The pr-ḥḏ and the Early Dynastic State

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Abstract
Quantitative research in the available sources on the pr-ḥḏ in the Early Dynastic period shows that there are better arguments to translate the Early Dynastic term pr-ḥḏ as ‘House of Stoneware’ rather than ‘treasury’. This also helps in explaining the somewhat puzzling double dichotomy of pr-ḥḏ/pr-dSr and pr-ḥḏ/pr-nbw in this period. Moreover, from the results it could be argued that a theory seeing ‘spectacle’ as crucial for state formation in early states is more helpful for understanding the function of the Early Dynastic pr-ḥḏ than a theory seeing the treasury as the centre of the state.

Keywords
Early Dynastic, Hatnub, ‘House of Stoneware’, pr-ḥḏ, royal estates (‘domains’), spectacle, state formation, Step Pyramid, treasury, wine

Introduction
The hieroglyphic combination pr-ḥḏ is generally translated as ‘treasury’ for all ancient Egyptian periods, and this pr-ḥḏ is generally seen as related to a pr-dSr and to a pr-nbw. The TLA translates both pr-ḥḏ and pr-dSr as Schatzhaus, and pr-nbw as Goldhaus.1 The Wörerbuch has Haus des Goldes for pr-nb, translates pr-dSr as ‘das rote Haus’ and adds ‘eigentlich das weiße Haus’ (not Haus des Silbers) to Schatzhaus for pr-ḥḏ.2 Kahl’s Frühägyptisches Wörerbuch has just Weißes Haus and Rotes Haus (not Schatzhaus) and adds to both, more cautiously, only ‘eine Verwaltungsinstition’. He does not give the term pr-nbw.3 However, an inscription mentioning a pr-nbw – mostly disregarded in literature discussing the Early Dynastic pr-ḥḏ4 – is known already for the Early Dynastic period.5

Both Wörerbuch and TLA consider the pr-dSr as the Lower Egyptian treasury for the period of the Old Kingdom.6 Authors discussing the Early Dynastic pr-ḥḏ are mostly convinced, however, that the pr-ḥḏ and pr-dSr never coexisted during that period, and that the two names just alternated during the first two dynasties.7 The first occurrence of the common dual term pr-wy-nbw dates only from Sekhemkhet, the second king of the Third Dynasty.8 P:pr-wy-ḥḏ in combination with pr.wy-nbw – ‘als bedeute der Ausdruck “die beiden Silber- und Goldhäuser”’9 – is first attested only in the Fifth Dynasty.10

References
1 Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae, lemmas pr-ḥḏ, pr-dSr, pr-nbw <http://aaww.bblaw.de/tla/servlet/TlaLogin>, accessed 02.03.2018.
2 A. Erman and H. Grapow (eds), Wörerbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, I (Berlin, 1926–63), 517–8.
3 J. Kahl, Frühägyptisches Wörerbuch. 1.-3. Lieferung, 1 (Wiesbaden, 2002–4), 153–4.
4 It is discussed in E. Schott, ‘Das Goldhaus in der ägyptischen Frühzeit’, GM 2 (1972), 37–41, 37–8; not by Helck, Wilkinson, Desplanques, Endesfelder, Engel and Papazian (for full titles, see footnotes 7, 12 and 19).
5 P. Kaplony, Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit. Supplement (Wiesbaden, 1964), no. 1071: stone vase RMO Leiden, registration no. F 1965/9.2.
6 Wb I, 518; TLA lemma pr-dSr, accessed 02.03.2018.
7 W. Helck, Untersuchungen zu den Beamtenstiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches (Glückstadt, 1954), 59; T. Wilkinson, Early Dynastic Egypt (London, 2001), 127; E. Endesfelder, Beobachtungen zur Entstehung des altägyptischen Staates (IBAES 14; London, 2013), 110. Only H. Papazian speaks of a ‘seemingly complementary institution’, see H. Papazian ‘The Central Administration of the Resources in the Old Kingdom: Departments, Treasuries, Granaries and Work Centers’, in J. C. Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration (Leiden, 2013), 71.
8 M. Z. Goneim, Horus Sekhem-khet: The Unfinished Step Pyramid at Saqqara, I (Cairo, 1957), 14, figs 27 and 28, pl. XXXVII.
9 Wb I, 518.
10 S. Desplanques, L’institution du trésor en Égypte des origines à la fin du Moyen Empire (Paris, 2006), 41, 127.

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The translation ‘treasury’ in combination with the absence of a money economy based on minted silver and gold until the Ptolemaic period seemed to warrant the assumption that it was a primary task of the pr-ḥḏ ‘to fill the government coffers with agricultural produce’. However, in recent literature doubts have been expressed that the pr-ḥḏ was really ‘the very centre of the administration that assessed and levied taxation’ in Early Dynastic times. A database of all Early Dynastic inscriptions available on the internet allowed a systematic investigation of all inscriptions mentioning the pr-ḥḏ, which confirmed these doubts. It appeared to offer arguments for the translation ‘house of stoneware’ instead of ‘treasury’, a translation that, as will be shown, also contributes to an explanation for the somewhat puzzling apparent double dichotomy of pr-ḥḏ/pr-dSr and pr-ḥḏ/pr-nbw at that time.

In order to support this translation, the article will first discuss a survey of the characteristics of all known Early Dynastic inscriptions mentioning the pr-ḥḏ, and also its quantitative importance in comparison to that of other Early Dynastic institutions. Second, the pr-ḥḏ and the pr-dSr are compared, showing the untenability of the ‘alternation hypothesis’, further illustrating that in both cases translations other than ‘treasury’ are preferable for this period. Third, the Early Dynastic pr-nbw as well as a hw.t nbw will be discussed in relation to the pr-ḥḏ. Fourth, pr-ḥḏ inscriptions will be compared to what will be called ‘domain inscriptions’, for reasons to be explained later.

It will be argued from the results of these comparisons why the pr-ḥḏ can be said to have fulfilled a function in the ongoing social process of state formation during the Early Dynastic period rather than to have been the fiscal centre of the Early Dynasty state.

The pr-ḥḏ and the database of Early Dynastic inscriptions

The ‘Database of Early Dynastic Inscriptions’, online since 2009 and updated until at least 2016, covers (1) all known Pre-Dynastic inscriptions, (2) those of the First and Second Dynasty and the reign of Netjerikhet, and (3) those with an uncertain date that might fall within this range. The database was not created to be a corpus of texts, but as the basis for a palaeography of Early Dynastic script. It does not (yet) contain illustrations of the inscriptions, only the sign-codes of identifiable hieroglyphs. It can nevertheless be used for research on the frequency of short textual elements like pr-ḥḏ, pr-dSr and pr-nbw, and for research on ‘external’ characteristics of such inscriptions. Appendix A1 offers the ‘Source numbers’ of pr-ḥḏ inscriptions in the database in chronological order, with a summary of the relevant ‘external’ and ‘internal’ information for each. Appendix A2 offers the illustrations arranged according to the source numbers.

The number of preserved Early Dynastic inscriptions mentioning the pr-ḥḏ appeared to be 38: these included 19 seal inscriptions, 12 vessel and 7 label inscriptions; if all known impressions of pr-ḥḏ-seal inscriptions are included the total is more than 60. The number of 38 pr-ḥḏ inscriptions may not seem impressive in comparison to the c.4600 inscriptions in total (c.6200 if all impressions of seal inscriptions are included), but 38 is certainly significant when compared to the number of pr-ḥḏ-inscriptions referred to in the literature, mostly not more than 6 or 7, and never more than 19.

All 38 Early Dynastic pr-ḥḏ inscriptions were found in or near royal tombs in Abydos and Saqqara or in top-elite tombs in Saqqara (as is the case for 77% of all c.4600 inscriptions). The funerary character of the preserved sources casts doubts, of course, on the representativeness of the available information on the pr-ḥḏ. It may very well have had functions for the state machinery and the court of the living king not noticeable in funerary material. Given the general scarcity of sources for this early historical period, an attempt to make the most of the available contemporary information seemed nevertheless worthwhile, as

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11 Wilkinson, Early Dynastic Egypt, 125; Papazian, in Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration, 41–85, 70–1.
12 E. M. Engel, ‘The Organization of a Nascent State: Egypt Until the Beginning of the 4th Dynasty’, in Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration, 41–85, 31–2; L. A. Warden, ‘Centralized Taxation During the Old Kingdom’, in P. Der Manuelian and Th. Schneider (eds), Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Perspectives on the Pyramid Age (Leiden, 2015), 470–95.
13 Wilkinson, Early Dynastic Egypt, 125.
14 http://www1.ivv1.uni-muenster.de/litw3/Aegyptologie published by I. Regulski in 2009; the author is planning the addition of photos and a revision of the interface (pers. comm. 23.08.2017).
15 http://www1.ivv1.uni-muenster.de/litw3/Aegyptologie/
16 A search for ‘2016’ in ‘Bibliography’ resulted in one publication (no hits for 2017 and 2018); access 17.01.2019.
the social-political importance of funerary culture for the authority of Egyptian kingship – and in this way for the state – should not be underrated.

The database allows a comparison between the frequency in inscriptions of the pr-ḥḏ and that of other Early Dynastic institutions. It appeared to be one of at least 52 identifiable ‘institutions’, the frequency in the mention of which in the database is on average about 17 times. This is an indication that the Early Dynastic pr-ḥḏ was certainly an institution of some importance, although some institutions were mentioned more often than the pr-ḥḏ, for instance the pr-wr 44 times and the pr-nsw 68 times; it is known, moreover, that the typically Early Dynastic hw.t P-Hr-msn is mentioned in 62 inscriptions.

27 The earliest found pr-ḥḏ inscriptions are either from the period of the supposed regency of Queen Meretneith for her son King Den, or perhaps even from as early as the reign of their predecessor king Djed, fourth king of the First Dynasty.28 The latest in the database are from the reign of Khasekhemwy, the final king of the Second Dynasty. The lack of pr-ḥḏ-inscriptions from the long reign of Netjeriket will be discussed in the last section. Given the relatively large number of preserved inscriptions in general from the reigns before Djed, and from the late Pre-Dynastic period, it is not very likely that earlier pr-ḥḏ inscriptions are just accidentally not preserved.29 The oldest preserved inscriptions

23 Of the sign-codes in Gardiners category ‘O’ and Kahl’s category ‘O’ (= (Parts of) Buildings etc.), the following may indicate an ‘institution’: O1, o1, O2, o2, o4, O6, o6, O7, O8, O10, O11, O19, O20, O21, o26, O36, O51; the attestations in J. Kahl, Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie (Wiesbaden, 1994) 624–62, for hieroglyphic combinations containing one of these signs show a minimum of 52 for the number of ‘institutions’ with one of these signs in its name.

24 For instance: (O6) occurs 179 times in the database; Kahl, System, 630 mentions at least six institutions with O6 (hw.t) as part of their name; the number of times that these six O6-institutions are mentioned is on average 30: the hw.t bhrw (‘O6’ AND Aa31’) occurs for instance only once, but the hw.t nhw (‘O6’ AND S12’) 61 times; the similar average for all 52 ‘O(or o)-institutions’ as identified in Kahl, System, is 17; it is not certain that two signs occurring in an inscription actually formed a combination, the average may be in fact even somewhat lower than 17.

25 Resulting from a search for O19.

26 A search for ‘(O1-M23)’ gave 20 hits; a search for ‘O1 AND M23’ gave 48 hits (after deduction of three cases with ‘o1’ instead of ‘O1’). 27 E. M. Engel, ‘Das hw.t pi-hr-w-msn.w in der ägyptischen Frühzeit’, in E. M. Engel, V. Müller, and U. Hartung (eds), Zeichen aus dem Sand: Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer (Wiesbaden, 2008), 105–26, 119–23.

28 Source nos 1117–22 were found in tomb S3504 from the reign of Djed that was restored during the reign of Qa’a; the comparable source no. 1931 found in the same tomb shows the serekh of Qa’a (see Appendix A2).

29 The sum of the number of inscriptions that could with certainty be dated to the reigns of the kings Narmer (72), Aha (381) and Djed (98) is 551; the similar total for all Early Dynastic kings since Djed is 1964; the total of pr-ḥḏ inscriptions datable by royal name is 19; this makes it not unreasonable to expect about five pr-ḥḏ inscriptions among the 551 from the kings before Djed, if the pr-ḥḏ would have existed already since Narmer.

mentioning the hw.t P-Hr-msn and the pr-nsw date from, respectively, the reigns of King Djer and King Djed; only the pr-wr is known already from the reigns of Narmer, Aha and Djer.30 The formation of an ‘institutional infrastructure’ for the organisation of relations between society and the royal court by means of a state machinery resulted apparently only over the course of time in more institutions thought worthy to be mentioned in script. Early Dynastic ‘state formation’ was clearly a gradual process.

Apart from a pr-ḥḏ, a hw.t ḫḏ is also mentioned in the inscriptions. Because it has been assumed that they were in fact the same institution,31 a search for hw.t ḫḏ was added, resulting in four inscriptions.32 One of them (source no. 0121 from the reign of Narmer) appeared to be in fact a serekh with a mace, as can also be found in source no. 0077, which dates either from the reign of Narmer’s successor Aha or that of Iry-Hor of Dynasty 0. The other three all date from the same time as the appearance of the first pr-ḥḏ inscriptions. It seems likely, therefore, that the name pr-ḥḏ was not yet standardised when it started to appear in script.

The combination with the serekh shows that the mace sign was used as an ideogram added to a king’s name (‘Narmer, King of the Mace’). It is unlikely that the mace in this combination had already the adjectival meaning ‘white’ or ‘silver’. The white-coloured stone of the preserved maces of the kings ‘Scorpion’ and Narmer suggests, however, that this notorious royal weapon may very well have been seen as ‘the White One’ among the regalia. As such, it even occurs already in late Pre-Dynastic inscriptions.33 It cannot be excluded that ‘House of the Mace’ – or ‘House of the White One’ – is at least as acceptable a translation for the Early Dynastic term pr-ḥḏ as ‘treasury’. It will be argued later in this article that the mace in this combination may be seen, in fact, as a metonym for ‘precious stoneware’.

Pr-dšr and pr-ḥḏ: Alternating names?
Or ‘House of Earthenware’ vs ‘House of Stoneware’?

The term pr-dšr is present in only 19 inscriptions (50 if all seal impressions are included): 14 seal impressions, 2 vessel and 1 label inscription, one on a stela and one on a statue. It is probably first attested during the reign of king Adjib, the sixth king of the First Dynasty.34 Appendix B1 presents the source numbers with their main characteristics chronologically; Appendix B2 offers the illustrations for each source.

A comparative survey of the preserved pr-ḥḏ and pr-dšr inscriptions per reign is presented in Table 1. It shows,

30 Engel, in Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration, 40.
31 Kaplony, Inschriften, I, XXXII.
32 Source nos 0121, 1184, 1185, 1216.
33 Source nos 0074, 0160, 0161, 0167, 0168 of Dynasty Zero.
34 Although one of the pr-ḥḏ-labels found in the same tomb (S3504) was certainly from the time of Qa’a.
35 A search for G27 AND O1) resulted in 13 hits, a search for O1-G27 in 10 hits, but source no. 4695 occurs twice, source no. 4754 had o1 instead of dšr.
Table 1. Comparison of the occurrence of \textit{pr-ḥḏ} and \textit{pr-dṣr} in Early Dynastic inscriptions per reign.

| Dynasty (reign of) | \textit{pr-ḥḏ} inscriptions | \textit{pr-ḥḏ} inscriptions incl. all seal impressions | \textit{pr-dṣr} inscriptions | \textit{pr-dṣr} inscriptions incl. all seal impressions | SUMMARY |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| I                  |                               |                                                      |                               |                                                      |         |
| Merenreith         | 1                             |                                                      | 1                             |                                                      |         |
| Adjib              | 4                             |                                                      | 1                             |                                                      |         |
| Semerkhet          |                               |                                                      |                               |                                                      |         |
| Qa’a               | 1                             |                                                      | 1                             |                                                      |         |
| First Dynasty (reign uncertain) | 8 |                                                      | 1                             |                                                      |         |
| Total First Dynasty (c.175 years?)* | 14 |                                                      | 1                             |                                                      |         |
| II                 |                               |                                                      |                               |                                                      |         |
| Hetepsekhemwy      |                               |                                                      |                               |                                                      |         |
| Raneb (Nebra)      |                               |                                                      |                               |                                                      |         |
| Ninetjeq           | 8                             |                                                      | 32                            |                                                      |         |
| Sekhemib           | 2                             |                                                      | 13                            |                                                      | pr-ḥḏ   |
| Peribsen           | 5                             |                                                      | 11                            |                                                      | pr-ḥḏ   |
| Khasekhemwy        | 6                             | many (>11)                                           | 4                             | 12                                                    | pr-ḥḏ   |
| Second Dynasty (reign uncertain) | 11 |                                                      | 1                             |                                                      | pr-dṣr  |
| Total Second Dynasty (c.125 years?)* | 24 |                                                      | >46                           | 13                                                    | 44      |
| III                |                               |                                                      |                               |                                                      |         |
| Netjerikhet        | 3                             |                                                      | 3                             |                                                      |         |
| Total              | 38                            | many (>60)                                           | 19                            | 51                                                    |         |

*J. Baines and J. Malek, \textit{Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt} (Oxford, 2000), 36.

firstly, that for both of them the total number of inscriptions is smaller for the First than for the Second Dynasty, 14 and 24 for the \textit{pr-ḥḏ}, and 3 and 13 for the \textit{pr-dṣr}, respectively.

This is remarkable because the total number of all inscriptions that certainly date from the First Dynasty (2208)\textsuperscript{36} is much higher than that for the Second Dynasty (1224),\textsuperscript{37} and the same is true if the numbers are included that may date from the First (2647)\textsuperscript{38} compared to the Second Dynasty (1693).\textsuperscript{39} It is also remarkable because general wealth was probably lower on average in the Second than in the First Dynasty.\textsuperscript{40} The increased frequencies may be assumed, therefore, to show an increasing importance of \textit{pr-ḥḏ} and \textit{pr-dṣr} in the developing state, a point to be further discussed in the last section of this article.

Secondly, the two final columns of Table 1 offer a summary of the reigns for which \textit{pr-ḥḏ} and \textit{pr-dṣr} inscriptions are known. As the entries in bold in the penultimate column refer to inscriptions not mentioned in most existing literature discussing the Early Dynastic \textit{pr-ḥḏ}, this summary offers, on the one hand, an explanation for the widespread assumption that the names \textit{pr-ḥḏ} and \textit{pr-dṣr} just alternated in the course of time. It makes visible, on the other hand, why the ‘alternation hypothesis’ is no longer tenable. It appeared to result from the disregard of a label inscription from the time of king Qa’a – published in 1954 but apparently not yet known when the hypothesis was first proposed\textsuperscript{41} – which shows without any doubt a \textit{pr-ḥḏ} and the name of king Qa’a (source no. 1931 in Appendix A2). Since the publication of the results of a re-excavation of Khasekhemwy’s tomb in 2000, it is also certain that \textit{pr-ḥḏ} and \textit{pr-dṣr} co-existed during his reign.\textsuperscript{42} This makes the hypothesis more likely that \textit{pr-ḥḏ} and \textit{pr-dṣr} coexisted permanently since at least king Adjib, even though their coexistence cannot be proven for all reigns through preserved inscriptions.

\textsuperscript{36}This is the result of a search in \textit{Date(Period)} for ‘dy1’ NOT ‘Naqada’ NOT ‘dy2’ NOT ‘dy3’ and ‘Qaa’ NOT ‘(Qaa?)’ (see Index-> \textit{Date(Period)}).

\textsuperscript{37}Similar search procedure as for the First Dynasty.

\textsuperscript{38}The result of a search for ‘dy1’ in \textit{Date(Period)} was 2253; adding the results for entries like ‘Naqada III – dy3’ (see Index, \textit{Date(Period)}) made the total 2647.

\textsuperscript{39}Similar search procedure as for the First Dynasty.

\textsuperscript{40}Known Early Dynastic Nile heights as mentioned on the Palermo Stone and the related stone fragments were on average much lower in the Second than in the First Dynasty; the number of known heights for the First plus Second Dynasty is concededly only 49, whereas the total number of years for the whole period was certainly more than 321 (Helck, \textit{Thinitenzeit}, 125); however, both the lowest and the highest known water levels are higher in the 34 years of the First Dynasty for which they are known (out of a total of >194 years) than in the 15 (out of >127 years) of the Second Dynasty, too (Helck, \textit{Thinitenzeit}, 125 and128); in addition, there is no reason to assume that the years with data are a biased selection.

\textsuperscript{41}Helck, \textit{Thinitenzeit}, Wilkinson, \textit{Early Dynastic Egypt}, and Engel, in Moreno García (ed.), \textit{Ancient Egyptian Administration} did not mention it; Endesfelder, \textit{Beobachtungen}, 108 called the occurrence of \textit{pr-ḥḏ} here ‘unexplainable’, but she remained convinced of the ‘alternation hypothesis’.

\textsuperscript{42}Dreyer et al., \textit{MDAIK} 56, 126–8; three of the six newly found \textit{pr-ḥḏ}-seal inscriptions – and two of the four newly found \textit{pr-dṣr} inscriptions – remained unpublished (see Appendices A and B).
The pr-hd and the pr-dsr were most likely also quite different institutions. The available information suggests that the pr-hd was primarily responsible for supplying royal tombs with (products contained in) stoneware, and the pr-dsr for supplying them with wine jars made of pottery. It suggests also that the pr-hd was a more important institution than the pr-dsr.

The first point may not seem very convincing at first, because Appendix A1 contains only seven inscriptions on stone vessels. It is very unlikely, however, that the other five – for which this information is not given – were not made of stone. Their ‘locality’ shows that they belonged to the many thousands of vessels from the First and Second Dynasties transported during Netjerikhet’s reign from the royal tombs in Abydos to the underground galleries near his Step Pyramid in Saqqara, which were all stone vessels.

The seven pr-hd label inscriptions from the First Dynasty mention valuable imported oil, characterised as hitt (‘the best’). As the storage of cosmetic oils and ointments was by far the most important function of stone vessels in Early Dynastic Egypt, these labels had been doubtlessly attached originally to stone vessels as well. In combination with the probably 12 pr-hd-vessel inscriptions, this brings the connection of the pr-hd with stoneware already at 50% of the 38 inscriptions.

The remaining 19 were seal inscriptions impressed on clay. Some were flat bag-seals, some had conical forms as used to seal vessels, for many the ‘type of sealing’ is not known. Early Dynastic sealed bags are supposed to have contained primarily agrarian produce like grain or dried fruit. At least one sealed leather bag has been found, however, that contained flint knives and other stone objects. Source no. 2900 shows three impressions of a seal inscription containing a phrase that has been translated as ‘seal (sealer) of the flint knives for all days’, one of which shows even a partly damaged pr-hd-sign. This is one of three indications that also pr-hd seal inscriptions can be related to the supply of stone objects to royal and top-elite tombs.

A second indication is the inscription of source no. 2870, which refers to a ‘seal of the alabaster vessels’. This contradicts the assumption that vessel seals were only used on pottery vessels. Thirdly, two seals with Khasekhemwy’s name (source nos 3010 and 3017) were found in the underground galleries near Netjerikhet’s Step Pyramid; it is unlikely that these seals had been used on pottery vessels, as only stone vessels were found in these galleries. It is quite possible, therefore, that also ‘pr-hd seal impressions’ had been used on seals for stone vessels. These three indications imply that the relation of pr-hd inscriptions with stoneware may very well have been much higher than 50%.

Of the 19 pr-dsr inscriptions only two were on stone vessels. Furthermore, it is a remarkable characteristic of the 14 pr-dsr seal inscriptions that nine of them refer explicitly to a vineyard (kbnum, M43). Pr-dsr seal inscriptions were often impressed, therefore, on the mud cones used to close the large red pottery vessels known as wine jars. None at all of the 19 pr-hd seal inscriptions refers to vineyards. One of the three lwvt-dsr seals seems to refer to wine vessels (source no. 1185), but this was from a period when the pr-dsr most probably did not yet exist.

The pr-dsr may have been split off from the pr-hd as a separate institution, primarily to organise the supply of wine and (dried) grapes. The roughly 700 wine vessels in the Pre-Dynastic tomb U-j in Abydos had been imported from Palestine/Canaan. Subsequently, viniculture had apparently started in the Delta. The pr-dsr was therefore probably situated in northern Egypt. Several pr-dsr inscriptions mention a vineyard called grg.t nb.ty (the foundation ‘the Two Ladies’) of unknown location, two (not mentioning the pr-dsr) mention a vineyard of inh.w hd (Memphis).

This does not necessarily imply that the pr-hd was in the south. It is, in fact, more likely that it was located in

53 Kaplony, Inschriften, III, no. 754.
54 Kaplony, Inschriften, I, 159 and Kaplony, Inschriften, II, 1186.
55 Kaplony, Inschriften, I, 50.
56 This is the result of a search for Date(King)=(‘Khasekhemwy’) AND Locality=’Steppyramid’ AND Type= ‘vessel’ AND Material=’pottery’; see also footnote 43.
57 Both not found in the royal and top-elite tombs in Abydos and Saqqara (see Appendix B).
58 Papazian, in Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration, 71 mentioned this already for one case.
59 An exception is source no. 2954, which was impressed on two bag-seals that probably had contained dried grapes (Kaplony, Inschriften, I, 162).
60 G. Dreyer, ‘Tomb U-j: A Royal Burial of Dynasty 0 at Abydos’, in E. Teeter (ed.), Before the Pyramids (Chicago, 2011), 127–44, 132 mentions residues of the content.
61 Source nos 2955 and 3160.
62 Source nos 2955 and 3160.
63 This is not convincing to argue that a connection of the pr-hd with the South and of the pr-dsr with the North is plausible because of the Upper Egyptian origin of the white crown and the (supposed) Lower Egyptian origin of the red crown, not only because of the arguments developed in this article to view hd and dsr as substantives instead of as adjectives (participles), but also because it is by no means certain that the red crown was seen as a Lower Egyptian crown already in the Early Dynastic period – see S. Hendrickx et al., ‘The Origin and Early Significance of the White Crown’.
Memphis after the royal residence had been established there, because it was apparently a more important institution than the pr-ḥd. Not only is it mentioned more often;\(^{66}\) its functionaries were also sometimes allowed to have their name on objects destined for a royal tomb (see Appendix A1), which was never the case in the preserved pr-ḥd inscriptions. It may be expected that this was only allowed in the case of high-status functionaries. A name occurs on at least four pr-ḥd inscriptions.\(^{64}\) Even a ḫry-ḥ (assistant) in the pr-ḥd was apparently important enough to be accorded this privilege.\(^{65}\)

Among the pr-ḥd inscriptions only an inscription on a statue includes a personal name (source no. 3133), found in Mit Rahina, not in a royal tomb. It mentions a wr ḫ ī t (a ‘Great One of the censing’) of the pr-ḥd named Ḥ tp-dī-f. Incidentally, this makes it probable that the function of a ‘Great One’ in the pr-ḥd had a ritual rather than an economic-administrative character. As it was a task of the pr-ḥd as well as of the pr-ḥd to supply royal tombs, the wr of the pr-ḥd may be assumed to have had a ritual function in royal funerals, too.

Yet another indication for the lower status of the pr-ḥd compared to the pr-ḥd may be that the pr-ḥd was apparently subordinate to the Early Dynastic Ḥw.t P-Hr-msn. The pr-ḥd, in contrast, was probably only subordinate to the pr-nsw.\(^{66}\) The Ḥw.t P-Hr-msn was responsible for the organisation of the production and distribution to tombs of a rather wide range of products, such as wine, textiles and (domestic?) oils.\(^{67}\) The pr-ḥd was mentioned in four of the 62 Ḥw.t P-Hr-msn inscriptions, the pr-ḥd never. One more indication for the relative importance of the pr-ḥd may be that, like the pr-nsw and the Ḥw.t P-Hr-msn, it had its own jar magazine (ḥmnt),\(^{68}\) a term never mentioned in preserved pr-ḥd inscriptions. Lastly, not only did the pr-ḥd exist earlier than the pr-ḥd, it also continued to exist as an important institution into later periods of Egyptian history, unlike the pr-ḥd.

Most pr-ḥd and pr-ḥd inscriptions offer only proof for their role in the supply of tomb gifts. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the inscription on the stela of a man called Sābēf from the end of the First/beginning Second Dynasty (source no. 1865) mentions not only the title ħrp Ḥw.t P-Hr-msn pr-ḥd\(^{69}\) (‘leader of the pr-ḥd of the Ḥw.t P-Hr-msn’), but also the title ħrp (…) šḥ hnt (‘leader of … the cellar of the dinner-hall’), and šr-i ššt šh ħrp (‘secret adviser of the wine-hall’).\(^{70}\) This combination of functions in one person makes it highly probable that the pr-ḥd supplied wine to the court of the living king as well.

The oldest text with a range of titles mentioning the pr-ḥd dates only from the end of the Third or the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, about two centuries later than Sābēf’s stela, coming from the now lost tomb of a high official named Pēnerēfer.\(^{71}\) It contained no fewer than 43 titles and starts with six titles belonging to his position as the leader of the pr-ḥd. This may be seen as an indication of the primary importance of the pr-ḥd by that time.\(^{72}\) The titles show that a top official involved in the management of the pr-ḥd was additionally responsible for the provisioning of the court of the living king.

It also shows that his title wd mḥw ḫrj-wdb (‘the one who gives orders to the distributor of the provisions’) did not belong to his pr-ḥd-titles, but that it was one of 14 titles related to his function as ‘leader of the granaries and warehouses’.\(^{73}\) The distribution of agricultural produce to people involved in the functioning of court and state was at that time apparently not a function of the pr-ḥd.\(^{74}\)

The supply of red ‘earthenware’ vessels, often with wine, may have been the most characteristic activity of the pr-ḥd, and this was probably clearly visible in funerary ceremonies accompanying the supply of the royal tomb with tomb gifts. It is noticeable that a very large number of nouns denoting ‘something red’ were written as a logogram with the picture of the flamingo, the ‘red one’ among the birds.\(^{75}\) The feminine variant dṛs.t could mean for instance ‘red crown’ or ‘red land’ or also ‘red vessel’.\(^{76}\) During the Old Kingdom these

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66 G. T. Martin, Umm el-Quab, VII: Private Stelae of the Early Dynastic Period from the Royal Cemetery at Abydos (Wiesbaden, 2011), 44 (no. 48) has ħrp pr-ḥd, but pr-ḥd is not in J. Kahl, Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch (Wiesbaden, 2002–2004), and the title ħrp pr-ḥd was found once more on a seal impression from the reign of Ninetjer (source no. 2841).

67 Helck, Thinitenzeit, 229; D. Jones, An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom, II (Oxford, 2000), 714, no. 2605 has: ‘Director of the domain “Seat of the Horus with a harpoon” and of the red house”; Engel, in Engel, Müller and Hartung (eds), Zeichen aus dem Sand, 118 agrees with Helck.

68 Endesfelder, Beobachtungen, 48 observed that a Krugmagazin is often mentioned on stone vessels of the First Dynasty.
different nouns mostly showed an appropriate determinative to distinguish them from each other. During the Early Dynastic period, however, the use of determinatives was still optional. The same was apparently true regarding the addition of the t-sign (X1) in the case of feminine nouns; similarly the indication of a plural might be omitted.

Given the fact that most words in Early Dynastic script are still nouns, names and numerals, and that other word categories, including adjectives (or participles), are still extremely scarce, it seems logical to assume that – similar to pr-hd – pr-dir should rather be interpreted as ‘house of’ ‘the red ones’ than as ‘red house’. The translation ‘house of the flamingo’ for pr-dir does not make much sense; however, a translation like ‘the House of (red) Earthenware’ would make a pr-dir an understandable complement to a ‘House of (white) Stoneware’, even if the functions of the two were most probably not entirely restricted to the supply of pottery or stoneware.

Pr-nbw (hw.t nbw): House of Gold or workshop of precious stoneware?

The term pr-nbw appeared to occur only in source no. 3837, an Early Dynastic stone vessel of unknown date and provenance. Its (probable) variant hw.t-nbw occurred in no fewer than 106 inscriptions. The main information has been summarised in Appendix C. Six of these inscriptions – four on ‘oil labels’ and two seal inscriptions – date from the First Dynasty, but for these the reading hw.t-nbw is doubtful, as they all show more hieroglyphs inside the hw.t-sign than the nbw-sign alone.

The remaining 100 hw.t-nbw inscriptions all date from the Second Dynasty. They were all on calcite-alabaster stone bowls found in the underground galleries near Netjerikhet’s Step Pyramid. In these cases, hw.t nbw was interpreted by the excavators as the name of the ‘city’ Hatnub, because a sign that can be interpreted as ☐ (O49) was frequently found next to it. In 2012, the Hatnub Epigraphic Project reported an inscription in quarry P that is probably Early Dynastic, given its high position in the quarry and the use of the Early Dynastic form of the reed-leaf sign. This indicates that exploitation of the Hatnub alabaster quarries had already started before the Old Kingdom. Like the pr-hd inscriptions, the hw.t-nbw inscriptions were moreover often accompanied by what were probably personal names, like lwf-hsy and Hm-nfr. The overwhelming majority of the stone vessels were not inscribed. It may be assumed that these persons were responsible for the production of many more bowls than were inscribed with their name.

No goldmines have ever been found anywhere near Hatnub. Moreover, the type of necklace represented by the hieroglyph transliterated as nbw was depicted during the Old Kingdom with only the colours blue, green and red, without yellow, the colour for gold. The nbw necklace may have become the sign for gold when gold came to be more widely used as the most precious of the materials for jewellery. It is as unlikely that nbw in pr-nbw and hw.t nbw meant gold in the Early Dynastic period, as it is unlikely that hd in pr-hd referred to silver.

The Early Dynastic nbw sign was most likely, just like the hd sign, a metonym for ‘precious stone ware’, originally perhaps primarily coloured stoneware. Pr- (or hw.t-) nbw may have originally referred to an establishment in the north where stoneware was produced. The beautiful nbw necklace made of precious stone beads may have given it its name, as its most eye-catching product. An expedition in the Eastern Desert north of Abydos and south of Hatnub to acquire such precious coloured stones may have discovered new calcite-alabaster quarries near what came to be called Hatnub. The richness of the quarries may have made it efficient to establish a production centre for precious stoneware on the spot, with a rather independent status and own inscriptions. This makes probable an interpretation of hw.t-nbw as originally an important workshop for the production of precious stone objects, which gave the settlement its name. It is likely that it was subordinate as such to the pr-hd as one or more workshops producing stoneware objects must have always been connected to the pr-hd.

Lastly, it should be emphasised that the underground galleries near Netjerikhet’s pyramid contained no fewer than c.40,000 stone vessels, all dating from the First and Second Dynasty, the large majority made of calcite-alabaster, most of them without any inscription. 905 vessel inscriptions were found here, nearly all of them on stone vessels. Only 13 of them were on pottery vessels and these all dated from the period of Netjerikhet’s reign. Remarkably, the database contains only four stone vessels with inscriptions dating from Netjerikhet’s own time, against, for instance, 153 from the time of Khasekhemwy.

80 J. Kahl, ‘Entwicklung der frühen Hieroglyphenschrift’, in W. Seipel (ed.), Der Turmbau zu Babel: Ursprung und Vielfalt von Sprache und Schrift, IIIA: Schrift (Graz, 2003), 127–31, 131.
81 Kahl in Seipel (ed.), Sprache und Schrift. Variante zu Hw.t nbw Frühzeit (…) ist gewiss nur pr-nb ‘oil labels’ as an Ölpresse-Sack.
82 Pers. comm. by Roland Enmarch, Liverpool University (26 October 2017); for the Early Dynastic reed-leaf see sign M17 in Regulski, A Palaeographic Study, 490–3.
83 P. Kaplony, Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit (Wiesbaden, 1966), 151, n176: ‘pr-nb (…) ist gewiss nur Variante zu hw.t nb.’
84 The database has only 61 hits, because identical inscriptions (see Appendix C) were not always entered.
85 Helck, Thinitenzeit, 174 saw what was read as the nbw sign on ‘oil labels’ as an Ölpresse-Sack.
86 Lacau and Lauer, La piramide à degrés, V, 81.
87 Lacau and Lauer, La piramide à degrés, IV, VIII: ‘millions of fragments’; Lauer, La piramide à degrés, 3: ‘30 à 40,000 pièces (…)’
88 Kahl, System, 506.
89 Schott, GM 2, 41.
90 The same conclusion in Schott, GM 2, 41.
91 Lacau and Lauer, La piramide à degrés, III, 3.
The transport of huge numbers of stone vessels from the tombs of Netjerikhet’s predecessors in Abydos to the underground galleries near his Step Pyramid had apparently been a replacement for the production of new stone vessels. For the long period of Netjerikhet, references to the pr-HD have not been found until now, although they return under his successor Sekhemkhet. It may have been a main task of the pr-HD under Netjerikhet, therefore, to organise the transport instead of the production of stone vessels, and this would not have required (additional) inscriptions on already existing vessels.

An explanation for the change from the production of new stone vessels to the transport of already existing ones to Netjerikhet’s tomb may be found in a transfer of all stone-processing activities and manpower to the building of the Step Pyramid, Egypt’s first stone pyramid.93 It is telling that even blocks of alabaster, which had become the material par excellence for stone vessels during the Second Dynasty, appeared to have been used for the building of (at least one of the) rooms under Netjerikhet’s pyramid.94

### The pr-HD, the ‘domains’ and state formation

The functioning of the Early Dynastic pr-HD apparently changed in the course of the Early Dynastic period. One important change, the increased number of pr-HD inscriptions in the Second Dynasty as visible in Table 1 of this article, still awaits discussion. Remarkably, the reverse appeared to have happened with what may be called ‘domain inscriptions’. This section will argue that the combination of increasing pr-HD and decreasing ‘domain inscriptions’ can be seen as characteristic for the ongoing process of ‘state formation’ in the Early Dynastic period.

What is translated as ‘domain’ is identifiable by the presence of a **Mauerkrantz** (‘wall oval’; Kahl’s sign-code ‘o1’) – or another oval frame (Kahl’s sign-code ‘o4’) – containing a name that often includes the royal Horus falcon.95 New ‘domain’ names appeared with new kings. Inscriptions containing a **Mauerkrantz** most probably referred, therefore, to estates closely connected to the king personally. This in contrast to the pr-HD, which had a permanent name. ‘Domain inscriptions’ were moreover always seal inscriptions and never appeared on stone.

An analysis of the c.800 Early Dynastic seal inscriptions known in the early 1960s suggested that ‘domain seal inscriptions’ and what may be called ‘non-domain inscriptions’ were the two main categories of seal inscriptions.96 Most ‘non-domain inscriptions’ mention persons – kings, princes, functionaries97 – or institutions occurring only once.98 The pr-HD was a ‘non-domain institution’ that was mentioned much more frequently.99

Of the 151 Early Dynastic inscriptions with the ‘domain sign’ o1, 138 were from the First Dynasty, only 11 from the Second, and 2 from the reign of Netjerikhet.100 A remarkable decrease in the course of time, therefore, in the observable frequency of an institution for the supply of royal tomb gifts closely connected to the person of the king. It is the relative increase in the mentioning of a ‘depersonalised’, more ‘state-like’ institution as the pr-HD, that can be seen as characteristic for the ongoing process of Early Dynastic state formation.

Another example of this increasing ‘depersonalised institutionalisation’ may be found in the appearance of the term *is-df* in inscriptions. This term occurs only in 20 Second Dynasty inscriptions, six of which are pr-HD seal inscriptions and one a pr-dSr inscription. Terms like ‘food-stuffs’ or ‘taxes’ have been proposed as translation for *df*,101 ‘Provisions for the life in the Hereafter’ may in fact have been meant in the inscriptions on Early Dynastic tomb gifts. The term *df* alone occurred already earlier in script.102 An institution handling *df*, thought worthy to be mentioned in script, came apparently only into existence over the course of time.

It has been supposed that the *is-df* was the central Early Dynastic tax institution and that the pr-HD was subordinate to it.103 However, since the start of the Old Kingdom the expression *is.ty* *df* pr-HD appears – which means no doubt the two ‘rooms’ of the pr-HD, not the other way round – and already during the Second Dynasty a second ‘is’ of the pr-HD appeared to have existed, too: in a pr-HD inscription on a stone vessel from the end of the Second Dynasty an *is-Inpw* is mentioned which occurs also in two other ‘non-pr-HD inscriptions’.104

It has been supposed that *Inpw* was perhaps a personal name, as names containing *Inpw* have been known since the Old Kingdom.105 The existence of an *is-Inpw* makes this less likely. As mummification was already practised during the Early Dynastic period,106 the word *Inpw* referred more

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93 Similar reasoning in J. Romer, *A History of Ancient Egypt: From the First Farmers to the Great Pyramids* (Harmondsworth, 2012), 281.
94 S. H. Aufrère, ‘L’origine de l’albâtre à la Ire dynastie d’après les inscriptions des vases provenant des galeries de la piramidé à degrés’, *BIFAO* 103 (2003), 1–15, 2.
95 Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 119 fig. 4.1, 121–3.
96 **Verschlüsse der Domänenverwaltung** and **Verschlüsse ausserhalb der Domänenverwaltung**; see Kaplony, *Inschriften*, I, passim (for instance 91, 95, 137, 138).
97 However, inscriptions mentioning domain functionaries were considered as ‘domain inscriptions’ by Kaplony (see same pages).
98 Kaplony, *Inschriften*, I, 162: ‘zahlreichen, aber jeweils nur ein- mal belegten Amsttsiegel’.
99 Kaplony, *Inschriften*, I, 154 calls the pr-HD a ‘häufig genannten[n] Verwaltung’ among the non-domain inscriptions ‘die grundsätzlich von der Domäne getrennt ist’.
100 The sign o4 occurs seven times in the database.
101 Kaplony, *Inschriften*, I, 158; J. Kahl, ‘Zur Problematik der sogenannten Steuervermerke im Ägypten der 0.-1. Dynastie’, in C. Fluck (ed.), *Divitiae Aegypti: Koptologische und verwandte Studien zu Ehren von Martin Krause* (Wiesbaden, 1995), 172–3.
102 Searches for (I10) (I9) and (I9) (I10) resulted in 49 hits, 13 of which in the First Dynasty and one even earlier.
103 Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 200.
104 Source no. 2637 and nos 1883 and 2272, stone vessels from the reigns of Qa’a and Khasekhemwy.
105 See footnote 62; Ranke, *PN*, I 39.24–7.
106 S. Ikram and A. Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt: Equipping the Dead for Eternity* (London, 1998), 320; http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/petrie1901bd2/0002/image; J. Jones, ‘The Textiles at Abydos: New Evidence’, *MDAIK* 58 (2002), 333–4.
likely to the priest responsible for the mumification ritual, comparable to the later Anubis-priest. In that case the is-t+w of the pr-hd may have been a ‘room’ for unguent oils necessary for the embalming process, as a complement to the is-d+b with the provisions for the Hereafter.

All this is reminiscent of a much later Old Kingdom tomb text wishing the deceased ‘grain from the pr-šrw.t (house of the granaries), clothes and unguent oil from the pr-hd, and sweet products from the pr-šw.t (house of fruits”). This suggests that one of the two is.ty of the pr-hd may have been at that time a ‘room’ that stored clothes, the other a ‘room’ for unguent oils. It suggests, moreover, that sweet products like dried grapes, as supplied by the pr-dšr during the Early Dynastic period, were by then supplied by a pr-šw.t. It shows lastly that the pr-hd and the granaries were distinct institutions. If grain was used as an equivalent in kind for money, this makes it doubtful that it was the pr-hd that was comparable to what in later states would be called a treasury.

Stone and Early Dynastic state formation

The view – based on contemporary source material – that the pr-hd had a special connection with the supply of stoneware has a sounder foundation than the view – based on logic – that it was an institution filling government coffers with agricultural produce. The latter view may have been inspired by a state theory that regards money as the ‘nerve’ of a state, as in the Ciceronian adage pecunia nervus rerum. A state theory focusing on ‘spectacle’ and ‘display’ as the ‘nerve’ of early states may, however, be more helpful for an interpretation of the importance of the pr-hd for Early Dynastic state formation in Egypt.

For the age of pyramid building, it is evident that the use of stone in Egypt’s funerary culture played a central role in asserting the authority of the state. Their building not only had a tremendous impact on state bureaucracy, it was also the sheer size of these monuments of stone – in a society in which mud bricks were the main building material – that displayed the importance of kingship and thus the authority of the state.

Before the building of stone pyramids, the supply of royal tombs with increasing amounts of precious stone vessels fulfilled a similar role. Already the royal tomb in Naqada from the time of King Aha had contained 200 stone vessels. The fact that in Khasekhemwy’s tomb even stone ‘dummies’ were found among its c.10,000 vessels, strongly suggests that it was increasingly the ‘spectacle’ performed in the ritual supply of numerous stone vessels to a tomb, even more than their content, that was vital for the funerary ritual in the Early Dynastic period.

The undoubtedly ritualised transport to the north of no fewer than c.40,000 stone vessels for Djoser’s burial can be seen as the culmination of the importance of ever larger quantities of stone vessels in the Early Dynastic royal funerary ritual. The long row of bearers needed to transfer them from the Nile to the funeral area in the desert must have been an impressive ‘spectacle’ in the landscape, displaying the king’s power to appropriate precious economic resources and manpower.

The Early Dynastic pr-hd was certainly not a state treasury comparable to that of the later European states. Seen from the theoretical perspective of ‘spectacle’ as the ‘nerve’ of early states, institutions like the pr-hd and the hw.t nbw, with their special responsibility for the supply of precious stoneware to Early Dynastic royal tombs, will nevertheless have been important institutions in the process of Early Dynastic state formation in Egypt.

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Author biography

After her retirement as senior lecturer in social-economic history (with a personal chair for the history of Early Modern public finance) at VU University Amsterdam, Wantje Fritschy studied Egyptology in Leiden and Berlin. Recently, she obtained her Masters degree. She is now preparing a publication on the so-called Early Dynastic ‘year labels’.

Appendices

Source for all Appendices: Database of Early Dynastic Inscriptions http://www1.ivv1.uni-muenster.de/litw3/Aegyptologie/. For a list of all identifiable signs in each inscription see the field ‘Signs’ in the ‘Signs-part’ of this database.

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107 See the second Old Kingdom attestation under the lemma pr-hd in the TLA (accessed 2 March 2018).
108 See note 59.
109 A saying among political thinkers and statesmen of the European Early Modern period, see W. Fritschy, Public Finance of the Dutch Republic in Comparative Perspective: The Viability of an Early Modern Federal State (Leiden, 2017), 3, 6.
110 B. Routledge, Archaeology and State Theory: Subjects and Objects of Power (New York, 2014), 101, cites M. Foucault who characterised premodern society as a ‘society of spectacle’ where ‘power was what was seen’. The importance of royal ‘display’ for state formation in the Early Dynastic period has been argued also, albeit on other grounds, in L. McNamara, ‘The Revetted Mound at Hierakonpolis and Early Kingship’, in B. Midant-Reynes and Y. Tristant (eds), Egypt at its Origins 2: Proceedings of the International Conference ‘Origin of the State: Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt’ (Leuven, 2008) 901–37, 931 by interpreting this mound as an ‘arena … in which the king could make a ritual appearance’ (I owe this reference to an anonymous referee).
111 Kahl, Vergraben, 16.
112 Emery, Great Tombs, II, 3.
113 Dreyer et al., MDAIK 56, 129.
114 B. Trigger, Understanding Early Civilizations (Cambridge, 2003), ch. 17.
## Appendix A1. Inscriptions mentioning the pr-ḥḏ.

| Source no | King (Period) | Locality | Type | pr-ḥḏ-functionaries | products | other institutions |
|-----------|---------------|----------|------|----------------------|----------|-------------------|
| 1         | 1180          | Meretneith UeQ tb UorY | (slate) | | | hmt |
| 2         | 1201          | (Meretneith-Peribsen) UeQ tomb Y | jar 1 | hry-S | ṣḏ-ḥtp | ib ... ? |
| 3         | 1383          | Den UeQ tomb Y | ? 1 | | | ngri ib(?) ngri |
| 4         | 1331          | Den UeQ tb TorY | jar 1 | | | |
| 5         | 1465          | (Dyn. I) (Den) S 3506 | jar 1 | | | |
| 6         | 1493          | (Dyn. I) (Den) S 3507 | ? 1 | Htp-Inpw | | h.t nh.t? |
| 7         | 1149          | (Djet-Qa’a) S 3504 | ? 1 | | | |
| 8         | 1117          | (Dyn. I) S 3504 | 1 | | | hnt |
| 9         | 1118          | (Dyn. I) S 3504 | 1 | | | hnt |
| 10        | 1119          | (Dyn. I) S 3504 | 1 | | | hnt |
| 11        | 1120          | (Dyn. I) S 3504 | 1 | | | hnt |
| 12        | 1121          | (Dyn. I) S 3504 | 1 | | | hnt |
| 13        | 1122          | (Dyn. I) S 3504 | 1 | | | hnt |
| 14        | 1931          | Qa’a S 3504 | 1 | | | hnt |
| 15        | 2900          | Peribsen UeQ tomb P | bag 3 | | | htm |
| 16        | 2906          | Peribsen UeQ tomb P | bag 3 | | | |
| 17        | 2909          | Peribsen UeQ tomb P | bag 1 | | | [pr-nsw]? |
| 18        | 2904          | Peribsen UeQ tomb P | bag 2 | | | ṭḥ hrw |
| 19        | 2907          | Peribsen UeQ tomb P | bag 2 | | | ṭḥ ṭḥ hrw |
| 20        | 2867          | Sekhemib UeQ tomb P | bag 11 | | | is-ḥet |
| 21        | 2869          | Sedhemib UeQ tomb P | bag 2 | | | is-ḥet |
| 22        | 4061          | Khasekhemwy UeQ tomb V | jar (many) >3 | | | is-ḥet |
| 23        | 4059          | Khasekhemwy UeQ tomb V | ? 2 | | | is-ḥet |

(Continued)
| Source no | King (Period) | Locality | Type       | Seal inscriptions | 'internal' characteristics (mentioned in inscription) | pr-hdj-functionaries | Products | Other institutions |
|-----------|---------------|----------|------------|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------|-------------------|
|           |               |          |            |                   |                                                      |                      |          |                   |
| 24        | 4622          | Khasekhemwy | UeQ tomb V | ?                 |                                                      | s$                   |          |                   |
| 25        | 4588          | Khasekhemwy | UeQ tomb V | bag               |                                                      | dj$                  |          |                   |
| 26        | 4593          | Khasekhemwy | UeQ tomb V | bag               |                                                      |                      |          |                   |
| 27        | 4063          | Khasekhemwy | UeQ tomb V | bag (many) >3     |                                                      |                      |          |                   |
| 28        | 2148          | (Dyn. 2)  | Step Pyr.  |                   |                                                      |                      |          | pr-nswt           |
| 29        | 2149          | (Dyn. 2)  | Step Pyr.  |                   |                                                      |                      |          |                   |
| 30        | 2150          | (Dyn. 2)  | Step Pyr.  |                   |                                                      |                      |          |                   |
| 31        | 2151          | (Dyn. 2)  | Step Pyr.  |                   |                                                      |                      |          |                   |
| 32        | 2152          | (Dyn. 2)  | Step Pyr.  |                   |                                                      |                      |          |                   |
| 33        | 2637          | (end Dyn. 2) | Step Pyr.  |                   |                                                      |                      |          | is-Inpw           |
| 34        | 2145          | (Dyn. 2)  | Step Pyr.  |                   |                                                      |                      |          |                   |
| 35        | 2741          | (end Dyn. 2) | Step Pyr.  |                   |                                                      |                      |          |                   |
| 36        | 2739          | (end Dyn. 2) | Step Pyr.  |                   |                                                      |                      |          | Swr$h$           |
| 37        | 2740          | (end Dyn. 2) | Step Pyr.  |                   |                                                      |                      |          | Swr$h$           |
| 38        | 2664          | (end Dyn. 2) | Step Pyr.  |                   |                                                      |                      |          |                   |
| Total 38 (>60) : |                   |           |             | 19 (>41)        |                                                      | 7                    | 12       | 10                |

*UeQ tb = tomb in Umm el-Qa’ab in Abydos; Step Pyr. = underground galleries near the Step Pyramid.
** calcite = calcite-alabaster.
**Appendix A2.** Illustrations of the four *hw.t-hd* and the 38 *pr-hd* inscriptions arranged according to their source numbers in the *Database of Early Dynastic Inscriptions.*

| Source no | Illustration | Bibliography [as in the Database = references to illustrations] |
|-----------|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 0105      | *hw.t-hd*    | *IÄF*, III, fig. 034; Petrie, *Tarkhan, I and Memphis*, V, pl. II, 3 |
| 0121      | *hw.t-hd* (?)| *Wildung, Ägypten vor den Pyramiden*, 37, fig. 33 (left) |
| 1117      |              | *Emery, Tombs of the First Dynasty*, II, 106, fig. 115 |
| 1118      |              | *Emery, Tombs of the First Dynasty*, II, 106, fig. 116 |
| 1119      |              | *Emery, Tombs of the First Dynasty*, II, 106, fig. 117 |
| 1120      |              | *Emery, Tombs of the First Dynasty*, II, 106, fig. 118 |
| 1121      |              | *Emery, Tombs of the First Dynasty*, II, 106, fig. 119 |
| 1122      |              | *Emery, Tombs of the First Dynasty*, II, 106, fig. 120 |
| 1149      |              | *Emery, Tombs of the First Dynasty*, II, 124, fig. 182 |
| 1180      |              | *RT I*, pl. 5.2 |
| 1185      | *hw.t-hd*    | *IÄF* III, fig. 179; *RT I*, 29 |
| 1201      |              | *IÄF* III, fig. 106; *RT I*, 40 |
| 1216      | *hw.t-hd*    | *IÄF* III, fig. 194; *RT I*, 35 |
| 1331      |              | *IÄF* III, fig. 177; *RT II*, pl. 18.145 |
| 1383      |              | *IÄF* III, fig. 121; *RT I*, 36 |
| 1465      |              | *IÄF* III, fig. 178 |
| 1493      |              | *Emery, Tombs of the First Dynasty*, III, pl. 106.7 |
| 1931      |              | *Emery, Tombs of the First Dynasty*, II, 107, fig. 123 |

(Continued)
### Appendix A2. (Continued)

| Source no | Illustration | Bibliography [as in the Database = references to illustrations] |
|-----------|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2145      |              | PD IV.1, pl. 24.130.                                           |
| 2148      |              | PD IV.1, pl. 24.132.                                           |
| 2149-2152 |              | PD IV.2, 64 (133-136)                                          |
| 2637      |              | PD V, 53 (nr.114), pl. 32.3.                                   |
| 2664      |              | PD V, 57 (nr.132), pl. 34.10.                                  |
| 2739      |              | PD V, 76 (nr.198), fig. 146.                                   |
| 2740      |              | PD V, 76 (nr.199), fig. 147a.                                  |
| 2741      |              | PD V, 76 (nr.199), fig. 147b.                                  |
| 2867      |              | IÄF III, fig. 751; RT II, pl. 21.167(?)                         |
| 2869      |              | IÄF III, fig. 753; RT II, pl. 21.169                           |
| 2900      |              | IÄF III, fig. 290; RT II, pl. 22.185                           |
| 2904      |              | IÄF III, fig. 757; RT II, pl. 21.174                           |
| 2906      |              | IÄF III, fig. 759; RT II, pl. 22.182                           |
| 2907      |              | IÄF III, fig. 760; RT II, pl. 22.183                           |
| 2909      |              | IÄF III, fig. 762; Naville et al., Cemeteries of Abydos, I, pl. 9 |
| 4059      |              | Dreyer et al., MDAIK 56 (2000), 127, fig. 27b                 |

(Continued)
### Appendix A2. (Continued)

| Source no | Illustration | Bibliography [as in the Database = references to illustrations] |
|-----------|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4061      |              | Dreyer et al., MDAIK 56 (2000), 127, fig. 27d                |
| 4063      |              | Dreyer et al., MDAIK 56 (2000), 127, fig. 27f                |
| 4588      |              | unpublished; variant of IAF III, fig. 785 source nr 2988 [without pr-ḥd! WF] |
| 4593      |              | unpublished                                                  |
| 4622      |              | unpublished                                                  |

### Appendix B1. Inscriptions mentioning the pr-ḥṣr.

| Source no | King (Period) | Locality            | Type          | 'external' characteristics | 'internal' characteristics (mentioned in inscription) | pr-ḥṣr-functionaries | vineyard (k núe) | other institutions |
|-----------|---------------|---------------------|---------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|
|           |               |                     |               | seal inscription used on | other known impressions                              | pr-ḥṣr-functionaries |                 |                   |
| 1 1608    | Adjib         | Umm el-Q. tmb X     | jar           | x                         |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 2 71125   | (Djet-Qaa)    | S 3504              | label         |                           |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 3 1865    | (Adjib-Hetep-sekhemwy) | Umm el-Qaab tomb Q | stela         |                           |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 4 2048    | Hetep-sekhemwy | el-Badari tb 3112   | calcite       |                           |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 5 2115    | Ninetjer      | Step Pyramid        | crystal vessel |                           |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 6 2824    | Ninetjer      | S 2171              |                | x                         |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 7 2841    | Ninetjer      | Giza, South-field   |                |                           |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 8 4695    | Ninetjer      | Saqqara tomb N.     | jar           | x                         |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 9 4697    | Ninetjer      | Saqqara tomb N.     |                |                           |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 10 4700   | Ninetjer      | Saqqara tomb N.     | jar           | x                         |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 11 4751   | Ninetjer      | Saqqara tomb N.     |                | x                         |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 12 2954   | Khasekhemwy   | Umm el-Q.tmb V      | bag           |                           |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 13 2968   | Khasekhemwy   | Umm el-Q.tmb V      |                | x                         |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 14 2969   | Khasekhemwy   | Umm el-Q.tmb V      |                |                           |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 15 2974   | Khasekhemwy   | Umm el-Q.tmb V      |                |                           |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 16 3133   | (Dyn. 2–Dyn. 3) | Mit Rahina         | statue        | pr-ḥṣr wr id.t ḫtp di=f   |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 17 3161   | Nejetikhet    | Beit Khalaf        | jar           | x                         |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 18 3222   | Nejetikhet    | Step pyramid       |               |                           |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |
| 19 3223   | Nejetikhet    | Step pyramid       |               |                           |                                                      |                      |                  |                   |

Total 19 (55): 14 50 5 11
### Appendix B2. Illustrations of pr-dlr-inscriptions.

| Source no | Bibliography |
|-----------|--------------|
| 1 ? 1125 | Emery, *Tombs of the First Dynasty*, II, 107, fig. 124 |
| 2 1608 | *IAF* III, fig. 213; *RT* I, pl. 27.68 |
| 3 1865 | *RT* I, pl. 30: 31.48; Martin, *Umm el-Quab*, VII, 44-45 (NB Helck [1987] 228–9) |
| 4 2048 | Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I, pl. 19.25 |
| 5 2115 | *PD* IV, I, pl. 14.70 |
| 6 2824 | *IAF* III, fig. 748 |
| 7 2841 | Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifæh*, pl. Ve; *IAF* III, fig. 746 |
| 8 2954 | *IAF* III, fig. 309; *RT* II, pl. 23.192 |
| 9 2968 | *RT* II, pl. 23.191; *IAF* III, fig. 764 |
| 10 2969 | *IAF* III, fig. 765; *RT* II, pl. 23.196 |
| 11 2974 | *IAF* III, fig. 771 |
| 12 3133 | *CG* I-1294, 1 (CG 1) (Helck [1987] 240 WF) |
| 13 3161 | *IAF* III, fig. 318; Garstang, *Mahasna and Bet Khallaf*, pl. 9.6 |
| 14 3222 | Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 141, fig. 20; Kahl et al., *Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, 86 |
| 15 3223 | Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 141, fig. 21; Kahl et al., *Inschriften der 3. Dynastie*, 86 |

(Continued)
Appendix B2. (Continued)

| Source no | No | King (Period) | Locality         | Type       | Inscription                                  |
|-----------|----|---------------|------------------|------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 16        | 4695 |               |                  |            | Regulski and Kahl, MDAIK 66 (2010), fig. 4 (Ni/Sa/2). |
| 17        | 4697 |               |                  |            | unpublished                                   |
| 18        | 4700 |               |                  |            | Regulski and Kahl, MDAIK 66 (2010), figs 7–8 (Ni/Sa/6). |
| 19        | 4751 |               |                  |            | unpublished                                   |

Appendix C. Inscriptions mentioning the pr-nbw and the hw.t-nbw.

| Source no | No | King (Period) | Locality         | Type       | Inscription                                  |
|-----------|----|---------------|------------------|------------|----------------------------------------------|
|            |    | pr-nbw        |                  | vessel     | other                                        |
| 3837*      | (Naqada III-Dyn. 3) | unknown          | calcite bowl    | wr pr-nbw ḫnt 'nyt-nfr*                     |
| ?1253      | 1   | Den           | Umm el-Qaab      | label      | (probably not hw.t-nbw, but a hw.t referring to oil-production) |
| ?1390      | 1   | Den           | Umm el-Qaab      | label      | (probably not hw.t-nbw, but a hw.t referring to oil-production) |
| ?1753      | 1   | Semerkhet     | Umm el-Qaab      | seal       | (probably not hw.t-nbw, but a hw.t referring to cattle) |
| ?1755      | 1   | Semerkhet     | Umm el-Qaab      | seal       | (probably not hw.t-nbw, but a hw.t referring to cattle) |
| ?4444      | 1   | Qa’a           | Umm el-Qaab      | label      | (probably not hw.t-nbw, but a hw.t referring to oil-production) |
| ?4448      | 1   | Qa’a           | Umm el-Qaab      | label      | (probably not hw.t-nbw, but a hw.t referring to oil-production) |
| 2100       | 1   | (Nebunefer?)  | Umm el-Qaab      | calcite bowl | hw.t-nbw ḫnt mn?         |
| 2293-98    | 47  | (Khasekhemwy) | Step Pyramid     | calcite bowls | hw.t-nbw lwf-lw**               |
| 2307-53    | 46  | (Khasekhemwy) | Step Pyramid     | calcite bowls | hw.t-nbw hm-nfr (often+city sign)**           |
| 2386-90    | 4   | (Khasekhemwy) | Step Pyramid     | calcite bowls | hw.t-nbw (+numbers)               |
| 2767       | 1   | (end Dyn. 2)  | Step Pyramid     |             | hw.t nbw (+ city-sign)             |
| 4422       | 1   | (Khasekhemwy) | Umm el-Qaab      | calcite bowl |                               |
| 106        |     |               |                  |             |                               |

* Kaplony, Inschriften, Supplement, no 1071.

**47 vessels with the name lwf-lw all inscribed by the same hand
Lacau and Lauer, La piramide à degrés, V, 14–15, nr. 19, pl. 13.1–5

***46 vessels with the name hm-nfr all inscribed by the same hand
Lacau and Lauer, La piramide à degrés, V, 17–18, nr. 24, pl. 14.1–5