

Domestic space and gender roles in ancient Egyptian village households: a view from Amarna workmen's village and Deir el-Medina

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AIM OF THE STUDY

The importance of the household in ancient Egypt is clearly reflected in the language, where among the words for marriage were '*q r pr*, literally translated 'to enter a house', or '*grg pr*, meaning 'to establish a house(hold)' (Pestman 1961, 9–10). The commonest title for a married woman is '*nbt pr*, 'lady of the house' (Toivari 2000, 17–20). However, it is noticeable that there were no specific words for each room or area of the house, as was later the case in Hellenistic Egypt (Husson 1983). The interpretation of the relationship between gender and space within ancient Egyptian village households will be the focus of this paper. The term 'village houses' refers to small domestic units of the middle and lower classes, located in small self-contained villages. The best-preserved sites comprising such architecture are two New Kingdom workmen's villages at Tell el-Amarna and Deir el-Medina.

THE WORKMEN'S VILLAGES AT AMARNA AND DEIR EL-MEDINA

The workmen's village in the area of Amarna (in Middle Egypt) lay in a small valley between the cliffs east of Akhetaten, the new state capital established by the pharaoh Akhenaten (FIG. 13.1). The village was built to house the workmen of the Royal Tombs. It was walled and almost square, with two gateways at the south, and consisted of six rows of houses, divided by five streets. The site was initially excavated by Peet and Woolley in 1921–2, when 36 houses were excavated (Peet 1921, 175–8; Woolley 1922, 48–59; Peet and Woolley 1923, 51–91). The excavation was careful, considering the archaeological methods of the period, and the publication rather detailed, with a reasonable interpretation of the function of each room. Recently, Barry Kemp excavated four more houses in the village (Kemp 1978, 24–6; 1979, 47–53; 1980, 5–12; 1981, 5–16; Kemp *et al.* 1986, 1–33; 1987, 1–46, 132–59). The thorough publication, with detailed description and analysis, has provided substantial material for the study of the domestic architecture in the village.

The village of Deir el-Medina lay at the West Bank of Thebes between the Valleys of the Kings and the Queens, and was also built to house the workmen of the Royal Tombs (FIG. 13.2). It was excavated by Bruyère during the second decade of the twentieth century. In the publication the interpretation seems to have influenced the presentation of data. As a result of a largely unsupervised excavation, only the impressive or precious finds are recorded with the distinction of the room in which they were discovered (Bruyère 1928; 1933; 1934; 1939). Recently some parts of the village were re-excavated by Bonnet and Valbelle to reveal the stratigraphy (Bonnet and Valbelle 1975; 1976). The village was occupied from the early Eighteenth until the late Twentieth Dynasty, undergoing several extensions. It is roughly rectangular in plan and surrounded by an enclosure wall. The final layout contained 68 houses. As at Amarna, the plan gives the impression of terraced housing built in rows attached to each other. There was one main gateway at the north, leading to the main street.

The general layout of the Amarna village houses is highly standardised: they were rectangular and their floor area was consistently about 5×10 m. Each house was divided into three unequal parts: a rectangular front room, an almost square middle one, and a rectangular rear part, which was divided into two smaller areas. Most of the excavated houses possessed a staircase, in either the front or the rear part. The ground-plan and size of the houses in Deir el-Medina closely resemble those of the Amarna Village; they are not quite as standardised as those at Amarna, but this is a result of individual alterations over a much longer period of occupation. Almost all the houses share the same basic features, being roughly rectangular and consisting of four successive rooms, rather than three as was the case at Amarna.

ROOM FUNCTION IN THE VILLAGE HOUSES

The front room of the houses in both villages was rectangular or roughly rectangular. Inside the room the staircase was sometimes constructed, which generally

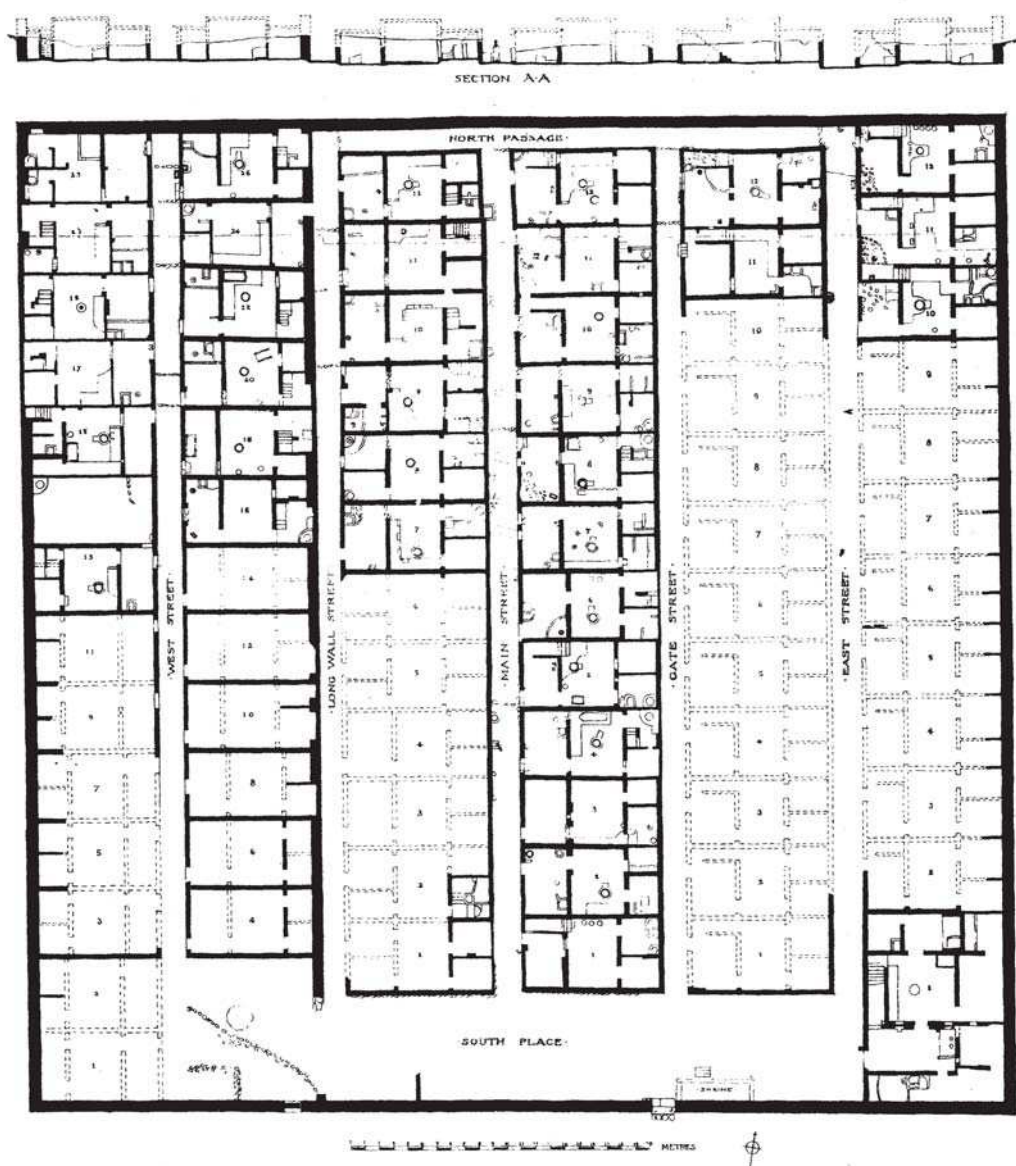


Fig. 13.1. *Amarna Workmen's Village, plan* (after Peet and Woolley 1923, pl. XVI; reproduced with permission of the Egypt Exploration Society).

had a cupboard underneath. A short coping wall divided the room into two smaller parts in some Amarna village houses. There are strong elements to suggest that this room was used for keeping animals in many cases (Peet and Woolley 1923, 60–1; Koltsida 2001, 58–64). When the room was subdivided, one part was usually meant for keeping animals, and that was also the case for the area under the staircase (Peet and Woolley 1923, 60, 72). Texts from Deir el-Medina inform us that the villagers possessed animals such as donkeys, cattle and pigs (Janssen 1975, 164–78; McDowell 1992, 197–9), which were kept for their products, their meat and their services (Houlihan 1996, 11–31; Janssen and Janssen 1989, 27–36). Furthermore, there is clear evidence for the keeping of pigs in Amarna workmen's village, either in animal pens outside the village or within the houses (Kemp *et al.* 1987, 40). A number of other domestic

activities also took place in the front room, such as grinding and sometimes cooking or bread-making (Koltsida 2001, 58–64, 119–21). Horizontal looms were sometimes put in the front rooms, indicating that weaving also happened there (Koltsida 2001, 73).

The front room has been generally considered as a roofed area (Peet and Woolley 1923, 55–61; Bruyère 1939, 54), but in the recent excavation of the house at Gate Street 8 in the Amarna workmen's village (Kemp *et al.* 1986, 1–27) no roof fragments came to light from the front room, and the excavator suggested that this part of the house was an open court. In addition, the vast majority of ancient Egyptian house models represent houses with a walled front court (Koltsida 2001, 30–40), while a two-dimensional representation of a similar tripartite house in a block from Karnak also depicts the front room as a court (FIG. 13.3; Hammad

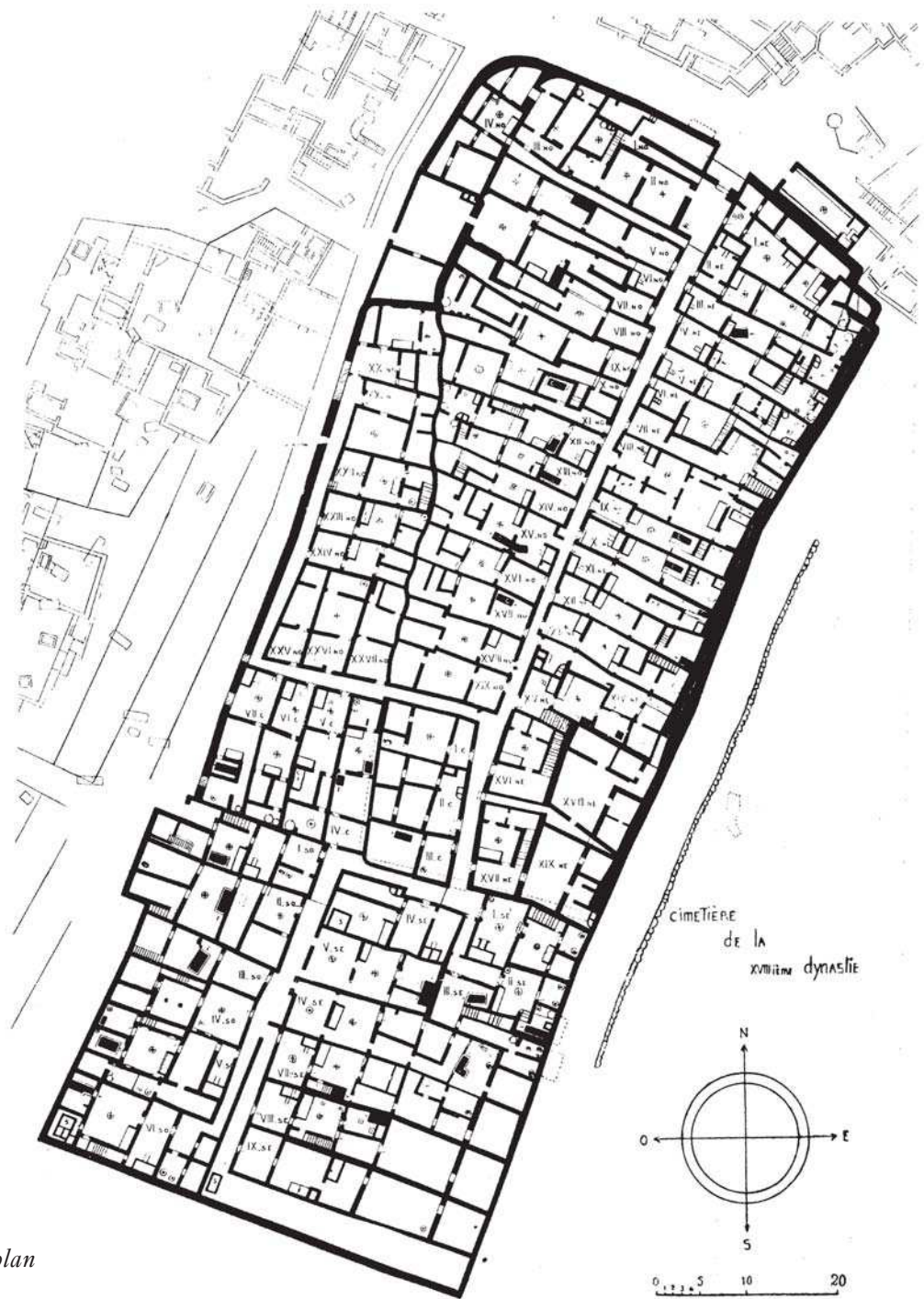


Fig. 13.2. *Deir el-Medina, plan* (after Bruyère 1939, pl. 63; reproduced with permission of the Institut Française d'Archéologie Orientale).

and Werkmeister 1955, 104–8). The activities that took place in this room, i.e. animal-keeping, grinding, baking and weaving, do not require a roofed area. In modern Egyptian rural houses such activities are concentrated in an unroofed area, and in particular the front court (Fakhouri 1987, 18). Therefore, it is feasible that the front room in the houses of both villages was either totally unroofed or occasionally covered, possibly with a semi-permanent roof.

One of the constituents of the front room of the Deir el-Medina houses that has raised a number of arguments for its use is the so-called 'elevated bed' (*lit clos*: Bruyère 1939, 62). This is a rectangular, elevated brick platform with three to five steps leading up to it, incorporated in one of the corners of the room and enclosed by thin walls (Bruyère 1939, 56–7). These platforms were either whitewashed or plastered and painted, and their decoration usually depicts the god Bes in a celebratory mood

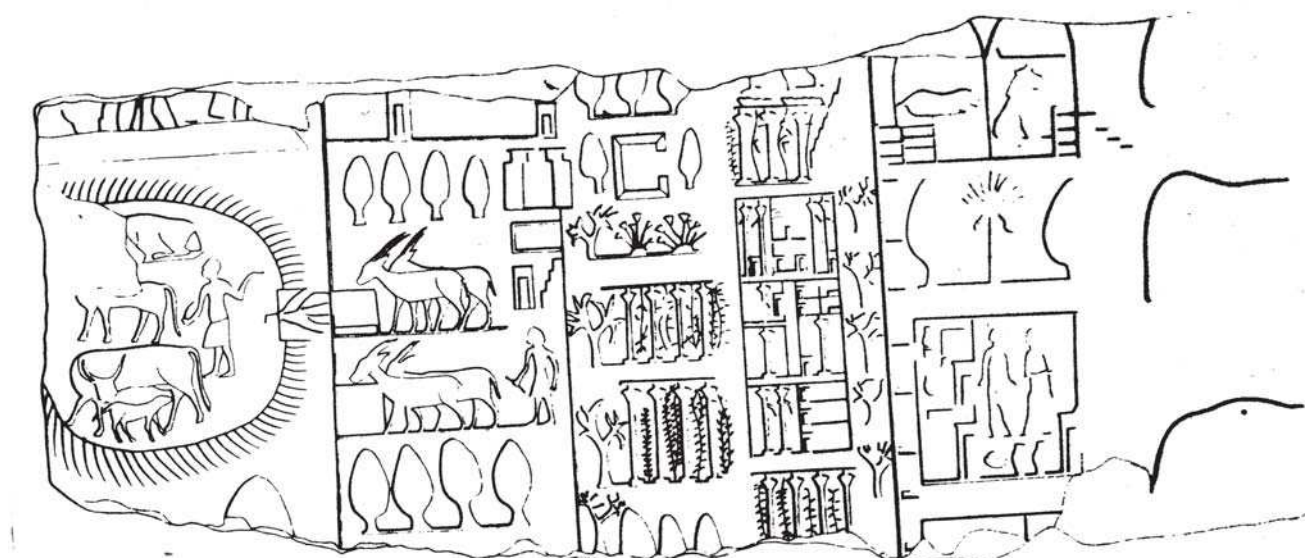


Fig. 13.3. House representation from a block in Karnak (after Hammad and Werkmeister 1955, fig. 1; reproduced with permission of Akademie Verlag GmbH).

or other motifs and scenes, some of which are connected with female activities (Koltsida 2001, 67–9).

These structures have traditionally been interpreted as birth beds (Bruyère 1939, 59; Brunner-Traut 1955, 23; Pinch 1983, 405–14), while most recently it has been claimed that they ‘focused broadly on female life in all its aspects, including the procreative, the maternal and even the erotic’ (Friedman 1994, 110). Besides the fact that it seems most unlikely that such activities would have taken place in the most public part of the house, which was also dedicated to dusty activities such as grinding or animal-keeping, the similarities of these structures to the domestic altars, usually placed in the central room of the large Amarna villas (Koltsida 2001, 166–7), are considerable, and it seems conceivable that they served as domestic shrines, placed in the front instead of the middle room of the house, owing to the lack of space in the latter. Therefore, instead of considering these structures as the place for childbirth, it is likely that they were areas where, among other possible rituals, fertility and successful childbirth were celebrated (Kemp 1979, 53).

The middle room was square or almost square. It possessed a sitting place in the form of a low dais against one or two of its walls, and a hearth, usually at the centre of the room or in close proximity to the dais. A central column supported the roof in most Deir el-Medina middle rooms, while in Amarna columns were less usual. The walls were usually whitewashed or plastered and painted, and a painted dado (up to about 1 m) was common. Niches and false doors were also usual, bearing traces for the placement of lamps or stelae (Demarée 1984) and/or ancestral busts on them (Friedman 1985, 82; Koltsida 2001, 134–6). Water jars were commonly

placed into holes in the floor, while tables, tools, spinning and weaving equipment, and dining and drinking utensils are usual among the room assemblages.

This room undoubtedly served as the main living room of the house, where people sat and relaxed, on chairs and stools placed on the dais or the floor, or directly squatting on a mat put on the dais (Koltsida 2001, 139–43). In those cases they would possibly discuss family matters, play board games, entertain themselves with domestic pets, eat and drink, either with friends, or with other family members, as texts inform us (Koltsida 2001, 236–8). It was also the area where prayers would be conducted to the divine, and rituals would be performed (connected with the stelae and/or ancestral busts). In some small houses the room was also used for spinning, weaving, stitching or embroidering, and possibly even for sleeping, when the house did not provide much space for all household members to sleep in a separate bedroom (Koltsida 2001, 243–5). The roof, although traditionally considered as being higher than that of the other rooms, is most likely to have been at the same level as the other rooms (Koltsida 2001, 328–56).

Of the two rear rooms one was evidently a kitchen in most cases (except where cooking took place in the front room: Koltsida 2001, 52–65). This is indicated archaeologically by the appearance of a fireplace and/or an oven within the room, while mortars, water jars, vases, plates, baking dishes, pounders and pounding pebbles, spoons, drills, razors and mallets were common among the deposits (Koltsida 2001, 306–10). Silos for grain storage were also usual. The staircase, when not in the front room, was generally placed in the cooking area, with the cupboard under the stairs providing more storage space.

The other rear room of the house was always at the side of the kitchen in the Amarna houses, while in Deir el-Medina it was situated between the kitchen and the living room. The room was evidently used for sleeping, as indicated archaeologically by the low daises that have survived against one of the walls, and also by bed supports, which have been preserved in at least two cases (Koltsida 2001, 260–1). These daises were used either directly as beds, with a mat placed on them, like the one described as a ‘sleeping mat’ in an ostrakon (Černý and Gardiner 1957, LVI:1:4; McDowell 1999, 45), or as platforms to support beds, as two-dimensional representations indicate: in the palace bedroom depiction from the tomb of Ahmes in Amarna the bed is clearly placed on a higher level than the rest of the furniture of the room (Davies 1905, pl. XXXIV).

Beds were undoubtedly part of the furniture of the workmen’s houses, as indicated by textual references (Kitchen 1983, 164–5, 664), and by the discovery of beds in the workmen’s tombs, such as the well-known examples from the tomb of Kha (Leospo 1988, 149–50). The bedrooms were also used for storage, as implied by the appearance of cupboards, shelves, bins and storage or water jars (Koltsida 2001, 251–93). Valuable items were usually kept there, for the bedroom is the most private part of the house that a guest or a stranger would or could not enter. The fact that the bedrooms were used for storage is also evident from two-dimensional representations: in the scene depicting the bed from the mastaba of Mereruka several chests and jars are illustrated underneath the bed (Duell 1938, pl. 95).

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Having examined the characteristics of the rooms in the village houses, we will now turn to a brief examination of the role of women in those villages. The wife was the mistress of the house (Toivari 2000, 17–46) and her primary duty was to look after her house. The social importance of the status of a wife, achieved through marriage, was further increased with motherhood, and therefore giving birth was a significant point in every woman’s life and raising the children was mainly a female task (Toivari 2000, 223). Besides taking care of the house and children, women were also responsible for food preparation (Verhoenen 1984; Roehrig 1996, 15; Toivari 2000, 224). These obligations were not easy and required a considerable amount of time. Texts inform us of the provision of female slaves to do the grinding in Deir el-Medina for some days in each household (Černý 1973, 175–81). Textual references do not provide precise information about the degree that each household member had to assist in domestic activities, but it seems that young daughters were gradually involved, while elderly women would have perceptibly fewer obligations (Toivari 2000, 224), as is the case in modern Egypt (Fakhouri 1987, 63; Hoodfar 1997, 167).

Keeping and caring for the domestic cattle was also a female responsibility. Characteristically, Butetamun, a villager in Deir el-Medina, addressed his deceased wife, Ikhaty, in a letter to her, as ‘she who fetched her cattle’ (Černý and Gardiner 1957, pl. LXXX; Frandsen 1992, 33). Spinning and weaving were also female activities and women could increase their personal capital by the exchange of self-made textiles or clothes for desired goods (Toivari 2000, 233). However, the extent to which they could expand their economic assets by textile production, without having to share the profits with their husbands, remains unclear (Eyre 1998, 173–91). Nevertheless, women were generally involved not only in the production of goods but also in trading them, as indicated by iconographic (Davies and Faulkner 1947) and textual evidence (Gardiner 1935, 140–6; Eyre 1998, 173–91).

SPACE AND GENDER IN THE VILLAGE HOUSES

A very important aspect of domestic life is the position of women in the household and their access, or otherwise, to specific areas of the house. Historically, the undertaking of household work has been ideologically designated as a female occupation; a woman’s labour at home represents not strictly ‘work’ but a way of being (Rollins-Ahlander and Slaugh-Bahr 1995, 54–68). Traditionally archaeology has interpreted areas with a modern western gender bias; male persons were *a priori* assumed to have been active producers and the dominant figures in the society and the family, whereas women were meant to be passive users of the fruits of male labour, therefore having a subordinate role. Thus, a grinding pounder discovered in a female tomb was taken to mean that it was buried with the person who used it. The same object, discovered in a male tomb, would be interpreted as being buried with the person who manufactured it, or for whom it was used (Conkey and Spector 1998). However, since the 1980s the study of gender has been considered as a significant issue in understanding human behaviour and reconstructing the past (Sørensen 1988; Gilchrist 1991; 1999). Recent studies have also addressed the issue of the relationship between gender relations and use of space (Spector 1983; 1993; Engelstad 1991; Tringham 1991; Meskell 1998a). Following the aforementioned micro-spatial analysis of each room of the village houses, the final part of this paper will try to link the activities performed in each area with gender relations.

The front room of the village houses was a multifunctional area and most possibly an unroofed court (see above). The activities that took place in this room were typical female activities in ancient Egypt (grinding, animal-keeping, spinning and weaving), and it would be legitimate to suggest that it was a primarily female-oriented area. Indeed, Meskell (1998a, 215) envisages the room as such, but her consideration is principally based on the speculation that the elevated

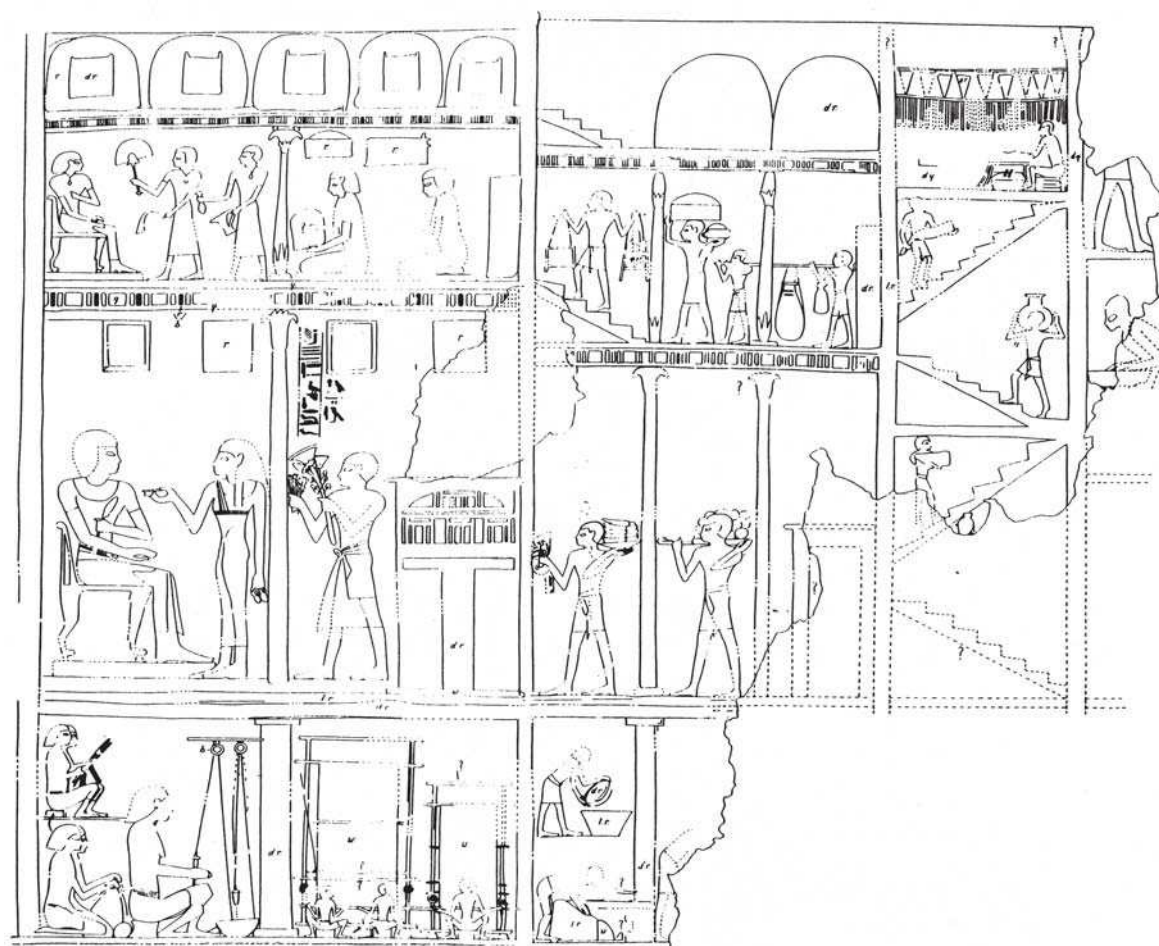


Fig. 13.4. The house of Thut-nefer. Theban Tomb 104 (after Davies 1929, fig. 1; reproduced with permission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

bed was related to female sexuality. Nevertheless, this platform was presumably a house altar and, as such, it could be equally applied to men and women. It seems more possible that the room was a female territory during the day hours (when men were away working and women performed the daily domestic tasks), while for the rest of the day the area was evenly used by men and women.

Considering the front part of the house a court, then the middle room would be the only proper area for sitting and eating. According to Meskell's suggestion the living room in Deir el-Medina was primarily for the use of the master of the house and his male friends (Meskell 1998a, 229). The dais, the column, the wall decoration, the niches and false doors, are considered male status symbols, while the primarily male use of the room is further implied by the appearance of the ritual areas within the room (Meskell 1998a, 230–2; 2000, 433). There is no reason to suspect that the dais, a common element in most houses, and one that also appears in other rooms, was genuinely related to men. In early modern Egypt *dimans* (which are the modern equivalent of the ancient dais, Lane 1895, 22–8) were

equally placed in the male and female areas (Scarce 1996, 22–3, 31–2). Besides, the archaeological evidence for the existence of looms in the room clearly connects it with women. We may suggest that such activities might have happened while men were absent, but there is clear evidence in textual references and two-dimensional representations for the opposite. In the aforementioned Karnak relief (FIG. 13.3), a man and a woman are depicted in the middle room of the house, which is also the case in the representation of the house of Thut-nefer (FIG. 13.4; Davies 1929, 233–55; Doyen 1998, 345–55). In the 'Tale of the Two Brothers', Bata (the younger brother) returns home and finds his brother Anubis sitting with his wife, in a room that was most possibly the living room of the house (Gardiner 1932, 9–10; Lichtheim 1976, 203–4). Among the ancient Egyptian terms for marriage is *hms* (*irm* or *m di*), which is literally translated as 'to sit/live with' (Pestman 1961, 9–10), while in some cases the wife is addressed as the 'eating companion' of her husband (Černý and Posener 1978, 19, pl. 22; Sweeney 1998, 103). Furthermore, anthropological comparisons show that even in early modern Islamic Egypt, distinct specification of male

and female areas appeared only in very large houses of wealthy families. Even in those houses women use 'male' areas when men are not at home, and retire to the most private 'female' areas when the male members of the family have guests (Petherbridge 1978, 198; Koltsida 2002, 185–8). In contrast, in smaller or poorer houses, men and women were crammed together in all available areas (Shaarawi 1986, 8). As for the rituals being primarily a male concern, although there is no clear evidence as to what took place during those rituals, the fact that men and women are among the dedicators and the dedicatees of the stelae shows that there is no particular reason to exclude women from participation in domestic rituals.

In most cultures the kitchen is a primarily female territory (Spector 1983; Dubisch 1986; Hoodfar 1997, 166–71). In Deir el-Medina women were mainly involved in grinding and food preparation (see above). It has been suggested that the rear rooms of the Deir el-Medina houses and the kitchen were areas for the lower-status females of the household, such as the slaves/servants (Meskell 1998a, 233). It is likely that most slaves/servants were owned/employed to work in the fields (McDowell 1992, 195–206), and that all household females participated in food preparation. However, this does not exclude men from the use of the room, as they were involved in beer-making, and are recorded as taking time out of work for that purpose (Janssen 1980, 146–7). It is characteristic that in the modern Egyptian village of Balat men can sometimes accompany women and children in the kitchen and eat there (Hivernel 1996, 22–3). Furthermore, in houses where the staircase was placed in the kitchen area, men would certainly use the room, at least as a passage to the roof or the upper floor. Therefore, we cannot specify the kitchen as an exclusively female area.

The specification of the gender use of the bedroom is not particularly clear from the archaeological record. Men and women are sometimes illustrated together on beds, either just sitting (as in the mastaba of Mereruka at Saqqara: Duell 1938, pl. 95), or having sexual intercourse (Manniche 1997, fig. 21). In a three-dimensional model from the Late Period a couple is represented having sexual intercourse: the female is kneeling on what seems to be a low bench and the man is behind her (Schulze 1987, 69). Arguably, this bench is analogous with the bedroom daises. In 'The Tale of the Doomed Prince' the prince 'lay down on his bed' while 'his wife was sitting beside him' (Gardiner 1932, 7; Lichtheim 1976, 202). Anthropological comparisons with modern Egypt show that in poor families living in small houses, brothers and sisters may sleep in the same bedroom (Wikan 1980, 4). Therefore we can envisage the bedroom as a room used

by men, women, or both, according to the needs and preference of the family.

Meskel (1998a, 236) has interpreted the room identified here as a bedroom, as a room related to sexually mature women during menstruation. This interpretation is based essentially on cross-cultural comparison. Seclusion of women during menstruation is a custom well attested in other cultures (Galloway 1998), where women used menstruation huts constructed outside the village proper, while special taboos for menstruating women are common to many cultures (Buckley and Gottlieb 1988; Knight 1991). There is only one relevant text from ancient Egypt, which comes from Deir el-Medina: 'Year 9, fourth month of the season of Inundation, day 13: The day when these eight women came out [to the] place of women when they were *hsmn* (menstruating)' (Wilfong 1999, 420).

The sense given to the term *hsmn* is not absolutely certain. According to the most recent interpretation, women went to a particular location (the 'place of women') either because of an 'ordinary' period, or because of some special circumstances related to menstruation, such as dysmenorrhoea (Wilfong 1999, 424), but it is also possible that it refers to young girls having their first menstruation (Toivari 2000, 150). Furthermore, it has been suggested that *hsmn* had a polyvalent meaning, naming not only menstruation but also purification (Janssen 1980, 141–3). In any case, the text makes it clear that the women were going outside the village proper. Therefore, a suggestion that the rear room of the house was constructed for such a purpose is less likely, bearing in mind that women who live together tend to have a synchronised cycle (McClintock 1971, 244–5), and therefore such a room would be used for only five to seven days a month, while the evidence for benches in such rooms in both villages clearly connects the room with sleeping and sitting. The whole argument is implausible anyway, given the very limited space available in the house.

To conclude, women indeed occupied the houses most of the time, and this would be true throughout ancient Egyptian society and not just in the workmen's villages. This does not necessarily mean that their decoration was generally or partially devoted to womanhood, childbirth or aspects of female life. Even if this was the case, this was a male decision, as men seem to have decorated the houses. Of course, women could possibly influence their husbands' decisions, but to what extent cannot be recovered. Archaeological, iconographic and textual evidence clearly suggests that the rooms in ancient Egyptian village houses had multiple uses and that there were not any clearly distinguished male and female areas within those houses, the rooms of which were equally used by men and by women.

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