The Social and Ritual Contextualisation of Ancient Egyptian Hair and Hairstyles from the Protodynastic to the End of the Old Kingdom

Volume 1 (Text)

By

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I, Geoffrey John Tassie, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

Hair, the most malleable part of the human body, lends itself to the most varied forms of impermanent modifications. The resulting hairstyles convey social practices and norms, and may be regarded as part of the “representation of self” and an integral element in the maintenance and structuring of society. In this thesis, a systematic and quantitative investigation has been undertaken of the structural relationships between variations in hairstyles and principal changes in social organisation in ancient Egypt from the Protodynastic to the end of the Old Kingdom (3,350-2,181 BC), a period that witnessed the rise, consolidation and eventually breakdown of centralised authority.

The results reveal that hairstyles were linked to the identity of individuals and social groups, such as men, women, children and the elderly. Hairstyles were used as a means of displaying status. After experimentation with a broad spectrum of hairstyles during the Protodynastic and early Dynasty I, an institutionalised canon for hairstyles was established, coinciding with the creation of administrative institutions. These codified hairstyles continued to serve as the norms for identifying members of the administration or signs of authority. By the end of the Old Kingdom, the hairstyles of the elite had been adopted by the lower officials of the increased bureaucracy and provincial elites as representations of their newly acquired power and status.

Although initially the majority of the men had their hair cut short, modifications of short hair and the adoption of mid- and shoulder-length hair became progressively common. The use of certain hairstyles was restricted to the higher social offices, with longer hair being emblematic of power and divinity. Women, by contrast, initially had long hair with greater variety occurring by Dynasty I and a more restricted array from Dynasty II onwards. However, long hair was predominant among women of all social statuses in all periods. Long hair may have thus been related to the perception of women as mothers (responsible for childbirth and nursing), and hence their perceived role as directly linked with procreation and fecundity. Although the adoption of the tripartite by high officials was related to this ‘generative’ aspect of feminine hairstyles, it was primarily in imitation of the God Osiris and his regenerative powers.
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PART ONE

Theory and Method
INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH PROBLEM, QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

She casts the noose at me with her hair, with her eyes she catches me, (and) with her necklace she causes me to bow down, with her seal (ring), she braids me.

(Chester Beatty Papyrus R17/2-3)

1.0 Introduction

Most attention focused on the human body is on the head, and in ancient Egypt the head could stand alone as a symbol for the whole person (Wilkinson 1992: 41). As the hair on the head continually grows, framing the face, its form also attracts significant interest. Therefore, hair often appears in various cultural contexts as a synecdoche for the whole body: like the head, hair readily serves as a smaller and more easily manipulated surrogate for the body, hence its tendency to appear in symbolic representation as a bearer of identity for the entire person (Hiltebeitel & Miller 1998).

The head is an important focus of bodily modification and hair, being the most malleable part of the human body, which can be formed painlessly into various styles, attracts the most varied forms of impermanent modification. Hairstyles reflect social factors and are symbolic of the society that created them, often being used to send out various social signals. Hairstyles as a “representation of self” were an integral part of the generation, maintenance and structuring of Egyptian society. Variations in ancient Egypt hairstyles were not for fashionable reasons, but reflected changes in Egyptian identity and the establishment and development of social organisation.

1.1 Research Problem

This is a systematic study intended to investigate the relationship between variations in hairstyles and changes in the social organisation of complex society in ancient Egypt. The focus of this research is the rise, consolidation, and collapse of state in Egypt during the Protodynastic (3,350-3050 BC), Early Dynastic (3,050-2,613) and Old Kingdom (2,613-2,181 BC).

1.2 Research Questions and Hypotheses

1. How were hairstyles linked to identity?

Hypothesis 1
a. Social distinctions should be seen in the hairstyles associated with class, age, gender, and religion/ritual.

b. Different and diverse hairstyling traditions up to political unification, particularly between Lower and Upper Egypt. This may be visible on monuments such as the ceremonial palettes and maceheads.

c. Distinct male and female styles to define the changing gender roles.

d. Distinct childhood and adulthood styles, delineating each age group. Certain hairstyles or rituals marking various life crises or rites of passage, e.g. that marking the transition into adulthood.

e. The growth of religious ideals being accompanied by the development of religious regalia and possibly changes in hairstyles.

f. Certain hairstyles associated with specific ritual activities.

g. Foreign influence in hairstyles as a result of the Egyptian state expanding or due to greater interregional contact.

2. Status is implicit in complex societies; how was it conveyed through the hairstyles of the ancient Egyptians?

**Hypothesis 2**

a. Certain hairstyles associated with particular social status.

b. Restriction in the use of particular hairstyles due to them being socially managed to perpetuate social distinctions.

c. Emulation of hairstyles due to social mobility.

3. How did variations in hairstyles reflect the temporal change and mode of social organisation?

**Hypothesis 3**

a. During political unification (a process beginning in the Protodynastic and continuing through the Early Dynastic) experimentation in hairstyles might be expected in an attempt to form codified hairstyles in the newly formed nation state, thus helping to strengthen the bond. Use of both Upper and Lower Egyptian hairstyles to maintain this bond.

b. Full codification of ‘typically’ Egyptian hairstyles, with limited experimentation as part of the consolidation of the state and national identity, continuing throughout the Old Kingdom as the bureaucratic system developed and expanded.

c. With an increase in the amount and power of officials in Dynasty VI, the widespread use of the codified hairstyles of the courtly elite amongst the local nobility is expected, a process continuing into the First Intermediate Period.

**1.3 Objectives**

I aim to test from iconographical and textual data, how hairstyles became a means of social negotiations for power and how the ruling elite manipulated hairstyles to project their social status. I aim to show how hairstyling was socially managed to perpetuate
social distinctions in the various facets of society (such as social class, age, gender, sexuality, ritual, and national identity). The relations and interactions of people can be more fully understood by understanding unwritten social communicators. As Trigger (1993: 68-9) observes, a systematic study of ancient Egyptian status symbols including hairstyles, is long overdue, for they can help illuminate social relationships.

I also aim to:

1. Illuminate the mechanisms that drove stylistic change in hairstyles.
2. Formulate a theory explaining the symbolism that lay behind the various hairstyles.
3. Examine if certain hairstyles were associated with particular rituals, jobs and status of people.
4. The role of the hairstylist and barber in cultural transmission.

1.4 A Historiography of Dynastic Traditions

Before considering the data it is necessary to frame the chronological context. Manetho’s division of ancient Egypt into a linear sequence of 30 Dynasties (Wadell 1946) to which a 31\textsuperscript{st}, the Second Persian Period, was subsequently added (and even more if one includes Dynasties ‘0’, ‘00’ and -1 a practice generally not regarded as reflecting real political divisions [Hassan et al. 2007: 688-9]) is unknown from the ancient Egyptian sources (Jiménez Fernández & Jiménez Serrano 2006). However, Manetho’s divisions do bear a close resemblance to the groupings of kings on such king lists as the Turin Royal Canon and follow the same chronological sequence (Shaw & Nicholson 1995: 89). Therefore, it seems that Manetho, an Egyptian priest of the Third Century BC, had access to temple records to give his work (of which only summaries exist of the now lost \textit{Aegyptiaca}) a degree of detail and authority (Kemp 2006: 14). The division of ancient Egyptian chronology into kingdoms was first undertaken by the German historian Christian Bunsen (1848-67) who, influenced by the cyclical view of history that regarded cultures as waxing and waning, divided it into three periods where he deemed Egyptian culture to be highly developed: these he termed the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. This system was developed and made more popular by Richard Lepsius (1848; 1849; 1860), and in the first half of the twentieth century the term Intermediate Period was coined to describe the periods of disunity that came between these periods of ‘stability’. Although this scheme was not originally accepted, primarily by the French school of Egyptologists led by Auguste Mariette, by the turn of the century for convenience this ordering of Egyptian history into 31 dynasties further divided by phases (kingdoms) had become the framework of Egyptian chronology (Kemp 2006: 14; Leclant 1999: 3; Gardiner 1961: 16; James 1991: 223). These
divisions contain five major phases – Early Dynastic, Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom and Late Period – separated by three intermediate periods and followed by the Ptolemaic, Roman, Late Antique (Byzantine) and Arab.

Although this system was frequently revised [by early Egyptologists during the formative periods of Egyptology] (James 1991); a generally accepted framework has now been established (see Appendix 4). Although this framework has many flaws, including when the dynastic lines started and ended and even the absolute dates for various periods of Egypt’s history, particularly the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period (James 1991), this is not the place to critique Egyptian chronological schemes. Although work on refining Egypt’s chronology is still progressing, it is with early Egypt that most progress is currently being made and is more open to developments. By the end of the nineteenth century more and more artefacts were being excavated that obviously predated the Old Kingdom, primarily by De Morgan (1896; 1897) and Amélineau (1899; 1902; 1904; 1905). Initially, even Petrie politely dismissed De Morgan’s first volume of Predynastic and Archaic objects (Drowser 1985: 225). However, after excavating Koptos (1896) and reassessing De Morgan’s work he produced a prehistoric cultural sequence (1899) and by 1900 he had produced his first volume on the Dynasty I royal tombs at Abydos.

In 1901 Petrie proclaimed that it was 21 years since he began work in Egypt, stating that in those days the Great Pyramid of Khufu was our boundary of history, but now we can trace monumental history back to the very beginning of written records (Drowser 1985: 263-4). In fact, Petrie almost single-handedly went on to demonstrate a sequence of advanced Neo-Chalcolithic cultures termed the Predynastic, publishing Prehistoric Egypt in 1920 and Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes in 1921. Petrie’s original sequence has been much refined (Kaiser 1957; Hendrickx 1996; 1999) as has his terminology: the Amratian, Gerzean, Semainean being replaced with Naqada I, II and III for the Upper Egyptian cultural phases and with the discovery of indigenous Lower Egyptian material culture Maadi-Buto (Kemp 2006: 15)¹. Recent papers are now seeing even greater regional differences in the Predynastic industries (Hassan et al. 2007; Köhler 1995; 1996; in press). Sometimes the terms Naqada and Maadi-Buto are used in a cultural sense, sometimes in a chronological one. However, the industrial complexes in Egypt were not uniform Epi-Palaeolithic, Neolithic or Chalcolithic

¹ Before Naqada I is the Badarian and even older cultures stretching back into the Palaeolithic and in the Delta before Maadi-Buto the Merimidian phase and the newly discovered Khattabian Epi-Palaeolithic phase. The cultural phase Naqada IIIIC correlates with Dynasty I and Naqada IIID with Dynasty II.
cultures and do not easily fit into these categorisations, also semi-sedentary hunter-gather-fisher pottery producers still existed alongside nomadic pastoralists in various parts of what is now termed Egypt. The inherent problems of this evolutionary material culture scheme has led to some scholars using spatially specific socio-economic definitions to describe the early cultures of Egypt, such as sedentary hunter-fisher-gathers or agropastoralists followed by the name of the site or region (Garcea 2006; Kuper & Kröpelin 2006). The term Archaic, which originally referred to the first two dynasties has now largely been replaced by the term Early Dynastic Period that includes the first three dynasties, owing to closer cultural and political similarities (Wilkinson 1999). With the discovery of local rulers before Dynasty I, the term Dynasty 0 was introduced, although this is gradually being replaced by the term Protodynastic as a more descriptive term (Hassan et al. 2007: 289). The use of radiocarbon dating has also helped refine the sequence and date of the Predynastic (Hassan 1985; Hassan & Robinson 1987; Hassan et al. 2007).

1.5 Background to Egyptian Civilisation

During the late fourth millennium BC Egyptian society became increasingly hierarchical with more wealth and power being held by fewer members of society and separate burial grounds being established for the rulers (Hassan et al. 2007: 693-5). Around 3,050 BC Egypt changed from a having proto-states to an incipient state, this change is usually regarded as being the change from the Predynastic to the Dynastic under King Narmer, the last king of the Protodynastic and first of Dynasty I (Campagno 2002; Endesfelder 1984). The Early Dynastic Period heralds the beginnings of the first nation state and the creation of a national bureaucracy, which was codified and expanded greatly in the Old Kingdom. During this period Egypt moved from a divided kin based society to a nation state ruled by a divine king and a series of officials (Campagno 2000).

The Old Kingdom, which starts with Dynasty IV c. 2,613 BC, brought a massive increase in the amount and size of monumental buildings being erected by the king, the Great Pyramid of Khufu at Giza being the apex of this philosophy. The state, which had been founded 500 years previously, now starts to be consolidated, requiring more officials and artisans to support it (Kemp 1989). From the latter part of Dynasty V and throughout Dynasty VI the bureaucracy expands greatly and becomes increasing complex, resulting in many officials reaching the pinnacles of their careers later in life (Swinton 2003: 106-8). At the end of Dynasty VI the central administration of the Old
Kingdom collapsed owing to catastrophically low Nile floods and a weak central government. The First Intermediate Period saw political power being transferred to the provinces. Up and down Egypt local nomarchs, such as Ankhtify, took control of their nomes’ fate (Seidlmayer 2000). Egypt was reunified in the Middle Kingdom by the Theban king Mentuhotep and a period of political stability was restored (Callender 2000).

1.6 Why Hairstyles Were Created and Why Contextualise Them?

To understand why certain hairstyles were created, the social contexts in which they were worn must be analysed. This means that when studying a hairstyle from the Early Dynastic Period, the political and social context of that period must also be understood. It is essential to put the body and self within the social construction, embodied reality and specific social groups of the period (Meskell 1999: 97). The social changes involved in state formation and consolidation affected gender roles and the way in which the body was used to convey these changing social relationships. Drawing on cultural dynamical-systems literature as well as social evolutionary theory on changes in social organisation in complex societies, gender and social theory to explain the relationships and roles of people, and the way the body is used and portrayed, all help to illuminate the role of hair in ancient Egyptian society. Social systems cannot be analysed solely in terms of pre-existing social institutions. It is necessary to confront the issue of human agency by which institutionalised practices are themselves maintained (Barrett 2000: 25). The study of hair and hairstyles is primarily concerned with human relationships, not material entities; how certain forms of authority are presenced over time and space. It is of the utmost importance to have a contextual approach to the variability and difference in archaeology and Egyptian archaeology is no exception (Meskell 1999: 1). As well as looking at the wider social and political contexts, the various social and ritual situations in which the hairstyles were worn must also be studied. Only when this has been done can the development of ancient Egyptian hairstyles be fully understood.

1.7 Background and Previous Work

The beginnings of palaeoethnotrichology can be traced to the 1930s when Lucas examined the wigs in the Egyptian Museum of Antiquities, Cairo. Lucas (1930; 1962) concluded that only human hair and a limited amount of plant fibre was used in the construction of ancient Egyptian wigs and also found bees wax and resin was used to set the styles. Riefstahl (1952; 1956), Gauthier-Laurent (1952), and Speidel (1990)
investigated the titles and office of the ancient Egyptian hairdresser, demonstrating that many high ranking hairdressers also held other high ranking titles and offices and could be in close contact with the king. Garetto (1955) examined the work of the hairstylist, mainly focusing on the tools used by the hairdresser and other people to maintain their hair, while also examining unguents applied to the hair. Two important theses examining the chronological development of hairstyles and the trade of the hairstylist and barber are - Kriesel (1958) and Müller (1960), the latter of which wrote the entries on hair in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (1977a; 1977b; 1980a; 1980b; 1982; 1984). Kriesel (1958) mainly examined the iconographic evidence to produce a chronological record of the changing hairstyles in Egypt and her neighbours, whereas, Müller (1960) gave a more complete overview of hairdressing and hairstyles, but did not fully examine their social roles. Staehelein (1966) as part of her study of Old Kingdom Egyptian costume also made a cursory examination of hairstyles. Haynes (1977) investigated the chronological development of women’s hair in Dynasty XVIII, and Lohwasser (1992) on both men and women’s hairstyles in the New Kingdom, creating a typology of hairstyles. Several overviews, mainly focusing on the styles of ‘wigs’ and how the hair was dressed have also been published, e.g. Drioton (1949), Naguib (1990), Brown (2000), and Green (2001).

Eisa (1953) examined the Dynasty XVIII hair remains found in the Theban tomb of Senenmut (TT 353), not concentrating on their stylistic merits but whether they were made of human hair or animal wool. Eisa found all the wigs to be made of human hair. Also interred within this tomb were members of Senenmut’s family, and Eisa (1953) found not only full wigs, mainly of the duplex variety, but also false braids attached to the heads of some of Senenmut’s deceased female relatives. Cox’s (1977) examination of the construction techniques used to produce the duplex British Museum wig found it to be made entirely of human hair. The foundation of the British Museum wig was found to be a reticulated mesh base with rhomboidal apertures. The wig is composed of some three hundred locks of hair, each containing about four hundred hairs: approximately 120,000 individual human hair strands attached to the foundation using a loop technique and secured by binding hair around the loose ends and coating with bees wax and resin (Cox 1977). Lady Merit’s gala wig, now in the Turin Museum but originally from the Dynasty XVIII tomb TT 8, was examined by Chiotasso *et al.* (1992). The wig was found to consist of wefts of hair knotted together in a complex manner forming a kind of marteaux or diamond-mesh around a medial plait, which formed a central parting. The Polish expedition working at Deir el-Bahari discovered a
wigmaker's workshop in a crevice overlooking the Temple of Mentuhotep II, dating to between 1800-1700 BC. Inside the workshop four alabaster vases were found in a linen sack containing wigs in different stages of production: tufts of hair, hair wefts (on threads), switches (tied up with fibres), and a net foundation made of thread. In a papyrus case a bronze awl was found, together with five bone hairpins, and fragments of two flint knives. In another container were pieces of linen (probably for the skullcap), solid soda 'soap', leather straps, bone beads and other oddments. A unique model head made of wood was also found for laying out the wigs whilst in production; black lines had been traced to show the outline of the wig's attachment and it’s long and short axis (Laskowska-Kusztal 1978).

Fletcher's (1995) thesis examined various aspects of ancient Egyptian hair, looking at artistic representations, wigs, mummy hair and loose hair, as well as the tools and disciplines of the ancient Egyptian hairstylist. Fletcher (1995) also briefly examined some of the social and ritual situations in which various hairstyles were worn, although she did not use statistical analysis and the bulk of her thesis is a survey of the evidence. Fletcher has also published widely on the subject of hair and hairdressing in ancient Egypt (1992; 1994a; 1994b; 1998; 1999, 2000a; 2000b; 2002; 2005; Fletcher & Montserrat 1998). The majority of these papers are general works, although Fletcher (1998) examines the hair remains found at Hierakonpolis and Fletcher & Montserrat (1998) and Fletcher (1999) those from KV62 (Tutankhamun’s tomb).

Scientific examination of ancient Egyptian hair samples have been conducted by Titlbachová & Titlbach (1977); Hrdy (1978); Rabino Massa & Conti Fuhrman (1980); Birkett et al. (1986), Lahren (1987), Lubec et al. (1987); Ball et al. (2002). These studies, in conjunction with other general research of ancient hair (Wilson et al. 2001) have examined the effects of mummification and burial conditions on the tensile strength, the original colour of hair (which may have faded) and the general condition and rate of decay of hair. The effects and types of tints used on hair have been examined by Fletcher (1995). Simple visual examination of the hair can establish facts such as colour, condition, length, evidence of styling techniques and any parasitic infestation. Visual examination in conjunction with context and association can ascertain the nature of the hair, whether it is ‘false’ hair from part of a wig or a separate false braid or weft. The ‘natural’ hair of an individual can either be scalp hair from a mummy or alternatively natural hair used as a votive offering (see Arnst 2006; Ikram 2003; Tassie 1996; 2000). Stable isotope and trace element analysis can be used to indicate the health
of an individual, particular areas that can be examined include the diet, nutritional deficiencies, environmental pollution, and the presence of drugs and poisons (Macko et al. 1999, also see Fletcher 2002). A recent study claims that the population affiliation, sex and age (whether child or adult) can be deduced from image analysis of the hair (Ball et al. 2002), however, this research is still in its infancy. DNA tests can be conducted on the bulb/root of the hair where the living tissue resided to elucidate population and kinship affiliations and possibly signs of any pathogens.

These previous studies provide a firm palaeoethnnotrichological basis for the present research to utilise and build upon. However, the application of modern archaeological theory, which is still lacking in much Egyptological literature (apart from research into prehistoric and Early Dynastic Egypt), is still largely absent in these palaeoethnnotrichological works. Egyptology, which by tradition is a descriptive and isolationist discipline (Tassie in press c) has produced some notable theoretical works: Hassan (2004); Meskell (1999); Trigger (1993); O’Connor (2000) and Wengrow (2006). The reasons that lay behind the practices and the role of the individual are now held to be equally, if not more important than the descriptive element, with the ritual aspect and reasons being explored by Valdesogo Martin (2003), who examined the role of hair in funerary rituals, and Müller (2007), who looked at braids in a funerary context. Robins’ (1999) examination of hair and the construction of identity in Dynasty XVIII was a seminal work, contextualising hair within its social setting, looking at how hair was an integral part of the construction of self in ancient Egypt. However, the majority of work that concentrates on artistic or chronological interpretation of the styles has resulted in hairstyles rather than being the result of social actions and being an integral part of Egyptian social life, becoming divorced from the wearer and society that created them.
2.0 Introduction

To understand the significance of the different hairstyles in ancient Egypt, it is essential to understand the socio-political structure of the culture that produced them. Social systems cannot be analysed solely in terms of pre-existing social institutions. It is necessary to confront the issue of human agency by which institutionalised practices are themselves maintained (Barrett 2000: 25). The study of hair and hairstyles is primarily concerned with human relationships and not just material entities. It examines how certain forms of authority are presenced over time and space. It is of the utmost importance to have a contextual approach to the variability and difference in archaeology, and Egyptian archaeology is no exception (Meskell 1999: 1). These data sets allow a fuller investigation of difference and individuality, the interactions and relationships of men, women and children, the creation of a national ideology and national identity. The role of hair in ancient Egyptian society can be better understood by drawing on cultural dynamical-systems literature as well as social evolutionary theory on the rise of complex societies, and gender and social theory to explain the relationships and roles of people, and the way the body is used and portrayed.

2.1 The Socio-Political Development of Egypt from the Fourth to the Third Millennium B.C.

To understand the development of hairstyles the main socio-political developments in the rise of complex society in Egypt must be explored. Social hierarchy in Egypt appears to have emerged at the beginning of the fourth millennium BC (Adams 1988; Bard 1992, 1996; Castillos 1998; 2000; Hassan 1988; 1997a; 1997b; 1997c; 1998; Savage 1997; 2000). This led to the creation of elite kin-based lineages, attested by the burials in separate elite cemeteries (Wilkinson 1999: 37), such as Cemetery T at Naqada (Petrie & Quibell 1896; de Morgan 1897; Kemp 1989: 35-7) and, eventually, state formation and empire. These stages of social development are marked by a sharp increase in social differentiation, which necessitated an increased need for visual bodily displays of status (Wengrow 2006).

Egyptian state formation is often correlated with the unification of Upper (Nile Valley) and Lower Egypt (Delta) in the Naqada III Period (c. 3,050 BC); however, the
process of state formation starts possibly as early as the Naqada I Period (c. 3,900 BC) and continues into the Old Kingdom (Dodson 1996; Midant-Reynes 2000). During the 1970s prime movers or monocausal theories, such as warfare, trade imperatives, hydraulic despotism, agricultural intensification and surplus, and population increase leading to heightened social competition were defined as ‘causes’ of state formation (Scarre 2005: 199). Conspicuous consumption and access to prestige goods not only enhanced the power and kudos of the elite but provided essential raw materials, however, trade was a feature of Egyptian society, with long distance trade (for example in lapis lazuli) being recorded from as early as the Naqada II period (Midant-Reynes 2000:196, 204). The irrigation works in Egypt, in the form of small basins, canals and dykes, were mostly undertaken through local initiatives at village level, with the state having no direct influence (Krzyżaniak 1977: 127 ff). Coercion, insecurity (owing to environmental determinants), elite dominance and social differentiation and new technology all played their part in state formation (Hassan 1988; Proussakov 2004; Scarre 2005).

Subsequent research now favours more complex multicausal explanations. To create a nation state was the symbiosis of many factors and in common with other pristine states Egypt had 1) a sufficient number of people to form a complex stratified society; 2) controlled a specific territory; 3) contained a productive system capable of yielding surplus to maintain specialists and privileged classes, and 4) had an ideology that explained and justified a hierarchical administrative organisation and socio-political inequality (Claessen 2004; Hassan, 1988; Proussakov 2004; Scarre 2005). These four main factors are not in themselves sufficient for the development of an early state and can be found in what Grinin (2004) terms state analogues, which correspond to the Egyptian proto-states. A further cause is needed to trigger the development, and these factors all need to reinforce one another and cause a positive feedback. An important causal factor in state formation is the agency of dominant individuals, where their actions and choices determined the way certain polities acted (Flannery 1999; Kemp 2006; Scarre 2005). The response to some threat or shortage may cause the transition to a state (Claessen 2004: 81) and the development of 1) specific properties of supreme power; 2) new principles of government; 3) new forms or regulating social life, and 4) a redistribution of power (Grinin 2004) as found in the First Dynasty.

The Dynastic myth of Menes uniting the two lands is a convenient explanation for how the two distinct cultures of Egypt merged and at the same time creates a social
memory strengthening the ideal of divine kingship. Distinct cultural complexes: the Lower Egyptian Cultural Complex (Maadi-Buto) and the Upper Egyptian Cultural Complex (Badari-Naqada) have been identified in the period prior to the Protodynastic. There was not a ranked social development from one stage to the other, but more of an organic process which was not necessarily contemporaneous in all regions of Egypt, i.e. patchwork not linear (Köhler 1995). Therefore, when there were proto-states in the Naqada and Hierakonpolis regions, there may have been developed chiefdoms in the Memphite region and areas of the Delta (Campagno 2002; Endesfelder 1984). The changes from small-scale farmers to marked social hierarchy is different in the Nile Valley and the Delta; at present it appears that greater social differentiation, as displayed in the mortuary record, began in Upper Egypt (Bard 1994). The graves of the Lower Egyptian Cultural Complex are characterised by few, if any, grave goods, whereas the graves of the Upper Egyptian Cultural Complex show a temporal trend towards increased amount, quality and variety of grave goods, some of which seem to have been made specifically as funerary offerings (Levy & van den Brink 2002: 8). However, up to 15 grave goods have been found in graves at Merimde Beni Salame belonging to the Maadi-Buto period (Badawy 1978b), and as further excavation of sites from this period in the Delta are conducted and published a clearer picture will emerge.

The term ‘cultural unification’ has entered the archaeological literature (Wilkinson 1996) and refers to the supposed uptake of Naqada culture during the Naqada IIC (c. 3,650 BC) phase and preceded a near homogenous pan-Egyptian culture and ideology (Upper Egyptian) by the start of Naqada III (c. 3,350 BC). As (Köhler 1995; Wengrow 2006; and Wildung 1984) correctly argue this phrase should be abandoned as it infers a binary opposition between Upper and Lower Egypt and is heavily influenced by the later ideology of kingship, in which the Two-Lands forms a core principle of royal action. Moreover, the Lower Egyptians did not take up wholesale the culture of the Upper Egyptians during this period, rather certain forms of ceramic and stone vessels as well as lithics were introduced into Lower Egypt from Upper, as demonstrated by the admixture of Maadi-Buto and Naqada II forms of pottery at the Delta sites of Minshat Abu Omar and Tell el-Fara’in (Buto) from c. 3,400 BC (Köhler in press). Throughout the Protodynastic Period the Upper Egyptian forms of pottery and lithics continued to replace those of the indigenous Lower Egyptian culture (Kemp 2006: 88). The archaeological record suggests that there was a gradual change in the materiality of Lower Egypt to that of Upper Egypt. This gradual change in materiality as shown in settlement sites argues against large-scale demic-diffusion, whereby people
from Upper Egypt migrated to Lower Egypt and displaced the indigenous Delta population. The tendency of spatial separation between the Maadian unit and Naqadian unit cemeteries at certain sites, however, does point at a cultural, and possibly an ethnic, break between those interred in the separate cemeteries. However, at sites in both Upper and Lower Egypt it is noticeable that during the middle of the fourth millennium BC everyday heavily tempered coarse ceramic forms (comparable to those of the southern Levant) start to appear in the ceramic assemblage. Wengrow (2006: 87-8) suggests this repertoire of ceramics, which included flat-bottomed dishes, bowls with flaring sides and everted rims and small oval jars with round bases, may be linked to dietary changes and the use of fermented cereals. The so-called wine jars were soon added to this assemblage of pottery. That these forms seem to have been influenced by those of the southern Levant, which is located next to the East Delta, makes it odd that they were supposedly introduced into the Delta from Upper Egypt. Again, further investigation into sites of this critical period in the Delta is required, but at present it cannot be ruled out that the introduction of a common set of dietary practices (Wengrow 2006: 89), including the consumption of leavened bread, beer and wine, first entered in the Delta and spread to Upper Egypt. It is still an unproven theory that the pottery and their contents entered Egypt via the Red Sea coast, up the connecting wadis and into centres such as Hierakonpolis and Abydos. Recent research, however, suggests that beer was being drunk in North Africa from the at least 4,000 BC and probably before with pottery being produced from 9,400 BC to stew foodstuffs (Haaland 2007; Huysecom et al. 2004). It appears that the food production methods in the Egypt were a combination of indigenous African and imported Near Eastern traditions.

This late Predynastic period - the later part of which is often termed the Protodynastic Period (Naqada IIIA–B) - saw many of the major developments associated with the process of state formation (Adams & Ciałowicz 1997; Endesfelder 1984; Hassan 1997; Hoffman 1980). As the amount of iconographic and written sources from Lower Egypt are very limited for the Protodynastic Period (3,350-3,050 BC), the supposed inclusion of more grave goods in Lower Egyptian graves has been seen as a change in ideology. However, the primary burial orientation in pit graves during the Early Dynastic of head north facing east seems to have been a Lower Egyptian practice, that of Upper Egypt during the Predynastic being head south facing west (Castillos 1982). It therefore seems that elements of both Upper and Lower Egyptian culture and ideology were incorporated into the creation of state ‘political unification’ under the Upper Egyptian Thinite kings during the Naqada IIIC Period (c. 3,050 BC) (Wilkinson
The capital of this newly formed nation state (Memphis) was located where the Delta meets the Nile Valley (20 km south of modern Cairo) – the optimal position for maintaining control over both Upper and Lower Egypt and utilising their natural and human resources (see Fig. 88). Once a nation state had been formed and moved from a kin-based society to one ruled by a divine king and officials (Campagno 2000) it was important that the populace instantly recognised a high official (of the king) as being the best means for the efficient running of the country, therefore various insignia (jewellery, staffs of office, etc) were worn on the plain white Egyptian clothing. However, as most attention was focused on the head it was important to wear a badge of office on the head as well; in the case of the king it was a uraeus, the other officials would differentiate themselves with various hairstyles and possibly a gold circlet.

During the Early Dynastic Period many of the key features that were to define ancient Egyptian ‘civilization’ were originally formed by the ruling elite (Bard 2000: 87). From the beginning, hierarchical society displays symbols of power and wealth differentials, which are mainly recovered archaeologically from the mortuary record (Renfrew & Bahn 1991: 357). These symbols of wealth and power that first emerged in the Predynastic Period become more pronounced in the early state (Renfrew & Bahn 1991: 358), the elite lived in more elaborate houses, wore fancier clothes and jewellery, dressed their hair in more elaborate styles and surrounded themselves with more luxuries and comforts than did the lower classes (Baines & Yoffee 1998 passim; Trigger 1993: 66). Wilkinson (1999: 366) states that:

‘The mechanisms of rule which remained at the heart of Egyptian government for some three thousand years had their origin in the first three dynasties. They were formulated in response to the enormous challenge of ruling the world’s first nation state. Their particular character suited not only the geography of Egypt but also the Egyptian psyche. Whether administrative structures, foreign relations, the ideology of divine kingship, royal mortuary architecture or the practice of religion, the solutions adopted by Egypt’s early rulers to the problem of establishing authority moulded their country and profoundly influenced its subsequent developments.’

However, the various regions of Egypt maintained their own character yet also helped to shape that of the state (Wilkinson 1999: 366). As well as setting the foundations of bureaucratic infrastructure and foreign relations (particularly with Nubia and the Levant), the monumental landscape of Egypt started to be constructed, including
the first monument in the world made of stone – created on a truly huge scale – the step pyramid complex of Netjerikhet Djoser at Saqqara (Bard 2000: 87; Wilkinson 1999: 230-243). One of the rewards of the elite was the allowance made by the Crown for them to be buried in large mud-brick tombs in the elite cemeteries situated either side of the Nile, particularly in the Memphite region at Helwan and Saqqara (van Wetering 2004). The belief in a mortuary cult where huge amounts of goods were interred in the tombs of the elite (Emery 1962) helped to integrate the populations of the Nile Delta and Valley (Bard 2000: 88). The king’s benevolent authority was also expressed in their ability to protect the exclusivity of status symbols, and their right to bestow on their loyal followers the right to wear them (Trigger 1993: 67). Although there seems to be no legislative control over the hairstyles allowed, strict rules seem to have been followed i.e. only divine males were allowed long-hairstyles whereas, women from all classes are seen wearing the tripartite and other long hairstyles (Kriesel 1958; Müller 1960).

The control of the population was attained through the creation of a national ideology, legitimising the king’s position by linking him to the cosmological order (Hassan 1992) and also through taxation to support the Crown and its projects (Bard 2000: 87). The support of the Crown included expeditions for raw materials and goods to the Sinai, the Eastern Desert, the Levant, and Lower Nubia. Conscription (or corvée) labour was used in order to help build the large royal monuments, and to supply soldiers for military expeditions (Bard 2000: 88). The invention of writing helped to facilitate the bureaucratic organisation of the state (Meza 2001:17-21).

Mann (1986 passim) observes that in society there are four overlapping and intersecting power bases - political, economic, ideological and military; class being equated with wealth, and status with ideology. In Egypt the king was ultimately in control of all these power bases, and within these power bases were sub-groups and hierarchies. From early statehood, the Egyptian government regulated the distribution of prestige items within Egypt, such as ivory, ebony, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, cedar and olive oil (Trigger 1993: 74).

The Old Kingdom saw a continuation and consolidation of many processes begun in the Early Dynastic Period (Grimmal 1992). Mortuary architecture reached the apex of monumentality with the building of Khufu’s pyramid at Giza, and many of the deities known from the earlier period came to prominence, such as Anubis, Bastet, Hathor, Horus, Nekhbet, Ptah, Re, Sobek, Thoth, and Wadjet, (Kemp 1989; Trigger et
The Pyramid Tests mentions both a Greater and Lesser *Pesedjet* (Gk. ennead), although they do not specifically mention all the members of each, it appears that these represented the totality of gods (Wilkinson 2003: 78-9). The deities Isis and Osiris are also first attested by name in Dynasty V, first in private tombs and then in the Pyramid Texts (Shalomi-Hen 2005). Egyptian theology in general seems to have been greatly consolidated and modified during the Old Kingdom, which in turn affected burial traditions (Quirke 1992).

During the Old Kingdom the number of professional builders and artisans required to sustain the large amounts of state building projects grew, as did the bureaucracy required to run these projects and the country’s economy (Malek 2000: 101-2). The technological knowledge required became greater and the quarrying of hard stones, such as basalt, dolerite and granite also increased with their use for architectural elements and statuary. The amount of elite titles started to increase, reflecting the increasing administration, although one person could hold more than one position at a time (Blackman 1921; D. Jones 2000; Schott 1990).

With the end of the Old Kingdom Egypt split into two main regions, the north governed by the Herakleopolitan kings the Theban kings governing the south (Hassan in press a). This collapse of central control saw local rulers vying for power and gave local culture a chance to flourish and express itself (Seidlmayer 2000). The Theban kings eventually emerge victorious under Mentuhotep II of Dynasty XI and the Middle Kingdom begins (Seidlmayer 2000). However, the focus of power moved from Thebes to the Faiyum region under the Dynasty XII kings who established a new capital at Lisht. After the famines and chaos of the First Intermediate Period (Hassan in press) there was a need for the new dynasty of kings to legitimate their position. This was done by various means, including portraying themselves as the natural inheritors of the glories of the Old Kingdom (Wildung 2003). The reliance on the hairstyles of the Old Kingdom (Fletcher 1995; Kriesel 1958; Müller 1960) helped in associating the ruling elite to the great pharaohs who built the pyramids, thus invoking the social memory. However, new developments in hairstyling are seen in this period, in particular the Hathoric hairstyle, so noticeable on the statue of the Great Royal Wife of King Senusret III, Queen Nefert (CG 381) in the Cairo Museum.

The higher socio-economic segment of Egyptian society thus had very different hairstyles from those of lower social tiers, but even within this broad divide there were differences denoting age, gender and rank. ‘By classifying and interpreting what
constitutes their social and material environments, and notably the relations they carry on with other individuals and groups, people confer meaning on the world they live in’ (Lemonnier 1993: 17). The symbolism of hair helped to define these boundaries. Major socio-political or religious changes will have an effect on the hairstyles and can be used as a gauge to indicate that these changes are taking place. The significant social changes that occurred from the Protodynastic till the end of the Old Kingdom not only set the foundations for the succeeding periods of Egyptian history, but also created an Egyptian identity that included a socially made body. This identity was coalesced from both Upper and Lower Egyptian ideals into a mode of syncretic thinking that maintained the structure of Egyptian society.

2.2 A Gendered Past

There are obvious physical sexual indicators of the body; the breasts of a woman, phallus of a man and the head of both sexes. These indicators were often emphasised in Egyptian art and shown in hieroglyphs (Smith 1981; Gardiner 1961). Therefore, one of the first observations made about a person is whether they are male or female (Fletcher 1995: 50). In ancient Egypt men and women dressed their hair into masculine and feminine styles; however, in all periods of Egypt’s history both men and women wore their hair in both short and long styles. The dressing of the hair and general treatment of the body as a social construct was one of the most important means of displaying gender. Both the building of the individual and gender by societal ideology and the cognitive reasoning on what it was to be a man or woman in ancient Egypt are relatively new subjects of research in an Egyptological context.

The early feminist anthropologists highlighted the shortcomings of many of the anthropological approaches being taken, and the assumptions that were being made. In the 1980s and 90s more sophisticated archaeological gender theory had been developed (Strathern 1980; 1984; 1987; Conkey & Spector 1984; Wylie 1991; 1992a; 1992b; Moore 1988; 1994; Gilchrist 1991; 1992; 1999; Conkey & Gero 1991), resulting in a more balanced view of gender construction. During the last twenty years the roles of women and gender in Predynastic (Hassan 1992; 1998; 2004; Hassan and Smith 2002; Savage 2000; Zakrzewski 2007) and Dynastic Egypt (Desroches-Noblecourt 1986; Troy 1984; 1986; 2003; Lesko 1987; Fischer 1987; 1989; Watterson 1991; Robins 1993; 1994; 1996; Tyldesley 1994; Nur el Din 1996; Parkinson 1995; Montserrat 1998; Meskell 1997; 1999; 2002; Rowlandson 1998; Roth 2000; Meskell & Joyce 2003) have been investigated. Meskell implicitly aligns herself with ‘third-wave’ feminists and
divides the discourse into waves. The first-wave occurred in the 1960s, endeavoured to allow women into the sphere of rationality and, allowed them political, economic, social and sexual equality. The second-wave (1970s), examined the inherent differences between men and women, and women’s link to the natural world through reproduction (see Hekman 1990: 138). The third-wave (1980s), argued that women are multiply constituted (Meskell 1999: 54-6 & 218). There is not one feminist point of view, but several, depending on sexuality, class, ethnicity, religion and geopolitical locale (Meskell 1999: 55).

The debate on subjectivism and objectivism is in some ways an irrelevant debate, from the modern standpoint (even using empirical evidence) we are influenced by our own social context, however much we try and escape it. Archaeologists should try and reconstruct the past not construct it (Wylie 1992: 19; Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 103). Archaeology of gender is not just a matter of identifying women in the archaeological record; it is a way of recognising and theorising the ways in which gender is a structuring principal within society (Moore 1991: 407). When looking at the dynamics of past societies and the way that they functioned, the division of labour between men and women should be considered as important as status within the society being studied.

Gender is determined by a complex set of social forces within contextually and historically-specific constructs (Wylie 1991: 41). It is necessary to understand specific historical conditions under which gender categories were constructed. Those categories were produced by a discourse, in which men and women were agents controlling certain sets of cultural resources (Rosaldo 1980). There are fundamental biological and behavioural differences between the sexes in many societies at different periods of their history and at different age stages. The interaction between sexes and the socially created gender roles are the basic social division of human society (Hurcombe 1995: 98). Women’s biological characteristics associated with pregnancy, lactation, childbirth, and childrearing do not circumscribe them from being proactive in society (Conkey & Spector 1984: 8). There are sexual differences that enable one sex to perform certain tasks and roles more efficiently than the other; however, it is society that attaches relative values to these activities (Hurcombe 1995: 88).

The main reasons for gender distinctions appear to be for describing what labour people do and marking sexually appropriate partners, and what activities and behaviour are deemed appropriate for that gender. If the division of labour creates gender
differences ‘we can say that the division of labour and the forms of cooperation which existed in early human societies were the context in which gender emerged’ (Moore 1991: 408). Gender is not the only organiser of labour, class differential defines the categories of labour to a far greater extent, both in the present and the past (Claassen 1992: 3). In ancient Egypt class, gender and phyles (guilds) were all ways of organising dramatically different labours.

The expression of gender is also concerned with the variations of sexuality. Both gender hierarchies and gender oppression are means to ensure that sexually appropriate partners will be available for procreation, succour, companionship and as a partner in life (Claassen 1992: 4). However, the view as to which sex was the main creator of a child must not be clouded by modern ideas and science and must be based on the thinking of the ancient society being studied. As both Joyce (1992) and Gero (1985) point out, gender functions differ between societies and can function differently at separate points within the same society's history. Conkey and Spector (1984: 15), divide gender into three areas of meaning:

1) Gender Role - the differential participation of males and females in social, economic, political and religious institutions within a specific cultural setting. The activities and behaviour deemed acceptable for that gender.

2) Gender Identity - the individual’s own awareness of whether they are a woman or a man.

3) Gender Ideology - the meaning (in specific cultural contexts) of male, female, sex and reproduction.

Are these criteria for the recognition of gender archaeologically visible? Our best chance is to try and trace it through the burial remains, iconography or writing. The sexuality aspect of gender is almost impossible to trace through time, unless it is written evidence, such as in Egyptian love poetry or depictions of copulation. People dressed as members of the opposite sex may well be misclassified and this reflects our potential for the misinterpretation of ancient images.

In studying the rise of the state, a great deal can be learned about the reorganisation of gender behaviour (Conkey & Spector 1984: 21; Lerner 1986 passim). In Predynastic Egypt there seems to have been a more equal and complementary sharing of the economic activities and household roles, although women were more associated with transformative roles and life-giving (Hassan 1998a; Hassan & Smith 2002;
Peterson 2002; Savage 2000). During the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic periods, gender categories were renegotiated as a result of the centralisation of state power. The early kings created the hierarchically stratified gender categories through a mythogenesis of power, a reworking of the Predynastic cosmology into a new androcentric mythology of creation and legitimisation of rule, resulting in an expansion of the socio-political roles available to men (Hassan 1992 passim; Savage 2000: 91). There are changes in traditional regional funerary practices to common nationwide burial practices, marking a shift in the expression of authoritative systems of inheritance. One of the roles of women seems to have been to sexually stimulate men, who were the source of fertility; women would then gestate, and nurture the baby (Roth 2000).

With the rise of the early state, personal bodily attire (including hairstyles) started to develop in order to indicate the new gender and class roles. The social structure of dynastic Egypt was both gendered and hierarchical. From the amount of titles women held (Blackman 1921), it appears that there were less bureaucratic offices open to them than men (Schott 1990). According to Robins (1996: 27) the title most often used before a woman’s name was ḥnwtr prt (mistress of the house), which derived from women’s primary role in Egyptian society: their responsibility for running the house. Although as Nur el-Din (1995: 149-53) points out, men and women were partners in life and both would work to look after the household and raise a family, it was also the man’s duty to look after his wife, making sure she had sufficient food, love, security and commodities, including perfumes. However, women could serve in temples as musicians and dancers accompanying the performance of ritual, they could also be oracles and priestesses, nursemaids, engage in business ventures, land holding, and administering of family estates and hold various position in the king's entourage (Fischer 2000). Textual evidence from Egypt indicates that there was a duality in the way men perceived women; one view holds that they were good mothers and paragons of virtue and love, the other that they were wicked temptresses (Nur el-Din 1995; Troy 1984).

The interior ideational dimensions of cultural systems were crucial in shaping the system as a whole; the social construct of past societies, the division of labour in the economy and household, investigating gender symbolism, and the general interaction between men and women. If there was a gender bias in past societies or, if status was (partly) defined by gender, it should be examined and investigated, although the method
of reporting should not continue to ignore the women in their own right (Pollock 1991). The different gender constructs can be gathered via the written, iconographic, or the material records. Many archaeologists working in gender archaeology believe that no ‘methodological breakthrough’ is required to study gender in the archaeological record; what is necessary is the formulation of new research questions (Wylie 1991; Costin 1996; Hill 1998). One such question is, do the changing hairstyles in the rise and consolidation of complex society in ancient Egypt reflect the changing roles of gender in society?

2.3 The Body and Hair Discourse

The idea of the body as embodying a series of signs was propagated by Mauss (1979 [1935]) who called it techniques du corps, and Douglas (1966) who also saw the body as a ‘symbol’ of society, elucidating the multitude of views on the self and others with vital bodily functions and their products. Turner (1984) exploring the body in social theory saw the body as metaphor. It is through the body, the way in which it is deployed, displayed, and modified, that socially appropriate self-understandings are formed and reproduced (Gell 1993: 3). The interest in the individual and body has increased over the last 30 years, with papers being presented on the subject in Benthall & Polhemis (1975), and Davis (1975), who came out of the American body historians’ Annales school. Many of the works on the body are concerned with the modern, and in particular, the female-body (Gallagher & Thomas 1987; Feher et al. 1989; Laqueur 1990; Martin 1987). The body in late antiquity has been explored by Brown (1988) and Rousselle (1988), whereas the body in the Classical Period has been investigated by Henderson (1975), through perusal of obscene language in Attic comedy. Dover (1978) examined Greek homosexuality, while Richlin (1983) looked at obscene language in Roman comic and satiric verse. DuBois (1988) comments on one of the major turning points of how the body was viewed in the Classical world: Aristotle’s definition of the female body as a ‘mutilated male’.

In The History of Sexuality Foucault (1978; 1985; 1986) examined the body and hermeneutics of self as well as sexuality, trying to show that psychoanalysis was a failed attempt to explain sexuality (Black 1988). ‘These were studies in self-construction, care of the self and embodied ethics, which eventually led to scientia sexualis or the modern mode of sexual/scientific knowledge’ (Meskell 1999: 90). As Meskell (1999: 221) points out, Foucault’s work is problematic, notably his discussions of power and the inscribed body, while Richlin (1997: 20) opposes his views that there
are radical discontinuities between ancient and modern sexual systems. To take a radical
stance on either complete discontinuity (Giddens 1991; 1992) or continuity between the
past and present is to deny objectivity in the present. Some elements of the past do
continue into the present, whereas others fall away. Archaeologists and historians need
to examine both the differences and similarities between the past and present (Meskell
1999: 221-4, Richlin 1997: 34). However, these views resonate with Cross & Markus
(1993) view that an individual's sexual identity is a primary category of human social
perception. While Wengrow (2006: 153) revives Foucault’s view that it is through
purusing access to ‘sources of social power that individuals become bound, emotionally
and psychologically, into institutional lifestyles that offer rewards in return for
surrendering some aspect of self.’

Recent studies have also focused on the body in ancient Egyptian and Near
Eastern societies (i.e. Derchain 1975a; 1975b; Fischer 1987; 1989; Robins 1993; 1996;
Lesko 1995; Bahrani 1996; Wilfong 1997; 1998, 1999; Crabtree 1991; Montserrat
1998a; 2004; Tassie 2005; Wengrow 2006). These illustrate that the ancient Egyptians
did not view the female body as being a ‘mutilated male’, for while not always given
equal prominence in tomb reliefs and less access to administrative jobs, women were
seen as playing an autonomous and complementary role to men, continuing Egyptian
ideals of duality and maat. The succour of the mother was a very important element in
forming identity; one of the principal fears of ancient Egyptians was that of
nothingness: the body vanished, dismembered, having the name obliterated, and the fear
of non-being (Hassan 2004). These maternal duties were therefore of considerable
importance. Goddesses (i.e. Hathor, Nephthys, and Isis) mythically gave birth to, nursed
and protected the king, ensuring that he attained his place in the afterlife. In terms of
persons, bodies and selves, the Egyptians saw themselves as multi-faceted individuals
whose own embodiment transcended death. They were concerned with being and non-
being, the meaning of death, the constitution of the body, the nature of the cosmos and
humanity and the basis of human society (Meskell 1999: 219).

A history of the body should include sexuality, gender, marking (tattooing,
piercing, cosmetics), excrement, ethnicity, the care of self, clothing, hair, gesture and
death (Richlin 1997: 17). As (Meskell 2000: 21) states, ‘the body represents the
particular interface between several different irreducible domains: the biological and the
social, the collective and the individual, structure and agent, cause and meaning,
constraint and free will.’ The majority of works on the body only briefly cover the role of hair in construction of identity and self, the collective and the individual (i.e. Meskell 1999), although it is one of the most expressive parts of the body. Head hair, is one of the most visible and changeable parts of the human body. It is on the head, which is where most attention is focused on the human body, and in ancient Egypt the head could stand alone as a symbol for the whole person (Wilkinson 1992: 41). MacRae’s (1975: 65) statement ‘boundary and measure are of the skin: their ambiguity is the hair’ is relevant on multiple levels, referring to the restraints of the physical and psychological body, whereas the hair is free to send many different signals. The body is usually of a single sex, whereas hair can be dressed in male, female or ambiguous styles, or removed completely. Head hair can be allowed to grow unrestricted or cut in long or short styles, it can also be curled or straightened and arranged in more or less elaborate styles (Robins 1996: 55). The major restraints placed on the style of hair worn are enforced by society; while a receding hairline hinders what can be done with natural hair, false hair such as wigs and hairpieces can maintain the social norms.

‘To be naked is to be without words’ (Herbert 1984: 284), and so it goes with clothing, body decoration and hairstyles, that the creation of a person is a work of art, the making of a complete person. Personal body attire - as well as defining an individual - maintains the continuity of the social unit, expressing and reinforcing social relationships and values. Hairstyles and minor mannerisms (i.e. the placing of a curl or plait of hair) can help define the boundaries of a social group, and identify the different sub-groups within that society. Personal display may also be directed against a ‘collective social other whose gaze must be met and whose sensibilities must be captured and entranced’ (Gell 1993: 298). This commonality in personal display helps define both ethnicity and national identity as well as otherness. However, societies are not unitary, totalities or bounded in geographical or social space (Mann 1986: 1), and as such there can be no universal mode of dressing of hair, nor set value systems accompanying such adornment.

As Mann (1986: 1) highlights ‘societies are constituted of multiple overlapping and intersecting sociospatial networks of power.’ Moreover, within any given society, not all subgroups of individuals share the same material culture; for instance women/men, young/elderly, craftsmen/ non-specialists, etc. The differences observed from one subgroup to another are the class and status markers (Lemonnier 1993: 19). The knowledge learned about deploying, displaying and carrying (deportment) and
modifying the body as well as being transmitted in personal presentation, may also include ‘routines of comportment, work and consumption to prescribed modes of ritual and ceremonial activity’ (Wengrow 2006: 7). Therefore, it is not just one element or artefact that marks a person’s social status or identity but entire sets thereof (Robins 1999: 55). ‘These can be verbal, as in modes of address; behavioral, as in the way individuals interact; or displayed on the body, as in circumcision, scarification or dress’ (Robins 1999: 55). These social status markers are evident, and play a crucial role in distinguishing between different players in ancient Egypt’s power networks - hairstyles are just one component of these sets of social status markers. However, as Robins (1999: 55) notes there can be socially constructed views of body hair, where it may be considered undesirable and carefully removed.

Hair is highly charged with meaning; not only can it carry erotic, religious and magical significance, but the way in which it is styled can send out social signals (Robins 1999: 55). The construction of a person’s personal body attire also gives it meaning, signifying various messages about the actual person to those that can understand the signals. Hair, along with body decoration, clothing and jewellery, all inform the onlooker as to gender, age, status, class, sexuality, other life crises and in certain circumstances, ritual. However, the means and style of adornment can be indicative of different ethnic groups. The body, as a canvas is written on by the costume and body decoration that is constructed upon it. ‘In this sense, the body is a performance, an ongoing construction of material identity, the worldly dimension of subjectivity’ (Calefato 1997: 71). Costume, or parts of a costume once they have been given moral approval by society, can become strongly conventionalised, and as such, instruments of social expression and control (Firth 1973: 271). Hairstyles and clothing are a form of projection, or simulation of the world, valid by both society and the individual, the human body expresses itself through the signs and objects in which it is placed, temporally and spatially (Calefato 1997: 69-70). Although various lengths of hair could be worn by men and women the longest styles (such as tripartite and enveloping) were more frequently worn by Egyptian women than men. The styles of dressing the hair to differentiate the sexes were also usually distinctive, although sometimes only subtly (Tassie 2002). The styling of the hair was a very visual method of distinguishing gender, age, class, ethnicity and sexuality in ancient Egypt (Fletcher 1995; Tassie 2002). The contextualised study of hair can help illuminate sex and gender, the body, social inequality, difference, the individual, power, the search for representativeness, ethnicity, structure and agency, as well as death and the ‘emotive
The practice-centred approach to the study of socially educated bodies makes no rigid dichotomy between the sacred and profane experience or between art and technology, because they are embedded in the practices, repertoires of behaviour and emotional responses of the individuals (Wengrow 2006: 7).

In an egalitarian society, while there are differences such as male/female, married/single, once a society becomes hierarchical there are potentially far more social relationships to display on the body. Social status markers, including hairstyles, help to maintain and reinforce a person’s social position and maintain their privileged access to goods and materials (Trigger 1993). Hairstyles and headdresses as the focal point of attention were central in early Egyptian systems of social identity (Piquette 2004: 941). Another means of conserving their privileges was Egyptian class endogamy (Trigger 1993: 62). ‘Economic transactions and power relations are based not on simple responses to basic biological needs but on desires and perceived payoffs and costs of certain actions’ (Hassan 2004: 780). One of the most prominent ways in which the king, and therefore the state, expressed their authority and power was through the conspicuous consumption of energy that went into building monumental structures (Trigger 1993: 75), and power reflected through their personal adornment (Foucault 1979: 25).

2.4 Agency, Structure and Praxis

A key issue in social science theory concerns the interaction between individuals and social institutions – agency and structure - how they form and influence one another and drive social reproduction (Dobres & Robb 2000: 4). As with many other elements of current archaeological thinking, agency theory was formulated as a reaction to New Archaeology during the 1970s and 1980s (Johnson 2000: 212). The work of Garfinkel (1984) [ethnomethodology], Giddens (1979; 1984) [agency] and Bourdieu (1977) [practice] attempted to understand the interaction between the individual and social structures, and as such have formed the core works on which archaeologists draw for agency theory.

Bourdieu (1977) considers the shaping of society by social practice through *habitus* - the taken for granted routines of daily life, ‘through which people create and become structured by institutions and belief beyond their conscious awareness and direct control’ (Dobres & Robb 2000: 5). Bourdieu’s theories were formed from a Marxist background. He argues, in essentially structurally deterministic theory that external systems form an individual’s ‘*habitus*’, which Bourdieu defines as “a socially
constructed of cognitive and motivating factors through which the agents interests are defined without consciousness or will” (Bourdieu 1977: 76). This *habitus* is formed entirely in relation to different social conditions, groups and externally imposed functions and will be highly dependant on an individual’s social class. *Habitus* is determined through experiences of the world external to the individual, altering between individuals only as their exposure to social conditions and classes varies. Bourdieu’s conception of practice theory allows for agent-induced change of social structure only when the externally-imposed *habitus* of individuals do not match onto current social conditions.

![Figure 1. Grammatical representation of agency and structuration.](image)

What separates Bourdieu’s practice theory from Gidden’s (1979; 1984) structuration and agency theory, is his opinion that only external social situations form *habitus* and that this is done without consciousness or will. Instead of regarding individuals as passive participants, whose concepts and understandings are only formed by external social structures, Giddens (1979: 49-95) argues that though there are outside rules, people both understand these rules and creatively reassert, manipulate or transform them in response to this understanding. Social structures are continually reinforced or ignored and removed from influence by agents and are so altered. There is a continuous recursive relationship between agents and social structure that forms them both. Agents’ actions reflect upon patients, those that have actions done to them.
2.4.1 Agency in Archaeology

Two recently published books are dedicated to agency in archaeology Dobres & Robb (2000) and Gardiner (2004). However, there is no real consensus of opinion as to what agency is and various scholars give different definitions (see Dobres & Robb 2000: 9). Most theorists would agree on at least four points as Dobres and Robb (2000: 8) state:

“[1] the material conditions of social life, [2] the simultaneously constraining and enabling influence of social, symbolic and material structures and institutions, habitation, and beliefs; [3] the importance of the motivations and actions of agents; and [4] the dialectic of structure and agency. Most would also agree that agency is a socially significant quality of action rather than being synonymous with or reducible to, action itself.”

Agency theory is not specifically about the archaeological identification of named individuals or “real people” and relating them to traces in the archaeological record (Flannery 1999; Hill & Gunn 1977; Johnson 2000), but focuses on the actions of agents (either individual or plural groups) in reaction to, and forming, the social structures in which they exist and paradoxically, which they create (Dobres & Robb 2000: 4). The cultural dynamics and negotiations between individuals and their communities and institutions and the material culture patterning and variation they create forms the core research area of agency archaeology, an area that also falls within the realm of practice theory, a framework which is based on much of Marx’s praxis work (Marx 1963; Marx & Engels 1970). There is a recursive relationship between individuals and social structures. Agents are knowledgeable about their own social actions and the influences that social conditions have had upon their ‘psyche’. Although it is not to be assumed that agents have perfect knowledge or understanding of structure and agency, actions, conditions and consequences may be unacknowledged and unintended. Agents are not purely formed by social and external conditions, they construct themselves with and through their own specific social and cultural conditions but are at the same time embedded with those conditions, which define their goals and constrain action (Johnson 2000; Dobres and Robb 2000). In simple terms agency theory considers the active part people take in achieving goals within the society around them and how this society and social structures are formed by and forming of, as a result of the impact of the individuals actions, words or deeds. It is a consideration of how social structures and individuals are formed by and form the active part people take in achieving goals in the society through their many acts, thoughts or objects they produce.
Social practices commonly reproduce structures in a society - practices when repeated so regularly within a society that they seem natural and permanent.

Some of the institutions structuring Egyptian society were the phyles (akin to a guild), although these were only open to males. A phyle was a group of people that provided part-time service in temples, work crews, and the mortuary cults of kings and high officials. At different times in Pharaonic Egypt, there were either four or five different phyles. In the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom phyles were social institutions, whereas from the Middle Kingdom they became administrative systems (Roth 1991: 2-4). Boys joined phyles or became apprentices and assistants appointed to their fathers or other teachers (Roth 1991: 70). The courtly elite were another institution, whereas regional elites formed their own individual groups. Individual villages and households were the smallest of the structuring groups with which the individual continually interacted in a recursive relationship.

When using agency theory to provide insights into archaeology, it is necessary to be able to interpret the system of cultural rules and the various agents’ understanding of these rules and position toward them and the recursive relationship forming the duality within that society. Individuals are multi-faceted, having gender, age, status, class, ethnicity and population traits. A consideration of the mechanisms for both long-term internal change within a society is just as important as an understanding of the dynamics of society in the short-term. Change does not only occur when imposed from outside (i.e. diffusionist theories) or in theories of societies as homeostatic systems. Agency theory, particularly when synthesised with an evolutionary approach, as articulated by Shennan (1996); Boyd & Richerson (1985) and Hodder (2000) allows for chance and development to occur inside a society, without necessary reference to external mechanisms. Although Clark (2000: 100) claims that the two theories are not commensurate and give examples of their divergence, there is a general trend among certain scholars to use the best of each theoretical camp to explain cultural transmission and change (e.g. Hassan 1992; Shennan 1996).

In summary agency theory posits that intentional choices are made by individuals, actors have self determinism. These choices are formed and constrained by the socio-cultural surroundings of the individual, which both define goals and restrain action and that there is a dynamic relationship between this process of individual action and socio-cultural structure which confines and forms it (Clark 2000: 98). Though agents are embedded within it, structures are changed through the actions of agents. A
basic premise of practice theory is that social groups precede any given individual and that culture is reproduced through social actions (Clark 2000: 103).

2.4.2 A Hypotheses of Agency, Change and Emulation in Hairstyles and Hairstyling

In the Early Dynastic Period social institutions, many of which had their origins in nascent structures of the Protodynastic, start to exert control over individuals. This was a basic ordering of society. However, the agency of certain individuals in the formation of state helped to establish and later maintain and alter these institutions (Flannery 1999). As part of this control, constraints were placed upon the choices of hairstyles that individuals were allowed to wear both by society and the technology open to the ancient Egyptian hairstylist. The hairstyles that a person could wear were temporally dependent upon an individual’s social position and status. A form of sumptuary laws existed in Egypt regulating social etiquette with regards to what forms of hairstyle were permissible by various classes and statuses of individuals at certain occasions. These laws were not written down but were governed by societal and courtly norms of behaviour. A male labourer working in the fields during the Old Kingdom is never depicted with a shoulder-length hairstyle, although they could be shown with dishevelled, untidy hair (Fletcher 1995). The material culture implications of these sumptuary laws governing hairstyles during the Protodynastic till the end of the Old Kingdom form the core of this thesis. However, a theoretical framework for analysing cultural transmission and change in regard to hairstyles can be postulated. A central theme of this theory is that in times of strong central control (unified state) creation of new styles were slower, fostering a unified culture, whereas in times of decentralised control (regional control) new styles occurred faster, showing diverse influences on culture (see Fig. 2). In periods when Egyptian society expanded, these changes became more rapid, opening the way to more effective changes on their material world (Cannon 1987). During the formative phase of unification experimentation and introduction of new styles may thus be expected, however, in a stable period, such as the Old Kingdom when consolidation and territorial appropriation occurred, is the time when faster rates of emulation would be expected.

The hairstyles of Egyptian deities sent out signals of a cosmological and social nature. The behaviour of the deities in myths can also be seen as setting ethical codes for social behaviour, modelling the social norms that should be aspired to, as well as grounding and reinforcing political and economic developments and social hierarchy
Ancient Egyptian religion, particularly its hierarchical nature, developed to control and order society, but also to explain the origins of civilisations and the universe and for the confinement of chaos and the rule of *mꜣst* (Hassan 1992: 308). When the hairstyles of deities were transferred to humans they reinforced the social bonds established in the cosmological myths.

Central to the Egyptian cosmogony was the notion of divine kingship, which defined Egyptian society in its own image (Baines 1993a; 1993b; Windus-Staginsky 2006). Therefore, it is postulated that since gods and goddesses represented the stable unchanging realm of the cosmos and eternity and of creation and the afterworld, their hairstyles did not change and remained traditional symbols of sacred power.

Through symbols an unlimited variety of messages can be communicated very quickly via a combination of a very small number of basic units (Rappaport 1971: 67). Symbols can be used for any ‘object, act, event, quality, or relation which serves as a vehicle for a conception - the conception is the symbol's 'meaning’ (Geertz 1966: 4). ‘Sacred symbols function to synthesize a people's ethos - the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood - and their world-view - the picture they have of the way things in sheer actuality are, their most comprehensive ideas of order’ (Geertz 1966: 3). Symbols shape the world view, by inducing in the individuals a certain distinctive set of tendencies, capacities, propensities, skills, habits, liabilities, pronenesses which give a chronic character to their flow of actions, and the quality of their experience (Geertz 1966: 9). Certain hairstyles, such as the tripartite hairstyle, which was worn by all the goddesses (and several gods), may be regarded as symbolic.

In reality the canon of deities was constantly evolving, reflecting changes in Egyptian society (Wilkinson 1999: 261-320; Wilkinson 2003 *passim*). Although

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**Figure 2. Reasons for change and stability in hairstyles.**

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In reality the canon of deities was constantly evolving, reflecting changes in Egyptian society (Wilkinson 1999: 261-320; Wilkinson 2003 *passim*). Although
religion evolved, the hairstyles of the majority of the deities remained constant throughout Pharaonic history (Wilkinson 2003). One of the few deities whose hairstyles changed to reflect changes in Egyptian society was Hathor’s, who is shown in the Old Kingdom with the tripartite hairstyle, in the Middle Kingdom she can be shown with the ‘bouffant Hathoric style’ and in the New Kingdom with an adaptation of the gala, the flying hairstyle. The wearing of various hairstyles reflected Hathor’s great variety of mythological roles: as goddess of women, protection, sexuality and nurturing; mother or wife of the king; cow goddess; wife or daughter and ‘eye’ of Re; sky goddess; mother or wife of Horus; goddess of foreign lands and their produce; goddess of the afterlife; goddess of love, joy, beauty, music and happiness (Wilkinson 2003: 140-3). Hathor also assimilated the attributes of other goddesses, such as Khonsut, the goddess of hair and hairstyles (Karlshausen 1992). Although Hathor was a state deity, her worship was also practiced on local and household levels and was often regarded as the indigenous deity in areas where she had previously had no cult of her own (Wilkinson 2003: 145).

Figure 3. Hathor’s various hairstyles: 1. wearing a tripartite hairstyle on a capital in the Hathor Shrine, Deir el-Bahari, New Kingdom; 2. with the curled-up bouffant style on a capital from Bubastis, Late Period; 3. sporting the multi-layered gala or flying style from the tomb of Seti I, now in the Louvre, New Kingdom.

Although Egyptian ideology expressed continuity with the past, a mystic territorial claim of unity over geographical and political subdivisions and a stability and prosperity through the wise and pious government of the king (Kemp 1989: 20), it constantly evolved, sometimes steadily, at other times rapidly. Certain observations and correlations can be expected during the process of state formation:
During the late Predynastic and Protodynastic periods a diversity of hairstyles - including very intricate experimental varieties reflected the increasing social complexity and stratification of the period.

Codification in hairstyles will start to be seen in the iconography (niche stones, palettes, statues) of the first two dynasties, a period of rapid change and evolution, which resulted in an adoption of certain styles by the elite to distinguish their positions of power. In Dynasty III this codification should become even more evident, as exemplified by the hairstyles shown on the wooden panels from the Tomb of Hesire at Saqqara.

During Dynasty IV the beginnings of consolidation of the centralised government and increase in official posts brought in greater codification in hairstyles of the elite, reflecting the larger governmental system. Courtly hairstyles may be distinct from the rest of the regional elite.

During late Dynasty V and Dynasty VI, with the great increase of officials, greater emulation and changes in the codified hairstyles should be seen as individual agents vied for power.

With the collapse of the Old Kingdom and centralised control, rules restricting the wearing of certain hairstyles will be loosened, and regional rulers should start to wear hairstyles originally restricted to the Memphite elite.

As societies expanded and became more complex, more elements could be combined, which in turn increased the range of technological and artistic choices available (Lemonnier 1993). The use of copper and bronze tools in the Early Dynastic Period allowed hair to be more easily cut and styled and as copper and bronze became more freely available in the Old Kingdom it allowed more operations to be done to the hair (Tassie in press a, in press b; Trigger et al. 1983: 63-4). The hairstylists and barbers of the period can be seen as agents of cultural reproduction, whereas those clients that asked for slight modifications in their hairstyles can be seen as agents that change the structures. The structures are the restraining factor on what was acceptable to do with the hair.

The concept of emulation is a theoretical framework to explain cultural transmission and cultural change tracing the rise and decline in popularity of styles; emulation patterns can illuminate the social dynamics in which they are at work (Cannon 1987; Miller 1982; Shennan 1996: 283). Emulation is the copying of elite
styles by lower levels within that society. The relationship between emulation and social hierarchy in Egypt occurred as a result of the ideal of social mobility within the Egyptian elite (Cannon 1987; Kemp 1989: 310). However, how socially mobile an individual could be is a moot point; peasants, with rare exceptions, could never move into elite circles. Social stratification was based on occupations and consisted of the king at the top, followed by the high elite – the royal dynasty and high-ranking governmental officials. Provincial nobilities and their kin then made up the next level, followed by the middle classes, which consisted of a group of lesser bureaucrats, priests, military officers, wealthy farmers and artisans. The lower class, by far the largest segment of Egyptian society, consisted of a great diversity of occupations, including soldiers, minor officials and priests, tenant farmers, peasants of virtually serf status and slaves (Trigger et al. 1983: 193-4). The king was rarely shown without a headcovering of either a crown or royal kerchief, such as the nemes of khat, so the most elite hairstyles seen were those of the royal family and court circle. It was the hairstyles of the elite that were copied by the lower levels within society so prompting further symbolic elaboration by the elite in order to maintain their differentiation (Shennan 1996: 283).

Figure 4. Theoretical ranking and emulation movement of Egyptian hairstyles for men.

The middle classes would only emulate the hairstyles of the lower elite positions; they would not for instance wear a shoulder-length bob, but may wear a short round style (see Fig. 4). This particular style was then modified by the lower elite to
keep the social differentiation. The lower elite would emulate the lower hairstyles of the upper elite, and the upper elite would then alter this particular hairstyle to differentiate themselves. In this way, not only did cultural transmission occur, but also cultural change. However, cultural transmission also occurs through imitation or teaching, inheriting cultural traits from peers or parents, as a system of inheritance (Boyd & Richerson 1985: 283). There can be wilful modifications made in the transmission of culture from one generation to the next, due to either an individual’s agency and own experiences or interaction with other groups (Shennan 1996: 286). These new cultural traits will then be passed on to the next generation, who may modify it again in their own way. The sumptuary laws dictated that certain categories of hairstyles were only allowed to be worn by various classes or statuses of people. Within these categories of hairstyles, stylistic changes occurred due to either emulation or cultural inheritance. Totally new categories of hairstyles arose usually only after major social changes or upheavals, e.g. the duplex and gala hairstyles, which were introduced at the beginning of the New Kingdom after the country was reunified. As the nobles started gaining more power during Dynasty V and VI (Baer 1974; Kanawati 1980a; Martin-Pardey 1976) one would expect to see a regional emulation of higher ranking hairstyles then was normal. However, as the regional elite were not part of the courtly elite, they may have had their own sumptuary laws. Therefore, when decentralisation of Egypt occurred at the end of the Old Kingdom more rapid change should be expected in the various regional hairstyles.

For changes to be accepted and absorbed into society, the new elements must be compatible physically and symbolically with the already existing elements of culture or run the risk of being rejected as being incomprehensible (Lemonnier 1993). Groups of people share ideas on how an object should look and be made, previously unknown features may take a while before they are locally deciphered and given meaning, and it then enters a cycle of reciprocal and progressive adaptations together with traditional elements (Lemonnier 1993). These new elements may be externally borrowed or the whole may be just a reorganisation of elements already present, rarely do people come up with straight inspiration, rather it is normally a case of transpiration [constant development] (Lemonnier 1993). Changes in style are also motivated by a reassertion of status, and a re-affiliation of subgroup. This may happen after one has re-attained ones position in society or attained a higher one - change in individual styling maybe because of a change of status, such as gaining promotion or passing through a rite of passage.
New hairstyles developed out of those already in existence, often retaining a nuance of those styles, whilst still creating a new style. Although certain ideas may be copied from Egypt’s neighbours through colonial expansion – into Nubia or Levant – these innovations were largely adopted by high ranking officials travelling to or resident in these regions, they still had to be accepted by Egyptian society. As aforementioned, there were certain restraining factors – structuration - that dictated whether a style would be accepted or not, these included cultural acceptance, and the individuals social status and class. Variation in timing, form and function of hairstyles cannot be understood apart from the motives and actions taken by agents to assert identities of gender, class, age, kinship and ethnicity in relation to each other. In ancient Egypt a young boy wearing a tripartite hairstyle would be totally socially unacceptable, just as a vizier would in a multi-lock style. Each style has to change within its own social context, retaining its basic meaning and intrinsic form and characteristics.

2.5 Ethnicity & National Identity

It is important to define the boundaries of both ethnicity and national identity to understand the development of the distinctive Egyptian culture, especially the art that it produced. Ethnicity is a cultural term used for the self-conscious identification with a particular social group at least partly based on a specific locality or origin (Shennan 1989). Within a country there can be a variety of ethnic cultures, held together by a larger political ideology while not sharing the same self-conscious identification with one another (e.g. former Yugoslavia). Ethnic group identity does not exist as an objective category, but rather as a subjective and pliable category by which various pre-existing likenesses can be manipulated symbolically to mould an identity and a community (Geary 1983: 16). National identity is an ideology fostered by the government to define and express itself and others. This was the case for most ancient Egyptian history, with many culturally distinct ethnic groups living within the state borders, while held together under the umbrella of national identity created by the government.

2.5.1 Ethnicity

With the emergence of the first nation state and patrimonial kingdoms in the early 3rd millennium BC, there is a growing sense of a more than local ethnic consciousness and sentiment among the Egyptians (Smith 1986: 45). The habitus is the link between subjective identity and objective context (Shennan 1989). The conscious sensations of affinity involved in being a member of an ethnic group arise from a ‘subliminal
awareness of objective commonalities in practice’ (Bentley 1987: 27). Consequently, ethnicity is not something which is completely arbitrary, which is guided by emotion or group interests, but rather ‘ethnic identities are anchored internally in experience as well as externally in the cognitive distinctions in terms of which that experience is ordered’ (Bentley 1987: 36). The construction of ethnicity is founded in the collective subliminal character of social agents that shape, and are shaped by, commonalities of practice (Jones 1997: 128). Ethnic identity comes into existence through contexts of competition (Hodder 1979), a shift in conceptions of personal identity due to new modes of domination in response to social, political, economic and environmental change (Bentley 1987).

Ethnic groups are culturally ascribed identity groups, based on the expression of a real or assumed shared culture and common descent through the objectification of cultural, linguistic, religious, historical and/or physical characteristics (Jones 1997: 84). There are, however, overlapping ethnic boundaries, which are produced by ‘context-specific representations of cultural difference, which are at once transient, but also subject to reproduction and transformation in the ongoing process of social life’ (Jones 1997: 129). This is to say, manifestations of ethnicity are the result of ongoing processes of multiple objectifications of cultural differences; an understanding and recognition of those differences and identification of others. Therefore, there will be temporal and spatial fluctuation and change in ethnic identity, particularly in terms of objectified cultural difference with the overall cultural practices and historical experiences of the group involved (Jones 2000: 452). The expression of cultural difference is dependent on particular cultural practices and historical experience that are activated in a given social context, as well as the idioms of cultural difference. This results in substantively and qualitatively varying cultural content in different contexts, as may the importance of ethnicity in general (Jones 2000: 452). The ethnic make-up of groups living in Egypt during the Predynastic Period, for example, will be different to that of the ethnic groups of the Middle Kingdom, because each group had a different history and changing cultural practices.

2.5.2 National Identity

The difference in culture and environment between the Nile Delta and Valley is apparent in the Middle Kingdom text *The Story of Sinuhe* (Lichtheim 1973: 222-235), when Sinuhe on finding himself in Asia, compares his situation to that of a Delta man seeing himself in *Yebu* (Elephantine) in the extreme south of Egypt, saying how strange
he found it. The people of these regions were both Egyptian, bound together in a national identity. National identity involved forging an ideology and self-conscious identity that underpinned the unity of the polity, sometimes embracing an amalgam of varied cultural traits and ethnicities. It would therefore be a truism to assume that cultural traits are necessarily coextensive with a perceived national identity (Baines 1996: 361). This was, however, just part of a larger defining of self and national identity, where others (non-Egyptians), often axiomatically diverse, must be defined as well, as in the case of the ‘peoples of the hill country’ (ḥḥštyn) and the ‘Nine Bows’ (ḥṣgt-ḥḏwḥ), defining people from foreign lands, possible enemies (O’Connor 2003; Tomimura 1981). The national identity of a state is the ideological picture that it presents to itself and others of how it is, or how it wants others to believe it is, and not necessarily dependent on a unified culture, but a perceived one.

The population of Egypt was comprised of a variety of different cultural groups, with incessant movement of people into Egypt from at least as early as the Neolithic (Hassan 1988: 135); some stayed in their own cultural groups in areas of Egypt, such as some of the Asiatic groups (e.g. the Hyksos) in the East Delta. Cultural groups who moved into Egypt might after a few generations be assimilated into Egyptian culture, or even marry an Egyptian and became part of the larger Egyptian national group (Leahy 1995; Trigger et al. 1983). So from the outset the Egyptian state encompassed people of varying populations, polities, cultures, and languages. The elite propagated the impression of a thoroughly integrated and cohesive society, with a common language, religion and culture, setting it firmly apart from its neighbours, but not necessarily an accurate reflection of social reality (Leahy 1995). Egyptian literature proposes that society consisted of subjects (ṛḥyt), an elite ruling group (ḥptḥ), and sun-people (gods-people) of Heliopolis (ḥmntḥ), forming a quasi-mythological description of Egyptian society, which presents a plural conception of society, as opposed to the more frequently used monographic term the people of Egypt (ṛmḥt ṭ nḥ t kmt) (Baines 1996: 371-2; Tait 2003: 2).

Even though Egypt was made up of different social and cultural groups, with different traditions, mores and styles a uniform bodily image of self was created, taking elements from these cultures, particularly the amalgamation of Lower and Upper Egyptian styles and traditions (see Craig Patch 1995). The king wearing of the Double Crown, which was a combination of the White Crown that symbolised Upper Egypt and the Red Crown that symbolised Lower Egypt, is exemplary of this amalgamation. The
role of hair and hairstyles in establishing a national identity was done through assimilating traditional Nile Valley hairstyles, such as the short-round curly styles, with the longer straighter Delta hairstyles (Capart 1956). These hairstyles would borrow aspects of one another, with the long style incorporating aspects of the short-curly style and vice versa. It is therefore important to examine this area of adornment to better understand social systems in ancient Egypt.

Propaganda plays a large role in creating national identity, in creating both self and other and defining the differences; it is the transmitter of an ideology fostered by the ruling elite, defining one set of values against others that might threaten them (Baines 1996: 360). In the New Kingdom tombs of Sety I (KV 17) and Ramesses III (KV 11) there are graphic depictions of self and other in the form of depictions of four Egyptians followed by four each of Asiatics, Nubians and Libyans. (Yurco 1996). We cannot assume, however, that the self-conscious identity of the Egyptian peoples was constant throughout their 3,000 year history prior to the Ptolemaic Period. The national identity of the ancient Egyptians must have been a constantly evolving and changing phenomenon, rather than an enduring one, and it is therefore likely that the national identity of the people of the Early Dynastic Period was different from that of the people of the Middle Kingdom.

The origins of a national identity can be traced back to the Protodynastic Period, when kin based ideologies were replaced by a new ideology based on cosmogony and kingship (Hassan 1992). One of the critical elements in a state society is the emergence of a power mystique, an ideology that binds people from different kinship groups (lineages) spread over a vast territory into a societal unit (Hassan 1992: 319). The new state-based ideological glue binding the society, breaks the original kinship reward-based ideology of the group, and national identity arises to hold the society together; invented and shaped by the elite through rhetorical discourses directed at the society as a whole, embellishing on certain themes and events that become part of the social memory (Hassan 1998b). By the beginning of the Early Dynastic Period, Egypt had started to create its own identity, adding parts to - and embellishing - the royal insignia (Wilkinson 1999: 183-229), defining the tripartite hairstyle, chin beard and nemes,² culminating in King Djoser's appearance in Dynasty III (Lehner 1997: 90). The use of these insignia helped to integrate the king into the creation myth, which not only legitimated his position, but also held the whole society together in one belief,

² The nemes is a royal kerchief, such as that seen on the Great Sphinx at Giza.
demonstrating and embodying national identity and longevity. The kingly association with Osiris seems to have developed at the end of the Old Kingdom (Wilkinson 1999), although the association with cows and Horus seems to predate the unification period, and these appear to have become generic icons of royalty and power at a very early stage in state development (Hassan 1992 *passim*).

The fifth-century BC historian Herodotus discusses the Egyptian perception of ethnicity. The Oracle of Amen-Re at Siwa had apparently proclaimed that Egypt included everything that was covered by the waters of the inundation, and that everyone who lived north of Elephantine and drank the waters of the Nile was an Egyptian; later we are told that the Egyptians considered everyone a foreigner who did not speak Egyptian (Herodotus II, 18; 158, 5). Nowhere does he mention that physical characteristics were of any importance in ethnicity; domicile and cultural traits seem to have been the main criteria for being and becoming ethnically Egyptian.

In practice, the Egyptians defined themselves by residence in the Nile Valley and Delta, by language, by religion, and by general culture. Egyptian burial customs and religious belief of rebirth into the afterlife were a particular way they separated themselves from their neighbours (Leahy 1995). In *The Story of Sinuhe*, Sinuhe gave up fame, fortune and an Asiatic wife and children for a ‘proper’ Egyptian funeral and interment in a tomb (Lichtheim 1973). In practice ‘foreigners could become Egyptian simply by accepting Egypt as their home and adopting Egyptian culture in all its aspects’ (Trigger *et al* 1983: 317) this is an important corollary to the general Egyptian attitudes towards foreigners. The attractions of Egypt were very real, particularly the religious, economic and environmental aspects, and this ensured many immigrants into all levels of society.
3.0 The Types of Data Examined

There is a wealth of primary information relating to ancient Egyptian hairstyles, including artefacts, texts and iconography. The iconographic information is on statues, figurines, monumental reliefs, paintings and painted ostraca. Because most of the information left to us about ancient Egyptian culture and practices is from funerary monuments (Wengrow 2006: 6) this forms the largest corpus of evidence and the examination of tomb-scenes is the core of the dataset to be examined in this work. It is therefore essential to be able to read the ancient Egyptian iconography before recording it. The artefactual data is in the form of the tools of the ancient hairdresser, and the jewellery and ornaments used in dressing the hair and wigs and hairpieces. The textual evidence includes monumental inscriptions, various types of literary work on papyrus and less formal inscriptions on ostraca.

3.1 Reading Egyptian Art

People confer meanings on their material culture, so deciphering the logic of their symbolic systems necessarily passes through what they have left behind. Their materiality helps us see how they viewed and embraced their world (Lemonnier 1993). Works of ‘art’ are by far the most numerous categories of objects available for examination. Before entering into an examination of ancient Egyptian hairstyles it is therefore important to be able to understand what the Egyptian artist was portraying. Egyptian art was conceptual rather than perceptual, unlike art from the Classical Greek period to the modern day, which can use perspective. The feeling of realism resulted from the use of a mosaic of percepts, assembled in a semi-realistic manner (Robins 1986: 11). The formal artist was always trying to create a symmetrically balanced picture, to create the formal, unchanging and ritualistically idealised worlds of the gods, royalty and the dead (Robins 1986).

The Egyptian artist showed things in their most easily recognised form (including clothes, hairstyles and parts of the human body), which was regarded as their real form, resulting in a set of symbols (often oblique views of assemblages) encoding the essential information to the viewer, rather than presenting a naturalistic depiction (Aldred 1980; Robins 1986; Schäfer 1986). This is because the representations were
intended as substitutes for the actual object, thus the artist tried to give the maximum amount of data about the subject without resorting to distortions, foreshortening or perspective (Brewer & Teeter 1999: 175). The law of *frontality* (based on frontal images) that is used in much of Egyptian art did not apply in three-dimensional representations of human beings, animals, and other objects which are symmetrical round an axis. These conform to the ‘rule of directional straightness’. ‘This rule results from the opposition between method of representation based on frontal images and the structure of objects serving as originals: a plane is imagined as a starting-point, and the other principal planes of the torso and limbs adapt to it to form an intersection of planes at right angles’ (Schäfer 1986: 316)

Although the Egyptian artist did not try and give an illusion of three-dimensions, they sometimes attempted to give the reader an impression of depth in two-dimensional scenes by either overlapping objects or - more commonly - by placing the more distant figure above the one in the foreground (Brewer & Teeter 1999: 175). This allowed the artist to portray the relative size of the objects and also to give more detail.

![Figure 5. The less strictly registered scene of dancers and musicians from the Tomb of Nebamun (photograph G. J. Tassie).](image)

From, and even just prior to, Dynasty I the baseline and division of large wall areas into registers was used to organise the scenes (Schäfer 1986: 316). By the mid-Old Kingdom the Egyptian artists seem to have had full cognition of the articulation of large areas of wall space into registers; only in the New Kingdom are examples found of less-strictly registered scenes (Schäfer 1986: 164 & 196). Each line of the register usually depicted one scene, although long rituals could occupy several registers, although the
registers were usually read from top to bottom, the reverse was sometimes the case (Schäfer 1986: 166).

In funerary and monumental art, the Egyptian artists depicted that which was expected to last and represent the person in perpetuity; not that which is transient, usually showing people as young, healthy and virile, or rarely when depicted as older, rich and prosperous (Brewer & Teeter 1999; Janssen & Janssen 1996). Thinning, greying or untidy hair is therefore rarely shown on the main figures, or clothing portrayed as crumpled or in rags. This was usually restricted to field-labourers, artisans and subservient figures (Brewer & Teeter 1999: 183).

The use of aspective by the Egyptian artist can make the ancient Egyptian body appear unnatural to the modern eye. The human figure in two-dimensional art was shown as a composite diagram constructed from what was regarded as the typical aspects of each part of the body. The head and hair were shown in profile, into which an eye and eyebrow were set shown in full-view with a half-view mouth; the shoulders were shown full width from the front, but the boundary line at the forward side of the body from the armpits to the waist (including the nipple of a man or breast of a woman) were in profile, as were the waist, elbows and legs and feet (Robins 1986: 12; Brewer & Teeter 1999: 178-9). There were some depictions of humans in full facial view, usually musicians and dancers (see Fig. 5), such as shown in BM.37984 from the New Kingdom tomb of Nebamun (Brewer & Teeter 1999: 179).

If one was not aware of the nature of hair - or if we did not have statues showing its truer nature - representations of the tripartite hairstyle in two-dimensional art would be misleading. The hair that hangs down the woman's back and front seems to be determined by the breadth and shape of the shoulders. This can result in a curve in the hair that hangs straight down the back or more rarely an unnatural curve in the hair that hangs straight down the front in two bunches, although sometimes only one bunch is shown lying on the shoulder figure 6b, or in the case of figure 6a, hanging down the outside of the attendants arm (Schäfer 1986: 289). So one could think that the way the hair fell was solely determined by the outline of the shoulders, and did not have a separate nature of its own.

Because of the flowing, malleable nature of hair, it is a difficult substance to portray, as stone gives a bulky rigid feel and look to a substance that is anything but
rigid. Hair, both heliotrichous and cynotrichous,\(^3\) is light and movable and often flowing. The artistic conventions and technical/artistic ability of the Old Kingdom did not lend themselves to the portrayal of hair in this manner. However, the more naturalistic artistic conventions and better techniques of the New Kingdom (Robins 1986) - especially in the Amarna Period - were better equipped to deal with the qualities of hair. The medium of paint was also used, but the strong Egyptian artistic conventions did not allow for a really free portrayal of hair.

![Figure 6. The nature of the tripartite style: a) One of Queen Kawit’s hairdressers, Dynasty XI, Deir el-Bahari; b) Princess Nefretiabet, Dynasty IV, Giza (A photograph G. J. Tassie; b) Der Manuelian 2003: Pl. 12).

It may appear from reading some of the modern discourse upon Egyptian art that many of the tomb-scenes had sexual connotations, which have been interpreted as

\(^3\) Heliotrichous – Negroid hair, and cynotrichous - Caucasian hair.
scenes and symbols, concerned with rebirth and regeneration (Manniche 1987a; Robins 1988; 1996). Some see the tomb as a womb from which the deceased was reborn into the afterlife, which was enhanced by the foetal position that was assumed in Predynastic and some later burials (Tassie 2000: 37-41). The decoration and function of the pharaohs’ mortuary temples was closely aligned with those of the cult-places of the gods, whereas the funerary-chapels attached to private tombs were usually adorned with secular scenes, intending to magically re-create the terrestrial environment in the afterworld (Dodson 2001: 433). Although there may have been a subtext concerned with the ritual significance of rebirth, ‘one should probably see them as secondary developments, during the New Kingdom, overlain on the basic re-creation of the earthly environment and its food-production potentialities’ (Dodson 2001: 433).

In Egyptian art there was an inequality in the way women and men, elite and commoners were treated (Robins 1996). The tomb-owner, gods and king are shown as being much larger than other figures depicted in the scenes, as on occasion are other members of the tomb-owner’s family. The wife is sometimes, although not always (see Fischer 1987; 1989; Aldred 1980) portrayed as being much smaller than her husband in the same wall-scene (i.e. Figs. 72 & 153). This usually indicates a less important person, although the reasons for this must not be confused with the missing spouse in some late Dynasty V scenes (Roth 1999). Old Kingdom statues sometimes depict the women at a smaller-scale seated at the feet of the male tomb-owner (i.e. Figs. 121 & 185), although this genre of statuary is not that common (Fay 1998; 1999). In the Old Kingdom, particularly in statuary, it was more general to show the wife as being only slightly shorter than her husband. This makes it easier for the couple to show signs of affection (Cherpion 1995; Schäfer 1986). These signs of affection often include the woman’s arm around the shoulder or waist of her husband and more rarely holding hands but can also include the husbands arm around his wife’s shoulder sometimes cupping her breast, it also occurs between the goddesses and kings (see Figs. 97; 98C & D; 105; 133; 135; 155; 156; 184; 207, between mother and daughter 180, between king and Hathor 207 and in relief 113). Although Schäfer (1986: 318) interprets this as the weaker person placing themselves under the protection of the stronger the (Cherpion 1995) also sees it as signs of real love and affection. This tenderness between married couples is also shown in the scenes where Mereruka is being serenaded by his wife Watetkhathor who is playing a harp to him while both sit on a bed (Duell 1938). The hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity often portrayed in art shows a
cultural ideal of heterosexual masculinity and femininity which need not correspond at all closely to the actual personalities of the majority of people (Segal 1990).

In the Old Kingdom male workforce members and entertainers were sometimes shown with exposed genitals and receding hairlines, although the penis was always shown flaccid. The overseers of the workman from the Old Kingdom through the New Kingdom are always shown clothed, concealing their genitals, and therefore nudity or the exposure of a flaccid penis or being nude can be seen as signifying lack of empowerment or low status (Robins 1996), just as children (who had no power and were of low status) were also shown nude (Janssen & Janssen 1989). Male dress, as opposed to nudity, could therefore signify status rather than fertility, for the clothed overseer conducted scribal duties, whereas the workforce who did hard physical labour had to remove their clothes to do so.

3.2 The Development of Tomb Decoration

Because the decoration of private tombs shows secular activities, these have been chosen as the primary means by which to analyse the role of hairstyles in ancient Egyptian society. Royal tombs and iconography are used to examine more ritualistic hairstyles. Egyptian tomb decoration was not static throughout its history and the archaeological record for various periods is not totally equal, with the intermediate periods being less well represented, therefore, a review of the development of tomb decoration is made here. O’Connor’s (2000: 21-35) explanatory model for examining the ordering of spatial aspects of tomb decoration will be largely followed for the purpose of interpreting the tomb-scenes. Egyptian tombs consist of two distinct elements: the below-ground substructure, which held the burial-chamber, and the above-ground superstructure, which housed the funerary-chapel for offerings to the deceased (Dodson 2001: 433). The execution of these elements differed between private and royal individuals, with the king provisioned to join other deities in the afterlife and private people continuing to enjoy their own way of life in the Afterlife (Dodson 2001: 433). The poor of all periods, however, were buried in simple graves.

The earliest graves in Egypt were simple oval pits; the first decorated elements in these were the pottery and other grave goods. Decorated (C-Class) pottery starts to appear in the Naqada I Period: geometric, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic, plants and hill motifs, the repertoire of designs increases on the D-Class pottery of the Nagada II Period (Adams 1988: 48-53). The earliest tomb painting so far found is from Tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis (Quibell & Green 1902: Pl. LXXV-LXXIX), depicting ritualistic
scenes and showing artistic elements of the contemporary painted pottery (Adams & Ciałowicz 1997: 36-40). This large mud-lined rectangular tomb of the Naqada IIIC Period was that of a local ruler. The grave goods of the Predynastic Period were meant as provisions for the afterlife, some poorer graves only containing a potsherd, which may have represented these provisions (Hassan et al. 2000; Hassan et al. 2003). During the Nagada III Period up to the end of Dynasty I, no tomb reliefs or paintings have been found to date, except for two niche-stones found at Helwan dating to the second half Dynasty I (Köhler 2000; Leclant 1953: 96-7; Reisner 1936; Smith 1981) and one each at Abydos and Saqqara (Emery 1961: 193). During late Dynasty I the first monumental tombs began to be built of stone in the Memphite region (Köhler 2000). Peter Der Manuelian (2003, Chap. 3) summarises the main theories on the developmental stages of private tomb decoration from Dynasty I to IV: from the niche-stones, through the slab stelae to false door tablets. In Dynasty II niche-stones, showing the tomb-owner seated before an offering-table become more common and were set in a niche in the burial chamber of Memphite mastabas (Smith 1981: 48-9). During Dynasty III the private mud-brick mastaba tombs, which developed out of the large mud-brick tombs of the Protodynastic and Dynasty I and II (Reisner 1936; van Wetering & Tassie 2003) started to include stone-carved reliefs in the form of architraves above the false-door offering niche set in the southern end of the east wall of the façade (Reisner 1936: 358). There is also evidence that the Step Pyramid Complex of King Djoser had internal decoration (Arnold 2002: 426). The expansion of the private funerary-chapel continued throughout Dynasty III, cutting deeper into the core of the mud-brick mastaba, developing into the cruciform-shape. This chapel had a stone offering niche that was covered in relief and painted, as were the wooden panels that were inserted into the back wall of the inner recess to increase the functional value of the false-door (Reisner 1936: 358).

Kafr Hassan Dawood pit grave

Painting Tomb 100, Hierakonpolis
S3471, Palace niche tomb, reign of Djer Anedjib

Helwan, Mid Dynasty I

Tomb of Hesire, Dynasty III, Saqqara

S3038, Palace niche tomb, reign of

Saqqara Dynasty II royal tomb
Towards the end of Dynasty III the cruciform, corridor and external chapels start to appear, becoming more popular in Dynasty IV (Kanawati 2001: 56). These chapels would contain a stele of the tomb-owner and be plastered possibly with painted scenes covering them. During Dynasty IV, at the beginning of the Old Kingdom, major changes in both royal and private funerary architecture occurred. The king was buried in a true pyramid, the first being that of Sneferu, the first king of Dynasty IV, at Dahshur⁴. The lower temple of the so-called Bent Pyramid has the earliest evidence for decoration, with statues in front of six offering niches; the pillars in front of the niches are decorated with scenes showing the king associated with deities (Fakhry 1959; 1961). It is possible that other pyramid chapels were decorated, but none is attested until the causeway and chapels, showing scenes of daily life and events from the king’s reign, occurs in the reign of Userkaf, first king of Dynasty V (Reisner 1936: 364). Although it was not until the reign of King Unas, last king of Dynasty V, that the walls of the entrance passage, antechamber and burial-chamber were decorated with what are now termed the Pyramid Texts. To date, ten pyramids have been found containing texts on

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⁴ Although the pyramid at Maidum is the first true pyramid and its building may have been begun in the reign of Huni, Sneferu’s father, it seems that it wasn’t finished until later in Sneferu’s reign (Smith 1981: 70-1).
their walls: six kings (Unas, Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, Pepi II, & Ibi) and four queens (Ankhesenpepi II, Neith, Iput, & Wedjetben).

L-shaped chapel, Dynasty V-VI  
Mastaba with external chapel, reign of Khufu
Mastabas from Khafre to Menkaure

Porticoed mastaba of Ty, Dynasty V, Saqqara
Porticoed mastaba of Ptahshepses, Dynasty V, Abusir

Rock-cut-tomb of Hem-min, Dynasty VI, Akhmin

Mastaba of Mereruka and Khagmeni, Dynasty VI, Saqqara
Figure 8. Development of Old Kingdom tombs. (after Kanawati 2001; Der Manuelian 2003).

In Dynasty IV private tombs were more regularly built and cased in stone, although they still retained the mastaba form. The offering niches were moved inside the core of the mastaba and moved to a room on the west wall, other niches could be added one in the southern and another in the northern end of the tomb (Dodson 2001: 435). Slab stelae started to be used in Dynasty IV (and possibly by late Dynasty III) as were the false door tablets, the latter being used when the mastaba was finished being cased, although this did not always occur (Manuelian 2003: 138-9). The development of Old Kingdom mastabas reaches its peak with those of Ptahshepses and Ty of Dynasty V and Mereruka and Khagmeni of Dynasty VI. Mereruka’s tomb complex at Saqqara has 32 rooms covering the majority of the mastaba’s ground space, and included courtyards. The decoration of these Old Kingdom tombs covered the majority of the internal wall space, showing a variety of secular as well as ritual scenes, with the craftsmanship seeming to reach its peak in Dynasty V. Some scenes, such as manicuring or circumcision are unique to certain tombs. The burial-chambers were usually undecorated, although some tombs from Dynasty VI have offering lists inscribed on their walls (Dodson 2001: 436). Although the majority of Old Kingdom tombs were mastabas, rock-cut tombs also start to be used, but the decoration regime remains the same as in the mastabas (Dodson 2001: 436).

The tomb structures of the Predynastic, and particularly the large mastaba tombs from the Protodynastic through the Dynastic periods reproduced the structures of the most sophisticated houses of the time (Campagno 2003b: 23). The tomb was seen as a house for eternity. There was a strong link between the residential domains of the living
and the dead throughout ancient Egyptian history (Campagno 2003b: 23). This correlation between the house of the living and that of the dead is well demonstrated in the Old Kingdom text *The Instruction of Prince Hardjedef* (Lichtheim 1973: 58-9):

‘Cleanse yourself before your [own] eyes.
Least another cleanse you.
When you prosper, found your household,
Take a hearty wife, a son will be born [to] you.
It is for the son you build a house,
When you make a place for yourself.
Make good your dwelling in the cemetery,
Make worthy your station in the West.
Given that death humbles us,
Given that life exalts us,
The house of death is for life.
Seek for yourself well-watered fields,
Choose for him [funerary priest] a plot among your fields,
Well-watered every year.
He profits you more than your own son,
Prefer him even to you [heir].

Tomb-scenes have ritualistic, artistic, cosmological, societal and individualistic dimensions (O’Connor 2000: 29). Although tombs have generic scenes, some of which seem to be copies from other tombs, there are individual choices of tomb-reliefs, such as the toilette scene shown in the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep at Saqqara or the circumcision scene shown in the tomb of Ankhmahor, again from Saqqara. The tomb was the centre for the cult of the deceased individual and was architecturally and artistically designed to accommodate and promote the deceased’s bond with the land of the living. The deceased was believed to have continued some sort of earthly ties through their souls, and needed an eternal earthly dwelling (Kanawati 2001: 1). The scenes in the tomb never represented the tomb-owner as dead and portrayed scenes from daily-life up to the New Kingdom when the burial chamber started to show scenes of the Hereafter (Kanawati 2001: 112-4). The artistic programme and layout of the tomb focused on the specific needs and concerns of the tomb-owner (O’Connor 2000: 25). The societal dimension of the tomb affirms and reinforces the existing social structure, its supporting ideology, and its political and economic organisation (O’Connor 2000: 29). Therefore, the choice of tomb decoration that the tomb-owners had in their tombs
was an accurate depiction of themselves and their lifestyle. Tombs were microcosms that reflected the ordered universe (O’Connor 2000: 25). Archaeological evidence from Giza substantiates this social organisation, with the spatial layout of the various cemeteries, with the high-officials being buried nearest the king they served and the tomb-builders having their own necropolis farther away (Roth 1993). This social stratification is also reproduced in the type, size and amount of funerary-offerings of the various segments of society (Rowland 2005) as well as the differentiation shown in the skeletal remains (Hussien et al. 2003). The tools that are depicted in the tomb-scenes have been found in many of the tombs as have the clothes (Hall 1986), hair and wigs (Fletcher 1995; 2000; Tassie 2002; in press a). The written evidence from the Old Kingdom also supports this world view of the Egyptians, particularly the didactic literature, monumental inscriptions and Pyramid Texts (Gardiner 1961; Lichtheim 1973; Trigger et al. 1983).

Where possible both the chapel and burial chamber were decorated, although in the Old Kingdom only the burial chambers of the highest officials were decorated. Decoration in the burial chamber started in Dynasty V, and it appears from the scenes of everyday life portrayed in the Giza burial chamber of Kaemankh, an official in the reign of Djedkare, the penultimate king of the dynasty that the burial chamber was treated as an extension of the tomb chapel (Kanawati 2001: 112-3). Another official buried at Giza, Kakherptah, had a large scene showing him seated at the offering table painted on the east wall (Kanawati 2001: 113). By the beginning of Dynasty VI the depiction of any living creature in the burial chamber had been abandoned and usually stacks of food were shown (Kanawati 2001: 213), possibly representing the first meal of the deceased in the Hereafter. This change in beliefs mirrors that of the kings and some queens where Unas, last king of Dynasty V started to decorate the burial chambers with Pyramid Texts and had certain hieroglyphic signs beheaded to render them harmless (Kanawati 2001: 114). The exclusion of scenes of daily life in the burial chambers was not purely aimed at protecting the deceased from harm, but due to the inappropriateness of portraying the living in the realm of the dead (Kanawati 2001: 114). The role of the tomb, grave goods, food offerings and funerary ceremonies performed from the Predynastic period onwards seems to have been to facilitate and sustain the journey of renewal into the afterlife (O’Connor 2000: 34-5; Tassie 2000: 39-41). The two forms of surviving death, the spirit of sustenance and the spirit of mobility – the kꜣt and the bꜣt, shared the task of perpetuating existence for the individual (Quirke 1992: 143). Funerary texts make it clear that as part of the deceased individual’s renewal process
they were envisioned as traversing the tomb and chapel and emerging into the actual vitalised cosmos – the outside world – via the chapel’s entrance (O’Connor 2000: 35).

Figure 9. Models for analysing tomb decoration A) thematic and B) cosmological and analogous (O’Connor 2000: 26)
Many tombs have biographies of the tomb-owner and the majority have after the name of the person depicted their titles. Some of these titles and epitaphs were eulogies or honorary positions that the king gave to the tomb-owner to help them attain everlasting life, which was sought with Osiris in the food of the earth and in the sky with the imperishable stars and the sun (Quirke 1992: 155). Texts from the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate extolled the venerable and just nature of the tomb-owner (Quirke 1992: 127), whereas epitaphs such as "Beloved and Honoured of his Lord" can be found in early Old Kingdom tombs. The former texts professing that the deceased had lived a good and righteous life, whereas the later establishes an existing connection with the spirit world of the gods where the deceased wished to ascend. In the Old Kingdom the tomb-owner would assert his moral right to his tomb that assured his afterlife, claim that it was built on new ground, no parts of older monuments were used, that the labourers who built the tomb had been recompensed and generally was circumspect and avoided wrong doing (Quirke 1992: 126). These virtues and self-justification gave the tomb-owner recompense to sue any damager of their own monument in the tribunal of the afterlife, or to attack them directly in this life (Assmann 2002: 160; Quirke 1992: 127).

In O'Connor’s (2000) model (Fig. 9), the tomb decoration programme details this movement from Dwât (lower world) to the actual cosmos (upper world), from the burial chamber to the outside walls of the chapel. This movement through the tomb rationalises the statues of Seshemnefer IV, which were placed either side of the entrance to his late Dynasty V tomb-chapel at Giza, depicting him with the tripartite hairstyle (Junker 1953: Pl.1). One of the hypotheses postulated in this thesis is that only sacred men (kings, gods and the venerated ancestors) can wear the tripartite style (see Chapter 8). As Seshemnefer IV had passed through the renewal process and emerged into the vitalised cosmos, and joined the upper world, he was regarded as a sacred, divine being or sêh. This is the only occasion when men who had not been a king could wear the tripartite hairstyle. A tripartite hairstyle is only depicted on one other statue, the ka statue of the overseer of the king’s works (imy-r kit nt niswî) Itti [Ankh-irs] (CG 45), found in the serdab of the late Dynasty V Mastaba D63 at Saqqara by Mariette and now in the Cairo Museum (Borchardt 1912: CG 45; Mariette 1976: 357-9). The tripartite hairstyle is also depicted on the outside of male (and female) anthropoid coffins, which

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3 This was not the same concept as the later second millennium BC judgement of the dead by Osiris and the forty-two assessors in the weighing-of-the-heart ceremony (Quirke 192: 162).
first appeared in Dynasty XII (Taylor 1989: 11). The anthropoid coffin served as a substitute body in which the deceased’s spirit could reside and simply copied the form of the mummy (Taylor 1989: 11). On a symbolic cosmological level the anthropoid coffin was the image of the sḫ – the blessed dead individual with shining golden skin (which accounts for the gilded faces of the finest examples) (Taylor 1989: 11) and long tripartite hair.

During the Protodynastic (probably also in the Predynastic) and Early Dynastic an earlier belief system than the daily rebirth of the dead to join the sun-god and stars was in practice, elements of which continued throughout and up to the Roman era. Originally it seems that there was a belief that for the deceased to maintain a posthumous existence they needed to be supplied with food and drink (Blackman 1918: 160). These provisions can be seen in the earliest Naqadian and Maadian tombs (Midant-Reynes 2000), during the Protodynastic symbolic potsherds were sometimes placed to represent breadmoulds and cooking stands (Hassan et al. 2003) and in the elite tombs at Saqqara Emery (1961: 243) found remains of the funerary repast placed in the tombs. The early niche stelae at Helwan and Saqqara (see Chapter 5) indicate aspects of the funerary rites. Blackman (1918: 160) proposes that these rites began with the pouring out of water over the officiant’s hands and the burning of incense - acts that represent the washing of the deceased banqueter’s hands and fumigation with incense-smoke, preludes to feasts of the living. Acts of anointing, presenting napkins and censing then followed before the pouring of libation water, which may have represented mouth-wash, and the bringing of the viands (Blackman 1918: 160). The more developed Old Kingdom beliefs in the daily joining of the celestial realm do not replace these older beliefs but accommodate and incorporate them in the new rites and belief system.

Harpur (1987) examined the development of tomb decoration in the Old Kingdom, analysing the orientation of the scenes and figures as well as scene content in over 600 tombs. Certain patterns emerged such as the posture of the figures, and a chronological sequence was established. Changes in the position of tomb-scenes were mainly affected by changes in tomb-chapel architecture and the gradual increase in the number of tomb-scene types incorporated through time (Harpur 1987: 226). The main funerary scene with the tomb-owner sat before the funerary repast started on the south wall of the tomb but changes to the west wall during Dynasty V, although the south wall retained scenes of food offerings (Harpur 1987: 227). General rules are that the minor figures face the interior of tomb-chapel toward the false-door offering niche while the
major figures and attendants generally face outward toward the entrance (Harpur 1987: 224-5). However, when the tomb-owner is represented the minor figures on the same level as his figure and inscription face toward him. The tomb owner depicted on either side of the tomb entrance nearly always faces inwards (Harpur 1987: 225). No attempt was made to analyse the hairstyles portrayed in the tomb-scenes even though it is clear from a cursory examination of the scenes in her study that particular hairstyles are associated with certain scenes.

Swinton (2003) examined tomb decoration development in the Old Kingdom, demonstrating how changes in the decoration reflected the changing socio-political regimes. One of the changes she recognised was that increasingly toward the end of Dynasty V and throughout Dynasty VI children were shown as miniature adults, showing them dressed in the same clothes and with the same hairstyles as their parents (Swinton 2003: 102). Swinton (2003: 106-8) suggests that this was because of the increasing complexity of the bureaucracy in the latter part of the Old Kingdom and the fact that many officials were reaching the pinnacles of their careers later and thus building their final resting places later, therefore their offspring were adults (with the daughters already having left home often being omitted altogether) often holding inherited positions of power themselves (the father having passed down one of his former roles and titles), a fact born out by the recent Polish excavations at Saqqara (Myśliwiec 2004). King Unas’ daughter - Princess Idut - is shown wearing the pigtail and ball hairstyle throughout her Dynasty V Saqqara tomb-reliefs. This hairstyle was particularly popular for girls during this period, and is also shown being worn by some boys. However, Idut was an adult when she died; as it was her own tomb she could not be shown as small, therefore this particular convention was chosen to show that she was a daughter of the king (Fischer 1989: 21; Macramallah 1935) a practice also used in other princesses tombs (Swinton 2003: 100). The ball and pigtail hairstyle seems to have had a particular association with the Goddess Hathor, for in the Dynasty VI Tomb of Idu at Giza, pigtailed girls with the epithet ‘In Honour of Hathor’ are shown dancing alongside boys with cropped hair playing the Hut Game (Simpson 1976: 24-5). In this period provincial governors and court officials gained greater power and independence, building larger tombs, a process that continued until the end of the Old Kingdom (Grimal 1992: 78). Also during this period there seems to have been a change in religious focus, no sun temples being built after the reign of Menkauhor and although Re retained his position, major changes occurred, possibly with the Heliopolitan
priesthood assimilating the chthonic god Osiris into the cosmic order as a counter-part for Re (DuQuesne 2006; Kanawati 1990: 55; Malek 2000: 112-3).

The majority of the top administrative positions in the first four dynasties were reserved for members of the royal family (Kanawati 2003: 56). These positions were not always held by the king’s children or other blood relatives, but could be held by people marrying into the family, usually to a king’s daughter. The founder of Dynasty VI, King Teti, himself attained the throne by marrying Iput, one of King Unas’ daughters (Kanawati 2003: 39). Contrary to generally accepted views, Kanawati (2003) has demonstrated that nepotism was also rife in Dynasty VI, and probably in Dynasty V. This surrounding of the king with people he trusted was based on sound reasoning, for in Dynasty VI there is evidence that Teti was assassinated and that Pepi I faced at least one probably two conspiracies, the first involving one of his wives (Kanawati 2003: 57). The king on his accession to the throne would install members of his family to the highest positions, including the vizierate, usually, but not always removing those of the previous king. However, the large amount of royal wives, sons and in-laws created a fertile ground for plots and intrigues (Kanawati 2003: 57).

Figure 10. The structure of the Early Dynastic administration showing the principal departments and functions of the government, together with some of the major titles of the officials (after Wilkinson 1999: 145).

However, tombs do not show every activity that was performed by members of ancient Egyptian society, only a selection. The tombs of the elite generally show secular
scenes whereas those of the pharaoh show ritual scenes, although both genres have a shared secular and ritual aspect in the iconography and function (Robins 1986; 1990; 1997). In the Old Kingdom the pharaohs mainly used pyramids for their final resting places; these were generally not decorated, although the associated temples were covered in reliefs. However, not enough have royal temple decoration has survived for them to form a useful part of this study. The various types of scenes shown in the elite tombs cover most aspects of life, with agricultural, herding, hunting, fishing, fowling, boating, military, banqueting, food production (beer, wine making), oil production, pottery production, stone masonry, carpentry, jewellery making, beautification, ablutions, medical operations, offering scenes, playing, dancing, fighting and battles, expeditions to foreign lands, and various rituals, including the funeral, all being depicted (Robins 1986; 1997).

It may be concluded that tomb-reliefs and associated statues are an index, which relates development in hairstyles to the changing socio-economic and political situation. Early Egyptian iconography on tomb-scenes and other objects is not only a suitable body of evidence with which to examine changes in men’s, women’s and children’s hairstyles of the elite and commoners but by far the largest and most accurate body of evidence to compare to the larger socio-economic and political situation of the various periods. Certain scenes from temples and physical mummified remains will be used to illustrate certain specific points. The larger body of evidence with which the hairstyles will be compared is primarily gathered from inscriptions and literary evidence, as well as the archaeological data from materiality, settlements and related cemeteries.

3.3 On the Wearing of Wigs

In the past, the term wig has been used indiscriminately to describe the different types of ancient Egyptian coiffeur. There has been an over generalisation of the term wig (Daygel-Mendels 1989; Muller 1982; Martin 1989; Garetto 1955), with no real distinction between natural hair and false hair. Wig is a specific term to describe a full hairpiece. The idea that all ancient Egyptian hairstyles were wigs is unsustainable, given the amount of mummified remains found with intricate hairstyles on the natural hair. This is complemented by the amount of textual information regarding hair care, including formulae to make hair grow, demonstrating a real concern for the condition of the natural hair. A number of wigs and false braids have also been found, usually in the tombs of the elite, either in wig-boxes or on the deceased’s head. Throughout this work, the distinction is made between wig, natural hair or hairstyle. The term wig refers to
hairstyles that can be proved to be wigs; the term natural hair refers to styles that are
clearly the wearer's own natural hair; and the term hairstyle refers to hairstyles that are
either natural or ambiguous in their nature, or where it is impossible to tell whether it is
a wig or natural hair.

Many statues show hair under the wig, and many mummies still have their own
hair attached to their scalp (Fletcher 1995). That the artist deliberately showed the
natural hair beneath the wig was probably to indicate that the subject of the statue or
relief was able to afford to wear a wig; making the wearing of wigs a status symbol.
Male scribes in the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqara can be seen with long hair flowing
down their backs (Martin 1989), and from the style of their hair it is obviously their
natural hair. In the Turin 'Erotic Papyrus' a bald headed man is shown having
intercourse with a woman whilst holding her hair (Manniche 1987a: 106-115). If it had
been a wig, it would surely have come away in his hands; even modern wigs cannot
stand up to that sort of rough treatment. The acrobat on the Deir el-Medina ostracon
(Strouhal 1992: 43) must also have had her own hair for her to tumble and gyrate
without her wig flying off.

Both false and the person’s natural hair were worn in ancient Egypt, neither to
the exclusion of the other (Riefstahl 1952: 11, 14-15). The owning of wigs was usually
dependent on class and status, however, the wearing of wigs was determined by the
context or occasion. Women and men sometimes wore hair-pieces to supplement their
own often sparse locks. This practice was not just confined to the upper social classes
but went right across the social spectrum.

Some of the ways of distinguishing whether hair is natural or a wig:

As the wearing of wigs was a sign of the wearer’s high status, they wanted people to see
this. The Egyptian artist had various methods at their disposal to indicate the wearing of
a wig:

1. Some statues have been found with removable wigs. This may be so they can put a
different type of wig on the statue. A blue wig of this type is to be found in the British
Museum, EA N 2280, which is an inlaid glazed composition wig with an ornamental
fillet, from a royal statuette, Thebes, New Kingdom c. 1250 BC. This could be to show
their different titles and roles in life, or just to show that the person was wearing a wig.
Alternatively it could just be that it was easier to make the hair separate from the body
of the statuette.
2. Some statues and wall reliefs of women in the Old Kingdom show the natural hair on the forehead beneath the wig, and as none of the wigs found have bases like this, it probably indicates that a wig is being worn. Sometimes the natural hair is shown as being incised with the wig as plain, and in other representations it is the other way round, with the real hair being shown plain and the wig with striations. During Dynasty IV (rarely after the reign of Menkaure, Dynasty IV) a centre parting could be indicated in the natural hair (Cherpion 1998: 100-114), at other times no parting is indicated. From Dynasty V the natural hair can be shown as a series of rosettes along the forehead, probably indicating curls, surmounted by horizontal grooves before the wig is shown. One, if not the earliest example is that of Hathor-nefer-hotep shown on her Dynasty III niche stele, which shows her wearing a tripartite wig over her natural hair combed flat on her forehead (CG 1386). The hair combed flat on the forehead is shown with horizontal striations, whereas the tripartite wig is shown with layers of plaits, a particular detail is the waves in the wig shown behind the ears (see Fig 12). Hathor-nefer-hotep is shown as an elderly woman (Cherpion 1999:104), and as such may have had thinning hair necessitating the wearing of a wig. A Dynasty IV example of the natural hair having striations is the wife of Seneb, who has hair showing on her forehead, it is parted in the middle and combed down flat either side. Over her natural hair she wears a shoulder-length bobbed hairstyle painted black (Aldred 1980: 76).

In the famous dyad in the Cairo Museum, Nofret, the wife of Rahotep of Dynasty IV, is also shown with her hair in a middle parting combed flat on her forehead (see Fig. 11). The shoulder-length bobbed wig is shown with striations, whilst the natural hair is shown as plain black (Robins 1997: 36). In the Dynasty V statue of Nikauhathor and her husband Shepsi, she is shown with a striated shoulder-length bobbed wig over striated hair combed flat on her forehead (Robins 1997: 73). Although this means of depicting a wig was prevalent in the Old Kingdom, it is rare in the New Kingdom. A rare example is found on the head of the Dynasty XVIII king, Amenhotep III in the Cleveland Museum (1961:417), where the natural hair can be seen combed flat on the forehead beneath a short round curly wig (Berman 1999: 225-6, Pl. 18). The hair shown being combed flat beneath the wig, as well as denoting that the person is wearing a wig, denotes that they do not have either cropped or shaved hair, and that the hair is mid-length of longer.
Figure 11. Close-up of the head of Nofret (and her husband Rahotep) showing her real hair exposed beneath her wig. Meidum, Dynasty IV, Old Kingdom (after Strouhal 1992: 53).
3. Another means of depicting natural hair beneath a wig is by showing little tabs of hair, like sideburns, peeping out from beneath the wig (see Fig. 13). This mode of showing real hair beneath a wig is mainly used with the tripartite and other long wigs. It is useful to note at this point that the deities are never shown with hair tabs [or natural at the front] (Fletcher 1995), unless they are a mortal in the guise of a deity, and this is one means of distinguishing a goddess or god from a mortal. This also proves that the person did not necessarily have a shaved or bald head, but retained their own natural hair. A figure often cited as being a goddess, is the one shown suckling the young King Unas from his Dynasty V mortuary temple now in the Cairo Museum (Robins 1997: 58). Beneath her striated tripartite hairstyle, however, little tabs of hair can be seen in front of her ears; the person depicted is probably the king’s mother. This method of depicting a wig emerges in Dynasty IV and continues up to the Ptolemaic Period (Fletcher 1995).
Figure 13. Male guest at a banquet, showing tabs of hair beneath his duplex wig. Tomb of Ramose (TT 55), Dynasty XVIII, New Kingdom (after Reeves 2000: 214).

In the Middle Kingdom, Queen Nofret is shown with two curls in front of her ears beneath her bouffant wig on the statues now in the Cairo Museum (Aldred 1980: 132). In the New Kingdom men are shown with ear tabs in the tomb-scenes of Senenmut TT 71 (Dorman 1988; 1991; Porter & Moss 1960: 139-42), Amenhotep son of Hapu TT 368 (Robichon & Varille 1936; Varille 1968; Porter & Moss 1960: 431), and various figures (see Fig. 13) in the tomb of Ramose TT 55 (Davies 1941; Porter & Moss 1960: 105-11). Women are also shown with tabs of natural hair in front of their ears in the New Kingdom, such as Queen Tiye (Fletcher 1995: 20). In the Third Intermediate and Late Period this convention of showing natural hair in tabs before the ears fell out of favour, although one exception is that of a Dynasty XXVII official who has tabs with vertical striations before his ears (Fletcher 1995: 20).

The showing of individuals with different hairstyles in the same tomb or group of statues can not be used to discern whether real hair or a wig is being worn, for this is probably a means of showing the different social statuses that the tomb owner attained, or different rituals being performed. However, grey hair being depicted, as in the tomb of Pashedu (TT 3) (Zivie 1979: pl. 10), probably indicated that it was the owner’s real hair, particularly given the undesirable attitudes to grey hair recorded in the medical
papyri. In addition, no wigs have yet been found with grey hairs used in their construction (Fletcher 1995: 18).

The first palaeoethnotrichological evidence for the wearing of wigs is 5,500 years old, and comes from Hierakonpolis (HK 43). It takes the form of false braids found woven into the hair of a female Nagada II mummy from burial 16 (Fletcher 1998: 8). At this period Egyptian society was moving from a ranked to a stratified society (Castillos 1998; Savage 2001), and the wearing of wigs helped to denote the increased hierarchy within society. At this early date the wigs and hair-pieces mirrored or supplemented the natural hair (Fletcher 1995: 13). Murray (1949) suggests that it was primarily a royal prerogative to keep the head covered by wearing a wig or headdress. She states that the hair was always covered which ‘suggests that there was so strong a taboo or superstition concerning the head or hair of the king that he had to wear some covering to conceal it from his subjects’ (Murray 1949: 89). However, this is not consistent with some of the artistic depictions of the king from ancient Egypt, for the calcite head of Menkaure (BMFA 09.203), Dynasty IV, shows the king’s head without any head covering (Smith 1946: 46), as does that of Neferefre (JE 98171), of Dynasty V (see Fig. 14), which clearly shows his short, wavy to curly hair (Reeves 2000: 214) and the bust of Tutankhamun (No. 8) bursting from a lotus from Dynasty XVIII (Reeves 1994: 14-5, 66). The use of false hair, rather than the person’s own natural hair, meant that larger and more elaborate styles could be worn, thus giving a greater impression of power and authority (Angeloglou 1970: 20). This is because hair-pieces give more body, and also more hair can be woven into a wig than is naturally on a person’s head. False hair also allows for a greater array of styles to be worn by a single person, allowing them to have both short and long hairstyles. That the rulers of the proto-kingdoms were probably using hairstyles, wigs and headdresses to signify status is borne out by the elaborate hairstyle of the elite Hierakonpolitian woman in Burial No. 16 at HK43 and belies the argument that it was only the prerogative of the king. The hair of this lady was shoulder-length, artificially dyed with henna and augmented with a considerable number of false hair swatches (Fletcher 1998: 8). The finished hairstyle was very voluminous with matted tresses (reminiscent of modern dreadlocks) hanging down to the lady’s shoulders and giving a lot of height on top. The intricacy of the styling techniques involved in creating this style indicates that it took many hours of work and was probably performed by a hairdresser(s) (Fletcher 1998: 8). Unfortunately, the tombs of the rulers at Abydos have not yielded any palaeoethnotrichological remains from the main burials; we are not, therefore afforded the privilege of studying the hair
of the Abydian rulers which could greatly help in studying the origins of hair as a status symbol.

Figure 14. Limestone statuette of Neferefre shown in the embrace, and merging his identity with the god Horus. His natural tight curly hair can clearly been seen. Found in his mortuary temple at Abusir, Dynasty V (after Reeves 2000: 214).

This custom of wearing false hair to denote power continued throughout the Nagada III phase, for, hairstyles and headdresses were definitely being used for such purposes by Dynasty I, where a prototype form of the nemes and khat⁶ headdress, is shown being worn by the Dynasty I ruler, Den, on the MacGregor ivory label (EA 55586) from Abydos. On the label, King Den is shown wearing a kilt and a kerchief without lappets, the excess material hanging free untied behind his shoulders, surmounted by the uraeus (Spencer 1993: 87). The elite also started to dress their hair in

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⁶ The khat is a royal kerchief without lappets.
relatively sophisticated styles in the Predynastic Period. In the 318 subsidiary graves, those of the courtesans, placed around King Djer's tomb of Dynasty I at the royal cemetery of Abydos, Umm el-Qa'ab, 76 of the 97 grave stelae depicted women. Remains of some of their well-preserved elaborate coiffures were recovered, the majority being braided hairstyles; probably with false plaits added to enhance the owners own hair (Amélineau 1904: pl. XI-XIII; 1905 passim; Kemp 1967: 26). As the need for administration in Egypt increased from the Protodynastic through the Early Dynastic Period (Wilkinson 1999 passim), creating a larger elite, the custom of wearing false hair spread, to help signify these new positions of power. With more bureaucratic positions, there developed an atmosphere conducive to a larger array of status markers. These costumes started to become conventionalised throughout the Old Kingdom as the bureaucracy of Egypt increased, with the sociospatial networks of power developing their own social signifiers in the form of different body attire. Many false braids have been found at Umm el-Qa'ab possibly dating to Dynasty I (Amélineau 1899; 1902; 1904; 1905; Petrie 1900; 1901b; 1902; 1903; 1904), and statues also possibly show wigs being worn at this early date, but definite recognition of wigs' being portrayed on statues' can only really be made from Dynasty III onwards. One of the earliest being the Dynasty III relief of Hathor-nefer-hotep shows her wearing a long tripartite style which falls down to her waist (Borchardt 1937: 48). That this hairstyle was a wig is confirmed by the presence of the lady's hairline showing combed flat on her forehead beneath the wig. Though the wearing of wigs was mostly confined to the elite, retainers may sometimes have been afforded the privilege by their employers for performing certain duties. In some families, wigs may even have been passed down from generation to generation.

Ancient Egyptian sculpture and wall-scenes show a great variety of wigs both for everyday use and festive occasions. Numerous pieces of wigs and false braids are to be found on display in museums, but many are kept in stores, some without proper provenance (Tassie 2002). There are also lots of false braids and wigs still attached to the mummies themselves, but these are often very difficult to examine as they are frequently too fragile to move (Fletcher 2000a). These wigs and false braids would have been valuable items for the tomb-robbers to steal, but after many years buried they become very fragile, which explains why so few have been found to date.

Most wigs were made of human hair (Lucas 1962), and braids could be made from the owner's natural hair. Because of the amount of hair needed to make a wig (Cox
1977), however, other possibilities include it having been shaved from the heads of foreign captives, or, one may assume, purchased from some needy peasants; this is also the case today, for most of the hair used to make modern wigs (and also for extensions and extracting hair keratin) is bought from the poor in Eastern Europe, India, and other Asian countries (Jones & Young 2004: 10-1). However, because the vast majority of the false hair examined has been of the cynotrichous variety (Fletcher 1995), it is unlikely that the hair came from Nubia or other southern countries, but this does not rule out Libyan and Asiatic hair. Hair was traded extensively throughout the Roman Empire, with custom duties even having to be paid. Blonde hair, a particular favourite, was imported from Germany, and the hair of prisoners of war was often cut off to supply wigmakers (Fletcher 1995: 444). A Middle Kingdom accounts list from Kahun may furnish evidence of hair trading in ancient Egypt c. 2,000 BC, for it lists: 20 nb₃ and 2 bbwt along with gold, incense and other precious items (Griffith 1898: 39, 48-50). Griffith (1898: 39, 48-50; as does Faulkner 1962) translates both terms as 'wig' because both nb₃ and bbwt are connected with the idea of something circular, suggesting that perhaps the wigs were of a curly appearance (Griffith 1898: 39, 48-50). However, unlike linen clothing, which was used as a standard trade item, the prices of which frequently occur in papyri (especially the trade documents found at the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina [Janssen 1975]), documentation of wig prices is virtually unknown. This suggests that wigs were not a standard trade item and were specialist luxury goods. Therefore, wigs can probably be seen as bespoke, rather than ready-to-wear, available only to the elite, whereas linen clothes were a traded commodity, readily available to all. That wigs were a valuable commodity is reinforced by the fact that no complete wigs were found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (Fletcher & Montserrat 1995), even though they were probably an integral part of the funerary equipment, and would be buried in the tomb for the occupant to wear in the afterlife. Possibly wigs were one of the items stolen by the robbers on the two occasions they broke into the tomb. Tutankhamun's wig-box was found to have been plundered of its original contents - either a wig or a crown (Fletcher 1999).

The only mention of how much a wig was actually worth comes from the Ptolemaic Period (although a period outside of this particular study, it is the only corollary for Pharaonic wig prices. It is mentioned as part of the dowry in a marriage contract from 219 BC between Horpais and Tais:
...Here is the list of your dowry [\textit{\textit{nkwt n sHmt}}, which you have brought with you into my house: 1 \textit{\textit{inśn}}-cloth to the value of 6 \textit{kite} [approx. 54 grammes] of silver; 6 \textit{kite} of copper; 1 bracelet to the value of 2 \textit{kite} [approx. 18 grammes] of silver; 1 wig in the name of your portion [mentioned] above, which I have not given to you, to the value 2 pieces of silver.

Total value of your dowry which you have brought with you into my house: in copper money – [the worth of] 3 silver coins and 4 \textit{kite} [approx. 36 grammes]

(Watterson 1991: 64).

An interesting point in the dowry, is that the wig, although brought into the husband's house, and named as part of the dowry, is stipulated as still belonging to the wife. This particular marriage contract has a relatively low dowry, and was not between members of the wealthy elite. It does, however, show the worth of a wig, possibly one of poor quality made of plant fibre, but it could be that because the wig made up nearly one-third of the woman's dowry, it provides an indication of how much was spent on wigs, and how highly they were valued. A silver coin equalled 1 \textit{deben} (the standard unit of payment in ancient Egypt), there were 10 \textit{kite} to 1 \textit{deben}, therefore the wig cost 2 \textit{deben} or 180 grammes of refined silver, which equated to 51 drachmas 2 obols.\textsuperscript{7} Contemporary salaries for male weavers are given as 19 drachmas 4 obols per month\textsuperscript{8} in a contract from Philadelphia (Rowlandson 1998: 266). At this rate of pay it would take 2 months, three weeks salary to pay for the above mentioned wig. Only having this one document, makes it very difficult to judge whether this was a standard price for a wig or not, but it does show how highly the Egyptians valued their wigs.

The Polish expedition working at Deir el-Bahari discovered a wigmaker's workshop in a crevasse overlooking the temple of Mentuhotep dating to between 1800-1700 BC. Inside the workshop the following were found: four alabaster vases in a linen sack, the vases containing wigs in different stages of production: tufts of hair, hair wefts (on threads), or switches (tied up with fibres), and a net foundation made of thread. In a papyrus case a bronze awl, five bone hairpins, and fragments of two flint knives were found. In another container were pieces of linen (probably for the skull-cap), leather straps, and bone beads. A unique model head made of wood was also found for laying out the wigs whilst in production; black lines had been traced to show the outline of the wig's attachment and its long and short axis. Other items found were; natron for

\textsuperscript{7} A drachma was equal to 3.5 gm. of silver, an obol was one sixth of a drachma (Bowman 1986: 237-8)

\textsuperscript{8} A female weaver’s salary is given as one third of that of the men, but she may also have had household chores to do and may not have been working full-time weaving (Rowlandson 1998: 266).
cleansing and a brown powder possibly for tinting the hair, and perfume ingredients (Laskowska-Kusztal 1978). Such discoveries offer a rare insight into what must have been an important ancient Egyptian industry.

Lucas' (1930; 1962) inspection of the Cairo wigs found them to be constructed of human hair, although some were padded out with plant-fibre. No animal hair or fur was ever used for the main structure of a wig (Eisa 1953; Lucas 1962; Cox 1977). A wig from Dynasty VIII, however, has been found to be made of plant-fibre (Tassie 2002: 1143), as have later Ptolemaic and Roman wigs. Because of the limited amount of false hair from the Predynastic, Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom (Fletcher 1995; 2000; Tassie 2002; in press a), and the fact that many of the hairstyles seen on the mummies are disturbed and misshapen, one of the best tests to see how accurate the artistic depictions are comes from the New Kingdom. The most popular wig and hairstyle shown in artistic representations of elite men in the New Kingdom was the duplex or double. Several examples of such wigs are held in the Cairo, British and Berlin museums (Fig. 15a & 15b). The duplex wig comprises two distinct parts, the bottom part, which is usually plaited and the top part that is curled or waved. In the examples held in the world’s museums the top section has usually shrunk, revealing more of the lower plaited section than originally intended, but it is clear that the artistic depictions are an accurate portrayal of the actual wig with only a limited element of idealisation in their rendering.

Figure 15. A) Duplex wig in the British Museum; B) Duplex wig shown on a guest (right side of tomb-scene) at the banquet of Ramose (TT55) (Photograph A) British Museum, B) Strouhal 1992).
3.4 Royal Regalia – Headdresses and Crowns

The formulation of the royal regalia can be traced back to Naqada I, when various components of it started to be developed by the local elites. The earliest depiction of the red crown motif is on a Naqada ID-IIA pottery vessel from Grave 1610 at Naqada (Baumgartel 1970; Crowfoot Payne 1987; Petrie & Quibell 1896). Whereas, the earliest attestations of the white crown are on a Naqada IID ivory label from Cemetery U, Abydos (Hartung 1998: 201, Abb. 8), a contemporary carved ivory knife handle of Upper Egyptian provenance and a decorated incense burner from Qustul, Cemetery L (Wilkinson 1999: 49). It is uncertain when the red crown was first transferred to represent Lower Egypt, but it probably originated from Nubt (Naqada), and the white crown Nekhen (Hierakonpolis) (Hassan 1988: 174; Spencer 1993: 55-6; Wilkinson 1999: 49-50). These crowns were an integral part of the royal insignia by Dynasty I, which also included: kilts, sandals, bull’s tail, the uraeus, $hk3$-sceptre, $w3s$-sceptre and $nh3ht$-flail. These elements of royal regalia had a dual role: power and protection. Firstly they served to identify the king (and to a lesser extent the queen) and set him apart from the rest of society (Quirke 1990: 10). Secondly, they conveyed the king’s authority, both supernatural (as the gods’ representative) and earthly (as head of the state and commander-in-chief of the army). Lastly, they had amuletic properties, protecting the king from danger and any malign forces that were believed to threaten the ordered cosmos (Wilkinson 1999: 186).

By the end of Dynasty II the royal regalia and iconography had been formalised and changed little during the succeeding millennium (Wilkinson 1999: 186). Seven of the eight basic forms of kingly crowns and headdresses were already in use by the start of the Old Kingdom, the eighth, the $Kepresh$, coming into existence in the New Kingdom this coincided with the emergence of different aspects of kingship. From these eight basic types over two hundred various composite forms developed through time. The evolution of the royal headdresses reflects changes in the nature of Egyptian kingship through time and their association with particular aspects of kingship (Collier 1996). As well as the kingly headdresses, there were over fifty variations of headdress worn by the queens of Egypt; the use of such a wide variety of crown variations is peculiar to ancient Egypt. There were symbolic and functional reasons for wearing a particular headdress, they were also used to aid easy identification of the deities and role of royalty. The rites that were being performed dictated which crown or headdress was to be worn. Personal preference and formal and symmetrical considerations (when
depicting the crown) also play a part. Specific crowns and headdresses were associated with particular gods and goddesses, and as such, when worn by members of royalty identified them with these deities, the variations bringing out specific aspects of that deity. A feature of ancient Egyptian thought is the use of complementarism, juxtaposing complementary opposites. Therefore, juxtaposing the living king with his ka or the living king as Horus juxtaposed with the dead king as Osiris, are all reflected in the use of crowns in ancient Egypt (Collier 1996).

A sense of function and meaning can be gleaned from the order and usage of the royal insignia. When studying the ritual scenes in the various temples and monuments it becomes clear that they form a montage dialogue of the actual ritual performed; the alteration of one component can thus change the sense of the whole.

The eight crowns of Egypt were placed one after the other on the head of the gods' chosen one (the king), at his coronation ceremony by the high-priest, investing him with (and enabling him to assume) all the powers and duties of a pharaoh: the Pasekhemty; the Atef crown; the Sewety; the Seshed headband; the Khepresh; the Ibes [Amun] crown; and the two kerchiefs, the nemes and khat (Desroches-Noblecourt 1989: 174).

The main crown worn by queens of Egypt was the Nekhbet crown, which is first attested as being a crown worn by goddesses; the first being the Goddess Meret on a re-used block (MMA 22.1.1) from the Temple of Khufu, Dynasty IV (Goedicke 1971: 35 ff; Troy 1986: 116-9). The adoption of this crown as a sign of queenship is first securely attested in Dynasty V when it is outlined on the determinative of the name of Khenkawes II, the wife of King Neferirkare, who was buried at Abusir in her own pyramid next to her husband’s (Grajetetzki 2005: 7-8, 16; Troy 1986: 117). Two fragmentary statues from the mortuary temples of King Khafre (Hölscher 1912: 102 ff, figs. 140-3) and King Menkaure (Reisner 1931: 108, Pl. 17d) of Dynasty IV show life-size female figures wearing the Nekhbet Crown. However, it is impossible to tell whether queens or goddesses or a synthesis of these roles are represented wearing the crown. By Dynasty VI the crown becomes an accepted element of queenly iconography, with Teti’s main queen – Iput I seeming to establish this element (Troy 1986: 117). The symbolic significance of the Nekhbet crown relates to the role of life-giving mother and motherhood – mother of the king - and a generative feminine aspect of the kingship (Troy 1986: 118-9).
3.5 Data Collection and Recording

This study is concentrating on the hairstyles of the Early Bronze Age (Protodynastic, Early Dynastic Period, and Old Kingdom,) to better understand the rise, consolidation, and collapse of state. This study will only use evidence from the later periods: Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom, Third Intermediate and Late Period, where it is relevant as an example not available for the early periods or as a comparison. In the Ptolemaic Period the art and many of the hairstyles show distinctly Hellenistic influence, moving away from the indigenous hairstyling traditions, therefore, they reflect more the Ptolemaic image of self than Egyptian traditions of hairstyling, this is also true for the Roman Period, therefore, examples from these two periods will not be used (Tait 2003; Ashton 2003).

Using the data from tombs (tomb-scenes and their associated statuary) a series of contextualised questions have been asked. It was decided primarily to interrogate data from tomb-scenes and associated statues, as opposed to temple-scenes, figurines or ostraca, because of the availability of data from the study periods of Egyptian history and the mixture of secular and religious life depicted in tomb-scenes. To emphasise certain aspects of life data from outside of the study tombs was brought in, such as material objects, literary and ethnographic analogies. A stylistic interpretation was made of the various hairstyles worn in ancient Egypt, explaining how and why the artists sometimes depicted them differently and how the basic styles developed through time. Fletcher (1995) examined four main types of palaeoethnotrichological sources: 1. Artistic (tomb-scenes and statues), 2. Mummy Hair (the actual hair found on mummies heads), 3. False Hair (wigs and hair pieces), and 4. Loose hair (pieces of hair found, such as hair-offerings). This was supplemented by literary evidence, ethnographic studies and the actual tools of the hairstylist. By far the greatest body of evidence was the artistic; however, the other types of evidence all indicated that the artistic depictions were a realistic representation of the individual depicted. In the present study, all the same lines of evidence used by Fletcher are investigated, but these have been quantified, qualified and contextualised to understand how the social and political transformations affected changes in hairstyles and developed new ones. None of the previous studies (e.g. Fletcher 1995; Kriesel 1958; Müller 1960) have used statistics in their interpretations of the bulk of their data. As van Walsem (2005: 41) observes, using a statistical approach makes it possible to make statements with a much higher degree of probability and, simultaneously predictive power than the social sciences. However,
Adams & Adams (1991: 291) make the point that statistical methods are only an addition and a corrective to traditional classificatory practice rather than heralding a radically new methodology.

A total of 502 tombs, statues, figures and monuments have been investigated from the Protodynastic to the end of Dynasty VI, comprising of 6,663 individual figures. Due to the abundant array of information in the Old Kingdom, ‘typical’ (ones that show comparable scenes repeated in other contemporary tombs) datasets covering the widest chronological and social range were used. This is of course only a sample of the total population of iconographic representations where the hair is discernable. The total population can never be known, so the population used in this research is a sub-population of the sub-population of excavated material (see van Wasem 2005: 44-5). In the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic the insides of tombs were largely un-decorated apart from the occasional niche stele and painted geometric patterns. Although representations of the human form with recognisable hairstyles are shown on the niche stelae, as only one or two people are depicted, these alone did not provide a sufficiently large dataset. Therefore, for the early periods figurines, ceremonial palettes, ceremonial maceheads and labels were also investigated. In some of the mastaba tombs from Dynasty IV the only representations of humans are on the slab stelae, where again only one or two people are depicted. The objects investigated are listed in Appendix 3.

The primary information was gleaned from site reports and visits to examine the actual tombs and artefacts held in various museums around the world. To help organise the data from the tombs and tomb-scenes, and enable it to be more easily interrogated and analysed, the information was entered into Microsoft Access - a relational database. Access has been chosen owing to its ability to store large amounts of textual information in conjunction with numerical information. A second database recording Hairdressing and Barbering Scenes is kept in Excel.

The aims were to ascertain whether:

- **Certain hairstyles only occur in particular spatial locations and in the depiction of certain ceremonies in tomb-scenes**
- **There is a gendered dichotomy in hairstyles**
- **Certain hairstyles only appear together in certain tomb-scenes**
- **Patterns of a hierarchy exist amongst the various hairstyles and therefore indicate a person’s status and position in life**
• Regional and temporal development of hairstyles existed
• There was more hierarchical and social distinction amongst hairstyles in the earlier or later dynasties

And to investigate the relationship between hairstyles and:
• The construction of the body
• The construction of a national identity
• Any correlation between the physical, ethnographic, textual, and iconographic evidence

Using this database will facilitate:
• The instant recall of data
• Ordering of the data into different chronological, gendered, age, and class divisions
• Facilitate interrogation through search/report function

The database entry form (Appendix 1) is organised into three main sections

1. Information on the tomb being investigated: tomb provenience, date, status of tomb owner, placement of scene within the tomb.

2. Information on the hairstyle of the person being investigated: type of hairstyle.

3. Contextual information on the person and scene being investigated: the titles of person being recorded, action or ritual being performed by the person.

The identity of the individual, their occupation, status, wealth, gender, age and religious role was recoded in an organised manner. Situations, such as mourning, dancing, working and ritual were also recorded. Interpretation of this statistical study was further addressed by reference to artefactual material (preserved wigs, swatches, mummies, razors, combs, etc.), as well as other iconographic and textual records. In this holistic approach, cognitive, ecological, economic, socio-religious, gender, human agency and political variables are all incorporated into the analysis and interpretation of the evidence that is then tempered with and contrasted against the properties and attributes of hair. Once the archaeological and historical material was analysed, where necessary it was referenced to ethnohistoric (e.g. Herodotus) and ethnographic (e.g. Lane 1860; Blackman 1927) sources in a polyaxial approach.
The difference between male and female, young and old, rich and poor, are all starkly depicted in the tomb-reliefs of the Old Kingdom (Robins 1999). Robins (1996) highlights the different ways the rich and poor were depicted in tomb-reliefs of the Old Kingdom, showing that the poor could sometimes be shown as having bald patches and dishevelled hair, whereas the elite were never shown in this manner, always being depicted with well-groomed hairstyles. The chronological development of hairstyles from the Predynastic to the Old Kingdom was shown by Fletcher (1995) to move in a linear pattern up to the First Intermediate Period. During the First Intermediate Period there seems to have been distribution of upper elite hairstyles through the lower elite ranks, synchronous with the administration of the country devolving to regional rule. By studying the social and religious changes of the period the origins and reasons for the various hairstyles may be better understood, this forms the bulk of PART TWO - Analysis of Tomb-Scene Data and Contextualising Hairstyles: Chapter Five - The Protodynastic and Early Dynastic Period, and Chapter Six - The Old Kingdom. In this section the various roles of individuals and the hairstyles they are wearing will be analysed. Correlations between changes and developments in hairstyles and society was looked for on a micro (individual), macro (class or status), and meso-scale (national). The theoretical interpretation of the changes in hairstyles is covered in Chapter Two - Theoretical Approaches to Society, the Self, Body and Hair, and in PART THREE – Interpretation and Conclusions: Chapter Seven - The Symbolic, Social and Ritual Significance of Hair and Hairstyles, Chapter Eight - Hairstyles as an Integral Part of the Generation, Maintenance and Structuring of Egyptian Society and Chapter Nine - Conclusions.

The use of databases is invaluable for organisation of such a large body of data. The main database is divided into the following categories: tomb identifier, bibliographic, locational, date, type of tomb, tomb-owner, position of scene being examined within tomb, type of scene, category and gender of person, age of person, type of hairstyle, complexity of hairstyle, modification of hairstyle, type/presence of beard, type/presence headdress, job/profession of individual, action being portrayed, associated figures. Each of the rows of the database records the details about each individual, whether they be part of a tomb-scene or a single statue.

The first of my research questions: How were hairstyles linked to identity? The recording of class, age, gender, ritual are all recorded in the database. The development and range of hairstyles are recorded in the columns titled ‘Modification’ and ‘Hairstyle
The first of these two columns records how the various categories of hairstyles were modified from the basic Dynasty IV hairstyle, which has been chosen as the point at when the main categories of hairstyles reached their development into a codified form. Patterns in usage of certain hairstyles by various categories of people became evident. A pattern such as all women can wear the tripartite hairstyle, whereas only gods, kings and deceased males can wear it should emerged.

The second of my research questions: Status is implicit in complex societies; how was it conveyed through the hairstyles of the ancient Egyptians? The restrictions of usage of certain hairstyles by particular categories of people was quantitatively analysed using the hairstyle number column and the class, gender, age, ethnicity columns. Patterns in usage of certain hairstyles by various categories of people became evident. Certain patterns, such as only elite children wear the sidelock, whereas children of the lower classes have shaved or cropped hair was observed. The work of both Harpur (1987) and Swinton (2003) helped to facilitate this, for they have collected and published much of the Old Kingdom data. Quantifying the data elucidated a pattern of hairstyle usage and emulation was able to be observed through the Modification and Hairstyle Number columns combined with the various status columns.

The third of my research questions: How did variations in hairstyles reflect the temporal change and mode of social organisation? The changes in social organisation are well documented for the various periods of my study (both by archaeological and written evidence), one of the best studies for social change in the Old Kingdom using tomb-scene data being that of Swinton (2004). The observed temporal changes in hairstyles have been quantitatively compared to these recorded changes in social organisation (see Kanawati 1980b; Trigger et al. 1983) to see if there are any correlates. This was only possible once all the tomb-scene and other data has been entered into the database and statistical models run. Development in hairstyles was observed through time for all the various categories of people.

When using ethnographic and ethnohistoric analogies, they must be used in the light of the archaeological evidence actually available for the period being studied; for continuity in practice does not imply lack of change in that practice, and this can certainly not be taken as evidence of constancy of meaning (Renfrew 1985: 3). If a contextual approach is not taken when looking for the origins of ancient Egypt’s historical beliefs a tautology will emerge, and the true reasons for the emergence of styles, practices and beliefs may be misunderstood. Although the tombs to be
investigated are elite tombs and portray only certain activities associated with the lower classes, where possible activities not portrayed in these scenes will be investigated from other types of archaeological evidence and an interpretation made within these contexts. Using the holistic archaeological approach, every hairstyle is contextualised before an interpretation can be given as to its use or significance.
PART TWO

Analysis of Tomb-Scene Data and Contextualising Hairstyles
THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN HAIRSTYLIST

4.1 The Ancient Egyptian Hairstylist and Barber

The majority of information on ancient Egyptian hairstylists and barbers comes from tomb-scenes, inscriptions and other texts, tools and hairpieces. Along with other indirect evidence these illustrate hair’s apparent social importance, and show that many hairstylists and barbers plied their trade throughout ancient Egypt. Hairdressers and barbers can be divided into two distinct categories: Private and State, with state hairdressers being divided again into two institutions: Royal and Palace.

The difference between a barber and a hairstylist is not primarily of gendered roles for there are both male and female barbers and hairstylists working on men and women, but one of tools and actions. The barber used the razor primarily to shave the head and body and was associated with surgery, whereas the hairstylist would use the razor, composite tool, combs, bodkins and hair ornaments and unguents to not only cut and style the hair and wigs but to also dress them (Tassie in press a).

4.1.1 Private Hairstylists and Barbers

The word used to describe a hairstylist is \( \text{ir(w)-šn} \) (\( \text{<; runt} \)), and the rarely found feminine \( \text{irt-šn} \) (\( \text{<; runt} \)) - literally hairmaker or hairdoer and the even rarer \( \text{is-šn} \) (\( \text{<; runt} \)) wigmaker (Speidel 1990). Other related words are \( \text{nšt} \) (\( \text{<; runt} \)), hairdresser, and \( \text{nšy} \) (\( \text{<; runt} \)), which means ‘to dress hair’. These words are used occasionally from the Middle Kingdom onwards, but do not usually refer to a hairstylist of prominence but personal hairdressers (Riefstahl 1952; 1956). Only members of the highest echelons of society would have had a hairstylist attached to their staff (Speidel 1990: 105-6), most would have arranged for one to visit their homes. The lower segments of society would go to a travelling hairstylist to have their hair styled (Tassie in press a). Tomb-scenes indicate that for the everyday care and attention of their hair, the elite women would have had a maidservant trained to do the dressing (see Fig. 23). Poorer people would have to rely upon a relative or friend to style their hair. Members of the \( \text{īry pšt} \) (royal family) were probably attended by special hairdressers attached to the palace staff (see below).
The word for barber $h\cdot k(w)$ is known from the Old Kingdom. The literal meaning of the word is 'someone who uses a spatula', coming from the phrase 'someone who makes a wall', this title has a spatula as its determinative. The first depiction of a spatula as a razor occurs in the Dynasty III tomb of Hesire at Saqqara (Kaplony 1975).

The meaning of the title starts to change in Dynasty V. In the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep at Giza, a relief shows barbers busily shaving heads, faces, and bodies whilst standing behind their clients, who are seated on the floor. In one scene a barber is shown supporting the back of his clients head with his left hand whilst shaving him (Moussa & Altenmüller 1977: 80-81). There are five named private barbers recorded for the Old Kingdom – Djedisneferu, Nefer, Neferkhuptah, Khnesuhesi, and Ifen, and three Overseer of Barbers – Maa, Setju and Nefer (Jones 2000: 196, 776). Originally the barber’s title ($h\cdot k(w)\ tp$) is written with two spatulas, both in 'razor' cases and a man’s head, changing the definition from brick-layer, but not the way the word was pronounced. The meaning is now 'one who uses the spatula on the face' and the variation $s\cdot k(w)$ is also first used in this period (Kaplony 1975). The determinative in the Old Kingdom may also show a hand connected to the razor by a stroke. In the Middle Kingdom the case is replaced by a rotating razor ($\mathfrak{B}$) $h\cdot k(w)$ and the word $b\cdot k$ becomes more defined as the word to shave (Kaplony 1975).

The work of the barber was not thought to be as highly skilled as that of the hairstylist (Gauthier-Laurent 1935-8; Riefstahl 1952; 1956). Barbers would set up beneath the shade of a tree (see Fig. 24), placing their stool and cutting the hair of their clients. Barbers workshops (salons) are not known until the Graeco-Roman Period (Fletcher 1995: 432), although not having a barbershop would not have affected the skill of the barber. In the Middle Kingdom ‘The Satire of the Trades (Instructions of Duakhety)’ the barber is portrayed as a poor man shaving clients (Lichtheim 1973: 186):

‘The barber labours until dusk.
He betaketh (travels) himself to a town,
He sets himself up in his corner,
He moves from street to street
Seeking someone (a client) to barber
He strains his arms to fill his stomach,
Like the bee that eats as it works’

The work of the ancient Egyptian barber was probably only limited to shaving the head, face, and body, and then washing away the residue afterwards, although he was possibly also a surgeon as well, but as well as the living, the barber was also required to shave the dead before mummification (Fletcher 1995: 432).
4.1.2 State Hairdressers and Barbers

Many Old Kingdom inscriptions bear witness to the fact that the hairdresser was a very important person, and held high rank. All except one of these inscriptions refers to men holding these positions. There is usually a modifying noun before or after the word \( \text{ir(w)-šn} \), denoting that the bearer of the title was either a ‘royal hairstylist’ or a ‘palace hairstylist’ with further nouns denoting the rank – overseer, inspector of director (Riefstahl 1952; 1956).

![Figure 16. The false door and scene showing a statue of the Inspector of Hairdressers, Hetepka (# 379), all portraying him wearing the shoulder-length bob, Dynasty V, Saqqara (after Baines & Malek 1984: 147-9).](image)

In ancient Egypt hairstylists were frequently important officials who held other important offices in addition to their tonsorial duties (Riefstahl 1956). Hetepka, who has a tomb at Saqqara of mid-Dynasty V date, bears amongst his priestly titles, such as \( \text{hm-ntr Nfr-ir-kA-ra} \) (Prophet of Neferirkare) the titles of \( \text{ir(w)-šn pr-\text{\textsuperscript{3}}} \) (‘Palace Hairdresser’ and \( \text{sHd ir(w)-šn pr-\text{\textsuperscript{3}}} \) (‘The Inspector of Palace Hairdressers’ (Martin 1979). Some like Rawer who is given the title of ‘Royal Hairdresser’ on a Dynasty V inscription from Giza and has an impressive tomb in the Central Mastaba Field recording his long list of titles were part of the \( \text{p\textsuperscript{\text{\textsuperscript{3}}}t} \) [royal kinsman] (Hassan 1932: 2; Speidel 1990: 15-24; Malek 1986: 35). A particularly impressive title \( \text{ir(w) šn pr-\text{\textsuperscript{3}}} \text{ mbt nswt} \) – ‘Palace Hairdresser For One Who Acclaims the Lower Egyptian Crown of the King’ was held by Khentika of late Dynasty V (Moussa & Altenüller 1981: 292). As important people, they were frequently buried in tombs of their own near their king. Depictions of hairdressers even made it on to the royal monuments. Two men depicted in a procession of attendants on the funerary

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1 This number refers to the number given to the artefact in the database.
temple of King Niuserre of Dynasty V are designated as ‘Royal Hairdressers’ (Riefstahl 1952: 11).

Figure 17. Statue of the Lady Meretites Overseer of the House of Hairdressing (# 380) with her son Khenu who is identified as Scribe and Chief of the Ka-priests, Dynasty V, Saqqara, Leiden Museum (AST 9 ) (Photograph Joris van Wetering).

The only woman yet found that held the title ‘Overseer of the House of Hairdressing’ imy-rA is-šn pr (Speidel 1990: 199 translates this as Overseer of the Wigmakers Workshop) is the Lady Meretites, from the reign of Neferirkare, Dynasty V. On her statue in the Leiden Museum she is also described as: Royal Ornament, Royal Relative, and Mistress of Ceremonies (Riefstahl 1952: 14). This title in association with her other titles does not indicate that she was a private hairdresser (contra Speidel 1990: 105-6), but seems to indicate that she may have been connected with the dressing of courtesans hair in the court of Neferirkare. The only other women with hairdressing titles in the Old Kingdom, although not so high ranking, being associated with personal
hairdressers (ırt(t)-šn) are found in the Dynasty V mastaba of Uhmka, where a woman named Hy has the title, and on the Dynasty VI false-door of Senuhem (MFA Boston 27.444) where a woman named Nefer is shown styling the hair of the tomb-owner’s wife Minefert (Kayser 1964: 37, 69; Fischer 1976: 72; Riefstahl 1965: 16).

In the Old Kingdom 62 individuals are recorded as having held important hairdressing positions in the bureaucracy with another four personal hairdressers recorded (see Tab. 1). The distinction between Royal Hairdresser and Palace Hairdresser was one of function. However, the division in the work of the holders of the titles such as ‘Director of Royal Hairdressers’ ḫpr ırt(w)-šn nswt or the highest ranking of all ‘Overseer of Royal Hairdressers’ imy-rs ırt(w)-šn nswt is not quite so clear. These two hairdressing institutions may have evolved out of the earlier state office of ḫmnš ırt(w)-šn (供热) ‘Friend/ ḫmnš-Functionary of Hairdressing’, the earliest public hairdressing office recorded (Kahl 1994: 422, n.15; Jones 2000: No. 2516). The writing of the šn sign on early monuments is not as developed as the Old Kingdom sign, showing about seven shorter strands and one longer strand of hair at the end of the sign. Two officials are recorded as holding this office: Whemrud and Niseti from Dynasty II and III respectively (see Fig. 81.13 & 81.55). Whemrud also held the title ‘Chief of the Chiefs’ and Niseti held the titles ‘He Who Embraces the Spirit’ (Priest) and ‘Secretary of the Judiciary’ (Helck 1987: 240; Jones 2000: 688). The first mention of the ḫmnš tile appears in the title ḫmnš wšḥt - ḫmnš-functionary of the wšḥt-hall, found on the Dynasty II funerary stela from subsidiary grave µ22 around Funerary Enclosure E (Peribsen’s) at Abydos (Petrie 1904: 39, Pl. 1.15). Although the exact function of the wšḥt-hall is unknown, it is possible that it was where the king’s morning toilette rituals...
were performed. On an ivory box found in Tomb Z at Umm al-Qa’ab the titles ḫṛḥ ḫnm(w) ḫw3- wr – ‘Director of the Servants of Duawer’ and ḫry ntr – ‘Supervisor of the God’ (king) appear either side of the serekh of King Djet (Petrie 1900: Pl. 10.9, 13.2; Jones 2000: No. 2650). These titles seem to imply that the royal chin beard used by the Director of Barbers to dress the face of King Djet may have been kept in this box. It is uncertain what role these hairdressers and barbers played in Early Dynastic court life, but they probably either dressed statues of gods and kings or actually shaved the king’s face, attached the false beard and dressed his hair (see Fig. 18).

The titles and profession of the Old Kingdom hairdresser could be passed from father to son or be held by brothers. Ty, the son of the Vizier Ty, followed his father into the profession entering it as ‘Palace Hairdresser’ and progressing to ‘Inspector of Palace Hairdressers’, whereas his father entered as ‘Director of Palace Hairdressers’ and progressed to ‘Director of Royal Hairdressers’ (Speidel 1990). Other father-son professional relationships can be observed, such as those between Kaemnefert and his father, the son holding the titles ‘Palace Hairdresser’, whereas his father was ‘Director of Royal Hairdressers’, Speidel (1990: 121-5) listing many such relationships. Two bothers that held hairdressing titles were Shepsesre and Niankhre-Nedjes who both held the title ‘Royal Hairdresser’ amongst other titles, mainly priestly (Speidel 1990).

Progression through the hairdressing ranks is also observable. The lowest institutional title was ‘Palace Hairdresser’ - ir(w)-šn pr- ṣ and the highest being ‘Overseer of Royal Hairdressers’ – imy-ṛ ṣ ir(w)-šn nswt. Movement between the two institutions is also observed, usually going from palace hairdressing to the more prestigious royal hairdressing. Manefer goes from ‘Inspector of Palace Hairdressers’ – ‘Inspector of Royal Hairdressers’ – ‘Director of Royal Hairdressers’, whereas, Ankhkhafre rises from ‘Director of Royal Hairdressers’ to ‘Overseer of Royal Hairdressers’, the highest of all hairdressing titles (Speidel 1990). Ankhkhafre who owns a large tomb in the Central Mastaba Field at Giza served under King Sahure and his successor Neferirkare was also ‘Secretary Privy to the Mysteries of the House of the Morning’, ‘Unique Friend’, ‘Controller of the Palace and Overseer of All the King’s Adornment’ amongst other titles (Speidel 1990: 10). A particularly interesting path through the hairdressing ranks of just one institution was held by Khabauptah of Dynasty V, who started his career as a ‘Palace Hairdresser’ progressing through ‘Inspector of Palace Hairdressers’ to ‘Overseer of Palace Hairdressers’ (Speidel 1990: 53, 101-2). Khabauptah also had an impressive list of other titles: ‘Overseer of Palace

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title\Period</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2A</th>
<th>2B</th>
<th>3</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Ir(t)-Sn(y)</td>
<td>Hy (f.)</td>
<td>Merykenefer, ????</td>
<td>Nefer (f.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) ḫrp Ir(w)-Sn**</td>
<td>Kaunisut</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3) Imy-rt Is-Śn pr</td>
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<td>Meretites (f.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4) Ir(w)-Śn pr-ṛ</td>
<td>Hepka, Hesetenptah, Kiahap, Nisuredj, Pthah, ????, ????, ????, ????,</td>
<td>Ankhuserkaf, Ipi, Kaemnepert (son), Khakare, Khentika, Nikaankh, ...fa, ...ma., ????, ...ma., ????, Seshemnefer, Suf, ????, ????, ????, Tchenka, ????</td>
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<tr>
<td>5) ḫrp Ir(w)-Śn pr-ṛ</td>
<td>Hetepka, Ty (son), ????, ????, ????,</td>
<td>Ahauka, Ankhmare, ????, Kaires, ????, Niankhhor</td>
<td>Meryeankh, Niankhirtipepy, ...Pepy, ????</td>
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<tr>
<td>6) ḫrp Ir(w)-Śn pr-ṛ</td>
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<td>7) Imy-rt Ir(w)-Śn pr-ṛ</td>
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<tr>
<td>8) Ir(w)-Śn nswt</td>
<td>Niankhre-Nedjes, Rawer, ????, Schepsesre</td>
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<td>9) ḫrp Ir(w)-Śn nswt</td>
<td>Niankhre</td>
<td>Nimaatptah, Pthahemhat</td>
<td>Ankh, Khnumnefer</td>
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<tr>
<td>10) ḫrp Ir(w)-Śn nswt</td>
<td>Ty, ????</td>
<td>Manefer, Nefer, Kaemnepert*</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11) Imy-rt Ir(w)-Śn nswt</td>
<td>Ankhkhafre</td>
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Table 1. Holders of various hairstyling offices during the Old Kingdom based on the data given in Speidel 1990, who gives full references. As some have more than one hairdressing titles, only the highest is used; f. denotes a lady hairstylist, * denotes un-named father of the individual, ** is probably Director of Royal Hairdressers although Jones 2000: 699 omits the nswt, Speidel 1990: 61-2 correctly includes it, and ??? denotes an unreadable or missing name. Date: 1 = Khafre-Shepseskaf, 2A = Userkaf-Menkauhor, 2B = Djedkare-Teti, 3 = Userkare-Pepy II, Title in Jones 2000 Index 1 - 1131, 2 - 2555, 3 – N/A, 4 - 1132, 5 - 3361, 6 - 2556, 7 - 284, 8 - 1135, 9 - 3362, 10 - 2557, 11 – 283.
Certain titles and positions seem to have had a close association with the institutions of royal and palace hairdressing. The title **iry nfr-hst** – ‘Keeper of the Headdress’ is held by the following royal hairdressers: Ankhi, Ankhkhafre, Kaemnefert, Kaunisut, Khnumnefer, Manefer Nimaatptah, Ptahemhat, Rawer, Ty, and palace hairdressers: Meryeankh, Hetepka, Khabauptah, Neferherenptah, Nekhetsas, and Suf (Speidel 1990: 5-86; Barta 2001: 72-3). Whereas, only royal hairdressers are recorded as holding both the title ‘Director of the Palace’ and ‘Keeper of the Headdress’: Kaunisut, Kaemnefert, and Rawer; Ty held a similar position ‘Keeper of the Crown’ with the other two titles (Barta 2001: 73). The position of **hrw sšt n pr-dwšt** – ‘Secretary Privy to the Mysteries of the House of the Morning’ is also associated with royal hairdressing titles, although only with persons of high rank, such as Kaunisut of Dynasty IV and Ty and Ankhkhafre of Dynasty V, and two palace hairdressers from Dynasty V: Hetepka and Suf. Speidel (1990: 143-8) suggests that the promotion through the hairdressing ranks could eventually lead to a higher position in the **pr-dwšt** - the House of Morning or in the **iswy (n) hkr(w) nswt** – ‘Two Bureaux of the Royal Regalia’, although no hairdresser reached the rank of **imy-rš iswy (n) hkr(w) nswt** (see Jones 2000: 67-8 for a list of possessors of this title, such as Kagmeni who was also **imy-rš iswy (nw) hry-ḥmt** – ‘Overseer of the Two Bureaux of the Registry’).

The higher of the two institutional branches of hairdressing was that of royal as opposed to palace (Speidel 1990: 101-4). From reliefs on the pyramid temples (Borchardt 1907, 1909, 1910, 1913), seal impressions and the Abusir Papyrus Archives (Posener-Krieger 1976; Posener-Krieger & De Cenival 1968) it is clear that palace hairdressers, such as ‘Director of Palace Hairdressers’ **ḥrp ir(w)-šn pr-š** were concerned with three areas of activity: 1. The ritual cleansing, applying of cosmetics, dressing, placement and dressing of wigs, and adornment of the cult statues of the kings and gods in sun-temples and active in the rites of the rituals of cleansing in the House of Morning attached to these temples, 2. The ritual cleansing, applying of cosmetics, dressing, placing and dressing of wigs, and adornment of the cult statues of the kings as part of the mortuary ritual in pyramid temples and, 3. The administration, safe-keeping and supervision of articles necessary for the dressing of the cult statues. They would also be engaged in the usual priestly duties at these temple institutions. Some palace hairdressers could also be employed in the mortuary cults of the highest officials, such as Ptah and Hepka recorded in the cult of Ptahshepses (Verner 1977; Speidel 1990). Speidel (1990:94) suggests that palace hairdressers may have been peripatetic (see Shafer *et al.* 2005: 9-74 for priestly rituals).
Figure 19. The copper cult statues of Pepy I (right: JE33034) (# 382) and Merenre (left: JE33035) (# 381), which originally had a wooden core were found in a deposit in the temple enclosure at Hierakonpolis (Quibell 1900). Pyramid temples had five main cult statues, which were cleansed and clothed each morning (Shafer et al. 2005: 72).

Although there is less direct evidence, it seems from the associated titles that the duties of the royal hairdresser were more concerned with the care and decoration of the king’s body and perhaps those of his direct household. These hairdressers would have been directly responsible for the care of the king’s hair, wigs and possibly placing of the diadems and crowns on his head, as indicated by the close association of the title ‘Keeper of the Headdress’ with that of royal hairdressers (Speidel 1990: 112). As some royal regalia was probably kept in the temples, its safety was the concern of the palace hairdressers, although elements of the regalia were probably kept in chambers within the palace presided over by the Two Royal Decoration Chambers - the iswi hkr-nswt, chambers in which the royal hairdressers also probably had to serve (Speidel 1990:113). It seems that the main function of the royal hairdresser was to participate in the king’s morning toilet ritual, which was held in the House of Morning attached to the palace or in the ones that were attached to temples. The lower ranking royal hairstylists may not have actually done the hairstyling themselves, just assisted those of higher rank in dressing the hair of the royal household. The higher ranking officials probably told the lesser stylists what to and how to do the courtesans hair, although it is probable that the highest ranking hairdresser actually did the king's hair himself (Riefstahl 1952; Speidel 1990). The associated titles of both the royal and palace hairdressers indicate that some of the jobs they performed were parallel or overlapped (Speidel 1990: 112).
Also involved in the rituals concerning the body of the king were royal barbers, who were also priests of the Duawar – the royal beard (Kaplony 1975: 618). Unlike hairdressers, only one branch of state barbers is recorded – palace barbers. These state barbers were probably engaged in the shaving and washing the king. Although not as many state barbers are recorded as hairdressers, one particular barber, Nekhetsas from the reign of Niuserre of Dynasty V (see Fig. 20), held a whole string of barbering titles including: imy-śr ḫʾk(w) pr-ḥ – ‘Overseer of Palace Barbers’, ṭm pr ḡḥwty – ‘Overseer of Barbers in the Temple of Thoth’, Imy-śr ḫʾk(w) – ‘Overseer of Barbers’, ṣḥd ḫʾk(w) pr-ḥ – ‘Director of Palace Barbers’, and ḫn-ntr dw-ḥr – ‘Priest of Duawer’ (Mariette 1976: 366, D.67; Jones 2000: No. 737, No. 3513, No. 2143). Nekhetsas also held many other titles, some concerned with decorating the king’s body, such as: mḥnk nswt m kḥt-ḥn – ‘Intimate of the King in the Works of Hair’, sḥkr ḫt ntr.f m kḥt-ḥn – ‘Adorner of the God’s Brow (front) with Works of Hair’ and ʾry nfr-ḥḤt – ‘Keeper of the Headdress’ (Mariette 1976: 366 D.67; Jones 2000: No. 1687, No. 3596, No. 1183). Kaplony (1975: 618) suggests that Nekhetsas and others of his rank and title decorated the king with his beard, the Duawar, during his morning toilette.
During the Old Kingdom there seems to have been a ritualistic aspect to the king’s morning toilette, which was held in the House of the Morning, a building/room that was attached to the palace or sun-temple (Blackman 1918). Many titles, such as those just mentioned are concerned with this institution along with others such as ‘He who Adorns Horus’, ‘Overseer of All the Adornments of the King’, ‘Secretary Privy to the Mysteries of the King’s Regalia’, ‘Inspector of the King’s Regalia of the Palace’, ‘Overseer of the King’s Linen’, ‘Superintendent of the King’s Bathroom’, ‘Royal Body Servant’, ‘Overseer of Oils’, (Blackman 1918: 152; Jones 2000: passim; Kriesel 1958: 69-70). The titles surrounding the House of Morning along with passages from the Piy Stele (Lichtenstein 1980: 66-84) suggest that the king was assisted at his morning toilette by high officials who ritually cleansed him with water and incense, dressed and
groomed him and adorned him with jewellery and other royal regalia (Blackman 1918: 150-2). During this morning ritual the ‘Overseer of Royal Hairdressers’ would have been concerned with the grooming and maintenance of the king’s hair and crowns, although he may have also held other duties. Whereas, the ‘Director of Palace Barbers’ shaved the king and attached the royal beard. A similar ritual overseen by officials was also performed in the sun temples and the derived ritual of washing of the dead king’s body may have been presided over by the ‘Secretary Privy to the Mysteries of the House of the Morning’ at the king’s funeral (Blackman 1918: 164).

To understand how a hairdresser could reach such prominence, particularly during Dynasty V, it is important to remember that the king was regarded as a god (Baines 1993a; 1993b), and as such every act of his was a ceremony, and every ritual was presided over by a courtier. During this period the king was seen as the embodiment of the sun-god Re and the king’s toilette at sunrise was thus a religious re-enactment of the sun-god’s daily birth where he washes his face in the Waters of Nun (Blackman 1918: 154). No commoner was allowed to approach this god on earth, so it makes sense that the hairdressers - and other attendants that were intimate with the royal personage - should be recruited from his kin group or at least from the nobility. Being allowed to touch the body of the one living god on earth, gained the individual concerned with the hairstyling a certain amount of prestige and elevated his status in importance, particularly in terms of religious ritual standing, and would have smoothed their path to other still higher offices in the royal court (Verner 2002a: 172).

Two of the most prominent individuals associated with the king’s toilette were the Dynasty V nobles Ty and Ptahshepses. Both of these courtiers were allowed to build huge mastaba tombs which display some of the finest examples of Old kingdom decoration, Ty at North Saqqara and Ptahshepses at Abusir [the fragmentary reliefs recorded by Verner 1977, 1992; Oerter 2004]. Ty, who lived in the reign of Niuserre, could boast amongst his tiles: ‘Beloved Unique Friend of His Sovereign’, ‘His Lord's Favourite Keeper of the Crown’ and ‘Superintendent of Pyramids and Sun-temples of the Great Kings of Dynasty V’, and was also related to the king by his marriage to Princess Neferhetepes was ‘Secretary Privy of the Mysteries of the House of the Morning’ and ‘Director of Royal Hairdressers’ (Epron & Daumas 1939; Steindorff 1913). Perhaps the most impressive biography belongs to Ptahshepses, whose great tomb is located in front of the pyramids of Sahure and Niuserre and equidistance from both, seeming to complete the architectonic composition, so much so the Lepsius gave
the as then uncovered tomb the pyramid number XIX (Verner 2002a: 154-8). Ptahshepses titles included: ‘Vizier’, ‘Chief Justice’, ‘Overseer of all the Royal Works’, ‘Local Prince’, ‘Only Friend’ (of the Pharaoh), ‘Ruler of Nekheb’, ‘Beloved One of his Lord’, ‘Servant of the Throne’, ‘Lector Priest’, ‘Privy to the Secret Sacred Writings of the God’s Words’, and like Ty was also married to a Princess, Niuserre’s daughter Khamerenebty [probably a second wife] (Verner 2002a: 162: 166). Ptahshepses also held the titles: ‘Keeper of the (royal) Headdress’, ‘Secretary Privy to the Secrets of the House of the Morning’, and ‘Overseer of the Two Bureaux of the Royal Regalia’, the first title seemingly held near the beginning of his career. However, by the end of his career he had risen to being a prince, having the title št nswt at the head of his titulary on the badly eroded pillars in his pillared court, the third and final extension of his tomb (Verner 2002a).

Figure 22. Tomb and representation of the owner, Ty (top # 300) and Ptahshepses (bottom # 384) Dynasty V, Saqqara and Abusir (Photos G. J. Tassie [top] & Verner 2002: 154, 174 [bottom]).
As these two men held similar positions in the royal toilette during the reign of King Niuserre, they probably did not hold them concurrently. The location (away from Abusir) and style of Ty’s tomb would seem to indicate that he followed Ptahshepses. The inclusion of these titles in the titulary of these two powerful men indicates the importance of the duties connected with the Mysteries of the House of the Morning. However, it is uncertain whether both men kept all their duties as they rose through the ranks, and it may be that working in the House of Morning was a step to greater things.

The rise in importance of the House of Morning seems to coincide with the rise of the Heliopolitan ennead and of the Sun-God Re to ultimate power during Dynasty IV (Verner 2002; Quirke 1992; Wilkinson 2003), a rise consolidated by the introduction of StR (Son of Re) title by Djedefre to the royal titulary (Shaw & Nicholson 1995: 247-8). The rise in importance of Re’s cult centre at Iwnw – Heliopolis, with its sun-temple – ‘The High Sand’ and associated priesthood is also attested at this period as is another centre called $t$fbw (Verner 2002: 69-70). Although an earlier shrine of Netjerikhet has been found at Heliopolis and even earlier Predynastic remains neither can definitely be associated with the sun-cult (Debono & Mortensen 1988; Wilkinson 1999). The concepts of order, truth and justice were embodied in Re’s daughter Maat, with Re emerging in theological constructs as the universal cosmic deity, creator, ruler of the gods, god of the dead, and ruler of the otherworld (Verner 2002: 68-9). The king, the embodiment of god on earth, was the guarantee that hostile internal and external forces of evil and chaos would not prevail over the forces of good and order (Verner 2002: 68).

At the beginning of Dynasty V, the kings, often termed the ‘sun-kings’ continued and enhanced the power of Re, with Userkaf, the founder of Dynasty V, building a sun-temple at Abusir near the pyramids of his successors (Verner 2002: 67-87). The building of sun-temples is also attested by Sahure, Neferirkare, Neferefre, Niuserre and Menkauhor, although only those of Userkaf and Niuserre have been located archaeologically (Verner 2002: 67-87). These temples seem to have been related to rites of the setting sun and had a benben stone (squat obelisk) as the focal point (Verner 2002: 86).

The earliest attestations of the title ‘Secretary Privy to the Mysteries of the House of the Morning’ are from early-Dynasty IV, where named individuals such as Kanefer, Setka, and Iunminu held the post (Blackman 1918; Rydström 1994). In Dynasty IV all the holders of the title were king’s sons, whereas in Dynasty V non-royal high officials could hold the post and only by the end of Dynasty VI does it seem to
have become an honorary title held by provincial officials [a prerequisite for the function of the ‘active’ office was the presence of the king] (Rydström 1994: 65-8). Rydström (1994: 86-91) records 49 holders of the position for dynasties 4-6 and Blackman (1918: 149-51) one more from dynasties 7-8: 7 (14%) are from Dynasty IV, 26 (52%) from Dynasty V, 16 (32%) from Dynasty VI and 1 (2%) from Dynasty VII-VIII. Of these 50 title holders 46 also held the title smr wnty (the king’s) Sole Companion (Rydström 1994: 66). Hairdressing titles follow a similar pattern (see Chart 1), although to reflect social changes more clearly they have been split into four segments of time: 1 = Khafre-Shepseskaf, 2A = Userkaf-Menkauhor, 2B = Djedkare-Teti, 3 = Userkare-Pepy II, this follows (Fitzenreiter 2001) phases of statuary and changes in the religious focus and movement of royal residence. Only one title (1.5%) is recorded for Phase 1, that of ‘Director of Hairdressers’, although it was probable that it should be restored as ‘Director of Royal Hairdressers’ (Speidel 1990: 61-2). In Phase 2A the widest range of titles is attested with 9, the only major title not attested is ‘Director of Palace Hairdressers’. Phase 2A has the second largest amount of hairdressers attested 25 (37.9%). Phase 2B has the next largest range of titles with 7, the only titles missing are those of ‘Royal Hairdresser’ and ‘Overseer of Royal Hairdressing’, although the hairdressers shown in the tomb of Idut and Ptahhotep do not actually have their titles shown. However, this phase contains the largest amount of hairdressers with 33 (50%). In Phase 3 only 3 titles are recorded: ‘Hairdresser’, ‘Inspector of Palace Hairdressers’ and ‘Inspector of Royal Hairdressers’. The amount of hairdressers recorded for this phase is reduced to 7 (10.6%). The amount of palace hairdressers 47 (71.2%) far out ways the amount of royal hairdressers 15 (22.7%) and private 4 (6.1%). This imbalance between palace and royal hairdressers can be explained by the fact that there were several temples where the hairdressers worked, but only one royal court.

The correlation between the proliferation of hairdressing titles (particularly those concerned with the House of Morning) and the rise of the sun-cult emphasises the role of ritual concerning the king’s body during this period. From the reign of Djedkare Isesi there was a gradual Osirianisation of theological constructs and traditional rituals and after the reign of Teti greater emphasis on the provinces (Malek 2000). These changes are observed in the diminishing of titles from the reign of Djedkare Isesi and further diminishment after Teti of both titles and amount of hairdressers. It is also worth noting that from the end of Dynasty IV onwards that the holders of the highest titles in the administration were no longer solely members of the royal family. Trusted and
proficient private officials were allowed to hold these positions, such as vizier and overseer of royal works, and it was also at this time that the honorary titles, such as st nswt, ḫnty and smr ḫnty became meritocratised (Rydström 1994: 66).

However, with the demise of Dynasty VI the religious aspect of the royal toilette and focus on the king’s body seems to diminish even further, and mention of the House of the Morning seems to disappear, with the title ‘Secretary Privy to the Mysteries of the House of Morning’ seeming to pass to an honorary position held by Middle Kingdom Theban officials (Blackman 1918: 155-6; Riefstahl 1952: 12). Indeed the amount of titles connected with the toilette of the king was reduced toward the end of the Old Kingdom, some never to reappear again. Although certain titles such as ‘Overseer of the Royal Hairdressers’ and ‘Royal Hairdresser’, along with ‘Keeper of the Headdress’ and ‘Keeper of the Kilt’ infrequently occur after the end of the Old Kingdom, Riefstahl (1952) suggests that many of these hairdressing titles were just honorary. Temples continued to possess Houses of Morning so that the king could be purified before entering, although in this period it was the priests without further titles who performed the king’s ceremonial toilette, thus retaining an aspect of the solar ritual (Blackman 1918; Kaplony 1975). An inscription in the British Museum (EA 574) details the ritualistic aspect of King Amenemhet II’s dressing and toilette as performed by the priest Khentemsmeyt (Sethe 1924: 75).

Chart 1. Amount and range of hairdressing titles in the Old Kingdom from the data in Table 1. 1 = Khafre-Shepseska, 2A = Userka-Menkaouh, 2B = Djekare-Teti, 3 = Userka-Pepy II.
In Dynasty V, probably as a result of the ritual surrounding the king’s body, mention increases of the barber god and texts refer for the first time of a hairdressing goddess. The Goddess Khonsuot is described in the Pyramid Texts as personifying the hairstyle, the goddess of hair (Faulkner 1969: Pyr. 456c). This text is addressed to the Sopdu, the god of the evening sun, marker of the east, whose main cult-centre was Saft el-Henna in the north-east Delta, the naos of which shows Khonsout as his consort (Barguet 1950: 1). Originally Khonsout may have designated the red crown (Barguet 1950: 5). Duawer (as well as being the protective deity of barbers) also denotes a royal chin beard called the 'Great Morning One' (Otto 1975). In the Old Kingdom, along with other royal toiletries it was looked after by the priests or prophets of Duawer and in particular the - hpr hm(w) dwA 'Director of the Servants of the Duawer' (Jones 2000: No. 2650). The beard itself was deified and treated as a god, together with other toiletry gods. Duawer is personified in the procession of the environment of the king depicted on the walls of the festival hall in the mortuary temple of Pepy II (Jéquier 1938: Pl. 60).

4.2 Hairdressing Scenes and Cultural Transmission

Although the bulk of the hairdressing scenes occur from Dynasty X in the First Intermediate Period and continue into the New Kingdom rare scenes are known from the Old Kingdom. However, real hairdressing scenes, rather than genre scenes, seem to die out in Dynasty XVII of the Second Intermediate Period (for a full list of hairdressing and barbering scenes see Appendix 3). All the hairdressers shown styling hair are designated as personal or private hairdressers, no depictions of the higher ranking officials actually doing hair have been discovered. Riefstahl (1952: 16) points out that the difference between the scenes from the Old and Middle kingdoms (Type 1) and those of the New Kingdom (Type 2), is one of subject, for those of the earlier periods depict the dignified life of the elite and royalty, and reflected what they would want to take with them into the afterlife, whereas, the genre scenes of the New Kingdom suggest women of the harem, or at a banquet while away the hours dressing each others hair. Hairdressing scenes can be split into two categories:

1) The hairdressing being the main subject, with offerings secondary.
2) The offerings being foremost, with the hairdressing being secondary.

In nearly every hairdressing scene, food and drink are shown, along with tables and chairs. According to Gauthier-Laurent (1952: 695), Type 2 is just an offering scene, and the scenes of hairdressing are incidental scenes of everyday life. Type 1 he suggests shows hairdressing as it was practiced, and the presence of food and drink is an
indicator of how long it took to actually do the hairstyling. From ethnographic evidence, and actual experience of plaiting hair, to style a whole head of plaits can take between six and 12 hours.

![Image](image.jpg)

**Figure 23. Queen Kawit having her hair styled by a maidservant while at breakfast. Scene on her limestone sarcophagus, Cairo Museum, originally from her tomb at Deir el-Bahari, Dynasty XI, Middle Kingdom (photograph G. J. Tassie).**

Oils to keep the hair conditioned and smelling nice are indicated as being poured over people’s hair during the Old Kingdom. In the Dynasty VI tomb of Niankhpepi the Black at Meir, the tomb owner can be seen having scented oil poured over his head by his servant (Blackman 1953 pl. XI). A Dynasty V text in the tomb of the Vizier Senedjemib, states that King Djedkare Isesi ‘caused that I be anointed with fat’ (Breasted 1906: 122). This indicates that the ancient Egyptians were not only concerned with styling their hair, but with keeping it well maintained.

These scenes possibly represent just another daily activity of court life. The royal ladies would also have wished to have their servants with them in the afterlife to do their hair, for it was as important to the ancient Egyptians to look good in the afterlife as it was in this life. The ancient Egyptians often depicted objects or rituals they hoped to have with them in the next life. These hairdressing scenes, unlike the barbering scenes which normally show the activity taking place outdoors, show the activity being
conducted in the shaded comfort of the house, such as shown on the coffin scenes of Henwy, which depict the hairdressing taking place in columned halls. This firstly shows the dichotomy in roles between the two sexes, exemplified by the difference in skin colour, men normally being shown darker skinned than women indicating that the women did not have to do hard manual labour and could stay indoors out of the harsh sun (Fischer 1963: 17-22). Secondly, it shows the difference between the elite and commoners, as these scenes normally depicted elite women having their hair styled and in one case a man – Ptahhotep who is also shown having his hair dressed in-doors, whereas the barbering scenes normally show army recruits and other lower status people having their hair shaved or cut. Dynasties IX and X of the First Intermediate Period have the largest amount of hairdressing scenes showing elite hairdressing, this may be a residual of the rituals surrounding the toiletry of king and ḫy pꜣt devolved to the provincial elites. As with a lot of Egyptian art these scenes of hairdressing probably have more than one meaning, but until more conclusive evidence is found, the conclusions may be summarised thus:

- Actual hairstyling being practiced.
- The need for being well groomed in the afterlife.
- The symbolism of the Hathoric qualities of the royal ladies.

Chart 2. Graph showing amount of depictions of hairdressers and barbers by Dynasty out of a total of 15 hairdressing scenes, 4 barbering scenes and 8 hairdressers and barbers depicted as statuettes or on ostraca and papyri.
Hairdressing and barbering are very intimate professions, not only involving the styling of hair, but acting to restore self-esteem with the stylist also acting as a third-party confidant (McFarquhar & Lowis 2000). The hairstylists involved in the creation of the various hairstyles and wigs helped to perpetuate the hegemonic situation and reinforced the social relations, even when creating new styles. The hairstyles of the ancient Egyptians helped define them ethnically from others, acted as status and class markers, upheld social order and maintained and helped evolve the social organisation and stratification. Through the agency of the state hairdressers the institutionalised practices were themselves maintained. However, although embedded within institutions, hairstylists as agents were conduits of change, creating new hairstyles that complied with the social norms but at the same time altered the Egyptians view of themselves. The subtle changes or additions to the codified hairstyles show the individualism and intention of the hairstylist, which gradually had an impact on the social institutions.

Figure 24. Army recruits having their hair cut (note bowl with water between barber and client for keeping the hair moist), Tomb of Userhet (TT 56), Dynasty XVIII, New Kingdom (photograph G. J. Tassie).
5.0 Introduction
Although the processes of state formation can be traced back to the Naqada I period with the beginnings of a hierarchical society and the rise of local elites, it is during the Protodynastic Period (Naqada IIIA-B) that the proto-states became more formalised (Hassan et al. 2007). By this time (c. 3,350 BC) the various polities that went on to become Kmt (Egypt) had largely become an agropastoral society, although hunting-gathering-fishing-fowling were still important components of the economy. In the late Predynastic and early Protodynastic Period when the other polities were already showing signs of loss of political independence, the three major polities - Abydos (Thinis), Hierakonpolis (Nekhen) and Naqada (Nubt), were still vying for power (Campagno 2002: 49-52; Hassan et al. 2007: 694-5; Raffaele 2003b: 102-3). Shrines and ceremonial centres emerged to enhance group solidarity at these and other sites (van Wetering & Tassie 2003). At present the existence of proto-states in the Nile Delta cannot be proved, although it is probable that one was centred on Buto in the West Delta and it is likely another was located in the East Delta.

As the Protodynastic Period progressed, the struggle for Upper Egyptian hegemony continued between the polities of Thinis and Nekhen, Nubt already having been annexed (van Wetering in prep.). This process did not set out to unify a specified political territorial entity, but was more concerned with protecting trade routes and gaining more land (Adams & Ciałowicz 1997: 57; Midant-Reynes 2000: 323). The political process is not a linear process whereby successive players, we now identify as the Thinite rulers, set out to conquer neighbouring polities as a well-defined plan of action with a manual to which all successive actors adhered to. Instead it should be seen as the individual agency of certain people (Kemp 2006). The reactions of contemporary players, as well as Thinite responses to any actions by neighbouring groups, whereby luck as well as the character of the actual player owe as much to defining the outcome as any favourable economic position (Kemp 2006). Eventually Narmer, became the ruler of a state stretching from the Mediterranean Coast to Elephantine, centred on the Nile but making use of the resources of the Western, Eastern and Sinai deserts In the Protodynastic writing emerged (Naqada IIIA) mainly within two spheres: royal display
particularly kingship-symbolism, kings' names and properties) and administrative practices (seals, labels and other systems to count, control and recognise incomes, stored and forwarded goods) (Raffaele 2006). The iconography also developed along with the writing system and more detailed figures of humans were produced (Adams & Ciałowicz 1997).

Although the basic components of the state mechanism were in place just before the emergence of the state, specific properties of supreme power developed during Dynasty I. One of the most important of these properties was the concept of divine kingship with its ideological background based on the union of secular and supernatural power within a single individual, combining elements from different districts in Egypt (Hassan 1992). An ideology based on a series of mythical and material ideas and objects furnished the justification and legitimisation of the inner inequalities of a society which already had a large gap between the ruler and the ruled (Baines & Yoffee 1998; Castillos 1998; Hassan 1992). New principles of government saw a dramatic increase in the amount of officials and the use of writing, which also helped to regulate social life (Wilkinson 1999). Craft specialisation, resulted in people being taken out of food production and placed them in full-time activities such as the administration, priesthood, quarrying, building, crafts, and trade. These classes and the royal court were sustained by the mass of the population who still practised agriculture; the yield of which was taxed by the State, stored and unequally redistributed (Raffaele 2006; Takamiya 2003, 2004). A sharper redistribution of power led to the conspicuous consumption of wealth with construction of monumental buildings in the towns and erection of richer tombs, and on the body objects symbolising and reinforcing people’s status (Wengrow 2006). These bodily adornments and other objects were status symbols, which conveyed messages the élite could comprehend; but they also has an external visual impact on the rest of the population, which contributed to the creation, definition and persistence of social inequality within society.

Another factor that contributed to the formation of the state was the establishment of a new capital, moving away from ancestral homes and kin-based society (Campagno 2003a). Narmer (or Menes) is accredited with draining the plains of Memphis by means of a mud embankment, the foundation of the White Walls of Memphis and the building of a Temple of Ptah to the south of these walls (Herodotus II, 99). Memphis (located 20 km south of modern Cairo opposite North Saqqara) was probably built over an already existing town. This new city remained the capital.
throughout the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom, expanding and shifting throughout time (Jeffreys & Giddy 1991; 1992). Although the First Dynasty kings were buried at the ancestral royal cemetery of Abydos, Umm el-Qa’ab, the kings of the Second and Third dynasties (apart from Peribsen and Khasekhemwy) were buried at Saqqara (van Wetering 2004).

This chapter aims to explore the following themes: 1. how experimentation in hairstyles starting in the Protodynastic and continuing through the Early Dynastic was expressed and what codified hairstyles emerged in the newly formed nation state and how they reflected the temporal change and mode of social organisation? 2. The use of both Upper and Lower Egyptian hairstyles in maintaining this bond and foreign influence in hairstyles as a result of the Egyptian state expanding and greater interregional contact. The different hairstyling traditions of Upper and Lower Egypt expected to be found in the early Protodynastic may be hard to identify due to the lack of identifying written legends although a northern and southern hairstyling traditions may emerge? 3. Social distinctions in the hairstyles associated with class, age, gender, and religion/ritual. Distinct male and female styles and separate childhood and adulthood styles, delineating each group. 4. Which hairstyles were associated with specific ritual or religious activities, including those of deities? 5. With the growth of the bureaucracy in the Early Dynastic what were the particular hairstyles that were used to delineate social distinctions between royalty, officials and other segments of society?

5.1 The Protodynastic
During the Protodynastic Period detailed iconographic representations of the human form are rare. When the human form is depicted, internal details are usually absent, as in the painted tomb scenes from Tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis (Quibell and Green 1902). The majority of iconographic evidence with internal details for the Protodynastic Period comes from figurines, the Scorpion Macehead, ceremonial palettes and to a lesser extent ivory and bone labels and seals. The scenes shown on these artefacts usually commemorate military and ritual events, and provide evidence of the hairstyles worn by individuals taking part in the events.

According to the analysis of Ucko’s (1968) corpus of Predynastic figurines, it was most common for both male and female figurines to be depicted as bald (Tassie 1997). When women were depicted with hair they were nearly twice as likely to be shown with shoulder-length to long hair as short hair. The internal detail usually consisted of horizontal striations on the two lappets of hair falling over the shoulder.
onto the breast and vertical striations on the top and back section of hair (see Fig. 26). When men were depicted with hair it was shown as short (Tassie 1997). It must also be noted that the majority of men wore beards, although this is probably due to the fact that the bronze razor had not been developed yet. The two-dimensional depictions of men from the Predynastic usually also depict them with short-hair or none at all, although long-haired male figures were also rarely depicted (Fletcher 1995: 103). One rare exception is a pot found by Petrie (1920: 16), the people in the scene he describes as a combat of long- and short-haired men with beards, also stating that long haired individuals were often found in Predynastic graves.

Figure 25. The Scorpion Macehead (#67) showing a line of three (probably four) dancers. Protodynastic, Hierakonpolis, Main Deposit, Ashmolean Museum (E.3632) (after Spencer 1993: 56).

For the Protodynastic Period the sites of Hierakonpolis and Abydos provide most of the evidence, again mainly in the form of figurines but some labels show enough detail to identify the hairstyle. Women are rarely depicted on the ceremonial palettes and maceheads, although on the Scorpion Macehead from the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis, a row of three (probably four) dancers is shown, each touching the long plaited hair of the proceeding dancer (see Fig. 25; Spencer 1993: 56). This dancing attitude is similar to that of certain figures depicted on D class pottery of the Naqada II (Gerzean) period, where dancing women with shoulder-length hair are shown touching
their own or another’s hair (Needler 1984: 332). The hairstyle depicted is the long sweptback style.

Figure 26. Predynastic figurines A) ivory woman with the tripartite style, Louvre (E11887), B) Female figurine with shoulder-length bob formed by strips of clay from Abadiya Grave B83, Naqada IIB, Ashmolean Museum (E3203), C) Group of four ivory figurines in the British Museum, the outer two are shown as bald while the inner two have the tripartite style (EA59648 – Bald head – Badarian, EA32141 – Naqada I Period) (photographs A) and B) Joris van Wetering and C) G. J. Tassie).
On the Scorpion Macehead, on which King Scorpion is shown wearing the white crown performing an agricultural ritual, his two young fan bearers behind him and the man holding a 'basket' in front of him are shown sporting shoulder-length hairstyles with light vertical striations, but no beards. However, two men with short curly hair, below and to the right of the king, wear short pointed beards (Hoffman 1979: 314). Slight variations to these two types of hairstyle are to be found on the Hunter’s Palette which was found at Hierakonpolis in the Main Deposit (see Fig. 81.69). The row of men, possibly 'hunters' along the top ‘have their hair (or wigs) [sic] in horizontal bands of curls in which the majority wear one or two feathers’ (Hart 1991: 38), they also wear pointed beards. Petrie (1901b: 22) states that feathers are usually depicted in a different way, Adams (1974a: 3-4) suggests that the men are wearing their hair tied-up, and Rice (1990: 164) draws a parallel between the hairstyles and dress shown on the Battlefield Palette and rock-carvings at Abdur ash-Samailiyah, just north of Jeddah in Western Arabia. However, these appendages in the hair could be arrows, especially as the men are shown carrying bows (see Fig. 81.68). It has been mooted that the opposing side to the Thinites were Asiatics, Libyans and Nubians, although the opposition may just have easily been rival ‘Egyptian’ proto-states.

Figure 27. Man with a beard and penis sheath (# 111), head of man with a beard and crown (# 112), Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis Ivories (Quibell & Petrie 1900: Pl. VII).

A group of ivory figurines known as the Hierakonpolis Ivories were found in the Main Deposit (a 210 x 60 x 60 cm trench) in the temple area (Quibell & Petrie 1900;
Quibell & Green 1902). These figurines were distributed to various museums: 85% of about 700 artefacts were given to the Ashmolean Museum where work is still progressing in conserving these objects and others went to Philadelphia University, Petrie and Cairo Museums (Adams 1974). The date of these objects on stylistic grounds and context is generally regarded as Protodynastic to Early Dynastic, with individual dates for pieces given due to inscriptions or iconographic and prosopographical criteria (McNamara in press; Quibell & Green 1902; Quibell & Petrie 1900; Smith 1981; Whitehouse 1987; 1992; 2002; 2004). Baumgartel (1968; 1970b) suggests that some of the objects date to the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom on analogies with pieces from these periods. Baumgartel’s arguments for a later dating are rejected here and will be dealt with on an individual basis as the figurines she accredits with later dates are examined. The Main Deposit is one of four temple caches containing objects dating to the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic, the others are the Abydos Temple Deposit, a room outside the main temple called M 69 by Petrie (1903) and the Satet Shrine Deposit at Elephantine (Dryer 1986; Kaiser et al. 1976) and the Tell Ibrahim Awad Temple Deposit (Belova & Sherkova 2002; van Haarlem 1995; 1996; 2001; 2002). A fifth deposit constituting 62 votive objects in a pot found within a large building has recently been discovered at the East Delta site of Tell el-Farkha in a Dynasty I context (Cialowicz, Słaboński & Kołodziejeczyk 2007: 20-4). As well as the many votive objects offered over several centuries and at a later date dumped as sacred waste all five caches contained many figurines of children. These figurines of children show them as bald normally in the childhood pose of finger to mouth pose, probably consecrated as protection for the child or for success in childbearing (Needler 1983: 347).

Two ivory figurines of men with the tripartite style were found in the Main Deposit, both are now in the Ashmolean Museum, one has not been inventoried and the other is E.176 (Whitehouse 2006 pers comm.; Adams 1974b: 136). Some of the male figures have been identified as kings of proto-states or even Dynasty I (Fay 1999: 109). Some of the figures appear to wear the white crown (Quibell & Petrie 1900: Pl. VIII, 6), whereas others wear a loincloth or penis sheath (Quibell & Petrie 1900: Pl. X), a garment favoured by kings when they ran the ritual course at the Heb-sed (e.g. the reliefs in the substructure of the Step Pyramid, Firth & Quibell 1935; Friedman 1995) and have short hair and sport a beard that wraps around the chin from cheek to cheek in a similar manner to those shown being worn by Narmer, Scorpion and other Early Dynastic kings (Quibell & Petrie 1900: V, X, 2). The men in the penis sheaths cannot definitely be identified as kings or even royal, as non-royal men also wore these items
of attire (Ucko 1970). The full chin beard again, appears not to be exclusive to royal men and a much elongated version is seen on the Ashmolean Museum’s McGregor Man (1922: 70) who also wears a penis sheath, although it cannot be ruled out that this figure is a depiction of a king (Moorey 2000: 16). Beards and shaved heads are again shown on men carrying staffs on an ivory plaque (E4140 & E100) from the Main Deposit, now in the Ashmolean Museum (Whitehouse 2004: 1121). The wearing of a crown is a definite sign of a king. The majority of representations of kings show them with head covered, whereas the majority of the other (non-royal) people are shown with their heads uncovered. Williams (1988: 57) and Williams & Logan (1987: 267-8) based on the similarities in height and the fact that some of the figurines have holes, some with broken pegs still in them, suggest that these ivory male figurines formed a tableau with the cloaked female figurines (discussed below). This common construction could have therefore been of kings, queens and deities and been placed in a shrine, possibly as an early form of king list.

Figure 28. The sideswept hairstyle (# 113): a nude female ivory figurine from Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis, Cairo Museum JE14715 (photographs G. J. Tassie).

The female figurines from the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis can be split into those that are shown as nude and those that wear cloaks. Similar nude female figurines were also found by Petrie (1901b) at the Temple Deposit, Abydos dating to Dynasty I. This nude genre of female figurines can be traced back to precursors in the Badarian era (Fig. 26). The figurines of the Protodynastic are generally better carved showing greater detail than the preceding periods. An example of the sweptback style is found on a figurine from Hierakonpolis, where the lady is shown with waist length striated hair indicating plaits hanging down her back (Adams 1974: 70, Pl. 44). The sweptback hairstyle is often found on nursing women of the period, showing thick braids hanging down their back (Smith 1949: 1-3; Strouhal 1992: 22-3, fig. 19-20). A sideswept style is shown on another of the Hierakonpolis ivories, again showing striations indicating
plaits (Fig. 28). Many of the long haired (triptite) female ivory figurines are shown with horizontal striations going down the back section and two lappets and striations going straight back from the forehead (Quibell & Petrie 1900; Vandier 1952). These striations seem to indicate deep waves in the natural hair, probably either natural or made by releasing multiple plaits (see Fig. 29).

Figure 29. Long haired Hierakonpolis nude ivory female figurines (#114 & 115), Main Deposit, (after Quibell & Petrie 1900: Pl. IX, 1 & 4).

Figure 30. Lapis lazuli female figurine (#205) from Hierakonpolis with the short round curly hairstyle, Ashmolean Museum E1057 (photograph G. J. Tassie).
Plaited tripartite styles are also found from this period (see **Fig. 31**) and are one of the most popular styles found on women in the temple deposits. A nude lapis lazuli female figurine from the temple area Hierakonpolis (**Fig. 30**), now in the Ashmolean Museum (E.1057) wears a rare example of the short round curly hairstyle shown being worn by a woman (Porada 1980).

![Ivory figurines from the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis in the Ashmolean Museum.](image)

**Figure 31.** Ivory figurines (# 207, 208, 209 & 210) from the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis in the Ashmolean Museum. The female figurine to the right wears the curly bouffant style, the two central figures the tripartite and the male figure to the right the cropped style (from left to right E298, E341, E322, E174, photograph G. J. Tassie)

### 5.1.1 Physical Evidence:

The natural hair of the Predynastic and Protodynastic peoples varied through very dark-brown, dark-brown, brown, light-brown, (Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928: 20), and even some incursions of red hair occurred - ginger in the British Museum, a natural Naqada II mummy from Gebelein; and also grey hair. Both straight and curly hair occurred, but by far the most prevalent type of hair was wavy. The length of the hair was rarely longer than eight inches - shoulder length (Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928: 20).

The hair from Nag ed-Dër is generally described as straight and either dark brown or black in colour, although some reddish brown and auburn hair, and yellow
blonde has also been found, as has some hair in ringlets, and dread-locked hair (Lythgoe & Dunham 1965: 112ff), the average male hair length being 5 cm, with a range of 3-10 cm, and the average female length 9 cm, with a range of 2.5- to 18 cm (Fletcher 1995: 355). Most of the male hair from Mostagedda is described as short, although one male is described as having ‘dark curly hair’ with a ‘quiff’ at the front, whereas the women’s hair ranged from short to 15 cm in length and was described as wavy or curly (Brunton 1937: 6-43). Some of the women from Mostagedda had their hair dressed in plaits, one with some of her plaits coated in clay, another with beads in her hair. Out of the total 30 bodies Brunton examined, 2 had light brown hair, one had very light brown hair, another sandy and a third ginger hair, whilst a child is also noted as having fine yellow hair, the rest were mainly dark brown. At Matmar the hair was described as either ‘short, dark brown and inclined to be curly’ or ‘short, black and wavy’ (Brunton 1948: 9, 17).

Figure 32. Hierakonpolis HK 43 mummy from Burial 16 (after Fletcher 2000b: 40).

From the Predynastic to Protodynastic graves at Hierakonpolis a large number of mummified bodies have been recovered, many of these mummies display elaborate hairstyles. At present this is the only site yielding both natural and false hair augmentations to study from this formative period of Egypt’s history. The preliminary

1 At the Origines 2 Conference held in Toulouse, September 2005, the author had the chance to discuss with the Dr Renée Friedman, the Director of the Hierakonpolis Mission, the possibility of examining
results indicate that the rulers and elite of the Hierakonpolis proto-kingdom were using extravagant hairstyles, wigs and headdresses. One of the most elaborate hairstyles is that of the elite Naqada II woman in Burial 16 at HK43. This is the earliest palaeoethnotrichological evidence for the wearing of false hair so far recovered in Egypt. The hair was shoulder-length, tinted with henna and augmented with a considerable number of false hair swatches. The finished hairstyle was very voluminous with matted tresses (reminiscent of modern dreadlocks) and with a lot of superior height (Fletcher 1998). Another Naqada II female mummy from Hierakonpolis (Burial 333) had a Mohican-type hairstyle. Also found at Hierakonpolis HK 43, in the double burial 154, is the oldest toupee so far found in Egypt – early Naqada II. This hairpiece was made of either ‘goat or sheep’s wool’ and had been secured in place over the bald patch of an elderly man’s scalp by weaving strands of the man’s own hair into the hairpiece (Friedman 2001: 12). The intricacy of the styling techniques involved in creating these styles indicates that it took many hours of work and was probably performed by a professional hairstylist (Fletcher 1998).

Figure 33. Hair with pins and spoons in it from Abadiya, now in the Ashmolean Museum, E1035 (photograph G. J. Tassie).

firsthand the palaeoethnotrichological remains at Hierakonpolis. Dr Friedman was most keen for me to come and examine these remains and produce a full report (only small preliminary reports are presently available) on both the natural and false hair of the mummified remains, which are kept in the HK Magazine on site. It is hoped that a visit to the site can be arranged in the near future to allow the proposed analysis to proceed.
In Abadiya grave 378 was found a mummy that had almost a complete scalp and hair. The hair is dark brown and wavy about 15 cm long and has hairpins and spoons arranged in it (Petrie 1901a).

The hair from Qamar and Dehmit in Nubia is described as long and wavy for both sexes (Smith & Wood-Jones 1910: 189). This is contrary to Petrie (1920: 47) who refers to the hair as being either shaven or being long and wavy hair sometimes styled with combs.

The art of plaiting seems to be already well developed by the Badarian Period. Brunton & Caton-Thompson (1928) also noted that twisted tresses were already being styled at this early stage; one young lady even having a curly fringe down to her eyes. Ornamental hairpins and combs of bone and ivory have also been found in many graves of both sexes (Müller 1960: 6), so presumably they were used to decorate, and put the hair up.

5.2 The Early Dynastic

The evidence from this period is far more extensive - from Dynasty I depictions of the human form become more frequent and detailed, allowing more detailed analysis of the hairstyles. This situation improved even further from Dynasty II as the techniques of the stone masons developed (Smith 1949). Most of the evidence takes the form of stelae, statuary, ivory and wooden labels, and sealings, especially those recovered from the royal tombs at Abydos and large mastabas at Saqqara. Women's hairstyles start to become more elaborate and adventurous in the Early Dynastic Period (Fletcher 1995). A wider range of styles start to appear, going from the short curly style, through the bobbed, shoulder-length style to the long tripartite style. By late Dynasty II hairstyles which were to become codified in the Old Kingdom begin to appear in their recognisable, 'classic form' (Fletcher 1995: 109).

At both Abydos and Saqqara subsidiary tombs of retainers have been discovered surrounding the large tombs, the contemporary Abydene tombs generally having the greater number. The amount of subsidiary burials reached its peak during the reign of Djer, with 318 surrounding Tomb O at Umm al-Qa’ab, whereas by the end of the Dynasty the amount had lessened to only 26 around Tomb Q, that of Qa’a (Emery 1949; 1954; 1958; 1961; Petrie 1900; 1901b). The surface detail of these Dynasty I stelae is very crude, not allowing a full investigation of the hairstyles apart from length and basic style. A new publication by Geoffrey T. Martin is in preparation cataloguing these stelae, which should provide more information.
Figure 34. Subsidiary grave stele from Abydos, now in the Egyptian Museum of Antiquities, Cairo, the Louvre and the British Museum (photos Joris van Wetering and the Louvre).
Three large private stelae of Dynasty I noblemen and one of a lady have been recovered and published. These stelae as well as depicting the individual, list their titles. Found near Tomb Q at Abydos (that ascribed to King Qa’a) was the stele of Sabef who is depicted with a short round hairstyle (Petrie 1900: Pl. 31, 36, No. 39). Found at Saqqara in S3505, again dated to the reign of King Qa’a, was the stele of the sem-priest, Prince Merka (Emery 1958: 30-1, Pl. 23; Kemp 1967). Merka is shown with a short round hairstyle and no beard (Smith 1981: 40; Emery 1961: pl. 30). At Helwan the late Dynasty I stele of the Priest of Khnum and Palace Administrator Imrit, shows him with a bobbed hairstyle (Köhler 2002). The stele of the Lady Twer-irti-inpw-neith was found at Helwan by Saad, on this stele she wears a tripartite hairstyle (Leclant 1953: 95-7, Fig. 34). On a glazed tile from the Temple Deposit (see Fig 81.63), Abydos the Supervisor of Festivals, Netcherti of Heman (or possibly Meten or Mensti a site so far unlocated) is shown with short wavy hair and a goatee beard (Teeter 2000: 12).  

Figure 35. Dynasty I funerary stele of Sabef (# 61) from Abydos and Merka (# 64) from Saqqara (after Petrie 1900: Pl. 31 and Emery 1958: Pl. 23).

2 Petrie (1903: Pl. 1, 5.33) and Petrie (1939: 68) translates this passage as Tera-neter chief of the Aunu (a desert people in southern Upper Egypt centred at Armant), the cult centre of Montu - Iuny - was located at Armant.
Figure 36. The stele of Imrit (# 33) from Helwan, Tomb 819.H.11 (Stele EM99-16), showing a bobbed hairstyle (after Köhler 2002: 687).

In Dynasty II the stone mason’s art had improved considerably and much more detail is shown on the stelae (Smith 1981: 48). These stelae were described as ‘ceiling niche stelae’ by Saad (1957), however as Haeny (1971: 143-64) points out, this is an unlikely position for the stelae to have originally been inserted, and like those at Saqqara, were more likely to have been set into a mud-brick niche in a wall of the underground chambers. The placing of stelae in holes in the ceiling was probably done by robbers hiding their tracks. Although one stele at Helwan was found lying on the floor in one of the stairway pits (Saad 1957: Pl. 1) it was not in situ and the collapse of the mastaba probably caused its displacement there. It is probable that offerings were presented in front of these scenes showing the deceased at the funerary repast with formulas also recited. The deceased’s *ka* needed a body, either a statue or painted or sculpted relief as its abode, the seated figure would act as its dwelling place in order to consume the food offerings (Kanawati 2001: 115). The Memphite region has provided the vast majority of private niche stelae for the first three dynasties. This history of excavation of Early Dynastic monuments and niche stelae begins with Mariette (1889 [1976]), Murray (1905), Firth and Quibell (Quibell 1923; Firth & Quibell 1935), Emery (1961), Saad (1947; 1951; 1957; 1969), Köhler (1998; 2002), Köhler & Jones (forthcoming), although several have also made their way onto the antiquities market (e.g. that of Senreh [Patarie 2002: 1, 4-5, 26-7]), probably illegally looted from the official excavations in between seasons of excavation.
Figure 37. The Memphite double stele (#.32) of Nytwa and Nytnet (E27157), both ladies are shown wearing plaited tripartite hairstyles, Dynasty II, Musée du Louvre (Louvre photograph).

The majority of the Memphite stelae, particularly from Dynasty II were excavated at Helwan, with 34 being recorded by Saad (Köhler 2002: 679; Saad 1957) although 25 were published (Saad 1957) Kaplony (1963; 1966) published a further nine. Christiana Köhler is currently in the process of publishing all the Helwan stelae of Saad’s excavations along with others the current Macquarie University excavations have excavated (together with the other Early Dynastic stelae.) Although both Firth (Quibell 1923) and later Emery (1949; 1954; 1958; 1961) excavated hundreds of Early Dynastic tombs at Saqqara, they both sadly died unexpectedly before they could fully publish their work, resulting in an incomplete publication of their work and the stelae that they recovered and has led to an imbalance in favour of material from Helwan, although Martin (2007) is in the process of publishing some of the material. This material from both Helwan and Saqqara forms the core of the private reliefs from Dynasty II and III used in this study (see Fig. 38). Certain reliefs, such as that of Senreh are unprovenienced, although on stylistic grounds and illicit digging activities at the site probably come from Helwan (Köhler pers comm. 2005). The round-topped Bankfield stele of Merit-neith-hotep (Fig. 81.38) was purchased in 1839 from a dealer in Thebes (Gardiner 1917: 257). This stele is only the second round-topped private stele so far attested from this period (Smith 1949), and on stylistic grounds and the fact it came
from a Theban dealer suggests it may have come from an elite Upper Egyptian Dynasty III site such as El-Raqqa or Beit Khallaf (Garstang 1904).

Wengrow (2006: 220-3) briefly examined a few of these Early Dynastic stelae (see Fig. 81 for a fuller corpus) and concluded that although they are probably not representative windows on everyday life, they are not divorced from the social and material realities of courtly life. The garment most commonly depicted being worn by the deceased facing the funerary repast is a knotted cloak, a garment that as Vogelsang-Eastwood (1993: 164-7) correctly points out was worn by both men and women from the Early Dynastic to the New Kingdom and later; up to the end of the Old Kingdom it was most commonly shown being worn by people seated before the funerary repast. The knotted cloak has an elaborate \( \text{st} \) knot (Gardiner D 22) shown on the shoulder farthest from the viewer leaving the other shoulder bare. The knotted cloak could be made of either leopard skin or linen and although the long variety reaching down to the ankles is usually depicted, a knee-length version is sometimes shown (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993: 166-7). Only one Early Dynastic example is shown with a belt, that of Sisi whom Fischer (1963: 34-9) suggests could be of Nubian or Puntite origin largely due to his short round tiled style that has an extra lower row of individual plaits, similar to Dynasty V and later examples of Puntites. A strange statement by Wengrow (2006: 221) is that ‘differences between men and women are most clearly expressed through their contrasting headgear’. The use of the word headgear is most inappropriate and implies that the deceased are wearing hats, rather than wigs or their own styled hair that are actually being depicted. If the researcher is not conversant with Early Dynastic hairstyles, then mistakes in sexing can easily occur, as men are sometimes depicted with long hairstyles. The easiest prosopographical criteria to sex the person is by the portrayal of breasts (as these stelae do not show fecundity figures or obese men, there is no confusion). As Wengrow (2006: 221) correctly states, the best method to identify the person is by the hieroglyphic inscription above the person, which gives their name and titles, which are normally gendered.

The styles of the chair, offering table and linen list have been used as dating tools (Grimmal 1998; Kaplony 1963; Manuelian 2003; Said 1957; Smith 1949). However, as some of the stelae may have come from provincial sources and archaising features have been observed in Old Kingdom stelae these dating criteria must be used with caution. Fay (1998; 1999), based on later Old Kingdom representations suggests that the style of chair depicted on these stelae can indicate royal status for the individual.
Fay (1999: 107) states that chairs/thrones with a low back and rectangular field on the side are elements reserved for royalty. An examination of the 71 Early Dynastic stelae held in the database shows that this theory does not always apply (Tab. 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Royal with Low Chair backs</th>
<th>Dynasty 1</th>
<th>Dynasty II</th>
<th>Dynasty III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Royal with Low Chair back</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Distribution of low backed chairs among royal and non-royal individuals as depicted on Early Dynastic stelae.

The Dynasty I stele of Imrit, a high official in the palace administration is the only stele of this period to show an individual sitting in a backed chair. Although he does not have the title of *sꜣ niswt* (son of a king), given his position in the royal administration he may have been married to a princess, and thus inherited the honour of sitting in this type of chair through marriage. The stele of the Lady Men-kaheket is badly damaged but the title (funerary royal priest) can just be distinguished. Another anomaly in Fay’s theory for Dynasty II, that of the Men-khetka, which is a roughly inscribed stele showing no titles for the lady. However, it is possible that these two ladies were married to princes. The stele of Princess Shepset-ipet is the only royal stele of Dynasty II that does not have the owner seated on a low backed chair. The name has clearly been carved out and later been replaced/restored with Shepset-ipet, which implies that it might not be the original name and even stele (Vandersleyen 1975: III, 444). Two stelae from Dynasty III show individuals in backed chairs, those of Nekau-hathor and Merit-neith-hotep. Nekau-hathor’s stele, bought by Petrie, could be a provincial stele due to its unconventional layout. The decoration is executed in sunk-relief as opposed to raised-relief like the others. Therefore, the normal conventions may not apply to this particular piece. The most problematic of all the stelae is that from the Halifax, Bankfield Museum. Gardiner (1917) examined this stele and read the inscription as *ḥtp sꜣ ḫw rhyt nsw (ni-šwt Mry)* ‘...hotepe’s son, the protector of the king’s subjects Marye’. Two signs of bows, which Junker (1934: 6) translates as Neith, Gardiner (1917: 260) dismisses as representing this goddess. The iconography of the stele is that of a queen, for the globular headcovering (discussed below) is only worn by queens of Dynasties III and IV when they appear with one or more of their children (Fay 1999: 109). The lady also appears to wear a cloak-like garment, another attribute
of queens (Fay 1999: 108-9). Therefore, Gardiner’s reading of the text must be questioned owing to these incongruities. Kaplony (1963: 602) recognises the title stl nswt in the inscription and suggests that like on the statues of Redjit (CG1) and Ankhwa (EA171) the title is placed between two names: Mtr(t)-nt-htp stl nswt hww-hht - ‘Merit-neith-hotep, Princess Khu-iahtki’. Although Kaplony (1963: 233) assigns the stele to Princess Khu-iahtki, in light of the iconography it should be assigned to her mother Queen Merit-neith-hotep who is depicted. The stele was therefore probably dedicated to her mother by Princess Khu-iahtki.

Although there seems to be a few inconsistencies and possible exceptions to Fay’s (1998, 1999) theory, for the Early Dynastic Period it generally seems to prove correct that the backed chairs indicate a royal personage. However, more contextual knowledge is generally needed to be known about the individual to confirm this.

The subsidiary stelae surrounding the royal tombs at Abydos are not included in this category as they do not show the tomb owner seated at the funerary repast. However, the queens are usually shown in wrap-around cloaks totally covering both shoulders and the nape of the neck (see Figs. 75-6), which Fay (1999) suggests is another means of identifying a queen.

Unlike the preceding Protodynastic Period, a lot more detail is shown in both two- and three-dimensional art, defining twists, curls and central partings, but also ties holding the hair back. As mentioned above, palettes and maceheads are good data sources, depicting ceremonies, prisoners and combatants. The hairstyles of the fallen 'enemies' belong to two distinct categories: the short round curly style and the shoulder-length bob hairstyle. The short round curly style, with the curls depicted by small circles, and worn with a pointed beard, is shown on the Bull Palette from Abydos (Spencer 1980: 79) and by the victims and captives on the Protodynastic Battlefield Palette from Hierakonpolis (Spencer 1980: 80). On an ivory label the curls are depicted with cross-hatching (Spencer 1980: 65). On the Narmer Palette the fallen 'enemies' and the man being smote are all shown with a striated shoulder-length hairstyle and a pointed beard. The man being smote by Narmer, shown wearing the white crown on the reverse of the palette, also wears a fillet around his hair (Rice 1990: 157; Aldred 1965: 44-45). The shoulder-length bob appears to be portrayed on fallen 'enemies' depicted on the bases of the two statues of Khasekhemwy, although it is not possible to identify beards, also shown on the front of the base are the words 'Northern enemies 47,209' (Emery 1961: 99). A few ivory figurines from Hierakonpolis depict Egyptian man with long hair reaching the middle of their backs (Whitehouse 2003). The depiction of a tied
‘prisoner’ identified with the hieroglyphs labelling him an inhabitant of stt (Setjet – Syro-Palestine) on an ivory gaming-rod from Qa'a's tomb shows him with an intricate plaited hairstyle with the back top section of hair being pulled back in a pigtail with the underneath back plaits left to hang straight (see Fig 81.119). The front section seems to be plaited tight to the scalp, and little tabs appear at the temple, which in this instance probably does not indicate that the man is wearing a wig. The figure also sports a full beard (Petrie 1900: pl. XVII.30).

The man tentatively identified as Narmer's vizier (tt) on the palette (Hayes 1953: 29) has a sweptback hairstyle (although a few strands appear to come forward onto the shoulder it is not typical of the tripartite style); he or a similar figure is also shown standing behind the king on the Narmer Macehead (Quibell 1900: Pl. XXVI). Along with the sandal bearer, staff bearers, queen and the placenta/entrails standard bearer (shown beardless on both monuments whereas the other three sport beards), the vizier is the only figure not to wear a beard on the two artefacts. Two of the standard bearers on the Palette have cropped or short hairstyles and two have shoulder-length styles, whereas it appears all have short hair on the Macehead. The short round curly style is found on the obverse side of the Narmer Palette being worn by two men holding the leashes of the serpoard whose necks form the circular cavity for mixing cosmetics (Rice 1990: 157; Aldred 1965: 44-45).

Figure 38. Redjit with the short round tiled style (# 94), Dynasty II, Cairo Museum (CG 1) (photograph G. J. Tassie and after Clayton 1994: 27)

Eaton-Krauss (1998) and Pirelli (1991) each identified 18 pre-canonical non-royal statues. Only three of these can be identified as women (a fourth being Princess Redjef), the other 15 being men. Four of the male statues only have the bottom part preserved, and are therefore not considered in this study. A partial statue, consisting of head and shoulders dating to Dynasty III bought subsequently to these studies by the
Museum of Fine Arts Boston should be added to this corpus. Eaton-Krauss (1998) and Pirelli (1991) include only two Dynasty II statues in their corpus, the most famous being the red granite statue of Redjit (aka Hotepdief) (CG 1), a priest in the cult of the first three kings of Dynasty II (Fig. 38). This statue originally found in the Memphite region and now in the Cairo Museum, depicts him kneeling wearing a short round tiled style (Russmann 1989). However, on stylistic and iconographic grounds, as opposed to prosopographical criteria Eaton-Krauss (1998: 212) dates this statue to Dynasty III, a date not universally accepted. A corn-rowed bobbed hairstyle is seen on an un-named official in the Naples Museum (No. 1076) (Fig. 39). This statue, also from the Memphite area, shows him seated on a stool (Sourouzian 1998: 320, fig 26). The differences between these hairstyles are slight, with Redjit’s being the better carved and shown as being slightly shorter (these statues are shown in Fig. 39 and Fig. 82).

Figure 39. An un-named Dynasty II official from the Memphite region (# 92), La Collezione Egiziana, Napoli, Inv. No. 1076 (after Sourouzian 1998: Fig. 24).

Figure 40. Detail of a fragment of the Khasekhemwy Hathor Shrine from Gebelein (# 120) showing a man with a sidelock hairstyle (after Raffaele 2006).

A male hairstyle that is observed on the offering stelae is the sidelock hairstyle, e.g. that of Senre (Fig. 81.25). This hairstyle is also observed being sported by a man carrying a staff behind the large figure of the king on the Turin fragment of Khasekhemwy’s Hathor Shrine from Gebelein (Fig. 40). In later periods the sidelock of
youth was worn by children (Tassie 2005), however, all the depictions of the sidelock prior to Dynasty IV are worn by adult men. The exact meaning of this hairstyle during the Early Dynastic is uncertain, but it may be symbolic of a warrior (Tassie 2005: 65).

Figure 41. Hesire (# 70) wearing the short round curly style, with internal decoration depicting the curls, and on the right, the shoulder-length style. Saqqara, Dynasty III (after Borchardt 1937: 108).

Men's hairstyles start to become codified into three distinct forms by Dynasty III: the short round curly style, the short round tiled style and the longer shoulder-length form (Fletcher 1995: 113), all of which are depicted in two- and three-dimensional form. The Tomb of Hesire at Saqqara originally contained 11 decorated wooden panels (see Fig. 41), although five of these disintegrated, six were removed to the Cairo Museum (Mariette 1978; Quibell 1913; Wood 1978). Only five of the six preserved wooden panels of Hesire, a high official of Netjerikhet show his head and hair (JE28504). These five panels, however, depict the majority of men's hairstyle of this period. Two show the striated shoulder-length style and two the short round tiled style showing the hair braided into twenty-one rows, but leaving the crown area free from the tile-like pattern. The fifth depiction of Hesire shows the short round style decorated with circles representing tight curls (Borchardt 1937: 108; Smith 1949: pl.31.b).
On all depictions of Hesire is found a moustache, faint on the short round styles, but larger and more distinct on the striated shoulder-length styles. The two types of the short round style are again seen on the calcite reliefs of the Palace Controller Ab-neb (Vandier 1952: 753). In the depictions of Hesire the tiled style just covers the ears, as it does in all other depictions of this style at this period. However, the short round curly style is free of the ears. In the case of Ab-neb, both styles have the same shape covering the ears. Two life-size statues of the official Sepa show him with the short tiled style (Smith 1949). To show that Hesire’s striated shoulder-length style is wavy, four shallow grooves have been carved in the hair, and at the front there is graduation running from the shoulder to the jaw level in an otherwise bobbed style (Rice 1990: fig. 85a). The bobbed effect of the shoulder-length style can be seen more clearly in three-dimensional art, as noted on the statues of the Head Carpenter, Prince Nedjem-Ankh in the Louvre and Leiden museums, where the front sections come forward framing the face more (Vandier 1952: 982-3, fig. 660-1). The British Museum statue of the Shipbuilder Ankhwa (Bedjem) from the Memphite region, is also shown wearing the shoulder-length bob (Ross 1931: 100).

Figure 42. A) Woman with a chignon (# 122), Dynasty I, British Museum (EA32143) (photographs G. J. Tassie).
Figure 43. The backswept hairstyle: two female ivory figurines from Abydos (#123 & 124), Temple area (after Petrie 1900: Pl. II, 2 & 5).

The bald hairstyle occasionally seen in the Predynastic and Protodynastic virtually disappears and women are shown with a large variety of hairstyles, mainly long and arranged in different ways. The tripartite hairstyle continues to be popular, as seen on a Dynasty I statue of a kneeling figure from Hierakonpolis, with striations depicting separate braids ending in twisted hair tips (Petrie 1916: 191). An unusual hairstyle for Dynasty I, and one not normally seen until the Graeco-Roman Period is the chignon or cartogan, found on the Early Dynastic ivory figurine in the British Museum (EA32143) (Budge 1930: 103). The lady carries a baby on her left shoulder, which may account for her having her hair up, keeping it out her, and the baby's way (Fig. 42).

A female figurine (see Fig. 43) found in the Temple Deposit (M69), Abydos shows a sideswept hairstyle, probably consisting of ringlets or tight curls reaching down to breast level. The whole style is encircled by a tie, which draws the hair back on the left side, letting it fall over the shoulder on the right side (Petrie 1903: Pl. II No. 2). Another figurine from the Temple Deposit, Abydos shows a similar hairstyle but with both sides of the hair drawn to the back (Petrie 1903: Pl. II No. 5). An almost identical sweptback style is depicted on an ivory figurine from Dynasty I, now in the Louvre.
On stylistic grounds this figure probably originally came from Abydos (see Fig. 43).

Figure 44. A nude female ivory (# 125) figurine (E14205). Height 12.80 cm, Dynasty I, unprovenienced, Louvre (photographs Louvre).

A complex backlock hairstyle is shown on a Dynasty I glazed figurine from the Temple Deposit, Abydos (Petrie 1903: Pl. IV). The right hand has a hole pierced in it, for the insertion of an object, which is now missing. The figurine’s arms are in what could be a nursing position, although the infant is missing. The hole could also have been for the insertion of a sceptre or other instrument, although it would be unusual for women to carry objects of this type during this period. The hair is plaited on to the scalp in a three string plait in concentric circles from the hairline up to the crown, where a section had originally been left loose. The ends of the scalp plait are secured, possibly being incorporated into the slightly off centre pigtail, which is plaited right strand over left and hangs vertically down the right side of the woman’s back. This method of plaiting the pigtail indicates that the plaiting was probably undertaken by a right-handed person (Fig. 45).
The complex backlock style is again found in the Old Kingdom (see Chapter 6) and in Dynasty XIII on a broken figurine now in the Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, Brussels (E6749). The sculptors’ art has progressed and the intricacies of the hairstyle are clearly shown; this time the pigtail (plait) is centred on the crown of the head, but essentially it is the same style (Fig. 46). Another example is shown on an offering bearer wearing a strapless dress that leaves her breasts exposed on the back part of the Dynasty XIII chapel of An, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York - MMA 69.30 (Fischer 1996: 123). The inscription by the figure reads: the maidservant – Snb-Ddi-m3t-hrw. Fischer (1996: 123-39) gives a further four Middle Kingdom examples, although the one with the word Asiatic by her on MMA 63.154, probably has a different hairstyle. The backlock hairstyle may be related the ball and backlock/multilock hairstyle (No. 9), which is seen in both Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom tombs on teenage acrobats and dancers (Decker 1990; Lexova 1935).

Men with backlocks, square goatee beards and short kilts are shown on fragments of the King’s and Bearer Maceheads found in the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis and now in the Petrie Museum (UC 14898, UC14898A) (see Fig 81.117-8; Adams 1974: Pl. 1-4; Quibell & Petrie 1900: Pl.26). This backlock hairstyle is also noted on a figure wearing a long patterned garment on the ivory inlays of a box from Abydos, Umm al-Qa’ab (Petrie 1903: Pl. 4) and on Protodynastic men wearing penis sheaths and carrying bows from Cemetery U, Abydos (Dryer 1998: 119, Abb. 76). The detail shown on the ivory inlays from Abydos (Fig. 48A) indicates that this style is
similar to the female version. Another similarity is the fact that this style appears to be worn by offering bearers of both sexes. Various authors (Smith 1949; Raffaele 2006) suggest that these figures could be Libyans owing to their hair and style of robes. Although the robes are similar (see Fig. 48), most depictions of people that are definitely named as Libyans (ḏḥnw) wore shoulder-length bobbed hairstyles, some with a sidelock, and or feathers (Borchardt 1913: Pl. 6-7; Hölscher 1937: 12ff; Kriesel 1958: 12, 18). Therefore, the backlock hairstyle seems to have begun as an indigenous non-royal Egyptian hairstyle.

Figure 46. Bust of a girl showing method of plaiting used in the complex backlock style, Dynasty XIII, Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, Brussels, E6749 (after Fischer 1996. Pl. 23).
Figure 47. The back of the chapel of An, showing the female offering bearer with a complex backlock presenting two bags of incense, second register on the right, Thebes, Dynasty XIII, Metropolitan Museum of Art 69.30, Lila Acheson Wallace Fund Gift, 1969 (after Fischer 1996: Pl. 21).
Only three private non-royal statues of private women and one of a princess have been recovered from the Early Dynastic Period, all dating to Dynasty III (Eaton-Krauss 1998), although a 45 cm high statuette from Abydos, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York was credited with a Dynasty II date (Hayes 1953: 43-4), Easton-Krauss (1998: 210) has demonstrated on stylistic and iconographic grounds that it should be dated to the end of the Old Kingdom. Including Princess Redjit these pre-canonical statues depict three of the women wearing the tripartite style and the other with the earliest occurrence of the enveloping style. All four hairstyles are dressed in the same manner, with long layered plaits. At this period the tripartite style in three-dimensional art is shown covering the ears and in a bulkier form compared to those from the Old Kingdom. On the Dynasty II stelae of Henmit, Nisi-neith, Nefere-siuf and Heken from Helwan (Fig. 81) the hair is shown over the ears, whereas from the Third
Dynasty onwards, artistic convention in all two-dimensional representations has it shown pushed behind the ears.

Figure 49. Nesa (# 102), wife of Sepa, with a layered tripartite hairstyle, Dynasty III, Louvre A38 (photo Joris van Wetering).

5.2.1 Physical Evidence:

By the middle of Dynasty I the hairstyles were quite sophisticated. Around the tomb of King Djer were 318 subsidiary graves. Many of these graves belonged to female courtesans. ‘In their tombs were found the well-preserved remains of their extremely elaborate coiffure’ (Kemp 1967: 26). Unfortunately Amélineau, the director of the excavations, did not publish photographs or illustrations of these hairstyles and only provided scant written descriptions in his monographs (1899; 1902; 1904; 1905).
At Matmar the hair of four women was described by Brunton (1948) as light brown, another with dark brown hair 4 cm long, another with brown wavy hair and black tresses decorated with strings of beads, and the last as having long slightly curly hair (p. 25-6). Brunton described three men’s hair as short and light to very light brown (1948: 26).

Both Amélineau (1905: 450-60, Pl. 13-15) and Petrie (1900: Pl. 4) found tens of pieces of false hair placed on the Tomb O, that of King Djer at Umm el-Qa’ab, Abydos. Djer’s tomb was thought by the ancient Egyptians to be that of Osiris. As Osiris did not become popular as a god until Dynasty V, it is unlikely that any of these hairpieces are of Early Dynastic date and stylistically many of them seem to be of New Kingdom date (Cox 1977: 67; Fletcher 1995: 362). Although it would be possible to radiocarbon date the hair samples, ancient hair is not a particularly reliable substance to date (Lubec et al. 1994). Although probably not of Early Dynastic date a few examples of the type of postiches and wefts will be given.

**Figure 50.** A weft of hair (fringe) found near Djer’s tomb at Umm al-Qa’ab, Abydos, now in the Pitt Rivers Museum (1901.40.56) (photograph Pitt Rivers Museum).

The three boxes of false worked hair found included tens of plaits of varying thickness, up to 450 mm long. A few wefts of human hair tied on to two strings forming what is known as a fringe were also found. One fringe measured 142 mm long and had 20 mm wide, 30 mm long open centre pendant curls hanging from it. The plaits found are similar to examples found in the Dynasty XVIII tomb of Meryetamun (Winlock 1932) where the hair is bound onto a stem which then forms a loop which was in turn
attached to the hair. These pieces of false hair were probably either used to pad out the owners own hair or once formed part of a complete wig.

5.3 Royal Hairstyles and Headdresses:
Grzymski (1999: 54) states that only four royal statues have currently been identified dating to the first two dynasties: two of Khasekhemwy from Hierakonpolis (Fig. 58b), a faience example of Djer from Elephantine (Fig. 59) and an ivory one of an unidentified king from Abydos (Fig. 58a). As this section demonstrates, this figure for the amount of kings and queens portrayed in three-dimensional art is very conservative. Depictions of royalty in relief, although not numerous for the Early Dynastic Period, add to the corpus of statues and statuettes to allow valid judgements to be made about the hairstyles and headdresses that they wore.

The prototypes of some of the familiar royal headdresses that become codified in the Old Kingdom, such as nemes, khat and pasekhemty - the Double Crown, which combined both the hedjet - the white mitre crown of Upper Egypt, and the deshret - the red crown of Lower Egypt, are seen in this period (Wilkinson 1999: 186-208). The most common headdresses were the red and white crowns, seen on ivory and wooden labels, maceheads, palettes, reliefs and statues. The king could either be depicted wearing a beard or clean shaven. On the Narmer Palette the king is shown wearing the hedjet on the obverse and the deshret on the reverse, both times with a short goatee beard (Quibell 1898, 1900). Two statues of King Khasekhemwy (Cairo JE32161 & Ashmolean E517), the last king of Dynasty II were found at Hierakonpolis in the area of the Horus Temple, on both the king is shown wearing the hedjet but no beard (Quibell 1900: Pl. XXXIX-XLI). On the small ivory statuette (EA37996 see Fig. 58A) of an unknown king from the Temple Deposit, Abydos, the king is shown wearing the Heb-sed cloak, the hedjet and clean shaven (Spencer 1993: 56). By Dynasty III the beard had developed into the horizontally striated square chin-beard - Duwar, as worn by Netjerikhet on his ka statue in the serdab and other statues and reliefs in his step pyramid complex at Saqqara and by his successor Sekhemkhet on rock-carvings in the Wadi Maghara (Gardiner & Peet 1955: pls. I & IV; Giveon 1974). The chin-beard at this period is straighter in form than later examples from Dynasty IV and beyond in which the tip of the beard flares out slightly. The beard can be worn with any of the crowns, or without any headdress. The headdresses could also be worn without the chin-beard, but undoubtedly the chin-beard was part of the royal regalia. A male figure on a relief fragment from Netjerikhet’s temple at Heliopolis, now in the Turin Museum shows the figure, which Smith (1981:
64) identifies as Geb (although probably Netjerikhet personified as Geb), in the typical seated god pose (Gardner A40) with the long striated sweptback hairstyle and curled and plaited Osiride beard (see top centre Fig. 73).

Until the reign of Netjerikhet only a single named depiction in the round or relief may possibly have depicted the king without a headdress. Unfortunately, the statue of King Narmer is headless and only shows the bottom of a long sweptback hairstyle or possibly a proto-\textit{khat} headcovering (see Fig. 61). The only certain hairstyles that any Early Dynastic king is shown wearing is the long tripartite style, which is shown underneath the proto-\textit{nemes} headdress of Netjerikhet on his \textit{ka}-statue, and the tripartite and possibly short round on the unfinished pillar-statues in the Festival Court in his Pyramid Complex (Fig. 84). The hair in these statues is shown to be unnaturally bulky, especially the back section, possibly indicating the use of false hair.

\textbf{Figure 51. The obverse and reverse of the Narmer Palette (\# 65) from the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis. Cairo Museum, Dynasty I (after Aldred 1965: 44-5).}

The origins of the two kerchief headdresses – the \textit{nemes} and \textit{khat} - lay in the kerchiefs worn by the workers in the fields. The \textit{khat} seems to have evolved from a prototype headdress, as seen worn by the Dynasty I king, Den, on the MacGregor ivory label (Wilkinson 1999: 196). On this ivory label, which was for a pair of sandals, originally found at Abydos, but now in the British Museum (EA55586), Den can be seen smiting the enemy. The king is shown wearing a kilt and a kerchief without
lappets, the excess material hanging free untied behind his shoulders, surmounted by the uraeus (Spencer 1993: 87). King Den is shown wearing an identical kerchief in another, fragmentary, label from Abydos (Petrie 1900: Pls. X.14, XIV.9). On this label he is shown carrying a mace in one hand and a long staff in the other. King Netjerikhet (Djoser), of Dynasty III, is shown wearing what appears to be a prototypical khat headdress on a relief from the Wadi Maghara, Sinai. However, because of the rudimentary style of the inscription, it does not permit a fuller interpretation (Eaton-Krauss 1977: 26, n. 38).

Figure 52. Ivory labels of King Den (# 130 & 131). The one to the left shows the ‘First time of smiting the East(erners)’, British Museum EA55586 and the one on the right, also from Abydos, Den carries a sceptre and walking stick (Spencer 1993: 87, 1980: Pl. 53; Wilkinson 1999: 187).

The earliest depiction of a headdress that can definitely be identified as a proto-nemes is to be found on the ka statue of the Dynasty III king, Netjerikhet, which was originally in the serdab attached to his Step Pyramid Complex at Saqqara, but is now in the Cairo Museum (Wilkinson 1999: 196). On his ka statue, Netjerikhet is shown wearing what appears to be a shrunken form of the nemes, for although the overall shape of his headcovering is similar to the later versions of the nemes, on closer inspection Netjerikhet is found to be wearing his hair in the tripartite style, which can be seen sticking out from beneath the kerchief (see Fig. 53). The kerchief is shown with short pointed lappets, and instead of a tightly secured queue behind, the ends of the kerchief are left loose in a point; therefore, it should be classified as a proto-nemes (Hart 1991: 95; Robins 1997: 45).
However, there appears to be three earlier examples of the proto-nemes headdress shown on statues of ‘queens’ from the Protodynastic to the early First Dynasty. The first of these statuettes (Fig. 54) only has the upper part of the body preserved but from the stance and style it appears that the limestone figure was either a kneeling or seated female (Fay 1999: 115). The provenience of this piece is unknown, but it is likely that it came from Hierakonpolis, Abydos or Saqqara; it is now in the Cairo Museum (JE71586). The upper part of the head is shown with smooth striations going straight back from the forehead, which terminate in four horizontal striated bands just above the occipital bone. This top part continues behind the ears and falls in two twisted lappets onto the chest, the right one shown on the outside of the wrap-around cloak and the left inside the cloak worn by the individual. Below the occipital bands is what appears to be a plaied bobbed shoulder-length hairstyle. That hair is indicated beneath the occipital bands can be ascertained by the fact that the lines do not match the lines above and show horizontal lines indicating plaing; the manner in which they are
executed makes it appear as if they are coming out from beneath the top section. This is the best example of the duplex bouffant plaited hairstyle so far excavated.

Figure 54. Seated limestone figurine (# 89), Dynasty I. Cairo Museum (JE71586) (after Sourouzian 1998: 338).

Two badly damaged [both have undergone extensive modern conservation] seated figures thought to represent a Protodynastic king (Scorpion II) and queen from Hierakonpolis have been mooted as wearing a kerchief (Adams 1974: Cat No. 87, Pl. 8; Smith 1946: 8, Pl. 1). These two figures, originally from Hierakonpolis, now in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL (UC14878 and UC14879), differ significantly from the Cairo example (JE71586). Stylistically the two UCL figures show great distinctions with one another as well. The figure that has been identified as male (UC14878) has its right hand (missing) on right knee, and the left holding a wrap-
around cloak across the body (Fig. 55). The hair or headdress has striations going straight back from the forehead like the Cairo example, although the two lappets falling over the shoulder and down onto the chest are shown as flat, instead of round like JE71586. Unfortunately, the figurine is badly damaged at the back of the head, but the hair or possibly cloth that is shown falling down the back nearly to waist level has horizontal striations instead of the more usual vertical striations, which normally indicate braids of hair. The change over between the vertical striations and how the lappets join the top part of the headdress are missing and heavily restored, making any further interpretation more difficult. However, that there was a change is obvious, where this change occurred is impossible to detect but it may indicate a headdress/kerchief covering the head. The method of depicting the hair or headcovering is similar to that found on some of the Hierakonpolis ivories (Fig. 29 & 31), and therefore, this probably represents a tripartite female hairstyle rather than a male with a proto-nemes kerchief. That this figure may represent an early queen may be inferred due to her attire of a wrap-around cloak covering both shoulders, which Fay (1989; 1999) states indicates a queen.

Figure 55. Seated Protodynastic to early Dynasty I limestone figure from Hierakonpolis (# 154), UC14878 (photographs Stuart Laidlaw and G. J. Tassie).

The third Protodynastic/early Dynasty I figurine (Fig. 56) with a possible headdress, the female UCL limestone figurine (UC14879) has her face and legs missing and is shown seated (possibly once on a litter); her right arm is by her side and her left hand is cupping her breast. The carving of this figurine is much finer than the previous
UCL example and the headdress or hairstyle shows a lot more similarities with the Cairo example. The damage to the face also continues up through the front hairline nearly to the crown of the head. This damage makes it difficult to ascertain how the decoration began at the hairline, although from the remaining vertical striations that go down from the crown it is possible to deduce that like the other two figurines they probably went straight back. Falling down onto the breast are two curled lappets, which either indicate plaits or excess material. At the side of the head are horizontal striations that appear to go under the vertical striations that come from the crown. The vertical, and at the sides horizontal, striations terminate at shoulder-length. Although the carving of this figurine is not as detailed as the Cairo example, the headdress or hairstyle depicted seems to be slightly different. Although it could be a kerchief headdress, it could just as easily be a duplex bouffant plaited hairstyle styled slightly differently to JE71586 (there is no lower portion of hair indicated). The meaning of these headdresses or hairstyles will be further investigated below in the discussion on royal women wearing cloaks.

Figure 56. Seated Protodynastic to early Dynasty I limestone figure from Hierakonpolis (# 155), UC14879 (photographs Stuart Laidlaw and G. J. Tassie).

Although it appears that a tripartite hairstyle and duplex bouffant plaited hairstyles are depicted, Smith (1981: 47-8) noted that all three of the individuals depicted in these statuettes could wear headdresses. The two representations of the duplex bouffant plaited hairstyle if they incorporate a kerchief, are unlike the well developed and codified nemes of Dynasty IV (500 years later), as worn by the Great Sphinx at Giza or that shown being worn by Menkaure in the standing dyad with his
wife Khamerenebt from Giza, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Smith 1981: 112-3). However, when compared to that worn by King Netjerikhet, some 350 years later the resemblance of these proto-kerchiefs becomes more obvious. Netjerikhet’s proto-nemes ends at the occipital bone (see Fig. 53) and the lappets on the chest are not as well developed as in the later Old Kingdom examples. However, Dynasty I representations of kerchiefs usually show them as long and untied (see Fig. 52), and the two figures with the duplex bouffant plaited hairstyle show many discrepancies with the proto-nemes, therefore although the top section could be a form of kerchief similar to a proto-nemes it is more probable that the striations indicate twisted strands of hair. As these statuettes wear cloaks, they most probably represent queens. Baumgartel (1970b) suggested that the two UCL figures dated to the Middle Kingdom mainly based on the style of the hair, on this criterion the Cairo figure would also have to be dated to the Middle Kingdom. This argument cannot be accepted, for the method of depicting the tripartite hairstyle in the Middle Kingdom was a lot more sophisticated, normally showing vertical striations as opposed to the archaic horizontal striations shown on UC14878. Baumgartel (1968; 1970b) and Sourouzian (1981) liken the duplex bouffant plaited hairstyle to the Hathoric bouffant hairstyle of the Middle Kingdom, as worn by Queen Nefert (JE37487/CG381). Although the back section of this hairstyle has similarities, the distinctive curled lappets that hang down on the chest of the Hathoric bouffant style are quite different to the ones on the duplex bouffant plaited hairstyle. In the Middle Kingdom archaising was widely practiced by both royalty and the elite (discussed further in Chapter Eight) to legitimate their position (Wildung 2003) and it seems that the Hathoric bouffant style was a Middle Kingdom interpretation of the duplex bouffant plaited style combining elements of the tripartite.

Figure 57. The Great Sphinx at Giza, Dynasty IV (photographs G. J. Tassie).
Figure 58. An ivory figurine of a king from Abydos (# 129) and schist statue of Khasekhemwy (# 127), Cairo Museum (after Spencer 1993: 75; Raffaele 2006).

A small faience figurine of King Djer (El. K 969) excavated in the Temple of Satet on Elephantine shows the king wearing a *Heb-sed* cloak sat on a throne (Fig. 59). Unfortunately the figurine’s head is missing and no indications remain of either the crown or hairstyle that the king wore (Dryer 1986: 101-2). Another representation of King Djer is found on his palette from Tomb S3471 at Saqqara (Emery 1961: 60), where he wears a shoulder-length bob (Fig. 81.63).

Figure 59. Figurine of King Djer, Satet Temple, Elephantine (after Dryer 1986: Pl. 14).
A limestone head of a man from the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis (Ox. Ash E.294) depicts him with the short round tiled style, intricately carved to display cornrowed plaits and shows him with a beard that wraps around the chin from cheek to cheek (Quibell 1900: Pl. V, 1). This same style is shown on a partial wooden head probably from Abydos (said to have been excavated by Emile Amélineau in 1895 at the royal tombs of Dynasty I [Smith 1967]), now in the Boston Museum of Fine Art (60.1181). A moustache and beard are represented by overlapping curls. Although often depicted in two-dimensional art, depictions of this style in the round are rare during the Early Dynastic Period. Smith (1967) concludes that due to the style of beard and its provenience within Abydos (most royal figures having been discovered in a temple context), that this wooden statue represents a non-royal figure, possibly from the Northeastern Delta. However, the opposite is true of the head found in the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis, for its provenience and style of beard indicate a king (Fay 1999: 109).

A fragment of a wooden hairstyle was discovered in a royal context by Petrie (1901b: Pl. XII), Tomb T at Umm Al-Qa’ab, Abydos (see Fig. 60). This fragment of a layered corn-rowed hairstyle from King Den’s tomb was once probably part of a life-size statue, although whether this was a statue of Den is uncertain.
Figure 60. Male heads of statues shown short round tiled style: A) Wooden head from Abydos (# 138), Boston Museum of fine Arts, 60.1181 (after Smith 1967: Fig. 1 & 2); B) Male limestone head from the Main Deposit (# 139), Hierakonpolis, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Ox. Ash E.294 (after Quibell 1900: Pl. V, 1); C) Hairstyle fragment from Tomb T Umm Al-Qa’ab (after Petrie 1901b: Pl. XII).

A statue torso, possibly originally from Hierakonpolis or Abydos, with the *serekh* of King Narmer inscribed on its back shows the bottom of either a long hairstyle...
or a proto-*khat* kerchief (Fig. 61). As there are no lappets depicted on the chest this rules out the possibility that a tripartite hairstyle or proto-*nemes* was originally worn. Only gods and high officials are shown with the sweptback hairstyle (see Fig. 73 for a god on Netjerikhet’s shrine), and the proto-*khat* kerchief was only worn by kings (see King Den Fig. 52). This closest parallels of ‘hairstyle’ and penis sheath are found on kings and gods during this period (penis sheath see Fig. 80), and as such it appears that it is either Narmer or as Harrington (2007: 665) suggests a Protodynastic god.

Figure 62. Kneeling figure of a king from Hierakonpolis (# 90), Protodynastic to early Dynasty I, Cairo Museum (JE32159) (photographs G. J. Tassie).
Possibly the only complete statue of a king that shows him with his hair uncovered is a limestone example excavated by Green (Quibell & Green 1902) during the 1898-9 Hierakonpolis season, a few metres away from the Main Deposit (see Fig 62). This badly damaged statue (JE32159) depicts a man kneeling on one leg wearing a loincloth; a stance which may be interpreted as the *hnw* (jubilation) gesture (Gardiner A8), a man (king) in the same stance and hairstyle is also shown repeated on an ivory cylinder seal from Hierakonpolis (Quibell & Petrie 1900: Pl. XV.3). The hairstyle of the man is the layered dreadlock hairstyle, which has the basic shape of the shoulder-length bob with a central parting. Radiating out from this parting are thick twisted or dreadlocked braids, which taper into thinner twists from check level. The man is also shown with a beard that wraps around the chin from ear to ear, the Early Dynastic royal beard. Another badly water damaged statue was found with this one, although it was left at the site by Quibell and Green. Fay (1999: 115-6) makes a strong argument on stylistic grounds and similarities in the appearances and attitudes of the two figures that the kneeling statue of the woman (JE71586) in the Cairo Museum was this other figure. Fay (1999: 115-6), modifying Green’s original statement, goes on to suggests that the two statues stood outside the front of the Protodynastic to Early Dynastic temple at Hierakonpolis and that they depicted a king and queen of the period. The attire (king in loincloth and queen in cloak) and posture of the couple may indicate that they were for commemorating the king’s *Heb-sed* festival (Fay 1999: 116). This hairstyle is also encountered on three other cylinders from the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis where the king smiting the enemy is shown wearing it (Quibell & Petrie 1900: Pl. XV, also see Fig. 81.233-6).

The only other Early Dynastic instance of the layered dreadlock hairstyle is found on an ivory figurine from the Main Deposit (Fig. 63 & 82.213), now in the Ashmolean Museum (E.4976). The form of this figurine is not only unique amongst the identified Hierakonpolis ivories, but has no parallels in its hairstyle and pose amongst other figurines (Whitehouse 2002: 441). The gender of this figurine is difficult to ascertain from its clothing, a long kilt or skirt appears to be depicted with the upper torso left naked. Both males and females are depicted at this period wearing this garment, males are shown wearing it on the Battlefield Palette and in the Tomb 100 painting (Whitehouse 2002: 443). The breast is obscured by the hands and appears to be more male than female. The position of the hands is again not paralleled on any figurines from the period but is similar to a regal pose of Old Kingdom kings, such as that of Pepy I, who is shown holding the crook and flail with arms crossed in the
Brooklyn Museum statue 39.120 (Hart 1991: 211). The figurine’s gender although ambiguous was thought to be female by Whitehouse (2002: 443), however, although the shape of the face may be more feminine than masculine (roundness and softness of shape is also noted on male statues, e.g. Ankh and Nedjem-Ankh, Fig. 82.95-7) the hairstyle seems to point to a male gender and that the male was royal. The next time this hairstyle is encountered is in Dynasty XII, when a slightly longer version is shown being worn by Amenemhet III on an archaising statue (CG 395) from Kiman Faris (see Chapter 8).

Figure 63. Unnamed figurine (E4976) from the Main Deposit Hierakonpolis wearing the layered dreadlock hairstyle and a long kilt (# 213), Dynasty I, Ashmolean Museum (after Whitehouse 2002: 441).

Figure 64. Limestone head of an unnamed king (# 140), Early Dynastic, Petrie Museum of Archaeology, UCL, UC15989 (after Adams & Cialowicz 1997: 61).
The last example of a king is the unprovenienced limestone head in the Petrie Museum - UC15989 (Fig. 64). This uninscribed head was said by Petrie to be Narmer (Petrie 1939: 68; Adams & Ciałowicz 1997: 61), although Wilkinson (1999: jacket cover) attributes it to an unidentified Dynasty II king. This figure broken off at the neck with a flat back wears a low modius crown, similar to that worn by an ivory figurine of Khufu that Petrie excavated in the Temple Deposit, Abydos (1903: Pl. XIII [JE36143]) and the unnamed queen in the Virtual Egyptian Museum - WOD.SS.00119.02.ZXL (Fig. 69). The modius crown comes down in front of his ears similar to sideburns. A well defined square jaw, large ears and nose can be observed. Petrie unfortunately used the square jaw to support his discredited Dynastic Race theory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Dynasty</th>
<th>Queens</th>
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<td>Narmer (Menes)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aha</td>
<td>Neithhotep, Imaib (Benerib), Khenethep(y)</td>
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<td>Djer (Itit)</td>
<td>Penebui, Three fishes, Nekhetneith, Seshemetka</td>
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<td>Djet (Iti)</td>
<td>Mereneith, Nisiwadj, Herneith</td>
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<td>Den (Semti)</td>
<td>Batires, Semat, ?????? (Stele No. 128), Sheka</td>
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<td>Anedjib (Merpibia)</td>
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<td>Semerkhet (Irinetjer)</td>
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<td>Menka</td>
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<td>Nebra (Kakau)</td>
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<td>??????? (Weneg)</td>
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<td>??????? (Sened)</td>
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<td>Khaba (Teti)</td>
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<td>Qahedjet (Huni)</td>
<td>Meresankh I, Djefatnebti</td>
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Table 3. Early Dynastic Kings and Queens (after Wilkinson 1999: 27; Raffaele 2006; Dodson & Hilton 2005: 287), smaller font = possible kings, () = nswt-bity or personal name and italics = probable queens.

One of the main duties of the king was to preserve order, acting as Horus' deputy on earth. The royal insignia played an important part in associating the king with Horus and emphasising the cosmic aspect of kingship (Goebbs 1998). In the later Osirion myth
Horus was the son of Osiris - the king was Horus, and his dead father was thus Osiris. Although the exact significance of the khat or nemes at this early date is unknown, it seems probably that it was to associate the king with Horus. In the Old Kingdom the nemes is often called the 'Nemes of Horus', and was probably the most important insignia relating the king to Horus, and is associated with his ability to walk/fly in the sky. In the Old Kingdom it was believed that ‘the dead ascended to heaven and joined Re, the sun god, accompanying him in his perpetual journeys across the sky by day and through the subterranean netherworld by night’ (Taylor 1989: 8-9). The nemes is the insignia for that solar journey - Re's crown.

Depictions of Early Dynastic queens are extremely rare and explicit depictions of their hairstyles even rarer. At this early stage the title hmt-nswt-wrt (Great Royal Wife) was not in use, this particular term being used from Dynasty XIII onwards to designate the principal queen, although Netjerikhet’s wife Nimaathap is given the title hmt-nswt (King’s Wife) (Dodson & Hilton 2005: 45; Grajetzki 2005: 98-105). The term usually used to designate a queen in the Early Dynastic Period was mti-t-hr (She who sees Horus), although other titles, such as hts-hr (Sceptre of Horus), wrt-hts (Great one of the hetes-sceptre), rmnt-hr (She who Carries Horus), mwt-nswt-nswt (Mother of the King’s Children), mwt-nswt-bity (Mother of the Dual King), smt-nbyt (Consort of the Two Ladies), and hnty (Foremost of Women) also indicated this position, whereas st-t-nswt indicated a king’s daughter or princess (Grajetzki 2005: 2-6).

Figure 65. Stelae of royal women found around Tomb O at Umm Al-Qa’ab (# 141-2): A) Stele 95 - Nekhetneith, B) Stele 96 Seshemetka (after Petrie 1901b: Pl. 27. 95 & 96).

Queens are shown on a few of the stelae marking the subsidiary graves around the Dynasty I royal tombs at Umm el-Qa’ab (Fig. 65). The depictions are usually rough
with only limited internal detail shown. The stele of Queen Nekhethneith and
Seshemetka were found in subsidiary graves around Tomb O (Djer) at Umm el-Qa’ab
(Petrie 1901b: Pl. 27). Unlike the majority of other queens and female ‘courtesans’
depicted on the stelae (Sheka [Stele 126] may have the title Great of Praise and be in a
cloak) of the subsidiary graves these two queens are not shown with the tripartite
hairstyle, but appear to have their hair covered or partially covered and wear a wrap-
around cloak. On the Narmer Macehead a female figure is depicted, her hair appears to
be covered in a similar manner (Fig. 66), either with a kerchief (Quibell 1898: Pls. XII-
XIII; 1900: pl. XXIX), on the Scorpion Macehead (Spencer 1993: 56) a similar female
figure is also depicted (Fig. 25). The function of these figures and headdress/hairstyle
are discussed below.

Figure 66. The Narmer Macehead (# 66) showing a possible queen in a repit chair
facing the king who wears the red crown and heb sed cloak (after Quibell 1900: Pl.
XXVI B).

Figure 67. Queens with the tripartite hairstyle: A) An ivory plaque showing Queen
Neithotep (# 143), Helwan, Tomb 728.H.5 (Saad 1951: 43). B) The stele of Queen
Batires (# 144), Umm al-Qa’ab, Tomb T (after Roth 2001: 525).

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An ivory plaque depicting Queen Neithotep of Dynasty I was found in Tomb 728.H.5 (Saad 1951: 43), on this plaque she is shown wearing what appears to be the tripartite hairstyle, although the sweptback style could also be indicated, but a lacunae permits further recognition (Fig. 67A). An unusually large stele found by Petrie (1901b) in the subsidiary tombs S1 and S2 around Tomb T (Den), Umm el-Qa’ab, belonged to Queen Batires, the principal wife of King Den and probable mother of King Semerkhet (and possibly Anedjib, Grajetzki 2005: 4-5; Gould 2003). Although this stele is badly damaged, it is just possible to see the outline of a tripartite hairstyle (Fig. 67B).

Figure 68. Wooden label of Djer (JE70114) showing Queen Penebui in front of Queen Three Fishes (# 145), with the respective titles wr ḫrs nbwy (Great one of the ḫrs-Sceptre of the Two Lords) and mwḥt ḫrw (she who sees Horus), Cairo Museum (after Emery 1961: Fig. 21 and Roth 2001).

The most unusual queenly hairstyle is that shown been worn by both Queen Penebui and Three Fishes (Fig. 68) on a wooden label of Djer from Saqqara (Emery 1961: 59, Fig. 21). This hairstyle is a ritualistic mourning hairstyle that persisted into the New Kingdom (Valdesogo Martin 2003). This hairstyle has the fore section of the long hair thrown forward and the remaining back section falling down the back. It is not a unique hairstyle, and is seen in later dynasties, again in ritualistic mourning scenes.

One of the only named statues of an Early Dynastic queen is that of Imaib (called Benerib by Petrie 1901b: 21, Pl. 3a, No. 8), a queen of Aha. This ivory figurine, which was found in Chamber B14 around Tomb B19 at Umm al-Qa’ab, depicts Imaib with a centrally parted bob hairstyle that slightly flares out at the tips (Fig. 69A). An

3 The reading of this queen’s name is uncertain, and so she is called by a description of her hieroglyphs.
unprovenienced (probably from Abydos) gilt covered wooden statuette (WOD.SS.00119.02.ZXL) of early Dynasty I date shows a queen sitting on a chair wearing a long dress with a tripartite hairstyle and a modius crown (Virtual Egyptian Museum 2006).

A) [Image]

B) [Image]

Figure 69. Queens of Dynasty I (#109-110): A) Imaib (Baumgartel 1968: pl. 1; Boston Museum of Fine Arts 01.7367); B) un-named Dynasty I queen (Virtual Egyptian Museum 2006).

A woman named Menka, although not Khasekhemwy’s ‘main’ queen is given the title of mšt-hrw on the Cairo fragment TL 20/1/21/7 (Smith 1949: Pl. 30d) of the Early Dynastic Hathor Temple from Gebelein (probably associated with the fragment in Turin Museum: Cat No. 12341). In the relief Queen Menka is portrayed carrying a stone...
vase on her head and preceding a Wepwawet standard, involved in a temple foundation ceremony. She is shown wearing a sheath dress and long sweptback hairstyle (Fig. 70).

Figure 70. Reliefs from the Early Dynastic Hathor Temple at Gebelein (# 120), the Cairo fragment to the left and Turin to the right (after Raffaele 2006).

Queen Nimaathap, the main wife of King Khasekhemwy and mother of Netjerikhet (Wilkinson 1999: 94-7) is depicted on a relief from tomb chapel of Metjen (S6) at Saqqara (Ziegler et al. 1999: 176-9). On this relief the queen is shown sitting on a chair in a long sheath dress with a short cropped hairstyle (Fig. 71). This is the earliest depiction of a queen wearing the short cropped hairstyle, a style more usually seen from Dynasty IV onwards. However, as Metjen was an official from the reigns of Huni (last king of Dynasty III) and Sneferu (first king of Dynasty IV) who took care of the offerings in the chapel of the mwt-nswt-bity (mother of the dual king) – Nimaathap (Goedicke 1966), it may be more indicative of a queenly hairstyle of the time when it was carved (Dynasty III-IV cusp), rather than the end of Dynasty II. Alternatively, the title could refer to the mother of either Huni or Sneferu; however, as there are no attestations of another Nimaathap (II), and the importance of Nimaathap - the mother of Netjerikhet, the great king Djoser (Wilkinson 1999: 94-7) it probably indicates that Metjen was indeed a priest in the long-lived cult of this lady.

A style that is encountered again in Dynasty III and IV, and one exclusively worn by royal women, is found for the first time on Queen Meritneithhotep on the 'Bankfield stela' (see Fig. 81.38), which is of Dynasty II to III date. It shows a seated
lady wearing a tight sheath dress with shoulder straps. Set on the back of her head, exposing the cropped hair at the front is a globular 'wig' incised with fine horizontal lines (Smith 1949: 141-143).

Figure 71. Queen Nimaathap shown in the Tomb-chapel of Metjen (Ziegler et al. 1999: 176-9),

Dynasty III royal women are represented (at smaller scale) embracing King Netjerikhet’s legs on one of the Heliopolis temple limestone relief fragments (Fig. 72); their names and main titles interestingly appear on all of Netjerikhet's Step Pyramid Complex boundary stelae and markers (Baud 2002: 83-8; Firth & Quibell 1935: Pl. 87; Lauer 1936: 187-190). At least some of the 11 pits underneath the eastern side of Netjerikhet’s pyramid (phase M3) contained alabaster sarcophagi, probably for the burial of princesses (Baud 2002; Lauer 1936). Queen Hetephernebti and Princess Intkaes are portrayed in front of Netjerikhet’s legs, with Princess Niankhkhathor behind them. The princesses are portrayed in tight sheath dresses and jaw-length bob hairstyles, while Queen Hetephernebti wears a cloak-like garment and the globular hairstyle, which is set back on the head similar to that worn by Meritneithhotep, mentioned above.
Figure 72. Relief from King Netjerikhet’s temple at Heliopolis showing Queen Hetephernebti (centre) and Princess Intkaes (left) and another possible daughter Niankhkhathor, Dynasty III, Heliopolis (after Baud 2002: 83-8; Raffaele 2006).
At the centre of the Egyptian cosmogony was divine kingship, which also defined Egyptian society in its own image. The most fundamental aspect of kingship was the pharaoh’s embodiment of Horus, the supreme celestial deity (Wilkinson 1999: 184). The king was not Horus, but Horus was manifested as king (Bolshakov 1999: 314-5). The Horus name of the king expressed the particular aspect of the god that the king wished to stress (Wilkinson 1999: 84). Assmann (2002: 42) suggests that the ruling king was the incarnation of both Horus and Seth, referring to the dual character of the Egyptian state. This interpretation is given weight by the queenly title ‘She who sees Horus and Seth’. The king having a mortal body caused a contradiction with his immortality as a divinity. This contradiction was solved with the ideal that Horus manifested himself on earth as different beings, thus making the institution of kingship eternal (Bolshakov 1999: 315). Therefore, the momentary name of Horus could be Narmer in one instance and at another Djet.

The king’s role in society during the Early Dynastic Period was one of maintaining solidarity and cooperation, enforcing law and maat, and generally
administering the state (Assmann 2002: 36-47), but also generational, both in terms of their own family and the country as whole. The king represented humanity to the gods and the gods to humanity (Wilkinson 1999: 176). The nature of the dual monarchy was expressed through the regalia that they wore, the titulary, and the rituals and festivals (Jiménez Serrano 2004). This is well demonstrated by the use of the Pasekhemy or Double Crown, which not only represented the duality of kingship, but the totality of the king’s authority (Wilkinson 1999: 196). The use of the individual red and white crowns was to emphasise aspects of kingship, associating the king with the respective parts of the country. The wearing of the khat and nemes kerchiefs and the protective ureaus not only identified the wearer as king but emphasised his solar and cosmological aspects. The use of the tripartite hairstyle emphasised his divine nature - as this was the hairstyle of the deities (see Chapter Seven).

Women as goddesses in association with royal ideology were often analogous with giving birth, nursing and protection (Hassan 1992: 307). Men and women related to one another as members of one family, which had very structured roles within it. Just as this is shown in the cosmological familial relationships of the deities (Troy 1986: 5-43) it was also expressed in the roles within the royal family. The feminine prototype was the regeneration of the family and depended on the interaction of the male and female, of the generations of the parent and child – a projection of the primordial androgyny of the origin of life (Troy 1986: 50). In each of its aspects the feminine prototype was to generate new life, to provide the cyclical continuum that ensures the renewal of the life force in the family, and the resurrection of the individual (Troy 1986: 50). The titles of royal women during the Early Dynastic Period seem to define her role to that of the king: she who sees Horus (and Seth), but her greatest role/title was that as mother of the king; keeping the dynastic line going – producing and nurturing legitimate heirs – a Horus (Roth 2001a, 2001b). The distinction between male and female can be interpreted as another element of the Egyptian philosophical dualism, on the level of earthly and divine spheres: ‘the relationship between the god and the priestess is duplicated in the relationship between the king and the royal women’ (Troy 1986: 102). In the ritual context the interaction between male and female represents the cosmic opposition between states of being: life and death, begetter and begotten (Troy 1986: 109). This pattern is duplicated at every level at which life is given a continuity. ‘The role that the feminine prototype takes in this pattern is also reflected in the status of the royal women in the context of the family of the king’ (Troy 1986: 102). ‘The double role of daughter and mother is the primary characteristic of the feminine prototype: she
creates the very being by whom she herself has been created’ (Troy 1986: 148). Queenship has been defined by Troy (1986: 149) as having four areas: 1) the relationship to the feminine prototype, 2) ritual enactment of the role of the feminine prototype, 3) actualisation of the generational roles of the prototype in terms of kinship relationship to the king, and 4) participation in the presentation of the kingship, in the role of the feminine counterpart to the king. In each of these areas a similar pattern emerges of male and female functioning as the basic duality through which regeneration of the creative power of the kingship is accomplished. Queenship is the actualised feminine aspect of kingship.

Although the amount of depictions of queens from this period is very limited, the range of hairstyles is relatively wide: cropped, short round style, bobbed, tripartite, duplex bouffant plaisted and the funerary style. Only two sorts of headdress are observed: a kerchief and a modius, although fillets were also probably worn. However, the ritual expression of the mythological pattern of the feminine role can still be observed in the sacral objects associated with the royal women (Troy 1986: 79). The carrying-chair or rpyt as seen on both the Narmer Macehead (Fig. 66) and the Scorpion Macehead (Fig. 25) and also on a wooden label of Djer (Fig. 68) implies an important role in rituals of kingship (Kaplony 1963: 339 ff). The carrying-chair could function as both a designation of a goddess, e.g. Nut (Pyr. Text 823) and Bat (Seipel 1983: 30) and also as an independent goddess in her own right (Troy 1986: 80). Kaiser (1983) identified two main types of rpyt, a covered version and an open type. Although the difference in symbolic meaning between the two types is unknown at present, it seems the covered version was always used for the Heb-sed. A connection between the solar eye of Re, which was had revivifying, renewal and protective properties (Wilkinson 2003: 227-8) and rpyt is made by Bonnet (1952: 839) and Rössler-Köhler (1983: 147-53), implying that the carrying-chair was another manifestation of the solar eye, comparable to Hathor, Tefnut and Sekhmet. The enclosing nature of the carrying-chair as the bearer of an individual may allude to its uterine symbolism but also allows the term rpyt to carrying the meaning of statue or image, particularly of women (Rössler-Köhler 1983: 237). The qualities of the carrying-chair as an enclosing and revivifying medium reflect the qualities of the solar eye and also of Hathor (House of Horus, see Tassie 2005: 67).

The carrying-chair is associated both pictorially (seen being carried by a man behind the two women in the rpyt chairs on the Scorpion Macehead and also see Fig. 68 where a wrt ḫts nbwy [Great one of the ḫts-Sceptre of the Two Lords] and a mḥt ḫrw...
[she who sees Horus] are shown seated in carrying chairs) and textually (in the Pyr. Texts 811 a it is called $hts$ and in 892 c $rmnt$) with the $hts$-sceptre and both are regarded as the property or attributes of the Horus-king. The titles of queens in the Early Dynastic Period such as wrt-$hts$ (Great one of the $hetes$-sceptre), $rmnt-hrw$ (She who Carries Horus) and $rmnt-stš$ (She who Carries Seth) also reinforce this connection (Grajetzki 2005: 2-6). These references to the $hts$ and $rmnt$ are part of the framework of the symbolism of the solar eye, and Troy (1986: 81) suggests that along with the $rpýt$ functioned as ritual homologues to the solar eye. The three elements interacted in the process of transformation and regeneration, and therefore the application of those elements to the $rpýt$ itself represents a union of opposition (Troy 1986: 81). The carrying-chair as a feminine ‘uterine’ image and the sceptre a masculine ‘phallic’ image were employed in the mythological context to represent the interactions of opposition in the process of regeneration (Troy 1986: 82).

Figure 74. A) The Goddess Bat in the Repit (carrying-chair), Dynasty I, Abydos, Lucerne, Kofler-Truniger Collection (K 9643 R), (after Seipel 1983: 31); B) The Gerzeh Palette, Protodynastic, Gerza, Cairo Museum (JE43103) (photograph G. J. Tassie).

A statuette of the cow Goddess Bat (Fig. 74A) found in the Temple Deposit, Abydos along with other early votive objects and now in Lucerne, Kofler-Truniger Collection (K 9643 R) depicts her in a $rpýt$ (Seipel 1983: 30-1). On the front of the statuette’s base is inscribed the phrase $rp(y)t$ (She of the Carrying-chair). The worship of Bat goes back to the early Protodynastic, if not longer, as demonstrated by the Naqada IID Gerzeh Palette (JE43103) (Petrie et al. 1912: Pl. 6.7; Stevenson 2006:41-2; see Hendrickx 2002: 275-318 and Wengrow 2006: 188-191 for further images of Bat and general cattle images and worship in Predynastic to Early Dynastic Egypt), which depicts the protective nature of Bat with her astral connections (Wilkinson 1999: 282). The most famous representations of Bat occur at the top of the Narmer Palette and
possibly on Narmer’s belt (although Troy 1986: 54 identifies the goddess on the belt as Hathor based on Pyr. Text Utterance 335, which states ‘the apron of the king comes from Hathor’). Fischer (1962) concludes that Bat was the female bt (t) (soul – personality, see Shaw & Nicholson 1995: 47) and was associated with the sepät hwt-shm, coming from near Hu. The word shm can be written with a sceptre and can carry that meaning as well as refer to a statue, specifically one in which the bt resides (WB IV: 243-4). Troy (1986: 82-3) points out the overlapping complex symbolism of the bt and the shm sceptre and concludes that the rpyt encompassed their and the solar eye’s qualities of regeneration, providing a medium for renewal.

Reviewing the scenes where the royal women (probably queens or even mothers of kings) are shown sat in the rpyt a common theme emerges. The Narmer Macehead probably shows a scene of the Heb-sed (Wilkinson 1999: 214, 217), the main scene on the Scorpion Macehead shows the breaking of a dyke (Wilkinson 1999: 216) and the wooden label of Djer showing Queen Penebui and Three fishes probably depicts the funeral of Djer (Valdesogo Martín 2003). All these rituals are connected with regeneration. The ritual attributes of royal women are themselves connected with generation, with the rpyt reinforcing this in an overlaying of symbolic meaning. The covering of the royal women should thus be seen as part of the enclosing uterine symbolism, and regeneration in a similar manner to the tkn.w, which was also depicted in a similar enclosed manner (Tassie 2000). This covering or enclosing of ‘royal’ women is also seen in the iconography of the Protodynastic Period, where statuettes depict them as being wrapped in a wrap-around cloak. This is diametrically opposite to most depictions of royal women in the Old Kingdom, for as Robins (1996) notes their womanly shape is usually emphasised by figure hugging sheath dresses that emphasise their sexuality.

A particularly fascinating headcovering is the globular headdress, noted by (Fay 1999; Fischer 1996; Fletcher 1995, Kriesel 1958; Müller 1960). This headcovering has a full globular back section and a flat front section and leaves the ears uncovered. The back section is often shown with parallel horizontal striations. Queen Meritneithhotep (Dynasty II/III, Fig. 81.38), Queen Hetephernebti (Dynasty III, Fig. 72), Queen Hetepheres II (Dynasty IV), Queen Meretites I (Dynasty IV), the mother of Hetepheres II and Kawab and the mother of Prince Khufu-kaf – Henutsen (Dynasty IV) are all shown wearing this headcovering (Dunham & Simpson 1974; Simpson 1978). The depictions of Queen Hetepheres II in her daughter Queen Meresankh III’s tomb show
the headdress as yellow in colour with red strips, a means of implying a gold colour. Although blonde hair is not unknown from Egyptian mummified remains and iconography: the Dynasty VI priest Setka, is shown on a pillar from his tomb at Qubbet el-Hawa, Aswan with short yellow-hair (Baines & Malek 1984: 72), the way that this headcovering is depicted makes it more probable that it was a type of kerchief (afnet) headcovering symbolising the sun. All the named royal women shown wearing this hairstyle are shown wearing a cloak-like garment. However, not all women shown wearing a cloak-like garment wear the globular headcovering (Fay 1999: 108). It seems that the globular style replaced the duplex bouffant plaited hairstyle, for both headcoverings seem to be connected with generation and are worn by queens, although the globular has no plaited section and seems to be associated with Re.

Figure 75. Female Ivory figurines (# 146-7): A) Philadelphia, University Museum (E4895); B) Ashmolean Museum (E.326), Protodynastic, Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis (after Fay 1999: 140).

Fay (1999) examined the wearing of wrap-around cloaks by named royal women, examining the ones shown being worn by Meritneithhotep, Queen Hetephernebti, Queen Hetepheres II and Queen Henutsen. All of the figures except Meritneithhotep have titles identifying them as queens and are shown with their children. The cloak-like garments often have exaggerated peaked shoulders and some only cover one shoulder. Both Fay (1999) and Robins (1996) observe that no named royal women are ever portrayed as nude. When examining queenship and depictions of queens during the Naqada III period the female ivories found in the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis must be considered. These ivories fall into two categories: nude or scantily clad and those dressed in a cloak-like garment. As Fay (1999: 109) observes, it cannot be ruled out that royal women when connected with some specific ritual duty
may have been nude during the Naqada III Period there is no evidence to suggest this to be the case. Therefore, Fay (1999) eliminated these nude figurines from her survey of royal women.

Two cloaked female figurines found in the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis have a very distinctive headcovering (Fig. 75A & 75B). The headcovering has at least two distinct sections: a top section with striations going from ear to ear and a back section with braids. There may also be braids coming from the side of the head that disappear beneath the cloak. These two hairstyles seem to be less skilfully executed versions of the headcovering depicted on the Cairo statue JE71586 (Fig. 54), termed here the duplex bouffant plaited style. A further two ivory figurines from the Main Deposit, now in the Ashmolean Museum (E.298 & E.299) have a longer and more bouffant version of the duplex bouffant plaited style (see Fig. 31, Fig. 82.207 & 82.255). This style is also noted on a female ivory figurine from the Tell el-Farkha deposit (see Fig. 82.291). This hairstyle has very wide sides coming down to the shoulders. The back section of plaits comes to the middle of the back and the two curled lappets at the front come down to breast level. This hairstyle may indicate the use of false swatches of hair and is similar to the Naqada II mummy discovered in Hierakonpolis, HK43 Burial 16 (see Section 5.1.1). These latter three figures are all dwarfs clothed in long dresses and at least the two from Hierakonpolis have tenons in the base, indicating that they were once parts of furniture or inserted in a stand (Dasen 1993: 108).

The small cloaked figures shown in the rpyt on the Narmer Macehead and Scorpion Macehead have a similar hairstyle to the figurines JE71586, E4895, E.326, E.298 and E.299. The details on the figure in the rpyt on the Narmer Macehead are less easily discerned than those on the Scorpion Macehead, but they appear to be similar. The whole female figure in the rpyt on the Scorpion Macehead (Fig. 76) has a high collared cloak on with horizontal striations, possibly indicating pleating. The crown of the head is covered with striations going from ear to ear. There is also a flat front part of this style. At the back there is an arching section, with instead of vertical striations horizontal lines indicating the plaited section of hair. At the sides are bunches of hair disappearing beneath the cloak. Although the representation of the hairstyle is slightly different to that found on the figurines, this could just be the difference in two- and three-dimensional art.

Although similar scenes to those on the maceheads and labels depicting royal women in carrying chairs attending the king appear on blocks from the sun temple at
Abu Ghurob, depicting King Niuserre’s *Heb-sed*, the hairstyles are different (see Fig. 194). The hairstyles depicted are crops, and the women depicted are probably daughters of the king during this period (Kaiser 1983: 266). Kaiser (1983: 266) translates the caption accompanying this scene as ‘placing oneself to the left of the throne – removing oneself and taking one’s place again’. Krol (2005) traces how the *Heb-sed* changed through the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom, suggesting that it started as a festival of military triumph, and that by the reign of Den, the running between boundary (*dnbw*) markers by the king was a symbolic act of taking possession over the entire country, a ritual statement of the unity and fertility of Egypt and the keeping of order. The women’s role in the *Heb-sed* appears to be related to rejuvenation and generation, both of the king and country but also to complete the unity and help keep the balance in the ordered cosmos. The placing of the queens in the carrying chairs near the throne was to sexually stimulate the king so he could regenerate himself and the country - analogous with being ‘bull of his mother’, the princesses illustrating his fertility (Roth 2000: 189-95). The enclosed uterine-like cloak could symbolise the womb the king was to be reborn from. This represented the interactions of opposition in the process of regeneration (Troy 1986: 82).

Figure 76. Detail of the Scorpion Macehead, Late Protodynastic, Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis, Ashmolean museum E3632 (after Fay 1999: 144).
At this point it is worth noting the Goddess Neith’s association with women of the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic. In the corpus of theophoric names from this period (Kaplony 1963) nearly 40% incorporate the name of Neith (107 times compared to only 3 for Hathor), an imbalance that indicates her importance at this period (Tower Hollis 1995: 46; el-Sayed 1982). At least three possibly four queens from Dynasty I bore Neith-related names (see Tab. 2), with Mereneith and Neithotep having her standard appearing in their name compartments (sometimes termed serekhs). Tower Hollis (1995: 48) suggests that in the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic Neith fulfilled a role parallel and complementary to Horus; as queens were associated with Neith they fulfilled parallel and complementary roles to the king. However, in the Old Kingdom only Queen Khentetenka, Meresankh III and Bunefer were specifically named as priestesses’ of goddesses, queens of this period were normally priestesses of gods (Verner & Callender 2002: 142).

The duplex bouffant plaited hairstyle only occurs at the end of the Protodynastic up to Dynasty II, with all but the instances shown on dwarfs being depicted on queens often partaking in royal rituals. Why should dwarf women be allowed to wear this hairstyle? Although contemporary texts make no mention, later Ptolemaic texts in the Temple of Edfu state that a dwarf of faience guarded the neck of Neith (Dasen 1993: 50). A Dynasty XXII text suggests that the ‘dwarf of Neith’ was a deity in their own right and that they had a sanctuary in the Temple of Neith at Sais (Dasen 1993: 51). The original temple of Neith at Sais was called the pr-nw (House of Flame), where elements of the Heb-sed took place (el-Sayed 1982: 225-6; Settgast 1963). This dwarf deity was said to have issued from the womb of Neith in the Harris Magical Papyrus (Lange 1927: Spell V 9.5). Although the dwarf of Neith from the Late Period seems to be male, it could indicate a corruption of an earlier association with a female dwarf of Neith. The major symbol of Neith was the double bow and crossed arrows, often associated in iconographic representations with the coleoptera or click beetle (Lanelater notodonta) (Adams 1999: 3-7). The bilobase cult-sign of Neith was the wing casing of the beetle placed together (see Fig 77.C). The association of Neith with the coleoptera beetle was probably because the beetle appears to reproduce by autogenesis, an idea that can represent the Egyptian belief in self-regeneration shown in her early association with royal rebirth (Tower Hollis 1995: 49). Neith’s association with self-creative powers led to her later being known as the ‘father of fathers, mother of mothers’ (Tower Hollis 1995: 49). Neith, with her bellicose nature, may also have been an early protectress of
the king, a role emphasised by later references to her as the ‘Eye of Re’ and as a serpent (Wilkinson 2003: 158).

The Goddess Neith is the first goddess portrayed with the tripartite style. On two diorite stone vessels found in the galleries beneath the Step Pyramid she is shown with the two bows headdress, rather than the Red Crown of later representations and seems...
to be presenting the *was*-sceptre (symbol of rule and power) and ankh (sign of life) to the *serekh* of Nebra (Tower Hollis 1995: 48; Wilkinson 2003: 157). Therefore, Neith would seem to be giving the king the divine gifts of life and the right to rule (Tower Hollis 1995: 48). Neith was one of the earliest goddesses to be portrayed in anthropomorphic form and possibly the most important goddess of the Early Dynastic Period (Tower Hollis 1995: 46-7; Wilkinson 2003: 158). The two vessels found by Lacau & Lauer (1959: P. 11.58 & 77) show Nebra’s name, the first along with Hotepsekhemwy and the second with Nynetjer. In a recently discovered subterranean chamber found behind a step structure in North Saqqara a deposit of Early Dynastic figurines similar to those of the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis and Tell el-Farkha was discovered (Kawai 2008: 114-5). Also found was a 1.62 m tall wooden figure covered with gesso plaster dated by $^{14}$C to 2891-2620 BC - late Dynasty II to early Dynasty III. This figure, although not found in its original position in the chamber, seems to be connected with the other artefacts, one of which is a miniature shrine of the Goddess Neith. The hairstyle is a developed bouffant plaited style, the top section being not so bouffant and indicated with striations and the back plaits coming to the middle of the back, but not falling on the chest. This statue may be of a queen personifying the Goddess Neith; there is no inscription that gives further clues as to her identity.

Toward the end of the Early Dynastic, but particularly with the advent of the Old Kingdom, Neith declined in importance, seemingly in direct proportion to the rise towards ultimate supremacy of the sun-god Re (Tower Hollis 1995: 49). Neith’s decline was compounded with the rise of Hathor due to her being regarded as the wife of Re from Dynasty III (Helk 1954) and the scarab beetle (*Scarabaeus sacra*) in the form of the God Khepri taking over many of the coleoptera beetle’s attributes (e.g. regeneration) with him being symbolically shown as pushing the sun across the sky (Ward 1978). From the Old Kingdom dwarfs were associated with Khepri (Re and Horus), the physical attributes of dwarfs being equated to those of the scarab beetle, one of the main hypostases of Re (Dasen 1993: 53-4). Therefore, dwarfs were seen as divine (Dasen 1993: 53). However, this does not account for the amount of dwarfs in the Early Dynastic temple deposits, and although the scant texts from this period offer no help, it is probable that before dwarfs were compared to Khepri they equated them with the coleoptera beetle of the same order and suborder. If dwarfs were equated to the coleoptera beetle this would associate them with the Goddess Neith. Dasen (1993: 109) suggests that pregnant or women wishing to conceive dedicated many of the dwarf figures to a goddess associated with birth, in Dynasty I this was likely to be Neith. If
the dwarf figurines from the Main Deposit (E.298 and E.299) and Tell el-Farkha deposit with the duplex bouffant plaited hairstyle were either mounted on stands then they could indeed have been votive offerings to Neith. Whereas, if they were parts of furniture, such as a regal chair, throne or rpyt they may have been for the protection of the queen or elite lady. The top plan of the coleoptera beetle is also similar to the back view of the duplex bouffant plaited hairstyle, with the elytra (wing casing) being represented by the plaits, the thorax by the top bouffant section and the long legs by the two front lappets. This association of the hairstyle with properties of Neith explains why only queens and dwarfs of Neith wore this hairstyle. However, as the dwarfs are not shown in a cloak they are probably not queens.

Figure 78. A cloaked lady (# 148) with a sweptback hairstyle (E11888), Hippopotamus ivory, height 13.50 cm, Abu Roash, Dynasty I, Louvre (photo Louvre).

An unprovenienced female ivory figurine in the Louvre (E11888) is depicted wearing a wrap-around cloak over a sleeved pleated dress with a braided sweptback hairstyle held in place with a tie (Fig. 78). All these cloaked figures Fay (1999: 109-116) convincingly argues are queens; as she rightly points out it is the cloak that is the determining regal factor not just the hairstyle. Two other ivory figurines from the Main
Deposit, Hierakonpolis are also shown wrapped in cloaks (Fig. 79); both are now in the Ashmolean Museum (E327 & E328). The figurine E328 has a cloak patterned with zigzags and a helmet-like bobbed hairstyle. This hairstyle is decorated with incised squares, some with a central dot. The whole appearance of this figure is very rigid. The second figurine, E327, has a horizontally striated short conical headcovering/hairstyle that leaves the ears exposed. The figure carries two baskets connected by a cord, one is upside-down. Fay (1999: 112) suggests that the iconography of this figurine is consistent with other representations of the Goddess Gat that sprinkled grain during the king’s Heb-sed. Fay (1999: 112) suggests that E328 may also represent a goddess.

Figure 79. Protodynastic goddesses from the Main Deposit Hierakonpolis (# 149-50), Ashmolean Museum E328 & E327 (after Fay 1999: 141).

A rare depiction of an Early Dynastic god, probably Anhur (Gk. Onuris) on stylistic and iconographic grounds is now held in the Brooklyn Museum of Art (Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund 58-192). Although this unprovenienced statue has no inscription on it, it has been suggested that it originally came from a sanctuary in the Netjerikhet’s Step Pyramid Complex, possibly as part of a group of divine figures (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 178). This deity wears a bulky short round tiled hairstyle, the corn rows being depicted by horizontal striations. The god also wears a long beard with horizontal striations and a penis sheath. In his right hand he carries a long knife, all attributes of
early depictions of the God Anhur (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 178). A second almost identical head is held in the Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, Brussels (E. 7039). Wildung (1972) concludes that the head was also possibly of Anhur or another nome god and was probably placed in the same shrine within the Step Pyramid Complex (see Fig. 82.153). At Tell el-Farkha the gold covering a wooden statue was recently excavated just outside a large Naqada IID-IIIA grave structure (Chlodnicki & Ciałowicz 2006). Although no inscription was discovered on this statue, the material indicates that it was probably a cult statue of a god; the shaved head is also similar to that of the colossal statue of Min from Koptos.

Figure 80. A) The God Anhur (# 151), Third Dynasty, Brooklyn Museum of Art, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund 58.192 (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 179), B) Un-named gilded god from Tell el-Farkha (after Chlodnicki & Ciałowicz 2006)
5.4 Analysis

A total of 482 individual figure entries are recorded for the Protodynastic to Early Dynastic Period, if the Predynastic figures are added the total rises to 697. This does not reflect the total amount of iconographic data available for the period, but the data available with recognisable hairstyles (the majority of ivory and wooden labels have been omitted for this reason). The iconographic data is divided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Male figures</th>
<th>Female Figures</th>
<th>Child Figures</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protodynastic</td>
<td>78 (75.7%)</td>
<td>24 (22.4%)</td>
<td>3 (1.9%)</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty I</td>
<td>170 (73.1%)</td>
<td>50 (20.9%)</td>
<td>14 (6.0%)</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty II</td>
<td>34 (54.9%)</td>
<td>24 (38.7%)</td>
<td>4 (6.4%)</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty III</td>
<td>62 (76.5%)</td>
<td>19 (23.5%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>482</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Gendered distribution of figures used in the analysis of Protodynastic to Early Dynastic hairstyles.

Although children and babies are recorded in the database, all depictions show them as bald or with cropped hair, and so the few that are depicted (mainly boys) are omitted from the analysis as it does not indicate change (see also Tassie 2005). The nature of the votive child figures is often very crude, limiting their dating to Protodynastic to Early Dynastic. Dreyer (1986: Pl. 16-23) records 54 of these votive child figures from the Elephantine Satet Temple Deposit, whereas Petrie (1903: Pl. II-V) records 10 from the Abydos Temple Deposit, the final amounts from the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis, Temple Deposit Tell Ibrahim Awad and the Deposit at Tell el-Farkha are still awaited. Although Petrie records a First Dynasty date for figure of a child from the Temple Deposit, Abydos (1903: Pl. II.7), as this figure is shown with the short round tiled style this dating is problematic and the figure may in fact be late Old Kingdom when children could be shown as miniature adults. Along with the figures of children and adults many votive figures of baboons were also found in these temple deposits, these baboons were probably a forerunner of the deity Thoth (Belova 2002).

As Table 4 shows roughly ¾ of the figures depicted at this period are male; the greatest percentage of female figures occurs in Dynasty II. Hieroglyphic inscriptions become more widespread in the Early Dynastic Period, particularly from Dynasty II (Smith 1981: 34). The ethnic identification of fallen enemies or bound captives on the ceremonial maceheads and palettes is, however, not as straightforward as it would seem, for the identifying symbols are either not present or difficult to interpret (Kuentz 1947; Nibbi 1979; Redford 1986; Vercoult 1947; 1949). The enemies on these early monuments could also be people from other Egyptian polities in either Upper or Lower
Egypt. On the Narmer Palette is the papyrus marsh sign, a symbol associated with people from the Delta (Smith 1981: 34). Another means of identifying foreigners is the dress and hairstyle that they wear, although this again is problematic, it is sometimes the only means available. Russmann & Török (1995: 69) point out that the beard and penis sheath of McGregor man have often been used to identify the figure as a Libyan. However, they correctly point out that these attributes are just as likely to be found on an Upper Egyptian, with many of the figurines from Hierakonpolis displaying penis sheaths, beards and often shaved heads (Whitehouse 2003, 2004). However, it should be noted that none of the male figurines from the Temple Deposits at Tell Ibrahim Awad in the East Delta were found to be wearing a penis sheath (van Haarlem 1995, 1996). The Libyans, as aforementioned, are very difficult to discern during this period, however, Asiatics and Nubians are easier: Asiatics from later texts were known as the ‘shoulder-knot people’ and were also recognisable by the way they wore a fillet around their long abundant hair, and could be called ‘the filleted ones’ (Redford 1986: 125). The Nubians often wore penis sheaths and had short tight curly hair and a plaited beard (Fischer 1963). These criteria are often overlooked when interpreting these early monuments, possibly as they do not fit a hypothesis (see for example Redford 1986: 134-6: Smith 1981: 34). These criteria have been adhered to here unless evidence to the contrary suggests otherwise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hair Length</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Indeterminate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long Hair</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Hair</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Hair</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 3. Distribution of hair lengths in Predynastic figurines, as a total number, not a percentage of the population (after Tassie 1997).

1 At the stage before ‘unification’ the concept of Egypt did not exist and even afterwards what constituted the nation state is still debatable (see Wengrow 2003: 130-3).
Analysis of Ucko's (1968) corpus of Predynastic figurines from Egypt shows that women were associated with shoulder-length to long hair, and represented with shoulder-length to long-hair more frequently than men. It must also be noted that the majority of men wore beards at this period, a phenomenon that continued into the Protodynastic according to Piquette’s (2004: 942) study of Protodynastic ivory and wooden labels. In most of the Predynastic figurines the features are indistinct; some in the shape of a bird's beak, and the hair was usually only roughly modelled (see Tassie 1997 for further details of this analysis).

![Percentage of Protodynastic Egyptian Men and Women with Various Hair Lengths](chart4.png)

**Chart 4.** The percentages of Protodynastic Egyptian men and women with long, medium and short hairstyles. Kings wearing crowns (n = 4), children (n = 3), man in cap (n = 1), Nubians (n = 8) and Asiatic (n = 1) have been omitted.

During the Protodynastic five different hairstyles are depicted on women: the tripartite (13 times)\(^2\), sweptback (7), side plaits (1), short round curly (1) and duplex bouffant plaited (2). The duplex bouffant plaited is only worn by queens from this period (on the Scorpion Macehead, see Fig. 25), and is the only mid-length hairstyle, all the others are long hairstyles except the one instance of the short round curly style. Whereas, three long male hairstyles, the tripartite (2), backlock (8) and the sweptback (3) hairstyles occur, the other six hairstyle types shown worn by Egyptian men are mid-length: jaw-length bob (18), shoulder-length bob (4), composite sidelock (1), and the short: shaved (16), cropped (10) and the short round curly hairstyle (2).

\(^2\) The numbers in brackets after the hairstyle type is the number of occurrences of that style per period examined.
The titles of the various people depicted on these monuments are rarely shown in Dynasty I, apart from those of named queens and the private stelae that appear in the reign of Qa’a, such as Merka. However, from Dynasty II most of the monuments used in this study have both the name and titles of the person depicted. Therefore, from Dynasty II it is easier to assess the rank and social status of the individuals and make judgements about who wears the various hairstyles.

Chart 5. The percentages of Dynasty I Egyptian men and women with long, medium and short hairstyles. Kings wearing crowns (n = 11), children (n = 14), Asiatics (n = 47), Libyan (n = 1), Nubians (n = 4) and other (n = 2) have been omitted. If royal men are omitted then medium length male styles are 12%.

In the First Dynasty 10 different hairstyles are depicted on women: the short round curly style (1), jaw-length bob (2), shoulder-length bob (3), tripartite (13), sweptback (6), side plaits (1), duplex bouffant plaited (20), backlock (1), hair-up (1), and the funerary style (2). Whereas, men (including kings and Delta warriors) are depicted with 11 different hairstyles: the shaved (7), cropped (32), short round curly style (2), short round tiled style (4), jaw-length bob (1), shoulder-length bob (7), layered shoulder-length bob (3), tripartite (1), layered dreadlocks (41), sweptback (5) and backlock style (2). This shows a dramatic increase in the variety of hairstyles worn from the previous – Protodynastic – period. There are just over twice as many women’s hairstyles but only two more men’s hairstyles. The layered dreadlock style is the most popular hairstyle for men, although it is only worn by kings and one dwarf, the amount of repeated depictions of kings largely accounts for this phenomenon. The only male depicted with the tripartite style is the mummified form of King Djer on an ivory label.
from tomb S3471 at Saqqara (Emery 1961: 59). Part of a similar label was found in his tomb at Umm el-Qa’ab, Abydos (Petrie 1901: Pl. III.6). This is not only the first appearance of the tripartite style on a king, but the first on a named man. Although long hairstyles are shown on men in the Predynastic, as shown on a white cross-lined pot (Petrie 1920: 16) and Protodynastic, such as those on the Beirut Palette (see Fig. 81.161), the styling of the hair can only definitely be identified as being arranged in the tripartite style on two ivory figurines from the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis all other depictions of long-hair on men before Dynasty I probably depict the hair left long and loose to hang down the person’s back. The most popular hairstyle for men (apart from the king) was the cropped hairstyle with 32 occurrences, over half of non-royal Egyptian men. The short round tiled style is first attested on Egyptians men in this period with four instances. Although the mid-length hairstyles of jaw and shoulder-length bobs are attested, there is only one instance of the former and four of the latter. Delta warriors are depicted with the shoulder-length bob and layered shoulder-length bob, one and three occurrences respectively.

Chart 6. The percentages of Dynasty II Egyptian men and women with long, medium and short hairstyles. Kings wearing crowns (n = 5), children (n = 4) and unrecognisable/lacunae (n = 1) have been omitted.

In Dynasty II only five different hairstyles are depicted on women: the jaw-length bob (1), shoulder-length bob (2), duplex bouffant plaited (1), tripartite (16), and the sweptback style (4). Men are also shown with five different hairstyles: the cropped (6), short round tiled style (14), jaw-length bob (3), shoulder-length bob (1), and the composite sidelock (4). This shows a dramatic decrease in the variety of hairstyles worn
from the First Dynasty. The status of the people recorded for this period are generally high officials, for stelae and statues are the main data sources, and these usually record just the owner and do not show people from the lower classes. By far the most popular hairstyle for women was the tripartite style, with only two occurrences of mid-length hairstyles, the jaw- and shoulder-length bobs being recorded. The most popular hairstyle for men was the short round tiled style with 13 occurrences, nearly half of Egyptian men. The other short male hairstyle, the cropped is still attested, and is found on officials.

![Chart 7. The percentages of Dynasty III Egyptian men and women with long, medium and short hairstyles. Kings wearing crowns (n = 13), deities (n = 3), Asiatics (n = 4), Libyans (n = 1) and Nubian (n = 1) have been omitted.](chart.png)

In Dynasty III only five different hairstyles are depicted on women: the jaw-length bob (3), tripartite (12), globular style (2), enveloping or gala style (1) and the pudding basin (1). Men, as in Dynasty II are shown with a greater variety of hairstyles than women - eight different hairstyles: the shaved (1), cropped (4), short round curly style (2), short round tiled style (23), jaw-length bob (1), shoulder-length bob (6), tripartite style (2, including an occurrence on King Netjerikhet under the proto-nemes) and the sweptback style (1). Continuing the trend of the previous dynasty the status of the people recorded for this period are generally high officials, for again stelae and statues are the main data sources. The tripartite hairstyle is still the most popular women’s hairstyle, but the enveloping hairstyle popular in the New Kingdom (Haynes 1977) makes its first appearance on an anonymous figurine now in the Marischal Museum (see Fig. 82.105). The short round tiled style with 23 occurrences shows
another increase in popularity from the previous two dynasties and is the most popular male hairstyle.

Figure 83. Asiatics in the form of corbel (#164), Dynasty III, Netjerikhet’s Step Pyramid Complex, Saqqara, now in the Cairo Museum JE49613 (after Aldred 1980: 54).

The only foreigners included in the study from the Protodynastic are eight Nubians, all are shown sporting the short round curly style with a goatee, usually plaited. One Asiatic is portrayed, shown with the layered shoulder-length bob. As the Nubians are not actually named it is possible that they could be from another southern Egyptian polity. The Asiatic portrayed has a fillet tied around his head. This figure is very similar to the figure being smote on the Narmer Palette by Narmer. It is possible that the Warrior Palette on which this figure is displayed is actually a Dynasty I palette, but as only this small fragment has been retrieved, it is very difficult to date and has generally been put into the Protodynastic (Raffaele 2006; Ridley 1973). There are 47 Asiatics depicted in Dynasty I, 44 are shown with the layered shoulder-length bob and three are shown wearing the long style with the top section pulled and tied back. Some, such as the Asiatic being smote on the reverse of the Narmer Palette are shown wearing a fillet around his hair. Four Nubians are portrayed in Dynasty I, two on the Bull Palette (Fig. 81.137), both are shown with plaited beards and the short round curly hairstyle and two faience figurines showing the Nubians bound with the short round tiled style.

3 On the rock inscriptions at Gebel Sheikh Suleiman near the Second Cataract Nubians are shown being smitted by Scorpion II and on another bound captives are shown. It is possible to identify beards and that short hairstyles are represented, and in one instance a feather is shown in the hair, but no other detail (Wilkinson 1999: 177-9).
with an extra row of plaits at the nape. ⁴ One Libyan is portrayed⁵, shown on the Djer Palette (Fig. 81.163) with a long hairstyle with a feather and side plait. There is one figure whose ethnicity cannot be determined but wears a scruffy layered shoulder-length bob, and could therefore be an Asiatic.

Figure 84. Wooden label of King Den showing the king wearing the double crown (# 165), from Tomb T, Umm al-Qa’ab, now in British Museum (EA32650) (after Spencer 1993: 66).

No foreigners with distinct hairstyles are depicted in Dynasty II⁶ but in Dynasty III four Asiatics are portrayed, two with the long style with the top section pulled and tied back. These two figures are portrayed on the rock inscriptions of Sekhemkhet in the Wadi Maghara. As the king is grabbing the hair to smite the enemy it is difficult to discern the exact style being portrayed, although the placement in the Sinai strengthens

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⁴ A wooden label of Aha from Abydos referring to a campaign against tθ-sty (Nubia) shows a bound Nubian with a beard and short hair, but no internal detail (Emery 1961: 51).
⁵ Nine Libyan prisoners appear to be depicted being smote by the catfish element of Narmer’s name on a small ivory cylinder from Hierakonpolis (Quibell & Petrie 1900: Pl. 15.7). Under the tail of the catfish an inscription names (tθ) tḥm(w) ‘(the land of) Libya’. The bound captives appear to have shoulder-length straight hair and pointed goatee beards, although the details are unclear. An ivory label of Narmer from Abydos shows a similar hairstyle and beard on a fallen enemy with papyrus coming out of his head (Dreyer et al. 1998: Fig, 29). The boundary and distinctions between Libyans and those living in the West Delta may at this period have been fluid.
⁶ On the base of the Khasekhemwy statues found at Hierakonpolis (now in the Cairo and Ashmolean museums) are shown fallen enemies (see Smith 1981: 50-1 and Section 5.3 and Fig. 58), however the hairstyles cannot be clearly discerned, but appear to be a shoulder-length straight style. The inscription states ‘northern enemies’ and shows a papyrus clump sign coming out of a fallen enemy’s head. Emery (1961: 99) suggests that the scenes may refer to Libyans who had invaded the Delta or a Delta uprising. A stone door socket in the shape of a Nubian from the reign of Khasekhemwy is also known, and appears to shows the short round curly style (Aldred 1980: 55).
the identification as Asiatics. In Netjerikhet’s Step Pyramid Complex at Saqqara a group of two foreigners is shown in the form of a black granite corbel (JE49613), filling an abject caryatid role. The hairstyle depicted is a bulkier version of the long layered shoulder-length bob surrounded by a fillet and one with a full face beard and the other with square goatee, typical of Asiatics or as Aldred (1980: 54) states ‘Northern Foes’. One Nubian is portrayed\(^7\), however, unlike other Nubians this one was integrated into the Egyptian bureaucracy and had his own tomb and stele at Helwan. The name of this person is given as Sisi (discussed in Section 5.2), unfortunately the area where his titles would have been is badly damaged. One bound Libyan is recorded with a layered shoulder-length bob, probably once an architectural element (Fig. 82.272).

\[\text{Figure 85. Stele of Netjerikhet (# 183) wearing the White Crown from the galleries beneath the Step Pyramid (Photograph G. J. Tassie).}\]

\(^7\) A fragmentary stele of Khasekhemwy from Hierakonpolis depicts a Nubian with a bow on his head. Although a beard can be identified little more detail can be discerned (Wilkinson 1999: 178-9).
As this thesis is not directly concerned with crowns and royal regalia not every instance of a king wearing a crown is recorded (see Sourouzian 1995 for royal attire), particularly those shown on ivory or wooden labels. Piquette’s study of ivory and wooden labels (2004: 941) showed that 80% of the bodies depicted had apparent headdresses of hairstyles. The crowns and headdresses depicted are the proto-khat, ‘double-plume’ headdress, ‘spiked’ headdress (see Fig. 84), stalks of papyrus (see Fig. 81.232), the white and red crowns (Piquette 2004: 941) and the first occurrence of the double crown on the wooden label of Den from Tomb T, Umm el-Qa’ab showing him running the Heb-sed court (Petrie 1900: Pl.XV.16; Emery 1961: 76). In the complex of galleries beneath the Step Pyramid six false-door stelae showing King Netjerikhet running the Heb-sed court were found: three beneath the pyramid and three in the South Tomb. The white crown is shown on two of the stelae and the red crown on one stele in the South tomb, whereas the white crown is shown on two stelae beneath the pyramid and the other is badly damaged in the area of the head making it impossible to discern the crown worn, although it was probably the red crown to match those in the South Tomb (Friedman 1995).

Chart 8. The percentage of different hairstyles and crowns worn by kings from the Protodynastic to Dynasty III. In Dynasty III Netjerikhet wears a proto-nemes over a tripartite style, so it actually fits in two categories, but has been put in the tripartite column.

In Chart 8 the emphasis is to show the breadth of different hairstyles worn by the king and the gradual development of the royal headdresses. Certain figures, such as the statues of Netjerikhet in the Step Pyramid Complex have been included, even
though they are in an unfinished state (see Fig. 86), although it cannot be ruled out that a headdress was going to be shown over the tripartite hairstyle. The analysis shows that the king wore the widest variety of hairstyles in Dynasty I, with a codification in royal regalia progressing through Dynasty I and by Dynasty II and III the king is rarely depicted with his hair uncovered. By far the most popular hairstyle for kings was the layered dreadlock style with 40 occurrences in Dynasty I, all instances of this style occur on kings depicted on objects from Hierakonpolis apart from a dwarf shown wearing it from Tell el-Farkha. The full development of the royal regalia was not complete by Dynasty III, as demonstrated by the proto-nemes worn by Netjerikhet, which goes on to develop throughout the Old Kingdom (Goebs 1995).

Figure 86. Statues of Netjerikhet in the Step Pyramid Complex Festival Court (#166), Dynasty III, Saqqara (only the middle statue is included due to its more completed state) (Photograph G. J. Tassie).

Although in the Predynastic Period women could be shown without hair, when hair was depicted it was usually long (see Chart 3 and Tassie 1997; Ucko 1968). In the Protodynastic the vast majority of women’s hairstyles were long styles except for queens who could be shown with the mid-length duplex bouffant plaited hairstyle and the lapis lazuli figurine from Hierakonpolis (Porada 1980) who is shown with a short round curly style. In Dynasty I both short and mid-length hairstyles were worn by women of all classes along with the longer styles. The long tripartite hairstyle is still the most popular for all categories of women. Although the subsidiary stelae around the
large First Dynasty mastabas have not been included in this statistical analysis (due to only outlines of individuals being shown), a cursory examination of these stelae indicates that the tripartite is by far the most popular female style (see Petrie 1900, 1901). However, the duplex bouffant plaited hairstyle is the most popular hairstyle for queens, worn almost exclusively when they are also shown wearing a cloak. Dynasty II shows a dramatic decrease in the amount of women’s hairstyles and the short hairstyle, unless the early Dynasty IV representation of Queen Nimaathap (Fig. 71) with a cropped hairstyle is included, is not shown at this period. The tripartite hairstyle gains serious popularity, shown mainly on the niche stelae from the Memphite region. The tripartite hairstyle retains its popularity in Dynasty III; however, the duplex bouffant plaited style seems to be replaced by the globular style for queens, especially when they wanted to show their seniority.

![Chart 9.](image)

**Chart 9. The amount of different hairstyles per period.**

Predynastic figurines either show men with short or no hair (see Chart 3), although long hair is rarely represented on pottery. In the Protodynastic short hair is again the most popular followed by mid-length and a few with long hair. In Dynasty I, although a greater array of hairstyles are shown the cropped hairstyle remains by far the most popular. A change occurs in Dynasty II when the short round tiled style becomes the most popular male style, a trend that continues in Dynasty III. This not only reflects the growing portrayal of people in the bureaucracy but the growing bureaucracy. Although Fletcher (1995:113) notes that the short round style is the most common hairstyle in Dynasty III, the large growth in its popularity originated in Dynasty II.
Apart from Dynasty II when the amount of different hairstyles is equal, men have the greater array of hairstyles, which could be explained by the fact that over double the amount of males are recorded (see Chart 9). In Dynasty I men only have one more hairstyle type and so it seems to be an accurate reflection of the gendered distribution of hairstyles. Also women from the Predynastic to the end of Dynasty III are more likely to have the longest hairstyles (see Chart 10), contra Fletcher (1995) who states that it is arbitrary as to which sex has the longer hairstyle.

Chart 10. Long hair of men and women from the Protodynastic to Dynasty III.

Lerner (1986) documents a process by which the status of women was eroded in Southwestern Asia, beginning with the adoption of agriculture and culminating in the establishment of patrimonial societies during the formation of states. These processes are well documented in Neolithic and later Mesopotamia, and Lerner believes them to be universal in scope, although the circumstances will be different in specific situations. Hassan & Shelly (2002: 63) showed that there were gendered roles in Predynastic Egyptian society with analysis of the grave goods implying that men and women were on an equal footing. Savage’s (2000) investigation of the Nag ed Dër cemetery fails to indicate significant differences in female and male graves in a number of data domains, including grave architecture, grave plundering, and ritual paraphernalia. Also, the mortuary record indicated that females were interred with combinations of artifact types which signal more roles than do male interments. Savage (2000) suggests that the timing is probably related to the differences between segmentary states, such as those found in Mesopotamia, and the territorial Egyptian state. However, this does not really
explain the fundamental differences between the Neolithicisation and creation of segmentary states in Southwestern Asia and the adoption of farming, cattle keeping and state formation in Egypt, social transformations that shifted gender relations. At the earliest Neolithic sites in the Nile Valley: Merimde Beni Salame, Faiyum and Sais (Midant-Reynes 2000; Wilson 2006), as well as those in the Western Desert, such as Bashendi B in Dakhla Oasis, a multi-resource economy was practiced, with hunting-gathering-fishing-fowling supplemented by small-scale farming and cattle keeping (Hassan 1988; Kuper & Kröpelin 2006; Midant-Reynes 2000). Hassan (1998c: 275–6) notes that this type of economy is often associated with egalitarian gender relations, probably favouring women who engaged in horticulture and household livestock keeping. Not until the emergence of intensive agriculture using the plough and irrigation do gender relations change with the need for a more male dominated labour force (Hassan 1998c: 276). Therefore, as agriculture became more important to the economy during the Predynastic and proto-states began to form with resultant power struggles, gender relations gradually changed. Both Hassan & Shelly (2002) and Savage (2000) observe that a major shift in women’s status seems to have occurred in Egypt during the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic periods. A change also occurred in the religious domains of men and women, which was linked to the rise of male rulers of the proto-states who initially legitimised themselves by their association to goddesses (Hassan & Smith 2002: 63).

![Chart 11. Distribution of the various hairstyles throughout the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic periods.](image-url)
In Chart 11 a pattern emerges that clearly shows that in Dynasty I there was greater experimentation and freedom in hairstyles, particularly amongst women. This freedom and experimentation in hairstyles diminishes during Dynasty II and III, coinciding with the increase of the Egyptian bureaucracy and the development of writing (see Wilkinson 1999: 109-49 for the development of the Early Dynastic bureaucracy, which is seen in a gradual proliferation of titles and positions), as demonstrated in the development of the funerary stelae and labels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period and Hairstyle</th>
<th>Male Royal Relatives</th>
<th>Female Royal Relatives</th>
<th>Vizier</th>
<th>High Official A</th>
<th>High Official B</th>
<th>Official</th>
<th>Lady</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty I</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty II</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty III</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Chart 12 the Protodynastic Period is not shown, this is because it is extremely difficult to identify those that are in the administration apart from the king. On the Scorpion Macehead the people directly associated/around King Scorpion all wear shoulder-length bobs, and the person to the second right of the king appears to be dressed similar to the vizier on the Narmer Palette; however, there is a lacunae where his head and title should be.

In Dynasty I the amount of depictions of people with titles, high officials such as viziers and other officials who were part of central government, and the lower officials who served on the staffs of their departments, provincial administrators and higher members of the priesthood is limited to nine (as aforementioned the subsidiary stelae at Abydos are not included in this study). Therefore, it becomes a little easier to place people into categories, but the full range of the administration hairstyles is still not
possible. In this period the short round curly style is worn mainly by Nubians, but also the two people holding the leash of the Serpoard on the Narmer Palette, whereas the short round tiled style is worn by the king, offering bearers and probably an official, but as only the head of a large statue remains it is difficult to tell and so has been omitted. The longest hairstyle, apart from the tripartite that is only worn by women (kings and deities) in the administration of the Early Dynastic, is the sweptback style worn by the vizier on both the Narmer Macehead and Palette. Depicted on the Aha label found in the Royal Mastaba at Naqada (see Fig. 87) are officials performing a ceremony (de Morgan 1897), these officials are shown with the shoulder-length bob and sweptback style, however as they are very sketchy and their titles and names are not given they are not included in this survey. It is unfortunate that no depictions of such high officials as Sekhemkasedji (reigns of Djet and Merneith), Hemaka (reign of Den), and Henuka (reign of Semerkhet) have survived. However, the stelae of Merka and Sabef from the reign of Qa’a have survived, giving the list of their titles. Merka, however, is also a member and had the title *iri-p†t*, which at this period indicated a member not only of the ruling elite, but probably a royal kinsman (Wilkinson 1999: 186). These two high officials both wear the cropped hairstyle as seen on the high official Rahotep of early Dynasty IV (CG 3), but the details are lacking. Imrit (see Fig. 36) is the only high official wearing a jaw-length bob, a member of the *iri-p†t*, probably married to a princess. Ladies of the court are mainly shown wearing the tripartite style and to a lesser degree the shoulder-length bob.

In Dynasty II the cropped style is still worn by officials, but now it is lower officials, with 7.5% being worn by slightly higher officials. The most popular hairstyle, 70%, is the short round tiled style for the lower high officials. Only one very high official is recorded, Menkaheket, who appears to have been a member of the royal household in charge of the royal mortuary works and who is shown wearing the sweptback hairstyle. The majority, 80%, of female royal relatives wear the tripartite hairstyle, with the remainder wearing the sweptback. Only one prince is shown in Dynasty II, and he wears the composite sidelock style. The tripartite style remains the most popular for ladies of the court.

Dynasty III shows further codification with 60% of male royal relatives wearing the shoulder-length bob and the other 40% the short round tiled style. The analysis of the hairstyles worn by the princesses of this dynasty is slightly more complicated due to honorific cedence to higher ranking women in the same scene. The two princesses
shown on the relief from Netjerikhet’s temple at Heliopolis (Fig. 72) are shown with their mother, Queen Hetephernebti, who wears the globular hairstyle, therefore they are shown with a jaw-length bob to make it obvious as to whom was the superior figure. As the stele of Queen Meritneithhotep was dedicated by her daughter, Princess Khuiakhti, the queen is also shown wearing the globular style due to honorific cedence. The last princess recorded is Redjef who is shown wearing the tripartite hairstyle (Fig. 82.99). Included in the royal relatives at this period are those with the title *rḥ.t nswt* (acquaintance of the king), which although the majority were women, men are also recorded as having held this title (Nur el-Din 1995:123-4). Due to uncertainties with the reading of this title (Nur el Din 1996: 123), those holding this title in the Early Dynastic will be classified as a royal relative, although in later periods it seems that holders of this title were probably not always royal kin. When the acquaintances of the king are added to the princesses 67% of female royal kin have the tripartite style.

![Figure 87. An ivory label of Aha (JE31773) from the Royal Mastaba at Naqada showing officials engaged in a ceremony, Cairo Museum (after Spencer 1993: 63).](image)

No viziers are recorded for this period but for the highest officials a new style of facial hair appears, the moustache, worn by both Hesire and Khabausokar. Developments in mortuary architecture allowed for multiple images of the tomb owner and inclusion of other people. Therefore, Hesire is shown with three different hairstyles: the short round curly, short round tiled and shoulder-length bob. Both Khabausokar and Aaakhti although having three and two images of themselves respectively are shown
with the short round tiled style. The highest title recorded is the Chief of the Tens of Upper Egypt, held by both Sepa and Hesire. Sepa is shown with the short round tiled style; however, as only two statues of this high official exist and his tomb is unknown it is difficult to make any firm conclusions. A common theme is that all the highest officials with the short round tiled style hold priestly titles, whereas those with the shoulder-length bobs do not. The wooden stelae from Hesire’s tomb and the limestone stele of Abneb are the only monuments of this period to show the same person with different hairstyles. It appears that Hesire’s lower titles are associated with the short round curly style and the higher with the shoulder-length bob. Abneb, who reached a lower official position than Hesire – Palace Controller and Official of Estates – is shown with the short round curly style sitting before the funerary repast and wearing the short round tiled style standing holding a staff and sceptre - badges of officialdom. The majority of the lower high officials wear the short round tiled style, whereas the lower officials are equally shown with either the crop or the short round tiled style. Ladies of the court are still most likely to be shown with the tripartite style.

5.5 Synthesis

This chapter has demonstrated how the institutional canon for hairstyles was formed during the Early Dynastic, coinciding with the creation of the administrative institutions. Even if the original functional reasons for these hairstyles ceased, once the canon was established they continued to serve as the norms for identifying members of the administration or signs of authority. The officials of the Early Dynastic delineated themselves with the wearing of the short round tiled style and the jaw-length and shoulder-length bobs in association with other badges of office such as certain clothes, staffs and sceptres. The regalia of royalty also developed during this period. The depictions of males from the lower segments of society are rarely shown in Dynasty II and III, and the majority of those that are shown in Dynasty I have the short cropped hairstyle or the short round curly style. Women from all classes were mainly shown wearing long hairstyles that were variations of the tripartite. The aesthetics of this movement may change slightly in the Old Kingdom, but the codification seen in the Early Dynastic should increase further as the state develops through the next three dynasties. The greatest experimentation in hairstyles was shown to occur in Dynasty I, with the codified hairstyles going on to form a canon in Dynasty II and III, helping to strengthen the bond formed. Temporal change in both the types and amount of hairstyles has been shown and how this links to the mode of social organisation will be
further explored in chapters seven and eight. The foreign influence in hairstyles as a result of greater interregional contact and integration of Upper and Lower Egyptian hairstyles in the formation of state has been difficult to prove, although the short round curly style and short round tiled style seem to be associated with the south, whereas the shoulder-length bob seems to be related to the north. In Dynasty I the experimentation and greater freedom in hairstyles suggests that gender negotiations were extensive and that it was in Dynasty II that greater asymmetry occurred in favour of men and continued to slide in that direction throughout the next few dynasties. Distinct male and female styles have been shown to emerge, with the tripartite style generally being seen as the sole domain of women. Other styles, such as the bob seem to be unisex and have no gender delineating embedded in them. Children’s hairstyles are limited to the shaved or cropped styles, probably delineating their lack of status as did their lack of clothes. The funerary style and duplex bouffant plaited style, both worn only by women have been shown to be associated with specific ritual or religious activities. The goddess Neith wears the typical hairstyle of the deities, the tripartite style, whereas other deities wear particular hairstyles that are closely associated with aspects of themselves. The only occurrences of men wearing the tripartite style are on ritualistic occasions, on the mummified form of King Djer and the statues of King Netjerikhet in his serdab and Heb-sed court.

During the Old Kingdom far more titles for both men and women are recorded and as tomb-scenes and architecture develop more people are depicted. Tomb owners are shown wearing a variety of different styles. The placement of the various hairstyles in the tomb combined with the associated actions and titles will further illuminate the pattern that is beginning to emerge in the Early Dynastic. A pattern where in the changing world of the classical Old Kingdom, where certain institutions are expanded and others develop is likely to show either further developments in hairstyles or the holding on to the traditional canon laid down by the founders of the Egyptian state. Although initial contextualisation has been given for the hairstyles in this chapter, full contextualisation and interpretation of each of the hairstyles will be developed in chapters seven and eight.