



Scenes of Women's Body Language when accompanying their Husbands at Private Tombs in Ancient Egypt¹

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ABSTRACT

The body language of women in ancient Egypt may be detected in various contexts. One of these contexts is clearly represented through scenes of women accompanying their husbands. Body language is a type of nonverbal communication that was meant to deliver messages about certain people, certain occupations, certain culture, certain situation, etc.... This paper aims to highlight the body language of women in ancient Egypt who accompanying their husbands through scenes of the private tombs. The objectives of this study are to determine the body language of women while accompanying their husbands through gestures and poses, classify the different group of gestures, detect their body language development through ages and finally to discuss the different types of gestures and their meaning. A descriptive and analytical methodology will be applied to achieve this study objectives through displaying tomb scenes from different cemeteries and from different periods. Result of this study reviles those women were represented in various positions with their husbands, which express love, tender, satisfaction and containment towards their husbands. Moreover, hand and arm gestures that express concern and love are the most detected gestures in this context.

Introduction

Women through ages were the backbone of societies. In ancient Egypt women's role was

not restricted to be a wife or a mother (Watterson, 2013). Wives normally share their husband's tombs (Fischer, 2000), they were represented in various positions with

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their husbands, which express love, tender, satisfaction and containment towards their husbands. Most of such scenes appeared in the tombs of Giza and Saqqara during Old Kingdom. While it appeared in a lesser extent during Middle in Beni Hassan and New Kingdoms in tombs of Thebes.

The study of gestures and postures of women who accompanying their husbands in the private tombs' iconography aims at characterizing and interpret nonverbal communication in women's real life scenes. These micro expressions and gestures through women scenes create an immediate impact on the receiver. Their standing posture and facial expressions provide an understanding of what is behind these gestures (Andrews, 2016). There is no prior study, which dealt with the specific topic of the women who accompany the husband during the Old, Middle, and the New Kingdoms.

Body language such as Human postures (still positions), gestures (arms, hands, head movements), and facial expressions embody complex cultural codes and are "a form of language and a type of communication in their own right" (Martinez-Ruiz, 2009). The body produces visual signs, and signals which provide social meanings (Ekman, 2004). Nonverbal communication studies include body language which is considered a tangible communication (Paterson, 2007; Knapp, Hall & Horgan, 2014) as well as the use of three-dimensional interaction – proxemics. These forms of non-verbal communications have been applied, among other disciplines, by linguistic and cultural anthropology, social psychology, and semiotics (Farnell, 1996; Haviland, 2004; Sonesson, 2014).

This paper aims to highlight the body language of women in ancient Egypt who accompany their husbands in scenes of the private tombs. This paper aims to determine the body language of women who accompany their husbands through gestures and poses, classify the different group of gestures, detect their body language development through ages and finally to discuss the different types of gestures and their meaning. A descriptive and analytical methodology will be applied to achieve this study objective through displaying tomb scenes from different cemeteries and from different periods.

What is body language?

It is the use of physical expressions and behavior to communicate non-verbally. Non-verbal behaviors can allow people to be at ease and connect with each other. However, they can also generate tension, confusion and even create an awkward situation. Despite what one person says, their body language can transfer something different to creating inconsistency in communication. Non-verbal communication can affect our interactions as it can restate our message, contradict our words, support our statement, substitute the meaning of what we are trying to say, and complement what we are trying to say. Body language is something that is usually natural and is often done unconsciously rather than consciously (Bavelas, & Gerwing, 2007).

Body language may include:

Facial expressions used to convey basic emotions, including surprise, happiness, anger, fear, sadness, and disgust.

Body movement and posture include activities such as sitting, walking, standing, bearing, stance, and even subtle movements.

Gestures include actions such as waving, pointing, and even using hands when speaking.

Eye contact which refers to the visual sense. It is a crucial part of body language as it allows people to see honesty, hostility, attraction, affection, empathy, concern, etc., through one's eyes.

Ancient Egyptian body language

It is the communicative power of gestures that holds our attention such as Egypt's iconic scripts. Iconography is a complex system of movement notation for different types of activities in carefully encoded physical language (David, 2018).


Studies have been done on ancient Egyptian gestures and postures, mainly on Old and Middle Kingdoms representations of non-royal gestures and stances (Dominicus, 1994) with general overviews (Brunner, 1977) and precise discussions of (non) royal stances (Eaton (2007; 2013).

Ancient Egyptian iconography does not encode haphazard, meaningless attitudes; at the time of their creation, images imparted shared informative value for a set of encoders and decoders, delivered with at least a certain level of intent to communicate (Kendon, 1981).



The body language revealed in art depicts conventionalized, ritualized attitudes (Kendon, 2004) obeying restrictive rules. The visual repertoire of attitudes is limited by the rules of canon and decorum which governs what may be represented and how it should be depicted (Baines, 2007). The static standard by its nature 'arrests movement' and inevitably transforms dynamic motion into static posture. The interactive dynamics of

word and gesture is lost in silent pictures, though formulaic speeches may be recorded in the neighboring figures addressing and completing them. The context in which depicted motions are presumed to take place in a scene and the architectural environment for which the representations are conceived (funerary, cultic, domestic, palatial) are culturally defined, imposing their own constraints. The Egyptian concept of image as an unchallengeable, socially constructed sign, excludes part of nonverbal communication, such as facial expressions, rendering them irrelevant. Only postures and gestures significant for an Egyptian observer are represented (e.g., when foreign rulers are represented performing an Egyptian gesture of respect, it does not necessarily mean that they actually performed it in life, but the gesture speaks to Egyptian viewers). To decode ancient Egyptian iconographic gestures and postures, two systems of reference are generally used: Egyptian texts and iconic figures, both strictly encoded productions not primarily concerned with a realistic description of Egyptian experience (David, 2018).


1-Scenes showing women seated or standing with their husband


The scene which appeared at the Mastaba of Khafkhufu I  (Simpson, 1978) which dates to the Fifth Dynasty (fig.1) The figure shows the wife standing behind her husband with her right arm interlocked around her husband's left arm. Furthermore, her left arm interlocked around his left arm with her hand placed on her chest, her left-hand crosses over to clasp his left lower arm. This posture expresses love, tenderness, satisfaction and containment towards her husband (Khaled, 2018).


In the tomb of Iteti which dates to the Fifth Dynasty (fig.2) The gesture which symbolizes intimacy represents in her right arm around her husband's shoulder and the left hand held like the right one and stiffly open (Berkeley,1976).


Tomb of Kahai  and his son Nefer , Fifth Dynasty(fig.3). The wife here represented standing beside her husband. Her right hand is put on her husband's shoulder symbolizing love and support towards him (Khaled, 2018).


The feelings between the wife and the husband can be manifested which is represented in her eye contact, indicating love, affection and intimacy between the married couple.

Tomb of *Mrr.w(i)-Kz.(i)* (Mereruka) , Sixth Dynasty (fig.4), The scene here is more vivid than the others as the wife here seated on her leg in front of her husband looking to him , enjoys and plays on the harp (Manniche,2000) by touching the strings of the harp by her index and her thumb producing the charming music to amuse her husband.


Tomb of Ankhtifi (fig.5), dates to First Intermediate Period (Spänel,1984).The wife seated on the same chair of her husband; her right hand is represented placed on his right shoulder.

Tomb of  Ukh-Hotep son of Ukh-Hotep and Heny-hery-ib (Blackman,1935). Twelfth Dynasty(fig.6). The wife seated on the same chair of her husband, Her left hand is placed on his left shoulder, but the other hand is placed on her knee.

In the Tomb of *sbk nht*  (Tylor, 1896) Twelfth Dynasty(fig.7), The wife is represented sitting together side by side with her husband. She places her right arm on the shoulder of her husband which expresses her love and intimacy between the married couple and in the other hand she is enjoying the perfume of the lotus flower.

The same position of the wife at New Kingdom tombs such as Tomb of *mnw*  Eighteenth Dynasty (fig.8) , The wife is represented sitting together side by side with her husband (Hartwig,2001) She embraces her husband which reflects her love, and her left hand can be seen resting on his shoulder. But the tomb of Nakht TT52 (Davies,1917) Eighteenth Dynasty (fig.9) The wife seated, side by side with her husband, she holds in her right hand a lotus blossom and her left hand is placed on Nakht's shoulder.


2- Scenes showing women kneeling and standing between or in front of the Legs of the husband

Women appeared in this posture at the tomb of *Ntr-wsr* (Murray,1905) Fifth Dynasty (fig.10). The wife of the tomb owner kneels beside the leg of the tomb owner, she embraces his leg while the other hand holds a lotus flower to her nose. But the Tomb of *Nfr-sšm-R' šsj*, Sixth Dynasty (fig.11) A daughter of the tomb owner kneels between his legs (Kanawati,1999). She embraces his ankle with her arm. Another example from Old kingdom Tomb of Meryrouka  (Kanawati,2004), Sixth Dynasty (fig.12) The wife here is standing not seated at the leg of her husband.


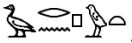
Appeared in the tomb of *Ip*, Eleventh Dynasty (fig.13) The wife kneels in front of Ip's leg, embracing his right leg with her right hand and smelling on a lotus (Fischer,1996)


held in the left hand. Here in the tomb of Intef (TT 386) (fig.14) is a representation of two women, one of them stands to the left of his leg, holding his thigh and smelling a lotus grasped in the rear hand (Hudáková,2019).

The other woman stands behind him (to the right of his leg), holding his right thigh and bearing a duck on the other hand.

In the tomb of *Khesw Wer* , Twelfth Dynasty (fig.15) The woman kneels between the legs of Khesw wer, grasping the wings of a bird (Hudáková,2019).



Tomb of Senbi I, Twelfth Dynasty (fig.16) His wife Meres here is represented standing in front of his leg, She smells a lotus held in her right hand and with her left hand she grasps senbi's right lower leg.


There are two unique scenes one in the tomb of  Ukh-Hotep son of Ukh-Hotep and Heny-hery-ib (Blackman,1935) Twelfth Dynasty, (fig.17) which is the same position of the wife's right arm clasps the left lower leg of her husband, but her head turned and raised towards him. Another example is the tomb of Sarenput I no.36 , Twelfth Dynasty (fig.18) The wife kneels on the right knee between his legs, holding them with both hands (Müller,1940).

Lastly, one of the most important scenes in New Kingdom represents in the tomb of Nakht TT52 , Eighteenth Dynasty (fig.19) is that the tomb owner is accompanied by three females his wife and two daughters, The wife stands behind his leg, The eldest daughter kneeling at his feet and holding her father's leg with her right hand and the young

daughter stands in front of her father and she turns her head towards her father.

3- Scenes showing women in rituals scenes with the husband

The rituals appeared in adoration scenes depicts the figure standings with arm raised with open hands, palm facing down². Women appears in this posture in the tomb of *Nht* , Eighteenth Dynasty (fig.20) The wife is shown standing, raising her both hands as a gesture of adoration. Another example represents the same posture in the tomb of *iri nfr* , Twentieth Dynasty (fig.22).


As for presenting offerings appeared at the tomb of Nakht TT52 , Eighteenth Dynasty (fig.21) Tawy is represented standing behind her husband in front of a pile of offerings (Davies,1917) in her right hand she holds a *men't* necklace and in the other a musical instrument called a sistrum. Both of these were associated with the goddess Hathor.

4- Scenes showing love between women and their husband

This kind of scenes represent twice in this study at Mastaba C, Fifth Dynasty, The Memphite necropolis (fig.23) This scene shows unfinished outlines of low relief representing woman and man in a very remarkable position, in a complete embracing style (Fischer,1959) They stand face to face kissing each other besides she encircles him by placing her two arms on his shoulder while his left arm encircles her waist.

² The adoration gesture was briefly treated in some earlier studies: Klebs, Relief II 177-78; H.Müller, in: MDAIK 7, 1937, 93-94; Junker, Giza XI, 186; H.Goedicke, in: ASAE 55, 1958, 45-49; in: LA

II, Dominicus, Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungendes Alten und Mittleren Reiches, SAGA 10, 1994, 28-32.

The second example at the tomb of *iḥ ms* , Eighteenth Dynasty (fig. 24) Queen Nefertiti turns her head towards the left side to kiss her husband king Akhenaten on the cheek which indicates her love and affection towards him.

Discussion


- The examples discussed above are considered evidence for the body movements depicted in the scenes. They demonstrate women seated or standing with their husbands. For example, the wife in the tomb of Fifth Dynasty is shown standing behind her husband with her right arm interlocked around her husband's left arm with a gesture of embrace which expresses love, tenderness, satisfaction and containment.

However, the tomb of Iteti (fig.2) illustrates a different scene. The wife's left and right hands interlock the husband's arm in a stiffly open position, this very rare gesture of affection which expresses less intimacy than the wife's arm around the shoulder of the husband.

The third example tomb of Kahai (fig.3) broke the typical posture tradition whereas the wife is delineated standing adjacent to her husband not behind him and the two couples look to each other which express the deep relationship between them. The right hand of the wife is placed on her husband's shoulder symbolizing love and support towards him. In the Sixth Dynasty tombs, it can be noticed that the scene in Mereruka tomb (fig.4) between the two couples become more vivid as the wife here kneels on the ground in a relaxing pose while playing on the harp to her husband (Manniche,2000) while both are enjoying the music and looking at each other.

This Scene shows the deep affection between Mereruka (Kanawati,2001) and his wife.

The selection of Middle Kingdom tombs portrays the wife seated on the same chair of her husband and her right hand is placed on his right shoulder on his right shoulder signaling that she takes strength from her husband (Khaled, 2018). The left hand is grasping her husband's left hand which symbolizes love and affection.

But In the Tomb of *sbk nht* , (fig.7), The wife is represented at the same position but the left hand she is holding a lotus flower enjoying the perfume of it.

The same position of the wife at New Kingdom tombs But the tomb of Nakht TT52 (fig.9) shows the wife seated beside her husband, holding a lotus flower with her right hand.

- The examples discussed in the scenes demonstrating women kneeling by their husband's legs predominantly belong to Old Kingdom, the wife of the tomb owner shown kneeling beside the leg of the tomb's owner, embracing his leg probably denotes the need for his protection. In the tomb of *Nfr-sšm-R' šsj* (fig.11) the daughter is depicted kneeling between her father's legs, embracing his ankle with her arm which is probably a sign of respect and her need for his protection.

-During the Middle Kingdom tomb of *Ip* (fig.13) The wife kneels in front of Ip's leg, embracing his right leg with her right hand and smelling on a lotus held in the left hand. But scene of (fig.14) There is a woman stands behind him (to the right of his leg), holding his right thigh and bearing a duck on the other hand.

In the scene of (fig.15), the posture is different since the woman kneels between her husband's legs, grasping the wings of a bird. Probably, after he hunted the bird and giving it to her, so she places it the box behind her. There are two unique scenes one in (fig.17) which is the same position of the wife's right arm clasps the left lower leg of her husband, but her head turned and raised towards him as if she is talking to him while looking at him in an intimate way. The other scene in (fig.18) shows the wife kneeling on the right knee between his legs, holding them with both hands not only with one hand like the previous example.

- During New Kingdom the example that was analyzed included three women, the first one is the wife who stands behind his leg. The second one is the eldest daughter who is kneeling by his feet and holding her father's leg with her right hand as a sign of respect as well as to signify the need for his protection. The last one, the young daughter, stands in front of him, turns her head towards her father as if she is feeling neglected, Thus placed her left hand on his leg as if she is telling him (look at me I am here).

-The examples discussed in the scenes of women in rituals representation with the husband. The wife represented once in adoration scenes and the other position presenting offerings. The typical stance of adoration scene depicts the wife standings with arm raised with open hands, palm facing down (fig.20). while scenes of presenting offerings, the wife is represented standing behind her husband in front of a pile of offerings, in her right hand she holds a *menṯ*

necklace and in the other a musical instrument called a sistrum (fig.21).

- Lastly, the examples discussed in love scenes. As Fischer mentioned, wives form of embracement appeared in three different forms; 1) face-to-face position, 2) the ins and the out overlapping of the couple, 3) and the last position was encompassing the waist of the husband with both arms.

In this study the love scenes between the two couples, appeared during Old Kingdom (fig.23) with a complete embracing style³. They stand face to face kissing each other besides she encircles him by placing her two arms on his shoulder while his left arm encircles her waist as a sign of deep love. Once again appeared a love scene during New Kingdom. The wife turns her head towards the left side to kiss her husband king Akhenaten on the chariot (Davies,1905) which indicates her love and affection towards him.

Conclusions

This study succeeded to detect about twenty-four scenes expressing the body language of women accompanying their husbands in different positions. Those scenes were classified into four groups. Firstly, women seated or standing with their husband. Secondly, women kneeling and standing between or in front of the Legs of the husband, Thirdly, ritual scenes and lastly are love scenes.

As for the first and second groups which represent wives standing or seated with their

³ The wife's embrace was appeared in three different forms; the face-to-face position, the in and the out overlapping of the couple, and the last position was

encircling the waist of the husband with both her arms; see H.G .FISCHER , " A Scribe of the Army in Saqqara Mastaba of the early fifth Dynasty", *JNES* 18, 1959, p. 248.

husbands or between their legs, the body language of the hands and arms are clearly expressive and deliver signs of care, need of protection, and intimacy. The majority of scenes lie within the first or second categories mostly date back to the Old kingdom. In the selected scenes, women appear in a traditional position of being seated between or beside the legs of the husband, embracing it which signifies the need for his protection and respect. It can be observed that the motifs are typical for Old kingdom, Middle kingdom and New kingdom which represent women simply holding on the tomb owner's (husband's) leg, The only two exceptions is the scene in the tomb of Khesw wer where the female additionally carries a bird and the scene in the Tomb of Mereruka(fig.4), where the wife is seated in front of her husband looking to him, enjoying and playing on the harp to amuse her husband. This scene shows the deep affection between the couple.

Concerning the third group of ritual scenes, they are only two scenes depicted from the tombs of the New Kingdom and represent adoration scenes and presentation of offering. The body language of arms is the most obvious gesture and symbolizing respect and veneration.

As for the Fourth group of love scenes there two scenes one dates to the Old Kingdom and the other one to the New Kingdom. The body language of these scenes shows a complete love and intimacy between the couple. The movement of the arms, faces, legs and torso express high emotions between them which represents a very remarkable position, in a complete embracing, hugs and kissing.

As for the development of women body language scenes when accompanying their

husbands; a largest number of scenes date back to the Old kingdom followed by the New kingdom and the Middle Kingdom respectively. This may be because of the actual number of the private tombs during these periods. In the first and second groups, the gesture that expresses intimacy represents in the right arm around the left arm of the husband during the Old Kingdom. These postures were sustained in Middle and New kingdoms, but the wife was represented holding the lotus flower in enjoying its perfume. The ritual group only appeared during the New Kingdom while love scenes in the private tombs appeared during the Old Kingdom.

The body movement is difficult to understand, thus it is important to learn more about gestures to help people understand the messages behind non-verbal communication and explain the meanings which behind these scenes. It is clear that body language can be substituted for words and just as 'words may express anything' subtle or intense, gestures can also do the same. Therefore, in terms of communication, feelings, beliefs and ideas can be conveyed in gestures. Like the embrace gesture that represented in the previous examples which were discussed.

This selection of scenes may encourage researchers not to rely only on textual or evidential detail, but to investigate deeper to think and understand what behind these gestures and movements from various feelings like respect, love, care, affection and intimacy.

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Table no.1-Scenes showing women seated or standing with their husband

Fig	Dynasty	Tomb Owner	Position of gesture
1	Fifth	Khafkhufu I	The right arm interlocked around the husband's left arm
2	Fifth	Iteti	The right arm around the husband's shoulder and the left hand held like the right one and stiffly open
3	Fifth	Kahai and his son Nefer	The right hand is put on the husband's shoulder
4	Sixth	Mereruka	The index finger touching the strings of the harp
5	First Intermediate Period	Ankhtifi	The right hand is placed on the husband's shoulder.
6	Twelfth	Ukh-Hotep son of Ukh-Hotep and Heny-hery-ib	The left hand is placed on the left husband's shoulder, the other hand is placed on her knee.
7	Twelfth	Sbk Nakht	The right arm placed on husband's shoulder. the other hand is enjoying the perfume of the lotus flower.
8	Eighteenth	Mnn	The left hand resting on husband's shoulder
9	Eighteenth	Nakht	The right hand holding a lotus blossom and the left hand is placed on Nakht's shoulder.

Table no.2- Scenes showing women kneeling and standing between or in front of the Legs of the husband

Fig	Dynasty	Tomb Owner	Position of gesture
10	Fifth	Ntr-Wsr	The wife kneels beside the leg of the tomb owner, embraces his leg while the other hand holding a lotus flower to her nose
11	Sixth	Nfr-Shesm-Ra	The daughter kneels between the father's legs, embraces his ankle with her arm.
12	Sixth	Meryrouka	The wife here is standing not seated at the leg of her husband.
13	Eleventh	Ip	The wife kneels in front of Ip's leg, embracing his right leg with her right hand and smelling on a lotus

14	Eleventh	Intef	Woman holding the left thigh and smelling a lotus The other woman holding the right thigh and bearing a duck on the other hand.
15	Twelfth	Khesw Wer	Woman kneels between the legs grasping the wings of a bird
16	Twelfth	Senbi	Standing in front of the leg, her right hand and with her left hand she grasps senbi's right lower leg
17	Twelfth	Ukh-Hotep	The right arm clasps the left lower leg of the husband, but the head turned and raised towards him.
18	Twelfth	Sarenput I	The wife kneels on the right knee between his legs, holding them with both hands
19	Eighteenth	Nakht	The wife stands behind the leg, the daughter holding her father's leg with her right hand and the young daughter turns her head towards her father.

Table no.3- Scenes showing women in rituals scenes with the husband

Fig	Dynasty	Tomb Owner	Position of gesture
20	Eighteenth	Nakht	Raising both hands as a gesture of adoration
21	Eighteenth	Nakht	The right hand holds a menat necklace and in the other a musical instrument
22	Twentieth	Iri nfr	Raising both hands as a gesture of adoration.

Table no.4- Scenes showing love between women and their husband

Fig	Dynasty	Tomb Owner	Position of gesture
23	Fifth	Mastaba C	The wife encircles him by placing her two arms on his shoulder while his left arm encircles her waist
24	Eighteenth	Iah ms	Nefertiti turns her head towards the left side to kiss her husband king

Figures

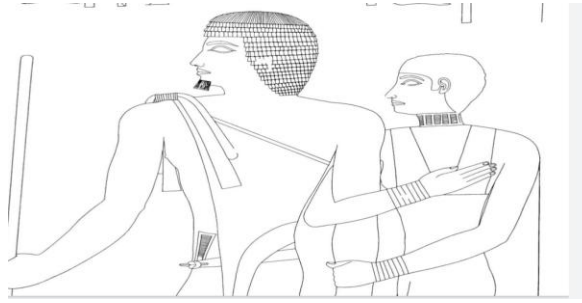


Fig. (1) A scene representing Khafkhufu is standing behind him his wife, Mastaba of Khafkhufu I
Giza, 5th Dynasty

After Simpson, W, *The Mastaba of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, Boston, 1978, p.137.



Fig. (2) A scene representing the wife of Iteti standing behind him, Giza, 5th Dynasty
After Badawy, A, *The tombs of Iteti, Seshm c ankh-Ptah and Kaemnofrt*, fig.13 West wall, Tomb of Iteti.



Fig. (3) A scene representing Kahai's wife Meret-yetes standing opposite him, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty
After Harpur, Y, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, p. 190.

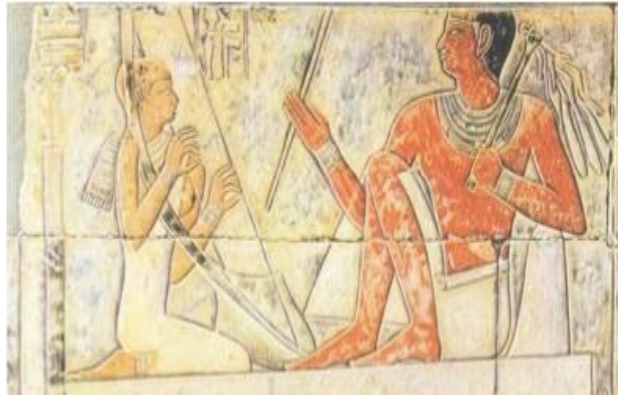


Fig. (4) A scene representing Mereruka and his wife plays on the harp, Saqqara, 6th Dynasty
After <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/3025924735363863/> Accessed 2/1/2022



Fig. (5) A scene representing Ankhtifi and his wife seated on a chair with feet of a lion, Mo'alla,
First intermediate period

After <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/340795896798185762/> Accessed 2/1/2022

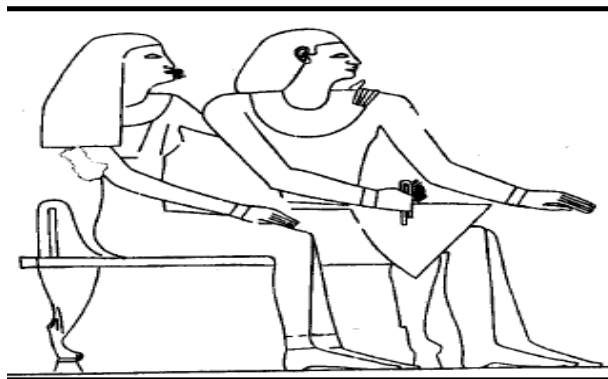


Fig. (6) A scene representing the wife seated behind her husband, Meir, 12th Dynasty
After Blackman, *The Rock Tomb of Meir*, pl. xxxiv

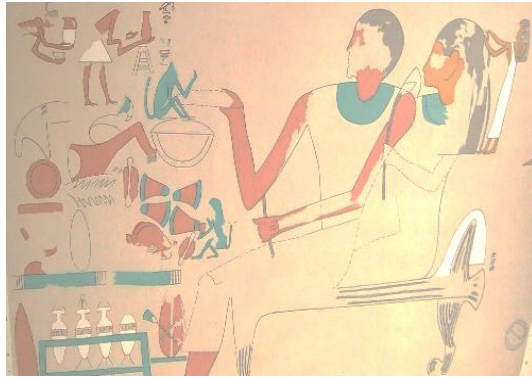


Fig. (7) A scene representing *sbk nht* and his wife are sitting together side by side, El Kab, 12th Dynasty
After Tylor., J., The Tomb of Sebeknekht, pl. viii



Fig. (8) A scene representing Menna and his wife seated, Tomb of *mnn*, El Qurnah, 18th Dynasty
After

https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/nobles/menna69/photo/menna_c1_westwall-s_03_bg.jpg&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768 Accessed 2/1/2022



Fig. (9) A scene representing Nakht and his wife seated, side by side, tomb of *Nḥt*, Dra' Abu el Naga', 18th Dynasty

After

https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/nakht52/e_nakht_04.htm Accessed 5/1/2022

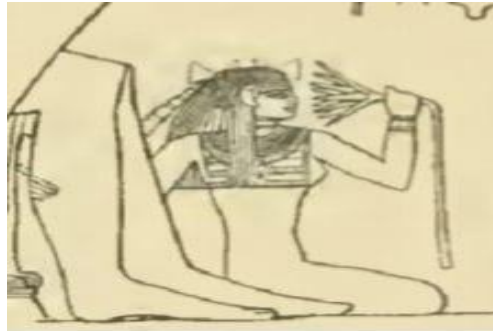


Fig. (10) A scene representing the wife of the tomb owner, kneels at his foot, Saqqara, 5th Dynasty
After, Murray, A, *Tomb of Nḥr-wsr at Saqqara, Mastabas I*, pl. xxiv.



Fig. (11) A scene representing the daughter of the tomb owner kneels between his legs, Tomb of *Nfr-sšm-Rʿ/šj*, Saqqara, 6th Dynasty

After Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery III*, pl. 49.



Fig. (12) A scene representing the wife of the tomb owner stands at the foot her husband, tomb of Meryrouka, Saqqara, 6th Dynasty

After <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/483151866247407202/> Accessed 5/1/2022

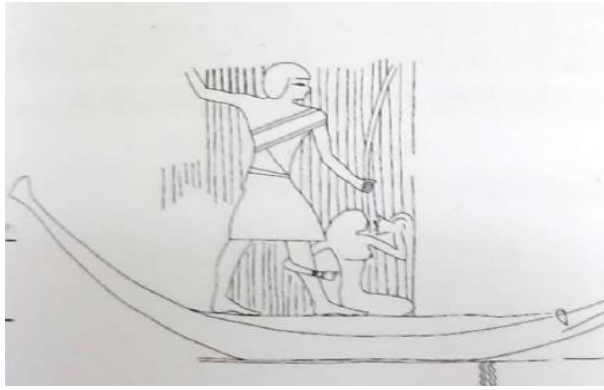


Fig (13) A scene representing showing a papyrus pulling scene, Ip is standing, and his wife is kneeling
El Saff, 11th Dynasty
After Fischer, H., *The Tomb of Ip at El Saff*, pl. A



Fig (14) A scene representing a spear-fishing scene, the tomb owner appears in the company of two females, tomb of Intef, Asasif, 11th Dynasty
After Deckert, J., *Das Grab des Inj-jtj.f*, fig. 16



Fig. (15) A scene representing a fowling scene, the tomb owner appears with a female kneels between his legs, tomb of Khesw Wer, Kom El-Hisan, 12th Dynasty
After Silverman, *The Tomb Chamber*, fig. 31

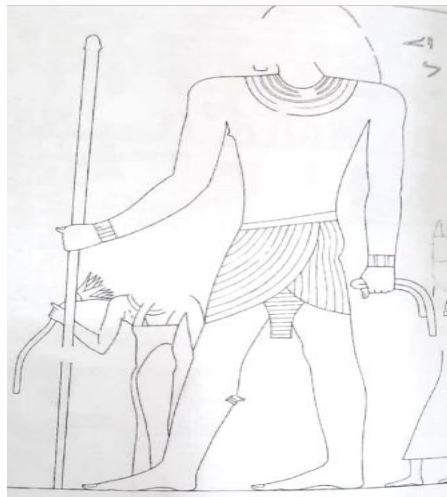


Fig (16) A scene representing Senbi is depicted standing and holding a staff , His wife Meres stands in front of him and is half as high as her husband,tomb of Senbi I,Meir,12th Dynasty
After Kanwati and Evans,The Tombs of Senbi I and Wekhhoteb I,pl.77



Fig (17) A scene representing the owner sits on a lion-legged chair holding a staff. A woman, most probably his wife kneels next to his feet, tomb of Ukh-Hotep son of Ukh-Hotep,Meir,12th Dynasty
After Hudáková, L, *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom Tombs of Officials, studies in Iconograph*,p.371



Fig (18) A scene representing a spear-fishing scene, Sarenput I is presumably accompanied by his wife, Sat-tjeny,Sarenput I no.36,Qubbet el Hawa,12th Dynasty
After Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine*, fig.5



Fig. (19) A scene representing a fowl hunt, Nakht is standing in a light papyrus boat. He is accompanied by his wife and his daughters, The eldest daughter kneeling, the another daughter stands at the front of the skiff, tomb of Nakht TT52 ,Qurnah,18th Dynasty

After https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/nakht52/e_nakht_05.htm Accessed 9/1/2022



Fig. (20) A scene representing Nakht and his wife Tawwy represented standing behind her husband in front of a pile of offerings, tomb of *Nakht*, Dra^c Abu el Naga^c,18th Dynasty

After Manniche.,L," *The tomb of Nakht, the gardener at Thebes* (N0. 161) as copied by Robert Hay", JEA LXXII, 1986, p. 65, fig. 12



Fig. (21) A scene representing the deceased and his wife in the cortege presenting offerings in front of goddess imnwt, goddess of the west, tomb of *Nakht*, Dra^c Abu el Naga^c,18th Dynasty

After https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/nakht52/e_nakht_03.htm Accessed 9/1/2022



Fig. (22) A scene representing represents the deceased and his wife wear gray hair wigs surmounted by cones of fat, tomb of *iri nfr*, Deir El Madina, 20th Dynasty.

After, Bruyere.B and .Kuentz.Ch, *tombes Thébaines à la Nécropole de Deir El Médineh*. La tombe de Nakht-Min et la tombe d'Ari-Nefer, MIFAO LIV, Le Caire, 1926, pl. xv

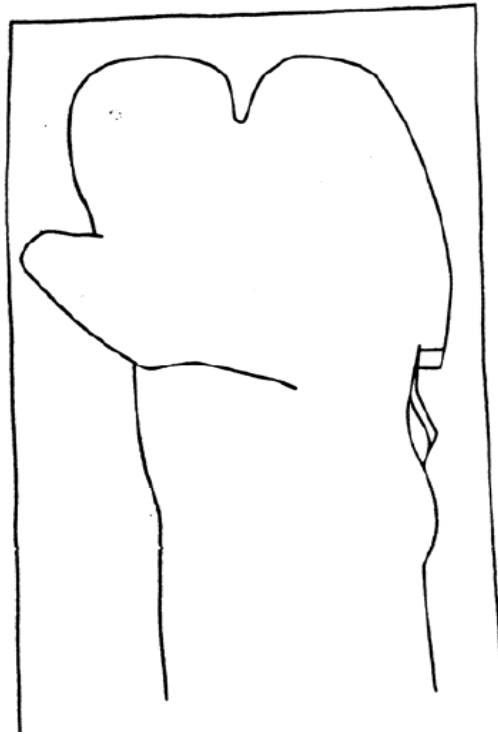


Fig.(23) A scene representing unfinished outlines of low relief representing man and woman in a very remarkable position, in a complete embracing style, Mastaba C, the memphite necropolis, 5th Dynasty
After Fischer , H.G, "A Scribe of the Army in Saqqara, Mastaba of the early fifth Dynasty", JNES 18, 1959, fig. 13.



Fig. (24) A scene representing king Akhenaten kissing his wife on the chariot, tomb of *iḥ ms*, Tell El Amarna, 18th Dynasty
After Davies, N., *The rock Tombs of El Amarna III*, pl. xxxii