

CHAPTER 3 ESTABLISHING DATING CRITERIA

DATING CRITERIA 1-24

Dress of the male tomb owner

The two basic styles of kilt

In the Old Kingdom officials were depicted in relief sculpture and painting wearing two basic styles of kilt: a short, tight-fitting garment extending from waist to mid-thigh, and a longer, skirt-like garment that flared out in front of the wearer. This second style had a hemline that varied from between the lower calf to just above the knee. According to Groups A and B in this study the short, tight-fitting kilt was the earlier style to be worn by officials. Apart from the animal skin robe worn at the offering table, it is the only style seen before the reign of Khufu, when examples of the second, flared style occur. Both styles continued at least to the end of the reign of Pepy II.

The short, tight-fitting kilt

Some variations of this style occur throughout the Old Kingdom:

- **The kilt (with pleated or striped overlap)** (Figure 1) This is the earliest

variation observed in Groups A and B as it is worn by the standing figure of Hsjj-r^c [66]³¹⁶. It appears to consist of a length of material wound round the hips, ending in an overlap. The overlap is shown as striped, which was probably intended to convey pleats, and ends in an upward curve at the front of the body. It is held in place at the waistline by a horizontal buckle and stiff, upright tag. It is the style of kilt at first worn by both the standing and seated figure, alone or beneath an animal skin, but in time is largely reserved for the seated figure. It appears to have been the most formal of all kilt styles for it is retained in the offering table scene to the end of the reign of Pepy II. However, as this kilt style becomes reserved for the seated figure in Dynasty 5, it gradually loses its buckle and tag fastener so that the waistband becomes a plain strip of material with no evident fastening. In Dynasty 6 a fully pleated version of this kilt (Figure 2) is occasionally seen.

- **The short, tight-fitting kilt with a plain overlap** (Figure 3) This variation is at first seen with the horizontal buckle and stiff tag, but in the second half of Dynasty 5 the buckle and tag fastening is frequently replaced with a plain waistband. This plain kilt is at first seen on both standing and seated figures but in time is largely reserved for the seated figure. As the large depiction of the tomb owner at his

316 Quibell (1913) pls. 30-32 (CG 1427-1430).

offering table becomes more frequent and, possibly, less attention is paid to the offering table scene on the panel of the false door, the figure on the panel is more likely to be given a plain kilt while that in the major offering table scene often retains the half striped version.

- **The R^c-ḥtp style of short, tight-fitting kilt** (Figure 4) This variation, named after R^c-ḥtp [63] by Nadine Cherpion³¹⁷, has a much shorter lifespan than the kilt with overlap and is therefore a useful dating criterion. In Groups A and B it first appears at Medum and Saqqara early in Dynasty 4 and is seen on minor figures, even on offering bearers as well as the tomb owner.

The flared kilt

The flared kilt is first seen in the second half of Dynasty 4 worn by standing figures who are not always the tomb owner, although persons of some importance. In Mrs-^cnh III [38], for example, the flared kilt is worn by the tomb owner's father, K³.j-w^cb [94], her son, Nb.j-m-³ḥtj [47], her steward, Ḥmt-nw [73], and the sculptor, R^c-h³jj³¹⁸.

When the flared kilt has a triangular apron-like front, the 'apron' may have a single or double line defining its edge within the outline of the kilt. The single or

³¹⁷ Cherpion (1989) 61-2, Critère 37.

double line meets the hem of the kilt at a point from between the legs of the wearer to the rear corner of the kilt (Figures 6, 7, 8) The line sometimes projects beyond the back of the kilt or appears to wrap around the edge of the kilt (Figures 9).

As the point at which the single or double line of the 'apron' meets the hem of the kilt changes over time it provides dating criteria. In the earliest depictions of the flared 'apron' kilt in Groups A and B the defining line(s) of the apron meet the hem between the wearer's legs. Through much of Dynasty 5 the line(s) meet the hem over the wearer's rear leg. By late Dynasty 5 the line(s) are extended to the rear corner of the kilt, and in Dynasty 6 they protrude beyond the back line of the kilt. As these changes occur, the kilt grows shorter, rising from mid-calf length to just above the knee. With these style changes the flared angle of the 'apron' becomes more acute.

The depiction of the tomb owner as an older, portly figure wearing a long flared kilt also shows these changes, as do depictions of lesser figures such as adult sons and priests. When they are in the same scene lesser figures depicted wearing kilts with 'aprons' usually show exactly the same style [hem-length and direction of internal line(s)] as that of the tomb owner.

318 Dunham-Simpson (1974) figs. 4, 7, 12, 5, respectively. The name of the sculptor, R^c-h^cjj, was read by Reisner but is now illegible.

Normally the flared kilt is depicted as plain material but occasionally the material is striped (pleated). This feature occurs in Hwfw-ḥ^c.f I [69]³¹⁹ where the standing portly figure of the tomb owner wears a flaring kilt without 'apron', decorated with bands of vertical stripes; in the standing figure of K³.j-nfr [100]³²⁰ wearing a flared 'apron' kilt completely decorated by vertical stripes; in Pth-špss [27]³²¹ seated, on the lintel of the door to his tomb (?) with the 'apron' striped horizontally; and in Hntj-k³.j [75]³²² whose standing figure wears a flared 'apron' kilt of narrow horizontal stripes; in Mrrj [35]³²³ and Jdw [13]³²⁴, both standing; in Wr-nw [17]³²⁵ as a portly standing figure wearing a long kilt whose apron is decorated at the top by seven horizontal stripes; and in Ppjj-^cnh-ḥrj-jb [21]³²⁶.

Choice of kilt

According to Groups A and B in early Dynasty 4 the choice of kilt for the tomb owner lay between the short, tight-fitting kilt with a plain or striped overlap and the R^c-ḥtp kilt.

319 Simpson (1978) fig. 7.

320 Reisner (1942) fig. 263.

321 James (1961) N. 682.

322 James (1953) pl. 7.

323 Davies et al (1984) pl. 9.

324 Simpson (1976) figs 33, 34.

325 Davies et al (1984) pl. 24.

326 Riefstahl (1944) 4-8.

Neither, however, occurs in the most solemn scene, the tomb owner at his offering table.

Here he wears a long animal-skin robe.

Apart from Hsij- r^c [66] whose wooden panels were found in a series of niches, the earliest tombs represented in Groups A and B are the cruciform chapels of Mtn [41] at Saqqara and those of R^c-ḥtp [63] and Nfr- m³‘t [53] at Medum. In the chapels of R^c-ḥtp and his wife the tomb owner wears the kilt named after him in all scenes except at the offering table, as do his sons, male estates, priests and some cattle attendants. In all these scenes, on the jambs of the false doors, receiving offerings, viewing presentations and marsh scenes, the tomb owner, sons and attendants, wearing this style appear as standing figures³²⁷. This situation is probably repeated in the chapels of Nfr-m³‘t and his wife, although it cannot be verified because the major figures were completely incised and inlaid with coloured pastes now largely lost³²⁸. The outlines of the figures, however, conform to the pattern of depiction seen in R^c-ḥtp³²⁹.

327 Petrie (1892) pls. 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17.

328 Petrie (1892) 24-25, 27-29.

329 Petrie (1892) pls. 17, 18, 20, 24, 26

This pattern is repeated in the chapel of Mtn although scenes of 'daily life' do not occur. The tomb owner is depicted wearing either the R'-htp kilt or a kilt with a plain overlap and buckle with stiff tag³³⁰.

Unfortunately, Groups A and B do not provide any more evidence after Mtn at Saqqara until the reign of Sahure in early Dynasty 5.

At Giza

From the time of Khufu to the end of the reign of Neferirkare the chosen style of kilt at Giza, according to Groups A and B, appears to have depended on the cemetery.

Accordingly a distinction needs to be made between the tombs of the West Field and those of the other early cemeteries (East Field, Central Field and Cemetery GIS).

However, any generalisation drawn from depictions is limited by the heavy loss of high quality limestone on which scenes were usually inscribed.

East Field, Central Field and Cemetery GIS (Khufu to Neferirkare)

While the officials buried in mastabas with L-shaped chapels in the West Field had themselves portrayed mainly wearing the short, tight-fitting kilt, the more elevated

330 LD II 3-6.

members of the royal family in the East Field, or with rock-cut chapels with more than one decorated room, show a greater variety of kilt styles, including the flared kilt. The characteristics of the tomb owner and his attendants in these cemeteries are:

- In Dynasty 4, the East Field tomb owners are usually members of the royal family of Khufu while the owners of rock cut tombs in the Central Field usually belong to Khafre's family.
- The R^c-ḥtp style of kilt is not seen on either the deceased or his attendants in the tomb depictions from these cemeteries.
- The short kilt was worn with an overlap, which could be plain or pleated, in front of the body.
- From the earliest tombs in Groups A and B³³¹, tomb owners had themselves and sometimes their attendants depicted wearing a flared kilt as well as a short kilt.
- The length of the flared kilt was to the knee or mid-calf.
- The flared kilt was depicted in a number of styles:
 1. It could be quite plain with no internal markings³³².
 2. It might have an 'apron' defined by either a single or by double lines that ran from the knot at the wearer's waist to meet the hem at a point

331 Nfr_m3't [52] dated IV.2-4.

between the legs (in the dating criteria this is called "Flared 'apron' Style 1")³³³.

3. Occasionally, the kilt was pleated.

4. Instead of an triangular 'apron' there might be an overlap of material at the front of the wearer's body³³⁴.

- Until the end of Dynasty 4 the flared kilt is invariably seen on standing figures³³⁵.
- Whether depicted as a wall relief or on the panel of the false door, the deceased at the offering table wears a short kilt with an overlap, which may or may be pleated.
- The animal skin dress of the sm priest is depicted with the short and flared kilt.

In the chapels of the East Field and the Central Field, there is considerable scenic development to accompany the variety of kilts depicted.

332 Snfrw-ḥ^c.f [79] LD II 16; Nj-wsr-r^c [44] Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 7.

333 Nfr-m³t [52] LD II 17a; Nj-wsr-r^c [44] Hassan 4 (1943) fig. 133; Dbḥnj [105] LD II 36a; Mrs ḥnh III [38] (K³.j-w^cb, Ḥmt-nw, R^c-ḥ^cjj) Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 12; Nb.j-m-ḥtj [47] LD II 13; Nj-k³w-r^c [46] LD II 15; R^c-wr [61] Hassan I (1932) pl. 11.

334 Simpson (1978) pl. 25.

The West Field (Khufu to Neferirkare)

In this period of time the characteristics of the kilt portrayed on the deceased and his attendants in West Field tombs differ considerably from those in the tombs of the East and Central Fields. West Field features are:

- The flared kilt is not seen until the end of Dynasty 4³³⁶.
- The R^c-ḥtp kilt is worn, although with decreasing frequency, until early Dynasty 5 (Sahure to Neferirkare)³³⁷.
- The tomb owner at the offering table continues to be portrayed wearing a long robe in at least one offering table scene until early Dynasty 5 (Sahure to Neferkare)³³⁸.
- The animal skin of the sm priest is worn with both the R^c-ḥtp kilt and short kilt with an overlap.

The West Field chapels of this date range show little development of scenes beyond those of family groups, presentation of offerings and, of course, the offering table. The persistence of the short, tight-fitting kilt in the West Field may have been due to the lower status of the officials buried there, or to their not being closely related to the royal family. It may, however, have also been due to the limited wall space of the L-

335 The first seated figure to be depicted wearing a flared kilt is Nj-k³w-r^c [46] who is dated to Dynasty 4, Khafre to Shepseskaf. LD Erg. 35 lower.

336 The first occurrence of a flared kilt in West Field tombs of groups A and B is in K³.j-nfr [100].

337 Wḥm-k³.j [18] Kayser (1964) 24-5, 32-3.

shaped chapels, especially those with two false doors. The wall space needed for two false doors would have curtailed the development of scenes of activities and 'everyday life', and would have maintained the dominance of the false door(s), offerings, and the funerary meal. The ideology behind the decoration appears to be dominated by the false doors and the ritual meal. These chapels include, from Groups A and B, Nfr [49], Mr-jb.j [33], Pr-sn [23], Wḥm-k³.j [18], Sš³t-ḥtp:htj [84], K³.j-nfr [100], Nn-sdr-k³.j [56]; Špss-k³.f-ḥ [90], K³-pw-nswt:k³.j [103], Sšm-nfr I [86] and Nswt-nfr [57].

In the chapels of the East Field and the Central Field, there is much more scenic development, as well as variety of kilt styles. East Field developments include:

- In the tomb of Mrs-ḥ III [38] the queen's father, K³.j-w'ḥ, stands with his back turned to Mrs-ḥ and her mother, who are in a canoe apparently pulling papyrus stalks above a lower register of fighting boatmen³³⁹.
- Ḥwfw-ḥ'.f I [69], son of Khufu, wears a variety of kilt styles: in a family scene he wears a flaring striped kilt beneath an animal skin³⁴⁰, and a mid-calf length kilt with an overlap and slight flare as he leans on a staff and facing his wife³⁴¹. More formally Ḥwfw-ḥ'.f wears the short, tight-fitting kilt in a presentation scene and as

338 Wḥm-k³.j [18] Kayser (1964) 32.

339 Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 4.

340 Simpson (1978) pl. 7.

he stands with his mother, a queen³⁴². As a seated figure, either before the offering table or reviewing presentations and receiving offerings, Hwfw-h^c.f I is depicted wearing the short, half pleated kilt³⁴³.

- While much of the decoration of Nfr-m³'t 52], a royal vizier and probable son of a king, is destroyed, the figures of the tomb owner standing either side of the false door are depicted wearing the flared 'apron' kilt³⁴⁴. Harpur considers that the seated figure of Nfr-m³'t was probably viewing a banquet scene with registers of food, dancers and clappers³⁴⁵.
- Nfr m³'t 's son, Snfrw-h^c.f [79], also appears as a standing figure facing left on the entrance of his chapel, holding staff and folded cloth and wearing a flared knee-length kilt , as does his own son behind the tomb owner³⁴⁶.

The chapels of the Central Field of the second half of Dynasty 4 and early Dynasty 5 seem to have continued the developments of the East Field:

- At the entrance to his rock-cut chapel, the two standing figures of Dbhⁿj [105] are depicted wearing a mid-calf length flared kilt. One of these may have an 'apron'

341 Simpson (1978) pl. 25..

342 Simpson (1978) pl. 26.

343 Simpson (1978) pls. 29, 30, 31,

344 LD II 17a.

345 Harpur (1984) 80.

346 LD II 16.

front. The seated figure of the tomb owner, depicted before banquet registers, wears the short half pleated kilt³⁴⁷.

On the West Field the earliest developments of kilt style and scene content beyond the depictions typical of L-shaped chapels, in Groups A and B, occur with Pr-sn [23] where, above the doorway, the seated tomb owner and his wife view scenes of boats and fishing³⁴⁸. However, the first bold changes in scene content combined with frequent depiction of the flared kilt in the West Field occur in the multi-roomed chapel of Jj-mrjj [4]³⁴⁹. In his chapel Jj-mrjj has himself and his father depicted wearing a flared 'apron' kilt in all standing poses, including a scene of pulling papyrus, and seated in two banquet scenes³⁵⁰. The only scene, seated or standing, where the major figure wears a short, tight-fitting kilt is at the offering table³⁵¹. The scenic content of this chapel is greatly expanded to include industries, fighting boatmen, food preparation, agriculture and palanquin and pavilion scenes. It is possible that the architectural style of the chapels of Cemetery G6000 and the dramatic development of scenes in Jj-mrjj

347 LD II 36a, b, c.

348 LD Erg. 8.

349 This may have been due to royal dispensation, as Reisner identified Jj-mrjj's father, Špss-k3.f-ḥḥ [90] as the steward of Neuserre while he was still a prince. Reisner attributed both the major additions to Špss-k3.f-ḥḥ's tomb and the original construction of the tombs of his son and son-in-law, Jtjj [12] to the reign of Neferirkare, but the major changes to the two latter tombs to early in the reign of Neuserre, whom Jj-mrjj now served. Reisner (1939) 29-35.

350 Weeks (1994) figs. 26, 31, 33, 40, 41; pls. 12b, 15a, 24b, 26.

were due in part to the location of the family complex, which was considerably west of the main layout of the West Field³⁵².

Saqqara (early Dynasty 5)

Apart from the Dynasty III and early Dynasty IV tombs, the first Saqqara chapels to figure in Groups A and B are those of Nj-^cnh-shmt [43], Pr-sn [24] and W3š-pth:jsj [15], all dated to early Dynasty 5. With the exception of Nj-^cnh-shmt where the important male figures, seated or standing, wear a short, tight-fitting kilt³⁵³, Pr-sn and W3š-pth:jsj show stylistic patterns similar to those of the Giza East Field with important figures depicted wearing the flared kilt. Harpur notes that the scenes in Pr-sn are comparable to those of the offering chapel of Mrs-^cnh III [38]³⁵⁴. Pr-sn's east wall has marsh activities with a (probable) fowling scene³⁵⁵. The damaged depiction of Pr-sn seated before an offering table is the earliest instance in Groups A and B of a seated figure wearing a flared kilt at the offering table³⁵⁶.

351 Weeks (1994) fig. 44.

352 Weeks (1994) inside front and rear covers.

353 Mariette (1889) 203, 205.

354 Harpur (1984) 88.

355 Mariette (1889) 301.

356 Petrie-Murray (1952) pl. 10.

Giza and Saqqara (mid to late Dynasty 5)

From the reign of Neuserre onwards there is little distinction to be made between Saqqara and Giza or between the East, West and Central Fields of Giza. In early Dynasty 5 it is only at Saqqara that the tombs of officials give the impression of experimenting with the rules of decorum for portrayals³⁵⁷, but by the reign of Neuserre these novel depictions are equally noticeable in Giza. 'Experiments' in the dress of the deceased are:

- The portrayal of the tomb owner wearing a flared kilt at the offering table³⁵⁸.
- The double or single line of the 'apron' of the flared kilt adjusted so that it meets the hem over the wearer's rear leg or even at the rear corner of the kilt³⁵⁹. ("Flared kilt Styles 2 and 3")
- The depiction of more than one of the Flared kilt Styles in the same tomb³⁶⁰.
- The combining of just one feature of the animal skin, such as the tie on the shoulder of the sm priest, with the flared kilt³⁶¹.

357 Pr-sn [24] Petrie-Murray (1952) pl. 10. W3š-ptḥ:jsj [15] Mariette (1889) 270.

358 Nj-ḥnh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp [42] Moussa-Altenmüller (1977) figs. 4, 20, pl. 88; Ḥwfw-ḥ.f II [70] Simpson (1978) figs. 49, 50.

359 Ḥwfw-ḥ.f II [70] Simpson (1978) figs. 43, 46; Nj-ḥnh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp [42] Moussa-Altenmüller (1977) figs. 12, 19, 26.

360 Nj-ḥnh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp, Moussa-Altenmüller (1977) figs. 8, 12, 13, 18, 19, 26; Ḥww-wr [67] Hassan 5 (1944) figs. 102, 103; Ptḥ-špss [28] Verner (1977) figs. 13, 46, 72, 74,

361 Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pl. 2.

Other features of an 'experimental' nature at this time are:

- The tendency to combine features of the banquet scene with those of the offering table scene³⁶².
- Changes to the lower portion of the half loaves on the offering table so that they begin to suggest papyrus stalks³⁶³.
- Changes to the orientation of the half loaves so that they are arranged in pairs³⁶⁴.
- Introduction of the theme of the tomb owner fishing and fowling³⁶⁵.
- The reduction in the size of the tomb owner's wife and her relegation to a kneeling position at the foot of her husband³⁶⁶.

Some of these 'experiments' became permanent changes, while others did not survive into Dynasty 6.

That this 'experimental' approach affected tomb decoration in both Giza and Saqqara is illustrated in the chapels of Hwfw-ḥ^c.f II [70], Nfr and K3-ḥ3.j and Nj-ḥ^c.nh-nmw and Hnmw-ḥtp [42]. Hwfw-ḥ^c.f II is depicted wearing a number of kilt styles: the short, tight kilt with an overlap, as both a portly and younger, slimmer figure in a

362 Hwfw-ḥ^c.f II [70] Simpson (1978) figs. 49.

363 Hwfw-ḥ^c.f II [70] Simpson (1978) figs. 49; Nj-ḥ^c.nh-nmw and Hnmw-ḥtp [42] Moussa- Altenmüller (1977) figs. 4, 25, pl. 88.

364 Nj-ḥ^c.nh-nmw and Hnmw-ḥtp Moussa- Altenmüller (1977) fig. 26.

365 Nj-ḥ^c.nh-nmw and Hnmw-ḥtp Moussa- Altenmüller (1977) figs.

366 Pth-špss [28] Verner (1977) fig. 16.

flared 'apron' kilt and in a leopard skin over a flared kilt³⁶⁷. He wears a flared kilt in his two offering table scenes, in one of which he accepts a lotus from his son, usually a feature of the banquet scene³⁶⁸.

In the tomb of Nfr and K3-ḥ3.j, Nfr (?) wears an unusual outfit which seems to have combined features from different styles: the bound shoulder tie which normally holds the animal skin of the sm priest (but in this case merely sits on the wearer's far shoulder), a flared kilt with the curved overlap (usually seen with the short, tight kilt) and a waist tie consisting of a buckle, upright tag and rounded knot³⁶⁹. On the serdab wall Nfr is depicted standing facing registers of offerings, offering bearers and musicians. He and three smaller male figures, probably his sons, are all portrayed in a fully pleated flared 'apron' kilt, the only instance in Groups A and B of minor figures wearing a fully pleated kilt³⁷⁰.

In the chapel of Ni-ḥnh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp [42] one of their offering table scenes is immediately above registers of musicians and dancers, normally features of the banquet scene³⁷¹. While the tomb owners are depicted wearing the short kilt in this

367 Ḥwfw-ḥ^c.f II, Simpson (1978) figs.44, 46.

368 Ḥwfw-ḥ^c.f II, Simpson (1978) figs. 49, 50.

369 Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pl. 2.

370 Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pl. 26.

371 Moussa-Altenmüller (1977) fig. 25.

offering table scene, they wear flared kilts in other table scenes³⁷². Each is portrayed in an offering table scene holding a lotus, again a feature associated with the banquet³⁷³. In their fishing and fowling scenes they are depicted wearing a truncated flared kilt rather than the šndwt, suggesting that this was a new theme for the tombs of officials³⁷⁴.

By the reign of Djedkare there are few, if any, differences in the styles of kilt depicted in Giza and Saqqara tombs. This theme is dealt with below in the section entitled 'The flared 'apron' kilt (Dynasty 5 and Dynasty 6)'.

The short, tight fitting kilt (later Dynasty 5)

The portrayal of the deceased at the offering table wearing a flared kilt was comparatively short lived. In groups A and B the last instance occurs in the tomb of Hww-wr [67] where the deceased is shown in a flared kilt on either side of the offering table on the panel of his false door³⁷⁵. After this occurrence the tomb owner is invariably seen at the offering table in a short kilt with either a plain or pleated overlap. While the tomb owner and his attendants are depicted wearing flared kilts in family scenes, reviewing offering bearers, animal parades, farming and marsh activities and on

372 Moussa- Altenmüller (1977) figs. 4, 20, pl. 88.

373 Moussa- Altenmüller (1977) figs. 20, 25.

374 Moussa- Altenmüller (1977) figs.

375 Hassan 5 (1944), 250, fig.

their tomb entrance, the short, tight kilt is increasingly reserved for what appears to be the most solemn and important occasions. In ꜥḥtj-ḥtp [1], Jꜥsn [3], Pr-nb [22] Nṯr-wsr [58], Rꜥ-wr II [62] and Snḏm-jb:mḥj [81] the short, tight kilt is only portrayed in the offering table scene³⁷⁶.

The short, tight fitting kilt (Dynasty 6)

With the opening of the Teti cemetery in early Dynasty 6 the seated figure wearing the short tight kilt began to be portrayed on tomb facades and entrances as well as in the offering table scene. This may indicate the importance of the figure of the tomb owner on the façade and entrance, perhaps to impress the passer-by and draw his attention to a ḥtp-dj-nswt incantation or to protect the tomb from unwelcome attention by appropriate threats. This feature (the seated figure wearing the short tight kilt portrayed on tomb facades and entrances) appears to have been introduced in the tombs of early Dynasty 6:

- While the figures on the east and south facades wear the flared 'apron' kilt, the entrance architrave of Nfr sšm-rꜥ [55], which was found in pieces, may have consisted of two rows of seven figures each that faced each other across the

³⁷⁶ Respectively, Davies 2 (1901) pls. 24, 34; Simpson (1980) figs. 33, 35; Lythgoe-Ransom Williams (1918) fig. 35; Hayes 1 (1978) fig. 52; Murray (1905) pl. 24; LD II 84; LD II 75; LD Erg. 15.

entrance to the tomb³⁷⁷. Two figures on either side wear a short, tight kilt. Other figures, except on the panel of the false door, are depicted in a flared 'apron kilt.

- On the exterior frieze facade of K³.j-gmnj's [102] tomb, the seated figures of the tomb owner wear a short kilt with pleated overlap. In the first depiction the deceased holds a sceptre and staff, has a broad collar, short beard and short curly wig decorated with a head band. The second representation is identical except that K³-gmj wears a long wig without a headband³⁷⁸.
- The standing figures of Mrrw-k³.j on either side of his entrance doorway show the deceased wearing a flared 'apron' kilt. Within his tomb Mrrw-k³.j is only depicted in a short, tight-fitting kilt at his offering table and painting the seasons, a solemn occasion in honour of these gods.³⁷⁹ In all other scenes, in standing and seated poses, his kilt is flared, usually with an 'apron' front, as is that of his sons, attendants and priests.
- 'nh-m-^c-hr [14] wears a short, tight-fitting kilt as he sits with one arm raised in a gesture of welcome or invocation on the north side of the entrance recess of his

377 Kanawati-Abder-Raziq (1998) 22-23, pls. 4a, 42, 43.

378 LD II 97.

379 Duell (1938) pls. 7, 62, 64.

tomb. In the companion figure on the south side he wears a flared 'apron' kilt³⁸⁰.

The only other depiction of ḥnḥ-m-ḥr wearing a short kilt is on the east wall of

Room III where he wears the elaborate 'Bat' regalia³⁸¹.

- It is possible that scenes in Ḥntj-k3.j [75] may suggest a relaxation of the portrayal of dress conventions as he is depicted in a short tight kilt in a variety of standing and seated representations within his tomb³⁸²

The dress conventions of the Teti cemetery seem to have applied in other parts of the Saqqara necropolis.

- In his chapel (north of the Step Pyramid) S3bw:jbbj [77] is only seen wearing the short, tight-fitting kilt in offering table scenes and seated, in a long wig and holding a staff, on the lower lintel of his false door facing a ḥtp dj nswt' inscription³⁸³.
- In the north chapel of this tomb complex Pth-špss II [29] is only depicted in a short, tight kilt at the offering table scene³⁸⁴.
- The disgraced vizier Rḥ-wr [60], whose tomb is situated to the south of the Mortuary

Temple of the Teti Pyramid, only wears the short kilt at the offering table³⁸⁵.

380 Kanawati-Hassan (1997) pl. 34, 35.

381 Kanawati-Hassan (1997) pl. 44.

382 James (1953) pls. 5, 6, 7, 29, 31.

383 Borchardt 2 (1964) 1418, 1565.

384 Murray (1905) pls. 28, 29, 30.

385 Fikey (1980) pls. 5, 6, 7, 9.

Groups A and B suggest that the same dress conventions may not have been applied so rigorously at Giza in Dynasty 6.

- K3r:mrjj-r'-nfr [91] is depicted wearing a flared 'apron' kilt in his representation as a seated gesturing figure north of the doorway into Room E³⁸⁶. He also wears a short, tight kilt beneath a animal skin as he stands holding a staff diagonally across his chest³⁸⁷.

The Dynasty 6 convention of the short, tight kilt reserved for offering table and other solemn scenes and a flared kilt for all other occasions was essentially adhered to in the provinces, according to Groups A and B:

- Krrj [92] of El Hawawish is depicted in a short tight kilt with a plain overlap at his offering table, and wearing a flared 'apron' kilt as a standing figure³⁸⁸.
- JsJ [10] of Edfu is depicted wearing a half pleated short kilt at his offering table³⁸⁹.
- Ppjj-ḥnhj-jb [21] and Ppjj-ḥnhj-km [20] of Meir wear a flared kilt in all representations except at the offering table, where their kilt is short and tight fitting³⁹⁰.

386 Simpson (1976) pl. 12b, fig. 28.

387 Simpson (1976) pl. 9f, fig. 21.

388 Kanawati 6 (1986) fig. 22a.

389 Ziegler (1990) 9.

390 Respectively, Blackman 4 (1924) pls. 9, 11, 12, 15; Blackman 5 (1953) pls. 33, 34.

- Almost all representations of Jbj [6] of Deir el-Gebrawi have him wearing a flared kilt unless at the offering table. The exceptions are: seated facing registers of marsh activities and seated beside the false door with his far hand stretched out as though to an offering table³⁹¹. While he actually faces the top half of the door, this may have originally been an offering table scene. By his legs is a stand of tall jars, common in offering table scenes at this time; above the false door are piles of food and containers; and on the far side of the false door are two registers of offering bringers with the men on the lower register proffering fowl and a haunch of meat.
- D'w and D'w:šmꜣj [106] are depicted in all standing and seated poses wearing a flared kilt, except at the offering table where a short tight plain kilt, sometimes with an overlap in front, is shown. The only exception is the seated figure in front of the palanquin scene³⁹². Here the seated tomb owner is portrayed wearing a short tight-fitting kilt as he faces a 'ḥtp dj nswt' inscription.

The flared 'apron' kilt (Dynasty 5 and Dynasty 6)

The triangular 'apron' of the flared kilt altered in shape in Dynasty 5:

391 Davies 1 (1902) pls. 6, 17.

392 Davies 2 (1902) pl. 8.

Style 1. The single or double line defining the 'apron' against the kilt runs from the knot at the waist to meet the hem of the kilt between the wearer's legs. (Figure 6) This style is first seen in Nfr-m³'t [52] (IV.2-4)³⁹³ and is the only flared 'apron' style in groups A and B the until the reign of Sahure³⁹⁴.

Style 2. The single or double line defining the 'apron' against the kilt runs from the knot at the waist to meet the hem of the kilt over the wearer's rear leg. (Figure 7) This style is first seen in Pr-sn [24] (V.2)³⁹⁵. Its latest occurrence is in Sndm-jb:mhj [81] (V.9)³⁹⁶.

Style 3. The single or double line defining the 'apron' against the kilt runs from the knot at the waist to meet the hem at the rear corner of the kilt. (Figure 8) This style is first seen in K³.j-nj-nswt II [97] (V.2-3)³⁹⁷.

393 LD II 17a.

394 In Pr-sn [24] the sons of the deceased are depicted on the jambs of the false door wearing flared 'apron' kilts of Style 2, although the tomb owners wears a short kilt. Petrie-Murray (1952) pl. 9.

In Mrs 'nh III [38] on the south jamb of the entrance doorway, the figure of Hmt-nw is depicted in a flared 'apron' kilt of mid calf length which has a double line protruding beyond therear of the kilt. This is Style 4, which otherwise is not seen until the end of Dynasty 5. (See below.) This kilt style depiction is the only one of its kind in Mrs 'nh III. According to Dunham and Simpson there are other indications that later additions have been made to the depictions in this tomb, suggesting that the tomb remained accessible to funerary ritual into the second half of Dynasty 5. This circumstance may also explain the completely atypical kilt style of ≈mt-nw. Dunham-Simpson (1974) 5, 7-8, pl. 2, fig. 3b. See also Prosopographical entry for Nb.j-m-³htj [44].

395 Petrie-Murray (1952) pl. 9.

396 LD II 74. Two instances in Dynasty 6 should probably be excluded from the time span of Criterion 2. See Table 1.

397 Junker 3 (1938) figs. 20, 21 (funerary priests).

Style 4. The double line defining the 'apron' against the kilt runs from the knot at the waist and protrudes beyond the lower rear corner of the kilt. At first the protrusion is scarcely visible but becomes bolder as Dynasty 6 progresses. (Figure 9) Occasionally this double line seems to be cut off flush with the rear line of the kilt, perhaps to give the impression of being hidden behind the kilt. This style is first seen in ꜥḥtj-ḥtp [1] (V.8L-9E)³⁹⁸.

- Styles 1, 2 and 3 overlap in time in later Dynasty 5 and it is not uncommon to see more than one of these styles portrayed in the same tomb. This is a feature of Jrj-n-rꜥ [7], Pth-špss of Abusir [28], Nfr-bꜣw-ptḥ [51], Nj-ꜥnh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp [42], Rꜥ-špss [64], Sšm-nfr III [88], Ḥww-wr [67], Pth-ḥtp I [25], ꜥḥtj-ḥtp [1] and Sndm-ib/jntj [80].
- Styles 1 and 2 are not seen in Dynasty 6, but Styles 3 and 4 continue throughout the Dynasty in Memphis and the provinces.

Kilt 'fastening': the horizontal buckle and stiff tag (Figure 5)

Apart from the Rꜥ-ḥtp kilt, which was 'fastened' at the waist by a soft knot from which hung a short sash, the short, tight-fitting kilts of the officials of Dynasties III and IV, in

³⁹⁸ Davies 2 (1901) A, pls. 20, 28, 29. This excludes the instance in Mrs ꜥnh III [38].

Groups A and B, were held at the waist by a horizontal buckle and stiff tag. This style is seen at Saqqara (Hsjj-R^c [66]³⁹⁹) and in the L-shaped chapels of the Giza West Field necropolis. There were some variations:

- Mtn's [41] overlapped kilts have only the stiff tag⁴⁰⁰
- Hwfw-h^c.f I [69] is shown wearing an unusual striped flaring kilt that has both a stiff tag and a soft rounded knot at the waist⁴⁰¹
- Mr-jb.j [33] is sometimes shown with a kilt fastened only by the horizontal buckle, as is Pr-sn [24] standing at the foot of the jambs of his false door⁴⁰².

However, in Dynasty 4 the horizontal and buckle fastening was normally associated with the short overlapped kilt, while the soft rounded knot at the waist belonged to the flared kilt. In Mrs ^cnh III [38], K³.j-w^cb [94] and Nb.j-m-³htj [47] both have flared kilts with rounded knots at the waist, as does the painter, R^c-h³jj⁴⁰³. The knot appears whether the flared kilt is shown with an 'apron' or plain and is occasionally depicted as a loop, as in Hwfw-h^c.f I [69], Nb.j-m-³htj and Špss-k³.f-^cnh [90]⁴⁰⁴.

By mid Dynasty 5 the horizontal buckle and stiff tag associated with short, tight-

399 Quibell (1913) pl. 29.

400 LD II 3, 4.

401 Simpson (1978) fig. 27.

402 LD II 18, 19 and Petrie-Murray (1952) pl. 9, respectively.

403 Dunham-Simpson (1974) figs. 4, 12, 5.

404 Simpson (1978) fig. 34, LD II 13, Weeks (1994) pl. 56, respectively.

fitting kilts begins to be omitted particularly for the seated figure, where it is partly obscured by the wearer's arm.

By the beginning of Dynasty 6 the horizontal buckle and stiff tag fastening is only depicted on the most ceremonial occasions and on the highest officials, such as ḥnh-m-ḥr [14] wearing the Bat regalia or Ḥntj-k³.j [75] in the formal regalia of a vizier⁴⁰⁵.

DATING CRITERIA

(References for all Dating Criteria are given in the final column of Tables 1 to 4.)

- **Criterion 1:** *Kilt: flared style 1: The single or double lines defining the 'apron' of the flared kilt meet the hem of the kilt between the wearer's legs. This style is seen first on figures in Nfr-m³'t [52] (IV.2-4) and finally in Nj-ḥnh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp [42] (V.6L-8E)*
- **Criterion 2:** *Kilt flared style 2. The single or double lines defining the 'apron' of the flared kilt meet the hem of the kilt over the wearer's rear leg. This style is seen first on figures in Pr-sn [24] (V.2) and finally in Ḥntj-k³.j [84] (VI.2).*

⁴⁰⁵ Kanawati-Hassan (1997) pl. 44 and James (1953) pl. 16, respectively.

- **Criterion 3:** *Kilt: flared style 3: The single or double lines defining the 'apron' of the flared kilt meet the hem of the kilt at the lower rear corner. This style is seen first on figures in K3.j-nj-nswt II [97] (V.2-3) and finally in Ppjj-‘nh:hnjj-km [20] (VI.4L).*
- **Criterion 4:** *Kilt: flared style 4: The single of double lines defining the 'apron' of the flared kilt protrudes beyond the rear corner of the kilt or appears to wrap around it. This style is first seen on figures in 3htj-htp [1] (V.8L-9E) and finally in D‘w [106] (VI.4E).*
- **Criterion 5:** *The 'apron' of the flared kilt is defined by a single inner line'. This style is first seen on figures in Mrs-‘nh III [38] (IV.4-6) and finally in Ppjj-‘nh-hrj-jb [21] (VI.3-4E).*
- **Criterion 6:** *The kilt is short and wrapped tightly around the wearer's hips. It finishes in an overlap in front and is tied at the waist by a soft knot from which hangs a short length of material. This style, called the 'R‘-htp' by Cherpion, is first seen on figures in IV.1 (Nfr-m3‘t [53]) and finally in V.6-8 (Mr-sw-‘nh [39]).*
- **Criterion 7:** *The short kilt wrapped tightly around the wearer's hips is held at the waist by a buckle and stiff upright tag. This style is first seen on figures in Hsjj-r‘ [66] (III.2) and finally in Hntj-k3.j [84] (VI.2).*

- **Criterion 8:** *The seated tomb owner wears a flared kilt. This style is first seen in in Nj-k3w-r^c [46] (IV.4-6) and finally in Ppjj-^cnh:hnjj-km [20] (VI.4L).*

THE wsh COLLAR

This beaded collar is worn by both men and women and is sometimes depicted on children. On a male, it is most frequently worn alone but is occasionally teamed with a pendant amulet. Collars vary in pattern and colour but largely consist of threaded beads of semi-precious stones. These collars are seen throughout the Old Kingdom in all scenes but are less frequently worn in depictions from Dynasty 3 and the first half of Dynasty 4. Hsjj-r^c [66] is not depicted wearing this collar and Mtn [41] only wears it at the offering table, where it is teamed with a long robe⁴⁰⁶. This is the only Dynasty 4 instance in Groups A and B of the collar worn with the long robe at the offering table. No female is depicted wearing the collar until, at the earliest, the reign of Khafre (Mnw-dd.f [30] and Mrs-^cnh III [38]⁴⁰⁷. Mrs-^cnh III

⁴⁰⁶ LD II 3.

⁴⁰⁷ Respectively, LD II, 60 and Dunham-Simpson (1974) figs. 3b, 4, 7, 12,

provides the first instance, worn by a female, in Groups A and B of the collar teamed with an animal skin⁴⁰⁸.

In Dynasty 5, the wearing of the *wsh* collar becomes more frequent and is more often teamed with an animal skin. By Dynasty 6 the *wsh* collar is almost universal. The only significant exception is the depiction of the tomb owner as an older figure wearing a long kilt, which often omits the collar, perhaps to suggest a retired or relaxed pose.

While the above conventions for depicting the collar seem to be associated with a time factor, all of them span most of the Old Kingdom and therefore do not offer useful dating criteria. The most useful feature for dating purposes is the width of the collar. The collar broadened as the Old Kingdom progressed. The earliest depictions show the collar to be narrower than the breadth of the wearer's arm⁴⁰⁹. It first shows signs of broadening for members of the royal family, such as the mother of Mrs-*ḥnh* III [38] and *Hwfw-ḥ.f* I [69]⁴¹⁰. While the quantity of surviving depictions make it useful as a dating criterion, the gradual expansion of the width of the collar presents difficulties in establishing criteria with precision. Consequently, a distinction has been drawn between the outside edge of the collar being either higher than (or level with) or lower

⁴⁰⁸ Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 7.

⁴⁰⁹ *Nfr-m³t*, LD II 17a-c.

⁴¹⁰ Respectively, Dunham-Simpson (1974) figs. 4, 7. and Simpson (1978) pl. 25.

than the wearer's armpit. Throughout Dynasty 4 and the first half of Dynasty 5, the collar did not reach the wearer's armpit⁴¹¹. In Groups A and B the first instances of this greater depth occur in the reign of Neuserre and the last instance of the narrow version is seen in Pth-ḥtp (II)/ṯfj [26]. In Dynasty 6, the collar tends to grow even broader and more splendid.

DATING CRITERIA

- **Criterion 9:** *The wsh collar does not reach the level of the armpit of the wearer.*

The first instance occurs in Mtn [41] (IV.1-2) and is last seen in Pth-ḥtp (II)/ṯfj [26] (V.9).

- **Criterion 10:** *The wsh collar reaches at least the level of the armpit of the wearer.*

The first instance occurs in Jtjj [12] (V.6) and is last seen in Ppjj-ṣnh:ḥnjj-km [20] (VI.4L).

411 No significance is intended by using the armpit as a measurement of the breadth of the collar. It is merely a convenient yardstick.

THE AMULET (Figure 10)

An amulet could be worn in two ways: either attached to a beaded cord that was tight enough to hold the amulet at the neck (Figure 10) or on a longer cord that allowed the amulet to hang roughly halfway down the wearer's chest. No wsh collar was worn when the amulet was high at the neck but the amulet that hung down the chest was usually teamed with a collar.

There are only two instances in Groups A and B of the amulet worn high at the neck, which is insufficient on its own to support a dating criterion⁴¹². The pendant amulet is much better supported, from Mrs 'nh III [38] to Mrjj-ttj [32]. However, the wearing of an amulet, whether high at the neck or halfway down the chest, has been adopted as the dating criterion.

DATING CRITERION

- *Criterion 11: The pendant amulet that hangs from the wearer's neck is first seen in Mtn [41] (IV.1-2) and last seen in Mrjj-ttj [32] (VI.2M).*

merely a convenient yardstick.

WIGS

Males and females are depicted wearing two basic wig styles: short and curly or shoulder length. Cherpion builds on the work of Fischer⁴¹³ to divide the short wig into three separate styles, each providing a dating criterion⁴¹⁴. Groups A and B of this study do not offer sufficient evidence for such finely distinguished features. However, they do support a dating criterion based on the longer, shoulder-length wig that exposes the male wearer's ear.

DATING CRITERION

- **Criterion 12:** *In Groups A and B the long wig that leaves the wearer's ear uncovered is first seen in VI.1M-2E (‘nh-m-‘-hr [14]) and is last seen in Ppjj-‘nh:njj-km [20] (VI.4L).*

412 These are Hsjj-r‘ [66] CG 1429 Quibell (1913) pl. 3 and Mtn [41] LD II 3, 5, 6.

413 Fischer (1959) 238-9.

414 Cherpion (1989) 55-56.

THE ANIMAL SKIN**Criteria 13-24**

The animal skin worn as a garment, perhaps denoting a sm priest, is here called either a leopard skin or a panther skin, depending upon whether it is portrayed with spots, or generically an 'animal skin'. If two different kinds of skins (leopard and panther) are, in fact, portrayed in Old Kingdom tombs, no distinction is made in inscriptions to indicate this, only the presence or absence of spots, which does not affect the dating criteria drawn from this data.

The long robe

The earliest possible indication in the Old Kingdom of an animal skin being worn is in the offering table scene. Here, the tomb owner sits at table wearing a long dress that leaves the near shoulder bare and is tied on the far shoulder by straps. It is difficult to judge whether this robe was in any sense a forerunner of the animal skin worn by the tomb owner in many scenes in the Old Kingdom. In a number of instances the long robe is spotted. The top of the garment comes under the near arm of the wearer and is tied over the far shoulder, just as the animal skin does. In Groups A and B the only animal face to appear on the long robe is seen in K³.j-nj-nswt I [96]⁴¹⁵, where it is depicted unusually in profile against the wearer's body.

415 Junker 2 (19) fig. 16. In this tomb all depictions of the animal skin show the animal's face in profile.

After the Old Kingdom the animal skin is associated with the duties of the 'sm' priest responsible for the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony. Old Kingdom tombs do not have depictions of this scene and the duties of the 'sm' in the Old Kingdom are not clear. Wilson notes that the title 'sm' appears in the Old Kingdom, but that the sm-priest is not depicted in the funerary ritual of that time. His opinion was that first the wt priest, and then in Dynasty 5 the lector priest. occupied the prominent role in Old Kingdom funerary ritual that the sm priest assumed in the Middle Kingdom and later⁴¹⁶. Scenes in Mrrw-k3.j [36] , 'nh-m-^c hr [14], Jdw [13] , Jbj [6] and D'w [106]⁴¹⁷, for example, show the funeral procession to the tomb, but no 'sm' priest. The depiction of funeral scenes in the Old Kingdom concentrated more on the journey by land and water to the tomb than on the rites at the tomb. Evidence from Dynasty 4 suggests that the 'wt' (embalmer) priest carried out the rite of giving speech to a statue rather than to the body of the deceased⁴¹⁸. In Dynasty 5, this function was assumed by the lector priest with his professional skills in magic to make the deceased into an effective 3h.

The significance of the depiction of a tomb owner wearing an animal skin in the Old Kingdom is obscure. The statistical analysis of instances sheds very little light.

416 Wilson (1944) 205 and note 21.

417 Davies 2 (1902) pl. 7.

418 Dbhñj [105] LD II 35.

The animal skin was more frequently depicted in Dynasties 4 and 5 than in Dynasty 6.

Apart from the long robe:

In Dynasty 4, out of 22 tombs, 12 show the tomb owner wearing an animal skin.

- In the first half of Dynasty 5, out of 25 tombs, 16 show the tomb owner wearing an animal skin.
- In the second half of Dynasty 5, out of 17 tombs, 12 show the tomb owner wearing an animal skin.
- However, out of 36 tombs in all of Dynasty 6, only 13 show the tomb owner wearing an animal skin.

By far the most frequent scene in Dynasties 4 and 5 in which the tomb owner is depicted wearing the animal skin is at the offering table. In this scene the actual animal skin gradually supercedes the long robe in the second half of Dynasty 4 and early Dynasty 5. One reason why there are so few depictions of the animal skin in Dynasty 6 is that the tomb owner is hardly ever depicted wearing the skin at the offering table (only one instance)⁴¹⁹.

The second most frequent scene in which the animal skin is worn is that of the family group. Apart from these two types of scenes, offering table and family group,

⁴¹⁹ Ppjj-ḥnh:hnjj-km, Blackman 5 (1953) pl. 34.

the animal skin is occasionally worn in presentation scenes, beside the false door, or facing priests making ritual offerings and gestures.

There are three unusual instances in which the animal skin is worn:

- In one tomb in Groups A and B a figure other than the tomb owner wears the animal skin. In Nswt-nfr [57]⁴²⁰ a row of seven standing male figures on the top register, probably sons, all wear the panther skin.
- In only one instance does a woman wear the animal skin. This is Mrs-^cnh III [38]⁴²¹, whose rank as a queen may account for her depiction in a leopard skin.
- As far as can be judged from tomb reports, there is only one occasion where a tomb owner wearing an animal skin 'inspects' working activities. A standing figure of Jj-mrjj [4] wearing a panther skin faces registers of marsh activities⁴²².

Animal skin and dating criteria

Neither the association of scenes with the animal skin nor the occurrence of the wearing of the skin offers dating criteria. However, features of the animal skin do vary over time:

420 Junker 3 (1938) fig. 28.

421 Dunham-Simpson (1974) pl. 20d, fig. 7.

422 LD Erg. 4, Weeks (1994) fig 40.

- The long robe, reaching almost to the wearer's ankles, which is fastened on one shoulder and worn at the offering table, is not seen after early Dynasty 5. (See Figure 12).
- The animal skin is depicted in two basic styles.

The earlier *Style (1)*, which shows the paws, tail and sometimes the face of the animal, leaves the right shoulder of the wearer bare but is bound by a tie on the left shoulder. (Figure 32). The tail of the animal appears to wrap around the wearer's waist from the rear and curve over his hip to hang centrally down his body reaching below the hem of the kilt. The narrow lower paws also hang down, usually one behind the wearer's rear leg and the other between his legs, often partly obscured by the tail. If shown, the animal face is situated on the wearer's hip. The style is usually worn with a short, tight-fitting kilt⁴²³ and mainly occurs in tombs dated to Dynasty 4 and the first half of Dynasty 5.

It is difficult to judge when the seated tomb owner wears this style, as the line of tail and paws is lost on the seated figure. However, in the tomb of Nfr and K3-ḥ3.j [50], which consistently shows the standing tomb owners wearing an animal skin, there are three depictions of the seated figure wearing an animal skin. The right facing figure has the animal's tail crossing the wearer's lap from back

⁴²³ There is a notable exception of the portly figure of Ḥwfw-ḥ^c.f I [69] wearing a leopard skin over a flaring striped kilt. Simpson (1978) fig. 7.

to front and then hanging down over his thigh⁴²⁴. Pr-nb [22] also show this feature⁴²⁵, which suggests that this first style may have continued into the reign of Djedkare.

Style 2. A further major style change in the wearing of the animal skin occurred in Dynasty 5 when the method of draping the skin across the wearer's body was reversed bringing the paw of the animal up to the left shoulder near the tie, and the face of the animal to waist height or above. On the standing figure, either the rear paws were now shown one against each of the wearer's legs with the tail hanging down between them (Figure 11), or with one rear leg of the animal apparently behind the wearer's body. The paw on the shoulder appeared frequently for the remainder of the Old Kingdom. The animal head, when depicted, was originally at waist height and tended to rise to chest height as Dynasty 6 progressed.

- The diagonal top line of the animal skin appears to be bound by one or two strips of material, which are depicted as one, two, three or four parallel lines. The single band, shown as one or two lines (Figure 32), was the earlier version, although it is

424 Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pls 29, 32, 39.

425 Hayes I (1978) fig. 52.

finally seen in a not very clear depiction in the tomb of Mrri [35]⁴²⁶. The later version indicating two strips of material is mainly a feature of Dynasty 6. (Figure 11)

- The paws on the first style of animal skin are small and narrow, often no broader than the animal's tail. When the skin was reversed bringing the paw over the wearer's shoulder, the lower paws began to broaden with a tendency to lose their natural shape. They either became very broad and rounded protuberances with a few defining claws or, conversely, sharpened into an angled corner without claws.
- The skin could be worn either with a close, tight-fitting kilt or with a flared kilt. The tight-fitting kilt is the earlier combination but the flared kilt is seen from Hwfw-h'f I [69] onwards. An earlier depiction on Nfr-m³'t [52] is not particularly clear⁴²⁷.
- In the earliest depictions of the animal skin, the belt of the kilt is always seen beneath the skin. From early Dynasty 5, the animal skin is sometimes depicted beneath the kilt belt.

⁴²⁶ Davies et al (1984) pl. 7.

- The final feature to provide dating criteria is the position of the animal face, which gradually travels up the body of the wearer, from lower hip to chest level, as the Old Kingdom progressed.

Dating Criteria

- **Criterion 13:** *The long robe, sometimes appearing to be made from leopard fur, worn by men and women, is first seen in the tomb of Hsjj-r^c [66] (III.2) and last seen in the tomb of Wḥm-k³.j [18] (V.2-3).*
- **Criterion 14:** *Style 1 of the animal skin. The narrow lower paws hang down, usually one behind the wearer's rear leg and the other between his legs. The tail of the animal usually appears to wrap around the wearer's waist from the rear and curve over his hip to hang centrally down his body below the hem of the kilt.. This style is first seen in IV.1-2 (Mṯn [41]) and last seen in the tomb of Nfr & K³.ḥ³.j [50] (V.6).*
- **Criterion 15:** *Style 2 of the animal skin reverses the way the skin is draped over the wearer. The paw of the animal is brought up to the left shoulder near the tie, and the face of the animal to waist height or above. On the standing figure, either the rear paws were shown one on each leg of the wearer with the tail hanging down between*

body. This style is first seen in the tomb of Pth-špss [28] (V.6L) and last seen in the tomb of D'w [106] (VI.4E).

- **Criterion 16:** The diagonal top line of the animal skin appears to be bound by one strip of material, depicted as one or two parallel lines. This style is first seen in the tomb of Hsjj-r' [66] (III.2) and last seen in the tomb of Mrrj [35] (VI.1L-2).
- **Criterion 17:** The diagonal top line of the animal skin appears to be bound by two or more strips of material, depicted as three or four parallel lines. This style is first seen in the tomb of K³.j-nj nswt I [96] (IV.4-6) and last seen in the tomb of Ppjj-^{nh}:hrj-jb [21] (VI.3-4E).
- **Criterion 18:** When the animal skin was reversed, the lower paws began to broaden tending to lose their natural shape. They either became very broad and rounded with a few defining claws or, conversely, sharpened into an angled corner without claws. This style is first seen in the tomb of Ntr-wsr [58] (V.7-8) and last seen in VI.4E (D'w [106]).
- **Criterion 19:** The animal skin worn over a tight kilt is first seen in Mtn [41] (IV.1-2) and last seen in the tomb of Ppjj-^{nh}:hnj-km [20] (VI. 4L).
- **Criterion 20:** The animal skin worn over a flared kilt is first seen in the tomb of Nfr-m³'t [52] (IV.2-4) and last seen in the tomb of D'w [106] (VI.4E).

- **Criterion 21:** *A belt depicted over the animal skin is first seen in the tomb of Wḥm-k³.j [18] (V.2-3) and last seen in the tomb of Ppjj-ḥ-ḥrj-jb [21] (VI.3-4E).*
- **Criterion 22:** *The animal's face appearing below waist level on the animal skin is first seen in the tomb of Ḥwfw-ḥ^c.f I [69] (IV.4-6)⁴²⁸ and is last seen in VI.1M (Nj-k³w-jssj) [45]).*
- **Criterion 23:** *The animal's face appearing at waist level on the animal skin is first seen in the tomb of Mr-jb.j [33] (IV.6-V.2) and is last seen in the tomb of Sndm-jb:mḥj [81] (V.9M).*
- Criterion 24:** *The animal's face appearing above waist level on the animal skin is first seen in K³-gmnj [102] (VI.1E-M) and is last seen in ḥ-ḥr [14] (VI.1M-2E)*

⁴²⁸ This date omits the instance of Mḥn [41] who appears to have a belt over his long robe. LD II 3.

DATING CRITERIA 25-66

Offering Table scene

The offering table scene is the most consistently depicted theme in the tomb chapels of officials of the Old Kingdom. It also has a high survival rate compared to other scenes, as it is usually located deep within the chapel, on and close to the false door. The depiction of the phases of agricultural, marsh or manufacturing activities varies from tomb to tomb and scenes are rarely repeated in the same chapel. Sometimes scenes combine phases of an activity or an activity is omitted. The offering table, on the other hand, appears on early dynastic stelae, on false door panels throughout the Old Kingdom and is often repeated on some other part of the chapel wall. This shows that the offering table scene was an essential inclusion.

It is likely that the portrayal of the deceased or his ka at a ritual meal was intended to provide, through the magic of depiction, the sustenance needed for continued existence of the ka in the after-life. In time, the ritual meal was combined with the performance of priestly rituals which culminated in the deceased becoming an

'ḥ', a transformed, effective spirit. This would have given the scene an added importance.

While the portrayal of the tomb owner at table did not change significantly in the Old Kingdom, there were accretions and modifications to the associated iconography and epigraphy. Lists of necessities and luxuries were modified or added to. The scene was expanded to include priests performing pre-prandial rites, piles of food offerings, family members, pet animals and treasured possessions. The posture and dress of the deceased changed, as did the styles of furniture.

The survival of the scene in so many chapels, together with its modifications, makes it particularly valuable in providing dating criteria. It offers the least broken record over time of any scene, permitting the appearance and disappearance of features and modifications to be tracked with some accuracy.

Certain changes to the scene may have been the result of the borrowing of symbols of royal status and power. It is likely that these were first depicted in the chapels of members of the royal family and the most powerful or favoured officials. For example, while the chair leg in the shape of a lion's leg and paw did not become a commonplace depiction in officials' tombs until Dynasty 6, it is seen earlier on the

chairs of a select few officials in Dynasty 4⁴²⁸. Other changes appear to have been a consequence of the sculptor's need of space for additional features. The inclusion of ewer and basin, racks of jars and even human and animal figures beneath the offering table may account for the displacement of the basic 'h3' offering list from its original position beneath the offering table to the side of the table or above it.

The short lived appearance of some features may indicate experiments in style at a time when the pattern of depiction had not yet been settled, or the abandonment of such an experiment. These changes, which mainly belong to Dynasty 5, include the tomb owner seated at the offering table wearing a flared kilt or in a high-backed armchair⁴²⁹. Certain amendments, such as the tomb owner seated at the offering table receiving a proffered lotus rather than stretching out his hand to the bread⁴³⁰ on the table, appear to be the result of a fusion or confusion of themes⁴³¹. The acceptance of a lotus by the tomb owner, usually from a son, is a theme established in Dynasty 5 for inclusion in the banquet scene. Some of the innovations introduced in Dynasty 5 became established. The unguent jar held to the face and the folded strip of cloth held in a hand, occasional features in Dynasty 5, became common depictions in Dynasty 6.

⁴²⁸ The offering table scene on the panel of the false door of Mtn [41] LD II 3.

⁴²⁹ Moussa and Altenmüller (1977) fig. 4.

⁴³⁰ In this study the word 'bread' will be used to denote all the upright offerings on the table, whether they are shaped as half loaves or reeds unless there is reason to refer specifically to reeds.

As the Old Kingdom progressed, modifications made the offering table scene more complex. By the reign of Pepy II the scene often included the tomb owner's family, pet animals, ewer and basin set(s), racks of jars and caskets containing possessions of value such as hand mirrors. The 'spelling out' of the ritual ceremony by a row of priests performing the rites of glorification (Figure 13), as well as the large canonical list of offerings above the table further expanded the scene. Sometimes a second male figure is depicted seated at the opposite side of the offering table⁴³².

Dress of the male tomb owner seated at the offering table

The long robe

Until mid Dynasty 4 the tomb owner at table is usually shown wearing a long robe, which reaches almost to the ankles, leaves the near shoulder bare and is fastened on the far shoulder by ties. The robe is sometimes decorated with spots suggesting a leopard skin⁴³³ (Figure 12) In Groups A and B this garment is exclusive to the tomb owner seated at the offering table and is seen on slab stelae, the panels of the false doors and

⁴³¹ Brunner-Traut (1977) cover page.

⁴³² The offering table scene of Ppjj-^cnh-^chrj-jb is a good example. Blackman 4 (1924) pl. 12.

⁴³³ It is not possible to tell whether a skin is leopard or a plain panther skin. Consequently, in this study it will be referred to as an 'animal skin' unless there is need to be a plain panther skin.

on chapel walls. In the L-shaped chapels of the Giza West Field the long robe continued into the beginning of Dynasty 5. Occasionally, in the later chapels of this type, when there is more than one table scene the tomb owner is depicted at table sometimes wearing the long robe in one scene and the short garment in another⁴³⁴.

DATING CRITERION

- **Criterion 25:** *The long robe with or without leopard skin markings is first seen in the tomb of Hsġj-r' [66] (III.2). The latest instance occurs in Wġm-kʒ.j [18] (V.2-3).*

The short, tight fitting kilt

From the second half of Dynasty 4 onwards, the tomb owner at table is increasingly depicted wearing a short tight kilt, sometimes partly striped and sometimes in combination with a short leopard or panther skin fastened at the far shoulder. By Dynasty 6 the custom was firmly established that at the offering table the tomb owner should be depicted wearing the short tight kilt. In Groups A and B, in

⁴³⁴ Wġm-kʒ.j, Kayser (1964) p. 25 (upper top right) and pp. 32, 33; Sšʒt-ĥtp:ĥtj, Junker 2 (1934) figs 28 and Kʒ.j-nj-nswt I, Junker 2 (1934) figs 15 and 18.

Dynasty 6, the animal skin is only seen once at the offering table⁴³⁵ and the flared apron kilt not at all.

DATING CRITERION

- **Criterion 26:** *The short, tight fitting kilt, with or without an animal skin, worn at the offering table, is first seen in Nfr [49] (IV.4) and finally in Ppjj-ḥḥ:ḥnj-km [20] (VI.4L).*

The flared kilt (Figure 14)

The tomb owner is not depicted wearing a flared kilt at the offering table except in Dynasty 5. It appears to have been an experiment which did not survive into Dynasty 6.

DATING CRITERION

- **Criterion 27:** *As a Dynasty 5 'experiment' the flared kilt worn at the offering table is first seen in Pr-sn of Saqqara [24], dated to V.2 and finally in Hww-wr [67], dated to V.8.*

⁴³⁵ Ppjj-ḥḥ:ḥnj-km [20] Blackman 5 (1953) pl. 34.

The animal skin worn at the offering table

The animal skin worn at the offering table is very much a feature of the first half of Dynasty 5, but it is seen occasionally at other times in the Old Kingdom and therefore does not provide a dating criterion, as Inset I indicates.

Inset I		Male dress at offering table			
Date	Long robe	Short tight kilt	Animal skin	Flared kilt	Total
Dyn. IV	6	5	7	-	18
Dyn. V.1-6	5	26	20	11	62
Dyn. V.7-9	-	17	8	2	27
Dyn. VI	-	69	2	-	71

Choice of wig for the offering table scene

The choice of depicting the tomb owner in a short or long wig at the offering table does not show any marked preference until Dynasty 6. As Inset II suggests, of the 96 depictions in Groups A and B in Dynasties 4 and 5, the short wig is worn on 47 occasions and the long wig on 49. Of these:

Inset II		Wig worn at offering table	
		Short or no wig	Long wig
Teamed with a long robe		8	3
Teamed with a short tight kilt		19	19
Teamed with tight kilt and panther skin		15	19
Teamed with a flared kilt		5	8
Total		47	49
			96

Preference for being depicted wearing a long wig at table grew, as Inset III indicates:

Inset III Preference for short or long wig		
	<i>Short or no wig</i>	<i>Long wig</i>
Early Dynasty 4 to early Dynasty 5 the short wig was more popular	34	17
In mid Dynasty 5 the trend reversed	12	33
In Dynasty 6 the long wig was overwhelmingly preferred	8	46*
Total	54	96
* Eight of these have the ear showing.		

Although a trend in the type of wig worn at the offering table can be seen, this feature offers no dating criteria except for the long wig that exposes the ear. This criterion is included in the study of male dress.

The posture of the tomb owner at the offering table

Right facing depictions

In the predominant offering table scene the tomb owner, seated to the left of the offering table, faces right. The customary posture associated with this orientation is for the near hand to be stretched out to the bread on the table and the far hand to be brought up to the breast, perhaps shown clutching a strap hanging down from the far

shoulder. (Figure 12) This posture was established by early Dynasty 4⁴³⁶ and remained the most frequently depicted offering table pose throughout the Old Kingdom.

While the far hand of these right-facing figures shows some variety of gestures, all poses avoid the need to depict the right arm overlapping the left as it stretched out to the table. In Dynasty 4, this was usually achieved by bringing the clenched left (far) hand to the breast, perhaps depicting it holding a strap hanging down from that shoulder. Occasionally the left hand holds an object such as a scroll⁴³⁷.

From mid to late Dynasty 5 the posture of the right facing figure sometimes adopts new features for the left hand, supporting the idea that this was a time of innovation. For example, Hnmw-ḥtp [42] is depicted holding a lotus to his face with his left hand⁴³⁸ and Pth-ḥtp II (Tfj) [26] is shown holding a jar of unguent to his nose⁴³⁹, also with his left hand. However, the right-facing figure with the right (near) hand stretched out to bread and the left hand clenched to the breast continued to be the most common posture at the offering table throughout the Old Kingdom.

Left facing figures

⁴³⁶ Hsjj-r^c, Quibell (1913) pl. 29; R^c-ḥtp, Petrie (1982) pl. 15; Mṯn, LD II 3.

⁴³⁷ Nj-k³w-r^c, LD Erg. 35.

⁴³⁸ Moussa-Altenmüller (1977) fig.20.

⁴³⁹ Paget-Pirie (1898 pl. 38.

Seated to the right of the offering table, left-facing figures show a greater variety of postures. The most common pose in Dynasties 4 and 5 shows the near hand resting on or just above the knee while the far hand stretches out to the bread. This indicates that the bread was always picked up by the right hand. In Dynasty 5 new postures were sometimes given to the near hand of the left facing figure. The near hand of Pr-sn [24]⁴⁴⁰ holds a cloth over the tomb owner's knee and that of K³.j-nfr [100] holds a flywhisk⁴⁴¹. Ni-^cnh-hnmw [42] twice rests his near arm on the arm of his high-backed chair and Hnmw-ḥtp⁴⁴² holds a lotus over his knee. All these postures avoid the near arm overlapping the far arm.

The deceased holding a folded cloth at the offering table

A single or double strip of cloth is sometimes shown in the hand of the tomb owner or other major figure in Dynasty 4. However, in Groups A and B the tomb owner seated at the offering table gripping a folded cloth first appears in the tomb of Pr-sn in early Dynasty 5⁴⁴³. In this scene, the tomb owner, seated to the right of the table and facing left, holds a folded strip of cloth in his near hand, which is held above his knee.

⁴⁴⁰ Petrie-Murray (1952) pl. 10.

⁴⁴¹ Reisner (1942) 439 fig. 259.

⁴⁴² Moussa-Altenmüller (1977) figs. 4, 20, 25.

⁴⁴³ Petrie-Murray (1952) pl. 10.

This scene of Pr-sn is followed in the first half of Dynasty 5 by variations in the posture of the figure holding the folded strip of cloth at the offering table. In a table scene located on a lintel, W³š-Pth:jsj [15], seated to the left of the table and facing right, holds a folded cloth in his *near* hand over his knee and reaches to the bread of the table with his *far* hand, as does Jtjj [12]⁴⁴⁴. Hwfw-ḥ'.f II [70]⁴⁴⁵, seated to the left of the table and facing right, shows even greater innovation; he holds a cloth in his near hand while receiving a lotus from his young son in his far hand. This is one of the few instances where the figure seated at the offering table does not reach for the bread/reeds with either hand.

By the second half of Dynasty 5 the following pattern associated with the folded cloth had been established for the tomb owner depicted at table:

- For the figure facing right: the cloth was shown held at the breast in the far hand
- For the left facing figure: the cloth was held in the near hand over the seated tomb owner's thigh or knee.

Thus, the figure at table was always seen to be reaching to the bread with the right hand. At the same time, it was possible to avoid the artistic awkwardness of superimposing the lines of the near arm over those of the further arm.

⁴⁴⁴ W³š-ptḥ:jsj, Mariette (1889) 270; Jtjj, LD II 59a.

DATING CRITERIA

- **Criterion 28:** *The first occasion of the left facing figure holding a cloth in the near hand over the knee is that of Pr-sn [24] (V.2) and in Groups A and B is consistent for left facing figures from mid Dynasty 5 onwards to Ppjj-ḥh:hnjj-km [20] (VI.4L).*
- **Criterion 29:** *The first occasion of the right facing figure at table holding a cloth to the breast in the far hand occurs in Nj-ḥh-hnmw and Hnmw-ḥtp [42] (V.6L-8E) and then is consistently portrayed in the far hand from this time on. The latest instance in Groups a and B is in Ppjj-ḥh:hnjj-km [20] (VI.4L).*

The deceased holding the bꜣš flask to his/her nose (Figure 15)

The folded cloth held in the hand was probably a symbol of status or official position rather than of ritual, for it occurs in a variety of scenes. On the other hand, the bꜣš flask held to the nose was probably a ritualistic symbol, although it is occasionally depicted in scenes other than that of the offering table⁴⁴⁶. Held to the nose by the far hand of right facing figures it was also a solution to the artistic problem of superimposed arms. Indeed, in Groups A and B there is only one exception; Sšsšt:jdwt [89] facing left before an offering table reaching to the bread with her far arm, over

⁴⁴⁵ Simpson (1978) fig. 49.

which is superimposed a bent near arm holding a flask to her nose⁴⁴⁷. Sššt:jdwt is dated to the reign of Teti.

DATING CRITERION

- **Criterion 30:** *In Groups A and B, the earliest example of the bšš flask held to the nose at the offering table occurs in the chapel of Pth-htp (II):tfj [26] (V.9). The posture becomes more frequent in Dynasty 6 in Memphite and provincial chapels. It is last seen in Groups A and B in Ppjj-‘nh:hrj-jb [21] (VI.3-4E).*

The half loaves and reeds⁴⁴⁸ on the offering table

Shape and size

The categories of bread and reeds proposed in this study are based on the major changes in the shape and length of the upright forms on the offering table, as they occur in Groups A and B. While the principle of measuring the height of the half loaves in relation to the seated tomb owner established by Cherpion has been

⁴⁴⁶ Mrrw-kš.j facing offering bearers, Duell 2 (1938) pl. 117.

⁴⁴⁷ Macramallah (1935) pl. 15.

⁴⁴⁸ For convenience and ease of reading, the tall shapes on the offering table will be referred to as 'bread' regardless of shape, unless it is necessary to refer specifically to 'reeds'..

followed⁴⁴⁹, a different yardstick for measuring the height of the bread has been used.

This reduces the number of heights for the half loaves used as criteria. The categories are:

- The length of the half loaves, from tip to table surface, is less than the length of the tomb owner's upper arm, measured from tip of elbow to top of shoulder. Some of these depictions indicate that the product was baked in a *bdj* mould. (Figure 12)
- The second category consists of half loaves, probably baked in an *ʿprt* mould, whose length, from tip of loaf to table surface, is equal to or greater than the length of the tomb owner's upper arm measured from tip of elbow to top of shoulder. It is first seen in the second half of Dynasty 4 and is predominantly a Dynasty 5 feature. (Figure 16)
- The third category, also a Dynasty 5 feature, represents what appears to be the transitional phase between the depiction of half loaves and that of reeds. The bottom part of the 'half loaf' narrows somewhat suggesting the outline of the stalk of a reed, but does not yet portray a clearly defined stalk. (Figure 17)
- In Groups A and B true reeds, the fourth category, do not appear until Dynasty 6. While the height of the reeds varies from below the level of the shoulder of the

⁴⁴⁹ Cherpion (1989) 42-49.

seated tomb owner to above his head, the height difference appears to depend on the location of the scene within the chapel rather than on date. See Inset IV. The height of the reeds therefore does not prove a dating criterion.

- The final category is that of the offerings on the table, presumably reeds, shown only in outline. In Groups A and B this characteristic only appears in two provincial chapels, those of Jbj and D'w⁴⁵⁰, both dated to the reign of Pepy II (Figure 18).

Inset IV Height of reeds in relation to tomb owner in Dynasty 6		
<i>Location of scene</i>	<i>Reeds to shoulder height</i>	<i>Reeds above shoulder height</i>
Panel of false door	6	17
Elsewhere in chapel	25	7

Significance of the change from half loaves to reeds

The changing shape of the offerings from half loaves to reeds has been variously interpreted. Selim Hassan believed that the change was essentially a misinterpretation by craftsmen of the later Old Kingdom⁴⁵¹. More recent Egyptologists reject this view.

⁴⁵⁰ Davies 1 (1902) pl. 19 and Davies 2 (1902) pl. 9 respectively.

⁴⁵¹ Hassan 5 (1944) 170-72.

Cherpion⁴⁵², for example, argues that the change from half loaves to reeds represents a change of symbolism. She sees the progressive elongation of the half loaves as stages in the transformation of bread to reeds, brought about by changing views about the afterlife. Barta (Miroslav)⁴⁵³ thinks that the introduction of loaves baked in the 'prt mould brought about the lengthening and straightening of the bread shapes. This lengthening allowed the shapes to be turned into reeds, thus giving symbolic expression to another, already existing hope for an afterlife in the 'Field of Reeds' and 'Field of Offerings'. While the 'half-loaves' do show a significant lengthening from early in Dynasty 5 onwards, it is doubtful whether there is sufficient evidence to settle the argument whether or not Old Kingdom officials believed they had an afterlife in the 'Field of Reeds'.

DATING CRITERIA

- **Criterion 31:** *In Category 1, the height of half loaves is less than the length of the tomb owner's upper arm, measured from tip of elbow to top of shoulder. This is seen from Hsjj-r^c [66] (III.2) to J3sn [3] (V.8L-9).*

⁴⁵² Cherpion (1989) 45, note 60.

⁴⁵³ Barta (1995) 31-5.

- **Criterion 32:** *In Category 2, the height of half loaves is equal to or greater than the length of the tomb owner's upper arm measured from tip of elbow to top of shoulder. This feature appears first in the tomb of Dw³.n-hr [104] (IV.4-5). Its last occurrence in Groups A and B is in Krrj [92] of El Hawawish, whose tomb decoration is dated to Pepy I).*
- **Criterion 33:** *Category 3 is the transitional phase between the depiction of half loaves and that of reeds. The first instances of this feature occur on the south walls of the chapel of Hwfw-h^c.f II [70] (V.6), where the indentation at the bottom of the half loaf is slight. The latest occurrence, in Groups A and B, is on the west wall of Sššt:jdwt [89], dated to the reign of Teti (Figure 5).*
- **Criterion 34:** *Category 4, true reeds with a clearly defined short stalk, first occurs in the tomb of Nbt [48] (V.9) and is last seen at the end of the reign of Pepy II (Ppjj-^cnh:hnjj-km [20] VI.4L).*
- **Criterion 35:** *In Category 5 only the outline of the reeds on the offering table is shown. Occasionally the tosp or the bottoms of the reeds are depicted. In Groups A and B this characteristic only appears in the provincial chapels of Jbj [6] (VI.3-4E) and D^cw [106], dated to early Pepy II. (Figure II-7)*

Number of half loaves and reeds on the offering table

The number of half loaves depicted on the offering table varies in Groups A and B from as few as 8 to as many as 27. The number increases over time. The average number in Groups A and B for Dynasty 4 to early Dynasty 5 is 10.9 but rises to 16.9 in Dynasty 6. There is, however, no pattern to provide dating criteria, as there are occasional early instances of tables with a large number of half loaves and late instances of tables with few reeds⁴⁵⁴.

Orientation of half loaves and reeds

The other aspect of the half loaves examined is their orientation. The possible orientations are:

- The straight vertical edges of the half loaves are seen all facing towards the tomb owner. (Figure 16)
- The straight edges of the half loaves may all face away from him.
- If arranged around a central axis, the straight vertical edges of the half loaves may point towards the centre. (Figure 12)
- If arranged around a central axis, the straight edges of the half loaves may point outward

⁴⁵⁴ Mr-jb,j has 16 half loaves, LD II, 19. Ppjj-^cnh:hrj-jb's mother has only eight reeds on her offering table, Blackman 4 (1924) pl. 15.

- For reeds arranged around a central axis, the straight edges of the 'blades' incorporating the 'stem' may point inward. (Figure 15)
- If arranged around a central axis, the straight edges of the reed 'blades' incorporating the 'stem' may point outward.⁴⁵⁵ (Figure 19)

Dynasty 4: In Groups A and B, most offerings of half loaves are grouped around a central axis with their straight edges facing inward. There are only two exceptions. In the chapel of Mrs 'nh III [38] the straight edges of the bread face the seated tomb owner whether she sits to the left or the right⁴⁵⁶ of the offering table. In the panel scene of the northern false door of Mr-jb.j [33] the straight edges of the half loaves all face away from the tomb owner⁴⁵⁷.

Dynasty 5: The arrangement of the straight edges of the half loaves facing inward around a central axis remains the most frequent depiction for bread offerings. Where the shapes on the table begin to take on the appearance of reeds, the overwhelming preference is to show the straight edges of the blades arranged around a central axis, facing inward. Dynasty 5 variations include:

⁴⁵⁵ Although the orientation of reeds is the same as that for half loaves they are treated as separate criteria because the depiction of reeds on the table follows chronologically the depiction of half loaves.

⁴⁵⁶ Dunham-Simpson (1974) figs.7 and 9 respectively.

⁴⁵⁷ LD II, 19.

- The straight edges of the half loaves facing outward around a central axis⁴⁵⁸.

Sometimes, as in Sšm-nfr I [86], the axis is not centred⁴⁵⁹.

- The half loaves with the straight edges facing each other in pairs (Figure 17). The first depiction of half loaves arranged in pairs occurs in Pr-sn [24]⁴⁶⁰.

Both variations appear to be experiments, which were not carried into Dynasty 6.

Dynasty 6: The overwhelming representation of the forms on the offering table in

Dynasty 6 is as reeds. In 20 tomb chapels they are seen arranged around a central axis with the straight edges of the blades facing inward and in eight tombs with their straight edges facing outward. Only Krrj [92] of El Hawawish (VI.2) depicts half loaves of bread⁴⁶¹.

⁴⁵⁸ Panel of the false door of Nfr, Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pl. 29.

⁴⁵⁹ The tomb owner faces his wife across the offering table. The half loaves are arranged so that the straight edges of the larger number face the tomb owner and the straight edges of a smaller number face the wife. LD II 27.

⁴⁶⁰ Petrie-Murray (1952) pl. 10.

⁴⁶¹ Kanawati (1986) figure 32a.

DATING CRITERIA

- **Criterion 36:** *Direction I: half loaves arranged around a central axis with their straight edges facing inward are first seen in the tomb of Hsꜥꜣꜣ-rꜥ [66] (III.2) and last in the tomb of Rꜥ-wr [60] (VI.2L-3).*
- **Criterion 37:** *Direction II: The first appearance of half loaves arranged in equal (or unequal) numbers around an axis with their straight edges facing outward occurs in Sšm-nfr I [86] (V.2-3) and the final appearance is in the tomb of Sšm-nfr III [88] (V.8).*
- **Criterion 38:** *Direction III: The first appearance of half loaves arranged with all their straight edges facing away from the seated tomb owner is seen in Mr-jb.j [33] (IV.6-V.2) and the final appearance occurs in Kꜣ-pw-nswt:kꜣ.j [103] (V.3-5).*
- **Criterion 39:** *Direction IV: The first appearance of half loaves arranged with all their straight edges facing the seated tomb owner is seen in Mrs-ꜥnh III [38] (IV.4-6) and the final instance in Nfr and Kꜣ-ḥꜣ.j [50] (V.6).*
- **Criterion 40:** *Direction V: The first appearance of half loaves arranged in pairs with the straight sides of each pair meeting occurs in Pr-sn [24] (V.2) and the final appearance in Nj-ꜥnh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp [42] (V.6L-8E).*

- **Criterion 41:** *Direction VI: The first appearance of reeds (or forms in transition to becoming reeds) arranged around a central axis with the straight edges of their 'blades' facing inwards is seen from Hwfw-ḥ.f II [70] (V.6) and the final appearance occurs in VI.4L (Ppjj-ḥnh:hnjj-km [20]).*
- **Criterion 42:** *Direction VII: The first appearance of reeds (or forms in transition to becoming reeds) arranged around a central axis with the straight edges of their 'blades' facing outwards⁴⁶² is seen in 3ḥtj-ḥtp [1] (V.8L-9E) and the final occurrence in Ppjj-ḥnh:hrj-jb [21] (VI.3-4E).*

Offering lists associated with the offering table scene

Lists of offerings were subject to considerable changes of composition, position and representation as the Old Kingdom progressed⁴⁶³. Together with the general trend to increase the variety of supplies listed, or depicted in the offering table scene, there was also a marked increase in the variety of containers, bowls, jars, vases and flasks which were depicted.

⁴⁶² The direction of the 'blades' of the papyrus is judged from the lower portion where the stalk broadens into the blade. Compare Paget-Pirie (1898) pls. 35 and 38.

⁴⁶³ The order and chronological introduction of what is often termed the 'canonical' list has been investigated by Barta (1963) *passim*.

Dynasty 4 In the first half of the dynasty, offering table scenes in Groups A and B are on false door panels and slab stelae. Their offering lists consist of three main groupings:

- An organised linen list, sometimes ending in a list of animals and fowl, is often located on the opposite side of the offering table to the tomb owner (Figure 12).
- A basic h^3 list is usually located beneath the table (Figure 12).
- A general purpose list (often called a 'non-canonical' list) appears above the loaves of bread on the offering table and in the space between the offering table and the compartmentalised linen list. While the h^3 list tends to consist of some or all of a small group of basic items, the general (non-canonical) list varies greatly from one monument to another. Mtn [41] and R^c-h_{tp} [63]⁴⁶⁴, for example, have 74 items between them, but only 15 in common. Nfr [49]⁴⁶⁵ emphasises food and drink while Mtn⁴⁶⁶ and R^c-h_{tp}⁴⁶⁷ pay more attention to clothing and furniture. These differences suggest that individual choice played an important part in the composition of the offering lists.

⁴⁶⁴ LD II 3 and Petrie (1892) pl. 12 respectively. See also Hassan 5 (1944) 103-106,

⁴⁶⁵ Reisner (1942) fig. 241

⁴⁶⁶ LD II 3

⁴⁶⁷ Petrie (1892) pl. 12

The canonical offering list

In the second half of Dynasty 4 the tombs of members of the royal family in the East Field of the Giza necropolis begin to show major offering lists which were probably the immediate predecessors of the great compartmentalised lists of Dynasties 5 and 6⁴⁶⁸. In Groups A and B the chapel of Hwfw-ḥꜥ.f I [69] provides one of the first examples of the new list, although it is not divided into compartments. The list is in two parts, on the panel of the false door and on the south wall of the chapel, but the items mainly follow the order established by Barta. The first items of the canonical list appear on the panel⁴⁶⁹, and the later items (numbers 60 and following) appear on the south wall of the chapel⁴⁷⁰.

The next steps in establishing the canonical list come from Mrs-ꜥnh III [38], Dbḥnj [105], Nj-kꜣw-rꜥ [46] and Shm-kꜣ.rꜥ [82], whose lists are organised into compartments⁴⁷¹.

Dynasty 5: The inclusion of the canonical list of offerings seems to have occurred later and more slowly in the tombs of non-royal officials in both Giza and Saqqara. In the Giza West Field, Wḥm-kꜣ.j [18], Sšꜣt-ḥtp:htj [84] and Kꜣ.j-nj-nswt I [96] have non-

⁴⁶⁸ Barta (1963) 47-88.

⁴⁶⁹ Simpson (1978) fig. 31.

⁴⁷⁰ Simpson (1978) fig. 32; Barta, W. (1963) 47-50.

canonical lists of over 70 items on their south walls⁴⁷². K³.j-nfr [100] has only 24 items on his east wall list, although they are in compartments⁴⁷³. For non-royal officials, the true canonical list emerges first in the chapel of Sšm-nfr I [86]⁴⁷⁴ and appears in full form, compartmentalised, on the south wall of K³-pw-nswt:k³.j [103]⁴⁷⁵.

At Saqqara, the canonical list appears for the first time in Groups a and B on the false door architrave of W³š-pth:jsj [15]⁴⁷⁶. The canonical list may have taken longer at Saqqara to establish itself away from the false door. This impression, however, may simply be due to lack of data for Groups A and B for, by mid Dynasty 5, Nfr and K³-h³.j [50], not officials of high rank, have a canonical list on the south wall of their chapel⁴⁷⁷. Unfortunately, the early evidence for Saqqara from Groups A and B is very scant.

The pictorial display

With the appearance of the great canonical offering list, the older ideographic lists, which were usually situated above or to the side of the offering table, gradually

⁴⁷¹ Respectively, Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 9; LD II 35; LD Erg. pl. 35; LD II 42c. See also Hassan 4 (1943) fig. 63.

⁴⁷² Kayser (1964) 32; Junker 2 (1934) 184, fig. 33; and pl. 10, fig. 21 respectively.

⁴⁷³ Reisner (1942) fig. 260.

⁴⁷⁴ LD II (28.

⁴⁷⁵ Junker 3 (1938) fig. 17, p. 135.

⁴⁷⁶ Mariette (1889) 268-9.

⁴⁷⁷ Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pl. 26.

disappeared. A new, purely pictorial style of showing offerings emerged in the table scene. The pictorial displays were either in an orderly fashion on registers reminiscent of the banquet scenes or a piled jumble of foods and containers ~~represented~~ beneath and beyond the offering table. In Groups A and B, the first instance is in the offering table scene of Wḥm-k3.j[18] on the south wall of the chapel⁴⁷⁸. Here, three registers of assorted breads and other foods are arranged in neat rows next to the offering table. Depictions of food offerings also occur in W38-ptḥ:jsj. In his false door panel scene, two registers of food and drink offerings are depicted immediately above the half loaves on the offering table⁴⁷⁹.

It is also possible that a jumbled heap of food and drink is depicted in the offering table scene of Pr-sn [24] in Saqqara also in early Dynasty 5⁴⁸⁰, but the depiction has suffered too much damage for certainty. The depiction of food offerings in jumbled piles also provides a dating criterion. Usually located on the opposite side of the offering table to the seated tomb owner, and sometimes above or beneath the table, the assorted foods are shown in bowls and on platters or are simply piled on top of each other, suggesting a varied and plentiful diet for the deceased. Intermingled with the foods are vases of drinks or oils. As mentioned above, the first instance of

⁴⁷⁸ Kayser (1964) 32.

this feature may be in the severely damaged offering table of Pr-sn. The first clear occurrences in Groups A and B are seen in K3.j-nj-nswt II [97], Hwfw-h'f II [70] and Ni-'nh-hnmw and Hnmw-htp [42]⁴⁸¹. The piles of foods continued to be a popular feature in Memphite and provincial chapel scenes to the reign of Pepy II⁴⁸².

Piled foods on the offering table (Figure ²⁰)

In Groups A and B, the scene of the tomb owner seated at a table on which are arranged uncut loaves of bread and other foods is confined to Dynasty 5. This type of offering table occurs in K3.j-nfr [100]⁴⁸³, and again much later in K3r:Mrjj-r'-nfr [91]⁴⁸⁴ which may be considered insufficient data to provide a dating criterion.

The h3 list

A basic ideographic list, associated with signs for 'thousand', was very frequently depicted with the offering table.

⁴⁷⁹ Mariette (1889) 269.

⁴⁸⁰ Petrie and Murray (1952) pl. 10.

⁴⁸¹ Junker 3 (1938) fig. 22; Simpson (1978) fig. 50; Wild (1966) pl. 161; Moussa-Altenmüller (1977) fig. 20 respectively.

⁴⁸² Davies, 2 (1902) pl. 9.

⁴⁸³ Reisner (1942) fig. 260 .

Dynasty 4: In the earliest offering table scenes, the h^3 sign was not confined to this list. It was included in the linen list and sometimes used to denote the number of offerings in the old uncanonical list⁴⁸⁵. However, the basic h^3 list usually consisted of about six elements or less, with t [bread], $hnkt$ [beer], $3pd$ [poultry], k^3 [oxen], ss [alabaster bowls] and $mnht$ [linen, clothes] being the most common elements. The basic h^3 list is consistently found beneath the offering table.

Dynasty 5: On the lintel and architrave of $W3\check{s}-pth:jsj$ [15], for the first time, some elements of h^3 list (bread and beer) are found above the offering table⁴⁸⁶. There appears no reason for this change except a lack of space beneath the table for all the signs. A similar reason must account for the next instance of the removal of some of the h^3 list to the side of the offering tables of $\check{S}pss-k^3.f-^c nh$ [90] and $Jj-mrjj$ [4]⁴⁸⁷, who are close in time to $W3\check{s}-pth:jsj$. $Jj-mrjj$'s list is expanded to eleven items. In their false door panel scenes, $K^3-h^3.j$, $Wr-b^3w$ and $Sn jt.f$, in the chapel of Nfr and $K^3.h^3.j$ [50], also have expanded h^3 lists which continue above the offering tables⁴⁸⁸.

⁴⁸⁴ Simpson (1976) fig. 19a.

⁴⁸⁵ $Wp-m-nfrt$, Smith (1946) 160 pl. 32[b].

⁴⁸⁶ James (1961) 20-1, pl. 21 [2].

⁴⁸⁷ Weeks (1994) fig. 54 and LD Erg.pl. 4b respectively.

⁴⁸⁸ Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pls. 32, 38, 39.

Dynasty 6: Until the reign of Pepy II, the h_3 list is frequently distributed beneath, above and to the side of the table. In Groups A and B, the h_3 list is not seen at all beneath the offering table in chapels securely dated to Pepy II. While the distribution of the h_3 list provides dating criteria, it is doubtful whether this absence can be used as a further dating criteria for the list is sometimes absent in earlier scenes⁴⁸⁹.

dbht-htp ('food requirements')

From late Dynasty 5 onwards, the custom appears of adding the phrase 'dbht-htp' usually to the h_3 list beneath the offering table. The first instances in Groups A and B are in the offering table scenes on the north and south walls of 3htj-htp [1]⁴⁹⁰. The last occurrence in Groups A and B is in the tomb of Ppjj- ϵ nh:hnjj-km [20]⁴⁹¹. It thus offers a dating criterion for the period V.8-9 to VI.4L.

DATING CRITERIA

- **Criterion 43a:** *The linen list is first seen in Mtn [41] (IV.1-2). Its final occurrence in Groups A and B is in Sšm-nfr- I [86] (V.2-3).*

⁴⁸⁹ James (1953) pl. 21.

⁴⁹⁰ Davies (1901) pls. 24, 34.

⁴⁹¹ Blackman 5 (1953) pls. 34, 35.

- **Criterion 43b:** *The canonical list is first seen in Mrs-ḥ III [38] (IV.4-6) and finally in⁴⁹² VI.4L (Ppjj-ḥ:hnjj-km [20]).*
- **Criterion 44:** *The depictions of foods on registers is first seen in Nfr-m³t [52] (IV.2-4) finally in VI.4L (Ppjj-ḥ:hnjj-km [20]).*
- **Criterion 45:** *The jumbled piles of pictorialised foods are first seen perhaps in Pr-sn [24] (V.2) or at the latest in K³.j-nj-nswt II [97] (V.2-3), if Pr-sn is unreliable. Their final occurrence in Groups A and B is in Ppjj-ḥ:hnjj-km [20] (VI.4L).*
- **Criterion 46:** *Uncut loaves of bread and other foods on the offering table are seen in Sš³t-ḥtp:ḥtj [84] (IV.4L-6) and K³r:mrjj-rᶜ-nfr [91] (VI.2M).*
- **Criterion 47:** *The ḥ³ list wholly beneath the offering table is first seen in Mtn [41] (IV.1-2) and finally in Rᶜ-wr [60] (VI.2L-3).*
- **Criterion 48:** *The ḥ³ list at least partly beside or above the offering table first occurs in K³.j-nfr [100] (IV.5-6) and is seen to the end of the reign of Pepy II (VI.4L Ppjj-ḥ:hnjj-km [20]).*

⁴⁹² Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 9 and Davies 2 (1902) II pl. 11 (list defaced).

- **Criterion 49:** *The addition beneath the offering table of the phrase 'dbḥt-ḥtp' to the ḥḏ list is first seen in 3ḥtj-ḥtp [1] (V.8L-9E) and finally in Ppjj-ḥḥ:ḥnj-km [20] (VI.4L0).*

Ewer and basin

The provision of ewer and basin to provide libations for a ritual cleansing was clearly an important preparation for the funerary meal. Varying shapes of ewer and basin, always portrayed close to the deceased, are depicted in the chapels of Groups A and B in both the offering table and banquet scenes. These may be divided into two main groupings according to shape. The earlier style is most clearly shown on the panel of R'-ḥtp's false door and on the stela of Jwnw [5]⁴⁹³. The spouted jar stands tall in the basin, in some cases suggesting that it is at least twice the height of the basin. Its sides begin to narrow well above the top of the basin. This style of ewer and basin is invariably seen in chapel scenes from Ḥsijj-r [66]⁴⁹⁴ to Dbḥnj [105]⁴⁹⁵, and frequently to mid Dynasty 5. (Figure 12).

⁴⁹³ Petrie (1892) pl. 15 and Smith (1946) 160 pl. 32[b].

⁴⁹⁴ Quibell (1913) pl. 29.

⁴⁹⁵ LD II 36c.

In the later style, the spouted ewer sits much lower in the basin so that not much more than the arched top of the ewer and the spout appear above the rim of the basin. Sometimes the shoulders of the ewer are almost as wide as the mouth of the bowl. In other depictions the arched top of the ewer is more rounded and the shoulders of the vessel are narrower than the mouth of the bowl. There are many minor gradations of these features. Consequently, they have been grouped together and the height and shape of the spouted ewer above the mouth of the basin has been made the basic distinguishing feature between the first and second styles. The earliest instances of the second style are seen in late Dynasty 4⁴⁹⁶. It is the predominant style of the second half of Dynasty 5 and continues well into Dynasty 6⁴⁹⁷.

Position of the ewer and basin

The ewer and basin set may be depicted:

- 'floating' without any base line, near the tomb owner's face or arm (Figure 12)
- on a low table or stand
- resting flat on the base line of a register.

⁴⁹⁶ The earliest instances in Groups A and B of the second style of ewer and basin occur in banquet scenes in Nj-k3w-r^c [46] (LD Erg. pl. 35) and Šm-k3.r^c [82] (Hassan 4 (1943) 117, fig. 62). The earliest instance of this style in an offering table scene is on the architrave of the false door of W38-ptḥ:jsj [15] (Mariette (1889) 268).

⁴⁹⁷ Jbj [Davies 1 (1902) pl. 19.

In Groups A and B, the 'floating' depiction occurs in the offering table scene from Hsjj-r' [66] in Dynasty 3 to K3-pw-nswt:k3.j [103]⁴⁹⁸ in early to mid Dynasty 5. This location becomes less frequent in Dynasty 5. From W3š-pth:jsj [15] on, the ewer and basin set is also positioned above the offering table or, occasionally, beside the table. The earliest depiction of a ewer and basin situated on a stand in an offering table scene also occurs in W3š-pth:jsj⁴⁹⁹.

The latest instance of the ewer and basin above the table is in Sndm-jb:mhj [81]⁵⁰⁰, by which time the final location beneath the offering table is well established. In Groups A and B, the earliest example of this ultimate position occurs in the tomb of Nfr and K3-ḥ3.j [50]⁵⁰¹. Locating the ewer and basin beneath the offering table grew increasingly popular in the second half of Dynasty 5 and, in Dynasty 6 it became the almost invariable position, frequently alongside racks of jars and vases⁵⁰².

⁴⁹⁸ Quibell (1913) pl. 29 and Junker 3 (1938) fig. 16 (panel of left false door).

⁴⁹⁹ Mariette (1889) 268.

⁵⁰⁰ LD Erg. pl. 16.

⁵⁰¹ Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pls 38, 39.

The proffered ewer and basin

The other manner of depicting the ewer and basin set was to show it in the hands of a ka priest being proffered to the tomb owner. This was usually a feature of the offering table scene, but the first occurrence in Groups A and B is on the inner jamb of the niche in the chapel of Hwfw-ḥ.f I [69]⁵⁰³. On the third lowest register, a male figure, facing the false door, pours from the ewer into the bowl. The scene is inscribed, 'djt kbḥw' ('giving libations'). Apart from an isolated occurrence in the presentation scene of Ppjj-ḥnh:hnjj-km [20] of Meir⁵⁰⁴, the last instance of the proffered ewer and basin occurs in J3sn [3], dated to late Dynasty 5⁵⁰⁵.

In almost all offering table scenes, from Dynasty 3 to late Dynasty 6, the set of ewer and basin occupies a position close to the seated tomb owner. The set also occurs in most banquet scenes, suggesting the importance of purification in matters of ritual.

⁵⁰² The number of jars and vases depicted beneath the offering table increases over time: one jar in W3š-ptḥ:jsj, two in Pth-ḥtp:tfj (II), three in S3bw:jbbj [77], four in Mrrj [35] and five in Hntj-k3.j [75], but there are insufficient instances of each number to provide dating criteria.

⁵⁰³ Simpson (1978) fig. 32.

⁵⁰⁴ Blackman 5 (1953) pl. 26.

⁵⁰⁵ Simpson (1980) fig. 33.

DATING CRITERIA

- **Criterion 50:** *The ewer and basin, as seen on the stela of Jwnw, with spouted ewer standing tall and rounded in the basin (at least twice the height of the basin) is seen in offering table scenes from Hsjj-r^c [66] (III.2) to Wr-b3w (V.6, tomb of Nfr and K3.h3.j [50]).*
- **Criterion 51:** *The spouted ewer sitting lower in the basin so that not much more than the arched top of the ewer and the spout appear above the rim of the basin is first seen in Nj-k3w-r^c [46] (IV.4-6) and continues to the end of the reign of Pepy II (Ppjj-^cnh:hnjj-km [20]).*
- **Criterion 52:** *The ewer and basin set 'floating' without any base line near the tomb owner's face or arm is first seen in Hsjj-r^c [66] (III.2) and finally in K3-pw-nswt:k3.j [103] (V.3-5).*
- **Criterion 53a:** *The ewer and basin set on a stand in an offering table scene is first seen in W3š-ptj:jsj [15] (V.3) and finally in VI.4E (D^cw [106]).*
- **Criterion 53b:** *The ewer and basin set depicted beneath the offering table first occurs in Nfr and K3-h3.j (Wr-b3w) [50] (V.6) and continues to the end of the reign of Pepy II (Ppjj-^cnh:hnjj-km [20]).*

Wife of the deceased

Wives were included in offering table scenes. The depiction of the wife seated opposite the tomb owner at the offering table occurs first in R^c-h_{tp} [63] and continues through the Old Kingdom. In Groups A and B it is last seen in Ppjj-^cnh:hrjj-jb [21] of Meir⁵⁰⁶.

The wife seated behind (beside?) the tomb owner at the offering table, however, does provide a dating criterion. The earliest instance in Groups A and B is in W_{hm}-k₃.j [18] and the latest in Jbj [6] and Ppjj-^cnh:hrj-jb [21]⁵⁰⁷. In early Dynasty 6 the wife was featured kneeling at the feet of the tomb owner seated at the offering table. This depiction is only seen in W_{d3}-h₃-ttj:ššj:nfr-sšm-pt_h [19], Mrrw-k₃.j [36] and Js_j of Edfu [10] in Groups A and B⁵⁰⁸.

DATING CRITERION

- **Criterion 54:** *The wife seated behind (beside?) the tomb owner at the offering table is first seen in W_{hm}-k₃.j [18] (V.2-3) and finally in Jbj [6] (VI.3-4E).*

⁵⁰⁶ Petrie (1892) pl. 15 and Blackman 4 (1924) pl. 9 respectively.

⁵⁰⁷ Kayser (1964) 24, 25, 32 and Blackman 4 (1924) pl. 2, respectively.

⁵⁰⁸ Capart (1907), Duell I (1938) pls. 57, 64 and Ziegler (1990) No. 9, respectively.

Funerary priests

Priests performing ritual actions began to be included near the offering table when the scene spread from the confines of the false door panel to a chapel wall, in the second half of Dynasty 4. In Groups A and B, the earliest instances are in the tombs of Hwfw-h'f I [69], Nfr [49] and Mrs-^cnh III [38]⁵⁰⁹. A selection of three or four priests, often the sons of the deceased, face the tomb owner across the table, standing, kneeling or squatting in a ritual pose, sometimes offering libations or censuring. Offering bearers bringing haunches of beef, fowl, rolls of linen, burning incense or offering sacred oils often accompany the priests who perform the ritual. Sometimes no distinction is made between the two groups who are both described as 'hm.w-k3'. When the depiction of the ritual was finally established at the end of Dynasty 5, the priests were shown as small figures on their own register, usually level with the face of the deceased. From this time on, a distinction seems to have been made between those who performed rites and those who brought offerings. In the table scenes of K3-gmnj [102], Mrrj [35], K3r :Mrjj-r^c-nfr [35], Hntj-k3.j [75], Ppjj-^cnh:hj-km [20] and perhaps Jbj [6], the priests performing ritual occupy a separate register⁵¹⁰. While they may be depicted on a much

⁵⁰⁹ Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 9; Ziegler (1990) No 26; Simpson (1978) fig. 31 respectively.

⁵¹⁰ Respectively, Bissing 2 (1911) pl. 18-19; Davies et al (1984) pl. 12; Simpson (1976) figs. 25, 29; James (1953) pl. 14; Blackman 5 (1953) pl. 34; Davies (1902) pl. 19.

smaller scale than the offering bearers, their position, often close to the face of the deceased or facing him across the table, suggests that the rites they perform are now distinguished from the functions of the leading offering bearers.

The key symbolism of the offering table scene was the transformation of the deceased into an 'akh', a glorified living spirit. This process saw its culmination in the ritual meal. The priests in the row facing the tomb owner, singly or in groups, performed part of the ritual. These figures included a priest pouring a libation, another censuring, a figure kneeling before a low offering table and a standing figure, one arm outstretched, speaking the offering formula. Three or four lector priests, kneeling on one knee, one fist to breast and the other raised, uttered the magic that transformed the deceased into an 'akh'. Sometimes figures read from scrolls. Usually, the last figure, depicting the final phase of the ritual, walks away dragging a broom to wipe out the footprints.

Funerary priests are depicted in more than 30 different poses in Groups A and B, although some of the differences in gesture are minor. While some of the most frequently depicted gestures occur throughout the Old Kingdom, a number of priestly

gestures and poses are confined to a certain period and therefore offer dating criteria as indicated in Inset V⁵¹¹.

• **Criteria 55-63.**

<i>Criterion Number</i>	Inset V Priestly gestures as dating criteria			
	<i>occurs from:</i>		<i>to:</i>	
55 (Figure 21)	1V.4	(Nfr)	VI.2	(Jdw)
56 (Figure 22)	1V.4	(Nfr)	V.8L-9	(J3sn)
57 (Figure 23)	IV.4-5	(Hwfw-dd.f)	V.8L-9	(J3sn)
58 (Figure 24)	IV.4-6	(Hwfw-h'.f I)	V.2-3	(Whm-k3.j)
59 (Figure 25)	IV.4-5	(Hwfw-dd.f)	V.2-3	(Nswt-nfr)
60 (Figure 26)	V.6	(Nfr & K3-h3.j)	VI.4L	(Ppjj-'nh:hnjj-km)
61 (Figure 27)	V.8L-9E	(3htj-htp)	VI.4L	(Ppjj-'nh:hnjj-km)
62 (Figure 28)	V.8-9	(R'-wr II)	VI.4L	(Ppjj-'nh:hnjj-km)
63 (Figure 29)	V.8-9	(R'-wr II)	VI.4L	(Ppjj-'nh:hnjj-km)

⁵¹¹ Gesture no 1: Ziegler (1990) No 26 and James (1953) pl. 21, respectively.

Gesture no 2: Ziegler (1990) No 26 and Simpson (1980) fig. 33, respectively.

Gesture no 3: Simpson (1980) fig. 31 and Davies 2 (1901) pl. 34, respectively.

Gesture no 4: Simpson (1980) fig. 31 and Davies 2 (1902) pl. 19, respectively.

Gesture no 5: Junker 10 (1951) 53 fig. 25 and Junker 3 (1938) 75 fig. 9b, respectively.

Gesture no 6: Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pl. 32 (left false door, right of panel) and Davies 2 (1902) pl. 19, respectively.

Gesture no 7: Davies 2 (1901) II pl. 34 and Blackman 4 (1914-53) pl. 9, respectively.

Gesture no 8: LD II 84 (left) and Davies 2 (1902) II pl. 19, respectively.

Gesture no 9: LD II 84 (left) and Davies 2 (1902) II pl. 19, respectively.

DATING CRITERIA 69-79

The female figure

There are only seven females with their own tombs in Groups A and B. Six of these women, Mrs-^cnh II [37], Mrs-^cnh III [38], Nn-sḏr-k3.j [56]⁵¹², Sšsšt:jdwt [89], Nbt [48] and Hnwt [74], were all of high rank, wives of kings or 'king's daughter'. Sšsšt:jdwt was a 'king's daughter of his body'⁵¹³. Nbt and Hnwt were probably queens of Unas. Only Nḏt-m-pt [59], the mother of Mrrw-k3.j [36], carried no high title⁵¹⁴. In her son's tomb she is depicted standing 'behind' him, whereas Mrrw-k3.j's wife, a 'king's daughter of his body' is placed before her husband. Nḏt-m-pt may have been granted a separate tomb on account of her son's high position.

A further four wives have chapels in their husband's tomb: Nfrt, wife of R^c-ḥtp [63], Jtt, wife of Nfr-M3^ct [53], Nfrt-k3w, wife of Hwfw-ḥ^c.f I [69] and W^ctt-ḥt-ḥr, wife of Mrrw-k3.j⁵¹⁵. A further wife and a mother have their own false door in a male tomb owner's chapel. These are the wife of Nfr [49], and the mother of Mr-sw-^cnh [39]⁵¹⁶.

All other significant female figures in Groups A and B are portrayed in the tomb of a

⁵¹² Nn-sḏr-k3.j's title is inscribed in the tomb of her father, Mr-jb.j [33].

⁵¹³ Macramallah (1935) pl. 9.

⁵¹⁴ Nḏt-m-pt's titles are: ḥm(t)-nṯr Nt mḥjt jnb.s wpt w3wt, ḥm(t)-nṯr Hwt-ḥr nbt nht, rḥt nswt, Kanawati-Hassan (1996) pls. 5, 40.

⁵¹⁵ See prosopography.

male relative sharing a scene with the tomb owner. As secondary figures, wives may be depicted in almost as many scenes as the tomb owner, even at their own offering table.

In Groups A and B wives appear at their own offering table in R^c-ḥtp⁵¹⁷, Wḥm-k³.j [18]⁵¹⁸, Nfr and K³-ḥ³.j [50]⁵¹⁹, and Ppjj-^cnh-ḥrj-jb [21]⁵²⁰. The tomb owner's mother seated at a separate offering table is depicted in Ppjj-^cnh-ḥrj-jb⁵²¹.

At the other end of the spectrum, wives may appear on a much smaller scale than the husband, as is invariably the case in the scene of the deceased fishing or fowling. Elsewhere the size and frequency of the depiction of the wife may have been a matter of individual choice. However, the chronological pattern of depiction suggests that there was an element of custom or required decorum in the manner and frequency of the depiction of wives and daughters. The instances in Dynasty 4 and early Dynasty 5 of the absence or meagre appearance of the wife and daughters may be due to tomb damage⁵²². However, there are a curious number of high officials' tombs, of late Dynasty V to early

⁵¹⁶ See prosopography.

⁵¹⁷ Petrie (1892) pl. 15.

⁵¹⁸ Kayser (1964) 25.

⁵¹⁹ Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pl. 32.

⁵²⁰ Blackman 4 (1914-53) pl. 14.

⁵²¹ Blackman 4 (1914-53) pl. 15.

⁵²² Nj-wsr-r^c [44], Ḥwfw-ḡd.f [71], Dbḥnj [105]. See prosopography.

Dynasty VI date, where no wife appears in depiction or inscription, although children (usually only sons) figure⁵²³. Most of these tombs have sufficient decoration preserved to make the absence of a wife noticeable⁵²⁴.

In establishing dating criteria from the depiction of the adult female, no distinction has been made between female tomb owners and females appearing in the tomb of a relative. Criteria drawn from the depiction of the female relate to pose, gesture and relative size as well as dress and adornment.

Criteria 54, 101 and 112 in other sections of this study relate specifically to the female.

The pose of the female: standing beside the tomb owner

Most of these figures are of the wife of the tomb owner. Mothers and sisters are less frequently depicted standing beside the tomb owner⁵²⁵. The semi-profile method of depiction gives the impression of the wife standing behind her husband but was probably

⁵²³ These are the tombs of 3htj-htp [1], Pth-htp [25], Pth-htp:tfj [26], Pr-nb [22], Nj-k3w-jssj [45], K3(.j)-'pr(w) [93], 'nh-m-^c-hr [14], and Hntj-k3.j [75]. R^c-wr.[60] may come into this category.

⁵²⁴ See Appendix A for further discussion of this phenomenon.

⁵²⁵ Nfr-m3^ct [53] (sister) Petrie (1892) pl. 17; Hwfw-h^c.f I [69] (mother), Simpson (1978) fig. 26; Mrs-'nh III [38] (mother) Dunham-Simpson (1974) figs. 4, 7; Mr-jb.j [33] (mother) LD II 20, 21. Mr-jb.j's mother, Sdjt, was a 'king's daughter of his body'. No wife is depicted in this tomb, which is discussed in Appendix A.

intended to show her standing beside him, although as a secondary figure. There are only two depictions of royal mothers in Groups A and B but both portray the mother standing 'in front' of her child, although the child is the tomb owner. These are in the tombs of Mrs ḥnḥ III [38] and Ḥwfw-ḥ.f I [69]⁵²⁶.

Two poses for the female relative standing beside the tomb owner are common in the Old Kingdom:

- The first, occurring throughout the Old Kingdom, depicts the wife with her arm around her husband's shoulders, resting her hand on his far shoulder. Her near arm usually hangs down at her side. (Figure 30)
- The wife holds the husband's arm that is nearest to her, as well as putting her other arm around his shoulders. (Figure 31) This pose offers a dating criterion.

A variant of these poses also provides a dating criterion. Occasionally the standing female links arms with the male instead of embracing his shoulders. Her near arm may cross her body to hold his lower arm or hang down at her side. (Figure 32)

These apparently affectionate gestures become infrequent towards the end of Dynasty 5 and are rarely seen in early Dynasty 6 tombs. This reduced frequency is probably linked to other changes in the portrayal of the wife. In Groups A and B the

discussed in Appendix A.

⁵²⁶ Respectively, Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 7 and Simpson (1978) fig. 26.

latest Dynasty 5 instances of a wife portrayed as approximately the same height as her husband, whom she stands next to and embraces, occur in Hww-wr [67] (V.8) and Sndm-jb:jnti [80] (V.9E). In the second half of Dynasty 5 the wife of the deceased is steadily reduced in size until she is depicted scarcely bigger than the usual height of sons and daughters⁵²⁷. However, the full size depiction of the wife returns in Dynasty 6. In the provinces full size wives stand beside Jbj [6], D'w [106]⁵²⁸ and Ppjj-ḥnh/hnj-km [20]⁵²⁹.

Wife kneeling beside the male tomb owner

The depiction of the wife standing beside her husband with an arm around his shoulders, holding his nearest arm with her other hand virtually disappears in later Dynasty 5 and early Dynasty 6. A new pose depicting the wife kneeling at the feet of the standing or seated tomb owner is introduced. (Figure 33) In tombs, such as Mrrw-k3.j's where the wife is still represented, this kneeling pose is dominant for late Dynasty 5 and early Dynasty 6, but gives way to the full size depiction of the wife in provincial tombs in the second half of Dynasty 6.

⁵²⁷ This is also true of the depiction of mothers. Compare the depiction of the mother in Mr-jb.j [33] (LD II 20, 21) with that of Ndt-m-pt [59] in Mrrw-k3.j [36] Duell 2 (pls. 149, 159).

⁵²⁸ Davies 2 (1902) pl. 12.

DATING CRITERIA

- **Criterion 69:** *The female holding the arm of the tomb owner that is nearest to her as well as putting her other arm around his shoulders is seen from Dw'-n-hr [104] (IV.4-5) to Sndm-jb:jntj [80] (V.9E).*
- **Criterion 70:** *The depiction of the standing female linking arms with the male tomb owner is first seen in the chapel of Nfr-M3't [53] (IV.1). The latest is a depiction of Sšm-nfr I [86] (V.2-3) and his wife.*
- **Criterion 71:** *In Groups A and B the wife kneeling at the feet of her husband is first seen in the tomb of Pth-špss [28] (V.6). The depiction continues to Jdw [13] (VI.2). This criterion does not apply to the female on a skiff accompanying the fishing and fowling activities.*

Height of the female standing beside the male tomb owner

Height and size of the standing female, relative to that of the male tomb owner, presents problems of interpretation. A wife, mother or sister of a tomb owner may be depicted:

- equal in height to the male tomb owner
- between a head to head and shoulder shorter than the male
- much shorter, half the male's height or less. (Figure 34)

⁵²⁹ Blackman 4 (1914-53) pl. 4.

The depiction of the female around shoulder height of the male may be just a realistic portrayal of relative size⁵³⁰. Consequently, in establishing dating criteria the depiction of the female whose head reaches, or almost reaches the height of the male's shoulder has not been used. There are also problems in interpreting the portrayal of the wife on a very small scale (less than half his height) as she stands beside her husband. Some depictions show the wife standing 'in front' of the husband, in the position normally occupied by a son or daughter⁵³¹. The first instances of this feature in Groups A and B occur in the tomb of Nfr and K3-ḥ3.j. Three times the unnamed 'tomb owner' is depicted standing with a much smaller female figure 'in front' of him. Two of these portrayals are on the east wall and flank scenes of goats, marsh pursuits and cattle. The left-hand portrayal of the tomb owner depicts the accompanying female as a young girl, naked except for ornate collar and amulet, standing in front of the tomb owner. She has the sidelock of youth and holds a lotus to her nose with one hand and a lapwing in her other hand. Neither figure is named, yet the excavators' caption is "The tomb-owner in company of his wife". This female could be a daughter rather than a wife.

⁵³⁰ Wives of Nfr M3't [53], Ḥwfw-ḥ'f I [69], Mnw-dd.f [30], Nb.j-m-3ḥtj [47], Nfr [50], Mrrw-k3.j [36] (Duell, pl. 14), Pth-Šps II [29].

⁵³¹ These are Nfr and K3-ḥ3.j [50] Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pls. 2 and 30; Nj-ḥnh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp, [42]

Moussa-Altenmüller (1977) fig. 19 and Mrrw-K3.j [36] Duell (1938) pl. 15.

In the right hand scene, a small female figure wearing adult dress and wig stands beside the tomb owner, also unnamed. An even smaller female figure on the other side of the tomb owner is naked, has a sidelock and holds the tomb owner's staff. The tomb owner and his wife depicted on the right could be either K3-ḥ3.j and his wife, Mrt-jt.s, or Nfr and his wife, Ḥnsw. I am inclined to think it is the latter pair as their relative sizes correspond with those to the right of their false door⁵³².

DATING CRITERIA

- *Criterion 72: The depiction of the wife on a much smaller scale than the tomb owner she stands next to is first seen, in Groups A and B, in the tomb of Pth-špss [28] (V.6) and last seen in D'w [106] (VI.4E).*

FEMALE ADORNMENT

Wig, fillet and streamers

All female wigs exposed the ear. Commonly, females are depicted wearing a long wig with the near side tresses hanging to the front of the wearer's shoulder. Presumably, the

Moussa- Altenmüller (1977) fig. 19 and Mrrw-K3.j [36] Duell (1938) pl. 15.

⁵³² Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pl. 29.

profile depiction of the face prevented the artist showing a similar hair arrangement on the far shoulder. This style is seen throughout the Old Kingdom.

The other common style, first seen on Mrs ḥnh III [38]⁵³³ is a short, close fitting wig, sometimes curly, also exposing the ear. In Dynasties 4 and 5, this wig is usually worn without any other head adornment. The only exception is Ḥtp-ḥr.s, the mother of Mrs ḥnh III, who combines the wig with a fillet⁵³⁴ and streamer headband. This combination headdress (short wig, fillet and streamers) is not seen again in Groups A and B until Nbt (V.9). (Figure 35) Perhaps the style was reserved for queens until the end of Dynasty 5. Both the short wig worn alone and combined with the fillet and streamers are common depictions in Dynasty VI.

In the second half of Dynasty V a new style of headdress, which combines the long wig with the fillet and streamers, occurs.

DATING CRITERIA

- **Criterion 73:** *The short, close fitting wig worn without the fillet with streamer occurs first in the tomb of Rḥtp [63] (IV.1L-2E) and is last seen in Dḥw [106] (VI.4E).*

⁵³³ Dunham-Simpson (1974) figs. 4 , 7, pl. 20d.

⁵³⁴ Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 4.

- **Criterion 74:** *The short, close fitting wig worn with the fillet with streamer is worn by Htp-hr.s in Mrs 'nh III [38] (IV.4-6). However, it is not seen again until Nbt [48] (V.9). The style continues through Dynasty VI to VI.4L(Ppjj-'nh:hj-km [20]).*
- **Criterion 75:** *The long wig combined with fillet with streamer is first seen in Ntr-wsr [58] (V.7-8) and last seen in Sndm-jb:mhj [81] (V.9M). These are the only two instances of the feature in Groups A and B.*

Jewellery

In the Old Kingdom, female tomb owners and relatives of tomb owners are shown wearing a choker or 'dog collar', the broad wsh collar or necklace, bracelets on one or both arms and anklets. Amulets worn as a neck pendant are mainly seen on daughters who have not yet reached maturity and occasionally on males.

The wsh collar, bracelets and anklets are depicted throughout the Old Kingdom.

Bracelets may be:

- a broad ornate band
- a series of plain narrow bands worn together, commonly called 'bangles'.

While the broad bracelet is seen in tombs at all periods of the Old Kingdom, multiple bangles are not depicted in Dynasty VI.

The choker, a close fitting neck ornament, may be worn alone or teamed with the wsh collar.

Both styles are first seen in the second half of Dynasty IV but the choker worn alone has a shorter time span. In Groups A and B the choker does not appear in Dynasty VI tombs.

DATING CRITERIA

- **Criterion 76:** *Worn alone, the choker is first seen on the wife of R^c-h_{tp} [63] (IV.1L-2E) and its last occurrence is on the wife of Nj-^cnh-hnmw and Hnmw-h_{tp} [42] (V.6L-8E).*
- **Criterion 77:** *Worn with the collar, the choker is first seen on the daughter of Hwfw-h^c.f I [69] (IV.4-6). Its latest occurrence is on the wife of Sšm-nfr III [88] (V.8).*
- **Criterion 78:** *Multiple bangles are first seen on Nfrt, wife of R^c-h_{tp} [63] (IV.1L-2E) and last seen on the wife of Sšm-nfr III [88] (V.8).*

FEMALE DRESS

There is little variation in female dress in the Old Kingdom. Women are usually depicted wearing a tight fitting gown of just above ankle length. The body of the dress ends in a straight line beneath the female's breasts. Two shoulder straps hold the body of the dress in place. These straps meet together forming a V shape where they join the dress and taper towards the shoulder. This style does not change; it is depicted as an almost transparent dress that clings to the outline of an ideal female body and appears to expose one breast. No examples of such a dress have been found. Dresses that have been found are of much coarser woven linen, preventing any 'see-through' effect and would have hung loosely on the body. Tomb portrayals were probably not intended to be a depiction of reality, but to convey, in the case of a female family member, her sexual/child-bearing value.

The only dress style to offer a dating criterion is that showing the shoulder straps decorated with horizontal stripes. (Figure 33) The rest of the dress is usually plain although Htp-hr.s, the mother of Mrs-ḥnh III [38], is depicted in a net (or beaded?) dress, which has horizontal stripes on the shoulder straps⁵³⁵. The only other net (or beaded)

⁵³⁵ Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 4.

dress in Groups A and B is on the wife of Shntjw [83]⁵³⁶, dated to V.6-8E. A further style of striped shoulder straps is seen in K3r:mrj-r^c-nfr [91]⁵³⁷. These stripes run vertically and are much narrower. Nfrt, wife of R^c-h^tp [63], and probably Jtt, wife of Nfr M3^ct [53]⁵³⁸, both wear a long robe which is very similar to the long panther skin robe seen on male tomb owners in Dynasty IV and early Dynasty 5. This robe leaves one shoulder bare and is tied on top of the other shoulder with straps. Mrs-^cnh III, standing beside her mother, wears a proper leopard skin with tail, face and paws over her dress⁵³⁹. No other female in Groups A and B wears an animal skin and these meagre occurrences are insufficient to provide dating criteria.

DATING CRITERION

Criterion 79: *Shoulder straps with broad, horizontal stripes are first seen in Groups A and B in Mrs-^cnh III [38] (IV.4-6) and finally in Ntr-wsr [58] (V.7-8).*

⁵³⁶ Moussa-Junge (1975) fig. 3.

⁵³⁷ Simpson (1976) fig. 25.

⁵³⁸ Petrie (1892) pls. 15, 18 respectively.

⁵³⁹ Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 7, pl. 20d and Murray (1905) pl. 24 respectively.

DATING CRITERIA 80-83

The banquet scene

The description 'banquet' refers to the scene where the tomb owner sits, usually in a high-backed armchair, before registers of different kinds of foods and containers. This scene has a more relaxed air than that of the deceased at the offering table. In the banquet scene, the tomb owner rests his near arm over the arm of his chair, sometimes holding a flywhisk over his shoulder. While the offering table scene is still formal and restricted in late Dynasty 4 and early Dynasty 5, in the banquet scenes a pet animal may be depicted beneath the tomb owner's chair or a game such as 'senet' played near his feet. Musicians, dancers and clappers frequently occupy a lower register. Offering bearers may make presentations. In some scenes, the deceased receives a lotus from a small male figure, often identified as his son. Usually one or two ewer and basin sets are depicted close to the tomb owner. Nearly all banquet scenes of this kind, particularly the early ones, are found in Giza in late Dynasty 4 and in Dynasty 5⁵⁴⁰.

⁵⁴⁰ Harpur, 80.

At Saqqara, the banquet theme probably appears later than at Giza, although it may occur in Pr-sn [24]⁵⁴¹, dated to V.2. This depiction is too badly damaged for certainty. The first unambiguous instance at Saqqara is not until R'-špss [64]⁵⁴², dated to the reign of Djedkare. Possible earlier Saqqara banquet scenes may occur in the tombs of Nfr and K3-ḥ3.j [50]⁵⁴³, and Ni-ḥ-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp [42]⁵⁴⁴. These scenes, however, show indications of confusing or combining the themes of the banquet and the offering table, and in the case of Ni-ḥ-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp the scene is predominantly that of the offering table with one or two 'banquet' themes, such as musicians and armchairs, added.

Banquet scene depictions offering dating criteria are:

- the banquet scene itself
- the tomb owner seated in his armchair
- the tomb owner holding a flywhisk.

⁵⁴¹ Murray (1905) pl. 10.

⁵⁴² LD II 61a

⁵⁴³ Moussa- Altenmüller (1971) pl. 26.

⁵⁴⁴ Moussa- Altenmüller (1977) fig. 25.

The earliest banquet scene in Groups A and B is in the chapel of Mrs-^cnh III [38]⁵⁴⁵. In a much damaged depiction, the queen holds a lotus to her nose with her far hand while her other hand holds two or three blooms on her knee. The scene appears to be a relaxed family group in which the queen is accompanied by an unnamed figure (possibly a son) kneeling at her feet and a pet dog. The latest unambiguous depiction of a banquet in Groups A and B is that of R^c-wr II [62]⁵⁴⁶. Seated in an armchair, the tomb owner holds what is probably a flywhisk over his near shoulder. His far hand reaches forward with the palm turned upward, perhaps to receive a lotus. In other banquet scenes this is the gesture of the deceased receiving a lotus, but in R^c-wr II's chapel this part of the scene is destroyed.

Banquet scenes, if any, in Dynasty 6 chapels are less easily categorised and it is doubtful whether a true banquet scene occurs in Dynasty 6, either in the capital or in the provinces.

The depictions used to establish criteria in this section are mainly from banquet scenes, but other occurrences of certain features are also included when it appears that

⁵⁴⁵ Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 9.

their lifespan extends beyond that of the actual banquet scene. This is noted in the definition of each criterion.

The flywhisk

The first instance of the tomb owner holding a flywhisk in Groups A and B occurs in the chapel of Dbḥnj [105]⁵⁴⁷, who holds the flywhisk over his far shoulder. The deceased appears to be banqueting at leisure, with a pet monkey depicted beneath his chair. The latest banquet scene with the deceased holding a flywhisk is in R^c-wr II⁵⁴⁸. Most of the scenes with the flywhisk resting on the deceased's shoulder depict the deceased facing right and reaching towards a proffered lotus with their far hand. R^c-špss [64], although clearly at a banquet, holds his flywhisk forward in his far hand, as though it were a flagellum⁵⁴⁹. In a palanquin scene D^cw [106]⁵⁵⁰, dated to early in the reign of Pepy II, is also shown holding a flywhisk over his shoulder. The inclusion of the flywhisk may have been a useful artistic device, as it gave an appropriate occupation to one hand. In

⁵⁴⁶ LD Erg 26.

⁵⁴⁷ LD II 36c.

⁵⁴⁸ LD Erg. 26.

⁵⁴⁹ LD II 61a.

⁵⁵⁰ Davies 2 (1902) pl. 8.

banquet scenes it also took the deceased's near arm out of the line of the farther arm outstretched to the lotus.

The high backed armchair

In Groups A and B, the first depiction in a banquet scene of the deceased seated in a high-backed armchair occurs in Špss-k3.f-‘nh [90] in Giza (Cemetery G6000) and the latest depiction is in R‘-wr II⁵⁵¹. The high-backed armchair is also seen in Dynasty 6 chapels but the context is not that of a banquet as defined above, although it does have similar elements. K3r:mrjj-r‘-nfr [91] is twice depicted seated in a high-backed armchair with his near hand resting on the arm of the chair⁵⁵². In a displaced block, located by Simpson to the west wall of the first landing⁵⁵³, K3r is seated before a table piled high with mixed foods and flasks, which may be a banquet scene. On the north wall of an inner room (Room D) he is again seated in an armchair with two dogs depicted under his chair, beneath which are two kneeling female figures, both identified as K3r's sisters. Two final dates may therefore be given to the criterion of the armchair: an earlier date

⁵⁵¹ Weeks (1994) fig. 57 and LD Erg. 26 respectively.

⁵⁵² Simpson (1976) pl. 4a, fig. 18a and pl. 10b, fig. 26b.

⁵⁵³ This landing (A 2) is part of the upper stairway. Simpson (1976) 2.

for its final depiction in the banqueting scene and a later date for its final depiction elsewhere.

The lotus

Banquet scenes with the deceased holding or receiving a lotus provide a dating criterion.

The earliest depiction occurs in Mrs-^ḥ III [38] and the latest in J³sn [3]⁵⁵⁴. It may also occur in R^ḥ-wr II [62]⁵⁵⁵ who holds out his hand with palm facing up in a gesture that is usually given to the action of receiving a lotus, although no flower is depicted.

Combined elements

The combining of elements from the banquet and offering table scenes appears to be a mid Dynasty 5 'experimental' feature which did not survive into Dynasty 6. Hwfw-^ḥ.f II [70]⁵⁵⁶ combines his son presenting him with a lotus with the offering table and registers of varied foods. Elements of the banquet and offering table scene are even more intermingled on the south wall of K³.j-nfr [100], where the tomb owner is seated in a high backed armchair holding a flywhisk over his shoulder and faces registers of

⁵⁵⁴ Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 9 and Simpson (1980) fig. 32 respectively.

⁵⁵⁵ LD Erg. 26.

⁵⁵⁶ Simpson (1978) fig. 50.

offerings, all characteristics of a banquet⁵⁵⁷. His far hand reaches out to an offering table on which are heaped loaves of bread, a plucked fowl and a couple of unidentifiable items, instead of the customary row of half loaves. Beneath the table are two h^3 signs associated with ideographic signs for beer and bread. In the tomb of Nfr and K³- h^3 .j [50] a portly Nfr leans on a staff, facing registers of offerings and offering bearers⁵⁵⁸. On the two lowest registers a small figure offers him a flywhisk, musicians play and a low table is heaped with assorted foods. In all the offering table scenes of Nj- nh - hnmw and Hnmw - h^3 p [42] there are registers of mixed foods, but in the scene on the south wall of the chapel there are also two registers of musicians, dancers and clappers beneath the offering tables⁵⁵⁹.

DATING CRITERIA

- **Criterion 80:** *The banquet scene itself, as defined above, is first seen in Nj-k³w-r^c [46] (IV.4-6) and finally in J³sn [3] (V.8L-9)⁵⁶⁰, mostly at Giza.*

⁵⁵⁷ Reisner (1942) 439, fig. 259.

⁵⁵⁸ Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pl. 26.

⁵⁵⁹ Moussa-Altenmüller (1977) fig. 25.

⁵⁶⁰ Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 9 and LD Erg. 26, respectively.

- **Criterion 81:** *The feature of the tomb owner holding a flywhisk over his shoulder in a banquet scene is first seen in Dbḥnj [105] (IV.5) and finally in R^c-wr II [62] (V.8-9). Apart from the banquet scene, the flywhisk is last seen in D^cw [106] (VI.4E).*
- **Criterion 82:** *The first depiction of the seated tomb owner holding or receiving a lotus in a banquet scene occurs in Mrs-^cnh III [38] (IV.4-6) and the latest in J3sn [3] (V.8L-9). It may also have been intended in R^c-wr II [62] (V.8-9).*
- **Criterion 83:** *The first depiction in a banquet scene of the deceased seated in a high-backed armchair occurs in Nj-k3w-r^c [46] (V.3-5) and the latest depiction is in J3sn [3] (V.8L-9)⁵⁶¹. Apart from the banquet scene, the high backed armchair is last seen in K3r:mrjj-r^c-nfr [91] (VI.2M).*

⁵⁶¹ Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 9; Simpson (1980) fig. 32 and LD Erg. 26, respectively.

DATING CRITERIA 65-68, 86-100

Furniture

There are two pieces of furniture which appear often enough in tomb depictions to provide dating criteria: the offering table and the stool or chair on which the tomb owner sits.

The Offering Table (Dating Criteria Nos 65-68)

The offering table has three features which show change:

- the height of the table in relation to the seated tomb owner
- the pedestal, on which the table surface rests, which was constructed of one or two pieces
- the table surface which was occasionally lipped at the edge like a modern tray.

Table height

In Dynasty 4 to the beginning of Dynasty 5, when the half loaves of bread were still comparatively short, there was a marked tendency to depict the table surface slightly above the height of the knee of the seated tomb owner. This may have been necessary

to bring the half loaves up to a level where they would meet the seated tomb owner's outstretched arm.

From mid Dynasty 5 onwards, as the half loaves grew taller, there were still examples of the table surface above knee level. The preponderance of depictions, however, show the table surface level with the knee or below the knee, perhaps because by this time the seated figure could be depicted reaching towards the lower half of the bread without raising the surface of the table.

INSET VI Height of table surface relative to seated tomb owner		
<i>Height of table surface</i>	<i>Above knee level</i>	<i>Knee level and below</i>
Number of instances in:		
Dynasty 4 to mid Dynasty 5.....	34	25
Mid to late Dynasty 5.....	8	43
Dynasty 6.....	14	57

While a trend to lowering the height of the table surface is clear, the table surface above the level of the tomb owner's knee appears throughout the Old Kingdom. It therefore does not offer a useful dating criterion.

DATING CRITERIA

- *Criterion 65: The surface of the table depicted level with the tomb owner's knee is seen from IV.4 (Nfr [49]) to VI.4E (D^cw [106]).*

- **Criterion 66:** *the surface of the table depicted below the height of the tomb owner's knee is seen from IV.1 (Nfr-m³'t [53]) to VI.4E (D'w [106]).*

Table pedestal

The shape of the column or pedestal supporting the table provides a dating criterion.

The pedestals of tables in the offering scene have two basic forms, although both consist of a central column. The first, seen in Hsjj-r' [66], is a single shaft which splays out at the bottom, sometimes into two separate supports⁵⁶². The second style appears to consist of two pedestals, one standing on top of the other, to raise the height of the table. The column thickens where the two pedestals meet. The single shaft first appears, in Groups A and B, in the tomb of Hsjj-r' and the double pedestal in Jwnw [5]⁵⁶³. Both styles are features of Dynasties 4 and 5. From mid Dynasty 5 onwards, however, there is a marked preference for the depiction of the pedestal as a single narrow shaft. In Dynasty 6, there is not a single example of a double pedestal in Groups A and B. The

⁵⁶² Quibell (1913) pl. 29.

⁵⁶³ Junker I (1922) fig.31.

last example recorded in Groups A and B is in the tomb of R^c-wr II [62]⁵⁶⁴, dated to late in Dynasty 5.

DATING CRITERION

- *Criterion 67: The double pedestal is first seen in Wp-m-nfrt [16] (IV.2) and its final appearance occurs in R^c-wr II [62] (V.8-9).*

Lipped rim of table

Tables with lipped edges are a Dynasty 6 style. The earliest occurrence in Groups A and B is in the well dated chapel of W³š-pth:jsj [15]⁵⁶⁵. This feature is not seen again until Mrrw-k³.j [36] where the edges of the table on the panel of the false door appear just slightly raised⁵⁶⁶.

DATING CRITERION

- *Criterion 68: Tables with lipped edges are first seen in W³š-pth:jsj [15] (V.3) and finally in D^cw [106] (VI.4E).*

⁵⁶⁴ LD Erg. 26.

⁵⁶⁵ Mogensen (1918) pls 10-11.

⁵⁶⁶ Duell (1938) pl. 62.

The tomb owner's stool or chair (Dating Criteria Nos 86-100)

The seated tomb owner is depicted in scenes other than that of the offering table.

Consequently, *all* instances of stools/chairs have been used in developing the following criteria.

Basic seat styles

Three basic styles of seat are depicted in the Old Kingdom:

- Stools without back or armrests for one person, or for two people
- Chairs with a high back and armrests. These are occasionally seen seating two persons.
- Chairs with a low back covered by a flat cushion seating one or two persons. The low back reaches the height of the seated person's waist or just above.

In Groups A and B, only chairs with armrests have backs which reach well above the seated person's waist.

Stools and chairs without high back or armrests, seating one person, are by far the most common type of seat throughout the Old Kingdom. They occur in almost all scenes except the banquet, where the high backed armchair features. Although double seats with the wife (or occasionally with the deceased's mother) seated behind the tomb owner occur in a variety of scenes, the majority are in the offering table scene.

The armchair, for one or two persons, has a more restricted depiction. It most frequently appears in a banquet scene and in Groups A and B it first occurs in late Dynasty 4. The latest instance of an armchair is in the tomb of K3r:Mrjj-r^c-nfr [91]⁵⁶⁷.

K3r is depicted

DATING CRITERIA

- **Criterion 86:** *In Groups A and B chairs and stools seating two persons offer a dating criterion from Nfr [49] (IV.4) to Jbj [6] (VI.3-4E).*
- **Criterion 87:** *The high backed armchair is first seen in Ni-k3w-r^c [46] (IV.4-6)⁵⁶⁸ and finally in Ppjj-^cnh:hnjj-km [20] (VI.4L).*

Chair back

The back of the chair offers dating criteria. Apart from the armchair, all seats in Groups A and B are depicted as stools with no back support until Hwfw-h^c.f II [70]⁵⁶⁹ in mid Dynasty 5. The chair with a back remains rare until late in the dynasty. In Dynasty 6, however, almost all seats are depicted with a low back. These two features, the stool and the low-backed chair, provide strong dating criteria because there are so many depictions to support the date limits. The only exceptions to the stool with no back

⁵⁶⁷ Simpson (1976) fig. 26.

⁵⁶⁸ LD Erg. 35.

support in Dynasty 4 and the first half of Dynasty 5 are in Mrs-ʿnh III [38]. In the panel of her false door, the queen is seated on an unusual chair with a low back covered by a flat cushion⁵⁷⁰. In her banquet scene, however, she is seated on a decorated stool which has no back support⁵⁷¹. It is likely that these unusual chair depictions are due to the exceptionally high status of Mrs-ʿnh III as the wife of a king.

The only exceptions to the depiction of chairs with a low back support in Dynasty 6 are the plain stools on which Mrrw-k³.j [36] and Hntj-k³.j [75]⁵⁷² sit as they paint the seasons. It may be surmised that these styles are due to the special nature of the scene honouring the gods of the seasons.

DATING CRITERION

- **Criterion 88:** *The chair without a back is first seen in Hsjj-rʿ[66] (III.2) and finally in (Jḥsn [3] (V.8L-9).*

Chair legs

Chair legs were depicted in two basic styles, either carved in the shape of a bull's leg and hoof (Figures 38, 40) or of a lion's leg and paw. The bull's leg style offers a strong

⁵⁷⁰ Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 7.

⁵⁷¹ Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 8

⁵⁷² Duell (1938) pl. 7 and James (1953) pl. 10.

dating criterion with much supporting evidence. It was the more common style until late Dynasty 5 and is not seen in any chapel after the reign of Pepy I either in Groups A and B or any other chapel with a cartouche later than that of Pepy I⁵⁷³. While the lion chair leg is rare until mid Dynasty 5, it occurs occasionally from early in Dynasty 4 and therefore does not of itself provide a dating criterion. The depiction of pairs of lion legs on a chair (Figure 42), however, does have date limits. The first instance in Groups A and B is dated to the reign of Neuserre. This feature continues to be seen, usually at Saqqara, until the reign of Pepy I.

DATING CRITERIA

- **Criterion 89:** *Chair legs in the shape of a bull's leg and hoof are first seen in Hsjj-r^c [66] (III.2) and last seen in Jdw [13] (VI.2).*
- **Criterion 90:** *The depiction of pairs of lion legs on a chair is first seen in Pth-šps [28] (V.6L) and finally in Jdw [13] (VI.2).*

⁵⁷³ Cherpion (1989) 159.

Cushions

The presence or absence of a cushion for the tomb owner's chair, and the style of the cushion, have been grouped into four categories of depiction⁵⁷⁴:

- Absence of any cushion. The degree of popularity of this style of seat does not vary until mid Dynasty 5, after which it becomes decidedly rare. (Figure 37)
- A cushion which is seen from the front to the back of the seat. This style appears quite frequently until mid Dynasty 5⁵⁷⁵. It is not seen again in Groups A and B.
- A cushion only shown at the back of the seat. (Figure 38)
- A flattened cushion which is draped over the visible low chair back. (Figure 42) This feature is identical, as a dating criterion, with the chair back itself. There is no instance in Groups A and B of a low chair back without a cushion.

Cushions only shown at the back of the seat have many variations and gradations of shape so that it is difficult to separate them into subgroups. Some may hide a low chair back, but in view of the Egyptian's propensity to show all the characteristic features of an object, a doubt remains.

⁵⁷⁴ While the principle for classing the different styles of cushion established by Cherpion (pp. 26-31) has been followed, the categories vary as the data in Groups A and B do not support all Cherpion's classes.

⁵⁷⁵ K3-pw-nswt:k3.j; Junker 3 (1938) figs. 15 and 17. Nswt-nfr, Junker 3 (1938) figs. 9b, 30.

The cushion only appearing at the back of the seat occurs from the second half of Dynasty 4⁵⁷⁶ to the reign of Pepy I. In Dynasty VI, in Groups A and B, the latest depiction of this feature occurs in K3r:mrjj-r^c-nfr [91]⁵⁷⁷.

The cushions shown only at the back of the chair may be subdivided into three groups, which are not entirely satisfactory because the shapes tend to merge one into another. These are:

- small and rounded cushions which cannot be mistaken for anything other than a cushion on its own (Figure 39)
- small cushions pointed at the top and with a straight vertical back (Figure 41)
- large cushions rounded at the top but suggesting the shape of the flat cushion that covers the low chair back (Figure 40)

The first two groups are not seen after the end of Dynasty 5, while the third group is seen in the reign of Pepy I.

DATING CRITERIA

⁵⁷⁶ Dw^c-n-hr [104] LD II 82a; Mrs-^cnh III [38] Dunham-Simpson (1974), fig. 9; Nfr [49] Reisner (1942) fig. 241 (panel of false door); Nfr-m3^ct [52] LD II 17c.

⁵⁷⁷ Simpson (1976) fig. 28.

- **Criterion 91:** *Seats without a cushion of any kind are seen in Groups A and B first in the tomb of Hsjj-r [66] (III.2) and finally in the tomb of Jrj.s (VI.1) [Kanawati (1984)].*
- **Criterion 92:** *The cushion appearing the length of the seat is first seen in IV.1 (Nfr-m³'t [53]). Its latest appearance is in K³-pw-nswt:k³.j [103] (V.3-5).*
- **Criterion 93⁵⁷⁸:** *The cushion (of all shapes) only appearing at the back of the seat is first seen in the chapel of Nfr-M³'t [52] (IV.2-4) and finally in K³r:mrjj-r^c-nfr [91] (VI.2M).*
- **Criterion 94:** *Small and rounded cushions (Figure 12) only appearing at the back of the seat are first seen in Nfr-M³'t [53] (IV.1)) and finally in Nj-^cnh-hnmw and Hnmw-htp [42] (V.6L-8E).*
- **Criterion 95:** *Small cushions pointed at the top and with a straight vertical back, only appearing at the back of the seat, are first seen in Nfr-M³'t [52] (IV.2-4) and finally in V.8L-9 (J³sn [3]). A single instance occurs much later in K³-gmnj [102] (VI.1E-M).*

⁵⁷⁸ This criterion may appear unnecessary, but is included because the cushion shapes do not always fit neatly into the subcategories and the data from Groups A and B do not adequately support all the subgroups (Criteria 94-96).

- **Criterion 96:** *Large cushions rounded at the top, suggesting the shape of a flattish cushion covering a low chair back (Figure 14) are first seen in Pth-šps [28] (V.6L) and finally in K3r:mrjj-r^c-nfr [91] (VI.2M).*
- **Criterion 97:** *The flat cushion draped over the chairback is first seen in Mrs-^cnh III [38] (IV.4-6), where it is unusual in shape and time⁵⁷⁹. Otherwise the first occurrence is in K3.j-nj-nswt III [98] (V.4-6E). Its final occurrence is in Ppjj-^cnh:hnjj-km [20] (VI.4L).*

Chair leg supports

All chairs and stools in Groups A and B are depicted with some style of support which raises the carved hooves and paws forming the feet above ground level, perhaps to protect the carved feet from damage. These supports are depicted in four basic shapes:

- as a trapezium resting on its broad base (Figure 37)
- as an inverted trapezium resting on its narrow base (Figures 38, 39)
- as a double trapezium with a smaller inverted trapezium resting on a larger upright trapezium. (Figures 40, 41, 42)

⁵⁷⁹ The back and cushion are part of a 'lion' stool. Dunham-Simpson (1974) fig. 7. This style is not seen again in Groups A and B until S3m-nfr I [86] (cited in Cherpion (1989) 151 Critère 6).

- Occasionally the pedestals are depicted as cylinders with perpendicular rather than sloping sides. These straight-sided supports are usually seen on one leg of the chair teamed with an inverted trapezium on the other leg. Where this occurs, it is likely that the perpendicular shape is a variant of the inverted trapezium, perhaps added to give the chair legs stability. In some depictions it is difficult to decide whether a pedestal is an inverted trapezium or a cylinder because the sides have just a hint of a slope.

A notable feature throughout the Old Kingdom is the willingness to depict differing styles of pedestals in one chapel. This is particularly true of mid Dynasty V when the inverted trapezium was giving way to the double trapezium.

Some pedestals are decorated with horizontal bands, while others appear to have plain surfaces. When the double trapezium pedestals have horizontal bands, the bands are usually depicted only on the upper trapezium. The depiction of the single trapezium on its broad base becomes larger towards the end of the Old Kingdom. On this enlarged style the upper half or third of the pedestal is occasionally shown with bands and the lower half with smooth sides, suggesting that the enlarged trapezium was actually constructed of two pieces. In Groups A and B, this feature only appears in the provinces, in the reign of Pepy II.

The pedestal depicted as a trapezium resting on its broad base is seen throughout the Old Kingdom and therefore does not offer a dating criterion. The inverted trapezium or straight-sided pedestal was much more popular than the double trapezium in the first half of the Old Kingdom, but in Groups A and B is not seen at all after the end of Dynasty 5⁵⁸⁰. See Table below. The double trapezium pedestal is only seen once in Dynasty IV⁵⁸¹ and rarely in the first half of Dynasty V. It begins to grow in popularity in the reign of Neuserre, and in Dynasty VI, apart from the trapezium on its broad base, is the only other style of support to be seen. The rings around the pedestal do not offer a dating criterion as they are depicted throughout the Old Kingdom.

**INSET VII Distribution of straight-sided or inverted
trapezium and double trapezium pedestals**

<i>Date</i> (dynasty/reign)	<i>Straight-sided or inverted trapezium</i>	<i>Double trapezium</i>	<i>Total</i>
IV-V.5.....	36.....	8.....	44
V.6-V.9.....	14.....	34.....	48
VI.....	0.....	24.....	24

⁵⁸⁰ J3sn [3] (Simpson (1980) fig. 35) and Hww-wr [67] (Hassan (1944) fig. 102 (lintel of false door) are the latest instances.

DATING CRITERIA

- **Criterion 98:** *The inverted trapezium or straight-sided pedestal is first seen in Mtn [41] (IV.1-2). Its latest occurrence is in J3sn [3] (V.8L-9).*
- **Criterion 99:** *The double trapezium pedestal is first seen in Dbhñj [105] (IV.5). Its latest occurrence is in Jbj [6] (VI.3-4E).*

Mat or platform beneath the tomb owner's chair and feet

Occasionally, the tomb owner is depicted sitting in a chair resting on a thick mat or, more likely, a low platform. Apart from one instance in Dynasty 4⁵⁸², this platform is not seen until early Dynasty 5. It then appears sporadically until the reign of Pepy I and is a feature more characteristic of early Dynasty 6 than of Dynasty 5.

DATING CRITERION

- **Criterion 100:** *The tomb owner seated on a chair placed on a low platform is first seen in K3.j-nfr [99] (IV.2). The latest occurrence is in D'w [106] (VI.4E).*

⁵⁸¹ Dbhñj [105] (LD II 36c) This was probably an instance of an early borrowing of a royal feature by a high and privileged official.

⁵⁸² K3.j-nfr [99] Reisner (1942) pl. 17b.

DATING CRITERIA 101-112

Marsh scenes

The marsh scenes dealt with here have the tomb owner central to the action rather than standing or seated to one side merely watching the action. In Groups A and B there are three types of scenes of this nature. The earliest type, called here 'sšš w3d' scenes, has the following characteristics:

- The tomb owner, standing on a canoe or skiff, appears to hold or pull one or two stalks of papyrus. If the tomb owner is male, he may hold an uprooted stalk aloft as though it were a spear⁵⁸³.
- The male tomb owner wears a knee length flared kilt, which sometimes has a pointed 'apron'.
- The male tomb owner is depicted against the backdrop of a papyrus thicket.
- One or more punters or oarsmen accompany the tomb owner on the boat.

The second group, sometimes referred to as a 'pleasure cruise', is rare in Groups A and B. Its characteristics are:

- The male or female tomb owner stands in a canoe but is otherwise inactive.

⁵⁸³ Harpur argues that depictions of the tomb owner either holding two stalks of papyrus which are still rooted or holding one of them aloft are variant aspects of the same rite. Harpur (1980) 54-5.

- The male tomb owner wears a knee length flared kilt, which sometimes has a pointed 'apron'.⁵⁸⁴
- The papyrus thicket may be depicted as a backdrop to the figure of the tomb owner or may be depicted in front of him.

The third category of scenes is the more common depiction of the male tomb owner standing in a skiff in a majestic pose, either spearing fish or about to hurl a throwstick. The main features of this category are:

- The tomb owner wears the short, so-called 'sporting kilt'.⁵⁸⁵
- The papyrus thicket is depicted in front of the tomb owner and does not frame him.⁵⁸⁶
- The fisherman's spearing action is complete. He has two fish on the end of his spear, which is held in a 'mound' of water that rises above the normal level of the waterway.
- The fowler is depicted at the beginning of his action. He holds one, two or three live birds in his forward hand. His rear hand holding the throwstick is raised above his head as though he is about to throw.
- The tomb owner's closest family members, depicted on a much smaller scale, often accompany him on the skiff. These are usually his wife, eldest son and daughter.

⁵⁸⁴ R'-špss wears the much shorter 'sporting' kilt in his 'pleasure cruise' scene.LD II 60 (right).

⁵⁸⁵ Nj-^cnh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp, the earliest tomb owners to have a 'fishing and fowling' scene, wear a shortened version of the flared kilt. Moussa-Altenmüller (1977) figs. 5, 6, pl. 74.

⁵⁸⁶ In the fishing scene of D'w the papyrus thicket appears to be behind the spearer. Davies 2 (1902) pl. 5.

- The tomb owner's closest family members, depicted on a much smaller scale, often accompany him on the skiff. These are usually his wife, eldest son and daughter. These females are often depicted kneeling at the feet of the tomb owner or standing by his leg or on the prow of the skiff..
- Other family members and a large number of followers are depicted on registers and on base lines either side of the skiff.
- The females accompanying the tomb owner often wear a short wig, which exposes the ear and a headband with a flower at the back of the head and streamers. In some Dynasty 6 scenes the tomb owner wears the same style of headband. Sometimes family members are depicted in a more active pose. A wife may point towards the papyrus thicket or a son may mimic the tomb owner's stance and hunting action.
- In all three categories of scenes a small animal, perhaps a genet or ichneumon, crawls along a papyrus stalk towards a nest of fledglings in the papyrus thicket. The stalk appears to bend under the combined weight of the animal and the nest.

The marsh scenes as dating criteria

The *sšš w3d* scenes and the fishing and fowling scenes do not appear in the same tomb in Groups A and B⁵⁸⁸. Moreover, tombs with *sšš w3d* scenes are almost all earlier than those with fishing and fowling scenes⁵⁸⁹. Occasional inscriptions make it possible to link the *sšš w3d* activity with the rites of Hathor. An inscription over the stern of the canoe on which Mrs-*nh* III [38] stands reads, 'She pulls papyrus for Hathor in the marshland with her mother'⁵⁹⁰.

However, most of the scenes in Groups A and B classified as '*sšš w3d*' are ambiguous and have been variously interpreted as fishing or fowling scenes. The horizontal 'pole' (sometimes partly split) held aloft by the tomb owner has been described as a spear⁵⁹¹. Vandier interpreted the *sšš w3d* scenes of this kind as 'preparation for the hunt', that is, the tomb owner preparing to fish and fowl⁵⁹². But this scene can be interpreted differently. In the tomb of *J3sn* [3] the tomb owner holds aloft a papyrus stalk

⁵⁸⁸ The 'pleasure cruise' does occasionally occur in a tomb, which also has either a *sšš w3d* scene or a fishing and/or fowling scene. *Tjj* is seen both pulling papyrus and on a 'pleasure cruise'. Wild (1966) Plates 46, 118. *R'-špss* and *Sndm-jb:Jntj* have scenes of the tomb owner on a 'pleasure cruise' and fowling.

⁵⁸⁹ A fowling and a *sšš w3d* scene both appear in the Giza tomb of *K3.j-m-nh* (PM 131) but the *sšš w3d* scene is in the burial chamber.

⁵⁹⁰ '*sšš w3d h Hwt Hr m phw hn' mwt.s*', Dunham-Simpson (1974) pl. 4, fig.s 4, 9-10.

⁵⁹¹ Smith (1946) 178.

⁵⁹² Vandier 4 (1964-78) 738-46.

as though it were a spear and is described in the accompanying inscription as: 'Pulling papyrus for Hathor in the marshland by the *ḥntj-š J3sn*'⁵⁹².

Harpur draws together data from *Ftk-t3* of Abusir⁵⁹³, an inscription from *Mrrw-k3.j* [36]⁵⁹⁴ and the frequent placement of *sšš w3ḏ* scenes close to the scene often called 'Journey to the West' to infer an association between the *sšš w3ḏ* activity and 'Journey to the West' theme⁵⁹⁵. A further possibility is presented by *Ftk-t3*. Here two boats sail north and are inscribed above, 'Coming downstream to pull papyrus for beautiful Hathor'. Three more boats have the accompanying inscription, 'Coming upstream after pulling papyrus for beautiful Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore'⁵⁹⁶. If, as Harpur suggests⁵⁹⁷, the scenes in *Mrs-ḥḥ III* and in *J3sn* represent two stages in the *sšš w3ḏ* ceremony, the boating scene in *Ftk-t3* may indicate that the locale or, perhaps, the original locale of the ceremony was north of Memphis in the marshes of the Delta⁵⁹⁸.

⁵⁹² 'sš(š) w3(ḏ) n Ḥwt- Ḥr [m] pḥw jn ḥntj-š J3sn', Simpson (1980) 20-21 pl. 44(a).

⁵⁹³ Lepsius (1913) pl. 40.

⁵⁹⁴ Duell 2 (1938) pls 140-42.

⁵⁹⁵ Harpur (1980) 58-9.

⁵⁹⁶ Lepsius (1913), pl. 40.

⁵⁹⁷ Harpur (1980) 58.

⁵⁹⁸ In the marsh scene of *Ḥw-ns* of Zawyet el-Meitin (not included in Groups A and B), the tomb owner is dressed in a flared kilt with pointed 'apron' and a long scarf-like piece of cloth draped over his shoulder. Framed against a papyrus thicket, he stands in a canoe manned by a crew of more than 15 oarsmen and appears to hurl an object that is clearly a throwstick. Here, the apparent confusion of elements may be the

To my knowledge, no Old Kingdom fishing or fowling scene has any inscription suggesting a symbolic or ritual meaning for the theme of the deceased actively fishing and fowling. Yet, a special 'afterlife' significance may be hypothesised for the fishing and fowling scenes based on the following considerations:

- There is a marked difference between the location within the chapel of the sšš w3d scenes and the fishing and fowling scenes. The former scenes are usually located within the chapel while the fishing and fowling scenes tend to be closer to the chapel entrance, sometimes flanking the doorway⁶⁰⁰. No inscription offers a reason for the changed position of the marsh scenes in which the deceased was portrayed as central to the action. The fishing and fowling scenes may imply merely a new outdoor activity for the male tomb owner.
- Miroslav Barta has proposed that the second half of Dynasty 5 was a transitional phase in the depiction of bread loaves on the offering table, from half loaves to reed shapes. He further argues that the reed shapes came to symbolise entrance into an afterworld envisaged as the Fields of Reeds and Offerings⁶⁰¹. This interpretation could be extended

result of the change from one category of marsh scenes(sšš w3d) to another (fishing and fowling). LD II, 106a.

⁶⁰⁰ For example, Sndm-jb:jntj and Sndm-jb:mhj, Porter-Moss (1974) Plan 26.

⁶⁰¹ Barta, M. (1995) 31-5.

to include the fishing and fowling scenes which perhaps symbolise ritual activities on entry into such an afterworld.

- The dates here proposed for the latest occurrence of the $\text{ssš w}^3\text{d}$ scene in the chapel of a male tomb owner (V.9)⁶⁰¹ and the earliest occurrence of the fishing and fowling scene (V.6L-8)⁶⁰², coincide with the emergence of Osiris in the offering formula⁶⁰³. These dates not only provide dating criteria but are also suggestive of a changing (or added) view of the officials' afterlife. The fishing and fowling scenes near or flanking the tomb entrance may have magically provided the deceased's entry into an afterlife conceived of as the Field of Reeds.

The Sndwt kilt

This kilt became the regular style worn by the tomb owner fishing and fowling and occasionally by his son. It was clearly borrowed from royal style. The complete kilt is short and wrapped tightly around the hips. It overlaps in front from right to left. A further piece of material hangs down beneath the point where the overlap crosses. However, the

⁶⁰² Nj- nh-hnmw and Hnmw-htp (V.6L-8) Moussa-Altenmüller (1977) figs. 5, 6, pl. 74.

⁶⁰³ There is no reference to Osiris in Nj- nh-hnmw and Hnmw-htp but see Begelsbacher-Fischer (1981) 125. for the dating of earliest references to Osiris. Hassan dates Hmt-r' of Giza from late Dynasty 4 to early Dynasty 5. [Hassan 4 (1943) 43-65], which would take the earliest reference to Osiris back half a dynasty. This date is suspect. See Chart A.

borrowing may have been tentative at first. The earliest fishing and fowling scenes show the deceased wearing a somewhat different style of kilt. Ni-‘nh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp [42]⁶⁰⁴ wear a truncated flared kilt with an overlap in front which is bordered by a narrow strip of material from the waist knot to the hem. It is not quite the šndwt. The šndwt appears to have become accepted dress for officials, who by early Dynasty 6 regularly wear it in fishing and fowling scenes. R‘-špss [64]⁶⁰⁵, however, had himself and his son wearing the šndwt kilt in a scene that appears to be more a 'pleasure cruise' than a fowling scene. His stance is not that of the spearing action and he holds a folded cloth in his rear hand.

DATING CRITERIA

- *Criterion 101: Female pulling papyrus appears first in Mrs ‘nh III [38] (IV.4-6). The final appearance of this feature is in Mrrw-k3.j [36] (VI.1M-L).*
- *Criterion 102: Male pulling papyrus appears first in Nb.j-m-3ḥtj [47] (IV.5-6). The final appearance is in J3sn [3] (V.8L-9).*

⁶⁰⁴ Moussa- Altenmüller (1977) figs. 5, 6. pls. 74-5. Ḥtp-ḥr-3ḥtj also wears a modified šndjt, [Mohr (1943) 64, fig. 34].

⁶⁰⁵ LD II 60.

- **Criterion 103:** In Groups A and B the 'pleasure cruise' scene occurs from IV.2-4 (Mrs-^ḥnh II [37]) to Mrrw-k³.j [36] (VI.1M-L). Apart from the sšš w³ḏ scene in Mrs-^ḥnh III, the 'pleasure cruise' is the only marsh scene in which the female appears as the major figure or, indeed, as a figure equal in size to that of the male tomb owner in a marsh scene.
- **Criterion 104:** The tomb owner depicted against a papyrus thicket backdrop occurs first in Nb.j-m-³ḥtj [47] dated to late Dynasty 4 (IV.5-6) and finally in late Dynasty V in J³sn [3] (V.8L-9).
- **Criterion 105:** The deceased standing on a skiff preparing to hurl a short curved throwstick (fowling) is seen first seen in Jrj-n-k³-pth [8] (V.6E-8L). Its final appearance is in Ppjj-^ḥn:ḥnj-j-km [20] (VI.4L).
- **Criterion 106:** The deceased standing on a skiff spearing two fish is seen from Jrj-n-k³-pth [8] (V.6E-8L) to Ppjj-^ḥnh:ḥnj-j-km [20] (VI.4L).
- **Criterion 107:** The papyrus thicket shown in front of the tomb owner occurs first in Mrs-^ḥnh III [38] (IV.4-6) and is last seen in Ppjj-^ḥnh:ḥnj-j-km [20] (VI.4L), although there is a long space in time between Mrs-^ḥnh III and the next instance of the scene in Ni-^ḥnh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw ḥtp [42] (V.6L-8E).

- **Criterion 108:** *The tomb owner wearing a flared or flared 'apron' kilt as he stands on a skiff occurs first in Jj-mrjj [4] (V.6) and is last seen in Sndm-jb:jntj [80] (V.9E).*
- **Criterion 109:** *The tomb owner wearing the šndjt (short sporting kilt) in fishing and fowling scenes occurs first in R'-špss [64] (V.8) and is last seen in Ppjj-ḥh:hnjj-km [20] (VI.4L). Ni-ḥh-hnmw and Hnmw htp [42] (V.6L-8E) wear a short modified kilt, possibly because it had not yet been established that the tomb owner should be depicted in a style of kilt associated with the king.*
- **Criterion 110:** *Female family members depicted on the skiff wear a headband with streamers throughout the period but male tomb owners (and their sons) only wear this style of headband in a marsh scene occurs first in K3-gmnj [102] (VI.1E-M) and finally in Ppjj-ḥh:hnjj-km [20] (VI.4L). This style of headband, which has one long and one short streamer, occurs frequently to the end of the Old Kingdom.*
- **Criterion 111:** *The depiction of the son, on a considerably smaller scale, standing on a separate baseline and copying the throwing or spearing action of the tomb owner, is a rare but distinctive feature of Dynasty 6 scenes. In Groups A and B it occurs first in VI.2 (Nhbw [31]) and finally in D'w [106] (VI.4E).*

- **Criterion 112:** *The wife or daughter in the skiff pointing towards the papyrus thicket is also rare in Groups A and B. It is seen first in Jrj.n.k³-pth [8] (V.6E-8L) and finally in Ppjj-^ḥnh/hnj-j-km [20] (VI.4L).*

DATING CRITERIA 84 and 85

The lotus theme

The lotus flower is a frequent minor theme in Old Kingdom chapel scenes. It is seen with stem bent over the arm of offering bearers, tied to the stern of a skiff on which the deceased stands, and held in various ways by family members of the deceased and by the tomb owner, male and female. Family members holding the lotus usually appear in scenes where a wife or daughter squats or stands close to the deceased. Occasionally, the wife is seated with her husband. Standing female tomb owners hold a long stemmed lotus where a male would be depicted holding a staff. More rarely, a son depicted as a young child holds the flower. In Groups A and B the common banquet theme of a small male figure, sometimes identified as the son, presenting a lotus to his seated father, is strictly a Giza attribute. It suggests a particularly close family tie and mostly occurs in tombs constructed in family clusters. It twice links three generations: the family of Špss-k3.f-ḥ and the Sšm-nfr family. In these scenes the tomb owner is usually seated in a high-backed chair with arms.

Female tomb owners often hold a long stemmed lotus where a male would be depicted holding a staff. Female family members are depicted holding a lotus in many different scenes including that of the deceased fishing and fowling in the marshes. It is therefore tempting to give the lotus a symbolic interpretation. By the time of the New

Kingdom, the lotus is clearly a symbol of creation and rebirth and is closely associated with Re and Nefertem. In the Old Kingdom, however, in the absence of enlightening chapel inscriptions it is difficult to establish such a symbolism⁶⁰⁶. Depictions of women holding a lotus may have been a decorative detail or a useful artistic device and may have been a means to suggest the privileged position of the wives and daughters of a high official with leisure to enjoy the delicate scent of the lotus.

The banquet scenes where a small male figure presents a lotus to the deceased do appear to have further significance. In Groups A and B these scenes cluster from late Dynasty 4 to late Dynasty 5, a period when the solar cult had come to the fore. The presentation of the lotus by the eldest son, who as 'šm' priest gives the deceased the power to eat and speak, may well have had a symbolic connection to the 'rebirth' of the deceased.

As tomb owners and family figures are seen holding lotus flowers with both coiled and straight stems throughout the period covered by Groups A and B only the depiction of the hand holding a straight stemmed flower provides dating criteria. The hand holding a coil in the stem of the lotus is always depicted as a fist gripping the doubled stem. Mrs-ḥ III is depicted

⁶⁰⁶ Old Kingdom references to the symbolism of the lotus are confined to the Pyramid Texts. In the pyramid of Wenis the king states: "I appear as Nefertem, as the lotus-bloom which is at the nose of Re'," (Faulkner, R.O. *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, OUP, 1969, Utterance 249, p. 61). Even as early as the Old Kingdom the lotus may have been a symbol of rebirth. The flower rises at dawn each morning suggesting a 'resurrection'.

holding the coiled stem of a lotus flower in her fist (her whole hand) and the straight stem of another lotus with only thumb and forefinger.

The next scene, in time, with a major figure holding a straight stemmed flower, that of Ntr-wsr, shows the kneeling wife gripping the stem in a fist. This closed fist grip becomes the normal depiction for holding flowers with straight and coiled stems. There are exceptions to this manner of depiction. In K3.j-nj-nswt II, a small figure offers a lotus with a straight stem to the tomb owner. He holds the flower with two hands, the lower hand as a fist, and rests the stem on the palm of the open upper hand. Hww-wr may receive a straight-stemmed lotus with his hand cupped as though receiving the flower. In the banquet scene the tomb owner taking a flower from a small figure, usually a son, by turning his cupped palm upward and slipping the stem between thumb and forefinger had become usual.

DATING CRITERIA

- *Criterion 83: The clenched fist holding a lotus with a straight stem is seen first in Ntr-wsr [58] (V.7-8) and finally in Ppj-nḥ-ḥrj-jb [21] (VI.3-4E).*
- *Criterion 84: The lotus held or being received with palm upturned is seen first in K3.j-swd3 [101] (V.2-3) and finally in Hww-wr [67] (V.8).*