The men of the *ẖnr*

Izold Guegan

ABSTRACT

The ancient Egyptian priesthood has been the centre of several Egyptological studies in the past decades. One religious group, the *ẖnr*, has been particularly discussed among Egyptologists. The nature of the duties of its members still raises questions, as many scholars consider them to be members of the king's harem and others as simple musicians and dancers. The cause of so much debate is the primary presence of women in the iconographic representations of the group. However, several primary sources attest to the involvement of men from the Old Kingdom onward. This paper explores the representations of men within the *ẖnr* during the Old Kingdom in the images and the texts. The results reveal that men are documented as members of the *ẖnr*, from the Old Kingdom onward and occupied different levels within the group.

KEYWORDS

gender – religion – priesthood – iconography – *ẖnr*

رجال الـ *ẖnr*

إيزولد جويجان

ملخص

كان الكهنوت المصرى القديم مركزًا للعديد من الدراسات الأثرية المصرية التى تمت خلال العقود الماضية. على سبيل المثال تمت مناقشة فئة دينية واحدة وهى فئة الـ *ẖnr*، وذلك بشكل خاص بين علماء المصريات. إلا أنه لا تزال طبيعة وواجبات أعضائها تثير التساؤلات حتى الآن، حيث يعتبرهم كثير من العلماء أعضاء فى حريم الملك، فى حين يعتبرهم البعض الآخر موسيقيات وراقصات بسطاء. ويعزى سبب الكثير من ذلك الجدل إلى وجود تصوير للمرأة بشكل أساسى بالمناظر التى تصور تلك الفئة. وعلى الرغم من ذلك فإن العديد من المصادر الاساسية تشهد على ارتباط رجال من الدولة القديمة وما بعدها بهذه المجموعة الدينية. تتناول هذه المقالة تمثيل الرجال داخل الـ *ẖnr* خلال عصر الدولة القديمة وذلك فى المناظر والنصوص. حيث تكشف النتائج عن وجود رجال كأعضاء فى الـ *ẖnr* خلال عصر الدولة القديمة شغلوا مناصب مختلفة داخل تلك المجموعة الدينية.

الكلمات الدالة

النوع – الدين – الكهنوت – المناظر – الـ *ẖnr*

What role did men play in the *ḥnr* if any? That the *ḥnr* was largely composed of women is undisputed. However, some men are also documented in both iconography and texts during the Old Kingdom onward. Did masculinity become an element of its own right within this group? Is the answer to be found in the symbolic dimension of men's performance or in the general development of the group?

This paper aims to explore these questions in order to propose a clearer image of gender role and distinction within the *ḥnr*.[1] The Old Kingdom is the period for which we find most of the representations of the *ḥnr*. There are a total of 88 monuments from the Fourth to Sixth Dynasty. However, some monuments or objects present more than one scene or inscription of the term *ḥnr*. Thus, the total number of textual and iconographic attestations is around 100.[2] The study of the sources related to the *ḥnr* in the Old Kingdom made it possible to highlight 15 examples showing evidence for the involvement of some men within the group (tab. 1). This article first discusses iconography, then textual evidence.

What is the *ḥnr*?

The *ḥnr* is an ancient Egyptian group, mainly dedicated to religious activities, attested from the Old Kingdom onward. Previously, this term was believed to refer to the king's harem, based upon the homophony with the *pr-ḥnr* in the New Kingdom, namely the "harem". This first interpretation was confirmed by the lexicographical works of Elfriede Reiser (1972: 13), according to which the very root of the term implies the idea of "restricting", which seems to bring it closer to a structure evoking the harem. However, various studies have re-examined the materials and suggested it was more likely a religious group connected to several deities and performing in various contexts (Blackman 1921: 15; Nord 1981: 137–145; Bryan 1982: 35–53; Kinney 2008: 23; Morris 2011: 71–103; Morris 2017: 285–335).[3] The *ḥnr* is often seen as a mostly feminine institution, although the involvement of men has long been noted by various authors (Nord 1981: 137–145; Spencer 2010: 258).[4]

There is a general increase in sources as time goes by, with more documents dating to the Fifth Dynasty. In terms of geographic distribution, the sources are 71.59% Memphite. The other regions, on the other hand, are mainly represented during the Sixth Dynasty.[5] The sources from the Old Kingdom present purely textual sources, iconographic representations deprived of textual mention of the term *ḥnr,* as well as sources combining both the text and the image. There are 14 textual sources lacking an iconographic representation of the *ḥnr*. These are anthroponyms on the one hand and mainly sequences of titles on the other.[6] The majority of documents for the period have no inscription of the term *ḥnr* or its derivatives. The majority of all these examples come from tombs. The Memphite region is, as noted above, mostly represented at the end of the Old Kingdom. The sources remain silent on many aspects, however. There is no evidence regarding the administrative and daily organization of the group, for instance. Nothing is known, either, of the

[1] The *ḥnr*, its practices and its organization, is the subject of my doctoral thesis *The ḥnr: research on an Egyptian religious group from the Old to the New Kingdom*, under the supervision of Pierre Tallet and Kasia Szpakowska. I thank my supervisor, Kasia Szpakowska, for her proofreading and her precious help in writing this article as well as in all of my research. My gratitude also goes to Dominique Lefèbvre for his corrections of my translations as well as his numerous comments and important support. I also thank Jérôme Rizzo for having produced, at my request, one of the photographs presented in this article and for allowing me to publish it.

[2] This number remains approximate. Some unpublished tombs still need to be studied in detail in order to identify new possible scenes representing the *ḥnr*. In addition, to arrive at this number, only the total scenes were taken into account. Thus, the same scene can present several representations of the members of the *ḥnr* in several registers, as is sometimes the case. Here, however, it is the total number of scenes that has been considered, not the precise number of mentions or performances in each scene.

[3] However, we must be very cautious regarding the distinction of the "religious" group of the *ḥnr* and the king's harem. Indeed, the terms have identical spellings and the nature of each of the organizations is ambiguous (Gitton 1984: 97–110; Yoyotte 2008: 76–90). It cannot be excluded that some members of the harem might be members of the "religious" *ḥnr* as well.

[4] Despite several studies that followed and distinguished the terms related to the harem, such as *ip.t-nsw, ḥnr.(w)t-nsw, pr-ḥnr.t* (for a comprehensive study of these, see Roth 2012: 1–16), the meaning of this word is not yet unanimously agreed upon (Lesko 2002: 365–366).

[5] The majority of the sources date to the Fifth Dynasty. Few documents survive from the Fourth Dynasty, the period in which the *ḥnr* entered textual documentation. In general, the increase in the records of the *ḥnr* is a reflection of the dissemination of written and iconographic documentation in the Old Kingdom. These numbers should therefore not be seen as a gradual importance of the institution, but simply a reflection of the general development of sources for the period. Similarly, if the *ḥnr* is more represented outside the Memphite region from the Sixth Dynasty onward, one must be careful with what this reveals. It is tempting to see a parallel with the possible linking of the cults of Neith and Hathor in the provinces during the same period and which would be the result of a royal decision to consolidate its base there (Gillam 1995: 42–49, 228; Fischer 1968: 37–40). The appearance of evidence in Meir, in the Fifth Dynasty, is associated with the installation of the cult of Hathor, on the other side of the shore, in Cusae (Hudáková 2019: 494). However, there are far fewer mentions of the *ḥnr* in the Fifth Dynasty than for other religious groups. It is therefore more reasonable to see, there again, a reflection of the development of regional necropolises at the end of the Old Kingdom. This regional development is the result of a consolidation of regional power at the end of the period. Furthermore, it is not surprising that the Memphite necropoleis are the most represented for this study. In addition to their proximity to the capital, which also influenced the elites to be buried there to stay near the king, it was also the cemeteries that are the most excavated for the Old Kingdom. The volume of sources related to the *ḥnr* recorded for the Old Kingdom therefore reflects less the evolution of the group over time than the survival of material data from the period as well as the state of our current archaeological knowledge.

[6] For the Old Kingdom, the study of sequences of titles proved fundamental in understanding both the chronology of the period and the organization of the various administrative organs (see in particular Baer 1960; Strudwick 1985). The documents relating to the *ḥnr*, for their part, are neither numerous nor diversified enough to supplement these previous studies.

Example	Monument's owner	Dynasty	Type	Context	Role
1	Debeheni	IV	Iconographic	End of funerary procession	Supervisor
2	Ptahhotep	V	Iconographic	Funerary procession	Supervisor, priest
3	Iymery	V	Iconographic	Offerings presentation	Dancer
4	Niankhkhum and Khnumhotep	V	Iconographic	Offerings presentation	Dancer
5	Nebkauhor	V–VI	Iconographic	Offerings presentation	Instructor
6	Unknown	V–VI	Iconographic	Uncertain	Various and Uncertain
7	Niankhkhnum	VI	Textual	Graffito	Director
8	Baq	VI	Textual	Graffito	Director
9	Niankhpepy	VI	Textual	Graffito	Director
10	Niankhpepy	VI	Textual	Graffito	Director
11	Niankhpepy	VI	Textual	Graffito	Director
12	Djau	VI	Iconographic	Funerary procession	Dancer
13	Kheni	VI	Iconographic	Fishing scene	Dancer
14	Kaaihep-Tjeti-Iqer	VI	Iconographic	Fishing scene	Dancer
15	Idu	VI	Iconographic	Offerings presentation	Uncertain

Tab. 1 List of representations of men within the *ḥnr* during the Old Kingdom

salary and income of the institution, nor for its services rendered to non-royal persons. In the end, these sources are too incomplete to fully understand the detailed administrative functioning of the *ḥnr*. However, the number and diversity of iconographic representations do document a wide range of ritual performances.

PERFORMANCE OF THE *ḥnr*

Before trying to understand the roles men might have had within the group, it is important to know what the performance of the *ḥnr* is about. In fact, it seems to correspond to the definition of religious rites and rituals.

IDENTIFYING THE *ḥnr*

Members of the *ḥnr* are identifiable by various titles and typical iconographical characteristics.

ICONOGRAPHY

In the Old Kingdom, the scenes involving members of the *ḥnr* were made up of different groups: dancers, rhythmists, musicians and singers.[7] We notice an immediate proximity between the dancers and the rhythmists. The two of them form a separate group. When the scene includes the deceased, the musical group is often depicted as the closest to the deceased. The musical group can be either in the same register as the group of dancers and rhythmists or in a separate

---

[7] It cannot be established whether the musicians and singers are permanent members of the *ḥnr* or if they only occasionally join them. Meyer-Dietrich (2009: 3) and Chernoff (1979: 55) hesitate in considering that they all form a single group and that the musicians were performing for the dancers. However, music seems to be an important part of the performance of the *ḥnr*. After the Old Kingdom, the sistrum is often shaken by the *ḥnr* female members. It seems to replace the keeping of the beat by clapping or by using clappers, which becomes rarely represented. Sistra not only produce sounds to keep the beat, but they are also a musical instrument. Another instrument that appears often is the harp. Just as the sistrum (Elwart 2011: 37–60; Elwart 2017: 64–65), its association with Hathor is known (Rahiem 2011: 89–120; Richter 2016: 137–139) During the Old Kingdom, a harpist is always present among the musicians accompanying the *ḥnr*. The harpist is usually the closest musician to the deceased. A scene from the Middle Kingdom tomb of Senet and Antefiqer (TT 60, Porter – Moss 1960: 121–123; Allen 2003: 23–24) shows two harpists, one of whom is a lady. Her harp ends with a human head and is decorated with a checkerboard that recalls the motifs found on the *paddle dolls* and other representations of *ḥnr.wt* (for the identification of some paddle dolls as female members of the *ḥnr*, see Morris 2011). The tomb of Senet and Antefiqer is decorated with many other scenes that probably depict members of the *ḥnr*. This picture seems to underline the importance of the harp, and therefore music, for the *ḥnr* and its ritual activities (see also Donnat – Beha 2020: 64–65 for the association with the *iḥy.w*). Hathor is the most important deity behind most of the representations of the *ḥnr* (Morris 2017). Even though the musicians shown in scenes depicting *ḥnr* members, in the same or separate registers, are not permanent members of this group, it is highly probable that their music is involved in the activities performed by the *ḥnr*.

register. Songs are also included in the iconography of the Old Kingdom. In the Old Kingdom, singers were usually in the immediate vicinity of the musicians and not mixed with the dancers and rhythmists.[8] Regarding genders, we notice that the orchestra is purely male until the Sixth Dynasty, during which time women are represented as members of this orchestra. What is typical of the Old Kingdom corpus of representations of the *ḥnr* is the systematic use of dance as a means of performance.[9]

DANCE

The Old Kingdom laid the foundations for the postures that were used in tomb scenes for the centuries that followed. The dance postures can be divided into clear types. The dances most often represented are the so-called "diamond" dance and the "salute".[10]

The "diamond" dance is so-called because of the shape of the performer's upraised arms (fig. 1). The "salute" is the dance performed with one arm raised up before the chest. To these postures are added those that are occasionally associated with other rituals.

During the Sixth Dynasty, new gestures were incorporated into the iconographical repertoire. One of these is what Kinney calls the "layout", identifiable when the performer is leaning back and extends one of her legs in front of her (fig. 2). These three dances, "diamond", "salute", and "layout" are usually named *ib3* in the inscriptions.[11] The word *ib3* can be written with several different determinatives, but for the representations of the *ḥnr* in the Old Kingdom, the Gardiner sign Y6 ⌂ is the most frequent one, sometimes doubled[12] or tripled.[13] The word *ib3* can designate either the dance

performed or the performers. In most of the scenes involving the *ḥnr*, the inscriptions indicate *ib3(.w) in ḥnr*, which can be translated as "dance(s) performed by the *ḥnr*".

The second term related to dance that appears the most frequently after *ib3* is *ḥb.t*.[14] Also translated by dance (Erman – Grapow 1971 III: 250.14; TLA: lemma no. 115380), its determinative, the Gardiner sign A32, also represents a character in dynamic movement. The posture of the determinative evokes the motion frequently performed by *mww* dancers (Meyer-Dietrich 2009: 3). The term itself appears in scenes involving both men and women, which is not true for *ib3*, which is used only for dances performed by women.

CLOTHING

Generally speaking, gender identification was not as obvious in the Old Kingdom as it became in the following periods.[15] This is also true for the *ḥnr* members who are mostly represented with short hair until the Sixth Dynasty. Likewise, it is common to see female officiants wearing a "male" kilt, pointing forward.[16] Only the presence of a female chest makes it possible to define the gender of the characters represented. In cases where the identification of the female gender is problematic, it is necessary to proceed by analogy. The exercise remains fairly easy, however. Indeed, there is a systematic separation of men and women in the representations of the *ḥnr* until the Sixth Dynasty. In addition, female attributes, such as the chest, or genitals, are most often visible and allow identification.

Between the Fourth and the Fifth Dynasty, the sheath dress is invariably worn by rhythmists while the

---

[8] In the Middle Kingdom and the New Kingdom, with the disappearance of the iconographic scheme of the Old Kingdom, the singers were mixed with the other officiants. We recognize them by the position of the arm, deployed but not stretched, of the officiant, the palm of the hand turned towards the sky (tomb of Ukhotep IV, Blackmann – Apted 1953: 15–16, pl. X; the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut, blocks nos. 1282, 1284, 1367 [http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/. Accessed on 3rd June 2020.]; tomb of Menkheperraseneb, Davies – Davies 1933: pls. XVII and XXIII; tomb of Min, TT 109, Virey 1891: 362–370).

[9] This is no longer true for the following periods when dance is no longer systematically represented in the scenes of the *ḥnr*. This development is accompanied by the disappearance of rhythmists as they used to be represented in the Old Kingdom. The roles of the performers evolve, and the classic scheme of the Old Kingdom disappears.

[10] The terminology used here is that of Kinney (2008).

[11] For a discussion on the symbolic meaning of this dance and its relation to the *ḥnr*, see Green (1983: 29–38); Hendrickx – Förster – Riemer – Darnell (2009: 189–244); Roche (2014: 161–189).

[12] Tomb of Kakaiankh (Giza, Central Field, mastaba G 8522, Porter – Moss – Málek 1974: 107–108, 117, 248; Kinney 2008: 256; Hassan 1950: fig. 99; Vandier 1964: fig. 204).

[13] Tombs of Kadjua (Giza, Central Field, mastaba G 8472, Porter – Moss – Málek 1974: 244–245 ; Lepsius 1849 II: 52; Hassan 1950: fig. 83; Kinney 2008: 255), Urirni (Sheikh Said, tomb no. 25, Porter – Moss 1968: 188; Kinney 2008: 194; Davies 1901: pl. 10), Nefer (Giza, Western Cemetery, G 4761, Porter – Moss – Málek 1974: 37–138; Junker 1943: fig. 13; Kinney 2008: 214).

[14] Tombs of Djau (Deir el-Gebrawi, tomb no. 12, Porter – Moss – Málek 1981: 619–622; Altenmüller 1998: 1158–1159, pl. 50; Kinney 2008: 33, 205; Kanawati 2013), and Kheni (El-Hawawish, tomb H 24, Kanawati 1989: fig. 37a; Kinney 2008: 229).

[15] One stereotype concerns size differentiation, where it is claimed that women are depicted as smaller than men. However, Ann Macy Roth (2006) showed that the size of the woman varied considerably throughout the period; according to the scene, the position of the characters and of the identity of the owner of the tomb. Generally speaking, encoding demarcating gender. For gender varied through time and was more complex than is sometimes assumed. For discussions on gender and the way of representing women in ancient Egypt, see in particular Troy (1986: 5–43); Vittmann (2000: 167–180); Depauw (2003: 49–59); Eaverly (2013: 8–12).

[16] Examples of such kilts worn by women are numerous. See for instance the tomb of Debeheni (Giza, Central Field, mastaba G 8090, chamber 2; Hassan 1943: fig. 119), the tomb of Ptahhotep (Saqqara, AJ-ES, mastaba LS 3, Lepsius 1849 II: pl. 43; Kinney 2008: 197), the tomb of Seshemnefer III (Giza, Western Field, mastaba G 5170, Junker 1938: pl. 2) the tomb of Nefertiretnef (Saqqara, east of the Step Pyramid, mastaba D 55, Van de Walle 1974: pl. 6), the tomb of Shepseskafankh (Giza, Western Cemetery, mastaba G 6040 [LG 18], Weeks 1994: fig. 3), the tomb of Rashepses (Saqqara, near the Step Pyramid, LS 16, El-Tayeb 2018: 297), the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (Saqqara, around the pyramid complex of Unas, Moussa – Altenmüller 1977: pls. 68–69, fig. 25), the tomb of Nebakauhor (Saqqara, north of the Step Pyramid, Hassan 1975: figs. 6–7), the relief in the British Museum (British Museum, inv. EA 994).

Fig. 1 Tomb of Ty. Women of the *ḫnr* performing the "diamond" dance (photo J. Rizzo)

other officiants are dressed in short or long loincloths, and sometimes bands crossing on the chest, or are completely naked. It seems that the more the character is in movement, the less she is dressed. Nudity is associated with the body from the front. In the Fourth Dynasty, the sheath dress and the short loincloth were already worn by women. In terms of specific attributes, we notice the trifloral headdress on some performers, all of whom have short hair. Concerning specific jewellery, the *menat* necklace is often worn as well as the Bat's fetish as a pendant. In the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, fashion was short-haired for both men and women, with the exception, perhaps, of the first tripartite wigs found on fragments from the temple of Sahure.[17] The only documented eccentricity is a trifloral headdress that appears only a few times on women.

The Sixth Dynasty marked a change in the iconography of the group. The genders are more and more differentiated. Also, new markers appear to distinguish between men and women, such as new headdresses and hairstyles. Women increasingly wear a long braid, ending with a ball, while several men wear a short wig or a distinctive headdress.[18] Most rhythmists and a few dancers keep their hair short. We also see the appearance of bands ending in long ribbons decorating some women's heads. The trifloral headdress appears again a few times as well as the short hair. Along with these new gender markers, we also witness an increase in scenes where men and women interact at the same time, sometimes by having physical contact. For women, these changes mainly concern the dancers, whereas the rhythmists retain their usual appearance. As men get more involved in the dances and get closer to the women, the genders are more obviously distinguished.

TITLES

In addition to the simple word *ḫnr* used to designate the entire group of female dancers, several other titles are to be found.

Title 1. *ḫnr.t*:
The term designates a female member, as in the tombs of Merernebef (Myśliwiec 2004: fig. 42, pls. XXII and LXVII; Kinney 2008: 201) in the Fifth Dynasty, and of Mehu (Porter – Moss – Málek 1981: 619–622; Altenmüller 1998: 158–159, pl. 50) in the Sixth Dynasty.

Title 2. *im(y).t-r(ꜣ) ḫnr.w(t)*:
This title was held by Hemetre (Sixth Dynasty). Lady Hemetre was part of the court and held the titles of

---

[17] Only if these fragments can be truly understood as representations of *ḫnr* members (see Porter – Moss – Málek 1974: 326–339; Kinney 2008: 233; Borchardt 1913: pl. 54; Wente 1969: 87).

[18] An example can be seen in the tomb of Kaaihep-Tjeti-Iqer (El-Hawawish, tomb no. 26, Porter – Moss 1962: 19; Kanawati 1980: fig. 12; Kinney 2008: 251).

ḥkr.t nswt wˁt.t, director of *ḥnr.wt*, song director, *ḥkr.t nswt wˁt.t im(y).t-rȝ ḥnr.w(t); im(y).t-rȝ ḥst* (see Porter – Moss – Málek 1981: 450; Jones 2000: 303, no. 1106; Nord 1981: 139, 142; Mariette 1889: 137–142, no. C15; Kinney 2008: 28; Ward 1986: 72).

Title 3. *im(y).t-rȝ ḥnr n nswt*:
The holder of this title was Neferesres (Fifth–Sixth Dynasty), who also held those of *ḥkr.t nswt wˁt.t*; "director of the king's *ḥnr*; entertainment director; song director; director of the king's dances ", *ḥkr.t nswt wˁt.t; im(y)-t-rȝ ḥnr n nswt; im(y.-rȝ) sḫm-ib; im(y).t-rȝ ḥst; im(y).t-rȝ ibȝ.wt n nsw* (Porter – Moss – Málek 1981: 282–284; Hassan 1936: 205; Kinney 2008: 28; Ward 1986: 70); Neferesres' son, Nimaatre (Porter – Moss – Málek 1974: 70; Kinney 2008: 208; Roth 1995: pls. 93, 94, fig. 188) was also a member of the court and held priestly offices, which he held in the funerary temple of King Nyuserre. In his tomb, members of the *ḥnr* are also depicted (Porter – Moss – Málek 1974: 70; Kinney 2008: 208).

Title 4. *sḫd.t*:
The title appears only once, in the Sixth Dynasty, in the tomb of Mehu (Porter – Moss – Málek 1981: 619–622; Altenmüller 1998: 158–159, pl. 50; Kinney 2008: 33, 205). It is held there by a dancer, designated, like all the others, by the term *ḥnr.t*. This title should be compared with that of *sḫdt ibȝ(.w)* (Jones 2000: 910, no. 3338).

Title 5. *sbȝ*:
One woman holds the title in the tomb of Khufukhaef (Porter – Moss – Málek 1974: 190–192; Simpson 1978: fig. 48; Fischer 1981: 167–168; Kinney 2008: 226).[19] The scene shows the deceased standing, turned to the right in front of different registers filled with offerings and offering-bearers. The third register is dedicated to dance. We see first, on the left, two male characters on either side of offerings. A woman in a sheath dress leans toward them. She holds two curved sticks in her hands and approaches one of the *menat* necklaces found on the offerings. Above her the word *sbȝ* is written. Behind her are seven dancers performing the salute dance followed by two rhythmists, all turned towards the deceased.

Title 6. *ḥnr n pr-ḏt*:
Four documents associate the *ḥnr* with the *pr-ḏt*. The first date of the Fifth–Sixth Dynasty (tomb of Nebkauhor, Porter – Moss – Málek 1981: 627–629;

Hassan 1975: figs. 2–3; Kinney 2008: 213) shows the members of the *ḥnr* performing rituals in front of the deceased. The others come from the tombs of Kheni (Kanawati 1989: fig. 37a; Kinney 2008: 229) and Kaaihep-Tjeti-Iqer (Porter – Moss 1962: 19; Kanawati 1980: fig. 12; Kinney 2008: 251), dating to the Sixth Dynasty, and present members of the *ḥnr* performing dances and singing songs in honor of the owner of the tomb.

Title 7. *ḥnr n pr-šnḏ.t*:
An occurrence of this title comes from the tomb of Ptahhotep dating to the Fifth Dynasty (Porter – Moss – Málek 1981: 653–654; Lepsius 1849 II: pl. 101b; Kinney 2008: 197; Wilson 1944: 201–218, pl. 13; Edel 1970: fig. 4; Junker 1940: 9). It shows female dancers involved in the funerary procession.[20]

EVIDENCE FOR MEN IN THE *ḥnr*

ICONOGRAPHY
For this paper, only men involved in dance and activities that seem closely related to the *ḥnr* troupes have been taken into account. Therefore, all of the other characters usually portrayed in the scenes showing representations of the *ḥnr*, such as musicians, butchers and offering-bearers, were not considered. As a result, ten iconographical scenes can be identified. Two main activities can be distinguished: dance and other roles.

DANCE

Five scenes show male dancers.

Example 3: the tomb of Iymery (fig. 3)[21]
This is the first occurrence of men involved in dance on a wall decorated with representations of members of the *ḥnr*. The composition shows the preparation of offerings, including the sacrifice of cattle, and their presentation to the deceased seated on a chair, breathing in the scent of a lotus flower. The dancers are divided into two registers. On the first are the male members. Two rhythmists are turned to the right where three duets of dancers are performing three different dance steps in a circle. In the lower register we see, on the left, the female members. Four rhythmists are turned to the right where nine dancers perform the diamond dance. The orchestra is in the same register but separated from the rest of the group. The inscription around the pairs

---

[19] Also, no inscriptions indicate these performers belong to the *ḥnr*. It is only based on all iconographic parallels that it is possible to identify them as such.

[20] For the association of the Acacia House and the *ḥnr*, see Hendrickx – Förster – Riemer – Darnell (2009: 189–244). For the Acacia House in general, see Edel (1970). An interesting scene showing a woman just beside cattle being slaughtered above a scene representing members of the Acacia House is found in Mereruka's tomb (Kanawati – Woods – Shafik – Alexakis 2010–2011: pl. 64). The link between the Acacia House and the *ḥnr* is perhaps also evoked in the tomb of Qar, which shows members of *pr-šnḏ.t*, and part of the text of which is written with two signs ⛰. If *šnḏ.ty* is to be read here, then this double acacia could be an evocation of the dual nature of this institution and describes in one word both *pr-šnḏ.t* and *ḥnr*.

[21] For the tomb and the scene, see Porter – Moss – Málek (1981: 653–654); Lepsius (1849 II: pl. 101b); Lepsius (1913: pl. 43); Junker (1940: 9); Wilson (1944: 201–288, pl. 13); Edel (1970: fig. 4); Kinney (2008: 197).

Fig. 2 Tomb of Kagmeni. Women of the *ẖnr* performing the "layout kick" (photo M. Zemina)
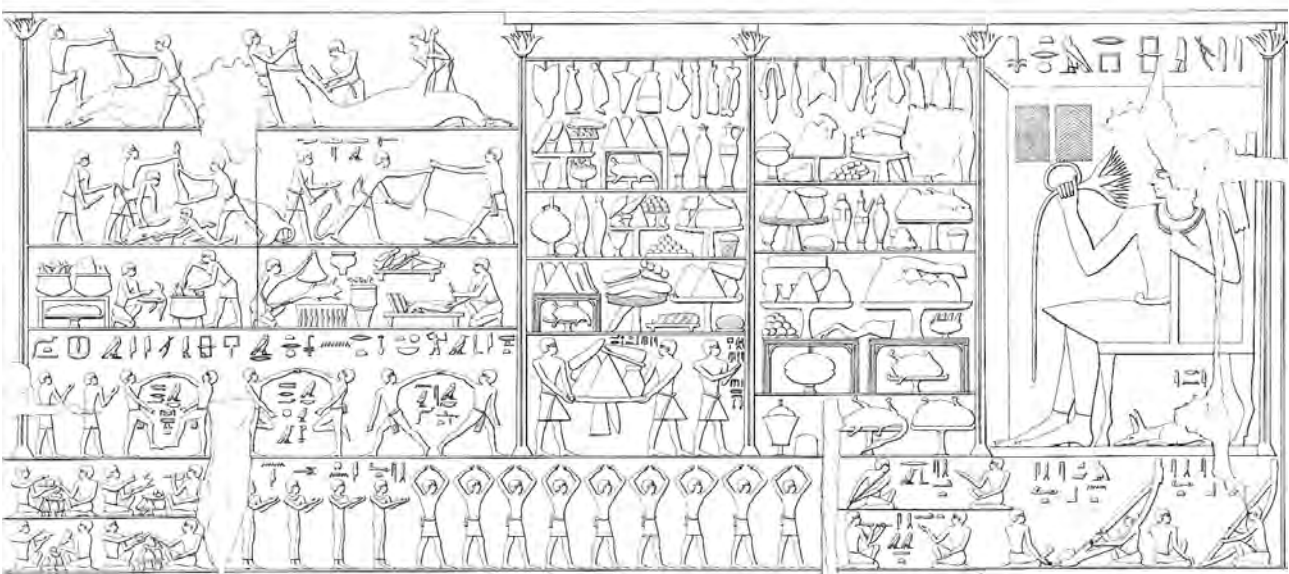

Fig. 3 Tomb of Iymery. Men dancing on a different register than the women of the *ẖnr* (after Lepsius 1849: Abth. II, Bl. 52)

of male dancers evokes Hathor (here called "the Golden one"). One sentence says *mk ṯrf wḥ3*, "See the dance *ṯrf wḥ3*". The term *ṯrf wḥ3* is generally translated simply as "dance" (Ermann – Grapow 1971 V: 387.11). Note that it is only used to describe dances performed by a pair of men, never women. Similarly, if women are sometimes represented performing pair dance, this exact figure is typical of male performers. Hickman (1954–1955: 183) suggested the dance name could be that of the "mirror dances".[22] The separation of these male dancers from the female *ẖnr* troupe raises the question of their actual belongingness to the group or not.

Example 4: the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep[23]

The composition presents the deceased on either side of two offering tables. The three registers that separate them focus on various offerings. The lower registers are dedicated to music. The lower register shows a trio of dancers, two of whom perform a circle dance. Two other male characters are turned towards them, in other words towards the left. These are rhythmists. Then come eight dancers turned to the right performing the diamond dance. The leader is distinctive. She is the only one who wears the crossed bands on the chest and is identified as Niankhkhnum's daughter, Hemetre. Two sub-registers present two trios of kneeling rhythmists facing the dancers. The female dancers are not labelled as a *ẖnr* troupe, but they are easily recognizable as such by their clothing and gestures. We note that the inscription around the male dancers is similar to the previous example, since we can read *mk ṯrf iṯ.t. s(w)*, "See the dance *ṯrf*. Take it". The difference lies in the fact that both female and male performers are in the same register.

Example 12: the tomb of Djau[24]

This scene takes place over five registers. The first two are dedicated to dance. The first shows seven female dancers performing various dance steps near offerings. The following register presents 12 male dancers. The last three registers present the funeral procession. The deceased and his father are shown with their backs to the registers, facing to the right (for the inscription that runs between the two registers, see below). Here, while most of the men clap, some also dance in pairs. We observe two pairs of men just like we observed two pairs of dancing women above. This scene is the first to depict active members of the *ẖnr* performing almost in the same way (there are obviously no women clapping). However, they are divided into two different registers.

Example 13: the tomb of Kheni[25]

This scene takes place in four registers. The registers framing the one where there are dancers are dedicated to fishing. The second register, starting from the bottom, presents different male and female dancers. To the left is a rhythmist turned to the right. Next come two dancers facing each other followed by two other dancers, at least one of whom is a woman, facing two others whose gender is unidentifiable. Behind them are two dancers behind two harpists (for the inscription that runs above the register showing the musicians and dancers, see below). What is interesting here is that men and women, in addition to performing in the same register, are mixed together. No gender seems to take precedence over the other. A female rhythmist claps for a pair of male dancers, and two duets of female dancers perform around another pair of male dancers. We also notice that the determinatives of the word *ẖnr* are masculine and feminine. We can therefore read it as *ẖnr(.w)*, thus highlighting the gender diversity of the group.

Example 14: the tomb of Kaaihep-Tjety-Iqer[26]

The composition is divided into four registers. Here too, the registers framing the one where there are dancers are dedicated to fishing. The second register, starting from the bottom, presents different male and female dancers. The register is incomplete because the wall is in a poor state of active preservation. We see on the left two dancers performing the "diamond" dance and turned to the right, followed by two dancers facing each other, behind which are two dancers performing the "layout" dance step (see Kinney 2008). A harpist stands before the group. It is a composition very similar to that of the tomb of Kheni. The wall is damaged, and it is not possible to see the entire scene, but it is clear from what is left that the performers are grouped into pairs according to their gender. There are two pairs of female performers around a pair of male performers. The first pair shows women raising their arms above their heads, followed by two men dancing face to face, holding their hands in a choreography often seen with the *mww* dancers (Reegs 1995: 68–77; Kinney 2015: 1153–1165). The third pair is composed of women performing the layout. Then a female harpist appears. Kaaihep-Tjeti-Iqer and Kheni were father and son and the same artist, Seni, was responsible for the decoration of the two tombs (Kinney 2008: 229; for the inscription that runs above the register showing the musicians and dancers, in the same way as the previous example, see below).

---

[22] For the mirror dance, see also Kinney (2008: 166–167); Morris (2017: 309).

[23] For the tomb and the scene, see Porter – Moss – Málek (1981: 641–644); Moussa – Altenmüller (1977: pls. 68–69, fig. 25); Kinney (2008: 206).

[24] For the tomb and the scene, see Porter – Moss – Málek (1981: 619–622); Altenmüller (1998: 1158–1159, pl. 50); Kinney (2008: 33, 205); Kanawati (2013).

[25] For the tomb and the scene, see in particular Kanawati (1989: fig. 37a); Kinney (2008: 229).

[26] For the tomb and the scene, see also in particular Kanawati (1980: fig. 12); Kinney (2008: 251).

CLOTHING

The men's clothing is much less diverse than that of the women. Likewise, no evolution can be seen over time as it can for women. Men are invariably shown dressed in a simple loincloth. Only scenes showing them dancing depict a slightly shorter kilt (Examples 13 and 14). The scenes discussed here invariably show men with a kilt, and either short hair or fabric headdresses, such as in the tomb of Kaaihep-Tjeti-Iqer (Example 14). Men keep their hair short, but the introduction of young boys at this time is indicated by the male braid to the side. Some men seem to wear a cloth headdress falling behind their shoulders.

OTHER

Example 1: the tomb of Debeheni[27]

This scene is of the end of the funeral procession. The composition takes place in several registers. The registers on the left and bottom are dedicated to the sacrifice and bringing of animal offerings. The members of the *ḥnr* appear under the representation of the tomb of the deceased. They are distributed on either side of an offering table. To the left are four dancers performing the "diamond" dance. Facing them, on the other side of the table, are three rhythmists, behind which stand two men with two long walking sticks. An embalming priest stands behind the dancers.[28] Just above them, there is a door in the facade of the tomb. Porters are shown climbing on the roof of the tomb via a ramp, arms loaded with offerings for the statue of the deceased, placed in his naos. The upper registers show other offering bearers. Nevertheless, the iconography makes it possible to recognize male members of the *ḥnr* in the lower register. The two men here seem to play the role of supervisors of the *ḥnr* performers.

Example 2: the tomb of Ptahhotep[29]

This composition presents the stages of the funeral procession in three registers, above which there is a fourth where various offerings are represented. The following damaged register shows the start of the procession. In front of a woman, followed by a bovid, is a procession of characters turned to the left, beginning with a funeral priest followed by three female rhythmists, four dancers performing the diamond dance, and ending with four men each holding a long walking stick. Behind them is another man, an arm folded across his chest. This gesture is generally understood as a mark of deference towards the deceased (Dominicus 1994: 5–9; Wen

2018: 75). The following registers illustrate the different stages of the funeral procession. The men with the sticks as well as the last with his arm folded across his chest are probably supervisors directing the group.

Example 5: the tomb of Nebkauhor (fig. 4)[30]

The composition on the left shows the deceased seated in a chair, observing several registers with a banquet and a presentation of offerings. The upper register shows the orchestra, made up of two harpists, a flautist and a singer, all turned towards the deceased. The singer who marks the music with the movement of his fingers wears an imposing *menat* necklace. It may be, according to Selim Hassan (1975: 25) one of the first performances of the *iḥy.w* of Hathor. Behind him is a last flautist. In the same register, two players play a part of *snt*. At the right end, there are *mww* dancers. In the following register are seven dancers turned towards the deceased performing the "diamond" dance. Behind them are four rhythmists also turned towards the deceased. They are followed by a man holding what seems to be a *sekhem*-scepter. Above him, the inscription reads *sbȝ*. Behind them are offerings. The last register is dedicated to the supply and making of offerings. The man behind the rhythmists bears the title of "instructor". Represented in the same register as the rhythmists and dancers, he is depicted in his capacity to instruct them. Here, both the iconography and text highlight his role towards the troupe.

Example 6: Scene on a block at the British Museum (EA 994)[31]

The incomplete block presents three registers. The upper register seems to be dedicated to carpentry activities. The middle register shows different male and female figures, including an individual with a lion mask behind which is a group of five male individuals, the first being outside a building and the other four inside. The last register is devoted to agricultural activities. The reading is problematic. Jean Capart (1931: 73–75) thinks that the whole reads as *ḫrd.wt* (following Erman – Grapow 1971 III: 398.11). More recently, Ellen Morris (2017: 314–315) and Lesley Kinney (2008: 264) have adopted the reading *šdḥt* (Morris translated it as "Dancing by the *šdḥt* youths"). The last sentence is exactly the same as that in the tomb of Idu. The translation proposed here follows that of Edna Russmann (2011: 73–74) ("You must flee from it [the enclosure] alone"), but the grammatical structure remains problematic. Capart (1931: 73–75) sees here a scene of circumcision taking

---

[27] For the tomb, see *e.g.* Porter – Moss – Málek (1974: 235–256); Kinney (2008: 261); Hassan (1943: 175–178, figs. 119, 122); Ward (1986: 70); Wilson (1944: 212, pl. 18, fig. 9); Lepsius (1849 II: 35–36); Edel (1970: fig. I).

[28] The inscription above the rhythmists is debated. The identification of the signs differs according to the authors and leads to uncertain translations. According to Hassan, the sign ⇐ would be there. There is also a *t* after the sign. Actually, the sign ⇐ could be inscribed just above *šnḏ.t*. It could therefore be *ḥnr(.w)t (n) šnḏ.t* but this has yet to be confirmed.

[29] For the tomb, see *e.g.* Porter – Moss – Málek (1972: 653–654); Kinney (2008: 197); Edel (1970: fig. 4).

[30] For the tomb, see Porter – Moss – Málek (1981: 641–644); Kinney (2008: 206); Moussa – Altenmüller (1982: pls. 68–69, fig. 25).

[31] For the whole block and this register in particular, see Porter – Moss – Málek (1981: 309); Kinney (2008: 264); Capart (1931: 73–75); James (1961: 25); Smith (1946: fig. 83); Morris (2017: 314–315); Russmann (2001: 73–74).

Fig. 4 Tomb of Nebkauhor. Women of the *ẖnr* dancing in front of the deceased. The man behind them is shown in his capacity to instruct the dancers (photo M. Ottmar)

place in general glee, embodied particularly by the dancers of *ẖnr*. Del Nord (1981: 142) compares this scene with another scene from the tomb of Mereruka, which shows a young boy armed with the same weapon as the boy with the lion head in the relief from the British Museum. Edward Wente (1969: 87) and Del Nord (1981: 142) underline the existence of scenes showing equally armed dancers and, according to the interpretation of the inscriptions, in full realization of Hathoric rituals.[32] Beyond the question of gender

(the young characters are boys), it is their age that seems to matter the most here. What exactly is being performed on the boy held on the floor is obscure.[33] According to Morris (2017: 316), it is probably a rite of passage to adulthood, with the stick held by the genius Aha symbolizing the punitive and creative force and capable of causing laughter. Circumcision, if this is the act performed here, or whatever the exact nature of the sequence of the initiation rite would therefore be part of the festival of Hathor.[34] Concerning the active male

---

[32] Romano (1989: 12–13) suggested that representations of this hybrid creature would not refer to an officiant wearing a mask but perhaps rather to a statue of this deity, which would be Aha or Bes. However, in 1889, William Matthew Flinders Petrie discovered in Lahun what Zoltán Horvárth (2015: 125–144) considers to be a female figurine wearing a leonine mask, wearing a tail and fitted with studs under her feet. In the same building, visibly a domestic habitat, Petrie also found a pair of wooden clappers and a cartonnage mask in the shape of an arguably lion's head. He noted that the mask had traces of wear and repair marks. The mask was perfectly adapted to a life-size human face (Petrie 1890: 30, pl. 8; Horváth 2015: 136). It could be part of the equipment of a member of the *ẖnr* used in certain rituals like here (Horváth 2015: 141). The archaeological discoveries, and in particular that of the physical mask, supports the theory of Horváth that this is a member of the group depicted wearing a mask and not of the direct representation of the protective genius Aha / Bes as Romano proposed. Regardless, the phenomenon produced remains the same since the performer identifies himself completely with the divine entity and becomes its incarnation.

[33] It has often been suggested it could be a circumcision scene. This is still debated. The question of circumcision has been studied in depth by different authors (see in particular Riggs 2010; Quack 2012: 561–589; Megahed – Vymazalová 2015: 275–287).

[34] We can only make a comparison with the scene from the tomb of Mereruka (Kanawati – Woods – Shafik – Alexakis 2010–2011: pl. 79), which shows three young boys in a walking position, the third of whom places his hand on the shoulder of a fourth, arms bound behind his back. In front of him are three other boys, bodies turned to the right, and heads turned towards him. Two boys seem to run in their direction. On the ground is a crouching boy, kicked by the two boys surrounding him. Three other young boys are on his right. All carry a reed or a clapper. The boy tied up and the one on the ground seem to be prisoners. The two sentences on the right remain enigmatic. In the sentence *ḥwi nsis.t* (*?*) *gnn im.w*, two of the terms pose problems. Phonically, the term *nsis.t* (*?*) could possibly suggest *nsr.t*, "flame", but that does not seem to make sense. The particular determinative that is used is undoubtedly a reminder of the reality expressed here. However, it is not possible to identify it. The second problematic term is that of *gnn im.w* which could be translated as "weak ribs" (see Erman – Grapow 1971 V: 175.11, DZA 30. 660.760).

performers, the fragmentary condition of the block does not allow for a deeper interpretation. We note, however, that they are all young boys, led perhaps by the two female performers. Again, the nature and degree of their involvement within the ḫnr remains enigmatic.

Example 15: the tomb of Idu[35]

This composition takes place in seven registers in front of the deceased seated on a seat, turned to the left. The first register depicts, from left to right, a man at the entrance of a building, in which three other men are holding a fourth on the ground. Two characters face each other, followed by two male individuals. In the following register are three rhythmists behind four dancers performing the diamond dance. The following register is dedicated to games since we see three pairs of players playing *snt* and the game of the snake. The fourth register shows five harpists, probably female, turned to the right towards a flautist facing a singer. The last three registers show the producing and bringing of offerings. The whole performance is done in front of the deceased, and the lowest register shows the production and transport of offerings. The activities of music and game are typical of the activities performed to make joyous contact with the deceased. The adult female dancers seem to dance both for the deceased and also for whatever activity is being performed in the highest register. The events here are similar to what are represented on the block in the British Museum (Example 6). One sentence is also almost identical in the two documents: *šd wꜥ.k im.sn nt(y) ḥnꜥ(.i)*. However, contrary to the block at the British Museum, the female performers do not seem to be adults.

TITLES

Of the seven titles recorded for women involved in the ḫnr in the Old Kingdom, five have a masculine equivalent.

Title 1. *ḫnr(.t)*

There is no evidence for a masculine singular word designating individual male members of the ḫnr. The word *ḫnr.t,* however, seems to designate the group as a whole in the tomb of Djau (Example 12), which shows women and men involved in dance and rhythm in two separate registers. The inscription that runs between the two registers of dancers begins with: *ḥb.t in ḫnr.t t šmꜥ in šmꜥ.w n ḏd nfr…* (titles and epithets of the deceased), "Dance by the ḫnr.t, song sung by singers, for those who say good… (titles and epithets of the deceased)". The feminine ending in ancient Egyptian can be used to designate a collective. We can therefore suggest that the word *ḫnr.t* should indeed be read that way and not *ḫnr.(w)t*. Here, while most of the men clap, some also dance in pairs. We observe two pairs of men

just like we observe two pairs of dancing women above. In addition, during the New Kingdom and after, the titles held by the highest person in charge of the ḫnr were written *ḫnr.t* or *ḫnr.wt*. Saphinaz-Amal Naguib (1990: 194) decided to consider the former term as designating a collective and the latter, which is written with a feminine determinative, as designating the feminine plural. We should follow Naguib in this and consider that here, too, the word designates the group as a collective, since there is no feminine determinative. This scene is the very first to depict active members of the ḫnr performing almost in the same way (there are no women clapping). However, they are divided into two different registers.

In the tomb of Kheni (Example 13), ḫnr is written to designate the group as a whole, too. What is interesting here is that men and women, in addition to performing in the same register, are mixed together. No gender seems to take precedence over the other. A female rhythmist claps for a pair of male dancers, and two duets of female dancers perform around another pair of male dancers. We also notice that the determinatives of the word ḫnr are masculine and feminine. We can therefore read it as *ḫnr(.w)*. There is a clear and perfect mixture amongst the performers here. The inscription that runs in the tomb of Kaaihep-Tjeti-Iqer is above the register showing the musicians and dancers. Above the dancers, we can read: *ḥst ḥb n(?)* [*i*]*bꜣ in ḫnr n pr-ḏ.t.f n kꜣ n…* (titles and epithets of the deceased), "rhythmic singing, dance (for the?) dance by the ḫnr of his *pr-ḏ.t* for the ka of… (titles and epithets of the deceased)". The same comment can be made here regarding the iconography and the text as for the previous document.

Title 2. *Ìm(y).t-r(ꜣ) ḫnr.w(t)*

This title finds its masculine equivalent in different graffiti in the Wadi Hilal, dating to the Sixth Dynasty (Jones 2000: 188, no. 706; Fraser 1893: 494, no. IX; Stern 1875: 65–66, pl. I (i); Vandekerckhove – Müller-Wollermann 2001: 33, N 147, 94, no. a, N 147). Among them, we find the graffito mentioning the different titles and functions of Niankhkhnum (Example 7): *(i)m(y)-r(ꜣ) ḫnr n(i) šnḏ.t N(i)-ꜥnḫ-ḫnmw*. Director of the ḫnr of the *šnḏ.t* Niankhkhnum. He notably held the title of "director of ḫnr of the *šnḏ.t*"[36]. Niankhkhnum is both the first man to hold such a title within the ḫnr and within the Acacia House. Still, in the Wadid Hilal, there is a graffito mentioning Baq (Sayce 1899: pl. I, no. 2; Janssen – Mekhitarian 1951: 167, pl. XXXII, no. 6; Limme 2000: 20–21; Vandekerckhove – Müller-Wollermann 2001: 41, N 6). This graffito mentions the titles of Baq, son of Nefershemem, a priest attached to various cults. In this graffito, Nefershemem says that he was part of a delegation of priests celebrating the *ḏrs-tꜣ* feast in *ḥwt-nṯr ḥrt: im(y)-r(ꜣ) ḫnr bꜣḳ*, "Director of

---

[35] For the tomb and this scene, see Porter – Moss – Málek (1974: 49); Simpson (1976: pl. 87); Kinney (2008: 188).

[36] The term *šnḏ.t* is difficult to read at first. The Gardiner M1 sign ⸙ is particularly difficult to identify. Jones (2000: 188, no. 706) proposed the Gardiner F35 sign instead ⸙ and thus translates the term as *nfr.wt* and not *šnḏ.t*.

the *ḫnr*, Baq". Like the graffito of Niankhkhnum, that of Baq was also found in the Wadi Hilal. Three other graffiti, almost identical, give the titles of Niankhpepy and mention his father, Iny, director of the *pr-wr* and director of the *ḫnr* (Lepsius 1849: 117 (k, h, m); Vandekerckhove – Müller-Wollermann 2001: 170, O 51, 215, O 154, 266–267, O 221). They all bear a common inscription: *im(y)-r(ʒ) ḫnr,* "director of the *ḫnr*".

Title 3. *im(y).t-r(ʒ) ḫnr n nswt*
No evidence could be found in the Old Kingdom data for a masculine equivalent to this feminine title.

Title 4. *sḥḏ.t*
No evidence could be found in the Old Kingdom data for a masculine equivalent of this feminine title.

Title 5. *sbʒ*
There is one example of a man holding this title in a scene representing the *ḫnr.* It comes from the tomb of Nebkauhor (Example 5). The man behind the rhythmists bears the title of *sbʒ* "instructor". Represented in the same register as the rhythmists and dancers, he is depicted in his capacity to instruct them.

Title 6. *ḫnr n pr-ḏt*
Two examples, coming from the tomb of Kheni and Kaaihep-Tjeti-Iqer, designate the entire group, composed of men and women as *ḫnr(.w) n pr-ḏt*.

Title 7. *ḫnr n pr-šnḏ.t*
The only man, during the Old Kingdom, related to the two groups is Niankhkhnum (Example 7, see above).

Conclusion

The study of these 15 examples indicates that some men were definitely members of the *ḫnr*. In other cases, it is less certain, leading one to suggest the possibility that they were members.

The "instructor" represented in the tomb of Nebkauhor (Example 5) is certainly a member of the troupe, even if temporarily. One can argue that he might not be permanently associated with the *ḫnr* and only appointed to watch their performance. His role, however here is beyond that of supervising them. In addition, other men held this title in the following periods, such as Khesuwer during the Twelfth Dynasty, who was *(i)m(y)-r(ʒ) ḫnr.wt sbʒ* (Silverman 1988: 13) and who was represented in his tomb in his role of teaching the use of the sistrum to several rows of female performers (Edgar 1890–1915: 54). We can therefore suggest that this instructor represented in Nebkauhor's tomb might be a full member of the group.

It is beyond doubt that the men mentioned in the graffiti of the Wadi Hilal and those who held their titles

of *im(y)-r(ʒ) ḫnr* (Examples 7–11) had responsibilities within the *ḫnr*.

If we consider the word *ḫnr.t* as a collective, in those of Kheni (Example 13) and Kaaihep-Tjeti-Iqer (Example 14), then the dancers depicted in the tomb of Djau (Example 12) are obviously also members of the troupe. They are the only ordinary members represented anonymously and with no specific title other than the name of their group.

The supervisors represented in the tombs of Debeheni (Example 1) and Ptahhotep (Example 2) are at least temporarily involved in the performance taking place. Their general association with the troupe remains questionable. They might be only watching the performers without being more related to them, or they could be full members of the *ḫnr*. The documentation does not give any more information in this regard. All that is possible to conclude is their temporary role in these scenes.

The dancers in the tombs of Iymery (Example 3) and Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (Example 4) raise even more questions. The certainty of their association with the *ḫnr* in the tomb of Iymery is particularly difficult to confirm because of their positioning within the entire scene. In the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, even though they perform in the same register, they could easily represent another troupe without any link to the *ḫnr*. Men are recorded in numerous dancing scenes in the Old Kingdom and perform easily on their own.[37]

Regarding the youths represented with members of the *ḫnr* (Examples 6 and 15), age seems to be as important, if not even more important, as gender in these scenes. It is not clear whether all of them or only some, or indeed any, actually belong to the group or whether they are the passive participants in an activity performed by the *ḫnr* members.

In the Old Kingdom, men could be ordinary members of the *ḫnr*, involved in dance, as well as instructors and leaders of the group, just the same way as women. However, the evidence gathered for the Old Kingdom is not enough to conclude that masculinity became important for the *ḫnr*'s performance because of its possible inner symbolic importance. On this level, the elements evidenced for the period tell us more about the importance of female officiants for the performance of rites and rituals than about hose of men. The only exception is the existence of the character who embodies Aha / Bes and who is probably male. However, the presence in three scenes of ordinary male members performing dance on the same level as women clearly indicates a complementarity, not to mention equality, of men's and women's roles in some cases. This is further supported by the inscription accompanying two of these scenes and which shows the term *ḫnr* written with the feminine and masculine determinatives (Examples 13 and 14). Nonetheless, this kind of example remains rare

---

[37] See in particular the different dance genres listed and studied by Kinney (2008) on this question.

and moreover is circumscribed to two tombs whose owners are directly related. The study of the spelling of the term for the Old Kingdom reveals that the majority of the attestations of the term do not present a gendered determinative and that the others, with these two exceptions, use feminine determinatives.

Women outnumbered men both in the iconography and the texts. However, men definitely entered the group during the Sixth Dynasty, a time when women's iconography in general changed to become more distinct from that of men. We can compare this growing importance of men within the group with the role they would play in the following period. In the Middle Kingdom, more men are recorded having official titles, and in fact, in contrast to the Old Kingdom, most of the officials were men. The orthography of the word *ḫnr* now shows male determinatives. In addition, the gender diversity of the group is expressed in texts. The stelae of Meru and Emhat, each inscribed with an "appeal to the living", differentiate between the *ḫnr.w* and the *ḫnr.wt*. (Porter – Moss 1964: 331; Lichtheim 1988: 25–26; Fischer 1976: 11; Postel 2015: 489–499). This gender diversity is also expressed in iconography. Men and women perform in the same registers and physical contact can now be observed. This would change during the New Kingdom, when women are now much more numerous at the head of the *ḫnr*.

It is necessary to understand the involvement of men in the *ḫnr* in the Old Kingdom. This study has demonstrated that they had different roles at different levels of the group, from ordinary performers to people in charge of the group. However, their involvement as ordinary members is only assured later in the period, whereas that of women is very well documented already in the Fifth Dynasty. Furthermore, it is especially as group leaders that the sources are most explicit regarding the role of men within the *ḫnr*. It is necessary to understand the involvement of men in the *ḫnr* within the context of the general evolution of the group, such as the new relationships between the genders both within the *ḫnr* and more generally in the official religious practices.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Allen, James P.
2003 "The high officials of the early Middle Kingdom", in: Strudwick, Nigel – Taylor, John H. (eds.). *The Theban necropolis: past, present and future*, London: British Museum Press, pp. 14–29.
1998 *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern [Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 42].

Baer, Klaus
1960 *Rank and title in the Old Kingdom. The structure of the Egyptian administration in the Fifth and Sixth dynasties*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Blackman, Aylward
1921 "On the position of women in the ancient Egyptian hierarchy", Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 7, pp. 8–30.

Blackman, Aylward – Apted, Michael
1953 *The Rock Tombs of Meir. Part VI: the tomb-chapels of Ukhḥotpe son of Iam (A, No. 3), Senbi son of Ukhḥotpe son of Senbi (B, No. 3), and Ukhḥotpe son of Ukhḥotpe and Ḥeny-Ḥery-Ib (C, No. 1)*, London: Egypt Exploration Society [Archaeological survey of Egypt 29].

Borchardt, Ludwig
1913 *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Śaꜣḥu-reꜥ. Band II: Die Wandbilder*, Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung [Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1902–1908. Bd. 7].

Bryan, Betsy
1982 "The Etymology of *ḫnr* 'Group of Musical Performers'", Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar 4, pp. 35–53.

Capart, Jean
1931 "Note sur un fragment de bas-relief au British Museum", Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, pp. 73–75.

Chernoff, Jogn Miller
1979 *African rhythm and African sensibility: Aesthetics and social action in African musical idioms*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Davies, Norman de Garis
1901 *The rock tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Davies, Norman de Garis – Davies, Nina de Garis
1933 *The tombs of Menkheperrasonb, Amenmosĕ, and another (nos. 86, 112, 42, 226)*, London: Egypt Exploration Society [Theban Tombs Series 5].

Depauw, Mark
2003 "Notes on transgressing gender boundaries in Ancient Egypt", Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 130, pp. 49–59.

Dominicus, Brigitte
1994 *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag [Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 10].

Donnat, Sylvie – Beha, Johan
2020 "Du référent au signifié: réflexions autour de deux figurines (*paddle doll* et apode) de l'Institut d'Égyptologie de Strasbourg", in: Donnat, Sylvie – Hunziker-Rodewald, Régine – Weygand, Isabell (eds.). *Figurines féminines nues. Proche-Orient, Égypte, Nubie, Méditerranée orientale, Asie centrale (VIIIᵉ millénaire av. J.-C.-IVᵉ siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Strasbourg: Éditions de Boccard, pp. 57–73.

Eaverly, Mary Ann
2013 *Tan male/pale women: color and gender in archaic Greece and Egypt, a comparative approach*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Edel, Elmar
1970 *Das Akazienhaus und seine Rolle in den Begräbnisriten des alten Ägyptens,* Berlin: B. Hessling [Münchner ägyptologische Studien 24].

Edgar, Campbell
1890–1915 "Recent discoveries at Kom el Hisn", in: Grébaut,

M. E. – Maspero, G. (eds.). *Le Musée Égyptien. Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte. T. 3*, Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, pp. 53–64.

Elwart, Dorothée
2011 "Sistren als Klang des Hathorkultes", in: Meyer-Dietrich, Erika (ed.). *Laut und Leise. Der Gebrauch von Stimme und Klang im historischen Kulturen*, Bielefeld: Transcript [Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften 7], pp. 37–60.
2017 "Le sistre égyptien: objet sonore et effigie hathorique", in: Emerit, Sibylle – Guichard, Hélène – Jeammet, Violaine – Perrot, Sylvain – Thomas, Ariane – Vendries, Christophe – Vincent, Alexandre – Ziegler, Nele (eds.). *Musiques! Échos de l'Antiquité*, Lens – Gand: Musée du Louvre-Lens, pp. 64–65.

Erman, Adolf – Grapow, Hermann
1971 *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache. Bd. I–V*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Fischer, Henry George
1968 *Dendera in the third millennium BC down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt*, Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin.
1976 *Egyptian Studies I: Varia I*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
1981 "Notes on two tomb chapels at Gîza", Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 67, pp. 166–168.

Fraser, G. Willoughby
1893 "El Kab and Gebelên", Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 15, pp. 494–500.

Gillam, Robyn
1995 "The priestesses of Hathor: Their function, decline and disappearance", Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt 32, pp. 211–237.

Gitton, Michel
1984 *Les divines épouses de la 18e dynastie*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres [Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besancon 306; Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne 61].

Green, Lyn
1983 "Egyptian words for dancers and dancing", in: Hoffmeier, J. K. – Meltzer, E. S. (eds.). *Egyptological miscellanies*, Chicago: Ares publishers, pp. 29–38.

Hassan, Selim
1936 *Excavations at Gîza. Vol. II. 1930–1931*, Cairo: Government press.
1943 *Excavations at Gîza. Vol. IV. 1932–1933*, Cairo Government press.
1950 *Excavations at Gîza. Vol. VI.3. 1934–1935. The mastabas of the sixth season and their description,* Cairo: Government press.
1975 *The mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Ḥer*, Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Offices.

Hendrickx, Stan – Förster, Frank – Riemer, Heiko – Darnell, John
2009 "Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic rock art scenes of Barbary sheep hunting in Egypt's Western Desert: from capturing wild animals to the women of the 'Acacia House'", in: Riemer, Heiko – Förster, Frank – Herb, Michael – Pöllath, Nadja (eds.). *Desert animals in the eastern Sahara: status, economic significance, and cultural reflection in antiquity. Proceedings of an interdisciplinary ACACIA workshop held at the University of Cologne, December 14–15, 2007*, Köln: Heinrich Barth Institut, pp. 189–244.

Hickman, Hans
1954–1955 "La danse aux miroirs: essai de reconstitution d'une danse pharaonique de l'Ancien empire", Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte 37/1, pp. 151–190.

Horváth, Zoltán
2015 "Hathor and her Festivals at Lahun", in: Miniaci, Gianluca – Grajetzki, Wolfram (eds.). *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC). Contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources. Vol. I*, London: Golden House Publications [Middle Kingdom Studies 1], pp. 125–144.

Hudáková, Lubica
2019 *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom Tombs of Officials. Studies in Iconography*, Leiden: Brill [Harvard Egyptological Studies 6].

Janssen, Jozef – Mekhitarian, Arpag
1951 "Mission épigraphique à El Kab (janvier-mars 1950)", Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte 51, pp. 313–316.

Jones, Dilwyn
2000 *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, Oxford: Archaeopress [British Archaeological Reports. International Series 866].

Junker, Hermann
1938 *Gîza III. Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Gîza. Die Maṣṭabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof*, Vienna – Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky.
1940 *Gîza IV. Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reichs bei den Pyramiden von Gîza. Die Maṣṭabas des Kȝjmꜥnḫ (Kai-em-anch)*, Vienna – Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky [Denkschriften. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 71/1].
1943 *Gîza VI. Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reichs bei den Pyramiden von Gîza. Die Maṣṭabas des nfr (Nefer), ḳdfjj (Kedfi), kȝhjf (Kahjef) und die westlich anschließenden Grabanlagen*, Vienna – Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky [Denkschriften. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 72/1].

Kanawati, Naguib
1980 *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish. The Cemetery of Akhmim. Vol. I*, North Ryde, NSW: Macquarie Ancient History Association.
1989 *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish. The Cemetery of Akhmim. Vol. VIII*, Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology.
2013 *Deir el-Gebrawi. Vol. III. The southern cliff. The tomb of Djau/Shemai and Djau*, Warminste: Aris and Phillips [Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 32].

Kanawati, Naguib – Woods, Alexandra – Sameh, Shafik – Alexakis, Effy

2010–2011 *Mereruka and his family. Part III.1–2. The tomb of Mereruka*, Oxford: Aris and Phillips [Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 29–30].

Kinney, Lesley
2008 *Dance, dancers and the performance cohort in the Old Kingdom*, Oxford: Archaeopress [British Archaeological Reports. International Series 1809].
2015 "The (*w*)*nwn* funerary dance in the Old Kingdom and its relationship to the dance of the *mww*", in: Kousoulis, P. – Lazaridis, N. (eds.). *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists: University of the Aegean, Rhodes. 22-29 May 2008. Vol. I*, Leuven – Paris – Bristol: Peeters, pp. 1153–1165.

Lepsius, Karl Richard
1849 *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung.
1913 *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Egänzungsbsand*, Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung.

Lesko, Barbara
2002 *Women and Religion in Ancient Egypt*, Rhode Island: Stoa Consortium.

Limme, Luc
2000 "L'Elkab de l'Ancien Empire", Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie 149, pp. 14–31.

Lichtheim, Miriam
1988 *Ancient Egyptian autobiographies chiefly of the Middle Kingdom: a study and an anthology*, Freiburg (Schweiz) – Göttingen: Universitätsverlag – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht [Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 84].

Mariette, Auguste
1889 *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire. Fragment du dernier ouvrage de A. Mariette, édité par G. Maspéro,* Paris: Vieweg.

Megahed, Mohamed – Vymazalová, Hana
2015 "The South-Saqqara circumcision scene: a fragment of an Old Kingdom birth-legend?", in: Coppens, Filip – Janák, Jiří – Vymazalová, Hana (eds.) *7. Symposion zur ägyptischen Königsideologie / 7th symposium on Egyptian royal ideology. Royal versus divine authority: acquisition, legitimization and renewal of power, Prague, June 26–28, 2013*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 275–287.

Meyer-Dietrich, Erika
2009 "Dance", in: Wendrich, Willeke (ed.). *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles (http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz001ndh48).

Morris, Ellen
2011 "Paddle dolls and performance in ancient Egypt", Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt 47, pp. 71–103.
2017 "Middle Kingdom Clappers, Dancers, Birth Magic, and the Reinvention of Ritual", in: Miniaci, Gianluca – Betrò, Marilina – Quirke, Stephen (eds.). *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–15000 BC). Proceedings of the International Conference of the EPOCHS Project held 18th–20th September 2014 at UCL, London*, Leuven: Peeters [Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 262], pp. 285–335.

Moussa, Ahmed – Altenmüller, Hatwig
1977 *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep. Old Kingdom tombs at the causeway of king Unas at Saqqara*, Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern [Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 21].

Myśliwiec, Karol
2004 *The tomb of Merefnebef. Vol. I–II*, Varsovie: Editions Neriton [Saqqara I].

Naguib, Saphinaz-Amal
1990 *Le clergé féminin d'Amon thébain à la 21ᵉ dynastie*, Leuven: Peeters [Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 38].

Nord, Del
1981 "The term *ḥnr*: 'Harem' or 'Musical Performers'", in: Simpson, William Kelly – Davis, Whitney M. (eds.). *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham*, Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art Museum of Fine Arts, pp. 137–145.

Petrie, William Matthew Flinders
1890 *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, London: Kegan Paul.

Porter, Bertha – Moss, Rosalind L. B.
1960 *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I. The Theban Necropolis. Part 1. Private Tombs*, Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.
1962 *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings V. Upper Egypt: Sites (Deir Rîfa to Aswân, Excluding Thebes and the Temples of Abydos, Dendera, Esna, Edfu, Kôm Ombo and Philae)*, Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.
1964 *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I. The Theban Necropolis. Part 2. Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
1968 *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings IV. Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyûṭ)*, Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.

Porter, Bertha – Moss, Rosalind L.B. – Málek, Jaromír
1974 *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. III. Memphis. Part 1. Abû Rawâsh to Asyûṭ*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
1981 *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. III²: Memphis. Part 2. Ṣaqqâra to Dahshûr,* Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.

Postel, Lilian
2015 "Un homme de cour de Sésostris Ier: le préposé au diadème royal Emhat (Louvre C 46 et Leyde AP 67)", in: Castellano, Núria – Mascort, Maite – Piedrafita, Concepció – Vivó, Jaume (eds.). *Ex Aegypto lux et sapientia: homenatge al professor Josep Padró Parcerisa*, Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, Societat Catalana d'Egiptologia, pp. 489–499.

Quack, Joachim Friedrich
2012 "Zur Beschneidung im Alten Ägypten", in: Berlejung, Angelika – Dietrich, Jan – Quack, Joachim Friedrich (eds.). *Menschenbilder und Körperkonzepte im Alten Israel, in Ägypten*

und im Alten Orient, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck [Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 9], pp. 561–651.

Rahiem, Mohamed Abdel
2011 "Decoration of ancient Egyptian harps", in: Meyer-Dietrich, Erika (ed.). *Laut und Leise. der Gebrauch von Stimme und Klang im historischen Kulturen*, Bielefeld: Transcript [Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften 7], pp. 89–120.

Reegs, Greg
1995 "The mysterious *Muu* & the dance they do", KMT. A modern journal of ancient Egypt 6/3, pp. 68–77.

Reiser, Elfriede
1972 *Der königliche Harim im alten Ägypten und seine Verwaltung*, Wien: Verlag Notring [Dissertationen der Universität Wien 77].

Richter, Barbara
2016 *The theology of Hathor of Dendera: aural and visual scribal techniques in the Per-Wer sanctuary*, Atlanta, GA: Lockwood Press [Wilbour studies in Egyptology and Assyriology 4].

Riggs, Christina
2010 "Body", in: Frood, Elizabeth – Wendrich, Willeke (eds.). *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles (http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025nqg2).

Roche, Aurélie
2014 "Des scènes de danse dans l'iconographie prédynastique? Essai d'identification et d'interprétation à la lumière de la documentation pharaonique", Archéo-Nil 24, pp. 161–189.

Romano, James
1989 *The Bes-Image in Pharaonic Egypt. Vols. I–II*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Roth, Ann Macy
1995 *A cemetery of palace attendants including G 2084-2099, G 2230+2231, and G 2240: based upon the recording of the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts, Boston expedition: George Andrew Reisner, Mohammed Said Ahmed, Norman de Garis Davies, William Stevenson Smith, and others (1905-1906 and 1936-1939)*, Boston: Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts [Giza Mastabas 6].
2006 "Models of authority: Hatshepsut's predecessors in power", in: Roehrig, Catharine H. –Dreyfus, Renée – Keller, Cathleen A. (eds.). *Hatshepsut: from queen to pharaoh*, pp. 8–14.

Roth, Silke
2012 "Harem", in: Frood, Elizabeth – Wendrich, Willeke (eds.). *UCLA The Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles (http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002bqmpp).

Russmann, Edna
2001 *Eternal Egypt: masterworks of ancient art from the British Museum*, London: The British Museum Press.

Sayce, Archibald
1899 "Some Old Empire inscriptions from El-Kab", Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 21, pp. 111–114.

Silverman, David
1988 *The tomb chamber of Ḥsw the Elder. The inscribed material at Kom El-Hisn I: Illustrations*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns [American Research Center in Egypt: reports 10; Publications of the ancient Naukratis project 3].

Simpson, William Kelly
1976 *The mastabas of Qar and Idu G 7101 and 7102*, Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts [Giza Mastabas 2].
1978 *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II: G 7110-20, 7130-40, and 7150 and subsidiary mastabas of Street G 7100*, Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts [Giza Mastabas 3].

Smith, William Stevenson
1946 *A history of Egyptian sculpture and painting in the Old Kingdom*, London: Oxford University Press.

Spencer, Neal
2010 "Priests and temples: pharaonic", in: Lloyd, Alan B. (ed.). *A companion to ancient Egypt. Vol. 1*, Chichester – Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell [Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World 52], pp. 255–273.

Strudwick, Nigel
1985 *The administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The highest titles and their holders*, London: Kegan Paul International.

El-Tayeb, Hany
2018 "Some rare scenes in the tomb of Rashepses at Saqqara", in: Jánosi, Peter – Vymazalová, Hana (eds.). *The art of describing: the world of tomb decoration as visual culture of the Old Kingdom. Studies in honour of Yvonne Harpur*, Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts, pp. 289–307.

Troy, Lana
1986 *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Boreas 14].

Vandekerckhov, Hans – Müller-Wollermann, Renate
2001 *Die Felsinschriften des Wadi Hilal. Bd. I–II*, Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth [Elkab VI].

Van de Walle, Baudouin
1974 "Le mastaba de Neferirtenef", Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie 69, pp. 6–19.

Vandier, Jacques
1964 *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne. T. IV. Bas-reliefs et peintures – scènes de la vie quotidienne*, Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie.

Virey, Philippe
1891 *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe dynastie*, Paris: E. Leroux [Mémoires publiées par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire 2].

Vittmann, Günter
2000 "Von Kastraten, Hundskopfmenschen und Kannibalen", Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 127, pp. 167–180.

Ward, William
1986 *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects*, Beirut: American University of Beirut.

Weeks, Kent
1994 *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000: including G 6010 (Neferbau-
    ptah); G 6020 (Iymery); G 6030 (Ity); G 6040 (Shepseskafankh)*,
    Boston: Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near
    Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts [Giza Mastabas 5].

Wen, Jing
2018 *The Iconography of Family Members in Egypt's Elite Tombs
    of the Old Kingdom*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania
    (unpublished Ph.D. thesis; https://repository.upenn.edu/
    cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4987&context=edissertations.
    Accessed on 4ᵗʰ June 2020.).

Wente, Edward
1969 "Hathor at the jubilee", in: Kadish, Gerald E. (ed.). *Studies*

in Honor of John A. Wilson: September 12, 1969, Chicago: The
    University of Chicago Press, pp. 83–91.

Wilson, John Albert
1944 "Funeral services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom", Journal of
    Near Eastern Studies 3/4, pp. 201–218.

Yoyotte, Marine
2008 "Le 'harem' dans l'Égypte ancienne", in: Ziegler, Christiane
    (ed.). *Reines d'Égypte. D'Hétephérès à Cléopâtre*, Monaco –
    Paris: Somogy Editions, pp. 76–90.

Internet resources:
TLA *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/)

Izold Guegan
Swansea University, Department of Classics, Ancient History, Egyptology
Sorbonne University, Centre de Recherches Égyptologiques de la Sorbonne (CRES)
917248@swansea.ac.uk