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SEX AND GENDER
الجنس والنوع

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SEX AND GENDER
الجنس والنوع

Deborah Sweeney

Geschlecht und Gender
Sexe et genre (gender)

Masculinity, femininity, and possibly other (intersexual) genders in ancient Egypt were expressed in, and simultaneously shaped by, many different contexts, such as material culture, artistic representation, burial equipment, texts, and the use of space. Ideally, gender should be investigated in combination with other factors, such as social standing, ethnicity and/or age, focusing on specific periods, places, professions, and/or social settings to avoid over-generalization.

لقد تم التعبيير عن الذكورة والأنوثة وإحتمال وجود أجناس أخرى (المخنث) بمصر القديمة من خلال اشكال مختلفة كثيرة مثل المواد الثقافية، والاشكال الفنية، وأدوات الدفن، والنصوص، واستخدام المساحات، ، ومن الاحري أن يفحص الجنس إلى جانب عوامل أخرى ساعدت في تشكيل هذه الأجناس مثل: المكانة الإجتماعية، والاصول العرقية، والسن، مع التركيز علي فترات زمنية محددة ، والأماكن، والمهن، والظروف الإجتماعية، حتي نتجنب الافراط في التعميم.

A n individual's "sex" may be defined as whether the body of that individual is identified as male or female, or as one of various possible manifestations of intersexuality (Fausto-Sterling 2000). Gender, on the other hand, may be defined as the sum of constantly changing associations, attitudes, and practices prescribed by human social groups for their members according to their sexed bodies. Individuals may engage in socially prescribed practices and assume socially prescribed attitudes in different degrees; one would thus speak of masculinity or masculinities (different ways of "being a man" in different settings), femininity or femininities, and other genders.

Although sex is based on an individual's physical body, and is normally assigned by primary sexual characteristics at birth, it is nonetheless a cultural concept, as can be seen when describing or defining individuals whose genitals or DNA coding are ambiguous (Fausto-Sterling 2000). Such differences are mostly apparent in soft tissue, so that in excavations their skeletons would be identified as male or female. Once DNA testing for excavations becomes more affordable and widespread, probably many more intersex people will be identified. However, in the ancient world, many intersex individuals would not have been recognized as such and most people with a single set of ambiguous genitals would probably have been assigned to the sex they most resembled.

Meskell has argued that we should not separate sex from gender since the Egyptians did not (1999: 218). In many cases the two coincide: the representation of men and women in two or three dimensions is strongly gender-bound, with conventions of skin coloring, body posture, hairstyle, and clothing used to differentiate between women and men. However, although we should study

Egyptian categories, we, today, are not necessarily bound by them (cf. Halsall 2001: 133).

Some societies do not correlate sex and gender. Native American societies envisaged third and fourth genders (two-spirits [Senior 2000] and women warriors [Hollimon 2001]); the Inuit have very flexible gender concepts, and a given individual might stand in different gendered relations to others (Crass 2001: 108). In ancient Gaul, however, a man who was castrated, homosexual, or impotent was still considered a man, even if for the reasons listed above he wore women's clothing (Halsall 2001: 130 - 133; similarly Ringrose 2003: 4).

Gender never operates in isolation, but overlaps with many other factors, such as social standing, age, ethnic background, and so on (Lorber 2005: xiv; Mills 2003: 181 - 184; Pilcher and Whelehan 2004: 92). Egyptologists have tended to investigate these intersecting factors by looking at *specific* groups of men or, usually, women, who have a common social background or similar status (e.g., Onstine 2005; Roth, S. 2001; Sweeney 2006; Toivari-Viitala 2001; Lohwasser 2000a discusses the intersection of age and gender in a more theoretical way).

Alternatively, one might approach the intersection of gender and other factors such as ethnicity, social standing, or age, by investigating how the representation of gender is affected by the context of representation, the intended audience, or the specific topic under discussion. For example, at times in monumental records, the enemies of Egypt are "othered" to an even greater degree by inverting their gender, so that enemy males are represented in female terms. For instance, Ramesses III is said to look upon the Nubian bowmen as *ḥmwt* (women) (KRI V 8: 7; O'Connor 2005: 451). However, this gender inversion is applied in varying degrees depending on the Egyptians' attitudes to that particular enemy, so that the Libyans tended to be feminized to a greater degree than, say, the Hittites or the Mitannians. The feminization of Egypt's enemies in this way is also restricted specifically to royal contexts: it is not a normal feature of the contacts of other Egyptians with foreigners. In his role as Egypt's defender, the semi-divine king is hyper-masculinized: the conventions of decorum that would be appropriate for other men do not apply to him.

A "third-wave" feminist perspective involves not just looking at women in isolation but simultaneously at what women were doing and what men were doing in a given situation, and how their activities meshed together (e.g., Meskell 1998). Recently, Saleh (2007) has investigated the intersection of gender and ethnicity for both men and women in their representation on stelae from the Libyan Period.

The Egyptians often classified in dualities (Englund 1989b: 11 - 13; see Troy 1986 for a detailed study of the implications of this concept for Egyptian queenship). Dualities are highly problematic for much current feminist thought, because a binary way of thinking often leads to the exaltation of one category at the other's expense (e.g., Fausto-Sterling 2000: 21); alternatives might be to regard the categories as fuzzy-boundaried rather than rigid (Goldwasser 2002: 29), to set up multiple categories, to think in terms of "both/and" (Englund 1989b: 13 - 14), or to regard the dualities as part of a complementary whole (ibid.: 26); for instance, Troy (1986: 149 - 150) has shown that kingship in ancient Egypt was an androgynous concept where both king and queen played essential and complementary roles.

For the Egyptians, however, dualities might be opposed, but were ultimately to be reconciled; for instance, the king unites Horus and Seth (e.g., Assmann 2002: 42), deriving his power from the fusion of justice and loyalty with wildness. Troy, moreover, argues that the polarity of Seth's ultra-masculinity is presented negatively as unfruitful (2001: 248), whereas Osiris, a male god with female aspects, and Isis, a goddess with masculine aspects, ultimately have a fruitful partnership (ibid.: 248 - 249).

Egyptian gender categories seem rigid, particularly in the realm of representation, where numerous cultural conventions of skin color, hairstyle, body build, clothing, and which body parts may be exposed are used to differentiate between genders, social standing, and ethnic origin (Meskell and Joyce 2003; Robins 1993: 180 - 186; Saleh 2007). Men are normally represented with darker skin than that of women and hairstyles different from those of women; elite males are characteristically represented in a more active pose than elite women, and equipped with the staff of authority, which is not associated with women; the genitals of elite males are always hidden, although the pubic triangle of elite women is often outlined under their clothing (Robins 2008: 212). For a detailed survey of the symbolic representation of men's and women's bodies in Egyptian art, see Müller (2002). Moers (2005) stresses the social power of the representations of the normative, elegant, well-ordered body in visual and written media: feelings of shame are attributed to people when they fail to conform to this image, such as the young woman in the love poems who worries that "people" will describe her as "one fallen through love" because, distracted by daydreams of her beloved, her heart beats violently and she is neglecting her appearance (Moers 2005:16 - 18). Moers (ibid.: 20) also makes the interesting argument that this socially constructed normative body is male: women would always be considered slightly at a disadvantage.

However, gender categories may have been more flexible in reality. Texts represent people acting in ways that two-dimensional art omit, partly because formal two-dimensional art is often harnessed to magical ends and tends to prioritize the persons, images, and activities most important to achieve those ends: to please the gods (in temples) and to enable the tomb owner to enter the afterlife and thrive there (in tombs). For instance, elite women's business activities are known from texts (e.g., Eyre 1998: 178 - 179) but seldom represented in tombs (Robins 1990). Similarly, although the grand majority of cultic singers during the New Kingdom were female, some male ones are known (Onstine 2005: 76), and although almost all bureaucrats were men, there are occasional examples of female scribes and administrators (Robins 1993: 111 - 114, 116), and some women helped their husbands unofficially (Sweeney 1994).

Occasionally the Egyptians themselves remarked that certain behavior was gender inappropriate—"Did women ever lead troops?"(Papyrus Millingen II.7)—or highlighted ambigendrous behavior, such as that of the goddess Anat, who is described as "a mighty goddess, a woman acting as a man/a warrior, clad as men, girt like women" (*nṯrt nḫt.tj, zt-ḥmt jrt <m> ꜥḥꜣwtj, sd.tj m ṯꜣyw, bnd.tj m ḥm*[*wt*]: Papyrus Chester Beatty VII v.1.9 - v.2.1).

Notable examples of gender construction in Egypt are the female kings Neferusobek and Hatshsepsut, who had to negotiate between their female sex and their kingship, which was socially defined as male. Neferusobek was sometimes represented wearing a royal kilt and nemes-headdress over a dress (Staehelin 1989: 147, 151 - 152). Although early in her rule, Hatshepsut was represented with a combination of male and female elements, she rapidly adopted the image of a male king, whereas in the texts that accompany her male images, she is often described with female nouns and pronouns (Dorman 2005: 88; Roth, A.M. 2005: 9). On the other hand, Robins (1999) has demonstrated how Hatshepsut's kingly titulary capitalizes upon her female sex to build identifications with goddesses that would have been impossible for male kings.

Gender is often expressed via, and simultaneously shaped by, material culture (see Díaz-Andreu 2005 for an interesting survey in general archaeology). Smith's study of ethnicity in Nubia (2003) is an excellent example, because the way ethnicity is played out in material culture often involves gender-associated artifacts. From the presence of Nubian domestic cookpots (Smith 2003:114 - 124, 134 - 135) and Nubian fertility figurines in household shrines at the fortress of Askut

(ibid.: 133 - 135), both of which tended to be associated with women in Egyptian culture, Smith suggests that during the Second Intermediate Period the Egyptians living in the fortresses were marrying local women, who maintained their ethnic identity, among other things, via Nubian foodways. On the other hand, the (male) commander of the fortress, who would have entertained (male) emissaries sent by the ruler of Kerma and other Nubian dignitaries, used elegant Nubian serving vessels to honor his guests, so that interpretive issues pertaining to ceramics, gender, and ethnicity intersected differently in different social settings.

Places where certain people might be admitted and others not, or where certain people would find it easier to go than others, also shaped various aspects of identity in ancient Egypt, such as status, membership in or exclusion from a given group, and sometimes gender. Domestic space, shared by both sexes on relatively equal terms of status, may have been particularly important for the expression and shaping of gender. Meskell argues that in the tomb-builders' village of Deir el-Medina, the first room of the house, often equipped with a domestic altar, was associated with a domestic cult strongly associated with fertility and female themes (Meskell 1998: 221 - 226), whereas the more imposing second room with divan and emplacements for stelae was associated with male activities, including socializing on the weekends (ibid.: 229 - 231). Meskell's views have been somewhat simplified elsewhere (Kleinke 2007: 73; Koltsida 2007: 142), and it is important to retain her original nuances: the second room was also used by women, particularly during the week when the men were away at work (Meskell 1998: 238); men could also have participated in cultic activities in the first room (ibid.: 226); and the first room could also have been used for everyday activities such as spinning or food preparation (ibid.). On the other hand, Kleinke has argued convincingly that use of the rooms cannot have been restricted to one sex or the other (2007: 73 - 75) and points out that the domestic ancestor cult and fertility were

concerns of both sexes (ibid.: 75: cf. Koltsida 2007: 43). Similarly, Koltsida (2007: 92) makes an excellent case for the use, by both men and women, of the second room in Deir el-Medina houses. We could thus envisage domestic spaces and areas that were associated more with one sex but did not exclude the other, or were the focus of special activities by one sex but where other activities by both sexes also took place.

Both women and men underwent the same journey through the afterworld and the same judgement at the end, and people were integrated into the community of Osiris regardless of gender (Smith 2008). However, McCarthy (2002: 174 - 175) and Cooney (2008: 1- 6) point out that certain aspects of the entrance to the afterlife, such as having intercourse with the Goddess of the West in order to be reborn from her in the next world, required the dead person to be male. Lacking a penis, women might have had difficulty with this aspect of regeneration. McCarthy (2002: 190 - 193) suggests that Queen Nefertari is represented in her tomb undergoing a fragmentation of her gender identity at death, which allowed her to be identified with Osiris and Ra in order to be regenerated.

Similar arguments are made by Cooney (2008) for women in general in the New Kingdom. Cooney demonstrates how this redefinition of women's gender on entering the afterlife was reflected in the gender-neutral or masculine representation of women in certain kinds of burial equipment, such as (most) shabtis and coffins. Once she had successfully passed the judgement of the dead, a woman would attain the status of *akh* (glorified spirit), and would thus be depicted as a woman, adoring the gods of the afterworld and enjoying the pleasures of the blessed realm. By contrast, during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, deceased women were identified with the goddess Hathor, and their coffins represented them explicitly as female (Riggs 2005: 41 - 94).

On the other hand, inequalities from this world could also be perpetuated in the tomb. Meskell's work on burials at Deir el-Medina

shows that in this community, elite women's burial goods were often fewer and cheaper than those of their husbands (Meskell 1999); this tendency increased in proportion to the couple's status, whereas poorer couples had relatively egalitarian simple burials (possibly, I suggest, because the woman was generating proportionally more of the household income by weaving cloth; cf. Lesko 1994: 37). By combining material about both genders with status, this third-wave style analysis gives a richer and more nuanced picture than the enumeration of women's burial equipment alone would have done. (For different analyses of part of this material, however, see Näser 2001 and Pierrat-Bonnefois 2003.)

Intersex Individuals

The Egyptians were aware that beings might be both male and female, such as deities described as both father and mother (Westendorf 1977). In texts from the temple of Esna, Neith is said to be 2/3 male and 1/3 female (Sauneron 1961: 243 - 244). In the creation narrative from the same temple, she gives birth to the god Ra (Troy 2001: 255 - 256).

The creator god was believed to have produced the first sexually differentiated pair of gods, by either spitting or masturbating; the hand with which he masturbated can be hypostatized as feminine, but he is not said to have a womb (Griffiths 2001: 473); his hand or his mouth, depending on the version of the story, functions as a magical substitute for a womb. The goddess Mut is occasionally portrayed in *Book of the Dead* vignettes with a phallus as a sign of power (Capel and Markoe 1996: 35), possibly regenerative power, given the mortuary context (cf. McCarthy 2002: 193). A faience statuette of Thoth from the sixth century BCE represents him with an ibis head and female body, which prompts Stadler (2004) to identify him as a creator god, although there is a faint possibility that it might represent an ibis-headed goddess. Hapi, god of the inundation, has been thought to be androgynous, due to his breasts, penis sheath, and protruding (pregnant?) stomach (Roth,

A.M. 2000: 191), but Baines has shown that Hapi's iconography is derived from representations of stout, successful officials and connotes maturity, not androgyny (1985b: 118 - 123, 126). For further discussions of gender among the gods, see Pinch (fc.).

Texts occasionally mention intermediate human categories between male and female. The execration texts (lists of the enemies of Egypt on bowls and figurines, ritually broken to neutralize the enemies' power) mention "all people (*rmṯw*), all the elite (*pˁt*), all the commoners (*rḫyt*), all the men (*ṯꜣy*), all the *sḫtjw*, all the women (*ḥmwt*)…." This juxtaposition might suggest that *sḫtjw* were a third sex, but Vittmann (2000: 167) notes that the term *sḫtj* is also used in the Pyramid Texts, in reference to Seth, who was castrated. Castrates are certainly attested at various points, the clearest example being the unpublished Demotic narrative Papyrus Carlsberg 448.2, in which someone was taken to the doctor and castrated in order to become "a man of the (royal) bedchamber" (Vittmann 2000: 173). Depauw (2003) and Vittmann have also noted persons of intermediate category who are depicted as female or determined as female—that is, textually, with the hieroglyphic determinative for "woman"—but are referred to with male pronouns and described as *ˁqr* (castrate) (Vittmann 2000:170 - 172) or *ḥꜣwtj sḥmt* (literally "man-woman") (Depauw 2003: 51), although some might be transgender, rather than transsexual, people. One might argue that the *sḫtjw* could be a social category rather than a sexual one, listed here because of their special closeness to the king, but the juxtaposition of *sḫtjw*, between men and women rather than associated with *pˁt* and *rḫyt*, is probably significant.

Masculinity

The study of masculinity involves analyzing how different sectors of society promote certain ideals of "what it is to be a man," but also how people live with these ideals, conforming to them, resisting them, or adapting them (e.g., Adams and Savran 2002;

Bannon and Correia 2006).

In Egypt, different masculinities emerge for different social groups and people (such as the various social groups described, for instance, in Donadoni 1997): "being a (real) man" would have had different implications to some extent for a soldier, for a scribe working in a government department, and for a tomb-builder at Deir el-Medina. Appropriate male behavior would also have been tailored to the interpersonal context (towards one's superiors, subordinates, or peers, at home with one's family, towards women, when addressing the gods, and so on).

The masculinity of the king was especially heightened, and it differed to some extent from that of his male subjects. For instance, Englund (1989a: 78 - 79 and 81 - 83) notes that while ordinary people were normally supposed to avoid the unruly behavior associated with Seth, the king was supposed to integrate the powers of both Horus and Seth. Royal masculinity was strongly adversarial, opposing the enemies of Egypt as manifestations of the chaos that threatened to engulf the created world (O'Connor and Silverman 1995: xix). Yet the king could also be portrayed as lovable, even affectionate (Sinuhe B65 - 68; cf. Parkinson 2008: 129 - 130); dominance and grace were both essential elements of his rule.

In a recent ground-breaking article, Parkinson (2008) outlines key features of elite masculinity in the Middle Kingdom, which includes elements of dominance (including the assertion of sexual potency), competition, and self-valorization for the admiration of other elite males. Peer rivalry was probably a fact of bureaucratic life. Examples include Papyrus Anastasi VI, where one official appropriated the weavers working for another just as the latter had finished his official quota of cloth, thus depriving him of his personal profit but creating a situation where the authorities were unlikely to intervene (Kemp et al. 2001: 427 - 429); or the mayors of Eastern and Western Thebes under Ramesses IX, who turned an inquiry into tomb-robbing in Western Thebes into a personal power struggle (Vernus 1993:

21 - 36). On the other hand, normative texts such as the wisdom teachings helped shape the professional approach of scribes—a hierarchical one, aimed at gaining the favor of superiors and at times (as in the *Satire of the Trades*: see for instance Guglielmi 1994) looking down on subordinates and craftsmen.

Masculinity for the inner elite, and the sub-elite scribes and administrators who surrounded them, can be traced in more general terms through the prescriptions of the wisdom teachings, which are primarily addressed to men; the (male) addressee is advised how to behave towards women (one's wife, one's colleagues' wives, women in general) and a context of bureaucratic activity is supposed, which is again a male setting. On the other hand, norms such as acting according to *maat* plainly applied to men beyond the elite, and to both sexes, as did ideals such as looking after one's aged parents. For example, the woman Naunakht, at Deir el-Medina, plainly expected her daughters as well as her sons to aid her in her old age and disinherited her offspring—both male and female—when they failed to do so (Černý 1945).

Even within a specific social setting, masculinity was not necessarily understood in the same way or expressed to the same extent by everyone: Parkinson (2008) highlights that the misuse of aggression was debated, that the boundaries between homosocial friendship and homoerotic attachment were ambiguous, and that other "ways of being masculine" beyond potency and dominance were also available to men in ancient Egypt.

Femininity

Femininity tended to be represented in terms of a woman's role as her husband's spouse and support, and mother of his children. Since the early 1990s Egyptologists have stressed the hegemonic yet partial nature of this representation. Religious and business activities undertaken by women can be traced by careful reading of the textual material (Eyre 1998; Toivari-Viitala 2001), archaeological record, and representational material. Insights

from gender archaeology, especially task distribution, can be very useful here (e.g., Sweeney 2006, which approaches task distribution in a given community through a combined perspective of gender and age). For instance, Wegner (2004) has used the distribution patterns of women's seal impressions at the Middle Kingdom town of Abydos to demonstrate the scope of their sealing practices as mayor's wife, female head-of-household (*nbt-pr*), or domestic administrator (*jrjt-ꜥt*) in and around various buildings in the town.

On the other hand, many of the salient themes of masculinity (status, rivalry) are extremely difficult to find in material about women due to the partial nature of the record—for instance, Egyptian literary texts rarely represent women speaking to one another, which is clearly counterfactual. By contrast, women from the Egyptian royal house are relatively well known through the monumental record and their burials, even though their lives were atypical for Egyptian women and strongly imprinted by the ideology of kingship. Recent work on Egyptian queenship (see Roth, S. 2009 for full survey and additional bibliography) has highlighted the role of the women who were closest to the king. This particular form of femininity was far more closely integrated with the role of spouse than any other: it is almost impossible to imagine an Egyptian queen without a king. Even as queen regent for a minor son (Roth, S. 1997, 2001), the queen nonetheless stood in relation to the king.

Queenship also had a far more heightened connection to deity than other forms of femininity. Ideologically, the queens fulfilled the role of various goddesses who nourished and supported the sun god, with whom the king was equated: the daughter who defended him, and the consort who regenerated him by giving birth to him after making love with him. If queens were represented in temple reliefs, they were normally depicted playing a supportive role, accompanying the king when he made offerings and chanting and playing the sistrum to appease the deity. During the Amarna Period, however, queens took a more active part: Nefertiti is represented offering sacrifices in her own right. The *ḥwt-bnbn*, one of the temples Akhenaten built at Karnak in the early years of his reign, features Nefertiti alone making offerings, without any remembrance of Akhenaten (Redford 1984: 75 - 79). During Akhenaten's reign, and that of his father, Amenhotep III, the chief queens adopted certain features of the masculine aspects of royal iconography: for instance, both Tiy and Nefertiti are represented attacking and subduing the female enemies of Egypt (Robins 1993: 33 [motif on queen's throne], 54).

Same-Sex Sexuality

Probably some people in ancient Egypt engaged in same-sex sexual acts, and some may have preferred same-sex partners. Parkinson (1995) argues, however, that sexual preferences were not used to categorize people in ancient Egypt. Nevertheless, given the overwhelming heterosexual consensus, and the importance for a man to produce an heir, same-sex sexual behavior tended to be depicted as irregular and antisocial (Parkinson 1995); allegations of being the passive partner in same-sex relations were used as an insult, as in the boundary stela erected by Senusret III at the fortress of Semna, where Egypt's Nubian enemies are categorized as "back-turners."

Same-sex couples are difficult to trace, though this possibility has been suggested for various same-sex pairs buried together (Meskell 1999: 200 - 203 as one of various options; Reeder 2008) or sharing a stela (DuQuesne 2008: 58 as one of various possibilities). Depictions in the 5th Dynasty tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep show the two men with iconography similar to that of a married couple—iconography that has been variously interpreted as that of a same-sex couple (Reeder 2000, 2008), a pair of twins (Baines 1985a; Parkinson 2008), and Siamese twins (O'Connor summarized in Reeder 2008: 152). Niankhkhnum and

Khnumhotep's iconography is extreme, since they are depicted kissing, which is unusual at that period (see, however, Fischer 1959: 248); even Old Kingdom scenes of king and goddess embracing represent them with lips not quite touching. Although tomb depictions show that both Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep had wives and children, the ample textual material provided in the tomb does not mention that they are brothers or name their parents, which might point in the direction of their being a couple.

Future Research

New work on gender can lead to rich re-appraisals of familiar material (e.g., McCarthy 2002 on the tomb of Nefertari in the Valley of the Queens, or Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2009 on love poems in the context of gender and sexuality at the tomb-builders' village at Deir el-Medina, to which most ancient Egyptian love-poem manuscripts can be traced). Many of the directions mentioned in these works can and should be pursued further: for instance, it would be useful to investigate the combination of gender and domestic space at additional sites, especially during periods other than the New Kingdom. It would also be worthwhile to research combinations of gender, age, and status in mortuary equipment at well-documented cemeteries other than Deir el-Medina, using the methods suggested by Meskell, or developing additional analytic tools. We should not simply reduce gender to dualities, even though it is easy and tempting to do so, but attempt to trace how rigid or how fluid gender was in given settings by pinpointing cases where individuals seem to be behaving counter to gender stereotypes. The study of gender and language (e.g., Sweeney 2002a, 2002b) could be applied to other corpora where there are both male and female speakers (such as the Coffin Texts and other mortuary literature, or texts from temples, especially temples belonging to goddesses). Finally, gender combined with other factors can play a key role in reconstructing perspectives of ancient Egypt other than those of the well-documented male elite (e.g., Szpakowska 2008).

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Attempts to retrieve women's history appeared in Egyptology from the late 1970s onwards (e.g., Lesko 1978, 1989; Schmitz 1985; Schoske et al. 1984). Robins (1993: 14 - 16, 19 - 20) noted methodological problems with some of this work (particularly in the generalizations over time and different femininities). Gender concepts were first introduced into Egyptology by Wilfong (2002; Wilfong et al. 1997), Montserrat (1993, 1996), Reeder (2000), and Parkinson (1995, 2008), the latter three all writing on sexuality; Montserrat and Parkinson were strongly influenced by the work of the French theoretician Michel Foucault, and Reeder and especially Parkinson were also influenced by queer theory. Hare (1999) surveyed the myth of Osiris as a key to Egyptian masculinity. Simultaneously, a group of German scholars, based mostly at the Humboldt-University in Berlin, published a set of papers on gender studies in Egyptology, strongly influenced by the social sciences (Lohwasser 2000b). However, probably the work of Lynn Meskell, (1999, 2002) and numerous articles, was most central in bringing about a paradigm shift in Egyptology. Her main points have become part of our mental map—that one cannot generalize about all women (or all men for that matter), that women cannot be studied in isolation from men, that gender must be studied in combination with other factors, that our focus should not be on collecting information about men and women, but on investigating how "being male" or "being female" was constructed and performed in different settings. Few Egyptologists have ventured so deeply into gender theory, but most Egyptologists writing on these themes today produce work directly or indirectly informed by these or similar theoretical models (e.g., Robins

1999, Saleh 2007). For current summaries of research on gender in Egyptology, see Wilfong (2007, 2010) and Graves-Brown (2008).

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