

# EGYPTIAN CULTURE AND SOCIETY

## STUDIES IN HONOUR OF NAGUIB KANAWATI



Preface by

ZAHİ HAWASS

Edited by

ALEXANDRA WOODS  
ANN MCFARLANE  
SUSANNE BINDER



VOLUME II

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## STUDIES IN HONOUR OF NAGUIB KANAWATI

SUPPLÉMENT AUX ANNALES DU SERVICE  
DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

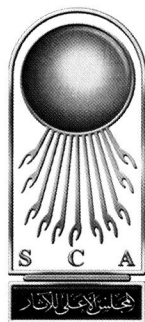
CAHIER N° 38

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PUBLICATIONS DU CONSEIL SUPRÊME DES  
ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE



**Graphic Designer:**  
Anna-Latifa Mourad.

**Director of Printing:**  
Amal Safwat.

**Front Cover:** Tomb of Remni.  
**Opposite:** Saqqara season, 2005.  
**Photos:** Effy Alexakis.

(CASAE 38) 2010  
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Dar al Kuttub Registration No. 2874/2010

ISBN: 978-977-479-845-6

IMPRIMERIE DU CONSEIL SUPRÊME DES ANTIQUITÉS

The abbreviations employed in this work follow those in B. Mathieu, *Abréviations des périodiques et collections en usage à l'IFAO* (4<sup>th</sup> ed., Cairo, 2003) and G. Müller, H. Balz and G. Krause (eds), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol 26: S. M. Schwertner, *Abkürzungsverzeichnis* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Berlin - New York, 1994).





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Presented to

NAGUIB KANAWATI AM FAHA

*Professor, Macquarie University, Sydney*  
*Member of the Order of Australia*  
*Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities*

by his  
Colleagues, Friends, and Students



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ANN MCFARLANE

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# THE TRANSPORTATION OF FUNERARY FURNITURE IN OLD KINGDOM TOMB SCENES

Miral Lashien  
Supreme Council of Antiquities

*The extent to which Old Kingdom tomb scenes should be regarded as a record of past experiences or depictions of future events is a controversial issue and one that is consistently debated in the literature. This paper examines the representations of the funerary procession and aims to determine if the scene is a depiction of the transportation of the funerary furniture to the tomb during its construction in the owners' lifetime or if the scene shows the owners' actual funeral that has yet to occur. The interpretation of the funerary procession is fundamental to our understanding of Egyptian art of the Old Kingdom period.*

I have worked with Naguib Kanawati for the last two years, first as an accompanying Inspector of Antiquities in his excavations at Saqqara, then as an assistant at Saqqara, Meir and Beni Hassan. I have known him to be a dedicated scholar, both in his fieldwork and with his students, who is extremely generous with his time and knowledge. I am particularly grateful for his guidance and supervision of my postgraduate research and admire Naguib Kanawati's constant encouragement of his students to develop analytical and independent research skills as well as the ability to challenge existing interpretations.

The significance and purpose of wall scenes in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom has been the subject of debate with varying opinions, and it is not the intention of this article to discuss these problems. What seems certain is that Old Kingdom tomb scenes, and to a large extent those of the Middle Kingdom, represent activities and events that appear to have taken place during the tomb owner's life time, where the owner is shown as a spectator or participant. Elite tombs during this period do not depict the hereafter or deities, which is more frequently attested in tombs of the New Kingdom and later. With such emphasis on daily life activities, the rather infrequent inclusion of scenes of the transportation of funerary furniture comes as a surprise.<sup>1</sup> Such scenes show two main themes: the transportation of coffins by a boat or on a sledge; and/or the transportation of statues that are often placed in shrines.<sup>2</sup> If these scenes represent the tomb owner's *actual* funeral, as some scholars suggest, they would be the only scenes from the period depicting events yet to take place. The following is a review of the scenes and accompanying inscriptions of the funerary procession with the aim of examining the destination of the intended journey and if it took place during the

tomb owners' life or following his/her death. The cases listed below are presented in approximate chronological order:

1. *Nyankhkhnum and Khnumhotep of Saqqara (mid-late Dynasty Five)*<sup>3</sup>

On both the east and west walls of the tomb's portico are depictions of the transportation of shrines, which usually contain statues. The funerary aspect of the journey is emphasized by the presence of *drjt*-mourners<sup>4</sup> and *wt*-priests. The scene should probably be read from the bottom register upwards, where the first register shows the shrines placed upon papyrus boats that are towed by canoes and men from the shore. The following register depicts the movement of the boats between two types of buildings/shrines associated in other examples with Sais<sup>5</sup> and probably Buto.<sup>6</sup> The undulating water under the boats may indicate their movement or mooring in a muddy area near the shores of these holy sites. Immediately following the pilgrimage the statues are dragged to the tomb on sledges by men and oxen. The final destination is clear as the accompanying inscriptions state '...in peace, in peace to his tomb of the necropolis'.<sup>7</sup>

2. *Hetepherakhti of Saqqara, now at Leiden (mid-late Dynasty Five)*<sup>8</sup>

The scene in this tomb is only partially preserved. While the contents are similar to those in the above example, it appears that the scene should be read from top to bottom. The statue in its shrine is being transported by a boat towed by a canoe with the help of men pulling from the shore. In the bottom register the statue is shown on a sledge dragged by oxen and preceded by funerary dancers.

3. *Ptahhotep [LS31] of Saqqara (late Dynasty Five-early Dynasty Six)*<sup>9</sup>

As with the case in the tomb of Nyankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, the funerary procession in the tomb of Ptahhotep, on the west wall of room 1, should be read from the bottom register upwards. The main boat is similarly towed by canoes as well as by men from the shore. A statue shrine and another chest, which may have contained some funerary objects such as linen, are shown on the main boat. The text above the register reads: 'proceeding from the house of weavers (?) to the beautiful west before the great god'. The second register depicts the dragging of the boat, first passing by a type of building that may be associated with Sais.<sup>10</sup> An inscription above the scene reads: 'in peace, in piece before Osiris'. The boat is then dragged over an undulating body of muddy (?) water<sup>11</sup> and passes by another type of structure associated with Buto.<sup>12</sup> The procession is accompanied by *drjt*-mourners, lector priests and *wt*-priests. In the upper register the coffin is finally dragged by oxen, presumably to the tomb, preceded by the usual dancers<sup>13</sup> and accompanied by the funerary meal.

4. *Iynefert of Saqqara (late Dynasty Five)*<sup>14</sup>

On the upper part of the south wall of room 1 a funerary procession is watched by the tomb owner and his wife. The scene should be read from the third register upwards with the first showing the coffin on a boat being pulled over the

undulating muddy (?) water by a group of men. A structure behind the boat may refer to Sais, while the symbols of Buto are represented above the men pulling the boat. Preceding the boat is a statue in a shrine with priests offering incense, reciting from a scroll and bringing offerings. The upper register depicts a partially preserved scene of the coffin being dragged on a sledge presumably to the tomb.

5. *Ihy of Saqqara (late Dynasty Five); reused by Idut (early Dynasty Six)*<sup>15</sup>

The funerary procession here is similar to that in the adjacent tomb of Inefert, but is positioned on the east wall, room 3. The scene should be read from the bottom register upwards, with its lower part showing the transportation of the coffin (?) on a boat towed by canoes and pulled by men from the shore. The right section of the following register is now missing, but may have portrayed the visit to Sais. The preserved left section shows the shrines and palm trees usually associated with Buto as well as the *mw*-dance that is being performed by three men.<sup>16</sup> In the upper register the coffin is dragged on a sledge, followed by a second sledge carrying the mysterious *teken*.<sup>17</sup> The latter appears here for the first time in the repertoire of tomb decoration.

6. *Akhetotep/Hemi of Saqqara (late Dynasty Five) reused by Nebkauhor (early Dynasty Six)*<sup>18</sup>

Although partly damaged, a well developed and extensive funerary procession is depicted in front of the tomb owner on the north wall of the pillared hall, room 2. While the bottom register shows the preparation and bringing of food offerings, the second represents the transportation of the coffin by boat over an undulating body of water, heading towards a structure similar in shape to those in the above mentioned examples of Nyankhkhnum and Khnumhotep as well as Ptahhotep at Saqqara. The only difference is that the present example shows a structure, clearly labeled as *S3w* 'Sais'. The procession is accompanied by females performing the Hathoric dances.<sup>19</sup> The following register depicts men performing the *mw*-dance, and the register above shows the coffin being carried by men. The destination is probably to the cemetery, which is described as the 'beautiful west'. It is essential to note that these activities are watched by the seated figure of the tomb owner himself.

7. *Insnefruishetef of Dahshur (late Dynasty Five)*<sup>20</sup>

This fragment of wall relief shows the transportation of a coffin and a statue shrine on two separate boats; the first is pulled by men while the second is towed by canoes. Joining the trip are *drjt*-mourners, *wt*-priests and lector priests. The boat carrying the coffin is shown over the undulating waterline, leaving from a building (that is perhaps at Buto) and heading towards a structure, which may well refer to Sais.<sup>21</sup> The activities are accompanied by a funerary meal. The upper register contains the remains of a coffin being dragged on a sledge, presumably to the cemetery.



### 8. *Mereruka of Saqqara (early Dynasty Six)*<sup>22</sup>

Mereruka's funerary procession begins on the bottom register of the south wall of the pillared hall, room A13, yet most of the upper section of the wall is now missing. Female and male mourners leave a building, designated in the neighbouring tomb of Ankhmahor as the *pr-dt* 'funerary estate'.<sup>23</sup> The coffin is carried by men and accompanied by priests and probably also a *drjt*-mourner. The coffin was then transported by boat to the *jbw* 'purification tent'<sup>24</sup> and then carried to a structure that could either represent the *w<sup>c</sup>bt* 'embalming workshop' or the tomb itself. There, a ceremony is performed, which includes a meal accompanied by dancing.

### 9. *Khnumenti of Giza (early Dynasty Six)*<sup>25</sup>

Depicted on the south wall of room 1, the funerary procession is only partly preserved and would seem to be read from top to bottom. Thus we see the coffin transported on a boat towed by two canoes, then in the following register the coffin is placed on a sledge, dragged by men and oxen. The accompanying text reads: 'in peace, in peace to the beautiful west'. The activities are watched by the tomb owner.

### 10. *Ankhmahor of Saqqara (early Dynasty Six)*<sup>26</sup>

Similar to the scene in the tomb of Mereruka, Ankhmahor depicts the beginning of the funerary procession, with men and women departing from the *pr-dt* and demonstrating their extreme grief. The coffin is carried by men who are accompanied by a *drjt*-mourner, a *wt*-priest and a lector priest. The rest of the scene is missing.

### 11. *Idu of Giza (early-mid Dynasty Six)*<sup>27</sup>

An abbreviated funerary procession is represented on the north wall above and either side of the main entrance doorway to Idu's chapel. Several registers show female and male mourners leaving the *pr-dt* in a state of extreme grief. The coffin and a statue shrine are carried by men or transported by boat, first to the purification tent, then to the embalming workshop, before the coffin is placed on a sledge dragged by men and oxen towards the cemetery. The procession is accompanied by the usual personnel including a *drjt*-mourner, *wt*-priest and lector priest. It is significant that the coffin on the sledge is clearly labeled as *jm<sup>3</sup>hw* 'the honoured one' and the placement of the inscription suggests the designation is referring to the coffin rather than the tomb owner.<sup>28</sup>

### 12. *Qar/Meryrenefer of Giza (mid Dynasty Six)*<sup>29</sup>

The procession appears on the north wall of court C and proceeds from top to bottom. The coffin is carried by men, followed by the usual funerary personnel. The group stops at the purification tent where a meal is prepared, where the coffin is then carried and loaded on a boat pulled by men to the embalming workshop, preceded by a group of dancers.

*13. Hemre/Isi of Deir el-Gebrawi (early-mid Dynasty Six)*<sup>30</sup>

A scene showing the transportation of the coffin in a boat appears on the upper part of the east wall of the chapel. Animals are brought for slaughtering and young women are performing certain dances. The scene is significant in that the papyriform boat carrying the coffin is represented in front of the sailing ship that would normally tow it. Such an unusual placement may indicate that the boat has already arrived at its final destination and was moored near the shore, where Hemre/Isi and probably his wife are shown seated.

*14. Ibi of Deir el-Gebrawi (mid Dynasty Six)*<sup>31</sup>

The funerary procession appears on the west wall of the chapel and the scene is arranged from the bottom register upwards. The lower register depicts the transportation of the wooden coffin and another container, perhaps for placing the canopic jars<sup>32</sup> or other funerary objects. These are aboard a papyriform boat towed by a sailing ship. While still on the boat, the coffin is placed on a sledge ready to be dragged on land once the boat reaches its destination. In the second register a chest is being transported by similar means and heads in the same direction. The third register depicts the next stage of the trip, where the coffin is placed on a sledge on land and is presumably being taken to the cemetery. In all cases the objects are accompanied by the usual funerary personnel. The upper part of the wall is badly damaged, but enough remains to demonstrate that the tomb owner was portrayed, possibly in a palanquin chair, witnessing the arrival of his own coffin. The event is accompanied by a ceremony in which young girls perform a ritual dance and is similar in composition to the scene in the tomb of Hemre/Isi also at Deir el-Gebrawi.

*15. Djau of Deir el-Gebrawi (late Dynasty Six)*<sup>33</sup>

Djau's scene is similar in composition to that found in the adjacent tomb of his grandfather Ibi. In the second register (from the bottom) on the west wall of the chapel, two papyriform boats are towed by a sailing ship and carry the coffin as well as a smaller chest. The register above depicts the two objects being dragged on two separate sledges, while in the top two registers young males and females are dancing. The text above the men dragging the coffin states: 'Oh, behold, it is the accompaniment of the honoured one for the count, the seal bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the true overseer of Upper Egypt, the great overlord of Abydos, the overseer of the two ponds, the honoured one before the great god, Djau'. That the first reference to 'the honoured one' refers to the coffin itself may be deduced from the fact that following Djau's titles, he is also designated as honoured before the great god. As both Djau and his father Djau/Shemai are buried in the one tomb,<sup>34</sup> it is uncertain whether this funerary scene belongs to the father or the son.

*16. Pepyankh/Henykem of Meir (late Dynasty Six)*<sup>35</sup>

The most complete and extensive funerary scene from the Old Kingdom is found on the east and west walls of room F in Pepyankh/Henykem's chapel at Meir.

Curiously, the themes on both walls are almost identical and it is uncertain if the two scenes belong to Pepyankh/Henykem or his father, Nyankhpepy, since their chapels (A1 and A2) are joined to form one large tomb. On the east wall the coffin is loaded on the boat, which is pulled by men from the shore. It is then carried to the purification tent and from there to the embalming workshop, accompanied by various funerary personnel. It is noticed that the usual order of the visits to the purification tent and the embalming workshop is reversed on the west wall. The tomb was probably made by the son Pepyankh/Henykem after the death of his father Nyankhpepy<sup>36</sup> and the western section of the joint tomb (A1 and A2) was assigned to the latter. Although room F is located within Pepyankh/Henykem's multi-roomed tomb complex, one wonders if the scene on the west wall belongs to his father. Of particular interest is an inscription written on the east wall above the boat carrying the coffin to the purification tent; it reads: 'Oh, behold, it is the accompaniment of the honoured one (which will happen) for a second time at a very good old age'.<sup>37</sup> Several examples mentioned above indicate that the phrase 'the honoured one' refers to the coffin and the rare mention of 'a second time' is probably a reference to the actual burial of the tomb owner, which will take place in the future.<sup>38</sup>

#### *17. Tjeti/Kaihep of El-Hawawish (early-mid Dynasty Six)<sup>39</sup>*

On the north wall of the main recess of Tjeti's chapel is a fragmentary scene showing several stages of the funerary procession, which seems to progress from the bottom register upwards. The remains of a structure with a ramp are visible in the lower part of the scene before which a ceremony is being celebrated, perhaps in front of a statue.<sup>40</sup> Offerings are being presented, while clappers and dancers, including a nude female,<sup>41</sup> are performing. The top register depicts men and oxen probably dragging a sledge carrying a coffin under a canopy and heading towards the necropolis. The procession faces the actual west and moves away from the structure, and the accompanying text says: 'in peace, in peace to the beautiful west'. This text as well as the direction of the men and oxen may well suggest that the location of the abovementioned ceremony is not in front of the tomb itself, but might be connected with an earlier event near the purification tent or the embalming workshop.

#### *18. Tjeti-iker/Kaihep of El-Hawawish (mid-late Dynasty Six)<sup>42</sup>*

A funerary procession is represented on the south wall of the chapel. Two sailing ships are towing a papyriform boat transporting what appears to be a wooden shrine and perhaps a coffin.

#### *19. Kheni/Shepsipumin of El-Hawawish (late Dynasty Six)<sup>43</sup>*

The location and composition of the funerary procession scene in Kheni's tomb is almost identical to those in the abovementioned example of his father Tjeti-iker. Here too the sailing ships are towing the papyriform boat carrying the statue shrine and coffin. The accompanying text reads: 'in peace, come in peace to the beautiful

west among the honoured ones'. Surprisingly, the tomb owner is depicted standing with his staff and sceptre amidships and the identity of this figure is not in doubt since he is clearly labeled as 'the count, Kheni'. Thus the tomb owner is represented towing his own funerary furniture to its final destination.

The close similarity between the funerary scenes, and indeed in other themes, depicted in the neighbouring tombs of Tjeti-iker and Kheni is most probably due to the fact that the two tombs were decorated by the same artist, Seni.<sup>44</sup> Despite the similarity in the number and shapes of vessels involved in the transportation of the funerary furniture and in the positions of the personnel manoeuvring them, the two scenes have one major difference. Kheni is represented aboard one of the sailing ships, while Tjeti-iker does not appear in the identical scene in his tomb. Such a deviation may be explained by the fact that Tjeti-iker was dead at the time the tomb was prepared and decorated, or at least completed for him by his son Kheni, who inscribed this fact on the façade of the tomb.<sup>45</sup>

#### 20. *Tjeti-aa of El-Hawawish (late Dynasty Six or slightly later)*<sup>46</sup>

A fragmentary scene of the transportation of a coffin and/or statue shrine is found on the west wall of Tjeti-aa's chapel. The scene has all the features of those painted in the tombs of Tjeti-iker and Kheni, and like the latter, Tjeti-aa is shown in the sailing ship towing his own funerary furniture.

#### 21. *Khunes of Qubbet el-Hawa (late Dynasty Six)*<sup>47</sup>

On the south wall of Khunes' chapel is a scene of two sailing boats. The second boat is papyriform in shape and carries a shrine usually used to accommodate a statue or a coffin. It is interesting that the tomb owner is depicted seated in a pavilion watching different activities, including the departure of the two boats.

### Discussion

Examination of the evidence from the abovementioned cases indicates that scenes representing the transportation of funerary furniture are placed on any wall within the chapel or a multi-roomed tomb. While the procession progresses more frequently from the lower registers upwards (Cases 1, 3-7, 10-11, 14-17), a few are arranged from the top register downwards (Cases 2, 9, 12-13), and some scenes represent one or more stages of the transportation on the one register (Cases 8, 18-21). The most commonly represented object in this context is the coffin, which appears alone (Cases 5-6, 8-10, 12-16) or jointly with a statue (Cases 4, 7, 11, 17-21), while in a limited number of instances only statues are transported (Cases 1-3). Rare examples of transporting other funerary objects exist, such as a chest (Cases 14-15) or a *tekenu* (Case 5), however the latter is only attested once in the available evidence dating to the Old Kingdom.

Conveying the funerary furniture from the *pr-dt* 'funerary estate' to the tomb passes through a number of stages using different methods of transportation, but only a

selection of these stages are depicted in any one tomb. Thus the exit from the *pr-dt* appears only in three cases and in tombs dating to the reigns of Teti–Pepy I in the early Sixth Dynasty (Cases 8, 10-11) and only these examples include the demonstration of extreme grief. The stage most frequently represented is the transportation of objects in papyriiform boats that are towed by sailing ships or rowing canoes, which are often helped by men pulling from the shore (Cases 1-3, 5, 7, 10-12, 16). The use of papyriiform boats appears to be related to the transportation of the objects to the purification tent and the embalming workshop (Cases 8, 10-12, 16-17) or to the visits of sacred sites such as Sais and Buto (Cases 1, 3-7). These two sites are characterized by different types of shrines and Buto is also known by its palm trees.<sup>48</sup> Sais is however named only once (Case 6). The two sites frequently appear at either end of the same register, with the boat between them depicted over undulating water or a muddy surface (Cases 1, 3-4, 6-7). Visits to these sacred sites do not appear after the end of the Fifth Dynasty and were instead restricted to the purification tent and embalming workshop.

The final stage of the procession, where the objects are taken to the cemetery/tomb, uses sledges pulled by men and oxen (Cases 1-9, 11, 14-17). Throughout the procession, the objects are generally accompanied by *drjt*-mourners, *wt*-priests and lector priests. Ceremonies, including Hathoric, and rarely the *mww* dance as well as the presentation of a funerary meal are depicted at various stages of the procession.

The frequent interpretation of this procession as being the tomb owner's actual funeral is not supported by the artistic and textual evidence examined in the present study. Tomb owners are represented in eight instances watching or supervising the transportation of their funerary objects (Cases 4, 6, 9, 13-14, 19-21) and to further illustrate this point, a few examples will be closely examined below. The scene in the tomb of Hemre/Isi of Deir el-Gebrawi (Case 13) shows the owner sitting in his full regalia, holding the staff of office. He is accompanied by his wife (?) and a number of attendants who present him with gifts and his 'pet' dog is shown under the chair. Immediately before Hemre/Isi are his two sons who are presenting him with food items. The boat carrying his coffin is moored opposite him and at his eye-level. The boat's captain stands on the prow holding a sceptre in one hand while raising the other in a gesture of greeting/respect, which is presumably directed towards the tomb owner. The 'communication' between Hemre/Isi and the figures in front of and also behind him do not indicate the tomb owner is represented as a dead person.<sup>49</sup> By contrast, the scene shows Hemre/Isi supervising and/or watching the arrival of his own coffin and the celebration or ceremony that accompanies such an occasion.

Although badly damaged, the case of Ibi also of Deir el-Gebrawi (Case 14) is similar to that in the tomb of Hemre/Isi. The coffin and a chest on a sledge are transported by boats, which probably to take each item to the cemetery. Following a damaged part of the wall, the tomb owner appears to have been in a palanquin watching the arrival of his funerary furniture, although little remains of his figure.

The fact the Ibi arrives at the cemetery (?) in a palanquin, suggests in itself that he was not dead at the time of the transportation of the funerary objects.

The examples of Kheni and Tjeti-aa of El-Hawawish (Cases 19-20) are of particular interest, for both nomarchs are portrayed standing in the ships towing their funerary furniture, namely their coffins and statue shrines. It is illogical and highly unlikely that the tomb owner would be depicted towing his own coffin if he was supposed to be deceased and accordingly inside the coffin. It is significant that Kheni's father, Tjeti-iker, whose tomb was prepared for him by his son after his death, was not represented in the same manner in the towing ship. This is despite the fact that the two tombs of the father and the son were painted by the same artist and exhibit very close similarities in their scenes.

The funerary procession in the tomb of Mereruka of Saqqara (Case 8) is particularly important for our interpretation of the scene. Although the tomb owner does not appear in the surviving part of the procession on the south wall of room A13,<sup>50</sup> his possible depiction in the now missing upper section of the wall should not be ruled out. The river trip shown on the adjacent west wall, which probably represents his return voyage from performing the 'pulling of papyri' ceremony in the Delta, took the tomb owner directly to the cemetery.<sup>51</sup> Although on two adjacent walls, the funerary procession ended near the place where the ships carrying Mereruka landed. It appears therefore that following the completion of the ceremony in the Delta, Mereruka travelled directly to the cemetery to oversee the arrival of his funerary furniture and probably placed each item in his tomb.<sup>52</sup> Once more this interpretation suggests that such an event occurred during his lifetime and agrees with the fact that tombs were usually constructed during their owners' life. Yet stone sarcophagi for example are first placed in burial chambers before the chapel walls were built and statues were placed in closed serdabs prior to the completion of the tomb.

## Conclusions

Examination of scenes of the funerary procession in Old Kingdom tombs suggests that the procession incorporated several stages. First, the funerary items and associated individuals visited the holy sites of Sais and Buto, and from the Sixth Dynasty onwards, included a period of time in the purification tent and the embalming workshop before being taken to their final destination in the cemetery. This route may have also been followed by the tomb owner's corpse on the way to be buried in the necropolis, which may be referred to in the statement by Pepyankh/Henykem of Meir: 'the accompaniment of the honoured one for a second time at a very good old age'. In some instances, the tomb owner, his coffin and perhaps the statue appear to have been described as 'the honoured one'.

The statue of the tomb owner represented a temporary abode for its owner's *ka* and the coffin was his/her eternal resting place. The participation of the tomb owner

himself in the funerary procession, particularly in its final stage at the cemetery, indicates that this ceremony took place during his lifetime. Therefore, the interpretation that an Egyptian in the Old Kingdom represented his own funeral before it actually happened seems highly unlikely. Although such a procession would have been desired by many officials, the voyage was presumably costly and the available evidence is derived only from the tombs of the high elite. Despite the absence of evidence from a broad cross-section of Egyptian society, this paper has highlighted that the funerary procession/voyage should not be interpreted as being an 'imaginary' *funeral* procession taking place in the future.

- <sup>1</sup> For the study of Old Kingdom funerary processions see, J. A. Wilson, 'Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom', *JNES* 3 (1944), 201-218; A. O. Bolshakov, 'The Old Kingdom Representations of Funeral Procession', *GM* 121 (1991), 31-54; A. O. Bolshakov, *Man and His Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 95-105.
- <sup>2</sup> Other scenes of transporting objects, such as statues, chests, or wine/oil jars exist. Their funerary purpose is almost certain, but they do not form part of the funerary procession under consideration. For references to such scenes see, Theme 15, scene types 15.2-15.3, 15.5-15.6 illustrated at [www.oxfordexpeditiontoegypt.com](http://www.oxfordexpeditiontoegypt.com).
- <sup>3</sup> A. M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz/Rhein, 1977), pls. 6-15.
- <sup>4</sup> On the *drjt*-mourners in the Old Kingdom, see H. G. Fisher, 'Representation of *drjt*-mourners in the Old Kingdom' in H. G. Fisher, *Egyptian Study*, I. *Varia* (New York, 1976), 39-50.
- <sup>5</sup> This type of shrine is labeled clearly as *S3w* in the funerary procession of Nebkauhor (S. Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1975), I, figs. 3, 9.
- <sup>6</sup> Gardiner identified this type of rectangular structure as *Pr-nw* chapels and a symbol of the Predynastic national sanctuary of Lower Egypt at Buto. In some cases this chapel is accompanied by palm trees (A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London, 1973), 495, sign O20.
- <sup>7</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, pls. 8, 12.
- <sup>8</sup> H. T. Mohr, *The Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti. Study on an Egyptian Tomb Chapel in the Museum of Antiquities, Leiden* (Leiden, 1943), figs. 1-3.
- <sup>9</sup> C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, II (Genève, 1972), pl. 101 [b]; C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien. Ergänzungsband* (Leipzig, 1913), pl. 43 [b].
- <sup>10</sup> See Cases 1 and 5.
- <sup>11</sup> The undulating surface is painted blue in a similar scene in the nearby tombs of Nebkauhor and Iyi-nefert (Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* I, fig. 8, pl. 15a; N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara*, II. *The Tombs of Iynefert and Ihy (reused by Idut)*, (Oxford, 2003), 21.
- <sup>12</sup> Compare with Cases 1 and 6.
- <sup>13</sup> E. Edel, 'Das Akazienhaus und sein Rolle in den Begräbnisriten des Alten Ägyptens' in H. W. Müller, *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* 24 (Berlin, 1970), 17-18; D. Nord, 'The Term *Hnr* (Harem) or (Musical Performer)?' in W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of D. Dunham* (Boston, 1981), 137-145.



- 14 Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* II, pl. 38.
- 15 Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* II, pl. 56-7.
- 16 There are only three examples of the *mww*-dance dated to the Old Kingdom; see Cases 5, 6 and a fragment in Hassan, *Excavation at Saqqara* II, fig. 28; see also, H. Altenmüller, 'Zur Frage Der *Mww*', *SAK* 2 (1975), 1-37; L. Kinney, 'The Dance of The *Mww*', *BACE* 15 (2004), 63-77.
- 17 W. Helck, 'Tekenu' in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, (eds), *Lexikon Der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1986), VI, 308-309.
- 18 Hassan, *Excavation at Saqqara* I, figs. 3-5, 8-9.
- 19 For funerary dances in the Old Kingdom see, J. V. Lepp, 'The Role of Dance in Funerary Ritual in the Old Kingdom', *SAK* 3 (1988), 385-394.
- 20 J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1903), II, pl. 22; L. Borchardt, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Denkmäler des Alten Reiches im Museum von Kairo*. 2 vols. (Cairo, 1937, 1964), II, pl. 105 (CG1776). Y. Harpur dates this fragment to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty (?) (Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of The Old Kingdom* (London, 1987), 279), while N. Kanawati dates it to the reigns of Unis-Pepy I (N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in The Old Kingdom* (Warminster, 1977), 154, no. 286). The composition and details of the scene are comparable to those in tombs dating to the end of the Fifth Dynasty. See for example Cases 1, 3, 4 and 6.
- 21 Compare with Case 6.
- 22 P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1938), II, pls. 130, 131.
- 23 N. Kanawati and A. Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, II. *The Tomb of Ankhmahor* (Warminster, 1997), II, pl. 56.
- 24 For studies of the 'purification tent' see, E. Brovarski, 'The Doors of Heaven', *Orientalia* 46 (1977), 107-110; J. K. Hoffmeier, 'The Possible Origin of the Tent of Purification in the Egyptian Funerary Cult', *SAK* 9 (1981), 167-177.
- 25 E. Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, I. *The Matabas of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Khnumenti (G2374) and Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378)*, Giza Mastabas 7, (Boston, 2001), fig. 83.
- 26 Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* II, pl. 56.
- 27 W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu. G 7101 and G7102*, Giza Mastabas 2, (Boston, 1976), fig. 35.
- 28 In contrast, Fischer suggested that '*jm'hw*' is describing the tomb owner, H. G. Fischer, 'Notes on Two Tomb Chapels at Giza', *JEA* 67 (1981), 166-7.
- 29 Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 24.
- 30 N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrāwi*. 2 vols. (London, 1902), II, pl. 20.
- 31 Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrāwi* I, pl. 10; N. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrāwi*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2005, 2007), II, pl. 49.
- 32 The details of the wood grain on the coffin and the chest are clearly rendered. See Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrāwi* II, 34.
- 33 Davies, *Deir el-Gebrāwi* II, pl. 7.
- 34 N. Kanawati, 'The Identification of *D'w/Šm'j* and *D'w* in the Decoration of Their Tomb at Deir el-Gebrāwi', *JEA* 63 (1977), 59-62.
- 35 A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, 6 vols. (London, 1914-1953), V, pls. 42-43.
- 36 Personal examination of the decoration in the two tombs reveals that the father's chapel was hastily prepared with the scenes and inscriptions executed in painting as against those of the son that are in coloured relief.
- 37 Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. 42.

- <sup>38</sup> For a similar mention of *sp* 2, although of a later period, see N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vezier of Sesostri I and his wife Senet (No. 60)* (London, 1920), pl. 22.
- <sup>39</sup> N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish. The Cemetery of Akhmim*. 10 vols. (Sydney, 1980-1992), III, fig. 12.
- <sup>40</sup> This is suggested by the presence of the titles and name of the tomb owner above the space where the statue should be standing. Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* III, 24. The scene may be compared with that found on the south wall of room 2 in the tomb of Debehni at Giza, see S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, 10 vols. (Oxford/Cairo, 1932-1960), IV, fig. 122.
- <sup>41</sup> See for example the naked dancer in the burial chamber of Kaiemankh at Giza (N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza*, 2 vols. [Warminster, 2001-2002], I, pl. 35).
- <sup>42</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* I, fig. 9.
- <sup>43</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* II, fig. 19.
- <sup>44</sup> Seni left a biographical text stating he decorated the two tombs. Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* I, 19, fig. 8.
- <sup>45</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* I, 19, fig. 19 (a).
- <sup>46</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* VIII, fig. 12 (b).
- <sup>47</sup> J. de Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions de L'Égypte Antique. Première série. Haute Égypte*, I. *De la Fronière de Nubie à Kom Ombos* (Vienna, 1894), 160 (left); E. Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, I. *Architektur, Darstellungen, Texte, Archäologischer Befund und Funde der Gräber QH 24-QH 34p* (Paderborn, 2008), pl. 22.
- <sup>48</sup> A. J. Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1982), 160-161.
- <sup>49</sup> N. Kanawati, 'The Living and the Dead in Old Kingdom Tomb Scenes', *SAK* 9 (1981), 220-221.
- <sup>50</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 130-31.
- <sup>51</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* I, pls. 140-44. For a recent discussion of this scene type see, M. Lashien, 'The so-called Pilgrimage in the Old Kingdom: Its Destination and Significance', *BACE* 20 (2009), 87-106.
- <sup>52</sup> See the discussion in Lashien, *BACE* 20 (2009), 96-99, 101.