

THE BULLETIN OF

**THE AUSTRALIAN CENTRE
FOR EGYPTOLOGY**

VOLUME 21 ▪ 2010

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ISSN: 1035-7254

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The Australian Centre for Egyptology
(A Division of the Macquarie University Ancient Cultures Research Centre)
Macquarie University, Sydney NSW 2109, Australia*

*Printed by
Ligare Book Printers, 138 Bonds Road, Riverwood NSW 2210, Australia
www.ligare.com.au*

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THE ROYAL KILT IN NON-ROYAL ICONOGRAPHY?

The tomb owner fowling and spear-fishing in the Old and Middle Kingdom

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University of Vienna

Many aspects of the scenes in the private tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdom showing the tomb owner fowling and fishing in the marshes are of immense interest. This article seeks to analyse one special detail which researchers have interpreted as originating in the royal iconography, namely the *marsh-hunting dress* which has been equated with the *royal kilt* or *šnd.wt*.¹

The origin of the fowling and spear-fishing scene

The oldest attestation of a fowling scene comes from the Mortuary Temple of Sahure at Abusir.² The north wall of the north passage showed the king not only fowling in the marshes but also spear-fishing. The same scenes were most probably also depicted in the Valley Temple of Sahure, on the portico of the southern entrance.³ However, the theme might have already been in use earlier as a fragment from the Mortuary Temple of Userkaf showing part of a papyrus thicket with several species of birds, was most probably also part of a fowling scene.⁴ From later times, similar fragments are known from the Valley Temple of Niuserre.⁵ The oldest preserved depiction of a high official fishing and fowling comes from the tomb of Niankhkhnun and Khnumhotep at Saqqara and was executed in the second half of the 5th Dynasty, in the time of (late) Niuserre to Menkauhor.⁶ It is therefore widely accepted that, soon after the appearance of the large-scale scenes in the royal Mortuary Temple of Sahure, the high officials modelled scenes in their own monuments on them thereby adopting some the iconography.⁷

Unfortunately, the examples from the royal context are very fragmentary so that many details which can be observed in the non-royal tombs cannot be compared to their royal counterparts. The garment worn by the main figure, however, is one of the elements that can be subjected to a comparative analysis.

The garments in royal iconography

Only the relief from the Mortuary Temple of Sahure shows part of the body of the king with a pleated, most probably projecting, kilt somehow tied at the front.⁸ So far, this is the only document from the corpus of royal fishing and fowling scenes where the king's garment is preserved. Overall the typical *royal*

kilt is one of the most consistent and invariable features in the royal iconography and appears regularly in the royal reliefs and statuary from the beginning of the Old Kingdom. In its form, the *royal kilt* is short and worn with a trapezoidal apron with slightly concave lateral edges narrowing towards its lower edge. While the kilt is pleated vertically, the apron is pleated horizontally, and the combination is held by a belt (Figures 1.1 and 1.2).⁹ This garment is not attested before the 4th Dynasty.¹⁰ The earliest representations come from the reign of Snofru and show the king wearing this type of kilt in the reliefs¹¹ as well as in the three-dimensional art.¹² From then on, this kilt becomes a characteristic feature of the royal iconography and retains its exact shape and style throughout all periods of Pharaonic history. In the Old Kingdom, it can, for example, be seen on the statues of Kheops,¹³ Khefren¹⁴ or Menkaure¹⁵ (Figure 1.1). In the Middle Kingdom examples are not only found on the statuary of Senwosret I,¹⁶ Senwosret II,¹⁷ Senwosret III¹⁸ or Amenemhet III¹⁹ but also in the two-dimensional art such as in the Koptos relief of Senwosret I with the god Min (Figure 1.2).²⁰ Very rare are examples where the *royal kilt* remained unpleated as, for example, on the dyad of Menkaure with a female figure, most probably the king's mother Khamerernebt I.²¹

The garments in the iconography of the elite

Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period

By examining the garment worn by the high officials in the fowling and spear-fishing scenes of the Old Kingdom, insight may be gained into a gradual development of this feature.²² In the earliest examples, where the garment is preserved, the tomb owner wears a short kilt with a diagonal fold, where one end of the cloth is tucked in at the waist.²³ This type can be observed in the Saqqara tombs of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep²⁴ (Figure 2.1) and Hetepherakhti,²⁵ both decorated in the time of Niuserre to Djedkare. By contrast, the tomb of Za-ib at Giza dated to the time of Menkauhor to Djedkare (Figure 2.2),²⁶ presents the tomb owner wearing a short plain closed kilt.²⁷

In the late 5th Dynasty, approximately in the reign of Djedkare, a new type of garment appears,²⁸ the earliest examples of which are attested in the tombs of Kayemnofret²⁹ and Rashepses³⁰ at Saqqara (Figure 2.3). It consists of a short kilt and a trapezoidal apron with straight lateral edges widening towards its lower end and almost triangular in shape. Both parts of the garment are plain and held by a type of sash tied with a loop at the front of the body. This attire, henceforth termed *marsh-hunting dress*, establishes itself only gradually. In the tomb of Akhmerutnesut³¹ from the end of the 5th Dynasty, the scene still shows the tomb owner wearing the plain closed kilt. From the beginning of the 6th

ZELENKOVA, THE ROYAL KILT IN NON-ROYAL ICONOGRAPHY

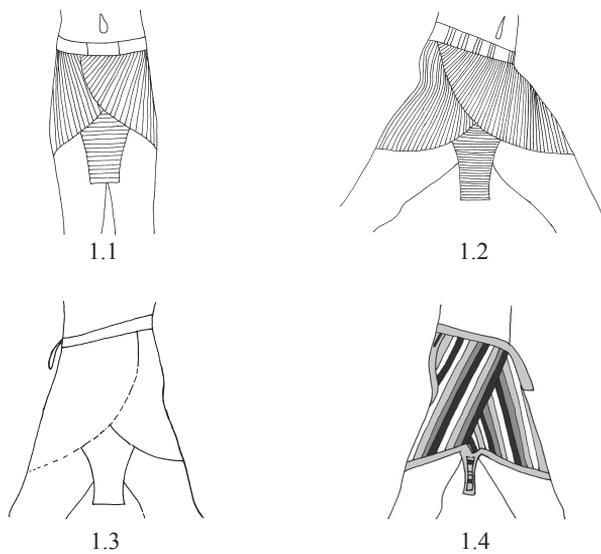


Figure 1.

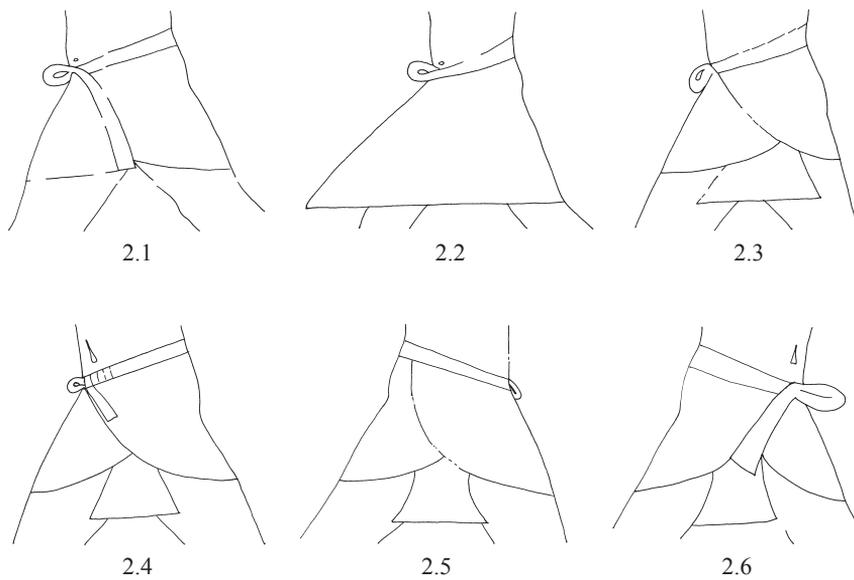


Figure 2.

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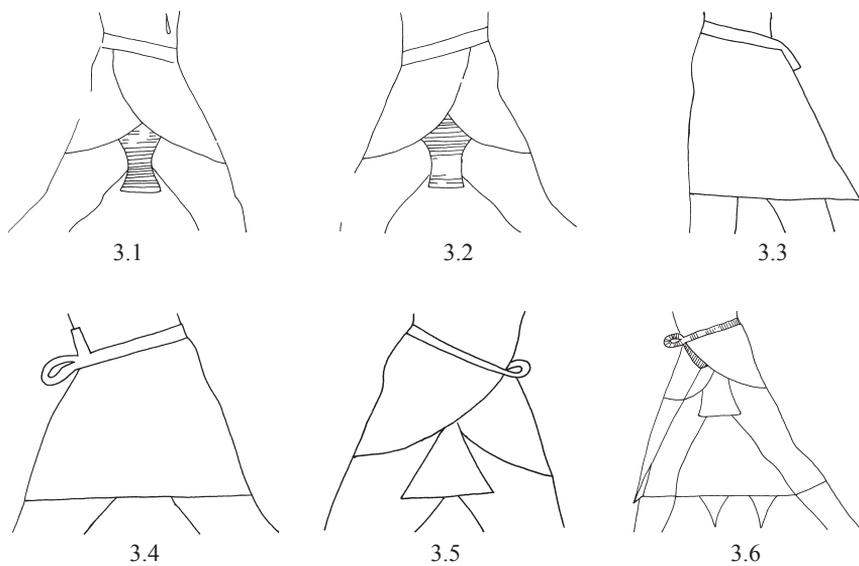


Figure 3.

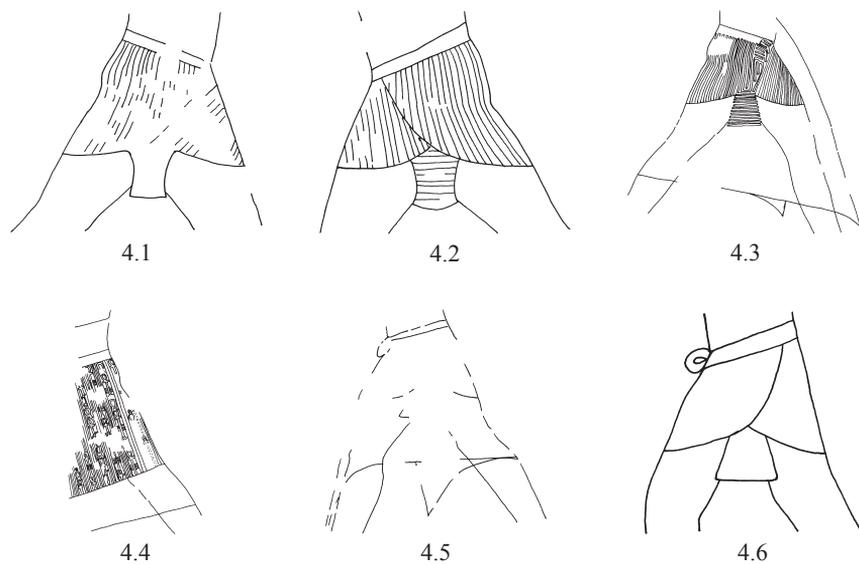


Figure 4.

Dynasty, however, the *marsh-hunting dress* with the triangular apron becomes and remains the distinctive attire in the fowling and spear-fishing scenes. The illustrations in the tombs of Mereruka³² (Figure 2.4), Methethi³³, Pepyankh Henykem³⁴ or Hem-Min³⁵ all feature this type of garment. In the Old Kingdom, the apron can also have remarkably concave lateral edges, as seen in the tombs of Ibi³⁶ (Figure 2.5) or Khunes,³⁷ but in comparison to the *royal kilt*, the lower end of the apron is always wider.

The corpus of the Old Kingdom scenes also offers some special examples, where the garment does not occur in its usual form. In the fowling scene in the tomb of Iynefret,³⁸ the tomb owner seems to wear a combination of the earlier kilt with the diagonal fold and the apron (Figure 2.6); similar depictions also occur in the tombs of Neferirtenef,³⁹ Akhethotep⁴⁰ and Kaemankh,⁴¹ but in these cases the "diagonal fold" is slightly shorter. The suggestion is made here that what looks like the fold is actually the long end from the loop of the knotted sash.

So far only one example from the Old Kingdom seems to feature the apron in its royal form: the much destroyed spear-fishing scene in the tomb of Idu I at Dendera,⁴² dated to the very end of the Old Kingdom / First Intermediate Period, depicts the tomb owner wearing a short kilt and trapezoidal apron with concave lateral edges *narrowing* towards its lower end (Figure 1.3). This example marks the beginning of a phase during which diversity of internal detail for this motif is developed. Other late examples show many variations; plain closed kilts or mis-shapen aprons can also be observed.⁴³ The painted decoration in the tomb of Ankhtifi (Figure 1.4)⁴⁴ depicts him wearing a short kilt striped in three colours. The apron, decorated in the same manner, is similar to the royal one, but extremely deformed, being very narrow and long, like the long end of a sash rather than an apron.

Overall, the most common attire in the corpus of the Old Kingdom scenes is the *marsh-hunting dress* with its short kilt and triangular apron. There are several features that distinguish this garment from the so-called *royal kilt* described above. Firstly, the kilt worn by the high officials is never pleated.⁴⁵ Secondly, the apron is generally trapezoidal with its lower edge wider than the upper one. Thirdly, the kilt is held by a sash and regularly features a loop, very often with one or both of its long ends at the front of the body.⁴⁶

Middle Kingdom

In the corpus of the Middle Kingdom fowling and spear-fishing scenes, the two principal garment types of the Old Kingdom reappear: the short kilt with the apron and the short plain closed kilt. In general, the corpus is less homogenous than in the Old Kingdom as the details of the garments' design are very

variable. The reason is most probably to be found in the fact that the tombs are not concentrated in the necropolis of the capital. The cemeteries of the local elite are dispersed throughout the country, which may explain the diversity in the finer detail. Within a particular cemetery, however, the depiction of the garment is quite uniform, which means that local traditions appear to have been adhered to.⁴⁷

In the Delta, in the tomb of Khesw the Elder at Kom el-Hisn, in both the fowling and the spear-fishing scene, the tomb owner wears a short kilt with a pleated apron (Figures 3.1 and 3.2).⁴⁸ In the spear-fishing scene, on the one hand, the shape of the apron is comparable to that of its royal counterpart: it is pleated with the lower edge narrower than the upper; the lateral edges are, however, more concave (Figure 3.2). In the fowling scene, on the other hand, these edges are extremely concave and the contour is reminiscent of an hourglass (Figure 3.1). As no long sash ends are depicted with either kilt, the garment appears to be held by a belt, a feature common in the royal iconography.

In el-Saff, the tomb of Ip shows the tomb owner spear-fishing wearing a short plain kilt.⁴⁹ Beni Hassan is one of the Middle Kingdom necropoli that continues to feature the garments that were traditional in the Old Kingdom with examples of both the plain closed kilt and the *marsh-hunting dress* with the triangular apron. In the tombs of Baket I,⁵⁰ Baket III⁵¹ and Khety⁵² (Figure 3.3), the tomb owner wears a short plain closed kilt held by a sash tied with a loop at the front.⁵³ By contrast, the large-scale depiction of fowling and spear-fishing in the tomb of Khnumhotep II displays the garment typical for the late 5th and 6th Dynasty: the short kilt with the triangular apron (Figure 3.5),⁵⁴ its wider lower edge creating its triangular shape. The unpleated garment is held by a sash tied with a loop at the front. In the spear-fishing scene, Khnumhotep II wears an additional medium-length semi-transparent kilt over the kilt and apron (Figure 3.6).

At Deir el-Bersha, only the tomb of Djehutyhotep II⁵⁵ contains the types of scenes considered here. As far as preserved, the tomb owner wears a short plain closed kilt and a sash tied with a loop at the front (Figure 3.4).⁵⁶

In the necropolis at Meir, only two tombs offer reference material. In the fowling and spear-fishing scene in the tomb of Senbi, the figure wears a short pleated kilt with a pleated apron held by a belt without a loop.⁵⁷ The apron has concave lateral edges and its lower edge is narrower than its upper. This garment, represented in the spear-fishing scene (Figure 4.1), is in fact the only example from the Middle Kingdom that bears a definite resemblance to the so-called *royal kilt*. That in the fowling scene, the lower edge of the apron is not straight but rounded, is a unique feature and should be noted (Figure 4.2). The

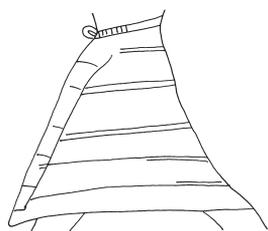
second tomb at Meir where the garments are preserved, is that of Ukhhotep III,⁵⁸ known for its significant usage and reproduction of royal motifs in its decoration.⁵⁹ In the two scenes relevant to the current discussion, the garments are completely different: in the spear-fishing scene Ukhhotep III wears a short pleated kilt with a triangular pleated apron and a belt without a loop (Figure 4.3) under an additional medium-length semi-transparent kilt; in the fowling scene, he wears a hitherto unknown garment, namely a short plain closed kilt most probably pleated and decorated with *ꜥnh*, *wd3*, *s3* and *dd*-emblems; there is also a sash or belt under a medium-length semi-transparent kilt from above the waist (Figure 4.4) as well as dagger-like object on the belt.⁶⁰

At Asyut, in the tomb of Djefaihapi,⁶¹ only the garment in the fowling scene is preserved (Figure 4.5). It corresponds to the spear-fishing scene in the tomb of Khnumhotep II and comprises the *marsh-hunting dress* with the triangular apron. The garment is plain, held by a sash tied with a loop at the front and worn under a medium-length semi-transparent kilt.

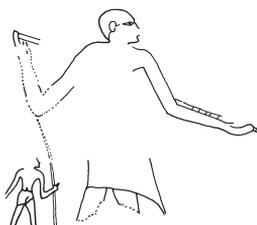
The examples from Abydos deviate from the customary iconography and only two wall fragments can be discussed. One of these bears the name of Imenyseneb and shows the tomb owner spear-fishing (Figure 5.1).⁶² He wears a medium-length closed kilt, horizontally pleated or simply striped, with a sash tied with a loop at the front. The same garment can be observed on the figure on the wall fragment from the tomb of Kemes.⁶³ Both these kilts show a vertical line on their front, and one may therefore consider them to either represent a projecting kilt⁶⁴ or a closed⁶⁵ kilt with a diagonal stripe.

At Thebes, in the tomb of Intef (TT 386), two different spear-fishing scenes are preserved. In the main one of the two, in antithetic position to a now much destroyed fowling scene, the tomb owner wears a short kilt combined with an apron of unusual form and a sash tied with a loop (Figure 5.4).⁶⁶ Like in the tomb of Khesw the Elder, the apron has extremely concave lateral edges, and its lower edge is in fact narrower than its upper. This latter feature makes this apron resemble the royal example in shape. In the second spear-fishing scene on one of the pillars, the shape of the apron is identical to the royal garment (Figure 5.3).⁶⁷ In both cases, however, the apron seems to be unpleated, and therefore cannot be interpreted with certainty as an imitation of the royal garment.

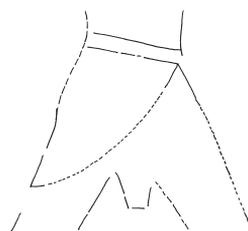
The spear-fishing scene from el-Kab from the tomb of Sobeknakht dated to the very end of the Middle Kingdom, shows the tomb owner wearing a short plain kilt with a hem dipping at the front and a bag-tunic⁶⁸ with elbow-length sleeves (Figure 5.2).⁶⁹



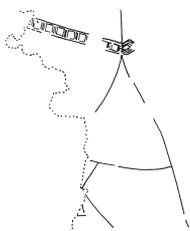
5.1



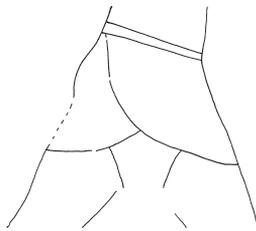
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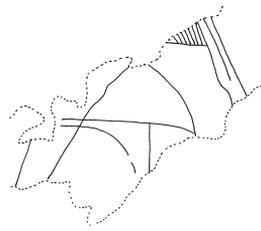
5.3



5.4

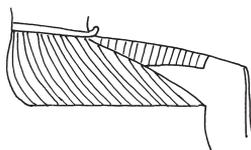


5.5

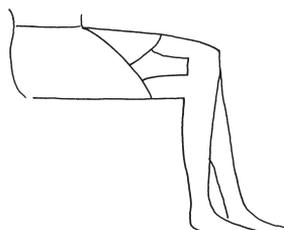


5.6

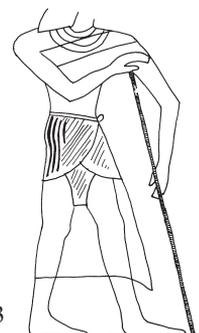
Figure 5



6.1



6.2



6.3

Figure 6.



7.1



7.2

Figure 7.

The southernmost necropolis is that at Qubbet el-Hawa, where only in the tomb of Sarenput I the spear-fishing and fowling scenes are preserved. The fowling scene on the facade of the tomb, shows the tomb owner in a short plain kilt with a trapezoidal apron whose lower edge is narrower than the upper one (Figure 5.5).⁷⁰ While the form corresponds exactly to the form of the royal apron, and the kilt is furthermore held by a belt, there is no indication of pleating. The fowling scene on the south wall of the pillared hall, is much damaged but as discernible today, Sarenput wears a short pleated kilt under a medium-length semi-transparent kilt (Figure 5.6).⁷¹

In addition to the examples discussed so far, there is a well-preserved set of dislocated blocks from the tomb of Hepi, most probably from Saqqara, one of which bears the depiction of the tomb owner fowling,⁷² another the spear-fishing.⁷³ In both cases Hepi wears the *marsh-hunting dress* typical for the late 5th and 6th Dynasty, namely the short plain kilt with a triangular apron, held by a sash tied with a loop at the front (Figure 4.6).

In summary, there are remarkable differences between the cemeteries of the Middle Kingdom. The tombs of Saqqara, Beni Hassan, Deir el-Bersha and Asyut seem to follow the tradition of the Old Kingdom by using the *marsh-hunting dress* or the short plain closed kilt. The cemeteries at Kom el-Hisn, Meir, Thebes and Qubbet el-Hawa would appear to have copied the royal garment to some extent, thus creating a *royal-like dress*, while the examples from Abydos and el-Kab remain without parallels.

Imitation of the *royal kilt* in other scenes

As stated above, the tombs at Kom el-Hisn, Meir, Thebes and Qubbet el-Hawa display the tomb owner wearing a *royal-like dress* when fishing and fowling. Interestingly, further examination of these tombs revealed that the imitation of the *royal kilt* also occurred in other scenes. The most important clues can be obtained from the tombs of Ankhtifi at el-Mo^calla and Intef at Thebes where the copying of the *royal kilt* is widely used. In the tomb of Ankhtifi a *royal-like dress* is worn by the tomb owner as he inspects a variety of activities; but even workers and peasants, and thus persons of lower rank including soldiers, offering bearers, cooks or carpenters,⁷⁴ are represented in this costume as well. Even though the aprons are very narrow and unusually elongated like that of Ankhtifi himself in the fishing and fowling scenes (Figure 1.4), the attempt to imitate a royal attribute cannot be denied. The same can be observed in the decoration programme of the tomb of Intef where the frequency of occurrence is even higher: apart from the tomb owner, tanners, metal workers, carpenters, butchers, herdsmen and fowlers are also represented in the *royal-like dress*.⁷⁵ Even if the imitation does not correspond to the *royal kilt* in every detail, its

general appearance would suggest that it is closely modelled on the royal example.

The adaptation of the *royal kilt* for secondary figures is no longer present in the later tombs at Meir and Qubbet el-Hawa. The tombs of Senbi and Ukhhotep III at Meir contain three more depictions with garments based on a royal prototype. Senbi wears a *royal-like dress* fully pleated when inspecting cattle together with his wife.⁷⁶ The *royal kilt* is almost exactly reproduced, the only difference being in the fact that the official's kilt is depicted wrapped right over left. Ukhhotep III also wears a good copy of the *royal kilt* in a similar context, when inspecting marsh-land activities.⁷⁷ The garment is unpleated and held by a sash but it is wrapped left over right as in the royal iconography. The second example from the same tomb occurs on the north wall of the statue niche where Ukhhotep III wears an unpleated *royal-like dress* in the offering scene seated at the offering table.⁷⁸ At Qubbet el-Hawa, a scene on one of the pillars depicts Sarenput I with an unpleated *royal-like dress* before the god Khnum.⁷⁹ In these last three images, the tomb owners also wear an additional long kilt.

It is interesting to note that copying the *royal kilt* took place predominantly in the First Intermediate Period and at the very beginning of the Middle Kingdom, at a time when kingship was either in the process of weakening or of gaining strength. Decline of central governance and the king's control may have created conditions allowing the high officials to depict themselves as well as their subordinates to some extent with royal attributes. In the course of the 12th Dynasty, this tendency wanes and only powerful nomarchs were in a position to wear the *royal-like dress* in a selection of the most important scenes.

Imitation of the *royal kilt* on the non-royal stelae of the Middle Kingdom

In the Middle Kingdom, the imitation of the *royal kilt* is not limited to depictions in the tombs as mentioned above. Remarkably often, it can be observed on the non-royal stelae from Abydos. While all the examples come from a funerary context, there is a notable variability in that it is worn by seated as well as by standing figures, and it can be either partly or wholly pleated. The majority of them show the deceased, the owner of the stele, wearing this type of garment in the offering scene, seated at the offering table. When represented worn by a seated person, the garment is shown in profile and the exact shape of the apron cannot be determined. But generally, one can observe that the apron seems to have a narrower lower edge like the royal type. Completely pleated garments with such an apron are found on the Abydos stelae CG 20145,⁸⁰ CG 20309,⁸¹ CG 20392⁸² (Figure 6.1) and CG 20708,⁸³ and also on stela CG 20476⁸⁴ from Qurna. The imitation of the *royal kilt* could also be worn in a combination with a long, most probably semi-transparent kilt, as

depicted on CG 20102.⁸⁵ A garment of this type, but with an unpleated apron, is preserved on CG 20395 from Abydos.⁸⁶ The reverse combination, an unpleated kilt with a pleated apron, appears on CG 20436.⁸⁷ A completely unpleated garment of the discussed shape is also represented and can be observed on CG 20455,⁸⁸ CG 20475⁸⁹ and CG 20137⁹⁰ (Figure 6.2). The latter is especially interesting as the garment is not shown from the side but from above. Thus the shape of the apron is clearly recognizable and it is in fact completely in accordance with the common shape of the royal variety. Copying a *royal kilt* is not restricted to the seated figure of the deceased as he is also attested standing wearing the imitation of the royal garment. CG 20243⁹¹ (Figure 6.3) bears the image of a male, accompanied by his wife and an offering formula before him, standing and leaning on a long stick; he not only wears a copy of the *royal kilt* but also a long semi-transparent kilt over it.

The presence of the *royal-like dress* in the funerary scenes on the stelae from Abydos stands in contrast to its apparent absence in the fowling and spear-fishing scenes on the wall fragments of the same cemetery (see above). This observation can, however, not be considered conclusive as the material on wall fragments is very limited.

The term *šnd.wt*

The word *šnd.wt* appears in the Old Kingdom for the first time in the 3rd Dynasty, on an ivory plaque found in the complex of Sekhemkhet at Saqqara.⁹² While the term is recorded several times in the Pyramid Texts,⁹³ it is relatively rare in the Old Kingdom,⁹⁴ and the examples generally seem to refer to a garment worn by the king as the hieroglyphic sign used to determine the word *šnd.wt* depicts a short kilt with an apron of the royal shape.⁹⁵

In the time of the Middle Kingdom, the expression appears more often.⁹⁶ The term in combination with the image of a particular garment, is known from many object friezes on the Middle Kingdom coffins that offer two-dimensional representations of ancient Egyptian clothing. One can find the plain closed kilts as well as the short kilts with the apron. The simple kilts, like the plain closed kilt, are not designated and differentiated by special names. They are most frequently referred to as *mstr.t*, which is the term for a type of simple cloth.⁹⁷

The short kilts represented with an apron are in fact the *royal kilts*, mostly made of red or white cloth, and either the kilt or the apron or both items are pleated (or striped). The apron is trapezoidal in shape with slightly concave lateral edges and with the lower edge narrower than the upper one. In most cases the belt is also depicted, the representation of an animal tail does not occur as often.⁹⁸ This is the garment frequently designated a *šnd.wt*⁹⁹ and Jéquier already observed that it was reserved for kings and gods.¹⁰⁰ On the

basis of this information, it can be stated that the term was used to describe the *royal kilt*, at least in the Old and Middle Kingdom. The expression should not be used with reference to the non-royal *marsh-hunting dress* as it does not seem to be the common term for any short kilt with an apron.

Imitation of the *royal kilt* in non-royal statuary

Old Kingdom

In the non-royal statuary of the Old Kingdom, the imitation of the *royal kilt* is extremely rare.¹⁰¹ There are actually only three group statues, of the official called Sankhuptah from the 5th Dynasty, depicting the figure in a short pleated kilt with a pleated apron¹⁰² and yet, some features of his garment differ from the royal iconography. As already noted by Staehelin,¹⁰³ he wears a short plain closed kilt under the pleated one, and the kilt is not held only by a belt but there is also the looped tie with the long sash end typical for the so-called "*Galaschurz*" (festive kilt). The apron itself is very wide with straight lateral edges and the kilt is wrapped right over left, while in the royal iconography the opposite is typical. Moreover, the right end is pleated in two directions, horizontally and vertically. Staehelin¹⁰⁴ is certainly right in stating that the statue owner used a "*königlich-private Mischform*" (royal-private hybrid form) of the *royal kilt* and that the imitation of royal iconography was a result of his marriage into the royal family, his wife being the king's daughter Nebibnebtj.

First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom

The Middle Kingdom non-royal statuary is much more courageous in adopting and adapting elements from royal iconography. A noteworthy number of statues show figures wearing a *royal-like dress*,¹⁰⁵ with the majority of them even having the kilt wrapped left over right, thus fully corresponding to the royal iconography. Some examples can already be traced in the 11th Dynasty. The seated statue of Meri,¹⁰⁶ made of limestone and found at Thebes, shows the statue owner wearing such a copy of the *royal kilt*. There is also a pair of wooden statues belonging to the scribe of the divine offerings Merer, from Asyut dated to the Heracleopolitan Period.¹⁰⁷ Here however, there is no pleating and the kilt is inscribed with cursive hieroglyphs. During the 12th Dynasty, according to Vandier, the use of the *royal kilt* becomes more common.¹⁰⁸ There are statues made of stone, such as the seated limestone statue of Au from the tomb of Senwosretankh at Lisht,¹⁰⁹ the granite statue of Sarenput I from his tomb at Qubbet el-Hawa,¹¹⁰ or CG 404 and CG 405¹¹¹ representing Harhotep and Sasobek wearing a royal-like pleated kilt.¹¹² Wooden statues showing this type of garment worn by the officials appear as well, as for example the standing statue CG 444 from Meir. Overall, these Middle Kingdom statues feature quite precise copies of the *royal kilt*.

Typology of the garments in the fowling and fishing scenes in summary

The iconography related to the fowling and spear-fishing scenes in the non-royal tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdom, is rich in displaying internal details of the garments, and yet only four principal types are in fact depicted.

The first type appears on the earliest documents from the 5th Dynasty. The costume is evidently a short kilt with a diagonal fold, where one end of the cloth is tucked in at the waist, creating a flap/fold where the end of the cloth is turned inside out.¹¹³ In the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (Figure 2.1) as well as in the tomb of Hetepherakhti, the fold has the appearance of the apron commonly seen in later depictions. It is possible that by folding the cloth in the middle of the front, the kilt was intended to cover and better protect the genital region.

The second garment type is a short plain closed kilt, occasionally recorded in the 5th Dynasty (Figure 2.2) and in the late Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period, as well as in the Middle Kingdom, especially at Beni Hassan (Figure 3.3) and Deir el-Bersha (Figure 3.4) but also at el-Saff. The kilt is made of a rectangular piece of cloth wrapped around the waist and fastened with a sash knotted at the front, creating a small loop.¹¹⁴

Of special interest is the garment type most often represented, consisting of a short kilt with an apron that covers the genital region. The garment has previously often been compared to the royal *šnd.wt*-kilt and even equated with it. Such conclusions were mainly based on the corpus of the Old Kingdom without incorporating the evidence from later periods. Bonnet argued that only in exceptional cases was the form of the apron royal-like and that "*man eine Annäherung an diesen eher meidet als sucht*" (transl.: one rather sought to avoid it [the royal kilt]).¹¹⁵ By contrast, Vandier wrote that "*le prince, lorsqu'il pêche au harpon ou lorsqu'il chasse au boomerang, porte presque toujours la chendjit, c'est-à-dire le pagne royal par excellence*" (transl.: the official when harpooning or hunting with the boomerang nearly always wears the shendjit, ie. the typical royal kilt).¹¹⁶ Staehelin spoke also of "*relativ getreuen Kopien der königlichen Vorbilder*" (transl.: fairly true copies of the royal models).¹¹⁷ More recently, Feucht commented that the officials' apron in the Old Kingdom fowling and fishing scenes differs from the royal form and thus drew the attention back to Bonnet's observations.¹¹⁸

Based on the pictorial material compiled and discussed above, a contribution to the debate can be made: the garment used for fowling and fishing obviously underwent a development and one must distinguish between two types, namely the *marsh-hunting dress* and the *royal-like dress*.

The *marsh-hunting dress* is typical for the Old Kingdom. It does not appear until the end of the 5th Dynasty but becomes the standard from then on. It is characterized by an apron of *triangular* shape; the kilt is short with rounded sides¹¹⁹ with the apron held by a sash knotted at the front; not only the loop but also the long ends of the sash are very often depicted, as seen, for example, in the tombs of Neferirteneft¹²⁰, Iyefret¹²¹ (Figure 2.6), Akhetotep¹²² or Hem-Min.¹²³ The form of the apron and the use of a sash instead of a belt distinguishes this garment from the *royal kilt*, which means that the resemblance of the two is only superficial and that the use of a kilt-apron combination does not automatically imply that the garment is an imitation of the royal iconography. As suggested by Bonnet, this combination of items of clothing was preferred because it enables free movement. Furthermore, the idea of covering the genital region goes back to prehistory.¹²⁴ Not only its appearance speaks against equating the *marsh-hunting dress* with the *royal kilt*, an additional piece of evidence may be found in the very same scenes, where the *marsh-hunting dress* is also worn by the male family members (mostly the tomb owner's sons) accompanying the deceased in the boat. This phenomenon appears quite often in the Old Kingdom. The earliest example is provided in the scene from the tomb of Rashepses,¹²⁵ where at least three figures wear the *marsh-hunting dress*: the eldest son is standing in the boat, armed with a throw stick in his left hand and holding a bird in his right. He is obviously participating in the fowling and his active role is emphasized by the depiction the appropriate costume. The multiple representation of *the marsh-hunting dress* in such an early example precludes the interpretation of this garment as the *royal kilt*. The idea of an adoption of royal iconography may be conceivable for the main figure but not the secondary figures. The occurrence of the *marsh-hunting dress* with the accompanying figures actively fowling or fishing or at least holding an additional weapon, is also found in the tombs of Seshemnefer IV,¹²⁶ In-snefru-ishtef,¹²⁷ Ibi,¹²⁸ Akhetotep¹²⁹ and in Tomb 3 at Dahshur.¹³⁰ It may also be attested in the partly destroyed scene in the tomb of Meryre Meryptahankh.¹³¹ The *marsh-hunting dress* did not disappear after the end of the Old Kingdom. It is still found in the tombs of the Middle Kingdom, in the necropoli at Beni Hassan (Figures 3.5–3.6), Asyut (Figure 4.5) and Saqqara (Figure 4.6).¹³²

The systematic imitation of the *royal kilt* and the adaptation of the *marsh-hunting dress* to becoming a *royal-like dress* did not begin until the First Intermediate Period, where it appears in the tomb of Ankhtifi with an extremely misshapen apron (Figure 1.4). Clear evidence of deliberate and accurate copying is, however, not attested until the Middle Kingdom and then it is restricted to the necropoli at Kom el-Hisn (Figures 3.1–3.2), Meir (Figures 4.1–4.4), Thebes (Figures 5.3–5.4) and Qubbet el-Hawa (Figure 5.5). The

copies vary: the kilts are often unpleated; the lateral edges of the aprons are mostly more concave in comparison to the royal standard but the lower edge of the apron is narrower than the upper one, and the garments are mostly held by a belt. As demonstrated above, the *royal-like dress* can be worn in several contexts: the scenes of fowling and fishing in the marshes, the offering scenes on the stelae from Abydos (Figures 6.1–6.3), even by subordinate figures in scenes of daily life as well as in funerary activities in the First Intermediate Period and at the very beginning of the Middle Kingdom. It is in this period that the *royal-like dress* finds its way even into the non-royal statuary and, as outlined above, the statues of the Middle Kingdom display fairly exact copies of the *royal kilt*.

In the literature, the *headband* is identified as having been adopted from the royal iconography in combination with the *royal kilt*. This accessory consists of a band encircling the head with two flowering papyrus umbels and two long straps at the back of the head. The argument that both iconographic elements were adopted together is not convincing. The headband is not restricted to the scenes of the tomb owner fowling and fishing, but can also be worn in other activities such as observing the fowling with the clapnet or the agricultural pursuits, or when inspecting cattle. According to Staehelin, the headband with flowering papyrus generally appears on the head of the tomb owner and his wife when depicted in outdoor contexts.¹³³ A review of the fowling and fishing scenes further provides us with an interesting observation: the preserved reliefs do not show the tomb owner with this headdress until the end of the 5th / beginning of the 6th Dynasty. To date, the earliest example appears in the tomb of Inyefret from the end of the 5th Dynasty; in this case, the headband is very unusual as it is without long straps and has two lotus flowers at the forehead as well as at the back. The common headdress with flowering papyrus and straps seems to appear for the first time in the fowling and fishing scenes in the tombs of Mereruka,¹³⁴ Hem-Min¹³⁵ and Akhethotep¹³⁶ at the beginning of the 6th Dynasty. At the end of the 5th Dynasty, the *marsh-hunting dress* consisting of the short kilt with the triangular apron, also found its way into the iconography. Therefore both the kilt with an apron and the headdress occur in the non-royal fowling and fishing scenes at approximately the same time, which could strengthen the theory that these motifs were adapted from their royal counterparts together. However, the earliest examples of the *marsh-hunting dress* in the tombs of Rashepses and Kayemnofret, do not feature the headdress. Especially in the Middle Kingdom, when in some necropoli the imitation of the *royal kilt* was fairly common, one would also expect to regularly find the headband. This is however not the case; it is not present in the scenes of Intef at Thebes or Senbi at Meir where copying the *royal kilt* is

fairly well established. It does not even occur in the large-scale paintings in the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan.

Although the New Kingdom scenes of fishing and fowling are not discussed here in detail, a brief overview should be given to complete the analysis. It seems that the imitation of the *royal kilt* was almost abandoned at that time; it can only be assumed for the tomb of Amenhotep (TT 73) where the owner wears a sort of rectangular apron.¹³⁷ By contrast, the tombs of Ineni (TT 81),¹³⁸ Intef (TT 155),¹³⁹ Baki (TT 18)¹⁴⁰ and Amenemhat (TT 123)¹⁴¹ show the marsh-hunting costume with the triangular apron. In the second half of the 18th Dynasty, approximately from the reign of Amenhotep II, the scenes feature the deceased wearing a short kilt in combination with a pointed apron, like in the tombs of Nakht (TT 52)¹⁴² and Menna (TT 69).¹⁴³ It is remarkable that the fowling and fishing scenes of the New Kingdom never depict the tomb owner wearing the headband.

Excursus: Fowling with the clapnet in the Old and Middle Kingdom

A possible transfer of the clapnet scene from the royal into the non-royal iconography has so far not been discussed; the reason for this was the absence of the scene among the known royal reliefs. However, in 2002, the excavations around the causeway of Sahure brought to light a fragment that shows an image of Sahure accompanied by his wife Meretnebt, fowling with the clapnet.¹⁴⁴ On a low platform, Sahure is seated on a throne decorated with *sm3 t3.wj*; he has a walking stick under his arm and is adorned with a uraeus and a ceremonial beard. His arms are outstretched, pulling a clapnet (now unfortunately lost) by its cord attached to a peg behind the throne. The king wears a fully pleated short kilt with a projecting triangular apron, also pleated and held by a sash.¹⁴⁵ This costume is restricted to the royal iconography at the time of the Old Kingdom.¹⁴⁶

The representation of an official handling the clapnet occurs only occasionally. There are in fact only five examples from the discussed periods that show the tomb owner actively participating in this operation. The Old Kingdom examples differ from each other and are less distinctive. In the tomb of Nefermaat and Atet at Meidum, Nefermaat is pulling the clapnet and wears a simple plain closed kilt, slightly parting on account of his stride.¹⁴⁷ In the tomb of Ty, by contrast, the tomb owner is acting as the scout,¹⁴⁸ hidden behind the reeds observing the net and waiting for the best moment to give a signal to the men to close the net. Ty's garment is more spectacular as he wears a projecting, vertically striped kilt over a plain kilt and a sash.¹⁴⁹

The scenes from the Middle Kingdom have more in common with each other and their concept is of special interest. They are obviously based on an Old

Kingdom royal prototype as they resemble the relief of Sahure. Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan (Figure 7.2)¹⁵⁰ and Djehutyhotep II at Deir el-Bersha (Figure 7.1)¹⁵¹ are both seated on a lion-legged chair on a low platform (or mat), with their feet, however, placed on the ground. In the royal relief, by contrast, both Sahure's throne and his feet are resting on such a base. The way the officials hold the rope is very similar to their royal counterpart; in the tomb of Khnumhotep II the rope is even identically attached to a peg behind the chair. The focus of our interest is their costume: Djehutyhotep II wears exactly the same garment as Sahure, which would indicate the direct modelling of this scene on the royal iconography. The garment worn by Khnumhotep II is the same in form, but the costume is not pleated and begins from above the waist and is held with an additional shoulder strap. The copying of the royal garment with a projecting triangular apron in these clapnet scenes in both tombs is significant inasmuch as Khnumhotep II and Djehutyhotep II did not imitate the royal *šnd.wt*-kilt in fowling and spear-fishing scenes.

Closing remarks

The ambition to present oneself in the best possible light is one of the ideas behind the decoration of the tombs of the officials, and it is undisputed, that to achieve this aim, the elite was inspired by the royal iconography. Adopting and adapting motifs was a natural consequence of the interaction of the people from different strata of society. In order to prove, however, that the one or other detail originates in the royal iconography the entire corpus of accessible material needs to be investigated. Based on such an analysis, interesting developments can be traced. This paper has aimed to illustrate that the imitation of the so-called *royal kilt* or *šnd.wt* by the high officials did not begin in the 5th Dynasty, at which time different garments were represented until the distinct *marsh-hunting dress* with a triangular apron started to appear. The imitation of the *royal kilt* and the adaptation of the *marsh-hunting dress* to make it resemble the king's attire, are attested for the first time in the First Intermediate Period and only appear frequently in the Middle Kingdom. At that time, the paintings and reliefs started to depict the kilt as pleated and held by a belt, the form of the apron becoming interchangeable. This *royal-like dress* features a trapezoidal apron with the lower edge narrower or just as wide as the upper edge. Despite the possibility that this resemblance to the *royal kilt* was intentional, it was never reproduced to perfection: hardly any depictions of fowling and fishing show the tomb owner wearing an exact copy of the *royal kilt*. In its statuary, however, the Middle Kingdom elite did not hesitate to take over a true imitation of the *royal kilt*. It is subject to further research to establish why such a difference in two- and three dimensional art existed. Be that as it may, the elite of the Middle Kingdom generally seems bold in

copying motifs from the royal repertoire, as exemplified by the scene of the deceased fowling with the clapnet where pictorial elements initially known from King Sahure's causeway subsequently recur in the decoration of non-royal tombs.

Bibliographic references: Figures 1–7

Figure 1.

Royal kilts.

(1.1) Menkaure, JE 46499: Sourouzian, in Hawass (ed), *Treasures of the Pyramids*, 372.

(1.2) Senwosret I, UC14786: Schäfer / Andrae, *Kunst des Alten Orients*, 287.

Non-royal kilts, late OK and FIP (tomb owner / fowling and spear-fishing).

(1.3) Idu I: Petrie, *Dendereh 1898*, pl. V.

(1.4) Ankhtifi (Vandier, *Moalla*, pl. XL.

Figure 2

Non-royal kilts, OK (tomb owner / fowling and spear-fishing).

(2.1) Niankhkhnum: Moussa / Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, fig. 6.

(2.2) Za-ib: Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, pl. 181.

(2.3) Rashepses: Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* II, pl. 60 [left].

(2.4) Mereruka: Wreszinski, *Atlas* III, pl. 106 [A].

(2.5) Ibi: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi* I, pl. III.

(2.6) Inyefret: Schürmann, *Grab des Pyramidenvorstehers Ii-nefret*, fig. 6[b].

Figure 3

Non-royal kilts, MK (tomb owner / fowling and spear-fishing).

(3.1) Khesw the Elder: Silverman, *The tomb chamber of Hsw the Elder*, pl. 31.

(3.2) Khesw the Elder: Silverman, *The tomb chamber of Hsw the Elder*, pl. 31.

(3.3) Khety: Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, pl. XI.

(3.4) Djehutyhotep II: Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. VIII.

(3.5) (3.6) Khnumhotep II: Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pls. XXXII, XXXIV.

Figure 4

Non-royal kilts, MK (tomb owner / fowling and spear-fishing)

(4.1) (4.2) Senbi: Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* I, pl. II.

(4.3) (4.4) Ukhhotep III: Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* VI, pl. XIII.

(4.5) Djefaihapi: El-Khadragy, *BACE* 18 (2007) fig. 5.

(4.6) Hepi (Berlin 1118): Wreszinski, *Atlas* III, textfig. 106.1.

Figure 5

Non-royal kilts, MK (tomb owner / fowling and spear-fishing).

(5.1) Imenyseneb: Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynkos*, pl. 28 [upper left].

(5.2) Sobeknakht: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas* II, pl. 254 [K 2.127].

(5.3) (5.4) Intef: Jaroš-Deckert, *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f*, figs. 16, 22.

(5.5) (5.6) Sarenput I: Müller, *Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine*, figs. 5, 16.

Figure 6

Non-royal kilts, MK (stelae from Abydos).

(6.1) (6.2) (6.3) CG 20392, CG 20137, CG 20243: Lange / Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs* IV, pls. 126 (nos. 303, 298), 121 (no. 226).

Figure 7

Non-royal kilts, MK (tomb owner / fowling with clapnet).

(7.1) Djehutyhotep II: Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. XVII.

(7.2) Khnumhotep II: Shedid, *Felsgräber von Beni Hassan in Mittelägypten*, fig. 108.

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- ¹ The present paper was compiled as part of the MeKeTRE Project funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, Project No. P 21571-G21) and conducted at the Institute of Egyptology in cooperation with the Department of Distributed and Multimedia Systems at the University of Vienna. I would like to thank Professor Peter Janosi for his constructive comments and support, and Professor E. Christiana Köhler for proofreading the manuscript. Special thanks also go to Dr Susanne Binder for accepting the article for publication in this issue of *BACE* and for her editorial assistance.
- ² L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, II: Die Wandbilder (Leipzig, 1913) Bl. 16; B. Porter / R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, III (Oxford, 1974), 328 [9–10]; see also: W. Decker / M. Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, I. Abt.: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 14/I (Leiden, 1994) 383 [K 2.5]. For the 4th Dynasty, there are indications that such a scene decorated the so-called Valley Temple of the Bent Pyramid of Snofru at Dahshur: A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, II: *The Valley Temple (I). The Temple Reliefs* (Cairo, 1961) 129, fig. 149; also: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas*, I, 382–383 [K 2.2].
- ³ Borchardt, *Sahure II*, Bl. 15; PM III, 326 [2]; also: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 383 [K 2.4].
- ⁴ C.M. Firth, "Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Saqqara (October 1928 to March 1929)" in: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 29 (1929) 65–66, pl. II; PM III², 398; also: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 383 [K 2.3]. Another fragment from the same temple showing the king throwing a harpoon also supports this interpretation: Firth, in: *ASAE* 29 (1929) 66; this might have been the spear-fishing scene, which appeared side-by-side with the fowling scene.
- ⁵ L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re* (Leipzig, 1907) 37–38, fig. 16; PM III.1, 335; also: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 384 [K 2.8].
- ⁶ A.M. Moussa / H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 21 (Mainz, 1977) 58–60, pl. 4, fig. 5; 60–61, pl. 5, fig. 6; 150–52, pl. 74–75. The oldest example from the private tombs, however, seems to come from the 4th Dynasty, namely from the tomb of Nefermaat at Meidum. The scene was described by Mariette but is now unfortunately lost: A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1885) 473; Y. Harpur, *The tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum. Discovery, Destruction and Reconstruction* (Cheltenham, 2001) 180. According to E. Feucht ("Fishing and Fowling with the spear and the throw-stick reconsidered" in: U. Luft [ed.], *The intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies presented to László Kákósy by friends and colleagues on the occasion of his 60th birthday*, Studia Aegyptiaca XIV (Budapest, 1992) 160, 168), the oldest known example comes from the tomb of Nebemakhet (S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, IV [Cairo, 1943] 134–135, fig. 77, pl. 37). This image does, however, not depict the tomb owner fowling but papyrus rattling. Another example under discussion comes from the tomb of Nesutpuneter at Giza, dated to the reign of Sahure. Like the scene from Meidum, this scene is only known from a

description: H. Junker, *Giza*, III (Wien, 1938) 51. Fragment J 954 (2605) from the tomb of Ptahshepses at Abusir may also come from a fowling scene (date: Niuserre – Menkauhor), but this remains uncertain, as only a hand holding a curved stick-like object is preserved: B. Vachala, *Die Relieffragmente aus der Mastaba des Ptahshepses in Abusir*, Abusir VIII (Prague, 2004) 32–33. Y. Harpur, *The Oxford Expedition to Egypt Scene-details Database* (http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/archive/oe_ahr_2006/) also lists the scene in the tomb of Khufukhaef II at Giza from the reign of Niuserre (OEE 1.1.[12]; W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, Giza Mastabas III [Boston, 1978] 24, pl. 37[a], fig. 47), but this seems to be papyrus rattling on account of the papyrus thicket depicted behind the figure holding a papyrus stalk in his left hand.

7 See: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 282.

8 See: Borchardt, *Sahure II*, pl. 16.

9 The bibliographic references for the Figures are listed at the end of this article. H. Bonnet, *Die Ägyptische Tracht bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1917) 14, pl. II.8c, suggested, however, that the apron was part of the kilt and created by folding. It appears more likely that the apron was a separate item, as suggested by G.M. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*, Studies in Textile and Costume History II (Leiden, 1993) 32–33.

10 The Djoser's relief from the Step Pyramid shows the king wearing an early form of the royal kilt with a prototype of the royal apron (G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1997) 43, fig. 39; A.M. Firth / J.E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid, Excavations at Saqqara II* (Cairo, 1935) pl. 16). The apron has a simple trapezoidal form and is not yet pleated. The kilt was not drawn in the facsimile by F.D. Friedman "The Underground relief panels of King Djoser" in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 32 (1995) fig. 2a (middle).

11 For example: Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II/1*, figs. 99, 102, 126, 134 (= pl. 21), 152, 153.

12 For example: Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II/2*, pl. 33.

13 For example: JE 36143 – H. Sourouzian, "Royal and Private Statues of the Old Kingdom" in: Z. Hawass (ed.), *The Treasures of the Pyramids* (Vercelli, 2003) 371 (left).

14 For example: CG 14 – Sourouzian, in: Hawass (ed.), *Treasures of the Pyramids*, 371 right.

15 For example: JE 46499 – Sourouzian, in: Hawass (ed.), *Treasures of the Pyramids*, 372). See also JE 09200, 40678, 40679 – F.D. Friedman, "The Menkaure Dyad(s)" in: S.E. Thompson / P. der Manuelian (eds.), *Egypt and Beyond* (Providence, 2008) 109–44.

16 For example: CG 418 – H.G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* (München, 1929) pl. 34.

17 For example: Berlin 7264, CG 432, CG 430 – Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, pls. 64, 65–67.

18 For example: CG 42011 – Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, pl. 80.

19 For example: CG 385 – Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, pl. 102.

20 UC14786 – H. Schäfer / W. Andrae, *Kunst des Alten Orients*, Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte (Berlin, 1925) 287.

21 MFA 11.1738 – Friedman, in: Thompson / der Manuelian (eds.), *Egypt and Beyond* (Providence, 2008) 109–44, fig. 1.

22 In this article, the dates of the Old Kingdom tombs are based on the *The Oxford Expedition to Egypt Scene-details Database* by Yvonne Harpur. For the list of Old Kingdom examples showing the tomb owner fowling and fishing see: OEE 1.1. [1–93].

- ²³ Compare: E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*, MÄS 8 (Berlin, 1966) 8 (γ); Bonnet, *Ägyptische Tracht*, 26.
- ²⁴ Moussa / Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 58–60, pl. 4, fig. 5; 60–61, pl. 5, fig. 6; 150–152, pl. 75.
- ²⁵ Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 386 [K 2.11]; II, pl. 211; PM III², 594 [8].
- ²⁶ A.M. Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, Giza Mastabas VI (Boston, 1995) 111, pls. 73 [a, b], 181.
- ²⁷ Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Egyptian Pharaonic Clothing*, 55–57.
- ²⁸ For the date, see also A. Woods, "Contribution to a controversy: a date for the tomb of K3(=i)-m-ḥj at Giza" in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 95 (2009) 169.
- ²⁹ W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur Altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte III* (Leipzig, 1936) 81, fig. 41.4.
- ³⁰ C.R. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Zweite Abt.: *Denkmaeler des Alten Reiches III* (Berlin, 1849–1859) pl. 60 (left); PM III², 495 [2].
- ³¹ Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 391–392 [K 2.30]; II, pl. 216; PM III, 81 [7].
- ³² Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, 241–46, pl. 106 [A]; P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka I* (Chicago, 1938) pl. 15; Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, 236–40, pl. 105 [A]; Duell, *Mereruka I*, pl. 9.
- ³³ P. Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi*, Monographien der Abegg-Stiftung Bern 8 (Bern, 1976) 9–12, Nr. 1, 1 [a].
- ³⁴ A.M. Blackmann / M.R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir V* (London, 1953) 32, pls. 24, 57; 34–35, pls. 28, 60[1].
- ³⁵ N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish V* (Sydney, 1985) 18, pls. 1, 3[a], figs. 6–7.
- ³⁶ N. de G. Davies, *Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi I* (London, 1902) 12, pl. 3; 13–14, pl. 5.
- ³⁷ J. de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique I* (Vienna, 1894) 159 [lower]; PM V, 235 [1–2]; also: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 412–13 [K 2.81].
- ³⁸ W. Schürmann, *Die Reliefs aus dem Grab des Pyramidenvorstehers Ii-nefret* (Karlsruhe, 1983) 31–32, figs. 6 [a–b], 21; also: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 402–03 [K 2.61].
- ³⁹ B. van de Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Nefererirtenef* (Brussels, 1978) 65–69, pls. 1, 20 [lower]; also: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 388 [K 2.17].
- ⁴⁰ H.F. Petrie, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels* (London, 1952) 8, 19–20, pl. VI [lower]; also: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 409 [K 2.74].
- ⁴¹ H. Junker, *Giza IV* (Vienna, 1940) 27–35, fig. 8; N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza I* (Warminster, 2001) 30–32, pls. 7, 31.
- ⁴² W.M.F. Petrie, *Dendereh 1898* (London, 1900) 8, 45, pl. 5.
- ⁴³ Example of quite a long and narrow apron: Khuwenwekh – A. el-Khouli / N. Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna* (Sydney, 1989) 46–47, pls. 1 [upper], 13, 37, 38; example of a plain closed kilt: J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1905-1906* (Cairo, 1907) 26, pl. 20[4]; Sabni – Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 417 [K 2.96]; II, pl. 239).
- ⁴⁴ J. Vandier, *Moalla, La Tombe d'Ankhtifi et la Tombe de Sébekhotep* (Cairo, 1950) 129–34, pl. 13, figs. 65–66; 134–43, pls. 14 [lower], 40, figs. 67, 73.
- ⁴⁵ It is, however, possible that the pleating in some examples was executed in paint and is now lost.
- ⁴⁶ The loop and the long tie ends do not appear in two-dimensional royal art where the *royal kilt* is held by a belt: Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II/1*, figs. 99, 150, 152–53.
- ⁴⁷ In the following, the necropoli are presented in geographical order from north to south.

- 48 D.P. Silverman, *The tomb chamber of Hsw the Elder: The Inscribed Material at Kom El-Hisn*, I (Winona Lake, 1988) pls. 31, 34, also pl. 30 [a, b].
- 49 H.G. Fischer, *The Tomb of Ip at el Saff* (New York, 1996) 13, pls. A, F.
- 50 P.E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II* (London, 1893) 33–34, pl. 29.
- 51 Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, 47, pl. 4.
- 52 Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, 55–56, pl. 11.
- 53 The kilts of Khety and Baket III are slightly projecting; compare this, for example, to G. Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti* (Leipzig, 1913) pls. 128, 130.
- 54 P.E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I* (London, 1893) 70, pls. 32, 34; A.G. Shedid, *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan in Mittelägypten* (Mainz, 1994) fig. 89.
- 55 P.E. Newberry, *El Bersheh I* (London, 1895) 14–15, pls. 8–9.
- 56 The kilt can only be discerned in the fowling scene. In the spear-fishing scene, Djehutihotep seems to wear a different type of kilt unfortunately no longer preserved: Newberry, *El Bersheh*, I, 15.
- 57 A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir I* (London, 1914) 27–28, pls. 2, 16.
- 58 A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir VI* (London, 1953) 25–29, pls. 13–14, 24, 25.1, 31.2–3.
- 59 See: Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir VI*, 15.
- 60 See: Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir VI*, 26, pl. 31.2. According to Evers (*Staat aus dem Stein*, 37), the dagger with the belt already appears in the royal reliefs on Sinai (cf. Schäfer / Andrae, *Kunst des Alten Orients*, 185). Subsequently, it is worn by the bowman in the tomb of Senbi (B1) at Meir (Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir I*, 31, fig. 7, pls. 6, 22[3]). In the New Kingdom, it appears in the reliefs of Ahmose (Schäfer / Andrae, *Kunst des Alten Orients*, 345). In the stuary, the dagger does not occur until Thutmose III (CG 42064:G. Legrain, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 42001 – 42138, Statues et Statuettes de Rois et de Particuliers I* (Cairo, 1906) 38, pl. 37). While it is often missing in the 18th Dynasty, it is depicted regularly in the 19th Dynasty. The dagger depicted in the tomb of Ukhhotep III is similar to the dagger found in the tomb of Princess Ita, situated near to the pyramid of Amenemhet II at Dahshur (Schäfer / Andrae, *Kunst des Alten Orients*, 297 [4]).
- 61 M. El-Khadragy, "Fishing, Fowling and Animal-handling in the Tomb of Djefaihapi I at Asyut" in: *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 18 (2007) 126–28, figs. 5–6.
- 62 W.F.M. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynkos* (London, 1925) 11, pl. 28 [upper left].
- 63 Uppsala 236: P. Lugin, *Ausgewählte Denkmäler aus ägyptischen Sammlungen in Schweden* (Leipzig, 1922) 23, pl. 17 [23].
- 64 Stachelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 9[β]. For a similar garment, where the apron seems to project and where the lines run in the same direction, see: W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, Giza Mastabas II (Boston, 1976) fig. 34.
- 65 Stachelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 7[β].
- 66 B. Jaroš-Deckert, *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f. Die Wandmalereien der XI. Dynastie*, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 12 (Mainz, 1984) 72–73, pl. 22.
- 67 Jaroš-Deckert, *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f.*, 65, fig. 16.
- 68 It is unclear whether the tunic was short or long, but it appears to have been rather short as its pattern seems different from that of the kilt.
- 69 Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 430 [K 2.127]; II, pl. 254 [upper].

- 70 H.W. Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine aus der Zeit des Mittleren Reiches*, ÄF 9 (Glückstadt, 1940) 32, fig. 5.
- 71 Müller, *Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine*, 43, fig. 16.
- 72 Berlin 1118: Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, fig. 106.1; PM III²/2, 700.
- 73 Berlin 1119: Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, fig. 105.3; PM III²/2, 700.
- 74 Vandier, *Moalla*, figs. 5, 15, 57, pls. 14, 28, 29, 31, 35, 39, 40, 43.
- 75 Jaroš-Deckert, *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f*, figs. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, pls. 13, 16, 17, 18, 19.
- 76 Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir I*, pl. 9.
- 77 Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir VI*, pl. 11.
- 78 Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir VI*, pl. 17; most probably also on the south wall of the statue niche, in the same context: Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir VI*, pl. 15.
- 79 Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine*, fig. 22.
- 80 H.O. Lange / H. Schäfer, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 20001 – 20780, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs IV* (Berlin, 1902) pls. 13; 76 (no. 300).
- 81 Lange / Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pls. 23, 76 (no. 303).
- 82 Lange / Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pls. 28, 76 (no. 303).
- 83 Lange / Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pls. 53, 76 (no. 301).
- 84 Lange / Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pls. 33, 76 (no. 304).
- 85 Lange / Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pl. 71 (no. 221).
- 86 Lange / Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pl. 77 (no. 306).
- 87 Lange / Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pl. 77 (no. 307).
- 88 Lange / Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pl. 76 (no. 296).
- 89 Lange / Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pls. 33, 76 (no. 294).
- 90 Lange / Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pls. 12, 76 (no. 298).
- 91 Lange / Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pls. 19, 71 (no. 226).
- 92 Z. Goneim, *Horus Sekhem-khet, The unfinished step pyramid at Saqqara I* (Cairo, 1957) 22, pl. 66.
- 93 See e.g.: A. Piankoff, *The pyramid of Unas* (Princeton, 1968) pls. 24, 25.
- 94 For the records of the term dated to the Old Kingdom see: R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I, Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit* (Mainz, 2003) 1314–15 (33336).
- 95 Compare: A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (Oxford, ³1957) 507 (sign S 26).
- 96 For the records of the term dated to the Middle Kingdom see: R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II, Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit, II* (Mainz, 2006) 2478 (33336).
- 97 M.G. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, MIFAO 47 (Cairo, 1921) 18.
- 98 Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, 20.
- 99 See P.M. Lacau, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 28001 – 28086, Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire, I and II* (Cairo, 1904–1906), fig. 394 (CG 28034: 91 [30]; CG 28036: 104 [31]; CG 28037: 111 [26]; CG 28038: 119 [13]; CG 28087: 6 [30]; CG 28088: 15 [40]; CG 28092: 57 [52]); fig. 393 (CG 28035: 98 [11]; CG 28091: 42 [16], 43 [25], 50 [107]). The term is, however, also used in connection to another garment and the *royal kilt* may also be designated with other expressions. On the coffin CG 28089 (Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, 22 [16], fig. 407) the garment referred to is in fact a short closed kilt elaborately decorated and with a tail.

- On the coffins CG 28034 (Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, 91 [31], fig. 393) and CG 28035 (Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, 98 [12], fig. 394) the image of the *royal kilt* is described as *bs3w*. The term is commonly used to describe a kilt made of pearls (cf. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, 21).
- ¹⁰⁰ Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, 21. The pleated apron also appears separately in the object friezes, it is mostly described as *b3h.yt* (Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, 22). It can have straight as well as concave lateral edges and the lower edge can both be narrower and wider than the upper one (e.g. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, 22, figs. 55–56). This means that its shape does not always match with the shape of the royal apron. However, it is not significant for the definition of the form of the *royal kilt* as in these cases the apron does not appear in the combination with the kilt. Furthermore, it can occur without pleating.
- ¹⁰¹ Compare Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 106–08.
- ¹⁰² CG 37, CG 196, CG 201: L. Borchardt, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 1–1294, Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten I* (Berlin, 1911) 34, 133–134, 136. See also B. Fay, "Royal women as represented in sculpture during the Old Kingdom" in: N. Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire* (Cairo, 1998) 166–67, figs. 14[b] and 15[a–c].
- ¹⁰³ Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 5–6.
- ¹⁰⁴ E. Staehelin, "Die Statuengruppe von Tjenti und Iimeretef: Eine Ehrengattung" in: *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 136/2 (2009) 170–71.
- ¹⁰⁵ Compare Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 249.
- ¹⁰⁶ BM 37896: B. Porter / R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/2 (Oxford, 1999) 788; E.R. Russmann, *Eternal Egypt, Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum* (London, 2001) 89–91, fig. 48.
- ¹⁰⁷ MMA 10.176.59–60: Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 249, FN 4; W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: a background for the study of the Egyptian antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art I* (New York, 1990) 211, fig. 129.
- ¹⁰⁸ Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 249.
- ¹⁰⁹ MMA 33.1.1 (Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 249, pl. 77[2]; A. Lansing / W.C. Hayes, "The Egyptian Expedition: The Excavations at Lisht" in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 28, No. 11/2: The Egyptian and Persian Expedition 1932–1933 (Nov. 1933) 23, fig. 28.
- ¹¹⁰ Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine*, 80–81, pl. 37.
- ¹¹¹ CG 404 and CG 405: Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten II*, 17–18, pl. 66.
- ¹¹² Also CG 464 (Elephantine): Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten II*, 55, pl. 77; CG 481 (Abydos): Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten II*, 62–63, pl. 80). There are also standing stone statues like CG 465 (Abydos: Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten II*, 55–56, Blatt 77).
- ¹¹³ Bonnet, *Ägyptische Tracht*, 26; Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 8(γ).
- ¹¹⁴ Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Egyptian Pharaonic Clothing*, 55–57 tries to show that the kilt and the sash were two separate items. This explanation of the kilt's design appears more suitable than Bonnet's, who argued that after wrapping the cloth around the body its upper corners were tied at the front (*Ägyptische Tracht*, 17–18). Furthermore, the cloth was very often turned inside out at the waist, which is indicated in the reliefs as a narrow strip reminiscent of a belt.
- ¹¹⁵ Bonnet, *Ägyptische Tracht*, 11.
- ¹¹⁶ J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne IV* (Paris, 1964) 718.
- ¹¹⁷ Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 252.

- 118 Feucht, in: U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, 168.
- 119 It has to remain unclear whether the ends were already rounded in the production of the kilts or whether this was achieved through some folding of the cloth. Vogelsang-Eastwood (*Egyptian Pharaonic Clothing*, 55) also suggested that this feature was most probably created by wrapping the cloth around the body, where one of its ends was tucked into the sash worn around the waist; this would, however, only explain the curve of one of its ends. Bonnet assumed that the piece of cloth was rectangular and that the rounding was achieved by elaborate folding (*Ägyptische Tracht*, 14, pl. II, fig. 8). Both ideas are not fully satisfactory. By tucking one end of the cloth into the sash or by folding the cloth, the outer layer of the garment would inevitably be uneven.
- 120 van de Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Nefererirtenef*, pl. 1.
- 121 Schürmann, *Grab des Pyramidenvorstehers Ii-nefret*, figs. 6 [a, b], 21.
- 122 Petrie, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 6 [lower].
- 123 N. Kanawati, *Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish V*, 18, pls. 1, 3 [a], figs. 6–7.
- 124 Bonnet, *Ägyptische Tracht*, 1–5, 10–11.
- 125 LD II, pl. 60 [left].
- 126 H. Junker, *Giza XI* (Vienna, 1953) 139–142, fig. 60, pl. 16 [c].
- 127 CG 1775 – L. Borchardt, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 1295–1808, Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, II (Cairo, 1964) 195–196, pl. 105. The kilts of the accompanying figures are simpler with the apron not covered by the kilt.
- 128 Davies, *Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi I*, pls. 3, 5.
- 129 Petrie, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 6 [lower].
- 130 J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte, l'âge de la pierre et les métaux* (Paris, 1896) fig. 516; PM III, 891–92; also: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 394–95 [K 2.38].
- 131 W.S. Smith, "The judge goes fishing" in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 56, no. 304 (1958) 58–60, fig. 2; also: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 399 [K 2.49].
- 132 It is noteworthy that Khnumhotep II (Beni Hassan) and Hepi (Saqqara) do not wear the headband, as if its absence and the use of the hunting dress underlined an intention to continue the tradition of the Old Kingdom.
- 133 Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 150.
- 134 Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, pl. 106 [A]; P. Duell, *Mereruka*, I, pl. 15.
- 135 Kanawati, *Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish V*, 18, pls. 1, 3 [a], figs. 6, 7.
- 136 Petrie, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. VI [lower].
- 137 Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 434 [K 2.137].
- 138 Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 432 [K 2.133].
- 139 Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 432–33 [K 2.134].
- 140 Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 434–35 [K 2.138].
- 141 Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 437 [K 2.146].
- 142 Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 447–48 [K 2.169].
- 143 Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 438–49 [K 2.172].
- 144 T. El Awady, "The royal family of Sahura. New evidence" in: M. Bárta / F. Coppens / J. Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2005* (Prague, 2006) 201, fig. 5.
- 145 Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Egyptian Pharaonic Clothing*, 41–46, fig. 3:16 [right]: the apron as a separate item; but see also: Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 10–11.
- 146 Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 11.
- 147 H. Junker, *Giza XII* (Wien, 1955) fig. 2; also: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 458 [K 3.6].

- ¹⁴⁸ Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 116; also: Decker / Herb, *Bildatlas I*, 477–479 [K 3.42].
- ¹⁴⁹ Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Egyptian Pharaonic Clothing*, 58–59, fig. 4:9.
- ¹⁵⁰ Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, 70, pl. 33; also: Shedid, *Felsgräber von Beni Hassan*, fig. 108.
- ¹⁵¹ Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, 26, pl. 17. For a second scene in the tomb of Djehutyhotep II showing the tomb owner fowling with the clapnet together with his son, see Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, 30–32, pl. 20: both are in striding position and wearing a short plain closed kilt, and pulling the net together.