

## APPENDIX A

### CONSECUTIVE KILT STYLES IN A SINGLE TOMB<sup>707</sup>

While the reasons for tomb decoration in the Old Kingdom have to be inferred from indirect evidence, it is likely that the depictions in private tombs served a number of purposes. It may have been thought that, through the power of magic, the inscriptions and iconography would provide the *ka* with the sustenance needed for continued existence after death and, perhaps, the opportunity to continue enjoying the best moments in the tomb owner's life. The depictions also seem to have been, at least in some tombs, a record of the tomb owner's adult life showing him in different situations, at work and at ease and with his family, at different periods in his life. The tomb owner's children may be depicted as very young and dependent, growing up or as adults with official roles. The tomb owner might have himself depicted in the prime of life or as a portly and therefore successful figure in later life, perhaps enjoying the company of his adult sons, as did Mrrw-k<sup>3</sup>.j [36].

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<sup>707</sup> Refer to Figures 6-9.

### **Kilt styles in a single tomb**

When tombs of Dynasty 4 and early Dynasty 5 depict the tomb owner and other significant male figures, the flared kilt is shown in one of its earlier styles, with the single or double line of the 'apron' meeting the hem of the garment either between the wearer's legs or over his rear leg. In Dynasties 4 and early 5 the chosen style is consistently portrayed in all scenes within the tomb<sup>708</sup>. By Dynasty 6 the tomb owner is always portrayed in a shorter, flared kilt with the single/double line of the 'apron' meeting the hem at the rear, lower corner of the kilt or protruding beyond.

In the second half of Dynasty 5, however, a number of tombs show the tomb owner wearing kilts of both earlier and later styles. This phenomenon occurs at different sites, in the tombs of powerful viziers, of courtiers presumably close to the king and of more modest officials. A Giza tomb appears to show alterations to the depiction of the tomb owner, suggesting that the originally depicted kilt style had to be altered<sup>709</sup>.

That the interior line(s) of the 'apron' first reached the lower rear corner of the kilt in the second half of Dynasty 5 is strongly supported by changes of style

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<sup>708</sup> See Table 1.

depicted in some tombs of this period. The tomb of Pth-špss of Abusir [28], vizier to Neuserre, shows the deceased wearing flared kilts with the interior line/s of the 'apron' meeting the hem of the kilt over his rear leg and also wearing a kilt where the lines of the 'apron' meet the kilt at its rear lower corner<sup>710</sup>

In the tomb of Nj-ʿnh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp [42] of Saqqara, three styles of flared kilt are depicted:

- In Figures 8, 12 and 13, where the tomb owners wear the oldest styles of flared kilt, their sons are shown as very young and naked. In Figure 13, with the boys completely naked, Ḥnmw-ḥtp's son, Pth-špss, is depicted in the most juvenile of poses clinging to his father's leg. Nj-ʿnh-ḥnmw's son, Ḥm-rʿ, holds his father's staff. Both boys have the 'sidelock of youth' and are of the same height.
- In Figures 8 and 12, both boys are still naked, with the 'sidelock of youth', but appear to have grown in relation to their fathers. They now wear a 'wsh' collar. In Figure 8 Ḥm-rʿ, Nj-ʿnh-ḥnmw's son, is decidedly taller than Pth-špss, Ḥnmw-ḥtp's son, and is portrayed in a more mature pose and with a more mature physique.

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<sup>709</sup> Nj-ḥtp-Pth, Badawy (1978) fig. 3a.

<sup>710</sup> Compare Verner (1977) figs. 74 and 76.

- In Figures 22 and 23 *Hm-rʿ* is portrayed as an adult, while *Pth-špss*, is still depicted as a boy, again suggesting that *Hm-rʿ* was the older of the two by some years.

In all depictions the two tomb owners are depicted wearing identical kilt styles, with one exception, Figures 18/19. This is the vestibule scene. In Figure 18 *Hnmw-ḥtp* wears a kilt with the double line of the 'apron' extending to the rear lower corner of the kilt. In Figure 19, on the opposite wall *Nj-ʿnh-hnmw* wears a kilt with the double line of the 'apron' meeting the hem partly between the legs and partly over the rear leg (the earlier style).

Perhaps these scenes can be interpreted as depicting the tomb owners at different stages in their lives, rather like a family album of photographs. Figures 8, 12 and 13 show them both with a young family. Figure 8 indicates that *Nj-ʿnh-hnmw*'s son is older than *Hnmw-ḥtp*'s son. Figure 12 appears to represent the two tomb owners a few years later in life. The sons are still children but somewhat older (naked but wearing elaborate collars) and their fathers' kilt styles have changed with the internal lines of the flare meeting the hem of the kilt over the rear leg. That *Nj-ʿnh-hnmw*'s son was the older of the two boys would fit in with the suggestion that his father was the older and senior of the two tomb owners.

<i>Kilt Style</i>	<i>Description of kilt worn by tomb owners</i>	<i>Sons in same scene</i>	<i>Reference*</i>
Flared 1	interior line/s meeting the hemline between the wearer's legs	both sons very young and naked, without a <i>wsḥ</i> collar.	Fig. 13
Flared 1	interior line/s meeting the hemline between the wearer's legs	both sons naked but wear a ' <i>wsḥ</i> ' collar. Nj- <i>ḥnḥ-hnmw</i> 's son now the taller of the two boys.	Fig. 8
Flared 2	interior line(s) meeting the hemline over the wearer's rear leg	both sons naked but wearing collar.	Fig. 12
Tight	worn beneath leopard skin	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp</i> 's son: still a boy. Nj- <i>ḥnḥ-hnmw</i> 's son an adult.	Figs 21, 22
Flared 3	interior line/s of 'apron' meeting the hemline at the rear lower corner of the kilt only worn by <i>Hnmw-ḥtp</i> (Nj- <i>ḥnḥ-hnmw</i> portrayed wearing 'Flared 2')	sons not depicted.	Fig. 18

\* Figure references are to Moussa- Altenmüller (1977).

This interpretation may also account for the discrepancy in the kilt styles of the owners in the vestibule. Nj-*ḥnḥ-hnmw*, the older man, may have died before the third style was introduced, while *Hnmw-ḥtp* outlived him long enough to wear the 'new look' kilt. If the men were twins, it could still be possible that Nj-*ḥnḥ-hnmw* was the leader of the two, had an older son and died first.

If the hypothesis that Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-hnmw and Hnmw-htp began their careers during the reign of Neuserre is accepted, then it is likely that the original kilt style prevailed at least for some years into this reign. The final change of kilt style seen in this tomb (the double line meeting the rear corner of the garment) must have been introduced at least by the reign of Djedkare. This is confirmed by the kilt style worn by R<sup>c</sup>-špss [64], who is securely dated to the reign of Djedkare, and suggests that the change from Style 1 to Style 3 of the flared kilt occurred between Neuserre and Djedkare.

While the tomb of Ni-<sup>c</sup>nh-hnmw/Hnmw-htp is securely, although not narrowly, dated, this feature (of more than one style of kilt depicted in the same tomb) may be an added dating aid. The same feature of more than one style of flared kilt appearing in a single tomb occurs in other tombs of the same period, such as that of Hww-wr [67]<sup>711</sup>, whose tomb was probably decorated in the reign of Djedkare.

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<sup>711</sup> Hassan 5 (1944) figs 102, 103a,b.

## APPENDIX B THE CASE OF THE MISSING WIVES

Throughout most of Dynasty 4 and early Dynasty 5, in Groups A and B, wives of equal size appear alongside husbands who own the tomb. They accompany the tomb owner as he receives presentations and accounts and makes inspections. Daughters and sons, usually much smaller than their parents, are depicted as children and adults. There are some instances in Dynasty 4 and early Dynasty 5 of the absence or infrequent appearance of the wife. Tomb owners appear alone on the slab stelae of Dynasty 3 and early Dynasty 4<sup>712</sup>. The occasional absence of the wife from the pictorial record may in some cases be due to tomb damage. However, most tombs of the period up to mid Dynasty 5 portray wives, who stand or sit beside the tomb owner often embracing him, sharing the offering table, with their names and titles inscribed in the accompanying inscriptions.

In mid Dynasty 5 the manner of depicting wives changes in a number of tombs. This is particularly noticeable at Saqqara. In the tomb of Nfr and K<sup>3</sup>.h<sup>3</sup>.j [50] the older tomb owner is depicted, standing and seated, with his wife, Mrt-jt.s who is

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<sup>712</sup> No figure other than the tomb owner appears in the tomb of Hsjj-r<sup>c</sup>. Quibell (1913).

portrayed as his equal in height<sup>713</sup>. Mrt-jt.s has her own offering table and false door, which is a little smaller than her husband's<sup>714</sup>. The wives of Nfr, Wr-b3w and Sn-jt.f share their husband's table and false doors.

Tjj's wife, depicted in almost equal size, kneels at her husband's feet<sup>715</sup>. In two other similar kneeling poses she appears to be depicted on a somewhat smaller scale than Tjj<sup>716</sup>. Standing next to her husband, she may be almost his height<sup>717</sup>. The wife of Pth-šps of Abusir [28], probably a daughter of Neuserre, is depicted on a smaller scale than her husband as she kneels at his feet<sup>718</sup>, as are the wives of Ni-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp [42] and Ntr-wsr [58]<sup>719</sup>. These portrayals appear to have been an 'intermediate' phase when the wife is depicted between two-thirds and half the

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<sup>713</sup> On the upper east wall of the tomb (Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pl. 7 [E.A. 11]) the unnamed tomb owner is depicted standing with a young girl in front of him and by his side a mature female who only reaches his shoulder in height. Unfortunately, the females are not named although, to judge from the way the mature female embraces the male, she is probably the wife. Moussa and Altenmüller identify the couple as probably K3-ḥ3.j and Mrt-jt.s, and its companion piece at the other end of the wall (pl. 2 [E.A. 1]) as probably Nfr and his wife, Ḥnsw\*, although it is unlikely that Nfr's wife would be depicted as a nude child wearing the sidelock of youth. It is quite possible that the figure identified by Moussa and Altenmüller as Nfr is meant to be K3-ḥ3.j and vice-versa, in which case K3-ḥ3.j is depicted with a young female, no doubt a daughter, and Nfr with a significantly smaller wife. This would fit in with the trend to reduce the size of the portrayal of the wife. On the west wall (pl. 30 [W.A.2]) Nfr appears with a much smaller mature female figure, who may be his wife although she is not named.

\* See Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) 19, note 74, for the authors' reasons.

<sup>714</sup> Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pl. 32.

<sup>715</sup> Wild 3 (1966) pl. 164.

<sup>716</sup> Wild 3 (1966) pls. 56, 171.

<sup>717</sup> Wild 2 (1953) pl. 125.

<sup>718</sup> Verner (1977) pl.s 16, 22.

<sup>719</sup> Respectively and Murray (1905) pls. 24, 25.



height of her husband standing beside him or kneeling at his feet, before she is sometimes omitted altogether. This intermediate feature is seen in Nfr and K3h3.j, J3sn [3], Ni-‘nh-hnmw and Hnmw-htp<sup>720</sup>.

The reduction of the size of the wife between the reigns of Neuserre and Djedkare is not universal. Sndm-jb:jntj's [80] wife, standing next to her husband, is portrayed equal in height<sup>721</sup>, as are the wives of Hwfw-h'f II [70], Nfr-b3w-Pth [51], Sndm-jb:mhj [81] and Hww-wr [67]<sup>722</sup>. The tendency appears to have been for the reduction in the size of the wife, which started in Saqqara, to be taken up at Giza, perhaps two reigns later. The first Giza representation of a wife much smaller than her husband is in the tomb of J3sn [3] dated to late Djedkare or Unas<sup>723</sup>.

The portrayals of the wife much smaller than her husband or kneeling at his feet provide two dating criteria, Numbers. 71 and 72.

In late Dynasty 5 and early Dynasty 6 a number of tombs, whose decoration is generally well preserved, omit any representation of wives and daughters, or inscriptional reference to them. The list of tombs of this period and feature in Groups

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<sup>720</sup> Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) pl. 30, Simpson (1980) fig. 36 and Moussa-Altenmüller (1977) fig. 19, respectively.

<sup>721</sup> LD II 78. Sndm-jb:jntj is securely dated to the later years of Dynasty 5, Djedkare to Unas.

<sup>722</sup> Respectively, Simpson (1978) figs. 5, 43 (Hwfw-h'f II probably dates to the reign of Neuserre), Weeks (1994) figs. 16, 17, 18 (Nfr-b3w-Pth is dated to late Neuserre), LD II 73 and Hassan 5 (1944) fig. 102.

<sup>723</sup> Simpson (1980) Fig. 36.

A and B<sup>724</sup> appears on Table X together with tombs where wives and daughters are depicted. A number of features are noticeable.

- Where wives are omitted, daughters are rarely portrayed. The only exceptions are in the Giza tombs published by Roth.
- Sons are portrayed in almost every tomb that omits wife and daughters.
- Except for the Giza tombs excavated by Roth, tombs omitting wife and daughters belong to high ranking officials.
- All the tombs omitting wives and daughters are located in Saqqara, again with the exception of Roth's Giza tombs. However, more Saqqara tombs include wives and daughters than exclude them.

In her paper on the curious number of wives missing from the husband's tomb at certain times in Egypt's history, Roth discusses the possible reasons for this omission in the Old Kingdom. and suggests that the feature could be a dating a criterion<sup>725</sup>.

However, a number of factors are required before this feature can be accepted as a dating criterion. It must be assumed that it was a feature which has time limits, possibly imposed by the reasons for the appearance of the feature. Roth speculates that the cluster of tombs omitting wives and daughters may have been due to a move

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<sup>724</sup> Seven tombs from Roth (1995) have been included as she refers to them in her paper, 'The Absent Spouse', Roth (1999).

away from sun worship in the second half of Dynasty 5 or to the fact that the tomb owner served a queen, but does not come to any conclusion<sup>726</sup>.

Furthermore, in the case of wives missing from the record there may be random instances of what appears to be the same phenomenon, but in fact are not the result of whatever custom or taboo may have banished wives from the particular group of tombs referred to by Roth. On occasion, wives may have been omitted owing to death or a family break-up. For example, the tomb of Mr-jb.j [33] with well preserved decoration, contains no wife. The tomb owner's mother appears to take her place and Mr-jb.j's children, male and female, are depicted. Both false doors are for the tomb owner at a time when, in the West Field, L-shaped chapels with two false doors usually have one door assigned to the wife. The reasons for the absence of the wife in this tomb may have no relationship to the reasons for the late Dynasty 5 and early Dynasty 6 absences, in which case the tomb of Mr-jb.j cannot be considered in the same category as the later tombs without wives.

While Table X supports Roth's findings at Giza that there were a significant number of tombs that omitted mention of the wife and daughters in the second half of Dynasty 5 and early Dynasty 6, it also suggests that there are other reasons for the

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<sup>725</sup> Roth (1999).

<sup>726</sup> Roth (1999).

omission. The omission of wife and daughters, if any, from the records in the tombs of K3.j-nj-nswt III [98] and Jrj-n-r<sup>c</sup> [7] may be due to the poor state of preservation of those chapels.

I would, therefore, hesitate to use the absence of a wife as a dating criterion.

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