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BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A Protocol of Dress: The Royal and Private Fold of the Kilt

In statues of the Old Kingdom, the kilts of kings and courtiers are usually folded in opposite directions.

IN Egyptian statuary there appears to be a rule, not evidently recognized, in respect to the manner of folding the short wrap-around kilt and the more formal *shendyt* with a central tab hanging down (Mittelstückschurz).¹ The king wraps the kilt left over right, or clockwise from the point of view of the wearer, whereas the official in the Old Kingdom wraps his kilt in contrary fashion, right over left or counter-clockwise. Royal statues throughout Egyptian history follow this basic method: left over right. As might be expected, the royal fold is soon emulated by private officials, perhaps as early as the end of the Old Kingdom. Thus the 'royal' fold curiously corresponds with that used for garments now intended for men and the 'private' fold for shirts, jackets, etc., made for women today. The rule for the private fold has been indirectly addressed by Fischer in his study of the pair statue Berlin 12547.² Fischer notes the anomaly of dress in the male of the pair, whose kilt is folded left over right instead of the 'correct' right over left, suggesting on this and other grounds that the statue is a modern forgery (evidently in part based on a photograph).

It might be expected that statues of gods originally followed the royal fashion. But an instructive case for the rigour with which the differentiation is applied is the triad of Mycerinus with the Theban nome from the king's Valley Temple at Giza. Mycerinus wears the kilt in the standard royal fashion, while the nome personification, evidently not a god, follows the non-royal fashion.³ That this is not merely fortuitous or dictated by symmetry is emphasized by the dyad of Sahure and the Koptite nome personification in New York: here too the king and nome personification fold the kilt in opposite directions.⁴ It would be instructive to determine the date at which the rule was first broken by officials copying the royal fold in statuary and the corresponding wearing apparel. The broken rule is already exemplified in private statuary of the early Eleventh Dynasty, a good example being the seated statue in the British Museum of the steward Meri with his hands crossed.⁵ The adoption of the royal fold becomes frequent in the Twelfth Dynasty,⁶ and in the Second Intermediate Period is almost the rule.⁷ Examples of the 'private' fold in royal statues appear

¹ I cannot find a clear expression of the rule in the standard discussions of Egyptian dress. The major treatments of the subject are: Hans Bonnet, *Die ägyptische Tracht bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1917; reprinted Hildesheim, 1964); Elisabeth Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (Berlin, 1966); J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie*, III (Paris, 1958), 106-10 (on Old Kingdom); Michel Malaise, in *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris, 1985), 217-27; H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo* (CCG), Teil 4, Tafeln (Berlin, 1902) pls. 70-85.

² H. G. Fischer, *RdE* 30 (1978), 78-95.

³ George A. Reisner, *Mycerinus* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931), pl. 41. In the fragmentary triad, No. 13, the nome personification similarly has the fold in the direction opposite to that of the king, *ibid.* pl. 46 f.

⁴ William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, I (New York, 1953), 70, fig. 46.

⁵ Cyril Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1950), no. 4, p. 34.

⁶ See the numerous examples in Labib Habachi, *Elephantine IV: The Sanctuary of Heqaib* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985). The long wrap-around garment, however, retains the usual right-over-left fold: cf. *op. cit.* pl. 103.

⁷ The seated statue of Prince Ahmose in the Louvre: Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1951), no. 2; statue of Nebyot from Edfu in the Louvre; and the seated statue of Si-Amun in New York (MMA 65.115).

to me to be very rare indeed: an example is a statue of Amenhotep II in Cairo.¹ Certainly other exceptions will come to light.

The 'rule' presented in this communication is obviously a general one, subject to exceptions, and restricted to the two types of kilt cited above. The longer, over-the-shoulder mantles and other garments show a preference for a right-over-left fold from the Khasekhem statues from Hierakonpolis, the Djoser serdab statue from the Step Pyramid, and through the many Middle Kingdom private statues. Two-dimensional representations, in painting and relief, are more complex and to a great extent reflect the direction in which the figures face.² The subject cannot be taken up here.

It is logical to assume that the method represented in statuary reflects the actual mode of dress in 'real life'.

WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON

Bemerkungen zur Stele des Merer in Krakau

Discussion of some of the textual problems of the stele of Merer in the Cracow Museum, first published by Černý in *JEA* 47 (1961). This important document for the history of the First Intermediate Period contains the earliest attestation of the image of the balance in the Judgement of the Dead.

DIE STELE des *Mrr* in Krakau³ ist von J. Černý in Band 47 (1961) dieser Zeitschrift (pp. 5-9; pl. i) veröffentlicht worden. Seitdem ist die Inschrift mehrfach behandelt und kommentiert worden.⁴ Trotzdem sind einige Passagen in ihr dunkel geblieben. Der folgende Artikel versucht sie etwas zu erhellen.

1. Große Schwierigkeiten bereitet haben die Sätze in der ersten Hälfte von Z.4. Die bisherigen Übersetzungen:

Černý:⁵ 'I did not spit in the eyes of a good man, of one who spoke or of one who knew, of one who . . . or of one who bent (his) arm to me.'

Schenkel:⁶ 'Ich habe nicht in die Augen gespieen, dem, der mit mir sprach, zu Gefallen, da ich mir des Verletzenden bewußt war und (lieber) den Arm beugte.'

Groll:⁷ 'I was not spat upon in my eyes because of the quality of my speaking and because of my knowledge of one who bent (his) arm to me.'

Lichtheim:⁸ 'I was not spat in the eyes, owing to the worth of my speech, the competence of my counsel, and the bending of my arm.'

¹ CG 42077: Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt*, no. 49.

² The 'standard' direction, based on the original direction of Egyptian hieroglyphic and hieratic writing is the right-facing figure: Bonnet, *OLZ* 27 (1924), 554, with many other discussions. Thus in the Hesyre panels the 'private' right-over-left fold is represented in the right-facing figures. On the Khaibusokar false door the right-facing figure similarly has the expected right-over-left fold while the corresponding left-facing figure exhibits the opposite left-over-right fold: cf. for both illustrations: E. L. B. Terrace and Henry G. Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum* (London, 1970), 35, 39. The subsequent development of these conventions is complex and beyond the scope of this communication.

³ Muzeum Narodowe MNK-XI-999.

⁴ Vollständige Neuübersetzungen: W. Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 62-4, Nr. 42; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1 (Berkeley, 1973), 87-8. Teilkommentare: H. G. Fischer, *Kush* 10 (1962), 333-4 [zu Z.5-6; 10; 12]; Schenkel, *ZÄS* 92 (1965), 63 [zu Z.5; 12]; A. Roccati, *RSO* 42 (1967), 70-1 [zu Z.8-13]; M. Gilula, *RdE* 20 (1968), 55-6 n. 6 [zu Z.4]; Schenkel, *Die Bewässerungsrevolution im Alten Ägypten* (Mainz, 1978), 36 [zu Z.9-13]; H. G. Fischer, in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Studies in honor of Dows Dunham* eds. W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis, (Boston, 1981), 66(e) [zu Z.10]; D. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich* (Hamburg, 1983), 301 [zu Z.5]; 215 [zu Z.10-11].

⁵ Op. cit. 6.

⁶ *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben*, 63.

⁷ Bei Gilula, *RdE* 20 (1968), 55-6 n. 6.

⁸ Op. cit. 87 und 88 n. 2.