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# JOURNAL

OF THE GENERAL UNION OF ARAB ARCHAEOLOGISTS  
ANNUAL PEER-REVIEWED INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC  
JOURNAL - DEDICATED TO THE PUBLICATION OF  
RESEARCHES AND SPECIALIZED STUDIES IN THE FIELDS OF  
ARCHAEOLOGY AND MUSEUMS, RESTORATION AND ARAB  
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PUBLISHED BY

The General Union of Arab Archaeologists

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الموافق ١١ / ٤ / ٢٠١٧ م

سعادة الأستاذ الدكتور محمد الكحلوي المحترم  
أمين الاتحاد العام للأثاريين العرب  
جمهورية مصر العربية

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فأرجو منكم نقل تحياتي وتهنئتي لأسرة هيئة التحرير والقائمين على مجلتكم، متمنياً لكم دوام التميز والعطاء، آملاً أن تكونوا أنموذجاً يُحتذى به، وفقنا الله وإياكم لما يحبه ويرضاه.  
وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام والتقدير،،،

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- The manuscript must be written in 25 pages; five of them include photographs. The contribution should not exceed 35 pages (minimum 5000 words and maximum 7000 words). Each extra text's page costs 15 Egyptian pounds and 20 Egyptian pounds are paid for each extra photographs' page.
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Receiving researches (For five months)	December	30 April
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<b>N</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Receive the research</b>	<b>Sent Research to peer review</b>	<b>Reciving Research From peer reviewer</b>	<b>Reciving Correction from researcher</b>	<b>Review and arrangement</b>	<b>Printing and upload on site</b>
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7.	<b>Dynastie Dr. Sahar El-Badrawy</b>	<b>„Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ Am Beispiel von Lebensläufen hoher Beamten in der 18.</b>	17 3 2017	17 3 2017	2 4 2017	16 4 2017	1 5 2017 :30 5 30 17	1 6 2017
8.	<b>Dr.salwa kamel</b>	<b><i>Le Génie Nb-Sgr "Seigneur du silence" et les dieux qui portent le titre nb-sgr dans les lieux saints</i></b>	20 3 2017	21 3 2017	4 4 2017	28 4 2017	1 5 2017 :30 5 30 17	1 6 2017

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**\*note : this index is arranged according to the alphabetical order of names**

## The Mayors of *W3h-swt* In Late Middle Kingdom

Dr.Anwar Ahmed Selim\*

### Abstract:

In the late Middle Kingdom, Senowesert III established his funerary complex at Abydos, and built an important town adjacent to this complex. This town, which was closely associated with Senowesert III's funerary complex, was called *W3h-swt*. Mayors of *W3h-swt* were responsible for the administration of the funerary complex of Senowesert III in addition to their town. They have additionally overseen the estates located in the vicinity of the complex and the town of *W3h-swt*. As such, this paper aims at spotting lights on the mayors of the town of *W3h-swt*, their titles, and their role in the late Middle Kingdom in view of the town's history in addition to some seals impressions that have been discovered in its site.

In the late Middle Kingdom, Senowesert III established his funerary complex at Abydos, and built an important town adjacent to this complex. This town, which was closely associated with Senowesert III's funerary complex, was called *W3h-swt*. Mayors of *W3h-swt* were responsible for the administration of the funerary complex of Senowesert III in addition to their town. They have additionally overseen the estates located in the vicinity of the complex and the town of *W3h-swt*. As such, this paper aims at spotting lights on the mayors of the town of *W3h-swt*, their titles, and their role in the late Middle Kingdom in view of the town's history in addition to some seals impressions that have been discovered in its site.


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## Key words:

Middle Kingdom, Funerary complex, Nomarch, Provincial Administration, Mayor, Deputy of the mayor, Seal impressions, priests

## Location & Name of *W3h-swt*

*W3h-swt* locates about 9 km at the south of Abydos (map 1),<sup>1</sup> in the neighborhood of the town named *Hwt-shm* ( Hu, Diospolis parva).<sup>2</sup> It is one of the towns of the seventh Nome of upper Egypt known as *B3t* <sup>3</sup>. This town was established by Senowesert III<sup>4</sup>, who has also built a cenotaph- tomb, a mortuary temple, and a valley temple to link the cult of Osiris of Abydos with the royal funerary cults; The new established sit by him. (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup>

The extension of the town ranges from about 45,000 m up to 60,000 m. Comparing to El-lahun, it is quite small; it is approximately 1/3 to 1/2 the size of El-lahun town.<sup>6</sup> The town continued to be inhabited by nations until the end of the New Kingdom; this is shown through some important finds that have been recently uncovered in its site, e.g. corpus of ceramic material and a Hieratic ostrakon SA. 2708.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> F.Gomaa, *die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches*, Band,1, Oberägypten und das Fayyüm, BTAVO, 19, Wiesbaden, 1986, s.184.

<sup>2</sup> H.Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques, contenus dans les Textes Hiéroglyphiques*, Le Caire, 1825, p.177.


<sup>3</sup> P.Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte Ancienne*, vol. II, Paris, 1961, p.97.

<sup>4</sup> J.Wegner, "The Town of Wah-Sut at south Abydos:1999 Excavations ", *MDAIK* 57(2001), p.282.

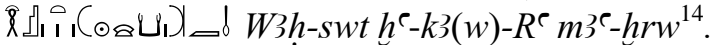
<sup>5</sup> G.D. Mumford, "Settlements-Distribution Structure, Architecture Pharaonic ", in: *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, edited by A.Lloyd, vol,I, Singapore, 2010, p.341.

<sup>6</sup> J.Wegner, "Excavations at The Town of Enduring-are-the-places-of-Khakaure-maa-kheru-in-Abydos, Preliminary Report in the 1994 and 1997 Seasons ", *JARCE* 35(1998), p.7.

<sup>7</sup> S.Justl, "Spicial delivery to Wah-sut An Eighteenth Dynasty Ostrakon 's inventory of Precious Materials", *JARCE* 52(2016), PP.255-68.

As for the name of the town, it was attested on the seals impressions discovered in the funerary temple of Senowesert III and the mayoral residence as  "W3h-swt h<sup>c</sup>-k3w-R<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw m 3bdw".<sup>8</sup> In addition that it was called in the Brooklyn papyrus No.35.1446, R28b, 62b, which is dated to late Middle Kingdom, as W3h-swt<sup>9</sup>; this later form of the name has occurred also in the tomb of the famous vizier Rh-mi-R<sup>c10</sup> in the caption of the scene of the taxpayers of W3h-swt (fig.1) which reads:



<sup>11</sup>whmw n W3h-swt mty ifd hnw hbnt bit hry-s3l nbw dpn gs sš n whmw n W3h-swt d3wI" the herald of Wah-sut (has brought) mty linen, hbnt<sup>12</sup> jar of honey, and one of hry-s3 cattle,<sup>1/2</sup> dpn of gold, the scribe of the herald of Wah-sut one of d3w linen"<sup>13</sup> In Ramesseum Onomastica No. 211, the town was described as  W3h-swt h<sup>c</sup>-k3(w)-R<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw<sup>14</sup>.

### The Residence of the Mayors of W3h-swt

The residence of the mayor was discovered by Wegner in seasons 1994 and 1997, and it was labeled as Building A. It consists of series of rooms, courtyards, and access corridors (Fig.3)<sup>15</sup>; it also contains a garden with trees, a granary complex, and some magazines<sup>16</sup>. The design of this residence resembles the architectural planning of the elite houses in the settlements of El-

<sup>8</sup>J.Wegner, " Institutions and Officials at south Abydos:An Overview of the Sigillographic Evidence", *CRIPEL22*(,2001),p.81.

<sup>9</sup> C.Hayes, *Papyrus of The Late Middle Kingdom in Brooklyn Museum*, New York, 1955,pl.3,28b,5,62b.

<sup>10</sup>Ur<sup>k</sup>,IV,1134,A.Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*,vol,IIi,Oxford,1947,p.34,no.3468.

<sup>11</sup> Ur<sup>k</sup>IV,1133-1134.

<sup>12</sup> Hbnt is a liquid measure *Wb*,II,487,13-19.

<sup>13</sup> J.H.Breasted,*Ancient Records*,vol,II,Chicago,1906,p.287,no.736.

<sup>14</sup> F.Gomaa, *die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches*,Band,1,s.184.


<sup>15</sup>J.Wegner, *JARCE 35*,p.8.

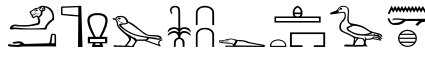
<sup>16</sup> G.D.Mumford, , "Settlements-Distribution Structure,p.341.

lahun<sup>17</sup>. Furthermore, the large seals impressions found in the town's site give an evidence for the organization of the town and its relationship to the mortuary temple of Senowesert III. They give us also important information about the chronology and lifespan of the town, the administrative structure of the town, and the nature of officials who stayed in the town<sup>18</sup>. More than that, the recent excavation revealed a series of large residences situated at the southern part of this settlement extending from east to west; some of them are large in size, and the others are medium (Fig. 4)<sup>19</sup>.

***Nht*  the mayor of W3h-swt**

A series of clay seals impressions were discovered around the residence of the mayor of *W3h-swt*. It is worthwhile that these seals impressions bear some significant indications with regard to the names and the titles of the governors of *W3h-swt* from the reign of Senowesert III till the end of the thirteenth

Nakht was the first known mayor of the town; his name and titles attested on a clay seal impression No.9805, found at his residence in *W3h-swt*, where he bore the titles  *h3ty-ꜥ imy-r šs hwt-ntr*" the mayor, the overseer of the precious thing of the temple" (Fig.5,a).<sup>20</sup>

Another seal impression no.2422 records Nakht's filiation and titles as follows:  *h3ty-ꜥ htmty-ntr wr-Md šmꜥw Nht s3 Sbk-hotep*" the mayor, god's sealer, great one of the tens of upper Egypt, Nakht the son of Sobek-hotep"<sup>21</sup> (Fig. 5, b). In addition that he has also held the title 'god's sealer at

<sup>17</sup>D. O'connor, "the Elite Houses of Kahun", in: *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Near east*, Studies in Honour of Bell, M.R., vol, 1, edited by Phillips, J. & Leprohon, .R., London, 1997, pp.389-400.


<sup>18</sup> J. Wegner, *JARCE* 35, p.32..

<sup>19</sup> id, *MDAIK* 57, p.282.

<sup>20</sup> J. Wegner, *JARCE* 35, p.37.

<sup>21</sup> J. Wegner, *the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, Newhaven and Philadelphia, 2007, p.336, fig.150.

Ta-wer Nome on another clay seal impression, No.8814 on which we read:

 *h3ty-<sup>c</sup> šmsw nsw htmty-ntr m T3-Wr*<sup>22</sup>  
*Nhti*" the mayor, follower of the king, god's sealer in Ta-wer Nome *Nht i*"<sup>23</sup>.

It is noteworthy that the term *šmsw* 'follower or retainer' appeared since the Old Kingdom<sup>24</sup>, wherein it was used to designate attendants, who began to bear weapons at the end of this period, forming local military groups, playing an important role in the warlike acts which prevailed in the First Intermediate Period, e.g. Nehry the Governor of Hare Nome has employed them as soldiers<sup>25</sup>. Later in the Middle Kingdom, the term *šmsw* continued to be used in a military context<sup>26</sup>, and the military role of the *šmsw* followers became relatively clear, as we find them separated into more than one group; such as, the Followers of the ruler, the follower of the Palace Gate.<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, Nakht held the title *wr-md šm<sup>c</sup>w* "great one of the tens of upper Egypt", which occurred since in the Old Kingdom<sup>28</sup> and usually designates a high rank official with legal tasks<sup>29</sup>. It also designates high officials who have close relations to the royal court<sup>30</sup>. By the rise of the Middle Kingdom, this title has been held by the nonarchs. As for instance *h3-nht*, the nonarch of the Hare Nome in the reign of Amenemhate I, who held the title

<sup>22</sup> &A-Wr is the name of the eight Nome of upper Egypt, F.Gomaa, *die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren*, s.187.

<sup>23</sup> J.Wegner, *the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, p.338.

<sup>24</sup> *Wb*, IV, 487, 2., Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles Epithets and Phrases of The Old Kingdom*, Vol. II, (Oxford, 2000), p.999, no.3665.

<sup>25</sup> R.O.Faulkner, "Egyptian Military Organization", *JEA* 39 (1953), p.38.

<sup>26</sup> D.Stevanovic, "Smsw-Soldiers of the Middle Kingdom", *WZKM* 98 (2008), p.233.

<sup>27</sup> S.Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700*, London, 2004, p.103., D.Stevanovic, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles in the Period of the Middle Kingdom Dossiers*, London, 2006, pp.145-163.

<sup>28</sup> D.Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles Epithets*, vol., II, p.1432, no.387.

<sup>29</sup> N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, England, 1985, p.181.


<sup>30</sup> H.Willems, *Dayr Albarsha, the Rock Tombs of Djehutinakht and Iha*, Leuven, 2007, p.103.

*wr-Md šm<sup>c</sup>w* and *wr-Md mḥw* "great one of the tens of lower Egypt" among his titles that have been recorded in his tomb at El-bersheh.<sup>31</sup>

Nakht held also the title *ḥtmty-ntr* 'god's sealer'. This title has appeared since the Old Kingdom to designate the leaders of the Expeditions to foreign lands and the mining regions<sup>32</sup>; From the Old Kingdom, the title holder has played an important role in funerary ceremonies and cults<sup>33</sup>. By the Middle Kingdom, it was used to refer to the function of senior embalmer.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, the title *ḥtmty-ntr* has also associated with some gods, e.g. Osiris, Amun, and Anubis<sup>35</sup>. More than that, it has occurred frequently on the so-called Abydene stelas on which the holder of this title has additionally borne other titles related to Osiris and played an important role in the ceremonies of Osiris at Abydos; a fact that indicates the high social status of the title holders.<sup>36</sup>


Since Nakht has held the title *ḥtmty-ntr m T3-Wr*, it is likely that *T3-Wr* was his homeland, and he was appointed by the King Senwoser III as a mayor of *W3ḥ-swt* in addition to his role in the funerary ceremonies and cults of Osiris.

### *Hnty-ḥty* **the mayor of W3ḥ-swt**

Khenty-khtey was the son of Nakht and grandson of Sobek-hotep; this is actually recorded in one of the seals impressions, no.8814, in which he is described as:  *ḥ3ty-ḥtmty-ntr Hnty-ḥty s3 Nḥti m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw* " the mayor, god's


<sup>31</sup>H.Willems, *Dayr Albarsha, the Rock Tombs of Djehutinakht*, p.103.



<sup>32</sup>Schenkel, W., "Gottessiegler", *LÄ*, II, col.820., Jones, D. , *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, vol. , I , p.767, no.2791.

<sup>33</sup>S.Sauneron, " le Chanclier du Dieu  dans son double role d'Embaaumeur et Prêtre d' Abydos", *BIFAO* 51(1952), pp.137-171.

<sup>34</sup>G.H.Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom, A Supplement to W.Ward's Index*, New York, 1997, p.30. S.Quirke, *op.cit*, p.103.,


<sup>35</sup>W.Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, Beirut, 1982, nos 1481-1484.

<sup>36</sup>S.Sauneron, " le Chanclier du Dieu  dans son double role d'Embaaumeur, pp.137-171.

sealer Khenty-khtey son of Nakhti, true of voice"(fig.6). Khenty-khtey took the same titles of his father, as we read on another seal impression:  *ḥ3ty-ꜥ imy-r ḥtmty-ntr Ḥnty-ḥty s3 Nht*" the mayor, overseer of god's sealers Khenty-khtey son of Nakht ". Moreover, he has also held some titles associated with the funerary complex of Senwosert III on a seal impression as follows:  *ḥ3ty-ꜥ imy-r ḥwt-ntr Ḥnty-ḥty s3 Nht nb im3ḥ*" mayor, overseer of the temple, Khenty-khtey the son of *Nht*, lord of veneration"<sup>37</sup>.

In view of the titles of Khenty-khtey, one can say that the King promoted him to be an overseer of god's sealers, so he oversaw all the cults and the ceremonies of Osiris, and he was also the overseer of the priests of the funerary complex of the king Senwosert III.

***Nfr-ḥr*  the mayor of *W3ḥ-swt***

Nefer--Her is known from a clay seal impression, no.8851on which he held the titles:  *ḥ3ty-ꜥ imy-r ḥmw-ntr Nfr-ḥr* " mayor, overseer of the priests Nefer-Her"(fig.7).

It significant that this mayor did not bear all the titles borne by his predecessors, but he bore only two of the provincial titles, i.e. *ḥ3ty-ꜥ imy-r ḥmw-ntr* ' mayor, overseer of the priests'. This practice has prevailed in the most influential towns by the early Middle Kingdom.<sup>38</sup>

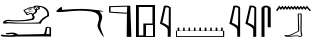
***Imny-snb*  the mayor of *W3ḥ-swt***

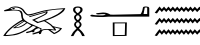
The titles of Imeny-seneb are attested on a clay seal impression, no.8851 where he held the following titles:

<sup>37</sup>J.Wegner, *JARCE* 35,p.3v.

<sup>38</sup>W.Grajetzki, *the Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt,History, Archaeology and Society*,London,2006,p.152.



 *h3ty-ꜥ imy-r hwt-nꜥr Imny snb nb im3h*  
 "mayor, overseer of the temple *Imny snb* lord of  
 veneration"<sup>39</sup>(fig.8).

*P3-hꜥpy*  **the mayor of *W3h-swt***

The name of Pa-Haꜥpy is attested only in two versions of a single clay seal impression; that is, the seal impression no.1645, whose versions were found in both the deposits of the funerary temple and the mayoral residence. In the text of this seal impression, Pa-Haꜥpy bore the following titles:

 *h3ty-ꜥ hrp nsty P3-hꜥpy* "the  
 mayor, the controller of two thrones"<sup>40</sup> (fig.9).

From the three titles linked to the provincial administration, Pa-Haꜥpy, unlike his predecessors, has only held the title *h3ty-ꜥ*. Not to mention that he has born the distinctive title *hrp nsty*, which has been previously taken by Dhwtꜥ-nakht (Tomb no.1 at El-Bersheh) the Nomarch of Hare Nome under the reigns of the Kings Amenemhat I, Senwosert II, and Senwosert III.<sup>41</sup> This title, i.e. *hrp nsty* was also a part of Nomarch's title of Djhwꜥ-hotep, the celebrated Nomarch of the Hare Nome.<sup>42</sup> This title seems to refer to the unique status of Hare Nome and their authority. In the late Middle Kingdom, this title appears to have lost its significance, as it appeared rarely in the thirteenth dynasty's seals impressions where it was taken by some local nomarchs<sup>43</sup>, and it was remarkably taken by some mayors of *W3h-swt* as rank or honorific title, e.g. Pa-Haꜥpy.<sup>44</sup> Being the only mayor of *W3h-swt* who had this title, Wegner suggests that Pa-Haꜥpy was not a local

<sup>39</sup>J. Wegner, *the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, p.339.

<sup>40</sup> J.Wegner, *the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, p.339.

<sup>41</sup>F.L.Griffith, F.L.&P.Newbeery, *El-Bersheh*, vol,II, London, 1894, p.19.


<sup>42</sup>P. Newberry, "Miscellanea", *JEA* 14(1928), p.111, fig.6., G.T.Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals*, Oxford, 1971, pl.46.14.

<sup>43</sup> J.Wegner, "External connections of the community of Wah-sut during the Late Middle Kingdom", *CASAE* 40(2010), P.446.

<sup>44</sup> Id, *the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, p.338

mayor, but came from another provincial Nome and was appointed as a mayor of *W3h-swt*.<sup>45</sup>

***Sh̄tp-ib*  the mayor of *W3h-swt***

On the clay seal impression no.1413 discovered at the residence of the mayor at *W3h-swt*, Sehtep-ib held the titles:  *h̄3ty-ꜥ htmty-ntr Sh̄tp-ib* "the mayor, the god's Sealer, Sehtep-ib", (fig.10).<sup>46</sup>

Sehtep-ib has also borne some titles related to the Town and the funerary temple. It worthwhile that some seals impressions of a women named *Rn.i snb* taking the title 'king's daughter' have been found at the mayoral residence of *W3h-swt*. she bore the Titles *irytp-ꜥt* "noble woman" and *s3t-nswt* "King's daughter". This discovery led Wegner to suppose that she was married to one of *W3h-swt*'s Mayors in middle or late of thirteenth Dynasty because her sealings were found in the upper deposits. This marriage has happened, in Wegner point of view, under the governorship of Sehtep-ib who was contemporaneous to the reign of the King Neferhotep I, and she has resided the mayoral palace.<sup>47</sup>

**The origins of the Mayors of Wah-sut and their chronology**

The sealings that were found at *W3h-swt* of the Nomarchs of *W3dyt* Nome ( the tenth Nome of upper Egypt) and the nomarchs of Hare Nome give an evidence to the origins of the Mayors of *W3h-swt*, who seem to have descended from elite families from the Hare Nome or *W3dyt* Nome. Furthermore they refer to the

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<sup>45</sup> J. Wegner, *the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, p.338.


<sup>46</sup> J. Wegner, *the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, p.338.

<sup>47</sup> J.Wegner, "Social and Historical implications of Sealings of the King's Daughter Renisenb and other Women at Wah-sut", in: *Scarabs of the Second Millenium B.C, Egypt ,Nubia, Crete, and the Levant*, edited by M.Bitak, E.Czerny, Viena, 2004, pp.222-241., J.J.Shirley, "Crisis and Restructuring of the State from the Second Intermediate Period to the advent of the Ramesses", in: *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, edited by M.Garacia, Leiden, 2013, p.559.

external relations of the mayors of *W3h-swt* and the provincial centers of Upper Egypt.<sup>48</sup>

As to the chronology of the mayors of *W3h-swt*, the recent discoveries have proven the chronology of the mayors through the sequence of the deposits of sealings of the governors and their correlation with the royal names. On these seals impressions, the royal names have been inscribed together with the names of seals' owner starting with Nakht ending with Sehetep-ib. The sealings that bore the name of the King Neferhotep,1 was found in strata which also contains the seal impressions of Sehetep-ib, and the sealings of Nefer-Her have appeared in the levels of deposits that coincide with the seal impressions of Sehetep-ib.<sup>49</sup> Since the seals impressions of Nakht and Khenty- khtey were found in the lower deposits, Wegner believes that Nakht was coincided with the reign of Senwosert.III and both Khenty khtey and Neferher were contemporaneous with the reign of Amenmhat III. While Ameny-seneb and Pa-ha'py were contemporaneous with the late of 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty and the beginning of 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, but Sehetep-ib the last mayor of Wah-sut was contemporaneous with four Kings, i.e. Neferhotep I Sobeknakht,V1,Wahibre-Ibiaw,and Merneferre-Ay.<sup>50</sup>

### General Commentary

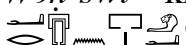
It is noteworthy that some seals impressions which was discovered in the mayoral residence, has associated with 'rryt gate, such as seal impression no.2433, which reads:  
  
 'rryt nt pr h3ty-<sup>c</sup> n W3h-swt h<sup>c</sup>-k3w-  
 r<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> hrw m 3bdw "the gateway of the house of the mayor of

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<sup>48</sup> J.Wegner,J., "External connections of the community of Wah-sut,p.444-448.

<sup>49</sup> id,the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos,p.340.

<sup>50</sup> id,the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos ,p.72.

*W3h-swt* kha-kaw=re justified in Abydos", (Figs, 11) .  
 *r n pr h3ty-ꞥ* "the Gate of the house of the mayor".<sup>51</sup>

The term *ꞥrryt* designates a place or hall with Gate acted as a place of communications between the palace or temple and the community<sup>52</sup>. it may have served as hall of judgment in judicial and non-judicial affairs.<sup>53</sup> in the residence of *W3h-swt*, it denotes an administrative unit controlling the flow of officials and materials in and out the residence. It also demonstrates the role of the mayor in the administration of the town and the mortuary temple of Senowesert III.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, it seems to have been used as a place where the goods and other materials were being counted and distributed between the temple and the town.<sup>55</sup> In my opinion, it might have been an important hall inside the mayoral residence with the aim of linking the mayor to the temple and estates administration; it might have had the function of a provincial knbt.

The mayor of *W3h-swt* had a walled estates 53 by 82 at *W3h-swt* in addition to smaller estates lined up in four sets, they are proximately 52 by 52.<sup>56</sup> In late middle kingdom, the local governors lost their importance or at least they have not built the big rock cut Tombs anymore. This provides an indication to the centralization of the state. But it might be the result of the change of the burial custom. Furthermore, some other sources, like stelae

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<sup>51</sup>J.Wegner, *Institutions and Officials at south Abydos*, p.81, fig.3.

<sup>52</sup>W.Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neun Reichs*, Köln, 1958, s.65., S.Quirk, *Administration of Egypt in the late Middle Kingdom*, London, 1990, p.50

<sup>53</sup>G.P.E.Van de Boorn, "wDa-ryt and Justice at the Gate", *JNES* 44 No,1(1985), pp.9-10.

<sup>54</sup>J.Wegner, *Institutions and Officials at south Abydos*, p.88.

<sup>55</sup>N.Picardo, "Hybrid households Institutional Affiliations and household identity in the Town of Wah-sut(south of Abydos)", in: *Complex Societies, Archaeological and Textual approaches*, edited by Müller, M., Chicago, 2013, p.263.

<sup>56</sup>G.D.Mumford, *op.cit.*, p.34.

and seals impressions, imply that the administrative structures in provinces went on without any noticeable change.<sup>57</sup>

Some of the mayors of Wah-sut have already reported about their filiation, such as Nakht the son of Sobek-hotep and Khenty-khety the son of Nakht; this gives an indication that the office of the mayor was hereditary.<sup>58</sup>

The mayors of *W3h-swt* bore three Titles , the first principle title was *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>*"the mayor" which usually comes with either the title *imy-r hwt-ntr* " the overseer of the temple", or the title *imy-r hmw ntr*" the overseer of the priests". *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>* designates the role of the mayor in the provincial administration. The titles *imy-r hwt-ntr* and *imy-r hmw ntr* were associated with the mayor's role as an overseer of the economic and ritual life in the mortuary temple.<sup>59</sup> So the mayors of Wah –sut were clearly the highest ranking officials in both town and temple.<sup>60</sup>

The combination '*h3ty-<sup>c</sup> n +n + name of the Town*' began to appear since the Middle Kingdom Period to designate the Nomarchs of the capitals of Nomes, and the Mayors who headed the settlements.<sup>61</sup>

The mayor was responsible for collecting the taxes, and he had a status that can be compared to that of Nomarchs.<sup>62</sup> On other hand willems suggests that the mayor was so much lower rank than the Nomarch, because the mayor has not been ever buried in a large tomb like the Nomarch; the only exception is the mayors who were buried in Beni Hassan.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Grajetzki,W., "Setting A State Anew: central Administration from the end of The Old kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom., in: *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, edited by M.Garcia., Leiden,2013,p.228.

<sup>58</sup> Wegner,J.,the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos,p.338.


<sup>59</sup> J.Wegner,,Institutions and Officials at south Abydos,pp.84-85.

<sup>60</sup> id, JARCE 35,p.35.

<sup>61</sup> Willems, H., "Nomarchs and Local Potentates: the Provincial Administration", in: *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, edited by M.Garacia, Leiden,2013,p.381..

<sup>62</sup> E.Pardey,,"Administration: Provincial Administration",OEAE,1(2001),pp.18-19.

<sup>63</sup> H.Willems , "Nomarchs and Local Potentates,p.381.

The Name of *W3h-swt* has not been appeared on the seals of the mayors accompanying the name of the mayors, except in only one example mentioning the title "the mayor of *W3h-swt* ...", but the mayor's name is missing.<sup>64</sup> There were also some officials in the provincial administrative structure who were under the command of the mayor, e.g.  *idnw n h3ty-ꜥ* "the deputy of the mayor////". This title appeared on the seal impression no.8770, but the name of title holder is unfortunately missing. (fig ,12)<sup>65</sup>

Some titles that were associated with the mayors of *W3h-swt*, like the title sealer of the god in Thinite Nome, give an indication to the close relation between *W3h-swt* and Thinite Nome, so it seems likely that *W3h-swt* has been managed by Thinite Nome or Abydos.<sup>66</sup>

The main aspect in the reign of Senwosert III is the decline of *hryw tp-ꜥ3* "the great overlord of the Nome", which took place at least in a part during his reign.<sup>67</sup> Since the title has disappeared from records, and perhaps this was because the King began to replace all the governors with local mayors.<sup>68</sup> Thus the local governors lost their importance or at least they have not had very huge tombs anymore; this of course refers to the centralization of the state.<sup>69</sup>

It is remarkable that the mayors of *W3h-swt* have borne the titles of the Nomarchs, and they had a close relation with the central government despite the fact that they were mayors. Eventually it is important to state that the tombs of the mayor of *W3h-swt* have not been found yet.

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<sup>64</sup> J.Wegner. the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos,p.339.

<sup>65</sup> Id, JARCE 35,p.37.

<sup>66</sup> Id, Institutions and Officials at south Abydos,p.89.

<sup>67</sup> R.D.Delia , *A Study of the reign of Senwosret,III*,Columbia,1980,p.169.

<sup>68</sup> D.Franke," the Career of Khnumhotep,III of Beni Hasan and the so-called the Decline of the Nomarchs",in: *Middle Kingdom Studies*, edited by S.Quirke, Leiden,1991,p.52.

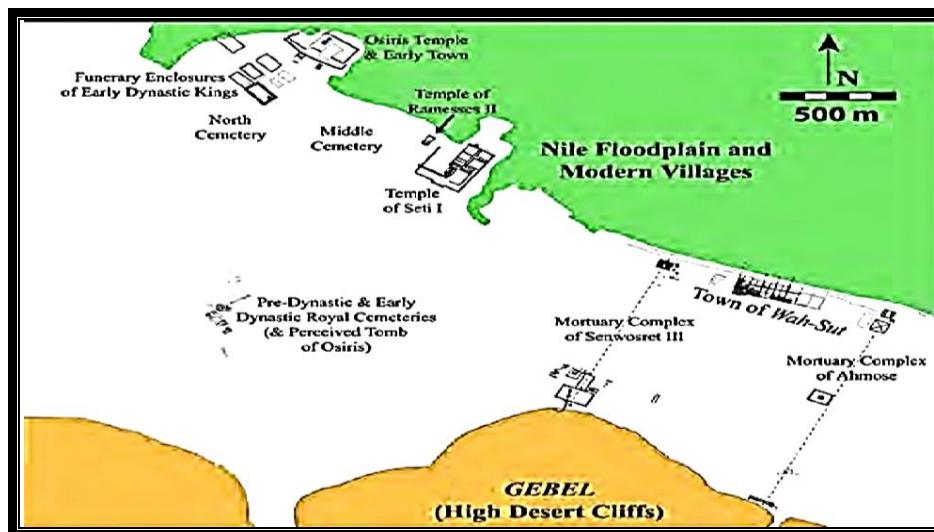
<sup>69</sup> W.Grajetzki, "Setting A State Anew: central Administration,p.228.

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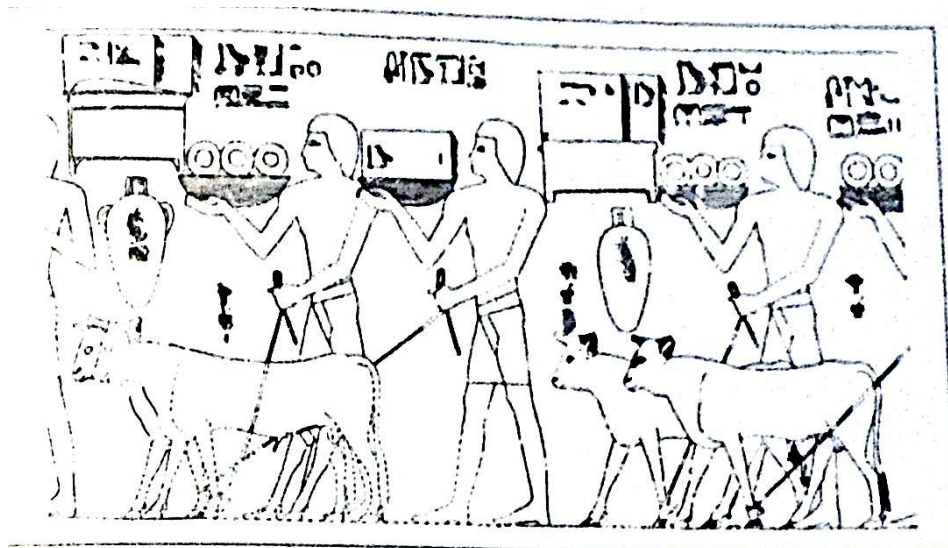
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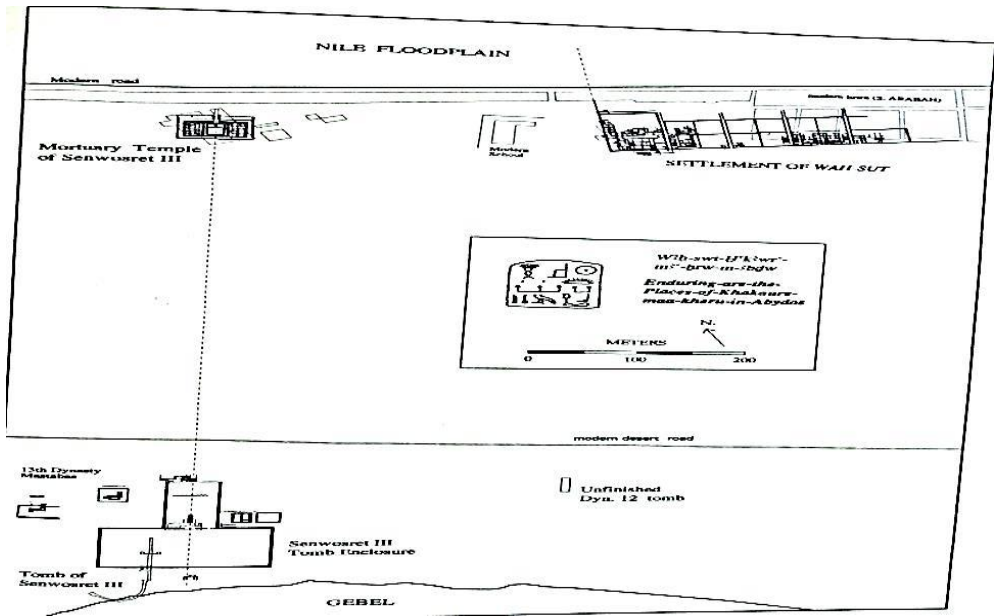
Map(1) ,Map of Abydos and the location of *W3h-swt*

Picardo, N., "Hybrid households Institutional Affiliations and household identity in the Town of Wah-sut (south of Abydos)", in: Complex Societies, Archaeological and Textual approaches, edited by Müller, M., Chicago, 2013, fig. 11.2.



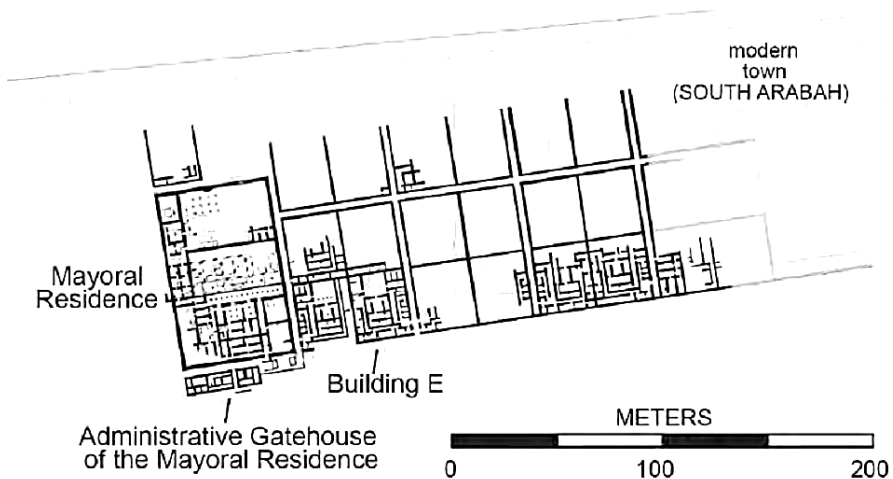
Fig(1) the herald of *W3h-swt* and his scribe present the taxes of *W3h-swt* to Rkh-mi-re

Davies, N de G., the Tomb of Rekm-mi-re at Thebes, New York, 1943, pl. XXXIV



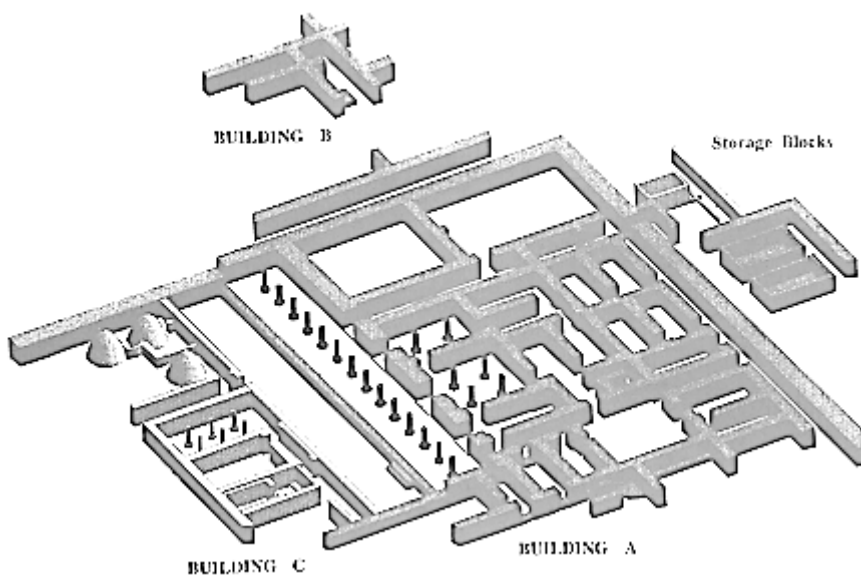
**Fig(2) The Mortuary Temple of Senowesert III and Settlement of *W3h-swꜥ***

Wegner,J., "The Town of Wah-Sut at south Abydos:1999 Excavations ",MDAIK 57(2001),p.282.



**Fig (3) The elite residences in the Settlement of *W3h-swꜥ***

Picardo,N., "Hybrid households Institutional,fig,11,4.



fig(4),building A ,The design of the residence of the mayor of *W3h-swt*,  
after, Wegner,J., JARCE 35,fig.5..



Fig(5) a clay seal impressions of Nakht,the mayor of *W3h-swt* found at  
his residence in *W3h-swt*

Wegner,J.,the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos,Newhaven and  
Philadelphia,2007,p.336,fig.150.



**Fig(6) seal impressions of Khenty-khty, the mayor of *W3h-swt***

Wegner,J., JARCE 35,fig.18.



**Fig(7) seal impressions of Nefer-her, the mayor of *W3h-swt***

Wegner,J., JARCE 35,fig.18.



**Fig(8) seal impressions of Ameny-seneb, the mayor of *W3h-swt***

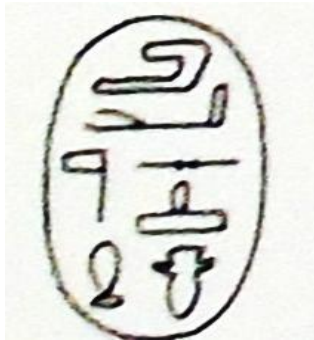
Wegner,J., the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos,fig.151.

Wegner,J., JARCE 35,fig.18.



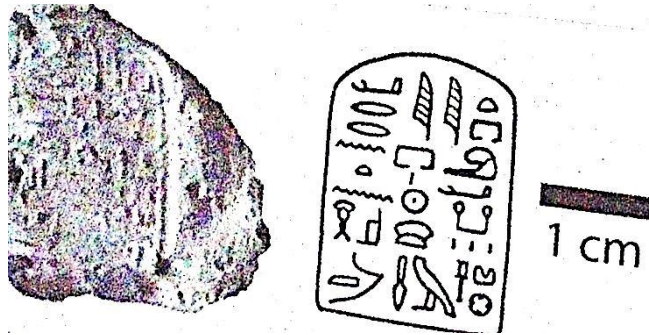
**Fig(9) seal impressions of Pa-ha'py, the mayor of *W3h-swt***

Wegner, J., the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos, fig. 151.



**Fig(10) seal impressions of Sehetep-ib, the mayor of *W3h-swt***

Wegner, J., the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos, fig. 151.



**Fig (11) A seal impression of Administration unit of he mayor of *W3h-sw*t found at his residence in *W3h-sw*t**

Wegner,J.,the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos,fig,1



**fig(12) a clay seal impression with the title deputy of the mayor of *W3h-sw*t**

Wegner,J.,the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos,fig.152,14.

## حكام واح-سوت في نهاية عصر الدولة الوسطى

د.أنور أحمد سليم\*

### الملخص:

شيد الملك سنوسرت الثالث مجموعة جنزية بأبيدوس، والحق بمجموعة الجنزية مدينة عرفت باسم واح سوت، نصب عليها حكام كان مسئولين عن إدارة كل من المجموعة الجنزية والمدينة.بالإضافة إلى الإشراف على المقاطعات والحقول المتخامة للمدينة، والهدف من البحث القاء الضوء على مدينة واح-سوت، وعلى حكامها، ألقابهم، دورهم في ادارة المدينة، وفي طقوس المعبد من خلال طبغات الاختام المكتشفة هناك.

### الكلمات الدالة:

عصر الدولة الوسطى

مجموعة جنزية

حاكم اقليم

إدارة محلية

حاكم مدينة

نائب الحاكم

طبغات أختام

كهنة

\*مدرس بقسم الآثار المصرية بكلية الآثار-جامعة القاهرة [anwar.selim@yahoo.com](mailto:anwar.selim@yahoo.com)

## INVESTIGATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS ON SANDSTONE BLOCKS AT LUXOR TEMPLE AND CONCEPTS FOR CONSERVATION

**Dr. Elashmawy Abd -Elkareem Ahmed\***

### **Abstract:**

Sandstone blocks were used in the construction of Luxor temple. However, they, especially cement materials, were at a great risk because of being affected by various deterioration factors. Groundwater started to rise in and around the temple, causing serious deterioration aspects of the blocks. Therefore, the current study was conducted to focus on the role of pores and cement regarding the deterioration process of sandstone blocks in the temple. In order to conduct systematic investigation, it adopted SEM – EDX, PLM and XRD. Also, physical and mechanical properties were examined to evaluate the components of the sandstone, under the present environmental conditions. It also interpreted the investigations of on-site evaluation tests (non- and less-destructive). It also focused on other methods, e.g. humidity and salt analysis. The study ended develops some recommendations that fit sandstone address in Luxor Temple.

### **Keywords:**

Luxor temple, Sandstone blocks, Cement materials, Environmental, Decay, Load-bearing, Salts, Faults, cracks.

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Archaeological History and Architectural Description of Luxor Temple

Luxor temple is located on the eastern bank of the Nile, near Luxor downtown. It covers an area of 14025 m<sup>2</sup>; it is 255 m long and 55 m wide (Fig.1&2). It was mostly constructed of Nubian sandstone that was brought from Gebel el-Silsila quarries, Aswan [1], [2]. Sandstone was not only dealt with as a building material, but was employed for many other purposes, such as statues and stelae, as well [3]. Because it was not carefully studied by many, the Current study tried to investigate sandstone blocks of Luxor temple. Unfortunately, they were in a very bad condition. Physiochemical factors, e.g. temperature, moisture, heavy rain water, salt weathering and Agricultural expansion in Luxor (Fig.3) played an important role in their deterioration, decreasing their physio-mechanical and chemical properties (Fig.7). Sandstone blocks in the temple were exposed to both internal and external weathering processes. Their interaction depended on the nature of the environment and their location within the building. There were two major causes of sandstones' deterioration in the temple; pollutants and crystallization of soluble salts (Fig.7, 9).

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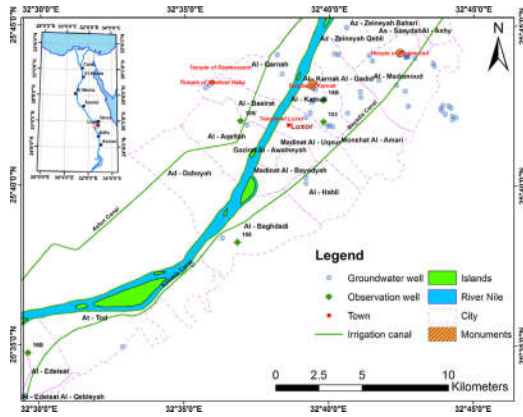


Fig. (1) Location map of the study's area[4]

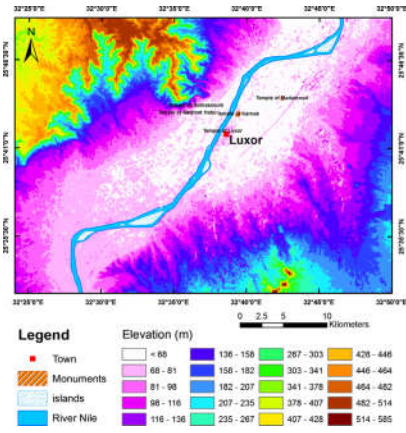


Fig. (2) Topography of Luxor area, depicted by ASTGTM [5].

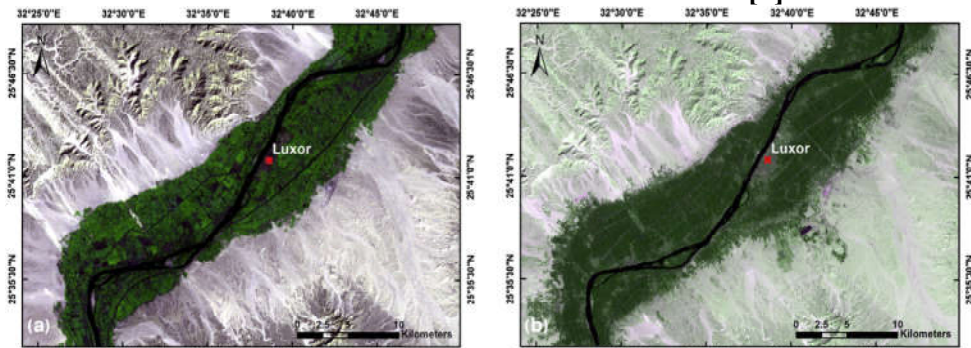


Fig. (3) The agricultural areas in green color from 1986 to 2011[5].

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## 1. Geologic setting and Hydrogeology

Geologic setting of the study area has been studied by many authors, it is noted that the area's sedimentary composition can be classified (from top to base) into quaternary, tertiary and upper cretaceous rock units (Fig. 4). Quaternary rock units are divided into Holocene deposits (Arken formation; modern River Nile sediment) and Pleistocene deposits (Armant formation, Qena sand, Abassia formation and Wadi deposits). Tertiary rock units include Pliocene rocks (Madmoud formation) and the Lower Eocene -Palaeocene (Thebes's formation, Esna shale and Tarawan Chalk). Upper Cretaceous rocks include the Dakhla shale, Duwi formation and Qusir shale

[6], [7], [8] & [9] (Fig.4).

The hydrogeological setting of the study area was well addressed by many authors [10] & [11]. The high level of ground water in the area results from the River Nile and its main canals used for irrigation. The main aquifers in this area are Pilo-pleistocene and Quaternary. The aquifer of Quaternary lies in the center of the Nile valley, occupying the cultivated lands on the banks of Nile. It can be divided into two parts; lower Pleistocene aquifer and

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[11] Salman A. Howari M., El-Sankary M., Wali, M., & Saleh M., (2010). Environmental Impact and Natural Hazards on Kharga Oasis Monumental Sites, Western Desert of Egypt, *Journal of African Earth Sciences*, Vol.58, 341–353 .

upper Holocene aquitard. It is a good source of water and it is fed by canals [12]. In this aquifer, ground water is pumped through pores, and water is transferred to the Nile [13]. The aquifer of Plio-Pleistocene is the secondary one in Luxor city and is represented by Armant Formation [15] (Fig.5).

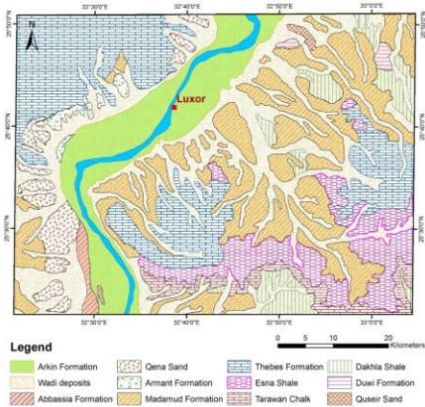


Fig. (4) Geology of Luxor City [14].

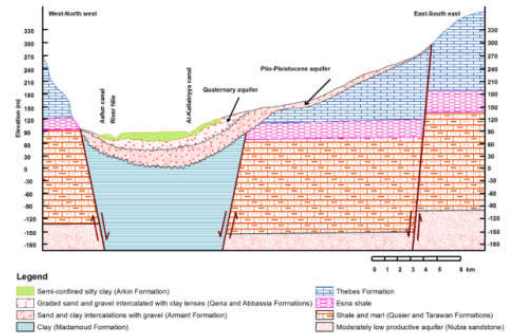


Fig. (5) Hydrogeologic cross section [5]

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## 2. Environmental Impacts

The study area is hot, dry and rainless in summer and mild with rare rainfall in winter. Its temperature depends on the solar energy, especially the actual hours of sunshine. The distribution of temperature and relative humidity shows that while the lowest temperature of the year is recorded in January, with an average value of 23.05 C°, the highest one is in June with an average value of 41.12 C° [16]. Rains are rare, randomly precipitated and vary in amount all over the year; its average annual value is less than 5 mm/year. The annual mean value of wind speed is 8.00m/sec at Luxor. In the study area, evaporation and evapotranspiration increase in summer and decrease in winter. They are between 4.29 mm/day and 13.24 mm/day. The annual mean of relative humidity is between 25.3% - 53.40% [2].

## 3. Deterioration of sandstone cement at Luxor temple

The composition of the framework of the granules indicates the date of the deposition of these granules. It is well known that natural sandstone color because the minerals composition. Ferrous mineral oxides such as hematite give dark reddish color, while Oxy ferrous hydroxide gives a dark brown color of the sand Stones [17]. The main cause of deterioration found at Luxor temple is ground water, which affects sandstone, especially the cement materials which cement the particle grains. Calcium carbonate (CaCO<sub>3</sub>) may be the most common kind of cement and silica (SiO<sub>2</sub>) comes second, iron oxides, gypsum and other minerals are the least common [18]. During the deposition process of the sandstone, the particles are placed at varying distances, where the force of attraction

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[17] Hajja, I. M., & To'ro'k A., (2004), Mineralogical and color changes of quartz sandstones by heat, *Environmental Geology* 46, P. 311-322..

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equals the force of repulsion [19]. Mineralogically, sandstones mainly consist of quartz, feldspars and lithic or rock fragments [20]. While Quartz may be single grains or polycrystalline aggregates, feldspars include both alkali feldspars and plagioclase. The sandstone of Luxor temple contains ferric oxyhydroxides in the form of crystals, such as goethite or amorphous crystals of the limonite kind. The latter dye the grains of sand, especially those of quartz giving the sandstone a yellowish-ochre color. In addition, the dehydration of these oxyhydroxides causes a change of the sandstone's structure and color; that reddish hues of the hematite become more intense [21]. Sandstone is medium grained sedimentary rock formed by the cementation of sand grains. The basic components of sandstone are framework grains (sand particles) which supply the rock's strength [22]. It is noted that both types of porous materials can absorb a high amount of water. Hence, the study of variation in the original physical behavior of the porous materials can be the first step in defining the effectiveness or otherwise of treatments used in conservation. One of the problems anticipated in interventions on Luxor temple is the evaluation of the load-bearing capacity of its masonry (Fig. 1). On one hand, reactions can be calculated using an equation. For such structures, forced deformations (i.e., settlement of support, shrinkage, temperature changes...etc.) [23] (Fig. 6 & 9). In addition, the deterioration of sandstone in polluted regions mainly involves deterioration by air

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pollution [24]. Calcite leaching is one of the most serious consequences of weathering in monumental calcareous sandstones. While the porosity of the rocks increases continuously, mechanical strength decreases due to the loss of the inter-granular binding material [25]. Stone decay mainly belongs to the following typologies: deposits on the stone surface (i.e., salts deposits-efflorescence-inside and black crusts on the outside part of the building [26]. Water passes to the surface and the crystals of salt deposit on the external surface. Visible efflorescence is formed when the solution moves towards the surface of the stone. When it is slower than the rate of drying, water evaporates by diffusion from the pores, resulting in solute crystallizing within the stone, at varying depth. However, this process takes place without any visible alteration of the stone [27]. It was found that urban rain will dissolve the surface of  $\text{CaCO}_3$  50 times, at least, faster than unpolluted rain [28]. On the contrary, stone conservation requires, in the first place, an identification of deterioration [29]. In addition, deterioration and weathering investigation revealed many types of deterioration on the walls, e.g. cracks, powdering and salt crystallization. Many of them are caused by a rising of groundwater level, causing loss of cohesion between the grains. The walls also contain some aggregates of salts.

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#### 4. Soil role of Deterioration at Luxor temple

When groundwater in the temple's foundations evaporates, it leaves salts behind (Fig. 2 & 4). Which are the ultimate product of rock weathering [30]. Moisture contributed to weathering through purely physical mechanisms (frost splitting) by acting as a transport medium for salts in dissolution and recrystallization processes or through chemical reactions [31]. Although, the processes of chemical weathering entirely relied on the agency of water, the role of soil moisture was highly variable; it depends not only on the other budget's factors but also on the capacity of a soil to hold water gained by infiltration [32]. The processes of wetting and drying formed stresses on soil and rocks in the temple (Fig.8). Furthermore, their cycles caused cracking and flaking [33]. Traditionally, the term "drainage" referred to the rate of water's movement in a system. Soils of Luxor temple had a fairly rapid rate of water movement and it is continuously anaerobic. Its natural stones suffered from different kinds of degradation. For example, wetting-drying periods created corresponding dissolution-condensation cycles of salts [34] (Fig. 4). Hence, in soil microbiology, enzyme tests were commonly used to estimate metabolic activity for quantification, the dehydrogenase activity (DHA). The frequency of these micro-

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organisms on weathered stone indicated that they played a part in the process of deterioration in the temple [35].



**Fig. (6) Differential tendency on the walls of Luxor temple**



**Fig. (7) Stress on the lower parts of Luxor temple's walls**



**Fig. (8) Differential tendency on the walls of Luxor temple**



**Fig. (9) Soil on the lower parts of Luxor temple's walls**

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## 2. **Materials and Methods**

Samples were collected from several locations of the friable layers on the walls at Luxor temple. They were examined to provide information about the crystal shape, structural state and morphology of the minerals. Furthermore, defining and description of the sandstone minerals and physicochemical alteration.

### 1. **Mineralogical composition**

The mineralogical composition of the sample's powder was analyzed using X-ray diffraction (Philips X-ray diffraction equipment model PW/1710) with monochromatic, Cu k - $\alpha$  radiation ( $1.542 \text{ \AA}$ ) at 40 kV and 35 mA at X-ray diffraction lab, Physical Department, Faculty of Science, Asyut University, Egypt. They were recorded from 4 to  $90^\circ 2\theta$ . The reflection peaks were between 4 and  $90^\circ 2\theta$  with  $0.06^\circ/\text{m}$  in speed, corresponding spacing ( $d, \text{ \AA}$ ) and the relative intensities ( $I/I^\circ$ ) were obtained [36]. Diffraction charts and relative intensities were studied and compared with ICDD files.

### 2. **Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM-EDX)**

SEM images of crusts and salt samples were obtained from SEM of (JEOL JSM5500LV) to identify textural and mineralogical changes of the stone and altered stone surfaces. EDX was also used (model 6587).

### 3. **Chemical analysis by X-ray fluorescence (XRF)**

Elemental analysis was conducted using wavelength dispersive XRF spectrometry (Axios advanced, sequential wd\_XRF Spectrometer,

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[36]Moore, D., & Reynolds, R., (1997). X-Ray Diffraction and the Identification and Analysis of Clay Minerals, *Geological Magazine*, Vol. 135(6), pp. 819-842.

PANalytical 2005) at the analysis and consulting unit, National Research Center in Cairo.

### **3. Results**

#### **1. Mineralogical study**

XRD patterns showed that quartz ( $\text{SiO}_2$ ) was the main component of the temple's sandstone, with subordinate amounts Calcite ( $\text{CaCO}_3$ ) and halite ( $\text{NaCl}$ ), thenardite ( $\text{Na}_2\text{SO}_4$ ) & gypsum ( $\text{CaSO}_4 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$ ) (Fig.10 a & b). These results proved that the stone used in the temple was Nubian sandstone [37]. Damage to sandstone was caused by the mechanical stress, which was induced by halite, thenardite & gypsum crystallization cycles and calcite which may be cement in sandstone.

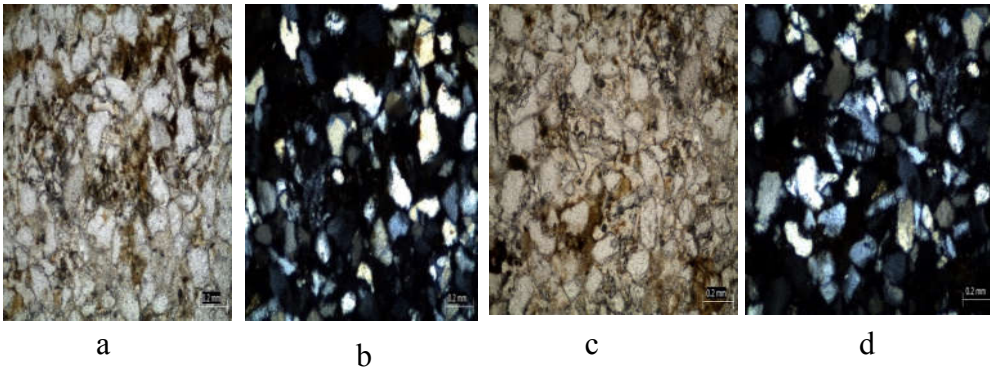
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## 2. Petrographic Study

Samples taken from Luxor temple were examined under the polarized microscope and showed that, the percentage of quartz is the highest as it reached 94% and it took different forms. Other components were as follows: feldspar (5%), rock fragments (0.5%), and cement materials (10%). It was also found that the percentage of porosity and permeability was high [38] (Fig.11a, c). Some clay minerals (Fig.11a, c) and iron oxides were also found. Crystals of quartz appeared unequal in their dimension and volumes; they were of great and moderate granulation. Furthermore, it was indicated that angular quartz granules were transformed into semi-angular, showing that they didn't move far during the processes of deposition (Fig.11b, d). In other samples, quartz crystals were rounded and semi-rounded and they moved far during the processes of deposition. There was also an erosion of the edges of some crystals and that extended to the interior part. These results were supported by XRD examination showing that quartz was the main compound with little percent of salts (halite NaCl).

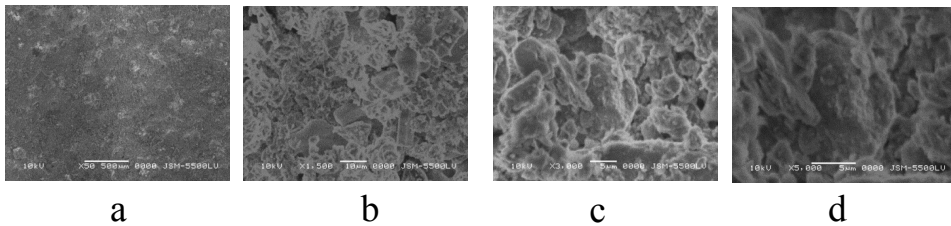


**Fig. (11) A sample of sandstone from Luxor Temple X25**

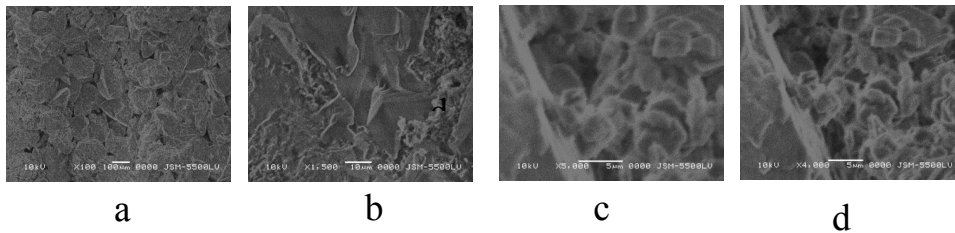
[38]Prince, C., Ehrlich, R., & Carr, M., (1999). The Effect of Sandstone Micro Fabric upon Relative Permeability end Points, *Journal of Petroleum Science and Engineering* 24, p. 169-178.

### 3. Scanning electron microscope (SEM)

The samples studying by SEM were identified as quartz ( $\text{SiO}_2$ ) (Fig.12a.b.c.d) and other salts were submitted by XRD and EDX and XRF such as halite ( $\text{NaCl}$ ) and gypsum ( $\text{CaSO}_4 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$ ) and notice decayed of grains of quartz (Fig.13 a.b.c.d). Samples show a damage of cement materials and a breaking in the granules of sandstone (Fig.12a, b). Other samples show a differential of quartz grains, and a collapse of the stone's internal structure (Fig.13c,d).



**Fig. (12) A sample of sandstone examined under SEM, showing the**



**Fig. (13) A sample of sandstone under SEM, illustrating the damage of cement materials and the differential of quartz grains form**

#### **4. Bulk Elemental Analysis by EDX**

EDX micro analytical methods were conducted to identify the samples and evaluate their components which indicates that the elemental arrangement of the samples collected from different places could be put in a decreasing order according to their concentration as follow: Si(78.92-85.89%), Al (6.09-7.15%), Fe (5.81-2.56%), K (4.65-1.95%), Ti (3.77-2.06%) and Ca (0.76-0.39%)(Fig.14) (Tab.1)This helped in understanding the weathering mechanisms affecting the temple, in second sample Si(77.12-84.32%), Al (6.94-8.09%), Fe (6.44-2.88%), K (4.32-1.84%), Ti (3.93-2.28%) and Ca (2.24-0.59%) (Fig.15) (Tab.2). The first and second samples contained Si (as the main component). However, the absence of chlorine (Cl) and sodium (Na) indicated the non-crystallization of halite on the wall reliefs. The analysis also indicated a low concentration of calcium (Ca) that indicated the existence of gypsum and anhydrite salts on the sandstone. In addition, the moderate amount of Aluminum (Al) and potassium (K) could be attributed to feldspars and phyllosilicates. On the contrary, the presence of relatively high amounts of iron and small amounts of titanium was attributed to the origin of these samples, atmospheric pollution and presence of accessory minerals such as Fe – Ti bearing phases; they played a significant role in deterioration.

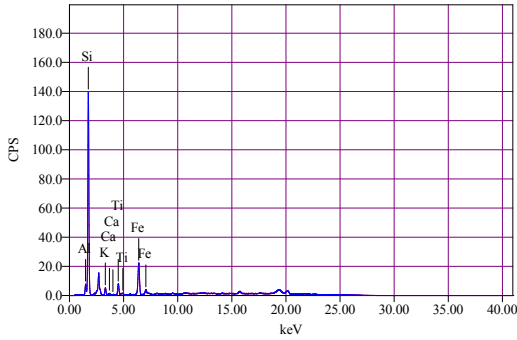


Fig. (14): EDX spectrum of the sandstones (under study)

Table (1): Quantitative EDX microanalysis (compound %) of the value spot sandstones

Element	ms%	Oxide	ms%
Al	6.0947	Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	7.1467
Si	78.9230	SiO <sub>2</sub>	85.8918
k	4.6501	K <sub>2</sub> O	1.9453
Ca	0.7592	CaO	0.3926
Ti	3.7672	TiO <sub>2</sub>	2.0611
Fe	5.8058	Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	2.5624

Table (2): Quantitative EDX microanalysis (compound %) of the value spot sandstones.

Element	ms%	Oxide	ms%
Al	6.9397	Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	8.0936
Si	77.1218	SiO <sub>2</sub>	84.3219
k	4.3238	K <sub>2</sub> O	1.8388
Ca	1.2414	CaO	0.5922
Ti	3.9309	TiO <sub>2</sub>	2.2776
Fe	6.4423	Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	2.8759

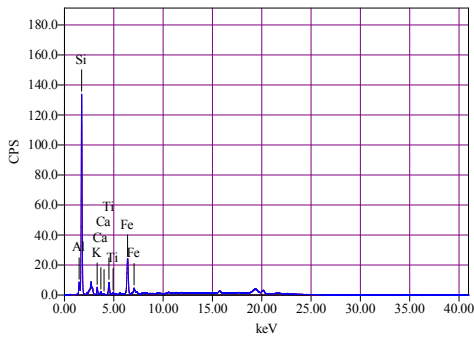


Fig. (15): EDX spectrum of the sandstones (under study)



## 5. Chemical analysis by XRF

Chemical analysis under XRF revealed that it contained the following: SiO<sub>2</sub> (95.39-95.22- 95.27%), Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> (0.79- 0.75- 0.77%), Fe<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub><sup>tot.</sup> (0.34- 0.32- 0.35 %), CaO (0.28- 0.30- 0.27 %), Na<sub>2</sub>O (0.44- 0.47- 0.45%), SO<sub>3</sub> (0.29- 0.27- 0.25 %), Cl (0.40- 0.38- 0.37%), P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> (0.05- 0.07- 0.06%). While CaO and SO<sub>3</sub> indicated the presence of gypsum, Na<sub>2</sub>O and Cl indicated Halite. P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> may be to mineralogical composition of sandstone or was found as a result of the problem of Sewage around the site of the temple (Tab.3).

Table (3) Main Constituents Wt% of Sandstone – Luxor Temple

Main Constituents Wt%	Sandstone – Luxor Temple a	Sandstone – Luxor Temple b	Sandstone – Luxor Temple c
SiO <sub>2</sub>	95.39	95.22	95.27
TiO <sub>2</sub>	0.40	0.43	0.42
Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	0.79	0.75	0.77
Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> tot.	0.34	0.32	0.35
MgO	0.12	0.14	0.11
CaO	0.28	0.30	0.27
Na <sub>2</sub> O	0.44	0.47	0.45
K <sub>2</sub> O	0.16	0.19	0.17
P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	0.05	0.07	0.06
SO <sub>3</sub>	0.29	0.27	0.25
Cl	0.40	0.38	0.37
LOI	1.27	1.39	1.45
Cr <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	0.011	0.012	0.011
MnO	0.011	0.011	0.010
NiO	0.004	0.003	0.003
CuO	0.002	0.001	0.002
Y <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	0.001	0.001	0.001
ZrO <sub>2</sub>	0.036	0.035	0.035
SrO	0.002	0.002	0.002

### Discussion and conclusion

The microscopic examination of several thin sections revealed that sandstone grains were affected by mechanical breakage and chemical processes producing micro-fractures and cleavages. This commonly dissected the quartz grains into several sub-individual grains. In addition, the interaction of feldspar grains with soluble salts was one of the important alteration processes in sandstone.

SEM micrographs illustrated some alterations, such as cracks and pores. Furthermore, XRD results confirmed the petrographic examination, SEM micrographs and EDX analysis. They were compared to define the alteration in sandstone grains and its rate with

time. This would help in evaluating sandstone's components under the present environmental conditions. Furthermore, many aspects of deterioration were found.

The appearance of black crust was the most prominent aspect of deterioration as the dirt spread heavily on the sandstones, especially on some of the sites that were not subject to any cleanup programs. The high concentration of air pollutants was a clear manifestation of weathering a result of the interaction between the chemical and physical properties of the stone and their environmental conditions.

This interaction between the stones and the atmosphere created a very specific surface environment in terms of the content of moisture and chemicals. In addition, the movement of water caused an increase in the rate of deterioration affecting them. Consequently, the structure of sandstone gradually became weaker by biological, physical and chemical processes. This was accompanied by an increase in pressure on the stone.

The high concentration of sodium (0.7 - 4.2%) and chlorine (1.7 - 15.5%) may be attributed to the crystallization of halite salt on the walls. These ions may be created from groundwater and the dissolution of halite from soil and sediments in it. A high concentration of sulfate (15 - 47.4%) and calcium (40.8 - 58.7%) ions which may be attributed to the crystallization of gypsum and anhydrite salts on the walls. The most common decayed salts are sulfate, chloride and nitrate anions, phylite, greenstone and pentinite grains [39].

These factors increased damage, causing an increase of the pore's diameter (less than 1 mm), particularly through the crystallization of salts affecting the mechanical and physical properties that weaken or increase the deterioration of sandstone. The proportion

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[39] Raymond, L., (1995). Petrology, Boston, P.370.

of clay materials found as a carnivorous was a reason of increasing the rates of damage due to increasing and shrinking sandstone's exposure to moisture and drought.

In conclusion, different factors influenced the sandstones of the temple, but in various degrees, causing deterioration. Accordingly, some strategic plans have to be conducted to maintain them by controlling these factors to decrease the rates of future deterioration. They must, above all, stop water's penetration through the pores. Implementation barriers should be used to reduce salts in the pores through the use of various compresses and increasing the mechanical resistance of sandstone, using some stimulants materials, especially in areas prone to high degrees of deterioration.

### **Recommendations**

Luxor Temple is one of the more temples, which greatly affected the ground water where it is located in an urban area surrounded by an agricultural area. And threatens to leak water down the Luxor Temple, which produces water for irrigation and agricultural sewage from populated areas sandstone is affected significantly because of its properties of high absorption of water, due to its interaction dramatically with the surrounding environmental conditions which would lead to the deterioration of the sandstone so you must take significant measures and plans for therapeutic urgency to the problem of ground water and the high levels of ground water and is considered the renewal of the sewerage network and upgrading are sufficient network of agricultural drainage surrounding the area of the main plan stages of treatment in addition to the use of some tonic modern materials that have been tried in proportion to the nature of the sandstone Temple of Luxor However stationed by the

environmental nature stones and sand. It should take strong measures in terms of ways to use and carried out by the coach a team where the bad use of the methods of treatment can be the biggest deterioration occur than it was before treatment sandstone that is because of the sandy stone exhibition of weathering of great sensitivity. It should study the amount of water leaking down the sandstone Temple of Luxor in addition to monitoring the constant changes, both agricultural and urban surrounding the Temple of Luxor.

## فحص الآثار البيئية علي كتل الحجر الرملي بمعبد الاقصر ومفاهيمه الحفاظ عليها

د. العشماوى عبد الكريم أحمد

المخلص:

استخدمت كتل الاحجار الرملية في انشاء معبد الاقصر، وتناثر المادة اللاصقة بالحجر الرملي بالعديد من المؤثرات المختلفة من عوامل التلف المتنوعة . وتعتبر المياه الارضية احد اهم المشاكل التي تتعرض لها كتل الاحجار الرملية بمعبد الاقصر مسببة ضعف للبناء الداخلي للحجر الرملي وقد ركزت هذه الدراسة علي دور المسام والمادة اللاصقة في تلف الاحجار الرملية بمعبد الاقصر وقد تم تدعيم هذه الدراسة بالعديد من الفحوص والتحليل من خلال دراسة قطاعات من الحجر الرملي تحت الميكروسكوب المستقطب ودراسة وتحليل عينات غير متلفة من الحجر الرملي تحت الميكروسكوب الالكتروني الماسح اضافة الي التحليل باستخدام حيود الاشعة السينية كما تم دراسة الخواص الفيزيائية والميكانيكية لتقييم مدي كفاة مكونات الحجر الرملي ومدي التغيرات التي حدثت له كما تمت دراسة الرطوبة والاملاح احد اهم اسباب تلف الاحجار الرملية بمعبد الاقصر، كما انتهت الدراسة ببعض التوصيات لعلاج الاحجار الرملية بمعبد الاقصر.

## **The Refusal of Minting Ottoman Silver Para Multiples in Egypt as a Reflection of the Political Relation with the Ottoman Sultanate**

**Dr. Eman Mahmoud Arafa\***

### **Abstract:**

During the Ottoman reign in Egypt (918-1222 A.H/1520-1807A.D), while the mint of Istanbul –the capital of the Ottoman Sultanate- was responsible for minting the multiples of the Para, Egypt refused to follow this coinage tradition, despite the fact that it was a state of the Ottoman Empire. This practice on behalf of Egypt reflects some important political events that may show the concealed reaction of refusal and opposition to the Ottoman reign in being against minting through the silver coins as a secondary coin, and not through the golden coins which were the essential ones. In addition, it reflects the power of the Emirs in Egypt during some periods of the Ottoman era. In fact, the only time Egyptian authority has departed this reaction of refusal, was during the reign of Sultan Mustafa the third when Ali Beik al-Kabir struck Para multiples holding his name, although the intention here was to make it as an act of confrontation to the Ottoman reign. Thus, this analytical study aims at introducing a new perspective of study by examining the coins in a method that reveals the political relations during that era, along with publishing some examples for the coins.

### **Keywords:**

Ottoman Era, Para Multiples, Minting, Political Relations, Medin

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## **Introduction:**

The reign of Sultan Selim the First, (918-926A.H. / 1512-1520 A.D.), represents a turning point in Egypt's history, as he is the one who turned Egypt from a Mamluk Sultanate to a State of the Ottoman Empire.

In 923 A.H. / 1517 A.D. Sultan Selim the First conquered Egypt<sup>1</sup>. Under his leadership, he eliminated all Mamluk resistance, occupied Egypt, and established his own government in Cairo<sup>2</sup>. Egypt then was administrated as an Eyalet "state" of the Ottoman Empire, which has always been a difficult province for the Ottoman Sultans to control, due to the continuing power and influence of the Mamluks.

Thus, Egypt remained semi-autonomous under the Mamluk rule until it was invaded by the French forces of Napoleon in 1213 A.H. / 1798 A.D. during the reign of the 28<sup>th</sup> Sultan, "Sultan Selim the Third" (1203-1222 A.H. /1789-1801 A.D.)<sup>3</sup>. This French expedition, which invaded Egypt, helped Muhammad Ali Pasha-an Albanian military commander of the Ottoman Army in Egypt- to seize the power in 1815 A.D.

In light of such political events, one would expect that the Ottomans would have done their best in conquering Egypt to totally destroy the Mamluks, and to control the country more closely. Surprisingly, they seem to have made no real effort to gain power, for the Mamluk's system survived and continued, and in time they even increased their power. In fact, it is logical

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<sup>1</sup> Suleiman, A. A. (1972). History of the Islamic countries and the lexicon of the ruling dynasties, Part 2, Egypt: Dar al-Maaref, p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> Pipes, D. (1983). Mamluk survival in Ottoman Egypt. *Journal of Turkish Studies*, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Arafa, E. M. (2006). The Coins which were used in Egypt during the French Expedition. (M.A. Thesis). Cairo University: Faculty of Archeology, Egypt, p. 12.



to surmise that they would have broken away from the Ottoman control had Napoleon not invaded Egypt in 1213 A.H. / 1798 A.D.<sup>4</sup>.

Accordingly, the events of the early Ottoman Egypt reflect the struggle over power between the Mamluks and the representatives of the Ottoman Sultan. Besides, after the conquest of Egypt, the Ottoman Sultan Selim the First left the country, and Hayir Bey was awarded the governorship of Egypt; the former Mamluk Governor in Aleppo<sup>5</sup>.

The Ottoman conquest meant that the ruler of Egypt would pay rather than receive tribute; before 922 A.H. / 1513 A.D., Egypt received tribute from Syria, Cyprus, parts of Sudan and many other provinces, but under the current situation Hayir Bey had to send periodic gifts in cash and coins to Sultan Selim from his own revenues<sup>6</sup>.

In addition, after Egypt had been a major country, it turned to be an Ottoman State, since the year 923 A.H. / 1514 A.D., and coins minting became to be determined by the Ottoman Sultan's orders which were sent directly from Istanbul<sup>7</sup>. So, the two Islamic prerogatives of sovereignty (mention of the ruler's name in weekly prayers in mosques in the Friday sermons and the coinage) now belonged to Sultan Selim<sup>8</sup>. Especially that minting coins under the name of the ruler was considered as an act that is confined to Sultan's only to represent authority, and accordingly

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<sup>4</sup> Pipes, D. (1983). Mamluk survival in Ottoman Egypt. *Journal of Turkish Studies*, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Pitcher, D. E. (1972). A historical geography of the Ottoman Empire from earliest times to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Brill Archive, p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> Shaw, S. J. (1962). The financial and administrative organization and development of Ottoman Egypt: 1517-1798. Princeton, p. 283.

<sup>7</sup> Al Sawy, A. A. (2001). The coins which were used in Ottoman Egypt. First edition, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center, p.12.

<sup>8</sup> Pipes, D. (1983). Mamluk survival in Ottoman Egypt. *Journal of Turkish Studies*, p. 3.

each Sultan was keen on taking this action once he holds the throne<sup>9</sup>.

The importance of coins was not limited to only being the sign of rule, but in fact, its political value was much more profound as it played a huge role in shedding more light on the different historical events and states. Certainly, besides its normal role as representing the essence and core of the economic state, it is also considered the main reflection of it<sup>10</sup>. For example, fraud and forgery of coins at any time reflect the regressive economic state, for this forgery comes by cutting parts of the margin of the coin, so as to decrease its weight<sup>11</sup>. Egypt had witnessed this phenomenon during the Ottoman Era as in 1104 A.H. / 1692 A.D., when the cut silver coins had spread<sup>12</sup>. Also, through the study of the mints, the geographical boundaries for any country and its territories can be determined<sup>13</sup>. Thus, their function is not only confined to a representation of economy.

Concerning the political role of coins -subject of study- firstly, it is important to mention that the Ottoman Sultanate gave the attention to minting gold and silver coins, and as the territories of the Ottoman Empire were spreading through vast areas, minting

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<sup>9</sup> El Nabarawy, R. (2000). The Islamic coins from the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century till the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.H. First edition, Cairo: Zahraa al-Sharq Library, p.5.

<sup>10</sup> El Nabarawy, R. (2000). The Islamic coins from the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century till the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.H. First edition, Cairo: Zahraa al-Sharq Library, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Mansour, A. R. (2008). The Islamic coins and their importance in studying history, archeology, and civilization. First edition, Cairo: Zahraa al-Sharq, p.20.

<sup>12</sup> Mubarak, A .B. (1883). New plans for Egypt and its old and famous states. Part 20, Cairo: Beau Lac Printing House, p.149.

<sup>13</sup> Mansour, A. R. (2008). The Islamic coins and their importance in studying history, archeology, and civilization. First edition, Cairo: Zahraa al-Sharq, p.20.

coins was not limited to the borders of the Capital<sup>14</sup>. But, simultaneously, it was notable that there has been a unified prototype for all Ottoman coins struck in the different Ottoman countries, based on the decree which was sent whenever a new Sultan takes the throne<sup>15</sup>.

In accordance, Egypt, being one of the Ottoman States, was obliged to follow a specific prototype and tradition in its monetary system. In this regard, throughout the Ottoman Era, Egypt has abided by the trend of the Ottoman Empire in minting the gold coins, but this same era has sometimes witnessed several contraventions to this Sultanate's orders, concerning the minting of the silver coins, especially that the Ottoman Sultans used to give more attention for the minting of gold coins and not the silver ones. This is due to the fact that most of the official decrees of the Ottoman Sultans were sent with details concerning the weight, prototype, and the caliber of the gold coins only, besides the minting templates<sup>16</sup>.

For example, the decree of the year 1109 A.H. / 1697 A.D., was sent with the details of the gold coins only, along with its minting templates<sup>17</sup>, without any information concerning the silver coins, for the content of the decree text stated the caliber of the gold

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<sup>14</sup> Oghlu, A. A. (1999). *The Ottoman state, history, and civilization*. Translated by Saleh Saadawy. Part 2. Istanbul: Islamic History, Arts, and Culture Center, p. 669.

<sup>15</sup> Al Sawy, A. A. (2001). *The coins which were used in Ottoman Egypt*. First edition, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center, p. 20.

<sup>16</sup> Al Sawy, A. A. (2001). *The coins which were used in Ottoman Egypt*. First edition, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center, p. 227.

<sup>17</sup> Al Jabarti, A. A. (2003). *Ajae'b al-athar fe al-tarajem wa al-akhbar*. Edited by Abdel Reheem Abdel Rahman. Cairo: The General Egyptian Book Organization, p. 40.

coins to be 22 carats and the weight of every 100 Dinar that equate 150 Egyptian Dirhams<sup>18</sup>.

This procedure certainly provided an opportunity to violate the Ottoman trend of minting silver coins, and even more than that, resistance was reflected in refusing some direct decrease of minting specific coins of it, as it is going to be mentioned.

Resistance was seen in that at the time when in Constantinople, silver coins of fixed amounts of (100, 80, 60, 40, 20, and 10 Paras), as well as five Paras were minted, Egypt did not follow this series of silver coins as commonly known, depending on arithmetic progression in which the Para was recorded to be at its least standards<sup>19</sup>.

Another highly significant fact was that the Turks in general and Egyptians in specific struck few silver coins, which in turn limited the use of silver coins in major trade transactions in Egypt to foreign coins<sup>20</sup>. Not only that, but also no Ottoman coins have been found prior to the 13<sup>th</sup> century A.H. / the 19<sup>th</sup> A.D. representing it<sup>21</sup>.

The silver monetary system of the Ottoman Era started with the "AKCE" (Figure 1), which was considered as the smallest monetary unit before the Para came to replace it, which was an Egyptian Turkish coin having different prices in different years,

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<sup>18</sup> Mubarak, A .B. (1883). New plans for Egypt and its old and famous states. Part 20, Cairo: Beau Lac Printing House, p.201.

<sup>19</sup> Bernard, S. (2002). Description of Egypt. Part 6. Translated by Zuheir al-Shayeb. Cairo: The General Egyptian Book Organization, p. 74.

<sup>20</sup> Raymond, A. (1999). Artisans et commercants au Caire. Le Caire: Institut Francias d'Archeologie Orientale, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> Gibb, H. (1989). Islamic society and the West. Cairo, p. 114.

and measured by the halves<sup>22</sup>, and in time it became the main value of the silver coin in Egypt and in Istanbul as well<sup>23</sup>.

When the Ottomans conquered Egypt, they kept the small value silver coins known as the half silver (Figure 2), later became to be named the Para (Figure 3). It remained to represent the main silver coin in Egypt till the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century A.H. / the 18<sup>th</sup> A.D.<sup>24</sup>.

Thus, the half silver and Para were two names referring to the same coin<sup>25</sup>. Yet, the date in which this coin has been struck outside Egypt for the first time remained unknown, although it was asserted that Para became commonly synonymous to the half silver in Egypt since the age of Suleiman al-Qanouni<sup>26</sup>.

Besides the half silver and Para names, the naming (Medin) or (Medi) appeared in reference to King Al-Moaed Abu El-Nasr Sheikh (815-824 A.H. / 1412-1420 A.D.), for he struck half Dirham named after him. The oldest confirmed statement of this coin was in a waqf document of a university listing the imam salaries that were given in half silver coins<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> Amer, M. A. (1997). Coins, weights, and measures. Damascus: Ibn Khaldoun Publishing, p. 185.

<sup>23</sup> Al Sawy, A. A. (2001). The coins which were used in Ottoman Egypt. First edition, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center, p. 84.

<sup>24</sup> Inalik, H. (1994). Money in the Ottoman Empire: an economic and social history of Ottoman Empire. Cambridge University Press, p.957.

<sup>25</sup> Raymond, A. (1999). Artisans et commercants au Caire. Le Caire: Institut Francias d'Archeologie Orientale, p. 26.

<sup>26</sup> Al Sawy, A. A. (2001). The coins which were used in Ottoman Egypt. First edition, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center, p. 85.

<sup>27</sup> Al Sawy, A. A. (2001). The coins which were used in Ottoman Egypt. First edition, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center, p. 84.

This name was common among the French expedition scientists<sup>28</sup>, and it was also used by Andree Raymond when he stated that the Para was an originally Egyptian Mamluk coin known as Al- Moaedi, which is half dirham having several names, like Medi, Medin, and half silver<sup>29</sup>.

As previously mentioned, Constantinople followed the arithmetic progression divisions in the struck of the silver coins of fixed amounts and prices, the least of which were the Para<sup>30</sup>. Accordingly, various multiples were struck from the Ottoman Para<sup>31</sup>.

These multiples began with the Beslik, a Turkish silver coin, the name of which consisted of (bes), a simplification of the Persian word (Bis) meaning five, and (lik), which is a tool that proceeds numbers in Turkish language to refer to the units included. Thus, Beslik means a coin of five Para<sup>32</sup>. Besides, there is the 10 Para piece, known as Onlik (Figure 4)<sup>33</sup>. Moreover, the Nibeslik appeared for the 15 Para coin, entitled half Saldi by the Egyptians<sup>34</sup>. As for the 20 Para pieces, they were known as the Yakramlik<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> Bernard, S. (2002). Description of Egypt. Part 6. Translated by Zuheir al-Shayeb. Cairo: The General Egyptian Book Organization, p. 71.

<sup>29</sup> Raymond, A. (1999). Artisans et commercants au Caire. Le Caire: Institut Francias d'Archeologie Orientale, p. 33.

<sup>30</sup> Bernard, S. (2002). Description of Egypt. Part 6. Translated by Zuheir al-Shayeb. Cairo: The General Egyptian Book Organization, p.74.

<sup>31</sup> Al Sawy, A. A. (2001). The coins which were used in Ottoman Egypt. First edition, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center, p. 85.

<sup>32</sup> Fahmy, A. (1976). The coins used during the time of Al-Jabarti. Cairo: The General Egyptian Book Organization, p. 572.

<sup>33</sup> Al Sawy, A. A. (2001). The coins which were used in Ottoman Egypt. First edition, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center, p. 85.

<sup>34</sup> Al Sawy, A. A. (2001). The coins which were used in Ottoman Egypt. First edition, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center, p. 86.

<sup>35</sup> Mahmoud, A. M. (2003). Ottoman coins: Their history and problems. Cairo: Faculty of Arts Library, p. 107.

Zolota (Figure 5) was the coin struck with an amount of 30 Para<sup>36</sup>. It was known among the Egyptians as the Saldi<sup>37</sup>. As for Akluk, it represents the fifty Para<sup>38</sup>. There was also Tamselik, which is a Turkish word derived from sixty along with the average unit, thus meaning sixty Para<sup>39</sup> (Al Karamali, 1987).

Finally, there was the hundred Para amount, known as Yuzlik (Figure 6)<sup>40</sup>. In fact, Yuzlik was the biggest amount in Ottoman coins, and the most common, and it reveals the deterioration of the age of coins classification from best to worst. Although the Para and Yuzlik were conveniently reachable coins, the other ones were difficult to obtain, as the Beslik, and 20 Para were very few, while the most difficult to find was Zolota<sup>41</sup>.

It is worth mentioning that these coins were delivered to Egypt among other types of ottoman coins and were used by Egyptians in transactions, but they did not constitute a major part of the locally exchanged silver coins, in addition to that they were not struck in Egypt. However, this does not connote their refusal, as there is no relation between not being struck in Egypt and the refusal to accept them in trading transactions of buying and selling<sup>42</sup>. Consequently, it is clear that some historical events asserted the direct refusal of some Egyptian governors for the

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<sup>36</sup> Amer, M. A. (1997). Coins, weights, and measures. Damascus: Ibn Khaldoun Publishing, p. 189.

<sup>37</sup> Al Sawy, A. A. (2001). The coins which were used in Ottoman Egypt. First edition, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center, p. 95.

<sup>38</sup> Pere, N. (1968). Osmanlianda medeni paralar: Coins of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul. p. 229.

<sup>39</sup> p. 6.

<sup>40</sup> Pere, N. (1968). Osmanlianda medeni paralar: Coins of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul, p. 229.

<sup>41</sup> Sultan, J. (n. d.). Coins of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic: A detailed catalog of the Jem Sultan collection, Vol. 1. U.S.A., California: B. & R. Publisher, p. 282.

<sup>42</sup> Al Sawy, A. A. (2001). The coins which were used in Ottoman Egypt. First edition, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center, p. 96.

struck of the former Para multiples, which were mentioned earlier.

As stated by Al-Jabarti, in the events of the year 1119A.H. / 1720 A.D., Egyptian Emirs (Princes), obeyed the official orders of the Ottoman Sultan to mint the Zolota, then the Sultan was forced to accept their desire<sup>43</sup>, thus the situation remains as it has been concerning the monetary trade.

Moreover, again with the same kind of silver coin, in the year 1128A.H. / 1716 A.D., the Sultanate decree came with the order of minting the Zolota, which was also confronted by refusal. Besides, another refusal came in 1135A.H. / 1723A.D. against minting the silver coins based on the prototype of the golden Zingerle<sup>44</sup>.

Also, the year 1129 A.H. /1717 A.D. witnessed another refusal to mint the “Kurus”, which was another kind of the Para multiples that equaled 40 Para, and that refusal came as a result of the role that was played by the European Real in the Egyptian trade, which left no excuse to have the necessity to mint a coin with an equal value<sup>45</sup>.

In this regard, it is important to mention that in other periods, Egypt has witnessed the Kurus struck, as in 1186 A.H. / 1772 A.D. Some of the Para multiples were struck in the pieces of five

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<sup>43</sup> Al Jabarti, A. A. (2003). *Ajae’b al-athaar fe al-tarajem wa al-akhbar*. Edited by Abdel Reheem Abdel Rahman. Part One, Cairo: The General Egyptian Book Organization, p. 46.

<sup>44</sup> Al Sawy, A. A. (2001). *The coins which were used in Ottoman Egypt*. First edition, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center, p. 232.

<sup>45</sup> Raymond, A. (1999). *Artisans et commercants au Caire*. Le Caire: Institut Francias d’Archeologie Orientale, p.26.



and ten Paras<sup>46</sup>, and also the Paras of 20 and forty, which held the Sultan's Tugra<sup>47</sup>.

In fact, this procedure came when Ali Bey al-Kabeer, Egypt's governor during the reign of Sultan Mustafa the Third (1171-1187 A.H. / 1757-1774 A.D.) attempted to show the Ottoman Sultanate his power and authority in Egypt by minting the Para multiples which was a trend held by the Sultanate only. Thus, he wanted to show the Ottoman Sultan that he is equivalent to him.

In turn, these categories of coins were distinguished by his name mark<sup>48</sup>, along with the year when he was dominant, and held the authority as a governor in 1183 A.H. / 1771 A.D.<sup>49</sup>. Hence, as it is obvious, even when the procedure of minting all the Para multiples was held at a certain time, it was with the concealed intention of showing authority and confrontation.

Even when Samuel Bernard mentioned the struck of some para multiples, he noted that only a very small amount of it was minted, as it did not represent a significant role in the monetary system of Egypt<sup>50</sup>.

In conclusion, in light of what was mentioned in this research, it is clear that studying coins from an analytical perspective assisted in shedding more light on its role, and accordingly in clarifying some political facts concerning the relation between Egypt and the Ottoman Sultanate. That is, the Egyptian

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<sup>46</sup> Fahmy, A. (1976). The coins used during the time of Al-Jabarti. Cairo: The General Egyptian Book Organization, p. 574.

<sup>47</sup> Bernard, S. (2002). Description of Egypt. Part 6. Translated by Zuheir al-Shayeb. Cairo: The General Egyptian Book Organization, p. 74.

<sup>48</sup> Al Jabarti, A. A. (2003). Ajae'b al-athar fe al-tarajem wa al-akhbar. Edited by Abdel Reheem Abdel Rahman. Cairo: The General Egyptian Book Organization, p. 448.

<sup>49</sup> Mubarak, A .B. (1883). New plans for Egypt and its old and famous states. Part 20, Cairo: Beau Lac Printing House, p. 128.

<sup>50</sup> Bernard, S. (2002). Description of Egypt. Part 6. Translated by Zuheir al-Shayeb. Cairo: The General Egyptian Book Organization, p. 182.

governors attempted most of the time to show their limited power by the refusal of minting the Para multiples, and to reflect the rejection to becoming a mere subsidiary state to the Ottoman Sultanate, since many of these governors were Mamluks. Thus, in general, opposition to strictly abide by Ottoman regulations was not only reflected in the refusal of minting Para multiples, but also in minting them on behalf of Aly Bey al-Kabir, for he did so with the intention of power affirmation and confrontation against the Ottomans rather than as a sign of genuine acceptance.

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**Figure (1):** Akce struck in Constantinople under the name of Sultan Selim the first, on the obverse there is the name of the Sultan with a raising phrase, and on the reverse the mint name and date. [www.osmanliparalar.com](http://www.osmanliparalar.com)



**Figure (2):** Para struck in Egypt under the name of Sultan Suleiman Bin Selim, with his name and the title “Shah” on the obverse, and on the reverse the mint name and date. Preserved in Tübingen Museum, under num. Df2 F2.



**Figure (3):** Para struck in Istanbul, under the name of sultan Selim the third, with his Tugrah “monogram”, on the obverse, and on the reverse the mint name and date. Preserved in the Islamic Art Museum in Cairo under number 17932/4



**Figure (4):** Onluk -10 Para- struck under the name of Sultan Osman the second, on the obverse there is his name along with the mint name and date, and on the reverse there is the famous Ottoman raising phrase: “The ruler of the two continents, the khan of the two seas, the king, son of the king”.

[www.osmanliparalar.com](http://www.osmanliparalar.com)



**Figure (5):** Zolata -30 Para- struck under the name of Sultan Ahmed the third, on the obverse there is the name of the sultan with the mint name and date, and on the reverse there is the famous Ottoman raising phrase: “The ruler of the two continents, the khan of the two seas, the king, and son of the king”. Pere, N. (1968)



**Figure (6):** Yuzluk -100 Para- struck under the name of sultan Selim the third, on the obverse there is the Tughrah of the sultan along with the mint name and date, and on the reverse there is the famous Ottoman raising phrase: “The ruler of the two continents, the khan of the two seas, the king, and son of the king”, Sultan, J. (n. d.)

## رفض مصر لضرب مضاعفات البارة العثمانية وما تعكسه من العلاقة السياسية مع السلطنة العثمانية

د.إيمان محمود عرفة\*

### الملخص:

خلال فترة الحكم العثماني لمصر (٩١٨-١٢٢٢ هـ / ١٥٢٠-١٨٠٧ م)، وفي الوقت الذي التزمت به دار السك في استانبول -عاصمة السلطنة العثمانية- بضرب مضاعفات البارة، وعلى الرغم من كون مصر كانت تعتبر في ذلك الوقت ولاية تابعة للامبراطورية العثمانية، نجد أنها رفضت اتباع هذا التقليد النقدي، ويعد هذا الاجراء من قبل مصر بمثابة انعكاس لعدة أحداث سياسية هامة، قد تشير الى المواجهة المستترة ضد الحكم العثماني من خلال الامتناع عن ضرب النقود الفضية والتي تعد بمثابة نقود ثانوية، وليس النقود الذهبية الرئيسية. كما ويعكس هذا الأمر قوة أمراء مصر في فترة الحكم العثماني. وحتى عندما قطعت مصر هذا الاجراء من رفض ضرب مضاعفات البارة في عهد السلطان مصطفى الثالث عندما قام علي بك الكبير بضرب مضاعفات البارة، فقد جاء هذا الاجراء ك رغبة منه لابداء مواجهة ضد الحكم العثماني وليس كاتباع له. وبالتالي تأتي هذه الدراسة التحليلية بتقديم منظور جديد للدراسة من خلال المنهج التحليلي الذي يعكس العلاقة السياسية المتبادلة بين مصر والسلطنة العثمانية، مع نشر بعض نماذج لنقود تلك الفترة ذات الصلة بموضوع الدراسة.

### الكلمات الدالة:

الفترة العثمانية - مضاعفات البارة - ضرب - العلاقات السياسية- مدين

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## **The Sacredness of Some Seals and its Relationship to God Thoth**

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### **Abstracte:**

Seals played an important role in ancient Egypt. They were not only used as administrative securing devices for the state bureaucracy, private individual, documents, containers, places, but also as amulets during daily life and in the netherworld. There are some features confirmed the sacredness of seals such as:

- Seals as devices of protection.
- The crime of breaking the seal.
- The seal and sacredness of the place.
- The sacredness of the process of sealing.

Beside the sacredness of seals, there are some texts confirmed the relationship between seals and the god Thoth, the relationship through which it can be suggested that as Thoth was the god of wisdom, magic, and writing , he also the god who was responsible for seals and sealing in ancient Egypt religion.

### **Keywords:**

- Sacredness, Seals, Sealing, Amulets, Protection, Securing, Relationship , The god Thoth.

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## Introduction:

Seals, these small objects incomparable with great temples, bluff pyramid, huge statues, and the invaluable charming jewelry in ancient Egyptian civilization, however, these small objects are not less important than these all great objects.

In the Ancient Egyptian documents, the seals were called:

 *htm*<sup>1</sup>,  *sd3yt*.<sup>2</sup>

Generally, the shapes of seals may be divided into the following groups:<sup>3</sup>

1- Cylindrical shape seals<sup>4</sup>, the earliest type of seal commonly used in Egypt from Pre-Dynastic Period<sup>5</sup>, by the first Intermediate period, cylinders seem to be treated more as a type of amulet rather than as a working symbol or badge of rank.

2- Flat base seals, this group contains , hemi-cylinder and cone shaped seals, button shaped seals, scarab shaped seals<sup>6</sup>, plaques and other miscellaneous forms and signet rings.<sup>7</sup>

Sealing is the impression made by impact of hard engraved surface on a softer material, such as clay. The materials for seals are widely available,<sup>8</sup> for example they were made of wood,

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<sup>1</sup> *Wb* III, 350,3-12; *LDLE*,I,377.

<sup>2</sup> *Wb* IV,379 ,17-21.

<sup>3</sup> P. E.Newberry, *Egyptian Scarabs*, p. 43;A. Sparavigna , *Ancient Egyptian Seals and Scarabs*, ,p.9 ff.

<sup>4</sup> M.V. De Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, p. 48; M. R. Bunson, *Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* ,p. 9; A. Sparavigna ,*op. cit* ,p.16-18; D.Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in Ancient Near East*, p.179 ff.

<sup>5</sup> U. Hartung,"Prädynastische Siegelabrollungen aus dem Friedhof U in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab)", p .187–217.

<sup>6</sup> For more about scarab shaped seals see: E.A.Evans, *Sacred Scarab* (McClung Museum,2013); D.C. Patch, *Exhibitions, Magic in Miniature :Ancient Egyptian Scarabs, Seals & Amulets*(Brooklyn,2013);T. G. Wilfong, *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and seals Impression from Medinet Habu*,(Chicago, 2003).

<sup>7</sup> For more details about the two groups, see Newberry, *op.cit*, p.43-95;W.A.Ward, "The Origin of Egyptian Design-Amulets (BUTTON SEALS)", p. 65ff.

<sup>8</sup> Sparavigna ,*op.cit* , p.13ff.

bone, clay, or stone<sup>9</sup>, (e.g. limestone, steatite ....etc.) or easy to produce faience.<sup>10</sup>

Practically ancient Egyptians used seals to stamp scripts onto a papyrus scroll or clay tablet, and they allowed them to quickly write the information needed over and over again without having to handwriting each hieroglyphic signs.<sup>11</sup>

The original use of the seals was for securing workshops and store-rooms of food from dishonest servant.<sup>12</sup> They were used in tombs, palaces, houses, and temples, in addition, they were used on jars,<sup>13</sup> and pots containing food such as honey or wine with might spoil if they were left open.<sup>14</sup>

The primary purpose was to reveal any unauthorized tampering with the contents of the letters, pottery vessels, baskets, boxes, sacks, storerooms, or tombs that had been sealed.<sup>15</sup> Ownership of documents, jars and others commodities was indicated by means of clay seals, also papyrus rolls were folded and thread which was fastened with a clay seal.<sup>16</sup>

Moreover the archaeological context of sealing is firmer indication of date because, once broken, sealing were not reused. Both sealing and seals provide significant chronological data,<sup>17</sup> so the labels which were held on the jars, pots, and other objects

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<sup>9</sup> R. G. Johnson and Others, *Were Ancient Seals Secure?*, p. 2; B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt, Anatomy of Civilization*, p.113.

<sup>10</sup> S. Quirke, *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt*, p.119-120.

<sup>11</sup> M. Beyer & M. Keams, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 97.

<sup>12</sup> Newberry, *op. cit*, p12-22.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p. 22-26.

<sup>13</sup> P. T. Nicholson & I. Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, p .291.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p .291.

<sup>15</sup> S. B. Smubert, " Seals and Sealing ", *OEAE*, III, p. 253.

<sup>16</sup> P.T. Nicholson& I. Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, p. 291; A. R. David& A. E. David, *A biographical Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, p.xvi; Newberry, *op. cit*, p.22-26.

<sup>17</sup> Smubert ,*op.cit*, p. 253.

like funerary furniture considered one of the most important historical resources.<sup>18</sup>

Beside its principal practical use, symbolically the Sacredness character of seals is supposed and it is easily proved by their archaeological contexts. Overwhelming associated with female and child burials, Seals were often worn on necklaces or rings and thus functioned as jewelry or amulets, they are usually found at the neck, either alone or at the center of a bead necklace; a number were found clasped in the hand or on a string around one finger, a few others among toilet articles usually in a small toilet box.<sup>19</sup>

The seal amulets appear in circular, oval and rectangular shapes , they are made of glazed and unglazed steatite, limestone, faience, pottery, bone, ivory and crystal rock; a number of these seals have small ring-shanks on the back, images on it are carved in several types such as: decorative patterns , individual element as hieroglyphic signs,<sup>20</sup> inscriptions with names of kings and gods,<sup>21</sup> geometric patterns and floral designs,<sup>22</sup> shapes of sacred symbols such as the Djed - pillar, the Uraeus, the eye of Hours "Udjat",<sup>23</sup> and sphinxes,<sup>24</sup>

a wide variety of human and animal figures; crocodile, hippopotamus, frog, lizard ,ape, hawk, cat,<sup>25</sup> goats and antelopes,

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<sup>18</sup> W.B. Emrey , *Archaic Egypt, Culture and Civilization in Egypt, Five Thousand Years Ago*, p. 194; for more details about labels, see M. Ohshiro , " Decoding the Wooden Label of King Djer", p.57-64; D. Wengrow, *The Archeology of Early Egypt,Social Transformations in North-East Africa,10,000 to 2650 BC*,P.1-366.

<sup>19</sup> M.Ohshiro , "Decoding the Wooden Label of King Djer", p. 66.

<sup>20</sup> L. D. Morenz, *Bild-Buchstaben und symbolische Zeichen. Die Herausbildung der Schrift in der hohen Kultur Altägyptens*, p.60-68; J. A. Hill,*Cylinder Seal Glyptic in Predynastic Egypt and Neighboring Regions* (BAR. International Series 1223),p. 99ff.

<sup>21</sup> Sparavigna, *op. cit*, p.8.

<sup>22</sup> J.Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, p.299 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Beside its symbolic use "the eye of Hours" was a counting tool used by scribes in their accounting calculations, see: M. Ezzamel ,*Order and Accounting as a Performative Ritual: Evidenced from Ancient Egypt, Accounting Organisations and Society*,vol. 34, p.356.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*. p.31ff.

<sup>25</sup> M. Beyer & M. Keams ,*op.cit*, p.97.

and the most popular seal amulet "scarab beetle ",Which was fashioned by its magical powers in to amulet, jewelry, and seals.<sup>26</sup>

Wearing amulets protect the body either in the form of a god, or a seal with a royal name, the meaning of seals, amulets, and votive objects is frequently explained with reference to texts and imagery.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The Egyptians regarded the scarab as a symbol of renewal and rebirth. The beetle was associated closely with the sun god because scarabs roll large balls of dung in which to lay their eggs, Its young were hatched from this ball, a behavior that the Egyptians thought resembled the progression of the sun through the sky from east to west., and this event was seen as an act of spontaneous self-creation, giving the beetle an even stronger association with the sun god's creative force. The scarab pushing its ball was an earthly manifestation of the sun god Re as young sun god, known as Khepri, "the god of creation", he brought light and life to the earth. The first documented use of scarab (dung beetle) by the ancient Egyptians in the early First Dynasty ,Scarab amulets were used for their magical rejuvenating properties by both the living and the dead. Scarabs were used by living individuals as seals from the start of the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2055 BCE) onwards, see: C. Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*.,P.50-60;Id.,*Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, p.191-196 ;H.R.Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum*,p. 35-524.; for more details see: J. Sarr, *Highlights of the Gayer-Anderson Scarab Collection*(Portland,2001); A. F.Gorton. *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Scarabs, A typology of steatite, faience and paste scarabs from Punic and other Mediterranean sites* (Oxford,1996); B.Klausnitzer,*Beetles*,Exeter Books(New York.NY,1981); F.S.Matouk, *Corpus du scarabee egyptien, Tome premier* (Beyrouth, 1971); G. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name seals, Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period* (Oxford, 1971); S. Robard, "The Heart Scarab of the Ancient Egyptians," in: *American Heart Journal* (1953); A. Rowe, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*(1936); H. R. Hall, *Scarabs* (London, 1929);W. M. F. Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College*(London, 1925);Id.,*Scarabs and cylinders with names: illustrated by the Egyptian collection in University College* (London, 1917); *Id., Amulets, illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College*(London, 1914); P. E. Newberry, *The Timins Collection of Ancient Egyptian Scarabs and Cylinder Seals*(London, 1907);Id., *Scarabs: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings*(London, 1906); J. Ward, *The Sacred Beetle, A Popular Treatise on Egyptian Scarabs in Art and History*(New York, 1902) G. Fraser, *A Catalog of the Scarabs belonging George Fraser* (London, 1900);W. M. F. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs Chronologically Arranged: A series of drawings from the principal collections*(London, 1889).

<sup>27</sup>A.B.Wiese, *Die Anfänge der Ägyptischen Stempelsiegel-Amulette:eine Typologische und Religions Geschichtliche Untersuchung zu den "Knopfsiegein" und Verwandten Objekten der 6 bis Fruhen 12.Dynastie*,p.144ff; G. Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII;Der Temple Satet,Die Funde der Frühzeit und des Alien Reiches*, p.76.

Probably using seals as amulets appeared as a result to some beliefs according to ancient Egyptian religion, such as:

1- The ancient Egyptians believed that each human consisted of essential entities, *ht*, *k3*, *b3*, *3h*, *šwt*, *ib* and *rn*, and to enjoy the afterlife, some of these elements had to be sustained and protected from harm<sup>28</sup>. One of these elements was "*rn*" which means "Name and reputation", it was closely bound up with magic<sup>29</sup>, it was believed that knowledge of somebody's name gave one insight into his being and power over him,<sup>30</sup>

and the erasing of the name was considered to be equivalent to the destruction, so the deceased was believed to be immortal, and the greatest horror was to have one's name destroyed, and he would live for as long as his name was spoken, which explains why efforts were made to protect it.

Consequently it could be suggested that the main reason of using the seals as amulets depended on bearing one of the essential elements of the person "the name", which were responsible for securing the person's afterlife.

There are some texts confirmed the important role of the name in ancient Egyptians beliefs, such as a part of some inscriptions from the tomb of Petosiris, the high Priest of Thoth in Hermopolis, which said:

"A man is survived when his name is pronounced".<sup>31</sup>

2-The seals were buried with the deceased among other materials and tools which were used in magical practices<sup>32</sup>, in order to ensure his resurrection in the netherworld.

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<sup>28</sup>F. Fleming & A. Lothian, *Ancient Egypt's Myths and Beliefs*, p.9; H. Glennys & O. Leaman, *Encyclopedia of death and dying*, p.238.

<sup>29</sup> W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, p.157-181.

<sup>30</sup> For more about the name and other elements see :G.C.Borioni, "Der Ka aus religionswissenschaftlicher Sicht", *Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität (Wien, 2005)*; F.M.D.Friedman, "Akh". In: *OEA*, I, p. 47-48.

<sup>31</sup> M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol III, p.45f

<sup>32</sup>D. Rankine, *Heka: The Practices of Ancient Egyptian Ritual and Magic*, p.1-196.

3-Some seals bore the names of gods which means- according to the Egyptians beliefs- that the knowledge of how to use and to make mention of names which possessed magical powers was a necessity both for the living and the dead. It was believed that if a man knew the name of a god or a demon, and addressed him by it, he was bound to answer him and to do whatever he wished.

So, it could be suggested that seals gained its sacredness character mainly through the power of the illustrated Images and the inscribed names and other material on it, the power that remained effective as long as they physical existed.<sup>33</sup>

### **Some features confirmed the sacredness of seals**

#### **•Seals as devices of protection.**

Referring to a later papyrus, demonstrates that seals and amulets were used in conjunction with medical treatment and spells for the protection especially of the mother and child, fertility, birth and child-care<sup>34</sup>; so the majority of them-as mentioned previously- were found in burials of women and children, who wore seals since late Old Kingdom in conjunction with amulets and beads strung on necklaces, whereas men wore them no earlier than the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>35</sup> Concludes the seals in burials of women and children were understood to function as part of amulets as opposed to administrative devices when found in male burials.<sup>36</sup> Seals and amulets were worn on the body during lifetime and populated the dead body in the burial for protection.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> S. I. Johnston, "Magic" in: *Religious of the Ancient World*, p.142-147; D.T.M. Frankfurter, "The writing of Magic and the Magic of Writing", p.189-221.

<sup>34</sup> K. Szpakowska, *Daily Life in Ancient Egypt: Recreating Lahun*, p.69-70; L. Meskell, *Private Life in New Kingdom Egypt*, p.69-79.

<sup>35</sup> U. Dubiel, *Amulette, Siegel und Perlen: Studien zu Typologie und Tragesitte im Alten und Mittleren Reich*, p.145.

<sup>36</sup> C. Geertz, *Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture*, in C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p.3ff.

<sup>37</sup> U. Dubiel, op-cit, p.71-74; E. Teeter, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, p. 167-170.

There are some texts confirmed the sacredness character of seals as devices of protection, for instance a hymn that describes the creator god Amon-Re in the role of a magician states that "Anything harmful is under his seal". The harmful forces would be unable to pass this symbol of divine authority and images of hostile forces might be placed in sealed boxes to restrain them. One of the rites performed in temples was known as The Book of Sealing the Mouths of the Enemy. Some anti-venom spells promise to seal the mouths of poisonous snakes. Sometimes it might be desirable to "seal" the magician or a patient to prevent harmful forces from entering them. Symbolic sealing of the seven natural orifices of the body is mentioned in texts of the late first millennium BC. The gesture of laying a hand on the patient is sometimes linked with sealing. One spell to safeguard a child promises "My hand is on you, my seal is your protection".<sup>38</sup>

#### •The crime of breaking the seal:

In the papyrus of Imhotep son of Pshentohe from the Ptolemaic Period mentioned that the breaking of the seal regarded as a misdeed as which the god of evil Seth had done, that among his many misdeeds he was accused of breaking the seal, so the texts said that breaking the seal was a crime caused the punishment by the god Re and destroying the *b3*, without which the person could not get resurrection in the after world,<sup>39</sup> as follows:

"you have opened the secret chest (coffin) which is in Heliopolis in order to see what was in it ,(although) it had been sealed with the seal of seventy-seven deities ...Re smites (you on) your head ,he will destroy your *b3*".<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> G. Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, p. 84.

<sup>39</sup>J. P. Allen, *Oxford Guide: The Essential Guide to Egyptian Mythology*,p.28 ;J. P. Allen, "Ba", in: *OEAE*,I,P. 161–162; J. F. Borghouts, "Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and Its Manifestation (b3w)",p.1–70; L.V. Žabkar, "*A Study of the Ba Concept In Ancient Egyptian Texts*", p.162–163.

<sup>40</sup> See papyrus of Imhotep son of Pshentohe, New York, MMA 35,9.21,3; J. L. Foster, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 240; J. C. Goyon, *Le Papyrus d'Imoathés, Fils de Psintaês*



Consequently the deceased had to keep seals from damage in order to secure his *b3*, by which he would secure his resurrection in the after world.

•**The seal and sacredness of the place:**

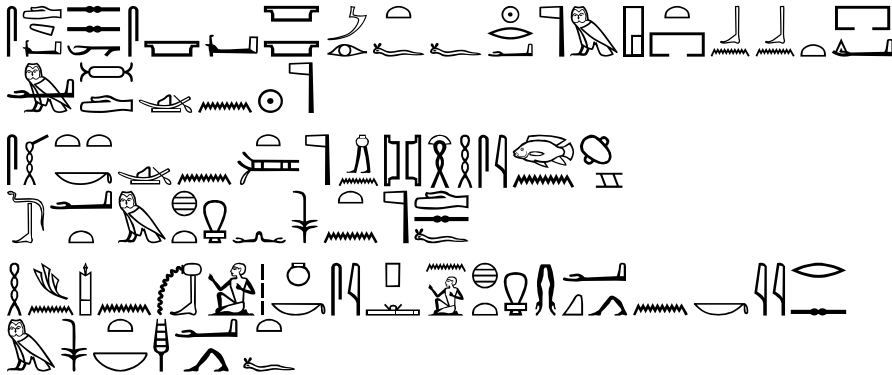
It could be suggested that a sealed place had its sacredness as a result that breaking the seal was regarded as a crime which caused the punishment of the god and destroying the *b3* in the afterlife. There is a text from the victory stela of king Piye from the temple of Amon at Napata (Cairo JE48862, 47086-47089)<sup>41</sup> cleared that sealing any place with a seal donate this place a specific sanctity and a special sacredness, as after sealing any place no one can enter it even kings themselves as the king Piye said when he visited sanctuaries of Heliopolis:<sup>42</sup>

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au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York (Papyrus MMA 35.9.21),( New York,1999);J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* ,IV , P. 992, 25.

<sup>41</sup>R. B. Gozzoli, *The Writing of History in Ancient Egypt during the First Millennium BC*, p.54-67;O.Perdu,"*La Chefferie de Sébehnytos de Piankhyà Psammétique Ier*", P.95-111; For more about the stela see: A.K. Ritner, *The Stela of Piye,in the Literature of Ancient Egypt. Anthology of Stories Instruction, Stela, Autobiographies and Poetry*, ed.W. K. Simpson (Yale,2003); R. B.Gozzoli, Piye Imitates Tutmose III: Trends in a Nubian Historiographical Text of the Early Phase, in: *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century*, vol. 3, p.204-217;N.Grimal, *La Stèle Tromphale de Piankhy* (Le Caire, 1982).

<sup>42</sup> *Urk*,III,39,5-16



*sd swy sn ʿ3wy m33 it.f R<sup>c</sup> m hwt-bnbnt dsr m<sup>c</sup>ndt n R<sup>c</sup> <m>sktt  
n Itm in ʿ3wy w3h sin db<sup>c</sup>t m htm n nsw<sup>43</sup> ds.f hn.n w<sup>c</sup>bw ink  
sip.n.i htm n ʿk . n ky r.s m nsw nb ʿh<sup>c</sup>.t (y). f(y).*

"Breaking the (seal of) the bolts , opening the double doors , beholding his father Re in the holy compound - of - pyramidion , the morning bark of Re and the evening bark of Atum closing the double doors , applying the clay, and sealing with the king's own seal .He charged the priests: I have proved(examined) the seal; No other shall enter in to it, of all the kings who shall arise".<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Due to the importance of the seals there were some titles attached to both royal and divine seals such as: " *sd3wty-bity*" and " *htm-bity* ", "The seal bearer "it was one of the most common convental title ,For more about the title see:S.Quirke,"The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom" , p.123; M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoirsous l'Ancien Égyptien*, p. 241; W. Grajetzki, "Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung Zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches: prospographie, Titel und Titelreihen", *Acht Schriften zur Ägyptologie* 2, p.107, 114-115; S. Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*, *Egyptology* 1, p.6; O.Berlev , "Contemporary of King Sewa H – EN – RE" , p.109; PM V,231,235, 240; E. P. Uphill, *Brief Communications* , p.250.

The title " *sd3wty-ntr*" and " *htm-ntr*" "Divine Sealer" it was attached to service of various gods as *Imn sd3wty-ntr* "Divine Sealer of Amon" , or they were employed by the religious authorities of certain districts For more see : P. E. Newberry, *Ancient Egyptian scarab*,p. 31-32.

<sup>44</sup> T. Eide and others, *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum (Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD* vol. 1 p.100-111; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literatures*, vol. III, p.77; J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, p. 816ff .

## •The sacredness of the process of sealing:

The demotic Insinger papyrus<sup>45</sup> makes an admonition from speaking during the process of sealing, which refers to the holiness of the process of sealing alike other religious rites. The writer of papyrus mentioned that instruction: "Don't cheat at the time of sealing".<sup>46</sup>

## The relationship between the seals and the god Thoth

There are many texts confirmed the relationship between seals and the god Thoth such as:

- According to Spell 8 from book of the dead<sup>47</sup> the god Thoth was not only responsible to seals during daily life but also in the netherworld, and he was responsible to seal the deceased' head as follows:



*wn n.i wnyw htm tp.i Dhwti ikr*

Open to me (O), Shmounein<sup>48</sup>, seal my head, O, the great Thoth.

Sealing the head of the deceased probably refers symbolically that the god Thoth put all his knowledge of writings, magic and secrets in it, the knowledge by which the closed doors of netherworld would be opened to the deceased, and also helped him in accessing its hazards. There are many texts Consolidate this assumption, for instance some spells from book of the dead

<sup>45</sup> Insinger papyrus contains writing about Egyptian wisdom teaching (*sb3yt*), the manuscript is dated to second century AD, For more about the papyrus see: K. T. Zauzich, in: M. Lichthiem, *Wisdom Literature in International Context*, p.107-109. F. Lexa, *Papyrus Insinger*, p.1-113; W. R. James, *The Morphology and Syntax of Papyrus Insinger* (Chicago, 1948).

<sup>46</sup> M. Lichthiem, *Ancient Egyptian Literatures*, vol III, p.206.

<sup>47</sup> *BD*, I, 31; R.O. Faulkner. *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, P.36.

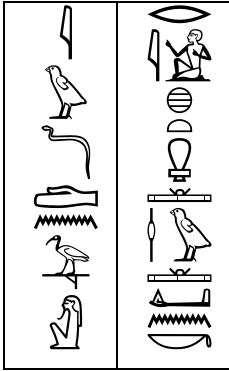
<sup>48</sup> Hermopolis is " Shmounein" in Coptic rendering, see M. Verner, *Temples of the World: Sanctuaries, Cult, and Mysteries of Ancient Egypt*, p.149; also there are many texts related between *Dhwti* and the eight spirits of Hermopolis for example chapter 114 from book of the dead see :*BD*, II, 109; R.O. Faulkner. *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, P.113.

which confirmed that the god Thoth had all knowledge , writings , magic and secrets, and he can hide them from all people.<sup>49</sup>

- A part of papyrus Setne I,12-14 mentioned that the deceased would charm the netherworld when he recite a spell which Thoth wrote with his own hand, as follows:

"I will have you taken to the place where that Thoth wrote with his own hand.....two spells are written in it. When you recite the first spell, you will ] charm the sky, the earth, the netherworld'.<sup>50</sup>

- According to spell 134<sup>51</sup> of coffin text the god Thoth was responsible to seal the decrees as follows:



*-Iw dd n. Dhwtj r.i htm .(i)wd di.(tw) n.k.*

"Thoth has said to me "I seal the decree which is given to you".

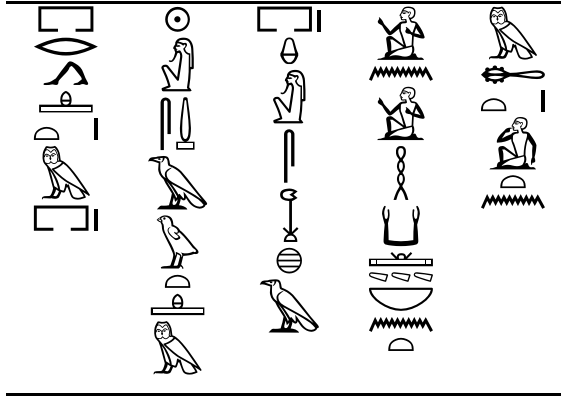
- According to Spell 657 of coffin text<sup>52</sup> the house of Thoth is the place where letters was sealed in as follows:

<sup>49</sup>BD ,II, ch.CXVI,111-112; BD ,III,ch.CLXX,52;R.O. Faulkner. *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, P.170; D. Kurth,"Thot", *LÁ IV*, p .497-523.

<sup>50</sup> M. J. Raven, *Egyptian Magic the Quest for Thoth Book of Secrets*,p.75.

<sup>51</sup> CT, II, 159; R.O. Faulkner .*The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, I , 116.

<sup>52</sup> CT, VI, 278;R.O.Faulkner .*The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, II, 228.



*pr md3t m pr R<sup>c</sup> sd3wt m pr Dhwtj sh3.n.i ħk3w nb(w) nt (i) m ht.i tn.*

The letter goes out from the house of Re, having been sealed in the house of Thoth, and I have called to mind all the magic which is in this my belly".

Probably the relationship between the god Thoth and the seals came from both the relationship between the seals and writing, and the close relationship between the god Thoth and magic, writing, and all its affections, including seals , as he was the god of writing, the creator of language, and the inventor of hieroglyphic writing ,<sup>53</sup> so he was the patron deity of scribes<sup>54</sup>, and he was described in many texts as the skilled scribe such as:

*"Ink Dhwtj sš-ikr<sup>55</sup>."*

"I am Thoth the skilled scribe".

Thoth was illustrated holding the script'tools,<sup>56</sup> and he was regarded as the sealer of medical texts in late periods.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> J. Černý, "Thoth as a Creator of Language", p.121-22.

<sup>54</sup> D. Kurth, "Thot", *LÄ* VI, p. 496- 523; Boylon, *op. cit.*,p.124; J. Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, p.80-81;G. Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, p. 61ff.

<sup>55</sup> Chapter 182 from book of the dead, see *BD*, III, 101 ; R. O. Faulkner. *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*,p.181.

<sup>56</sup> L. Spence, *Myths and Legends of Ancient Egypt*, p.106.

<sup>57</sup> *Wb*, III, 351, 18-21.

According to Clement of Alexandria, the Egyptians had forty-two secret books of wisdom, written by Hermes (Thoth), which were kept in temples, and included collections of laws, hymns and rituals, books about the gods and the training of priests, and works on astrology, cosmology, geography and medicine.<sup>58</sup>

According to Egyptian mythology Thoth apparently wrote a lot, and all his writings were put into a book called 'the Book of Thoth'. It apparently had a great sum of secrets of the universe in it, apparently if you read it you would get awesome magical powers, but you would also be troubled by a life filled with disaster.

Beside the texts which confirmed the relationship between seals and the god Thoth, there are many seals and impressions of seals engraved either with the symbols of the god Thoth such as a small plaque with two monkeys on its back Egyptian Museum<sup>59</sup> or with the name of the god Thoth, especially some clay seals from Tuna al-Gebel necropolis which accumulate between the sacred relationship between the god Thoth and seals, and the god Thoth's function as the main god at "Hermopolis Magna" Tuna al-Gebel.

I expose hereunder -for example- three congruent black oval base clay seals<sup>60</sup> which were excavated during the regular excavations of Cairo University under the directorship of S.Gabra in the Tuna al-Gebel necropolis.<sup>61</sup>



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<sup>58</sup>G. Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, p.61.

<sup>59</sup>A. Sparavigna, *Ancient Egyptian Seals and Scarabs*, P.16.

<sup>60</sup> For more about the clay seals, See: M. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter. A study of Epistolographic Scribal Traditions against their Intra-and Intercultural Background*, p. 42-43 ;H. De. Meulenaere, "Egypte Pharaonique, Trois Empreintes de Sceaux", P.25-29.

<sup>60</sup> L. Spence, *Myths and Legends of Ancient Egypt*, p.106.

<sup>61</sup>Tuna el Gabel necropolis at Mallawi center about seven km from El-Ashmunein, it was the capital of the fifteenth district, which was known *Wnt*  "The rabbit district", and it was known "Hermopolis" in Greek. Also it was known *Hmnw* , which means the eights district; this name was related to the creation myth of El-Ashmunein which concept that eight gods which structured as four males and females couples personified

They are kept now in the Mallawi museum under the inventory number 479, engraved on their base with brief hieroglyphic text.<sup>62</sup>

**The text:**



**Transliteration:**

1-*s3 R<sup>c</sup> n h.t.f Nk3.w.*


2-*Ntr nfr nb t3.wy Whm-ib-r<sup>c</sup>.*

3-*Mry Dhwtj 3 3 nb Hmnw di ʿnh mi R<sup>c</sup> dt.*

**Translation:**

1-The son of Re from his body Nekau.

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entities within the primeval matter ,with the gods envisaged as frogs and snakes created the universe, The name Tuna el Gebel is derived from the ancient Egyptian word "t3 hnt"  which means" the lake", For more see: D. Kessler, "Hermopolis", *OEA*,II,P.94; G.Hart, *Egyptian Myths*,p.19-22;U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Demotika in Mallawi" ,P. 57–58 ; D.Kessler , "Tuna el Gebel", *LA* VI ,p.797 ; J. Baines& J. Malek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*,p.126 ;D. Kessler,"Hermupolis Magna", *LA* II,P .1137;*Wb*, III,283,2; L.Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian myth and History*, ,p.16; S. Morenz , *Egyptian Religion*,p.178;*Wb*, III,105;K. Sethe , *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*,p.84; H .Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des les Noms Geographique Contenus dans les Textes Hieroglyphiques*,I,p.197.

<sup>62</sup>There are similar eight clay seals which were also kept in the Mallawi Museum on the second floor under Inv. No. 487, see U.Kaplony-Heckel, "Demotika in Mallawi" ,P. 57–58; H. Mesiha & M. El-Hitta, *Mallawi Antiquity Museum. A Brief description*, p. 20; S. Gabra, *Chez les derniers adorateurs du Trismegiste, La necropole d'Hermopolis. Touna el-Gebel. Souvenir d'un Archéologue* ,p.177.


2- The lord of two lands *Whm-ib-R*.


3- The Beloved of Thoth, the twice great, the lord of Hermopolis, giving life like Re eternity.

**Comment:**

- These seals were used in sealing the demotic documents from the Tuna al-Gebel necropolis which are kept in the Mallawi Museum, especially sealed demotic papyri and letters written on papyrus from the subterranean galleries of the sacred animals (Gallery C).<sup>63</sup>

- They were found inside the oldest Gallery "D", which is dated -in general - to the Saite period (664-525 B.C.),<sup>64</sup> specifically the reign of the king Nekau the son of Psametik (610-595),<sup>65</sup> except a part from its northern area of G-D-D, which dated to the Persian period.<sup>66</sup>

Therefore these seals could be dated either to the Saite period,<sup>67</sup> or the Persian, while I suggest that they are dated to the Saite period, by comparison the way of writing the hieroglyphic writing , especially the way of writing the cartouche of the pharaoh " Nekau" (  ) and his title 'Wehem-Ib-Re' with some impressions of seals engraved with the name of Nekau and

his title 'Wehem-Ib-Re' (  ), which are dated to the Saite period (the XXVIth Dynasty ) , such as Plaster outer Jar-sealing with four impressions of a seal engraving with the name of Nekau from Tell Dafnah, Handle of a jar on which is impressed a seal

<sup>63</sup> El-Hussein O. Zaghoul, *Frühdemotische Urkunden aus Hermopolis*, p.10–11 Taf. I– II.  
<sup>64</sup> D. Kessler & M.A. Nur EL-Din, *Tuna al-Gebel. Millions of Ibises and Other Animals*, p. 120-163; A. Von Den Driesch and Others, 'Mummified Baboons and Other Primates from the Saitic-Ptolemaic Animal Necropolis of Tuna el-Gebel, Middle Egypt', p. 235.  
<sup>65</sup> A. Dodson & D. Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*, p. 242ff; J. Vercoutter, *L'Egypte Ancienne*, p.120.  
<sup>66</sup> D. Kessler & M.A. Nur EL-Din, *Tuna al-Gebel. Millions of Ibises and Other Animals*, p.139-140; D. Kessler, "Die Galerie C von Tuna el-Gebel", *MDAIK* 39, p.120-123.  
<sup>67</sup> The twenty-sixth dynasty (664-525 B.C) was the strongest dynasty in the late period, which was known "Saite period", for more see: S. Ikram, *Ancient Egypt*, p.110.



in form of a plumed and disked cartouche , containing the name of Nekau from Tell Dafnah ,and a blue faience cartouche-plaque, inscribed on the obverse 'king of upper and lower Egypt 'Wehem-Ib-Re , son of the sun Nekau'.<sup>68</sup>

- The god Thoth is described here "*Dḥwty ʿ3 ʿ3 nb Ḥmnw*", "Thoth, the twice great, lord of Hermopolis", the most popular epithet of the god Thoth in Hermopolis, while his famous epithets were the lord of the Ogdoad, and "the great triple", and the great five-times.<sup>69</sup>

In sum, seals played an important role in ancient Egypt. They were not only used as administrative securing devices for the state bureaucracy, private individual, documents, containers, places, but also they had a sacredness character which is confirmed by using them as protective amulets during daily life and in the netherworld, the relationship between seals and sacredness of places, and the sacredness of the process of sealing itself.

Additionally there are some texts confirmed the relationship between seals and the god Thoth, the relationship through which it could be suggested that as Thoth was the god of wisdom, magic, and writing , he also the god who was responsible for seals and sealing in ancient Egyptian religion.

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<sup>68</sup> W. Budge, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, p.291-294.

<sup>69</sup>R. K. Ritner,"Hermes Pentamegistos",P.73-75;*Id.*,"Additional Notes to Hermes Pentamegistos", 67-68; J. Parlebas, L'origine Égyptienne de L'appellation "Hermès Trismegiste",p .25-28; For further details on this epithet, see:*Wb* ,I, 163,5; the same epithet mentioned in many texts such as: O Hor 25,4; O Hor 28,12;P.OL 19422,1; For discussions of the name and epithets of Thoth see: Maria-Theresia Derchain-Urtel, "Thot à Akhmim" Hommages à Francois Daumas, p.173-180; *Id.*, *Thot à travers ses épithètes dans les scènes d'offrandes des temples d'époque gréco-romaine* (Rites Égyptiens, 3)( Bruxelles ,1981); J. Quaegebeur, "Thot-Hermes, le dieu le plus grand!" Hommages à Francois Daumas , p. 525-544; J. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* ,p.158-161;D.C.J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thot, Two Keys Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion*, p.112;W.Helck,"Der Name des Thot",SAK4 (1976);W.Budge, *op. cit.*, p.157.

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*Plates of the seals from the Mallawi museum (Inv.Nr.479)*





*Photos from the Mallawi museum*



## قدسية بعض الأختام وعلاقتها بالمعبود جحوتى

د. هيام حافظ رواش\*

### الملخص:

لعبت الأختام دوراً هاماً فى مصر القديمة، فالأختام لم تكن تستخدم فقط إستخداماً إدارياً كأدوات لتأمين الممتلكات الحكومية والخاصة، والوثائق، والأماكن ولكنها أستُخدمت أيضاً كتمايم سواء فى الحياة الدنيا او فى الحياة الآخرة. وقد توافر لدينا بعض الدلائل التى تؤكد على قدسية الأختام فى مصر القديمة منها على سبيل المثال:

- الأختام كتمايم للحماية.
- جريمة فض الختم.
- الختم وقدسية المكان.
- قدسية عملية الختم.

والحقيقة أنه بالإضافة إلى قدسية الأختام فهناك بعض النصوص التى توضح لنا العلاقة الوثيقة بينها وبين المعبود جحوتى، تلك العلاقة التى تجعلنا نفترض أنه إلى جانب دور الرئيسى للمعبود جحوتى كمعبود للحكمة، السحر، والكتابة، فقد كان أيضاً هو المعبود المسئول عن عملية الختم والأختام فى العقيدة المصرية القديمة.

### الكلمات الدالة:

قدسية، الأختام، عملية الختم، تمايم، حماية، تأمين، علاقة، المعبود جحوتى .

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## **The Veiled faces of prophets in the Islamic miniatures - application on illustrated manuscripts of XVI century in Konya Mawlānā Museum.**

**Dr. Ibrahim Mohamed Ibrahim Ellassal\***

### **Abstract:**

The study aims to recognize interpretations of veiling the facial features of divine characters like prophets in Islamic Miniatures, various designs are appeared of such veils and an obvious development had been occurred from one school of art to another. Miniaturists in religious representations were keen to give the divines remarkable features like divine halos or usage of veils.

Several researches mentioned veils' existence to cover faces of divine imagery, including prophets, but none of them made suitable analysis for such veils, with no classifying its forms, nor giving interpretations of its usage.

Islamic illustrating production is rich enough with prophets' miniatures and paintings, what made this study is necessary to be centralized on the illustrated manuscripts in Konya museum of Turkey which is belong to xvi century as an advanced stage in prophets' representations in Islamic art.

Research is introducing an analysis such veils and covers with application on miniatures found in the mystic museum related to prophet's stories with the appearance of veils to cover their facial features, with giving a short noted historical background about the prophet narration of each episode mentioned in miniatures.

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**"Key Words":** Islamic miniatures – Illustrated Manuscripts – Konya Mawlana Museum – Islamic Painting – Art History – Prophets – Aniconism.

**Introduction:**

It's well known that the early production of Islamic miniatures had been affected clearly by calls of prohibiting and preventing miniaturists from figural imagery due to the concept of similarity with idols which leads to paganism as Muslims believed in the early centuries of Islamic calendar.

That leads the artiste to be keen no intent to create an icon of what could be interpreted as a type of Aniconism in the Islamic Art<sup>1</sup>.

Such Calls and invitations relayed on various interpretations of divine texts in the Qur'an and *hadiths* which are considered the main resources of Islamic belief<sup>2</sup>.

The expression of Aniconism occurred in writings of the Christian art history during quarrels in 8th century as a Byzantine Iconoclasm<sup>3</sup>, where Byzantine Empire stood once, has been a fertile

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I feel thankful and appreciated to the efforts of Mr.Mustafa Civan head of manuscripts' section in the Museum who introduced a widely cooperation and had facilitated having the miniatures from the original copies. Special thanks to Ms. Rehab Othman who helped a lot in translating Turkish documents and texts.

<sup>1</sup>Oleg Grabar was the first scholar who used the word “aniconic” to refer to the widespread attitude in the history of Muslim cultures toward all kinds of figural representation.

Grabar O., *The Formation of Islamic Art*, p.6.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Arnold gathered material on the early Islamic use of images from historical and literary sources which show that a creeping iconoclasm replaced in pious doctrine this sensible if casual practice. For example, Arnold found hadiths of Muhammad, clearly supporting the secular use of images, for example the report that Muhammad objected to figural curtains in his house-cum-mosque in Madīnah but was satisfied when the curtains were cut up for cushion covers: their different orientation as cushions made them unlikely objects of prayer, and hence apparently acceptable. Whether these stories are accurate or not, they represent a straightforward and uncomplicated response to the issue. The traditional Muslim theological objection to images, which may have been observed more in the breach than in ordinary life, was eventually codified in a quite rigid form and extended to the depiction of all animate beings. Arnold T.W., *Painting in Islam*, p. 5-7.

<sup>3</sup>There is a clear contrast with official Byzantine Iconoclasm on this point: in Byzantium it was pictures of the saints, of Christ, and of God that were forbidden because they might be

ground for religious debates over the nature of images and paintings<sup>4</sup>.

The thoughts of the artists had developed to allow figural representations not including the divine characters as stories of prophets and prophet Mohamed's history before introducing them with what could be considered as new features of Aniconism replaced banning their images, those features like covering the facial features of the divine persons and a flaming golden halo<sup>5</sup>.

Actually there are several studies and researches introduced analysis and explanation for such halos appeared surrounding divine faces in the Islamic painting, in general, without referring to be as a feature of Aniconism in the Islamic art<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, there's no independent researches gave an interpretation for covering the facial features of the prophets in the Islamic miniatures with the veil on their faces, which will be the main topic of this article through application on miniatures of prophets which basically enjoyed with the above mentioned features of Aniconism.

Muslim artists presented two main features to be signs of divinity in illuminating images of prophets; surrounding light halo around the

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worshipped; these images could be replaced with scenes of the circus or hippodrome, which certainly do not lack animate subjects. Grabar O., *The Formation of Islamic Art*, p.6-8.

“iconoclasm” is the name of the era when Christian icons were destroyed in and around Byzantine Constantinople (Istanbul) in the 8th century, focuses historically on the negative influences of the representations of the divine, “aniconism” widens the range of such focus and suggests not producing figural imagery of any kind in the first place. For secular examples of the use of images on objects and in architecture see Grabar.O, *Ceremonial and Art at the Umayyad Court*, p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> It was claimed that it is a hopeless task to try to make a coherent sense of everything, or even most things, which have been said by Muslims about painting, not to mention the things non-Muslims have said. Nevertheless, people are trying”. Cagaman F. and others, *The Topkapi Saray Museum*, p.24.

<sup>5</sup> This light is interpreted by Erzeni and other Turkish mystics as representing the love of virtue and justice, inspired first in Adam, accepted by him as a trust, and inherited by generations of just men and pure women among his descendants.

<sup>6</sup> Lillys and others, *Oriental Miniatures*, P.84

face and covering its features by a veil which is the main interest of this article.

Four styles of represented faces of prophets found on the XVI century; the first one is faces occurred without both features; the halo and veil, second is related to faces with both features with non-occurring any of its details, third one is using surrounding light halo only with normal appearance of face imagination, and the fourth is faces covered by veils with no representations of any halos around<sup>7</sup>.

Stories of prophets were represented on large scale in the medieval centuries when miniaturists felt liberality in following the forbidding calls of divine characters affected by the widely Shiit influence on the artistic activity in Islamic civilization<sup>8</sup>. Twenty of prophets, mentioned in Quraan, are already represented in Islamic miniatures. Majority of their depictions are represented in manuscripts related to XVI century.

It's noted that the golden age of religious paintings was the XVI century when prophets' miniatures reached to the high point of representations by the Turkish and Persian miniaturists.

Paintings of prophets usually contain various episodes, mentioned in between the miniatures of one manuscripts, moreover the centralized manuscripts topic on prophets stories only like the manuscript of *Siyer-i Nebi* that narrates the life episodes of prophet Mohamed. In case of manuscripts of Konya museum, stories of prophets mentioned partially in the main subject, so that its miniatures came with other topics of the same manuscript.

From the artistic point of view, many of studies and researched put analysis for religious images like Milsten(R), Ruhrdanz (K) and

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<sup>7</sup> For second style of both features see: Arnold S.T., *Painting in Islam*, P.96.

<sup>8</sup> The difficulties in the way of studying Islamic art have been mentioned frequently in related literature; Thomas Arnold wrote the first comprehensive text regarding the place of painting in the culture of Islam, even devoted whole chapters to such discussions. Arnold S.T., *Painting in Islam*, p. 41-51

Schimtez (B) who introduced a notable theory about the illustrations of prophets in the book of "illustrated manuscripts of Qisas Al-Anbiya" which was published in 1999<sup>9</sup>; Their theory depends on classifying the miniatures of prophets into 3 main styles; the first one refers to representing prophets in small figures, often embedded in an elaborate setting, while the second one which is rather loosely connected to Persian miniature painting especially on Shiraz and Qazwin styles occurred in using the child like faces without covering or any features of Aniconism. In addition to the 3<sup>rd</sup> style which is considered the better known one between the artists, enjoyed with natural sizes for figures with some cases of covering faces and religious features like the golden flaming halo around the face as a kind of divinity and respect<sup>10</sup>. The studied miniatures of this research belong to the 3<sup>rd</sup> style according to the previous classification, although the illustrated manuscripts in Konya museum were not focused in any of recent studies in the field of Islamic art history.

### **About Konya museum**

Choosing Konya Mawlanā museum to apply the concept of the research on, is due to variety of stories of prophets in the illustrated manuscripts that preserved in. In addition to, belonging to more than one school of art like Persian miniatures and other Turkish ones. Moreover, all prophets' miniatures are belonging to XVI century which lead to centralize the research into one century facility analysis and well explain of the main idea.

Konya Mawlanā museum is located in the heart of Konya city<sup>11</sup>. It's related strongly to Jelaleddin Rumî, one of the greatest symbols of

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<sup>9</sup> Milsten R. and others, Stories of the Prophets, Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas Al-Anbiya (Islamic Art and Architecture), 1999.

<sup>10</sup> Milsten R. and others, Stories of the Prophets, p.43-50.

<sup>11</sup> Konya is located 261 km South of Ankara, the Turkish city is known of Whirling Dervishes, and has been for 800 years. It is the seventh most populated city in Turkey. It was the capital of the Seljuk Turkish Sultanate from 1071 to 1275. The Seljuks built numerous caravansarays along the Silk Road between Cappadocia and Konya. The city of Konya has been known by

Sufism in the Islamic world<sup>12</sup>, where his whirling dervishes' order "Mevlevi" is practiced and where his mausoleum is existed.

According to the main catalogue of its illustrated manuscripts, it contains Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts that are illustrated with miniatures belong to different topics and subjects of the Islamic history, between them were the stories of the prophets Ibrahim, Ismail, Jacob, Yusuf, Musa and Zakria. All at Konya's is illuminated in the Persian and Turkish manuscripts only, while the Arabic ones had no any representations of prophets according to the highly influence of prohibition calls of figural imagery.

Illustrated manuscripts found in the museum are classified to "Takaya School of art" which depended on the mystic halls of Konya and Baghdad at Turkish era, topics of paintings related to this school were influenced by Sufi thoughts and believes.

### **First: Persian miniatures**

- Miniature painting of Prophet Musa with the devil (Plate 1)

Prophet: Musa

Manuscript's name: Sabhat al-abrār<sup>13</sup>

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different names through the ages; Kuwana to the Hittites, to the Phrygians it was Kowania, to the Romans Iconium and to the Turks, Konya. For further details about the city look ; [https://sacredsites.com/middle\\_east/turkey/shrine\\_of\\_rumi\\_konya.html](https://sacredsites.com/middle_east/turkey/shrine_of_rumi_konya.html)

<sup>12</sup>Mevlâna Jelaleddin Rumî is considered one of Islamic greatest poets and mystic philosophers, he was born near Balkh near Afghanistan in 1207 and died at 1273. He was called Mevlâna which it means Our Guide in Persian, and he was Rumî due to the Seljuks' western, formerly Roman lands. He presented to the Islamic mystics an order called the Mevlevi ("Followers of Mevlana," or Whirling Dervishes) based on Rumî's principles and practices. For more details see; Franklin D. Lewis, Rumi- Past and Present, East and West, 2000, p. 34-52.

<sup>13</sup>'Sabhat al-abrār' an Arabic expression means 'Rosary of the Pious', and it's considered one of the main seven books of Mesnavi that was written by Jami and was called Haft Awrang which is a Persian expression means "Seven Thrones" and related to the classic Persian literature. The seven books are: Selselat adh-dhahab "Chain of Gold"; Joseph and Zulaikha; Salaman and Absal which is a Greek story tells about a prince and his nursemaid; "Tohfah ol-ahrār" Gift of the Free"; Layla and Majnun; Kheradnāma-i Eskandari "Alexander's Book of Wisdom".

Author: Nur Aldīn AbdelRahmān Jāmī<sup>14</sup>

Dating: 1537-8

Place of production: Tebriz<sup>15</sup>

School of art: Timurid<sup>16</sup>

Folio: 28 Recto

Preservation no.: 123

Sizes: 102×67 mm

Description:

Prophet Musa appears in the scène with the devil in a dialogue narrated by text appears in the upper and lower parts; Musa met him in his way of searching for the fire when he was saw an illumination and wanted to take some fire from it to his family in their return back journey from Shu'ayb (Jethro)'s land<sup>17</sup> where Musa spent 10 years of tending his herds. According to the text, Musa

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<sup>14</sup>He is one of the most famous Iranian poets in mystical Sufi literature, he wrote approximately 87 books and letters, his secret of fame is due to his famous and beautiful divan Haft Awrang (Seven Thrones) which is influenced by the works of Nizami. Most of his own literature included illustrations, Jami worked within the Tīmūrīd court of Herat helping to serve as an interpreter and communicator. For further details See: Schimel A., *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, p.78-122.

<sup>15</sup> one of the historical capitals of Iran, and it was considered the main artist center during the Timurid dynasty. In 1501, Shah Ismail I entered Tabriz and proclaimed it the capital of his Safavid state. For further details see: Wood (John E.) & Tucker (Ernest), *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East*, 2006, After p.530.

<sup>16</sup>One of the Persian schools in the Islamic art, its name dates back to the Timurid Empire which was founded by Timurlane who established the empire between 1370 and his death in 1405. Many scholars considered that The golden age of Persian painting began during the reign of the Timurids, Timurid artists refined the Persian art of the book, which combines paper, calligraphy, illumination and illustration.

<sup>17</sup> It is known as Midian, and it is a geographical place and the Midianites a people mentioned in Qur'an, it's located in the "northwest Arabian Peninsula, on the east shore of the Gulf of Aqaba on the Red Sea.



asked the devil about the reason of refusing to bow down to Adam<sup>18</sup>.

Musa is represented while standing on the left side with a varied colored garment covered with different decorations all over its length. He appears while holding his famous rod in his left hand side<sup>19</sup>, referring to the Satan with his other right hand. Musa's religious identity is accentuated by covering his face with the veil, in addition to the gilded divine light surrounding his head in a shape of a flaming halo, while Satan is represented, as usual in the illustrated depictions, in his black-skinned ugly form wearing a blue skirt with upper naked black chest.

It seems clearly that Musa's face is veiled in later time of miniature's production as a type of damaging the facial features by extending some parts of head cover, it means that the miniaturist had put an imagination to Musa's features and damaged it after feeling guilty reflecting the affection of prohibition calls of illustrating divine characters that prophet Musa is one of them in the Islamic belief, which could be assumed as an interpretation of Aniconism in the Islamic art.

The details of depiction refer to Timurid School of art due to the simple figural representations, various permanent colors, ground decorations and representations of hills regarding to Tor Mountain where Musa found the fire in the burning Bush.

Veiling style of the Musa's face is a permanent form affected by the way of painting veils spread in 15<sup>th</sup> century following traditions of Timurid school of art like a miniature related to the seduction of

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<sup>18</sup> The Quran Texts mentioned that Satan claimed that he was created from the noble fire, while Adam was a mere product of inferior clay.(Quraan 2:23-28 ; 7:10-17; 20:115; 27:49). Tabari devotes a long discussion to the identity of Iblis and to the reaction of the whole crowd of angeles to the certain Adam. Al Tabari A., Ta' rīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk, Volume 1, p.58-65.

<sup>19</sup> Musa's rod mention enjoyed with a plenty of divine texts which narrated the miraculous stick role at the palace of the Pharaoh and where it was converted into a large snake swallowing several small ones of the magicians (Qura'an 20:69). His rod also appeared with him in Sinai mountains (Qura'an 20:17-23). Al Tabari A., Ta' rīkh al-rusul, Volume 1, p 156-157.

Yusuf by Zulaikha, a folio from copy manuscript of Bustan Saadi that signed by Behzad and preserved at Egyptian National Library dating back to 1488 A.D. (plate 2)<sup>20</sup>, where prophet Yusuf is appeared with no facial features that hidden under the veil which is had no determined forming design, the concept is just to hide the face in a similar way of miniature of Musa at Konya Museum by forming it partially from the cover head.

**- Miniature Painting of Prophet Ibrahim with Rahip(Plate 3)**

Prophet: Ibrahim

Manuscript's name: Sabhat al-abrār

Author: Nur Aldīn AbdelRahmān Jāmī

Dating: 1537-8

Place of production: Tebriz

School of art: Timurid

Folio: 49 Verso

Preservation no.: 123

Sizes: 130×95 mm

Description:

Prophet Ibrahim appears in the depiction while setting in the frontal view on the left side, referring to his talking with the priest who set in the 3/4 quarters position, food table is centered between them. According to texts, Allah blamed Ibrahim for promising the priest for enjoying eating in case of positive respond to his call to believe in; the story is not mentioned at any of the Qur'an texts and it's narrated in some historical heritages.

Ibrahim is depicted wears a blue long garment decorated with gilded features, refer with his hand to the table where locates the

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<sup>20</sup> Under number of preservation 22, Persian literature.

mistake of promising the priest. Features of priesthood appeared by covering his head, moreover the beard on the face and the delegated face.

The veiled face is appeared clearly in Ibrahim's case, while the priest facial features shown despite his converting to full belief, as the text mentions, and is due to the elite positions of prophets in Muslim thoughts, that made artists keen to veil usage , moreover surrounding their faces with divine light halos.

The representation of the veil in this illustrated depiction is quite different of the previous one of prophet Musa; it seems that it's prepared to be added on Ibrahim's face proves by its independent logic forming with head cover.

Other issues are shown in the illumination like the mountain background of whole scene with 2 of people in an argument case around the story of Ibrahim and priesthood, moreover the representation of the servant who stands his hand above the left priest's shoulder.

The poor details of depictions, brilliant coloring usage, the non-ideal figural representations, and natural background elements referring the illustration to Tebriz School of art that developed enough in the beginning of XVI century when the manuscript is produced.

The plate is due to the same way of veiling partially from the cover head with no any separate veils, the type that appeared in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, following artistic painting traditions referring to Timurid school of art like that miniature of ascension of the Prophet "Miraj" of Khamsa Nizami manuscript, copy of Chester Beatty library of Dublin produced in Baghdad (Plate 4)<sup>21</sup>, where Prophet Mohamed is appeared with the same way of covering facial feature by this

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<sup>21</sup>Under number of preservation CBL, Per.137

partially form of veiling from prophet's cover head not in a separate way as will be clear in illuminations of Turkish schools.

This type of veiling prophets' facial features is continued on large scale at XVI century like miniatures of the study, moreover other

Illuminating production of Khorasan related to same century like a miniature for the same scene of Miraj belonging to another copy of Khamsa Nezami manuscript of Egyptian National Library (Plate 5)<sup>22</sup>.

This way of veiling faces of scared representations found as well in miniatures of Safavid School of art, as a well-known influence of Timurid art at all next artistic works in different destinations. The veiling way of prophet Mohamed's facial feature in Yusuf and Zulaikha manuscript is clear evidence (Plate 6); the manuscript which is preserved as well in the Egyptian National Library<sup>23</sup> and its miniatures relate to Safavid School of art. Veiling style depended on partially forming form the cover head not in independent way.

This type of veils dominates majority of Persian illustrating production in general including those Persian manuscripts of Konya Museum.

## **Second: Turkish Miniatures**

### **- Miniature painting of Prophet Ibrahim to sacrifice his son Ismail (Plate 7)**

Prophets: Ibrahim & Ismail

Manuscript's name: Hadikat al-Suedaa ""Garden of Pleasures"<sup>24</sup>

Author: Mohamed Ben Suleiman Fuzuli<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Under number of preservation 142-M Persian literature.

<sup>23</sup> Under number of preservation 45 –M Persian literature.

<sup>24</sup> One of the most important manuscripts which is written in Turkish languages, and its copies spread all over the national libraries in the world, normally it's illustrated with the religious miniatures, and it was written by the poet Fuzuli.

Dating: 1585

Place of production: Baghdad

School of art: Turkish

Folio: 16 verso

Preservation no.: 937

Sizes: 117×111 mm

Description:

The story of the sacrifice was so important and so well known to educate Muslims one of the most important practiced rituals in their Adha feast<sup>26</sup>. What made the depiction of sacrifice is spread enough in the productions of miniatures. It's important to refer to differentiate religious argument around the sacrifice son is Ismail in the Muslim belief while in other belief he is Isaac (Ishaq). Qur'an texts narrated the story referring to Ismail as the sacrifice son<sup>27</sup>.

Father "Ibrahim" and son "Ismail" set out for the designated place<sup>28</sup>, and when they reached it, Ibrahim disclosed to Ismail asking him about his view of this hard matter, the son urged the father to obey the order of Allah rapidly and asked him to bind his arms and legs and to turn his face from him not to take pity preventing him from running order of Allah. Which is shown on the depiction; Ismail is illuminated – in a small sized kid figural representation - lying on his front while his back is facing his elderly father, and the knife

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<sup>25</sup> His full name is Muhammed Süleyman, and well known as Fuzuli, he is one of the greatest Azeri-Turkish poets, he was born around in 1495 or 1498 in Kerbela in Iraq and he died in 1556. Fuzuli composed poetry with equal facility and elegance in Turkish, Persian and Arabic, Fuzuli's works influenced many poets up to the 19th century .

<sup>26</sup> It's literally means "Sacrifice Feast", is the second of two Muslim principal feasts, according to Islamic lunar calendar, Eid al-Adha falls on the 10th day of Dhu al-Hijjah and lasts for four days until the 13th day.

<sup>27</sup> Qur'an 37:99-111

<sup>28</sup> Some references refers to Mecca, while others suggest to be Bayt el Maqdis . Al-Kisa'i M., Vita prophetarum, p.150-152.

appeared clearly after fallen down from the hands of Ibrahim due to sacrificing the son with the ram. The ram is appeared in the arms of the archangel Gabriel who is seen descending from the upper corner of the composition.

Ibrahim is shown side by side with his son in the foreground, wearing a long decorative garment looking up to heaven thanking Allah with his praising attitude for sacrificing his son with ram.

The veiled face accrued covering Ibrahim's facial features; the used illuminated veil is a developed one, distinguished by its full independency from the head cover and its separation from the beard. Ibrahim's head is surrounded by a flaming divine halo as an identity of his importance in the Muslim thoughts that prevented the miniaturists from allowing the appearance of his facial features.

Ismail "The sacrifice Son" is not apotheosized; he is not surrounded by the light halo nor is his face veiled; what could be interpreted by not being a prophet in this stage of happen sacrifice story. But this probability had no artistic evidence especially Ismail was depicted in other illustrations in the same stage of the same story while his face with surrounded by halo of light, more over covering his eyes like his representation in a miniature belonging to a manuscript copy of "Hadiqat Al-Su'ada" which is preserved in the London British Museum<sup>29</sup> (Plate 8)<sup>30</sup>. It will be appeared in next images that belongs to the same miniaturist that he add the divine light to the head of prophet Joseph when he was a kid and before being a prophet, but with a minority of Aniconism features by not using the veil on his face(Plate 10).

The features of Turkish school of art are clearly appeared in the depicted scene like the advanced variety of un matching colors usage like colored rocks on the right hand side, blue color of the

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<sup>29</sup>With number of preservation Or.12009

<sup>30</sup> Milstein (R.), Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad, Istanbul, 1990,Pl.V

ram, in addition to the good distribution of scene' issues, and richness of natural elements that fulfilled all areas of the illustrated image.

The miniature presents a second type of veils used on prophet's faces, it's related to manuscripts of Turkish traditions at Konya museum this type which is formed separately from the cover head not partially as those of Persian manuscripts. The Turkish veil style which is appeared in the scene used on large scale of Turkish illustration of the same century of XVI, like a miniature of prophet Mohamed in his way to Medina (Plate 9) from Siyar-I nabi manuscript of Chester Beatty library of Dublin<sup>31</sup>. This type is obviously different from the proceeding type of Persian illustrations by its independent forming from the head itself.

### **Miniature Painting of Prophet Jacob in a meeting with prophet Yusuf and his brothers. (plate 10)**

Prophets: Jacob & Yusuf

Manuscript's name: Hadîkat üs-Süedâ ""Garden of Pleasures"

Author: Mohamed Suleiman Fuzûlî

Dating: 1585

Place of production: Baghdad

School of art: Turkish

Folio: 20 Recto

Preservation no.: 937

Sizes: 114×136 mm

Description:

The highly mention of Joseph's story in Qur'an assumed un usual importance to its episodes in the production of Islamic miniatures in

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<sup>31</sup> Under number of preservation CBL T419.

general; many of manuscripts all over the xiv, xv, xvi and xvii centuries gave a special interest to the most beautiful story as it said literally in chapter 12 of Qur'an that has given the name of the prophet "Surat Yusuf".

The story tells how the brothers, jealous of their father's love from Yusuf, tried to get rid of the boy expressing their anger and hate towards him. The scene shows a conversation between them and the elderly father Jacob trying to persuading him to allow the young boy to accompany them in fun trip they organized to achieve their main goal in disappearance of their brother.

Jacob appears setting in the 3/4 setting profile with the halo flaming light around the head and the veil covers his facial features, referring with his hands to sons who are standing in arrange on the left depiction hand side, while Yusuf is standing the nearer one to Jacob with the divine halo around his head, and no veiled face appeared in his figural representation.

The disappearance of the veiled face in Yusuf illumination is due to not being a prophet yet in this episode of the story, which is repeated in the previous miniature of Ismail in the sacrifice scene (Plate 7). Although Josef is distinguished by using the flaming halo while Ismail not. The used veiled in Jacob's face sizes smaller than of Ibrahim, but enjoys with the same independence from the head cover design.

The veil at Jacob's imagery is transparent enough to show details of face like round eyes and frame of his face, in an indication of a new veiling way at Konya museum's manuscripts.

As it's mentioned previously that 2 main features had been used to distinguish divine images of prophets; flaming halo and veils that both were painted accompanied or separately, but this miniature indicates to the priority of veiling face than fire halo in case of characters that are considered more divine than others, although the halo commonly spread in Islamic art in general. The miniaturist



veiled face of prophet Jacob and didn't use it to cover Prophet Yusuf's facial features, due to the more divinity of Jacob in this episode of the story than his son.

The same meaning and indication appeared in some illustrations of prophet Mohamed and Imam Ali; when the first appears with both features while the second appears with only the flaming halo around his face with no any veils. Like a miniature of Ghadir Khum<sup>32</sup> at another copy of Hadîkat üs-Süedâ that is catalogued at Egyptian national library (Plate 11)<sup>33</sup>, referring to the divinity of veils than halos.

**- Miniature Painting of Prophet Yusuf being rescued from the pit. (plate 12)**

Prophet: Yusuf

Manuscript's name: Hadîkat üs-Süedâ ""Garden of Pleasures"

Author: Mohamed Ben Suleiman Fuzûlî

Dating: 1585

Place of production: Baghdad

School of art: Turkish

Folio: 22 Verso

Preservation no.: 937

Sizes: 112×133 mm

Description:

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<sup>32</sup> The event of Ghadir Khumm is one of the most important occasions at Shia's belief, where prophet Mohammad announced "Al welaya" To Ali; Shia Muslims believed that it means his right in Caliphate, while Sunnis believe that refer to Ali's position with no indication to authority. The day's anniversary in the Islamic Calendar locates 18 Dhu al-Hijjah which is celebrated by Shias as Eid al-Ghadir up till now. For further details see: Ellassal I, Shi'i's influences on paintings of "Ghadir Khumm" in the Islamic manuscripts – Archeological artistic study, Tourism and Hotels Journal, Issue 22, 2015, P.5-35.

<sup>33</sup> Under number of preservation (81-turkish history Talaat)

The depiction tells one of the earlier and important episodes narrates that Yusuf's brothers cast him into a dark and secluded pit till the merchants passed by on their way to Egypt; one of them lowered a bucket into the well and when it emerged, there sat Yusuf which was a surprise. Later on, the caravaner brought Yusuf to his encampment. Yusuf's brothers, who had been waiting nearby, suddenly appeared and claimed that Yusuf was a runaway slave whom they were willing to sell.

Yusuf is depicted in the middle of a pit appeared in the middle bottom of the scene, he is shown with the flaming divine halo surrounds his head. He appears with the archangel Jibrail who in the prototype assists Yusuf in his efforts to seat himself in a merchant's bucket; the angel's role not mentioned at any of Qur'an texts around the story.

Outside the pit, the man who draws Yusuf up in the bucket is accompanied by another astonished traveler. Moreover number of people and animals surrounded the scene, while Yusuf's brothers had been waiting nearby as mentioned above.

The veiled face is depicted this time in a different way in Jibrail's representation by non- usage of the common veil but by not clearing the facial features of him through damaging it or not depicting it basically.

It's noted that another technique of depicting Yusuf in this scene had appeared in the artist school of Bukhara in the xvii century depends on non-usage of veils on his face, more over being in the pit without representations of archangel Jibril like a painting miniature of manuscript Yusuf and Zulaikha (plate 13)<sup>34</sup>, is persevered in the national library of San Petersburg<sup>35</sup>, and dates back to 1615, belonging to Bukhara school of art. Joseph is appeared in the composition with no facial features but without

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<sup>34</sup> Pugachenkova g., galerkina O., Миниатюры средней Азии, Москва, 1979, Pl.54

<sup>35</sup> Number of reservation: MS IOS AS Uzbek SSR 1433.

using those veils; the artist keen to unclear his face with using flaming divine halo.

- **Miniature Painting of Prophet Jacob being suffers. (plate 14)**

Prophets: Jacob

Manuscript's name: Hadîkat üs-Süedâ ""Garden of Pleasures"

Author: Mohamed Ben Suleiman Fuzûlî

Dating: 1585

Place of production: Baghdad

School of art: Turkish

Folio: 24 Verso

Preservation no.: 937

Sizes: 114×96 mm

Description:

Jacob is depicted while suffering after his sons returned back to him without his beloved one Joseph; it's one of the most important episodes of the story which narrates the sadness of Jacob upon his son which ends with the final dramatic scene of meeting both in Egypt when Yusuf raised his parents on the throne as Qur'an mentioned<sup>36</sup>.

Jacob is appeared with all signs of sadness like lying with his hand upon his face, and his guilty sons surround him can do nothing to their elderly father.

He is depicted with no flaming halo around the head in unusual position to prophets' representations in this manuscript and the ottoman artistic school of Baghdad that the miniature belongs to.

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<sup>36</sup> Quran12: 100

Despite the disappearance of the divine halo, the miniaturist is keen to veil his face in indication to the importance of veiling faces more than surrounding them with the divine halo.

The used veil is a developed one used by the miniaturist in the depictions of the same manuscript of Fuzuli sizes enough space to hide all facial features of the divine character of the prophet, and follow the same design of independency from the cover head as it's found in the previous miniatures.

The details of the ottoman school of Baghdad are shown clearly through the decorated foregrounds, facial features of the attendants and fulfill of the background with architectural elements and various decorations, in addition to the well distributed elements of the illumination all over the depiction scene.

Veiling style at Jacob's face indicates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> types of veils have been introduced in this article by its separation from the cover head which is spread in Turkish illumination in general and Indian school of art as well. This type was introduced in latest of xv century and had been continued later in Turkish and Indian arts like that miniature of Prophet Solomon when the angel of death eyes a man in his court (Plate 15), a folio from the wonders of creations and the oddities of existence of Qazwini which is persevered at Princeton university library<sup>37</sup>, whose paintings date back to late seventeenth century, depicting the same separate way of veiling prophet's face.

**- Miniature Painting shows the martyrdom of Prophet Zakariya. (plate 16)**

Prophets: Zakariya

Manuscript's name: Hadîkat üs-Süedâ ""Garden of Pleasures""<sup>38</sup>

Author: Mohamed Ben Suleiman Fuzūlī

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<sup>37</sup>Under number of preservation MSS Garrett 82.

<sup>38</sup> Another copy bearing the same name of manuscript.

Dating: 1604

Place of production: Baghdad

School of art: Turkish

Folio: 49 Recto

Preservation no.: 101

Sizes: 160×104 mm

Description:

The martyrdom of Prophet Zakariya "Zacharias" played an important role in both Sufi and Shi'ite interpretations. So that it occupies a gran care in the Muslim artist's mentality that is affected strongly with the mystic thoughts in the xvi century; what is appeared in the plenty of prophet's miniatures production.

The scene is generally depicted with Zakariya's enemies were closing in on him, a tree trunked opened up and Zakariya hide inside it. However, the edge of his robe was visible sometimes through a crack in the tree, while Satan revealed it to the pursuers, advising them to cut the tree in half vertically in order to kill the prophet concealed in the trunk.

The main tree of the whole event is centralized and 2 men using the cutting method taking the advice of Iblis as mentioned before. Moreover, figural representations for witnesses and enemies are depicted. The illumination belongs to Turkish School of Art in Baghdad which is clear in using brilliant colors with the ottoman style of garments and robes.in addition to, the realism way in figural representations and logic distribution of proportions in bodies' representations and elements all over the scene.

Neither the veiled face nor any of halos is appeared in the whole scene, is due to being the representation of prophet's figure is hidden in the tree, but the damage veiling way to the face of the devil is used in this painting miniature leading to the disappearance of his facial features. And this a different representation of the Satan images in Islamic illuminated manuscripts.

The miniature refers to veiling faces in Konya manuscripts, wasn't only for prophets, but it extended to include Satan even in a different way, but it's one of prophet's miniature illustrations.

### **Historical summary about Prophets of the miniatures:**

#### **Musa:**

Musa or Moses who was one of Muhammad's predecessors, he had a special importance as the messenger who heard Allah's voice and brought a written law<sup>39</sup>.

He was sent to the Governor of Egypt (pharaoh) with the message of true religion rather than to make him release the children of Israel. His story has many episodes are mentioned in various resources such as biblical elements with rabbinical literature and other ones. His life from birth to death came on the priority of miniaturists no less eventful than that of Yusuf; the illustrative cycle of his prophetic mission is consequently as rich and varied enough.

Between the common episodes appeared in the illustrated manuscripts were his representation as infant in the river, his existence in front of the Burning Bush<sup>40</sup>, meeting with magicians and his rod while swallowing their arts, the crossing of his followers and drowning of the Egyptians in the sea, his episode with Qarun "Korah"<sup>41</sup> and his treasures, his episode with Khadir<sup>42</sup> and his stories in mount of Sinai. His representation in Islamic miniatures not appeared only in the manuscripts narrating stories of

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<sup>39</sup> Qur'an 7:156; 42:11

<sup>40</sup> The texts recount that Moses was seeking for fire when he saw illumination, he wanted to take some fire from it but the light played hide and seek with him, circling round the tree and reappearing on top of it. The prophet was afraid, then he heard Allah speaking to him, he was standing in front of a large tree, small flames dart out from its leaves this it's the Burning Bush.

<sup>41</sup> He is the relative of Musa who became rich and powerful and led a rebellion against him.

<sup>42</sup> A mysterious saint of ancient syncretic origins, he was identified by Muslims as the servant of God (Qur'an 18:59-81).

prophets, but also in other ones like Khamsa and Haft-Awrang groups as a kind of frequency in depiction.

### **Ibrahim:**

Abraham is the ancestor of the Arabs through his son Ismail. He enjoys a high level of importance in the Muslim's belief; he is the friend of Allah (Khalil Allah), and he is mentioned no less than twenty-five Qur'anic chapters. He gave the both to other 2 prophets; Ishaq (Isaac) who is the root Israel children and Ismail (Ishmael) who is the grandfather of all Arabs trips.

Several episodes from his life were continually retold, interpreted and illustrated. Especially his thrown in the fire, King Namrud (Nimrod)<sup>43</sup> flying to heaven, He while sacrificing his son Ismail, and his building of the Kaaba<sup>44</sup>.

### **Ismail:**

Son of Abraham and the origin of all Arabs, his mother was the Egyptian woman "Hager", and he is associated with the scene of sacrifice in Islam which is highly connected to their great feast and divine ritual of pilgrimage.

His figural illustrative representation in the Islamic miniatures related only to his famous scene of sacrifice with no other depictions belonging to him found in illuminated manuscripts.

### **Jacob:**

Jacob was the elder father in Yusuf narrative story which occupied a large interest in the production of prophet's miniatures in the Islamic medieval centuries. He was son of Ishaq (Isaac) and grandson of Ibrahim. His illustrated representations were parts of Yusuf episodes as the father of 11 sons the origin of Israel children generations who stayed till Moses and crossed with him the sea.

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<sup>43</sup> One of the greatest kings in the history of the world and an archetypical infidel, enemy of God. AlTabari A., Ta'rikh al-rusul, Vol.I, P.163-170

<sup>44</sup> In Mecca as a center of pilgrimage and made it into a place of pure monotheistic belief.

This due to the only mention of Jacob in the Qur'anic chapters as a part of Yusuf story; this clearly shows the high influence of Qur'an texts on the mentality of miniaturists in illustrating episodes existed in its texts not in the historical texts or other resources content.

### **Yusuf:**

A complete chapter in Qur'an is given to story of prophet Yusuf (Qur'an:12), in a sign of assuming an unusual importance, describing it with the most beautiful stories as Qur'an said (12:1-2). That leads to an unusual importance of episodes of his story in the illustrated Islamic manuscripts to leave a rich account of miniatures belonging to him. Especially with the spread of grand poetic literature writings related to episode of him with the Egyptian Lady "Zulaykha" like those that were written by Abdelrahman Al Jami in Herat and by Hamd Allah in Istanbul inspired artists in both Iran and the ottoman empires to decorate many manuscripts with detailed cycles.

The representations of Yusuf includes his brother while beating him in the bit, being rescued from the pit, the merchants showing respect to him, being sold in Egypt, in prison, in palace of Zulikha, situation of Egyptian ladies when slice their hands instead of fruits by his appearance, his situation of the famine...and others.

### **Zakariya**

He is the father of Prophet Yahya (John the Baptist), he is mentioned in Qur'an texts for example (3:32-36 ; 4:1-15 ; 19:89-90).he was sent to the children of Israel with the message, and he related to Virgin Mary by bringing her up with him in the cave when she blessed all place by her high spiritual position. Zakaria was elder enough when he asked Allah to giving him a birth to son who was later on Prophet Yahya.

His martyrdom scene is considered the only found belongs to him in the Islamic Miniatures, and it was associated with Sufis and



Shiites because Zakariya's story had a spiritual mystical episodes lead such scene to spread up in the illuminated manuscripts and in the Muslim artistic galleries.

### **Conclusion:**

This Article presents an interpretational analysis for usage of veiled faces in prophet's representations in Islamic Miniatures with application on seven samples preserved at Konya Museum in Turkey where 6 prophets are figured with features of divinity that occurred with clarity of prohibitions calls influence in illustrating divines in Islamic paintings in general. Selected samples belong to Persian and Turkish schools of art and photographed by the permission of Turkish museum, they were abstracted from various original manuscripts according to containing representations of such veils at that cover the facial features of the prophets. The article introduced 16 miniatures to support the explanation of veiling concept and analyzing its types and purpose.

Following issues summarize the conclusion of the study:

- Veiling faces in the figural representations of prophets is one of 2 main features indicating to divinity and representing an interpretation of Aniconism in Islamic Art; the priority at miniaturists' mind is to veil the face though the usage of flaming halo is the origin remark of divinity. All miniatures of prophets at Konya Museum gathered between both features expect their representations in kids' stage like Yusuf in (plate 10) who is represented with the flaming halo only, and Ismail in (plate 7) who had no features of Aniconism.
- 2 main types of veils are introduced through illustrations of Konya Museum;
  - First related to Persian manuscript of Sabhat al-abrār and marked by its partially form from the cover heads like presentations of Musa (plate1) and Ibrahim (Plate 3). It was appeared in xv century and had been continued in Timurid and Safavid schools of art in the xvi century like representations of prophet Mohamed at Miraaj

(plates 4,5,6). This type had no independent style from the face and formed through the head itself.

▪ Second type is distinguished by its independent forming from the cover head of prophet, and it's related to ottoman manuscript of "Hadiqut al-Sooda" like representations of Ibrahim (plate 7) and Jacob in (plate 14). This type was remarkable features of veiled faces in the xvi century like prophet Mohamed's veil at (plate 9) and continued to be used in xvii century like Solomon's veil of (plate 15). The type has its own design in a separately way from the cover head.

- Transparent type of veils appeared in miniatures of the museum and showing details of eyes behind, and forming face style like miniature of Jacob (plate 10).

- The artists used sometimes the way of damaging facial features for some characters like archangel Jabriel (Plate 12) and Satan or Iblis (Plate 16) which is a trail of hiding their features, due to absence knowledge about their imagination. This way not used for figural depictions of prophets as an indication of using veils instead, though the alternatively unclearing facial features in the miniatures of xvii centuries.

- Miniaturists were keen in using the veiling faces more than the lighted halos as a priority of divinity and expressing Aniconism like the ottoman miniature of Jacob in his sadness after losing Yusuf (Pl.14), with the difference of divinity between prophet Mohamed and Imam Ali in (Plate 11) which is reflecting the idea of veils priority at prophet Mohamed's face only, while Ali's face only is surrounded by the well-known flaming halo.

- Introducing an interpretation for the artistic expression "Aniconism" and associating it with Islamic art historical studies, relying on investigations of Oleg Grabar, Feliz Cagaman and others. This interpretation indicates to principal features, veiling faces is one of them. Islamic miniaturists were affected by callas of prohibitions through veiling faces and flaming halo's usage instead of preventing from illuminating divine characters.

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Plate 1:

Miniature painting of Prophet Musa with the devil

Sabhat al-abrār, Konya Mawlānā Museum, 123 , 28 Recto, 1537-8AD, Tebriz, Timurid, 10.2×6.7 cm.

S: Bağci Serpil, Konya Mevlana Muzesi, Resimli Elyazmalari, Istanbul, 2003, Pl.p.61



Plate 2:

The seduction of Yusuf, Bustan Saadi, Egyptian national library, 22-persian Literature, 1488 A.D., Behzad, Timurid School of art, 17×21 cm.

S: Original manuscript at Egyptian national library

Plate 3:  
Miniature Painting of Prophet  
Ibrahim with Rahip  
Sabhat al-abrār, Konya Mawlānā  
Museum, 123, 49 Verso, 15378AD,  
Tebriz, Timurid, 130×95 mm.  
S: Bağci Serpil, Konya Mevlana  
Muzesi, Resimli Elyazmalari,  
Istanbul, 2003, Pl.p.62



Plate 4: Ascension of Prophet  
Mohamed "Miraj", Khamsa  
Nizami, Chester Beatty Library of  
Dublin, CBL Per 137, 1493 A.D.,  
23.4×21.7 cm.

S: Wright (E.), Islam, Faith. Art.  
Culture, manuscripts of Chester  
Beatty, 2009, Fig.25



Plate 5: Ascension of Prophet Mohamed "Miraaj", Khamsa Nizami, Egyptian National Library, 142 – Persian Literature M, 1579 A.D., Khursan, 17×28 cm.

S: Original manuscript at Egyptian national library



Plate 6: Ascension of Prophet Mohamed "Miraaj", Yusuf w-zulaykha of Gami, Egyptian National Library, 45-Persian literature M, 1534 A.D., Safavid school of art, 15×24 cm

S: Original manuscript at Egyptian national library

Plate 7: Miniature painting of Prophet Ibrahim to sacrifice his son Ismail, Hadikat al-Suedaa, Konya Mawlānā Museum, 937,1585AD, Baghdad, Turkish, 16 Verso, 117×111 mm.

S: Bagci Serpil, Konya Mevlana Muzesi, Resimli Elyazmalari, Istanbul, 2003, Pl.p.116.

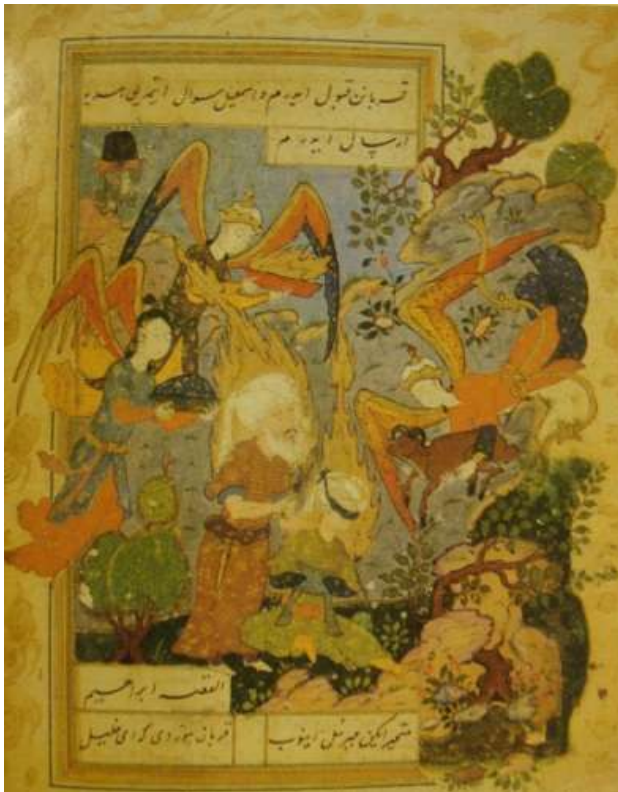


Plate 8: Miniature Painting of Prophet Ibrahim to sacrifice his son Ismail, Hadiqat Al-Su'ada", London British Museum, Or.12009.

S: Milstein (R.), Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad, Istanbul, 1990, Pl.V



Plate 9: Prophet Mohamed in His way to Al Medina, Siyar-i-nabi, Chester Beatty library of Dublin, CBL T419, 1594-95 A.D., Turkish School of Art, 37.4×27 cm.

S: Wright (E.), Islam, Faith. Art. Culture, manuscripts of Chester Beatty, 2009, Fig.6

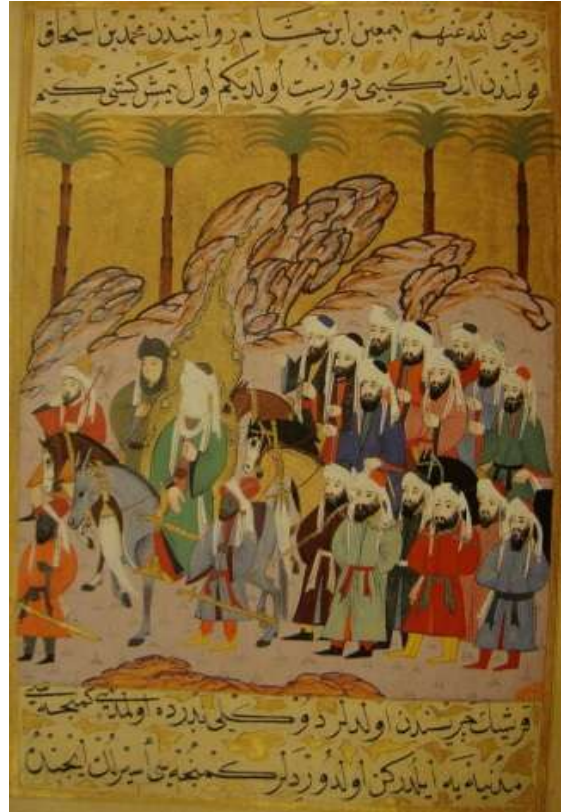


Plate 10: Miniature Painting of Prophet Jacob in a meeting with prophet Yusuf and his brothers, Hadikat us-Suedâ, Konya Mawlânâ Museum, 937 , 1585, Baghdad, Turkish, 20 Recto, 114×136 mm

S: Bagci Serpil, Konya Mevlana Muzesi, Resimli Elyazmalari, Istanbul, 2003, Pl.p.117



Plate 11: Prophet Mohamed and Imam Ali at Ghader Khum, Hadikat üs-Süedâ, Egyptian National Library, 81- Turkish History Talaat, 1551 A.D.

S: Original manuscript at Egyptian national library

Plate 12: Miniature Painting of Prophet Yusuf being rescued from the pit, Hadikat üs-Süedâ, Konya Mawlânâ Museum, 937, 1585, Baghdad, Turkish,22 Verso, 112×133 mm.

S: Bagci Serpil, Konya Mevlana Muzesi, Resimli Elyazmalari, Istanbul, 2003, Pl.p.118



Plate 13: Miniature painting of Prophet Josef thrown into the well by his brothers, manuscript Yusuf and Zulaikha, Bukhara, 1615 AD National library of San Petersburg MS IOS AS Uzbek SSR 1433., 22.8×12 cm.

S: Pugachenkova g., galerkina O.,  
Миниатюры средней Азии,  
Москва, 1979, Pl.54



Plate 14:Miniature Painting of Prophet Jacob being suffers, Hadîkat üs-Süedâ , Konya Mawlânâ Museum, 937, 1585 AD., Baghdad, Turkish, 24 Verso, 114×96 mm

S: Bagci Serpil, Konya Mevlana Muzesi, Resimli Elyazmalari, Istanbul, 2003, Pl.p.119.





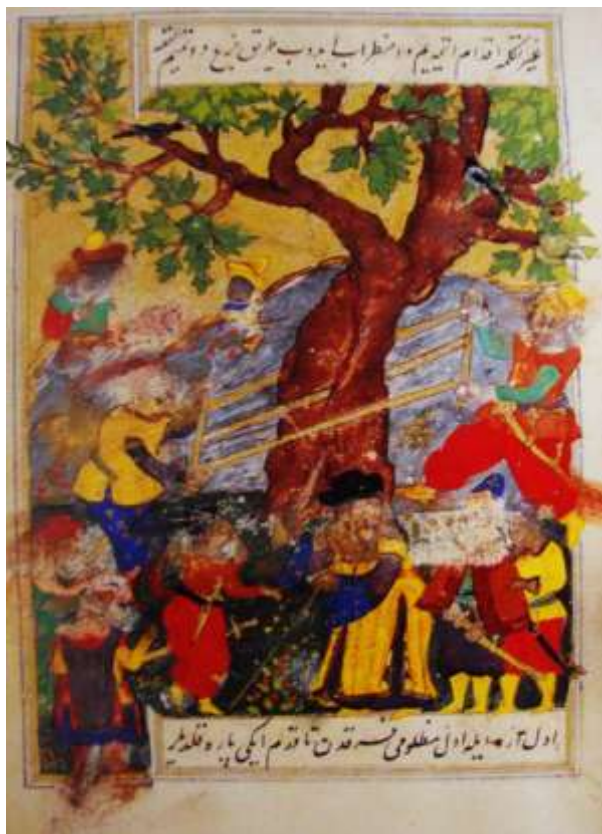
Plate 15: The Angel of Death eyes a man at Solomon's court, manuscript of the wonders of creations and the oddities of existence of Qazwini, Iran, Paintings of Late seventeenth century, Princeton University Library, Mss Garrett 82, 34.5×23.5 cm

S: Berlekamp (P.), Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam, London, 2011, Pl.90.

Plate 16: Miniature Painting shows the martyrdom of Prophet Zakariya, Hadikat üs-Süedâ, Konya Mawlânâ Museum / P.N.101,

1585AD, Baghdad, Turkish, 49 Recto, Sizes: 160×104 mm.

S: Bagci Serpil, Konya Mevlana Muzesi, Resimli Elyazmalari, Istanbul, 2003, Pl.p.121





**Type 1: Partially from cover head - extracted from plates 1 & 3**



**Type 2: Outer form of cover head- extracted from plates 7 & 15**

## الوجوه المغطاه للأنبياء في المنمنمات الإسلامية – بالتطبيق على المخطوطات المصورة في القرن السادس عشر بمتحف مولانا بكونية

د. إبراهيم محمد إبراهيم العسال\*

### الملخص:

لقد إهتم المصور المسلم بتصوير الشخصيات الدينية وقام بالتعبير عن قدسيتها بملحمين رئيسيين هما الهالة النورانية وتغطية الوجوه، ولقد قدمت العديد من الدراسات تحليلات فنية حول استخدام الهالة النورانية، دون ان تكون هناك دراسة واحدة تناولت ظاهرة تغطية وجوه هذه الشخصيات - المقدسة في عقيدة المصور المسلم- وعلى راسها تصاوير الأنبياء.

يتناول البحث الوجوه المغطاه لتساوير الأنبياء في المخطوطات الاسلامية ووضع تفسير علمي لها وتحليل فني لأنواعها وأشكالها، والاختلافات الفنية لكل مدرسة تصويرية شملت الدراسة في رسم تلك الأغطية، بالإضافة الى تحليل اقتران تغطية وجوه الأنبياء بالهالة النورانية حول الوجوه. وذلك من خلال دراسة تصاوير الأنبياء التي جاءت في مخطوطات القرن السادس عشر المحفوظة في متحف مولانا بكونية في تركيا من خلال دراسة وتحليل ١٦ منمنمة رئيسية ومقارنة من مخطوطات اخرى فارسية وتركية، منها ٧ تصاوير من مخطوطات كونية ظهرت فيها الوجوه المغطاه لأنبياء الله ابراهيم واسماعيل ويعقوب ويوسف وموسى وسليمان بأشكال مختلفة ومتباينة تم الحصول عليها بإذن من قسم المخطوطات بمتحف مولانا بكونية بتركيا ولقد تم نشرها في الكatalog الرسمي للمتحف في ٢٠٠٣ دون وضع اي تفسير او اشارة الى سبب او تحليل تغطية وجوه الانبياء. مع تتبع الظاهرة في مخطوطات اخرى مثل نسخة مخطوط سير النبي بمكتبة شستر بيتي بديلن ومخطوط عجائب المخلوقات للقرويني المحفوظ في مكتبة جامعة برستون ومخطوطات خمسة نظامي ويوسف وزليخا وحديقة السعداء وبوستان سعدي بدار الكتب المصرية، مع الاعتماد على عدد من المراجع الأجنبية المتخصصة.

### الكلمات الدالة:

المنمنمات الاسلامية – تصاوير الأنبياء – التصوير الديني – متحف مولانا في كونية  
– مخطوطات القرن السادس عشر – التصوير الإسلامي

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## The Celestial Ferryman in Ancient Egyptian Religion "Sailor of the Dead"

Dr.Radwan Abdel-Rady Sayed Ahmed\*

### Abstract:

In the ancient Egyptian religion, the ferryman was generally called (*Hr.f-h3.f*) and depicted as a sailor or a boatman standing in the stern of a papyrus boat.

The Egyptian ferryman is known from the funerary texts: Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom, Coffin Texts from the Middle Kingdom, Book of Dead from the New Kingdom, texts from Greco-Roman temples and other textual resources in about 21 names and titles.

It was necessary for the deceased to summon a ferryman at his crossing, that he would navigate the soul through the winding waters of the Underworld, naturally by means of a magic formula, in which the mystic name of the ferryman was contained.

In all of these sources we find his names, titles, epithets, roles, functions, and relations with other deities of ancient Egypt.

As he was a god in the Netherworld and the ferryman of the dead, he may be the origin of the Greek ferryman CHARON of HADES.

The idea of the ferryman of Netherworld is not found in ancient Egypt and Greece only, but also found in other ancient cultures as in Yorubas of south Nigeria, Mesopotamia, Ancient Europe, Rome, and Norse (Bronze-Age of Denmark).

The paper will try to give a detailed idea about this important and sacred personality in the Underworld and in ancient Egyptian

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religious beliefs through the textual sources from different periods and comparable ideas from other cultures.

### **Key Words**

Celestial Ferryman, Assistant of Boatman (Aken), Dead, Ferry-boat, Netherworld, Iaru-fields ,Names & Titles, Rule, Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts

### **Introduction**

In the ancient Egyptian religion, the ferryman was the patron and custodian of the boat that carried the souls of the dead into the Underworld.

Apparently the ferryman assistant *ꜥkn* remained in a deep sleep when he was not needed, and had to be woken by the dead who summoned him when he required his services.

He was generally called (*Hr.f-ḥ3.f*) and depicted as a sailor or a boatman standing in the stern of a papyrus boat.

He was not of the focus of worship, and had no particular cult centre or a temple in ancient Egypt.

He is referred to a number of times and is mentioned frequently in the Pyramid Texts from Old Kingdom, the Coffin Texts from Middle Kingdom, the Book of the Dead from New Kingdom, texts from Greco-roman period and other textual sources.

In all of these sources we find his names, titles, epithets, roles, functions, and relations with other deities of ancient Egypt.

As he was a god in the Netherworld and the ferryman of the dead, he may be the origin of the Greek ferryman CHARON of HADES.

In the following, we will try to form a detailed idea about this important and sacred personality in the Underworld and in ancient Egyptian religious beliefs through the textual sources from different periods.

### **I-Who is the ferryman of the Netherworld ?**

The celestial ferryman of ancient Egypt is a deity of different names. First attested in the Pyramid Texts of Old Kingdom, as the boatman of dead he was supposed to ferry the deceased king



across the shifting waterway to the abode of Re, or to the Afterlife *šht-ḥtpw* “field of offerings“ (see name number: 17).

The divine ferryman is known as *Ḥr.f-ḥ3.f* “He whose face is behind him” (see names numbers: 3-6) or by any of a dozen other names many of which have similar meaning such as *M33-ḥ3.f* “Whose sight is behind him” (see names numbers: 1-2), and which seem to be linked to his role.

This sacred person as a god is sometimes depicted in the vignettes of the New Kingdom funerary texts seated in his barque and being hailed by the deceased.

In the Papyrus of Anhai he is shown, according to many of his descriptive names, with his head facing backwards (fig. 1 a,b).

He is less frequently attested in later periods<sup>1</sup>.

ꜥkn-The ferryman assistant in the Underworld (see names numbers: 7, 8).

The two ferrymen *M33-ḥ3.f* and ꜥkn may also have been understood as the guards of Osiris. In PT. 1201a, the ferryman *M33-ḥ3.f* is said to be a gate keeper of Osiris. The name ꜥkn has been compared with the ꜥkn.w-ḥr, who guards the place of Embalming according to CT spell 49 (CT. I, 218 b)<sup>2</sup>.

## II-Writings of the ferryman’s names

The names will be discussed here in chronological order:

### 1-*M33-ḥ3.f* “Who sees behind him”.

This name is first attested in the Pyramid Texts of O.K.



as a name of the ferryman in the heaven<sup>3</sup>.

It occurs also in the Coffin Texts of M.K





<sup>1</sup> Wilkinson, R.H., Complete Gods and Goddesses, p. 104; PT. 999; Lurker, M., Götter und Symbole ss. 180-181.

<sup>2</sup> PT. 1201 a; CT. I, 218 b.

<sup>3</sup> Wb II, 10 (5); PT. 597.

<sup>4</sup> CT IV, 367e.

 *M33-n-h3.f* “Who sees from his behind”<sup>5</sup> or “Who looks to his behind?”.

 *Mn-h3.f*<sup>6</sup> which probably means “Whose back is firm?”.

And continued in the funerary N.K. Book of Dead:

 7.

 8.

 9.

And in the Greco-Roman period:

 10.


 11.

“Who-looks-behind-him” is the traditional translation for the Egyptian expression *M33-h3.f*, one of three names. According to them, the ferryman was known in the Egyptian Pyramid Texts.

The two other names are:

*Hr.f-h3.f* “Whose face is behind him“ and *Hr.f-m-hnt.f -hr.f- m-mh3.f* “Whose face is in his front, Whose face is in the back of his head“.

The verb *M33* as a part of the name *M33-h3.f*, the verb does not mean “look upon“ or “look at“, but the verb means basically “see“.

<sup>5</sup> CT V, 73n & 74i;  is a repeated writing form for verb *M33* in Pyramid Texts, 299; 439; 448: Faulkner, R.O., Middle Egyptian, p. 100.

<sup>6</sup> CT VI, 20r; *m33-h3.k*: 29b; LGG III, 201-202. It is a rare, strange and unique writing form for verb *M33* in Coffin Texts (may be a corrupt writing?); Rami van, D.-M., Dictionary of Coffin Texts, pp. 152-153.

<sup>7</sup> Wb II, 10 (5).

<sup>8</sup> LGG III, 201

<sup>9</sup> Lapp, G., The Papyrus of Nu ( BM E 10477 ), p. 93, sheet 20, line 9; Lapp, G., "The Papyrus of Nu", PP. 263-264; Louise, G., Die "Textschmiede" , ss. 83-99.

<sup>10</sup> Maspero, G., Sarcophages (CG 29305), p. 11.

<sup>11</sup> Faulkner, R.O., Papyrus British Museum 10569, pp. 33, 26.

The name also does not describe a self-desire in the case of turning face at looking, but just a physical description for seeing<sup>12</sup>.

### 2-*M3-m-hr.f* "Who looks with his face".

This name is first occurred in the Pyramid Texts of O.K. as a name of the celestial ferryman in the astronomical concepts of the Netherworld:



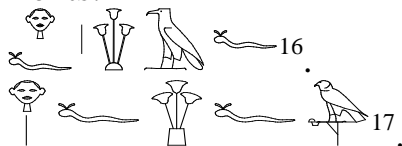
And in the Greco-Roman period:



*M3-m-hr.f*, an epithet of some deity, but its meaning is not obvious; a possible interpretation is (He who sees with his face)<sup>15</sup>.

### 3-*Hr.f-h3.f* "Whose face (sight) is behind him".

A name for the celestial ferryman known since the Pyramid Texts:



It is an adverbial nominal sentence forming as a name of the celestial ferryman<sup>18</sup>.

And in the Coffin Texts:



<sup>12</sup> Depuydt, L., "Hintersichschauers", pp.33-35. It maybe refers to the way the ferryman stands in a boat with his head turned to see the way he is going, according to a view of point to Professor Penelope Wilson as she made a final revision for the manuscript.

<sup>13</sup> PT. 1059e; Krauss, R., *Astronomische Pyramidentexten*, s. 67; LGG III, 202.

<sup>14</sup> Speleers, I., *Recueil des Inscriptions Égyptiennes*, p. 361, 51; LGG III, 202.


<sup>15</sup> Faulkner, R. O., "Gissen Papyrus ", p. 67, fragment1, line1 and commentary p. 71; LGG III, 202.

<sup>16</sup> Wb III, 127 (11-12); PT. 1091 a.

<sup>17</sup> PT. 1091 a.

<sup>18</sup> Edel, E., *Alt Ägyptische Grammatik*, s. 595 (28).



<sup>19</sup> CT II, 138f; III, 174i; VI, 3c, 23e.

 *Tw-hr.f-h3* "Whose face is behind"<sup>20</sup>.

The construction of the adverbial sentence in *Hr.f-h3.f* "Whose face is behind him" does not express the action one expects from the ferryman according to the analysis mentioned above, but expresses just a state of circumstance.

The expression *Hr.f-h3.f* does not mean that the ferryman turns his head forward and backward, but his face is turning backward like noses and faces of the demons<sup>21</sup>.

**4-*Hr.f-m-h3.f* "Whose face is in his back or behind him".**

 <sup>22</sup>  
 *Hr.f-n-h3.f*


These writings of the ferryman's name are dated to Dynasties: 21-24<sup>23</sup>.

**5-*Nb-hr.f-h3.f* "Lord (God), whose face is behind him"<sup>24</sup>.**



This name occurred in N.K., Saite and Greco-Roman periods.

**6-*Hr.f-m-hnt.f* "Whose face is in his front".**

; Also *Hr.f-m-mh3.f* "whose face is in his back"<sup>25</sup>.

This name is first attested in the Pyramid Texts (O.K.)

*Hr.f-m-hnt.f-hr.f-m-mh3.f* "His sight is in his face, his sight is in his nick".

<sup>20</sup> LGG V, 303.

<sup>21</sup> Depuydt, GM. 126, p. 35. It is the way the ferryman rows the boat with his neck turned to face the way he is going, according to a view of point to Professor Penelope Wilson as she made a final revision for the manuscript.

<sup>22</sup> Wb III, 127 (13). In this name the word *h3* is presented here with the nominal prefix



<sup>23</sup> Blackman, A. M., "pap. Skrine, no. 2", pp. 28-29.

<sup>24</sup> Buhl, M.-L., Anthropoid Sarcophagi, p. 57 & abb. 22; Koefed-Petersen, O., Catalogue des Sarcophages, p. 36.

<sup>25</sup> Wb III, 127 (13); PT. 493b; LGG V, 304; Depuydt, GM. 126, p. 36.



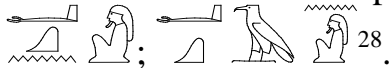
All of the previous names of the celestial ferryman are connected with one meaning: it is about looking behind and facing backwards when he pays attention to the dead who summons him from his behind or this is his continual position and his perpetual state as he looks always towards his back to observe one who waits his return on the other side of the celestial waters to ferry him in his boat.

Also these names have expressive meanings of continuous waiting, observation and attention of this person and see how a ferryman stands in his boat.

Finally these names of the celestial ferryman are deeply connected with his role and linked to its importance in the Afterlife.

### 7-*ḥkn*

A name for the celestial ferryman without a certain sense from N.K. and Greco-Roman periods.



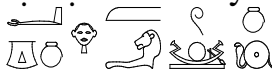
### 8-*ḥkn-ḥr*

A name of the celestial ferryman: *ḥkn* is a stem of unknown meaning. First attested in the Coffin Texts (M.K.), it is also attested in the Book of the Dead (N.K.) and at the temple of Edfu (Gr-rom. period).



from M.K. and N.K.<sup>30</sup>.

At the Temple of Edfu one of the crewmen of Re's boat is called: *ḥkn-ḥr* as a ferryman or a sailor:



*ḥkn-ḥr-m-ḥ3t-wi3-n-Rḥ*

“*ḥkn-ḥr* in the prow of Re's boat”<sup>31</sup>.




<sup>28</sup> Wb I, 235 (1).

<sup>29</sup> WPL.183.

<sup>30</sup> LGG II, 237.

*M33-h3.f* “Who sees behind him” or the celestial ferryman is the boss of *ʿkn* and *ʿkn* is the assistant of *M33-h3.f* who helps him for acting his profession when he turns his face backwards and commands him to come. *ʿkn* is also a celestial ferryman<sup>32</sup>.

### 9-Mhnty

 With det. : “Ferryman, Boatman, Sailor”, and with det. : “Ferryman in the heaven, Celestial ferryman” from O.K. and M.K.<sup>33</sup>.

This name is derived from verb  *mhnt* “cross, ferry over water” from O.K., M.K., and N.K.<sup>34</sup>.


 35.

 36.

 37.

 38.

 39.

 , sometimes comes with the singular masculine definite article *p3*: *p3 Mhnty*” The ferryman, The boatman” (N.K.)<sup>40</sup>.



 41.

<sup>31</sup> LGG II, 237; Edfu VI, 150, 4-5.

<sup>32</sup> Sethe, ZÄS. 54, s.3 and note n. 1, for more discussions around *M33-h3.f* and *ʿkn*, see: ss. 2-13.

<sup>33</sup> Wb II, 133 (14-15); Van Voss, M.H., "Fähre" and "Fährmann", 85-86.

<sup>34</sup> Wb II, 133 (12-13); Rami van, D.-M., Dictionary of Coffin Texts, pp. 179-180.

<sup>35</sup> PT. 597.


<sup>36</sup> PT. 1193.

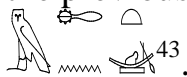
<sup>37</sup> Faulkner, Middle Egyptian, p. 115.

<sup>38</sup> CT III, 174.

<sup>39</sup> Urk V, 146, 17.

<sup>40</sup> LGG III, 396-397.

Also  *mhnt* is a name of the ferry-boat derived from the previous verb<sup>42</sup>.



According to these writings we could observe clearly that the name of the ferryman *Mhnty* is formed by adding Nisbe-adjective (*y*) to the verb *mhnt* “to ferry over water”, or to the name derived from this verb: *mhnt* “ferry-boat”.

Here we could give this name of the ferryman another related meaning: “He of the boat, he who belongs (relates) to the boat” by considering the name, and “He who ferries over water by a ferry-boat” by considering the verb.

These two explanatory meanings are so closed to his function and much suitable for the role he performs as he ferries people in his ferry-boat from a bank of a waterway to the other bank and he returns to carry out this action frequently.

This same role in life can be rightly applied to the importance of the ferryman’s function in the hereafter according to the thoughts of ancient Egyptians about the Netherworld as will be discussed later.

<sup>41</sup> Lesko, L., Late Egyptian, I, p. 202.

<sup>42</sup> Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 612.

<sup>43</sup> PT. 334.

<sup>44</sup> PT. 384.

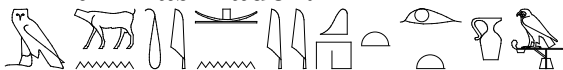
<sup>45</sup> PT. 494a; Sethe, ZÄS. 54, s.6 and note n. 4.

<sup>46</sup> Faulkner, Middle Egyptian, p. 115.

<sup>47</sup> Lesko, Late Egyptian, I, p. 202.




**10-Mhnty-n-ikht-irt-Hnmw “The ferryman of ikht-boat which Khnum has made”.**



This name first occurred in the Pyramid Texts of O.K.<sup>48</sup>.

It is a descriptive name or title for the ferryman of the

mythological place Nesat:  *Hrty-n-Ns3t* “The ferryman of *Ns3t*”<sup>49</sup>.

**11-Mhnty-n-b3w-Iwnw “The ferryman of Iun-souls”.**

A name of the ferryman in Heliopolis cult, mentioned in the Coffin Texts of M.K.



**12-Mhnty-pt “The ferryman of the heaven”**

Also *Mhnty-n-pt*

A name of the celestial ferryman, first attested in the Pyramid Texts, and occurring also in the Coffin Texts.



**13-Mhnty-Nwt “The celestial ferryman”.**

This name is known from the Pyramid Texts.



This name is dated to the Old Kingdom as mentioned in the Pyramid Texts.




**14-Mhnty-n-hrt-ntr “The ferryman of the necropolis”.**

This name is dated to the Ramesside period (N.K.).

<sup>48</sup> PT. 445a; LGG III, 397.

<sup>49</sup> Kaplony, P., *Rollsiegel Alten Reichs*, II, p. 302 and plate 84; LGG VI,

48;  PT. 300 (445a).

<sup>50</sup> CT V, 212b; 225b; LGG III, 397.

<sup>51</sup> PT. 383b; CT V. 178a; LGG III, 397.

<sup>52</sup> PT. 383b; LGG III, 397.

<sup>53</sup> PT. 383b.



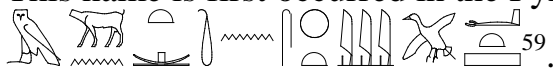
**15-Mhnty-n-sht-i3rw “The ferryman of Iaru-fields”.**

This name is known from the Pyramid Texts (O.K.), the Coffin Texts (M.K.) and the Book of the Dead (N.K.)<sup>55</sup>.



**16-Mhnty-n-sht-p3ct “The ferryman of p3ct-fields”.**

This name is first occurred in the Pyramid Texts (O.K.).



**17-Mhnty-n-sht-htpw “The ferryman of the field of offerings”.**

This name is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts.



**18-Mhnty-n-s-n-h3 “The ferryman of h3-lake”.**

This name is attested in the Pyramid Texts (O.K.) and the Coffin Texts (M.K.)<sup>61</sup>.



*Mhnty-n-s-n-h3* “The ferryman of h3-canal”<sup>62</sup>.



**19-Mhntyw-nw-Imntt “The ferrymen of the west”.**

This name is found in the Coffin Texts (M.K.)<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> KRI III, 133, 16; LGG III, 397.

<sup>55</sup> LGG III, 397.

<sup>56</sup> PT. 1188b.

<sup>57</sup> CT V, 187c.

<sup>58</sup> Lapp, Papyrus of Nu, sheet 8, line 21.

<sup>59</sup> PT. 1183b.

<sup>60</sup> PT. 1193b.

<sup>61</sup> LGG III, 397; for more details about h3-canal, see: Krauss, R., *Astronomische Pyramidentexten*, s. 67.

<sup>62</sup> PT. 597b; 599a; 1441a; 1737a.

<sup>63</sup> CT III, 174i; VII, 193c.

<sup>64</sup> LGG III, 397.



**20- *Mhntyw-nw-pt* “The ferryman of the heaven”.**

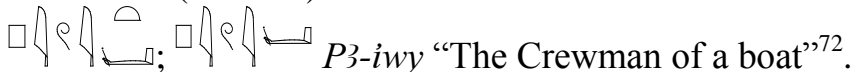
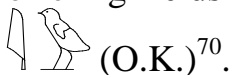
A name of the celestial ferryman as it occurred in the Coffin Texts (M.K.)<sup>65</sup>.



We could read about the celestial ferryman in the Pyramid Texts (the utterances from 594 to 946 )<sup>66</sup>.

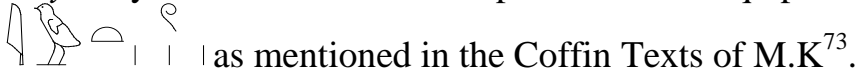
**21-*Iw* “The celestial ferryman”**

A synonym for the name *Mhntyw-n-sht-htpw* “The ferryman of offering-fields” (name number: 17)<sup>67</sup>.



*P3-iwy*, he is the man who moves or operates part of the sailing tackle.

*Iwy* may be connected with a piece of boat equipment called:



as mentioned in the Coffin Texts of M.K.<sup>73</sup>.  
At the temple of Edfu this name is mentioned also in the description of the festival of Hor-Behdety and the crewmen of his barque<sup>74</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> CT V, 170g.

<sup>66</sup> LGG III, 397.

<sup>67</sup> CT V, 170g.

<sup>68</sup> Sethe, ZÄS. 54, s.2.

<sup>69</sup> LGG I, 157.

<sup>70</sup> PT. 1193a.

<sup>71</sup> Ritter von Bergmann, E., Sarkophag des Panehemisis, ss. 11, 84; I. 1-40; II. 1-20.

<sup>72</sup> Wb I, 49 (21).


<sup>73</sup> WPL, 49; CT V, 191a; Faulkner, R. O., Coffin Texts, II, p. 52; Jones, D.A., Nautical Titles and Terms, p. 124.

<sup>74</sup> Edfu V, 126, 5; Alliot, M, cult d’Horus, II, p. 473.

At the temple of Esna, Khnum-Re is titled  *Iwy* “The sailor, the ferryman, the boatman”<sup>75</sup>.


### III-Vocabularies of being without boat in the Hereafter

Among the numerous and plentiful texts which were written in the pyramids of O.K., on the coffins of M.K., and in the Book of the Dead of N.K., there are some alterations of being in threat, danger and loss if one has no boat in the Netherworld by which to cross the celestial river:

 *iw(y)* “One without a boat”<sup>76</sup>.

 *Iw*<sup>77</sup>.

 *iwi*<sup>78</sup>.

 *iwi*, as an intransitive verb: “Be boatless”; and as a transitive verb: “Strand, leave boatless”<sup>79</sup>.

Kings pass this obstacle by accompanying the god Re in his morning-bark *M<sup>c</sup>ndt* and the evening-bark *Msktt*, so under his protection they enjoy the eternal life and live in the eternity with everlasting residence in Iaru-fields under the supervision of Osiris according to the royal cult of Old Kingdom. In the Middle Kingdom this is completely changed when being safe in the Afterlife is connected with their good deeds, so the blessed dead could pass the obstacles and cross over dangers of the Netherworld by summoning the ferryman who ferries them the *h3*-canal to the Iaru-fields as mentioned above (see: names numbers:12;13; 15-21).

<sup>75</sup> Sauneron, S., Esna, II, p. 133, texte n. 58, line 3.

<sup>76</sup> Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, p. 552.

<sup>77</sup> CT VI, 408 n, 775k; LGG I, 156.

<sup>78</sup> PT. 117b; Budge, E.A.W., Book of the Dead, vol. I, text, pp. 261, 4; 281, 3.

<sup>79</sup> Faulkner, Middle Egyptian, p. 12.

## V-Roles of (*Hr.f-h3.f*) in the Ancient Egyptian Religion

### 1-The celestial ferryman (Sailor of the dead):

Except his role as a celestial ferryman in the Underworld of the ancient Egyptians, *Hr.f-h3.f* has played other different roles and performed distinguished duties through the religious thoughts in ancient Egypt.

### 2-As genii in the Pyramid Texts:



*hnskwt.tn m-hnt.tn*

*hnskwt.tn hr sm3.tn*

*hnskwt.tn m-h3.tn*

Your locks upon your face

Your locks upon your temple

Your locks upon your neck<sup>80</sup>.

Here he is mentioned by his description not by his name *Hr.f-h3.f* because he has two faces one in his front and the other is behind his neck<sup>81</sup>.


### 3-As a demon of night terror:

On an ostrakon from Deir el-Medina of Ramesside date inscribed on both sides, now in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford (H.O. 363) is a magical spell (Recto) against night terrors.

We read his name with the expression *m hr r hr*, understood as “being face forward “(Wb. III, 129, 14) rather than “from face to face”. The demon would thus be depicted in characteristic posture, with his face twisted behind him (*hr.f h3.f*, Wb. III, 3; 914; CT., 473-480).

<sup>80</sup> PT. 1221; Lacau, Parties du Corps, p. 35.

<sup>81</sup> Depuydt, GM. 126, ss. 35-38; LGG V, 304; Hornung, E., Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen, ss. 38-39; PT. 493b: a genii in the pyramid texts


*hr.f m-hnt.f hr.f m-m h3.f* "Who has a face in his front (before his head), and has a face in his neck (behind his head)".

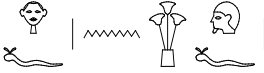
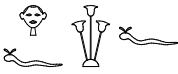
The Coffin Texts designations of the threatening demon of the net alternate between *Hr.f-h3.f* and *M3-h3.f*, equating this fisherman with the Underworld ferryman.

Within the spells for escaping the net, the nuance of “Looking Behind“ is perhaps emphasized for the benefit of the fleeing spirit, for when the spell commands the demon to look at the deceased (spell 479, in CT VI, 41a), he must turn his back to the soul, facilitating its escape<sup>82</sup>.

#### 4-As a protective divinity:

In the papyrus of Nespeheran from 21<sup>st</sup>- 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasties found near Dêr el-Baḥri in 1891 by Gaston Maspero.

Among 23 representations of divinities we see an illustration of a crocodile-headed divinity with an averted countenance, and named

 *Hr.f-n-h3.f*. He must be the same being as  *Hr.f-h3.f* “turn-face“, the celestial ferryman of the Pyramid Texts<sup>83</sup>.

#### 5-As the gate-keeper of Osiris:

The gate-keepers of the abode of Osiris, which seems to have been a place of Embalming. This gives a special significance to passages like PT§1211a, where the ferryman is addressed as the “gate-keeper of Osiris“<sup>84</sup>.

#### 6-As one of the forty-two Assessors of the dead:

This name is also given to the 27<sup>th</sup> Assessor in ch. 125 of the Book of the Dead. In the papyrus of Nespeheran:

“O Turn-Face, whose vision is taken away, the ba of the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer of the House of Amun, beloved god’s father of *M3t*, the daughter of *R*, Nespeheran, shall not be taken from the Eddy (*bbt*) of the west or from any waters of

<sup>82</sup> Ritner, R. K., “O. Gardiner 363“, pp. 25, 28 (D) and note (9), 28-30, *M3-h3.f* “Backward Looker“, the underworld ferryman, p. 30 and note (15); WbIII, 913. See also: Bidoli, D., Die Sprüche der Fangnetze, ADAIK. 9, Gluckstadt, 1976, pp. 47-48; Kees, H., Toten Glauben, ss. 110-117.

<sup>83</sup> Blackman, A. M., “pap. Skrine, no. 2“, pp. 25, 28-29 (§6, pl. III, bottom and pl. IV, top).

<sup>84</sup> Willems, The Coffin of HeQata, p. 176.

the Field of Earu. He is *R<sup>c</sup>*, who has come forth from the celestial cow *mḥw-wrt* (great flood)<sup>85</sup>.

In Ch. 306 in the scene of Judgment of the Dead and after the heart is weighed in the scales of the balance against the Feather of Righteousness and no sin was in the heart, the great ennead ordered Thoth to proclaim the innocence of the dead and let there, be given to him the offerings which are issued in the presence of Osiris, and a grant of land be established in the Field of Offerings as for the followers of Horus, and let there be given to him bread and beer which have been issued in the presence of Osiris, and he will be forever like the followers of Horus.

In spell 125 “The Negative Confessions“ or “Declarations of Innocence“ to the tribunal of forty-two gods (fig. 2)<sup>86</sup>.

Among them the god number 27 is *Hr.f-ḥ3.f* as a judge, the dead confess to him:



*I Hr.f-ḥ3.f pr m Tḫt-d3t n nwh N nk.f nkk* .....

O, *Hr.f-ḥ3.f* (who looks behind him) who comes forth from *Tḫt-d3t* (Cavern of *d3t* at Memphis), N, didn't ...; he didn't practice sexual connection with a boy<sup>87</sup>.

We read his name also as the judge *Hr.f-ḥ3.f* of *Tḫt-d3t* on the sarcophagi of Wnnefer from Saqqara: the frieze of the east, the 2<sup>nd</sup> register. He confesses to a person with a head of a rabbit turned backwards (fig.3):



*I Hr.f-ḥ3.f pr m Tḫt-d3t n ir.i ḥnn*

“O, Behind Looker who comes forth from *D3t*-Cavern, I didn't do a rebellion“<sup>88</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> Blackman, Papyrus of Nespeher'an, pp. 28-29.

<sup>86</sup> Faulkner, R. O., Book of the Dead, pp. 27-29. See also: Faulkner, R. O. & Others, The Egyptian Book of the Dead, The Book of Going Forth by Day, The Papyrus of ANI, San Francisco (1994).

<sup>87</sup> Moreet, A. et autres, Déclarations d'innocence, pp. 88-89, phrase 27.

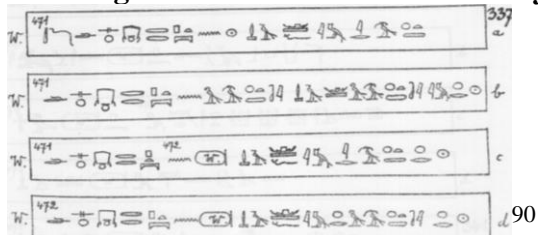
And in the Coffin Texts: “Hail, *Hr.f-h3.f*, coming forth from the place of sailing, I have neither acted impurely, nor lain with men”<sup>89</sup>.

## VII-Texts of the Ferryman

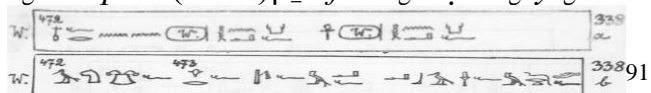
### I-Pyramid Texts

We could read about the celestial journey of the dead king to the Afterlife in the texts of Unas pyramid (5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), utterance 263, antechamber, south wall:

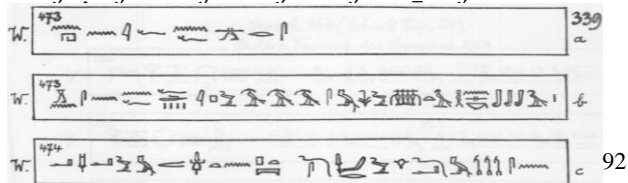
#### The king crosses over to the eastern sky in the sky’s reed-floats



*dd mdw shn dpwt pt n R<sup>c</sup> d3.f im ir 3ht-t3  
shnwt pt n Hr-3hty d3 Hr-3hty im hr R<sup>c</sup>  
shnwt pt n (Wnis) | d3.f im ir 3ht-t3 hr R<sup>c</sup>  
shnwt pt n (Wnis) | d3.f im hr Hr-3hty hr R<sup>c</sup>*



*Nfr n (Wnis) | hn<sup>c</sup> k3.f<sup>c</sup>nh (Wnis) | hn<sup>c</sup> k3.f  
3bi.f hr.f 3ms.f m<sup>c</sup>.f<sup>c</sup>b3.f m<sup>c</sup> drt.f*



*Nhn.f n.f is rsi  
in.sn n.f fdw ipw 3hw smsw hntyw hnskw*

<sup>88</sup> Maspero, G. & Gauthier, H., CG. N 29307-29323, tome II and plates XIII-XIV, pp.42, 49-50.

<sup>89</sup> CT II, 139f (117).

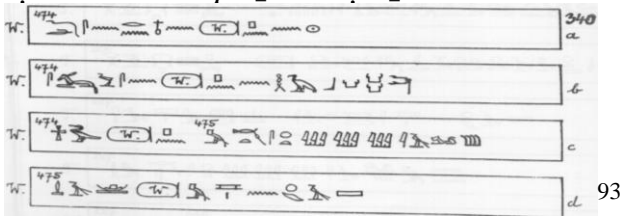
<sup>90</sup> Sethe, PT. I, 263 (337 a-d), s. 181.

<sup>91</sup> Sethe, PT. I, 263 (338 a-b), ss. 181-182.

<sup>92</sup> Sethe, PT. I, 263 (339 a-c), s. 182.



*h<sup>c</sup>.w m i3bt n pt dsr.w hr d<sup>c</sup>mw.sn*



93

*dd.sn rn nfr (Wnis) | pn n R<sup>c</sup>*  
*siw.sn (Wnis) | pn n Nhb-k3w*  
*ind k (Wnis) | pn mht shwt-i3rw*  
*d3 (Wnis) | m š-n-h3*



94

*d3.t(w) d3.t(i) (Wnis) | pn ir i3bt n 3ht-t3*  
*d3.t(w) d3.t(i) (Wnis) | pn ir i3bt n pt*  
*snt.f Spdt mswt.f dw3t*

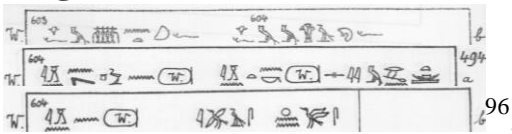
The sky's reed-floats are launched for Re,  
 That he may cross on them to Lightland;  
 The sky's reed-floats are launched for Harakhty,  
 That Harakhty may cross on them to Re;  
 The sky's reed-floats are launched for Unas,  
 That he may cross on them to Lightland, to Re,  
 The sky's reed-floats are launched for Unas,  
 That he may cross on them to Harakhty, to Re.  
 It is well with Unas and his Ka,  
 Unas shall live with his Ka,  
 His panther skin is on him,  
 His staff in his arm, his scepter in his hand.  
 He subjects to himself those who have gone there,  
 They bring him those four elder spirits,  
 The chiefs of the side lock wearers,

<sup>93</sup> Sethe, PT. I, 263 (340 a-d), s. 182.

<sup>94</sup> Sethe, PT. I, 263 (341 a-c), ss. 182-183.

Who stand on the eastern side of the sky  
 Leaning on their staffs,  
 That they may tell this Unas's good name to Re,  
 Announce this Unas to Nehebkau,  
 And greet the entry of this Unas.  
 Flooded are the Fields of Rushes  
 That Unas may cross on the Winding Water.  
 Ferried is this Unas to the eastern side of Lightland,  
 Ferried is this Unas to the eastern side of sky,  
 His sister is Sothis, his offspring the dawn<sup>95</sup>.  
 We read two of the celestial ferryman's names in utterance 310 (493b-494b):

**A summons to the ferryman of heaven to bring a boat to the king**



[i] *Hr.f m-hnt.f Hr.f- m- h3.f ( m mh3.f)*  
*in nw n ( ) |*  
*in.t(w) n.k ( ) | sy mhnt*  
*in n ( ) | ipy.s hnn.s*

O you whose vision is in his face and whose vision is in the back of his head, bring this to me!,  
 Which ferry-boat shall be brought to you?  
 Bring me "It-flies-and alight"<sup>97</sup>.

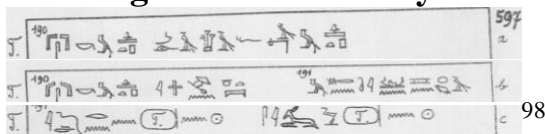
The celestial ferryman also mentioned in utterance 359 (597a-c):

<sup>95</sup>Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature (1975), pp. 34-35; Faulkner, PT., pp. 72-73. And also in utterance 270, on the same previous location, we read about the celestial ferryman "The king summons the ferryman": Sethe, PT. I, 270 (383 a-c), 384 a-b, 385 a-c, 386 a-b, 387 a-c, ss. 199-202; Lichtheim, Literature, pp. 35-36; Faulkner, R. O., Pyramid Texts, pp. 78-79; Mercer, A. B. S., Pyramid Texts, vol.1, pp. 91-92; Also in the pyramid texts of Pepi I (6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty). In utterance 517, passage to the antechamber, we read about the celestial boatman "The king addresses the ferryman": Sethe, PT. II, 517 (1188 a-f), 1189 a-f, 1190 a-c, 1191 a-c, 1192 a-b, ss. 162-166; Lichtheim, Literature, pp. 43-44.

<sup>96</sup> Sethe, K., Pyramidentexte, vol.1, 310 (493 b), (494 a-b), ss. 255-256.

<sup>97</sup> Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, p. 97; Mercer, Pyramid Texts, p. 106.

### The king crosses to the beyond



*rs.k m ḥtp M3-ḥ3.f m ḥtp*  
*rs.k m ḥtp imy hnwt [ m ḥtp ] mhnty n š-n-ḥ3*  
*dd rn n ( P ) | pn n R<sup>c</sup> siw3 sw n R<sup>c</sup>*

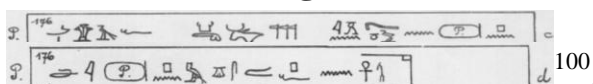
Awake in peace, O *M3-ḥ3.f*, in peace!

Awake in peace, O you who are in the sky, [in peace]!

O Ferryman of the Winding Waterway (lit. canal or river of *H3*),

Tell my name to Re, announce me to Re<sup>99</sup>.

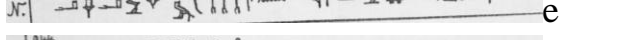
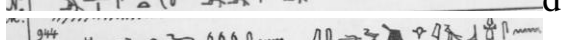
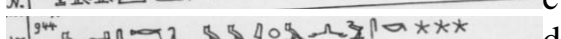
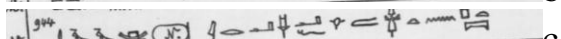
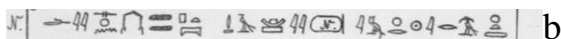
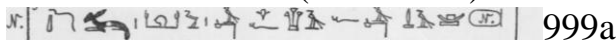
**He is called “Bull of the gods“ in the utterance 472 (925c-d) when the dead king summons him:**



*M3-ḥ3.f k3-nt<sub>r</sub>w in nw n ( P ) | pn*  
*di ( N ) | m gs pf n ḥ<sub>3</sub> w3s*

O *M3-ḥ3.f*, Bull of the gods, bring me this (= the ferry-boat) and set me on the yonder side of the lasting life (beyond)<sup>101</sup>.

Also Utterance 481(999-1001c) is:**A summons to the ferryman**



<sup>98</sup> Sethe, Pyramidentexte, vol.1, s. 319.

<sup>99</sup> Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, p. 116.

<sup>100</sup> Sethe, Pyramidentexte, vol.2, Leipzig (1910), s. 12.

<sup>101</sup> Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, p. 160.

⋮ 1099 Δ ← Δ - ⋮ 1099 4 | c<sup>102</sup>.

*dd mdw Iww Hr.f-h3.f d3 ( N. )*  
*dy shnty pt ( N. ) | im hr R<sup>c</sup> r 3ht*  
*dy shnty pt n R<sup>c</sup> d3.f im hr Hr r 3ht*  
*d3.f im hr R<sup>c</sup> r 3ht*  
*d3 ( N. ) | r h<sup>c</sup>.f hr gs i3bt n pt*  
*m-<sup>c</sup> s(t) m-m ihmw-sk*  
*h<sup>c</sup>w hr d<sup>c</sup>mw.sn is dw hr i3bt.sn*  
*h<sup>c</sup> rf m-m.sn*  
*sn pw n ( N. ) | i<sup>c</sup>h mswt ( N. ) | pw ntr dw3w ntr dw3w*  
*di <sup>c</sup>.k r ( N. ) | [<sup>c</sup>nh.f]*

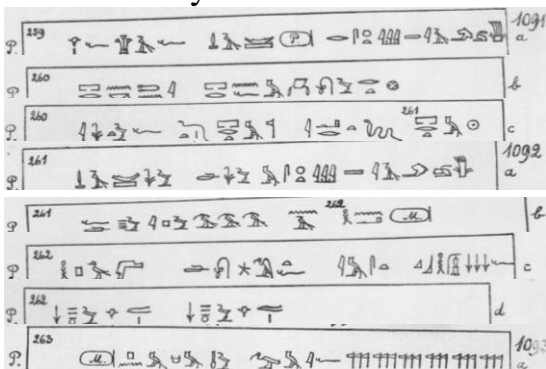
Utterance: O *Iww Hr.f-h3.f*, ferry me across! The reed-floats of the sky are set in place, that I may cross by means of them to Re at the horizon.

The reed-floats of the sky are set in place for Re, that he may cross by means of them to Horus of the Gods at the horizon.

The reed-floats of the sky are set in place for me, that I may cross by means of them to Re at the horizon.

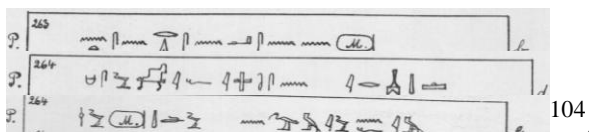
I ferry across in order that I may stand on the east side of the sky in its northern region among the Imperishable Stars, who stand at their staffs and sit(?) at their East; | I will stand among them, for the Moon is my brother, the Morning Star is my offspring; put your hand on me, [that I may live]<sup>103</sup>.

Another ferryman text could be read in utt. 505 (1091 a-1993 d):



<sup>102</sup> Sethe, Pyramidentexte, vol.2, ss. 60-62.

<sup>103</sup> Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, p. 169; Mercer, Pyramid Texts, pp. 176-177.

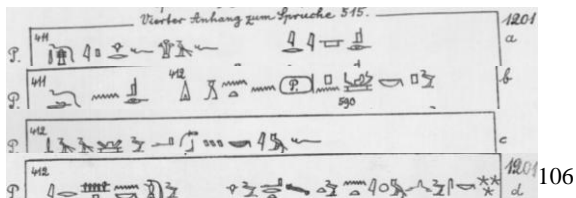


*Hr.f-h3.f d3 ( P. ) | r sht-i3rw*  
*pr.n.k tni pr.n.f m 3w3rt*  
*iswt.f dt prt m ntr i<sup>c</sup>rt prt m R<sup>c</sup>*  
*d3 sw di sw m sht-i3rw*  
*fdw ipw 3hw (b3w) n3 hn<sup>c</sup> ( M. ) |*  
*H3pi Dw3-mwt.f Imsti Kbh-snw.f*  
*snw hr gs snw hr gs*  
*prt pn m hmw gm.f psdty (2 psdt)*  
*ntsn rdi.sn <sup>c</sup>.sn n ( M. ) |*  
*hms.f imy-tw.sn ir wd<sup>c</sup> mdw*  
*wd ( M. ) | mdw n gm iw.n.f im*

O *Hr.f-h3.f*, ferry me over to the Field of Rushes  
 Whence have you come?

I have come from *3w3rt*, my companion(?) is the serpent which come forth the god, the uraeus which came forth from Re. | Ferry me over and put me down at the Field of Rushes; these four spirits who are with me are *Hapy*, *Duamūtef*, *Imsety*, and *Ḳebḥsnuef*, two on one side and two on the other. | I am the steering-oar; when I find the Two Enneads, they well give me their hands, and I will sit between them to give judgment; I will give orders to whomsoever I may have found there<sup>105</sup>.

The celestial ferryman *Hr.f-h3.f* is mentioned in the long utterance 519. We read about him particularly in § 1201a-d of this utterance:



<sup>104</sup> Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, vol.2, 505 (1091 a-c), 1092 a-d, 1093 a-e, ss. 104-106.

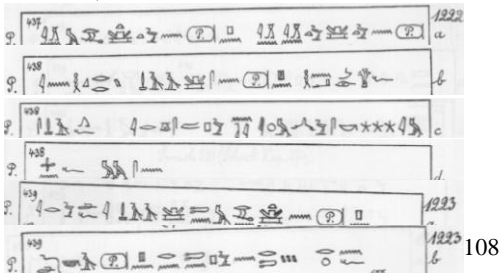
<sup>105</sup> Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 181; Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 188.

<sup>106</sup> Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, vol.2, ss. 171-172.

*dd mdw i Hr.f-h3.f iry-<sup>c3</sup> Wsir*  
*dd n Wsir di int n ( P. ) | pn dpt.k pw*  
*d3 w<sup>c</sup>bw.k im.f*  
*r šsp n.k kbhw hr w<sup>c</sup>rt tw nt ihmw-sk*

O *Hr.f-h3.f*, gate-keeper of Osiris, say to Osiris: “ Let me fetch for the king this boat of yours (= *nšmt*, bark of Osiris) in which your pure ones are ferried across in order to obtain for you the cold water at the (polar) quarter of the Imperishable Stars <sup>c107</sup>.

In the next utterance 520, there is another ferryman text (1222a-1223e):

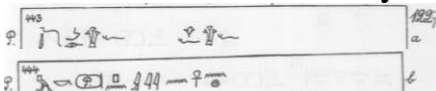


*in n( M. ) | mhnt tw in n( M. ) | inwt tw*  
*in Hkrr d3.sn ( M. ) | hn<sup>c</sup> M33-h3.f*  
*d3 ( M. ) | gs pw nty ihmw-sk im*  
*wn ( M. ) | m-m.sn*  
*ir wdf d3.tn ( M. ) | m mhnt tw*  
*dd.k3.f rn.tn pw n rmt nty ( M. ) | rh n tmw*

Bring me this ferry-boat; bring me this carrying-boat!

It is *Hkrr* who ferries them across <to> me in company with *M33-h3.f*. I will across to that sides on which are the Imperishable Stars, that I may be among them. | If you delay to ferry me over in this ferry-boat, I will tell your names to men whom I know, to everyone <sup>109</sup>.

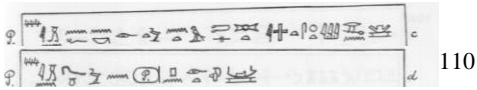
We could read also a ferryman text in utt. 522 (1227a-d):



<sup>107</sup> Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, p. 192.

<sup>108</sup> Sethe, Pyramidentexte, vol.2, ss. 188-189.

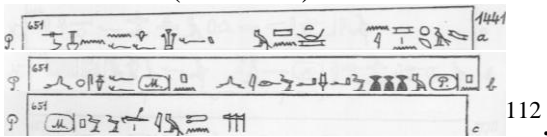
<sup>109</sup> Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, p. 194; Mercer, Pyramid Texts, pp. 202-203.



*dd mdw M3-h3.f Hr.f-h3.f*  
*mk ( N. ) | pn ii n ʿnh*  
*in.n.f.n.k irt tw nt Hr tst imy sht-hnnw*  
*in nw n ( N. ) | pn irt Hnmw mhnt*

O *M3-h3.f*, *Hr.f-h3.f*, behold, I have come and have brought to you this re-knit Eye of Horus which was in the Field of Strife; bring me this boat which Khnum built<sup>111</sup>.

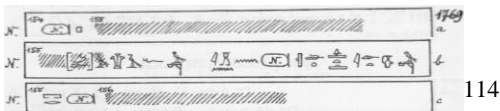
In utt. 569 (1441a-c):



*smn.n.f Hr.f-h3.f mhnty n š-n-h3*  
*n hšff ( M. ) | pn n irw ʿhʿw sdbw m ( P. ) | pn*  
*( M. ) | pw wʿ im.tn ntrw*

*Hr.f-h3.f* has made ready for me, (even he) the ferryman of the Winding Waterway. I will not be held back, nor will obstacles be set against me, for I am one of you, you gods<sup>113</sup>.

And in utt. 625 (1769 a-c):



( N. ) | p[n] .....  
 [i] *M3-h3.f in n ( N. ) | Kd htp irt Hnmw*  
*pr ( N. ) |*.....

<sup>110</sup> Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, vol.2, s. 192.

<sup>111</sup> Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 195; Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*, pp. 203.

<sup>112</sup> Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, vol.2, s. 284.

<sup>113</sup> Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, pp. 222-223. For more details around *š-n-h3* “*h3*-canal “ (Celestial Winding Waterway) linked with the celestial ferryman, see: Krauss, R., *Astronomische Konzepte und Jenseitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten*, Ä A.59, Wiesbaden, 1997, pp . 67-85.

<sup>114</sup> Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, vol.2, s. 426.

[Ho!] Who-sees-behind-him, bring to *N.* the *kd-ḥtp* (a name of a ferry-boat), made by Khnum, That *N.* may ascend

115

## II-Coffin Texts

As we discussed above, the PT mentioned two names of the celestial ferryman: *M3-ḥ3.f* and *Hr.f-ḥ3.f*.

But the CT mentioned three names: *Hr.f-ḥ3.f*, *M3-ḥ3.f* for the celestial ferryman and *ʿkn* for his assistant.

We read their names together in the same one text, firstly, the name of the celestial ferryman, and then, fellow with the name of his assistant ferryman *ʿkn* as we will see below in the next pages.

In spell 117, we read his name *Hr.f-ḥ3.f* (fig.3 for the original hieroglyphic text)<sup>116</sup>:

*sšm n.i w3wt n Hr.f-ḥ3.f mr.f M3ʿt msd.f isft hry w3w ib.f M3ʿt sšmw n(.i) ntrw hr.s*

Control for me the paths of His-face-is-behind him, | who loves truth and hates falsehood, who is over the broodings (?) of his heart (and of (?)) *Māʿe t*, because of whom the gods are guided to < me (?)><sup>117</sup>.

The same name is mentioned in spell 214 (fig.4 for the text)<sup>118</sup>:

*I Hr.f-ḥ3.f mhnty n š-n-ḥ3 in n.i nw d3.i di.i m pf gs ḥnʿ šsrw pn ntyw m ʿ.i dr-ntt.i ḥpr rk.i m ntr*

O *Hr.f-ḥ3.f*, ferryman of the Winding Waterway, bring me this, ferry me across and set me on yonder side with these bags which are in my hand, because I am become a god<sup>119</sup>.

The name *M3-ḥ3.f* is mentioned in spell 343 (fig.5 for the text)<sup>120</sup>:

*nis.k3.<k>rf ntr pw r.k ḥʿ Rʿ m b3.f hr nis.k r.k r M3-ḥ3.f*

<sup>144</sup> Mercer, Pyramid Texts, pp. 267-268; Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, p. 259, and note n. 9. for further readings about the ferryman in the PTs, see also: J. Ogdon, The Celestial Ferryman in the Pyramid Texts, vol. 2, Buenos Aires (1977).

<sup>116</sup> De Buck, A., Coffin Texts, II, pp. 138 (spell 117f), 139(117a-b).

<sup>117</sup> Faulkner, R.O., Coffin Texts, I, pp. 109-110.

<sup>118</sup> De Buck, Coffin Texts, III, p. 174 (spell 214i-1).

<sup>119</sup> Faulkner, Coffin Texts, I, p. 171(spell 114).

<sup>120</sup> De Buck, Coffin Texts, IV, p. 359 (spell 343c-e).



You shall summon this god to you when Re appears with his soul, you shall summon to you the celestial ferryman<sup>121</sup>.

The assistant of the ferryman (𓆎) is mentioned also in spell 343 (fig.6 for the text)<sup>122</sup>:

*rs n.k 𓆎 in ntf n.k mhnt tw d3.t(i) b3w-𓆎prw im s(t)*

Awaken 𓆎Aken, that he may bring to you that ferry-boat in which the equipped spirits ferry across<sup>123</sup>.

In spell 344, the ferryman and his assistant were mentioned, the two both together (fig.7 for the text)<sup>124</sup>:

*nis.k3.i r M3-h3.f rs.k3.f 𓆎 in.k3.f n.i mhnt b3 𓆎pr(.ti) 𓆎pr wi im s(t)*

I will summon the celestial ferryman, and he will wake 𓆎Aken, he will bring me the ferry-boat. O equipped spirit, equip me in it<sup>125</sup>.

Spells from 395-398 are circulating around a similar or a repeated long questionnaire dialogue among the deceased and the ferryman and his assistant 𓆎 in order to allow to him to ferry the Winding Waterway and cross in his ferry-boat<sup>126</sup>.

In spell 400 the deceased demands from the ferryman M3-h3.f to bring him a boat called k3yt “the high“ (fig.8 for the text)<sup>127</sup>:

*M3-h3.f mi in n.i mhnt rn.s n k3yt m 3h.s n k3yt*

O Mahaf, come and bring me the ferry-boat in its name of k3yt-boat and in its power of k3yt-boat<sup>128</sup>.

And in spell 401(fig.9 for the text)<sup>129</sup>:

*r3-n mhnt i 3hw 7 ipw m mhnty Imntt in n.i mhnt tw iw wi rh.n.i tn r rh .n.i rn.tn M3-3ht-n.f in n.i mhnt tw m [rn.s n k3yt m] 3h.s nk3yt [.....] h3i.i im r Imnt ph.i ntr im[.....]*

<sup>121</sup>Faulkner, Coffin Texts, I, p. 279 (note 21).

<sup>122</sup>De Buck, Coffin Texts, IV, p. 360 (spell 343 a-b).

<sup>123</sup>Faulkner, Coffin Texts, I, pp. 277-279(spell 343).

<sup>124</sup>De Buck, Coffin Texts, IV, p. 367 (spell 344e-h).

<sup>125</sup>Faulkner, Coffin Texts, I, pp. 279-280 (spell 344).

<sup>126</sup>De Buck, Coffin Texts, V, p. 73 (spell 395a-c); sp. 396d-o; p. 74, sp. 396a-z; aa-cc; p. 77, sp. 397a-c; p. 79, sp. 397a-c; Faulkner, Coffin Texts, II, sp. 395, pp. 20-22; sp. 396, pp.22-24; sp. 397, pp. 24-33; sp. 398, pp. 33-43.

<sup>127</sup>De Buck, Coffin Texts, V, p. 171 (sp. 400a-f).

<sup>128</sup>Faulkner, Coffin Texts, II, pp. 43-45 (sp. 400).

<sup>129</sup>De Buck, Coffin Texts, V, p. 174 (sp. 401a-k).

Spell for a ferry-boat. O you [seven (?)] spirit, ferryman [of] the West, bring me the ferry-boat when I call out, [because (?)] I know you and I know your names. O *M3-3ḥt-n.f*, bring me the ferry-boat in [its name of *k3yt*-boat and in] its power of *k3yt*-boat [.....] I will go down in it to the West, I will reach the god who is in (?) [.....]<sup>130</sup>.

In the long spell 474 the ferryman *M3-ḥ3.f* “who look backward“ is called: the aggressive fisherman who fishes with the spear and fish-trap. The deceased hopes to be not catch or trapped in his net<sup>131</sup>.

The same meanings can be understood in spells 475-480<sup>132</sup>.

Mueller has dealt with the ships of the Underworld and its skipper, parts and calling the ferryman of the Field of Reeds as it mentioned in the Coffin Texts (Sps. 404/405) in the 3<sup>rd</sup> version of CT from El- Bersheh, and other points connected with the Hereafter of the ancient Egyptians. He has divided his article in JEA.58 (1972) in a good and clear guideline for the texts, translations, notes, comments and explanations<sup>133</sup>.

Willems has studied the ferryman spell (CT 398) in details even its tiny parts as it inscribed on the Coffin of Heqata (OLA.70, 1996).

This text consists of 3 parts:

The introduction: CT. V, 120a-124.

The list of ship's parts: CT. V, 125a-149c.

And the conclusion: CT. V, 150a-160c.

We could consider it as a complete model and the ideal of ferryman spells in the ancient Egyptian texts of Afterlife.

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<sup>130</sup> Faulkner, Coffin Texts, II, pp. 45-46 (sp. 401). The ferry-boat is mentioned also in spells 402, 403, and 775.

<sup>131</sup> De Buck, Coffin Texts, VI, pp. 17-26; Faulkner, Coffin Texts, II, pp. 112-116 (sp. 474).

<sup>132</sup> De Buck, Coffin Texts, VI, pp. 27-45; Faulkner, Coffin Texts, II, pp. 116-126 (sps. 475-480).

<sup>133</sup> Mueller, D., “Guide to the Hereafter“, pp. 104-125.

The spell 398 is more than a dramatic account of events the deceased might expect in the divine world; the interaction in the text may well reflect ritual activity.

Spell 398 may accordingly envisage a situation in which the ferryman, who lives in the Heliopolitan area, crosses the Winding Waterway to fetch the deceased, and to bring him to their home town.

The dialogue of the introduction can be summarized as follows: The deceased addresses a ferryman with a florid request that the ship may be brought.

The ferryman first wants to know the identity of his passenger. The latter replies that he is “one whom his father loves”, to which he adds, in reaction to a second question, that this is so because of a number of acts he has carried out for his father. All of these are of a ritual nature.

The deceased repeats his request that the vessel be prepared. The ferryman protests that it has not even been “hollowed out“ yet, which probably means that it has not progressed beyond an incipient stage of construction.

The introduction ends with the deceased’s impatient request that the boat be constructed with the assistance of Sokar. The deceased opens his speech with a series of epithets of the ferryman, these describe him as “one who brings Horus to his eye, who brings Seth to his testicles, and who brings the bark to Horus when it flees and falls down to his garden, it being saved from the hand of Seth“.

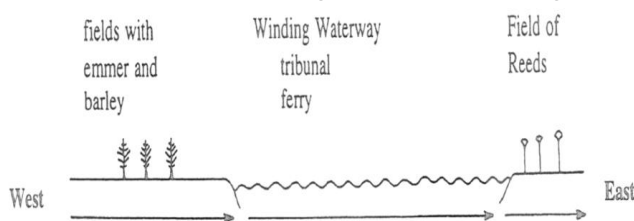
At the end or conclusion of the spell, even thus for the deceased has borne testimony to his encompassing knowledge, his ordeal is not yet over.

Before he will finally be allowed to enter the ferry, he must produce satisfactory replies to a series of additional questions.

In the ferryman spells, the deceased has reached the bank of the Winding Waterway, which he intends to cross by ferry. The river is one symbolic interpretation of the “luminal area of ordeal“ to be passed by the deceased, an ordeal which could alternatively

take the form of an encounter with the celestial fisherman, or with the divine tribunal.

Spell 398 specifies that the deceased gathers the required amount of emmer and barley to make an invocation offering from it to the seven deities, an activity was displayed in the Field of Reeds, thus after the crossing of the Winding Waterway.



**The topography of the Netherworld according to CT V, 153a-c [398].**

The deceased deals with agricultural activity performed prior to the moment when the Winding Waterway was reached. He now orders (the ferryman) that the ferry be brought and enjoins the deceased to enter it.

At last, the ferrymen give the deceased permission to proceed. He also mentions the acme he inspires in the gods, who welcome him as “an equipped spirit“. He next invites the gods of the four cardinal points to come and see him wearing *mdh*-fillet and an *fn*-headcloth. The ferrymen are ordered to make the crossing.

The final lines of the texts elaborate on the theme of the deceased’s sovereignty. It is an address to the goddess Hathor, who is asked to draw the deceased to the sky.

As a result of this, he expects to sit among the great gods as a judge, to pronounce Ma’at, and to restrain the humans<sup>134</sup>.

The first part of spell 343 (CT. IV, 343b-e; 344f-m, p. 359-367) was inscribed on the back surface of the coffin of lady Ouadj (Sid 2 Sid) found in the cemetery of Sedment (1992-1993), the ancient necropole of Herkleopolis Magna (Ihnasya el-Medinam, Beni-Seuif).

On this part of Ouadj’s coffin (cols. 14-21), (fig. 10 for the text):

<sup>134</sup> Willems, H., Coffin of HeQata, pp. 156-173.

*ḥ̣.k3.t r.t hr ẉrt tw hntt tn iskn nis.k3.t r.t r M3-ḥ3-f srs.f n.t ḥ̣kn  
int.f n.t mhnt tw d33 3hw ḥ̣prw*

You will stand to you in this region in the upper of Iskn and you will summon to you *M3-ḥ3-f* “Who-sees-behind-him“, who will wake to you ḥ̣kn to bring to you this boat in which the equipped souls cross<sup>135</sup>.

The previous discussed PTs and CTs have shown to us the meanings of the names of the celestial ferryman, his context and what his role was.

### **Conclusion**

1-In the Underworld there were many lakes in which the deceased had to purify himself, many canals and river-branches to be crossed. Since he possessed no boat of his own (a threat and lost for him), it was necessary for him to summon a ferryman at each crossing, naturally by means of a magic formula, in which the mystic name of the ferryman was contained.

2-The Egyptian ferryman is an important personality (god) figures to mention in the Afterworld that he would navigate the soul through the winding waters of the Underworld.

3-The so-called Egyptian ferryman is known from the funerary texts: Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom, Coffin Texts from the Middle Kingdom, Book of Dead from the New Kingdom and texts of the Greco-roman hieroglyphs.

in about 21 names and titles

4-The ferryman ḥ̣kn of the dead is the sailor who carries the souls of the dead in his little papyrus boat with a single oar. He spends most of his time sleeping at his oar. Whenever a soul comes along asking for passage, they have a terrible time trying to wake him up (ḥ̣kn, he is the assistant of the main celestial ferryman *M33-ḥ3.f*).

5-The ferryman of the Otherworld loved truth and hated sin, and because of his integrity, became a leader of the gods.

<sup>135</sup> Abdel Fatah (Ahmed Galal) & Bickel (Susanne), “Trois Cercueils de Sedment “, pp. 1, 3, 5, 8, fig. 1 et photos 3, 6.

In the Negative Confessions (BD, chapter 125; CT II. 138f [117]), the deceased addressed a series of two and forty gods by their names one after the other, and asserted before each, that he had not committed a certain sin. Among these two forty gods is the ferryman of Underworld (God number 27 as a judge) whose name *Hr-f-h3.f* (see names numbers: 3-5).

6-*Hrty* is a more ambiguous deity who was considered to be a god of the Underworld and the ferryman of the dead (see name number: 10).

7-*kn* (see names numbers: 7, 8) is often associated with *Hrty* (Kherty also spelt Cherti), and it is considered a possibility that his cult caused the development of the myth of the ferryman in other Mediterranean mythologies, such as that of Greek Charon. In any case, though we have seen that the Egyptians had their ferryman among their gods, this is not related to the ferryman Charon of the Greeks. Both cultures developed naval technologies independently, and water (the sea, rivers) was simply an important part of their civilizations. These ferrymen developed independently.

8-The idea of the ferryman of Netherworld is not found in ancient Egypt and Greece only, but also found in other ancient cultures as in Yorubas of south Nigeria, Mesopotamia, Ancient Europe, Greece, Rome, and Norse (Bronze-Age of Denmark)

## List of Abbreviations

### I- Periodicals:

- ÄA** Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden.  
**BIFAO** Bulletin de L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire.  
**BdE** Bibliothéque d'Etude. IFAO ( Le Caire).  
**GM** Göttinger Miscellen, Beiträge Zur Ägyptologischen Diskussion, Göttingen.  
**JARCE** Journal of the American Research center in Egypt, (Boston, New York).  
**JEA** Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Egypt Exploration Society, London.  
**OLA** Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven.  
**RAPh** Recherches d'Archéologie, de Philology et d'Histoire. Inst. Franç. d'archéol. Orient. (Le Caire).  
**SAK** Studien Zur Altägyptischen Kultur ,Hamburg.  
**ZÄS** Zeitschrift Für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, (Leipzig, Berlin).

### II- Books:

- CG = CGC** Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, le Caire.  
**CT** De Buch, A., The Egyptian coffin texts 7vols, Chicago, Illinois (1935-1961); Faulkner, R. O., The Ancient Egyptian coffin texts , 3 vols., Warminster (1973-1978).  
**Edfu** Chassinat, E., Le Temple d'Edfou, vols1-14, Le Caire (1897-1934) (Vol.1 avec Rochemonteix), 2nd edition by Cauville, S., Le Caire (1984-1987).  
**KRI** Kitchen, K. A., Ramesside Inscription, Oxford.  
**LGG** Leitz, Ch., Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götter bezeichnungen, 8 Bde, OLA.110-129(2002-2003).  
**PT = Pyr** Sethe, K., Die Altaegyptischen pyramidentexte nach den Papier Abdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums, 4 Bde, Leipzig (1908-1922); Mercer, S. A. B.,The pyramid Texts, vols. 1-4, NewYork (1952); Faulkner, R. O.,The Ancient Egyptian pyramid Texts, Oxford , (1962).  
**Urk** Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums, I-VIII, Berlin & Leipzig (1904-1957).  
**Wb** Erman, A. & Grapow, H., Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache, 7 Bde, Leipzig (1971), Berlin (1982).  
**WPL** Wilson, P., A Ptolemaic Lexikon, A lexicographical study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu, OLA. 78 (1997).

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**De Buck, A.**, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, vols. I-VII, the University of Chicago press,

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## Figures

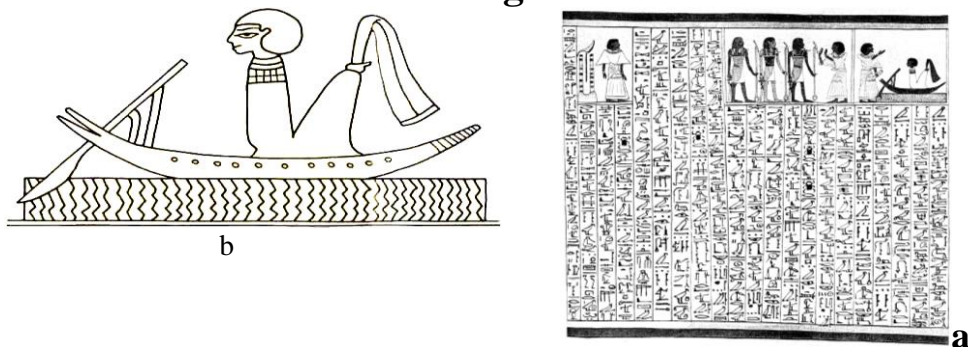


Fig. 1 a, b.

*Hr.f-m-h3.f* 'He whose face is behind him' is one of the many names of the god often called the 'Celestial Ferryman', New Kingdom Papyrus of Ani (A) and Anhai (B), British Museum. Faulkner, R.O., Book of the dead (pap. of Ani), plate 16 (right).  
Wilkinson, R.H., Complete Gods and Goddesses, p. 104.

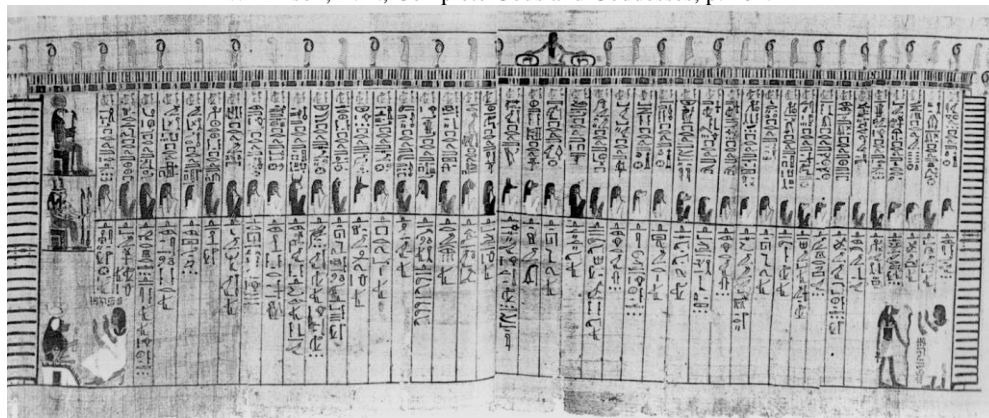


Fig. 2.

Spell 125 The Negative Confession. Within an elaborate shrine with open doors squat the Forty-Two Assessors of the dead, each is addressed by name and to each Nakht denies having committed a specific sin. The confession is witnessed by the enthroned falcon-headed sun-god and the two Maats, all carrying *W3s*-sceptres, and by Toth as a baboon wearing the moon on his head and holding a scribe's palette. Among them the god number 27 is *Hr.f-h3.f* as a judge.  
Faulkner, R. O., Book of the Dead, pp. 27-29.

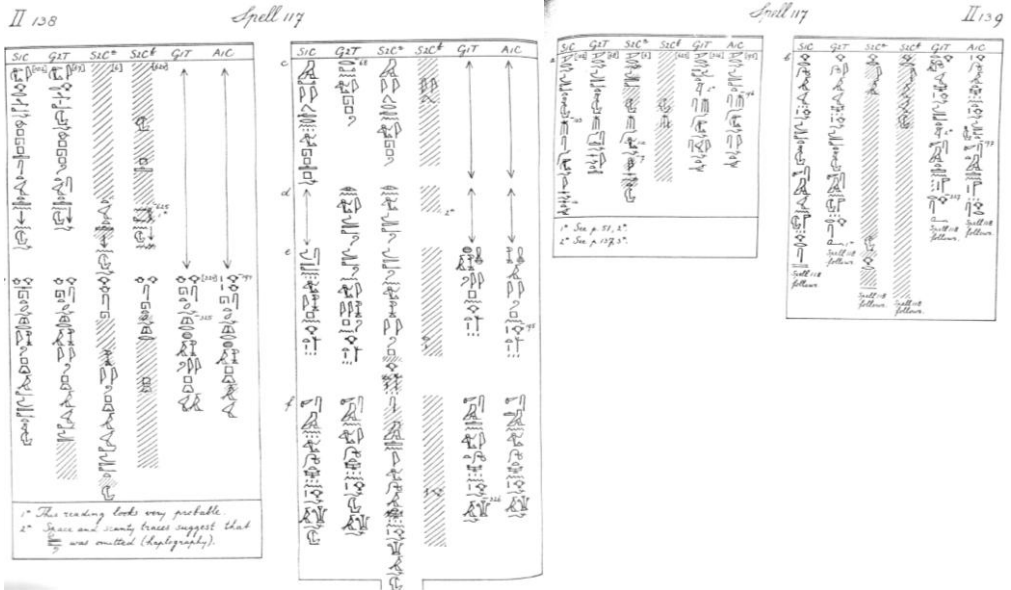


Fig. 3.  
CT, spell 117.

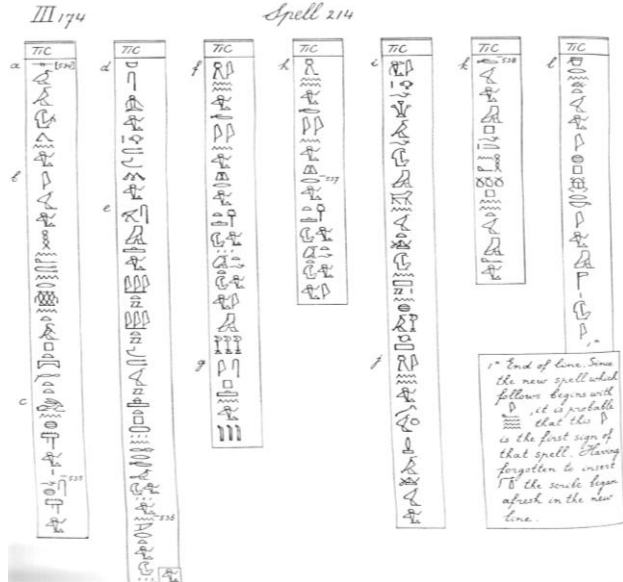


Fig. 4.  
CT, spell 214.

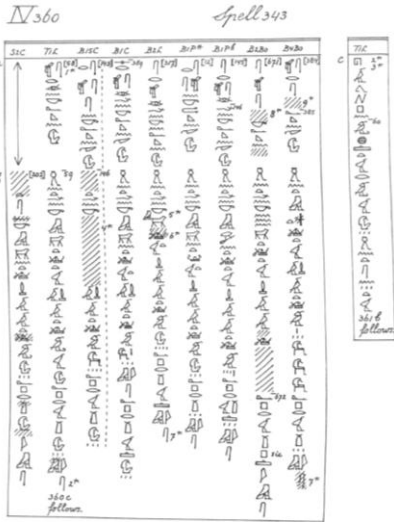


Fig. 6.  
CT, spell 343a-b.



Fig. 5.  
CT, spell 343c-e.



Fig. 8.  
CT, spell 400a-f.

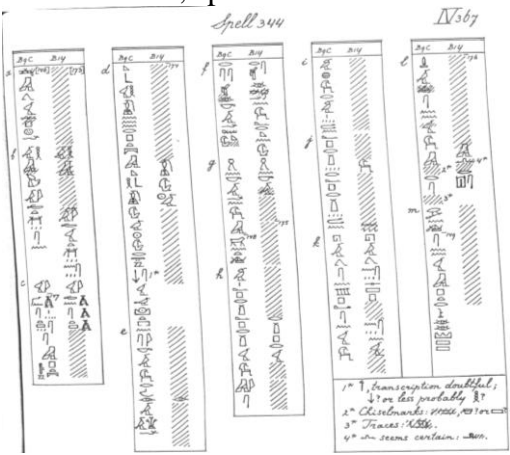


Fig. 7.  
CT, spell 344e-h.

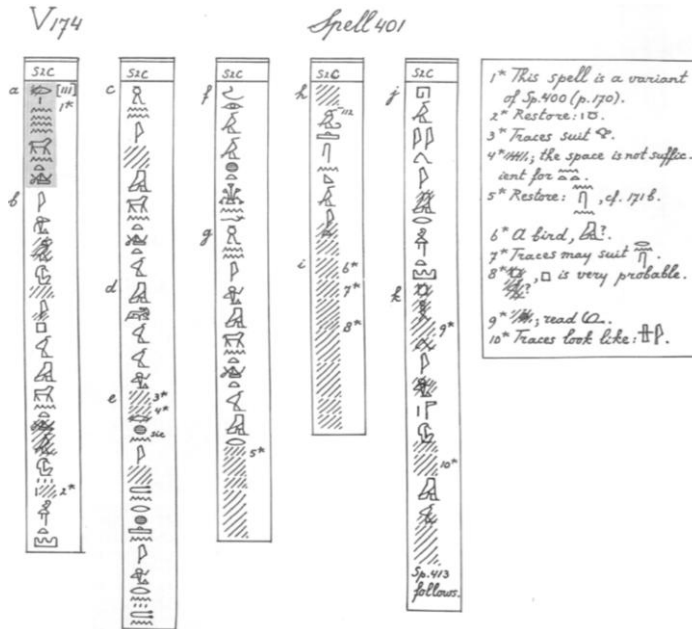


Fig. 9.  
CT, spell 401a-k.

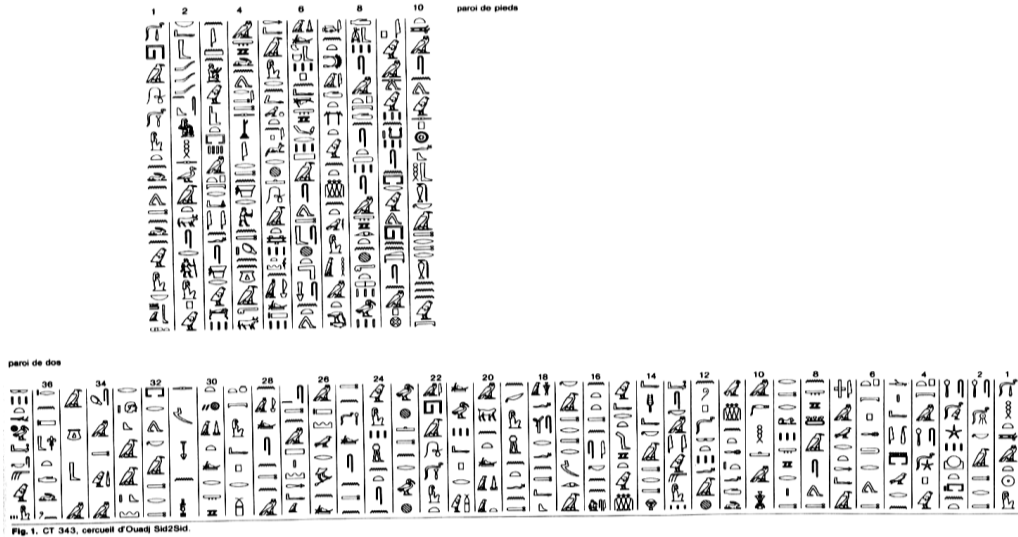


Fig. 10.  
CT, spell 343 (cols. 14-21).

The Coffin of lady Wadj from Sedment (Beni-Suif Meusum).  
 Abdel Fatah (Ahmed Galal) & Bickel (Susanne), "Trois Cercueils de Sedment", pp. 1, 3, 5, 8, fig. 1 et photos 3, 6.

## المعداوي السماوي في الديانة المصرية القديمة (بحار الموتى)

د. رضوان عبد الرازي سيد احمد سيد •

### الملخص:

في الديانة المصرية القديمة كان "النوتي" أو "المراكبي" يطلق عليه *Hr.f-h3.f* وكان يصور كبحار يقف في مقدمة قارب البردي.

إن "المعداوي" المصري معروف في النصوص الجنائزية:

نصوص الأهرام من الدولة القديمة ومتون التوابيت من الدولة الوسطى و كتاب الموتى من الدولة الحديثة و نصوص المعابد في العصرين اليوناني والروماني ومن مصادر نصية أخرى في حوالي ٢١ اسما ولقبًا.

وفي كل تلك المصادر نجد أسمائه وألقابه وصفاته وأدواره ووظائفه وكذلك علاقاته مع المعبودات الأخرى في مصر القديمة.

ولقد كان من الضروري للمتوفي أن يستدعي أو ينادي علي نوتيا في عبوره، ذلك لأنه سوف يبهر بالروح خلال المياه الملتفة للعالم الآخر، وبطبيعة الحال عن طريق صيغ سحرية والتي تتضمن الأسماء الغامضة والخفية للمراكبي.

وبما أنه كان إلهًا في عالم الآخرة وبحارا للموتى فإنه ربما كان الأصل الحضاري للمراكبي اليوناني Charon العالم السفلي.

إن فكرة بحار العالم الأخرى لم توجد في مصر القديمة واليونان فقط، ولكن وجدت أيضا في بعض الحضارات والثقافات الأخرى، مثل: Yorubas في جنوب نيجيريا، وبلاد ما بين النهرين Mesopotamia، وأوروبا القديمة، وروما، وحضارة Norse بالدنمارك (العصر البرونزي).

تحاول هذه الورقة البحثية إعطاء فكرة تفصيلية عن هذه الشخصية الهامة والمقدسة في عالم الموتى والمعتقدات الدينية المصرية القديمة من خلال المصادر النصية من الفترات المختلفة والأفكار المقارنة من الحضارات الأخرى.

### الكلمات الدالة :

المعداوي السماوي - مساعد النوتي (عقن) - المتوفي - المركب (المعدية) - العالم الآخر - حقول الإيارو - الأسماء والألقاب - الدور - نصوص الأهرام - متون التوابيت.

## **„Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ – Am Beispiel von Lebensläufen hoher Beamten in der 18. Dynastie**

**Dr. Sahar samir El-Badrawy\***

### ***Abstract:***

Dieser Artikel mit dem Titel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ – Am Beispiel von Lebensläufen hoher Beamten in der 18. Dynastie handelt sich um eine Untersuchung zur Eigenschaften dieses Ehrentitels. Welche Sozialklasse und welche Ämter waren verlangt um diesen Titel tragen zu dürfen. Waren besondere Leistungen und persönliche Eigenschaften verlangt? Wie waren die politische Stellung eines Titelträgers und seine Beziehung zum König? Waren diese wichtige Persönlichkeiten Beamten, die der Bürokratie angehörten, oder Höflinge? Der Artikel übernimmt eine vollständige Untersuchung zum Lebenslauf der Personen, die den Ehrentitel trugen. Haben „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ in den Darstellungen einen Wedel in ihre Hände getragen? Der Artikel redet auch über die religiöse Bedeutung des Wedels. Da in der 19. und 20. Dynastie die Voraussetzungen dieses Ehrentitels sich ändern, so beschränkt sich diese Untersuchung auf die 18. Dynastie.

### **Schlüsselwörter:**

- Wedelträger
- Fächer und Wedel
- Verwaltung
- Beamtentitel
- Rang
- Ehrentitel

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Inschriften aus den Gräbern von hohen Beamten sowie Szenen von festlichen und militärischen Aufzügen auf den Tempelwänden weisen auf eine wesentliche hochwertige Persönlichkeit, die als Mitglied der Königsfolge erscheint und den Titel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ trägt. Diese deutlich auftauchende Persönlichkeit spornt an die Verantwortungen, Karriere und Erfahrungen anhand einer engeren Untersuchung auszuprägen. Die ersten Fragestellungen dieser Untersuchung lautet: Handelt es sich um ziviles-militärisches oder religiöses Amt? Welche Aufgaben, Tätigkeiten und Verantwortungen gehören zu diesem Titel? Gehört der Träger dieser Titel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ zu den Königsfolgen? Welche Persönlichkeiten dürften diesen Ehrentitel tragen und seit welcher Zeitepoche? Ist dieser Titel auf eine besondere Sozialschicht beschränkt?

Eine Statue aus grauem Granit des gealterten Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo<sup>1</sup> weist auf den Titel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“. Die Statue stellt (*Imn-ḥtp s3 Ḥpw*) als lebenserfahrenen, gereiften Mann dar.<sup>2</sup> Er sitzt in betende Haltung. Das wiedergegebene schmale Gesicht mit Falten um den unlächelnden Mund, schweren Augenlider und schlaffe Brustmuskulatur und kräftiger Leib beweisen das Alter des 80-jährigen Amenophis. Seine lange, wellige Perücke lässt die Ohren unbedeckt, die Aufmerksamkeit reflektiert (Taf. 1). Er trägt einen langen, geknoteten Schurz, die sein kräftiger veralterten Leib verhüllt. Seine Hände liegen in der Haltung eines Betenden ausgestreckt auf den Oberschenkeln. Die Statue stammt aus dem NR, 18. Dynastie, Regierungszeit des Königs Amenophis III., 1403-1365 v. Chr. Der lange Text, über seinem

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<sup>1</sup> Ägyptisches Museum Kairo, Erdgeschoss, Saal 12, JE 38368, CG 42127; Statue entdeckt bei Legrain, gefunden nördlich des 7. Pylons des Amuntempel von Karnak; HELCK 1975, in: *LÄ I*, S. 219.

<sup>2</sup> M. SALEH/H. SOUROUZIAN, *Offizieller Katalog: Die Hauptwerke im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo*, Mainz 1986, Statue Nr. 149; G. LEGRAIN, „*Statues et Statuettes des Rois et des Particuliers*“, *Catalogue Général* (42001-42138), I, Caire 1906, p. 78-80, pl.76 (Nr. 42127).



Schurz lässt uns seine Biographie mit seiner aufwachsenden Titelränge zu erkennen.

Aus den Inschriften der Biographie des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu erkennt man seine Familie und Karriere. Er entstammte einer unbedeutenden Familie der Deltastadt Athribis<sup>3</sup> im 10. unterägyptischen Gau, wie er selbst in seiner Inschriften immer wieder hervorhebt. Er erwähnt mit besonderer Freude in seiner biographischen Inschrift auf einer seiner Statuen aus dem Amuntempel in Karnak<sup>4</sup>, wie schön diese Stadt aufgrund seiner Bitten zum König, ausgeschmückt worden war. Sein Vater hieß (*Hpw*), irgendein Titel ist von ihm nicht bekannt. Man kann erschließen, daß dieser keinen Titel trug, der wert gewesen war. Seine Mutter führte den Namen (*Jtw*). Die Inschriften zu Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, berichten über seine Karriere erst während der Regierungszeit des Amenophis III., während vor der Thronbesteigung des Amenophis III. keine Hinweise vorhanden sind. Die erst erwähnte Amtstelle, die ihm der König zugeteilt hat, war „der königliche Rekrutenschreiber“ (*sš njswt hrj-tp*)<sup>5</sup>, was uns hinweist, dass Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, erst mit 50 Jahren in diese untergeordnete Beamtenstellung befördert worden war. Vielleicht hatte auch bei ihm eine Verbindung mit dem jungen König bestanden, der ihn nach seiner Thronbesteigung schnell die Beamtenlaufbahn durchlaufen ließ. Jedoch berichtet er nichts davon, ebenso geben die Inschriften keine Hinweise, was er vorher gewesen war. Seine Biographie erwähnt von der Zeit, in der er „Unterbeamter“ war, dass er während seiner Ausbildung die Stelle eines königlichen Schreibers bekam, nämlich: „Ich wurde zum (*sš njswt hrj-tp*)“<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Heute die Stadt Benha.

<sup>4</sup> L. BORCHARDT, Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo, in: *Catalogue Général*, II, Berlin 1911-36, Statue Nr. 583 ; cols. 5ff.

<sup>5</sup> Diese Amtstelle (Rang) steht deutlich am Ende der neunten vertikalen Zeile auf der langen Schürze der Statue Amenophis (CG 42127) aus Karnak; auch: L. BORCHARDT 1911-36, in: *Cat. Gén.*, II, Statue Nr. 583, col.12.

<sup>6</sup> „Königliche Schreiber als Unterbeamter“ (*sš njswt hrj tp*): In diesen Posten lernten sie die Verwaltung. Wahrscheinlich gehörte auch noch die Stellung eines „Soldatenschreibers“ (*sš*

befördert und wurde mit dem Gottesbuch bekannt gemacht, ich sah die Macht des Thot und war klug in ihren Geheimnissen, so dass ich alle ihre Schwierigkeiten löste und man mich in allen ihren Fällen um Rat fragte<sup>7</sup>. Dieselbe Inschrift berichtet weiter, daß nach einiger Zeit ihn der König in das Amt eines „Rekrutenschreibers“ (*sš njswt sš nfrw*) mit dem Rang eines „Oberbeamten“ beförderte<sup>8</sup>. Man kann aus der Biographie verstehen, dass Amenophis der „Rekrutenschreiber“ der nördlichen Hälfte des Landes war, die allerdings die militärisch wichtigere war. Daraus versteht man, dass Aufgrund seiner Talente und seiner Tatkraft in Verwaltung und Organisation erreichte Amenophis die höchsten Ämter im königlichen Hofe. In seiner Eigenschaft als „Rekrutenschreiber“ bekam er vom König den Auftrag, bei der Leitung von Bauarbeiten mitzuwirken. Deshalb legte er sich auch den Titel „Vorsteher aller Bauarbeiten des Königs“ (*jmj-r3 k3t nbt nt njswt*). Die Inschriften der Statue des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, die er sich als Belohnung im Amuntempel in Karnak aufstellen durfte, schildert diese Tat in stolzem Ausdruck: „Der König machte mich zum Vorsteher der Arbeiten im Gebel el-Ahmar Bruch<sup>9</sup>, um die Denkmäler seines

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*mšc*) zu diesen untergeordneten Stellen. Aus Soldatenschreibern rekrutierten sich die höheren Verwaltungsbeamten des Heeres: der „Vorsteher der Militärschreiber“ (*jmj-r3 sš mšc*), der „Rekrutenschreiber“ (*sš njswt sš nfrw*) und der „General“ (*jmj-r3 mšc*).

<sup>7</sup> W. HELCK, „Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. Dynastie“, in: UGÄÄ 14, Hildesheim 1964, S. 4.

<sup>8</sup> „Rekrutenschreiber“ als Oberbeamter (*sš njswt sš nfrw*): Dieses Amt scheint erst im Anfang der 18. Dynastie neu geschaffen worden zu sein, denn vorher ist der Titel „Rekrutenschreiber“ nicht überliefert. Sicher gab es einen Rekrutenschreiber zur nördlichen Hälfte Ägyptens und einen zur südlichen Hälfte des Landes. Es erscheinen nie zwei oder mehrere Rekrutenschreiber gleichzeitig. Dieses Amt steht über dem Anfangsamt des „Soldatenschreibers“ (*sš mšc*).

<sup>9</sup> Ein begehrter Sandsteinbruch, besonders für Sarkophage und kolossale Statuen. Dieser Steinbruch bei Heliopolis war in der 18. Dynastie der bevorzugte Steinbruch der Könige gewesen. Aus seinen harten, grobkörnigen, rötlichen Sandstein, wurden damals gern die königlichen Sarkophage hergestellt. Gerade König Amenophis III. scheint diesen Steinbruch besonders geschätzt zu haben. Die Steine waren vom nördlichen zum südlichen Heliopolis (Theben gemeint) für riesige Monumente und Statuen in Theben stromaufwärts transportiert. M.-G. LEGRAIN, « *Au Pylone D'Harmhabi À Karnak (X. Pylone)* », ASAE 14, Caire 1914, p. 17-20, pl. 3.

Vaters Amun in Karnak zu leiten. Ich transportierte seine sehr großen Statuen als Abbilder seiner Majestät in kunstvoller Ausführung, geleitet vom nördlichen zum südlichen Heliopolis; sie ruhen an ihrem Platz im Westen ... Mein Herr ehrte mich aber, indem er meine Statue im Amuntempel aufstellen ließ, denn er weiß, daß ich ihm in Ewigkeit gehöre<sup>10</sup>. Wahrscheinlich leitete Amenophis auch den Bau des Totentempels, obwohl das nicht ausdrücklich überliefert ist. Es spricht dafür, dass Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu seinen eigenen Totentempel direkt neben den seines Königs in Theben-West zwischen den Bauarbeiterhütten, die für den königlichen Totentempel arbeiteten, anlegen dürfte. Die Inschrift der Statue des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, aus dem Amuntempel in Karnak, CG 583, lautet: „Mein Herr machte mich zum Vorsteher aller Bauarbeiten. Da machte ich den Namen des Königs ewig, indem ich nicht nachahmte, was früher getan worden war, sondern ich errichtete ihm einen Berg von Sandstein, der ganze Amuntempel wurde so mit Statuen aus diesem Stein angefüllt, dass er zu einem Sandsteinberg wurde, denn er ist ja Atums- Erbe“<sup>11</sup>.

Diesen außergewöhnlichen Leistungen des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, auf dem Gebiete der Bauleitung stehen nun gleich außerordentliche Ehrungen gegenüber, die ihm sein König gewährte. Es begann mit einer königlichen Erlaubnis ein Grab in der Art der Könige in Theben-West (irgendwo in den Wüstentalern) anzulegen, ferner einen Totentempel am Wüstenrand, was nur ein Privileg der Könige war.

Der König feierte in seinem 30. Regierungsjahr sein erstes Sedfest. Zu diesem wichtigen Jubiläumsfest war Amenophis,

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<sup>10</sup> Inschrift der Granit Statue des jungen Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, gefunden vor dem 10. Pylon des Amuntempel in Karnak, heute im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo: Erdgeschoss, Saal 12, JE 44861; M.-G. LEGRAIN, in: *ASAE* 14, 1914, p. 17-20, pl. 3; W. HELCK, *Urk. IV, Übersetzungen zu den Heften 17-22*, Berlin 1961, S. 277, Abschnitt: 1833; W. HELCK, „*Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. Dynastie*“, *UGAA* 14, Hildesheim 1964, S. 5.

<sup>11</sup> L. BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, II, *Cat. Gén.*, Nr. 583; W. HELCK, „*Der Einfluß der Militärführer in der 18. Dynastie*“, in: *UGAA* XIV, Hildesheim 1964, S. 6.

Sohn des Hapu, der Sonderbeauftragter des Königs. Aus Anlass dieses Jubiläums leitete Amenophis die Bauarbeit des Amuntempels in Soleb, organisierte die Verwaltung des Tempels und setzte die Priester zum Tempel an ihren Plätzen ein. Die Inschrift der Statue des Amenophis erwähnt, folgendes: „Der König bestimmte mich zum Leiter des Amunfestes bei jedem Fest, ich füllte seine Opfer täglich“<sup>12</sup>. In dieser Inschrift ist der Tempel von Soleb nicht genannt, so zeigt sie jedoch deutlich, daß es sich um die Einrichtung eines Tempels aus Anlaß des 1. Sedfestes handelt. Die hervorhebende Darstellung des Amenophis in Soleb lässt kaum Zweifel zu, daß es der Tempel von Soleb war. Die Ehrung spricht in diesem Fall, daß ihn der König zum „Festleiter des Amun“ einsetzte. Hier erscheint mir ein weiterer Beweis, daß Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu die Stelle eines Kronprinzen gleichkommt, da nur der König dem Amunfest leiten dürfte. Amenophis erhielt also den Auftrag bei den Festen die Rolle des Königs zu übernehmen.

Der Rangtitel (*r-p<sup>ct</sup>*) erlangte Amenophis als Ehre während des 1. Sedfestes des Königs. Er erhielt die Ehre, die Gestalt des (*r-p<sup>ct</sup>*) beim kultischen Spiel des Königs zu verkörpern. Inschrift aus dem Totentempel des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, berichtet über diese Stellung, nämlich: „Er war geliebter des Königs, als königliche Schreiber und Gauverwalter eingesetzt, und im Sedfest des Königs eine besondere Rolle teilnahm. Er erhielt Schmuck von Gold und allerlei Edelsteinen; man gab ihm einen Kuhkopfschmuck an seinen Hals aus (*d<sup>cm</sup>*)- Gold und allerlei Steinen. Sitzen auf dem Sitz von Gold gegenüber dem Thron, indem seine Glieder bekleidet sind mit (*pk*)-Stoff und erstklassigem Linnen .....“<sup>13</sup>.

Der Rangtitel (*r-p<sup>ct</sup>*) bedeutete auch, dass Amenophis, Sohn des Habu, das Vertreten des Königs bei der Rechtsprechung

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<sup>12</sup> Statue des jungen Amenophis aus dem Amuntempel in Karnak: M.-G. LEGRAIN, „*Au Pylone D'Harmhabi À Karnak (X. Pylone)*“, *ASAE* 14, Caire 1914, pl. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Inschrift aus dem Totentempel des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu: W. HELCK, *Urk. IV, Übersetzungen zu den Heften 17-22*, Berlin 1961, S. 279, Abschnitt: 1837.

eingesetzt war<sup>14</sup>. Eine Inschrift einer Statue des Amenophis aus dem Chonstempel, lautet: „... , Mund, der im Palast zufrieden stellt, Vertrauten des Königs beim prächtig Herstellen seiner vielen Denkmäler, Festleiters des Amun, Amenophis, des Gerechtfertigten“<sup>15</sup>.

Der Titel (*r-p<sup>c</sup>t*) bringt Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, zu derselben Stellung eines Kronprinzen. Da der Kronprinz wesentlich das Ziel einer Stellvertretung des Königs beim Heer war, soll unbedingt bedeuten, daß der Titelträger (*r-p<sup>c</sup>t*) militärische Handlungen ausüben musste? Es ist bekannt, daß der König der Heeresführer im NR, wie in ältester Zeit war; ihm zunächst steht, wenigstens in der Ramessidenzeit, der Kronprinz als „Erbfürst“ und „Heeresvorsteher“ und „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“. Damit, möchte ich andeuten, dass der Titel selbst „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ kein militärisches Amt war, da Amenophis nie „General“ geworden war, aber der Titel bringt ihn zum engen Königskreis als seine erfahrene, anvertraute und hochbegabte Weise, was auch in militärischen Zügen erfordert war. Das bedeutet, dass die beiden Rangtitel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ sowie (*r-p<sup>c</sup>t*) keine militärischen Verantwortungen voraussetzten, da das Amt eines Generalissimus und Heeresbefehlshaber sowie Soldatenführer vorhanden waren. Hier, muss ich aber erwähnen, dass während meiner Untersuchung, mir erscheint dass die Ämter und Titel von einer Zeit zum anderen ändern. Deswegen, muss ich diese Untersuchung auf die 18. Dynastie beschränken, da sich die Titel mit ihre Bedeutungen und Vorraussetzungen mit der politischen Lage des Landes sowie Sozialaufbau des Staates gerne ändern lassen.

Die Inschriften der vielen Statuen des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu aus Karnak sowie sein Sarkophag, weisen auf eine Reihe von Amt- und Rangtitel: Er war „Vorsteher der Propheten des

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<sup>14</sup> W. HELCK, „Rang“, in *LÄ V*, 1984, S. 146.

<sup>15</sup> W. HELCK, *Urk. IV., Übersetzungen zu den Heften 17-22*, Berlin 1961, S. 278, Abschnitt: 1836.

Horus“, „Herrn des Gaus von Athribis“, und „Siegler des unterägyptischen Königs“<sup>16</sup>. Hier erkennt man deutlich einen auftretenden religiösen Titel „Vorsteher der Propheten des Horus“, obwohl er eine Reihe von zivilen Verwaltungsämtern ausübte.

Die charakteristischen Bauarbeiten des Königs Amenophis III. von Luxortempel, der 3. Pylon in Karnak und auf dem thebanischen Westufer die gewaltige Anlage seines Totentempels mit den Memnonkolossen und eine Reihe von Kolossalstatuen des Königs sind alle von dem begabten „Bauleiter“ Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu geführt, sowie eine Reihe von Bautätigkeiten in Unterägypten. Er tritt auch sonst als leitender Beamter vor. Als Gunstbeweis des Königs dürfte er seine Statuen im großen Amuntempel von Karnak aufstellen. Außerdem, hatte er das Privileg, einen eigenen Totentempel in der Nähe der königlichen Anlagen in der thebanischen Nekropole. Die 45 x 110 m große Ziegelanlage besaß Merkmale eines Millionenjahrhauses<sup>17</sup>. Hier erkennt man deutlich die hohe Stellung des Amenophis, die einen einfachen hohen Beamten überragt. Er hat die Stellung eines Regenten erreicht, was die Stellung eines Kronprinzen übereinstimmt. Die einfachen hohen Beamten haben keinen Totentempel gehabt. Amenophis arbeitete sein Leben lang im königlichen Hof. Die lange Inschrift, die eine lobende Biographie enthält, verrät, dass Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, 80 Jahre im königlichen Hofe erreicht hat, und hofft, ein Alter von 110 Jahren zu erlangen<sup>18</sup>.

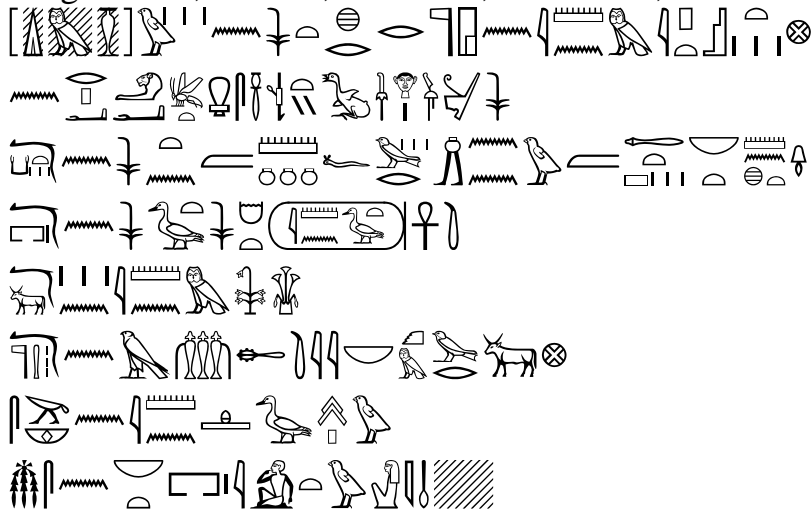
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<sup>16</sup> G. LEGRAIN, *Statues et Statuettes des Rois et des Particuliers*, I, *Cat. Gén.*, Caire 1906, p. 78-80 (Statue Nr. 42127), pl. 76; Statuenfragment des *Imn-ḥtp* im British Museum Nr.103: Urk. IV, 1830, 1-5; 1839, 1-12; W. HELCK, *Übersetzungen zu den Heften 17-22*, Berlin 1961, S. 275, Abschnitt: 1830; Sarg des *Imn-ḥtp*: Urk. IV, Berlin 1958, 1839; Statue aus dem Tempel der Mut zu Karnak: Urk IV, 1831, 12-17.

<sup>17</sup> D. ARNOLD, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Baukunst*, Düsseldorf 2000, S. 23.

<sup>18</sup> Erwähnt in der Mitte der 9. vertikalen Zeile auf der Schürze der Statue Nr. 42127; auch Urk. IV, 1828, 7; W. HELCK, *Übersetzungen zu den Heften 17-22*, Berlin 1961, S. 274, Abschnitt: 1828.

Später, wurde Amenophis vergöttlicht. Die Ptolemäer errichteten für ihn und den ebenfalls vergöttlichten Imhotep eine Kapelle auf der dritten Terrasse des Hatschepsut-Tempels in Deir el-Bahari. Die Inschrift auf der Basis der Statue des *Imn-ḥtp*, Sohn des *Hpw*<sup>19</sup>, aus Karnak, heute im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo, Erdgeschoss, Saal 12, JE 38368, CG 42127, lautet:



*dj m ḥsw n njswt hr r ḥwt-ntr n Jmn jpt-jswt, n r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3tj-<sup>c</sup>, sd3wtj-bjtj, smr w<sup>c</sup>tj, t3j-ḥw hr wnmj n njswt, jmj-r3 k3wt n njswt m mnw=f wrw, jnj.nw m <sup>c</sup>3t nbt mnḥt, jmj-r3 pr n s3.t njsw.t ḥm.t njswt (S3.t Jmn), dj <sup>c</sup>nh, jmj-r3 jḥw n Jmn m rswt mḥt, jmj-r3 ḥmw ntr n Ḥrw Ḥntj-ḥtjj, nb Km-wr<sup>20</sup>, šḥb n Jmn, Jmn-ḥtp s3 Ḥpw, msj n nbt pr Jtw, m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw [...]*

„ [Gegeben als königliche Gnaden] beweis<sup>21</sup> in den Tempel des Amun in Karnak für den *r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3tj-<sup>c</sup>* Gaufürst, Siegler des unterägyptischen Königs<sup>22</sup>, einzigen Freund, Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs, Vorsteher der Bauarbeiten des Königs an seinen großen Denkmälern, die gebracht wurden aus allerlei trefflichem Stein, Vorsteher des Haushalts der Königstochter und königliche Gemahlin *S3.t-Imn*, sie lebe, Rindervorsteher des

<sup>19</sup> *Urk. IV*, 1828, 15-19; auch: 1829, 1-3; G. LEGRAIN, *Statues, I, Cat. Gén.*, Nr. 42127, p. 78-80, pl. 76.

<sup>20</sup> (*Km-wr*) ist Name des Gebiets der Bitterseen.

<sup>21</sup> Gunstbeweis des Königs.

<sup>22</sup> Siegelbewahrer des Königs von Unterägypten ist ein dritt-höchster Hofrangtitel

Amun in Ober- und Unterägypten, Prophetenvorsteher des Horus *Hntj-htj*, Herrn von Athribis, Festleiter des Amun. *Jmn-htp*, Sohn des *Hpw*, geboren von der Hausherrin *Jtw*, der Gerechtfertigten<sup>23</sup>.

Anhand dieser Untersuchung erscheint deutlich, dass „Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu“ verschiedene hohe Amtstellen erreicht hat, aufgrund seiner Talente und Begabtheit, die er lebenslang bewiesen hat. Zivile Amtstelle ist anhand des Amtes „Rekrutenschreiber“ nachgewiesen; während seiner Verwaltungämter durch die vollzogenen Amtstellen „Gaufürst von Athribis“, „Sieglar des Königs“ in Unterägypten; „Bauleiter des Königs“ bewiesen sind. Die in den Inschriften erwähnten Palast-Hofrang nämlich der „Einzige Freund des Königs“, und „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ bringen ihn zu einer höheren Sozialstand als der bürokratischen hohen Beamten. Weiterhin hat der fähige Amenophis weitere wirtschaftliche Amtstellen ausgeübt, wie „Rindvorsteher des Amun in Ober- und Unterägypten“. Er führte auch als Ehrung den Titel eines Prophetenvorstehers des Stadtgottes von Athribis, des (*Hr hntj-htj*). Er erhielt auch den Rang eines „Festleiters des Amun“, durch den er den König bei Amunfesten vertreten konnte<sup>24</sup>.

In seiner hohen Alter, am Ende der Regierung Amenophis III. trug Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, das Amt eines Vermögensverwalters der Prinzessin Satamun (*jmj-r3 pr n s3t njswt wrt S3.t-Jmn*). Diese Prinzessin (*S3.t-Jmn*) scheint am Hofe Amenophis III eine ziemlich große Rolle gespielt zu haben, denn es ist nicht nur auffällig, dass sie einen Vermögensverwalter bekommt, sondern sie wurde von ihrem eigenen Vater (König Amenophis III) geheiratet<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> *Urk. IV, 1828f.*; W. HELCK, *Übersetzungen zu den Heften 17-22*, S. 275, Abschnitt: 1828f.

<sup>24</sup> W. HELCK, „Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu“, in: *LÄ I*, 1975, S. 220.

<sup>25</sup> W. HELCK, „Der Einfluß der Militärführer in der 18. Dynastie“, in: *UGÄÄ 14*, Hildesheim 1964, S. 11.



Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, erreichte ein Lebensalter von 80 Jahre im königlichen Hofe, was uns bedeutet daß er seine Anständigkeit, Tatkraft und Begabtheit lebenslang bewiesen hat, ferner der vielen Erfahrungen, die er anhand der vielen verschiedenen Amtstellen geleistet hat.

Die Inschriften derselben Statue (CG 42127) erwähnen weitaus persönliche Prinzipien des Amenophis, nämlich er tut die Gerechtigkeit: „Amenophis adressiert Re im Amun-Tempel und sagt: „Du lässt mich unter den Gelobten sein, die die Wahrheit tun. Ich bin ein Wahrhaftiger, nicht bin ich parteiisch, nicht geselle ich mich zu dem Übeltäter. Nicht fluchte ich über seine Bosheit bei einem, der mir bei den Arbeiten unterstellt war. Nicht rief der Mann neben mir, weil ich mich (etwa) nicht darum gekümmert hätte zu hören, was er sagt. Nicht ließ ich zu viel tun, und nicht trat ich dem zu nahe, der für mich arbeitete. Nicht kümmerte ich mich darum, Verleumdung zu hören, um einen anderen bei seinem Vorgesetzten schlecht zu machen. Mein Ruf ist Zeuge für das, was ich getan habe, indem es vor allen Augen ist. Wer mich sah, der wünschte, so wie ich zu sein, weil das, was mir geschah, so groß war. Ein Zeuge für die Wahrheit ist mein Alter: Ich habe 80 Jahre erreicht, indem meine Gunst beim König groß ist, und ich werde auch noch 110 Jahre vollenden“<sup>26</sup>.

Daraus erfolgt, daß Amenophis leistungsfähig in der praktischen Arbeit war, eine ehrliche Persönlichkeit und vom König vertraut, die ihm zu seiner geachteten Stelle führte. Er war verantwortungsvoll, gerechvoller Mensch wie er dies in den Inschriften seiner Statue aus Karnak (Kairo Museum CG 42127) behauptet hat: Er habe niemandem übles getan, auch niemals ließ er sich in unwichtige Gerede oder Taten einmischen. Er war ein wahrhaftiger lebenserfahrener Mensch. Sein dienstliches Können einerseits und seine vollständige Persönlichkeit andererseits erlangte ihm den folgenden hohen Ehrentitel zu erreichen:

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<sup>26</sup> W. HELCK, *Urk IV: Übersetzungen zu den Heften 17-22*, 1961, S. 274, Abschnitt: 1827-1828.

„Geliebter des Herrn der beiden Länder“<sup>27</sup>, „Einzige Freund des Königs“ und „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“.

Der Rangtitel „Einzige Freund des Königs“ (*smr w<sup>c</sup>tj*) wurde im Neuen Reich als Zeichen der Aufnahme unter die Höflinge mit Eintrittserlaubnis in den Palast erwähnt<sup>28</sup>. Der Rangtitel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ (*tj h<sup>w</sup> hr jmntj wnmj n nswt*) ist wohl nur seit der Hatschepsut belegt. Dieser Rangtitel wurde gern zur Hervorhebung bestimmter Gruppen benutzt<sup>29</sup>. Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, erhielt mit seiner Pensionierung das Hofamt eines „Wedelträgers zur Rechten des Königs“, wodurch die enge persönliche Verbindung mit dem Königshause ihren Ausdruck fand.

Weitere Belege für den „Rangtitel“ (*r-p<sup>c</sup>t*), (*tj h<sup>w</sup> hr jmntj wnmj n nswt*), und (*sš njswt*) des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, befinden sich auf den Fragmenten seines Sarges in den Museen: Louvre und Brüssel<sup>30</sup>.

Im alten Ägypten kennen wir zwei Baumeister, die fast immer in einem Atemzug mit ihrem Bauwerk und ihrem König genannt werden. Der eine ist Imhotep, der Baumeister der Stufenpyramide des Djoser, welcher später als Weiser und Heilgott verehrt wurde. Der andere, dem eine solche Ehre und Vergöttlichung erfuhr, ist Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu. Die Ptolemäer errichteten für ihn und den ebenfalls vergöttlichten Imhotep eine Kapelle auf der dritten Terrasse des Hatschepsut-Tempels in Deir el-Bahari.

Eine weitere Untersuchung zum Titel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ geht anhand des hohen Beamten der Kommandant „Nebamun“, Theban Tomb No. 90, in West Theben, in *Elwet Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurneh*. „Nebamun“ war „Kommandant

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<sup>27</sup> *Urk. IV, Übersetzungen*, S. 275, Abschnitt: 1830.

<sup>28</sup> W. HELCK, „Rang“, in: *LÄ V*, 1984, S. 146f.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, S. 147; W. HELCK, „Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs“, *Probleme der Ägyptologie*, Bd. 3 Leiden-Köln 1958, S. 281ff.

<sup>30</sup> Louvre D 4; Brüssel E 3059; siehe: *Urk IV*, 1838, 17 und 1839, 1-3.

(Polizeihauptmann) der Fußtruppen“<sup>31</sup> in West-Theben<sup>32</sup>. Eine deutliche Szene in seinem Grab zeigt Nebamun im Moment des Standartenempfangs des neuen Amtes als Kommandant der Truppen in Theben-West<sup>33</sup>. Die Inschriften zu dieser Szene erdeutlicht, dass Nebamun ein ehemaliger Frontkämpfer geworden war und ein hohes Alter im Dienst des Königs erreicht hat<sup>34</sup>. Die neue Amtstellung befördert ihn auch zum „Oberhaupt der Seesoldaten“ auf der königlichen Sonnenbarke „Standartenträger der Schiffs-Mannschaft *hnt.t*“<sup>35</sup>. Bei dieser Beförderung wurde Nebamun ausdrücklich von Steuern für seinen Felder-Besitz befreit<sup>36</sup>. Zu Beginn dieser Ränge war Nebamun ein „Frontoffizier“ aus einer Masse aller Frontoffiziere, der von Steuern befreit worden war<sup>37</sup>. Durch ihre einzelne Tüchtigkeit hat sie der König unterschiedlich belohnt, einerseits durch Verleihung des „Goldes der Tapferkeit“, auch „Gold der Belobigung“ genannt. Eine andere Ehrung bestand darin, einen besonderen Ehrentitel zu verleihen<sup>38</sup>. Ein weiterer deutlicher Beweis zu der besonderen Erhebung des Nebamuns seitens des Königs.

Die Szenen aus dem Grab des Nebamun<sup>39</sup> mit deren Inschrift erwähnen diesen Würdetitel. Eine Opferszene zeigt „Nebamun“, der zwei Gänse über zwei flache Handpfannen bringt, und stellt sie als Opfer zum Altar, der vor dem König Tuthmosis IV steht. Nebamun ist von seiner Tochter „*Iwj*“ und seiner Gemahlin

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<sup>31</sup> „the captain of infantry“

<sup>32</sup> N. de G. DAVIES, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis IV, Nos. 75 und 90, The Theban Tombs Series*, London 1923, p. 23.

<sup>33</sup> Das Emblem der Standarte besteht aus einem Steinbock mit einem Einzelwedel: R.-O. FAULKNER, „*Egyptian Military Standards*“, in: *JEA* 27, London 1941, pl. VI, fig. 22.

<sup>34</sup> N. de G. DAVIES, *Two Officials*, pl. 26 and p. 35f.

<sup>35</sup> Würdeträger: Oberhaupt der Seesoldaten, Marineoffizier; N. de G. DAVIES, op.cit, pl. 28, und p. 33.

<sup>36</sup> W. HELCK, „*Der Einfluß der Militärführer in der 18. Dynastie*“, *UGAÄ* 14, Hildesheim 1964, S. 17.

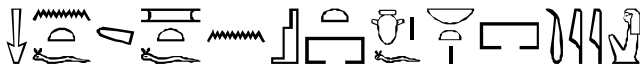
<sup>37</sup> N. de G. DAVIES, *Two Officials of Tuthmosis IV.*, Inscriptions of pl. 26 (west wall-south side 1) and p. 35.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 40.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, pl. XX: Hall, east-wall, north side (Scene 1).

„Tjj“ begleitet. „Tjj“ trägt zwei „menat-collars“, von denen einer (in ihr linken Hand, mit gebeugtem Arm über ihr Brust) den Namen des regierenden Königs trägt: „(Mn-*hprw-r*)“, der vollendete Gott, Herr der beiden Länder“. Ein Musikant nämlich ein Lautenspieler schreitet vor der Familie in einer viel kleineren Skala. Normalerweise, in anderen Fällen ist ein Musikant nicht vorhanden, was mir hinweist, dass es um eine besondere obere Sozialfamilie geht. Hinten folgen drei Söhne, die Opfertgaben bringen.

Der zugehörige Text in vertikalen Zeilen über den Figuren der Szene, lautet<sup>40</sup>:



*r-p<sup>c</sup>t h3tj-3 mnḥ n nb=f ḥsy n ntr nfr jry rdwy nb t3wy ḥr rswt mḥtt t3j-ḥw n [...]*

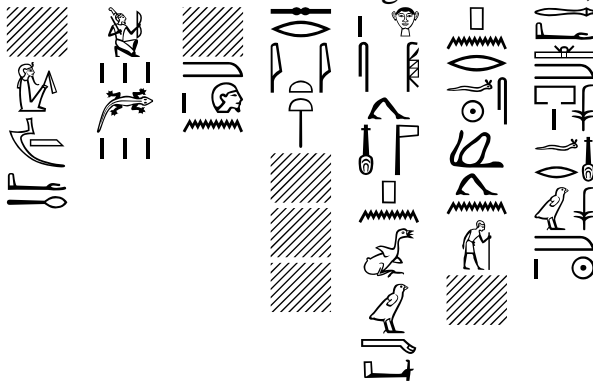
*snt=f mrjt=f n ist jb=f nbt pr Tjj*

„Opfertgaben, aller Arten von allen guten und reinen Dingen... an Amun-re ... , und an Ra-Harakhty, die täglich dem König Gesundheit verleihen, (gebracht) seitens des [Prinzregent (und Erbfürst) der Oberhaupt, anver]raut und tatkräftig für seinem Herr, der Gelobte seitens des guten Gottes, der den Herrn der beiden Ländern im Süden und Norden begleitet, der Standarte-Träger [des Schiffes Mary-Amun, Nebamun]. Seine geliebte Gemahlin, gethront in seinem Herz, die Herrin des Hauses<sup>41</sup> Ty.“ Aus dieser Inschrift erfolgt, dass „Nebamun“ militärische Ämter trug, nämlich „Oberhaut der Polizeitruppen in West-Theben“ und „Standarteträger der Schiffs-Mannschaft auf der königlichen Sonnenbarke“.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, pl. XX, Text: vertical-columns 5-9; and p. 24.

<sup>41</sup> Herrin des Hauses ist ein Ehrentitel

Eine weitere Szene lässt uns den hohen Beamten „Nebamun“ genauer betrachten<sup>42</sup>: Nebamun, seine Gemahlin (Ty) und ihre vier Töchter sind sitzend dargestellt. Gnade und Würde reflektiert sich anhand der Stellung der Figuren einerseits und durch die vielfältigen Einzelheiten der Szene andererseits. Die jüngere Tochter „Weret“ sitzt neben ihrer Mutter, während die ältere „Segrettawi“ vor ihr Vater „Nebamun“ sitzt. Diese Tochter ist in einer selbständigen Skala mit einer Krone über ihr Kopf wiedergegeben. Die Inschrift erdeutlicht ihre besondere geehrte Stellung seitens des Königs. Die Inschrift beschreibt sie als „Ornament des Königs, den er liebt, begehrte des guten Gottes, Segrettawi, ...“ Sie wird seitens einer ihrer jüngeren Geschwister bedient<sup>43</sup>. Reste dieser Szene erhält Spuren für eine Opferspeise, die der geehrten Tochter „Segrettawi“ seitens ihrer Familie vorgelegt wird. Die „Banquet“ Szene ist von Musikanten begleitet, nämlich ein Lautenspieler und eine tanzende Lautenspielerin. Die gehörende Inschrift dieser Szene steht in vertikale Zeilen über der ganzen Szene, die folgendes lautet:



$\text{ʕ3 m nsw pr nfr nsw m hrw pn r sf pḥ n i3w [...]} \\
\text{hr šmsw ntr nfr pn t3w sryt [... ... ...]} \\
\text{[...] gs tp n mšʕ ʕš3 Nb-Imn m3ʕ hrw}$

<sup>42</sup> N. de G. DAVIES, op.cit., pl. XXI: Hall, east-wall, north side (Scene 2).

<sup>43</sup> PM I, p. 184 (no. 6); DAVIES, *Two Officials*, p. 28f.

„Groß im Palast, der heute fröhlicher ist als gestern, und erreichte das hohe Alter<sup>44</sup> im Gefolge diesen guten Gottes, der Standartenträger des [*Mary-Amun*], [wirksame Dienst] an der Spitze von vielen Soldaten, Nebamun, der Gerechtfertigte.“

Daraus erfolgt, daß „Nebamun“ ebenfalls wie Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, leistungsfähig war und erreichte ein hohes Alter in der Gunst des Königs. Seine Gemalin (*Tjj*) trug den Ehrentitel (*Nb.t-pr*), während die Mutter des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu nämlich (*Jtw*) ebenfalls den Ehrentitel (*Nb.t-pr*) trug.

Beide „Nebamun“ und Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, sind in den Inschriften als (*r-p<sup>c</sup>t ḥ3tj-3*) beschrieben. Das heißt, daß beide an der Spitze der Hierarchie standen und gleich in der Stellung einen Prinzregent. Die beiden gehören zu den Höflingen des Königs, was den bürokratischen hohen Beamten überschreitet.

Eine einzige Szene behält noch die vollständige Inschrift, die das Amt des Nebamuns erdeutlicht, nämlich „Standartenträger des Schiffes *Mary-Amun*“<sup>45</sup>, während alle andere Szenen mit ihren Inschriften den Namen des königlichen Sonnenschiffs (*Mary-Amun*)<sup>46</sup> aufgrund der Beschädigungen verlieren. In dieser Szene überreicht der letzte Kommandant des königlichen Sonnenschiffes (*Mary-Amun*) dem Nebamun die Standarte des Amtes, deren Inschrift lautet:

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<sup>44</sup> DAVIES, op.cit, pl. XXVI erdeutlicht ebenfalls das hohe Alter des „Nebamun“, den er in der Gunst des Königs erreicht hat.

<sup>45</sup> N. de G. DAVIES, op.cit., pl. XXVI.

<sup>46</sup> *Mrj Jmn*: Geliebt von Amun.



*t3j srjtt Nb-Jmn dpw njswt Mrj Jmn*

„Nebamun, der Standartenträger des Königsschiffs (Mrj-Jmn)“

Hier muß ich bekannt geben, daß (*t3j srjtt*) scharf zu trennen ist von einem „Standartenträger“ und „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“.

(*t3j srjtt*) weist auf ein militärisches Amt nämlich Frontoffizier „Leiter des Königsschiffes“ (Oberhaupt der Seesoldaten), was eine besondere Standarte als Emblem des Amtes trägt.

Weitere Szene zeigt das Amt und die Stellung des Nebamuns deutlich dar. „Nebamun“ steht vor dem Thron-Kiosk des Königs, hält in der linken Hand eine Standarte, die aus dem normalen langen Stab besteht und endet oben an ihrer Spitze mit einer eigenartigen Emblem nämlich ein Schiff mit einem herausragendem halbkreisförmigen Fächer an einer Schiffsmitte<sup>47</sup>. Es handelt sich deutlich um sein Amt als „Standartenträger des königlichen Sonnen-Schiffes, *Mary-Amen*“. Mit derselben Hand hält „Nebamun“ eine Schnur, an der syrische Gefangene gefesselt sind. Mit der rechten Hand erreicht „Nebamun“ dem König einen Papyrusstrauß. R.O. Faulkner bestätigt, dass die Benennung (*srjt*) auf militärische und Marine Standarten beschränkt sind. Beide Standarten (*hw*) und (*srjt*) erscheinen gleich aus, sie bestehen nämlich aus einem halbkreisförmigen Fächer an dem oberen Ende einem langen Stab. Der Unterschied steht deutlich bei dem Determinativ der Benennung von (*srjt*), nämlich Holz oder Metall, während das Wort (*hw*) aus einer Straußenfeder besteht, um kühles Wind dem

<sup>47</sup> N. de G. DAVIES, op.cit., pl. XXVIII: Hall, west-wall, north-side (Scene 1); *PM* I, 1994, p. 185 (no. 9); R.-O. R.-O. FAULKNER, „*Egyptian Military Standards*“, in: *JEA* 27, pl. IV, fig. 8.

König zu zufächeln. Die Standarte (*srjt*) erscheint deswegen mit massiver roter Befärbung, da es aus festem Holz besteht<sup>48</sup>.

Man muß deutlich unterscheiden zwischen Figuren, die wirklich in den Szenen „Fächer“ tragen und eine begabte Persönlichkeit mit dem Ehrentitel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“<sup>49</sup>. Die Personen, die hinter dem König folgen und tragen Fächerstandarte waren niedere Bedienstete. Sie werden in der 18. Dynastie als (*hbsw bht n hm=f*) „Fächerträger seiner Majestät“ bezeichnet. Für diese Tätigkeit nahm man gern die besten der Gefangenen Neger oder Syrer, während der Rangtitel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ eine vom König verliehene Ehre zu einer besonderen Tüchtigkeit bedeutete. Die beiden letzten untersuchten Hofränge „Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu“ und „Nebamun“ sind niemals mit einem „Wedel“ in den Szenen dargestellt, obwohl beide den Ehrentitel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ tragen.

Die altägyptische Benennung zu unserem untersuchten Rangtitel „Wedelträger“ (*hw*) wurde im Neuen Reich mit einem Einzelstraußenfeder mit kurzem Griff widergegeben. Dieser Einzelstraußenfeder war ein wichtiger religiöses Symbol für „Sonnenschatten“ (*šwt-Rꜥw*)<sup>50</sup>. Diese Benennung „Sonnenschatten“ bedeutet nicht die Abschirmung der Sonnenstrahl bzw. „Schatten“, sondern „Reflexion“ und „Widerspiegelung“ der Sonnenstrahlen im Festhof<sup>51</sup> der Gedächtnistempel des Neuen Reiches. Der „Sonnenhof“ ist nämlich die Kultstätte des Atum-Re in seinem Aspekt als Schöpfer- und Urgott, in dem sich die göttliche Eigenschaft des „Strahlens“ manifestiert<sup>52</sup>. Im „Festhof“, indem ein Altar

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<sup>48</sup> R.-O. FAULKNER, „*Egyptian Military Standards*“, in: *JEA* 27, London 1941, p.13.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XXVII: Soldaten schreiten mit halbkreisförmigen Fächern zum königlichen Thron-Kiosk hin.

<sup>50</sup> H.-G. FISCHER, „*Fächer und Wedel*“, in: *LÄ* II, 1977, S. 81f., Fig. E.

<sup>51</sup> Festhof bedeutet der zweite offene Hof im Gedächtnistempel des Neuen Reiches: siehe El-Badrawy, S., *Die Tempelhöfe im Neuen Reich*, Diss, Hamburg 2005, S. 370f.

<sup>52</sup> R. STADELMANN, „*Šwt-Rꜥw als Kultstätte des Sonnengottes im Neuen Reich*“, *MDAIK* 25, S. 160f., Wiesbaden 1973.



befindlich ist, opfert der König dem Sonnengott „Atum-Re“, da der König die Kosmosordnung, dass früher seitens des Schöpfergottes Atum-Re geschaffen war, weiterführt. Hier fungiert der König deutlich als Stellvertreter des Urgottes Atum-Re, der den Lebenszyklus weiterführt. Der König führt die Kosmosordnung anhand seiner Verpflichtungen und Verantwortungen, die nur durch begabte und leistungsfähige Persönlichkeiten gelungen kann. Diese fähigen Persönlichkeiten waren die hohen Beamten, die wegen ihrer besonderen Begabtheit den Rangtitel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ verliehen worden. Sie übertrugen eine königliche Teilmacht, da sie an der Führung der Kosmosordnung teilnehmen. Rangtitel, in diesem Fall bedeutet begabte und vertraute Persönlichkeiten, die mit dem König zusammen eine kräftige und feste Gruppe bilden, um das Land bestens weiterzuführen und den ganzen Kosmosordnung anständig im Zyklus zu behalten. Das war die oberste Spitze des bürokratischen Aufbaus, Kopf des Landes und Schutz zur ganzen weltlichen Ordnung. „Regent“ ist nach dieser Vorstellung eine vielmehr glänzende und erhobene Stellung als man dachte, die bis zur Vergöttlichung reichen kann, wie z.B. der „Weise“ Amenophis Sohn des Hapu, der in Deir El-Bahari vergöttlicht worden war. Es sind Personen, die die Fähigkeit haben, einen deutlichen Fortschritt in der „Kultur“ bzw. „Leben“ bilden. Die „Regierung“ war für die alten Ägypter eine große Verantwortung, die nur besondere Persönlichkeiten erreichen dürften.

Eine dritte Untersuchung zum Rangtitel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ läuft anhand einer Untersuchung zum Rangtitelträger der „Militärbeamter“ Haremheb, der später am Ende der 18. Dynastie, nach der Regierungszeit des Tutanchamun den Thron besteigt. „Haremheb“ beginnt seine Karriere als „Militärbeamter“ nämlich Offizier während der

Regierungszeit des Königs Thutmosis IV<sup>53</sup>, was Haremhab in seinem Grab in Theben TT 78 erwähnt. Die Blickpunktszenen im Grab zeigen seine Berufsausübungen des Haremheb, nämlich Militärszenen, Verwaltung und Tribute der Fremdvölker<sup>54</sup>. Der Titel (*sš njswt sš nfrw*) weist auf dem Beginn seiner Karriere während der Regierungszeit des Thutmosis IV als „Rekrutenschreiber“<sup>55</sup>. Es ist wichtig zu erwähnen, daß dieselbe Inschrift Haremheb als „Vertrauten seines Herrn“ und „Begleiter des Herrn der beiden Länder“ nennt, nämlich: *jn mh-jb mnḥ n nb.f jrj rdwy n nb t3wy*, bedeutet „*Seitens des vorzüglichen Vertrauten seines Herrn, des Begleiters des Herrn der beiden Länder*“<sup>56</sup>. Daraus erfolgt, dass der Ehrentitel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ nicht nur die Leistungsfähigkeit verlangt aber auch die anständige, taugliche und vertrauensvolle Persönlichkeit.

Haremheb war unter Echnaton (Amenophis IV.) Befehlshaber einer Truppe (*jmj-r3-mšꜥ n nb t3wy P3-jtn-m-ḥb m3ꜥ ḥrw*) befördert. Das unvollendete Grab des Haremheb in Tell el-Amarna (Nr. 24) erwähnt ihm weitere Amttitel: „königliche Schreiber“ (*sš njswt*) und „Leiter der Bauarbeiten in „Akhetaten“ (*jmj-r3 k3wt m 3ḥt jtn P3-jtn-m-ḥb m3ꜥ ḥrw*)<sup>57</sup>, auch erscheint der Titel „Oberdomänenverwalter des Königs“ (*jmj-r3- pr nb t3wy*)<sup>58</sup>. Haremheb wurde unter Tutanchamun zum Oberbefehlshaber (*jmj-r3-mšꜥ-wr*) und zum Regenten (*r-pꜥt jdnw n njswt*)<sup>59</sup> mit

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<sup>53</sup> *ntr nfr (Mn-ḥprw-Rꜥw)* und *s3-Rꜥ (Dḥwtj-msw ḥꜥ-ḥꜥw) mrjJmn-Rꜥ* : ANNELIES/A. BRACK, *Das Grab des Haremheb, Theben Nr. 78, AV 35*, Mainz 1980, S. 32 Abb. 14, senkrechte Zeile c.

<sup>54</sup> ANNELIES/BRACK, op.cit, S. 18, Königsszenen 1.4.1.1.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, S. 23, Abb.3 (Text 1), 6te-7te vertikale Zeile (stark beschädigt); S. 32, Abb. 15 (Text 14), erste vertikale Zeile.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, S. 23, Abb.3 (Text 1), vertikale Zeilen 4-5; S. 41, Abb. 23 (Text 22), 2-te vertikale Zeile.

<sup>57</sup> G. DARESSY, *Tombeaux et Stèles - Limites de Hagi Qandil - in : RecTrav 15*, Paris 1893, p. 45, 2<sup>te</sup>-4<sup>te</sup> vertikale Zeile.

<sup>58</sup> N. de G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, V, ASE 17, London 1908, pl. 13, 3<sup>rd</sup> vertical column.

<sup>59</sup> (*jdnw n nswt*) bedeutet Stellvertreter des Königs: *Wb I*, 1926, S. 154, 4 - 6.

außergewöhnlichen Vollmachten berufen. Er stand auch über die Wesire, die die Zivilregierung repräsentierten<sup>60</sup>. Der Titel (*r-p<sup>c</sup>t*) erhebt den bürokratischen hohen Beamten zum Kreis der Höflinge und sogar eine Stufe höher zum Regenten. Hier, in diesem Fall erkennt man die volle Bedeutung eines Titels (*r-p<sup>c</sup>t*). Es bedeutet das „Vertreten des Königs bei der Rechtsprechung“, und „Vertreten des Königs in den Feldzügen“, da er ursprünglich ein militärisches Amt trug nämlich „Generalissimus des Heeres“ während der Regierungszeit des Tutanchamun und zuletzt hat er den Thron bestiegen trotz seiner einfachen Abstammung. Der Titel (*r-p<sup>c</sup>t*) enthält auch die Bedeutung eines „Stellvertretener Leiter“, der über die Wesire, die die Zivilregierung repräsentierten, stand. Hier steigt ein hoher Beamter anhand seiner besonderen Begabtheit und Leistungsfähigkeit zu der Stellung eines königlichen Prinzen. Das bekannteste seiner Regierung ist die Erstellung seines Edikts<sup>61</sup> zur staatlichen Neuordnung. Die Eltern des Haremhebs sind nicht in seiner Biographie erwähnt, da sie nicht einmal mit Namen genannt sind, so kann man feststellen, daß sie nicht der Beamtschaft angehörten. Seine Gemahlin war (*Ndmt--Mwt*) eine Tochter des Eje.

Der Rangtitel (*r-p<sup>c</sup>t*) und (*t3j hw n wnmj n njswt*) sind belegt durch die Schreiberfiguren des Haremhebs (Taf. 2), und in den Szenen seines Grabes in Saqqara, dessen Reliefs in den Museen der ganzen Welt<sup>62</sup> verstreut sind. Die Titel des Haremheb erscheinen auf einem Türfragment im Louvre C 69/70, lauten<sup>63</sup>:

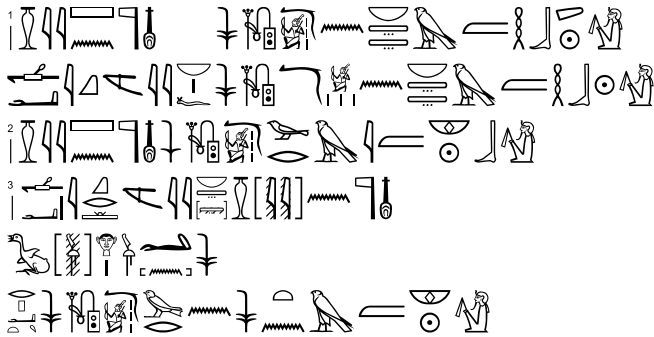
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<sup>60</sup> J. v. BECKERATH, „Haremheb“, in: *LÄ II*, 1977, S. 962f.

<sup>61</sup> Erlaß, große Stele mit seinem Edikt am 10. Pylon in Karnak.

<sup>62</sup> Leiden, Wien, Berlin, Louvre, Brooklyn, Bologna, und Kairo.

<sup>63</sup> Urk IV, 2088, Titel auf Türfragmenten (Louvre C 69/70), Zeile 13-19: aus seinem Memphisiten Grab; R. HARI, *Horemheb et la Reine Moutmedjmet*, Genève 1964, pl. I, II a.



1. *ḥsjj mrj n ntr nfr sš nsw jmj-r3 mšꜥ n nb t3wy Ḥrw m ḥb  
wꜥ jkr mrj nb=f sš nsw jmj-r3 mšꜥ n nb t3wy Ḥrw m ḥb*
2. *ḥsjj mrj n ntr nfr sš nsw jmj-r3 mšꜥ wr Ḥrj m ḥb*
3. *wꜥ jkr mrj nb t3wy ḥsjj n ntr nfr  
t3y ḥw ḥr wnmj n njswt  
r-pꜥt sš njswt jmj-r3 mšꜥ wr n njswt Ḥrw-m-ḥb*

1. „Gelobter und Geliebter des guten Gottes, königliche Schreiber, Oberbefehlshaber des Heeres des Herrn<sup>64</sup> der beiden Länder Haremheb. Einzig Tüchtiger, Geliebter seines Herrn der beiden Länder, Haremheb“.

2. „Gelobter und Geliebter des guten Gottes, königliche Schreiber, Generalissimus Haremheb“.

3. „Einzig Tüchtiger, Geliebter des Herrn der beiden Länder, Gelobter des guten Gottes, Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs, (*r-pꜥt*), königliche Schreiber, Generalissimus des Königs, Haremheb“<sup>65</sup>.

Die Berufung Haremhebs zum „Oberdomänenverwalter“ (*jmj-r3 pr wr*) und zum „Oberbefehlshaber des Heeres“ (*jmj-r3 mšꜥ wr*) hatte Haremheb eine Macht in die Hand gegeben, wie sie innerhalb der 18. Dynastie noch kein Mann außerhalb der königlichen Familie gehabt hatte. Er war zum tatsächlichen Stellvertreter des Königs geworden mit dem Titel (*r-pꜥt*), die den Regenten bezeichnet. Haremheb führte die Regierung für den

<sup>64</sup> König Tutanchamun

<sup>65</sup> W. HELCK, *Urk. IV, Übersetzungen zu den Heften 17-22*, Berlin 1961, S. 393.

unmündigen König Tutanchamun, ohne selbst aus dem Königshaus zu stammen. Eine wichtige Rolle des Haremhebs als Regenten wird anhand eines Inschrifts bewiesen, nämlich:

„*r-p<sup>t</sup>, ḥ3ty-3, Generalissimus, Zunge des Königs, die im ganzen Land zufrieden stellt, Hr-m-ḥb*. Das heißt, das Vertreten des Königs bei der Rechtsprechung“<sup>66</sup>.

Eine Türleibung aus dem Grab des Haremheb in Saqqara zeigt den Grabinhaber in betende Haltung, mit dem Wedel an seinem Rücken befestigt (Taf. 2). Der Obere Teil der Paneele nennen eine Reihe von Amts-, Rang- und Ehrentitel des Haremheb: 1. (*r-p<sup>t</sup> jm-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> wr n t3wj*), 2. (*sš nsw sš nfrw t3j ḥw ḥr wnmj n njswt*) .... (*jmj m jb n Hr-w m<sup>c</sup>ḥ.f* ...) 3. (...*jmj-r3 k3t* ...) <sup>67</sup>, 6. (...*r-p<sup>t</sup> ḥ3ty-3 sd3wtj-bjtj smr-w<sup>c</sup>tj*.... *t3j ḥw ḥr wnmj n njswt* .....)<sup>68</sup>.

Haremheb diente eine lange Zeit im königlichen Hofe, beginnend mit der Regierungszeit des Echnatons, folgt Tutanchamun und Eje, dann Haremheb selbst zum Thron. Er zeigte besondere Ehre an Wissenschaft und Literatur, deswegen auch die besondere Ehre des Schreibergotts „Thot“. Haremheb, als König stellte sich gerne in Schreiberform dar. Seine Statue in Schreibergestalt im Ptahtempel in Saqqara beweist seine Bescheidenheit (Taf. 3). Seine Klugheit und Urteilsfähigkeit lassen ihn die richtige Entscheidung zu nehmen, indem er eine Ruhezeit mit dem hethitischen König entschließen hat, um die erschütterte innere Ordnung im Land wie auch das verlorene militärische Ansehen Ägyptens in Vorderasien wiederherzustellen. Seine Gnade und Barmherzigkeit erkennt man, indem er die Syrier und Kanaaniten, die durch die Angriffe der Hethiter verhungert sind, ein friedliches Leben in Ägypten zugesichert hat. Haremheb leistete eine Reihe von Denkmälern sowie ein Projekt von Wiederaufbau der zerstörten Bauten während der Amarnazeit.

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid, S. 393, Abschnitt: 2089 (Fragment aus dem memphitischen Grab des Haremheb, Kairo).

<sup>67</sup> I.-E.S. EDWARDS, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., British Museum*, part 8, BM 1939, pl. 27, no. 550, cols. 1-3.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, pl. 27, no. 552, col.: 6.

Eje bestieg den Thron nach dem Tod des jungen Königs Tutenchamun, obwohl er nicht blutsmäßig mit der königlichen Familie verbunden war. Da er über seine Familie vollkommen schweigt und seine Eltern nicht einmal mit Namen nennt, so darf man sicher erwähnen, dass Eje nicht aus einer Familie stammte, die der Beamtschaft angehörte. Die Hinweise zu Eje sind gering, um deutlich seine Lebenskarriere betrachten zu können. Sein Name erschien während der Regierungszeit des Königs Amenophis III. Eine Inschrift auf einem Kästchen in Berlin Museum Nr. 17555 nannte ihn „Frontoffizier“<sup>69</sup>. In El-Amarna während der Regierungszeit des Echnaton tritt Eje im königlichen Hof als „Befehlshaber der Streitwagentruppe“. Seine Gattin Teje war die „große Amme“ der Königin Nofretete, was ihm gelang in das Amt eines Kavalleriegenerals eingesetzt zu werden. Eje trug noch ein hervorgehobener Titel nämlich „Gottesvater“ (*jtj-ntr*), was eine verwandtschaftliche Verbindung zum König hinweisen lässt<sup>70</sup>. Über Ejers Tätigkeit und Einfluss unter Echnaton sagen weder er selbst noch irgendwelche Dokumente etwas aus. Nach dem Tode Echnatons verschwanden alle Großen. Eje war der einzige, der unter Tutanchamun wieder in seiner alten Stellung auftaucht. Man kann gut verstehen, dass Staat und Dynastie auf den guten Willen der Militärführer angewiesen war. Das Grab des Eje in Memphis erwähnt die folgenden Titel:

(*t3j-hw hr wnmj njswt*)<sup>71</sup>= „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“; (*jtj-ntr*)<sup>72</sup>= „Gottesvater“; (*sš-njswt jmj mrj=f*)<sup>73</sup>=

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<sup>69</sup> H.-W. HELCK, *Der Einfluß der Militärführer in der 18. Dynastie*, UGAÄ 14, Hildesheim 1964, S. 73; Die Frontoffiziere wurden nach Beendigung ihres Dienstes an der Front nicht nur in Posten der königlichen Begleitung, sondern auch in zivile Verwaltungsstellen am Hofe und in der Vermögensverwaltung des Königs versetzt.

<sup>70</sup> J. v. BECHERATH, „Eje“, in: *LÄ I*, 1975, S. 1211.

<sup>71</sup> N. de G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, VI, ASE 18, London 1908, pl. XXXI, cols. 4-5 (vertical lines, right and left).

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, pl. XXXI, col. 6 (vertical lines).

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, pl. XXXI, col. 5 (vertical lines).

„königliche Schreiber, beliebt von ihm“ und (*jmj-r3 ssmw*) = „Befehlshaber der Pferdegespann“<sup>74</sup>.

Während der Regierungszeit des jungen Tutenchamuns berief Eje die Stellung des Wesirs (*t3tj*), um Staatsgeschäfte zu leiten und die alte Amuns-Religion zu restaurieren. Die Inschriften beweisen dass Eje der Oberhaupt der königlichen Gefolge und im Hofe des Königs gealtert war, nämlich: (*...jw=j m-h3t smsw=f, smsw njswt tpj t3wy šmsw nb hm=f*)<sup>75</sup>, bedeutet „... ich bin an der Spitze seiner Höflinge, die Ältesten des Königs (die Höflinge), die über den beiden Ländern sind, und alle Geleit seiner Majestät.“ Diese Inschrift erdeutlicht genau die Stellung des Eje im königlichen Palast, nämlich stand er an der Spitze der Höflinge, was uns andeutet, dass er ebenfalls im königlichen Hof gealtert war. Nach dem Tod des Tutenchamuns bestieg Eje selbst den Thron, den er etwa 4 Jahre innehatte.

In diesem Fall kann man merken, dass Eje den Thron - trotz er den Titel des Regenten (*r-p<sup>c</sup>t h3tj-3*) nicht trug - bestieg. Eje gelang ihm den Thron zu besteigen, da er an der Spitze der Höflinge stand und das Amt eines Wesirs geführt hat.

Mehrere Inschriften aus dem Grab des Eje in El-Amarna erwähnen diesen Ehrentitel<sup>76</sup> und seine Amtstitel:

„Der Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs, der Befehlshaber aller Streitwagentruppen des Herrn der beiden Länder, geliebter königlicher Sekretär, der Gottesvater, ein Tüchtiger, ein Erfolgreicher, der dem „Ka“ seiner Majestät nachfolgt. Ich bin einer, der seine Vollkommenheit schauen durfte, wenn er in seinem Palast erschien, denn ich stand an der Spitze der Beamten und Höflinge, der erste Mann des Königs in seinem ganzen Gefolge. Ich bin der Erste der Großen und an der Spitze des Volkes. Ich bezeuge euch die Beweise der Gunst des Königs“<sup>77</sup>.

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<sup>74</sup> G. DARESSY, « *Tombeaux et Stèles-Limites de Hagi-Qndil* », in : *Rec.Trav.* XV, Paris 1893, p. 45f.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, p. 47, col.10; N. de G. DAVIES, *El-Amarna* VI, pl. XXXII, col. 4 ; pl. XXV, col. 12.

<sup>76</sup> *Urk.* IV, Heft 22, 1997- 2002, Nr. 756.

<sup>77</sup> H.-A. SCHLÖGL, *Echnaton – Tutanchamun*, 4. Aufl., Wiesbaden 1993, S. 124f.

In der Amarnazeit, im Grab des *Meryra II* (Grab Nr. 2) erscheint Echnaton und Nofretete im Erscheinungsfenster bei der Verleihung des Ehrengoldes an leistungsfähigen Beamten<sup>78</sup>. Dabei erscheinen Personen aus dem Hofstaat mit Wedel. Diese Art von Darstellungen gehört nicht zu dieser Untersuchung, da der Artikel über den Ehrentitel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ spricht und nicht um Personen, die in Begleitung des Königs einen Wedel tragen. Hier muss man einen deutlichen Unterschied sehen.

### **Ergebnisse:**

1. Der Titel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ ist eine Ehrenbezeichnung, die der König für besondere Leistungen von hohen Beamten verlieh. Diese Beamten könnten Verwaltungsbeamten wie Wesire, Schatzhausmeister und Oberdomänenverwalter sein, sowohl militärische Oberbefehlshaber und Königssohn von Kusch.

2. Die Verleihung dieses Titels verlangt außer den besonderen Leistungen des Amtes auch die taugliche Persönlichkeit. Wissen, Kenntnisse und Leistungsfähigkeit waren wichtige Voraussetzungen zu diesem Ehrentitel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“. Sie begannen ihren Lebenskarriere als „Rekrutenschreiber“ und lassen sich gerne in Schreiberform darstellen oder in betende Haltung.

3. Die Träger diesen Ehrentitels waren Vertrauensvolle Persönlichkeiten, haben Lebenslang im königlichen Hofe gedient, haben einen hohen Alter erreicht, und bildeten dabei persönliche Beziehung zum König.

4. Die Träger dieses Ehrentitels waren von der Bürokratie-Apparat zu einer besonderen Hofklasse hervorgehoben. Sie überschreiten sogar die Hofklasse und bilden ihre oberen Spitze. Sie standen als Leiter der königlichen Höflinge (*smsw*), was die Ältesten des Palastes bedeutet hat<sup>79</sup>.

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<sup>78</sup> N. de G. DAVIES, *El-Amarna*, II, pl. 33.

<sup>79</sup> *smsw* = Ältester, der Älteste, die Ältesten, Kronprinz: *Wb IV*, 1971, S. 142, 10, 16.



5. „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ waren diejenigen, die die Beamten auf ihre Plätze stellten.
6. Die Eltern eines Titelträgers „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ müssen nicht zu der geachteten Bürokratie gehören, da Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu sein Vater und Eje seine Eltern in ihren Biographien nicht erwähnen.
7. Der Titelträger begann meistens seine Lebenskarriere als königliche „Rekrutenschreiber“ (*sš njswt sš nfrw*), danach folgten mehrere geachtete Verantwortungen, die ihm der König aufgrund seiner Leistungsfähigkeit und Zuverlässigkeit beriefen hat. Diese waren vor allem „Schatzhausvorsteher“ (*jmj-r3 pr ḥd*), „Obervermögensverwalter des Königs“ (*jmj-r3 pr wr*), „Vezire“ und „Vorsteher aller Bauarbeiten des Königs“ (*jm-r3 k3t sš njswt*), „Oberbefehlshaber der Truppen“ (*jmj-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> wr*), auch „Siegelträger des Königs“ (*sd3wtj bjtj*). Manchmal auch „Prinzenerzieher“ und „Gottesväter“<sup>80</sup>.
8. Seit Thutmosis IV. erhält jeder Vizekönig von Kush diesen Titel und wird damit eine besondere Hofklasse eingestuft.
9. Er spielte eine besondere Rolle während des *Sed*-festes des Königs.
10. Es handelt sich nicht um ein militärisches Amt, sondern ein Ehrentitel aufgrund besondere Leistungen und Zuverlässigkeit.
11. In den meisten Fällen trugen die Personen mit dem Titel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ einen weiteren Titel nämlich (*r-p<sup>c</sup>t ḥ3tj-<sup>c</sup>3*), was nur den Prinzregenten betrifft. Daraus erfolgt, dass die meisten Titelträger „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ die Spitze der Bürokratie und sogar die Spitze der Höflinge überschreiten und stehen Parallel zu den Prinzregenten. Er trug eine enge persönliche Beziehung zum König.
12. Der „Wedel“ war ein einzelner Straußenfeder mit kurzem Griff, oder „Fächer“ mit mehreren Straußenfedern an einem langen Griff. Dieser Wedel gehört im Neuen Reich zur

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<sup>80</sup> Eine vollständige Übersicht zu den Amtstitel und Ehrentitel: H.-W. HELCK, *Verwaltung, Probleme der Ägyptologie*, 3, S. 441ff.

Begleitung des Königs bei seinem Erscheinen in der Öffentlichkeit. Diese Darstellungen brauchen eine weitere Untersuchung, da man deutlich unterscheiden muss zwischen Träger des „Ehrentitels“, die an der Spitze der Höflinge standen und die Königskorte, die als Diener oder Soldaten wirklich in den Darstellungen einen „Wedel“ oder „Fächer“ in Begleitung des Königs getragen haben.

13. Ein „Wedel“ oder „Fächer“ mit Straußfedern symbolisiert die Bedeutung des „Sonnen-Schattens“ nämlich (*šwt-rʿw*), was eine wichtige Eigenschaft des Königs wiedergibt als Nachfolger des Schöpfergottes „*Atum*“. Der Träger des Ehrentitels „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ stand als Emblemträger des (*šwt-rʿw*), was ihm die Führung des Staates genauso wie der Prinzregent legitim stellt, trotz er nicht aus der königlichen Familie stammt, wie als Beispiel „Eje“.

14. Seit der Amarnazeit gehört der Zeremonialwedel fest zur Ausstattung der Prinzessinnen, Hofdamen und Hofstaates. Es handelt sich hier um die Symbolik des „Wedels“ zum Sonnengott „*Atum-Re*“ und zum König als Erbe des Gottes.

15. Dieser Ehrentitel beginnt während der Regierungszeit der Königin Hatschepsut zu erscheinen und erreicht den Höhepunkt im Laufe der 18. Dynastie. In der 19. und 20. Dynastie verliert der Ehrentitel teilweise seine Voraussetzungen.

16. Der Träger des Ehrentitels „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ hält in Königsdarstellungen keinen Wedel in seiner Hand. Diejenigen, die in den Darstellungen dem König mit einem „Wedel“ begleitet haben, waren Soldaten oder einfache Diener (Taf. 4).

17. Haremheb erschien in einigen Darstellungen aus seinem Grab in Memphis mit dem Wedel an seinem Rücken befestigt (Taf. 2). Eje erschien manchmal in seinem Grab in El-Amarna während seines Gebets mit dem Wedel in seiner linken Hand zusammen mit einem Krummstab und Beil<sup>81</sup>. Merkbar ist, dass Eje seine

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<sup>81</sup> N. de G. DAVIES, *El-Amarna*, VI, pls. XXXIX, XXXI.

Insignien während seiner Gebete hält, aber keinmal vor dem König.

18. Der Rangtitel „Einzige Freund des Königs“ (*smr w<sup>c</sup>tj*) wurde im Neuen Reich als Zeichen der Aufnahme unter die Höflinge mit Eintrittserlaubnis in den Palast erwähnt. Dieser Rangtitel war einer der Eigenschaften eines „Wedelträgers zur Rechten des Königs“.

19. Die Träger dieser Ehrentitel stammen ursprünglich aus unterschiedlichen Sozialklassen.

20. Da meistens der Ehrentitel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ mit dem Ehrentitel (*r-p<sup>c</sup>t*) verbunden war, so hat der Träger dieser beiden Titel die Gunst des Königs-Vertretens bei der Rechtsprechung, Zunge des Königs, der im ganzen Land zufrieden stellt.

21. (*t3j srjyt*) ist scharf zu trennen von einem „Standartenträger“ und „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“. Es handelt sich hier um ein bestimmtes Emblem eines militärischen Amtes, nämlich ein Frontoffizier als Oberhaupt der Seesoldaten „Leiter des Königsschiffes“.

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ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen
BM	British Museum
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
CG/Cat.Gèn.	Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptienne du Musée du Caire, Caire
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
UGÄÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, Hildesheim
Urk	Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, Berlin
Wb	Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, 6 Bde, Berlin-Leipzig, 1957.

**Bildverzeichnis:**

**Taf. 1:** Der gealterte Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, Grauer Granit, Neues Reich, 18. Dynastie, gefunden von Legrain nördlich des 7. Pylons in Karnak, Zeit Amenophis III, 1403-1365 v. Chr. Seine Hände liegen in der Haltung eines Betenden ausgestreckt auf den Oberschenkeln.

Das Ägyptische Museum, Kairo, Erdgeschoss, Saal 12, CG 42127. Grauer Granit, gefunden nördlich des 7. Pylons in Karnak. Zeit Amenophis III, 1403-1365 v. Chr.

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**Taf. 2:** Türleibung aus Kalkstein, Grab des Haremheb in Saqqara: Darstellung in Tiefrelief stellt Haremheb in betende Haltung dar mit dem „Wedel“ an seinem Rücken befestigt, was auf seinem Ehrentitel „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ hinweist. Regierungszeit Tutenchamun.

I.-E.S. EDWARDS, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., British Museum*, Part VIII, BM 1939, pl. 27, no. 552.

**Taf. 3:** Der Generalissimus Haremheb in Schreiberform, Grauer Granit, aus dem Ptah-Tempel in Memphis, 1358-1350 v. Chr. Die Darstellung eines Generalissimus in der begehrten Schreiberform weist auf die wichtige Voraussetzung des Ehrentitels „Wedelträger zur Rechten des Königs“ nämlich „Wissen“ und „Kenntnisse“.

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**Taf. 4:** Im Kiosk thront der König Thutmosis IV. Er sitzt auf einem mit reicher Einlegearbeit dekorierten Thronstuhl mit hoher Rückenlehne und mit Löwenfüßen. Vor dem König stehen zwei Wedelträger auf dem Thronsockel, sie sind teilweise von der Kiosksäule verdeckt, tragen in ihrer Rechten je einen hohen Wedel und bringen mit der Linken das Königsszepter (*ḥk3*). Vor dem Thron steht der Grabinhaber Haremheb auf einer weißen Estrade mit schräger Rampe. Er überreicht dem König einen riesigen Papyrusstabstrauß, nämlich das „Amunbouquet“.

ANNELIES/A. BRACK, *Das Grab des Haremheb*, *Theben Nr. 78*, AV 35, Mainz 1980, Taf. 86 und 6d.



**Taf.1:** Der gealterte Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu in betende Haltung. Ägyptisches Museum, Kairo, Erdgeschoss, Saal 12, CG 42127

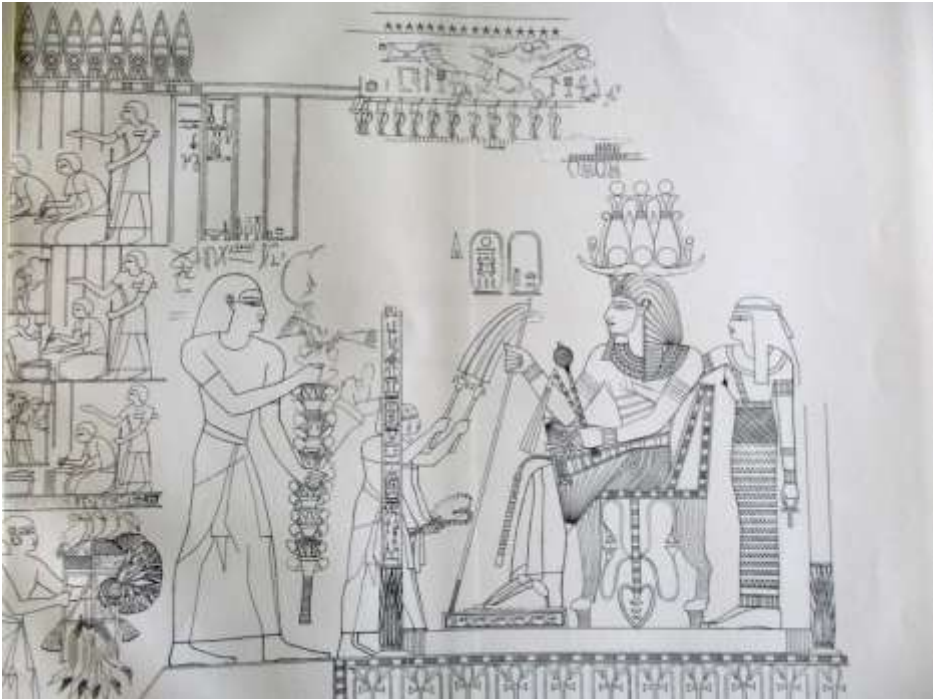




**Taf. 2:** Türleibung aus dem Grab des Haremheb in Saqqara. I.-E.S. EDWARDS, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, & etc.*, in: *BM*, part 8, BM 1939, pl. 27, no. 552



Taf. 3: Der Generalissimus Haremheb in Schreiberform; Grauer Granit; aus dem Ptah-Tempel in Memphis, 1358-1350 v. Chr.  
H.-E. WINLOCK, *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes*, MMA, New York 1937, no. 19



Taf. 4: Das Grab des Haremheb; Theben Nr. 78; Sheikh Abd El-Qurna; Querhalle südliche West-Wand. ANNELIES/A. BRACK, AV 35, Taf. 86

## حامل الريشة الملكية على يمين الملك في الأسرة الثامنة عشر

د. سحر سمير البدر اوي\*

يقوم هذا البحث على إجراء دراسة تحليلية للقب حامل الريشة الملكية على يمين الملك من خلال دراسة للسيرة الذاتية لأهم الأشخاص الذين منحوا هذا اللقب. وقد قامت الدراسة على الأشخاص الآتية:

(١) الوزير/ أمنوفيس ابن حابو

(٢) رئيس الشرطة/ نب آمون

(٣) رئيس الجيش/ حور محب

(٤) رئيس المركبات/ أي

تقوم هذه الدراسة على ستة محاور:

**المحور الأول -** استطلاع لنوعية الوظائف التي تقلدها حاملي اللقب. فهل

كان اللقب ينحصر في وظائف عسكرية أو دينية أو إدارية؟

**المحور الثاني -** هل كانت الوظيفة العليا هي المعيار الوحيد لمنح صاحب

هذه الوظيفة اللقب الرفيع، أم كانت هناك قدرات شخصية

يجب تواجدها مع الوظيفة؟

**المحور الثالث -** هل كان صاحب اللقب ينتمي إلى أسرة تعمل في النظام

البيروقراطي للدولة؟

للإجابة على هذا التساؤل استوجب البحث إلى التطرق إلى وظائف أهلية حامل اللقب.

**المحور الرابع -** التعرف على الطبقة الاجتماعية لصاحب اللقب من خلال

تتبع مظاهر الرقي في مناظر مقابر أصحاب اللقب.

**المحور الخامس -** إبراز السلطات والصلاحيات لحامل اللقب وعلاقته

المباشرة بالملك.

اختلفت معايير هذا اللقب خلال الأسرة التاسعة عشر والعشرون، لذلك ينحصر

البحث على دراسة اللقب في الأسرة الثامنة عشر.

**المحور السادس -** اظهر المعنى الديني و السياسي للريشة الملكية و حامل

اللقب.



*Le Génie Nb-Sgr "Seigneur du silence"*  
**et les dieux qui portent le titre *nb-sgr***  
**dans les lieux saints**

**Dr.salwa kamel\***

**Conclusions:**

*Nb-Sgr "Seigneur du silence"* est un génie-gardien du monde infernal, Il joue un rôle tutélaire dans l'Égypte entière, car il était "*le maître du silence, qui éloigne le désordre, qui chasse la turbulence d'Égypte (sur lequel on compte pour chasse le secret d'Égypte)*".

Il garde le soleil comme un être astral, ayant une étoile au-dessus de sa tête dans la douzième heure du jour dans le Livre du jour et de la nuit qui représente la voûte céleste sous la forme d'une déesse dénommée Nout qui recouvrait de son corps le monde habité. Ses jambes étaient placées à l'orient, sa bouche représentait "l'horizon occidental" endroit où disparaissait le soleil couchant.

Les documents qui présentent les génies de *Pharbaïthos* ont en commun le thème de la résurrection d'un particulier ou d'Osiris:-

- Les cuves de *Pharbaïthos* et le sarcophage CG. 29305(C<sup>1</sup>)

On voit le génie n° XVIII en forme de momie à tête humaine, coiffée de la couronne blanche et tenant le sceptre *w3s* à deux mains.

- Les représentations des soixante-dix-sept dieux d'*Horbeit* qui vient d'être signalé à *Dendara*, c'est-à-dire la figuration symbolique de l'édifice sacré à travers les figures mythiques des génies, il semble que les faucons y aient été déposés pendant 70 jours, ce qui expliquerait le nom égyptien, chambre des 70. Sur

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une des parois figurent la grande majorité des 77 génies avec leur nom abrègé et sans représentation iconographique. La disposition des cases contenant les noms des divinités de *Chedenou* évoque d'une manière frappante la répartition des figures sur l'encadrement de la porte du temple de Sokaris de *Dendara*.

- La présence de certains génies de *Pharbaïthos* dans la tombe de Pétosiris à *Touna el-Gebel*, il figure sous forme d'une momie d'Osiris avec un manteau drapé d'où sortent les mains tenant le même sceptre *w3s*.

- Le haut des parois de la chapelle de Sokaris à *Edfou* est décoré de deux petits registres sur lesquels fourmillent les entités protectrices: gardes d'Asebet et gardiens des portes sur la paroi ouest, les 77 de *Pharbaïthos* sur les parois est et nord, un bandeau définit leur rôle; celui des 77 est, bien sûr, décrit uniquement sur les parois est et nord où ils sont représentés.

- La deuxième chapelle orientale située sur le toit du temple d'Hathor, de chaque côté du toit du temple, se trouve un triple ensemble comprenant une cour, une chapelle intermédiaire, et enfin une pièce dans laquelle se déroulaient les actes essentiels des mystères. Il est donc normal que les 77 de *Pharbaïthos*, dévolus à la garde d'Osiris, y soient représentés.

Le silence était un impératif dans les lieux saints, surtout osiriens; les dieux d'*Horbeit*, selon les textes-programmes des cuves des taureaux sacrés de *Pharbaethos*, avaient mission de faire observer cette consigne de silence dans les endroits sous leur surveillance.

L'interdit musical est le plus souvent en relation avec Osiris – ou tout autre dieu mort, il semblait vraisemblable «que ce silence rituel, au voisinage du tombeau d'Osiris, devait s'observer en tout lieu d'Égypte où reposait une relique du dieu défunt, comme aussi sur le territoire de toute butte sainte où étaient ensevelis les dieux initiaux témoins des premiers temps du monde».

Dans la littérature égyptienne du Moyen Empire, du Paysan éloquent dénonce en effet de manière éclatante l'usage perverti d'un discours d'ordre et de justice par les tenants du pouvoir qui usent de faux-semblants pour couvrir leurs abus, Cet ordre se disparaisse sur un interdit religieux bien attesté en Égypte ancienne, selon lequel il convenait de ne pas élever la voix dans les lieux consacrés aux dieux, et particulièrement à Osiris.

### **Introduction:**

L'inscription de *nb-sgr* a été comprise qu'un parallélisme étroit existait entre le vocale lui-même et les épithètes terminant: d'un côté le *silence*, et d'autre le *trouble*, le *tumulte*, donc le *bruit*<sup>1</sup>.

Le titre *nb-sgr* se compose de:-

L'adjectif *nb* qui signifie *seigneur*, a l'implication du propriétaire du possesseur, qui montre la protection d'une divinité dans le temple, les sanctuaires et les villes ainsi que les qualités et les émotions, par exemple la force et la joie<sup>2</sup>. Le verbe *sgr* qui signifie "*pour faire taire*", le mot signifie "*silence*", causal de *gr* "*être silencieux*" qui est rarement utilisé à Edfou: dans la Chambre de Sokar, les dieux de la nécropole *di* "*donner silence*", où le silence est assimilé à la mort. Dans les rituels de protection, les dieux sont faits au calme avec la commande de Geb que *hrw pfy n* ce jour-là du silence (le jour du jugement de Horus et Seth)<sup>3</sup>.

### ***Mr.s-gr:***

Ce nom signifie "*elle aime le silence*" apparaisse dans l'onomastique dès le Moyen Empire, hors de Thèbes, il n'est pas prouvé qu'il ait désigné une entité divine constituée avant le

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<sup>1</sup>E.Jelinkova-Reymond, "*Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-Her-le-Sauveur*" Bibliothèque d'étude 23 (1956), p.10, n°1.

H.Goedicke, "*Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*", Chr.d'Eg. 90 (1970), 25

<sup>2</sup> *Wb* II, 227 (5) – 230 (14); *WPL*, 501.

<sup>3</sup> *Wb*IV, 323-234; *WPL*, 945-946.

Nouvel Empire<sup>4</sup>. Les manifestations de son culte s'expriment principalement à l'époque ramesside, dans le cadre de la communauté de Deir el-Médineh et des chantiers de celle –ci dans les vallées des Rois et des Reines, à ce titre, elle reçoit des épithètes: dame de l'Occident, la grande déesse de la Nécropole<sup>5</sup>.

 **Nb-Sgr** "*Seigneur du silence*" ou "*Le Silencieux*" est aussi un des génies-gardiens du monde infernal<sup>6</sup>.

**Nb-Sgr** est un génie sous forme de momie du groupe des soixante-dix-sept dieux d'*Horbeit*, et sa coiffure et ses attributs, il prend la forme d'une statuette gainée, dressée sur un socle rectangulaire et coiffée d'une couronne blanche à uraeus<sup>7</sup>. Son cou est muni d'un collier-*menat* dont le pendentif retombe dans le dos, et son sceptre, tenu par les mains sortant du maillot, alliant un *w3s* et un *ʿnh* posés sur un *dd*. C'est une momie barbue couronnée de l'*atef*, posée sur un socle rectangulaire de petite taille<sup>8</sup>.

Le corps est enveloppé d'un manteau drapé d'où sortent les mains tenant le même sceptre<sup>9</sup>, donne la couleur verte aux chairs des mains et du visage<sup>10</sup>. Il prend la forme d'un homme criocéphale à *Dendera*<sup>11</sup>, une momie barbue dressée sur un socle et coiffée ici d'une couronne *tni* au lieu de l'*atef*<sup>12</sup>.

### Les fonctions de **Nb-Sgr** :-

-Il joue un rôle tutélaire dans l'Égypte entière, car il était:

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<sup>4</sup>LGG, III, 343.

<sup>5</sup>D.Valbelle, "*Meresger*", LÄ IV, 79.

<sup>6</sup>J.CL.Goyon, "[Les Dieux-gardiens et la genèse des temples : d'après les textes égyptiens de l'époque gréco-romaine](#)", Bibliothèque d'étude 93 (1985), 284.

<sup>7</sup>LGG, III, 343.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 284; LGG, III, 343.

<sup>9</sup>G. Lefebvre, [Le Tombeau de Petosiris ; \[éd.\] Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte](#), Bibliothèque générale 29, I, (2007),153.

<sup>10</sup>*Edfou* I, pl. XXIX b, gauche (4) = *Edfou* XI, pl. CCLXXXV, haut (1), 2° à partir de la droite.

<sup>11</sup>*Dendera* II, pl. LXXXVIII droite, bas (21-23).

<sup>12</sup>*Dendera* II, pl. LXXXVIII droite, rangée 2, 46-47.





parvenues des compositions d'ensemble, de vrais livres, qui exposent ces idées<sup>18</sup>.

-Les génies de *Pharbaïthos* - émanations d'*Horus merty* – sont chargés à l'origine de protéger Rê, puis, sur l'ordre de ce dernier, de veiller sur la résurrection d'Osiris.

Les documents qui présentent les génies de *Pharbaïthos* ont en commun le thème de la résurrection d'un particulier ou d'Osiris; ils proviennent aussi bien du Delta que de Moyenne ou de Haute Égypte<sup>19</sup>:-

1-Les cuves de *Pharbaïthos* et le sarcophage CG. 29305(C<sup>1</sup>):

Liste et procession des dieux-gardien<sup>20</sup> ont été gravés sur l'extérieur de la cuve rectangulaire en granit gris du second sarcophage d'un *mr mš<sup>c</sup>* et sacerdote memphite, qui fut, entre autres, prophète d'Osiris, vers le début de la période ptolémaïque<sup>21</sup>. (Fig.2a)

Ce prêtre et officier avait nom *dd-ḥr*; fils du *mr mš<sup>c</sup> iḥms*, sa mère était la dame *b3t-iy-ti*. Sur la paroi extérieure ouest, la bande supérieure est occupée par le bref texte programme relatif aux soixante-dix-sept<sup>22</sup>. On voit le génie n° XVIII en forme de momie à tête humaine, coiffée de la couronne blanche et tenant le sceptre *w3s* à deux mains<sup>23</sup>. (Fig.2 b-c)

2-Une paroi d'un petit édifice d'Athribis, la chambre des 70:-

Les représentations des soixante-dix-sept dieux d'*Horbeit*<sup>24</sup> qui vient d'être signalé à *Dendara*, c'est-à-dire la figuration symbolique de l'édifice sacré à travers les figures mythiques des génies, trouvent une bonne illustration dans un ensemble

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<sup>18</sup> A. Rusch, *Die Entwicklung der Himmelsgöttin Nut zu einer Totengottheit*, 1922, p. 13.

<sup>19</sup> S.Cauville, "À propos des 77 génies de *Pharbaïthos*", BIFAO 90 (1990), p. 115.

<sup>20</sup> Cauville, *Ibid.*, p.116.

<sup>21</sup> CG. 29305, 209, pl.XXI.

<sup>22</sup> Goyon, *op.cit.*, 244, fig. 39.

<sup>23</sup> LGG, III , 742.

<sup>24</sup> Vernus, *op.cit.*, 136.

d'éléments architecturaux conservés au Musée du Caire, trois panneaux furent taillés sous la XXX<sup>e</sup> (Fig.3a-b), il semble que les faucons y aient été déposés pendant 70 jours, ce qui expliquerait le nom égyptien, chambre des 70. Sur une des parois figurent la grande majorité des 77 génies avec leur nom abrégé et sans représentation iconographique<sup>25</sup>. La disposition des cases contenant les noms des divinités de *Chedenou* évoque d'une manière frappante la répartition des figures sur l'encadrement de la porte du temple de Sokaris de *Dendara*<sup>26</sup>.

### 3-La tombe de Pétoisiris à Touna el-Gebel:-

La présence de certains génies de *Pharbaïthos*<sup>27</sup> dans la tombe de Pétoisiris à *Touna el-Gebel*<sup>28</sup>, les six premiers génies sont placés au sommet des piliers et les autres repartis sur les piliers A et B de la tombe; ils figurent deux par deux sur quatre registres qui se lisent de haut en bas, le corps est enveloppé d'un manteau drapé d'où sortent les mains tenant le même sceptre<sup>29</sup>. (Fig.4 a-b)

### 4-Edfou:-

Le haut des parois de la chapelle de Sokaris à *Edfou* est décoré de deux petits registres sur lesquels fourmillent les entités protectrices<sup>30</sup>: gardes d'Asebet et gardiens des portes sur la paroi ouest, les 77 de *Pharbaïthos* sur les parois est et nord<sup>31</sup>.

Au-dessus de ces personnages, un bandeau définit leur rôle; celui des 77 est, bien sûr, décrit uniquement sur les parois est et nord où ils sont représentés<sup>32</sup>. (Fig. 5a-b)

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<sup>25</sup> Cauville, *op.cit.*, p.121.

<sup>26</sup> Goyon, *op.cit.*, 228, fig. 34.

<sup>27</sup> Cauville, *op.cit.*, 122.

<sup>28</sup> Goyon, *op.cit.*, 250.

<sup>29</sup> Lefebvre, *Petosiris*, II, 84.

<sup>30</sup> Cauville, *op.cit.*, 123.

<sup>31</sup> Goyon, *op.cit.*, 221.

<sup>32</sup> *Edfou* XI, pl. CCLXXXV, haut (1), 2° à partir de la droite.

## 5-La chapelle de Sokaris à *Dendera*:-

Par la troupe des petits dieux qui encadrent sa porte, la façade de la chapelle de Sokaris est tout à fait originale. Les trois premières étant séparées par la porte selon la disposition indiquée par le croquis A, il faut commencer par le montant de porte droit, divisé de bas en haut en trois rangées, continuer par l'autre montant, semblablement divisé, et finir par le linteau supérieur reparté en deux rangées<sup>33</sup>, l'ordre ainsi obtenu est celui-là même des premières versions (croquis B)<sup>34</sup>.(Figs. 6-8)

## 6- La deuxième chapelle orientale située sur le toit du temple d'Hathor

De chaque côté du toit du temple, se trouve un triple ensemble comprenant une cour, une chapelle intermédiaire, et enfin une pièce dans laquelle se déroulaient les actes essentiels des mystères. Il est donc normal que les 77 de *Pharbaïthos*, dévolus à la garde d'Osiris, y soient représentés.

L'ordre des génies suit, à quelques variations près, celui de l'encadrement extérieur de la chapelle de Sokaris; le croquis suivant indique la manière dont ils sont disposés au deuxième registre<sup>35</sup>. (Fig. 9a-b)

*Nb-sgr shpr sgr m Pr.Šnt3yt dsr st m Pr-krs(w)-Wsir- rdi .n.f st.f r r3 n pr-sgr.n.f r3 mdw:itw-ntr, hry-sšt3, w<sup>c</sup>b, mi[... ..].f, dd m r3 m Ht-nbw[... ..]it-ntr <sup>c</sup>k[... ..].*

*Nebseger: Maître-du-silence, qui impose le silence dans le Sanctuaire-de-Chentayt, dont la place est sacrée dans le Sanctuaire-où-est-enseveli-Osiris(=Dendara)-il prend place à la porte du sanctuaire, il fait taire la bouche qui parle : "Pères divins, prophètes, myste, prêtre, venez [... ..], à la parole*

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<sup>33</sup> Goyon, *op.cit.*, 258.

<sup>34</sup> Cauville, *op.cit.*, 124.

<sup>35</sup> Cauville, *op.cit.*, 127.

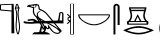
*assurée dans le Temple d'or [... ..]père divin qui entrez[... ..  
...]*<sup>36</sup>.

Le "*Maître-du-silence*", *Nb-sgr*, est défini par le texte de *Khoiak* comme le gardien "accroupi sur ses jambes (*sndm hr rdwy.fy*), une main posée sur la bouche, l'autre sur ses jambes"<sup>37</sup>.

### Les dieux qui portent le titre *nb-sgr*

#### - Le dieu Rê

Le dieu Rê avec son voyage nocturne est le seigneur du silence dans l'espace caché"<sup>38</sup>,  *nbt sgr m ʿt imn.t*.

 dieu grand, maître du silence, où le dieu préside à la troisième butte *ibt* de la *Douat* est nommé *nb-sgr*, après quatre lignes de texte, la vignette commence avec deux personnages momiformes à tête humaine, ce sont les grands gardiens de la porte de l'autre monde, derrière eux quatre serpents sortent de leur repaire.

Dans les chapitres 149 et 150 du Livre des Morts, les buttes de l'Au-delà, les quatre régions *ibt* rappellent tout naturellement les quatorze ou quinze qui sont figurées Naville considère les quatre serpents comme représentant les quatre points cardinaux<sup>39</sup>. (Figs. 10-11)

Le défunt veut pouvoir en sortir; il ne veut pas se contenter de la vie de ceux qui ne sont éveillés qu'au court passage du soleil, il veut pouvoir chaque jour, comme le soleil, rentrer sur terre et y courir à son gré, là où les morts ordinaires doivent s'arrêter, lui passe, car il est un auxiliaire indispensable du soleil<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> *Dendara X*, 99. pl. 92.

<sup>37</sup> *Dendara X*, 89, 38-39 Chassinat, *Khoiak II*, 623.

<sup>38</sup> *Urk.* VI, 93 (17-18) Louvre 3129.

<sup>39</sup> P.Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts*, Paris 1967, 214.

<sup>40</sup> G.Nagel, "*Un papyrus funéraire de la fin du Nouvel Empire [Louvre 3292 (inv.)]*", BIFAO 29 (1929), 75ff.



épithètes qui ne sont jusqu'alors attestées ainsi associées que sur un bloc de soubassement en granit<sup>44</sup>.



L'élément faisait partie d'une procession géographique mentionnant la personnification féminine *Nb-t-'Iyt* de l'*Abaton osirien létopolite*. Dans le propos attribué à *Nbt-Iyt* intervient *Hr m3<sup>c</sup> hrw nb sgr* en tant que protecteur d'Osiris à qui il dit: «tu es triomphant, tes ennemis sont tombés et les dieux seigneurs du silence (*ntrw nbw sgr*) sont ta protection éternellement»<sup>45</sup>.

### Les lieux saints où le silence était un impératif:

Les localités et les noms peuvent également faire l'objet de personnification. Il existait en tout temps de l'époque historique la possibilité de la création d'une telle personnification lors de la rencontre d'une localité particulière en façon humain.

Le silence était un impératif dans les lieux saints, surtout osiriens; les dieux d'*Horbeit*, selon les textes-programmes des cuves des taureaux sacrés de Pharbaethos, avaient mission de faire observer cette consigne de silence dans les endroits sous leur surveillance<sup>46</sup>.

"Les *b3w* magistraux (*wrw*) qui sont dans le *Khenou-Nekhen*, les troupes qui accompagnent Osiris, le grand équipage du Domaine-du-dieu, qui font régner le silence dans *Areq-Heh*, qui écoutent le décret divin émis dans la *Douat*, qui ne cessent d'accomplir ce qu'il dit dans leur nome"<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Retrouvé dans les années 1900, remployé dans la mosquée du village de *Kafr Sidi Moussa* appartenant au site d'*Ausim*.

<sup>45</sup> V.I. Chrysikopoulos – J.Goyon, "Un témoin inédit des œuvres pieuses de l'empereur Tibère à Létopolis de Basse-Égypte", *CdE* 84 (2009), 131.

<sup>46</sup> A.Gutbub, "[Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo](#)", Bibliothèque d'Étude ; 47, 1973, p. 172ff.

<sup>47</sup> Goyon, *op.cit.*, 220.

L'interdit musical est le plus souvent en relation avec Osiris<sup>48</sup> – ou tout autre dieu mort, il semblait vraisemblable «*que ce silence rituel, au voisinage du tombeau d'Osiris*<sup>49</sup>, *devait s'observer en tout lieu d'Égypte où reposait une relique du dieu défunt, comme aussi sur le territoire de toute butte sainte où étaient ensevelis les dieux initiaux témoins des premiers temps du monde*»<sup>50</sup>.

*di sgr*; selon ce texte, ce seraient donc les 77 d'*Horbeit* qui auraient eu mission de faire respecter l'interdit des *Abatons osiriens* musique et bruit, le dieu étant, par excellence, le *nb sgr* "seigneur du silence"<sup>51</sup>.

L'une des invalidations les plus pressantes consistait à chasser de ce lieu sacré toute musique ou tout bruit qui pût évoquer quelque cérémonie joyeuse ou quelque partie de plaisir: le corps du "dieu qui aime le silence" devait reposer en toute quiétude, loin de la trouble qui était l'indication de la vie, sans que rien d'extérieur ne vînt troubler la calme de son tombeau<sup>52</sup>.

Il a également montré pour quelle raison la trompette<sup>53</sup> était prohibée à Busiris, mais il ne s'agit que d'un seul des instruments de musique incriminés.

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<sup>48</sup>S.Emerit, "À propos de l'origine des interdits musicaux dans l'Égypte ancienne", BIFAO 102 (2002), p. 189-210.

<sup>49</sup> S. Sauneron, Esna III, Le Caire, 1968, p. 14, n° 197, 24 -26.

<sup>50</sup>H.Junker, "[Das Götterdekret über das Abaton](#)", (DAW, Wien 56, 1913), p. 21-22.

<sup>51</sup> *Dendara II*, 158 (10) ; E.Chassinat, *Les mystères d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, II (1968), p. 623ff.

<sup>52</sup> S.Sauneron, "L'Abaton de la champagne d'Esna", MDAIK 16 (1958), 171.

<sup>53</sup> S.Sauneron, "Remarques de philologie et d'étymologie (§ 36-45)", BIFAO 64 (1966), 12-4§ 38.



- Décret divin de l'Abaton de Philae<sup>54</sup>:



*Il est interdit de battre du tambour-sh(r) et de chanter-ḥs accompagné de la harpe-bynt ou de la flûte-wdnyt (r tm rdi shi sh(r) ḥsi n bynt wdnyt)<sup>55</sup>.*

-Le deuxième texte est inscrit sur une colonne de la salle hypostyle du temple d'Esna:



*"Faire la grande offrande de toute bonne chose, chanter par les chanteurs masculins de ce temple; face à ce dieu, jusqu'à ce que la 4<sup>o</sup> heure de la nuit soit en cours. Mais ne pas chanter en s'accompagnant sur la harpe, ni battre le tambour, ni lancer de sonneries de trompettes dans l'enceinte de sa butte"<sup>56</sup>.*

- Kôm Ombo 597, 5-6<sup>57</sup>:



Le troisième texte relatif à un interdit musical est issu de l'un des calendriers des fêtes du temple double de Kôm Ombo. Dédié à Sobek-Re et consacré aux fêtes de la nécropole et du mammisi, il

<sup>54</sup> J. Yoyotte, P. C.Harvet, S. Gompertz, Strabon. Le voyage en Égypte, Paris 1997, p. 260 - 261.

<sup>55</sup> H.Junker, *Abaton*, 21-22.

<sup>56</sup> S. Sauneron, *Esna III*, Le Caire, 1968, p. 14, n° 197, 24 -26 ; H.Junker, *Abaton* 25-26.

<sup>57</sup> J. DE Morgan, Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique, 1<sup>ère</sup> série, t. 3, Kôm Ombos II, Vienne, 1909, p. 53; Fr. Daumas, Mammisis, p. 240-241; A. Gutbub, Kôm Ombo, p. 335, n. m); A. Grimm, Festkalender, p. 92-95; S. El-Sabban, Temple Festival Calendars of Ancient Egypt, Trowbridge, 2000, p. 157, pl. 33.

est inscrit sur le soubassement de la partie droite de la salle des «apparitions», paroi oust.

*Quatrième mois de la saison peret, jour 10 : après la huitième heure, sortie en procession de Tasetneferet-Hathor et de Panebtaoui. Ne pas saisir la trompette- nb. Ne pas chanter-ḥs(t).*

Cette description semble correspondre à *Hry-mꜣt* le dieu de tombes de la vallée des reines a-t-il subi une mutation pour devenir le maître du silence.

*Nb-sgr*, lieu où le silence était depuis toujours recommandé<sup>58</sup>.

Les deux génies *Nb-sgr* et *Hry-mꜣt* sont deux protecteurs d'Osiris dans son tombeau<sup>59</sup>.

Sur la stèle Chicago OI 8798<sup>60</sup>,

Le Grand Prêtre d'Amun dans *Djeser-Djeseru, Senenu*; il dit: *Si l'on se transforme [Parce que jusqu'à la justesse et le silence, mon âme est appelée à partager la nourriture dans le domaine] des Roseaux*<sup>61</sup>. (Fig.12)

### **Dans la littérature égyptienne du Moyen Empire:-**

L'enseignement pour *mrj kꜣ Rꜥ* fournit certainement l'une des évocations les plus explicites du rôle de la rhétorique dans la vie politique en Égypte ancienne<sup>62</sup>.

Au Moyen Empire, le Conte de l'Oasien (ou du Paysan éloquent) dénonce en effet de manière éclatante l'usage perverti d'un discours d'ordre et de justice par les tenants du pouvoir qui usent

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<sup>58</sup> A.Gutbub, Théologie de Kom Ombo I, 172.

<sup>59</sup> *Urk.* VI, 93, 17 et 99, 20.

<sup>60</sup> *LGG*, III, 743.

<sup>61</sup> E.Brovarski, "Senenu, High Priest of Amun at Deir El-Bahari", *JEA* 62 (1976), p. 59, pl.11.

<sup>62</sup> Ph. Derchain, «Éloquence et politique. L'opinion d'Akhtoy», *RdE* 40, 1989, p. 37 -47; édition du texte: J.Fr. Quack, *Studien zur Lehre für Merikarem*, GOFIV/23, Wiesbaden, 1992.

de faux-semblants pour couvrir leurs abus<sup>63</sup>. Dès le début du récit, cette pratique est mise en évidence à travers le personnage de *nm-tj nht*. Alors qu'il vient de déposséder le paysan de son bien<sup>64</sup>, il fait taire ses pleurées en disant<sup>65</sup>:

*m k3 hrw.k shtj*

*N'élève pas la voix, paysan!*

*mk tw r dmj n nb sgr*

*Vois, tu approches du domaine du Seigneur du Silence!*

Cet ordre se disparaisse sur un interdit religieux bien attesté en Égypte ancienne, selon lequel il convenait de ne pas élever la voix dans les lieux consacrés aux dieux, et particulièrement à Osiris<sup>66</sup>. Cet interdit fait l'objet ici d'un détournement délibéré, car *nm-tj nht* en fait un argument pour réduire au silence celui qu'il a spolié. Cet épisode initial est emblématique à plusieurs titres. En premier lieu, l'allusion au «Seigneur du silence» annonce la confrontation du paysan avec le grand intendant le juge *rn.sj*<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>63</sup> *Papyrus Chester Beatty IV*, v° 2,5 - 3,11 (trad. dans P. Grandet, *Contes de l'Égypte ancienne*, Paris, 1998, p. 161-162 et p.187), et les analyses de J. Assmann, «*Gibt es eine «Klassik» in der ägyptischen Literaturgeschichte? Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der Ramessidenzeit*», *ZDMG Suppl.*6, 1985, p. 35 -52.

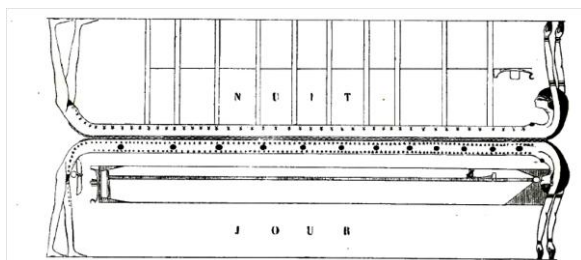
<sup>64</sup> R.B. Parkinson, «*Teachings, Discourses and Tales from the Middle Kingdom*», in S. Quirke (éd.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, New Malden, 1991, p. 105-122.

<sup>65</sup> [Oasien B1 57-58].

<sup>66</sup> A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo*, BdE 47, Le Caire (1973), p. 172-174. P.J. Frandsen, «*On the Avoidance of Certain Forms of Loud Voices and Access to the Sacred*», in W. Clarysse, *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies Quaegebeur*, OLA 85 Louvain, 1998, p. 975-1000. Voir aussi H.De Meuleunaere, in O. Firchow, *Ägyptologische Studien*. Fs. Grapow, Berlin, 1955, p. 228-229; Y. Koenig, *Le papyrus Boulaq 6*, BdE 87, Le Caire, 1981, p. 102-103, n. (i); J.-Cl. Goyon, *op.cit.*, 93; Cf. P. Vernus, *op.cit.*, p. 40 et n. 18 -19.

<sup>67</sup> L.Coulon, «*La rhétorique et ses fictions. Pouvoirs et duplicité du discours à travers la littérature égyptienne du Moyen et du Nouvel Empire*», BIFAO 99 (1999), p. 103,105.

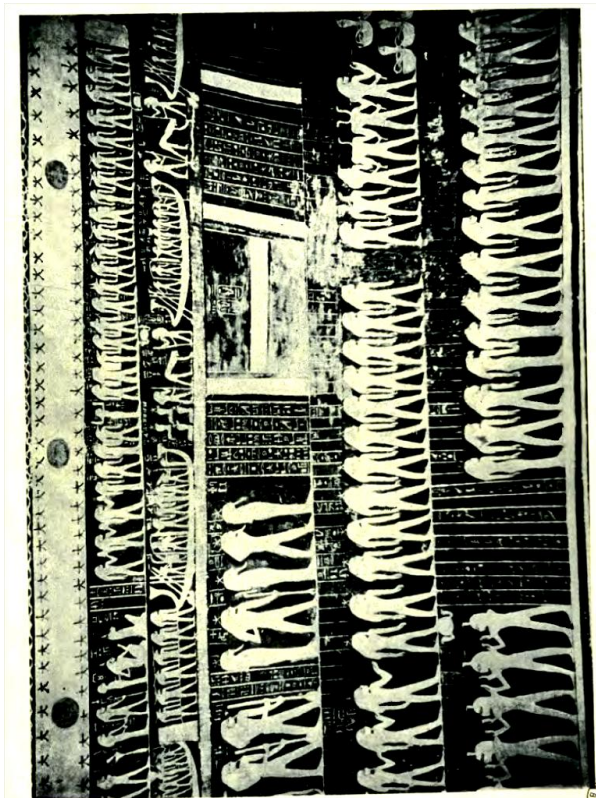
## Planches



**Fig.1 a**

Le Livre du jour et de la Nuit dans la salle du Sarcophage de Ramsés VI.

A. Piankoff, "Le Livre du jour et de la nuit", p.II.



**Fig.1b.**

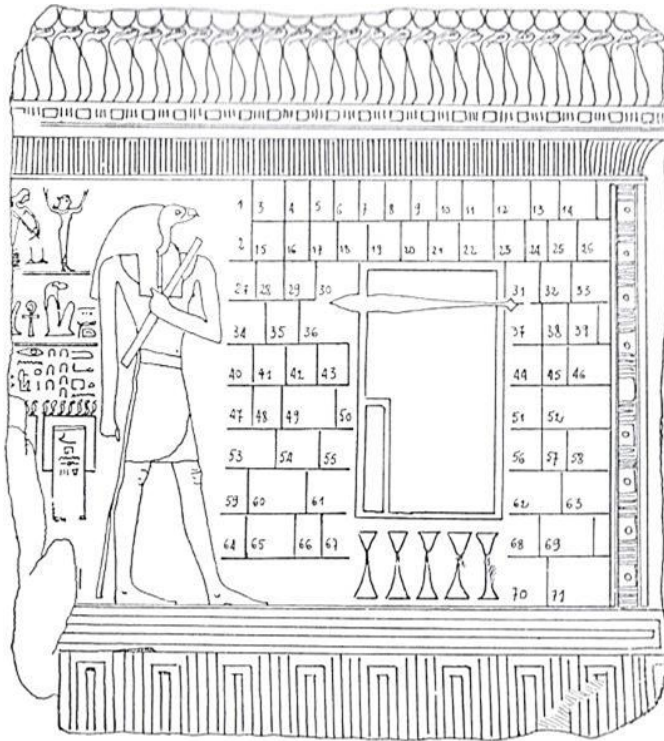
A. Piankoff, *Ibid.*, pl. II.



Désignation	Ordre n°	PH. 86718	PH. 86717	CG. 29305	ATHRIBIS	EDFOU	D. 1	D. 2
<i>Nb Sgr</i>	18	///	—	—	—	—	—	—

**Fig.2 c**

Tableau pour indiquer l'ordre de génie *Nb-Sgr*  
 Sur le sarcophage CG. 29305(C<sup>1</sup>)  
 d'après S.Cauville.



**Fig.3a**

Une paroi d'un petit édifice d'Athribise Nb-Sgr  
 la chambre des 70.

Goyon, Dieux-Gardiens., 228, fig. 34.

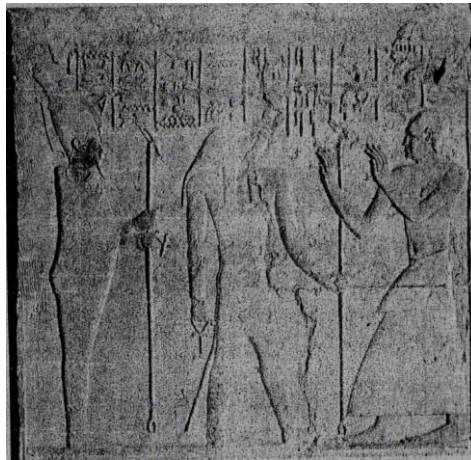


1	2	3	4	5	6	8	7	9	10	11	12	13						
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	22	23	24	25	26	27						
28	29	30	31	[Large empty rectangular area with a smaller nested rectangle on the left side]							52	53	54					
32	22	33	55								56	57						
34	35	20	37								58	59	60					
38	39	40	41								61	62						
42	43	44	63								64	65						
45	46	47	66								67							
48	49	50	51								68	69						
											70	71						

**Fig.3b**

Tableau pour indiquer l'ordre de génie *Nb-Sgr*  
la chambre des 70.

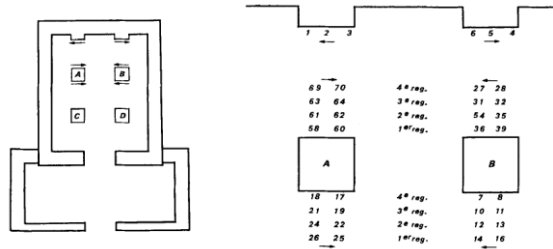
d'après Cauville, *77 génies de Pharbaïthos*, p.121.



**Fig.4a**

La tombe de Pétosiris à Touna el-Gebel

Lefebvre, *Petosiris*, II, 84.



**Fig.4b**

Plan et tableau pour indiquer la position de génie *Nb-Sgr*

Cauville, *op.cit.*, 122.



**Fig. 5a**

*Edfou XI*, pl. CCLXXXV, haut (1), 2<sup>e</sup> à partir de la droite.

paroi nord		paroi est	
40	→ 17	16	→ 1
<i>sauf 32</i>			
+ 1 anonyme	→ 56	55	→ 41

**Fig. 5b**

Tableau pour indiquer la position de génie *Nb-Sgr*

Cauville, *op.cit.*, 123.



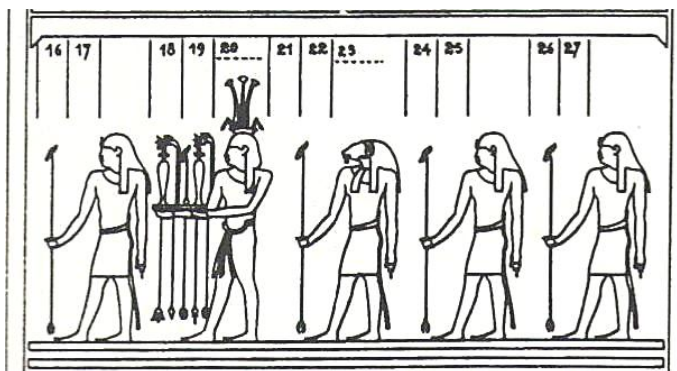


Fig.6

Dendera II, pl. LXXXVIII droite, bas (21-23).

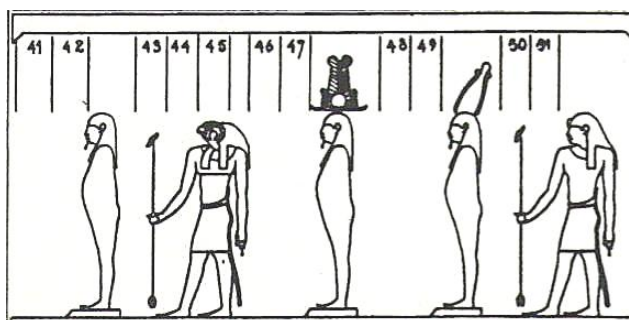


Fig.7

Dendera II, pl. LXXXVIII droite, rangée 2, 46-47.

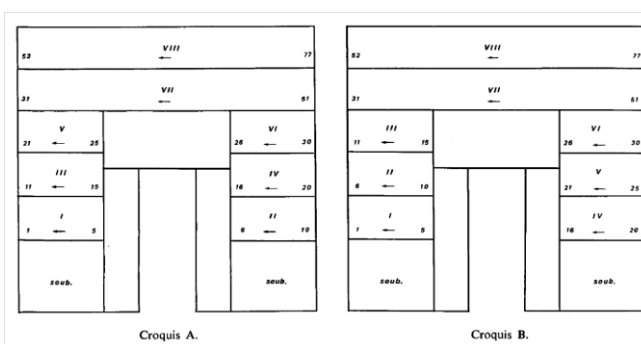
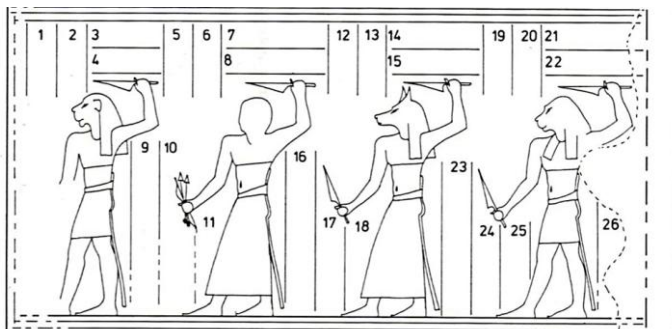


Fig.8

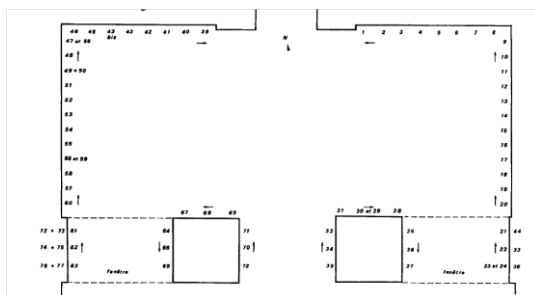
Tableau pour indiquer la position de génie Nb-Sgr

Cauville, *op.cit.*, 124.



**Fig.9a**

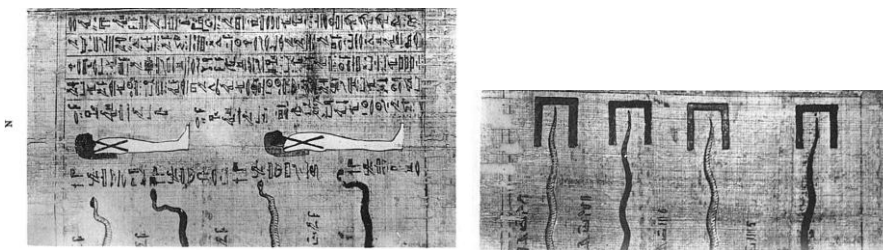
Dendara X, 89



**Fig.9b**

Tableau pour indiquer la position de génie Nb-Sgr

Cauville, *op.cit.*, 126.



**Fig.10**

G.Nagel, "Un papyrus funéraire [Louvre 3292 (inv.)], pl.V-VI.

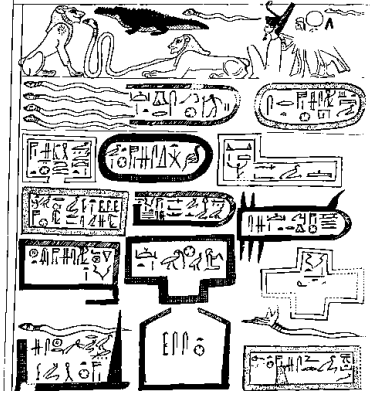


Fig. 11

Chapitres 149-150.

P.Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts*, 214.

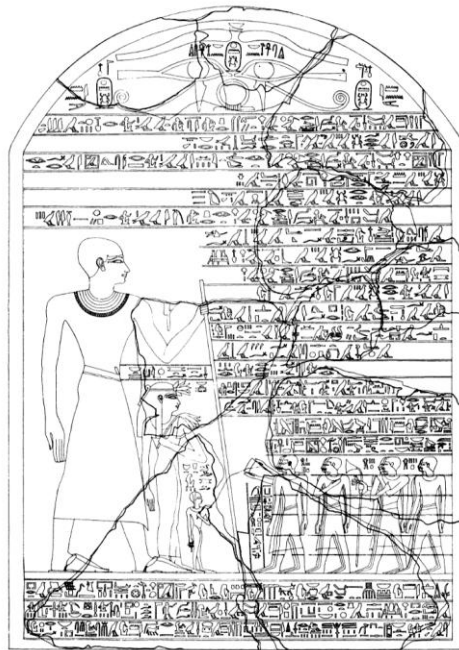


Fig.12

E.Brovovski, "*Senenu, High Priest of Amu*", pl.11A.

## الحامى (المعبود) نب - سجر

" سيد السكون والمعبودات التى حملت لقب نب - سجر فى الاماكن المقدسة "

د.سلوى احمد كامل\*

### الملخص :

يعتبر "نب - سجر" واحد من الحراس الحاميين فى العالم السفلى، كان له دوراً حارساً فى مصر كلها لأنه كان "سيد الصمت أو السكون ويطلق عليه الصامت أو الساكن ، والذي يبعد الفوضى، و يدفع الاضطراب بعيداً عنها.

من وظائفه إنه كان يحرس الشمس ضمن مجموعة تتكون من اثنى عشر حارساً فى الساعة الثانية عشرة فى كتاب النهار والليل، يوجد العديد من الوثائق التى تمثل نب-سجر ضمن مجموعة ال ٧٧ حارس والذي يحمل رقم ١٨: التابوت الذى يحمل رقم CG 29305 و حجرة السبعين فى اتريب وفى مقبرة بتوزوريس فى تونة الجبل ومقصورة سوكر فى معبد ادفو وأيضاً فى المقاصير الاوزيرية بمعبد دندرة.

كان الصمت بالأمر فى الأماكن المقدسة وخاصة الأوزيرية، وتحريم الموسيقى أيضاً وكذلك العزف على الطبله والهارب والناى فى الاماكن التى بها أى بقايا مدفونة للجسد الأوزيرى.

فى الأدب المصرى من عصر الدولة الوسطى، يدين "الفلاح الفصيح" الواقع بشكل واضح من أجل التعبير عن العدالة، يظهر هذا الأمر بالمنع المؤكد فى مصر القديمة بعدم رفع الصوت فى الأماكن المكرسة للمعبودات وخاصة أوزيريس.

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