

Identifying the Women of Early Dynastic Egypt:
An Analysis of the Women's Funerary Stelae/Slabs
from Abu Rawash, Helwan, and Abydos.

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For My Beloved Children

Alicia, Solomon, and Erik

There can be miracles when you believe!

Declaration

I, Susan Anne Kelly, certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'S. Kelly', written in a cursive style.

Date: 07 October 2016

Abstract

The study of women's historiography worldwide, historically, was largely neglected until the feminist movement advocated for the inclusion of women's contributions to world history. The inclusion of 'women and gender' studies in Egyptology commenced in the late 1980's, however, the predominance of literature pertains to the Pharaonic period. To date, little concentrated analysis dedicated to the women of Early Dynastic period (3150 – 2890 BC) has been undertaken. The thesis investigates the roles of the women in the early Egyptian society, through the examination of the biographic details recorded on their funerary monuments.

The multi-disciplinary investigation combines a textual, and a new sociological approach, to the women's titles recovered from the cemeteries of Abydos, Abu Rawash and Helwan. The evaluation into the previous scholarship regarding the titles uncovers androcentric characterisation of the women as concubines associated with the harem, which has masked the women's participation in the society. The textual analysis re-evaluates the titles objectively and situates the women's involvement contextually, providing new insight into the society of Early Dynastic Egypt. The study offers an anthology of the women's Early Dynastic stelae that provides a framework for the developments and changes to women's roles throughout the different period of Egyptian history.

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List of Abbreviations

IÄF	Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit
LA	Lexikon der Ägyptologie
WB	Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache

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Chapter One: Ancient Egyptian Women's Historiography

1.1 Introduction

Historically, the study of women's historiography worldwide was largely neglected until the political feminist movement advocated for the inclusion of women's contributions to world history.¹ Even then, archaeology and Egyptology made a belated start to the study of women in comparison to the other disciplines in the humanities.² It has been recognised that the study of women of ancient Egypt has been incomplete.³ It was not until the late 1980's before serious consideration was given to women's involvement in Ancient Egypt.

The literature review that follows, reflects upon the initial publications on the topic considering the variety of holistic explications on the lives of ancient Egyptian women and the individualized academic research into pertinent topics on ancient Egyptian women. Overall, previous investigations uncovered the significant discovery of the unparalleled autonomy and rights of ancient Egyptian women in comparison to other ancient civilisations; and even in some of today's modern societies.⁴ But as the review will show, collectively they concentrated on the aspects of the lives of women from the Pharaonic Period, starting from the Old Kingdom (c. 2543 BC), with little inclusion of the women from the Early Dynastic period (2900 – 2544BC).⁵ To date, limited concentrated analysis dedicated to the women of this period has been undertaken.

Significantly, the Early Dynastic period marks the emergence of the Egyptian state, a crucial time that evinces the precedents that shaped the following 3000 years of Pharaonic civilisation,

¹ Balme & Bulbeck (2008: 3).

² Gero & Conkey (1991: 3).

³ Dean (2013: 8).

⁴ Fletcher (2001: 193) "They enjoyed a level of freedom still denied them in much of the world today...".

⁵ Hornung, Krauss & Warburton (2005: 490) Throughout the thesis, for consistency, chronological dates will utilise this reference. However, if a date is included as part of an author's quote, their dating will be supplied.

including the social, economic and intellectual foundations.⁶ Existing scholarship into the women of ancient Egypt has not taken these origins into account. This circumscribed scholarship into the women from the Early Dynastic Period hinders both the comprehensive understanding of the society at the time of *State Formation* and the genesis of the socio-cultural lives of ancient Egyptian women. This thesis constitutes the first comprehensive investigation into the women of the Early Dynastic society that applies a combined methodology of textual examination and sociological interpretation of the data collated from the research.

The aim is to firstly evaluate the roles of the women using a philological and palaeographic examination of the hieroglyphic texts inscribed on their funerary stelae. The results of this analysis will then be evaluated for their social interpretation from a feminist theoretical standpoint. The sources at the core of this analysis are the Early Dynastic women's funerary stelae and funerary relief slabs from the elite and royal cemeteries of Abu Rawash, Helwan, and Abydos.⁷ These funerary monuments dated to the First and Second Dynasties, record in hieroglyphs the biographical details of the name and/or title(s), of the women they belonged to. The aim of the analysis is to identify the women's participation in the society, and in turn, to clarify the status of women during the Early Dynastic Period.

An aim of the project is to reconsider the perception that Early Dynastic Egypt was a predominately male bureaucratic society, by examining women's public roles and seeking variations in ideas and perspectives of the culture at this time. The examination investigates the preconceived notions that the predominance of women's stelae, the majority without titles, characterise the

⁶ Van der Mieroop (2011: 73).

⁷ Unless specifically required, the stelae and slabs will be collectively referred to as stelae.

women as concubines and harem women.⁸ In this regard, it is necessary to assess this trivialising attitude applied to the women and the cogency of a harem in the Early Dynastic Period. The analysis of the titles aims to correct these outdated views and instead offer an objective account of the women's contribution in the society. The research program is developed to deliver quantifiable data to the discourse through a demographical study of female titles in conjunction with the male.

The study delivers an evaluation of the society augmented by contextualising the women's involvement and assessing the social configurations from this period. In addition, it offers new resources to Egyptological scholarship by providing an anthology of all women's Early Dynastic stelae. Finally, the research establishes a framework upon which to study the origin, evolution, and changes in women's roles throughout different periods of Egyptian history. This interdisciplinary research methodology is designed to extrapolate the maximum amount of information pertaining to the women, by analysing one definitive group of archaeological artefacts from this period. The thesis provides analytical and contextual information on the roles and the industries in the society that offers alternate views on the associations and contributions of the previously little considered 'harem women'.

⁸ Murray (1956: 87) "... in the tombs of the kings of the First Dynasty at Abydos, where the concubines, men and women household servants..."; Helck (1987: 120) "This title (*ḥtmt Hr, Ḥ3sty skr.(?)(.t)*) is reminiscent of the later designation *hkr.t nswt* and therefore will have a group designated by concubines. Ward (1989: 40) "Any women associated with a household, the palace, or even a temple, who cannot be placed within the structure of the family or the hierarchy of servants and workers has been placed in the ranks of concubines and harem-women."; Morris (2007: 19) "Such females, as apparently made up the bulk of the retainers in the valley, may have been the king's subsidiary wives, concubines, relatives, or maidservants ..."; Graves-Brown (2010: 135) "While some Egyptologists have labelled these ladies 'concubines,' they may well have been court ladies serving the queen."; Alameen (2012:

26) "He (Ward) challenges Egyptologists who could not translate certain titles of women and automatically assumed them to be harems or concubines".

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Historical Background

One of the earliest publications on the women of ancient Egypt, is a discourse on their legal status, that was published in 1886.⁹ Yet one hundred years later the absence of women in Egyptological historiography, can be clearly demonstrated when a prolific book such as Trigger, Kemp, O'Connor and Lloyd's *Ancient Egypt a Social History*,¹⁰ has a mere one entry in the index for 'women,' and that, disappointedly, refers to a late period reference. Conversely, Egyptology was not the only discipline guilty of neglecting women's place in history.¹¹

The overall absence of women's participation in historical examination is attributed to the androcentric paradigm of previous considerations. The study of *man*, in constructing *his* history has been the dominant topic of inquiries.¹² Consistently, men have been designated as significant, the architects of history, and powerful agents.¹³ Whereas, women's contributions were categorised as domestic, and dismissed as insignificant to history.¹⁴ Literally leaving women invisible in the exploration and presentation of history, reinforcing the gender dichotomy of binary cultural constructs of men as public, dominant, powerful, and active; and women as domestic, subordinate, powerless, and passive.¹⁵

⁹ Paturet (1886).

¹⁰ Trigger *et al.* (1983).

¹¹ Gero & Conkey (1991: 3); Wilfong (2010: 165) "Even the specific study of women in ancient Egypt is a relatively new endeavour, with substantial effort only appearing in the past two decades".

¹² Gero & Conkey (1991: 18) "The overarching fact that archaeology is consistently told to us from a male perspective that adopts 'male' as the norm and proceeds from the male experience."; Nelson (2004: 6) "A focus on men's (assumed) activities in the past and the (attributed) greater power and prestige of male activities within our own culture."; Spongberg *et al.* (2005: 5) "If history generally excluded women, Ancient History positively celebrated this exclusion."; Wilfong (2010: 166) "One could argue that Egyptology in the past was almost entirely a study of ancient Egyptian men".

¹³ Spencer-Wood (2000: 113).

¹⁴ Spencer-Wood (1992: 99).

¹⁵ Spencer-Wood (1992: 99).

The male partisanship in the examination of the past was challenged by the revolutionary introduction of feminist theory that advocated for research into women and their involvement in history. Since the 1970's, a wide range of academic disciplines responded to the prominent voices of feminist rhetoric, encouraging members of the academic community to turn the historical lens onto the study of women in both, pre-and historical, scholarship.¹⁶ Subsequent re-evaluations of women's contributions has evidenced women's duality in public and domestic roles, repositioning women as powerful social agents and makers of history.¹⁷

The causality of the androcentric bias appears to be traced back to two defining components. The first is the traditional male subjectivity of historical investigations, which Balme & Bulbeck describe as "[T]he overarching fact that archaeology is consistently told to us from a male perspective that adopts 'male' as the norm and proceeds, from the male experience."¹⁸ The second is that the partisanship represents a reflection of the gender assumptions within their own society.¹⁹ The topic of 'gender in archaeology' was ignited internationally in the forum of conferences.²⁰

Comparatively, nearly a century of excavations had taken place in Egypt, before dedicated studies began to focus on the women of Ancient Egypt. A flagship, interdisciplinary 'Conference on Women in Ancient Near East' was held by Brown University in 1987.²¹ The conference proceedings was published in 1989, heralding the start of a new era of Egyptological women

¹⁶ Balme & Bulbeck (2008: 3).

¹⁷ Spencer-Wood (2000: 113).

¹⁸ Gero & Conkey (1991:18).

¹⁹ Balme & Bulbeck (2008: 9).

²⁰ Dommasnes (1992: 4) Norwegian Research Council for the Humanities in 1975; Gero & Conkey (1997: 414): "... over 10 conferences devoted to gender and archaeology have been held since 1987..."; Wylie (2002: 280): "The first open conference devoted to these issues in North America was the 1989 Chacmool conference, ... And, Australian archaeologists have organized annual and biennial conferences on gender issues in archaeology since 1990...".

²¹ Lesko (1994-5: 16) "In an attempt to stir my fellow orientalist to do more research on the socio-economic status of women in the earliest societies, ..."

studies.²² As a result, there was a succession of English publications on the women of ancient Egypt delivered in the 1990's.²³ The original publications consisted mainly of 'complete works' on the lives of ancient Egyptian women.

The initial foray into women's discourse is heavily represented by the narratives of this class, but can be further differentiated into two separate categories. Meskell describes the two categories, of "finding women" and "sound study of women" that represented the state of female studies in Egyptology in this period.²⁴ These two categories exhibit similar characteristics but their approach, performance and critiques vary. Specifically, the 'finding women' genre often offers a generic treatment that homogenises the women from the three-thousand-year Pharaonic history.²⁵ Whereas, the 'sound study of women' class are the scholarly works that concentrate on specific studies on pertinent women's topics, which are often compiled into an edited volume intended more for an informed audience. However, both categories are criticised for their lack of involvement with social, reflexive or feminist theories.²⁶ The review will firstly address both categories of the holistic approach, which also demonstrates the development of the literature on the women in ancient Egypt. This will be followed by the examination of the current state of 'Women and Gender' studies.

1.2.2 Collected Works on Ancient Egyptian Women

The works from this category undertake to provide the collected knowledge on the women's lives during the Pharaonic period, delivered in a compilation volume. They address similar topics of

²² Lesko (1989).

²³ Graves-Brown (2008: x).

²⁴ Meskell (1997: 598).

²⁵ Lesko (1994-5: 16) "Certainly we should not pretend that pharaonic society went unchanged throughout the 3,000 years of its recorded history, or that urban and rural life produced the same value systems or opportunities".

²⁶ Graves-Brown (2008: x).

‘women and the legal environment’, ‘royal women and queenship’, ‘status and roles of women’ (normally constructed from women’s titles), ‘family and marriage’, ‘women in religion and ritual’, ‘music and dance’, and ‘dress and adornment’. A primary divide in this genre is the inconsistent application of a complete critical evaluation of primary evidence.²⁷

1.2.2.1 Finding Women

The key differentiation that separates these categories is the quality and delivery of the content. For example, Tyldesley’s 1994 *Daughters of Isis, Women of Ancient Egypt*,²⁸ Watterson’s 1991 *Women in Ancient Egypt*,²⁹ and Fayad’s 1998 *The Ancient Egyptian Women*,³⁰ all deliver a panoramic account on the women without consideration of the temporal, spatial, or demographic differences. For example, the archaeological record is greatly impacted by the geographical differences in Upper and Lower Egypt, but these works do not consider either the absence in the record, nor any regional differences the women may have experienced. Meskell comprehensively reproaches Tyldesley and Watterson for their untheorized contributions, representing women in both a homogenized and western cultural context that do not engage with any of the social sciences.³¹ Lesko further censures Watterson’s work for the lack of integration of numerous publications pertinent to the topics covered, which have appeared during the last decade as individual articles and collected works.³² At the same time, however, Graves-Brown acknowledges the author’s intended audience and believes they were “easy and unfair targets for academic criticisms.”³³

²⁷ Eyre (1995: 232).

²⁸ Tyldesley (1994).

²⁹ Watterson (1991).

³⁰ Fayad (1998).

³¹ Meskell (1997:598).

³² Lesko (1993: 207).

³³ Graves-Brown (2008: x).

Another book, pertinent to this research, is Nur el Din's 1995, reconstruction of the lives of the women through their titles in *The Role of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Society*.³⁴ The coverage of titles lacks specificity to primary sources, and labels many of the titles as 'honorific' without any supporting evidence or any direct referencing. Further, the exclusion of the Early Dynastic titles is evident. Nur el Din inaccurately assigns the *M33t Hr Sth* 'the one who sees Horus and Seth' to the Third Dynasty.³⁵ Not only does his report disregard the evidence of the original form of the title *M33.t Hr* from the First Dynasty funerary stelae from Abydos, he fails to acknowledge the development of the title to its Old Kingdom format. Overall, the books discussed above all offer a "synthetic" condensed version of the lives of ancient Egyptian women with no embodiment of individual women.³⁶

1.2.2.2 Sound Study of Women

In contrast, are the detailed compilations on women that engage with the archaeological, philological and art history of Ancient Egypt. An influential work is Robin's 1993, *Women in Ancient Egypt*,³⁷ which is judged by Eyre to engage in the critical analysis necessary to understand the lives of ancient Egyptian women.³⁸ Another well received book is Capel & Markoe's portrayal of women's lives through Egyptian art between 3000 – 300 BC.³⁹ This volume is a combination of museum catalogue and auxiliary essays delivering "fresh interpretations and new discoveries" for the expansion of the study of women in ancient Egypt.⁴⁰ The inclusion of the essays efficaciously delivers content that is appropriate for both academic and general audiences.

³⁴ Nur el Din (1995).

³⁵ Nur el Din (1995: 61).

³⁶ Meskell (1997: 599).

³⁷ Robins (1993).

³⁸ Eyre (1995: 232).

³⁹ Capel & Markoe (1996).

⁴⁰ Capel & Markoe (1996: foreword).

Similarly, Lesko's *The Remarkable Women of Ancient Egypt* pieces together the lives of the women including their social status, activities, legal and economic rights through the private monuments and papyri that have survived from the Pharaonic times.⁴¹ Fletcher, however, reviewed Lesko's contribution as a useful introduction to the individual women, but believes Lesko portrays an "over-optimistic" view of the unprecedented, autonomous lifestyle and power exercised by women in Ancient Egypt.⁴²

While all of these studies adopt the same topics for discussion as the 'finding women' surveys, they reach beyond the synthetic layers of the previous category. By engaging with the ancient remains they provide specificity and detailed knowledge into the lives of the women. In Ibrahim's 2004 thesis, however, she identifies the repetitiveness of the topics covered in these composite monographs, and as such, believes that the topic of ancient Egyptian women is exhausted due to the limited evidence available, and that future writers are condemned to continue saying the same things.⁴³

Whilst the original publications focused on similar topics, the notion that the topic of ancient Egyptian women is exhausted is far from correct, as will be seen in the review of current academic studies in section 1.2.3. However, all these major publications; and Ibrahim's thesis; share a predominant focus on the women from the Pharaonic era, that have not considered in detail the women of Early Dynastic Egypt. Many foundations of the Pharaonic civilisation originate in the Early Dynastic period, and as such, information from this period is a necessary inclusion into the historiography of women in Ancient Egypt.

⁴¹ Lesko (1987: introduction).

⁴² Fletcher (2001: 192-3).

⁴³ Ibrahim (2004: 21-4).

The greatest criticism of these works, however, is the lack of engagement with theoretical frameworks, a necessity for today's scholarship. For example, whilst Meskell concedes that Robins applies a contextual approach to the iconographic, textual and archaeological evidence in her main work and ancillary articles, she observes that she does not adopt any theoretical standpoint.⁴⁴ Meskell acknowledges that whilst there has been no capacity to construct new theories, it is possible to borrow from the social sciences.⁴⁵ Lesko, however, upheld a different objective, promoting the primary objective as being the need to complete new research and collate a database on the women of ancient Egypt before attempting any evaluations and theories.⁴⁶

Nearly two decades later, it is now necessary to engage in relevant theories in modern research. Reviewing the previous literature has identified two criteria essential for the current research program; first to fill the gap in knowledge in the study of women in ancient Egypt by focusing the topic on the Early Dynastic women, and second to include a theoretical standpoint. This study is not positioned in the category that wants to deliver comprehensive coverage of the women of ancient Egypt, but to provide a focused study into one group of women. This study reevaluates the status of the Early Dynastic women, which situates it in the academic gender and women's category that is discussed next.

1.2.3 Women and Gender

In contrast to the composite monographs on women, are the intensive investigations into specific women and gender topics. A sub-group of this topic is the multitude of articles pertaining to the status and definition of 'gender' that can be considered a separate topic in its own right.

⁴⁴ Meskell (1997: 599).

⁴⁵ Meskell (1999: 53).

⁴⁶ Lesko (1994-5: 16).

Belonging to this category, are the examples of Wilfong's overview of *Gender in Ancient Egypt*,⁴⁷ and Wrobel's article which reviews the status of Egyptological gender research and notes the general discussion of women's roles are neglected in the Predynastic period.⁴⁸ Although early isolated Egyptological investigations into women can be located;⁴⁹ and specifically a 1968 thesis into the harem in ancient Egypt;⁵⁰ the earliest gender studies in Egyptology are acknowledged to have been first published in the late 1980's.⁵¹ Early gender studies include Fischer and Ward's examination of the women of the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom through the philological study of titles, the same method of examination that is undertaken in this research program.⁵²

Studies into the lives of ancient Egyptian women have progressively adopted approaches that deliver contextual and nuanced assessments.⁵³ Different classes of artefacts have been used for the investigation of women from the Predynastic period until the end of the Pharaonic period; "largely macroscopic individualistic approaches."⁵⁴ For example, mortuary analysis,⁵⁵ artistic representation,⁵⁶ votive stelae,⁵⁷ and language and gender.⁵⁸ There are also topical investigations such as Küllmer's dissertation into the position of women in the social hierarchy.⁵⁹ All studies contribute to the databank of knowledge on women that Lesko identified as necessary. Whilst these studies are available for academic research, they often reach a wider audience with their distribution through edited volumes such as Graves Brown's 2008 *Sex and Gender in Ancient*

⁴⁷ Wilfong (2010: 166).

⁴⁸ Wrobel (2004: 160).

⁴⁹ Millard (1976); Sabbahy (1982).

⁵⁰ Reiser (1968).

⁵¹ Graves-Brown (2008:x).

⁵² Troy (1986); Ward (1986); Fischer (1989); For later study of women's titles see Stefanovic (2009b) for Middle Kingdom & Second Intermediate Period; Bryan (1984: 13-16) for titles in the 18th Dynasty.

⁵³ Graves-Brown (2008: xi).

⁵⁴ Graves-Brown (2008: xii).

⁵⁵ Savage (2000: 77-92).

⁵⁶ Routledge (2008: 157-177); Stoof (2010).

⁵⁷ DuQuesne (2008: 47-62).

⁵⁸ Sweeney (2008: 191-214).

⁵⁹ Küllmer (2007).

*Egypt: "Don your wig for a joyful hour".*⁶⁰ This valuable contribution compiles the various approaches being undertaken in the research of gender studies and demonstrates the efficacy of methodological approaches such as philological and iconographic analysis of material.⁶¹ Graves-Brown advanced her interest into the lives of ancient Egyptian women by publishing her own compilation on women in her *"Dancing for Hathor: Women in Ancient Egypt"*.⁶²

Current research methods are now advancing from a mono-disciplinary focus.⁶³ It is now likely that researchers incorporate an interdisciplinary focus in their research. For example, Meskell advocates for more advanced studies, moving away from the monolithic category of women,⁶⁴ which needs to incorporate the interdisciplinarity of social archaeology.⁶⁵ That is, "to mesh material culture with social theory by linking sociocultural, spatial, and temporal data."⁶⁶ Although Meskell's research was conducted on a unique archaeological context in Egypt, her interdisciplinary methodology into the investigation of the village of Deir-el Medina encourages examining data from more than one standpoint.⁶⁷ As such, her interdisciplinary focus is adopted in this research on Early Dynastic women to not only explicate the titles and roles of the women, but to position them within the social context of Early Dynastic Egypt.

Over the last decade, many works have been added to the nascent scholarship into the women of ancient Egypt. A survey of recent scholarship demonstrates the diverse collection of studies from around the world, adding to the collective knowledge on this topic. The works are delivered in a multiplicity of languages representing the worldwide interest in the discovery of the

⁶⁰ Graves-Brown (2010).

⁶¹ Stefanovic (Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2009.04.35).

⁶² Graves-Brown (2010).

⁶³ Van Leeuwen (2005: 3).

⁶⁴ Meskell (1997: 601).

⁶⁵ Meskell (1999: 209).

⁶⁶ Meskell (1998: 209).

⁶⁷ Morris (2002: 264).

different aspects of the lives of ancient Egyptian women. A recent example that addresses the period under review is Stoof's 2010 work on the artistic representations of women in the Pre and Early Dynastic period.⁶⁸ Currently, the diversity of languages encountered when researching the topic of women includes Spanish,⁶⁹ Italian,⁷⁰ Chinese⁷¹ and Russian.⁷²

Having established the current literature review of the women's historiography, it is now necessary to consider the methodology employed in this research, which aims to deliver new perspectives to augment ancient Egyptian women's historiography.

⁶⁸ Stoof (2010).

⁶⁹ Castañeda & Carlos (2008).

⁷⁰ Monfardini (2010).

⁷¹ Hsu (2009).

⁷² Bolshakov (2013).

Chapter Two: Research Program

2.1 Methodology

The use of stelae to investigate women and their contributions to Ancient Egyptian society is not unique. Studies such as Millard's 1976 thesis on Middle Kingdom stelae portraying the roles of non-royal women in their families and community,⁷³ and DuQuesne's investigation of gender and social roles from New Kingdom votive stelae,⁷⁴ demonstrate the efficacy of the medium under investigation. In isolation, a single limestone Early Dynastic funerary stela constructed over five millennia ago, at best recording a name and/or title(s), does not provide any real quantifiable data. Collectively, however, they comprise a corpus of 397 stelae from the royal and elite cemeteries of Abu Rawash, Helwan, and Abydos, 149 attributed to women, a primary source of information regarding the Early Dynastic women. A comprehensive study of this corpus will fulfil the aim of bringing to light these women, providing insights into their contribution to society during the First and Second Dynasties.

Primarily, the feminist ideology sets the parameters of what is being investigated and why. a feminist approach sets out to combat androcentric paradigms,⁷⁵ and to reverse the silent, invisible *women* who had previously been considered unworthy of note.⁷⁶ A relevant consideration of the research is the cogency of the previous androcentric labelling of 'harem women' associated to some of the titles, and especially, the large number of untitled women's stela.⁷⁷ A feminist conceptual framework also directs the approach and forms the relevant questions that investigate

⁷³ Millard (1976: i).

⁷⁴ Duquesne (2005; 2008).

⁷⁵ Dommasnes (1992: 12) "Feminism in all its variety is based on the insight that our societies are androcentric to the core, and on the claim that the other half of humanity also has a legitimate right to influence our culture."

⁷⁶ Ebert (1991:888).

⁷⁷ Wilkinson (1999: 60); Shaw (2003: 45); Stadelmann (2005: 362); Vaudou (2008: 155).

women's activities within Early Dynastic society.⁷⁸ The research places emphasis on subjectivity and the interpretative model of post-processualism.⁷⁹ Although third-wave feminists now advocate for a more inclusive *gender* analysis than focusing on women as a “monolithic group,”⁸⁰ the nature of the biographical evidence supports the second-wave feminist approach of ‘women’ as the subject.⁸¹ This socio-historical examination seeks to demonstrate that women held important public roles,⁸² and actively contributed in the society.⁸³ In order to avoid imbalanced gynocentric conclusions, the female roles identified in the analysis will be analysed alongside male roles of the Early Dynastic period.

2.2 Data Set

The preliminary step of this research methodology is the establishment of the database compiling the three separate data sets of the stelae into a standardised format. The 36 relief slabs from Helwan dated from the First and Second Dynasties published by Köhler and Jones,⁸⁴ and the 356 Abydene stelae of the First Dynasty published by Martin⁸⁵ form the foundation for the dataset used in this analysis. Details of the five stelae from Abu Rawash were extracted from Montet's excavation reports.⁸⁶ The Helwan cemetery provides the funerary relief slabs from the principal

⁷⁸ Wrobel (2004: 156).

⁷⁹ Renfrew & Bahn (2005: 88).

⁸⁰ Meskell (1997: 601).

⁸¹ Cole (2000: xix).

⁸² Wrobel (2004: 156).

⁸³ Lesko (1994-5: 16) “The fact that the Egyptian state itself viewed women as useful outside the home – and important for the benefit of the greater society – should have maintained and enforced the idea of equality between the sexes in dynastic Egypt.”

⁸⁴ Köhler & Jones (2009). The volume published 41 funerary relief slabs, but five are dated to the Old Kingdom. Helwan stelae numbers: EM97-43; EM99-13; EM99-19; EM99-32, EM99-34 are excluded from this research. ⁸⁵ Martin (2009). Martin's catalogue lists 359 stelae, although three are duplications. Martin identified in the assemblage that Abydos stela 50 duplicated stela 49, Abydos stela 245 duplicated 161, and Abydos stela 247 duplicated stela 100.

⁸⁶ Montet (1938; 1946).

tombs of the elite and royal court,⁸⁷ whereas, the First Dynasty stelae from Abu Rawash and Abydos were originally from elite subsidiary grave contexts. However, only the Abydene stelae are from subsidiary graves of the kings and queen of the First Dynasty, positioning the deceased close to the monarch in life and death.⁸⁸

The corpus of the stelae under review is summarised in **Table 1**.⁸⁹

	Total	Abu Rawash		Abydos		Helwan	
Male	53	1	20%	37	13%	15	42%
Female	149	1	20%	129	45%	19	52%
No Determinative	122	3	60%	117	42%	2	6%
Hound	5			5			
No longer extant	6			6			
Blank for Stela	62			62			
	397	5		356		36	

Table 1. The collection of funerary stelae from all three sites.

The data entry of the figures into the construction of the database upheld the original authors' classifications. The sex of the stela owner on the Abu Rawash and Abydos stelae are provided by the inscribed hieroglyphic determinative when present. For example, the women are identified with Gardiner's seated female determinative B1.⁹⁰ In contrast, the figurative representations of the owner on the Helwan funerary slabs determines the owner's gender. Preliminarily, the statistics support that the larger portion of stelae belong to women, which has been interpreted by some as evidence of the high status of women in Early Dynastic society.⁹¹ However, it is necessary to remember that 122 of the stelae have no evident gender determination, and as such may skew this observation. Furthermore, the chance preservation of the stelae from

⁸⁷ Köhler & Jones (2009: 96) Describe "... that the owners of the slabs of this corpus were at best relatively low ranking male and female members of the royal family, courtiers, bureaucrats, priests and craftsmen..."

⁸⁸ Martin (2009: 2).

⁸⁹ Consideration was given for the inclusion of Saqqara Stela S2146E: Quibell 1923; S3477: Emery 1962; Imti: after Smith 1958; Bankfield Stela: after Gardiner 1917; but due to the uncertainty surrounding their provenance and dating, under advisement they were excluded.

⁹⁰ Gardiner (1957: 544).

⁹¹ MacArthur (2011: 254).

ancient and modern plundering may result in an inaccurate representation of the number originally interred with the deceased.⁹²

The data extracted from the main sources are itemised into categories to present the data in the catalogue. Variances in recording styles between the authors created dissimilar dating classifications. Martin's dating attributes individual stela to specific reigns;⁹³ similarly, the stelae recovered from Cemetery 'M' at Abu Rawash are all dated to the reign of Den.⁹⁴ In contrast, Köhler and Jones determined a date based on archaeological context, typology, and seriation that applies chronological dating.⁹⁵ For example, a stela from Abydos is recorded to the reign of Qa'a, whilst a Helwan stela from a similar period is dated to Late First Dynasty. Although they represent the same period, they are not recorded in the same format. A solution for standardising the dating criteria for statistical analysis is elucidated in section 2.4.

The catalogue also needed to amalgamate different numbering systems. In their own catalogues, Martin employed "Stele Number" and Köhler and Jones "Catalogue Reference Number", which was simplified to Stela Number in the catalogue, whilst preserving the original attributed number systems.⁹⁶ At all times, individual stela will be quoted with the original numeration, they will be described as Abydos stela # or Helwan stela # and the original allocated number. The details

⁹² Abydos: O'Connor (2009: 148); Abu Rawash: Tristant (2008: 136); Helwan: Saad (1969: 19-25).

⁹³ Martin (2009: 2-3) Due to the uncertainty of the find spots and disturbance to the cemetery, Martin lists provenance of stelae as "the area of tomb..." or details as recorded by excavators e.g. Abydos stela 275 "Tomb of Den, dump south of tomb".

⁹⁴ Tristant (2008: 134).

⁹⁵ Köhler & Jones (2009: 23).

⁹⁶ Martin (2009: 3) Martin adopts Petrie & Kaplony's numbering system of stelae and adapts new stelae to the corpus accordingly. Köhler & Jones (2009: 51) list the stelae under the Helwan Project number and cross reference with Kaplony's *Speisetisch-Szene* – *Sp*, numbering system.

from the database constructs the anthology of all the women's Early Dynastic stelae that is submitted in support of the thesis.

2.3 Textual Analysis

The second step in the research is the analysis of the textual sources. The poor physical condition of a number of the stelae, which are now fragmentary and beset with lacunae, impedes the translation process resulting in a number of partial translations only. Unfortunately, possible clarification from primary illustrations of the Abydene stelae recorded by Petrie have now been found to be unreliable.⁹⁷ Subsequent re-assessments into the stelae and other excavation reports by Petrie have identified inaccuracies with many of his original illustrations and recordings.⁹⁸ The texts are examined by applying a systematic palaeographic and philological approach.

The study of the earliest forms of Egyptian writing is plagued by ambiguity and compounded by its scarcity.⁹⁹ The scholarship into Egypt's earliest hieroglyphs is ongoing and remains without a completed specialised dictionary. Each of the female stelae undergo a re-examination of the existing transliteration. The transliteration coding of the names is included in the catalogue, but it is beyond the scope of the thesis to complete a full analysis of the names.¹⁰⁰ The transliteration process is aided by both Germon Riley's palaeographic study, and Regulski's recent work on the forms and variations of the early hieroglyphic signs.¹⁰¹ The analysis of both the

⁹⁷ Martin (2009: 1) "... a lack of accurate facsimile copies of the text, reproduced at a convenient scale, has hampered research into these intriguing documents."

⁹⁸ Slater (1970: 17); Martin (2009: 28) For example, "Petrie's drawing is inaccurate."; Kroenke (2011: 22).

⁹⁹ Bard (1992: 297) "... a specific decipherment of many of the Early dynastic inscriptions remains uncertain...". ¹⁰⁰ The classification of the signs to hieroglyphic codes establishes a framework for possible future research into an onomastic study of the female names.

¹⁰¹ Germon Riley (1985); Regulski (2010).

transliterations and translations of the titles employs the reference works on the early script by Kaplony¹⁰² and Kahl.¹⁰³

The previous translations of the female titles are assessed for textual and interpretative accuracy, and where necessary, alternate translations are offered and listed separately in the catalogue. Due to the scope of the thesis, the male titles are accepted as they are previously presented.¹⁰⁴ The translation process is supported by Middle Egyptian reference works.¹⁰⁵ The identified Early Dynastic titles are considered against Troy's investigations,¹⁰⁶ Pharaonic titles studies such as Jones' Old Kingdom Index,¹⁰⁷ and investigations into female Middle Kingdom Titles by Ward¹⁰⁸ and Stefanovic.¹⁰⁹

The previous authors recorded 18 Early Dynastic women's titles, along with two additional titles that require further investigation and have been included in the titles list. These two titles document administrative roles not previously considered in association with women. The first title, *htmw hwt* [...] is being re-evaluated as there is evidence that suggests female ownership. Similarly, preliminary research into the female Helwan stela EM99-21 identified the existence of a second title which Köhler and Jones could not define due to later damage to the stela.¹¹⁰ The additional title *sš ḥsb ḳd. w ḥtp.w* was recorded by Saad in 1957 and is included for examination.¹¹¹ The women's titles under review are listed in **Table 2**.¹¹²

¹⁰² Kaplony (1963; 1966).

¹⁰³ Kahl (1994; 1995; 2002-2004).

¹⁰⁴ The existing translation of men's titles are adopted as listed in Martin and Köhler & Jones compilations. It is hoped to examine the men's titles in future endeavours.

¹⁰⁵ Gardiner (1957); Faulkner (1962).

¹⁰⁶ Troy (1986).

¹⁰⁷ Jones (2000).

¹⁰⁸ Ward (1986).

¹⁰⁹ Stefanovic (2009b).

¹¹⁰ Köhler & Jones (2009: 164) "There appears to be at least four signs to the right of her name".

¹¹¹ Köhler & Jones (2009: 164); Saad (1957: 8).

¹¹² The question marks in the table pertain to original authors.

Title Number	Stela No	Title	Title Translation	Other Stelae Documenting Title
1	S01-37	<i>rh.(t) nsw</i>	acquaintance of the king	
2	EM99-10	<i>s3.t nsw [...]</i>	daughter of the king	EM99-15;
3	95	<i>hts Hr</i>	favourite of the Horus (the King)	
4	95	<i>im3(t) Hr,</i>	one gracious to the Horus	
5	126	<i>hsyt Hr</i>	one favoured of the Horus (the King)	
6	96	<i>h^c.t Hr</i>	female servant of the Horus (the King)	
7	95	<i>h^c Hr (?)</i>	hand of the Horus (?)	238;
8	96	<i>3 Sth</i>	the hand of Seth	128; 129.
9	96	<i>m33t Hr</i>	she who beholds the Horus (the King)	128; 129.
10	148	<i>rpwty</i>	she of the carrying-chair, palanquin	
11	21	<i>htmt Hr, H3sty</i>	she who ornaments the Horus, <i>H3sty</i>	120; 121; 122; 123; 124; 125.
12	21	<i>wr(t) [skr...]</i>	great one of the litter?	120; 121; 122; 123; 124; 125.
13	196	<i>wr(t) pr</i>	great one of the palace	
14	207	<i>msnw</i>	Harpooner(?) ¹¹³	
15	35	<i>hm(t)</i>	servant	
16	189	<i>mr(t)</i>	weaver	
17	20	<i>shn-3h</i>	spirit seeker	39; 137; 139; 144; 161; 162; 179; 193; 202; 204; 211;
18	EM99-21	<i>shn (.t)-3h nsw</i>	funerary priest of the king	
19	282	<i>htm^w hwt [...]</i> ?	sealer of the palace ¹¹⁴	
20	EM99-21	<i>sš hsb kd.w htp.w</i>	the scribe of the accounts of the builders of the offering-places	

Table 2. List of titles under review.

¹¹³ Germon Riley (1985: LXXVII) Presents image that represents male seated determinative A1.

¹¹⁴ NB - classified previously male – thesis will present case for female owner.

The results of the textual investigation complete the catalogue and provides new information in the categories ‘Name Transliteration – Code’ and ‘Title Transliteration – Code’. The anthology establishes a platform for future study into the developments and changes of women’s roles throughout the different periods of Egyptian history.

2.4 Sociological Interpretation

The third stage of the research is the sociological analysis of the identified names and titles. This assessment explores the contribution of women in Early Dynastic Egypt to gain an understanding of the social configuration of the roles and societal associations. This methodology involves the combination of statistical and interpretative analysis of the data, thereby contributing quantifiable data to the explication of the male and female roles.¹¹⁵ The statistical analysis is conducted on the categories from the catalogue ‘Name’, ‘Title Translation’, ‘Gender’ and ‘Dating’. As mentioned earlier, analysis of the variance in dating criteria requires standardisation.

This is achieved by reclassifying the dating of the stelae from Abydos and Abu Rawash into a chronological model aligned with the dating of the Helwan stelae. The relative dating has been converted into temporal order designated by Bestock:¹¹⁶

- The early First Dynasty – kings Aha, Djer, Djet and Merneith
- The late First Dynasty – kings Den, Anedjib, Semerkhet and Qa’a
- The Second Dynasty – kings Peribsen and Khasekhemwy

Although this solution is practical, it does not completely rectify the dating problem, there are still stelae with ambiguous dating due to provenance recording, where Martin has attributed the stela, due to its find location, to two possible areas of kings’ tombs. For example, “area of

¹¹⁵ Lesko (1994-5: 16) “There are problems surrounding the study of women whom we cannot interview or observe at close hand, including the source material – both recent and ancient – that is often partial or skewed.”

¹¹⁶ Bestock (2011: 137-141).

Semerkheth or Qa'a",¹¹⁷ which can be incorporated directly into Late First Dynasty. Unlike, the twenty-three stelae that span two dating periods attributed to the area of Djet or Den.¹¹⁸ In the Helwan collection there are three funerary slabs with dating of 'Late Dynasty 1-Early Dynasty 2', which again impedes clear temporal analysis.¹¹⁹ The statistical analysis assesses the temporal distribution of the stelae, along with the gender distribution, and the taxonomies and ratios of positions of men and women within the different industries.

The study examines the results of the analysis for the possibility of horizontal societal associations within the hierarchical society.¹²⁰ The research adopts a heterarchical approach to the titles belonging to the elite and royal court.¹²¹ The data is scrutinised for two key elements of heterarchy, namely "flexible hierarchy" and "horizontal or lateral differentiation".¹²² Evidence for flexible hierarchy in Early Dynastic Egypt can be observed with the negotiation and re-ranking of the power relationships as established by the two ruling queens.¹²³ The heterarchy method appraises the roles held by both genders for the lateral interplay between positions held by perceived different levels of rank.¹²⁴ The investigation seeks evidence of opportunities for different ways the associations are configured.¹²⁵ The opportunity to analyse this concept is identified by the one title known to be shared by both men and women, i.e. the funerary priest -

¹¹⁷ Abydos stelae numbers: 38- 46.

¹¹⁸ Abydos stelae numbers: 169-170; 172; 175-176; 179-181; 183; 185; 187; 191; 194; 196-197; 199-204; 207-209.

¹¹⁹ Helwan stela EM99-1; EM99-14; EM99-25.

¹²⁰ Robins (1993: 16).

¹²¹ Stein (1998: 7) "Heterarchy is not any single type of social structure but, rather, is a principle or even a perspective on social organization".

¹²² White (1995: 104).

¹²³ Capel & Markoe (1996: 28-29) Merneith and Neith-hotep.

¹²⁴ Graves-Brown (2010: 8). The method classifies the stratification on Graves-Brown's model "... the king was the most important person and around him, the royal family and courtiers were the elite. Below these people were scribes, the men of the bureaucratic machinery of state, and skilled artisans. Next came the largest group, which consisted mainly of agricultural workers, peasant farmers, herdsman, fishermen and labourers".

¹²⁵ Crumley (1995: 3).

‘Spirit Seeker,’¹²⁶ signifying a network of people sharing ritual duties. In addition, some male holders of this title list additional roles in which they are employed, allowing for the exploration of role configurations within the society. Evaluation of any symbiotic relationship between roles may help to illuminate the social configuration of society.

The final aspect of the social interpretation is the review of the women’s theophoric names. The scope of the research prevents a full prosopography or onomastic study on the collection of women’s names, but cannot be disregarded due to the insights they offer on the women in the society. It appears significant that both the queens and a quarter of the women in the catalogue compound their name with the goddess Neith. The importance of the deity and the phenomena of the female collective aligning themselves to Neith, warrants the inclusion into the social investigation.

With the methodology detailed, it is time to commence the review of the artefacts under consideration. To begin we will consider the conditions of the archaeological contexts the stelae were recovered from and its impacts to the study.

¹²⁶ Statistics reveal 43% of this title belong to women.

Chapter Three: Archaeological Context

3.1 Limitations

The archaeological context of all three cemeteries from which the stelae were recovered are problematic. The contexts have been complicated by the many disturbances affecting the original condition of the tombs and cemeteries. The archaeological context of Cemetery ‘M’ at Abu Rawash has suffered from looting in antiquity, natural erosion due to its location, and *sabbakhin* activity.¹²⁷ Likewise, the site of Helwan was also victim to looting, as well as being used as storage areas for farmers’ manure, and Saad records the unscientific invasion of the site by fanatics wanting to unearth hidden treasure by supernatural means.¹²⁸ In Abydos, Petrie was disheartened to work with only what was left by past plunderers.¹²⁹ In addition, all the tombs from Abydos, had been burnt by the Third Millennium.¹³⁰ The site was further affected by the state sanctioned quest for Osiris’s tomb, and refurbishment during the Middle Kingdom.¹³¹ Finally, the monuments of the cemetery had been systematically destroyed during the Coptic period.¹³² As a result, the archaeological contexts of all three sites were greatly disturbed before any excavations were undertaken.

The interference to the archaeological context eliminates any surety regarding the original findspots of the stelae, and as such, most stelae need to be considered as being found in a secondary position.¹³³ Although Petrie assigned some of the stelae to a specific king’s tomb, or a subsidiary

¹²⁷ Tristant (2008: 136).

¹²⁸ Saad (1969: 4).

¹²⁹ Petrie (1900: 2).

¹³⁰ Van De Mierop (2011: 81).

¹³¹ O’Connor (2009: 89).

¹³² Petrie (1900: 2).

¹³³ Stähle (in press) has recently conducted a study regarding the original positioning of the stelae from Djer’s funerary complex, excavated by the German Archaeological Institute.

grave, he failed to cross reference the stelae between the plan and illustrations.¹³⁴ Martin was compelled to disregard these details as there is no way of confirming the accuracy of Petrie's plans.¹³⁵ Similarly, the location of the Helwan funerary slabs originally prompted Saad to classify them as "ceiling slabs" due to their inverted position when found.¹³⁶ Subsequent re-evaluation of the evidence has overturned this hypothesis.¹³⁷

The disturbed context not only impacts the attribution of stelae owners to their corresponding graves, but also negates the ability to explore the circumstances surrounding the practice of subsidiary burials. This issue is further compounded by the lack of data concerning the human remains, as very limited human remains are associated with the subsidiary graves. The lack of primary contextual data affects this investigation and the inconclusive debate on retainer sacrifice, which will be discussed in section 3.5.

The difference in the archaeological contexts associated with the stelae demands two separate categories for discussion. The first group comprises the funerary slabs of principal burials from Helwan covering both the First and Second Dynasties. The second group to be discussed is the subsidiary graves contexts.¹³⁸ Although there is evidence of other First Dynasty subsidiary burials at the cemeteries of Abu Ghurob, Saqqara, and Tarkhan, this project is only considering the grave contexts that are associated with the women's funerary stelae.¹³⁹ This collection

¹³⁴ Martin (2009: 2).

¹³⁵ Martin (2009: 2).

¹³⁶ Manuelian (2000: 136) "In 1947, Z. Saad published the group of early dynastic stelae he excavated at Helwan, naming them "ceiling stelae" due to their unusual findspots towards the tops of the burial chambers".

¹³⁷ Manuelian (2000: 137) "Refuting Saad's interpretation of the Helwan pieces as "ceiling stelae," Haeny noted the disturbed context due to plunder, and the destruction of all superstructures."

¹³⁸ As the only stelae from a subsidiary grave context from Saqqara is male it will not be considered in this section.

¹³⁹ Vaudou (2008: 150).

constitutes the First Dynasty stelae from Abydos,¹⁴⁰ and the small number of stelae recovered from Abu Rawash dated to the reign of King Den of the First Dynasty.¹⁴¹

3.2 Principal Burial Context: Helwan

The difference in burial contexts is also reflected in the different design of the ‘funerary relief slabs’. Although a greater discussion will follow in Chapter Four, it is important to note the details that define the Helwan funerary relief slabs collection. Although the slabs are part of the funerary monuments of the Early Dynastic period that offer biographical details, they are stylistically different in design and display a significantly different artistic program, from the Abu Rawash and Abydos stelae. The slabs were not freestanding like the stelae, but are considered to be an element of the architecture of the tombs.¹⁴² Their inclusion in the architectural design of the tomb explains the structural and stylistic differences from the stelae.

The cemetery of Helwan is situated on the east bank of the Nile opposite Saqqara and lies approximately 21 km south of Cairo. The history of the excavations at the site commenced with Larsen in 1937.¹⁴³ From 1942 to 1954, Saad excavated more than 10,000 tombs at the site, followed by excavations undertaken by Egyptian Antiquities Organisation from 1966 to 1975.¹⁴⁴ In 1997, the Australian Centre for Egyptology at Macquarie University in Sydney commenced new investigations to re-evaluate the site.¹⁴⁵ The most recent excavators recorded that probably all wealthy tombs had been disturbed and robbed in antiquity.¹⁴⁶ Uncertainty remains if the slabs were located in their primary context, although it is acknowledged Saad had endeavoured to

¹⁴⁰ Engel (2008: 34) “Subsidiary tombs are first attested for the tomb of Aha, last for the tomb of Qa’a”.

¹⁴¹ Tristant (2008: 134).

¹⁴² Jones (2014: 210 fn 10).

¹⁴³ Larsen (1940a; 1940b).

¹⁴⁴ Saad (1947; 1951; 1957; 1969); El-Banna (1990: 7-54); Adeeb (1991: 10-18).

¹⁴⁵ Köhler (2004: 295).

¹⁴⁶ Köhler & Jones (2009: 7).

clearly document the archaeological context.¹⁴⁷ The details of the recovered findspots are listed in **Table 3**.

Number of Stelae	Location
10 or 11	Bottom of robbers' tunnel.
7	Debris of the subterranean burial chambers which had been entered via a robbers' tunnel.
4	In the fill of a pit tomb.
1	The fill of an entrance shaft outside the burial chamber.
1	Fill of a substructure
3	In the 'debris of tombs.
2	Forming a wall and a roof slab of a pit burial
2	No provenance
7	Recorded tomb number
3 or 4	Surface debris

Table 3. Find locations of Helwan funerary relief slabs – after Köhler & Jones, 2009.¹⁴⁸

Köhler & Jones note that the survival of the slab is a matter of chance, which may not reflect the actual number originally in existence, but that the existence of a funerary slab confirms the high social rank of its owner.¹⁴⁹

3.3 Subsidiary Graves Context at Abydos

3.3.1 Subsidiary Graves associated with the Royal Tombs

Abydos is situated on the west bank of the Nile, 521 km south of Cairo. The modern Arabic name for the site is Umm el-Qa'ab, “Mother of Pots”, and is situated on a ridge in the lower desert, 1.5 km west of the temples of Seti I and Ramesses II.¹⁵⁰ The cemetery is divided into two sections; the Predynastic necropolis in the north (cemetery U), and the Early Dynastic royal necropolis in the south, **see Figure 1**.

¹⁴⁷ Köhler & Jones (2009: 8).

¹⁴⁸ Köhler & Jones (2009: 8). Authors note “...there is sometimes conflicting information”.

¹⁴⁹ Köhler & Jones (2009: 94).

¹⁵⁰ Engel (2008: 31).

The history of the excavations of the royal tombs at Abydos started with Amélineau from 1895 to 1899.¹⁵¹ Soon after, Petrie commenced his “rescue work”, with a focus on the remains of the royal cemetery.¹⁵² A decade later, Petrie’s work was followed up by the investigations of Naville and Peet in 1911 to 1912.¹⁵³ The cemetery did not receive any further excavations until the extensive work of the Archaeological Institute in Cairo by Kaiser and Dreyer, which commenced in 1973.¹⁵⁴

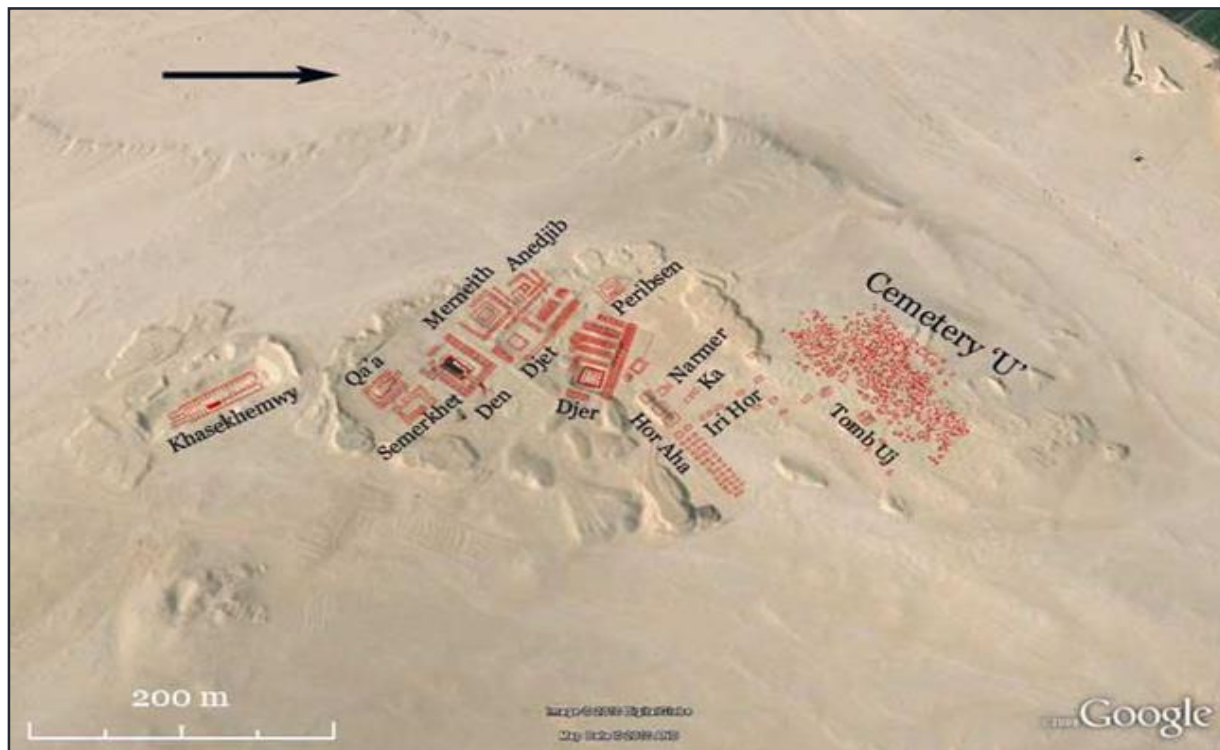


Figure 1. Satellite Image of Abydos.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Amélineau (1899; 1902; 1904; 1905).

¹⁵² Petrie (1900; 1901).

¹⁵³ Naville *et al.* (1914).

¹⁵⁴ Dreyer & Kaiser (1982); Dreyer (1990; 1992); Dreyer *et al.* (1990; 1993; 1996); Engel (2008).

¹⁵⁵ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:AbydosSatMap_1stDyn.jpg.

The subsidiary graves are restricted to the First Dynasty kings, with principle examples found in the burial complex of King Aha, and the terminating examples are found in King Qa'a. The number of subsidiary graves and subsidiary magazines are detailed in **Table 4**.

Kin	Tomb	Subsidiary Graves	Subsidiary	Excavated History
Narmer	B17/1	0	1	Petrie 1900-01; DAI 1980-1981, 1998-2001.
Hor Aha	B10/15/19 & B13/14/1	(?)3	(?)	Amélineau 1895-1896, 1897-1898; Petrie 1900-01; DAI 1980-2002.
Djer	O	318	16	Amélineau 1897-1898; Petrie 1900-1901.
Djet	Z	204	19	Amélineau 1895-1896; Petrie 1899; DAI 1985.
Merneith	Y	41	8	Petrie 1899-1900.
Den	T	142	11	Amélineau 1895-1896; Petrie 1899-1901; DAI 1985-2003.
Anedjib	X	64	1	Petrie 1899-1900.
Semerkheth	U	67	2	Amélineau 1895-1896, Petrie 1899-1900, DAI 1998-2005.
Qa'a	Q	21	18	Amélineau 1895-1896, Petrie 1899-1900, DAI 1991-1992.

Table 4. First Dynasty Abydos Royal Cemetery Subsidiary Graves, After Engel 2008.¹⁵⁶

The 891 subsidiary graves located in the royal cemetery are considered to have belonged to courtiers and members of the elite class.¹⁵⁷ This theory is based upon the provisioning of the tombs, the close proximity to the kings, and the quality of the burial goods.¹⁵⁸ Further, Vaudou and Bestock espouse that the arrangement and allocation of the tombs is based on social hierarchy.¹⁵⁹ Yet, with little confidence in primary context details, this hierarchical placement hypothesis is difficult to substantiate.

¹⁵⁶ Engel (2008: 37-39).

¹⁵⁷ Vaudou (2008); Martin (2009); Bestock (2011).

¹⁵⁸ Bestock (2011: 137).

¹⁵⁹ Bestock (2011: 137); Vaudou (2008: 163).

3.3.2 Subsidiary Graves associated with the Funerary Enclosures

The history of the excavations of the Funerary Enclosures aligns with the cemetery's historical and modern excavations. The original excavation commenced with Mariette in the late 19th century,¹⁶⁰ followed by Ayrton in 1904,¹⁶¹ then Peet from 1911 to 1912.¹⁶² In 1921 Petrie followed up on the line of First Dynasty graves previously identified, though not pursued.¹⁶³ In total Petrie recorded 269 subsidiary graves for Djer, 154 for Djet, and 79 graves for Merneith.¹⁶⁴ In his excavations Petrie documented the recovery of six stelae from the area of Djet's funerary enclosure, listed in **Table 5**.¹⁶⁵

Grave Number	Male/Female
117	Male
159	Female
442	Uncertain
442	Uncertain
446	Indeterminable
453	Uncertain

Table 5. Funerary Enclosure's subsidiary graves associated with stelae, after Petrie 1925:4.¹⁶⁶

Over half a century later, a joint mission from the University of Pennsylvania Museum and Yale University under the directorship of O'Connor, reinvestigated the site in 1986.¹⁶⁷ More recently, Bestock reviewed the four early First Dynasty funerary enclosures, which all contain associated subsidiary graves.¹⁶⁸ Bestock raises the connection between the deliberate destruction of the

¹⁶⁰ Mariette (1880).

¹⁶¹ Ayrton *et al.* (1904).

¹⁶² Peet (1914).

¹⁶³ Petrie (1925: 1).

¹⁶⁴ Petrie (1925: Pl., XX; XXI).

¹⁶⁵ Petrie (1925: 24).

¹⁶⁶ Petrie (1925: 4).

¹⁶⁷ O'Connor (1989: 51).

¹⁶⁸ Bestock (2011: 140) Bestock refers to the funerary enclosures as "cult structures"; La Loggia (2012: 13) "...no funerary enclosures have so far been found for Den and his 1st Dynasty successors".

funerary enclosures and the internments in subsidiary burials surrounding them, as an indication of ritual sacrifice.¹⁶⁹

3.4 Subsidiary Graves Context at Abu Rawash

The cemetery of Abu Rawash lies approximately 20 km north from Saqqara and is considered the northern most point of the Memphite necropolis.¹⁷⁰ The history of the excavation of the First Dynasty's Cemetery 'M', began with Montet in 1913 to 1914,¹⁷¹ followed by Klasens from 1957 to 1959,¹⁷² and more recently, Tristant from 2007 to 2014.¹⁷³ In total, 21 mastabas dating to the reign of Den, were jointly uncovered.¹⁷⁴ The details of the recovered stela are listed in

Table 6.

Mastaba Number	Male/Female
M01 (02)	Female
M01 (05)	Male
M06	Uncertain
M01	Indeterminable
M01	Indeterminable

Table 6. Mastabas associated with stelae from Abu Rawash, after Montet 1948.¹⁷⁵

As all the tombs are dated to the same reign, it is considered by some that the cemetery worked as an “overspill” cemetery from North Saqqara.¹⁷⁶ The existence of subsidiary graves in Abu Rawash is suggested to indicate the high status of the principal(s) buried there.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁹ Bestock (2011: 141).

¹⁷⁰ Tristant (2008: 131); Wilkinson (1999: 13).

¹⁷¹ Montet (1938; 1946).

¹⁷² Klasens (1957; 1958a; 1958b; 1959; 1960; 1961).

¹⁷³ Tristant (in preparation).

¹⁷⁴ Tristant (2008: 134); Tristant & Smythe (2011: 318) “... middle of Dynasty 1, between 3350 and 2920 BC”.

¹⁷⁵ Montet (1948: 180-82).

¹⁷⁶ Wilkinson (1999:13); Tristant does not agree with this theory (personal communication).

¹⁷⁷ Tristant (2008: 131).

3.5 Debate on Retainer Sacrifice

The question of retainer sacrifice linked to the subsidiary burial practice of the First Dynasty has never reached a consensus amongst Egyptologists. Further, it is difficult to determine the influence that the bone manipulation and incisions identified from Adaima and Hierakonpolis, has had on this debate.¹⁷⁸ Although to enter the debate on its practice is beyond the scope of this research, its relevancy to the topic demands an overview. The royal cemetery and the funeral enclosures of Abydos provide the primary evidence of subsidiary burials. Since Petrie declared that the occupants of the subsidiary burials were servants scarified at the time of the king's funeral,¹⁷⁹ this theory is often accepted as *a priori*.¹⁸⁰ Wilkinson described this practice as reflecting the exercising of absolute power.¹⁸¹ It is common to observe subsidiary burials and retainer sacrifice as a single topic in this debate.

The philosophy surrounding the retainer sacrifice is often portrayed as the king's (or queen) need for their entourage to continue to serve them in the afterlife.¹⁸² The interment of the dwarves has been considered as being for the king's eternal entertainment.¹⁸³ It is posited that the reward for the victim's sacrifice was not only the prestige of being buried with the king, but to grant them entry into the afterlife.¹⁸⁴ And yet, curiously, this hypothesis is not weakened when the same principle is then applied to the rite of other principal (non-sovereignty) subsidiary graves. In this context, it is normally assumed to be confirmation of the high status of the individual.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁸ Dougherty & Friedman (2008: 309ff).

¹⁷⁹ Petrie (1900: 14).

¹⁸⁰ Many Egyptologist clearly state that human sacrifice as a proven fact. For examples see Rice (1991: 123); Wilkinson (1999: 227); Bard (1999: 34; 2000:68); Van Dijk (2007: 136); Van Der Mierop (2011: 32); Stevenson (2016).

¹⁸¹ Wilkinson (1999: 266).

¹⁸² Van Dijk (2007: 136).

¹⁸³ Van De Mierop (2011: 32-3).

¹⁸⁴ Wilkinson (1999: 227) "Only the king, as a member of the divine sphere, was guaranteed an afterlife ... share in an afterlife, by "hanging onto the king's coat-tails" and follow him directly to the next world.

How can the two be analogous? In what way could a member of the elite be comparable to the king, the earthly manifestation of the gods? Is it feasible for a ‘dignitary’ to attain the loyalty or power necessary to inspire the alleged sacrificial rite? With the philosophy surrounding retainer sacrifice weakened by the non-sovereign subsidiary graves, it is necessary to consider the archaeological evidence posited for retainer sacrifice. There are three categories of evidence under review - architecture, skeletal remains and iconographic representation.

The strongest claim for the retainer sacrifice theory is based on the architectural features which suggests contemporaneous internment of the king and his retainers in the subsidiary graves. The support for this claim is based on the concurrent sealing of the tombs. Vaudou espouses two examples, 1) that the encompassing covering of Djer’s tomb complex demonstrates the simultaneous interment of the subsidiary burials;¹⁸⁶ and 2) that in Abu Rawach an entire trench of subsidiary graves were covered by a bench of bricks.¹⁸⁷ Tristant, however, does not agree with Vaudou’s conclusion regarding this theory at Abu Rawach.¹⁸⁸ Furthermore, it is noted that in many cases the destruction to the roofs and their supports prevents a clear attestation to the theory.¹⁸⁹ Ultimately, the major problem with this theory is the inability to determine the definitive timeline of the final capping of the burial complex.

¹⁸⁵ Vaudou (2008: 151) “Il semble que les sépultures subsidiaires ne soient alors réservées qu’aux dignitaires situés au sommet de la hiérarchie.”

¹⁸⁶ Vaudou (2008: 151) “Couche de sable débutant sous le corps du mastaba et s’étendant au-dessus des sépultures subsidiaires de l’ouest.”

¹⁸⁷ Vaudou (2008: 162) “on retrouve la preuve que les sépultures adjacentes au Tombeau I furent probablement construites au même moment : une sorte de “banquette” de briques recouvrait l’ensemble de la tranchée dans laquelle étaient installées les inhumations.”

¹⁸⁸ Tristant (personal communication).

¹⁸⁹ Hoffman (1984: 279).

There is a range of potential possibilities to counter the argument of the contemporaneity of the burials, when based on the final covering of the burial complexes. Firstly, the scant archaeological evidence of the original superstructures prevents architectural conclusions to be drawn regarding their construction and appearance.¹⁹⁰ Secondly, transitions and developments evidenced in the architectural design of the First Dynasty tombs complicates determining the time of capping further. For example, the introduction of the staircase in King Den's tomb permitted the tomb to be roofed prior to the death of the king.¹⁹¹ As such, the sequence of entombment, and re- entombment is not unambiguous.

La Loggia raises the potential of progressive burials in the subsidiary graves prior to the king's death, before the final communal covering of the graves.¹⁹² This could appear to excavators thousands of years later as a contemporaneous internment, which would change the current dialogue surrounding the sequence of entombment. Finally, there is no way of determining if the final capping to Djer's burial complex was not completed with the Middle Kingdom refurbishment program.¹⁹³ As such, there is enough uncertainty regarding when the ultimate overlays were applied to challenge this argument.

The skeletal remains are the most equivocal nature of evidence for retainer sacrifice. Analysis in this area is generally impacted by the limited human remains, but specifically by the rarity of remains being found in their subsidiary graves.¹⁹⁴ Further, it is problematic to rely on unqualified physical anthropological suppositions made in the late 19th and early 20th century.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ O'Connor (2009: 153).

¹⁹¹ Engels (2008: 33).

¹⁹² La Loggia (2012: 8).

¹⁹³ O'Connor (2009: 89).

¹⁹⁴ Hoffman (1984: 278).

¹⁹⁵ Vaudou (2008: 161).

There are two examples offered in support for the retainer sacrifice theory.¹⁹⁶ First is the homogenous nature and the similar age of the subsidiary internments of King Aha's burial.¹⁹⁷ Vaudou reports the evidence of the men's ages between 20-25, challenges the circumstances of their death, although, modern re-examination of their remains did not produce any signs of a violent or untimely death.¹⁹⁸

The second example offers evidence that "the bodies show that the servants were strangled to accompany the king in death."¹⁹⁹ The physical examination conducted in 2004 by Nancy Lovell, submits that the stains on the enamel of the teeth shows signs of strangulation.²⁰⁰ Whereas, Tristant's excavation at Abu Rawash found no evidence of violence on the bodies of the men, women, or children buried in the subsidiary burials.²⁰¹ Overall, the paucity of human remains, especially in primary contexts, delimits the understanding of the circumstances surrounding these burials. It is difficult to gauge whether the influence of the physical evidence from the Predynastic period (c. 4000-3250 BC) has affected the interpretation of retainer sacrifice in connection to the subsidiary graves. It is uncertain if the earlier behaviour observed can be considered as a precedent to the ambiguous circumstances surrounding the subsidiary grave practice of First Dynasty Egypt.²⁰²

The iconography of human sacrifice is the last category of evidence to be examined, and the most difficult to correlate to the subsidiary graves. The abstruse iconographic evidence, which appears to depict a ritual killing scene, appears on two First Dynasty labels. The first is a

¹⁹⁶ Baud & Etienne (2005: 100) "Il faut rappeler que des traces de mort violente n'y ont pas été mises en évidence lors des fouilles anciennes".

¹⁹⁷ Bestock (2011: 137-8).

¹⁹⁸ Vaudou (2008: 162).

¹⁹⁹ Van De Mieroop (2011: 32).

²⁰⁰ Galvin (2005: 106-121).

²⁰¹ Tristant (personal communication).

²⁰² Ludes & Crubézy (2005); Crubézy & Midant-Reynes (2005).

fragmentary label of Aha, found at Abydos, where it appears to document a bound person ritually having his chest pierced by a knife by another person, who appears to have a bowl to collect the blood.²⁰³ The same motif is seen in a similar scene found on a wooden label of Djer discovered at Saqqara.²⁰⁴ Whilst the images make it difficult to combat the interpretation of intentional killing, the circumstances cannot be assured. Consideration needs to be given to the potential of other explanations, it is possible to conceive the victim may have been a criminal, a foreign enemy or war captive being executed. One could question further, whether the scene portrays an actual act/rite or the possibility of an early example of royal propaganda. Ultimately, there is no direct evidence connecting the iconography on the labels to the interred occupants of the subsidiary graves. Overall, the evidence in all three categories pertaining to retainer sacrifice remains inconclusive and has divided the opinions of Egyptologists for generations, and will continue to do so.

²⁰³ Baud & Etienne (2005: 98) For detailed description of the perceived circumstances of the image.

²⁰⁴ Wilkinson (1999:267) “after Petrie (1901: pl. III.6) and after Emery (1961:59, fig 21)”, respectively.

Chapter Four: Early Dynastic Stelae

Before analysing the women's contribution to the Early Dynastic society, it is important to examine the titles origin from the corpus of the First and Second Dynasty funerary stelae. The stelae under current investigation are a part of the larger mortuary tradition encompassing both royal and non-royal members of the Early Dynastic period. The royal stelae belonging to the principal kings and queen are not considered in this current research. This section will firstly examine the demographics of the assemblage followed by a summary of the stylistic program of the funerary monuments.

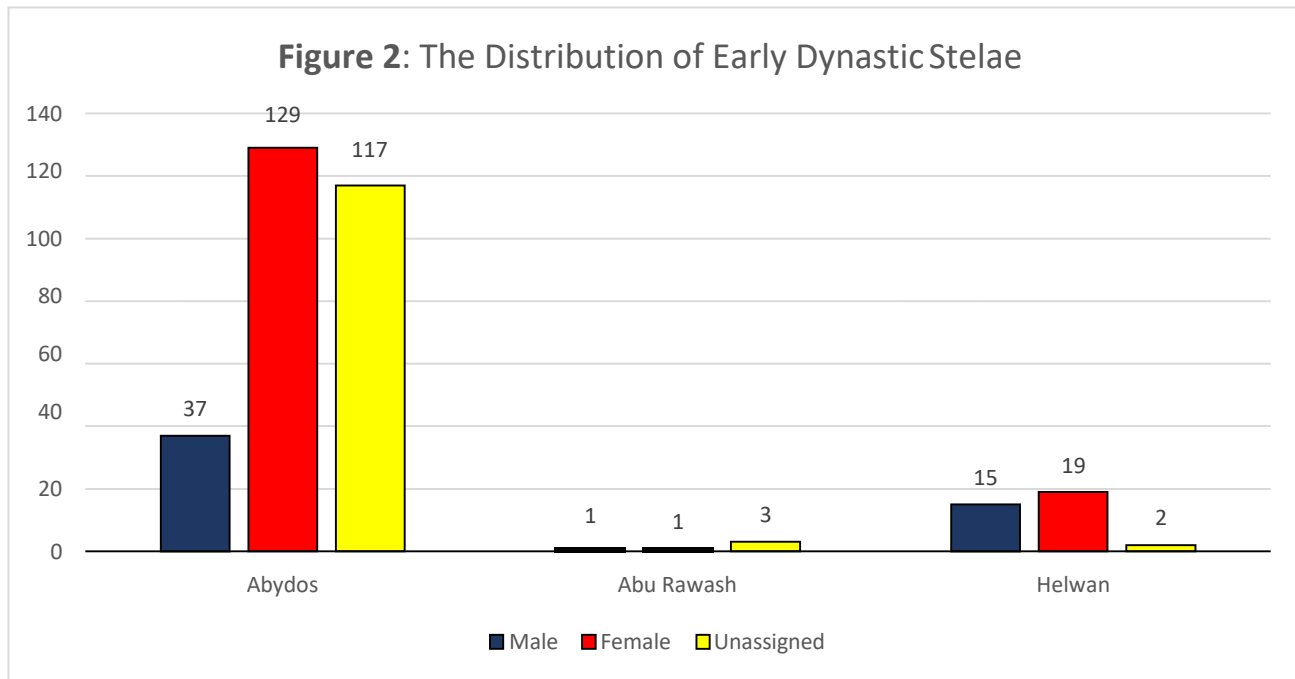
4.1 Demographics

The full assemblage of Early Dynastic limestone stelae and funerary slabs collated from the three sites numbers 397. To statistically account for all the stelae, the database included three categories which are now excluded from the analysis. These stelae are the five 'hound' stelae,²⁰⁵ the six stelae that are no longer extant with their original details lost,²⁰⁶ and the sixty-two blank stelae.²⁰⁷ This leaves a total of 324 personal stelae available for consideration, however, 122 of these stelae have either no clear adjudication of gender via image or hieroglyphic determinative, or have insufficient inscription to be analysed. See **Figure 2** below for the distribution of the stelae.

²⁰⁵ Martin (2009: 2) "Some pet animals were also assigned stelae."; The five stelae from Abydos (173; 178; 192; 206; 283.) display hieroglyphs of a name with the greyhound determinative E14.

²⁰⁶ The six stela from Abydos (215; 217; 223; 225; 226; 231.) are accounted for in Martin's catalogue but are listed with "Present location unknown ... No details available ... Probably no longer extant." They are recorded in Martin (2009) on pages, 152; 154; 160; 162.

²⁰⁷ Martin (2009: 182) "Many of the stelae ... appear to be rough uninscribed 'blanks' ... however, have a statistical significance".



As the above chart demonstrates the majority of the stelae come from the cemetery of Abydos, which makes up 87% of the catalogue. The range of dating in the collection covers Dynasty 0 to the Second Dynasty. The temporal analysis is problematic due to the variant dating methods (see section 1.2.3), which is further compounded by ambiguous provenance recording, which at times eliminates the ability to allocate dating entirely. For example, some provenance classifications are very general such as “Middle Fort”,²⁰⁸ and “Umm el-Qaab”,²⁰⁹ whilst the provenance of Abydos stela 271-272 is unknown; and as such, will simply be listed with ‘Uncertain’ dating.²¹⁰ The stelae traversing two different dating periods are incorporated into three ‘Split’ categories:

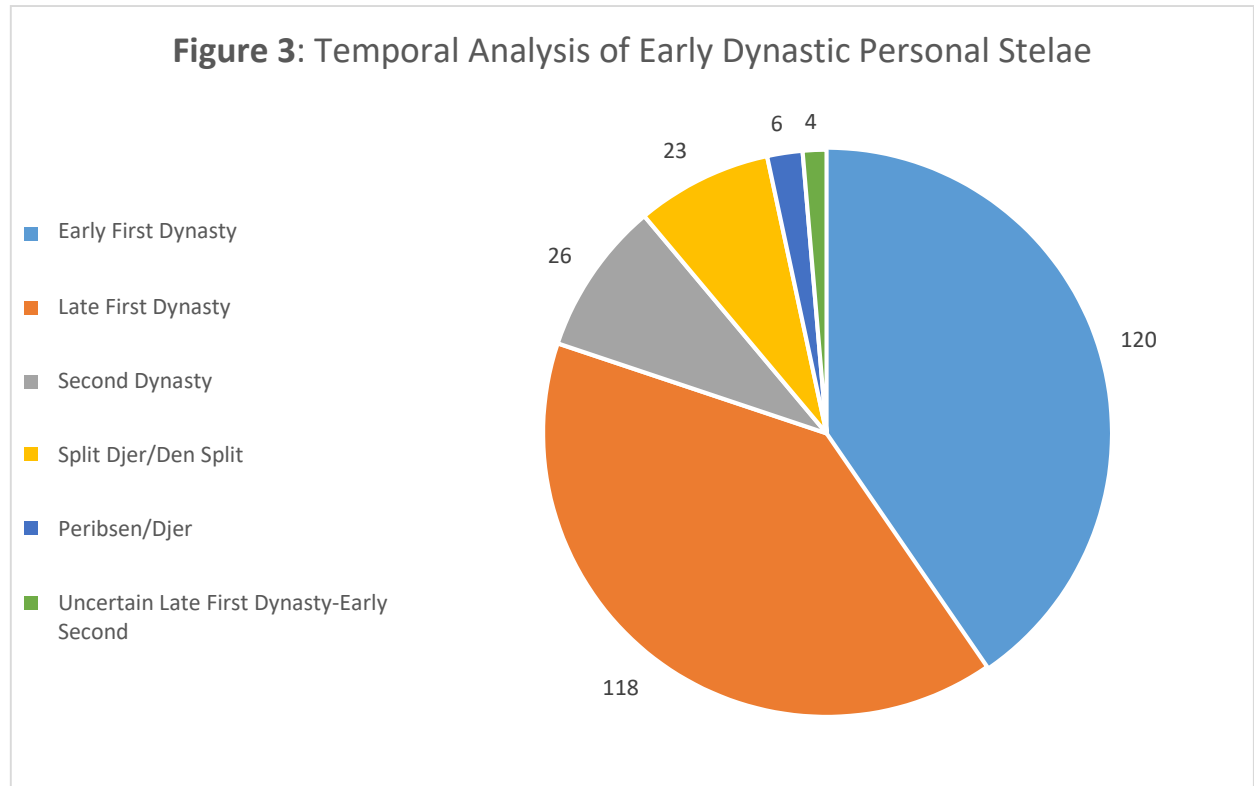
- 1) Split Djet/Den
- 2) Split Peribsen/Djer
- 3) Late First Dynasty – Early Second Dynasty.

The temporal analysis of the 324 personal stelae is listed in **Figure 3**

²⁰⁸ Abydos stela 266.

²⁰⁹ Abydos stela 177; 182; 185; 213-14; 243-44; 246; 248; 253; 256; 258; 268.

²¹⁰ Martin (2009: 183).



The female stelae that are affected by the divided dating are recorded with ‘Uncertain’ and list the designated ‘Split’ category in the catalogue.²¹¹ The decline in the number of stelae in the Second Dynasty reflects the discontinuation of subsidiary burials at the end of the First Dynasty.

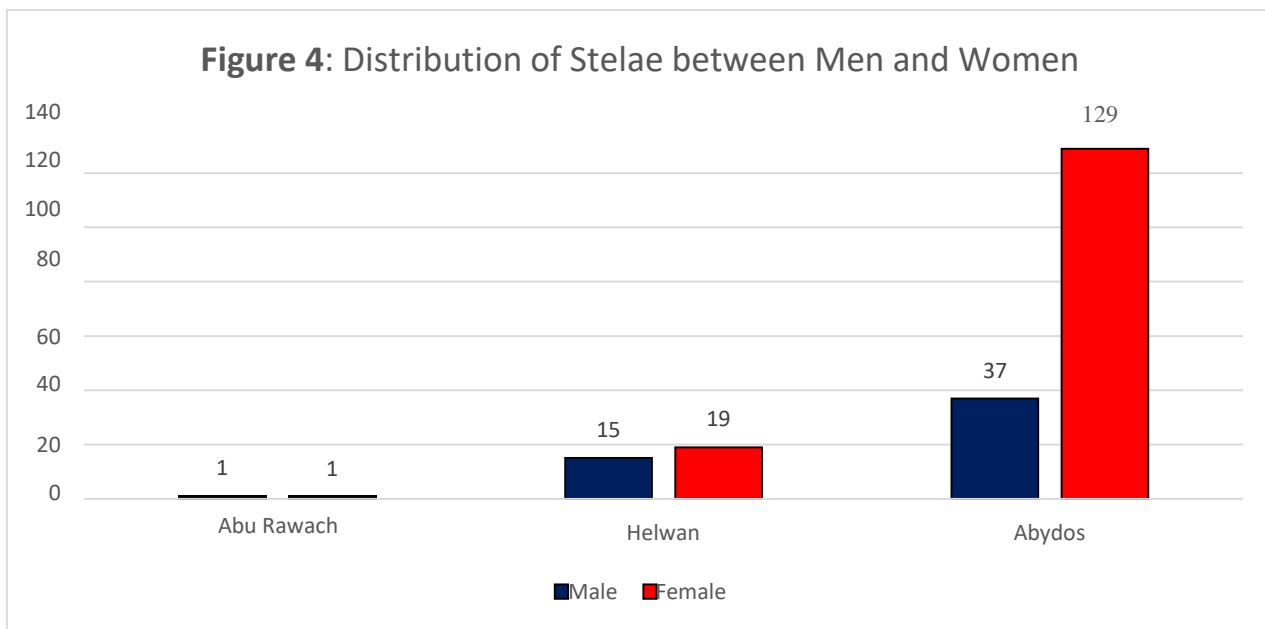
4.2 The Stelae/Funerary Slab Assemblage

The physical condition of the stelae impacts the classification process, especially the Abydos collection. Many of the stelae are only fragments of the original, sometimes with only one sign extant. All were originally included in the database for statistical determination, but the stelae with insufficient detail for textual examination, as well as the unassigned gender stelae, which

²¹¹ Abydos stela (61; 73; 96; 179; 196; 202; 204; 216; 219; 237; 239).

equates to 36% of the assemblage, from this point will take no further part in the current analysis.²¹²

The statistics portrayed in **Figure 4** demonstrate that close to 73% of the Early Dynastic stelae belonged to women, and that across the three sites it is evident that the number of female stelae are either equal to or greater than the male stelae. The statistics appear to substantiate the high value of women in the Early Dynastic period, and appears to support the continuation of the women's greater or equal to status reflected in Predynastic mortuary ritual.²¹³



The results demonstrate the stelae ownership is predominantly female, however, Bestock had previously stated that ownership of subsidiary graves surrounding Djet's tomb were exclusively male.²¹⁴ Examination of the collection of Djet dated stelae only provides one stela that has a definitive male determinative, the rest remain unassigned.²¹⁵

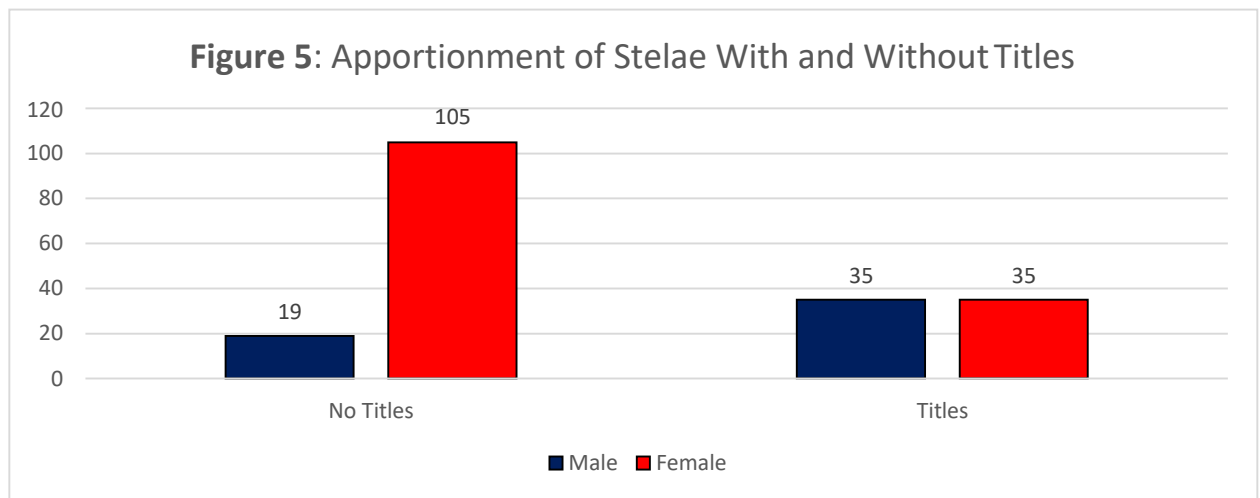
²¹² Including the two-indeterminable stela from Mastaba 01 from Abu Rawach, Helwan stela EM05-100; S03-130 and S99-5; Abydos with indiscernible text on (254; 255; 257; 259; 261; 269; 272; 287; 306; 311; 312).

²¹³ Savage (2000: 91) Predynastic Naga-ed Dêr mortuary analysis conclusions comparable to "greater than or equal to"; "Thus, it would appear that, to the extent of mortuary ritual reflects Predynastic social conditions, women held a status greater than or equal to men."

²¹⁴ Bestock (2009: 36) "The identity of the occupants of the graves seems to have shifted dramatically as well; the recovered evidence suggests that Djet's subsidiary graves contained only men".

²¹⁵ Martin (2009: 22) Abydos stela number 8.

From the 202 defined stelae, eight only offer a partial female determinative, which are included in the catalogue but are exempt from further analysis.²¹⁶ The remaining 194 defined stelae can be separated into stelae ‘with’ or ‘without’ titles. The stelae without titles are considered to provide the deceased’s name only.²¹⁷ **Figure 5** provides the break-up of the inscribed stela.



This graph demonstrates that the greater percentage of stelae belong to females, but significantly, that the female stelae equates to half of the titled stelae.

4.3 The Titles Assemblage

The evaluation of the complete assemblage from the database identifies a total of 88 possible titles.²¹⁸ Martin’s records ten titles from Abydos that remain partially untranslated due to lacunae,²¹⁹ one title that is attested in the catalogue six times, with uncertain reading,²²⁰ and one title with uncertain meaning.²²¹ There are two stelae that account for fourteen of the titles shared

²¹⁶ Abydos stela (119; 241; 249; 258; 267;279;301; 304).

²¹⁷ The research has identified the opportunity for future research to consider that some of the names could possibly be titles. This will be discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

²¹⁸ The partially translated titles are included in the statistics.

²¹⁹ Abydos Stela (28; 34; 135; 138; 142; 171;200; 256; 281; 290).

²²⁰ Abydos Stela (59; 102; 103; 133; 221; 256).

²²¹ Abydos Stela 266.

between just two men, *S3b.f* from Abydos and *Mri-it(i)* from Helwan.²²² There is evidence of both genders sharing the role of ‘Spirit Seeker’ the funerary priest/ess, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six. A total of 34 titles do not have a clear gender determination.

Although the titles could be assigned to a gender based on current society’s and/or academic perceptions, such a process would apply a modern interpretation upon the ancient roles which may not genuinely reflect the distribution of occupations in this society. For example, all administration roles could be assigned male based on their strong dominance in bureaucratic positions in all periods of ancient Egyptian history. This study, however, is considering two administrative roles belonging to females, which challenges this approach. Although the number of females holding administration roles in the Old and Middle Kingdom is limited,²²³ it highlights the necessity to allow the archaeological remains to provide the unequivocal evidence and demonstrates the dangers of applying blanket assumptions to implicit evidence.

Two titles are excluded from the total number of titles and are not considered in the titles survey. They are the titles of ‘dwarf’ and ‘Nubian’, which could be considered a description of their person, more than an identified role. As Martin notes the title “dwarf” may be better assigned as a determinative than a title.²²⁴ Whilst Martin suggests that the presence of Nubian’s may evidence a “royal guard or military presence”, further investigation is required for clarification.²²⁵

²²² Stela 48 and EM99-16 respectively.

²²³ Ward (1989: 35-36) “The appearance of at least four female scribes in Middle Kingdom sources ... [S]ince our documentation is far from complete, it is safe to assume that ... there were probably others.”; Robins (1993: 118) “... female administration titles used in the Old Kingdom ... stewards in charge of storehouses and suppliers of food and cloth, weaving, wigs, singing and dancing, doctors, tenant landholders and funerary cults.”; Lesko (1994-95: 20) “From Middle Kingdom documents, we find there also women overseers of weavers, of wig makers, of dining halls, women treasurers of estates and a few female scribes.”; Bryan (1996: 39) “The Old Kingdom documents the largest number of elite women who possessed titles associating them with administrative or court function... [T]hey include a female steward for queens and a princess, seal bearers (or treasurers) and a chief of funerary priests”.

²²⁴ Martin (2009: 36).

²²⁵ Martin (2009: 2).

4.4 The Stylistic Program of the Early Dynastic Stelae

The collection of private Abydene stelae dated from Dynasty 0 through to the end of the First Dynasty exhibit the same design as the First Dynasty royal stelae, but that is where the parallel ends. Both forms of stelae are produced with a vertical orientation with a rounded top. The striking difference between the two versions are the quality of the stone employed, and the craftsmanship in the execution of the decoration and inscription. The manufacture of the private stelae appears to have been carved on poor quality limestone that required minimum shaping or dressing.²²⁶

The inscriptions of names and titles on the First Dynasty stelae are best described as rudimentary, utilising different methods such as carved, inscribed, bold, sunk, and raised relief; some showing traces of paint pigmentation.²²⁷ The variance in the stelae sizes, and as many are fragmented, no median analysis is offered, but all dimensions of the female stelae are individually recorded in the catalogue. The execution of the hieroglyphic script is generally unrefined with many informal signs lacking standardisation and are inscribed with little formal structure. Emery noted the difficulty in reading the First Dynasty titles was due to the disordered state of the hieroglyphs.²²⁸

The small number of stelae from Abu Rawash, dated to the middle of the First Dynasty, continue with the vertical orientation design, but they lose the rounded top. The execution of the inscriptions appears more refined and exhibits better structure. This is demonstrated by two of the three inscribed stelae having their name, determinative and/or title written within a frame consisting of the *hwt* hieroglyphic symbol.

²²⁶ Martin (2009: 1).

²²⁷ Examples of stelae with paint pigmentation are: Abydos stela 124; 270; 292.

²²⁸ Emery (1958: 30).

In contrast, the Helwan funerary slabs include the stylistic program of the offerings for the deceased accompanied by a seated image of the owner. The other difference is the layout of the funerary slabs adopt a horizontal orientation, that could be influenced by its inclusion into the architectural program of the tomb (see section 3.2). Unlike the Abydene stelae, Köhler and Jones believe the slabs to have been manufactured from quarried fine limestone from Tura or Ma'sara.²²⁹ The artistic program was centred in a relief panel, although not all the slabs portrayed a distinctive frame.²³⁰

The only constant element across the full assemblage is that the text was inscribed from right to left. Before analysing the female titles, it is pertinent to examine the composition of writing in the Early Dynastic period, as it is fundamental in the transliteration and translation of the titles.

²²⁹ Köhler & Jones (2009: 17).

²³⁰ Köhler & Jones (2009: 18-19).

Chapter Five: Early Dynastic Philology

5.1 Historical Background

The inscribed material uncovered in the excavation of Tomb U-j at Abydos by Dreyer and the German Archaeological Institute team helped to recalibrate the dating for the introduction of ancient Egyptian writing.²³¹ The evidence push back the *terminus post quem*, and called into question the previous diffusionist theories that writing had been, in some part, a cultural transmission from Mesopotamia.²³² The writing systems are now closer to contemporaneous dating than previously considered. The new material extends back the chronology of the origin of Egyptian writing by approximately a century to ca. 3320 BC.²³³ This section will summarise the development and forms of Egypt's earliest script, and its function as an identifier, which is the nexus of this research.

Prior to the introduction of writing at the end of the Predynastic period, the artefacts from the 4th millennium BC bears testimony to the rich visual communication program which emerged with the rise of the Naqada era.²³⁴ MacArthur describes this as the “iconic revolution” that would set the stage for the introduction of writing.²³⁵ The mediums of representational art forms include rock art, ceremonial objects – palettes and mace heads –, decorated pottery and motifs on cylinder seals.²³⁶ A number of symbols from this imagery; classified under Kemp's ‘preformal’ art;²³⁷ successfully continues through to the historical period. At the same time, it is noted that

²³¹ Commenced in the 1970's.

²³² Stauder (2010: 142).

²³³ Jiménez-Serrano (2007: 48).

²³⁴ MacArthur (2010: 116) 3750 BC.

²³⁵ MacArthur (2010: 115-16).

²³⁶ Stauder (2010: 137).

²³⁷ Kemp (2006: 113), “It covers the products of the Predynastic Period, together with later material still in this tradition that runs well into the historic period.”

symbols transition unchanged from their Predynastic design to become hieroglyphic signs.²³⁸ It is considered that the developments from pictorial representation to writing had undergone development by the time of the inscribed material of Tomb U-j, but the links remain missing from the archaeological record.²³⁹ Whilst the symbols are entrenched in the visual communication system, they are not to be considered pictographic writing as they contain both logograms and phonograms which “allows a reading, not an interpretation.”²⁴⁰ The tags from Tomb U-j demonstrate the use of the rebus principle of combining word and semantic symbols to express their message, which becomes an underlying principle of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing.

5.2 Components of Early Dynastic Writing

As early as the First Dynasty, hieroglyphic writing uses an interplay of ideograms and phonograms.²⁴¹ The ideograms are the logograms that represent specific words and determinatives which have no phonetic value, but act to specify the meaning of the word.²⁴² It is considered that many of the original logograms in the material from Tomb U-j were modelled off familiar imagery such as fetishes and totems that represented gods or territories.²⁴³ In contrast, phonograms are symbols used to represent specific sounds and are assigned a phonetic value independent of the original meaning associated with the sign.²⁴⁴ The codification of phonetic values to icons is considered to have been implemented at the end of Naqada II or the beginning of Naqada III (c. 3500 BC), implementing the rebus principle to ancient Egyptian writing.²⁴⁵

²³⁸ Jiménez-Serrano (2007: 48).

²³⁹ MacArthur (2010: 120).

²⁴⁰ Jiménez-Serrano (2007: 49).

²⁴¹ Gardiner (1957: 8), Utilises the term “ideogram or sense-sign”.

²⁴² Jiménez-Serrano (2007: 52).

²⁴³ Jiménez-Serrano (2007: 53).

²⁴⁴ Jiménez-Serrano (2007: 60).

²⁴⁵ Jiménez-Serrano (2007: 63).

The phonograms were employed for the codification of the consonantal symbols as unilateral, bilateral, or trilateral signs and as interpretants by way of phonetic complements.²⁴⁶ Even though there is only a small number of phonetic complements observed in the first two dynasties, there are important cases where they are noted in the examination of the titles.²⁴⁷ In the three hundred years between the Tomb U-j and the reign of Den (c. 3250 BC) the development of most of the graphemes including consonantal phonemes, logograms and determinatives were in place.²⁴⁸ Baines describes this elaborative process of the script as “the most significant cognitive achievement in connection with writing...”.²⁴⁹ The elaboration of the script not only increased the number of signs but also allowed the composition of new words and created the first examples of homophony requiring the use of the determinatives for classification.²⁵⁰ The nonexistence of vowels constitutes the script as logoconsoantary.²⁵¹ As such, Egyptian words could be either written logographically or phonographically.²⁵²

Further development of the hieroglyphic script was achieved in the Second Dynasty. Initially, the existing corpus of signs was reformed resulting in a large number of signs being abandoned.²⁵³ Often it is these abandoned signs that obscures the translation of Early Dynastic texts, as there are no subsequent applications to enable investigation of their denotation. Further, Regulski states the difficulty in reading short inscriptions is due to our limited understanding of the phonological system and the morphological structure of Egyptian writing.²⁵⁴ The introduction of morphological, lexical elements and syntactic structures, advances the writing

²⁴⁶ Grossman & Richter (2015: 82).

²⁴⁷ Regulski (2015: 12).

²⁴⁸ Regulski (2015: 9). “Apart from y and s, and z perhaps h and k”.

²⁴⁹ Baines (2007: 53).

²⁵⁰ Jiménez-Serrano (2007: 63).

²⁵¹ Trigger (1998:48); Regulski (2015: 12).

²⁵² Regulski (2015: 12).

²⁵³ Regulski (2015: 16); Regulski (2008: 999), “half of the corpus is filtered out before the Old Kingdom”.

²⁵⁴ Regulski (2015: 9).

towards written speech.²⁵⁵ The first definite example of a conjugated verb dates to the reign of King Peribsen before ca 2686 BC.²⁵⁶

The ability to comprehend the Early Dynastic signs and writing is complicated by the different structure and appearance of the “early telegraphic notations” and their use of the phonological system.²⁵⁷ The examination of the titles demonstrates the inconsistent use of lexical element such as honorific transposition and the use of determinatives in this period, which complicates the understanding of the texts. The limited use of determinatives is noted especially for common words and in the names of the gods, whose totem or symbol were used as logograms, their familiarity at the time negating the use of determinatives for recognition.²⁵⁸ Amongst the many applications of writing in this period, the function of identification is most relevant to this research and the next section will restrict the focus solely on this application.

5.3 ‘Identification’ as The Purpose of Text

The archaeological record of texts from this early time has mainly been preserved through the funerary context. More than three quarters of inscribed material have been recovered from the cemeteries of Abydos and Saqqara.²⁵⁹ Many contributors have discussed the correlation of the emerging state and their applications of writing in administrative, religious, and political contexts, but the focus of this research is on the societal applications of writing in the forms of names and statuses through assigned titles. A major accomplishment of writing was its facility for identification and specificity. The use of writing captioned on ceremonial objects provides ownership and allocation of objects to specific people, place and subsequently time.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁵ Regulski (2015: 17).

²⁵⁶ MacArthur (2010: 121) “a past tense use of the verb, and reads (*d(m)d.n=f* – ‘he has united’).

²⁵⁷ Bard (1992: 297); Regulski (2015: 9).

²⁵⁸ Jiménez-Serrano (2007: 62).

²⁵⁹ Regulski (2015: 2).

The Early Dynastic texts demonstrate a strong focus on names, which was applied as a referent to royals, individuals and geographical locations, and the inclusion of the titles assists with distinguishing between individuals.

The name of a person was an inherent part of the ancient Egyptian identity in connection with their reputation, which was equally important for both the living and the dead.²⁶¹ It is generally understood that the mother provided the birth name, but it is often identified from later periods that people were known by more than one name.²⁶² It is impossible for this research to determine whether the names recorded on the funerary stelae represent the original birth name or not. Names could be written logographically as a clause or phonetically with no linguistic meaning.²⁶³ It is the phonetically written names that often defy an understanding of the name's definition. The custom of titles helps to distinguish between different individuals as homonymy was frequent with many names constituting familial, theophoric and basilophoric origin.²⁶⁴

It is these titles from the funerary stelae of Early Dynastic women, which are the foundation of this research program. This study investigates not just the composition of the texts but significantly, the insight into the sociology within the society. The next chapter considers both the composition and previous scholarship of the female titles under review.

²⁶⁰ Bard (1992: 297); Stauder (2010: 144) "Writing allowed these visual representations to be secondarily related to the singular identity of a specific king, as well as, when place names are featured, possibly to a particular event".

²⁶¹ David (2014: 57).

²⁶² David (2014: 58).

²⁶³ Stauder (2010: 145-6).

²⁶⁴ David (2014: 57-59).

Chapter Six: Examination of the Titles

6.1 The Preliminaries



The list of identified titles in the catalogue is compiled from the transcription of the titles based on the original studies of Martin, and Köhler and Jones. As such, the following section will examine each of the original offered titles, with consideration being given to their transliteration, translation, and previous scholarship. The informal and unstandardised structure of the early writing often prevents a clear grammatical analysis. The titles are considered following the list in **Table 3**, offering a synoptic format of the previous scholarship. At times a title's transliteration is doubtful and so the alternate options are considered in conjunction with each other.²⁶⁵ As the assessment demonstrates, at times, the individual explication of the titles is complicated by the associative interpretations of previous scholarship. On completion of the titles analysis, a discussion regarding the conclusions and the androcentric bias applied to the translations will be addressed in Chapter Seven.

The current research has identified a small number of opportunities for some of the records to be re-evaluated. There are two male stelae where cases are presented for female ownership and one case where the female stela is presented for male ownership. Further, there are two enigmatic titles where alternate considerations are offered for their translation.

²⁶⁵ For example: Ward (1989:41) fn 45: "... even the reading is doubtful, e.g., *Im3(.t)-Hr* or *hts-Hr*".

6.1.1 Title One: *rh-nsw.t*



“Acquaintance of the King” is attested once in the catalogue on Helwan stela S01-37, dated to Early Second Dynasty.²⁶⁶ The abbreviated form of the title is transliterated (M23;Aa1);²⁶⁷ Jones’ Old Kingdom title ‘N° 1841’,²⁶⁸ which is formally associated to the variation of the title ‘N° 1206’ *iry ht nzwt/rh nzwt*,²⁶⁹ literally “one whom the king knows.”²⁷⁰ Alternate translations include “One known to the king, king’s royal acquaintance, one who is concerned with the things of the king, custodian of the king’s property.”²⁷¹ WB II, 446[9ff]; the female form is noted in WBII [447, 4ff]. The examples of *rh.t-nsw* recorded by Kahl are inscribed in the full form of the title; attested to “Sechemib”  and a Third Dynasty example .²⁷² Köhler & Jones consider the stela owner to “possibly” be female.²⁷³

Fischer notes the uncertainty of the earlier use and meaning of the title, but confirms it meant “one who is known to the king” in the later Old Kingdom.²⁷⁴ The ambivalent nature of the title is exacerbated by the inconsistent applications for the different genders. Fischer demarcates the title that when it is applied as a male title it denotes “one who is concerned with the king’s property”, but for females it is only interpreted as “one who is known to the king.”²⁷⁵ There is nothing to denote a morphological difference in the title so the variance appears to apply from the divergent connotations applied by previous interpreters.

²⁶⁶ Köhler & Jones (2009: 194).

²⁶⁷ WB II: 447 The abbreviated form is known from the Old Kingdom.

²⁶⁸ Jones (2000: 493).

²⁶⁹ Jones (2000: 327).

²⁷⁰ Leprohon (1994: 46).

²⁷¹ Jones (2000: 327).

²⁷² Kahl (2003: 273).

²⁷³ Köhler & Jones (2009: 194).

²⁷⁴ Fischer (1996: 24).

²⁷⁵ Fischer (1972: 73).

The earliest meaning of the title remains unanswered and the uncertainty surrounding the gender of the owner of stela S01-37, prevents this example providing conclusive proof that the title was applicable to women from the Second Dynasty onwards. Sabbahy notes the title was held by princesses and many royal women,²⁷⁶ although, Troy notes only Hetepheres B, the granddaughter of Cheops as holder of the title in her investigations into Queenship.²⁷⁷ In the Old Kingdom the title was also conferred by the king to ranking non-royal women, establishing their relationship with the royal house.²⁷⁸ Throughout Egypt's history the meaning and application of the title did not remain static. Fischer notes that in the Sixth Dynasty that the title disappeared from the titulary of the nomarch's and nome officials, but remained in place for their wives and daughters.²⁷⁹ By the Middle Kingdom Ward consider the title purely honorific and excluded it from his Middle Kingdom Index.²⁸⁰

6.1.2 Title Two: *s3.t-nsw.t*



“Daughter of the King” is attested twice in the catalogue on Helwan stela EM99-10, dated to the early-middle Second Dynasty,²⁸¹ and EM99-15 dated middle Second Dynasty.²⁸² The title is transliterated (M23:G39:X1); Jones’ Old Kingdom title N° 2988; WB II, 412[7] “Daughter of the King, Princess”. The stelae are the earliest examples of the title *s3.t nsw.t*.²⁸³

²⁷⁶ Sabbahy (1982: 95).

²⁷⁷ Troy (1986: 154).

²⁷⁸ Capel & Markoe (1996: 162).

²⁷⁹ Fischer (1968: 69-70).

²⁸⁰ Ward (1986: 120).

²⁸¹ Köhler & Jones (2009: 142).

²⁸² Köhler & Jones (2009: 152).

In addition, a case is presented for stela EM99-23, previously considered by Köhler as a male stela with the title “Son of a King”, to represent a female and as such, another attestation of the title.²⁸⁴ In 2014, Jones also classified the owner of the title as female, in her examination of “The Enigma of the Pleated Dress.”²⁸⁵

The examination of Helwan stela EM99-23, also dated to the middle of the Second Dynasty, raised three points of reference to consider the probability of the stela owner to be female.²⁸⁶ Primarily, the orthography of the title replicates the previous forms with the inscription clearly presenting (X1) – the feminine ‘*t*’ ending under the *s3*-bird (G39). The inconsistent use of the feminine ending generally impacts the ability to distinguish between sons and daughters of the king, the application of the feminine ending here can support the identification of a female owner.²⁸⁷ Secondly, the name of the owner shares the same feminine ending of *Hkt* which is established on the female stela EM99-21.²⁸⁸ Finally, although the image of the deceased is ambiguous, the hair hints towards a female owner and was observed by Ockinga to be female.²⁸⁹ The title appears to have been restricted to the use by royal women as either daughters or granddaughters of the king.²⁹⁰

²⁸³ Helck (1987: 120). NB: Two examples of the title are located on stela S2146E and S3477 from Saqqara noted by Solà-Sagals (2015) as dated to the Second Dynasty but due to the concerns regarding their uncertain provenance and doubts regarding the assigned dating, has prevented their inclusion into the current research.

²⁸⁴ Jones personal communication.

²⁸⁵ Jones (2014: 218, fn 50) “The owner of slab EM99-23 has been included in table I as female by this writer, although an alternative identification as male has been proposed (Köhler and Jones 2009: 168-9). The owner’s title could be read as *s3.t nsw*, ‘daughter of the king’, as well as *s3 nsw*, ‘son of the king’, the ‘*t*’ serving for the writing of *nsw* and *s3.t* or just *nsw*...”

²⁸⁶ Köhler & Jones (2009: 168).

²⁸⁷ Troy (1986:106) C4/1.

²⁸⁸ Kaplony (1963 :230) Designates the stela owner’s name as female; Jones (2014: 218, fn 50) “However, names with the goddess Hekat seem to belong to females, ... ‘She belongs to Hekat’”.

²⁸⁹ Jones (2014: 218, fn 50).

The title *s3t nswt nt ht.f* - ‘King’s Daughter of his body’, from the Old Kingdom onwards is considered to distinguish between the king’s actual daughters from other female royal family members. However, Callender records one exception that of *Mr.s-ḥ III*, who was the daughter of princely parents.²⁹¹ Ward notes that whilst other royal titles were adopted by commoners in the Middle Kingdom, the title ‘King’s Daughter’ was not.”²⁹² This title establishes a familial relationship to the king.

6.1.3 Title Three: *Hts Hr*



“favourite of the Horus (the King)”²⁹³ is attested only once in the catalogue on Abydos stela 95, dated Early-First Dynasty.²⁹⁴ Jones’ Old Kingdom Title N° 2503 *hts Hr* (Jones does not offer a translation).²⁹⁵ The previous scholarship offers incongruent transliterations and translations. The initial uncertainty surrounding the title’s transliteration, is based on the ambiguity of the sign that appears to be either Gardiner’s code (M1), “unidentified tree” in relation to *im3*,²⁹⁶ or (s23) *hts* sceptre.²⁹⁷ The uncertainty of the sign and the divergent opinions on the translation makes a clear interpretation problematic.

The scholarship regarding the title interpreting the sign as the sceptre (s23) *hts* is also not unanimous. Troy identifies the use of (s23) as a determinative in the titulary of queens since

²⁹⁰ Sabbahy (1982: 136-137) “there is no reason to claim that *s3t-nsw* could be held as a title by a woman outside the royal family”.

²⁹¹ Callender (1992: 68).

²⁹² Ward (1986: 39).

²⁹³ Martin (2009: 215).

²⁹⁴ Troy (1986: 152) Associates one title from Abydos stela 96 to the same title – incorrectly quoted as Number 26. The depicted title is considered by Martin and current author as title *ḥ.t Hr*.

²⁹⁵ Jones (2000: 685). NB Jones does not list *im3.t Hr*.

²⁹⁶ Gardiner (1957: 478).

²⁹⁷ Kahl (2004: 334) “dated Djer – Third Dynasty”.

the Thinitic period and adopts the *ḥts Hr* transliteration.²⁹⁸ If this transliteration is correct, it demonstrates the use of honorific transposition. Troy espouses the ritual association of the *ḥts* as “an attribute of the Horus-king and a designation of a carrying chair.”²⁹⁹ The connection between the *ḥts* and the carrying-chair, however, remains inconclusive.³⁰⁰ Troy notes the earliest record of *ḥts Hr* as being recorded on a ‘concubine’ stela, translating it as “the *ḥts*-sceptre of Horus”, whilst defining it separate from the royal women’s title “*wrt ḥts nbwy*’ great one(s) of the *ḥts*-sceptre of the Two Lords”.³⁰¹ Callender postulates that the title *ḥts Hr* is a unique queen’s title, which is not attested elsewhere.³⁰² Yet, Troy’s separation of this title from the royal form appears to suggest this title is not a queen’s title. Whereas, Helck and Sabbahy agree the sign should be transliterated *ḥts*, they both support a different reading of the title.

Helck defines the title *wrt ḥts* as a later queen’s title associated to the ‘Royal Harim’.³⁰³ Sabbahy determines the title as *wrt ḥts*, advocating that the bird portrayed is not a (G5) Horus, but an indistinct (G36),³⁰⁴ and suggests a reading based on Fischer’s proposal of “great in respect to perfection”.³⁰⁵ This reading suggests an epithet more than a title. Callendar disagrees, however, as she considers the bird’s resemblance is closer to the (G5) Horus falcon.³⁰⁶ Sabbahy’s argument is based upon the visual variance between the two birds transcribed in the two titles on Abydos stela 95 (the second title on the stela *ḥ-Hr* Catalogue Title 6 will be discussed below).

²⁹⁸ Troy (1986: 81) B3/8.

²⁹⁹ Troy (1986: 81) “Turning to the Scorpion macehead, it may be noted that the women in the carrying-chairs are followed by a man holding a *ḥts*-sceptre.” Furthermore, Abydos stela 232 records *Shm-rpyt* as a personal name with the juxtaposition of a sceptre and the carrying chair.

³⁰⁰ LÄ V, pp. 388. “Fraglich erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang die Interpretation früher, mit *ḥ* and *ḥts* gebildeter Königinnentitel als “Sänfte des” und “Hts Sänfte des ...” (*Königinnentitel), da weder für den Titelbestandteil a noch für Hts die Bedeutung “Sänfte“ sicher nachweisbar ist.”

³⁰¹ Troy (1986: 81) B3/5; B3/9.

³⁰² Callender (1992: 18).

³⁰³ Helck (1987: 119).

³⁰⁴ Sabbahy (1982: 37) “bird in this title must be read as *wr*”.

³⁰⁵ Sabbahy (1982: 21).

³⁰⁶ Callendar (1992: 17).

Visually there is variation when comparing the different images of the two birds previously considered the (G5) falcon. Kaplony acknowledges the characteristic difference in the depictions of the birds, but offers an alternate transliteration and translation upholding the (G5) falcon as seen in 6.1.4.³⁰⁷

6.1.4 Title Four: *im3.t Hr*



“One Gracious to the Horus”³⁰⁸ is the alternate translation for the title on Abydos stela 95, above. Kaplony transliterates the title (M1:G5) and translates the title as *im3(t) Hr*,³⁰⁹ and whilst he correlates this title in association to three other ‘queen’s titles’, he specifies that this female is a not a *M33t-Hr* queen; in addition, he notes that it is possibly a version of *‘h3(t) (hn3) Hr*.³¹⁰ Kaplony remarks that all the titles remain unclear, but posits probably this title to be read “*im3(t) Hr* the pleasant of Horus”.³¹¹ Similarly, Kahl records the title as ‘the pleasant’ in both *System* and *Frühägyptisches*.³¹² The title *im3(t) Hr* does not appear in Jones’ Old Kingdom Titles. The transliteration of the sign remains undetermined, and significantly, none of the previous scholarship identifies either translation as “Favourite of the Horus” as offered by Martin.

6.1.5 Title Five: *hsyt Hr*



“One favoured of the Horus (the King)” is attested once in the catalogue on Abydos stela 126, dated Late First Dynasty.³¹³ The title is transliterated (G5:W14); Jones’ Old Kingdom title N° 2408,³¹⁴ which provides a short bibliography and directs the reader to the corresponding title

³⁰⁷ Kaplony (1963: 374).

³⁰⁸ Martin (2009: 215).

³⁰⁹ Kaplony (1963: 374).

³¹⁰ Kaplony (1963: 374).

³¹¹ Kaplony (1963: 373-374).

³¹² Kahl (1994: 5 13 n. 674); (2004:32).

³¹³ Martin (2009: 215).

³¹⁴ Jones (2000: 660).

N° 1478 “*wr.t ḥz(w)t*,”³¹⁵ WBIII, 158[10]: and 202[10]. Kahl, however, records the title as a passive participle *ḥs.t ḥr.w*.³¹⁶ Sabbahy correlates this title to the previous *wrt ḥts*, identifying that both titles maintain their original form in later dynasties and are often found in conjunction with one another.³¹⁷ The later existence of both these titles supports two individual, but parallel titles. Once again, we encounter alternate transliterations due to the identification of which bird is portrayed. The fragmentary condition of the stela impacts the ability to define which bird is represented. The top half of the stela is lost leaving only the tail of the bird being shown. As this is the only attestation of the title no further clarification can be sort, leaving the interpretation open.

It is important to note that this type of title is not limited to only females, *ḥtp Hr* also translated as ‘One Gracious to Horus is located on a male Abydos stela 199, and *ḥs Hr mry* possibly ‘beloved of Horus’ on male Abydos stela 281, both weaken the concubine connotations to these titles considerably.³¹⁸ Another vital point to consider regarding the ambiguity of the Early Dynastic titles, is the necessity to resist applying later translations retrospectively to the earlier forms. It remains important to recognise that the early titles may differ in their genesis form, before crystalising into the later developed title, which may have undergone transcription and semantic development over that time.

6.1.6 Title Six: *ḥ.t Hr*



“Female servant of the Horus (the King)” is attested once on Abydos stela 96, considered to be dated to the Early-First Dynasty.³¹⁹ Transliterated (G5:P6); Jones’ Old Kingdom Title N° 1314 “(female) servant of Horus(?),”³²⁰ WB I, 222[3] “*ḥj.t* -servant of the house”. Kahl

³¹⁵ Jones (2000: 401).

³¹⁶ Kahl (2004: 325) “great in favour”.

³¹⁷ Sabbahy (1982: 22).

³¹⁸ Martin (2009: 140; 186).

³¹⁹ Martin (2009: 82) “Recorded as Area of Tomb of Djer (O). Marked however T (Den)”.

records “ $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{w.t Ḥr.w.}$.”³²¹ Further, Kahl notes in his description of the verb ḥ^{c} designates a cultic act associated with the king.³²²

In its early form Helck transcribes the title “ $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{jj.t}$ – Servant of Horus”.³²³ Whereas, Kaplony considers “ $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}(.t) (\text{ḥn}^{\text{c}}) \text{Ḥr}$ – ‘one who is staying together with Horus’ or perhaps, again, im3t-Ḥr , ‘the pleasant of Horus’”.³²⁴ Kaplony bases his reference back to im3t-Ḥr based on the speculative sign (P6), which he considers could be identical with the one on stela 95, but there appears no visual similarity.³²⁵ Furthermore, Martin conjectures that the sign could possibly be the harpoon (T19) and (T20), but does not offer an alternate translation.³²⁶ The sign is also found on Abydos stela 57, which is considered to be part of a personal theophoric name.³²⁷

The following three titles are especially difficult to separate; as they are always depicted in conjunction with a second title. For example, three Abydos stelae (96, 128, 129) display the same combination of M33.t Ḥr and $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{Stḥ}$, this appears to have consolidated the titles. Sabbahy notes that although the titles may parallel each other, they are independent titles.³²⁸ This is consistent with the single attestation of $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}} \text{Ḥr}$, which has been associated to the previous two titles, but is found independently on Abydos stela 95 with the title ḥts Ḥr . Sabbahy summarizes the scholarship on the association of the titles as:³²⁹

³²⁰ Jones (2000: 353).

³²¹ Kahl (2002: 92).

³²² Kahl (2002 :90).

³²³ Helck (1987: 120).

³²⁴ Kaplony (1963: 374); Troy (1986: 189).

³²⁵ Sabbahy (1982: 21).

³²⁶ Martin (2009: 82).

³²⁷ Martin (2009: 52) “ $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{-nt}$ ”.

³²⁸ Sabbahy (1982: 21).

³²⁹ Sabbahy (1982: 20).


- 1) *m33 Hr Sth* ("the one who sees Horus and Seth")
- 2) *rd(?) Hr ⲉ Sth*. ("leg of Horus, arm of Seth")
- 3) *m33 Hr rmn Sth* ("the one who sees Horus, the one whom Seth carries")
- 4) *rd Hr ⲉ Sth* ("leg of Horus, litter-chair of Seth")
- 5) *m33 Hr* ("the one who sees Horus"), plus one of the interpretations of the Seth title

Significantly, no single stela presents all three titles together.

6.1.7 Title Seven: ⲉHr



“The hand of Horus (?), One who lifts up the Horus (the King)”³³⁰ is attested twice in the catalogue, based on Martin’s translation, both dated to the Early-First Dynasty, in this form on

Abydos stela 95;³³¹ and represented once with  and a speculative upright palm of a hand and wrist on Abydos stela 238.³³² The title is transliterated for the first form one: (G5:D36), form two: (G7:D46?:?); Jones’ Old Kingdom Title N° 1297 “ⲉ (+ bird sign? = ? Hr?).”³³³

Troy records only one instance of the title “one who carries Horus” on a ‘concubine’ stela, suggesting the probability that the second arrangement is a different title.³³⁴ Support for the second form being a separate title is gained by Germon Riley’s identification of the perceived upright hand sign as a version of “(m9) – palme.”³³⁵ The Early Dynastic examples of (m9) are

³³⁰ Martin (2009: 215).

³³¹ Martin (2009: 82).

³³² Martin (2009: 170).

³³³ Jones (2000: 348).

³³⁴ Troy (1986: 189) B3/4.

³³⁵ Kahl (1994: 589).

represented with variable appendices and are translated as *im3*, essentially linking it back to the title *im3.t Hr.*³³⁶ This example of (m9) is comparable to Kahl's early examples of "*im3.t hr.w.*"³³⁷ However, the inscription depicts a third sign that could be again considered a hand or possibly another duplication of the sign (m9), further complicating the transcription and comprehension of the title, which remains unclear. Alternatively, the uncertain sign could also write the name of the deceased.

In its defined form, the title is often considered analogously with the *ꜥ Sth* and *m33.t Hr*³³⁸ Barta considered the translation of the title using "*rmn*" as an active participle "to carry" and interprets the title as the earliest evidence for the mythological birth ritual of the king.³³⁹ Troy's associates the "one who carries Horus" to the carrying-chair and sees the juxtaposition of *hṯs* and *ꜥ* as attributes of Horus and Seth.³⁴⁰ Seipel also connects the title to the litter.³⁴¹

6.1.8 Title Eight: *ꜥ Sth*



"the hand of Seth", "one who lifts up the Seth (the King)"³⁴² is attested three times in the catalogue, Abydos stela 96 is dated to Early-First Dynasty (Djer), whilst Abydos stela 128 - 129 are dated Late-First Dynasty (Den). The title is transliterated (e9:D36),³⁴³ Jones' Old Kingdom Title N° 1300;³⁴⁴ "the arm of Seth",³⁴⁵ "she (who) carries or lifts up Seth",³⁴⁶ "Litter of Seth".³⁴⁷

³³⁶ Germon Riley (1985: 144).

³³⁷ Kahl (2004: 32).

³³⁸ Kaplony (1963: 374) "... genüge deshalb ein Hinweis auf ... in *ꜥ-Sth*".

³³⁹ Barta (1975: 41).

³⁴⁰ Troy (1986: 81) B3/4.

³⁴¹ Seipel (1980: 49; 321).

³⁴² Martin (2009: 215).

³⁴³ Germon Riley (1985: 112) E20: "In the First Dynasty the form is stockier with a shorter tail and only two legs showing ... the classical form of the sign is not found until the Second Dynasty".

³⁴⁴ Jones (2000: 349) NB: Jones does not offer a translation.

³⁴⁵ Weill (1948: 85); Helck (1987: 119).

³⁴⁶ Troy (1986: 189) B3/3.

³⁴⁷ Seipel (1980: 46; 49; 65; 321).

Weill considers the titles correspond and associates them to the queen's titles of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty."³⁴⁸ Kaplony postulates "*rmn*" in the same fashion as Barta did for the corresponding *ḥHr* title, but also considers a possible association with the litter, noting however the lack of the litters-ideogram is unusual.³⁴⁹

6.1.9 Title Nine: *m33tHr*



"She who beholds the Horus (the king)" is attested three times in the catalogue, on Abydos stela 96 dated to Early-First Dynasty (Djer), whilst Abydos stela 128 - 129 are dated Late-First Dynasty (Den).³⁵⁰ The title is transliterated (U1:G5); Jones' Old Kingdom Title N° 1561 "she who beholds/Seer of Horus and Seth."³⁵¹ Previous scholarship tends to synthesise the title into its later form *M33(.t) Hr ḥ Sth*, - WBII [7, 13]; but importantly, Troy identifies the early composition of *m33t Hr* is evidenced independently up until the Third Dynasty.³⁵² Sabbahy supports Troy's argument believing the translation does not need to be read as part of the title with Seth.³⁵³

Due to the rudimentary inscription of the sign (U1), Weill originally transliterated the title as "the leg of Horus", which he combined with the previous title providing "Leg of Horus and the Arm of Set".³⁵⁴ Kaplony correctly considers Weill's translations as "incomprehensible".³⁵⁵ Helck, however, preferred to combine the three titles (from Abydos stela 96) *m33(.t) Hr, ḥḥ(jj.t) Hr ḥ Sth* into the abbreviated form "*M33(.t) Hr ḥ Sth* and offered 'the ones allowed to see Horus'".³⁵⁶

³⁴⁸ Weill (1948: 85).

³⁴⁹ Kaplony (1963: 373) "number: 1839; 1840".

³⁵⁰ Martin (2009: 215).

³⁵¹ Jones (2000: 421).

³⁵² Troy (1986: 189).

³⁵³ Sabbahy (1982: 23).

³⁵⁴ Weill (1948: 85).

³⁵⁵ Kaplony (1963: 373).

Callender also applies the later combined queen's title *M33(.t) Hr ʿ Sth*, claiming the title only appears with the names of the kings' wives.³⁵⁷ The claim that the title denotes the kings' wives cannot be substantiated. The inference that these are queen's titles also remains questionable as neither established Queen Neithhotep or Queen Merneith are evidenced as holding any of these titles. In addition, there is one representation in the Fourth Dynasty of a private male holder of the title *M33(.t) Hr ʿ Sth*, which complicates the understanding further.³⁵⁸

That is not to say the status of these title holders were not of the highest rank. Kaplony specifies that the importance of the women with this title interred in the subsidiary graves, is the strongest argument for their status. Kaplony translated the title "one that sees the Horus."³⁵⁹ Conversely, Sabbahy raises the validity of the transliteration of the title. Sabbahy identified that *m33 Hr* does not show honorific transposition (it also not evident in title 6.1.11), noting the inconsistent application prevents ease in understanding these titles and postulates the title could be further read "*m33-wr* - the one who sees the Great One."³⁶⁰

A definitive understanding of the three associated titles and their function remains elusive, this examination agrees with Troy's classification that these three titles appear to denote roles undertaken in ritual and cult activities. Troy classified the titles under her "Sceptre and Sistrum Bearer" category.³⁶¹ This is the second inference to ritual association surrounding a number of

³⁵⁶ Helck (1987: 119).

³⁵⁷ Callendar (1992: 20; 22).

³⁵⁸ Sabbahy (1982: 8; 53).

³⁵⁹ Kaplony (1963: 373).

³⁶⁰ Sabbahy (1982: 23-26).

³⁶¹ Troy (1986: 189).

the titles, as seen in Kahl's description of 6.1.6. A discussion of this connotation will be undertaken in Chapter Seven.

6.1.10 Title Ten: *rpwty*



“she of the carrying-chair, palanquin”³⁶² is attested once in the catalogue on Abydos Stela 148, dated to Early-First Dynasty (Djer). The sign is transliterated as either (q10/q12).³⁶³ This title does not appear in Jones' Old Kingdom Titles. It remains uncertain if the stela represents an attestation of the title.

The sign transcribed on the stela is equivocal, with Martin noting its similarity to the R4 *hṭp* sign and the possibility of it being an element of the name, which is reflected in the name he translates for the stela owner.³⁶⁴ Regulski's palaeographic examination of the (R4) signs are comparable, and as such, leaves no actual attestation of the title in this catalogue.³⁶⁵ Abydos stela 232, however, also dated to the reign of Djer, portrays the (S42) sceptre with (q10/q12) palanquin chair, which has been translated as the owner's name *Shm-rpwt* which could conceivably be a title.³⁶⁶

Troy documents the predominance of the association of the carrying-chair with the royal women of the earliest period.³⁶⁷ The early material evidence is limited to iconographic evidence, but Troy declares the evidence is sufficient to suggest that the carrying chair had an important

³⁶² Martin (2009: 215).

³⁶³ Kahl (1994: 675-676).

³⁶⁴ Martin (2009: 114).

³⁶⁵ Regulski (2010: 590).

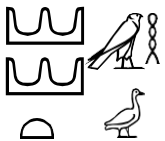
³⁶⁶ NB: Due to the time and word limit of the current thesis, the full examination of the attribution of titles translated as names on stelae could not be undertaken. This consideration could apply to the large volume of named stelae associated to Neith, which some could possibly be titles.

³⁶⁷ Troy (1986: 79).

function in the ritual of kingship.³⁶⁸ Due to the unsubstantiated title in the current catalogue, this title will effectively be reverted to a name and such reduce the number of identified female titles in the catalogue to nineteen.

The next two enigmatic titles are unique to the Early Dynastic period and only appear on a series of seven stelae.³⁶⁹ The reading of the title(s) is complicated by the indistinctness of the birds portrayed, the inconsistent application of grammatical structure in the First Dynasty texts, and the ambiguity surrounding the number of titles recorded on the stelae.

6.1.11 Title Eleven: *htm.(t) Hr, H3sty*



“she who ornaments the Horus, *H3sty* (*nebty*-name of Den)”³⁷⁰ is attested seven times in the times in the catalogue Abydos stela 21, 120-125, dated Late-First Dynasty (Den), Jones’ Old Kingdom Title N^o 2500 *htm(t) Hr* “... she who ornaments the king ...?”³⁷¹ Martin included *H3sty* in his translation of the title, although, Godron rejects the ability to read it as a second Horus name of the king.³⁷² The title is transliterated (V28:G5:G38 - N25:N25:X1), Kahl records *htm* “to provide, decorate”³⁷³ transliterating the title as “*htm.t Hr.w?*”;³⁷⁴ WB III[196, 22ff].

All previous scholarship unanimously agrees that the title(s) meaning is uncertain. Kaplony offers “as to ornament and provide – of crowns and salve” suggesting “she who ornaments the King”,³⁷⁵ which Nord notes as a possible precursor to the Fourth Dynasty title *hkrt-nswt*.³⁷⁶

³⁶⁸ Troy (1986: 79) “Celebrations accompanying the canal dedication depicted on the Scorpion macehead... also found on the Narmer ‘wedding’ macehead”.

³⁶⁹ Kaplony (1963: 372) “Diese Art der Titelbildung wird von späteren Königen nicht nachgeahmt...”.

³⁷⁰ Martin (2009: 215).

³⁷¹ Jones (2000: 684).

³⁷² Godron (1990: 91-92) Godron argues that it is impossible to read the sign of the falcon and the *H3sty* one after the other and quotes this is Kaplony’s opinion also.

³⁷³ Kahl (2004: 334).

³⁷⁴ Kahl (1994: 529 n. 795).

³⁷⁵ Kaplony (1963: 372).

Helck translates the full titulary of the stelae as one title “The one who decorates Horus and awarded by King *H3stj*.”³⁷⁷ Godron reviewed all previous scholarship on the title(s) and concluded none were acceptable.³⁷⁸ In contrast, he offers “The equipped Horus strikes/blind people in the *H3stj*, N”³⁷⁹ Godron’s translation appears more as a testimony to Den than the title(s) of the women the stelae denote.

The identification of the birds is obscure, which impedes a clear reading of the title. Scharff transliterated the bird (G39) reading the signs as one title and offered “*Hr s3 h3s.tj, skr* Son of Horus *H3sty, Skr*” suggesting that *Skrr* could be another one of the king’s names.³⁸⁰ Callender refutes this translation as there is no known expression for a king as the ‘Son of Horus’, and she further states the (V28) sign before *Hr* renders “inexplicable” Scharff’s interpretation; instead Callender suggests the bird could be (G35) the cormorant.³⁸¹ In addition, Callender questions the allocation of the (G5) bird and considers perhaps it could be (G1) offering “*h3* ‘would that’ or a similar wishing phrase.”³⁸² Callender posits “*h3 k H3s.tj skr X ...* Would that *H3s.tj* benefit by the offering of X.”³⁸³ As such, this reading appears to rely upon the supposition of retainer sacrifice.

The confusion surrounding the title(s) reading is further compounded by the dissimilar connotations attributed to the variations of the verb *htm*. The translation of the verb *htm* is affected

³⁷⁶ Nord (1970: 4).

³⁷⁷ Helck (1987: 119) “The decorated Horus and Awarded by King *H3stj*”.

³⁷⁸ Godron (1990: 91).

³⁷⁹ Godron (1990 :91).

³⁸⁰ Scharff (1931: 21).

³⁸¹ Callender (1992: 27).

³⁸² Callender (1992: 27).

³⁸³ Callender (1992: 28).

by which bird is identified in the transliteration. The translation of *htm* with (G39) affords the definition “provide” in line with the early translations of the title.³⁸⁴ At the same time, however, if the bird sign is transliterated with the similar (G38), it provides the intransitive verb “perish; *sḥtm* destroy; *sḥtmw* destroyer.”³⁸⁵ The title is transliterated by Kahl, employing the (G38), as recorded in his *System*, which confuses this reading further.³⁸⁶ The review of the previous scholarship reflects not only the ambiguity of the title, but also the complexity of translating the Early Dynastic text. The inability to read Early Dynastic scripts is often impacted by our limited understanding of the phonological system, which could impact the reading of this title.³⁸⁷ An issue of the previous scholarship into the title, is that most of their findings appear out of context to the subjects of the stelae, females and their roles or epithets.

With such inconclusive interpretations of the title, it raises the question whether there are any alternate ways to read the title? The puzzling title, unfortunately, defies standardised grammatical analysis, missing key elements such as honorific transposition and the informal structure of the title. The position of the ‘*h*’ obstructs the usage of honorific transposition in the title, although, this has been shown to be applied inconsistently in this period.³⁸⁸ Further, the arrangement of the signs and the order they have been transliterated appears problematic. The position of the (V28) is consistently before the (G5), but the accepted transliteration attributes the ‘*h*’ to the bird depicted below, which Kaplony notes as a reading aid for *htm*.³⁸⁹ The position of the glyph suggests that it should be associated to the bird it rests beside. However, this reading would not be without its own complications. There is no other precedent of this phonetic complement for Horus; but if it is applied here, its employment could be considered as assisting

³⁸⁴ Faulkner (1962: 180); Dickson (2006: 263).

³⁸⁵ Gardiner (1957: 583).

³⁸⁶ Kahl (1994: 529).

³⁸⁷ Regulski (2015: 9).

³⁸⁸ Sabbahy (1982: 23-26).

³⁸⁹ Kaplony (1963: 373).

the definition between the two birds portrayed in the title. If we consider (V28:G5) as Horus, however, what becomes of the equivocal bird situated below?

The ambiguous characteristic of the bird ultimately impacts the transliteration of the sign. However, the examination of the previous scholarship identified that Callender considered the bird as the cormorant (G35).³⁹⁰ This identification is further supported by Germon Riley's palaeographic review of the bird on the stela.³⁹¹ The transliteration of the bird as (G35) would offer phonetic *ḫ*.³⁹² This could possibly provide a transliteration of (V28:G5:G35) *ḫy.t Hr* 'female servant of Horus'. It is noted, however, the connection of the cormorant to the female title *ḫy.t* is not attested until the Middle Kingdom;³⁹³ *ḫy.t* WBI, [232,13] 'Servant'. Whilst the *Wörterbuch* does not define a gender to the role, Gardiner,³⁹⁴ Faulkner,³⁹⁵ and Dickson³⁹⁶ all designate the term as a female servant. Dickson's description describes the servant(s) are involved with provisions and food.³⁹⁷ This translation could suggest a servant's possible involvement in the provisions for Horus. This translation can be further correlated to an alternate translation offered regarding the second title from the stela. This transliteration is not flawless, however, either are the original translations, but this reading at least works within the context of the subjects of the female stela.

³⁹⁰ Callender (1992: 27).

³⁹¹ Germon Riley (1985: 135).

³⁹² Gardiner (1957: 471).

³⁹³ Stefanovic (2009b: 41) "*ḫy.t* are attested among household servants and offering bearers only always represented in the context of food preparation and delivery".

³⁹⁴ Gardiner (1957: 558). Also lists "intimates".

³⁹⁵ Faulkner (1962: 50).

³⁹⁶ Dickson (2006: 81).

³⁹⁷ Dickson (2006: 81).

6.1.12 Title Twelve: *wr(t) sḱr*



“great one of the litter (?)” is attested seven times in the catalogue Abydos stela 21, 120-125 dated to the Late-First Dynasty (Den).³⁹⁸ The title Martin records is transliterated (S29:Aa7), yet Jones has no record of a title with this translation, instead Jones’ Old Kingdom Title N° 3618 “*sḱr(t) Zmty/H3sty(?)*”.³⁹⁹ This title is transliterated (S29:Aa7 – N25:N25:X1) *sḱr(t)* WB IV [306] “beat”; WB IV [307,8] *Zmty/H3sty* WBIII [234, 14]. *Zmty/H3sty* as the *nebty*-name of King Den.

The comprehension of the title is ambiguous, as the scholarship into the translations reflects. Kahl describes the translation of the title as unclear,⁴⁰⁰ whilst Kaplony proposed a possible connection to “the later *sḱr-ḥnh* - prisoner of war offering “*Semty* prisoner of war.”⁴⁰¹ Scharff’s translation applies the verb ‘hit’ to *sḱr*, and proposed the reading as a nickname of the King “The Hitter.”⁴⁰² Godron’s examination results in “Horus who slaughters the inhabitants of the *H3st*”, which he associates to the victories of the King commemorated on the annals.⁴⁰³ The preceding considerations, again appear out of context for descriptions, epithets or titles of the women the stelae represent.

Instead, it is possible to apply the verb *sḱr* “offer/present”⁴⁰⁴ as an alternate translation of the existing transliteration (S29:Aa7 – N25:N25:X1) - *sḱr (t) Zmty/H3sty* as the ‘offerer of *Zmty/H3sty*’. The format of the title replicates the Jones Title N° 3616 “*sḱr(?) Inpw* –

³⁹⁸ Martin (2009: 215).

³⁹⁹ Jones (2000: 980) NB: Jones does not offer a translation.

⁴⁰⁰ Kahl (1994: 854 n. 3200).

⁴⁰¹ Kaplony (1963: 373).

⁴⁰² Scharff (1931: 21).

⁴⁰³ Godron (1991: 92).

⁴⁰⁴ Faulkner (1962: 250); Dickson (2006: 193).

offerer/sacrifice of Anubis,” which is attested in the Second and Third Dynasties.⁴⁰⁵ The listings in WB IV [307, 8-10] discuss the bringing of offerings, specifying the sacrificial offering with white bread and wine. This translation could suggest the involvement of the women in a ritual role involved in the sacrificial offerings (possible food and wine) to the King. The two alternate transliterations coalesce in their similarity of the provisions and offering of food. In addition, the separate titles delineate the dual manifestations, of the mortal (*skr(t) Zmty/Hbsty* ‘offerer of *Zmty/Hbsty*), and the divine (*ky.t Hr* ‘female servant of Horus’) aspects of the king.

6.1.13 Title Thirteen: *wr(t) pr*



“great one of the palace” is attested in the catalogue once on Abydos Stela 196, whose dating falls into the split category of Djet/Den.⁴⁰⁶ The composite title is transliterated (O1:36); Jones’ Old Kingdom Title N° 1477 “great one of the house”.⁴⁰⁷ This title has received little scholarship. Troy’s only reference is listed under the later title “*nb.t pr* – mistress of the house” and simply cites Kaplony.⁴⁰⁸ Kaplony considered the title to denote a senior/head of the harem.⁴⁰⁹ Ward’s contests that the feasibility of this interpretation rests upon the acceptance of these women constituting a harem.⁴¹⁰ The function of this position remains unclear.

⁴⁰⁵ Weill (1908: 258); Emery (1958: 31).

⁴⁰⁶ Martin (2009: 215).

⁴⁰⁷ Jones (2000: 401).

⁴⁰⁸ Troy (1986: 186) B1/10.

⁴⁰⁹ Kaplony (1963: 373; 1049) “könnte eine Art von Haremsvorsteherin sein”.

⁴¹⁰ Ward (1989: 41).

6.1.14 Title Fourteen: *msnw*

𓏏𓏏 “harpooner” is attested once in the catalogue on Abydos stela 207, whose dating falls into the split category of Djet/Den.⁴¹¹ The title is transliterated (V32:S29), Martin describes “the title is curious in view of the female determinative.”⁴¹² The title does not appear in Jones’ Old Kingdom Titles. Germon Riley’s palaeographic work demonstrates a portion of a hand and arm after the lacunae near the front of the determinative, see **Figure 6**. The active arm gesture is consistent with the male determinative (A1) recorded in Martin’s epigraphical survey from the Abydos stelae.⁴¹³ This suggests the stela owner is probably male.

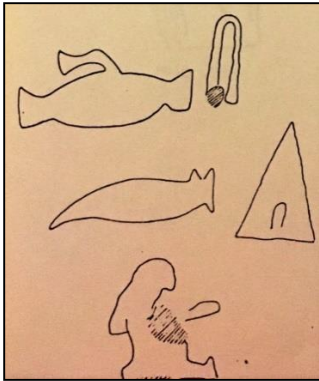


Figure 6. Germon Riley’s image of the determinative from Abydos stela 207.⁴¹⁴

Due to the findings of the unsubstantiated title in the current catalogue, this title will effectively be reverted to a male owner and such reduce the number of identified female titles in the catalogue to eighteen.


⁴¹¹ Martin (2009: 215).

⁴¹² Martin (2009: 146).

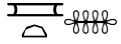
⁴¹³ Martin (2009: 4) The only male determinatives, belonging to Abydos stelae 135 and 185, that do not demonstrate an active arm gesture is due to the lacunae that has removed the front half of these determinatives.

⁴¹⁴ Germon Riley (1985: PL LXXVII no 1013).

6.1.15 Title Fifteen: *hm(t)*

 “(female) servant” is attested once in the catalogue on Abydos Stela 35, dated to Late-First Dynasty (Semerkhet).⁴¹⁵ The title is transliterated (U36). Only the male form is represented in Jones’ Old Kingdom Titles N° 1871 “slave, servant;”⁴¹⁶ Male WB III [87, 13ff], Female WB III [88,10], “Slave, servant – often without the (X1).” The generality of the title prevents understanding the function or the capacity of the role in context.

6.1.16 Title Sixteen: *mr(t)*

 “female weaver” is attested once in the catalogue on Abydos Stela 189, dated to the Late-First Dynasty (Den).⁴¹⁷ The title is translated (N36:X1 with V16 as the determinative). The title does not appear in Jones’ Old Kingdom Titles; WB [106, 19] ‘weaver’. Bryan notes the women’s involvement with the important weaving industry and records that the Old Kingdom hieroglyph for ‘weaver’ is a seated female determinative with a woman holding a shuttle or weaver’s sword, and that it was an industry where women held administrative positions “Overseer of the House of Weavers”.⁴¹⁸

6.1.17 Title Seventeen: *Shn-3h*



“Spirit Seeker”⁴¹⁹ is attested twelve times in the catalogue on Abydos stela 20; 39; 137; 139; 144; 161; 162; 179; 193; 202; 204; 211; the majority of the stelae are dated Late-First

⁴¹⁵ Martin (2009: 215).

⁴¹⁶ Jones (2000: 499).

⁴¹⁷ Martin (2009: 134).

⁴¹⁸ Bryan (1996: 19).

⁴¹⁹ Martin (2009: 215).

Dynasty, with stela numbers 179, 202 and 204 coming from the split category of Djet/Den; in total two-thirds of the stelae come from the reign of Den. The composite title is transliterated (D32:G25). Jones Old Kingdom Title N° 3036 “seeker of/he who embraces the spirit, (priest);”⁴²⁰ WB III [468, 14ff]. The translation of the title is not clearly defined, demonstrated by the two accepted translations prescribed to the role of funerary priest.⁴²¹

Petrie considered the title could denote either a term for a deceased person “in a state of bliss”; or a priestly title as “he who spiritualizes the *k3*, by services.”⁴²² The composition of the title is the depiction of the two glyphs written as a single monogram.⁴²³ The key element to the previous translations are the employment of the verbs *shn* – “to search” WB III [468, 14(?)];⁴²⁴ and “to embrace” WB III [468, 15]. The consensus across all the translations is that the role is a funerary priest. The implication of this title being the earliest records of female priests, and significantly, a role shared by men and women will be examined further in Chapter Seven.

6.1.18 Title Eighteen: *shn(.t)-3h nsw*



“funerary priestess of the king” is attested once in the catalogue on Helwan stela EM99- 21, dated to the Middle of the Second Dynasty.⁴²⁵ The title is transliterated (M23:X1 – D32:G25). Jones’ Old Kingdom Title N° 3037 “*zhnw*-priest of the king.”⁴²⁶ Saad translated the title from the stela as “funerary royal priest”.⁴²⁷ Neither Jones or Saad employ the feminine

⁴²⁰ Jones (2000: 831-32).

⁴²¹ Kaplony (1966: 52) “Der Totenpriestertitel”.

⁴²² Petrie (1900: 43).

⁴²³ Fischer (1977:5).

⁴²⁴ The numbers 13 and 15 are listed but the number 14 was not included in the WB.

⁴²⁵ Köhler & Jones (2009: 164).

⁴²⁶ Jones (2000: 833).

⁴²⁷ Saad (1957: 8).

terminology in relation to the title. The rank of the title appears to be higher than the previous title, suggesting possible hierarchial levels in the funerary priesthood that was gender neutral.

6.1.19 Title Nineteen: *htm(w) hwt* [...]?

“sealer of the palace [...]?” is attested once in the catalogue on Abydos stela 282, dated to Late-First Dynasty (Den).⁴²⁸ The title is transliterated (S20:O6). The physical condition of the stela prevents a full translation of the title. Jones’ Old Kingdom Title N° 2807 “*htm(w) hwt* ... sealer of the *hwt*.”⁴²⁹ Jones’ entry relates to a single example of the title, which is the fragmented remains of the unassigned Abydos stela 164, (not included in this catalogue), considered by Kaplony as “*sdwtj-hwt*, Siegler des *hwt*-Palastes.”⁴³⁰ The omission of Abydos stela 282 can be presumed to be due to the uncertainty surrounding the title caused by the lacunae and the indeterminable internal details with the *hwt* sign. The stela is recorded by Martin as male but a case is presented here to reconsider the stela owner as female.

The case is raised with two points of reference to consider the probability of female ownership. The epigraphical representation of the seated determinative strongly suggests a female (B1) determinative; Martin included a drawn question mark beside the determinative of the stela. Examination of the epigraphical illustrations of the seated male and female determinatives in Martin’s catalogue, identifies that a distinguishing difference between the two forms is the presence or absence of an active arm gesture.⁴³¹ The image of the determinative is comparable to the seated female determinative. The other point of reference under consideration, is the

⁴²⁸ Martin (2009: 186).

⁴²⁹ Jones (2000: 773).

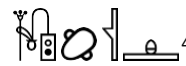
⁴³⁰ Kaplony (1963: 370).

⁴³¹ Martin (2009: 4).

stela's owners name '*Drt-Nt* the hand of Neith', which further supports the attribution of female ownership. As mentioned previously, see Chapter 3.4, predominantly a quarter of the women's names are a theophoric compound of Neith. As there is no defined male stela from the corpus of Abu Rawash, Helwan or Abydos that establishes male's names including Neith, it strongly supports a female determination.

It appears here that an administrative title endorsed the adjudication of the gender owner, even when the evidence suggested otherwise. There is evidence in the Old Kingdom of women with administrative titles; "although almost all bureaucrats were men, there are occasional examples of female scribes and administrators."⁴³² Although the case is rare in the Early Dynastic period, it warrants genuine consideration based on the evidence the stela presents and not a perceived concept. The following and final title under review is included under the same circumstances.

6.1.20 Title Twenty: *sš ḥsb kd.w ḥtp.w*



⁴³³ "the scribe of the accounts of the builders of the offering-places"⁴³⁴ is attested once in the catalogue on Helwan stela EM99-21, dated Middle of Second Dynasty.⁴³⁵ It was mentioned in Chapter 3.4, that the title was documented by the original excavator, but was unable to be determined in the later examination, as the signs could not be distinguished due to the damage to the stela.⁴³⁶ The title is transliterated (Y4;Aa2:Aa28:R4), Jones' Old Kingdom Title N^o 3159

⁴³² Robins (1993: 111 – 114; 116).

⁴³³ The original inscription is now lost; this representation was duplicated from Jones Old Kingdom Titles N^o 3159.

⁴³⁴ Saad (1957: 8).

⁴³⁵ Köhler & Jones (2009: 164).

⁴³⁶ Saad (1957: 8).

“accounts-scribe of the *kd-Htp*?”⁴³⁷ WB III [167, 10] “Accounts Scribe”. It is not the title that is under examination here, but the gender of the stela owner.

In examination of the gender ownership Saad described “[J]udging from the hair and the appearance, the owner looks like a woman but the title makes this difficult to accept. The owner may have been a man as the title denotes.”⁴³⁸ However, the appearance of the deceased was not questioned by Köhler and Jones in their more recent examination when they ascribed to her the “funerary priestess of the king”, the other title recorded on the stela.⁴³⁹ As the scribal title was not able to be seen by the recent examiners, the attribution of gender relied on the pictorial and textual evidence available.⁴⁴⁰ Saad’s comments are a prime example that demonstrates how allowing the perceived notion that women undertook no part of the bureaucracy impacted his interpretation.

The contents of the stela can provide additional supporting information for the case of female ownership. Primarily, Kaplony determined the name *Mn-Hkt* as female;⁴⁴¹ the *Hkt* element of the name represents the fertility goddess Hekat.⁴⁴² In addition, the other title of ‘funerary priestess of the king’ on the stela can suggest a working relationship with the *kd-Htp*. In the Old Kingdom it was the elite and royal court ladies that held administrative roles;⁴⁴³ and the evidence from the stela strongly suggests the deceased’s high status. This is suggested by not only the high rank of the roles, but that her stela is one of only three female Helwan stelae presented with a title

⁴³⁷ Jones (2000: 863).

⁴³⁸ Saad (1957: 8).

⁴³⁹ Köhler & Jones (2009: 164).

⁴⁴⁰ Köhler & Jones (2009: 164) “There appear to be at least four signs to the right of her name”.

⁴⁴¹ Kaplony (1963: 230) Designates the stela owner’s name as female.

⁴⁴² Bárta (1999: 111) “Small statuettes of Heket occur as early as the First and Second Dynasties”.

⁴⁴³ Bryan (1996: 39).

and stands out as the only one with more than one title.⁴⁴⁴ As unprecedented as the case for a female scribe in the Second Dynasty is, the evidence suggests her to be an exceptional female.

⁴⁴⁴ Of the 19 female stelae recovered from Helwan, only three (four if you count EM99-23, for which I raised the case of female ownership) had inscribed titles.

Chapter 7: The Discussions and Sociological Implications

7.1 Addressing the Bias

The aim of the research was to not only evaluate the women's participation in Egypt's Early Dynastic society, but to also demonstrate the previous prejudicial scholarship that diminished their significant involvement in the society, by denoting their roles as concubines and harem women. Before discussing the findings of the textual analysis, it is imperative to address the androcentric bias previously applied to these women.

In Kaplony's examination of the stelae, he records that most or all of the women buried in Abydos are ladies of the royal harem, and further classified the women under the category of 'pleasures' (Vergnügen).⁴⁴⁵ The scholarship into the titles demonstrates that this classification pervades throughout the majority of historical examinations pertaining to the women from the Abydos necropolis. Other examples of bias are witnessed not only in the terminology and classification of women, but also by their treatment in scholarship. In Godron's exposition on Den, he freely expresses his concern regarding the disparity to men demonstrated by the predominance of female stelae which he finds "quite disturbing."⁴⁴⁶ In his analysis of the gender of the seated determinatives on the stelae, he applies disparaging language in describing the men as the 'stronger sex'.⁴⁴⁷ Godron's attitude is further exhibited in his dismissal of the possibility of priestesses, as in his opinion, there is nothing to suppose priests had a female counterpart.⁴⁴⁸ The existence of 16 priestesses in this catalogue attests to this erroneous statement.

⁴⁴⁵ Kaplony (1963: 371) "*shmḥ-ib*".

⁴⁴⁶ Godron (1990: 93).

⁴⁴⁷ Godron (1990: 93).

⁴⁴⁸ Godron (1990: 93).

Whilst nowhere near as inflammatory, Saad's noncommittal adjudication of the scribe from Helwan stela EM99-21, is symptomatic of the proclivity concerning women's participation in Early Dynastic society. The identification of examples of prejudicial interpretations identified in the current material, suggests further work in this area is warranted to gauge the full impact this prejudice has had on Egyptological women's studies across all dynasties. The effect on the women of the First and Second Dynasties was their minimalistic classification as concubines and harem women, but the question remains, how convincing is the evidence of harems in the Early Dynastic period?

7.2 The Harem

Similar to the contention surrounding retainer sacrifice, there is no accepted consensus by Egyptologists regarding harems in ancient Egypt's history.⁴⁴⁹ Ward notes primarily that it is imperative to recognise a clear distinction between the concepts of the ancient and modern sense of the term.⁴⁵⁰ The First Dynasty subsidiary graves at Abydos are considered by Nord to provide "some indirect evidence" of the possibility of a harem, but notes the archaeological material concerning the harems in the first six dynasties is equivocal. In Yoyotte's opinion, the harem starts during the Old Kingdom when the king begins to have more than one wife, constituting the need for separate quarters for them.⁴⁵¹ Whilst Nord finds no direct evidence for polygamy and/or concubines until the First Intermediate Period.⁴⁵² Callender and Ward, however, do not acknowledge the existence of royal harems until the New Kingdom.⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁹ Nord (1970: 1).

⁴⁵⁰ Ward (1995: 7).

⁴⁵¹ Yoyotte (personal communication).

⁴⁵² Nord (1970: 1) "...although there is some indirect evidence for it in the subsidiary graves of the kings of the First Dynasty at Abydos."

⁴⁵³ Callender (1994: 7-17); Ward (1995: 7).

Fletcher admonishes that the terminology of “concubine and dancing girl are surely inappropriate within the context of the royal necropolis, yet the women of ancient Egypt, like so many others, are still being defined by their sexual and/or biological role alone.”⁴⁵⁴ In fact, Ward describes that the term concubine became a “catch all phrase” for any women whose role is not defined elsewhere.⁴⁵⁵ Studies conducted over the last 30 years on Old Kingdom titles has shown that such a social category did not exist.⁴⁵⁶ The main term connected to the harem is ‘*ipt-nswt*’ which was examined by Lorton and concluded that it does not support a translation as a royal harem.⁴⁵⁷ Ward supports this claim and contests that the lexical evidence is capable of different translations.⁴⁵⁸ At this time, it is pertinent to evaluate the Early Dynastic women’s titles to examine any association with these classifications.

7.3 Elucidation of the Titles

The evaluation of the titles in the previous chapter results in the identification of sixteen Early Dynastic women’s titles from the original eighteen titles compiled from previous studies, along with two new administrative titles proffered for consideration, see Chapter 1.2.2. It is acknowledged that clarification of most of the earliest titles is problematic with the currently available evidence. However, there is no clear philological evidence in the titles to support a harem connection. The ambiguous nature of the Early Dynastic period, and working with little

⁴⁵⁴ Fletcher (2001: 192).

⁴⁵⁵ Ward (1989: 40) “Any women associated with a household, the palace, or even a temple, who cannot be placed within the structure of the family or the hierarchy of servants and workers has been placed in the ranks of concubines and harem-women.”

⁴⁵⁶ Ward (1989: 40) “Nord and I have independently proved that the *hnr.wt* were not concubines but singers and dancers who made up professional troupes of entertainers which included both men and women. Berlev’s attempt to show that the title ‘*nh.t*’ literally “living person,” is yet another term for ‘concubine’ cannot be correct since many women with this title were married with families.”

⁴⁵⁷ Lorton (1974: 101).

⁴⁵⁸ Ward (1989: 41).

secondary evidence, impacts the ability for clear definitions of the occupations. The following sections configure the titles into possible classifications.

7.3.1 Royal Affiliations

The textual analysis identified six titles that associated the women to the king or the royal house. Included in this category are the ‘daughter of the king’, ‘acquaintance of the king’, ‘one favoured of the Horus (the King)’, ‘favourite of the Horus (the King)’, ‘one gracious to the Horus’, and ‘great one of the palace’. The one certain title from this group is the familial identification of members of the royal family. The remaining titles raise many questions regarding their translations, affecting the understanding of the functionality of the roles, or if they are designations associating them to the royal court. Significantly, many of these titles are gender neutral with both genders exhibiting these titles.

The textual analysis of the titles identified seven of the eighteen titles, all from the First Dynasty, are written in a direct genitive construction with (G5) as the *nomen rectum*. It raises incertitude concerning the titles ascribing Horus as the noun of possessor; as to whether they relate to the divine manifestation of the king or to the god Horus. Ultimately, this would only alter a royal association to a ritual one.

7.3.2 Ritual Association

The evaluation of the titles and their previous scholarship advocates, in accordance with Troy and Kahl, that the following titles appear to be associated with rituals of kingship or cult: ‘great

of the *ḥts* sceptre’, ‘servant of Horus (the King)’, ‘hand of Horus’, ‘she who beholds the Horus (the King)’, ‘hand of the Seth (one who lifts up the Seth (the King))’.⁴⁵⁹

The examination reveals that the connotation of the later queens’ title *M33t Ḥr Stḥ* has influenced the cognition of the earlier forms. The vital key in interpreting the titles in their Early Dynastic form is the discernment of their independence of each other. Troy’s identification that *M33t Ḥr* was an independent title up until the Third Dynasty is decisive;⁴⁶⁰ with further support gained by Sabbahy’s analysis that although the title is found with ‘*Stḥ*’ it is separate but parallel to it. The one attestation of ‘*Ḥr*’ segregated from the previous two titles establishes its independence. Having established the individuality of the titles does not, unfortunately, assist in defining their meaning or functionality. The only activity identified in the previous scholarship surrounds the possible involvement of the carrying-chair, but remains inconclusive.

Previously, the connection to the later queens’ title led to speculation that the women these stelae represented could conceivably have been queens themselves.⁴⁶¹ The disturbed archaeological content and lack of physical remains precludes the ability to discern this theory’s probability. Furthermore, there is no supporting philological evidence with neither identified Queen Neithhotep or Queen Merneith exhibiting any of the titles in their titulary. Yet the fact remains the queens from the Old Kingdom onwards adopted the extended titulary. Significantly, this could indicate the activities and functions involved in the cult or ritual roles, were so important that the Fourth Dynasty queens adopted these roles and the full titulary. This suggests the level

⁴⁵⁹ Troy (1986: 189) Troy classifies the titles under “Sceptre and Sistrum Bearer”.

⁴⁶⁰ Troy (1986: 189).

⁴⁶¹ See Callender (1992: 20; 22).

of importance attributed to the roles, and as such, attests to the high status of the women bearing these titles.

The alternate translations proffered for the two unique titles from the Early Dynastic period are assigned to this category based on the implication that the activities are associated to the offerings for the dual manifestations of the king. The original translations 'she who ornaments the Horus' (without the specious application of *H3sty*) and 'great one of the litter' could also infer a ritual association. It is observed that the titles in this classification all involve a form of action via an active verb.

7.3.3 The Early Dynastic Priestesses

The interest this title has previously attracted has been focused on the orthography and reading of the title, more than the implication of a large percentage of the mortuary priests of the Early Dynastic priesthood were female. Although the interpretations differ, the consensus is that the role belongs to the funerary priesthood.⁴⁶² The significance of the fact that women undertook the role, and the identification of a role conducted by both men and women has received very little attention, but it is central to the current study. The evidence of a cooperative undertaking this central task demonstrates that there was no inequality in the allocation to this role, or the higher ranked 'funerary priestess of the king'. The statistics in **Figure 7**, demonstrates that 43% of the defined stelae with this title are attributed to women. The title documents the participation of women in an important workforce of ancient Egypt.

⁴⁶² Kaplony (1966: 52) "Der Totenpriestertitel".

7.3.4 Administration

The previous priestess titles showcases not only the women's involvement in the mortuary industry in the Early Dynastic period, but can augment the context in which to substantiate the rare occurrence of the female administration title 'accounts-scribe of the *ḳd-Htp*'. The two titles recorded on stela EM99-21 suggests the possibility of an interdependent working relationship between the roles. Ward acknowledges the women's involvement in public or non-household administrative functions is most common in the Old Kingdom.⁴⁶³ The evidence of a female 'sealer' and 'scribe' in the Early Dynastic society could possibly offer precedents of the foundation of women undertaking administrative roles. In both of these cases, it is imperative to rely on the explicit evidence that the stelae present and not the accustomed mindset that women are absent or circumscribed from administration in this society.

Finally, the title of 'servant' remains ambiguous and no further clarification of the role can be offered. Similarly, the title of 'weaver' provides the role but no specificity to the engagement or capacity the role entailed. However, Bryan notes the importance of the weaving industry and women's involvement in its administration in the Old Kingdom.⁴⁶⁴

7.3.5 The Women within the Society

The symbiotic relationship between the 'state' and 'religion' described by Assman as "aspects or dimensions of one single, indivisible theopolitical unity" is essential in understanding the functionality of the society.⁴⁶⁵ The importance of the bureaucracy of the Early Dynastic period is synergetic with the maintenance of religion and rituals of kingship. This appears to suggest

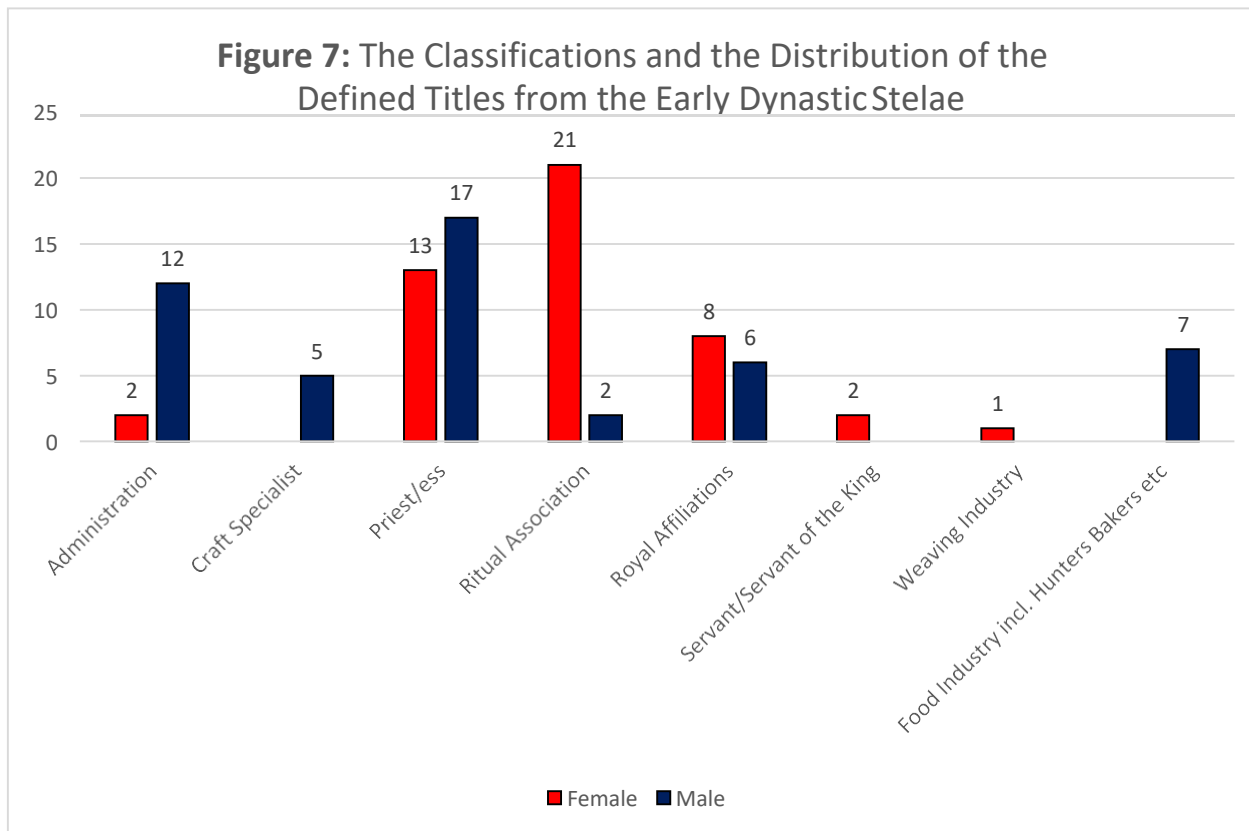
⁴⁶³ Ward (1995: 7).

⁴⁶⁴ Bryan (1996: 19).

⁴⁶⁵ Assmann (1989: 56).

horizontal working associations within the structure of the society. For example, the provisioning of requirements for the mortuary industry and the rituals of cult and kingship constitutes a large portion of the work undertaken by the administrative sector.

Figure 7 identifies Early Dynastic women's involvement within the society from the defined stelae. The number of title holders for each gender establishes the distribution of the roles between the genders. The analysis demonstrates the women's participation in the state through their involvement in the royal court, mortuary industry, weaving and maintenance of the rituals of kingship and cult.



7.3.6 Heterarchical Considerations

The research undertaken on the women's stelae has not only provided a divergent perspective to women's participation in the society, but it also has identified a fluidity within the Early Dynastic

roles. As prefaced in Chapter 3.4, the heterarchical considerations utilise the mortuary industry to examine the social configurations that were evident within the workforce. Primarily, the roles of mortuary priest/ess establish a network of people undertaking the same role, removing gender from the occupation, thus inferring that there was no differentiation. At the same time, two of the male priests also held additional roles of butcher and hunter.⁴⁶⁶ A modern interpretation, however, may consider these titles of different ranks, but their inclusion together on the stela appears to challenge notions of rank. The functionality of the roles attests to the priests adopting interdependent tasks with little consideration to rank. This interdependency in working relationships between roles was also identified in the discussion of the ‘female accounting scribe in the offering places’, with these examples offering alternate ways of perceiving the structure within the state. The opportunity to further examine other possible independent relationships within the society can be achieved through the examination of all Early Dynastic titles.

The statistical analysis establishes that men and women shared three-quarters of the categories within the taxonomies to different degrees. The question then becomes whether or not these taxonomies can and should be ranked. The reciprocal relationship amongst the different occupations attests more to horizontal configurations than definitive hierarchies.

7.4 The Names

The 76 women’s stelae recovered from the area of Djer’s tomb predominantly listed their names only, with only three stelae portraying inscribed titles. Previously the absence of titles endorsed the presumption that they constituted harem women.⁴⁶⁷ Ward refutes this, stating that “there is nothing to support such an assumption other than the fact that a group of women were buried in

⁴⁶⁶ Abydos stela 24, 208.

⁴⁶⁷ Kemp (1967: 26).

the same funerary complex in the vicinity of a king.”⁴⁶⁸ Furthermore, the lack of titles as an argument for harem women is weakened by the evidence of male stelae without titles.⁴⁶⁹

The examination of the women’s names in the catalogue is still useful for gaining an impression of the women from this period. A quarter of the women’s names are notably a theophoric compound of the goddess Neith. This trend not only continues into the Old Kingdom, but increases up to 40% at that time.⁴⁷⁰ Significantly, the iconography of Neith represents a powerful and influential female deity and may be considered a frame of reference for the women. This may indicate the motivation for a mother to bequeath to her daughter the name, or alternately, the later adoption of the theophoric name, providing possible insight into the ideology of the women as a collective. Although it is impossible to determine if the women’s names recorded on the stelae represent their birth names or not, the association appears to be significant.

Neith’s iconography portrays a strong and influential goddess. Her iconography connects her to hunting and warfare and she is associated with the personification of the kingship of Lower Egypt before the unification of the Two Lands.⁴⁷¹ Moreover, Neith’s eminence is exemplified by her symbol surmounting the serekh that encloses the theophoric names of the two prominent queens of the First Dynasty, Neithhotep and Merneith, employing the same exemplar as Seth or Horus, on the male king’s serekhs.⁴⁷² One final consideration is also possible, namely that some of the inscriptions may portray a title rather than a name. This possibility was raised in conjunction

⁴⁶⁸ Ward (1989: 41-42).

⁴⁶⁹ See Figure 4 in Chapter 5.3.

⁴⁷⁰ Alameen (2013: 73).

⁴⁷¹ Lesko (1999: 44).

⁴⁷² Lesko (1999: 49).

with the name *Shm-Rpwt* on Abydos stela 282 in Chapter 7.1.10 and presents opportunities for future research.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1 The Research Program

The aim of this study was to contribute to the nascent historiography into Ancient Egyptian women. To substantiate the requisite for the women's study, this thesis examined the historical absence of women in historiography and the influence the feminist movement had on the integration of women as subjects into historical scholarship. A delayed response was observed in the disciplines of archaeology and Egyptology. Importantly, the review of the feminist literature identified the androcentric filter that has constrained the observations of women's contributions in world history. Further, it emphasised how women had previously been perceived through gender dichotomies and binary cultural constructs. It has become evident during this investigation that the women in this study have also been affected by this behaviour.

Chapter One discussed the rationale of the feminist approach, validating the female subjectivity and shaping the questions of the research. The evaluation of previous expositions into the women of ancient Egypt assisted in identifying the subjects covered by existing literature on women in the Pharaonic period, and established the absence of a comprehensive study of Early Dynastic women.⁴⁷³ The examination of previous studies in this area situated this research in the academic category of women's studies and identified pertinent criteria to be adopted in the program. A multi-disciplinary approach was adopted to analyse and contextualise the women's participation in the First and Second Dynasties, through the examination of the titles recorded on their funerary monuments.

⁴⁷³ See Chapter Two.

The information previously gathered on the women from this period remained on the periphery of Early Dynastic scholarship. The details of the women were recorded in the primary archaeological reports since the turn of the 20th century, as discussed in Chapter Three. The disturbance to all three archaeological sites resulted in the loss of human remains and eliminated data pertaining to the stelae original location and supporting secondary evidence. This sparked inconclusive theories on retainer sacrifice surrounding the practice of subsidiary burials, and associated the predominance of women's stelae to the notion of the existence of the harem in the Early Dynastic period. It is clear both theories have impacted the interpretations previous scholarship has offered regarding the women. The need for a comprehensive reanalysis of women's roles during the Early Dynastic Period became increasingly clear.

The employment of statistical analysis on the stelae was incorporated to authenticate the women's involvement in the society. The demographics of the stelae analysed in Chapter Four provides quantifiable data on the distribution between the genders and the number of undefined stelae in the corpus.⁴⁷⁴ It is important to recognise the impact that the large percentage of undefined stelae has on the analysis and acknowledge that the current corpus may not reflect the original number of stelae. The textual and statistical analysis was also impacted by a number of stelae with uncertain dating, the physical condition of the stelae, and the ambiguity surrounding the early hieroglyphic script.⁴⁷⁵ The analysis, however, documented the consistent evidence of the women's dominance of stelae ownership across the three sites over the first two dynasties.⁴⁷⁶ Significantly, it was identified that exactly half of the 'titled' defined stelae were female.⁴⁷⁷ The

⁴⁷⁴ See Chapter 4 Figure 2.

⁴⁷⁵ See Chapter Five.

⁴⁷⁶ See Chapter 4 Figure 5.

⁴⁷⁷ See Chapter 4 Figure 4.

information collated from this analysis would be used for the sociological interpretation and to situate the women within the society.

The challenge of working with the problematic nature of ancient Egypt's early script was further complicated by the lack of objectivity that the women and their titles had previously received. The concept of concubines and harem women was reinforced through primary philological scholarship into the early hieroglyph script, conducted in the 1960's, which has not been challenged since.⁴⁷⁸ The reevaluation of the titles conducted in Chapter Six, although partially inconclusive, revised the problematic conclusions of previous studies by considering the titles objectively. Primarily, the feminist ideology was engaged to counteract the devalued perspective that earlier scholarship had applied to the women.⁴⁷⁹

8.2 Early Dynastic Women

The investigation into the funerary monuments of the women of Early Dynastic Egypt, has recast the women in a new light. This research has shown how the accumulated scholarship into the women of ancient Egypt since the 1970's, has redacted the Old Kingdom titles associated with the connotations of concubines and harem women.⁴⁸⁰ With the earlier classifications removed and by addressing the previous partisanship applied to these women, it is now clear that the prominent women were engaged in the early Egyptian state. These conclusions should not be considered final, but rather as a new point of a departure. The information identified through this study offers exciting new opportunities to re-evaluate not only the women, but also the internal functioning within the state and society of Early Dynastic Egypt.

⁴⁷⁸ Kaplony (1963: 372-374).

⁴⁷⁹ See Section 7:1-2.

⁴⁸⁰ Ward (1989:40).

Importantly, this study established the continuity of the tradition of value ascribed to women in Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt. The women were privileged to be buried in the royal cemetery, in close proximity to their kings, with the resources and labour expenditure for their graves and funerary stelae absorbed by the state. The predominance of women's stelae recovered from the Early Dynastic cemeteries supports their importance in the society and reflects the continuation of the mortuary tradition that Savage identified at the Predynastic site of Naga-ed Dêr.⁴⁸¹ Statistically, both analyses indicate that women held a status "greater than or equal to men" in the mortuary ritual.⁴⁸² A comprehensive analysis of all Early Dynastic material is necessary to further test this theory and interpret its significance. Future research conducted on this hypothesis can examine the temporal developments and changes of women's socio-cultural history from the Predynastic Period into the later dynasties.

With very little human remains available for this period, the stelae are a category of primary evidence of not only the Early Dynastic women, but also the men and the society as a whole. This study has effectively provided an alternate representation of the female's contribution to society. Although the picture remains shadowy, it is crucial to determine the state in its infancy, and thus it is imperative to avoid retrospectively filling the gaps with the evidence of later periods. The greatest problem in doing so, is that it masks the distinctiveness of the Early Dynastic period. The opportunity to further investigate the internal functioning of the early state is available through a comprehensive re-evaluation of male titles from this period.

⁴⁸¹ Savage (2000:91) "Thus, it would appear that, to the extent of mortuary ritual reflects Predynastic social conditions, women held a status greater than or equal to men"; See Chapter Four, Figure 2: The Distribution of Early Dynastic Stelae.

⁴⁸² See Chapter 4 Figure 5.

Although the functions of some titles remain ambivalent, the new perspectives on the role of women in Early Dynastic Egypt presented in this analysis has established their affiliation to the king(s) and the royal house, and that they were mainly associated with sacerdotal roles. The inclusion of two possible female administrative titles certainly challenges previous notions of women's circumscription from the early state's bureaucracy. Future studies may need to consider the extent and the impact that preconceived perceptions may have affected a wide range of interpretations regarding the women of ancient Egypt. The combination of textual and statistical analysis documents the gender distribution across the taxonomies evinced in the society.⁴⁸³ This study attested to the equality of men and women sharing duties in the mortuary industry making it clear that gender played no part in the appointment to the role. The sacerdotal role of funerary priestesses and their involvement in rituals conducted in kingship and cult, identifies the women were involved in the ideological practices of the state.

The structure of the state was constructed around the powerful ideology of divine kingship.⁴⁸⁴ The fact that the women's titles document their involvement in perpetuating this ideology, positions them in crucial roles and elevated ranks of the society. The importance of these roles can further be construed by the adoption of the roles and titulary by Old Kingdom queens.⁴⁸⁵ Consequently, the significance of maintaining the ideology of the state can be considered parallel in importance to the bureaucratic management of the state. The preliminary identification of plausible lateral associations between the two vital industries of the early Egyptian state provides a new perspective that future studies can utilise to examine further social configurations within the state. This, in conjunction with other possible horizontal associations identified in

⁴⁸³ See Chapter Seven, Figure 7.

⁴⁸⁴ Wilkinson (1999:183).

⁴⁸⁵ Callendar (1992:20, 22).

Section 7.3.6, offers an opportunity to reevaluate the hierarchal structure of the society by investigating the interdependency of relationships within the functioning of the state.

This investigation observed the significance of the adoption of the theophoric name of Neith. The adoption of Neith's name by both Early Dynastic queens and one-quarter of the females listed in the catalogue, suggests the stimulus was for the women to associate themselves with the strong and influential qualities portrayed by the goddess and her iconography. This consideration provides a rare insight into the collective ideology of the women. This behaviour is not limited to the Early Dynastic period, but female names compounded with Neith continues to increase in the Old Kingdom.

Like a jigsaw puzzle, this research has identified pieces of an incomplete puzzle. When the available pieces are joined together they reveal a picture of valued and influential women actively participating at the highest level of the society and functioning in vital roles of the state. It is fervently hoped this research helps to finally bury the delimiting designation of harem women and to allow them to take their place in history as active participants in the founding state of the Pharaonic civilisation.

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Identifying the Women of Early Dynastic Egypt:
An Analysis of the Women's Funerary
Stelae/Slabs from Abu Rawash, Helwan and
Abydos

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Volume Two:

Compendium of Women's Early Dynastic
Stelae and Funerary Relief Slabs

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Funerary Relief Slab No: S01-37	147
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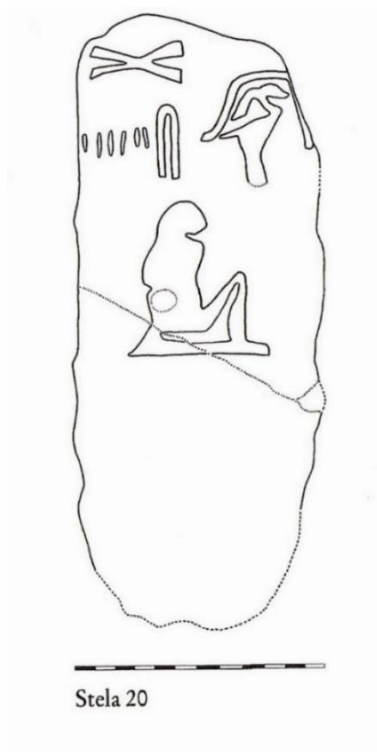
Stela No: 20

Name: *Sisw(?) -nt/Shntt(?) -nt* Title: *shn-3h* Spirit

Seeker Name Transliteration Code: (r3:S29:[?].)

Title Transliteration Code: (D32:G25.)

Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]

Provenance: Area of Tomb T

Dimensions: H: 28.8; W: 12.2; D: 4.0.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

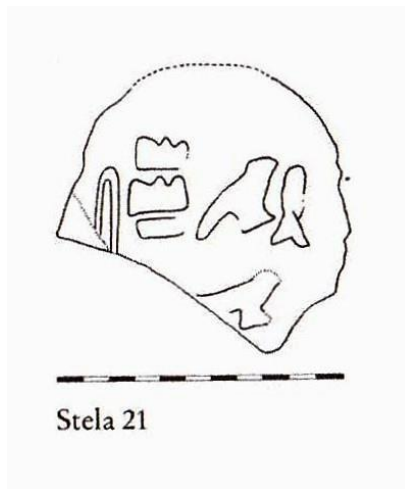
Current Location: University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia

Museum Inventory No: E. 9897

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1900); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 21

Name: [...]	Title: <i>ḥtmt Hr, H3sty</i> ; She who ornaments the Horus, <i>H3sty</i> ; <i>wr(t) [skr...]</i> great one of the litter?
Name Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Title Transliteration Code:	(V28;G5;G35; N25;N25;?X1;S29[...])
Alternate Translation:	<i>*ky.t Hr</i> ‘female servant of Horus’; <i>skr(t) Zmty/H3sty</i> ‘offerer of <i>Zmty/H3sty</i> ’
Determinative:	(B1)

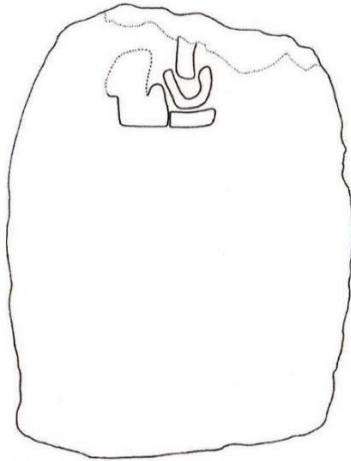


Dating: Late First Dynasty:	[Den]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Den T
Dimensions:	H: 11.5; W: 11.3; D: 3.0.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	University College, Petrie Museum, London.
Museum Inventory No:	14266
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1900); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Godron (1990); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 28) listed *Ts* as possible name, the hieroglyphs are part of the title (see corresponding titles 120-125).

Stela No: 30

Name: *Tk3š/Tk3š* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: ([?U30];D28;N37.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)

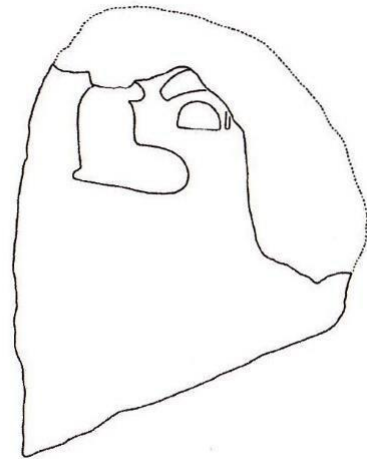


Stela 30

Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Semerkhet]
 Provenance: Tomb of Semerkhet U, Unnumbered subsidiary grave
 Dimensions: H: 30.8; W: 23.3; D: 6.5.
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
 Museum Inventory No: E. 274.1900
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1900); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 32

Name: [...]t Title:
 Name Transliteration Code: ([?];XI.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



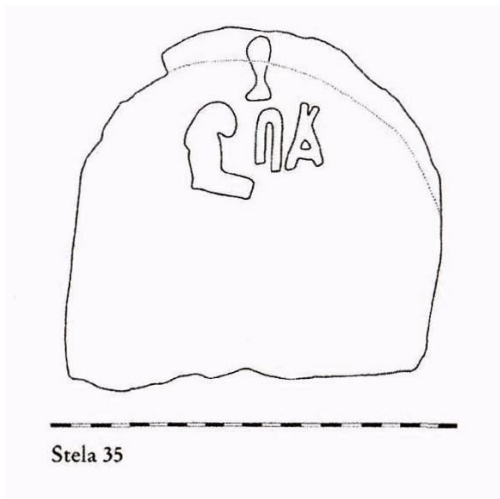
Stela 32

Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Semerkhet]
 Provenance: Tomb of Semerkhet U, Unnumbered subsidiary grave
 Dimensions: H: 24.0; W: 18.6; D: 5.0.
 Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.
 Museum Inventory No: E. 5273
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1900); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Fragmentary, only (X1) discerned

Stela No: 35

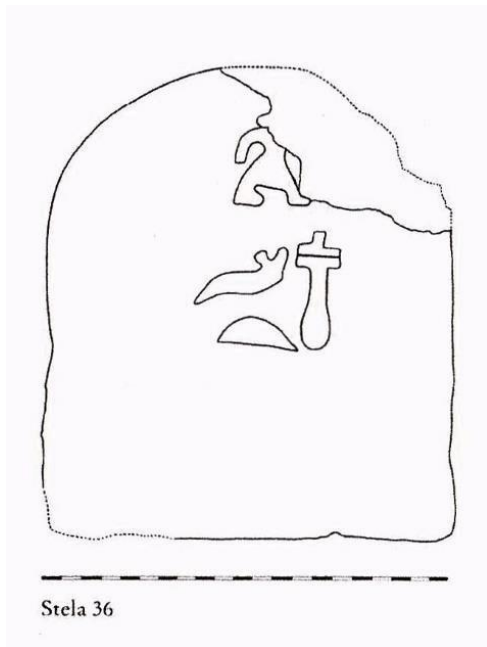
Name: <i>Mry.s</i>	Title: <i>hm(t)</i> Servant
Name Transliteration Code:	(U6:S29.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(U36.)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Late First Dynasty:	[Semerkhet]
Provenance:	Tomb of Semerkhet U, Unnumbered subsidiary grave
Dimensions:	H: 22.5; W: 19.5; D c. 3.5.
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	British Museum, London.
Museum Inventory No:	35020
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1900); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 36

Name: *Nfrt* Title: *dng(t)/nm(t)*
 Name Transliteration Code: (F35;I9;X1.)
 Title Transliteration Code: ([a14].)
 Determinative: (B1)

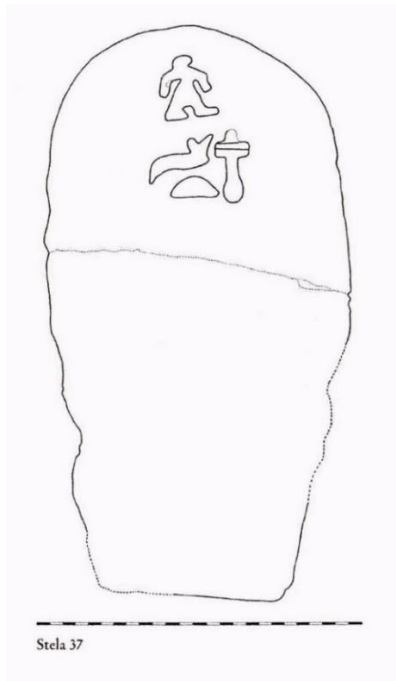


Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Semerkhet]
 Provenance: Area of tomb of Semerkhet U -
 From cemetery W due to museum records
 Dimensions: H: 24.5; W: 21.5; D: 2.5.
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.
 Museum Inventory No: E. 9186
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1900); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

The inclusion of the (a14) dwarf is considered a determinative, not a title (see section 4.4).

Stela No: 37

Name: *Nfrt* Title: *dnḡ(t)/nm(t)*
 Name Transliteration Code: (F35;I9;X1.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (a14.)
 Determinative: (B1)

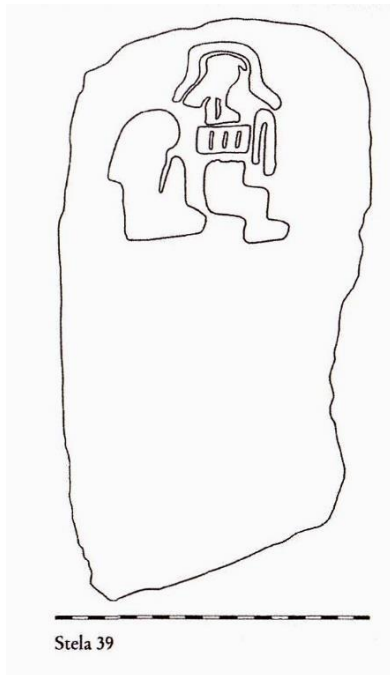


Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Semerkhet]
 Provenance: Tomb of Semerkhet U, Grave M
 Dimensions: H: 44.7; W: 23.7. D: not ascertained
 Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: British Museum, London.
 Museum Inventory No: 305018
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1900); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

The inclusion of the (a14) dwarf is considered a determinative, not a title (see section 4.4).

Stela No: 39

Name: *Sšt3* Title: *shn-3h* Spirit Seeker
 Name Transliteration Code: (S29;N39:?.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (D32;G25.)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Semerkhet/Qa'a]
 Provenance: Area between Semerkhet U and Ka'a Q
 Dimensions: H: 35.5. W: 19.0. D: 5.0.
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago.
 Museum Inventory No: 6742
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1900); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Final sign unable to be determined, possibly O40.

Stela No: 49

Name: [...]m ? Nšmt

Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code:

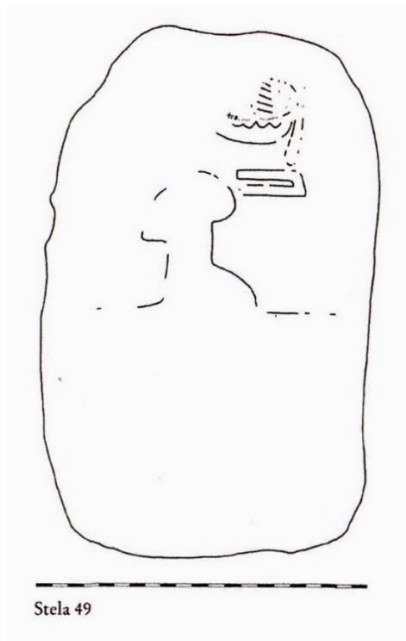
([Uncertain];Aa13.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(n/a)

Determinative:

(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance:

Area of tomb of Djer O - marked G

Dimensions:

H:33.5; W: 21.5. D: 12.5.

Inscription Type:

Bold Raised Relief

Current Location:

Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Museum Inventory No:

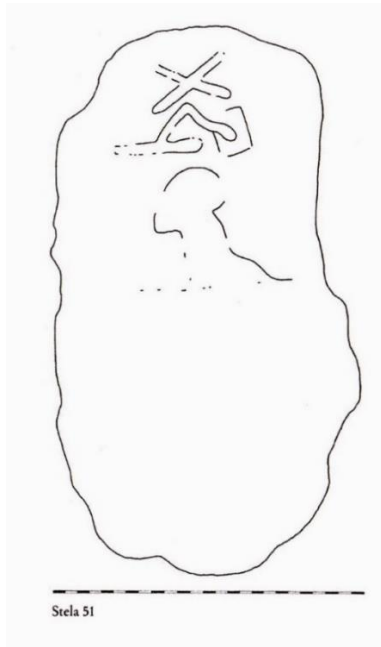
JE 35001

Selected Bibliography:

Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 51

Name: ꜥh3-nt Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (r3:D34.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of tomb of Djer O - marked G

Dimensions: H: 43.0; W: 25.0; D: 14.0.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

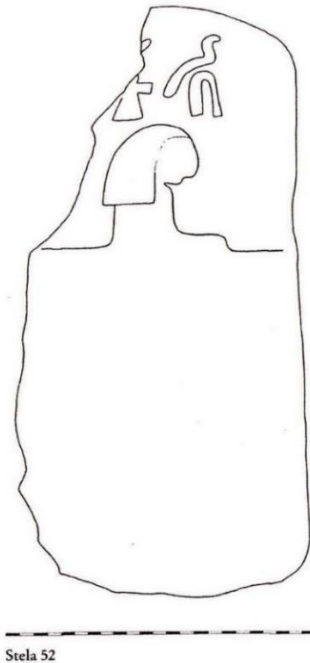
Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Museum Inventory No: JE 35010

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 52

Name: <i>Ds-ḥnt</i> (<i>ḥnt</i>)	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(I10;S29; [r3:S34].)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

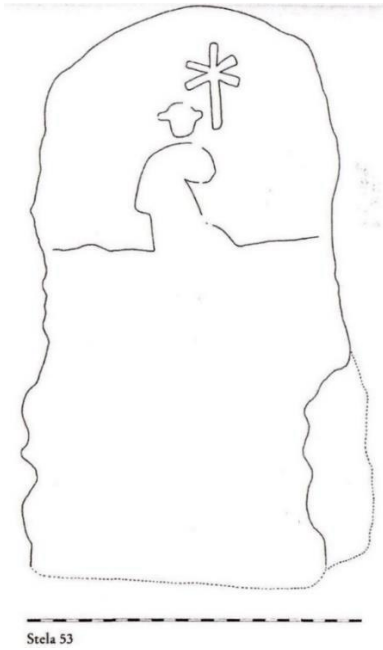


Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Tomb of Djer O, grave 24.
Dimensions:	H: 45.5; W: 22.0; D: 10.0.
Inscription Type:	Very Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No:	JE 35008
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 48) “The element *ds* or *sd.t* if graphic transposition is involved, could just possibly be a title”.

Stela No: 53

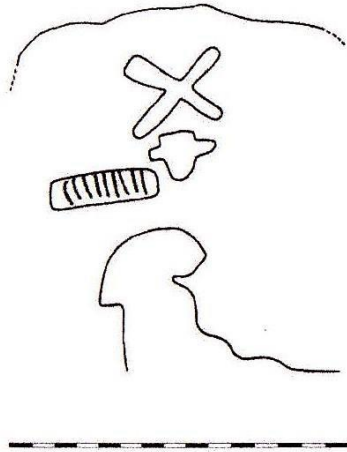
Name: *Ib-nt/Hr-nt* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (r4:F34/D2.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Tomb of Djer O, marked 53.
 Dimensions: H: c. 46.0; W: 28.5; D: 16.0.
 Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: British Museum, London.
 Museum Inventory No: 35614
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 54

Name: <i>Mry-ib-nt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(r3;F34/D2;N39.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



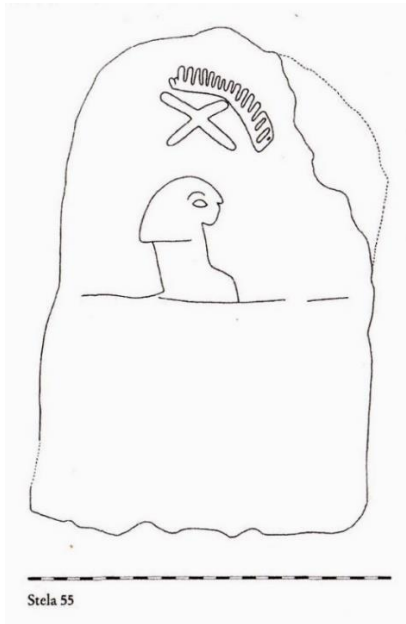
Stela 54

Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	Not recorded
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Present Location Unknown.
Museum Inventory No:	n/a
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 48) "Copied from a photograph".

Stela No: 55

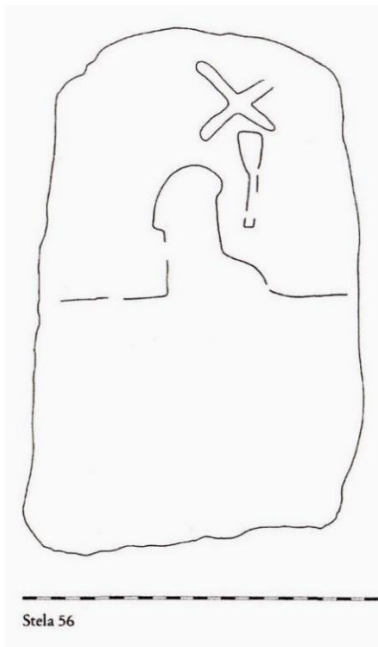
Name: <i>Ḥi-nt/Ḥbw-nt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(n3:r3.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 37.5; W: 25.5; D: 13.5.
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	British Museum, London.
Museum Inventory No:	35612
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 56

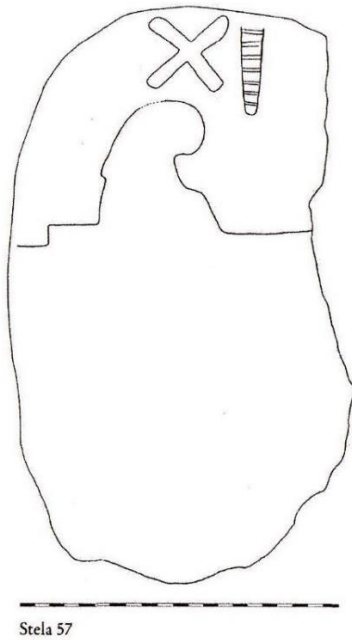
Name: <i>Shm-nt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(r3:S42.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Tomb of Djer O, grave 52.
Dimensions:	H: 39.0; W: 24.0. D: 11.5.
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.
Museum Inventory No:	9501
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 57

Name: ꜥḥ-nt	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(P6:r3.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer/Djet]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O; Stewart: Tomb of Djet Z grave 57.
Dimensions:	H:38.5; W: 23.0; D: 13.0.
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	University College, Petrie Museum, London.
Museum Inventory No:	14268
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004).

Stela No: 60

Name: *K3.(i)-phr/K3.(i)-dbn*

Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code:

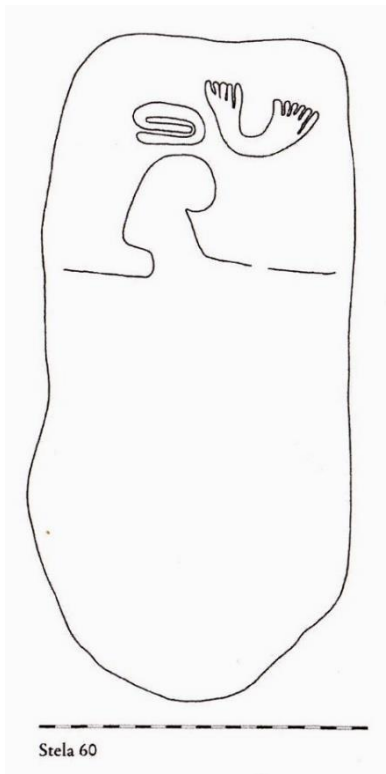
(D28;F46.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(n/a)

Determinative:

(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance:

Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions:

H:41.5; W: 21.0; D: 8.0.

Inscription Type:

Bold Raised Relief

Current Location:

University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.

Museum Inventory No:

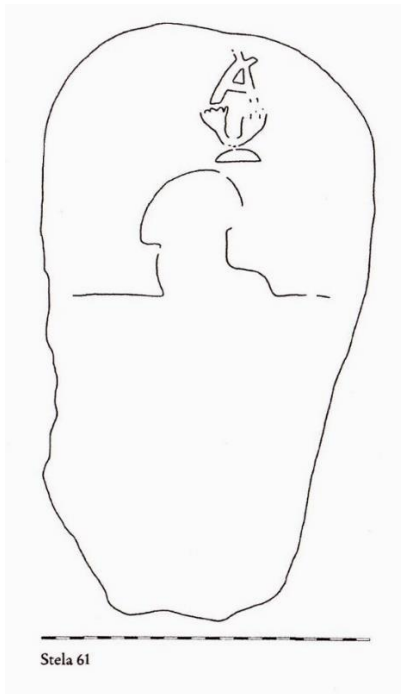
E. 9504

Selected Bibliography:

Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 61

Name: *Mrt-k3* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (U6;D28;X1.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Split Dating Category: [Uncertain]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Peribsen P - Kahl states Djer (G/O)
 Dimensions: H: 42.0. W: 24.5. D: 12.5.
 Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
 Museum Inventory No: JE 34999
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 62

Name: *Ni-srt*

Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code:

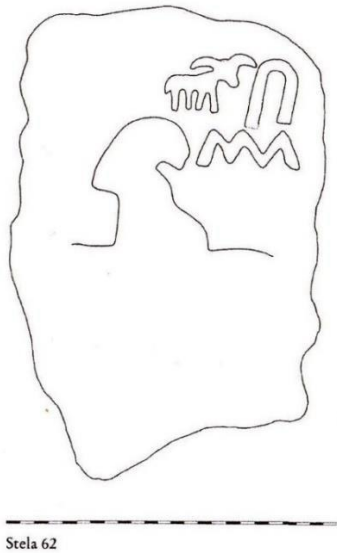
(S29;E11;N35.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(n/a)

Determinative:

(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked O and 62 in black on top of

Stela Dimensions: H: 38.0; W: 23.0; D: 10.0.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Museum Inventory No: 01.4.93

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

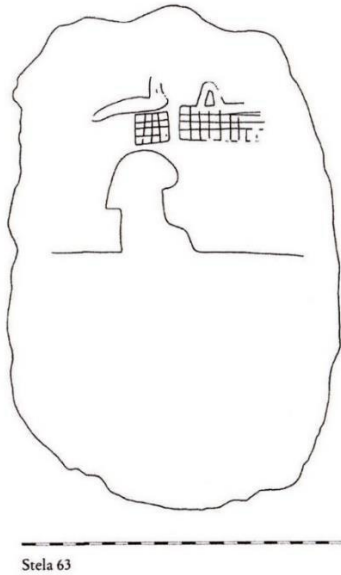
Stela No: 63

Name: *Htp.f* Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: (R4;I9;Q3.)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked 3? Pres. for 63 unless for grave3

Dimensions: H: 34.0; W: 25.0; D: 13.0.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

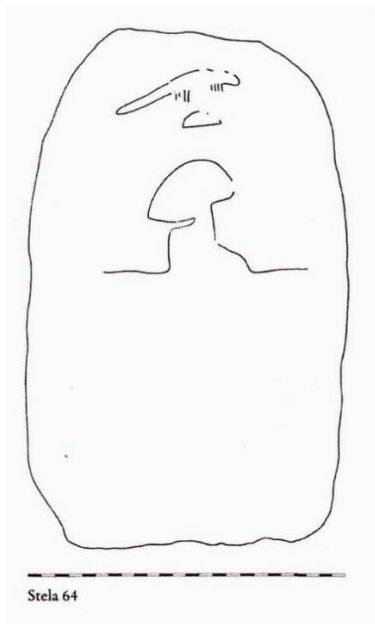
Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Museum Inventory No: JE 35003

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 64

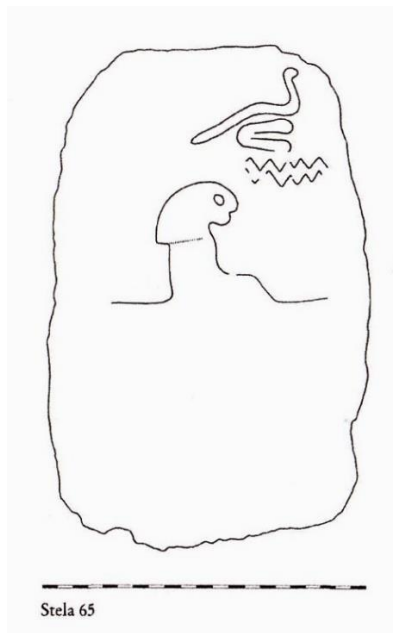
Name: <i>Msht</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(I3;X1.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Uncertain]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked O, Petrie assigns the stela to the tomb of Djet G/Z
Dimensions:	H: 39.0; W: 24.5; D: 12.0.
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No:	JE 34993
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 65

Name: *Dtn* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (I10;V13;N35.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)

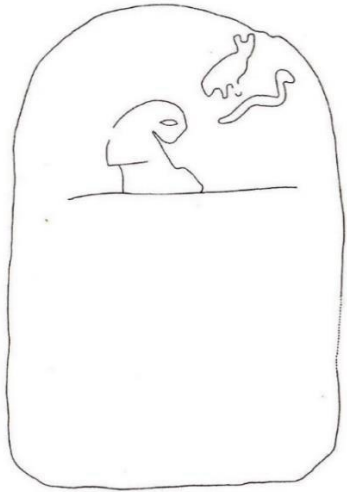


Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
 Dimensions: H: 33.5; W: 21.0; D: not recorded
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: Staatliche Museum, Berlin.
 Museum Inventory No: 15488
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 58) “Destroyed in the Second World War ... copied from a photograph”.

Stela No: 66

Name: <i>M-w3dyt/Md</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(G17;I10.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

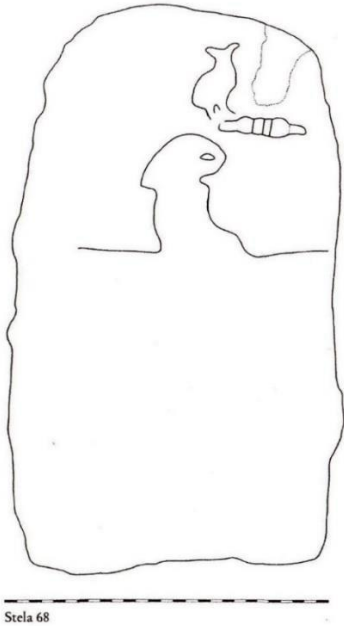


Stela 66

Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 40.5: W: 28.0. D: 8.5.
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.
Museum Inventory No:	E. 9508
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 68

Name: *M-mnw* Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code: (G17;R23.)
Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions: H: 45.0; W: 28.0; D: 11.0.
Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago.
Museum Inventory No: 5864
Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 70

Name: *Htp-ḥr-ḥty*

Title: n/a Name

Transliteration Code:

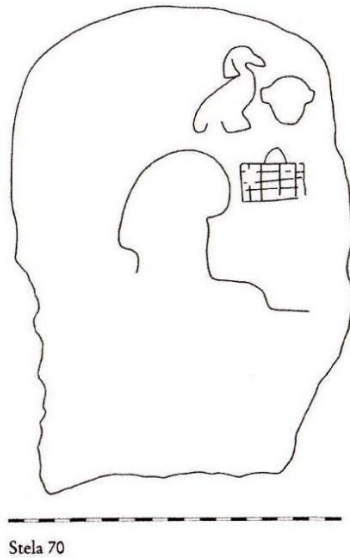
(D2;G35;R4.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(n/a)

Determinative:

(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions: H: 31.0; W: 21.5; D: 10.0.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

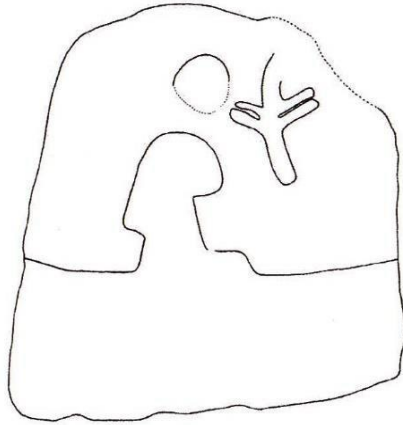
Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Museum Inventory No: JE 35009

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 71

Name: *Hwt-nsw* Title: n/a
 Name: Transliteration Code: (M23;?A1)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



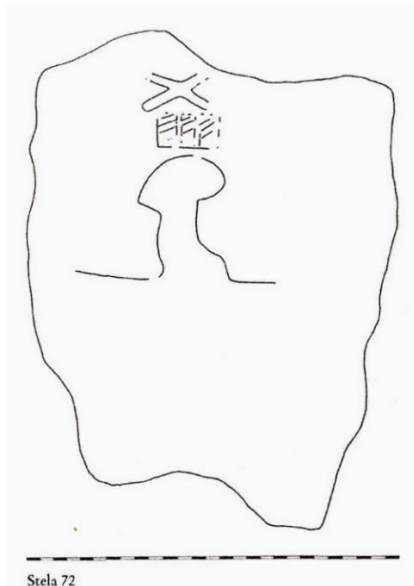
Stela 71

Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked No 6 – presumably grave 6
 Dimensions: H: 22.7; 23.5; D: 7.5.
 Inscription Type: Very Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.
 Museum Inventory No: E. 61
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 72

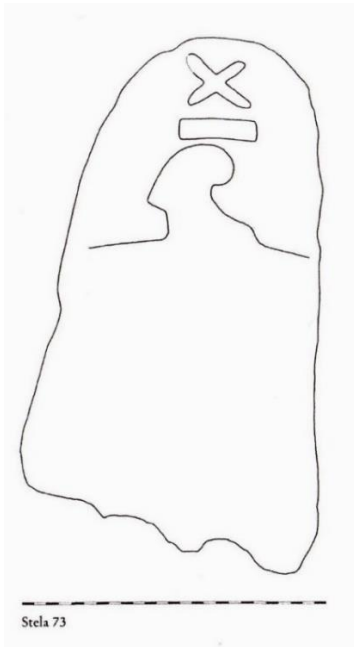
Name: <i>Mrt-nt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(r3;N36.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked G in Petrie
Dimensions:	H:36.5; W: 27.0; D: 12.0.
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No:	JE 34994
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 73

Name: *Mrt-nt* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (r3;N37.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Split Dating Category: [Uncertain]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Peribsen P - Kahl states Djer (O)

Dimensions: H: 40.0; W: 25.0; D: 15.0.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

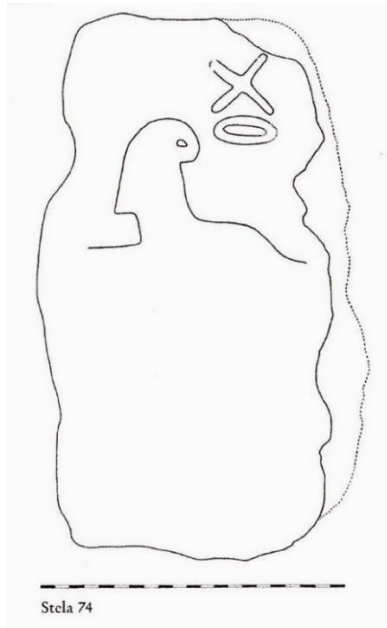
Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Museum Inventory No: JE 35006

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 74

Name: <i>Irt-nt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(r3;D21;)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions: H:38.0; W: 23.0; D: 13.0.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

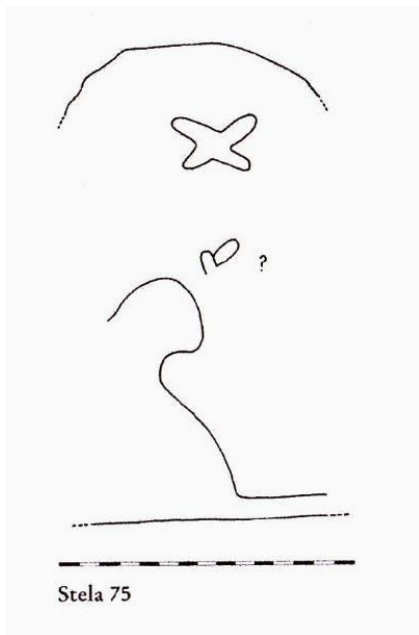
Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago.

Museum Inventory No: 5862

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 75

Name: *Dw3(?) -nt* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (r3;[?N14].)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)

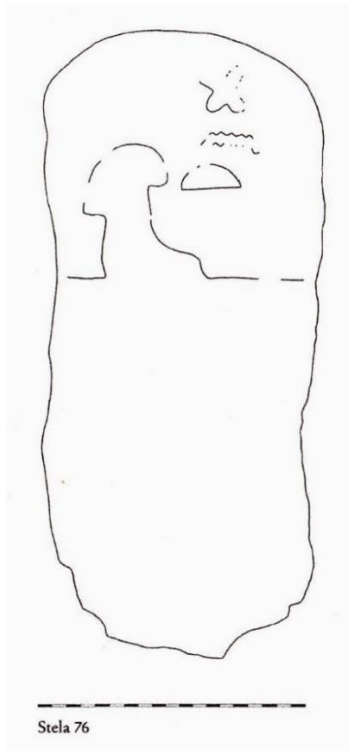


Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb Djer O
 Dimensions: not recorded
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: Present Location Unknown.
 Museum Inventory No: n/a
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 64) “Copied from a photograph”.

Stela No: 76

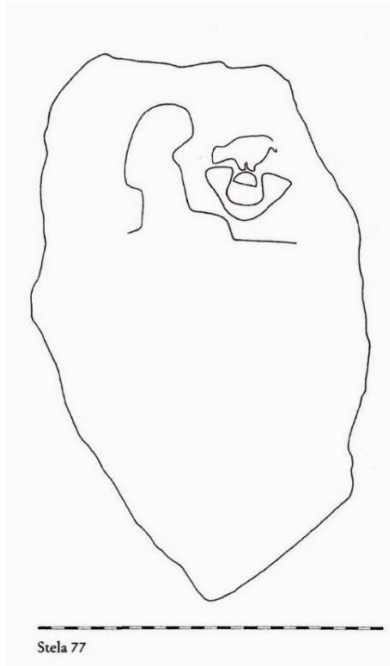
Name: <i>Nt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(r3;N35;X1.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 45.0; W: 20.2; D: 8.5.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago.
Museum Inventory No:	5868
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 77

Name: *Wrt-k3* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (G36;X1;D28.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked O77 on top,
 and no. 9 presumably for grave 9

Dimensions: H: 43.5; W: 26.5; D: 8.0.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

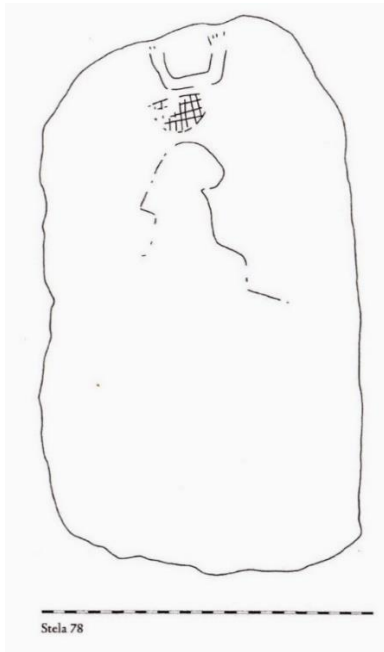
Current Location: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.

Museum Inventory No: E. 65

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley
 (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 78

Name: <i>Nb(t)-k3</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(D28;V30.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 48.5; W: 28.5; D: 16.0.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No:	JE 34996
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

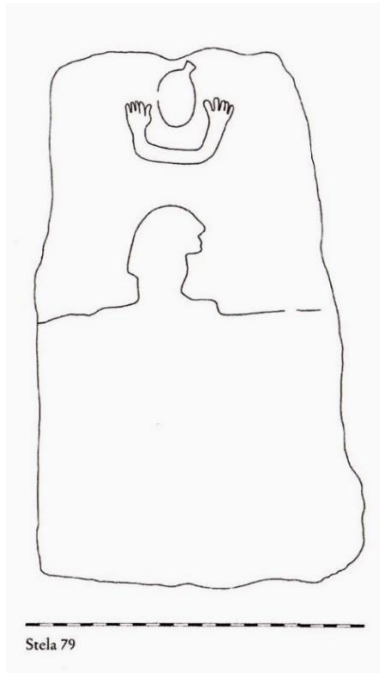
Stela No: 79

Name: *Sšr(?)*-*k3* Title: n/a Name

Transliteration Code: (V33;D28)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb Djer O

Dimensions: H: 40.3; W: 24.5; D: 12.0.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

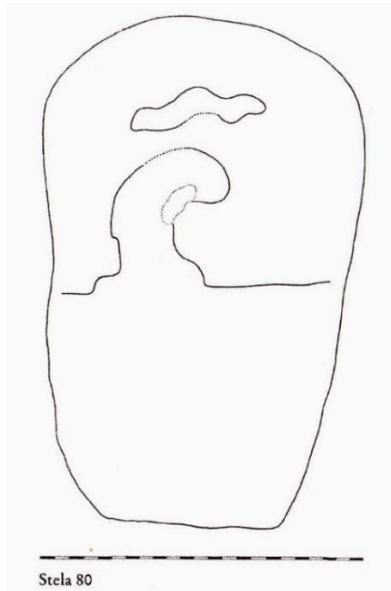
Current Location: British Museum, London.

Museum Inventory No: 35613

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 80

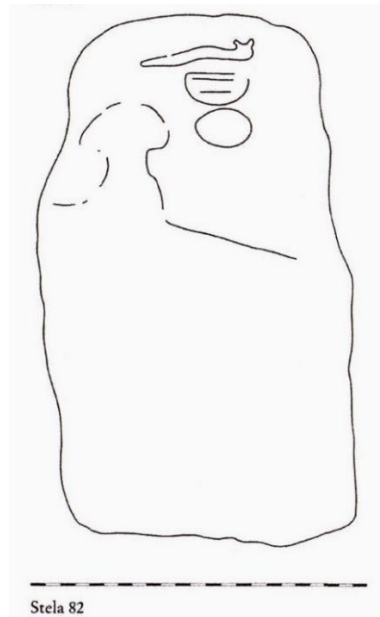
Name: <i>Hfβw/Msht</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(?I14/I3.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 35.5; W: 23.0; D: 11.5.
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.
Museum Inventory No:	E. 9509
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 82

Name: *Fnbh/Nb-hw.f* Title: n/a Name
 Transliteration Code: (I9;V30;Aa1.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions: H: 40.0; W: 22.0; D: 14.0.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

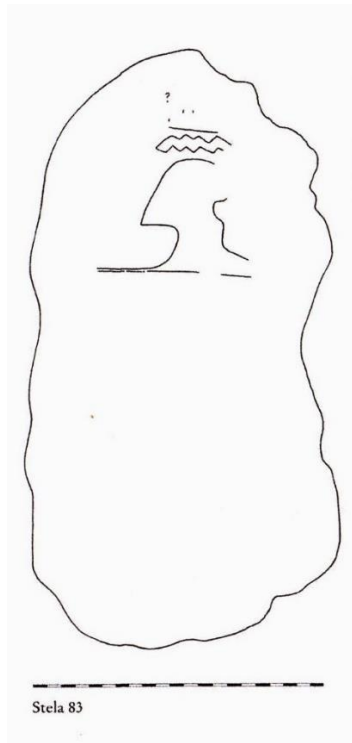
Current Location: University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.

Museum Inventory No: E. 9498

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarretta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 83

Name: *Mn* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: ([?Y5];N35)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)

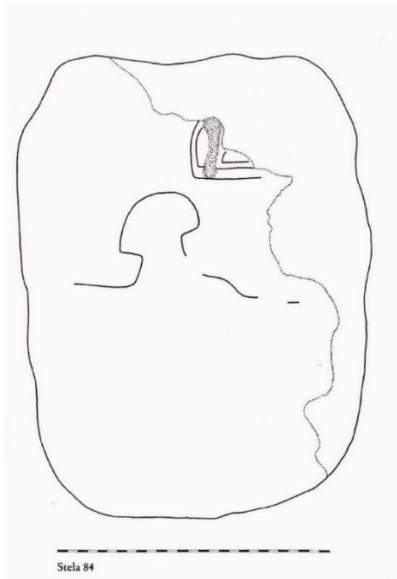


Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
 Dimensions: H: 41.0; W: 23.0. D: 9.0.
 Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.
 Museum Inventory No: E. 9507
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 72) “The hieroglyph (Y5) is a probability”.

Stela No: 84

Name: *H3t(?)* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: ([?F4].)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)

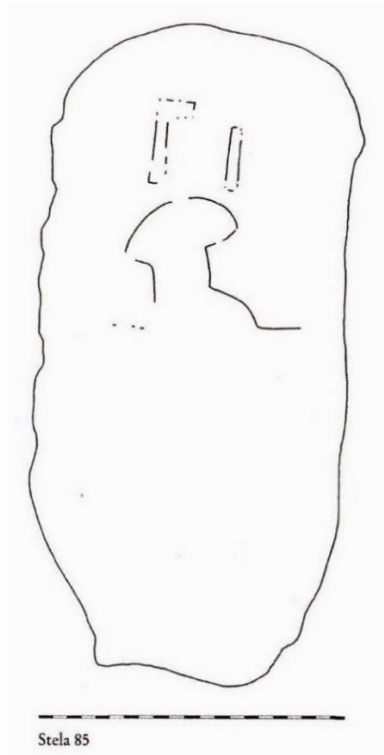


Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
 Dimensions: H: 35.0; W: 35.0; D: 9.5.
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.
 Museum Inventory No: E. 9503
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 72) “The latter may represent the hindquarters of a lion (F4)”.

Stela No: 85

Name: <i>Ntr(t)</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(?;R8.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions: H: 38.5; W: 23.0; D: 12.0.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

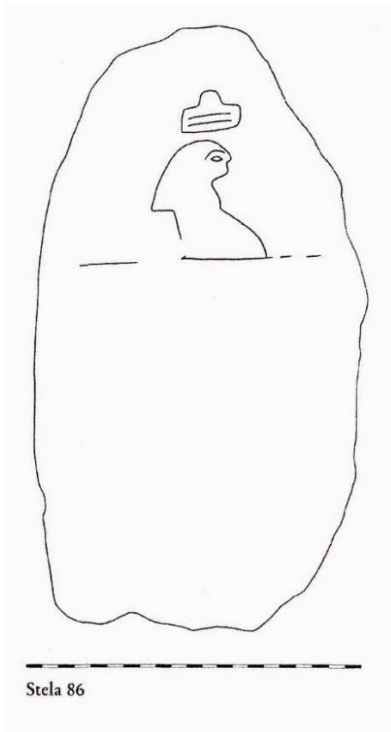
Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Museum Inventory No: JE 34997

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 86

Name: <i>Htp(t)</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(R4.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions: H: 39.0; W: 21.0; D: 10.5.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

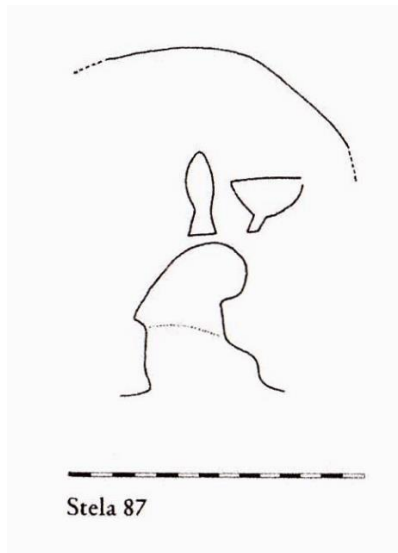
Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago.

Museum Inventory No: 5865

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 87

Name: *K3.(i)-hm/Hm(t).k3 (?)* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (V31:U36.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)

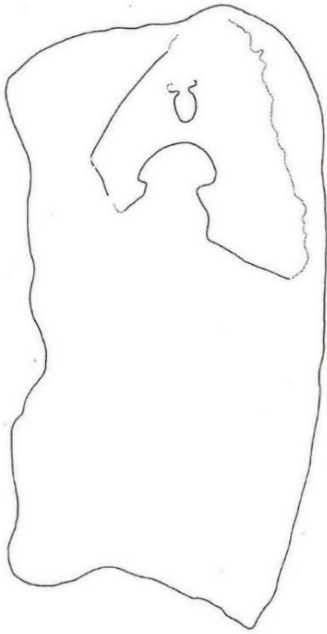


Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked O87
 Dimensions: H: 41.0; W: 24.0; D: not recorded.
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: Liverpool Museum, Liverpool.
 Museum Inventory No: 14.10.1901.36
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 74) "Destroyed in the Second World War ...copied from a photograph".

Stela No: 88

Name: *Nw(?)/Wdptw(?)* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (?W22/W24)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)

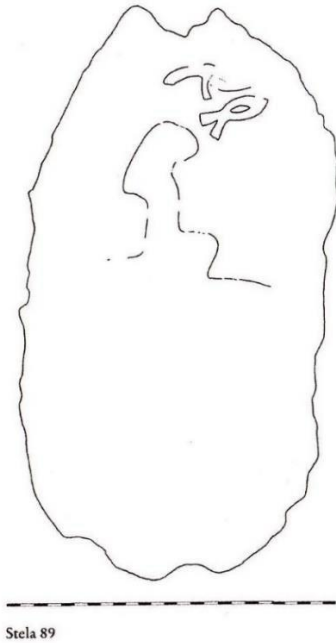


Stela 88

Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
 Dimensions: H: 44.5; W: 27.5; D: 11.0.
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
 Museum Inventory No: JE 34998
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 89

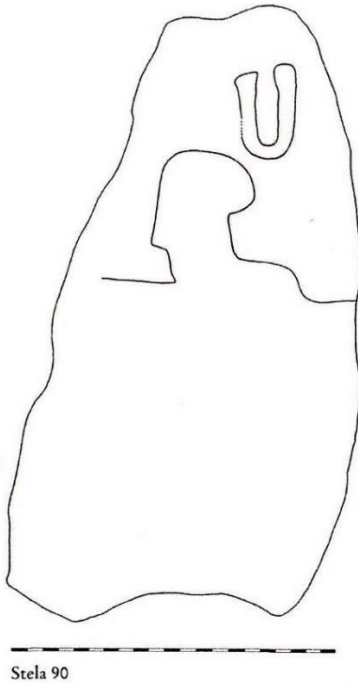
Name: *Šd* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: ([F30];V12)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
 Dimensions: H: 44.0; W: 24.5; D: 16.0.
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
 Museum Inventory No: JE 35004
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 90

Name: <i>K3</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(D28.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions: H: 39.0; W: 23.0; D: 10.5.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago.

Museum Inventory No: 5859

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

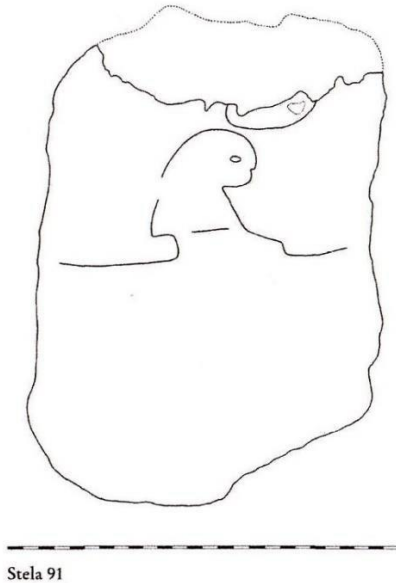
Stela No: 91

Name: *Wb(?)/Wh* Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: ([?P3/P4])

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked 91

Dimensions: H: 35.0; W: 24.0; D: 9.0.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

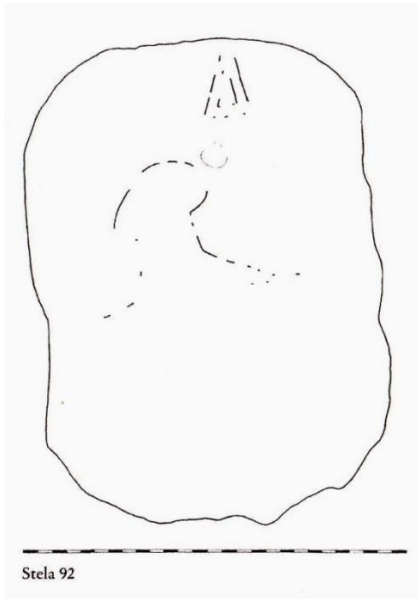
Current Location: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.

Museum Inventory No: E. 64

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 92

Name: *Rdi(t)* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (X8.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions: H: 35.0; W: 26.0; D: 13.0.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

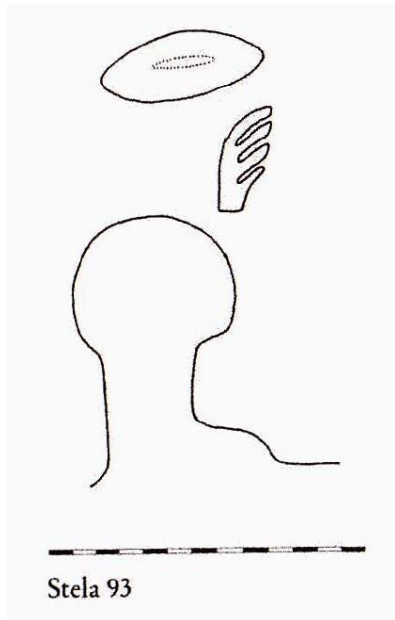
Museum Inventory No: JE 34995

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 80) “The ‘drop’-shaped object below the first sign, recorded by Petrie, is probably an imperfection in the surface of the stela rather than a hieroglyph”.

Stela No: 93

Name: *Iry* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (D21;M17.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)

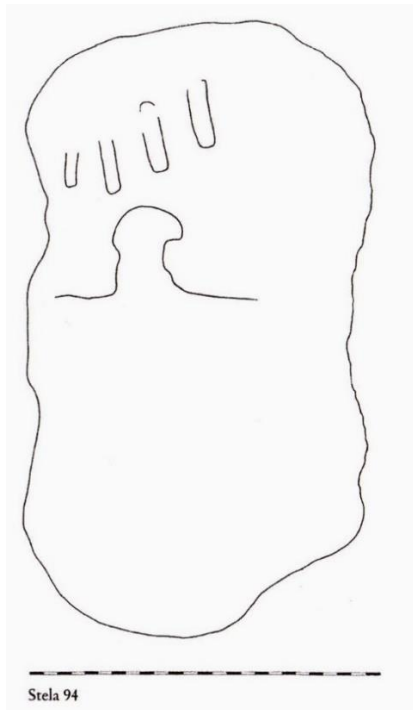


Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
 Dimensions: H: 45.7; W: 30.5; D: not recorded; (from museum records).
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh.
 Museum Inventory No: 1901.429.5
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 80) "Destroyed in the Second World War ... copied from a photograph".

Stela No: 94

Name: *Fdw* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: ([Uncertain])
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions: H: 43.5; W: 25.0; D: 13.5.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago.

Museum Inventory No: 5867

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 95

Name: *Nḥt-nt*

Title: *ḥts Ḥr/im3(t) Ḥr*,

Favourite of the Horus (the King);

One gracious to the Horus, Hand of the Horus(?).

ḥ Ḥr (?) One who lifts up the Horus (the King).

Name Transliteration Code:

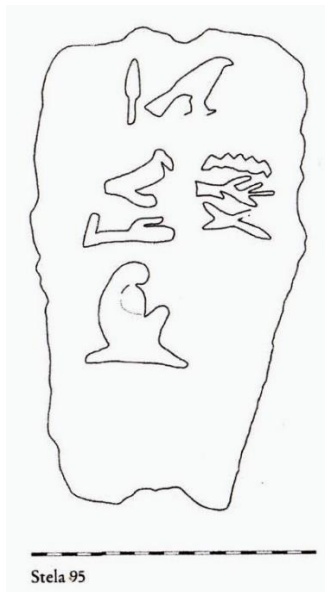
(N35;M3;r3.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(G5/G36;M1. G5;D36.)

Determinative:

(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance:

Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions:

H: 31.6; W: 18.5; D: c. 5.5.

Inscription Type:

Raised Relief

Current Location:

Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Museum Inventory No:

JE 35005

Selected Bibliography:

Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Troy (1986); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 96

Name: *Sšmt-k3*

Title: *m33t Hr*, She who beholds the Horus (the King),
ḥ.t Hr, Female servant of the Horus (the King),
ḥ Sth Hand of Seth (one who lifts up the Seth (the King)).

Name Transliteration Code:

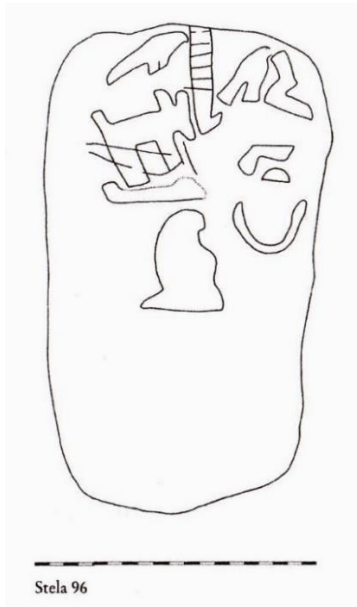
(T33;X1;D28.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(U1;G5. P6;G5. e9;D36.)

Determinative:

(B1)



Dating: Split Dating Category: [Uncertain]

Provenance:

Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked however as T Den?

Dimensions:

H: 32.0; W: 19.5; D: 7.0.

Inscription Type:

Bold Raised Relief

Current Location:

Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago.

Museum Inventory No:

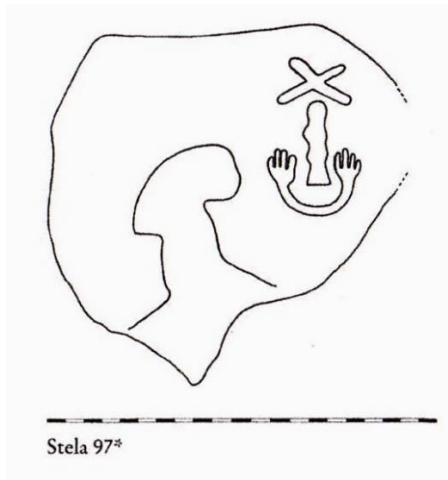
5863

Selected Bibliography:

Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Troy (1986); Helck (1987); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 97

Name: *Hk3-nt* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (r3:V28;D28.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)

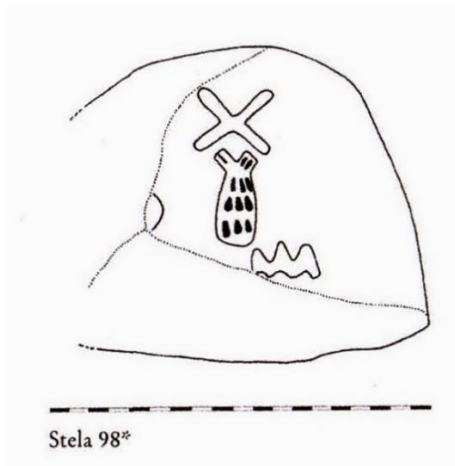


Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
 Dimensions: H: 19.0; W: c. 20.0; D: not recorded.
 Inscription Type: Presumably Raised Relief
 Current Location: Present Location Unknown.
 Museum Inventory No: n/a
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 82) “Copied from Petrie’s illustration”.

Stela No: 98

Name: <i>ꜥpr-n.(i)-nt</i>	Title: n/a Name
Transliteration Code:	(r3:Aa20;N35.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

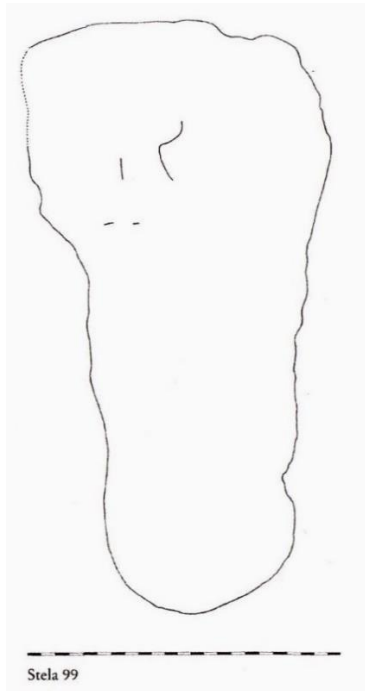


Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 16.0; W: and D: not recorded.
Inscription Type:	Presumably Raised Relief
Current Location:	Present Location Unknown.
Museum Inventory No:	n/a
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 82) “Copied from Petrie’s illustration”.

Stela No: 99

Name: [...]- <i>nt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	([?:r4].)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

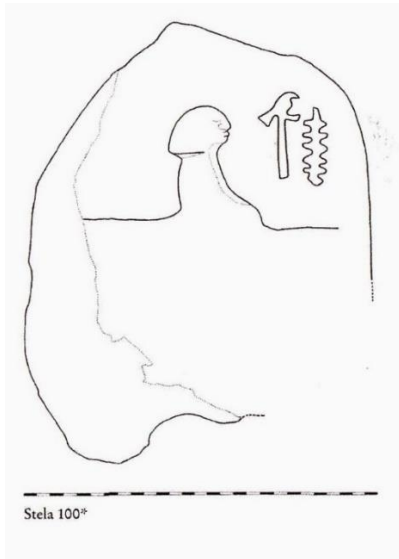


Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 44.0; W: 22.0; D: 11.5.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Museum and Art Gallery, Bolton.
Museum Inventory No:	1901.36.98.2
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 84) “The stela as deteriorated since Petrie made his drawing ...” see RT II PL XXVII [99].

Stela No: 100

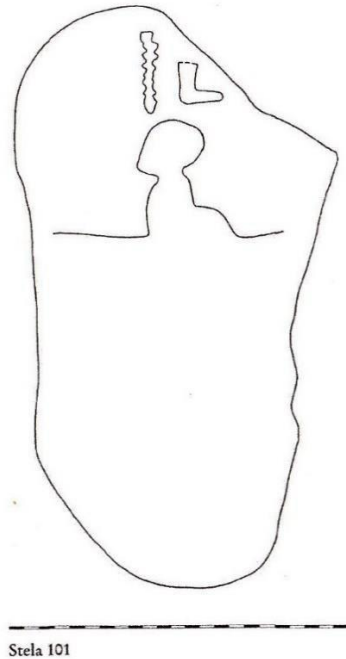
Name: *Bnr(t)-ntr* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (M30;G7.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
 Dimensions: H: 30.0; W: 20.0; D: 3.0.
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: University College, Petrie Museum, London.
 Museum Inventory No: 14270
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 101

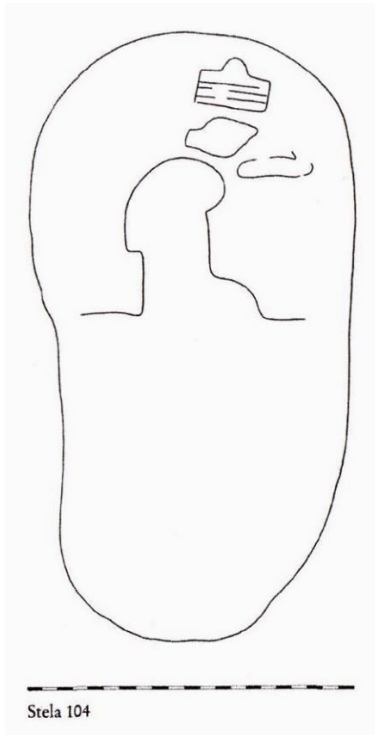
Name: <i>Bnrt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(D58;M30.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 41.0; W: 22.0; D: 6.0.
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.
Museum Inventory No:	E. 66
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 104

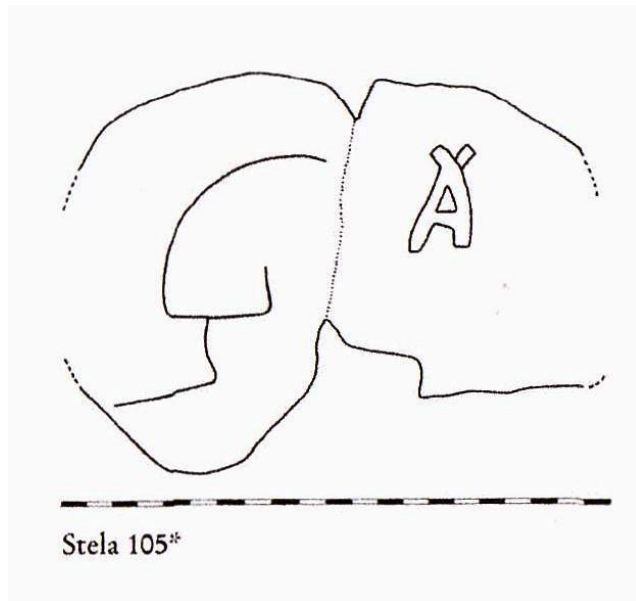
Name: *Htp-drt(?)f* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (R4;D46;[I9].)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
 Dimensions: H: 38.0; W: 21.0; D: 11.0.
 Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.
 Museum Inventory No: E. 9500
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 105

Name: <i>Mr(t)</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(U6.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

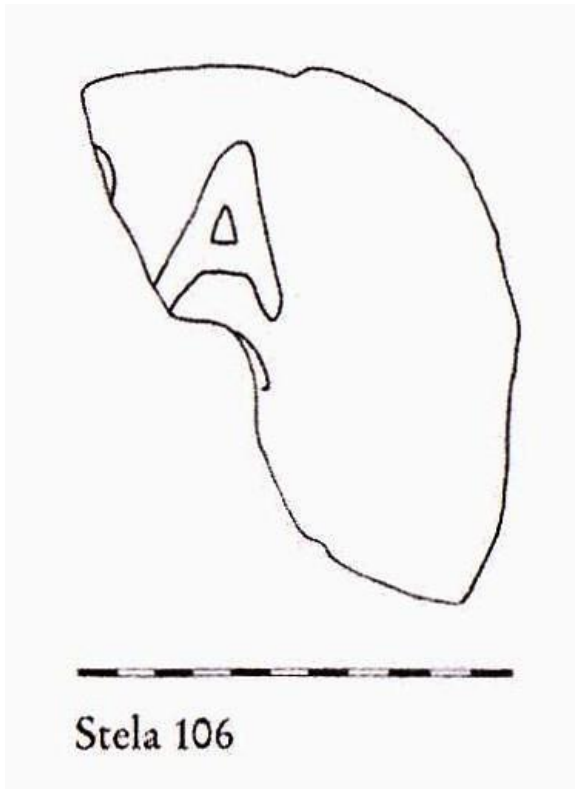


Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H:15.3; W: c. 21.0; D: not recorded.
Inscription Type:	Presumably Raised Relief
Current Location:	Present Location Unknown.
Museum Inventory No:	n/a
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 88) “Drawn from Petrie’s illustration”.

Stela No: 106

Name: *Mrt* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (U6;[Petrie X1].)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions: H: 13.0; W: 12.5; D: 5.0.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

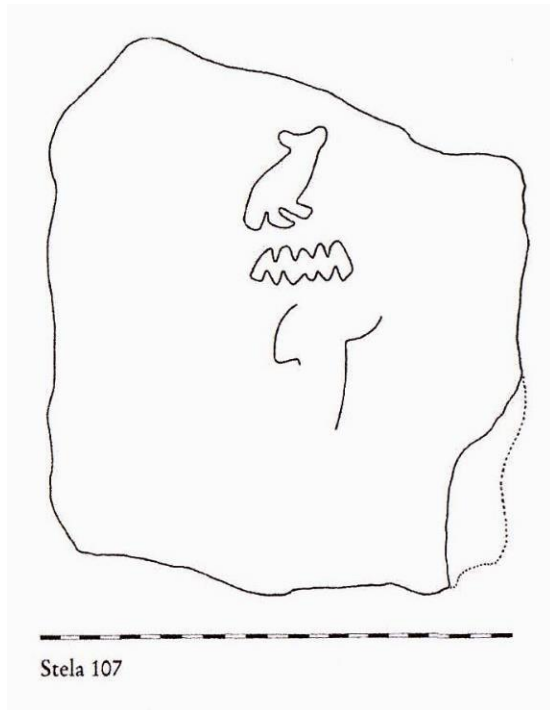
Current Location: University College, Petrie Museum, London.

Museum Inventory No: 14270

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 107

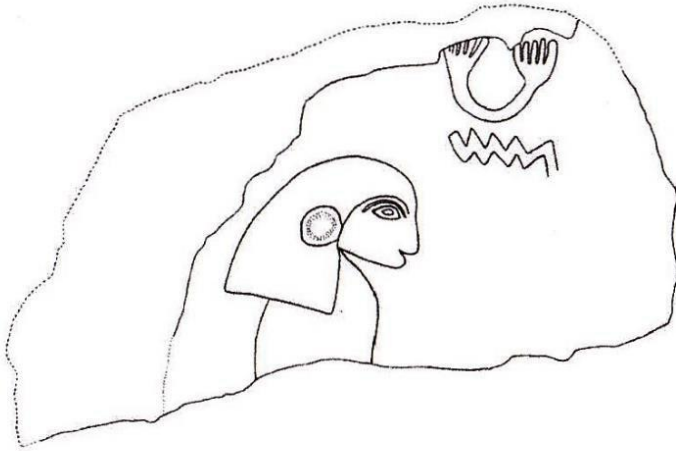
Name: *Mn* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (G17;N35.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked O 107 presumably grave 107
 Dimensions: H: 25.0; W: 23.5; D: 6.3.
 Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.
 Museum Inventory No: E. 62
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 112

Name: <i>K3.(i)-n.(i)</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(D28;N35.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

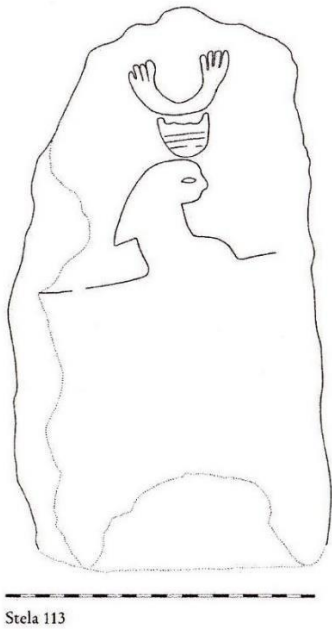


Stela 112

Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked S 1902 in red on lower edge & in pencil on back.
Dimensions:	H: 23.0; W: 29.0; D: c. 6.0.
Inscription Type:	Very Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Museum Inventory No:	01.7294
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 113

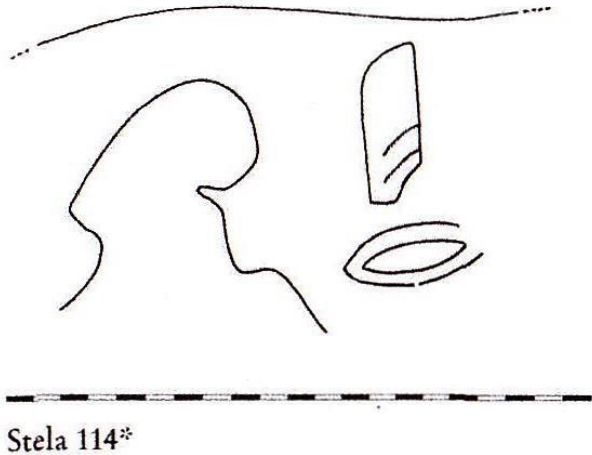
Name: <i>Hmt-k3</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(D28;N41.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Uncertain]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O. marked B10, i.e. cemetery B tomb 10, (temp. Aha) in Petrie
Dimensions:	H: c. 37.0; W: 22.0; D: 8.5.
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
Museum Inventory No:	E. 3930
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 114

Name: *Ir(t)* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (M17;D21.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)

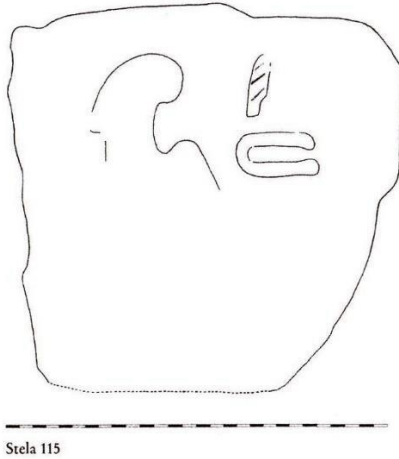


Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
 Dimensions: not recorded
 Inscription Type: Presumably Raised Relief
 Current Location: Present Location Unknown.
 Museum Inventory No: n/a
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 92) "Copied from Petrie's drawing".

Stela No: 115

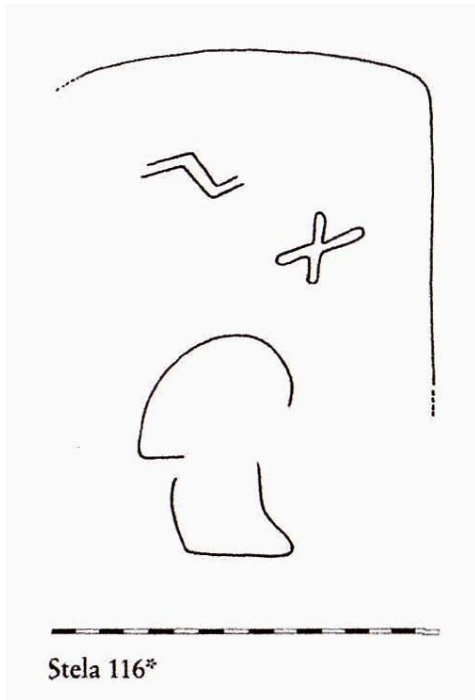
Name: <i>Iṯ</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(M17;V13.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: c. 28.5, W: 29.0; D: 5.0.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
Museum Inventory No:	E. 3931
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 116

Name: *Ni-nt* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (r3;[?N35].)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions: not recorded

Inscription Type: Presumably Raised Relief

Current Location: Present Location Unknown.

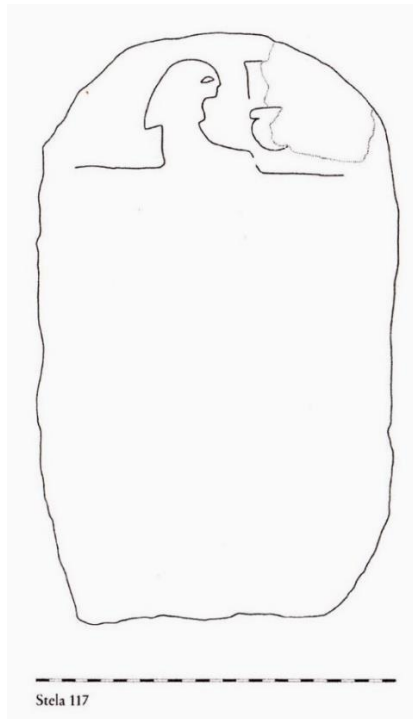
Museum Inventory No: n/a

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 94) “Copied from Petrie’s drawing”.

Stela No: 117

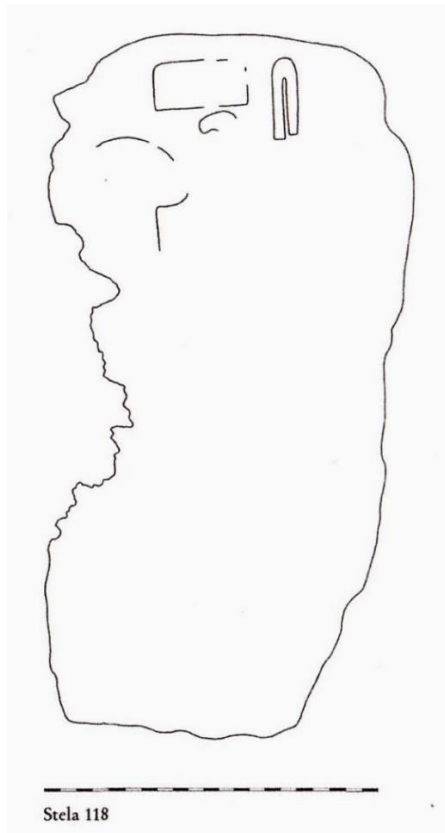
Name: <i>Gnw(?)</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	([?]:[?W24].)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked 117
Dimensions:	H: 44.3; W: 27.3; D: 8.7.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Museum and Art Gallery, Bolton.
Museum Inventory No:	1901.36.98.3
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 118

Name: *Sšt* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (S29;N37;[?X1].)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
 Dimensions: H: 44.0; W: 23.0; D: 9.0.
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.
 Museum Inventory No: E. 9502
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 119

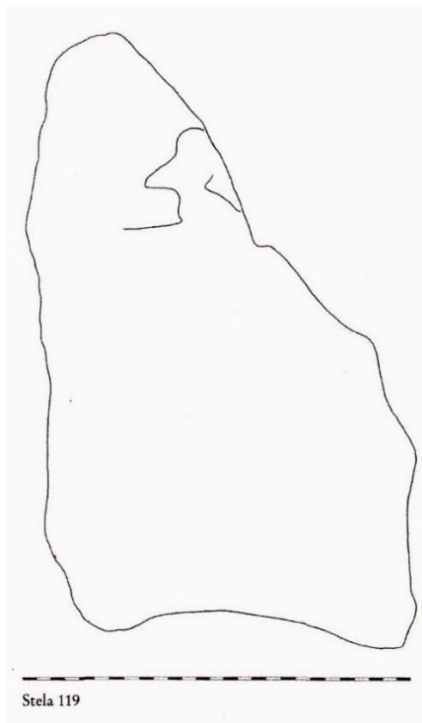
Name: n/a Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Determinative: (B1)

*Partial Determinative Only



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked B15,
i.e. cemetery B tomb 15, in Petrie

Dimensions: H: 43.0; W: 25.0; D: 15.0.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

Current Location: Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol.

Museum Inventory No: H499

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963).

Stela No: 120

Name: *Šd(t)-k3*Title: *ḥtm(t) Hr, H3sty*She who ornaments the Horus, Hasty,
wr(t) sḳr, Great one of the Litter?.

Name Transliteration Code:

(D28:F30;D46.)

Title Transliteration Code:

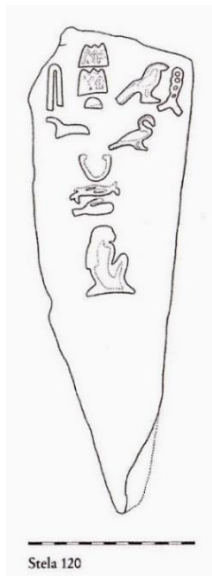
(V28;G5;G39/G35. N25;N25;X1;S29;Aa7.)

Alternate Translation:

ḳy.t Hr female servant of Horus;
sḳr(t) Zmty/H3sty offerer of *Zmty/H3sty*.

Determinative:

(B1)



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]

Provenance:

Area of Tomb of Den T

Dimensions:

H: 38.0; W: 13.0; D: 3.5.

Inscription Type:

Partly carved/painted

Current Location:

University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.

Museum Inventory No:

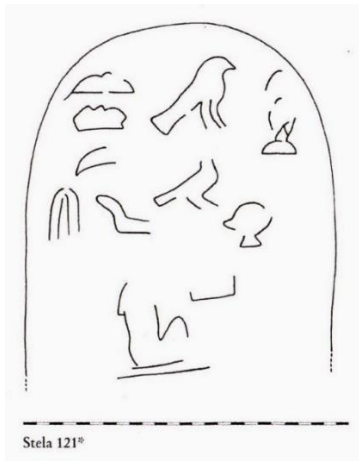
E. 9902

Selected Bibliography:

Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Helck (1987); Godron (1990); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 121

Name: <i>Hr-P (?)</i>	Title: <i>htm(t) Hr, H3sty</i> She who ornaments the Horus, Hasty, [<i>wr(t) skr ...</i>] Great one of the Litter?.
Name Transliteration Code:	(D2;?Q3.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(V28;G5;G39/G35. N25;N25;X1;Aa7;S29.) Alternate
Translation:	<i>*ky.t Hr</i> female servant of Horus; <i>skr(t) Zmty/H3sty</i> offerer of <i>Zmty/H3sty</i> .
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Late First Dynasty:	[Den]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Den T
Dimensions:	Surviving Fragment: H: 9.5; W: 24.0; D: 1.5.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	University College, Petrie Museum, London.
Museum Inventory No:	14272
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Helck (1987); Godron (1990); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 96) "Centre and lower part missing, ... disintegrated since recorded by Petrie".

Stela No: 122

Name: *Šdt-k3*

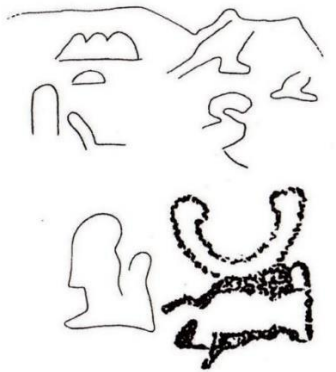
Title: *ḥtm(t) Hr, H3sty*,
 She who ornaments the Horus, Hasty,
wr(t) sḳr Great one of the Litter?.

Name Transliteration Code: (D28:F30.)

Title Transliteration Code: ([V28];G5;G39/G35. [N25];N25;X1;Aa7:S29.)

Alternate Translation: *ḳy.t Hr* female servant of Horus;
sḳr(t) Zmty/H3sty offerer of *Zmty/H3sty*.

Determinative: (B1)



Stela 122

Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T

Dimensions: not recorded

Inscription Type: Incised/ Name Raised Relief

Current Location: Present Location Unknown.

Museum Inventory No: n/a

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Helck (1987); Godron (1990); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 98) "Copied from a photograph".

Stela No: 123

Name: *K3-nt*

Title: *ḥtm(t) Hr, H3sty,*

She who ornaments the Horus, Hasty;
wr(t) sḳr Great one of the Litter?.

Name Transliteration Code:

(r3:N29.)

Title Transliteration Code:

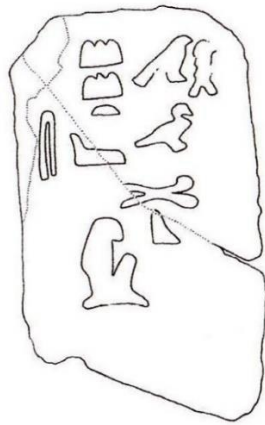
(V28;G5;G39/G35. N25;N25;X1;Aa7;S29.)

Alternate Translation:

ḳy.t Hr female servant of Horus;
sḳr(t) Zmty/H3sty offerer of *Zmty/H3sty*.

Determinative:

(B1)



Stela 123

Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T,

Dimensions: H: 24.3; W: 14.2; D: 2.5.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

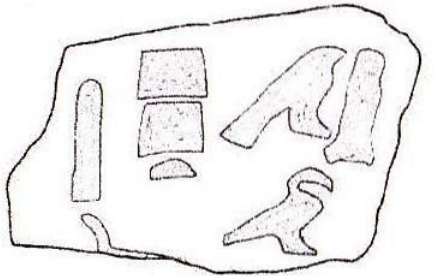
Current Location: University College, Petrie Museum, London.

Museum Inventory No: 14273

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Helck (1987); Godron (1990); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 124

Name: [...]	Title: <i>ḥtm(t) Hr, Ḥ3sty</i> , She who ornaments the Horus, Hasty, <i>wr(t) skr</i> Great one of the Litter?.
Name Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Title Transliteration Code:	(V28;G5;G39/G35. N25;N25;X1;S29;Aa7.) Alternate
Translation:	<i>ḥky.t Hr</i> female servant of Horus; <i>skr(t) Zmty/Ḥ3sty</i> offerer of <i>Zmty/Ḥ3sty</i> .
Determinative:	(B1)



Stela 124

Dating: Late First Dynasty:	[Den]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Den T
Dimensions:	Fragment: H: 9.0; W: 13.5; D not recorded
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Staatliche Museum, Berlin.
Museum Inventory No:	15483
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Helck (1987); Godron (1990); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 98) "Destroyed in the Second World War ... copied from a photograph".

Stela No: 125

Name: *M3ꜥt/Wdbt*

Title: *ḥtm(t) Hr, Ḥ3sty*,
 She who ornaments the Horus, Hasty,
wr(t) sꜥr Great one of the Litter?.

Name Transliteration Code:

(uncertain;X1.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(V28;G5;G39/G35.

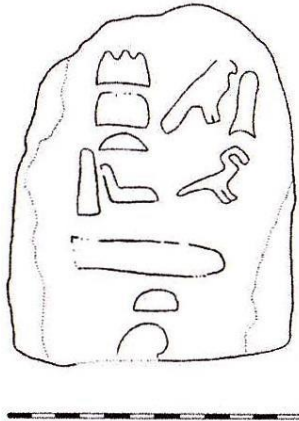
N25;N25;X1;Aa7;S29.) Alternate

Translation:

ꜥky.t Hr female servant of Horus;
sꜥr(t) Zmty/Ḥ3sty offerer of *Zmty/Ḥ3sty*.

Determinative:

(B1)



Stela 125

Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T

Dimensions: H: 15.5; W: 13.0; D: not recorded

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

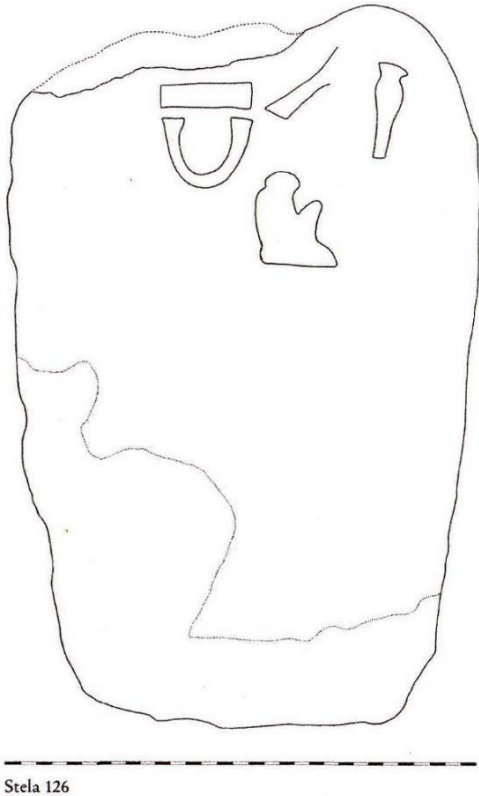
Current Location: Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh.

Museum Inventory No: 1917-90

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Helck (1987); Godron (1990); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 126

Name: *Mrt-k3* Title: *ḥsyt Ḥr* 'One favoured of Horus (the King)'
 Name Transliteration Code: (N36;D28.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (W14;[G5].)
 Determinative: (B1)

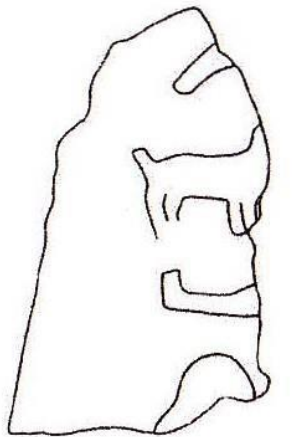


Stela 126

Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T,
 Dimensions: H: 48.0; W: 30.7; D: 6.0.
 Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.
 Museum Inventory No: L -55.236 (formerly E. 9925)
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994);
 Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 128

Name: n/a	Title: [<i>m33t Hr</i>] [She who beholds the Horus (the King)]; ⲉ <i>Sth</i> [...] the hand of Seth
Name Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Title Transliteration Code:	([?U6;G5.];
[e9;D36].) Determinative:	(B1)



Stela 128

Dating: Late First Dynasty:	[Den]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Den T,
Dimensions:	H: 13.6; W: 8.5; D: 5.2.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago
Museum Inventory No:	6433
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Troy (1986); Helck (1987); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

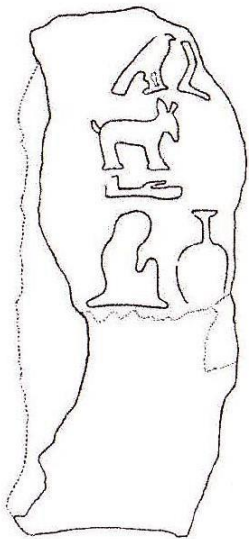
Stela No: 129

Name: ? *Wdpw*Title: *m33t Hr*, She who beholds the Horus (the King);
ⲉ *Stḥ* the hand of Seth

Name Transliteration Code: (?W22.)

Title Transliteration Code: (U6;G5.; e9;D36.)

Determinative: (B1)



Stela 129

Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T

Dimensions: H: 23.0; W: 14.0; D: not recorded

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

Current Location: Staatliche Museum, Berlin.

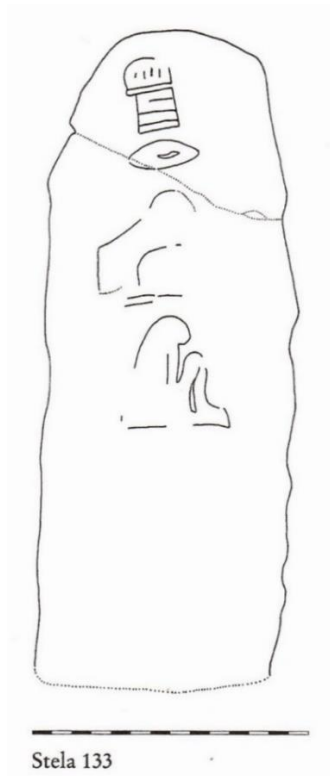
Museum Inventory No: 15484

Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Troy (1986); Helck (1987); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 100) "Destroyed in the Second World War ... copied from a photograph".

Stela No: 133

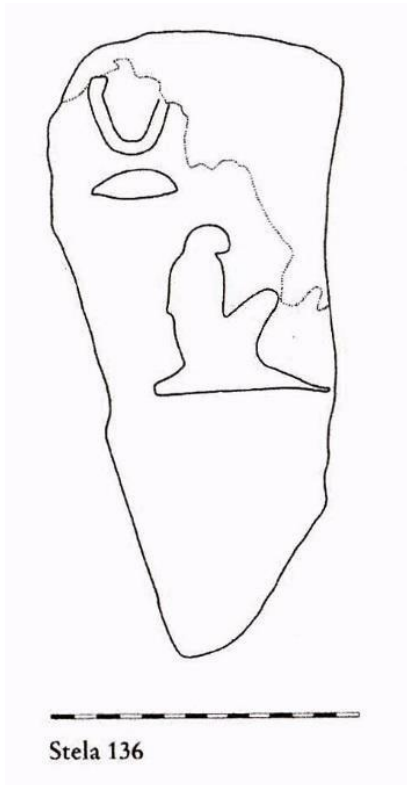
Name: <i>Dr</i> [...]	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(?M36/U30;D21;[?].)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Late First Dynasty:	[Den]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Den T
Dimensions:	H: c. 32.8; W: 12.8; D: 4.0.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
Museum Inventory No:	E. 3938
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 136

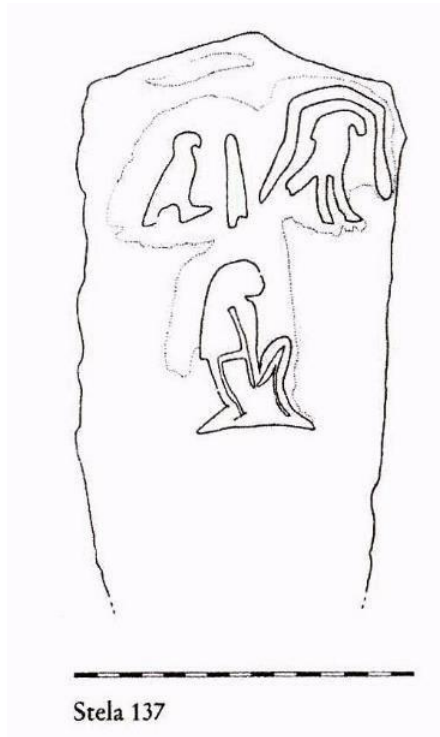
Name: *Iry(t)-k3/K3-ir(y)t(?)* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (D28;D21/X1.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T
 Dimensions: H: 29.5 W: 13.7; D: 4.5.
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago
 Museum Inventory No: 5869
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 137

Name: <i>Styw(?)</i>	Title: <i>shn-3h</i> Spirit Seeker
Name Transliteration Code:	(S29;G4.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(D32;G25.)
Determinative:	(B1)

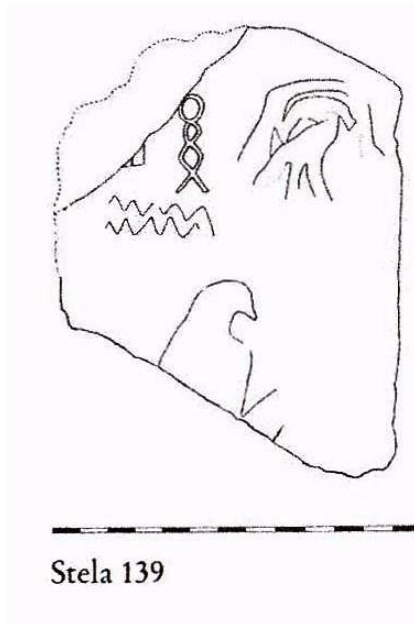


Dating: Late First Dynasty:	[Den]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Den T
Dimensions:	H: 30.0; W: 14.5; D: not recorded
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No:	JE 35007
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 106) “Not found in the Egyptian Museum, ... copied from a photograph”.

Stela No: 139

Name: *Hpn/Ni-ḥp* Title: *shn-3h* Spirit Seeker
Name Transliteration Code: (V28;[?Q3];N35.)
Title Transliteration Code: (D32;G25.)
Determinative: (B1)

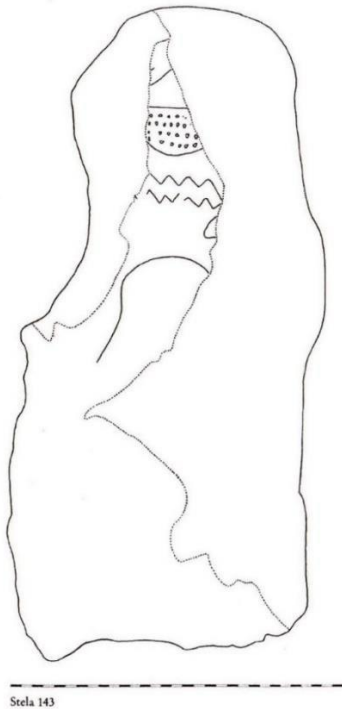


Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]
Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T
Dimensions: H: 16.0; W: 12.0; D: not recorded
Inscription Type: Raised Relief
Current Location: Staatliche Museum, Berlin.
Museum Inventory No: 15492
Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 106) “Destroyed in the Second World War ... copied from a photograph”.

Stela No: 143

Name: <i>Nb-n.(i)</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(V30;N35;[...].)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

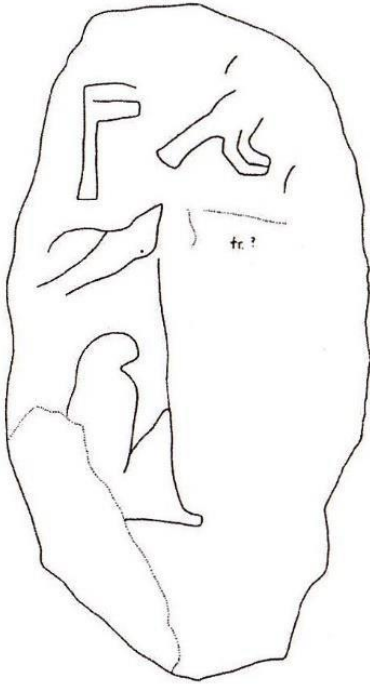


Dating: Late First Dynasty:	[Den]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Den T
Dimensions:	H: 61.5; W: 21.5; D not recorded
Inscription Type:	Apparently Incised
Current Location:	Staatliche Museum, Berlin.
Museum Inventory No:	15485
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 110) “Destroyed in the Second World War ... copied from a photograph”.

Stela No: 144

Name: *Šdt(?)*-*ntr* Title: [*shn?*]-*3h* Spirit Seeker
 Name Transliteration Code: (R8;[?F30].)
 Title Transliteration Code: ([D32];G25.)
 Determinative: (B1)

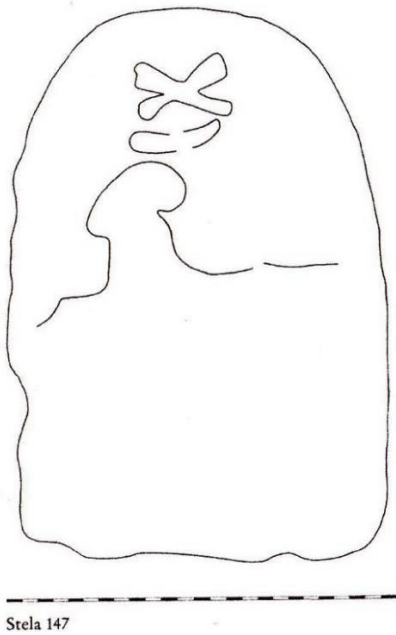


Stela 144

Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T
 Dimensions: H: 34.0; W: 18.0; D: 5.0.
 Inscription Type: Boldly Incised
 Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago
 Museum Inventory No: 5858
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 147

Name: <i>Hw-nt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(r3;F18.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer
Dimensions:	H: 35.5; W: 25.5; D: 10.5.
Inscription Type:	Bold raised relief
Current Location:	Museum and Art Gallery, Bolton.
Museum Inventory No:	1901.36.98.4
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1902); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 148

Name: *Htp-dw-nt*

Title: [~~She of the carrying chair, palanquin~~]

Name Transliteration Code:

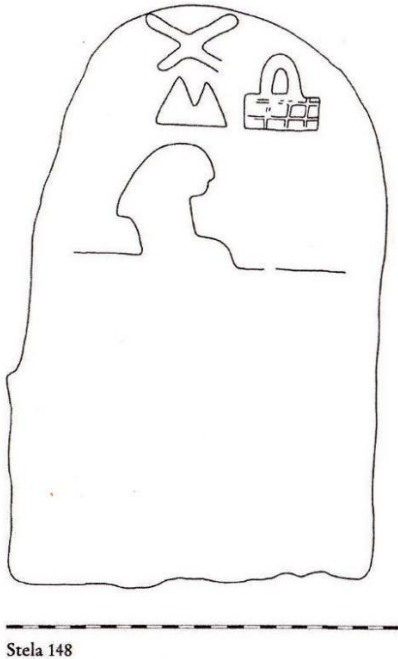
(R4;r3;N26.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(~~q10/q12~~)

Determinative:

(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance:

Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions:

H: 37.0; W: 23.5; D: 11.0.

Inscription Type:

Bold Raised Relief

Current Location:

University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.

Museum Inventory No:

E. 9505

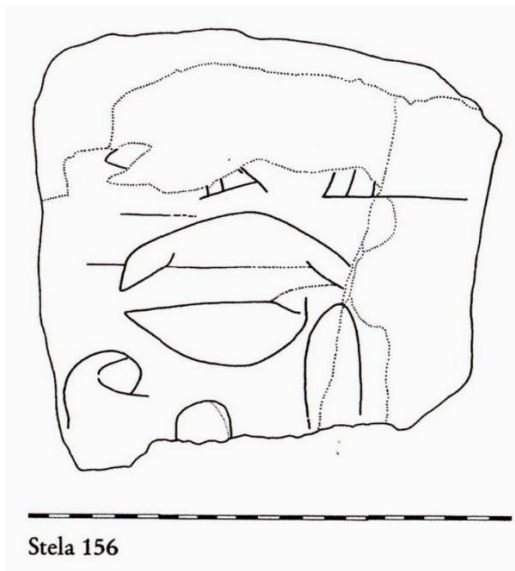
Selected Bibliography:

Petrie (1902); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994);
Legarreta Hernández (2006).

The sign is transliterated R4, not q10/12, no actual attestation of the title, see section 6.1.10.

Stela No: 156

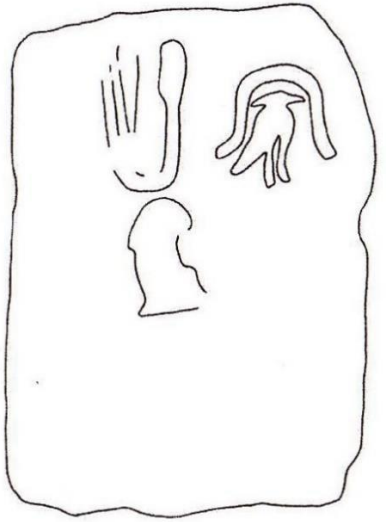
Name: *Nn-rh.s* ? Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: ([...]; Uncertain?;V30.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djet ?]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djet Z ?
 Dimensions: H: 21.0; W: 21.5; D: 7.5.
 Inscription Type: Outlines roughly & boldly incised, hieroglyphs painted red.
 Current Location: University College, Petrie Museum, London.
 Museum Inventory No: 14277
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1902); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 161

Name: *Hm(t)-k3* Title: *shn-3h* Spirit Seeker
 Name Transliteration Code: (U36;D28.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (D32;G25.)
 Determinative: (B1)

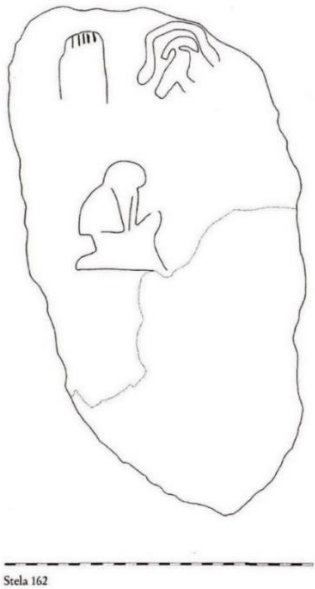


Stela 161

Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T
 Dimensions: H: 23.5; W: 17.0; D: 4.5.
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.
 Museum Inventory No: E. 9901
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1901); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994).

Stela No: 162

Name: ꜥḥ [...]	Title: <i>shn-3ḥ</i> SpiritSeeker
Name Transliteration Code:	(O11.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(D32:G25.)
Determinative:	(B1)

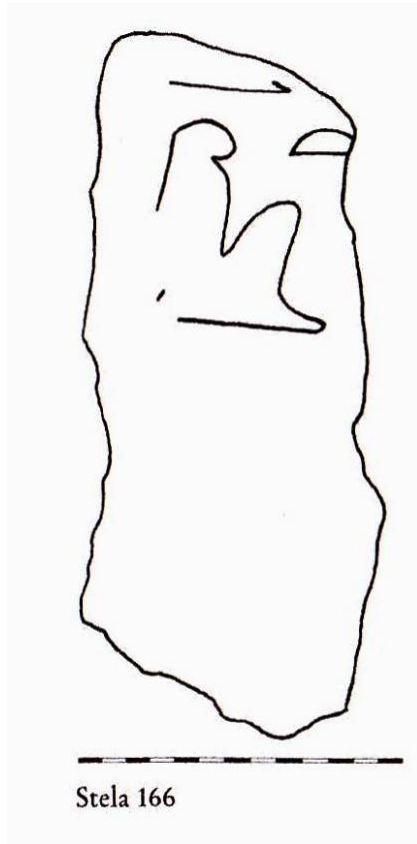


Dating: Late First Dynasty:	[Den]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Den T
Dimensions:	H:47.0; W: 26.0; D: 8.0.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol.
Museum Inventory No:	H407
Selected Bibliography:	Petrie (1902); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 120) "... or of o10 or o15 (Kahl *System*, 656-657)...".

Stela No: 166

Name: [...]t Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: ([...];X1.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T
 Dimensions: H: 43.5; W: 18.0; D: 3.5.
 Inscription Type: The 't' is chiseled, determinative is in Raised
 Relief Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago.
 Museum Inventory No: 5861
 Selected Bibliography: Petrie (1902); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 179

Name: *šps(t)-ntr*

Title: *shn-3h* Spirit Seeker

Name Transliteration Code:

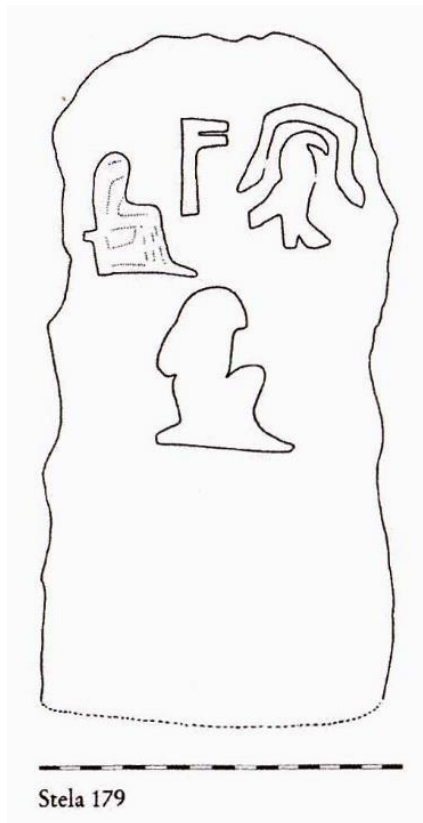
(R8;A50.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(D32;G25.)

Determinative:

(B1)



Dating: Split Dating Category: [Uncertain]

Provenance:

Area of tombs of Djet Z or Den T

Dimensions:

H: c. 31.0; W: 16.2; D: 8.0.

Inscription Type:

Bold Raised Relief

Current Location:

Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Museum Inventory No:

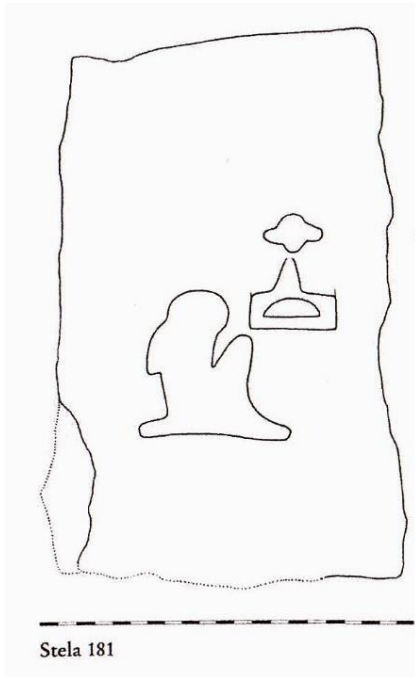
JE 31858f. CG 14607.

Selected Bibliography:

Amélineau (1899); Petrie (1900); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 181

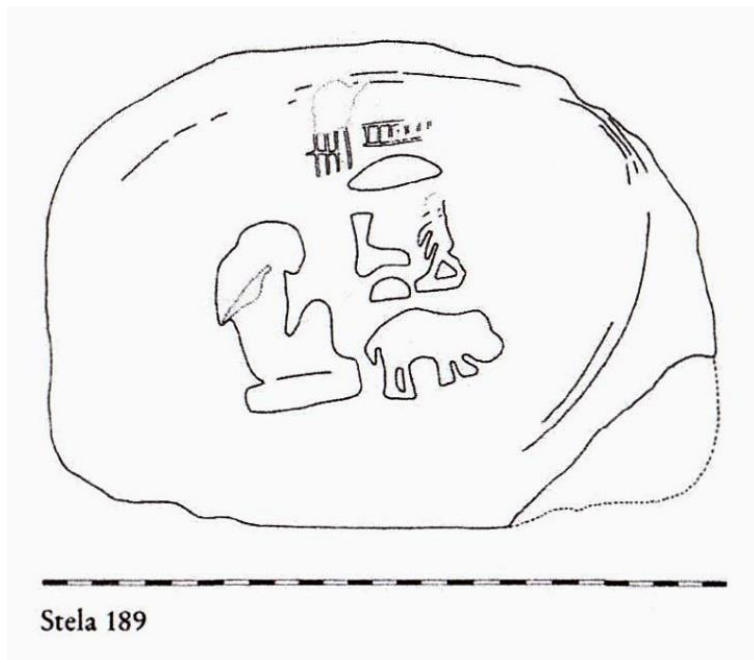
Name: *Hr-ḥtp/Htp-ḥr* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (D2;R4(X1 internal).)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Uncertain: [Uncertain]
 Provenance: Uncertain, possibly area of tomb of Den T
 Dimensions: H: c. 31.5; W: 20.5; D: 6.0.
 Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
 Museum Inventory No: JE 31858k. CG 14612
 Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1899); Petrie (1900); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 189

Name: *Hbt* Title: *mr(t)* Weaver
Name Transliteration Code: (V28;D58;X1;(E25 as phonetic complement).)
Title Transliteration Code: (N36;X1;V16.)
Determinative: (B1)

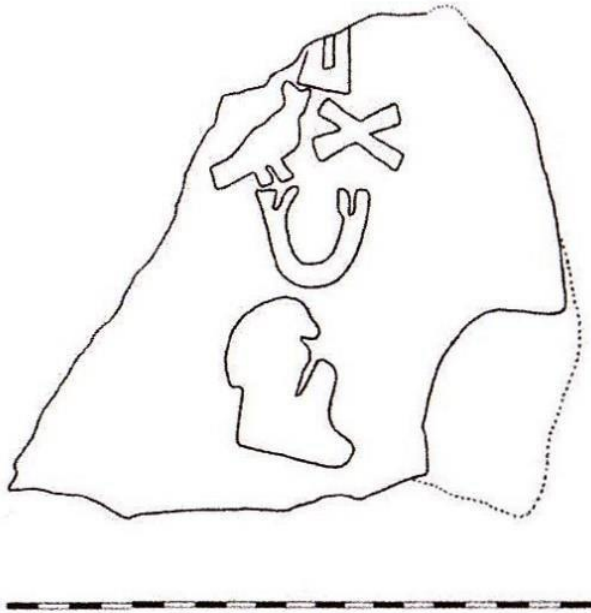


Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]
Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T
Dimensions: H: 19.5; W: 26.5; D: 5.0.
Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
Current Location: Kestner Museum, Hanover.
Museum Inventory No: 1935.200.36
Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1899); Petrie (1900); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963);
Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 134) "... with sign (V16) as determinative (representing in this instance a loom?)".

Stela No: 190

Name: *Di-m-k3-nt* (?) Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (X8;r3;G17;D28.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)

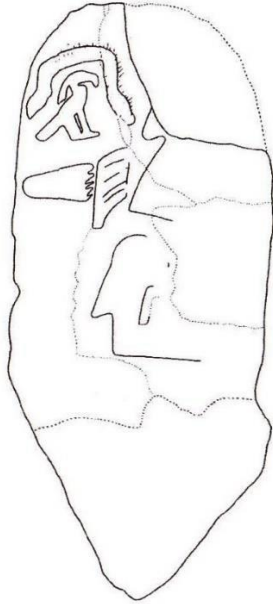


Stela 190

Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T
 Dimensions: H: 23.0; W: 18.5; D: 5.0.
 Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: Musée du Louvre, Paris.
 Museum Inventory No: E. 21711
 Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1899); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985);
 Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 193

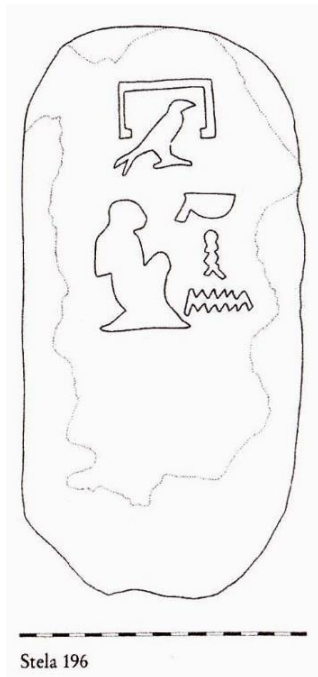
Name: <i>Ikṃ</i>	Title: <i>shn-3h</i> Spirit Seeker
Name Transliteration Code:	(M17;I6.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(D32;G25.)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Late First Dynasty:	[Den]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Den T
Dimensions:	H: 36.0; W: 16.0; D: 4.5.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Museum Inventory No:	E. 21717
Selected Bibliography:	Amélineau (1899); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 196

Name: *Kḥn(t)/ḥn-k3* Title: *wr(t) pr* Great one of the Palace
 Name Transliteration Code: (V31;V28;N35.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (G36;O1.)
 Determinative: (B1)



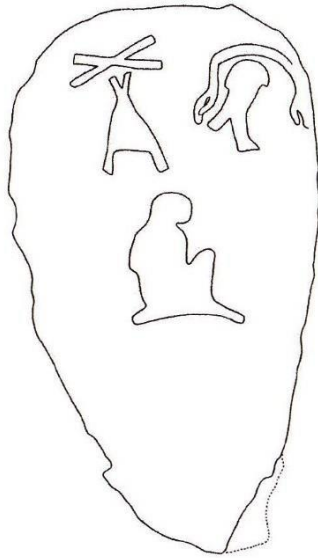
Dating: Split Dating Category: [Uncertain]

Provenance: Area of tombs of Djet Z or Den T
 Dimensions: H: 33.5; W: 16.7; D: 3.5.
 Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: Kestner Museum, Hanover.
 Museum Inventory No: 1935.200.32
 Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1899); Petrie (1900); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963);
 Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta
 Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 138) “Probably not *Ḥknw*, unless graphic transposition is involved”.

Stela No: 202

Name: <i>Mrt-nt</i>	Title: <i>shn-3h</i> SpiritSeeker
Name Transliteration Code:	(r3;U6.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(D32:G25.)
Determinative:	(B1)



Stela 202

Dating: Split Dating Category: [Uncertain]

Provenance: Area of tombs of Djet Z or Den T

Dimensions: H: 33.5; W: 19.5; D: 4.5.

Inscription Type: Low Raised Relief

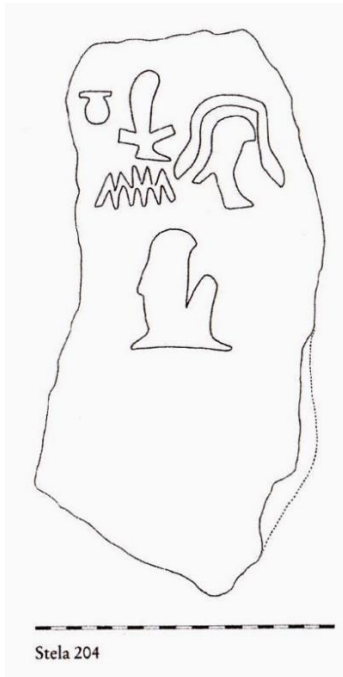
Current Location: Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Museum Inventory No: E. 21715

Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1899); Petrie (1900); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 204

Name: *Snnw* Title: *shn-3h* Spirit Seeker
 Name Transliteration Code: (M18;W24;N35.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (D32;G25.)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Split Dating Category: [Uncertain]

Provenance: Area of tombs of Djet Z or Den T

Dimensions: H: 36.0; W: 17.5; D: 5.5.

Inscription Type: Very Bold Raised Relief

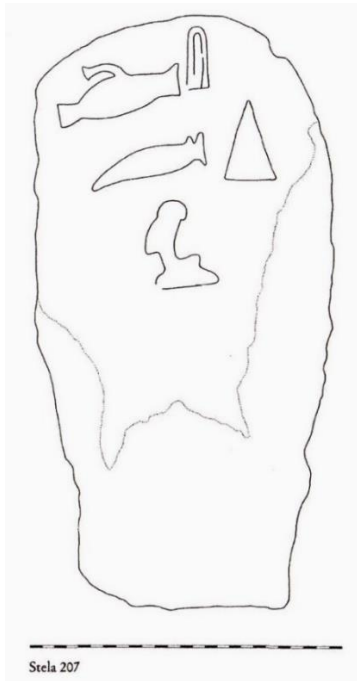
Current Location: Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich.

Museum Inventory No: Gl. 39

Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1899); Petrie (1900); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963);
 Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta
 Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 207

Name: *Rdi.f/Di.f* Title: *msnw* Harpooner
 Name Transliteration Code: (X8;I9.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (V32?;S29; poss T21;S29.)
 Determinative: (A1)

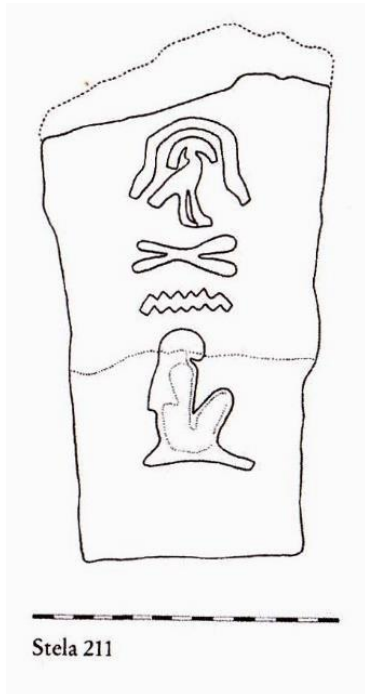


Dating: Uncertain [Uncertain]
 Provenance: Area of tombs of Djet Z or Den T
 Dimensions: H: 47.0; W: 23.5; D: 3.0.
 Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: Musée du Louvre, Paris.
 Museum Inventory No: E. 21713
 Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1899); Petrie (1900); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Classification changed, this research considers this a male stela, see section 6.1.14.

Stela No: 211

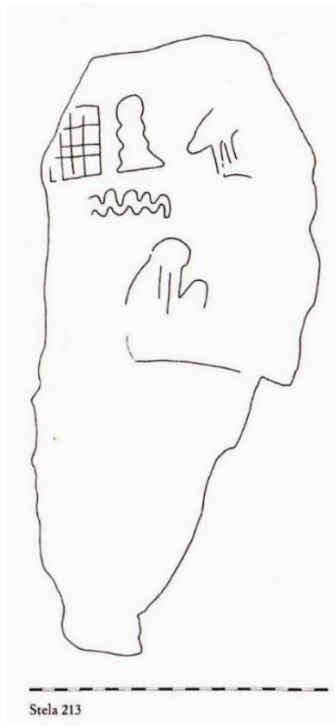
Name: *Ni-nt* Title: *shn-3h* Spirit Seeker
Name Transliteration Code: (r3;N35.)
Title Transliteration Code: (D32;G25.)
Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]
Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T
Dimensions: H: 26.0;W: 14.0; D: not recorded
Inscription Type: Raised Relief
Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No: JE 31858e; CG 14606
Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1899); Petrie (1900); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 213

Name: *Ni-ḥp* Title: [...]w
 Name Transliteration Code: (V28;Q3;N35.)
 Title Transliteration Code: ([...];?G43.)
 Determinative: (B1)

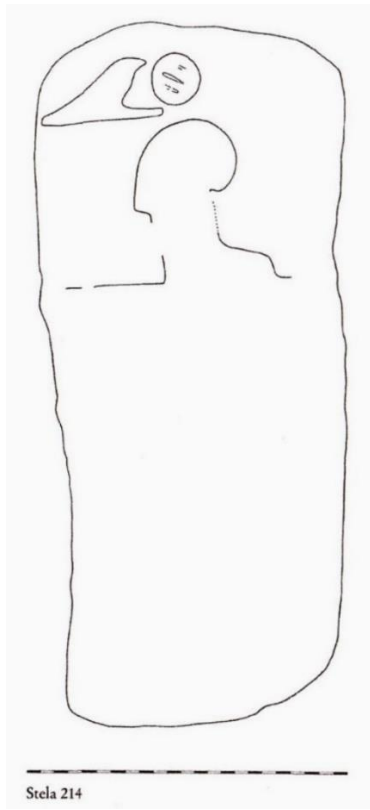


Dating: Uncertain [Uncertain]
 Provenance: Umm el-Qaab
 Dimensions: H: 47.5; W: 22.0; D: 7.0.
 Inscription Type: Boldly incised
 Current Location: Staatliche Museum, Berlin.
 Museum Inventory No: 18135
 Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1902); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009:152) “Destroyed in Second World War. Copied from a plaster cast in Berlin”.

Stela No: 214

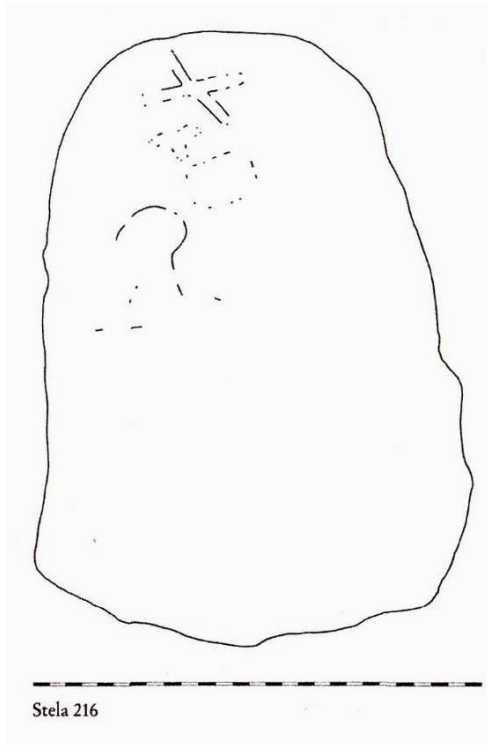
Name: <i>Hwi-ḥm</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(Aa1;G11.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Uncertain	[Uncertain]
Provenance:	Umm el-Qaab
Dimensions:	H: 51.0; W: 23.0; D: 9.5.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Museum Inventory No:	E. 25267
Selected Bibliography:	Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963).

Stela No: 216

Name: [...]- <i>nt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(r3;[...].)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

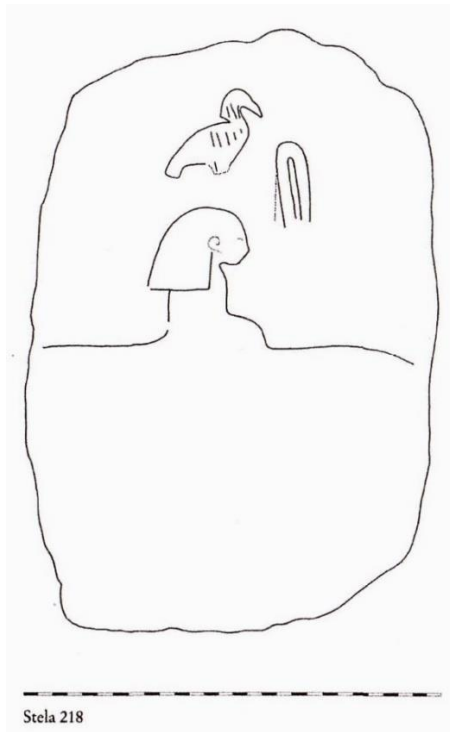


Dating: Split Dating Category: [Uncertain]

Provenance:	Area of Tomb P Quibell - Kahl states Djer (O)
Dimensions:	H: 36.5. W: 26.0. D. 12.0.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No:	CG 14629
Selected Bibliography:	Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963); Kahl (1994).

Stela No: 218

Name: *3h.s* Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code: (S29;G25.)
Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions: H: 40.5; W: 27.0; D: 12.0.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

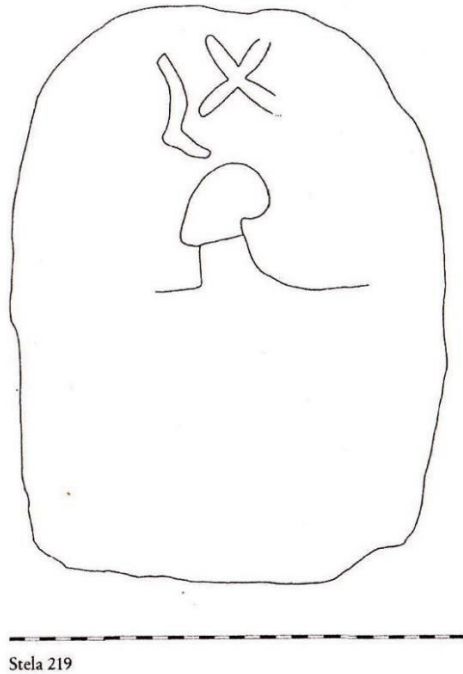
Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Museum Inventory No: CG 14623

Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 219

Name: <i>M33-nt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(r3;U1.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

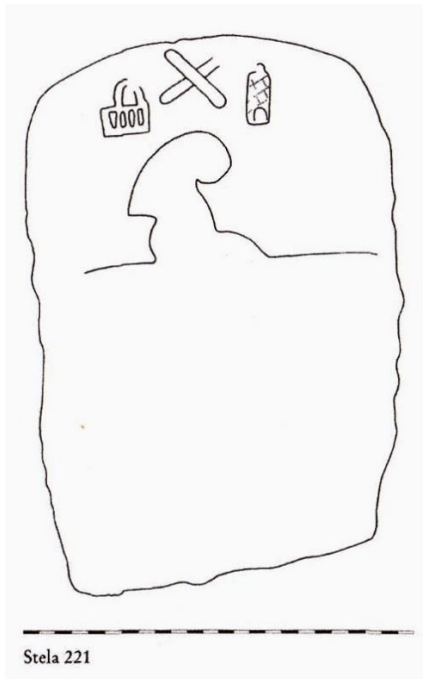


Dating: Split Dating Category: [Uncertain]

Provenance:	Area of Tomb P Quibell -Kahl states Djer (O)
Dimensions:	H: 35.5. W: 28.0. D: 14.0.
Inscription Type:	Very Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No:	CG 14621
Selected Bibliography:	Amélineau (1904); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 221

Name: *Htp-nt* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: ([?];r3;R4;)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)

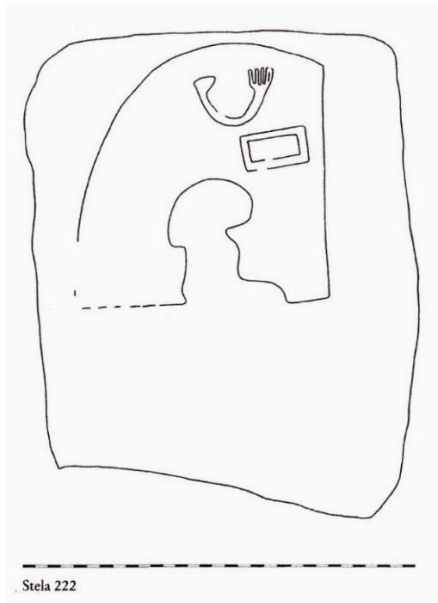


Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
 Dimensions: H: 34.5; W: 24.0; D: 12.0.
 Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
 Current Location: Staatliche Museum, Berlin.
 Museum Inventory No: 18137
 Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 158) “Copied from a photograph”.

Stela No: 222

Name: <i>Mr(t)-k3</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(D28;N36.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

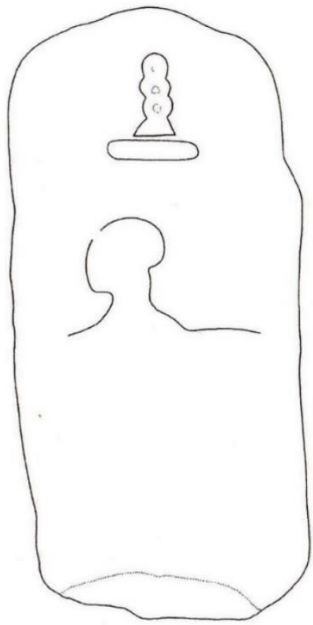


Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 39.0; W: 25.0; D: not recorded
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Staatliche Museum, Berlin.
Museum Inventory No:	18134
Selected Bibliography:	Amélineau (1904); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 158) “Copied from a photograph”.

Stela No: 224

Name: <i>Ht3</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(V28;N16/N18.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

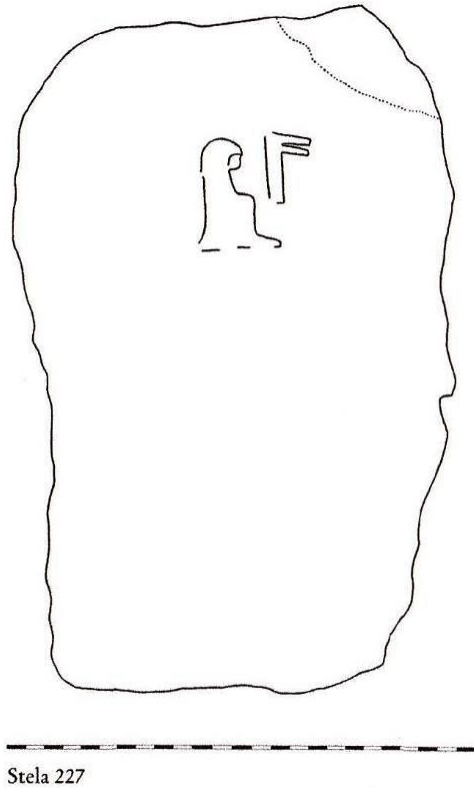


Stela 224

Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 47.2; W: c. 26.0. D: c. 9.5.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Musée Municipal des Beaux-Arts et d'Histoire Naturelle, Châteaudun.
Museum Inventory No:	83 SDA 217.1
Selected Bibliography:	Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963); Kahl (1994). Martin (2009: 160) "Copied from a photograph".

Stela No: 227

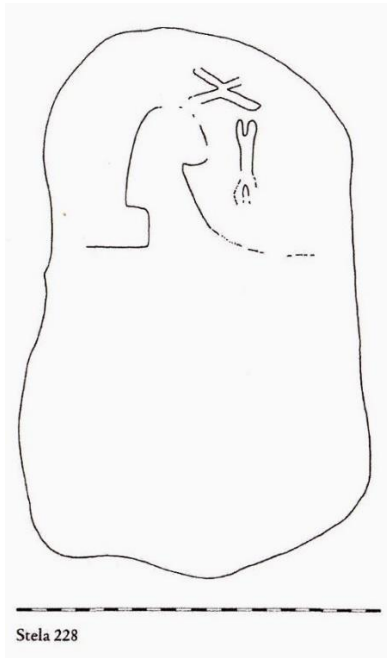
Name: <i>Ntrt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(R8.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 36.5; W: 25.4; D: 5.9.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Musée Municipal des Beaux-Arts et d'Histoire Naturelle, Châteaudun.
Museum Inventory No:	83 SDA 217.2
Selected Bibliography:	Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963); Kahl (1994).

Stela No: 228

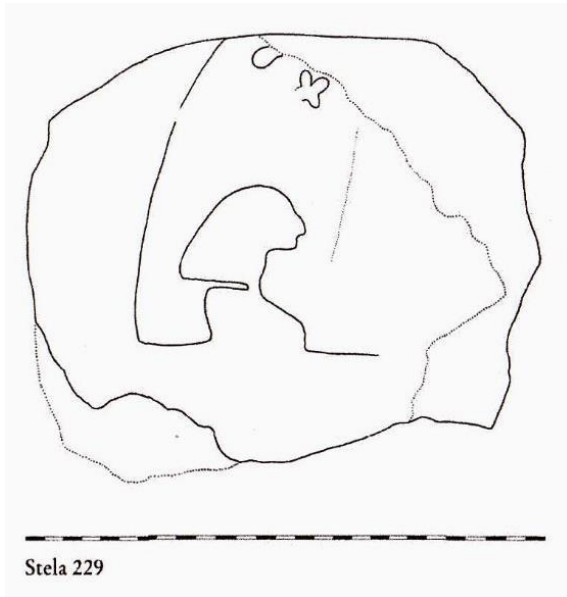
Name: <i>ꜥd-nt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(r3;V27.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 40.5; W: 25.5; D: 16.0.
Inscription Type:	Raised Relief
Current Location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No:	CG 14630
Selected Bibliography:	Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 229

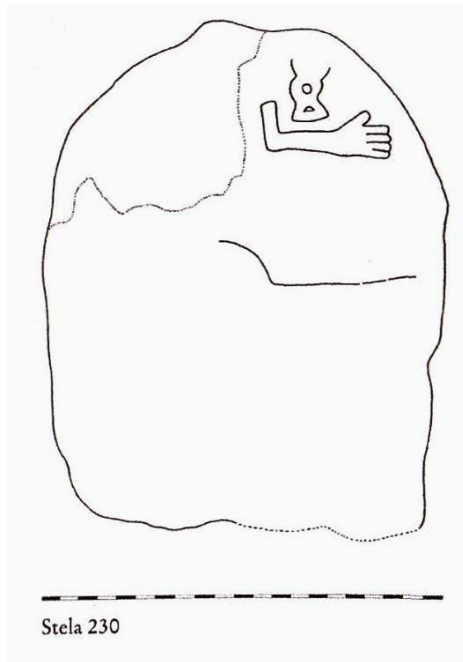
Name: *Dw3-nt* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: ([?N14];r3.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
 Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O
 Dimensions: H: 23.5; W: 27.0; D: 4.5.
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
 Museum Inventory No: CG 14625
 Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 230

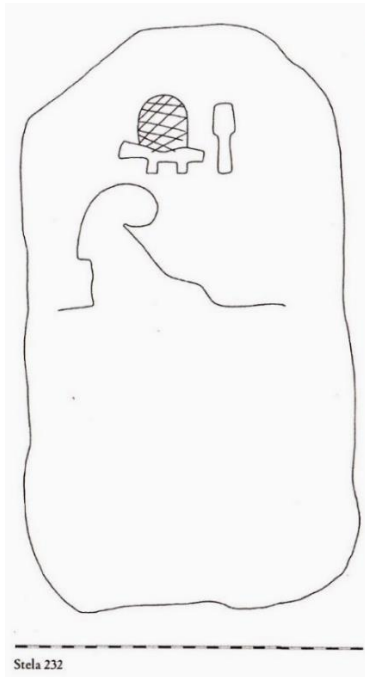
Name: <i>H^c</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	([V28];D36.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating:	Early First Dynasty: [Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 27.0; W: 21.3; D: 5.0.
Inscription Type:	Very Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No:	CG 14622
Selected Bibliography:	Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 232

Name: <i>Shm-rpwt</i>	Title: n/a Name
Transliteration Code:	(S42;q10/q12.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

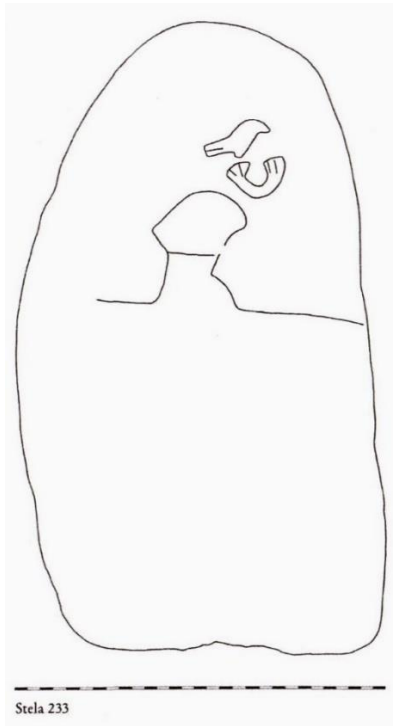


Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 47.5; W: 30.0; D: 15.0.
Inscription Type:	Very Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No:	CG 14619
Selected Bibliography:	Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Troy (1986); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Translated as the owner's name, could conceivably be a title, see section 6.1.10.

Stela No: 233

Name: *Wr(t)-k3* Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (G36;D28.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions: H: 47.0; W: 27.0; D: 16.5.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

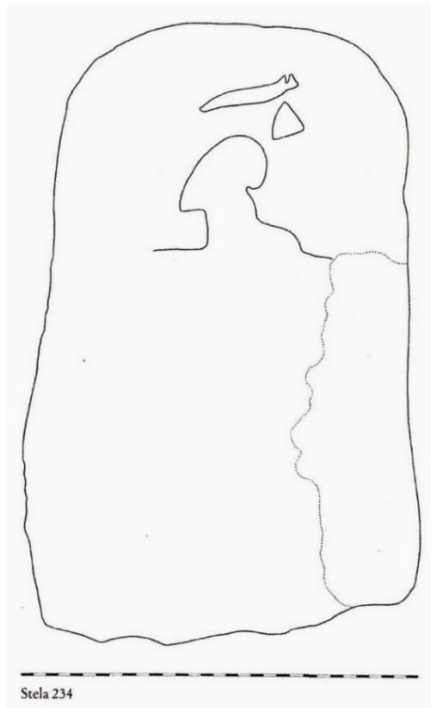
Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Museum Inventory No: CG 14618

Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1904); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon
 Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 234

Name: <i>Fk</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(I9; N29.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

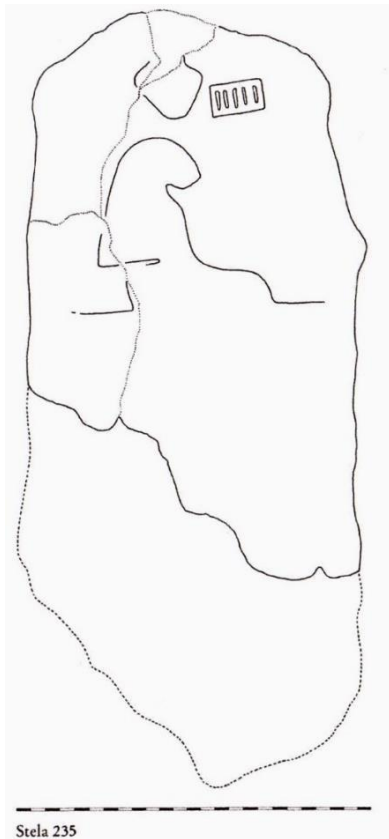


Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 49.0; W: 32.0; D: not recorded
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Staatliche Museum, Berlin.
Museum Inventory No:	18133
Selected Bibliography:	Amélineau (1904); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Martin (2009: 166) "Destroyed in the Second World War ... copied from a photograph".

Stela No: 235

Name: Šnw Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (N36;[?W24].)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (B1)



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O, marked G.H.

Dimensions: H: 54.5; W: 24.5; D: 9.5.

Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief

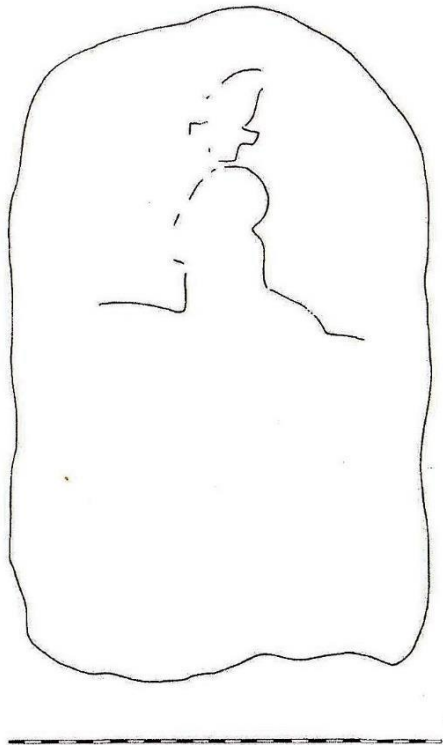
Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Museum Inventory No: CG 14627

Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1904); Klasens (1956); Kaplony (1963); Germon
 Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 236

Name: <i>Hr</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(?G5.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)

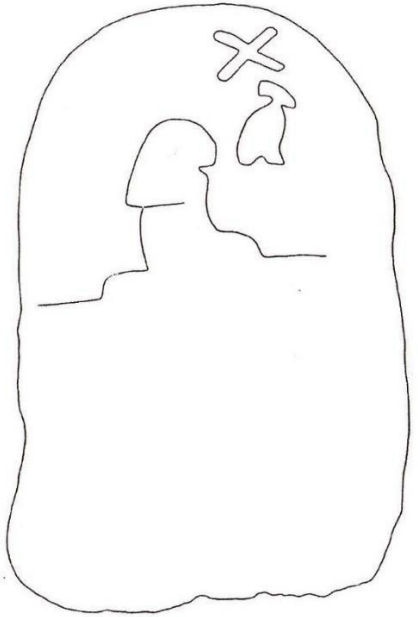


Stela 236

Dating: Early First Dynasty:	[Djer]
Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Djer O
Dimensions:	H: 41.0; W: 27.5; D: 14.0.
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No:	CG 14620
Selected Bibliography:	Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 237

Name: <i>3h-nt</i>	Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code:	(r3;G25.)
Title Transliteration Code:	(n/a)
Determinative:	(B1)



Stela 237

Dating: Split Dating Category: [Uncertain]

Provenance:	Area of Tomb of Peribsen P - Kahl states Djer (O)
Dimensions:	H: 42.5.W: 26.5. D: 15.0.
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No:	CG14628
Selected Bibliography:	Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 238

Name: [...]

Title: ⲉ(?)*Hr*

Hand of the Horus (?),
One who lifts up the Horus (the King)

Name Transliteration Code:

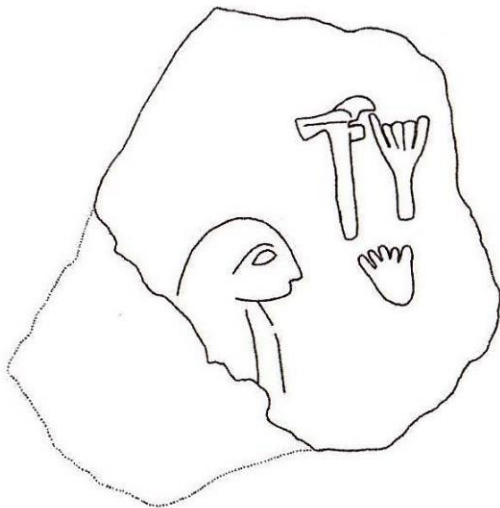
(?m9.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(uncertain? m9;R13.)

Determinative:

(B1)



Stela 238

Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance:

Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions:

H: 22.0; W: 24.5; D: 9.0.

Inscription Type:

Bold Raised Relief

Current Location:

Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Museum Inventory No:

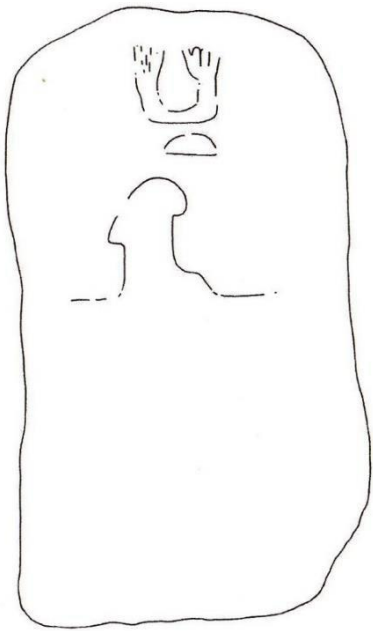
CG 14626

Selected Bibliography:

Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 239

Name: *K3t* Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code: (D28;X1.)
Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
Determinative: (B1)



Stela 239

Dating: Split Dating Category: [Uncertain]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Peribsen P - Kahl states Djer (O)
Dimensions: H: 43.5. W: 25.5. D: 14.0.
Inscription Type: Bold Raised Relief
Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
Museum Inventory No: CG 14624
Selected Bibliography: Amélineau (1904); Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004); Legarreta Hernández (2006).

Stela No: 241

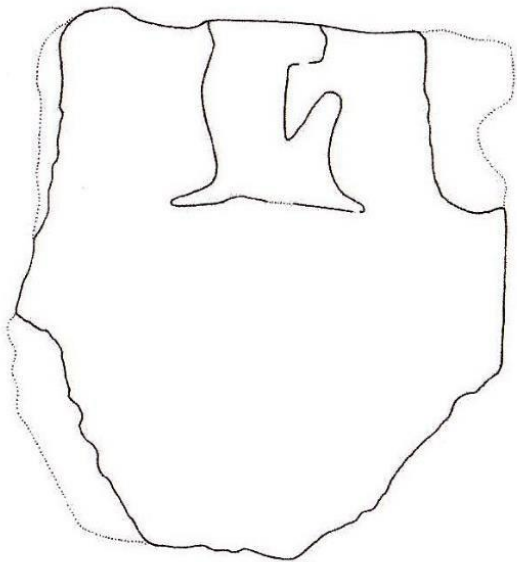
Name: n/a Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Determinative: (B1)

*Partial Determinative Only



Stela 241

Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T

Dimensions: H: 24.5; W: 22.2; D: 5.0.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

Current Location: Museum and Art Gallery, Bolton.

Museum Inventory No: 1901.36.98.6

Selected Bibliography: Kaplony (1963); Germon Riley (1985); Kahl (1994).

Stela No: 249

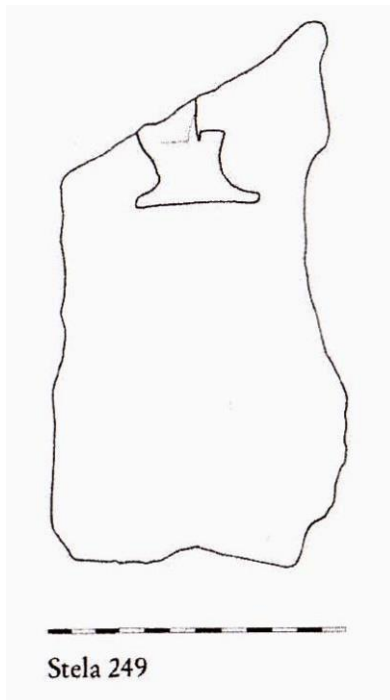
Name: n/a Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Determinative: (B1)

*Partial Determinative Only



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den, marked T - ? Kaplony Y

Dimensions: H: 22.5. W: 12.0. D: 4.5.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

Current Location: University College, Petrie Museum, London.

Museum Inventory No: 14274

Selected Bibliography: Kaplony (1963); Kahl (1994).

Stela No: 258

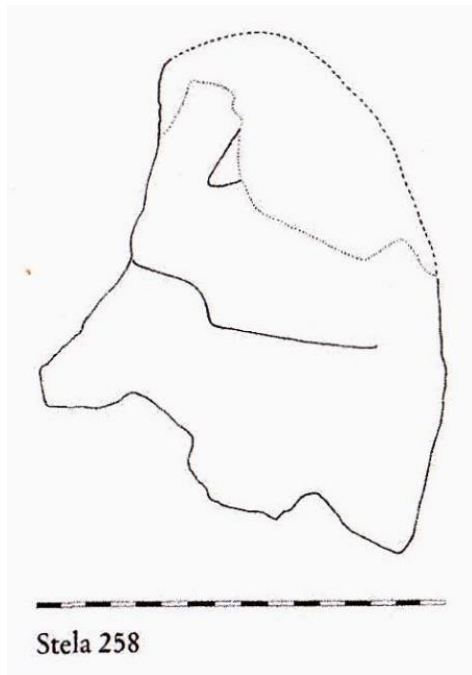
Name: n/a Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Determinative: (B1)

*Partial Determinative Only



Dating: Early First Dynasty: [Djer]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Djer O

Dimensions: H: 23.5; W: 17.0; D: 6.0.

Inscription Type: Sunk Relief

Current Location: University College, Petrie Museum, London.

Museum Inventory No: 36618

Selected Bibliography: Kaplony (1963).

Stela No: 267

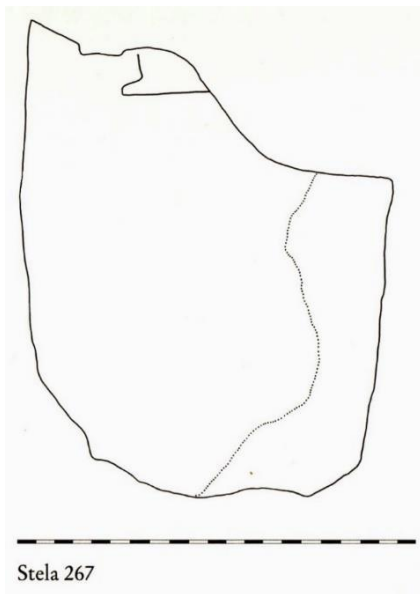
Name: n/a Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Determinative: (B1)

*Partial Determinative Only



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]

Provenance: Area of Tomb of Den T

Dimensions: H: 24.0; W: 19.0; D: 5.5.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago

Museum Inventory No: 5866

Selected Bibliography: None.

Stela No: 271

Name: *Nfr-wi3-nt*

Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code:

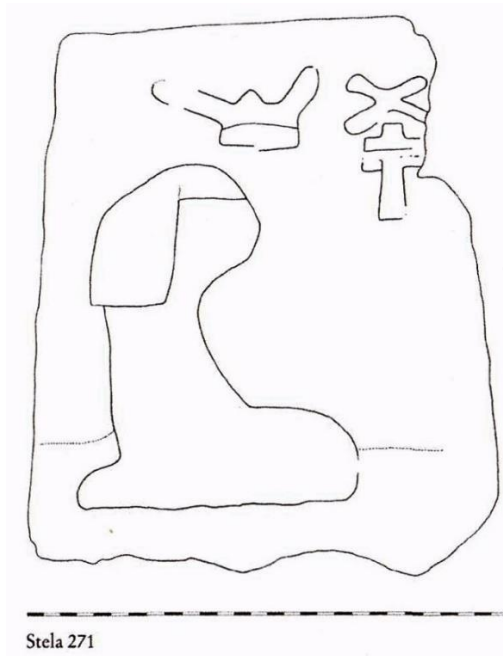
(r3;F35;P3.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(n/a)

Determinative:

(B1)



Dating: Uncertain:

[Uncertain]

Provenance:

Not recorded

Dimensions:

H: 31.0; W: 26.0; D: 5.0.

Inscription Type:

Raised Relief

Current Location:

Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich.

Museum Inventory No:

4290

Selected Bibliography:

Kaplony (1963); Kahl (1994); Kahl (2002-2004).

Stela No: 279

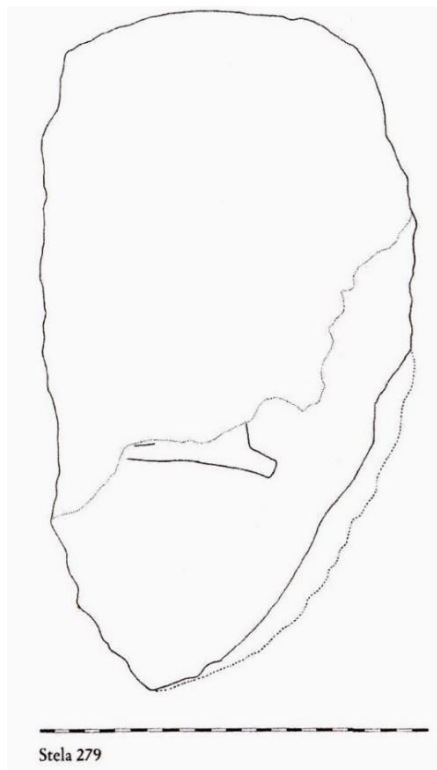
Name: n/a Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Determinative: (B1)

*Partial Determinative Only



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]

Provenance: Tomb of Den, dump south of tomb

Dimensions: H: 45.0; W: 24.0; D: c. 6.0.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

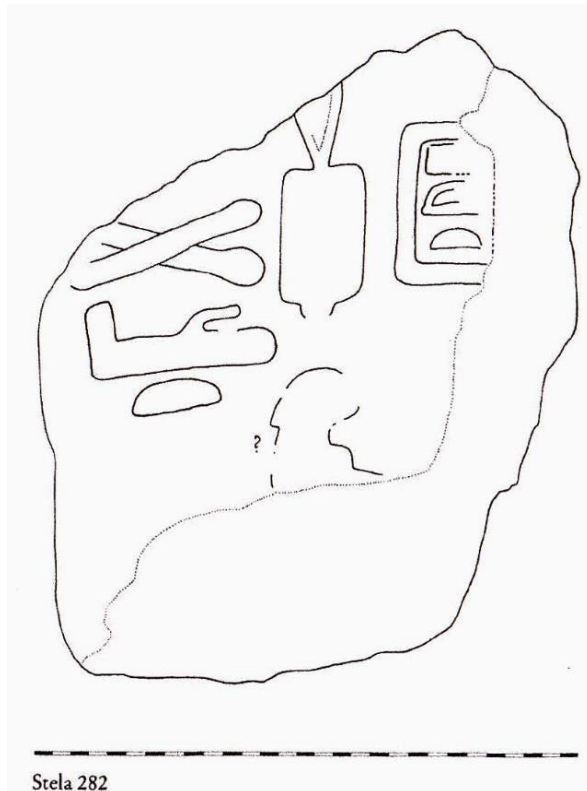
Current Location: SCA Storage Magazine

Museum Inventory No: DAI K1025

Selected Bibliography: None.

Stela No: 282

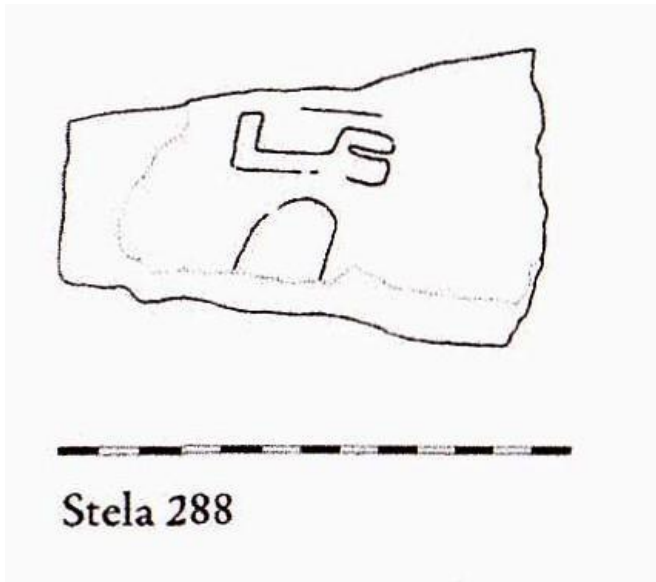
Name: <i>Drt-nt</i>	Title: <i>htm(w) hwt [...]</i> ? Sealer of the Palace [...]
Name Transliteration Code:	(r3;D36;X1.)
Title Transliteration Code:	([O6];S20.)
Determinative:	(B1)



Dating: Late First Dynasty:	[Den]
Provenance:	Tomb of Den, dump north of tomb
Dimensions:	H: 34.0; W: 30.0; D: 8.0.
Inscription Type:	Bold Raised Relief
Current Location:	SCA Storage Magazine
Museum Inventory No:	R194
Selected Bibliography:	None.

Stela No: 288

Name: [...]ḥ Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: ([?];D36.)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)
 Determinative: (?B1)



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]
 Provenance: Tomb of Den, King's Chamber
 Dimensions: H:7.0; W: 12.4; D: 4.4.
 Inscription Type: Raised Relief
 Current Location: SCA Storage Museum
 Museum Inventory No: DAI K5140
 Selected Bibliography: None.

Stela No: 301

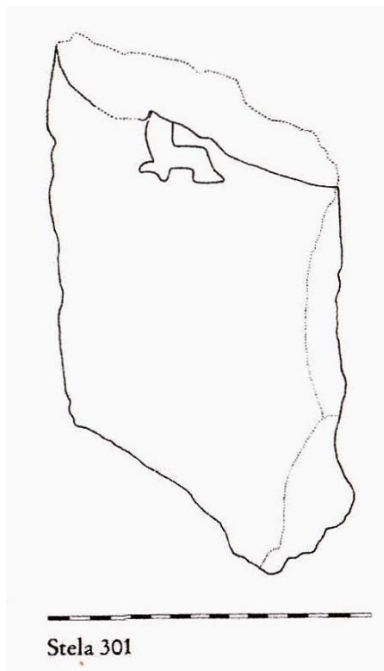
Name: n/a Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Determinative: (?A51)

*Partial Determinative Only



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Semerkhet]

Provenance: Tomb of Semerkhet - south east of King's Chamber

Dimensions: H: 22.0; W: 14.0; D: 4.5.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

Current Location: SCA Storage Magazine

Museum Inventory No: DAI K6903

Selected Bibliography: None.

Stela No: 304

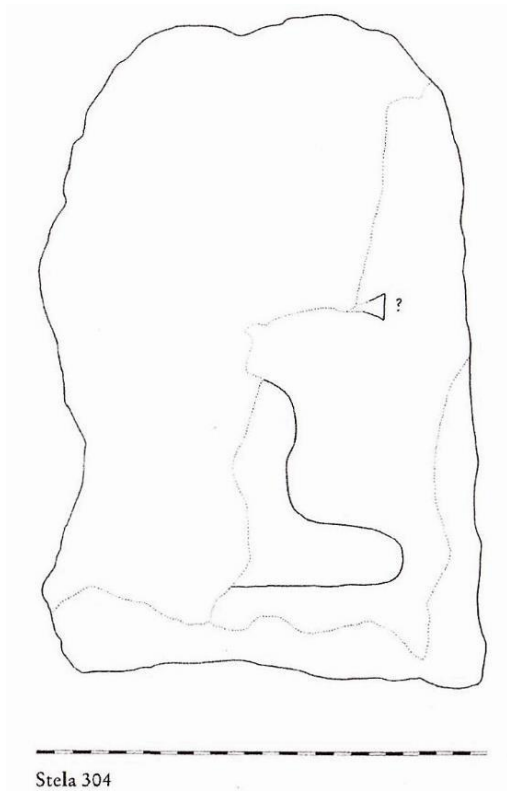
Name: n/a Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)

Determinative: (B1)

*Partial Determinative Only



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den] Provenance:

Area of tomb Den

Dimensions: H: 37.0; W: 22.0; D: 11.8.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

Current Location: SCA Storage Magazine

Museum Inventory No: DAI K6906

Selected Bibliography: None.

Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-2

Name: *Dw3.t ?*

Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code:

((possibly ?U21;X1;)D46;V4;X1;)

Title Transliteration Code:

(n/a)



Dating: Second Dynasty: [Early Dynasty 2]

Provenance: Debris H3, Surface Debris

Dimensions: H: 27; L: 40; D: 10.

Inscription Type: L/ Side Raised Relief; R/H Side Roughly Inscribed

Current Location: n/a

Museum Inventory No: n/a

Selected Bibliography: Saad (1957); Köhler & Jones (2009).

Köhler & Jones (2009: 59) “The signs that are placed before or that are part of the owner’s name are difficult to discern due to damage.”

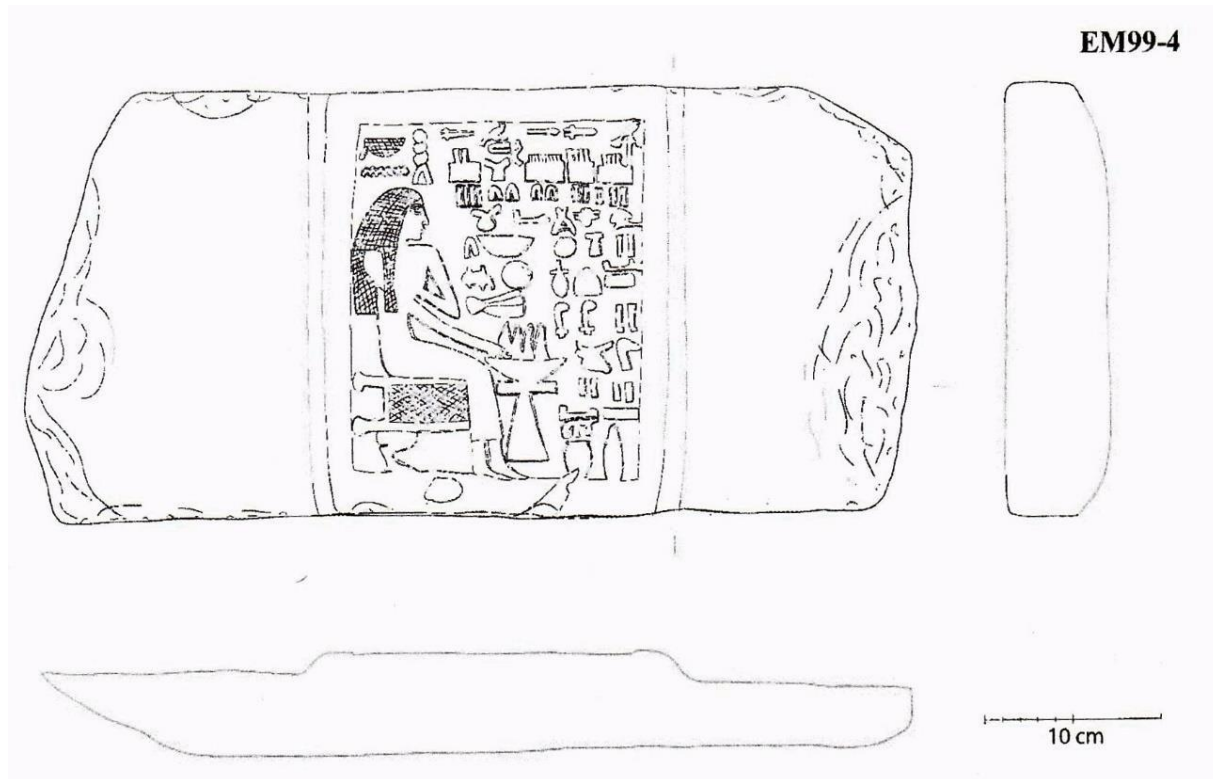
Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-4

Name: *Hkn*

Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: (V28;V31;N35.)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)



Dating: Second Dynasty: [Late Dynasty 2]

Provenance: 381.H.8, Debris of Burial Chamber

Dimensions: H: 25; L: 49; D: 6.

Inscription Type: Flat, Raised Relief

Current Location: n/a

Museum Inventory No: n/a

Selected Bibliography: Saad (1957); Köhler & Jones (2009).

Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-5

Name: *N(i)t-m3h*

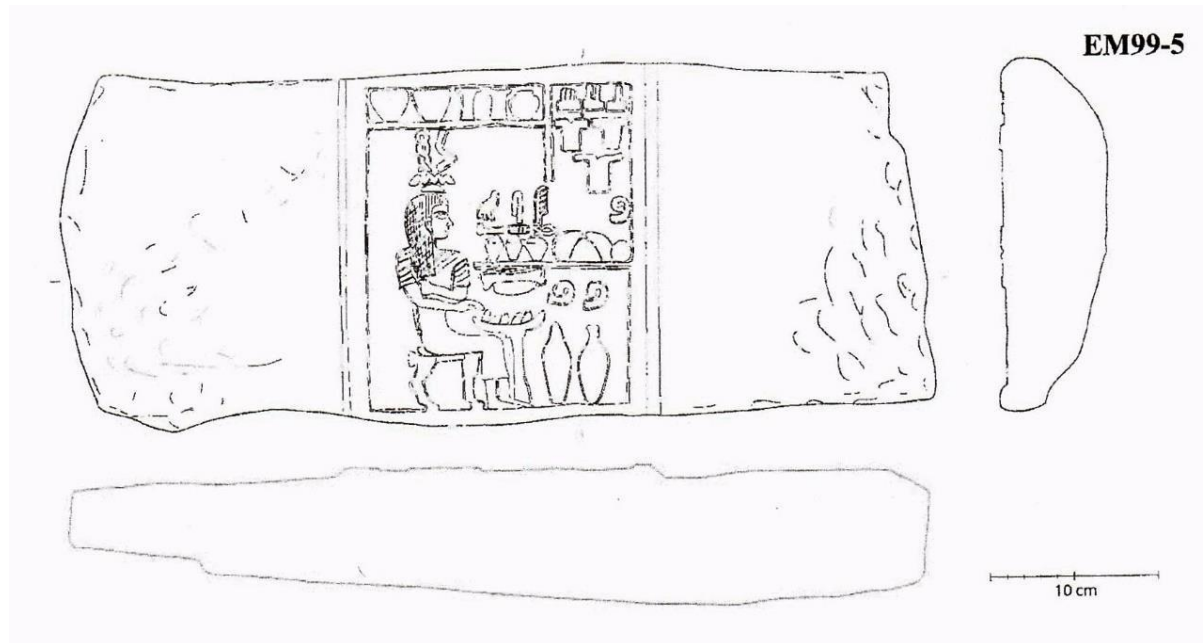
Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code:

(U1;V28;N35;X1.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(n/a)



Dating: Second Dynasty: [Mid Dynasty 2]

Provenance: 432:H.11

Dimensions: H: 23.5; L: 52; D: 6.5.

Inscription Type: Flat, Raised Relief

Current Location: n/a

Museum Inventory No: n/a

Selected Bibliography: Kaplony (1966); Köhler & Jones (2009).

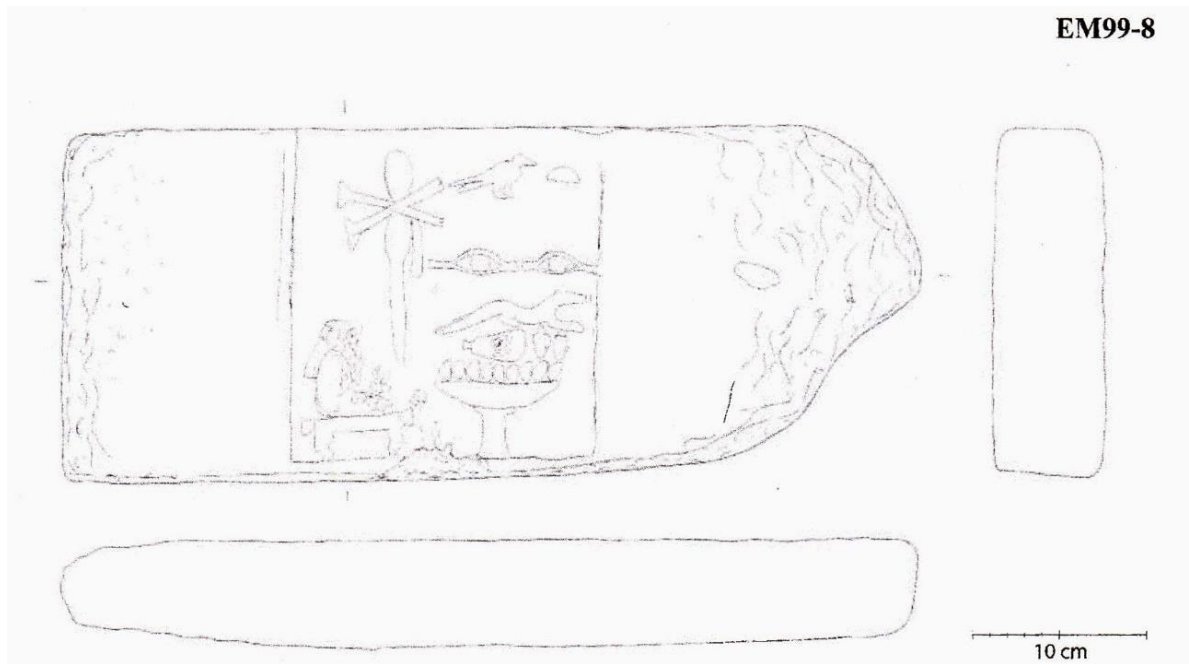
Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-8

Name: *wr.t n.t ir.ty'Inpw/hnt.y-immn.tyw* or *t-wr-ir.ty-Inp.w-n.t*

Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: (X1;G36;r4;D4 x2; E15;)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Mid-Late Dynasty 1]

Provenance: 1139:H.11, Debris of Burial Chamber

Dimensions: H: 21; L: 49.5; D: 6.

Inscription Type: Shallow, Raised Relief

Current Location: n/a

Museum Inventory No: n/a

Selected Bibliography: Leclant (1953); Köhler & Jones (2009).

Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-10

Name: *S3.t-b3/hnm.w*

Title: *s3.t nsw*[...] Daughter of the King

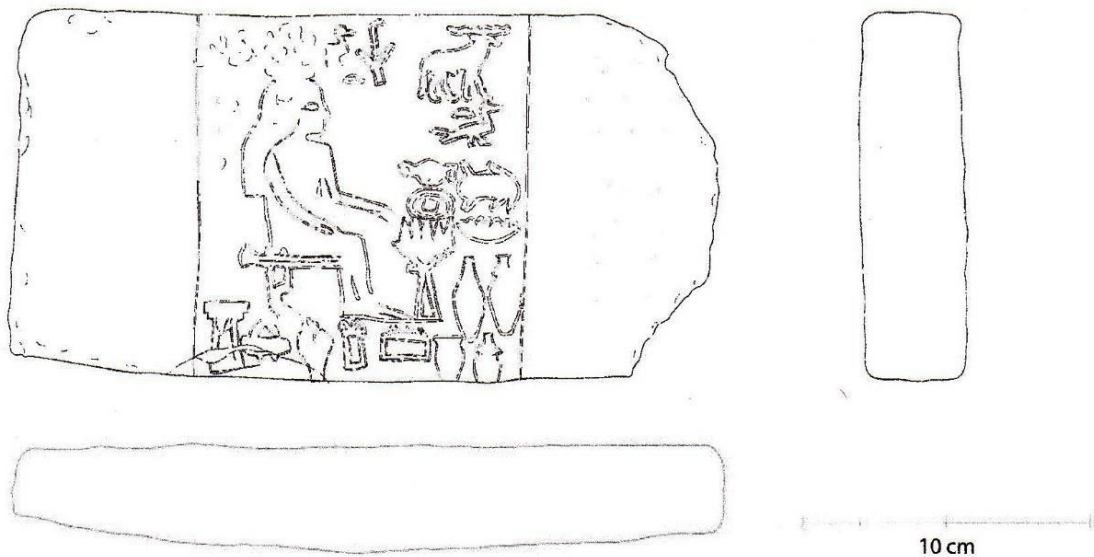
Name Transliteration Code:

(M23;X1;G39.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(E11;X1;G39.)

EM99-10



Dating: Second Dynasty: [Early-Mid Dynasty 2]

Provenance: 1241.H.9, Debris

Dimensions: H: 14; L: 27; D: 3.

Inscription Type: Incised

Current Location: n/a

Museum Inventory No: n/a

Selected Bibliography: Saad (1957); Köhler & Jones (2009); Solà-Sagaldés (2015).

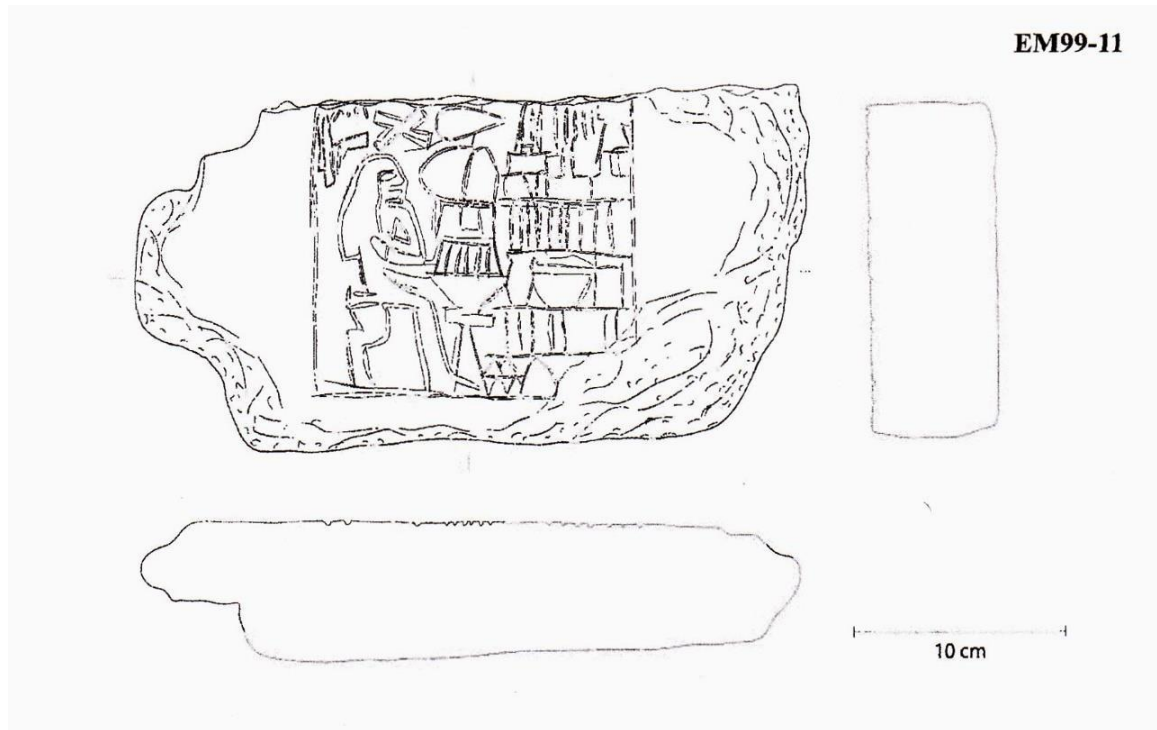
Köhler & Jones (2009: 62) “The area above the owner's head and behind her title is damaged and may have held more signs, thus complementing her title 'daughter of the king', which unusually is inscribed after the personal name”.

Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-11

Name: *Ni.si-n.t* Title: n/a Name

Transliteration Code: (r3;N35;S29;?)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)



Dating: Second Dynasty: [Early Dynasty 2]

Provenance: 379.H.8, Debris of Burial Chamber

Dimensions: H:16; L: 32: D: 6.5.

Inscription Type: Incised

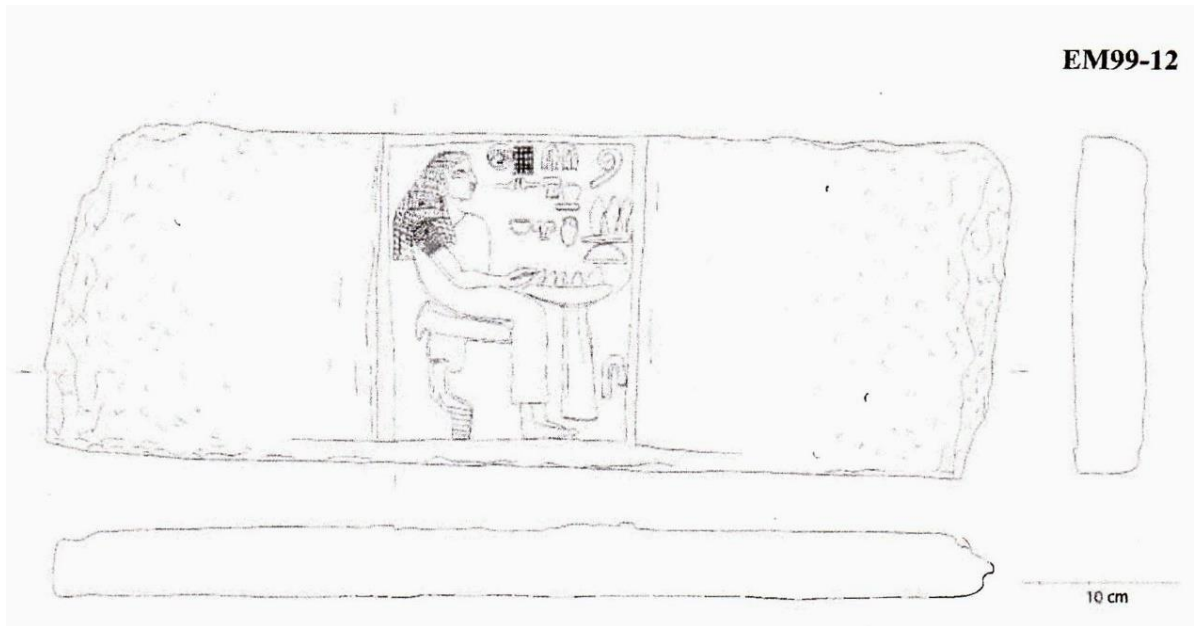
Current Location: n/a

Museum Inventory No: n/a

Selected Bibliography: Saad (1957); Köhler & Jones (2009).

Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-12

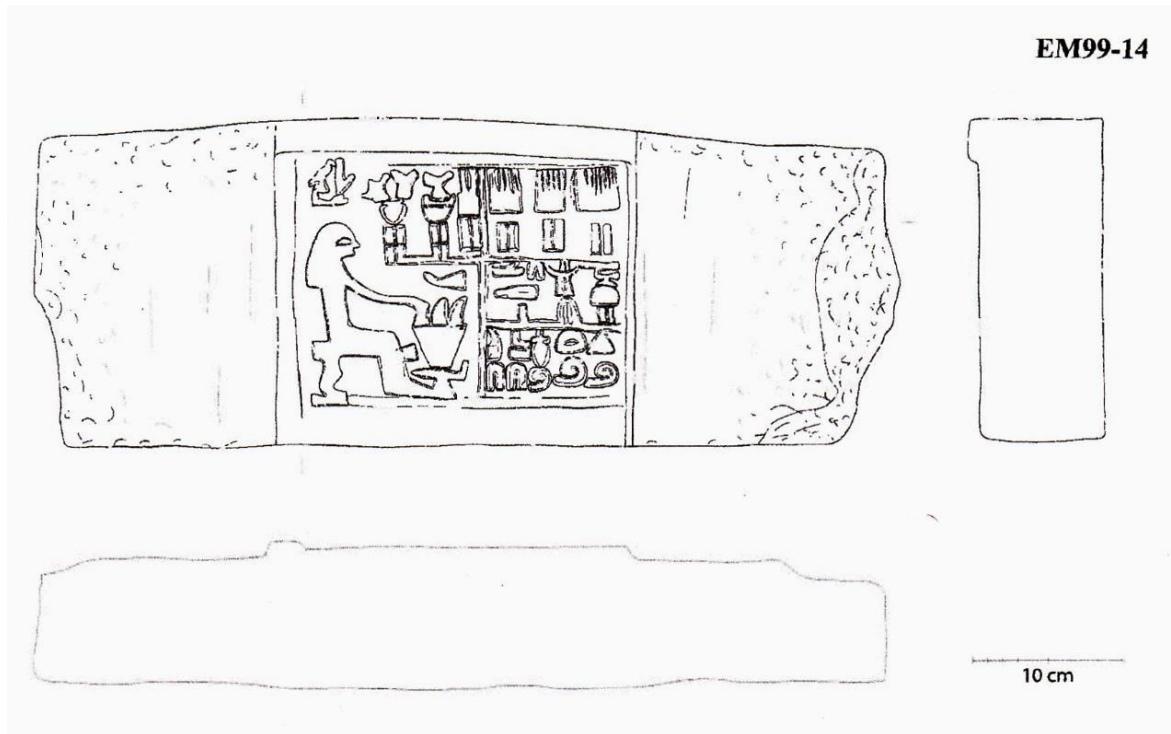
Name: *Sp* Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code: (Q3;O34;O50.)
Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)



Dating: Second Dynasty: [Early Mid Dynasty 2]
Provenance: 432.H.11
Dimensions: H: 21; L: 58; D: 4.5.
Inscription Type: Raised Relief
Current Location: n/a
Museum Inventory No: n/a
Selected Bibliography: Kaplony (1966); Köhler & Jones (2009).

Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-14

Name: $W^r(.t)$ Title: n/a
 Name Transliteration Code: (t1;G43;D46;)
 Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Late Dynasty 1-Early Dynasty 2]
 Provenance: 1048.H.11
 Dimensions: H: 23; L: 57; D: 8.
 Inscription Type: Simple, Raised Relief
 Current Location: n/a
 Museum Inventory No: n/a
 Selected Bibliography: Kaplony (1966); Köhler & Jones (2009).

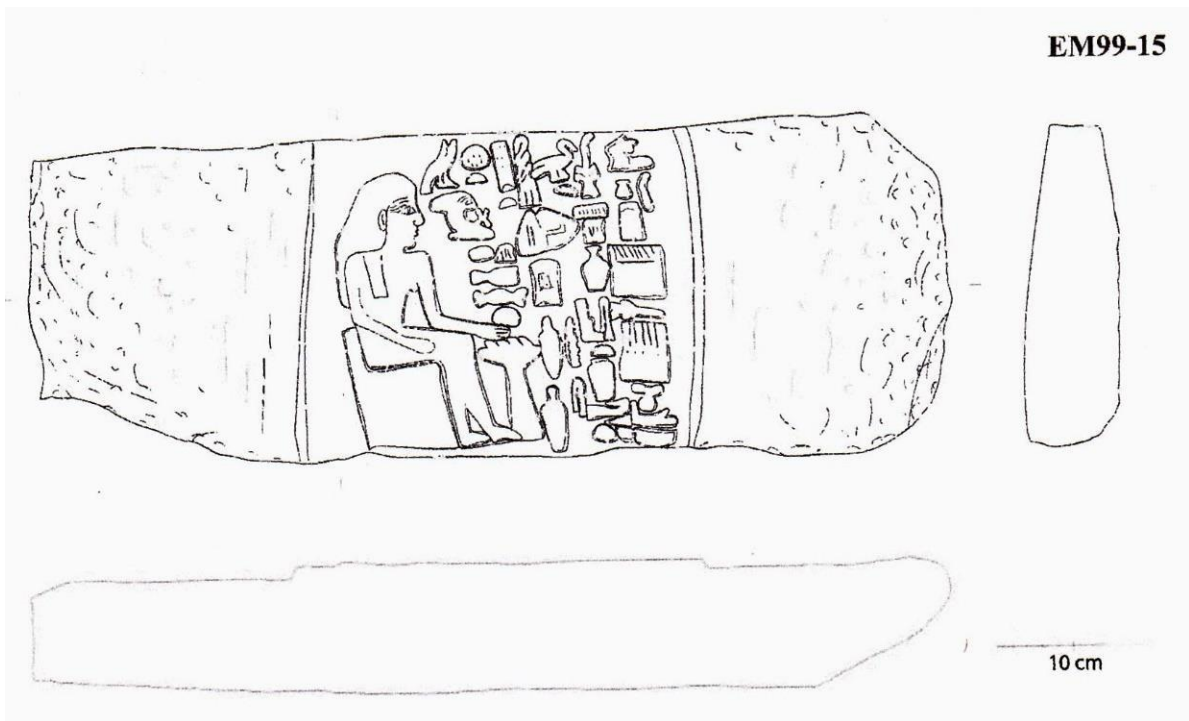
Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-15

Name: *Hnm.t-ptḥ*

Title: *s3.t nsw* Daughter of the King

Name Transliteration Code: (V28;Q3;X1; Aa1;X1;G17;b1;) Title

Transliteration Code: (M23;X1;G39.)



Dating: Second Dynasty: [Mid-Dynasty 2]

Provenance: 175.H.8, Robbers Tunnel with EM99-6

Dimensions: H:24; L:63; D: 6.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

Current Location: n/a

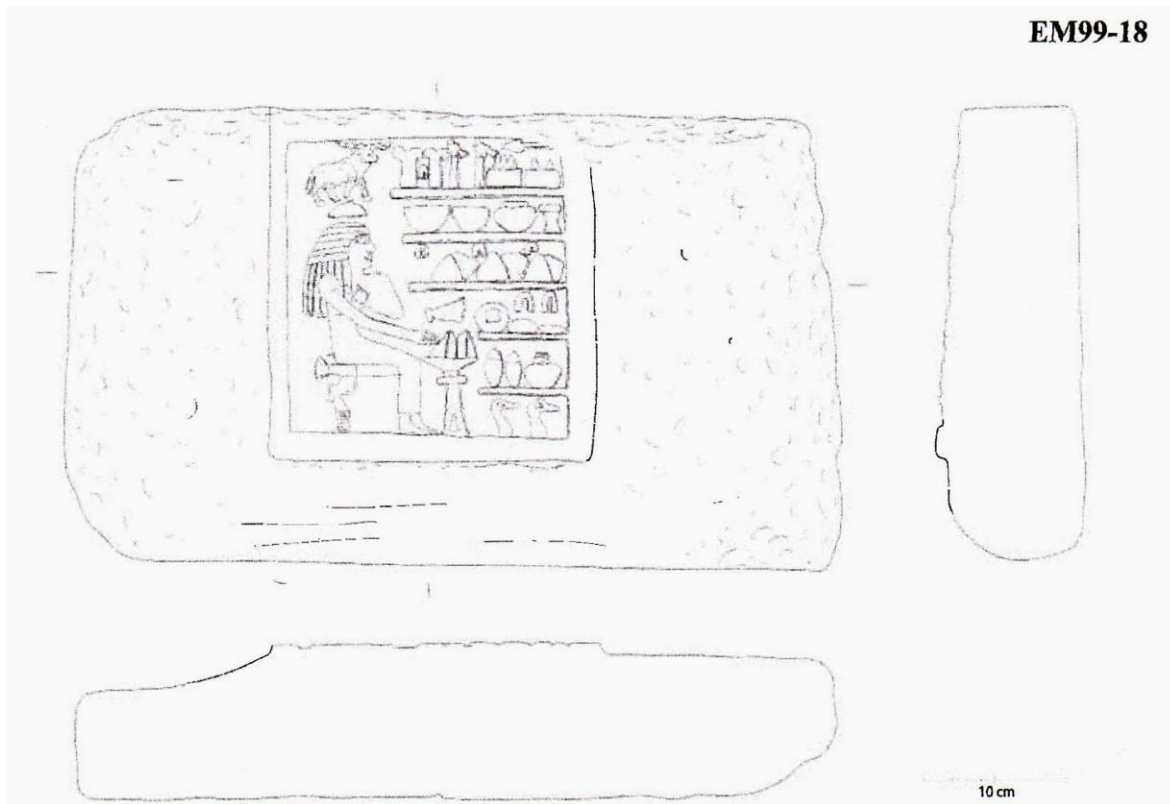
Museum Inventory No: n/a

Selected Bibliography: Saad (1957); Köhler & Jones (2009); Solà-Sagals (2015).

Solà-Sagals (2015: 1548) Offers the name “*Hepetkhenmet*”.

Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-18

Name: *B3.t/hnm.t* Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code: (E10;X1;)
Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)



Dating: Second Dynasty: [Mid-Late Dynasty 2]
Provenance: 480.H.3 or Debris H3 (Robbers' tunnel or surface?)
Dimensions: H: 32.5; L: 55; D: 7.3.
Inscription Type: Raised Relief
Current Location: n/a
Museum Inventory No: n/a
Selected Bibliography: Saad (1957); Köhler & Jones (2009).

Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-21

Name: [...] *hḳ.t*

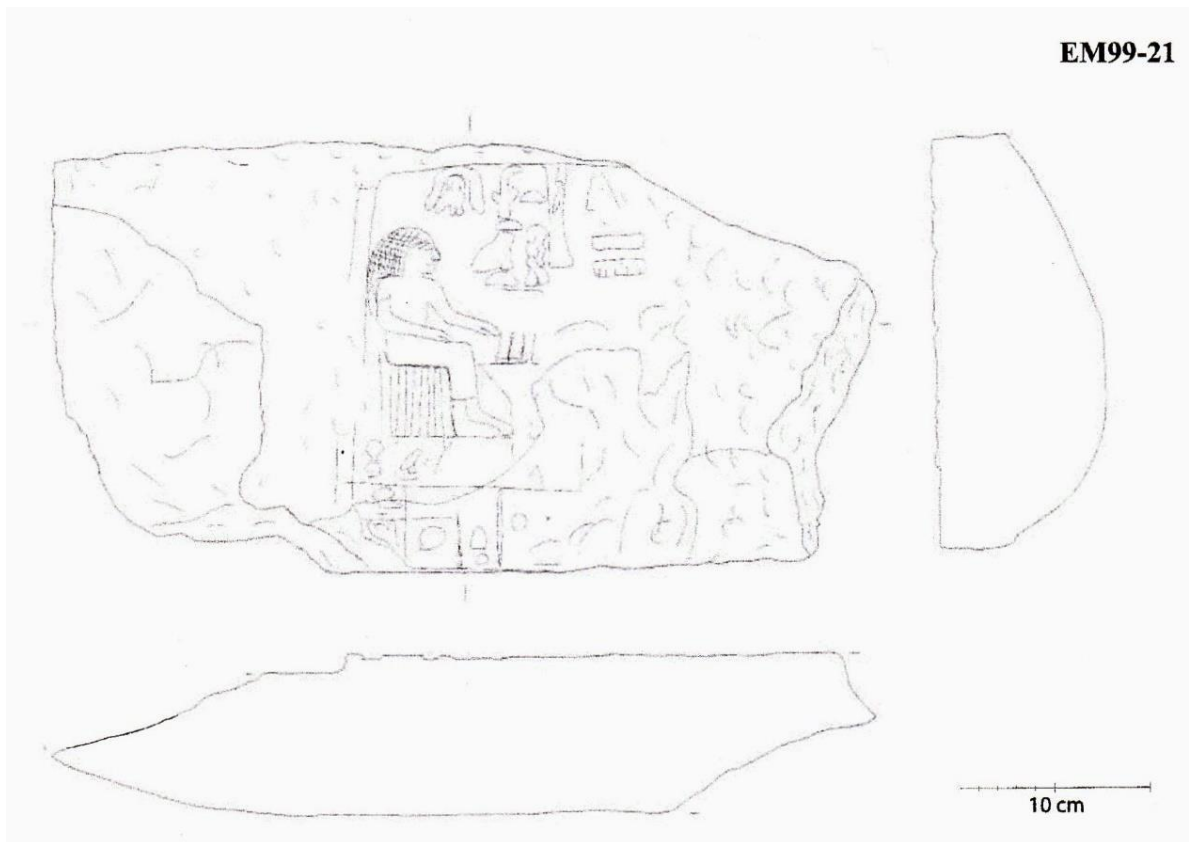
Title: *shn(.t)-3ḥ nsw* Funerary Priestess of the King

Name Transliteration Code:

(V28;I7;X1.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(?X1. M23;X1;D32;G25.)



Dating: Second Dynasty: [Mid Dynasty 2] Provenance:

889:H:8, Debris of Pit Tomb

Dimensions:

H: 23; L: 60+; D: 9.

Inscription Type:

Raised Relief

Current Location:

n/a

Museum Inventory No:

n/a

Selected Bibliography:

Saad (1957); Köhler & Jones (2009).

"There appear to be at least four signs to the right of her name." (Köhler & Jones 2009: 164).

Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-22

Name: *Nfr-mri-k3*

Title: n/a Name

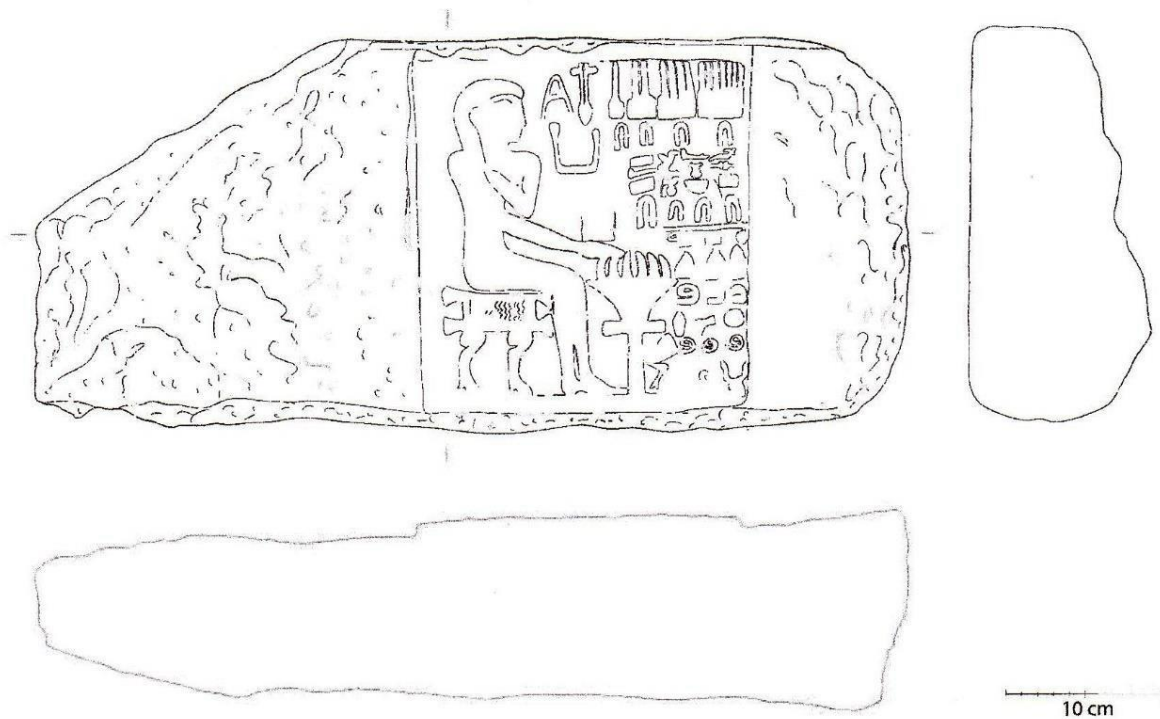
Transliteration Code:

(F35;U6;D28.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(n/a)

EM99-22



Dating: Second Dynasty:

[Mid Dynasty 2]

Provenance:

246.H.8, Debris of Burial Chamber

Dimensions:

H: 25.2; L: 57; D: 12.

Inscription Type:

Slightly, Raised Relief

Current Location:

n/a

Museum Inventory No:

n/a

Selected Bibliography:

Saad (1957); Köhler & Jones (2009).

Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-23

Name: *'Ini-sw-ḥkt*

Title: *s3.t nsw* Son of the King

Name Transliteration Code:

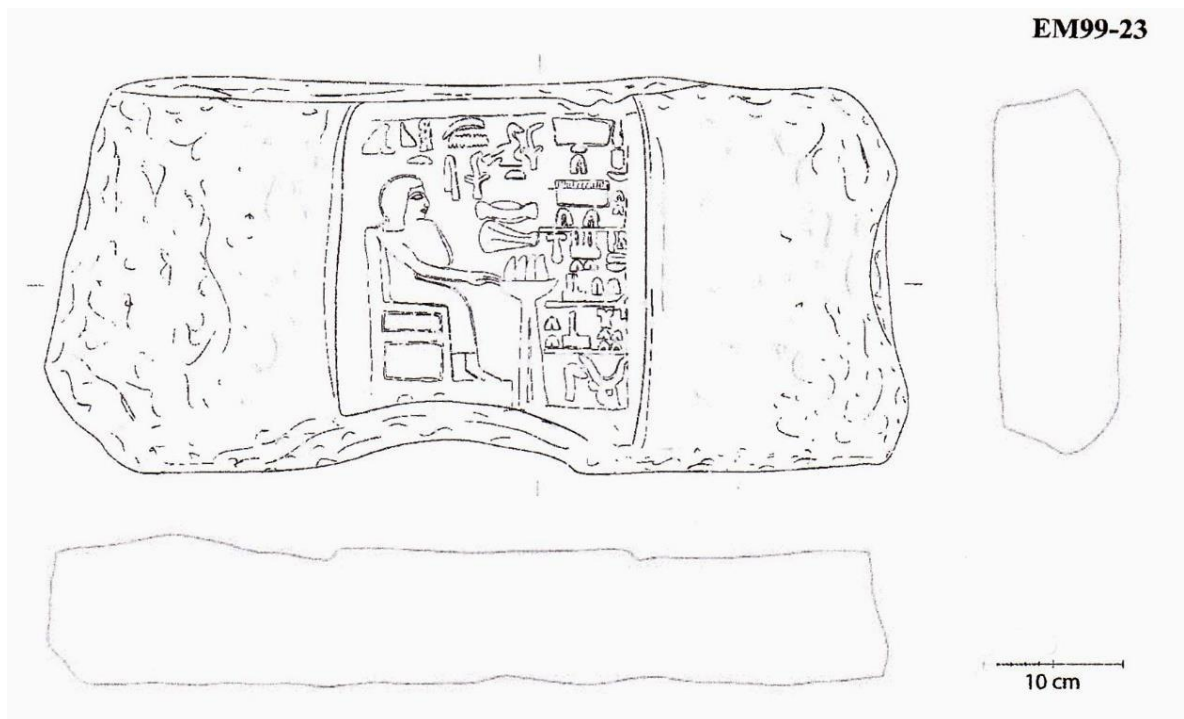
(F20:N35:V28:N29:(I7 as determinative).)

Title Transliteration Code:

(M23:G39:X1.)

Alternate Translation:

Daughter of the King



Dating: Second Dynasty:

[Mid Dynasty 2] Provenance:

964.H.8, Debris of Pit Tomb

Dimensions:

H:27; L:64.5; D:7.5.

Inscription Type:

Raised Relief

Current Location:

n/a

Museum Inventory No:

n/a

Selected Bibliography:

Saad (1957); Köhler & Jones (2009); Jones (2014).

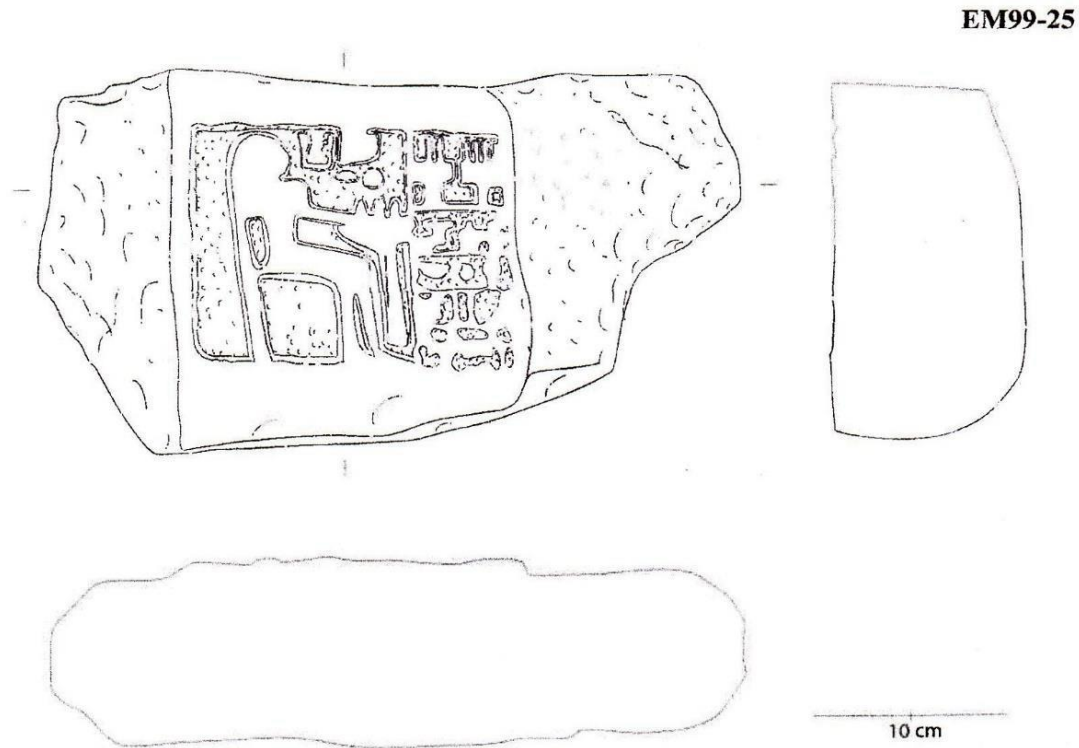
Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-25

Name: *Mnht(?)*-*k3*

Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: (??Aa1;X1;D28;)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Late Dynasty 1-Early Dynasty 2]

Provenance: 114.H.9, Debris of the Tomb

Dimensions: H: 19; L: 37; D: 10.

Inscription Type: Raised (but flat and coarse) Relief

Current Location: n/a

Museum Inventory No: n/a

Selected Bibliography: Saad (1957); Köhler & Jones (2009).

Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-26

Name: *Ni.si-n.t*

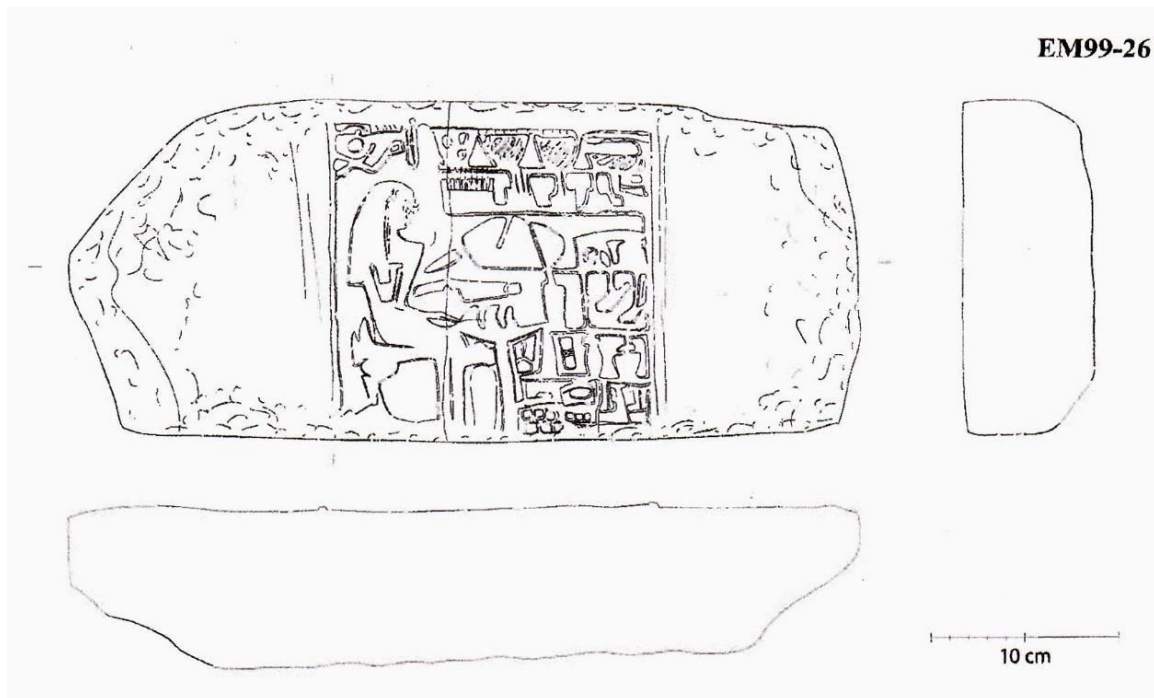
Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code:

(? Uncertain)

Title Transliteration Code:

(n/a)



Dating: Second Dynasty:

[Mid Dynasty 2]

Provenance:

712:H:3, (Shaft Fill)

Dimensions:

H: 19; L: 44; D: 5.

Inscription Type:

Coarse Raised Relief

Current Location:

n/a

Museum Inventory No:

n/a

Selected Bibliography:

Saad (1957); Köhler & Jones (2009).

Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-27

Name: *Mri.t-n.t* Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code: (?;U6;??D21 x2;r3;)
Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Late Dynasty 1]
Provenance: 623:H:7
Dimensions: H: 24; L: 48; D: 4.
Inscription Type: Shallow, Raised Relief
Current Location: n/a
Museum Inventory No: n/a
Selected Bibliography: Kaplony (1966); Köhler & Jones (2009).

Funerary Relief Slab No: EM99-30

Name: *Nfr-siw=f*

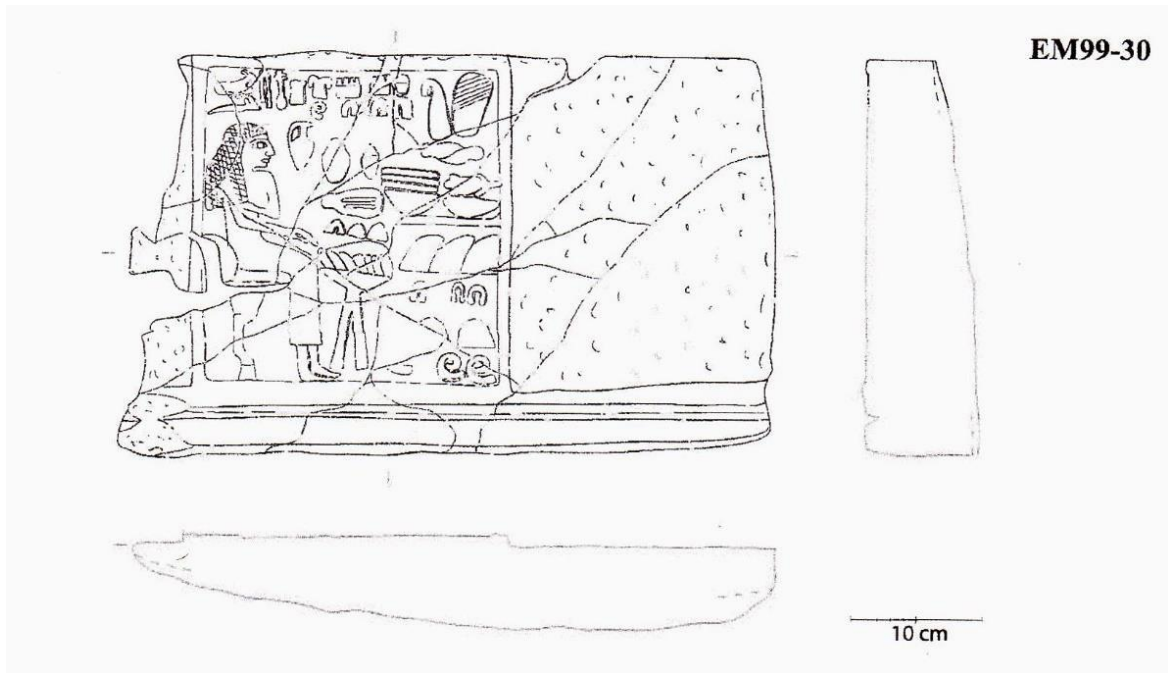
Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code:

(F35;S29;E9;I9;)

Title Transliteration Code:

(n/a)



Dating: Second Dynasty: [Dynasty 2]

Provenance: Debris H5

Dimensions: H: 31; L: 50; D: c. 9.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

Current Location: n/a

Museum Inventory No: n/a

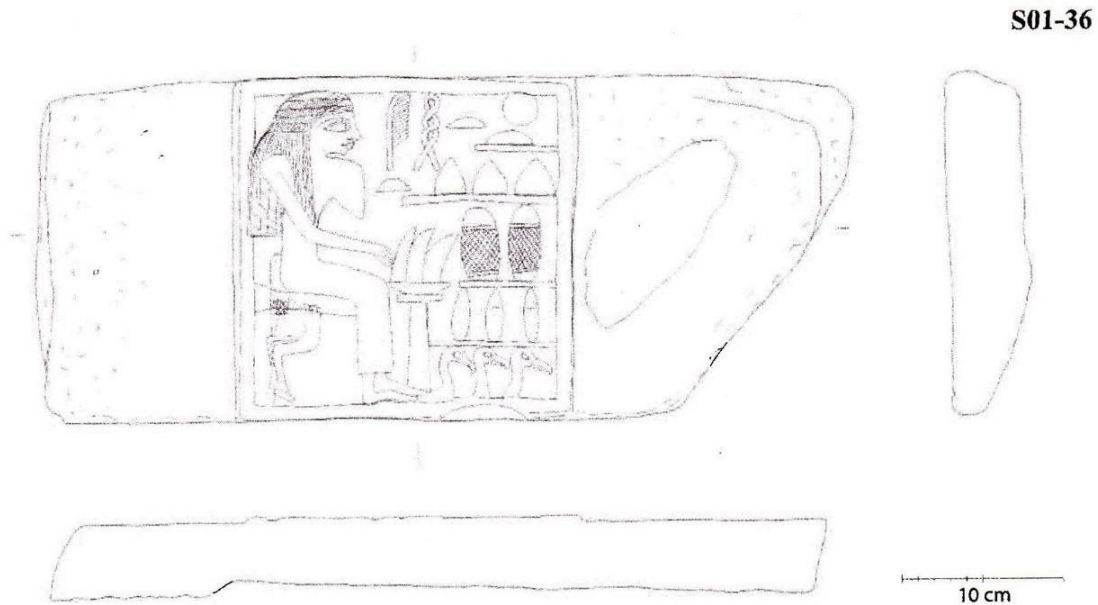
Selected Bibliography: Saad (1957); Köhler & Jones (2009).

Funerary Relief Slab No: S01-36

Name: *Hiti* (?) Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code: (V28;M17;X1.)

Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)



Dating: Second Dynasty: [Mid Dynasty 2]

Provenance: Op.4/19, Bottom of Robbers' Tunnel

Dimensions: H: 23; L: 54; D: 5.5.

Inscription Type: Raised Relief

Current Location: n/a

Museum Inventory No: n/a

Selected Bibliography: Köhler (2003); Köhler & Jones (2009).

Funerary Relief Slab No: S01-37

Name *Sn-st-k3* or *Sn.t-k3=s*

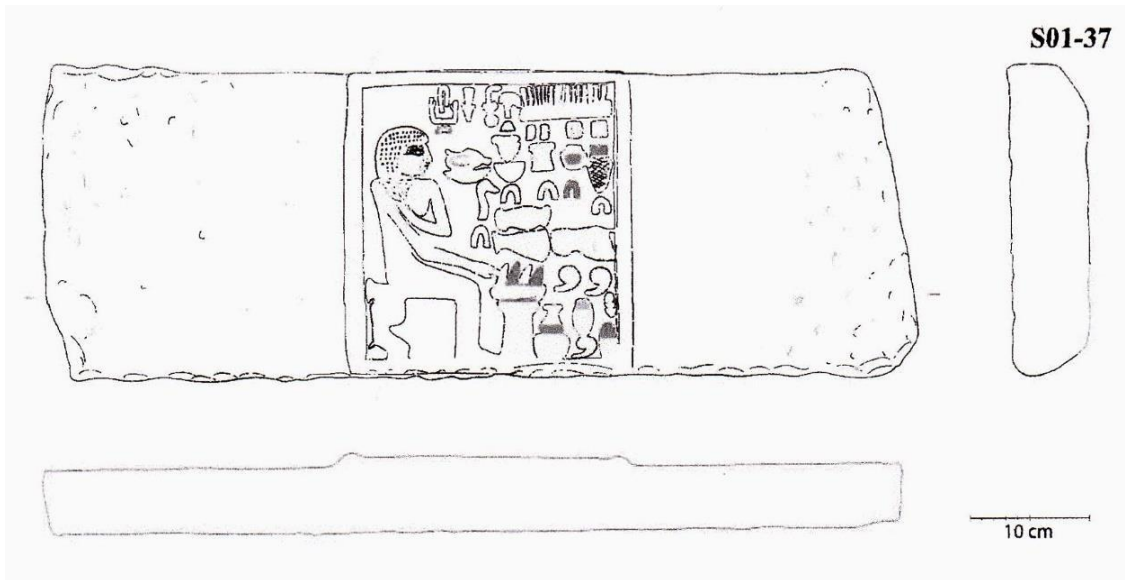
Title: *rh.(.t) nsw* Acquaintance of the King

Name Transliteration Code:

(T22;S29;D28;X1.)

Title Transliteration Code:

(M23+Aa1.)



Dating: Second Dynasty: [Early Dynasty 2]

Provenance: Op.4/19

Dimensions: H: 26; L: 75; D: 7.

Inscription Type: Raised (but flat relief with sharp edges)

Current Location: n/a

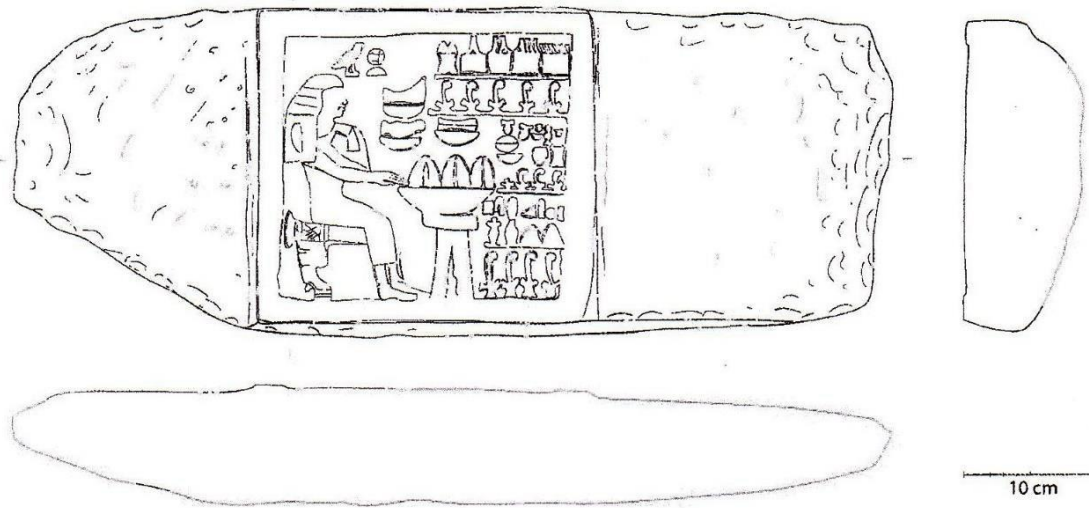
Museum Inventory No: n/a

Selected Bibliography: Köhler (2003); Köhler & Jones (2009).

Funerary Relief Slab No: S05-135

Name: *Hwi.t* Title: n/a
Name Transliteration Code: (Aa1;X1;G43;)
Title Transliteration Code: (n/a)

S05-135



Dating: Second Dynasty: [Late Dynasty 2]
Provenance: OP.4/94
Dimensions: H: 25; L: 67; D: 9.4.
Inscription Type: Flat Raised Relief
Current Location: n/a
Museum Inventory No: n/a
Selected Bibliography: Köhler & Jones (2009).

Stela No: n/a

Name: *Wht*

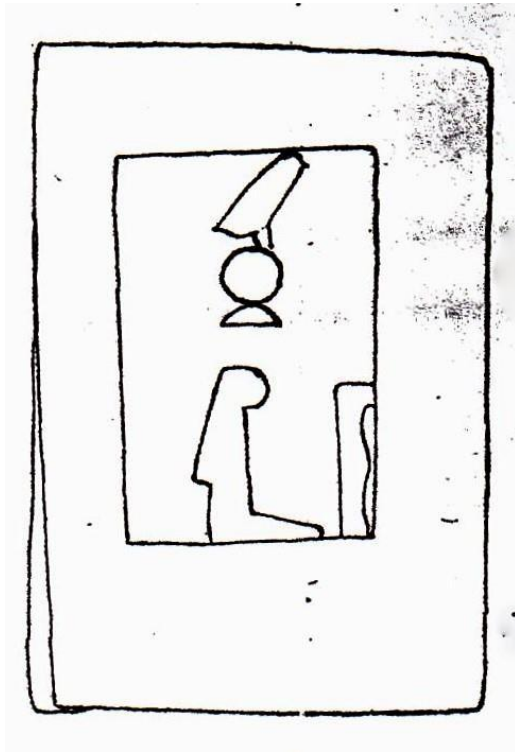
Title: n/a

Name Transliteration Code:

(G43;Aa1;X1)

Title Transliteration Code:

(n/a)



Dating: Late First Dynasty: [Den]

Provenance: M01(02)

Dimensions: n/a

Inscription Type: n/a

Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Museum Inventory No: JE 44330

Bibliography: Montet (1938; 1946).

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