



Reconsideration of Gender Precedence Iconography: Two Stelae from Deir el-Medina as A Case Study¹

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Abstract

Ancient Egyptian women enjoyed several rights equally to men in life and the afterlife. They had the right to work, educate, inherit, and own properties. They were afforded to authorize the production of coffins, stelae and other funeral objects, which were engraved by their names. This paper will investigate the women's iconography as gender precedence in two stelae from Deir el-Medina which will reveal some unusual styles that break the rules of fixed artistic patterns and become an essential point in knowing the actual owner. The objectives of this paper are to define the meaning of 'gender precedence' in iconography and its role in recognizing the dedicator and to tackle the notion of women's religious piety, and to classify the so-called 'Women's stelae' according to their illustrated composition. The research methodology will be achieved through an iconographical analysis of the artistic styles and a deep examination of the inscriptions of two stelae with a comparison to counterpart examples. As a means to build up a clear theory about the participation of women in possession of cultic furniture, the findings summarize the importance of iconographical criteria in re-contextualizing the role of women in religious life.

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1. Introduction

Gender studies in Egyptology focus on women and their roles, whether in art, religion, or socialization position and are concerned with the differences and disclosures in image and text. Many studies have dealt with gender approaches to discover the patterns, behaviors, and roles of a partnership between the two sexes (Renate & Hana 2009).

In ancient Egyptian society, men and women had proprietary rights. Some thought that women did not enjoy high ranks due to the absence of their representation in burial equipment. Possibly the burial was highly-priced and drained the family's resources. The burials thus demonstrate an unequal distribution of commodities. It is unknown whether and to what degree some things were shared. The woman is no longer a commodity or a second-class citizen and has a claim to the afterlife like men (Renate & Hana 2009).

Women, as well as men, owned funerary stelae, papyri, and ushabti. The woman was depicted worshipping the gods of the netherworld to be granted with treats of the blessed realm. Throughout the Egyptian dynasties, it was believed that the deceased woman desired to be associated with gods and goddesses of fertility to rejuvenate or be reborn, so her name was preceded by Osiris's name in cultic objects (Sweeny 2014 & Cooney 2010).

The Ramesside votive stelae express personal piety, which is defined as individuals' adoration of their close deities without the need of intermediaries such as kings or priests. Bussmann provided an argument over the phenomena of personal piety and outlined its peak when the exclusion from temple cult was most extreme and where getting close to the gods was the most challenging. These stelae are generally understood as personal donations expressing devotion to a deity, asking or thanking them for benefits or healing. They were freely erected by women. The share of women who owned votive stelae is less numerical than those possessed by males. The study of Robins about "women and votive stelae" elaborates on the gender conventions in material iconography, with a bit of focus on the notion of gender precedence. (Bussmann 2017; Sweeny 2014; Renate & Hana 2009; Robins 1997).

II-Discussion:

This paper investigates and studies two stelae from Deir el-Medina². The main reason for selecting those stelae is that their various artistic manners could provide new insights into gender iconography. The first stela is a large fragment and has not been fully analyzed so far. The second stela has not been published before, only its image is included in Bruyère's publication. (Bruyère 1930).

Before discussing these stelae, key terminologies should be provided to help understand the stelae's problematic case. First and foremost, the term "female/woman stela" was discussed by Robins as "those stelae which were dedicated or owned by women or dedicated by their husbands or male relatives on behalf of them." It means the stelae that were executed by women or by their male relatives for their spirits

² Deir el-Medina was a village of workers and craftsmen who were responsible for the royal tombs construction. It is located on the west bank of the Thebes, between the Ramesseum and Medinet Hapu temples. For more reading see; (Yasmin 2019).

without defining if the women paid for or depended on male relatives' income or shared them with each other (Robins1993).

II.1-Iconographic classification of Non-Royal woman stelae³:

By virtue of a woman's exclusive portrayal on a stela, it could be judged that it is a female stela, whereas there are some iconographical patterns on stelae that emphasized its belonging to a woman. There are four primarily types of women stelae:

II.1.1- A woman depicted alone while worshipping a deity

The women are depicted alone whether standing or kneeling, while they make offerings to a deity. If the stela consists of one register, she would be represented directly before the deity. But, if the stela consists of two registers, sometimes the upper register represented the god only, while the lower one depicted the woman in a kneeling or standing position, while raising her hands in adoration and presents some offerings.

II.1.2- A woman depicted with her family

There are some stelae depicting the woman with her family members, worshipping the deities. In this case, she leads her companion in the portrayal and the inscriptions provide that it was for her spirit or for both the lady and her companion.

II.1.3- The ear stelae containing names of women as donors

There is no depiction of women in such stelae, where only their names appear on the stelae.

II.1.4- The stelae depicting deities or deified ancestors with only the names of women as donors

These stelae represent deities or ancestors, and have no portrayal of women, but their names occur in connection with prayers as donators.

Having listed the main classifications of the iconography of women's stelae, the next section will discuss and examine in full detail the two stelae from Deir el-Medina to reconstruct their iconography and define their typology.

II.2.1-Stela n^o. DeM.1

Current Location:	Unknown location
Material:	Limestone
Owner	Khonsu (ii) & Tameket
Titles of the owner:	The mistress of the house
Dedicated to :	Mertseger and Mertseger-Renenutet
Date:	19th Dynasty (Ramesses II)
Find Location:	Ptolemaic Hathor Temple, Deir el Medina.
Conservation:	Destruction in upper right, middle-left, and lower right side.
Dimensions:	Height: 30 Cm, Width: 22 cm, Thickness: 7 cm.
Technique:	Raised relief with incised inscriptions.
Publication :	Bruyère 1952 II,101, pls. XVI, XVIII (fig. 172) [227]; PM 1:2, 725; KRI, III, 821.9-15; RITA, III, 549.

³ This classification was created by the researcher and based on a corpus of stelae studied in her PhD dissertation.

II.2.1.1- Description:

A fragment stela from limestone contains two registers (fig.1). The upper one represents a seated goddess, according to the text, is Mertseger.⁴ Only her legs still remain in the depiction. Bruyère hypothesized that the goddess is suckling and depended on the cushion below her feet which one foot rests on the heel up. Her feet pose is comparable to her representations in nursing depictions. Facing the goddess, a man is called Khonsu, depicted kneeling and raising his arms in adoration, wearing a long pleated loincloth (Bruyère 1952; Marini 2015; Bruyère 1930).

On the lower register, a pedestal partially remained from the left side, then an offering table laden with a *nmst* jar⁵, above it, a lotus flower. Unfortunately, the broken portion depicted Renenutet⁶; only the rim of the stand could be seen. The remains prove that she was represented as a cobra erect on a stand, possibly wearing the disk, horns, and high feathers similar to her usual scenes in Theban tombs. On the right, a kneeling woman is called Tameket, lifting her hands in adoration, depicted wearing a long wig with an ointment cone. On her forehead is a lotus flower tied at the band that fastens the wig. She is wearing a transparent dress, knotted under her breast and covered one arm, a penannular earring and bracelets (Bruyère 1952).

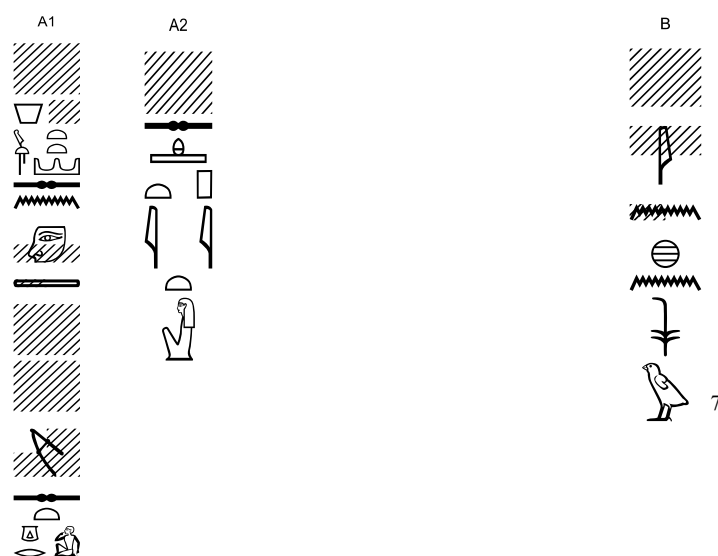
II.2.1.2-Text:

II.2.1.2.1-Upper register:

The remaining text consists of three vertical lines, two in front of the goddess Mertseger and one behind Khonsu.

A-Infront of the goddess:

B-Behind the kneeling man



⁴ Mertseger, a snake goddess worshipped at Deir el Medina and Theban necropolis for more reading see; (Argyros 2018).

⁵ For further details about the *nmst* jar, see Eaton 2013.

⁶ The worship of Renenutet was widespread in upper and lower Egypt; she is represented in a form of a serpent or a mixture of the head of a snake and a female body or as a cobra with a woman's face. She was a deity of Harvest, Granaries, and nourishment and was depicted usually in harvest scenes. She serves as a provider of food and a dispenser of life, associated with regeneration, fertility, and abundance. Many offerings are depicted before Renenwetet, expectedly, that she will feed the deceased in the afterlife. For further, see ;(Broekhuis1971; Masquelier-Loorius2015; Marini 2015).

⁷ KRI,III,821.9-10

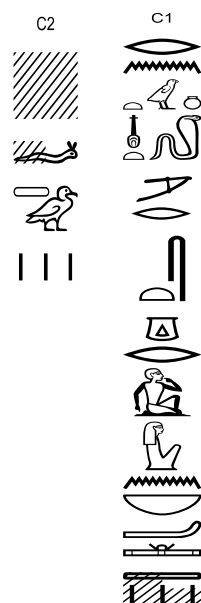
(A1) (.....) *hnw(t) imntt snt3* (.....) *mrstgr(t)* (A2) (.....) *s htpyt* (B) (in) *hnsu*.

(A1) (.....) Mistress of the west, kissing the land before (.....) goddess Mertseger,
 (A2) (.....) she is the merciful, (B) (by) Khonsu.⁸

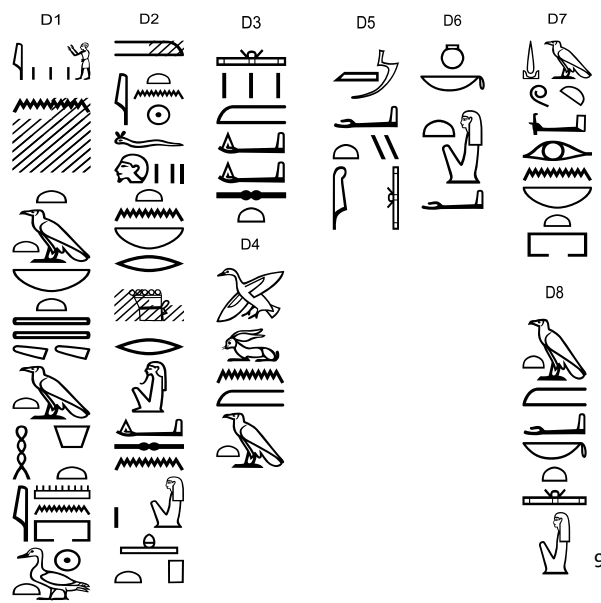
II.2.1.2.2-Lower Register:

There are ten columns of inscriptions, numbered according to the direction of reading from left to right as follows:

C-In front of the Goddess:



D- In front and behind the woman :



C-Infront of the goddess:

(C1) *rnnwt nfrt mrstgr n nb(t) hw*(C2) *(d)3w*¹⁰

(C1) Renenetet, the good, Mertseger, lady of the food and (C2) provisions.¹¹

D- In front and behind the woman:

(D1) *i3w n*(.....) *t3 nbt t3wy t3 hnwt pr imn s3.tr*^(D2) *m itn r.f tpy tn nb r dr di.s n.i*
htp^(D3) *mdd st*^(D4) *p3 wnn m t3*^(D5) *m3t*^(D6) *ink. st*^(D7) *3d3wt ir.n nbt pr*^(D8) *t3mkt*.¹²

(D1) Praising to (.....) the lady of the two lands, the lady of the house of Amon, daughter of Ra, (D2) she who is in his sun disk, lord of all, she may give to me mercy (D3) as a gift, (D4) you are in the (D5) right, (D6) and I'm a woman, (D7) guilty. It was made by the mistress of the house, (D8) Tameket.¹³

⁸ RITA,III,549.

⁹ KRI,III,821.11-15.

¹⁰ For *d3w*, see. Lesko,Dictionary,268.

¹¹ RITA,III,549.

¹² The word *dd* means given or granted.See, Lesko,Dictionary, 257; For the word *3d3wt* see, FCD, 51; *nb-r-dr*, Lord of all. See , FCD,129.

¹³ RITA,III,549.

Gunn rejected the opinion of Erman in translating the word *ḥdwt* in (D7) as the latter interpreted it as vainly (Erman1911). Yet Gunn proposed that it had a general meaning of sin or wrong action and it is opposite to *Mḥt*, which is normally interpreted as truth or right (Gunn 1916).

The goddess Renenutet was known as a provider of food and a dispenser of life. Her epithet was “*nb(t) ḥw dḥw*”, which means the mistress of food and provisions.¹⁴ According to Lesko, the word *dḥw* has several meanings; it could give a comprehensive meaning to food, sustenance, and foodstuffs (Marini 2015; Lesko, Dictionary, 268).

II.2.1.3-Comments:

Tameket¹⁵ is the wife of Khonsu, son of Sennedjem. She was a religious songstress, her epithets are attested in the tomb of Khabekhnet TT2, as “*ḥsy t ʿ3t n ḥwt ḥr* and *ḥsy t ʿ3t n Mwt nbt iṣrw*”, which means “the great songstress of Hathor and Mut, Lady of Isheru”. She has adopted the former epithet from her mother-in-law Iyinefreti. Hence, she resumed the family custom of worship to Mertseger (Černý et al 1949; Sweeny 2016).

II.2.2- Stela n°. DeM.2

Current Location	Private collection (in possession of professor George Steindorff)
Material	Limestone
Owner	Unknown woman
Titles/Epithets of the owner	(Mistress) of the house
Dedicated to	Goddess Mertseger
Date	19th/20th dynasty
Find Location	Deir el-Medina
Conservation	Poorly preserved
Dimensions	Unknown
Technique	Bas relief (traces of incised inscriptions but not clearable)
Publication	Bruyère1930,121,fig. 62

II.2.2.1-Description:

A small votive stela (fig. 2) in the possession of Professor George Steindorff, was acquired by him at Luxor in 1929. Unfortunately, it is untraceable. This stela has a curved part, which contained inscriptions in a very bad condition. It is divided into two parts, the upper one portrayed three effigies of serpents,¹⁶ which are extended and facing right (Bruyère 1930).

On the right side, a kneeling woman is wearing a long wig, a lotus flowers protruding from an ointment cone over her head. She wears an open garment, the fashionable dress in the Ramesside period. She is depicted raising her left arm in adoration


¹⁵ Tamkt name is attested in Rank. See, RPN.I,375.16



¹⁶ Bruyère linked the repetition of serpents' images to the gift of the ubiquity of the goddess Mertseger which allows her to be everywhere at the same time and to extend at the same time. In a word, the symbolic plurality of effigies of deities would mean that the gods are everywhere and always existed.

attitude to the effigies of Mertseger, but her right hand is holding a censer. She is followed by a man, possibly her son or husband depicted on a smaller scale; his name was inscribed behind him but is unreadable. He probably holds lotus flowers in his hand only traces remain; see fig.2 (a-b).

The lower register is depicted with four serpents, superimposed on each other. In front of these serpents is a kneeling man. His arms are raised in adoration. He is followed by a standing woman, who was depicted in a very bad case. She is wearing an opening gown and an unguent cone with a lotus flower above her head and her left hand appears to be holding a lotus flower.

II.2.2.2- Text:

The extreme upper register might be containing the name and epithets of Mertseger and the donor. The only remains of signs that could be readable are the sign ⁽¹⁾ □□*pr* above the kneeling woman, which might be forming her epithet, *nbt pr*. Beyond the man, there is a column of signs ending with a determinative ⁽²⁾ , possibly referring to his name.

In the lower register, the space between the separated line and the main figures of the scene is expected to include columns of inscriptions on Mertseger and her titles and the names and epithets of the depicted figures. Behind the standing woman is a vertical line that might be her name, only *hm*⁽³⁾  sign and a female determinative ⁽⁴⁾  could be seen (see fig.2b).

2.3- Comments:

It is an unpublished stela; only its illustration appears in Bruyère (1930), who gave no detailed description and dated it to the 20th dynasty. Nevertheless, its style, in particular, the lotus flower, is depicted strongly protruding from the ointment cone above the head of the woman, not as sticking on the head directly. It is similar to several stelae dating to the late 19th dynasty. (Wiedemann-Pörtner 1906, n° 21, et pl. VIII; BM.12, pl.38-39; Demarée 1993, pl.12, A45).

III- Commentary:

The iconographical analysis of two previously discussed stelae will be given in the following section.

III.1-Artistic Patterns:

The stela.DeM.1 is divided into two autonomous parts separated by a line. Each part contains a sole deity and a worshipper as if these parts resemble two stelae, where pictorially integrated and merged together into one object. By comparing the aforementioned stela with others such as a stela of Penbuy and Iahati, Louvre Museum, E 16374, Harmose and Iuy, British Museum, EA 1297, and Pay and Wadjrenpet, Turin,CGT. 50052, it appears that all have the typical artistic style, referring to the couple's participation in the stela's commissioning. Moreover, the representation of deities in the two registers implies that the couple is separated in worship but combined in the stela's composition (Bruyère1939; Robins 1997b; Tosi & Roccati 1972).

The Turin stela no. CGT 50035 depicts the lady Mutnefret on the upper register, who may be more prestigious than the lady who is represented in the lower one. It can be suggested that the figure represented in the upper section was alive. However, the one

represented in the lower was more likely dead at the time of the stela's execution. That is evidenced by granting the first lady the right of priority as a leading figure or that she possibly purchased the stela from her income. (Tosi & Roccati 1972).

The Turin stela of Heria and Iyi, CGT.50050, was made for the lady Iyi, who was represented in the lower register and had blindness. Heria strictly has the same title as Iyi and is therefore not socially higher; she becomes a mediator by presenting an offering on behalf of the latter. Iyi died when the stela was carried out as her epithet *m3^c hrw*. Heria had the same epithet, too. It is unreasonable to assume that she was deceased when she dedicated this stela. However, in this case, it is seemingly an epithet that used to be added after a living person's name as a wish to be justified. (Tosi & Roccati 1972; Yasmin 2015).

Another group of stelae was designed as stela DeM.1, but the upper part is devoted to deities alone. In contrast, the lower section was consecrated to donators, such as the stela of Iyinefreti, Bankes collection no.6. It is speculated that the higher space was not a definitive matter concerning the stela's owner, but not in all cases. Robins assumed that the upper areas were distinguished from the lower ones by being occupied by deities or divine creatures that enjoyed a higher privilege than humans. (Černý1958; Robins 1997a).

Robin's theory can be accepted since the deities were indisputably in the first rank of the Egyptian hierarchy. However, his claim about the low importance of the lower rows over the upper needs more explanation. For clarity, it should not be overlooked that the stela is usually a small slab, so it was heaped with many scenes to fulfill its purpose and its owner's desire. Therefore, the lower part is not a modest area anymore and is sometimes occupied by deities, as in the two stelae. DeM.1 and DeM.2. Another significant stela worthy of mention is the stela of a lady called Neferetmut, Aswan Museum No. 15, which is depicted with five deities, two in the upper and three in the lower. As a result, the upper and lower rows are equally important, and both can include the main figures as the registers' owners (Habachi 1960).

The stela.DeM.2 is not different from DeM.1 in the stylistic decorum, but a woman's precedence distinguishes it over a male. As seen in the upper register, a nameless woman is worshipping Mertseger, leading the iconography, and precedes a man. A seated man in the lower one also worships Mertseger and precedes a woman. Unfortunately, the stela.DeM.2 inscriptions were destroyed, which caused difficulty in recognizing the people, but the scenes in the stela's records define who are the main participants through the theory of gender precedence. It can be justified that the more people participated in stela's purchase, the more scenes were added. A woman's priority in portrayal suggests that she was probably an associate owner or a dedicatee.

Compared with stelae that show the priority of women in portrayal, such as the Egyptian Museum stela no. Sr.4/13795 and Sharkeya and National Museum stela no. H 702, the previous two stelae contain only a central scene of a standing woman, whom a male relative follows; both worship a deity. Both stelae inscriptions illustrated their purpose for the women's spirits without excluding their male relatives' names in prayers. They were probably involved in producing to guarantee the blessings or to be included in the deities' mercy (Mariette 1880; Habachi 1958).

III.2- The Textual Analysis:

III.2.1- *ir.n*

The text of prayers fills the lower record of the stela. DeM.1 was dedicated by the lady Tameket. It is evidenced by the dedicatory phrase “*ir.n*”, which means “made by”. This phrase consists of the auxiliary verb *iri* in the infinitive form +n preposition+ subject (name/ pronoun). It was used widely in the New Kingdom to refer to the action of donating or offering, always followed by the name of the donor. (Neveu 2015). The size of prayers is occasionally regarded as a scale in defining its owners, such as in stelae of Bukhanefptah, Bankes no.7, Iyinefreti, Bankes no.6, and Wadjrenpet, Turin, CGT 50052, which include praising formulae and requests for mercy, in order for the spirits of the ladies(Černý1958;Tosi and Roccati 1972) .

The bottom records inscriptions of stelae Bankes no.6 and Turin no.CGT 50052 contain a narrative about the blind ladies who are shown on both stelae. They complained to the deity about their disease and sought his pity. Apparently, residents of Deir el-Medina utilized this type of prayer to ask for forgiveness for their sins, which figuratively blinded them. Definitely, the size of prayers meant the exaggerated interest in the key figure of the stela, in other words, its owner (Tosi and Roccati 1972; Černý1958)

III.2.1- *n k3 n*

A concrete evidence for the ownership of the stela to a lady is the prepositional phrase “*n k3 n*”, which means “for the *K3*/ sole companion” of the actual owner. It was widely used in stelae which reflect the purpose of its manufacture. A large corpus of women's stelae includes the previous phrase followed by the name of the lady and sometimes it was pursued by another phrase of *n kA n* with the name of the second donor like in stelae of Grand Egyptian museum Gem no.8426 and Egyptian museum Sr.4/ 13795(Mariette 1880).

A funerary stela in Florence Museum, no.2511 depicted the couple receiving offerings from their daughter, although its inscriptions clarified that it was for the wife’s *kA* without reference to her husband's name. It could be hypothesized that men predominated the iconography of material objects, but textual evidence can recontextualize the image. (Bosticco1959).

Notably, most stelae, including DeM.1 did not contain the command of the stela’s making. By analogy to stela of Wadjrenpet, Turin, CGT 50052, it shows containing the command of manufacture as follows; “*n k3 n nbt pr w3dt rnpt hn in s3.s ir wd pn*”, which was translated as “for the spirit of the Lady of the house, Wadjrenpet justified. She entrusted her son to make a stela”. It may be deduced that the male relative was tasked with purchasing the stela or spending money from his own resources on its production. So that understandably after *n k3 n* is the actual owner, the primary aim from stela’s production (KRI.I, 390.10-13; RITA, I, 321).

III.2.3: The absence of a family link:

It is observed that there is no family bond attested between Tameket and Khonsu in stela DeM.1, contrary to the pyramidion of Khonsu, Turin no.1, where their relationship was proven as his wife. The omission of a family link could give a kind

of independence and eligibility to the woman as an independent owner (KRI.III, 822.1; RITA, III,549).

A certain tendency that appeared beside the absence of family links is a gender distinction, which means that the son is affiliated with his father and the daughter is attributed to her mother, as in the stelae of the Louvre Museum. E 16374, Genève, Musée d'art et d'histoire, inv. D 55, and Turin, CGT.50040. Other evidence for a woman's ownership of the stelae, such as the attribution of all represented family members to the lady, is found in the stelae of Bukhanefptah and Bankes Collection no.7. (Bruyère1939; Tosi and Roccati 1972; Wiedemann &Pörtner 1906).

IV-Conclusion:

The determining criteria and standards for recognizing the stela's owner are summarized as follows; artistic patterns by depicting the woman/man as a leading figure, whether in the upper or lower registers and his/her representation is nearer to the deity. The textual phrases that prove the proprietary are *ir.n* and *n k3 n*. Moreover, gender distinction and the absence of family relation bonds.

A new classification for women's stelae can be provided and applied to the two studied stelae as follows; women who appear as co-owners of stelae with their male relatives or as owners of a register or a portion of a stela.

All in all, it can be summarized that the concept of "Gender Precedence" is based on what has been clarified above. It is a stylistic pattern in votive/ funerary stelae that appeared by representing the female progress over the rest of depicted figures in decorum composition. It granted her a high privilege and focal significance whether visible through pictorial or immaterial through texts or both. It expresses her dominance of stela's themes and ownership.

It can classify that the gender precedence is textual in stela. DeM.1 and pictorial in stela. DeM.2.

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A- Abbreviations:

- BM. 12** Bierbrier, M,L., (1993). *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc. in the British Museum*, Part 12, London.
- FCD** Faulkner, R, O., (1962). *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford.
- KRI** Kitchen, K, A., (2008) *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Oxford.
- Lesko, Dictionary** Lesko, L, H., and Lesko, B, S., (1982-1990). *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, Vol. I-V, Berkeley.
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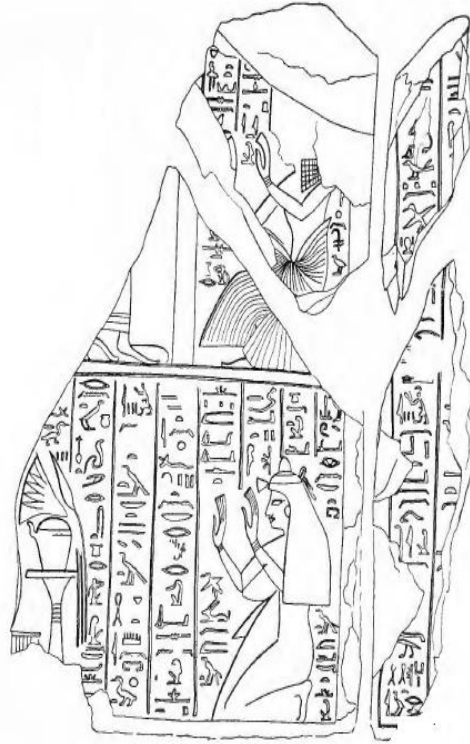


Fig.(1):

a- Stela DeM.1 of Khonsu and Tameket
Bruyère 1952 II,101, pls. XVI (fig. 172).

b- Facsimile for the stela of Khonsu and
Tameket.

Bruyère 1952 II,XVIII. No. 227



Fig. (2a): Stela of an Unknown Woman. DeM.2
Bruyère1930,121,fig.62



Fig. (2b): Facsimile of stela. DeM.2

©Drawing by Cheryl Westenberg¹⁷

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ملخص البحث

إعادة النظر علي تصوير التقديم بين الجنسين: لوحتان من دير المدينة كدراسة حالة

حصلت المرأة المصرية على العديد من الحقوق على قدم المساواة مع الرجل في الحياة و العالم الآخر وذلك من خلال مناظرها والنصوص التي أشارت لذلك. كان لهن الحق في العمل والتعليم والوراثة والتملك، تم السماح لهن بإنتاج التوابيت، واللوحات، وغيرها من الأثاث الجنائزي المنقوش بأسمائهن، ستبحث هذه الورقة في اللوحات النسائية وتصويرها مقدمة على الرجل أو "كأسبقية بين الجنسين" في لوحتين من دير المدينة للكشف عن بعض الأنماط غير المعتادة التي تخالف قواعد الأنماط الفنية الثابتة والتي بمثابة نقطة محورية في معرفة مالك اللوحة الفعلي. تهدف هذه الورقة إلى تحديد معنى "الأسبقية بين الجنسين" في الأيقونات ودورها في التعرف على المالك او مُهدي اللوحة ولإستعراض مفهوم التقوى الدينية للمرأة. لتصنيف ما يسمى "لوحات النساء" وفقا للعناصر المنفذة التصويرية. سيتم تحقيق منهجية البحث من خلال تحليل الأساليب الفنية والتحليل اللغوي لنصوص اللوحتين مع المقارنة بأمثلة مماثلة. وذلك كوسيلة لوضع نظرية واضحة حول مشاركة المرأة في حياة الأثاث الجنائزي. تلخص النتائج أهمية المعيار الأيقوني في إعادة صياغة دور المرأة في الحياة الدينية.