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Erika Meyer-Dietrich

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Danse

According to the Egyptian iconographical and textual sources, dance is performed by animals, human beings (dwarfs, men, women, and children appear in the reliefs), the bas of Pe, the deceased king or individual, the living king in a divine role, and gods and goddesses. Problems concerning the classification, representation, and interpretation of dance in ancient Egypt are addressed here by structuring our knowledge through a focus on the performer, resulting in an overview of the dancer, the occasion of the performance, the location of the performance, and the imagined space that the dancing produces. These four criteria can be attested in natural-environmental, royal, funeral, and religious-festival contexts. The ancient Egyptian perceived dance in relation to leisure activities, gendered space, and also the negotiation of liminal space.

تذكر النصوص المصرية القديمة والإيقونوغرافية أن كل من الحيوانات والادميين (الأقزام والرجال والنساء والأطفال ظهوروا في النقوش) وأرواح <<بي>> والمتوفيين (الملك أو أحد العامة) والملك أثناء تمثيله للإله وكذلك الآلهة الأخرى كانوا جميعاً يمارسون الرقص. تعرض هنا مشاكل التعريف والتقسيم وأيضاً فهم دور الرقص بمصر القديمة. ويتركز محور المقالة حول الراقص وما يقوم به من رقص. ويتناول كل قسم أحد المواضيع الآتية: الراقص، ظروف الرقص، مكان الرقص، والمكان التخيلي الذي ينتجه الرقص. بعض الأمثلة تعطى هنا لتوضيح هذه النقاط الأربع في السياقات الطبيعية والسياقات الملكية والجنائزية والسياقات المتعلقة بالإحتفالات الدينية. وأخيراً يتم مناقشة التحاليل المصرية القديمة للرقص.



According to ancient Egyptian sources, contexts in which dance occurs spontaneously, or is performed according to traditional ideas, include sunrise, banquets, funerals, the afterlife, joyousness, royal ceremonies, and religious festivals. The most common noun for “dance” is *jb3w*, which was used continuously from as early as the Old Kingdom, where it is found in the Pyramid Texts, through the Ptolemaic Period, where we find it featured in temple inscriptions. The determinative of the verb, and of the corresponding noun (“dancer”), is a man

standing on one leg with the other leg bent at the knee. Nevertheless, the iconographical sources show both male and female dancers, and in a variety of contexts. Without exception dancers who appear in pairs or groups are of the same gender. Their representation is abundant on reliefs and wall paintings in the tombs of private individuals from the Old Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom. Dancers of non-Egyptian origin are a prominent feature in processions of the 18th Dynasty. A Ramesside ostrakon bears a satirical illustration of dance. Textual sources

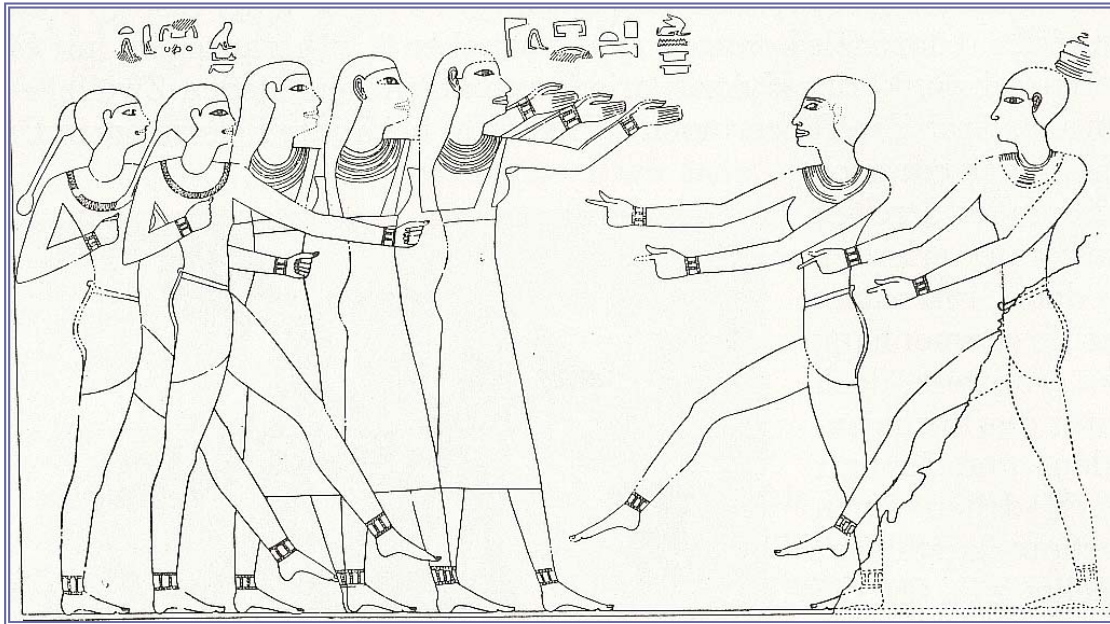


Figure 1. Dancers configured in opposing rows. Tomb of Antefoker and his wife Senet, Thebes.

for dance in religious ritual dominate in the Ptolemaic temples.

The study of dance in ancient Egypt presents problems of classification, representation, and interpretation. We do not possess sufficient information to construct a typology of dance in terms of distinctive movements and rhythms. Although 18 different verbs for “to dance” are attested according to the references given in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (<http://aaw.bbaw.de/tla/>), the terminology applied to dance escapes our comprehension, and the association between terms and selected movements is often obscure. Only a few names for body postures are attested. Extant artifacts (figurines in a dance posture) are sparse. The “frozen” postures and gestures depicted on reliefs do not allow for the reconstruction of a dancer’s movements or the composition and tempo of those movements. Nonetheless, some scholars have tried to deduce dance movements from gestures and body postures seen in Egyptian representations of dance. Postures have been interpreted as the dancer’s successive steps in a dance sequence (Brunner-Traut 1938; Kinney 2008; Lexová 1935), as if the artist tried to catch a certain moment of the

performance, sometimes choosing to depict the extreme position of a movement, the body bent back, the legs spread in a split, and the arms stretched to the utmost. Ultimately, whether dance movements should be understood as synchronic or diachronic representations of actions remains an unsolved problem. According to pictorial representations, dancers were configured either in linear relationships—that is, dancing toward each other in opposite rows (fig. 1)—or in pairs (fig. 2). Solo dancers are rarely depicted.

Aspects of tempo and rhythm are not easily interpreted. Textual “commentary” can sometimes be enlightening. In the tomb chapel of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan, for instance, the text adjoining a representation of dancers reads “wind” (BH 3, west wall; Newberry 1893: pl. 29). Comments like this may indicate that the dance movements portrayed were performed with speed. An important aspect in regard to rhythm is the concept of “chironomy”—a memory aid through which rhythm is reflected by hand movements that count the beat. In the Old Kingdom clapping and percussion instruments were used to set the beat. In the New Kingdom, when there appears to have

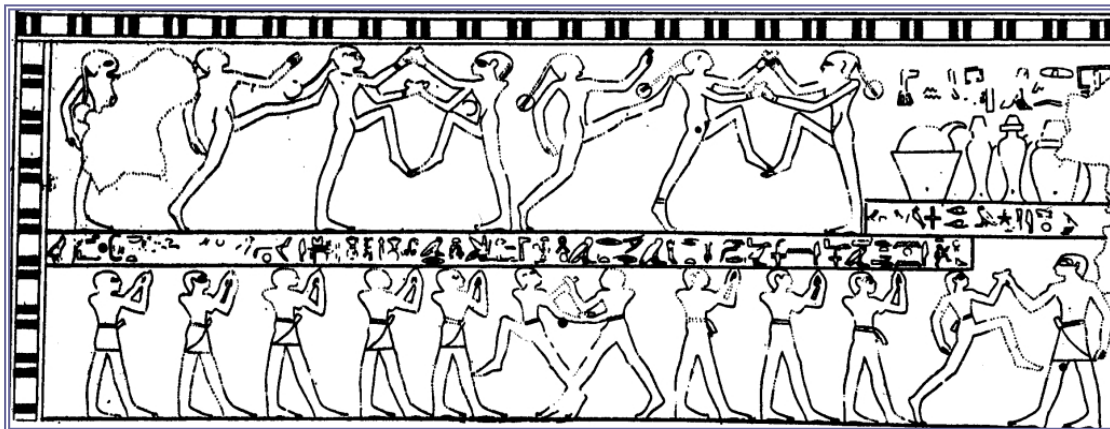


Figure 2. Dancers configured in pairs. Tomb of Zau, Deir el-Gabrawi.

been a greater variety of instruments, new types of rhythm instruments may have influenced the beat and the tempo of a performance.

The uncertain connection between dance and music renders the interpretation of reliefs and paintings difficult. In representations before the 18th Dynasty the dancers are not integrated in musical scenes; rather, they are depicted in a separate register. It is therefore not evident whether their dance is actually accompanied by the instrumental music. Even in depictions in which a musician is shown with a dancer, it is not clear whether the musician accompanies the dancer (musically) or whether the two are engaged in a dialog (Chernoff 1979: 55).

The intended purpose of the representation of dance and its interdependence with the history of religion and the history of art complicates the exploration of developments in dance. The function of an image might have been that of a “picture-act” operating as a virtual performance. In a religious context, it appears that certain, select dance movements were typically displayed in the iconography (Seidlmayer 2001: 246). However, artistic conventions might have rendered the depicted body postures less concurrent with reality. Junker (1940: 40) points out that, in the Giza mastaba of Kaiemankh (G 4561), it is in accordance with artistic conventions for the expression of formal events that the musicians are depicted standing instead of sitting on the

floor. In addition to their operability as picture-acts, representations can be understood in an art-historical context—that is, in terms of their dependency on earlier or contemporary representations with regard to theme, composition, and style. These factors of “interpictoriality” are well demonstrated in the artistic development of the wall paintings in the Middle Kingdom tombs of Beni Hassan (Shedid 1994) and in the Theban tombs from the time of Amenhotep II (Shedid 1988).

Artifacts associated with dance have survived as ceremonial objects and as gifts for the tomb owner. These valued objects possessed several layers of meaning. While musical instruments, dresses, mirrors, jewelry, headgear, ribbons, braid-weights, boomerangs, and sticks might be endowed with meaning based on their commissioning and design, the materials used in their production, methods of their use, and even possibly the professional experience of the associated musicians, they revealed symbolic performance-related power when employed in a dance context. This is especially clear with regard to multifunctional objects and parts of the human body. Hair, for example, appears to have taken on additional meaning when associated with dance, as is underscored by amagical text, according to which “the one who dances without hair” must suffer at the place of the crocodile (i.e., suffer a terrible fate) (Genève MAH 15274: recto 5, 8; translation by Massart 1957: 172 - 185).

Literary evidence that the same complexity of meaning was valid for ceremonial objects is provided by the story of the birth of the royal children in Papyrus Westcar. In this narrative, a group of gods in the guise of traveling dancers reached the house where the royal children were to be born. There “they held out [to the distraught landlord] their necklaces and sistra.” Having thereby assured the landlord of their competence as midwives they were allowed to enter (Papyrus Berlin 3033: 10, 1 - 5; translation by Lichtheim 1973: 220).

A meaningful discussion of dance in ancient Egypt must include not only its consideration as an art form and as it is displayed in representations, but also its exploration in context, as performance. Common to the bulk of iconographical and textual sources for dance is its ritual significance. Dance is embodied knowledge, communicated and acted out by being performed as a dance. The particular dance executed is dependent upon the situation, and the dance is performed in relation to another person. Conceptualized as a ritual practice, dance can be characterized as the setting up of relationships between symbols by means of physical operations (Bell 1992: 104). The Swedish choreographer Birgit Åkesson formulated a hermeneutics that is fruitful for the study of dance in its ritual, social, and cultural context. Her approach, which takes as its starting point dance as a form of acting, focuses on the performer. “To understand African dance one has to look at the interplay between dance and society, and what dance means for the society and the individual. It is equally important to consider who dances, why one dances, where one dances, and from where the dancer comes” (Åkesson 1982: 19). Accordingly, the dancer, the occasion of the performance, the location of the performance, and the imagined space that the dancing produces provide the thematic structure of the overview presented here.

According to the Egyptian iconographical and textual sources, dance is performed by animals, human beings (dwarfs, men, women,



Figure 3. Predynastic vessel from el-Amrah.

and children appear in the reliefs), the *bas* of Pe, the deceased king or individual, the living king in a divine role, and gods and goddesses. Iconographical evidence for dancing animals appears during the 18th Dynasty. In the first hour of the *Amduat*, dancing apes (carrying strong religious power) welcome the sun god at sunrise and sunset. The imagined space that the animals create by jumping for joy at sunrise is the eastern horizon. At sunset, when the god enters the West, the apes are depicted dancing on a sandy terrestrial domain (Papyrus Ani BM 10470: the vignette of the *Hymn to Osiris*; illustration in Faulkner 1994). On a satirical ostrakon from Deir el-Medina (oLouvre E 14368; Brunner-Traut 1955) a goat dances while a hyena plays the double oboe. Here, the animals represent human beings and shape a gendered “sensual” space.

The earliest known examples of a dancing human being come from the Badarian phase in plastic or incised decoration (Garfinkel 2003). In these examples ritual dancing is expressed by a typical posture: the arms are lifted upwards with incurving hands. According to Manniche (1991: 34) the same position of hands and arms occurs in African fertility dances. It has been suggested that this posture represents a cow’s horns in a festive performance. The motif reached its peak during the Naqada II phase, where it is exhibited in clay figurines and on pottery vessels painted in the white cross-lined style (fig. 3). In the second half of the fourth

millennium BCE the motif is rare; more frequently seen are depictions of a dancer and musicians surrounded by boats, flora, and water-birds, indicating the Nilotic landscape.

The dancing dwarf is situated in a multiplicity of contexts, the best known of which is a royal setting. Three dancers with braided hair depicted on an Early Dynastic macehead from Hierakonpolis (Quibell 1900: pl. 24A) resemble dwarfs. One of them holds a heart (*jb*) in his left hand. Morenz (1999: 100) has suggested that this depiction is a cryptographic writing of “dance” (*jbꜣw*). The king depicted on the macehead implies a performance in a royal scenario. According to the Pyramid Texts (PT 1189a - b; translation by Sethe 1961: 80), the deceased king dances in front of the throne in the role of the dwarf as “Dancer of God” (*jbꜣw ntr*). A dwarf who cheers up the king by dancing is also attested in the well-known letter of Pepy II to the governor of Elephantine, Harkhuf (Sethe 1933: *Urk. I*: 130). Dancing dwarfs who entertain by comedic means are inserted in dance scenes in the mastabas of private individuals in Giza (Junker 1949: 133 - 136). A girl’s tomb in el-Lisht contained ivory carvings of nude dwarfs who could be turned either to the right or left on a game board (Cairo JE 63858; Saleh and Sourouzian 1986: Cat. no. 90). Masked representations of the god Bes carrying a tambourine or a pair of knives perform apotropaic dances (Bonnet 1952: 103). The dwarf Djeho who lived in the 30th Dynasty mentions on his sarcophagus (Cairo CG 29307) dances that he performed on the occasion of religious festivals to honor Apis-Osiris and Osiris-Mnevis (Baines 1992: 241 - 257). According to Dasen (1993: 29) the dwarf owes his role to his physical abnormality, which is not regarded as a deficiency but rather as a divine mark. In ancient Egypt the concept of divine as “generative,” or sometimes “dangerous,” is used to formulate borderlands. In a ritual environment, dwarfs bringing regeneration and repelling evil (Dasen 1993: 156) may explain their appearance in the role of “Dancer of God,” as burlesque actors, and as

apotropaic dancers, shaping and protecting liminal spaces.

From the 4th Dynasty to the end of the New Kingdom, dancers depicted in tombs of private individuals figure in three different contexts: the funerary rites, the banquet scenes, and the cult of Hathor. In reliefs and wall paintings of the funeral, they appear in the capacity of mourners and *muu*-dancers in processions accompanying the transport of the statue. *Muu*-dancers, recognizable by their papyrus-stalk garland or reed-crown, personify “the *bas* of Pe.” They are always male. From the 18th Dynasty on they are depicted without such headdresses. They are commonly shown with both fists placed on their chest (a gesture of veneration), with two fingers pointing to the ground, holding hands, or touching each other with one finger while holding the other hand straight (Dominicus 1994: 73). Dancing in groups of three, or in pairs, the *muu* hurry to meet the coffin (with its escort), follow it, and safeguard its journey. According to Altenmüller (1975) they function as “ferryman” for the deceased. A passage in Sinuhe reads: “. . . with oxen dragging you and singers going before you. The dance of the Oblivious ones [the *Muu*] will be done at the mouth of your tomb-chamber” (Sinuhe B 195; translation by Parkinson 1997: 36). It has also been proposed that the *muu* serve as guardians of liminal space (Altenmüller 1982). Performing in the necropolis as the *bas* of Pe, the *muu*-dancers come from the realm of the deceased forefathers. The imagined space they create can be defined as the (liminal) passageway leading in both directions from the realm of the living to that of the forefathers.

In Old Kingdom scenes in the cult chambers of the mastabas from Saqqara, Dahshur, and Giza, dancers are shown in a row with both arms raised above their heads. Offering bearers are depicted in the same manner. To identify dancers in this formation and to distinguish them from offering bearers, the heel of the moving leg lifted from the ground is a reliable indicator (Herb 2001: 32). This standardized depiction of dancers

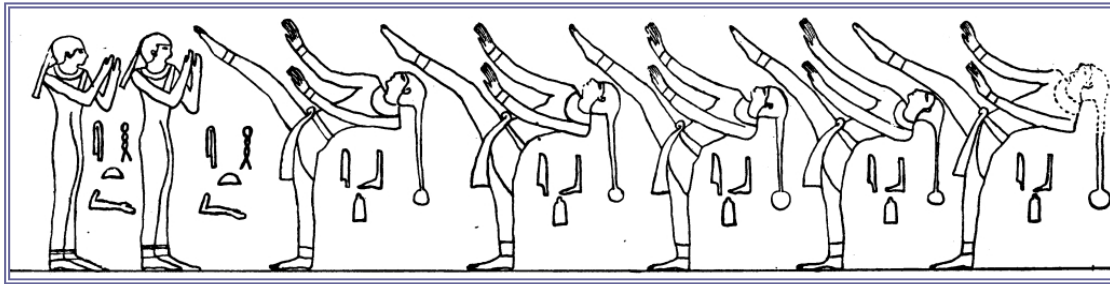


Figure 4. Dancers depicted in the 6th Dynasty mastaba of Ankhmahor, Saqqara.

appears first in representations from the 5th Dynasty. Already in the 6th Dynasty more extensive and varied body postures are portrayed (fig. 4). Occasionally a nude girl joins the dancing (CG 4561 south wall; Junker 1940: pl. 15). Titles inform us about the social group of female dancers: “The singing by the harem (*hnr*) to the dance” (C 6020, chamber 2, south wall; translation by Weeks 1994: 45). The dancers are subordinated to an overseer who can be either male or female. Sometimes the dancers are singing or playing musical instruments such as clappers, cymbals, drums, flutes, tambourines, and later even stringed instruments. Clapping hands, rattling jewelry, or snapping fingers indicate the rhythm. The costumes of the dancers change depending on the context and the fashion of the time. A short kilt and a garment of crossed bands that were knotted in the back were popular from the 5th to the end of the 6th Dynasty. In the 6th Dynasty pair-dancing (fig. 2) appears. Van Lepp (1991) has interpreted its depicted gestures and body postures as the enacting of the funerary rites through dance (see dance in rows and in pairs on the online Giza Archives Project, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: <http://gizapyramids.org/code/emuseum.asp?page=indexsurvey>). In rites of passage the dance shapes a transitional space.

The Coffin Texts articulate the idea that the deceased continue their existence among the living and may even dance among them: “Let him sing and dance and receive ornaments. Let him play draughts with those who are on earth, may his voice be heard even though he is not seen; let him go to his house and inspect his children for ever and ever” (de Buck: *CT* 5: 209p - 210e; translation by

Faulkner 1977: 56). We see this concept expressed visually in the wall scenes of tomb chapels, where the deceased is shown incorporated among his living companions on earth. Creating imagined space, such scenes affirm the tomb owner’s continued effectual presence in the family and within the world (Fitzenreiter 2004: 80).

Representations of dancing are requisite in banquet scenes. Kampp-Seyfried points out a shift in emphasis that took place toward the end of the 18th Dynasty: from this time onward, the living ones join the banquets of the deceased (1996: 57). Over time the representation of dancers in banquet scenes becomes increasingly detailed. In the New Kingdom female dancers are shown scantily dressed—perhaps wearing only a slim belt around their hips, bracelets, anklets, and sometimes a diaphanous robe. Their hair is long and loose, topped by a cone of ointment.

In Old, Middle, and New Kingdom tomb representations a dance with leaps and splits was performed by male or female dancers to honor the goddess Hathor. Scenes of this dance in the 6th Dynasty mastaba of Ankhmahor (fig. 4), for example, depict dancers who wear a long braid ending in a round weight. The latter consists of a ring or, as Hickmann (1961: 52) has assumed, perhaps a rattling clay ball. In early representations the dancers hold clappers and a mirror. Later the broad collar and its counterpoise became the signifying attributes in the cultic dance for Hathor, such as we see in a representation in the Theban tomb of the vizier Antefoker (fig. 1). The inscription above the dancers who are positioned before the deceased’s wife Senet

reads: “The doors of heaven are open. Behold, ‘The Golden One’ has come!” (IT 60; Davies 1920: pl. 23). The ritual objects used in the dance for Hathor produce the imagined space of a face-to-face encounter with the goddess (Meyer-Dietrich 2006: 116).

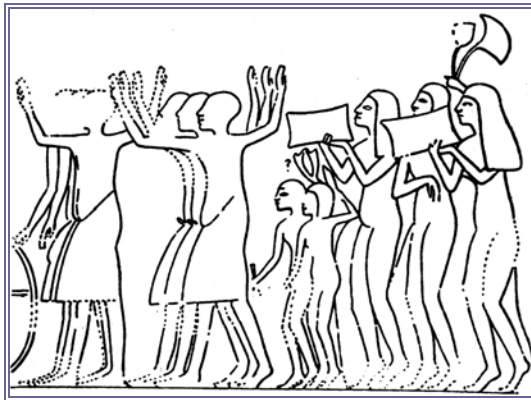


Figure 5. The jubilating crowd. Tomb of Meryra II, el-Amarna.

Middle Kingdom literature and biographies testify to dance inspired by emotion. The protagonists in these examples are male. After Sinuhe has received good news from the king, who has just granted him permission to be buried in Egypt, he spontaneously performs a dance of joy: “I roved round my camp, shouting” (Sinuhe B 201; translation by Parkinson 1997: 37). Similarly, in his biography (Qubbet el-Hawa no. 36), the 12th Dynasty Governor of Elephantine, Sarenput I, expresses joy about his promotion: “I danced like the stars of the sky” (Sethe 1935: *Urk. VII*: 1 - 5, 14). He goes on to further highlight the interconnectedness of dancing and rejoicing: “My town was in a festive mood, my young people jubilating when the dancing was heard” (Sethe 1935: *Urk. VII*: 1 - 5, 14 - 15; translation by Franke 1994: 193). Two personifications of towns are depicted in the Karnak Temple, dancing in front of Thutmose III, who celebrates the “Feast of the White Hippopotamus” (Epigraphic Survey 1994: Photo 8504; Säve-Söderbergh 1952: fig. 12). In the Amarna tomb of Meryra II, jubilating and dancing men, women, and children (fig. 5) celebrate the recipient of great honors upon his return to his house (south

wall; Davies 1903: pl. 26). On the pillars that flank the entrance to the mammisi of Edfu, a hymn of joy ends: “May the young women jubilate for him by dancing. Kamutef is his name” (Chassinat 1939: 165: 2 - 5; translation by Budde 2008: 21). The dancing extends the imagined social space of the honored one to encompass the whole town.

Priests and priestesses, foreigners, gods, and the king in a divine role dance as celebrants in religious festivals. The instruments they carry were owned by the temple. The rank of such ceremonial dancers was apparently high. Eighth Dynasty king Neferkauhor appointed the second son of the vizier Shemai as a celebrant in order to dance and celebrate hymns before the god Min at Koptos (Goedicke 1967: figs. 21, 22). The most reported events at which ceremonial dance was performed were seasonal and religious festivals. In the Theban tomb of Kheruef, dancers at the Sed Festival of Amenhotep III are shown bent forward. Significantly, the text above the dancers (Epigraphic Survey 1980: 47, pls. 34 - 40) links the dancing to mythological concepts of harvesting. From the time of Hatshepsut, dancers appear in the Opet-procession. They dance bent backward while entering Luxor Temple (south wall, 3rd reg.; Grimal 2006). According to Wild (1963: 57) the dancers belong to the temple of Amun. Temple personnel in priestly garments are frequently depicted as musicians and chironomists. In the scholarly discourse on dance in ancient Egypt their activity as dancers is subsumed under the heading “musicians.” The dance performed at festivals by Egyptian dancers required physical training and religious knowledge, because the dance expressed mythological acts and religious concepts. Possibly, the dancers were hired for the occasion or belonged to alternating groups of officiants. Ptolemaic-Roman papyri allow us our first glimpse of the working conditions of contracted dancers. Papyrus Cornell 26 informs us about the number of days a particular performance lasted and the date of the performance, as well as the payment, the condition, and the transport of professional dancers (Westermann 1924).

Foreign dancers are attested as early as the Middle Kingdom. In the 18th Dynasty depictions of female Nubian dancers in a marshy environment appear on decorated objects, such as flute containers and spoons, as gifts for the New Year. At the same time male Nubians and Libyans are visible in representations of rituals performed in public venues. In the Opet-procession (Epigraphic Survey 1994), these male dancers dance along the riverbank, accompanying the divine barque of Amun on its journey to Luxor (fig. 6). They are also part of the entourage in a Ptolemaic hymn that celebrates the goddess Hathor upon her return from her journey to Nubia (Drioton 1927). The text from the temple at Medamud praises Hathor, the returning “Eye of the Sun,” as “The Golden Goddess who is pleased by dances at night.” It begins: “Come, oh Golden One, who eats of praise, because the food of her desire is dancing” (Darnell 1995: 49). The imagined space created by the dancers coming from the south is the far southeast region at dawn.

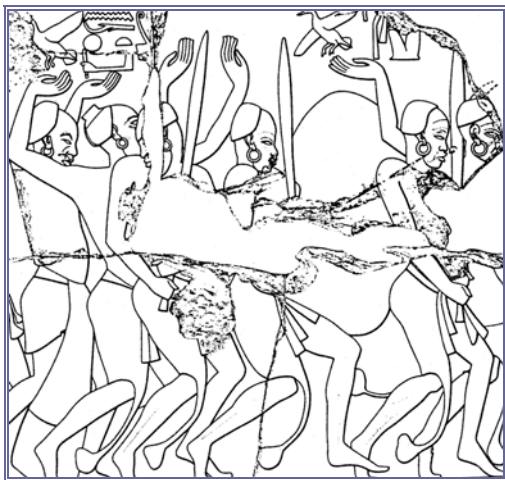


Figure 6. Nubians dancing in the Opet-procession.

Gods emerge as dancers in the inscriptions from Late Period temples. A pillar fragment from the Ptolemaic mammisi of Edfu shows a newborn, unnamed god dancing on a lotus flower (Kazimierz 1969: pl. 131). On a Ptolemaic-Roman lintel in Dendara, the seven “Hathors” play the tambourine before Hathor and her son Ihi. The fifth of them is specified as “Hathor, Mistress of Kom el-Hisn,

foremost of the place of inebriation [Dendara], Mistress of Dance,” and the seventh of them “dances for The Golden One” (Cauville 2000: 106 - 107, pl. 78; translation by Rochholz 2002: 83). In the pronaos of Dendara, Ihy himself bears the epithet “The one who dances for his mother” (Leitz 2002, Vol. 2: 212), and Hathor is the one “for whom the gods perform the *jbꜣw*-dance and for whom goddesses and musicians dance” (Cauville: Dendara XIII: 185: <http://www.dendara.net/download/Dendara%20XIII>). Hathor-Tefnut herself dances in her temple at Philae, while the king dances for her in the role of Shu (Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001: 75). A unique iconographic testimony to the king as performer is a depiction of the Roman emperor Trajan dancing for the goddess Menhyt-Nebtuu (Sauneron 1968: 380, 382, fig. 359). The imagined space the gods create by dancing in the seclusion of the temples is their own ontological realm, the realm of the divine.

What has not yet been touched upon in the study of dance in ancient Egypt is its analysis with regard to ethical and religious values, and gender. With regard to ethical values, the assessment of dance as a “leisure” activity is already discernible in the Coffin Texts. According to Spell 835, the deceased is promised power over gods who will serve him and not dance—that is, not be occupied with dance but instead be ready to serve the deceased (de Buck: *CT* 7: 36g; translation by Barguet 1986: 248). Magical papyri provide evidence for religious concepts associated with dancing. For example, in order to help a sick child, a magician draws an analogy to the dancing child-god Horus (Papyrus British Museum 9997: 7, 3; translation by Leitz 1999: 19). By dancing, people produce gendered spaces. Dancing girls in banquet scenes create female spaces. Herodotus’ description of pilgrims on their way to Bubastis illustrates that the act of playing the flute and dancing, paired with raucous banter and the women’s exposure of their private parts, actually serves to define the route of the pilgrimage as a gendered liminal space (Herodotus: *Histories* II: 60).

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The only comprehensive study of dance in ancient Egypt is Brunner-Traut (1938), which must be understood in the early twentieth-century socio-historical context in which it was written. The work discusses and categorizes dance according to prevailing European tastes/dichotomies and evolutionist concerns, revealing, for example, the Eurocentric perceptions of ancient Egyptian dance as “acrobatic,” “exotic,” “Oriental,” and “sensuous” that shaped the study of dance in ancient Egypt. Classic treatments of the subject are Vandier (1964) and Wild (1963), and more recently Cummings (2000). Kinney’s recent contribution to dance (2008) is an updated, comprehensive presentation of sources from the Old Kingdom, with much valuable data. An overview is given by Anderson (1995). Lexová (1935; reprinted 2000) provides a good spectrum of the movements featured in ancient Egyptian dance. Mesckell (1999) deals with topics of gender and archaeology. Baines (2006) discusses the archaeological evidence for public performances. Names of dancing divinities are listed in Leitz (2002). For writing and alternative spellings of the words for “dance” see Brunner-Traut (1938), Morenz (1999), and Quaegebeur (1984). Dancers who are listed among temple personnel can be found in Gauthier (1931: 92), Luft (1993), and Posener-Kriéger (1976: 606).

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- Figure 1. Dancers configured in opposing rows. Tomb of Antefoker and his wife Senet, Thebes (Davies 1920: pl. 23).
- Figure 2. Dancers configured in pairs. Tomb of Zau, Deir el-Gabrawi (Davies 1902: pl. 7).
- Figure 3. Predynastic vessel from el-Amrah (Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902: pl. XIV).
- Figure 4. Dancers depicted in the 6th Dynasty mastaba of Ankhmahor, Saqqara (Capart 1887: pl. 68).
- Figure 5. The jubilating crowd. Tomb of Meryra II, el-Amarna (Davies 1905: pl. 36).
- Figure 6. Nubians dancing in the Opet-procession (Epigraphic Survey 1994: pl. 16).