a

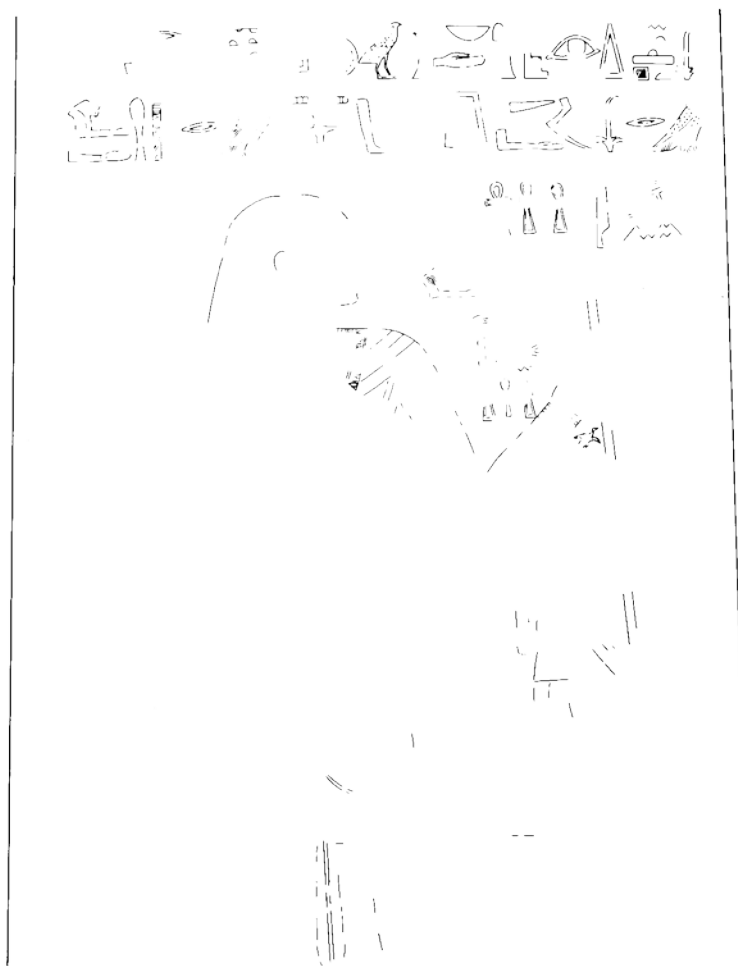


2.24c. BA48, *B3wj*, H VII, fig. 224b



2.24d. BA48, *B3wj*, H VII, fig. 25

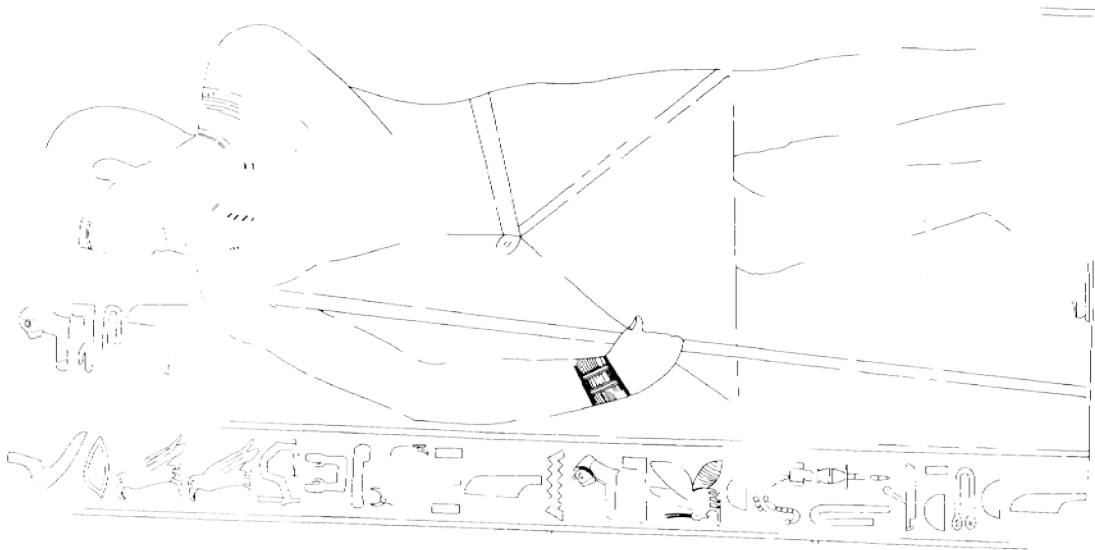
Early – mid Pepy II



2.25. H15, *Hnj-ḥnw*, H IV, fig. 25



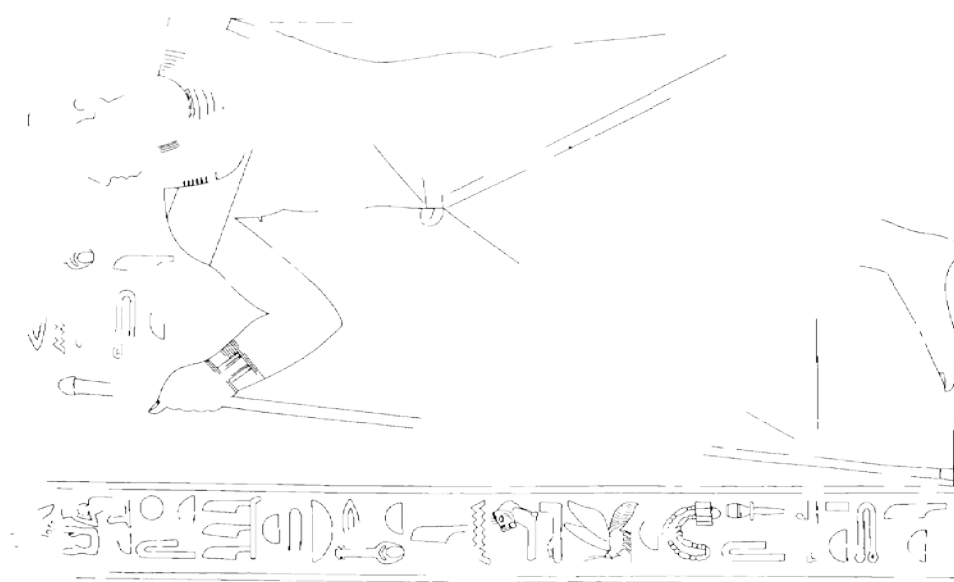
2.26a. H26, *Tj-jqr*, H I, fig. 7



2.26c. H26, *Tj-jqr*, H I, fig. 10



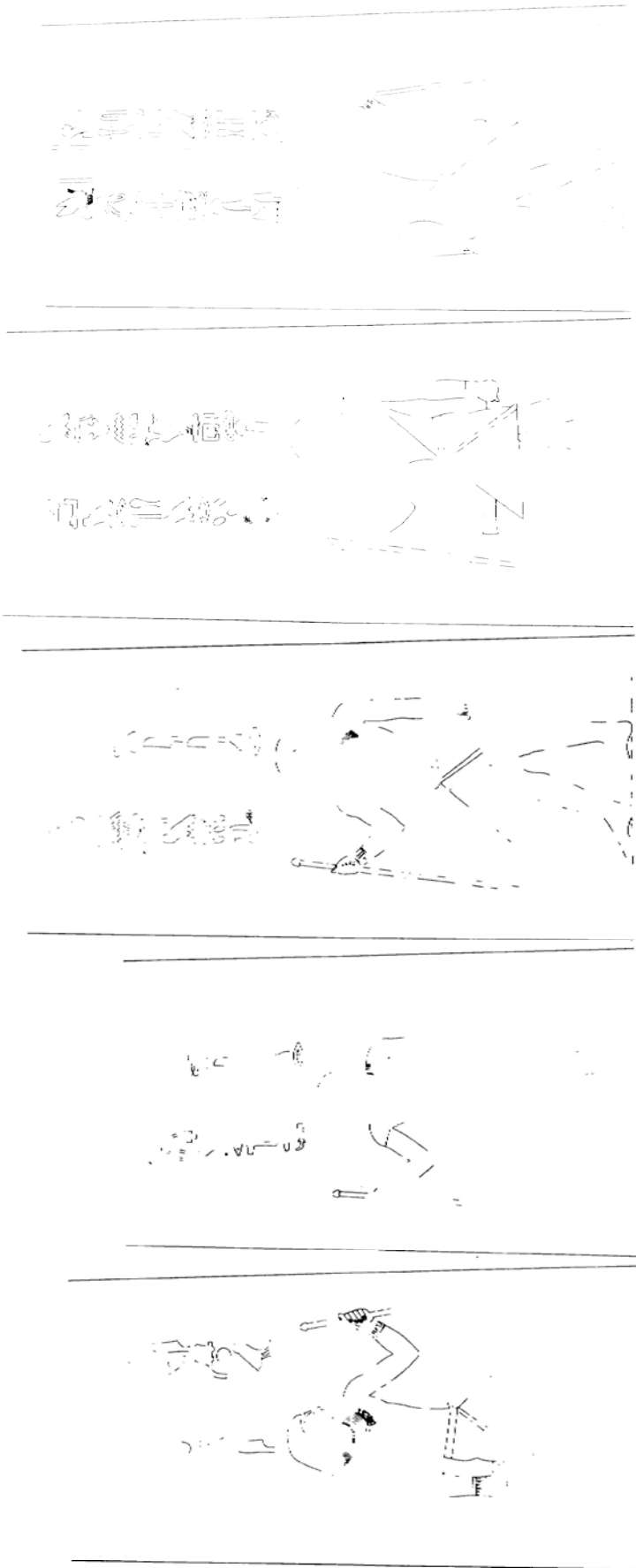
2.26b. H26, *Tj-jqr*, H I, fig. 9



2.26d. H26, *Ttj-jqr*, HI, fig. 11

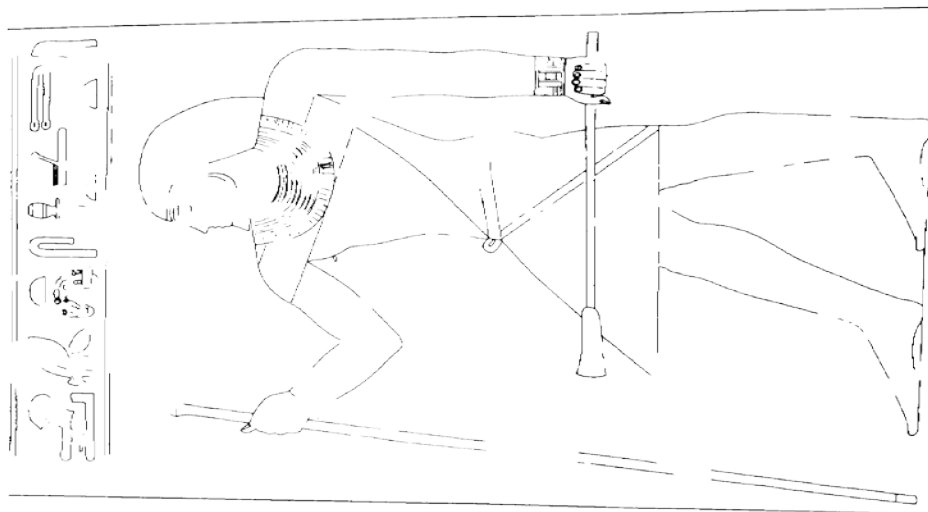


2.26e. H26, *Ttj-jqr*, HI, fig. 13

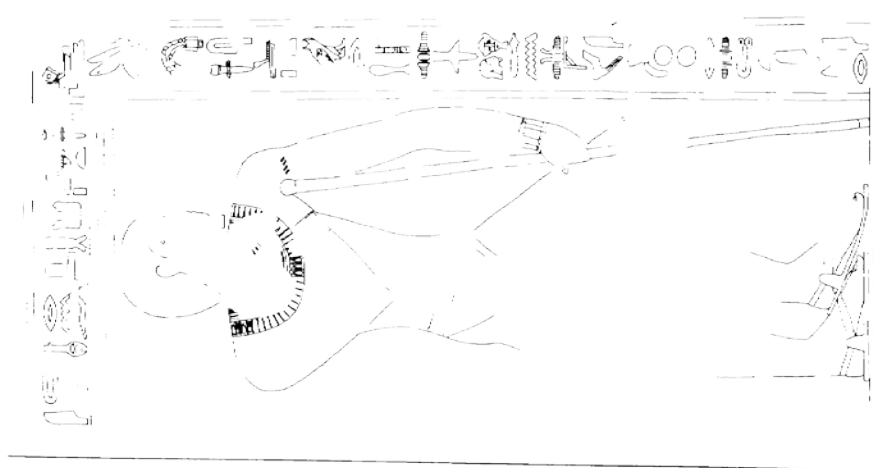


2.26f. H26, *Ttj-jqr*. H I, fig. 16 (b) (c) (d) (e) (f) (g)

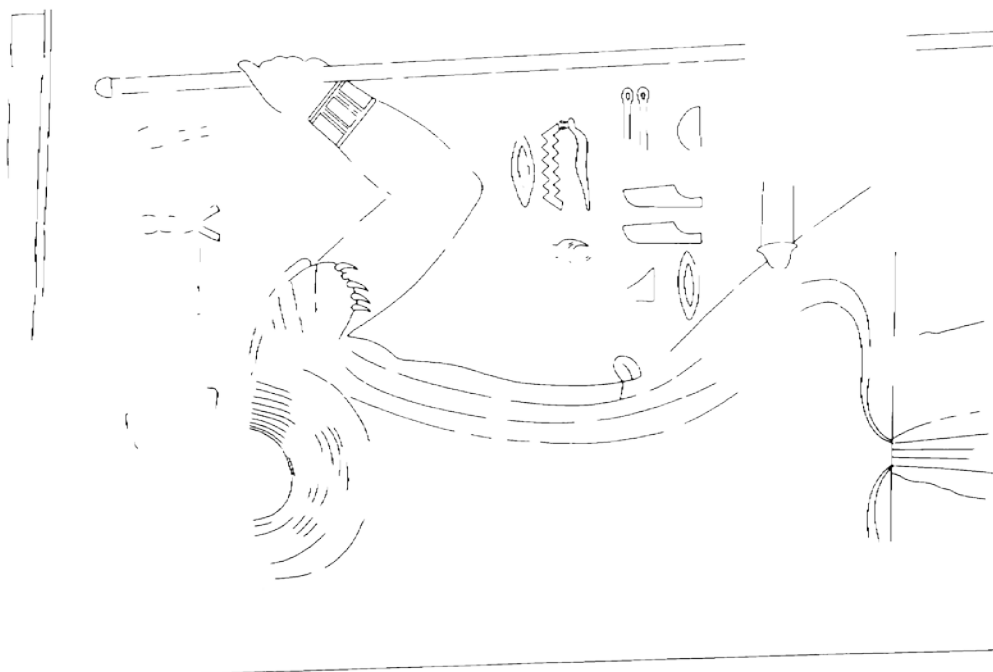
Early – mid Pepy II



2.26g. H26, *Ttj-jqr*; H1, fig. 20a



2.26h. H26, *Ttj-jqr*; H1, fig. 20b

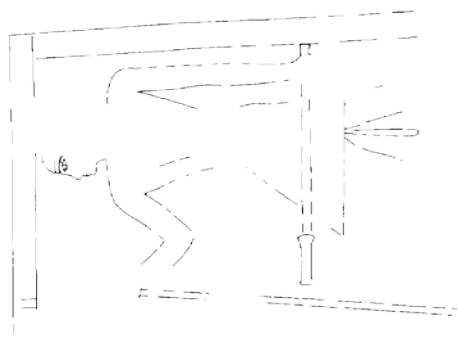


2.26i. H26, *Ttj-jqr*; H1, fig. 22

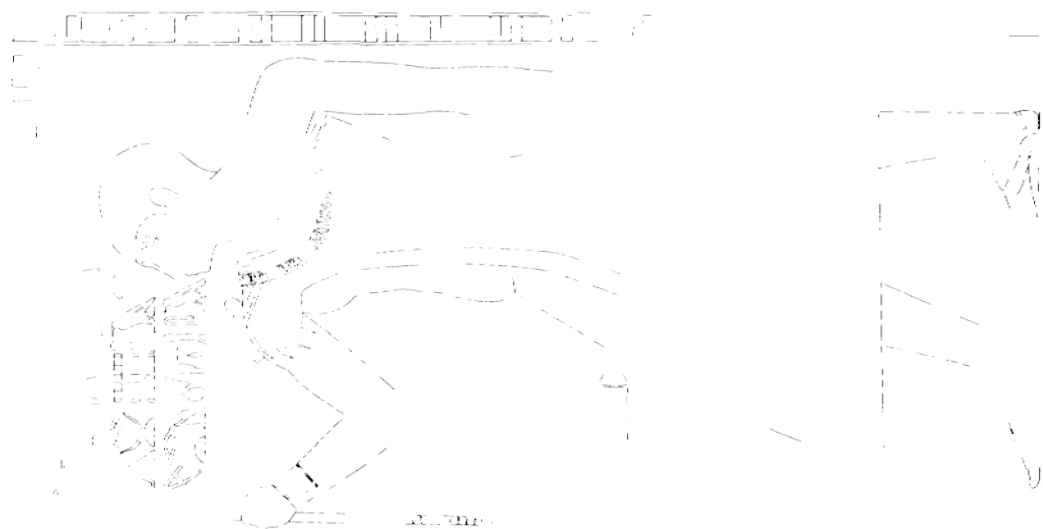
Mid – late Pepy II



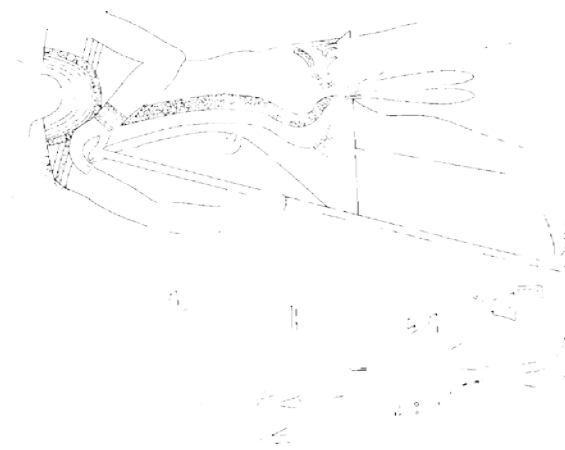
2.27. B83, B3wj, H IX, fig. 21



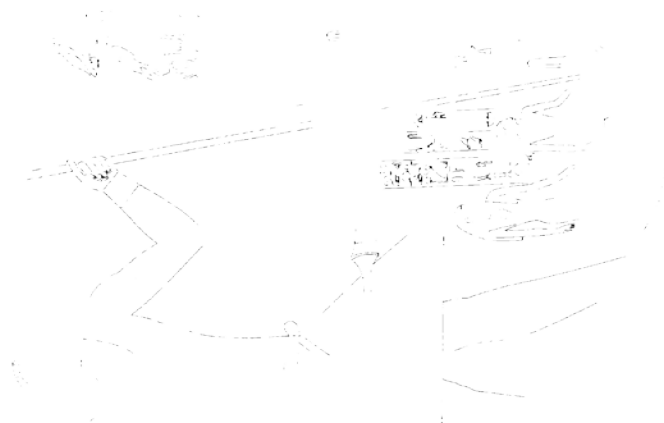
2.28. G49, ..., H IX, fig. 9b



2.29b. GA11, *Ghs*3, HVII, fig 29b

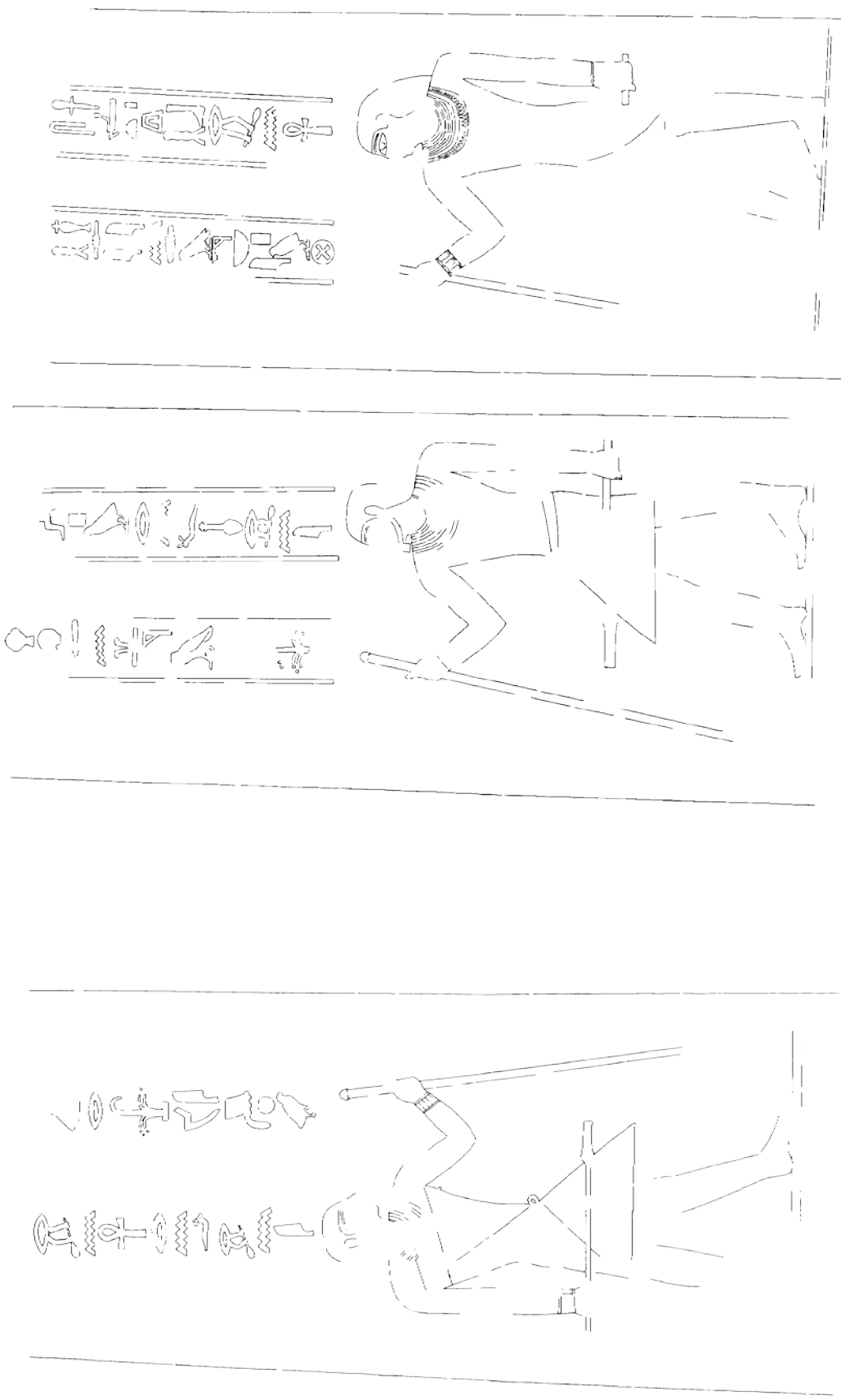


2.29a GA11, *Ghs*3, HVII, fig 27



2.29c GA11, *Ghs*3, HVII, fig 30

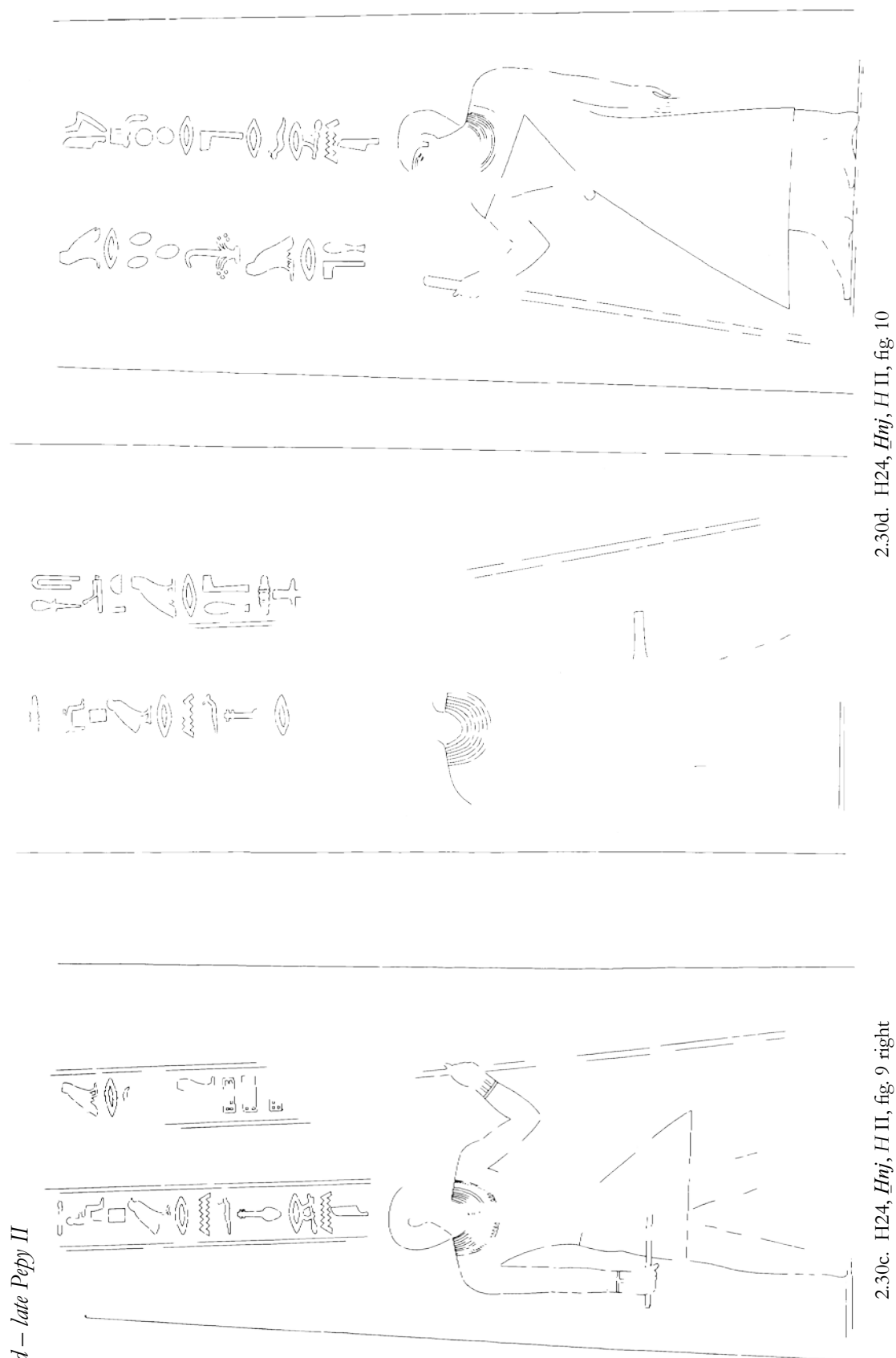
Mid — late Pepy II



2.30a. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig 7 right

2.30b. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig 8

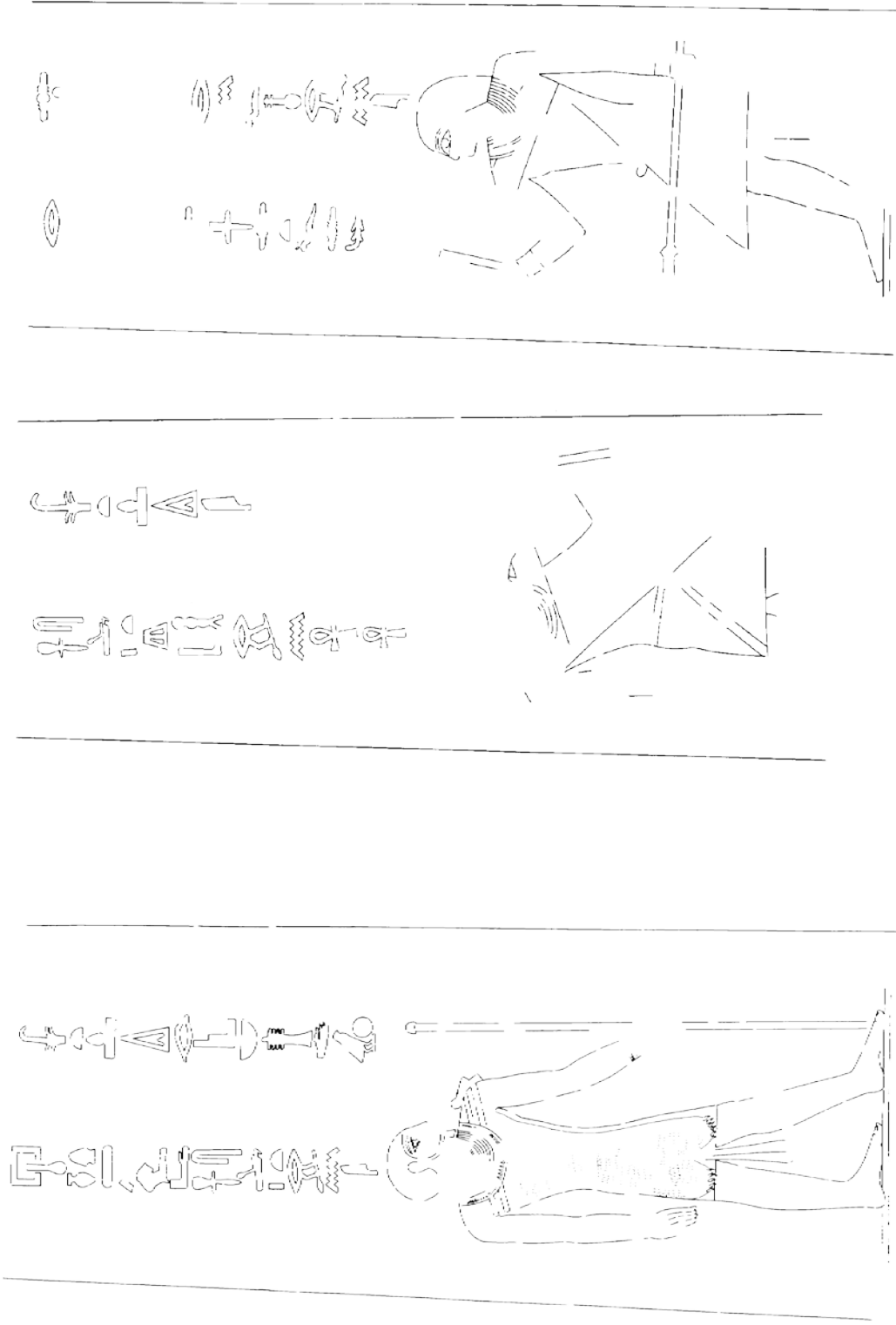
Mid – late Pepy II



2.30d. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig 10

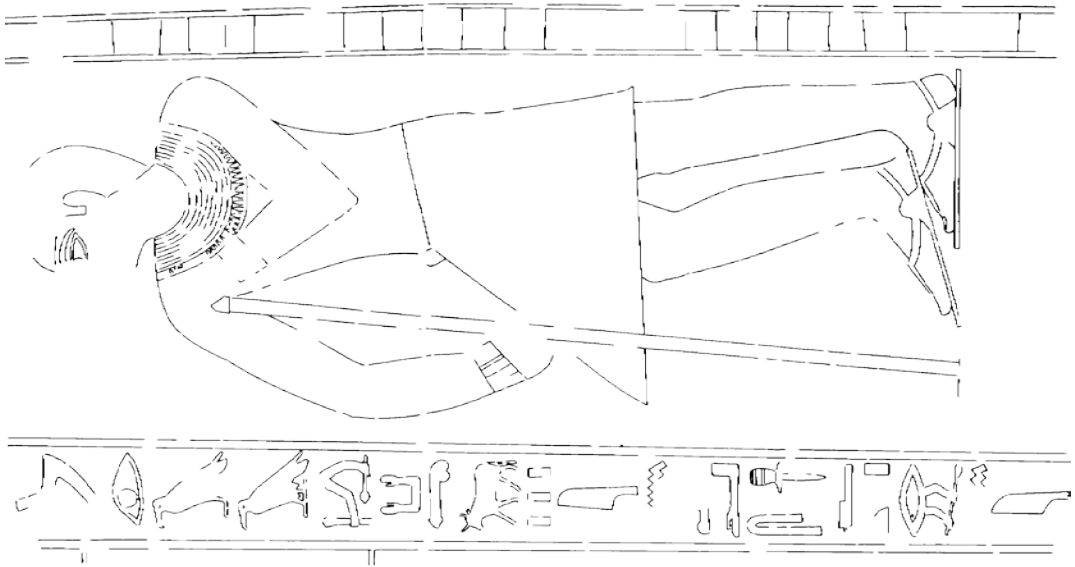
2.30c. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig 9 right

Mid — late Pepy II

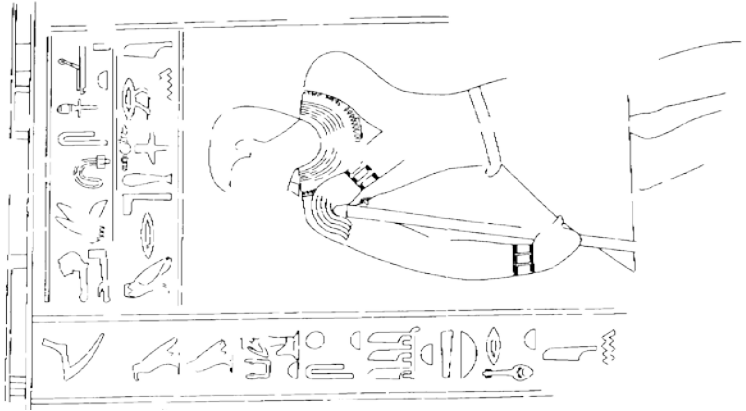


2.30f. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig. 12

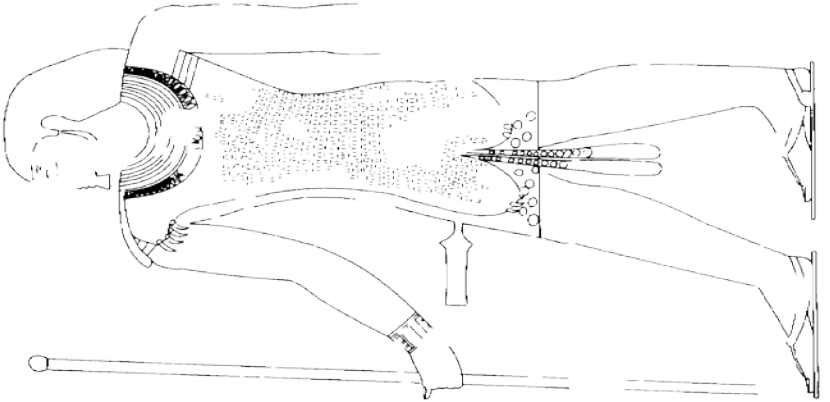
2.30e. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig. 11 right



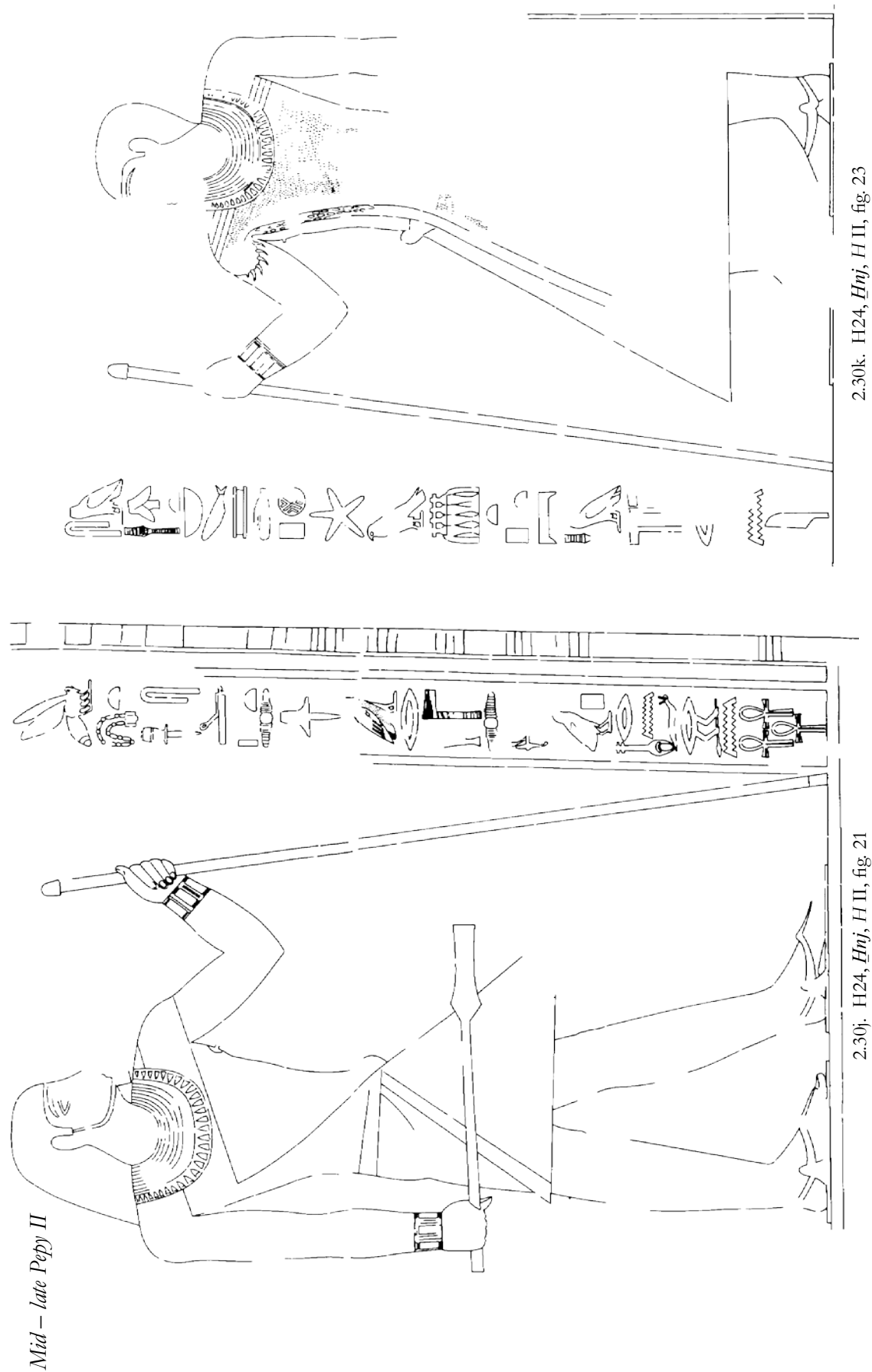
2.30i. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig. 20



2.30h. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig. 17

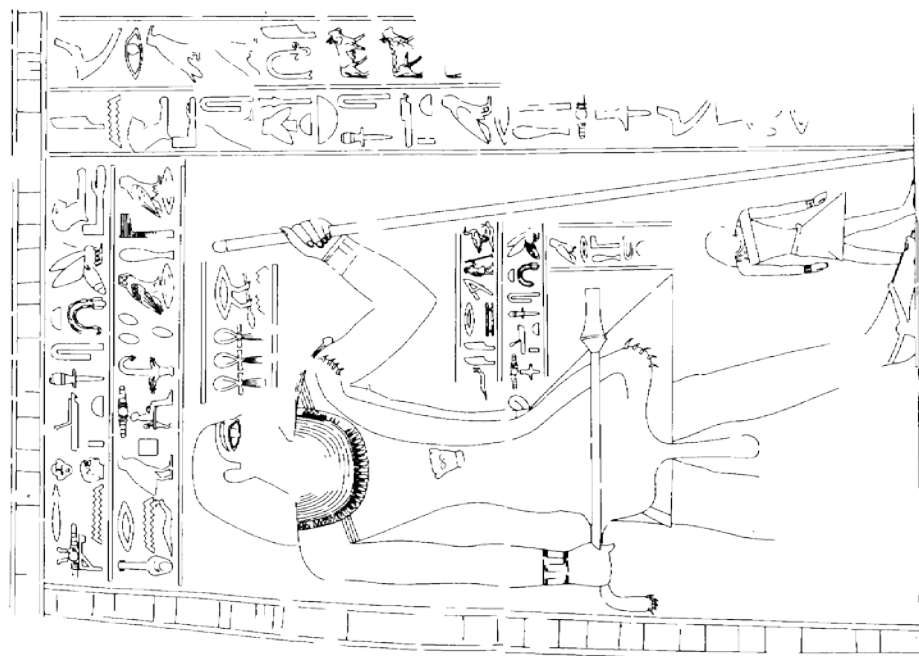


2.30g. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig. 15



Mid — late Pepy II

Mid – late Pepy II



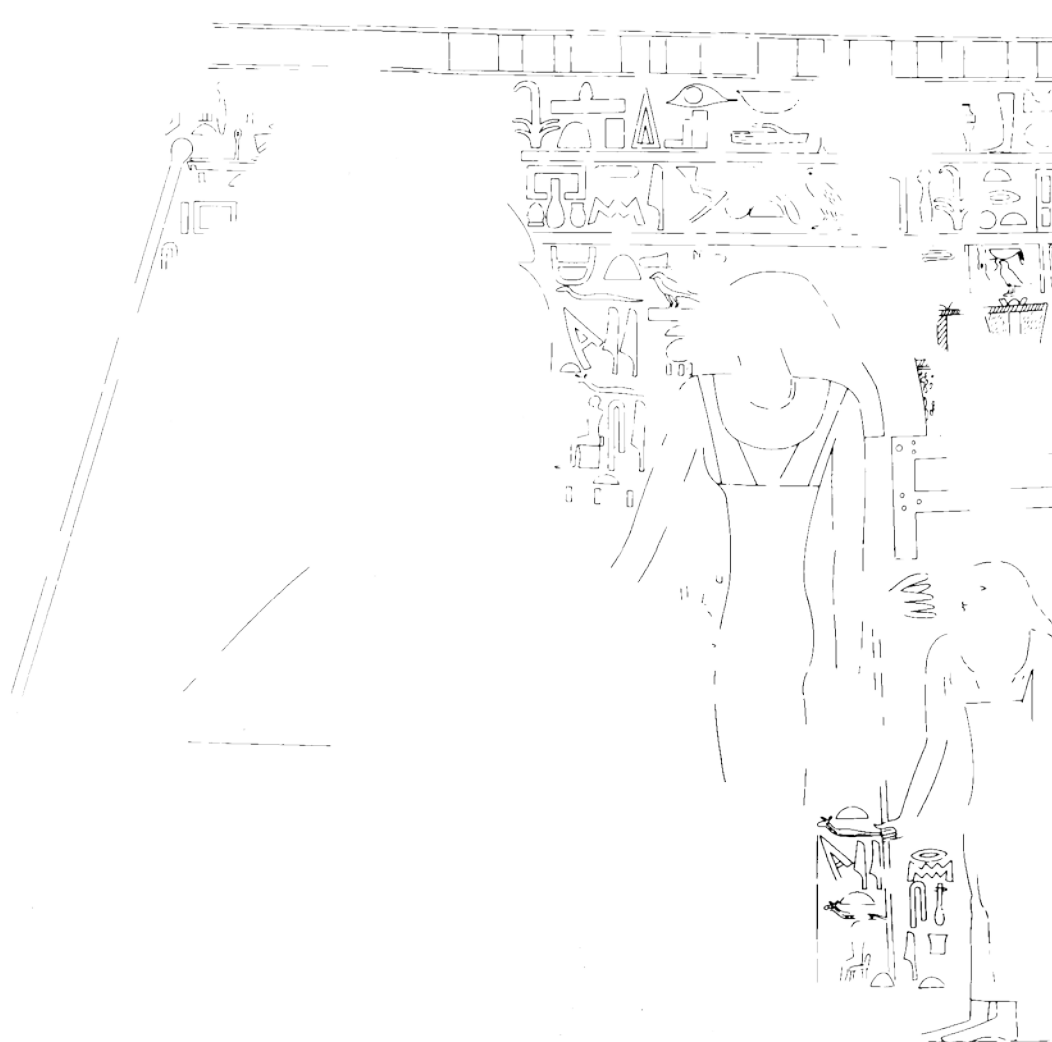
2.301. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig. 26

End Dynasty 6 – beginning Dynasty 8



2.31. 149, *Tj*, H VIII, fig. 10

Dynasty 8

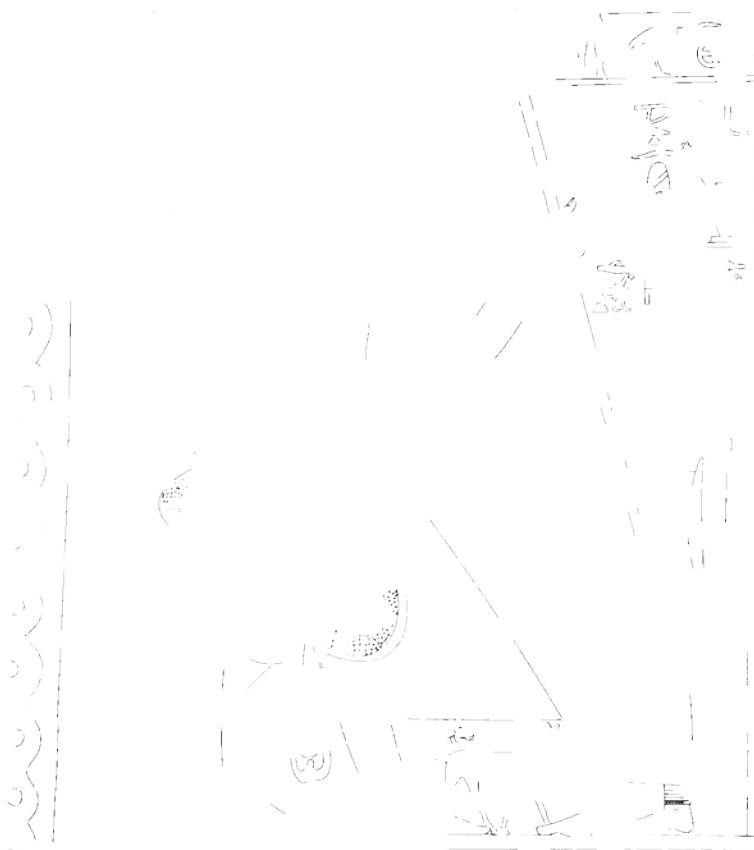


2.32a. BA17, *Rḥw-rʿw-sn*, H VII, fig. 14

Dynasty 8

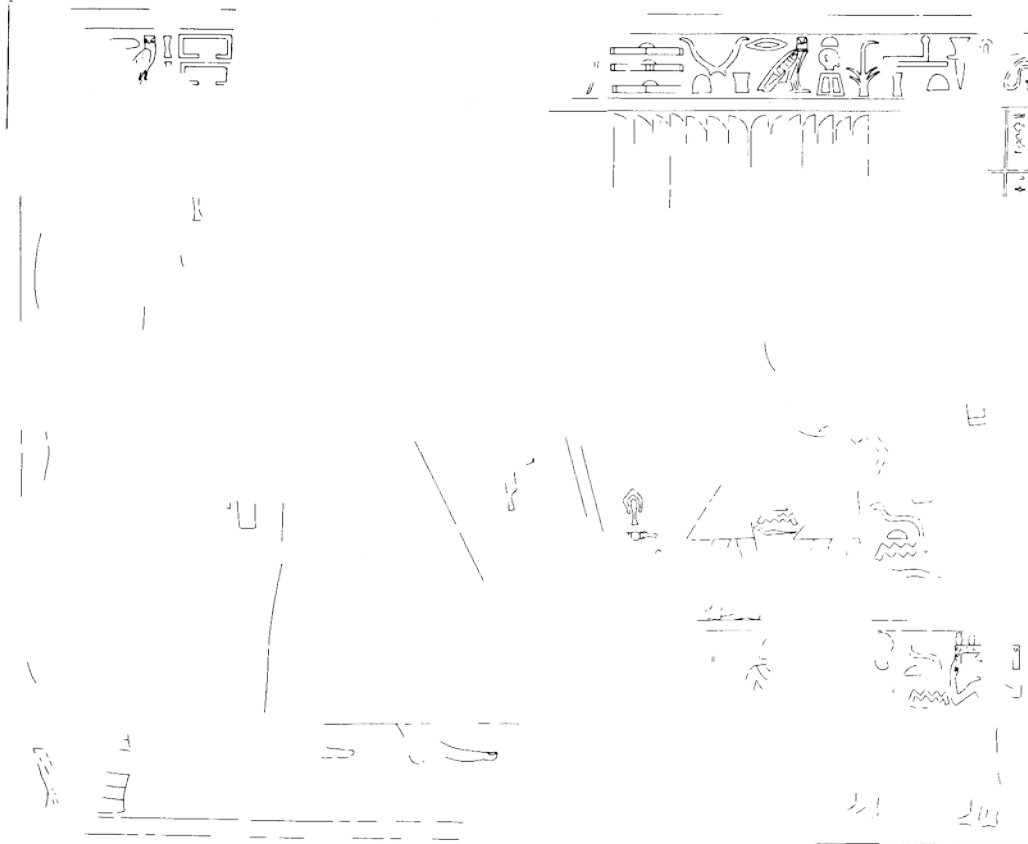


2.32b. BA17, *Rḥw-r3w-sn*, H VII, fig. 15

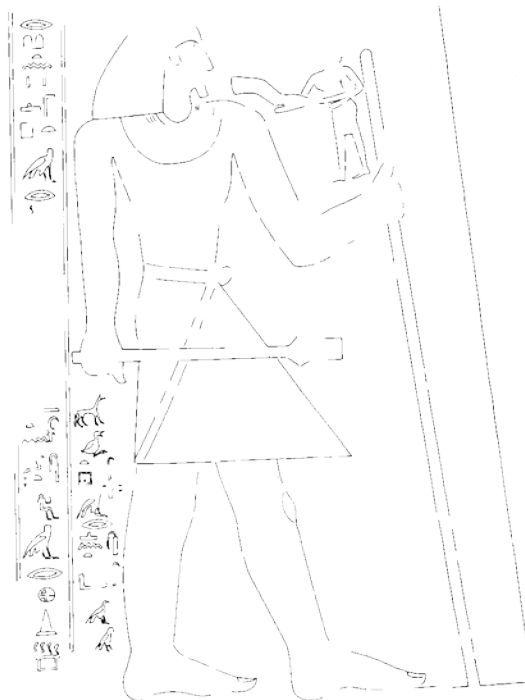


2.33. BA14, *B3wj*, H VII, fig. 18

Dynasty 8

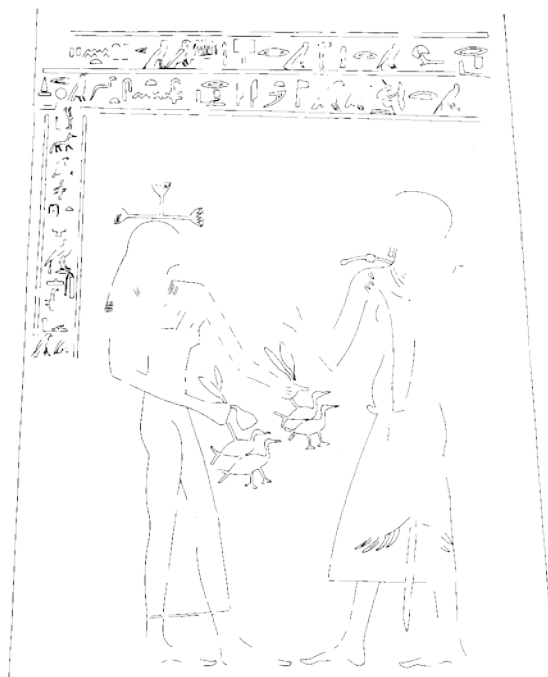


2.34. G66, *Mddj*, H IX, fig. 11 (standing before offering table)



2.35a. B7, *B3wj*, H IX, fig. 17a

Dynasty 8



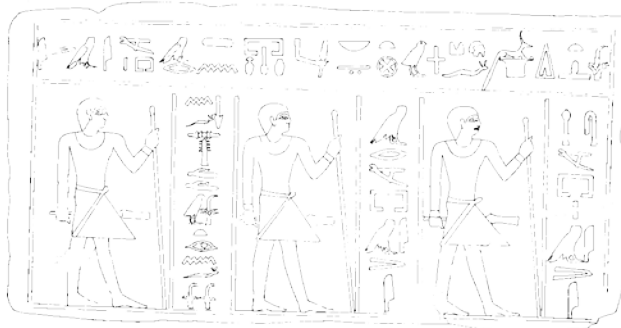
2.35b. B7, *B3wj*, H IX, fig. 17b



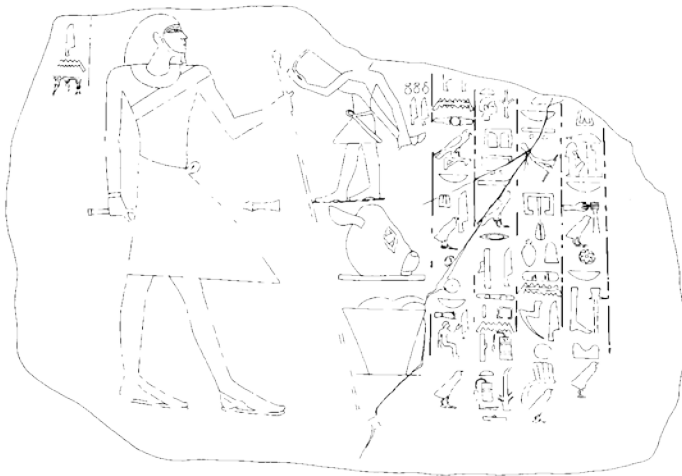
2.35c. B7, *B3wj*, H IX, fig. 18a



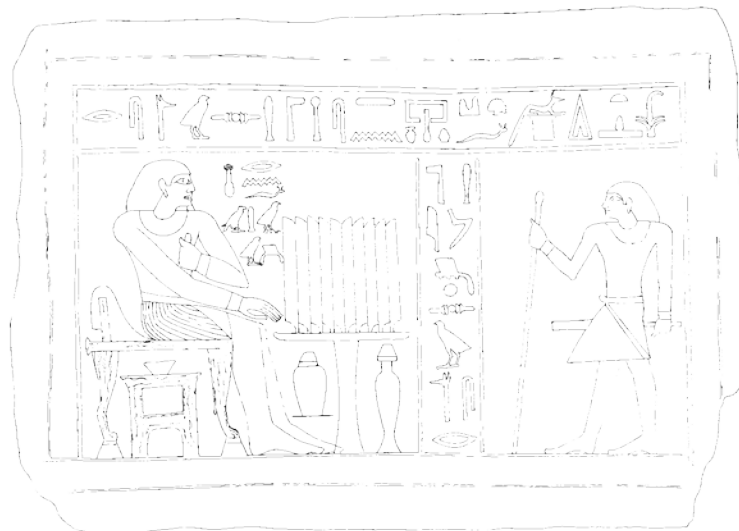
2.35d. B7, *B3wj*, H IX, fig. 18b



2.36. Orinst. 10491, *Jmj*, *H VII*, fig. 35a



2.37. Egyptian Museum, J d'E 88010, *Jdw/Nnjj*, *H IX*, fig. 28



2.38. Edinburgh 1910:76, *Wsr-Mnw*, *H VI*, fig. 26a



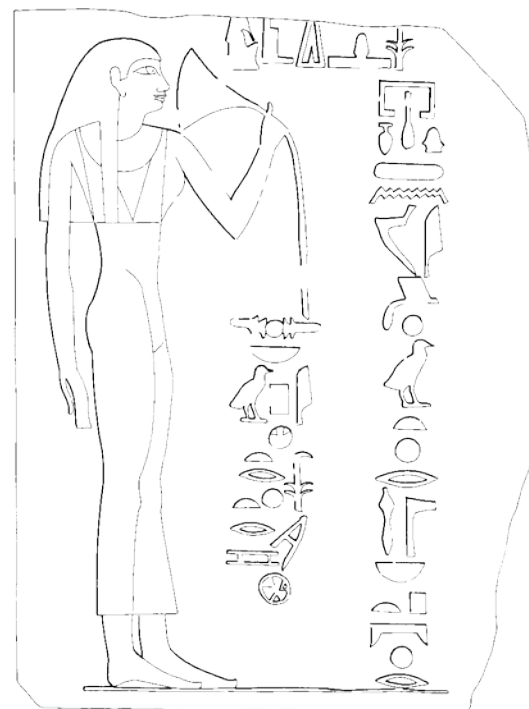
2.39. CG1586, *Mmj*, H VII, fig. 34a



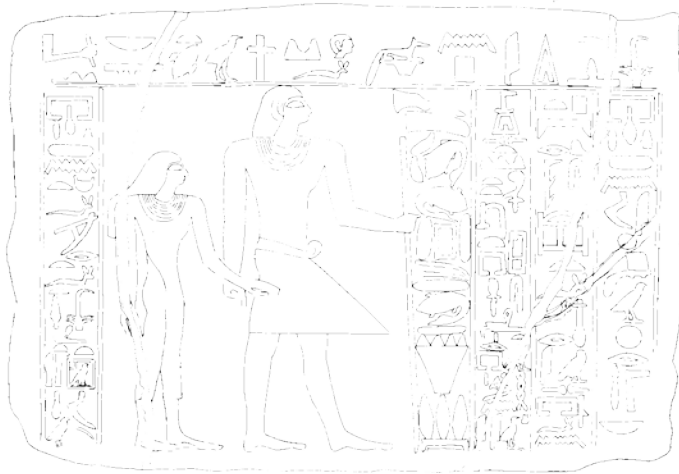
2.40. Rijksmuseum F1938/1.4, *Mr-ḥḥ.f*, H VII, fig. 35b



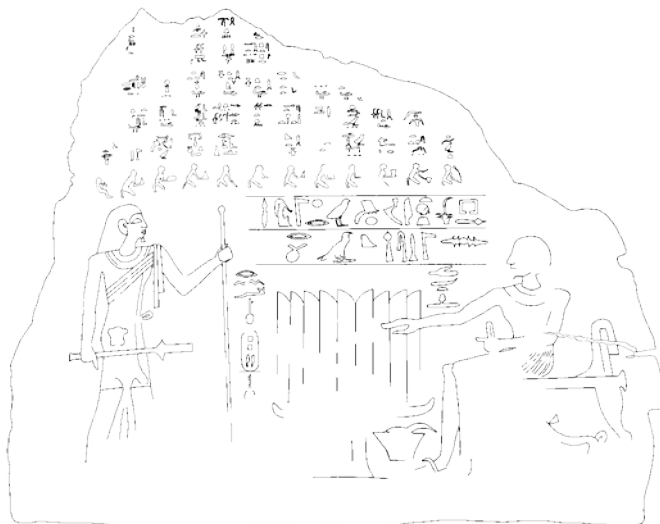
2.41. CG1624, *Mrrj*, H VII, fig. 34c



2.42. CG1580, *Mr-njw*, H VI, fig. 27a



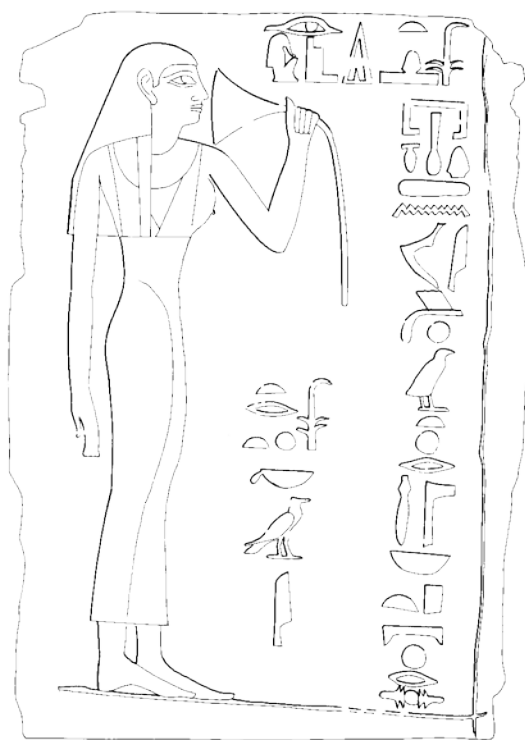
2.43. CG1611, *Hnwjj*, *H VIII*, fig. 32a



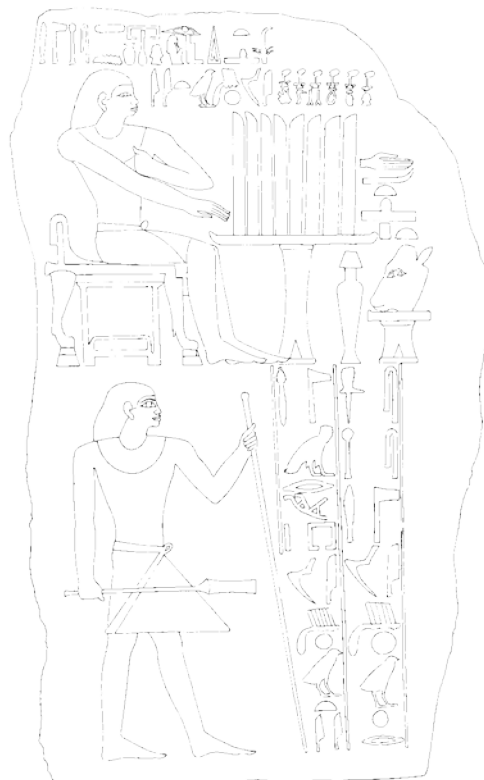
2.44. CG1669, *Q3r/Ppjj-nfr*, *H VI*, fig. 29a



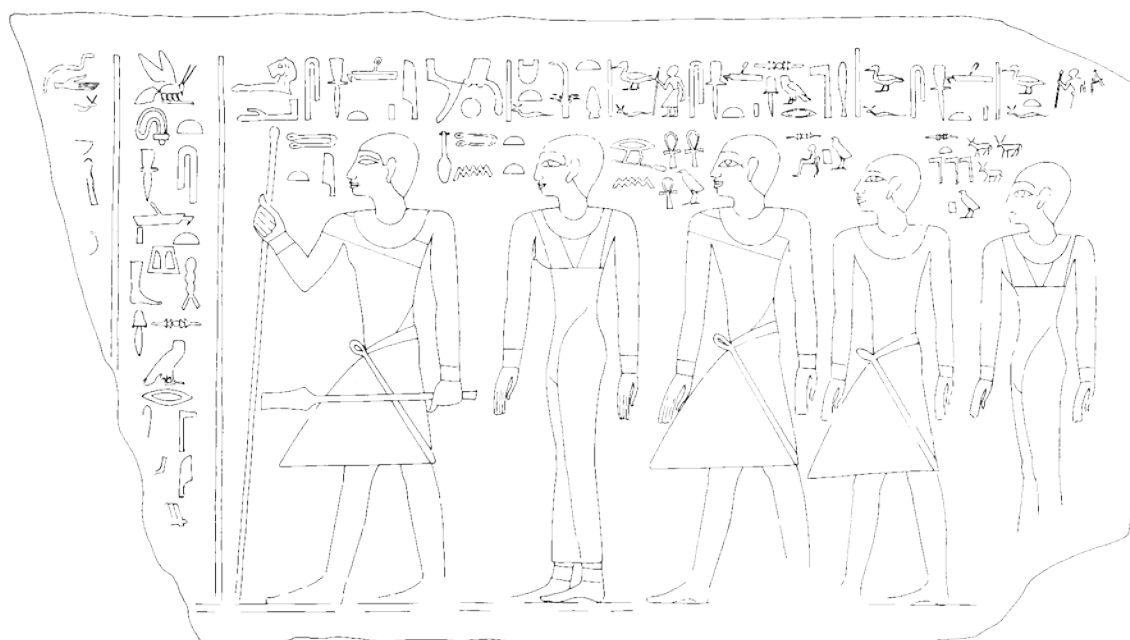
2.45. Oriental Institute 378, *Ttwj*, *H VI*, fig. 30b



246. CG1584, *K3j*, *H VI*, fig. 28b



247. Edinburgh 1910:94, *Tjj*, *H VI*, fig. 26b



248. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago 31700, *Tjj*, *H VI*, fig. 31

CHAPTER 2: THE STANDING TOMB OWNER

WEARING A LEOPARD SKIN AND HOLDING A PAW IN ONE HAND AT EL-HAWAWISH



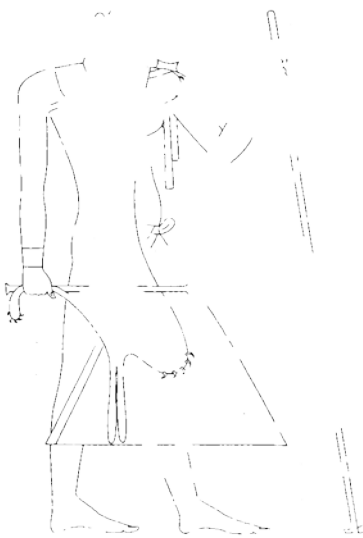
2.49a. G95, *Nhwt-dšr*, HVIII, fig 4



2.49b. B12, *Mmj*, HVIII, fig. 9b



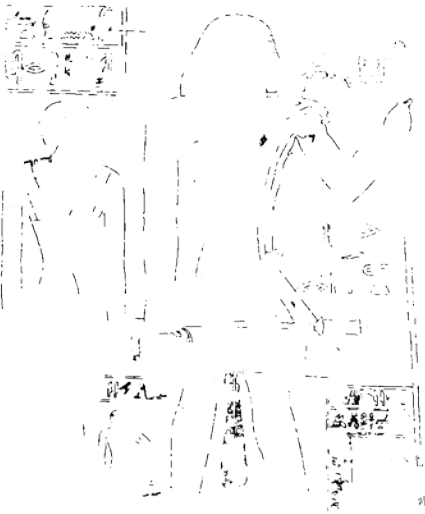
2.49c. BA48, *B3wj*, HVII, fig 24a



2.49d. L31, *Q3r*, HVI, fig 16



2.49e. L31, *Q3r*, HVI, fig 15

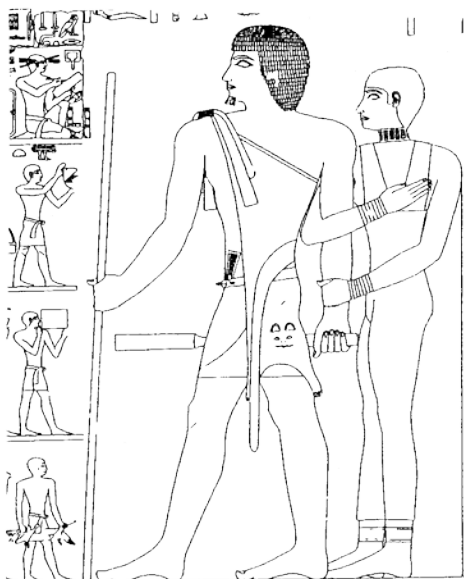


2.49f. H26, *Tj-jkr*, N. wall (E), HI, fig 13

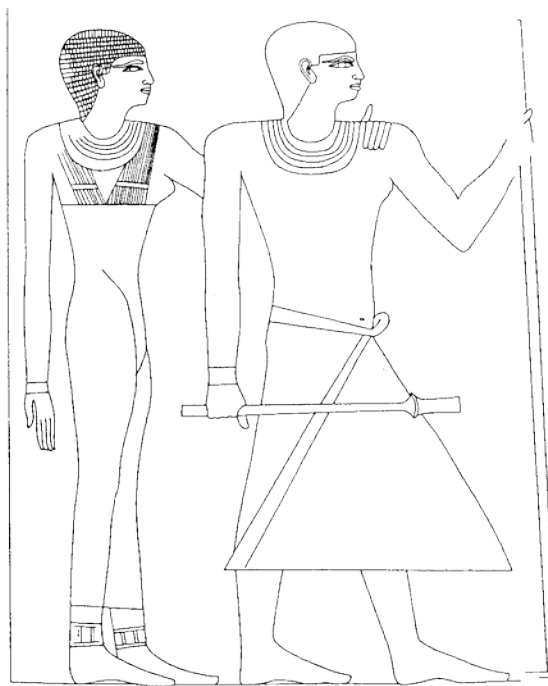


2.49g. H24. *Hnjj*, HII, fig 26

Memphite

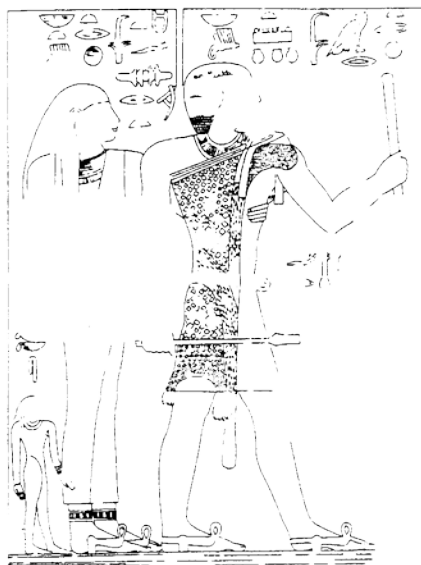


2.50. Giza: *Hwfw-h'f*, Simpson, *Kanab*, fig. 33

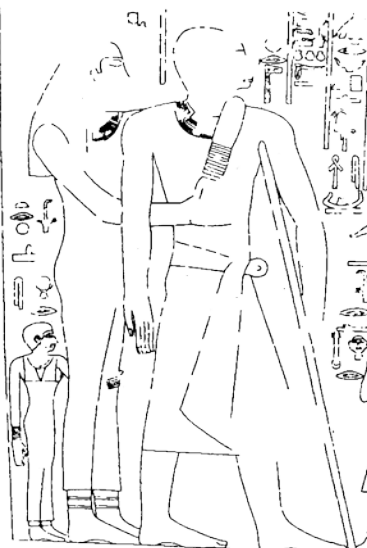


2.51. Giza: *Ttw II*, Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I*, fig. 20

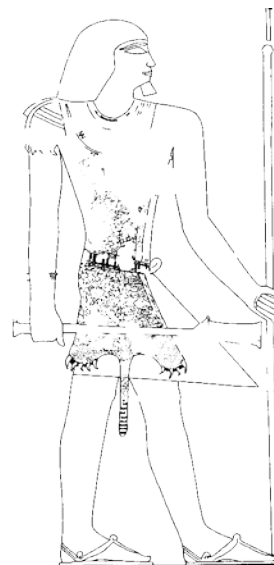
Provincial



2.52. Deshasha: *Jntj*, Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 31



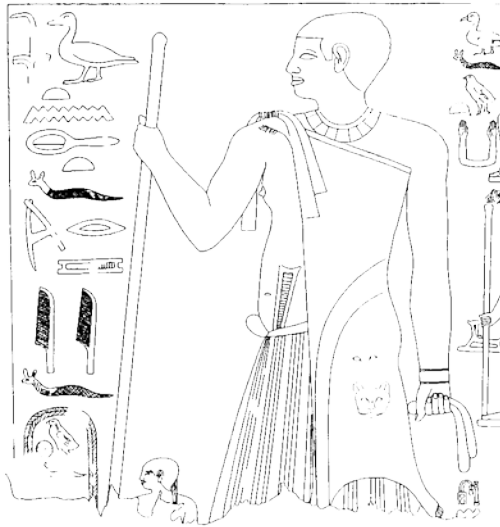
2.53. Deshasha: *Jntj*, Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 29



2.54. Meir: *Ppjj-nh-hrj-jb*, Blackman, *Meir IV*, fig. 8

CHAPTER 2: THE STANDING TOMB OWNER
COMPARATIVE ILLUSTRATIONS OF MATURE FIGURES

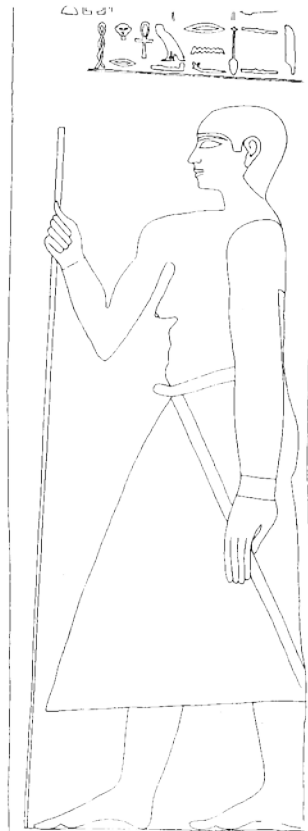
Memphite



2.55. Giza: *Hwfw-h'f*, Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 27

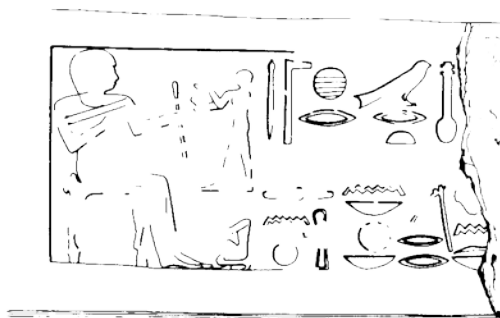


2.56. Giza: *Jdw*, Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 34

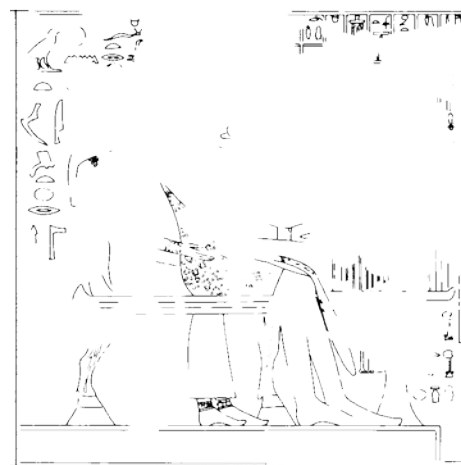


2.57. Saqqara: *nh-m'-Hr*, Kanawati – Hassan, *Teti Cemetery II*, fig. 21

Neussere



3.1. G84, *Mnw-ḥnh*, H I, fig. 4



3.2. L6, *Dw3-Mnw*, H VI, fig. 5

Djedkare/Isesi



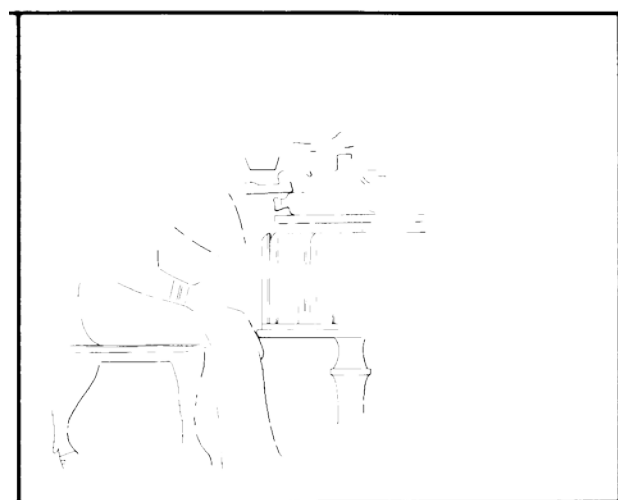
3.3a. M23, *Mmj*, H V, fig. 15



3.3b. M23, *Mmj*, H V, fig. 16



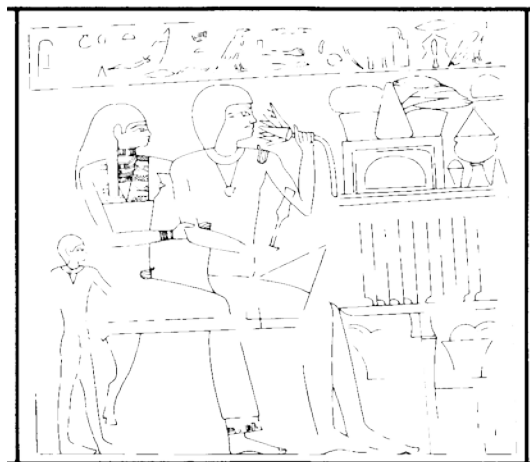
3.3c. M23, *Mmj*, H V, fig. 17



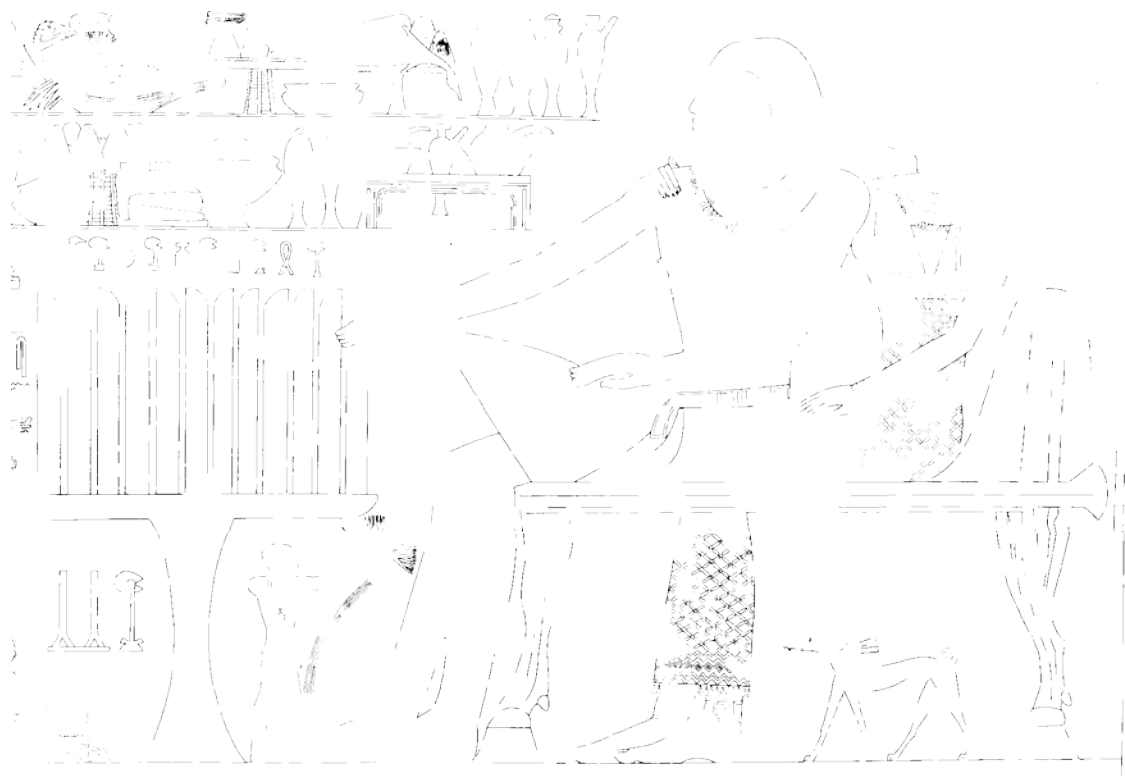
3.4. M21, *ḥnhw*, H V, fig. 24

CHAPTER 3: THE SEATED TOMB OWNER
WALL SCENES AT EL-HAWAWISH

Djedkare/Isesi

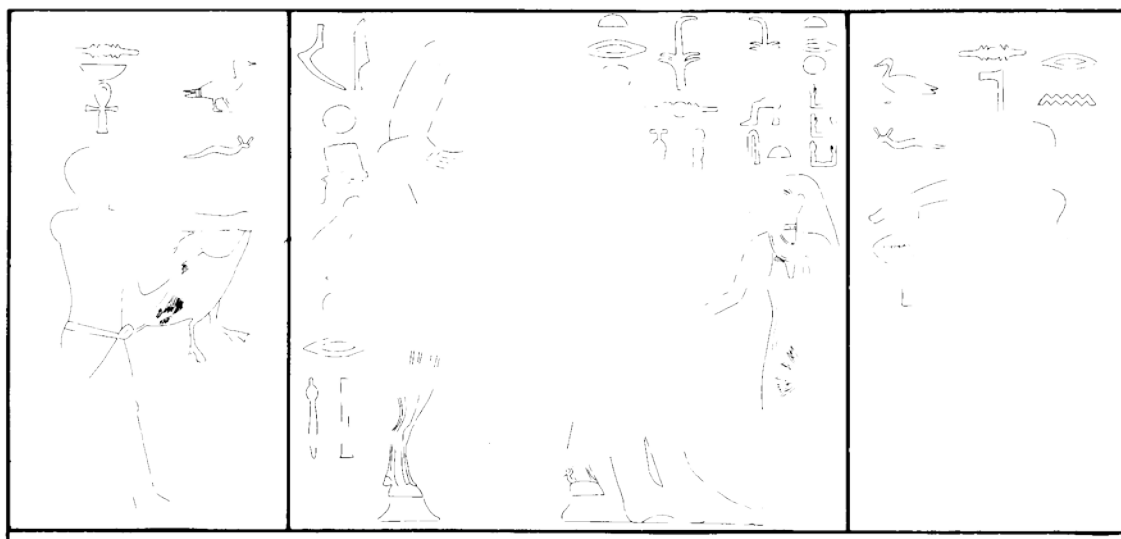


3.5. L8, *ʿ3-Mnw*, H VI, fig. 9



3.6a. M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, H IV, fig. 9

Djedkare/Isesi



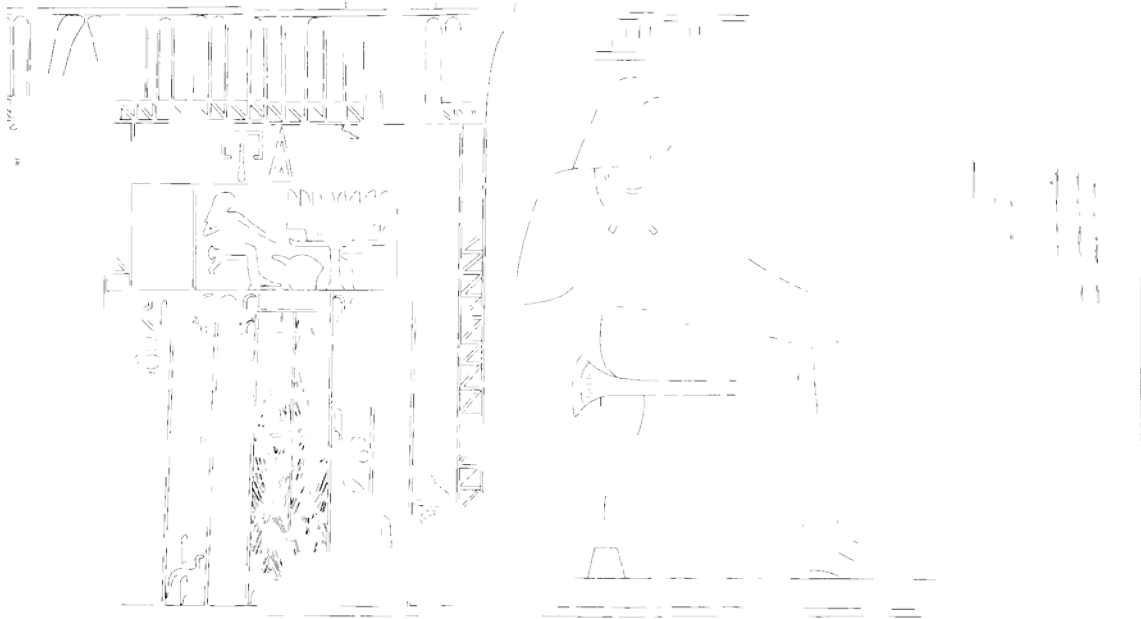
3.6b. M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, H IV, fig. 15 (no table, false door panel)

Unis

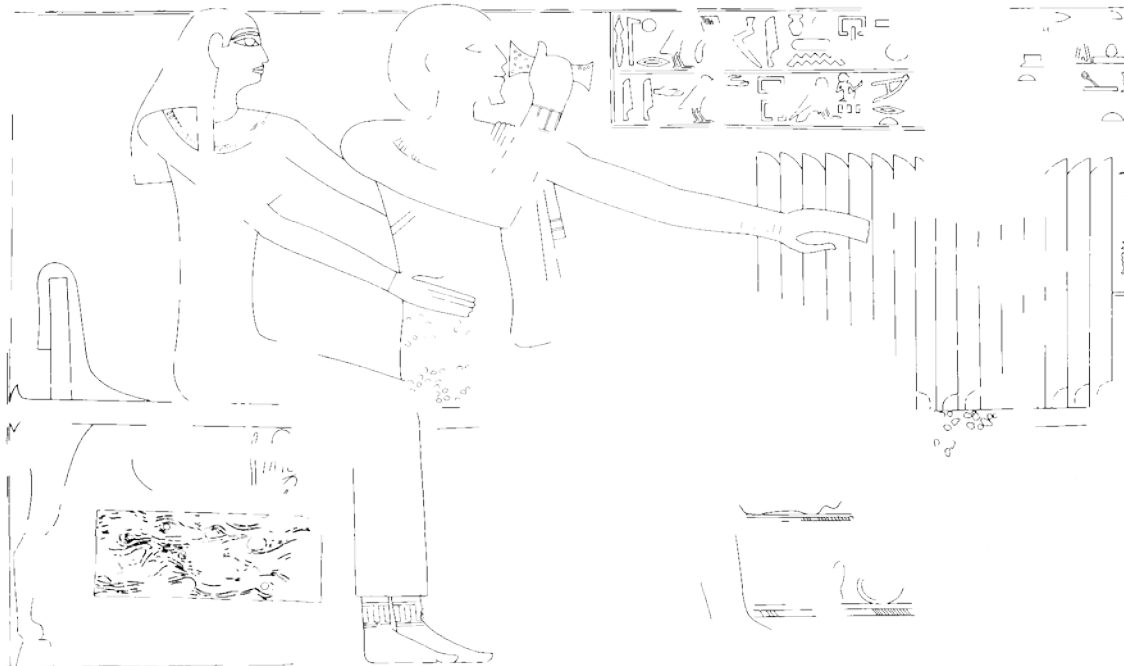


3.7. M43, *Hm-Mnw*, H V, figs. 9

Teti



3.8. F12, *Mrrw*, H IX, fig. 2b



3.9. F1, *Hzzj-Mnw*, H VI, fig. 2

Teti



3.10. K16, ..., *H VIII*, fig. 21 (no table)



3.11a. G95, *Nhwat-dšr*, H VIII, fig. 3a

End Teti – beginning Pepy I



3.11b. G95, *Nhwt-dšr*, H VIII, fig. 3b (no table)



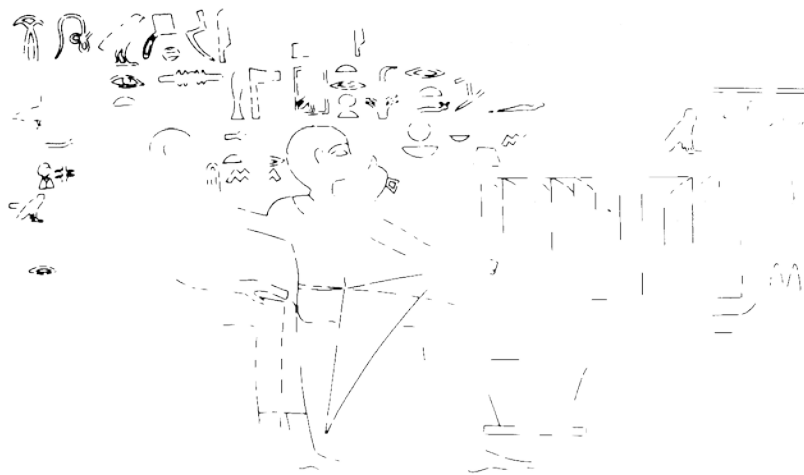
3.12. G126, *B3wj*, H IX, fig.15

Mid Pepy I



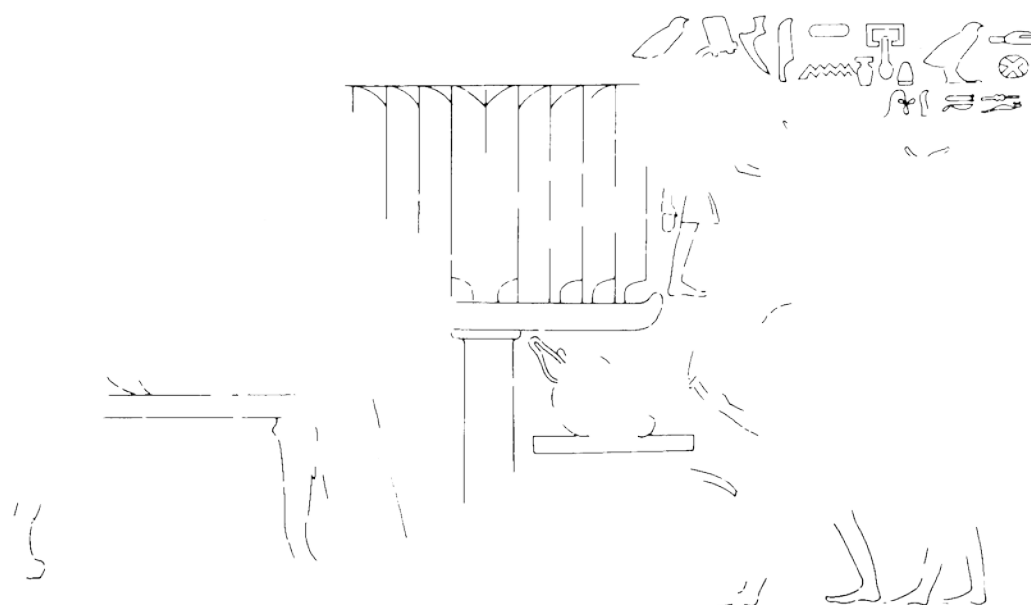
3.13. G97, ..., *H VIII*, fig. 5 (no table)

Late Pepy I



3.14. Q2, *W3h...*, *H VI*, fig. 17b

Late Pepy I



3.15. Q13, *Jww(?) - hrj-jb*, H VI, fig. 19b

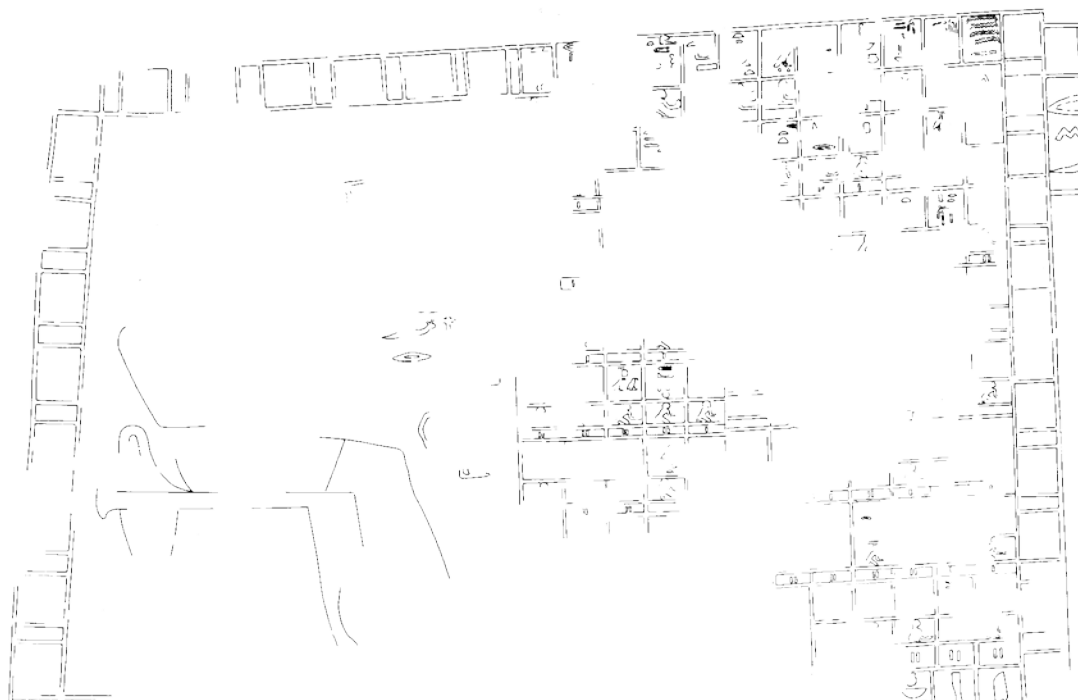


3.16. Q15, *Qrrj*, H VI, fig. 22a

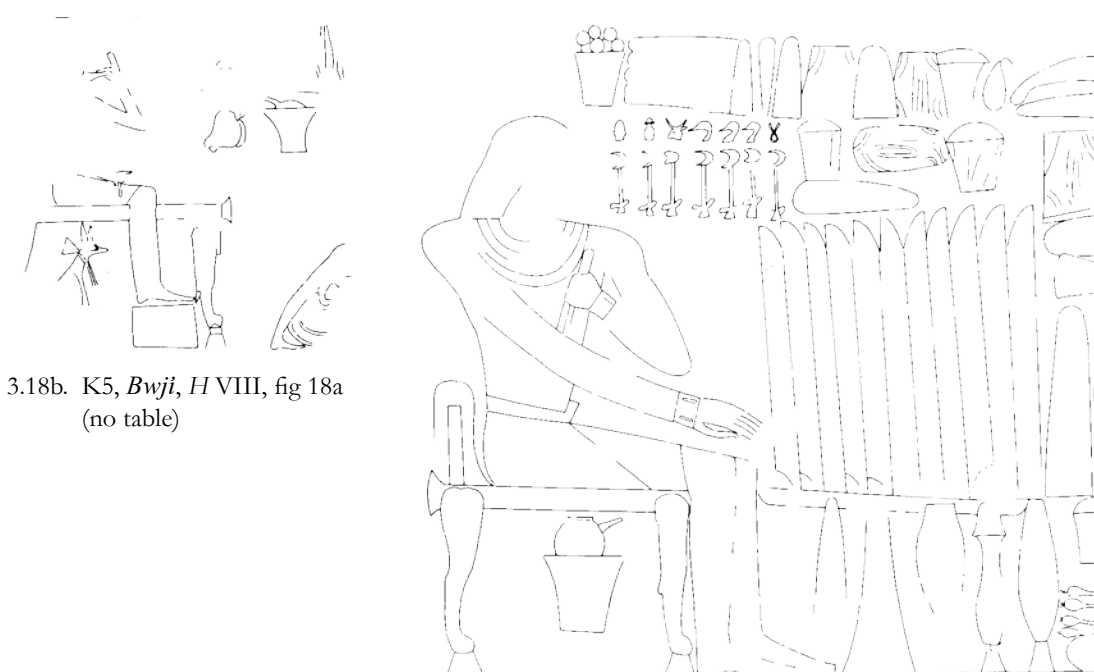


3.17. B12, *Mmj*, H VII, fig 10

Late Pepy I



3.18a. K5, *B3wj*, *H VIII*, fig. 19 (no table)

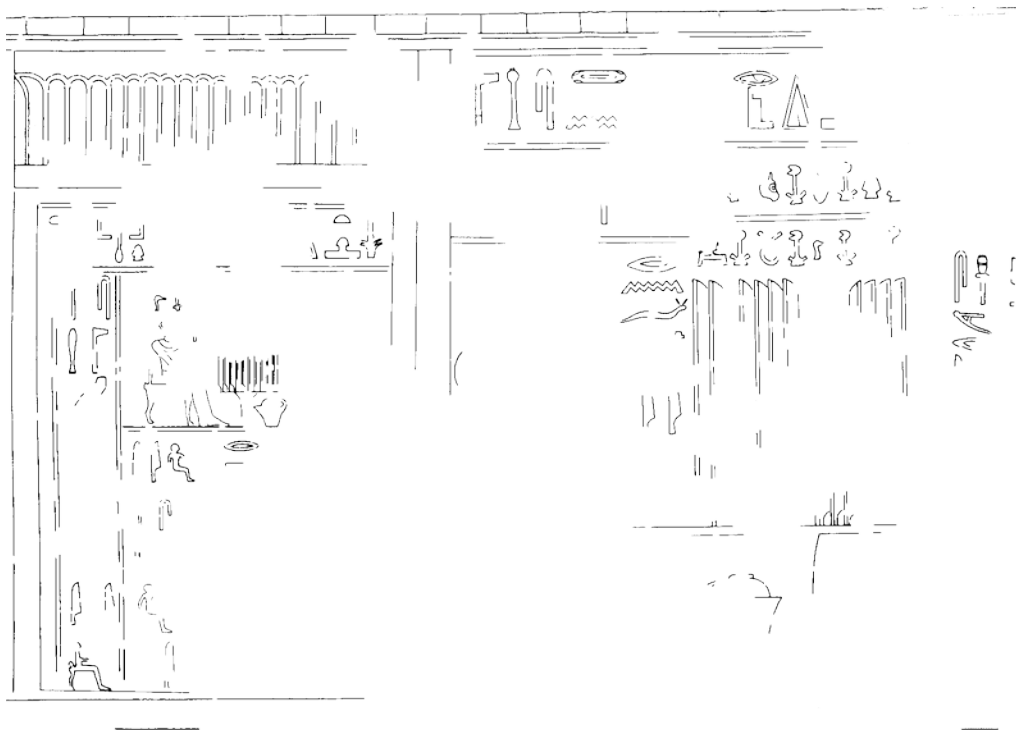


3.18b. K5, *Bwji*, *H VIII*, fig. 18a
(no table)

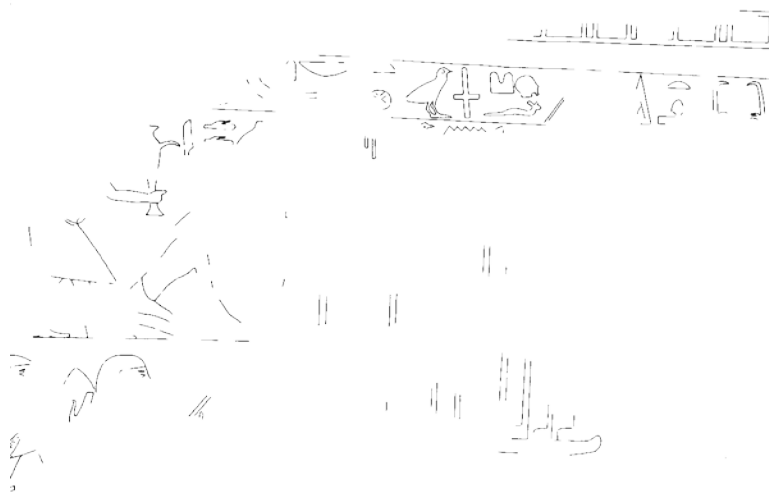
3.19. N20, *Tjj*, *H VI*, fig. 23b

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End Pepy I – beginning Pepy II

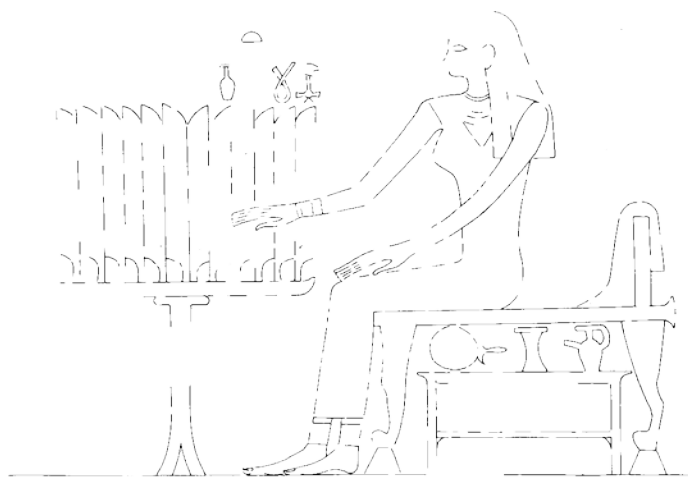


3.20. C9, *Jjj*, H VII, fig. 8a



3.21. G119,..., H IX, fig. 12b

End Pepy I – beginning Pepy II

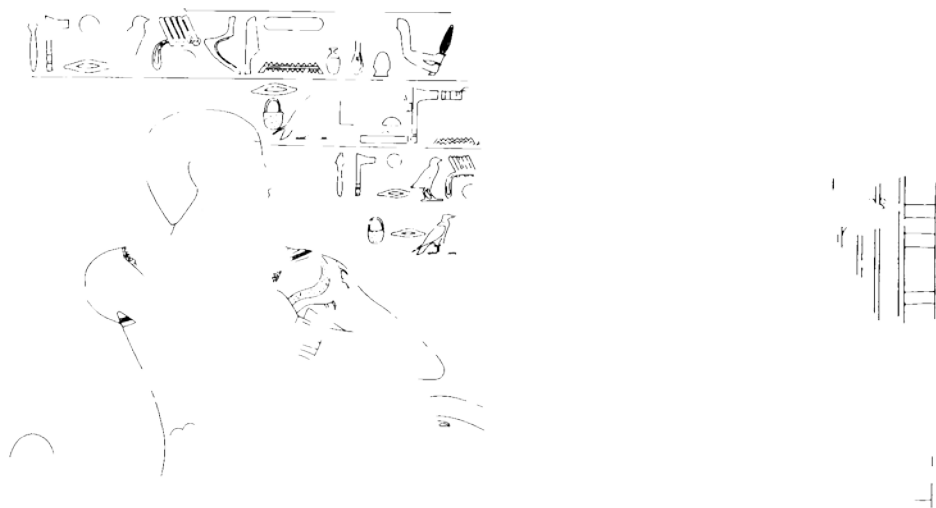


3.22. G124, ..., *H IX*, fig. 13b



3.23. K18, *Hzzj-Mnw*, *H VIII*, fig. 22b (no table but arm outstretched as if to table)

End Pepy I – beginning Pepy II

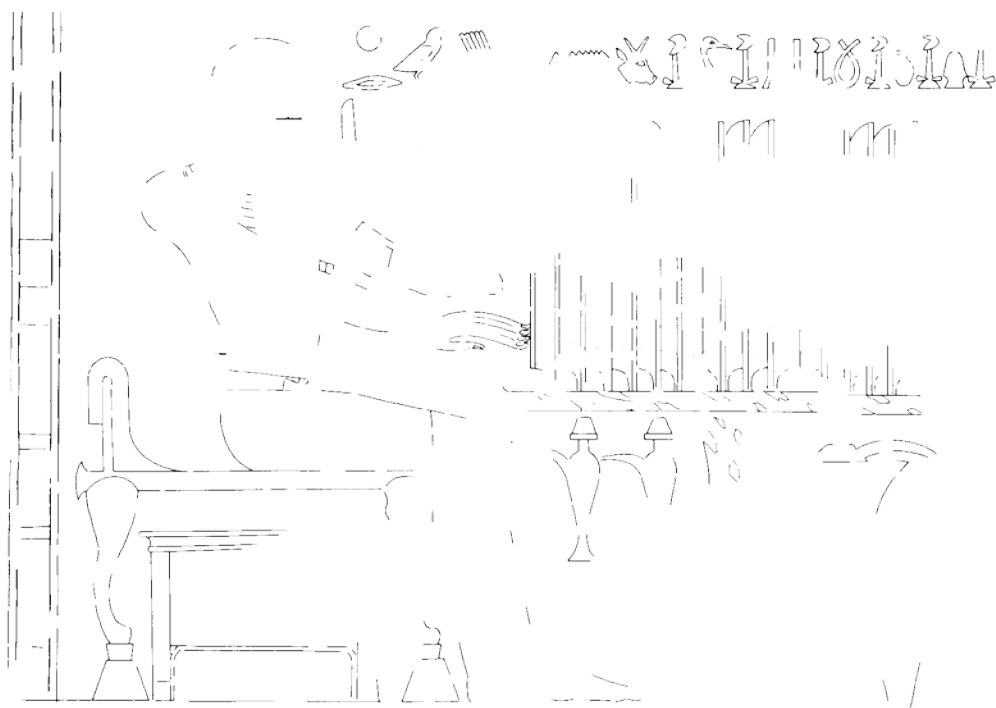


3.24. L31, Q3r, H VI, fig.15

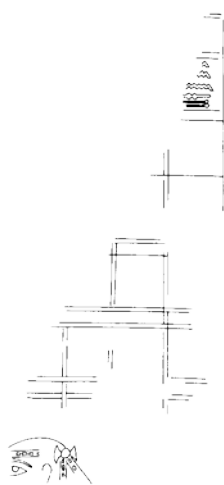


3.25. K4, B3wj, H VIII, fig. 17b (no table but arm outstretched as if to table)

End Pepy I – beginning Pepy II

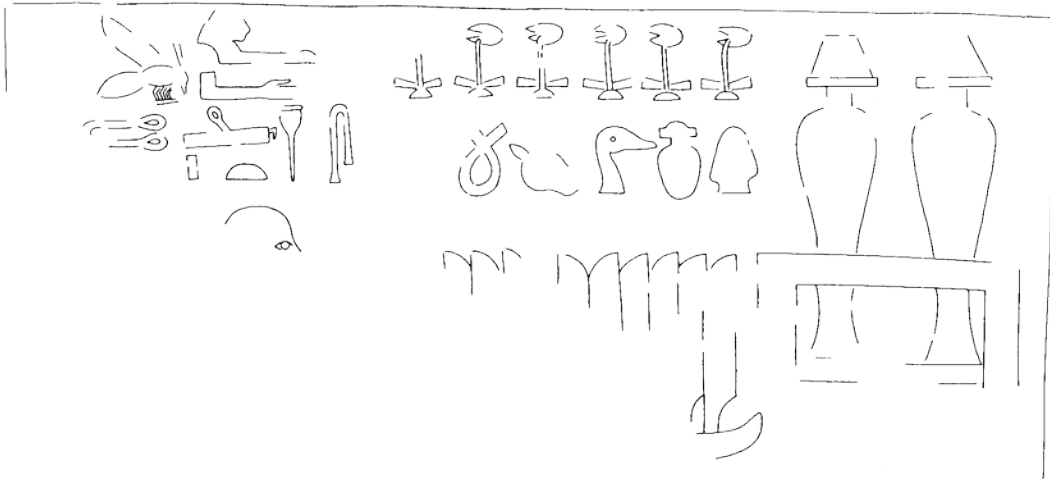


3.26. K1, *Mddj*, *H VIII*, fig.15

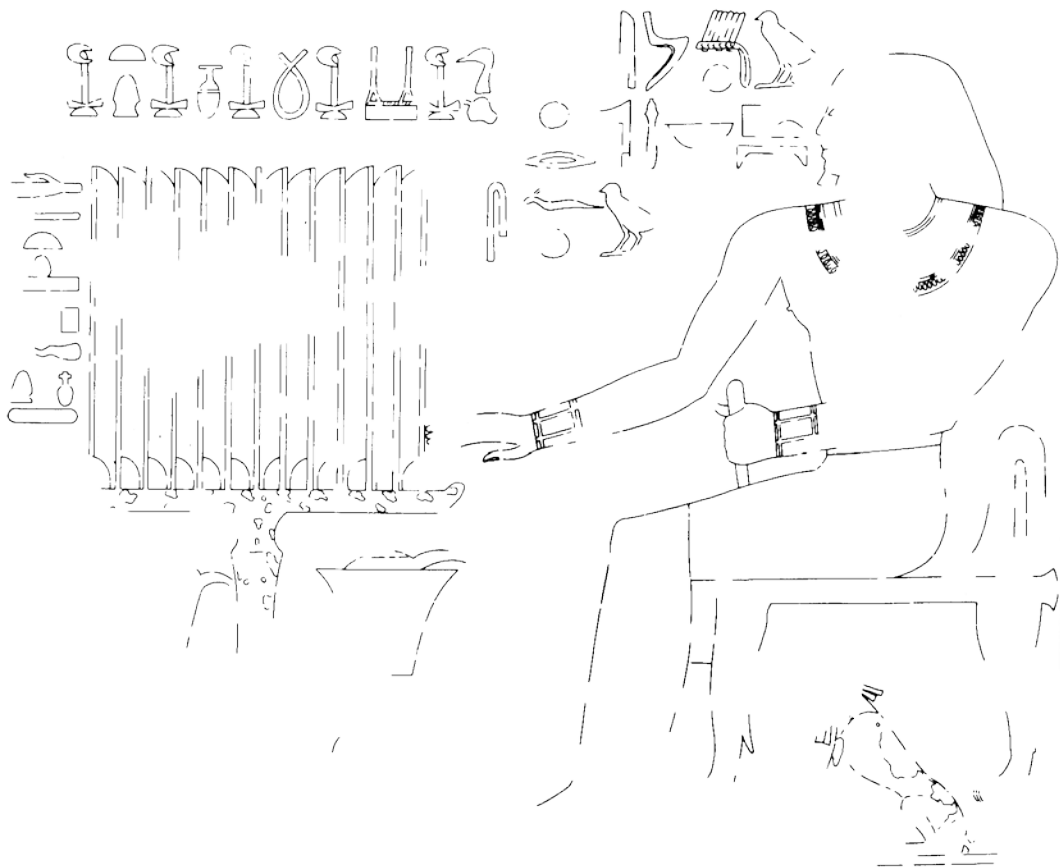


3.27. L42, ..., *H IX*, fig. 3b

Early – mid Pepy II

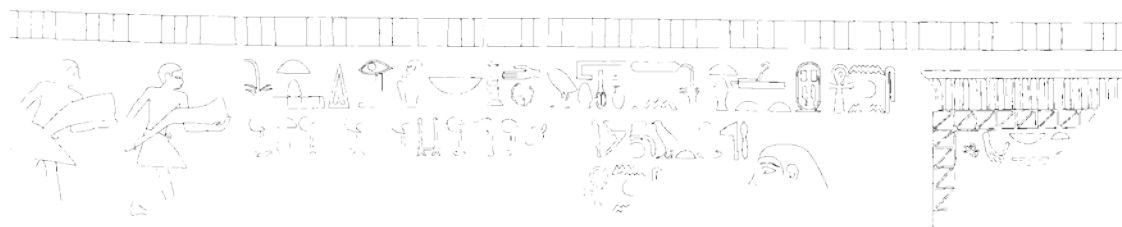


3.28. M8, *Ttj*, H X, fig. 9a

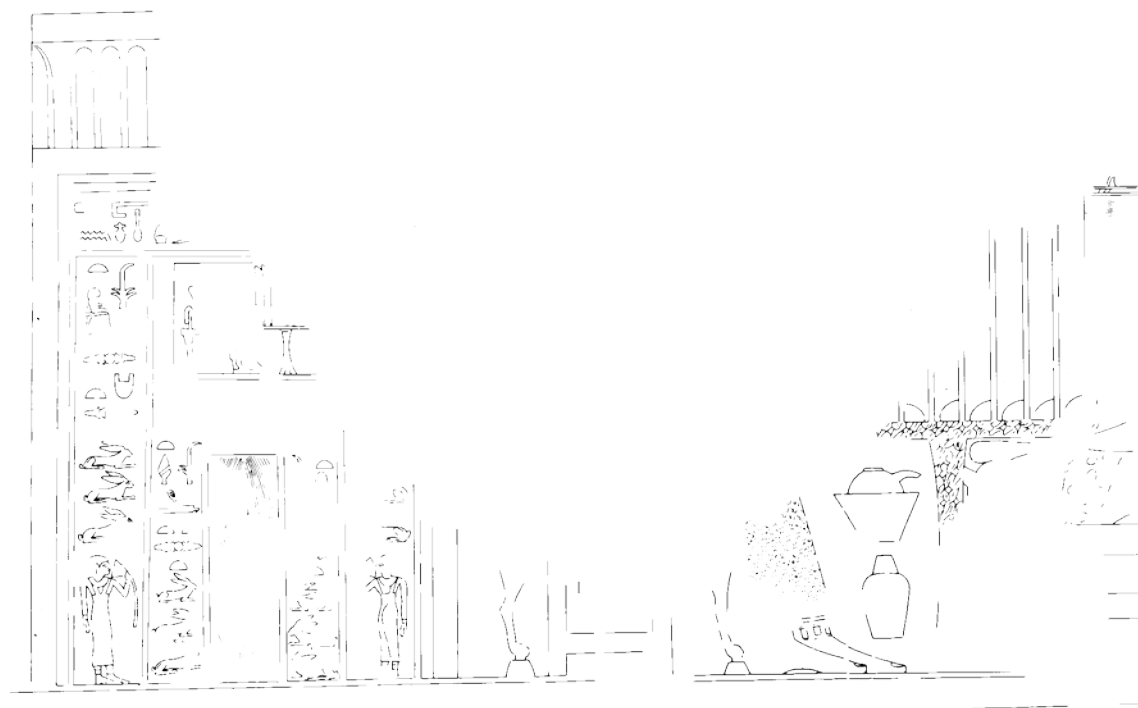


3.29. L21, *Sfhw*, H VI, fig. 11

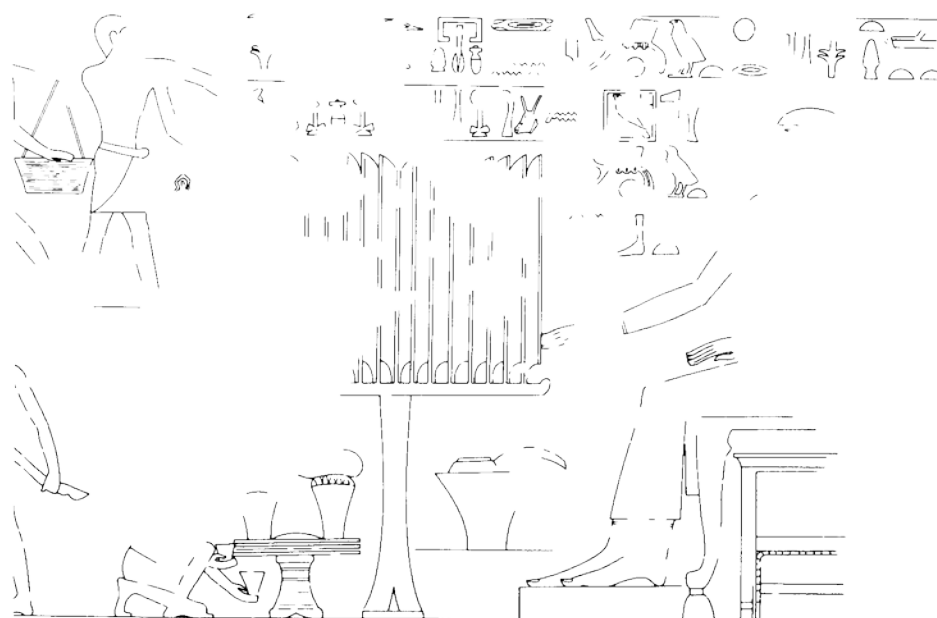
Early – mid Pepy II



3.30. L23, *Ppjj-ḥḥ-n.s*, H IX, fig. 2a

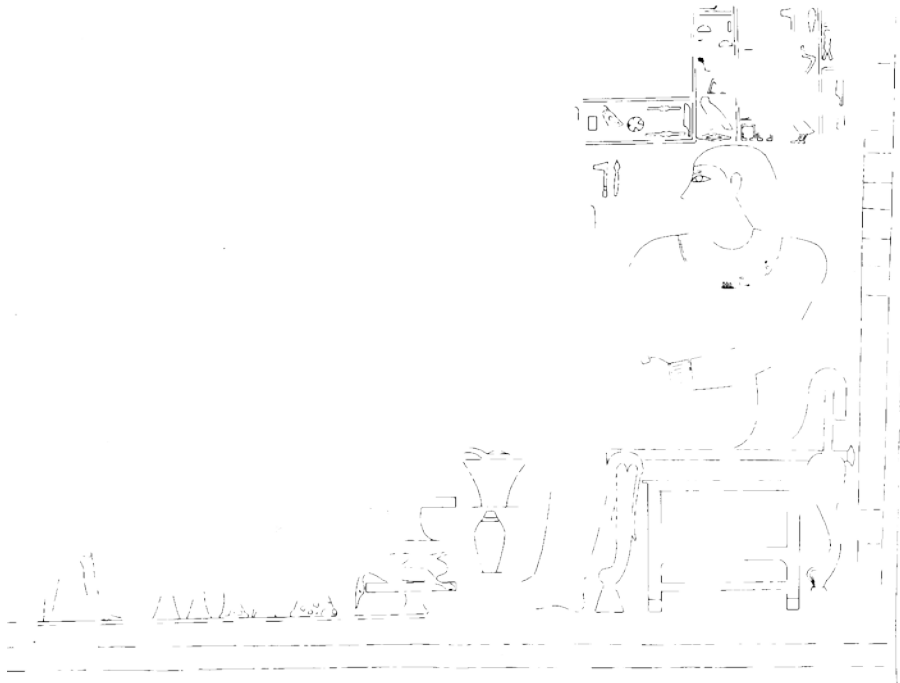


3.31. G79, *Wnw-Mnw*, H III, fig. 26

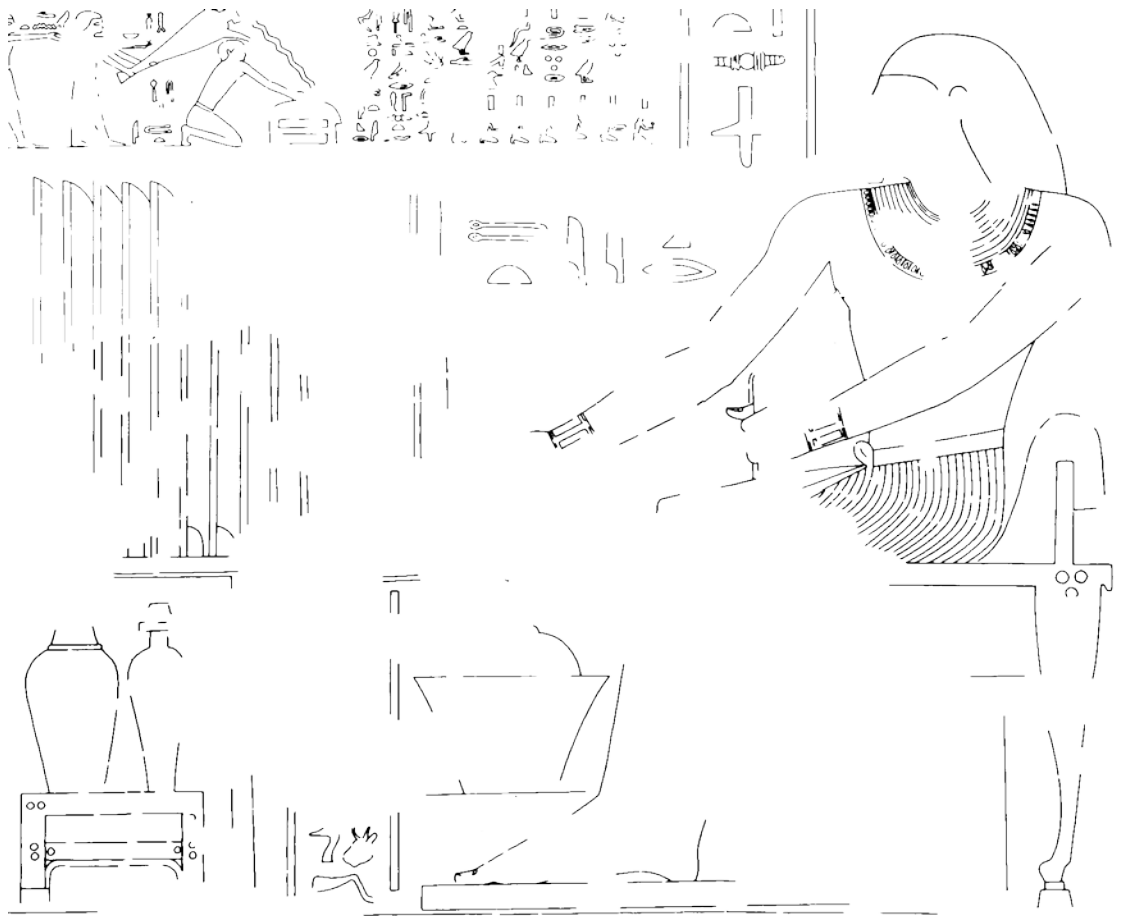


3.32. H27, *Nbt*, H III, fig. 27

Early – mid Pepy II

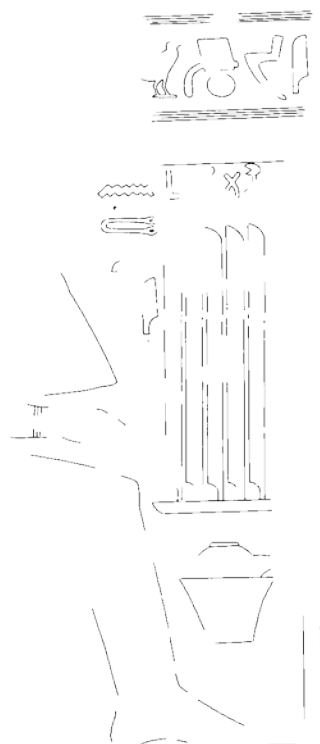


3.33. G42, *Hzzj-Mnw*, H VII, fig. 3a



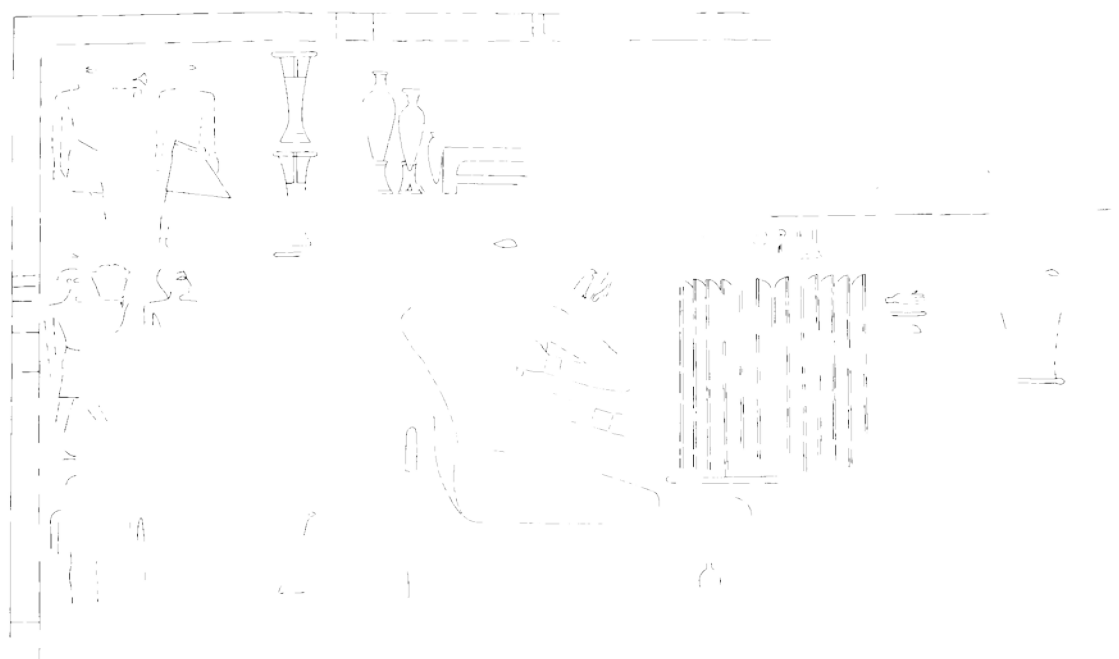
3.34a. H26, *Tj-jqr*, H I, fig. 18

Early – mid Pepy II



3.34b. H26, *Ttj-jqr*, H I, fig. 17

Mid – late Pepy II

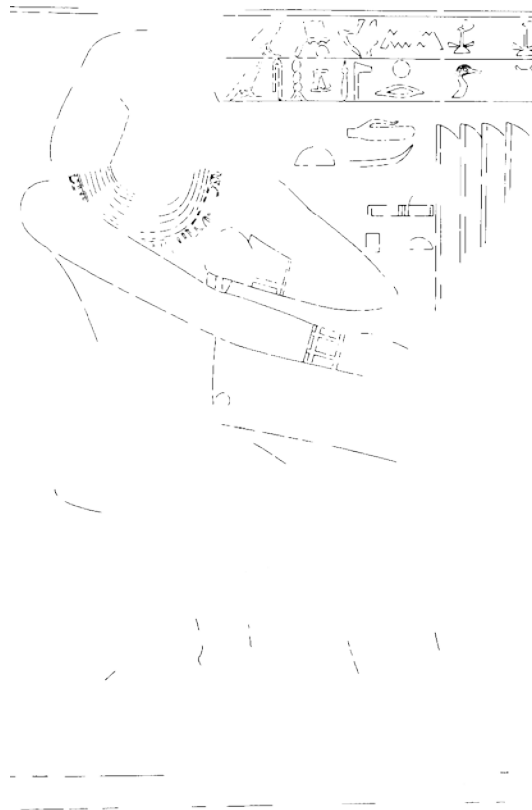


3.35. B83, *B3wj*, H IX, fig. 21

Mid – late Pepy II

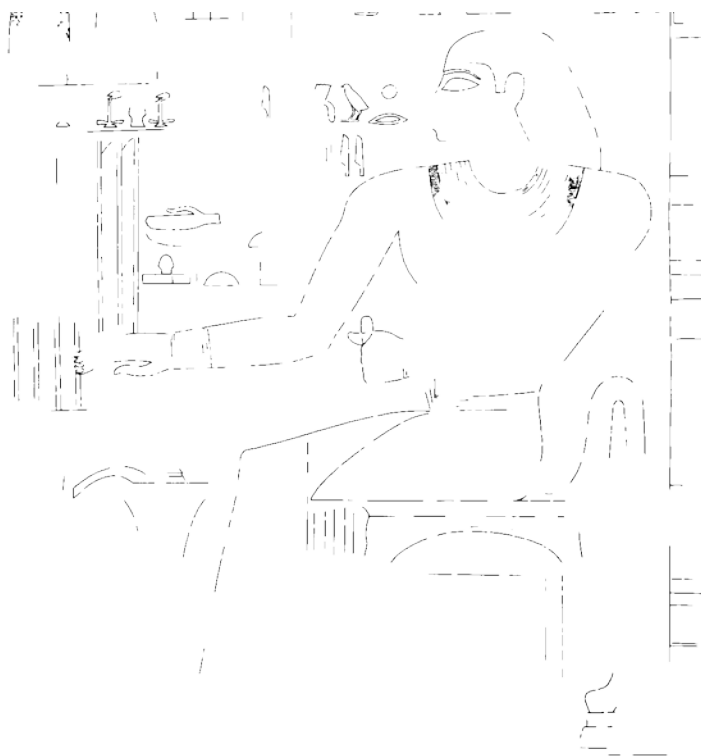


3.36. G49, ..., *HIX*, fig. 9b

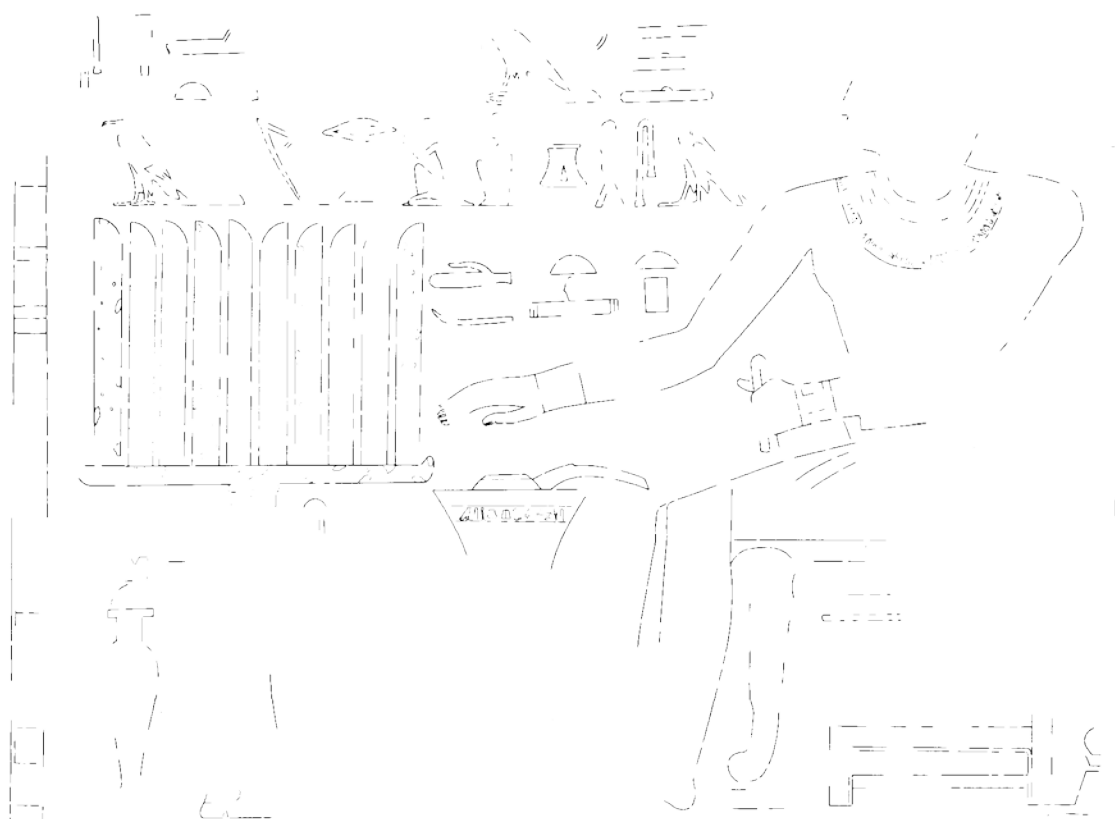


3.37a. GA11, *Ghs3*, *H VII*, pl. 4, fig. 27

Mid – late Pepy II



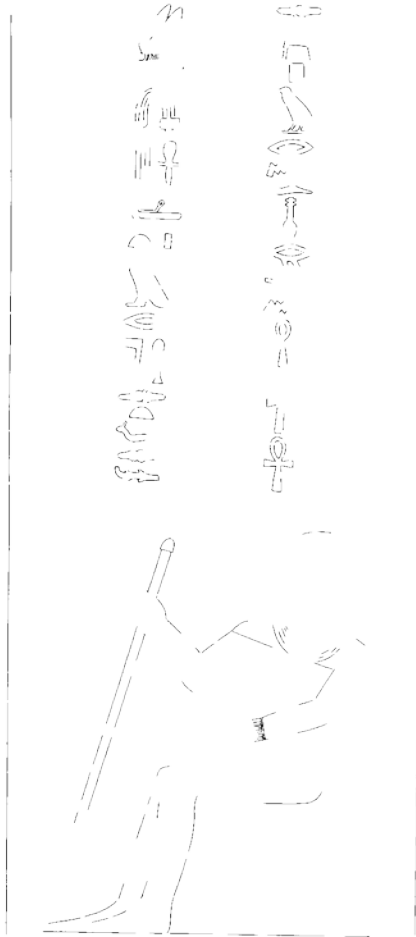
3.37b. GA11, *Ghs3*, H VII, pl. 4, figs. 28



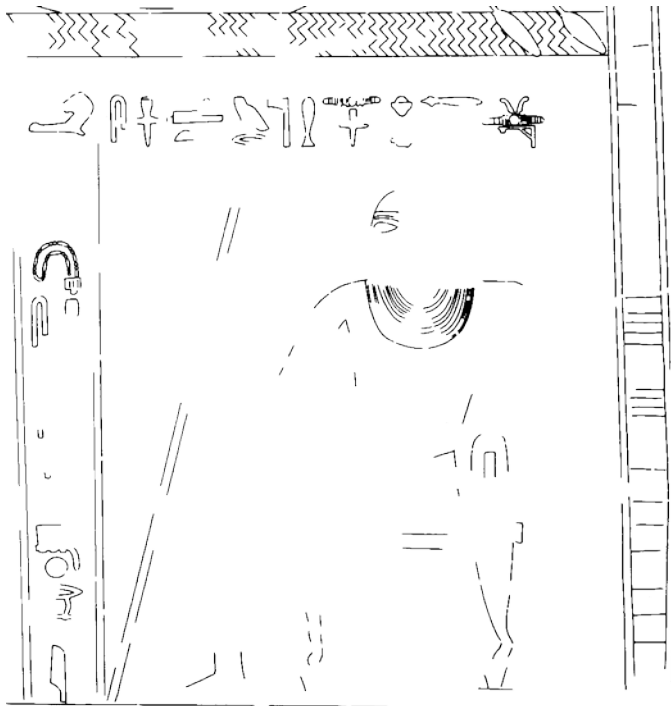
3.37c. GA11, *Ghs3*, H VII, pl. 4, figs. 31

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Mid – late Pepy II

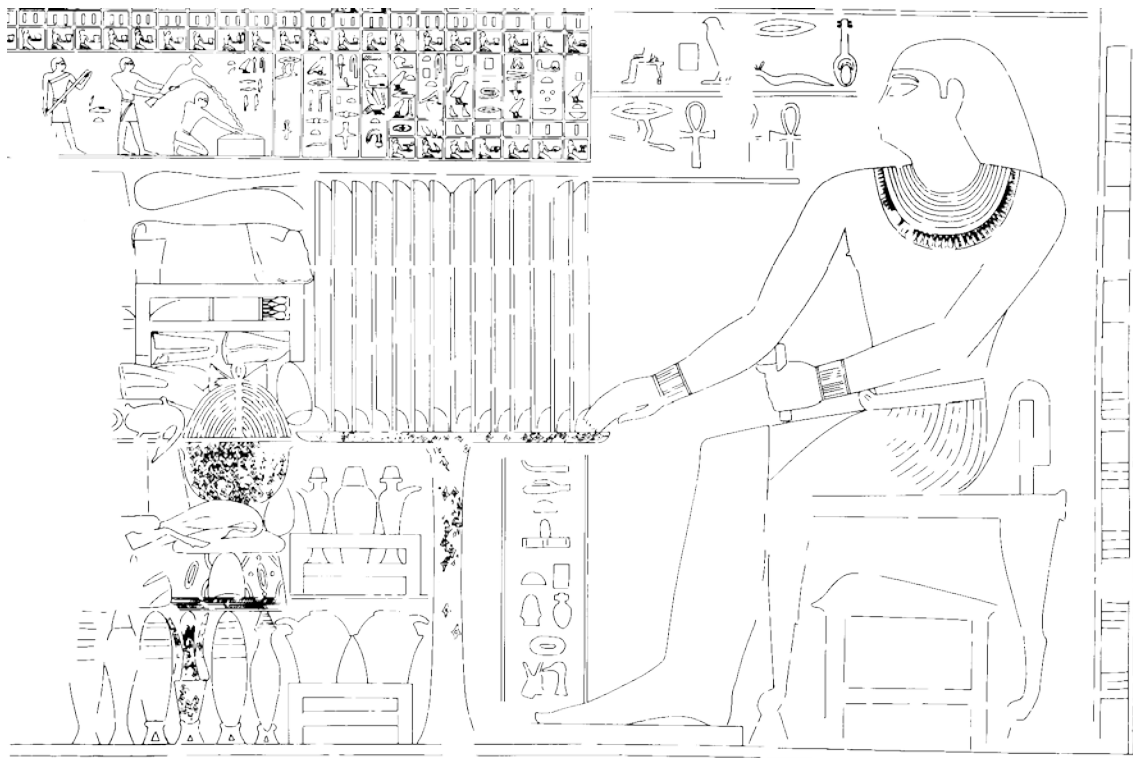


3.38a. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig.11 (pillar)

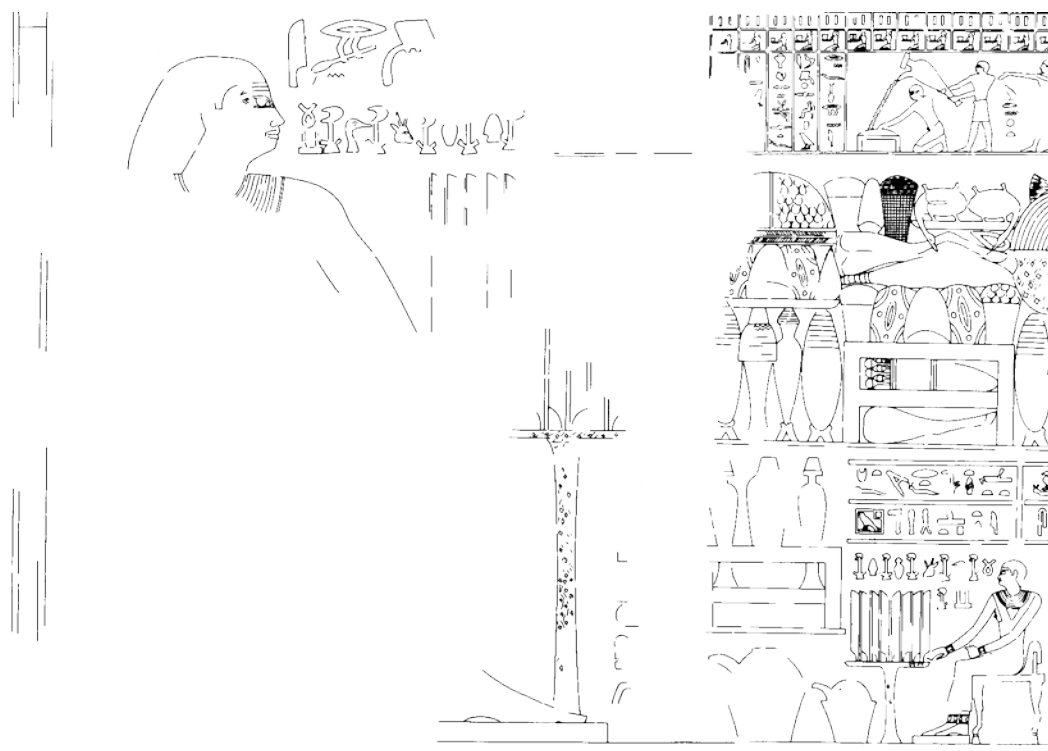


3.38b. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig. 19 (no table)

Mid – late Pepy II

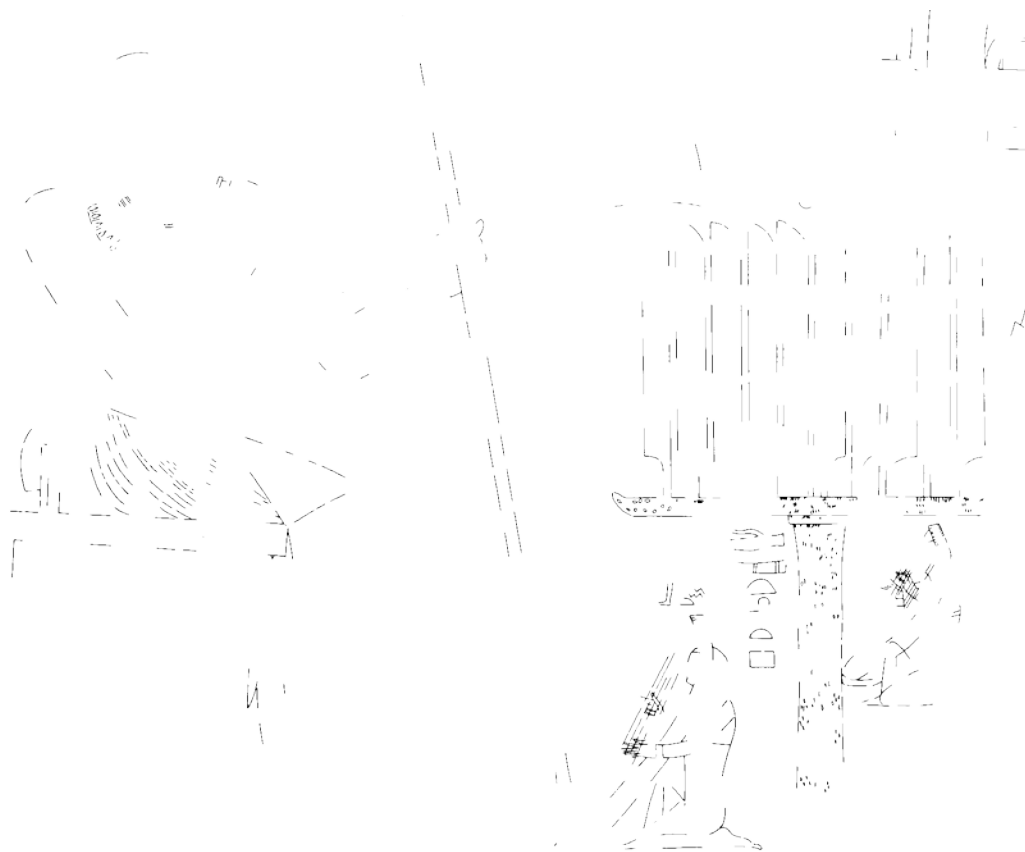


3.38c. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig. 24



3.38d. H24, *Hnj*, H II, fig. 25

Mid – Late Pepy II



3.39. H41, *Tj-3*, H VIII, fig. 12a

End Dynasty 6 – beginning Dynasty 8



3.40. I49, *Tj*, H VIII, fig. 9b

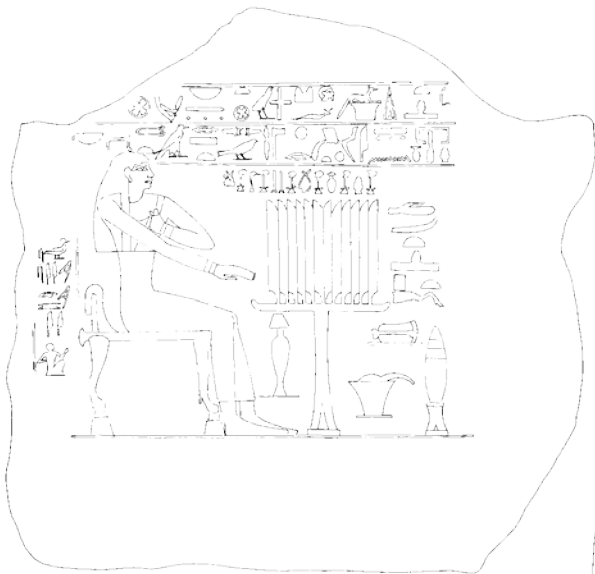
Dynasty 8



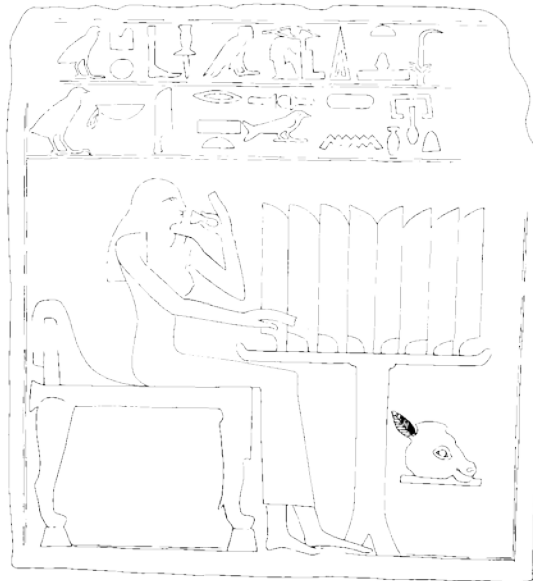
3.41. BA17, *Rḥw-rʾw-sn*, H VII, fig. 16



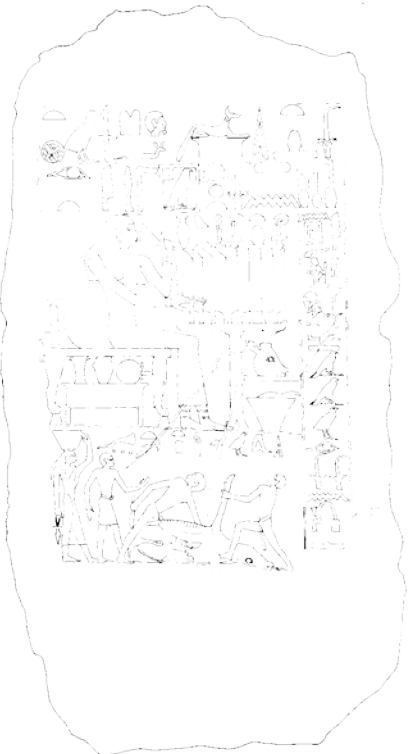
3.42. BA14, *Bʾwj*, H VII, fig. 17b (no table)



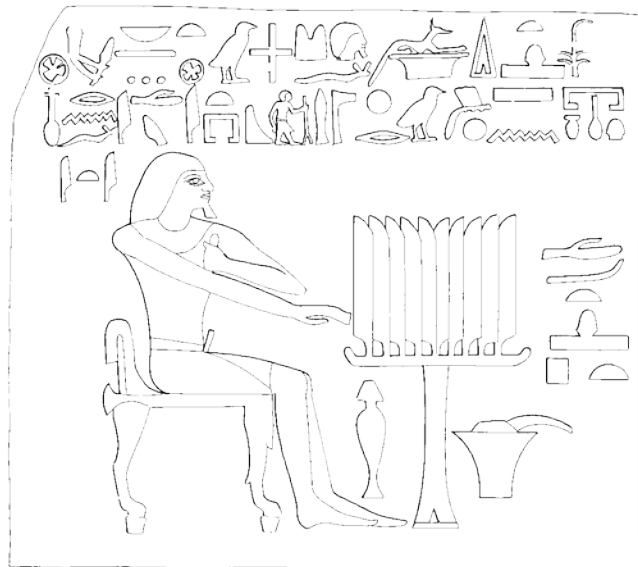
3.43. Turin Supp. 1263, *3tt-k3*, H VI, fig. 29b



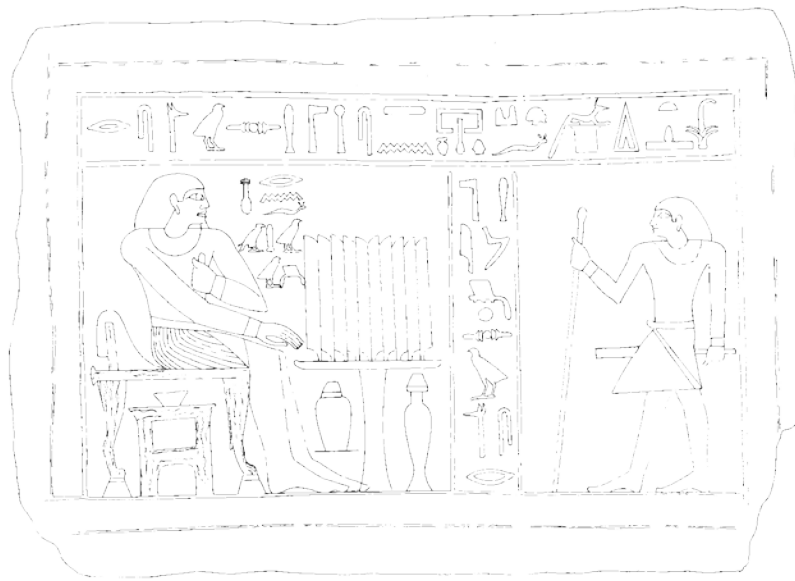
3.44. Allard Pierson Museum 3400, *Jkw*, H VII, fig. 35c



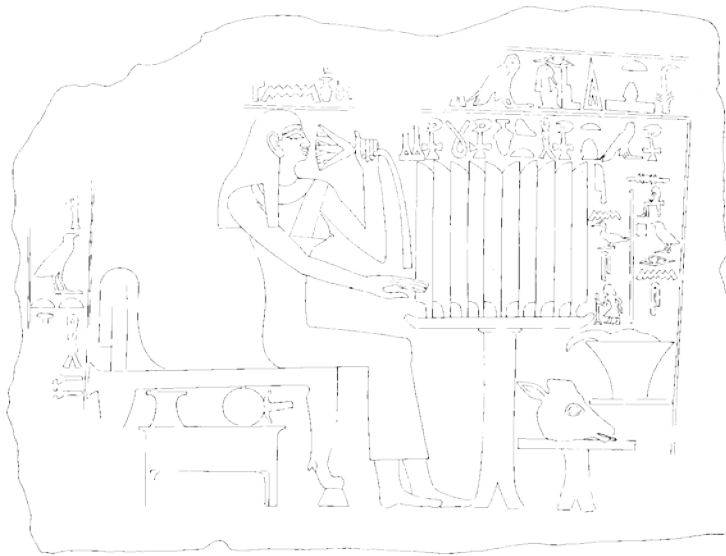
3.45. CG1613, *Jrt*, H VIII, fig. 32b



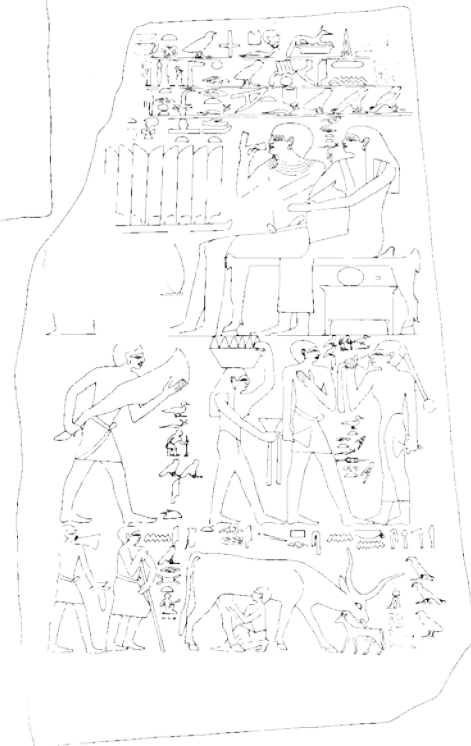
3.46. CG1581, *Jdj*, H VI, fig. 27b



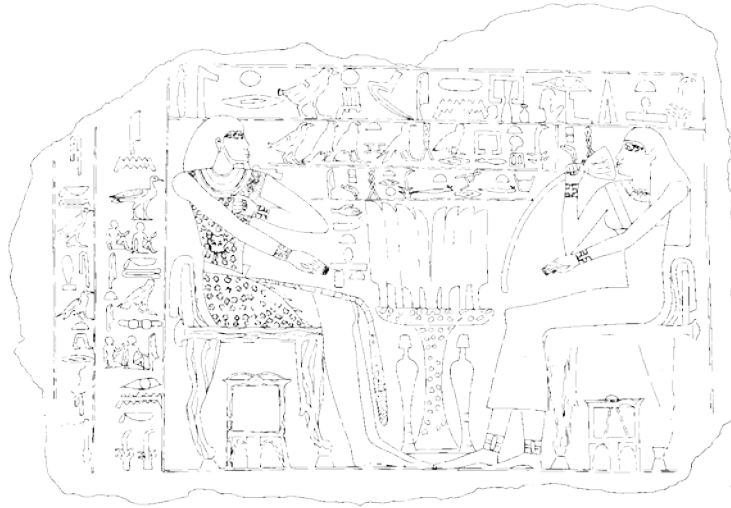
3.47. Edinburgh 1910:76, *Wsr-Mnw*, H VI, fig. 26a



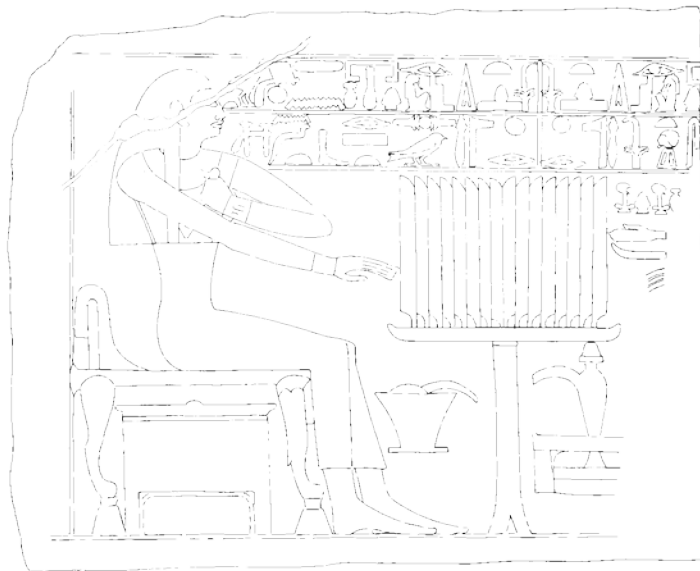
3.48. Florence 7582, *Wt-t-hzz(t)*, H VII, fig. 36a



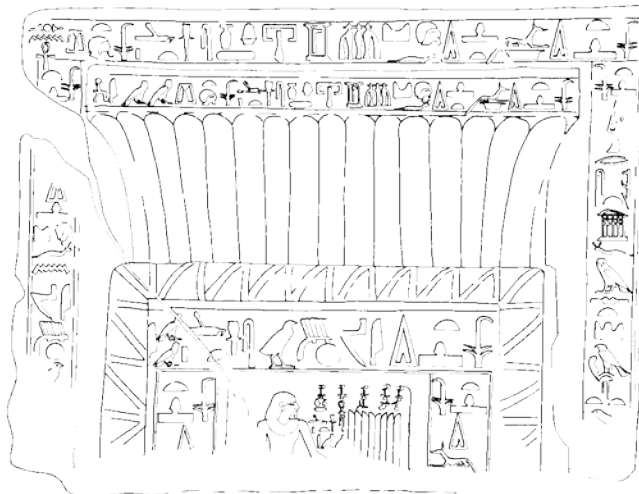
3.49. CG20504, *B3wj*, H VIII, fig. 34a



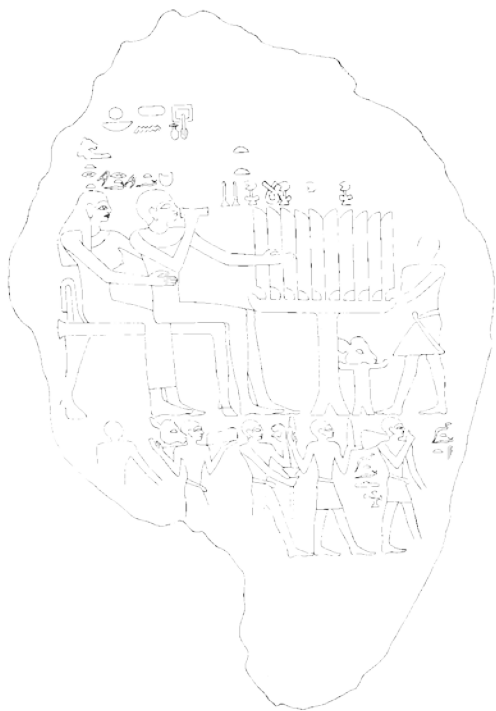
3.50. Hildesheim 1875, *B3wj*, H VII, fig. 37b



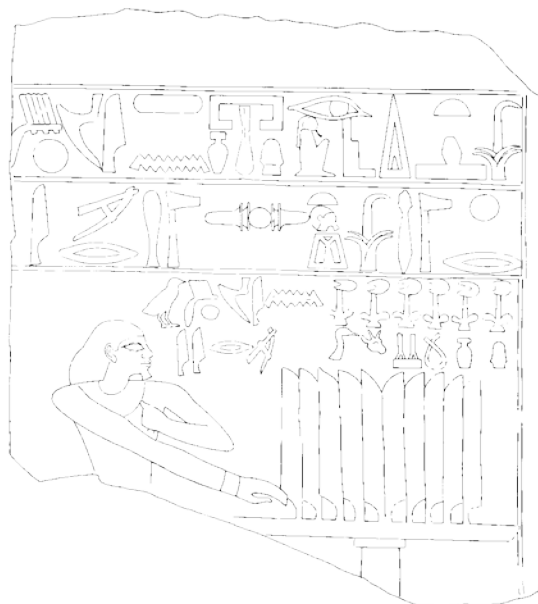
3.51. CG1667, *Bndt*, H VIII, fig. 33b



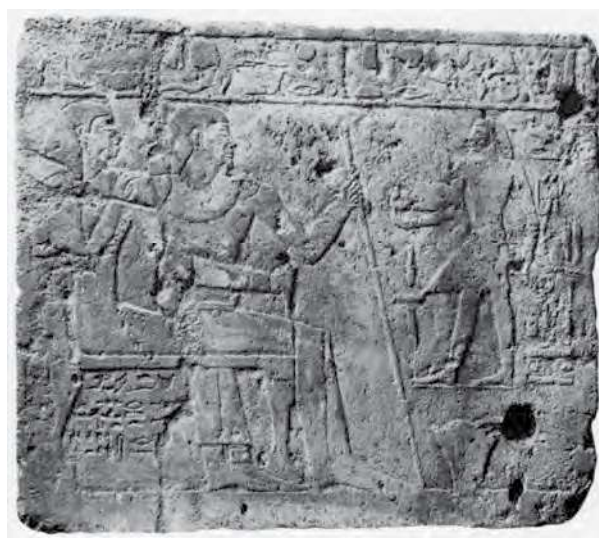
3.52. CG1587, *Mmj/Nj-ḥ-Mnw*, H VII, fig. 34b (F/D panel)



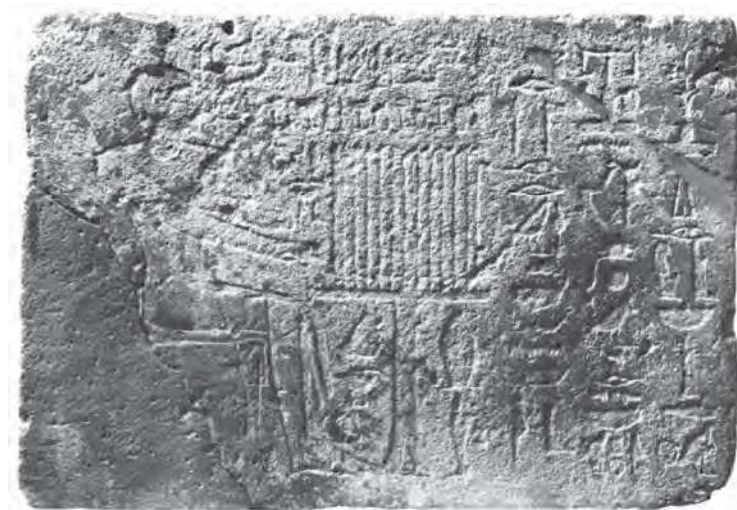
3.53. Moscow I.1.a 5567, *Mnw-m-ḥ3t*,
H VIII, fig. 34b



3.54. Florence 7583, *Mrjj*, *H VII*, fig. 36b



3.55. Louvre C234, *Nbj* and *Ḥtpt-Mnw*,
 Ziegler, *Stèles*, pp. 164 -166; *H IX*, pl. 6b



3.56. Louvre C235, *Nbj*, Ziegler, *Stèles*, pp. 161-163; *H IX*, pl. 6a



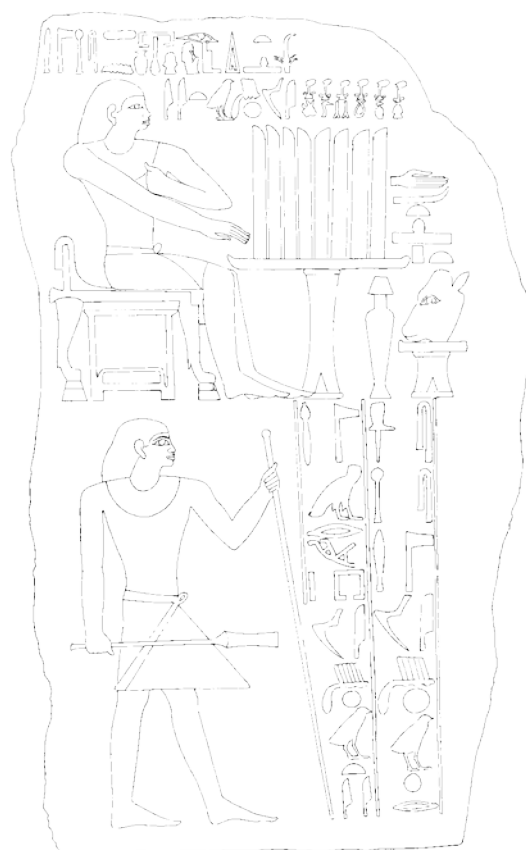
3.57. BM1061 *Hnwt*, *H VI*, fig. 30a



3.58. CG1669, *Q3r/Ppjj-nfr*, *H VI*, fig. 29a



3.59. CG1582, *K3-wd3.j*, H VI, fig. 28a



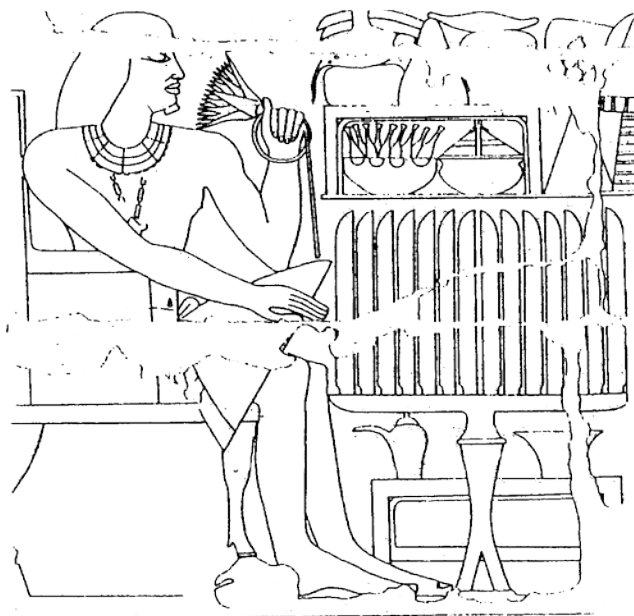
3.60. Edinburgh 1910:94, *Tjj*, H VI, fig. 26b



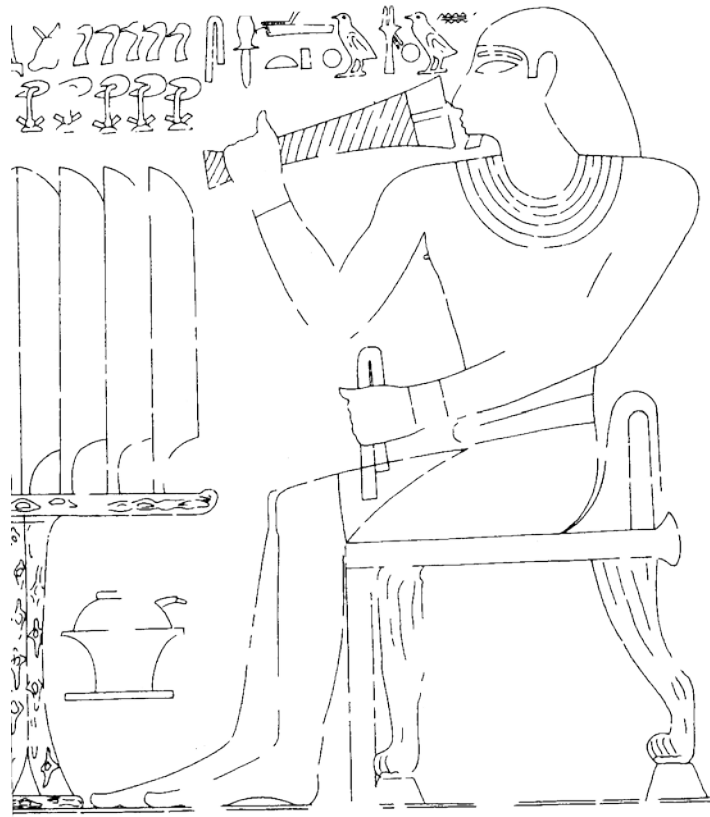
3.61. Florence 7584, *Nomarch*, ...-*Mnw*, H VII, fig. 37a



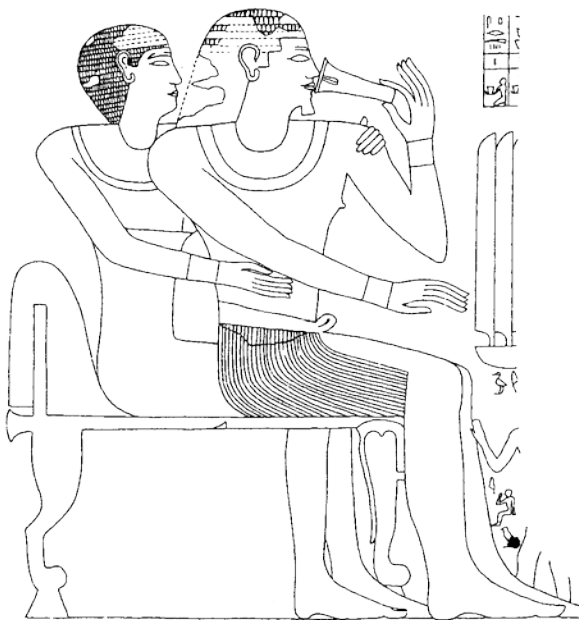
3.62. Giza: *K3-nj-nswt* II, Junker, *Giza* III, fig 20



3.63. Saqqara: *Hnmw-htp*, Moussa – Altenmüller, *Niachchnum and Chnumbotep*, Fig. 20, 25?



3.64a. Quseir el-Amarna: *Hw.n-wh*, Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 43



3.64b. Giza: *Q3r*, Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 30



3.64c. Saqqara: *Mrrw-k3.j*, Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 117

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3.65a. Giza: *K3.j*, Junker, *Giza* III, fig 15



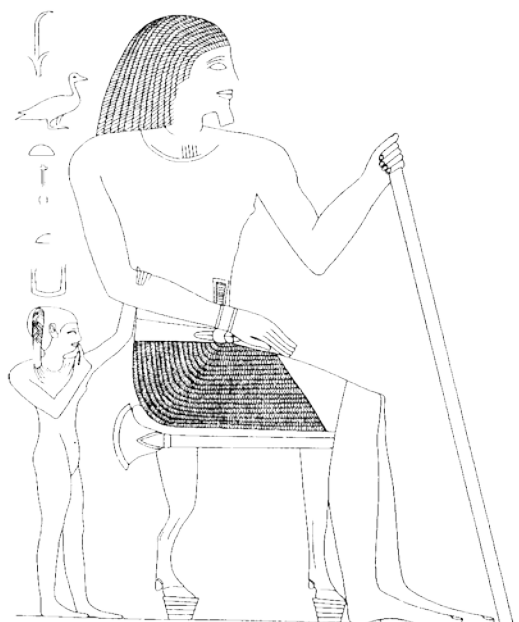
3.65b. El-Hammamiya: *K3.j-hnt* (A3) el-Khouli – Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 63



3.66a. El-Hagarsa: *ʿn-ʿnhj* (B13), Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* I, pl 37



3.66b. Giza: *Rʿ-wr*, Hassan, *Giza* 1, fig. 5



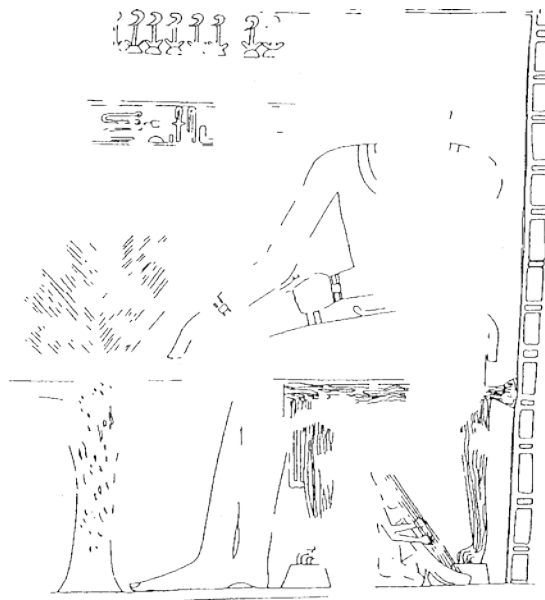
3.67. Giza: *Hwfw-H'f* I, Simpson, *Kanab*, fig 29



3.68a. Meir: *Ppjj-nh-hrj-jb*, Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. IX

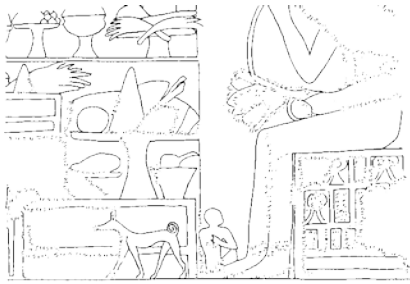


3.68b. Saqqara: *Bj3/Irrj*, Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954), fig. 1

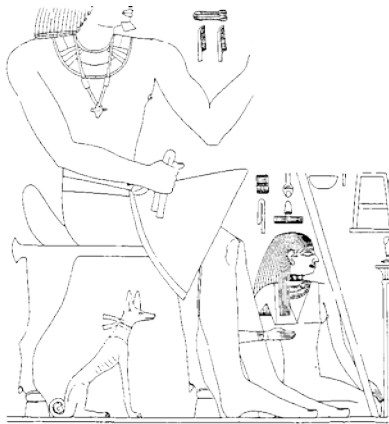


3.68c. Geheina: *Ttj-Hwj*, El-Masry, *BACE* 15 (2004) p. 101, fig. 5

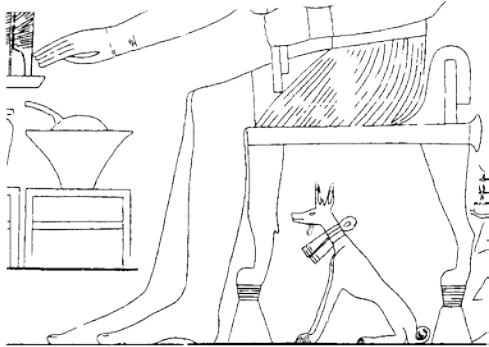
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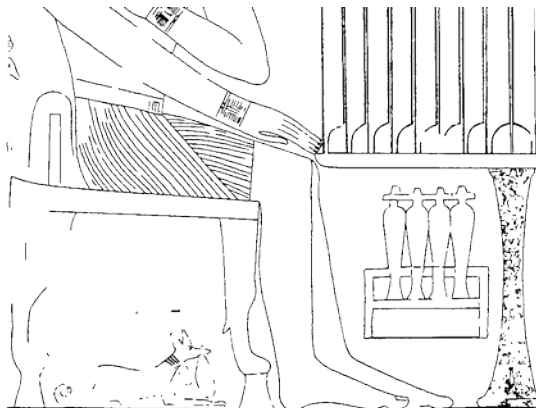
3.69. Giza: *Mrs-nh* III, Dunham – Simpson, *Meryankh* III, fig. 8



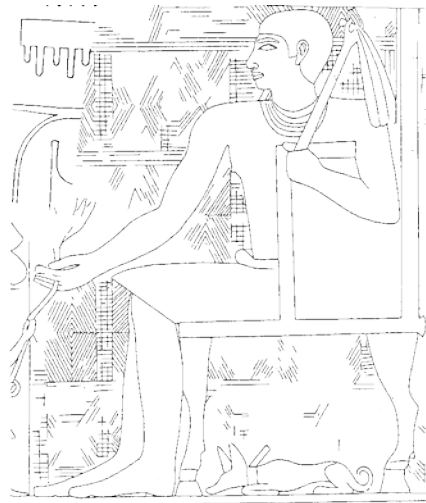
3.70. Saqqara: *Tjj*, Epron-Wild, *Ti* II, pl. 62



3.71. Meir: *Ppjj-nh-hry-jb*, Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 12



3.72. Meir: *Ppjj-nh-hry-jb*, Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 9



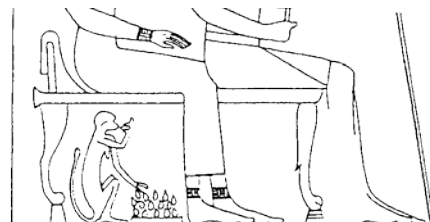
3.73. Giza: *Jsn*, Simpson, *Mastabas of W. Cem.* I, fig. 32



3.74. Saqqara: *K3-pw-Pth*, Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 91



3.75. Saqqara: *Jj-nfrt*, Kanawati – Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cem.* II, pl. 48

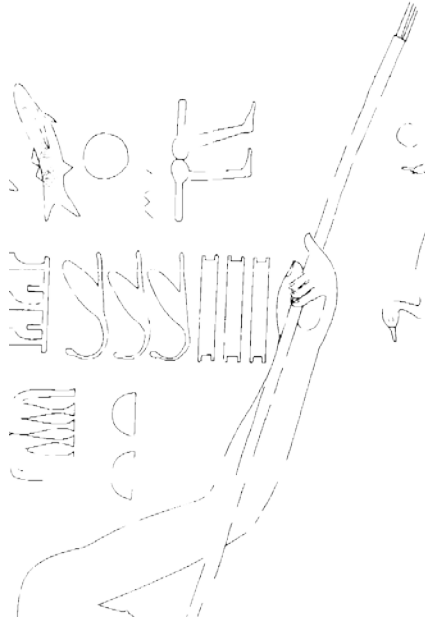


3.76. Edfu: *Q3r/Mrjje-nfr*, El-Khadragy, *SAK* 30, fig. 2



4.1a. M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, HIV, fig. 12

Early Unas



4.2a. M43, *Hm-Mnw*, HN, fig. 7, detail



4.1b. M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, HIV, fig. 12, detail

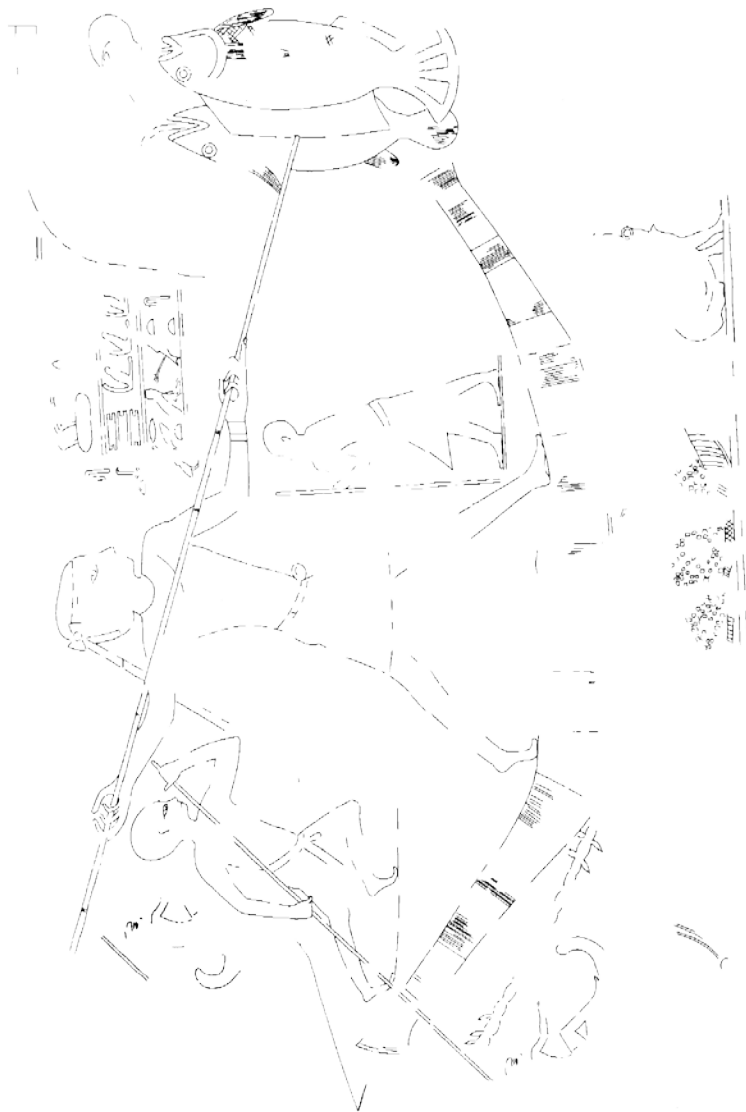
Late Djedkare



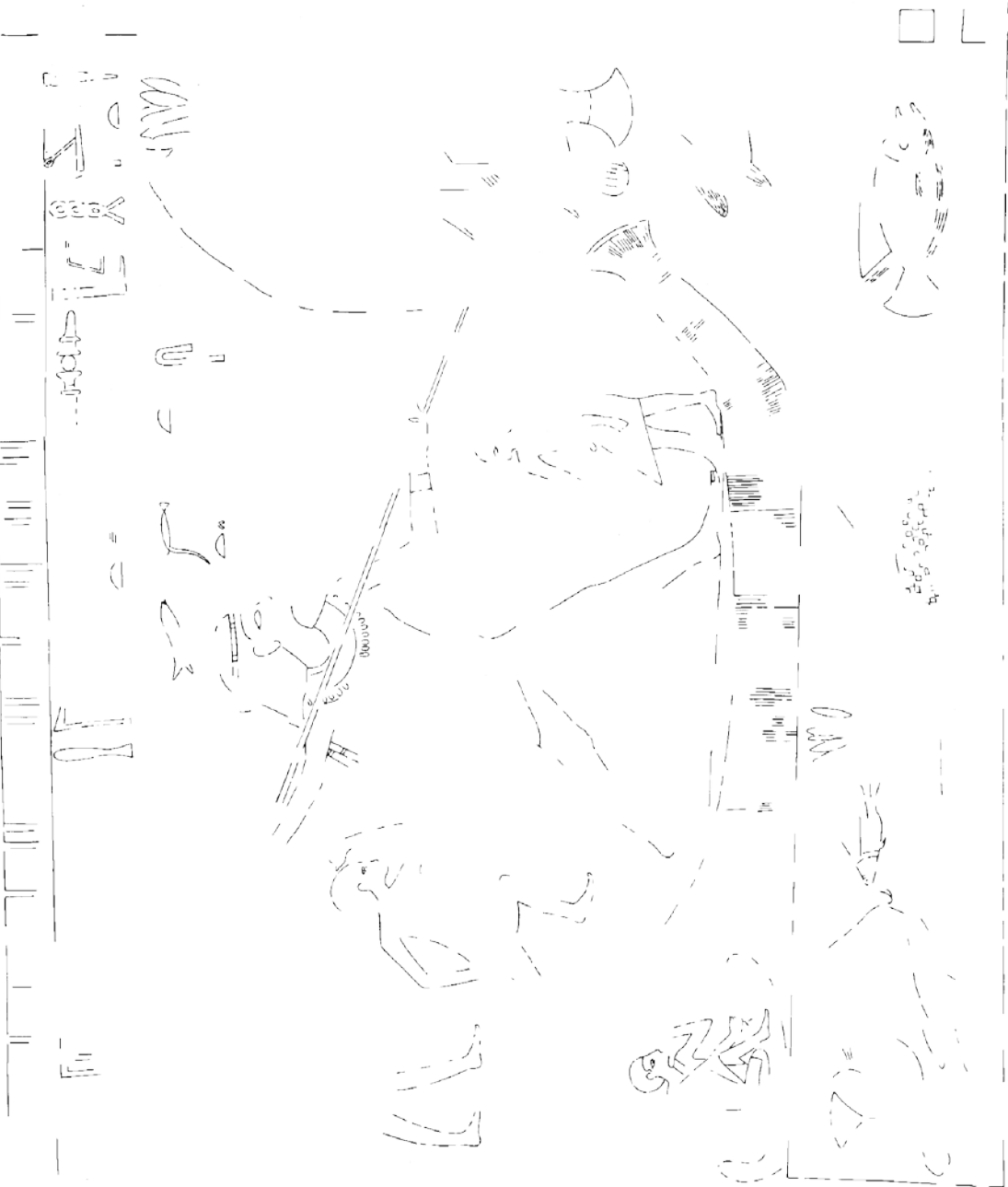
4.2b. M43, *Hm-Mnw*, FN, fig. 7



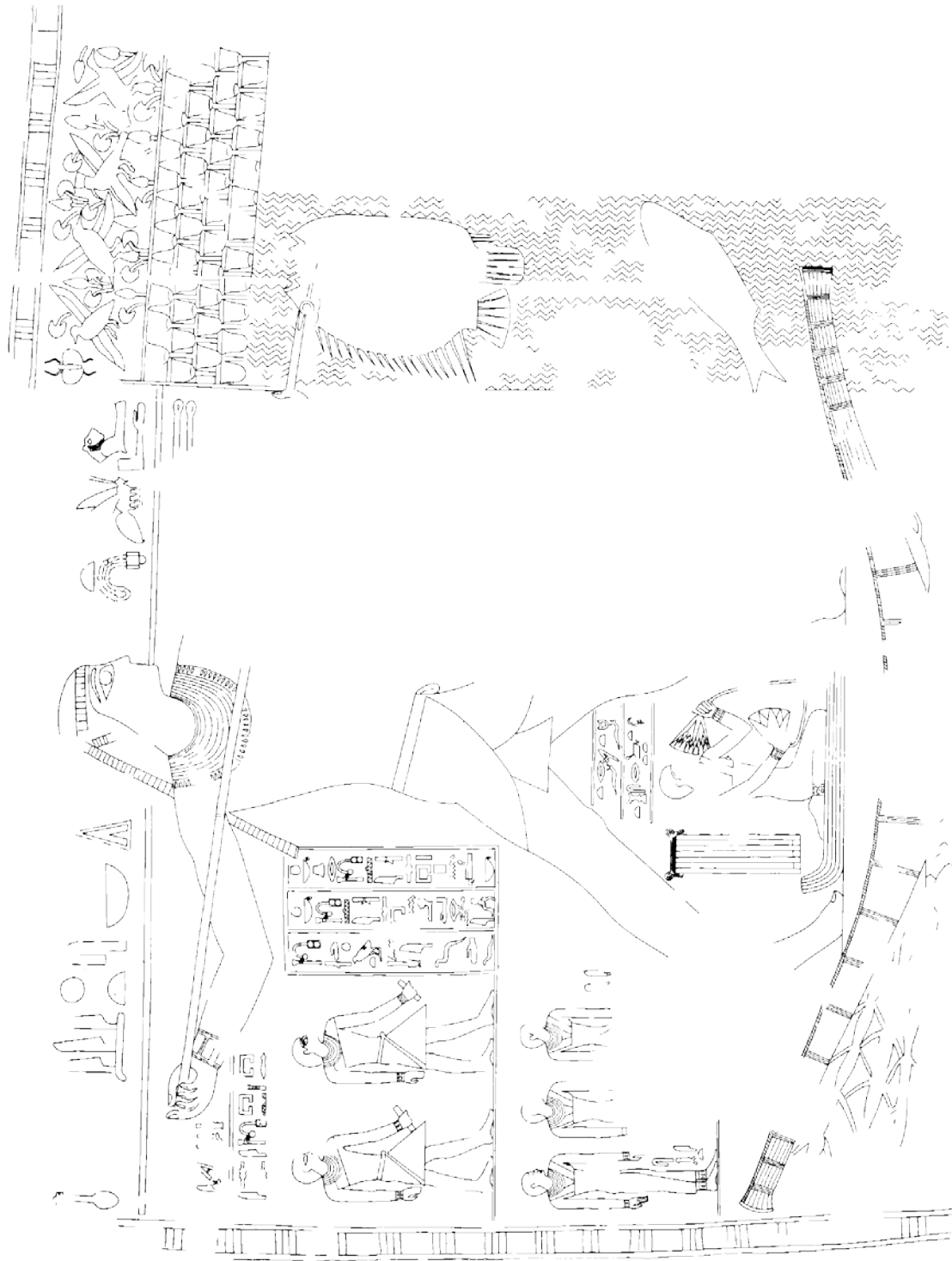
4.3. F1, *Hzzj-Mnw*, FVI, fig. 3



4.4. G126, B3wj, HIX, fig. 15

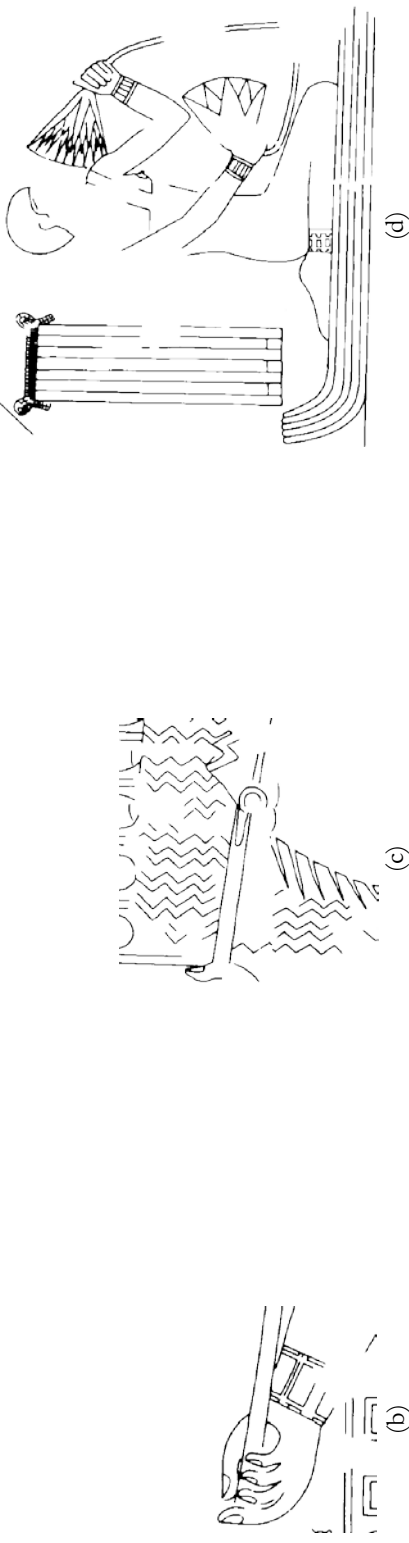


4.5. G97, Špsj-pw-Mnw?, INIII, fig. 5



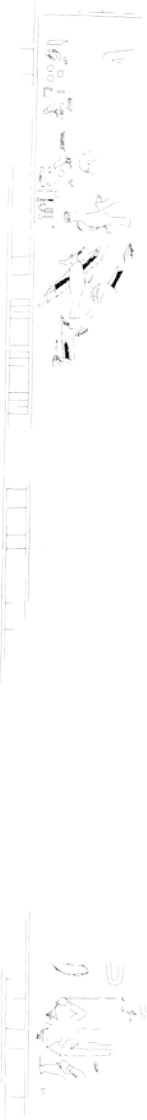
4.6a. H26, K3.j-*hp*/Tj-jkr, II, fig. 8

Mid Pepy II

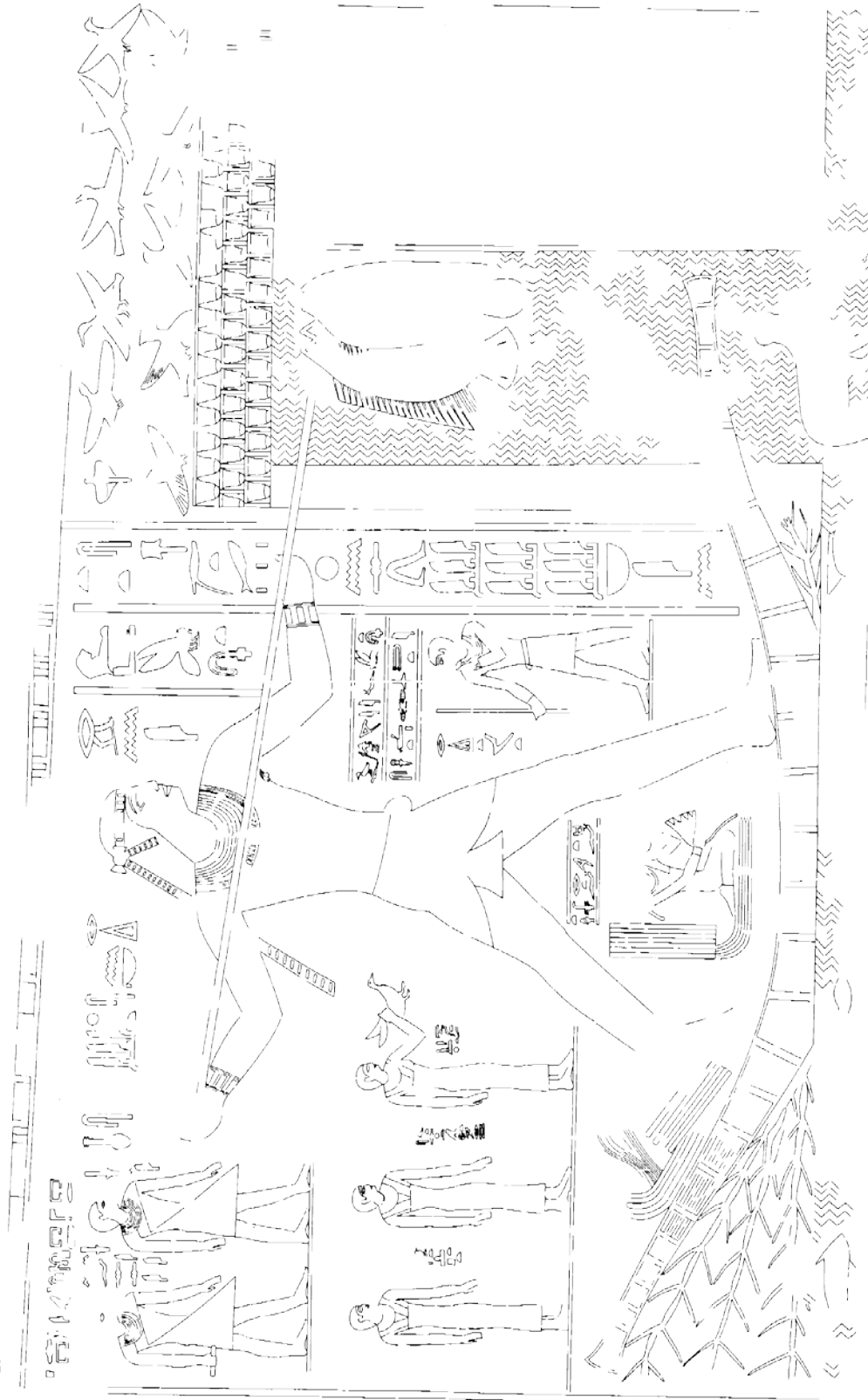


4.6b-d. H26, *K3.j-hp/Tij-jkr*, HII, fig. 8, details

Early Pepy II



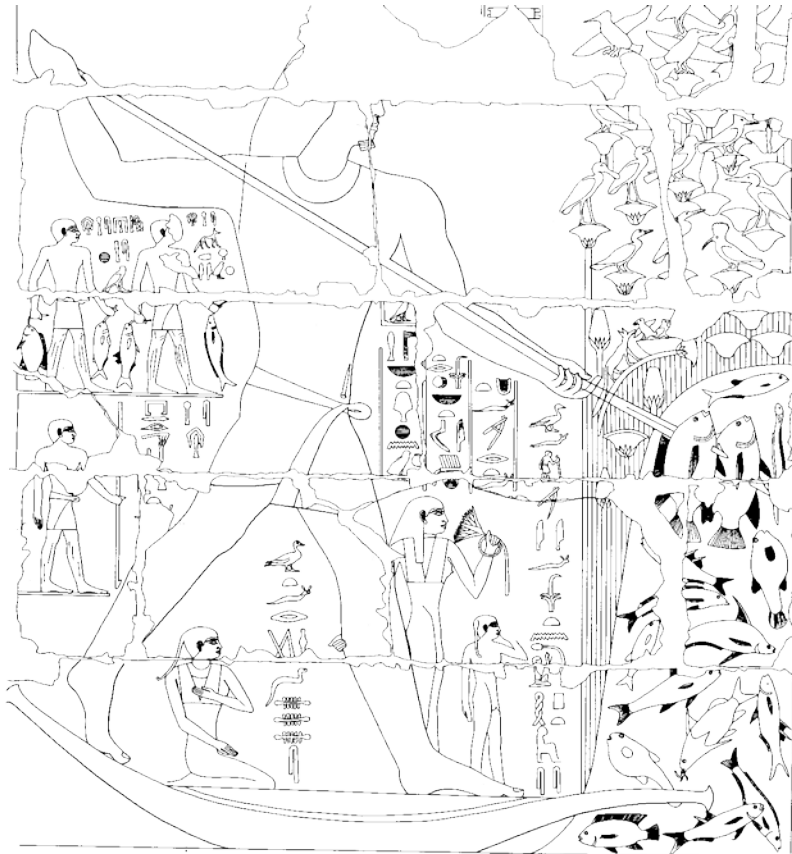
4.7. M8, *K3.j-hp/Tij*, HIII, fig. 13



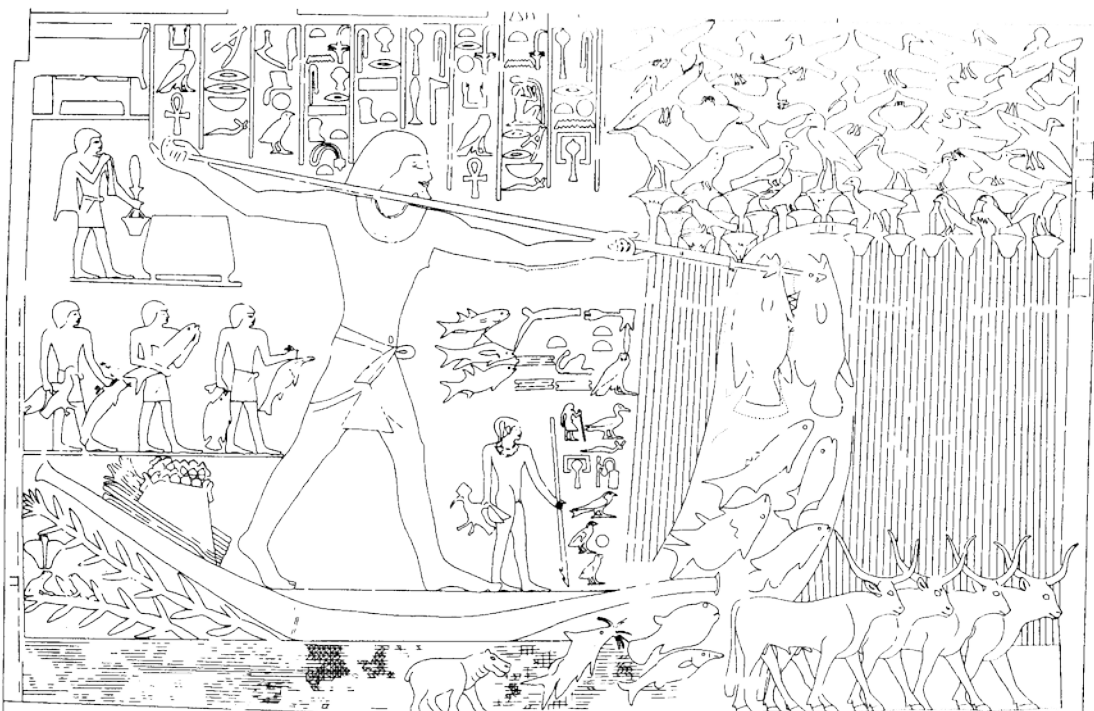
4.8. H24, Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj, III, fig 18

CHAPTER 4: THE TOMB OWNER SPEAR FISHING
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Memphite

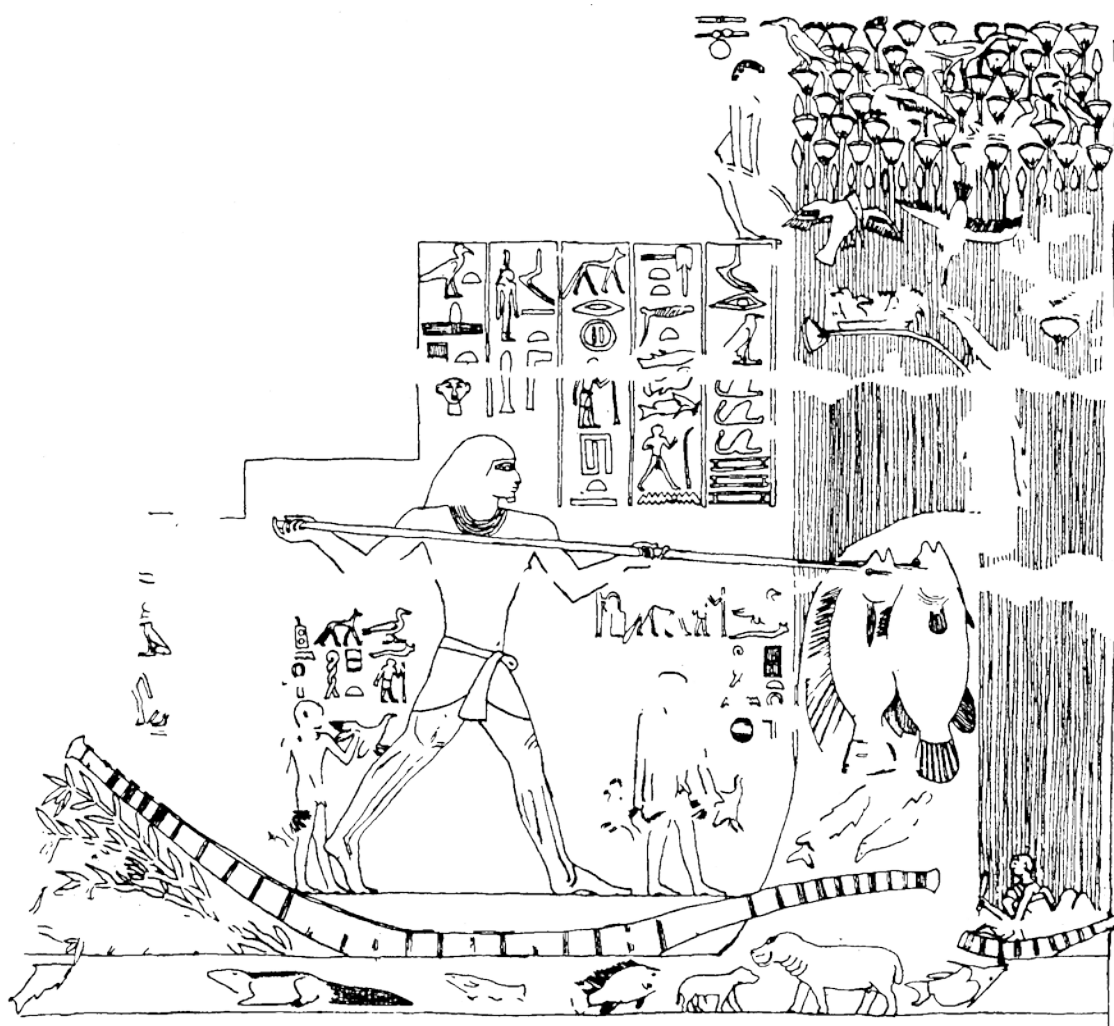


4.9. Saqqara: *Hnmw-ḥtp*, Moussa – Altenmüller, *Niancbchnum and Cbnumbotep*, fig. 5



4.10. Giza: *K3.j-m-ḥḥ*, Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza I*, pl. 31

Memphite

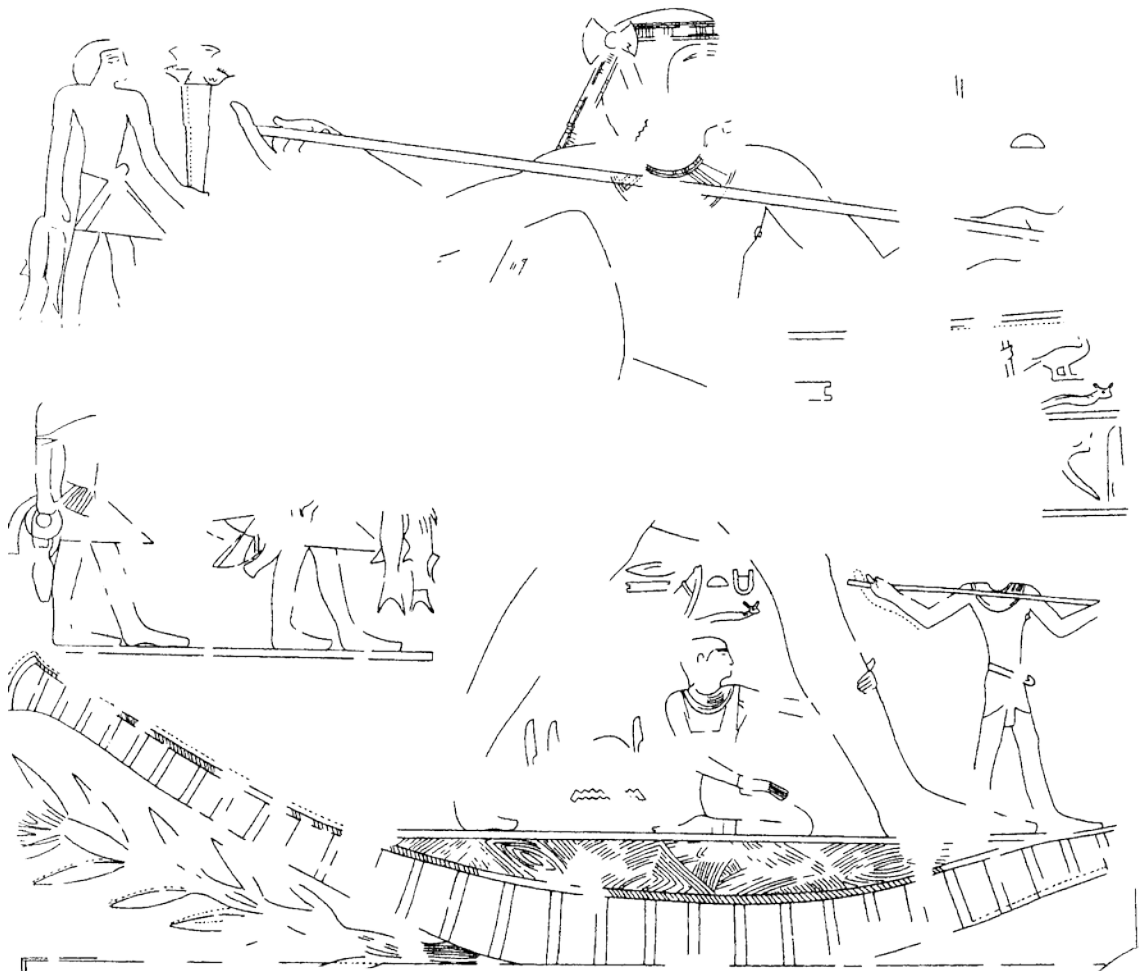


4.11. Saqqara: *Htp-ḥr-3ḥtj*, Mohr, *The Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 34

Memphite



4.12. Saqqara: *Hzzj*, Kanawati – Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery V*, pl. 54



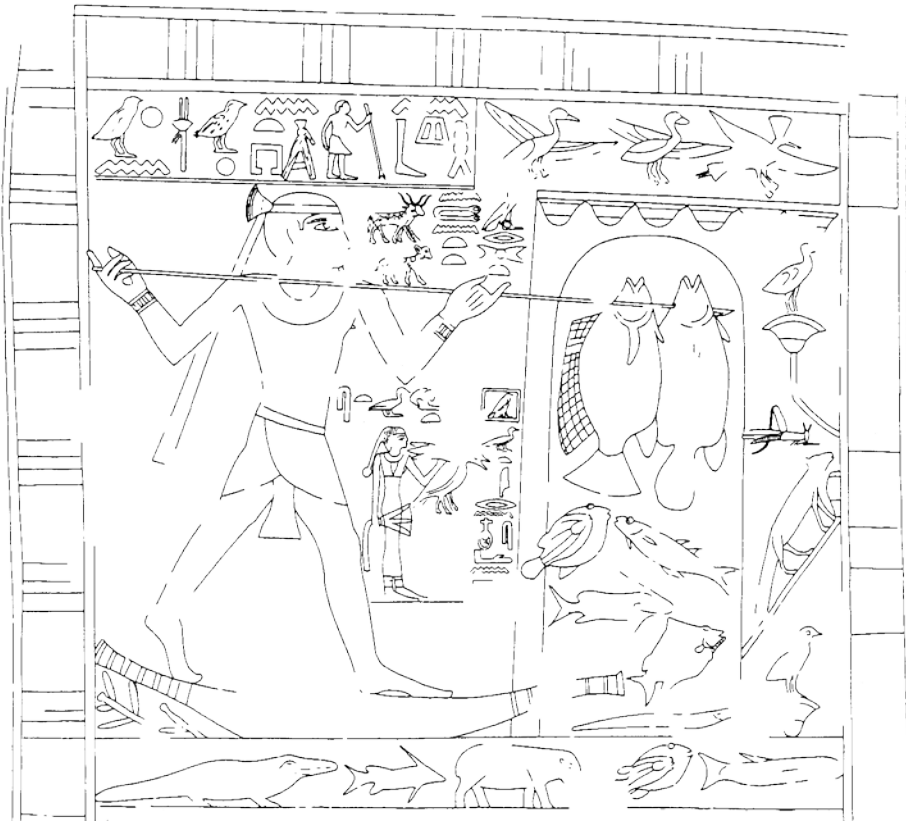
4.13. Saqqara: *Rmnj*, Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery IX*, pl. 46



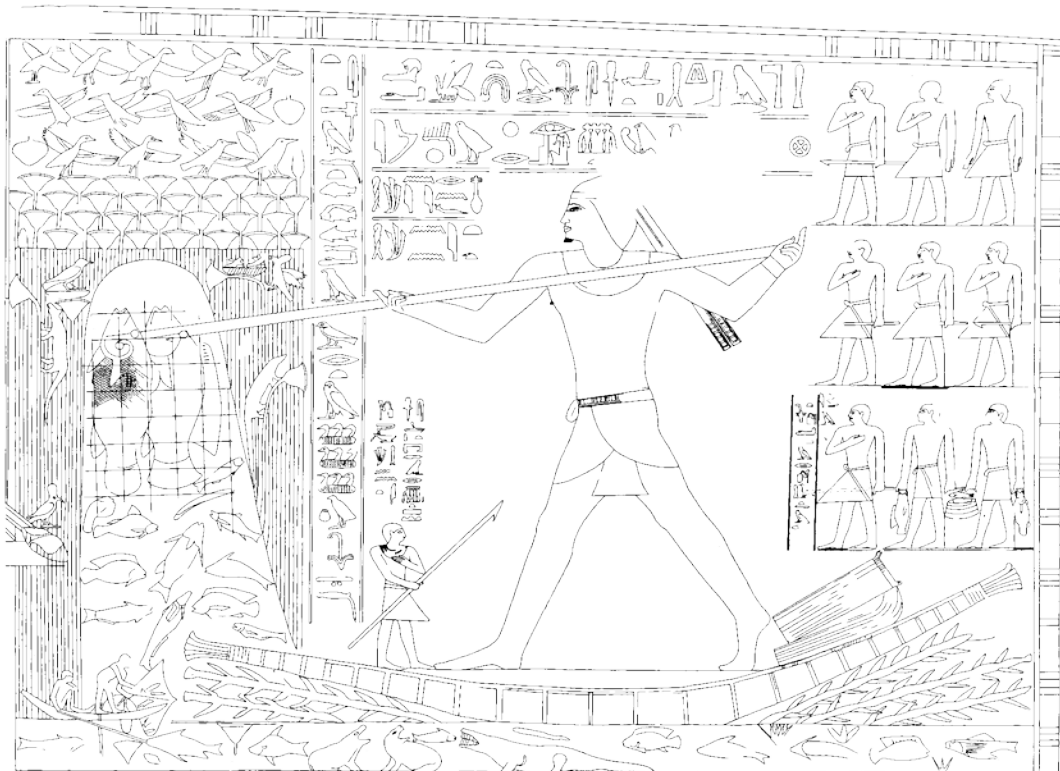
4.14. Saqqara: *Nj-ḥh-Hmmw*, Moussa – Altenmüller, *Nianubchum and Chnumhotep*, pl. 74

CHAPTER 4: THE TOMB OWNER SPEAR FISHING
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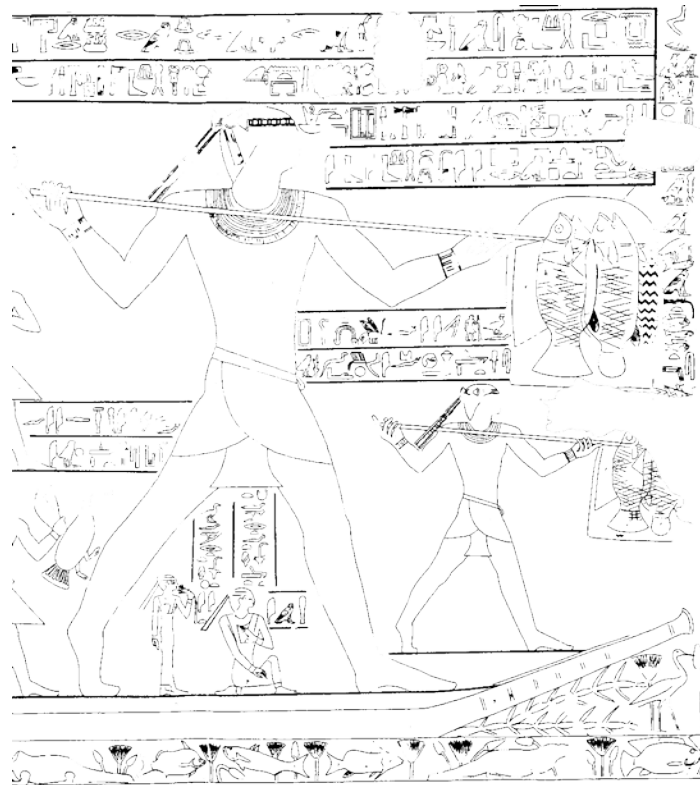


4.15. Quseir el-Amarna: *Hw.n.wh*, El-Khouli – Kanawati, *Quseir*, pls. 1, 38

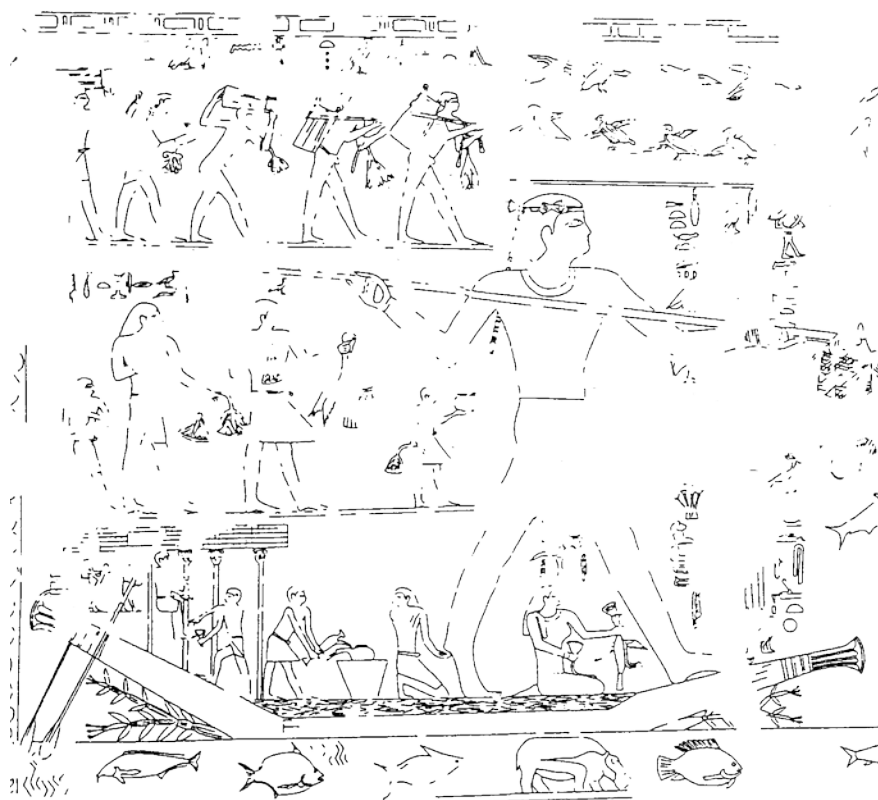


4.16. Meir: *Ppi-nh/Hnjj-km*, Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 24

Provincial

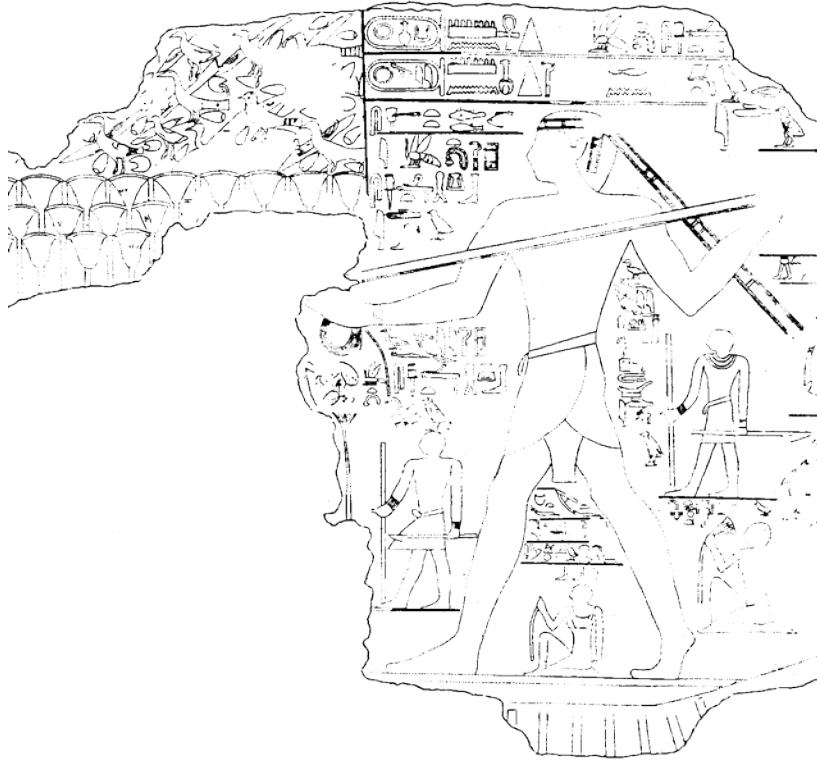


4.17. Deir el-Gebrawi: *Jbj*, Davies, *Gebrawi I*, pl. 3

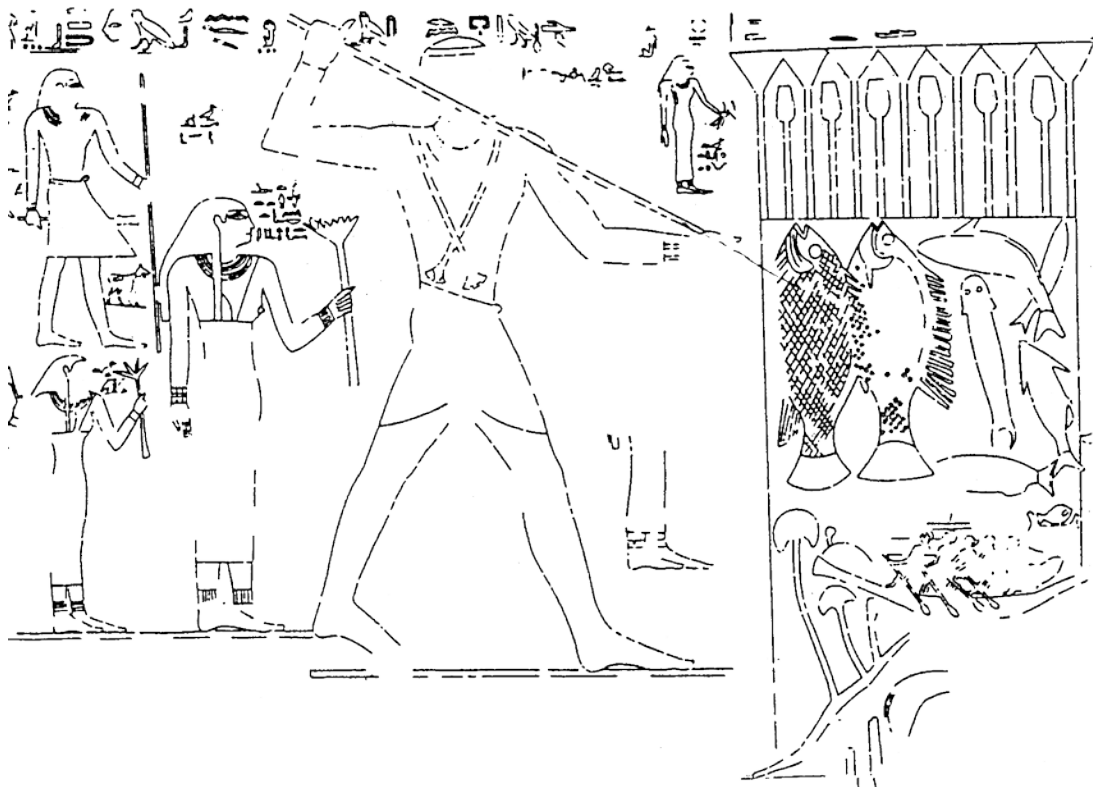


4.18. Geheina: *Ttj-ikr/Hwj*, El-Masry, *BACE* 15 (2004), fig. 2

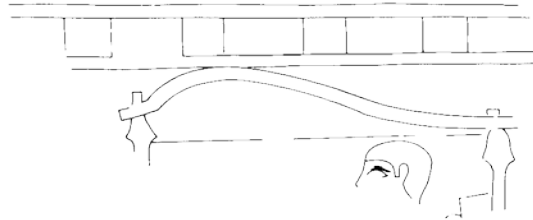
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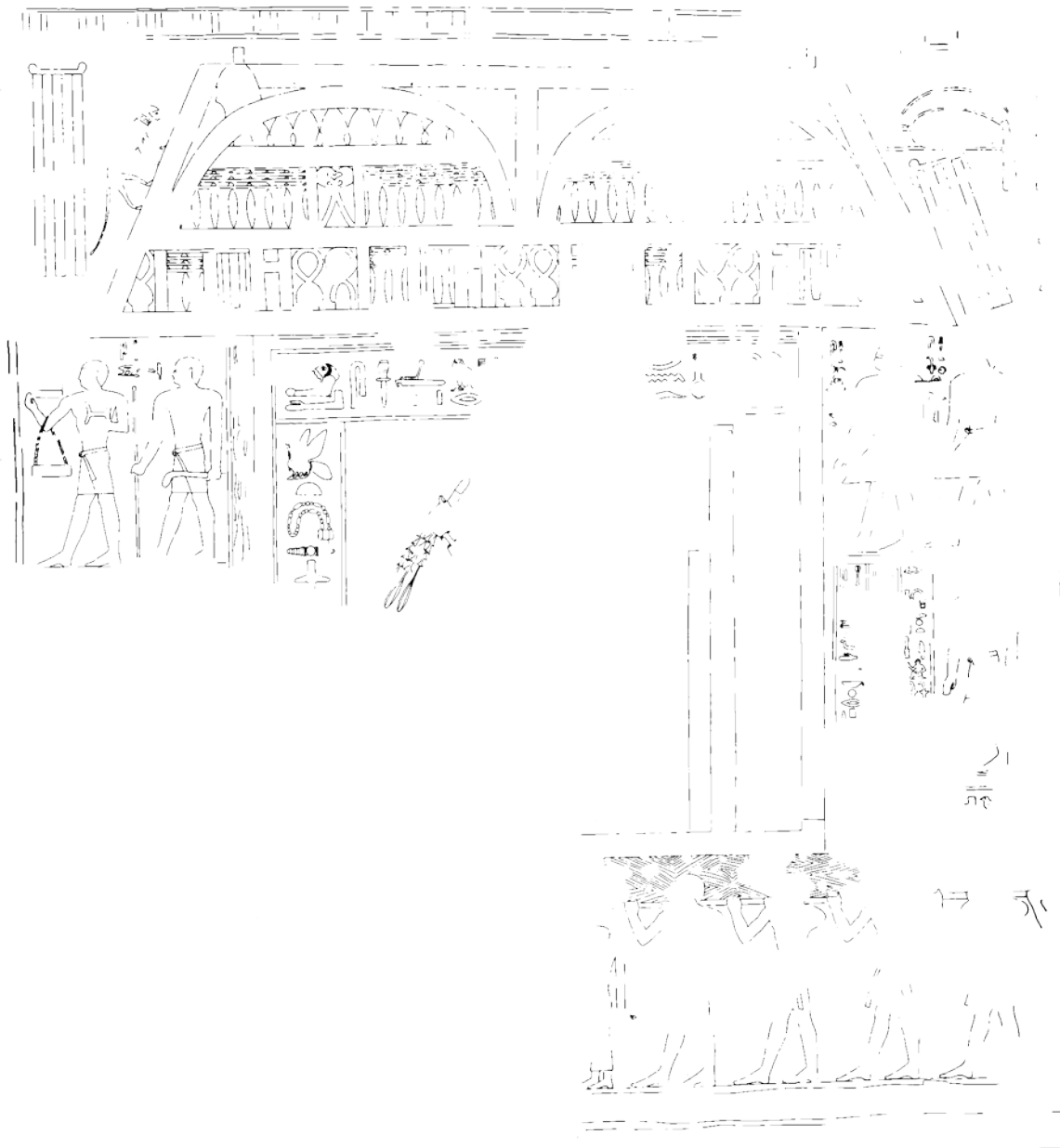
4.19. Dendera: *Tdw I*, Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 5



4.20. El-Hagarsa: *W3hj*, Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa III*, pl. 28



5.1. CA1, *B3wj*, HVIII, fig 6

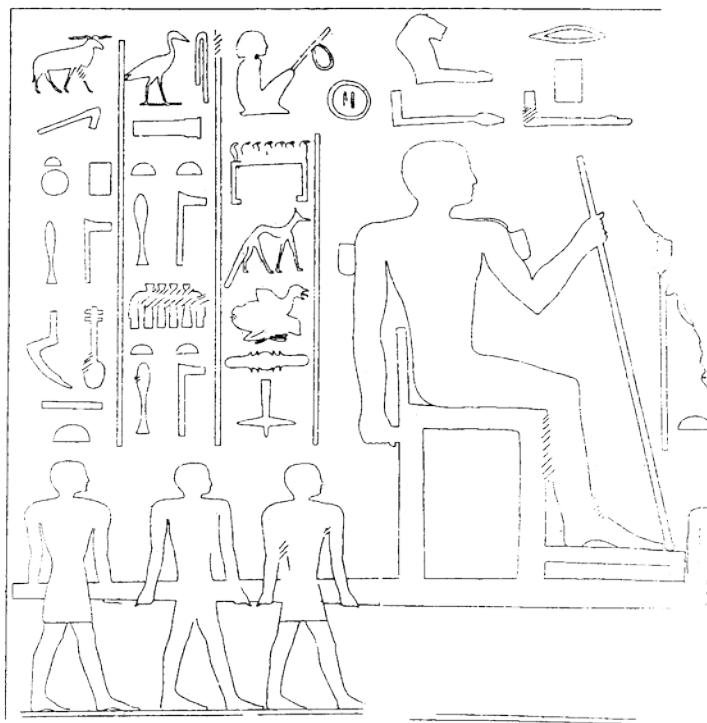


5.2. H26, *K3j-ḥp/Ttj-jqr*, HI, fig. 13

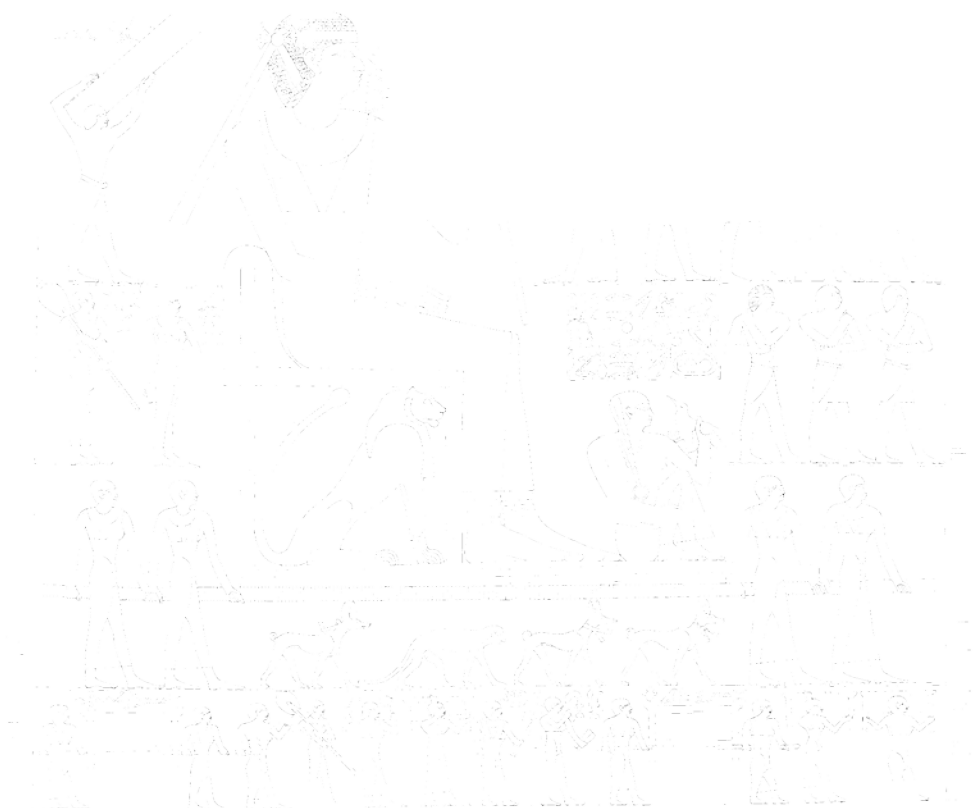


5.3. H24, *Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj*, III, fig. 21

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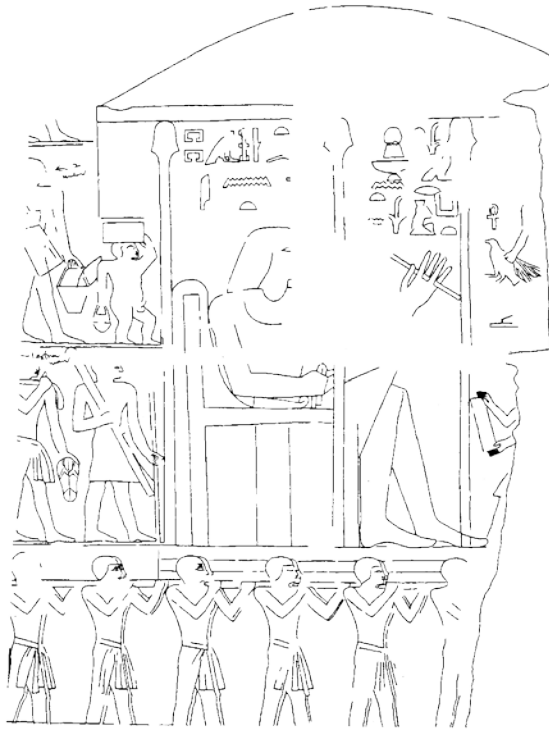


5.4. Meidum: *Nfr-m3ʿt*, Harpur, *Maidum*, fig. 77

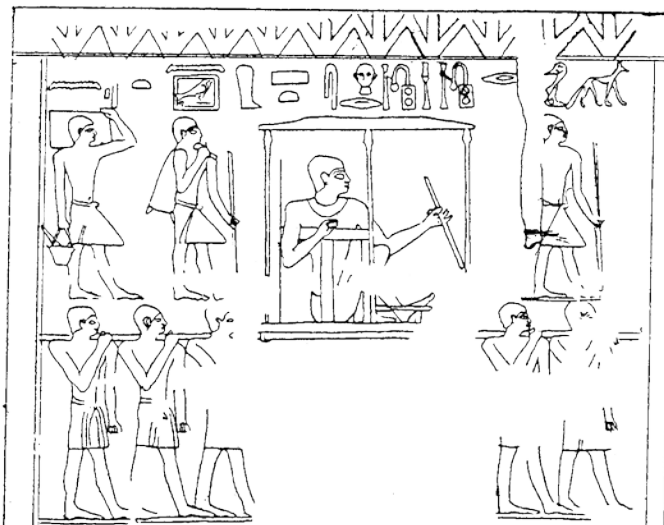


5.5. Saqqara: *Wʿtt-ht-hr/Sššt*, Kanawati–Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and his Family II*, pl. 69

Memphite

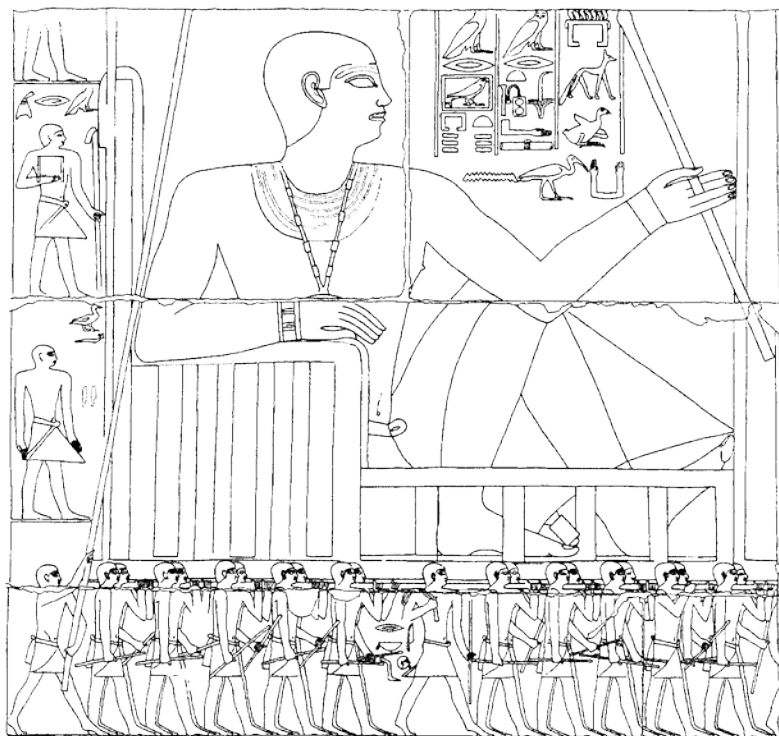


5.6. Giza: *Hnmntj*, Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex*, pl. 86



5.7. Giza: *Jtj-sn*, Hassan, *Giza V*, fig. 122

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5.8. Saqqara: *K3.j-gm-nj*, Harpur – Scremin, *Kagemni*, fig. 17



5.9. Saqqara: *Mrjj- Tlj*, Kanawati – Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and his Family I*, pl. 47

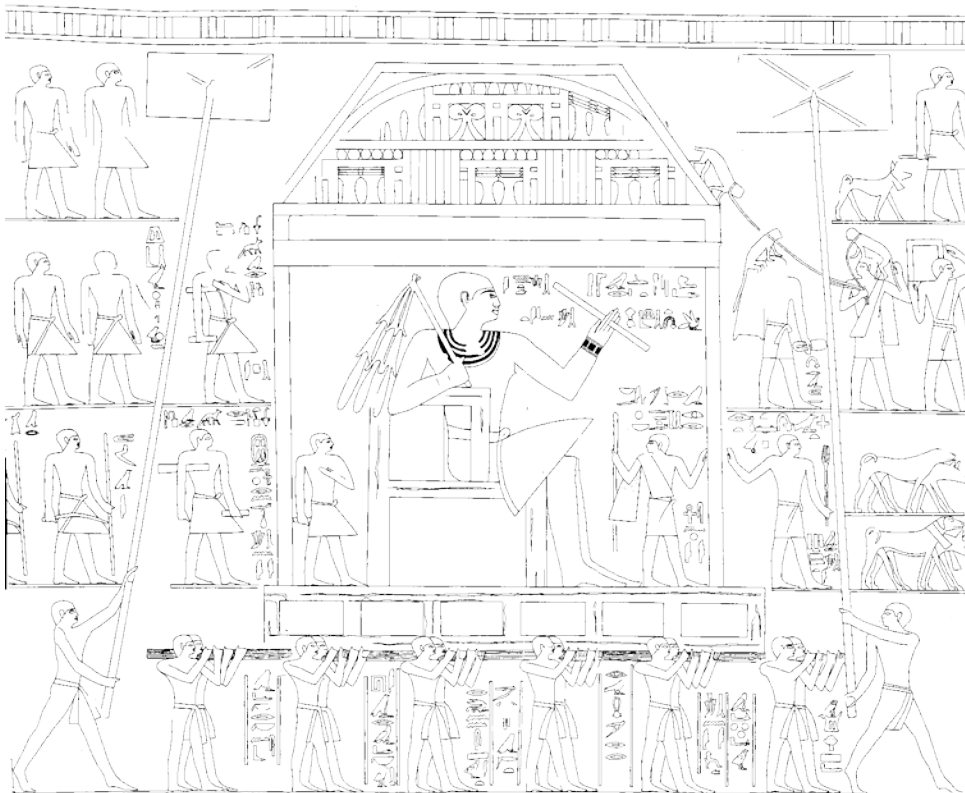
CHAPTER 5: THE TOMB OWNER TRAVELLING IN A PALANQUIN
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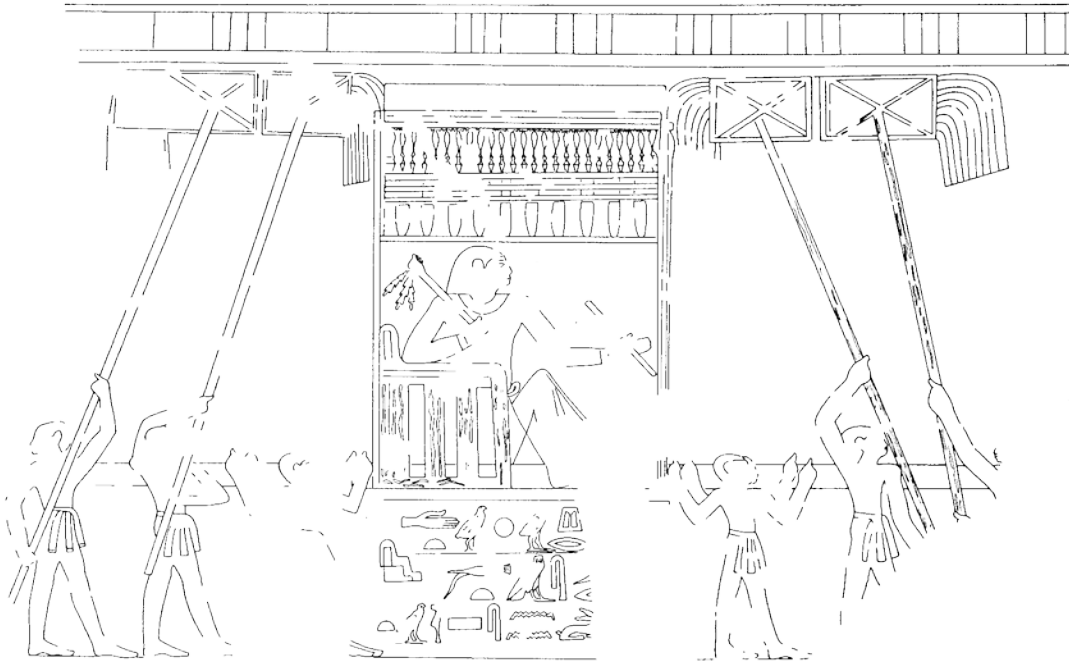
5.10. Saqqara: *Jpj*, *Cairo Museum Catalogue*, pl. 62b

Provincial

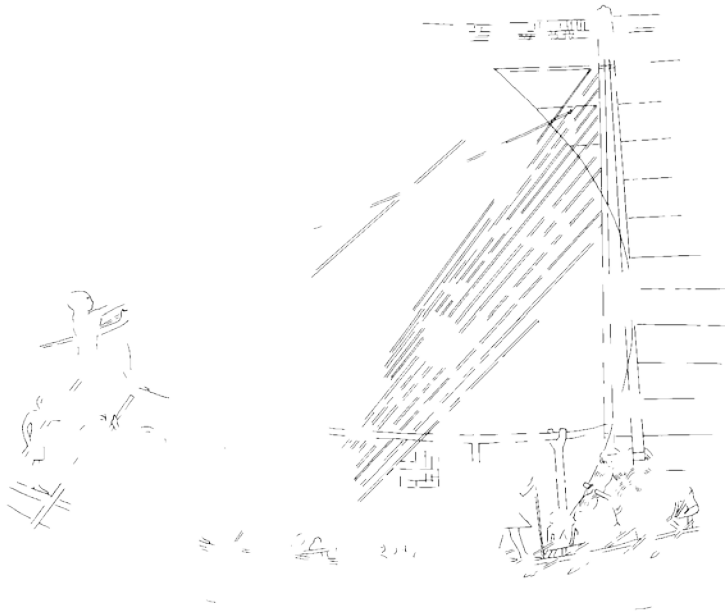


5.11. Meir: *Ppjj-nh/Hnjj-km*, Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 31

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5.12. Deir el-Gebrawi: *D̥w*, after Davies, *Gebrāwī* II, pl. 8



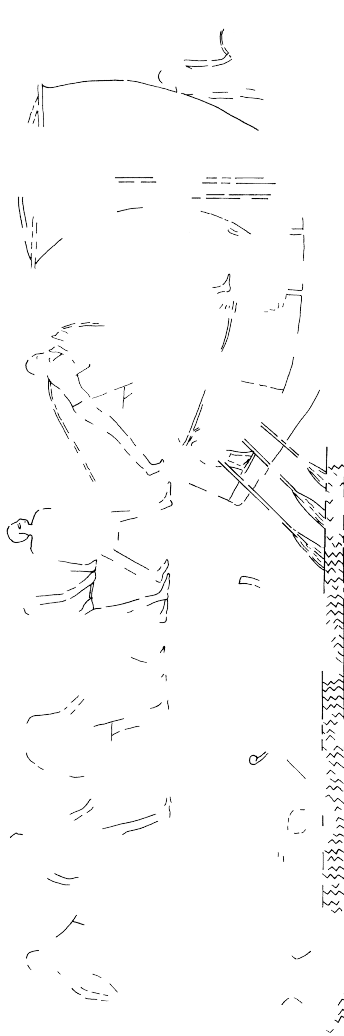
6.1a. M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, HIV, fig 17



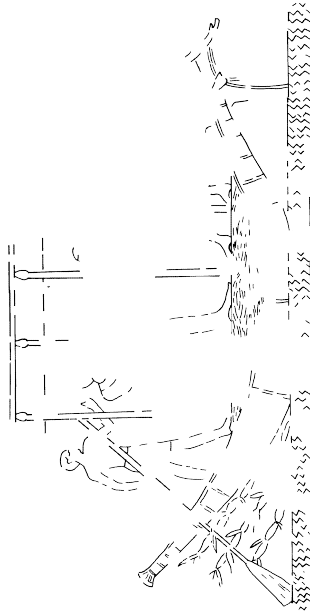
6.1b. M22, *Hzzj-Mnw*, HIV, fig 17, detail



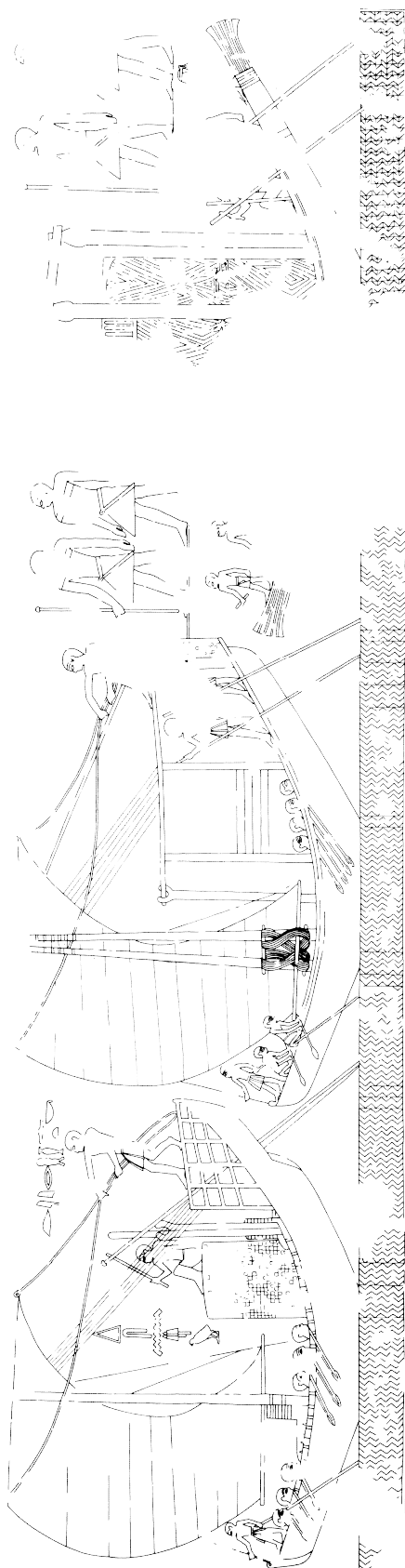
6.2. F12, *Mrrw.*, HIX, fig 8a



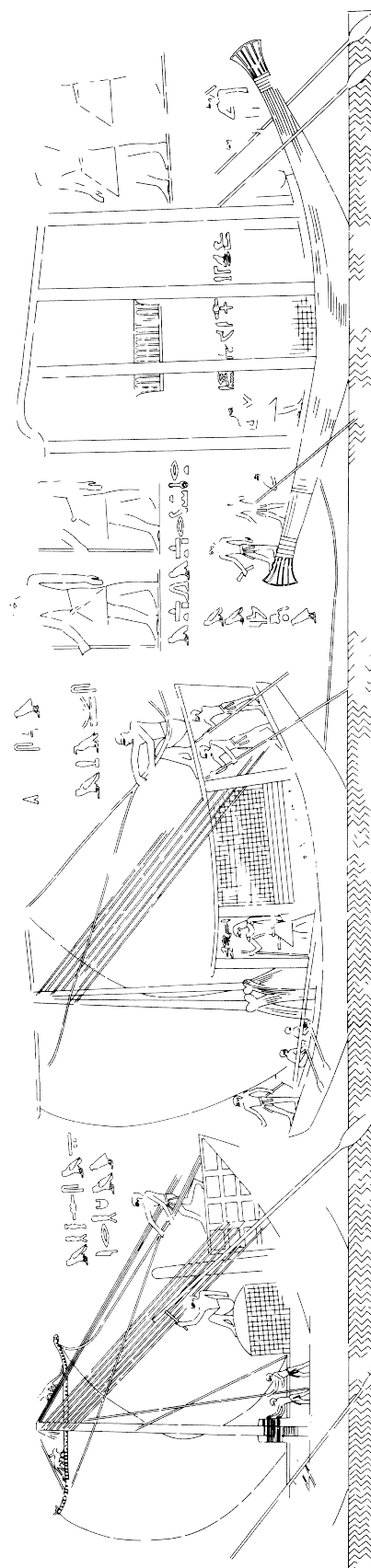
6.3. G42, *Hzzj-Mnw*, HVII, fig. 3c



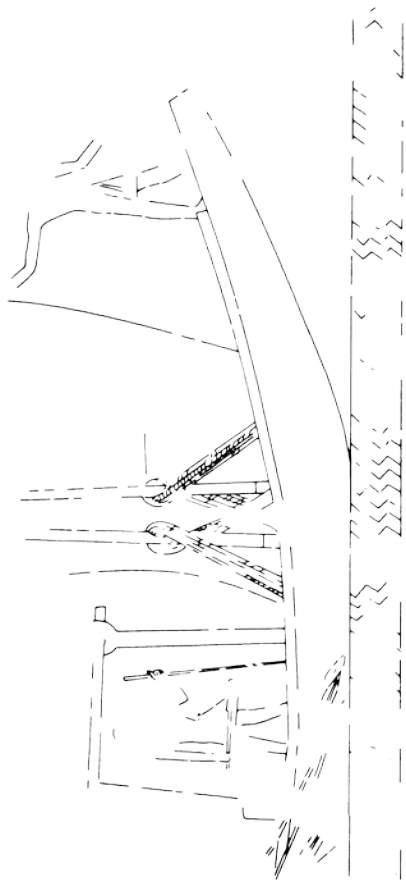
6.4. BA48, *Bšwj*, HVII, fig. 25



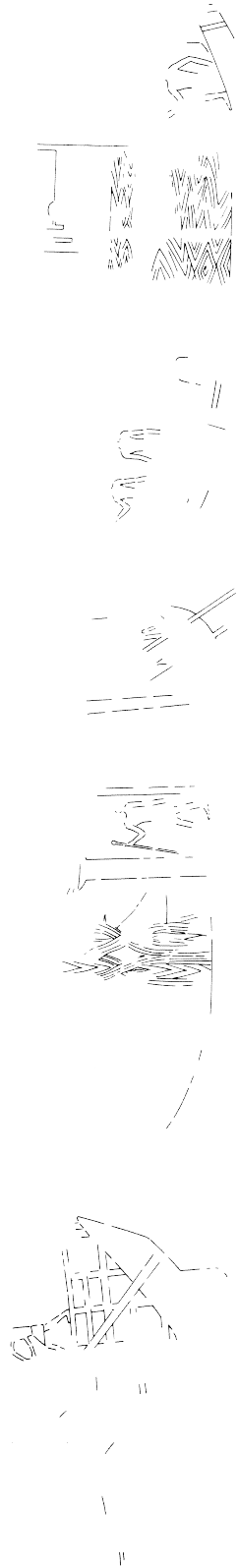
6.5. H26, *K3-hp/Tij-jqr*, HII, fig 9



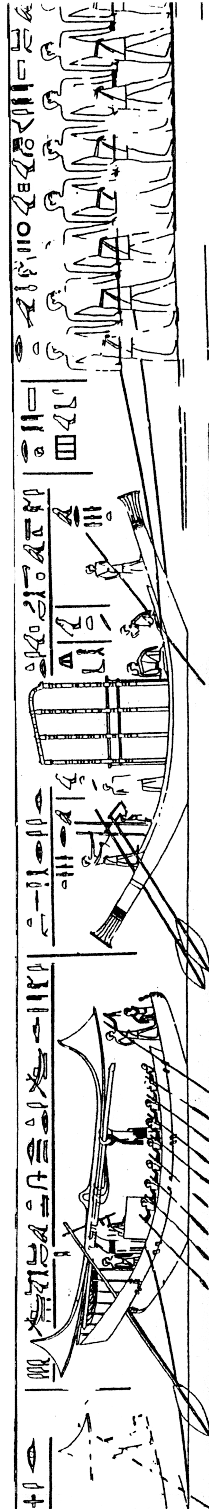
6.6. H24, *Hnj/Špsj-pw-Mmw*, HII, fig 19



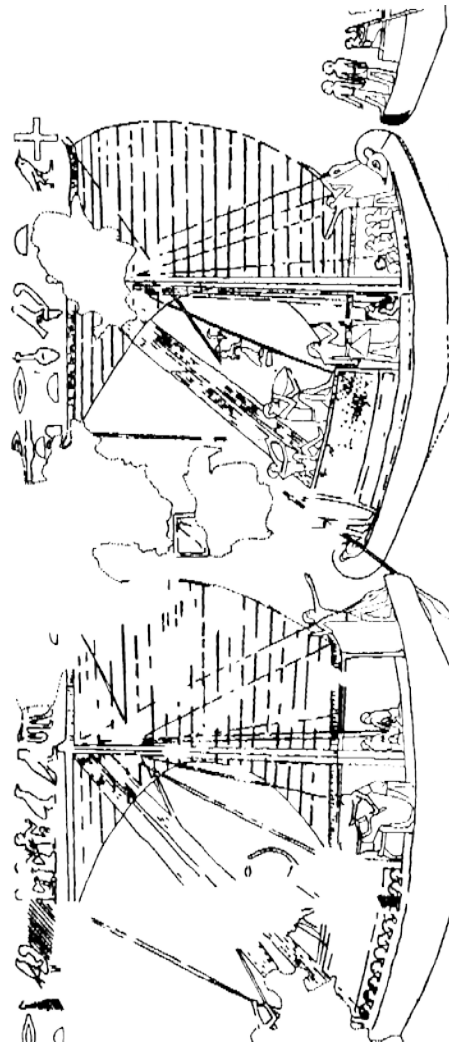
6.7. GA11, *Ghs*3, *HN*II, fig. 30



6.8. H41, *Tj*-5, *HN*III, fig. 12

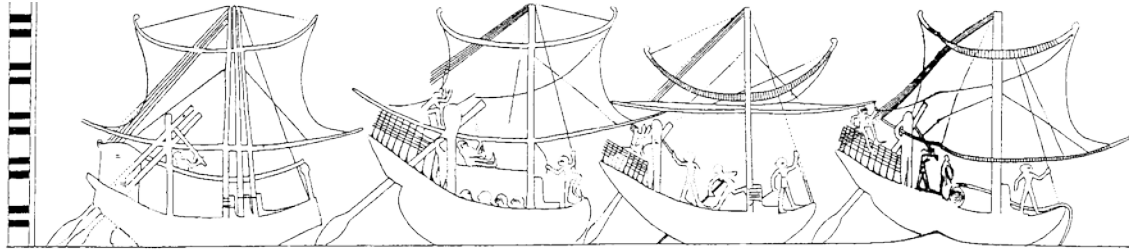


6.9. Meir: *Ppjj-ʿnh/Hnjj-kn*, Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 42

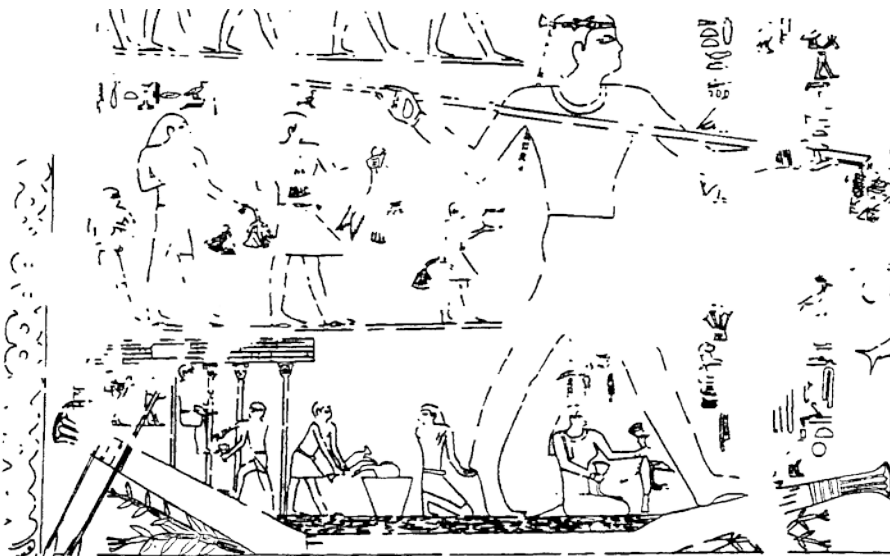


6.10. Meir: *Ppjj-ʿnh-hrj-jb*, Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 16

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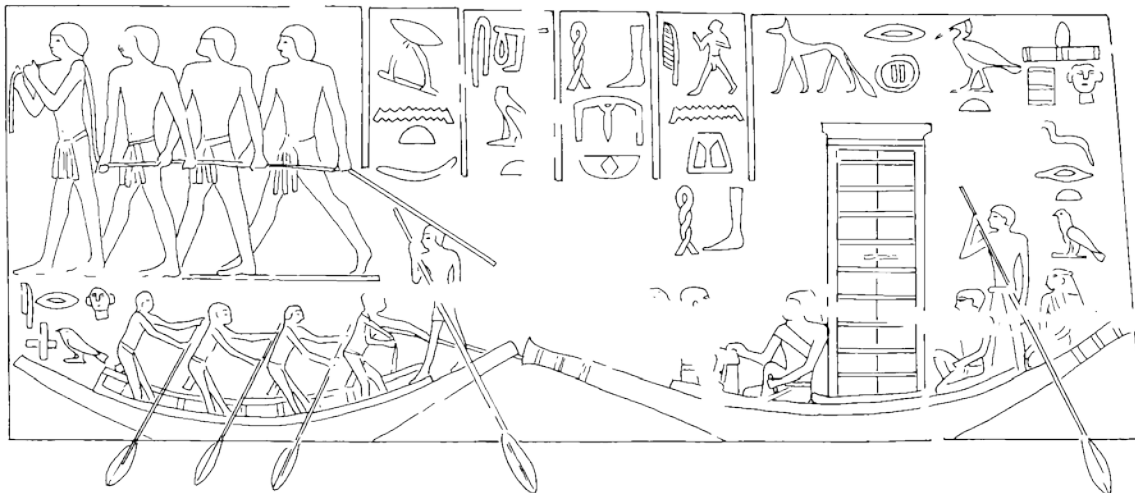


6.11. Deir el Gebrawi: *D^cw*, Davies, *Gebrâvi* II, pl. 7



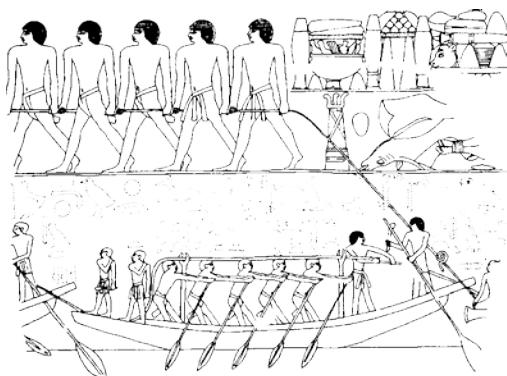
6.12. Geheina: *Ttj-jkr/Hwj*, El-Masry, *BACE* 15 (2004), fig. 2

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6.13. Saqqara: *Htp-hr-3 htj*, after Mohr, *Hetep-ber-akhti*, fig. 2

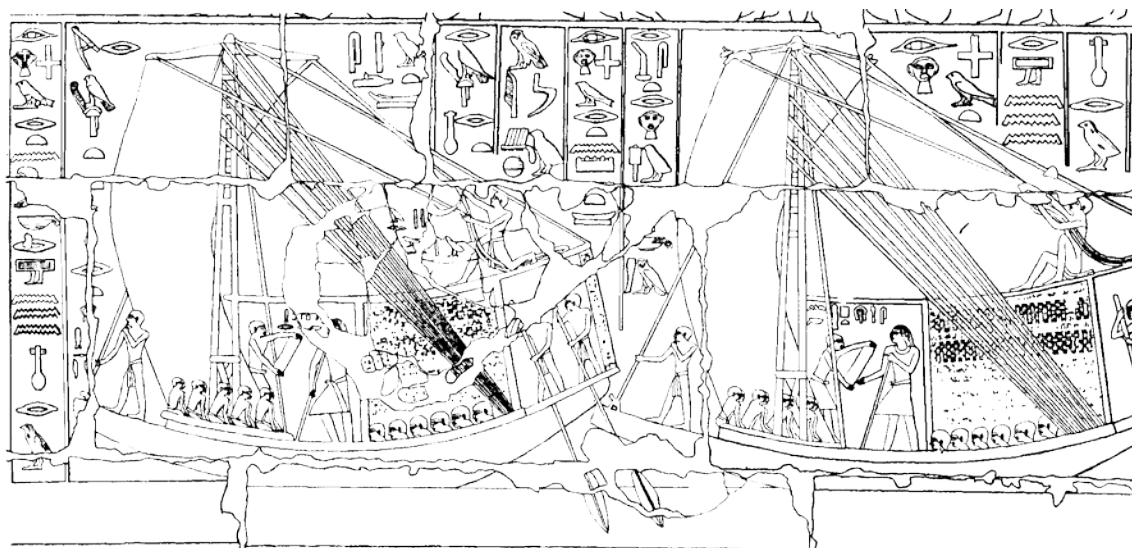
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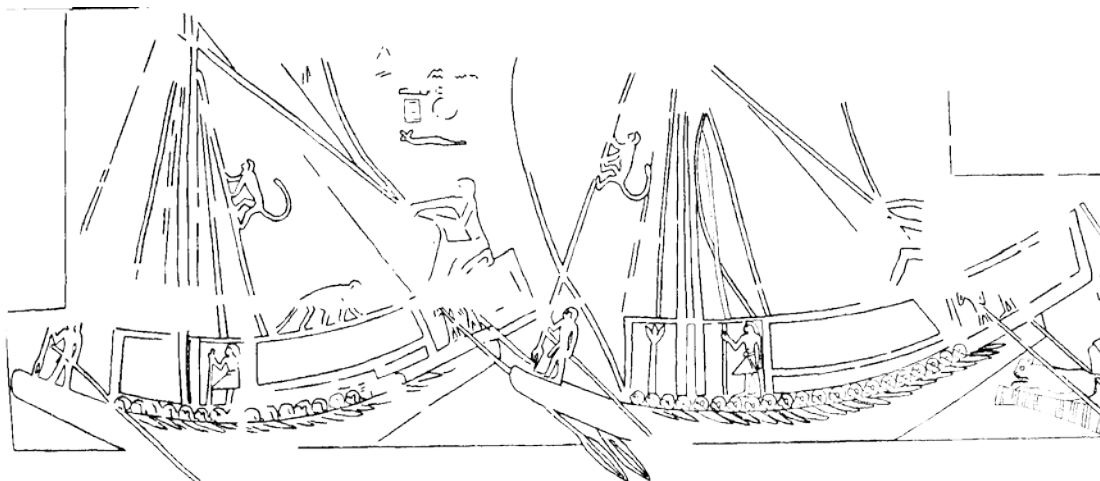
6.14. Saqqara: *Jhjj/Jdwt*, Kanawati – Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery II*, pl. 56



6.15. S. Abusir: *Ftk-*t**, Verner, *MDAIK 50* (1994), pl. 496

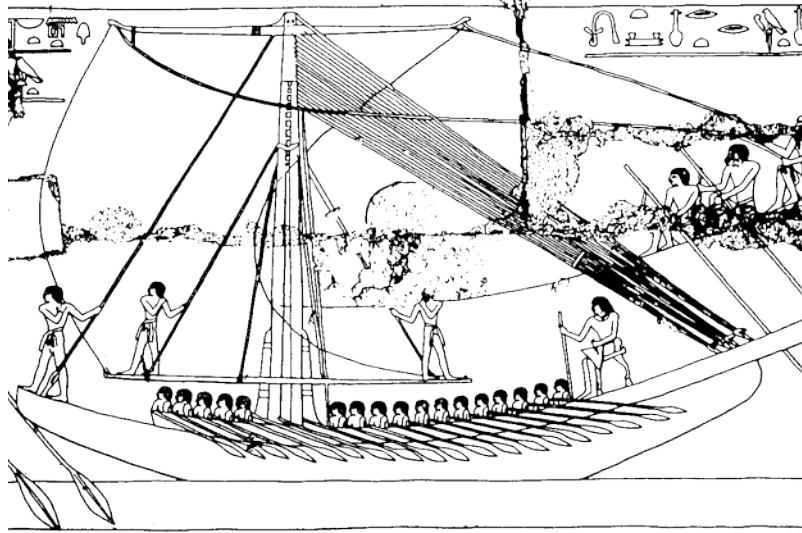


6.16. Saqqara: *Nj-*nh*-hnmw*, Moussa – Altenmüller, *Nianchebnum*, fig.9



6.17. Saqqara: *Hsj*, Kanawati – Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery V*, pl. 56

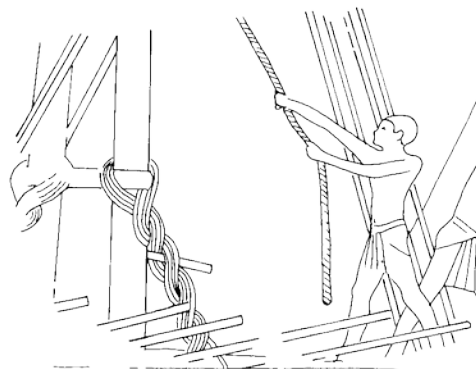
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6.18. Saqqara: *Mrr:w-k3.j*, Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl. 142



6.19. Saqqara: block from Unis Causeway, after Hassan, *ZÄS* (1955) 80, 139



6.20. MMA22.1.13, after Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, p. 111



6.21. Maidum: *R^c-htp*, Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat*, fig 94