

OLD KINGDOM

6.0 Introduction

The amount of evidence from the Old Kingdom is fairly substantial, consisting mainly of tomb and temple scenes and statuary. Many hairstyles seen in the previous periods are further refined and canonised in this period. The attention to detail, especially surface decoration increases greatly, as does the amount of figures depicted. The evidence can be split into that coming from the Memphite capital region (Abu Roash, Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, Dahshur, and Maidum) and that from the provinces (Deshasha, Zawiyet el-Amwat, Deir el-Gabrawi, El-Hagarsa, El-Hawawish, Akhmim, Meir, Qubbet el-Hawa, Mo'alla, and Gebelein).

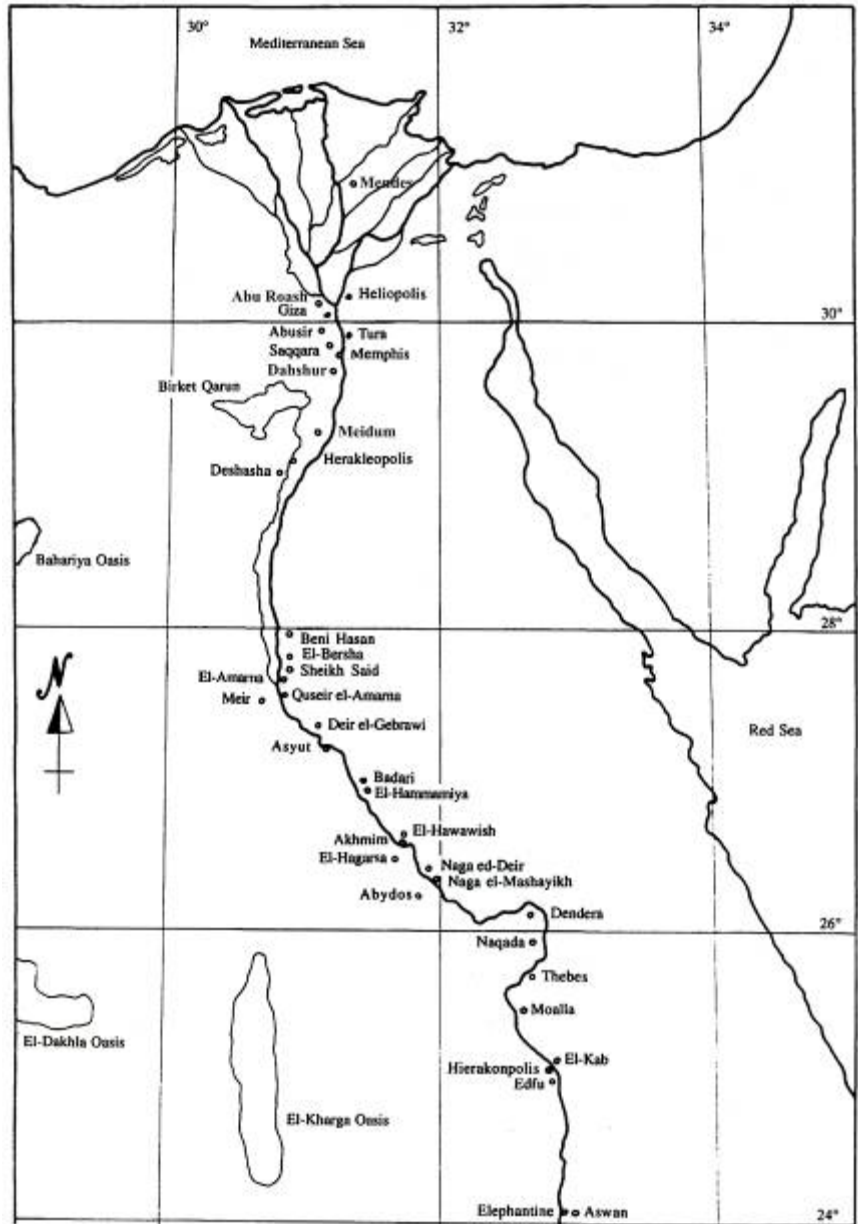


Figure 88. Map of Egypt.

Not only is the amount of evidence for the Old Kingdom greater than the preceding periods, but the bureaucracy and titles also increased. The stone buildings became larger and more elaborate and the rate of preservation increases. From Harpur's (1987) study of tomb decoration it appears that the custom of representing tomb-scenes from daily-life first arose in Dynasty III, evolving throughout Dynasty IV with themes such as the funerary repast (which began in late Dynasty I), the bringing up and presenting offerings, activities concerned with food provisioning, such as agricultural pursuits, herding, hunting, fowling and fishing, and sailing and boating scenes being included. In Dynasty V and VI the repertoire was expanded to include scenes of entertainment, toilette and of the funeral entourage.

During the Early Dynastic Period experimentation in both ideas and techniques produced the non-canonised works of art characteristic of the era, but by the end of Dynasty III individualised representations of the human form were being produced, e.g. Hesire and Khabausokar. This quest for producing naturalistic looking representations reaches its peak in early Dynasty VI with the statues of Rahotep and Nefert from Maidum and Hemiunu, Ankhhaf, Kawab and others from Giza (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 61). From the middle of Dynasty IV not only were signs of old age or infirmity shown, but signs of tenderness with couples wrapping their arms around each other. In Dynasty V the style of art was more subdued and less expressive showing conformity and generalisation, although rare examples of individuality do still occur, such as the kneeling statue of Kaemked (CG 119). This was probably a result of the increased size and complexity of the administration combined with changes in ideology and mass production (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 63-4). Many more officials had access to a large array of careers leading to an increase in non-royal tombs and the reliefs and statuary that adorned them, particularly in the Memphite region.

Changes in the art forms start to occur at the end of Dynast V (Phase 4c) with the tripartite hairstyle being depicted for the first time since early Dynasty IV (phase 3a) on statues of both men and women. Preludes to the second style start to occur in this period with slim bodies and attention given to the delicate carving of the facial features, as noted on the wooden statue Senedjemib Mehi (MFA 13.3466). This change in style reflects the changes in ideology with the Osirianisation of theological constructs and a perceived break in the royal line of accession (Grimmal 1992). The second style, which was probably created at Saqqara during the reign of Unas, developed throughout Dynasty VI, becoming broadly disseminated with the emergence of provincial power

bases offering artists new sources of patronage (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 66). Although wooden statues are known from previous periods their number sharply increase during this period, usually depicting the individual at a small scale but exhibiting mannerisms or exaggeration (Harvey 2001).

Artistic Style	King's Reign	Dynasty/Period
1	Scorpion II-Peribsen	Dynasty I-II
2a	Hotepsekhemwy-Netjerikhet	Dynasty II-III
2b	Netjerikhet-Sneferu	Dynasty III-IV
3a	Huni-Djedefre	Dynasty III-IV
3b	Khufu-Khafre	Dynasty IV
3c	Khafre-Shepseskaf	Dynasty IV
4a	Shepseskaf-Sahure	Dynasty IV-V
4b	Userkaf-Djedkare	Dynasty V
4c	Menkauhor-Teti	Dynasty V-VI
5a	Userkare-Pepy II	Dynasty VI
5b	Pepy II-Nemtyemsef II	Dynasty VI
6	Dynasty 7-8	First Intermediate Period

Table 5. Artistic traditions observed from the Early Dynastic to the end of the Old Kingdom (after Fitzenreiter 2001)

Characteristic of this second style is the disproportionately large head, elongated body with pinched waist and minimal delineation of the musculature. The face has large often staring eyes a short, stubby nose and a strong mouth with the corners of the lips often marked by a vertical stroke or left open. There is also a use of grooves highlighting the bottom of the cheeks. The limbs are cut free of the body showing more technical superiority than previous (Russmann 1995; Arnold & Ziegler 1999; Fitzenreiter 2001).. Nude, slender adolescent figures are often paired with depictions of the same person in adulthood, probably in an attempt to immortalise the individual at different life stages (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 69-70). Gestures of affection start to increase in dyads of this period and a return to individualisation is noted. Arnold & Ziegler (1999: 70) point out that as this second style emerges at Memphis in a period before the rise of the nomarchs power it probably reflects the changes in religion and the focus of cults in the Ka Houses that helped spread this style throughout Egypt. These profound changes in both religion and art continued throughout the First Intermediate and influenced the Middle Kingdom (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 70).

A number of studies have been made of the hairstyles during Old Kingdom, primarily for use as dating indicators. Cherpion's (1998) study used hairstyles as just one of her indicators for dating Old Kingdom private stone statuary, as did Ziegler (1997: 261-72), whereas Harvey (1999; 2001) used hairstyles as a dating criterion for wooden statuary and Fitzenreiter (2001) examined both.



Figure 89. Old Kingdom men's hairstyles as found on wooden statues (after Harvey 1999: fig.1 see Harvey 2001 for key).

The crown area which in the earliest statuary depictions was full of the tiling effect on the short round tiled style starts to be left free of the tiling effect on some examples in Dynasty III. This atrophy continues in dynasties IV and V with the surface decoration being taking a step further in many examples from Dynasty VI, with a tendency to limit the horizontal and vertical detail to the back and sides, leaving the crown section and fringe straight, this being shown with vertical striations radiating out from the crown (Fletcher 1995:113-19). This may indicate that these styles were only partially braided or possibly partially curled, with the fringe being left straight. It has also been suggested that this was just a gradual atrophy in the convention used to depict this hairstyle, a way to circumvent the problem of showing diminishing rows, rather than an actual change in the hairstyle itself (Fischer 1988: 65). However, in relief, the exact opposite is seen to occur, with a gradual filling in of the crown area with rows of braids. The three-dimensional forms of the men's shoulder-length bob style also went

through changes in Dynasty V and VI, becoming less bulky and ridged, and starting to flare out to greater or lesser degrees.



Figure 90. Old Kingdom women's hairstyles as found on wooden statues (after Harvey 1999: fig. 11, see Harvey 2001 for key).



Figure 91. Female figurine found in the Abydos temple area, Old Kingdom (after Petrie 1903: Pl. XI. 261).

Although false hair is known from the Predynastic, the ostentatious display of wealth and status and the deliberate showing of a fringe of natural hair beneath the wig is not known before Dynasty III. During this period the practice is first recorded on

Hathor-nefer-hotep. Both Petrie (1903: 28) and Harpur (2001:299, n.51) following Petrie suggest that a fringe of hair can be seen under the wig of a Dynasty I female figurine from Abydos (**Fig. 91**). Although a fringe of hair can be seen and may well represent the lady's own hair beneath a wig the dating of this figurine is questionable. The provenance of this artefact is the temple area rather than the Abydos Temple Deposit. Although some objects found in this context are from the Early Dynastic Period, others are of an Old Kingdom date. The Abydos female figurine is uncharacteristic of the Early Dynastic Period and is probably a roughly made Dynasty V votive offering.



Figure 92. Chronological development of fringe styles in the Old Kingdom (after Chaperon 1998: 99).

The means of depicting the hair beneath the wig changed throughout the Old Kingdom and this is one of the means of dating the statuary used by both Cherpion (1998) and Harvey (1999; 2001). A total of nine variations showing the natural hair/fringe beneath the wig are recorded for the Old Kingdom although these can be condensed to five primary styles: with a) being the first type introduced at the end of Dynasty III on reliefs and by the reign of Sneferu shown on statuary and e) the latest style introduced (Cherpion 1998: 99, see **Fig 92**). However, usually the more decorated the hairline, the less elaborate the wig decoration, so that one does not detract from the other. As Harvey (2001: 299-300, n. 51) rightly points out, due to the lack of context of many statues and reliefs caused by their having been looted and subsequently sold and bought on the antiquities market or contested dates of contexts the conclusive dating is often problematic. Therefore, the use of fringe types as a dating criterion must be used with caution as it has not been proved beyond doubt whether the fringe types are regional or workshop variations. A study of the fringes and indeed chronological development of nuances in wig and hairstyles taking in all the other dating criteria needs to be made in considerable detail. Although this study of hairstyles is not centred on their use as a dating criterion certain trends in hairstyling have emerged both with the securely dated material and those dated on stylistic grounds.

As with the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic, where the bulk of evidence comes from the main political centres of Abydos, Hierakonpolis and the Memphite region, the further centralisation in the Old Kingdom means that the bulk of material and all but the first study tombs (Maidum) and last tomb (Meir) come from the Memphite region. Although tombs from the provinces could have been included in the main study tombs, for consistency in comparing the development from the main political centres a conscious effort was made to keep this consistency. The study tombs, five nobles and one king's mortuary temple from each dynasty, have had each figure in the reliefs and all statuary recorded and analysed. The vast majority of figures from these tomb-scenes are termed subsidiary figures, those that are not members of the tomb-owner's family or deities. These figures are usually shown at a much smaller scale than the tomb-owner or members of his or her family.

Name	Location	Cemetery	Tomb #	PM
Dynasty IV				
Rahotep	Maidum	N/A	6	IV.1-2
Atet	Maidum	N/A	16	IV.92-94
Khufukhaf	Giza	EF	G7130-40	188-190
Meresankh III	Giza	EF	G7530-40	197-199
Nefer	Giza	WF	G2110	72-74
Khufu	Giza	N/A	G1	
Dynasty V				
Iymery	Giza	WF	G6020 = LG16	170-174
Akhetotep	Saqqara	WSP	D64	598-600
Ptahhotep	Saqqara	WSP	D64	600-604
Nefer & Kahay	Saqqara	UPC	N/A	639-641
Skhentiw & Nefersheshemptah	Saqqara	UPC	N/A	645
Sahure	Abusir	N/A	N/A	
Dynasty VI				
Mereruka	Saqqara	TP	N/A	525-534
Idu	Giza	EF	G7102	185-186
Mereri	Saqqara	TP	N/A	518-521
Ankhmahor	Saqqara	TP	N/A	512-515
Pepyankherib	Meir	N/A	D2	IV.254
Pepy II	Saqqara	N/A	N/A	

Table 6. List of study tombs of the Old Kingdom.

Hairstyles as indicators of age first start to be used during the Old Kingdom, particularly those for childhood and old age. From Dynasty IV children started being shown with the sidelock of youth (*srt*) (see Tassie 2005). The sidelock could be worn by children of both sexes, although the completely shaved head remained a popular style for younger children. The sidelock was usually placed on the right side of the head, and consisted of a lock of shoulder length hair, with the rest of the hair being either cropped or completely shaved (Janssen & Janssen 1990: 37). Young children, particularly prior to the end of Dynasty V, were sometimes portrayed as being nude (Janssen & Janssen 1990: 26-41), seeming to indicate that they lacked any real social recognition and status

until they had reached social adulthood (Janssen & Janssen 1990: 26-41; Meskell 1999: 130-131), although it is obvious that even neonates were considered as embodied persons, since they were named at birth (Feucht 1995: 107; Horung 1992: 178). Moreover, the mortuary data from Deir el-Medina seems to indicate that there were broad stages of childhood, with neonates buried furthest away from the adults, children further up the cemetery and adolescents nearest to the adults (Meskell 1999: 172). Therefore, the inscribing of Egyptian culture upon the body and the socialisation of the individual seems to be a gradual process, the first step in this process being the naming of the baby, the next stage appears to be the rite of passage that marked the child's entry into adolescence. In this rite of passage the sidelock of youth, which had become emblematic of children and childhood, was cut-off and offered to the god Horus, signifying their separation from childhood (Tassie 2005: 69-71). The name for this ceremony was *ts-mdh* (𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛) 'the tying around of the fillet', probably in imitation of Isis tying a fillet around the head of her son Horus as he set out in search of Seth, the murderer of his father, Osiris. However, the term has sometimes erroneously been translated as 'Knotting the Girdle' (Gardiner 1957: 505), e.g. in Janssen & Janssen (1990: 107). This ritual is first mentioned in the Old Kingdom but also continues to be mentioned in the Middle and New kingdoms. The tying around of the fillet was probably intended to separate the youth from their childhood and its lack of status, allowing them to enter society. This ritualising of the body introduced the individual into institutionalism, and empowers the child to progress into the next realm, that of adulthood.

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 (also see Kanawati 1980a) and thus building their final resting places later, therefore their offspring were adults (with the daughters already having left home often being omitted altogether) and often holding positions of power themselves, a fact born out by the recent Polish excavations at Saqqara (Myśliwiec 2004). King Teti (or possibly Unas') daughter - Princess Idut - is shown wearing the pigtail and ball hairstyle throughout her 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 was 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 2005: 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). Both the backlock and pigtail and ball styles were worn by girls performing the 'Hathor Dancing Game' in the Dynasty V Tomb of Mereruka at Saqqara, a game which also involved shaking clappers and mirrors (Duell 1938: Pl. 164).

Sidelocks found on mummies of young boys and girls prove that they were indeed worn and were not just artistic convention (Tassie 2005: 66). At Mostagedda, four boys were found with sidelocks, all dating to Dynasty V or VI. In three cases, the sidelock was worn on the right side of the head but in one case, the sidelock was worn on the left side (Brunton 1937: 105). Another example from Dynasty VI is that of King Nemtyemsef I, who was found interred in his South Saqqara pyramid in a black basalt sarcophagus decorated with polychrome reliefs in the palace niche façade design. His reign was short – nine years – and he died in his adolescence, his mummy (now in the Cairo Museum) displays a plaited sidelock of youth on the left-side of his head, which is otherwise shaved (Forbes 1997: 83-5; Maspero 1887: 177-91; 1988: 1-29; 1889: 1-31).

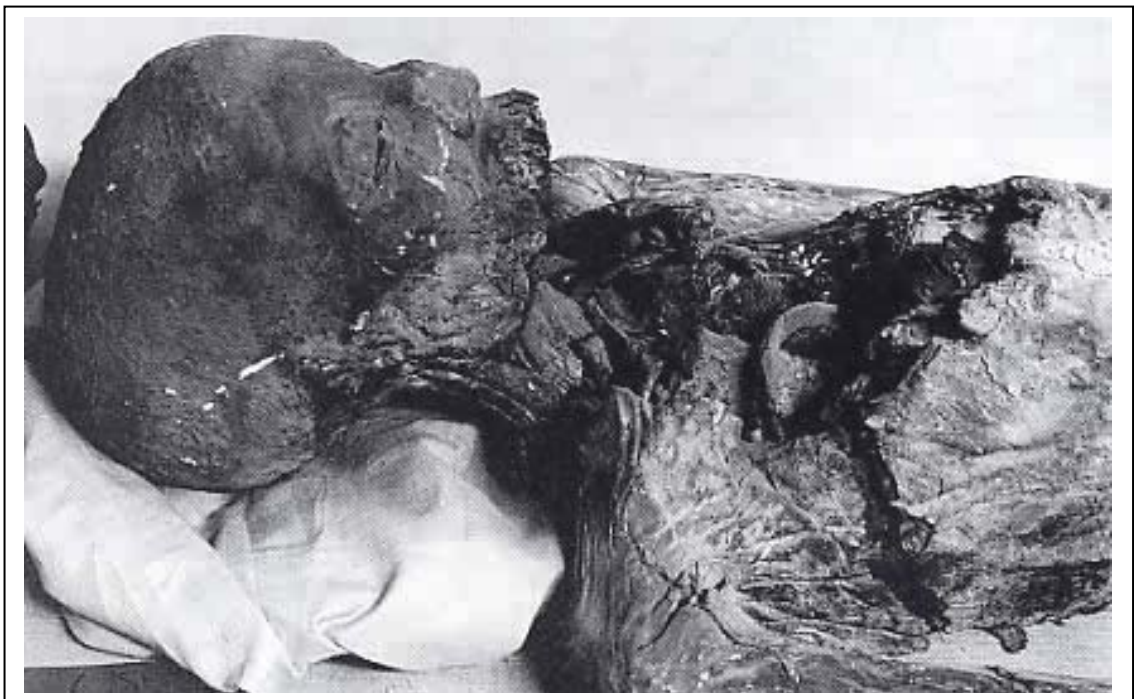


Figure 93. King Nemtyemsef I of Dynasty VI. (Cairo Museum, Photograph Elliot Smith)

Old age was, and still should be seen as a state of being, rather than an actual age reached. Except for a few instances of wise old women, the old were not seen as the receptacles of the country's wisdom, unlike many other ancient civilizations (Janssen & Janssen 1996: xvii). In Egyptian art it was not the convention to show old age (Robins 1990), although it was an admirable achievement to show, and could also be done through hairstyles and attire (Janssen & Janssen 1996). The loss of hair and its turning white were seen as indicators of this ageing process by the Egyptians. That the ancient Egyptians saw loss of hair as an affliction is demonstrated in the Pyramid Texts utterance 684, which states that 'The king will spit on your scalp, O Osiris. He will not let it be ill, the king will not let it be bald' (Faulkner 1968: 294-5). Faulkner pointing out that spittle was believed in folk-medicine to cure baldness; a belief that still persists in the West today, with people claiming that their hair has grown back after a cow has licked their bald scalp, although there is no scientific proof for this remedy (Andrew Bernie *pers comm.* 1998).

The two most common forms of hair loss are *Alopecia senilis* and *Physiological androgenetic alopecia*. The first of these forms, *Alopecia senilis*, is due to old age, and results in the thinning of the front hairline and or crown area following the Hamilton or Ludwig forms, in women this can be due to a reduction in the level oestrogen hormones after the menopause (Baran *et al.* 1991). The second form, *Physiological androgenetic alopecia* also called common baldness or male pattern baldness, is a progressive patterned thinning of the scalp hair and is seen in all populations and is normally more obvious in men than women. The hairs change from the long thick pigmented terminal form to fine pale vellus form (secondary vellus hair formation). The age of onset and rate of progression of this process is variable (Baran *et al.* 1991: 28). However, statistics show that 20% of males in their 30s and 30% of males in their 40s show signs of baldness, and 33% of women between the ages of 35 and 60 (Andrew Bernie *pers comm.* 1998).

In the Old Kingdom the nobility were never shown with greying and rarely with receding hair (although both these traits were shown in the New Kingdom Janssen & Janssen 1996: 23-5). Old age in male figures was usually conveyed by the officials being shown as corpulent and prosperous (Fischer 1959). The body shape of female figures did not change to show them as corpulent but largely remained the same, only the face and stance changing (Janssen & Janssen 1996: 14-5). The adiposity of Hemiunu, a high official from Dynasty IV reflects his successful lifestyle and

did not take part in physical labour and the disempowered population who did the dirty work' (Robins 1996: 34). This lack of empowerment can also be seen in the way the hairstyles are depicted in private tomb decoration, for in the same way as the flaccid genitals of the male workforce are exposed, so is the affliction of hair loss – and not being able to wear a wig or grow a full head of hair - this emphasises their lack of wealth and power. Therefore the showing of baldness and/or scruffy hair on the workforce may encapsulate not only the idea of old age, but mark the social distinction between the low-class workers and peasants, and the high status of their scribal overseers with a full head of styled hair. Kings and gods are never shown balding or with white hair due to their omnipotence. Thus again showing the power of hair, especially the thick black hair of youth, representative of vitality, fertility, potency and empowerment, whereas, receding (completely bald or shaved heads reflected piety and cleanliness) and grey hair were symbolic of disempowerment (Tassie in press d).

6.1 Dynasty IV

In Dynasty IV the major male hairstyles canonised in the Early Dynastic Period (cropped, short round tiled, shoulder-length bob) continued to be portrayed in both two- and three-dimensional forms. Some early Dynasty IV tombs are located at Maidum, although the majority are to be found at Giza. The Maidum tombs of Rahotep and Nefert (Petrie 1892) and Nefer-maat and Atet (Petrie 1892; Smith 1937), both from the reign of Sneferu, provide some of the earliest evidence and are transitory tombs, possibly being started in Dynasty III under Sneferu's father - Huni. At Giza, as well as fully decorated tombs, slab stelae have been found. These stelae were placed in the offering chapel and were intended to be replaced by a false-door stele. Although false-door stelae were erected in some of the tombs, the slab stelae were often bricked up behind them (Manuelian 2001). These slab stelae show the deceased sitting before the funerary repast in a similar manner to the niche stelae of Dynasty II and III.

Most of the ancient Egyptian kings and nobles are shown in the bloom of youth having a slender but muscular form with wide square shoulders (Robins 1986). However, as already noted the male peasantry was often portrayed with many of the human defects, such as baldness, flabbiness, and having an unkempt appearance and often appearing nude with a small flaccid penis (Robins 1996). Many of the subsidiary male figures shown doing agricultural work, bearing offerings, sailing ships and other activities are often shown with the cropped style (see **Figs. 209.194-5**), a practice that continues throughout the Old Kingdom.

The short round tiled style is seen being worn by large range of officials in both statuary and relief. Katep who is shown in a seated dyad with his wife Hetepheres wears his hair in the short round tiled style. Pair statues were frequently placed in the serdabs (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 290). This couple are also depicted on a false-door stele also in the British Museum (EA 1173-4) and on other architectural elements from the offering chapel probably located at Giza (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 290). On the false-door Katep is shown in not only the short round tiled style but also the cropped and shoulder-length bob (Fischer 1976: fig. 9). On the entrance reveals (Field Museum, Chicago 31709) Katep wears the short round tiled on one and the shoulder-length bob on the other, whereas Hetepheres wears the tripartite on both (Fischer 1976: Figs 10-11). Katep was Director of Phyle Members, Administrator of the Northern Settlements, Director of the *Wab*-Priests, and Priest of Khufu, while his wife had the epithet Royal Acquaintance (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 290). Another dyad, this time showing the couple standing in an affectionate pose, he has his arm around her shoulder, resting his hand on her left breast, and she with her right arm around his waist is that of Memi, who wears a short round tiled style and his wife Sabu who wears a jaw-length bobbed wig made from twisted strands of hair over a centrally parted fringe of natural hair beneath (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 294-6). Although no titles are given for Memi or Sabu they or just he has the epithet Royal Acquaintance (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 295; Aldred 1980: 103).

The standing statue of Prince Babaef showing him wearing the short round tiled style (see **Fig. 98.A**) is one of about 30 to 50 statues found in his tomb G5230 = LG 40 in the Western Mastaba Field, Giza. Although his father is not named, Babaef was probably the son of Menkaure, for he appears to be a contemporary of King Shepseskaf (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 28). His tomb, which was originally excavated by Junker (1944) and then by Reisner (Brovarski In press) is oddly lacking in extensive tomb-scenes given that he was Overseer of All Construction Projects for the king, a job that combined the skills of an architect with those of a public-works engineer and was probably in charge of building of pyramids and temples as well as the excavation of shipping canals (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 298). Babaef's other titles included Vizier, King's Son of his Body, and Unique Associate of His Father, all indicating his high rank in the Dynasty IV administration (Strudwick 1985: 82-3). The seated statue of Huti from his Saqqara mastaba 88 (Mariette B9) shows him in the short round tiled style (see **Fig. 98.B**). Huti was Overseer of Scribes in the Office of Offerings Distribution, Overseer of the *Wer* Team, Overseer of the Royal Documents and Fields and a Royal Acquaintance (Arnold & Zeigler 1999: 297). Huti is also shown wearing the same

have a long history of excavation, starting with Mariette and then Petrie, resulting in many pieces of the tomb decoration being scattered through the world's museums. It had to wait until Harpur (2001) for a complete publication of these tombs; she traced the history of excavation and reconstructed the tomb decorations from the scattered information.

Nefermaat was the son of either King Huni or his son Sneferu, the founder of Dynasty IV (Harpur 2001: 26-9). The closeness in time between Prince Nefermaat and Prince Rahotep (King's Son of His Body) indicates that they were probably brothers or half-brothers and as such related to Khufu, the second king of Dynasty IV. As well as his princely title, Eldest King's Son, he held the titles of Chief Justice and Vizier, Count, Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Guardian of Nekhen, Greatest of the Five in the House of Thoth, Priest of the Ram of Mendes, Priest of the Goddess Bastet, amongst others. Atet was an Acquaintance of the King, as was Nefert who also bore the title Lady, although neither of these ladies appear to have been princesses from their chapels the obviously held great power (Harpur 2001:29-31). The eldest son of Nefermaat and Atet – Hemiunu went on to become the vizier and probable architect of Khufu's pyramid at Giza and have a large mastaba built in the West Mastaba field there – G4000 (Harpur 2001: 31-3). Rahotep held amongst other titles those of: Director of Bowmen, Elder of the Audience-Chamber, Greatest of the Seers at Heliopolis, Lord of Pe, Greatest of the Ten of Upper Egypt, Director of the Two Pools of the *Per-wer*, Overseer of Fishers, Overseer of the Gangs. In 1871 Albert Daninos made the remarkable find of two *ka*-statues of Rahotep and Nefert buried in the southern chapel, now housed in the Cairo Museum – CG 3 and CG 4. The faces of the statues express the same sobriety and self-assuredness as contemporary royal statues. The realism in these statues is increased by the glass inlaid eyes and personal details, such as the slight frown on Rahotep's face and his moustache and the slight fleshiness around Nefert's jaw and her enigmatic stare. These details add to the impression that the statues were intended as idealised portraits.

The hairstyles of both statues deserve special attention. Rahotep's statue shows him with a cropped hairstyle indicated by a raised hairline and painted solid black with short sideburns coming down before the ears. There are no striations shown on either the hair or pencil moustache, which also has a raised outline. Although Harpur (2001: 137) suggests that Rahotep may wear a cropped wig over shaved hair there have never been any cropped wigs discovered from any period (Tassie 2002) and there is no

the Two Treasuries, Overseer of All the King's Regalia, Overseer of Scribes of the Portfolios of the King, Overseer of the Department of Stores, Chief of the Tens of Upper Egypt, Overseer of Scribes of the Crew, Director of a Crew (Reisner 1942: 422). Nefer's wife – Meresankh may have been the mother of Kanefer who also has a tomb at Giza: G2150 (Reisner 1942: 422).

Khufu (*ḥwfw*), the second king of Dynasty IV reigned for at least 25 years enabling him to build the largest pyramid ever constructed in Egypt. All that remains of the mortuary temple, causeway and valley temple of Khufu *in situ* are scant foundations and basalt pavements (Lehner 1997: 109). Several re-used blocks from Khufu's ruined mortuary temple were found to have been used as fill for the Dynasty XII pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht (Goedicke 1971). Although the re-used blocks do not give a complete picture of the decorative programme of the pyramid complex, tentative glimpses remain that indicate that it was similar to of the later decorative scheme used to adorn Sahure's complex. Scenes of the king's *Heb-sed* festival and procession of deities are indicated amongst these scenes, themes that recur in the later royal monuments. Although Khafre's pyramid complex is the best preserved of the three Giza complexes (Lehner 1997: 124), more has been preserved in the form of re-used blocks of Khufu's decorative scheme.



Figure 116. The basalt floor and remains of Khufu's mortuary temple (# 288) on the eastern side of his pyramid at Giza (photograph Tim Stevens)

6.2 Dynasty V

During Dynasty V a greater amount of portrayals of male peasant and workers start to occur, wearing either the cropped style or the short round tiled, but never the shoulder-length bobbed style, this being exclusively worn by the elite (Fletcher 1995: 117). Although the short round tiled and cropped styles occur frequently in tomb-reliefs, there is no indication that any of the workers, such as butchers, cattle herders, and other manual workers wore wigs. However, on a scene in Ptahhotep's Saqqara tomb it appears that a male servant is adjusting a wig on the Overseer of the Two Treasuries head, which he may have just removed from a box held by another man, Mery, shown behind Ptahhotep, although this box could just as easily be a cosmetic box full of unguents (Davies 1900: Pl. XXX; Quibell 1896: Pl. XXXV). The hairstylist Meryskenefer places one hand on the chin of Ptahhotep and the other on the top of his head. The stylist does not appear to be cutting or plaiting Ptahhotep's hair, with the man behind the stylist seeming to pass him a fillet with ribbons to tie around the head of Ptahhotep.

In the Mastaba tombs of the Old Kingdom men from many different professions are depicted with bald patches. In the tombs of Ptahhotep and Nefer, fishermen are depicted as having bald patches, whereas in the tomb of Ty, along with boatmen, cattle-herders, fishermen, fowlers and other servants are shown with a receding hairline (Wild 1953). In the tomb of Mereruka, it is agricultural workers and boatmen shown with a receding hairline. These depictions of bald ferrymen in the Old Kingdom tombs only strengthen the connection in writing between baldness and ferrymen, but why this should be is still enigmatic (Reeder 1995: 69-77, 83). However, both baldheads and ferrymen have religious aspects associated with them, and may therefore be the reason for this association. Normally when baldness is associated with religion in this way, as with the bald, blind harpist, the whole head is shown shaved, rather than a receding hairline and fringe of hair around the sides and back (Manniche 1991: 97-107). The ferrymen as well as actually representing boatmen that worked on the River Nile ferrying people from one place to another were also symbolic figures that guided the deceased through the waterways in the *dwt* (afterlife) (Reeder 1995: 69-77, 83). Therefore, as one of the necessary workmen in the Old Kingdom tomb scenes, they became an archetype figure to show baldness on, and thus to show the differential in high and low status between the tomb owner and the workers.

It is worth noting that the vast majority of the balding men seen depicted in the tomb of Ty are to be found in the funerary rooms rather than the corridors, possibly

indicating the increase in disempowerment of the peasants and growth in potency of the tomb-owner the further into the tomb one moves. However, in the corridor reliefs of Hetepka a herdsman grasping an ibex by the muzzle is shown as having a receding hairline, whereas in the funerary room one of the two cooks shown preparing a duck is depicted with a receding hairline (Martin 1979: 10-12). All the other lesser male figures in the tomb are shown with a full head of hair, which may indicate that the positioning of the balding figures in Ty's tomb has no symbolic significance other than a general show of potency of Ty.

The cropped hairstyle is worn by people of all statuses, from manual workers to high officials, and is shown on adolescents and those in blessed old age. The rotund figure of Kaaper in his old age depicts him with a striated cropped style (**Fig. 120**), whereas, certain images of Kaaper in his Abusir tomb-scenes (**Fig. 209.305**) show him in the bloom of youth wearing the short round tiled style. A particularly interesting statue is that of the Overseer of Palace Singers, Sneferunefer who is shown as standing nude with the cropped style, attributes usually shown on children. This type of statue may indicate that the owner was ready to be reborn into the next world (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 384). However, the cropped style is never used on the *ka*-statues coming out the false-doors, and the short round tiled style is used, almost to the total exclusion of all other styles.

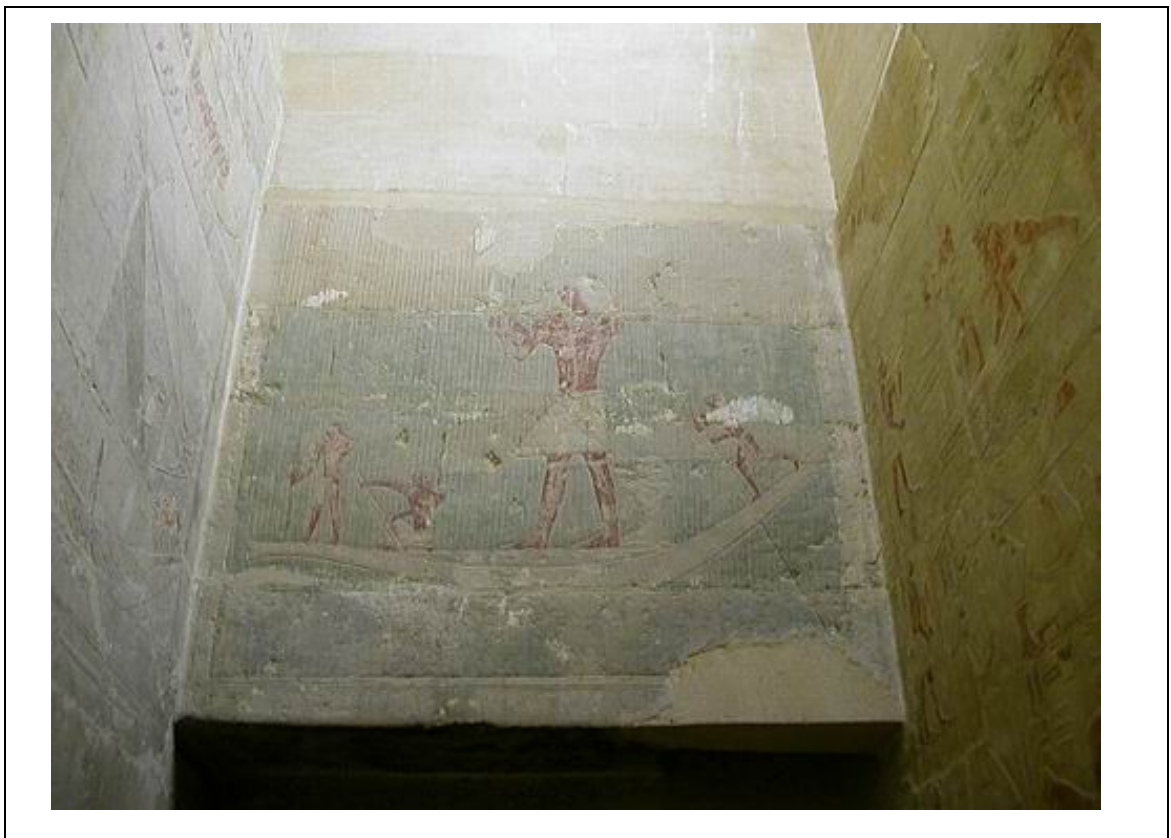




Figure 117. Scenes from the tomb of Ty Saqqara (# 300), the top showing Ty in a boat being ferried across the river and the other two scenes showing fishing and hunting in the marshes. Although not all the ferry and marshmen are shown with receding hairlines, several are afflicted in this manner (photograph G. J. Tassie).

In statuary the shoulder-length bob starts to flare-out at the sides giving a winged effect to the hairstyle. A statue of the major-domo Keki in the Louvre (N42) shows him wearing this flared bob style and sporting a pencil moustache (see **Fig. 210.356**, Zeigler 1997: 108-11). The famous seated scribe from Saqqara now in the Cairo Museum (JE30272) is also portrayed with the flaring bob style (Aldred 1980: 99). An even more revealing depiction of the flaring bob is found on the painted kneeling statue of the funerary-priest Kaemked (CG 119) from Saqqara, it depicts him wearing a shoulder-length bob that has the sides pushed back *enblock* over the hair behind (see **Fig. 210.354**, Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 63).



Figure 126. A seated scribe (# 411) with a flared shoulder-length bob, Saqqara, Dynasty V, JE30272 = CG36 (Photograph G. J. Tassie).

An unusual triad (MFA 06.1882) depicting the officials Hesy, Ptahkhuf, and Nikawkhufu from Giza G2009 shows them wearing the three major styles of the time (see **Fig. 210.471**), the shoulder-length style, the short round tiled style, and the crop respectively (Smith 1949: 69).

During the reigns of Djedkare Isesi and Unas the tripartite style starts to be shown on seated statues of high officials. The earliest Dynasty V official to be shown with the tripartite style is Rashepses, who was Southern Vizier under Djedkare Isesi and has a large tomb at Saqqara (LS 16 = S902, PM 494-6) north of the step pyramid (Baer 1974:

Itti's tomb at Saqqara was a medium sized mastaba incorporating a courtyard, which Mariette only briefly published.



Figure 128. Statue of Itti (# 413) in the Cairo Museum, CG45 (photograph G. J. Tassie).

The latest of the statues with the tripartite style are those of Seshemnefer IV, which were placed either side of the entrance to his late Dynasty V tomb-chapel at Giza LG 53 (Junker 1953: Pl.1). Seshemnefer IV held the honorary title of *ḥꜣty* - Prince, as well as Secretary Privy to the Secret of all Secret Proclamations/Decrees of the King, Overseer of the King's Private Apartments, Director of the Two Thrones in the Mansion of Life, Confident of the king Presiding Over His Two Banks (i.e. Egypt) amongst other titles and epitaphs (see Junker 1953: 126). The tomb-scenes of Seshemnefer are typical of high officials of the period, on his false-door stele he is shown seated before the

funerary repast sporting the shoulder-length bob, and on the standing figures below he has the same style alternating with the short round tiled style (Junker 1953: Abb. 83). He is also shown in blessed old age with the cropped hairstyle (Junker 1953: Abb. 89). Fischer (1963: 27-8) suggests that the tripartite was normally restricted to depictions of deities that it ‘bestowed a degree of posthumous divinity’ upon the wearer (see **Chapter 8**).

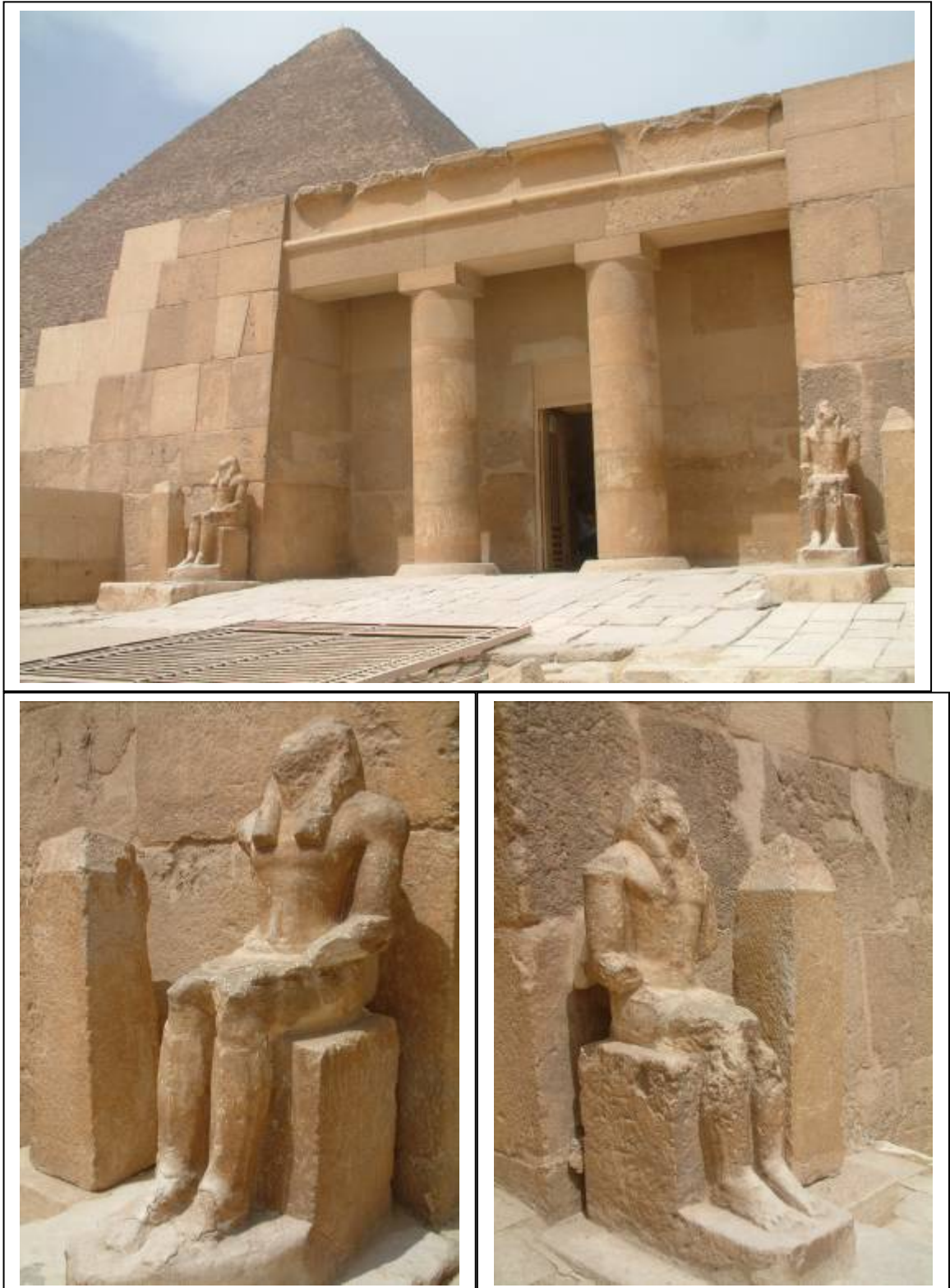


Figure 129. The statues of Seshemnefer IV (# 191) outside his tomb LG 53 Giza, Central Mastaba Field (photographs G. J. Tassie).

In Dynasty V the tripartite and cropped styles continue to be portrayed in two-dimensional art, although relief versions of the bobbed shoulder-length style are virtually non-existent on women, this seems to be balanced by the increase in its portrayal in statuary. This increase in the bob being portrayed on statues is again accommodated by the decrease of the tripartite style being portrayed in three-dimensional art (Fletcher 1995: 130). However, a rare example of the bob in relief form is to be found on Khensu as she kneels beside her husband Nefer on his Saqqara tomb-scenes (Moussa & Altenmüller 1971: 31).

The cropped style is again worn by both the elite and manual workers. In the relief scenes in the tomb of the Archive Scribe Whemka, his wife, Hetepib, is shown with a lightly striated cropped hairstyle (Kayser 1973: 40). Many manual workers performing a variety of tasks are depicted with cropped hair, amongst them a couple preparing bread from the Saqqara tomb of Kaemrehu (Borchardt 1937: 232-5). Also many dancers are shown with this hairstyle, such as those shown in the tomb of Iymery (Weeks 1994).



Figure 130. Dancers performing in the tomb of Iymery (# 286), Giza (photograph G. J. Tassie).

Some of the statuettes depicting people executing various professions are shown with the cropped hairstyle, such as the old lady shown grinding corn on a saddle quern stone (Ziegler 1997: 239-40).

(D117), it moves from the left side of his head, to the back. Whemka's daughter Meretib is shown wearing a sheath dress, but with cropped hair, and in one of the lower registers a naked son of one of the field workers is shown with a shaved head (Kayser 1964). The dyad of Kaemheset and Thenenet shows their son with closely cropped hair with no sidelock at all (Cortigiani 1986: 56). In the tomb scenes of Ptahhotep boys are depicted with a sidelocks, but as to which side of the head they wear it on is dependent on which way they are shown facing, although the majority are shown with it on the right.

Although children can be portrayed with differentiating hairstyles, some girls and boys are portrayed in the same manner, such as in the family statue of Penmeru his son Seshemnefer, and daughter, Nefershem have cropped black hair and sidelocks on the right side of their heads, although Nefershem is shown smaller than her brother (Aldred 1980: 101). Relief depictions continue to show both cropped hair and the sidelock, although the sidelock is becoming more common, with the cropped style usually only being depicted on really young children and babies (Fletcher 1995: 143). Although, manual workers sons and daughters were usually shown as naked and bald, as noted in a scene from Hetepka's tomb, where the son of an agricultural foreman who is shown watching a donkey treading grain, is shown as naked and bald (Martin 1979). In the tomb scenes of Ptahhotep a boy seen drying fish is shown with cropped hair (Strouhal 1992: 37).

Although the right-sided sidelock is still the most common style for boys, during this period it starts to become more common for girls to wear a long plaited backlock instead of a sidelock, and this pigtail is sometimes shown with a round weight, especially if the girls are shown dancing or playing. This round weight is probably just a very large bead with the hair threaded through it. On the late Dynasty V stela of the Priestess of Hathor, Ankhathor, she is shown with her five children attending her, each one of her daughters is shown with a different hairstyle. Her eldest son, Weserkafankh, shown in the centre of the stela presenting his mother with two pieces of linen has a short cropped hairstyle and is wearing a kilt, her younger son, Shesemka, is shown on the left door jamb naked again with the cropped hairstyle. Ankhathor's elder daughters appear to be adults, for the daughter shown with her mother on the right jamb has a tripartite hairstyle and wears a sheath dress, whereas the other adult daughter in central panel has a cropped hairstyle, but again wears a sheath dress. Her youngest daughter is shown standing behind Ankhathor in the central relief panel, like her sisters she is again portrayed with a sheath dress, but her age and possibly her profession as a

grown women are portrayed as girls they are shown with small breasts and rounded hips and thighs.

6.2.1 Study Tombs

George A. Reisner, as part of the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Boston Expedition in November to December 1925 excavated the tomb of Iymery (*imry*), located in the Western Mastaba Field at Giza - G6020. This tomb, the most extensively decorated of all the tombs in Cemetery G6000, after being restudied was published by Weeks (1994). Iymery who served during the reign of King Neferirkare was Steward of the Great Estate, *ḥm-ntr*-Priest of Khufu, Scribe of the Archives, and *w3b*-Priest of the King, the majority of titles he seems to have inherited from his father Shepseskafankh. As well as Iymery's wife – Nytkauhathor, who was probably a Priestess of Hathor (the goddess's name is missing), many other members of Iymery's family are named and depicted in his tomb, sons, daughters, uncles and brothers. Iymery's main title Steward of the Great Estate (*imy-r3 pr (n) ḥwt-3t*) (Jones 2000: 121, No. 486) indicates he was steward/overseer of the king's main estate.

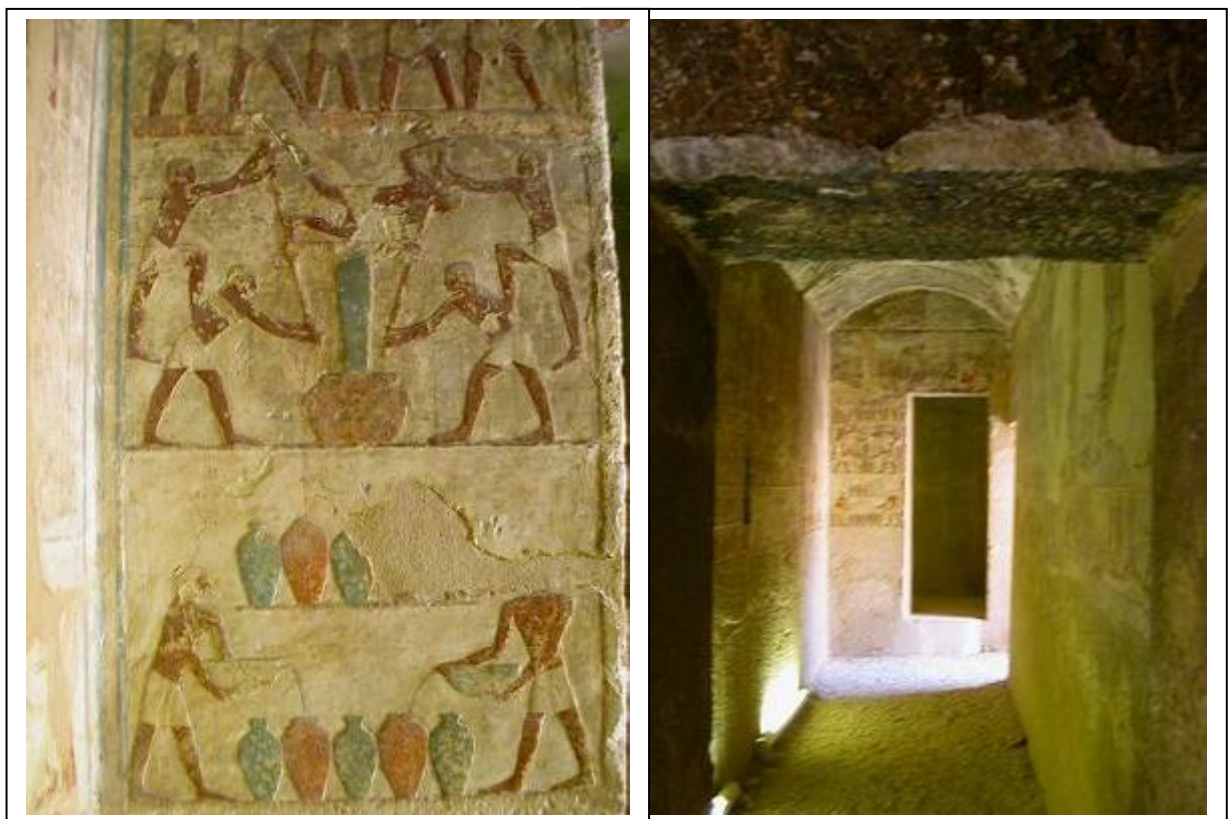


Figure 139. The tomb of Iymery (# 286), to the left a vintner scene and right a general shot through the tomb, Giza (photographs G. J. Tassie)

The tombs of Akhethotep (*ḥti-ḥtp*) and his son Ptahhotep (*pṯḥ-ḥtp*) were originally excavated by Mariette; the re-investigation of the tombs in 1898-9, by Norman de Garis Davies aimed at adding new information and correct any inaccuracies

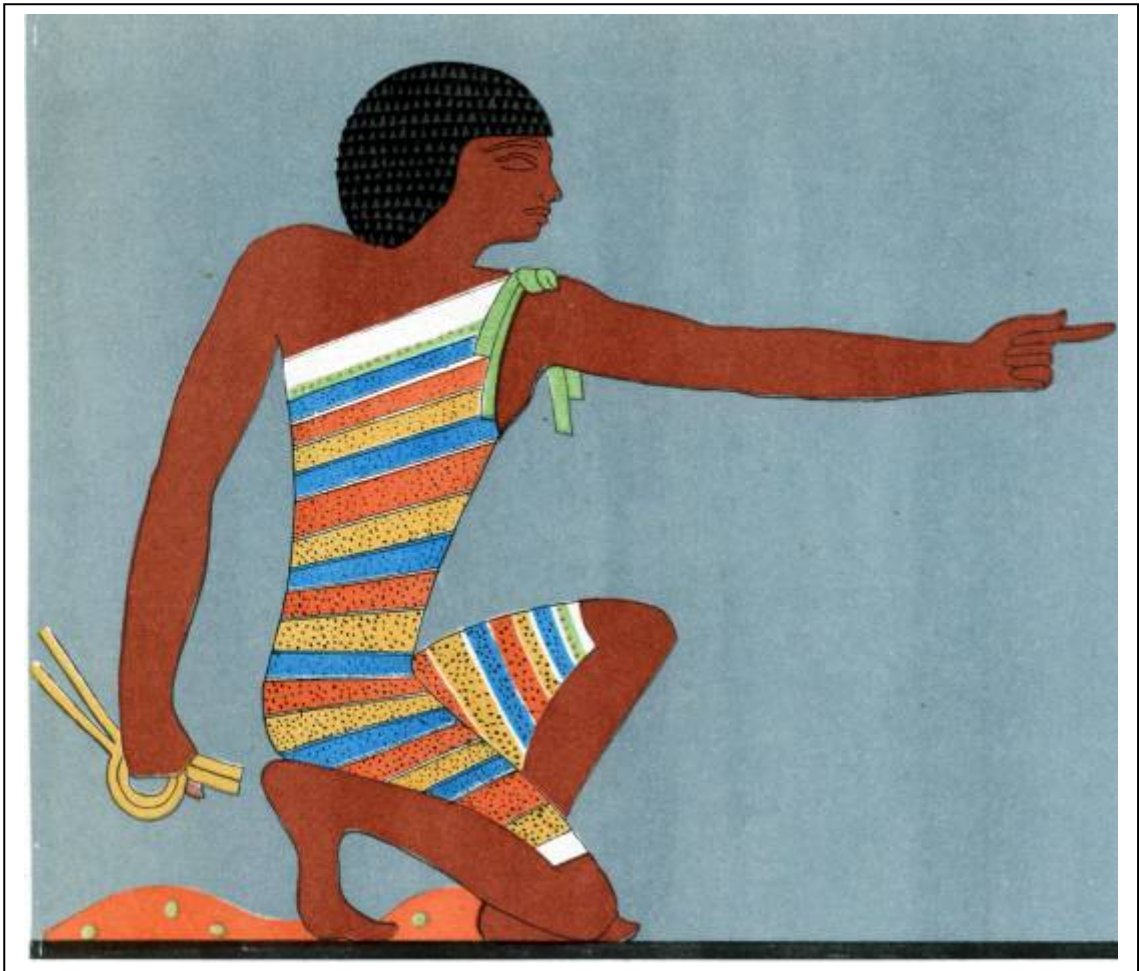


Figure 141. Hunter in the desert, East Wall, Tomb of Ptahhotep (# 285), Saqqara (after Davis 1901: Pl. XVIII).

The tomb of Nefer (*nfr*) and Kahay (*k3-ḥ3.i*) is small family rock-cut tomb in the face of an ancient quarry just to the south Unas' causeway (Moussa & Altenmüller 1971: 9). The tomb was originally constructed for Nefer and his wife Khensuw and his parents Kahay and Merytities, however, Nefer's brothers and their wives – Werbauw and Khentikawes and Senyetef and Khenmet and finally at least one of Nefer's sons - Khenuw (Moussa & Altenmüller 1971: 15-7). The family were three generations of musicians who sang at festivals and religious ceremonies in temples and at funerals and lived under the reigns of Neferefre and Niuserre (Moussa & Altenmüller 1971: 17-18). Their social rank was modest but they must have had talent and intellect, for not did singers have to recite the popular and religious songs, but compose new ones (Moussa & Altenmüller 1971: 17). Both Kahay and Nefer held the title of Controller of the Singers, although Nefer also climbed to the post of Inspector of the Great House and Artisans Workshops and had the epithet Keeper of the Secrets of the King, which is superior to Acquaintance of the King, and with it some responsibilities in the administration (Moussa & Altenmüller 1971: 17). It appears that Werbauw was the true inheritor of his father's talents and became his successor as Inspector of the Singers.

The short round tiled style is still very popular amongst all classes, fine examples being depicted on farm workers, butchers, and other household attendants in the tomb of Khentika, another of Teti's viziers (James 1953). For the first time in statuary the ears can be left totally uncovered by the hair, this starts to occur in stone statuary from the reign of Pepy I (see **Fig. 147**) and in wooden from that of Teti (Harvey 1999: 357-8). A feature that only occurs in wooden statuary is the revealing of just the earlobes (Harvey 1999: 358). The short round tiled style with a long crown area, sometimes called a 'calotte', is noted in relief form from Dynasty II up until the reign of Menkaure of Dynasty IV (Cherpion 1989: 55-6). However, in stone statuary the atrophy of the rows of tiled braids first started in Dynasty III continuing through dynasties IV and V reaching its peak in Dynasty VI with a tendency to limit the horizontal and vertical detail to the back and sides, leaving the crown section and fringe straight, this being shown with vertical striations radiating out from the crown. On wooden statues this atrophy does not start to occur until the reign of Merenre of Dynasty VI (see **Fig. 149**; Harvey 1999: 358). The short round tiled style with the crown area full of the tiled effect still occurs on many statues as seen on the un-named couple in the Louvre (**Fig. 155**). However, in relief form the short-round tiled style is virtually always shown with the crown area completely full of the tiled effect during Dynasty VI (see **Fig. 148**).

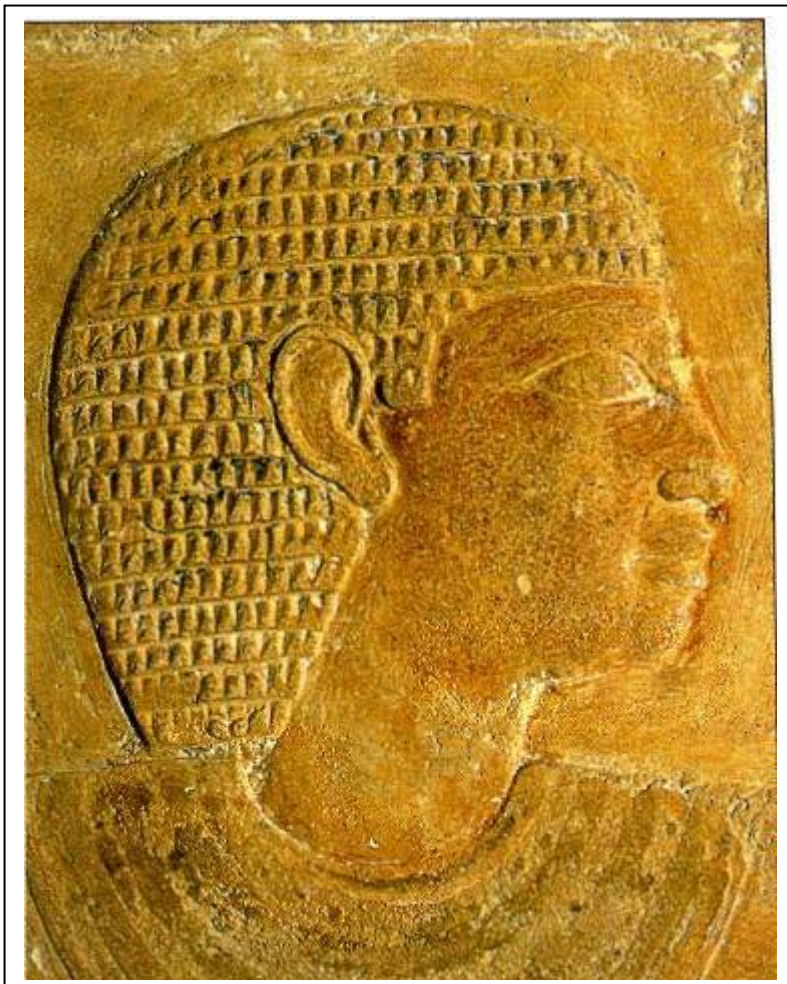


Figure 148. Idu with the short round tiled style showing the ears free of hair (# 196), Eastern Cemetery Giza (Photograph G. J. Tassie).



Figure 152. Anonymous man with the wavy round shoulder-length hairstyle (# 426), Cairo Museum JE99135 (photograph G. J. Tassie)

Dynasty VI sees increasing elaboration of the internal decoration of women's styles, which is in keeping with the men's styles of the time. Many of the styles show a rather individualistic appearance, which reflects the character of the second style. The cropped style was popular amongst all classes, and was worn by many of the royal women, nearly to the exclusion of some of the longer styles. In the Meir tomb-scenes of Pepyankh the Middle his wife Hetyah wears a cropped style (Blackman 1924: Pl. N), as does Meretites, Priestess of Hathor in the tomb-scenes of her husband Khenti (TT. 405) (see **Fig. 209.468**; Manniche 1987b: 18). In these tomb-scenes the male tomb-owner is usually shown with the longer hairstyle. However, in some tomb-scenes both partners are shown wearing the cropped style, as is the case in unusually intimate scenes for this period of the vizier Mereruka and his wife Watetkhathor and of the nomarch

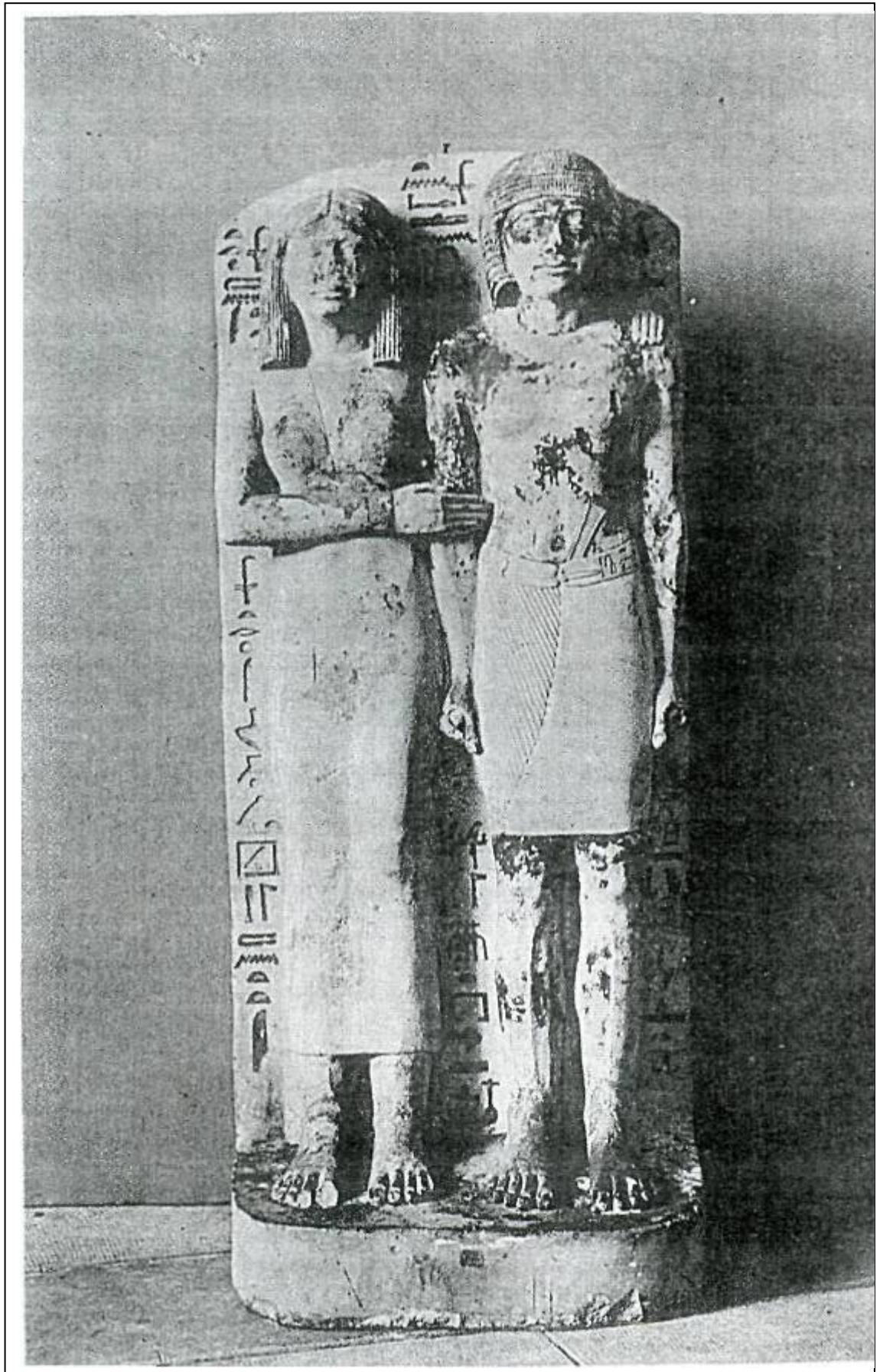
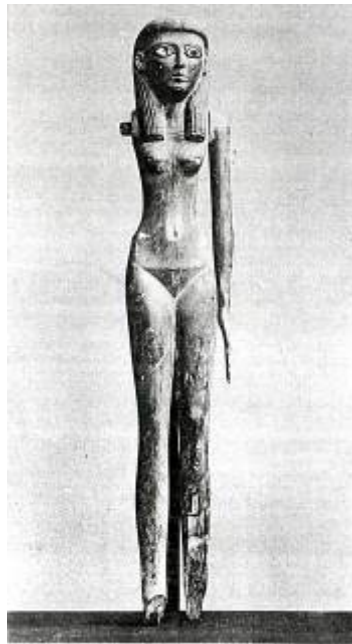


Figure 156. The standing dyad of Neferhotep and Tetitchen (# 429), Cairo Museum CG89, Saqqara Mastaba B12 (after Borchardt 1911: 70-1; Mariette 1976: Nr. 793).

This nude statuette now in the Edinburgh Museum (RSM 1921.1662) has a long shoulder-length bob tending to a short tripartite style (Harvey 2001: 504-5; Petrie & Brunton 1924: 7, Pl. XXVI.2, XXXIX). Three anonymous long haired wooden statuettes dating to the very end of Dynasty VI or possibly beginning of the First Intermediate Period, originally from Akhmin are now held in the Cairo Museum – CG225 = JE28994, CG 228 = JE28992, CG 229 (Borchardt 1911: 149-151; Harvey 2001: 532 -5). Two of the statuettes (CG228 & CG229) have typical tripartite styles with the front lappets tucked behind the ears, the former with layered ends and the later with twisted locks (see **Fig. 158**). Statuette CG225 is not a tripartite style but a bipartite tiled style having the long hair pushed forward into two front lappets (Borchardt 1911: 149). An anonymous wooden statuette in the Manchester Museum (Inv. No. 4230) also has the tripartite style with the lappets pushed behind the ears (**Fig. 210.344**; Harvey 2001: 536-7).



CG225 (# 431)



CG228 (# 432)



CG229 (# 433)

Figure 158. Wooden statuettes in the Cairo Museum with long hair (after Borchardt 1911: Pl. 47).

A wooden figurine of the ‘wife’ of Tchetchi (**Fig. 210.340**), an official in the reign of Pepy II is shown with the tripartite style (Borchardt 1911; Harvey 2001), as does a wooden figurine from the tomb of Tcheteteti (**Fig. 210.342**), which probably represents his wife (Harvey 2001: 317). A striated version of the tripartite style, with tabs of real hair shown beneath the wig, is depicted on the wife of Meni on his tomb-scenes (Fischer 1959: 248-9). The sweptback style is shown being worn by the personified seasons in the Saqqara tomb of Khentika (James 1953: 20).

The tripartite is rarely shown in relief form on women other than offering bearers or goddesses. However, Nebet, the first woman vizier recorded¹ is shown with the tripartite style on a stele from her and her husband Khui's Abydos tomb, now in the Cairo Museum (CG1578) (Borchardt 1964: 59-60). Nebet and Khui were the parents of Ankhnespepy I and II and also Djau, and as such were the mother and father-in-law of Pepy I. It seems that there was some political intrigue during Pepy I's reign and the king transferred the office of Southern Vizierate from his brother-in-law Isi (who was married to Teti's daughter Seshseshet) who resided at Edfu to Nebet at Abydos (Kanawati 2003: 49). Nebet was obviously a trusted and respected servant of the king for him to appoint her into the highest office so far south of the capital at Memphis. As well as appointing Nebet Southern Vizier, she and her husband were bestowed with the highest ranks of 'Hereditary Princess/Prince', with Khui being granted the title 'Father of the God' (Kanawati 2003: 49; also see Fischer 1976: 74-5).

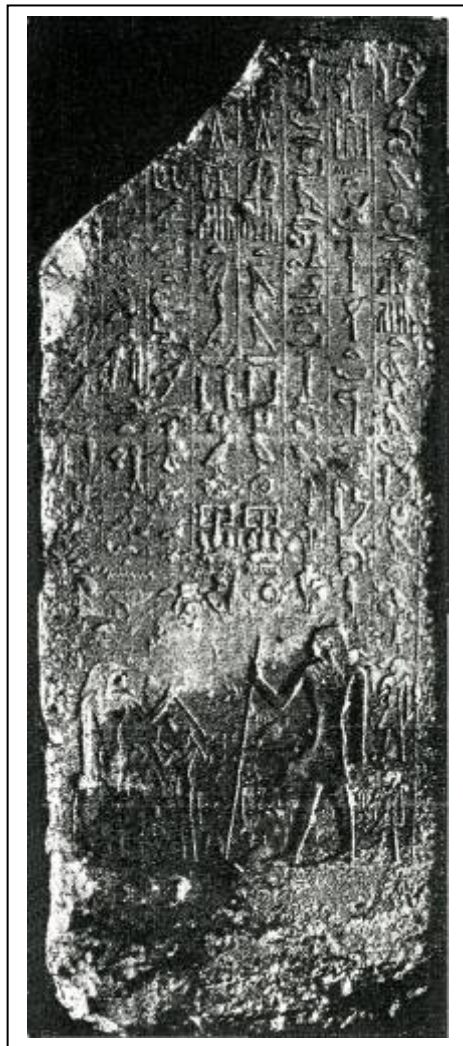


Figure 159. The stele of Nebet and Khui (# 434) from Abydos showing Nebet with the tripartite style and Khui with the shoulder-length style and the cropped hairstyle being worn by various members of their family (after Borchardt 1964: Pl. 76).

Both boys and girls are shown with cropped hair in the tomb-scenes of Meni (Basle 1960: 35), as are the couple in a unique painted statuette of a boy and girl, who

¹ The next known woman vizier was not appointed until Dynasty XXVI (Kanawati 2003: 49).

are probably playing leap-frog (**Fig, 210.474**). This statuette, now in Chicago Museum, was found in the tomb of Nykauinpu at Giza, and shows the naked boy sitting backwards astride the clothed kneeling girl (Janssen & Janssen 1990:58-9). On a relief from the Saqqara tomb of Ipy he is shown in a family scene with his wife and two daughters (**Fig. 209.470**). The younger daughter is depicted with a backlock and ball style, whilst the elder daughter is portrayed with a short-round ringletted style like her mother (Smith 1946: pl. 56). In the tomb-scenes in the mastaba of Idu at Giza, where the 'hut' game is again depicted, the boys are shown without any sidelocks, unlike the earlier Dynasty V limestone block in the British Museum where the boys are shown with sidelocks (Janssen & Janssen 1990). However, two girls standing just outside the hut, but apparently connected with the game, have their backlocks dangling in the hut, along side them are girls shown dancing 'in honour of Hathor' with balls in their long backlocks (Janssen & Janssen 1990). Girls' plaits are again also shown entering the hut in the earlier block, but unfortunately the girls have been hacked off in the looters eagerness to hack out the block. Reliefs in the tomb of Mereruka at Saqqara show his daughter with a backlock and ball style. In another relief four naked girls forming a 'living roundabout', a game which is described in the inscription as 'pressing the grapes, have long backlocks with the ends curling up, and the beginnings of breasts. To the right of this group is another group of five girls with mirrors in their right hands and hand-shaped wooden clappers in their left, three of them wear long sheath dresses, and the other two are naked, all of them sport long backlocks, another group of dancing girls next to them have balls in their backlocks (Duell 1938). The disc attached to the tips is probably to accentuate the movement of the hair while dancing (Lexova 1935). These girls are enjoying 'Hathor's dancing game' according to the inscription, both dancing and mirrors are associated with Hathor (Janssen & Janssen 1990: 60-1; Lilyquest 1979), the backlock hairstyle also seems to be associated with Hathor, starting from the end of Dynasty V with its association growing throughout Dynasty VI. In sculpted form this style is shown 'complete with insertions of real hair weighted with beads' (Fletcher 1995: 133).

The multi-lock and ball style was not only worn by girls at this time, but by boys as well, for Meryteti, the son of Mereruka is shown with the sidelock and ball style on the right side of his head in Mereruka's tomb-reliefs, a style also adopted by some of the young bearers and attendants standing near-by, however, other boys in the tomb wear the more traditional sidelock on either the right side or left side of their head (Smith 1946: 295). The wearing of sidelocks is also depicted on other contemporary tombs of

the period, for both girls and boys (Fletcher 1995: 144). The unisex nature of some of the styles at this period reflected the way that adult styles had become more interchangeable, although it was still more common for boys to be depicted with a sidelock or cropped hair and girls to be shown with the backlock, multilock and ball style or cropped hair.



Figure 160. Statue of Qar and his son, probably Idu (# 425). Qar with short round tiled style, son with the cropped style, Saqqara (photograph G. J. Tassie).

6.3.1 Study Tombs

Mereruka (*mrrw-k3.i*) was vizier and son-in-law of King Teti at the beginning of Dynasty VI. Mereruka's tomb chapel is in a large mastaba, consisting in total of 32 chambers and associated passages located near Teti's pyramid at Saqqara, for whom he was vizier. The mastaba contained three tomb chapels, that of Mereruka, which Duell (1938: 1) designated A, his wife's, Princess Watetkhathor Tomb B, and their son's, Meryteti, Tomb C. The mastaba of Mereruka was originally cleared by de Morgan in 1893 and the investigations first published by Daressy (1898), although the main work is by Prentice Duell, who published just the chapel of Mereruka in two volumes in 1938. Duell (1938) gave each of the rooms within the three chapels' sequential numbers, e.g. A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, C1, etc. However, the Mereruka family mastaba is currently being reinvestigated and published by the Australian Centre for Egyptology and the University of Suez Canal due to the inadequacies of the previous investigations and publications. So far the only volume published is that of Meryteti – Kanawati & Abder-Raziq (2004), although further volumes on the chapel of Watetkhathor and Mereruka are in progress. Due to the current incompleteness of publication of this mastaba only the tomb-reliefs from Mereruka's tomb chapel were included in this analysis. Certain of the tomb chambers within Mereruka's tomb chapel were found to be without decoration: A2, A5, A7, and A14-21, and as such do not form part of this study either.



Figure 161. Entrance to the tomb of Mereruka (# 1), Saqqara (photograph G. J. Tassie).

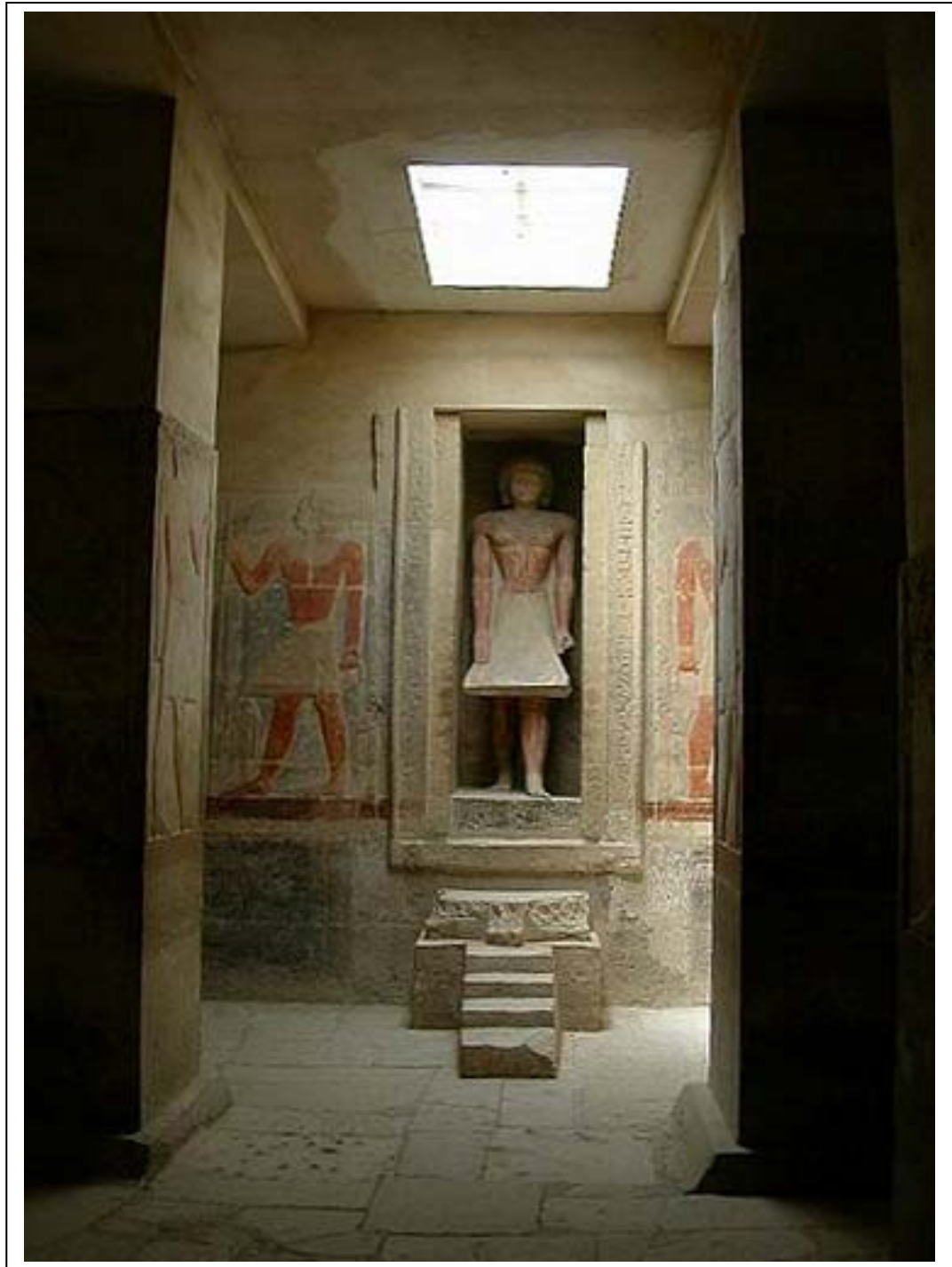


Figure 162. The ka statue of Mereruka (# 1), Saqqara (photograph G. J. Tassie)

Unlike the high official Mereruka, Mereri (*myri*) was a low ranking official interred in a small three room mastaba directly to the north of Mereruka's tomb in Teti's Cemetery (Davies *et al.* 1984: 1). This group of tombs primarily date from the reigns of Teti and Pepy I (Davies *et al.* 1984: 1). Originally discovered by Saad in 1942 (Drioton 1943; Saad 1943) the majority of the small group of tombs that Mereri's was a part of was re-excavated by the EES Saqqara Epigraphic Expedition, led by Vivian Davies between 1976-1978. Amongst the royal chamberlain Mereri's other many titles the most

edge of the Eastern Mastaba Field at Giza. Like his father, Idu was in the priesthoods of the pyramid temples of Khufu and Khafre, as well as Overseer of the Meret Serfs, The King's Letter Scribe in his Presence, and Overseer of the Great Hall of Justice (Simpson 1976), all low ranking titles. It appears from cartouches in Qar's tomb that he served under Pepy I (Hart 1991: 116), which probably indicates that his son did as well, possibly continuing into that of Merenre. In his tomb, his wife Meretites is depicted as are their children. One of the finest depictions of Idu and Meretites shows them sat before the offering repast, relief carvings that bring out the facial expressions of the pair.

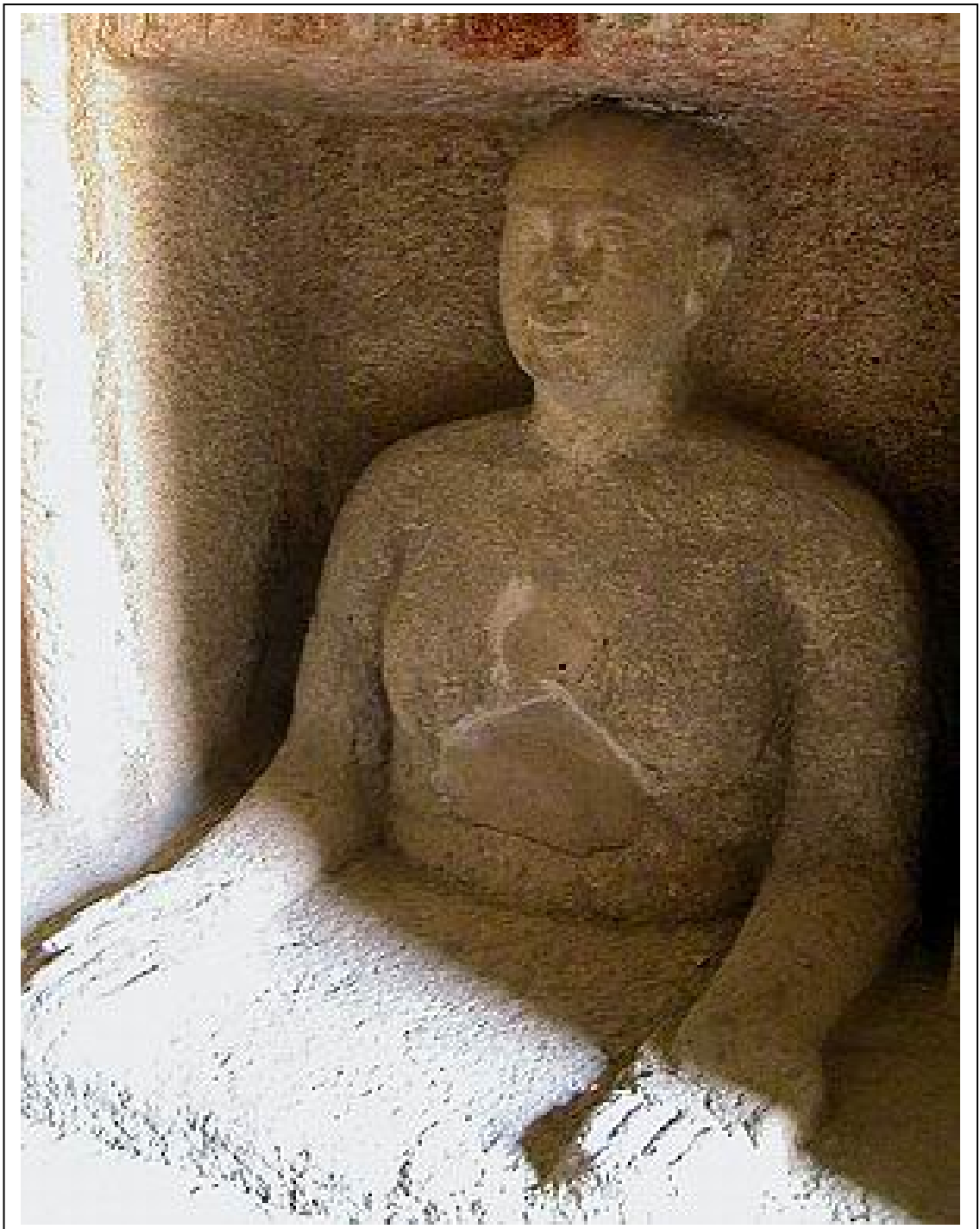




Figure 164. Top and middle ka statues and bottom dancers in the tomb of Idu (# 196), Giza (photographs G. J. Tassie).

The tomb of Ankhmahor (*ḥnh-mḥ-ḥr*) was originally investigated by Loret in 1897 and then by Carpart at the beginning of the twentieth century, only publishing a photographic record (Badawy 1971: 11). The tomb lies just north of Teti's pyramid and

Pepyankh the Middle (*pepy-ḥnh-ḥri-ib*) like many others moved away from the Memphite necropolis to Middle Egypt and was one of the first rock-cut tombs at Meir. At Meir there are both Dynasty VI and Dynasty XII rock-cut tombs, a similar situation also occurs at Beni Hassan 50 km further south, although the Dynasty VI tombs there are much smaller. The rock-cut tombs at Meir are those of the inhabitants of ancient Qis (Cusae), the capital of the 14th Nome. The most important of the tombs at Meir belonged to the provincial governors of the nome (Baines & Malek 1983: 122), of which Pepyankh the Middle was one. The tombs at Meir were severely plundered during the nineteenth century leading to salvage excavations by Aylward Blackman between 1912 and 1950; with that of Pepyankh the Middle being cleared by Sayed Bey Khashabeh in the Spring of 1913 whence most of the photographs were taken, although the epigraphy was not conducted until 1921 (Blackman 1924: v). Pepyankh the Middle was a vizier of King Pepy II, a period when more power was being devolved to the provincial rulers (Hart 1991: 232). Pepyankh was also Judge and Nome Administrator, Superintendent of Upper Egypt in the Midmost Nome, Baron and Basha, Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, Superintendent of the Two Granaries, and Superintendent of the Prophets amongst many other titles and epitaphs (Blackman 1924: 1-3).



Figure 166. Tomb façade of Pepyankh the Middle (# 284), Meir D2 (after Blackman 1924: Pl. XXII).

In his tomb many members of his family are mentioned, such as his wife – Hetyah, Musician Priestess of Hathor and Mistress of Cusea, Father – Sobekhotep, Superintendent of the Prophets, mother – Pekhernefret, Prophetess of Hathor and many brothers, sons and daughters (Blackman 1924: 6-10). Names and titles of relatives and dependents are given to seemingly minor figures (in comparison with other tombs), some just in paint.

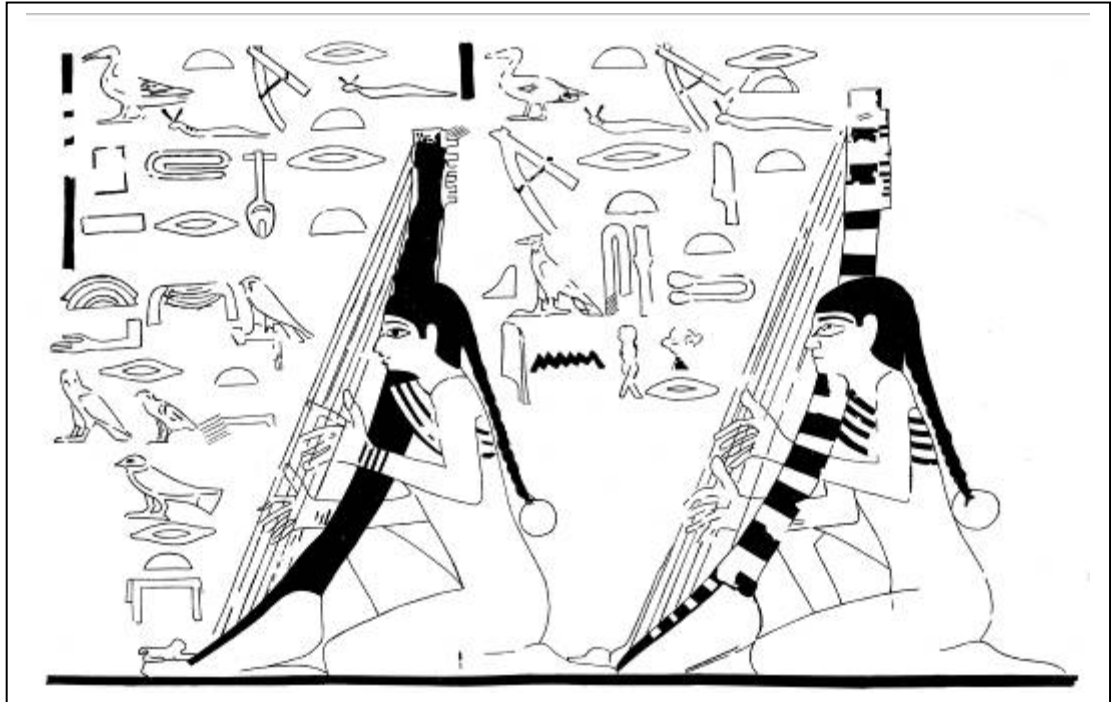


Figure 167. Female harpists (# 284), Main Room, North Wall, tomb of Pepyankh the Middle, Meir (after Blackman 1924: Pl. X).

Pepy II (*nfr-k3-r*), although not the last ruler of Dynasty VI for he was succeeded by Merenre II (Nemtyemsaf) and then Queen Nitiquet (2184-2181 BC) two rather ephemeral rulers, was the last great king of the Old Kingdom (Malek 2000: 117). Pepy II came to the throne as a child and ruled for 94 years and in this period both environmental and socio-political changes occurred that would eventually lead to the decentralisation of the country. The pyramid complex of Pepy II is located at South Saqqara opposite the southerly extension of *Ineb-hedj* (White Walls) – *Men-nefer* (Memphis), the latter established by Pepy II's father Pepy I and the former by Narmer (Shaw & Nicholson 1995: 180). From 1926-36 Gustave Jéquier excavated the pyramid complex of Pepy II. The pyramid complex and decorative scheme followed the same basic form as that of his predecessor Sahure. Two particularly interesting scenes depicted in both Sahure and Pepy II pyramid temples is the king in the form of a sphinx and griffin trampling the enemies of Egypt and the king shown being suckled by a

goddess, probably Nekhbet. One of the main architectural differences was the inclusion of more storerooms either side of the open court of Pepy II's mortuary temple.

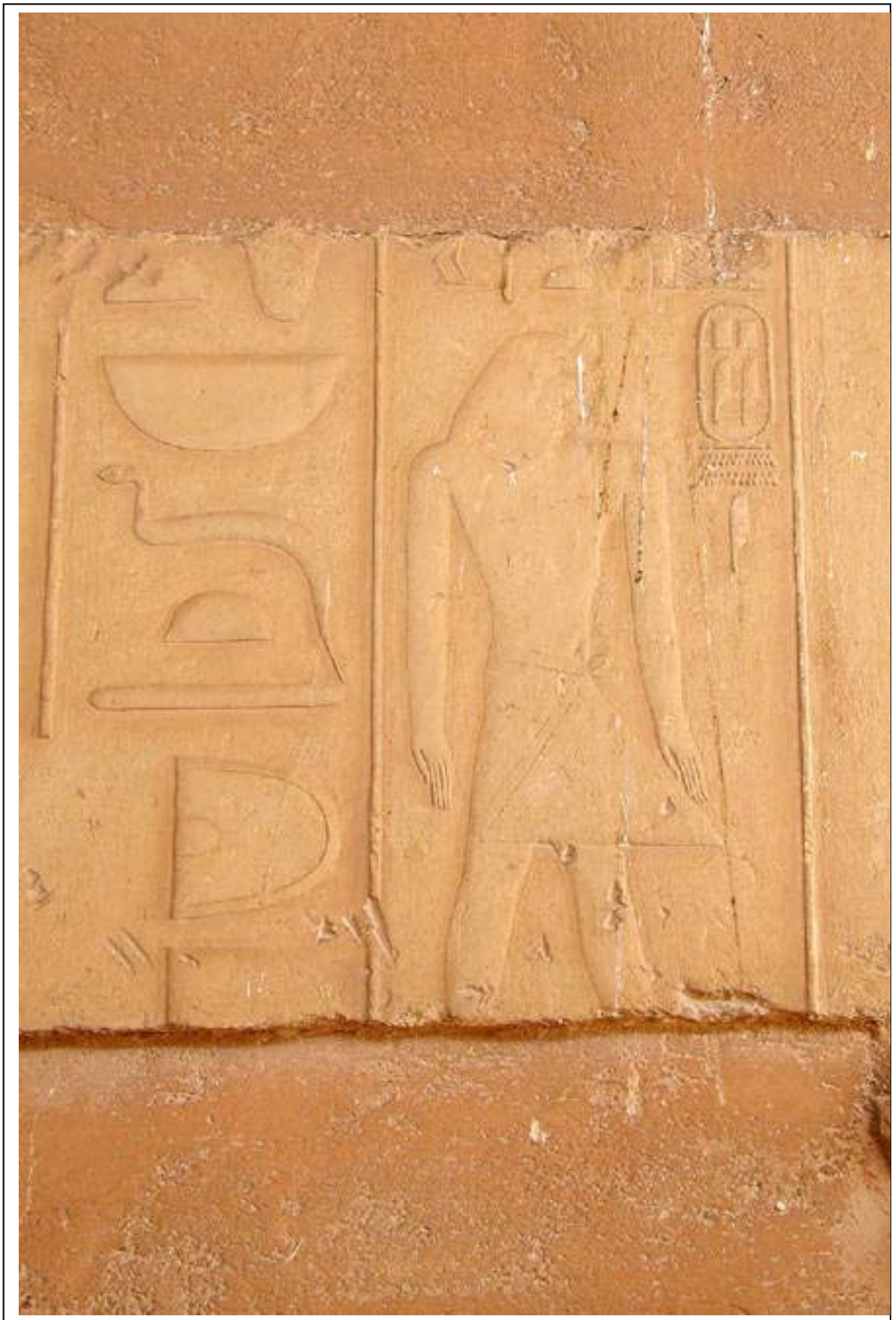


Figure 168. Pepy II (# 299) from his pyramid complex at South Saqqara (photograph G. J. Tassie)



Figure 169. Stele of Pepy II in the forecourt of his pyramid complex (# 299), South Saqqara (photograph G. J. Tassie).

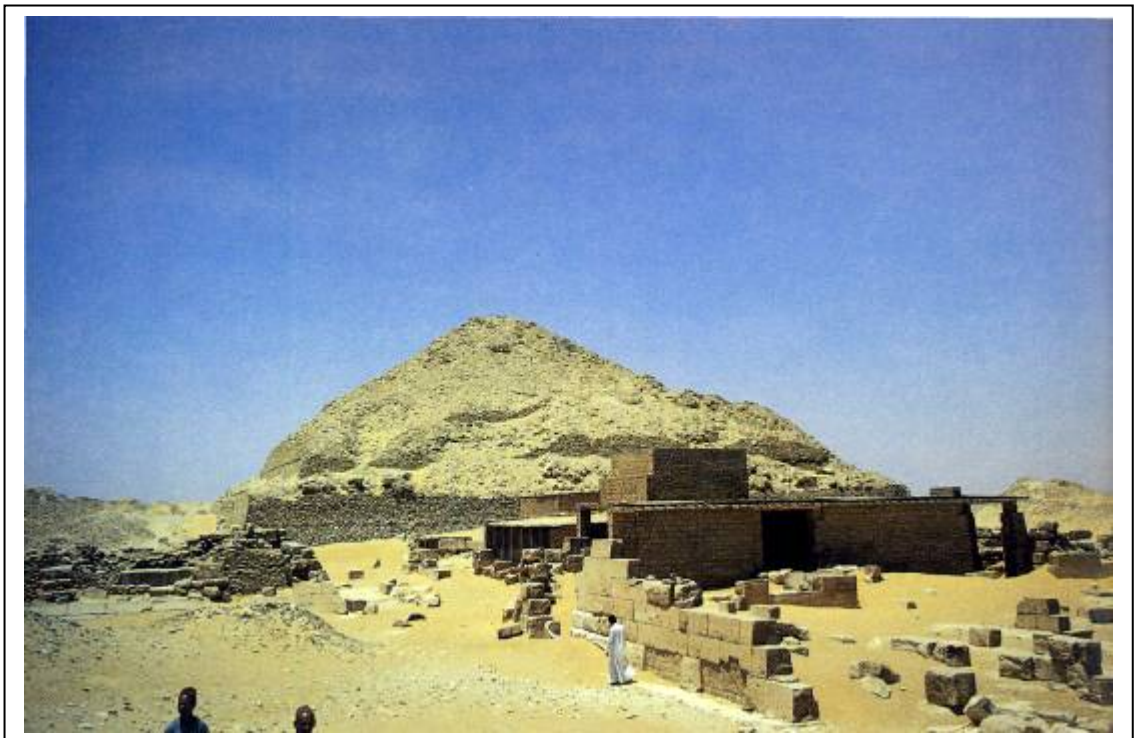


Figure 170. The pyramid complex of Pepy II (# 299) at South Saqqara (after Hart 1991: Fig. 101)

6.4. Dynasties VII & VIII

During this period order was maintained by provincial elites who formed the functional place of the inner elite, emulating high cultural forms in their tombs and biographies (Baines & Yoffee 1998: 224). Although form and style changed the high cultural

ideology was largely maintained but was now open to a much wider range of the Egyptian population, lower elite as well as non-elite, now gained access to key symbols and prestigious materials (Richards 2000: 38-9). This emulation of the high culture of the Memphite elite is born out by the virtual disappearance of the short round style on men and the almost exclusive adoption of the shoulder-length bob, with a few depictions of the cropped and shaved styles (Fletcher 1995: 150). The shoulder-length bob is often shown as being corn rowed, e.g. on the Count of This, Indy (Dunham 1937: 92-4) and on the Chancellor Neferyu (Hayes 1953: 139-40), although plain examples are also noted, such as that on Heka an official from the Nag ed-Dêr region (Fay 1986: 32-3). Women's styles are largely restricted to the tripartite, sweptback and cropped styles with varying degrees of elaboration (Fletcher 1995: 158). Continuing the trend of Dynasty VI, there is an almost total absence of the jaw-length bob. As women were most commonly depicted wearing the bob on statuary in the Old Kingdom, the lack of three-dimensional representations would seem to account for the bob's absence during this period. Cropped hair is shown on the Prophetess of Hathor Mery as she sits beside her husband who sports the shoulder-length bob (Dunham 1937: 33-5). The sweptback style is noted on Hemet wife of Heka (Fay 1986: 32-3), Merirtifi (Dunham 1937: 17-8) and the Priestess of Hathor Berit (Dunham 1937: 83-4). The tripartite is shown being worn by Mutmut, the wife of Indy (Dunham 1937: 92-4) and also by the wife of Merery (Hayes 1953: 138-9). Children are rarely depicted in the First Intermediate Period and when they are, they are normally shown with the cropped style, as is the case in the Nag ed-Dêr stele of the Royal Ornament Ibu, who is shown holding the hand of her son Ankheneftif who is portrayed with a cropped hairstyle (Dunham 1937: 14).

6.5 The Physical Evidence

A Dynasty IV female mummy from Matmar was found with hair 8 cm long, ending in curly tips, with another simply being described as red in colour (Brunton 1948: 29). A contemporary mummy from Badari is recorded as having long black wavy hair set in plaits, although they note that this is not generally the case (Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1927: 49). The hair from Dynasty VI male bodies at Matmar is described as short brown and wavy (Brunton 1948: 31-34), whereas the hair from Mostagedda ranged in length from 2 cm to 12 cm long (Brunton 1937: 94-7). Brunton (1937: 33, 99) also noted that at Mostagedda the hair was usually between 3-5 cm for women and was rarely plaited, although he did note a young lady with a pigtail at the back of her head, and several small children with their hair dressed in this manner. Of the 39 Dynasty IV - X bodies examined, five were sandy, ginger or red brown, and 12 were light brown to

not necessarily imply that there was a co-regency, just the Neferirkare completed his father's mortuary complex and modified his images to show him as a king.

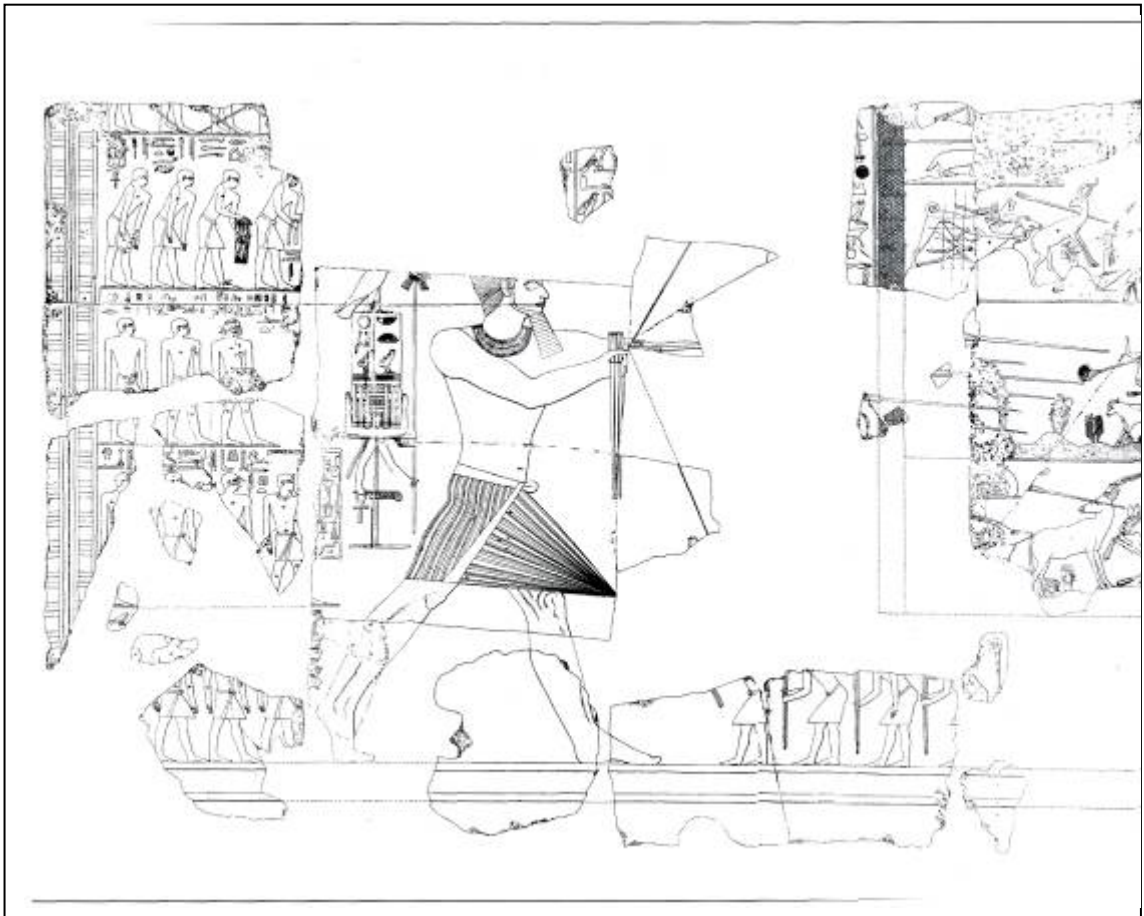


Figure 176. A section of the desert hunt from Sahure's mortuary temple (# 289), Abusir (after Borchardt 1913: Pl. 17).

Three statues of Neferefre of Dynasty V, two only comprising of a head (Petrie Museum - UC14282 and Brussels – E7117) and the other a nearly complete statue (Cairo Museum - JE98171) all depict the king with the short round wavy hairstyle and wearing a ureaus (Arnold & Ziegler 1999: 316-7). The sideburns on all the statues of Neferefre are shown with striations, unlike the earlier statue of Menkaure.

A shorter truncated version of the tripartite style is shown being worn by the *ka* Pepy II on his mortuary temple reliefs. The *ka* of the king is shown standing behind him as he sits before the funerary repast and as he kills a gazelle in the hunting in the desert scene (Jéquier 1938: Pls. 41 & 61). It is possible that other kings also wore this style in the same scenes in their pyramid complexes; unfortunately none of these other scenes are as well preserved.

A statue of Pepy II as a child depicting him in the kneeling pose with finger to mouth was found in his pyramid complex at Abusir by Jéquier (1940: Pl. 49). This statue shows Pepy II with the cropped hairstyle typical of male children from Dynasty VI.

Fourth Dynasty	Queen
Nebmaat (Sneferu)	Hetepheres I
Medjedu (Khufu)	Henutsen, Meretites
Kheper (Djedefre) Baka	Khentetenka, Hetepheres II
Userib (Khafre)	Khamerenebty I, Personet, Hedjethekenu, Meresankh III
Kakhet (Menkaure)	Khamerenebty II, <i>Rekhetre</i>
Shepseskhet (Shepseskaf)	Bunefer,
Fifth Dynasty	
Irimaet (Userkaf)	Neferhetepes, <i>Khentikawes I</i>
Nebkhau (Sahure)	Neferthanebty
Neferikare (Kakai)	Khentikawes II
Shepseskare (Isi)	
Neferkhau (Neferefre)	
Niuserre (Ini)	Reptynub
Menkauhor (Ikauhor)	<i>Khuit I, Meresankh IV</i>
Djedkare (Isesi)	
Wadjtawy (Unas)	Nebet I, Khenut I
Sixth Dynasty	
Shetepetawy (Teti)	Iput I, Khuit II, Khentkaues III
Userkare	
Meryre (Pepy I)	Behnu, Inenek-Inti, Merytities IV, Ankhnesmeryre I/ Ankhnespepy I, Ankhnesmeryre II/ Ankhnespepy II, Mehaa, Nebwenet, Nedjeftit
Merenre (Nemtyemsaf I)	Ankhnespepy I
Neferikare (Pepy II)	Iput II, Wedjebten, Neit, Ankhnespepy III, Ankhnespepy IV, Wedjebten
Merenre (Nemtyemsaf II)	

Table 7. Old Kingdom kings and queens (after Dodson & Hilton 2004: 287), smaller font = possible kings, () = *nswt-bity* or personal name and italics = probable queens.

Just as with kings, representations of royal women increase in the Old Kingdom. Fay (1998; 1999) conducted a study of sculptures of Old Kingdom royal women, recording a total of 15 statues or parts thereof. As not all of these statues were inscribed Fay established a series of criteria for identifying royal women, these included attitudes

Rare depictions of the jaw-length bob in relief form are shown being worn by Queen Meresankh III in her Giza tomb scenes (Dunham & Simpson 1974), and another by Queen Khentetenka as she kneels behind her husband King Djedefre (Smith 1949). However, in her tomb-scenes, Meresankh III is usually shown with cropped hair and sometimes the tripartite hairstyle, but never when she is depicted standing with her mother Hetepheres II (see **Fig. 209.195**).

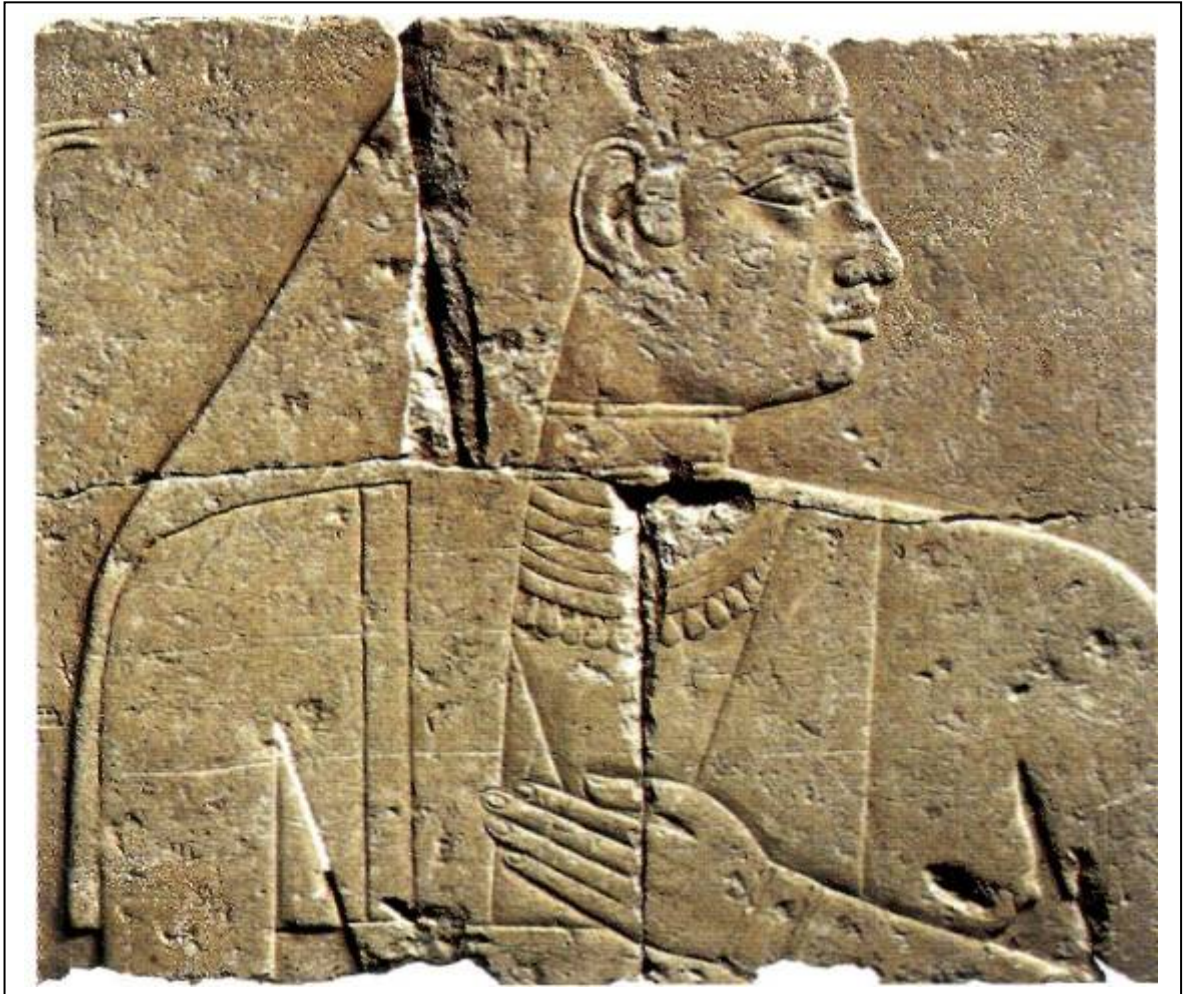


Figure 181. Queen Hetepheres II wearing a tripartite wig, Tomb of Meresankh III (# 195), Giza (Photograph G. J. Tassie).

The dyad of the two queens, Hetepheres II, wife of Djedefre and daughter of Khufu, and her daughter by her previous husband Kawab - Meresankh III, shows the mother's arm around her daughter's shoulders, whilst also holding her left breast in her hand as a gesture of affection. The mother is shown wearing a striated flared bobbed style, underneath her own hair can be seen as a line at the front, whereas, the younger lady is shown with cropped black hair (Smith 1949). A row of 10 statues in the north wall of the North Room of Meresankh III's tomb show Meresankh and her daughters with bobbed hairstyles while her mother wears the tripartite hairstyle.

hairstyle in the Old Kingdom; the hairstyle is also usually shown as striated to complement the feathers of the headdress. This headdress seems to take over from the globular headdress/hairstyle for identifying senior royal women for the globular is not seen on senior queens after the reign of Djedefre (although see below for Khamerenebty II). These two headdresses, along with the ureaus, are the only means to distinguish queens' heads in the Old Kingdom (Fay 1998; 1999). The vulture headdress was also worn by goddesses such as Nekhbet, the vulture goddess of Nekheb (modern el-Kab) who along with Wadjet of Buto were the two tutelary deities of the unified Egypt (Wilkinson 2003: 213-4). Nekhbet was associated with the white crown of Upper Egypt and thus closely connected with the king, mythically becoming his mother (Wilkinson 2003: 214). In the pyramid temple scenes Nekhbet is often shown suckling the king, although in the scenes from Unas' temple it may actually be his mother as Nekhbet for a wig appears to be depicted and goddesses are never shown wearing a wig. The Pyramid Texts portray her as a mother goddess in the form of a great white cow (Wilkinson 2003: 214).

The earliest queen shown wearing the Nekhbet Headdress is Khamerenebty I, wife of Khafre and mother of Menkaure (see **Fig. 189**). The small head now in Leipzig (No. 1965) was originally excavated from Khafre's funerary temple at Giza along with another piece of the back of a head (No. 1993) probably belonging to the same statue (Fay 1999: 105). The statue shows Khamerenebty I with a vertically striated, centrally tripartite hairstyle and the Nekhbet headdress as smooth, probably for coating with gold or paint. A statue in the Berlin Museum (No. 15064) also deriving from Khafre's pyramid temple may also be of Khamerenebty I, as it has the same form of hairstyle and headdress. However, an unprovenanced statue of Khamerenebty I (on stylistic grounds and similarity with statues of Menkaure) in the Uppsala Museum (No. 31) she is depicted wearing a ureaus at the front of a vertically striated tripartite hairstyle to show her seniority (Fay 1999: 103). Two fragments from the same statue in the Leipzig Museum (No. 1966 & 1967) were found in Khafre's funerary temple. The fragments show a vulture headdress smoothed ready for gold or paint to be applied, whereas the hair appears to be in the tripartite style with vertical striations with diagonal lines indicating that the hair was twisted (Fay 1999: 105). That this was a king's mother is indicated by the Nekhbet Headdress, that mothers of the king's senior children were identified by the globular style in the reign of Khufu rules out the possibility of it being one of Khufu's wives and mother of Khafre. Therefore, the only statue of a king's

Khamerenebty II not being a mother of a king ruled her out from wearing this headdress. Baud (1998) also identifies an anonymous tomb in the Central Field at Giza as that of Khamerenebty I, so ruling out GIIIa as being that of Menkaure's mother. However, a body of a young woman was found in GIIIb, indicating that these pyramids were used as tombs (Lehner 1997: 136). It is possible that Rekhetre was the owner of one of these pyramids, thereafter she produced an heir (Shepseskaf) for Menkaure, for her tomb at Giza was never completed (Grajetzki 2005: 13-4). The relationships of the royal family in the latter half of Dynasty IV are still uncertain and so definite identification must await further research (Dodson & Hilton 2004: 55-6).



Figure 190. A headless statue of Queen Khamerenebty II in a wrap-around cloak, from her tomb at Giza, Cairo Museum JE48828 (photograph G. J. Tassie).

A headless statue of Queen Khamerenebty II discovered in her rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, now in the Cairo Museum (JE48828) shows no signs of either a long or mid-length hairstyle only a slight ridge at the nape of the neck (see **Fig. 190**). The only possible hairstyles are a cropped hairstyle, short round curly, short bob or globular hairstyle. Given that Khamerenebty II is wearing a pleated wrap-around cloak knotted on her left shoulder probably indicates that she was wearing the globular headdress/hairstyle like other royal women who wear this garment (Fay 1999: 108). Her posture with one hand to her side and the other under her breast is similar to that of Queen Henutsen when she wears this combination. Also, Khamerenebty II held the title Beloved King's Wife and was a mother of a king's son – Khuenre (Fay 1999: 108).

No complete statues of queens from Dynasty V have so far been identified (a fragment of the throne from a statue of Queen Reptynub is in the Berlin Museum, Inv. No. 17438) and only a few reliefs depict queens. One of the most famous queens is Khentkaues I, although confusion has sometimes arisen as to whether she was a separate person from Khentkaues II. Queen Khentkaues I lived at the end of Dynasty IV, probably ruling as regent at the end of the dynasty before Userkaf, a possible grandson of Djedefre, married her to legitimise his claim to the throne and initiate Dynasty V (Dodson & Hilton 2004: 62-6). It is unclear who Khentkaues I's father was, but it is possible that it was King Shepseskaf, however, she was probably the mother of the brothers Sahure and Neferirkare I (Dodson & Hilton 2004: 64).



chapel of this subsidiary pyramid was enlarged in brick and probably finalised under Niuserre, Khentkaues II and Neferirkare's son (Dodson & Hilton 2004: 64-5). The images of Khentkaues II appear to have been completed by her son, for Niuserre is shown standing in front of her on the inside reliefs. Khentkaues II titles were made to replicate those of her illustrious predecessor and on a pillar from her Abusir chapel a ureaus was used rather than the queenly vulture headdress on the front of her tripartite hairstyle (Dodson & Hilton 2004: 64-5). This chapel at Abusir seems to have been made as a cult centre to both of the Khentkaues, the first the mother of twins (Sahure and Neferirkare) who established Dynasty V and the second also a mother of twins (Neferefre and Niuserre). Placing this shrine to the two most important women of the dynastic line at Abusir, the dynasty's royal necropolis gave it greater focus and potency.

On the walls of Sahure's funerary temple at Abusir a royal woman, possibly his wife Neferthanebty or a daughter, is shown seated in a *rpyt* (carrying-chair), presumably at Sahure's *Heb-sed* (Borchardt 1913: Pl. 65). Unlike earlier queens that are shown seated in the *rpyt* she is depicted with a cropped hairstyle, although she is still shown in a wrap-around cloak.

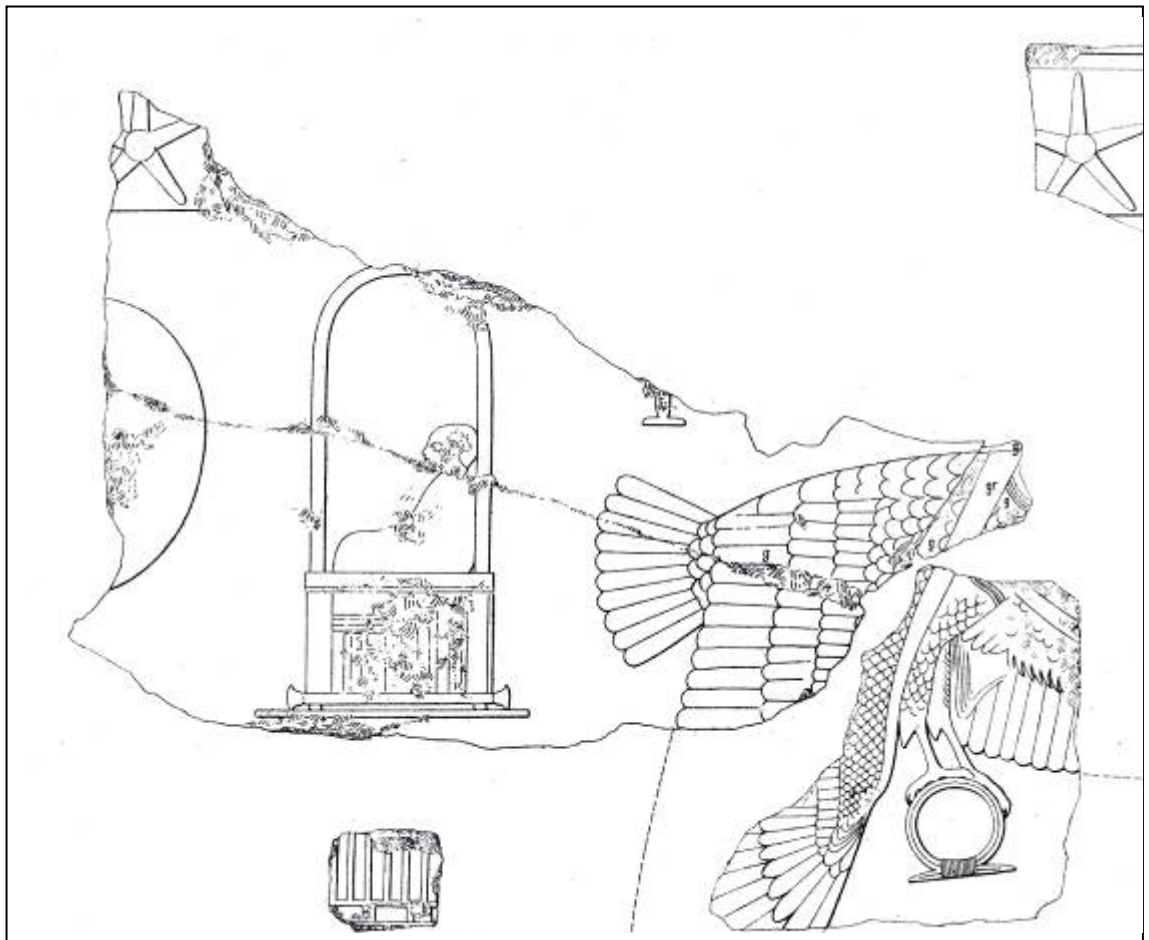


Figure 193. Queen Neferthanebty (# 289) sat in a *rpyt* at Sahure's *Heb-sed* (after Borchardt 1913: Pl. 65).

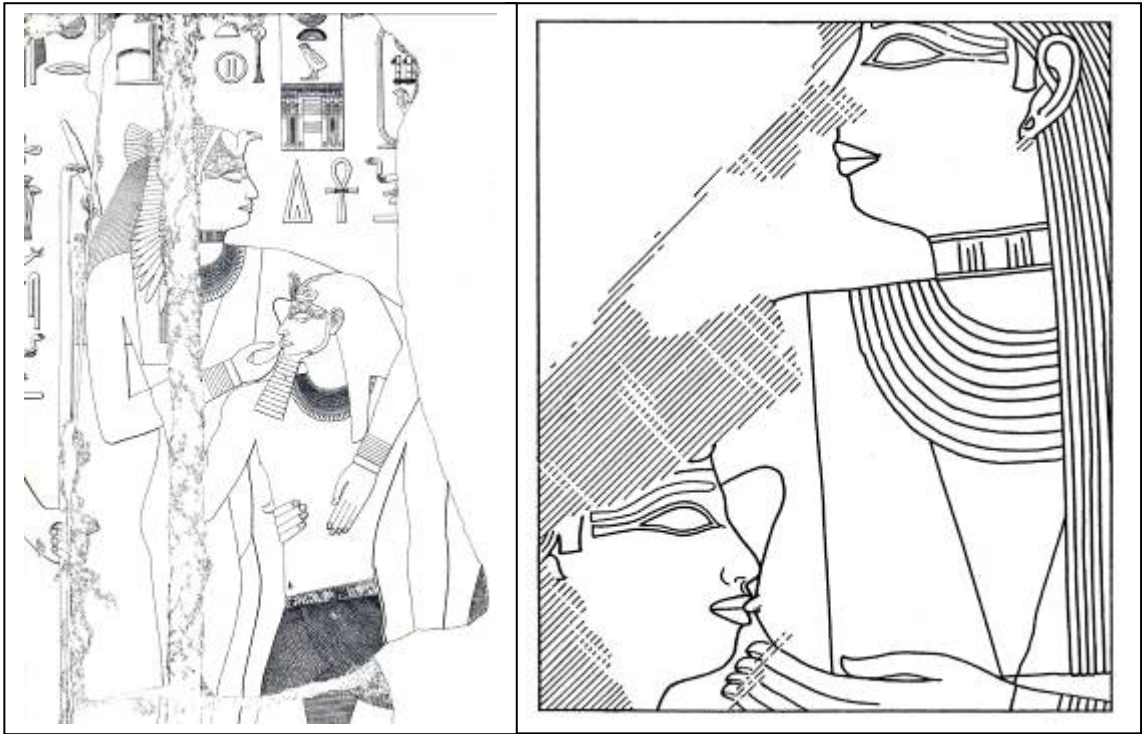


Figure 198. Sahure (# 289) being suckled by Nekhbet (left) and Unas (# 453) being suckled by his mother (right) (after Borchardt 1913: Pl. 18 and right drawn Claire F. Venables).

The amount of two-dimensional depictions of royal women recovered from Dynasty VI is about on par with Dynasty V, although more statuary has survived. More is also known about the royal woman of Dynasty VI than the previous dynasty (Dodson & Hilton 2004; Grajetzki 2005). Teti, the founder of Dynasty VI was the son of a noble woman – Seshseshet and to legitimate his claim to the throne he married Unas’ daughter Princess Iput (Kanawati 2003). Iput was a very influential woman in the founding of the dynasty, in her pyramid chapel in the Teti Cemetery at Saqqara she is described as ‘Daughter of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wife of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt’ (Kanawati 2003: 39). Queen Iput I was also the mother of Pepy I, although the conspiracy surrounding Teti’s assassination seems to have led to another of Teti’s wives’ (Khentikawes III) sons, Userkare, usurping the throne for a couple of years (Kanawati 1990; 2003). There seems to have been more nepotism and marriages between closely connected members of the royal family during Dynasty VI than any of the previous dynasties. The royal marriages to close relatives seems to have been to legitimate their claim to the throne, whereas, the nepotism with officials marrying daughters of the reigning king to gain higher positions seems to have been to gain support for the monarch among members of his new family (Kanawati 2003). Teti named all his daughters after his mother Seshseshet, although giving them a second name to distinguish them (see **Fig. 209.198, 353, 358-60**). The husbands of Teti’s daughters went on to become some of the most powerful officials of the country, with Iput I daughter marrying Mereruka and Khuit’s Nefersheshemtah.



Figure 200. Koptos stele of Pepy I offering to the ithyphallic god Min with his mother Iput I (# 455) standing behind him wearing the Nekhbet headdress over the tripartite style, now in the Cairo Museum JE41890 (after Weill 1912: Pl. vii).

The tombs of the highest officials in Teti's administration, such as Mereruka and Kagemni lie in a row directly north of Teti's pyramid with the smaller tombs of

members of his family and other officials laid out in rows just in front of these high officials (Kanawati 1990; 2003). The excavation of these tombs is providing much needed information on the dynamics of the late Old Kingdom administration and the court intrigues that persisted at that period.



Figure 201. The Teti Cemetery to the north of his pyramid (top) and Teti's Mortuary Temple to the east of his pyramid and Userkaf and Netjerikhet's pyramids in the background (bottom), Saqqara (photographs G. J. Tassie).

conventions of the time. The majority of depictions of deities are in the pyramid complexes of the kings, which often showed processions of gods and goddesses. The use of the tripartite hairstyle helped to hide the join of the head of animal headed gods to their human bodies. The deities are always shown wearing their own hair, and never a wig, so there is never a hairline shown. As well as wearing their hair uncovered, many of the deities would wear crowns and headdresses, some only partially covering their hair, others totally covering their hair. Gods would usually be portrayed with a more truncated and bulkier version of the tripartite hairstyle than the goddesses or mortal women. Certain filial gods, such as Ihy could be shown with a shaved head and sidelock of youth (Wilkinson 2003: 132-3). Ptah, the god of the Memphite region, is one of the only gods shown with a tightly fitting cap; his iconography staying relatively consistent from Dynasty I, where he is shown on a bowl from Grave 231 at Tarkhan, to the end of the Pharaonic period (Wilkinson 2003: 123-6; Wilkinson 1999: 293).

During the Old Kingdom Hathor's popularity increased, largely at the expense of the goddess Neith. This seems to coincide with the rise in popularity of the sun-god Re, particularly from the time of Djedefre and the incorporation of the *sꜣ rꜥ* name into the royal titulary (Tower-Hollis 1995: 49). From Dynasty III Hathor seems to have been regarded as the wife of Re, being the fiery protective serpent that helped Re complete the solar journey; and the rise in her popularity seems to be linked to that of his (Johnson 1990; Kahl 2007; Roberts 1995). One of the king's early titles was 'Son of Hathor', Hat-hor meaning 'House of Horus' (Hart 1986: 77; Tower-Hollis 1995: 50). Although a more literal reading of Hathor's name may be taken to mean 'Womb of Horus', the seat of power, fulfilling the functions of nurturing, nourishing and protection, and also as a sky-goddess, the Playground of [the falcon] Horus (Tassie 2005: 67). This closer association of royalty with Re and also Hathor is no better demonstrated than on the schist triad figures of King Menkaure found in his pyramid complex at Giza. On these triads Menkaure is portrayed with Hathor and various personified nomes, the goddess is shown with striated versions of the blunt tripartite style, but with no hairline or tabs shown beneath (Aldred 1980: 75), two features that never appear on any goddess during the Pharaonic era. Hathor was always shown with the tripartite hairstyle during the Old Kingdom (in the Middle Kingdom she can be shown wearing the curled bouffant or Hathoric style, in the New Kingdom she is also shown wearing the gala and multi-layered and coloured flying style). On these triads Hathor also has her characteristic cow's horns and sun-disc headdress that symbolically reflect her relationship to Re (see **Fig. 207**). Senior queens would wear the globular

Three goddesses are attested to for the first time in the *Pyramid Texts*: Nut (who is mentioned 98 times), Isis (82 times) and Nephthys (66 times), the older goddesses of Neith and Hathor are hardly mentioned seven and three times respectively (Tower-Hollis 1995: 50-1). This not only reflects the changes in religion and kingship that took place at the end of Dynasty V but also the aim of the *Pyramid Texts* themselves, which were for protection of the king and his safe passage and rebirth in the Afterlife (Allen 2005). During this period Isis, Nut and Nephthys were funerary deities playing virtually no part in the world of the living; their roles were concerned with the resurrection and reception of the deceased king in the Afterlife. Whereas, Neith and Hathor both had close relations with the living royalty, especially the queen, and had priestesses and cults, and while neither were excluded from the mortuary realm, they did not play a very large part in the realm of the dead (Tower-Hollis 1995: 84).

An interesting hairstyle is worn by the Goddess Meret, for she has a tripartite hairstyle with a triple braid emanating from the crown and a vulture headdress (see **Fig. 103**). Meret literally means beloved and she is depicted as a duality – Upper and Lower Egypt (Troy 1986: 87). The characteristic pose of Meret is one arm raised as she repeats the words to the king ‘come, bring’ (Troy 1986: 87). A good example of Meret with this hairstyle can be found on a re-used block from Khufu’s mortuary temple, Giza (Goedicke 1971: No.16). In this scene both Meret and the figure named *snr-wʿt* are linked together under an extended *pt* sign – ‘sky’, appearing to form a ritual unit. In this context, the male with the tripartite hairstyle is possibly the representation (and perhaps inchoate personification) of what a ‘unique friend’ does in relation to Meret and the king (Joe Styles *Pers Comm.*). Meret was usually depicted participating in the rituals of kingship and was the personification of the priestess as singer. Meret’s singing accompanied the rising of the sun and she was regarded as both Re’s daughter and mother. As such, Meret was identified with the solar eye and was an aspect of Hathor and also associated with Maat in a feminine duality (Troy 1986: 87-8). Meret was the prototype of the priestesses’ central role in musical recitation, a role fulfilled by the queen (a title of whom was *wrt ḥst* [Great of Praise]) at many ceremonies and rituals (Troy 1986: 88).

It must be noted that the styles of beards of the gods, kings and private individuals were different. Private individuals sometimes wore a short goatee style beard or pencil moustache. The king would often be shown with a false beard, the deified *Duwar*, which was originally long and pointed, but by Dynasty III it had been squared off, and made longer. This is the same beard as worn by the sphinx, one of the

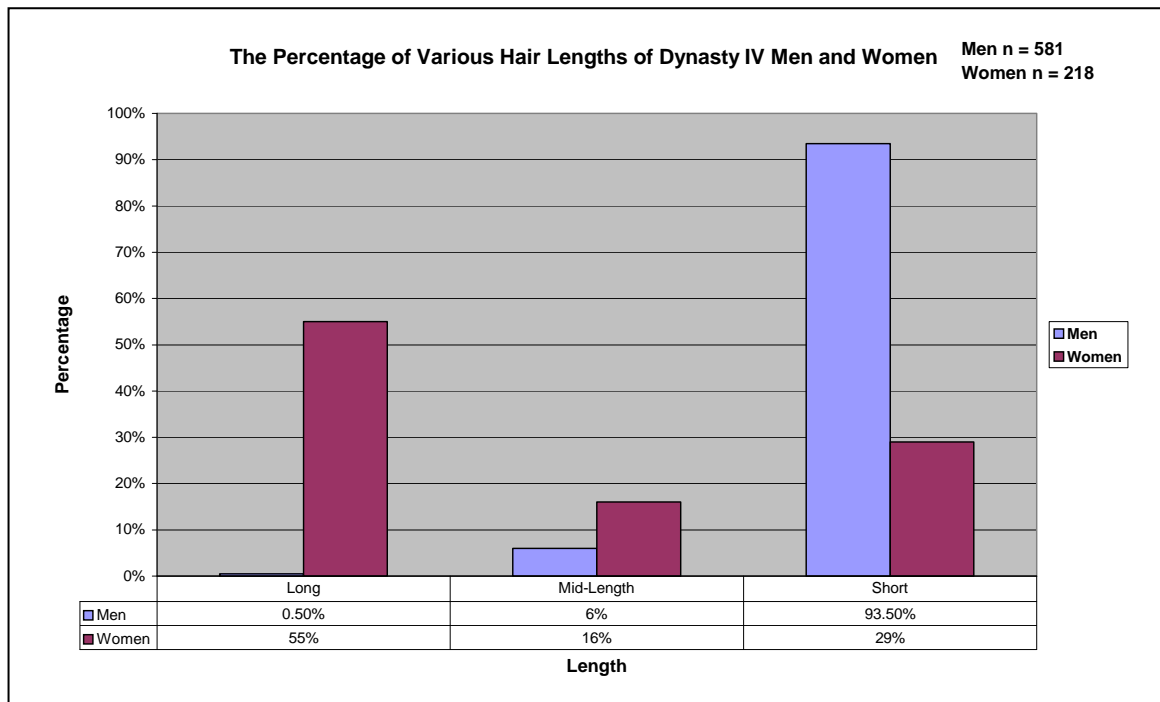


Chart 13. The percentages of Dynasty IV Egyptian men and women with long, mid-length and short hairstyles. Kings wearing crowns (n = 3), women wearing kerchiefs (4), children (n = 32), and an Asiatic (n = 1) have been omitted.

In Dynasty IV six different hairstyles are depicted on women: the cropped (61), jaw-length bob (17), shoulder-length bob (17), tripartite (115), sweptback (5), and the globular style (3). Whereas, men are depicted with eight different hairstyles: the shaved (4), cropped (422), receding (4), short round wavy style (2), short round ringletted (1), short round tiled style (109), shoulder-length bob (36), and the tripartite (3). Compared with Dynasty III the amount of hairstyles is very similar with only women having one more type recorded and men remaining on eight different types. The cropped style is by far the most popular hairstyle for men, although it is mainly worn by the large amount of manual works shown doing various tasks on the tomb-reliefs. The only males depicted with the tripartite style are gods, personified estates and a man termed the *snr-wꜥt* (Friend of the Unique) participating in the *Heb-Sed* festival of Khufu. The short round wavy style and short round ringletted hairstyles are first attested on Egyptian men in this period with one instance each as are depictions of a receding hairline, on four occasions. In comparison with the Early Dynastic the mid-length hairstyle, the shoulder-length bob grows in popularity amongst members of the bureaucracy with 35 instances attested. By far the most popular hairstyle for women was the tripartite style with 115 occurrences, nearly twice the amount of the cropped hairstyle and nearly four times the amount of mid-length hairstyles, the jaw- and shoulder-length bobs.

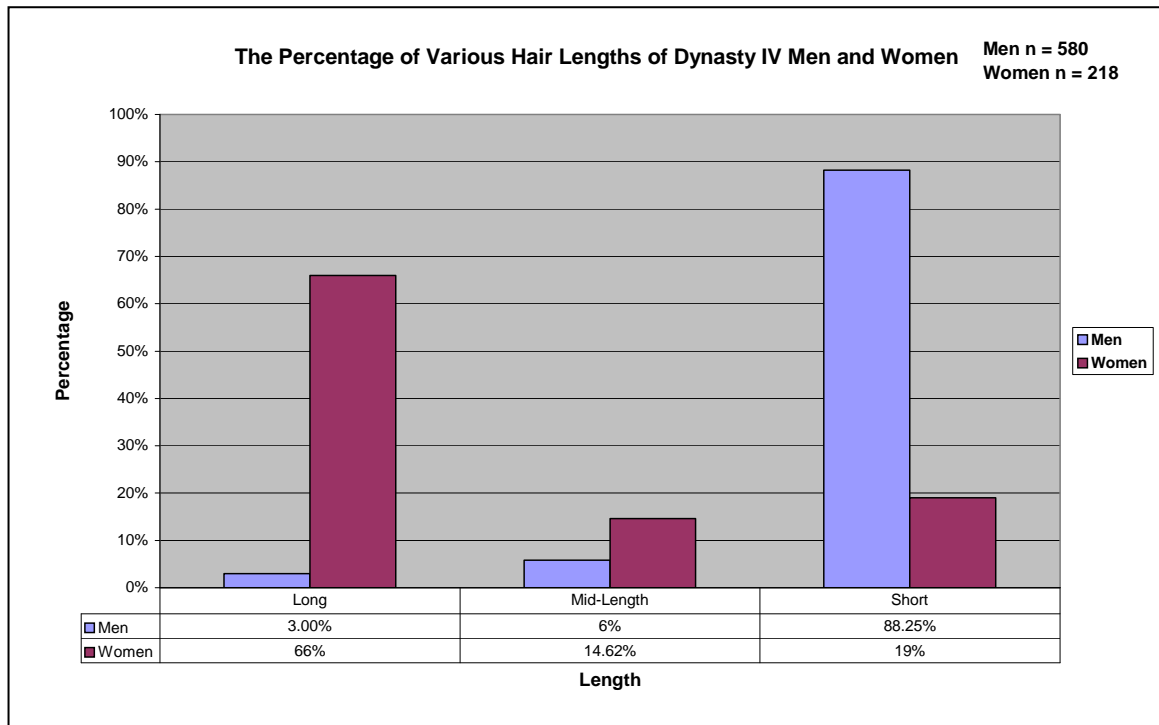


Chart 14. The percentages of Dynasty V Egyptian men and women with long, mid-length and short hairstyles. Kings wearing crowns (n = 11 includes one as a child), women wearing kerchiefs (n = 4), Egyptian children (n = 38), Asiatic children (n = 22), Asiatics (n = 37), Libyans (n = 15), and Nubians (n = 4) have been omitted.

In Dynasty V nine different hairstyles are depicted on women: the cropped (49), short round wavy style (1), jaw-length bob (31), shoulder-length bob (8), tripartite (165), sweptback (9), ball and locks (1), sidelock (1) and the backlock style (2). Whereas, men are depicted with ten different hairstyles: the shaved (1), cropped (947), receding (96), short round wavy style (13), short round curly (2), short round tiled style (510), shoulder-length bob (104), tripartite (38), sweptback (15), and the sidelock (49). Although the amount of both men and women's hairstyles increases from the previous dynasty this is largely accounted for by the increase of depictions of dancers with various lock styles. Although the cropped style remains the most popular hairstyle for men, depictions of the short round tiled style increase greatly during this period, with the other short round styles included rising to 33% of the short styles compared to 20% in Dynasty IV. Apart from the three exceptions described in **Section 6.2** the only males depicted with the tripartite and sweptback styles are gods and personified estates. The mid-length hairstyle, the shoulder-length bob continues to grow in popularity amongst members of the bureaucracy with 104 instances attested. By far the most popular hairstyle for women was the tripartite style with 165 occurrences, over three times the amount of the cropped hairstyle and over four times the amount of mid-length hairstyle, the jaw-length bob.

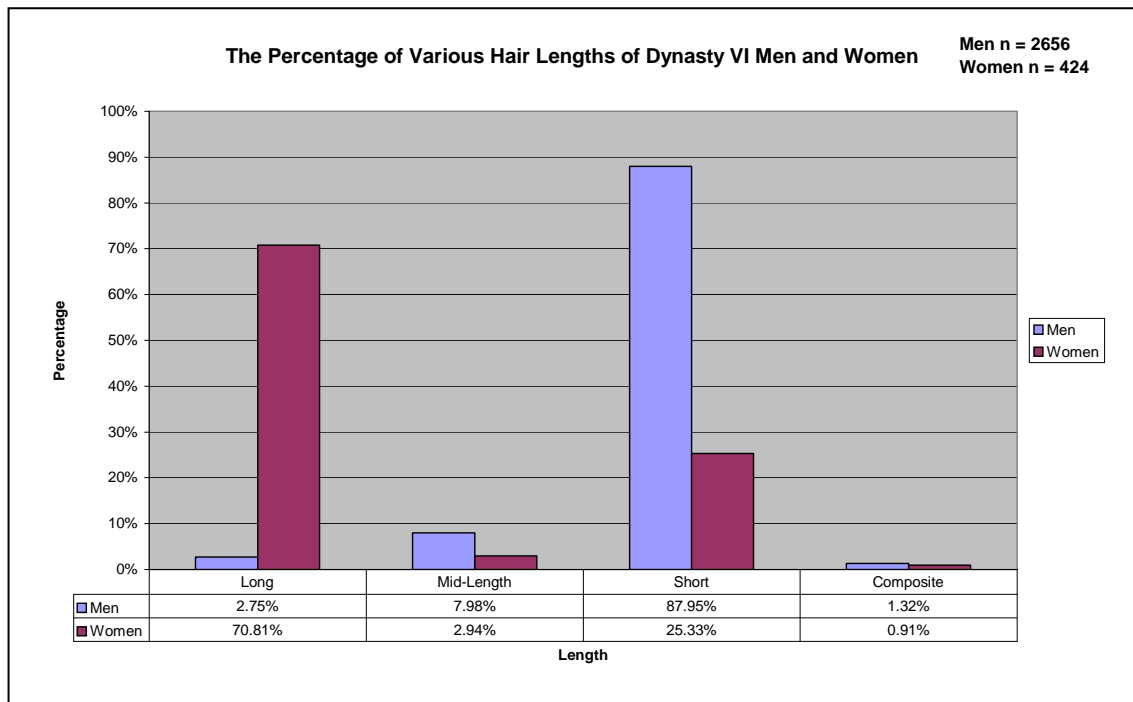


Chart 15. The percentages of Dynasty VI Egyptian men and women with long, mid-length and short hairstyles. Kings wearing crowns (n = 16 includes one as a child), women wearing kerchiefs (n = 2), Egyptian children (n = 6), Asiatics (n = 13), Libyans (n = 14), and Nubians (n = 9) have been omitted.

In Dynasty VI 11 different hairstyles are depicted on women: the cropped (101), short round curly style (1), short round tiled style (1), short round ringletted style (8), jaw-length bob (5), shoulder-length bob (8), tripartite (279), sweptback (1), ball and locks (33), sidelock (4) and the backlock style (1). Whereas, men are depicted with 14 different hairstyles: the shaved (2), cropped (899), receding (39), short round wavy style (1), short round ringletted style (16), short round tiled style (1377), jaw-length bob (1), shoulder-length bob (212), wavy rounded shoulder-length (1), tripartite (48), sweptback (3), backlock (2), ball and locks (20), and the sidelock (35). A further increase in the amount of hairstyles depicted from the previous dynasty occurs, which is largely accounted for by the full range of short round styles being shown. The cropped style has now been overtaken by the short round tiled style as the most popular style for men with 60% of the short styles compared to 40% for the cropped. The only males depicted with the tripartite and sweptback styles are gods and personified estates except for two depictions of Pepy II in his Mortuary Temple at South Saqqara. The mid-length hairstyle, the shoulder-length bob continues to grow in popularity amongst members of the bureaucracy with 212 instances attested. By far the most popular hairstyle for women was the tripartite style with 279 occurrences, nearly three times the amount of the cropped hairstyle. However, depictions of mid-length bob hairstyles are drastically reduced with only 13 occurrences.

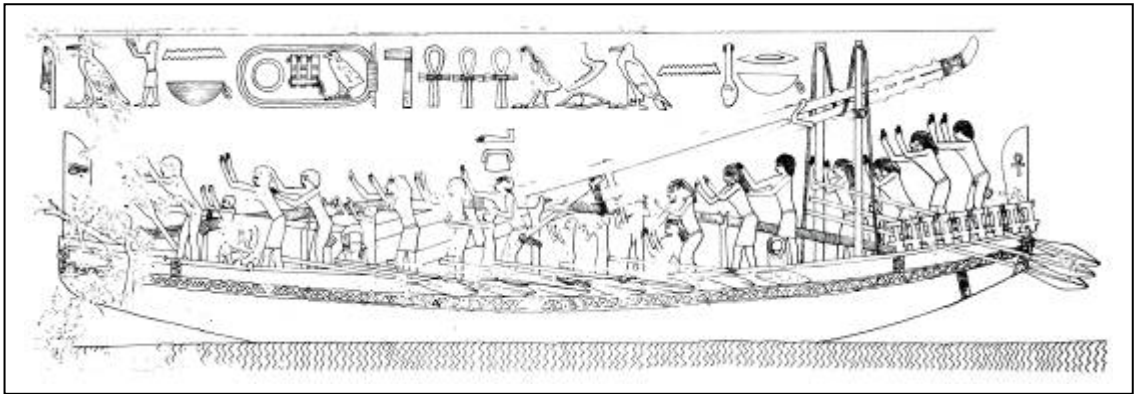


Figure 211. A scene from the mortuary temple of Sahure showing a boat-full of Asiatic prisoners arriving in Egypt (# 164), Dynasty V, Abusir (after Borchardt 1910: Pl. 12).

During the Old Kingdom the distinction between self and others becomes more standardised, particularly in the iconography on the walls of the various royal mortuary temples where scenes show rows of named foreigners paying homage to the king. The means of depicting the various populations – Asiatic, Libyan and Nubian - becomes more standardised (Borchardt 1910; Jéquier 1936-40). The only foreigner included in the study from Dynasty IV is an Asiatic shown with a layered shoulder-length bob being smitten by King Sneferu on a rock inscription in the Wadi Maghara, Sinai (Gardiner & Peet 1955). There are 67 Asiatics recorded in Dynasty V, the vast majority coming from Sahure's mortuary temple. There are eight women depicted with the tripartite style, 22 children all shown with the cropped style and 37 men shown seven with the cropped style, three with the short round tiled style, four are shown with the layered shoulder-length bob and 23 are shown wearing the tripartite style. Fifteen Libyan men are shown, 13 with the tripartite style and two with cropped hair, two Libyan women with the tripartite and an adolescent girl with cropped hair. The four Nubians shown all have the short round tiled style.

The majority of foreigners recorded in Dynasty VI again come from mortuary temple reliefs – those of Pepy II, and show 13 Asiatics, 12 Libyans and nine Nubians. The 13 Asiatic men are shown with the layered shoulder-length bob, two Libyan women are shown with the tripartite style, two Libyan men with cropped hair, eight with the short round tiled style and two with the tripartite. All the Nubian men (9) are shown with the short round tiled style.

Many of the scenes depicted on the mortuary temple reliefs show a milieu of prisoners, some in ships bringing them from their homeland. Therefore, the identification of Asiatics and Libyans with the short round tiled style is slightly dubious

as they may in fact be Egyptian soldiers guarding the Asiatic bounty (see **Fig. 211**). The depictions of the tripartite are not like the neat Egyptian variety but have a dishevelled appearance and are similar to the intricate individual style (20) but the reliefs do not show the detail required for a more positive identification.

The crowns and headdresses depicted on the king are the double crown, *nemes*, Atef crown and the *Seshed* and Uraeus. The majority of depictions of the king included in this work come from the various mortuary temples recorded; no depictions of the king come from the private non-royal tombs investigated. Unlike the Early Dynastic Period the king is rarely shown without a headdress. The rare exceptions to this rule have already been noted in **Section 6.6**.

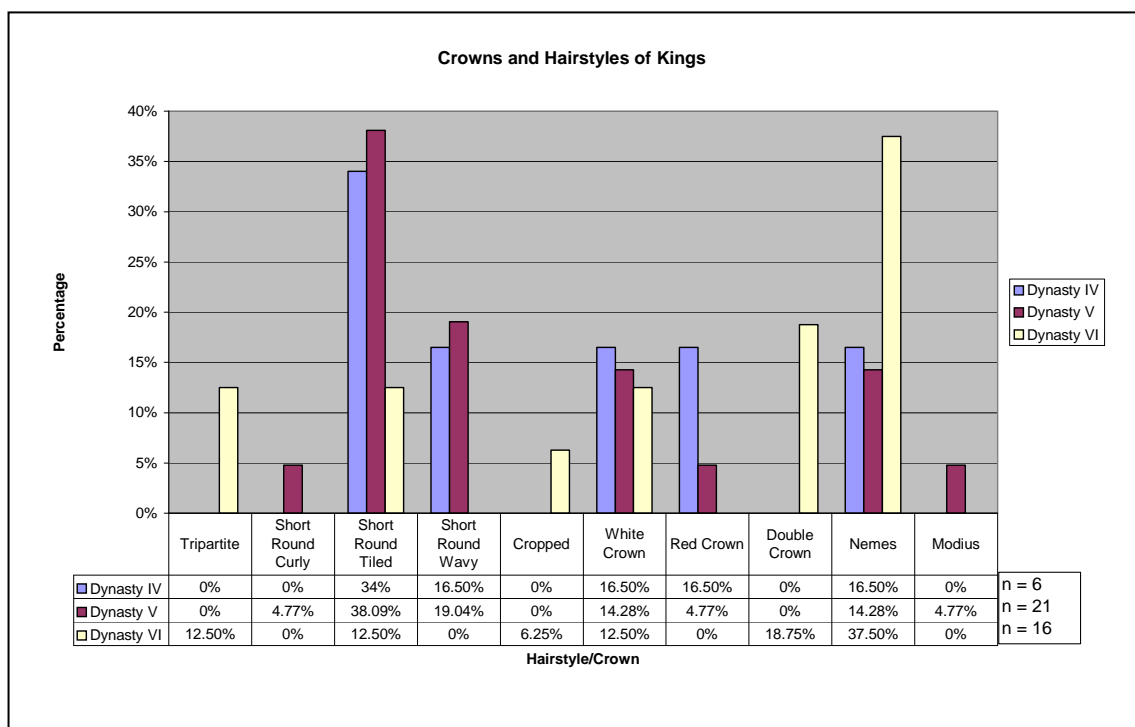


Chart 16. The percentage of different hairstyles and crowns worn by kings from Dynasty IV to VI. In several instances the king will wear the Seshed, as the hairstyle can be seen when wearing the royal circlet the hairstyle has been recoded in this chart.

In **Chart 16** the emphasis is to show the breadth of different hairstyles worn by the king and the codification of the headdresses. The Atef crown is worn by King Sahure, but as he is shown with the short round tiled style in all instances it has been record as the hairstyle. The analysis shows that although the king could wear the tripartite hairstyle the most common forms of hairstyles were the short round hairstyles.

Throughout the Old Kingdom the vast majority of women’s hairstyles were long styles except for senior queens who could be shown with the globular hairstyle. Beginning in Dynasty IV a dichotomy arises between statuary and relief in the depiction

of long and mid-length styles. As already noted in **Chapter 6** women are rarely shown in relief form wearing bob styles and in statuary rarely shown wearing the tripartite or other long styles (see **Chart 17**). The bob loses its popularity in Dynasty VI relative with Dynasty IV and V where it was by far the most popular style in statuary. Towards the end of Dynasty VI the tripartite style become popular on wooden figurines but is still rarely found on stone statuary. Depictions of the cropped hairstyle gradually increase from Dynasty IV to VI, growing from 5 to 20%.

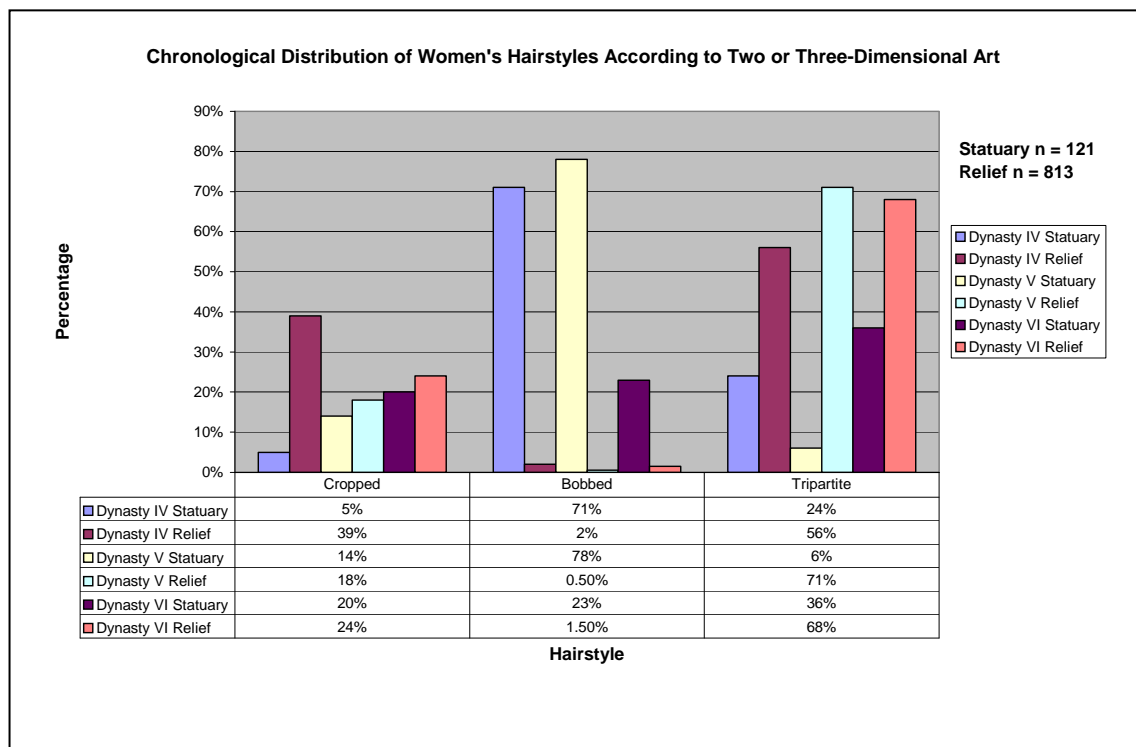


Chart 17. The temporal distribution of the cropped, bobbed and tripartite style depicted on women in two- and three-dimensional art during the Old Kingdom. The less popular hairstyles were omitted to give a clearer indication of how the most popular hairstyles are distributed. Statuary in this analysis consists of both wooden and stone and also includes figurines. The percentages are those of the total females depicted in either statuary or relief.

In Dynasty IV the cropped hairstyles were by far the most popular styles depicted being worn by men followed by the short round styles and lastly the bobbed styles. However, by Dynasty VI a reversal in the popularity between the cropped and short round styles can be observed (see **Chart 18**), with the short round style becoming the most popular. In Dynasty VI there is also a slight increase in the popularity of the bobbed hairstyle for men. This not only reflects the gradual demotisation and bureaucratisation from the end of Dynasty IV (Assmann 2002: 48-52; Malek 2000: 114-7; Swinton 2003) and the fact that low ranking officials were now allowed to wear the short round styles indicates a widening of the boundaries of the sumptuary laws.

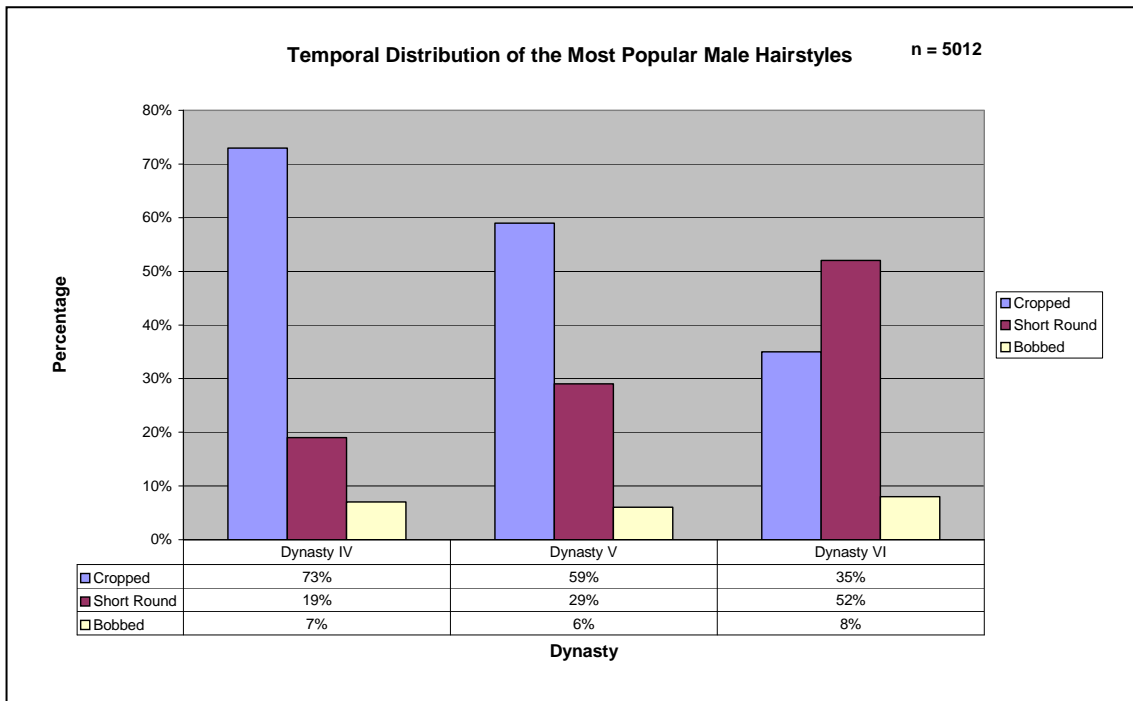


Chart 18. The temporal distribution of the cropped, short round, and bobbed styles depicted on men during the Old Kingdom. The less popular hairstyles were omitted to give a clearer indication of how the most popular hairstyles are distributed. The percentages are those of the total males depicted.

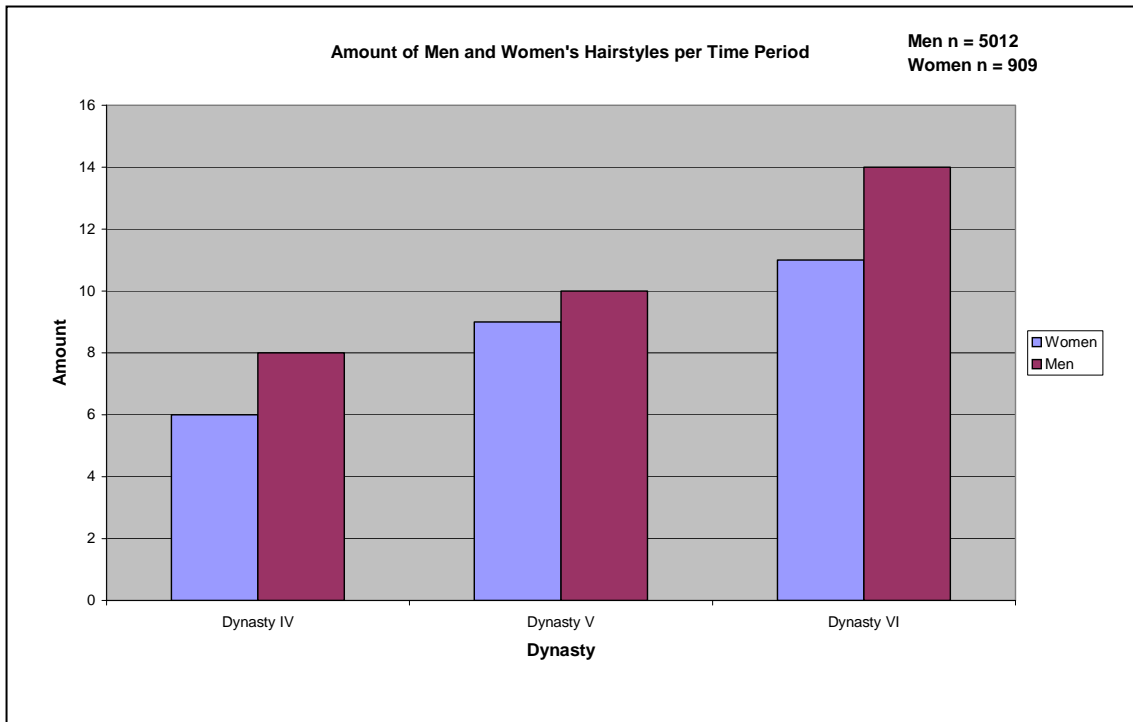


Chart 19. The amount of different hairstyles per period.

Throughout the Old Kingdom men had the greater array of hairstyles, which could be explained by the fact that over five times the amount of males are recorded but also reflects the pattern of the Early Dynastic Period (see **Chart 19**). Also women from

Dynasty IV to VI are more likely to have the longest hairstyles (see **Chart 20**), contra Fletcher (1995) who states that it is arbitrary as to which sex has the longer hairstyle.

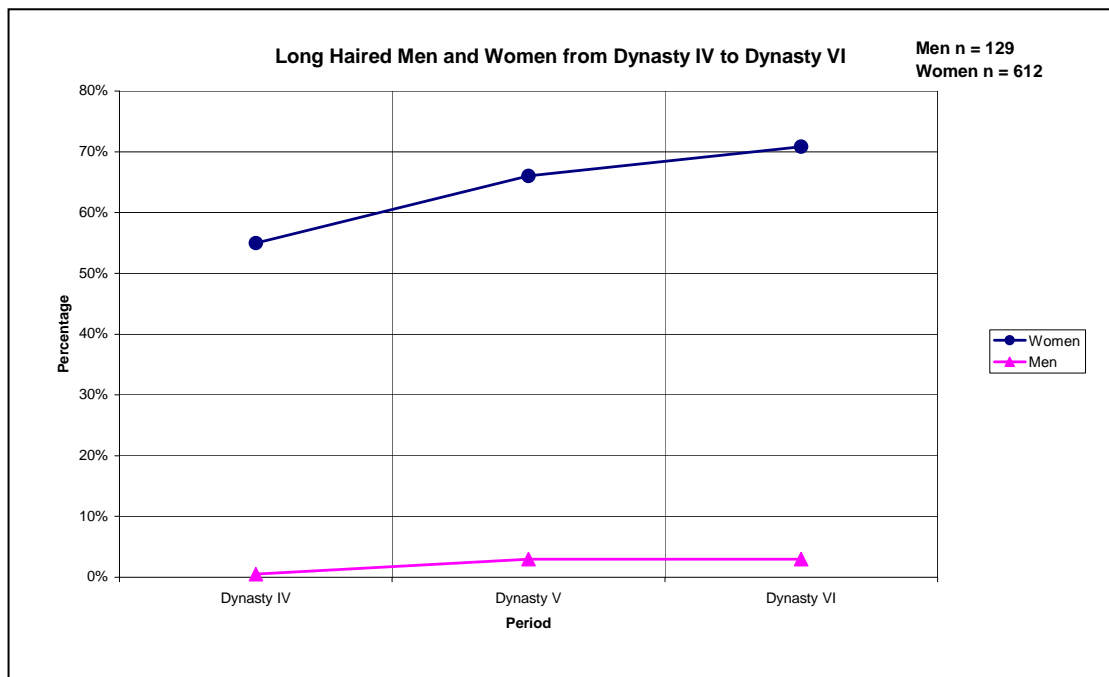


Chart 20. Long hair of men and women from Dynasty IV to Dynasty VI.

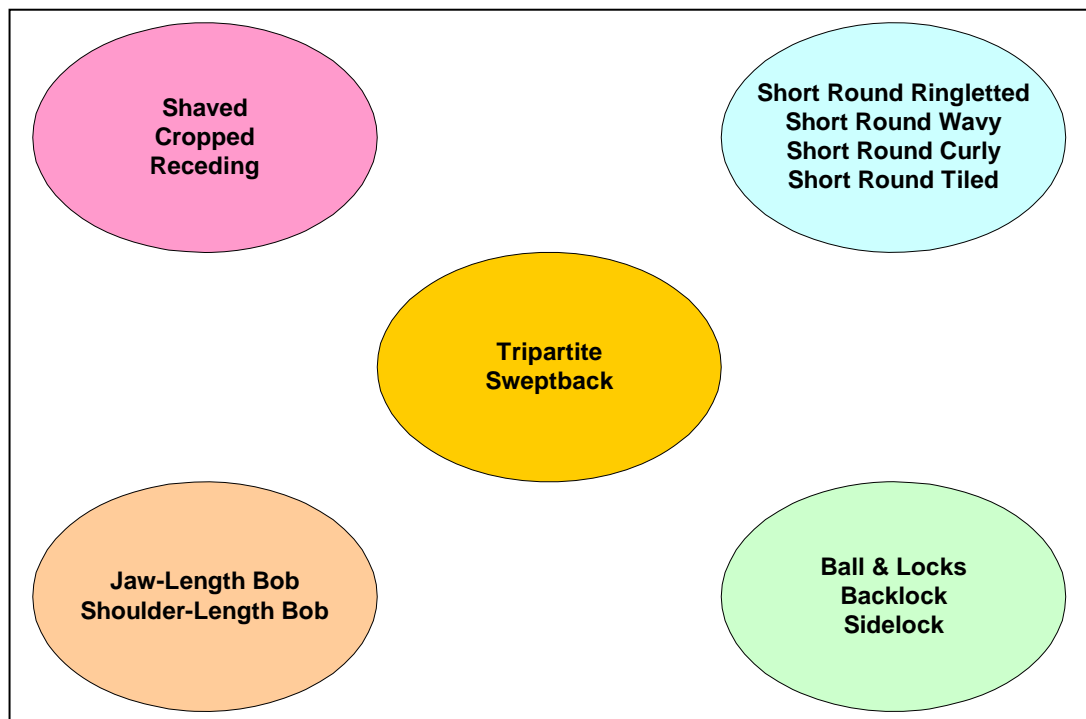


Figure 212. The grouping of the various codified Old Kingdom styles in to the five main categories.

Although the amount of hairstyles for both men and women increases throughout the Old Kingdom this is largely due to variations of the five basic codified styles (see **Fig. 212**). As the bureaucracy and people needed for the running of the Old

Kingdom expanded and became more complex, more variations in hairstyles were required to denote status. The variations that occurred in the basic hairstyles combined already existing elements and so were compatible with the state ideology and the already existing codified styles. Some of the developments in hairstyles may have been motivated by a reassertion of status by higher officials.

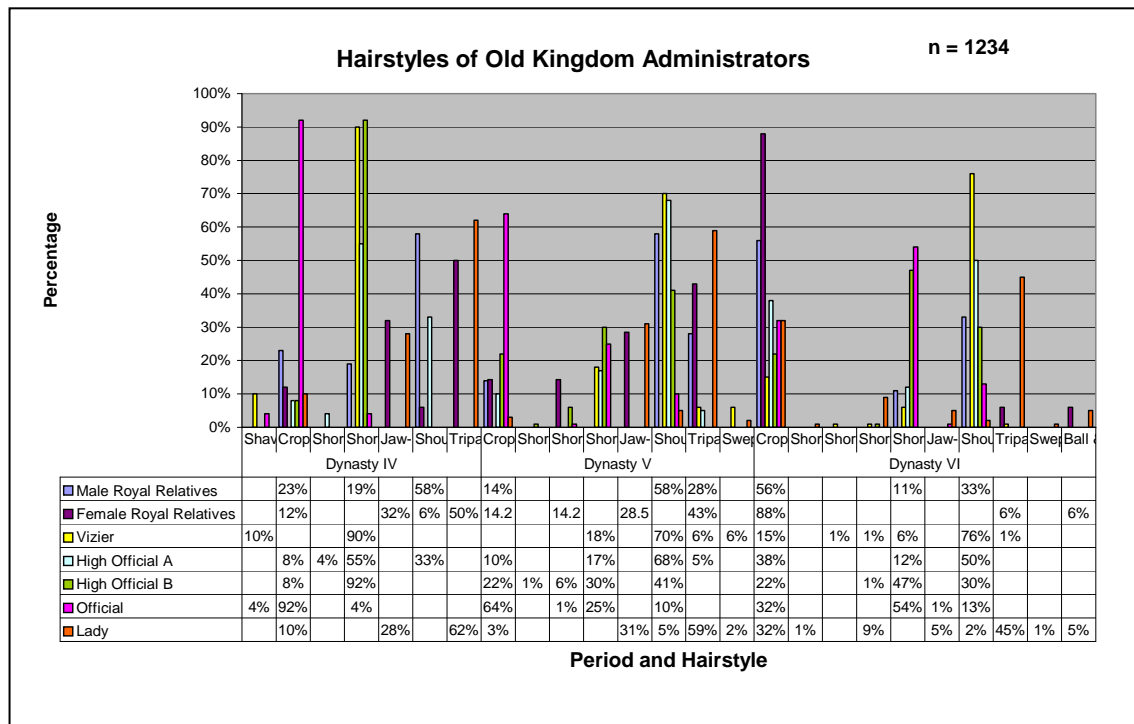


Chart 21. Distribution of various hairstyle types amongst the administrative segments of society. The viziers of Dynasty VI include one female with a tripartite hairstyle.

In the Old Kingdom 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 greatly increased from the Early Dynastic Period. Therefore, it becomes a little easier to place people into categories. In Dynasty IV, apart from one man termed the Friend of the Unique participating in the *Heb-Sed* festival of Khufu, the tripartite is only worn by women and both male and female deities (and although no deceased kings are recorded wearing it earlier, later evidence suggests they probably did). As it is uncertain what role this Friend of the Unique played he has been omitted from the analysis in **Chart 21**. Compared with the Early Dynastic the sweptback style is rarely worn by men and women to denote status. The only male official with the sweptback style is the Dynasty V Vizier Rashepses, who is shown wearing a corn-rowed layered version on a statue depicted being moved on his tomb-reliefs (see **Fig. 127**). Apart from a son of Idu (Dynasty VI) who is shown pulling at the

front of his long 'sweptback' hair all other men shown wearing this style in the Old Kingdom are fecundity figures. The highest officials of Dynasty IV were usually members of the royal family (Kanawati 2003) and so those that are included in the vizier and High Official A columns are those where no direct genealogical relationship can be made with other members of the royal family but does not negate their royal status. Although Harpur (1987: 241) proposes a tentative genealogical relationship for Ankhhaf, Hemiunu and Nefermaat with Sneferu this has by no means been proven. The most popular hairstyle for the viziers was the short round tiled style, the shaved being reserved for portly figures of them in old age. The shoulder-length bob was the most popular hairstyle for male royal relatives (58%) followed by the cropped hairstyle (23%), which again is mainly worn when they are shown as elderly. For both categories of high officials the short round tiled style is the most popular hairstyle, with the highest officials having the shoulder-length bob as the next most popular and the and the lower high officials the cropped. The cropped hairstyle was the most popular (92%) for low ranking officials. Ladies of the court are mainly shown wearing the tripartite style and to a lesser degree the jaw-length bob, a pattern followed by princesses.

In Dynasty V it was not the preserve of direct royal relatives to hold top official positions, although some of the top officials married princesses (Kanawati 2003). 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 shoulder-length bob for the viziers. The shoulder-length bob remained the most popular with male royal relatives, with 58%, although Seshemnefer IV an Honorary Prince is twice depicted with the tripartite style. The shoulder-length bob is also the most popular hairstyle for the highest officials (68%), with the short round tiled style (17%) being the second most popular. With the High Official B group, the shoulder-length bob is still the most popular (41%), but the ratio with the short round tiled (30%) is much less. For the low officials the cropped style (64%) remains the most popular but the gap between it and the short round tiled style is much reduced (25%), and for the first time the shoulder-length bob starts to be worn (10%). Only three female royal relatives are recorded for Dynasty V, Princess Khekeretnebtj is shown three times with the tripartite and once with the cropped style and ribbons, while Princess Hedjetnebu is only shown wearing the short round wavy style, and two statues of Princess Meresankh show her with the jaw-length bob. The tripartite style (59%) remains the most popular for ladies of the court with the jaw-length bob (31%) becoming more popular.

In Dynasty VI political intrigues (Kanawati 2003) meant a further move away from royal relatives holding top administrative positions and also an increase in the bureaucratic institutions and their personnel (Assmann 2002). More of the top officials were married to princesses (Kanawati (2003) to tie them into the royal family and an allegiance to the king. The shoulder-length bob (76%) is by the most popular hairstyle for viziers, with the cropped style (15%) mainly being worn when they wanted to show blessed old age. Viziers could also be shown with the short round tiled style (6%) and variations there of. One vizier, Nebet, the female vizier of Upper Egypt is shown wearing the tripartite style. The most popular hairstyle for the highest officials remains the shoulder-length bob (50%) with the cropped remaining the second most popular (38%). The short round tiled style (47%) becomes the most popular hairstyle for the slightly lower ranking officials with the shoulder-length style being the next most popular (30%). For the first time the short round tiled style becomes the most popular hairstyle for low officials (54%), with the cropped style being the second most popular (32%). The tripartite remains the most popular style for ladies (45%); however the analysis of the hairstyles worn by the princesses of this dynasty is slightly more complicated due to honorific cedence to lower ranking men in the same scene. Many of the high officials, such as Mereruka, Isi and Kagemni were married to a princess. When the couple are shown together the wife is usually shown with either cropped hair (88%) or the ball and lock style (6%), except Merefnebef and his wife Seshseshet where the princess is shown with the tripartite and her husband the short round curly style. When shown at the funerary repast or on her own the wife/princess could be shown wearing the tripartite style. However, there is a general rise in women wearing the cropped hairstyle (see **Chart 17**).

A highly stylised beard, the square goatee, that occurs on one male official from the end of Dynasty III (...kawer, see **Fig. 81.153**), starts to be worn more frequently in Dynasty IV, by Princes, such as Khufukhaf, Iunka, Iunu, Wetka and Wepemnefer. The popularity of this style of facial hair continues to grow in Dynasty V, with officials such as Ptahhotep, Ptahshepses, Nefer, Qar and Akhethotep all shown wearing it, as are Mereruka, Idu, Ankhmahor and Pepyankh of Dynasty VI. Although it can be shown being worn with the short round tiled style, it is most frequently worn with the shoulder-length bob. This appears to be another means of delineating the high officials from the lower ranks.

6.8 Synthesis

This chapter has demonstrated how the institutional canon for hairstyles, formed during the Early Dynastic, continued in the Old Kingdom. As the administrative institutions expanded along with the officials needed to run them, so greater emulation of the codified hairstyles are observed. No totally new hairstyles emerged in the Old Kingdom just variations of the codified hairstyles created in the Early Dynastic. These variations, such as the short round wavy or ringletted styles emerged to differentiate higher officials from lower ones. In Dynasty IV the low officials predominately had cropped hair, but by Dynasty VI they had emulated the higher officials and adopted the short round tiled style to identify themselves as part of the administration. Coinciding with the uptake of the short round tiled style by lower officials is the increased use of the shoulder-length bob by the high officials. This style also tends to start flaring out at the sides during the same period. The regalia of royalty also developed in this period. The depictions of males from the lower segments of society usually show them with cropped hair throughout the Old Kingdom. Until Dynasty VI the tripartite remained the most popular hairstyle for women from all classes. Not enough female royal relatives are recorded for Dynasty V, but in Dynasty VI the cropped style becomes the most popular amongst princesses. The jaw-length bob, particularly in statuary, gains popularity in Dynasty IV and V. Although children can be shown with the shaved or cropped styles the sidelock of youth is used by the elite to delineate their offspring. Deities are almost exclusively shown wearing the tripartite hairstyle with the gods' version being depicted as slightly shorter than the goddesses'.

Dynasty IV seems to continue the pattern established in the Early Dynastic continuing the codification of hairstyles. Subtle stylistic changes seem to occur at the beginning of Dynasty V (Cherpion 1998) and an increase in the percentage of shoulder-length bobs being worn by officials and a wider variety of hairstyles being worn by both men and women is also observed. At the end of Dynasty V three high official men, Itti, Rashepses, and Seshemnefer IV, are shown wearing the tripartite style. At the end of Dynasty V political problems and possibly civil unrest seems to occur (Fay 1986: 22) with a break in the royal lineage between Niuserre and Menkauhor (Dodson & Hilton 2005: 64-7). A new design and layout of the pyramid complex was established by Djedkare-Isesi and pyramid texts added by Unas, innovations followed by the rulers of Dynasty VI (Lehner 1997: 156). The second Old Kingdom art form also emerged during this period. The use of the tripartite hairstyle on *ka* statues of these high officials

reflects these turbulent and changing times and possibly denotes changes in religious practice (see **chapters 7 & 8**). As already noted, during Dynasty VI there is an increase in the amount of officials and a gradual decentralisation of power. Shorter versions of the short round styles occur more frequently and in statuary the atrophy of the crown area reaches its full extent (Cherpion 1998). Although there are more hairstyle types during this period, the overall picture is one of less flamboyance and conservatism in hairstyles with the art generally showing more naturalism.

PART THREE

Interpretation and Conclusions

THE SYMBOLIC, SOCIAL AND RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HAIR AND HAIRSTYLES

7.0 Theorising Hair

Some scholars (i.e. Hallpike 1969; Leach 1958; Morris 1985) have tried to create an all encompassing theory to try to explain the meaning of hair in society. Leach (1958) regards symbols as being about the subconscious, which are assumed to be similar in members of every culture. A second type of universal symbolism, which is used by Hallpike (1969), is attributed to humanities place in the world and a common concern of differing societies with survival, the nature of the physical environment, procreation and the social role of the sexes, youth and age, order and chaos (Hallpike 1969: 256). Leach (1958) uses the first kind of theory to explain the meaning of hair, making a symbolic correlation between the hair on the head and the pubic hair around the *male* genitalia. This type of general theorising not only denies the different ideologies over space and time, but also shows a lack of enlightenment of not only the first wave of feminism but of the social controls placed on women (and men) by Christianity (see below and I Corinthians II: 14-15). Both Leach (1958) and Hallpike (1969) are firmly entrenched within their philosophical era, with each showing a Eurocentric bias and a tendency to over-play cross-cultural studies. An example of this bias is blatantly obvious in this passage from Hallpike (1969: 261):

‘We may consider three categories of person who are, in Western society, generally credited with long hair – intellectuals, juvenile rebels against society and women. It is not difficult to see that in various ways they are, or are thought to be, in some respects less subject to social control than the average man...Anchorites, witches, intellectuals, hippies and women all have long hair, but there is no single quality which they have in common besides negative the one of being partially or wholly outside society’.

In almost every culture, men and women dress their hair in distinct masculine and feminine styles. Hair of course has universal traits, as Hallpike (1969: 257) points out, and various societies throughout time have noticed these qualities.

The primary quality that hair has is that:

1. Hair grows, continually regenerating itself

Secondary qualities are:

2. Different types and textures of hairs cover the entire body
3. Genital hair appears during puberty
4. It can be cut painlessly
5. Males of different populations to a greater or lesser extent grow facial or chest hair during puberty
6. In youth hair is shiny, healthy and free of grey hairs and baldness
7. In old age hair often turns white and/or falls out
8. Babies are usually born with a certain amount of hair on their heads

Leach (1958) holds that while body symbols, like hair, may be psychogenetic, when they become a part of public culture they lose unconscious motivational significance for those who employ them in public social life. The primary function of public symbols is communicative rather than psychological, individuals may borrow public symbols to conceptualise and express private complexes. 'Doing so provides them with an avenue whereby their complexes can be integrated in public cultural understandings and whereby the alienated individual can be reintegrated into society. Cultural meaning systems are continually reinvented by this integrative process, since the articulation of private complexes with public symbols results in the creative adaptation of the pertinent public symbols' (Mageo 1994: 409). Leach (1958) also proffered the theory that the hair on the heads of human's was associated with sexuality in a wide range of societies, and that:

Head = phallus

Hair = semen

Hair-cutting = castration

And that:

Long hair = unrestrained sexuality

Short hair = restricted sexuality

Close shaven hair = celibacy

'It has been suggested that the hair of the head is seen as the inverse or mirror image of pubic hair on the genitals, and often provokes powerful emotions' (Sutherland 1978: 76). Medusa's head in Greek mythology is often regarded as symbolic of female genitalia and her tangled hair represents the female pubic hair, and the terrifying female powers of entrapment (Slater 1992: 16-20). Mageo (1994: *passim*) examined hair in Samoan society and concluded that Samoan girl's hairdos in pre-Christian times

signified a set of cultural messages about her sex role. She observed that the management of hair is a symbol for the control of sexuality, and the control of sexuality is a symbol for other forms of social control (Mageo 1994: 423). Hallpike (1969) rejects Leach's theory mainly on grounds that it does not fit all the evidence, particularly that of anchorites, hermits and other holy men who may grow their hair very long; and also brings in the 'evidence' of women, hippies, and intellectuals as having long hair as not fitting the theory. Although as Mageo (1994) and Obeyesekere (1984) demonstrate this can be a means of controlling sexuality. There are of course many other categories of people that do not fit the theory, such as indigenous Americans, Sikhs, and judges who wear long wigs, an archaic custom originating from seventeenth and eighteenth century European officials and other elite. Hallpike (1969: 261-2) advanced the theory that: long hair is a symbol of being outside of society, of having less to do with society, and of being less amenable to social control and more animalistic.

Long hair = Being outside of societies rules

Cutting off of the hair = re-entering societies disciplinary regime

Cutting or grooming the hair = social control

In certain societies to cut ones hair would be seen as being outside of social rules. Sikhs are bound by their religion to never cut their hair, believing that the way God made humans is the way they should remain. For Sikhs hair is the symbol of love for God and the respect for everything He has given us (Complete Sikhism Resource Site 2007). Whereas, certain indigenous American tribes believe that their memories are kept in their hair and will only cut it off during mourning, however, gendered hairstyles are still used to differentiate the status of the individual in the manner in which it is dressed (T. Gunter *Pers Comm.* 2007). Buddhist monks living in monasteries often use hair as a metaphor for humanity's illusion or ignorance, so it is called the 'weeds of ignorance.' Thus, cutting the hair implies symbolically getting rid of ignorance, of useless worldly desires and illusions – the loss of vanity associated with hair and negative, unproductive thought (Yalman 1962). It makes practitioners examine themselves and awaken their own consciousness. The body and the mind should be kept clean in order to reach the final aim of true understanding (Yalman 1962). Thus shaving the hair represents a sort of determination to keep the body and the mind clean and then to attain enlightenment and save all beings. Although as Obeyesekere (1984: 40-4) points out shaving one's hair is merely a requirement, voluntarily undertaken, of joining a monastery, which an individual may do for a host of reasons. Obeyesekere (1984) in studying the symbolism of the long matted hair of mainly female Sinhalese Buddhist

ecstasies observed them not as just being symbolic representations of demons and gods, hair taking a serpentine form, but as a gift from the gods, and an externalisation of an inner problematic, a symbolic forming of the Gorgon within. This psychological dynamic is fuelled among others by sexual repression, parental neglect, and guilt, which motivate their selections and elaborations within the symbolic world

Morris (1985) observes, in some society's men have long flowing locks and women cropped or shaven heads, in others vice-versa. Morris (1985), building on the previous two scholars work (Leach 1958; Hallpike 1969), states that within various human folklores two distinct types of hair symbolism have arisen. Firstly, that the length of a man's hair reflects his virility or power, and possibly his holiness so to shave his head would be an act of humility, a metaphor for castration. The most famous account of hair being a symbol of strength and that being shorn was a sign of weakness is the Biblical account in the Book of Judges, where Samson's hair was the symbol of his power, being done in 'seven locks' (Judges, 16: 13). In the words of Samson 'If I be shaven, then will my strength leave me' (Judges 16: 17). Samson was not alone in wearing his hair like this, for it was a trait of all Nazirites (a Jew who had taken an ascetic vow) to have long hair and beard (Thiering 1992: 73). For Essenes, such as Jesus, the wearing of long hair and beard symbolised their celibate state, although at times when Jesus fulfilled the dynastic order [of David] he would have shaved his beard and cut his hair (Thiering 1992: 73-4).

The second type of hair symbolism is that which most of the Western world has inherited: that of short hair for men and longer hair for women. The idea that women's long hair equates to sexuality and nature and men's short hair equates to restraint and culture has grown out of this ideology (Ortner 1974). The Christian attitudes toward modesty (and therefore hair and clothing) appear to have originated from the fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of Christianity in Europe (Barnard 1996: 51), when overtly zealous interest in the body (one's own or someone else's) detracted from the message of salvation of the soul and spiritual enlightenment. Therefore, the erogenous areas needed to be covered and hidden away. In the Christian era of the first century A.D. St. Paul set down in the letters to the Corinthians "And does not nature itself teach you that it is a disgrace for a man to have long hair, but it is a woman's glory to have long hair" (I Corinthians II: 14-15), and so it was that men's short hair should be a glory to God, whilst women's long hair should be a glory to man, but only her husband, and at all other times it should either be covered or tied up. "Paul held that a man covering his

head to pray dishonoured it, while a woman unveiled dishonoured hers, the former by wearing a badge as it were of inferiority though he is supreme over created things, the latter because she would not seem better than a harlot punishable as such by having her head shaven" (Williams 1962: 960). Women having to cover their hair because of the danger from angels, an unveiled women on the spiritual plane which she has entered during prayer is more vulnerable to the angelic forces i.e. fallen angels who become demons [like Lilith], and as such are "sexually libidinous", wearing a veil would be her protection and authority against these forces and temptations (Conzelmann 1975: 189; Williams 1962: 960). A woman showing her long flowing locks in public was thought of as a loose woman, a lowly creature. However, it may be that these dictates were another step to prevent women entering the priesthood and distance the new religion from the Mesopotamian practice of temple prostitution – *harimûtum* (Postgate1994: 106). Although Paul's arguments are weak in a theological sense, as well as subjugating and sexually repressing women, this form of social control was sufficiently revered "for the custom of women being 'covered' in church being maintained in Britain until the Second World War" (Williams 1962: 961), and right up to the present day in some areas of the world.

The custom of men having short hair and women long seems to have been strongly influenced by Rome. Before the Third Century BC most Roman men had long hair and beards, but after, with the introduction of barbers beards seem to disappear and shorter styles prevail (Adkins & Adkins 1994: 346). Adolescents would grow their beards until they were full and then shave them off in the rites of passage into adulthood (A. Gardiner *pers comm.* 2007). Beards again became fashionable with men during the time of Hadrian (Adkins & Adkins 1994: 346). Roman women generally had long hair, originally styled in a simple manner but by Augustan times it was being styled in a mass of curls and plaits piled high on the head, although less elaborate styles were again employed from the mid-second century AD (Adkins & Adkins 1994: 346). The Romans in their hairstyling traditions were in turn influenced by the Greeks. Among both Greeks and Romans the slaves had their hair cut close as a mark of servitude, but also to rid them of any parasites such as lice (Becker 1911: 380; Böttiger 1803: 138). St. Paul stating that Christian men should have short hair as a sign of piety and servitude to God was in juxtaposition to cropped hair as a sign of servitude to their Roman masters. God had now taken the place of the emperor as being worthy of worship, thus using the Roman hair symbolism to his advantage. When out in public prostitutes in ancient Roman would wear the *μίτρα* (mitra) a broad band of rich cloth of different colours,

which was wound round the hair, and was worn in various ways and may, therefore, be compared to the modern turban. Only the prostitutes' clients would get to see their hair down. St. Paul used this symbolism in his directives to women, but instead of their clients it was only women's husband's that could see their hair loose.

However, from the observable attributes of hair (listed above) a cognitive schema can be proposed:

Long, glossy hair = youth = vitality, potency, fertility, and also piety

Grey, balding hair = old age = frailty, impotency, infertility, and also purity

Cut, styled hair = social control = within society

Dishevelled, unkempt hair = no social control = outside of society

7.1 Theorising Ancient Egyptian Hair

The development of ancient Egyptian hairstyles reflects the development in the ideology; for they were part of the materialisation of that ideology. A central tenet of that ideology was the maintenance of order (Baines & Yoffee 1998). Therefore, hairstyles helped organise and maintain order in society. Part of this ordering of society was the preservation of its hierarchical state, which also includes the gods and the dead and crucially includes the king as a special category (Baines & Yoffee 2000: 14). The ideology of the early state was not completed with the founding of the First Dynasty but was a process that underwent continual negotiations throughout the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom. The ruling elite, who have access to the gods and privileged dead, must portray themselves as creditable participants in this process (Baines & Yoffee 2000: 14). The ruling elite needed the assistance of the king to help them gain eternal life with the stars. The king being responsible for his subjects, when he joined Re in the celestial realm sought to take his subjects with him (Grimal 1992: 128). The king's subjects welcoming his guardianship in ensuring an afterlife would place their tombs in close proximity to their king's (Grimal 1992: 128; Roth 1993).

The symbolism behind ancient Egyptian hairstyles is the materialisation of the state ideology. All body symbols are "multi-vocal," having an unlimited number of potential meanings. As a part of local symbol systems, hair has significances that are only local, although other attributes are shared symbolism (Mageo 1994: 421). As such ancient Egyptian hair symbolism does not easily fit into Leach's, Hallpike's or Morris' theories, as it is temporally and culturally reliant, but based on the cognitive schema outlined above based on the observable attributes of hair a coherent theory can be advanced.

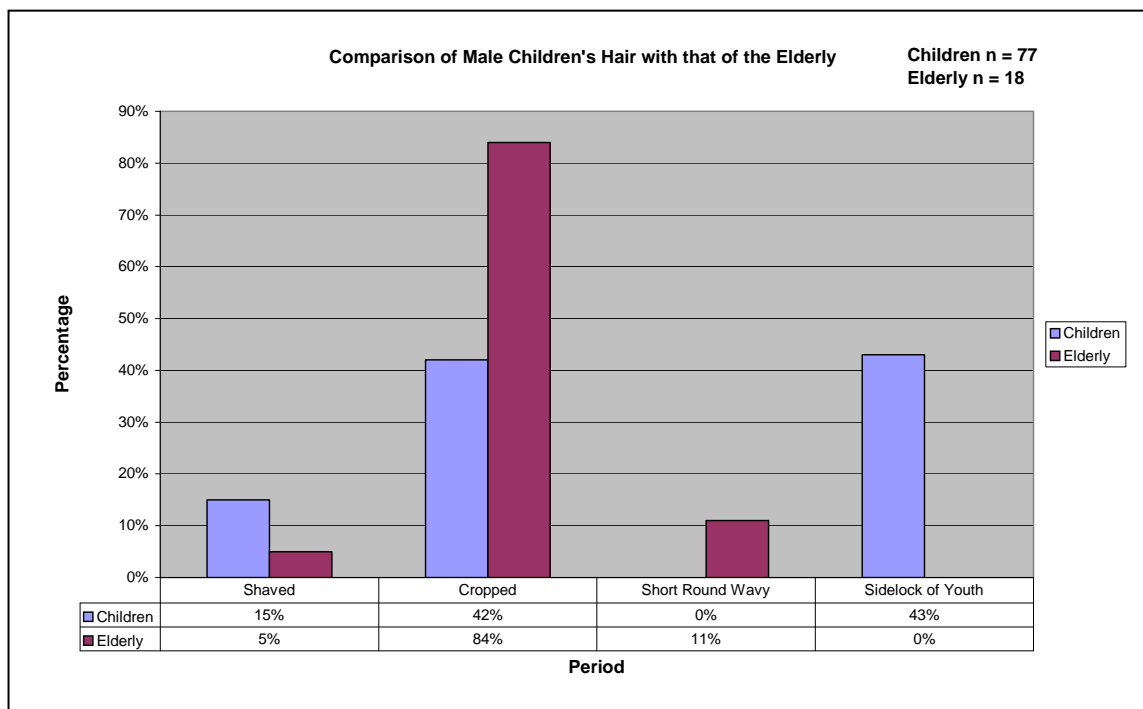



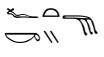

Chart 22. A comparison of boys' hairstyles with those of old men. Children dressed as adults (n = 1) and princes with crowns (n = 2) have been omitted.

One of the most potent images of hair symbolism is that encountered in the smiting scenes found on many royal monuments, one of the earliest being the Narmer Palette. The smiting scene showed the king grasping an enemy by the hair with one hand and raising a club in the other, which can be seen as an act of subjugation (Dayagi-Mendels 1989: 60). This act of smiting can also be seen as exercising control over the defeated foes sexuality and potency, and as such is a symbol for other forms of social control. This scene of controlling a person by grasping their hair on a higher level of symbolism represents the king's control over chaos (Hall 1986).

The colour of a person's hair is also very important in its symbolism, although it could be ambivalent depending partly on the context of its use (DuQuesne 1996: 16). The mummified remains indicate that the natural colour of the majority of ancient Egyptians hair was brown to very dark brown, although red and blonde hair was also found in very small quantities (Brunton 1937; 1948; Fletcher 1995; Lythgoe & Dunham 1965; Tassie 1997). The two most popular colours used for depicting hair in art were black and to a lesser extent blue (Fletcher 1995; Mackay 1918). Potions using the blood or other parts of a powerful black animal, such as a bull were used to try and restore a person's greying hair to the colour of their youth (Watterson 1991: 112). Black was also the ideal colour for hair in literature as attested to by this extract of Middle Kingdom poetry: 'Black is her hair, blacker than night, than the berries of the thorn bush' (Garetto 1955: 73). Moreover, the determinative in the word for black - *km* 𓀀𓀁𓀂 is a triple

braid, which may be the most indicative of all the pointers that the preferred and natural colour for hair was black. Egyptians associated black with the fertile land around the River Nile, from whence Egypt got its name *kmt* , which was derived from the word for black, although the Egyptians believed that it was the water which turned the earth black (DuQuesne 1996: 22). Therefore, black hair can be seen as signifying fertility and potency, the natural colour of the majority of ancient Egyptians youthful hair.

Red was particularly ambivalent, and generally not favoured, except as the colour of the pharaoh's 'Northern Crown' where it represented power. Red could indicate 'dreadful violence', or 'perverse wickedness'. Red-haired men, ginger dogs and donkeys were accursed; a red thing was considered a noxious thing, and the scribes would write in red ink the words of ill omen (Contini 1965: 21). The Egyptians associated red with the desert and its wildlife, the desert being called the red-land *dšrt*, the dwelling place of Seth, and those with red-hair were deemed to be evil and were referred to as 'red-haired forms' and 'Companions of Seth' (Desroches-Noblecourt in Paris 1985: 390). Red is also associated with blood, as demonstrated by the painting of the knot of Isis red (DuQuesne 1996: 17). However, these were not the only views of red-hair, for contrasting this is a phrase from the *Book of the Dead* which describes one of the Seven Cows of Hathor as 'much beloved, red of hide' - *wrt mrwt.s dsrt snw* (Faulkner 1985: spell 148). Red, like yellow and gold have solar associations, and were therefore associated with the God Re (DuQuesne 1996).

Examining the hairstyles of male individuals at the two extremes of society – children and those in blessed old age a pattern emerges. Both boys and the old men are predominately shown with cropped or shaved hair. The sidelock of youth, which consisted of a long plait with the rest of the hair either cropped or shaved, starts to be worn by children in the Old Kingdom as a sign that they had not yet fully entered society (Tassie 2005). Another category of people that had shaved heads were the priests who did it ritually as a sign of purity and piety, at least in the later periods of Egypt's history (Herodotus II 37 a-c; Plutarch 4 365d; Strabo 806). The evidence from the Old Kingdom indicates that certain classes of priest during certain rituals shaved themselves (Gardiner 1938: 169; Lloyd 1976: 152). However, the word for a shaven priest from at least the Middle Kingdom was  *fky* and for a segment of the priesthood was  *bkwt* (Faulkner 1962). The bald blind harpist, a common theme in New Kingdom tomb decoration, was also shown as bald as sign of purity as he

communicated with the gods (Manniche 1991: 97-107). Children, although named at birth for protection, were not given status in society until they had undergone the rites of passage into adulthood (Janssen & Janssen 1990: 99-114). The early life of a child was very precarious and many died before reaching these rites of passage (Robins 1995). Figures of children are usually shown in family scenes or as individual figurines.

Figures of corpulent men in blessed old age are generally found on the entrance thicknesses of Old Kingdom tombs, although in Dynasty VI they are often found on the jambs of false doors (Harpur 1987: 131). The figure of the deceased as a corpulent old man in retirement reflects his success in life (Harpur 1987: 131) and shows him ready to take his place with the gods in the afterlife, entering into the vitalised cosmos (O'Connor 2000). In Dynasty VI figures with a long kilt and a slightly thicker waist start to appear, these also have cropped or shaved heads and are the second arts way of depicting old age (Harpur 1987: 132-3). At the end of Dynasty VI a few corpulent figures are shown with short round hairstyles (Harpur 1987: 132; Janssen & Janssen 1996: 14-17), this may be a sign that the artisans that created the work did not fully understand the symbolism due to the increasing decentralisation or a change in artistic conventions.

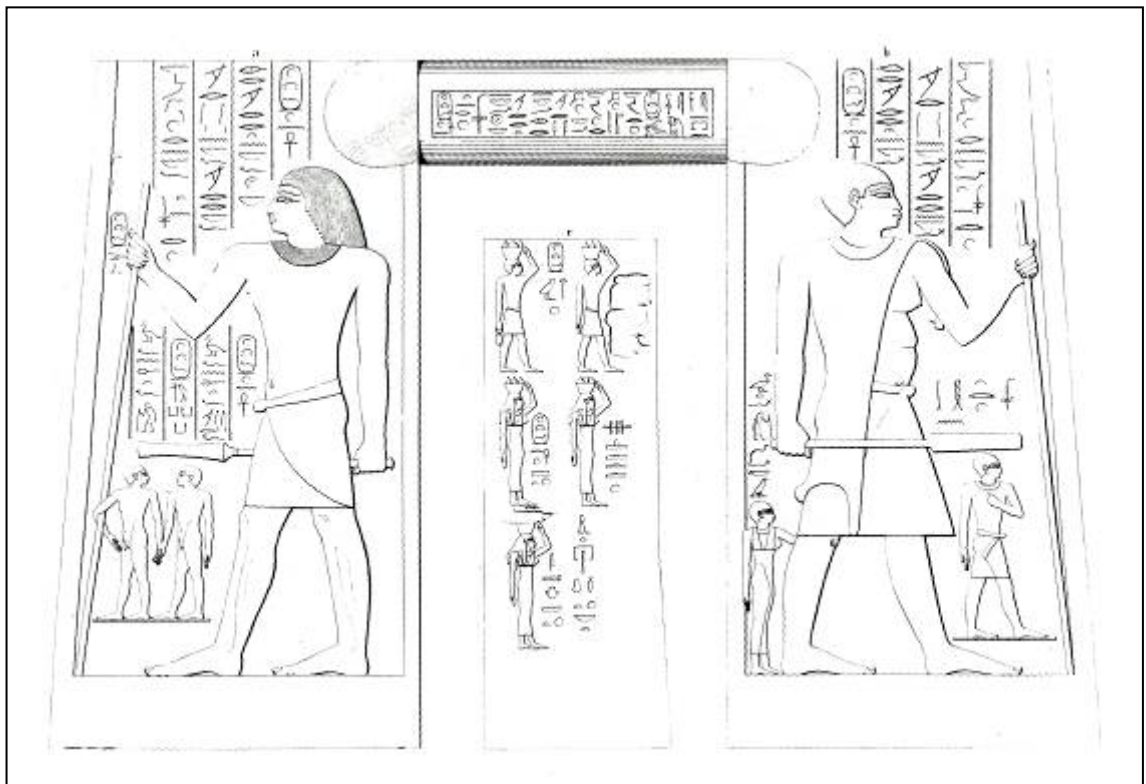


Figure 213. Rakafankh shown on the entrance thicknesses as an official at the height of his career on the left and a corpulent old man reflecting his success on the right. Dynasty V, Saqqara (after Lepsius 1849-59: 8a, b).

In the Dynasty VI tomb of the vizier Khentika at Saqqara, the tomb-owner is depicted twice on both sides of the doorway (see **Fig. 95**). He is shown walking out the tomb into the vitalised cosmos in a state of adiposity with long kilt pendulous breasts and cropped hair holding a staff. The other depiction shows him walking into the tomb as slim and muscular wearing a short kilt with a shoulder-length bob and square goatee beard, holding a staff and sceptre (Fischer 1959; Janssen & Janssen 1996).

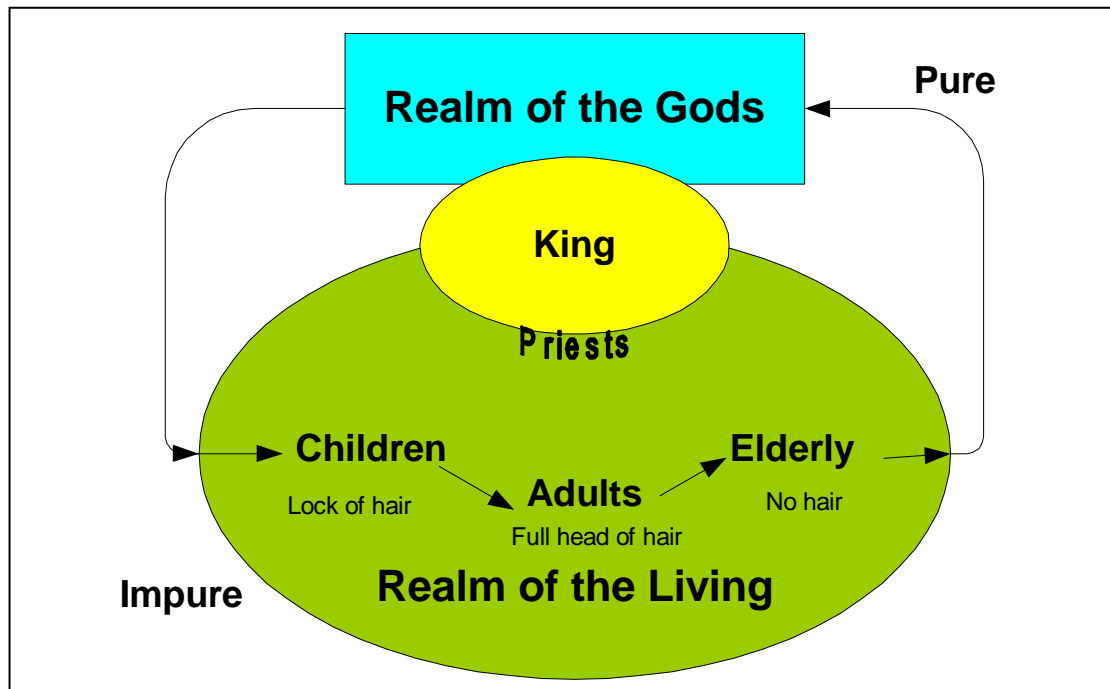


Figure 214. Diagram demonstrating the place in Egyptian society of children and the elderly – one being born into the world of the living and the other about to be reborn into the afterlife. The king is shown as the conduit through which humans could have a dialogue with the gods.

Both young children and the elderly were in the liminal sphere (threshold or boundary) between this world and the next. Babies were born into this world and the elderly were looking forward, preparing their tomb for rebirth into the afterlife (van Gennep 1960). The closeness with the cosmos, the celestial realm of the gods required that they be pure and the best hairstyle to show this purity was the shaved or cropped hairstyle. Herodotus states ‘And the priests shave their whole body every other day, that neither a louse nor any other abominable thing may be upon them as they minister unto the gods’ (II 37a-c). Being in this liminal zone, the hairstyles of both children and elderly men were part of the peripheral symbolism of the state. These were not symbols of power, but suggested ideals of birth and rebirth, ambitions to strive for, reinforcing family values. Carr (1995) also noted this liminality with the young and elderly in burial practices, where they were not provided with as many grave goods as adults in the prime of their lives. The bald heads of babies and the elderly indicated purity as the

their genitals exposed, although nude female figurines are found from the Protodynastic through to Dynasty VI. The female (and male) offering bearers and personification of estates are one of the main decorative themes of Old Kingdom tombs (Harpur 1987) and represented the bounty of the tomb-owners' estates, and as such [long hair] symbolised prosperity and fertility.

Tomb-owners and members of their family, both male and female, can also be shown with cropped hair. The tomb owners are either shown with cropped hair when depicted as a young official or conducting religious ceremonies. Honorific cedence also occurs amongst the main figures in the tomb-scenes. However, in Dynasty VI many more figures of the elite are shown with cropped hair (see **Chart 21**), which seems to reflect the elite ideology of the period, which will be explore in **Chapter 8**.

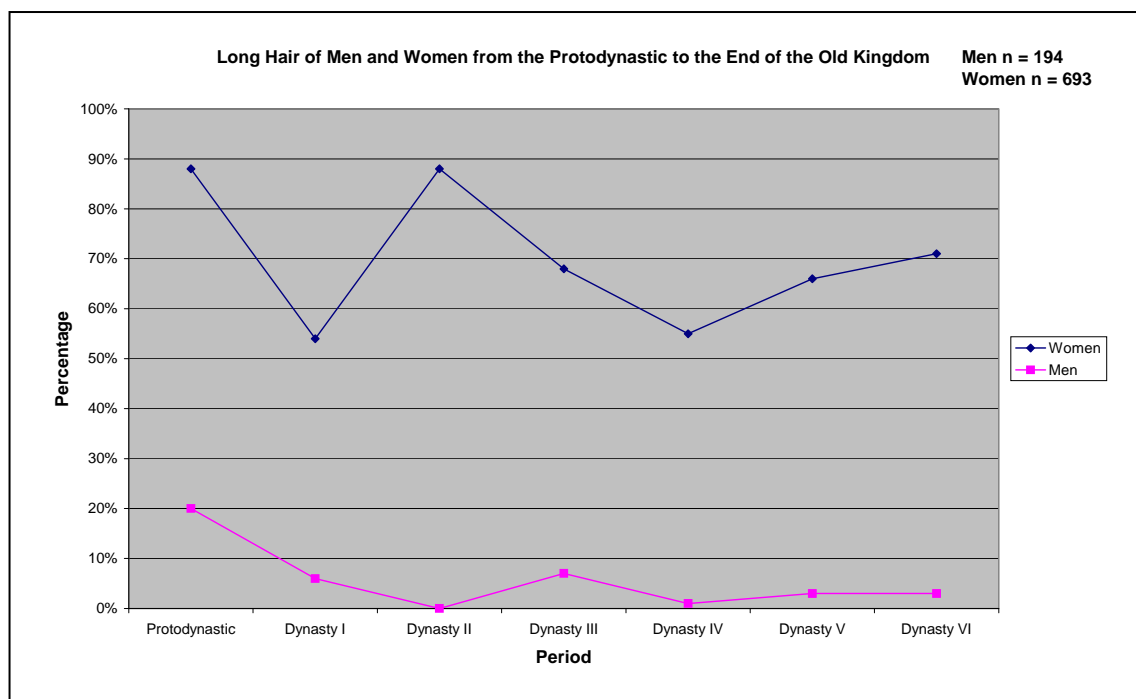


Chart 23. Graph showing the differing percentages of long haired men and women from the Protodynastic to the end of Dynasty VI.

From the Protodynastic to the end of the Old Kingdom women had a higher percentage of long-hair styles (see **Chart 23**). The most popular long-hair style was the tripartite, which consisted of the mass of hair being parted to fall in three bunches, two over the shoulders onto the breasts, and one down the back. Some representations depict the hair as plaited or curled, but most representations show the wig as solid black, with no features. The tripartite first emerged in the Predynastic and continued to be worn into the New Kingdom and later by queens and goddesses, although it was by that time an archaic style (Green 1995: 39). In the Protodynastic a few male ivory figurines from the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis were found to have the tripartite hairstyle, but by Dynasty

I the only male figure shown wearing it is the mummified King Djer (see **Section 5.4**). Certain First Dynasty high officials are shown wearing the sweptback hairstyle but by Dynasty III only gods and deceased kings are shown wearing long hair (i.e. the *ka* statue of Netjerikhet). Although no other kings are shown wearing the tripartite until the *ka* figures shown on Pepy II mortuary temple, this is probably due to the poor state of preservation of royal funerary temples and lack of *ka* figures recovered, than to changes in royal practice. Therefore, it seems that at least from the reign of Djer only deceased kings and gods could wear the tripartite hairstyle, whereas women of any social status could wear it.

The vast majority of gods and goddesses in the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom are depicted with the tripartite hairstyle (Ptah and Min being two exceptions), although the hair of gods is usually shown as slightly shorter than that of the goddesses. Fecundity figures, both male and female are shown almost exclusively with the sweptback style (Baines 1986), probably to differentiate them from gods. As noted above, the vast majority of female offering bearers and personified estates are shown wearing the tripartite style (males are usually shown with the short round tiled style). This shows a clear association of not only long hair with fecundity and nurture, but with the cosmic realm of the gods. In this context, the tripartite hairstyle's association with women can be seen as emphasising their roles as mothers responsible for child birth and nurturing. One of the roles of women seems to have been to sexually stimulate men, who were the source of fertility (Roth 2000); long healthy looking hair was one means of attracting men and as such was concerned with sexual display (Dawber 1991: 1). The theme of entrapment, parenthetically, can be seen in the capture of a lover in the hair of his beloved, the eyes finishing the job (Lichtheim 1976: 187). The commonality of males wearing the tripartite hairstyle is their sacred state, and therefore this hairstyle should thus be seen as a divine hairstyle, especially when worn by males. As the tripartite hairstyle is more closely associated with females, being worn by subjects, queens, and goddesses alike, this seemingly feminine style may indicate the feminine side of divine males.

Long hair is higher maintenance than short hair, attracting more dust and dirt and requiring more cleaning, oiling (conditioning) and styling than short hair. Long hair can also get in the way of manual labour (if not tied up). Head lice are also more difficult to remove from long hair and were one reason for shaving hair (Fletcher 1994a). Women of lower socioeconomic positions would have either maintained and

styled their own long hair (as done by Anubis' wife in Tale of Two Brothers from the d'Orbiney Papyrus, Lichtheim 1984: 203-22) or had the women of the village help them. The women of higher socioeconomic positions would have had hairstylists or servants help them with their hairdressing (see **Section 4.2**). However, as men's jobs from the lower socioeconomic strata often took them away from the family from dawn till dusk, and often for weeks and months on end and these jobs were often manual it was not practical for them to have long hair (Robins 1993: 92-126). Men from the higher socioeconomic strata of society could afford servants to style their hair or wear wigs (see **Section 4.2**).

At the end of Dynasty V three representations of high ranking male officials are portrayed with the tripartite hairstyle (see **Section 6.2**). These private individuals - Itti, Seshemnefer IV, and Rashepses are the only mortal men portrayed with this style in the Old Kingdom. The statue of Itti was found in room B of his Saqqara tomb, a room that Mariette (1976: 357-9) describes as a *serdab* (although because of the presence of a badly decayed false door, he questions this identification), he found amongst some other badly damaged artefacts (wooden statuettes, offering table, stone ducks) two limestone statues. The two statues of Seshemnefer IV still remain situated either side of the entrance of his tomb at Giza (Junker 1953). Two statues of Rashepses with long hair, one being the tripartite, are depicted in his tomb reliefs (Lepsius 1904: bis 64a). All these statues were probably *ka* statues (Bolshakov 1997), and as such represented the tomb owner after he had passed into the vitalised cosmos. Many other *ka* statues of private individuals have been excavated; these either have the short round tiled style or the shoulder-length bob. The only other *ka* statue recovered is that of King Netjerikhet, which was found by Firth in the *serdab* of his step pyramid complex in the 1924/5 season (Firth & Quibell 1935). Why would private individuals, albeit of high status, copy a hairstyle of a god? These statues were all created in a short time-span at the end of Dynasty V, a period that witnessed social, religious and political changes and innovations (Grimal 1992: 78-81). These, and possibly other, individuals through their own agency chose to be portrayed with this divine hairstyle to help them reach the vitalised cosmos. As this practice did not continue (although a *ka* statue of a man from Dynasty XII is also portrayed with the tripartite [AEIN 1662, Manniche 2004: 93], this was probably archaising), it indicates experimentation, albeit a short lived and abandoned experiment (see **Section 8.2**).

The tomb-scenes usually showed the male tomb-owner in different life stages, as a young official, as a mature adult at the height of his career, and as an elderly man (Harpur 1987: 131). Depending of how well the reliefs were executed various traits are associated with each of these depictions. The young official is usually shown with a short kilt, muscles not well defined and a short round style, usually of the tiled variety. The mature adult is usually shown in a short kilt but may have other regalia, well defined muscles and a shoulder-length bob. The old man is usually shown as corpulent with pendulous breasts, a body that reflects his success. One of the earliest representations of the ideal life stages is that of the Dynasty III official Hesire from Saqqara (see **Section 5.3**), and in the tomb of the Dynasty VI vizier, Mereruka this convention is eloquently portrayed (see **Section 6.5**). Not all the tomb-owners are shown in all the ideal states reached in life, as not all reached these various stages in their careers or life. If the tomb-owner never became a high official then he will not be shown wearing the shoulder-length bob. A person was expected to have reached the pinnacle of their career by the time they were forty, an age when they were thought of as mature, but not elderly (Janssen & Janssen 1996: 14). As the longest hairstyle depicted usually shows the highest position the person had reached in life. However, towards the end of Dynasty V a small amount of low ranking officials started to wear the shoulder-length bob (see **Tab. 10**).

	Dynasty IV	Dynasty V	Dynasty VI
High Official A	33% (46.5%)	68%	50%
High Official B	0%	41%	30%
Official	0%	10%	13%

Table 10. Changing percentages of Old Kingdom officials with the shoulder-length bob. As the canon was still being negotiated in the Early Dynastic it has been omitted, although 25% of High Officials A and 75% of Male Royal Relatives are shown wearing it, and no other officials. The number in brackets for Dynasty IV is the total if the royal relatives are added, as they held most of the top official positions.

The different ideal life stages were not only shown in relief form but also in statuary. A group of statuettes were found in the tomb of the high official Ipy at Saqqara. The statuettes dating from Dynasty VI are now on display in the Cairo Museum, and depict Ipy in all the stages of his life, from childhood to old age. As a child he is shown nude with a shaved head. As an adolescent he is shown with the

cropped hairstyle and short kilt. As a young man he is depicted as more muscular, although again wearing a short kilt his hair is shown in the short-layered curly bob. He is shown at the pinnacle of his career with a shoulder length bob wearing a kilt and apron. In old age Ipy is portrayed as portly with cropped hair and wearing a long kilt and apron. Wooden statues of officials such as Metchetchi, Mitry, and Tcheteti also show these various life stages (Harvey 2001). Full-scale limestone ka statues of the tomb-owner can also show these life stages, such as those of the High Priest of Ptah, Ranefer (see **Fig. 210.317**).



Figure 217. Statuettes of Ipy showing him in various ideal life stages (JE98630-45), Museum of Antiquities, Cairo (photograph G. J. Tassie).

The two major hairstyles of male high officials the short round tiled and the shoulder-length bob may represent the duality of Upper and Lower Egypt. In the Protodynastic and Dynasty I the shoulder-length styles were more closely connected with the north, with people from the Delta, Libya and Asia shown with shoulder-length straight hair, whereas, people from the south, Nile Valley and Nubia, are more closely associated with short curly styles. In the Early Dynastic it is possible that these styles were selected as representations of the unification and became codified symbols of the unified state.

Jaw and shoulder-length bobs start to be worn by ladies of the higher socioeconomic sections of society from Dynasty I and reaches its height in Dynasty V.

6. Blessed Old Age and Priests - Bald = Closeness to the afterworld and the gods.

And for women

1. Childhood Hairstyle – Shaved with sidelock, backlock = closeness with the afterworld and the gods, with the sidelock they are in the liminal zone before adulthood.
2. Adolescent Hairstyle – Crop, ball and locks = Inexperience, controlled.
3. Adult – Jaw-length bob = Maturity, social control.
4. Adult - Tripartite = Maturity, fecundity, sexuality.

Certain hairstyles, such as the globular, duplex bouffant plaited, layered dreadlock style, sweptback and backlock have not been included as they are either time, profession specific or variations on the main hairstyle types.

7.2 Egyptian Hair and General Theory

As there were various cultural and environmental influence of each individual society, and societies build on those that went before, there can be no universal theory that fits hair from all cultures from all time periods. However, there are as already stated in **Section 7.1** a few observable attributes of hair.

Long hair of the ascetics and hermits was seen as being pious, but also sexual, although the latter also have unkempt hair to show they are outside of mainstream society. In Samoan society the vital energies of the natural world (*mana*) was synonymous with fecundity. Hair in Samoa was an embodiment of *mana*, it was also a symbol of fecundity. In Samoa, women grew their hair long only during pregnancy "as evidence of their condition." The implication is that long hair alluded to the pregnant or fecund state and as such hair was also associated with sexuality (Mageo 1994: 410). In ancient Egypt long hair was also viewed as a symbol of the vital energies of the natural world and was synonymous with fecundity. The wearing of long hair, the tripartite, by men in ancient Egypt was seen as a symbol of fertility, potency and piety. Women's long hair in Egypt was seen as a sign of fecundity and nurture and also a sign of sexuality.

Grey and balding hair was rarely shown on the elite, although when it was it was on the elderly. In fact grey hair is not shown at all in the Old Kingdom, making its first appearance in New Kingdom tombs such as those of Irinifer (TT 290) and Pashedu (TT

3) (Janssen & Janssen 1996: 24-25). However, the men from the lower socioeconomic sectors of society are sometimes shown with a receding hairline, often accompanied by dishevelled or unkempt hair, i.e. in the tomb of Ty (see **Chapter 6**). These people were not part of the *p^ct*, but were *rhyt*, which made up the majority of the population and laid outside of the society of the ruling elite - not moving in the same social circles. Although the *rhyt* were under the control of the *p^ct*, they did not enjoy the same social privileges, such as being buried in monumental tombs or having access to reading and writing skills.

The royal family, officials and their families, with their hair cut into various styles adhered to the rules of order and maintained and created the ideology (Baines & Yoffee 1998). This sector of the population was governed by the rules of hairstyling, dictating what style they could or could not wear. The majority of evidence concerning ancient Egyptian society is left to us by the ruling elite, producing the writing, monumental tombs and many of the artefacts.

HAIRSTYLES AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE GENERATION,
MAINTENANCE AND STRUCTURING OF EGYPTIAN SOCIETY

8.0 Introduction

In the preceding chapters it is clear that hair was used as a means of distinguishing between the various social classes in the hierarchical Egyptian society. The vast majority of the data used and as such available for this examination comes from elite monuments. Although the iconography on these monuments depicts a wide range of social classes and statuses, it is mainly the elite's world view that is given. Baines & Yoffee (1998) explored order, legitimacy and wealth in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. In this paper Baines & Yoffee describe an early Egyptian state in which the ideology of order was the exclusive concern of the inner elite. Members of this select (and until the end of Dynasty IV, exclusively royal) group conceived and represented an ideal and cosmologically crucial order, legitimising their position within it by emphasising their unique role in its maintenance; only members of the elite possessed the ability to vanquish chaos. These concepts were materialised and maintained through the consumption of 'high culture', encompassing key symbols and art forms, landscapes, literature and the body. In this model of Egyptian order, the communication and display effected by these high cultural forms was transmitted to a narrow audience only. These forms constituted a legitimising dialogue within the elite, including the king, and between the elite and the gods (Baines & Yoffee 1998: 236, 244). The elite hairstyles developed from the Protodynastic to the end of the Old Kingdom played a key role in the display of this order and legitimisation.

Richards (2000) challenges the notion of such a limited band of communication and participation in a hegemonic ideology. Richards raise various questions, such as, if the discourse legitimising inequality took place within such a limited circle, how was the dominant social and political order justified to the wider population, which to some extent must have subscribed to it? At a basic level, what was the audience for the materialised ideology of the inner elite? What was the meaning that it communicated to different social groups? If high cultural forms remained totally exclusive, then how can the continual processes of emulation and innovation be explained?

Although the iconography in the elite tombs and interiors of temples would have had a restricted audience the members of the elite would have been seen by the greater population. In **Section 2.3** the ways in which the body was used to exert control over the population were expounded upon, and in **Section 2.4.2** how the process of emulation worked in ancient Egypt. As Richards (2000: 37) states, the inner elite could not and did not exist in a static isolation from the mass of the population. The farm workers on a prince's estate may not have held long conversations with him, but they would have had daily contact with the overseers who had contact with the minor officials who had contact with the higher officials. In this way the forms, styles and meaning of the high culture were transmitted throughout society, via the middle to the lower levels of the socioeconomic range (Richards 2000: 37). The material remains from large lower order cemeteries of late Dynasty VI indicate a shared ideology with the elite about what constituted an afterlife, and what was necessary to ensure that they entered that afterlife (Richards 2000: 39). Men, and sometimes the women, of the lower socioeconomic levels of society are frequently shown with the cropped hairstyle. However, the political changes seen in Dynasty V and additional ones in Dynasty VI led to an increase in a middle class and growth of low ranking officials (Assmann 2001: 47-50; Grimal 1992: 75-93). One material form of this expansion is shown in the increase in the amount of men shown wearing the short round tiled style (see **Section 6.7**). Although not all classes saw the iconographic representations on the monumental buildings, they were exposed to the high culture of the inner elite by other means, which enabled them to emulate this culture. Although it was only the inner elite that fully understood the meaning of high culture (Baines & Yoffee 2000: 17), the various other segments of society would recognise some of the more popular symbols, such as the hairstyles of the officials and understand that they represented centralised power.

8.1 State Formation

The Dynastic myth of Menes uniting the two lands is a convenient explanation for how the two distinct cultures of Egypt merged (Gardiner 1961: 400-27). The archaeological record suggests that there was a gradual change in the materiality of Lower Egypt to that of Upper Egypt at the end of the Naqada II period and into Naqada III (Köhler 1995; in press; Hassan 1984; Hassan *et al.* 2007; Wetering & Tassie 2007). The nation-state that emerged due to multi-causal factors stretched from the Mediterranean to the First Cataract (at Elephantine) with the Memphite region as the administrative core

(Hassan *et al.* 2007). The fusion of such a large territory under one central authority is one of the most remarkable features of ancient Egypt.

At sites such as Saqqara and Abydos sealings, labels and architectural elements have been discovered, these point to a complex administration with taxation and tribute within a society whose economy was based on farming, consisting of numerous small communities and a few large cities along the Nile (Hassan 1993b; Wilkinson 1999). The symbols and writing on these artefacts and monuments conveyed the ideology of the ruling elite to the populace via their visual impact which, controlled the masses and contributed to the creation, definition and persistence of the hierarchical social divisions and the élites place within it. An enduring image of royalty was the symbolic smiting of the enemy (see **Fig. 43**), a symbol first started in Dynasty I or possibly earlier and sustained throughout Pharaonic history. Grasping the enemy by the hair was taken as an act of subjugating, of being in control of the forces of chaos and maintaining order (Dayagi-Mendels 1989: 60).

8.1.1 Hairstyles as an Indicator of the Formation of the State Apparatus

During the Early Dynastic Period the greatest experimentation with hairstyles occurred during Dynasty I (see **Sections 5.4 & 5.5**). Certain hairstyles developed in this period that went on to become codified styles of the administration, whereas others later drop out of the iconographic repertoire. This indicates that this was a period of great innovation and rapid development, a period where negotiations were still being made about the form of the state and showing diverse influences on the culture. The material form that the ‘high culture’ of the newly formed state’s ideology would take was still being formed and had not at this point been codified.

The materialised formulation of this ideology was displayed in many different manners. Ceremonial palettes and maceheads, which were part of an already well formed iconography and ideology of power and kingship, were still being made at beginning of Dynasty I (Raffaele 2003b). Although writing appeared at the beginning of the Protodynastic, significant advances were made during Dynasty I (Baines 1998). Major developments in royal funerary architecture also occurred during Dynasty I, reinforcing their security and role as symbols of power and authority (Emery 1961; Wengrow 2006; Wilkinson 1999). The burying of retainers around the tombs of the First Dynasty kings, which reached its peak during the reign of Djer, with 318 surrounding Tomb O at Umm al-Qa’ab, had drastically reduced by the end of the Dynasty with only 26 around Tomb Q, that of Qa’a (Emery 1949; 1954; 1958; 1961;

Petrie 1900; 1901b). In the same period the tombs of members of the royal family at Saqqara also had a lesser amount of subsidiary burials (Emery 1961). This practice was totally abandoned in Dynasty II. During the first two dynasties depictions of more purely anthropomorphic deities, such as Ptah, Neith and Satis were added to that of Min and the theriomorphic deities, who are still the majority – Horus, Seth, Anubis, the Apis bull, Bat, Hathor, Khentimentiu, Mafdet, Wepwawet and the baboon-form ‘Great White One’ (Hornung 1982: 108-9). What is lacking during the Protodynastic and Dynasty I is the mixed form of deities, combining animal and human elements, which is so characteristic of later Egyptian representations of deities, although Bastet and Ash (top left **Fig. 220**) are two of the earliest, being introduced in early Dynasty II (Hornung 1982: 109; Wilkinson 1999: 262-4).

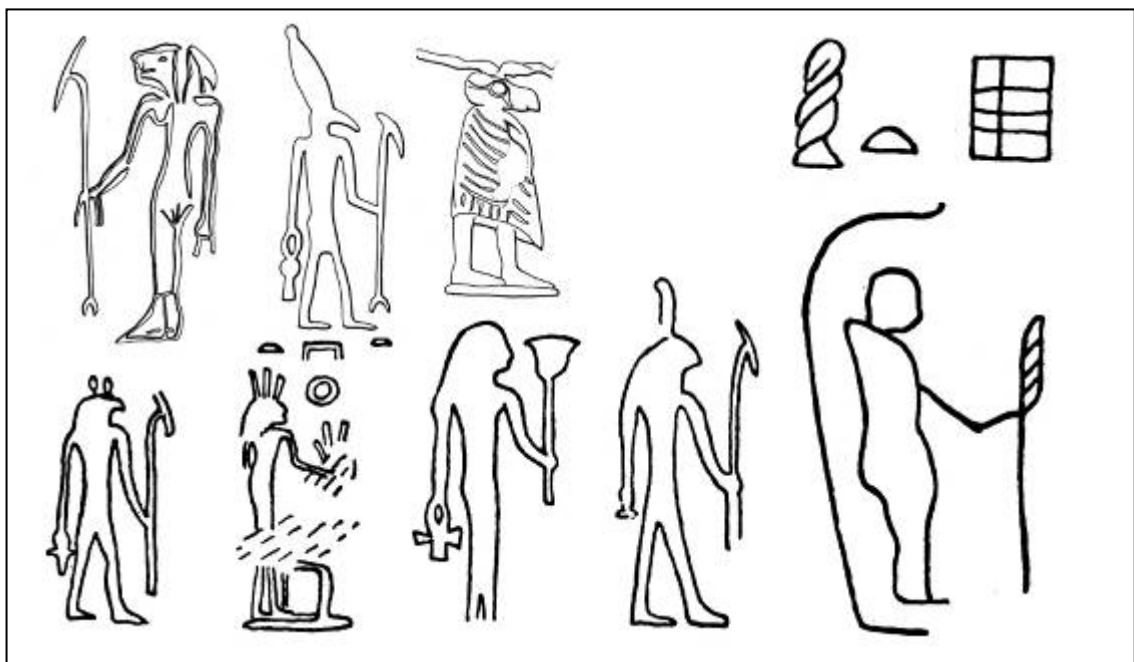


Figure 220. Figures of deities on Early Dynastic objects (after Hornung 1982: 109 and Wilkinson 1999: 263 with references).

Concepts of kingship and necessary breaks with the kin-based society of the Thinite region from where the Dynasty I kings emanated also occurred (Windus-Staginsky 2006). Although Memphis was installed as the new state administrative centre during Dynasty I, the kings burial ground remained at Abydos, originally in Cemetery B and then Umm al-Qa’ab (Hassan *et al.* 2007). Monumental tombs for members of the royal family were erected at North Saqqara on the escarpment overlooking the floodplain and city below (van Wetering 2004). The moving of the administrative centre to the apex of the Delta not only allowed for easier logistical control of the state but helped to break the kinship ties to the Thinite region redistributing the power and enlarging the scope of its functions and volume of its authority, and preventing any attempts by the local kin based officials to avoid control

(Campagno 2003a; Grinin 2004; Hassan 1992). The biennial *šms-ḥr* (following of Horus), which seems to have been a tour of the country by the king and his officials to collect taxes, perform judicial duties and pay homage at provincial shrines is first recorded in the reign of Djer (Wilkinson 1999: 73). The reign of King Den, fifth ruler of Dynasty I, marked a significant stage in political and technological development (Whitehouse 1987: 261). As well instigating changes in the royal mortuary architecture by adding stairs to his tomb to facilitate its easy provisioning (Petrie 1901), he initiated the wearing of the double crown and formation of the *nswt-bity* title (Wilkinson 1999: 75). Den seems to have enjoyed a long reign (Hassan *et al.* 2007: 705-7) and the number of elite burials (30+) attested to his reign is greater than any other Dynasty I or II king, with their tombs located at Abu Roash, Abusir, North Saqqara and Helwan (Wilkinson 1999: 76). This may not only reflect the length of Den's reign but institutional change, indications for which are also given in the Palermo Stone, which records a 'census of all the people of the north, west and east' (Schäfer 1902: 19). Further developments in the royal titulary occurred in the reign of Semerkhet, when the *nbty* or 'Two Ladies' title was added (Wilkinson 1999: 203-5).



Figure 221. Amenemhet III wearing the archaic royal hairstyle the layered dreadlock style (JE20001), Dynasty XII, Kiman Faris, now in the Egyptian Museum of Antiquities, Cairo (photographs G. J. Tassie).

Certain ritual hairstyles that developed in the Protodynastic continue into Dynasty I and II but thereafter appear to be dropped from the codified canon of royal hairstyles to be replaced by other more 'appropriate' hairstyles as Neith is gradually

replaced by Hathor in importance. The duplex bouffant plaited hairstyle, which is only worn by queens and dwarfs to associate themselves with Neith, is replaced by the globular hairstyle as queens wished to associate themselves with Hathor (see **Section 5.3**). Many depictions of Dynasty I kings wearing the layered dreadlocks style have been recovered, however, this style is not recorded again until the Middle Kingdom. On his statue recovered from the Faiyum's capital Shedat (Kiman Faris) Amenemhet III of Dynasty XII is depicted bearing standards in the role of a priest wearing a long version of the layered dreadlocked style (**Fig. 221**, JE20001 = CG395). Much of the art and architecture of the Middle Kingdom looked back to the past to legitimate the present and smooth the way to the future (Wildung 2003). Amenemhet's statue admirably ties into the country's history and adds legitimacy to his and the monarchy's position.

8.1.2 Hairstyles as an Indicator of the Consolidation of the State Apparatus

The Second Dynasty sees a great decrease in the amount of hairstyles depicted on both men and women. The experimentation in hairstyles seen in Dynasty I disappears and codified hairstyle that continued into the Old Kingdom became the most popular. The short round tiled style starts to become more closely associated with officials of the bureaucracy during this period, although the sweptback style is still worn by the highest officials. Only one style, the composite sidelock, shows experimentation in its use. Officials and male royal relatives can be shown wearing this style, but it is not used in the Old Kingdom at all, only being revived in the New Kingdom to indicate crown princes and certain categories of priests (Bonnet 1952; Bose-Griffiths 1955; Kaplony 1963; Kriesel 1958). The tripartite style gains even more popularity amongst elite ladies with a lesser amount of bobs being worn. This indicates a tightening of state control mechanisms and a more formulated material expression of the centralised ideology.

The move of the administrative centre to Memphis seems to have been consolidated by Hotepsekhemwy - first king of Dynasty II, for he was the first king to place his burial at Saqqara (Dodson 1996; van Wetering 2004). This did not completely sever ties with the Thinite region, particularly as two later kings of Dynasty II - Peribsen and Khasekhemwy located their tombs at Umm al-Qa'ab (the last kings buried at this location). Although none of the superstructures of any Dynasty II royal tombs so far recovered have survived, the substructures show a radical change from those of Dynasty I. The Memphite tombs consist of rock-cut passageways with a series of chambers leading off them, with some of the chambers being roofed with limestone

blocks (Dodson 1996; van Wetering 2004), an arrangement that continued into Dynasty III (e.g. the Step Pyramid galleries).

During Dynasty II economic institutions came into being and political control was extended to form a strong centralised state. Although there were possible problems in the middle of the dynasty (Proussakov 2004), by the close of the period large-scale building programmes were being undertaken (Wilkinson 1999). From the beginning of the dynasty a biennial cattle count (*tnwt*) was undertaken to record the country's productive wealth (Wilkinson 1999: 114). In the reign of Nynetjer there is a visible increase in the effectiveness and control of the state administration over the country's economic activities. If the reconstruction of the Cairo fragment (CF1) of the 'Royal Annals' stone is correct, then during the reign at least two structures dedicated to the God Seth were founded (Wilkinson 2000). This would indicate that Seth was 'sponsored' by the state administration; in contrast to the much-cited 'Horus and Seth' mythology that portrays Seth in a distinctly negative light. Queens of the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom could hold the title 'She who sees Horus and Seth', and other associated titles, indicating that Seth's demonetising was a later event (Wilkinson 2003: 197-8). The exact meaning of Peribsen placing the Seth animal above his *serekh* instead of the more normal Horus falcon and Khasekhemwy placing both over his is not understood but could indicate changes in the religion (Dodson & Hilton 2005: 44).



Figure 222. The funerary stela of Peribsen with Seth surmounting his *serekh*, left, Cairo Museum (JE35261) right, British Museum (EA35597) (Photographs G. J. Tassie).

In the reign of Peribsen a seal from Elephantine with the inscription ‘Seal(er) of all the things of Upper Egypt’ indicates the existence of administrative structures on the island (Wilkinson 1999: 90). Reforms were made to the scribal system in mid-Dynasty II and from the reign of Khasekhemwy there existed a central redistribution institution called the *pr-hri-wdb*, which redistributed produce throughout Egypt (Wilkinson 1999: 129). The title *imy-r3 h3st* – ‘Overseer of Foreign Land(s)’ first attested in this reign suggests the imposition of Egyptian hegemony on foreign polities (Wilkinson 1999: 92). A programme of building or refurbishing temples using stone seems to have been undertaken by Khasekhemwy at Hierakonpolis, Elkab, Gebelein, and possibly at Thebes on Thoth Hill (Wilkinson 1999: 93).

The amount of hairstyles shown in Dynasty III increases slightly from Dynasty II, but falls well short of the peak reached in Dynasty I. All the styles, except one style shown on a woman – the pudding basin, are those that go on to form the canonised styles of the Old Kingdom (see **Fig. 215**). The low ranking officials are shown with five different hairstyles in Dynasty II, whereas, in Dynasty III only two are shown the cropped (50%) and the short round tiled style (50%). The short round tiled style is also the most popular hairstyle for high officials, although the highest officials are more likely to wear the shoulder-length bob than the lower. For the male royal relatives the shoulder-length bob is the most popular (60%), with the other 40% wearing the short round tiled style. There is little difference in the amount and percentages of different styles worn by high ranking ladies, although princesses can now be shown with the jaw-length bob. This indicates that experimentation in the material expression of state ideology was completed and codified styles had been established. However, differentiation between the various ranks of officials, other than those in the royal family, still seems to be a in its infancy.

Dynasty III can be regarded as much the climax of the Early Dynastic period as the cradle of the Old Kingdom, many of the material expressions of the state ideology and other features of society that are so intimately connected with the later periods were either created or consolidated during this period (Baud 2002; Wilkinson 1999) The most obvious of these features is the introduction of the pyramid at the centre of the royal tomb complex. The majority of Dynasty III kings were buried in a step pyramid (Lehner 1997), with perhaps the last king, Huni, being interred in the first ‘true’ pyramid, albeit of mud-brick, at Abu Roash – Lepsius I (Dodson 1998: 35-6). The most complete monument from Dynasty III is Netjerikhet’s Step Pyramid Complex at Saqqara. The

actual pyramid, designed by Imhotep, began life as a square mastaba, which may indicate the superstructures of the Dynasty II monuments. This mastaba was enlarged twice before a four-step pyramid and finally a six-step pyramid cased with limestone blocks was erected (Lehner 1997: 84). Netjerikhet's monument combined the funerary enclosure, that from the reign of Aha had been separate (Shafer *et al.* 2005: 37-44), with the king's tomb (Lehner 1997: 84-93). Although stone had been used previously to build monuments, most noticeably by Netjerikhet's predecessor Khasekhemwy, this was the largest stone monument built up to that time, and also the most inclusive funerary complex, which also showed advances in religious ideology and artistic application. The fragments from Netjerikhet's shrine at Heliopolis further indicate advances in religion for they may be the earliest depiction the Heliopolitan ennead (Wilkinson 1999: 97).



Figure 223. The step pyramid complex at Saqqara (photograph G. J. Tassie).

The building of such a magnificent monument (see **Fig. 223**) as Netjerikhet's complex as well as others throughout the dynasty, are the result of a complex central, redistributive administration, supported by the provincial administration (Baines & Yoffee 1998: 223). That the king, and as such the state, could command and support such a large workforce overseen by skilled artisans demonstrated further the inequalities in wealth between the ruled and the ruling elite. Baines & Eyre (1983: 66) calculate this elite segment of society to number about 500 at any one time in the Old Kingdom.

The state administration became more visible with numerous inscriptions listing the titles and functions of a growing group of officials, although only a very few of these officials can be named due to the fact that the large amount of elite tombs that exist at North Saqqara have either been devastated by tomb robbers or overbuilt by the sacred animal necropolis (Dodson 1998: 37). Four of the named high ranking officials are Hesire, Khabausokar, Iristjet and Khuire, whose tombs are some of the first to feature highly decorated chapels (Dodson 1998: 38). Although the Memphite region was the centre of the Third Dynasty administration, many other centres existed throughout Egypt, some marked by minor step pyramids although others were not (Baud 2003; Hassan & Tassie 2004). During the reign of Netjerikhet centrally organised mining activities in Wadi Maghara, Sinai, began and the site includes inscriptions of all the early Dynasty III monarchs at these turquoise mining facilities (Gardiner & Peet 1955). In the reign of Huni minor step pyramids were built throughout Egypt, seven have so far been discovered, probably to mark provincial royal residences that the king visited on his biennial census of the country (Hassan & Tassie 2004).



Figure 224. Tomb HS 3518a, possibly that of Imhotep, North Saqqara (Photograph by Joris van Wetering).

Dynasty IV shows an increase of one hairstyle type for women and none for men from the previous dynasty. However, the styles now being shown worn show greater codification and control. More variations of the short round styles are now present for men, particularly officials. A definite pattern emerges for defining officials

with the lowest ranking wearing the cropped (92%) and only 4% the short round tiled style, the lower ranking high officials wore the short round tiled style (92%) and the cropped (8%) and the high officials A, the short round tiled (60%) and 33% the shoulder-length bob. Members of the royal family, who held the highest ranking positions in the administration were most likely to wear the shoulder-length bob (58%). Men are shown for the first time with a receding hairline. Women, for the first time since the Predynastic, can be shown with the cropped hairstyle, even ladies from the higher socioeconomic ranks (10%) and royal relatives (12%). However, the tripartite style still remained the most popular for ladies from the high socioeconomic ranks (62%) and 50% of female royal relatives. Further control of the material expression of the state ideology is shown in the greater amount of jaw-length bobs shown on women; as a result of more three-dimensional depictions of them in the tombs. The statuary and other objects found in the tombs were generally made in the royal workshops (Trigger *et al.* 1983: 86-7), indeed the tombs of the officials and their placement within the cemetery were granted in accordance to the generosity of the king (Grimal 1992: 129; Roth 1993: 202-3) The overall impression from the hairstyles is one of more highly organised society with sharp divisions within the bureaucracy and between them and the non-elite subjects.



Figure 225. Sneferu's pyramids at Dahshur (photograph G. J. Tassie).

By the beginning of Dynasty IV the pre-canonical art of the Early Dynastic had developed through increasing control by accountants and administrators into the

canonised classical art of the Old Kingdom (Trigger *et al.* 1983: 67). The statues of Rahotep and Nefert (**Fig. 11**) from the reign of Sneferu illustrate beautifully the balance and proportions of this canonical art (Spencer 1993: 111). The two pyramids of Sneferu at Dahshur – the Red and Bent pyramids, and to a lesser degree the pyramid at Meidum, illustrate the rapid progress in constructional ability that had taken place since the building of Netjerikhet's step pyramid (Spencer 1993: 112). Nowhere is the ability to move and work large blocks of stone better illustrated than in the Khufu's pyramid (Lehner 1997: 108-119). These pyramids, like Netjerikhet's, were part of a whole funerary complex, although rather than being inside a walled enclosure they now consisted of highly decorated valley and mortuary temples connected by a causeway and surrounded by subsidiary pyramids (Lehner 1997). These monuments, as huge material statements of the state ideology on the landscape, helped reinforce social hierarchy and power of the king and his heirs (Earle 1997: 156).

The organisational ability shown in constructing these monuments was immense, consisting of various tiers of administration supported by the redistributive network (Lehner 1997: 224-239; Murray 2005). Territorial appropriation increased during this period with the building or expansion of villages and estates throughout Egypt, therefore helping to expand the economy (Lehner 1997: 228-9; Lupo 2007). There was a flow of resources from the periphery to the core of the state to provide produce for the pyramids, temples and elite tombs (Lehner 1997: 228). Not only was produce needed for the people that built these monuments but to sustain the funerary cults. Priests and others involved in the funerary cults would receive a share of the offerings made at these monuments, with the royal family inheriting the resources coming from the estates of the dead king for their support (Lupo 2007: 156). The consanguineous members of the deceased king's royal family would live in pyramid towns located in the pyramid temples, where they were in the service of the funerary cult (Lupo 2007: 156). This system was to try to mitigate the effects of dynastic troubles.

The tombs of officials of the administration were located around the pyramid of the king they served, with higher officials located nearer to the pyramid in the core cemetery (Roth 1993: 201). Even the officials related to provincial administration of the south are buried in the Memphite cemeteries (Kanawati 1980: 1). Royal kinship still played a key role in consolidating the Egyptian state, although lacking the bureaucratisation typical of a more mature state (Lupo 2007: 156). These tombs are not

only extant evidence of the increasing elite, but the writing inside these tombs furnishes us with an increasing array of titles (Baer 1960; Strudwick 1985).

In the reign of Sneferu, or possibly his father Huni the cartouche started to be used to frame the *nswt bity* name (Dodson 1996: 23). Further changes in the country's religion are indicated by the incorporation of the *sr R^c* (Son of Re) title into the royal titulary in the reign of Djedefre (Shaw & Nicholson 1995: 248). The religious implications, particularly of the latter change, was that the king was no longer regarded first and foremost the a manifestation of Horus; instead he was to be seen primarily in terms of his rule over the two lands and his relationship with the sun-god Re (Shaw & Nicholson 1995: 248). An increase in the power of the priests of Iunu (Gk. Heliopolis) may also be indicated by this royal patronage. The God Re not only embodied the power of heaven over earth, but the tangible evidence of sunrise after sunset of the previous day symbolised the promise of resurrection, and was therefore considered as the original power of creation (Quirke 1992: 23).

8.1.3 Hairstyles as an Indicator of Changes within the State Apparatus

The amount of hairstyles shown in Dynasty V shows a small increase from Dynasty IV (see **Chart 24**). This is largely accounted for by the reintroduction and expansion of various types of lock-styles into the repertoire. These lock styles are generally worn by adolescents and/or acrobats and dancers. Adults also start to be depicted as children during this period. The array of codified styles from Dynasty IV and before continued to be used to portray the social hierarchy. This slow rate of change in the hairstyles of Dynasty IV and V indicates a strong centralised government and also a fostering of a national identity.

Emulation is now present within the official ranks, with the low officials being shown with less of a ratio between the short round tiled style (25%) and the cropped (64%). This emulation continues through the ranks with the ratio between the short round tiled style (30%) and the shoulder-length bob (41%) being reduced amongst high officials B, and even further in high officials A, short round tiled (17%) to the shoulder-length bob (68%). The viziers continued to show their position with the wearing of the shoulder-length bob (70%), as did the male royal relatives (58%). The popularity of the jaw-length bob increases for ladies of the higher socioeconomic positions with 31%, although the tripartite still remains the most popular 59%, as it did with female royal relatives (43%). This indicates a stable period, when great expansion and territorial appropriation occurred. It also indicates growth in the amount of officials and a

lessening of rigid rules governing who could be in the bureaucracy, with social mobility occurring.

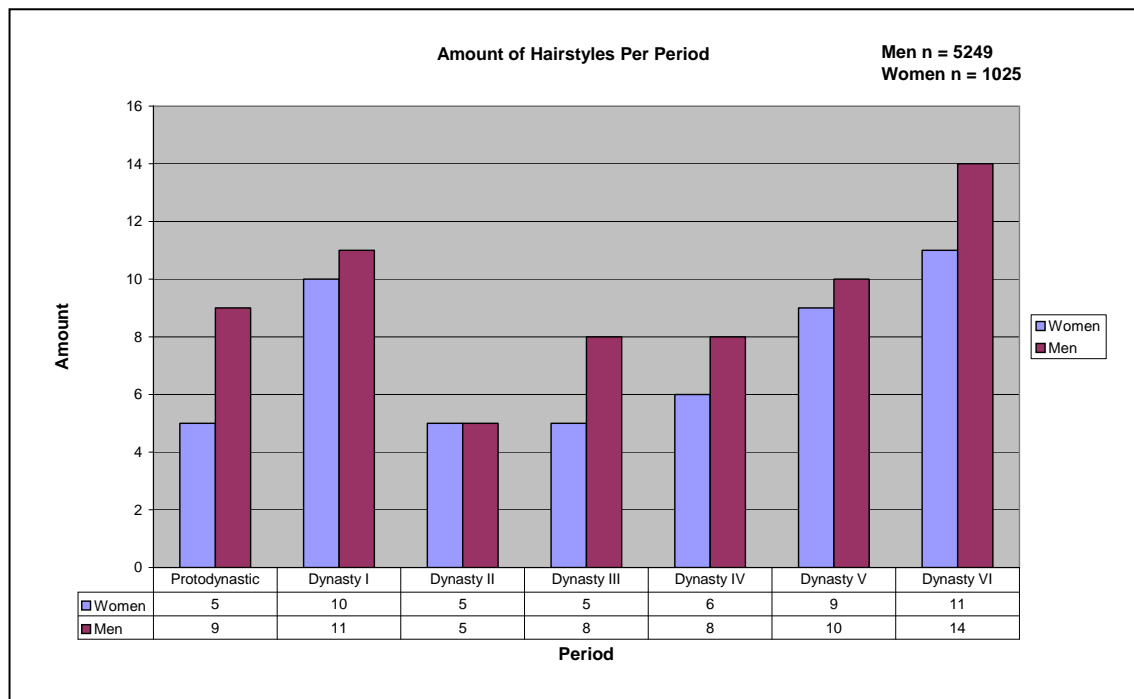


Chart 24. The amount of different hairstyles per time period.

Although the transition from Dynasty IV to V is unclear, some form of political upheaval is indicated. The last king of Dynasty IV, Shepseskaf, chose to be buried in a large stone mastaba located at South Saqqara whereas, Userkaf, founder of Dynasty V placed his pyramid near that of Netjerikhet at North Saqqara, probably to legitimate his position (Lehner 1997). Userkaf also erected a sun-temple at Abusir linking him even more strongly with the cult of Re (Lehner 1997: 150-1). The next five kings then located their pyramid complexes at Abusir and also built sun-temples, not all of which have been discovered (Lehner 1997: 142-152). The actual pyramids of Dynasty V are much smaller than those of Dynasty IV and have roughly-shaped blocks in the core but are still clad with dressed limestone like their bigger brothers. Greater emphasis seems to have been directed to the elaborately decorated valley and mortuary temples and other components of the complex, with greater use of more varieties of stone (Lehner 1997: 142:9). These kings, often termed the sun kings (Verner 2002) changed the political structure of the country. A process that seems to have begun under Sahure is the bureaucratisation of the institutions, a process that seems to have reached its height during the middle of the dynasty (Lupo 2007: 154-7). One result of these changes was that the vizierate, which had up till then been in the hands of royal princes, was now in the hands of non-royals (Dodson & Hilton 2005: 62; Lupo 2007: 133, 145-6). Strudwick (1985: 337) notes that there was a reduction in the titles that had formerly existed

however, as Lupo (2007: 154) states the number of offices increased in correlation with the number of officials need to run new ones, with a standardised system of ranking titles being introduced by Neferirkare (Baer 1974: 296). This bureaucratisation is also seen in the amount of titles associated with hairdressing during this period and the rituals surrounding the kings' body (see **Chapter 4**). A change also occurs in the running of the pyramid cults with the introduction of the *hnytw-š* permanent priestly and low and middle level officials dedicated to the running of the cult who lived in the pyramid towns (Lehner 1997: 231). The *hm-ntr*, who were the older order of pyramid cult priests now seem to be less tied to a specific pyramid and work in conjunction with the *hnytw-š*, although the former appear to be of a higher social status (Lehner 1997: 234; Lupo 2007: 156). This meant that the princes and their progeny, who in Dynasty IV lived in the pyramid town of their dead father, no longer inhabited these towns and received revenue from the associated estates. Therefore, the extended royal family were further removed from the administration of the country (Lupo 2007: 157). This change from a royal hegemony to royal patronage based on merit resulted in a more mature state. There was an increase in diplomatic trade relations with the Levant, particularly Byblos, and also Nubia and Punt during this period, but there is evidence of brute force in gaining their ends in these neighbouring regions (Redford 1992: 50-4).

Further changes in the administration occurred at the end of the dynasty. A break in the hereditary line of rulers appears to have occurred after Niuserre, for there is no known genealogical link with the next king, Menkauhor (Dodson & Hilton 2005: 66-7). No pyramid can be assigned to this king with any real certainty, although Lepsius' Pyramid XXIX at Saqqara is a possibility, although a Dynasty VI decree mentions Menkauhor's pyramid in association with Sneferu's at Dahshur (Lehner 1997: 153). It is possible that his successor Djedkare Isesi married one of Menkauhor's daughters to legitimate himself (Dodson & Hilton 2005: 67), however he came to the throne Djedkare instigated further administrative changes and altered the ranking system (Baer 1974: 297). The higher officials connected with the administration of the provinces were for the first time buried where their office were located rather than in a Memphite necropolis, indicating their permanent residence there rather than merely a seasonal inspection of work (Kanawati 1980b: 128). The post of Southern Vizier was inaugurated at Akhmim and two viziers existed in the capital, the Overseer of Upper Egypt in charge of Upper Egypt through the southern vizier at Akhmim (Kanawati 1980b: 128). Three administrative centres for the most highly productive areas of Upper Egypt were established: Hemamieh, Sheikh Said and Sedment (Kanawati 1980b: 128).

The reign of Unas is not only notable for the introduction of pyramid texts to decorate the walls of the funerary chambers (De Trafford 2007), but not one high official is known to have been buried in the provinces during his reign (Kanawati 1980b). The layout of Unas' pyramid complex followed that of Djedkare's, the form of whose complex was the prototype of the later Dynasty VI pyramids (Lehner 1997: 156). Whether Unas reverted to a centralised system or not, he still kept the policy of appointing two viziers in the capital (Kanawati 1980b: 128). The offices of Overseer of Upper Egypt and Overseer of All the Works of the King were separated, possibly indicating the revenues from Upper Egypt were entrusted to the southern vizier (Kanawati 1980b: 128).



Figure 226. The burial chamber of Unas covered in the palace niche façade decoration and texts (photograph Aloisa De Trafford).

Kanawati (1990: 55) suggests that as the last three rulers of Dynasty V left the Abusir royal burial ground and the last two stopped building sun temples and the name of Re was no longer incorporated in the names of Unas and Menkauhor that the power of the sun cult seems to have diminished. However, Djedkare Isesi included Re in his name and conducted restoration works at Niuserre's mortuary complex (Borchardt 1907: 158-9). The theological reconciliation of Atum and Re seem to have been settled by the introduction of the *benben* stone in sun temples in early Dynasty V (Grimal 1992: 127). The *benben* stone represented the primeval mound of creation and the smooth-sided pyramid symbolised the petrified rays of the sun, and a means by which the deceased king could rise to heaven (Grimal 1992: 127). Although there may well have been a conflict of religious and political policies or a power struggle between the monarchy and the priesthood (Kanawati 1990: 55), this struggle does not seem to have been between Atum and Re, as the reconciliation can be observed in the Pyramid Texts (Allen 2005). The rise in popularity of Osiris may therefore be seen as causing theological uncertainty amongst people (see **Section 8.2**).

The wearing of the tripartite hairstyle by men during the reigns of Djedkare Isesi and Unas coincides with these political and religious changes (see **Section 6.2**). One of the men to be shown wearing the tripartite hairstyle was the first Overseer of Upper Egypt – Rashepses. Although these statues showing men wearing the tripartite are *ka* statues, and as such portray them as having passed through to the afterlife, until these occurrences only deceased kings and other deities were shown wearing it. The use of this divine hairstyle may reflect the devolution of power to high officials and a wish by these officials to enjoy the privileges of the king in the afterlife and as such modelled themselves on the king.

As shown in **Chart 24**, Dynasty VI has the greatest array of hairstyles for both men and women. Experimentation though is not indicated as this increase in the amount of hairstyles is largely due to the full range of short round variations and lock-styles being depicted. Although there is a general increase in the proportion of people depicted with the cropped style, for the first time the short round tiled style is the most popular style for men with 60% of the short styles compared to 40% for the cropped. The cropped hairstyle is the most popular for male royal relatives (56%) followed by the shoulder-length bob (33%) and short round tiled style (11%). This contrasts with viziers who are most likely to be portrayed with the shoulder-length bob (76%), as are the high officials A (50%). High officials B are still most likely to be shown wearing the short

round tilled style (47%), followed by the shoulder-length bob (30%) and the cropped (22%). The lowest officials for the first time are most likely to be shown with the short round tiled style (47%), followed by the crop (32%) and the shoulder-length style (13%). The tripartite style now only constitutes 6% of female royal relatives' hairstyles, whereas the cropped (88%) is by now the most popular. Ladies are most likely to be shown wearing the tripartite (45%), followed by the cropped (32%), short round ringletted (9%), with depictions of the jaw-length bob being drastically reduced in popularity (5%). The implications of the cropped style being the most popular for both male and female royal relatives is a further loss of power, and a reversed form of honorific cedece by princesses to their non-royal husbands who held high official positions. The increased use of the shoulder-length bob for the highest officials of non-royal birth suggests that they had gained even greater power within the running of the institutions. The emulation and use of variations of the short round styles indicates further bureaucratisation and growth of the ranks of officials. The use of the various backlock styles amongst the elite is largely due to adults being portrayed with child-like hairstyles. Although 45% of ladies are shown wearing the tripartite style, the increase in the use of shorter styles, including the crop (32%) may indicate their further changes in the relationships between men and women (see **Section 8.3**).

The natural break in the dynastic line should perhaps be put between Niuserre and Menkauhor however, Manetho placed it between Unas and Teti, a division that is not apparent in the historiography of the ancient Egyptians (Grimal 1992: 80). Many of the official titles, such as those surrounding hairdressing continued into the reign of Teti (see **Tab. 1**) with a change and reduction in the amount only happening after his reign. Teti's reign sees a resumption of high officials being buried in the provinces with the first *sdwti* 'Seal-bearer of the God' being interred in a tomb at Elephantine (Kanawati 1980b: 129). The southern vizier was now stationed at Edfu, although two viziers continued to live and function from the capital, each with additional responsibilities in Upper Egypt, one for works and the other for revenues (Kanawati 1980b: 129). Political intrigues and a power struggle is implied by the probable assassination of King Teti and the short lived reign of Userkare (a lesser son of Teti), who was eventually overthrown by Pepy I (Kanawati 2003: 60-2). Pepy I largely followed his father Teti's political regime, although he moved the southern vizier to Abydos (Kanawati 1980b: 129). During Teti and Pepy's reign, many of their daughters were married to the high officials, possibly to try and ensure political favour amongst these nobles (Kanawati 2003). Emphasis is now being placed on the activity and powers of an effective spirit

for the nobles, a state that is reached by the deceased thanks to the performance of the glorification rituals by the living (Czerwik 2008: 53). An increase in the significance of the nobles during and especially after death, with them becoming more powerful entities in the afterlife – concepts of their immortality with greater mortuary rituals to help attain and sustain this status (Czerwik 2008: 53).

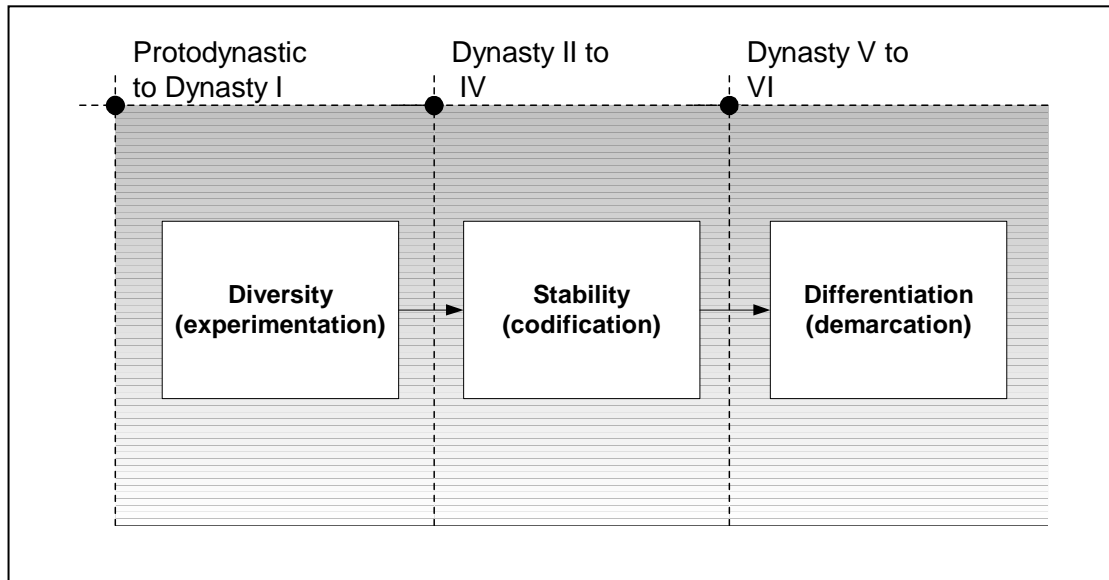


Figure 227. Hairstyles as an indicator of social change and development.

One of the major changes in the running of the country occurred in the reign of Merenre when nomarchs were appointed over individual provinces (Kanawati 1980b: 129). This change may have been intended to increase productivity and taxes, however, according to Grimal (1992: 92) they culminated in feudal patronage, with the offices becoming to all intent and purpose hereditary, although in legal terms it was still non-hereditary. The status of women, where they are still able to command the building of their own tomb chapels (Roth 1999: 46-8) argues against a full feudal system to one still largely based on meritocracy. Merenre's reign also saw a more involved Egyptian policy towards Nubia (Kanawati 1980b: 129). Pepy II brought in further changes around the 30th year of his reign when he abolished the post of Overseer of Upper Egypt and granted this title to most Upper Egyptian nobles as well as the southern vizier (Kanawati 1980b: 129). In this period it seems likely that the nobles became responsible for the tax collection in their provinces under the supervision of the southern vizier with two centres for the collection of grain being created – Meir and Thebes, with a possible third at Abydos (Kanawati 1980b: 129-30). The title Overseer of Upper Egypt disappears from the Memphite region at this period, indicating that only one vizier was retained in the central government (Kanawati 1980b: 130). During the latter part of Pepy II's reign all other officials, apart from the nomarch of Meir, lost the title of

endowment, which freed the deceased's funerary estate from paying taxes as a major factor in the downfall of the Old Kingdom. The benefits enjoyed by the recipients of the concession were a drain on the economy, as they effectively lay outside the central redistribution network, leading to more of a feudal-like system where the recipients attempted to not only acquire wealth but the prerogatives associated with royal property (Grimal 1992: 93). Kanawati (1980b: 130) only sees the provincial nomarchs gaining more power after or at the very end of the Old Kingdom and sees central power remaining strong, and the king taking measures to ensure that the nomarchs did not get too powerful (Kanawati 2004).

The eventual downfall of the weakened central administration seems to have occurred due an alliance between Thebes and Koptos. The first uprising appears to have been quashed, and the southern vizier transferred to Koptos to keep an eye on Thebes, but eventually Thebes took control of the provinces up to Elephantine and put the unity of the country to an end (Kanawati 1980b: 130; Hassan in press a). During this period the use of the shoulder-length bob seems to be universal throughout the provinces by the male nobles (see **Section 6.4**), signifying their emulation of the Memphite central administrators and symbolising their power. Also, many female figurines with the tripartite hairstyle start to be produced at the end of the Old Kingdom (Harvey 2002).

8.2 Changes in Religion Reflected in Changes in Hairstyles

During the Early Dynastic Period the local god of Abydos was Khentiamentiu (DuQuesne 2005; Matthiae 1992; Wilkinson 1999). On the sealings found at Abydos by the Deutsches Institut (Dreyer 1987: 36; Dreyer *et al.* 1996: 72) the jackal deity Khentiamentiu, known as 'Foremost of the Westerners', is associated with the dead kings of Dynasty I (see **Fig. 230**, Matthiae 1992: 31). A similar role was fulfilled by the jackal deity Wepwawet at Assyt (DuQuesne 2005: 391-7). The local vegetation god of Djedu (Abusir Bana, Gk. Busiris) was Andjety (Wilkinson 2003: 97). The iconography of Andjety in Dynasty IV shows him in anthropomorphic form as a deified ruler wearing a high conical crown decorated with two feathers and holding a crook and flail (Wilkinson 2003: 97). The Djed pillar, probably an original symbol of Andjety has been found in Dynasty I tombs at Helwan (Saad 1947: 27, Pl. XIVb). Later, toward the end of the Old and into the Middle Kingdom, Osiris would inhabit all these deities taking on their roles and some of their iconography as well as the attributes of other gods (DuQuesne 2005: 441; Hart 1986: 152-6; Hornung 1982: 72-3, and see 91-9 on syncretism). The Pyramid Texts demonstrate this gradual assimilation in lines like the

following: ‘May you arise, O King, protected and provided as a god, equipped with the form of Osiris upon the throne of the Foremost of the Westerners’ (Faulkner 1969: Utterance 759, see also Utterances 133, 474, 811, 818, 869, 1145, 1393, 1666, 1936, 1942, 1996, 1999 & 2021). This syncretism seems to gather pace as Dynasty VI progressed and eventually Osiris became known as the god of Abydos (in Dynasties V & VI it was predominately Busiris, although both sites became pilgrimage centres) (Matthiae 1992: 34-5; Shalomi-Hen 2005; 2007).





Figure 229. The modern village of Abusir Bana on the ancient *tell* of Djedu. No extant architectural remains of the ancient site are visible in the village, although a few *ex situ* Late Period artefacts, such as sarcophagi line the sides of the fields. No remains from the Early Dynastic or Old Kingdom have been reported as being found at the site (photograph G. J. Tassie).



The dead kings of the latter part of the Old Kingdom became known as Osiris Unas or Osiris Pepy (Allen 2005; Faulkner 1969). This assimilation of the deceased king with the gods of the underworld is not an innovation of the Old Kingdom but of the Early Dynastic or even Protodynastic. However, it was not Osiris that the first kings potentiated themselves with but Khentimentiu, i.e. Khentimentiu Narmer, Khentimentiu Aha, etc. (Matthiae 1992: 35). The king in Pyramid Texts is likened to many funerary deities, not just Osiris, but with Anubis, Wepwawet, Wepiu and Igai and also Khentimentiu among others (DuQuesne 2005: 440).

The origins of Osiris are vague; the Pyramid Texts intimate that he was born at Rosetau, located in the Western Desert necropolis near Memphis (Hart 1986: 152). They also place his death (not at the hands of Seth, but by falling on his side) at Nedyet,

The deity of the Abydos necropolis, Khentiamentiu was first assimilated to Anubis and only later with Osiris as pan-Egyptian gods of the afterlife (DuQuesne 2005: 441). However, the temple of Khentiamentiu at Abydos only became a cult centre explicitly dedicated to Osiris in the First Intermediate Period and by the end of the Middle Kingdom Khentiamentiu was assimilated into Osiris-Khentiamentiu (DuQuesne 2005: 264-5; Wilkinson 1999: 288). In Dynasty I to III priestly titles associated with the worship of Anubis first start to occur, such as those held by Khabausokar – *mdh*-Priesthood of Anubis (DuQuesne 2005: 86-7). Anubis first starts to appear in private *htp di nswt* formula at the beginning of Dynasty IV (DuQuesne 2005: 375) with Osiris making his appearance alongside him and Khentiamentiu in Dynasty V (Shalomi-Hen 2007: 1695). In Dynasty VI Osiris is mentioned more frequently in these offering formulae (DuQuesne 2005: 375). In the writing of Osiris' name on private funerary monuments of the Old Kingdom  the seated bearded man (Gardiner A40) was used as a classifier, although it was also used for the Great God, God, Khentiamentiu and Akh (Shalomi-Hen 2007: 1695-6). Shalomi-Hen (2007) suggests that this classifier started out as a sign for foreigners in the Early Dynastic, principally Asiatics. Shalomi-Hen (2007: 1704) concludes that the seated bearded man with long hair was perceived as Osiris' picture and therefore confined to the divine domain, while seated bearded figures with additional attributes became the classifiers of foreign peoples.

Although Osiris as a religious concept did not exist in ancient Egyptian thought much before his first appearances on the private monuments of the latter half of the Dynasty V (Lorton 1985: 113-4; Shalomi-Hen 2007: 1699) some of the ideas from which he was formed were already in existence in the Early Dynastic. The merging of Khentiamentiu, Andjety and Wusure was the embodiment of a set of ideas and metaphors that coalesced into the iconic form of Osiris. This was another step in the process of state formation, the merging of Upper and Lower Egyptian religious ideals about death and rebirth in pan-Egyptian gods. Although the classical form of the god as mummified with all his epitaphs is not known before the Middle Kingdom (Hart 1986: 151-67; Shalomi-Hen 2005; 2007; Wilkinson 2003: 118-23), the process started at the end of Dynasty V. It is interesting to note that the non-royal men wearing the divine tripartite hairstyle are all shown as seated (see **Figs. 127-9**), probably in imitation of Osiris  indicating their desire to be united with him in the Afterlife.

8.3 The Changing Roles of Women within State and Society

Although in certain African societies anthropological work has been conducted on hairstyles and marital status (Capart 1956; Carr & Neitzel 1995; Fisher 1984), it is not possible with the present material to definitely identify this distinction in ancient Egypt. Although female children will often be shown with the crop, sidelock or backlock style, adults can also be shown with the backlock or cropped style. This portraying of adults as children usually occurs from the end of Dynasty V (Swinton 2003). However, this distinction in hairstyles is one of age and not of marital status. Although it is possible that the placing of a lock of hair or certain style indicated in adolescent and adult women their marital status, this is either not shown in the iconographic or textual record or at present we can not understand what is being indicated.

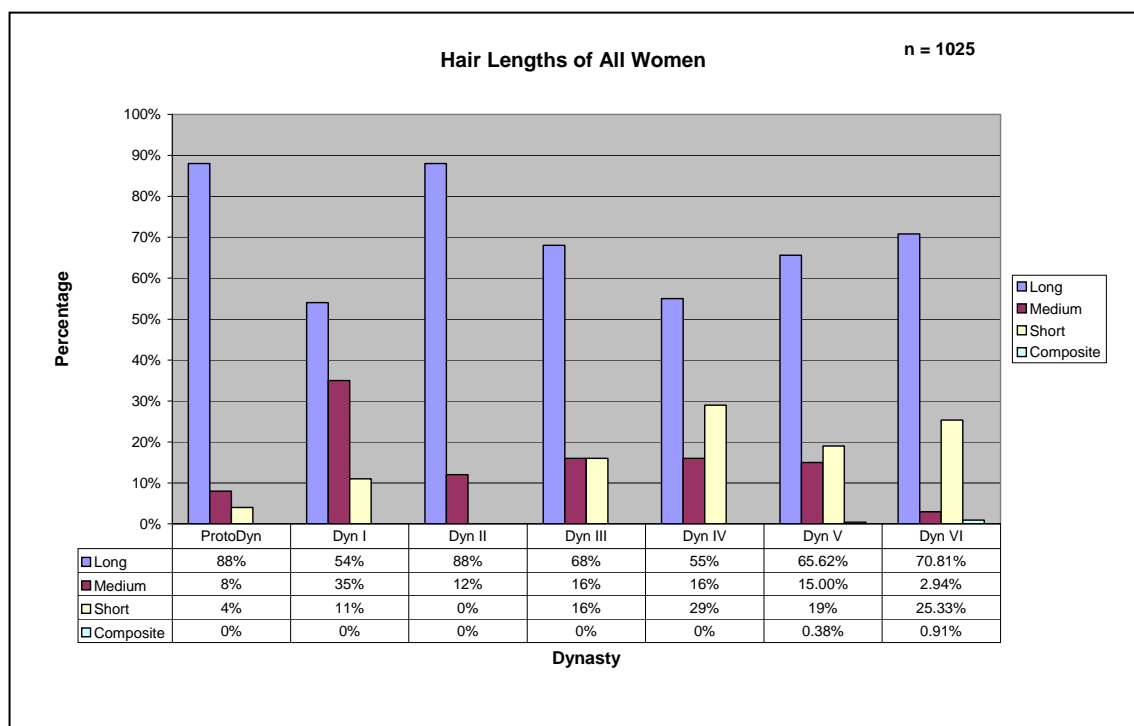


Chart 25. The changing hair lengths of women from the Protodynastic to Dynasty VI.

Although certain women, such as Nebet, who was appointed by Pepy I as Southern Vizier, attained high administrative positions few administrative titles are attested for women in the Old Kingdom (Robins 1996: 116). According to Robins (1996: 116) women could oversee women, but probably not men. The women's titles occur far less frequently and with less variety (Jones 2000; Nur el-Din 1996). From the Early Dynastic through to the end of the Old Kingdom elite ladies were most likely to hold religious titles such as Priestess of Neith or Priestess of Hathor. Non-elite women are shown to have done a variety of jobs: baker, brewer, miller, weaver, wet nurse, dancer, winnowing grain (Robins 1996: 111-126). The type of work a woman did was

defined by the status of her family or the family into which she married into (Robins 1996: 125; see also Lehner 1986: 215-7).

Can changing gender relations be shown in hairstyles? The pattern that emerges if an investigation of hair lengths of all women is undertaken shows that the longer hairstyles are consistently the most popular from the Protodynastic to the end of Dynasty VI (**Chart 25**). Variations occur primarily in the amount of mid-length and short styles worn. If the experimental period of Dynasty I is omitted, a gradual increase in the amount of short styles worn is shown until Dynasty IV, then a slight drop is observed. A similar pattern in mid-length styles is also observed.

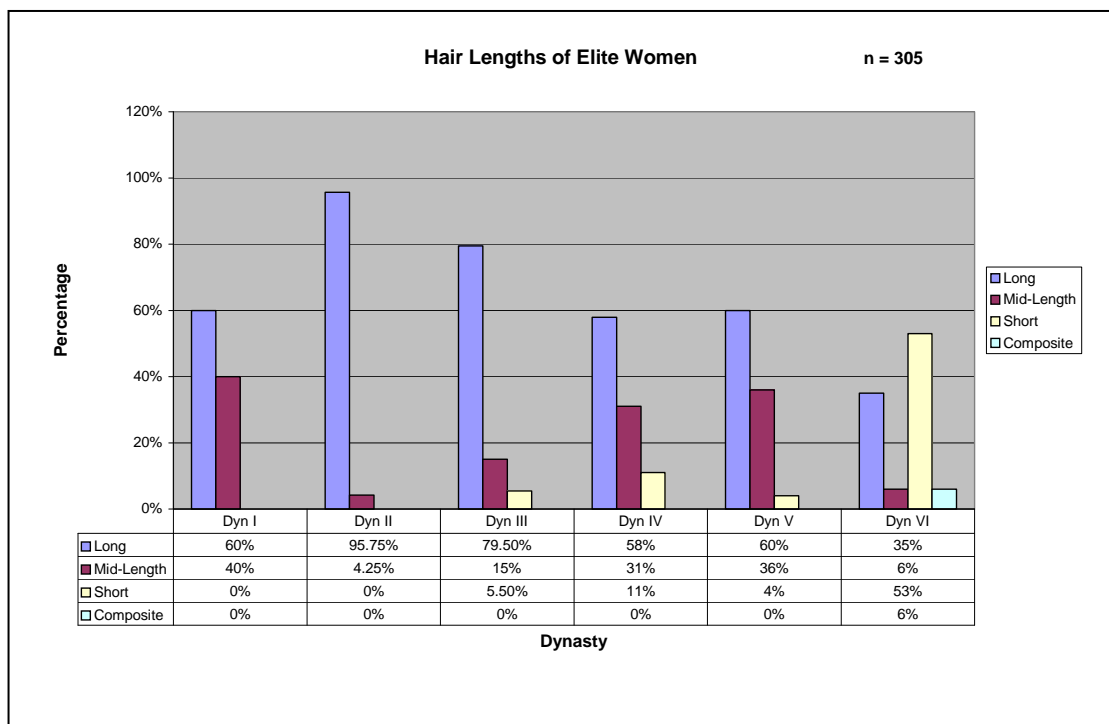


Chart 26. The changing hair lengths of elite women from Dynasty I to VI.

A slightly different pattern emerges if only elite ladies are included in the examination (**Chart 26**). If the experimentation in hairstyles of Dynasty I is omitted a gradual decrease in the percentage of long hairstyle is seen from Dynasty II to VI. However, there is a gradual increase in the amount of mid-length hairstyles from Dynasty II to Dynasty V. Short styles first appear start to appear in Dynasty III and increase in Dynasty IV, there is a slight dip in Dynasty V before reaching their peak of popularity in Dynasty VI.

When examining transformations in the structure of Egyptian society those of Dynasty III and Dynasty VI must first be examined to see if there are any factors that can account for the introduction of short hairstyles for elite women. An increase in the amount of officials and greater codification is observed in Dynasty III and more

construction projects were initiated. The pyramid was introduced as the royal funerary monument and a shrine was built at Heliopolis. The goddess Neith seems to lose her position as the most prominent goddess, being replaced by Hathor in Dynasty III and IV (see **Section 5.3**). This change from a powerful creator-goddess associated with warfare – Neith, to a nurturing goddess symbolic of motherhood – Hathor. Lerner (1986: 150-3) sees this transformation as part of the process of state formation as an integral in the development and institutionalisation of patriarchal gender symbols. With the rise in the importance of Re in Dynasty III (Wilkinson 1999: 293) a strong male creator god was enthroned, Hathor, which literally means ‘house of Horus’, becomes his wife and also the mother of Horus – the king (Hart 1986: 75-82; Wilkinson 2003: 139-45). This not only provided the structural matrix and the mode of syncretic thinking that allowed the development and legitimisation of divine rule for the king within a family of ancestral gods and goddesses (Hassan 1992: 316), but reinforced validity of the patriarchal family unit (Lerner 1986: 217). Religion contributes to upholding and reaffirming at regular intervals the collective sentiments and the collective ideas which make the social group's unity and personality (Renfrew & Bahn 1991: 358). Therefore, the installing of an omnipotent god as the head of the family reinforced the role of the man in mortal families. Also, the notion of a hierarchy of deities, as is seen to evolve in early Egypt, reinforces the hierarchical structure of the state (Renfrew 1994: 50).

‘The transformation of tribal myths into a state myth involved a shift in emphasis from local deities to cosmic gods, and from lineage to dynasties, from a multiplicity of ritual places to a cosmic geography with national shrines and temples’

(Hassan 1992: 308).

King Userkaf of Dynasty V reemphasised the cult of Neith, showing her wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt on his sun temple at Abu Ghurob, and a shrine was erected to her at Memphis (Wilkinson 2003: 158-9).

The religious changes at the end of Dynasty V have already been highlighted (**Section 8.2**) as has the growth in the amount of officials in Dynasty VI (**Section 8.1.3**). Czerwik (2008: 52-3) highlighted the changes in architecture, decoration and texts in private tombs at the end of Dynasty V and into Dynasty VI, as well as changes in the mortuary cult. Roth (1999) observed the phenomenon of the disappearing spouse in Old Kingdom tombs. This practice of omitting the wife from the tomb chapel of her husband is most likely to occur from the end of Dynasty V and early Dynasty VI (Roth 1999:

52). The omission of husbands from the tomb chapels of their wives is almost consistent throughout the Old Kingdom. The omission of the spouse from tomb-scenes in the period from Djedkare Isesi to Teti, also corresponds to less affectionate expressions being shown in the tomb-scenes (Cherpion 1995) and also the use of the tripartite style by non-royal men. The changes that occur at this time can be listed as:

- Introduction of Pyramid Texts and increase in the importance of Osiris in religion.
- Change in royal cemetery from Abusir to Saqqara.
- The cessation of building sun temples.
- The permanent residence and burial of officials in the provinces they administered and inauguration of the post of southern vizier.
- The introduction of the second style of art with its more naturalistic portrayals.
- Decoration of the burial chamber starts to show offerings and texts, with a general avoidance of animate beings. In some Dynasty VI private tomb chapels there is even imitation of Pyramid Texts, and even use of blue paint to fill the signs.
- The change of the main funerary scene with the tomb-owner sat before the funerary meal moving to the west wall from the south.
- New types of grave goods introduced that were specifically used in rituals (*pšs-kf* knife and model stone vessel sets) or models of such items (calcite models of food offerings) alongside the specially produced models of everyday objects such as tools and vessels that were typical in graves from the Predynastic onwards.
- An evolution of the private tomb shows a borrowing of ideas and architectural elements from royal funerary monuments.
- An organisation of the private funerary cult into a phyle system.
- Omission of spouses from the mortuary chapel.
- Lack of affection shown between married couples.
- Emphasis placed on the activity and powers of an effective spirit, a state that is reached by the deceased thanks to the performance of the glorification rituals by the living.
- The use of the divine tripartite hairstyle by men.

This period of time (Djedkare – Teti) seems to have been one of experimentation, with some of the ideas continuing and others being modified or

abandoned. It is unfortunate that the record of Nile flood levels are not available for this period (the Annals that recorded them for the earlier period being created just before) as they may illuminate if a series of low floods prompted greater emphasis on taxation seen by the creation of the southern vizier. If there were environmental pressures on the government, these actions of trying to extract more from the provinces for the central redistribution network can be better understood. Threats to mortal life may have given greater focus to the Afterlife.

The experimentation with decorating the burial chamber indicates that the realisation of O'Connor's (2000) model (**Fig. 9**), where the tomb decoration programme details the movement from *Dwꜣt* (lower world) to the actual cosmos (upper world), from the burial chamber to the outside walls of the chapel was not completed until the end of Dynasty V beginning Dynasty VI. The first texts that expound on the freedom of the dead to move were the Pyramid Texts inscribed in Unas' pyramid (Quirke 1992: 152). Towards the end of Dynasty VI a new genre of texts appeared that placed greater emphasis on the afterlife beneath the earth in the kingdom of Osiris in which the deceased farmed the miraculously fruitful harvests of the Fields of Offerings and the Rushes (Quirke 1992: 155). The first occurrence of these Coffin Texts is on the coffin of Meduneferr, Governor of Oasis, found in his tomb at Balat (Quirke 1992: 155).

The experimentations with the omitting of the wife and showing of the male tomb-owner with the tripartite hairstyle and possibly the lack of affection can now be seen as experimentations in making the funerary monument more sacred (*Sakralisierung*), closer to a cult chapel devoted to the individual to cause an assimilation of the tomb-owner with the funerary gods and celestial deities. Those people shown and named on the walls (which increase throughout Dynasty VI) also share in the same divine condition. From the reign of King Khaba (penultimate king of Dynasty III) until the reign of Pepy II high officials were buried near their king so that he could help guide them in their ascension to the stars and join with the gods (Grimal 1992: 128). However, the three non-royals shown with the tripartite hairstyle – Seshemnefer IV, Itti and Rashepses are not buried near their kings. With some high officials being buried in the provinces during the reign of Djedkare Isesi, this meant that they could not partake of the king's help in guiding them to the afterlife. Although the officials continued to be buried around Unas' and Teti's pyramids, larger amounts of high officials start to be buried in the provinces (Grajetzki 2003: 33). This indicates that there were changing views on the need for the king to guide his subjects into the

afterlife at this period. With Osiris' name being invoked in tombs during the later part of Dynasty V (Roth 1999: 40; Shalomi-Hen 2007: 1704) it indicates a direct dialogue between him and the high officials. These changes could justify the use of the tripartite style by non-royal men, with the omission of the wife and lack of affection between couples being experiments to focus the funerary gods' attention on the tomb-owner, all components that were soon abandoned.

In Dynasty VI the wife again starts to be portrayed in the tomb (Roth 1999: 40-1). However, the wife is now more likely to be shown with cropped hair in her husband's tomb-reliefs, a good example being those of Mereruka. In Mereruka's chapel his wife is shown together with him, but in Watetkhathor's chapel Mereruka is absent. However, when shown together in Mereruka's chapel his wife is always shown with cropped hair, the only occasion she has the tripartite is in the presence of Mereruka's statue. In Watetkhathor's tomb-chapel she is shown with various hairstyles. On the false door in Mereruka's chapel where the statue of Mereruka is shown striding out (**Fig. 162**) both Watetkhathor and his mother, Nedjetempet, are shown. However, while his mother is shown with the tripartite his wife is shown with cropped hair. This seems to be a form of honorific cedece. As with the mother of the king or senior royal children, who are shown with special hairstyles to denote their status, the mother of the tomb-owner is shown with the tripartite style denoting her seniority. Although Watetkhathor was a princess, in the tomb of her husband she cannot be shown as being more important than he is, therefore she is shown with cropped hair. As Mereruka was a high official, he was totally omitted from Watetkhathor's chapel as he already had his own so as not to remove any focus from her in the eyes of the gods. The reliefs in the tomb of Mereruka are some of the finest examples of Dynasty VI art and may show the developed ideals of the period better than tombs of lesser officials.

As Renfrew (1994: 50) observes, it is no longer adequate to see the ideational component of early societies (including their religion) as simply some superstructural reflection of the more substantial infrastructure, although one that is readily subverted by the dominant elite in their ceaseless application of the hierarchical structure of society (e.g. Marx & Engels 1970). Nor can religion be seen as purely a device for promoting efficiency, or even for lengthening the memory span of society within the evolutionary context (e.g. Lachmann 1983). It must be seen as a driving factor in cultural change and adaptability (Renfrew 1994: 50).

CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Hairstyles Reflecting Temporal Change and Modes of Social Organisation

Many interesting correlations have been discovered in this investigation of the relationship between variations in hairstyles and changes in the social organisation of complex society in ancient Egypt from the Protodynastic till the end of the Old Kingdom (3,350-2,181 BC). The Protodynastic and Early Dynastic were a time of innovation and consolidation when the state administration was established and expanded to control the territory created from the unification of the Two Lands. At the top of this bureaucracy stood the king, with members of the royal family holding the highest offices. As the bureaucracy improved and expanded, particularly in the Old Kingdom, more and more officials were needed within the state administration. Parallel to and as part of state control, religious and secular ideology evolved and drove cultural and social change.

Rather than seeing codification of hairstyles in Dynasty I when the state was first formed, greater codification of hairstyles is seen from Dynasty II, indicating that negotiations and experimentation were prevalent in Dynasty I and that Dynasty II saw a more developed ideology. Codified hairstyles emerged from the experimentations of Dynasty I, a process that continued throughout the Old Kingdom. This codification took the hairstyling traditions of Lower and Upper Egypt and merged them to create a unified canon of hairstyles, particularly visible in the hairstyles of men, i.e. the short round tiled style and the shoulder-length bob. This codification of hairstyles helped to bond the various provinces of Egypt and in the process moulded a national identity that defined the Egyptians and differentiated them from others. Although the short round curly styles and shoulder-length styles may have been influenced by greater interregional contact with Nubia (former style) and Libya and Levant (latter style) this cannot definitively be proved as these styles seem to have been worn by southern and northern Egyptians during the Protodynastic period.

Once the canon was established codified hairstyles continued to serve as the norms for identifying members of the administration or signs of authority. For men, the

use of certain hairstyles was restricted to the higher social offices, for example the 'shoulder-length bob' was only worn by the highest official, such as the vizier. In Dynasty V, with the highest official positions being open to non-royals, greater emulation in hairstyles is observed amongst the officials, with more low ranking officials wearing the short round tiled style and more slightly higher ranking officials wearing emulating the shoulder-length bob of the highest officials, a process continuing into the First Intermediate Period. The tripartite and other long hairstyles remained the most popular style for women from the Protodynastic to the end of the Old Kingdom. The jaw-length bob gained popularity when women were portrayed in three-dimensional art, particularly elite women during Dynasty IV and V.

9.2 Hairstyles and Identity

When deciding on whether a person is a female or male, child or adult many factors needed to be taken into account. Rather than study the hairstyles in isolation the physiognomy, stance and clothes of the person are all factors to consider. Hair and various hairstyles' symbolism must be studied within the context of the culture and society that created them. A theory on hair symbolism must be based on detailed research on the individual culture within a specified time frame using a hermeneutic approach.

Social distinctions of age are most easily recognised in childhood; from the beginning of the Old Kingdom the sidelock of youth was deployed as an emblem of their status. The sidelock of youth was then cut off during the rites of passage into adulthood. In the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic children are shown with shaved or cropped hairstyles, indicating the lack of social standing. Old age, although not as often depicted as childhood, is most recognisable in men, where they are shown as corpulent with cropped or shaved hair. This reflects his success in life and shows him ready to take his place with the gods in the afterlife, entering into the vitalised cosmos, not having to wear a particular hairstyle as a badge of office but showing him as pure. One of the first observations made about a person is whether they are male or female. The hairstyles worn by men and women helped make this identification easier. The wearing of the tripartite style by a person, at least from Dynasty I, was a good indication that that person was female. The bob styles, although worn by both men and women had subtle differences in the way they were dressed, i.e. men could have the sides flaring out and women often had a fringe of their own hair showing. However, with the cropped style only the physiognomy, clothes and jewellery indicated which gender was wearing the

hairstyle. Although exceptions are recorded, the short round tiled style was usually reserved for official men. Lock styles are more likely to be worn by adolescent women (usually dancers) than men, although again exceptions are recorded.

From the Early Dynastic Period onwards gods and goddesses are most likely to be portrayed with the tripartite hairstyle, although the gods are usually shown as slightly shorter. The immortality of the deities and unchanging time of their world meant that the majority of their hairstyle remained the same for the whole of ancient Egyptian history, with only Hathor generally being shown with contemporary hairstyles of each period. Senior queens are at first shown wearing the duplex bouffant plaited, this changes to the globular in Dynasty III and the Nekhbet headdress worn over the tripartite style by late Dynasty IV. The only style that appears to have been exclusively reserved for kings is the layered dreadlock style worn by some of the kings of Dynasty I. When high officials are shown wearing the leopard skin they are most frequently, although not always shown wearing the shoulder-length bob. The various categories of priests could be shown wearing a crop, short round tiled or shoulder-length bob. The male manual labourers were usually shown with cropped hair, sometimes shown as scruffy or receding. Although certain hairstyles are more closely associated with specific ritual activities or jobs, it appears that it is the status of the person in the ritual that is most important. From Dynasty I, however, whereas any class of woman could wear the tripartite hairstyle, only male deities – gods, and deceased kings – were allowed to wear it, apart from a brief spell where at least three non-royal men wore it at the end of Dynasty V. This breaking of the sumptuary laws seems to have been due to socio-political and religious changes going on at this period. The wearing of the tripartite style by kings or non-royal men was to associate them with gods of the Afterlife, such as Osiris and was symbolic of regeneration. The death mask develops in the First Intermediate Period into cartonnage masks showing the deceased, whether male or female, wearing the tripartite. A IX or X Dynasty woman's mummy mask from Asyut (Pelizaeus-Museum, Inv. No. 6227) shows her with a plain tripartite (Eggebrecht 1996: 44), as does the contemporary mask of Herischehotep from Abusir (Leipzig University Museum, Inv. Nr. 5), although his also shows him with a long, square beard (Krause 1997: 60-1). By Dynasty XII these developed into anthropoid coffins showing the deceased wearing the tripartite, indicating their union with Osiris (Taylor 1989: 23). A good example of a Dynasty XII anthropoid coffin comes from Beni Hasan, Tomb 132, now held in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge – Coffin of Userhat E.88.1903 (see **Fig. 231**). Another fine example of a man's coffin comes from Deir Rifeh IIa, now

