

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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SUPPLÉMENT AUX ANNALES DU SERVICE
DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTÉ

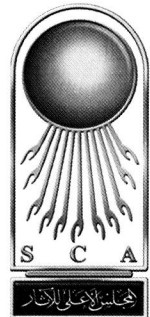
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Presented to

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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DE-CODING OLD KINGDOM WALL SCENES: FORCE-FEEDING THE HYENA*

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A number of scenes in Old Kingdom tombs are characterized by a departure from reality that cannot be accounted for by reference to the aspective mode of representation or to the principle of hierarchical proportion. These enigmatic scenes, the product of the ancient Egyptian worldview, encapsulate a series of actions over time and space and their understanding requires an analytic approach that amounts to de-codification.

When I think back over my years as a student of Naguib Kanawati, I recall with gratitude the many hours of help that I have received and the interest and understanding with which he has guided my research. As a recipient of Naguib's intellectual generosity I offer the following.

An understanding and interpretation of the data provided by decorated tombs of the Old Kingdom is often stated to be hampered by a limited appreciation of the ancient Egyptian worldview.¹ There is general agreement that the fundamental purpose of the tomb was to preserve the body in order to maintain the *ka* of the deceased, to commemorate the life and achievements of the tomb owner and to provide for the cult of the deceased, which would continue to celebrate him/her after death in a decorated chapel.² However, the precise purpose of images decorating the tomb chapel and burial chambers provokes debate. Are the scenes a representation of what the tomb owner expected in his/her after-life or were they a form of magic that would provide the *ka* with the circumstances for an appropriate after-life? To what extent were the images a communication with the living? Do the scenes of daily life on rural estates represent the actual estates the tomb owner administered in his lifetime or are they symbolic and metaphorical images representing the beliefs, ideals and decorum of the elite class of officials? Do these scenes of rural estates represent an ideological statement denoting a timeless space, impossible to locate geographically, which includes all elements characteristic of the Egyptian landscape (desert, valley and river milieux)? Are tomb scenes, in fact, a symbol of Egypt in miniature and an adaptation by officials of the royal ideology relating to the maintenance of *Maat*? The latter interpretation is proposed by Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia, who argues vigorously that the scenes and inscriptions were not a faithful copy of reality and that tomb decoration must be analysed in the light of what he considers to be the more reliable administrative sources.³

René van Walsem has proposed that the interpretation of these scenes requires a variety of approaches, which must be organized systematically.⁴ One method could be based on a study of scenes containing apparent departures from reality that are not adequately explained by reference to technicalities such as the use of the aspective mode and the principle of hierarchical proportion.⁵ These apparently inexplicable images allow us to ask why such a deviation from reality was portrayed, a question that probes the thinking and motivation of those who commissioned and devised the image. This calls for the investigation of such scenes in a number of stages to establish whether tombs contain images that do *not* reflect 'reality'; to identify 'technical' deviations from reality, such as those addressed by Heinrich Schäfer, and finally to address the question of how the image is to be understood and why it presents such a departure from reality. Answering these larger questions amounts to a 'de-coding' process and enables us to *read* the image as contemporaries would have done. Three case studies are presented here to illustrate the process of de-coding Egyptian art.

1. The Tomb Owner in the Marshes (Figure 1)

The complex motif of the tomb owner fishing in the marshland presents a number of departures from reality. At a technical level the 'mound' of water, in the absence of perspective, may be explained as the portrayal of a channel or ribbon of water (perhaps the arm of an oxbow lake) stretching away in front of the tomb owner.⁶ Yet the two fish appearing simultaneously on the tomb owner's harpoon require a more complex interpretation based on 'de-coding' a group of ideas. The depiction is anomalous; there is little likelihood of spearing two fish with one throw of the harpoon, especially as the two fish are always a *Tilapia nilotica*, more frequently found in the swampy waters of the Delta, and a Nile perch (*Lates niloticus*) usually found much further south in the waters of Upper Egypt.⁷ For the literate viewer, the key to understanding the depiction of the two fish would have been a caption such as that in the tomb of Pepy-anh-heny-kem of Meir which reads, "Spearing a very great catch of fish in the swamps of Upper and Lower Egypt".⁸ For the illiterate viewer, perhaps ninety per cent of the population,⁹ the inclusion of fish from Upper and Lower Egyptian waters respectively, visually merges the idea of place. Accordingly, the image conveys the same information as the inscriptions, namely, that the tomb owner fished up and down the Nile valley.¹⁰

2. Hand-feeding Cattle (Figures 2-3)

Understanding Old Kingdom tomb scenes may require analysis of what appears to a modern viewer as encoded information, but would have presented no problem to the tomb owner's contemporaries who shared his worldview and cultural experience. In the case of the scene of a herder hand-feeding cattle, the Egyptologist should begin by establishing that the image is a departure from reality and then search for a code that aids interpretation. Above the doorway of the first chamber of Iyi-mery's chapel at Giza is a register with two images of cattle apparently being force-fed by attendants.¹¹ In the first image the animal is lowering

itself into a recumbent position while the herder holds a rope attached to the animal's chin with one hand and has the other hand in the animal's mouth. The second image presents the herder holding his hand over the recumbent animal's mouth. This 'force-feeding' theme recurs in a number of tomb chapels in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. The animal is usually a recumbent domesticated ox described as *rn jw3* ('young stall-reared ox').¹² In some instances the outstretched hand of the herder appears to touch or grip the animal's muzzle;¹³ in other scenes the herder appears to hold fodder in front of the animal's mouth (Figure 2)¹⁴ or the herder's hand may be completely inside the mouth of the animal (Figure 3).¹⁵ For over a hundred years, Egyptologists have accepted these images as a literal portrayal of how cattle were fed. Yet in reality, it is unlikely that the animal is being force- or hand-fed or even encouraged to eat more than it needs. Continual over-feeding of a ruminant leads to 'bloat', a dangerous condition often resulting in the animal's death.¹⁶ The scene therefore appears anomalous and raises the following problems:

- Would Egyptians of the Old Kingdom have risked over-feeding valuable livestock? With over 2000 years' experience of domesticating cattle they would have surely appreciated the link between over-feeding and bloat.¹⁷
- Would it be possible for a man to force such a large and powerful animal to swallow food it did not wish to ingest?
- If the motif does not indicate force-feeding, what is the purpose of including such an image? An animal would surely fatten up if it were kept tethered and provided with large quantities of specially prepared fodder.

In her doctoral thesis on the representation of animal behaviour in Old Kingdom wall scenes Linda Evans investigated eighteen tombs containing images of herders hand-feeding recumbent cattle.¹⁸ In the examples studied the accompanying caption can be just one word 'fattening' (*wš3*);¹⁹ the phrase 'fattening the stall-reared ox' (*wš3 jw3*) or often no inscription included at all. Evans suggests that the hand-feeding image contains all the relevant information required to understand the animal is being intentionally fattened, but that the pictured process was not meant to be understood literally. She also notes that cattle eat standing up and lie down to ruminate without encouragement and that fettered, stable-reared animals being prepared for slaughter would simply have had their enriched fodder brought and placed in front of them by their herder.²⁰ Furthermore, Evans proposes it would have been unnecessarily time-consuming to feed the animals by hand. As the image of a standing animal eating the fodder placed in front of it would not contain the idea of *intentional* fattening, the scene of hand-feeding is needed to convey precisely this message.²¹ Evans concludes her analysis by suggesting that the hand-feeding scene represents a sequence of ideas combined into one image – the restriction of the animal's movement, the merging of the activities of feeding and ruminating, as well as the herder's provision of quality foodstuff to achieve fattening.

Cattle that are in the process of being fattened require high energy fodder balanced with other nutrients.²² The nature of the food the Egyptians provided to stable reared cattle in order to fatten them is indicated by the findings of Moens and Wetterstrom at Kom el-Hisn in the Delta.²³ Their study of an Old Kingdom cattle-rearing site suggests that stall-kept cattle were fed a nutrient rich diet of fodder plants such as barley, clover and cereal straw mixed with field weeds. Findings also include samples of legumes with high protein content such as vetch and medick. The image in the tomb of Ti (Figure 3), showing a squatting herder feeding an ox from a bundle of cut fodder, supports such findings, as do many scenes of animals being paraded before the tomb owner by herders carrying bundles of foliage.²⁴

3. Force-feeding the Striped Hyena (Figures 2, 4 and 5)

The registers of feeding animals in the tomb of Mereruka present three different methods of feeding constrained animals (Figure 2). On the top register a herder feeds three recumbent cattle by hand while a fourth encourages an ox to drink. The second register depicts five different species of desert ungulates, four of which are either eating or drinking from a container. There are no associated captions explaining the actions of the herders. The inscriptions merely provide the name of the species and the descriptor *rn*, usually translated as 'young'.²⁵ However, on the third register several hyenas are waiting to be fed, where two men hold down others as they are force-fed and, with an extended belly, another is led away by an attendant holding a rope around its jaws. As indicated in Table 1, five tombs present this unusual motif, which can be found in the late Fifth dynasty tomb of Ti and four additional early Sixth Dynasty tombs.

Tomb owner	Date	Cemetery
Ti ²⁶	Late Dynasty 5	Saqqara – North of Step Pyramid
Kagemni ²⁷	Early Dynasty 6	Saqqara – Teti Pyramid Cemetery
Mereruka ²⁸	Early Dynasty 6	Saqqara – Teti Pyramid Cemetery
Mereri ²⁹	Early Dynasty 6	Saqqara – Teti Pyramid Cemetery
Inumin ³⁰	Early Dynasty 6	Saqqara – Teti Pyramid Cemetery

TABLE 1. Tombs depicting force-feeding of hyenas in the Old Kingdom.

Such scenes raise the question of whether it is possible to feed a hyena by this method. Like the hand-feeding of recumbent cattle, the portrayal of forcing food into a hyena's mouth needs to be investigated to determine whether the depicted action is a departure from reality. The hyena's jaws are extremely powerful and can bite through hide and large bones, which its digestive system is capable of processing. Several questions should be asked when viewing these scenes: Would a herder be able to force a hyena to open its mouth with his bare hands? Would it be

possible to force an animal lying on its back to swallow food in any quantity? The hyenas depicted in Old Kingdom tombs are usually the now endangered striped hyena (*Hyaena hyaena*), a slightly smaller animal than the spotted 'laughing' hyena (*Crocuta crocuta*).³¹ Zoos around the world that keep striped hyenas were contacted with the question of whether these force-feeding scenes could be accepted 'literally'. Answers to our questions from keepers of hyenas ranged from strong doubt to outright disbelief that the animal could be force-fed as depicted on the tomb wall.³² Aaron Wagner, whose doctoral thesis is on the striped hyena, best presents the informed opinion on the subject.³³ Wagner doubts whether a man with his bare hands could force and hold open the jaws of a hyena, which are more powerful than those of a lion. Wagner is certain any attempt to do so would be extremely dangerous and that it would be quite unnecessary to feed the animal in such a dangerous way, as striped hyenas can be domesticated and consequently well fed with ease. Providing a hyena with selected foods while keeping it in a small enclosure would promote the fattening process.

Was Hyena on the Menu? (Figure 6)

In view of the above opinions of zoo-keepers and researchers, it is likely that the scenes of force-feeding hyenas were not intended to be accepted literally and, therefore, require 'de-coding'. First it needs to be established why the feeding of hyenas required such a special portrayal. Scenes of butchering oxen occur in many Old Kingdom funerary chapels³⁴ and are customarily associated with images of offerings being carried by bearers. One or more of these bearers frequently carries the most important component of the ritual meal, a haunch of beef presumably carved from the *iw3* ox just slaughtered. Whether stable-reared hyenas and desert ungulates were also destined for the funerary feast is less well documented as there are very few scenes of desert ungulates being ceremonially slaughtered and none of a hyena. However, a rare inclusion of a 'hyena' appears in an offering list in the tomb of Seshathetep/Heti at Giza (Figure 6).³⁵ The list is positioned on the south wall of the chapel immediately in front of the tomb owner seated before a table laden with bread loaves. The lowest register consists of eighteen offerings, fourteen of which are fowl or cattle or desert animals. The name of each item is written with the head of the animal as its determinative and is clearly a list of foods favoured by the tomb owner. Beneath the list of names is a row of nine trays each bearing a cut of meat or a trussed fowl, with the meat dishes being placed below the names of the animals and accordingly the dishes of fowl beneath the names of the birds. The final item in the list is the name 'hyena' (*hnt*) determined by the head of the animal, together with a haunch of meat occupying the last tray.³⁶ The nearby tomb chapel of Nesutnefer has an almost identical arrangement of scenes on its southern wall.³⁷ The last line of the offering list contains the same items as that of Seshathetep/Heti, although the animal head determinatives are mostly missing, as are the name and determinative of the final item in the list. Beneath each entry in Nesutnefer's list a row of trays with trussed fowls and meats are shown that are identical to those in the tomb of Seshathetep/Heti. The final tray also bears a haunch of meat below the

space where the name of the animal should be. Therefore, it is possible that Nesutnefer's list also contained hyena³⁸ and it seems most likely that fattened hyenas were destined for the table of the highest officials serving in Egypt. Seshathetep/Heti was *s3 nzw t n ht.f, jrj p^ct, t3jtj s3b 33tj* 'son of the king of his body', 'hereditary prince' and 'vizier',³⁹ making him an extremely influential and powerful figure during the early Fifth Dynasty. While Nesutnefer did not hold such high titles, he was nevertheless appointed to sensitive offices such as *jmj-r3 prw mzw nzw t* 'overseer of the houses of the royal children' and held a number of responsible posts in the provincial government.⁴⁰ The presence of force-feeding scenes suggests that a fattened hyena was a delicacy for the very wealthy and elite of Egyptian society. Images above the hyena in the force-feeding scenes show the rich foods with which the hyena was fattened, namely, haunches and ribs of meat, poultry and vegetables. The fattening process, continued until the animal's flesh was tender and succulent, would surely not have been within the means of ordinary people.

Interpreting Images of Force-feeding Hyena

As with the scenes of hand-feeding cattle and the simultaneous harpooning of two fish from geographically distant regions, a brief caption may be the key to understanding the unique scene under consideration. Above each supine hyena in Figure 2 is the statement, 'fattening the hyena' (*wš3 ht t*). In the same spirit as Evans' interpretation of hand-feeding cattle, I propose that the information contained in this depiction of the hyena is an encapsulation of a sequence of actions into one scene, which may be understood as "herders feed hyenas with a choice and expensive diet to fatten them for the tomb owner's table". The images of tethered animals suggest that these hyenas were kept in enclosed compounds. It is difficult, to explain why the less complex scene of feeding cattle was not used as a model for the depiction of the hyena feeding process. The power of the hyena's jaws and the way it lunges at food would have been well appreciated by contemporaries. So the image of putting or forcing food into the uncontrolled mouth of the animal, with all its attendant dangers, would have detracted from the information the scene was intended to convey, that is, the animal was being deliberately fed a rich diet. The image of dropping the food into the hyena's upturned open mouth, with the animal's movements controlled so that it was unable to lunge at the hand holding the food, provides a more directed and focused communication to contemporaries.

Representing the hyena on its back and being force-fed is the clearest and simplest way of stating that the animal was being prepared for the table. An image of a hyena standing to eat food placed before it would not have conveyed the idea of *intentional* fattening with the same degree of clarity. A depiction of the impossible situation of pushing food by hand into the mouth of a standing or recumbent hyena, which was free to use its powerful jaws at will, would have appeared ludicrously dangerous to Egyptians viewing the scene. Yet visitors to the tomb would have easily understood the message contained in the image of force-feeding the hyena

while controlling its jaws. Familiar with the capabilities of the hyena, contemporaries would appreciate that a herder could easily lose a hand in the powerful jaws of an animal frightened and angry at being thrown on its back and would have known such a process could not take place in reality. All that would have been required to make the animal grow plump and tender would have been confinement to a stall or on a tether to restrict movement, and a generous supply of rich foods. Hyenas are able to consume and digest tough organic matter that other animals would not find edible. In the wild they are an omnivorous scavenger, ingesting carrion, rodents, reptiles, birds and bird's eggs and small mammals, skin and bones, vegetable matter, insects, molluscs and other animal droppings.⁴¹ With a digestive system capable of processing animal hide and large bones the hyena, it is said, can even derive nourishment from mummified carcasses. Taken and slaughtered directly from the wild, their meat would be tough and perhaps unpalatable. To turn a hyena into a succulent dish, it would be necessary to stable-rear the animal and fatten it on a variety of selected foodstuffs.

Conclusion

The three images discussed in this paper, the spear-fishing tomb owner, attendants feeding cattle and the hyena, have common characteristics. The essential activity portrayed in each scene is not in question, the tomb owner speared fish in the marshes just as the cattle and hyenas were fattened for slaughter. Yet the three scenes all purport to be a record of an activity that never could have taken place in the manner shown. The surrender of reality in order to communicate a concept is a typically Egyptian expedient. For us, however, the merging of concepts and sequences of actions into a single scene presents a problem similar to deciphering a code. Egyptian art deals in a variety of pictorial codes that are embedded in and imbued with the Egyptian life experience and world view.⁴²

The de-coding of a single image may seem a minor issue in the light of the totality of scenes in Old Kingdom tombs and the evidence they offer of a society four and a half thousand years ago. Yet developing the capacity to de-code individual images and to *read* them with an open mind is a step on the pathway to answering bigger questions.⁴³ Why were these important officials satisfied to decorate their tombs at great expense with mundane scenes of 'everyday life'? They were servants of the crown and not just landholders or estate supervisors. Some were brilliant architects, engineers, administrators who marshalled the country's resources for enormous public works or leaders of great and daring expeditions. These activities, which for us represent the supreme achievements of an official's working life, are never reflected in the iconography of the tombs.

Answers to the questions of why a great official chose to portray himself inspecting a parade of cattle rather than leading a successful expedition; or standing on a canoe to hunt birds or fish instead of accomplishing a great public work, lie in the *Zeitgeist* of the Old Kingdom, which for us is at best a half-open book. When we

can appreciate why powerful viziers such as Kagemni and Mereruka included images of force-feeding hyenas in their tombs, but omitted scenes that in our opinion would reflect their power and achievements, we may be closer to understanding their worldview.

* I would like to thank Sameh Shafik and Mary Hartley for completing the intricate line drawings accompanying the text (Figures 1, 3 and 5). Thanks are also due to the Australian Centre for Egyptology for allowing me to re-produce selected scenes from the tombs of Mereruka, Inunin and Seshathetep at Saqqara and Giza (Figures 2 and 4).

1 Weeks ascribes our failure to recognize intended meanings represented by an image in Egyptian art to our inability to identify its 'significant attributes'. K. R. Weeks (ed.) *Egyptology and the Social Sciences. Five Studies* (Cairo, 1979), 59-81.

2 For a discussion of the purpose of the tomb with reference to the New Kingdom see M. K. Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419-1372 BCE* (Turnhout, 2004), 37-40.

3 See J. C. Moreno García, *Hwt et le milieu égyptien du III^e millénaire. économie, administration et organisation territoriale* (Paris, 1999), 64-72.

4 R. van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs* (Leiden, 2005), 85-91.

5 H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, trans. J. Baines, (Oxford, 1974), 231. See also E. Brunner-Traut, 'Aspective' in Schäfer, *Principles*, 431.

6 L. Evans, *The Representation of Animal Behaviour in Old Kingdom Tomb Scenes from Giza and Saqqara* (PhD diss., Macquarie University, Sydney, 2006), 81-82.

7 D. J. Brewer and R. F. Friedman, *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1989), 11, 78-79

8 A. M. Blackman and M. R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, V. The tomb-chapels A, No.1 (That of Ni'ankh-pepi the black) A, No.2 (That of Pepi'onkh with the 'Good name' of Heny the Black), A, No.4 (That of Hepi the Black), D. No. 1 (That of Pepi), and E, Nos.1-4 (Those of Meniu, Nenki, Pepi'onkh and Tjetu)* (London, 1953), pl. 24. This is the only instance of a caption that provides a geographical location for the theme of the tomb owner fishing and fowling.

9 People who are illiterate are particularly alert to information provided pictorially. J. Baines, 'Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society', *Man* 18 [3] (1983), 572-599.

10 To my knowledge this interpretation was first suggested by J. Kamrin, *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan* (London, 1999), 113. See also S. Binder, 'The Tomb Owner Fishing and Fowling' in L. Donovan and K. McCorquodale, (eds) *Egyptian Art. Principles and Themes in Wall Scenes* (Guizeh, 2000), 111-128.

11 K. R. Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000. Including G 6010 (Neferbauptah); G 6020 (Iymery); G 6030 (Ity); G 6040 (Shepseskafankh)* (Boston, 1994), fig. 31.

12 R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch, I. Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit* (Mainz/Rhein. 2003), 718-720.

13 Ptahhotep-LS 31: C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, II* (re.pr., Berlin. 1972,), pl. 102b.

14 H. Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti, II* (Cairo, 1953), pl. 124.

15 LD II, pl. 62; L. Épron and L. Dumas, *Le Tombeau de Ti, I* (Cairo, 1939), pl. 26.

16 Bloat in cattle is a swelling of the rumen caused when gases which form in normal fermentation cannot escape. Evans, *Animal Behaviour in Old Kingdom Tomb Scenes*, 93-95.

- 17 There is evidence of domesticated cattle in Upper and Lower Egypt from the Fifth millennium BC. R. A. Lobban Jr., 'Cattle and the rise of the Egyptian State' in *Anthrozoos*, II (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1989), 194-201.
- 18 Evans, *Animal Behaviour in Old Kingdom Tomb Scenes*, 147ff.
- 19 Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* I, 384.
- 20 Evans, *Animal Behaviour in Old Kingdom Tomb Scenes*, 94.
- 21 In Figure 2 the images on the middle register of tethered desert animals eating or drinking from containers do not convey the idea of animals being intentionally fattened.
- 22 "Cattle can ... (be) fattened on high energy feedstuffs. This is done routinely in the cattle feeding industry. Some feedlots still make use of discarded human byproducts such as bakery goods, brewery byproducts, vegetable byproducts, whatever is available in the area. Cattle ... need energy, protein and carbohydrates and minerals... But a high energy feedstuff like dough, wheat, barley, would certainly "fatten cattle", provided it was balanced with other nutrients". Communication from J. M. Stookey, Professor at Western College of Veterinary Medicine, University of Saskatchewan.
- 23 M. F. Moens and W. Wetterstrom, 'The Agricultural Economy of an Old Kingdom Town in Egypt's West Delta: Insights from the Plant Remains', *JNES* 47 [3] (July 1988), 159-173.
- 24 A. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep (Mainz/Rhein, 1977)*, fig. 17; N. de G Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqarah*, 2 vols. (1900-1901, London), II, fig. 21.
- 25 Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* I, 718.
- 26 L. Épron and F. Dumas, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, Fascicle I. *Les approches de la chapelle*, (Cairo, 1939), pl. 6.
- 27 Y. Harpur and P. Scremin, *The Chapel of Kagemni. Scene Details* (Oxford, 2006), 496 [13].
- 28 P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1938), II, pl. 152.
- 29 W. V Davies, A. El-Khouli, A. B. Lloyd and A. J. Spencer, *Saqqâra Tombs*, I. *The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu* (London, 1984), pl. 6a.
- 30 N. Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, VIII. *The Tomb of Inumin* (Oxford, 2006), pl. 47.
- 31 S. Ikram, 'The Iconography of the Hyena in Ancient Egyptian Art', *MDAIK* 57 (2001), 127.
- 32 The most thoughtful replies came from the Papanek Park Zoo, Ontario, Canada, whose keeper stated that it would only be possible for a man to force open a hyena's jaws if the animal were sedated, and from the Singapore Zoo, whose keeper explained that it would be extremely difficult to force feed a hyena lying on its back as the animal would have great difficulty swallowing the food. It would be an extremely dangerous undertaking. It was also suggested that when returned to upright the animal would probably regurgitate the food it had been forced to swallow.
- 33 A. Wagner, *Behavioral ecology of the striped hyaena (Hyaena hyaena)* (PhD diss., Montana State University, 2006).
- 34 See for example N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara*, II. *The Tombs of Inefert and Ihy (reused by Idut)* (Oxford, 2003), pl. 71. For a study of these scenes see S. Ikram, *Choice Cuts. Meat Production in Ancient Egypt* (Leuven, 1995).
- 35 N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza*, II. *Seshathetep/Heti (G5150), Nesutnefer (G4970) and Seshemnefer II (G5080)* (Warminster, 2002), 23-24, pls. 5, 46.
- 36 Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* I, 912. The *h* of *h̄tt* is missing. Kanawati, *Giza* II, pls. 5, 46.
- 37 Kanawati, *Giza* II, pls. 16, 56.

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- ³⁸ This occurrence was kindly pointed out to me by Elizabeth Thompson of Macquarie University, who has worked on both tombs. The line drawing of the offering list on p. 130 of Ikram, *MDAIK*, 57 (2001) is from the tomb of Seshathetep/Heti, not Nesutnefer.
- ³⁹ Kanawati, *Giza II*, 11-12, pls. 7(a), 10(b), 45.
- ⁴⁰ Kanawati, *Giza II*, 31-33.
- ⁴¹ The only parts of an animal the hyena cannot digest are hair, horns and hooves, which it chews up in its powerful jaws but regurgitates in pellet form.
- ⁴² The image of the standing tomb owner is a series of statements regarding his vigour, position and influence rather than a true picture of the man. His individuality is only shown in his profile. B. Bothmer 'On Realism in Egyptian Funerary Sculpture,' *Expedition* 24 [2] (Winter 1982), 27-39; Simpson, 'Aspects of Egyptian Art: Function and Aesthetic' D. Schmandt-Besserat (ed.), *Immortal Egypt. Invited Lectures on the Near East at the University of Texas in Austin* (Malibu, 1978), 21-22.
- ⁴³ Baines refers to "...the essentially unsolved general problem of the purpose of Old Kingdom tomb decoration." J. Baines, 'Forerunners of Narrative Biographies' in A. Leahy and J. Tait (eds) *Studies in Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith* (London, 1999), 34.



FIGURE 1. Pepy-ankh-heny-kem of Meir spearing two fish.
After Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 24.

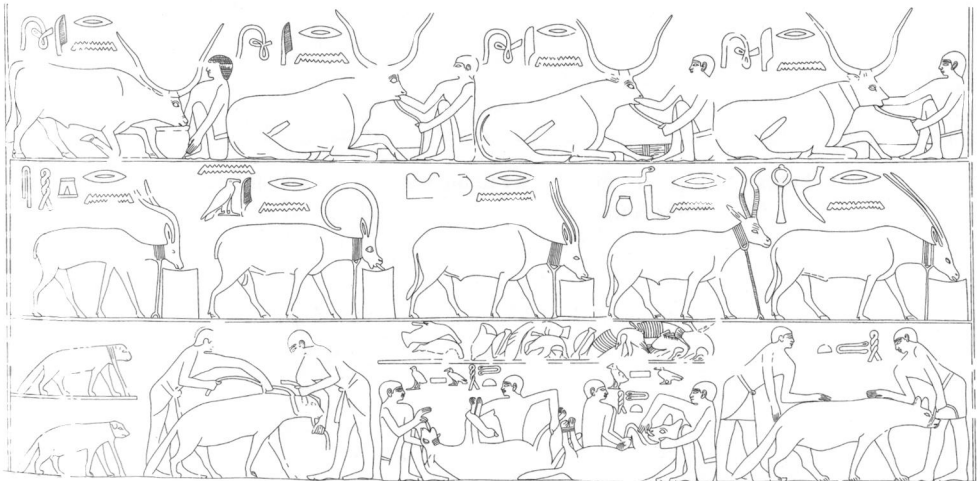


FIGURE 2. Force-feeding hyena in the tomb of Mereruka at Saqqara.
With permission of the Australian Centre for Egyptology.

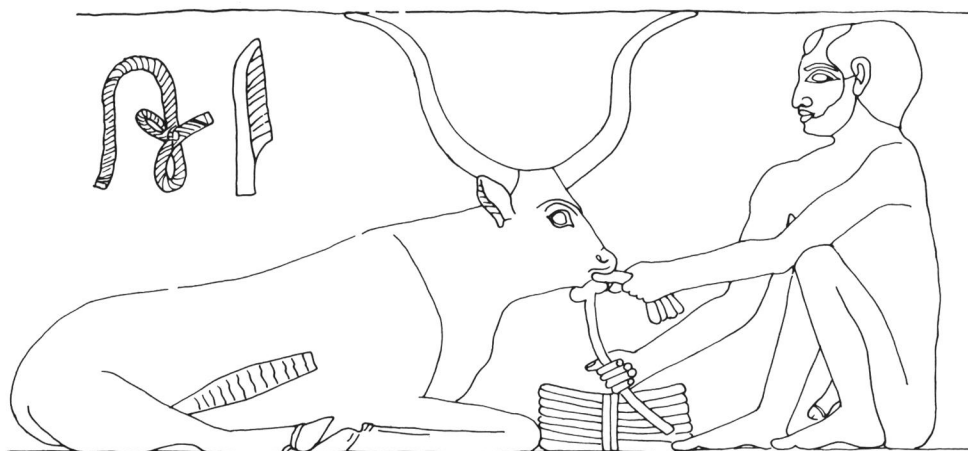


FIGURE 3. A herder feeding an ox in the tomb of Ti at Saqqara.
After Wild, *Ti* II, pl. 124.

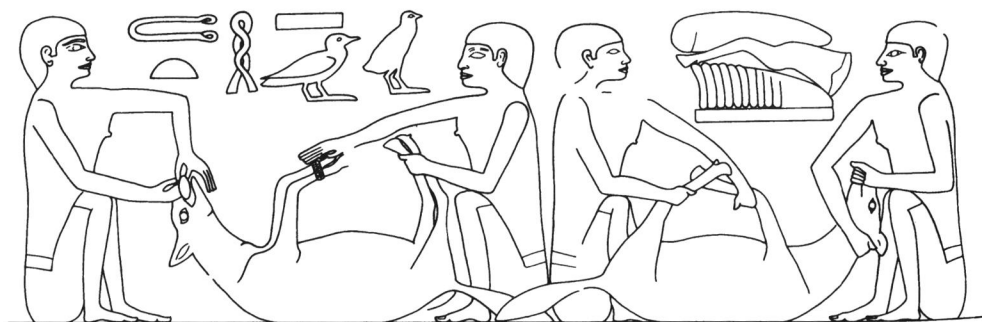


FIGURE 4. Force-feeding hyena in the tomb of Inumin at Saqqara.
After Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* VIII, pl. 47.

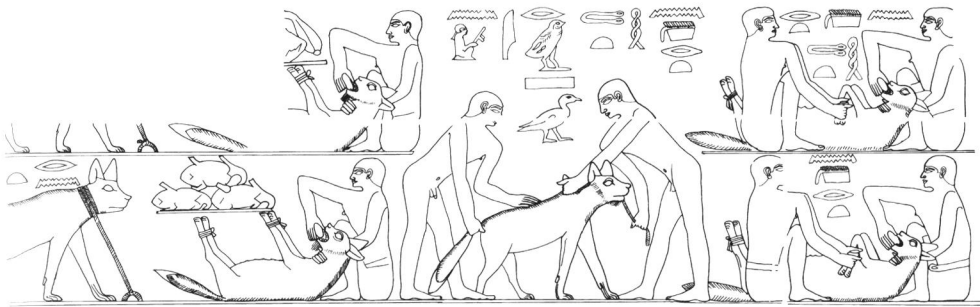


FIGURE 5. Force-feeding hyenas in the tomb of Kagemni at Saqqara.
After Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, 496 (13).



FIGURE 6. The offering list of Seshathetep/Heti at Giza including hyena.
After Kanawati, *Giza II*, pl. 46.