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Work Stages	Staring	Ending
Receiving research articles (Open)	1st of January	31st of December
Research articles refereeing and researchers' modifications	Upon receiving the research articles	
Preparation and revision	Two months prior to each issue printing	
Printing and uploading on website(for two months)	The beginning of November and May	The beginning of January and June

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The Professions and Hierarchy of Nekhebu

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine the titles and professions of an Old Kingdom official particularly a sixth dynasty royal Architect who performed the tasks of his career under the sovereign Pepi I.

Mr(i)-PtH-anx-mry-Ra was the full name of that official who was also called Nekhebu, his tomb is located in Giza near king Cheop's great pyramid, his father was possibly khnmenti the owner of tomb G 2374 but the name of his mother was still unknown.

The paper provides a general overview of Nekhebu's practical life through a detailed analysis of the different and various titles and epithets he held during his long resplendent career, as well as the diverse professions he occupied in the civil Egyptian Administration of the Old Kingdom.

Nekhebu was one of the most important civil officials in the sixth dynasty as a whole and particularly in the reign of the monarch Pepi I who executed many projects and expeditions for him.

The author depends in that paper on many scattered sources for Nekhebu's biography, this is due to the great destruction of his stone built mastaba which led to the cracking of the walls of his mastaba to several too heavy blocks found in a disordered heap of debris.

The two main sources for Nekhebu's biography were found by Reisner in the tomb complex of snDm-ib's family of the fifth and sixth dynasties at Giza, one of these two main sources is located in the Cairo museum while the other one is located in Boston museum, both texts record many projects that Nekhebu executed to the king, as according to their inscriptions he was responsible for directing four missions for the king Pepi I.

The first mission was directing the erection of the ka-mansions of Pepi in Lower Egypt and directing the Administration at the north in "city of Lakes", in "Akhbit of Horus" and the pyramid of Men-nefer-pepy (the pyramid of king Pepi I), the second mission was in Lower Egypt where he dug a canal between Akhbit and the residence, the third mission was in Upper Egypt as Nekhebu dug a canal in Kus while the fourth mission which is recorded in the Cairo text presented his responsibility in directing the works of a pyramid monument in Heliopolis.

After every mission Nekhebu executed for the king, he stated the praises and rewards offered to him as a gift from the king in appreciation of his efforts to achieve the mission successfully.

In addition to these two main sources there are some blocks from his mastaba preserved now in Boston museum which the author depends on them in the paper. These sources record many different titles for Nekhebu which helped to suggest an accurate topic concerning his promotion and Hierarchy during the reign of Pepi I. The paper examines all the titles and epithets held by Nekhebu from his various inscriptions, the reading of each title and the different opinions suggested by scholars concerning each title's reading, its transliteration and the translation as well as the functions and natures of each title and the different points of view suggested by

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scholars regarding each title whether it was an honorific title or an official one indicates an actual profession.

The paper concludes two distinct types of titles which indicate two different career tracks that Nekhebu passed by during his long career.

And finally, the paper suggests a proposed Hierarchy for Nekhebu according to these titles.

Keywords:

Nekhebu, Royal builder, King's Architect, Overseer of Royal works, Professions, Hierarchy, Royal service

Nekhebu⁽¹⁾ whose full name was *mr(i)-Pth-^ḥmr-y-R^c*⁽²⁾ was overseer of all works of the king⁽³⁾, king's architect⁽⁴⁾ and leader of at least three expeditions sent to wadi Hammamat⁽⁵⁾.

His tomb is located in the western cemetery at Giza bearing the number G 2381⁽⁶⁾; it lies in the vicinity of king Cheop's pyramid⁽⁷⁾.

Different opinions were raised concerning the monarch during whose reign Nekhebu held his career and titles. PM suggested that he served either Pepi I or Merenre I⁽⁸⁾, while he was dated by Strudwick from the middle to the late of Pepi's I reign⁽⁹⁾. Yet, according to his biography it is clear that he was contemporary to Pepi I⁽¹⁰⁾.

The tomb of Nekhebu had been destroyed and the blocks were found scattered in a messy heap of debris, but due to the heavy weight of the blocks, each block was photographed and the walls were reconstructed on paper⁽¹¹⁾.

The biography of Nekhebu was recorded on two sources; both were located originally on the jambs of a doorway in his chapel. The left jamb is now preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston (MFA. No. 13. 4331) (fig.1), whilst the right jamb is

preserved in Cairo Museum⁽¹²⁾.

Both inscriptions were collected by Sethe in his *Urkunden*⁽¹³⁾ and later Dunham offered a translation for both texts⁽¹⁴⁾.

The biography starts from the left jamb, i.e. by the Boston text which contains an introductory phrase and a record of three missions carried out by Nekhebu for the king, two of which were in Lower Egypt and the third one was in Upper Egypt. Then, the biography continues on the right jamb, i.e. by the Cairo text where there is an allusion for a fourth mission at Heliopolis and then the titles and honours awarded to him by the king⁽¹⁵⁾.

The titles and epithets of Nekhebu - mentioned in that paper - including those mentioned in Boston and Cairo texts were collected by Sethe⁽¹⁶⁾. Also, four other blocks of Nekhebu located in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston were collected by Dunham and bear the numbers: 13.4335 (fig. 2), 13.4348 (fig. 3), 13.4349 (fig. 4) and 13.4351 (fig. 5)⁽¹⁷⁾, and the inscriptions of the expeditions of Nekhebu at Wadi Hammat⁽¹⁸⁾.

The titles will be listed in alphabetical order and the number of times each title is mentioned through the sources listed above to present an insight of his professions and therefore shed light on his hierarchy.

⁽¹⁾ PN I, p. 209 [14], was a usual name since the Old Kingdom.

⁽²⁾ There are two different versions for the reading of that name, the author adopt the reading suggested by Ranke cf. PN I, p. 209 [14] and Kloth, cf. Kloth, N., *Die (auto-) biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, p. 16, whilst the other reading is *mr-y-r^c-mr-y-^ḥPth* which is suggested by PM cf. PM III²/1, p. 89 and Strudwick, cf., Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 113 (90).

⁽³⁾ *imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt*, Jones, D., *Index I*, p. 262:950.

⁽⁴⁾ PM III²/1, pp. 88-89.

⁽⁵⁾ *Urk I*, pp. 93-94 [1-6].

⁽⁶⁾ PM III²/1, p. 89; Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 113 (90).

⁽⁷⁾ *Urk I*, p. 215.

⁽⁸⁾ PM III²/1, p. 90.

⁽⁹⁾ Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 113 (90).

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Urk I*, pp. 215-221; Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pp. 1-8; Baer, K., *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 95-96 [286].

⁽¹¹⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 1.

⁽¹²⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 1.

⁽¹³⁾ *Urk I*, pp. 215-221.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pp. 2-6.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 1.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *Urk I*, pp. 215-221.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pp. 6-7.

⁽¹⁸⁾ *Urk I*, pp. 93-94.

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

Title	Cairo text	Boston text 13.4331	13.4335	13.4348	13.4349	13.4351	H
(1) <i>im3ḥw</i>	✓		✓			✓	
(2) <i>Imy-r wpt nswt Mn-nfr-Ppy</i>			✓				
(3) <i>Imy-r ḳdw</i>	✓						
(4) <i>Imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt</i>			✓ twice	✓		✓	✓
(5) <i>ʕ3-Dw3w</i>					✓		
(6) <i>mty-n-s3</i>	✓						
(7) <i>mḏḥ nswt</i>	✓	✓ twice					
(8) <i>mḏḥ nswt ḳd(w)</i>	✓			✓			
(9) <i>mḏḥ nswt-ḳdw m prwy</i>	✓						✓
(10) <i>ḥry sšt3 n w^cbty</i>						✓	
(11) <i>ḥrp šnd(w)t nbt</i>					✓		
(12) <i>ḥry-ḥbt</i>							✓
(13) <i>ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp</i>			✓		✓		
(14) <i>ḥry-tp nswt</i>	✓		✓				
(15) <i>sm</i>					✓		
(16) <i>smr-w^cty</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
(17) <i>smr-w^cty n(y) st ib nb.f</i>			✓				
(18) <i>smsw snwt</i>			✓		✓		
(19) <i>šḥd n ḳdw</i>	✓						
(20) <i>ḳdw n ʕš3t</i>	✓						
(21) <i>ḳd nswt m prwy</i>			✓			✓	
(22) <i>k3wty</i>		✓					

(1)  *im3hw*

It is attested in three sources for Nekhebu's biography that *im3hw* is an epithet placed usually before the names of the deceased. Fischer believed that it means "being esteemed"⁽¹⁹⁾, while Jones suggested several meanings for that epithet: "The honored one, revered, venerated, the one who has been provided for"⁽²⁰⁾. It is worth mentioning that this epithet means the deceased merits offerings and supplies in the afterlife.

Barta defined this epithet as one who, on the basis of supplies and offerings, has the guarantee of rebirth⁽²¹⁾.

Sometimes this epithet was followed by

several prepositions as  *n* or  *hr*⁽²²⁾ then a name of a king or a god. Goelet explained that the epithet whereupon means that its holder is revered "in the presence of" or with a god or king⁽²³⁾.


(2)  *imy-r wpt*
nswt Mn-nfr-Ppy

This title is attested only once in all sources for Nekhebu's biography⁽²⁴⁾. Jones translated it as "overseer of the royal commissions of Pepi I's pyramid or overseer of the royal commissions of the Beauty / perfection of Pepi-Abides"⁽²⁵⁾.

It is worth mentioning that Helck and Goedicke suggested the reading *imy-r wpt* and translated it as "overseer of the division"⁽²⁶⁾. Martin-Pardey adopted the same reading but preferred the translation of "overseer of orders"⁽²⁷⁾,

while Junker believed in the reading *imy-r ipwt*⁽²⁸⁾ and translated it as "overseer of expeditions or overseer of commissions"⁽²⁹⁾.

Fischer noted that the title in question is related to the phrase *wpt nswt*, which referred to expeditions, and argued that when the title *imy-r wpt* includes a geographical reference it is then possible to accept the translation "overseer of the apportionment or division of offerings", which was suggested before by Goedicke. However, in case of the absence of any reference to a temple or a funerary endowment it is then possible to accept the translation of "overseer of commissions"⁽³⁰⁾. The title was attested in the titularies of expedition leaders who were overseers of commissions.

It is worth to note that the word  *wpt* may refer to any project specially to those of Upper Egypt, but it always involved an official who is sent to another locality as in case of expeditions to Sinai and Nubia⁽³¹⁾.

Jéquier stated that the title *imy-r wpt nswt* appeared also in connection with a royal pyramid⁽³²⁾, which appeared on the block MFA No. 13.4335 of Nekhebu. Consequently, this title is directly associated with the mission that Nekhebu carried out to King Pepi I for his Pyramid mentioned in Boston text⁽³³⁾, and probably reflected his responsibility in directing the construction of Pepi I's pyramid⁽³⁴⁾.

It is worth commenting that the title *imy-r wpt nswt Mn-nfr-Ppy* was mentioned on the current block following the title *imy-r k3t nbt*

⁽¹⁹⁾ Fischer, H., "Marginalia", p. 22.

⁽²⁰⁾ Jones, D., Index I, p. 11:42.

⁽²¹⁾ Barta, W., Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers (Stele Louvre C14), pp. 50-52.


⁽²²⁾ Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, pp. 29, 571, 585.

⁽²³⁾ Goelet, O., "The Term *Štp-s3* in the Old Kingdom and Its Later Development", p. 92 n. 31.

⁽²⁴⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 6 (MFA no. 13.4335).

⁽²⁵⁾ Jones, D., Index I, p. 96:398.

⁽²⁶⁾ Goedicke, H., "Die Laufbahn des *Mtn*", pp. 38-39.

⁽²⁷⁾ Martin-Pardey, E., "Gedanken zum Titel , p. 251.

⁽²⁸⁾ Junker, H., Giza XII, p. 167.


⁽²⁹⁾ Junker, H., Giza II, p. 133; Giza VII, pp. 151-161.

⁽³⁰⁾ Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 222.

⁽³¹⁾ Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 223.

⁽³²⁾ Jéquier, G., "Tombe de Particuliers de L'époque de Pepi II", p. 149, fig. 15.

⁽³³⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pp. 1-2.

⁽³⁴⁾ Martin-Pardey, E., "Gedanken zum Titel , p. 238.

works and workforces⁽⁵⁴⁾, while Verner believed that it means “overseer of all works of the king”⁽⁵⁵⁾, Jones adopted Verner’s translation as well⁽⁵⁶⁾ and recently Vymazalová translated it as “overseer of all the king’s works”⁽⁵⁷⁾.

This title was developed most probably from the third dynasty title *imy-irty k3t nbt nt nswt*⁽⁵⁸⁾.

Smith showed that this title was held by a small number of officials in the fourth and early fifth dynasties, most of which were princes or at least members of the royal family⁽⁵⁹⁾. While, during the late fifth and sixth dynasties it was held by a much larger number⁽⁶⁰⁾ from non-royal origin⁽⁶¹⁾, but by the reign of Pepi I it was held only by viziers⁽⁶²⁾.

It was the most important position in the administration of work organisation⁽⁶³⁾, for it was associated with buildings, expeditions, agriculture and crafts works⁽⁶⁴⁾.

The holder of that title was in charge of organising and ordering works for execution⁽⁶⁵⁾, as he had a great experience


derived from the working in previous construction projects for the king⁽⁶⁶⁾.

The title holder was responsible for implementation of the orders of the principal administrative departments, for organisation of the work forces either the builders, craftsmen or those who were involved in agricultural works, as well as for regulation of the irrigation works for a specific region⁽⁶⁷⁾.

Strudwick noted that the title holder included responsibility for construction works as well as the expeditions, as the mutual aspect between them is the need for organising work forces⁽⁶⁸⁾.

Vymazalová mentioned that the holder of the title was in charge of selecting the officials who led the expeditions to the quarries aided by soldiers, scribes, craftsmen and workers⁽⁶⁹⁾.

Finally, Verner and Vymazalová agreed that the overseer of the king’s works was assisted by his subordinates who checked that his orders were carried out and the works were executed⁽⁷⁰⁾.

(5)  3-Dw3w

This title is attested once in Nekhebu’s biography which is on the block MFA No. 13.4349 at Boston Museum⁽⁷¹⁾.

Helck mentioned that the reading of that title as well as its meaning are still obscure⁽⁷²⁾. Wörterbuch did not give an accurate reading for the title as it was read as “3-...”⁽⁷³⁾. Junker⁽⁷⁴⁾, Pirenne⁽⁷⁵⁾ and Jones⁽⁷⁶⁾ believed in


⁽⁵⁴⁾ Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 250.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Verner, M., *Abusir II*, p. 38.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Jones, D., *Index I*, p. 262:950.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Vymazalová, H., “The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes”, p. 178.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 217; Vymazalová, H., “The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes”, p. 178.

For that title  (i)m(y)-irty k3t nbt n(t) nswt cf. Jones, D., *Index I*, p. 49:246.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Smith, W., *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, p. 357; Vymazalová, H., “The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes”, p. 178.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Wilson, J., “The Artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom”, p. 237.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Vymazalová, H., “The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes”, p. 178.

⁽⁶²⁾ Vymazalová, H., “The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes”, p. 179.

⁽⁶³⁾ Eyre, C., “Work and Organisation of Work in the Old Kingdom”, p. 26; Verner, M., *Abusir II*, p. 38.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 247.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 243.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Vymazalová, H., “The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes”, p. 178.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 249.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 243.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Vymazalová, H., “The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes”, p. 179.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Verner, M., *Abusir II*, p. 38; Vymazalová, H., “The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes”, p. 179.

⁽⁷¹⁾ Dunham, D., “The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo”, p. 7.

⁽⁷²⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 37.

⁽⁷³⁾ Wb I, p. 165 [4].

⁽⁷⁴⁾ Junker, H., *Giza II*, p. 189 (7).


⁽⁷⁵⁾ Pirenne, J., *Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l’Ancienne Égypte III*, p. 87.



⁽⁷⁶⁾ Jones, D., *Index I*, p. 351 :1308.

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the reading ʕ3-Dw3w , while Hannig suggested two readings: ʕ3-Dw3w and $wn-\text{ʕ Dw3w}$ ⁽⁷⁷⁾.

Different translations were presented for that title. Wörterbuch translated it as “ʕ of the god”⁽⁷⁸⁾, and Firth and Gunn translated it by “Door keeper(?) of (the God) $Dw3w$ ”⁽⁷⁹⁾, while Pirenne suggested the translation of “head of the Letopolis gate”⁽⁸⁰⁾. Helck offered the translation “helper of the morning”⁽⁸¹⁾, on the other hand Kanawati⁽⁸²⁾, Jones⁽⁸³⁾ and Hannig⁽⁸⁴⁾ believed in the translation of “assistant of $Dw3w$ ”.

The title consists of two words:  and

, the first word  was read by Wörterbuch⁽⁸⁵⁾, Gardiner⁽⁸⁶⁾ and Hannig⁽⁸⁷⁾ as “ʕ3”, which means “the door wings”⁽⁸⁸⁾ or “door”⁽⁸⁹⁾, while Hannig suggested also a second reading for the same sign which is $wn-\text{ʕ}$ ⁽⁹⁰⁾ and translated it as assistant⁽⁹¹⁾.

While the second word is $Dw3w$, which is a god’s name⁽⁹²⁾ who is attested since the archaic period⁽⁹³⁾, $Dw3w$ was known as patron of Ophthalmologists (oculists) and god for the king’s morning toilet⁽⁹⁴⁾. The $Dw3$ sign was thought to be originated from the king’s

placenta⁽⁹⁵⁾, but later Kees suggested that the sign originally represented a throne cushion⁽⁹⁶⁾.

The title is known at least since the third dynasty⁽⁹⁷⁾, then it is attested in the fourth dynasty⁽⁹⁸⁾, while it became frequent during the fifth⁽⁹⁹⁾ and sixth dynasties⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

Kees⁽¹⁰¹⁾, Grdseloff⁽¹⁰²⁾ and Hannig⁽¹⁰³⁾

believed it was a priestly title. Kees depended in his opinion on the appearance of the title in question in the Re-sanctuary of Ni-User-Re among priests⁽¹⁰⁴⁾, while Grdseloff believed that ʕ3-Dw3w s were high officials who wore the emblem of $Dw3w$ in religious ceremonies⁽¹⁰⁵⁾. Helck argued that there was already the possibility that an annexation of a court title exists with a part of the local priesthood⁽¹⁰⁶⁾.

Consequently, that title might be a court or a palace title. It is worth commenting that the holders of ʕ3-Dw3w in the fourth dynasty were princes who were strongly emphasized and all of them were princes and $rp\text{ʕ}t$ ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾, while it was less carried by the vizier princes who performed the duties of the vizierate⁽¹⁰⁸⁾.

Helck noted that the title was originally a name of a magically meaningful action that

⁽⁷⁷⁾ Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, pp. 140, 209.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Wb I, p. 165 [4].

⁽⁷⁹⁾ Firth, C. and Gunn, B., Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, p. 133 (38), 151 (10).

⁽⁸⁰⁾ Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l’Ancienne Égypte III, p. 87.

⁽⁸¹⁾ Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 37.

⁽⁸²⁾ Kanawati, N., The rock tombs of El-Hawawish X, p. 48.

⁽⁸³⁾ Jones, D., Index I, p. 351:1308.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 209.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Wb I, p. 164 [12-14].

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 496 (o31).

⁽⁸⁷⁾ Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 139.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Wb I, p. 164 [12].

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 496.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 209.

⁽⁹¹⁾ Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 209.

⁽⁹²⁾ LGG VII, pp. 506-507.

⁽⁹³⁾ Firth, C. and Quibell, J., The Step Pyramid II, pl. 107 (2); LGG VII, p. 506.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Kaplony, P., “Das Papyrusarchiv von Abusir (Fortsetzung)”, p. 244.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Blackman, A., “The Pharaoh’s Placenta and the Moon-God Khons”, p. 235.

⁽⁹⁶⁾ Kees, H., Die Götterglauben im alten Aegypten, p. 101.


⁽⁹⁷⁾ Firth, C. and Quibell, J., The Step Pyramid II, pl. 107 (2).

⁽⁹⁸⁾ Borchardt, L., Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo I, p. 123 (CG 176).

⁽⁹⁹⁾ as: $w3\text{ʕ-pt}h / \text{ʕ}si$, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 79-80 (37).


⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ as: $Mrrw-k3i / \text{M}ri$, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 100-101 (68).

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ von Bissing, F. and Kees, H., Das Re-Heiligtum II, pl. 7 Nr.17.

⁽¹⁰²⁾ Grdseloff, B., “Le dieu  $Dw3w$ ”, pp. 214, 216 fig. 31.

⁽¹⁰³⁾ Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 209.

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ von Bissing, F. and Kees, H., Das Re-Heiligtum III, pl. 7 Nr. 17.

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Grdseloff, B., “Le dieu  $Dw3w$ ”, p. 216 fig. 31.

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 37.

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Jones, D., Index I, p. 492:1836.

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 37.

only princes of the highest rank could exercise. So, it might indicate an office that is related to the divine king and that *Dw3w* might refer to a morning toilet god⁽¹⁰⁹⁾.

In later Old Kingdom sources, the title *3-Dw3w* was found once with a royal ophthalmologist⁽¹¹⁰⁾, also another ophthalmologist held the title *hm-ntr Dw3w*⁽¹¹¹⁾. Furthermore, his name was *Ni-nh-Dw3w* i.e. his name is composed with this deity⁽¹¹²⁾.

Consequently, Grdseloff wanted to establish a relationship between *Dw3* and the office of an ophthalmologist (oculist)⁽¹¹³⁾; this led Hannig to translate *3-Dw3w* firstly by oculist⁽¹¹⁴⁾.

Kaplony indicated the exact tasks held by *3-Dw3w*; that he was in charge of putting the shiny eye shadow on the king as well as separating or trimming the king's beard, and that *Dw3w* was the god for the king's morning toilet⁽¹¹⁵⁾.


If one adds to Kaplony's opinion that the title *3-Dw3w* was always held beside the titles: *sm*, *hrp šnd(w)t nbt* and *hry-hbt hry-tp*, which show direct contact with the living king, one might confirm Kaplony's opinion that *3-Dw3w* was responsible for adorning the eyelids of the king which interprets its association with the oculists. Also, the suggestions offered by Helck and Kaplony that *Dw3w* was the king's morning toilet god may be true so that *3-Dw3w* was "assistant" for that god probably responsible for preparation of the king in every morning.

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 37.

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ *Mdw-nfr*, who was *hrp swnw irty n pr-3*, cf., Hassan, S., Giza III, p. 115(4); which is translated as director of eye physicians of the Great House, Jones, D., *Index II*, p. 736:2680.





⁽¹¹¹⁾ Jones, D., *Index II*, p. 585:2142.

⁽¹¹²⁾ Borchardt, L., *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches im Museum von Kairo I*, p. 138 (CG 1452).

⁽¹¹³⁾ Grdseloff, B., "Le dieu  *Dw3w*", p. 207.

⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Hannig, R., *Handwörterbuch*, p. 140.

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Kaplony, P., "Das Papyrusarchiv von Abusir (Fortsetzung)", p. 244.

   (6)  I *mty n s3*

This title is attested only once on the sources of Nekhebu's biography which is in the Cairo text⁽¹¹⁶⁾.

Wörterbuch translated this title as "overseer of a priest's guild"⁽¹¹⁷⁾, while Junker suggested that it means "director of a phyle"⁽¹¹⁸⁾. Jones believed in the translation of "regulator" of a phyle⁽¹¹⁹⁾, while Hannig assumed two different translations either "director of a priest phyle" or "director of a craftsman phyle"⁽¹²⁰⁾. So, the title can reflect a priestly office or a civil one⁽¹²¹⁾.

Roth noted that this office was first known during the reign of Pepi I⁽¹²²⁾ where it was held by *Mry-Tti*, Mereruka's eldest son⁽¹²³⁾, who undertook the responsibilities of this office in Pepi I's pyramid town.

The title was known since the reign of Pepi I till the end of the Old Kingdom. At that time this office was attached to the royal mortuary temples⁽¹²⁴⁾, unlike the Middle Kingdom where this title was associated with the temples of the gods⁽¹²⁵⁾.

In the Old Kingdom the holder of *mty n s3* was attached to the royal mortuary temples. This was proven by the fact that the office was rarely held outside the Memphite Capital. It was held by two provincial officials only: *wni* of Abydos⁽¹²⁶⁾ and *Ppy-nht*⁽¹²⁷⁾ who started their careers in Memphis where they carried out the responsibilities of that office.

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Urk I, p. 216:2.

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Wb II, p. 168 [12].

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Junker, H., Giza VI, p. 21.

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Jones, D., *Index I*, p. 452:1694.

⁽¹²⁰⁾ Hannig, R., *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II*, p. 1155.

⁽¹²¹⁾ Helck, W., "Arbeiter", p. 372; Helck, W., "Phyle", p. 1044.

⁽¹²²⁾ Roth, A., *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom*, p. 214.

⁽¹²³⁾ Nims, C., "Some Notes on the Family of Mereruka", pp. 638-645.

⁽¹²⁴⁾ Helck, W., "Phyle", p. 1044.


⁽¹²⁵⁾ Ward, W., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, pp. 96-97:803-808.

⁽¹²⁶⁾ Fischer, H., "The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat", p. 10.

⁽¹²⁷⁾ Urk I, p. 132:2; Junker, H., Giza VI, p. 21.

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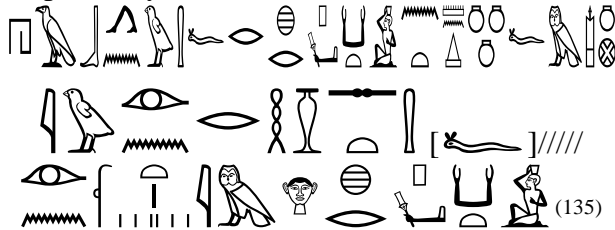
The holder of that title was responsible for managing the phyles of priests in the mortuary temple. This in case of it was held by a priestly individual, but for Nekhebu who was a civil individual, most probably according to that title, he was in charge of managing and administrating the Phyles of craftsmen which according to his biography were the builders⁽¹²⁸⁾ as well as regulating their shifts and directing their daily works.

(7)  *mdh-nswt*

The current title is attested three times on two different sources for Nekhebu's biography: once in the Cairo text⁽¹²⁹⁾ and twice in the Boston text⁽¹³⁰⁾.

Different opinions were raised concerning the meaning of that title. Dunham and Verner believed that it means the king's architect or the master builder⁽¹³¹⁾, while Wörterbuch, Fischer, Ward and Jones mentioned that it means royal carpenter⁽¹³²⁾, and finally Hannig suggested a third translation for the title as he noted that it means royal master⁽¹³³⁾.

The holder of that title was the direct manager of the work in the construction site⁽¹³⁴⁾, as it was revealed from the autobiographies of Nekhebu and *Mrrw-k3* respectively:



h3b.n wi hm.f r hrp k3t nt mnw.f m Twnw

⁽¹²⁸⁾ Urk I, p. 216:2.

⁽¹²⁹⁾ Urk I, p. 215:9.

⁽¹³⁰⁾ Urk I, pp. 219:13, 220:12; Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pl. II.

⁽¹³¹⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 2; Verner, M., *Abusir II*, p. 38.

⁽¹³²⁾ Wb II, p. 190 [11]; Fischer, H., *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt*, p. 212; Ward, W., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, p. 98:815a; Jones, D., *Index I*, p. 463:1728.

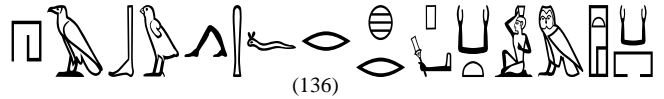
⁽¹³³⁾ Hannig, R., *Handwörterbuch*, p. 405; Hannig, R., *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II*, p. 1173[14557].

⁽¹³⁴⁾ Verner, M., *Abusir II*, p. 38.

⁽¹³⁵⁾ Urk I, p. 215:11-13.

iw ir.n r hst hm.f /// ir.n rnpt 6 im hr hrp k3t

His majesty sent me to direct the works of his monuments in Heliopolis, I acted to the satisfaction of his majesty and I spent six years there directing the work.



h3b wi hm.f r hrp k3t m hwt-k3 ...

His majesty sent me to direct the works in temple ...

These two biographies indicate the responsibilities of the holder of that title, as he was in charge of directing the building activities and expeditions as well⁽¹³⁷⁾.

Stadelmann suggested that the highest supervision of the buildings of the pyramid complex and the necropolis around it was in the hands of the rulers themselves, given the primary importance of these buildings according to the economic and social life of the country and in view of the need for the important ones, thus to make operational decisions related to the construction work⁽¹³⁸⁾.

The title *mdh nswt* reflects a top position; as its owner was entrusted with the execution of the state buildings, but it was certainly not a pure administrative office in the construction department⁽¹³⁹⁾.

It is worth commenting that in lower administrative offices we will probably find only specialist, as the specialist had to learn from scratch, so the *mdh nswt* also worked with a hammer and trowel albeit as an apprentice and not as a simple day laborer⁽¹⁴⁰⁾.

Finally, I am inclined to translate the current title as king's architect or the royal architect, supporting the translation given before by Dunham and Verner, as reflected from the texts of the biographies.

The holder of the *mdh nswt* had direct supervision as well as active participation and real involvement in the royal works unlike

⁽¹³⁶⁾ Urk I, p. 86:14-15.


⁽¹³⁷⁾ Urk I, p. 87:1-5.

⁽¹³⁸⁾ Stadelmann, R., "La ville de Pyramide à l' Ancien Empire", p. 76.

⁽¹³⁹⁾ Junker, H., *Giza VI*, p. 179.

⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ Junker, H., *Giza VI*, p. 179.


imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt who had the general supervision of the works⁽¹⁴¹⁾.

(8)  *mdh nswt kd(w)*



This title is attested on two sources for Nekhebu's biography which are the Cairo museum text⁽¹⁴²⁾ and the block of Boston Museum MFA No. 13.4348⁽¹⁴³⁾.

It is translated by Pirenne as architect and royal builder as he considered *mdh* a separate title meaning architect and read the rest of the title by *kd nswt* and translated it by royal builder⁽¹⁴⁴⁾, while Dunham suggested that it means king's architect and builder⁽¹⁴⁵⁾. On the other hand, Verner noted that it means royal builder⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ and finally Jones mentioned that it means king's architect⁽¹⁴⁷⁾.

It is worth commenting that the word


 *mdh* means working with the ax, i.e. carpentry and the noun carpenter⁽¹⁴⁸⁾, but Junker and Wörterbuch suggested that it means carpenter and stone builder⁽¹⁴⁹⁾; the last one matches with Nekhebu's titles.

Junker argued that when *mdh* is associated with other titles it has a completely different meaning other than carpenter or carpentry⁽¹⁵⁰⁾. Wörterbuch also noted that reading the sign

 as *mdh* is not always certain⁽¹⁵¹⁾, also its reading in the following title , the current title, and its relationship with carpentry is unrecognizable⁽¹⁵²⁾.

Consequently, Junker believed that when *mdh* is associated with other titles, it then

should be translated as "overseer" or "head" provided that it was used for people who worked in the same business or a similar business as stonemasons and masons⁽¹⁵³⁾. Helck also indicated that in the sixth dynasty the *mdh* sign was certainly interpreted as the

old spelling for  *imy-r*⁽¹⁵⁴⁾. Consequently, according to Junker and Helck the title *mdh nswt kd(w)* is translated as overseer of royal builders⁽¹⁵⁵⁾.

So, the *mdh nswt kd(w)* was a higher degree in the career of Nekhebu where he promoted from *imy-r kd(w)* to *mdh nswt kd(w)* to be in charge of the supervision of all the royal builders who worked in the projects of the sovereign Pepi I. At that time, Nekhebu obtained the title *hry-tp nswt*⁽¹⁵⁶⁾.

(9)  *mdh nswt kd(w) m prwy*

The title is attested in two sources for Nekhebu's biography: the Cairo text⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ and the inscriptions of Wadi Hammat⁽¹⁵⁸⁾.

Pirenne translated it as "architect royal builder in the two houses"⁽¹⁵⁹⁾, and Verner mentioned that it means royal builder in the two administrations⁽¹⁶⁰⁾, while Jones suggested that it means king's architect in the two houses⁽¹⁶¹⁾.

The two houses or the two administrations in the title are supposed to mean Upper and Lower Egypt⁽¹⁶²⁾. Pirenne noted that it was the first time that the king's works department appeared to be divided into two departments or

⁽¹⁴¹⁾ Helck, W., Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches, p. 25.

⁽¹⁴²⁾ Urk I, p. 216:3.

⁽¹⁴³⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.

⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de L'Ancienne Égypte III, pp. 89, 96.

⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.

⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Verner, M., Abusir II, p. 39.

⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ Jones, D., Index I, p. 464:1732.

⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ Wb II, p. 190 [7-8].

⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ Junker, H., Giza I, p. 149; Wb II, p. 190 [12].

⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Junker, H., Giza I, p. 149.

⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Wb II, p. 190.

⁽¹⁵²⁾ Wb II, p. 190.

⁽¹⁵³⁾ Junker, H., Giza I, p. 150.

⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 75.

⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 89 (he translated *mdh nswt* as royal constructor or builder).

⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Urk I, p. 216:3; Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 96.

⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ Urk I, p. 216:4.

⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Urk I, pp. 93:8, 94:6.

⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de L'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 96.

⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ Verner, M., Abusir II, p. 39.

⁽¹⁶¹⁾ Jones, D., Index I, pp. 464-465:1733.

⁽¹⁶²⁾ Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 96.

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two administrations; one for the south and the other for the north⁽¹⁶³⁾.

According to Junker and Helck, the term *mdh* here could be translated as “overseer”⁽¹⁶⁴⁾. So, the title can be translated as “overseer of the royal builders in the two houses”.

This title is supposed to mean that Nekhebu’s activity extended to Upper and Lower Egypt⁽¹⁶⁵⁾.

Nekhebu, based on that title, became the supervisor of all the royal builders in Upper and Lower Egypt. Such promotion led Nekhebu to obtain the title *smr-w^cty*⁽¹⁶⁶⁾.

(10)  (167)
 *hry-sšt3 n w^cty*

The title is attested once on one source for Nekhebu’s biography which is the block MFA No. 13.4351⁽¹⁶⁸⁾.

Jones read the title as *hry-sšt3 n w^cty*⁽¹⁶⁹⁾, and Dunham translated it as “Master of Secrets of the two *w^cbt*-chambers”⁽¹⁷⁰⁾, while Jones

translated it as “privy to the secret of the two workshops”⁽¹⁷¹⁾.

The title consists of two terms: *hry-sšt3* and *w^cty*, for *hry-sšt3*: It is related to the surroundings of the king; *hryw sšt3* are those who protect the secret of the king from the eyes of the public, where *sšt3* (the secret) is the king’s everyday actions as getting up, eating and drinking⁽¹⁷²⁾.

These actions had to remain “secret” as according to the magical thought, the one who knew these secrets could harm or damage the king and the world⁽¹⁷³⁾.

This role explains why the chamberlains⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ held the title of *hry-sšt3*. Helck noted that the *hryw-sšt3* knew the royal secrets not only because they were present with the king but also because they were guarding him at the same time⁽¹⁷⁵⁾.

Barta considered that *hry-sšt3* was applied to those non royal officials who occupied the positions which were formerly held by members of the royal family⁽¹⁷⁶⁾.


By the time, the title *hry-sšt3* spread out of the district of the king’s personal service to other departments of the Egyptian administration as the legal department⁽¹⁷⁷⁾.

For *w^cty*, Wörterbuch and Hannig stated many meanings for the term *w^cbt* which literally means “the pure place”⁽¹⁷⁸⁾, but for the meanings of that term in the Old Kingdom, Wörterbuch, Helck, Junker and Hannig revealed that it means workshop⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ or


⁽¹⁶³⁾ Pirenne, J., *Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l’Ancienne Égypte III*, p. 96.


⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ Junker, H., *Giza I*, p. 150 ; Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 75.


⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 105.

The phrase  was also found alongside different titles as the top managers of the craftsmen and some craftsmen in the construction managers, but also among the heads of the field clerks and royal commissioners, Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 105; Jones, D., *Index I*, pp. 201:753, 207:772, 211:784, 270:972.

⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ Pirenne, J., *Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l’Ancienne Égypte III*, p. 96.

⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ The sign  *w^cb* depicts a vessel pouring a liquid over a kneeling man whose two arms are raised in adoration posture, Gardiner, A., *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 442(A6), from the First Intermediate period until the

end of the Middle Kingdom the sign is replaced by  which depicts a vessel pouring liquid over the unilateral

sign  (b), Gardiner, A., *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 458 (D 60).

⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ Dunham, D., “The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo”, p. 7.

⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ Jones, D., *Index II*, p. 612:2247.

⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ Dunham, D., “The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo”, p. 8.

⁽¹⁷¹⁾ Jones, D., *Index II*, p. 612:2247.

⁽¹⁷²⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 43.

⁽¹⁷³⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 43.

⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ Chamberlain was the official in charge of dressing, feeding and attending with the king, Redford, D., “The False-door of Nefer-shu-ba from Mendes”, p. 128.

⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 43.

⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ Barta, M., “Kings, Viziers and Courtiers: Executive Power in the Third Millennium B.C.”, p. 170.

⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 44, perhaps the legal administration particularly as the things took part in it as well as the Judicial matters must be kept secret.

⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ Wb I, p. 284 [1]; Hannig, R., *Handwörterbuch*, p. 198.

⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ Wb I, p. 284 [2]; Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 103 n.95; Junker, H., *Die gesellschaftliche Stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich*, pp. 23-25; Hannig, R., *Handwörterbuch*, p. 198 [3].

embalming site⁽¹⁸⁰⁾. Wörterbuch mentioned that *w^cbt* is a workshop for jewelry and is often found in dual form⁽¹⁸¹⁾, while Hannig quoted that it is a workshop for jewelry, coffin or statue⁽¹⁸²⁾.

Junker and Strudwick believed that *w^cbt* was an institution involved in the construction and decoration of the tomb, as well as in the preparation of the deceased for burial⁽¹⁸³⁾.

Strudwick noted that *w^cbt* was centrally organized and was headed by *imy-r w^cbtj*⁽¹⁸⁴⁾, whose function in the necropolises was performed by smaller localized institutions held the same title. The existence of local *w^cbt* s and their involvement in tomb design can be supported by the degree of variation apparent between tombs at different sites in the Memphite region, Strudwick also suggested that a separate *w^cbt* or some other workshops presumably existed for the design and construction of royal tombs. This *w^cbt* may have been then responsible for tombs granted by the king to his loyal and favored officials⁽¹⁸⁵⁾.

Strudwick believed that the term *w^cbt* could refer to the separation of this institution into tomb-building workshop and embalming workshop⁽¹⁸⁶⁾.

For Nekhebu, this title is mentioned on block MFA No. 13.4351 after two high construction titles which are *imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt* and (*mdh*) *kd nswt m prwy* respectively. Thus, Nekhebu was in charge of the central department (administration) of *w^cbtj* with its

two workshops; the tomb building workshop and the embalming one.

(11) *hrp šnd(w)t nbt*

The title is attested once on one source only for Nekhebu's biography, which is the block MFA No. 13.4349⁽¹⁸⁷⁾.

For the word *šnd(w)t*, Wörterbuch and Hannig translated it as "apron" or the "king's apron"⁽¹⁸⁸⁾.

It is worth commenting that such word *šndwt* was mentioned in the pyramid texts to indicate the royal office as a whole.

T.k n pt hr.k r t3 hrt-ir hmt šndwt

You ascend to the sky, be far from the earth,
from wife and apron⁽¹⁹⁰⁾.

Wörterbuch translated *hrp šnd(w)t nbt* as "director of all aprons"⁽¹⁹¹⁾, while Gardiner believed that it means "master of every apron"⁽¹⁹²⁾, Helck noted that it means "director of all clothes"⁽¹⁹³⁾, while Hannig translated it as "overseer of all aprons"⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ and Jones offered the meaning of the title as "director of every kilt"⁽¹⁹⁵⁾.

From the previous translations, it is obvious that the holder of the title was a very close official to the sovereign, where he was concerned with the royal wardrobe and the king's clothing. This close relationship with the king made this office held initially by

⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ Wb I, p. 284 [4]; Junker, H., Die gesellschaftliche Stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich, pp. 24-25; Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 198 [2].

⁽¹⁸¹⁾ Wb I, p. 284 [2].

⁽¹⁸²⁾ Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 198 [3].

⁽¹⁸³⁾ Junker, H., Die gesellschaftliche Stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich, pp. 23-25; Strudwick, N., "Some Remarks on the Disposition of Texts in Old Kingdom Tombs with Particular reference to the False Door", p. 35.

⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ Jones, D., Index I, pp. 87-88:374.

⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ Strudwick, N., "Some Remarks on the Disposition of Texts in Old Kingdom Tombs with Particular reference to the False Door", pp. 35-36.

⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ Strudwick, N., "Some Remarks on the Disposition of Texts in Old Kingdom Tombs with Particular reference to the False Door", p. 36 n. 3.

⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.

⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ Wb IV, p. 522 [1]; Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 899.

⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ Sethe, K., Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte I, p. 192, sp. 267.

⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ Sethe translated it by: "you ascend to the sky, you remove yourself from the earth, removing the woman and the royal apron", cf. Sethe, K., Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den Altägyptischen Pyramidentexten II, p. 82, sp. 267, §§ 369.

⁽¹⁹¹⁾ Wb IV, p. 522 [6].

⁽¹⁹²⁾ Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 40*.

⁽¹⁹³⁾ Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 35.

⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 899.

⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ Jones, D., Index II, p. 751:2737.

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princes⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ then by vezirs and other senior officials⁽¹⁹⁷⁾.

The title is known since at least the fourth dynasty⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ where it was held by two princes *snb-snfrw*⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ and *ni-k3-nswt*⁽²⁰⁰⁾ and continued in the fifth dynasty⁽²⁰¹⁾, becoming frequent in the sixth dynasty⁽²⁰²⁾.

It is worth noting that the title was not exclusively Memphite as it was attested in many provinces such as: Abydos as *Dꜣw*⁽²⁰³⁾ and *Nht-Ppy*⁽²⁰⁴⁾, Meir as *Ppy-ꜣnh* / *Hry-ib*⁽²⁰⁵⁾ and *Ny-ꜣnh-Ppy* / *Hnni-km*⁽²⁰⁶⁾, Akhmim as *špsi-pw-min* / *Hni*⁽²⁰⁷⁾ and *Tti-k3-hb*⁽²⁰⁸⁾ as well as in Deir el Gebrawi as *Hm-rꜣ* / *Isi*⁽²⁰⁹⁾.


It is well known that all *hrp šnd(w)t nbt* were also *sm* priests⁽²¹⁰⁾, which will be explained later. The two offices of *hrp šnd(w)t nbt* and *sm* priest were also associated always with the office of *hry-ḥbt* and *hry-ḥbt hry-tp*⁽²¹¹⁾ as well as other offices related to the service of the king.

According to that title *Nḥbw* was in charge of dressing the sovereign and arranging his royal wardrobe.


(12)  *hry-ḥbt*

This title is attested once on one source for Nekhebu's biography which is his inscriptions at Wadi Hammat⁽²¹²⁾.

Sethe believed that the reading of the title in question should be *hrw-ḥbt*⁽²¹³⁾. He based his

opinion on the fact that  was an abbreviation for the full writing of that title

which is  and noted that in the usual spelling of the title the

feminine ending  t is usually omitted in the second word *ḥbt*⁽²¹⁴⁾.

Sethe translated the title as “the one who has the tight roll”⁽²¹⁵⁾, while Gardiner suggested that it means “the one who carries the ritual-book”⁽²¹⁶⁾, Kees mentioned that it means “lector priest”⁽²¹⁷⁾ and finally, Jones believed in two translations which are “lector priest” and “He who carries the ritual-book”⁽²¹⁸⁾.

The title *hry-ḥbt* was known since the second dynasty, as it was usually carried by the crown prince⁽²¹⁹⁾, while it was held by the high officials since the third dynasty at least⁽²²⁰⁾.

Since he carried the ritual book, he was depicted in both mortuary temples as well as the private tombs which made the *hry-ḥbt* a prominent member in the ceremonies⁽²²¹⁾.

Wilson referred to the responsibilities of the *hry-ḥbt* as performing two functions of

⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 35.

⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ Wb IV, p. 522 [6]; Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 35.

⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 35.

⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ Reisner, G., *A History of the Giza Necropolis I*, pl. 57; PM dated him by the middle of the fourth dynasty to the early of the fifth dynasty cf., PM III²/1, p. 125.

⁽²⁰⁰⁾ PM dated him by the early of the fifth dynasty, cf., PM III²/1, p. 78.

⁽²⁰¹⁾ for example *Ny-m3ꜣt-rꜣ*, cf., PM III²/2, p. 480.

⁽²⁰²⁾ as: *nfr-šsm-ptḥ* / *šši* / *wḏ3-ḥ3-tti*, Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 111(87), *mry-rꜣ-mry-ꜣnh-ptḥ* / *ptḥ-šps* / *Impy*, Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 96-97 (62), *s3bw-ptḥ* / *Ibbi*, Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 130-131 (117).

⁽²⁰³⁾ PM V, p. 95; Borchardt, L., *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I*, pp. 111-112 (CG 1431).

⁽²⁰⁴⁾ PM V, p. 50; Borchardt, L., *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I*, pp. 51-52 (CG 1573).

⁽²⁰⁵⁾ Blackman, A., *The Rock Tombs of Meir IV*, pp. 1-3.

⁽²⁰⁶⁾ Blackman, A., *The Rock Tombs of Meir V*, 1-2.

⁽²⁰⁷⁾ Kanawati, N., *The rock tombs of El-Hawawish II*, p. 7.

⁽²⁰⁸⁾ Kanawati, N., *The rock tombs of El-Hawawish III*, p. 8.

⁽²⁰⁹⁾ Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, pl. xvii.

⁽²¹⁰⁾ Wb IV, p. 119 [8]; Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 35; Gardiner, A., *AEO I*, pp. 40*-41*.

⁽²¹¹⁾ Gardiner, A., *AEO I*, p. 41*; Kees, H., “Der Sogenannte oberste Vorlesepriester”, pp. 122-124.

⁽²¹²⁾ Urk I, p. 93:9.

⁽²¹³⁾ Sethe, K., “*Miszelle*”, p. 134.

⁽²¹⁴⁾ Sethe, K., “*Miszelle*”, p. 134.

⁽²¹⁵⁾ Sethe, K., “*Miszelle*”, p. 134.

⁽²¹⁶⁾ Gardiner, A., *AEO I*, p. 55*.

⁽²¹⁷⁾ Kees, H., “*Der Sogenannte oberste Vorlesepriester*”, p. 119.

⁽²¹⁸⁾ Jones, D., *Index II*, p. 781:2848.

⁽²¹⁹⁾ Kaplony, P., *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der Aegyptischen Frühzeit*, p. 518.

⁽²²⁰⁾ Kaplony, P., *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der Aegyptischen Frühzeit*, pp. 403-404, 449-450, Abb. 324.

⁽²²¹⁾ Gardiner, A., *AEO I*, p. 55*.

feeding and beatifying the actual food and goods which were being presented by mortuary priests, He was also in charge of the recitation and direction of the daily rituals either in temples or private tombs⁽²²²⁾. Perhaps his knowledge of the ritualistic use was his primary and main qualification.

Despite that such lecturers were often priests, it is by no means proven that they always were⁽²²³⁾, as in case of Nekhebu.

Nekhebu held this title beside the titles *sm* and *hrp šnd(w)t nbt*, and consequently Nekhebu as a *hry-hbt* was in charge of recitation of the appropriate spells during dressing the sovereign Pepi I.

It is worth noting that most of the Old Kingdom *hry-hbt* were also *smr-w'ty*⁽²²⁴⁾ as Nekhebu.

(13)  *hry-hbt hry-tp*

The title is attested two times in Nekhebu's inscriptions for his biography on the blocks MFA No. 13.4335 and MFA No. 13.4349⁽²²⁵⁾.

Gardiner and Bianchi translated the title as "chief lector"⁽²²⁶⁾, and Fischer and Weber translated it as "chief lector priest"⁽²²⁷⁾, whilst Goedicke and Jones offered two translations for the title in question which are: "chief lector priest" and "lector priest in charge"⁽²²⁸⁾.

There seems to be additions to the title *hry-hbt*; the most common of these additions is *hry-tp* which was often attested since the late of the Old Kingdom with the highest civil officials and princes⁽²²⁹⁾.

⁽²²²⁾ Wilson, J., "Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom", pp. 215-216.

⁽²²³⁾ Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 56*.

⁽²²⁴⁾ Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 226, 315.


⁽²²⁵⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pp. 6-7.

⁽²²⁶⁾ Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 56*; Bianchi, R., "Petamenophis", p. 991.

⁽²²⁷⁾ Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 236; Weber, M., "Gottesbuch", p. 791.

⁽²²⁸⁾ Goedicke, H., "Review of E.Martin-Pardey, Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, HÄB I, Hildesheim, 1976", p. 122; Jones, D., Index II, p. 784:2860.

⁽²²⁹⁾ Otto, E., "Cheriheb", pp. 941-942; Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p.

As for the term  *hry-tp*, it is known since the pyramid texts. The term is sufficiently common during the Old Kingdom in combination with various titles⁽²³⁰⁾. Fischer noted that its regular use independently may well have escaped notice⁽²³¹⁾.

It is worth commenting that Goedicke stated that *hry-tp* in the title *hry-hbt hry-tp* was not used to indicate a rank with commanding or administrative power but it denoted a position of charge or entrustment rather than complete authority⁽²³²⁾, i.e. it reflected a position of leadership but not of authority. Brovarski adopted Goedicke's view where he considered the title *hry-hbt hry-tp* showed length and extent of the service rather than degree of command⁽²³³⁾.

The title *hry-hbt hry-tp* was attested with the title "sš md3t ntr"⁽²³⁴⁾ as they were responsible for the production and recitation of the holy documents, These documents should protect and preserve the life of the king⁽²³⁵⁾.

As for Nekhebu, he was *hry-hbt* then he was promoted to *hry-hbt hry-tp*⁽²³⁶⁾, perhaps according to his experience which enabled him to be *hry-tp*.

It is worth mentioning that *hry-hbt* and *hry-hbt hry-tp* were directly linked with the king so as to recite the suitable spells during dressing the king (*hrp šndwt nbt*) also to recite him during the different stages of the king's ornamenting.

315, He also noted that the title was frequently attested with the viziers other than the holders of other administrative title.

⁽²³⁰⁾ Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74; for examples for titles where Hry-tp participated in them in the Old Kingdom cf., Jones, D., Index II, pp. 647-650:2370-2381.

⁽²³¹⁾ Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74.

⁽²³²⁾ Goedicke, H., "Review of E.Martin-Pardey, Untersuchungen zur Ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, HÄB I, Hildesheim, 1976", p. 122.

⁽²³³⁾ Brovarski, E., "Tempelpersonal I", p. 389.

⁽²³⁴⁾ Jones, D., Index II, pp. 857-858:3132.

⁽²³⁵⁾ Weber, M., "Gottesbuch", p. 791.

⁽²³⁶⁾ Strudwick mentioned that *hry-hbt hry-tp* was a higher rank than *hry-hbt*, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 315.

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(14)  *hry-tp nswt*

The title is attested two times on two different sources for Nekhebu's biography: the Cairo text⁽²³⁷⁾ and the Boston Museum block no. 13.4335⁽²³⁸⁾.

It is known since the Archaic period⁽²³⁹⁾, but it became a ranking title under Zoser⁽²⁴⁰⁾ and continued in use till the end of the Old Kingdom⁽²⁴¹⁾.

Goedicke suggested its reading as “*tpy-hrt nswt*” and translated it as “one who is upon the royal property”⁽²⁴²⁾, while Fischer⁽²⁴³⁾, Kahl⁽²⁴⁴⁾, Altenmüller⁽²⁴⁵⁾ and Jones⁽²⁴⁶⁾ read it as *hry-tp nsw(t)* and finally Jones translated it as “royal chamberlain”⁽²⁴⁷⁾.

Gunn argued that the chamberlain was an officer who attended with the king in his bedroom⁽²⁴⁸⁾. Fischer also believed in that explanation and noted that it indicated an official who was under the head of the king⁽²⁴⁹⁾. Anyways, this title holders were in close connection with the king whether as personal attendants or servants for him⁽²⁵⁰⁾.

Helck noted that *hry-tp nswt* was a court title in the Old Kingdom awarded principally to legal officials⁽²⁵¹⁾. Strudwick also adopted Helck's opinion but he added that the title was

found frequently in the titularies of scribes and builders as well⁽²⁵²⁾.




It is worth commenting that the title by the sixth dynasty changed from a ranking title attached generally to specific administrative functions⁽²⁵³⁾, to a more general one.

Finally, it was likely awarded merely for the goods and the materials that came with it and it was lower ranking than the sole companion *smr-w^cty*⁽²⁵⁴⁾.

(15)  *sm*



The title is attested once in Nekhebu's biography: on the Boston Museum block MFA No. 13.4349⁽²⁵⁵⁾.

Sm, which is translated by sem-priest⁽²⁵⁶⁾,

was written in different forms as  or  and  ⁽²⁵⁷⁾. Wörterbuch adopted the reading of *sm*⁽²⁵⁸⁾, James read it by *smt*⁽²⁵⁹⁾, while Fischer preferred the reading of *stm*⁽²⁶⁰⁾.

James noted that *smt* was the late form of the title *stm* and that the early variants suggested that the original reading was *smt*⁽²⁶¹⁾.

Despite these different readings, the title was almost written with the two uniliteral signs

which are  *s* and  *m* without any determinatives⁽²⁶²⁾, There are some exceptions

⁽²³⁷⁾ Urk I, p. 216:3.

⁽²³⁸⁾ Dunham, D., “The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo”, p. 6.

⁽²³⁹⁾ Kaplony, P., Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit III, p. 72:267.

⁽²⁴⁰⁾ Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 60.

⁽²⁴¹⁾ Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 185.

⁽²⁴²⁾ Goedicke, H., “Titles for Titles”, pp. 227-234.

⁽²⁴³⁾ Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 236.

⁽²⁴⁴⁾ Kahl, J., Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0-3. Dynastie, p. 2318.

⁽²⁴⁵⁾ Altenmüller, H., Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara, p. 40 (41).

⁽²⁴⁶⁾ Jones, D., Index II, p. 788:2874.

⁽²⁴⁷⁾ Jones, D., Index II, p. 788:2874.

⁽²⁴⁸⁾ Gunn, B., “Notes on Egyptian Lexicography”, p. 145.

⁽²⁴⁹⁾ Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 115.

⁽²⁵⁰⁾ Redford, D., “The False-Door of Nefer-shu-ba from Mendes”, p. 128.

⁽²⁵¹⁾ Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 60.

⁽²⁵²⁾ Strudwick, N. The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 183, 205, 310.

⁽²⁵³⁾ i.e. which seem to have been primarily legal, despite it was attested with builders and scribes also, cf., Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 183.

⁽²⁵⁴⁾ Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 231, 310.

⁽²⁵⁵⁾ Dunham, D., “The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo”, p. 7.

⁽²⁵⁶⁾ Jones, D., Index II, p. 885:3241.

⁽²⁵⁷⁾ Wb IV, p. 119.

⁽²⁵⁸⁾ Wb IV, p. 119.


⁽²⁵⁹⁾ James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, p. 9(7).

⁽²⁶⁰⁾ Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 137 n. 600.

⁽²⁶¹⁾ James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, p. 11.

⁽²⁶²⁾ Wb IV, p. 119; Gauthier, H., “Le Sarcophage n° 6007 du Musée du Caire”, p. 176.

where the title in question was written with determinatives, In the temple of Ni-User-Re the title is attested with two different determinatives: one of a standing man holding

a staff  and the second of a standing priest with leopard skin⁽²⁶³⁾, while the third one is attested in *R^c-wr*'s biography as a standing priest holding a baton⁽²⁶⁴⁾.

The office of *sm* priest was known since the first dynasty⁽²⁶⁵⁾. Wörterbuch indicated that it was a priestly office⁽²⁶⁶⁾, while Helck mentioned that although the meaning of the title is unknown, the functions of its holder are better known⁽²⁶⁷⁾.



The duties and responsibilities of *sm* priest in the Old Kingdom were many, Both Gardiner and Helck referred to these responsibilities as being in charge of dressing the living king and putting on his clothes⁽²⁶⁸⁾, in another meaning clothing the king⁽²⁶⁹⁾ and taking care of his royal appearance. Thus, he was responsible for organizing and arranging the royal wardrobe.

Gardiner mentioned that *sm*-priest was responsible for adorning the god, perhaps the king, He was also depicted in permanent attendance with the king in Sed festivals⁽²⁷⁰⁾, which confirms his role of clothing and fitting the king's clothes. He also served as the king's representative while offering to gods⁽²⁷¹⁾, which may indicate his responsibility in leading processions.

Another allusion offered from *R^c-wr*'s biography is that he as *sm* priest was in charge of carrying the ceremonial items as the scepters⁽²⁷²⁾, beside setting and fitting the

king's cloth⁽²⁷³⁾. It is worth commenting that all *sm*-priests were, without exceptions, *hꜣp šnd(w)t nbt*, which ensures their responsibility with the king's clothes.

While for the dead king, *sm* priest was involved in execution ceremonies for him⁽²⁷⁴⁾. From the previously mentioned analysis, Nekhebu was responsible for clothing king Pepi I as well as managing and arranging his wardrobe.

(16)   | *Smr-w^cty*

This title is attested on all sources for Nekhebu's biography. Two similar translations are suggested for that title; the first one is "Sole friend" suggested by Junker⁽²⁷⁵⁾, Dewit⁽²⁷⁶⁾, Wörterbuch⁽²⁷⁷⁾ and Hannig⁽²⁷⁸⁾, while the second one is "Sole Companion" believed by Fischer⁽²⁷⁹⁾ and Jones⁽²⁸⁰⁾.

The title might have appeared for the first time in the reign of Cheops⁽²⁸¹⁾ and continued in use till the end of the Old Kingdom in the Memphite capital as well as the provinces⁽²⁸²⁾.

Wörterbuch mentioned that *smr-w^cty* was a very common title of the highest persons⁽²⁸³⁾, while Strudwick noted that it became more common with all categories of officials⁽²⁸⁴⁾ not only the highest persons. *Smr-w^cty* was a very common title in the Old and Middle Kingdoms⁽²⁸⁵⁾.

Different opinions were raised concerning the nature of this title; either it was honorific or a real office with specific tasks. Strudwick believed it was an honorific title that

⁽²⁶³⁾ von Bissing, F. and Kees, H., *Das Re-Heiligtum III*, nos. 7, 13, 23-24, 193-194.

⁽²⁶⁴⁾ Urk I, p. 232:6.

⁽²⁶⁵⁾ Schmitz, B., "Sem (priester)", p. 833. As a successor for the official *tt* shown on Narmer palette, Helck, W., *Beamentiteln*, p. 16.

⁽²⁶⁶⁾ Wb IV, p. 119 [3-5].

⁽²⁶⁷⁾ Helck, W., *Beamentiteln*, pp. 16-17; Schmitz, B., "Sem (priester)", pp. 833-834.

⁽²⁶⁸⁾ Helck, W., *Beamentiteln*, p. 18.

⁽²⁶⁹⁾ Schmitz, B., "Sem (priester)", pp. 834-835.

⁽²⁷⁰⁾ Gardiner, A., *AEO I*, p. 41*.

⁽²⁷¹⁾ Gardiner, A., *AEO I*, p. 41*.

⁽²⁷²⁾ Urk I, p. 232.

⁽²⁷³⁾ Gardiner, A., *AEO I*, p. 40*.

⁽²⁷⁴⁾ Wb IV, p. 119 [4].

⁽²⁷⁵⁾ Junker, H., *Giza XII*, p. 175.

⁽²⁷⁶⁾ dewit, C., "Enquête sur le titre de smr pr", p. 90.

⁽²⁷⁷⁾ Wb I, p. 278 [18].

⁽²⁷⁸⁾ Hannig, R., *Handwörterbuch*, p. 766.

⁽²⁷⁹⁾ Fischer, H., *The Tomb of I'P at El Saff*, p. 21.

⁽²⁸⁰⁾ Jones, D., *Index II*, p. 892:3268.

⁽²⁸¹⁾ Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 117 (96).

⁽²⁸²⁾ Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 310 tb.30.

⁽²⁸³⁾ Wb IV, p. 138 [11] as princes and vezirs.

⁽²⁸⁴⁾ Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 225.

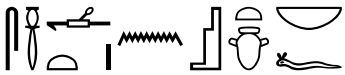
⁽²⁸⁵⁾ Ward, W., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, p. 151:1299; Jones, D., *Index II*, p. 892:3268.

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represented a man's status and his relationship with the king rather than being an indicator of a particular office⁽²⁸⁶⁾, whilst Fischer suggested it was the lowest of the titles of rank⁽²⁸⁷⁾ but he did not refer to a specific task that the title's holder performed.

It is worth commenting that there is an allusion from the royal decrees that the holders of *smr-w^cty* might have served as royal envoys⁽²⁸⁸⁾. So, *smr-w^cty* was not an honorific title but it indicated a real office.

Smr-w^cty and *hry-tp nswt* were frequently attested in the sixth dynasty. By the early times of this dynasty they were attested sporadically but by the reign of king Pepi II it was much expected that a man holding *hry-tp nswt* was awarded the rank *smr-w^cty*⁽²⁸⁹⁾.

(17)  *Smr w^cty*
n(y) st-ib nb.f

This title is attested once on one source for Nekhebu's biography which is his block No. 13.4335 in Boston Museum⁽²⁹⁰⁾.

Jones read the title as *smr w^cty n(y) st-ib nb.f* and translated it as "sole companion and favorite of his lord"⁽²⁹¹⁾.

The current title consists of two parts; the first part is the usually *smr w^cty* title, previously discussed, while the second part of the title is *n(y) st-ib nb.f*.

As for *n(y) st-ib nb.f*, Blackman⁽²⁹²⁾, Firth and Gunn⁽²⁹³⁾ translated it as "favorite of his lord", Simpson translated it as "He who belongs to the place of his lord's desire"⁽²⁹⁴⁾, while Brovarski suggested the translation "belonging to his lord's affection"⁽²⁹⁵⁾. Finally, Jones

believed in two meanings for that title: "favorite of his lord" and "belonging to his lord's affection"⁽²⁹⁶⁾.

It is worth commenting that the nisba *n(y)* usually appeared introducing epithets as well as titles, but it was very much attested with epithets other than titles for example:

n(y) st-ib nb t3wy "one who belongs to the heart of the lord of the two lands"⁽²⁹⁷⁾, *n(y) st hntt* "who belongs to a preeminent place"⁽²⁹⁸⁾, *n(y) stp-s3* "the one belonging to the escort"⁽²⁹⁹⁾ and *n(y) dt.f* "he who belongs to the *dt*-estate"⁽³⁰⁰⁾.

As for *n(y) st-ib*, Fischer noted that it was always followed either by *nb.f* or *ntr.f*, which means, of course, the king⁽³⁰¹⁾.

Jones argued that *n(y) st-ib nb.f* was an epithet often used in close association with other titles⁽³⁰²⁾.

I know at least three titles where the epithet *n(y) st-ib nb.f* was associated with them beside the current title: *imy-r pr n(y) st-ib nb.f*⁽³⁰³⁾, *imy-r pr-hd n(y) st-ib nb.f*⁽³⁰⁴⁾ and *imy-r hnty-s pr-c3 n(y) st-ib nb.f*⁽³⁰⁵⁾.

As for the title *smr w^cty n(y) st-ib nb.f*, the addition of the epithet *n(y) st-ib nb.f* may have pointed to a degree of distinction for Nekhebu rather than any regular *smr w^cty* or possibly that he really was the sole companion or friend of the king in the palace as reflected from Simpson's translation for the epithet⁽³⁰⁶⁾ and

⁽²⁸⁶⁾ Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 175.

⁽²⁸⁷⁾ Fischer, H., *The Tomb of I'P at El Saff*, p. 21.

⁽²⁸⁸⁾ Eyre, C., "Weni's Career and Old Kingdom Historiography", p. 110.

⁽²⁸⁹⁾ Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 182.

⁽²⁹⁰⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 6.

⁽²⁹¹⁾ Jones, D., *Index II*, p. 895:3285.

⁽²⁹²⁾ Blackman, A., *The Rock Tombs of Meir IV*, p. 3 (5).

⁽²⁹³⁾ Firth, C. and Gunn, B., *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I*, p. 151 (4).

⁽²⁹⁴⁾ Simpson, W., *The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-Ankh-Ptah*, p. 4 (11).

⁽²⁹⁵⁾ Brovarski, E., *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr II*, p. 503 n. 270.

⁽²⁹⁶⁾ Jones, D., *Index I*, p. 474:1765.

⁽²⁹⁷⁾ Fischer, H., *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, no. 49.

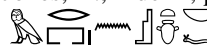
⁽²⁹⁸⁾ Fischer, H., *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt*, pp. 99 n. 451, 235.

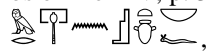
⁽²⁹⁹⁾ Jones, D., *Index I*, p. 475:1766.

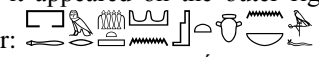
⁽³⁰⁰⁾ Junker, H., *Giza III*, p. 182 (6); Jones, D., *Index I*, p. 475:1767.

⁽³⁰¹⁾ Fischer, H., "A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty", p. 268 (24).

⁽³⁰²⁾ Jones, D., *Index I*, p. 474:1765.

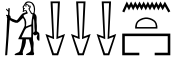
⁽³⁰³⁾  , cf., Blackman, A., *The Rock Tombs of Meir IV*, p. 3 (5).

⁽³⁰⁴⁾  , cf., Petrie, H. and Murray, M., *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. 14.

⁽³⁰⁵⁾ it appeared on the outer right jamb of Ssi's false door:  , cf., Mariette, A., *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 240.


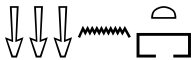
⁽³⁰⁶⁾ Simpson, W., *The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-Ankh-Ptah*, p. 4 (11).

from the other titles of Nekhebu which show his direct relation with the king.

(18)  *Smsw snwt*


This title is attested twice in two different sources for Nekhebu's biography which are the blocks MFA No. 13.4335 and MFA No. 13.4349⁽³⁰⁷⁾.

Despite that the title was read by Wörterbuch⁽³⁰⁸⁾, Kees⁽³⁰⁹⁾, Junker⁽³¹⁰⁾, Fischer⁽³¹¹⁾, Jones⁽³¹²⁾ and Hannig⁽³¹³⁾ as *smsw snwt*, there were two different translations for that title; the first one was suggested by Wörterbuch⁽³¹⁴⁾, Firth⁽³¹⁵⁾, Jones⁽³¹⁶⁾ and Hannig⁽³¹⁷⁾ as "elder of *snwt*", while Kees and Helck believed in the second translation of "elder of the snake stone house"⁽³¹⁸⁾.

The title *smsw snwt* belongs to the group of titles which were formed with the word ⁽³¹⁹⁾ *smsw* which means "elder"⁽³²⁰⁾ and the word  *snwt* which Wörterbuch stated that it was either synonymous with *itrt*⁽³²¹⁾

which means palace or that it means sanctuary of Re or Min or other deities⁽³²²⁾.

This caused the variations in the translations of the title. The opinion offered by Kees and Helck as it means: "elder of snake stone house" was due to their translation of the word *snwt* as palace, where the royal palace was originally designated as it: "which was magically secured by the installation of two snake stones in front of the entrance"⁽³²³⁾, but Helck was uncertain about when this name came up and what the relationship of that palace with other palaces was. He also noted that the exact meaning of *snwt* even with that translation "elder of snake stone house" was uncertain⁽³²⁴⁾.

On the other hand, Gauthier argued that the group signs  *sn(w)t* must have been used originally to designate a group of pillars, a wooden colonnade then when stone was used for the construction of the columns, the word spread to the stone pillars and served to designate any colonnade without distinction⁽³²⁵⁾.

Gauthier then concluded that *snwt* was a building mentioned in the tombs of the Old Kingdom, which was to be a building with columns and which undoubtedly was in Memphis and that title holder was in the Old Kingdom a priest of the Memphite cult⁽³²⁶⁾.

Kees believed that *snwt* house was actually first and foremost attested as a place of worship of Re, and he also suggested that *snwt* "sanctuary" would belong to Lower Egypt and that Heliopolis was its location⁽³²⁷⁾.

The *snwt* probably had its counterpart in Upper Egypt⁽³²⁸⁾, which perhaps was the *ḥ-ntr šm*⁽³²⁹⁾, i.e. God's palace of Upper Egypt⁽³³⁰⁾.

⁽³⁰⁷⁾ Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pp. 6-7.

⁽³⁰⁸⁾ Wb IV, p. 153 [1].

⁽³⁰⁹⁾ Kees, H., "Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern", p. 126.

⁽³¹⁰⁾ Junker, H., Giza II, p. 190.

⁽³¹¹⁾ Fischer, H., *Varia Nova*, pp. 81, 254.

⁽³¹²⁾ Jones, D., Index II, p. 904:3318.

⁽³¹³⁾ Hannig, R., *Handwörterbuch*, p. 774.

⁽³¹⁴⁾ Wb translated it as "elder of *snwt*" cf. Wb IV, p. 153 [1].

⁽³¹⁵⁾ Firth, C. and Gunn, B., *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I*, pp. 151 (9), 281 (27), translated it by: "Elder of the *snwt*-house".

⁽³¹⁶⁾ Jones, D., Index II, p. 904:3318, translated it as: "Elder of the *snwt*-shrine / house".

⁽³¹⁷⁾ Hannig, R., *Handwörterbuch*, p. 774, translated it by: "Elder of *snwt* sanctuary".

⁽³¹⁸⁾ Kees, H., "Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern", p. 126; Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 38.

⁽³¹⁹⁾ It is difficult to distinguish between the sign A21 which appeared in the biography of Nekhebu and A 20 which appeared with the same title in other tombs, Junker, H., Giza II, p. 190; Gardiner, A., *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 444.

⁽³²⁰⁾ Wb IV, p. 142; FCD, p. 229; Hannig, R., *Handwörterbuch*, p. 767.

⁽³²¹⁾ For *itrt* cf., Wb I, p. 147 [10-13] (it was originally probably the palace of the king or a temple or small chapel).

⁽³²²⁾ Wb IV, p. 152 [15-18].

⁽³²³⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 38.

⁽³²⁴⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 38.

⁽³²⁵⁾ Gauthier, H., "Notes Géographiques sur les Nomes Panopolite", p. 53.

⁽³²⁶⁾ Gauthier, H., "Notes Géographiques sur les Nomes Panopolite", p. 55.

⁽³²⁷⁾ Kees, H., "Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern", pp. 124-125. Who also noted that this building was known since the fifth dynasty.

⁽³²⁸⁾ Kees, H., "Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern", p. 125.

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As for *smsw snwt*, Gauthier noted that this title was undoubtedly a title of a religious leader⁽³³¹⁾. Kees mentioned that the title holder had a relationship with the god⁽³³²⁾, while Helck believed that its holder might have been assigned as the administrator of a royal palace⁽³³³⁾.

smsw snwt was known since the fourth dynasty where it was held by princes⁽³³⁴⁾, but Helck and Strudwick believed that it was an honorary title⁽³³⁵⁾, so a closer examination of the title holder can give a clear view concerning such title.

As far as I know, *Nb-m-3ht* was the first *smsw snwt* in the Old Kingdom, who is dated by the end of the fourth dynasty⁽³³⁶⁾, then it became frequent in the fifth and sixth dynasties. It was held in the fifth dynasty by *B3-B3f*, *w3š-ptḥ/Tsi* and *Pth-ḥtp*⁽³³⁷⁾, whilst in the sixth dynasty it was held by: *Mrrw-k3i / Mri*⁽³³⁸⁾, *Nfr-sšm-Pth/ššt*⁽³³⁹⁾, *Mry-tti*⁽³⁴⁰⁾, *Rc-*

wr⁽³⁴¹⁾, *Htp-Hr-n-ptḥ*⁽³⁴²⁾, *Hc-b3w-ḥnmw/biw*⁽³⁴³⁾ and *ttw*⁽³⁴⁴⁾.

As for the holders of that title, it is clear that all of them were without exceptions *hry-ḥbt hry-tp* and some of them were also *3-Dw3w*.

Kees believed it was a court and honorary title and that the title holder was taking part in the service of the living king. Also, Kees noted that the title may reflect priestly functions at the sanctuaries of the Old Kingdom as reflected from its frequent position with series of priestly titles⁽³⁴⁵⁾.

The *smsw snwt* was mentioned at all times side by side with the title *hry-ḥbt hry-tp*, so I suggest that Nekhebu according to this title was in direct relation with the living king either in the palace or in the royal funerary complexes⁽³⁴⁶⁾.

(19)  *shd n kdw*

This title is attested in one source for Nekhebu's biography which is the Cairo text⁽³⁴⁷⁾. Wilson translated it as "Assistant builder"⁽³⁴⁸⁾, while Fischer believed that it means "inspector of builders"⁽³⁴⁹⁾, Helck suggested the meaning "sub-head of construction workers"⁽³⁵⁰⁾, and finally Jones mentioned three possible meanings for the current title which are "inspector of builders or

⁽³²⁹⁾ McFarlane, A., *The God Min*, p. 254.

⁽³³⁰⁾ Hannig, R., *Handwörterbuch*, p. 165.

⁽³³¹⁾ Gauthier, H., "Notes Géographiques sur les Nome Panopolite", p. 55.

⁽³³²⁾ Kees, H., "Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern", p. 126.

⁽³³³⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 38.

⁽³³⁴⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 38.

⁽³³⁵⁾ Helck, W., *Beamtentiteln*, p. 38; Strudwick, N., *the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 311.

⁽³³⁶⁾ Strudwick, N., *the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 108 (81).

⁽³³⁷⁾ *B3-B3f* who is dated by early fifth dynasty, Strudwick, N., *the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 82 (42).

w3š-ptḥ/Tsi who is dated by mid to late reign of Neferirkare, Strudwick, N., *the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 79-80 (37).

Pth-ḥtp who is dated by the late reign of Djedkare, Strudwick, N., *the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 87 (49).

⁽³³⁸⁾ is dated by end of Teti's reign, Strudwick, N., *the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 100-101 (68).

⁽³³⁹⁾ is dated by the end of Teti's reign to the early reign of Pepi I, Strudwick, N., *the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 111 (87).

⁽³⁴⁰⁾ is dated by the reign of Pepi I, Strudwick, N., *the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 97 (63).

⁽³⁴¹⁾ is dated by the late reign of Pepi I, Strudwick, N., *the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 115 (93).

⁽³⁴²⁾ is dated by the early to the middle of the sixth dynasty, Strudwick, N., *the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 119-120 (100).

⁽³⁴³⁾ is dated by the late reign of Pepi II, Strudwick, N., *the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 121 (102).

⁽³⁴⁴⁾ is dated by the very late of the Old Kingdom, Strudwick, N., *the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 160 (160).

⁽³⁴⁵⁾ Kees, H., "Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern", p. 127.

⁽³⁴⁶⁾ *snwt*-shrine was mentioned several times in the royal funerary complexes, Čwiek, A., *Relief Decoration in the Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom*, pp. 72-73 n. 299.

⁽³⁴⁷⁾ Urk I, p. 216:2.

⁽³⁴⁸⁾ Wilson, J., "The Artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom", p. 238.

⁽³⁴⁹⁾ Fischer, H., *Varia*, pl. 21 (6).

⁽³⁵⁰⁾ Helck, W., "Laufbahn", p. 940.

inspector of potters or inspector of masons”⁽³⁵¹⁾.

Pirenne believed that *shd kdw* was a step to the *imy-r kdw*⁽³⁵²⁾ then the official got promoted to *mdh-nswt*, as in case of Nekhebu. Another example for that promotion was that of Khemiset who was *shd-kdw*, *imy-r kdw* before he ended his career as *mdh-nswt* under Teti⁽³⁵³⁾.

Pirenne noted that the current title does not indicate that its holder has gone through the rank of *kd*⁽³⁵⁴⁾ i.e. it might be held by an official who was not associated with the department of *kd(w)*.

However, in case of Nekhebu, he held this title as a direct promotion in the department of *kd(w)* as he was *kdw n s3t* that enabled him to be promoted in his department as *shd n kdw*.

(20) *kdw n s3t*

This title is attested in one source for Nekhebu’s biography which is in the Cairo text⁽³⁵⁵⁾. Jones translated it as “ordinary builder”⁽³⁵⁶⁾, which means a simple worker. This title is suggested by Wilson and Helck to be the first profession in Nekhebu’s long career and offices⁽³⁵⁷⁾.

(21) *kd nswt m prwy*

This title is attested twice in Nekhebu’s biography, which are the two blocks of Boston Museum MFA No. 13.4335 and MFA No. 13.4351⁽³⁵⁸⁾.

Jones read the current title as *kdw m prwy* and translated it as “sculptor or builder in the

two houses”⁽³⁵⁹⁾, for he omitted in his reading

and translation the word *nsw*.

These two examples of Nekhebu are the only known examples for that title, as far as I know, in the Old Kingdom.

Consequently, one had two possibilities: either the current title *kd nswt m prwy* was a profession that means royal builder in the two houses which was never held by any official in the Old Kingdom other than Nekhebu, while

the second possibility is that *n* in the word was a scribal or typographical

error for *mdh* thus the title which appeared in that form:

Kd(w) nswt m prwy

shall be written in that form

mdh nswt kd(w) m prwy

Consequently, these two examples will be considered as other examples for the title *mdh nswt kdw m prwy*.

(22) *k3wty*

This title is attested in Boston text MFA No. 13.4331⁽³⁶⁰⁾. It is read as *k3wty*⁽³⁶¹⁾, which was a professional title⁽³⁶²⁾. Both Spiegelberg and Goedicke noted that *k3wty* was a nisba adjective from *k3t*⁽³⁶³⁾.

Spiegelberg suggested firstly the translation of *k3wty* as “worker” or particularly “construction worker”⁽³⁶⁴⁾, but he then changed his mind to suggest two translations for the

⁽³⁵¹⁾ Jones, D., Index II, p. 970:3578.

⁽³⁵²⁾ Urk I, p. 216:11-12; Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l’Ancienne Égypte III, p. 95.

⁽³⁵³⁾ Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l’Ancienne Égypte III, p. 95

⁽³⁵⁴⁾ Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l’Ancienne Égypte III, p. 95

⁽³⁵⁵⁾ Urk I, p. 216:1, 11.

⁽³⁵⁶⁾ Jones, D., Index II, p. 997:3692.

⁽³⁵⁷⁾ Wilson, J., “The Artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom”, p. 238; Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 104.

⁽³⁵⁸⁾ Dunham, D., “The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo”, pp. 6-7.

⁽³⁵⁹⁾ Jones, D., Index II, p. 997:3693.

⁽³⁶⁰⁾ Dunham, D., “The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo”, pl. II. This title isn’t recorded by Sethe in his Urk who suggested *b3k* instead of *k3wty* cf., Urk I, p. 119:14 but Dunham believed that there is no alternative to the reading *k3wty* for that lacuna. Dunham, D., “The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo”, p. 2.

⁽³⁶¹⁾ Jones, D., Index II, p. 997:3694.

⁽³⁶²⁾ Spiegelberg, W., “Demotische Miscellen“, p. 37; Helck, W., “Arbeiter“, p. 371.

⁽³⁶³⁾ Spiegelberg, W., “Miszellen“, p. 151; Goedicke, H., “A Provision-Jar of the Time of Asosis”, p. 71.

⁽³⁶⁴⁾ Spiegelberg, W., “Demotische Miscellen“, p. 37.

whom Nekhebu assisted⁽³⁸⁰⁾ and succeeded him in most of his professions⁽³⁸¹⁾.

(4) As for the hierarchy of Nekhebu, it is worth noting that he climbed the ladder of work organisation administration from the very beginning where he started his career as a workman *k3wty* (22), then he entered to the *kd* department as *kdw n ʿs3t* (20). After that he got promoted to *shd n kdw* (19), then *imy-r kdw* (3), *mty n s3* (6), *mdh nswt kdw* (8), *hry-tp nswt* (14), *hry s3t3 n wʿbty* (10), *kd nswt m prwy* (21)⁽³⁸²⁾, *mdh nswt kdw m prwy* (9), *smr wʿty* (16), *mdh nswt* (7), *imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt* (4) respectively, and later Nekhebu was attached to the royal palace where he served in the personal and direct service of the king that enabled him to hold the titles *hry-hbt* (12) then the titles which show very close connection with the king *hry-hbt hry-tp* (13), *sm* (15), *hrp šnd(w)t nbt* (11), *ʿ3-Dw3w* (5), *smsw snwt* (18) and *smr-wʿty n(y) st ib nb.f* (17).

(5) The offices *ʿ3-Dw3w* (5), *hry-hbt* (12), *hry hbt hry-tp* (13), *sm* (15), *hrp šnd(w)t nbt* (11), *smsw snwt* (18) reflect Nekhebu's presence and attendance in the king's suite.

(6) Nekhebu according to his direct contact with the king and his titles *smr wʿty* (16) and *smr wʿty n(y) st ib nb.f* (17) might have carried out the responsibilities of the royal envoys.

(7) Nekhebu never held the vizierate title *t3yty s3b t3ty*.


⁽³⁸⁰⁾ Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 170 (171).

⁽³⁸¹⁾ UrK I, pp. 216-217.

⁽³⁸²⁾ The arrangement of the titles *hry-s3t3 n wʿbty* and *kd nswt m prwy* are arranged in that place after *hry-tp nswt* and before *mdh nswt kdw m prwy* as reflected from the same arrangement of the title on the block MFA no. 13.4351, Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.

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Fig. (1)

MFA No. 13.4331

Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pl. II.



Fig. (2)

MFA No. 13.4335

Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 6.

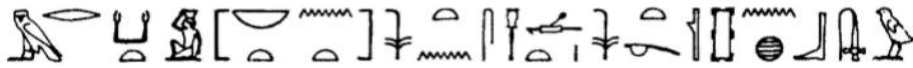


Fig. (3)

MFA No. 13.4348

Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.

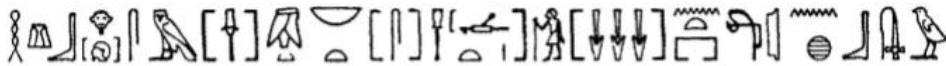


Fig. (4)

MFA No. 13.4349

Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.



Fig. (5)

MFA No. 13.4351

Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.

The Professions and Hierarchy of Nekhebu

مهن "نخبو" وتسلسله الوظيفي

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الملخص :

يهدف هذا البحث إلى إلقاء الضوء حول ألقاب و وظائف أحد موظفي الدولة القديمة بوجه عام و الأسرة السادسة بوجه خاص و هو المعماري الملكي و المشرف علي كل الأشغال الملكية " نخبو" و الذي مارس مهام وظائفه المختلفة تحت حكم الملك بيبي الأول، و تُقدم الورقة البحثية تحليلاً مفصلاً لألقاب " نخبو " و نعوته المختلفة و التي حملها طوال مسيرته المهنية الطويلة و ذلك اعتماداً علي النقوش المختلفة لسيرته الذاتية المتناثرة، و بناءً علي تحليل هذه الألقاب المختلفة لنخبو يقترح الباحث مسارين مهنيين مختلفين مر بهما نخبو خلال مسيرته المهنية الطويلة، كما يناقش البحث طبيعة هذه الألقاب و قراءتها المختلفة و ترجماتها و وظائفها بالإضافة إلي اقتراح تسلسل وظيفي لهذا الموظف.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

نخبو، المعماري الملكي، المشرف علي كل الأشغال الملكية، التسلسل الوظيفي، الخدمة الملكية، ألقاب، وظائف .



The Chronology of the Cat King (Pami)

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Abstract

Rare evidences were found for the Cat King (789-784 B.C) who is variously spelled as, Pami, Pemu , or Pamiu. There is a misconception transcription of his name as Pimay (*P3-m3i*) which means a lion. The term was used by past historians based on the misreading of a small statuary group (CG 9430). Furthermore, there is no guarantee that the group belongs to King Pami. Hence, there is no evidence that he was son of King Shoshenq III (841–803B.C). It is highly probable that another king Shoshenq, called Shoshenq IIIa or Shoshenq Ib (?- 790 B.C) with the Throne name *ḥd-ḥpr-R^c*, must be inserted here between Shoshenq III and Pami. Shoshenq III and his successor King Shoshenq IIIa filled the fifty two years which were estimated before Shoshenq III only, and that accords to the Apis bull's twenty six years lifespan from the twenty eighth years of Shoshenq III to the second year of Pami. The full length of Pami's reign at Tanis is not certain. It is not certain that another king (e.g., an older son of Pami) has ruled between Pami and Shoshenq V (783- 746B.C). Finally, it is likely that Pami was buried in one of the vaults of the royal necropolis of Tanis, according to the meager remains that were collected from the tomb NRT II.

Keywords:

Pami, Pimay, Pamu, Pamiu, Shoshenq Ib, Shoshenq IIIa, Cat, Lion, 22nd Dynasty.

Introduction:

The Third Intermediate Period⁽¹⁾ (c. 1076-c. 723 BC)⁽²⁾, which is also known as the ‘Libyan Period’⁽³⁾, constitutes in a large degree a distinct cycle in Egypt's history. It is defined by a passage from the loss of unity at the end of the New Kingdom to the restoration of

⁽¹⁾Although the term ‘Intermediate’ is used to describe the political decline that took place during this period, it does not reflect the cultural development that continued under individual district administration. ‘Kitchen’ who published an extensive study of this historical period suggested that a more suitable term for this period would be ‘Post- Imperial epoch’, rather than being categorized with the First or Second Intermediate Period which were characterized by chaos and disorder; A. K. Kitchen, *the Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Wiltshire, 1986), xi-xii; Other scholars like ‘Leahy’ suggested other names such as the ‘late New Kingdom’ and the ‘Libyan Period’; this is descriptive, not simply sequential, and it embodies the most important change, namely, the arrival of the Libyans in power; A. Leahy, ‘the Libyan Period in Egypt: an essay in interpretation’, *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985), 53; It is interesting to note that Kitchen's or Leahy's suggestions, although more accurate, have not been widely used by scholars and the term ‘Third Intermediate Period’ is still highly featured in studies and publications; A. H. Eladany, *A study of A selected Group of Third Intermediate Period Mummies in the British Museum* (Ph. D. diss., University of Manchester, 2011), 40.

⁽²⁾Modern historians mention different dates for the beginning of this period. ‘Kitchen’ and ‘Taylor’ believes that 1069 BC, the year that Smendes I ascended the throne, marks the start of the 21st Dynasty and the Third Intermediate Period, while a more recent study by ‘Hornung *et al*’ mentioned the year 1076 BC as the beginning of the 21st Dynasty and the Third Intermediate Period. The same problem applies to the date that marks the end of this period as well. ‘Taylor’ suggests that the end of the 25th Dynasty and the Third Intermediate Period was c. 664 BC, while ‘Hornung *et al*’ suggest that this should be c. 723 BC, marked by the end of the 24th Dynasty and the 25th Dynasty belongs to the Late Period according to ‘Hornung *et al*’; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 465; E. Hornung, R. Krauss, and D. A. Warburton, *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, *HDO* 83 (Leiden, 2006), 493; H. J. Taylor, *The Third Intermediate Period (1069–664 BC)*, in Ian Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford and New York, 2000), 324; Eladany, *A study of A selected Group*, 40.

⁽³⁾Eladany, *A study of A selected Group*, 40-41. Where the ruling families were of Libyan tribal origins during the larger part of this Period; O. E. Kaper, ‘The Libyan Period in Egypt’, *EA* 32 (2008) 38.

centralized authority under Psmatek I.⁽⁴⁾The 22nd Dynasty is considered a unique chapter in the Third Intermediate Period. Manetho listed three kings of this dynasty as all being from Bubastis in the eastern Delta⁽⁵⁾, with an alleged cumulative reign of twenty five years.⁽⁶⁾The Libyan element is evident in the founder of the dynasty ‘Sheshonq I’, who shortly after marching his army into Thebes, proclaimed himself pharaoh with the divine approval of the oracle of Amun, and thus successfully founded the 22nd Dynasty.⁽⁷⁾His reign (c. 945-924 BCE)⁽⁸⁾ was characterized by a change in attitude of the king towards the integrity of the country.⁽⁹⁾

After the reigns of Shoshenq I, Osorkon I, Takeloth I, and Osorkon II, new generations of Libyan commanders sprang up in the important administrative and religious centers, each vying for a piece of the crown.⁽¹⁰⁾The successors in the 22nd Dynasty tried to unify the realm, but the re-growth of the provincial power-bases increasingly weakened royal control, and once again led to the division of the country.⁽¹¹⁾The reign of Takeloth II heralded a period of conflict, the major cause

⁽⁴⁾T. Schneider, ‘Contributions to the Chronology of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period’, *Ägypten und Levante* 20 (2011), 373-404.

⁽⁵⁾M. Ch. Tetley, *the Reconstructed Chronology of the Egyptian Kings* (New Zealand, 2014), 511-512, Table 36.1, 2; these found in Manéthon, trans. W.G. Waddell (Cambridge, 1971), 158-161.

⁽⁶⁾Schneider, *Ägypten und Levante* 20 (2011), 375.

⁽⁷⁾Tetley, *the Reconstructed Chronology*, 511-562.

⁽⁸⁾‘Hornung *et al*, give Shoshenq I and his Successors dates began from 943 BCE not from 945 BCE. See, Hornung *et al*, *HDO* 83 (2006), 493.

⁽⁹⁾Taylor, in Ian Shaw, *the Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 335; L. Swart, ‘The Transition from the 21st to the 22nd Dynasty in Thebes, Egypt as Manifested in Changes in the Wooden Funerary Stelae of the Dynasty’, *Journal for Semitics* 16/2 (2007), 521.

⁽¹⁰⁾Swart, *Journal for Semitics* 16/2 (2007), 523.

⁽¹¹⁾Taylor, in Ian Shaw, *the Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 345; Swart, *Journal for Semitics* 16/2 (2007), 523.

of which was the appointment of his son Osorkon⁽¹²⁾, as the High Priest of Amun.⁽¹³⁾ From the inauguration of Shoshenq III, he had evidently usurped the throne from the High Priest Osorkon, and the kingship became split between different candidates: Pedubast I, of the 23rd Dynasty, was recognized alongside Shoshenq III from 22nd dynasty,⁽¹⁴⁾ then Osorkon III ruled the south parallel to Shoshenq IIIa, Pami and Shoshenq V in the north.⁽¹⁵⁾

This paper will discuss the chronology of one of these pharaohs who ruled during the split of the kingship between different candidates. This pharaoh is called 'Pami', based on Manetho's records for the 22nd Dynasty; although such records suffered damage and loss in transmission, resulting in that only three of its kings were named. The texts of the Nile level on the quay wall of the temple of Amun at Karnak record the maximum height of the Nile in various kings' reign years. It is a valuable aid to the chronology. The analyses of these texts help define the length of some rulers'

⁽¹²⁾There is no notable change took place during the 22nd dynasty regarding the ruling of Egypt. The south was still ruled by Thebes, Herakleopolis by army commanders who would also have the title High Priest of Amun, the north was ruled by Tanis, and Memphis by a number of kings. During the early years of the 22nd Dynasty, the northern kings were strong enough to assign the position of the High Priest of Amun to one of their sons. It was the arrangement which maintained a form of unity within the country. See, K. Jansen-Winkel, the Chronology of the Third Intermediate Period: Dyns 22-24, in E. Hornung, et (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology, HDO* 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 234; Eladany, *A study of A selected Group*, 49.

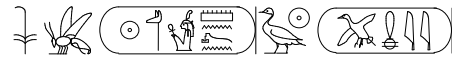
⁽¹³⁾A recurring feature of the tenth to the eighth centuries was the resistance of Thebes to Northern control. The claims of Osorkon to the pontificate incited intense resistance as the Thebans preferred to recognize the authority of the 23rd Dynasty kings, Pedubast I and Iuput I, who acted as co-regent. See, Taylor, in Ian Shaw, *the Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 345; Swart, *Journal for Semitics* 16/2 (2007), 523.

⁽¹⁴⁾Swart, *Journal for Semitics* 16/2 (2007), 523-524.


⁽¹⁵⁾Eladany, *A study of A selected Group*, 58; Jansen-Winkel, in E. Hornung (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 254 fig. III.

reigns.⁽¹⁶⁾ Furthermore, Lunar dates which are taken from records of inductions of priests at Amun festivals, and the enthronement of two Apis bulls also assist.

Pami 'Wsr m3't R^c- Stp n Imn' (789-784 BC):



Pami, is his birth name which means he who belongs to the Cat 'Bastet'⁽¹⁷⁾, while his Throne name is 'Wsr m3't R^c- Stp n Imn' 'Powerful is the Justice of Re, Chosen of Amun'⁽¹⁸⁾

Pami⁽¹⁹⁾, is variously spelled as Pemu⁽²⁰⁾, or Pamiu.⁽²¹⁾ Pami's name was transcribed as Pimay⁽²²⁾  'P3-m3i', which means a lion⁽²³⁾, by past historians based on a misreading of the text of a small statuary group (CG 9430) in the Egyptian Museum, which was found in Sais (pl. 1).⁽²⁴⁾ The text

⁽¹⁶⁾Tetley, *the Reconstructed Chronology*, 511-512, Table 36 (1, 2).

⁽¹⁷⁾S. Bickel, M. Gabolde and P. Tallet, 'Des annales héliopolitaines de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire', *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 40; P. A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers and Dynasties of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1994), 185; Eladany, *A study of A selected Group*, 55.

⁽¹⁸⁾Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, 185; Tetley, *The Reconstructed Chronology*, 512. Usermaatre Setepenamun was the throne name for Osorkon II, Pedubast, Iuput I, Osorkon III, Takeloth III, and Rudamun, while Usermaat-Setepenre was the throne name of Shoshenq III and Pami. See, J. James, *Embodied Persons in the North Abydos Votive Zone during the Third Intermediate- Late Period (1069-332BCE): Constructing Social Identities with Osteology and Mortuary Behaviour* (Ph. D. diss., University of Toronto, 2018), 178 n. 20.

⁽¹⁹⁾Jansen-Winkel, in E. Hornung (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 244.

⁽²⁰⁾PM VIII, 136 Nr. 800-781-400.

⁽²¹⁾Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 102.

⁽²²⁾Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, 185.

⁽²³⁾The system of transliterating 'i' by 'a' and '3' by 'a' (with or without a diacritic sign) has made this confusion between 'cats' and 'lions'. For more see, J. Yoyotte, 'Des lions et des chats Contribution à la prosopographie de l'époque libyenne', *RdE* 39 (1988), 155-160.

⁽²⁴⁾G. Daressy, *Textes et Dessins Magiques; CGC* (Nr. 9401-9449) (Le Caire, 1903), 37-39, pl. xi Nr. 9430.

the text consists of four memoranda; the first three of which are judicial oracular judgments, all in favor of one Ikeni, and the last is a record of certain payments by the same man. The third memorandum is dated to year four, II Smw eight, of an unnamed king. Parker assumed that Pami is of the twenty second dynasty. The first and second memoranda record judgments delivered on the same day but the date is not given and is presumably earlier than that of third memorandum because different gods are involved. All three disputes concern the purchase of land by Ikeni in a forty ninth year known as the bad time and the charge that he did not make payment. The gods declare that he did.⁽³⁸⁾ Parker assumed the text was after the nineteenth dynasty and Ramses II, where the only succeeding king who had the certain forty ninth years was Sheshonq III.⁽³⁹⁾

However, it is highly probable that another king called 'Shoshenq IIIa' with the Throne name 'hd-hpr-R', whom he dubbed 'Shoshenq Ib' should be inserted here.⁽⁴⁰⁾ He has recently been assigned on the basis of a new proposal that there were two kings named (Hedjkheperre Setepenre Shoshenq Meryamun), one being Shoshenq I, and the other a much later king, which is also recognized now as 'Shoshenq IV'⁽⁴¹⁾, who was buried in the tomb of his predecessor 'Shoshenq III' at Tanis⁽⁴²⁾, and perhaps being the unnamed king of Karnak Nile Text twenty

forth, whose twelfth year corresponded to Pedubast's fifth year.⁽⁴³⁾

This possibility depends on some considerations:

- The most important piece of evidence here is a donation stela⁽⁴⁴⁾, from the tenth year of King 'Shoshenq' 'hd-hpr-R'. It mentions a Great Prince of the Libu named 'Niumateped'⁽⁴⁵⁾, and a man apparently bearing the same name with a title documented from the eighth year of 'Shoshenq V'.⁽⁴⁶⁾
- Secondly, the second un-inscribed sarcophagus which was found in the tomb of Shoshenq III at Tanis (NRT V).⁽⁴⁷⁾ They found a canopic jar in the debris, with the full name of 'Hedjkheperre Setepenre Shoshenq Meryamun si-Bast Netjerheqaon'.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The use of the nomen epithet *Netjerheqaon* 'god, ruler of Heliopolis' on the jar was never used by kings before Shoshenq III.⁽⁴⁹⁾ So it could not refer to Shoshenq I or IIa.

⁽⁴³⁾Dodson, *GM* 137 (1993) 54.

⁽⁴⁴⁾D. Meeks, 'Les donations aux temples dans l'Égypte du Ier millénaire avant J.-C.', *OLA* 6 (Louvain, 1979), 666 (22.1.10).

⁽⁴⁵⁾Rohl, *JACF* 3 (1990), 67. A Niumateped, also a chief of the Libu, was in office in the eighth year of Shoshenq V, suggesting the two references referred to the one Niumateped. See, Tetley, *the Reconstructed Chronology*, 558; Dodson, *GM* 137 (1993), 53.

⁽⁴⁶⁾Jansen-Winkeln, in E. Hornung (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 244; Dodson, *GM* 137 (1993), 53-54; Rohl, *JACF* 3 (1990), 67.

⁽⁴⁷⁾Tetley, *the Reconstructed Chronology*, 558; Dodson, *GM* 137 (1993), 54.

⁽⁴⁸⁾Dodson, *GM* 137 (1993) 54; P. Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis; La nécropole royale de Tanis III* (Paris 1960), 76 pl. XLIX; A. Dodson, *the Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt* (London and New York, 1994), 93; Rohl, *JACF* 3 (1990), 66.

⁽⁴⁹⁾Dodson, *GM* 137 (1993) 54, 55; Tetley, *the Reconstructed Chronology*, 558. There was the fact that the canopic equipment of Shoshenq I had long been known, being a calcite chest now in Berlin designed to contain small coffinettes rather than the full size jars found in NRT V. Also, reburials carried out long after the original interment never demonstrably include the provision of a stone sarcophagus: this is seen both amongst the contents of the Theban royal caches, and with the reburials in the tomb of Psusennes I at Tanis NRT III. Particularly taken together, these points suggested that Shoshenq III's lodger was someone other

A. Parker, *A saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes* (Providence, 1968), 49-52, pl. 17-19; Bickel et al, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 40 no. 11

⁽³⁸⁾Parker, *A saite Oracle Papyrus*, 49.

⁽³⁹⁾Parker, *A saite Oracle Papyrus*, 49.

⁽⁴⁰⁾A. Dodson, 'A new King Shoshenq confirmed?', *GM* 137 (1993), 53-58; Tetley, *The Reconstructed Chronology*, 558-559.

⁽⁴¹⁾Tetley, *The Reconstructed Chronology*, 55; D. M. Rohl, 'The Early Third Intermediate Period: Some Chronological Considerations', *JACF* 3 (1990), 66-67.

⁽⁴²⁾Jansen-Winkeln, in E. Hornung (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 244; Eladany, *A study of A selected Group*, 55.

- Thirdly, although the reign of Shoshenq III lasted around fifty-two years, the highest year attested for Shoshenq III is the thirty ninth year, assigning him texts at Karnak⁽⁵⁰⁾, placing a ten to thirteen years reign of this Shoshenq *hd-hpr-Rc* into this period⁽⁵¹⁾, which means that Shoshenq III and his successor ‘Shoshenq IIIa’ reigned the whole fifty-two years of Shoshenq III, and accords also with the Apis bull’s twenty-six years of lifespan from the twenty eighth year of Shoshenq III to the second year of Pami.⁽⁵²⁾

In accordance with these evidences, Dodson, Kitchen, and other scholars, now we can assume that Shoshenq IV ‘Shoshenq IIIa’ is the successor of Shoshenq III.⁽⁵³⁾ Anyway the precise length of Shoshenq IV’s reign is chronologically not very important since the whole period, between the year 28 of Shoshenq III and year 2 of Pami, is certain.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Pami’s Reign:

The full length of Pami’s reign at Tanis is not known for certain, especially that his monuments are few. Six years will be allowed here beyond the second year in Apis stela⁽⁵⁵⁾, and the fourth year of Brooklyn papyrus ‘16.205’.⁽⁵⁶⁾ There is only the sixth year of a

votive stela in the Louvre ‘C 275’; presumably Memphite reports a religious ceremony dated with the sixth year of Pami⁽⁵⁷⁾ (pl. 4). It was so far the date of the highest reign known for this king until 1998, where a reused block from a doorway in Heliopolis was published.⁽⁵⁸⁾ It was found as a part of a medieval Islamic fortification in old Cairo called Bab El Nasr⁽⁵⁹⁾ (pl. 5), which preserves a section chronicling Pami’s donations to local gods, a seventh regnal year is clearly visible for Pami in it:⁽⁶⁰⁾

[1] [*h3t*]- *sp*] [7] *s3 Rc P3-miw [ir .n.f] m mnw[.f]* (line 35 pl. 6)⁽⁶¹⁾

The seventh year can be added to Pami’s reign according to the structure of the text, if his ‘annals’ were not written posthumously, and this would confirm Kitchen’s assessment

⁽⁵⁷⁾Bickel, et al, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 40 no. 12; Yoyotte, *RdE* 39 (1988), 160-161, pl. 2.

⁽⁵⁸⁾Bickel et al, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 31-56.

⁽⁵⁹⁾Eladany, *A study of A Selected Group*, 55; Bickel et al, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 31; Perhaps a sector of the temple at Heliopolis in which annals inscriptions had been grouped was broken up and its blocks were removed in the Middle Ages. The less durable material of the Pami inscription may suggest that numerous such inscriptions had existed, with this one happening not to have been destroyed. See, V. Müller und U. Hartung, *Zeichen aus dem Sand Streifl ichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer Herausgegeben von Eva-Maria Engel* (Wiesbaden, 2008), 19-21.

⁽⁶⁰⁾Bickel et al, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 37; Tetley, *The Reconstructed Chronology*, 559. This stone is 104 cm long, 64 cm wide and 36.5 cm thick. It carries a text hieroglyphic written from left to right and arranged in two horizontal lines that separate in two sections written in columns of a width of 2.5 cm each. From registration placed above the two lines, only traces of some signs remain. On the bottom and the two short sides of the block, the surface of the stone disappeared as a result of its reuse. It therefore only partially preserved the central part of the inscription on a width of about 25 columns. The entire block should have some forty columns, stopping above an incised line 13 cm from the lower edge columns (27-29) and taken from the text. The presence, at the top of columns 19 and 22, two years of reign, the fourth and the fifth of a king whose cartridges were hammered out, clearly shows that this document is a fragment of annals of which it is difficult to estimate the original extension; Bickel et al, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 31-32.

⁽⁶¹⁾Bickel et al, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 36.

than Shoshenq I; Rohl, *JACF* 3 (1990), 66. For Dodson’s opinions see, Dodson, *GM* 137 (1993), 54-55.

⁽⁵⁰⁾Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 102.

⁽⁵¹⁾Jansen-Winkel, in E. Hornung (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 244-245; Eladany, *A study of A selected Group*, 55; Schneider, *Ägypten und Levante* 20 (2011), 374 Table. 2.

⁽⁵²⁾Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 102-103; Schneider, *Ägypten und Levante* 20 (2011), 374 Table. 2; ‘Appendix B Hedjkheppere Sheshonk—A Reevaluation’, from Nebuchadrezzar & the Egyptian Exile, 2000, 293.

⁽⁵³⁾Dodson, *GM* 137 (1993), 57; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, xxvi; Jansen-Winkel, in E. Hornung (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 244; Tetley, *The Reconstructed Chronology*, 558.

⁽⁵⁴⁾Jansen-Winkel, in E. Hornung (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 244-245.

⁽⁵⁵⁾Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 103; Tetley, *The Reconstructed Chronology*, 559; Malinine et al, *Catalogue des stèles*, docs. 22, 23, 24, 25.


⁽⁵⁶⁾R. A. Parker, *A saite Oracle Papyrus*, 49-52, pl. 17-19; Bickel et al, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 40 No. 11

of full sixth years.⁽⁶²⁾ This assumption of a rather short reign for Pami is further supported also by the fact that the reign of his son was quite long. So Pami may have reigned for more than six years.

Shoshenq V followed Pami according to one of the Serapeum stelae from the eleventh year of Shoshenq V Akheperre (783–ca. 746BC). It gives his names as ‘Akheperre, son of Re, Shoshenq, son of Pami’.⁽⁶³⁾ While another stela from the Serapeum from the thirty seventh year of Shoshenq V bears the name of the same (still living) donor as in the second year of Pami.⁽⁶⁴⁾ It is thus improbable that this long period can be stretched any further. But, it is not sure that another king (e.g., an older son of Pami) may have ruled between Pami and Shoshenq V, but then if at all, only very briefly.⁽⁶⁵⁾

In opposite, Osorkon III ruled the south in parallel to Shoshenq IIIa, Shoshenq Ib, Pami and Shoshenq V in the north.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Finally, it is likely that Pami was buried in one of the vaults of the royal necropolis of Tanis according to the meager remains that were collected in the tomb NRT II (pl. 7).⁽⁶⁷⁾

Conclusion:

The research sheds light on the synchronization of two dynasties; the twenty second in Tanis and the twenty third in Leontopolis, where the chronology of these dynasties is extremely confusing, since all the relationships between the many rulers are not clear. The Cat King (789-784 BC) is mostly the eighth pharaoh of the 22nd Dynasty. His correct name, is ‘P3-miw’ which is written with a sitting feline . There is no a reliable evidence that he was the son of Shoshenq III, and the cartidge in the statuary group (CG 9430) is not enough readable to establish the kinship between him and Shoshenq III. There is another Shoshenq III called Shoshenq Ib ruled after Shoshenq III and before Pami, his reign estimates between ten and thirteen years. Pami's reign almost estimated between six or seven years not more. It may be that his son Shoshenq V (783- 746BC) is not the direct successor.

In conclusion, we may provide revised tables of the Tanite Libyan kings and the dates of the second half of 22nd Dynasty broadly basing the assumption upon all those pervious considerations:

⁽⁶²⁾Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 103-104

⁽⁶³⁾Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 103-104; Tetley, *the Reconstructed Chronology of the Egyptian Kings*, 559; Bickel et al, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 41; Malinine et al, *Catalogue des stèles*, doc. 26; Yoyotte, *RdE* 39 (1988), 160.

⁽⁶⁴⁾Malinine et al, *Catalogue des steles*, docs. 24, 25, 41.

⁽⁶⁵⁾Jansen-Winkel, in E. Hornung (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 245.

⁽⁶⁶⁾Eladany, *A study of A selected Group*, 58; Jansen-Winkel, in E. Hornung (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 254 fig. III.

⁽⁶⁷⁾Bickel et al, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 41; Yoyotte, *RdE* 39 (1988), 156, 166-168, fig. 5, pl. 6 a, b, c.

The Chronology of the Cat King (Pami)

Tab.1

	Dyn. 22	943– 746 BC
1	Shoshenq I Hedjkheperre Setepenre	943–923 BC
2	Osorkon I Sekhemkheperre Setepenre	922–888 BC
3	Takelot I Usermaatre Setepenamun	887–874 BC
4	Shoshenq II Heqakheperre Setepenre	873 BC
5	Osorkon II Usermaatre Setepenamun	872–842 BC
6	Shoshenq III Usermaatre Setepenre/amun	841–803 BC
7	Shoshenq IIIa Hedjkheperre	?- 790 BC
8	Pami Usermaatre Setepenre/amun	789-784 BC
9	Shoshenq V Akheperre	783- 746 BC

Tab. 2

Second Half of 22 nd Dynasty	highest year
Shoshenq III	39 years
Shoshenq <i>Hedjkheperre</i>	10 to 13 years His reign length of 13 years can be calculated from data regarding an Apis bull according to which 26 years elapsed between year 28 of Shoshenq III and year 2 of Pami: $26 - ([39-28] + 2) = 13$
Pami	6 to 7 years according to Heliopolis annals
Shoshenq V	38 years Dies some time before the conquest of Egypt by Piankhi; ca. 3 years
Total, second half : 97 years	

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(pl. 1) A small statuette group (CG 9430).

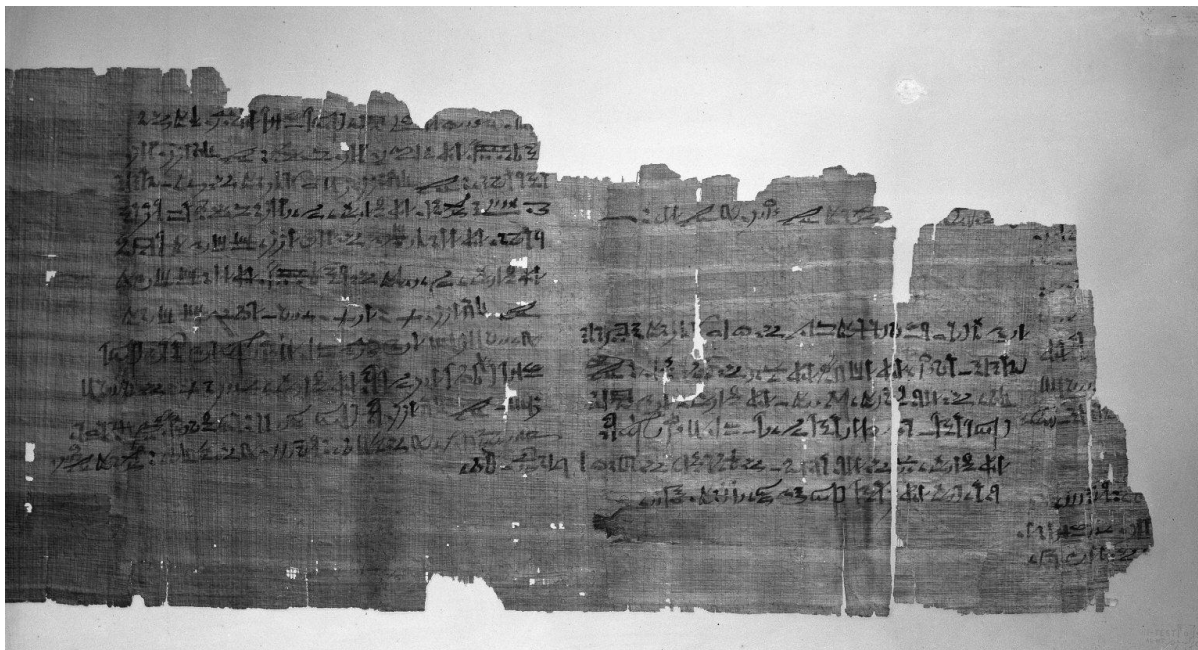
Daressy, *Textes et Dessins Magiques*, pl. xi Nr. 9430.



(pl. 1) Bronze kneeling statue of Pami.

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The Chronology of the Cat King (Pami)



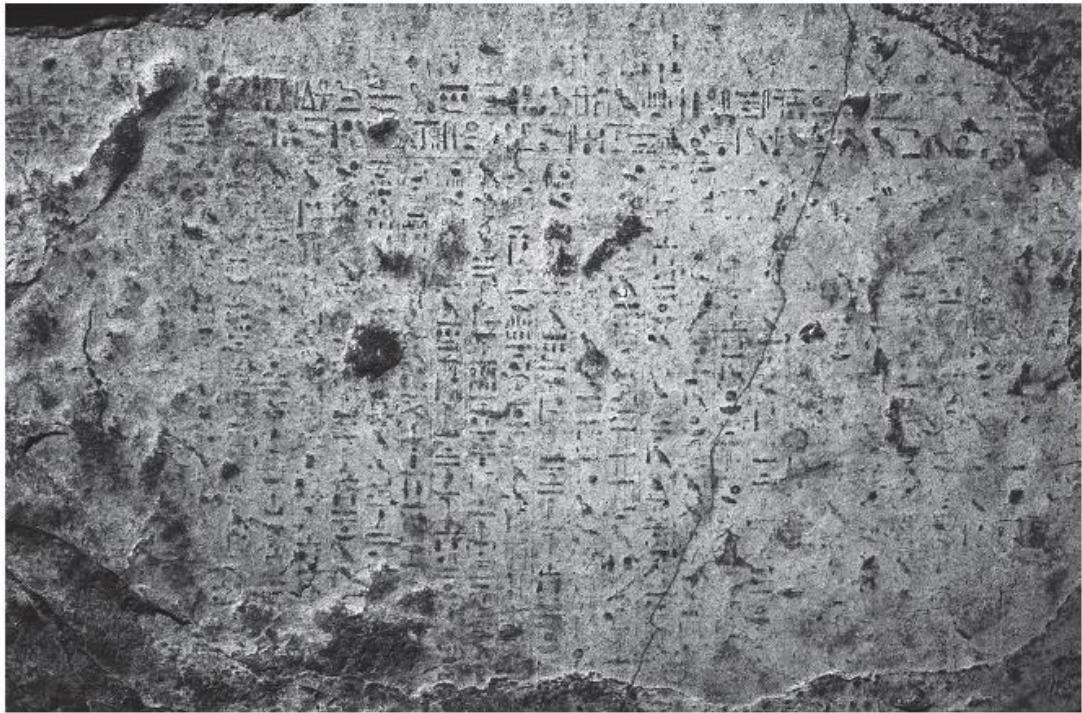
(pl. 3) Brooklyn Papyrus 16.205.

Brooklyn Museum Photograph.



(pl. 4) A Votive stela in Louvre Museum (C 275).

Yoyotte, *RdE* 39 (1988), pl. 2.



(pl. 5) A limestone block with the Inscription of Pami' annals.

Bickel et al, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 35 fig. 5.



(pl. 6)

Bickel et al, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 34 fig. 4.



(pl. 7) Remains were collected from the tomb NRT II

Yoyotte, *RdE* 39 (1988), pl. 6. a.b.c

التأريخ للملك القط (بامي) وفقا للآثار.

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الملخص:

تعتبر الأدلة التي عثر عليها للتأريخ للملك "بامي" (٧٨٩-٧٨٤ ق.م)؛ والذي يذكر اسمه بصيغ مختلفة منها "بامي، أو باميو، أو باميو، أو بي ماي" نادرة للغاية. فعلي سبيل المثال تم تداول الصيغة الأخيرة من الاسم "بي ماي" والتي تعنى "الأسد" من قبل عدد من المؤرخين السابقين وفقاً لقراءة خاطئة لمجموعة التماثيل الصغيرة التي توجد بالمتحف المصري برقم (CG 9430). كما يظهر عائق آخر فى التأريخ لهذا الملك هو أنه من المحتمل أن يكون هناك ملك آخر يدعى "Shoshenq IIIa"، أو "Shoshenq Ib" (؟ - ٧٩٠ ق.م)، ربما تتوسط فترة حكمه ما بين الملك "شوشنق الثالث" والملك "بامي"، بل يمتد الأمر إلى أن هذا الملك المستحدث ربما يشكل مع الملك "شوشنق الثالث" كخليفته الفترة الزمنية التي امتدت حوالى اثنين وخمسين عاماً، والتي يقدرها البعض كمدة حكم للملك شوشنق الثالث بمفرده. أيضاً تمتد صعوبة التأريخ للملك "بامي" إلى نقاط عديدة منها أولاً: مدة حكمه في تانيس؛ فهي مدة غير معروفة على وجه اليقين، ثانياً؛ هل هناك ما يثبت وجود ملكاً آخر (على سبيل المثال: الابن الأكبر لبامي) حكم فى الفترة ما بين "بامي" والملك "شوشنق الخامس" (٧٨٣-٧٤٦ ق.م)، ثالثاً: المكان الحقيقى لدفن الملك.

الكلمات الرئيسية:

بامى، باميو، باميو، بي ماي، القط، الأسد، الأسرة الثانية والعشرون.



Rehabilitation of Domat al-Jandal Archaeological Site

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Abstract

Domat al-Jandal site contains a wealth of diverse monuments, reflecting the historical depth of the area, as it was a conduit for commercial convoys and a display for many important historical events.

Accordingly, this study aims to find appropriate solutions to preserve this significant archeological site, rehabilitate it⁽¹⁾, and develop it architecturally, culturally and economically, highlighting its cultural features and its historical dimension.

Before this, the study begins with a brief overview of Domat al-Jandal site in terms of identifying its location and determining the morphological stages it passed through (its planning, its architectural design, and the architectural uses of its lands). The study attempts to fulfill its objectives and answer the following questions:

-What is the current state of the architectural monuments in Domat al-Jandal site?

-Preserving monuments is a national responsibility to be borne by all, as they are a source of inspiration for great history. Based on the importance of Domat al-Jandal site, is there a way to historically display it?

-Is there a way to preserve the remaining monuments from negligence, tampering and removal?

-Is there an appropriate way to restore and maintain the ruined buildings?

-In addition, monuments are regarded as an economic source, so is there a possibility for rehabilitating the site within the modern architectural design to become an archaeological center and a touristic attraction, without affecting the old heritage?

- The historical depth of Domat al-Jandal site, now known as the "daraa neighborhood", includes the oldest historical monuments, such as the fortress of Mard that was built before Islam, Omar ibn al-Khattab Mosque of a unique architectural style with its conical minaret, and the old market that is one of the initial markets of Arabs before Islam. For these distinct considerations, is it possible to select daraa neighborhood, transforming Domat al-Jandal site into a global important heritage site?

Keywords :

Rehabilitation, archaeological site, architecture, Domat al-Jandal, Saudi Arabia, old cities.

⁽¹⁾Rehabilitate: It means to reuse old sites in general, including residential, commercial or industrial buildings, through its maintenance or development, while preserving the building's parts and elements that bear distinct historical, architectural or cultural values through the ages the building witnessed since its establishment, in order to preserve it. See Madbouly, Mostafa Kamal, Rehabilitation of Central Areas with Historical Value in Developing Countries, "Cairo Case Study", MA Thesis, Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt, 1992, p. 26.

Introduction:

The numerous transformations that took place at Domat al-Jandal site have destroyed or buried most of the buildings over the centuries. Now, the old Domat al-Jandal is endangered to disappear due to the recent urban expansion and the migration of the indigenous people to other more spacious and quieter areas. In fact, the only remaining buildings are the fortress of Mard (Pic. 1), Omar Ibn Al-Khattab Mosque, and few ancient buildings dating back to around 150 to 200 years.

The Italian engineer (Romulo Loreto), in a lecture he gave⁽²⁾, stressed the necessity for total preservation of Domat al-Jandal through general maintenance of the site, and the study of Dr. (Hissa Alshammari)⁽³⁾ approved his suggestion with some differences in fine details, while the consultant engineer (Sharideh Daraa)⁽⁴⁾ suggested in 1438 AH partial preservation of the site through the maintenance of a section of the residential buildings.

The concerned authorities, represented in archaeological excavation teams and the General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage, have started to make efforts in unraveling, preserving and rehabilitating historical treasures.

Thus, the importance of this study has come based on the move towards preserving this archaeological site, in addition to the

major significance of the study of "Rehabilitation of archaeological sites" in the Arab area, and the fact that the Saudi Arabia library lacks the presence of sufficient studies tackling the issue of preserving archaeological sites.

The current state, represented in the lack of previous studies that shed light on the mechanism of restoring historical sites and buildings in Saudi Arabia, makes this study of distinct importance, for it constitutes the first basis for studying and analyzing those projects that are implemented in the Arab world in general and in Saudi Arabia in particular, which assists in focusing on such studies and developing them in quantity and quality.

In this study, the inductive approach was followed, collecting available information and references, in addition to field visits by the researcher, documenting information and analyzing it through observation and photography. It also included conducting interviews with several individuals representing the various bodies working on the preservation of monuments and architectural heritage at the official and private levels.

First Idea: A geographical and historical overview of Dumat al-Jandal site:

Domat al-Jandal is located in Al-Jouf region, 50 km south of Sakaka city⁽⁵⁾, and it is in the far north of Saudi Arabia, with a population of about fifty thousand people, and its total area is about 300 km²⁽⁶⁾.

⁽²⁾ A lecture given by the Head of the participating Saudi team, Mr. Thamer Al-Maleki, and the Head of the Italian team, Dr. Romulo Loreto, entitled "The results of the work of the Saudi-Italian mission in Al-Jouf region during the period from 2009-2016", in the lecture hall at the National Heritage Sector in the Institution.

⁽³⁾ Alshammari, Hissa Obaid Soyana, Daraa neighborhood in Domat al-Jandal "An Archaeological Architectural Study", 2nd ed., Abdul Rahman Al-Sudairy Charity Foundation, Al-Jouf, 1425 AH / 2004AD, p. 69.

⁽⁴⁾ The engineer Sherida Farhan Daraa, a civil consultant in Al-Jouf, and a former resident of Daraa neighborhood.

⁽⁵⁾ Domat al-Jandal was the base of Al-Jouf region, until the emirate was transferred to Sakaka city at the end of Prince Turki Al-Sudairy's reign in 1349 AH / 1931 AD, mainly for administrative reasons. Thus, Domat Al-Jandal shifted from the center of power to that of subordination in the region, but despite all this it still maintains its historical depth and its pioneering role that is historically registered for it through the ages.

⁽⁶⁾ Al-Shammari, Daraa neighborhood, Domat al-Jandal, p. 18.

Its climate in general is continental desert cold in winter, hot dry in summer, and the average maximum temperature is 42 degrees Celsius in summer and 8.5 degrees Celsius in winter. July is the warmest month of the year in Al-Jouf, while the temperature drops in January, which is the coolest month of the year, reaching between two to seven degrees below zero, and the average rainfall is approximately 200 millimeters⁽⁷⁾.

Domat al-Jandal is generally an oasis⁽⁸⁾ in the Great Nafud desert, and its hollow comes in the form of an angle that extends approximately 5-6 km, including fields and villages and surrounded by adjacent plateaux⁽⁹⁾. In the middle of the oasis is a rocky plateau about 150 meters high, which is the highest point in the area on which a fortress was built to protect it (Fig. 1)⁽¹⁰⁾.

The importance of Domat al-Jandal since ancient times is due to its geographical and strategic location at the intersection of ancient routes linking southern Mesopotamia with the Arabian Peninsula, along with being a commercial spot north of the Arabian Peninsula. Also, due to its livelihood, it was one of the centers of human stability on earth through successive historical eras⁽¹¹⁾.

The secrets of this city, which is deeply rooted in history with more than 2,800 years, are merely known through scattered

inscriptions and drawings that reflect its ancient history and few architectural monuments that represent the various ages that the city witnessed, starting from the era of the Assyrians in the eighth century B.C., after which the Nabataeans ruled, with whose reign Doma evolved, then were succeeded by the Romans⁽¹²⁾.

Domat al-Jandal was one of the most important Arab markets in the pre-Islamic era⁽¹³⁾. Later it became under the Byzantine rule⁽¹⁴⁾ until the Islamic conquest by Khaled bin Al-Walid in the twelfth year of hijra at the beginning of the caliphate of Abu Bakr al-Siddiq, may Allah bless him⁽¹⁵⁾.

It was found that the texts dating back to the Middle Ages are few. For, after Domat al-Jandal was an important conduit for commercial convoys, it seems that it lost its significance after the path of commercial routes transferred to following the paths of the pilgrims to Mecca. Perhaps also the hostility of the locals to Islam at its beginning caused the rapid decline of the oasis, making it lose its economic value and strategic importance until the nineteenth century AD. The Arabic texts do mention Domat al-Jandal, but linking it only to the events mentioned above⁽¹⁶⁾.

The history of Domat al-Jandal can be more vastly realized in the nineteenth century, due to the writings of western

⁽⁷⁾ Al-Shammari, Daraa neighborhood, Domat al-Jandal, p. 22.

⁽⁸⁾ The oasis is a low area in the desert, and in its deepest part there is a small narrow fertile land. The oases have great historical significance, as many historical sources have talked about the centers of human stability on earth through successive historical eras, and in some sources it was stated that the oases are one of the most important of these areas, with a unique architectural heritage.

⁽⁹⁾ Al-Junaidel, Saad Abdullah, Bilad al-Jouf or Domat al-Jandal, 1st ed., Dar al-Yamamah, Riyadh 1401 AH / 1981AD, p. 81.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Al-Shammari, Daraa neighborhood, Domat al-Jandal, p. 64.

⁽¹¹⁾ Al-Shammari, Daraa neighborhood, Domat al-Jandal, p. 19.

⁽¹²⁾ Charlo, Guillaume, Loreto, Romulo, Domat al-Jandal 2800 years of History in Saudi Arabia, European Air Defense and Space Company, General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage, Paris, Riyadh, 2014, p. 54.

⁽¹³⁾ Ali, Jawad, Detailed Information on the History of the Arabs before Islam, Dar El Ilm LilMalayin, Beirut, Al-Nahda Library, Baghdad, 1976 AD, part 5, p. 112.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Al-Sudairy, Abdul Rahman bin Ahmad bin Muhammad, Al-Jouf - Wadi Al-Nafakh, Macmillan Company, Abdul Rahman Al-Sudairy Foundation, United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia, p. 39.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Al-Hamwi, Shihab al-Din Abi Abdullah Yaqut bin Abdullah, A Glossary of Countries, Dar Sader, Beirut, 1404 AH / 1984 AD, Part 2, p. 488.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Charlo, Romulo, Domat al-Jandal, p. 52.

travelers⁽¹⁷⁾, some of whom observed the geographical and political periods that influenced the form of the oasis and deeply reshaped it. In 1208 AH / 1793AD, Domat al-Jandal combined with Al-Jouf region, forming the first Saudi state by Imam Abdul Aziz bin Muhammad bin Saud⁽¹⁸⁾.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the two voyagers "Burckhardt and August Valin" stated that the inhabitants of Domat al-Jandal pay zakat to Saud family.

They are, thus, in a state of dependency, while Doma was administratively linked to the Emirate of Hail and Imams were sent to teach religious matters. At that time, Doma witnessed a period of peace, unlike previous periods of ruling conflicts⁽¹⁹⁾.

In 1254 AH / 1838AD, Jabal Shammar Prince Abdullah bin Rashid extended his authority over the Al-Jouf region. After that, Domat al-Jandal came under siege and witnessed many events that caused major damages, in addition to the massacres and deportations of inhabitants. Consequently, entire neighborhoods, such as Al-Jarawi and Al-Dalhamiyah, disappeared around 1254 AH / 1838 AD, and poverty and hunger spread as a result of these consecutive events⁽²⁰⁾.

The conditions in Domat al-Jandal did not alter until Saud family reigned, bringing stability to the region, extending the sovereignty of the third Saudi state over it in 1340 AH / 1921 AD⁽²¹⁾. This was the beginning of a period of security and stability after the fatal wars that lasted for more than a century and Domat al-Jandal was transformed from a town ravaged by wars to a medium-sized urban and economic area

that benefits from its distinct location, completely changing the daily life of the local inhabitants.

Second Idea: Historical buildings in Domat al-Jandal site and the reasons for their disappearance:

First: The Historical Buildings⁽²²⁾:

Domat al-Jandal contains important archaeological sites dating back to different periods, the most distinctive of which are Mard Fortress that overlooks the city, Omar Mosque, and the old city with its fortified walls (Pic. 2). Domat al-Jandal consists of a group of fifteen closely related neighborhoods known as the "markets", each of which containing between 2 to 10 families. Each neighborhood consists of a group of stone and mud houses with flat roofs, connected by a network of streets and winding alleys. The lower part of the valley also includes some wells that are used for irrigation through small channels. Each neighborhood had a leader or tribe sheikh, uniting the neighborhoods under the power of a great sheikh. Often, tribal conflicts and rivalries used to occur among the inhabitants of these neighborhoods, causing destruction and abandonment of such neighborhoods. A thick stone wall with rectangular towers surrounded these neighborhoods and their adjacent gardens, over which were a number of huge towers placed for surveillance, with a height of four meters and an apparent extension of about 2 km⁽²³⁾.

Despite the great architectural development witnessed by Domat al-Jandal in the last half of the twentieth century, the

⁽¹⁷⁾ Al-Shammari, Daraa neighborhood, Domat al-Jandal, pp. 44-48.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Al-Sudairy, Al-Jouf, p. 43.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Charlo, Romulo, Domat al-Jandal, p. 50.

⁽²⁰⁾ Al-Sudairy, Al-Jouf, p. 46.

⁽²¹⁾ Al-Sudairy, Al-Jouf, p. 45.

⁽²²⁾ Historical buildings are the collection of buildings that represent the architectural heritage of any region, and have historical significance for their historical dimension and their connection with important events in the region, see Feilden, Bernard M, **Conservation of historic buildings**, London: Butterworth Architecture, 1994, p. 11.

⁽²³⁾ Al-Shammari, Daraa neighborhood, Domat al-Jandal, pp. 57-89.

city's old center retained the form of the compact architectural design with narrow streets and alleys, assimilating the main feature of historical places.

Hence, more than 2800 years have passed in Domat al-Jandal, and morphological stages indicate that the city has gone through periods of flourishing, discontinuation and deterioration during which most of the architectural designs disappeared for various reasons related to the construction material and the city's exposure to wars, invasions and others.

The Mard Fortress once represented the whole city of Domat al-Jandal and did not settle on a certain state. In some periods, life was confined to the Fortress, while at other times, life extended to the lower part of the west.

Having a closer look at Domat al-Jandal site to shed light on the historical buildings left by the ancestors and the formers, being one of the main pillars of the tourism industry in the country, the magnitude of the dangers encountered by that heritage will be realized, which requires taking serious steps to protect and develop that heritage.

Second: Reasons for the disappearance and collapse of historical buildings in Domat al-Jandal:

Historical buildings are constantly at risk of disappearance, collapse and exposure to various factors more than any other type of archaeological evidence the preservation methods and means of which are available.

In fact, there are various natural and human factors and causes that put Domat al-Jandal monuments at risk, just as the rest of the world monuments. People must expect such factors for they are normal ones, some of which are old, related to age, while others are modern variations imposed by contemporary living conditions. Such causes are related to the following factors:

Firstly: Causes arising from environmental conditions, including:

1- Humidity and Water:

The ancient buildings of Domat al-Jandal are heavily affected by the continental desert climate and its destructive elements, represented in the various sources of humidity, as they play a major role in the deterioration of the ancient buildings of the site. The rain and the ongoing torrents that the site is exposed to every winter or the leakage of agricultural irrigation water cause cracks leading to the deterioration of many buildings or parts thereof, and other problems such as carving of stone walls and their weakness, and changing limestone to black, along with cracking of clay walls⁽²⁴⁾.

The destructive causes of ground water⁽²⁵⁾ are represented in Domat al-Jandal salt lake near the archaeological site (Pic. 3), where salt-laden water seeps into the soil beneath the buildings, transfers to the infrastructure, and then to the walls, leading to the deterioration of building materials, whether stone or clay. There are also some low areas in the land filled with water throughout winter, forming large swamps, and what increases their danger is their vicinity to the archaeological sites.

Rains also play a role in the deterioration of ancient buildings when they collide with the clay walls, causing longitudinal lines that gather under the walls and weaken the infrastructure, which this may lead to the total collapse of the building.

⁽²⁴⁾ Adam, Mahmoud Abdel-Hafiz Muhammad, Architectural Clay Heritage in the Egyptian Oases - Risks and Means of Protection and Development, Symposium on Security and Safety of Archeology and Tourist Establishments, Naif Arab University for Security Sciences, Riyadh, 406, August 2015, p. 6.

⁽²⁵⁾ Abd El Hadi, M. **The structural damage of the building stones as effects of the physio-chemical factors.** In, **Stone material in monuments: diagnosis and conservation** , Second course, Heraklion -Crete, 1993, p 102.

It is found that in Domat al-Jandal rain mostly falls in winter and decreases during the rest of the year, but in general, when rain falls, it may be heavy and sometimes causes torrents, destroying ancient buildings, especially clay ones, due to the sensitivity of clay to water.

2- Wind:

Domat al-Jandal is located in the semi-tropical high pressure belt, which makes wind an effective factor in the region, for it destroys the archaeological establishments in several ways. Wind, with what it carries of dust, sand, and gravel, distorts the surfaces and facades of ancient buildings, becoming a major factor of sedimentation⁽²⁶⁾. Wind also plays a major role in transferring the sand dunes and drifts⁽²⁷⁾ in Domat al-Jandal. This and the toxic wind, which is a local hot wind loaded with dust, are harmful to humans, buildings and heritage in Domat al-Jandal.

It is worth noting that the phenomenon of sand dunes is considered one of the major factors leading to the deterioration of ancient buildings, as air deposits that might be called "dusty sands"⁽²⁸⁾ spread, taking many forms, most notably dunes, which buried whole buildings (Pic. 4).

Secondly: Biological Factors:

Addressing the problems facing the ancient buildings in Domat al-Jandal, the attacks of termites on the clay buildings and the wood used in the thresholds, doors, windows, or ceilings, and others cannot be forgotten. This causes the buildings to lose their strength to bear the pressures and loads they face, which leads to the collapse of the walls, turning the buildings into piles of dust⁽²⁹⁾.

Termites may also feed on the wooden supports used in buildings, leading to their collapse, or insects may feed on the wooden ceilings causing them to fall inside the buildings, destroying their internal elements. Other than termites, there are many animals, birds, reptiles, trees, wild plants and others that cause problems for ancient buildings.

Thirdly: Human Causes:

Among the human factors that cause the disappearance and deterioration of historical buildings are:

- Wars and conflicts, as they are among the major risks resulting from human action for they are manmade, and they lead to architectural heritage destruction and to various material and moral losses.
- Thefts and attacks on ancient buildings and archeological sites, for man has found in these buildings an accessible source for plundering the materials needed for the construction of new buildings, as well as obtaining artistic elements from the ancient and historical buildings that are ready to decorate the new ones. Man also found an irresistible temptation for quick wealth by trading in parts of these buildings without considering their heritage value and what they represent for humanity. Added to this is the damage caused by illegal search and excavation works to ancient buildings, deforming their features, and one may even lead to the destruction of an entire ancient building for pursuit of quick wealth⁽³⁰⁾.
- Neglecting and abandoning the ancient and heritage buildings, and not performing periodic maintenance is one of the major factors behind their damage and destruction⁽³¹⁾.The ancient buildings of Domat al-Jandal have been severely damaged and destroyed due to neglecting the maintenance of these buildings, which led to

⁽²⁶⁾ Salim, Mohamed Sabry Mahsoub, Western Desert of Egypt, Study in Natural Geography, Faculty of Arts, Cairo University, 1992, p. 312.

⁽²⁷⁾ Adam, Clay Architectural Heritage, p. 10.

⁽²⁸⁾ Adam, Clay Architectural Heritage, p. 11.

⁽²⁹⁾ Adam, Clay Architectural Heritage, p. 11-12.

⁽³⁰⁾ Adam, Clay Architectural Heritage, p. 15.

⁽³¹⁾ Adam, Clay Architectural Heritage, p. 16.

the total collapse of many of these unique buildings. It might have been possible to avoid all of this if there were periodic maintenance work for these establishments.

- Community's lack of awareness of the significance of monuments, and lack of knowledge of their historical and artistic value, which leads to lack of protection of it.
- In addition to lack of funding resources and other causes affecting ancient buildings.

Third Idea: Rehabilitation of Domat al-Jandal Site:

First: Motives for rehabilitating Domat al-Jandal Site:

The major motives for the rehabilitation of Domat al-Jandal site reside in the protection of the national heritage represented in the architectural design for historical, spiritual, national and aesthetic dimensions, as well as being a major model in its consistence with the social and economic frameworks that can be an inspiration for a contemporary framework. This is in addition to its economic viability, for the rehabilitation of Domat al-Jandal site can yield a rewarding economic profit.

Second: Current directions followed in the rehabilitation of Domat al-Jandal site:

The process of the site rehabilitation is not a simple routine task, but an entangled intensive work. In general, it should be done according to main steps, starting with gathering and examining information, and ending with setting and implementation of plans. Moreover, the rehabilitation of the archeological site requires teamwork as it is implemented by an integrated and cooperative team of specialists, engineers, craftsmen, archaeologists, photographers and painters.

Thus, this work was the result of a long series of tasks taking place at Domat al-Jandal site since 2009 AH / 1428 AH, and is still continuing in cooperation between the

General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage and the foreign mission, as well as a group of other concerned authorities in Domat al-Jandal, involving the local community. What has been implemented over this period can be summarized as follows:

- Documentary surveys and scientific conservation:

The Authority worked on conducting scientific research work on Domat al-Jandal site, and formed a specialized team from the antiquities and museums sector in the authority to participate with the French-Italian mission, and recorded all the archaeological remains found from prehistoric times to the Islamic era in a scientific and systematic methodology. Through the remaining monuments, signs of all human activities are found as: buildings, stone centers, cemeteries, wells, water networks, etc.), or inscriptions (inscriptions and pictures carved on the walls, stone paintings, etc.). This is in addition to the tangible monuments, especially the decorated granite and the marble pieces found on the surface of the earth, representing valuable temporal indicators for the archaeologist, enabling dating and understanding the site, especially before the appearance of writing or when recordings are missing.

The surveys of inscriptions on the site were carried out by epigraphists and specialists in inscriptions and ancient writing, or historians, in coordination with archeologists. Also, every monument was photographed and documented using hand tools and also precision devices (called differential positioning system)⁽³²⁾.

- **The use of geographic information systems:**

The archaeological works implemented relied on geographical information systems,

⁽³²⁾ Charlo, Romulo, Domat al-Jandal, p. 26.

and the identification of archeological sites in topographic maps. This is because maps, aerial views and satellite imaging assist in giving an accurate view of the archaeological state of Domat al-Jandal, and shed light on the most important stages of the development of the archaeological site.

A number of geomorphological studies were done to verify the geographical formation and elements of water and sediments, recording all data on databases⁽³³⁾.

- Archaeological excavations at the site:

The archaeological mission carried out excavations in various places of Domat al-Jandal. Their aim was to accurately and completely examine the state of the archaeological remains area, in order to evaluate the archaeological assets, determining the tourist areas in a better way through this process, in addition to identifying the risks they face⁽³⁴⁾.

Among the works of the project on Domat al-Jandal site was that two types of archaeological sensors were performed⁽³⁵⁾, installed in parallel in two different parts of Domat al-Jandal in order to provide accurate scientific data, documented to assist in the rehabilitation of the site. In the historical area where there are various main features, a deep optional drilling has been carried out on a large scale to determine the significant stages in the development of the site since its establishment to the last stages of its existence. It was found that this part contains several archaeological layers that extend to even more than six meters below the surface of the earth, which asserts that Domat al-

Jandal remained inhabited for a long period of time⁽³⁶⁾.

Excavations were performed in a variety of ways in order to obtain maximum amount of data without doing archaeological surveys that are often harmful since they may cause irreparable damage to some ancient levels. One of the methods used in excavation is the square-shaped excavation method of 300 x 200m⁽³⁷⁾.

This is in addition to the geophysical excavation method, which is a modern method operated by precision equipment and highly skilled and experienced technicians, and depends on measuring the depth of the ground using magnetic sensor⁽³⁸⁾.

Among the most prominent discoveries was finding a huge building whose area and manner of construction indicate that it belonged to a rich person or used for public or religious purposes (Pic. 5). In addition, the excavations revealed a large "Triclinum" building (the Romans guest room), dating back to the period between the first century BC and the first century AD⁽³⁹⁾ (Pic. 6).

- Restoration and preservation of artifacts:

The restoration of artifacts is done simultaneously with the archaeological discoveries in the site⁽⁴⁰⁾. This is implemented through al-Jouf Regional Museum in Domat al-Jandal to preserve the artifacts and archaeological items after their restoration and treatment through a scientific method that guarantees their survival and safety.

- Diagnosis of ancient buildings:

Before starting the process of restoration and preservation of historical buildings, the General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage followed a clear strategy based on

⁽³³⁾ Charlo, Romulo, Domat al-Jandal, p. 24.

⁽³⁴⁾ Charlo, Romulo, Domat al-Jandal, p. 18.

⁽³⁵⁾ The sensors are copper wedges, each of 1m in length, 1.25cm in diameter. These wedges are implanted into the ground at equal distances between them, and then the depth to which each wedge reaches is calculated, for it is difficult for it to reach a deeper level, drawn in bar graphs and analyzed. However, this method is difficult to use if the rocks are very deep.

⁽³⁶⁾ Charlo, Romulo, Domat al-Jandal, p. 18.

⁽³⁷⁾ Charlo, Romulo, Domat al-Jandal, p. 26.

⁽³⁸⁾ Charlo, Romulo, Domat al-Jandal, p. 18.

⁽³⁹⁾ Charlo, Romulo, Domat al-Jandal, p. 29.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Charlo, Romulo, Domat al-Jandal, p. 16.

scientific principles. It began with the field survey with the aim of identifying the historical buildings and analyzing their construction condition and the risks surrounding them. Then, elaborate architectural designs were set, followed by collecting the necessary data of the folk and written heritage and the old photos, doing an archaeological survey and analysis of the ancient material of historical buildings.

This initial stage is important for diagnosing the condition of the buildings in the archaeological site. It included the following⁽⁴¹⁾:

- 1- Preparing architectural maps, plans and necessary details on the buildings.
- 2- Preparing diagnostic maps identifying the areas of cracking and deterioration.
- 3- Photographing the buildings thoroughly and accurately.
- 4- Studying and analyzing the buildings historically, technically, aesthetically, and architecturally.
- 5- Preparing the necessary architectural maps for backup, reinforcement and maintenance operations.

- Restoration and maintenance of ancient buildings:

After completing the diagnostic phase, the authority developed a clear plan for the restoration works, and prepared the archaeological site based on specific and administratively, financially and professionally coordinated stages. The authority also formed a team of technical specialists, historians, architects, and craftsmen from outside the region and from its inhabitants who have work experience.

A number of successful restoration projects took place to preserve historical buildings and reveal their value and

originality. Some of these projects were implemented by specialized local hands, while others were based on cooperation with foreign team or companies, making sure that all modifications, reinforcements, and new maintenance works were documented and recorded before starting work and after its completion, to be saved as historical documents for the future. The first of such buildings (Pic. 7) were the following:

Mard Fortress:

It is the most prominent archaeological landmark in Domat al-Jandal, located on a high hill, southwest of Omar ibn al-Khattab Mosque. It is considered one of the military fortresses in north of the Arabian Peninsula, and its height from the ancient city of Domat al-Jandal characterizes it as a defensive fortress. The earliest mention of it dates back to the third century AD, when (Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra) mentioned it saying: "The rebellion of Mard and glory of Ablaq"⁽⁴²⁾ after she besieged the fortress and was unable to enter it, returning to Palmyra⁽⁴³⁾.

The architectural layout of the fortress is divided into two parts; one of which is civilian for residence, housing, and administration, and the other is military for observation and announcement of war and attack. The fortress was destroyed and rebuilt several times over the centuries.

As for the second unit in the fortress, it is new and added along the south side of the main building. It is a palace attached to the fortress, built in the flat area adjacent to the top of the rocky hill upon which the fortress is set, connected to the fortress through the northeastern corner. The palace includes a reception hall, a series of fortifications, towers, an open courtyard and a mosque. Its

⁽⁴¹⁾ Mukhtar, Muhammad Jamal al-Din, *Monuments' and Artistic Works Protection*, Arab Center for Security Studies, Riyadh, 1992, p. 35.

⁽⁴²⁾ A fortress overseeing Tayma, built by Adiya Abu al-Samawal, see Ali, *The Detailed in the History of Arabs*, Vol. 8, p. 106.

⁽⁴³⁾ Ali, *The Detailed in the History of Arabs*, Vol. 8, p. 106.

construction might date back to the date of the fortress' restoration by Ibn Shaalan in 1339 AH after taking control of Al-Jouf⁽⁴⁴⁾.

The fortress and the palace were recently restored to preserve their general form and historical and cultural value (Pic. 8), which raised the prestige of their unique presence and domination over the spatial area, attracting large numbers of tourists.

Omar ibn al-Khattab Mosque:

It is one of the oldest and most important ancient mosques in the north of the Arabian Peninsula. The importance of the mosque stems from its design, as it represents the revival of the design of early mosques. It is a reminder of the design of the Prophet's Mosque, may God bless him and grant him peace, in Medina in its early stages. The significance of this mosque lies as well in the fact that it preserved its original design⁽⁴⁵⁾.

Restoration was recently done to the mosque and it was opened to worshippers. The restoration operations included all parts of the mosque, in terms of rebuilding the collapsed walls, restoring the entire roof, cleaning and paving the floors with stone, filling the spaces between stones, restoring the mosque's retreat and re-roofing and repairing its doors (Pic. 9).

The Old Market:

Arabs before Islam had markets in different regions of the Arabian Peninsula where they gathered in certain seasons and exchanged buying and selling. Domat al-Jandal is regarded one of the oldest and most important Arab markets due to its geographical location⁽⁴⁶⁾.

Domat al-Jandal market includes the ruins of old shops built of stone within the archaeological area below Mard Fortress in the center of the old city and represents part of Domat al-Jandal market that was demolished more than 27 years ago.

Due to the historical significance of the market and its touristic integration with other ancient buildings, the General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage has restored five shops with their antique wooden doors as a first stage for the restoration of the entire market. It also built a line of shops based on the old style at the opposite western side, containing ten shops, with an area of 15 square meters per store, using old materials of stone, clay, and wood (Pic. 10).

Daraa Neighborhood:

The priority given to some of the old buildings is based on the fact that they represent the identity of the region and reflect a major period in history that requires to be highlighted. Daraa neighborhood, with its current design, represents the Arab Islamic city in terms of its distinct architectural design. It is also a significant example illustrating the succession of civilizations in Domat al-Jandal. Its establishment dates back to the medieval Islamic era, while its infrastructure and archaeological layers date back to the middle of the first millennium BC⁽⁴⁷⁾. The neighborhood is distinguished by its arches, stone buildings, and alleys, and its occurrence within gardens and waterways providing life supplies for the residents of the neighborhood from the nearby lakes. Also, the neighborhood is based on the ruins of previous neighborhoods, which is evidenced by the multiplicity of layers as well as the appearance of the neighborhood's old road under the existing buildings. Stability in the

⁽⁴⁴⁾Al-Shawati, Muhammad Abdullah, Palaces, houses, and ancient and heritage homes in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, General Authority for Tourism and Antiquities, Riyadh, 1432AH-2011AD, p. 31.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Al-Shammari, Daraa neighborhood, Domat al-Jandal, p. 61.

⁽⁴⁶⁾Ali, The Detailed History of the Arabs, Vol. 5, p. 112.

⁽⁴⁷⁾Al-Shammari, Daraa neighborhood, Domat al-Jandal, p. 70.

neighborhood successively continued until the 1970s.

Neighborhood property was expropriated more than 27 years ago, and compensation was paid to homeowners. The General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage has finally managed to rehabilitate parts of Daraa neighborhood, and clean the site, removing the dust and debris.

The authority was keen on developing the neighborhood while preserving its authenticity. The neighborhood's main southern entrance (Pic. 11) was restored, the transfer path inside the neighborhood was paved with stone, and the facades and doors of the houses overlooking it were built. The project also included the dismantling and rebuilding of some stone buildings, roofing them with wood and other works in accordance with the development plan set for this neighborhood (Pic. 12).

- The appropriate use of the ancient buildings and their sustainability:

The best way for the rehabilitation and preservation of ancient buildings is to find suitable uses for them that assimilate with the historical ambience of the old city, while preserving their originality and taking continuous care of them. This is in addition to the necessary understanding of large sectors of the community of the monument's significance and its necessity, along with setting the legislative controls and rights to dispose public properties and finally providing the required financial allocations.

The re-use of an old house that dates back to more than 160 years is an example of the developments in Domat al-Jandal that asserted the preservation of previous values, along with stressing the importance of continuing to use ancient buildings. This house is located at the foot of Mard Fortress within the architectural design of Daraa neighborhood, and was previously Al-Nassar

family house. It consists of two floors (Pic. 1), following the style of old Domat al-Jandal buildings with local building materials and techniques. It was selected for its location and ease of access to it, and because its constructional structure is mostly in good condition, as well as its acceptable exterior and interior form. Then, the General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage of Al-Jouf Region worked on its restoration, providing it to one of the investors from Domat al-Jandal for its rehabilitation 1435 AH to be used as a popular hall to host Arab hospitality traditions (Pic. 13). The collapsed parts were repaired, treating it with the building materials that were originally used in construction. Air-conditioning and heating systems were installed in a way that does not harm the building, along with the addition of lighting and furniture and other elements in a consistent manner with the spirit of the place (Pic. 14), The hall of the fortress became a popular destination for visitors and tourists, and thus, in this ideal method, the identity of the site was preserved.

Also, the revitalization of Domat al-Jandal old market is one of the major projects that have been carefully received by the Tourism and National Heritage Authority within the rehabilitation of Domat al-Jandal site. Visitors of the Al-Jaof region and its tourists visited it from time to another. The old market attracted attention through the traditional style of its shops that takes the visitor back to the atmosphere and authenticity of the ancestors' past in selling and trading. It displays all kinds of crafts that were known previously in the region. It also includes popular stores for productive families upon which a number of women depend, selling many popular foods, spices, handicrafts, heritage works and souvenirs.

Also, one of the investment programs supported by the Authority to highlight the

culture and history of the region and to develop the tourism sector in the region is the restoration of the old emirate building that was established in 1372 AH during the reign of King Abdulaziz (may Allah have mercy on him), converting it by a local investor into a heritage museum. It contains halls displaying old coins, numismatics, stamps, Quran copies, accessories, swords, guns, shields, carpets, sewing tools, hospitality and Arabic coffee tools, and farming tools, in addition to a comprehensive heritage tent, three rooms with mummifications and fossils, and a popular market having various traditional and popular pieces.

- Propagating the activities in the historic city center area:

The General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage of Al-Jouf Region propagated the activities in the central area of Domat al-Jandal site, such as the Fortress Square and the Market Square, because of its archaeological and historical aspects, and to link the citizen and visitor to these important landmarks in the region. Many festivals and events were held, including Domat al-Jandal Festival, Olive Festival, and Al-Jouf Spring Festival. The activities varied based on their qualitative national heritage, holding competitions, horse and camel riding activities, and making (al-Jamri) bread that the area is famous for, in addition to doing clay construction courses, and displaying the crafts of expertise craftsmen for the new generations (Pic. 15).

Among the plan of the new projects implemented by the General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage is the renewal and development of Al-Jouf Regional Museum in Domat al-Jandal in a modern style and its preparation for new exhibitions that will contribute to familiarizing visitors with the region's heritage, history and archaeological discoveries, and to represent

the most important tourist attractions in the Al-Jouf region.

Fourth Idea: Evaluating the experience of rehabilitating Domat al-Jandal site:

Based on the above analysis, and upon field visits to the site, it has been noticed that the majority of the ancient buildings are still in poor architectural condition, representing about (60%) of the total number of buildings (Pic. 16).

In the researcher's view, no integrated project was directed to the restoration and rehabilitation of the historical buildings in Domat al-Jandal site, but was merely a restoration of some deteriorated alleys and buildings and a rehabilitation of a few important separate buildings, transforming them into tourist attractions. Also, the renewal of the infrastructure was mostly superficial and did not solve most of the problems.

The development of public spaces and their use in activities was also noted. Yet, providing shades was not taken into consideration in most urban spaces, along with the unorganization of a plan aimed at improving environmental issues such as removing debris and accumulated wastes, reducing pollution and recycling the wastes spread in the collapsed areas as an appropriate solution for the environment.

However, despite this and the weak potentials available, the experience has made some achievements, for example:

- Considering the historical role of some buildings and architectural sites, either for their relationship with the cultural heritage or for their social dimension. As an example of this is the restoration of Ibn Shaalan Palace, which was established after his control over Al-Jouf in 1327 AH / 1909 AD, and the old emirate building and its reuse after transforming it into a public museum.

- Restoring prestige to the gates of the fortress, especially the western one, and the southern gate of Daraa neighborhood.
- Preserving the narrow and twisted alleys system, paving them with mud-like brick similar to the original, to assimilate with the structures in it and specify it for pedestrians only.
- Maintaining the value of the market in the central region, for the significance of this facility, being the zone of movement and activity in the site.
- Preserving the existing trades and traditional activities, developing them by providing training courses.
- Preserving the original design of the historical area, with regard to the streets and spaces of the old neighborhood.
- Supporting the economy by reusing some ancient buildings and providing tourist attractions.
- Raising the awareness of the community on the importance of monuments and heritage.

Fifth Idea: Rehabilitation of Domat al-Jandal site at the international level:

The process of rehabilitating Domat al-Jandal will progress greatly, for there is a progressing development plan that will include the old city, and its implementation has not started yet. Rehabilitation will be at the international level in the future, as Mr. Hussein Al-Khalifa, Director General of the General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage in Al-Jouf stated that: Due to the archaeological and historical significance of Domat al-Jandal, the General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage worked on developing "Daraa Neighborhood" to include it in the list of UNESCO World Heritage sites. Also, the Architectural Heritage Department of the Authority is currently working on a project for the restoration, preparation and development of Daraa neighborhood, including a broader section of

the buildings extending to the adjacent heritage neighborhoods such as "Suhaim" and "Al-Abbas", in line with the standards and requirements approved by UNESCO to transform it into a distinctive tourist attraction in Domat al-Jandal archaeological site.

Therefore, the researcher proposes to rehabilitate all the old neighborhoods of Domat al-Jandal, and to convert Daraa neighborhood into a heritage motel or hotel, developing each of its parts with its distinct characteristics. This enables it to join the World Heritage List, following the integrated development approach, provided that the authority prepares an operational plan to make use of the site in all aspects (cultural, social, heritage, economic and touristic), so that the site is revived and positive interaction is generated between the local environment on one hand, with what it represents of local and heritage products and handicrafts, and the tourism plan of the site on the other. The rehabilitation of the site is to be coordinated as well with an expertise to cooperate in the rehabilitation of the neighborhood based on international standards. The main goal of the project is to preserve the remaining buildings in Daraa neighborhood with all their architectural elements, through their maintenance and restoration in a way that preserves their components and characteristics that represent the environment and reflect the old lifestyle in Domat al-Jandal reflected in this historical neighborhood. This is in addition to the integration of the neighborhood in its local architectural and environmental aspects, as well as the cultural and scientific at the national and global levels.

The researcher also proposes the establishment and operation of a center for the visitors of the site, along with the development of the gardens surrounding the

region from the north and east, to be a place for visitors to sit and watch Domat al-Jandal monuments, irrigating gardens through channels and waterwheels.

Conclusion and recommendations:

The study tackled a number of controversial ideas that raise several questions on the rehabilitation of Domat al-Jandal archaeological site. It also dealt with the factors and causes behind the deterioration of historical buildings, and the current efforts being implemented to preserve and rehabilitate the site, attempting to assess that experience of architectural preservation and rehabilitation.

The study concluded that the method of rehabilitating and reusing those buildings of historical value is considered one of the most important methods for the preservation of monuments from disappearance, ensuring their sustainability and affirming the cultural and historical identity of the site.

The study also concluded that the method of rehabilitating and using valuable buildings in performing new tasks that are consistent with the place and age, maintaining the buildings and their value, is one of the principle elements of preservation and is considered an appropriate source of revenues for the economic reality of developing countries.

Some recommendations:

- Promoting the appropriate use of ancient buildings as one of the methods of preserving them and maintaining the cultural identity of the archaeological sites, ensuring their sustainability for future generations.
- Reusing as one of the strategies for preserving the architectural heritage of the old Arab city and thus maintaining the cultural identity of these cities in a manner

that guarantees their sustainability for future generations.

- Including the whole site in the rehabilitation, not parts of it.
- Highlighting architectural characteristics and aesthetic values to reflect the stages of the development of civilization.
- Examining the environmental and social conditions of historical buildings prior to implementation to avoid the emergence of problems after using them in new ways.
- Emphasizing the treatment of empty lands and before doing any new constructions, it is necessary to identify the extent of its impact on the site.
- Distinguishing the restoration works from the original.
- Affirming the graduation of urban spaces used in the neighborhood design.
- Improving the infrastructure of historical buildings, and its rehabilitation and renovation.
- Holding some touristic activities that are compatible with the ancient buildings in Domat al-Jandal on one hand and the nature of the environment on the other, including services of food, accommodation, parking lots and others.
- Preserving the central area by developing a simple method for collecting garbage in the neighborhood.
- Making use of the compact design in old neighborhoods for lighting or natural ventilation.
- Raising the community's awareness on the importance of monuments and heritage and the necessity for preserving them.
- Distributing lighting units appropriate to the general historical style.

Acknowledgment:

Finally, the researcher extends thanks and great gratitude to the Deanship of Scientific Research at Princess Noura University, for this scientific research was funded by the Deanship of Scientific Research at Princess Nourah Bint Abdul Rahman University through the Fast-track Research Funding Program

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3- Oral Narrators:

- Dr. Ali Al-Ghabban, Vice-President of the General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage.
- Mr. Hussein Al-Khalifa, Executive Director of Tourism, Al-Jouf.
- Mr. Ahmed Al-Qaid, Director of Domat al-Jandal Museum.
- Eng. Sheridah Farhan Daraa, Civil Consultant, Ministry of Health, Al-Jouf.
- Eng. Bader Al-Hamdan, Director General of the Architectural Heritage Center, Al-Jouf.

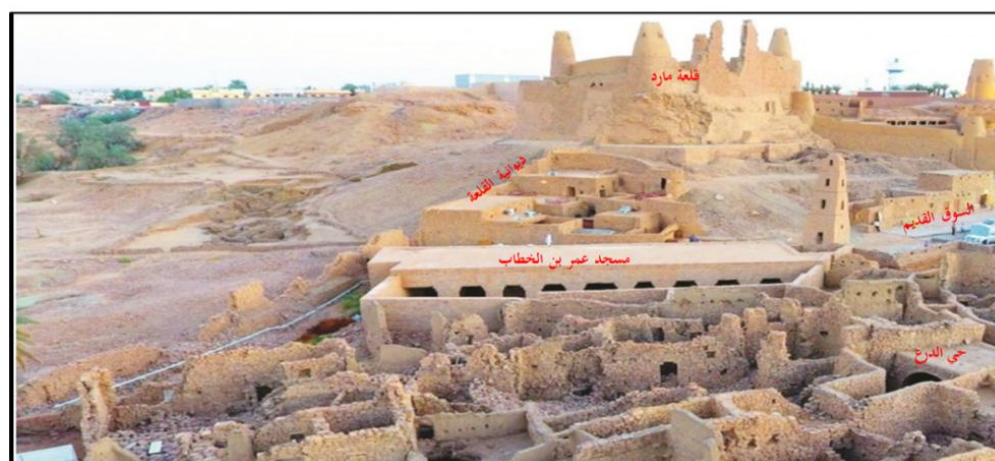
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Pictures and Figures:



Pic. (1)
Mard Fortress



Pic. (2)
Main Ancient Buildings in Domat al-Jandal



Pic. (3)
Domat al-Jandal Lake



Pic. (4)

Removing sand from the western side of the wall in 1432 AH



Pic. (5)

A huge building discovered, perhaps representing a palace
Source: General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage



Pic. (6)

Excavations showing the Nabataean triclinium building (ballrooms)
Source: General Authority for Tourism and National Heritage

Rehabilitation of Domat al-Jandal Archaeological Site



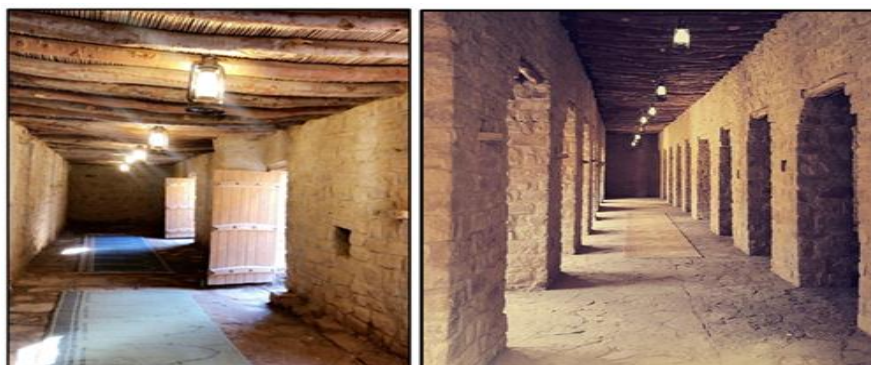
Pic. (7)

Domat al-Jandal site after rehabilitation



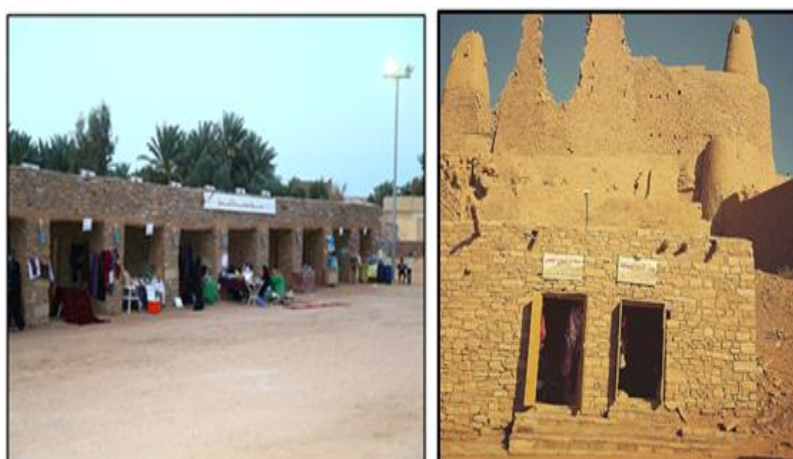
Pic. (8)

Ibn Shaalan Palace and Mard Fortress after restoration



Pic. (9)

Inside Omar Mosque after restoration and preparing it for prayer



Pic. (10)

Domat al-Jandal Market after rehabilitation



Pic. (11)

The main southern entrance to Daraa neighborhood

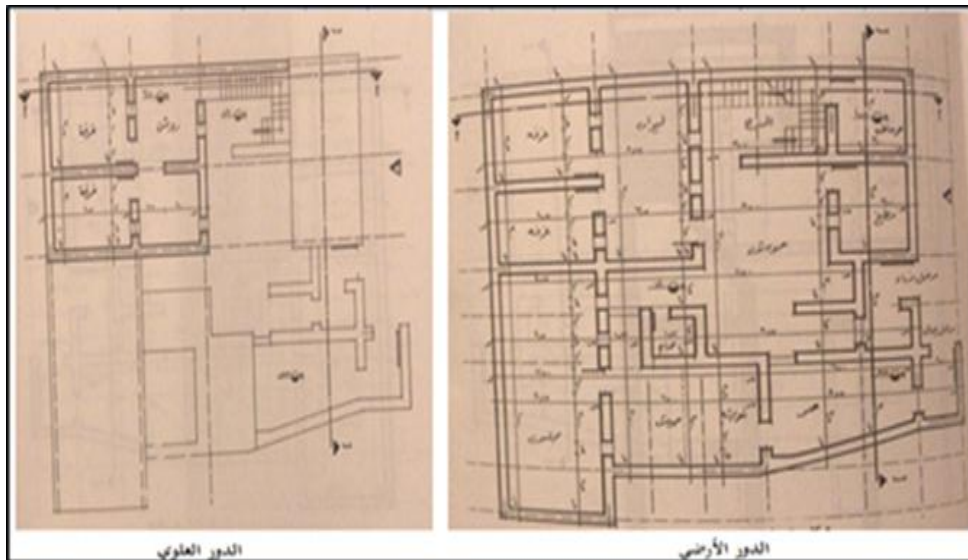
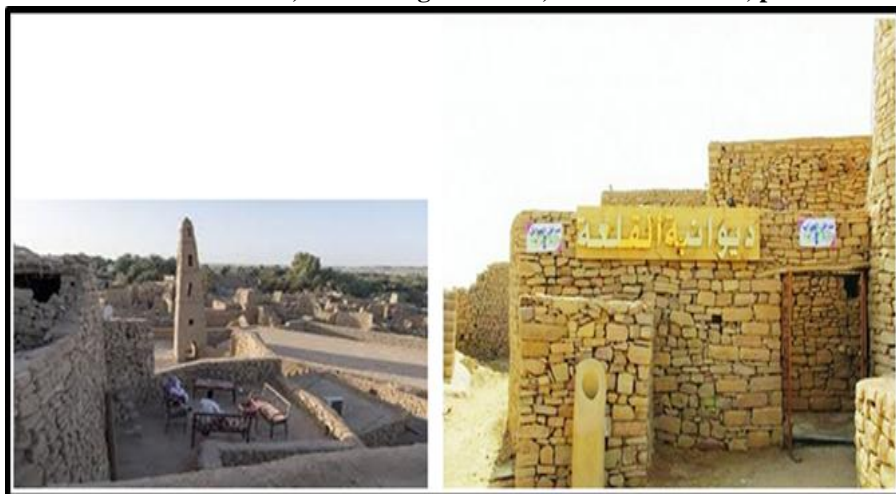


Fig. (1)

Plan of the house converted to a popular hall

Source: Al-Shammari, Daraa neighborhood, Domat al-Jandal, p.315-316



Pic. (12) Fortress hall from the outside



Pic. (13)

Fortress hall from the inside



Pic. (14)

Restoration of parts of Daraa neighborhood



Pic. (15)

Some of the cultural events and activities held in the archaeological area



Pic. (16)

Large parts of Domat al-Jandal buildings are still in poor condition

إعادة تأهيل موقع دومة الجندل الأثري

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الملخص:

يحتوي موقع دومة الجندل على كم هائل من الآثار المتنوعة، التي تعكس العمق التاريخي للمنطقة، حيث كانت ممراً للقوافل التجارية ومسرحاً للكثير من الأحداث التاريخية الهامة .

وانطلاقاً من هذه الأهمية جاءت هذه الدراسة بهدف إيجاد حلول مناسبة للمحافظة على هذا الموقع الأثري المهم وإعادة تأهيله^(٤٨) وتطويره وتنميته عمرانياً وثقافياً واقتصادياً، بما يُبرز معالمه الحضارية وبعده التاريخي، وقبل هذا كله تبدأ الدراسة بلمحة موجزة عن دومة الجندل من حيث تحديد موقعها، والتعرف على معطيات المراحل المورفولوجية التي مرت بها (تخطيطها ونسيجها العمراني، والاستعمالات الحضرية لأراضيها)، محاولة تحقيق أهدافها الرامية والإجابة على التساؤلات التالية :

- ما هو الوضع الحالي للآثار المعمارية في موقع دومة الجندل، وما هو حجم المتهاك والمندثر منها ؟
- المحافظة على الآثار مسئولية وطنية يتحملها الجميع، فهي تعد مصدر إلهام لتاريخنا العظيم، وانطلاقاً من أهمية موقع دومة الجندل، فهل من سبيل لإبرازها تاريخياً ؟
- وهل من سبيل للمحافظة على آثارها الباقية من الإهمال والعبث والإزالة ؟
- وهل هناك طريقة لاستدراك ما ضاع منها، أو حلول مناسبة لترميم وصيانة مبانيها المتهاكة ؟
- إضافة إلى إن الآثار تعد مصدراً اقتصادياً، فهل هناك إمكانية إعادة تأهيل الموقع ضمن النسيج الحضري الحديث ليصبح مركزاً أثرياً ورافداً سياحياً، دون التأثير على التراث القديم .
- يتسم العمق التاريخي لموقع دومة الجندل فيما يسمى حالياً بحي " الدرع "، والذي يحتض أقدم المعالم التاريخية، كقلعة مارد التي تعود لما قبل الإسلام، و مسجد عمر بن الخطاب ذو الطراز المعماري الفريد بمئذنته المخروطية، والسوق القديم الذي يعد من أوائل أسواق العرب قبيل الإسلام. ولهذه الاعتبارات الخاصة هل من الممكن ترشيح حي الدرع ليشهد موقع دومة الجندل مرحلة جديدة بتحويلها إلى موقع تراثي مهم على المستوى العالمي ؟

الكلمات المفتاحية:

إعادة تأهيل، موقع أثري، عمارة، واحة، دومة الجندل، المملكة العربية السعودية، مدن قديمة.

^(٤٨) مفهوم إعادة التأهيل، يقصد به إعادة استخدام المواقع القديمة بشكل عام بما فيها من مباني سكنية أو تجارية أو صناعية، وذلك من خلال الإصلاح أو التطوير مع الحفاظ على أجزاء المبنى وعناصره التي تحمل قيمة تاريخية أو معمارية أو ثقافية مميزة عبر العصور التي مرت على المبنى منذ إنشائه، كل ذلك من أجل تحقيق استمراريته والمحافظة عليه، انظر مدبولي، مصطفى كمال، إعادة تأهيل المناطق المركزية ذات القيمة التاريخية في الدول النامية " دراسة حالة القاهرة "، رسالة ماجستير جامعة القاهرة، القاهرة، مصر، ١٩٩٢م، ص ٢٦



**Document of lists register of the Musaqefat "taxes"
of Sultan Mohamed Khan (1327 – 1337 A.H | 1909 – 1918 A.D)**

"Study & publish"

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Abstract

The instruments of endowments and documents are considered one of the most important undoubted historical resources due to the important historical facts they carry, such as the names the administrators of the endowment as well as the era of the endowment. Reading those documents is not an easy task due to their patterns that varied between Naskh and alraqa, in addition to the analysis of each piece of information appearing on the document. This endowment represents a great importance in Mecca entails as it significantly impacted the study of the important role of the workers in the Grand mosque in Mecca and the administration of endowments in preserving the endowments of the holy mosque of Mecca.

The following are the results of the study:

- 1 – Registering and publishing the document as part of the history of holy Mecca.
- 2 – Documenting and invoking some places in holy Mecca, such as the shop located in the alley of al-Hgr in front of the Prophet's door; one of the doors of the holy mosque of Mecca, and the Hush of Sheikh Jan Al-Naqshbandi as well as Al-Aazam Street at the line of endeavoring.
- 3 – The endowment detected one of the most important entails in holy Mecca that is of sultan Mohamed Qaitbey.
- 4 – The endowment observed the names of some renowned persons, such as Mohamed and Naffisa progeny of the late Mr. Ahmed Abi Abd Allah Al-Merghani, and the name of Aisha the daughter of the late Mohamed Rizq Bn "son of" Abd Al-Rahman Al-Tahifi Al-Yamani Al-Samman.
- 5 – The endowment observed the name of the beholder, who was the Sheriff of Mecca, Sheriff Al- Hussein, son of the late Sheriff abd Al-Moen, son of Sheriff Oan.
- 6 – The endowment referred to the name of the vice of endowment that was Mr. Soliman, the vicar of the holy mosque "Haram", son of Mr. Ahmed abd Al-Wahab, the vicar of Haram.

Keywords:

Document, Holy Mecca, register, lists, Sultan Mohamed Khan, the Holy Mosque of Mecca "Haram, Sheriff Husein, Vicar of Civilization, ancient epochs, Islamic Art, Nazi Party

**Document of lists register of the Musaqefat "taxes"
of Sultan Mohamed Khan (1327 – 1337 A.H | 1909 – 1918 A.D)"Study & publish"**

1- Formal index :

Document number: No.32 .

Document place : Endowments administration in holy Mecca .

Document material : paper .

Type of calligraphy : Naskhi .

2- Descriptive index :

Proceeding matter : endowment .

Date

A-27th Jumada I 1335 A.H

B-14th Rabiei II 1340 A.H.

C-23rd Ragab 1343 A.H .

D – 29th Rabie II 1355 A.H .

E – 7th Rabie I 1370 A.H .

F – 25th Rabie II 1370 A.H.

G – 11th Jumada II 1375 A.H.

3 – Documentation :

Date : 27th Jumada I 1335 A.H .

Documentation judge :Qadi Abd Al-Salam Abd Al-Malek .

His sign : signed his name as a stamp of his name .

4 - Importance of the document :

The system of endowment "Waqf" is considered a great genius developed by Muslims to be close to Allah through participating in building their societies and immortality of earth. The first endowment in Islam was the mosque of Qibaa which was founded by Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) when he came to Medina, then western people excerpted it and transferred it to the Ottoman state in the nineteenth century A.D and called it later civilian society organizations⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾civilian society organization:Charity organizations called by the reformers in Europe, consist of informal nets formed through the individuals of civilian society to achieve goal put in advance for developing the society raising the standard of living of people, stopping injustice that harms some classes of people as well as securing human rights, in addition they have a role in participating people in developing decisions, representing an opportunity for building the abilities of organizations, enabling them to have arts of administrations achieving cooperation and increase awareness of society, making it participate in solving public cases . See : Mohamed Al-Fateh Abd Al-Wahab al-Etebie, civilian society organizations –emergence, mechanisms – tools and achieving goals – first edition –Yemen 2009, P.7 .

It is known that the Islamic endowment system – for thirteen centuries – represented a wonderful image of human cooperation and was a resource of good when a lot of organizations depended on endowments, such as mosques , schools , Zawayas "small mosques", Ribats, as well as providing money for the poor. This was until they crumbled during recent ages except for the endowment of holy Mecca that had a great interest. Thus, endowments in Mecca are still preserved through instruments and documents that document them completely.

Thus, the endowments of sultan Mohamed Rashad Khan V,-one of the most important Ottoman sultans- in Mecca are considered among the important endowments that developed in the Ottoman period. His endowments varied between civil structures that were rented, then the rent was used for spending on the two holy Mosques (among them the text of our documentation). The documentation included different endowments; one of them was the house that included upper and lower housing "cells", facilities, legality rights, and a cistern at the bottom of the house , as well as shops and cells .

This endowment continued till the fourteenth century A.D but it was removed for enlarging the holy mosque in Mecca. **Publishing this document was very important for proving the continuity of the endowment in Mecca especially.**

As for the importance of the document, it was preserved in the record of roofers in holy Mecca during the Ottoman period for keeping it. This document contains details of the lists of endowments, so the researcher explained all important terms that were mentioned in it with comments, interpreting the obscure phrases through historical resources and available specialized books, hoping that the research will add new information about endowments, spending its income in holy Mecca.

5 – The study of document :

This document represents a historical, cultural and documentary importance as it referred to important information related to the endowment of holy Mecca as follows :

1 – **Endowment owner:** the Ottoman sultan Mohamed Khan (1327 – 1337 A.H / 1909 – 1918 A.D) .

2 – **The endowment site :** the document showed the site accurately in Qashashia that varied among shops and houses that included upper and lower housing, facilities, legality rights, and cistern at the bottom of the house as well as individual shops and cells .

Secondly : text of document :

Page No. 1

Type :3



Mohamed Khan

Mr. Mohamed Nur Al-Hariri

In the name of Allah

Thank God alone

Copy of list issued, date hereinafter No.3

As shown in the following space hereinafter.

1 – Copy from the record of endowment roofers⁽³⁾ the blessed late our excellence "Mawlana"⁽⁴⁾ sultan⁽⁵⁾ Mohamed⁽⁶⁾ Khan⁽⁷⁾ mercifulness and peace be upon him amen.

⁽²⁾ The seal of Mr. Mohamed Nour Al-Hariri.

⁽³⁾ Waqf in language means confinement and prevention, the jurists differed in its definition in Islamic law, some of them said that waqf is a confinement for the owner of it and charity benefit even totally, that means it belongs to the owner, others said that you can give the benefit but it still owned by its giver, in addition waqf is a confinement of money that can be benefited . See: Mohamed Naem Hany, encyclopedia of questions of the public in Islamic Fiqh "law", second edition, Dar al-Salam print house, Cairo 1428 A.H / 2007 A.D, P.593-594 .

⁽⁴⁾ title of Mawlana : is a plural pronoun, used for ownership and for belonging sometimes, it was used in Ottoman period also for religion and state men for sultans and soldiers . see : Hassan Al-Pasha, Islamic titles in history, documents and archaeology, General Egyptian organization for Book, Cairo, 1975 A.D, P.520, Mostafa Barakat, Ottoman titles and jobs, Dar Ghareeb for printing, publishing and distribution, Cairo, 1980 A.D, P.116 .

⁽⁵⁾ title of sultan : means in language sovereignty, it was taken by Turkish sultans in Constantinople, always comes pre their names, it was a high rank title, see : Hassan al-Pasha, Islamic titles in history P.323, Mostafa Barakat, Ottoman titles and jobs, P.33-36, Samuel Bernard, Coins and weights, P.116 .

⁽⁶⁾ title of Khan : was a Mongol title written as Qan, originally was for sheikhs of princes in Tatar tribes, then became a title for sultans means prince

2 – private for the name of the Honored " al-Mokaram"⁽⁸⁾ Mohamed Nur Al-Din son of the late Mr. Hashim son of Abi Bakr Amin Al-Hariri⁽⁹⁾ that one carat⁽¹⁰⁾ and three quarters of carat .

and used also for the khngs of Ottoman Turks, see: suhail Saban, Encyclopedic Glossary of Ottoman titles, revised by Abd Al-Raziq Mohamed Hassan, Library of King Fahd, Riyadh, A.S.K, 1421 A.H / 2000 A.D, P.95, Hassan Al-Pasha, Islamic titles in history, P. 272, Mostafa Barakat Ottoman titles and jobs, P.21 .

⁽⁷⁾ Al-Sultan Mohamed Rashad Khan V : born in 1844, had the throne in(27th April 1909 A.D – 3rd July 1918 A.D) he was known with good manners, beloved of people, kind for the poor, when he came to the caliphate he revived the era of Omar Ibn abd Al-aziz served the state, close to religion scientists, and during the first world war he encouraged all Muslims to defend Islam and preserving Islamic state, making a lot of inner and outer repairs such as providing needed money for the Holly lands to serve its people, enlarging the circle of its endowments in Mecca and Medina through buying lands and buildings for the two Honoree mosques, see: Belmar Oztona, History of Ottoman state, first edition, second folder, Istanbul, 1990 A.D, P.203, Yusuf Asaf, History of Ottoman sultans, investigated by Bassam abd Al-Wahab al-Gabi, Dar Al-Bassaer, Damascus, third edition, 1985 A.D, P.143 -144, Mohamed Farid Bek Al-Mhami " the lawyer ", History of the attic Ottoman state, investigated by Ihsan Haqi, first edition, Dar Al-Nafaef, Beirut, 1981 A.D, P.710 -712, Klifford, the ruling dynasties in Islamic history – study of genealogy history, translated by Husein Ali al-labudi, revised by Soliman Ibrahim al-Askari, third edition, Ain for human researches & studies, Cairo, 1995 A.D, P.193, Abd al-Aziz Al-Shenawi, Ottoman state an Islamic state fabricated upon, Vol.1, first edition, Angelo Library, Cairo, 1980 A.D, P.75 – 76, Akmal Al-Din Ihsan Oghlo, Ottoman state, history and culture, second edition, Vol.1, al-Shorouk Library, Cairo 1431 A.H / 2010 A.D, P.130, Miller W : The Ottoman empire and its successors 1801 – 1927, London, 1927, P.633 .

⁽⁸⁾ Mister " al-Sayed": means the owner or the leader was one of the titles of sultana, it was a general title for men, it was used with a pronoun added for good people and religion men .

see: Mostafa Barakat, Ottoman titles and jobs, P.213, it was common also for the grandsons of the prophet (peace be upon him) .

⁽⁹⁾ Mr. Mohamed Nur son of the late Mr. Hashim son of abi Bakr son of Amin Al-Hariri, (1324-1374 A.H), attributed to Mr. Ibn Abd Allah Al-Aarag belongs to the successors of Al-Husein son of Ali Ibn Abi Taleb, the grandson of the prophet, Mohamed Nur was one of the religious scientists, he worked as a lawyer, he supervised some endowments and ribats

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3 – From 24 carats, the whole of the shop⁽¹¹⁾ is located in holy Mecca in the alley of Al-Hgr⁽¹²⁾ in front of the Prophet's door, one of the doors of the holy mosque⁽¹³⁾ in Mecca.

as his descendants who inherited it from their descendants since old times in Honoree Mecca, one of the sons of Mr. Bakr son of Mohamed Nur "all are late", one of their successors is Mr. Prof.Dr.Hashim son of Bakr son of Mr. Mohamed Nur Al-Hariri who was working a vice-president of the University of Om Al-Qura .

⁽¹⁰⁾ Carat : is a half Dangle, its plural is Carats – standard in weight and measurement, differed according to time and places, in Hejaz equal a quarter of sixth of a dinar " a part of 24 parts ", in Iraq is a half tenth, for the measurement it was used to represent a part of 24 parts of a thing .see: Falter Hentis, Islamic weights and pints and its equivalent in the dusty system, translated by Kamel Al-Assali, publications of the University of Jordan, Amman, 1970 A.D,P.29, Baqer Mohamed Jaafar Al-Kerbasi, Coins, pints and weights in Arabic dictionaries, published research in the studies center in Kufa, sixth issue 2007,P.180.

⁽¹¹⁾Dakan "shop":plural is Dacans "Dakakin" feminine or male, a store or quotient, the origin of the word is Persian means something like a mastaba, the word appeared in the documents belong to endowments. see: Ibn Manzur, Lesan Al-Arab, Vol.6, Dar Al-Maaref, Cairo,1980 A.D, P.3366.

⁽¹²⁾ Zuqaq Alhgr " Alley of Hgr" lies in the north east of Endeavor at the area located between the library of Honoree Mecca and the area of Al-Qashashia, this alley is called Alley of Attarin and Alley of Al-Mowafaq and in recent times known as Sooq Al-Sagha or Alley of Sagha, in addition, parts of it entered in the enlargement of the Holly mosque by upon the orders of King Fahd son of Abd al-Aziz Al Saud .see: Mohamed Bn Ahmed Bn Salem Bn Mohamed Al-Maleki Al-Mecci, Tahseel Al-Maram Fe akhbar al-Beit Al-Haram Walmashaer Al-Ezam Wa Mecca Wawelateha al-Fekham, study and investigation by abd Al-Malek bn Abd Allah bn Duhaish, first edition, Vol.1, Honoree Mecca, 1324 A.H / 2004 A.D, P.551 – 552, Nasser bn Ali Al-Harhi, Islamic monuments in Honoree Mecca, first edition, Riyadh, 1430 A.H/2009 A.D,P.365 .

⁽¹³⁾Prophet's door :one of the doors of the Holly Mosque added by the Abbasid caliph Al-Mahdi when he came to Mecca for pilgrimage in 160 A.H/ 776 A.D, it lies in the south eastern corner of the mosque opposite the alley of al-Attarin that leading to the house of Khadija Bint Khuailed . see : Abu Al-Waleed Mohamed bn Abd Allah "late in 250A.H", Akhbar Mecca, investigated by Roshdi Al-Saleh Melhes, third edition, Vol.1, Dar Althqafa, Honoree Mecca, 1378 A.H / 1978 A.D, P.212, Abd Allah bn Mohamed Al-Fakihi Al-Maki, Akhbar Mecca Fe Qadeem Al-Dahr Wa Haditho, study and

4 - On the right of the entrance from the mentioned alley to the Hush⁽¹⁴⁾ famous for the Hush of Sheikh⁽¹⁵⁾ Jan Al-Naqshabandi⁽¹⁶⁾ in the lane of Al-Qashashia⁽¹⁷⁾ that limits the entire aforementioned dacan "shop".

5 – Surrounded by four borders , east Hush of sheikh Mohamed Jan Al-Mogaddi Al-Naqshbandi Al-Solimani Al-Khurasani⁽¹⁸⁾ from westthe Dacan "shop" .

comment by Abd Al-Malek bn Duhaish, second edition, Vol.2, Dar Khedr for printing,publishing and distribution, Beirut, 1414 A.H/ 1994 A.D,P.165, Al-Najm Omar bn Fahd, Ethaf Al-Waraa Be-Akhbar Om Al-Qura, investigated by Abd Al-Kareem Ali Baz, first edition, Vol.2, University of Om Al-Qura, Mecca, 1408 A.H / 1988 A.D.P.211, Ibrahim Refaat Pasha, Meraat al-Harameen or Al-Rahalat Al-Hejazia,Vol.1, Cairo, 1925 A.D, P.230 .

⁽¹⁴⁾Hush : the source Hash, it has a lot of meanings, such as the court of the house or stockade for furniture and rides .see: Ibn Manzur, Lesan al-Arab, P.1049 – 1050 .

⁽¹⁵⁾ Sheikh : title for scientists,reconciles and jurists of religion, its origin in language elderly people, it is also for professors and the grand of people, it's a name of job related to the supervision of religious organizations such as mosques, Holly mosques, and the riwaqs, See: Hassan Al-Pasha, Islamic titles in history, Vol.2,P.63 .

⁽¹⁶⁾ Jan Al-Naqshabandi : a virtuous scientist, famous for plenty of worship, lived in Mecca till he died in it 1267 A.H and buried in Mealaa .see: Abd Allah Mohamed Ibn Al-Ghazi Al-Maki,Nazm Al-Dorar FE Ekhtesar Nashr Al-Nur Wa Al-Zahr, Fe Trajem Afade Mecca, investigated by Abd Al-Malek Ibn Duhaish, first edition,Library of Al-asadia, Mecca, 1435 A.H / 2014 A.D, Abd Allah Merdad Abu al-Kher, Nashr Al-Nur, investigated by Mohamed Said Aamodi, Ahmed Ali, second edition,1406 A.H/1968 A.D, P.153 .

⁽¹⁷⁾ Lane of Al-Qashashia : one of the most important lanes in Mecca, lies at the east of the Holly mosque overlooked by the mountain of Abi Qubais, from the east branch of Ali or branch of Hashim, the most important houses in this lane Dar Al-Khaizoran "Dar Al-Arqam Ibn Abi Al-Arqam" as well as houses of Beni Shaiba chamberlains of Kaaba, and Dar abi Suffyan which the prophet entered the year of the invasion, in it also the house of KhadeJa Bint Khuailed and the house of Abi Jahl, in addition to a bath known as Prophet's, bath . see: Ibrahim Refaat Pasha, Meraat al-Harameen or Al-Rahalat Al-Hejazia, Vol.1, P.180-181 .

⁽¹⁸⁾ Sheikh Mohamed Jan Al-Mojaddi Al-Naqshbandi Al-Solimani Al-Khurasani: he was known by his wide Knowledge, uplean to literature,frequent in travelling with his son sheikh Sidiq, he died in 7 / 9 /

6-Endowment of Mawlana sultan Mohamed Qaitbey⁽¹⁹⁾ working for merit of the two honorees Mr. Mohamed and Nafisa garcons of the late Mr. Ahmed .

1301 A.H. see: Abd Al-Sattar Ibn abd al-Wahab Al-Bakri Al-Sidiqi, Faiyd Al-Malek Al-Wahab Al-Mutaali Be Abnaa Awwael Al-Qarn Al-Thaleth Ashar Wa-Altawali, investigated by Abd Al-Malek Ibn Ab Allah Duhaish, first edition, Vol.2, Library of Al-Asadia, Mecca, P.1502 .

⁽¹⁹⁾ Sultan Mohamed Qaitbey : He is Sultan Al-Malek Al-Ashraf abu Al-Nasr Qaitbey Al-Mahmoudi, the forty first of Turks sultans and the fifteenth in Circassians, who ruled on Monday, sixth of Rajab 872 A.H / 1467 A.D, continued ruling Egypt and Levant till he died at the night of Monday 28th Dhul Qi, dah 901 A.H / 1496 A.D, entitled by Al-Malek al-Ashraf, ruled for nineteen years, that approved he was one of the most powerful Mamluk sultans in the field of war, spent his life preserving the Mamluk state, not ignoring the matters of his people, Historians described him as A good man, close to scientists and virtuous, spending a lot for Allah, he decided taxes for spending on religious and charity buildings in Egypt and Levant, in addition he contributed in the urbanization in Mecca and Medina through the innovation of the two holly Mosques as well as the holly places and facilities for pilgrims, concerning his name : one of researchers said that "None of historic resources contains the name of Mohamed but it was to be blessed by the name of the prophet Mohamed, it is worthy noting here that sultan Qaitbey had a son called Mohamed, became a sultan, but he was very bad .see: Jamal Al-Din Abu al-Mahasen Ibn Taghri Bardi, al-Nojoum Al-Zahera Fe Molok Masr Wa al-Qahira, first edition, Ministry of Culture, Cairo, Vol.16, P.395, Shams Al-Din Mohamed Ibn abd Al-rahman Al-Sakhawi, Al-Daoe Al-Laamei Le-Ahl al-Qarn Al-Rabei, first edition, Vol.6, Dar Al-Geel, Beirut, Lebanon, 1412 A.H / 1992 A.D, P.201 – 211, Mohamed Ibn Ias Al-Hanafi " died in 930 A.H / 1524 A.D ", Badaei Al-Zohor FE Waqaei Al-Dohor, investigated by Mohamed Mostafa, second edition, Vol.2, General Egyptian Organization for Book, Cairo, 1383 A.H / 1963 A.D, P.475, Said Abd Al-Fattah Ashour, Egypt & Levant during Mamluks and Ayyubids, Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabia, Beirut, 1972 A.D, P.245, Hussein Abd Al-Aziz Shafei, Document of enclose of the endowments of sultan Mohamed Qaitbey, the Mamluk (872-901 A.H / 1466 – 1495 A.D) in Mecca –study & publishing –a research represented to the course of prince Salman Ibn Abd Al-Aziz, University of Om Al-Qura, 1435 A.H, P.58, Lane Pool "stanly", A history of Egypt in middle Ages, London, 1908, P.344, Nicolle "David", The Mamluks 1250-1517, U.S.A 1993 . Daisuki "garashi", The financial of sultan Qaitbey, Mamluk studies review, Vol.13, 2009, P.27-32.

7- Abi Abd Allah Al-Merghani⁽²⁰⁾

"washama"⁽²¹⁾ the road to the line of lane of Hgr mentioned leading to the Greatest street "Al-Sharei Al-Aazam"⁽²²⁾ with a door .

8 – Its façade , the shop mentioned , on the right⁽²³⁾ the owner decided the range every year 17 .

9 – Divan⁽²⁴⁾ and half received by the honored Mr. Soliman the vice of the holy

⁽²⁰⁾ Mr. Ahmed Ibn Abd Allah Al-Merghani : Known by Knowledge, held Ifta in Mecca of Hanafi Sect in 1299 A.H . See: Al-Ghazi, Nazm Al-Dorar, P.367, 409, 451.

⁽²¹⁾ the north.

⁽²²⁾ Line Of Endeavor in the greatest street : It is the street that cuts the Holly Mosque at the south eastern side to its south east, it is said that it begins from Sheikh Mahmud or Growl passing Umrah door, then the Egyptian takkya "hospice" then the endeavor, the road of Al-Qushashiyya and Al-leil market to the top of Mecca from the direction of Al-Mulaa, the width of the road is 8 meters, with some lanes opened into it such as the lane of Bab, Al- Shebeika, Al-Souq Al-saghir, Jiad, and Al-Qushashiyya on the right, and on the right Al-Qushashiyya, the endeavor to Al-Marwa with Bab Al-Salam in it, al-Safa Market and the endeavor . See: Ibrahim Refaat Pasha, Meraat al-Harameen or Al-Rahalat Al-Hejazia, Vol.1, P.178-179, Ahmed al-sebaei, the History of Mecca, studies in politics, science, Sociology and Urbanism, 7th edition, Vol.1, Mecca 1414 A.H / 1994 A.D, P.39 – 40, Abd Allah Saleh And others Mecca, the source of Knowledge and civilization "its people lanes and markets", first edition, Library of Zahraa al-Sharq, Cairo, 2006 A.D, P.115 – 116, Mohamed Omar Rafie, Mecca in the 14th A.H century, publications the Mecca Cultural Club, first edition, Dar Mecca of Printing, publishing and distribution, 1401 A.H / 1981 A.D, P.25, Nasser Al-Harithi, Islamic monuments in Mecca, P.53 – 61 .

⁽²³⁾ The South .

⁽²⁴⁾ Diwani : Means half silver, that an Egyptian coins, low in price, its origin came from the Mamluk era that equal a half of Dirham and became 1 / 40 of Qurush, its weight is 16 Qamha "wheat" or 1.11 Gram that equal 1-10 of Qurush, some noted that its origin attributed to coins house "Darbkhana" in the Citadel where the Divan held, others said that Diwani means good caliber like cut halves, it became the first Egyptian local coins all over Ottoman era . See: Samuel Bernard, Coins and weights, P.76, Ahmed Al-Sawi, Coins in circulation in Ottoman Egypt, Center of Arab Civilization, Cairo, first edition, 2001 A.D, P.84, André Ramón, Carfts and merchants in Cairo in the 18th century, translated by Naser Ahmed Ibrahim, Batsi Gamal al-Din, revised by Rauf Abbas, Vol.1,2, 818 -819 ., Supreme Council of Culture, Cairo, 2005 A.D, P.121.

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Mosque⁽²⁵⁾ son of the late Mr. Ahmed Abd Al-Wahab⁽²⁶⁾ the vice of the holy Mosque as a vice of the beholder "Nazer"⁽²⁷⁾ of the endowment .

10 – His majesty , the honorable , deputy credit for the best predecessor sharif⁽²⁸⁾ of Mecca and its greatest king our master and the master of all Al- Sharif Al-Husein , May Allah protect him .

11 – His honor and acceptance , son of the late, the blessed , moved to the palaces in the house of eternity , Al-sharif Ali the late , moved to the highest palaces of bliss .

12 – Our master Al-Sharif Mohamed son of the late, the blessed , al-Sharif Abd al-Moen son of Al-Sharif Oan⁽²⁹⁾ Good villages and

⁽²⁵⁾ Vice-campus : He is the one who acts as a proxy in some tasks such as the affairs of the holly mosque "sweeping, cleaning, receiving visitors and the service of Kaaba as well as supervising the workers and the private money of the endowments, he usually from the people of Mecca, he must consult the beholder, taking his orders . see : Al-Kurdi, History and calendar, Vol.5, P.64 .

⁽²⁶⁾ Mr. Soliman Ibn Ahmed Abd Al-Wahab Vice-campus : known by frequent worship, Keeping the Quran, learned the Hanafi sect, he was interested in the service of the holly mosque, incense and cleaning, preparing candle sticks and lamps as well as Ottoman insignia . Copied from Mr.Ahmed Ibn Hassan vice-campus in the evening of Monday 22-9-1435 A.H his grandfather of his father directly .

⁽²⁷⁾ Nazer "the beholder" : He is the supervisor or the president specially for financial affairs, this task was for the responsible for Al-Darbkhana, and was known as the beholder of Dar Al-Darb " coins house" . The name of this job derived from the word seeing as he watches the affairs and see It, seeing means thinking of its sake .see: Hassan Al-Pasha, Islamic arts and jobs, Vol.3, Dar al-Nahda Al-arabia, Cairo, 1965 A.D, P.117, Suhail Saban, Encyclopedic Glossary of Ottoman titles, P.221, Mostafa Barakat, Ottoman titles and jobs, P.103, 223 .

⁽²⁸⁾ Sharif Mecca : comes from honor, that means high standard, it related to the rulers of Mecca of Al-Ashraf" related to the prophet" peace be upon him .see: Hassan ALPasha, Islamic arts and jobs, P.357, Mostafa Barakat, Ottoman titles and jobs, P.223.

⁽²⁹⁾ King Husein son of Ali son of Mohamed son of Abd al-Moen son of Oan : his lineage ends by Al-Sharif Abd Allah son of Al-Hassan son of Aba Nomai, one of the princes of Mecca, he was polite, writing poetry, riding horses and hunting wild animals, he is the founder of the Hashimite Hijaz Kingdom, and the first caller of the independence of Arab from the Ottoman State, born in Istanbul in 1270 A.H/1854 A.D, came back to Mecca at the age

rest their womb the mentioned vice authorized Mr. Mohamed Nur .

13 – Al-Hariri ,the mentioned receivable to pay off all his duties inside this list as he likes at the hands of the legitimate ruler and the stamp of the mentioned vice .

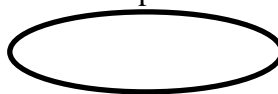
14 – In all of the above and depend and to the reference, he has to rely , peace be upon Muhammad ,his people and companions , issued on 27th Jumada 1 1335 A.H .

The trustee's representative

Endowment clerk

First stamp

second stamp



Soliman Ibn abd al-Wahab vice-campus⁽³⁰⁾
Judge abd Al-Salam Ibn abd Al-Malek⁽³¹⁾

Second page:

Mohamed Khan

In the name of Allah

Thank God alone

Copy of the list issued on the date below , with the number of five as shown

1 – copy of the list from Musaqfat "taxes " endowment of the late, the blessed Mawlana

of three, led the Great Arab revolution in 1916 A.D and entitled the king of Arab, his uncle Al-Sharif Abd Allah Pasha loved him and directed him in tasks, making good relations with tribes, his father and uncle died, so his other uncle Oan Al-Rafiq held the Emirate of Mecca but he didn't accept his interference in the emirate Belongs to the Ottoman state, he asked to be removed from Hijaz, he was exiled to Astana in 1309 A.H, he made one of Shura members "consultative council", he stayed till Oan died, then came his third uncle Abd Allah, he was appointed as a prince of Mecca in 1326 A.H, and died in 1350 A.H / 1931 A.D, carried to Jerusalem and buried there . See: Mohamed Labib Al-Batanuni, The Hijaz Trip " Al-Rehla Al-Hijazia", 2nd edition, Cairo, 1329 A.H, P.78 – 81, Abd Al-Fatah Hassan, The princes of the Sacred Country through Islamic ages, Library of Maarif, Taif, 1407 A.H, P.412 – 440, Aref Abd al-Ghani, History of the princes of Mecca, first edition, Dar Al-Basheir, Damascus 1413 A.H / 1922 A.D, P. 842 -844, Areej Meshel Al-Qathami, The Honoree Mecca at the end of Ottoman era (1277-1334 / 1861 – 1916), PhD research, Um al Qura University, 1429 A.H / 2008 A.D, P.30-78 .

⁽³⁰⁾ Stamp of vice-campus : engraved in it five words in three lines .

⁽³¹⁾ Stamp of the judge : engraved in it five words .

sultan Mohamed Khan , he has mercy and contentment .

2 – About what is specific to safeguarding Aisha ,daughter of the late Mohamed Rizq son of abd al-Rahman al-Tufaihi Al-Yamani Al-Samman that eleven carat .

3 – And three quarters of carat from the origin twenty four carats that is the whole of the shop located in holy Mecca at the alley of Hgr "Ibrahim stone" opposite to the prophet's door.

4 – One of the doors of the Grand Mosque of Mecca , adjacent to the door of Hush Al-Sheikh from the lane of Al-Qashshiyah , limits the whole of the mentioned shop , and surrounded it .

5 – four borders east of the worship cell endowed for the right of sheikh Sediq Jan son of the latesheikh Mohamed Said⁽³²⁾ .

6 – Son of Mohamed Jan Al-Naqshbandi and west of the alley mentioned above , in it the door of the mentioned shop , its façade at the north .

7 – Hush sheikh Sediq Jan , and on the right the shop , the endowment of the late sultan Mohamed Qaitbey ,ongoing to the merit of the two holy mosques .

8 – Mr. Mohamed and his sister Naffisa , sons of the late Mr. Ahmed son of Abd Allah al-Merghani , all of it endowed by the mentioned .

9 – The quota mentioned above of the Al-Hikr⁽³³⁾ for the endowment every year two qersh⁽³⁴⁾ "two piaster" And thirty seven Diwan and half delivered .

⁽³²⁾ Sheikh Sediq Jan Mohamed Said son of Mohamed Jan al-Naqshbandi : known by accompany his father on travel, he took from him a lot of sciences and knowledge . Abd Al-Sattar Al-Sadiqi, Faiyd Al-Malek Al-Wahab, Vol2, P.1252 .

⁽³³⁾ Al-Hkr : Annual contract between sides the Tenant and the landowner or the responsible for the land, the first side pay for the second the return they agreed upon for keeping the land with him paying the Hkr. See: saleh soliman Al-Hawas, Rules Of Hkr In Islam, in comparison with what is done the K.S.A , PhD, University of Um al-Qura, Honoree Mecca, 1427-1428 A.H, P.23 .

⁽³⁴⁾ Gurus : Taken from the German Word Groche, then Arabs Took the word from Turkey with the name of Qurush, Arabs changed the letter G into Q then into Gh, so sometimes pronounced GHers, its plural is Qurush or ghurush, these coins known during Ottoman era since its first appearance with

10 - By the honored , owner of the building Mawlana Mr. Soliman , the vice-campus son of the late Mr. Ahmed Abd al-Wahab ,the vice-campus as.

11 – A vice of the beholder of this endowment Majesty , the lord of glory and honor , inherited credit for the best predecessor , the king of Arab kings .

12 – And the honorable deity of Mecca and its glorious king , his majesty , our master and master of all , our honorable master al-Hussein , may Allah preserve and honor him.

13 – The transferred to the palaces in the House of immortality and the honorable grave of the honorable Ali son of the late the late ,transferred to the highest palaces in the House of Bliss .

14 – Our master , Sharif Mohamed , son of the late late , the late Sharif Abd Al-Uu , in Ibn al-Sharif , Aoun , Allah fortune and rest their womb .

15 – The aforementioned vice authorized the safeguard Aisha , who is entitled to avoid all of its aforementioned entitlement at this list .

16 - For whoever she wants at the hands of the legitimate ruler and the dowry of the said agent in all of the above , Allah bless our prophet Muhammad, his family and his companions .

17 – Issued on the fourteenth day of the month of Rabi Al-Akher , 1340 A.H .

18 – Yes , identical to the original , the trustee's beholder, the endowment writer .

Stamp : Endowments in Honoree Mecca



Stamp:unread



the name of Al-Qurush Al-Romi or Al-Qurush Al-Islampoli, there were two types, Al-Sagh, that means in Turkish correct, equal 40 Para, the second type was Trending Qurush, equal 10 Barahs . See: Musa al-Huseini Al-Mazendrani, History of Islamic coins, Dar Al-ulum for investigation, printing and publishing, Beirut, 1408 A.H / 1988 A.D, P.154, Anestas Al-Kreml, The Arab Islamic coins, and Numismatics, Library of Al-Thaqafa Al-Dinia, Cairo, second edition, 1987 A.D,P.197 .

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Stamp : Soliman Ibn Abd Al-Wahab vice-campus



Stamp: Judge Abd Al-Salam Ibn Abd al-Malek



Page No.3 :

Mohamed Khan

In the name of Allah and his praise

1 – A copy of a statement issued by the Mizqafat folder of the endowment of the late sultan Mohamed Khan with a number of 13 ,paper 10 as mentioned below .

2 – Concerning what is related to the honorees Abdel Salam , Ammna and Fatima , everyone is the sons of the late Ahmed Al Khayyat Ibn Abdul Rahman .

3 – Ibn Abd al-Salam Al-Muzayn , which is eleven carats and three quarters of carats equally together , out of four .

4 – Twenty carats are the entire store located in the Holy city of Mecca in the alley of Hgr , in front of the door of the prophet , one of the Grand Mosque .

5 – al-Makki is on the right of the enterer from the aforementioned alley way , to the famous Hush of Naqshbandi from the lane of Al- Qashashia that .

6 – It borders the entire store and is surrounded by the four eastern borders , Hush Jan Ibn the mentioned and the west , the store of endowment .

7 – Sultan Mohamed Qaitbey , that is in the process of entitlement to the honorable Nafisa , daughter of ahmed Bin Abdullah Al-Merghani ,Shama "north" and the way .

8 – The mentioned alley Hgr line , which is connected to the Great street , Al-Masaa line and others , with the door and the façade of the mentioned store .

9 – On the right of the mentioned endowment , including the eleven carats and three quarters of those mentioned from the Hkr to .

10 – The direction of the owner Every year , two Qurush "Qurush" and thirty Diwani and half , received by his excellency the director of endowments .

11 – General Mawlana Mr.Abd Al-Wahab , deputy of the sanctuary , to explain what was mentioned on the twenty-ninth day of Rabi II .

12 – From the year of fifty-five , three hundred and thousand ,1355 A.H.

13 – Then recorded the eleven carats and three quarters of the carats mentioned above.

14 – By ending about Abd al-Salam ,Amna , and Fatima , the sons of Ahmed Al-Khayyat , mentioned above .

15 – In the name of Mr. Abdullah Ibn Mr. Bakri Bin Hashem Abdoh Al-Hariri according to the disclosure and document of its date , 2 from Jumadi .

16 – The first of the year 1355 A.H registered with the number 452 and the paper 196 from the first volume of the record of the instruments of the Notary of Mecca in 1355 A.H .

Stamp : Judge Abd Al-Salam Bin Abd Al-Malek



Stamp: unread



Page No.4

Mohamed Khan

In the name of Allah

1 – A copy of what was disclosed from the notebook "list" of Mizqfat "tazes" sultan Mohamed Khan , the one whose name ,May Allah rest his soul with the number 23 ,paper 19 as mentioned below .

2 – Concerning the name of the preserved Fatima daughter of "Bint" al-sheikh Siddiq Khan Ibn Mohamed Jan Naqshbandi.

3 – 11 carats and three quarters carat from 24 carats , that is the entire of the three cells .

4 – Contiguous , located in honorable Mecca at the alley famous for the alley of Hgr , in front of the prophet's door , one of the Grand Makki Mosque .

5 – At the lane of Al-Qashashia , inside Hush Sheikh Jan , on the right of the entrance to it from the direction of the door , it is limited the entire .

6 – The three contiguous mentioned cells⁽³⁵⁾ , surrounded by four borders , east the house "Dar"⁽³⁶⁾ The Divan⁽³⁷⁾ the oven "Forn"⁽³⁸⁾ .

7 – Endowment of Mulla Rashid in the past and recently at the hands of Sharifs "Honorable" ,people of Abdullah ,the beholder of it now Al-Sharifa "honorable" Kaiyria .

8 – Daughter of Sharif Mansour and Sharif Shaker Al-Zaiydi⁽³⁹⁾ and west the rear of the store currently for Mr. Abdullah Bin Mr.

9 – Abu Bakr al-Hariri and his partner in it , washama "north" the vastness of the Hush mentioned with the three cells mentioned their façade .

10 – On the right the wall , the sultan Mohamed Qaitbey endowed three carats and half carat mentioned from the Hk "r Property" .

11 – Of the direction of the endowment ,every year one Qurush and three quarters of

Qurush received by the general director of endowments , the Excellency Sheikh .

12 – Abd Al-Rauf⁽⁴⁰⁾ and a statement of the mentioned issued , peace be upon our master Mohamed , his family and his companions , issued on 23/7/1343 A.H .

Accepted " signature "

I Have given Fatima the aforementioned that emptied her entitlement from the right to housing and benefit from.

The three carats and half mentioned in the inside of this list .

Whoever she does not want to make a void on them at the hands of the notary of Mecca and my signature is baptized and on Allah is relying .

General director of endowment

The above portion was transferred to Roqaya

And Shamsia Bint Sheikh Siddiq Khan

In accordance with an instrument from the Notary of Mecca in 1318 A.H and date of 3 /11/year 63

Page No.5 :

Unread stamp



In the name of Allah

1 – a copy of what was disclosed from the notebook "list" of Mizqfat "tazes" sultan Mohamed Khan , the one whose name ,May Allah rest his soul with the number 24 ,paper20 as mentioned below .

2 – Concerning the name of the preserved Fatima daughter of "Bint" al-sheikh Siddiq Khan Ibn Mohamed Jan Naqshbandi.

3 –Three carats and a half carat from 24 carats, that is the entire of the two Contiguous cells locate .

4 - In honorable Mecca at the alley famous for the alley of Hgr, in front of the Prophet's door, one of the Grand Makki Mosque – At the lane of Al-Qashashia , inside.

⁽³⁵⁾ Khalawi"cells" : singular is Khulwa, that means a small room or residential room .see: Ibn Manzour, Lesan Al-Arab, P.1255.

⁽³⁶⁾ Dar : the location, building, or residence or the place of rest, its plural is Diyar –Udr – Dor, attached with several words such as Dar of Happiness, meaning palaces of kings and sultans, and Dar of industry, it is called for shipbuilding .see: Ibn Manzour, Lesan Al-Arab, P.1452, Hassan Halaq, Abass sabagh, the glossary of Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman terms of Arabic,Persian and Turkish origins, first edition, Dar Al-Elm Lelmalayeen, Beirut, 1999 A.D,P.87 .

⁽³⁷⁾ Diwan : interpreters differed about the origin of this word, some of them said : it means the register "record", they quoted by the words of Ibn Abbas " poetry the Diwan of Arabs, others said that : the word is Persian, from Divaneh means the mad, and in idiom : for the administrative residence of the state where registers preserved . see : Hassan Halaq, Abass sabagh, the glossary of Ayyubid, P.97 .

⁽³⁸⁾ Al-Forn "Oven" means food of bread, and at the people of Mecca : the place of making bread after burning fire in it for a specific time . see: Hussein Hussein Ibn Abdul-Aziz Shafei, Instrument of the endowment of the minister Abi Bakr Pasha in Honoree Mecca and Jeddah, 1147 A.H / 1734 A.D, publication and study, research in the Journal of Um Al-Qura, Vol.47, part 2, Rajab 1430 A.H / July 2009 A.D,P.658.

⁽³⁹⁾ I didn't find any biography in resources .

⁽⁴⁰⁾ He is Sheikh Abd al-Rauf bin Muhammad Salih al-Sabban, the Secretary of the Holy Capital in the period between (1365-1372 AH / 1945-1952) during the reign of King Abdulaziz Al Saud, founder of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the period of Ma'ali was approximately seven years. From the official website of the Holy Capital Secretariat.

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5 - Hush Sheikh Jan , on the right of the enterer to it from the direction of the door , it is limited the entire the two cells mentioned surrounded by .

6 - Four borders , east the house "Dar" The Divan ³⁷ the oven "Forn"and endowment of Mulla Rashid in the past and recently at the hands of Sharifs "Honorable" ,people of.

7 - Abdullah ,the beholder of it now Al-Sharifa "honorable" Kaiyria daughter of Sharif Mansour And Sharif Shaker Al-Zaiydi and the complete of the limit is the Dar .

8 – Residence of sons of Mr. Amin Bin Mr.Ulwi bin Asaad Al-Merghani , and west the vastness of the mentioned Hush with the door of the two cells.

9 – Mentioned and its façade Washaman "north" of the Dar , the owner mentioned above endowed for the merit of sons of sheikh Siddiq Jan .

10 – Mentioned what is three carats and half carat mentioned from the Hkr for the endowment every year one Qurush .

11 – and three quarters Qurush ,received by the general director of Endowments ,Excellency, Sheikh Abd al-Rauf Al-Sabban , statement of the mentioned be issued .

12 – peace be upon our master Mohamed , and upon his family ,and companions , issued on 23/7/1343 A.H .

Endowment clerk

Stamp:Abd al-Malek Qadi ⁽⁴¹⁾

I have given Fatima the aforementioned that emptied her entitlement from the right to housing and benefit from the three carats and half.

Mentioned inside of this list whoever she does not want to make a void on them at the hands of the notary of Mecca and my signature is baptized and on Allah is relying.
General Director of endowment
Accepted signature

⁽⁴¹⁾ Al-Mutawaf Abdul-Malik bin Abd al-Salam Qadi (1302-1373 AH / 1884-1953 AD) was an imam of the Grand Mosque of the Hanafi and Hanbali schools, besides being a writer for the Royal Endowments in the Directorate of Endowments in Makkah Al-Mukarramah. Quoted from one of his grandchildren, Mr. Hatem Qadi, the former undersecretary of the Ministry of Hajj on 12/7/2020.

The above portion was transferred to Roqaya And Shamsia Bint Sheikh Siddiq Khan In accordance with an instrument from

the Notary of Mecca No. 1318 and date of 3/11/year 63.

Page No.6 :

A Stamp of Soliman bin Ahmed ,deputy of the Grand Mosque



In the name of Allah

1 – A copy of what was disclosed from the notebook "list" of Mizqfat "tazes" sultan Mohamed Khan ,May Allah rest his soul with the number 25 , paper21 as mentioned below .

2 – Concerning the name of the preserved Fatima daughter of "Bint" al-sheikh Siddiq Khan Ibn Mohamed Jan Naqshbandi that is three .

3 -carats and a half carat from 24 carats , that is the entire of the the house locates in honorable Mecca at the alley famous.

4 - for the alley of Hgr , in front of the prophet's door , one of the Grand Makki Mosque – At the lane of Al-Qashashia , inside Hush that famous for Hush .

5 - Sheikh Jan , on the left of the enterer to the rear of the mentioned Hush , including Upper and lower residences, facilities and rights .

6 – legitimate and a cistern struck in the Purl of ground⁽⁴²⁾ as well as five stores at its western side ,this house .

7 – with what it included , it had a great fame , that no need for showing its limits or expanding in its description , only about the three carats and half carat aforementioned .

8 – from the Jkr for the endowment every year ,five Qurush and eleven Diwani and five sixths Diwani received by the Director of endowment .

9- General , Excellency ,Sheikh Abd al-Rauf Al-Sabban, statement of the mentioned be issued peace be upon our master

⁽⁴²⁾ Tank: the origin of this word is Persian in the sense of my son-in-law, meaning the basin of water, and in Arabic it is the basin where the water meets. Look . Bin Manzoor, Lisan Al-Arab, p. 2516.

Mohamed , and upon his family ,and companions
10 - issued on 23/7/1343 A.H .

Endowment clerk

Abd Al-Malek Qadi

I Have given Fatima the aforementioned that emptied her entitlement from the right to housing

and benefit from the three carats and half. mentioned inside of this list whoever she doesn't want

to make a void on them at the hands of the notary of Mecca

and my signature is baptized and on Allah is relying .

General director of endowment

Accepted signature

The above portion was transferred to Roqaya And Shamsia Bint Sheikh Siddiq Khan In accordance with an instrument from

the Notary

of Mecca No. 1318 and date of 3/11/year 63 .

Page No.7

Mohamed Khan P.27 No.32 .

In the name of Allah

1 - A copy of what was disclosed from the notebook "list" of Mizqfat "tazes" sultan Mohamed Khan concerning the Above related to the name .

2 - Of Abdullah and Zainab sons of Abdulkher ,the follower of sheikh Hassan Ibn Siddiq and Mohamed Ibn Marzouq Al-Saegh⁽⁴³⁾ that .

3 - One carat and carat is equal between them , including three out of twenty-four carats that is the entire .

4 - Of the store locates in Mecca in the alley famous for the alley of Hgr , in front of the prophet , s door , on the right of the enterer from the alley to Hush Al-sheikh .

5 - Jan in the locality of Al-Qashashiyah limited east with the Hush mentioned and to the west , the store -the endowment of Qaitbey and north .

6 - the way of the line of the alley of Hgr with a door of the store and its façade and on the right of thee endowment mentioned .

7 - of the portion mentioned from the Hkr of the endowment for the direction of the endowment , every year thirteen Barah⁽⁴⁴⁾ received by the Excellency.

8 - of the general director of endowment sheikh abd Al-Rauf Al-Sabban , peace be upon our master Mohamed , his family .

9 - and his companions , issued on 7 / 3 / 1370 A.H .

Head of the royal endowments division

Abdullah Ibn Omar

I Have given Abdullah and Zainab mentioned above that emptied their entitlement

from the right to housing and benefit from their portion mentioned above whoever they don't want

to make avoid on them at the hands of the notary

of Mecca ,relying on Allah

General director of endowment

(signature) Hassan Hussein

Then the portion above was recorded

In the name of Mr. Abdullah Ibn Bakri

Issued the instrument from the notary

Of Mecca No.154 and date of 10/5 /year 1370 .

Page No. 8

Mohamed Khan

No.37 P.30

In the name of Allah

1 - A copy of what was disclosed from the notebook "list" of Mizqfat "tazes" sultan Mohamed Khan concerning the Above related to the name of Mr. Abdullah .

2 - Ibn Bakri Al-Hariri what is twenty three carats and four eights of carat and half of eight of carat .

3 - related to the name of Muneera daughter of Abdulkher the follower of Ibn Sidiq what is three eights of carat and half of eight of carat .

⁽⁴³⁾ I didn't find a biography of him .

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Para: word of Para from letters p .A. R, is a Persian word, means a part or a piece, its plural is Parat, a kind of silver coins, known in Egypt by the name of " silver halves", since striking of these silver halves,Ottoman knew these Egyptian coins by the name of Para, it means also Felos "Money" . see: Al-Husseini Al-Mazindrani, History of Islamic coins, P.113, Ahmed Al-Sawi, Coins in circulation in Ottoman Egypt, P.85 .

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4 – the whole of the two portions twenty four carats , the entire of the store locates in Mecca inside the alley famous in the past .

5 – for the alley of Hgr , in front of the prophet's door from the locality of Al-Qashashiyah , limited from the east by Hush sheikh Jan and from the west by the endowment of Qaitbey .

6 – and from the north from the alley of Hgr mentioned with the door and façade of the mentioned store and on the right by the endowment mentioned of .

7 – the entire mentioned store from the Hkr for the direction of the endowment , every year six Qurush received by the Excellency , the general manager of the endowments .

8 – Sheikh Abulhamid Hadidi for the direction of the public endowments , peace be upon our master Mohamed , and his family , issued on 25/4/1375 A.H .

9 – Head of the royal endowments division

10 – Abdullah Sheikh Ibn Omar

Page No. 9

Mohamed Khan P.31 No. 38

- After arranging the list below , one of the deservers died who was Mohamed Jan mentioned below before procedures .

- It was necessary to prepare another list , and the portion of the mentioned late was divided among his brothers by the orders of the general director .

1 – A copy of the list from the book of the endowment of sultan Mohamed Khan by the number mentioned above , that is related to the name of Said and Mohamed ,sons of .

2 – Sheikh Sidiq Jan , what is seven carats equally between them , concerning to the name of Shamsiah and Roqaiya , daughters of Sidiq .

3 – mentioned what is ten carats and half , equally between them , concerning the name of Ali and Saleha .

4 – sons of Saleh Ibn sidiq mentioned ,what is three carats and half equally between them , concerning the name of Zaid .

5 – And Zainab ,sons of Sidiq mentioned what is three carats and half equally between them , the entire .

6 – portions mentioned are twenty four carats what is the entire Dar locates in the alley of Hgr the famous now .

7 – in the alley of Al-Saghah , in front of the prophet's door in the locality of Al-Qashashiyah inside the Hush famous for Hush Al-sheikh .

8 –Jan , this Dar locates inside it on the left of the enterer to the rear of the mentioned Hush including that .

9 – Dar facilities⁽⁴⁵⁾ and legitimacy rights and five stores at its western side , including the mentioned Hush .

10 – three cells , two of them are conjoined to the front of the mentioned Hush on the right of the enterer to it and a large cell .

11 - originally were two cells , in the front of the mentioned Hush , that limited by all mentioned east Dar sons of Ali .

12 and west , the alley of Al-Sagha and north Dar Albo , and on the right the endowment of Qaitbey and the entire of the limit .

13 – Ribat Al-Abbas⁽⁴⁶⁾ , may allah be pleased upon him .

Head of the royal endowments division
(signature)

I have given the mentioned above their benefits in the housing and with the entire mentioned above , relying on Allah the general director of
accepted by the excellency ,the general director
(signature)

The most important results :

1 – Registration and publication of this document for the first time is considered an important historical publication on the history of Mecca during the period from 1335 A.H to 1375 A.H.

2 – Taking care of the responsible for the endowment , preserving its money , and

⁽⁴⁵⁾ facilities : they are the rooms at the ground floor or the upper floors in the houses and residence Dar, for keeping the private properties of the owners of the house . see : Ibn Manzour, Lisan Al-Arab, P.2736.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ a clear indication that Ribat Al-Abbas was existing till that date 11 / 6 / 1375 A.H , as the map No.1 refers to its location . for more information about it see: Hussein AbdulAziz Shafei , Ribats in Mecca since the beginning till the end of Mamluk era , first edition , Al-Forqan Organizayion , Mecca , 1426 A.H , P.108 .

recording the value of these money accurately .

3 – The document shows the development of the administrative systems in the endowment in Mecca during the 13th century A.H .

4 – The document mentioned the names of the dealers and deservers of this endowment such as Mohamed Nur son of the late Mr. Hashim son of abi Bakr son of Amin Al-Hariri and Aisha daughter of the late Mohamed son of rizq son of Abdulrahman Al- Tuhefi Al-Yamani Al-Samman and Amna , Fatima all sons of the late Ahmed Al- Khaiyat son of Abdulrahman son of Abd al-Salam Al-Muzaiyn and Fatima the daughter of Sheikh Sidiq Khan son of Mohamed Jan Al-Naqshbandi , and Abdullah & Zainab sons of Abdulkhair , the follower of sheikh Hassan son of Sidiq and Mohamed son of Marzouq al-Saaigh .

5 – This document is of an important geographical value , as it showed some places in details about the location of the endowment that was the lane of Al-Qashashiyah , in it the alley of Hgr , in front of the prophet's door , one of the Grand Mosque doors and the Great street in the line of Mecca as shown on the map .

6 – The economic importance of the document lies in the various types of coins used in Cash transactions during that period , represented in silver coins with their types such as Al-Diwani " half silver – Para" and Qurush and their parts such as the half and the quarter and a sixth .

7 – The document proved that the responsible persons of Wikala and the endowment were of the high rank positions such as the deputy of the Grand Mosque Mr. Soliman son of the late Mr. Ahmed Abd al-Wahab , known later by their jobs , the director of endowments Excellency sheikh Abd al-Rauf al-Sabban , Head of the royal endowments division Abdullah son of Omar

8 – The document mentioned a lot of titles and jobs of a religious description , in addition to prayers such as the honored - the late - the blessed - Mawlana – sultan – Khan – vice-beholder of the endowment – the deputy of endowment clerk – majesty Excellency the owner of honor – inherit the

credit for the best predecessor – Sharif of Mecca and its king – the greatest our master – Al-Sharif – may Allah exalt his honor – good fortune and comfort for them .

9 – The document assured the original beholder of the endowment who was Al-Sharif Al-Hussein son of Al-Sharif Ali son of the late Al-Sharif Mohamed son of the late , the blessed Al-Sharif Abul Muin son of Al-Sharif Oan .

10 – The document showed the interest of not deciding the value of the endowment , it varied during the period from 1335 A.H till 1375 A.H , that refers to the care of the responsible for the endowment saving its value during the different periods .

The most important recommendations of the study :

1 – The researcher recommends taking care, publishing , investigating , and analyzing the documents of endowments related to the two holy mosques either preserved in the division of endowments of Mecca or in the universal archives.

2 – Expanding of endowment studies and its effect on the social and economic studies in the Islamic community, especially in the countries of the two holy mosques .

3 – Establishing specialized center for the study of documents , interested in photographing all documents , collecting them , re-archiving , and directing researchers to study them .

4 – The study of cash values , that were mentioned in the document , analyzing their values that began with our document since 1335 A.H till 1375 A.H aiming to know the development of the value of the endowment during that period.

**Document of lists register of the Musaqefat "taxes"
of Sultan Mohamed Khan (1327 – 1337 A.H | 1909 – 1918 A.D)"Study & publish"**

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**Document of lists register of the Musaqefat "taxes"
of Sultan Mohamed Khan (1327 – 1337 A.H | 1909 – 1918 A.D)"Study & publish"**

Appendices :

First appendix: list of the names mentioned in the document .

Second appendix: list of the heraldry of Mecca , incoming in the document .

Third appendix: list of coins paid for spending in the endowment that mentioned in the document .

Fourth appendix: maps .

Fifth appendix: images of the document of sultan Mohamed Khan endowments.

First appendix :

Serial No.	Name
1	Mohamed Nur son of Mr. Hashim son of Abi Bakr son of Amin Al-Hariri.
2	Al-Sheikh Mohamed Jan Al-Mugadidi Al-Naqshbandi Al-Solimani Al- Khurasani .
3	Mr. Mohamed and Naffisa sons of Ahmed Abi Abdullah al-Merghani .
4	Aisha daughter of the late Mohamed son of Abdulrahman Al-Tuhaifi Al-Yamani Al-Samman .
5	Abd Al-Salam , Amna and Fatima ,all the sons of the late Ahmed al-Khaiyat son of Abdulrahman son of Abd Al-Salam al-Muaiyn .
6	Mr. Abdullah son of Mr. Bakri son of Hashim Abdou al-Hariri.
7	Al-sharifa Khaiyria daughter of al-sharif Mansour and al-sharif shaker al-Zaiydi.
8	Abullah and Zainab ,sons of Abdulkhair ,the follower of Hassan son of Sidiq and Mohamed son of Marzouq Al-Saegh .
9	Muneera daughter of abdukhher .
10	Al-Sheikh Abdulhamid Hadidi .

Second appendix: list of the heraldry of Mecca , incoming in the document .

Serial No	Name	job
1	Mr. Soliman son of the late Mr. Ahmed Abd Alwahab	deputy of the holy mosque
2	Abd Al-Salam son of Abd Al-Malek	judge
3	Al-Sheikh Abd Al-Rauf Al-Sabban	General director of endowments
4	Al-Sheikh Abdullah son of Omar	Head of the royal endowment division
5	Al-Sharif Mohamed son of Abd Al-Moen son of Al-Sharif Oan	Prince of Mecca

Third appendix : list of money paid for spending on the endowment ,mentioned in the document :

Volume of spending by carat	Value in one year	Date
1.75	17.5 Diwani	27 Jumada I 1335A.H
11.75	Two Qurush and 37.5 Diwani	14 Rabi II 1340 A.H
11.75	1.75 Qurush	23 Shaaban 1343 A.H
3.5	Five Qurush and 11 Diwani	23 Shaaban 1343 A.H
11,75	Two Qurush and 37.5 Diwani	29 Rabi II 1355 A.H
23	Six Qurush	24 Rabi II 1375 A.H

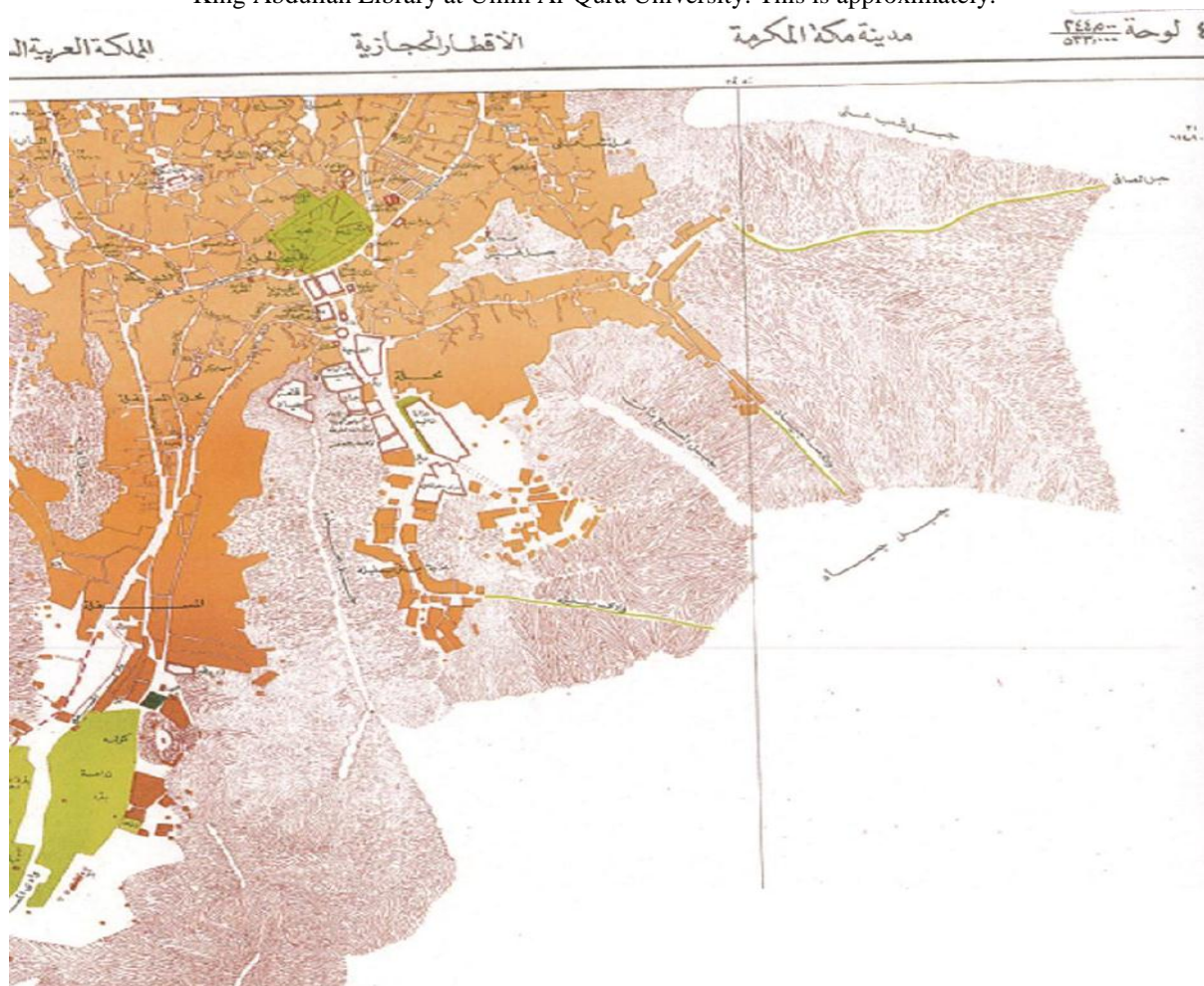
Document of lists register of the Musaqefat "taxes"
of Sultan Mohamed Khan (1327 – 1337 A.H | 1909 – 1918 A.D)"Study & publish"

Fourth appendix: maps



Map No. (1)

Zoom in to the location of the Waqf of Sultan Muhammad Khan, It was taken from the King Abdullah Library at Umm Al-Qura University. This is approximately.



Map No. (3)

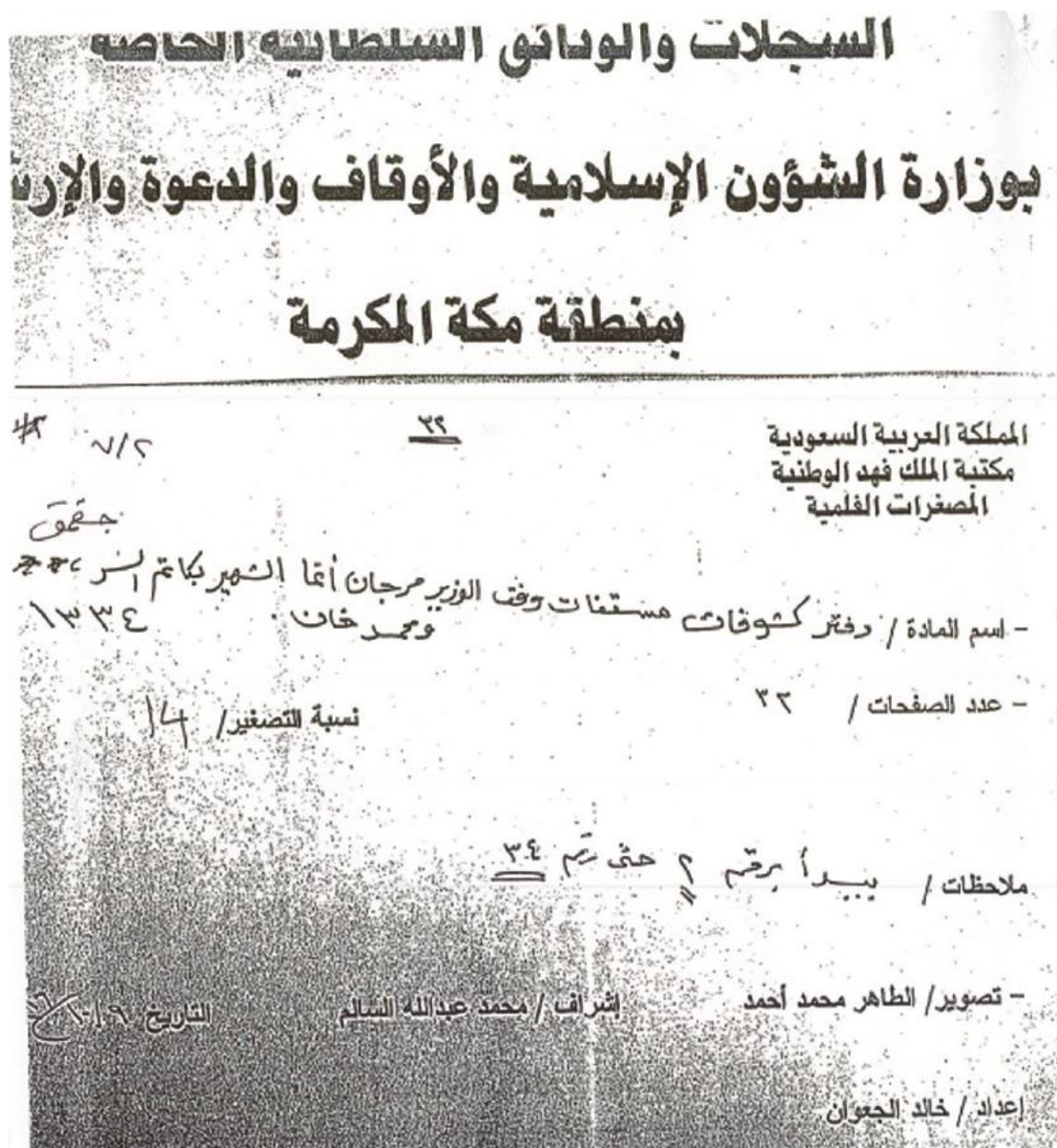
comprehensive map of Makkah. It was taken from the King Abdullah Library at Umm Al-Qura University.



Map No. (4)

shows the location of the endowment. It was taken from the King Abdullah Library at Umm Al-Qura University.

◆ **Fifth appendix:** images of the document of sultan Mohamed Khan endowments



Cover photo of the Sultan Muhammad Khan Endowment Document.
(Transfer For: Awqaf Administration, Makkah Al-Mukarramah)



document of sultan Mohamed Khan endowment
Transfer For: Awqaf Administration, Makkah Al-Mukarramah


خروج
٢
معدنه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

صدرت كشف صناديقنا من تاريخ اذناه بنفق ثلاثة
فيما هو موضح فيه الفراغ الا ان ذكره اذنا

صدرت ما دل عليه الكشف من دفتر مسقطات وقف الرصوم البرور مولانا السلطان محمد خان عليه الرحمة والرضوان امين
عن قضاة باسم الملك سيد محمد بن ابي الرصوم سيد حاكم ابي بكر بن ابي الحويج وذلك قيراط واحد وثلاثة ارباع قيراط
من اصل اربعة وعشرين قيراطا من المال الذي كان الكافي بمكة المشرفة بزقاق الحجر القابل لباب النواحد ابواب المسجد الحرام الكعب
عن يمين الداخل من الزقاق المذكور الى الحوش الشريف من شئ الشيخ جلال النفث بندي بحاجرة القفسيه الذي كان له كان المذكور
ويحيط به حدود اربعة اشرف احمد بن الشيخ محمد جلال الجدي النفث بندي السيداني الخراساني وغيره وكان
وقف الرصوم البرور مولانا السلطان محمد قاتيباى الجارى في استمقاق الكاهي سيد محمد بندي ولدى الرصوم سيد احمد
ابن عيسى اليربوعي وشيخ التمسكة النافذة خط نفاق الحجر المذكور الصلة الا ان مع الاضطرار المسمى وغيره وبها الباب
واحدة كان المذكور ويمتد وقف الواقف المذكور بما على الحصة المذكورة من الحكة لبرهة الوقف في كل عام سبعة
دومانيا ونصف ديوانى تسلم سيد الكاهي سيد سليمان نائب الحاكم الرصوم سيد محمد بن عبد الصاحب نائب الحاكم من حجرة تكونه وكذا على انظر هذا الوقف
جلال سبادة صاحبا العزو والشرف وارث الفضل عرض سلف شريفتمه الكفة ومكدها المقام سيدنا ابا الجليل سيدنا الشريف الحسين الامام
اجلاره واقباله نجيل الرصوم البرور المنتقل الى عرشه الشريف في دار الخلد والجوار الشريف على نجيل الرصوم البرور المنتقل الى اولاد القصر في دار النعيم
والجوي سيدنا الشريف محمد نجيل الرصوم البرور الشريف معية المعين بن الشريف عيون طاب شرهم ورحم منورهم واذا من الركب المذكور لسيده محمد
الحويج السمتي المذكور بان يفرغ جميع استمقاق المذكور بياض حرم الكشف على من شاء على يد الحاكم الشريفى رضى الله عنه والى المذكور عن
في جميع ما ذكره وبالله الاعتمدا واليه الرجوع وعليه الاستناد وحمل الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى اله وصحبه وسلم لا اله الا الله
وكل ناظر الوصف
كاتب الوصف

الحويج



document of sultan Mohamed Khan endowment
Transfer For: Awqaf Administration, Makkah Al-Mukarramah

محمد خان

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

صورة ما دل على التفت من زكاة مستغاة وقت السلطان محمد خان طاب ثراه منه ومكتف [مباصرة ذكره اياه] ١٩ ٢٤
على ما هو خارج باسمه صوته فاصهت التي صديقه جانه امه محمد صبه امه محمد جانه القبه في
زوجه بنته زياره ورضي في دارها في اول اربعه وعشرين قيراطا في كل من مائة شعرة الخردوي
الموصفة الطائفة وقت محمد المده بالزقاة السيرة بزقاة الخرمال لباية النبي احمد بن ابي الحسين
من حارة العباسية في كل من السيرة بموت النبي جانه من مائة الدخول اليه في بايه ويحد كامل
الشعرة الخردوي الموصفة المذكور ويحد ٣٢ حد ودارية شرقا الدار واث الدارين والذوق
وقت محمد صبه قديم واحد ما تحمى في الارشاق في وجهه الما في شطر الدون الزينة خيرة
بنت الزينة مصرية والزينة شاك الزينة وقرابا مؤخر الدكان الجارية في استكانة له عليه السلام
ببر البرية وشريك فيه وشا ما رجة الخردوي المذكور في مائة اربعة الشعرة الخردوي المذكور في حرمه
ومما الجارة وقت السلطان محمد عباسي جامله الشعرة الخردوي والذوق في كل من المذكور في
في وقت الوقف في كل عام قيراط واحد وثلاثة ارباق في قيراطهم في مائة الارواق المسماه النبي
عبد الرؤف الصبان وبيان ما ذكر في حق النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في سنة ١٢٤٢ هـ

كانت الوقف

ازدني لغاها المذكور في اية الله في استكانة امره جده النعمان والانتفاع
بالشعرة الخردوي والذوق في كل من المذكور في مائة ارباق في سنة
على من شانه من ارباق من اجرة الفدح على يد
كانت في سنة محمد المده واصال في سنة محمد وبانته الاثنا د
مدير الارواق العام

استعملت الحصة اعلاه في سنة
وسمى النبي السجده في حان
المذكور مرفوع صلته كان
على ذلك بعدة تاريخ ١٢٤٨ هـ

document of sultan Mohamed Khan endowment
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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

صورة ما دل عليه المتن من وقت مستصانة وفتح السلطان محمد خان حيايه شاه بنه ومجيبه جيا صرته ذره اوانه
 لما صوحاهم باسم المصرتة فاحمته الشيخ صديقه خان ابن محمد صيدا به جمان القنده وفتح
 ندرته واربط وفتح قيراطش له في كل اربعه عشر من قيراطا صر كالي كل من المورثين المورثين المورثين
 عمه الموم بالزفانه السور بطا وفتح الممال لبا به النبي اهد البرايه لسيد المرام الله من حارة القابيه بذكر
 الخزانة السور بخونه الشيخ جمان بن محمد الدخيل اليه من حرة بابيه ويحمد كالي المورثين المورثين ويحمد
 حمد واربعة شرعا الدار والى البروان والذوق وفتح مده ريشه قيراطا وهديا تحت يد المورثين قيراط
 عبد الله الناصر عير القون الشريف جدي به بنت الشريف منصور والابن شاك الزبير وتمام الحد الدار
 كتم اولاد السيد ابي ابنه الكي طلوع ابنه اسعد المرغنا وفتح بارهجه المورثين المذكور وفي باب المورثين
 المذكورين وواجرهم وشاما الله رفق الوقت المذكور اعلاه الجا به في استحقاقه اولاد الشيخ صديقه خان
 المذكور بما ملك المورثين القيراط والفضة القيراط المذكور به من الحد طرية الرقة في كل عام قيراط واحد
 وبنوته ارباع قيراط قسم بيدي ميرالارضان الفاسق وفتح الشيخ عبد الرزاق الصبان وبيان ما ذكر تحسره
 وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى اله وصحبه وسلم تحريا ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤
 كاتب الرقة

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

اذتة لنا صرته المذكور لعاليه ان تفرغ في استحقاقه قيراطه السن
 والاربع بالبنوة القيراط والفضة القيراط
 المذكورين بما صرته هذا الفاضل في شانه مده ورايح
 مده اجراء الفاضل عليهم على يد كاتب الله محمد الموم
 واطرافه في مده وبالله الاعناد
 ميرالارضان الفاسق

اسئلة الرقة اعلاه الى رقة وشبهه من الشيخ
 صديقه خان المذكور بموجب صلته
 كاتبه كالي ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٤

document of sultan Mohamed Khan endowment

محمد خان
ص ٤٧
عدد ٤٤

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

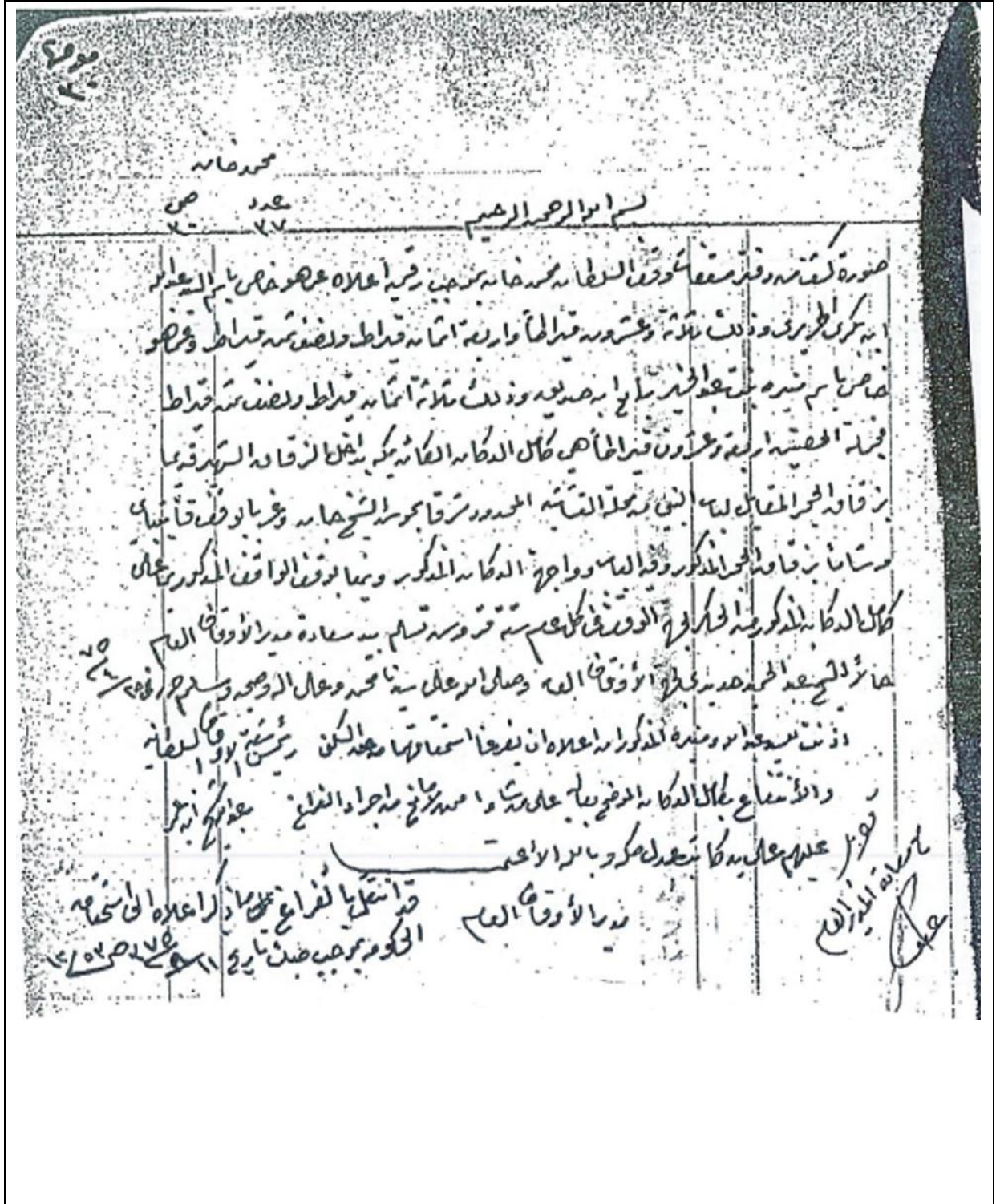
صدرت لكفارة وقد سمعنا وقف السلطان محمد خان بموت رقيه عملة محمد خان باسم
 محمد بن زينب ولدي محمد بن الشيخ حسين بن محمد بن مرزوقه الصالح وذات
 قنطرة واحد ومنا قنطرة ونصف من قنطرة ابوتهم بلانها اصل اربعة وعشرين قنطرة
 الدخان القاهية على المذبح برفاهه اشر المفاعل لبا التوجه من الدخان من الرفاهه الى هو من الشرا
 هان محل القاهية المحمدية كقنطرة المسار الى وعرا الدخان وقد قاسنا وسما
 الكه القاهية بقطر قناه الخرج واطراف الدخان وواحدة منها وقف الاوقاف المذكور
 بملك الحق المذكور له القنطرة الاوقاف في كل عام ثلاثة عشر مائة وثمانين تسعة
 مائة الاوقاف الهام حارة الشيخ عبد الرؤوف الصبان وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى اله
 وصحبه وسلم خير في سنة ١٢٧٤

اذنت السيد محمد بن زينب ومحمد المذكور من عماله ان لا يردوا الاستحلال
 من هذه الكفا والانتفاع حصص الموضع المذكور له
 محمد بن زينب من اجواد القناع عليهم وعلى بنات
 محمد بن زينب وبنات ابنتها
 محمد بن زينب الاوقاف
 محمد بن زينب الاوقاف

تم قده الحق المذكور اعلاه
 بالقناع المذكور المذكور
 محمد بن زينب المذكور
 محمد بن زينب المذكور

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محمد خان
 ص ٤٨
 ٤١
 ليد بصرهم المستأجران في احد المسقطه محمد خان المذكور انما قبل اجراء الفراق
 قلزم اول بافراج كسقا اخر وقصد حصه التوفيق المذكور على احدى بموجبه والمدير العام
 الطهوره كسقا مبدن في وقت السلطان محمد خان بموجبه رقمه اعلاه عن محمد خان باسم سيده محمد وليه
 الشيخ صديقه جده وذلك بقراريه فاصفه بينهما وعلم هو خان باسم شمسه ورقم بنين محمد وبنين
 المذكور وذلك عشرة قراريه ونصف قيراط بالسويه بينهما وعلم هو خان باسم علي وحمالي
 ولي صالح بن صديقه المذكور وذلك ثلثه قراريه فاصفه بينهما وعلم هو خان باسم زيد
 وزينب وليه صديقه المذكور وذلك ثلثه قراريه ونصف بالسويه بينهما فحمله
 الحصص المذكوره اربعة وعشرون صير المأهلي كمال الدار الكائن بقرانه الحجر الشهبان الذي
 بقرانه الصاعقه المقابل لباب النبي صه مولا القضايه بدخل الحوسه الشهبان بمجموده الشيخ
 عامه وهذه الماير واقعه بدخله عليه يسار الدخول الى حوض الحوسه المذكور الشغل هذا
 البيت على منافع حقوقه شريكه وعلى غيره ذكاليه بسقطه جبهته القريبه ويشتمل الحوسه المذكور
 على ثلثه حوضه في اسماءه منها مائة وثمانون صقناه باول الحوسه المذكور عنده ميمده الدخول اليه وخلوة
 كبيرة اعلاها فخر تامه وهي التي يصدر الحوسه المذكور الحود وجميع ما ذكره شرافا داره على
 بوقر باقر خان الصاعقه المذكور واما دار ابو المذكور وبها وقفه قبايعاى وتمام الحد
 رباط العباس في سنة ١٢٤١ هـ / ١٨٢٥
 رئيسي شعبه ابو قاي سلطانيه
 اذنت للمذكور ان يفرغوا استحقاقهم من حوزة السنن والادب في كل ما
 ذكره باليه حوزة السنن والادب
 مدير الوقاف العام
 مع ساقية السيد
 محمد

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وثيقة سجل كشوفات مسقفات وقف السلطان محمد خان

(١٣٢٧-١٣٣٧هـ/١٩٠٩-١٩١٨م)

بمكة المكرمة "دراسة ونشر"

أ.د. حسين بن عبد العزيز بن حسين الشافعي

أستاذ بجامعة ام القري- قسم التاريخ drhosain1429@hotmail.com

ملخص البحث:

تعد صكوك الأوقاف والوثائق أحد أهم المصادر التاريخية غير القابلة للطعن حيث تكمن أهمية هذه الوثائق في معرفة العديد من الحقائق التاريخية الهامة ومنها أسماء القائمين على الوقف والمنشأة الموقوفة بالإضافة إلى الفترة الزمنية الواقعة في تاريخ الوقفية، كما أن قراءة صكوك ووثائق الوقف بصفة عامة ليست بالعملية السهلة وإنما هي عملية شاقة وصعبة من حيث الوقت في قراءة تلك الوثائق بالإضافة إلى صعوبة قراءة الخطوط التي كتبت بها هذه السجلات والتي تنوعت ما بين خط النسخ والتلث والرقعة، بالإضافة إلى تحليل كل معلومة وردت في هذه الوثيقة، وتمثل هذه الوقفية أهمية كبيرة في الأوقاف المكية لما لها من دور في دراسة الدور الكبير الذي قام به العاملين بالحرم المكي وإدارة الأوقاف بمكة المكرمة في الحفاظ على أوقاف الحرم المكي الشريف.

ومن أهم نتائج الدراسة ما يلي:

- ١- تسجيل ونشر الوثيقة باعتبارها جزءاً من تاريخ مكة المكرمة.
- ٢- توثيق وتحديد لبعض الأماكن في مكة المكرمة مثل الدكان الكائن بزقاق الحجر المقابل لباب النبي، أحد أبواب المسجد الحرام المكي وحوش الشيخ جان النقسبندي بحارة القشاشية والشارع الأعظم بخط المسعى.
- ٣- تميزت الوقفية بالكشف عن أحد أهم الأوقاف في مكة المكرمة وهو وقف السلطان المملوكي محمد قايتباي.
- ٤- رصدت الوقفية أسماء بعض الأشخاص المستحقين للوقف ومنهم السيد محمد ونفيسه ولدي المرحوم السيد أحمد أبي عبدالله الميرغني وعائشة بنت المرحوم محمد رزق بن عبدالرحمن الطحيفي اليماني السمان.
- ٥- كشفت الوقفية اسم ناظر هذا الوقف وهو شريف مكة الشريف الحسين نجل المرحوم محمد نجل المرحوم الشريف عبدالمعين ابن الشريف عون.
- ٦- أشارت الوقفية إلى اسم وكيل الوقف وهو السيد سليمان نائب الحرم ابن المرحوم السيد أحمد عبدالوهاب نائب الحرم.

الكلمات الدالة:

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