

## **FISHING, FOWLING AND ANIMAL-HANDLING IN THE TOMB OF DJEFAIHAPI I AT ASYUT \***

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This article is the third of a series of preliminary reports that present the architectural features and decoration of the rock-cut tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty nomarch Djefaihapi I (Tomb I, P10.1 / Figure 1), who ruled Asyut during the reign of Senusret I.<sup>1</sup> A monograph with the full documentation of this large rock-cut tomb will follow when the difficulties with the removal of modern concrete covering the original floor have been overcome and the excavation of the complex system of passages and shafts leading to the burial chambers has been completed.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the interest directed towards recording the significant inscriptions of the chapel since it was explored by the French Expedition to Egypt in 1799<sup>3</sup> and even much earlier,<sup>4</sup> little attention has been paid to its brightly coloured representations that display remarkable artistic skill and some rare details. Still unpublished are parts of the north wall of the great transverse hall as well as the decoration of the inner passage: pastoral scenes with goats nibbling the leaves of trees and boys in a fig tree picking fruit,<sup>5</sup> offering scenes and a scene of the tomb owner fishing and fowling. These constitute the focus of this study. The chapel which has lost its façade and the first transverse hall today consists of an east-west outer passage with vaulted ceiling, a great north-south transverse hall and an east-west inner passage with vaulted ceiling leading to the western-most part of the chapel formed of a U-shaped hall enclosing a statue-shrine in the west.<sup>6</sup>

The inner passage measures 13.59 m (E–W) x 8.15 m (N–S) and is connected with the great transverse hall through a doorway 1.85 m wide and 3.24 m deep. The doorway, which has lost most of its jambs and thicknesses, is surmounted by a slightly projecting lintel 3.72 m wide and 1.66 m high. This lintel is in a good state of preservation and is decorated with inscriptions in sunken relief with the carved signs filled in with blue paint. The socket preserved in this lintel suggests that the passage was closed by a single-leaf door. The limestone surface of both the north and south walls of the passage is smoothed and coated with a thin layer of gypsum plaster and decorated with painted scenes and inscriptions, much of which has been lost. Into the south wall, at a later time, a corridor leading to a subsidiary chamber was unevenly cut damaging the decoration of the lower register of the wall. In addition, two irregularly

shaped alcoves were forced into the lower part of the north wall damaging parts of the painted dado. Furthermore, the western ends of both walls are broken away. Faint traces of paint on the thin layer of gypsum plaster coating the passage's vaulted ceiling suggest that it was decorated like most of the other ceilings of the chapel.<sup>7</sup> In the eastern end, both the north and south walls are decorated with a colourful ladder-pattern border in with red, orange-red, blue units separated from each other by elements painted red-white-red. The dado of all the walls is yellow, dotted in red, bordered at the top with two red bands.

The great transverse hall measures 23.00 m (N-S) x 10.53 m (E-W). Its uneven north wall is cut into poor quality rock. Originally, the wall surface would have been coated with thin layer of gypsum plaster and decorated with painted scenes and inscriptions. Like the walls of the inner passage, the decoration on the eastern end of this wall also has a ladder-pattern border, the colours of which are no longer discernible. The dado is also yellow, dotted in red, and bordered at the top by one red band.

Extensive use of colours characterizes the tomb decoration. Blue, green, red, orange-red, brown and black are attested for the conventionally painted representations. Black occurs regularly for hair; both dark brown and orange-red are used for male skin; dark brown for female skin. A variety of colours and combinations of colours and patterns is used for the cattle; blue or green occurs for the goats' horns and hoofs; red is chosen for the crocodile, and blue for the beaks and wings of some birds. The hieroglyphic inscriptions are in blue and green.

**Inner Passage – North Wall** (Figures 2, 5–6): *The Fishing and Fowling Scenes*

The wall is fully occupied by a composite scene of the tomb-owner fishing and fowling in the marshlands, with the fishing on the left and the fowling on the right connected by the papyrus thicket and the traditional mound of water. The top of the thicket ends in four rows of open papyrus umbels painted green and outlined in brown, the same colour is used for the stalks. Recognizable motifs in the rather damaged papyrus thicket are a nesting dove and traces of further birds standing on the papyrus umbels. Two less well preserved animals painted brown which climb up the papyrus stalks can probably be identified as an Egyptian Mongoose (*Herpestes ichneumon*) and a Common Genet (*Genetta genetta*), animals traditionally associated with fishing and fowling scenes.<sup>8</sup> Traces of a bird standing on the prow of the fowler's boat are discernible, while a brown duck with an orange-red beak is standing on the prow of the fisher's boat (Figure 6). The water of the mound in front of and beneath the two boats is painted in alternating blue and black vertical zig-zag lines and teems with fish and green lotus-flowers. There are two incompletely preserved

rows of wading geese in pairs with brownish and orange-red plumage and orange-red beaks. Two aquatic animals are partly preserved; a crocodile painted red with black spots lurks under the boat on the left, while at the extreme right hand side of the scene there appears the green hind quarters of an animal which may be an unusually coloured hippopotamus.

### *The Fowling Scene (Figure 5)*

To the right of the mound of water, the tomb-owner is depicted in a large green papyrus boat fitted with a brown wooden deck for better footing and distribution of weight on the vessel. Djefaihapi I's head is lost but there are remnants of his blue fillet, blue collar and a blue bracelet on his right wrist. Over an apron and short *shendjit*-kilt in orange-red he wears a seemingly transparent wrap-around kilt that extends below his knee.<sup>9</sup> In one hand he holds decoy birds, of which little remains, while in the other, now completely lost, he would have held a throw-stick.<sup>10</sup> Of the four columns of text in front of the tomb-owner only isolated signs can be identified, among them *sh(w)t* "marshlands" in the first column. Djefaihapi I is accompanied by his mother, daughter, and two other women who are probably his two wives, the same four ladies who are depicted with him on the west wall of the shrine.<sup>11</sup> Except for the daughter whose head and necklace are not preserved, the ladies wear long wigs, blue necklaces, blue bracelets, anklets and long, tight-fitting dresses with one shoulder strap. All these garments are white, except for the daughter's which is patterned in green, blue and red and would have been made from cloth of interwoven colours.

His mother stands behind the tomb-owner with her right hand holding a lotus blossom to her nose and her left arm hanging by her side. She is labelled *mwt=f mrt=f Jdjyt*<sup>12</sup> ("his mother, his beloved, Idyt"). Behind her is another woman squatting in the stern, also holding a lotus blossom to her nose with her right hand and resting her left hand on her lap. She is identified as one of the two wives by the fragmentary caption: (1) [*hmt=f* // *Hwt-hr* // (2) // *jrrt hz[z]t* // "(1) his [wife] // Hathor // (2) // who does what // favours //". In front of the tomb-owner, facing him, is his daughter, who holds a throw-stick in her left hand and a lotus blossom in her right. The caption above her figure reads (1) *z3[t]=f mrt=f hzwt=f nt* (2) *st-jb=f hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr* //<sup>13</sup> "his daughter, his beloved, his favoured one of his trust, the priestess of Hathor". Between them is a stand from which multicoloured captured waterfowl are suspended. The bird on the extreme left has a beak painted blue. Behind the daughter, in the prow of the boat, another woman is squatting, probably Djefaihapi I's second wife. She holds a fly-whisk in her left hand and rests her right hand on her lap. Only very few signs of the associated caption are preserved: *///t=f [Hwt-hr]///* "/// [Hathor] ///".

In the top right hand corner of the scene, are two male figures with the same orientation as the tomb-owner. The first figure wears a long, "transparent" garment over a short white kilt and apron. With the man's skin painted dark brown, the transparency of his outer garment is indicated by painting it orange-red when it directly covers the body and white when hanging free. Of the caption only signs for  $r^c$  are discernible. Following him is a young male depicted with the side-lock and a long necklace with an amulet in the form of the ideogram for  $jb \heartsuit$  (heart). He wears a short white kilt and holds a lotus blossom in his left hand; his right hand is lost.

*The Fishing Scene* (Figure 6)

In the fishing scene, the figure of the tomb-owner is badly damaged. He stands in a green papyrus boat that has a brown wooden deck and holds a spear with which he has caught one fish, probably either a *Tilapia* or a *Lates niloticus*, the two fish traditionally depicted in comparable contexts.<sup>14</sup> Only traces of the orange-red skin colour of the tomb-owner's torso and traces of a bracelet around his left wrist are preserved. Djefaihapi I is accompanied by two smaller scale male figures standing before his feet; the figure in front has close-cropped hair, a blue collar, blue bracelets and wears a short kilt with a pointed apron under a knee-length wrap-around kilt held at the waist by a sash. With his right hand he grasps his left shoulder, while his left arm hangs down his side. Only the lower parts of the first three of four columns of the caption are preserved: (1) ///  $mr[j]r[=f]$  (2) ///  $[jw^c]w=^j^{15}$  (3) ///  $nbt m$  (4) /// "(1) /// his beloved (2) /// his [heir] (3) /// every /// in (4) ///".

A second figure looks back towards the tomb-owner; he holds up a spear with his right hand, and grasps his right shoulder with his left hand. He, too, has close-cropped hair, a long necklace and a short wrap-around kilt and sash. In the prow of the boat are depicted four large fish, well enough preserved to be identified as three *Tilapia* and one *Mugel*.<sup>16</sup>

**Inner Passage – South Wall** (Figures 7–10): *Offering Scene*

On the right, the large-scale figure of Djefaihapi I is badly damaged: only part of his hand extended towards an offering table (now lost) and one foot resting on a green mat remain. Very few traces of the gifts on the offering table are recognizable, but further to the left are stacks of food items, including cuts of meat, poultry, vegetables, different types of bread and cakes as well as flowers, some of which are used as decoration around a tall jar. In a bowl finely decorated with blue cross-hatching on a white background and placed on a stand is an arrangement of blue lotus flowers alternating with green buds (Figure 7).<sup>17</sup> The only remnants of the offering list above are several small figures of men kneeling to present items.

In the four registers associated with this scene, the general orientation of the figures is towards the tomb-owner on the right. The person heading the four registers is wringing the neck of a goose (Figure 7). He has close-cropped hair, and wears a blue collar, blue bracelets and a long wrap-around kilt held by a sash over a short white kilt. The label in two lines reads (1) *jrj p<sup>c</sup>t jmj-[r hm(w)-ntr Dfβ=j]-h[γpj]-<sup>c</sup>3<sup>18</sup>* (2) */// st-jb n Dfβ=j-h<sup>c</sup>pj* "(1) the hereditary prince, the overseer of [priests, Djefai]hapi-Aa (2) *///* the favourite one of Djefaihapi".

In the top register only the legs of ten male figures, seven striding and three kneeling, are represented. As in other representations of men performing the offering ceremony the kneeling men clench their fists raising one hand and beating their chests with the other while reciting the glorifications.<sup>19</sup> Here, too, one man faces in the opposite direction; he may be dragging a broom along the ground behind him and looking back as he performs the ritual known as *jnt rd* "bringing the broom".<sup>20</sup>

The second register is devoted to a procession of nine women personifying the tomb-owner's ka-chapel.<sup>21</sup> The caption of three columns reads from right to left:

- (1) */// htpt dβw bw* (2) */// r /// jmj-r hm[w]-ntr*  
 (3) *[D]β=j-[h<sup>c</sup>]pj jn mrt=f prw=f ntrj nt pr-dt*<sup>22</sup>  
 (1) *///* food-offerings and provisions of the place (2) *///* the overseer of priest[s]  
 (3) [Djefaihapi] by his subjects of his own divine houses.

The women wear long wigs, long, tight-fitting garments with one shoulder strap painted white, orange-red, blue or green, as well as blue collars, blue bracelets and anklets. They differ in what they carry on their heads and the animals they are leading. The first woman supports a tray filled with food items on her head with her left hand and holds a lotus blossom in her right. The second woman has a basket on her head and is accompanied by a small, white animal on a leash. She is labelled *hwt-k3 nt pr-dt* "(his) own ka-chapel". The next woman holds a live goose in her right hand, and with her left she supports a tray of food on her head; a jar with a rope handle hangs from the crook of her left arm. The fourth woman has a basket on her head and carries a less well-preserved basket (?). She is followed by a woman with a large tray of food on her head who leads a white, horned animal on a leash. Her action is described as *[shp]t rn n m3-[hd jn hwt]-k3 [nt] pr-dt* "[bringing] a young [Scimitar-horned oryx<sup>23</sup> by] (his) own ka-[chapel]". The sixth woman, also with a large tray on her head, is accompanied by a small white ox with brown spots on a leash: *[shpt] rn n jw3 j[n] hwt-k3 [nt] pr-dt* "[bringing] a young ox by (his) own ka-chapel". The seventh woman holds a tall bunch of papyrus stalks in her left hand and two cranes in a basket in the other (Figure 10). The eighth woman

supports with her left hand a cage with live birds and holds a goose by its wings in her right hand. The caption is partially lost but contains the same phrase as the others: */// [j]n hwt-k3 nt pr-dt "/// by (his) own ka-chapel".* The last woman, whose action is labelled *shpt rn n wndw [jn] hwt-k3 nt pr-dt* "bringing a young short-horned cattle [by] (his) own ka-chapel" leads such a calf and supports a tray of food on her head with her left hand.

The third register features men preparing the offering of fowl and meat. The first group is handling fowl: one man holds a goose by its wings and a crane under his right arm, behind him a man takes a goose from a cage that encloses three more geese (Figure 8). Note that there is blue on the beaks of these geese, two of which have also blue wings.

The remainder of the register is taken up by three groups of butchery scenes with a short dialogue between the butchers recorded in the captions.<sup>24</sup> The first butcher carries a foreleg over his left shoulder and a cut of meat in his right hand: *shpt stpt n k3=fjw w<sup>c</sup>b* "bringing the choice pieces for his ka, it is pure". All the butchers have close-cropped hair and wear short wrap-around kilts painted white. The same colour is used for the animals, but the cuts of meat and the inner parts of the animals exposed by the butchers' incisions are distinguished with the use of orange-red paint. A butcher of the first group is slitting the animal's throat and saying to his companion *w3h<sup>c</sup>=k jmj pr stpt n k3 n jrj p<sup>c</sup>t h3tj-<sup>c</sup> jmj-r hm(w)-ntr Dj3=j-h<sup>c</sup>pj nb jm3h* – "put your hand, manage to get good cuts for the ka of the hereditary prince,<sup>25</sup> the count, the overseer of priests, Djefaihapi, possessor of reverence". The companion, who is skinning the foreleg, responds *jrj(=j) hzt=k* – "I will do your wish". The caption for the second group where a butcher is engaged in severing the animal's foreleg is badly damaged: */// hz[j]j* – "/// favourably/please". His companion, who appears to be leaning on the animal's hind part says: */// pr [jwf] n h3t<sup>26</sup> jkr* – "/// finish with the [fillet] well". In the third group, a butcher is carrying a foreleg on his left shoulder and a cut of meat in his right hand (Figure 10). He is looking back to his two companions saying: *jmj h3tj* – "finish with the heart". The butcher who is about to insert his hand into the animal, which might be to extract the heart, says: *m3<sup>c</sup> n k3=f mrrw Wp-w3wt* – "offer to his ka, beloved of Wepwawet". The next man holds the animal's hind leg upright saying: *w3h<sup>c</sup>=k jmj pr 3rt* – "put your hand, manage to get a piece of meat off for roasting".

The badly damaged bottom register depicts a procession of male offering bearers oriented towards the figure of the tomb-owner. The figures have close-cropped hair and wear short white kilts (Figure 10). Their offerings include food, drink, live birds and small animals. Among the fine details characterizing the representations of this register is the decoration of some of the trays

balanced on the offering bearers' shoulders (Figure 9). Each of these trays is ornamented and painted with attention to minute detail: one with horizontal zig-zag lines, others with tiny squares in red, green, black and white alternating; another with horizontal zig-zag lines alternating in green and white. A caption of one of the less well preserved offering bearers near the middle of the register reads: *shpt rn n nj3w n k3=f* – "bringing a young Nubian ibex<sup>27</sup> for his *ka*". The caption that follows describes the action as *shpt rn n jw3* – "bringing a young ox". Further along, the text mentions *shpt rn n m3-hd n k3=f* – "bringing a young scimitar-horned oryx for his *ka*".

### Great Transverse Hall – North Wall (Figures 11–13):

#### *Pastoral Scenes and Fig-picking Scene*

This wall features a fine example of a Middle Kingdom pastoral scene,<sup>28</sup> into which the theme of boys picking figs is incorporated.<sup>29</sup> The wall surface is divided into six registers with the figures oriented towards left. The uppermost register is badly damaged; the second register is reserved for scenes of animal husbandry in the pasture; registers 3 and 4 depict a procession of animals returning from the pasture; registers 5 and 6 are reserved for the representation of goats nibbling the leaves of acacia trees and boys picking the fruit from the branches of a fig tree.

Of the top register, only the remains of two striding men and two oxen are preserved. In the second register, faint traces of a bush near the right end are the only detail of the setting in the pasture. The scene shows two herds of cattle, their figures overlapping; prancing calves; one herdsman leading a calf, another kneeling to milk a cow that looks back towards her offspring; a herdsman waving his stick and holding the right foreleg of a brown-painted calf that looks back towards its mother. Addressing a companion, this herdsman says *j3[?] bhs mnjw jhw* – "look after the calf, herdsman [lit.: guard of cattle]". The preserved herdsmen have close-cropped hair and wear short white kilts. Some of these figures have particular features: in the third register, two men have bent knees one of whom also walks with a tall staff (Figure 11). The figures reminiscent of the emaciated herdsman in near contemporary tombs and may show the old age and weakness of these men, contrasting their condition with that of the healthy, fat cattle they care for. The last herdsman in the fourth register is pot-bellied.

The procession in registers 3 and 4 shows 11 groups of fattened cattle decorated with broad bands of festive ornaments. There is great variety in the representation of these cattle: some are hornless, others long-horned; some are painted white or black with or without white spots, or orange-red with or without black spots, brown or brown-and-white. With the exception of the

final images of both registers, each group consists of two or three animals led by a herdsman. Where preserved, these men wear short white kilts; some have close-cropped hair, others shoulder-length baggy wigs. The captions above them in register 3 read (from left to right): *rn [n] jw3* – "young ox(en)", *mz ///* – "bringing ///*///*", *jn[t rn n j]w3* – "bringing [young] ox(en)", *rn n jw3* – "young ox(en)". In register 4, the texts mention *[j]w3* – "ox(en)", *j[n]t ///* *[j]w3 ntr<sup>30</sup> hr-  
r<sup>31</sup>* – "bringing fettered ox(en) which are in the charge of ///*///*"; the words of a drover who looks back at his cattle and sees a cow turning its head: *dj jr=f jht  
r dd jb=f* – "letting it do things according to what it wishes"; *mz wndw* – "bringing short-horned cattle"; the last groups are labelled *jnt j]w3 [n]tt [hr]-  
///<sup>32</sup>* – "bringing fettered ox(en) which are in the charge of ///*///*" and *rn n jw3* – "young ox(en)".

The setting of registers 5 and 6 is a landscape densely planted with foliated acacia trees and a fig tree occupying the height of both registers (Figure 13). The caption in the fifth register is badly damaged:

*/// w[t] ///* *htmtj-[bjtj] smr w<sup>c</sup>tj sm hrp šndt [nbt] ///* *nb jm3h*  
 ///*///* goats ///*///* the sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole companion,  
 the *sm*-priest, the director of [every] kilt ///*///* possessor of reverence

Only a few signs survive of the corresponding caption in the register below:

*/// jrj p<sup>t</sup> ///* *htmtj-[bjtj] smr w<sup>c</sup>tj jmj-r hm(w)-ntr n ///*  
 ///*///* the hereditary prince, ///*///* the sealer of the king of Lower Egypt,  
 the sole companion, the overseer of priests of ///*///*

A scribe on the left and two goatherds are the only figures preserved. One of these wears a shoulder-length baggy wig; the other men have close-cropped hair and wear short white kilts. The boys picking figs also have close-cropped hair but they are naked (Figure 13). The goats in both registers are variously coloured: white, orange-red with or without brown spots, or brown; their horns and hoofs are painted either green or blue. The scene also features what appear to be two jackals painted in different colours and combinations: white, orange-red, white-and-brown. The trunks and branches of the trees are brown, as are the figs; the foliage is green.

The squatting scribe in register 5 is in the process of writing, with a spare reed-pen tucked behind his ear. On the ground in front of him is additional writing equipment. The only traces of his caption are *zš ///* *zš ///* – "recording ///*///* the scribe ///*///*". Behind him are groups of overlapping goats followed by a goatherd in his left hand holding an axe against his shoulder. In the acacia thicket behind



him, is a very lively scene that extends over both registers: several goats are standing on their hind legs with the forelegs up in the lower branches of the tree eating the leaves; kids are among them; two overlapping jackals, which are hiding in the thicket, are shown attacking one of the goats (Figure 12); other goats are being herded by a goatherd at the back of the group. In the sixth register, the last herdsman holds a forked stick in his left hand and an axe in the other.<sup>33</sup>

A large fig tree on the right spans the two registers. Two boys are discernible in the branches, picking the fruit and one holding a basket full of figs. There are also traces of two more boys under the tree, bending towards the ground.

### Commentary

When comparing Djefaihapi I's tomb decoration with that of other Middle Kingdom tombs, Smith<sup>34</sup> concluded that Djefaihapi I's closely matched the style of the Twelfth Dynasty chapel of Djehuty-hetep II at Bersheh (Tomb 2)<sup>35</sup> and showed none of the bold, clumsy quality that characterizes the Middle Kingdom work at Beni Hasan, including that in the tomb of Khnum-hotep (Tomb 3) dated to the reign of Senusret II.<sup>36</sup> In fact, the decoration of Djefaihapi I's tomb reflects much of the tradition of the fine craftsmanship attested at Asyut throughout the Herakleopolitan Period, which was based on the conventional Memphite style of the Old Kingdom.<sup>37</sup> The motifs in the tomb of Djefaihapi were probably influenced by the late Old Kingdom repertoire of scenes which includes the swamp scene with its paired representation of the tomb-owner with throw-stick and fishing-spear, scenes of goats eating leaves from trees, of tending cattle, extensive inspection of herds, of slaughtering scenes and of processions of offering bearers.

Generally, in the Middle Kingdom, there is a tendency towards using elaborate settings and depictions with intricate detail.<sup>38</sup> Djefaihapi I's chapel provides exquisite examples for this: the multicolour dress of the daughter in the fowling scene (Figure 5), the ornate bowl with the blue lotus flowers (Figure 7), the details of the basketry trays in the offering scene (Figure 9), the individually executed leaves of the densely foliated acacia trees (Figure 12), and the broad banded ornaments around the necks of the cattle (Figure 11).

Despite much realistic detail, the use of colours attested for the animals and birds is undeniably unrealistic. This, however, should not be taken as the result of relying on inadequate craftsmen, but rather as an attempt to produce an aesthetically pleasing decoration.<sup>39</sup> What remains inappropriate is the use of dark brown paint for the skin of the female figures while orange-red is attested for some of the males.

Interesting historical information concerning the Middle Kingdom *ka*-chapels can be gleaned from the offering scene on the south wall of the inner passage. The scene where the females bearing offerings are described as *hwt-k3 nt pr dt* "(his) own *ka*-chapel" suggests that the *ka*-chapel was itself a source of funerary offerings.<sup>40</sup> If Djefaihapi I's subordinates brought the food-offerings and provisions *htpt d3w* from his own divine houses *prw=f ntrj nt pr-dt*, as stated in the caption, then this suggests that both the *ka*-chapel and the divine houses had similar functions and that the two terms probably refer to the same institution.<sup>41</sup> If this identification is correct, Djefaihapi I must have owned more than one *ka*-chapel.<sup>42</sup> In one of Djefaihapi I's contracts, there is the mention of an *jmj-r hwt-k3* (the overseer of the chapel) among the members of the officials *knbwt* of the temple of Wepwawet.<sup>43</sup> Based on the existence of an official with such a title, Magee suggested that this second *ka*-chapel possibly belonged to Djefaihapi I, and that it may have formed a part of the temple in the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>44</sup> This additional *ka*-chapel of Djefaihapi I would have been a source of funerary offerings and perhaps also the place where one of his statues, referred to in Djefaihapi I's fourth contract,<sup>45</sup> was kept in the temple of Wepwawet.<sup>46</sup>

The daughter's title of *hmt-ntr Hwt-hr* (priestess of Hathor) is also noteworthy. According to Gillam, this position had all but vanished from the historical record by the reign of Senusret II, and even during the early part of the Twelfth Dynasty the title is only attested for few women.<sup>47</sup> Gillam's conclusion is generally accepted, but new information from Asyut now provides us with the name of a late Twelfth Dynasty priestess of Hathor called *Nht*, mother of *Htj*, owner of Tomb 12 at Asyut.<sup>48</sup> The inscriptions of Djefaihapi I's chapel add another hitherto unknown priestess of Hathor at Asyut; she is the daughter who accompanies him in the fowling scene on the north wall of the inner passage. She is the tenth known Siutian priestess of Hathor,<sup>49</sup> who should be added to Gillam's extensive list of holders of the title that spans the period from its earliest appearance during the Fourth Dynasty to the late Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>50</sup>

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\* I thank the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* for generously financing the field-work of the 2005 season. For the cooperation and support from the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities, I am especially grateful to Professor Dr Zahi Hawass, Chairman of the SCA; Mr Sabry Abdel-Aziz, Head of the Archaeology Sector; Mr Samir Anis, Director General of Antiquities for Middle Egypt; Mr Hani Sadek, the former Director General of Asyut; Mr Magdy El-Ghandour, Head of the Foreign and Egyptian Missions' Affairs and Permanent Committee, and our

accompanying Inspector, Mr Magdy Shaker. The scenes and inscriptions were drawn and inked by Dr Sameh Shafik, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude.

- 1 M. el-Khadragy, "The Shrine of the Rock-cut Chapel of Djefaihapi I at Asyut" in: *GM* 212 (2007) 41–62; E. Engel / J. Kahl, "Die Grabanlage Djefaihapis I. in Assiut: ein Rekonstruktionsversuch" in: J. Popielska-Grzybowska (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists* (Warsaw, in press); B. Porter / R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography IV* (Oxford, 1934) 261–62. The cartouches of Sensusret I are located in the chapel's great transverse hall, on the south side of the east wall, where Djefaihapi I is shown standing in an attitude of respect before three of the king's names (F.L.I. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rifeh* [London, 1889] pl. 4). For a map of the necropolis with the location of Tomb P10.1 see M. el-Khadragy, "New Discoveries in the Tomb of Khety II at Asyut" in: *BACE* 17 (2006) 81 (fig. 1).
- 2 At the time of the French Expedition to Egypt, access to the burial chambers under the chapel's statue-shrine was blocked by debris in the sloping passages and shafts: *Description de l'Égypte, IV: Antiquités. Descriptions* (Paris, 1818) 139–40; F.L.I. Griffith, "The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rifeh" in: *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* 3 (1889) 167.
- 3 *Description de l'Égypte, IV: Plates* (Paris, 1817) pls. 44–45, 47 [11] 49 [10–12]; *Texts*, 133–42. For the epigraphic work after Napoleon's expedition, see: Griffith, *Siût*, 9–10, pls. 1–10 [right], 20 [bottom middle]; P. Montet, "Les Tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh" in: *Kêmi* 1 (1928) 54–68, pls. 3–6 and *Kêmi* 3 (1930) 45–86, pls. 2–10.
- 4 Interest in copying parts of the Djefaihapi I's inscriptions is attested as early as the New Kingdom; see J. Kahl, *Siut – Theben: Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten* (Leiden, 1999) documents 1, 11, 15–17, 19. A fragmentary papyrus from Tebtunis (2nd century AD) recorded parts of the inscriptions of the tomb chapel, but likewise, there was no interest in the scenes; see J. Osing, in: J. Osing / G. Rosati (eds.), *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtynis* (Florence, 1998) 61–67, pl. 6.
- 5 Of the north wall, which is 23 m long, Smith only published a section of 1.25 x 1.30 m; see W.S. Smith, "A Painting in the Assiut Tomb of Hepzefâ" in: *MDAIK* 15 (1957) 221–24, fig. 1. This fragment is also briefly described by Montet in *Kêmi* 3 (1930) 6.
- 6 For the architecture, see Engel / Kahl, in: *The Third Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists* (in press). For a reconstruction of the statue-shrine, see el-Khadragy, in: *GM* 212 (2007) 42–43.
- 7 Different motifs were adopted for the ceiling decoration. Outer vaulted passage: blue stars with yellow centers on a yellow background, D. Magee, *Asyût to the End of the Middle Kingdom: A Historical and Cultural Study II* (PhD thesis, microfilm: Oxford, 1988) 4–6; great transverse hall: panels with different geometric patterns in blue and red on a yellow and white background, M.C. Shaw, "Ceiling patterns from the tomb of Hepzefâ" in: *AJA* 74 (1970) 25–26 and W.S. Smith,

- Interconnections in the Ancient Near East: A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia* (New Haven, 1965) 135; shrine: a band of hieroglyphic inscription in sunk relief, M. el-Khadragy, in: *GM 212* (2007) 44, fig. 6 [b].
- 8 In similar scenes, the mongoose and the genet are usually portrayed creeping up on a bird's nest to snatch fledglings or consume eggs; see P. Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs* (Cairo, 1996) 125–26, figs. 83–84; also P. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I* (London, 1893) pl. 34; A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir I* (London, 1914) pl. 2 and *The Rock Tombs of Meir VI* (London, 1953) pl. 13.
- 9 For example, Blackman, *Meir VI*, pl. 13.
- 10 For example, P. Newberry, *El Bersheh I* (London, 1895) pl. 8; Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 32; Blackman, *Meir I*, pl. 2; Blackman, *Meir VI*, pl. 13. Among the Middle Kingdom examples are some unconventional scenes where the tomb-owner is seated when netting birds instead of standing in a boat and fowling with a throwstick (Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 17; Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 33).
- 11 On the shrine's west wall, Djefaihapi I's wives are named *Snw* and *Wp3*; see el-Khadragy, in: *GM 212* (2007) fig. 4. According to W. Simpson, *Wp3* was dead by the time the shrine was being decorating; see Simpson, "Polygamy in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom?" in: *JEA* 60 (1974) 102 [4].
- 12 The mother's name occurs in two forms; on the west wall of the shrine she is *mwt=f mrt=f nt st-jb=f nbt pr Jdjj-ꜣt* – "his mother, his beloved of his trust, the mistress of the house, Idy-Aat"; see el-Khadragy, in: *GM 212* (2007) fig. 4.
- 13 If this is the same daughter as on the west wall of the shrine, her name can be reconstructed here as *Jdjj*; see el-Khadragy, in: *GM 212* (2007) fig. 4.
- 14 I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1970) 129, pls. 5–6; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne IV* (Paris, 1964) 725, 730.
- 15 D. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: A Social and Historical Analysis* (Leiden, 1998) 254 [2.3].
- 16 Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte*, 140, pls. 1–6; D. Brewer / R. Friedman, *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1989) 48ff.
- 17 For other examples, see Blackman, *Meir I*, pl. 11; N. de Davies / A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker* (London, 1920) pl. 32; Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 34.
- 18 For the epithet *ꜣ* and other epithets of seniority appended to personal names, see H.G. Fischer, *Varia*, *Egyptian Studies I* (New York, 1976) 81ff.
- 19 Also: Blackman, *Meir I*, pl. 10; *Meir II*, pl. 10; *Meir III*, pls. 22–23; Davies / Gardiner, *Antefoker*, pls. 28, 32; Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 17; Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 34; el-Khadragy, in: *GM 212* (2007), fig. 4.
- 20 Examples: Davies / Gardiner, *Antefoker*, pl. 28; Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pls. 17, 35; Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 34. For the translation of *jnt rd* as "bringing the broom" and the associated ritual, see: H. Altenmüller, "Eine neue Deutung der Zeremonie des *init rd*" in: *JEA* 57 (1971) 146–153.

- <sup>21</sup> On the issue of the *ka*-chapels, see D. Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine: Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich*, SAGA 9 (Heidelberg, 1994) 118–127; G. Soukiassian / M. Wuttmann / L. Pantalacci, *Balat VI: Le palais des gouverneurs de l'époque de Pépy II: Les sanctuaires de ka et leurs dépendances*, FIFAO 46 (Cairo, 2002) *passim*.
- <sup>22</sup> I follow J. Perepelkin's study, according to which *pr-dt* does not refer to a "funerary estate", an "estate" or a "property" but rather has a more basic meaning, namely "trunk", "core of a body without extremities". The translation suggested for *pr-dt* in a context such as our scene is "own"; see J. Perepelkin, *Privateigentum in der Vorstellung der Ägypter des Alten Reichs*, translated by R. Müller-Wollermann (Tübingen, 1986) 208ff.
- <sup>23</sup> For the identity of this animal, see P. Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs* (Cairo, 1996) 45–48.
- <sup>24</sup> Butchery scenes: Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* V (Paris, 1969) 234ff.
- <sup>25</sup> For the translation, see Davies / Gardiner, *Antefoker*, 25.
- <sup>26</sup> For the translation, see P. Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire* (Strasbourg, 1925) 170ff.
- <sup>27</sup> Houlihan, *Animal World*, 58–59.
- <sup>28</sup> Middle Kingdom pastoral scenes: Vandier, *Manuel* V, 195ff.; Blackman, *Meir* I, pls. 8–11; *Meir* II, pls. 6–7; *Meir* III, pl. 4; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 30; *Beni Hasan* II, pls. 7, 12, 17.
- <sup>29</sup> Middle Kingdom gardening scenes: Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 29; Davies / Gardiner, *Antefoker*, pl. 15; Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 26.
- <sup>30</sup> For *ntt*, *ntt* as "fettered", see A. Erman / H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprachen* II (Leipzig, <sup>2</sup>1957) 367 [2–8].
- <sup>31</sup> The damaged sign at the end can be reconstructed either as *≠f*, and the phrase as "bringing (a) fettered ox(en) which is/are in [his] charge", or as *šn<sup>c</sup>w* with "bringing (a) fettered ox(en) which is/are in the charge of the storehouse" as the alternative for meaning of the phrase.
- <sup>32</sup> See the previous note.
- <sup>33</sup> In similar scenes, the herdsman use the axe for felling trees (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 29) while the forked stick serves to pull high branches down for the goats (B. Jaroš-Deckert, *Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970, V: Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f: Die Wandmalereien der XI. Dynastie, nach Vorarbeiten von Dieter Arnold und Jürgen Settgast*, AV 12 [Mainz, 1984] pl. 19).
- <sup>34</sup> Smith, in: *MDAIK* 15 (1957) 223.
- <sup>35</sup> Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, *passim*.
- <sup>36</sup> Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pls. 27–37. For the Hieratic inscription with the name of Senusret II, see Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 38 [2].
- <sup>37</sup> For example: M. el-Khadragy, "Some Significant Features in the Decoration of the Chapel of Iti-ibi-iqer at Asyut" in: *SAK* 36 (2007) figs. 2–10 (forthcoming); M. el-Khadragy, "The Decoration of the Rock-cut Chapel of Khety II at Asyut"

in: *SAK* 37 (2008) figs. 3–5 (forthcoming); compare W. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, (Oxford, <sup>2</sup>1949) 231; Smith, in: *MDAIK* 15 (1957) 223; A. Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture: The First Intermediate Period, the Middle Kingdom, and the Second Intermediate Period II* (Berkeley / Los Angeles, 1966) 148.

<sup>38</sup> See Smith, in: *MDAIK* 15 (1957) 223. Examples: Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pls. 28, 31; Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pls. 18, 19, 21; Davies / Gardiner, *Antefoker*, pl. 27; Blackman, *Meir I*, pls. 7–8.

<sup>39</sup> For a discussion of reasons for the unrealistic use of colour and other examples dating to the Old and Middle Kingdoms, see Smith, *Sculpture and Painting*, 257–58.

<sup>40</sup> For a similar conclusion, see Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine*, 126.

<sup>41</sup> According to Franke, the *ka*-chapels are socio-economic institutions; they comprised *ka*-servants, fields and labourers (Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 126).

<sup>42</sup> This is also confirmed by Franke's study (Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 122).

<sup>43</sup> Griffith, *Siût I* [283–84].

<sup>44</sup> Magee, *Asyût I*, 206–07; see also Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 122. This contrasts with the evidence derived from *Ayn Asil* (Balat) dating to as early as the 6th Dynasty showing that the *ka*-chapel was situated next a governor's palace (Soukiasian / Wuttman / Pantalacci, *Balat VI: Le palais des gouverneurs de l'époque de Pépy II*, 9–14). During the First Intermediate Period, the private *ka*-chapel was installed near the temple of the chief deity of a town (Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 122). Further evidence for the location of the *ka*-chapel during the 11th Dynasty is provided by Heqaib whose *ka*-chapel was on the island of Elephantine, not in the necropolis (Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 23).

<sup>45</sup> Griffith, *Siût I* [290].

<sup>46</sup> Magee, *Asyût I*, 206–07.

<sup>47</sup> R. Gillam, "Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline and Disappearance" in: *JARCE* 32 (1995) 214, 233.

<sup>48</sup> Magee, *Asyût II*, 34–35.

<sup>49</sup> For the other priestesses of Hathor at Asyut, see M. el-Khadragy, "The Northern Soldiers-Tomb at Asyut" in: *SAK* 35 (2006) 155 [5], 153–54, n. 40; M. el-Khadragy, in: *SAK* 36 (2007) (forthcoming).

<sup>50</sup> Gillam, in: *JARCE* 32 (1995) 211–237.

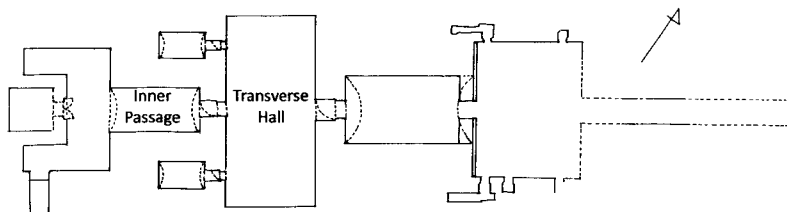
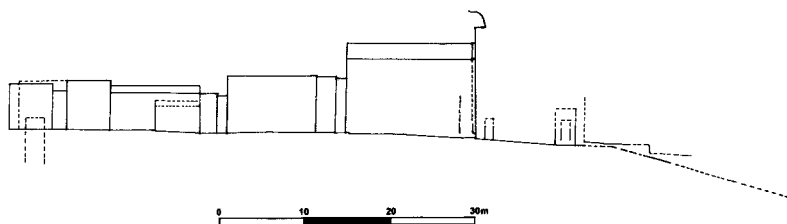


Figure 1. Tomb of Djefaihapi I (Asyut): plan and section.

fishing	papyrus umbels	fowling
	mound of water	
crocodile		hippo?

Figure 2. Tomb of Djefaihapi I: Inner Passage, north wall (overview).

figures →	offering list		offering table	tomb-owner ←
procession of ka-chapels →	presenter →	offerings		
butchering →	presenting fowl →	offering bearers →		

Figure 3. Tomb of Djefaihapi I: Inner Passage, south wall (overview).

herding cattle			
← herding cattle		milking cows	
← parading cattle			
← parading cattle			
← scribe	← herding goats	jackals attacking →	goats feeding
← herding goats		goats feeding	
			boys in fig tree

Figure 4. Tomb of Djefaihapi I: Great Transverse Hall, north wall (overview).

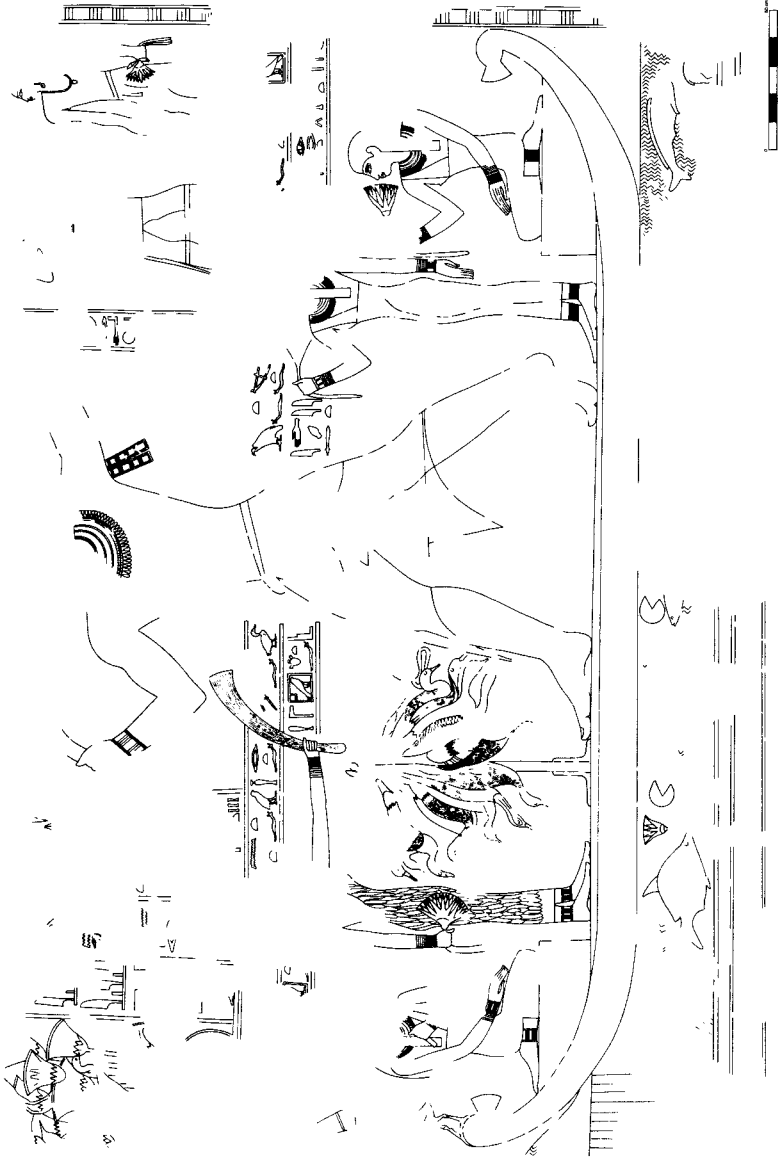


Figure 5. Inner Passage, north wall, fowling scene.





Figure 6. Inner Passage, north wall, fishing scene

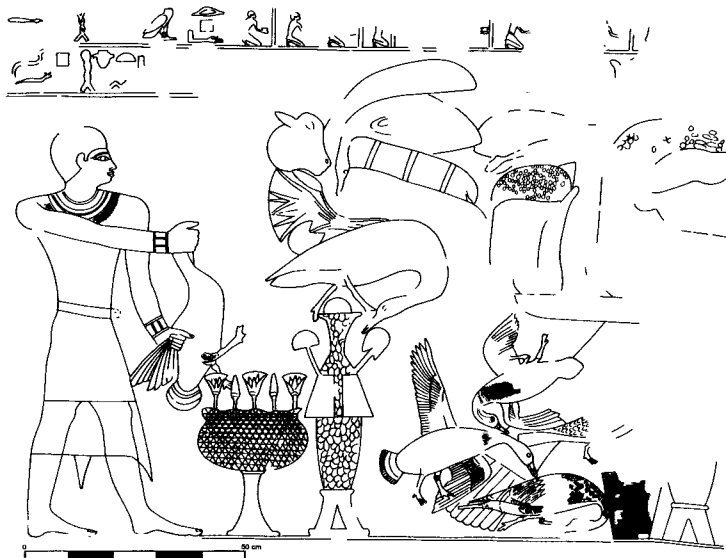


Figure 7. Inner passage, south wall, presenting offerings (detail).



Figure 8. Inner Passage, south wall, presenting offerings (detail).

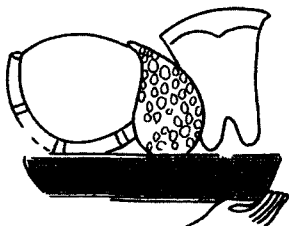


Figure 9. Inner Passage, south wall, basket of offerings.



Figure 10. Inner Passage, south wall, east end of three registers:  
*ka*-chapels, slaughtering, offering bearers in procession.

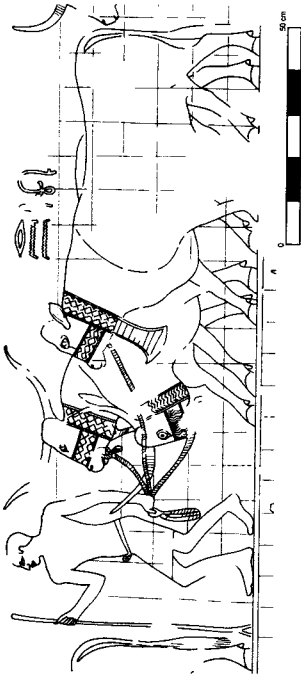


Figure 11. Transverse Hall, north wall, herdsman leading cattle, reg. 3.

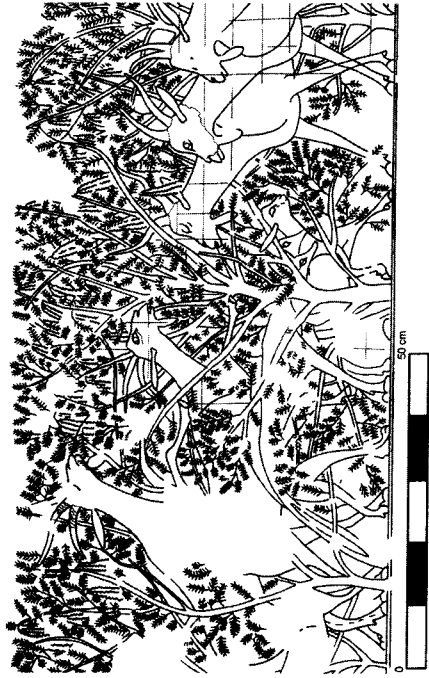


Figure 12. Transverse Hall, north wall, goats and jackals, reg. 5.

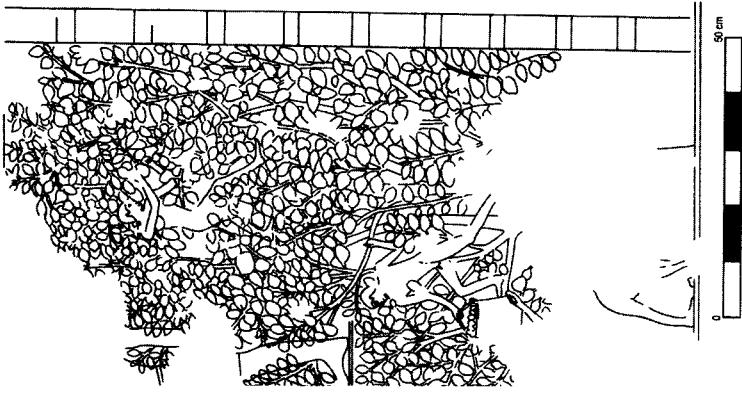


Figure 13. Transverse Hall, north wall, boys picking fruit, regs. 5-6.