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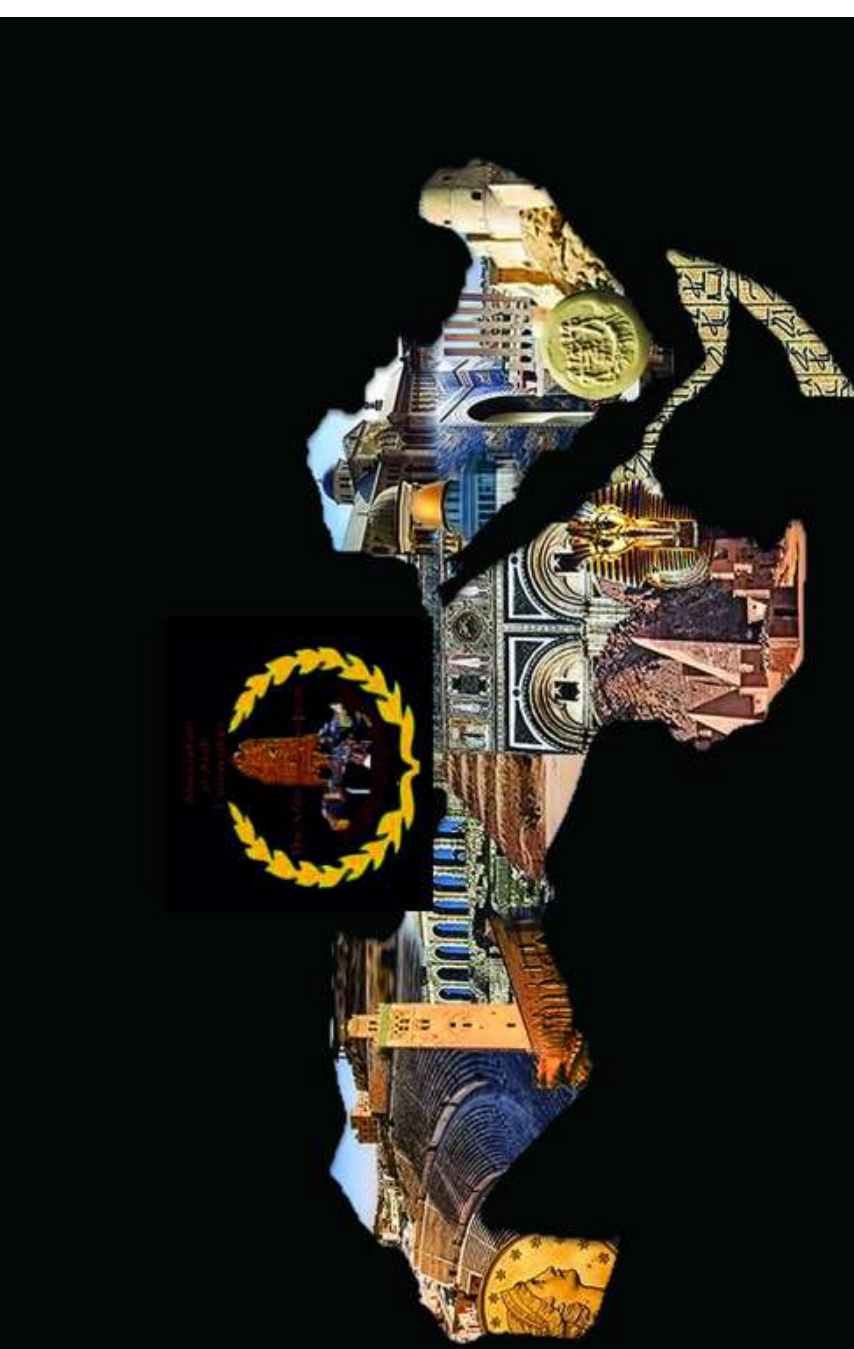
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I. ANCIENT ARCHAEOLOGY & EGYPTOLOGY

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2022

STELA OF MENEKH RECENTLY UNCOVERED AT THE TEMPLE OF KOM OMBO

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STELA OF MENEKH RECENTLY UNCOVERED AT THE TEMPLE OF KOM OMBO

BY

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ABSTRACT

[AR]

لوحة منخ المكتشفة حديثاً في معبد كوم أمبو

الورقة البحثية الحالية هي دراسة تفصيلية للوحة خاصة، اكتشفت أثناء أعمال الحفائر التي أجريت في معبد كوم أمبو، بالتوازي مع مشروع خفض منسوب المياه الجوفية الذي أقيم حديثاً في محيط معبد كوم أمبو عام 2018، لمنع تسرب المياه و لوقف خطر الأملاح على أساسات المعبد. قاد الأعمال الأثرية فريق عمل من المجلس الأعلى للآثار. وقد تم اكتشاف العديد من اللقى الأثرية خلال ذلك، وهي لقي مهمة في تحديد تاريخ الموقع الأثري. وتم تقسيم اللقى وفقاً لموقعها داخل المعبد، ويتناول هذا البحث المجموعة الأولى من اللقى، والتي اكتشفت تحت أرضية بيت الولادة (الماميي). وتلك المجموعة تتكون من تماثيل لصقر، وتمثال كتلة. والبحث يتناول القطعة الثالثة وهي لوحة خاصة صغيرة الحجم، وصنعت من الحجر الجيري، تحمل نقوش ومناظر تقودنا إلى الاعتقاد بوجود جبانة أفراد قريبة من المعبد، والنقوش وطريقة كتابتها تشير إلى أنها تعود إلى عصر الدولة الحديثة.

[EN] This research is a detailed study of a private stela discovered in 2018 during excavations carried out at the temple of Kom Ombo by the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquity. The excavations were undertaken in conjunction with the groundwater lowering project within the temple enclosure to prevent the capillary rise of water and salt attack on the temple foundations. Many finds have been uncovered; they are helpful for establishing the chronology of the site. The objects are divided into three groups according to the location where they were uncovered in the temple. This paper deals with a funerary private stela uncovered underneath the paving slabs of the Ptolemaic birth house (*Mammisi*). It is of small size, made of limestone, bearing both figures and inscriptions, which suggests the existence of a private cemetery nearby the temple. The inscriptions and its paleography suggest that this stela dates to the early New Kingdom.

KEYWORDS: Birth house, stela, groundwater project, archaeological team, private cemetery, chronology, New Kingdom.

I. INTRODUCTION

A stela [FIGURE 1] was discovered in 2018 by the Egyptian team of inspectors of Kom Ombo Antiquities area. It was discovered under the pavement of the birth house (*Mammisi*) of the Ptolemaic Temple of Kom Ombo during the excavations in conjunction with the project for lowering the groundwater level within the temple enclosure, which in turn was conducted to prevent the capillary rise of water and resulting salt attack on the temple foundations.

II. DESCRIPTION

Material: fine limestone [FIGURE 1]

Height: 40 cm. (maximum)

Width: 27 cm.

Depth: 6 cm.

Patina: Medium.

Back: Roughly hammered, some vertical chisel marks.

State of Preservation: quite good, somewhat eroded by natural processes, the upper left quarter missing.



[FIGURE 1]: Funeral Stele of Menekh © Photographed by Mostafa Badawi

The study focuses on a fine limestone round-topped funerary stela. It is divided into three sections. The lunette is occupied by a pair of *wḏ3t* – eyes (one is missing now) in raised relief. It is supposed to be one of two symmetrical mirrored *wḏ3t* - eyes¹, a typical sign of protection for the deceased, usually depicted on the top of such funeral stelae².




Below the *wḏ3t* – eyes is a scene in low raised relief showing a standing man and a women behind him. The man offers to a seated figure, only partially preserved, to the left. The man is accompanied by the caption “ka priest” «*hm-k3*»³. His name (*Nb*) *t3wy* is recorded above his head. He pours a libation from a round-bottom vessel with his right hand onto a low offering table, while his left hand elevates an offering of a fowl and a round bread loaf on a small stand.

He is followed by a lady named: *hdt*, she has the title: *nbt pr* «mistress of the house», who is supposed to be his wife.⁴ She holds a triangular loaf in her right hand, which reads: *di*, meaning give or offer⁵.

To the left is a seated figure. The upper part of his body is missing. It is supposed to be the deceased, owner of this stela. He is seated on a lion-legged chair, used by high-ranking people and wearing a long tight cloak. His name, *Mnh*,⁶ is given in the offering formula in the lower register.

The lowest register has three lines of hieroglyphic text.

Text [FIGURE 2]

The upper part of the stela is occupied by one of the original two *Wḏ3t* eyes , with text *ptr nfrw* “seeing the splendor⁷. The standing male figure is surmounted by a hieroglyphic line bearing his name  reading [*Nb*] *t3wy*. Here, the *nb* sign is missing, although it is given in the text below. The female figure is surmounted by her name and title:  *nbt pr hdt*

The lower register of the stela has three horizontal lines of hieroglyphic text, running as follows:

³ ERMAN & GRAPOW, (EDS.): *Wb*, 3, 90; FAULKNER 1991: 14; DOXEY 2001: 71; LESKO 2002: 310.

⁴ The Title *nbt pr* was attributed only to the married ladies since the Middle Kingdom. ERMAN, & GRAPOW, (EDS.): *Wb*, 2: 232; WARD 1986: 8; FEUCHT 2001: 503; AL-^cAYEDI 2006: 285- 286.

⁵ GARDINER 1971: 533; WILFONG 2001: 342; TYLDESLEY 2006: 12-13.

⁶ RANKE, *PN* 1, 153.3

⁷ The word *ptr* was written with the two eyes during the Middle Kingdom, and appeared again during the Ramesside period. *KRI*, 5, 51, *Urk* 1794: vol.4, 14; FAULKNER 1991: 96; LESKO 2002: 159.



1- *htp di nsw Wsir hk3 dt nb nhh hr ib 3b(dw)*

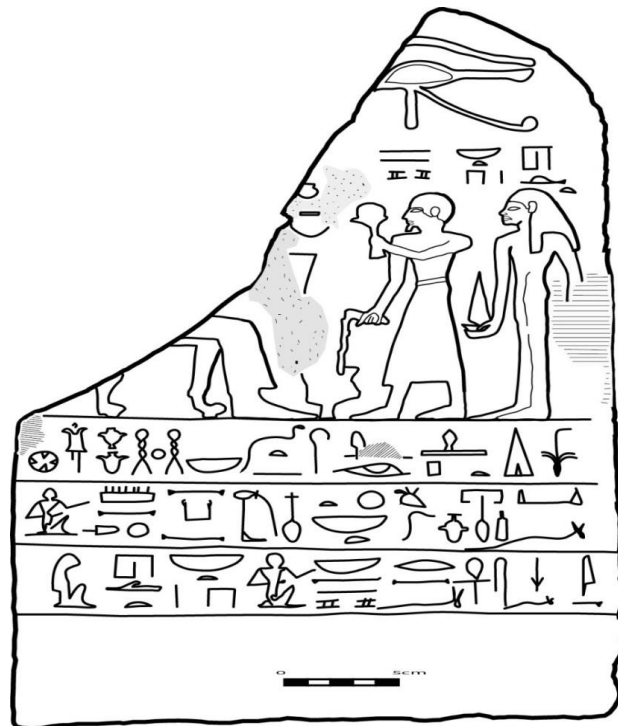


2- *di.f prt hrw t hnk3 k3w 3bdw ht nbt nfrt w^cb(t) n k3 n Mn^h*



3- *in sn.f s^cnh rn.f Nb-twy nbt pr Hdt*

- 1- An offering (which) the King gives (to) Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, Lord of Perpetuity, who is in Abydos.
- 2- That he may give a voice of offerings consisting of bread, beer, ox, fowl, (and) every good (and) pure thing, for the *k3* of *Menekh*.
 - 2- It is his son, Neb-tawy who causes his name to live, (and the) lady of the house *Hedet*.



[FIGURE 2]: Funeral Stele of Menekh © Facsimile by Sayed Elrekaby

III. COMMENTARY

The text reproduced on this stela includes common formulae that suggests it came from a private funeral cult-center, perhaps near the temple where cults had been performed by the deceased's eldest son, or a soul servant priest, called *hm k3*⁸. where a lot of funeral stelae were scattered and reused as part of the foundations of the actual temple.

The above suggestion is supported by finding reused blocks with the name of Thutmose III, Ramesses II and Ramesses III in the temple⁹. They were found incised on sandstone blocks reused in the building of the Ptolemaic birth house and the front quay. These blocks may be from the New Kingdom temple that stood on the site.

The writing of the *hṯp-di-nsw formula* is typical of the Eighteenth Dynasty onward¹⁰. *hk3 dt, nb nhḥ* and *nb 3bdw* are among the common epithets distinguishing Osiris¹¹. The sacred name of Osiris is written in a later form with the portable chair, which appeared at the end of the Middle Kingdom¹².

The text is reproduced in a precise cursive hieroglyphic calligraphy, manifested in many cursive signs, such as: *n, f* and *w^cb*, the ripples have entirely disappeared and it could be identified throughout the context, typical of the New Kingdom¹³.

The personal names suggest a date to this stela, which lies within the Middle, or the New Kingdoms¹⁴. According to the arrangement of the scenes with regard to the texts, it is supposed to date this stela to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty,¹⁵. It confirms a preceding New Kingdom necropolis at Kom Ombo, before the present Ptolemaic temple was erected on the same spot.

⁸ GARDINER 1971: 170 – 173; COLLIER 1998: 35- 36.

⁹ PM 6, 199.

¹⁰ SMITHER 1939: 34-37.

¹¹ BUDGE 1898: 321, 322; HART 2005: 118.

¹² BUDGE 1914: PL. 19, 44; STEWART 1916: PL. 14:4; *Urk* vol.4, 77, 209; BENNETT 1941: 78.

¹³ FISCHER 1999: 10-11.

¹⁴ RANKE 1935: 153:3, 186: 22- 23; 231: 19, 21.

¹⁵ STEWART 1916: 256; HÖLZL 2001: 320-322.

IV. CONCLUSION

This stela, together with the adjacent findings, discovered may have been it could be assumed that it has been part of the adjustment to the birth house foundations, as the Nile inundation affected harmfully the temple bases. Along with the other findings, uncovered during excavation works, it could be concluded that earlier structures had been dismantled and reused as part of the foundations of the actual temple.

Utilizing the artistic criteria of the stela discussed above, along with the depth of the spot in which it was uncovered, the existence of an intensive New Kingdom cult center could be confirmed, attached to the local god Sobek, appended with a necropolis in the neighboring area. It also confirms the existence of New Kingdom buildings prior to the standing Ptolemaic temple. The earlier temple fell into pieces and its blocks were reused in the foundations of the Ptolemaic temple complex.

The writer and the archaeological team recommend doing a comprehensive excavation in the temple enclosure and the neighboring areas to make further discoveries that might reveal more about the earlier history of the ancient city of Kom Ombo and its temple.

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A COUNTER-PLEA FROM OXYRHYNCHITE NOME

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A COUNTER-PLEA FROM OXYRHYNCHITE NOME

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[AR]

معارضة حكم قضائي من إقليم أوكسيرينخوس

الورقة البحثية الحالية هي عبارة عن نشر بردية وثائقية يونانية غير منشورة من متحف المصري بالقاهرة، رقم الزجاج 102 للسجل الخاص 3049 تحت رقم الجرد 238. هذه البردية تأتي من سينيبيط (إقليم أوكسيرينخوس) وتعود إلى النصف الأول من القرن الثالث الميلادي. نص هذه البردية هو معارضة حكم قضائي. كانت معارضة حكم قضائي عبارة عن رداً على التماس، أو على الإجراءات القانونية التي أعقبت التماس، وفي العصر الروماني عادة ما يتخذ شكل بيان مضاد، والذي كان مطلوباً قانونياً من المدعى عليه أنه ينوي الطعن في القضية. كان نظام الميراث المطبق في مصر الرومانية معقداً، حيث كان هناك العديد من الأنظمة القانونية وكان الأشخاص من أعراق مختلفة يخضعون لتشريعات مختلفة. تنشأ الخلافات المتعلقة بالميراث في الالتماسات: يشتكي مقدم الالتماس من أن المتهم يدعى ملكية تخصه. يتكون الميراث في الغالب من الأرض أو المنازل. غالباً ما يكون المتهم أحد أفراد عائلة مقدم الالتماس. في هذه الحالة، نتج الالتماس عن نزاع عائلي، حيث لم يتمكن الطرفان من تسوية خلافتهما في الحكم المحلي ويلجأ الملتمسون إلى السلطات لتأكيد حقوقهم، بعد تلقي الإجراء القانوني (قرار المحكمة)، يحق للأطراف رفع اعتراضات إلى وزير العدل خلال فترة عشرة أيام. تحتوي ظهر البردية على تفاصيل حول التحضير لمهرجان أو مناسبة، مثل توصيل النبيذ واستئجار قاعة مأدبة. قدمت البردية على النحو التالي: وصف عام لمحتويات البردية، أبعاد البردي بالسنتيمتر، عدد أسطر النص، الأسهم تشير إلى اتجاه الكتابة بالنسبة إلى سطح البردية، ثم نسخ النص اليوناني، وترجمة النص اليوناني إلى الإنجليزية والتعليق على أسطر البردية.

[EN] The current paper is an edition of unpublished Greek documentary papyrus from Cairo Museum under glass 102 of the S (pecial) R (egister) Nr^o. 3049 with inv. 238. This papyrus is from Senepht (Oxyrhynchite nome) and dates back to the first half of the third century AD. This papyrus text is a counter-plea (ἀντίλογος). The counter-plea was a reply to a petition, or to the legal proceedings following on a petition, and in the Roman period commonly took the form of a counter statement, which was legally required from the defendant that he intended to contest the case. The inheritance system applied in Roman Egypt was complex, as there were several legal systems, and people of different ethnicity were subjected to different legislation. The conflicts concerning inheritance occur in the petitions. The petitioner complains that the accused claims property that belongs to her/ him by legacy. The inheritances mostly consist of land and/or houses. Often the accused is a member of the petitioner's family. In this case, the petition results from a family quarrel, where the parties could not sort out their differences within the domestic context and the petitioners turn to the authorities to assert their rights. After receiving the legal proceeding (decision of the court), the parties have the right to raise objections with the ἀρχιδικαστής within ten days. The verso contains details about the preparation for a festival or an occasion, such as the delivery of wine and a lease of a banqueting hall. The papyrus has been presented as follows: a general description of the contents of the papyrus, dimensions of the papyrus in centimeters, number of lines of text, arrows indicating the direction of writing relative to that of papyrus surface, a transcription of the Greek text, English translation and extensive commentary.

KEYWORDS: Greek, *Papyri*, Roman, Egypt, inheritance, disputes, wine, festival.

I. INTRODUCTION

This papyrus is an edition of unpublished Greek documentary papyrus from Cairo Egyptian Museum under glass 102 of the S (pecial) R (egister) Nr^o. 3049 with inv. 238; the papyrus is from *Senepsta (Oxyrhynchiet)*.

SR 3049/238
3 x 9.5 cm.

Senepsta (Oxyrhynchite)
1st half of 3rd Century AD.

II. DESCRIPTION

The papyrus is of medium brown color, and it is regularly cut off on the left and right parts of the papyrus, mutilated and suffers from some holes because of worms. It is written by a semi-cursive hand. The writing is on the recto, along the fibres, in 10 lines, in dark and clear ink, by a legible hand. The top margin is 2 cm. Two vertical folds, across the fibres, beginning from the right side are visible. The widths of the successive folds are 2 cm, and 1 cm. The text on the verso is written by a semi-cursive hand, across the fibres, in 8 lines. There are remains of two margins on the verso; at the top is 2 cm and below is 2.5 cm. Two vertical folds, across the fibres, beginning from the right side are visible; the widths of the successive folds are 1 cm and 2 cm.

Date

On palaeographical grounds, it can be dated back to the first half of the third century AD ¹.

The text of this *papyrus* is a counter-plea (ἀντίρροησις), the counter-plea was a reply to a petition, or to the legal proceedings following a petition, and in the Roman period commonly took the form of a counter statement, which was legally required from the defendant that he intended to contest the case. The inheritance system applied in Roman Egypt was complex, as there were several legal systems and people of different ethnicity were subjected to different legislation. The conflicts concerning inheritance occur in the petitions. The petitioner complains that the accused claims property that belongs to her/him by legacy. The inheritances consist of mostly land and/or houses. Often the accused is a member of the petitioner's family. In this case, the petition results from a family quarrel, where the parties could not sort out their differences within the domestic context and the petitioners turn to the authorities to assert their rights. Emperor Hadrian decided that Roman soldiers grant children conceived during their fathers' military service the right to inherit: in the absence of a testament of a decedent. Emperor Hadrian addressed a letter to the prefect of Egypt Q.

¹ For palaeographical parallels, see: *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3347 (216-217 AD., census return); *Chla* XI 486= *SB* I 1010 (*Oxy.* 249 AD., succession to the inheritance); *SB* VI 9298 (*Oxyrhynchus*, 249 AD., *Agnitio bonorum possessionis*). For images: <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/>.

Rammius Martialis. In this letter, the Emperor granted the illegitimate children of soldiers their possession to the kinsmen by blood². After receiving the legal proceeding (decision of the court), the parties had the right to raise objections with the ἀρχιδικαστής within ten days³. The structure of the counter-plea can be represented as follows:

Date formula

The parties to the dispute

The background of the Counter-plea:

The verb of the request

The object of the dispute

The presentation of the arguments

The desired action.

Date formula⁴.

The verso contains details about the preparation for a festival or an occasion, such as delivery of wine and a lease of a banqueting hall.

Text:

recto

Εὐτυ]χοῦς Σεβαστ[οῦ
μ]ητροὸς Φλαυῖ[ας
Α]ὐρηλίου Διδ[
διὰ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀξι]ῶ καὶ δέομα[ί σου τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ὅπως

² *Chr.Mitt.* 373= *BGU* 1 14 (Alexandria, 119 AD., Imperial constitution about rights of soldiers children), ll. 20-27:

ὄνπερ τοιγαροῦν
τ[ρόπ]ον οὐκ εἰσιν νόμιμοι κληρο-
[νόμ]οι τῶν ἑαυτῶν πατέρων οἱ τῶ
[τ]ῆς στρατε[ί]ας χρόνῳ ἀναλ[η]μφθέν-
τες, ὅμως κατ[ο]χῆ[ν] ὑ[πα]ρχόντων
ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέ[ρ]ους τοῦ διατάγμα-
τος, οὗ καὶ τοῖς πρὸς [γ]ένους συνγενέσι

δίδοται,

Those who were begotten during the period of (their fathers') military service are not legitimate heirs of their fathers; I order that they be allowed to claim possession of the property in accordance with that portion of the edict that grants this possession to the kinsmen by blood.

³ *P.Oxy.* XLII 3017 (176-177 AD., edict of prefect), ll. 5-8:

μετὰ

τὸ διάταγμα τοῦτο τύχοιεν, ἴστω-
σαν ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμε-
ρῶν τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν ὑπογραφήν

After this edict happened, they must know that if they do not submit the case to me within ten days of receiving the legal proceeding (decision of the court)

⁴ *P.Oxy.* XVI 1881 (427 AD., counter-plea), Introduction; HAGEDORN 2005: 177-182, WOJTCZAK 2016: 334.

5 ἐν οἰκίᾳ κοινῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου
] τοῦ καὶ Ἀπύ[γχεως
 περ]ὶ Σενέπτα ἐκ τ[οῦ
 μὴ ἀ]πολειφθῆναι [ἄχρῃ πέρατος τύχη τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως
] δυσ[μ]ῶν Σεν[έπτα
 10 διακατοχ]ήν κληρον(ομίας) ἔ[νστασιν
verso
] Λογγεινία [. .]ρ[
 Ἡρα]κλέω Τάγχεως .[
] γ(ίνονται) κ̄δ κά(δους) ὄξ(ους) δίχ[ωρα
 λο]ιπὸ(ν) τρίχ(ουν) ἀπ[ό
 5] καὶ τιμὴν ὄνο[υ
 παρέ]δωκε<ν> αὐτοῖς[
 τὸ συμπ]όσιον μ[ετὰ] καὶ ε[

Corrections

l. 8 ἀπολειφθῆναι l. 11 Λογγεινία

Translation

recto

... Felix Augustus ...
 ... his mother being Flavia ...
 ... of Aurelius ...
 ... for this very reason I ask and beseech your humanity to ...
 5 ... in the house common with my brothers ...
 ... also called Apynchis ...
 ... near Senepta from the ...
 ... not abandon it until the case has been brought to a conclusion ...
 ... on the west of Senepta ...
 10 ... (raising) an objection to the succession of an inheritance ...

verso

... to Longinia daughter of ...
 ... to Heracleus son of Tanchleus ...
 ... total 24 jar of cheap wine, .. dichora of ...
 ... remain three-chous from ...
 5 ... and price of the donkey ...
 ... he has given to them ...
 ... the banqueting hall with ...

III. COMMENTARY

It is impossible to calculate that the original sheet was missing at the right and the left.

1. 1: Εὐτυ]χοῦς Σεβαστ[οῦ: This line contains the titles Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, therefore. It is difficult to define the emperor's name. These titles were found along with titles of four Roman emperors Caracalla, Elagabalus, Severus Alexander, and Gordian III. This title had appeared in the reign of the emperor Caracalla⁵.

Under the reign of the emperor Elagabalus⁶.

Under reign of the emperor Severus Alexander⁷.

Under the reign of the emperor Gordian III⁸.

So, we may date this document back to 211-244 AD.

1. 2: μ]ητροῦσ Φλαυῖ[ας: There is a number of women from this period, cf. Flavia Petronilla in *P.Ryl.* II 172 (Arsinoite, 208 AD., Offer to Lease a Palm-garden), ll. 1-4:

Φλαυῖα Πετρωνίλλη τῇ
καὶ Τιτανιάδει μετὰ κυρίου
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Γαίου Οὐαλερίου
Πάνσα γυμνασιαρχήσαντος

*To Flavia Petronilla also called Titanias with her guardian her husband Gaius Valerius
Pansa, ex-gymnasiarch,*

⁵ See: *P. Oxy.* XLVII 3347 (216-217 AD., census return), ll. 6-8:

κδ (ἔτους)

[τοῦ κυρίου] ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Μάρκου Αὐρηλ[ί]ο[υ]
[Σεουήρου] Αντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
24th year of our Lord Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus

⁶ See: *P. Laur.* II 22 (Arsinoite, 219-220 AD., Κατ' ἄνδρα di sitologi allo strategos), ll. 8-10:

γ (ἔτους) Μάρκου

[Αὐρηλίου Αντωνίνου Ε]ὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
3rd year of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus

⁷ See: *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3176 (222-235 AD., Request for Payment), ll. 18-20:

[(ἔτους)] . Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου

[Αὐρηλίου] Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου.

[Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐ]τυχοῦς [Σεβ]α[στοῦ],

Year Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus.

⁸ See: *P. Oxy.* XIX 2231 (241 AD., Notification of Succession), ll. 35-38:

[(ἔτους)] δ.

Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρ[ο]ς Κ[αί]σ[α]ρ[ο]ς

Μάρκου Αντωνίου Γορδιανού

Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ

4th year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Antoninus Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus.

Flavia Tamerylla with the same name⁹& Flavia Marcella with the same name¹⁰.

I. 3: Α [ὕρηλιου Διδ]: For completing of the name, there are nouns such as: Διδυμεύς, Διδύμαρχος, Διδυμέος, Διδυμέων, Δίδυμος. But if he is Δίδυμος, he could be one of these possibilities, the first possibility; Aurelius Didymus could be the *strategus of Arsinoite nome*¹¹.

The second possibility; Aurelius Didymus could be the *ex-exegetes*¹². The third possibility; Aurelius Didymus could be the *ex-exegetes, senator, and administrator of the corps of the city of Oxyrhynchus*¹³.

I. 4: διὰ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀξι] ὦ καὶ δέομα[ί σου τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ὅπως: The formula expected can be inferred from *P.Abinn. 48= P.Lond. II 242 (Arsinoite, 346 AD., Petition), ll. 13-15:*

διὰ αὐτὸ τοῦτ[ο] ἀ[ξι]ῶ καὶ δέομαί σου [τῆς] φιλανθρω-
πίας ὅ[π]ω[ς] τούτο]υς συλλαβόμε[ν]ος {καὶ} [ἀ]ναγκά-
σης

For this very reason I ask and beseech your humanity to apprehend these men and compel (them)

⁹ See: *P.Oxy. XLVII 3347 (216-217 AD., census return), ll. 1-2:*

παρὰ Τίτου Φλαυίου Ἑρμ [. .] υ[σ]πουρίου μητρὸς
Φλαυῖας Ταμερούλλης.

From Titus Flavius Herm..., illegitimate, his mother is Flavia Tamerylla.

¹⁰ See: *P. Oxy. XII 1460 (219-220 AD., Revision of Lists of Land- owners), ll. 4-5:*

παρὰ Φλαυῖας Μ[α]ρκέλλης χρημα[τιζούσης]
χωρὶς κυρίου

from Flavia Marcella, acting without a guardian

¹¹ See: *BGU I 35 (Arsinoite, 222 AD., petition), l. 1:*

Ἀὐρηλίω Διδύμω στρα[τηγῶ] Ἀρσι[νοίτου]
To Aurelius Didymus the stratêgos of the Arsinoite nome.

¹² See: *P.Oxy. XLIII 2569 (225-226 AD., Application to Join the Gerusia), ll. 1-2:*

[Ἀὐρηλίω Διδύμω] ἐξηγητεύ-
[σαντι]

To Aurelius Didymus, ex-exegetes

¹³ See: *P. Ryl. IV 599= SB V 8032 (Oxyrhynchus, 226 AD., Application for Admission to the Gerousia), ll. 1-4:*

Ἀὐρηλίω Διδύμω τῶ καὶ Διο-
σκουρίδῃ ἐξηγητεύσαντι
βουλ[ευτῆ] διέποντι καὶ τὰ στέμματα
τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως

To Aurelius Didymus also called Dioscurides, ex-exegetes, senator, and administrator of the corps of the city of Oxyrhynchus

P.Abinn. 49= *P.Lond.* II 403 (Arsinoite, 346 AD., Petition), ll. 15-18:

διὰ αὐ-
τὸ τοῦτο ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαί σου τῆς φιλανθρωπί-
ας ὅπως τούτους συλλαβόμενος {καὶ} κατα-
ναγκάσης αὐτούς

For this very reason I ask and beseech your humanity to apprehend these men and compel them

P.Abinn. 53= *P.Lond.* II 407 (Arsinoite, 346 AD., Petition), ll. 9-12:

δ[ιὰ αὐτὸ τοῦτο]
ἀξιῶ κα[ὶ] δέομαί σου τῆς φι[λανθρωπίας]
ὅπως τοῦτον συλλαβόμε[νος] [{καὶ} κατανα]-
γκάσης αὐτόν

For this very reason I ask and beseech your humanity to apprehend this man and compel him

1. 5: ἐν οἰκίᾳ κοινῆς π[ρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου]: The house was the key of the conflict, probably the deceased was the paterfamilias, inheritors who came into conflict with persons claiming the inheritance for themselves from the same family¹⁴.

1. 7: περὶ Σενέπτα ἐκ τ[οῦ]: It can be restored, cf. *PSI* I 73 (Oxyrhynchus, 201-300 AD., land lease), ll. 9-11:

ἐκ τῶ]ν ὑπαρ-
χόντων αὐτῇ περὶ Σενέπ(τα) ἐκ τ(οῦ)
Δι[ο]νυσοφ(άνου) κλήρου

From her property near Senepta from the estate of Dionysophanes

Σενέπτα: The name of *Senepta*, rendering the Egyptian name (the lake/place of Ptah)¹⁵. *Senepta* was attested 71 times in Greek *papyri* and *ostraca* from the 3rd century BC. to the 6th century AD. The largest concentration of texts is found in the third century AD¹⁶. *Senepta* belongs to Middle toparchy (Σένεπτα τῆς μέσης τοπαρχίας)¹⁷.

¹⁴KELLY 2011: 56-57; BRYEN 2013: 272-279.

¹⁵BENAISSA 2012: 314-318.

¹⁶ See <http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/detail.php?tm=2891>

¹⁷ *P.Berl.Mölerl* 2= *SB* IV 7339 (69-71 A.D.), l. 7, *P.Oxy.* I 72 (90 A.D.), ll. 5-6, BENAISSA 2009: 188-189.

STATUS	NAME	SOURCE
Senepta	Σενέπτα	http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/detail.Php?tm=2891 ; <i>Dizionario</i> IV, 259, 262-263; <i>Suppl.</i> 1, 235; Pruneti, 1981, <i>Ossirinchte</i> , 162, 165-166.
Occupations and Officials	τροφεία δεκανός σταθμοῦχος σιτολόγος παιδάριον κτηνότροφος κωμογραμματεὺς κροταλιστρίς γεωργός κέραμος προνοητής πράκτωρ	<i>PSI</i> III 203 (87 AD), l. 5. <i>P.Oxy.</i> II 387 (I cent. AD), l. 4. <i>P.Oxy.</i> II 387 (I cent. AD), l. 2. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXVIII 2866 (123 AD), l. 3 <i>P.Oxy.</i> IV 730 (130 AD), l. 14. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XVIII 2182 (165 AD), l. 10. <i>P.Oxy.</i> IV 718 (181 AD), l. 26. <i>P.Oxy.</i> II 475 (182 AD), l. 24. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIV 3169 (212 AD), l. 71. <i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3595 (243 AD), l. 4. <i>PSI</i> XIII 1338 (299 AD), l. 23. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XVII 2140 (III cent. AD), l. 7
Religion	Σεβαστή προφήτης έορτή μοναστήριος	<i>P.Oxy.</i> II 387 (I cent. AD), l. 1. <i>P.Oxy.</i> II 387 (I cent. AD), l. 5. <i>P.Oxy.</i> II 475 (182 AD), l. 17. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1912 (566 AD), l. 75.
Military	ίππεύς ἀπολελυμένος	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIX 3482 (75 BC), l. 3. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XII 1508 (II cent. AD), l. 3.
Taxes	σύνταξις ἐπικλασμός	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXII 4334 (94-95 AD), l. 12. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIV 3169 (212 AD), l. 12.
Categories of land	κάτοικος παράδεισος κλήρος κτῆμα ἐποίκιον	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIX 3482 (75 BC), l. 3. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIX 3482 (75 BC), l. 18. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XII 1508 (II cent. AD), l. 8. <i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3595 (243 AD), l. 6, <i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 909 (225 AD), l. 16. <i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3595 (243 AD), l. 6.
Irrigation	χώμα ὄργανον	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 909 (225 AD), l. 15. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLVII 3354 (257 AD), l. 16.
Noteworthy landowners	Αὐρηλία Λεονταροῦς	<i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3595 (243 AD), l. 1.
Animals	κτῆνος ταῦρος βοῦς ὄνος	<i>PSI</i> X 1119 (156 AD), l. 12. <i>PSI</i> X 1119 (156 AD), l. 12. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIII 3109 (256 AD), l. 22. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLVII 3354 (257 AD), l. 11.
Agricultural Products	Χόρτος ράφάνινος ἄκανθα ἄμπελος πυρός κάλαμος κριθή οἶνος φοῖνιξ κολοκύνθης λάχανον σίκυος	<i>P.Oxy.</i> IV 730 (130 AD), l. 14. <i>PSI</i> VII 731 (II/III cent. AD), v. l. 5 <i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 909 (225 AD), l. 17. <i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 909 (225 AD), l. 15. <i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 909 (225 AD), l. 27. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLVII 3354 (257 AD), l. 8. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLVII 3354 (257 AD), l. 32. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLVII 3354 (257 AD), l. 28. <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLVII 3354 (257 AD), l. 29. <i>PSI</i> XIII 1338 (299 AD), l. 9. <i>PSI</i> XIII 1338 (299 AD), l. 8. <i>PSI</i> XIII 1338 (299 AD), l. 9

[TABLE. 1]: Attestations of Senepta in the papyri l. 8: μὴ ἀπολει[φθ]ήναι[ι] ἄρχι ©Done by researcher

πέρατος τύχη τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως: The expression was used in a similar context in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1881 (427 A.D., counter-plea), l. 19:

μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι ἄχρι πέρατος τύχη τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως
Not abandon it until the case has been brought to a conclusion

l. 10: διακατοχ]ήν κληρον(ομίας): the similar context was used in inheritance cases, see: *P.Oxy.* IX 1201 (258 AD., succession to an inheritance), ll. 5-9:

Αὐρήλιος Εὐδαίμων Κατιλλίου ἐπιδέδωκα
 αἰτούμενος διακατοχὴν κληρονομίας
 τοῦ πατρός μου τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὴν κλη-
 ρονομηθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀδιαθέτου τετε-
 λευτηκότος.

I, Aurelius Eudaemon son of Catillius, have presented (this petition) asking for the succession of an inheritance of my father, namely the property inherited in turn by him, having died intestate.

Verso l. 1: Λογγινία [. .]ϱ]: The name Λογγινία seems to be common name in middle Egypt¹⁸.

l. 3:]γ(ίνονται): The word was written abbreviated¹⁹.

κά(δος): The κάδος is a jar or container, the κάδος was used in the Greek and Roman world primarily to store and transport wine, as well as to draw water from the well²⁰.

ὄξ(ους): The ὄξος (poor wine, vinegar) is a kind of wine, the mixture of sour wine or vinegar and water which the Roman soldiers were accustomed to drink, is attested in various texts concerning the production and trade of wine, also in the guarantee clauses²¹.

δίχ[ωρα]: The term δίχωρον is a unit of measure used for wine, the δίχωρον equaled 2 μονόχωρα = 8 χόες = 96 κοτύλαι. The μονόχωρον a wine measure to be equivalent to about 7.3 liters, and that a donkey load was 8 μονόχωρα²².

l. 6: παρέ]δωκε<v> : The usual verb in the receipts for deliveries²³.

¹⁸ See: *P. Yale* III 137 (Philadelphia, 216-217 AD., Account), l. 19; *BGU* II 614 (Arsinoite nome, 217 A.D., Account), ll. 5, 14.

¹⁹ See: *P.Lond.* III 1177 (Arsinoite nome, 131-132 AD., Accounts), l. 75; *BGU* XIX 2834 (Hermopolis, 590 AD., Delivery of wine), l. 12.

²⁰ BONATI 2016: 59-85.

²¹ TCHERNIA 1986: 11-13, KRUIT 1992: 265-276.

²² KRUIT & WORP 1999: 96-127; MAYERSON 2000: 169-172; MAYERSON 2000: 105-109; TERPSTRA 2012: 109-118.

²³ See: *O.Leid.* 342, l. 7; *O.Mich.* III 1098, l. 3.

l. 7: τὸ συμπύσιον μ[ετὰ] καὶ ε[: This phrase could be restored as follows²⁴.

[συμπύσιον: The συμπύσιον from the verb συμπίνειν (to drink together) was a banquet that took place after the meal, when drinking for pleasure was accompanied by music, or dancing. The συμπύσιον was rented to be used as banqueting hall. Husson has shown that in some leases the συμπύσιον no longer indicates a dining room, but had a broader meaning, that of an apartment, since it included other rooms, such as a κέλλα (store), or a κοιτών (bedroom)²⁵.

IV. CONCLUSION

The conclusion covers the following:

- The papyrus offers new insight on the counter-plea, which was legally required from the defendant that he intended to contest the case.
- The inheritance system applied in Roman Egypt was complex.
- The inheritances mostly consist of land and/or houses.
- Often the accused is a member of the petitioner's family.
- The papyrus gives papyrological evidence for *Senepsta* (*Oxyrhynchite*).
- The papyrus gives papyrological evidence for the preparation for a festival

²⁴ see: *P. Yale I 71* (Oxyrhynchus, 456 AD., lease of a drinking room and bedroom), l. 18:

μεμίσθωμαι τὸ συμπύσιον μετὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐντὸς κοιτώνος

I have leased the banqueting hall with the bedroom within

²⁵*P. Oxy. LXXI 4832* (436 A.D., lease of a symposium), commentary l. 14; HUSSON 1983: 267-271; SARDI 1998: 17-43; ROBINSON 2016: 97.

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[FIGURE 1]: Egyptian Museum in Cairo under glass 102 of the S (pecial) R (egister) N^r. 3049 with inv. 238 recto.



[FIGURE 2]: Egyptian Museum in Cairo under glass 102 of the S (pecial) R (egister) N^or. 3049 with inv. 238 verso.

2022

THREE LATE PERIOD STELAE IN THE GRAND EGYPTIAN MUSEUM

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THREE LATE PERIOD STELAE IN THE GRAND EGYPTIAN MUSEUM

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ABSTRACT

[AR] ثلاث لوحات من العصر المتأخر محفوظة بالمتحف المصرى الكبير تعرض هذه الورقة البحثية ثلاث لوحات مستديرة القمة من أبيدوس. تخص اللوحة الأول سيدة المنزل $T3y-k3$ وهي مخزنة فى المتحف المصرى الكبير وتحمل الرقم (GEM 12918). والثانية عبارة عن لوحة غير مكتملة، تحمل رقم (GEM 12919)؛ والثالثة هي لوحة $3b$ المصرية التى تحمل الرقم (GEM 12857). الغرض الأساسى من هذه الورقة هو دراسة ونشر اللوحات حيث تحتوى النقوش على بعض المميزات المثيرة للاهتمام فى هجاء العلامات والصيغ والأخطاء الكتابية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، فإنه يبحث فى تأريخ اللوحات على أساس السمات الأسلوبية والتهجئة حيث يمكن تأريخ اللوحات من خلال هذه الدراسة إلى أواخر الأسرة الخامسة والعشرين - أوائل الأسرة السادسة والعشرين.

[EN] This paper presents three rounded-topped stelae from Abydos in the Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM). The first one belongs to a lady of the house $T3y-k3$ (GEM 12918). The second is an unfinished stela (GEM 12919). The third stela is of $3b$ $hns w ir (t) b (int)$ (GEM 12857). The primary purpose of this paper is to study and publish the stelae, providing dates and textual analysis.

KEYWORDS: Stela, Late Period, 25th-26th dynasty, Abydos, *Ra-Horakhty*, Osiris, Soker-Oairis, $t3y-k3$, $3b$ $hns w ir (t) b(int)$?

I. INTRODUCTION

These three limestone stelae from Abydos. They have been studied by Peter Munro in his examination of Late Egyptian funerary stelae and assigned to two different groups (group BIII and group F)¹. All three are dedicated to Re-Harakhty.

II. STELA OF *t3y-k3* [GEM 12918]

1. Description [FIGURES 1-2]

The stela was carved in limestone of good quality, with a rounded top. It measures 22.6 cm in length, 34 cm in max height, and 6 cm in max-width. The object came from Abydos and was kept in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo under the number TR. 26/10/24/9, and then moved to the Grand Egyptian Museum in 2014 under register number GEM 12918.

The stela shows a tripartite composition: under the block-band pattern separating the lunette from the figured scene. There are 11 inscribed columns; the lower part shows only five horizontal bands, the central one painted red. Based on stylistic similarities, this stela was assigned by Munro to group Abydos BIII, and dated to 650-630 BC². The stela is framed by a thin band. The sides are blank.

A. Lunette

Most of the paint has vanished; only the red survives in places. The winged sun-disc, flanked by suspended uraei, decorates the top of the lunette. It is a very popular motif on private stelae during the first millennium BC³. The wings have three layers without the feathers being delineated. The top layer is the smallest and is decorated with dots on the right-hand edge. The prevailing belief since the Middle Kingdom onward, concerning the representation of the winged solar disc, was that the king was reunited with the solar disc after his death. The private citizens / elite received the same distinction designation with the winged solar disc from the 21st dynasty onwards⁴.

¹ MUNRO 1973: 273.

² MUNRO 1973: 273.

³ HÖLZL 1992: 288; LEAHY 2009: 436.

⁴ GOFF 1979: 251–253.



[FIGURE 1]: The stela of *ḥy-k3* (GEM 12918) © The Grand Egyptian Museum

Underneath are two *wdjt*-eyes, a very common pattern for lunettes, commonly found on the false doors of the 6th dynasty and non-royal stelae of the 12th dynasty⁵. These *wdjt*-eyes of Horus represent protection and perfection⁶.

Between the two *wdjt*-eyes is the *šn*-sign above the water-ripple *mw*-sign and the *i^cb*-vase. This triple configuration represents the performance of the ritual act towards the god. As the same way that the *šn*-sign may be associated with the all-embracing circuit of the sun or the sun itself, it also may relate to protection and eternity⁷. The *mw*-sign represents the act of libation performed by the deceased, while the *i^cb*-bowl⁸ below indicates an offering of food or incense or its connection to water in the ritual purification of the deceased⁹.

⁵ EL-SAYED 2005; HALLMANN 2015: 140.

⁶ D'AURIA 1988: 165-166.

⁷ The *shen*-ring was also a symbol of life and regeneration. WILKINSON 1992: 193; HOLZL 1992: 287.

⁸ The small *i^cb*-vessels may have referred to funerary offerings that would provide the deceased with eternal sustenance. The water ripples most likely signified libations). HOLZL 1992: 287.

⁹ ABDALLA 1992: 100.



[FIGURE 2]: Facsimile of The stela of *t3y-k3* (GEM 12918)

B. Central part

The center field contains four figures. The left one depicts a standing mummiform image of a falcon-headed god *Ra-Horakhty*. He wears a red solar disk, encircled by a uraeus on his head and holds the *w3s*-scepter, the *hk3*, and the *nhh3* with his two hands. The solar disk and the god's body are painted red. He is standing on a *m3t*-platform. *Ra-Horakhty* is the most popular deity in Late Period stela; for instance, in the Third Intermediate Period stela, the enthroned *Ra-Horakhty* appears on 85 stela¹⁰. The vast majority of the 26th Dynasty stela contain also his image, attesting to the his importance in this period¹¹.

In front of *Ra-Horakhty* there are three ladies facing left on the right-hand side of the stela, in an attitude of adoration¹², next to an altar, which is topped with a *nmst*-vessel flanked by two pieces of bread and a large lotus flower¹³. The first woman, who is also a bit taller than the others (while the third woman is the shortest one), wears a broad collar around her neck. Each one wears a long tight-fitting tunic with an overlying light cloak¹⁴, with a fringed edge only for the first woman; the second figure is dressed likewise, but probably a shoulder strap is shown, or the hem of her light cloak on her chest. Surprisingly, the three female figures have short cut hair as helmet-like wig, which does not cover the ears but leaves them free, and a ribbon tied behind the heads, outlined with red color. On top of their heads are unguent cones of a type not

¹⁰ SALEH 2007: 19.

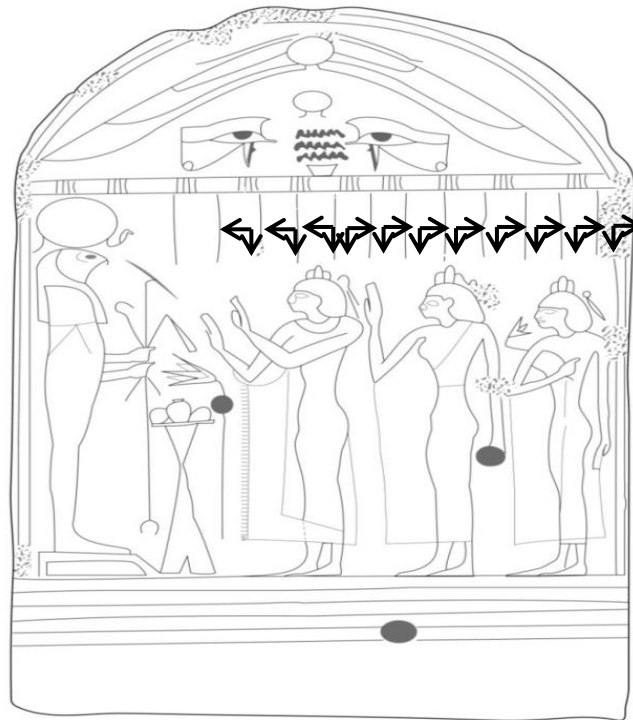
¹¹ The same representation of *Ra-Horakhty* on the stela appeared in 22nd dynasty. MUNRO 1973: 90; SWART 2004: 74-75.

¹² WILKINSON 1992: 29.

¹³ For different compositions of offerings, see ROBINS 1998: 957-963.

¹⁴ This type of dress was described by TAYLOR 2003: 101.

found before the 25th dynasty¹⁵. The first woman shows a more marked profile than the other two, notably a broad, flat nose and a strong chin. The last female figure is holding a flower in her right hand and is bringing it close to her nose, a gesture that is not common in contemporary material¹⁶. This stela has four holes, which suggest it was intended to be suspended and displayed.



Facsimile of the stela of ꜥꜣ-kꜣ (GEM 12918) without inscriptions © done by Samir Gaber

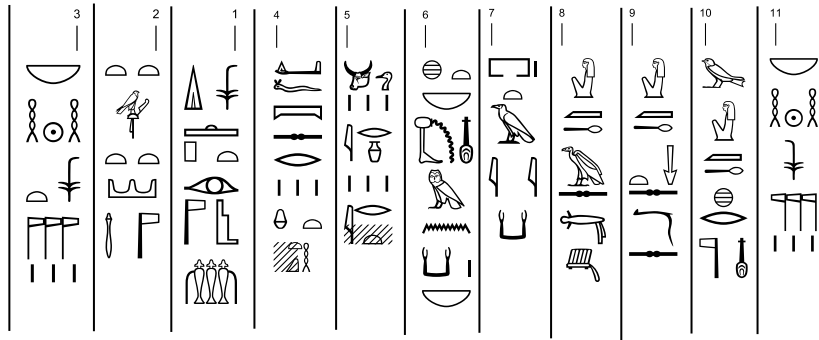
2. Inscriptions

Beneath the lunette and above the offering scene is a sequence of eleven columns of hieroglyphic inscriptions. A block-band separates the lunette and the figured field.

The three columns on the left, oriented rightwards, like the God's figure, are the beginning of the text that continues from the fourth column to the last one on the right but oriented leftwards. The position and orientation of some signs within the columns show some peculiarities.

¹⁵ According to Taylor, this cone is type 3 and it develops from that of type 2. It is tall, narrow and flanked by smooth-sided, simplified versions of the vegetal matter of type 2. It is not found before the 25th dynasty. It supersedes type 2 and is the only type of cone depicted on Theban funerary monuments of the 26th dynasty. TAYLOR 2003: 101.

¹⁶ MUNRO 1973: 273.



Transliteration

(1) *ḥtp di nsw^(a) Wsir^(b) ḥnty* (2) *imntt^(c) ntr ʿ3* (3) *nb nḥḥ nsw ntr.w* (4) *di.f prt-ḥrw^(d) t ḥ[nkt]*
 (5) *k3w 3pdw irp ir [tt]* (6) *ḥt nb [t] nfr [t] wʿb [t] im n k3^(e) nb (t)* (7) *pr^(f) t3y-k3^(g)* (8) *m3ʿ*
ḥrw mwt.s šd- im3ḥ (9) *m3ʿ ḥrw snt.s ns-*(10) *wr m3ʿ ḥrw ḥr nfr ntr^(k)* (11) *nb nḥḥ nsw ntrw*

Translation

(1) An offering which the King has given (to) Osiris, the Foremost (2) of the west, the great god, (3) The lord of eternity, The king of gods, (4) may be give an invocation of offerings consisting of bread, bear (5) oxen, fowl, wine, milk (6) and every beautiful and pure thing there. To the ka of the lady of (7) the house *T3y-k3* (8) justified; her mother, *šd-im3ḥ*, (9) justified, her sister, *Ns-wr*, (10) justified, before the great god, (11) lord of the eternity, king of the gods.

3. Commentary

^(a) *ḥtp di nsw*: The offering formula $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{C}}$, where the verb *di* almost is the second element in the formula, was very known and common with this arrangement since the 18th Dynasty as regards vertical inscriptions¹⁷ and still during the Late Period. The orthography of *ḥtp* with the phonetic complements is common in the Late Period¹⁸ with the form $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{B}}$ ¹⁹ and rare the form $\overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{A}}$ ²⁰. Sometimes it appears with abbreviate form as $\overline{\text{A}}$ ²¹.

^(b) *Wsir*: The use of the divine pennant determinative $\overline{\text{R8}}$ in the name of Osiris is one of the common features at the Late and the Ptolemaic Periods²². Leahy demonstrated

¹⁷ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.), 1971, vol.3: 186, SMITHER 1939: 34; PETRIE & GRIFFITH 1902: PLS.2, 11, 32, 36; LECLANT 1961: PL.32; DAVIES 1953: PL.2; TAWFIK 1978: 134; ELEITHY 2013: 107-108.


¹⁸ LEAHY 1977: 51.

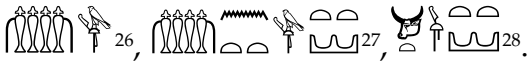
¹⁹ For example: Cairo JE 21970; BM 639; Cairo T.29/10/24/1; Cairo JE 20240; Cairo JE 18520; Cairo JE 12634.

²⁰ For example: Cairo C.G 22002; Cairo T.9/7/24/7; BM 1317; Cairo JE 21789.

²¹ For example: Cairo JE 40783.

²² LEAHY 1979: 142; TAYLOR 2003: 102; ASTON 1990: 149.



that the writing with  does not occur before the late eighth century BC. He suggested that it was introduced at Thebes in the early years of the Kushite rule²³. The problem that arises here is that the god represented in the figured field is a hawk-headed Sun god, but the offering formula is for the god Osiris²⁴. Munro remarked this apparent anomaly with a «sic». However, on Abydos Late Period stela, Osiris was actually frequently invoked, regardless of the deity represented²⁵.

(c) *hnty imntt*: the orthography of *hnty imntt* during the Late Period has different forms as . In the current stela, the word *hnt* has the shape that is considered to be derived from hieratic writing. In the Late Period stela the use of *imntt* instead of *imntyw* is also common²⁹.

(d) *prrt-hrw*: this is the expected wording, although the signs do not match and probably the engraver misunderstood the model from which he copied. The sign looking like a «*pt*» might derive from an «open» *pr*-sign, which is acceptable. *-rw* is clear. The only strange thing that the sign looks like an «*s*», and it should be instead of a *hrw*-sign, which is usually vertical.

(e) *n k3*: The name of the deceased during the 25th dynasty is usually introduced by *n k3*. At the beginning of the 26th dynasty, it is replaced by *n k3 n im3h* and *n im3h*³⁰.

(f) *nbt-pr* means married woman, which appeared from the Middle Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period³¹.

(g) The sign after the personal name can be considered a determinative of sitting woman, which is very similar to the sign also read *hsy*³². On the contrary Munro suggested, a *k*-sign, probably for Isis with doubt. The determining  in female names at Late Period Stelae is most common than the usual  ³³.

(k) *ntr*: It is the usual form for *ntr* without determinative and it is most common in the

²³ LEAHY 1977: 61.

²⁴ In stela of the Calvet Museum Avignon dates back to the early sixth century. The god Osiris is also called *Ra-Horakhty*: MORET 1913: 52-35, N^o. XXVII, PL.VII/2.

²⁵ MUNRO 1973: 270, FIGS. 115, 141- 142; BRESCIANI 1985: Stela Bologna KS 1939, N^o. 31, PL.44 -5; HALLMANN 2015: 131-152.

²⁶ MUNRO 1973: TAF.3, ABB.10.

²⁷ LOUVRE T V.4.

²⁸ Cairo JE. 18250.

²⁹ For example: MUNRO 1973: PL.58; FIG.200; PL.59; FIG.197; PL.61; FIG.207.


³⁰ LEAHY 1977: 68.





³¹ PESTMAN 1961: 11, N^o. 1.



³² DAUMAS; AMER: 1988: 78 N^o. 1379.

³³ LEAHY 1980: 175.

4. Personal Names

T3y-k3: According to Munro, the name was initially read *T3y*³⁴ as attested in Ranke, PN I, 365 (9)³⁵. Munro ignored the sign (D28 ) followed by a determinative of a personal name to represent *T3y-k3* which is very probably attested also in P. Louvre E 7851 verso, dated to the 25th dynasty³⁶.

Šd-im3h: Munro³⁷ and Leahy³⁸ mention the name of her mother as *Ns*, but the authors consider the name is *Šd- im3h* where the sign  more clearly represents  [F30] in addition to the sign  which may represent  [F39].

Ns-wr: The name is registered in Ranke, PN I, 147.11³⁹. This name is common in the 25th and 26th dynasties, according to Peter Munro occurring on three stelae (kopt. Throrw 350, BM. 798, Cairo CG 22147)⁴⁰ with two different forms ⁴¹ and ⁴².

III. PRE-FABRICATED??? STELA [GEM 12919]

This stela was made of painted limestone with the following measures: length 32 cm, height 42.5 cm and width 5,2 cm. It was kept in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo under the number TR 29/10/24/3, and then it was moved to the Grand Egyptian Museum under number GEM 12919.

The stela shows the same layout as the previous one, although the result is different: almost square slab with round top, tripartite composition with lunette decorated by winged sun-disk, figured field with hawk-headed god on the left and two adoring men, lower part with six horizontal bands, painted yellow. It is framed by simple red lines. Munro attributed this stela, too, to group BIII and dated it to c. 680 BC⁴³.

1. Description [FIGURES 3-4]

What is noticeable about this stela is that it has not been completely finished. All its elements have been drawn, even the place designed for the inscriptions, but they

³⁴ MUNRO 1973: 273.

³⁵ RANKE 1935: 365 (9).

³⁶ DONKER VAN HEEL 1999: 143-144.

³⁷ MUNRO 1973: 273.

³⁸ LEAHY 1977: 139.

³⁹ RANKE 1935: 147.11.

⁴⁰ MUNRO 1973: 357, 372.

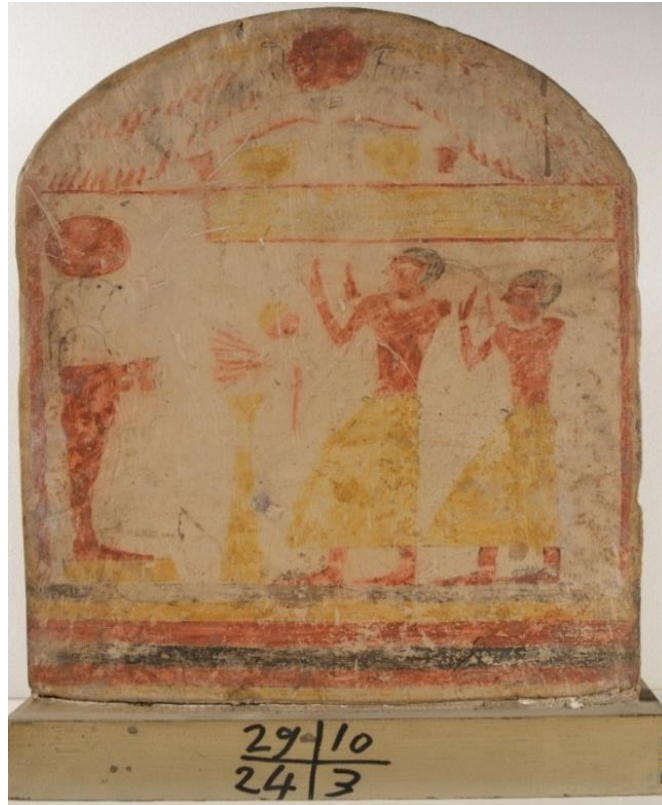
⁴¹ Stela BM. 798.

⁴² Stela Cairo CG 22147.

⁴³ MUNRO 1973: 274.

were not written. It likely seems that this illustrates different stages of production, with all the decorations of the stela painted first, and finally, the inscriptions were added in place. Alternatively it can be suggested that in the workshops in Abydos during this period, many models of «pre-fabricated» stelae were designed and produced in different quantities⁴⁴ and the place of the text was left without writing until it was time to use it⁴⁵, as it is evident in this stela in question.

period 630-600 BC⁴⁶.



[FIGURE 3]: Pre-fabricated Stela (GEM 12919) © The Grand Egyptian Museum

⁴⁴ MUNRO 1973: 82–3; HALLMANN 2015: 151-152.

⁴⁵ For example: Stela JE 34595, Cairo TR 29/10/24/1. All the registers of the stela were subsequently inscribed the fact that these stelae were prepared in advance. It is used when a buyer group is found that matches the drawing in terms of the number of people, then the texts were added later. This stela can be compared with Florens 2501, Abydos I, B IV. MUNRO 1972: FIG.122; MUNRO 1973: FIG.121. Both stelae are identical and the work of the same workshop.

⁴⁶ LEAHY 1980: 179.



[FIGURE 4]: Facsimile of Pre-fabricated Stela (GEM 12919)

A. Lunette

The winged sun-disc decorates the top round lunette. Under the winged sun-disc, *wꜥꜣt* eyes and vessels can be found, flanking a *nfr* sign. The *nfr* sign was most common on Abydos stelae in the Late Period⁴⁷. Red, yellow, and black are used to indicate the sun disc, the feathers, part of *wꜥꜣt* eyes and vessels.

B. Central part

This stela depicts the hawk-headed sun-god, on the left, with two adorning men, as the main decorative scene. He stands on a platform and the symbols held by the god are not yet completed in the painting. Before him, there is a stand with a large lotus flower leaning on. Two men are raising their arms as adorning to god *Ra-Horakhty* (they are facing left; on the right-hand side of the stela). They have pointed noses and long, slit eyes extended by long cosmetic lines. The two men wear long and opaque kilts painted yellow and their torsos are naked, ornamented only by a simple collar. The second figure is relatively smaller. The two figures are shown with their natural hair, painted black⁴⁸ and have bracelets and anklets.

The figures are placed on a clearly defined baseline painted in black consisting of four painted bands of horizontal lines, with yellow, red, and black. Red was used to color the sun disc, the garments of *Ra-Horakhty* and a big lotus flower. Deceased figures were also represented in red. Yellow is applied to color the background of the text, the

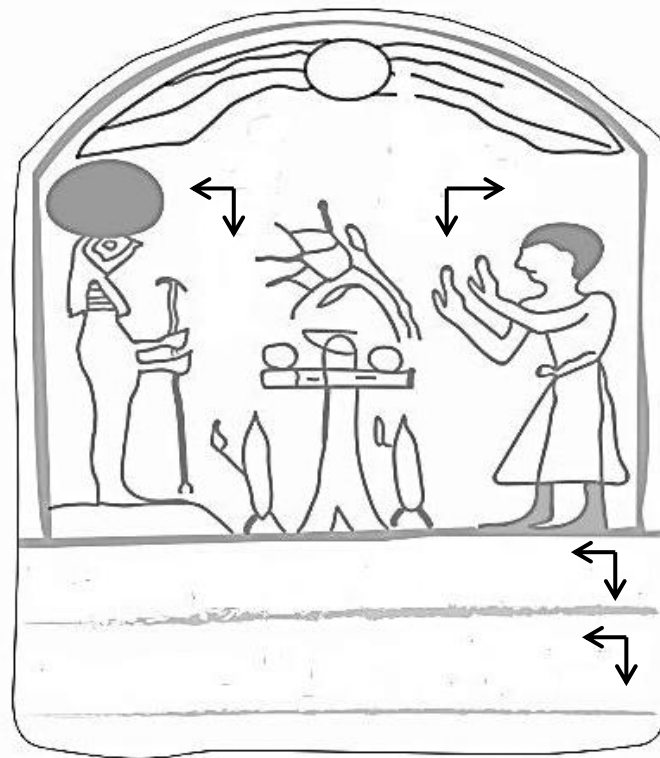
⁴⁷ HALLMANN 2015: 140.

⁴⁸ LEAHY comments on this representation of coiffeur when painted black. It is certainly natural hair. He added that on the Abydos stelae of the Late Period, men rarely wear wigs. LEAHY 1980: 171.

garments of the deceased, the *maat* platform, and the offering table. The outline of a lotus flower in front of the god's feet can be seen.


IV. STELA OF *3b ḥnsw ir (t) b (int)?* [GEM 12857]

The stela (Egyptian Museum in Cairo inv^o. TR 28/10/24/1) was made of limestone and painted. The measures are 21 cm in length, 28 cm in max height, and 4, 4 cm in max-width. It is a bipartite composition consisting of the lunette and the central part with the offering scene, framed by a red line and below the inscription on two horizontal bands. It was dated by Munro back to the 6th century. Based on stylistic similarities, Munro distinguished Abydos II, group F, and remarked that, furthermore, the owners of the stelae of this group held no or only subordinate ranks.⁴⁹



Facsimile of The stela of of *3b ḥnsw ir (t) b (int)?* (GEM 12857) without inscriptions
© done by Samir Gaber

1. The owner of the stela

Munro⁵⁰ and Leahy⁵¹ suggest the name of the adoring man can be *ḥn-ḥbt?* The authors suggest the name  is *3b ḥnsw ir (t) b (int)?*

⁴⁹ MUNRO 1973: 291.

⁵⁰ MUNRO 1973: 291.

⁵¹ LEAHY 1977: 139.

The signs are similar to *ḥ* [S34] but also *ḥ* [U23] then there are *sw* [M23], *h* [Aa1] and *n* [N35]; in the right *ir* [D4] and *b* [D58], plus determinative [A1]. In the main inscription the sequence is, too: *ḥh/ḥb* (?) + *b*, *sw*+ *h*+ *n*+ *ir*+ *b*+ determinative. The sequence *sw*+ *h*+ *n*, although not correct, is reminiscent of Khonsu. The authors think that the name may be represented *ḥb ḥnsw ir (t) b (int)* to mean «God *ḥnsw* stops the evil eye». Maybe this name is related to *ḥdb-ḥnsw-ir (t)-bin (t)* which are common in the Saite Period⁵². Unfortunately, the suggested name is not listed in Ranke⁵³ or Lüddeckens⁵⁴.

2. Description [FIGURES 5-6]

This stela, according to Munro, is classified in group F, where *Ra-Horakhty* is the only god depicted. The general descriptions of the stelae of this group always show the two-field division, but are directly linked to group D and thus indirectly to the Kushite-early Saite forms: the text section is usually short with two or three lines; the figurative field with the depiction of the dead in front of just one god and a large offering table still dominates the surface. It is no coincidence that the quality of the craftsmanship is also below average⁵⁵.



[FIGURE 5]: The stela of *ḥb ḥnsw ir (t) b (int)* (GEM 12857) © The Grand Egyptian Museum

⁵² RANKE 1934: 278, 16-19.

⁵³ RANKE: I, 1934.

⁵⁴ LÜDDECKENS 1981.

⁵⁵ MUNRO 1973: 291.



[FIGURE 6]: Facsimile of the stela of *3b hnsw ir (t) b (int)?* (GEM 12857)

A. Lunette




It consists of a simple winged sun-disc decorating the top rounded-lunette.

B. Central part




In the figurative field, that is not separated from the lunette, on the left is *Ra-Horakhty* in the customary mummiform aspect, holding the *w3s*-scepter. He carries a solar disk encircled by a *uraeus* on his head, and he is standing on a *m3't* platform.

In front of him, there is a big offering table, heaped up with three objects, with a big lotus flower at the top⁵⁶. The offerings consist of *nmst* vessel and round loaves of bread. Under it, there are two wine jars on stands, partially surrounded by buds of lotus. The owner is depicted with both arms raised in the traditional adoration gesture facing left to god *Ra-Horakhty*. He has pointed noses and long and slit eyes that are extended by long cosmetic lines. He wears long white and opaque kilts, and his torso is naked. The figure is shown with his natural hair, painted black. His costumes style reproduces Ramesside Period designs and types are you sure?. The god and the deceased size appear smaller than the previous two stelae.

⁵⁶ The same form of the louts' flower appeared by MUNRO 1973: Stela Cairo JE. 20262, Abydos II.F, PL.138; Stela Cairo JE.18520, Abydos II.F, PL.135; Cairo J.E. 12634, PL.140.

(c) *3bdw*: the most common spelling of *3bdw* during the Late Period is  ⁶¹. During the 25th and 26th dynasties, the sign  [N26] was replaced to  [N25]⁶².

(d) *krst nfr(t)*: This is characteristic of the 25th and 26th dynasties⁶³, reviving older phrases. Sometimes the formula appears also in the form *krst nfr (t) m hrt ntr*⁶⁴.

(e) *im3h.w*: it appears regularly in the Egyptian Non-royal Epithets⁶⁵. It appeared with different forms as , ,  ⁶⁶. During the Late Period, it appeared with abbreviate form⁶⁷.

V. DATING OF THE STELA

Munro⁶⁸ and Leahy⁶⁹ dated these stelae to the seventh and sixth century BC⁷⁰. According to prosopography, iconography, stylistic peculiarities, orthography, and the respective paleography, the three stelae are consistent with the features of the late 25th and 26th dynasties⁷¹.

As for the iconography, the presence of the single god *Ra-Horakhty*, his standing position and the position of the owners depicted on the right side raising both hands in adoration, and the offering table topped with a single flower between them, are popular features during the Third Intermediate Period⁷² which became distinctive for the stelae during the 25th and 26th dynasties⁷³. The hairstyle as a helmet-like wig and the natural hair for men⁷⁴, the human figures painted or incised on stelae, and their costumes type all continued through the late kushite specimens and then in the 26th dynasty.

⁶¹ JE 20240, JE 46783, JE 12634, JE 18520, JE 2262.

⁶² LEAHY 1977: 63.

⁶³ LEAHY 1977: 68.

⁶⁴ NIELSEN 2018: 241.

⁶⁵ ABDELRAHIEM 2011: 7.

⁶⁶ ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1926: vol.1, 82.

⁶⁷ JE 3390, JE 21972, JE 20262, Brussel E 4338, JE 21971, BM 961.

⁶⁸ MUNRO 1973: 273.

⁶⁹ LEAHY 1977: 139.

⁷⁰ Painted stelae are rather more common than carved or incised ones in the second half of the seventh century. Louvre E 13073 & T. 26/10/24/4.











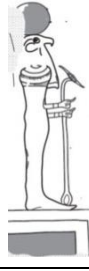






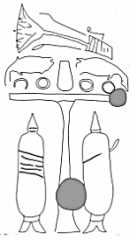












⁷¹ MUNRO 1973: 266 FIG.110; 270 FIG.114; 271 FIG.116; 285 FIG.134.

⁷² SALEH 2007: 19; STEWART 1983: Part. 3: The Late Period, 6, N°. 10. Another limestone stela UC 14590, depicts adoration to god Ra-Horakhty under the winged sun-disc, and was suggested to be probably from Abydos. STEWART 2007: 6, N°. 11, PL.8.

⁷³ HALLMANN 2015: 146; MUNRO 1973: 90.

⁷⁴ LEAHY stated that on the Abydos stelae of the Late Period, men rarely wear wigs. LEAHY 1980: 171, note 8.

THREE LATE PERIOD STELAE IN THE GRAND EGYPTIAN MUSEUM

GEM 12918	GEM 12919	GEM 12857	Stela Fitzwilliam E.SS.40 ⁷⁷	Stela BM EA638 ⁷⁶	Manchester Stela No. 6041 ⁷⁵ .
Lunette					
					
The God					
					
Offering tables					
					
The Mourners					
					
Lotuses					
					

[TABLE 1]: Decoration comparison between the stela (GEM 12918) & another stelae dating to 25th/26th dynasties

The lunettes occupy specific decoration, both stelae GEM 12918 and GEM 12919 are decorated with two *wꜥt*-eyes around various symbols, the *nfr* symbol and the symbol of *šn*, *mw*, and *iꜥb*. These and winged sun-disc appear more frequently in the

⁷⁵ NIELSEN 2018: 237–243.

⁷⁶ HALLMANN 2015: 134.

⁷⁷ HALLMANN 2015: 137.

forms connected to this period [TABLE 1-2]. According to the writing system it can be noticed that the orthography of *wsir*, *n k3*, *3bdw* and *krst nfr (t)* are usually characterized 25th and 26th dynasties.

GEM 12918	GEM 12919	GEM 12857	Stela Fitzwilliam E.SS.40	Stela BM EA638	Manchester Stela .Nº. 6041
	Unfinished stelea	-			
		-	-		
		-	-	-	
		-	-	-	-
		-	-	-	
		-	-	-	
-			-		
-					

[TABLE 2]: Inscriptions comparison between the stela (GEM 12918), stela (GEM 12857) & another stelae dating to 25th/26th dynasties

VI. STYLE AND WORKSHOP














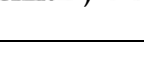










It is possible to consider a group of stelae as a product of the same workshop when they share some aspects in terms of composition, style, method of writing, and decoration coordination. But in spite of these common features, there are also differences, and in no case are all the distinguishing features found on all the stelae⁷⁸.

Although the three stelae are not an exact match there are nevertheless strong similarities. Which are? In terms of parallels, the arrangement and decoration of the stela are highly similar to several Late Period stelae listed in the following table.

VII. PALEOGRAPHICAL REMARKS

Although the stelae inscriptions are mainly written with hieroglyphic signs, some signs are cursive hieroglyphs, and hieratic. The next table shows unfamiliar writing of the signs which appeared on the stela of *T3y-k3* and the third stela of *3b hnsu ir (t) b (int)* [TABLE 3].

⁷⁸ FREED 1996: 298.


Sign	GEM 12918	GEM 12857	Notes
	-		
		-	Mariette considered this sign represent N29 (Δ) ⁷⁹ , while Leahy considers it part of the name without explain it. The authors think that it is to be a determinative B1 (Σ) ⁸⁰ after the personal name.
		-	
		-	
			
			The ripple of water appeared as a horizontal line with the same form of hieratic. ⁸⁰
		-	Lamp wick appeared as vertical line without any twists ⁸¹ . It is similar with the same form of hieratic. ⁸²
	-		The sign appeared with the hieratic form ⁸³ . In the painted stelea during 25 th and 26 th dynasties this form is a common ⁸⁴ .
	-		Plants have a simple form with a straight vertical line and two horizontal lines across it to represent the branches.
	-		Chisel appeared in unfamiliar form. The upper part is a dot and chisel tip is small horizontal line.
	-		This writing appears with the same form of hieratic where two horizontal line.

[TABLE 3]: Unfamiliar writing of the signs on the stelae of *T3y-k3* and *3b hnsw ir (t) b (int)?*

VIII. ERROR AND MISTAKES

The general form of the inscription of the stelae is weak, as the scribe suffered from few eccentricities as follows:

1. Stela GEM 12918

Col.4: *prt-hrw*: It appears to be a spelling error of the word in this line, for no word in this form exists. We suggest that  must be *prt-hrw*.

Col.4: the scribe ignores the determinative of the word *hnkt*  [W22]

Col.5: The spelling of *jrt* for *jrrt* in this column appears to be erroneous where it appears as the abbreviated spelling.

Col.6: The omission of the feminine endings of the adjectives such as *nb(t) nfr(t) w^cb(t)*.

⁷⁹ MARIETTE 1880: 482.


⁸⁰ VERHOEVEN 2001: 31 N^o. 331.


⁸¹ HARING 2006: 71 § 106.

⁸² MÖLLER 1909: N^o. 525.

⁸³ MÖLLER 1909: 24.263.

⁸⁴ LEAHY 1977: 55.



Col.8: There is an error with the determinatives used with the personal names where the scribe used squat body. It should be  [B1] rather than this form.

C.8: the scribe has an error in the orientation of the sign  [F30].

C.9: the order of signs in the spelling of *snt* here is an error by the scribe.

2- Stela GEM 12857

L.1: the line should be read *dd mdw in* not *dd mdw in n*. The use of *n* must be an error by the scribe.

L.2: There is a writing error here as the scribe used the determinative  [A3] instead of  [A1]

L.2: the sequence *sw + h + n*  in the name of the owner.

Conclusion?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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A NEW VIEW ON THE MONUMENTS OF THE RAJAJIL SITE

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A NEW VIEW ON THE MONUMENTS OF THE RAJAJIL SITE

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ABSTRACT

[AR]

رؤية جديدة لآثار موقع الرجاجيل

يقع موقع الرجاجيل الغامض على بعد ١٠ كيلومترات جنوب غرب ساكا في منطقة الجوف بالمملكة العربية السعودية. تضم آثار الموقع ٥٤ مجموعة منفصلة من أعمدة الحجر الرملي المحلية التي تتكون من أكوام دائرية بسيطة من الصخور المهشمة. لا يُعرف سوى القليل عن آثار الرجاجيل، التي تعود إلى العصر الحجري الحديث والعصر النحاسي (حوالي ٦٥٠٠ إلى ٢٨٠٠ قبل الميلاد)، لأن البحث في ثقافات الرجاجيل لا يزال في مراحله الأولى. نظرًا لندرة المصادر، حاول كل باحث تفسير هذا الموقع الحجري بشكل منفصل دون ربطه بالآراء الأخرى. لذا ترسم الورقة البحثية سيناريو يمكن أن يربط بين الوظائف المقترحة واختفاء حضارة الموقع من الولادة إلى الموت من خلال نقطتين: أولاً، يمثل موقع الرجاجيل مستوطنة محلية تضم العديد من المباني للإسكان والعبادة والأنشطة المدنية. غير الرعاة الذين استقروا في الموقع أسلوب حياتهم من «الرعى» إلى «الواحة». ثانيًا، أدى التغير المناخي الشديد إلى تدهور الموقع بسبب انتشار الجفاف والتصحر تدريجيًا. كما خلفت عاصفة قوية مفترضة الدمار في منطقة موقع الرجاجيل. فقد سقطت مباني الموقع في العاصفة وتضررت إلى أجزاء، كما يمكننا رؤيتها كأكوام حجرية بشكل منفصل في الموقع. قد تكون هذه الأسباب قد أجبرت السكان على الهجرة من موقع الرجاجيل إلى منطقة أخرى. في وقت لاحق، قام بعض المسافرين أو البدو المحليين بالتخييم في الموقع وإعادة استخدام بعض الأعمدة الحجرية كأعمدة خيام (منازل البدو) بينما أعادت استخدام الأعمدة الأخرى كشواهد قبور. فقد عانى موقع الرجاجيل في أوقات غير معروفة من حرائق عشبية ضخمة. اعتيادية في المنطقة. يروي موقع الرجاجيل القصة الحقيقية لميلاد وموت حضارة محلية عاشت في صمت صحراء شبه الجزيرة العربية.

[EN] The enigmatic site of *Rajajil* is located precisely 10 km southwest of Sakaka in the Jawf region of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The site monuments include fifty-four separated groups of local sandstone pillars comprising simple circular heaps of damaged boulders. Little is known about the *Rajajil* monuments, which date from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic eras (c. 6500 to 2800 BC), because research into the *Rajajil* Cultures is still in its early stages. Due to the scarcity of source material, every scholar tried to interpret this megalithic site separately without connecting it with the other views. The paper draws a scenario that could connect the suggested functions and the disappearance of the site's civilization from birth to death through two points: First, the *Rajajil* site represented a domestic settlement comprising many buildings for housing, worshipping, and civil activities. The shepherds who settled on the site changed their lifestyle from «pastoralization» to «oasisation». Second, drastic climate change has led to the site's decline because of gradually spreading dryness and aridity. A supposed powerful storm left a trail of devastation in the area of the *Rajajil* site. The site buildings fell in the storm and were damaged into pieces, as we can see them as cairns separately in the location. Such reasons may have forced the settlers to migrate from the *Rajajil* site to another area. Later, some travellers or local Bedouins camped the site and reused some stone pillars as tent poles (Bedouins houses) while the other pillars were reused as gravestones. *Rajajil* suffered from massive grass fires, typical for the area, at unknown times. The *Rajajil* site tells the true story of the birth and death of a local civilisation that lived in the desert's silence of the Arabian Peninsula.

KEYWORDS: Stone pillars, Neolithic Age, Ancestor commemoration, Domestic buildings, pastoral tribes, Levant, Sakaka, pastoralization, oasisation, Arabian Peninsula.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Arabian Saudi Peninsula has many mysterious sites characterized by stone-built structures called by archaeologists as cairns, megalithic, or mustatils, and they are known to the Bedouin as the «works of the ancient people»¹.

Modern human activities have destroyed many archaeological structures scattered throughout the area. One of these sites is the enigmatic site of *Rajajil* that is located 10 km southwest of *Sakaka* in the *Jawf* region. The unique stone pillars of this site could be dated to the late sixth and early fifth millennium BC², but a few shreds around the stone pillars have raised the possibility of a fourth millennium BC date³.

Because of the interest of the Saudi government in local heritage, the Saudi American Archaeological Mission carried out excavations in the 1970s under the supervision of Zarins. He summarized his study by saying that «the *Rajajil* site represented the focal point of a semi-sedentary village with a tumuli area and a central ceremonial complex in the *Sakaka* basin»⁴. Thus, Zarin's early articles have influenced several scholars who stick to his point of view concerning the *Rajajil* site. Since 2012, the site has been subject to planned investigations by a joint project of the Saudi Commission for Tourism and Antiquities, Riyadh. The results showed that the pillars were erected on the original sand layer of the site, indicating that there are no old foundations at the bottom of this structure.

Additionally, no bones or funeral equipment could help scholars understand the purpose of erecting that site⁵. Recently, Almushawh studied the structural remains of the site for her PhD and concluded that the site has an astronomical function but with no factual evidence⁶. Therefore, the mystery remains unsolved, as no clear layout of the site's structures is defined⁷. Every previous study about the site's function tried to prove its view separately without connecting it with the other views. Based on available discoveries, this paper proposes a view that connects between the function and the end reason of the site civilization of *Rajajil* in addition to a specific scenario to the site life story of *Rajajil*. It depends on the analysis of the various hypothesizes in some detail to bring these views closer together since we are at the beginning of the research for the *Rajajil* Cultures, as we shall discuss below.

¹ KENNEDY 2011: 3185-3186; KENNEDY 2020: 120; THOMAS 2021: 2.

² GEBEL 2016: 87.

³ ZARINS 1979: 74, 77; AL-MUAIKEL 1988: 67, 70; MAGEE 2014: 85; PURSCHWITZ 2017: 302.

⁴ ZARINS 1979: 76.

⁵ GEBEL & MAHASNEH 2013: 127-158.

⁶ ALMUSHAWH: 2016: 220.

⁷ KHAN 2014: 551.

II. DESCRIPTION

The current name of this site *Rajajil*, is derived from the area's local inhabitants. It is an abandoned word that means «standing men» in the local pronunciation. They have chosen this name because the stone pillars appeared to be men standing side-by-side [FIGURE 1]⁸. The *Rajajil* stone pillars are erroneously often called the «Stonehenge of Arabia» compared to the «Stonehenge of England» in touristic contexts⁹.



[FIGURE 1]. The standing stone pillars of the *Rajajil* site.

<https://www.skyscrapercity.com/threads/anciant-saudi-arabia.865888>, Accessed on June 12, 2020.

The site of *Rajajil* is located precisely 10 km southwest of *Sakaka* in the *Jawf* region of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (between Longitude E 40° 13' 13" and Latitude N°. 29° 48' 45"). It is on a low sandstone terrace 600 m above sea level¹⁰. The site includes fifty-four separated groups of local sandstone pillars comprising simple circular heaps of damaged stones. These groups are related to an irregular circle that extends about eight hundred m² in diameter. Each group comprises two to ten pillars¹¹. Curiously, eleven groups still have preserved stone pillars long enough to be inserted into the ground to have a solid foundation. The pillars are nearly 3.5 m in height and 75 cm in width. They are standing, sloping, broken or lying above the ground. A few pillars bear some mysterious figures and *Thamudic* signs¹². The vast surrounding territory succumbed to

⁸ LEWIS 2013: 9, 49.

⁹ GEBEL 2017: 1.

¹⁰ ALMUSHAWH 2018: 4.

¹¹ GEBEL 2013: 119, FIG.1.

¹² ZARINS 1979: 74-76.

modern agricultural and building activities that unfortunately led to the partial destruction of the archaeological area.

III. PREVIOUS HYPOTHESES AND STUDIES

The megalithic structures' erection required high physical ability from the ancient inhabitants, who had specific views, beliefs, and contemplative viewpoints on the world. Now, we can present a review of other researchers' works on the site function. Six hypotheses try to decipher the enigma of these standing stone pillars of the *Rajajil* site:

1. The *Rajajil* site has religious significance. Its remains have a circular dimension rounded around an altar or a temple in the middle of the site. Furthermore, there are *Thamudic* signs of animals (camel? ibex? oryx? cheetah?), riding and (socializing) human scenes (dancing?) on the northern side of the stone pillars [FIGURE 2]¹³. Besides, no other site is close to the *Rajajil* site's pillared structure in the entire Northern Province. Thus, the site may serve as a communal meeting place for certain diverse social groups to conduct ethno religious roles¹⁴.



[FIGURE 2]: *Thamudic* depictions of animals and (socializing) human scenes
GEBEL 2016: FIG.19.

In contrast, the stone pillars have no identification signs to consider as religious symbols. There are no remains of sacrificial offerings discovered on this site.

¹³ GEBEL 2016: 105.

¹⁴ ZARINS 1979: 76.

Additionally, the travellers of the later times may add some petroglyphic depictions on the caravans' road across the desert near the *Rajajil* site. At three sites south of *Sakaka* near the *Rajajil* site, Khalil Ibrahim al-Muaqil discovered more than 150 early Arabic inscriptions written in the *Thamudic* script. They were dated by Suleiman Adhdhyyb between the third century BC and the third century AD¹⁵.

2. The *Rajajil* site had an astronomical function because its residents aligned six rows of stone pillars towards the rising sun and the others to the northward south, where the Arctic star 'Capricorn' ¹⁶. Furthermore, the *Rajajil* site belonged to the dawn of agriculture practices during the Neolithic Age and later, which required astronomical knowledge¹⁷. Moreover, one of the so-called *Thamudic* signs is an arrow directed at the sky. These signs of celestial objects reflect the knowledge of astronomy¹⁸.

The previous hypothesis is based mainly on extrapolations, inferences, cautious empirical experiments, and uncertain measurements. It is noteworthy that some other damaged stone pillars are next to these six rows of stone pillars. Therefore, the suggestion that all these pillars follow a specific axis is not proven¹⁹. Hence, the occupants of the *Rajajil* site did not register any signs of celestial objects on these standing stone pillars during the Neolithic age. Furthermore, those scholars did not explain how the ancient dwellers acquired their knowledge of astronomy in ancient times, and they provided no evidence to back up their claim. For example, Almushawh wrote: «the significant North-South adjustments of these stone pillars is a preliminary study and just tries to predict a proper sample for a future full-scale project that improves various aspects of this hypothesis in the Saudi Arabian megalithic sites»²⁰.

3. The dwellers used the stone pillars of the *Rajajil* site as symbols associated with burial²¹. They inserted these stone pillars into the ground side-by-side and extended them along the eastwards-west axis of the site. The cairns of the *Rajajil* site, together with the standing pillars, represent the ruins of destroyed rooms multi-chambered dedicated to burial. These burial chambers have a ceremonial role rather than their original function as a cemetery. They provided a focal point for ancestral identity²². We need to compare the *Rajajil* site with the other related locations in the Arabian Peninsula to sketch the primary features of this scene. In the areas of the Lithic Ages (as the al-Midaman and Bani-Murra sites), which were contemporary to the *Rajajil* site, the chain

¹⁵ ADH-DHYYB 2002: 3.

¹⁶ MAGEE 2014: 85.

¹⁷ ALMUSHAWH 2018: 6-7.

¹⁸ ALMUSHAWH 2016: 4-5, 166; 2018, 5-7, FIGS.5, 8-11.

¹⁹ GEBEL & MAHASNEH 2009: 1-9.

²⁰ ALMUSHAWH 2018: 7.

²¹ KEALL 1998: 145.

²² GEBEL 2016: 89-90.

of isolated and clustered circular structures around these pillars related to funeral ceremonies²³. On the Yemeni *Tihama* coast, the seven funerary or cultic sites of *al-Midamman* have stone pillars inserted into the ground. This feature could show that successive generations used them as funerary stelae in the early ages. There are similarities in use between the standing stone pillars of the *Rajajil* site and these sites²⁴. In that context, the absence of human and animal remains at the *Rajajil* site can be attributed to the following thoughts: 1) Peculiar funerary rituals such as incineration did not preserve the body but preserved charcoal and ash. 2) At funeral homes, human skeletal remains are rarely preserved. 3) The disappearance of grave goods was caused by hundreds of years of illegal looting of archaeological remains. Accordingly, the Bedouins used these stone pillars not only as gravestones but also as memorial pillars where some celebrations of the ancestors were held to perform funeral practices²⁵. The generations visited these sacred places to regain the glories of their ancestors, who had a particular rank in their tribes' memory. Thus, these sites have played an essential role in the social transactions and tribal identity associated with ancestor commemoration²⁶. The pastoral tribes met in places for watering flocks, enabling semi-permanent settlements.

On the other hand, the funerary structures must relate to civil sites where the inhabitants lived and buried their dead in their necropolis. If these standing pillars represented the remains of funeral chambers or gravestones, where were the houses of the living ones? The scholars did not discover any signs engraved on the stone pillars that could identify those ancestors. We can give a specific view in that context. See *infra*.

4. The elite of the Pastoral tribes constructed such stone pillars to symbolize their unification according to the tribal confederation ideology and identity. Thus, these sites represented centers for the festivals of agreements and treaties²⁷. This latter opinion has no evidence of tribal identities or celebrations performed on the *Rajajil* site. It is noteworthy that the Bedouins of every tribe had their festivals or rituals.

5. The stone pillars refer to the safest route to travel because this site is on the cross-trade routes between the Levant and Mesopotamia²⁸. One cannot ignore the Bronze Age necropolis of *Tamriyat*, northward-east of *Sakaka*, or the *Tabuk* Region, where turret tombs punctuate the valley slopes to define the ancient routes. If the tombs are many, this could prove the continued usage of these tombs as route signs throughout the

²³ GEBEL & MAHASNEH: 2013, 135.

²⁴ KHALIDI: 2008, 6,18.

²⁵ GEBEL 2009: 1-2; 2016: 83.

²⁶ GEBEL & WELLBROCK 2019: 251.

²⁷ AL-MUAIKEL 1988: 71; NEWTON & ZARINS 2000: 171.

²⁸ GEBEL 2017: 9, 12.

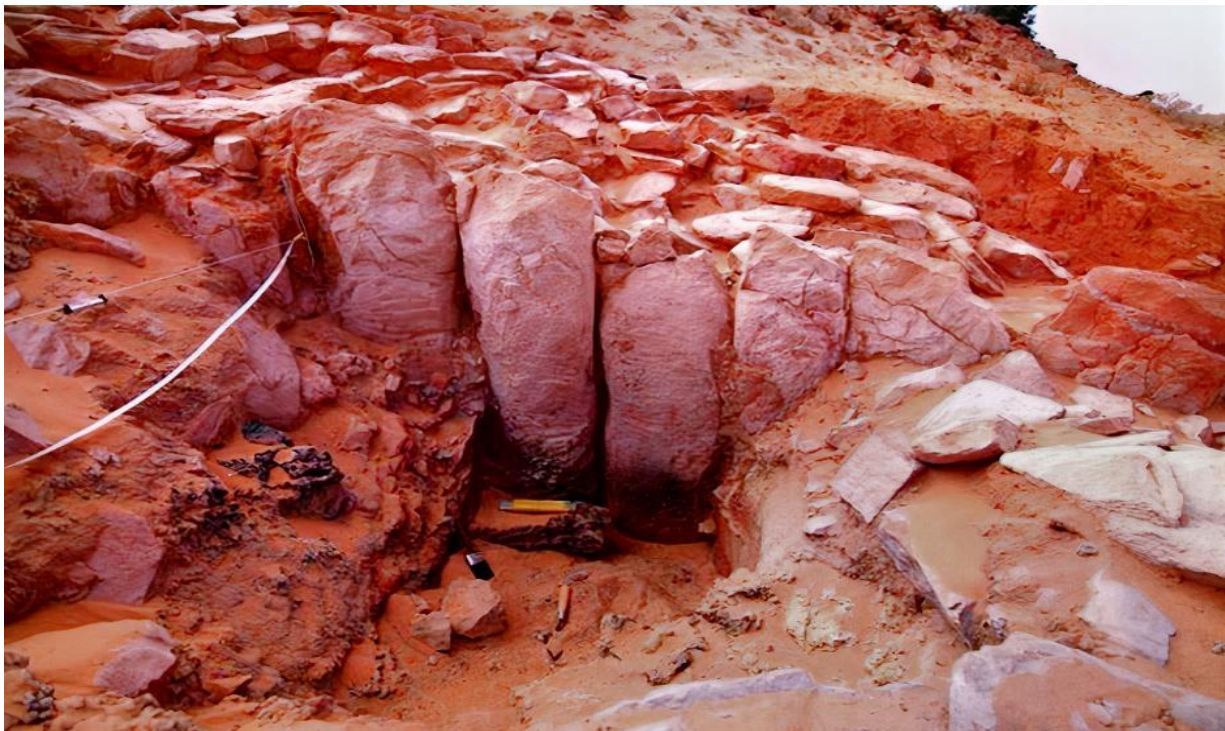
centuries. Many megalithic structures flank communicating routes known as «funerary avenues» between the oases and the hinterland²⁹.

This hypothesis is not accepted because the caravans did not need this considerable number of stone pillars in the same place.

IV. NEW VIEW

Now, because of the differences set forth above between the previous hypotheses, we can gather some other shreds of evidence that gives us a better idea of the *Rajajil* stone pillars' function, as follows:

1. Pottery shreds of the *Rajajil* site connected to a general type with a variable buff to yellow or light brown slip. Other shreds were dull brown or reddish. Although Zarins interprets these features to the prolonged exposure to the heat at the surface³⁰, I propose they were signs of burning many times to prepare the food. Moreover, we note burning signs appeared at the bottom of some pillars' sides near the edge of the cairns [FIGURE 3]. These signs showed the residents prepared the food on a specific side where a kitchen was at the end of the house, and they might have used palm fronds or animal dung as fire materials for stoves. Unlike wood, these materials leave no charcoal fragments after combustion³¹.



[FIGURE 3]: The burning remains appear clearly on the lower part of some stone pillars.

<https://english.alarabiya.net/life-style/art-and-culture/2018/09/19/Did-archeologists-unveil-the-secret-of-the-man-like-columns-in-Saudi-Arabia>, Accessed on April 15 / 2019.

²⁹ HAUSLEITER & ZUR 2016: 165.

³⁰ ZARINS 1979: 75.

³¹ GEBEL 2017: 14.

2. Pottery was a fundamental phenomenon for the commercial exchange among the kingdoms of the Ancient Near East³². Overall, the nature of the pottery at the *Rajajil* site is like the pottery discovered at other sites in Sinai, Negev, Palestine, and Transjordan. The industry was homogeneous in typology and technique among these sites because people had commercial relations³³. The trade extended between the agricultural communities from Sinai to the northeast of the Arabian Peninsula (*Jawf/Naqab*), where *Rajajil* is located³⁴. *Rajajil* played a significant role in the trade connections between Mesopotamia and the Levant³⁵.

3. In the center of the site, scattered remains of pillars lie on a high hill. The layout of this rectangular structure shows a building divided into courts and side chambers. The standing stone pillars support the roof [FIGURE 4]. This building could represent a temple or a palace for the ruler that was overlooking the site.



[FIGURE 4]: Remains of pillars and debris on the high hill of *Rajajil*.

GEBEL 2013: 155, FIG.27.

4. A team from the Department of Antiquities excavated one structure at the *Rajajil* site in 1977. The structure is composed of four wide slabs of sandstone, and its design almost forms the shape of a horseshoe. The stone pillars rested on the firm layer of the ground³⁶, so the inhabitants had to erect their buildings' pillars on the rocky floor.

³² GEBEL & WELLBROCK 2019: 257.

³³ ZARINS 1979: 75.

³⁴ GEBEL & MAHASNEH 2013: 142.

³⁵ AL-MUAIKEL 1988: 65, 87.

³⁶ AL-MUAIKEL 1988: 65.

5. According to the photo-analysis of Google Earth, the *Rajajil* site is located on a torrent shore of freshwater [FIGURE 5]. The inhabitants used this river as a source of freshwater³⁷. Additionally, this river deposited sediment along its two edges. Then, these available agricultural requirements made the *Rajajil* land ideal for stability and residence. Evidently, a cluster of 125 hearths identified the landscape of the Jubbah site that is situated on the coast of an inter-dune lake in the western Nefud desert³⁸. We can suggest that this torrent of water gushed into this lake, where the residents settled on the two river edges and its lake.



[FIGURE 5]: The *Rajajil* site locates on the shore of a torrent shore of the freshwater *Rajajil* Columns - Google Maps

6. The *Rajajil* site is on a rocky hill of sandstone to avoid the risk of destruction because of the repercussions of flood torrents. Therefore, the mild slope of this hillside was leveled to be suitable for building dwellings.

7. By comparing the landscapes of the *Rajajil* site with the contemporaneous proto-oases of the Arabian Peninsula, such as *al-Hait* in central Arabia, or *Khawlan at-Tiyal* in Yemen, the standing pillars are the central architectural feature. In such cases, the main layout of these standing pillars shows rooms that could be quite large (up to 9-10 m long). These rooms have one or two stone pillars to carry the roof. Large orthostats often frame doorways that may also have stone thresholds and open central space³⁹.

Similarly, the inhabitants of the *Rajajil* site used these standing pillars as columns in domestic buildings because the sturdy trunks were suitable for carrying heavy roofs. Furthermore, the height is appropriate for living [FIGURE 6]. Those residents regularly

³⁷ LORETO 2013: 213.

³⁸ GUAGNIN 2020: 108.

³⁹ EDENS 1999: 122.

stacked many pillars to represent the walls of buildings. The cairns of the *Rajajil* site could also define multi-room structures with enclosed courtyards.



[FIGURE 6]: The height of the *Rajajil* stone pillars is fit for carrying a roof.
[Http://www.alrassxp.com/forum/t64779.html](http://www.alrassxp.com/forum/t64779.html), Accessed on June 10/2020.

8. Hans-Georg K. Gebel (Freie Universität, Berlin) discovered seventy circular pits on the south slope of the *Rajajil* site [FIGURE 7]. They included human bones and grave goods, such as fan scrapers, mace heads/weights, sea-shell bracelets, and beads⁴⁰. At one of them, he discovered a paved passage flanked by two benches for resting and leading up the hill⁴¹. The people used these pits as local graves because their number and the discoveries could show a traditional burial field on the site. There is no proof that the south slope and the standing stone monuments were contemporaneous. However, comparative evidence from the Funerary Landscape of the *Taymā* oasis shows extended burial areas around the oasis settlements. These burial areas existed to the south of the *Taymā* oasis, like those pits at the *Rajajil* site⁴². The funerary architecture still needs a systematic distribution map to be drawn for the *Rajajil* site.

⁴⁰ GEBEL 2017: 14.

⁴¹ GEBEL 2013: 120; 2016: 87, 90.

⁴² HAUSLEITER & ZUR 2016: 140, 158.



[FIGURE 7]: Some 70 visible pits are on the south slope of the site
Rajajil Columns - Google Maps

For all the reasons mentioned above, we can define the stone pillars of the *Rajajil* site as house columns. All the previous points prove that the site was a settlement for housing. Its inhabitants achieved many agricultural and herding crafts activities, either on the edges of its torrent of freshwater or in wells in the surrounding desert. From this point of view, we can offer more opportunities for observations concerning the landscape of the *Rajajil* site, which witnessed the growth of oasis life and modest agricultural intensification, setting a course toward complex societies.

V. DISCUSSION

The Saudi-German Project at the *Rajajil* site highlighted the landscapes of mobile pastoralists during the early occupational phases. Here, the field investigations in the northwest of Saudi Arabia extended to previous research conducted in Syria and Jordan. The results of such works added another dimension to ancient Near Eastern history. We can grasp distinct parts of the Peninsula's hitherto underappreciated environmental diversity during the critical transitional phases from pastoral to settled oases of the Middle-to-Late Bronze Age.

The proper definition of «landscape» is a natural environment changed by the cultural behavior of human beings. The monuments of these archaeological sites resulted from the domestication of organized societies. While farming was opportunistic and seasonal in this area, the residents did not see it in the same way. This landscape served as the focal point of their social lives. Their living experience taught them how to carve out their niche, developing modes of existence in these areas. It is essential to show that the landscape that now characterizes the *Rajajil* site has changed since its first human settlement, as the landscape we live in is still growing and changing.

Pastoral tribes have followed a central transhumance pattern before colonization since the late sixth millennium. Several families assembled on longer-term sites in winter, and they dispersed in the dry summer to the ephemeral locations. Then, they tried to settle on sites with the fundamentals of life, such as fresh water and fertile soil. These sites seem like oases in the desert. The clusters included houses, pens, and storage facilities. Although the Neolithic period coincided with increased homes and inhabitants, the inventory rates of agricultural production remained low, below the local landscape capacity, until the Early Bronze Age⁴³. Now, we can draw the scenario of what happened to the *Rajajil* site into five points:

The first point is to sketch the development of the settlements of the fifth millennium BC. After the climate had become drier and warmer, the pastoral tribes settled in the hydrological favorable areas during the so-called Rapid Climate Change (6000 to 5200/5000 BP)⁴⁴. The *Rajajil* ground has a rich clay soil suitable for agriculture until now [FIGURE 8], and it looked like an oasis in the middle of the desert. These necessities of life helped people gradually settle down on the site. They fed the flocks at watering locations, built pens and human shelters, practiced their funeral traditions, demonstrated identity by commemorating ancestral bonds, and mediated social and economic relations with their neighbors⁴⁵.



[FIGURE 8]: Bulldozed land surfaces preparing new fields, and an olive yard on the dunes sustained by dripper irrigation with water from deep wells; near *Rajajil*.
 GEBEL & WELLBROCK 2019: 253, FIG.12.7.

⁴³ GUAGNIN 2020: 105.

⁴⁴ CHIOTIS 2019: 19.

⁴⁵ GEBEL & MAHASNEH 2013: 132.

This new socio-economy must have developed gradually and regionally in diverse ways from the previous pastoral cultures. The people of the *Rajajil* site began the transition from a hunter-gathering tribe «pastoralization» to a sedentary and agricultural lifestyle «oasisation». The residents of the *Rajajil* site developed a distinctive domestic, ritual, and funerary architectural tradition characterized by standing stones. The transition of the former pastoral hydraulic and sepulchral ecosystems may have begun in the fifth millennium BC (the period corresponding to the Chalcolithic in the Levant), establishing proto-oases at favorite hydrological locations like the *Rajajil* site. This trajectory, however, does not imply that the use of pastoral steppes ceased during oasis periods, but rather that it continued as a sub-activity of life⁴⁶.

Furthermore, the residents of *Rajajil* took advantage of their privileged location at the crossroads of trade routes that connected Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, and Mesopotamia during the Prehistoric Period. They exchanged pottery and agricultural products with their neighbors in the Fertile Crescent, the Levant, and the Arabian Peninsula tribes. This view would show that the Arabian Peninsula was more appropriate for habitation than it would seem nowadays. The survey of the Northern Province of the Arabian Peninsula identified twelve Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites in Jubbah⁴⁷. Many settlements, such as *Rajajil*, *Rizqeh*, and *Qulban Banī Murra*, flourished along the edges of the great deserts during the Stone Ages⁴⁸. At least these sites had ceremonial buildings, residential structures, graves, and hydraulic installations⁴⁹.

The *Rajajil* site includes most of the previous elements too. It is characterized by a succession of endorheic depressions trapping sediments and water⁵⁰. The economy of the *Rajajil* became wealthy because of fast-growing agricultural production and flourishing commercial relations. Thus, it had the power to erect unique buildings of sandstone that were collected from the immediate landscape. Moreover, funeral pits existed commonly around the settlement of the *Rajajil*, like any typical settlement in the Ancient Near East.

The second point suggests that the *Rajajil* site's stone pillars were architectural elements of buildings dedicated to roofs. Every separated cairn of the site represents the ruins of a separate building. The problem is that the site landscape of *Rajajil*, expected to have covered several square km, was destroyed by modern agricultural development before the pillared areas were fenced, so that little can be said about its domestic quarters. Scholars did not define the main layout of such buildings until now. We can

⁴⁶ GEBEL & WELLBROCK 2019: 251.

⁴⁷ GUAGNIN 2020: 106.

⁴⁸ GEBEL & MAHASNEH 2013: 132.

⁴⁹ GEBEL & WELLBROCK 2019: 257.

⁵⁰ CHARBONNIER 2019: 223.

suggest a layout of the traditional building on the site. Ground plans of houses in the earlier *Rajajil* Culture were identified from the best-known location of *Qulban Banī Murra* in Northern Arabia. Every building may comprise an oval or sub-rectangular one-room, often separated by one or two pairs of stone pillars. The inhabitants of the *Rajajil* reused stone pillars as gates, lintels, door jambs, and columns in their domestic structures. The settlers of the *Rajajil* site used organic materials like palm branches to erect roofs and doors. These materials decomposed or were burned by the fire disaster. *Rajajil* suffered from massive grass fires, typical for the area, at unknown times. Traces of these fire blasts were found at many spots, turning sand even into lumps of glazed material.

After transitioning from a Bedouin lifestyle to an oasis lifestyle, the residents erected the walls and columns of the domestic buildings out of local sandstone. They practice their social activities and the traditional tasks of daily life inside these buildings. They used many fan scrapers and other stone tools as house tools. The house interiors still provided some opportunities for concealment, including hoarding and preparing the food. Therefore, we observe the remains of burning on the lower parts of the stone pillars.

The third point is devoted to discussing the reasons for the inhabitants' migration away from the site. When the climate changes get drier and warmer, the local climate is harsh with seasonal and annual variations. The drastic climate change led the site to decline because of the spread of dryness and aridity gradually. Additionally, an expected powerful storm left a trail of devastation in the area of the *Rajajil* site. The site buildings fell in the storm and were damaged into pieces, as we can see them as falling into pieces as we can see them as falling into pieces separately in the location. The evidence comes from analyzing two aspects: a) The buildings' solid structural elements, such as the stone pillars, withstand the wind and continue to stand, slope, or lie on the ground [FIGURE 9]. These conditions might have caused severe storms of sand that covered the clay soil of the site. The event also caused the disappearance of arable soil and the obliteration of fresh torrents. b) the lack of many everyday artefacts among the cairns. They may have drifted away to somewhere nearby because their weight is light against the fierce winds. c) The *Rajajil* site's ground layers are made up of a thin layer of lacustrine diatomite sediments. The sands have covered this layer for a long time because of the fierce winds⁵¹.

⁵¹ LORETO 2013: 217, FIG.5.



[FIGURE 9]: The stone pillars are standing, sloping or damaged into pieces.
https://mautz.net/saudi_2019/saudi.htm, Accessed on October 2/2019.

The fourth point is the existence of some of the so-called *Thamudic* signs inscribed on some stone pillars of the *Rajajil* site. These signs are dated between the third century BC and the third century AD (see *supra*). The reasons mentioned above have forced people to migrate from the *Rajajil* site to another area. Thus, the site became abandoned for a long time. Later, some travellers or local Bedouins camped the site and reused some stone pillars as non-solid houses while the other pillars reused them as gravestones. Accordingly, some pillared burial structures in *Rajajil*'s fenced area were reused - if not rebuilt - to serve domestic purposes later, even shortly after they lost their original function as burials. Such pillared structures have the same ground plans as in other parts of Northern Arabia, and here they represent double- or multi-chambered burial structures of various types and times. They left a few signs/graffiti/inscriptions on the pillars' remains. The fifth point is that the absence of organic matter among the cairns could be due to decomposition or a fire disaster.

VI. CONCLUSION

To sum, the semi-arid and desert regions of the north-eastern Arabian Peninsula have produced a remarkable record of human occupation during the fifth millennium BC. Although many scholars have tried to give various interpretations of that mysterious site, little is known about the function of its monuments. The suggested scenario in the context of the landscape concept is that pastoral tribes chose the *Rajajil* site to erect their new settlement with home-style structures. They changed the lifestyle

from «pastoralization» to «oasisation» by using the steppe and desert to their advantage, and they adapted to the physical constraints of such landscapes. The *Rajajil* residents traded with their neighbours to exchange pottery and agricultural products and established the primary local civilization by erecting their buildings from stone. The stone-building activities of the people have proven the desire for stability on the site for a long time. Unfortunately, the settlement was abandoned because of drastic climate change, and later, a powerful storm destroyed the site's buildings, which became just cairns everywhere. Some stone columns, which had carried the roofs of these buildings, are still standing or sloping, fallen or been damaged into pieces. This disaster storm drifted away the artifacts of daily life to somewhere nearby. The absence of organic matter among the cairns was because of decomposition. The severe sandstorms caused the land to become barren and all the wells to run dry. The nature of the *Rajajil* land indicates that the sand layer covers clay soil. Such reasons may have induced people to migrate from the *Rajajil* site to another area. Later, some travellers or local Bedouins camped in the site and reused stone pillars as non-solid houses and other pillars as gravestones. With the same ground plans as in other areas of Northern Arabia, such pillared structures represent double- or multi-chambered burial structures of various types and times. Some of these burial structures in *Rajajil's* fenced area were reused - if not rebuilt - to serve domestic purposes later on, even shortly after they lost their original function as burials. The *Rajajil* site tells the true story of the birth and death of a local civilization that lived in the desert's silence of the Arabian Peninsula.

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ANALYTIC STUDY OF TWO STELAE OF IMN-M-HAT-SNB*

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ANALYTIC STUDY OF TWO STELAE OF *TMN-M-ḥ3t-šNB**

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[AR]

دراسة تحليلية للوحتين لأمون-إم-حات-سنب

يتناول البحث نشر ودراسة لوحتين من عصر الأسرة 13 لرجل يدعى أمون-إم-حات-سنب، نمتي-إم-وسخت، والذي تقلد الألقاب: الأمير الوراثي، الأمير، الرفيق العظيم المحبوب، حامل أختام ملك مصر السفلى، والمشرف على البيت العظيم. عُثِر على اللوحتين في الجبانة الشمالية بأبيدوس واللوحتان محفوظتان الآن في المتحف المصري بالقاهرة تحت أرقام CG 20100 و CG 20087، في الدور الأرضي قاعة رقم R 22. البحث يقدم وصف مفصل لتصوير الأفراد على اللوحتين وكذلك النصوص المسجلة عليهما. ومع ذلك، فإن التركيز على علم الانساب تسمح بإعادة بناء شجرة العائلة الخاصة بأمون-إم-حات-سنب، نمتي-إم-وسخت، وكذلك محاولة ربط بعض من بقية الأفراد المصورين على اللوحتين به.

[EN] This article presents two stelae from the 13th dynasty of *Imn-m-ḥ^ct-snb Nmtj-m-wsh.t*, who held the titles: The hereditary prince, The Nomarch, The beloved great companion, the seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, and the overseer of the great house. Both stelae were excavated from the northern necropolis of Abydos and are currently preserved in Cairo Museum as CG 20100, and CG 20087. They are currently on display on the ground floor of the Egyptian Museum (R 22). This paper gives a brief description of the stelae and deals with individual depictions and texts. The focus, however, is on the genealogy, which allows the reconstruction of *Imn-m-ḥ^ct-snb Nmtj-m-wsh.t*'s family tree and narrows the possibilities to link the depicted individuals with the owner of the stelae.

KEYWORDS: Stela, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, 13th dynasty, Lunette, *Imn-m-ḥ^ct-snb*, *Nmtj-m-wsh.t*.


I. INTRODUCTION


Two 13th dynasty stelae belonging to *Imn-m-ḥ^ct-snb (w) Nmtj-m-wsh.t*, an important individual who held various titles, such as the seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt and The overseer of the great house, were recovered from the northern zone of the northern necropolis of Abydos¹. They are housed in the Egyptian Museum (Tahrir Square, Cairo, Room 22; CG 20100 and CG 20087). Both stelae were previously published by Lange and Schäfer (1902). Stela CG 20100 is well known and has also been discussed by Mariette², who only copied the texts, and Younis³. The present work includes a brief description, of individual idiosyncrasies and texts with a focus on the genealogy, allowing the reconstruction of the family tree. This helps to link the depicted individuals with the owner of the stelae.

II. STELA CG 20100 [FIGURES 1-3]

Stela CCG 20100 is a limestone stela with a rounded top. The stela measures 82 cm high and 48.5 cm wide and can be dated by the offering formulae, and its paleography, epigraphy, and iconography to the 13th Dynasty⁴. It has a lunette with *wedjat*-eyes for protection and the epithets of Anubis. The stela is carved in sunk relief. There are traces of red in the background, green on the text and scenes, and black in the line drawing. The stela is divided into two registers. The owner of the stela is *Imn-m-ḥ3t-snb Nmtj-m-wsh.t*, who held the titles: *ḥtmty-bity* (The seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt), *imy-r3 pr wr* (the overseer of the great house), *rp^cty* (the hereditary prince), *ḥ3ty-^c3* (the nomarch), and *smr ^c3 n mrwt* (the beloved great companion).

1. The Lunette (A)

The lunette includes two *wedjat* eyes, overlooking two jackals on shrines⁵. They are facing each other  and are surmounted by epithets of the god Anubis⁶ as follows:

Right side:  *Inpw tp(.y) dw=f* «Anubis, who is on his mountain»⁷.

Left side:  *Inpw imy-w.t* «Anubis, who is in the embalming house»⁸.

¹ LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 121.

² MARIETTE 1880: 326, 914.

³ YOUNIS 2010: 52-56.

⁴ FRANKE 1984: 217; ABDELAAL 1995: 134.

⁵ HÖLZL 1990: 79–82; ABDELAAL 1995: 134, 171-173, 266; ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 33.

⁶ LEITZ 2002a: 390.

⁷ HART 2005: 26.

⁸ ERMAN 2001: 43; HART 2005: 26.



[FIGURE 1]: Stela Cairo CG 20100 (Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum © Ahmed Amin.

2. The First Register (B)


The registered hieroglyphic text consists of eight rows, reads from right to left. The text includes the titles of the deceased, as follows:




- (1) *htm (.ty)-bity imy-r3 pr wr Imn-m-h3.t-snb (w) Nm.tj (2)-m-wsh.t dd=f i.ñhw tp.jw t3 srw nb (3) hm.w-k3 nb (.w) sw3.t (y)=sn hr špss pn m hd (m) hsfw.t (4) mrr=tn hsi tn Wsir hnt.y Imnt.yw nb 3bdw (5) w3h=tn tp t3 dd=tn htp-di-(n)sw.t (n) Pth-Skr Wsir (6) hnt.y Imnt.yw Wp-w3wt nb 3bdw n k3 n rp^c.ty h3ty-^{c3} smr ^{c3} (7) n mr.wt im3hy m it(j)-t3wy nb krs.wt jmy.t t3-dsr (8) htm(.ty)-bity imy-r3 pr wr Nmtj-m-wsh.t ms n Tjj m3^c.t-hrw*

«(1) The seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt⁹, the overseer of the great house¹⁰, *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snb* (w) *Nmtj* (2)-*m-wsh.t*^(A), he is saying: 'O, The living ones, who are on the land/O, those who live upon the earth^(B), all the noblemen, (3) all *k3* priests, who will pass by^(C) this memorial going north or south (Lit. going north or sailing upstream¹¹); (4) you may wish that Osiris^(D), the foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos, (5) rewards you that you endure on^(E) the land¹². You may say: A Royal offering of^(F) *Ptah-Sokar* Osiris (6) the foremost of the Westerners^(G), *Wepwawet*, Lord of Abydos, for the *k3* of the hereditary prince¹³, the nomarch¹⁴, the beloved great companion⁽⁷⁾, venerated^(H) in *ity-t3wy*¹⁵, Lord of a beautiful funeral¹⁶ who is in the necropolis (8) the seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt^(I), the overseer of the great house, *Nmtj-m-wsh.t*, born of^(J) *Tjj*¹⁷ justified».

Commentary

(A) Ranke¹⁸ read the name *Nmtj-m-wsh.t* ʿs ʿntj (?)*-m-wsh.t* and translated it as «The god is in the Hall»¹⁹. The same name appears on seals²⁰ preceded by the titles *ḥ3ty-ʿ3 imy-r3 ḥw.t-ntr m3ʿ-ḥrw* [N^{ro}. 352], and the titles *sd3w.ty bity imy-r3 pr wr* [N^{ro}. 353, 354, 355, and 356]. Martin read the name as ʿnty-*m-wsh.t*. There is another seal with the same name [N^{ro}. 39] preceded by the titles *ḥ3ty-ʿ3 imy-r3 ḥw.t-ntr*. Only here, Martin²¹ read the name as *Nmty-m-wsh.t*. The word  and its reading as *antj* or *nmtj* is discussed by Graefe²², Koschel²³, and Lembke²⁴. The name *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snb* (w) is translated by Ranke²⁵ as «Amenemhat is Healthy».

(B) The vocative particle is written as  and followed by the ʿnh.w tp.jw t²⁶ to form the so-called classical appeals to the living²⁷ that appeared first in the 6th Dynasty. It joined the *ḥtp-di-nswt* formulae during the First Intermediate Period²⁸.

⁹ JONES 2000: 763, 2775.

¹⁰ QUIRKE 1990: 119-120; JONES 2000: 118, 473.

¹¹ ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1929: vol.3, 337, 16.

¹² ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1926: vol.1, 255, 2.

¹³ JONES 2000: 492, 1836.

¹⁴ QUIRKE 1990: 69; JONES 2000: 496, 1858.

¹⁵ This city's name was mentioned for the first time under the reign of Amenemhat I, it is located to the south of Memphis (MEGAHED, 2011: 36; ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1926: vol.1, 150, 5).

¹⁶ ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1931: vol.5, 65, 2.

¹⁷ RANKE 1935: 377, 22.

¹⁸ RANKE 1935: 69, 19.

¹⁹ FRANKE 1984: 217.

²⁰ MARTIN 1971: 33, PL.20, N^{ros}. 352-356.

²¹ MARTIN 1979: 221, 39, FIG. 2.

²² GRAEFE 1980: 35.




²³ KOSCHEL 2000: 9-12.

²⁴ LEMBKE 1996: 81-86.

²⁵ RANKE 1935: 28, 13.

²⁶ ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1926: vol.1, 201, 16

(C) Younis²⁹ read this part as *sbt.tn hr šps pn* as the substantive *s_{dm}.f* form, but it could be considered a *s_{dm}.ty.fy* form of the prospective active participle. The same formula appears in the inscription of Harkhuf = B I 328³⁰ as *sw³.t(y).sn hr is pn m ḥd m ḥsfwt*.

(D) The writing of Osiris's name with sign  Q2 instead of  Q1 does not occur before the reign of Senwosret III³¹. Ilin-Tomich³² mentions that it first attested under Amenemhat IV. The determinative  A40 is usually dropped³³.

(E) Younis³⁴ read this sentence as *mrr=tn ḥst=tn Wsir ḥnt.y Imnt.yw nb 3bdw w3h=tn tp ʔ* and translated it as «You love and praise Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, and you endure on the land». He considers *ḥsi=tn ʕs ʕ s_{dm}=f* form giving the meaning of 'you praise'. However, if one considered the noun *Wsir in ḥsi tn Wsir* to be the subject and *Tn* as the object, it should be translated as «Osiris praises/ rewards you»³⁵.

(F) The combination of *ḥtp-di-nsw.t Wsir ... n k3 n* in addition to *di=f/sn* was used first on 13th Dynasty stelae³⁶.

(G) There are three possibilities to read this part: 1) There is a conjunctive between *Pth-Skr*, which is a construction known since the Old Kingdom³⁷ and *Wsir*, whose name is followed by *ḥnt.y Imnt.yw*; 2) *Pth-Skr-Wsir* as a divine name followed by *ḥnt.y Imnt.yw*. The first appearance of this name is dated to the 13th Dynasty³⁸. However, in this latter example, the name is not followed by a title, and it is not clear if the name should be read as one or two gods. There is another example during the New Kingdom³⁹, but here *Pth-Skr-Wsir* is followed by *nb 3bdw*, instead of *ḥnt.y Imnt.yw*; 3) *Pth-Skr-Wsir-ḥnty-imntt* as a divine name. However, the writing on the stela differs from the usual writings of this

²⁷ The vocative *i ʕnhw* was used generally after the offering formula (ABDELAAL 1995: 277). «The appeals to the living» in Ancient Egyptian is discussed in detail several times (LICHTHEIM 1992: 155; ILIN-TOMICH 2015: 145; DESCLAUX 2017: 161).

²⁸ ROMANOVA 2016: 140-141.

²⁹ YOUNIS 2010: 53.

³⁰ *Urk* I: 121, 12.

³¹ BENNETT 1941: 78.

³² ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 8.

³³ BENNETT 1941: 78; ILIN-TOMICH 2011: 21, 13.

³⁴ YOUNIS 2010: 53-54.



³⁵ ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1929: vol.3, 154, 8

³⁶ SATZINGER 1997: 177-188; FRANKE 2003: 45.


³⁷ LEITZ 2002c: 175.



³⁸ LAPP 1994: 235.

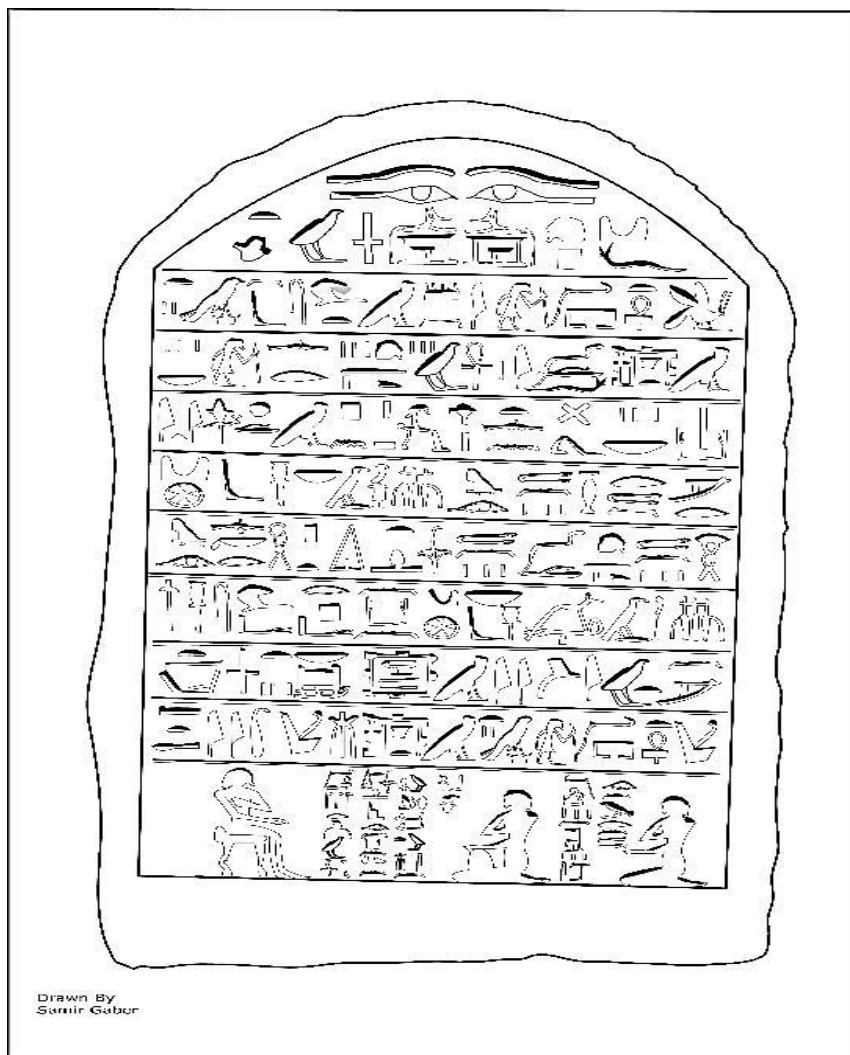
³⁹ LEITZ 2002b: 546.

divine name as  and  that appeared only during the New Kingdom⁴⁰.

(H) Younis⁴¹ read it as *smr-wa.ty*. However, it is much more like *smr-š*. This title appears in *Urk IV 396, 12; Urk IV 404, 8; Urk, IV 898, 6; Urk IV 963, 12; Urk IV 1129, 4; Urk IV 1860, 3*.

(I) the usage of the sign  S3 as phonetic value n instead of N35 did not appear before the end of the 12th dynasty⁴².

(J) the usage of the sign  S3 instead of  L2 in titles to be read as *bitj* did not occur before the 13th dynasty⁴³.



[FIGURE 2]: Stela Cairo CG 20100 (Line drawing by © Samir Gaber)

⁴⁰ LEITZ 2002c: 177.

⁴¹ YOUNIS 2010: 53.

⁴² KAMAL 1916: 86; WAINWRIGHT 1926: 166; ROSATI 1980: 278; ABDELAAL 1995: 278; ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 13.

⁴³ ABDELAAL 1995: 278; ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 11.

3. The Second Register (C)

There are three male figures in the lower register. The seated figure on the left faces two figures sitting on the floor. They are separated by hieroglyphic texts in columns.

C1: The figure on the left side is *Ntr.w-r-3w*. There are still traces of green paint visible on his face and upper body. He wears a long wig and has a short beard. The clothing could not be identified. He sits on a chair with a low backrest and no arms, with animal paws set on the usual truncated coasters⁴⁴. He has his left hand in front of his chest, and stretches his right hand towards two columns of text that include his title and name, reading from right to left, thus:



(1) *hṭp-di-(n)sw.t Wsir n k3 n idnw n* (2) *imy-r3 sd3.wt Ntr.w-r-3w whm ʿnh*

«(1) A Royal offering of Osiris to the *k3* of the deputy of (2) the overseer of the treasury⁴⁵ *Ntr.w-r-3w*⁴⁶ who lives again^(A)»

The two other male figures sit on the floor, holding their right arm in front of their chest and stretching the left hand towards the columned hieroglyphic text.

C2: The first figure, sitting with one knee bent upwards, is called *Ddtw*. He has a long wig and a short beard. He faces two columns of hieroglyphic text, reading this time from left to right:



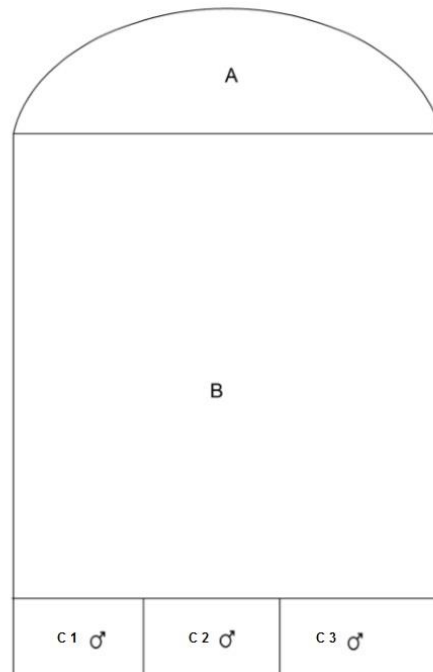
(1) *sd3.wty kf3-ib Ddtw ms n* (2) *3bt-ib*

« (1)The trustworthy^(B) (lit. discreet of heart⁴⁷) sealer⁴⁸ *Ddtw*⁴⁹, born of (2) *3bt-ib*⁵⁰ »

⁴⁴ KILLEN 1994: 37; DONOVAN & MCCORQUODALE 2000: 133.

⁴⁵ WARD 1982: 70, 576.

⁴⁶ GARSTANG 1901: PL.12; RANKE 1935: 214, 26; FRANKE 1984: 230, 350.



[FIGURE 3]. Stela Cairo CG 20100. Schematic by the author.

C3: The second figure sitting on his knees in front of *Ntr.w-r-3w* is called *Snb*. He wears a long wig and a short beard as well. He faces two columns of text, reading from left to right:



(1) *imy-r3 mš^c n hrt.yw-ntr Snb* (2) *iri n Wrn m3^c-hrw*

«(1) Foremen of stonemasons⁵¹ *Snb*⁵² (2), the conceived^(C) of *Wrn*^(D) justified»

Commentary

(A) Using the epithet *wḥm ḥnh*⁵³ on memorial monuments only appeared during the 13th Dynasty⁵⁴. There is another translation for the *wḥm ḥnh* phrase as «rebirth / renewal of life»⁵⁵ but it could also be translated as «repeating life»⁵⁶.

⁴⁷ ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1931: vol.5, 120, 10.

⁴⁸ WARD 1982: 173, 1495; COLLIER & QUIRKE 2004: 104.

⁴⁹ RANKE 1935: 403, 21.

⁵⁰ RANKE 1935: 1, 19.

⁵¹ WARD 1982: 30, 212.

⁵² RANKE 1935: 312, 15.

⁵³ ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1926: vol.1, 341, 3

⁵⁴ ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 31.

⁵⁵ GORDON & CALVIN 1998: 468-469.

(B) Younis⁵⁷ read this part as *h̄tmw P̄h-ib-ddtw* without citing the name.

(C) The verb *ir* is used instead of *ms* when it is followed by the name of the father⁵⁸.

(D) Ranke mentioned that the name *Wrn* refers to a feminine name⁵⁹, however, being precedent by *iri* it has to be a masculine name of the father of *Snb*, also it is followed by *m3^c-hrw* not *m3^c-t-hrw*.

III. STELACG 20087 [FIGURES 4-6]


Stela CG 20087 is a limestone rounded top stela with a lunette and four registers. It is carved in sunken relief and rather poorly preserved. Lange and Schäfer⁶⁰ noted that the provenance might be Abydos but there is uncertainty. The stela measures 83 cm high and 48 cm wide, and can be dated by the offering formula, and its paleography, epigraphy, and iconography to the 13th Dynasty⁶¹. The owner of the stela is Imenemhat *seneb*, who held the titles: *h̄tmty-bity* (the seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt), and *imy-r3 pr wr* (the overseer of the great house). Overall, the condition is less compared to the previously discussed stela, prohibiting e.g. detailed description of the figures.

1. The Lunette (A)

The lunette of CG 20087 is identical to CG 20100 presented above, including the lunette with the two *wedjat* eyes, overlooking two jackals on shrines and Epithets⁶².

2. The First Register (B)

There are two seated male figures at either side of the register, facing each other and separated by seven columns of hieroglyphic texts:

B1: The figure on the left is the owner of the stela (*Imn-*) *m-h3t snb Nmtj-m-wsh.t*, who is facing a  vase. He is wearing a long wig, with a badly visible small beard. It is not clear if he wears a kilt. He sits on a chair with a low back and animal legs set on the usual truncated coasters⁶³. His left arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his right hand towards four columns of text that includes his title and name, reading from right to left, thus:

⁵⁶ DOXEY 1998: 288.

⁵⁷ YOUNIS 2010: 55.

⁵⁸ OBSOMER 1993: 170-171; SATZINGER 1997: 177-188; FRANKE 2007: 170-171.

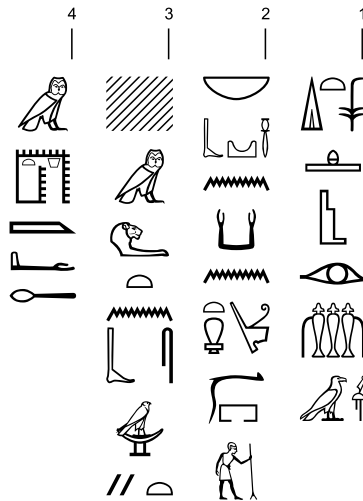
⁵⁹ RANKE 1953: 81, N^o. 8.

⁶⁰ LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 104-105.

⁶¹ FRANKE 1984: 217; ABDELAAL 1995: 134.

⁶² HÖLZL 1990: 79-82; ABDELAAL 1995: 134, 171-173, 266; ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 33.

⁶³ KILLEN 1994: 37; DONOVAN & MCCORQUODALE 2000: 133.



(1) *ḥtp-di-nsw (.t) Wsir ḥnt.y Imnt.yw* (2) *nb 3bdw n k3 n ḥtm.ty-bity imy-r3 pr wr* (3) *(Imn-)m-ḥ3.t snb Nmtj* (4) *-m-wšḥ.t m3^c-ḥrw*

«(1) A Royal offering of Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, (2) Lord of Abydos to the *k3* of The seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the overseer of the great house, (3) *(Imn)-m-ḥ3t-snb(w) Nmtj(4)-m-wšḥ.t* justified^(A).»

B2: The figure on the right side, facing *(Imn-) m-ḥ3.t snb Nmtj-m-wšḥ.t*, represents *ḥki* and is depicted in the same way as in **(B1)** but his right arm is folded against his chest, and he stretches his left hand towards three columns of text that include his title and name, reading from left to right:



(1) *ḥtp-di-nsw (.t) Wsir ntr ʿ3 nb t3-dsr* (2) *n k3 n ḥtm.t (y)-bity imy-r3 ḥtm.tyw sdm.i šn^c.w ḥki*
(3) *ms n nb.t pr Mrw*



«(1) A Royal offering of Osiris^(B), the great God, the lord of the sacred land (2) to the *k3* of The seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the overseer of sealers/ the chief treasurer^(C) *ḥki*⁶⁴ (3) born of the mistress of the house^(D) *Mrw*⁶⁵»



⁶⁴ RANKE 1935: 71, 26.

⁶⁵ As what Franke cited, his father is called *ḥtw ni whmw w^cd*; Lange and Schäfer added traces after the sign G43 LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 104 which does not seem to be right that there is no more space for any

Commentary

(A) There is a possibility that this stela was made for *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snbw Nmtj-m-wsh.t* after CG 20100 as his name is followed by *m3^c-hrw*. This is not the case in CG 20100, in which *m3^c-hrw* isn't shown connected to his name.

(B) The writing of Osiris's name  differs from that in CG 20100 ().

(C) The name *'ki*, referring to the same person, appears on seals⁶⁶. Here, he holds the titles *ḥtm.t(y)-bity imy-r3 pr wr* [N^o. 371, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378], *ḥtm.t (y)-bity imy-r3 pr wr whm 'nh* [N^o. 372], and *ḥtm.t (y)-bity imy-r3 sd3.wtyw sdm šn^c* [N^o. 379]. *'ki*'s titles are not clear in the present text. However, there are two options: 1) Lange and Schäfer⁶⁷ suggested that it could be written as , however, it could just be sign Δ X1 as a phonetic complement to be read as *imy-r3 ḥtm.tyw*⁶⁸; 2). Franke⁶⁹ argues that *'ki* held other titles, such as *ḥb mr ḥtmtyw sdmi šn^cw*⁷⁰, if one accepts the writing as . Franke⁷¹ also notes that *'ki*'s father was *3t.w nj whmw w3d*.

(D) The first appearance of the title *nbt-pr* dates to the reign of Senwosret II⁷² or Senwosret III⁷³.

3. The Second Register (C1-3)

There are three figures in this register. On the left, there is another male figure seated on a chair, followed by two male figures sitting on the floor, facing him. The figures are separated by columns of hieroglyphic texts, as follows:

C1: The figure on the left is *Rn (=i)-snb (w)*. He is depicted in the same position as (*Imn*) *m-ḥ3.t snb Nmtj-m-wsh.t* in (B1): the left arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his right hand towards two columns of text, reading from right to left, that include his title and name:

new signs, however, if there were any trace of a sign it could be the *m3^c-hrw* formula, to give the meaning of justified or maybe just a determinative? RANKE 1935: 162, 7; FRANKE 1984: 146.

⁶⁶ MARTIN 1971: 34, PL.27m, N^o. 371-379.

⁶⁷ LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 104.

⁶⁸ WARD 1982: 47, 367.

⁶⁹ FRANKE 1984: 146.

⁷⁰ FRANKE 1982a: 16; FRANKE 1982b: 51.

⁷¹ FRANKE 1984: 146.

⁷² QUIRKE 1990: 6; OBSOMER 1993: 167.

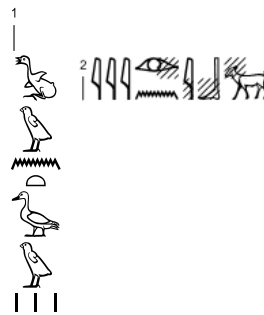
⁷³ ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 167.



(1) *ḥ3ty-š imy-r3 ḥw.t-ntr Rn (=i)-snb (w) m3c-ḥrw* (2) *s3 (..) b m3c-ḥrw*

« (1) Overseer of the temple⁷⁴, *Rn (=i)-snb (w)*^(a) justified, (2) son of (..) *b*^(b) justified »

C2: The central figure is *Iii*. He sits on the floor with one knee bent upwards. His right arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his left hand towards a text that includes his title and name (the latter horizontally above him), reading from left to right, as follows:



(1) *t3.w n s3t.w* (2) *Iii ir n Ibi*

« (1) Journeyman of brick (-making)⁷⁵ (2) *Iii*^(c) conceived of *Ibi*^(d) »

C3: The figure to the right represents *Pth-nmtj*. Like III he sits on the floor with one knee bent upwards. He faces a small offering table that is most probably filled with tall bread, but it is not clear. His right arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his left hand towards a text that includes his title and name (the latter horizontally above him), reading from left to right, thus:



(1) *zš wr n sdm(.w) Pth-nmtj* (2) *ms n Ptw*

«(1) Chief scribe of the judges⁷⁶, *Pth-nmtj*⁷⁷, (2) born of *Ptw*⁷⁸.»

⁷⁴ WARD 1982: 34, 250

⁷⁵ WARD 1982: 182, 1574

⁷⁶ WARD 1982: 159, 1373.

⁷⁷ RANKE 1935: 1, 139.

⁷⁸ RANKE 1935: 25, 137.

Commentary

(A) The name *Rn (=i) -snb (w)* means « (My) name is healthy»⁷⁹. According to Franke⁸⁰, he appeared on CG 20087; CG 20520 and held the title: *h3 mr ḥw.t ntr*. His family is further unknown.

(B) Based on the available traces this name could be read as 1) *ib*⁸¹ or 2) *ibi*⁸².

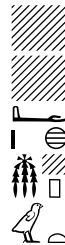
(C) According to Franke⁸³, he held the title: *t3w ni s3tw*, which is clear on other objects that are also allotted to him⁸⁴, in which his name and his family members are mentioned; his mother *nb.t-pr Kkj*, his father *ish3.w (ni) ḥr.tiw-ntr Ibi*, his wife *ḥtw*, his sons *Ibi*, and *Snfrw*, and his daughter *Kkj* (whose name is the same as his mother's name). She also mentioned that he is the same person on a seal where his name is written typically as on the stela⁸⁵, with the same title followed by *m3ḥ-ḥrw*.

(D) Ranke⁸⁶ noted that this name is a feminine name.

4. The Third Register (D1-4)

This register is divided into two parts. Each part has two male figures facing each other, making a total of four figures. They are separated by columns of hieroglyphic text.

D1: The name of this figure is unclear as the text in front of him is much damaged. He sits on the floor, with one knee bent upwards. His left arm is folded against his chest, while his right arm is stretched towards text columns, which includes his title and name, reading from right to left, as follows:



(I) ... *ms (n) Ptw*

«(1) ...^(a) born of *Ptw*.»

D2: The second figure facing left is *Bwbw*. He sits on the floor, with one knee bent upwards. His right arm is folded against his chest. His left arm is stretched towards the

⁷⁹ RANKE 1935: 26, 222.

⁸⁰ FRANKE 1984: 234.

⁸¹ RANKE 1935: 16, 19.

⁸² RANKE 1935: 5-6, 20.

⁸³ FRANKE 1984: 51.

⁸⁴ DONOHUE 1967; BOLTON: N^o. 10.20/11.

⁸⁵ MARTIN 1971: 9, PL.6, N^o. 30.

⁸⁶ RANKE 1935: 15, 19.

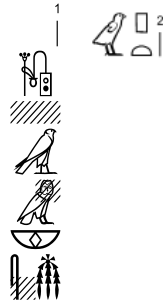
text columns, which included his title (completely damaged) and name, reading from left to right, as follows:



(1) .. *Bwbw ms n Ptḥ*

« (1).. *Bwbw*^(b) born of *Ptḥ* »

D3: The third male figure facing right is named *Ḥr-m-ḥb* and sits on the floor his with one knee bent upwards. His left arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his right hand towards a text column that includes his title (partly damaged) and name, thus:



(1) *zš* *Ḥr-m-ḥb ms* (2) *Ptḥ*

« (1) Scribe ...^(c) *Ḥr-m-ḥb*⁸⁷ born of (2) *Ptḥ* »

D4: The name of this right most figure is damaged. He sits on the floor with one knee bent upwards. His right arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his left hand towards the remnants of text columns that include his title (partly damaged) and name (completely damaged with only traces of one sign visible). The text reads from right to left, thus:



(1) *zš* ... *w* ...


« (1) Scribe ...^(d) »



⁸⁷ RANKE 1935: 7, 248.

Commentary

(A) The only suggestion that seems plausible is the name is *ḥ* (=f). However, the only example of this writing is dated to the New Kingdom⁸⁸. The rest of the text was completed by Lange and Schäfer⁸⁹.

(B) Ranke⁹⁰ mentions that the name *Bwbw* appears twice, referring to a feminine name. However, it must be masculine as the name is written in a scene that depicts a male figure. There is a small damaged space before his name most probably it contained his title.

(C) *Hr-m-ḥb* held a title, but only the sign  Y3 is still readable. However, Lange and Schäfer⁹¹ added a small horizontal damaged space beneath it, and the rest of the text is not clear enough on the stela.

(D) Most of the text is damaged here except for the signs  Y3 and  G43 as Lange and Schäfer⁹² mentioned.

5. The Fourth Register (E1-4)

This register resembles register three as it is divided into two parts. Each part shows two male figures facing each other, separated by columns of hieroglyphic text.

E1: The first figure facing right is *Nmtj-m-mr*. He sits on the floor with one knee bent upwards. His left arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his right arm towards a text column that includes, partially damaged, his title and name, reading from right to left, as follows:



(1) ... *wr n Pth Nmtj*-(2) *m-mr ms n Tjj* ...

« (1) ... the great of Ptah^(a), *Nmtj*-(2) *m-mr*⁹³ born of *Tjj*^(b) »

E2: The name of the second figure is mostly damaged. The figure sits on the floor facing left, one knee bent upwards and his right arm folded against his chest. His left arm is stretched towards a text column that includes his title (partly damaged) and name

⁸⁸ RANKE 1935: 22, 70.

⁸⁹ LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 104.

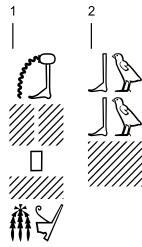
⁹⁰ RANKE 1935: 25, 94.

⁹¹ LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 105.

⁹² LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 105.

⁹³ RANKE 1935: 20, 69.

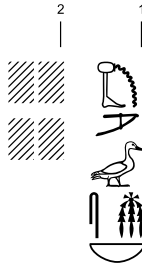
(completely damaged, leaving only traces of one sign), reading from left to right, as follows:



(1) $w^c b n Hr P (...)$ $ms n$ (2) $Bwbw$

« (1) Priest of Horus^(c) P ...^(d) born of (2) $Bwbw$ ^(e) »

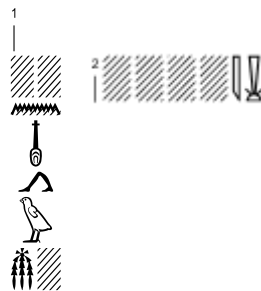
E3: Mrw , the third figure facing right, sits on the floor with one knee bent upwards. His left arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his right hand towards text columns that includes his title and name (completely damaged and only traces of signs are still visible), reading from right to left as follows:



(1) $w^c b ... Mrw ms nb$ (2) ...

« (1) Priest^(f) ... Mrw ^(g) born of Mistress (2) ...^(h) »

E4: The last figure is $Jw-nfr$, who sits on the floor on both knees facing left. His right arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his left hand towards the text columns that includes his name and remnants of a title, reading from left to right, as follows:



(1) $Jw-nfr ms ...$ (2) ... m^3c-hrw

« (1) $Jw-nfr$ ⁽ⁱ⁾ born of ... (2) ... justified⁽ⁱ⁾ »



[FIGURE 4]: Stela Cairo CG 20087. Courtesy of Cairo Museum © Ahmed Amin.

Commentary

(A) The title is incomplete, but it could be *imy-r3 pr wr n Pth*, as «The overseer of the great house of Ptah».

(B) The only signs of the name of the mother of *Nmtj-m-mr* that is still readable are U33 and two signs of M17 to be read as *Tjj*. Lange and Schäfer⁹⁴ added damaged space besides M17 and after it, which could give the possibility that her name is followed by *m3^c-hrw*. She could be called *Tj3* if the missing sign is G1⁹⁵, *Tij* if the missing sign is M17⁹⁶, *Tjw* if the missing sign is G43⁹⁷, or *Tjyt* if the missing sign is X1⁹⁸. However, it is not clear if there is a space after the last readable sign M17, so probably there is nothing missing here, in which case the name might be read as *Tii*⁹⁹.

⁹⁴ LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 105.



⁹⁵ RANKE 1935: 1, 378.


⁹⁶ RANKE 1935: 3, 378.

⁹⁷ RANKE 1935: 6, 378.


⁹⁸ RANKE 1935: 20, 378.



⁹⁹ RANKE 1935: 22, 377.


(C) Lange and Schäfer¹⁰⁰ put damaged space after the sign  D60, but there is an unclear sign of a bird that could be  G5, in which case the title could be read as *w^cb-n-Hr* «The priest of Horus»¹⁰¹.

(D) The only trace visible is sign  Q3. However, there is a low broad sign beneath it that is not clear.


(E) The name *Bwbw* refers to a female, although the same name appears in (D3) referring to a male person. Ranke¹⁰² refers to both examples as female persons, which is incorrect as *Bwbw* in (D3) is clearly male.

(F) The text here is mostly damaged, only traces of signs are still readable, although Lange and Schäfer suggested a few signs, as shown above, indicating that it could be related to the title *w^cb* «priest», but this title is normally followed by sign  N35A¹⁰³.

(G) The bird sign  G39, which Schäfer suggests might actually be  G43, which is much closer to the traces that are left¹⁰⁴.

(H) The title of his mother could be *nbt-pr*, though the only traces of signs in this part are of the sign  V30. The name of the mother is completely damaged.

(i) Ilin-Tomich¹⁰⁵ suggests that this name should be read as *Jw-nfr* instead of *Nfr-jw*¹⁰⁶, and that the sign was honorifically transposed.

(J) Lange and Schäfer¹⁰⁷ copied this sign as  T22A which has to be read as *m^{3c}-sn*. However, it should be *m^{3c}-hrw* that follows the name of the mother of *Jw-nf* [TABLE 1].

¹⁰⁰ LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 104.

¹⁰¹ WARD 1982: 82, 674.

¹⁰² RANKE 1935: 94, 25.

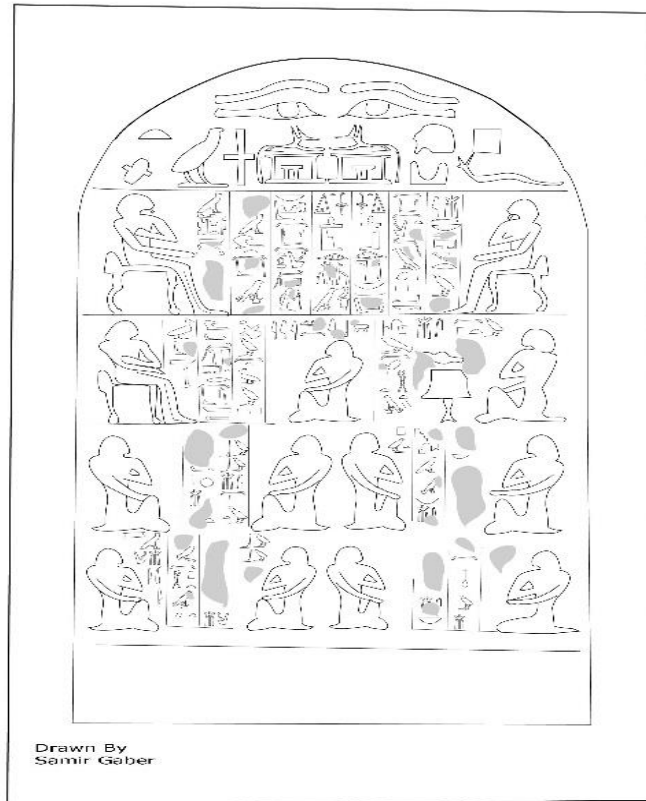
¹⁰³ WARD 1982: 78, 639.

¹⁰⁴ RANKE 1935: 162, 7.

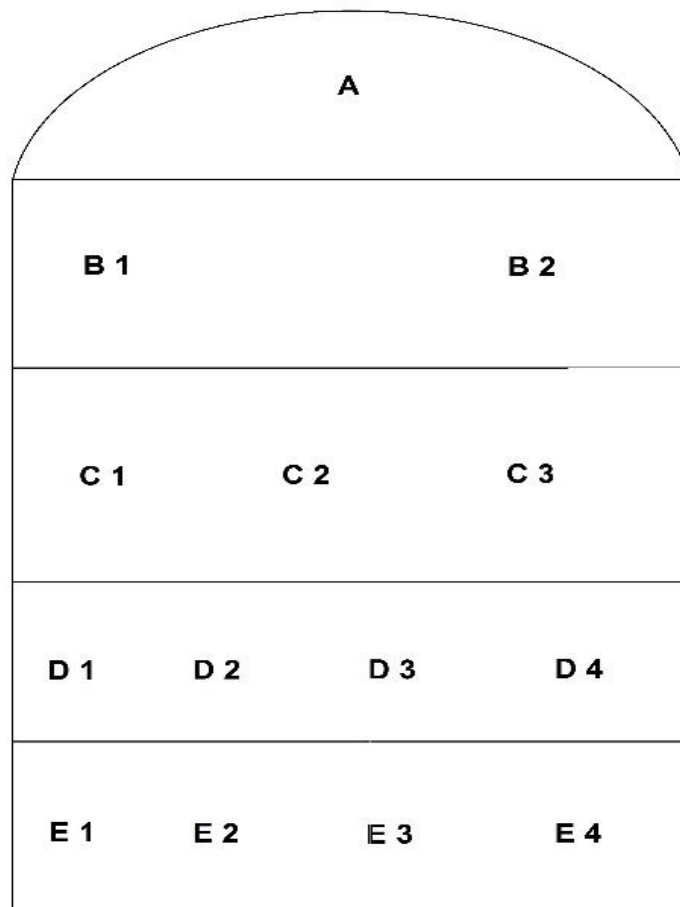
¹⁰⁵ ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 65.

¹⁰⁶ RANKE 1935: 194, 7.

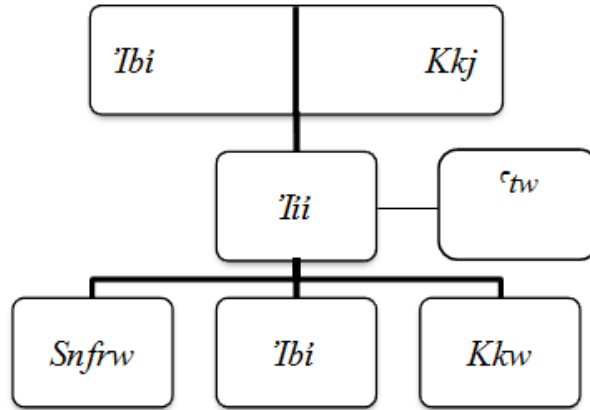
¹⁰⁷ LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 105.



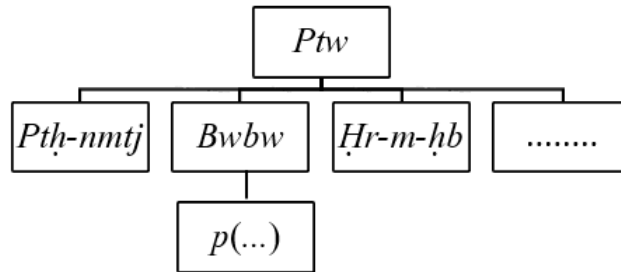
[FIGURE 5]: Stela Cairo CG 20087. Line drawing by © Samir Gaber.



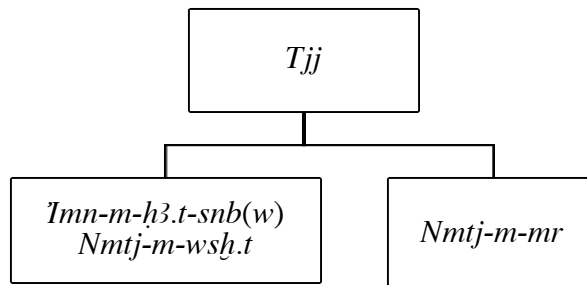
[FIGURE 6]: Stela Cairo CG 20087. Schematic by © the author.



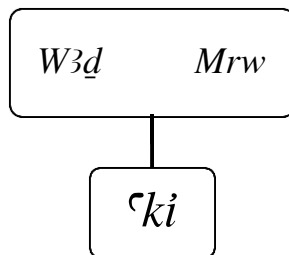
[FIGURE 7]: The family tree of *Tii*



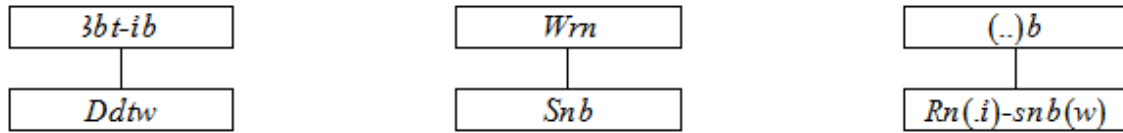
[FIGURE 8]: The family tree of *Ptw*



[FIGURE 9]: The family tree of *Imn-m-ḥ3.t snb(w) Nmtj-m-wsh.t*



[FIGURE 10]: The family tree of *ʿki*



[FIGURE 11]: Other's individuals with their relatives as can be inferred from the stelae.

Name	Title
<i>Nmtj-m-nr</i>	<i>... wr n Pth</i>
<i>Bwbw</i>
<i>w3d</i>	<i>3tw nj whmw</i>
<i>Rn(=i)-snb(w)</i>	<i>h3ty-3 imy-r3 hw.t-ntr</i>
<i>Ntr.w-r-3w</i>	<i>idnw n imy-r3 sd3wt</i>
<i>Snb</i>	<i>imy-r3 m8c n hr.tyw-ntr</i>
<i>Mrw</i>	<i>nb.t pr</i>
<i>Kkj</i>	<i>nb.t-pr</i>
<i>Kkj</i>	<i>nb.t-pr</i>
<i>Ddtw</i>	<i>sd3.wty kf3-ib</i>
<i>Pth-nmtj</i>	<i>s8 wr n sdm.w</i>
<i>Ibi</i>	<i>sh3.w (ni) hr.tiw-ntr</i>
<i>Tii</i>	<i>t3.w n s3t.w</i>
<i>P (...)</i>	<i>wcb n Hr</i>
<i>Mrw</i>	<i>wcb....</i>
<i>ki</i>	<i>htm.t(y)-bity imy-r3 htm.tyw sdm.i sn8.w</i>
<i>Hr-m-hb</i>	<i>z8 ...</i>

[TABLE 1]. A name list of other individuals with no clear relationship with the others © the Author

Finally, there are several deities' names that appeared within the text on the stelae as well, with epithets with depictions [TABLE 2].

Name	Title	Stela
<i>Tnpw</i>	<i>tp(y) dw=f / who is on his mountain</i>	CG 20100
	<i>Imy-w.t / who is in the embalming house</i>	CG 20100
<i>Wsir</i>	<i>hnt.y Imnt.yw / The foremost of the Westerners</i>	CG 20100
		CG 20087
	<i>nb 3bdw / Lord of Abydos</i>	CG 20100
	<i>ntr 3 / The Great God</i>	CG 20087
	<i>nb t3-dsr / Lord of the Sacred land</i>	CG 20087
<i>Pth-Skr</i>	NON	CG 20100
<i>Wp-w3wt</i>	<i>nb 3bdw / Lord of Abydos</i>	CG 20100

[TABLE 2]. Deities name list with titles as they appeared in the stelae © the Author.

IV. CONCLUSION

There are a few remarkable points. The owner of both stelae perhaps is the same person but with two names: *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snb*, and *Nmtj-m-wsh.t*. He holds the following titles: The hereditary prince, The Nomarch, The beloved great companion, the seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, and the overseer of the great house. Furthermore, usually the owner of a stela is shown seated on a chair on the left, facing right, in front of an offering table (or just a text). However, in these stelae, the owner does not face any tables, but rather only the *ḥtp-di-nsw.t* formula and his own titles. Two persons on CG 20100 are shown smaller than the owner of the stela, both sitting on the floor in front of him and facing him, with the name and, title of one of his parents. Although there are 12 persons, besides the owner, included on CG 20087, two of them are sitting on a chair that is similar to that of *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snb/Nmtj-m-wsh.t*. This might be confusing, as to who the real owner of the stela is (or perhaps both).

It is remarkable that the depicted persons on CG 20087 are represented in an order in which the high ranked persons are sitting on a chair at the upper part of the stela, then come 9 persons lower ranked than him so they are sitting on the floor with a bent knee (semi-squatting), and finally the lowest ranked person is squatting on the floor with both knees bent. The information on the stelae allows us to compile four family trees: 1- *Iii* for three generations, 2- *Ptw* for three generations, 3- *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snb/Nmtj-m-wsh.t* for two generations, and 4- *ʿki* for two generations.

Some further family relationships can be inferred from the stelae, but it is unclear how these family groups are related to *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snb/Nmtj-m-wsh.t*. Still, there are a few individuals who appear on these stelae that do not have a clear relationship to any of the others.

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THE IDENTITY OF THE CATTLE HERDSMAN A STUDY IN THE SCENES OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN PRIVATE TOMBS

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THE IDENTITY OF THE CATTLE HERDSMAN A STUDY IN THE SCENES OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN PRIVATE TOMBS

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[AR]

هوية راعي الأبقار: دراسة في مناظر المقابر المصرية القديمة الخاصة

ذخرت مقابر المصريين القدماء برسوم ونقوش توثق تفاصيل حياتهم اليومية، التي يرغبون في أن يحيوها في الحياة الأخرى. وهكذا، أضحت مقابر المصريين القدماء بمحتوياتها ونقوشها الجدارية بمثابة ديوان لحضارة وادي النيل، نتعرف منها على ملامح الحياة اليومية في مصر القديمة. احتلت مناظر رعي الأبقار، من خلال مشاهد الزراعة والرعى والمناظر الجنائزية، مكانة بارزة بكافة تفاصيلها الحياتية التي عاشها المصري القديم. لم يقتصر دور راعي الأبقار على قيادة القطيع، بل امتد عمله ليشمل العديد من الجوانب الأخرى، والتي من شأنها المحافظة على سلامة القطيع البدنية والصحية، كتوجيه القطيع للقيام بدوره في أعمال الزراعة أو الرعى والامتثال، أما صاحب المقبرة وكذلك المشاركة في المناظر الجنائزية. تهدف هذه الورقة البحثية إلى معرفة هوية راعي البقر، والذي اتسم دائما بالنحافة والجسم الهزيل بحكم مهنته وقلة قوته. شارك في هذه المهنة جميع الفئات العمرية من الصبيان والشباب وكبار السن، وتنوعت درجاتهم الوظيفية ما بين رؤساء ومرؤسين ومساعدين. تعتمد هذه الدراسة على أربع أقسام رئيسية. يعرض القسم الأول مصطلح الراعي، والقسم الثاني أشكال الشعر المختلفة التي ظهر بها راعي الأبقار من خلال المناظر حيث ارتدى البعض منهم باروكة الشعر وظهر البعض بالشعر الطبيعي كما غلب على أكثرها مناظر الصلح بأنواعه المختلفة. في القسم الثالث، نستعرض زي الرعاة، والذي اختلف حسب ألقابهم الاجتماعية، فظهرت الطبقة الدنيا منهم عراة، وظهرت الطبقة العامة بالنقبة القصيرة، أما الرؤساء منهم فظهروا بنقبة ذات نتوءات أمامية. في القسم الرابع، نتعرف على أدوات الرعاة المستخدمة في قيادة القطيع مثل العصاة والحيل والسوط وغيرها من الأدوات. واختلفت أوضاع الأيدي باختلاف استخدام هذه الأدوات. وأخيرًا يستعرض الكاتب نماذج من حوار الرعاة، والتي تميزت دائمًا بالبساطة والواقعية، وتكشف الكثير عن سماتهم الشخصية والعملية من خلال واقع وظيفتهم.

[EN] The tomb wall scenes give art historians a glimpse into ancient Egyptian daily life, allowing them to piece together a vision of their civilization. The depictions of animals in the scenes of daily life are commonly found in ancient Egyptian tombs. The image of the cattle herdsman has been regarded as one of the «daily life» scenes. The great collection of iconography portraying herdsmen attests to the crucial significance they played in Egyptian visual culture. The present paper is concerned with the identity of the cattle herdsman. It is divided into four main sections. The first section defines herdsman and reviews the activities in which he participated. The second section presents the different hairstyles in which the herdsmen appeared throughout the scenes. The third section reviews the herdsman's costume. The fourth section is devoted to the job of the herdsmen by showing the different positions of using the grazing tools. Finally, the author gives some examples of captions for herdsman scenes to explore their conversational style, work-related characteristics, knowledge of cows, and innate instincts.

KEYWORDS: Herdsman, cattle-drover, herd, animal husbandry, cattle, stick, rope

I. INTRODUCTION

Throughout ancient Egyptian history, elite members of society carved and painted detailed depictions of the living and divine worlds on the walls of their tombs. Elite tombs, conceived as a «house for eternity,» were tasked with a variety of important functions¹. In addition to providing security for the body, tombs served as a ceremonial complex to ensure the dead's regeneration and eternal well-being, a space where the deceased's identity could be projected into the afterlife and remembered by the living, and a place for protecting the body. Tombs were built, and their language and art were created to support these functions and ease the transition from life to death. The owners displayed themselves as they wished through a carefully chosen collection of culturally accepted scenes and inscriptions, with tomb design, text, and images organized to match these tasks and ease the passage from life to the afterlife².

The portrayal of the natural environment was a crucial element of elite tomb iconography, with a wide range of scene types, recording animals attesting to their central role in ancient civilization. Animals were present in practically every element of life, and their frequent occurrence in the culture's visual records provided a constant source of evidence for those studying the Egyptian people and environment³. Animal motifs were frequently used as a source of information about Egyptian people's lives, ideas, and religious beliefs⁴. Thus, the depictions of animals in scenes of daily life are commonly found in ancient Egyptian tombs⁵.

Not only did agricultural output, closely related to these animals, grow throughout time, but so did the quantity and size of herds, which, like the soil, were owned by large estate owners and tended by expert herdsmen. These herdsmen were supervised and controlled by their own managers and assistants like «bucket carriers» and «fodder men». Cattle, geese, sheep, asses, dogs, oryx, horses, other poultry, and even pigs were all used for specific purposes⁶.

II. METHODOLOGY

This paper attempts to provide an analytical-descriptive examination of the many modalities of representation related to herdsman figures in ancient Egyptian private tombs, i.e., the term, hairstyle, costume, job, and tools used in their daily work. Moreover, it reviews some of the dialogues between herdsmen. Most of these examples

¹ ASSMANN 2002: 66; WOODS 2017: 77.

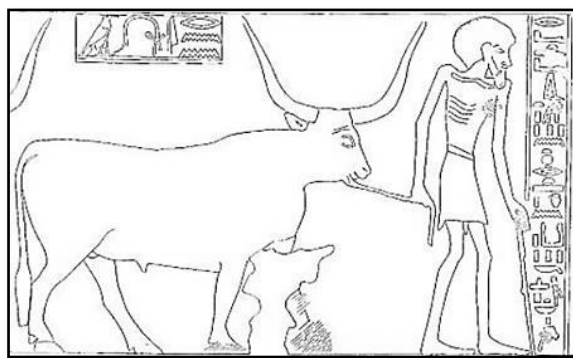
² VERMA 2014: 37, 112; HARTWIG 2004: 1-5; DODSON & IKRAM 2008: 77-79.

³ EVANS 2010: 1.

⁴ IKRAM 1995: 32, 2005: 72 - 105; HOULIHAN 1996: 212; GERMOND & LIVET 2001:7; BAILLEUL-LESUER 2012: 27; HARTLEY et AL. 2017:100-9; PORCIER et AL. 2019: 243-250.

⁵ EVANS 2000: 73; GERMOND & LIVET 2001:7.

⁶ BREWER 2001: 436; EVANS 2010:2.



[FIGURE 1]. The Tomb-Chapel of Ukh-Hotp's Son Senbi. West wall-lower registers
BLACKMAN 1915: PL.XI

Some herdsmen appeared with natural hair, others were bald or half-bald, and others wore wigs. Herdsmen, as commoners, were represented in a very realistic attitude, so natural baldness, if it existed, was exclusively for commoners in ancient Egypt.²² They carried a long stick and a bundle of pots and food over their shoulders while wearing their kilts folded in. Hairstyles and garment fashions could help identify different social groups, activities, and ages²³.

An examination of wall scenes showed the activities of the herdsmen. They participated in many works, such as plowing the land, which usually showed some of them pushing on the handles of the plow while the others encouraged the animals. For example, a scene from the tomb of *Antefoker* (TT 60) showed two pairs of oxen pulling a plow each. The pair of oxen on the right turned their heads, and one bent a knee, but two herdsmen, one at the back with a stick and the other in front with a rope linked to a horn, had no intention of allowing the beasts to rest. A herdsman from each team pushed the plow forward²⁴.

Supporting herds in fording rivers: A scene from Ty's tomb (Saqqara, the 5th Dynasty), on the left (west) part of the north wall, depicted the crossing of a ford by a herd of cattle. Six herdsmen were divided among two papyrus craft, who arranged and managed the usually dangerous crossing²⁵.

Milking: These scenes appeared in many tombs. For example, the tomb (G 2184) of *Akhmerutnisut* showed one of the peasants holding the calf while the other peasant was milking the cow, which looked in sorrow at its baby, and they tethered its back legs²⁶.

Suckling: The most emotional scene appeared at the tomb of Baket III in Beni Hassan, which represented a young boy and a young calf simultaneously drinking milk

²² DAVIES 1925: PL.XXII; MEKHITARIAN 1997:21-28; ROBINS, 1999: 55-69; TASSIE 2011: 605-643.

²³ TASSIE 2008: 136

²⁴ GARDINER & DAVIES 1920: PL.V.

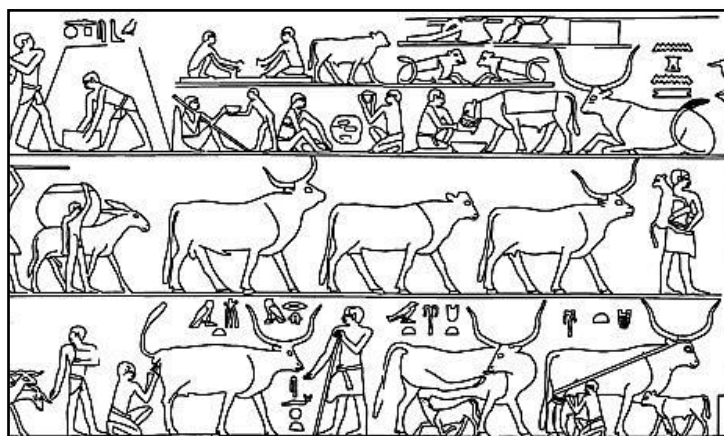
²⁵ WILD 1953: PL.XCIV/A; KANAWATI 1980: FIG.12; KANAWATI 1999: PL.55; BROVARSKI 2001:PL.96.

²⁶ ZIEGLER1990: 143; NAVILLE 1913: PL.II; WRESZINSKI 1936: PL.89; SMITH 1949: FIG.79

from the cow's udder, and the cow was represented affectionately licking its baby to be calm²⁷.

Giving birth: The scenes of the delivery of the cow appeared in many tombs with simple differences in the details. For example, the scene from the tomb of *Niankhkhnum* and *Khnumhotep*, the northern area of Saqqara, showed the delivery of the young calf in the presence of three herdsmen. One kneeled behind the cow to pull the frontal legs of the calf, another stood behind him, and the third stood before the cow. The artist here was clever enough to illustrate the cow's severe pain²⁸.

Feeding the young cattle: For instance, a scene from the *Mastaba* (G2196) of Iasen, in the upper register of the north wall of the chapel, depicted a young bull with a muzzle over its head and a blanket over its back being fed by a squatting man²⁹. In addition, the role that the herdsmen played in hauling the mummy by oxen and delivering the animals to the estate owners or bailiffs³⁰ [FIGURE 2].



[FIGURE 2]. The Mastaba of Iasen (G2196) shows the activities of the cattle herdsmen
SIMPSON 1980: 30

2. The herdsman's hairstyle

The herdsmen were usually bearded, while some appeared bald or half bald, and others wore a wig. In one of the scenes, one of the drovers appeared disheveled³¹. Wigs were regularly used in daily life or for ritualistic performances.

Baldness or greying hair was uncommonly depicted in tomb wall scenes, especially for the kings, princes, and nobles³².

It was radically different for the lowest classes of workers and commoners. They were depicted fairly realistically to emphasize the social distinctions between them and

²⁷ DAVIES 1901: PL.XVII; DAVIES 1933: FIG.10; WEEKS 1994: FIG.34; BROVARIKI 2001: PL.42.

²⁸ DAVIES 1902: PL.XIX; WRESZINSKI 1936: PL.17, 85; MOUSSA 1977: PL.76; ROTH 1995: FIG.204.

²⁹ SIMPSON 1980: 30

³⁰ SIMPSON 1980: PL.XXXVI.

³¹ *PM*: 286-289; DAVIES 1925: PL.XXIII; MEKHITARIAN 1997: 21-28.

³² TASSIE 2011: 605-643; DIMITRI 2010:1-2.

their lords³³. Baldness was known throughout Egyptian history from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period³⁴. There were not less than 49 scenes of baldness representatives in ancient Egyptian wall scenes of herdsmen depicted in different contexts. A large number of scenes were situated in the tomb of Ty, which had 22 scenes.

The 44 baldness scenes of herdsmen discovered in the Old Kingdom tombs were dated from the 4th to the 6th dynasties. Two baldness scenes of herdsmen were discovered in the tombs of the Middle Kingdom dated from the 11th and 12th dynasties. Three baldness scenes of herdsmen were discovered in tombs dating from the 18th and 20th Dynasties in the New Kingdom.

The scenes in the Old Kingdom tombs were divided as follows: (22) scenes in the tomb of Ty³⁵, (6) *Niankh-amun* and *Khnum-hotep*³⁶, (5) *Kagemni*³⁷, (3) *Iasen* and *Penmeru*³⁸, (2) *Meres-ankh III* (G7530)³⁹, (2) *Idut*⁴⁰, (2) *Nefer* and *Khay*⁴¹, (1) *Ptahhotep*⁴², (1) *Ihy*. The scenes of the Middle Kingdom tombs were (2) scenes from the tomb of *Senbi I*⁴³. The scenes of the New Kingdom were divided as follows: (2) scenes from the tomb of *Menna*⁴⁴ and (1) *Paḥeri*.

Many models of representation related to baldness figures in ancient Egyptian private tombs reflected their different types of portrayal. But the most common was the depiction of baldness on the forehead, while the rest of the head was full of hair. The hair in this style was short with heavy locks. This hairstyle was portrayed again in the late period⁴⁵ [FIGURE 3].

³³ ROBINS 1999: 55-69.

³⁴ TASSIE 2009: 459-536.

³⁵ WILD 1953: PL.26; JONCKHEERE 1948: 28; WEEKS 1970: 75.

³⁶ MOUSSA & ALTENMÜLLER 1977: PL.17; EVANS & WOODS 2016: 55-72.

³⁷ WALSEM 2005: 45; YVONNE & PAOLO 2006: 496-7.

³⁸ WOOD 2011: 314-319.

³⁹ DUNHAM & SIMPSON 1974: FIG.4.

⁴⁰ KANAWATI & ABDER-RAZI 2003: PL.71.

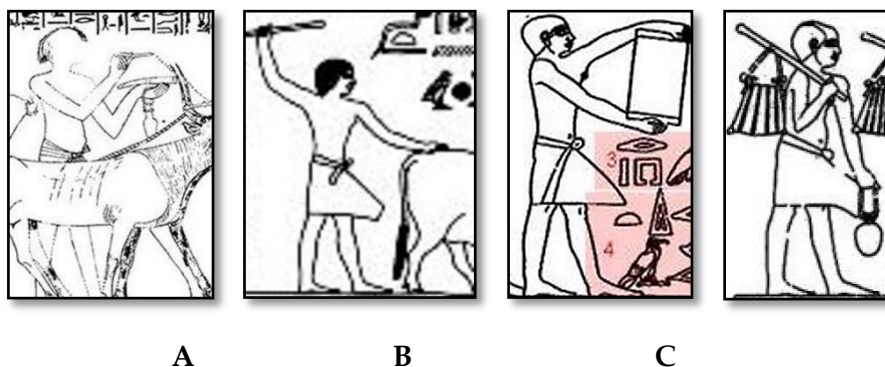
⁴¹ OSER 2011:42, PL.11.5

⁴² MAHRAN & KAMAL 2016: 169-191.

⁴³ BLACKMAN 1915; KANAWATI & EVANS 2018: 18-34.

⁴⁴ HARTWIG 2001: 27

⁴⁵ KANAWATI & WOODS 2009: PL.116



[FIGURE 3]. A-The tomb of *Nebamon*, TT18

https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/nobles/nebamon_ipouky181/photo/nebamon_ipouky_i_s_24.jpg&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768, Accessed January 13, 2022

B- The *mastaba* of *Ptahhotep*-D64

https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/mastabas/akhethptahhttp/photo/ptahhttp_10_ag.jpg&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768, Accessed January 13, 2022

C-D- *Mastaba* of *Ti*. WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII.

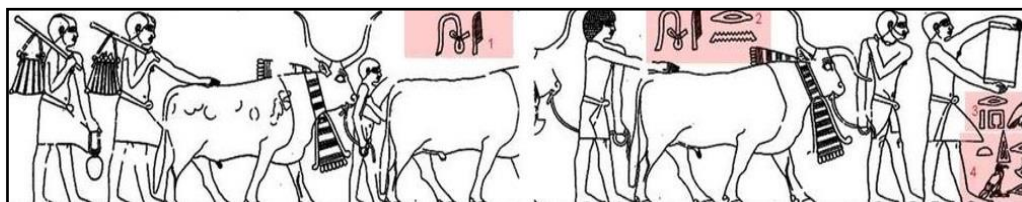
https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/mastabas/ty/photo/ty_CHS_centre_R5.6.gif&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768, Accessed January 13, 2022

3. The herdsman's costume

The costume could be a powerful tool in the identification of the herd drivers, their function, and even their place in the social hierarchy. Egyptians used clothing in art as significant signs of position and occupation, which would be easily identified by the viewer⁴⁶.

The cattle herdsman were always dressed in either a simple kilt or naked⁴⁷. If they wore kilts, they were always short and never had the starched pleats or sharp point at the knee shown in higher-ranking clothes⁴⁸.

In the *Mastaba* of *Ty*, the central part of the south wall of the chapel, Register 6, the herdsman are easily recognizable by their looks and clothes. The third beast of the register is followed by two aged herdsman dressed in kilts with forwarding projections⁴⁹ [FIGURE 4].



[FIGURE 4]. *Mastaba* of *Ty*. WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII

https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/mastabas/ty/photo/ty_CHS_centre_R5.6.gif&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768, Accessed January 13, 2022

⁴⁶ HAGSETH 2015: 61; BRIER & HOBBS 2008: 127; ROMANO 1990: 9; PECK 2013: 49.

⁴⁷ STEINDORFF 1913: PL.118; BLACKMAN 1915: PL.IV; VANDIER 1969: FIG 39-40.

⁴⁸ MONTET 1981: 74; BRIER & HOBBS 2008: 127, 132-133.

⁴⁹ HAGSETH 2015: 62; PECK 2013: 56.

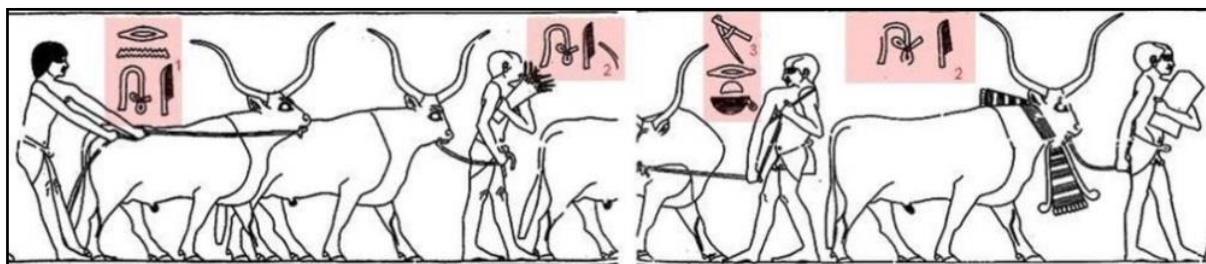
This usually signified their higher status⁵⁰. Likewise, on the Mastaba of Iasen (G2196), the upper register of the east wall, the third and fourth characters appeared with their special loincloths of herdsmen, presenting themselves in the attitude of respect⁵¹ [FIGURE 5].



[FIGURE 5]. *Mastaba of Iasen (G2196)*. SIMPSON 1980: PL.XXXVI.

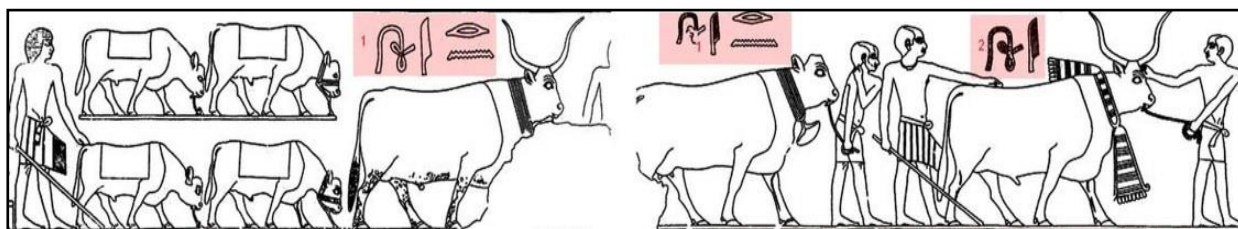
https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/mastabas/iasen/photo/iasen_g2196_simpson_fig_31.gif&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768, Accessed January 13, 2022

In the *Mastaba* of *Ty*, the central part of the south wall of the chapel, Register 5, the herdsmen of this register did not wear much, and their clothing only covered their buttocks [FIGURE 6].



[FIGURE 6]. *Mastaba of Ti*. WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII

In the *Mastaba* of *Ty*, the central part of the south wall of the chapel, Register 2, a large «ox» is pushed from behind by an aide. This herdsman wears a projecting kilt with vertical stripes. At the left edge of the register is a herdsman wearing a striped projecting kilt [FIGURE 7].



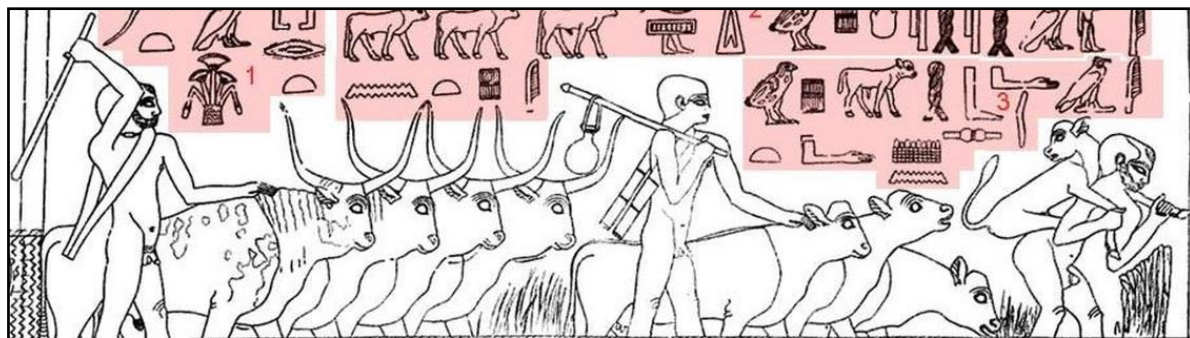
[FIGURE 7]. *Mastaba of Ty*. WILD1966: PL.CLXIX.

https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/mastabas/ty/photo/ty_CHS_centre_R5.6.gif&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768, Accessed January 13, 2022

⁵⁰ PORTER & MOSS: *PM III.2*: 468-469; WILD 1959: 101-113; STEINDORFF 1913: 118

⁵¹ PORTER & MOSS: *PM III.1*: 82; SIMPSON 1980: PL.158

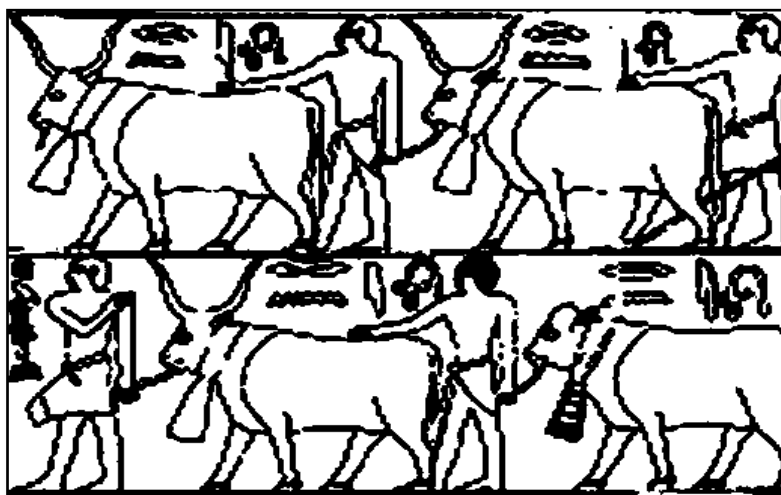
In the *Mastaba* of *Ty*, the north wall of the chapel, the right (east) part of the wall, register 2, the scene of the crossing of the ford shows three naked herdsmen⁵² [FIGURE 8].



[FIGURE 8]. *Mastaba* of *Ty*. WILD 1953: PL.LXXX.

https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/mastabas/ty/photo/ty_CHN_R2.gif&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768, Accessed January 13, 2022

In the *Mastaba* of *Meryteti*, also known as *Meri* chamber C1, five registers are superimposed in the lower left corner. Each register depicts two animals with two or three men accompanying them. These wear short or projecting kilts, except for one (placed at the front of the next-to-bottom register) who wears the kilt associated with a master herdsman. He is described as «the *ka*-servant, the overseer of the house, *Merinen*»⁵³ [FIGURE 9].



[FIGURE 9]. *Mastaba* of *Meryteti*

https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/mastabas/meryteti/photo/mrytti_c1_ew.gif&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768, Accessed January 13, 2022.

⁵²PORTER & MOSS: *PM* III²: 468-469; WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII ,CLXIX

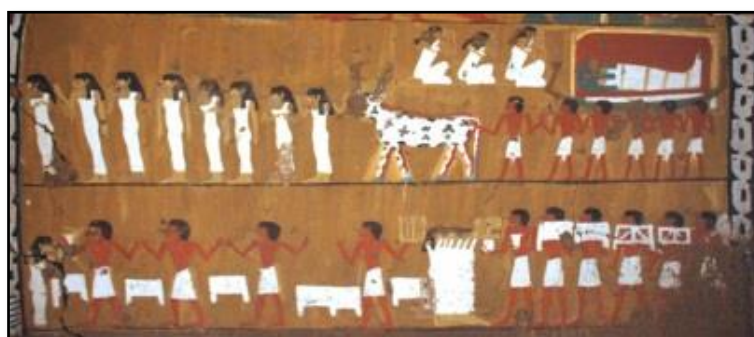
⁵³ PORTER & MOSS: *PM* III²: 536-537; DARESSY 1898: 521-74.

In the tomb of *Menna* (TT69), the south wall -East side of the wall-upper register, there are two pairs of cattle tied by the horns. They are under the control of a herdsman who holds a stick and wears a white kilt [FIGURE 10].



[FIGURE 10]. Left Side, Long Hall, Funeral Procession from the Tomb of *Menna* (TT 69)
HARTWIG 2013: 68.

In the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 340), the site of *Deir el-Medina*, dating from the early 18th Dynasty, the lower registers of the north wall depicts the funeral procession. There are four porters with chests at the head, six porters with offerings facing the mourners, and five men carrying the catafalque preceded by two cattle and a herdsman. All porters and the herdsman are clothed in the same way: Simple short loincloths and short wigs covering their ears⁵⁴ [FIGURE 11].



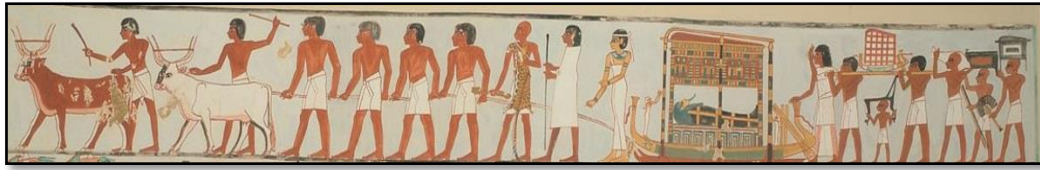
[FIGURE 11]: A scene shows a herdsman and offering porters from the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 340)

https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/artisans/amenemhat340/photo/amn340_a31.jpg&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768, Accessed January 13, 2022.

Another scene, from the tomb of *Païry* (TT 139) in Thebes, contains the funeral procession to *Païry's* final resting place. The procession consists of twenty-five individuals. Some men have shaved heads, and others wear wigs, carrying funerary goods for the deceased. Two cowherds in white kilts lead four oxen of white, brown, and black with the aid of switches raised above their heads. The oxen's horns are tied together with a rope connected to a wooden sled that carries *Païry's* sarcophagus.

⁵⁴ CHERPION 1999: 31–39.

Eight men follow closely behind the oxen in rows of two, holding the ropes with both hands to assist in pulling the weight of the bark. The herdsmen and the other men are dressed in the same way: basic short loincloths⁵⁵ [FIGURE 12].



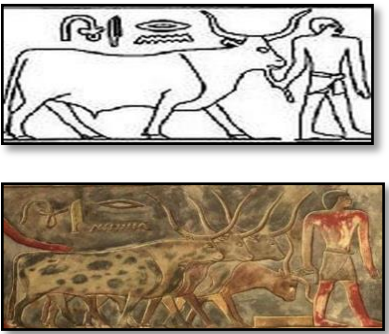
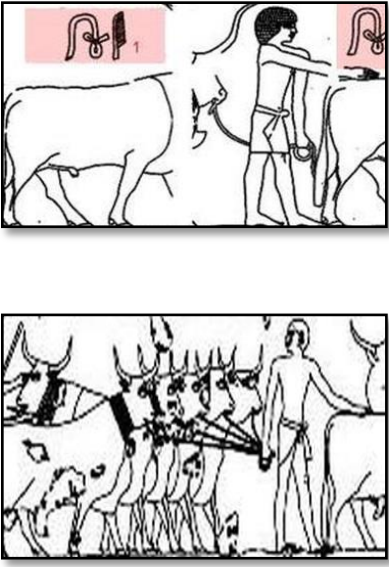
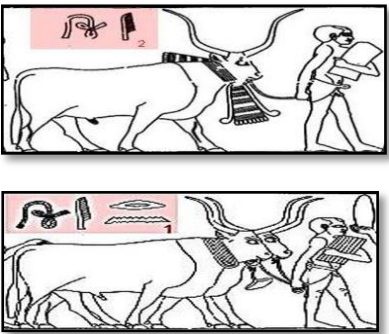
[FIGURE 12]. A scene shows two herdsmen, 8 rope holders and offering porters from the tomb of *Paury* (TT 139) in Thebes; O'NEILL 2015: PL.3.27.3.28

4. The herdsman's job and tools

The herdsmen appeared in daily life and funeral scenes in several situations. Through these scenes, various tools appeared to control the herd, such as the rope, stick, whip, and vessels for water or milk in the funeral scenes.

The scenes showed different positions for using the stick: the front position, the top of the head (horizontal), and the back position. At the same time, the positions of the hands changed, either holding a grazing tool or placing it in the direction of the cows belonging to the herd. The following tables show the different positions of using herdsman's tools.

⁵⁵ PORTER & MOSS: *PM*, 252; VIREY 1894: 581-90; O'NEILL 2015: 43- 44, PL.3.27, 3.28.

Scene	Context	Tomb owner & Scene location	Tomb location & Date
	<p>A herdsman holds a tether in his right hand⁵⁶.</p> <p>A herdsman leads four oxen and holds a tether in his right hand⁵⁷.</p>	<p><i>Iasen</i>, G2196 East wall of the chapel.</p> <p><i>Mereruka</i> The north wall of chamber A13, 4th register</p>	<p>Giza 4th dynasty</p> <p>Saqqara 6th dynasty</p>
	<p>A herdsman drives an ox in a husbandry framework. His right hand is on the back of the animal in front of him, while his left hand holds a tether attached to an «ox»⁵⁸.</p> <p>A herdsman drives oxen in a husbandry framework; his left hand is on the back of the animal in front of him, while with his right, he holds tethers attached to groups of cattle⁵⁹.</p>	<p><i>Ty</i> Central part of the south wall of the chapel, register 6.</p> <p><i>Ptahhotep</i>-D64 East wall, the right part (south half), Register 5</p>	<p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p> <p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p>
	<p>A herdsman holds a tether in his right hand while holding what seems to be a mat in the other hand⁶⁰.</p> <p>The lead herdsman appears to hold a reed mat in the left hand and tethers in his right hand⁶¹.</p>	<p><i>Ty</i> The central part of the south wall of the chapel, register 5</p> <p><i>Ty</i> The central part of the south wall of the chapel, register 3</p>	<p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p> <p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p>

⁵⁶ PORTER & MOSS: *PM* III 2: 525-534; SIMPSON 1980: PL.XXXVI.

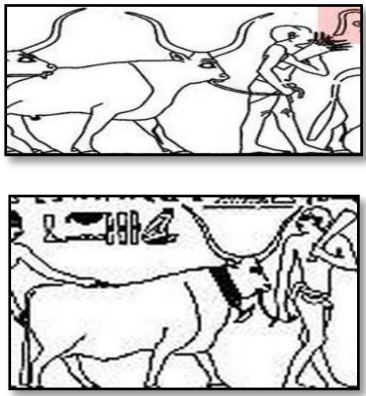
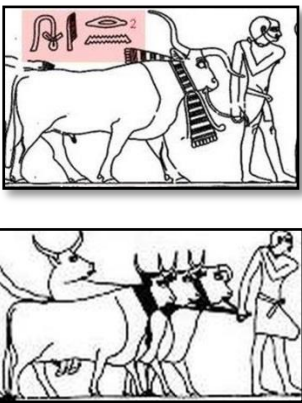
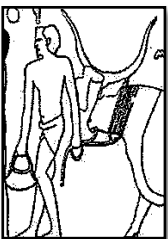
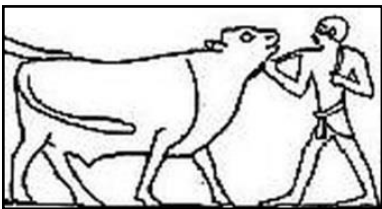
⁵⁷ DUELL 1938: PL. 152

⁵⁸ WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII.

⁵⁹ DAVIES 1901: PL.XXI

⁶⁰ WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII.

⁶¹ WILD 1966: PL. CLXVIII.

	<p>A herdsman holds a tether in his right hand and a small bundle of hay in his left hand⁶².</p> <p>A herdsman appears, looking left, with his right hand pulling a large fat bull and his left hand holding a bundle of fodder for the bull. Except for his left knee, bent backward, the herdsman appears to be in good health⁶³.</p>	<p><i>Ty</i></p> <p>The central part of the south wall of the chapel, register 5</p> <p><i>Ptah-hotep</i></p> <p>East wall, the right part (south half), Register 6</p>	<p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p> <p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p>
	<p>A herdsman leads a «young ox». His left hand is on his right shoulder, while his right hand holds a rope⁶⁴.</p> <p>A herdsman leads a group of cattle. His left hand is on his right shoulder, while his right hand holds tethers⁶⁵.</p>	<p><i>Ty</i></p> <p>The central part of the south wall of the chap, register 6</p> <p><i>Ptah-hotep</i></p> <p>East wall, the right part (south half), Register 5.</p>	<p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p> <p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p>
	<p>A bald herdsman with a back knee deformity catches an ox by a rope in his left hand while holding a bag in the other hand in an animal husbandry context⁶⁶.</p>	<p><i>Ihy</i></p>	<p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p>
	<p>The herdsman pulls the cow with a rope around its neck to control it⁶⁷.</p> <p>The animal moves its head away from its herdsman, who faces it with both hands clutching the rope⁶⁸.</p>	<p><i>Iasen</i>, G2196</p> <p>East wall of the chapel.</p> <p><i>Ty</i></p> <p>The central part of the south wall of the chapel, register 5</p>	<p>Giza 4th dynasty</p> <p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p>

⁶² WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII.

⁶³ PAGET & PIRIE 1896; DAVIES 1901: PL. XXI.

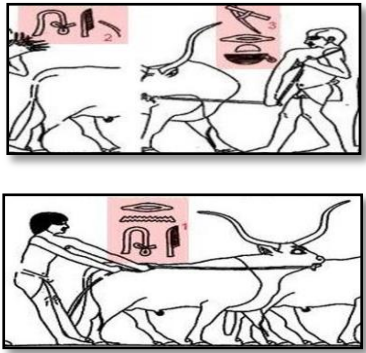
⁶⁴ WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII.

⁶⁵ DAVIES 1901: PL..XXI.

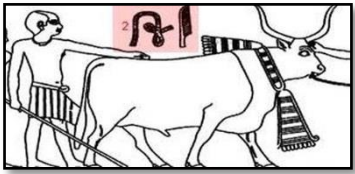
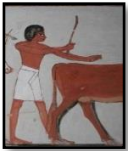
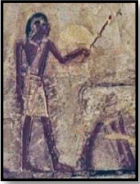

⁶⁶ MAHRAN & KAMAL 2016: 169-191.

⁶⁷ SIMPSON 1980: PL.XXXVI.

⁶⁸ WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII.

	<p>A herdsman appears to be being pulled by a «young ox»⁶⁹.</p>	<p><i>Ty</i> The central part of the south wall of the chapel, register 5</p>	<p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p>
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[TABLE 1]. Different positions of the rope and hands representations © done by the author

<p>Figures that show the stick in the forward position</p>			
	<p>An assistant holding a stick pushes the animal from behind. This man is dressed with a vertically striped projecting kilt⁷⁰.</p>	<p><i>Ty</i> The central part of the south wall of the chapel, register 2</p>	<p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p>
	<p>A herdsman wears a white kilt and holds a stick in his hand in a frontal position⁷¹.</p>	<p><i>Menna</i>, TT69 The south wall -East side, upper register</p>	<p>Thebes, 18th dynasty</p>
	<p>The herdsman holds the stick in a forward position⁷².</p>	<p><i>Samut / Kyky</i>, TT 409 The north-east wall- The lower register-Left section of the right-hand side</p>	<p>Thebes 19th dynasty</p>
	<p>With his right hand, the herdsman strikes the back end of a white cow with a stick. On his left shoulder, he holds a yoke (a long pole) from which little jars are strung by their handles. He also has a coiled rope on the bend of the same arm⁷³.</p>	<p>Khonsu, TT31 The north wall- lower register</p>	<p>Thebes 19th Dynasty</p>

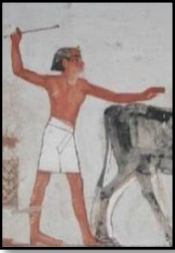
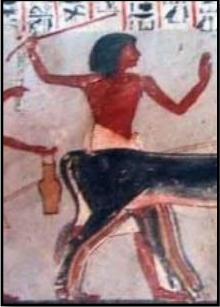



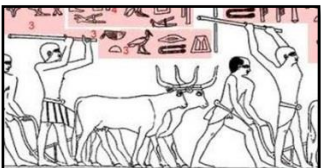
⁶⁹ WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII.

⁷⁰ WILD 1966: PL.CLXIX.

⁷¹ PORTER & MOSS: *PM*: 134-139; HODEL-HOENES 2000: 85-111; HARTWIG 2001: 398-407

⁷² PORTER & MOSS: *PM*: 461-462; VERNUS 1978: 115-146; ABDUL-QADER 1966: PL.XXVIII.

⁷³ PORTER & MOSS: *PM*: 47-49; DAVIES & GARDINER 1948: 31-41; VANDIER 1969: PL.126.1.

Figures that show the stick in a horizontal position above the head			
	<p>A herdsman wears a white kilt and holds a short stick in his hand in a horizontal position above the head.</p>	<p><i>Menna</i>, TT69 The south wall-east side, upper register</p>	<p>Thebes 18th Dynasty</p>
	<p>The herdsman uses his stick to drive the four harnessed oxen in a semi-horizontal position above the head⁷⁴.</p>	<p><i>Roy</i>, TT255 The south wall- the lower register</p>	<p>Thebes 19th Dynasty</p>
Figures that show the stick in the back position			
	<p>A bearded and naked herdsman carries a piece of cloth (a «blanket» or a «mat») diagonally across his chest. He holds a stick, which he uses to attract four-horned cattle⁷⁵.</p>	<p><i>Ty</i> The chapel –north wall – right (east) part of the wall, register 2</p>	<p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p>
	<p>The herdsman encourages the animals with large strokes of a stick⁷⁶.</p>	<p><i>Ty</i> The chapel –north wall – right (east) part of the wall, register</p>	<p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p>
	<p>A herdsman raises his stick to drive forward the last reluctant oxen⁷⁷.</p>	<p><i>Kagemni</i> The west wall of room III</p>	<p>Saqqara 6th dynasty</p>
Figures that show the use of both hands to hold the stick			
	<p>Each herdsman holds a long stick in both hands to encourage the cows to walk⁷⁸.</p>	<p><i>Ty</i> The chapel –north wall – right (east) part of the wall, register 4</p>	<p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p>

⁷⁴ PORTER & MOSS: *PM*: 151; GEORGE, MARCELLE & ETIENNE 1928: FIG.7.

⁷⁵ WILD 1953: PL.LXXX; WRESZINSKI 1936: PL.44.

⁷⁶ WILD 1953: PL. LXXVIII.

⁷⁷ PORTER & MOSS: *PM III*: 521-525; BISSING 1905-1911; YVONNE & PAOLO 2006.

⁷⁸ WILD 1953: PL. CXII.

	<p>During the crossing of a ford, two herdsman keep an eye on their animals. The one on the left is in the water, while the other is on the other side of the river⁷⁹.</p>	<p><i>Mereruka</i> The east wall of chamber A13, scene 3, the 1st register</p>	<p>Saqqara 6th dynasty</p>
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[TABLE 2]. Different positions of the stick representations © done by the author

	<p>A disheveled herdsman thinly sprinkles milk from a jar onto the path of the animals⁸⁰.</p>	<p>Nebamon, TT181 West wall-upper register</p>	<p>Thebes 18th dynasty</p>
	<p>The herdsman carries a water vessel, which could be used to help the sled runners⁸¹.</p>	<p><i>Userhat</i>, TT56 Chamber b-west wall (long wall, on the right)</p>	<p>Thebes 18th dynasty</p>
	<p>A herdsman stimulates a couple of oxen with the help of a whip⁸².</p>	<p><i>Paheiri</i> West wall -North End: Funeral Rites</p>	<p>Thebes 18th Dynasty</p>

[TABLE 3]. Representations of various drovers' tools © done by the author

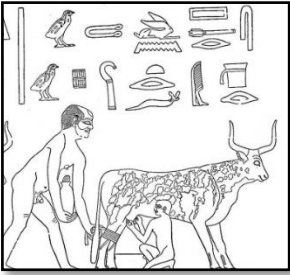

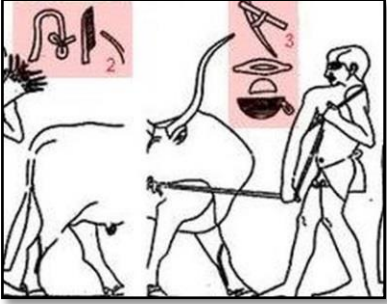

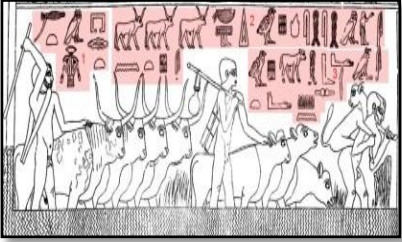


Finally, some examples of the speech captions are presented to explore the language of the conversation, their relationship at work, their knowledge of the nature of cows, and their ability to lead the herd, whether these conversations are directed at each other, their assistants, or the herd.

⁷⁹ DUELL 1938: PL.168

⁸⁰ DAVIES 1925: PL.XXIII; MEKHITARIAN 1997: 21-28

⁸¹ PORTER & MOSS: *PM* 111-113; BEINLICH-SEEBER & SHEDID 1987: TAF.15

⁸² PORTER & MOSS: *PM* 5: 177-181; TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: PL.V

The scene	Tomb owner & caption describing the scene
	<p>In the <i>Mastaba</i> of <i>Ty</i>, two herdsmen are engaged in petty theft. They are milking a cow for their own consumption. One of the herdsmen is on the lookout and warns the other⁸³:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">  <i>shr wn tw dr ut rf hk3 pw</i> «Milk! Hurry up before this chief comes» </p>
	<p>In the <i>Mastaba</i> of <i>Ty</i>, register 5: Perhaps the small bundle of hay held by the man leading the next animal piques the animal's attention. The confused animal's herdsman appears to ask the animal⁸⁴:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">  <i>mrt.k</i> « Is that what you like?» </p>
	<p>In the <i>Mastaba</i> of <i>Ty</i>, north wall-Right (east) part, register 2- text (2): Things do not move fast enough for a herdsman, so he lashes out at his aide, who leads three beasts without horns, with these words⁸⁵:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">  <i>i mhshs pw rdi.k sm iwzw iptn</i> «O it is filthy! Make these oxen move» </p> <p>In the same register-text (3): Under the weight of the calf, he transports on his back, a naked and bearded herdsman bends forwards. This terrified animal turns around and shouts out to its mother, striving to catch up with it while dragging the rest of the herd behind. It appears to be mooing in confusion. This is most likely why the herdsman in the midst of the scene tells the other to⁸⁶:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">  <i>iz' bhs pw mn't</i> «Throw (meaning: turn around) this calf of these nursing (cows)» </p>
	<p>In the <i>Mastaba</i> of <i>Mereruka</i>, the east wall of chamber A13, scene 3, the 1st registers: The text above this scene says⁸⁷:</p>

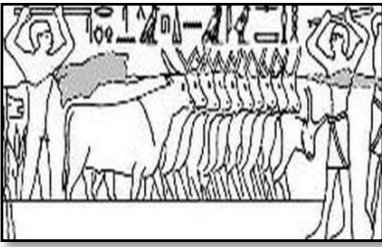



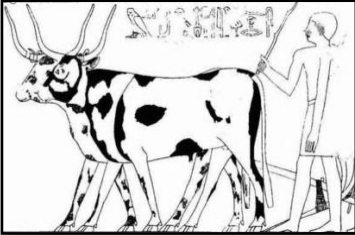

⁸³ WILD 1953: PL.CXII.

⁸⁴ WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII

⁸⁵ WRESZINSKI 1936: PL.. 44

⁸⁶ WILD 1953: PLS. LXXX B, LXXXI & CXIV.

⁸⁷ DUELL 1938: PL.168

	<p style="text-align: center;">  <i>hs tw im.sn rdı hzi.sn r hr-ıb.s</i> <i>«Stay close to them (i.e., the other oxen of the herd). I let them return to the middle of it»</i> </p>
	<p>In the tomb of <i>Waatet-khet-hor</i>, the wife of <i>Mereruka</i>, a herdsman helps a cow give birth under the supervision of the superior, who tells him⁸⁸:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">  <i>sfh wr.t nr pw iw ksn r.s</i> <i>«Pull hard, Oh herdsman! It is too difficult for her»</i> </p>
	<p>The plowing scene in the tomb of <i>Senbi</i> illustrates quite well a case of laziness: the herdsman suggests to his companion to take a break, saying⁸⁹:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">  <i>my zb tw nfr hrw iw.f hr.s</i> <i>«Come, stop you! The day is beautiful, it is upon her»</i> But the other replies he's busy, and by saying so, he calls him to order. </p>

[TABLE 4]. Examples of the captions describing cattle herdsman scenes © done by the author.

The participants in these dialogues were either common herdsman or their superiors, or even animals. The herdsman's scenes expressed their natural lives and were characterized by realism and simplicity. They indicated their awareness of the nature of the cows and their innate instinct.

The good working relationship between the herdsman was depicted in the first and sixth scenes. The first scene displayed them arranging to get milk for themselves without their boss's knowledge, while the sixth scene depicted one of them inviting the other to take a break and enjoy the beautiful day.

Other scenes demonstrated the herdsman's awareness of the cow's nature and instincts. The herdsman's question in the second scene, directed at the cow, confirmed that he knew the reason for its return because of the hay. The third scene also depicted his experience with cows' maternal instincts. In addition, the fifth scene depicted the herdsman's mercy toward the cow when the superior instructed the herdsman to assist her throughout the giving birth.

Furthermore, the first text of the third scene and the fifth scene highlighted his ability to lead the herd and control its speed.

⁸⁸ KANAWATI & ABDER-RAZIQ 2008: 56

⁸⁹ BLACKMAN 1914: 3, PL.III; KANAWATI & EVANS 2017: PL.79

Most of the conversations between the herdsmen were in imperative form due to the nature of their work, whether collective or individual, which required constant direction to undertake a task, either leading or assisting the herd, or demanding the performance of a task between the chief and the herdsmen, or the herdsmen and their aides⁹⁰.

III. CONCLUSION

From the Old Kingdom to the 20th Dynasty, a study of daily life scenes in private tombs revealed that artists were well-versed in the physical and behavioral characteristics of the herdsmen they depicted.

Recording the herdsmen scenes reached its peak during the Old Kingdom, and most of these scenes were dominated by a basic characteristic: simplicity and realism, which was, in turn, due to the basis of their job as workers.

These herdsmen appeared through the scenes of daily life of all ages: the old, the mature, and the young. These scenes also highlighted their hairstyles, physical health, and sometimes physical disability, which did not prevent them from performing their job duties at all. Their social rank was evident through their clothes, which played an important role in discovering their roles. Various means for controlling the herd appeared in these scenes, including the rope, stick, and whip. These scenes were common in various settings, including the front, back, and upper head, for individual cow sightings or in groups to demonstrate the herdsmen's proficiency in controlling the herd's walks.

Moreover, the scenes depicting the herdsman's dialogue were crucial in revealing the herdsman's individual characteristics. Cooperation, compassion, awareness of the nature of animals and their impulses, and the ability to control the herd were all characteristics.

⁹⁰ GARDINER 1957: § 313; MALAISE & WINAND 1999: § 726, 840; ALLEN 2014: § 16.6; MOUSSA & ALTENMÜLLER 1977: PL.10; VERNUS 2010: 77

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FACIAL HAIR AND BEARD COVERINGS

MOTIVES FOR GROWTH AND COVERAGE IN THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN AND MESOPOTAMIAN DOCTRINE

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[AR] أغطية شعر الوجه واللحية: دوافع إطلاقها وتغطيتها في عقيدة المصري القديم وبلاد ما بين النهرين
عرف شعر الوجه واللحية في الشرق الأدنى القديم بشكل عام وفي مصر القديمة وبلاد ما بين النهرين على وجه الخصوص، إلا أن عملية تغطية شعر الوجه واللحية في هاتين الحضارتين من الموضوعات التي لا تزال بحاجة إلى مزيد من الدراسة فيما يختص بالأسم ومرادفاته ومخصصاته من جهة، وذكر اللحية والذقن في المناظر والنصوص من جهة أخرى، وأسباب إطلاق شعر الوجه والذقن ودوافع تغطيته من جهة ثالثة، وأشكال هذه الأغطية كما ظهرت بالتمثيل في كلتا الحضارتين من جهة رابعة. حيث اعتمدت الباحثة في دراستها على المنهج الوصفي القائم على التحليل النقدي لأشكالها المختلفة. كما اعتمدت على المنهج التحليلي في عرض الآراء المختلفة حول تربية شعر الوجه واللحية وأغطيتها في سياقات مختلفة في كلتا الحضارتين. وأخيراً تطرقت الدراسة إلى أبرز النتائج، والتي منها: أن الذقون واللحي وأغطيتها قد عُرفت بالعديد من الأسماء والمدلولات اللغوية في اللغة المصرية والسومرية والآكادية، كما تطورت أشكالها وأنواعها في كل من مصر وبلاد ما بين النهرين عبر العصور. وميزت الدراسة من خلال شكل اللحية بين العرق المصري والعراقي والليبي والسوري، كما ميزت الدراسة بين مرتبة المصري القديم سواء أكان ملكاً أم فرداً عادياً من خلال شكل اللحية ومظهرها. وميز العراقي القديم بين الكاتب الآشوري والكاتب الآرامى من حيث إطلاق اللحية أو حلقها. علاوة على ذلك، خلصت الدراسة إلى تعدد دوافع إطلاق اللحية بين كونها مقياساً للذكورة والنضج، ومقياساً للحكم والسلطة، ومقياساً للأبوة والشيخوخة، ومقياساً للعمر، ومقياساً للقوة والهيبة، ومقياساً للتدين. وتعددت دوافع تغطيتها ما بين تثبيت اللحية والشارب، ومنع تعرضها للآتربة، وللتستر والتخفى، وللشعور بالدفء، وللتعبير عن الحزن والحداد، وبصفتها مقياساً للقداسة والطهارة. وتباينت أنواع أغطية اللحية من خلال الدراسة ما بين غطاء لربع الوجه (الذقن واللحية)، وغطاء لثلث الوجه (اللحية والذقن والفم)، وغطاء لنصف الوجه (اللحية والذقن والفم والأنف)، وغطاء قناعي لكامل الوجه (باستثناء فتحات العينين).

[EN] Facial hair and beards were known in the ancient Near East, especially in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. However, covering facial hair and beard in both civilizations is a topic that still needs extensive study regarding the name, appearance in scenes and texts, reasons for rising, and motives for covering in both civilizations. In this paper, the researcher adopted the descriptive approach based on a critical analysis of the various shapes. She also relied on the descriptive analytical approach of presenting facial hair and beard coverings in different contexts. The study concluded that the beard and its coverings were known by many names and linguistic connotations in the Egyptian, Sumerian, and Akkadian languages. The beard shapes in Egypt and Mesopotamia were developed through the ages as they distinguished the Egyptian, Iraqi, Libyan, or Syrian races. The ancient Egyptian distinguished between a king and an individual through the beard shapes. The ancient Iraqi also distinguished between the Assyrian writer and the Aramaic writer regarding rising or shaving the beard. The motives for growing a beard were measures of masculinity and maturity, judgment and authority, parenthood and old age, power and prestige, and religiosity. The motives of covering the beard included fixing the beard and mustache, protecting them from dirt and dust, concealment and incognito, feeling warm, expressing mourning and sadness, and measures of holiness and purity. The types of beard coverings varied and included covering the quarter, third, half, and entire face.

KEYWORDS: Beard, facial hair, cover, hood, mask, lytham (veil), Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Pre-dynasty.

I. INTRODUCTION

From pre-dynastic times, facial hair and beards¹ were known in the ancient Near East, especially in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. However, historical sources have not defined an explicit time limit for growing beards in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, especially during the Pre-dynastic era. Small numbers of ivory statues discovered lately in the cities of «Nekhen»² and «Naqada II»³ in Egypt and the cities of «Ur»⁴ and «Eridu»⁵ in Mesopotamia were mostly portrayed as gods or people with loose clothes, beards, and sometimes with a helmet like a hooded head, which Dellaporte considered symbols of ancient heroes⁶.

While most of the ancient world's people grew their beards, some men used to shave them under the pretext of personal cleanliness and avoid dirt and insects⁷. Others covered them with covers or *lytham* (veils) for purity, ritual or religious purposes, a community tradition of manliness, or expressing sadness in some Ancient near East peoples, such as the Jews⁸.

Some studies addressed the beard. For example, Burch⁹ tackled the beard as one of the vocabularies of the Bible. Dunn¹⁰ discussed wigs, in general, and fake beards, in particular. Hardy¹¹ conducted a short study of the history of the beard and its forms. Moreover, Naomi and Demond¹² explored the fake beard of the Pharaoh. Mahrān¹³ discussed the chin and beard and their types and shapes.

The present paper explores the name and cover of the beard in the Egyptian, Sumerian and Akkadian languages, the mention of the beard in the archaeological and

¹ The beard «*lihya*» in the dictionaries of the Arabic language is the hair growing on the face of an adult man, and may refer to the mustache and beard is a name that collects from the hair that grows on the cheeks and chin. The beard is on which the hair grew, and the plural of the beard «*luha*», «*liha*». To Burch, it represents: «All hair that grows around the chin area, including or without the mustache». BURCH 2000: 15; IBNMAKRAM 2003: 185.

² The city of *Nekhen* (Hierakonpolis) is in the south of Luxor about 140 km, between the cities of Esna and Edfu. HOFFMAN 1982: 1; HOFFMAN 1986: 175–187.

³ Naqada II is the center of the Qena governorate. It is located on the western shore of the Nile, and it overlooks the Nile River. Naqada is 31 km south of Qena and 25 km north of Luxor. HISHMAT 2016.

⁴ Ur is the archaeological site of a Sumerian city located in Tal al-Muqeer, southern Iraq. It was the capital of the Sumerian state in 2100 BC. It was an oval city located on the mouth of the Euphrates River in the Persian Gulf near Eridu. LLOYD 1993: 4.

⁵ Eridu, now known as Tal Abu Shahir, is an ancient Iraqi city located 7 miles southwest of Ur. Archaeologists believe Eridu was one of the Sumerian's oldest towns, dating back 5000 years BC. CAMPBELL 1920: 44–101.

⁶ DELAPORTE 1997: 196; BIGOT 1913: PL. XCVI.

⁷ KEITA 1993: 132.

⁸ SHULCHAN 1565: 182.

⁹ BURCH 2000: 3.

¹⁰ DUNN 2018: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/beards.htm> (Accessed on 19/04/2021)

¹¹ HARDY 2015.

¹² NAOMI 2020: <https://classroom.synonym.com/meaning-egyptian-pharaohs-fake-beards-9120.html>

¹³ MAHRĀN 2016: 217- 256.

textual evidence in both ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, as well as the material and moral motives for growing and covering the beard. It also deals with types and various forms of beard covering.

The hair of the head and beard were one of the most important features of ancient Egyptian art. The ancient Egyptians showed a great interest in their head and beard hair and how to care for it¹⁴. Therefore, the paintings and sculptures showed that the Egyptians meant to cut and trim their hair and used wigs and fake beards to garnish during celebrations and holidays¹⁵.

Cutting hair and shaving beards are old as the Egyptian civilization itself, as expressed in the pyramid texts in the Old Kingdom and some scenes of hair cutting from the Middle Kingdom. Furthermore, the tools used to cut hair and shave beards appeared in the pyramid texts of the Old kingdom¹⁶.

Nevertheless, cutting hair and beards was not dominant in ancient Near East countries, especially in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. The keeping and growing of beards were one of the ancient customs known in those civilizations. In most of the ancient East Asia peoples¹⁷, many finest works added beards of a particular and authentic nature to the features of their characters¹⁸.

The facial hair and beards in the ancient Near East, in general, and ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, in particular, were known during the pre-dynastic times. However, historical sources have not specified an explicit time limit for growing beards in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia during the Pre-dynastic era. Small numbers of statues made of clay, ivory, or wood were discovered late in the cities of *Nekhen* (Hierakonpolis) and «*Ur*», as some scholars believed that they might represent the god of fertility: *Min*¹⁹ in ancient Egypt or *Anki* in Mesopotamia, and among those statues was a stone statue dating back to the era of the *Naqada* II civilization (around 3500 BC)²⁰ [FIGURES 1–2].

¹⁴ STEELE 1997: 69.

¹⁵ LEVENTON 2008: 86.

¹⁶ PECK 2013: 74.

¹⁷ SMITH 1962: 47.

¹⁸ ROAF 1990: 116.

¹⁹ SELIGMANN 1911: 165; BLACKMANN 1916: 199 –206; VAN DER 1918: 64; MORET 1913: 80 –3; RICE 2003: 109–10; FRANKFORT 2011: 73; HELCK 1950: 120-142, (126); POSENER 1955: 193–5.

²⁰ KEITA 1993: 129–154; FRANKFORT 2011: 73; HELCK 1950: 120 - 142, (126); POSENER 1955: 193-195.



[FIGURE 1]. A statue of a bearded man from Naqada
<http://www.nemo.nu/ibisportal/0egyptintro/2aegypt/index.htm>,
 (Accessed on 7/6/2021)



[FIGURE 2]. An ivory comb topped with a bearded man with a covered beard
<http://www.nemo.nu/ibisportal/0egyptintro/2aegypt/index.htm>,
 (Accessed on 7/6/2021)

From the early archaic period [FIGURE 3],²¹ male kings and sometimes queens were portrayed in many statues and paintings in men's shapes with false divine beards²². They grew their beards as a sign of the king's greatness and power. Furthermore, for the kings of the age of establishment, growing beards was the dominant feature of the royal personality of the time²³.



[FIGURE3]: A wooden statue of a bearded man from Naqada; OKASHA 1971: FIG.59



[FIGURE 4]. A fake beard of the king Scorpion; SELIM 2000: 78, FIG. 5.



[FIGURE 5]. A fake beard of King Na'r-mer; SELIM 2000: 82, FIGS. 6-7

Growing beards was a distinctive feature of differences between peoples and races, especially between the ancient Egyptian and other peoples of the ancient Near East or ancient Asians ²⁴ [FIGURE 6].

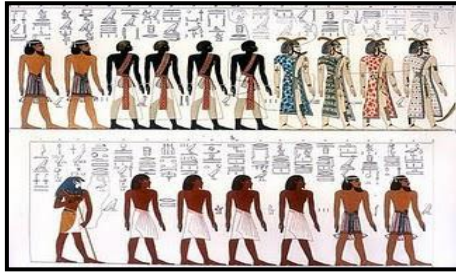
²¹ Many archaeological studies proved this. For instance, on the top of his limestone scepter, the king Scorpion had both a beard and a chin [FIGURE4]. On the stela of Na'r-mer, the king and his follower the «Vizier» or the royal sandal bearer, had beards and chins [FIGURE5].

²² COTTRELL 1955: 21.

²³ REDFORD 2002: 36.

²⁴ COTTRELL 1955: 33;

For example, one of the «Aamu» people painted on the walls of the tomb of the Khnumhotep II in Beni-Hasan appeared in distinctive clothes. He painted his skin with a light color that was different from the skin color of those around him. He had his hair long until it reached behind his neck. A short beard on his cheek and chin looked like that of the Aamu people. KAMRIN 2009: 26, FIG.4.



[FIGURE 6]. Four Egyptians, Nubians, Syrians, and Libyans with beards
www.christian-guys.net,
(Accessed on 7/6/2021)



[FIGURE 7]. A member of the *Amu* people with a beard.
KARIN 2009: 26, FIG.4

Although Hornblower believed that the statues and scenes depicted with beard covers refer to the human race, they might not be Egyptians but Sumerians²⁵. This is confirmed by Baumgartl that the difference in the representation of the beard on these small statues only indicated the difference in the human race also ²⁶[FIGURE8]. In contrast, others argued that these statues referred to the emergence of certain deities during this early period. Then, it appeared clearly in the subsequent periods.

Growing beards was generally common in the old world's art²⁷, especially in Mesopotamia. Nonetheless, many paintings showed the Assyrians with strange and unfamiliar beards that were not common in Assyrian art²⁸.

During the Old Kingdom, many statues of kings [FIGURE 9] and individuals showed facial hair and beards²⁹. In the First Intermediate Period, beards appeared widely on the masks of mummies³⁰. Then, in the Middle Kingdom³¹, the habit of keeping beards was known in rare cases, such as mourning or on an exploratory trip³².

²⁵ HALL 1985: 73.

²⁶ VANDIER 1952: 421.

²⁷ Apparently, caring about chins and growing beards was a habit of Punt land peoples since old ages; the ruler of Punt land appeared on one of the wall paintings of the Temple of *Deir al-Bahari* with a hanging beard with a sharp end. It is the same form that the delegations of Punt land had from the reign of king *Khufu* of the fourth dynasty. COTTRELL 1955: 171. This finding asserts that growing beards was one of Punt land's peoples' features. Moreover, Syrian people were recorded in many ancient Egyptian paintings with several types of chins and beards.

²⁸ In one of the scenes, a group of Assyrians appeared with their known Semitic features. They were portrayed in a profile position. In comparison, iris-eye had a sectorial line that first appeared in art works dating back to the reign of King Sargon (about 72 –705 BC). TARBELL 1907; MELLINK 1974: 63.

²⁹ TARBELL 1907.

³⁰ BAINES 1984: 8.

³¹ It appeared in many of the Middle Kingdom paintings preserved in the British Museum, such as those kept under the N^o. BM226 - some individuals sat on a chair without a backrest, while the chin and prominent jaw area were decorated with the hanging beard [FIGURE 10]. FRANKE 2002: 8, FIG.1.

³² DUNN 2018: <http://www.touregypt.net/featuresstories/beards.htm> (Accessed on 19/04/2021)



[FIGURE 8]. Two prisoners, one of them a Libyan with a mustache and a beard and the other a Nubian

[Http://louvre-statuette-personnage-masculin.com](http://louvre-statuette-personnage-masculin.com)(Accessed on 20/10/2020)



[FIGURE 9]. A black granite statue of King Menkaure with a rectangular beard
EGYPTIAN MUSEUM GUIDE 1999: 36.

In the New Kingdom, Egyptian kings used to grow their beards or put on artificial false ones³³ to look like gods. For instance, queen Hatshepsut (Ca. 1500 BC.) put on a beard as a symbol of manliness, cruelty, and force³⁴[FIGURE 11]. Growing beards, perhaps, was one of the matters that affected many of the following civilizations in Egypt, especially during the Greek and Roman ages³⁵. It was the same in Mesopotamian, where the king *Nebuchadnezzar Baal* (Ca. 884-860 BC.) was portrayed in one of the wall paintings in his palace in *Nimrud*³⁶, with a very normal beard combed in lines with braided curls³⁷.



[FIGURE 10]. A scene of an individual with a distinctive beard; British Museum Stone BM EA 226. FRANKE 2002:8, FIG.1



[FIGURE 11]. The head of a statue of Queen Hatshepsut with the royal beard of men;
EGYPTIAN MUSEUM GUIDE 1999: 65

The beard was portrayed on a wall sculpture³⁸ from the reign of the Assyrian king *Sargon* (Ca. 721-705 BC) on the chins of two writers recording the numbers of prisoners and spoils. A striking thing about this inscription was that the writer who wrote on the parchment was bearded, while the writer who wrote on the clay tablet appeared to have shaved facial hair and a mustache. This does not necessarily mean that the

³³ SCHÄFER 1925: 79; BRUNNER 1952: 253-262

³⁴ BURCH 2000: 157.

³⁵ TARBELL 2002: 9F.

³⁶ *Nimrud* is an Assyrian city, located 30 km south of Mosul in Iraq. It was founded in the thirteenth century BC. In the ninth century BC, it became the capital of the modern Assyrian empire during the reign of king *Ashur Nasir pal II* and was destroyed in the year 612 BC by the Chaldeans and the Medes, 2020.

³⁷ TARBELL 2002.

³⁸ This sculpture is likely to date 715 BC. WOLFRAM 1996: 179; READE 1972: 97.

bearded writer, who appeared in the Assyrian paintings, was an Assyrian writer, nor was the one who shaved beard and a mustache Aramaic³⁹.

Growing beards by some characters in ancient Egypt as they appeared in religion and art remained a mystery that needed further clarification and explanation. In ancient Egypt, shaving⁴⁰ the beards and cutting the facial hair were signs of respect and reverence, as was the case in Mesopotamia⁴¹. Nevertheless, growing beards was one of the matters that connected a person to the ranks of the great gods, whose beards were made of lapis lazuli and were depicted braided and raising the king to be like a god on earth⁴².



[FIGURE 12]. Barbers in the Egyptian market
YWSIF 2012: FIG.32.

While the great majority of the peoples of the ancient Near East kept their beards, some men used to shave the maunder on the pretext of personal cleanliness, priesthood, or ritual scruples⁴³. Some others used to cover their beards with covers, *lytham* (veils), or a piece of cloth for either purity, ritual or religious purposes, a community tradition of manliness, or express sadness in the peoples of the ancient Near East, such as the Jews⁴⁴.

³⁹ SAAI 1997: 16; RUSSELL 1998: 137; AL JUMAILY 2005: 201.

⁴⁰ The ancient Egyptian Barber used razors, often made of copper or bronze, and had wooden, metal, or gold handles. They used stones for sharpening them. They also used combs in hairdressing, similar to those that have been used until recently, including wide combs with double edges, and some with fine teeth for cleaning. The combs were used for decorating their hair too [FIGURE 12]. YOUSSEF 2013: 270-271, FIG.100.

⁴¹ The registrars of war spoil' records during the campaigns of king *Taglat Blazer* III (745-727 BC) illustrated a haircut of Aramaic origins. AL-ḤĀDĪDĪ 2001; WOLFRAM 1996: 179-180; SAAI 1997: 96.

⁴² REDFORD 2002: 36; BEEK 1962: 27.

⁴³ SROUHAL 1989: 235.

⁴⁴ ATALLAH 2005: 171.

II. THE BEARD AND ITS COVERS IN THE EGYPTIAN, SUMERIAN, AND AKKADIAN LANGUAGES

The facial hair and beards were known in the dictionaries of the ancient Egyptian language by many words, including (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱) «*hbswt*»⁴⁵, (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱) «*in^c*»⁴⁶, (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱) «*in^ct*»⁴⁷, (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱) «*n^cn*»⁴⁸, (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱) «*r^cr*»⁴⁹, (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱) «*m³^c*»⁵⁰. So, it showed the difference between a natural and a false beard from its determinative. The natural beard had a natural beard determinative: (𓇧), while the false one had a fiber beard determinative: (𓇱).

The covers were referred to by many words, such as (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱) «*ndb*» «i.e., to cover»⁵¹, (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱) «*hbs*» «i.e., to cover or hide using clothes or fabrics»⁵², (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱) «*hbsw*» «i.e., to cover with clothes»⁵³, (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱) «*hbs-hr*» «i.e., to cover or hide the face»⁵⁴, (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱) «*hbs*» «i.e., to cover with the clothes»⁵⁵, and (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱) «*sm³*» «i.e., the hair cover that covers part of the head, the scalp, or the side»⁵⁶.

⁴⁵ FCD 1976: 187.

⁴⁶ ERMAN&GRAPOW (EDS.): *Wb.1*: 12, 94.

⁴⁷ ERMAN&GRAPOW (EDS.): *Wb.1*: 94, 13; SMITH PAPYRUS 8.10; 9.4; 9.13; 9.16. ERMAN&GRAPOW (EDS.) 1971: *Wb.1* (Belegstellen): 13, 94.

⁴⁸ It showed a group of human body parts represented by the front of the head, eyebrows, eyes, nose, mouth, teeth, throat, tongue, lips, chin, ear, neck, shoulders, and *m³^c* - an area between the chin and the ear. Although the word «*n^cn*» represented one of the parts of the human body in Singer's opinion, Erman translated it as «the skull» Schädel, contrary to the Berlin dictionary *WB*: SINGER 2021: 62 -3; ERMAN2018: 20; ERMAN&GRAPOW(EDS.) 1982 : *Wb.1*: 13, 191; This name was mentioned in the papyrus of Leiden I 348 (ZANDEE 1984) and the papyrus of Chester Beatty: GARDINER 1931, Mutter & Kind: *P. Leiden* I 348, Spells 5 (3, 2), 15 (10, 1), 16(10, 3), 17 (10, 8)& 18 (11, 3), Chester Beatty V = P. BM 10685 Vs. 3(4, 10), 2(5, 2), 2(6, 3), 2 (6, 4)& 2(6, 5), P. Budapest 51.1961, Spells 2 (1, 7), 3 (2, 6) &3 (2, 7); ERMAN 1901: E (4, 2); ERMAN&GRAPOW(EDS.) 1982: *Wb.1* (Belegstellen): 13, 191.

⁴⁹ *Wb* as: «part of the human body» (*Korperteil*) without determining which part it refers to (?). It belongs to the Book of the Dead *Totenbuch* because it was defined by Berlin Dictionary ERMAN&GRAPOW(EDS.) 1982: *Wb.1*; NAVILLE 1886: 17, 172; ERMAN&GRAPOW (EDS.) 1982: *Wb.1* (Belegstellen): 6, 210.

⁵⁰ It dates back to the Middle Kingdom. The Berlin dictionary translated it as «a part of the human body», including the area between the eye (*Ouge*) and the ear (*Ohr*). It might refer to the hair bread and its curls (Harrflechte). In contrast, SINGER explained it as a part of the human face, containing the chin, ears, jaw area, or eye area. ERMAN&GRAPOW (EDS.) 1982: *Wb.2*: 9-10, 24; SINGER 2021: 63.

⁵¹ BATES 2004: 125.





⁵² (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱), (𓇧𓇱𓇰𓇱): BATES 2004: 125.





⁵³ BATES 2004: 125, 397.

⁵⁴ BATES 2004:125.

⁵⁵ BATES 2004: 131.

⁵⁶ BATES 2004: 155.

Still, other words have the meaning of «enclosing or surrounding something to cover and hide it» such as: (, , ) «šni»⁵⁷, and: () «k3p» meaning: «to cover himself to hide like Lytham (veil)»⁵⁸.

In the Sumerian language, the word: (, , , )⁵⁹ «NUNDUN- LĀ»⁶⁰ means: «Beard»⁶¹, while the word «beard» is mentioned in Akkadian language to mean (*Zaḡnu*) «Zaḡānu»⁶².

The word «SA», meaning «strand» or «cue», while the words: «šētu» and «riksu» always come in the form of an adjective for the syntactic, which is either «hair», «ropes», or «nets».⁶³ As for the covering or the process of covering with clothes or fabrics. It was mentioned in Sumerian as «liwitu», i.e., «cover» or «wrap» and «liwiti», i.e., «covering» or «wrapping»⁶⁴.

III. THE BEARD AND ITS COVERS IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Bearded statues were known in ancient Egypt from the era of «Naqada I» and the beginning of Naqada II. According to Hornblower, they mostly represented carved pieces imported from the countries bordering Egypt⁶⁵, in general, and Mesopotamia, in particular⁶⁶.

This issue was evidenced by the presence of the head of a god made of burnt-coloured clay with an oval shape that was found broken in the *Marmadat Bani Salama* area⁶⁷. The chin of this head was decorated with a group of holes in which ribbons or ropes were attached (a metaphor for the beard), which was only hung during the celebrations⁶⁸.

Petrie mentioned that those statues, which depicted men with shaved heads while they were provided with beards, were of people who came before the Egyptians⁶⁹. He found a similar statue in the «Naqada» area depicting a statue of a man with holes in

⁵⁷ BATES 2004: 183, 341.

⁵⁸ BATES 2004: 192.

⁵⁹ BATES 1979: 18.

⁶⁰ BATES 1979: 51.

⁶¹ (su6) which means «beard» in: Towards an etymological dictionary *SUMERIAN EGYPTIAN*2020.

⁶² BLACK 2000: 445, LABAT 1979, «Towards an etymological dictionary (Sumerian Egyptian)», <https://mahjoubinfo.wordpress.com/2016/12/04/> (Accessed on 18/9/2020)

⁶³ AL-OBAIDI 2012: Z.

⁶⁴ AHMED 2012: 187, VEENHOOF 1972: 27, MALLOWAN 1957: 69.

⁶⁵ VANDIER 1952: 421.

⁶⁶ ŠYTT 2000: 127.

⁶⁷ ADIB 1997: 17.

⁶⁸ It is considered as a sort of flags in Ancient Egypt: ENGELBACH 1999: 74.

⁶⁹ CAPART 1905: 158- 159, FIG.121; ATALLAH : 163–191 (171).

his chin hanging, from which four black bands might be a metaphor for the beard if the statue was of a man⁷⁰ or with holes in the chin area only [FIGURE 13].



[FIGURE 13]. A wooden statue with holes in the chin area to fix the beard.

SELIM 2011: 159, FIG.19.

The beard was, in some cases, depicted with its lower part widening slightly from the top, as was the case in the statues of the king *Menkaure*, a model that was prevalent in the official depiction of kings in the Old Kingdom⁷¹ [FIGURE 14]. Instead, kings wore flat and synthetic beards attached to ropes around the ears or head, which soon developed into the form of the *Osird Beard*⁷², in the form of a braided plait of several strands, while its end was bent slightly forward, resembling *Wsir*, the god of the dead⁷³, linking the wearer to the ranks of the gods⁷⁴. In contrast, individuals wore a short beard of one lock⁷⁵.



[FIGURE 14]. The king has a large beard statue in his triad sculpture.

EGYPTIAN MUSEUM GUIDE 1999: 36



[FIGURE 15]. The golden mask of Tutankhamun
EGYPTIAN MUSEUM GUIDE 1999:86.

In Mesopotamia, male statues were naked, with a snake-like face, a conical-shaped crown, and long beards⁷⁶. Male statues made of mud-colored with a light beard were also discovered in the city of «*Ur*» and «*Eridu*»⁷⁷. Later, the Sumerians were distinguished by shaving their beards, while the Babylonians kept them long and cropped in square shapes⁷⁸. In the Assyrian era, the hair and beard were wavy, curled and braided⁷⁹. The men of the ancient Greek⁸⁰ and Mesopotamia civilizations wore

⁷⁰ PETRIE 1895: 13-4.

⁷¹ DUNN 2018: <http://www.toureygypt.net/featurestories/beards.htm> (Accessed on 19/04/2021)

⁷² Sometimes, *Osiris* appears without his divine artificial beard. See, his scene in «*Philae*», where he appears standing between *Isis* and *Nephthys*. BUDGE 1973: 48, FIG.29.

⁷³ As well as the Mask of the king *Tutankhamen*: for example [FIGURE 15].

⁷⁴ REDFORF 2005: 36; BEEK 1962: 27.

⁷⁵ WILKSON 2003: 116.

⁷⁶ AL-SHEIKH 1985: 68; JEREMY 1992, LAMBERT 1992: 541.

⁷⁷ AL-AGĀ 2004: 117.

⁷⁸ LLOYD 1964: 131, FIG.93; LLOYD 1993: 102; SELIM 2011: 149, BEEK 1963.

⁷⁹ PARROT 1961: 19, FIG. 23.

beards and treated them with incredible respect and care, using wax, oils, and moisturizers that helped them maintain the appearance of their beards in their best condition at all times⁸¹.

One of the frescoes of the Assyrian king *Tjellat Blazer III*⁸² (Ca. 745 - 727 BC) in *Tell Parsib*⁸³ showed two writers. The first with a beard was an Assyrian, and the second portrayed as a shaven-bearded was an Aramaic writer⁸⁴. Perhaps, these two writers represented the two styles of writing (cuneiform and Aramaic) during the modern Assyrian era (Ca. 911-612 BC)⁸⁵.

Bearded scribes might appear regularly during the reign of *Tjellat Blazer III* and beyond⁸⁶. Researchers disagree on these two writers. For example, Reade believes that the shaved writer was an Aramaic writer who wrote in Aramaic⁸⁷. In contrast, Mazloum argues that the clean-shaven writer was not an Aramaic writer but an Assyrian painter.⁸⁸

Often, this beard was provided with an accurate representation of the beard's hair or a brief representation of the lines and grooves of the sides of the chin [Figure 16], with grooves and ornaments covering the entire chin [FIGURE 17]. It might also be provided with holes indicating the beard hair⁸⁹ [FIGURE 18].



[FIGURE 16]. The head of a statue shows the beard in the form of two sidelines
©ATALLAH 2005: FIG.20.



[FIGURE 17]. One of the statues found in the temple of *Apo*. SELIM 2011: 152, FIG.12.



[FIGURE 18]. The bronze head of a statue of King *Urnmo*;
SELIM 2011:153, FIG.14.

⁸⁰ The Greece civilization knew the raising of the beard as a punishment for the enemy. The great Alexander asked his soldiers to shave beards before the war, so the enemies did not sign it as a weakness in war: HARDY 2015.

⁸¹ ABDALLA 2000; <https://beardpilot.com/pages/beard-history>, (Accessed on 25/08/2022).

⁸² EL-KILANY 1999: 32-33; HABIB 1986: 115-116.

⁸³ *Tell Barsab (Tell al-Ahimer)*: It was an impregnable fortress and was considered the principal city of the Aramaic queen *Bet-Adeni*. This city is located on the Euphrates River in Syria. The Assyrian King *Shalmaneser III* (858-824 BC) changed the name of this city after seizing it in the famous battle of *al-Qarqar* against this kingdom and its allies. It continued as a center for an Assyrian province until the fall of the Assyrian state: MAZLOUM 1985: 85.

⁸⁴ MAZLOUM 1971: 116.

⁸⁵ MAZLOUM 1971: 118.

⁸⁶ READE 1972: 96-97.

⁸⁷ READE 1972: 97.

⁸⁸ MAZLOUM 1985: 116.

⁸⁹ PETRIE 1895: 45, PL.59, 2, 4, 8a, 10; PETRIE 1920: 7, 9, PLS.1, 9; 1-2, 4; PETRIE 1933: 29, PLS.10, 46; CAPART 1905: 76, 80, FIG.47; LECLANT 1979: 43; 56, FIG.47; 62.

However, most statues and engravings depicting male figures with beards were greatly exaggerated in engraving and decorating the curls of the hair and beard [FIGURES 20-21].



[FIGURE 20]. An inscription of king *Ashur II* showing hair and beard decorations; SELIM 2011:156, FIG.18.



[FIGURE 21].An engraving of a group of musicians with wrinkles of hair and beard SELIM 2011: 154, FIG.17.

Most of these beards in both Egypt and Mesopotamia civilizations were not provided with grooves or ornaments, confirming that most of these statues, if not all, were provided with beard covers. Most of these beard covers were depicted on primitive statues carved from ivory⁹⁰ or alabaster⁹¹ in particular [FIGURES 22-23], which according to the material and the technique of manufacture, date back to pre-dynastic times⁹².



[FIGURE 22]. Bearded statues Brooklyn Museum



[FIGURE 23].Bearded statue Brooklyn Museum

If we consider the exaggerated shape of the beard, the lack of details, notches, or braids expressing the strands of the beard's hair, and its elongation outside the bounds of the chin area, we may conclude that it did not reflect a natural beard. Rather, it represented the covers containing the beard as if they were like a veil [FIGURES 24-25], as the features of the face and eyes appeared naturally. In contrast, the features of the mouth or nose sometimes disappeared completely under the hood or the veil or appeared in simple lines under the veil at other times.

⁹⁰ PETRIE 1920: PLS.7, 9, 1, 10; VANDIER 1952: 420, PL.282, 10; PETRIE 1886, PL.59. 3; BAYNE 2012: 237, FIG.81.

⁹¹ VANDIER 1952: 423, FIGs.3, 283.

⁹² SCHARFF 1929: 28, PL.29.



[FIGURE 24]. Ivory-bearded statue of a man or gods-Naqada
OKASHA 1971: FIG.59.



[FIGURE 25]. Another ivory-bearded statue of a man or gods-Naqada
OKASHA 1971: FIG.54.

Beard hoods were unusual for the inscriptions and statues of men depicted with a beard, as these hoods appeared in their most straightforward states of elongation parallel to the size, shape, and length of the chin⁹³, especially in most statues and decorative combs [FIGURE 26] during pre-dynastic ages in both civilizations, which were mostly made of small ivory pieces. The masculine bodies were characterized by an exaggerated elongation of the chin, which some described as «a long pointed beard»⁹⁴. The writer believes it represented a beard or veil.



[FIGURE 26]. A comb in the form of a bearded man.
© Brooklyn Museum

Perhaps, most of the beard covers took the shape of a triangular tapered end with straight sides. The chin covering was a clear example of statues with a long, tapered triangular beard, which might reach close to the chest⁹⁵, waist area, or sometimes to the navel area [FIGURES 27/a-b], distinguished by being convex hoods. Thus, the entire beard was wrapped and covered with it⁹⁶.



[FIGURE 27/A]: A statue of a bearded man to the top of the navel;
©Boston Museum



[FIGURE 27/B]: A detailed view of the previous figure;
©Boston Museum

⁹³ c ATALLAH 2005: 163–191.

⁹⁴ CAPART 1905: 80, FIG. 47; VANDIER 1952: 421, FIG. 283, 7; PETRIE 1886: 45, PL.59, 7; SCHARFF 1929: 30, PLS.10, 47-48; DE MORGAN 1896: 451, FIG.373; PAYNE 1993: 20, FIG.12, 47.

⁹⁵ ROAF 1990: 67.

⁹⁶ MELLINK 1974: FIG.195/a-b; PAYNE 2012. 13, PL. 6; AL-SHEIKH 1985: 57.

The habit of covering the lower part of the face with a cover in general or covering the chin and beard with a hood was a known habit during the late «*Naqada I*» era (stages 50-60). When small pendants were found, they were made of seashells [FIGURE28], limestone, or, in rare cases, copper, where such tools were attached to the forehead of a person. Therefore, according to some opinions, a hook was fixed at the bottom of it, to which the hood or the beard cover was attached⁹⁷ [FIGURE 29].



[FIGURE 28]. A piece of a seashell holds the veil or the beard cover.
©ATALLAH 2005: FIG.49.



[FIGURE 29]. A piece of an engraved seashell with a hole in the bottom; Louvre Museum
DELAPORT 1997: 185, FIG.22.

It is worth noting that it was possible to find one of these pendants fixed in its place on the skull of one of the dead, demonstrating how they were decided and the purpose of their use. Perhaps, the reason for not finding many examples of these pendants is that most of them were probably made of perishable and mortal materials, suggesting their rarity in tombs and on mummies. Otherwise, we would have found many adequate numbers to study⁹⁸.

IV. MOTIVES FOR THE BEARD'S RAISING AND COVERING

The beard and its covering were important matters in the ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamia civilizations because they highlighted the social status of a person, whether a king or a common person; Egyptian, Iraqi, or foreigner; god or human. The habit of covering the beard was one of the few things to depict and model, despite its primitive origin. The reasons that prompted some ancient Egyptians and Iraqis to grow beards, on the one hand, and the motives for covering them, on the other, varied. The following section is an enumeration of the most important reasons and motives.

⁹⁷ ©ATALLAH 2005: 171.

⁹⁸ CAPART 1905: 104, FIG.21, ©ATALLAH 1995: 40ff.

1. Motives for growing a beard

A. A measure of masculinity and maturity

Although the ancient Egyptians had an original beard that grew normally, they preferred false beards out of great concern for hygiene. They considered long beards, mustaches, and thick eyebrows signs of a lack of hygiene⁹⁹. The ancient Egyptians were careful not to remove only facial hair but also full-bodied hair¹⁰⁰.

The beard in ancient Egypt was indicative of the level of strength, manliness, and fertility. Raising the beard usually gave an impression of the characteristics of those with experience and wisdom in the tribal community due to their old age, which was the same reason that prompted the ancient Egyptians and Iraqis to grow beards¹⁰¹.

The concern of the king of Assyria, «the father», with his son, the ruler of the city of «Mary», was expressed in one of the cuneiform writings in a letter through the «royal delegates¹⁰²»: «*You are still a child, and you are not a man. Has the beard not grown on your chin yet? Have you not yet succeeded in achieving maturity, and have you not established a house for yourself yet?*»¹⁰³.

B. A measure of beauty

In one of the poems about the spinning between the goddess «*Inana*» and the god *Damouzi*, we read about the beauty of the beard of *Damouzi*, which *Inana* likened to lapis lazuli: «*How charming is his lapis lazuli beard, that shepherd that Anne created for me*»¹⁰⁴.

C. A measure of the legendary hero

A statue¹⁰⁵ of a bearded, prolific man, animalistic, wicked-smiling, red-skinned, was found. Its face was marked by a slanting tangle that was deliberately executed, starting from the top of the nose, passing through the right cheek, and ending at the root of the abundant curly beard around the sides of the face. It probably represents a statue of a mythical warrior hero whose face was left behind by wars and battles¹⁰⁶ [FIGURE 30].

⁹⁹ HARRIS 2012.

¹⁰⁰ STEELE 2009: 13.

¹⁰¹ FOX 2012: 110.

¹⁰² About the royal delegates, see: Mazloun 1985: 95ff.

¹⁰³ OTTOS 1985: 64.

¹⁰⁴ EL-MAGEDY 2001: 108.

¹⁰⁵ This statue dates back to the third millennium BC in the district of Persia, eastern south of Sheraz.

OKASHA 1971: 108.

¹⁰⁶ OKASHA 1971: 108.



[FIGURE30]. A statue of a legendary bearded hero;
OKASHA 1971: 109, FIG.48.

D. A measure of judgment and authority

In ancient Egyptian arts, we usually find the ancient Egyptians who were viziers and officials¹⁰⁷ with shaved beards. They were prompted to use «false beards»¹⁰⁸; to follow the example of the ruling class. According to Emery¹⁰⁹, the beard was a symbol of rule and authority, as evident in their statues, inscriptions, and colourful drawings as a feature of kings and pharaohs¹¹⁰. It was also evident in their texts:



«This beard of King P is among the elite stars of hm (Letopolis)¹¹¹».

It is worth noting that the king¹¹², even after his death, used to wear the royal beard. Maspero believed that the beards and nails were fixed to the royal mummies due to their importance after treating them chemically¹¹³. Whether natural or artificial, the beard's mission was not limited to playing the role of the beard. It referred to its owner with high social positions, such as kings¹¹⁴[FIGURE 31].

This case might differ from the situation in ancient Mesopotamia, as the beard was not one of the most important symbols and insignia of royalty¹¹⁵. A statue was found

¹⁰⁷ Two sons of vizier *Dagi* were shown seated on a chair, wearing a short skirt and curly short wig; while the chins were decorated with a short beard with a triangle-end shape. ARNOLD 2015: 124.

¹⁰⁸ These fake beards needed to be fixed with stripes around the head or ears, which were clearly shown in many statues and illustrations.

¹⁰⁹ EMERY 2000: 18.

¹¹⁰ STEELE 2009: 13.

¹¹¹ PYR: 1308A; ERMAN& GRAPOW(EDS.) 1982: Wb.1 (Belegstellen): 12, 94.

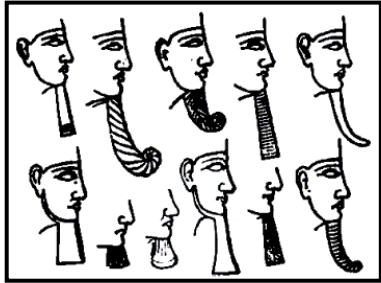
¹¹² There was: «The house of the morning». In the royal palace, there were specialists in cutting the king's hair and shaving his beard, as well as members of his family. In the Arab world, the barber is still called the *hairstylists* /«المزين»-الحلاق. JOACHIM 2006: 36.

¹¹³ SANDISON 1963: 63.

¹¹⁴ PECK 2013: 106.

¹¹⁵ The most important symbols of kingship in ancient Mesopotamia: «The crown, Scepter, crook, and measuring rope». AL-ṬĀ'Y 2008.

inside a vessel of the master of the city of *Warka*[FIGURE 32], showing him with a hood pulled to the forehead and neck together with a padded tie. It was provided with an unnatural beard rich in hair, fluted horizontally, as one of the artistic features of that era, which made a kind of heavenly holiness conferred on the statue¹¹⁶. Thus, the beard was to be covered in a grooved cover.



[FIGURE 31]. The different shapes of royal chins; www.arab-rationalists.net (Accessed on 25/6/2020)



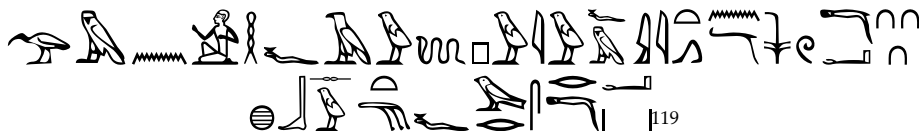
[FIGURE 32]. Alabaster statue of «the priest-king» and the bearded master of Uruk (*Warka*)-late Uruk; Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 61986crow. OKASHA 1971: 114, FIG.57.

E. A measure of parenthood and old age

For the ancient kings of Mesopotamia, the beard was a symbol of fatherhood and old age. It was not used for priestly purposes, as was the case in ancient Egypt. In contrast, the beard of the Assyrians in Mesopotamia and the Persians symbolized wisdom, similar to that in ancient Egypt, in which the beard was an important sign of authority¹¹⁷.

F. A measure of power and prestige

Ancient Egyptian history highlighted the extent of the Egyptians' interest in having their heads and beards trimmed¹¹⁸. While many texts referred to the importance of growing a beard during different periods as an expression of power and prestige, in the story of «the drowned sailor», which dates back to the Middle Kingdom, we see how a huge snake with a beard more than two arms long greeting the sailor upon his arrival on this remote island:



gm.n.i hf3w pw iw.f m ii.t n swmh 30 hbsw.fwr.s r mh 2

«I found that what was coming to me was a huge snake whose length was 30 cubits, and it had a beard that was longer than the two arms¹²⁰». This indicates the role of the beard in maximizing a person's strength and prestige so that the good deceased spoke

¹¹⁶ OKASHA 1971: 112.

¹¹⁷ COOPER 1971: 103.

¹¹⁸ Shaving hair and beard was one of the mandatory things of Egyptian soldiers where the barber in ancient Egypt always roamed the streets of villages. VON DASSOW 1998: 46; MILLBURN n. d.

¹¹⁹ DE BUCK 1948: 9–10, 101.

¹²⁰ LICHTHEIM 2006b: 212; *SHIPWRECKED SAILOR* 63-64; PEET 1931: 29.

to his soul as an analogy to «*Wsir*» to reach the end of his beard in the sense of power and prestige[FIGURE 33].

«*May you reach even the hairs of my beard, let you reach me even my feet*¹²¹».

One of the favorite subjects in Akkadian engraving art was also the depiction of the king surrounded by symbols of divinity, such as the sun and moon¹²², as an image of a mighty hero with a curly beard and strands¹²³ as a symbol of strength and prestige¹²⁴. Rather, pulling a person's hair¹²⁵ or beard¹²⁶ was a sign of humiliation¹²⁷.



[FIGURE 33]. *Wsir* in the human body with a beard;
MĀNĪŠ 2002: 64, FIG.52.



[FIGURE 34]. Two scenes of the victory stela of king *Naram Sin*;
Musée du Louvre

G. A measure of immortality and survival

The Egyptian pharaohs always imitated the god of the dead in the other world, *Wsir* even in his beard, after their departure from this world and transferring to the other. The kings of Egypt wore false beards after their death, and they were depicted on the roofs of the coffins wearing the beard, especially the slender divine beard that ended with a folded edge towards the front¹²⁸. On the contrary, the ancient Iraqi did not link between the beard, on the one hand, and the afterlife, the rites of death or burial, on the other hand.

¹²¹ BD. 1898: CXXXI (286. 11-12).

¹²² Such as the inscription of the Akkadian king *Sharrumkin*, who was depicted in the image of a deified king, climbing a steep slope in front of the warriors, and made a larger body than his companions on the obelisk of *Naram-Sin* on the occasion of his victory over Lollubin [FIGURE 34]. DIAKONOV 2000: FIG.92.

¹²³ As an inscription for the same king he fought with lions, his muscles tight, and in one hand held a jumping lion, and a dagger with which he stabbed a beast in western Persia with the other: DIAKONOV 2000.

¹²⁴ DIAKONOV 2000.

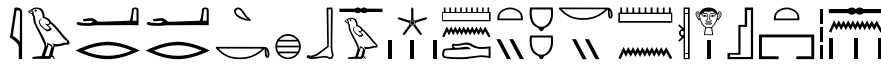
¹²⁵ It was mentioned in the Holy Qur'an when the Prophet *Moses* dragged his brother *Aaron* by his hair and beard to reprimand him for having instigated the Israelites to worship idols (calf). Allah says "[Aaron] said, "O son of my mother, do not seize [me] by my beard or by my head. Indeed, I feared that you would say, 'You caused division among the Children of Israel, and you did not observe [or await] my word.'" Compare with God speech: *He throws stelae and takes his brother's head pull him*": Holly Quran: VII/150.

¹²⁶ KORAN XX/94.

¹²⁷ LANGE 2016: 77-100.

¹²⁸ GABRIEL 2005: Nr°. 51.

Chapter 170 of the Book of the Dead refers to the role of the beards as one of the secrets of the king's survival, not only on the throne of worldly life but on the thrones of the gods in the afterlife, as well.



Tw r̄r.k ḥbsw<.k> mndtwy.ky mn<.k>ḥr stw.sn

«Your chin, <your> beard¹²⁹, and your cheeks hold <you> on their thrones¹³⁰».

H. A measure of religiosity

Although wearing beards was not the primary criterion of masculinity in ancient Egypt. But it also linked its owner to the ranks of the great gods. Hence, the Pharaohs wore beards. The prevailing style of the beard was by braiding a group of strands in the form of a thin and narrow braid, a pattern that connected them to the ranks of the gods. Perhaps, goat hair-according to Freedman - was the main component of this type of beard, which was usually wide at the top and slender at the bottom. The great Pharaohs put on a false beard during the celebration to express its importance, on the one hand, and to emphasize their divine lineage, on the other hand¹³¹.

Ancient Egyptian art also depicted the arts of neighboring countries in general and Mesopotamia in particular; their deities were similar to the features and characteristics of the Egyptian gods, and their religions were provided with beards of many shapes¹³².

Growing the sacred natural beard was one of the things that lost its popularity early in the history of ancient Egyptian civilization, as it was perhaps replaced by the divine beard of the gods and the fake human beard of the king, which also dates back to the ancient Egyptian civilization's concerns about cleanliness and purity. Certain types of legal restrictions on all groups of people made the poor wear beards continuously and regularly¹³³.

Beards were very interestingly depicted in ancient Egyptian art, indicating that the natural life of the individual outside the fanatical religious system imposed the presence of beards for many persons in the ancient Near East. The artists of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia expressed their opinion about growing beards among their neighborhood enemies with their various types and forms [FIGURE 35], which might

¹²⁹ FCD 1976: 187.

¹³⁰ BD. 1898: CLXXII (446. 13).

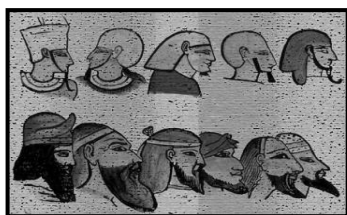
¹³¹ FREEDMAN 2000: 158.

¹³⁰ So Joab said to Amasa: «Are you at peace, my brother?», And Joab's right hand took a beard of Amasa to kiss it). Like a good fat on the head that goes down on the beard, the beard of Aaron, which goes down to the end of his clothing). (On that day, the master shaves with a rented razor the head and the hair of the two legs, and the beard shall be taken away also, and crosses the river, with the king of Assyria).Sam. 2: 9; 20; Ps. 2: 133; Is. 7: 20.

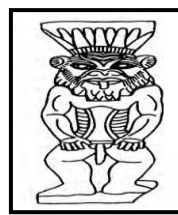
¹³³ SHAW & NICHOLSON 1995: 95.

highlight the reason for the popularity of growing the beards of most kings and individuals of the ancient Near East countries when they travelled abroad¹³⁴.

Even most of the Egyptian and Mesopotamia gods had beards indicating holiness and purity, including the god *Ra* that had a divine beard¹³⁵ and the god *Bes*¹³⁶ that was depicted in the form of a funny dwarf¹³⁷ whose face had curly hairs¹³⁸ with two long strips of hair in cheeks and a curly beard¹³⁹ [FIGURE 36]. The god *Khnum* was depicted in the form of a raised ram with two horns extending upwards and his chin adorned with a beard, indicating sacred nature¹⁴⁰ [FIGURE 37]. Moreover, the god *Ptah* appeared mostly in the form of a youth¹⁴¹ whose chin was adorned with a long straight beard¹⁴².



[FIGURE 35]. Different shapes of Egyptian kings, individuals, and foreign people's beards; <http://www.martialvivot.com/blog/2015/08/27/ancient-grooming-history/> (Accessed on 30/8/2020)



[FIGURE 36]. The god *Bes* with a thick beard and mustache; Fitz Museum EMERY 2000: FIG. 32.

In Mesopotamia, many gods also knew the importance of having a beard, such as the god *Baal* who wore a triangular Asian beard¹⁴³ [FIGURE 38], the god *Shamash* who was depicted in a human form with a long beard¹⁴⁴, and the god *Inana* who was depicted in the form of a bull with large horns and a blue lazuli beard and was worshiped in «*Ur*»¹⁴⁵. Moreover, the god *Anki*, the god of world waters¹⁴⁶, was

¹³⁴ STROUHAL 1989: 114.

¹³⁵ D'AURIA 2008: 36.

¹³⁶ About the god *Bes*, see: IKRAM 2005: 15; NĀ'ĪL 2003: 12.

¹³⁷ Dwarves had an important role in Egyptian society, especially in introducing pleasure and joy to the heart of the king and performing dances at religious events and various celebrations. A scene on one of the walls of the temple of king *Amenhotep* III in Thebes depicted three dwarves carrying sticks while their beards were draped, and they performed a *jhb* dance with four normal stature people. BRUNNER 1992: 1-80; DASEN 2013: 146.

¹³⁸ DASEN 2013: 86.

¹³⁹ DASEN 2013: 59.

¹⁴⁰ *Khnum* was the deity of waterfalls (the source of water), who was guarded by *Hapi* and who was the creator of mankind. It was depicted in the form of a ram from whose genitalia was exaggerated to indicate creation, rebirth, and fertility. ARMWR 2005: 134; 'ABDEL-NA'ĪM 2002: 860.

¹⁴¹ DASEN 2013: 41.

¹⁴² HOLMBERG 1946: 7-182; DASEN 2013: 87.

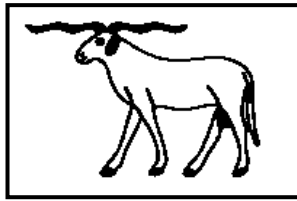
¹⁴³ HINNELLS 2007: 148, FIG.3.1.

¹⁴⁴ SELIM 2011: 352.

¹⁴⁵ Diakonov 2000.

¹⁴⁶ Diakonov 2000.

represented as a seated deity with a long beard, a hat with horns, and a long robe with folds¹⁴⁷.



[FIGURE 37].*Khnum* god with a beard.

<http://www.martialvivot.com/blog/2015/08/27/ancient-grooming-history/>, (Accessed on 30/5/2020)



[FIGURE 38].*Baal* god with a beard
Ugarit stela. HINNELLS 2007: 148, FIG.31.

The god *Sin* was also depicted as an old man with a drooping beard and a crown with four horns topped with a crescent¹⁴⁸. The same applies to other sacred symbols, such as the *Mashkhoshu* dragon, whose statues came from China¹⁴⁹.

I. A measure of fertility and virility

Keita believed that some Egyptian and Iraqi fertility deities, such as «*Min*» in ancient Egypt and «*Anki*» in Mesopotamia, were among those bearded statues found in both civilizations and dating back to pre-dynastic times¹⁵⁰. Some of these statues represented the erect penis as a sign of fertility and virility. [FIGURES39-40]



[FIGURE39].A statue of a bearded man sticking out a penis. Metropolitan Museum



[FIGURE 40]. Another statue of a bearded man sticking out a penis. Metropolitan Museum

We can realize that growing beards for the people of Egypt and Mesopotamia was one of the basic habits they had, which belonged to a social motive of masculinity, fertility, and virility, or a tribal motive of old age and wisdom, or a religious motive for the gods, or a sacred prayer of purity and honor. Other motives included communicating with royal or divine authorities. It was one of the matters that neither the rulers nor the people could disavow. If a person had no beard, wearing it as a borrowed might fulfil the purpose.

¹⁴⁷ MICHALOWSKI 1985: 222; EL-DAWRY 2009: 180.

¹⁴⁸ JEREMY 1992: 135.

¹⁴⁹ FORBES 1955: 94; El-Dawry 2009: 127.

¹⁵⁰ KEITA 1993: 129-154.

Some tried to compare this to the habit of growing the beard at the time of grief or covering it with that custom known to the Jewish¹⁶² who cover their beards as an expression of grief and mourning at funerals and obsequies¹⁶³. Growing or covering a beard may indicate a state of sadness, melancholy or mourning.

E. A measure of holiness and purity

The presence of the beard referred to the sacred nature of the bearded person or god¹⁶⁴. It was one of the things that might bestow a kind of holiness on the owner of this beard and his statue¹⁶⁵ [FIGURE 41]. Covering the beard might be to ensure purity during various religious ceremonies, following the custom of Egyptian priests who were required to shave their heads and beards. The hair of the whole body was also removed before performing the various religious rituals to avoid the dirt that might arise as a result of growing hair and beards or preventing the emergence of hair insects¹⁶⁶. This prompted some to grow light beards that did not exceed two lines to decorate the side frames of the chin area¹⁶⁷.



[FIGURE 41]. A wooden statue with a sacred beard

<http://louvre-statuette-personnage-masculin.com>, (Accessed on 3/8/2020)

Because of the great importance of the divine beard to the kings, both «Isis» and «Nephthys» referred to its importance to the king in their obituary to *Wsir* in the spell Nr^o. 169 of the pyramids texts, entitled: «Encouraging the soul to enter the Horizon *3ht*»: «*It is your identity belonging to the beard of god, which has attached to you so that you are not angry*¹⁶⁸».

¹⁶¹ LICHTHEIM 2006a: 233, (*Sinuhe*: § 294).

¹⁶² cATALLAH 2005: 171.

¹⁶³ That match with the story of the prophet: «Jesus» (PPUBH), when he grew his beard in prison. When he was called to meet the king to explain his dream, he cut his hair and shaved his beard. «*Pharaoh sends a messenger and call Jesus, they faster with him from prison; so he shaves and change his clothes*». Gn. 41: 14: FREEDAM & ALLEN 2000; GABRIEL 2005: N^o. 51.

¹⁶⁴ 'ABDEL-NA 'IM 2002: 860.

¹⁶⁵ SMITH 1958: 13.

¹⁶⁶ CAPART 1905: 45.

¹⁶⁷ PETRIE 1920: 7, 9, PLS.1, 7; VANDIER 1952: 420, Fig.7, 282.

¹⁶⁸ ALLEN 2015: 81.

Most of the bearded statues were in the form of artifacts of old men or gods as an indication of their sanctity, and they were depicted wrapped in long coats covering the entire body¹⁶⁹. Their beards were triangular with straight ribs and angles, and these statues were pierced and hung as amulets to take advantage of their sanctity. These holes were made at the bottom of the statue [FIGURE 42], provided with a ring on the top [FIGURE 43], or with two holes in the place of the chest [FIGURE 44].



[FIGURE 42]. An ivory statue of a bearded man with a hole for hanging as an amulet; Metropolitan Museum



[FIGURE 43]. A bearded statue with a ring at the top for hanging; Metropolitan Museum



[FIGURE 44]. An ivory statue with two holes in the chest for hanging; Boston Museum

These statues were sometimes equipped with grooves to fix the hang ropes in the streams of these grooves to prevent the amulet representing the bearded person or deity with a sacred character from falling [FIGURES 45-46].



[FIGURE 45]. A bearded statue equipped with grooves to fix the hang ropes in the streams; Réunion des Musées Nationaux-Grand Palais



[FIGURE 46]. Another bearded statue equipped with grooves to fix the hang ropes in the streams; Réunion des Musées Nationaux-Grand Palais

‘Atallah reported that these statues were hung upside down as an amulet after piercing so that the wearer could see them and benefit from their holiness, unlike if they were hung in an upright position¹⁷⁰ [FIGURES 47-48]. Mojsov believed that the bearded male statues were an image revered and venerable by the tribe and clan during the

¹⁶⁹ KAISER 1967: 11, 52, 10.38; SCHARFF 1929: 28, Pls.29.

¹⁷⁰ cATALLAH 2005: 169.

primitive ages¹⁷¹ Or they might represent sacred deities, ancestor worship, a father's and grandparents, or a tribal leader's memorial.



[FIGURE 47]. A hanging amulet;
©ATALLAH 2005: FIG.27



[FIGURE 48]. Another hanging amulet;
©ATALLAH 2005: FIG.45

V. TYPES OF BEARD'S COVERS

1. Quarter-face cover (chin and beard)

The beard covers varied and included covering for a quarter face, covering only the chin and beard area. The cover was fixed behind the ear and contained the beard [Compared with FIGURE 49]. In some statues, the beard appeared to be covered with long, transmitted lines interspersed with holes that represented the gaps between the strands of the beard, according to Okasha¹⁷², in which I see a beard covered with long decorations and textile gabs that matched with the style of the decoration of the garment worn by the statue [FIGURE 50].



[FIGURE 49]. An ivory statue of a man with a
quarter-face beard covering;
Museum of Fine Art, Boston



[FIGURE 50]. A statue of king *Lamji
Mari* from the Temple of Ishtar;
OKASHA 1971: 184

It is noted in the following statue [FIGURE51] that all facial features were shown, including the eyes, nose, mouth, and ears, and a large beard that might have been covered. The tapered end of the elephant's tibia featured a long headdress, while the lower part represented the statue's body wrapped in a mantle without detail. The presence of a hole in the upper part of the statue confirmed that it was used as a pendant hung around the neck, but the use and the true meaning of this statue have not been known yet¹⁷³.

¹⁷¹ MOJSOV 2008: 7.

¹⁷² OKASHA 1971: 184, FIG.128.

¹⁷³ This statue is dated back to the Naqada I era and early Naqada II (ca. 3800–3600 BC), from the collection of: «Pre-dynastic in Ancient Egypt» (Egyptology Hall), 3rd floor. It measures 21.9 cm X

It also appeared in the statue of king *IkuShamajan*¹⁷⁴ [FIGURE 52] whose beard was decorated with square motifs intersecting and intertwining. In reality, this did not match the nature of the beard and its locks which always appeared in the form of drop-down lines or spiral circles, suggesting that the idea of cladding or covering the beard with a patterned cover the correct opinion.



[FIGURE51]. Ivory statue of a bearded and crowned man;
Brooklyn Museum,
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3358>,
(Accessed on 1/12/2021)



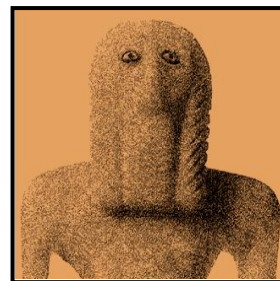
[FIGURE52]. Statue of the king
IkuShamajan –Ishtar Temple
OKASHA 1971:184, PL.129.

2. Third-face cover (chin, beard, and mouth)

It is a cover that hides a third of the lower face and contains only the chin, beard, and mouth so that only the nose and eyes appear from the face of the statue. This cover is also usually fixed behind the ear (Compared with FIGURE 53). The features of the statue are unreal, such that the nose is huge, and the lip is prominent [FIGURE54]



[FIGURE 53]. A faience statue of a bearded man without facial features except for its nose and eyes; Brooklyn Museum



[FIGURE 54]. Worshipper statue from Tal-Asmar; Baghdad Museum
OKASHA 1971: 180, FIG.124

3. Half-face cover (chin, beard, mouth, and nose)

It is a cover that hides half of the face; the veil covers the chin, beard, mouth, and nose so that it fits behind the ear. Only the eyes are visible from the statue, and there are holes and pricks in the chest area¹⁷⁵ to hang from (Compared with FIGURES 55–56).

3.3cm. It is saved in Brooklyn Museum N°. 35.1266, of «Charles Edwin Wilbur Fund»:
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3358>, (Accessed on 25/06/2020).

¹⁷⁴ OKASHA 1971: 184, FIG.129.

¹⁷⁵ <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3358>, (Accessed on) 08/12/2020.



[FIGURE55]. A bearded man statue only its eyes are visible; Brooklyn Museum



[FIGURE56]. Another bearded man statue only its eyes are visible; Brooklyn Museum

4. Full-face cover (mask)

It is a complete cover similar to a mask or the veil that removed two holes for the eyes. It covered the entire face and head (Compared with FIGURES 57-58).



[FIGURE57]. A bearded statue of a man or god has a cover for the full face;
©Brooklyn Museum



[FIGURE58]. Another bearded statue man or god has a triangle cover for the full face;
©Brooklyn Museum

VI. CONCLUSION

Many previous studies addressed beards. For instance, Amal Mahrān explored the names, shapes, and types of beards without being exposed to the coverings of beards, types, shapes, or purposes. ʿAbdullah tackled the nature of hair, its length and the shape of the beard, and its impact on the ethnic nature of the captive, without being exposed to its cover or the purpose of its growth and coverage. Moreover, Mustafa Atallah dealt with the uncommon forms of men and women and briefly addressed, in one phrase, the lines the shape of a beard of one of the pre-dynastic statues without discussing their forms, types, and purposes. This is the issue addressed in the current study.

The custom of raising the beard was known since pre-dynastic times in both Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. The bearded statues were found in many archaeological sites in Egypt: *Naqada I & II, Meramadat Banī Salama ...* and Mesopotamia: «*Ur, Eridu ...*». The beard and its covering were known by many names and linguistic connotations in the Egyptian, Sumerian, and Akkadian languages. The ancient Egyptian distinguished between the natural and the prosthetic beard in terms of its name and determinative. Similarly, the ancient Iraqi distinguished between the name of the beard in the Sumerian and Akkadian languages.

The shape and type of beard in Egypt and Mesopotamia were developed through the ages. The shape and type of beard in Egypt were developed from the natural and small beard to the natural and triangular beard, the linear borrowed, and the divine Osiris metaphor beard. In contrast, in Mesopotamia, the shape and type of beard were developed from the long to triangular naturalness, the grooved natural, the curly, and spiral natural bread. The viewer can also distinguish between people and their races through the beard. It is only through the shape of the beard that it was possible to distinguish the Egyptian, Iraqi, Libyan, or Syrian races.

The ancient Egyptian distinguished between a king and a common man through the shape of the beard. The ancient Iraqi also distinguished between the Assyrian writer and the Aramaic writer in terms of growing or shaving the beard.

The sources of bearded man statues, both archaeological and textual, were multiple in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. The lengths of the beard varied between the short covering of the chin area, the long one up to the chest area, and the very long one even to the navel area. The sources of bearded male figures also varied between regular statues, combs, and amulets. The materials for making bearded statues varied, including stone, ivory, faience, and alabaster. The materials for making ornaments used to fix the covers also varied between nacre and copper. The motives for growing a beard varied between being a measure of masculinity and maturity, a measure of judgment and authority, a measure of parenthood and old age, a measure of power and

prestige, and a measure of religiosity. The motives for covering the beard varied between fixing the beard and mustache and preventing them from being exposed to dirt and dust, to concealment and incognito, to feeling warm, to expressing mourning and sadness, and a measure of holiness and purity. The beard was one of the most important divine symbols indispensable to the Egyptian and Iraqi deities. The types of beard coverings varied between the covering for a quarter of the face (chin and beard), the covering for a third of the face (beard, chin, and mouth), the covering for half of the face (beard, chin, mouth, and nose), and the covering for the entire face (excluding the two eyes' openings).

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II. ISLAMIC

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THE ROUTE TO THE HOLY CITY. AL-JUḤFAH AS AN EXAMPLE

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THE ROUTE TO THE HOLY CITY.
[AL-JUHFAH AS AN EXAMPLE]

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[AR]

الطريق إلى المدينة المقدسة ... الجحفة أنموذجاً

كانت قرية الجحفة ولا تزال مركز حضارى عبر تاريخ البشرية. ولأنها مناسبة للحياة فقد أقامت فيها كثير من الدول عبر تاريخها الطويل والقديم. ومع ظهور الإسلام أصبحت الجحفة أكثر أهمية حيث كانت بمثابة محطة رئيسية للحجاج وكان الحجاج المسلمون يمررون بها في طريقهم إلى الأراضى والمشاعر المقدسة، حاملين معهم الطعام والماء وغير ذلك من الإحتياجات، وتشتهر الجحفة أيضاً بآثارها التاريخية مثل قصر عالية 19- يعرب الباحثون عن امتنانهم لعمادة البحث العلمى بجامعة أم القرى لدعمها وتمويل هذه الدراسة بمنحة رقم (.ومسجد الزور وغير ذلك HUM-4- 9-0001جرانها

[EN] The village of *al-Juhfah* was, still is, a center of civilization throughout human history. Since it is suitable for life, many nations resided in it. With the advent of Islam, *al-Juhfah* became of more importance, since it served as a *Mīqāt* for *Hajj*, and that is why Muslim pilgrims were obliged to pass by it, carrying with them food, water and other items. *al-Juhfa* is further known for its historical remains like the Alia Palace and *Masjid* of ʿAzzūr. The researchers express their gratitude to the Deanship of Scientific Research, Umm al-Qura University for supporting and funding this paper under scholarship N^o. (19-HUM-4- 9-0001), which effectively contributed to conducting it.

KEYWORDS: *Al-Juhfah*, Alia Palace, wells, springs, coins, monumental, *Mīqāt*, Holy Mecca, Medina of the Prophet.

I. INTRODUCTION

The village of *al-Juhfah* lies in the west of the Arabian Peninsula between Holy Mecca and the Medina of the Prophet, particularly to the north of Mecca and the Southwest of Medina. Other geographers yet believe that it lies on the *Hijāz*'s northern coast route. Previously, scholars opined that the village lies between longitude «65» and latitude «22», whereas it is believed today to be lying between latitude (22.42.45) and longitude (39.09.00), with a total area measuring around 4 square km. Based on this very last opinion on the location of *al-Juhfah*, it becomes clear that it belongs to *Tihamah* of *Hijāz*, since it is only 13.08 km above sea level. Besides, it is geographically represented the western border of the *Hijāz* region that separates it (*al-Juhfah*) from mount *Tayy*¹.

Today, *al-Juhfah* lies in the west of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) in the governorate of Rabīgh. It is 16 km away from its very center. For those heading to Holy Mecca, it is on their left. It has some landmarks, such as *Mīqāt al-Juhfah* (the place at which pilgrims shall make *Ihrām* to *Hajj*), *Alia Palace*, *Ghadīr Khumm* (the brooklet of *Khumm*), *Wādī al-Kharār* (the Valley of *al-Kharār*) and the *Harrah* of 'Azzūr.

With most of its land a plain area, *al-Juhfah* includes several hills and volcanic places. It has a wide valley known as *al-Kharār* into which the sea water flows. Today, the upper part of this valley is known as *al-Khāneq* while its very area overlooking the *Ghadīr Khumm* is known as *al-Halaq*. As for its area extending along *al-Juhfah*, it is known as *Wādī al-Ghāiḍah*². As for the soil of the valley, it belongs to the sedimentary, flood layers. It seems that the valley route has diverted in recent Islamic times, which is now known as *Inkisār al-Wādī* (Diversion of the Valley), a matter that caused *al-Juhfah* to lose many of its water resources including its very wells, springs and brooklets (with *Ghadīr Khumm* the most famous of them all) for which it was usually known. This valley used to be fed by a number of neighboring valleys. For example, it is reported that there were three valleys between *al-Juhfah* and the Valley of *Harshā*³, as follows: *Wādī Ghazāl*, *Wādī Dū Dūrān* and *Wādī Kulaiyah*. In truth, *al-Juhfah* enjoys this very distinctive geographical feature, since it formulates the western border of *Tihamah* of *al-Hijāz*⁴.

¹ ABŪ AL-FIDĀ 1850: 24; AL-BASSĀM 1998: vol.9: 141; AL-NAWAWI 2017: vol.8, 227; AL-ALŪSĪ 2009: vol.1, 187, 199; AL-BAKRĪ 1983: vol.1, 9– 11; JUNAYDEL n.d: 139; IBN ḤAWQAL 1992: 40.

² AL-BALĀDĪ 1973.

³ The Arabic word *Harshā* is a valley lying in the route to Mecca in the proximity of *al-Juhfah*. It overlooks the sea. There are two routes leading to this very valley of *Harshā*, with each of them leading to the same position. AL-ḤAMAWĪ 1995: vol.5, 397; SHARRĀB n.d: 294.

⁴ AL-SULAMI 1999: 23; IBN BAṬṬŪṬA 1987: vol.1, 142- 143; AL-SAMHŪDĪ 1998: vol.2, 754.

Even though *al-Juhfah* today experiences scarcity of plants, it was, still has, various kinds of desert plants including *al-Markh*⁵, *al-Arāk*⁶ and palm trees that used to be found in large numbers near *Ghadīr Khumm*. For this, camels used to represent the most prominent figure of livestock in *al-Juhfah*. Monumental discoveries unearthed the fact that the existence of camels in *al-Juhfah* dated back to the 1st century BC, whereas Islamic historical reports reveal the fact that horses were also found therein a long time ago⁷.

The significance of the geographical location of *al-Juhfah* stems from the fact that it served as a geographical mark to define locations of places throughout past times, such as *Rabigh*, *Harshā* and *Lahyu Jamal*⁸. In other words, places used to be defined in light of the very location of *al-Juhfah*. For example, when describing a particular place, they used to say: «It lies between *al-Juhfah* and another place, or near *al-Juhfah*, or on the way to *al-Juhfah*»⁹. Noticeably, the fame of *al-Juhfah* is not restricted to neighboring cities, but is also connected with large cities like Aden, to the extent that the distance between both of them has been defined through five stations¹⁰, a matter that may be interpreted in light of the geographical and historical significance of *al-Juhfah*, since it represented a main land station on the route connecting Mecca to Medina in particular, and the old routes of *Tihamah al-Hijāz* in general. The list of these routes includes the following:

1. The coast route: it is a three-day long journey from *al-Jār*¹¹ to the coast of *al-Juhfah*, and another three-day long journey from the coast of *al-Juhfah* to Jeddah.
2. The second coast route: it starts from *al-Jār* towards *al-Juhfah* at which it moves towards *Qadīd*¹².

⁵ *Al-Markh* is a kind of tree with no leaves or thorns. Of the *Asclepiadoidecae* family, this plant climbs the air towards the sky. In his *Lisān al-ʿArab* IBN MANZŪR says: «With no leaves and thorns, *al-Markh* has thin stems that grow within groups». IBN MANZŪR 1993: vol.9, 163; *AL-MUʿĀM AL-WAṢĪT* 2004: 861.

⁶ *Al-Arāk* is a kind of plants belonging to the *Salvadoraceae* family. With its height not exceeding four meters, this always-green tree lives for long times and has soft branches usually looking downwards or crawling on the surface of the earth at other times. *MUʿJAMUʿ AL-SHĀB* 2008: 26–30; *AL-MUʿĀM AL-WAṢĪT* 2004: 14.

⁷ IBN HAWQAL 1992: 40; AL-SULAMI 1999: 23; AL-BAKRI 1983: vol.2, 368.

⁸ *Lahyu Jamal* is a place between Holy Mecca and the Medina of the Prophet. It is '*Aqabatu al-Juhfah*. It is seven miles away from *al-Suqyā*, and may be also written as *Luhyā Jamal*. AL-ḤAMAWĪ 1995: vol.5, 15; AL-BALĀDI 2010: 1467–1468; SHARRĀB 1991: 92, 171, 235.

⁹ IBN BAṬṬŪTAH 1987: vol.1, 142 – 143; YĀQŪT AL-ḤAMAWĪ 1995: vol.2, 111; AL-ALBĀNI 2000: vol.2, 58; ABŪ AL-FIDĀ' 1850: 80; AL-BAKRI 1983: vol.2, 561; 625 & vol.3, 955, 1006 & vol.4, 1350.

¹⁰ IBN HAWQAL 1992: 46.

¹¹ *Al-Jār* is a city lying on the coast of the Red Sea. It is a one-day journey from the Medina of the Prophet. The way separating it from *Aylah* (i.e. *Aqaba*) passes through ten stations, whereas there are three stations in the way connecting it the coast of *al-Juhfah*. Now lying in the place known as «*al-Rāyis*» in the west of the village of *Badr* with a gentle slope towards the north, it was used as a harbor in the past. AL-ḤAMAWĪ 1995: vol.2, 92-93; AL-BALĀDI 2010: 326 – 329; SHARRĀB 1991: 85.

3. The third coast route: it starts from the north of the Medina of the Prophet but did not penetrate into it; it moves towards *al-Juhfah* and 'Usfān¹³ in the direction of Holy Mecca.
4. A route connecting *Badr*¹⁴ to *al-Juhfah*: it is a straightforward route that is a two-day long journey. It has many wells of sweat water.
5. A route connecting *al-Abwā'*¹⁵ to *al-Juhfah* at which it moves towards *Qadīd*. The distance between *al-Abwā'* and *al-Juhfah* is estimated by 23 miles.
6. The route connecting the Valley of *al-Ṣafrā'*¹⁶ to *al-Juhfah*. Egyptian pilgrims used to go through this very route.

A historic narration once highlights the importance of *al-Juhfah* as a route for pilgrims, maintaining that had it not been for the pilgrims to visit the Medina, they would have taken the road of *Tayma*¹⁷ leading directly to *al-Juhfah* at which people would directly head to Holy Mecca¹⁸.

Today, *al-Juhfah* is linked with other cities through some main and secondary modern roads built in the desert. For example, *Mīqātu al-Juhfah* is linked with the main highway connecting the city of *Yanbū'* to Jeddah through a 4 km secondary road, which is actually the same road with which Alia Palace is linked through a desert road that is fewer than 2 km long. As for the historic village of *al-Juhfah*, its corners are connected to each other through well-known desert roads.

¹² *Qadīd* is a valley of *Tihamah of Hijāz*. It has many springs and farms. It intersects with the Mecca-Medina route along 120 km. AL-BALĀDI 2010: 1356, 1357; SHARRĀB 1991: 222.

¹³ 'Usfān is a village lying 80 km away from the north of Holy Mecca in the route to Medina. Three roads meet at this very village, namely: one is leading to Medina, another leading to Mecca and a third leading to Jeddah. AL-BALĀDI 1982: 208; SHARRĀB 1991: 174, 191- 192; AL-ḤAMAWĪ 1995: vol.4, 121-122.

¹⁴ *Badr* is a village lying downwards in *Wādī al-Ṣafrā'* (Valley of *al-Ṣafrā'*). It is 155 km away from Medina, 310 km away from Mecca and 45 km away from *Sayfu al-Baḥr* (lit. the Sword of the Sea). AL-BALĀDI 1982: 41- 42; SHARRĀB 1991: 44; JUNAYDEL n.d.: 64-68.

¹⁵ AL-ABWĀ' is a valley in Hijāz. It has many wells and fruitful farms. The very particular area that is now covered with plants is known as *al-Khuraybah*. This place (*al-Khuraybah*) is 28 km eastward the village of *Mastūrah*. The distance between *al-Abwā'* and *Rabīgh* is estimated by 43 km. JUNAYDIL n.d.: 17; SHARRĀB 1991: 17.

¹⁶ *Wādīm al-Ṣafrā'* is one of the big valleys in *Hijāz*. When one leaves Medina to *Badr*, you will be at the very beginning of this very valley once you pass by *al-Furaish*. Within this valley, you would pass by *al-Musayjid*, *al-Khīf* and *al-Wāsītah* (previously known as *al-Ṣafrā'*) until you leave *Badr*. AL-BALĀDI 1982: 177; SHARRĀB 1991: 159.

¹⁷ *Tayma* is a village lying on the borders of *al-Ṣām*, and particularly on the route between *al-Ṣām* and *Wādī al-Qurā* (Valley of *al-Qurā*). It is the routes usually taken by the pilgrims of *al-Ṣām* and Damascus. It is 420 km northward the Medina of the Prophet. AL-ḤAMAWĪ 1995: vol.2, 67; SHARRĀB 1991: 74.

¹⁸ IBN ḤAWQAL 1992: 46; AL-JUZAYRI 2002: vol.2: 56, 183; ĀL BASSĀM, *Khazānat* 1998: vol.9, 141; AL-^cABDARI 2005: 349-351; AL-ḤAMAWĪ 1995: vol.2, 111; AL-MAQDISI n.d.: 103; AL-YA^cQŪBI 2001.: 150, 179; IBN RUSTAH 1891: vol.7, 178.

Examining the geographical location of the village of *al-Juhfah* clearly tells that communication between her and the other major cities like the Medina, Holy Mecca and Jeddah became an easy matter, and so is the communication process between her and the economic cities like Rabīgh, Yanbū^c ¹⁹ and King ^cAbdullah Economic City²⁰.

II. ORIGIN OF AL-JUHFAH

Of long, fascinating history, scholars attempt to carefully examine *al-Juhfah* to arrive at impressive conclusions. That is because this very village enjoys two characteristics, as follows: first, it is an important station separating two great civilizations of ancient times, that is, the civilizations of the two cities of Holy Mecca and *Yatrib* (the previous name of Medina of the Prophet); and second, it is an important station for pilgrims heading to the *Ka'ba* by land from the north-west of the Arabian Peninsula.

Records of ancient history tell us that *al-Juhfah* was of cardinal importance among other villages and cities. *Al-Juhfah's* importance has started with the arrival of Banū ^cUbail to the region and the construction works made by Yatrib Ibn Qā'inah Ibn Mahlābīl Ibn Ārim Ibn ^cUbail²¹ in *Yatrib*. Though *Mahyā'ah* – later known as *al-Juhfah* was not mentioned in these reports, Banū ^cUbail's residence in the place, eventhough the *Amaliks*²² had expelled them from *Yatrib*, is conclusive evidence that those people fully realized that this place is more suitable for residence than any other one²³.

The point that *al-Juhfah* was qualified for human existence may be espoused by the fact that it served as a station for those who travel from Mecca to Medina and vice versa. For example, ^cAmr Ibn ^cĀmir Ibn Hārītah, a Yemeni King, left his home in the

¹⁹ *Yanbu'* is one of the cities of *Hijāz*. It is divided into two parts, namely: *Yanbu' al-Nakhl* (*Yanbu'* of the Palm Trees) and *Yanbu' al-Bahr* (*Yanbu'* of the Sea), with the second part lying on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, which is why it serves as the harbor of the Medina of the Prophet. It is 354 km northward Jeddah and 250 km west of Medina. AL-JĀSIR 2006: 10–12; AL-BALĀDI 2010: vol.10, 39–40.

²⁰ King ^cAbdullah Economic City is a modern economic city built in during King ^cABDULLAH BIN ^cABD AL-^cAZĪZ AL-SU^cŪD – may Allah have mercy upon him – reign. It lies in the west of KSA between the two cities of Jeddah and *Yanbu'*. <https://www.kaec.net/about-ar/?lang=ar> 5/8/2020.

²¹ *Banū ^cUbail*: Historians believe that ^cUbail is from the offspring of «*Awṣ*», brother of ^cĀd. Besides, they were the first people to build the city of *Yatrib*, yet the *Amaliks* drove them out of it. As a result, they (*Banū ^cUbail*) resided in a place between Mecca and Medina. AL-BALĀDHIRI 1996: vol.1, 6; MAHRĀN 2010: vol.1, 154; KAḤĀLAH 1994: vol.2, 784; ^cALI 2001: vol.1, 343-344.

²² *Amaliks* is a Semitic people whose lineage goes back to ^cAmlīq Ibn Lāwidh Ibn Iram Ibn Sām Ibn Nūḥ. Some of them dwelled in Mecca while the rest resided in *al-Šām*. The list of the *Amaliks* includes the Pharaohs, the mighty people who dwelled *al-Šām* during the era of Prophet Moses, the Kings of Persia and the people of *Khorasan*. IBN QUTAIBAH 1992: vol.1, 27; IBN MANZŪR 1994: vol.10, 271; AL-SUHAILI 2000: vol.4, 171- 172.

²³ AL-ṬABARI 2012: vol.1, 128; AL-BAKRI 1983: vol.2, 368; AL-^cABDARI 2005: 350; AL-SAFĀRĪNI 2009: vol.1, 76; AL-NAWAWI 2017: vol.8, 227, 228; AL-JUZAYRI 2002: vol.2, 184.

land of *Kahlān*²⁴ to it after he felt that the Dam of *Marib* became fragile. A soothsayer, ʿAmr once saw a dream that Yemen would be covered with water, which is why he took his family, after he bought all his property, and moved northward. Once he arrived at Mecca, the tribe of *Jurhum* drove him out, and thus he moved to *al-Juhfah* and then to *Yatrib*. Besides, the tribes of *Zabīd*, known as *Zabīdu al-Ḥijāz*²⁵, dwelled therein.

This historical significance of *al-Juhfah* is reinforced by the discoveries unearthed by discoverers in Ğumāda II 1441 AH/27 January 2020 AD, including inscriptions, drawings and symbols on the rocks of a small mountain on the road of *Moghiniyah* opposite the western side of the valley where *Ghadīr Khumm* lies, with all the inscriptions similar to the *tamūdī* letters. As for the drawings, they are abstract; one of them is a drawing of a camel while the other is a knight riding a horse. It is believed that these inscriptions were referring to the kingship of someone, defining the borders of a tribe or even highlighting the description of cattle. Researchers believe that they (i.e. the inscriptions) dated back to the period between the first century BC and the first century AD.

In truth, these inscriptions and drawings may also be documented by the Prophetic Hadith in which the Prophets tell that Prophet Yūnus Ibn Mattā has passed by the valley of *Haršā*, which reads, «Ibn ʿAbbās was with the Prophet when they passed by the valley of *Haršā* at which he asked, What valley is this?» They said, «*Haršā*» whereupon he replied: «It is as if I can see Yūnus, on a red she-camel, wearing a woolen cloak and holding the reins of his she-camel, woven from palm fibers, passing through this valley, reciting the *Talbiyah*»²⁶. It is known that Prophet Yūnus Ibn Mattā lived in the 8th century BC²⁷.

1- Monuments and Construction of *al-Juhfah* throughout History

Construction started in *al-Juhfah* at a very early age, particularly in the year 2500 BC when the *Amaliks* dwelled in it, or when the Jews resided therein after the *Amaliks*, according to some reports²⁸.

Besides, *al-Juhfah* is considered one of the largest *Marwāqīt* of Hajj (places at which pilgrims are obliged to make *Ihrām* for Hajj)²⁹. *Al-Juhfah*, furthermore, continued for

²⁴ *Kahlān* is a mountain in *al-Ghail* region in *Saʿdah*. *Kahlān* are *Qaḥṭānī* tribes that dwelled Yemen. AL-ḤAMAWĪ 1995: vol.4, 496; SHARRĀB 1991: 28.

²⁵ AL-BASSĀM 1999: vol.1, 36; JUNAĪDIL n.d.: 140.

²⁶ AL-BAIHAQI 1991: Nr^o. 9014, vol.5: 66.

²⁷ IBN ʿARABI 1906 :vol.1, board 93.

²⁸ AL-MURJĀNI 2002: vol.1, 614.

²⁹ ALSUBAIE 2018: 57.

long an important station (on the road between Mecca and Medina). It was so organized and wide³⁰ that its monuments were found in the west of *al-Juhfah* fortress as well as the areas in its northwest and southwest.

Being a *Mīqāt* for pilgrims is one of the reasons that led to the flourish of *al-Juhfah*. Besides, it has a large number of valleys from which water flows into it, a matter that makes water available in it in large quantities, which contributed to the spread of agriculture on a large scale as well as the availability of sweat water in large quantities. This is one of the main reasons that attracted people to it, to the extent that people who traveled for a long distance would head to it. As for the economic status of *al-Juhfah*, it is of cardinal importance since it serves as a meeting point where the tribes traveling from Mecca and Medina meet. Besides, it is a harbor that used to receive ships heading to the two holy cities, *al-Šām*, Egypt and North Africa³¹.

Al-Juhfah kept on its very advancement during the pre-Islamic period of ignorance and the early Islamic era. It is reported that Caliph ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb cared about the route of pilgrims and commanded that sweat water should be provided for those passing by it³².

The Umayyad Dynasty witnessed the main stage of building the major cities of *al-Juhfah*, which is why historians, like Šākīr al-Kutabī, state that ʿUmar Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was the one who built the city³³.

During the ʿAbbasid Dynasty, *al-Juhfah's* flourishing was so prominent that historical resources for the 3rd AH/9th century AD believe that the city was highly advanced and that neither Medina nor Holy Mecca was of the same advancement. It was inhabited throughout the year since it included various architectural buildings, including a block of homes, a large pond, a water pool, some wells, a well-built castle, two gates and a market³⁴.

This very point on the advancement of *al-Juhfah* during the 4th AH/10th century AD may be espoused by the description of al-Iṣṭakhri for it as an inhabited house that is big and always replete with construction works. Besides, it is the only station between Mecca and Medina that is inhabited by people throughout the year³⁵.

Careful examination of the site of *al-Juhfah* unveils that the city has the characteristics of the early Islamic cities, since *al-Juhfah* covered a large area of land and

³⁰ BAKR 1981: 24.

³¹ BILSŪD 2009: 145.

³² AL-ṬABARI 2012: vol.4, 69.

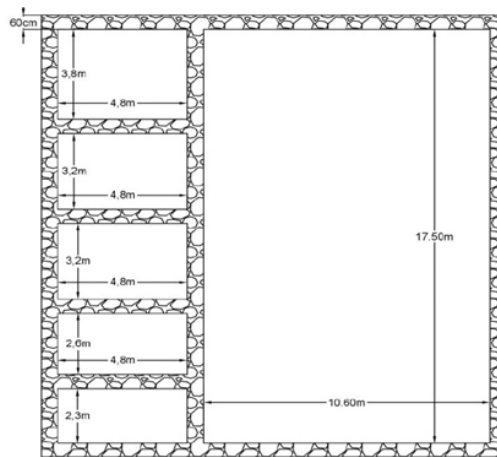
³³ AL-QAZWĪNI 2015: 564; AL-BILĀDHĀRI n.d.: 261–262; IBN SHĀKIR 1973: vol.3, 134.

³⁴ IBN KHIRDĀDHĀBAH 1889: 187; AL-HAMADĀNI 1977: 335–339; AL-IṢṬAKHRI 1961: 21; IBN HAWQAL 1992: 33; AL-MUQQADĪSĪ 1906: 77–78.

³⁵ AL-IṢṬAKHRI 1961: 25.

included a number of monumental buildings buried underneath the earth. The list of the most important monuments includes the fence surrounding the housing area, the fortress lying in the southeast corner of the city, some bases buried underneath the sand, some architectural units, and a network of narrow streets³⁶.

The research team, who managed to unearth the remains of the old city of *al-Juhfah*³⁷, unveiled that all the remaining buildings are characterized with the use of the black basalt stones in the construction works. Members of the team also stated that (the residential) units are not of the same size and that homes are very close to each other, which is why the streets were narrow and curved. The team furthermore stated that they had found foundations for five connected rooms overlooking a rectangular yard³⁸.



[FIGURE 1]. A model of the foundations of a residential building in *Juhfa* © done by authors

Decline Phase

Despite historical records unveiling the fact that *al-Juhfah* was an advanced village under the Umayyad Dynasty, they also record that it was ruined and spoiled in the late 11th AH/11 century AD and the early 6th AH /12 century AD³⁹.

In the 10th AH/15th AD, *al-Juhfah* attracted the attention of voyagers that Ibn Ṭulūn⁴⁰ and *al-Humairī*⁴¹ visited it; these two voyagers recorded that *al-Juhfah* was a very flourishing village that included everything in the past but it was ruined the time they passed by it, to the extent that few pilgrims used to ask about it, with some people did not know anything about it at all. They believed that the reason behind this negligence

³⁶ ALSUBAIE 2018: 137.

³⁷ The research team made a number of the field visits to the site of *al-Juhfah*.

³⁸ ALSUBAIE 2018: 138-141.

³⁹ AL-BAKRI 1983: vol.1, 367; YĀQŪT AL-ḤAMAWĪ 1995: vol.2, 129; AL-^cABDARI 2005: 349.

⁴⁰ AL-JĀSIR 1396: vol.1, 1-12, 887.

⁴¹ AL-ḤUMAYRI 1975: 156.

is that it became away from the Hajj route⁴², which indicates that some caravans of pilgrims permanently viewed *al-Juhfah* as the *Mīqāt of Hajj* although it no longer included any feature of civilization during the 12th AH/18th century AD.

Al-Suwaidī stressed the authenticity of this narration, stating that *al-Juhfah* became ruined and void of any feature of life when people took *Rabīgh* as the *Mīqāt of Hajj* since it is paralleling to it⁴³. However, this very testimony of *al-Suwaidi* was rejected by *al-Wurthīlānī* who stressed that he witnessed the buildings of *al-Juhfah* when he visited it in the 12th AH/18th century AD⁴⁴.

Based on the testimonies given by the voyagers, the fact that *al-Juhfah* turned into a ruined village that included no homes or buildings became undeniable. This may be the result of the fact that the Egyptians took *Rabīgh*⁴⁵ as their *Mīqāt* instead of it, which led to the disappearance of the village features, with nothing left from it but ruins⁴⁶. Careful examination of historical records stressed the abovementioned fact that nothing remained from the village but ruins. Reliance on lexicons and architectural dictionaries, it became crystal clear that there were different kinds of ruins in *al-Juhfah*⁴⁷, as follows:

First, what is covered by dust or, in other words, what is buried under the ground?

Second, what is covered by floods after the inhabitants of the city left it, especially after the route of the valley is diverted in another direction.

Examination of the location of the historical *al-Juhfah* village stressed these two points, since the region is permanently exposed to wind and floods are known to usually run therein⁴⁸. This description is even stressed by the buildings neighboring the Alia Palace, since their features and locations indicate that they were covered by dust and buried beneath the ground.

Masjid *al-Juhfah*

Masjid *al-Juhfah* is the main Masjid in the village. People of Egypt and *al-Šām* used to consider it as their *Mīqāt*⁴⁹. The significance of this *Mīqāt* stems from the fact that it includes three Masjids⁵⁰. Historical records unveiled the fact that there was a Masjid at the very beginning of *al-Juhfah*, which is known as *Masjid the Prophet*, the *Masjid*

⁴² AL-YŪSĪ 2018: 132.

⁴³ AL-SUWAIDI 2008: 318.

⁴⁴ AL-WURTHĪLĀNĪ 2008: 1, 422.

⁴⁵ AL-MURĀD ABĀDĪ 2004: 101.

⁴⁶ AL-RRSSEENI 1992: 228; AL-HINDĀWĪ 2004: 43; AL-BALĀDĪ 1973: 174.

⁴⁷ *AL-MUĠĠĀM AL-WAŠĪT* 2004: 344.

⁴⁸ ISSAM 2019.

⁴⁹ AL-ĤĀRITHYY 2003: 142.

⁵⁰ ŠABRĪ 2004: vol.4, 817.

‘Azzūr⁵¹, *Masjid Ghawrat*⁵² or *Masjid Ghawrat*⁵³. As for the other two mosques, one of them is known as the *Masjid al-A’imma* (*Masjid of Imāms*)⁵⁴ and the other is known as *Masjid Ghadīr Khumm*; it is three or four miles away from *al-Juhfah* and lies on the left of the route, and particularly on the edge of *al-Masīl* region. Qādī ‘*Iyād*, on his part, opines that *Ghadīr Khumm* is a name for a big tomb beside which there is a small river flowing into a pond. The *Masjid Ghadīr Khumm*, it is in the middle of this small river⁵⁵. The research team has already observed the existence of locations defined with stones and spread with soft soil in the very old places of these Masjids.

During his journey to *al-Juhfah*, al-Faḍlī highlighted the existence of a small, unroofed Masjid that was recently established beside Alia Palace⁵⁶. It is believed that this Masjid might be built to revive the region where Alia Palace stands; however, this Masjid is not discovered by the research team.

Alia Palace

It overlooks *Wādī al-Ghāyḍah* [Valley of al-Ghāyḍah], or the *Wādī al-Juhfah* (Valley of al-Juhfah) as indicated in the official correspondence, under the valley of ‘Azzūr in the south, a point at which the valley turns southward. Al-Balādī stresses that the old *Juhfah* is the very location of the Palace, maintaining that it lies on a hill on the edge of the valley, and particularly in the southeast of Rabīgh (4 km away from the north of the *Masjid al-Juhfah*)⁵⁷.

Palace Architecture

Built from black basalt⁵⁸ in the form of courses connected with gypsum, the Palace covers a total area of 841 ms². With big and solid walls, the Palace is a strong, well-designed building. The reason why the black rocks were used in the construction is that they were found in abundance in the rocky areas surrounding the Palace, which means that architects had already made use of the local environment and the volcanic rocks.

Field visits to the site of the Palace indicate that it was established on a high hill, which is why architects took into account that the walls and the foundations of the

⁵¹ ‘Azzūr is valley meeting with *al-Juhfah* in the north on the then route known as *al-Ṣultān*. It is today known as *al-‘Azzūrīya*. AL-BALĀDĪ 2010: 1149; ḤASAN 1991: 191; AL-ḤARBI 1969: 457–458; AL-BAKRI 1983: vol.1, 367 – 368.

⁵² AL-SAMHŪDĪ 2001: vol. 3,170.

⁵³ ṢABRĪ 2004: vol.4, 817.

⁵⁴ AL-ḤARBI 1969: 457–458; AL-SAMHŪDĪ 2001: vol.1, 483– 484; AL-BAKRI 1983: vol.1, 367–368; AL-BALĀDĪ 1973: 171.

⁵⁵ AL-SAMHŪDĪ 2001: vol.2 , 484; ṢABRĪ 2004: vol.4, 817.

⁵⁶ AL-FAḌL 1993: 133.

⁵⁷ AL-BALĀDĪ 1973: 174–175; AL-FAḌL 1993: 133; AL-ḤARITHĪ 2003: 142.

⁵⁸ AL-BALĀDĪ 1973: 173–174.

Palace should be sloping. In doing so, they were keen that courses should be coherently arranged with each other. In truth, this architectural style was so advanced that it was never seen before in the early Islamic period.

The Palace's Exterior Fence

The remains of the Palace indicate that it had a fence surrounding it from three sides: north, west and south. As for the eastern side, it is the exterior façade of the Palace that overlooks the valley. As for the main door of the Palace, it is found in the middle of the western fence due to the existence of stairs at the very beginning of the entrance⁵⁹ leading to the inside of the yard.

Building of the Palace

The current architectural description of the Palace unveils that it is a square building, with an open, interior yard surrounded by four walls. As for the Palace's eastern fence, it was not affected by the time conditions and thus remained intact. On the other hand, parts of the southern and northern fences, particularly from the western side, were destroyed. As for the western fence, nothing was found of it but the debris of the stones from which it was made.

The Palace's Exterior Façades

Alia Palace is characterized by the existence of three exterior façades, with each of them measuring 29 m. As for the Palace walls, they measure 8 m high and 2 m wide. The four exterior corners of the Palace are supported by four cylindrical towers: one in each corner. These towers serve as a strong hinge that connects the exterior walls of the Palace. Six semi-circular towers are found in the exterior walls, with two towers on each wall. As for the distance between these towers, they range between 4, 5, and 7 m, while the width of each of them is 2.44 m.



[FIGURE 2]. Southern and eastern façades of Alia Palace © Taken by authors

⁵⁹ ALSUBAIE 2018: 102–107.



[FIGURE 3]. The remains of the western façade of the Palace © Taken by authors



[FIGURE 4]. The southern façade of the Palace © Taken by authors



[FIGURE 5]. Fence of the southern façade of the Palace © Taken by authors

The Palace's Interior Walls

The architecture of the Palace's interior walls is different from that of the exterior ones. They are of two parts:

A. The Lower Part: it is 3 m high and 2 m wide. It is made up of strong foundations upon which the rest of the Palace's walls are established. This part is built from big, basalt courses.



[FIGURE 6]. The interior, lower fence of the Palace © Taken by authors

B. The Upper Part: It starts from the very top of the lower part to the end of the fence. The walls are 90 cm back from the exact position of the fence, which formed rectangular shapes. With each of these shapes (shoulders) measuring 90 cm wide, they served as internal supporters of the fence. Besides, they gave a beautiful, architectural scene. These shoulders are topped with arches, with the two legs of each of which (i.e. the arches) come out upward forming thereby a coherent unit of arches to carry the roof of the Palace. In each of the arches' two legs, there are two square holes wherein wooden strings were placed, to reinforce the cohesion and strength of the arches.



[FIGURE 7]. Supporters of the interior walls of the Palace © Taken by authors



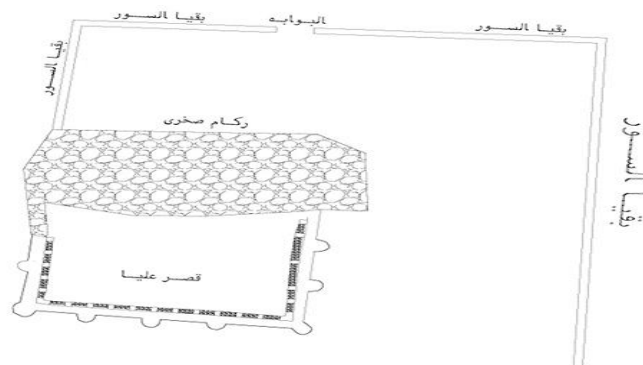
[FIGURE 8]. Openings of the wooden strings in the internal walls of the Palace © Taken by authors

Design of the Palace's Inside Area

The description of the interior part of the Palace along with the plan tells that it did not include any interior walls indicating the existence of rooms. However, it might be that the interior part of the Palace would have several rooms and due to the fact that the Palace was left and the region was destroyed, the interior walls along with the ceiling were destroyed. Architectural studies stress that no buildings had even been found inside the Palace, which requires more study and investigation⁶⁰.



[FIGURE 9]. A plan for the Alia Palace © Taken by authors



[FIGURE 10]. The interior yard of the Palace © Taken by authors

⁶⁰ALSUBAIE 2018: 119-121.

The walls heights along with the end of arches indicate that the Palace of *al-Juhfah* was a one-floor building; an opinion that goes against the common opinion that it was a multi-floor palace, an opinion espoused by the fact that the Palace contained stairs for ascending and descending⁶¹.

Scholars' difference on the architectural origins of the Alia Palace may be crystal clear in the fact that there was controversy among them on what to call it, with some of them believing that it should be called «Palace» and others calling it «fortress». AlSubaie, on his part, pointed out that the original naming is «palace» – a naming frequently used to refer to the fortresses built during the Umayyad Dynasty, and particularly in the 2nd AH/8th century AD⁶².

Drawing a comparison between the Alia Palace and those built in the Umayyad Dynasty including the Palace of *Ḥirrāna*⁶³ and the Palace of *al-Ḥīr al-Šarqī*⁶⁴ indicates the architectural planning of the aforementioned two palaces are similar to that of *al-Juhfah*.

Besides, they all were built from the very rocks found in the local environment. The width of the walls of the Palace of *al-Juhfah* is somewhat similar to that of the two palaces in question, with the walls of the first measuring 2 m wide while the others measuring 2.30 m⁶⁵.

Based also on comparison, AlSubaie opines that the Palace was often built during the Caliphate of Mu'āwīya Ibn Abī Sufyān, a point stressed by poet 'Amr Ibn Abī Rabī'a al-Makhzūmī (23-93 AH/644–711 AD) in his poem on the Fortress of *al-Juhfah*⁶⁶.

Nāṣir al-Ḥārithī, on his part, believes that the Alia Palace is dated back to the Abbasid Dynasty, since the cities adopted the early Abbasid style⁶⁷ characterized with the new architectural planning, especially the careful selection of sites and the equipment with protection styles that were not known in the Umayyad Dynasty including providing cities with two fences separated with a narrow ditch and establishment of towers – all of which are features found in the *al-Ukhaidir* Fortress dated back to the Abbasid Dynasty⁶⁸.

⁶¹ ALSUBAIE 2018: 102–107.

⁶² ALSUBAIE 2018: 103.

⁶³ *Qaṣr Ḥirrāna* (Palace of *Ḥirrāna*) was established by the Umayyad Caliphate al-Walīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik in 92 AH/710 AD, ŠĀFI'Ī 2002: 187.

⁶⁴ *Qaṣr al-Ḥīr al-Šarqī* (*al-Ḥīr al-Šarqī* Palace) was built in Umayyad dynasty in 110 AH/728 AD. KIRIZWİL 1984: 155, 163.

⁶⁵ KERIZWİL 1984: 157; GHĀLĪB 1982: 315.

⁶⁶ ALSUBAIE 2018: 143.

⁶⁷ AL-FADL 1993: 133; AL-ḤĀRĪTHI 2003: 142.

⁶⁸ AL-PĀSHA 1999: vol.1, 244; ŠĀFI'Ī 2002: 26.

Excavations in the northern side neighboring the exterior fence of the Palace unveil the existence of the building remains of a room that is more likely to be of the Palace's oven, a viewpoint stressed by two matters: first, the existence of large quantities of big, red bricks whose width measures 8 cm; it seems that these bricks constituted the floor of the oven fixed in the oven walls where cooking pots were put and bread were cooked; the second, the existence of an oven in the northern line outside the fence, which is the suitable line for the existence of the oven as it is away from the direction of wind; that is, it is against the southern and northern currents of air.

Ponds and Wells

Caring about the route of Hajj led rulers to give due care to the *Mīqāt of al-Juhfah*. In this regard, Caliph Mu'āwīya Ibn Abī Sufyān ordered several wells in *al-Juhfah*⁶⁹ to be dug in 44 AH / 644 AD. In the same vein, Caliph al-Walīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik ordered his governor over the Medina of the Prophet (PBUH), 'Umr Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, to fix all the routes of Hajj and to dig new wells in 88 AH / 707 AD⁷⁰. The location of *al-Juhfah* is characterized with the fact that water easily gathers in it, which is why a pond along with many wells of different sizes was found therein⁷¹.

The research team, through field visits to the site of *al-Juhfah*, unearthed a group of wells scattered inside the place, with some of them covered under the sand and dust and the some other still containing the remains of old water. Besides, there are some wells whose water is still potable and that are still working up till now. Discovered wells were of different levels above the surface of the earth, with the height of their fences ranging from 70 cm to 1.5 m.

As far as the architectural description of these wells is concerned, some of them were built from the basalt and limestone covered with a layer of mortar – rocks found in the surrounding area. With all of them are of a cylindrical shape, the width of the fences of these wells ranged from 40 to 50 cm, maintaining that such a width might have allowed people to stand on the wall when taking water, so that none would fall into it.

⁶⁹AL-JUZAIRI 2002: vol.2, 194.

⁷⁰ AL-ṬABARI 2012: vol.3, 677; IBN AL-ATHĪR 2006: vol.4, 247.

⁷¹ AL-ḤARBI 1969: 457–458; AL-BALĀDI 1973: 171.



[FIGURE 11]. A picture showing the width of the exterior edges of one of the wells in *al-Juhfah*.
© Taken by authors



[FIGURE 12]. A well in the region of *al-Juhfah* © Taken by authors

The old wells and springs whose remains are still found up till now, along with some new springs in the region of *al-Juhfah* might be described as follows:

1. An old well lying in the northeast side of the *Masjid al-Mīqāt* (about 600 m away from the *Masjid*). Al-Faḍlī states that he witnessed shepherds and the Arabs of the region drinking from it⁷², whereas our guide, who is from the region inhabitants, told us that the well was covered many years ago, an opinion viewed to be the most authentic as seen from the following picture:



[FIGURE 13]. Remains of the old well © Taken by authors

⁷² AL-FADL 1993: 133.

2. 1.5 km away from the north of the Masjid al- Mīqāt, we have the following:

-Remains of an old spring buried underneath the ground, with its diameter measuring 3.5 meters. As for the mouth of spring, its width measures about 80 cm. Eyewitnesses from the region inhabitants say that it (i.e. the spring) was found until recently and that they witnessed water gushing forth from it. As for the date of digging of this spring, it is not exactly known. The following is a picture for a broken part of its mouth:



[FIGURE 14]. A new well dug 15 years ago © Taken by authors

- A new well dug 15 years ago, with water-raising equipment fixed on it. As for the water taken out from the well, they are stored in four pools:

* Two pools raising about 90 cm from the surface of the earth.

* Two pools fixed on 130-cm pillars and topped with a 1.5-m pool as shown from the following picture: -

3. In the north of the abovementioned wells, and particularly inside the valley of *al-Juhfah*, there are remains of water channels (*al-Kharaz*) buried underneath the ground and sloping from nearby mountains towards the previous wells as well as a third one found in the same site. We did not find any beads therein since the soil has been frequently degraded along with the existence of many car routes; however, some of their remains remained intact.

2- Monumental Remains found in the Region

During the field visits paid to the site of *al-Juhfah*, many remains including pottery, ceramics and glass were found therein. This is the nature of the historical sites in the Islamic era, let alone the fact that *al-Juhfah* was the *Mīqāt* of the people of Egypt and al-Šām as well as he who passed by it from the pilgrims of other countries. It is natural that many items would unintentionally be lost from these caravans or that their

members themselves would leave something behind in the *Mīqāt* and the region surrounding it. The pottery-made remains indicate that they were specialized for containing water for washing and other purposes. This is espoused by the fact that the fragmented pieces of these pots, when collected together, would form pots with wide bases and mouths. One piece of ceramics tells that the mouth of a (particular) pot was an external one to hold the pot from it when full of water. Most of the discovered remains are simple and free from any inscriptions (in case they were not affected by climatic conditions). The width of the pottery-made remains, it ranges from 2 to 3 cm. Besides, there are pottery-made fragments whose width is not more than 1 cm. These many pieces of imperfect shapes might be broken from their pots because of the thinness of these pots, which is why it is difficult to re-shape the fragments scattered from them.

Islamic-style Pottery and Ceramics

Many pottery-made and ceramics-based items fashioned as per the Islamic style were manufactured. Making pottery is actually of the ancient industries man learned about since his very emergence on the surface of the earth⁷³.

Field visits to the site of *al-Juhfah* enable researchers to unearth a lot of pottery-made pieces of various sizes, shapes and colors scattered here and there, which may be the result of the big diversity *al-Juhfah* experienced throughout its long history. Pilgrims carried with them hundreds of thousands of pottery-made pots to use during their journey to Mecca. The list of these items includes pots and glasses maintaining that these items were used for serving food and water.

Pottery-made water bottles or what is known as the pots of pilgrims manufactured by the pottery factories in the Islamic era might be the most famous of these pottery-made items. They were known for their small size, so people could carry them and move with them from one place to another⁷⁴.

The pottery-made items found in *al-Juhfah* are of various sizes and colors, stressing that the natural color of pottery was the most prominent one. As for the inscriptions engraved on them, they were either geometric decorations consisting of vertical, horizontal and curved lines or simple floral decorations taken from nature, particularly the different leaves of plants.

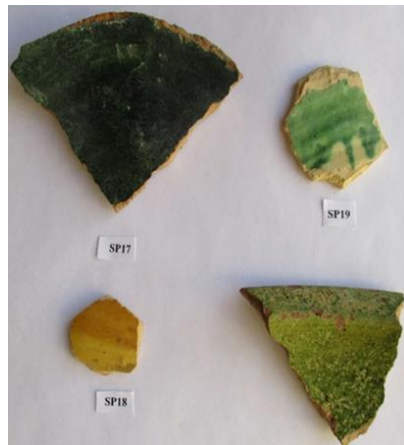
⁷³ MARZŪQ 1965: 126.

⁷⁴ MARZŪQ 1965: 127.



[FIGURE 15]. A collection of pottery-made and ceramics-made pieces found in the site of *al-Juhfah* © Taken by authors

Many fragments of ceramics were found in *al-Juhfah*⁷⁵, since Islamic-fashioned ceramics were the most advanced products of the Islamic civilization⁷⁶. The unearthed discoveries show that the fragments of ceramics found in the very location of *al-Juhfah* are known for their delicacy, since they show that these were pieces of ceramics-made dishes. Besides, they show the white, off-white and light green were the most used colors in these dishes. Discoveries furthermore tell that these pieces are dated back to the early ceramics for which the ʿAbbasid Dynasty was known. They included a few decorations and were mostly painted with one color⁷⁷. This collection of early ceramics dates back to the 3rd– 5th century AH/9th-11th century AD⁷⁸.



[FIGURE 16]. A collection of the early ceramics dated back to the 3rd– 5th century AH/9th-11th century AD © taken by authors

⁷⁵ AL-ĤĀRITHI 2003: 142.

⁷⁶ MĀHIR 2005: 35.

⁷⁷ ḤASAN 1948: 266.

⁷⁸ ALSUBAIE 2018: 316.

Excavations in *al-Juhfah* unearthed the existence of a golden dinar dated back to the Aghlabīds⁷⁹ and particularly the time of Abū Muḥammad Zyādah al-Aghlab (201 – 223 AH/817-838 AD), with the year 206 AH/821 AD inscribed on it. It is normal to find such coins in the *al-Juhfah* region, since many pilgrims, who used to carry money with them to spend on their affairs, passed by it while on their way to Holy Mecca that served as a flourishing commercial center that it was the most important center for trade in the Arabian Peninsula. Besides, it was an active market that used to receive all the commodities coming from India through the harbors of Yemen. Not only that, but Mecca was also of cardinal importance for the trade of al-Šām as manifested in the two journeys of winter and summer⁸⁰.

If we truly apply the theory that Islamic coins are considered an important source of Islamic history, relying meanwhile on authentic, valuable documents as well as considering coins as a mirror truly reflecting the conditions of the era when they were minted, we would identify all the conditions of the then state, be they political, religious, doctrinal, economic, social⁸¹.

At this point, we reach a very important conclusion that the site of *al-Juhfah* is considered safe for many coins dating back to different Islamic dynasties. It is believed that more excavations would unearth many coins in the imminent offing.



[FIGURE 17]. A golden dinar dated back to the Dynasty of the Aghlabīds in 206 AH. Found in *al-Juhfah*

© Taken by authors

3- Monumental Inscriptions

Al-Juhfah contains several monumental inscriptions and writings. The inscription of the tombstone published by Aḥmad al-Zailaī may be the most important on both the artistic and historical sides. In one of his studies, he examined two *kufi* inscriptions from the region of *al-Juhfah* and found 4 km away from it. These two inscriptions were

⁷⁹ The coins of the Aghlabīds were minted during the Aghlabīds dynasty. As for the published piece, it is dated back to the second phase of minting during this very era. ZĀMABĀWR 1980: 106; ĪBN QURBAH 1993: 120.

⁸⁰ YŪSUF 2015: 23.

⁸¹ RAMDĀN 2004: vol.1, 17–19.

written on black basalt. As for the first inscription, it is dated back to the late 3rd AH/9th century AD, particularly 280 AH/890 AD⁸².

Careful examination and review of these two *kufi* inscriptions indicate the following: -

1. They belong to two people who died in the late 3rd AH/9th century AD, a point stressing the fact that life continued in *al-Juhfah* during that very period.
2. The black basalt used in the two inscriptions is likely to be cut off from the region of *al-Juhfah* where mountains containing this kind of rock are common there.
3. The use of *kufi* inscriptions was very advanced and accurate, which stresses the fact that there was a school for the calligraphers who lived in this region.



[FIGURE 18]. Two *kufi* inscriptions from *al-Juhfah*. ĀL 'AQĪL AL-ZAYLA' 2018: 315 – 317

As for the technical description of these two inscriptions, it includes several elements:

1. The outside shape: The two tombs are of vertical and rectangular shape.
2. The inscription: These inscriptions, which are but invocations engraved on the tomb, are an extension to the *kufi-Hijāzi* ones.
3. Decorations: Floral decorations represented the perfect picture on the two tombs; they took several forms: a three-leaf decoration, semi-fan palms, a four-leaf small flower and plant branches – all of which took several positions inside the two tombs.

On Thursday 3 Rabī' I 1442 AH/22 October 2020 AD, the research team managed also to unearth other inscriptions in the village covered underneath the earth opposite the Alia Palace. The team furthermore discovered an inscription on basalt upon which the following four-line text was written,

Lā Ilāha Illā Allah (there is no god but Allah)
Al-Haqqu al-Mubīn (all-Truth)
Allahu Ṣalla (Allah has sent His Peace ...)
 'Alā Ṭab ...

⁸² AL-ZAILAĪ 2018: 315 – 317.

This inscription is not far away from another one reading: «Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Allah» which is engraved on a basalt rock on a rocky hill. Besides, the covered village contains several unreadable writings, symbols and inscriptions. In truth, the diversity of inscriptions, writings and symbols found in *al-Juhfah* from the ancient times to the Islamic era tell that the village was a beacon for human civilization.



[FIGURE 19]. Old writings and symbols in *al-Juhfah* © Taken by authors

III. CONCLUSION

Al-Juhfah's status is deeply rooted in history. Prophets passed by it and it has inscriptions dated back to prehistoric times. Under Islam, the role of *al-Juhfah* was not restricted to the fact that it is the *Mīqāt* for *Hajj* only; rather it exceeded it to play significant political and military roles. The history of *al-Juhfah* shows that it was a flourishing village with tall, beautiful buildings under Islam. However, it was buried due to environmental factors including floods and dunes.

Out of the fact that it is the *Mīqāt* defined by *Sharia*, pilgrims, particularly scholars and those from Morocco, who used to pass by *al-Juhfah* during the Ottoman Dynasty. They did not suffice with passing by *Rabīgh*. Several features of social life were once found in *al-Juhfah* during the Ottoman Dynasty, especially during the *Hajj* season. The Saudi government cares about the *Mīqāt* of *al-Juhfah* in a manner that many views as a revival of the *Mīqāt*, a matter seen clearly in the architecture, facilities and services provided in the *Mīqāt*. *Al-Juhfah* is of cardinal importance on the archeological level, since it contains monumental, historic buildings. There are monumental remains of the city under the sand. Many monumental inscriptions were found in *al-Juhfah* including *al-Musnad* and *kufi* calligraphies.

The research recommends Approving the site of *al-Juhfah*, *Mīqāt* as well as the other spatial *Mīqāts* of *Hajj* on the KSA's official maps in addition to carrying out excavation works all over *al-Juhfah* to unveil its remains and to resist any excavations not organized by law.

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MULE AND IMITATIVE FULŪS OF EGYPTIAN COINS
FROM BILĀD AL-SHĀM IN THE EARLY ISLAMIC ERA
TYPOLOGICAL STUDY

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[AR]

الفلوس الهجين والمقلدة للنقود المصرية من بلاد الشام في العصر الإسلامي المبكر

يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة النقود النحاسية والبرونزية المقلدة للفلوس التي كانت تُضرب في مصر في العصر الإسلامي المبكر، والتي كانت تتميز باتباع التقاليد البيزنطية في ضرب النقود النحاسية من حيث السُمك، وثقل الوزن، وغلظة الكتابات وخلوها من الأخطاء. وقد كانت هذه النقود المقلدة تُضرب في المدن الشامية لتعويض نقص الفئات النقدية الصغيرة إلا أنها تفتقد للتقاليد المتبعة في النقود المصرية آنذاك، فقد كانت خفيفة الوزن، رقيقة السُمك، وكثيرة الأخطاء، وأحياناً كانت تُضرب بقالب وجه لطرز مختلف عن طراز قالب الظهر وربما من أماكن غير متجاورة. ولهذا فإن أهمية الدراسة تكمن في تصنيف طرز هذه النقود المقلدة حتى لا يلتبس الأمر على الباحثين في مجال المسكوكات الإسلامية عندما يدرسون هذه النقود عن طريق الصور، أو إذا لم يتمكنوا من دراستها مباشرة. وكذلك فإن الدراسة تنشر عدد كبير من هذه النقود لأول مرة، مما يزيد من أهميتها في تغطية أكبر عدد من طرز هذه النقود المقلدة، واستعراض مميزات في محاولة للوصول إلى تأريخها وتحديد أماكن سكها.

[EN] The Egyptian copper coins were of highly importance in the trades of monetary circulation in the early Islamic state. They maintained the traditions of Byzantine minting techniques, like a marked heaviness in weight and thickness in size, and ruggedness in inscriptions. Groups of imitative light copper and bronze coins have emerged, bearing those features of the Egyptian *fulūs*, but in shape only, they differ in minting techniques, size, weight and thickness. Some of them are hybrid imitated resemble the inscriptions of the Egyptian copper coins in one side, and the characters of the *Bilād al-Šām* inscriptions on the other side. This paper contributes imitative coins of Egyptian *Fulūs* from *Bilād al-Šām*, some of them are unpublished, in an attempt to identify the source of the imitation and monitor the most important features.

KEYWORDS: Egyptian *Fulūs*, imitative *Fulūs*, mule coins, **Fuṣṭāṭ**, *Atrīb*.

I. INTRODUCTION

When Muslims armies conquered Egypt in 18 AH/639 AD, the common circulating copper coins were the 12-nummia piece minted by Heraclius (r. 610-641 AD) in Alexandria. There is no doubt that those copper coins of Heraclius, and later of his successor Constants II (r. 641-668 AD) continued to circulate for several years. Despite the high activity of the Egyptian mints in producing coins at that time, the numismatic evidence states that there were no transitional types for Egypt comparable to those issued in Syria and Palestine¹. Egypt began issuing coins directly with Arabic inscriptions, and coins emerged which hold the names of the Egyptian mints.

The Egyptian bronze and copper coins of reformed Arab types struck during the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods can be easily distinguished by their characteristic technique of minting, as the new authorities established a mint in *al-Fuṣṭāṭ* along the line with Egyptian Byzantine minting traditions. These coins are marked by their heaviness in weight, thickness in size, and ruggedness in inscriptions. Sub-mints were also established in *Atrīb*, *Fayyūm* and *Ahnās*, while the mint of Alexandria continued issuing coins intermittently throughout the Islamic era in Egypt.

Groups of imitative light copper coins have turned up, bearing features of the Egyptian *fulūs* in their design. But they differ in minting techniques, size, weight and thickness. Some of them are mules. That means one side resemble the inscriptions of the Egyptian copper coins, and the other side imitates a different Syrian copper coin type of another mint.

II. PREVIOUS STUDIES

In 1980, Lutz Ilisch published his invaluable contribution on the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd copper coins of *Ḥimṣ*², he mentioned to the small copper coins which were circulated in Syria especially during the periods of the absence of the 'Abbāsīd *fulūs* after the decline of the *Umayyads*. In 2000, Nikolaus Schindel³, indicated to the Egyptian imitative copper coins, according to the previous indications of Lutz Ilisch without any more information.

- In 2003, Stefan Heidemann⁴, published a group of Syrian mules of copper coins imitation coins of al-Kūfa. A one group among them were mules with Egyptian coppers. Those imitation could be dated to the year between 167 and the 180 AH.

¹I presented this contribution in the 3rd symposium of Money and monetary circulation in the Mediterranean countries, Antalya 2017. MILES 1958: 471- 472.

² ILISCH 1980: 23-30.

³ SCHINDEL 2000: 52-53.

⁴ HEIDEMANN 2003: 154.

III. THE PRESENT STUDY

This paper contributes more examples of these imitative light copper coins, some of them are unpublished, in an attempt to identify the source of the imitation and monitor the most important features.

IV. PROPOSED CLASSIFICATION

The prototype of the imitative types 1, 2, & 3 is the most prolific type of the Umayyad Egyptian copper coins. It is particularly interesting because it used the Arabic word «*Miṣr*» which denoted on the one side in «all embracing town», in the meaning of a Muslim garrison city, and in particular the name of the Egyptian province. The other side has the name of that «military city» the specific mint name *Fuṣṭāṭ*. Probably, it is to be read «*Miṣr al-Fuṣṭāṭ*'» the military city *Fuṣṭāṭ* [FIGURE 1]⁵.



[FIGURE 1]. WILKS & CURTIS: Auct. 11 N^o. 45

Although these coins do not bear dates, they are closely datable. They carry the names of the last Umayyad Caliph, Marwān II (127-132 AH) and of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, the finance director of Egypt from Raġab 131-Ġumādā I 132 AH.

Type 1 A (*Miṣr al-Fuṣṭāṭ* type)

bv. Within a dotted circle *مصر*, Marginal legends *عبد الله عبد الملك بن مروان*

Rev. within a dotted circle *الفسطاط*, Marginal legends (*sic*) [*... الله ضر ...*]

- Walker 1956: N^o. 910 (1.16 g. 14 mm)⁶
- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1197 (1.15 g. 15 mm, 8h)
- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1196 (0.70 g. 13 mm, 9h)
- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 12857 (0.92 g, 15 mm, 7h)⁷ [FIGURE 2]
- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 12855 (0.79 g, 15 mm, 2h)
- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 12856 (0.93 g, 14 mm, 3h)

⁵ MILES 1958: 477; WILKS & CURTIS: Auct. 11 N^o. 45 (6.78 g).

⁶ WALKER 1956: 910

⁷ The photos of the coins with the SB numbers were provided by STEPHAN HEIDEMANN.



[FIGURE 2]. University Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 12857

Type 2 A (Miṣr Type)

The coins of type two are frequently die linked, suggesting that they come from one single workshop.

Obv. Within a circle مصر , Marginal legends عبد الله عبد الملك بن مروان

Rev. within a circle لا إله إلا الله / وحده [محمد رسول الله]

- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1189 (2.47 g, 19 mm, 11h)⁸ [FIGURE 3]
- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 12859 (1.70 g, 18 mm, 10h; same obverse die as SB 12858, 12860, 12863 and Zeno, N^o. 1646)
- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 12860 (1.92 g, 18 mm, 2h; same obverse die as © SB 12858, 12859, 12863 and Zeno, N^o. 1646)
- Zeno: N^o. 1646 (16 mm; same obverse die as SB 12858, 12859, 12860 & 12863)



[FIGURE 3]. SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1189

Type 2 B

Obv. Within a circle مصر , Marginal legends [الأمير عبد الله عبد الملك]

Rev. within a circle لا إله إلا الله / وحده محمد ر [سول الله...]

- Goussous 2014: 61 N^o. 2 (2.00 g, 17 mm, 6h)
- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1186 (1.70 g, 18 mm, 5h) [FIGURE 4]
- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1187 (1.61 g, 18 mm, 10h)
- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 12858 (1.85 g, 18 mm, 4h; same obverse die as SB 12859, 12860 & 12863)

⁸ YOUNIS 2017: 1198.



[FIGURE 4]. SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1186

Type 2 C

Obv. Within a circle مصر , Marginal legends [الأمير] عبد الله عبد الملك

Rev. within a double circle with annulets in between محمد/ رسول / الله

- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1188 (2.28 g, 19 mm, 5h) [FIGURE 5]
- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 12863 (1.50 g, 17 mm, 7h; same obverse die as SB 12858, 12859; 12860)
- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 12864 (1.21 g, 14 mm, 6h)
- Zeno: N^o. 111809 (1.15 g, 16 mm)
-



[FIGURE 5]. SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1188

Type 2 D

Obv. Within a circle مصر ,∴ above and a crescent below , Marginal legends ...]

Rev. عبد الملك / بن يزيد , marginal legends ...

- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1190 (0.66 g, 13 mm, 9h) [FIGURE 6]

‘Abd al-Malik Ibn. Yazīd (133-141 h.) issued a considerable number of glass weights and vessel stamps, and his career is well documented not only by the coins and glass weights, but also in the historical literature. In this case both sides referred to Egyptian types.



[FIGURE 6]. SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1190

Type 2 E

Obv. Within a circle مصر , Marginal legends الأمير عبد الله عبد الملك

Rev. within a circle jerboa to right, marginal legends ضرب هذا الفلّس بحمص⁹

- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1191 (1.00 g, 14 mm, 3h) [FIGURE 7]
- Tübingen, inv. N^o. AC9 B4 (1.58 g, 15 mm, 7h)
- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 12853 (1.05 g, 16 mm, 5h)
- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 07433 (1.12 g, 14 mm)

Marwān ibn Bišr, governor of *Ḥimṣ* in later 130s AH.



[FIGURE 7]. SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1191

Type 2 F

Obv. Within a dotted circle مصر Marginal legends [الأمير عبد الله عبد الملك]

Rev. within a double circle with annulets in between ضرب / بدمشق¹⁰

- Zeno: N^o. 158153 (1.19 g, 15.5 mm) [FIGURE 8]



[FIGURE 8]. ZENO: N^o. 158153

⁹ For more information and examples about the coinage of the jerboa from *Ḥimṣ*, see: ILISCH 1980: 28; WALKER 1956: N^{os} 804-806.

¹⁰ For more about the prototype of this coin, see: WALKER 1956: N^o B.46, PL. XXVII

Type 3 A (AL-FUṢṬĀṬ type)

Obv. Within a circle ط / الفط marginal legends على يدي الأمير [عبد الملك بن] مروان

Rev. within a double circle with annulets in between لا إله / إلا الله / وحده

- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 12865 (1.13 g, 15 mm, 1h) [FIGURE 9]



[FIGURE 9]. Uni. Hamburg, photo no. SB 12865

Type 3 B

Obv. Within a circle ط / الفسط marginal legends [على يدي الأمير عبد الملك بن مروان]

Rev. within a double square لا إله / إلا الله / وحده

- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 12854 (3.34 g, 16 mm, 4h) [FIGURE 10]



[FIGURE 10]. University Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 12854

Type 3 C

Obv. Within a circle ط / سف marginal legends [عبد الملك بن] مروان على يدي الأمير

Rev. within a double circle with annulets in between محمد / رسول / الله

- SNAT III 2017, N^o. 1194 (1.59 g, 14 mm, 9h) [FIGURE 11]
- ANS: inv. N^o. 1991. 3. 199 (0.899 g, 13 mm)
- ZENO: N^o. 100915 (1.29 g, 14 mm)



[FIGURE 11]. SNAT III 2017, N^o. 1194

Type 3 D

Obv. Within a circle ط سف / ط... سنة ثلث ؟

Rev. within a dotted square محمد / رسول / الله

- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1192 (1.11 g, 15 mm, 5h) [FIGURE 12]
- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1193 (1.19 g, 14 mm, 12h)



[FIGURE 12]. SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1192

Type 3 E

Obv. Within a dotted circle ط سف / ط marginal legends ...

Rev. within a circle سعيد أ / صلحه الله / ...

- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 154 (2.36 g, 14 mm, 11h) [FIGURE 13]



[FIGURE 13]. SNAT III 2017: N^o. 154

Type 3 F

Obv. Within a dotted circle ط سف / ط marginal legends ... مروان

Rev. Brockage of the obverse

- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1195 (1.36 g, 15 mm, 12h) [FIGURE 14]
-



[FIGURE 14]. SNAT III 2017: N^o. 1195

Type 4 A (Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd Type)¹¹

Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd ibn ‘Uqba was finance director of Egypt, and possibly also governor, for some time- if not the entire period between 152-157 AH./ 769–774 AD. His name can be found on glass weights and vessel stamps, and also in a papyrus document dated 153 AH.¹², where he used the title *amīr*.

Obv. Within a circle ↓ محمد بن/ سعيد أ/ صلحه الله ↓

Rev. within a circle لا إله إلا / الله محمد/ رسول الله

- Snat III 2017: N^o. 153 (1.84 g, 15 mm, 5h) [FIGURE 15]
- Snat III 2017: N^o. 152 (2.09 g, 16 mm, 6h)
-



[FIGURE 15]. SNAT III 2017: N^o. 153

Type 5 A (Maṭar Type)¹³

Maṭar was a client (*mawla*) of the caliph al-Manṣūr, the dates of his governorship are uncertain (159 AH according to one tradition¹⁴, 157-159 AH /773-776 AD according to another¹⁵)

Obv. Within a dotted circle ↓↓↓ يك له / marginal legends لا شر إلا الله وحده لا شر

Rev. within a dotted circle ضرب هذا [الفلس على يدى مطر] marginal legends المؤمنين أكر/ مه الله [مولى أمير]

- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 169 (3.29 g, 14 mm, 8h) [FIGURE 16]
- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 168 (3.81 g, 17 mm, 12h)
- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 13458 (2.49 g, 16 mm, 5h). The reverse of this coin is from the same mater to produce the mould as N^o. SB 13457, confirming that they are produced at the same time.

¹¹ For more about the prototype of this coin. MILES 1958: N^o 15b; FAHMI 1965: N^o 2866; YOUNIS 2017: N^{rs} 147-151.

¹² FAHMI 1957: 118-122.

¹³ For more about the prototype of this coin, see: MILES 1958: N^o. 16; NÜTZEL 1898: N^o. 2253-4; LAVOIX 1887: N^o. 1601; FAHMI 1965: N^o. 2876-2884; YOUNIS 2017: N^{rs}. 155- 167.

¹⁴ ZAMBAUR 1927: 27.

¹⁵ MILES 1958: 487.



[FIGURE 16]. SNAT III 2017: N^o. 169

Type 5 B (*Kūfa* Types I-II)¹⁶

Obv. Within a dotted circle ↓↓↓ / يك له / marginal legends لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له

Rev. within a dotted circle الله / رسول / محمد / marginal legends مما أمر به المهه... مئة

- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 04532 (published in HEIDEMANN 2003a, 154 N^o. SB 532, illustration 312, PL.54; 2.46 g, 17 mm, 1h; the reading of the marginal legend is taken from this coin) [FIGURE 17]
- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 04533 (published in HEIDEMANN 2003a, 154 N^o. SB 533 illustration p. 312 PL.54; 2.95 g, 18 mm, 5h)
- MORTON & EDEN, Auct. 76, December 15, 2015, N^o. 328 (2.77 g)



[FIGURE 17]. University Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 04532

Type 5 C: Unknown Prototype from the Time of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

Obv. within a dotted circle لا إله إلا الله وحده / لا شريك له , marginal legends: off flan. The prototype for this obverse is from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, either Qinnasrīn 181, al-Rāfiqa 181 or a similar coin.

Rev. within a dotted circle الموز / منين أكر / مه الله , marginal legends [ضرب هذا الفلاس على يدي مطر]
[مولى أمير]

- Universität Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 13457 (2.59 g, 16 mm, 8h) [FIGURE 18]. This coin shares the same mater for the mould as SB 13458.

¹⁶ The classification of the *Kūfa* type follows HEIDEMANN 2003a & b.



[FIGURE 18]. University Hamburg, photo N^o. SB 13457

Type 6 A (Ibrāhīm ibn Šālīḥ Type)¹⁷

Governor of Egypt (165-167 AH)

Obv. Within a circle .../... مما أمر به / الأمير

Rev. within a circle إبراهيم / بن صلح أكر / مه الله , a crescent above reverse legends

- Nicol 2009: N^o. 1580 (1.86 g, 9h)
- SNAT III 2017: N^o. 182 (1.78 g, 15 mm, 12h)



[FIGURE 19]. SNAT III 2017: N^o. 182

Type 6 B

Obv. Within a dotted circle لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له , marginal legends لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له

Rev. within a circle إبراهيم / بن صلح أكر / مه الله , a crescent above reverse legends

- SNAT III, N^o. 183 (2.17 g, 16 mm, 9h) [FIGURE 20].



[FIGURE 20]. SNAT III, N^o. 183

¹⁷ For more about the prototype of this coin, see: YOUNIS 2017: N^{os} 179-181.

V. DATING

The imitations show two groups. The first group (types 1 to 3) are lightweight *fulūs* mostly cast. The prototype is mostly coins of the governor ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (r. 132 AH). It suggests that the casts are later, perhaps between the 130s and 150s. The mules are coins from *Ḥimṣ* and Damascus. It can be assumed that these coins were minted within Syria. Especially the coins of type 2 are interlinked. The second group centers on coins of the governor Maṭar (r. 157-159 AH/773-776 AD). Also here are links to coins which were produced in the 170s and 180s (*Kūfa* type coins and coins from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Mules with *Kūfa* coins types also exist with coins of Qinnarsīn 169 AH., Naṣībīn 181 AH., al-Rāfiqa 181 AH./ and Dimashq 183 AH. The mules and imitations of Egyptian type coins belong also to this context¹⁸. While the sources for both groups are Egyptian copper coins, they are likely to be produced in *Bilād al-Šām*.

VI. CONCLUSION

This paper presented the imitative copper coins of the Egyptian *fulūs* in the early Islamic era, the original Egyptian *fulūs* followed the Byzantine traditions of minting copper coins, like a marked heaviness in weight and thickness in size, and ruggedness in inscriptions. Groups of imitative light copper and bronze coins have emerged, bearing those features of the Egyptian *fulūs*, but in shape only, they differ in minting techniques, size, weight and thickness. Some of them are hybrid imitated resemble the inscriptions of the Egyptian copper coins in one side, and the characters of the *Bilād al-Šām* inscriptions on the other side. This paper contributes imitative coins of Egyptian *Fulūs* from *Bilād al-Šām* in a typological system, some of them are unpublished, in an attempt to identify the source of the imitation and monitor the most important features.

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¹⁸ For the mule of *al-Rāfiqa*; HEIDEMANN, 2003b: 120 N^o. II-IV/K1,154.

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THE TRADITIONAL STYLE OF WOMEN'S CLOTHING IN UZBEKISTAN DURING THE 13TH-14TH AH / 19TH-20TH AD CENTURIES

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THE TRADITIONAL STYLE OF WOMEN'S CLOTHING IN UZBEKISTAN DURING THE 13TH-14TH AH/19TH-20TH AD CENTURIES

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[Ar] الطراز التقليدي للملابس النساء في أوزبكستان خلال القرنين 13 – 14 هـ/ 19 – 20 م تعتبر الملابس التقليدية الأوزبكية سمة من أهم السمات الرئيسية التي نستطيع من خلالها معرفة التراث الفني الأوزبكي والتقاليد في الملبس ومكوناته حيث يتناول البحث مجموعة من ملابس النساء بأوزبكستان والتي تتميز بالثراء الزخرفي والتنوع الكبير في مكوناتها ومسمياتها واختلافها من مدينة إلى أخرى بالمنطقة حيث تحدد ملابس النساء وتفصيلها حسب الأعمار من سيدات كبار السن وفتيات متزوجات وغير متزوجات وكذلك حسب الوضع الاجتماعي، كما تصنف الملابس حسب المناسبة دينية، اجتماعية، احتفالية، ملابس يومية، ومن خلال الورقة البحثية نجد أن أغلب الملابس التقليدية كانت تنسج من أقمشة موجودة بالمنطقة والتي منها أدراس، بيكاسام، أطلس وغيرها، والمعروفة أيضا في جميع أنحاء المشرق الإسلامي. وقد وقع اختياري على دراسة الطراز التقليدي للملابس النساء في أوزبكستان خلال القرنين 13-14 هـ/ 19-20 م لعدة أسباب منها: معرفة مسميات الملابس ومكوناتها واختلافاتها، قلة الدراسات الأجنبية التي تناولت ملابس النساء في المنطقة، وكذلك محاولة منا لمعرفة خصائص الإقليم في الألوان وطريقة ارتداء الأزياء المختلفة.

[EN] Uzbek traditional clothing is one of the main features through which we can learn about the Uzbek artistic heritage and traditions. This research deals with a group of women's clothing in Uzbekistan, which is characterized by decorative richness and great diversity in its components and names, and its difference from one city to another in the region. Notably, women's clothing and details are determined according to their ages of elderly women, married and unmarried girls, as well as according to their social status. Clothes are also classified according to religious, social, festive, and daily wear. Through the research paper, it is illustrated that most of the traditional clothes were woven from fabrics found in the region, including *Adras*, *Bekasam*, Atlas and others, which are also known throughout the Islamic East. The study of the traditional style of women's clothing in Uzbekistan during the 13th-14th AH/19th - 20th AD centuries was chosen for several reasons, including: knowing the names of clothes, their components and their differences; the lack of foreign studies that dealt with women's clothing in the region; as well as trying to know the characteristics of the region in colors and the way of wearing different costumes.

KEYWORDS: Women, *kuylak*, *lozim*, *chopon*, *Rumol* headgear, *Alparanji*, footwear.

I. INTRODUCTION

At first, I would like to mention that all figures in this paper are published after the permission of the Bukhara state museum in November 30, 2021, N^o. 203 [APPENDIX 1]. **Women's Clothing:** Traditional women's clothing consists of robes «*Gebbas*», dresses, and wide pants «*Lozim*». Upon going out women wore special hand shawls called *Paranji* and a mesh covering the face called *Chashvoan* or *Chimbat*, as well as using different types of shawls as a headscarf, and the foot gear is of *Ichigi*, *Mahsi*, or *Kalush* of rubber or leather.

II. RAW MATERIALS AND INDUSTRIAL METHODS

The raw materials used in making and embroidering Uzbek clothes, and for centuries, include cotton fabric. Cotton is one of the most widespread productions, used in women's shawls and head covers, along with *Khosa* and *Alasha* that are used in making clothes like dresses or home ware like mats and linings that are distinguished for their bright colors. This is in addition to thermal textiles such as velour, brocade and other types of thermal fabric like *al-Bakhmal* that appeared in the 13th AH/19th century AD. That was the thermal *Aikat*, used in overcoats and dresses of women.

The embroidery stitches used in Uzbek clothes varied, including the chain *stitch* used to border drawings and decorative motifs, and padding stitch used to fill the decorative motifs, including Bukhara stitch, known by *Basma* or *Bosma* (imprint). The clothes of rulers, princes, senior statesmen and their families were woven with threads of gold and silver, known as *Zardozi*, *Zardozi Zaminduzi* and *Galduzi*¹.

In the 13th AH/19th century AD, the city of Bukhara was home to the best craftsmen specialized in embroidery and dyeing. The art of the former in Bukhara witnessed its heyday during the second half of the 13th AH/19th centuries AD and the beginning of 14th/20th century, as evidenced by the presence of many workshops for embroidery with gold inside the palaces of Khans and princes for the production of gold embellished kaftans, shoes and other embellished textiles that were presented as gifts, where the craft of gold embroidery was limited to the production of textiles for the wealthy class in society.

There were also many workshops held in Bukhara to teach embroidery with gold to meet the needs of princes, where it was used in the region for a long period, before silk entered the region. This is attested by some archaeological remains of women's dresses that were found in Tashkent, which date back to the first century AD, as it was here in the city a sect dedicated to gold embellishment, where they decorate the

¹We have presented in detail the raw materials and types of embroidery stitches used in the manufacture and embroidery of Uzbek clothes in our research. GAMIL 2020: 84-100.

household textiles of the princes, which were organized in special workshops for the production of such textiles².

The craft of dyeing was found in the cities and villages of Central Asia, organized in small workshops with a chief, a craftsman and three or four assistants, who were often their relatives, purposefully selected in order to preserve the secrets of these crafts. Dyeing was a traditional work that was carried out by the Jews in Bukhara and Samarkand, where this sect enjoyed a monopoly over this craft. The dyeing workshops that needed a heat source were conducted by the *Tajiks* and Muslims of *Shala*³.



[FIGURE 1]. Shawls wrapping methods © Done by the researcher

III. COMPONENTS OF WOMEN'S CLOTHES

Traditional women's underwear is made of dresses in the form of a cloak known as *kuylak* and wide pants «*lozim*»⁴.

1.Kuylak

In terms of shape: it was long up to the ankle, straight and loose, and the collar of the neck in the dresses of girls was executed horizontally and knitted with a frame of different colors at the frames. She ties the collar with a (w) strip of the same material or a single button on the shoulder⁵, while married women wore dresses with a vertical cotton the chest 25 CM). In Bukhara⁶ and Samarkand⁷the edges of collar with a vertical

² GILLOW 1999 : 170-178; SALAH EL DEEN 2011: 70-74.

³ HARVEY 1996 :60-61

⁴ ASOMUDDINOVA 1981: 131

⁵ BOROZNA 1969: 72

⁶ ABU'L-FIDAA 1840: 489; AL-BOSTANI 1878: 401; AL-NARSHAKHI 1993 : 36.

⁷ AL-HAMAWI 1906: 246; AL-QAZWINI 1960: 5; NAUMKIN 1996.

opening embroidered with *Peshkurta* – a frame of gilded embroidery [FIGURES 2-2/A]⁸ and the sleeves were narrow and long covering the hands⁹.

The sleeves of these dresses were the same width but not the same length so the embroidery appeared at the end of the sleeves, and the length of dresses vary, we find older women wearing dresses up to the floor while young women wear shorter dresses¹⁰.



[FIGURE 2]. *Pringi* of marigold decorated with silk threads «and parts of the *Peshcorta* of gold-decorated marigold», late 19th century AD. Bukhara, Museum of Fine Arts 2379 / 6.

© All Taken by Mahmoud Roshdy



[FIGURE 2/A]. Details of *Pringi* decorations

⁸I thank Dr./Mahmoud Roshdy Assistant Professor, Faculty of Archaeology/Cairo University for provided me with the research images.

⁹SODIKOVA 2003: 65.

¹⁰BIKJANOV 1979: 58.

2.Kaltacha

Being dressed a complete set of an ancient traditional female dress of Samarkand included a (*kaltacha*); this robe differed from ordinary ones by its cut: absence of an attached collar front of collar was a little taken out a narrow back (*kimcha*) (*calttletwge*), front and lateral wedges were lightly splayed in blue, in underarm gathered. In one bunch of folds (*chucha*) on edge the robe was sheathed by a band of manual weaving (*zekh*) and had bright, elegant laps – (*farovez*) from a *drasoralacha* with small cuts one each sides¹¹.

Inside each house the women wear one dress, two in cold weather. Wealthy women wore three dresses together on holidays. The sleeves of these dresses were of the same width, but not the same length, so that the embroidery at the end of the sleeves would appear. In order to show wealth, the women would take a number of dresses to change during the visit. The number of dresses that were worn together in Bukhara and Samarkand amounted to seven. And the more dresses, the richer the owner. And this was happening from young women after the wedding¹².

3.Lozim Pants

The second main part of women's clothes – loose pants – *Lozim* – tight at the waist with a belt placed at the top edge of the loose pants [FIGURES 3-3/A] the pants were made of two fabrics: the lower part is visible under the dress of more expensive material that was woven with narrow embroidered frames and the upper part of the mid-thigh to the top « of a simple material is not expensive¹³. The length and width of pants vary, in cities neighborhoods and villages all women were wearing long trousers, and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries worn only by young women shorts and tights¹⁴.



[FIGURE 3]. Costume of a woman «Camisole, dress, pants » of marigold and silk embroidered with gold threads and decorated «*Goldozzi*», the end of 19th century AD. Palace of *Sitorai Mokhi Khossa* 1783/9.

¹¹ UZBEK MINISTRY OF CULTURE: 2004: 112

¹² SODIKOVA 2003: 65.

¹³ ISMAILOV 1978: 177.

¹⁴ SODIKOVA 2003: 65.



[FIGURE 3/A]. Loose pants «Lozim» of marigold and silk

4. Women's Outerwear

Gebbah «chopon»: lined robes in the form of men's likeness used as upper clothes for women and its collar is more open as it is wider and not embroidered or simulated. The sleeves were shorter but wider than men's robes, and there was a horizontal opening at the elbow level and the end of sleeve hidden¹⁵, next to lined robes in summer time women wore *delegay*- an unlined robe known to the women of *zarafshan*¹⁶. The women of Bukhara and Samarkand were wearing *Rumsha* – light and long open robes. These robes were worn as clothes outside house¹⁷.

Mursak: The robe was not the only women's dress, and there were special types of *Urdu- Morsak* - was fairly common in Uzbekistan¹⁸ and is known by several names: *Morsak* in Tashkent¹⁹ and *Monysak* or *Kaltasha* in *Khwarezm* and *Monysak* or *Morsak* in Samarkand and *Kaltasha* in *Ferghana* as well as in *Bukhari* and *ShahrSabz*. The *Morsak* differs from the robe in the absence of a neck collar and its sides with openings. And the anchor was woven on a lining and tied, and the winter from it was lined²⁰.

In Tashkent, the sleeves of the *Morsak* were slightly shorter than the sleeves of the original robe «until the middle of the 19th century AD», after which the robe's sleeves became woven to the elbow. In Samarkand, the sleeves of the *Morsak* reached the hands. In Bukhara and *Kashkadaria*, the sleeves were wide below the elbow. In *Khwarizm*, the difference was only in the sleeves.

In the past, the *Morsak* was the regular dress for a woman when she went out. At the beginning of the twentieth century, it was tied to the *koshak* and was only worn to

¹⁵ ALEKSEROV 1959: 109.

¹⁶ UNESCO 1998: 147-344; ALEMEEV 2001: 6.

¹⁷ SODIKOVA 2003: 66.

¹⁸ JUMABAYEV 1992: 36 – 43; ^cABD AL-QADIR 1992: 210; ABU'L- ELAA 1992: 489.

¹⁹ IBN HAWQAL 1992: 416

²⁰ SODIKOVA 2003: 66

mourn a dead person. But many women of the old generation wore the *Morsak* without the «*koshak*» at weddings or visits «in Samarkand». In Tashkent from the beginning of the twentieth century, the *Morsak* was used to cover the dead²¹.

Camisole [FIGURES 3-8]: At the end of the 20th century AD, these robes were replaced by camisole after the Russians²² invaded Central Asia²³, new forms of clothing began to fill this country «Camisole – short – sleeved robes with a frame and inverted collar sometimes with half a belt and side pockets, often made of bright striped *Bekasab* or colored marigolds and imported materials, where this period is characterized by the appearance of short shirts sleeve-less – they were worn under the Camisole or over the dress or robe²⁴. Most of them were made of dark marigold while the girls, shirts were made of black satin with embroidery on the ends²⁵.

Al Paranji: is the compulsory part of traditional women's clothing and was used outside the house for all women [FIGURES 2, 9-10, 10/A].



[FIGURE 4]. A costume of a woman «Camisole dress» from *Ikat* and embroidered with silk. Bukhara, end of 19th century AD. Palace of *Sitorai Mokhi Khossa* 1788/9.

²¹BIKJANOVA 1979: 88

²²SCHUYLER 1877: 97; GORSHENINA 2004: 62-68.

²³VAMBERI 1868: 32-78;PARTOLD 1996: 6.

²⁴ALEKSEROV 1959: 130.

²⁵BIKJANOVA 1979: 69.



[FIGURE 5]. A robe for ladies and girls «Camisole and dress» silk and half-silk embroidered with gold threads, end of 19th century AD. Palace of *Sitorai Mokhi Khossa* 1787/9.



[FIGURE 6]. Costume of a woman «Camisole and dress » from *Ikat* of silk and a half-silk, end of 19th century AD. Palace of *Sitorai Mokhi Khossa* 1784/9.



[FIGURE 7]. Camisole for woman striped *Pecasab*, end of 19th century AD.
Palace of *Sitorai Mokhi Khossa* 1785/9.



[FIGURE 8]. Costume of a woman «Camisole, dress» of cotton embroidered with gold threads
«*Zardozi Goldozy*». Bukhara, Palace of *Sitorai Mokhi Khossa* 1786/9.



[FIGURE 9]. *Pringi* from Adars fabric. Bukhara, end of 19th century AD. Palace of *Sitorai Mokhi Khossa*, 1789/9.



[FIGURE 10]. *Pringi* of marigold and embroidered with silk threads. Beginning of 20th century AD. Museum of Fine Arts 2377/6.



[FIGURE 10A]. A *Pringi*. Details showing *Shashwan* back to the end of the 19th century AD. Museum of Fine Arts.

In terms of shape, the *Paranji* was a large and wide robe with long and narrow sleeves, and these sleeves were placed in the back and tied together as they hid the shape of the woman completely from her head to her toes and the face of the woman was hidden by a thick rectangular net: known as *Chachvan korchimb* at [FIGURE 10] manufactured from a bunch of horse hair and embroidered with black fabric on all sides or decorated with embroidery lines or decorations using a machine, while *Chachvan* is decorated with colorful beads organized on the hair as a symbol of protection «from envy»²⁶.

Rumol Headgear [FIGURES 1, 11]

The most common traditional headscarf for women was the square shawl or rectangle – shawl which can be wrapped in different ways, and in Bukhara people wore large shawls «*rido*», and the favorite head shawl for women was the shawl produced from silk and embroidered with flowers of the same color is a bouquet in the corners of the shawl and round rosettes in the middle, the wealthier women wore a shawl simulated in silver or gold on holidays, on normal days the head was covered with a shawl of white muslin – sometimes decorated with embroidery²⁷.

²⁶ ISMAILOV 1978: 172.

²⁷ SALAH EL DEEN 2011: 56-66

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In the old days, women wore a hood instead of the *dubi* worn by men, and they wrapped the shawls over it, the women's hood, known as «*Kulta*» or *Kiygich*, had a high soft lining that covered the entire head. There is a small opening with a bag of hair in the form of a rectangular piece of fabric; women's *bonnets* differed from young ones with no hair bag, while wealthy women wear *Kaltapushak* embroidered with gold threads²⁸.



[FIGURE 11]. Russian shawls of silk, beginning of 20th century AD.
Palace of *Sitorai Mokhi Khossa* 1790/ 9.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries we find that most Uzbeks don't wear old headgear, and shawls spread with different materials, and the methods of wrapping shawls [FIGURE 1] also changed so that it became easy and comfortable, and we find that only older women have white shawls of muslin that worn and wrapped under chin and its ends are placed on shoulders, while the ladies and daughters of statesmen wear golden bands on foreheads known as *peshobabayd* wearing expensive golden *bounet stelpak* [FIGURE 12]²⁹.

²⁸ GAMIL 2020: 84-100.

²⁹ ALEKSEROV 1959: 130.



[FIGURE 12]. A bonnet for women of marigold embroidered with gold thread end of 19th century AD. Bukhara, Museum of Fine Arts 2378/ 6.

Footwear: [FIGURE 13]

This kind was very important in central Asia; women mostly wore *Ichigi* with a soft base and high heels. *Ichigi* was very light and comfortable footwear, suitable for Central Asian environment that was worn with leather shoes *Kavush*. Rich people usually wore *Irokimasi-Ishigi* with embroidered *Kavush*, and in winter wore wooden shoes–*Hakkar Kavush* and *Egoch Kavush*³⁰.



[FIGURE 13]. Gold – threaded footwear. Female boots and *Kavushi* embroidered with golden technique, end of 19th century AD. Palace of *Sitorai Mokhi Khossa* 1791/ 9.

³⁰ GAMIL 2020: 84-100.

IV. CONCLUSION

The study showed that the traditional underwear for women consisted of dresses and it is in the form of a cloak known as *Kuylak* and wide pants known as *Lozim*. The visible bottom under the dress is made of expensive material. The study showed that *chapon* was women's outerwear and are robes lined in the form of a male-like garment but the sleeves were shorter but wider than men's robes. After Russians invaded Central Asia, new forms of clothing began to fill this country, replacing the buttocks with– Camisole– short –sleeved robes with a frame and inverted collar, sometimes with the half belt and side pockets.

The study confirmed that the *Paranji* is a compulsory part of traditional women's clothing and was used outside for all women, a large broad robe hides the shape of a woman completely from her head to her toes, like her face was hidden by a thick rectangular net: known as *Chachvank* decorated with colorful beads. The study showed that the *Rumol* was the most traditional headgear of women, which is a square or rectangular shawl that can be wrapped in different ways.

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THE TRADITIONAL STYLE OF WOMEN'S CLOTHING IN UZBEKISTAN DURING
THE 13TH-14TH A / 19TH-20TH AD CENTURIES



**O'ZBEKISTON RESPUBLIKASI TURIZM VA SPORT VAZIRLIGI HUZURIDAGI
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«30» November 2021 y.

№ 203

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Bukhara State Museum-Reserve is pleased to announce that it is cooperating with you. Your letter on November 21, 2021 was studied by the Bukhara State Museum-Reserve ("Sitorai Mokhi Khossa" palace-museum of applique art). He informs that you can publish on selected topics with the addition of the name "Bukhara State Museum - Reserve".

Director of Bukhara State Museum-Reserve:

B. Nasimov

Performer : J. Khalilov
65 224-13-16

[APPENDIX 1]: Permission of the Bukhara state museum



III. RESTORATION & MUSEUMS

JGUA2

2022

RESTORATION AND CONSERVATION OF A UNIQUE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CARPET FROM PRINCE MUHAMMAD CALI PALACE MUSEUM IN AL-MANIAL, CAIRO (CASE STUDY)

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RESTORATION AND CONSERVATION OF A UNIQUE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CARPET FROM PRINCE MUHAMMAD ^cALI PALACE MUSEUM IN AL-MANIAL, CAIRO (CASE STUDY)

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[AR] ترميم وصيانة سجادة أثرية فريدة من متحف قصر الأمير محمد على بالمنيل – القاهرة (دراسة حالة)
يمثل السجاد التاريخي أحد أكثر الكنوز الفنية التي يجب الحفاظ عليها للأجيال القادمة. لذلك تقدم هذه الورقة البحثية استراتيجيات علمية لصيانة سجادة أثرية فريدة حُفظت في ظروف تخزين غير متحكم فيها. السجادة غنية بالزخارف وتعود إلى العصر الحديث (القرن 13هـ / 19م). وكانت مُخزنة في متحف قصر الأمير محمد على بالمنيل (القاهرة) تحت رقم 112/90 سجل 2. ونظرا للتلط الشديد الذي كانت تعاني منه هذه السجادة كان لابد من وضع خطة علاج مناسبة لترميمها بشكل صحيح وذلك باستخدام التقنيات الميكروسكوبية والطيفية. فقد تم استخدام التحليل الطيفي بالأشعة تحت الحمراء [FTIR] لتحديد أنواع الأصباغ، في حين تم استخدام حيود الأشعة السينية [XRD] لتحديد المرسختات. كما تم استخدام المجهر البصري والمجهر الإلكتروني الماسح [SEM] لتحديد نوع الألياف وحالتها وشكلها المورفولوجي. واستخدم برنامج الأوتوكاد [AutoCAD] لتوثيق السجادة بالكامل بما تحمله من زخارف ومظاهر تلف. وقد أكدت النتائج أن الخيوط المستخدمة في السجادة هي ألياف صوفية، الألياف تعاني من جفاف شديد وتقصف وهشاشية، أيضا احتواء الألياف على شقوق عرضية وترسيبات سميكة على السطح. علاوة على ذلك، تم العثور على أصباغ الفوة، النيلة الزرقاء، والبليحة. وكانت المرسختات المستخدمة هي الشبة، ثاني كرومات البوتاسيوم، وكبريتات الحديدوز. وكان عامل التلف الأثرية بجانب العوامل الفيزيائية الأخرى. وتم معالجة السجادة الأثرية بإزالة أعمال الترميم القديمة الخاطئة، ترطيب الألياف، محاولات للتنظيف الجاف، الغسيل، التجفيف، التقوية عن طريق التثبيت على حامل كتاني جديد تم شده على إطار خشبي (وفقاً لمتطلبات السلامة)، وأخيراً التعقيم بالفضة النانوية.

[EN] Historical carpets represent one of the most artistic treasures, which ought to be saved for the next generations. Therefore, this paper presents scientific strategies to conserve a unique archaeological carpet, which was kept under uncontrolled storage conditions. The carpet is highly decorated and dates back to the modern era, 13th AH/19th AD. It was stored in Prince Muhammad Ali Palace Museum in El-Manial (Cairo) under Nr^o.90/112 Record 2. As this carpet suffered from severe damage, an appropriate plan had to be drawn up to restore it properly using microscopic and spectroscopic techniques. Fourier Transform Infra-Red (FTIR) spectroscopy was used to identify the kinds of dyes, while X-ray diffraction (XRD) was used to identify mordants. Optical microscope and Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM) were used to identify the type of fibers, their condition, and surface morphology. The AutoCAD program was used to document the whole carpet with all its decorations and aspects of damage. The obtained results confirmed that the threads used in the carpet are wool fibers; the fibers suffer from severe dehydration, brittleness, and fragility; also, the fibers have cross-slits and thick deposits on the surface. Moreover, the presence of Madder, Indigo, and weld dyes were found. The mordants used were alum, potassium dichromate, and ferrous sulfate. The deterioration factor was dust alongside the other physical factors.

The treatment of the archaeological carpet was performed by removing old erroneous restoration works, moisturizing fibers, attempts to dry cleaning, washing, drying, consolidating by fixing on a new linen fabric supporter which was stretched on a wooden frame (according to the safety requirements), and finally sterilizing by nano-silver.

KEYWORDS: Oriental rugs, carpets, SEM, FTIR, XRD, restoration, conservation

I. INTRODUCTION

Historical carpets represent one of the most artistic treasures, which ought to be saved for people in the future¹. All existing Oriental Rugs share the features of being on the pile (Carpet or pile rug) and non-pile (*Kilim*)². The origins of Oriental rug weaving are obscure. Their raw materials (wool, cotton, and silk) are naturally perishable and can only survive for a few centuries, except if held under exceptional conditions. Therefore, by far most of the old and antique rugs still in existence were made during or after the 18th century AD. This makes it practically impossible to chronicle their exact evolutionary development and dispersal throughout the oriental weaving region³. The oldest existing carpet dates back to 500 BC, as detected through carbon 14 dating. It was found in 1949 by Soviet archeologists in an ice-filled imperial Scythian burial chamber in the Pazyryk Valley in Siberia⁴.

There are three main categories of Oriental carpets, based on origin, being created out of the Persian⁵, Turkish and Armenian traditions⁶. Originally oriental rugs were made manually, woven on a usual wooden frame (loom)⁷. Weavers held an ornament in their memory, transferring «from hands to hands». In general, the rugs and carpets have a central area of design bordered several times with geometric patterns⁸.

Many factors contribute to a carpet's deterioration. These agents of deterioration can occur naturally, or they can result from external factors⁹. The deterioration can be attributed to the combined effects of external environmental conditions¹⁰, such as humidity, temperature, pollutants, soiling and exposure to light¹¹, which accelerates the chemical breakdown¹². Examination and analysis give a clear map of the nature of damage, whether it is workmanships' defects or naturally caused due to aging¹³.

Oxidation and fading of colored fibers heavily affect the appearance and mechanical properties of textile artifacts¹⁴. The unwanted effect is a significant loss of tensile strength and a strongly increased brittleness, resulting in the loss of elastic

¹ ABDEL-KAREEM 2010: 53; SHAHID et AL. 2019: 58.

² FORD 1989: 16.

³ ALLANE 1995: 9.

⁴ HAFIZ FOUNDATION 2012: 12.

⁵ SERRANO et AL. 2021: 80.

⁶ ACKLES 1988: 2.

⁷ GRIFFIN 1913: 89; SAKHAI 1995: 16.

⁸ ACKLES 1988: 1.

⁹ NATIONAL PARK SERVICE 2002: 9.

¹⁰ DING et AL. 2021: 69.

¹¹ NAFESA et AL. 2021: 137.

¹² ABO EL ENEN 2018a: 36; AHMED & ZIDDAN 2011: 412.

¹³ EL-GHAREB 2021: 155.

¹⁴ DEGANO et AL. 2011:2837.

properties¹⁵. According to many researchers, the effect of wool aging is caused mainly because of alterations in the protein fraction. Particularly, as wool may interact with UV radiation, in form of tryptophan, tyrosine, methionine, and cysteine residues. Furthermore, the photochemical studies on wool mainly focus on the reaction of aromatic amino acids, which react to phenyl radicals and then products of oxidative coupling, e.g., di-tyrosine. It is reported that aging of wool generates singlet oxygen and hydroperoxides. As a consequence, phenols were converted to phenoxy radicals, leading to the hydroxylation of aromatic compounds such as tyrosine, phenylalanine, and tryptophan. These deteriorations such as products of photo-oxidation are responsible for the yellowing phenomena¹⁶.

One of the most important causes of the damage of carpets used as floor coverings is their functional use, as they are greatly exposed to dust and direct friction, causing erosion of the piles, which may lead to their complete loss and the occurrence of tears and cuts. The conservation of carpets includes the entire range of treatment, without tampering directly into the item's structure and changing its shape¹⁷. Restorations are combined with conservation and represent the methods and procedures which are applied directly, in order to return a carpet into satisfactory form, where its original shape and preserved aesthetic, historical, and physical integrity can be perceived¹⁸. When preserving historical textiles, remedial measures are taken to support a fragile and damaged fabric in order to make it last longer by making it stronger¹⁹. Supporting carpets is considered among the range of treatment. Supporting the back of a carpet onto linen would enable the preservation of what was left of both color and design and still keep the carpet safe²⁰. Stitching is probably the most widely used treatment method in carpets conservation. It is a versatile technique that can be adapted for several purposes, such as different kinds of damage, retouching, and mounting²¹. Finally, most of the museums control temperature (20-25°C) and humidity (45-60%)²².

This paper aims to present the strategy for the conservation of a unique archaeological carpet. To describe the carpet in a precise archaeological manner due to its importance and to assess its condition, the AutoCAD program and specialized sources were used in describing the archaeological carpet. The paper also aims to identify the kind of fibers, dyes, mordants, and different damages in this object through using microscopic and spectroscopic techniques. The paper reports the conservation

¹⁵ ABO EL ENEN 2018a: 36.

¹⁶ Dyer et AL. 2006: 698; DEGANO et AL. 2011: 2838.

¹⁷ DJORDJEVIC et AL. 2017: 94.

¹⁸ ENEN 2018 a: 36.

¹⁹ NILSSON 2015: 1.

²⁰ ENEN 2018a: 36.

²¹ SCHÖN 2017: 1.

²² SINGH et AL. 2020: 1805.

treatment of the object such as removing old erroneous restoration works, moisturizing fibers, attempts to dry cleaning, washing and drying, consolidating by fixing on a new linen fabric supporter, and finally sterilizing by nano-silver for future protection.

II. MATERIALS AND METHODS

1. Visual Examination

Conventional examination was conducted with the naked eye and with the help of a magnifying lens with scale²³ to identify the weaving structure of the object and the damage aspects that existed on it.

A. Description of the Object

This carpet is a highly valuable example of fine rugs made by Qashqai tribes of southern Iran. The harmony of its coloration and design is typical of Qashqai rugs, which are renowned for their beauty and originality. The carpet was stored in Prince Muhammad ʿAlī Palace Museum in al-Manial (Cairo) under N^o.90/112 Record 2. It dates back to the modern era, 13thAH/19th AD century (depending on the ornamental style).

Oriental rugs vary numerously in design and so do Persian rugs²⁴. The design features of this carpet are four diamond-shaped medallions, two in beige and two in red, filled with various geometric and semi-floral patterns and roosters' figures. The main decoration design consists of floral and geometric motifs and roosters' figures in blue, beige, and red on a dark blue background and the border has an all-over geometric pattern on a beige ground [FIGURES 1, 3].



[FIGURE 1]: Photographic image of the carpet under study © Taken by the researchers

²³ Obtained from organic lab. Faculty of Archeology/Fayoum University.

²⁴ DIPAOLA 2010: 1.

B. Sampling

Samples from various regions of different colors of the carpet were taken, specifically from damaged and invisible places. They were investigated based on scientific analysis and examination techniques to identify fibers, dyes, and mordants in that era of the carpet, as shown in [TABLE 1].

Number of sample	Region of sample	Description of sample	Symbol of sample
1	Main decorative design	Red	1/90/112
2	Main decorative design	Blue	2/90/112
3	Main decorative design	Yellow	3/90/112
4	Main decorative design	Brown	4/90/112

[TABLE 1]. Technical description of selected samples

2. Stereo Microscope

Optical microscope «Carl Zeiss c-2000 stereomicroscope (Germany)» was used²⁵ to provide the morphological appearance and damage of the raw materials used in manufacturing the object.

3. Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM)

Scanning electron microscopy was used to identify the fibers and characterize their deterioration²⁶. The appearance of the fibers was investigated using a *Quanta 200* ESEM FEG from FEI Scanning Electron Microscope.

4. Fourier Transform infrared spectral analysis (FTIR)

The FTIR spectroscopy represents a valuable tool for the analysis of different types of historical artifacts²⁷ due to its sensitivity, specificity and non-destructive character²⁸. FT-IR is an instrument for identifying the molecular structure of organic and inorganic molecules in papers, textiles, fibers, and other materials²⁹. Knowledge about the composition and origin of dyes is essential for the preservation, and conservation of the items³⁰. The Fourier Transform Infrared (FTIR) Analysis was carried out for samples using FTIR Model Cary 630 FTIR spectrometer produced by Agilent technologies Company, in spectral range (wavenumbers cm^{-1}) from 4000 cm^{-1} to 400 cm^{-1} without any treatment. Infrared analysis was performed on four samples; their colors were red, dark blue, yellow, and brown.

²⁵ In the conservation lab. Faculty of Archaeology/ Fayoum University.

²⁶ AMIN 2013: 29.

²⁷ PÎNZARU et AL. 2008: 31; COLETTI et AL. 2021: 2.

²⁸ PEETS et AL. 2017: 176; RADITOIU et AL. 2018: 3.

²⁹ LEE et AL. 2011: 657.

³⁰ PEETS et AL. 2020: 19.

5. X-ray diffraction (XRD)

X-ray diffraction of fabrics was carried out by Bruker company model D8 (including reflectometry, high-resolution diffraction, in-plane grazing incidence diffraction (IP-GID), small-angle X-ray scattering (SAXS), as well as residual stress and texture investigations).

6. Testing the stability of dyes and measuring the pH value

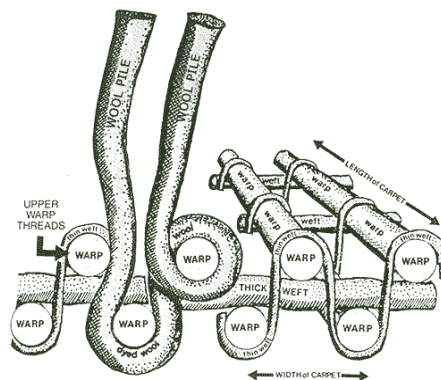
Before starting the treatment steps, the dyes were tested for stability and condition to make sure they are protected while performing the wet cleaning procedure. The test was performed by immersing a piece of cotton wrapped around a wooden stick into the cleaning solutions³¹ and placing it in contact with the colored parts of the carpet, each color was individually tested³².

III. RESULTS OF EXAMINATION AND ANALYSIS

1. Visual Examination

A. Weaving Technique of the Object

The carpet was woven using dyed woolen yarns (wool on wool) by the Persian knot with warp threads on two different levels (open back) [FIGURE 2]³³. The carpet is irregular in dimensions as a result of what it suffered from of loss in its outer frame; the width dimensions of the carpet ranged from 149 to 158 cm, and the longitudinal dimensions of it ranged from 267 to 274 cm.



[FIGURE 2]: The Persian knot used in the carpet with the warp threads on two different levels (open back)

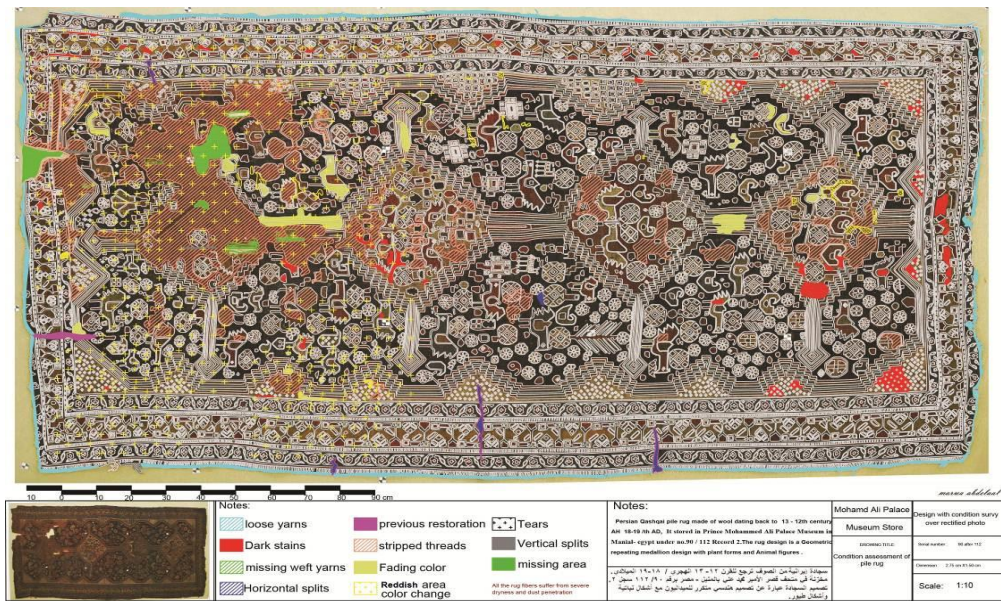
³¹ AHMED 2013: 41.

³² AHMED & ZIDDAN 2011: 415.

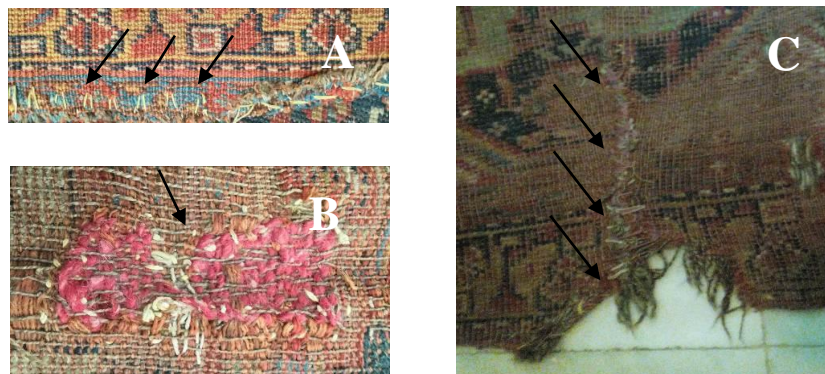
³³ Oriental Rug Knotting & Construction. Pdf. downloaded from: [Http://www.kapridjianrugsandcarpets.com/knotting.pdf](http://www.kapridjianrugsandcarpets.com/knotting.pdf), (Accessed on March 3, 2021)

B. Condition of the Object

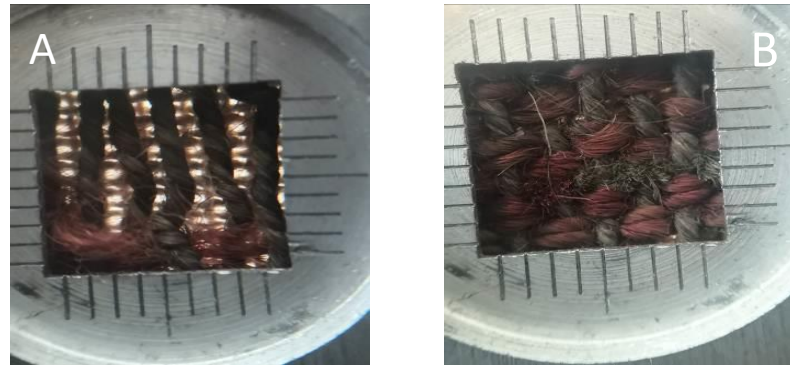
The visual examination showed many signs of damage on this object due to the functional use of the carpet as a floor covering, the natural aging factors, and the improper storage method such as color changes, dark stains, fading colors, stripped threads, loss of all the fringes, and parts of the selvages, tears, vertical splits, horizontal splits, missing weft yarns, the disappearance of some knots, erosion of the pile [FIGURE 5] from most of the carpet and previous erroneous restoration works (using threads contrasting in color, restoration of the splits, and missing weft yarns in a remarkable and inappropriate manner, and installing metal rings not isolated and rusted in the object for use in hanging the carpet) [FIGURES 3-4].



[FIGURE 3]: The condition assessment of the carpet using the AutoCAD program (© Designed by the researchers)



[FIGURE 4]: Old restoration works (© Taken by the researchers)
A: Sewing the edges of the carpet with different colored yarns. **B, C:** Restoration the missing weft yarns and the splits in a remarkable and inappropriate manner.



[FIGURE 5]: Fibers under the magnifying lens © Taken by the researchers. A: disappearance of some knots; B: erosion of pile

2. Stereo Microscope

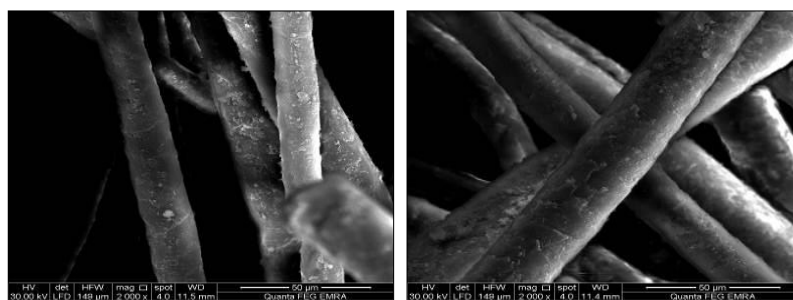
The photos showed that fibers suffered from dehydration; brittleness, fading of dyes, and fragility [FIGURE 6].



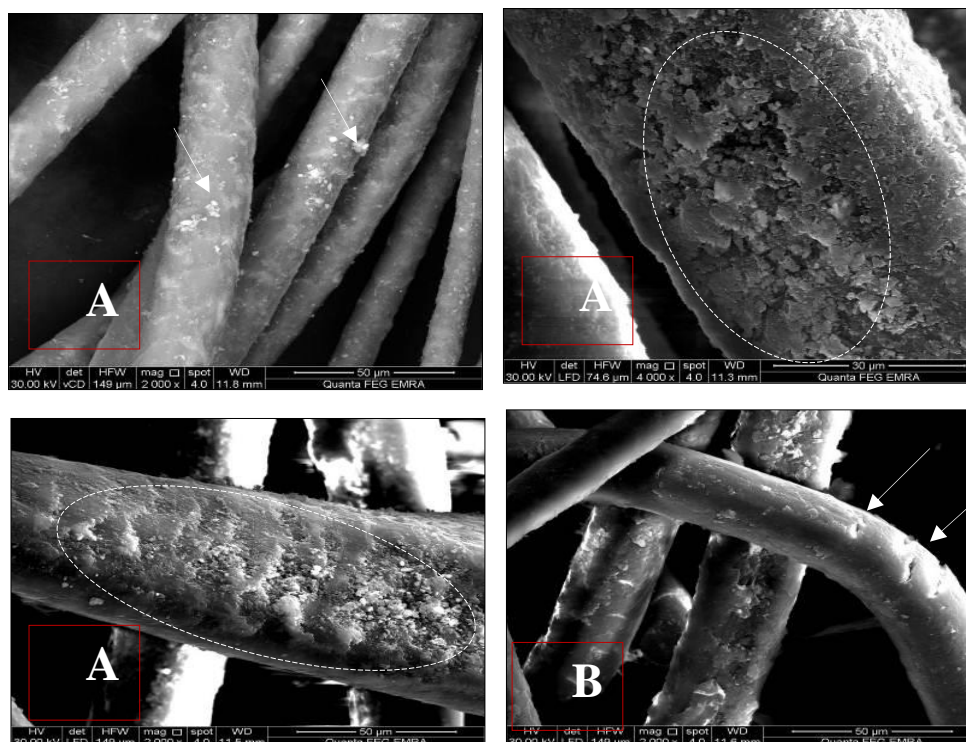
[FIGURES 6]: The fibers under stereo microscope
A, B, C & F. Samples of brown shades; D. Blue sample; E. Red sample

3. Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM)

The morphological images using a scanning electron microscope showed that the threads used in manufacturing this carpet are wool fibers. Moreover, it was clear that the fibers are severely damaged and have cross-slits and thick deposits on the surface [FIGURES 7-8].



[FIGURE 7]: SEM images of the carpet's fibers showing the absence of the morphological properties of raw wool



[FIGURE 8]: SEM images of the carpet's fibers showing deterioration signs
 A. Many deposits on the fiber surface; B. The wool fibers are extremely damaged, broken with transverse cracking

4. Fourier Transform Infrared (FTIR)

A. Red color (sample 1)

The FTIR spectrum of the red sample fiber; sample 1 [FIGURE 9/A] was compared with the results of infrared analysis of natural dyes known as standard³⁴. After the comparison, it turned out that the red sample is madder dye. The spectrum of this sample is characterized with a specific broad band at 3432.28 cm^{-1} due to the O-H stretching band of madder dye or N-H stretching vibrations of terminal amino group in wool fibers. A peak at 2925.45 cm^{-1} is because of C-H stretching band and a peak at 1636.88 cm^{-1} is assigned to C=O stretching band, a peak at 1508.23 cm^{-1} is assigned to

³⁴ DERRICK et AL.1999: 200.

aromatic band and a peak at 1458.18 cm^{-1} is assigned to C-H bending band. As can be seen, a characteristic peak of alizarin from madder dye appeared at 1456 cm^{-1} ³⁵.

The main characteristic peaks of wool fibers appeared between 1000 and 1700 cm^{-1} , which are related to amide I (1644 cm^{-1}), amide II (1516 cm^{-1}), and amide III (1235 cm^{-1})³⁶. Other specific peaks are the stretching bands C-O vibration at 1041.18 and 472.41 cm^{-1} .

B. Blue Color (Sample 2)

The FTIR spectrum of the blue sample 2 [FIGURE 9/B] was compared with the results of infrared analysis of natural indigo dyes known as standard³⁷. After the comparison, it turned out that the blue sample is indigo dye. The spectrum of this sample showed a specific peak at 3421.7 cm^{-1} due to the N-H stretching, a peak at 2926.26 cm^{-1} that is assigned to C-H stretching of wool fibers and O-H stretching of indigo dye. A peak at 1654.26 cm^{-1} is assigned to C=C stretching for indigo, while for wool it is assigned to N-H bending in lysine amino acid³⁸. Other specific peaks are the aromatic bands vibration at 1560.03 , 1508.23 and 1437.69 cm^{-1} assigned to C-H bending in case of indigo and as C-C stretching of tyrosine amino acid for wool.

C. Yellow Color (Sample 3)

The FTIR spectrum of the yellow sample 3 [FIGURE 9/C] was compared with the results of infrared analysis of natural dyes known as standard³⁹. After the comparison, it turned out that the yellow sample is weld dye. The spectrum of this sample is shown with a specific peak at 3411.04 cm^{-1} due to the hydroxyl in benzene, a peak at 2926.20 cm^{-1} assigned to C-H stretching band, a peak at 1654.45 cm^{-1} assigned to carbonyl, 1560.20 cm^{-1} and 1508.36 cm^{-1} are skeleton vibration absorption peaks of benzene, and 1119.95 cm^{-1} and 1040.99 cm^{-1} are stretch vibration absorption peaks of cyclic ether.

D. Brown Color (Sample 4)

The FTIR spectrum of the brown sample 4 [FIGURE 9/D] was compared with the results of infrared analysis of natural dyes known as standard⁴⁰. After the comparison, it turned out that the brown sample is Madder dye. The spectrum of this sample is shown with a specific peak at 3411.69 cm^{-1} due to the O-H stretching band, a peak at 1654.46 cm^{-1} assigned to C=O stretching band, a peak at 1458.37 cm^{-1} assigned to aromatic bands and C-H bending bands; and a peak at 1119.57 cm^{-1} assigned to the stretching band C-O.

³⁵ CANAMARES et AL. 2004: 923.

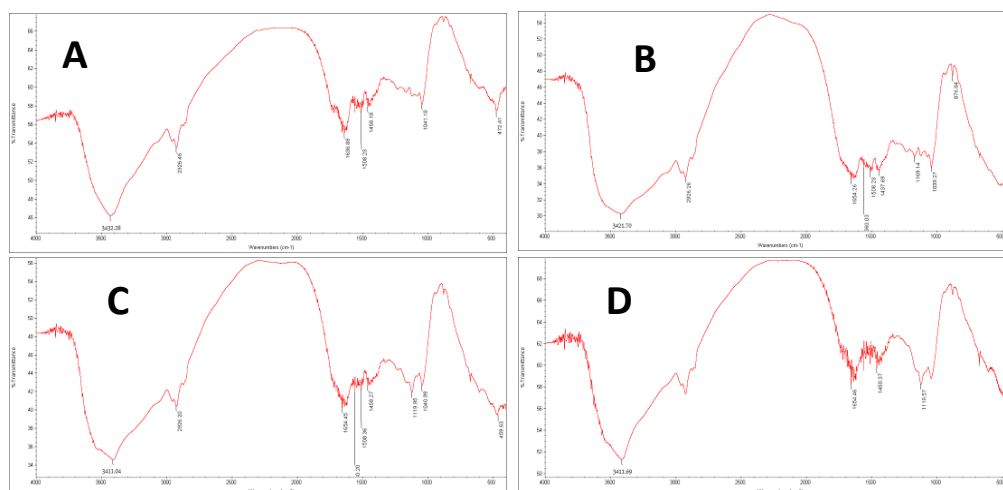
³⁶ BARANI & CALVIMONTES 2014: 4.

³⁷ DERRICK et AL. 1999: 197.

³⁸ OSMAN et AL. 2014: 463.

³⁹ CHEN et AL. 2017: 22.

⁴⁰ DERRICK et AL. 1999: 200.



[FIGURE 9]: A. Spectrum of wool dyed with madder dye; B. Spectrum of wool dyed with indigo dye; C. Spectrum of wool dyed with weld dye; D. Spectrum of wool dyed with madder dye.

5. X-ray Diffraction (XRD)

A. Red Color (Sample 1)

The XRD spectrum detected that the main compounds are alum ($\text{Al H}_{24} \text{K O}_{20} \text{S}_2$) \approx 52% according to code number 1011177, and potassium dichromate \approx 7.4% according to code number 9008493. On other hand, the spectrum showed the presence of Fe, Zn, and Cu elements referring to dust as deterioration factor [FIGURE 10/A].

B. Blue Color (Sample 2)

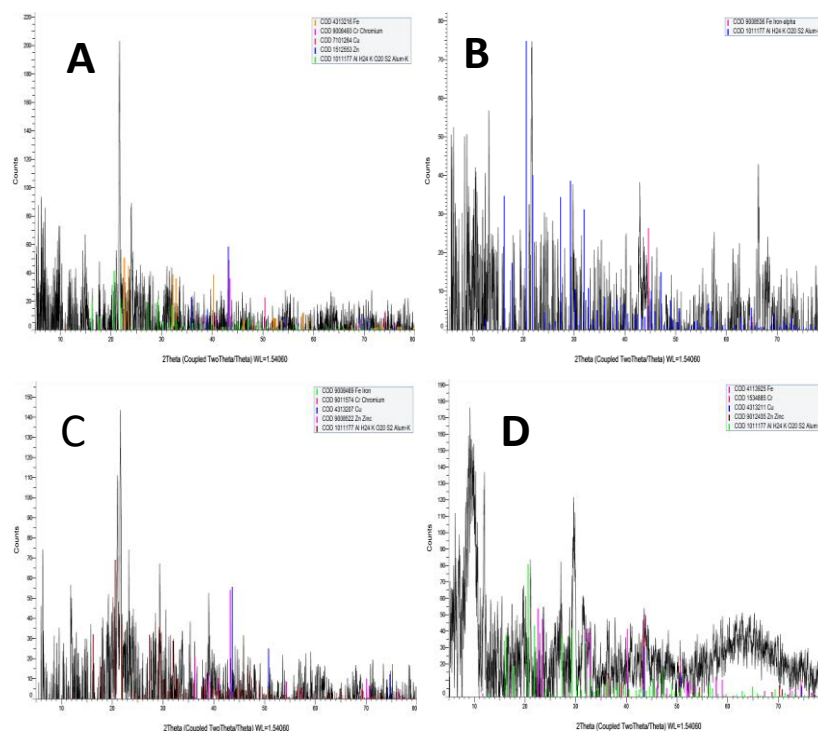
The XRD spectrum showed that the main compound is alum ($\text{Al H}_{24} \text{K O}_{20} \text{S}_2$) \approx 96.7% according to code number 1011177. Additionally, the spectrum showed the presence of dust as deterioration factor due to the presence of iron oxide \approx 3.3% [FIGURE 10/B].

C. Yellow Color (Sample 3)

The XRD spectrum showed that the main compounds are alum ($\text{Al H}_{24} \text{K O}_{20} \text{S}_2$) \approx 73.7 % according to code number 1011177, and potassium dichromate \approx 6.5 % according to code number 9011574. Here too, the spectrum showed the presence dust as deterioration factor due to the presence of (zinc, iron, and copper) [FIGURE 10/C].

D. Brown Color (Sample 4)

The XRD spectrum showed that the main compounds are alum ($\text{Al H}_{24} \text{K O}_{20} \text{S}_2$) \approx 68.7 % according to code number 1011177, and ferrous sulfate ($\text{FeSO}_4 \cdot 7\text{H}_2\text{O}$). Again, the spectrum showed the presence dust as deterioration factor due to the presence of (chromium, zinc, and copper) [FIGURE 10/D].



[FIGURE 10]: XRD diffractogram of the tested samples
A. Red sample; B. Dark blue sample; C. Yellow sample; D. Brown sample

6. Testing the Stability of Dyes and Measuring the pH Value

When performing the pH test on all investigated samples it was observed that all the dyes were stable and did not bleed with the wet cleaning solutions. The pH was also measured and turned out to be neutral (pH \approx 7).

IV. DISCUSSION

The visual assessment of the samples using the magnifying lens with scale showed disappearance of some knots and erosion of the pile from most of the carpet; also the morphological examination using scanning electron microscope showed that the fibers are severely damaged and have cross-slits and thick deposits on the surface; that indicated the bad condition in which the object was preserved. This explains the presence of many deposits on the surface of dyed fiber as «Tertsch» mentioned: «Alizarin often combines with calcium to form precipitates and therefore dyes best in hard, calcium-rich water»⁴¹. The presence of many deposits on the surface of fibers are due to a large amount of dust penetrating the carpet fibers and its accumulation on the surface.

FTIR analysis spectra showed that the red color is madder dye, the yellow color is weld dye, the blue color is indigo dye, and the brown color is madder dye. These results

⁴¹ TERTSCH & ZIB 2014: 3.

agree with the dyes used by Iranian weavers, as they used madder dye to obtain the red color in its shades and the brown color in its shades using different mordant⁴². They also used weld dye to obtain the yellow color for dyeing carpet yarns; and indigo dye to get the blue color in its miscellaneous shades⁴³.

The results of X-ray diffraction (XRD) clarified the following: the presence of alum ($\text{Al H}_{24} \text{K O}_{20} \text{S}_2$)⁴⁴ in all samples as the main compound. Besides, chromium was found in a relatively high percentage in both the red and yellow samples, as well as the presence of iron with the brown sample. The results also showed the presence of some elements referring to the chemical composition of the dust, as a result of neglect, lack of ventilation, and absence of regular cleaning.

To sum it up, it can be concluded that alum was used in all samples as a mordant for wool fibers before dyeing⁴⁵, chrome was used as a mordant with madder dye to obtain the red garnet color and with weld dye to obtain the golden color and iron was used with madder dye to obtain the brown color⁴⁶. The presence of other foreign elements represents the chemical composition of the dust minerals in Cairo⁴⁷.

From the aforementioned results, it can be suggested that the appropriate treatment plan for the condition of the carpet under investigation is the following: Removing old erroneous restoration works⁴⁸, cleaning⁴⁹ and sterilizing the object for future protection⁵⁰, and finally consolidating the object by fixing it on a new linen support which was stretched on a wooden frame⁵¹ (according to the safety requirements). The carpet is so threadbare so it is not possible to complete the lost threads by planting new threads because this will cause stress on the original threads of the carpet and a greater loss.

⁴² GHAZIZADEH 1979: 29.

⁴³ GHAZIZADEH 1979: 32.

⁴⁴ KŘÍŽOVÁ 2013: 324.

⁴⁵ SCHWEPPE 1986: 5; *THE MAIWA GUIDE TO NATURAL DYES*: 7.

⁴⁶ ABDEL-KAREEM 2012: 86.

⁴⁷ ABDEL-KAREEM 2010: 55.

⁴⁸ AHMED & ZIDDAN 2011: 415.

⁴⁹ KAMAL & MANSOUR 2017: 95; DJORDJEVIC et AL. 2017: 94; AMIN 2019: 6.

⁵⁰ PIETRZAK et AL. 2016: 1.

⁵¹ ABO EL ENEN 2013: 34; ABO EL ENEN 2018b: 20.

V. CONSERVATION PROCESSES

1. Removing old Restoration Works and Moistening the Object

Wrong old repair works were removed [FIGURE 11], and the dry fibers of the carpet were softened by spraying distilled water once a day and covering it with polyethylene; taking into consideration many precautions to prevent any future microbiological decay [FIGURE 12].



[FIGURE 11]: A. The removal of inappropriate old restoration;
B. Parts separated from the object after removal of old restorations © Taken by the researchers



[FIGURE 12]: During topical hydration © Taken by the researchers

2. Wet Cleaning

Attempts for topical cleaning using some organic solvents (ethyl alcohol 95%, and acetone 99% from El-Salam for Chemical Industries) were done, but no good results were obtained, due to the extreme dryness of the fibers of the object.

3. Washing Stage

Before starting the washing process, primary support was applied to the carpet by placing it between two layers of gauze as a sandwich, sewing them together by running stitches, using appropriately thin needles and fine threads to protect the vulnerable parts of the carpet from disintegrating during the washing process [FIGURE 13]. A suitable washing basin was prepared (designed in cooperation with the museum's staff) and the carpet was washed using pure water and «Cetaphil» neutral soap. The ratio was one part «Cetaphil» neutral soap to 100 parts of distilled water.

The carpet was immersed in the washing bath for 20 minutes, with little pressure

by hand and brushes [FIGURE 14], so that the water would penetrate between the fibers to release the dust particles out. Then the carpet was rinsed three times for 15 minutes to ensure that the neutral soap had been completely removed [FIGURE 15].



[FIGURE 13]: Covering the carpet with gauze as a sandwich © Taken by the researchers



[FIGURE 14]:. While washing the carpet © Taken by the researchers



[FIGURE 15]: Samples from carpet's wash baths © Taken by the researchers

4. Drying Process

The object was dried with tissue paper and then placed on a stainless steel stand, and left in the atmosphere of the restoration laboratory in the museum until completely dry.

5. Consolidation Process

A. Preparation of a Wooden Frame

Wooden support was equipped; its size is larger than the size of the carpet by about 10 cm from each side; its size was 175 cm x 285 cm. The wooden support was then isolated from the surrounding environment by using shellac, to which «pure para-chlorobenzene» as an insecticide was added; the wooden frame was covered with four layers of the previous mixture and was left until completely dried.

B. Preparation of Linen Support

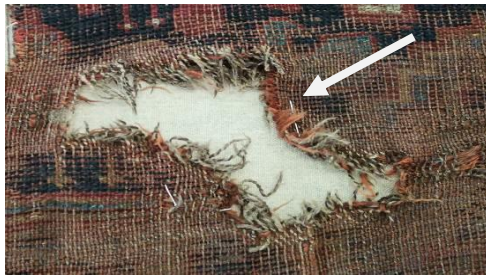
A cloth of natural linen was boiled in pure water to get rid of the gum and undesirable or dusty materials; and after drying it was ironed.

C. Fixing the Textile Support on the Wooden Frame

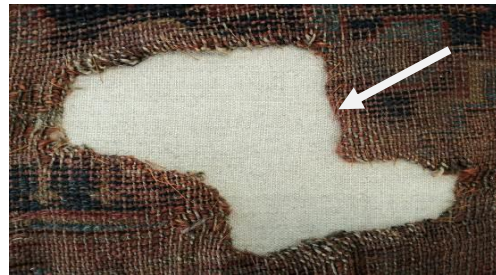
Natural linen was stretched from the four sides on the wooden frame by using pins of isolated stainless steel; taking into account the tension of the linen to the appropriate extent.

D. Fixing the Carpet on the Support and Repairing it

After the carpet treatment was completed, it was permanently fixed and completely restored by using a thin needle and natural thin yarns whose color tones are suitable for the colors of the carpet. In the beginning, the four edges of the carpet were fixed on the support by sewing with a small stitch, blanket stitch technique. The splits and tears in the carpet were repaired by couching stitches. The inside of the carpet was also fixed using the running baste stitch [FIGURES 16-26].



[FIGURE 16]: Bleeding of threads before restoration
© Taken by the researchers



[FIGURE 17]: Bleeding of threads after restoration
© Taken by the researchers



[FIGURE 18]: A slit before restoration
© Taken by the researchers



[FIGURE 19]: The slit after restoration
© Taken by the researchers



[FIGURE 20]: A slit before restoration
© Taken by the researchers



[FIGURE 21]: The slit after restoration
© Taken by the researchers



[FIGURE 22]: Tears before restoration
© Taken by the researchers



[FIGURE 23]: The tears after restoration
© Taken by the researchers



[FIGURE 24]: Tears and slits before restoration
© Taken by the researchers



[FIGURE 25]: The tears and slits after restoration
© Taken by the researchers



[FIGURE 26]: The Carpet after restoration and after fixing it on a new linen supporter
© Taken by the researchers

6. Preventive Conservation

The carpet was treated with a solution of nano-silver dissolved in distilled water for future protection, as the carpet may be exposed in future to a biological decay due to its organic composition.

VI. CONCLUSION

The successful restoration and conservation of important unique artifacts requires precise examination and analysis of the object, using microscopic and spectroscopic techniques, for designing an appropriate treatment plan depending on the condition of the object. This paper presents a case study of a unique archaeological carpet preserved at the Manial Museum, in which it followed the treatment and conservation strategies to preserve it for future generations, as it is considered a valuable model that represents the skill of ancestors in one of the fine arts.

After the examination and analysis of the object under study, it became clear that the carpet was woven with dyed woolen yarns (wool on wool) by the Persian knot with the warp threads on two different levels (open back). The carpet is irregular in dimensions as a result of what it suffers from a loss in its outer frame. Dyes used in the carpet are madder, weld, and indigo with mordant (alum, chrome, and iron). The fibers have been largely damaged and had cross-slits and thick deposits on the surface, and this indicated the bad condition in which the object was preserved. The presence of many deposits on the surface of dyed fiber is what «Tertsch» reported: «Alizarin often combines with calcium to form precipitates and therefore dyes best in hard, calcium-rich water». Also, the presence of many deposits on the surface of fibers is due to a large amount of dust penetrating the carpet fibers and its accumulation on the surface.

The appropriate treatment plan for the condition of the carpet was the following: Removing old erroneous restoration works, cleaning and sterilizing the object for future protection, and finally consolidating the object by fixing it on a new linen support which was stretched on a wooden frame.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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2022

RESHAPING THE VISITOR EXPERIENCE IN REGIONAL MUSEUMS THROUGH INTERPRETATION PLANS: A CASE STUDY OF THE KOM USHIM MUSEUM IN FAYOUM-EGYPT

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RESHAPING THE VISITOR EXPERIENCE IN REGIONAL MUSEUMS THROUGH INTERPRETATION PLANS: A CASE STUDY OF THE KOM USHIM MUSEUM IN FAYOUM-EGYPT

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[AR] إعادة تشكيل تجربة الزوار في المتاحف الإقليمية من خلال خطط التفسير: متحف كوم أوشيم بالفيوم- مصر كحالة دراسية
تركز هذه الدراسة على أهمية التفسير الجيد لمجموعات المتحف في إرضاء الزوار. حيث توجد علاقة بين رضا الزوار وتكرار زيارتهم. لذلك، فإن الموضوع
الرئيسي لهذه الدراسة هو تقييم تجربة الزوار داخل متحف كوم أوشيم في الفيوم - مصر وخطته التفسيرية الحالية لمجموعاته المعروضة لمعرفة مدى
فعالية تجربة الزائر فيما يتعلق بالتفسير الحالي للمتحف؟ وما مدى شمولية عرض وتفسير قيمة معروضات المتحف والسرد التاريخي المصاحب لها؟ اعتمد
الباحثون على جمع البيانات بعدة طرق كاستخدام الاستبيانات الموزعة على زوار المتحف، وإجراء مقابلات مع بعض الأكاديميين المتخصصين، وأولئك
الذين يعملون في متحف كوم أوشيم على وجه الخصوص. كما اعتمد الباحث على مجموعة من معايير التقييم المستمدة من مراجعة الأدبيات وتناول
حالتين من نماذج التفسير الناجحة لهذا النوع من المتاحف الإقليمية، وهما متحف الأقصر ومتحف النوبة. أظهرت نتائج تحليل البيانات أهمية التفسير
الجيد والمعلومات الواضحة عند التعامل مع المجموعات المعروضة ودورهم الحاسم في إرضاء الزوار وفي تشكيل تجربتهم في المتحف. أظهرت نتائج
الاستبيانات أيضًا الحاجة الملحة لتطوير خطة العرض التقديمي والتفسير لمتحف كوم أوشيم لإعادة تشكيل تجارب الزوار. وبناءً على ذلك قدمت هذه
الدراسة في النهاية أفكارًا مقترحة لتطوير خطة التفسير في متحف كوم أوشيم.

[EN] This study focuses on the importance of a good interpretation of museum's collections on visitors' satisfaction as there is a relationship between visitors' satisfaction and repetition of their visit. Therefore, the main issue of this study is to assess the visitors' experience within the Kom Ushim Museum in Fayoum-Egypt and its current interpretation plan for its exhibited collections to see how effective the visitor's experience is in terms of the museum's current interpretation, and how comprehensive the presentation and interpretation of the value of the museum's exhibits and the accompanying historical narrative are. The researchers relied on collecting data through several ways, using questionnaires distributed to museum visitors, and interviewing some academic specialists, and those who are working in the Kom Ushim in particular. The researchers also relied on a set of evaluation criteria that derived from literature review and dealt with two cases of successful interpretation models for this kind of regional museums, the Luxor Museum and the Nubian Museum. The results of the data analysis showed how good interpretation and clear information are important when dealing with the exhibited collections and that they have a crucial role in the visitors' satisfaction and in shaping their experience in the museum: the results of the questionnaires also showed the urgent need to develop the Kom Ushim's presentation and interpretation plan to reshape the visitors' experiences. Accordingly, the conclusion of this study presents ideas for developing the interpretation plan at Kom Ushim Museum.

KEYWORDS: Visitor's Experience, interpretation, regional museums, Kom Ushim Museum.

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper is a summary of a master thesis conducted at the University of Sharjah. It discussed in-depth the Kom Ushim museum and its current situation. There are a number of definitions developed by specialists, researchers, and academics to define the museum as well as those from scientific/professional institutions such as the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and the American Association of Museums (AAM). These definitions are always changing as a result of the ever-changing role of the museum due to changes in society and people's needs. The ICOM has set several definitions for the museum to adapt with the changes and developments. The first definition was set in 1946, then it was updated in 1951, 1961, 1974, 1989, and again in 2007, when ICOM defined the museum as: «A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment». During the last ICOM conference, held in Kyoto, Japan, in 2019, while discussing the subject of museums as cultural hubs, a new definition was proposed to develop the concept of the museums in order to cope with the expanding role of museums in societies, and the search for a new concept is still ongoing¹.

Emanuela Conti² (2018) mentioned that museums are becoming important institutions and have a wide range of roles in society, in education, culture, entertainment, addressing social issues, preserving heritage or in identity. They have become more important than in the past and reflect the extent of development and progress of society. According to the UNESCO study, the number of museums worldwide has increased approximately 60% since 2012, which pushed UNESCO to issue its recommendations in 2015 for the protection and the promotion of museums. These recommendations have also concentrated on the museum's collections, diversity and their role in society³. The key and most important priority of many museums is to improve the visitor experience. A museum without visitors is unlikely to survive⁴. Visitor experience was described and analyzed by many researchers. These studies have shown that visitors' experience in general is usually shaped by a variety of factors; for instance, the overall setup, the services, the exhibition design, the colors and many other factors⁵. According to Sam Ham (2003)⁶ [experience] was nothing more than thinking. The more visitors were provoked to think about a place or a thing, the deeper

¹ ICOM 2019: 30.

² CONTI 2017: 21-34.

³ UNESCO 2021

⁴ WALLACE 2013: 3.

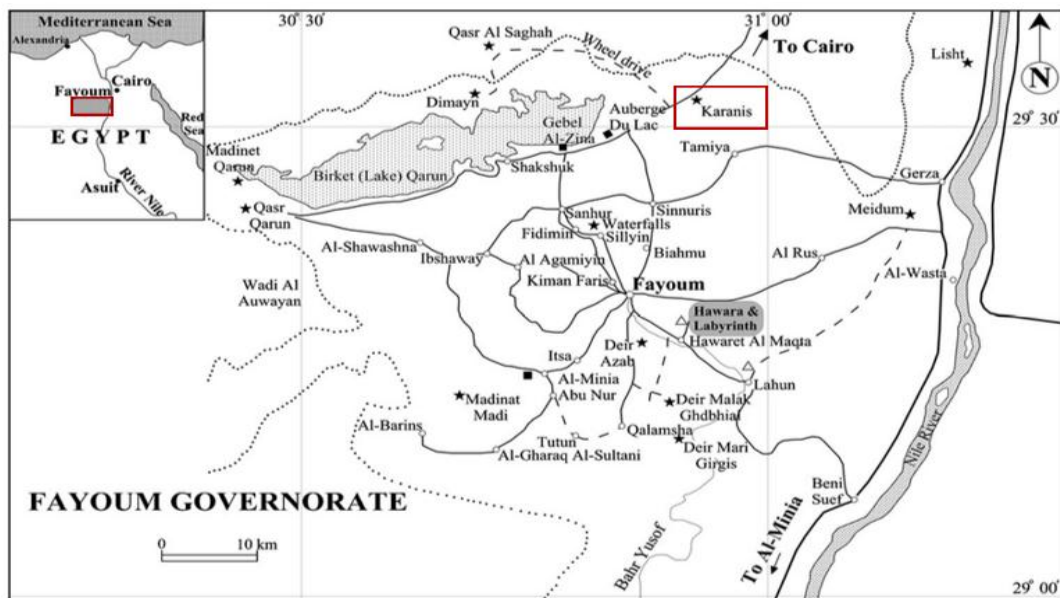
⁵ WALLACE 2001: 12,36

⁶ HAM & WEILER 2003: 3-8.

their experiences were. Susan Cross (2012)⁷ also mentioned that there are many factors that contribute to shaping a good visitor experience, such as how easy the museum could be found, the attitude of the staff, museum facilities (like the state of the toilets), in addition to the interpretation. Therefore, a good interpretation makes the visitor's experience deeper and more meaningful. Many other historical studies have shown that interpretation is a prominent part of shaping the visitor's experience⁸.

On the other hand, many museums continue to use traditional methods of displaying and interpreting their collections without any thought of their visitors needs and how the museum could be upgraded by modern technologies and applications. These museums rely on the abstract display of objects behind the glass of the showcases, which sometimes shape negative and boring experiences for visitors. One of these museums is the regional museum of Fayoum Kom Ushim Museum. Kom Ushim is one of Fayoum's villages; it is the first village on the Cairo desert route. It is considered to be the entrance to Fayoum Governorate, located 30 kms north of Fayoum [FIGURE 1]. It contains the ruins of the ancient Greek town Karanis⁹, where the remains of the Greek temples dedicated to the worship of the official deity of Fayoum (Sobek) are located. Along with the remains of mud brick houses and several tombs, it is worth mentioning that over 5,000 papyri have been discovered in Kom Ushim village.

Kom Ushim was chosen for this study because of the importance of Fayoum as an historical region and a city in Egypt that has a deep history with many archaeological sites and finds that are stored in Kom Ushim.



[FIGURE 2]. Location of Karanis (Kom Ushim) in Fayoum.

https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Location-of-the-Egyptian-city-of-Fayoum-showing-the-area-of-Hawara_fig6_257785978, (Accessed on 12 Nov, 2021)

⁷ CROSS 2012: 10-13.

⁸ SEDMAK & BREZOVEC 2017: 141-150.

⁹ KEENAN 2003: 119-139.

II. REASERCH PROBLEM AND SIGNIFICANCE

Kom Ushim is considered to be the main museum that presents the history of the Fayoum region. The preliminary observation of the museum showed that it has some weaknesses in its interpretation of its collections and was judged to be a negative and boring experience for visitors. The museum's role is to interpret the collections and communicate relevant information and the stories behind it in an informative and attractive interpretation that helps in enhancing the visitors' experience. Therefore, this study focuses on making an assessment of the current interpretation plan of collections at the KOM USHIM in order to recommend an appropriate new interpretation framework for its visitors. This assessment was based on a set of questions. This research tries to determine the importance of the Kom Ushim as a regional museum and the role that it is currently playing; how sufficient the visitor's experience in the current interpretation of the museum is; how comprehensive the museum's presentation is, the effectiveness of the interpretation of the museum's objects and the historical stories behind it; what is missing in the Kom Ushim and what should be done about those omissions.

This is the first study to tackle this important issue in Kom Ushim. It aims at highlighting the importance of developing the interpretation of the Kom Ushim collections in a way that illustrates the importance of re-interpreting of the museum's archeological collections to visitors in a new way, based on authentic and attractive information.

III. METHODOLOGY

This research was conducted by applying two main approaches, the quantitative and the qualitative. The qualitative data was collected from the review of literature, interviews and field observation. The quantitative data was derived from questionnaires that were distributed to the museum's staff, visitors, scholars, and students of the faculty of archaeology of Fayoum University who visited the museum as a result of the college's regular scientific visits to the Museum.

IV. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Museum Visitor Experience

Museum experience can be seen as an interaction or a dialog between the visitor and everything around him¹⁰. The visitor's experience used in this study reflects the concept of an individual's immediate, subjective and personal reaction to an activity outside their natural environment. Based on the fact that the visitor's experience is a «personal experience». Don Enright (2015)¹¹ mentioned that the visitor's experience is

¹⁰ FORREST 2015: 51-59.

¹¹ ENRIGHT 2015. 2.

the sensory feedback of the visitor during the visitor's experience period, from the desire phase, through the visitor's travel and arrival phases, to the memory of the visit. The internal experience of the visitor is like the external experience, begins before the visit and continues; the cognitive processes produced by the visit become part of the many pre-existing systems memories of previous lessons, attitudes and moral values.

The museum visitor's experience has many definitions, and it is hard to describe it precisely. It is been mentioned that the visitor's experience begins with entering the museum. It also includes all interaction during the visit¹². Others see that the visitor's experience as beginning before that, when a person decides to visit a specific museum. Lilla Wallace (2001) mentioned that Museums have to put themselves into visitors' shoes, just like any corporation or organization that deals with the general public through multi-faceted checklists of whether a visitor's experience can be made or break, it covers anything from the moment a person chooses to visit the museum, for instance: Is public parking sufficient and easily accessible? Is the interpretation of the museum's collections clear to the visitors?¹³

According to Gkatsou (2018), «the museum is not the sum of the objects it contains but, rather of the experiences it triggers». She also mentioned that in order to assess the visitor' experience, museums have to study the needs and requirements of visitors. Many museums study their visitors' experience to identifying and remedy obstacles, guide the interpretation's efficacy, evaluate visitor's satisfaction, measure their interaction with the museum, and identifying various attitudes and feelings about the museum. Visitor's satisfaction and experience are essential to the museum¹⁴.

2. Factors Shaping Visitors' Experience

This subject has been discussed and tackled by many researchers such as Center, 1998; Hennes 2002; Packer & Ballantyne 2002; De Rajos & Camerero 2006; Gkatsou 2008; Wearing & others 2008; Booth & others 2011; Kirchberg & Tröndle 2012; Association of Independent Museum (AIM) 2013; Papp 2013; Forrest 2015; Enright 2015; Sedmak 2017; Santoso 2019; Preko et al. 2020. From those, AIM 2013 and Enright et al. 2015 focused on the factors that shape the visitor's experience, while Kirchberg & Tröndle 2012; Papp 2013; Gkatsou 2018 and others focused more on interpretation as an important factor in shaping visitor's experience. In addition, Forrest 2015 stated many factors that shape the good visitor experience, such as the museum's design, exhibition, and the museum's environment and atmosphere. Other researchers like Eleni 2006 and Wiber 2009 mentioned that the museum's services are very important factor for visitor's experience and first impression.

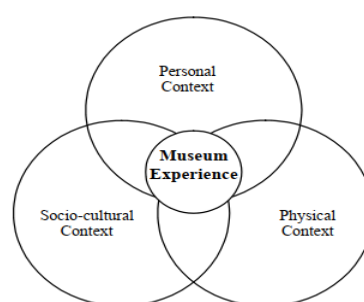
¹² PACKER & BALLANTYNE 2016: 128-143.

¹³ WALLACE 2001: 3-8.

¹⁴ GKATSOU 2018: 15-24.

According to M. de and M. Camarero 2006¹⁵, when visitors' expectations are met or surpassed, satisfaction is achieved. In general, the visitor experience is usually shaped by a variety of factors. Some researchers believe that the visitor's experience is closely related to the general environment or the general atmosphere inside the museum, as well as the design, whether the design of the museum itself or the design of the objects displayed inside, it is one of the factors that attracts visitors and creates a positive experience for them¹⁶. Others have mentioned that the museum can provide a good experience through its staff who should be nice with visitors. This highlights the importance of staff not only in delivering an appropriate service but also in supporting the organization through shaping visitors' views by the word of mouth¹⁷.

There are many other studies that dealt with the most important factors that affect the experience of the visitor, one of those leading studies dealt with the visitors' participation or engagement as an important factor in shaping their experience. Victoria Wallace from the Association of Independent Museums (AIM) mentioned that visitors were glad to stand at a respectful distance behind glass to view the museum's objects, when conventional museums were conceived, but they may actually prefer a variety of options for their participation, rather than just listening or watching in silence. They may want experiences¹⁸. Susan Cross noted that, the museum can shape the experience of the visitor through easy access to the museum, whether physically or online, as well as through the services that the museum provides to its visitors, such as the condition of the bathroom and the cleanliness of the place¹⁹. According to Gorman²⁰, experiences in the museum include three main contexts: 1 the physical context (museum's rules, design and architecture, facilities, technology, and activities) 2 the personal context (personal beliefs, motivations, interests, previous experiences, expectations, and prior knowledge) and 3. the socio-cultural context (human engagement between visitors and museum's staff) [FIGURE 2].



[FIGURE 2]. A model shows the contexts shaping the experience of the visitor. GORMAN 2008: 6.

¹⁵ DE ROJAS & CAMARERO 2006: 50-61.

¹⁶ FORREST 2015: 51-59.

¹⁷ DE ROJAS & CAMARERO 2006: 50-51.

¹⁸ WALLACE 2001: 5:7.

¹⁹ CROSS 2012: 10-16.

²⁰ GORMAN 2008: 23-24.

3. Museum Interpretation

The term interpretation means translation, «the translation of languages from one language to another», but it has a special meaning in heritage sciences such as sites and museums. For example, interpretation in museums refers to how the museum explains the objects to visitors²¹. The first to use the term «interpretation» was Johann Muir in 1871 in a learning context, he wrote: «I will interpret the rocks»²². Over time, the use of this term evolved into a profession one when, in 1916 it became a profession. An «interpreter» is the person who interprets heritage sites and national parks for visitors, and the use of this term developed until it was related to heritage in 1940 (interpretation of heritage). In 1957, Tilden used the term «interpretation» to describe education and laid down some principles and defined it as «educational activity for discovering the relationships and meanings by using original objects»²³. The term «interpretation» continued to evolve over time, especially after the founding of the British Heritage Interpretation Association in 1975. The Burra Charter of 1979 defined the concept of interpretation as: all the ways of presenting the cultural significance of place²⁴. One of the best definitions is that of Interpretation Canada, which was developed for use within Canada. This definition has been used over the past 17 years, describing interpretation as «A process of communication that reveals the meanings and links of natural and cultural heritage through the participation of objects, landscapes and artifacts²⁵». In 2008, The ICOMOS developed a definition for interpretation as «a wide range of potential activities to raise public awareness and improve knowledge of the site of cultural heritage»²⁶.

4. Role of Interpretation in Shaping Visitor's Experience

In the last few decades, visitors' experience in many museums has been of a great prominence on the assumption that high satisfaction of visitors leads to increasing numbers and positive support for the museum. Visitors agreed that one of the most important factors that can shape and influence their experience is the interpretation of the content of the museum. This provided some valuable insights into the role of interpretation in shaping visitor experiences. Several heritage studies proved that interpretation is an essential factor of the experience of the visitor²⁷. The displayed artifacts in a museum are the only thing left of historical events in the past and they

²¹ AMBROSE & PAINE 2006: 78.

²² BABIC & et AL. 2026: 22- 23.

²³ TILDEN 1977: 31.

²⁴ FORIST 2018: 3-9.

²⁵ VEVERKA 2015: 11-29.

²⁶ ICOMOS 2008: 377-383.

²⁷ SEDMAK& BREZOVEC 2017: 141,150.

continue until the present to tell us the story of the past²⁸. Thus, these objects can be revived again through interpretation, since what distinguishes the museum is not the number of objects it contains, but the way that the visitor is connected with the place, and how through effective interpretation, it connects the present and the past, which can lead to an increase in the level of satisfaction of the visitor and shape memorable experiences for the visitor²⁹.

A meaningful interpretation should answer questions in visitors' minds when they see objects such as, why this object was made, and how was it made? These questions reveal many important aspects that are more important from an archeological point of view, such as the cultural aspect of this object, as it reflects the culture of the community at that time. The material from which the piece was made may also reflect the economic condition of the community and its beliefs, as it may also reflect the schools of art at that time through the sculptural style. Therefore, the significance of the object lies in the story behind it and the historical event that it witnessed³⁰. As a result, the correct interpretation of the exhibited objects, as mentioned by Tilden, leads to an increase in the visitor's understanding and awareness of the importance of the pieces, which leads to a sense of appreciation, and this leads to his participation in the protection of the objects [FIGURE 3]³¹.



[FIGURE 3]. The conception of Tilden's theory © Diagrammed by the researchers.

According to Schwarz's study, in order to create an interesting interpretation that attracts visitors, we should first ask what makes the visitor fascinated. The results of his study confirmed that the interpretation of the storytelling makes the visitor so fascinated³². Stories are an effective way of learning that affect visitors more than just numbers and dates. They make visitors relate to their feelings with people and situations, attracts them and sympathizes with them, as narratives are shared more easily than information. Stories give visitors a desire to learn more about events, stories, interactions, participation, and to form opinions that lead to a constructive dialogue that results in different perspectives, as people benefit from their interactions during the visit, which will enhance their experience³³.

²⁸ BECK & CABLE 2011: 31.

²⁹ CROSS 2012: 7-10.

³⁰ CAVILLIER 2018.

³¹ TILDEN 1977: 38.

³² SCHWARZ 2015: 74-79.

³³ BABICK & et AL. 2026: 22-23.

5. Interpretation Tools

Lourenço and Wilson (2013)³⁴ mentioned that interpretation tools (techniques) are the explanatory materials used by the museum to explain its collections and are the most direct way to communicate with visitors [FIGURE 4]. They are divided into traditional tools, such as labels and banners, and technology-dependent tools. Everything that contributes to the interpretation of the collections in the museum is called an interpreting tool.



[FIGURE 4]. Simple methods of displaying museum objects.
Sharjah Archaeology Museum © Taken by the researchers.

- Traditional or classical tools are a group of elements that can be found in the museum to help interpret the displayed collections, whether written elements such as posters, wall texts, banners, labels, printed brochures and illustrative image. There are many studies on how to write these explanatory materials in a way that is consistent with the needs of the visitors in terms of the size of the font and the number of words. It should be noted that the readability of the text on labels is as important as their content³⁵.
- Information and Communication Technology ICT tools or digital technology applications such as touch-screens, audio guides, Augmented Reality (AR), Virtual Reality (VR) [FIGURE 5], hologram technology, mobile applications are part of the advances in the use of technology in museums as elements of efficient interpretation³⁶. Technology has become valuable and attractive to visitors³⁷,

³⁴ LOURENCO & WILSON 2013: 744-753

³⁵ GORMAN 2008: 15-19.

³⁶ KULESZ 2016: 6-24.

³⁷ VAZ FERNANDES & VEIGA 2018: 37-43.

Although technology tools allow visitors to interact, they rely primarily on traditional tools and information about displayed objects.



[FIGURE 5]. Using VR and AR tools for interpretation in a museum.
[Http://www.radicalvr.ca/5-benefits-virtual-reality](http://www.radicalvr.ca/5-benefits-virtual-reality), (Accessed on May 25, 2021)

These tools contribute to creating a suitable atmosphere for interpretation³⁸. Appropriate lighting is an important interpretive tool, allowing visitors a new experience and exciting atmosphere [FIGURE 6]³⁹. The wall colors of the display, the shape of the showcases and their size, and even the way in which the pieces are arranged, contributes to a good interpretation⁴⁰.



[FIGURE 6]. The museum interpretation, lighting system, illustrative banners, <http://www.Nubia museum.com>, (Accessed on May 28, 2021)

It is worth noting that some museums, such as the Luxor, Nubia, and Tanta museums, used traditional tools for interpretation in an interesting and appealing way by using an appropriate lighting system and eye-pleasing colors, as well as arranging objects in a good manner within showcases.

³⁸ ROBERTS 2014: 191-209.

³⁹ GMAHLING 2020.

⁴⁰ GORMAN 2008: 15-18.

V. SUCCESSFUL EXAMPLES OF INTERPRETATION IN REGIONAL MUSEUMS

Many regional museums in Egypt such as (Luxor Museum, Nubian Museum, Suez Museum and Tanta Museum) have a clear presentation scenario, and good and clear interpretation of the objects and the stories behind them. In addition to the use of tools that contribute to clarity of presentation and interpretation, as well as contribute to increasing visitors' satisfaction with the museum, such as the lighting system, colors, and showcases, and the method of arranging objects within the showcases, in addition to the presence of banners and labels with sufficient and brief information to explain the exhibits.

1. Luxor Museum

The Luxor Museum is located on the Nile cornice in the center of Luxor city, (old Thebes). Luxor Museum was the first regional museum in Egypt. The building has two floors and is distinguished by a magnificent architectural design that complements the method of presentation and interpretation. The museum follows the historical sequence (chronological) to interpret its objects. The display begins with the presentation of the masterpieces in the museum [FIGURE 7]. The most important reasons for the clarity of the interpretation plan in the Luxor Museum are the design of the building and exhibition halls with their very attractive lighting and effective use of color, the clear presentation of the history (or archaeological context) of the finds through posters, banners, and labels with very clear information, and the use of appropriate showcases.

Samia Abdel Aziz, the General Director of Upper Egypt Museums, said that interviews had been conducted with Egyptian and foreign visitors about their view of the museum and the interpretation of its collections, and that the result was very positive regarding their satisfaction with the interpretation and that they had exciting experience⁴¹. As a result of the researcher's interviews on the Luxor Museum's experience as a regional museum; almost all participants agreed that it is one of Egypt's best and most successful in terms of presentation and interpretation. The clarity of the displays and the successful interpretation of the museum's objects are the most important factors toward achieving visitor satisfaction.

⁴¹ ŠINĤŪ 2019.



[FIGURE 7]. Luxor Museum display © Taken by researcher, 2018.

2. Nubian Museum

The Nubia Museum has been classified as one of the best regional museums in Egypt. It was established by UNESCO in cooperation with the Egyptian Government following the campaign to save the monuments of Nubia. It opened to the public in 1997⁴². The reason for its establishment was the need to have a museum in which the artifacts of Nubia were collected and displayed to interpret the distinctive historical, cultural, and environmental heritage of the region from the earliest times to the present⁴³.

The Interpretation Plan follows the historical sequence of Nubian antiquities from the earliest to the most recent, including the pharaonic, Coptic and Islamic antiquities, then a section on current Nubian heritage. It is worth noting that the Nubia Museum contains not only antiquities and ethnographic displays, but also environmental record data, excavation archives, and photographs and films of sites and monuments⁴⁴. The museum's building design is inspired by ancient Egyptian and Nubian architecture that blends harmoniously with the surrounding rocks and hills. It was awarded the Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 2014⁴⁵ [FIGURE 8]. The museum employs a variety of interpretation tools that complement the presentation concept, such as traditional tools (banners, posters, and brochures), as well as

⁴² BRANIA 2011: 73-89.

⁴³ ATTALLAH & MOZAMMEL 2019: 23-27.

⁴⁴ MEGUID 1996, 5.

⁴⁵ NUR AL-DIN 2014.



[FIGURE 8]. The landscape of the Nubia Museum, www.Nubian museum.com, (Accessed on May 28, 2021)

Technology-based tools such as display screens, as well as other tools for lighting, colors, and exhibition design as, and showcases [FIGURE 9].



[FIGURE 9]. The main hall of the museum shows the museum's colors, lighting system, <http://www.Nubian museum.com>, (Accessed on May 28, 2021)

The former director of the Nubia Museum, Hosni Abdel-Rahim, indicated that interviews were conducted randomly with visitors for their opinion on the museum and the exhibition, and that all Egyptian and foreign visitors had an excellent experience. He also said that it is the most important museum of its kind in the way it integrates Egyptian and Nubian civilizations, and that it is one of the most popular museums that also attracts local residents. He also reported among many of the foreign visitors, it was their second visit to the museum.⁴⁶

VI. Kom Ushim Museum

Kom Ushim Museum is located at the entrance to the ruins of the ancient Greek town of Karanis⁴⁷. The building was initially used to display the products of local handicrafts of the surrounding villages (pottery and baskets). As a result of the

⁴⁶ ABDEL-RAHIM, H.: Personal communication (December 15, 2020).

⁴⁷ KEENAN 2003: 119-139.

continued excavations of the University of Michigan and Cairo University⁴⁸ in the Karanis area, many objects were discovered and some of them are displayed in Kom Ushim.

Thus, the museum's first function was to be a site museum to display the archaeological discoveries. The museum building was initially used to display the products of local handicrafts of the surrounding villages. When the excavations in Karanis began to discover artefacts, the idea of establishing a museum to display the discovered antiquities emerged. Thus, the museum's first concept was a site museum to display the nearby archaeological discoveries. In 1974, the museum's building consisted of a single hall, and part of it continued to display local products and handicrafts until 1993. Then, when the Egyptian Antiquities Authority decided to expand the existing *ŠINHŪ* upper floor displayed Coptic and Islamic antiquities. It is worth mentioning that the museum followed a chronological order in displaying its objects from the oldest (pre-history) to the recent (Modern era of Muhammad ^cAlī).



[FIGURE 10]. Kom Ushim building. <https://fayoumegypt.com/kom-ushim-museum/> (Accessed on May 22, 2021)

1. The Current Interpretation of the Museum

The museum displays about 320 objects. A lot of objects are not from Fayoum and are not related to Fayoum region or sites. The display and interpretation is thematic. The first floor has nineteen showcases [FIGURE 11] with objects that address daily life and ancient handicrafts such as textile, pottery, glass, statues, jewelry, wood, and etc. [FIGURE 12].

⁴⁸ WILFONG & FERRARA 2014: 47-48.



[FIGURE 11]. The ground hall of the museum and one example of the museum showcase
<https://fayoumegypt.com/kom-ushim-museum/> (Accessed on November 10, 2021)



[FIGURE 12]. Examples of bad display in the ground floor © Taken by the researchers.

The second floor contains nine showcases that are supposed to tell about funeral rituals, as well as two mummies (considered to be highlights of the museum (masterpieces)). The display in this hall addresses the concept of death in ancient Egypt, including funeral rituals and its tools. The display begins with a false door and an offering table, followed by a cartonnage mask, a statue of an unknown seated man, while in the second part of the hall, which begins with the funeral procession banner, has showcases displaying portraits and icons [FIGURE 13].



[FIGURE 13]. Examples of the displayed objects in the second hall on upper floor ©
Photographed by the researchers.

Out of the field observation and many visits to Kom Ushim, the researchers determined there were many negative points in the museum. These include:

1. The showcases are very old, cramped, and unsuitable for the displayed objects.
2. The background color of the showcases is inconsistent. Some have a red background, others have a green background, and others do not have any background, causing visual confusion for the visitor.
3. The lighting inside the museum is not appropriate, as the museum uses both natural and artificial lighting, which may endanger the objects, such as textiles and papyrus.
4. The interpretation provided to visitors is not clear enough, and it must be explained by the curator to be understood.
5. Explanatory labels are not informative and unclear, the physical size and font is relatively small, and they are placed in positions that are hard to notice and read.
6. Some objects are displayed outside showcases (Aphrodite statue and Hawara painting). Thus, they are vulnerable to damage because visitors can touch them.

VII. DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

1. Field observation

Questionnaires were distributed to the students, and a general discussion about the museum and their opinions was held, the most important of these questions were as follows:

- What do you think of the museum's overall setup?
- Is the museum's display clear to you?
- What do you think of the labels? Do they provide enough information about the objects, and are they readable?
- Would you come back to the museum if you had the chance?
- Do you think the museum reflects the history and sites of Fayoum?

The questionnaire analysis revealed that the vast majority of students responded negatively to the questionnaire items, specifically the lack of clarity of the museum's collection displays and interpretation, as well as the lack of clarity and sometimes absence of labels. The results of the questionnaire and discussion helped suggest a new interpretation plan and how to overcome the weakness in the museum's displays. When conducting discussions with local people, as well as conducting surveys and discussions on social media platforms, the researcher concluded the following:

- A large number of local people are unaware of the existence of a museum in Fayoum. Those who are aware of it stated that the museum is in a modest condition and that they will not visit again.

- The number of visitors to the museum is very limited. The majority of those who came were originally planning to visit the ancient archaeological site of Karanis and happened to pass by the museum.
- In terms of building, presentation, and interpretation, as well as services, the museum is very modest when compared to the rest of Egypt's regional museums.
- Many of the objects on display in the museum lack accurate information.
- The unclear interpretation has a significant impact on the comprehension of the presentation, which has an influence on the visitor experience.
- A large number of the objects on display in the museum do not belong to Fayoum.

In addition, many objects of unknown origin are displayed, which is contrary to ICOM Code of Ethics, element Nr^o.5 of section four, that states that museums should avoid displaying or using objects whose source is doubtful or unknown⁴⁹.

2. Interviews

The final component of qualitative data was face-to-face interviews and phone calls. The vast majority of these interviews were face-to-face. The first interviews were with the museum's director and staff. Most responses indicated that they preferred the display before redevelopment because it was based on a historical sequence over the thematic interpretation of handcrafts and death in ancient Egypt. They also mentioned the display of many artifacts that do not belong to the Fayoum region's history, which is inconsistent with the mission as a regional museum.

In their response, the interviewees agreed that the current display was not extensively studied because the museum's inauguration was unexpected, which resulted in the objects being chosen quickly. They agreed that the museum is not very popular with visitors. Furthermore, that the museum should display objects discovered in the Fayoum region.

The second type of interview was conducted with some faculty members of Archeology in Fayoum University to determine their opinions about the museum and their experience in it. Most of the responses mentioned that the museum does not express a clear message about Fayoum, particularly with the display of many objects that do not belong to Fayoum. The interviews also included questions about the Luxor and Nubian Museums, both of which were said to use attractive interpretation tools, such as color, lighting systems, collection arrangement, and methods of interpretation, as well as services that both museums offer for their visitors such as the status of the bathrooms, the Cafeteria, souvenir shop, library and lecture hall.

In conclusion, it was confirmed that there is no clear policy for displaying the collections in Kom Ushim, that the objects were not presented well, and there was no

⁴⁹ LEWIS 2006.

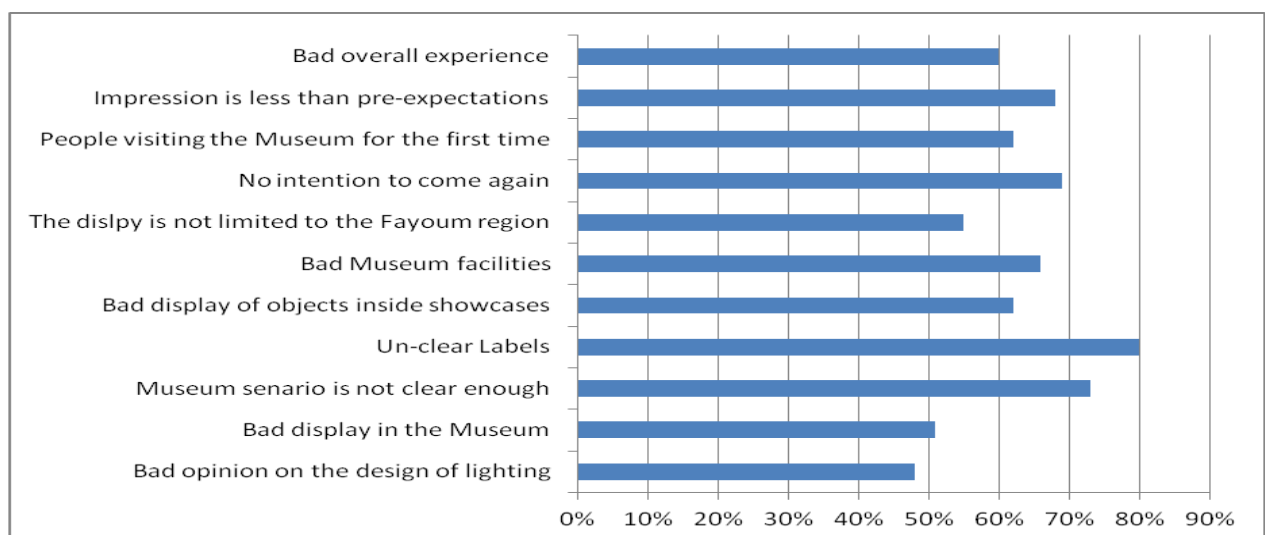
explanation of their significance or purpose. Moreover, the museum doesn't address the history and civilization of the Fayoum region.

3. Questionnaires

The researcher conducted two different types of questionnaires. The first was distributed randomly to museum visitors and to students from the Faculty of Archeology. One hundred and fifty were distributed and only 130 responded. The second questionnaire was distributed to researchers and scholars who visited the museum. It was distributed to approximately 100 researchers and academics and eighty responded. The questionnaires were distributed to assess their opinions, feedback, satisfaction, and experience with the museum's collection interpretation [FIGURES 14-15].

A. Visitor's Questionnaire [FIGURE 14]:

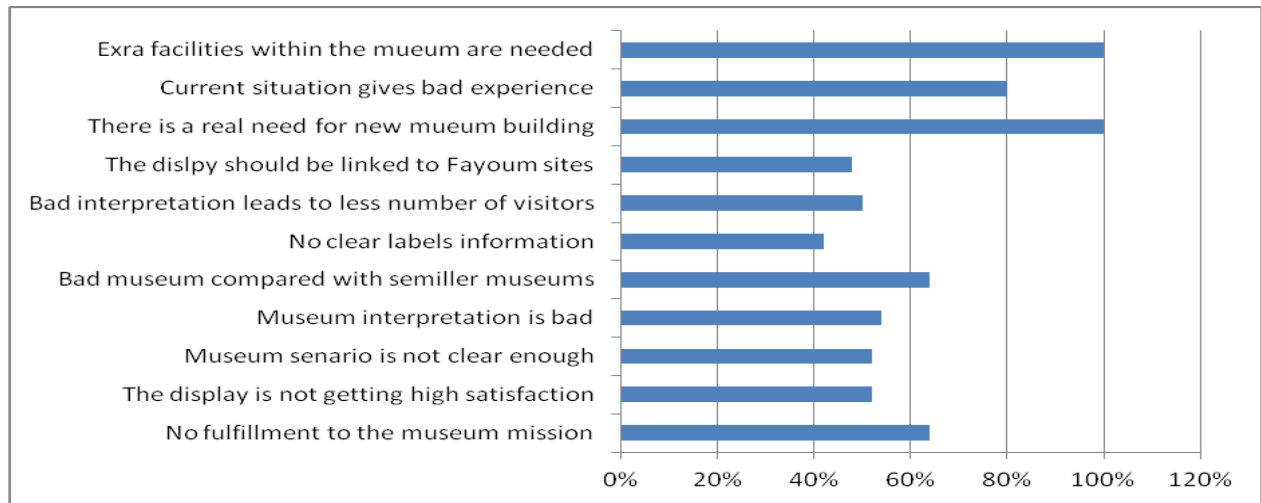
It summarizes the major results of the visitors and student's questionnaire:



[FIGURE 14]: Major results of visitors' questionnaire (130 respondents)

B.Academics' Questionnaire [FIGURE 15]

It summarizes the results of the academics and scholar's questionnaire:



[FIGURE 15]: Major results of academics and scholars questionnaire (80 respondents)

VII.CONCLUSION

Analysis of the results indicated how interpretation can play an important role in visitors' understanding of the significance of the displayed objects in the museum and the history associated with them, and consequently, appreciate their value. The visitor's experience is significant in publicizing the museum and encouraging repeat visits. The study's findings show that Kom Ushim needs development of the building and its services. It has a lack of modern applications and technology that contribute to a good and appealing interpretation of the museum. In comparison to the Luxor and Nubian Museums or other regional museums, Kom Ushim lacks the necessary means and tools to carry out its mission. It is worth noting that the percentages also showed that the number of visitors to the museum from the local population is very low, owing to the fact that the majority of the population is unaware of the existence of a regional museum. The majority of museum visitors who responded to the questionnaire and interviews who were aware of the museum's existence stated that it was their first visit to the museum and that they would not return. They suggested that focusing on geographical areas and archaeological sites in Fayoum is the best display method for the KOM USHIM. This method could provide information about Fayoum, the most important areas of the region (archaeological sites), According to the ICOMOS chart for interpretation and presentation, the first step in protecting heritage and cultural property is interpretation, because effective interpretation contributes to increasing awareness about the importance of the displayed objects and their history, which helps in showing appreciation for their value, and consequently their preservation. As a result, this study proposes a new interpretation plan for the museum's collection to

make it more understandable to visitors. This can be accomplished by following the steps below:

1. The presentation and interpretation plan for the museum must be developed in accordance with its mission as a regional museum expressing the heritage and history of Fayoum region.
2. Re-obtaining important pieces, such as the famous Fayoum portraits, discovered in Fayoum but are now displayed in other museums. They could function as the museum's masterpieces. Likewise, statues of the main Fayoum deity Sobek that were transferred to the Crocodile Museum in Kom Ombo, could also be transferred to KOM USHIM, as it is illogical that the museum that addresses Fayoum history does not have objects that represent the ancient religion of Fayoum or its official deity. Furthermore, the museum could also house parts of the Sobek temple that were transferred from the museum to the garden of the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria.
3. To fulfil the International Council of Museums' mandate that the museum should be in the service and development of society. The museum's activities should be expanded so that it can reach a larger number of local residents as a target audience.
4. The museum new building may include several exhibition halls depending on the interpretation plan. Each hall displays an archaeological site from the Fayoum and tells the story of the excavations, their dates, and the objects that were discovered.
5. The museum could employ a variety of tools, including simple ones such as banners, posters, labels, and images, as well as interactive technology-based tools such as AR, VR, audio guide (as mentioned before in chapter 2), mobile applications (It's a Guide application, the app identifies the objects and art work by scanning them by the smart phones) and interactive touch screens, ect.
6. As a short-term plan, first, inventory and categorize the museum's collections into as major and important objects that will be re-displayed in the proposed scenario, such as mummies and Fayoum portraits, and the objects that do not belong to Fayoum and should be moved to storage or exchanged with other museums. Second, selecting the most important objects that represent each of Fayoum sites, whether from the museum or from Fayoum storehouses. It is worth noting that there are collections for entire tombs, such as the Hawara collections where the tomb's collections can be fully displayed and supported with appropriate interpretation tools such as illustrations and banners.

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