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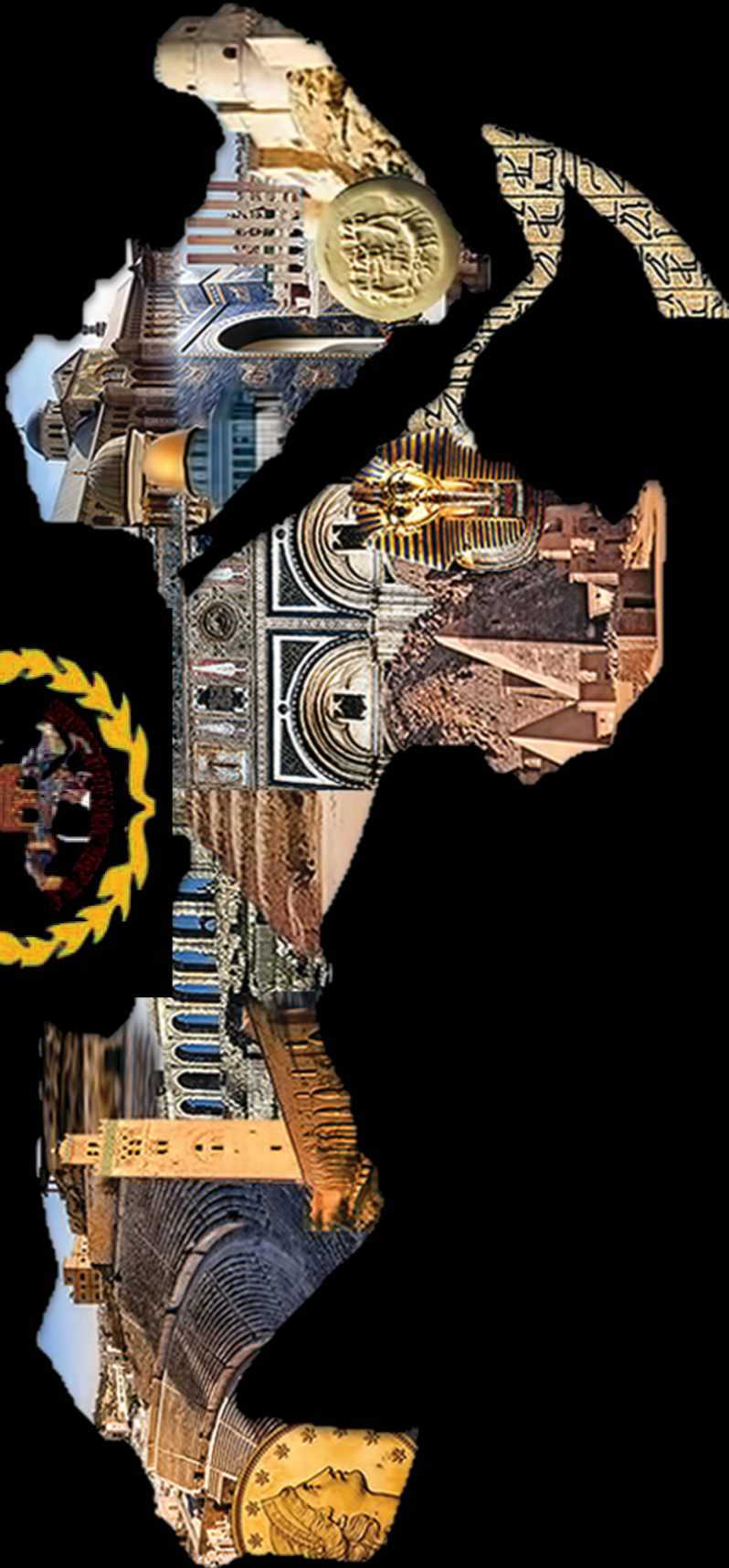
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INTRODUCTION

This volume is arranged in the same way as each of the previous volumes of the *Journal of the General Union of Arab Archaeologists*: Ancient archeology and Egyptology or Coptic and Islamic (language, art, and material culture); restoration and preservation. The contributions within each category are arranged alphabetically by the author's first name.

The current volume contains papers that were recently presented in the field of Islamology. They cover not only topics of archeology in the areas being studied, but also sometimes the history that we can draw in the classical languages: ancient Egyptian, Greek, Coptic and Arabic.

In the first section, Ahmed Said Nassef & Ehab Gamil Abd El-Krim examine Six Unusual Boats from Tell Awlad Dawood in the Nile Delta. Heba Maher Mahmoud sheds light on a Female Scribe in the Twenty Sixth Dynasty  [Iretrau]. Moreover, Ibrahim Abd El-Sattar & Shouikar Salama study Three Old Kingdom Fragmentary Reliefs and their Owners. Ibrahim Mohamed El Said sheds light on a Business Letter from the Egyptian Museum. Magda Gad examines the Deceased and his Relevance to *RḥWY*, *ꜥḥꜣWY*, *Hnnwy*, and *Snwy*. Rania ʿAbdel ʿAziz Mahmoud studies Body Secretions Goddess in Ancient Religious Texts.


In the second section dedicated to the Coptic and Islamic studies, Ahmed T. A. Khalil introduces an important study about the Antimetabole: forms and Rhetorical Functions in Sahidic Coptic Texts. Boussy Muhammad Hussein Zidan sheds light on Contributions of Muslim Mechanical Engineers in Modern Automata (in light of kitāb al-ḥiyāl of al- ḡazarī) a descriptive analytical study. Moreover, Hamada Thabet Mahmoud studies Indian Mughal Turban Boxes as Cultural Indicators Civilizational and Artistic Study. Shaimaa ʿAbdelsttar Ahmed examines Constructions with Negative Prefix at in the Coptic Language.

In the shorter section about the restoration and preservation, ' Monica Samir Hanna provides an important paper containing a Note on The Restoration of Five Egyptian Mosques.

Our heartfelt thanks are due to all the authors for their valuable contributions to this volume and we encourage them and other scholars to continue their studies in the various aspects of the Islamic civilization. Finally, I look forward to the next volume with new studies that may help to well preserve the Islamic heritage.

CONTENTS

ANCIENT ARCHAEOLOGY & EGYPTOLOGY

1. **Ahmed Said Nassef & Ehab Gamil Abd El-Krim**
SIX UNUSUAL BOATS FROM TELL AWLAD
DAWOOD IN THE NILE DELTA 1-24
2. **Heba Maher Mahmoud**
A FEMALE SCRIBE IN THE TWENTY SIXTH DYNASTY 25-40
[[RETRAU] 
3. **Ibrahim Abd El-Sattar & Shouikar Salama**
THREE OLD KINGDOM FRAGMENTARY
RELIEFS AND THEIR OWNERS 41-58
4. **Ibrahim Mohamed El Said**
A BUSINESS LETTER FROM THE EGYPTIAN
MUSEUM 59-74
5. **Magda Gad**
THE DECEASED AND HIS RELEVANCE TO
RḥWY, *ꜣḥꜣWY*, *HNNWY*, AND *SNWY* 75-101
6. **Rania ‘Abdel cAziz Mahmoud**
BODY SECRETIONS GODDESS
IN ANCIENT RELIGIOUS TEXTS 102-123

COPTIC & ISLAMIC

7. **Ahmed T. A. Khalil**
ANTIMETABOLE: FORMS AND
RHETORICAL FUNCTIONS IN
SAHIDIC COPTIC TEXTS 124-139
8. **Boussy Muhammad Hussein Zidan**
CONTRIBUTIONS OF MUSLIM
MECHANICAL ENGINEERS IN
MODERN AUTOMATA (IN LIGHT OF
KITĀB AL-ḤĪYAL OF AL- ĠAZARĪ) A
DESCRIPTIVE ANALYTICAL STUDY 140-172

9. **Hamada Thabet Mahmoud**
INDIAN MUGHAL TURBAN BOXES AS
CULTURAL INDICATORS **173-200**
CIVILIZATIONAL AND ARTISTIC STUDY
10. **Shaimaa °Abdelsttar Ahmed**
CONSTRUCTIONS WITH NEGATIVE
PREFIX AT IN THE COPTIC LANGUAGE **201-211**

RESTORATION & CONSERVATION

11. **Monica Samir Hanna**
NOTE ON THE RESTORATION OF FIVE
EGYPTIAN MOSQUES **212-232**



ANCIENT ARCHAEOLOGY & EGYPTOLOGY

JGUAA 6/2

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SIX UNUSUAL BOATS FROM TELL AWLAD DAWOOD IN THE NILE DELTA

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SIX UNUSUAL BOATS FROM TELL AWLAD DAWOOD IN THE NILE DELTA

By

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ABSTRACT

Tell Awlad Dawood is a Predynastic and Early Dynastic settlement located in Sharqiya Province. The site is a small Tell. It has been occupied from the beginning of the 4th millennium BC to the Late Period, but its main occupation took place during the Predynastic and Early Dynastic times. The site of Tell Awlad Dawood in the eastern Nile Delta has been the focus of excavation since 1978. Until 1997, the main discoveries made at the site were: some buildings, bowls, platters and vats, ovoid and globular pots, large pots with a wide opening, jars, some lithic industry, and six pottery boats. The current paper is concerned with the study and publication of Six Unusual Boats which were discovered in Tell Awlad Dawood in 1997. The six boats are made of pottery, particularly of Nile Clay, and the used shaping technology is handmade. The research has proved that these boats are dated to Naqada IID2 or the Beginning of Naqada III A-B at the latest from Late Chalcolithic to Proto-Dynastic period (3600- 3300 BC) according to the division of relative chronology of Naqada culture by S. Hendrickx. All the six boats are currently housed in the Grand Egyptian Museum magazine in Cairo.

KEYWORDS: Boats, Tell Awlad Dawood, Naqada III, Protodynastic, Early dynastic, Pottery.

I. INTRODUCTION

Tell Awlad Dawood is situated in Sharqiya Province. It is located in the area between «Tell el Yahudeya and Belbeis (20 km south of Belbeis, and 17 km northeast of Tell el Yahudiya) [FIGURES 1 -3], in the area of the village so-called » El Ghaffarîa « belonging to the town » Mashtûl el Sûq « (ca. 50 km to the south of Zagazig city) and in front of »El Ghaffarîa » village (ca. 1 km within the cultivated area). In ancient times, it was geographically located within the boundaries of the 13th nome of Lower Egypt «*ḥk3 ʿd*» .

This site was discovered in 1978 by the Supreme Council of Antiquities, exposing an important stratigraphic sequence where the earlier levels show affinities with the Lower Egyptian Culture; the upper levels belong to the Naqada III-Early Dynastic Period. The work carried out by the Supreme Council of Antiquities revealed Tell Awlad Dawood as a «key site» for understanding human occupation in the 4th millennium BC in the Nile Delta.

So far, the available data provided by Excavation reports, made in the site from 1978 to 1997 ¹, suggest dating Tell Awlad Dawood to the beginning of the early dynastic period coinciding with Naqada III (A-B) in Upper Egypt. The settlement continued during the archaeological period coinciding with Naqada III (C-D) and this period represented the first phase of settlement at this site. Also, many archaeological remains were found in the site like pottery fragments, and some poorly preserved Old Kingdom remains that may have belonged to the dwellings in the site, in addition to an area that included a group of tombs. Therefore, the site dates to different periods, starting from the prehistoric period through the Old Kingdom to the late and Ptolemaic period, indicating the importance of the site.

Certainly, the current shape of the site [FIGURES 4-5] resulted from the plowing operations to prepare the land for cultivation methods that appeared in the period of Naqada III (C), and Naqada III (D), establishing the sedimentary accumulation in the site. Based on the information from the excavations, the site dates back to Naqada III (A) and Naqada III (B)².

Cultural and Religious Significance of Boats

Boats played a major role in ancient Egyptian society³. The boats differed in their shapes and uses. Their fronts took various forms such as papyrus, lotus, and some animals and birds' heads, such as the falcon, the ram, the hedgehog and the baboon⁴.

¹ SAID 1978 unpublished; HAMED 1982 unpublished; Mahmoud 1989 unpublished; NAGY 1990 unpublished; Tariq 1991/1992 unpublished; IBRAHIM 1993 unpublished; MOHSEN 1997 unpublished; EHAB 1997 under publication.

² HENDRICKX referred to that in a discussion about the chronology of Naqada culture in an unpublished research paper presented to the British Museum 1993; HENDRICKX, 1993.

³ VAN DE MOORTEL 2007: 1.

⁴ There are many studies about history of the emergence of Egyptian boats, their materials, the names of their hull parts, their types and uses: REISNER 1913; LANDSTRÖM 1970; VINSON 1987; CASSON 1994; VINSON, 1994; CASSON 1995; WARD 2000 a; WARD 2000 b; MCGRAIL 2004; GILBERT 2008; VINSON 2008; VINSON 2013.

The Egyptians constructed various types of boats for various purposes. Some of them were used for transportation and travel purposes. Since the predynastic period, some boats were used for special purposes in religious ceremonies and rituals⁵, and they were also used for hunting since Naqada II⁶.

The Egyptians knew how to make boats since the predynastic period. This showed through rock drawings and pottery vessels dating back to Naqada I and Naqada II which indicates the skills of the ancient Egyptian on the sea⁷. Its scenes show the shapes of the boats depicted on the white-painted pottery of Naqada I. Among the boat models of this stage are an image of a full-side position boat and another in full horizontal projection.. As for the figure of the boat depicted on the pottery of Naqada II with red drawings, the image of the boat was the central image on the pottery vessels. Boats in that period retained their ancient characteristics that appeared on Naqada I pottery; they were distinguished by depicting two compartments for each boat made of braided plants⁸.

The depiction of boats on pottery vessels during Naqada I and Naqada II indicates the increasing needs of the population in that period for boats and their frequent use for transportation, cargo transport, fishing and marine navigation⁹.

The Emergence of Pottery Boats

It is very difficult to determine the earliest date when pottery boats were formed, due to the scarcity of models of boats of the predynastic period, which are few compared to the pictures of boats in the pottery paintings vessels and other rock surfaces. Only twelve examples have been found in tombs of this period so far¹⁰.

Perhaps the oldest archaeological evidence of the appearance of pottery boats during the Neolithic period comes from Merimde culture, which is a small model of a pottery boat¹¹. It is a boat equipped with a flat upper edge that extends towards its high end¹², and a model of a pottery boat dating back to el-Omari culture was preserved in the Berlin Museum¹³, as well as a model of a boat of burnt mud in the Munich Museum dating to Naqada II¹⁴. Three mud boats in the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford Archaeology date to the predynastic¹⁵.

⁵ BARBARA 1997: 36-48.

⁶ GILBERT 1998: 69.

⁷ IBRAHIM 1984: 44.

⁸ HOSNI 2011: 24 ff.

⁹ GILBERT 1998: 69.

¹⁰ HOSNI 2011: 27.

¹¹ ABDEL AZIZ 1992: 96.

¹² PETRIE 1933: 4.

¹³ GÖTTLICHER 1971: TAF. 7.

¹⁴ HOSNI 2011: 29. FIG. 12.

¹⁵ HOSNI 2011: 29. FIG. 13.

II. DESCRIPTION OF SIX BOATS

According to the Egyptian Survey Expedition plan that started excavation work in the site in 1997 [FIGURE 6] the excavation trench was 15 x 10 m, and these excavations were carried out in a layered system. The boats were found 5 m from the eastern side of the trench and 20 cm from the south side. Next to a large mud-brick wall, (it is suggested that this part of the site was dedicated for burials), where an oval-shaped burial (length: 165 cm, width: 70 cm) was found with a poor preserved child body (length: 75 cm), and three skulls in poor condition were found 410 cm from the south side. Thus, the six boats were found in a funerary context, but it is difficult to determine when it was used for burial¹⁶.

In the culture of Lower Egypt, pottery was made from silt clay extracted from the Nile and diluted with mixed mineral materials from sand or hammered stones, and the main raw materials used in industry are local silt from the Nile and marl silt from the desert edges. The pottery discovered at the site of Tell Awlad Dawood was made from the first type -that was used on a large scale- from which the six boats discovered in the site were made. The types of pottery made of clay and lime earth found in Upper Egypt were also recorded in other sites in the Nile Delta, such as Tell el-Farkha, Tell el Iswid and Menshat Abu Omar. But no pits (built of mud-bricks) for boats were discovered in the region of Delta up till now, which were placed with the deceased like these in Upper Egypt. Perhaps this is due to the nature of the earth and the high level of underground water which destroyed the organic materials placed in there, except that, a model of a boat was found made of calcite stone in the form of papyrus in Menshat Abu Omar which was placed in the burial chamber with the deceased, and two boats of hippopotamus bones were found at Tell el-Farkha¹⁷.

1. The First Boat (GEM. N^o. 67656)

A model of a pottery boat with a height of 6 cm., a width of 10.5 cm., and length of 16 cm. It is a small boat with a curved bottom in which the height of the front is equal to the height of the stern. The boat takes a semi-oval shape and only a few decorations remain above the edge which is in the form of an ostrich [FIGURE 7].

2. The Second Boat (GEM. N^o. 67657)

A model of a pottery boat with a height of 8.5 cm., a width of 9 cm., and a length of 23.5 cm. The height of the front which is shaped like the head of an ostrich bird is equal to the stern which takes the shape of the back of an ostrich. The rim is surmounted on all sides by what looks like cylindrical columns, some of which are missing and others have been restored and assembled with traces of ink; it is a small boat with a curved bottom [FIGURE 8].

¹⁶ MOHSEN 1997.

¹⁷ KROEPER 1994: 88.

3. The Third Boat (GEM. N^o. 67658)

A model of a boat made of pottery with a height of 10 cm., a width of 8.5 cm., and a length of 22.5 cm. The height of the front, which takes the shape of the head of a dog with upright ears, is equal to the stern of the boat, which takes the form of a dog's tail raised up, belonging to a breed that the Egyptians call «the Saluki». It is similar to the previous boat, where the rim is surmounted on all sides by what looks like cylindrical columns, some of which are missing, and others have been restored and assembled and there is a fracture in the body of the boat from the middle [FIGURE 9].

4. The Fourth Boat (GEM. N^o. 67659)

A model of a boat made of pottery with a height of 7.5 cm., a width of 12 cm., and a length of 17.5 cm. The front of the boat rises higher than the stern. It is a small boat with a curved bottom that takes a semi-oval shape, with a break in the body of the boat in the middle. The decorations above the edge take the shape of the head of an ostrich bird [FIGURE 10].

5. The Fifth Boat (GEM. N^o. 67660)

A model of a boat made of pottery is similar to the first and fourth boats in terms of the decoration above the edge, as it is in the form of the head of an ostrich bird. The height of the boat is 6 cm, its width is 10 cm., and its length is 16 cm. The bow of the boat is equal to the height of the stern, which takes a semi-oval shape [FIGURE 11].

6. The Sixth Boat (GEM. N^o. 67661)

It is a model of a small boat with a curved bottom made of pottery [FIGURE 12]. The height of the boat is 10.5 cm; its width is 9.5 cm., and its length is 23 cm. The height of the bow takes the shape of a hedgehog's head and is equal to the height of the stern, which takes the form of the back of a hedgehog. This boat resembles the second and third boats in terms of decorative elements that top the edge from all sides. They resemble cylindrical columns, some of which are missing and others are restored and assembled.

III. COMMENTARY

As we have seen through the previous description, the set of boat models is made of pottery in 3D (three-dimensions), and provides a complete picture of the shape of the boats. They are six unique design boats, three are in a semi-oval shape (the first, fourth and fifth). Along with their edges, there are decorative shapes in the form of ostrich heads characterized by a long neck; some ostrich heads are missed in some boats. Its thickness and size vary from one boat to another. The two boats (GEM N^o. 67656) & (GEM N^o. 67659) have a very round surfaces, and this type of boat belongs to boats with around bodies¹⁸.

¹⁸ CASSON 1995: 66.

SIX UNUSUAL BOATS FROM TELL AWLAD DAWOOD IN THE NILE DELTA

The details of the boats indicate a high level of craftsmanship, and there are many examples of pottery boats with pottery animals and birds on them¹⁹.

The motif and method of placing decorative elements on boats along the edges are similar to those found on a boat from the Naqada I discovered in Assiut, and preserved in the Leiden Museum in the Netherlands, Inv. Nr.f 1962 / 12.1, inside is a man in a squatting position [FIGURE 13]²⁰.

As for the ostrich bird's association with boats, similar examples have been found in many rock drawings and pottery vessel drawings since the predynastic period. Examples of ostrich birds with boats which were a major artistic element depicted on rock surfaces for an extended time indicate that ostriches were present in the eastern desert.²¹ [FIGURE 14], as in the case of Nubia and even in Western Sahara, these drawings became a major element in pottery drawings²² [FIGURE 15].

The depiction of birds as a decorative element is a feature that was common on boats during the predynastic period. The presence of the ostrich as a decorative element on Tell Awlad Dawood boats is similar to the model of a boat preserved in the Brussels Museum E7067. [FIGURE 16] In terms of the representation of ostrich heads as a decorative element on the deck of the boat, the boat made of hippopotamus ivory and dated to Naqada II, and depicted with five falcons²³. The falcons are looking at the rear of the boat, and four fragments of birds have been restored, the last bird was questioned whether it is actually part of the boat or not. Its material looks different from the rest of the boat, and its thickness is less than the rest of the other four birds. HENDRICKX²⁴ believes it is difficult to be a hawk because it is represented by the long neck, contrasting with the other birds shown on the boat.. It is assumed that the fifth bird in the Brussels boat is an ostrich, which is distinguished by its long neck²⁵. Therefore, there tends to be a connection between the depiction of decorative elements in the form of ostrich heads on the boats of Tell Awlad Dawood and the Brussels boat and this topic remains debatable.

Other examples illustrate our hypothesis about the bird depicted on the boats of Tell Awlad Dawood. The birds on the boats closely resemble the shape of an ostrich, which was represented on a comb decorated with an ostrich shape made of bones and dated to the late Naqada I period - Naqada II period. It is found in the Metropolitan Museum²⁶ [FIGURE 17].

¹⁹Abydos, AM E.2813; Helwan; Hu tomb B182, UC.10805; Minshat Abu Omar, Cairo Museum; Naqada, AM 1895.622; Naqada; Tell el-Farkha; unknown, München ÄS 7182; unknown, Berlin 13834; unknown, UC.16276; unknown, Swansea W924 HENDRICKX 2008: 373, Note. 3; Tell Ibrahim Awad: SHERKOVA 2002: 165–178; SHERKOVA 2003: 504–508.

²⁰ SEIPEL 1989: 43, Nr.8.

²¹ FRANCIS 2012: 134.

²² WINKLER 1938: 26, 35; ENGELMAYER 1965; HOFMANN 1979: 243-8.

²³ VANHULLE 2018: 176.

²⁴ HENDRICKX 2008: PL. I.1.

²⁵ HALA 2015: 108.

²⁶ VENICE 2018: 15.

The same decoration was depicted in the form of the head of an ostrich bird on the ostrich palette or Manchester palette N^o. 5476, which dates back to Naqada II. On the upper part of the first face of the palette, a man appears, showing the features of his hands and carrying a stick in his right hand. In front of the man there are three ostrich birds that he leads or hunts. The edge of one of the upper parts of the palette is shaped like a bird that resembles the head of an ostrich represented on the palette, and it is the same shape as the heads found on the boats of Tell Awlad Dawood²⁷ [FIGURE 18].

The previous discussion shows that the representation of ostriches - whether on pottery or on the surfaces of rocks or even on models of boats - was a common feature in the predynastic period, due to the important role that ostriches played in that period. From the mundane side, it had great economic importance through the use of ostrich eggs²⁸ sometimes as special containers used to feed children, and they were placed in the graves, as well as the use of ostrich eggshell fragments (small pieces) in making various shapes of beads used in making necklaces and continued use of them throughout the historical ages²⁹.

As for the role of the ostrich from the religious point of view, there were religious references to it during prehistoric and historical eras, where the ostrich feather represented a sacred symbol³⁰. Then it continued behind the front of the sun boat, and it was depicting a row of feathers that numbered up to nine, and that number varied from one boat to another.

Selim Hassan believed that the ostrich feather appeared at the beginning in chapter of the boat with the the pyramid texts³¹. Ostrich eggs were also associated with divine birth and theories of the creation of the universe. It was also believed that eggs breathe life inside their shell and could bring air to the dead. During the Egyptian dynasties the manifestations of egg revival spread, and this explains the abundance of eggshells or fragments in various tombs. They are believed to be symbols of eternal life and rebirth³².

Through the above information, the economic importance of the ostrich, its religious role, and its representation on pottery vessels, rocks, palettes, and in boat models , suggest that the decorative elements depicted on the boats of Tell Awlad Dawood (first, fourth and fifth) are mostly ostrich heads.

Concerning the other three boats (the second - third and sixth), the rim is surmounted by decorative elements on all sides that resemble columns with a cylindrical shape. These cylindrical shapes may represent the stems of papyrus. Boats were initially made from bundles of papyrus or cans and reeds, so the papyrus stems and flowers were represented. Some columns splayed from the top represent the mellow papyrus flower [FIGURE 19].

²⁷ VANDIER 1952: 572, FIG. 379.

²⁸ DINA 2010.

²⁹ VENICE 2018: 11.

³⁰ ALAADDIN 2000: 9.



³¹ HALA 2015: 139.

³² VENICE 2018: 11.

SIX UNUSUAL BOATS FROM TELL AWLAD DAWOOD IN THE NILE DELTA

These columns were placed next to each other to form a wall on the edge on all sides. The ancient Egyptian used to walk between the papyrus sticks in the Nile, riding his boat, and the papyrus stems surrounded it on each side as if it were a wall surrounding him in the Nile, so he represented this when designing the model of his boat. Therefore, depicting the decorative elements that take the form of columns on the three boats is a method by which the ancient Egyptian used to sail on the Nile surrounded by papyrus plants like walls, and he depicted that in the model of his boat. Thus, the decorative elements on the three boats in the form of columns explain how the ancient Egyptian wanted to express that he is inside his boat with its columns, as if he was in the middle of the Nile, surrounded by the flowering papyrus stems.

With regard to the front and rear of the three boats, their shapes differed, so the front of the second boat [GEM. N^o. 67657] [FIGURE 8] takes the shape of ostrich's head bird [FIGURE 20] and the stern takes the shape of the rear of an ostrich, and we have previously referred to the artistic significance of depicting the front and the stern of the boats is like this.

The third boat's [GEM. N^o. 67658] [FIGURE 9] front takes the shape of a dog's head with upright ears and the stern takes the form of a dog's tail raised up. It refers to a kind of dog called by the Egyptians *t_{sm}*  ³³, the «Saluki» greyhound³⁴ [FIGURE 21] and we see the determinative resembling the shape taken by the front of the boat. The dog is one of the animals that the ancient Egyptians had been interested in since ancient times, as a cemetery was found in Heliopolis dating back to the predynastic life with human burials and burials of dogs³⁵. The connection of this shape of the dog with boats appeared in a picture depicted on a plate dating back to Naqada I, in the Egyptian museum CG 58677 [FIGURE 22]. The dog is depicted in a view above a boat³⁶. The bow took the shape of a dog due to its role in hunting and guarding. It connected with many to many deities, and parts of this animal were associated with boats during later ages³⁷.

As for the sixth boat of Tell Awlad Dawood [GEM N^o. 67661] [FIGURE 12], which took the shape of the head of a hedgehog³⁸ [FIGURE 23].and the stern took the shape of the rear of the hedgehog, the oldest depiction of a hedgehog on a pottery vessel dates back to the Naqada I. As it appeared on many archaeological models³⁹, including the discovered boat in Tell Ibrahim Awad [FIGURE 24], where the hedgehog was depicted on the bow. The boat was among some models placed as foundation deposits of the temples⁴⁰. The head of the hedgehog at the bow had a major role in banishing evil in addition to its magical role in protecting the ship's passengers, and it was then associated with the sun and birth⁴¹.

³³ GADINER 1994: 602, sign list E 14.

³⁴ REISNER 1936: 97-99.

³⁵ SAMAR 2019: 90.

³⁶ HALA 2015: 10.

³⁷ HALA 2015: 11-15.

³⁸ AYMAN 2010: 165-197.

³⁹ HALA 2015: 58-59.

⁴⁰ VAN HAARLEM, 1996: 197-198; VAN HAARLEM 2014: PL.11.

⁴¹ HALA 2015: 62-65.

IV. BOATS OF TELL AWLAD DAWOOD (USE OF)

The uses and functions of boats varied during the predynastic period, in addition to their usage for transportation and fishing. Some boats were designated for burial within the funerary equipment. Models of small boats were found in the cemeteries of that period to be present with the dead in their afterlife. Thus, some boats were necessary for the dead on their journey to the other world. As appeared in the late predynastic ceremonial boats used in religious ceremonies⁴², as well as the use of some boat models as amulets, such as the one discovered in Tell El-Farkha⁴³, and some boat models were placed as foundation deposits of the temples, such as the boat discovered in Tell Ibrahim Awad⁴⁴.

We suggest that the models of the boats of Tell Awlad Dawood were used as basic deposits, like the boat discovered at Tell Ibrahim Awad, and we exclude that these boats were for funeral purposes. As in the Delta region where Tell Awlad Dawood is located, boats made of mud or wood were not found; this is due to the soil nature in the Nile Delta which is affected by the high level of groundwater, which destructs the organic materials. This type of funeral boat was found in Upper Egypt. The model of the only boats discovered in the Nile Delta, whether in Tell El-Farkha used as amulets or in Tell Ibrahim Awad as foundation deposits of the temples. It confirms our assumption about the use of the boats of the Tell Awlad Dawood as foundation deposits of the temples, and this assumption explains the importance of the site from the religious point of view. The presence of a foundation deposit of the temple at the site suggests that the discovering area of Tell Awlad Dawood may include a temple such as the temple of Tell Ibrahim Awad, and discussions about the proposal are still open.

No pits (built of mud-bricks) for boats were discovered in the region of Delta up till now, which were placed with the deceased like these ones in Upper Egypt, and perhaps this is due to the nature of the earth and the high level of underground water which destroyed the organic materials placed in there, except that, a model of a boat was found made of calcite stone in the form of papyrus in Menshat Abu Omar which was placed in the burial chamber with the deceased. Two boats of hippopotamus bones were found at Tell El-Farkha. The absence of pottery boats -used in the burials- confirms our hypothesis that the boats of Tell Awlad Dawood were foundation deposits, and they were not used during the burial process as funeral boats to be placed with the deceased.

⁴² HOSNI 2011: 36.

⁴³ CIAŁOWICZ 2009: 437. FIG. 28.

⁴⁴ VAN HAARLEM, 1996: 197-198; VAN HAARLEM 2014: PL.11.

V. DATING

According to the division of relative chronology of Naqada culture by S. Hendrickx we suggest that the boats of Tell Awlad Dawood are dated to Naqada IID2, or Beginning of Naqada III A-B at the latest, from Late Chalcolithic to Proto-Dynastic period [3600- 3300 BC] according to the following shreds of evidencemost of which have been mentioned in the context of the study:

- Many boats were depicted on pottery vessels in the Naqada II. Rather, it was the central image of pottery vessels, and on it and around it the rest of the human, animal, plant, geometrical and other decorative elements were distributed⁴⁵. This indicated the increasing need of the people of this period for boats and their frequent use of them.⁴⁶
- Ostrich birds as decorative elements appeared in the boat models of the Tell Awlad Dawood. As mentioned earlier, many examples of other boats appeared in Naqada II.
- These boats cannot be dated to the Early Dynastic Period, because most boats most boats of this period were distinguished by a distinctive technical mark, showing height stern,⁴⁷ an element that was not available in the boats of the Tell Awlad Dawood. The boats of the Early Dynastic Period differed with the three-dimensional models of the boats of Tell Awlad Dawood in terms of function. In the Early Dynastic Period, the desire of the owners of the graves to have at their disposal real means of transportation [not models like the boats of Tell AwladDawood] and effective in the kingdom of the dead, so that the deceased could move freely on the waterways of the lower world, and he will only be able to do that by owning a real boat (not a model) for the other world, and perhaps this was just an imitation of the royal habit, which has been proven since The period of King «Hor- Aha»⁴⁸.
- Generally, the boats were hand-made. The surface treatments observed were those commonly documented for the Naqada III period in the Nile Delta at least.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Tell Awlad Dawood appears as a very important site. Like the neighboring sites of Tell el Farkha, Tell Ibrahim Awad and Buto. Tell Awlad Dawood constitutes a fundamental element to get a better understanding of the predynastic period in Egypt and the emergence of the State.

The excavation work at Tell Awlad Dawood was limited to some Egyptian missions that worked on the site for several seasons.. Finding any fixed or movable antiquities on the site of Tell Awlad Dawood, except for some pottery shards and six models of boats made it difficult to date them.

⁴⁵ HOSNI 2011: 25.

⁴⁶ OSAMA 2016: 6.

⁴⁷ OSAMA 2016: 10.

⁴⁸ RADWAN 2008: 561 ff.

This paper calls for interest in conducting more scientific excavations to clarify the religious, historical and cultural importance of this site.

The boat was the most important technological achievement of human history; the boats of Tell Awlad Dawood are unparalleled in design and decoration.

These boat models from the predynastic period are considered to be little compared with the pictures of the boats in pottery paintings and rock surfaces from the same period. The importance of these model boats comes despite their small size, in that they show the three dimensions of boats, a characteristic that cannot be known through the drawings found on pottery and rock images.

The way and shape of the industry indicate that we are dealing with boats made of pottery and not pottery vessels or a curved body similar to tubes found in tombs of the predynastic⁴⁹.

The study was able to identify the rare decorative elements above the edge of the boats as previously mentioned in the technical study of these boats. It was extremely difficult because the models of these boats were unparalleled. As mentioned above, the ostrich was widely used on boat decorations due to its religious and worldly importance, as mentioned above.

The representation of papyrus stems and sticks on some boats is a new style of decoration that was not common in that period. The diversity and difference in depicting the fronts and sterns of the boats of Tell Awlad Dawood, whether they are portrayed in the form of animals or birds, as well as the decorative elements above the boats and the nature of their use makes us assume that they are unconventional boats.

The boats of Tell Awlad Dawood are dated to Naqada IID2, or the Beginning of Naqada III A-B at the latest, from Late Chalcolithic to Proto-Dynastic period (3600- 3300 BC).

HOW TO CITE

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⁴⁹ FINKENSTAEDT 1979: 51–59.

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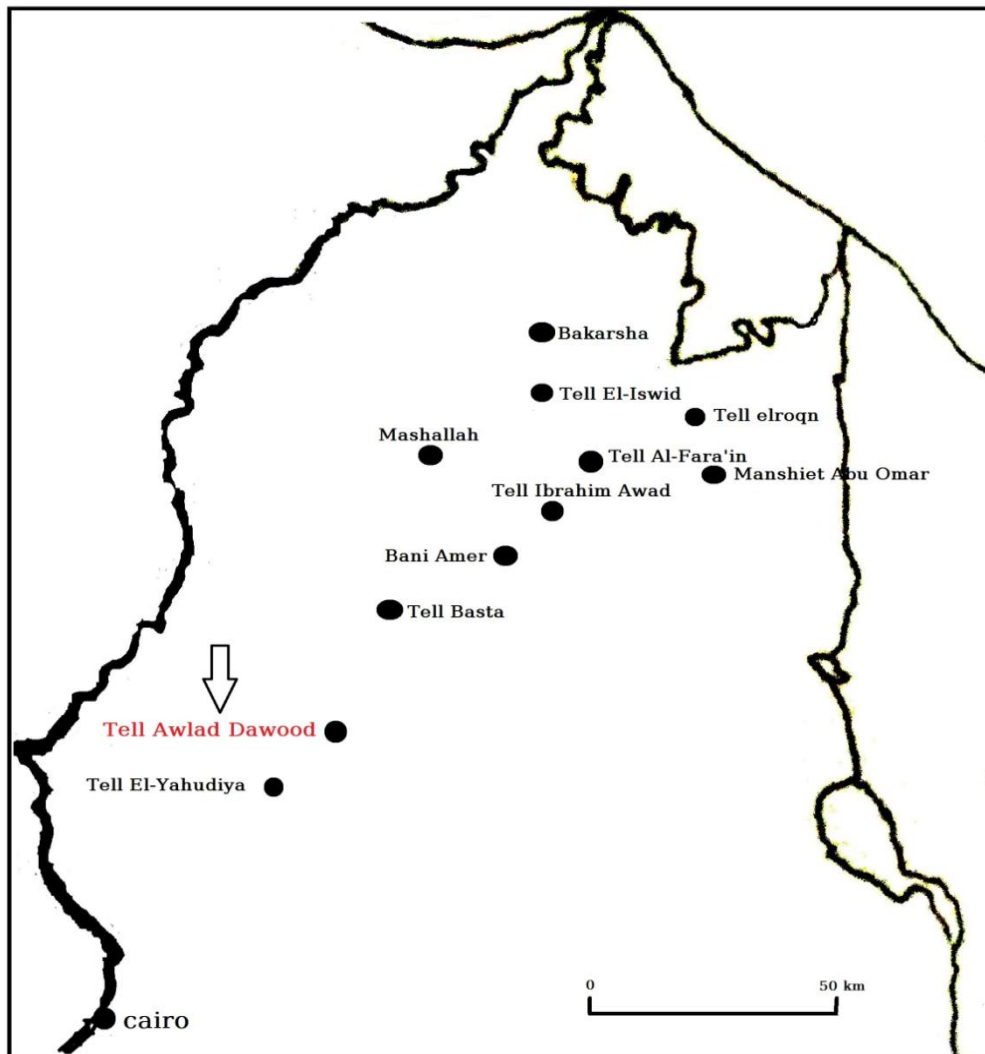
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[FIGURE 1]: A map showing the location of Tell Awlad Dawood.
Google Earth



[FIGURE 2]: Tell Awlad Dawood location: Map of Shebin El Kanater, printed 1916, Scanned 1907
(Atlas of Egypt, scale 1: 50000)



[FIGURE 3]: A map showing Tell Awlad Dawood location
Drawing by Ehab Gamil according to: Atlas of Egypt scale 1/25000 edition. 1947

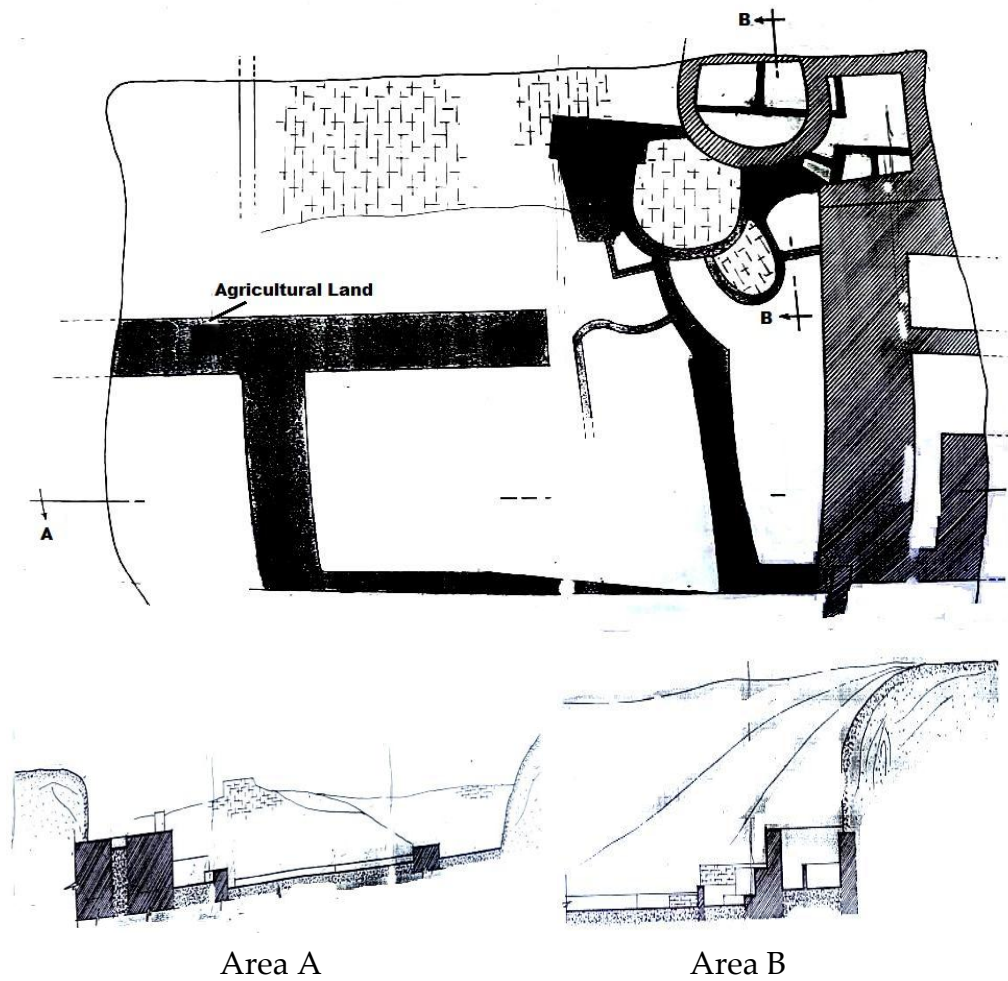


[FIGURE 4]: A view of the Tell.
©Photo by The authors 6. Feb. 2021

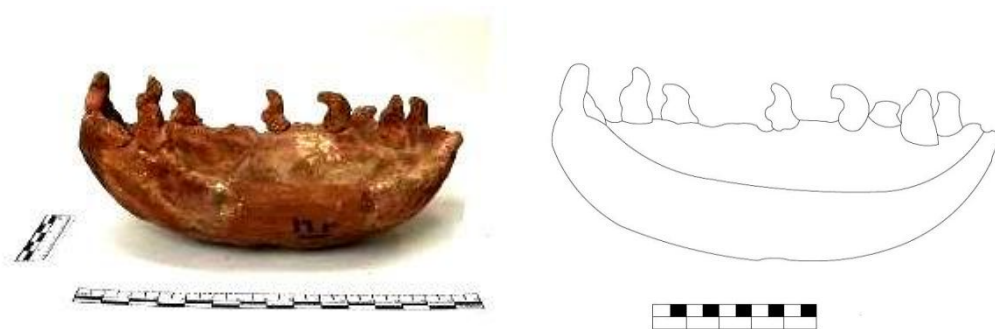


[FIGURE 5]: The remains of walls covered with halfa grass.
©Photo by The authors 6. Feb. 2021

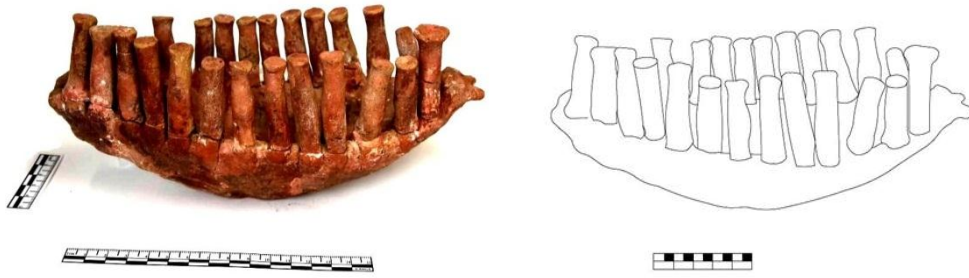
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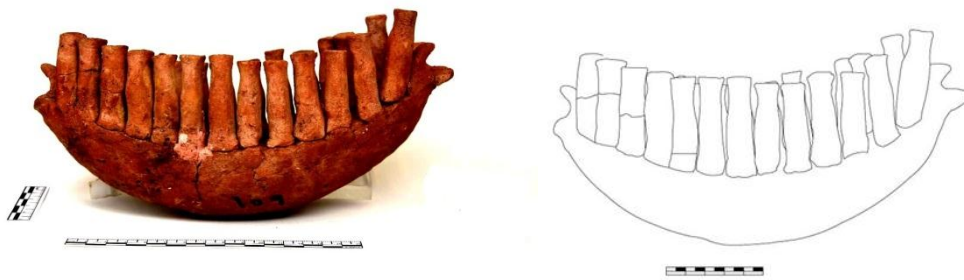
[FIGURE 6]: Topographical map showing the areas excavated in 1997 where the boats were found scale 1/50 (Mohsen 1997, 12-13, FIGS.1-2)



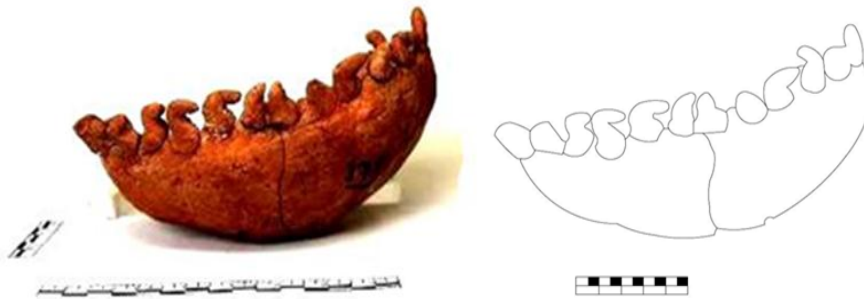
[FIGURE 7]: The first boat [GEM. N^o. 67656]
©Photo by Ehab Gamil- drawing by Ahmed Said.



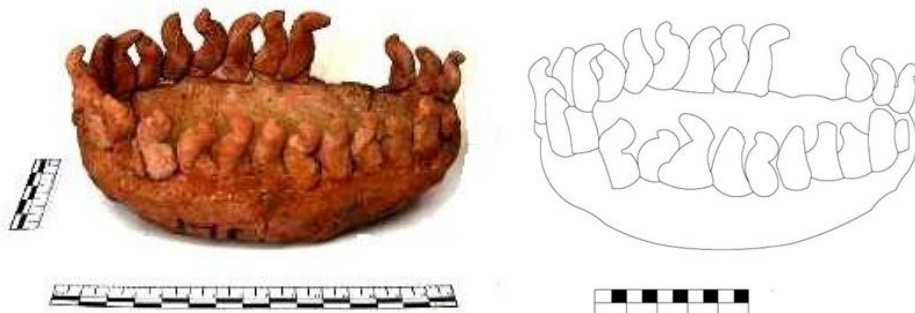
[FIGURE 8]: The second boat [GEM. N°. 67657]
©Photo by Ehab Gamil- drawing by Ahmed Said.



[FIGURE 9]:. The third boat [GEM. N°. 67658]
©Photo by Ehab Gamil- drawing by Ahmed Said.



[FIGURE 10]: The Forth boat (GEM. N°. 67659)
©Photo by Ehab Gamil- drawing by Ahmed Said.



[FIGURE 11]: The fifth boat [GEM. N°. 67660]
©Photo by Ehab Gamil- drawing by Ahmed Said.

SIX UNUSUAL BOATS FROM TELL AWLAD DAWOOD IN THE NILE DELTA



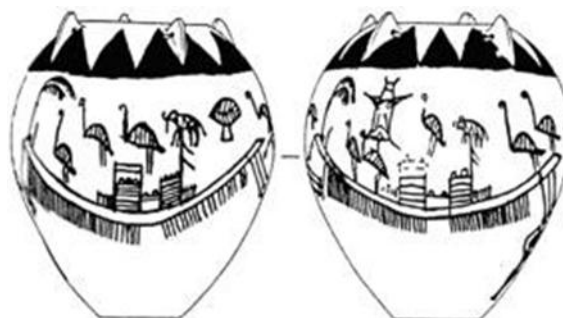
[FIGURE 12]: The sixth boat [GEM. No. 67661]
©Photo by Ehab Gamil- drawing by Ahmed Said.



[FIGURE 13]: A boat from Naqada I Inv. Nr. F 1962/12.1
SEIPEL 1989, 43, N^o.8.



[FIGURE 14]: Ostrich on a boat, FRANCIS 2012: 135.



[FIGURE 15]: the appearance of ostriches with a boat on a vase from Naqada II in
Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology AM 1895. 584

PAYNE 1993: FIGS. 42: 86



[FIGURE 16]: Falcons with an ostrich at the end of the birds, model boat in the Brussels Museum E7067
HENDRICKX 2008: PL. I.1.)



[FIGURE 17]: An ostrich shaped comb, made of bone, dating back to late Naqada I- Naqada II 3900-3500 BC. the Metropolitan Museum
VENICE 2018: 15.



[FIGURE 18]: Manchester palette, man driving three ostriches, Naqada II
VANIER 1952: 572, FIG. 379.

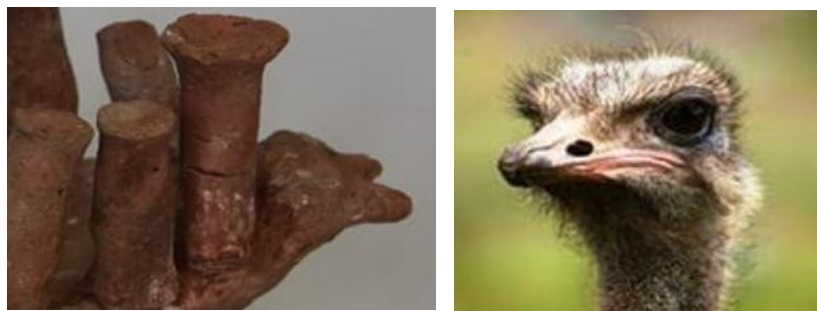
SIX UNUSUAL BOATS FROM TELL AWLAD DAWOOD IN THE NILE DELTA

Papyrus flower shape



[FIGURE 19]: The pillars in one of the boats of Tell Awlad Dawood

<http://www.google.com.eg/imgres?imgurl> , <http://www.aregy.com/forums/ArchaeologyGgodKSQEPA>



[FIGURE 20]: Ostrich head shape and Front of the second boat
GEM. N^o. 67657.



[FIGURE 21]: Comparing the head of a dog with a boat of Tell Awlad Dawood (GEM. N^o. 67658)
REISNER 1936: 97-99.



[FIGURE 22]: A boat with a dog depicted on a plate Naqada I
Egyptian Museum CG5877
HALA 2015: 258.

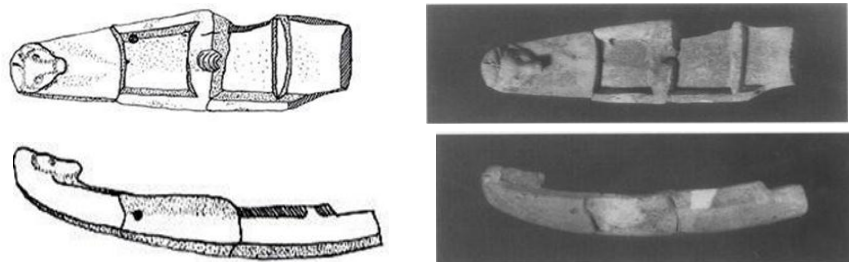


(A)



(B)

[FIGURE 23]: (A) a hedgehog's head piece in the Stockholm Museum, HALA 2015: 258, (B) Tell Awlad
Dawood boat [GEM. N^o. 67661]



[FIGURE 24]: Model boat in the form of a hedgehog from Tell Ibrahim Awad
VAN HAARLEM, 1996: 198.

ستة قوارب غير تقليدية من تل أولاد داوود فى دلتا النيل

أحمد سعيد ناصف وإيهاب جميل عبد الكريم

مدرسون بكلية الآداب - جامعة بنها

الملخص

تل أولاد داوود واحدًا من المواقع الهامة فى محافظة الشرقية، وهو عبارة عن مستوطنة ترجع إلى عصر ما قبل الأسرات وأوائل الأسرات، وهو تل صغير تم استيطانه بداية من الألفية الرابعة قبل الميلاد وحتى العصر المتأخر، لكن الاستيطان الرئيسى للموقع حدث خلال عصور ما قبل الأسرات وأوائل الأسرات. كان موقع تل أولاد داوود فى شرق دلتا النيل محور عمليات التنقيب منذ عام ١٩٧٨ حتى عام ١٩٩٧، وكانت الاكتشافات الرئيسية التى تم إجراؤها حتى الآن فى الموقع عبارة عن: بعض بقايا المباني، أوانى فخارية، الأوانى البيضاوية والكروية، الجرار، بعض الصناعات الحجرية، وستة قوارب فخارية. تهتم هذه الورقة البحثية بدراسة ونشر ستة قوارب غير تقليدية تم اكتشافها فى تل أولاد داوود عام ١٩٩٧، وهى مصنوعة من الفخار، والطين المستخدم فى هذا الفخار من نوع الطفلة النيلية Nile Clay، وتقنية التشكيل المستخدمة هي تقنية التشكيل يدويًا، وقد أثبت البحث أن هذه المراكب تؤرخ بفترة نقادة الثانية [D2]، أو بداية نقادة الثالثة [A-B] على أقصى تقدير [٣٦٠٠-٣٣٠٠ ق.م] وفقًا لتقسيم التسلسل الزمني النسبي لحضارة نقادة، والقوارب محفوظة حاليًا فى مخازن المتحف المصري الكبير فى القاهرة.

الكلمات الدالة: قوارب، تل أولاد داوود، نقادة الثالثة، ما قبل الأسرات، فخار، ودائع الأساس.

2021

A FEMALE SCRIBE IN THE TWENTY SIXTH DYNASTY [IRETRAU]

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A FEMALE SCRIBE IN THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY

[IRETRAU] 

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ABSTRACT

This research studies Iretrau's '*ss-shm.t*', which was mentioned several times in her tomb. This is a clear reference to literacy. It is notable that Iretrau and her position as a scribe is one of the most complicated issues, due to the lack of texts written by her as a male scribe, as well as the absence of writing tools in her tomb. However, there are many other reasons for looking at Iretrau as a literate woman who held a scribal position with actual duties according to previous indications. The fact that Iretrau used the very plain title of scribe suggests that she was not involved directly in the administration of the institution or assigned certain tasks, such as holding a position in a specific office or bureau. She

depended solely on her professional status as a Scribe  and a Chief Attendant of the

God's Wife of Amen  '*sms.t 3.t n dw3t ntr*'. This reflects her role as the wife of a vizier and mother of a vizier. Undoubtedly, this independence was due to the power of the God's wife of Amun institution, which was also reflected. Iretrau seemed to be a great change-maker in the administration system, simply by being a female scribe, because the power structure of ancient Egypt was dominated by men entirely, whereas women were not allowed to be part of the governmental bodies or to occupy any governmental positions. On the contrary, Iretrau broke these rules by working outdoors, something which was not applicable to non-royal women. Iretrau's status as a Female Scribe and a Chief attendant was probably similar to the great Stewards of the God's Wife of Amen. Proof of this is the fact that she was buried in an exclusive tomb in Asasif like the great Stewards of the God's Wife of Amen. It is worth questioning the reason why Iretrau does not appear as a scribe in her tomb the same way the male scribes appear in their tombs. Could it be that the position of the male scribe was not appropriate for her, but at least it is imperative to see the tools of a scribe in her tomb, while countless scenes show male Scribe at work!

KEYWORDS: Iretrau, Naaes, Female Scribe, Elite, Psamtichus I, Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, Education, Female Literacy, Gender, TT 390.



I. INTRODUCTION

Titles and what they indicate about roles and status in ancient Egypt remain problematic to the modern scholar. Scholars translate the titles, but rarely have a detailed understanding of the functions of these titles, especially in the case of women. As indicated by titles, probable occupations are too often dismissed as honorific or purely ceremonial, not entailing any real responsibilities¹. Some occupations, such as the military, were only for men. Both women and men could be cultic singers, although women more often performed this role².

The occupation of a Scribe was one of the most important occupations in ancient Egypt. Those people who had successfully taken up the arduous task of learning to read and write. This was considered an elite class that has been instrumental in Egypt, especially when it came to the successful execution of their many famous monumental building projects. Scribes played a central role in the Egyptian administration and were universally held in high regard³.

There were occasional female scribes and administrators⁴, but there are few discussions regarding whether a female scribe had responsibilities different from those of a male scribe⁵. Also, there are far fewer indications of women participating in physical activity than showing men at work and play. While this may or may not mean that there were fewer activities in which women participated, it does suggest that the men had control over such things as tomb paintings, writing and so on⁶.

In the Late Periods, two women appeared as female scribes; «Iretrau» is referred to unambiguously as a female scribe in Twenty-Sixth Dynasty⁷. There was another woman called «Naaes» who bears the office of scribe on her stone stela provenance to Dra Abu'l-Naga. Unfortunately, the inscription is not clear but, the word «scribe» is legible⁸.

This research examines the case of «Iretrau» «the female scribe in Twenty-Sixth Dynasty», and plans to study the following:

- Iretrau's Identity.
- Her education; how she learned the basics of the scribal occupation?
- How she achieved this position in Thebes?
- Accepting her as a scribe with actual duties.

¹LI 2010: 26.

²MATIĆ 2016: 175.

³LOON 2014: 7.

⁴MATIĆ 2016: 175.

⁵SABBAHY 2013: 2.

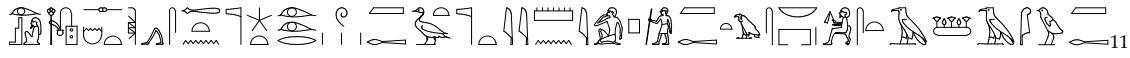
⁶BRIAN 1976: 5.

⁷HANSEN 1940: 38; ROBINS 1993: 111, 113; LI 2010: 36; BRUNNER 2011: 80; LI, 2017: 37.

⁸LI 2010: 36; LI 2017: 37-38.

II. IRETRAU'S IDENTITY

She has been identified as the mother of «Nespakashuty D», who was the vizier of «Psamtichus I», as was his father⁹, according to the texts in her tomb, her parents were the Divine Father «Ipwer» and «Tashaiu»¹⁰:



Wsir sš šhm.t šms.t ʿ3.t n dw3.t ntr Ir-t-ir-w m3ʿ.t hrw s3.t it-ntr (n) Imn Ip-wr m3ʿ hrw mwt.s nb.t pr šps.t t3š-iw m3ʿ.t hrw.

[The deceased, Female Scribe, Chief Attendant of Divine Wife «Iretrau», Justified, Daughter of Divine Father of Amun «Ipwer» Justified, her mother, Mistress of the House, Noblewoman, «Tashaiu», Justified]¹³.

III. IRETRAU AS A FEMALE SCRIBE «'sš šhm.t'» AND HER EDUCATION

Iretrau's title of the scribe is mentioned numerous times in her tomb¹⁴, which means that Iretrau appeared as a shred of clear evidence for female literacy¹⁵. She probably arrived at Thebes in 656 BC, when Nitocris was installed in her Theban office¹⁶; she was probably associated with the God's Wife of Amun-Re and held true bureaucratic responsibilities¹⁷.

However, we must wonder about her education and how she learned the basics of the scribal occupation, especially since it is very rare to find female scribes throughout ancient Egyptian history. However, we cannot decide that women in ancient Egypt were illiterate, especially in cases of queens who had political roles, God's Wives, female priests, and the female goddess «Seshat», goddess of writing, who held the title of female scribe¹⁸. The ambitions of the ancient Egyptian elite for their sons centered

⁹LI 2010: 123; For the Vizier Nespakashuty, See: PISCHIKOVA 1998: 57-101.

¹⁰PM I, 440.

¹¹CHAMPOLLION 1929: 511 (A), (B); LD. vol.3, 271 N^{rs}. a, b, 272 N^r. b.

¹²PN I, 42.

¹³PM I, 440 identifies her parents as the Divine Father Ipwer and Tashaiu, citing Lepsius' description in the LD. However, there seems to be some confusion. In the published sketch in the LD. 3 (289), Iretrau seems to be the daughter of the God's Father (Divine Father) Iy (possibly read Ipwer) who was the son of the God's Father, Djedhor. Djedhor's wife was 'the Lady of the House and Noblewoman, Iretrau.' There is room for two possible translations. Then 'Jean Li' suggested that the tomb owner would be identified as the daughter of man x and woman x, in which case, Iretrau would be the daughter of Iretrau. Since PM I, 440 identifies Iretrau's mother as Tashaiu, the other Iretrau may refer to the wife of Djedhor. Thus Iretrau, the owner of TT 390, was named after her grandmother. Since this appears to be a fragment of inscription from TT390, there is no way to determine which interpretations are correct. Finally, 'Jean Li' inclined to follow Porter and Moss; LI 2010: 123 note 116.

¹⁴HANSEN 1940: 38; BRUNNER 2011: 80-81; LI 2017: 37.

¹⁵ZINN 2012: 3.

¹⁶[Http://www.southasasif.com/History-of-the-Tomb.html](http://www.southasasif.com/History-of-the-Tomb.html). Accessed April 25, 2018.

¹⁷LI 2010: 37; LI 2017: 38.

¹⁸BRUNNER 2011: 81-82. We should assume that it was certainly an extensive study to be qualified in everything. In a scene from the Eleventh Dynasty, the director of the dance appears with at least four of



around giving them proper scribal training and setting their feet on the bureaucratic ladder, the ideal being that the son should inherit the office of his father.

On the other hand, women were excluded from the official bureaucratic structure, boys were sent to school and encouraged to devote their efforts to become scribes. Since women could not join the bureaucracy, they did not need the skills of literacy, and therefore no need for formal training to them¹⁹.

Nevertheless, they may learn directly; by communicating with their parents and brothers who learned indirectly in schools.²¹ Then those daughters who grew up in literate families could pass on their knowledge to their daughters²².

In elite families, while women could never hope to hold office, they might have been able to write letters to each other, keep household and business accounts, and read or copy literacy texts²³.

There were many literate women in the ancient Egyptian civilization, although their number was much lower than literate men²⁴. For example, we have letters written by women. The earliest came from the Old Kingdom [Sixth Dynasty, Cairo Linen CG 25975] and was written about a dispute by a wife concerning her deceased husband²⁵. One Twentieth Dynasty letter tells the recipient, «and you shall see this daughter of Khonsmose and have her write a letter and send it to me». Perhaps, she really had written by her own hand²⁶. Therefore, we must assume exceptional cases of women who became qualified to be scribes, and if we apply this via Iretrau it means she learned, and became a literate woman by communicating with some member of her family, especially that she was from an elite family [a wife and a mother of viziers], which qualified her to be a female scribe in the institute of God's Wife.

her students. There is also an incomplete scene of a man, from his tomb in (Kom Al-Hisn in Delta), with ten girls. He was teaching them how to play music with a tool in each of his hands while girls held one tool, then he appeared with female singers. The matter here relates more to religious education than religious performance because, in the many pictures of the temples, no man participated as a conductor of the orchestra. These scenes were about teaching musical education See, BRUNNER 2011: 82-85, Pls. 3- 4.

¹⁹ROBINS 1993: 111.

²¹BRUNNER 2011: 85.

²²ROBINS 1993: 113.

²³ROBINS 1993: 113.

²⁴ZINN 2012: 3.

²⁵BRYAN 1984: 17–32; ZINN 2012: 3.

²⁶ROBINS 1993: 113. We cannot say if these women were really literate, and unfortunately, there is no firm evidence one way or another. No document was surely written or read directly by women.. With letters sent to and from women, we must always reckon with the possibility that they were written by a male scribe or read out by one to the recipient. In addition, the apparent exclusion of women from scribal activities in the Old Kingdom is also attested by the absence of female 'lector priests'; ROBINS 1993: 111; FISCHER 2000: 27; ZINN 2012: 3.

IV. THE COMPLICATED MATTER OF IRETRAU'S TITLE AS A SCRIBE

It is notable that discussion of Iretrau and her position as a scribe is one of the most complicated issues, especially in the absence of texts written by her like most of male scribes. However, there is abundant written and pictorial evidence for women in ancient Egypt. We can glimpse the lives of royal, noble, as well as peasant women. However, there are limitations on how clearly we can comprehend their actual status and role in ancient Egyptian society, especially since most of the pictorial evidence we have is from tombs that only royalty or nobility could afford to build. The reliefs and statuary in them show a perfect world meant for the eternal after life, not as a truly realistic depiction of their everyday or professional life²⁷.

Iretrau is not depicted or shown seated on the ground with crossed legs or one knee standing up, holding a partly unrolled papyrus²⁸. But, maybe this was not suitable for women, and that is why Iretrau was not represented in this form.

The group of literate women in ancient Egypt which Iretrau was one of them do not seem to have developed any surviving literary genres unique to themselves, such as a female equivalent to the male wisdom texts which would have advised to young women²⁹.

The exact duties of Iretrau remain unclear in the God's Wife of Amen institution, although other scribes, men as far as the evidence indicates, are known in the same institution as Scribes for the Domain of the Divine Adoratrice³⁰. In addition, other titles include: Scribe and Chamberlain, Scribe and Overseer of Chamberlains, Scribe of Documents for the domain, Temple Scribe and Seal Bearer³¹.

Since Iretrau used the very plain title of the scribe, perhaps it does indeed suggest that she was not directly involved in the administration of the institution or assigned a specific office or bureau³². There is no reason to assume that Iretrau identified herself as a scribe on her tomb. «Graefe³³» emphasized that by his suggestion: «however, that the entire administration of the god's wife of Amun institution was in the hands of men, overseen by the Great Steward of the God's Wife of Amun, there is no reason to assume, however, that the 'sš.w šhm.t' would have only acted in a private, secretarial nature for the God's Wives of Amun»³⁴.

²⁷SABBAHY 2013: 1.

²⁸ZINN 2012: 4.

²⁹ROBINS 1993: 113.

³⁰LI 2010: 37 note 32; LI 2017: 39.

³¹LI 2010: 37 note 32; LI 2017: 39.

³²LI 2010: 37 note 32; LI 2017: 39.

³³GRAEFE 1981: 117–118.

³⁴Li, LI 2010: 37; LI 2017: 38-39.



V. ACCEPTING HER AS A SCRIBE WITH REAL DUTIES

We have many reasons for accepting Iretrau as a literate woman who held a scribal occupation with actual duties according to previous indications such as:

The word «*seshet*», the feminine form of the male title «*sesh*» «scribe» was found occasionally in the Middle Kingdom. However, this form is taken by some scholars to be merely a shortened form of a female title which has been understood to mean «painter of her mouth» or «cosmetician». This interpretation would seem to be strengthened by the fact that the title is listed in association with the title of hair dresser³⁵.

Archaeologically, there are examples of female scribes known from stelae and scarabs of the Middle Kingdom³⁶. Apparently the right to use a title and a name on a scarab seal was «confined to a privileged few by virtue of their office», which suggests that, at least in the Middle Kingdom, the title of female scribe indicated actual duties rather than an honourific status³⁷.

Although, almost all bureaucrats were men in the New Kingdom, there were occasional examples of female scribes, administrators, and some women who helped their husbands³⁸. During the reign of Hatshepsut, women became increasingly active in the Theban clergy. They may also have held a scribal status indicating an administrative position³⁹.

Furthermore, visual proof of female literacy in the New Kingdom occurs since traditional scribal palettes were depicted under women's chairs or on the side of a double chair, such as TT84 [Iamnedjeh also holds a rolled papyrus], TT69 [Menna], TT162 [Kenamun], TT147 [unknown], and TT148 (Amenemope). Some women with the scribal kit under their chairs also held titles of Songstresses of Amun [*šm^cyt nt Imn*], or singers in the Amun-temple⁴⁰.

Palettes bearing the names of Maketaten and her sister Meritaten, daughters of the pharaoh Akhenaten, give the impression of being scribal rather than painting palettes due to the use of only red and black ink as well as writing pens. They might therefore indicate female literacy at least among princesses⁴¹.

Women appear to have taken on significant administrative responsibilities in Thebes by the end of the New Kingdom, as the Late Ramesside Letters, feature a number of

³⁵ROBINS 1993: 111.

³⁶ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1951, *Wb.* III, 481; WARD 1986: 16-18; LI 2017: 38.

³⁷LI 2010: 37 note 31; LI 2017: 38.

³⁸ROBINS 1993: 111- 114, 116; SWEENEY 2011: 3.

³⁹LI 2010: 50.

⁴⁰LI 2010: 50, note 50; ZINN 2012: 3.

⁴¹BRUNNER 2011: 81; ZINN 2012: 3; Tools found in Tutankhamun's tomb. Unfortunately this is not a clear evidence that the princesses were good at writing, the tools are indeed used and certainly owned by them, but the usual writing tools include only the black and red ink the necessary for writing while the palette included six colors which means that it is closer to drawing than writing See, BRUNNER 2011: 81.

women who held responsibilities regarding paying and provisioning the workers of the Theban necropolis⁴².

This possibility of the existence of female scribes from the New Kingdom may offer a parallel to the appearance of female scribes during the Eighth-Sixth centuries BC. At the same time, throughout the New Kingdom and into the Third Intermediate Period there was an increased desire for women to participate in status expressions⁴³. Therefore, it is clear that ancient Egyptian women were fully capable of functioning as scribes and we may accept that Iretrau was a Female Scribe with actual duties.

VI. IRETRAU'S PREROGATIVE AS A FEMALE SCRIBE

The scribes always belonged to a privileged class, an intellectual elite. They were highly esteemed ancient papyri texts and are generally reported in modern books on life in Ancient Egypt⁴⁴. Iretrau was a unique woman because she belonged to those elite.

Iretrau seemed to be a great change in the administration, simply by being a female scribe, because as we know the power structure of ancient Egypt from the king down, was all males⁴⁵. While women could not participate in the government bureaucracy or temple administration to an appreciable extent⁴⁶, Iretrau also broke women's systemic rule by working outdoors a reversal of what we know about non-royal women. For example, one of the most common female titles is «nbt pr » «Mistress of the House»; it refers that women required to remain at home in charge of the running of household affairs. In documents and tomb scenes, women are engaged only in household duties of child-rearing and food preparation; in contrast men were engaged in activities outside the household⁴⁷.

Finally, we can imagine that Iretrau did not pay taxes depending on the definition of The «Scribe» profession that contains among others, the following statements:

⁴²WENTE 1967: 16–17; LI 2010: 37 note 29; LI 2017: 38. There is some evidence for the learning of foreign languages in New Kingdom schools, a fact that historically corresponds to the era of Egyptian imperialism and the extension of Egyptian foreign relations. This evidence, which includes, for example, lists of foreign words or names, is far from conclusive, since it shows more an acquaintance with foreign vocabulary, possibly used in Egyptian texts, rather than mastery over a foreign language. Nevertheless, the occasional use of foreign languages in Egyptian administration (as was the case, for example, at el-Amarna and the famous diplomatic correspondence in Akkadian), was surely a result of some training in foreign languages that could have taken place either in the Egyptian capital or in foreign schools. In addition to these subjects, sports, music, and other arts could have also been featured in Egyptian education. However, the evidence for the treatment of such subjects is, scarce; LAZARIDIS 2010: 6.

⁴³LI 2010: 50.

⁴⁴GOUDSMIT 1974: 78.

⁴⁵SABBAHY 2013: 1.

⁴⁶FISCHER 2000: 46.

⁴⁷GOUCHER & LE GUIN 1998: 302. Furthermore, Households were not self-sufficient. Women were responsible for supplying household needs by exchanging and selling of garden provisions, cloth, and other goods. It is likely that in managing the household economy, they could also accumulate wealth See; GOUCHER & LE GUIN 1998: 302.


«His profession was the foremost of all the professions. To practice it was an honor. The scribe did not pay taxes. He was an educated man»⁴⁸.

VII. THE REFLECTION OF HER POSITION ON HER TOMB (TT 390)

The monumental tomb of Iretrau marked one of the first instances where non-royal women had monuments on a scale never before seen in Egyptian history. TT390⁴⁹, is one of the major Late Period tombs on the west bank of Asasif⁵⁰, Iretrau belonged to a prominent Thinite family, therefore her family necropolis is located in Abydos⁵¹. By her arrival to Thebes, she had to choose a new place for her tomb. She decided on the Kushite necropolis⁵², in South Asasif on the Southside of Qurna⁵³, while few women even among the higher-ranking elite had tombs that reflected this level of personal career orientation. So Iretrau's monumentally sized tomb must be associated with her position as a Scribe and a Chief Attendant⁵⁴.

Her spacious tomb contains two pillared halls that were never finished. The walls and pillars of the halls are almost completely devoid of decoration except for some remains of paintings⁵⁵, Iretrau's position appeared in every scene; at first in the double scene on the outer lintel of the first pillared hall where the bark of Re in the center, adorned by Nitocris followed by Iretrau on the left, then Shepenwept II followed by Iretrau adoring Atum on the right.

Standards of the Western Horus, and the Benu-bird are at each end, accompanied by remains of her titles as a Scribe and a Chief Attendant of the God's Wife [FIGURE 1]:


*Wsir rh.t nsw Irt-ir-w šps.t m3̄c.t hrw s3̄.t n it-ntr (n) Imn Ip-wr m3̄c.t hrw mwt.s nb.t pr šps.t t3-šiw m3̄c.t hrw.*⁵⁶

⁴⁸GOUDSMIT 1974: 78.

⁴⁹This tomb was visited by 'J. G. Wilkinson', 'R. Hey' and 'J. Burton' in 1820, then explored and recorded by 'K. R. Lepsius' in 1840, then observed and photographed by 'D. Eigner' in 1970. It was finally rediscovered in 2001 by the South Assasif Conversation Project: PISCHIKOVA 2009: 19 note 44.

⁵⁰Asasif is a part of the Theban necropolis, situated in front of the valley of Deir el-Bahari, The royal temples of Deir el-Bahari (Mentuhotep Nebheptre, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III) rise above the plain of the Asasif valley; see, KAMPP-SEYFRIED 1999: 802; POLZ 2001: 140-142; BUDKA 2015: 111-129.

⁵¹PM I¹,440; www.Southassassif.com.

Accessed April 25, 2018.

⁵²This necropolis located in the South Asasif area, south of Qurna on the Theban West Bank, is not well-known, having been practically lost by the beginning of the Twentieth Century, and only recently re-discovered and re-explored. The importance of the necropolis for the history of private tomb decoration is difficult to overestimate, as it contains the tombs of the Mayor of Thebes and the Fourth Priest of Amun Karabasken (TT 391), and that of the First *aq*-priest of Amun, Karakhamun (TT 223). These are the earliest known Kushite decorated tombs in the Theban necropolis, built during the reign of Shabaqo to Shebitqo; PISCHIKOVA 2009: 11- 30.

⁵³www.Southassassif.com.

Accessed April 25, 2018.

⁵⁴<https://Southassif.wordpress.com/mysteries-of-irtieru>. Accessed June 12, 2018.

⁵⁵www.Southassassif.com.

Accessed April 25, 2018.

⁵⁶PM I¹, 441; LD vol. 3. 272 [a]

[Deseaced, the king's Acquaintance Iretrau, Justified, Daughter of the Divine Father of Amun Ipwer, Justified, her mother, Mistress of the House, Noblewoman, «Tashaiu», Justified]

There is an offering-text of the deceased with the name of her father on the ceiling:



hṭp di nsw wsir hnty imntt ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw di.f h3 m t m hntk n K3w 3pdw n k3 n wsir šms.t ʿ3.t (n) dw3.t ntr ʿIrt-ir-w m3ʿ.t hrw s3.t it-ntr (n) Imn ʿIp-wr m3ʿ.t hrw.

[An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the westerners, Great God, lord of Abydos, to give a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, oxen, and birds for the spirit of the deceased, the Chief Attendant of the God's Wife Iretrau, Daughter of the Divine father of Amun Ipwer, Justified].

In addition to remains of her titles on the pillars⁵⁸, she appeared in the outer lintel of the inner room, seated alone before offerings at the left end, with her titles as a Scribe and a Chief Attendant [FIGURE 2]⁵⁹. Finally, Iretrau appeared with libation-vases before Osiris in the niche containing a false door [FIGURE 3]:



hṭp di nsw Wsir wn-nfr ntr ʿ3 hK3 dt di.f hṭpw nb(.w) n k3 n wsir sš.t šhm.t šms.t ʿ3.t (n) dw3.t ntr Nit-ʿIkt ʿnh dt s3.t nsw nb t3wy Psmṯk m3ʿ.t hrw ʿIrt-ir-w m3ʿ.t hrw.

[An offering which the king gives to Osiris wennfer «Onnofris», the Great God, Lord of Eternity, to give all offerings for the spirit of the deceased, the Female Scribe, a Chief Attendant of Divine wife Nitocris, Daughter of the Lord of the Two lands, Psmatik, Justified, Irtrau, Justified].

Certainly, these scenes with texts reflect her high position as a Female Scribe and a Chief Attendant of the God's wife of Amun [Nitocris]. It mostly depicts her as young and beautiful⁶¹, which means she was one of the elite women who were only shown young and beautiful in the perfect state they should be in forever. This is the opposite of non-elite women who could be represented in daily life scenes in the tombs, showing the activities of the tomb owner's estates. In these scenes, the women are active and working: weaving, making beer, serving food, and baking bread. Their figures are not bound by the same conventions as elite women, because what is important is showing the production of food and goods, not the people doing it⁶².

⁵⁷PM 1¹, 441; CHAMPOLLION 1929: 511(b).

⁵⁸PM 1¹, 441; CHAMPOLLION 1929: 511[near top right].

⁵⁹PM 1¹, 441; LD.3. 272 [b]; CHAMPOLLION 1929: 510, 511.

⁶⁰PM I¹, 441; LD.3, 271 [b]; CHAMPOLLION 1929: 5II [A, B].

⁶¹<http://www.southasasif.com/Irtieru>.

Accessed June 12, 2018.

⁶²SABBAHY 2013: 2.



In addition to appearing alone in most of the scenes; which means she is the most important person here, not the secondary person as we usually find in the case of non-royal women who share the tomb of their husbands according to an elite male perspective. Accordingly Iretrau was a non-royal woman who utilized the privilege of royal women who owned single tombs⁶³. Furthermore, Iretrau did not share her status with her husband like most women, nor did she derive her status from her husband. Iretrau's husband was of higher rank than she was and was buried in his own ancestral cemetery at Abydos, while her son, also a vizier, had his own tomb in the hills overlooking the Asasif plain⁶⁴. Undoubtedly, Nespakashuty wanted to be buried next to his mother [FIGURE 4], so he attempted to usurp the tomb of Karakhmun because the tomb of his mother was adjacent to it⁶⁵.

Thus, it can be argued that the monumental tomb of Iretrau marked the culmination of a development of the increasingly overt independence of women. This growth of independence was undoubtedly linked to the growth in power of the God's Wife of Amen institution. It also was reflected in the high-status cemetery of the «Singers in the Residence of Amun» at Medinet Habu, and perhaps even earlier in the burial groups of Tashebet in TT192, whose husband was also absent, and of Diesenesy at Deir el-Bahri⁶⁶.

Finally, it is questionable why Iretrau does not appear as a scribe in her tomb like male scribes in their tombs? Could it be because the seat of the male scribe was not appropriate for her? but at least it is imperative to see the tools of a scribe in her tomb, while countless scenes show male scribe at work.

VIII. GENERAL Commentary

The ladies had prominent positions, and several were important and influential and played a major role, but overall were one step behind the men. Low-born men could improve their lot by becoming scribes, as could the women, but there seemed to be far fewer female-scribes than males. Men could become priests, while ladies could become priestesses, but the most important religious figures seem to have been men, and, of course, the High-Priest was the Pharaoh, who was, almost always, a man⁶⁷.

Whatever the actual meaning of «*seshet*», the contrast between its use and that of the masculine form *sesh* is striking. «*Sesh*» is one of the basic male titles of all periods occurring repeatedly on the monuments. Even if we were to accept all the occurrences of «*seshet*» as signifying the female equivalent of a male scribe, the number would be pitifully small⁶⁸.

⁶³SABBAHY 2013: 1.

⁶⁴LI 2010: 126.

⁶⁵PISCHIKOVA 2009: 12, 19; BOOTH & BOOTH (eds.) 2012: 5 FIG. 5.

⁶⁶LI 2010: 126-127.

⁶⁷BRIAN 1976: 3.

⁶⁸ROBINS 1993: 113.

There are no depictions from any period of working female scribes, nor can we prove that these few «*seshet*» were employed in the state bureaucracy since they may instead have held a position in a large private or royal household⁶⁹.

Clearly, the existence of a few women called «*seshet*» does not destroy the basic gender distinction in the elite class between men who were scribes and could hold government office, and women who were not in general, and did not hold office⁷⁰.

It seems that the old Egyptian society did not accept women in many jobs, even as ruling queens. Notable examples are the female kings Neferusobek and Hatshepsut, who had to negotiate between their female sex and their kingship, which was socially defined as male. Neferusobek was sometimes represented wearing a royal kilt and a nemes headdress over a dress. Sobekneferu «circumvented» the problems created by her gender by proclaiming herself a «female Horus», to be like the king of ancient Egypt who ruled because he was the god Horus, son of Osiris, and the rightful heir to the throne⁷¹, [FIGURE 5]. Hatshepsut took this one step further when she became king, state purposes she simply portrayed as a man⁷². She is represented with a combination of male and female elements and she adopted the image of a male king⁷³. Hatshepsut is depicted wearing the «*nemes*» headdress and a false beard. She is dressed in the royal kilt, traditionally worn only by male rulers. For example, her statue in the [Metropolitan Museum, New York], showed her as a male. She has no breasts and her face looks like that of a man although the waist is thinner than the hips, suggesting a woman⁷⁴.

IX. CONCLUSION

Iretrau was a literate and qualified woman, with many titles and occupations «a Female Scribe and a Chief Attendant of the Divine Adoratrice».

Iretrau did not depend on her husband's position or her son, to reach these positions. This may have been due to the power of the position of God's Wife in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. Despite this increased power and independence of women apart from their husbands and fathers, women in general and even queens were still one step behind men in ancient Egypt.

Iretrau's status as a Female Scribe and a Chief Attendants was probably similar to the great Steward of the God's Wife of Amen, especially since she was buried in an exclusive tomb in Asasif like the great Stewards of the God's Wife of Amen.

⁶⁹ROBINS 1993: 113.

⁷⁰ROBINS 1993: 113.

⁷¹CAPEL & MARKOE 1996: 30, FIG. 7; OLIVIER 2008: 69, FIG. 35, 95-96; SWEENEY 2011: 3; SABBAHY 2013: 1.


⁷²SABBAHY 2013: 1.

⁷³SWEENEY 2011: 3; On the other hand, Hatshepsut's royal titulary capitalized upon her female sex to build identifications with goddesses that would have been impossible for male kings; she is often described with female nouns and pronouns; SWEENEY 2011: 3.

⁷⁴OLIVIER 2008: 95, FIG. 52.



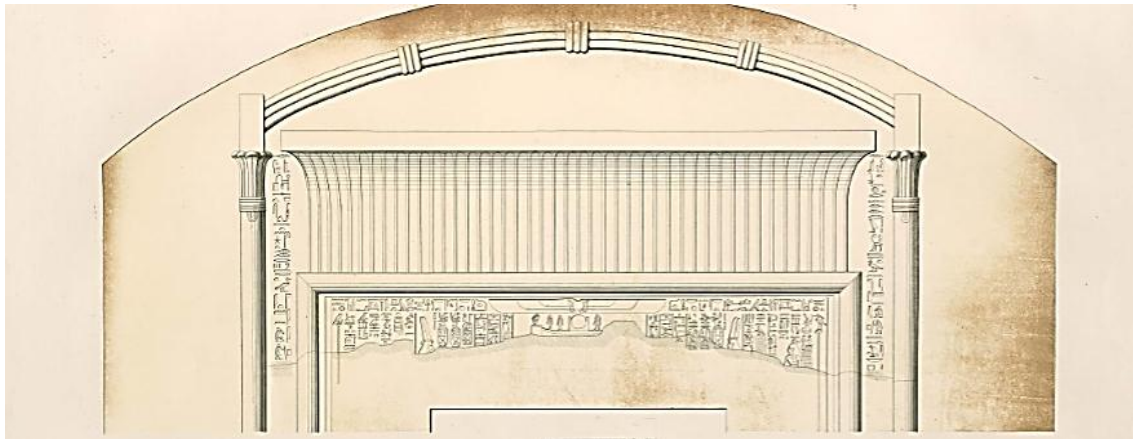
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Maher, H., « A Female Scribe in the Twenty Sixth Dynasty [Iretrau]  », *Journal of the General Union of Arab Archaeologists*, vol. 6/2, 2021. Doi: 10.21608/JGUA2.2021.61794.1050.
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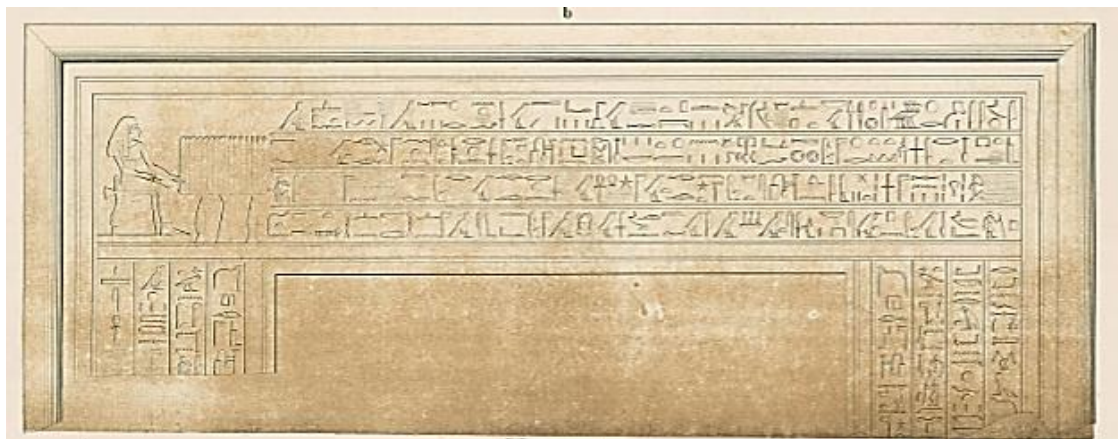
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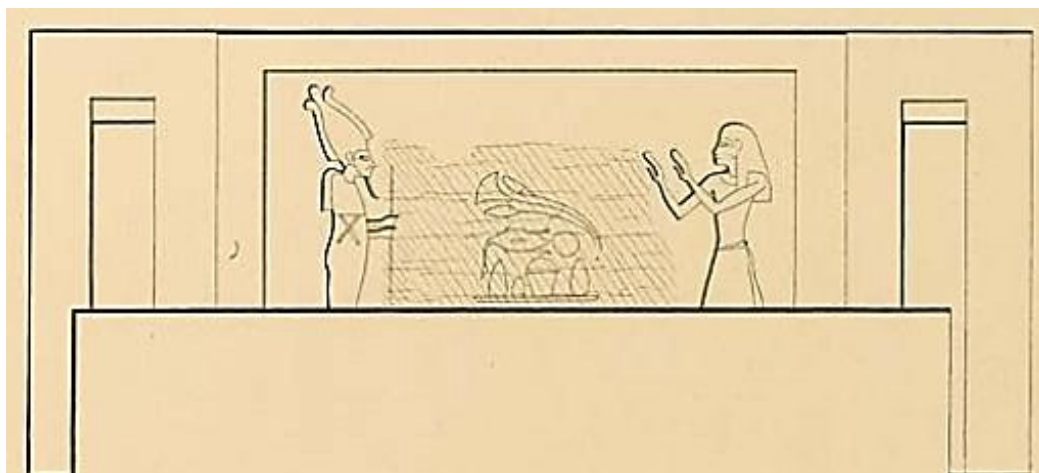
[FIGURE 1]: Double scene in outer lintel of the first hypostyle Hall.

LD. vol.3 (1842-1845), 272 [a].



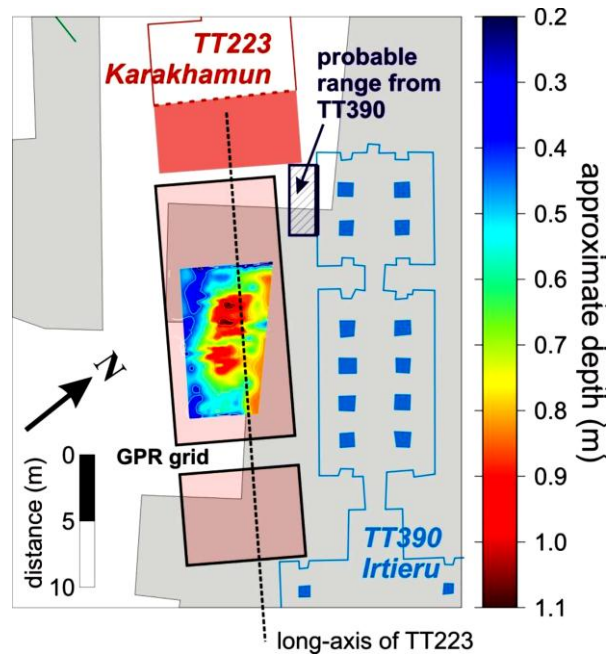
[FIGURE 2]: Iretrau seated before offerings at the left end in the outer lintel of the inner room.

LD. vol.3 (1842-1845), 272 [b]

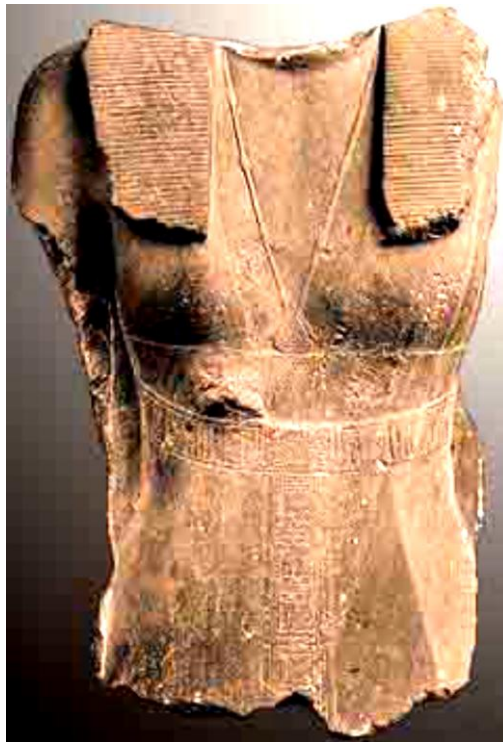


[FIGURE 3]: Iretrau with libation vases before Osiris in niche.

LD. vol.3 (1842-1845), 271 [b].



[FIGURE 4]: Iretrau's tomb (TT 390) is adjacent to the tomb of Karakhamun.
BOOTH & BOOTH (eds.) 2012: 5, FIG. 5.



[FIGURE 5]: Torso of Sobeknefru wearing a king's head-dress and kilt,
Dynasty Twelve, Louvre Museum, E 27135.
CAPEL & MARKO 1996: 30 FIG. 7.



كاتبة فى الأسرة السادسة والعشرين "ارت رو"

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المخلص

تتناول هذه الورقة البحثية لقب الكاتبة الخاص بالسيدة «ارت ابرو»، والذي ذكر عدة مرات بنقوش مقبرتها. وتعد «ارت ابرو» ومكانتها ككاتبة؛ هى من أكثر القضايا تعقيداً، نظراً لعدم ظهور نصوص كتبت بواسطتها كما هو الحال عند الكاتبة الذكور، فضلاً عن عدم وجود أدوات الكتابة فى مقبرتها. ومع ذلك هناك العديد من الأسباب الأخرى التى تتيح النظر إلى اعتبار «ارت ابرو» امرأة متعلمة، ومتقلدة لمنصب الكاتبة ولديها واجبات فعلية. ومما لا شك فيه هو ارتباط ذلك بزيادة القوة المؤسسية الخاصة بالزوجة الإلهية لأمون رع خلال العصر المتأخر، واعتبار «ارت ابرو» صانعة تغيير كبير فى نظام الإدارة من خلال تقلدها لهذا المنصب، فمن المعروف هيمنة الرجال على السلطة فى مصر القديمة، فى حين لم يُسمح للنساء بأن يكونوا جزءاً منها.

الكلمات الدالة: ارت ابرو، الكاتبة، الأسرة السادسة والعشرون، الزوجة الإلهية، مقبرة ٣٩٠، النوع الاجتماعى، محو الأمية للاناث.

2021

THREE OLD KINGDOM FRAGMENTARY RELIEFS AND THEIR OWNERS

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THREE OLD KINGDOM FRAGMENTARY RELIEFS AND THEIR OWNERS

By

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to publish three fragments preserved in the archaeological store at Atfiyah and belong to three mastaba tombs at Giza; two of them were mostly collapsed. The importance of this paper is due to that two fragments of those in question only contain the names of their owners [the second and the third fragments], while the first one bears some titles without its owner name. Although two fragments bear the names of their owners, these names were frequently repeated in the Old Kingdom which makes it more difficult to determine their identity. So, identifying the persons who held these names is also the aim of this paper. Accordingly, this paper tries to find out the owners of those fragments and their tombs. After examining the names and the titles inscribed on these fragments and after reconstructing and supplementing the texts of the first fragment, the study concluded that the first fragment belongs to *K3(zj)-hr-Pth:Ftk-t3* of the Sixth Dynasty, and the owner of the mastaba tomb G 7652 in Giza, while the second fragment is one of the two stelae of *nh Špss-k3zf* of the Fifth Dynasty, and the owner of the mastaba tomb G 6040 in Giza. The third fragment is a lintel of *Hp-hr-nfr*, the wife of *Prj-sn* who lived during the middle of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty. This fragment may have been a part of his mastaba tomb LD 78 in Giza.

KEYWORDS: Giza; Mastaba, Old Kingdom, Stela; *K3(zj)-hr-Pth:Ftk-t3*, *nh Špss-k3zf*, *Htp-hr-nfr*.

I- INTRODUCTION

Since many monumental objects are crammed in stores of archaeological sites in Egypt and have not yet been published, their scientific publication will benefit the field of Egyptology and Egyptologists alike. These objects, mostly engraved by sunk or raised hieroglyphic inscriptions and reliefs, will add value to Egyptology. So, the publication of the following three fragmentary reliefs is of similar value for the field, while also having unique importance that stems from the fact that two of these fragments belong to two mastabas tombs which were mostly collapsed, where the third one is a round top-stela, out of a pair, that was moved into the archaeological site of *Atfiyah* with no further evidence about the current state or location of the pairing stela.

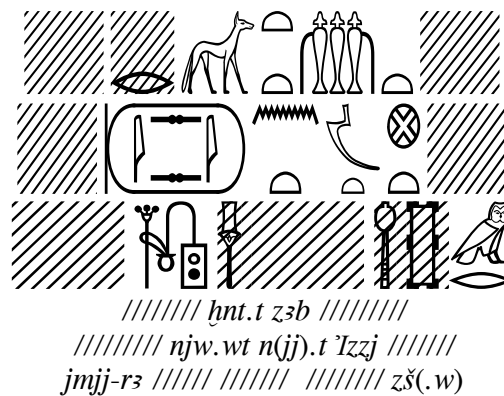
These fragmentary reliefs, being preserved in the storeroom of *Atfiyah's* archaeological site at Giza [known by inspectors as the storeroom of °Ali El-Khouli], hold the record numbers 1658-1646 and 1638. Unfortunately, the record register of this storage mentions neither the dating nor any information about the owners of these fragments. However, since some internal attestations refer to Giza as a provenance of these fragments, this paper aims to publish them and to determine the identity of their owners.

II- THE FIRST FRAGMENT

[THE FRAGMENTARY LINTEL OF *K3(εj)-hr-Pth:Ftk-t3*].

1- Description [FIGURES 1-2]

The first fragment is made of limestone. It is a part of a lintel, measuring 50 cm in height and 45 cm in width. It bears the register number 1658, and exhibits an irregular shape inscribed by incised hieroglyphic inscriptions in three partially-erased horizontal lines read from right to left as follows:













2- Text Reconstruction and Translation











Despite difficulties in translation that arise from the missing words in these lines, it is not impossible to give an accurate translation PL. 1, [FIGURE 1]

The first line begins with the mono-consonant sign \triangle *t*, and is followed by the tri-consonant sign 𓏏𓏏𓏏 *hn.t*¹ supplemented with the two mono-consonants \triangle *t* one above

¹ GARDINER 1957: S.L. W18.

the other. The last sign in this line is the tri-consonant sign-  z3b² which completes the reading of this line as     hnt.t z3b. After examining the titles of the Old Kingdom, no title could be read as hnt.t z3b, and thus,  both t and hnt.t should be components of one title, while the sign-  z3b is a part of another one. To provide a complete reading and an accurate translation for this line, the readings of the second and third lines are needed. Consequently, the translation for this line is provided later in the paper.

The second line, on the other hand, is the clearest and can be immediately read as    njw.(w)t m3w.t n(jj).t 'Izzj. Undoubtedly, this phrase is a part of a title that should be reconstructed as jmjj-r3 njww.t m3w.t n(jj).t Nfr-'Izzj [overseer of the new settlements of the pyramid Perfet is 'Izzj]³. After examining the names of the Old Kingdom officials who bore this title, it was held by K3(εj)-hr-Pth- whose beautiful name is Ftk-t3⁴- of the Sixth Dynasty and the owner of the tomb mastaba G5560[LD 35] at Giza⁵.

The third line begins with the two mono-consonants  , reading of jmjj-r3, and ends with the bi-consonant  zš⁶. It could be also somewhat identifying the sign-  hd⁷ and the sign  jnb⁸ following jmjj-r3 as well as the sign-  hrp⁹ before the word zš. Therefore, both  and  are parts of different two titles which can be reconstructed as jmjj-r3 jnbw hd [Overseer of the Memphite Nomes]¹⁰ and hrp zš(.w)¹¹ [director of scribes]¹²; the two titles are also held by K3(εj)-hr-Pth:Ftk-t3¹³. Furthermore, there is a missing part between the sign-  and the sign-  that can be, after studying the titles of K3(εj)-hr-Pth:Ftk-t3, supplemented with the ideogram  ¹⁴ which has many supposed readings as Hm/Tp-hpš(?)¹⁵, jw^c¹⁶, Hm/Dw3w.t¹⁷. However, the precise reading is unknown.

² GARDINER 1957: S.L. E17.

³ HELCK 1957: 126, N^o. 39; JONES 2000A: 151 (584).

⁴ JUNKER 1914: 250; JUNKER 1947: 111[8]; HELCK 1957: 104; JONES 2000A: 151.

⁵ JUNKER 1914: 111F; KANAWATI 1977: 123 [375]; ZIBELIUS 1978: 111[671]; PIACENTINI 2002: 515, PL. 83.

⁶ GARDINER 1957: S.L. Y3.

⁷ GARDINER 1957: S.L. T3.

⁸ GARDINER 1957: S.L. O36.

⁹ GARDINER 1957: S.L. S42.


¹⁰ JONES 2000A: 58 [277]

¹¹ For jnb hd Nome, See GAUTHIER 1925: 81; GARDINER 1947: 122-23*; ZIBELIUS 1978: 39FF.

¹² JONES 2000B: 739 [2694].

¹³ JUNKER 1914: 111[6-7]; DE CENIVAL 1975: 67; ANDRÁSSY 1993: 31 N^o. 67.

¹⁴ For this hieroglyphic sign and its forms, See MONTET 1957: 49.

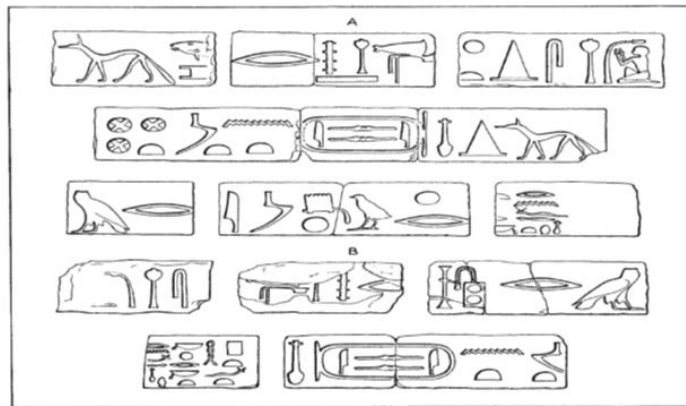
¹⁵ For the reading Hm/Tp hpš, See MONTET 1957: 49-56; YOYOTTE 1971: 1; JONES 2000A: 59 [277], 188 [704]. Tp n hpš. FISCHER 1977: 122; FISCHER 1996: 37. for Hm  as a name of Letopolis (Modern Ausim), See Wb vol. 3: 280, 15.

¹⁶ For the reading hpš / jw^c, See MONTET 1957: 49.

¹⁷ For the reading Hm/Dw3w.t, See GRDSELOFF 1942: 212.

THREE OLD KINGDOM FRAGMENTARY RELIEFS AND THEIR OWNERS

also the overseer of the Memphite³⁸ and Letopolite Nomes³⁹; the first and second Nomes of lower Egypt⁴⁰. Obviously, the two titles *ꜥd-mr jnb-ḥd* and *ꜥd-mr*⁴¹ as governors of the Memphite and Letopolite Nomes are lower rank of that of *K3(ꜥj)-ḥr-Pth:Ftk-t3* as the overseer of these two Nomes. The official rank of *K3(ꜥj)-ḥr-Pth:Ftk-t3* is higher than a governor of these two Nome, rather, he is their supreme supervisor. On the other hand, another text inscribed on a similar fragment belongs to *K3(ꜥj)-ḥr-Pth:Ftk-t3* had been reconstructed by Junker that displays on its first line the title of *K3(ꜥj)-ḥr-Pth* as *ꜥd-mr jnb-ḥd*⁴² [governor of the Memphite and Letopolite Nomes]⁴². If this reconstruction is correct, both the two titles *ꜥd-mr jnb-ḥd*⁴³ and *jmjj-r3 Inb ḥd*⁴⁴ indicate to *K3(ꜥj)-ḥr-Pth* official hierarchy. The latter title is undoubtedly the end of his tenure.



JUNKER 1914: 113, Abb. 51.

The tomb of *K3(ꜥj)-ḥr-Pth:Ftk-t3* is located in the western cemetery at Giza, near the *temenos* wall of the pyramid of Khufu [G 5560= LD 35]⁴³. Baer dates this mastaba to the end of the reign of King Pepi II⁴⁴, while Strudwick dates it from early to the middle of the Sixth Dynasty⁴⁵. According to Harpur, it is dated between the reign of King Teti and the reign of King Pepi I⁴⁶. Most of this tomb has been collapsed, leaving just the lower parts of the false doors and a few blocks intact⁴⁷. Most probably, the fragment in question is one of these blocks.

³⁸ WB vol.1: 95, 6; MONTET 1957: 27.

³⁹ See footnotes (10-11); MONTET 1957: 49-56.

⁴⁰ MEMPHIS et All.

⁴¹ For the title *ꜥd-mr*⁴¹, See GOEDICKE 1966: 32.

⁴² JUNKER 1914: 113, ABB. 51

⁴³ BAER 1960: 148 [544]; STRUDWICK 1985: 154 [150].

⁴⁴ BAER 1960: 148 [544].

⁴⁵ STRUDWICK 1985: 154 [150].

⁴⁶ HARPUR 1987: 7, 197, 271.

⁴⁷ STRUDWICK 1985: 154 [150].

III- THE SECOND FRAGMENT (THE STELA OF *ḥḥ Špss-k3ꜣf*).

1- Description [FIGURES 3-4]

The second fragment is a small and thin flat stela with a curved top⁴⁸. It is made of limestone, measuring 59 cm in height and 37 cm in width. It bears the register N^o. 1646. It is inscribed with sunken hieroglyphic inscriptions in three small horizontal lines, each one contains only one or three words. This short hieroglyphic text gives the title and the name of its owner whose name *ḥḥ Špss-k3ꜣf*, the overseer of the house.

2- Text Translation

The stela is inscribed by three small horizontal lines read from right to left as follows:



jmjj-r3 pr ḥḥ Špss-k3ꜣf

The overseer of the house *ḥḥ Špss-k3ꜣf*

3- The Name, the Title, and the Tomb of *ḥḥ Špss-k3ꜣf*

The name of *ḥḥ Špss-k3ꜣf* is listed in both Ranke and Scheele-Schweitzer *PN*⁴⁹. It was common in the Old Kingdom, and it means «May *Špss-k3ꜣf* live». Scheele-Schweitzer inventoried all the persons who bear this name⁵⁰ and after investigating their titles, it is concluded that this stela belongs to *ḥḥ Špss-k3ꜣf* the owner of the nucleus mastaba G 6040⁵¹ [LD 18], which is housed in the west cemetery at Giza⁵² and dated to the Fifth Dynasty. The texts of this tomb mention only the *ḥtp rdj.w njsw.t* formula and the title of *ḥḥ Špss-k3ꜣf* as the overseer of the house of the king⁵³ i.e. *Nfr-jr-k3-Rc*⁵⁴. Unfortunately, no more data can be found in his tomb.

⁴⁸ For the rounded-top stela, See MÜLLER 1933: 165-206; PFLÜGER 1947: 127-135; VANDIER 1954: 477, FIG. 293; 485, FIG. 295; WESTENDORF 1966: 40FF, 74FF; HÖLZL 1992: 285; KARL-MARTIN 1986: 1-6; HÖLZL 2001: 320; SHAW & NICHOLSON 2002: 278.

⁴⁹ RANKE 1935: 417 [7]; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014: 305-306 [750].

⁵⁰ SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014: 305-306 [750].

For instance, *ḥḥ Špss-k3ꜣf* of the Fifth Dynasty, and the owner of the mastaba G 1008 at Giza who is titled as *nḥt ḥrw z3b* (Strong of voice and Judge). REISNER & FISHER 1914: 244; REISNER 1942: 252 [12]; *PM* 3¹: 52. *ḥḥ Špss-k3ꜣf* of the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the owner of the mastaba N^o.9 at Giza. He is titled as *jmjj-r3 pr* [Steward of the house] *jmjj-r3 ḥm.w k3* (Overseer of ka-servants). HASSAN 1950, 83; *PM* 3¹: 245. *ḥḥ Špss-k3ꜣf* who bears the titles *jmjj-r3 ḥm k3* [Overseer of Ka-servant], *šḏ ḥm-k3* [the inspector of the Ka-servants], and *ḥm-nṯr Ḥꜣf Rc* [Priest of Khphren] HASSAN 1932: PL. XXIX; HASSAN 1936, FIGS. 22, 25, 27. He was living in the end of the Fifth Dynasty to the middle of Sixth Dynasty. HASSAN 1932: 15; *PM* 3¹: 272. He may be the son of *K3-nswt*. HASSAN 1936: 75, FIG. 87; WEEKS 1994: FIGS. 31-32, 25.

⁵¹ WEEKS 1994: 85FF, FIGS. 53-54.

⁵² REISNER 1942: 217 [26]; *PM* 3¹: 175.

⁵³ WEEKS 1994: PL. 33B, FIGS. 53-54.

⁵⁴ REISNER 1937: 30.

As mentioned on this stela, *ḥnḥ Špss-kꜣꜣf* bears the title *jmjj-rꜣ pr*, which is rendered as [administrator/steward/overseer of the house/estate]⁵⁵. According to Strudwick, this title may relate to some form of non-royal work and probably had a separate existence⁵⁶. The holder of this title is the administrator of the estate of the king or his funerary temple endowments⁵⁷. In the Old Kingdom, the title *jmjj-rꜣ pr* was not restricted to overseeing the estate of the king, but it also associated with managing many different institutions⁵⁸. Furthermore, this title continued and its highest rank *jmjj-r pr wr* in the Middle Kingdom⁵⁹, the New Kingdom⁶⁰, and the Late Period⁶¹, either in its simple form *jmjj-r pr* or associating with several institutions⁶².

According to the brief study of Reisner about the tomb of *ḥnḥ Špss-kꜣꜣf* in 1937⁶³, this stela is one of two rounded-top stelae that were set at the entrance of a sloping ramp [which leads up to this mastaba] and used for the burial procession⁶⁴. Reisner was the first to mention these two stelae, which were found, at that time, *in situ* on either side of the mastaba⁶⁵. Unfortunately, these two stelae were extracted from their position with no evidence whether the other stela was preserved in the storeroom of *Atfiyah*'s archaeological site or a further store. These two stelae were a part of the mastaba structure, and they may have been used for the funeral procession⁶⁶. Since the inscriptions on both stelae face to the right, this stela in question is the right one. In a personal communication with Ramadan Hussein, he informed me about his forthcoming publication of mastabas at the Abu Bakr Cemetery at Giza. They have similar ramps, which are in fact a common feature of Giza mastabas. They are located at the back of these mastabas leading up to the burial shaft. He goes on to mention that Reisner found deposits of pottery at the end of such ramps and around the mouth of the burial shafts. Hussein draws the connection between these ramps and pottery deposits on one hand, and the textual reference for the performance of a *pꜣrt-ḥrw n.f ḥr ꜣrrt.f m pr dt* [invocation of offerings on top of his shaft in the house of eternity]⁶⁷. Perhaps this

⁵⁵ MURRY 1908: PL. XXI; *Wb* I: 514, 10; JONES 2000A: 114 [461]. HASSAN 1932: 7; HASSAN 1941: 14 (4); HASSAN 1950: 44.

⁵⁶ STRUDWICK 1985: 235. See also DESPLANCQUES 2006.

⁵⁷ AL-AYEDI 2006: 33 [131], N^o. 280.

⁵⁸ JONES 2000A: 114-134; STRUDWICK 1985: 172ff; DESPLANCQUES 2006: 28, 29, 43, 49, 53, 55, 70, 176, 185, 311, 319, 358, 385.

⁵⁹ WARD 1982: 21[132], 22 (141).

⁶⁰ AL-AYEDI 2006: 33 [131], N^o. 280; cf. The scribe and steward *Dḥwtj*. *URK* 4: 336, 2; the steward and the high steward *Sn-mwt*. *URK* 4: 381, 17; 395, 2; *Kꜣrs*. *URK* 4: 45, 14-15; 46, 8; 47, 13; 48, 10; 49, 10. *Sn(ꜣ) jw*. ABD EL-SATTAR: 2018, 19. See also. SHIRLEY 2014: 86, 204-205.

⁶¹ For its association with the divine wife, See AYAD 2001: 1-14; AYAD 2007: 1-11.

⁶² DESPLANCQUES 2006: 224, 229, 236, 242, 257, 265, 282, 289. 303-304, 332, 379.

⁶³ See footnote 45.

⁶⁴ REISNER 1932: 329, PL. 51A.

⁶⁵ REISNER 1937: 32, FIG. 3.

⁶⁶ REISNER 1937: 30.

⁶⁷ See *Urk* 1: 189, 15-16 [The tomb of *Pth-ḥtp*] *pr.t ḥrw n.f ḥr ꜣrrt.t m pr dt st sw smsw nfr ḥr Wsjr*; *Urk* 1: 190 9-10 [The tomb of *Tp-m-ḥnḥ*] *sjꜣ ḥr tp ꜣrrt.t pr.t ḥrw n.f*; *Urk* 1: 199, 13 [The tomb of *Šsm-nfr-Rꜣ/Ššj*] *pr.t ḥrw n.f ḥr ꜣrrt.t*; *Urk* 1: 200, 1-2 [The tomb of *Šsm-nfr-Pth/Ššj*] *pr.t ḥrw n.f ḥr ꜣrrt.t m prꜣf nj dt st sw smsw nfr ḥr Wsjr*.

indicates that the ramp was a processional path used during performance of a ritual on top of the shaft.



The Ramp and the Two Stelae.
After REISNER 1937: 32, [FIGURE 3].

IV- THE THIRD FRAGMENT [The Fragmentary Architrave of *Htp-ḥr-nfr.t*].

1- Description [FIGURES 5-6].

The third fragment is a block made of limestone, measuring 12 cm in height and 38 cm in width, and bears the record number 1638. It exhibits a rectangular shape, most likely an architrave with remains of the offering formula *ḥtp rdj.w njsw.t*⁶⁸.

2- Text Translation

This architrave is inscribed with sunk hieroglyphic inscription in a horizontal line that read from right to left as follows:



ḥtp-ḥr-nfr.t

A burial in the western necropolis (for) the acquaintance royal *Htp-ḥr-nfr.t*.

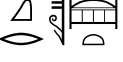


This hieroglyphic line is a part of *ḥtp-rdjw njsw.t*⁶⁹ formula that grants *Htp-ḥr-nfr.t* a burial in the western necropolis as a haven for an eternal afterlife. The lost part of this

⁶⁸ For this formula, See WAINWRIGHT 1904: 101-104; HALL 1908: 5-7; GARDINER 1915: 79-93; BENNETT 1941: 77-82; BARTA 1963: 65-67; BARTA 1968; LAPP 1986: 172; BARTA 1987: 7-9; LEPROHON 1990: 163F; SATZINGER 1997: 177-188; FRANKE 2003: 39-57; ILIN-TOMICH 2011: 20-34.

⁶⁹ HASSAN 1936: FIG. 63; DUNHAM & SIMPSON 1974: FIG. 6; WEEKS 1994: FIG. 53; FISCHER 2000: 5, FIG. 2; vol.6, PL. XXXII.



FIG. 3; BOLSHAKOV 2005: 161, FIG. 11.1, PL. XXXII.

formula is *ḥtp-rdjw njsw.t ḥtp-rdjw Ḳnpw*, since *Ḳnpw* is the god who always grants the beautiful burial *ḳrs.t/ḳrs.t nfr* to the deceased⁷⁰.

A burial or a beautiful burial  is the desire of every deceased⁷¹, as Pyr. 474a-b mentions: the soul is to the sky; the body is to the earth and the people *rmṯ* will receive their burial *ḳrs*⁷². The statement *ḳrs.t-f m ḥr.t nṯr (zm.t jmn.tt)* first appeared in the offering formula in the Fourth Dynasty, indicating to the meaning of «burial»⁷³. The trilateral stem *ḳrs* and its noun *ḳrs.t* refer to the meaning of «bury» and «burial»⁷⁴ respectively that confirmed by using their determinatives ,  as determinatives of the word *jz* «tomb» at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and as an ideogram of the same word at the end of the Sixth Dynasty⁷⁵.

3- The Name and the Title of *Ḥtp-ḥr-nfr.t*

The name of *Ḥtp-ḥr-nfr.t* is listed in both Ranke *PN*⁷⁶ and Scheele-Schweitzer⁷⁷. It appeared in the Old Kingdom four times from the Fourth Dynasty to the Sixth Dynasty on the false door stela of *Nfr-nṯr*⁷⁸ [Cairo JE. 3520479], in the tomb of *Prj-snb* [LD 78] [G7901] at Giza⁸⁰, and on our current fragment. Apparently, the last two examples belong to *Ḥtp-ḥr-nfr.t* in question. She is the wife of a person called *Prj-snb*⁸¹, the owner of the mastaba [LD 78] at the eastern cemetery of Giza who lived during the middle of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty⁸². Most probably, this fragment was an architectural part of his mastaba tomb LD 78 [G 7901] in Giza⁸³.

The honorific title  *rh.t n(j)sw.t* first appeared in the Fourth Dynasty⁸⁴. Its orthographical form  is used for a man and a woman alike⁸⁵. Beside its common reading and translation, it has been read by some Egyptologists as *jrj jh(.t) nswt* [He belonging to the king]⁸⁶ or *(j)r(j) h(j) n(j)-sw.t* [He belonging to the baby king]⁸⁷.

⁷⁰ SMITH 2017: 135.

⁷¹ BORCHARDT 1937: 136, FIG. 34; AHMED 2020: 25, FIG. 2.

⁷² PYR: 474A-B.

⁷³ MARIETTE 1885: 88, 108, 119, 130.

⁷⁴ REGEN 2009: 387-399.

⁷⁵ RÉGEN 2007: 180, 174, 177.

⁷⁶ RANKE 1935: 259 [2].

⁷⁷ SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014: 569-70 [2596].

⁷⁸ BORCHARDT 1937: 137, BLATT. 34, ABB. 1451.

⁷⁹ SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014: 570.

⁸⁰ LD vol.2: 94C.

⁸¹ RANKE 1935: 134 [4], 259 [2]; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014: 358 [111].

⁸² HARPUR 1987: 266.

⁸³ LD vol.2: 94C; PM 32: 212.

⁸⁴ MARIETTE 1885: 88-94; DER MANUELIAN 2003: PLS. 5-6 (G 1205); PLS. 7-8 (G 1207).

⁸⁵ FISCHER 1964: FIG. 2, PLS. VII, VIII, IX; EDEL 1980: 52, ABB. 20.

⁸⁶ For the reading *jrj jh(.t) nsw.t*, See GOEDICKE 1966: 61-62; GÖDEKEN 1976: 119-124.

⁸⁷ BOLSHAKOV 2005: 184.

V- CONCLUSION

The importance of this article lies in the publication of three fragments of three persons whose tombs have been scattered by small stones and short texts. This helps the editors of the dictionaries of Ancient Egyptians Names and Titles, as well as the Catalogs of Monuments, in listing these pieces with sufficient knowledge that helps the scholars. The first fragment of *K3(zj)-hr-Pth:Ftk-t3* demonstrates his high ranking status in the end of the Fifth Dynasty to the middle of the Sixth Dynasty as the overseer of the Nomes of Memphis and Letopolis, as well as the overseer of the new settlements of the pyramid King *ʿIzzj*. Also, it indicates to his juridical offices and his position in the royal palace. Similarly, the title of *ϵnh Špss-k3:f* proves his rank as the overseer of the house of the king *Nfr-jr-k3-R^c*. This title refers to his office as responsible for the estate of the king. In addition, his stela in question and his missed one reveals that the mastabas in this period had a ramp and probably two stelae led to the top of the burial shaft. They were used for the burial procession and the offering ritual *prrt-hrw n.f hr krrt.f* [invocation of offerings on top of his shaft]. Finally, the fragmentary object of *Htp-hr-nfr.t* may be a part of the mastaba tomb of her husband *Prj-snb*.


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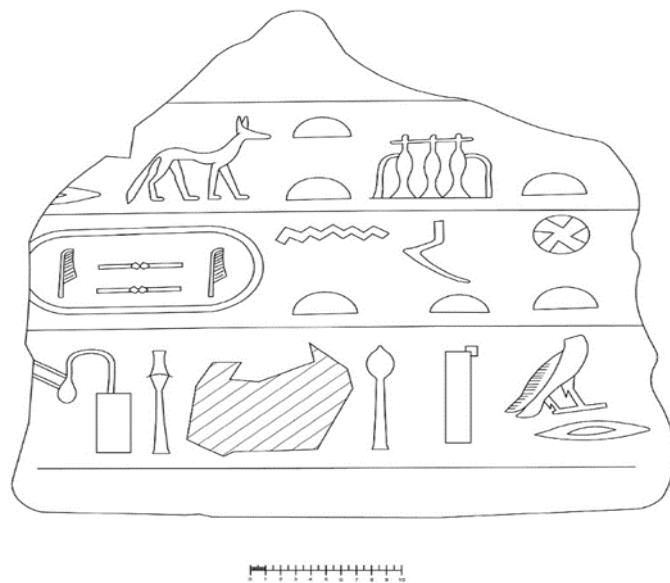
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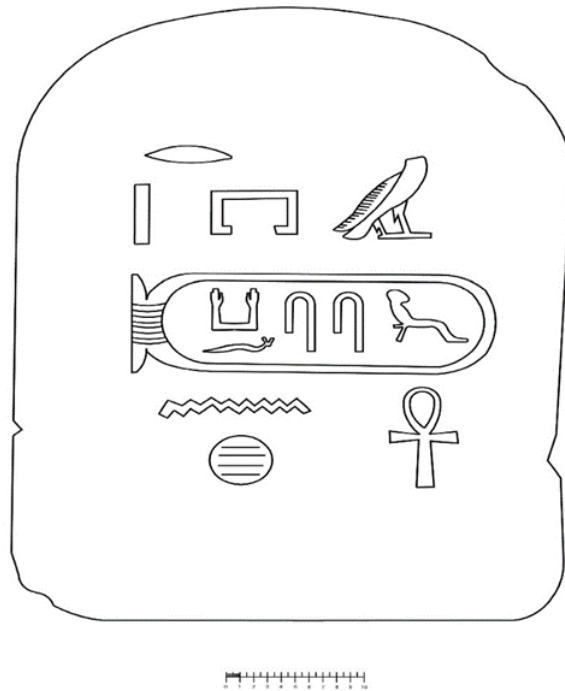
[FIGURE 1]: The lintel Fragment of *K3(ε)-hr-ptḥ, Ftk-t3*
©Photo taken by dr. Rabiaa Radi



[FIGURE 2]: The lintel Fragment of *K3(ε)-hr-ptḥ, Ftk-t3*
©Done by Mohamed Ibrahim



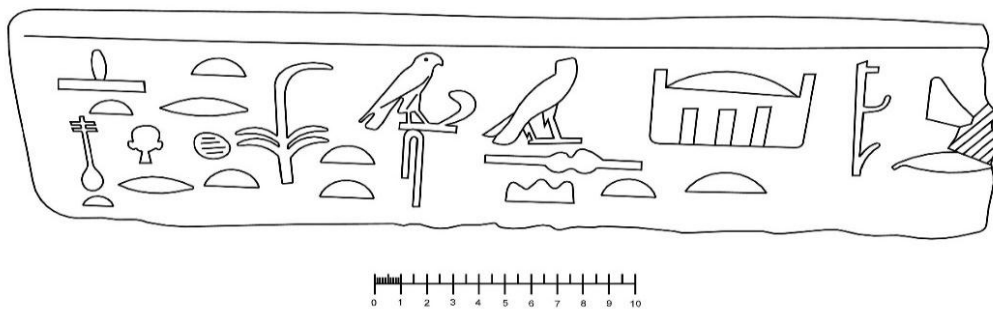
[FIGURE 3]: The Rounded-top Stela of *ḥnḫ Šps-k3:f*
©Photo taken by dr. Rabiaa Radi



[FIGURE 4]: The Rounded-top Stela of *ḥnḫ Šps-k3:f*
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[FIGURE 5]: The Architrave fragment of *Htp-ḥr-nfr.t*
Photo taken by dr. Rabiaa Radi



[FIGURE 6]: The Architrave fragment of *Htp-ḥr-nfr.t*
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ثلاثة بقايا لقطع منقوشة من الدولة القديمة ومالكها

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الملخص

تهدف تلك الورقة البحثية إلى نشر ثلاثة قطع محفوظة بمخزن الآثار في أطفيح، وتنتمي إلى بقايا ثلاثة مقابر تهدمت معظم أجزائها. وتكمن أهمية تلك الورقة البحثية في التعرف على أسماء أصحاب تلك القطع الثلاثة؛ حيث إن قطعتين فقط من تلك القطع الثلاثة تحمل أسماء مالكيها (القطعتين الثانية والثالثة)، بينما القطعة الأولى تحمل بقايا ألقاب بدون أي اسم يدل على صاحب تلك القطعة. وتزداد المشكلة أن تلك الأسماء تكرر ظهورها كثيرًا في الدولة القديمة. وبعد فحص الألقاب والأسماء التي وردت على تلك القطع وإعادة تركيب واستكمال النصوص التي وردت على القطعة الأولى، فقد انتهت تلك الدراسة إلى أن القطعة الأولى تخص المدعو "كا خر بتاح فتك تا" من الأسرة السادسة، وصاحب المقبرة G 7652 بالجيزة، بينما القطعة الثانية هي لوحة مستديرة القمة من إحدى لوحتين لشخص يدعى "عنخ شبسكاف" من الأسرة الخامسة، وصاحب المقبرة G 6040 بالجيزة، أما القطعة الثالثة فهي عبارة عن جزء من عتب يحمل اسم السيدة "حنتب حر نفرت" زوجة المدعو "برى سن"، الذي ربما عاش في الفترة ما بين منتصف الأسرة الخامسة وحتى بداية الأسرة السادسة وربما كانت تلك القطعة هي جزء من مقبرته في الجيزة رقم LD 78 .

الكلمات الدالة: الجيزة، حنتب حر نفرت، الدولة القديمة، عنخ شبسكاف، كا خر بتاح، لوحة، مصطبة.

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A BUSINESS LETTER FROM THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM

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A BUSINESS LETTER FROM THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM

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ABSTRACT

The current paper tackles an edition of unpublished Greek documentary papyrus from the Cairo Egyptian Museum under glass 86 of the S (pecial) R (egister) Nr. 3049 with inv. 161. This papyrus is from Tampemou (Oxyrhynchite nome) and dates back to the Third Century AD. This papyrus text is a business letter. The letter preserved some details about the transport of sheep made by the official who travelled south to Tampemou in the eastern toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite Nome. The verso contains two lists of the landowners and the amounts of wheat recorded after their names. The purpose of amounts of wheat on the verso did not serve for taxation, because there is nothing to indicate the taxation. The names of the people appearing in the two lists were probably tenants, and the amounts of wheat recorded after their names may be the rentals which they paid for their leaseholds, though the rates of rent in private tenancy were usually higher. Thus it is possible that they were sharecroppers. Sharecropping is a type of farming in which the sharecropper rents small plots of land from a landowner in return for a portion of his crop, to be given to the landowner at the harvest. The sharecropper agreed to hand over a proportion between one-third and two-thirds of the crop to the landowner, instead of paying a rent. The landowner provided the sharecropper with land, seeds, and tools; these supplies were deducted from the portion of the sharecropper. 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 indicate 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, Land, Transport, Sheep, Sharecropper.

I. INTRODUCTION

This papyrus is an edition of unpublished Greek documentary papyrus from the Cairo Egyptian Museum under glass 86 of the S (pecial) R (egister) Nr. 3049 with inv. 161. The papyrus is from *Tampemou (Oxyrhynchite)*.

SR 3049/161

Tampemou (Oxyrhynchite)

12.5 x 18.5 cm.

3 Century AD.

Description

The papyrus is of medium brown color and it has been irregularly cut off on all sides, measuring 18.5 cm in height and 12.5 cm in width. The text is in some places badly rubbed and the ink has faded. The recto and verso are written by different hands. The text on the *recto* is written by a legible hand, along the fibers, in 18 lines. There are remains of two margins on the *recto*; at the left one cm, and at the lower three cm. The *verso* turned 180° opposite of the *recto*. The text on the *verso* is written by a semi-cursive hand, across the fibers, in 26 lines. There are remains of three margins on the *verso*; at the right 3.5 cm, at the top is one cm, and at the left one cm. Three vertical folds, across to the fibers, beginning from the right hand side are visible, while the widths of the successive folds are 4.5 cm 3.5 cm 5.5 cm, and 3.5 cm

Date

On palaeographical grounds, it can be dated back to the third century AD., for palaeographical parallels, see: *P.Oxy.* X 1267 (209 AD, registration of a child); *BGU I* 7 (Arsinoites, 247 AD., order to retain tenants on land); *P.Oxy.* XIX 2241 (283-284 AD, list of rents from land).

The text of this papyrus is a business letter on the *recto* and agricultural account on the *verso*. The sender of the letter is missing, while the addressee is Onnophris son of Colophonius and his sister Sepsis. This business letter mentions Valerius Titanianus. The family of Valerius Titanianus maintained its equestrian status and its connections with the imperial administration. He was described as “warden of the great Sarapis, formerly *praefectus vigilum*”¹, in Philadelphia again but in 248 Valerius Titanianus with an impressive title διασημότατος (the most eminent) was represented by Nepotianus the ex-prefect’s steward². Finally, in 262, Valerius Titanianus (κράτιστος) appears as *epistrategus Heptanomiaie*; he is certainly a close relative of *praefectus vigilum*, presumably his son³. There are links between the estates of Valerius Titanianus and Aurelius

¹ *P. Mich.* XI 620 (Arsinoite, 239/240 AD, Account of an Estate), ll. 1-2:

Οὐαλερίῳ [Τ][τ]ανιανῶ νεωκόρῳ τοῦ μεγάλ[ου] Σαράπιδος
ἀπὸ ἐπάρ[χ]ων οὐιγούλων

² *SB IV* 7464 (Arsinoite, 248 AD, Complaint from a Arabotoxotes), ll. 11-12:

Νεπιτιανῶ ἐπιτρόπῳ τοῦ διασημοτάτου Οὐαλερίου
Τιτανιανῶ καὶ Μαύρου καὶ Ἀμμωνίου ἀραβοτοξοτῶν,

³ VAN RENGEN & WAGNER 1984: 348–353; *P. Oxy.* XVII 2107 (262 AD, order to Irenarchs), ll. 1-2:

Οὐαλέριος Τιτανιανὸς ὁ κράτιστος
εἰρηνάρχαις Ὀξυρυγχίτου χαίρειν.

Appianus, for which accounts preserved that the estate animals were used for the transport of any commodity, and that these operations would be carried out in conjunction with other forms of transport available, in which usually wagons and teams of oxen have been used for long-distance transport⁴. The letter has preserved details about the transport of sheep made by the official who has travelled south to *Tampemou* in the eastern *toparchy* of the *Oxyrhynchite Nome*, and who needed to camp and purchase fodder for sheep on the journey. It is probable that sheep was used to sacrifice.

The *verso* contains two lists of the landowners, and the amounts of wheat recorded after their names. The purpose of amounts of wheat on the *verso* did not serve for taxation, because there is nothing to indicate the taxation, and the tax rate varied considerably for the various categories of land. Most private lands were taxed at 1, 1¼, 1½ or 2 *artabae* per *aroura* ⁵. The names of the people appeared in two lists, who were probably tenants, and the amounts of wheat recorded after their names may be the rentals which they paid for their leaseholds, but the rates of rent in private tenancy were usually higher. Thus it is possible that they were sharecroppers. Sharecropping is a type of farming in which the sharecropper rents small plots of land from a landowner in return for a portion of his crop, to be given to the landowner at the harvest. The sharecropper agreed to hand over a proportion between one-third and two-thirds of the crop to the landowner, instead of paying rent. The landowner provided the sharecropper with land, seeds, and tools, these supplies were deducted from the portion of the sharecropper ⁶.

Text

Recto

- [.....] α[
 [κυρίω μου Ὀννώ]φρ(ει) Κολοφωνίου [
 [καὶ τῆ ἀδελφ]ῆ Σεψεῖ, ὧ κυρία μου [
 [.....] κωμαρχῶν οὐδὲ ταυρελάτη[ς
 5 [.....παρ]αδεδώκασι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕνα [
 [.....] ἰσι ὅτι παραδόναι αὐ[τούς
 [..... Αἰλο]υρίων(ος) καὶ Οὐαλ<ε>ρί(ου) Τιτανια[νοῦ
 [παραδεδωκ]ότι τοῦδρομέως ἐπὶ νότ[ρον
 [..... ἀν]ύπαρκτον, μήπως ...[
 10 α[ὐ]τὸν παραδῶμεν καὶ μὴ λάβη[ς] αὐτὸν [ἐν Τα-
 μπέμου ἐπίτροπος ἐργάσ<εσ>θ(αι) τὸ ... [
 καὶ τὴν δούλην τῆς ἀδελφῆς μου γαμι[κὸν
 ἐσφράγισα μὲν προπομ[π(ὸν)] τ[οῦ] Λυ[κα]ρί[ω]νος [
 καὶ τήμερον τὰ πρόβατ[α] ἰε]ροποιοῦ ... [

⁴ADAMS 2007: 266ff.

⁵ROWLANDSON 1996: 47-54; SHARP 1998: 28.

⁶ROWLANDSON 1999: 139-158; BANAJI 2001: 11-12.

15 μη π<λ>ημμελε<ι>ν τῆ πόλει [. . . μ]έχρι ἐκ-
 θέσθαι, τιμ(ῆς) μνᾶν λοτίνο[υ χόρτ]ον λιμῶ [
 μένην καὶ μὴ ἀναβῆν[αι. ἐ]ρρώμεθ<ά> τε [καὶ αὐτοὶ
 ἔ]ρρωσο [

Verso

[. Νο]υμερίου	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ.
[. Ἀμμω]ναρίου	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ.
Γ[έ]λλιο[ς].	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ε
Πετεῆσι[ς Τ]εβᾶτος	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ε
5 Ἄπ[ε]ι[ς Ἀφροδ]εισίου	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ε
Σύρο[ς] Ναρμούθεως	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ζ
Παμῶν Σόλωνος	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) β
Πανεῦς Εὔ[ύ]πόλεως	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) η
Ἀμάεις Σιλίβου	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ε
10 Ἀμμώνι<ο>ς Ἀκίων<ο>	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) θ
Ἀμάεις Ἀπολλωνίου	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ
Ἄτις κλ(ηρονόμος) Πανετβηοῦτος	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ζ
Ἀπολινάρι<ο>ς Πεννιούτος	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ζ
Ἀρψῆμις Σεννούφις	(ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ
15 γί(νονται)	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) οῦβ

vac.

[.]αριου χέρσου	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ε
[.]αριου	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) α
[.]ος	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ε
[. Ὀρσε]νούφεως	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ
20 [. Α]ύρηλιου	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) β
[. Κ]λόνικος	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ε
[.] Καεὶς Μαξί(μου)	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ
[.]η	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ε
[.]ς	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ε
25 [.]	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ
[γί(νονται)]	[(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)] λη

Corrections

Recto l. 4 ταυρελάτου l. 6 παραδιδόναι l. 11 ἐργάζ<εσ>θ(αι) l. 13 ἐσφράγισα
l. 14 σήμερον l. 16 λωτίνου l. 17 μένειν

Verso ll. 1-14 ⲃ— ll.1-26 ⲃⲣ l. 12 ⲙⲓ pap. ll. 15, 26 Ⲓ l. 21 Κλεονίκου

Translation

.....
To my lord Onnophris son of Colophonius
and to his sister Sepsis, oh my lady
..... of the headmen of village nor of the bull driver
5 but also they have delivered up one
..... until to deliver them up
..... of Ailourion and Valerius Titanianus
which I have handed (the letter) from the courier at the south
..... non-existent (person), lest
10 we deliver him up and you didn't receive him in
Tampemou to work as agent (general manager)
and the slave of my sister I have sealed
marriage (contract), the escort of Lykarion
and today the sheep of sacrificial magistrate
15 don't go wrong to the city even to
pay the price mina for the green crop of lotus (because of) hunger
to stay and do not go on board, we ourselves are also well
farewell

Verso

..... son of Noumerius	3 artabas of wheat for aroura
..... son of Ammonarius	3 artabas of wheat for aroura
Gellius son of	5 artabas of wheat for aroura
Peteesis son of Tebas	5 artabas of wheat for aroura
5 Apeis son of Aphrodisius	5 artabas of wheat for aroura
Syrus son of Narmouthis	7 artabas of wheat for aroura
Pamon son of Solon	2 artabas of wheat for aroura
Paneus son of Eupolis	8 artabas of wheat for aroura
Amaeis son of Silibus	5 artabas of wheat for aroura
10 Ammonius son of Akion	9 artabas of wheat for aroura
Amaeis son of Apollonius	3 artabas of wheat for aroura

A BUSINESS LETTER FROM THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM

	Atis heir of Panetbeus	7 artabas of wheat for aroura
	Apollinarios son of Pennious	7 artabas of wheat for aroura
	Harpsemis son of Sennouphris	3 artabas of wheat for aroura
15	Total	72 artabas
	..... son of of dry	5 artabas of wheat
	land	1 artabas of wheat
	..... son of	5 artabas of wheat
	..... son of	3 artabas of wheat
	..... son of Orsenouphris	2 artabas of wheat
20	..... son of Aurelius	5 artabas of wheat
	..... son of Kleonikus	3 artabas of wheat
	..... son of Kaeis Maximus	5 artabas of wheat
	..... son of	5 artabas of wheat
	..... son of	4 artabas of wheat
25	..... son of	38 artabas of wheat
	Total	

Commentary

l. 2: Κολοφώνιου: There is no mention in papyri of Κολοφώνιος as a personal name only in *O.Claud.* II 248 (Mons Claudianus, 126-175 AD, Letter from Petenephotos to Valerius), l. 15.

l. 3: Σεψεί: The name Σέψις is common in the papyri, for example, *SB* I 3875 (Panopolis, 2099 AD, mummy label), ll. 1-2:

Ἀρεμηΐφιδι Ἄρου-

ώτου μητρ(ρός) Σέψιδι

Haremphis son Haryotes his mother (being) Sepsis.

The expression ὦ κυρία μου has a parallel in *P.Oxy* VI 937(201-300 AD, letter of Demarchus), ll. 9-10:

ὦ κυρία μου ἀδελ-

φή

Oh my sister lady

κυρία μου: The sender called the addressee as κυρία μου (a polite form): κύριος often was mentioned in business letters, as a man having power or authority. The polite closing formula might indicate that the addressee of the letter held a higher position than the sender⁷.

l. 4: κωμαρχῶν: The office of the κωμαρχαί was re-introduced into Egypt between 245 and 247. The κωμαρχαί replaced the κωμογραμματεὺς toward the middle of the

⁷DICKEY 2010: 327-335.

third century⁸, the κωμάρχαι of the village were four in number⁹. The earliest order to arrest was addressed to the κωμάρχαι as chief of the village police, see: *SB XVIII* 13896 (Arsinoites, 242-254 AD, order to arrest). The first occurrence of the κωμάρχαι of Tampemou in *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3409 (IV AD), ll. 1-3:

περὶ τοῦ τούτων κωμάρχων

τῆς Ταμπεμοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν

πόλιν ἀποστ[εῖ]λαι

About sending the headmen of village Tampemou to the city.

ταυρελάτου: There are details recorded about the monthly ὀψώνιον paid to a bull-driver, and the editor suggests that their salary was taken as an expense¹⁰. The bulls were used for agricultural tasks such as traction, ploughing, turning waterwheels, and transport animals¹¹.

l. 8: δρομέως: The messages were hand-delivered using a variety of methods, including couriers (foot messenger), homing pigeons and riders on horseback¹². The δρομέως is distinguished from ordinary mail services by features such as speed and security, see *P.Ryl.* IV 627 (Hermoupolis Magna, 301-325 AD, Memoranda and Accounts) l. 99:

κ[αὶ ἀπὸ] Ἑρμοῦ δρομέως κνί[δ(ια)] δ

and from Hermes the courier, 4 knidia

l. 9: [ἀν]ύπαρκτον: The exact meaning is not clear, it could mean that land once cultivated has been swept away by floods or covered by desert sand, see; *P.Giss.* 7 (Apollonopolites Heptakomias, 117 AD, petition), Col. 2, ll. 15-18:

δεομένου

τοῦ μὲν ἀν(ἀ) εἰς β' (ἀρούρης) ἡ' καὶ τοῦ ἀν(ἀ) β' (ἀρούρης) δ'

περὶ Πῶιν ἀνυπάρχων ὄντων ἀπο-

λυθῆναι,

I request to be exempted from the eight of an aroura at the rate of 5 1/12 and from the quarter of an aroura at the rate of 2 near Pois, which are non-existent

It might refer to an incorrect name, under which the petitioner had been appointed unlawfully to a public service, see: *P. Mich* VI 426 (Karanis, 199-200 AD, petition), ll. 11-12;

⁸THOMAS 1975: 111-119; YOUTIE 1976: 99-109.

⁹BENAISSA 2008: 53-61 = *P. Gen.* II 1 66 = *Chr. Wilck.* 381 (Philadelphia, 374 AD, lease land), ll. 1-4:

Ἀὐρ[ή]λιοι Ἀμωνιανὸς Ἐκὺ[σι]ς

[καὶ Ἀλ]λωνίου Τ ἡ . θί[ου] καὶ Τιμ[α]γ[έ]ν[ο]υ(ς)

[Ἀσίω]νος (?) καὶ Ἀμοῦν. Ἀτρῆ, ἀμφότερο(ι) κωμάρο(χαι)

[τῆς] κώμης Φ[ι]λαδελφίας

¹⁰*P. Oxy.* LXII 4343 (301-400 AD, Estate Account) ll. 11-12:

Λέοντι ταυρελάτη ὑπὲρ ὀψω-

νίου (ἀρτάβαι) κ

¹¹ADAMS 2007: 62ff.

¹²REMIJSEN 2007: 127-140.

ὡς Ὡρον Ἀπολιναρίου ἀνύπαρ-
κτον ὄνομα ὃ καὶ ἀγνοῶ

as Horos, son of Arolinarius, a fictitious name which I do not know

It could refer fraudulent in a business letter from Severus to Apollonianus, see: *PSI XII 1260* (Oxyrhynchus, 200-300 AD, business letter), ll. 13-14;

οὐ παραδ[έ]δοται τε ἡ γῆ ἀνυπάρκτοις
ὄνόμ[ασι]

the land hasn't been delivered to non-existent names

It might refer to faulty recording, see: *P.Oxy. XVII 2131* (207 AD, attestation of a copy of a petition with reply), l. 12:

Σβίχης Ἀρμίσιος μητρὸς Τασεῦτος, σωματίσαντός μοι ἀνύπαρκτον πόρον

Sbichis son of Harmiusis his mother is Taseus, and he has been registered to me (as having) a non-existent property qualification

ll. 10-11: Τα-μπέμου: *Tampemou* was located in the eastern toparchy (ἀπηλιώτης τοπαρχίας)¹³.

¹³*P. Oxy. X 1285* (III AD, list of village payments), l. 85; PRUNETI 1981: 187-188; BENAÏSSA 2012: 363-366.

STATUS	NAME	SOURCE	
Tampemou	Ταμπέμου	http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/detail.Php?tm=2903 ; <i>Dizionario</i> IV, 334-335;	
Occupations and Officials	σιτολόγος	<i>P. Lips.</i> II 141 (133 AD) 1. 2.	
	ἀρχέφοδος	<i>PSI</i> XV 1538 (II cent. AD), 1. 1.	
	ὄνηλάτης	<i>P. Köln</i> IX 381 (260 AD), 1. 6.	
	σιππουργός,	<i>P. Gen.</i> IV 175 (335 AD), 1. 1.	
	άλιεύς	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XLVIII 3423 (IV cent. AD), 1. 8.	
	εἰρηναρχος	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XII 1505 (IV cent. AD), 1. 2.	
	ἐπισφραγιστής	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XII 1491 (IV cent. AD), 1. 12.	
	κωμάρχαι	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XLVIII 3409 (IV cent. AD), 1. 7.	
	φύλαξ	<i>P. Oxy.</i> IX 1193 (IV cent. AD), 1. 3.	
	γεωργός	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XIX 2243(a) (590 AD), 1. 47.	
μειζότερος	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XIX 2243(a) (590 AD), 1. 39.		
Noteworthy landowners	Ἀπίων ἐποίκιον	<i>P. Oxy</i> XVI 2032 (540/541 AD). <i>P. Oxy.</i> XIX 2244 (558 AD). <i>P. Oxy.</i> XIX 2243(a) (590 AD).	
	Taxes	στεφανικά ἀννώνη ἀναβολικόν	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XIV 1659 (218-221 AD), 1. 1. <i>P. Oxy.</i> L 3584 (III cent. AD), 1. 1. <i>P. Oxy.</i> XLVIII 3408 (IV cent. AD), 1. 12
	Animals	μόσχειος χοῖρος βοῦς ὄνος	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XXIV 2422 (290 AD), 1. 1. <i>P. Oxy.</i> VI 901 (336 AD), 1. 5. <i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV 3771 (336 AD), 1. 16. <i>P. Oxy.</i> IX 1193 (IV cent. AD), 1. 3.
Buildings	δημόσιον ψιλοὶ τόποι αὐλή ἐργαστήριον	<i>P. Dubl.</i> 5 (87-88 AD), 1. 1. <i>P. Oxy.</i> III 501 (187 AD), 1. 14. <i>P. Oslo.</i> III 108 (III cent. AD), 1. 5. <i>P. Oxy.</i> VI 989 (III/IV cent. AD), 1. 2.	
	Irrigation	Μηχανή ὕδραγωγός λάκκος	<i>P. Oxy.</i> VI 901 (336 AD), 1. 7. <i>P. Oxy.</i> VI 901 (336 AD), 1. 7. <i>P. Oxy.</i> XIX 2244 (558 AD), 1. 34.
	Categories of land	κλήρος παράδεισος ἐποίκιον	<i>P. Oxy.</i> III 501 (187 AD), 1. 11. <i>P. Oslo.</i> III 108 (III cent. AD), 1. 5. <i>P. Oxy.</i> VI 989 (III/IV cent. AD), 1. 2.
		Agricultural Products	χλωρά πυρός οἶνος	P. Oxy. III 501 (187 AD), 1. 16. P. Oxy. III 501 (187 AD), 1. 15. P. Oxy. XIX 2244 (558 AD), 1. 88.

[TABLE 1]: Attestations of Tampemou in the papyri

l. 13: προπομ[π(όν)]: the best parallel seems at first sight to be *P.Lips.* I 35 = *ChLA* 12 524 (Hermopolis, 375-378 AD, duplicate), l. 5; προπομπὸν τιρώνων (escort of recruits), but *P.Osl.* III 88 (Oxyrhynchus, 370 AD, letter concerning the collection of taxes) suggests that the escort is the escort of taxes (χρυσὸς τιρώνων) rather than of the recruits, which may be correct. Another case of the word relates to escort of wheat in *P.Michael* 114 (panopolis, 201-250 AD, order for payment), l. 1-3:

δὸς εἰς τὴν προπομπήν

πυροῦ ἀρτάβας

η.

give to the escort 8 artabae of wheat

Another occurrence of the word relates to escorts of goods in kind, see: *SPP XX* 84 (Hermopolite, 286-305 AD, account), *Verso*, Col. I, ll. 1-5:

οἴνου

εἰς Λάτων

διὰ Ἀσκλητος Ἰέρακος ἐπιμελητοῦ (ξεστῶν)

ῶν. [π]ρ[ο]πομποί·

ἸΑχιλλεὺς Ὠρίωνος

of wine to Laton through Asklus son of Hierax the overseer of cups which escorts Achilleus son of Horion

And προπομποί κρέως in *SPP XX* 84 (Hermopolite, 286-305 AD, account), *Verso*, Col. II, ll. 1-4:

κρέως ὁμοίως

εἰς Συήνην διὰ Ἑρμοῦ Πινουτίωνος λι(τρῶν) μ(υριάδες) β

ῶν προπομποί·

Κοπρεὺς Μέλανος

alike of meat to Syene through Hermes son of Pinoution 20.000 pound, which escorts Kopreus son of Melas

ἐσφράγισα: The seal was used to secure the contents of the document against alteration¹⁴.

l. 14: τὰ πρόβατ[α]: The registration or declaration of animals was required in the Ptolemaic and Roman period¹⁵, probably the registrations of sheep were linked to the pasture tax¹⁶. There is a declaration of sheep, which registers a number of 3200 sheep, 53 goats¹⁷.

¹⁴VANDORPE 1997: 231-291; KEENAN & MANNING & YIFTACH 2014: 234-236.

¹⁵KEENAN 1989: 175-200.

¹⁶The registrations of sheep for the pasture tax, see; *BGU XVI* 2578–2587 (Herakleopolites, 14-5 BC., declaration of sheep and goats) *P. Oxy.* LV 3778–3779 (20-21 AD, registration of sheep and goats).

¹⁷*BGU XVI* 2586 (Herakleopolites, 5 BC., declaration of sheep and goats), l. 17:

(γίνονται) τὰ προκ(εἰμένα) πρόβα(τα) Γσ αἶγ(ες) νγ

[ἱε]ροποιῶν: The ἱεροποιός has had the duty of offering sacrifices in the religious ceremonies or/and sacred rites¹⁸.

l. 16: λωτίνο[υ χόρτ]ον: For the meaning of λωτίνου is most clearly understood through *P.Mich.* II 121 (Tebtynis, 42 AD, abstracts of contracts), 2, v: in which λώτινον is to be sown as a fodder crop for sheep (εἰς λωτίνο(υ) σπορ(ὰν) καταβ(ρώματα) προβάτων).

l. 18: ἔ]ρρωσο [:this formula appeared at the end of the first century AD ¹⁹.

Verso: ll. 1-14: ⲗ— ⲗⲉ: (ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας): The symbols at the end of the line are very faint and abraded. For the closest parallel wording see: *BGU* II 217 (Arsinoites, 201-300 AD, list of landowners with payments of grain), l. 10: *BGU* II 575 (Arsinoites, 201-300 AD, Accounts), l. 9: *BGU* VII 1623 (Philadelphia, 201-300 AD, a list of landowners with details of property for tax), ll. 9-10

l. 10: Ἀμμώνι<ο>ς Ἀκίων<ος> (ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) θ: This line reveals the higher productive of the land in the list.

l. 12: ⲗⲗ: The same abbreviation is found in *BGU* XIX 2776 (Hermopolis, 351-400 AD, Shipping List), Col. II, l. 17: κλ(ηρονόμοι) Διονυσίου Ὀλυμπιοδώρου (ἀρτάβαι) ρε. And see also *P.Lond.Herm.* 1 (Hermopolis, 546-547 AD, Tax Register from the Hermopolite Nome), Col. 5, Verso, l., 23: Ἰωσήφ(ις) κλ(ηρονόμος) Παύλ(ου) κ(εράτια) ς(τάλαντα) Εχ.

ll. 15, 26: Γⲓ: γί(νονται): It can be a substantive meaning “reckoning”, from the total measurements of the land.

l. 16: χέρσου: It is an adjective meaning land liable to taxation²⁰. Land so described was “dry” only in the sense that it could not be irrigated in that particular year by digging canals from the flooded section of any nearby basin.

¹⁸EKROTH 2002: 324; MIKALSON 2016: 205-214.

¹⁹KOSKENNIEMI 1956: 151-154.

²⁰CHRISTENSEN 2017: 8.

II. CONCLUSION

- The conclusion does refer to introducing new information about:

Valerius Titanianus (κράτιστος) *epistrategus Heptanomiae*.

Onnophris son of Colophonius.

Tampemou in the eastern *toparchy* of the *Oxyrhynchite Nome*.

- The letter has preserved details about the transport of sheep.
- Sharecropping is a type of farming in which the sharecropper rents small plots of land from a landowner in return for a portion of his crop, to be given to the landowner at the harvest. The sharecropper agreed to hand over a proportion between one-third and two-thirds of the crop to the landowner, instead of paying a rent.

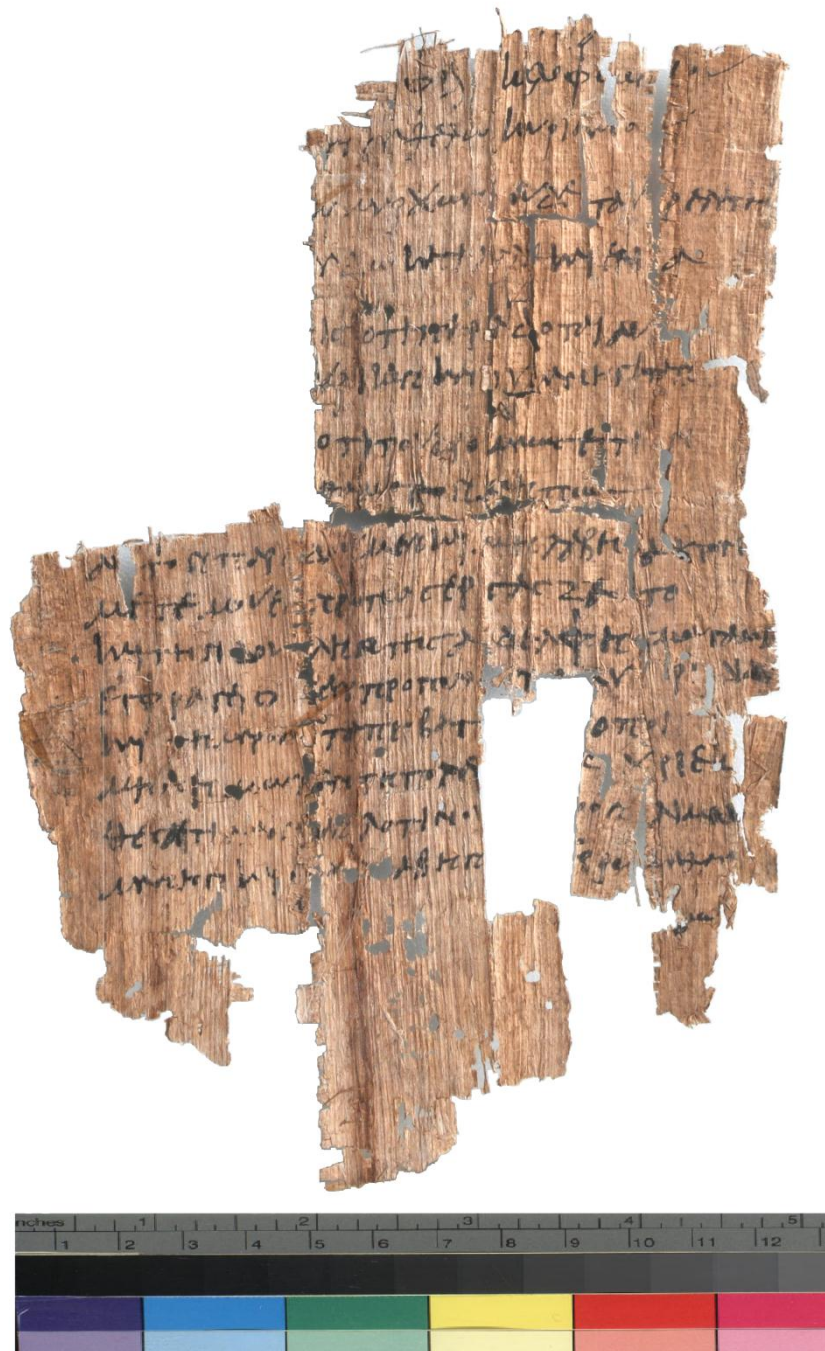
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[FIGURE 1]: Egyptian Museum in Cairo under glass 86 of the S (pecial) R (egister)
Nr. 3049 with inv. 161 recto.



[FIGURE 2]: Egyptian museum in Cairo under glass 86 of the S (pecial) R (egister)
Nr. 3049 with inv. 161 verso.

رسالة عمل من المتحف المصري بالقاهرة

ابراهيم محمد السعيد

مدرس - كلية الآداب / جامعة عين شمس

ملخص

الورقة البحثية الحالية هي عبارة عن نشر بردية وثائقية يونانية غير منشورة من متحف المصري بالقاهرة، رقم الزجاج ٨٦ للسجل الخاص ٣٠٤٩ تحت رقم الجرد ١٦١. هذه البردية تأتي من طامبيمو (إقليم أوكسيرينخوس) وتعود إلى القرن الثالث الميلادي. نص هذه البردية هو خطاب عمل. احتفظ الخطاب ببعض التفاصيل حول نقل الأغنام، التي قام بها المسؤول الذي سافر جنوباً إلى طامبيمو في القسم العلوي الشرقي لإقليم أوكسيرينخوس. يحتوى ظهر البردية على قائمتين لملاك الأراضي وكميات من القمح مسجلة بعد أسمائهم. الغرض من كميات القمح على ظهر البردية لم تخدم الضرائب، لأنه لا يوجد ما يشير إلى الضرائب. ظهرت أسماء الأشخاص في قائمتين يحتمل أنهم كانوا مستأجرين، وقد تكون مقادير القمح المسجلة بعد أسمائهم هي الإيجارات التي دفعوها مقابل إيجاراتهم، لكن معدلات الإيجار في الإيجارات الخاصة كانت أعلى عادة. ومن ثم فمن الممكن أنهم كانوا مزارعين. المزارعة هي نوع من الزراعة حيث يقوم المزارع باستئجار قطع صغيرة من الأرض من مالك الأرض مقابل جزء من محصوله، يتم إعطاؤه لمالك الأرض عند الحصاد. وافق المزارع على تسليم نسبة تتراوح بين ثلث وثلثي المحصول إلى مالك الأرض، بدلاً من دفع إيجار. قدم صاحب الأرض للمزارع الأرض والبذور والأدوات، وقد تم خصم هذه الإمدادات من جزء المزارعة. 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.

الكلمات الدالة: البردي، اليوناني، مصر، الرومانية، النقل، البري، الأغنام، المزارعة.

2021

The DECEASED AND HIS RELEVANCE TO RHwy, aHAWy, 3nnwy, AND 4nwy

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THE DECEASED AND HIS RELEVANCE TO *Rḥwy*, *ḥꜣwy*, *HNNwy*, AND *SNwy*

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ABSTRACT

The twofold oppositions or contrasts that complement each other are evident in Ancient Egypt. We have heaven and earth, day and night, life and death, fertile land and desert, and so good and evil. One of the most outstanding forms of dualism was the divine *Rḥwy*: Horus and Seth. The interpretation of this word differs according to the context included. On one hand, it is translated as the two companions when talking first about the gods *Re* and Thoth; on the other hand, it is the two rivals Horus and Seth, apart from occasionally it is translated, as well as, the reconciled gods, or the two companions. This raises the question of when and where the meaning of the word should be understood as «Rivals» and or as «Companions»! In the course of this article, we shall have to ask, however, does the connection that linked between *Rḥwy* and the deceased differ from his relation to each of them separately? The study is also exposed to three words that come in the texts and that may play the same role of the word *Rḥwy* in its binary meanings: *ḥꜣwy*, *hnnwy*, and *snwy*. So, and in the interests of clarity, I have purposely confined this article to the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts, and New Kingdom Book of the Dead, as thoughts about *Rḥwy* are remarkably shown in similarity and continuation.

KEYWORDS: *Rḥwy*; *ḥꜣwy*, *hnnwy*, *snwy*, Rivals, Companions, Contestants, Brothers, PT, CT, BD; Horus; Seth; Isis; Nephthys; *Re*; Thoth, Hetep.

I. INTRODUCTION

Horus and Seth came into conflict over the throne of Egypt, and reconciled and separated when the dispute was settled. This reconciliation between the two deities¹ was attributed in particular to Thoth,² and then the two lords together ruled over Egypt through the pharaoh whom they purified and crowned [FIGURE 1]/a- b)³.

The word *Rḥwy*⁴ is a term referring to two deities together; either the gods Horus and Seth, or either Thoth and Seth or the gods *Re* and Thoth.

Although ancient traditions viewed Horus and Seth as the traditional Rivals, some ancient texts contradict this tradition. In three texts of the PT, Thoth and Seth are regarded as hostile brothers, blaming them for their evil deeds, and their refusal to

repent: *mk irt Stš ḥnꜥ Dḥwty snwy.k ḥmw rmi tw*

«Behold what Seth together with Thoth, your brothers, did to you, who ignore lamenting you (i.e., did not cry for you) »⁵.

Therefore, they are threatened with heavy penalties⁶:

Stš sn.k pw p(?) nn Wsir di sdb.f ḥnh.f ss.f tw ḥnh.f ḥnh N pn n mt.f n mt N pn


«O Seth, this is your brother Osiris, who has been restored to live and punish you; if he lives, this king N will live; if he dies, this king N will die»⁷.




Boylan thinks that here we could have traces of an ancient myth that made Thoth and Seth a pair of pernicious gods, intertwined in an evil plot against Horus⁸.

In another remarkable PT text, Thoth and *Re* (i. e., moon and sun) are described as well with *Rḥwy*, despite the meaning of which should be regarded here not as the two Rivals but as the two Companions. Apparently, that, the word *Rḥwy* might first have appeared in the *Pyramid Texts* pointing out the gods *Re* and Thoth:

Rḥwy ḥpw dꜣy pt Rꜥ pw ḥnꜥ Dḥwty šd n.tn N ḥnꜥ.tn wnm.f m wnm.tn im swry.f m swryt.tn im ḥnh.f m ḥnh.tn im ḥms.f m ḥmst.tn im wsr.f m wsrt.tn im skd.f m skddt.tn im

«O you two Companions who cross the sky, (namely) it is *Re* together with Thoth, take King N with you, so he eats of what you eat, drinks from what you drink, that lives

¹ The Ritual of Abydos describes Thoth's activities after the struggle ended thus:  *shṭp.n.k Hr m irt.f shṭp.n.k Stš m hrwy.f* «you satisfied Horus through his eye, you satisfied Seth through his testicles»: MARIETTE 1869: PL. 87.

² The role of Thoth in the different stages of the legend seems to be intrinsic and necessary: Thoth acts as friend and protector of Horus, and of his eye [BOYLAN 1922: 32]. During the absence of the eye, it was under the protection of Thoth. Thoth's activity in finding, caring for, and bringing home the eye is described in a number of epithets: , ,  *ḥhy*, *gm*, *nhm* 'search, find, rescue'. MORET 1902: 82, 86.

³ About Horus & Seth See: *LÄ* vol.3: 25-6.

⁴ It is worth mentioning that, the word *Rḥwy* is not derived from a verb, See: FAULKNER 1964:151; although LEITZ mentions it without documentation as [wurzelübersicht von *rḥ*] in: *LGG* vol.4: 702.

⁵ PT 163d.

⁶ The next text is also applied to Thoth, See: 175 a-b.

⁷ PT 173 a-b.

⁸ BOYLAN 1922: 45.

on what you live on, that he sits on what you sit on, so he may be strong with that you are strong, so he sails in what you sail»⁹.

The use of this word referring to *Re*^c and Thoth was attested once, as said above, in the pyramid text, although this spell was copied later in chapter 178 of the *Book of the Dead*, even having a text differs somewhat from it:

bwt N pn ḥsw ṯwri.f wš mi ṯwri st Rḥwy wdꜣ Dḥwty r pt šdy.ṯn N ḥn^c.ṯn wnm.f m wnm.ṯn
«Excrement is what this N detests, he avoids urine, like the two Companions avoid it.

Thoth proceeds to the sky. May you take N with you. May he eat as you eat»¹⁰.

One can argue, therefore, that the ancient Egyptian concept about the word *Rḥwy* was changed and became later on as a 'noun' only confined to the gods Horus and Seth, but in two different renderings depending on the context of the text.

II. *Rḥwy* AS THE TWO RIVALS ¹¹.

When talking about the judgment, separating the two gods, calming the tumult, pacifying them, or putting an end to the dispute of *Rḥwy*¹²; then we talk about the two Rivals who fought with each other, and the trials always made by the deceased who is represented as many gods to to make their ?? content. Basically, the deceased never took a bias or showed a tendency or prejudice to either of the opponents. Logically he is supposed to stand with the truth, which is the god Horus; especially that the deceased obtained the title *mꜣ^c-ḥrw* -the epithet first given to Horus- only if he would have said the truth like Horus the day of *ḥsb ḳdw* 'reckoning the characters'¹³.

n sp wpt ¹⁴ *N pn nm^c m-m Rḥwy n sp sdm.f* [or: *sdm N pn*] *m ist ddt nb ḥft mdw dꜣdꜣt mi- ḳd.s*
hrr Rḥwy ḥr ddt.n N pn m wd^c-mdw n sp whmt ¹⁵ (*wd^c-mdw*) *N pn m pr ḥr ṯrw.n ṯsf(t) r.f*
mdw.sn ... i hrhr.n N pn bꜣw.ṯn [or: *ṯ hrhr bꜣw.ṯn n N pn*] *Dḥwty pw N pn mṯn sw ṯy ḥ^cw wd^c-*
mdw štm (m) ṯb n ṯst wrt ṯrt Rḥwy hrw ¹⁶.

«This N never judged with prejudice between the two Rivals, and he [this N] did not hear anything in the palace that was said when all the magistrates talked. The two Rivals were contented with what this N said in the referee. This N never repeated a (judgment) as someone who came out because of those who did evil to him (?) When they spoke ... be silent and hope your souls will be calm to me, for this N is Thoth. Lo, he has come with joy, executing judgment on the destroyer (at) the desire of Isis the Great and making the two Rivals contented»¹⁷.

In the sphere of myths, the conflict of Horus and Seth, ended when Thoth - with whom the deceased is occasionally identified - interferes between them, preventing the strife from continuing. Since the deceased sometimes plays the role of Thoth as said

⁹ PT 128b-c. See: FAULKNER 1969: 39.

¹⁰ BD 178, See: QUIRKE 2013: 441.

¹¹ LICHTHEIM believed that the struggle between Seth and Osiris or between Seth and Horus, recounted in the Pyramid Texts, represented the prototypes of strife within the world, See: LICHTHEIM 1976: 48.

¹² LGG vol. 4: 703.

¹³ About the second kind of the judgment of the Dead, see: MORENZ 1973: 125-30.

¹⁴ Should be *wꜣ*, cf. FAULKNER, *AECT* vol. 1 1973: 209, note 11.

¹⁵ Should be *wḥm*, cf. FAULKNER, *AECT* vol. 1 1973: 209, note 13.

¹⁶ CT vol. 4: 20 d-21 f; -22 a-c.

¹⁷ FAULKNER, *AECT* vol. 1 1973: 209-10.

above, of greater importance is that spell in which he is calming the two Rivals down in time of the rage, removing the traces resulting from the physical struggle between them i.e., the blood:

Ink Dḥwtj ... iw shr.n.i Rḥwy m ʒʒt.sn nšny iḥ.n.i iʒ.i dšrw šh.n.i hnnw

«I am Thoth ... I have made the two Rivals content in their moment of strife. I have come to wash away the red (i.e., the blood), I have calmed the tumult»¹⁸.

Within the domain of this idea, the deceased boasts that he is the one who fends off their quarrel *šntt* on the day of judging (*wḏꜥ-mdw*):

Ink wꜥ m nw-n ḥtp.n Pth ḥr.s m dʒit bʒw Iwnw iw dr.n.i šntt m Rḥwy hrw wḏꜥ-mdw iw dr.n.i iʒkbw iw jny.n.i ḥꜥt

«I am the unique one among those with whom Ptah is delighted at the ferrying of the souls of Heliopolis; because I put an end to the dispute of the Rivals, (on) the judgment day. I put an end to sadness and brought gladness»¹⁹.

So, in one of the texts that the deceased is identified with the god Hetep, he enumerates some of his good deeds done to the gods, one of which is to make the two gods stop the hustle, and to fend off the riot from them:

*ḥpr m Ḥtp nb šḥwt ḥtpw*²⁰ ... *šḥtp.f ḥꜣwy*²¹ ... *kmʒ.f nfrt in.n.f ḥtpt ... dr.f ḥnw r Rḥwy*

«Becoming as the god Hetep, Lord of the fields of offerings ... He pacifies the two Combatants ... he creates the good, he brings the contentment ... he removes uproar away from the two Rivals»²².

The deceased confirmed that he is the one who put an end to this strife by separating them²³: *Ink t(ʒ)š*²⁴ *ʒgb wp Rḥwy iḥ.n.i dr.n.i dḥi*²⁵ *ḥr Wsir*

«I am the one who demarcates the floodwater, the one who separates the two Rivals. I have come, I have removed the abasement from over Osiris»^{26,27}.

Furthermore-in another text- the deceased is shown also represented as the god Horus the Elder, judging between Horus and Seth:

Wsir N pn twt Smsw iw wḏꜥ.n wsir N pn Rḥwy m sky pt

¹⁸ *BD* 182: QUIRKE 2013: 469.

¹⁹ *CT* vol.7: 16 g-k.

²⁰ *Ḥtp* is the god of the field of offerings *šḥt ḥtpw*. The ancient Egyptians took great efforts to guarantee that Afterlife would be happy after death. They used art and ritual represent the places in which they hoped to enjoy their immortality. the field of Hetep is depicted as a map-like image (Spell *CT* 466), placed in most cases on the inside of the inner coffin, annotated with descriptions of locations and activities which all seem to have been designed to enable the deceased to be provisioned for all eternity; cf. ROBINSON 2007: 131-148.

²¹ See below about *ḥꜣwy*

²² *CT* vol.5: 336 a, 340 b-e, 341 c-e.

²³ Separator of the two Rivals is an epithet of the god Thoth. As Thoth, the deceased obtains access to the afterlife, cf. QUIRKE 2013: 19.

²⁴ Incorrectly for *tʒš*, FAULKNER 1964: 301, 294.

²⁵ Cf. spell *BD* 4 in QUIRKE 2013: 19, where the papyrus mentions the word *ʒḥt* (field) instead of *dḥi*, thus giving the context no meaning.

²⁶ It might be an allusion to the right given back to the god Osiris after Horus had proved his legitimacy on the throne of Egypt.

²⁷ *CT* vol.7 346 a-b.

«O, this Osiris N, you are (Horus)²⁸ the Elder, this Osiris N has judged between the two Rivals, namely the two who would demolish the heaven»²⁹.

A part of the strife that carried on between the two Rivals was represented in a spell that compared the vindication of the deceased with that of Horus when triumphed over Seth. The spell gives an etiological myth about the pool in the temple of Heliopolis. The two Rivals hacked up the earth (*hbs t3*) while fighting so that their legs dig the pool of the god (*šdyt ntr*) in Heliopolis. The fight is ended by Thoth:

Rdi m3c-hrw s r hftyw.f m hrt-ntr hbs t3 h3.n Rhwy šd.n rdwy.sn šdyt ntryt m Twnw iy Dhwtw db3 m s'h.f s'h.n sw Itm m-hrt phty Wrty htp.ti hr.f tm h3 htm hnnw ... ind hr.tn srw ntrw m3c-hrw Wsir N pn m hrw pn hr.tn mi m3c-hrw Hr r hftyw.f hrw.f pw nfr³⁰ n h'w

«A man is acquitted against his enemies in the Realm of the Dead. The land was hacked up when the two Rivals were fighting, their feet have dug the sacred pool in Heliopolis.

Now comes Thoth embellished with his dignity, for the god Atum has glorified him with might, and the Two Great Ladies are delighted with him. Thus, the fighting is ended, the turmoil is perished ... Hail to you, magistrates of the gods! this Osiris N is vindicated before you on this day, as Horus was vindicated against his enemies on that happy day of accession»³¹.

III. *Rhwy* AS THE TWO COMPANIONS

As it is stated above, the word *Rhwy* concerning Horus and Seth is understood and interpreted as the two Rivals when talking about the conflict carried out between them and the trials made by the gods to put an end to this struggle. But *Rhwy* sometimes best translated as the two Companions, depending on the context of the texts that ignore the enmity between them, focusing on other subjects. Interestingly, the union of the two gods as the two Companions was depicted later in the - 2nd hour, upper register of - *Amduat*³² and also in the 11th Hour of *Book of Gates*, middle register, scene 78 - as a figure with two heads, one of which is of Seth and the other one is of Horus [FIGURE 2/a-b]. As PIANKOFF says³³, this figure represents the two forces of good and evil conciliated and form one figure. In conclusion, Horus and Seth are to be the gods who fought, separated, and then reconciled and reunited. In the texts mentioned above, the deceased is always the one who, either playing the role of Thoth or other gods, put an end to the conflict between Horus and Seth, named together as the 'two Rivals'. But in other texts, they help the deceased; especially, if we consider the positive role of Seth that occurs already since the Old kingdom Pyramid Texts:

²⁸ Horus is added upon comparison with CT vol.4: 28 a, Cf. FAULKNER, *AECT* vol.1 1973: 211, note.5.

²⁹ CT vol.4: 29 a-b. Destruction of the sky might be a threat and an allusion about how violent the conflict between the two Rivals was.

³⁰ This is the day when Horus takes over his father's kingship. Using the word *h'w* referring to the day of coronation, See: GARDINER 1953: 23.

³¹ CT vol.1: 19 b-d, 20 a-c, 21 a, 22 a-b, d.

³² WARBURTON 2007: 54, N^o.38.

³³ PIANKOFF 1954: 209.

*ir.tn n.i wꜣt r.f m šdyt šht Htp srd.tn nhwt ḥr š.i pn m šw mfkꜣtyw*³⁴ in *Rḥwy srd.ty sw m ḥwy.sn šḥmw*

«You (?) Will prepare a path for me to it in the plot of the god's field of Hotep, you will plant trees in this my garden between the waterways of them of turquoise; it is the two Companions are the ones who plant it with their mighty arms³⁵»³⁶.

Unreasonably, that the two gods while helping the deceased they fought or conflict. This idea can also be supported in an almost obscure text where the deceased -through the context- is protected, beloved from the gods, adored by the patricians, and served by the plebs - will be referred to the *Rḥwy*, who are described here as non-combatants or peaceful:

ind ḥr.k Wsir N pn ꜣꜣ ḥr tp-nfr imyw sꜣbyw wd.k Wsir N pn n Rḥwy ḥtpyw(?)

«Hail to you this Osiris N, O great one who surpasses the just person, who is amongst the jackals ... May you refer this Osiris N to the satisfied (?) Companions »³⁷.

These Two Companions are to be the gods who will announce the deceased' arrival into the Columned Hall, where he is advised to entrap all those who would harm him lest not to deter from arriving the entrance of the sky: *pr.k ꜣꜣ.k m Twnyt wḥm n.k Rḥwy*

«May you go out and in in the Columned Hall, may the two Companions report to you»³⁸

Additionally, the place where the deceased is judged is named 'the Hall of the two *Rḥwy*':

Wsir N mꜣꜣ-ḥrw iw.k m ꜣḥ šps šḥm m ḥrt-nṯr iw.k wdꜣ.tw m wsht nt wpt Rḥwy

«Osiris N, true of voice. You are a noble and strong Akh in the Realm of the Dead.

You are judged in the Hall of the two Companions»³⁹

Now comes the question to ask about the relationship and the deceased's attitude towards each of those two gods separately.

III- THE DECEASED' RELATION CONCERNING THE GOD HORUS

Since the deceased is occasionally considered as the god Osiris or identified with other gods his relation is always a positive one concerning the god Horus. The deceased is usually stands at Horus' side. Although he was never biased for any of the two Rivals, the deceased always confirms his loyalty to the god Horus. Accordingly, numerous texts show the deceased playing the role of various gods in which he helps Horus in many ways; basically, concerning his conflict with his rival the god Seth. Numerous examples show the permanent positive relationship between the deceased and Horus, one of which that relates to the sacred Eye wounded by Seth during their conflict: The deceased filled the eye (*Irt*) after it was damaged on the day of the battle between the two Rivals, i.e., Horus and Seth:

³⁴ Translated in: FAULKNER, *AECT* vol. 2: 261 as waterways of them depending on the determinative sign of the god following with three strokes.

³⁵ Incorrectly written as *ḥwy šḥmw.sn*; *CT* vol. 4: 331 d-f. In an ambiguous text, the power of the two Companions is given to the deceased, see: *CT* vol. 4: 320 w-321 a-e.

³⁷ *CT* vol.4 326 e-f.

³⁸ *BD* spell 169: QUIRKE 2013: 421.

³⁹ *KRI* vol.7: 22,15.

*Ṭw mh.n.i Ṭrt m-ḥt ḥks.s hrw pw n ḥz Rḥwy Ptr rf sw ḥz Rḥwy hrw pw ḥz.n Hr im.f ḥnḥ Sth
m-[ḥt] wdt.f stz w m ḥr n Hr m-[ḥt] itt Hr ḥzrwy n Sth*

«I restored the (sacred) Eye after it was injured that day when the Rivals fought. What does it mean the Rivals fought? It signifies the day Horus fought with Seth; when he inflicted injury on the face of Horus, and when Horus took away the testicles of Seth»⁴⁰.

In conformity with this idea, playing as well the role of the god Thoth, the deceased pacifies Horus and eliminates everything evil that could have been happened to him:

Ṭnk Dhwtw iw shtp.n.i Hr ... sḥm n.f ḥt nb ḏwt

«I am Thoth, I have pacified Horus ... consuming for him all evil things»⁴¹.

Wherefore, here the deceased was not negative or neutral concerning this fight, he took the side of Horus, in contrast to what was stated above. Traditionally and normally, the relation of the deceased to Horus is positively considered. The texts always represent the deceased as the god Horus himself or acting or taking the role of him; apart from that exceptional text in which the deceased rejects surprisingly many gods to come with their evil coming, like Osiris, Seth, Khenty-n-irty,⁴² Isis, Thoth, Nephthys and as well Horus:⁴³

Ṭmy iw Wsir m iwt.f tw ḏwt ... imy iw Hr m iwt.f tw ḏwt

«May Osiris not come with this evil coming ... May Horus not come with this evil coming»⁴⁴.

Now we have to ask about the deceased's attitude towards the god Seth separately away from the idea of the two *Rḥwy*. Turner, in his treatise on the god Seth, divided the religious texts in which Seth is mentioned into three categories: negative, positive, or neutral. Negative texts include descriptions of the conflict between Seth and Horus. The positive texts relate to the god Seth with the help he offers to Osiris- the deceased in several ways. Finally, texts that mainly concerned with descriptions of «the Hills of Seth and Horus» and some ritual functions ascribed to Seth⁴⁵. These categories are to be applied to the Texts in the study, apart from this article is concerned only about the positive and negative role of Seth.

IV- THE DECEASED'S RELATION CONCERNING THE GOD SETH

Contrary to what above stated about the deceased' relation concerning Horus; the relation of the deceased with the god Seth has two faces: on one hand the traditional and normal negative role that always makes the deceased being exposed to danger through his acts; on the other hand, the positive role Seth offers astonishingly to the deceased.

⁴⁰ CT vol.4: 232 a-233 b; 234 a-b; 236 a-b. Cf. BD17 (= URK V 32, 3-8).

⁴¹ BD 182: QUIRKE 2013: 469.

⁴² About this god (*Mḥnty-n-irty* /*Hnty-n-irty*/*Hnty-irty* /*Hnty-n-irty*) See: JUNKER 1942.

⁴³ PT Utterance 534 is an old anti-Osirian text in which the Pyramid enclosure is not to receive Osiris, Horus, and Seth, nor is it to receive Mekhenti-irti, Thot, Isis, Nephthys, enemies, nor the deceased king unless he desires to ascend to the home of the sun-god; Cf. MERCER vol. 3: 1952: 631.

⁴⁴ PT 1267a; 1268a.

⁴⁵ TURNER 2013.

1- The Negative Role of the God Seth.

The negative relationship of the deceased with the god Seth is a reciprocal one. On one hand the deceased fear him; on the other hand, Seth is exposed to many actions that could be punishing ones⁴⁶. The deceased is restraining Seth through the fetters with which he is tied:

*h3 Wsir N pn n mwt.n.k is mwt ... shn mdwt.k Stḥ Hnt*⁴⁷.

«O this Osiris N, you have not died the death ... may your bonds wind⁴⁸ round Seth of *Hnt*»⁴⁹.

In another text where it is recited to drive off the two *Mrwt*⁵⁰, who might deprive the man of his soul, the deceased asserted not only that he has smitten Seth but as well, he cuffed him with fetters⁵¹:

hsf Mrwt ... iw ḥwi.n.i Stš iw nttw.n.i sw

«To drive off the two *Mrwt* ... I have beaten Seth and I have chained him »⁵².

ind ḥr.k Wsir N pn ... smn.k n.k k3sw Stš ḥn^c snty.f

«Hail to you, this Osiris N' . . . May you make firm for yourself the bonds of Seth and his sisters»⁵³.

But in other texts, we find Isis calling the gods to protect her son Horus, represented as the deceased, who is said to have killed Seth:

Irt ḥprw m bik ... dd mdwt.f ḥr it.f sm3t.f Stš ḥft n it.f Wsir

«Taking shape as a falcon ... What he is going to say regarding his father, what he is going to kill is Seth, the foe of his father Osiris »⁵⁴

As the deceased has power over Seth:

R n shm m mw tm mwt m ḥrt-ntr ... di.k shm.i m mw mi ʿt m Stš sby

⁴⁶ About Seth in this role, See: TE VELDE 1968: 37-40.

⁴⁷ *Hnt* is the 4th Nome of Lower Egypt, situated probably in Kom al-Ahmar, Giza governorate: See. GAUTHIER vol.4: 1927: 31.

⁴⁸ *shn mdwt.k* 'your bonds wind round (lit 'embrace')', Cf. FAULKNER *AECT* vol.1: 1978: 63, N^o. 30.

⁴⁹ *CT* vol.1 286 a-287 a, 289 a.

⁵⁰ *Mrwt*: 'here is not the word for «well-beloved», since that interpretation would be entirely inappropriate. *mrwt* is determined with a pair of birds and is in fact regularly construed as a dual. It is possible that it may be the original form of *mrwytt*, quoted in *Wb.* 2, 104, 15 as an epithet of Sakhmet, in which case it might well carry a connotation of something to be dreaded, See: FAULKNER *AECT* vol. 2: 77, N^o. 2.

⁵¹ Compare the scene depicting Seth being caught, fettered and placed upside down under the seat of Osiris: (VANDIER 1961: 10).

⁵² *CT* vol.5: 297 a; 300 a-b; cf. *CT* vol.5: 311 d; 314 o. Cf. *CT* vol.5: 316 e: *iw ḥwi.n.s Stḥ ḥr wdb pw n...* 'a coffin of a lady.

⁵³ *CT* vol.4: 325 l- m.

⁵⁴ *CT* vol.2: 209 c, 213 a-b. Moreover, the deceased insists on going into and coming forth from the Hall of Justice as a justified person, as he is protected from being killed by Seth' knife or being locked up in a prison, see *BD* 163: BUDGE vol. 3: 1989: 37. See as well: FAULKNER 1972: 160: *Ir ir.tw md3t tn ḥr-tp t3 nn kf3.tw.f in ipwtw thī nty irr ḥww* (ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb.* 3, 247, 7) *in t3 dr.f nn dm.(tw).f nn mwt.f n šʿt n Stš nn it.tw.f r ddḥw nb ḥr ʿk.f r knbt pr m m3^c-ḥrw* «If this text used on earth he will not be seized by the messengers of attack who commit wrong in all the earth. His (head) shall not be cut off, he shall not die through the knife of Seth. He shall not be taken to any prison. But he shall enter the council and come forth justified».

«Spell for possessing power over water and not dying in the Realm of the Dead ...

May you grant me power over water as over a limb⁵⁵ of ⁵⁶ Seth the mutinous»⁵⁷.

Within a dialogue between Osiris and his son Horus whom the deceased is identified with, he replies to his father that he is coming as he had already smitten Seth and his confederacy:

It.i Wsir mk wi iy.kwi hr.k hwi.i n.k Stš smz.n.i n.k smzyt.f iw hwi.n.i hwi tw kni.n.i knyw tw ink ⁵⁸ *itt m wsr iw^c mi-kd iw nd.n.i dt.i ds.i shr.n.i hftyw.i*

«O my father Osiris⁵⁹, here am I; I have come to you, for I have struck Seth for you, I have killed his confederacy for you, I have beaten who smote you, I have cut down ⁶⁰ who cut you down. I am one who conquers by force, the heir of everything; I myself guarded my body, I killed my enemies»⁶¹.

As well, the deceased imprisoned the god Seth' confederacy, referred them to the slaughtering place *hbt*:

t3š.n.i ⁶² *smzwt Stš ir.n.i dt.sn iw rdi.n.i sn m hbt* ⁶³.

«I have put an end to the confederacy of Seth; I have caused them to be slaughtered. I have put them in the place of execution »⁶⁴.

One side of the deeds done by the deceased to Osiris is, protecting him, helping him to triumphant over Seth, and prevents Seth from injuring the Eye of his son Horus. The deceased as one who equips his spirits, opens the paths in the Netherworld, entering into the horizon, that he may see his father Osiris in order to protect him from Seth:

dd-mdw in N mk wi iw.kwi wbz.(i) dwzt m3z.i it.i Wsir ... iy.n.i nd.i Wsir m-^c Stš

«Words spoken by N: Behold, I have come to open the underworld and to see my father Osiris ... I have come in order to save Osiris from Seth »⁶⁵.

And as well to prevent Seth from injuring the Eye of Horus⁶⁶:

Wsir N pn inn.(i) n.k pdt ⁶⁷ *ib Stš ndr n.k sn Wsir N tn mn n.t irt Hr hwi sy tm.f sy ... Wsir N tn mn n.t irt Hr irt.n Stš r.s Wsir N tn mn n.t irt Hr m3zt.n.f gs.f m-^c Stš hnp.f sy*

«O Osiris this N, (I) bring to you what expands ⁶⁸ the heart of Seth; seize them for you. O Osiris this N, take for you the Eye of Horus; protect it lest not he to consume it ... O Osiris this N, take for yourself the Eye of Horus, against which Seth acted. O Osiris

⁵⁵ Cf. CT vol.5: 10 o where the scribe replaced the limb with the food: FAULKNER AECT vol.2 1978, N° 2.

⁵⁶ Note the use of m for the genitive, FAULKNER AECT vol.2 1978, N° 5.

⁵⁷ CT vol.5: 8 a-b, e.

⁵⁸ Or *N pn*

⁵⁹ The deceased, as Horus, replies Osiris, See: FAULKNER AECT vol.1: 1978: 223 N° 5.

⁶⁰ *Nki* is translated as «cut down» depending on the knife- determinative, cf. FAULKNER 1964: 279.

⁶¹ CT vol.4: 56 c-h.

⁶² *t3š* is written incorrectly as *t3šn*.

⁶³ About *hbt* as a place of destruction, See HORNUNG 1968: 20; GAD 2002: 424-428.

⁶⁴ CT vol.4: 213 i.

⁶⁵ CT vol.7: 2 n-p; s.

⁶⁶ See: «I have rescued the eye from its void ... I have judged Seth in the upper houses and the Elder with him»: (QUIRKE 2013: 190). This was an allusion to what happened to the eye of Horus resulting from their physical fight together. Cf. as well: «I have separated Seth from the Houses of the above because of the Elder who was with him» In: FAULKNER 1972: 80.

⁶⁷ Written with superfluous d.

⁶⁸ Might refer to the water which is in the Eye of Horus, Cf. CT vol.7: 58a.

N, take the Eye of Horus for yourself, that the half of which he saw in the hand of Seth when he grabbed it »⁶⁹.

Making Horus to triumphant over Seth:

R n tm wnm ḥs m ḥrt-nṯr ... ṯ ḥry Šwsty di iṯ.i dt.i ... iw sm3̄.i ḥrw Ḥr r Stš

«Incantation for not eating faeces in the Realm of the Dead ... O you who are over Shusety,⁷⁰ let me possess my body ... because I have le Horus triumphant over Seth»⁷¹.

Accordingly, the deceased declines to confer his powers to Seth' messengers as he obtains his *b3*-soul and magic:

*In.n N pn b3.f in.n N pn ḥk3w.f nḥm.n N b3.f nḥm.n N pn ḥk3w.f n rdi.n N pn 3ḥw.f n wptyw Stš ḥnh m ʿw3.f*⁷².

«This N has brought his soul, this N has brought his magic, and N has taken possession of his soul, this N has captured his magic, this N will not give his powers to the messengers of Seth who live from their robberies»⁷³.

Apart from the very meaning of the texts just stated above, and which display conclusively that, the deceased occasionally is opposed or being hostile to the god Seth, acting for the sake of Osiris or even Horus; the other aspect of the relation connected the deceased with Seth, shows that he fears Seth. The deceased even doesn't want to go on the same way on which the god Seth walks:

mk ṯw iy.i 3ḥ.i ḥpr.i šm.k irf ḥr w3t ḥr w3t wrt iwʿt wʿ tm ḥ3w Stš im.s m-ḥt ḥ3

«Behold, you have come, spirit-like and equipped. On which way did you go⁷⁴? By the great road which the Sole One inherited, and on which Seth could not go down after the strife»⁷⁵.

The deceased asserts all time that he is capable to repel any attempt Seth tries to harm him. In a resurrection text, the deceased affirms that his bones are to be reassembled like those of Osiris, as he shall not die and Seth will have no power upon him:



R n ḥnmṯt nt Wsir ... ḥ3y.n.i ḥwi.i it.i ... rḥ.n.i rn.t n mt.i n šḥm Stš im.i

«Spell for the nurse of Osiris ... I have gone down to protect my father ... I know your name,⁷⁶ and I will not die, nor will Seth have authority on me»⁷⁷.

It is not only the god Seth whom the deceased feared that could have power over him but as well his confederacy:

šḥ3w-r3 ddw n Wsir N pn ... n šḥm sm3wt Ḥr Stš im.f

⁶⁹ CT vol.7: 58 e-h, l-m.

⁷⁰ : ambiguous meaning but might recall the goddess  *šwst* in PT 123 a, See: FAULKNER AECT vol.3: 1978: 114, N^o. 7; LGG vol.7: 44.

⁷¹ CT vol.7: 5, 229 k; 230 m, o.

⁷² *ʿw3.f* Should be read as *ʿw3.sn* to agree with the plural *wptyw*. See: FAULKNER AECT vol.2:1978: 238, N^o. 14.

⁷³ CT vol.4: 294 j-l.

⁷⁴ The deceased is questioned, but by whom is not clear: See: FAULKNER AECT vol.1: 1978: 110, N^o. 4.

⁷⁵ CT vol.2 141c-142a.

⁷⁶ Might refer to the Mistress of Death according to the interpretation of DE BUCK's: CT vol.3: 348, n.3*.

⁷⁷ CT vol.3: 347 a-c; 349 d-f.

«Incantations which are given for this Osiris N ... The confederacy of Horus⁷⁸ and Seth has no authority over him»⁷⁹.

It is worth noting, that many different texts are to support or help the deceased against Seth carried out through gods. Gods advocate the deceased as they do for Horus in court:

Wsr N pn pr n.k wr.ti ʿz.ti mi pr Rʿ wrw ʿzw hr gs izbt n pt ntrw mdw hr- tp -n Hr shr.tn n.f Sth ntsn mdw.sn hr-tp-n Wsr N pn shr.sn n.f hftyw

«O this Osiris N, come out great and mighty as *Reʿ* came out great and mighty on the eastern side of the sky. The gods who spoke on behalf of Horus and overthrew Seth for his sake, they shall speak on behalf of this Osiris N and overthrow his enemies on his behalf»⁸⁰.

In a spell to give the head of the deceased back - in the Realm of the Dead on that day when the heads of the deities were fastened - many gods are represented helping him, among of who are Shu, Tefnut, and Ptah-Sokar:

Tw rdi.n n.i mwt.i zhw.s sstz dwn.n sz.i ʿwy.f hr.i ⁸¹ *r dr nkn ir.n Stš r sstz irt.n.f r.i m rn.i pwy ... N mʿ-hrw* «My mother has given to me her hidden power. My son has extended his arms over me, in order to remove the injury which Seth did in secret! which he did against me ⁸² in this my name ... N true-of-voice»⁸³.

In another appeal,⁸⁴ a god is not only beseeched to guide the deceased through the Netherworld safely but as well to overcome Seth and his confederacy:

ind hr.k Nfr-hr ... szh.k sw dzi.k n.f hftyw.f ssm.k sw r swt nfrt nt hrt-ntr hwi.k n.f smzw Stš
«Hail to you, Beautiful of countenance ... May you make him a spirit, may you suppress his enemies for him, may you guide him to the fair places of the Realm of the Dead, may you inflict the confederacy of Seth for him»⁸⁵.

Isis is also protecting the deceased from Seth. She defends him against those who would harm him with words she pronouncing. In a spell to ‘repel any who would place (ill) remembrance ⁸⁶ in the Realm of the Dead’, the deceased is threatening who would cut off heads and sever necks at the will of his enemy Seth,⁸⁷ that Isis is protecting him through:

⁷⁸ We have no clue that the confederacy of Horus could be dangerous to the deceased as those of Seth. The confederacy of Horus is not attested in *Wb*. Vol. 3 or *LGG* vol.4, apart from *Smzyt* is mentioned in binary meaning: positive one as *Smzyt* Osiris or Sokar; a negative as when talking about Seth, Apophis and *Nh3-hr*. Cf. *LGG* vol.4: 316-319.

⁷⁹ *CT* vol.7: 48 d, f.

⁸⁰ *CT* vol.1: 38 b-c; 39 a- 40a.

⁸¹ The reading suggested by FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 155, N^o. 3.

⁸² The deceased is identified as the god Osiris.

⁸³ *CT* vol.4: 126 a, i-k.

⁸⁴ An appeal to other gods: Anubis, Ptah – Sokar, Shu, *Reʿ*, Thoth, Wep-wawet, the two Enneads, Isis, Nephthys and, *wn-ʿnwy* that they may care for the deceased.

⁸⁵ *CT* vol.4: 123 b, 125 a-d.

⁸⁶ ‘The significance of *sh3* here is not altogether clear; one would imagine that the deceased would welcome the perpetuation of his memory. To make the spell comprehensible a nuance of ill-repute has to be attached to *sh3*’ see FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 85, N^o. 1.

⁸⁷ FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 84 (spell 453). Cf. *CT* vol.5: 325 g.

n tsy ipwy dd.n 3st r.k «Of these two sentences that Isis said against you»⁸⁸.

Geb is also addressed to help the deceased to regain all of his family back, which are to be saved from the enemies of them, namely the god Seth and his confederacy once again through the goddess Isis:

Tw wd.n Gb rp^c ntrw rdi.t(w) n.i 3bt.i msw.i snw.i it.i mwt.i mrwt.i dmiw.i nb nhmw m-^c Stš m-^c tnwt⁸⁹ nt⁹⁰ 3st wrt

«Geb, the head of the deities, decreed that my family, my children, my brethren, my father, my mother and all my servants and my dependents are to be given to me, and that they would be saved from the acts of Seth and from the numbering⁹¹ by Isis the Great»⁹².

Osiris is, as well, one of the deities who offer help, he is protecting the deceased from Seth and his confederacy:

h3i Wsir N pn iw wb3 n.k sb3w nw w3wt Imht⁹³ ... shr.n.i (n).k hftyw.k bhñ.n.i n.k sbyw.k hsf.(n).i Stš isdy.i n.k sm3wt.f rdi.n.i n.k m3^c-hrw m itrtv

«Come down (to me⁹⁴), O this Osiris N, because the doors of the paths of the Netherworld are opened for you ... I have felled your foes (for) you; I expelled your opponents for you, I have dismissed Seth (for you), I have spat⁹⁵ on his confederacy for you, I have given you vindication in the Two Conclaves»⁹⁶.

What is weird here, that the god Osiris is always represented as a god in need of assistance and support; he is here offering help and protection to the deceased.

2- The Positive Role of the God Seth

The other side of the deceased's relation with Seth is represented in many aspects. In a resurrection text, where Seth supports the deceased, and the speaker threatening that, that 'the winds of the sky would be destroyed if the warmth upon the mouth of the deceased is destroyed' as this warmth, is the warmth issued from the nostrils of Seth:

h3 Wsir N pn tsi tw hr ksw.k bi3 iw.f.k [nbw] [h]^cw.k pw n ntr n hsd.n.f n hw3.n.f n htm.n.f [...] pry m ms3dty Stš htm t3w nw pt htm srf imy r.k

⁸⁸ CT vol.5: 322 k.

⁸⁹ Its meaning escapes me, as it is an illegible word within the context.

⁹⁰ Should be in «by» to give a better interpretation.

⁹¹ Cf. FAULKNER 1964: 305, where *tnw hb* is mentioned as a religious fest.

⁹² CT vol.2: 151c-e.

⁹³ A name of the Netherworld, See: EGBERT 1995: 123-124. LGG vol.1: 367 cited *imht* as a name of the 6th mound of the Netherworld, mentioning that it is first attested! in the *BD* of the New Kingdom spell 149 and 150.

⁹⁴ «Me» presumably is Osiris. See: FAULKNER *AECT* vol.1: 1978: 238, N^o. 2.

⁹⁵ Spitting on someone is a sign of humiliation, apart from other positive uses. Many words denote to «spit» or «spittle». On one hand, they have positive meanings as: Spittle *tf* could protect (*PT* 419 a-c), Seth is propitiated with the spittle *nhh* of the earth-god *3kr* (*BD* 96, 1-2), *išš* with the meaning of «create» (*PT* 1652 c), spittle *išš* with which the king is purified and as well Seth and Horus (*PT* 849a- 851 a), *bš* for curing (*PT* 426 a). On the other hand, they have negative implications as: Spitting *nš* for humiliation (*PT* 1270 a-c); spitting *psg* on Apophis (*URK* VI 5).

⁹⁶ CT vol.6: 97 f-g; j-l.

«Ho this Osiris N! Raise yourself upon your iron bones and [golden] flesh, because this [body] of yours belongs to a god; it will not grow rotten, it will not putrefy, it will not be destroyed. [The warmth on your mouth is] that which issued from the nostrils of Seth, and the winds of the sky will be destroyed if the warmth which is on' your mouth is destroyed»⁹⁷.

Seth supports as well the deceased, through the ladder made for him. In an ascension text, the deceased use the ladder of Horus and Seth to reach the sky and join his ka-soul as many gods do,⁹⁸ one of whom is the god Seth:

ḥꜥ mꜣꜣt n Hr ḥꜥ mꜣꜣt n Stš ḥꜥ swt ⁹⁹ *mꜣꜣt wrt ʿꜣt irt n Wsir pr.f ḥr.s r pt ... di mꜣꜣt n N pn di.tn n it.k pr.f ḥr.s r pt ... ntrw ipw wrw ʿꜣw ntyw isyw n kꜣw.sn*

«Stand up, O Ladder of Horus! Stand up, O Ladder of Seth! Stand up, O great and mighty ladder that was made for Osiris, to ascend on it to the sky... Give the ladder to this N which you gave to your father, to ascend on it to the sky ... and those great and mighty gods who went to their doubles»¹⁰⁰.

He is one of the deities that the deceased considers an example, a role model.

sbi sbi ḥnꜥ kꜣ.f sbi Hr ḥnꜥ kꜣ.f sbi Stš ḥnꜥ kꜣ.f ... sbi N pn ḥnꜥ kꜣ.f

«Someone goes with his double ... Horus goes with his double, Seth goes with his double ... this N goes with his double»¹⁰¹.

In a spell of which the beginning is lost, it seems that the deceased is protected from being attacked from behind through an unnamed being by interfering some deities between him and the danger posed by that aggressor, one of whom is the god Seth:

di.n.f sp-sn m sꜣ.ì n ph.n.f wi di.n.f Hr sꜣ ʿꜣst m sꜣ.ì n ph.n.f ¹⁰² *wi di.n.f Stš m sꜣ.ì n ph.n.f wi*

«Twice, he set (someone) behind me, lest not to reach me. He set Horus- son of Isis- behind me, lest not to reach me. He set Seth behind me, lest not to reach me »¹⁰³.

The protection given to the deceased on behalf of Seth seems to have a reason. In the following text, the deceased determine the cause:

Ink ... ndt ntrw n šm rmt ntrw ʒhw mwwt m šnꜥ(t.ì) m ḥmt.ì ink Nfr-ḥr ... ink pw nb ḥnh srr m pt sk Stš m gs .ì n rh.f sšm irt.ì ink nb ḥnh

«I am ... the protector of the gods. Neither men, gods, spirits, nor the dead have the power to turn [me] back to harm me. I am beautiful of face ... I am the lord of life, governing in the sky. Behold, Seth is by my side (i.e., Seth is my protection) because he knows the procedure for what I'm doing; I am the lord of life»¹⁰⁴.

Seth gives his strength to the deceased identified with Horus.

⁹⁷ CT vol.6: 108 d-j.

⁹⁸ These gods are: *Wsir*, *Dḥwty*, *Dwn-ḥnwy*, *Hnty-n-irty*. Cf. PT 17.

⁹⁹ *Sw* is an enclitic particle having the meaning of «But», «however» or little or no force, see GARDINER 1953: §243.

¹⁰⁰ CT vol.4: 402 j-s; Cf. PT 971-972 (Utt.978).

¹⁰¹ PT 17 a-b.

¹⁰² *ph* «reach» probably has here its common sense of «attack», See: FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 111, N^o. 1.

¹⁰³ CT vol.2: 143 a-c.

¹⁰⁴ CT vol.4: 269 p-u.

*ḥms Wsir N pn m-bꜣḥ Gb ... twt Hr ḥdt.f m tp.f iw ms.n sw ꜣst iw šd.n sw Hꜣbyꜣt iw ꜣt,n sw ꜣtyt
Hr iw phr n.f šmw Sth m-ḥꜣw šmw.f iw rdī.n n.f it.f Wsir iꜣꜣty.f iptn iy.n Wsir N pn ḥkn.f
im.s m mꜣꜣ-ḥrw*

«Be seated, O this Osiris N, in the presence of Geb ... for you are Horus with his White Crown on his head. Isis gave birth to him, Khabyt¹⁰⁵ raised him, the nurse of Horus nursed him, the powers of Seth served him more than his own powers; his father Osiris conferred him these two staffs of his. Osiris this N has come and he is rejoicing over it in vindication»¹⁰⁶.

This text enumerates many deities who offered help to Horus, among them is Seth, about whom Turner mentioned that: «Seth was unable to avoid adding his strength to that of the young Horus, a strange state of affairs if one accepts only the adversary of Horus role for Seth but perfectly acceptable if one accepts the view of Seth as the strongest of the gods helping another god»¹⁰⁷.

Seth became a role model for the deceased. In a spell that helps the deceased – identified as Horus - not to enter into the shambles (*nmt*)¹⁰⁸ of the Netherworld, Seth appears here giving an aide to the deceased who beseech to be hale as him - in a weird context - who slew his father, and who could not be else but Seth.

iw ts tst ḥꜣ.i in Stš psdt m wsr.f tpy n ḥprt ḥnnw swdꜣ .tn wi m nw smꜣ it.i
«The knot¹⁰⁹ is tied behind me by Seth, in whose power the Ennead were at first, before uproar had come into being, so that you¹¹⁰ might make me hale as this one who slew my father»¹¹¹.

This text was later copied in Chapter 50 of the Book of the Dead, but with a little amendment. Aside from the translation Quirke provided is somewhat different from mine, I disagree with him. Logically, how does the god Seth tie the knot for the sake of the deceased, and in return the deceased addresses one of the gods to protect him from his father's killers in the same spell and context? Therefore, the transliteration and translation must be submitted following the original text of the coffin text¹¹².

The protection given to the deceased by Seth extended to that far that he is bringing under control the patricians for him:

*Ḳd ḥwt imyt mw ... I rmt I ꜣḥw I mwwt ḥꜣy ḥr sndm mꜣꜣ.sn ḥwt tn nt N pn imyt mw ... Fnfñ
mhnty ... gm.n.f Stš im.s mdw.f m-ꜣ.f ḥr dꜣr pꜣt [n] N pn*

«To build a mansion among the waters ... O men, O spirits, O dead, cheer and be delighted when you see this mansion of this N that lies between the waters... *Fnfñ* 'the

¹⁰⁵ *Hꜣbt* or *Hꜣbyꜣt*: determined with a vulture, is clearly the origin of the vulture-shaped breast-ornament recorded under *Hꜣbyꜣt* in ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb.* vol. 3, 229 N°. 14. Here *Hꜣbyꜣt* is a goddess, a nurse of the young Horus, See: FAULKNER *AECT* vol.1: 1978:10, N°.6.

¹⁰⁶ *CT* vol.1: 47-50 a.

¹⁰⁷ TURNER 2013:212.

¹⁰⁸ About *Nmt* See: GAD 2002: 424-428.

¹⁰⁹ The knot was tightened behind the deceased or around him to grant him control and security; see: MAHMOUD 2019: 60; WENDRICH 2006: 23-27; OGDON 1987: 29-36.

¹¹⁰ It is not clear to whom it refers, See: FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 218, N°. 5.

¹¹¹ *CT* vol.4: 261 e- i.

¹¹² QUIRKE 2013: 130.

ferryman' ... has found Seth in it with his staff in his hand subjugating the patricians [for] this N»¹¹³.

Besides, there is a literary genre of some texts linking the deceased and the Seth concerning foods: he dwells with Seth, sharing him foods, refusing to eat Faeces, as he eats from which the gods eat:

*R n tm wnm ḥs ... ḥns.ī r drw mḥtyw iw.ī r pt mḥtt ḥms.ī im.s ḥnꜥ Stš ... ḥnh.ī m ḥnt.tn im wšh.ī*¹¹⁴ *m wšht.tn im*

«Not to eat faeces ... I will travel to the northern boundaries; I am committed to the northern sky and I will dwell in it with Seth ... I will live on what you (namely the gods asking him on what he will live) live on, and 1 will carouse on what you carouse on»¹¹⁵

*N wnm.ī n.k ḥs*¹¹⁶ *ḥnh.k irf m išst mdw.ḥr.sn*¹¹⁷ *ntrw ḥnh.ī m ḥt 3 tw irt n Wsir iw wꜥt n Hr kt n Stḥ iw n.ī kt ink ḥmt nw.sn*

«I will not eat faeces for you. What will you live on? So say the gods. I will live on those three parts that were made for Osiris; One is for Horus, one is for Seth, the other is for me, and I am the third of them»¹¹⁸.

smt ḥnm wī ... isṯ ink is kꜣ Knst nb t m [Iwnw] ḥt 4 r pt ḥt 3 r tꜣ ir.n.t(w) n.ī nn m ꜣwt m Iwnw ink kꜣ.... m ḥt 5 m pr Hr ḥt 2 m pr Stš

Hey listener! ... Save me ... because I am really the bull of Kenzet,¹¹⁹ an owner of bread in [Heliopolis]; Four portions are in¹²⁰ the sky and three portions are on the earth. These things were made for me as gifts in Heliopolis ... because I am the bull ... with five portions in the House of Horus and two portions in the House of Seth»¹²¹.

Bwt.ī pw isft r Itmw n-ntt ink is imꜣh ... nb n ḥt 7 m Iwnw iw ḥt.ī 3 m pr Hr iw ḥt.ī 2 m pr Stš

«What I abhor is offence against Atum, for I have indeed honor ... an owner of seven portions in Heliopolis; three portions of mine are in the House of Horus, two portions of mine are in the House of Seth»¹²².

*bwt.ī pw ḥs n wnm.ī sw ... ḥnh.ī m ḥt 7 inn.tw t.s 7 hr Hr*¹²³ *hr Stš*

«Faeces is what I abhor, and I will not eat it ... ('What will you live on', say the gods, spirits and dead, 'in this place where you have been brought?') 'I will live on seven portions which are being brought; its seven loaves are with Horus and with Seth»¹²⁴.

¹¹³ CT vol.4: 170 g, 172 g-n.

¹¹⁴ *wšh* has the meaning of 'Flood', and *wšhi* is to 'be inundated'; FAULKNER 1964: 54; so, the person who drinks so much is as inundated with wine. Accordingly, FAULKNER translated it in this meaning according to the context of the text: FAULKNER AECT vol.2: 1978: 184.

¹¹⁵ CT vol.4: 196 s-w, 197 a.

¹¹⁶ Cf. FAULKNER AECT vol.1: 1978: 156, N^o. 2.

¹¹⁷ The preposition is wrongly written before the verb in CT vol.3: 89 c.

¹¹⁸ CT vol.3: 89 b-f. Cf. CT vol.3: 137: «I will live on seven portions of bread; four loaves are in the House of Horus and three in the House of Thoth».

¹¹⁹ Might be a place in the Afterlife, see: ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb.* 5, 133 N^o. 16; LGG vol.7: 291: *Knstyw* «who belong to the place Kenzet».

¹²⁰ Compare the same text where *m* is used instead of *r*. it is probably that *r* denotes to unlimited places, whereas *m* to a specific place.

¹²¹ CT vol.3: 74 e, I; 75 a-d, e-f.

¹²² CT vol.7: 226 h-k.

¹²³ The suffix after Horus is superfluous, see: FAULKNER AECT vol.2: 1978: 302, N^o.6.

¹²⁴ CT vol.4: 406 a, I - j.

In other texts we see the deceased digging a pool in company with Seth:

R n ʿnh m ḥk3w ... di.i sntr mw n it.i mwt ... n ink is m33 šdt šd.n.i sy ḥnʿ Stš

«Spell for living by magic ... I give incense and water to my dead father ... because I am really the one who sees my pool, which I dug in company of Seth »¹²⁵.

Finally, the deceased is given the crown of Seth:

ʾInk Nbt-ḥt iw.n.i ndr.i im.k di.i n.k ib.k m ḥt.k in.n.(i) n.k Hr Wrt-ḥk3w.f ... ʾIn.n.(i) n.k Stš Wrt-ḥk3w.[f]

«I am Nephthys,¹²⁶ and I have come to hold you and place your heart in your body for you; I bring you Horus and his Great-of-Magic¹²⁷ ... I bring you Seth [and his] Great-of-Magic»¹²⁸.

Just as texts are representing the deceased either as Horus or performing his role, the same concept also exists concerning Seth. The purification of the dead is the purification of Horus and Seth:

h3 N rs ts tw wʿb.k wʿb k3.k bd.k bd Hr Stš

«Ho N! Wake up, raise yourself, so that you may be pure and that your Ka may be pure! Your purification¹²⁹ is "the purification of Horus and Seth»¹³⁰.

The deceased inhales as Seth:

ʾTw t3w m fnd n N pn mi Stš

«The air is in the nose of this N like Seth»¹³¹, and who gives him as well air:

ʾI Stš imy 3t.f ʿ3 ng3¹³² ʿ3 ḥry-ib pt mḥtt di n.i t3w ḥryw-ib wtnw šhn.n mḥt-wrt¹³³

«Oh Seth, who possesses his great strength, great longhorn dwelling in the northern sky, may you give me air among the *wtnw*¹³⁴ who give rest to the celestial kine»¹³⁵.

The deceased mimicked Seth: he has power over water as Seth:

R n šhm m mw m ḥrt-ntr ... di.k šhm.i m mw mi šhm Stš m mw m ʿw3t Wsir grḥ pw n nšn ʿ3

«Incantation for having power over water in the Realm of the Dead... grant that I may have power over water just as Seth had power over water in the ʿw3t (?)¹³⁶ of Osiris on that night of the great storm»¹³⁷.

¹²⁵ CT vol.7: 236 a; 238 p, r, t.

¹²⁶ The same text is recited again by the goddess Isis: CT vol.4: 118 p-119 e.

¹²⁷ The 'Great-of-Magic' is the god's crown. FAULKNER AECT vol.2: 1978: 152, N^o. 1.

¹²⁸ CT vol.4: 118 f-n.

¹²⁹ *Bd* is the natron with which the deceased is to be purified, so here the word is used with the meaning thereof. Cf. PT 28 a where the word *ntr* is used as the same meaning «purification».

¹³⁰ CT vol.4: 120 a-c.

¹³¹ CT vol.4: 255 k-m. This spell might be of «resurrection».

¹³² Designation of Seth. He is also called the one who is in his power, LGG vol.4: 366.

¹³³ *Mḥt-wrt* «the great inundation», pictured as a cow lying on a pedestal, stands for «heaven», see: MERCER vol.2: 1952: 163.

¹³⁴ *Wtnw* according to ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: Wb. 1, 381 N^o. 1-2., are beings in the sky; but according to FAULKNER this word may refer to the nobles who supported the Delta king during the war of Unification and who as a result of it became subjects of the king of Upper Egypt. PT 2037 b; FAULKNER AEPT 1978: 293, N^o.3

¹³⁵ CT vol.5: 214 c- 215 a; Cf. CT vol.5: 225 n with little differences.

¹³⁶ ʿw3t translated as «eye (?)» or a part thereof is not recorded by FAULKNER AECT vol.1: 1978: 284, N^o. 10; but the orthography of which does not give a clue to this rendering.

And the tomb that belongs him is well-founded as that of Seth:

Grg [.....] (*m*) *mḥḥt Hr is Stš is imy Hnt* ¹³⁸.

«May [your grave (?)]¹³⁹ be as well-established as the tomb¹⁴⁰ of Horus and the burial-place of Seth who is indeed in *Hnt*»¹⁴¹.

Finally, the deceased will not enter the slaughter- house of the god:

tm ḥ r nmt nṯr inḥ Stš bwt.i pw ḥ r nmt nṯr

«Not to enter into the slaughter-house of the god. I am Seth,¹⁴² What I hate is getting into the shambles of the god»¹⁴³.

tm ḥry m nmt nṯr ... Wnn Wsir N tn im.f nts Stš imy nṯrw n tm Wsir N tn

«Not to fall into the slaughter-house of the god. ... This Osiris N will [not] be in it, for she is Seth who is among the gods,¹⁴⁴ and this Osiris N will not perish»¹⁴⁵.

V. DISCUSSION

Three words are shown up in the previous texts, might refer as well to the two gods, Horus and Seth, when mentioned both together involving in a tumult: *ḥṣwy*, *hnnwy*, *snwy*.

ḥpr m Htp nb shwt ḥtpw ... shṯp.f ḥṣwy ... ḫmṣ.f nṯr in.n.f ḥtpṯ ... dr.f hnw ¹⁴⁶ *r Rḥwy*

«Becoming as the god Hetep, Lord of the field of offerings ... He pacifies the two Combatants ... he creates what is good, he brings contentment ... he removes turmoil away from the two Rivals »¹⁴⁷.

In this text, the three words appear referring to the conflict between Horus and Seth. The deceased, represented here as the god Hetep, separates them in their names as *ḥṣwy* and *Rḥwy*, repelling the *hnnw* – of which *hnnwy* is derived- they caused.

1- *ḥṣwy* (The Two Combatants)¹⁴⁸ :

Despite the word *ḥṣwy* never came in the same context with any allusion to Horus and Seth cited separately, this word is used as a noun that refers assuredly to the two gods. The context of the texts included that word always refer to the action of pacifying 'them', the same concerning the two Rivals.

¹³⁷ CT vol.4: 392 a; 396 a-b. CT vol.4: 392 a; 396 a-b. It is not clear whether the Great storm, is an allusion to the day Osiris was killed or to the conflict of Horus and Seth, but most likely it refers to the legend of Osiris who was killed by Seth.

¹³⁸ See above note 44.

¹³⁹ Restored a word for «tomb» in the lacuna? See: FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 276, N°. 2.

¹⁴⁰ The word is damaged and so it could be restored into *mḥḥt* as what remains show the ending t; so, it could not be is.

¹⁴¹ CT vol.4: 355 l.

¹⁴² Varr.: *Inpw, Rw* :«Anubis, the Lion».

¹⁴³ CT vol.5: 59 a-b.

¹⁴⁴ Despite the deceased here is a female, she is identified as the god Seth.

¹⁴⁵ CT vol.4: 163 a, f-h.

¹⁴⁶ The word *hnw* translated as uproar, might be inspired by the fact that the *hnw* «sailors» always make clamor during their journey. See: the scenes of the sailors fighting in Old Kingdom tombs scenes at Saqqara as in the tomb of Ti and Ptah-Hotep: BOLSHAKOV 1993: 31, FIGS. 1- 2.

¹⁴⁷ CT vol.5: 336 a, 340 b, -e, 341 c-e.

¹⁴⁸ LGG vol.2: 186.

Several gods involved in that action, i.e., calming the two rivals or separating them. Concerning the two Combatants *ḥꜣwy*, it is obvious that the same verbs *šḥtp*, or *wḥ* were used similar to the texts the two Rivals included; but the function of calming the two combatants *ḥꜣwy*, is ascribed to two gods only: Hetep and Thoth and, as well, the deceased:

Hpr m Htp nb šḥt ḥtpw ... ḥny.ī m šw.s spr.ī r niwwt.s ḥnt.kwi r ntr imy.s ... r-ntt inl Htp m šḥt.f sšm psdt.f mrrw.f šḥtp.f ḥꜣwy n irw imnt ... bhḥ.f iꜣkb r smsw.sn dr.f ḥnw r šrryw.sn ... dr.f ḥnnw r Rḥwy

«To become Hetep, the lord of the fields of offerings ... I paddle in its waterways, and reach their cities, for I am more prominent than any god who is in it ... because I am Hetep who is in his field, who guides his Enneads whom he loves, he calms the two Combatants for those who belong to the West ... he expels mourning from their elders, he suppresses hustle for their young ones ... he removes uproar from the two Rivals»¹⁴⁹.

The image the text represents is a chaotic one. The deeds the deceased performing - when becoming as the god Hetep- is as making the world better, setting things straight. He pacifies the two gods who carry two names, *ḥꜣwy* and *Rḥwy*. Not only Hetep who is responsible for calming the two Combatants but as well the god Thoth who pacified (*šḥtp*) them while walking on the inaccessible path (*wꜣt ḏsrt*), moving to Pe and coming out of Dep:

dī.s wī ḥr wꜣt twy ḏsrt ḥpt.n Dḥwty ḥr.s m šḥtp.f ḥꜣwy ḥp.f sp sn r p iwt.f r dp
«She (the tyet-amulet)¹⁵⁰ places me on that sacred road on which Thoth travels, when he pacifies the two Combatants, while he travels, while he travels to Pe, and comes out of Dep»¹⁵¹.

In other texts the two combatants *ḥꜣwy* are to be calmed down through the action of the deceased:

ind ḥr.tn sbḥwt šꜣt rrw ḏsrt stwt nḥm.tn wī m-ꜥ ḥwi sdb nb ḏwy šḥmw m-bꜣḥ.tn r iyt.ī m-bꜣḥ nb r-ḏr shr.n.ī ḥꜣwy

«Hail to you, you Gates whose names are hidden, whose sites are sacred! May you save me from him who would impose any evil obstacle of the mighty ones who are before you until I come into the presence of the Lord of All, (as) I have calmed down the Two Combatants»¹⁵².

šḥtp.f ḥꜣwy n miniw ḥḥw kmꜣ.f nfrt in.f ḥtpw šḥtp.f ḥꜣwy n miniw.sn bhḥ.f iꜣkb r ḥꜣw.sn^{HSH}

¹⁴⁹ CT vol.5: 339 a-d; 340 a-b; 341 a-b, e.

¹⁵⁰ While passing places of mysterious underworld forces, the deceased is welcomed by the tyet-amulet, which could be an incarnation of menstrual blood (BD 156) and whose ambivalent power is echoed in those names of «sister» and «mother». These words might be recited when placing the amulet on the body. The ritual may have been performed when the funeral reached a sun-lit space, perhaps mid-way to burial; see: QUIRKE 2013: 177, 386 (BD 156).

¹⁵¹ BD 75.

¹⁵² CT vol.7: 455 d-456 c. the text is followed by another deed with which the deceased boasts: I have raised up the orphan so that he may make complaint about the injury which was inflicted on his father by *ḥbhꜣ* when his body was slain.

¹⁵³ Cf. «He cuts down the mourners against their fight», in: QUIRKE 2013: 244 where the meaning escapes me.

«He pacifies the two Combatants for the shepherd of the living. He creates good, he brings offerings. He pacifies the two Combatants for their shepherd. he drives away mourning away from their combatants»¹⁵⁴

In an obscure text that might give an allusion to the conflict of Horus and Seth, the deceased is trying to find his way probably to join the gods, but after removing evil away from earth and after putting an end to the tumult between the two Combatants *ḥꜣwy*:

*dr nrw m zkrw ḥwi Wrt wp ḥꜣwy m nšn 603 600 pw m šhw n ḥry š Šw Nw 'Itm Rḥ Nhh
swꜣ.n.(i) ḥr Šw Nw 'Itm Rḥ Nhh Stš 4 Pth Siꜣ imy irt.f tkꜣ ḥt.f*

«Drive off the terrible ones from the earth-gods,¹⁵⁵ protect the Great Lady, separate the two Combatants in 603 storms (*sic*). There are 600 in the breadth of what is over the lake. O Shu, Nu, Atum, *Re*, Old One, I have passed by Shu, Nu, Atum, *Re*, the Old One, the four Seths, Ptah, Sia who is in his Eye, the torch and his fire»¹⁵⁶.

2- *Hnnwy* (The Two Contestants)¹⁵⁷:

In a text in which the deceased king claims his right as Horus, he stated that he is opposed to political disorder (*hnnw*) and war, for he stands for truth: *isd N ḥꜣ bh.n.f hnnw*

«That the king N may smash up the fight and cut off the riotous ones »¹⁵⁸.

This attitude of the deceased king is echoed as well in another spell. PT Utterance 254 deals with the king arriving in the sky, his advent is announced, He threatens a general disaster if no place is designated for him, followed speeches by different deities, then ended with a speech of him:


sḥḥ.s izty ¹⁵⁹ (*N pn*) *m-ḥnt Wrw sk.s š n N m šht-izrw* ¹⁶⁰ *smn.s zḥt.f m šhty-ḥtpw wdḥ N mdw
m Mḥt-wrt imyt Hnnwy sk wsr.f m wsr irt Tbi* ¹⁶¹ *nḥt.f nḥt irt Tbi iw nd.n sw N m-ḥ irw nn ir.f
nḥm šbt.f m-ḥ.f*

«She (Tefnut) sets the two standards of the king N before the Great Ones; she digs a pool for the king N in the Field of Rushes; she establishes his field in the two Fields of Offerings as the king N judges in the *Mḥt-wrt*-cow (the heaven) between the two Contestants, because his power is the power of the eye of *Tbi*, his might is the might of the eye of *Tbi*. He protected himself from those who would do so against him, and those who would take away food from him »¹⁶².

¹⁵⁴ BD 110. Cf. QUIRKE 2013: 244. See as well DAVIS 1908: TAF.16, Z. 30.

¹⁵⁵ About the earth -gods *zkrw* and the relationship with the sun and its creation, see: DE WIT 1951; PIANKOFF 1953.

¹⁵⁶ the interpretation of the text escapes me. CT vol.7: 490 c-t; 491a.

¹⁵⁷  The word is written with two arms as fighting with each, so it is preferable to see in it the two Contestants *Hnnwy*.

¹⁵⁸ PT 319 a. Cf. CT vol.2: 149 c-d (*sḥḥ.n.i mꜣt dr.n.i isft* «I set up truth and expel falsehood»).

¹⁵⁹ Might refer to the two historical parts of Egypt, see: MERCER vol.2: 1952: 135.

¹⁶⁰ About this field as one of the places in which the deceased hoped to live, see: HAYS 2004: 175-200.

¹⁶¹ See *tbi* and *ibi* in: LGG vol.7: 381, 461; but as FAULKNER, he translated the word *irt tbi* as it is the eye of the god *Re*.

¹⁶² PT 289 c- 290 a; FAULKNER 1969: 64.

It seems that the king who stands against tumult was rewarded by lands in the field of Rushes and Offerings as he had already separated between the two Contestants, named here as *Hnnwy*.¹⁶³ The same word is seen once again in BD 182, in which the deceased played the role of Thoth:

Ṛnk Dḥwty iw šḥp.n.i Ḥr ... shr.n.i Hnnwy sꜥm n.f ḥt nb ḏwt

«I am Thoth, I have calmed down Horus ... I have pacified the two Contestants, consuming for him all evil things»¹⁶⁴.

Snwy (the two Brothers)¹⁶⁵: The word *4nwy* is documented from various periods but first attested from the Middle kingdom Coffin Texts. *4nwy* was a designation of the two Rivals *Rḥwy* (Horus and Seth),¹⁶⁶ although they are not brothers as the case of *Rḥty* when referring to the two sisters: Isis and Nephthys. Two texts are there, where *Rḥwy* is followed by the word *4nwy*; the first of which mentions the deceased protected by the *Rḥwy* – who are as well called the two Brothers (*4nwy*), when they judge (*wḏꜥ-mdw*) concerning the *Mḥt-wrt* cow-:

Ṛw.i mki.kwi in mꜣꜣw ḏfꜣw.k m-ḥt Wrw m-bꜣḥ.sn Rḥwy Snwy wḏꜥ-mdw ḥr Mḥt-wrt ... pḥ.n.i ḥft.f nḥm šbwt m-ꜥ.i ib.i r.f ...

«I am protected by those who see your provisions in front of the great ones in their presence, and of the two Companions, the two Brothers, who hold judgement concerning the celestial kine ... I attacked his opponent who would take my meal away from me, and my heart is against him »¹⁶⁷.

The second of which followed with some of the threats recited against whom would deprive the deceased of being copulated with his wife; who would cause his death; and who would diminish his days of life, that:

iw ḏšrwt.f n irw pt iw snf.f n irw tꜣ m-bꜣḥ.sn Rḥwy Snwy wḏꜥ-mdw ḥr Mḥt-wrt šd wi di nn šbwt rdī n.i it.i wp.n n.i it.i Wsir

«His blood shall belong to those who are in the sky, his gore shall belong to those who are on earth in their presence, (even of) the two Companions, the two Brothers, who hold judgement concerning the celestial kine; who save me and who give this food which my father has given to me and which my father Osiris has adjudged to me »¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶³ cf. MERCER vol.2: 1952: 163 where he sees in the two Contestants *Hnnwy* a word that might refer to Horus and Seth, or any strife or clamor.

¹⁶⁴ BD 182: QUIRKE 2013: 469.

¹⁶⁵ LGG vol.3: 368. Interestingly, as well, *Snwy* is shown up as a designation of the two Sobek gods. From an inscription on the outer sarcophagus lid of king Merneptah, a scene depicts the god Osiris-*Reꜥ* and the goddess Neith embracing him, to whom Neith directs this speech. The text enumerates many deities and the functions they played concerning the king, of whom are the two Sobek-gods and as well the two brothers *Snwy* represented as crocodiles whose function is clearly to protect the deceased king: *sdd.i ir.k sdd.i ir.k ink Nit mrrt ḥm.k ... di.i spdt m-sꜣ ḥꜣ.k in.i n.k Ḥr ḏwꜣ.f tw ... in.i f n.k ḥftiw.k škri ḥtm.f sw? ḥr.k ḏt ... Šbkwy snwj m-sꜣ.k snty ḥꜥw ḥr tp.k mki.sn ḥꜥw.k m sꜣḥw.s(n)* «I speak to you; I speak to you. I am Neith, who loves your majesty! ... and I'll leave Sothis behind you for protection. I bring you Horus to worship you ... He brings you your enemies as prisoners, he destroys them under you forever... The two Sobek, the crocodile brothers, are your protection. The sisters have appeared on your head, they protect your limbs with their transfigurations»: see ASSMANN 1972: 56-57 (= KRI IV 70,6-9).

¹⁶⁶ *Snwy* was used frankly to denote to both Horus and Seth from the Saite Period, see LGG vol.4: 368 (GOYON 1972).

¹⁶⁷ CT vol.4: 233 h-m.

¹⁶⁸ CT vol.4: 234 d-h.

VI. CONCLUSION

When talking about the *Rḥwy* as the two Rivals, we see the deceased always trying to put an end to the strife that carried out between the two gods Horus and Seth, calming them. The deceased never biased or show inclination or prejudice for any of the two gods.

But in mutual relation, they help the deceased. It is the two Companions *Rḥwy* who shall plant trees for the sake of the deceased with their mighty arms.

So, no aggression or fear is there against the *Rḥwy*, whether they are the two Rivals or the two Companions.

Apparently, the attitude of the deceased towards them both together as *Rḥwy* - whether it is considered as the two Rivals or the two Companions- differs from his towards them separately.

The deceased's attitude towards Horus is always positive, contrary to Seth which is a binary attitude. The deceased judges Seth, restrains his movement by the bonds, kills or, smites him together with his confederacy, as Seth has no power over him.

And within this aspect, the deceased stands next to Osiris and Horus against Seth, which is to be in contrast to what mentioned above about his neutrality within the conflict which was carried out between them. But on the other hand, Seth protects, helps the deceased in many ways. This is the outstanding role played by the god Seth. So, whether *Rḥwy* are the two Rivals or the two Companions, no harm could be carried out to the deceased.

But when talking about them separately, it is another story. The concept of Seth as a god of confusion appears quite obvious¹⁶⁹.

It is worth noting, though that the role played by each god is different; the texts that mentioned them both together with their direct names i.e., Horus and Seth, show positive interaction with the deceased. They set up a ladder for the deceased, protect and be a good idol him, apply him with foods, offering him their magic, and as well they together purify him.

Some texts represent the deeds done by the deceased towards the two gods as a great action worthwhile a reward. Tefnut digs a pond for him in the field of Rushes and set up a Field of his in the field of Offerings.

It is likely that the deities whom the deceased identifies when pacifying the two gods *Rḥwy*, are here the god Thoth, Hetep, and Horus the Elder. But concerning *ḥꜣwy*, texts confined pacifying them to Thoth and Hetep.

Noteworthy, the word *Rḥwy* is not only the term that refers to both gods together; there are as well the word *ḥꜣwy*, *ḥnnwy*, and as well *Snwy*. All of these words refer to Horus and Seth together in different renderings. *ḥꜣwy* and *ḥnnwy* have always a negative meaning, as they refer usually to both gods while fighting. But as for the word

¹⁶⁹ See: TE VELDE 1977.

Snwy, it accompanies only *Rḥwy* when it having a positive meaning, translated then as the two brotherly companions.

It is worth mentioning that, the word *hnnwy* is derived from the verb *hnn*, the word *ḥꜣwy* from the verb *ḥꜣ*, but as *Rḥwy*, no verb attested.

And as a final note, the word *Rḥwy* refers to three couples of deities: Horus and Seth, Thoth and Seth, and finally *Re*^c and Thoth. Horus and Seth are the two Rivals against each other and who later became the two Companions, while Thoth and Seth are always the two Rivals against the god Horus; whereas *Re*^c and Thoth are the two Companions as being the two eyes of Heaven: the sun and the moon.

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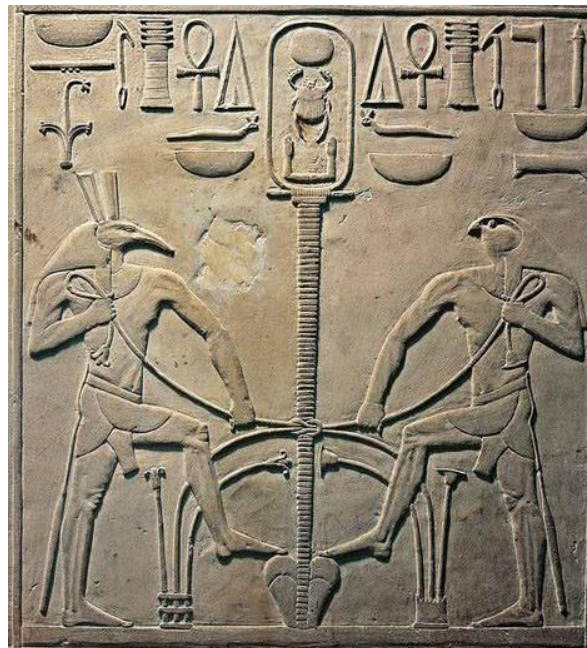
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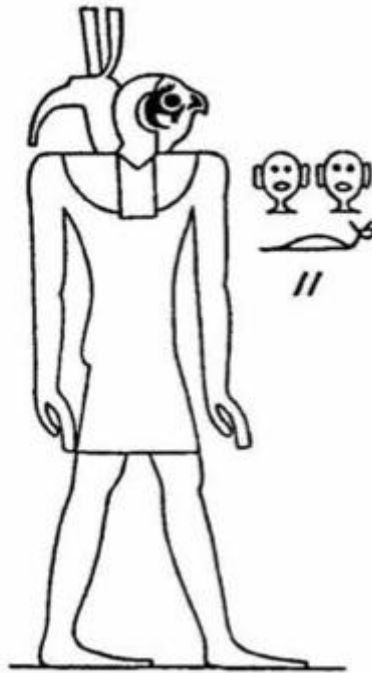
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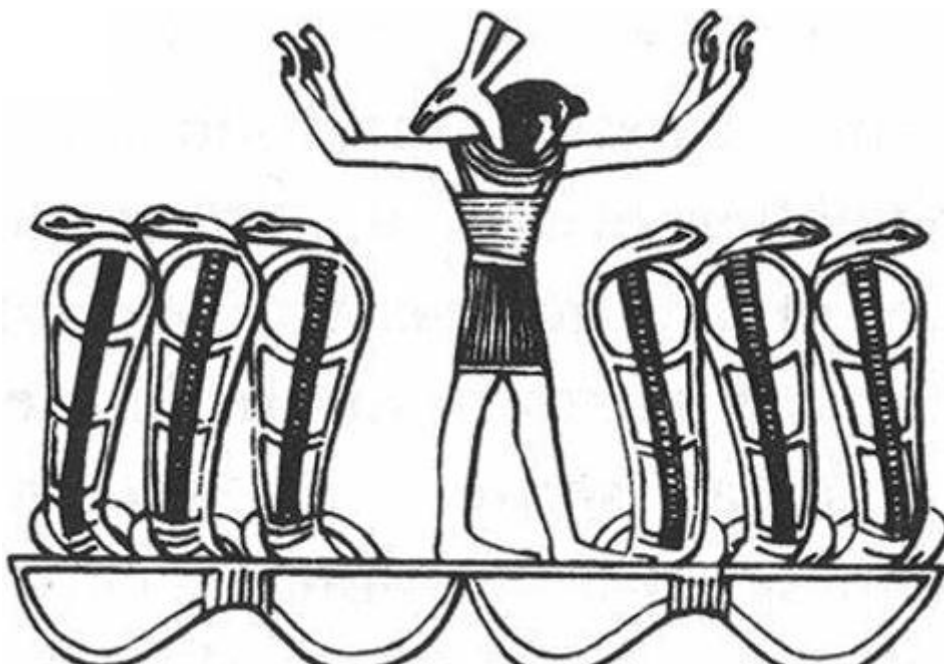
[FIGURE.1a]: The reconciled Horus and Seth crowning Ramses III statue at the Egyptian Museum (JE 31628).



[FIGURE.1b]: The reconciled Horus and Seth tying the papyrus and reed plants in the *sm3-t3wy* symbol for the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt Limestone, from Al Lisht. Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret I. Egyptian Museum (JE 31139).



[FIGURE.2a]: Horus and Seth united as *ḥrwY.fy* 'he with the two faces'
2nd hour- upper register of Amduat, n. 138. WARBURTON 2007: 54.



[FIGURE.2b]: Horus and Seth united as *ḥrwY.fy* 'he with the two faces'
11th hour- middle register of Book of Gates, scene 78. HORNUNG & ABT: 2014: 319.

علاقة المتوفى بـ

Rḥwy, ḥꜣwy, Ḥnnwy, Snwy

ماجدة جاد

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الملخص

التناقضات المزدوجة التي تكمل بعضها البعض واضحة في مصر القديمة. فلدينا السماء والأرض، النهار والليل، الحياة والموت، الأرض الخصبة والصحراء، وكذلك الخير والشر. كان أحد أكثر أشكال الثنائية تميزاً هو الإلهين حور وست. تختلف ترجمة هذه الكلمة حسب السياق. من ناحية، تُترجم على أنها الرفيقين عندما نتحدث أولاً عن الآلهة رع وجحوتي؛ ومن ناحية أخرى، هي المتنافسان حور وست، وبصرف النظر عن أنه يتم ترجمتها أيضاً في بعض الأحيان على أنها الإلهين المتصالحين، أو الرفيقين. يثير هذا التساؤل متى وأين يجب فهم معنى هذه الكلمة على أنها "منافسون أو «رفقاء»! في سياق هذه المقالة، يجب أن نتساءل، بالإضافة إلى ذلك هل العلاقة التي تربط بين الإلهين والمتوفى تختلف عن علاقته بكل إله من هذين الإلهين على حدة؟ لذا، فقد أقتصرت هذه الدراسة عن قصد على نصوص أهرام الدولة القديمة ونصوص توابيت الدولة الوسطى وكتاب الموتى من الدولة الحديثة، حيث تظهر الأفكار والمعتقدات حول الألهين بشكل ملحوظ في تشابه واستمرارية. كما تتعرض الدراسة إلى ثلاث كلمات أخرى فد تلعب نفس الدور للكلمة رحوي.

الكلمات الدالة: رحوي، نصوص الأهرام، نصوص التوابيت، نصوص كتب الموتى ، حور، ست، ايسة، نبت-حت، رع، جحوتي.

2021

BODY SECRETIONS GODDESS IN ANCIENT RELIGIOUS TEXTS

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BODY SECRETIONS GODDESS IN ANCIENT RELIGIOUS TEXTS

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ABSTRACT

Water is considered the origin of everything, as, in the concept of the Ancient Egyptian, the universe came from the Eternal Ocean "Nun" which was in itself a god in the Ancient Egyptian Ideology. Water helps in performing many vital operations for human beings, as it helps in swallowing, digestion, distributing nutritious elements, and the process of excretion. Water helps in the balance of the human body, and it is the main component in the body of blood, Lymphatic fluid, Seminal fluid, Cerebrospinal fluid, as well as being part of the Body Secretions such as milk, tears, urine, sweat, ..., etc. Body Secretions carried significant symbolism and great reference in Ancient Egyptian religious texts, as it represented a means of protection against evils and dangers and against the punishment of the gods. The Secretions also caused rejuvenation of the heart and prevented exhausting it. Secretions were released from the body to remove illnesses and diseases and helped in the holiness and embodiment in the form of the gods, as well as mobilizing the gods for the sake of the deceased: «Isis», «Shu», «Horus», «Hw», «DwA-wr» the eight gods of «*hḥw*». Secretions that came out of the spirits fell to fill the lakes and rivers.

Secretions were related to myths, such as creation myths and mythological locations, such as «Rostau» and the Island of Fire. Secretions also played an important role as they were connected to the gods and punishment of the hereafter, as well as the hope of the deceased not to have detestable Secretions that may ruin his body and lead to his annihilation or destruction.

In addition, the body expelled bad Secretions to get rid of rotten odors and be blessed with perfumes and good odors after that.

KEYWORDS: Secretions, Water, Sweat, Blood, Creation, Myth, Offerings, Island of Fire, Creation, Osiris.

I. INTRODUCTION

Water is the origin of all living creatures as Allah the glorified and exalted be He said. This fact is not only common between celestial religions, but also the Egyptian Ideology recognized it. It is considered one of the creation theories in that water was also the origin of everything, as the universe originally emerged from the eternal ocean Nun that was in itself a god of the Ancient Egyptian ideology¹.

II. WATER AND MAN

It is not arguable that human beings or living creatures, in general, cannot stay alive without water. Truly, the importance of water for human beings is clear and needs no evidence. In the beginning, the embryo is surrounded by a water sac in his mother's womb, and it is necessary to maintain the level of fluids in the mother's body so that it does not suffer any dryness which would negatively affect the embryo.

In human beings, water helps in making important processes necessary for human vital activity, as it helps in swallowing, digestion, distribution of nutritious elements on the body, as well as the process of Excretion.

If there is a shortage in water level in the body, this might lead to serious results that have bad effects on the health of the human. Additionally, many of the vital body elements are in liquid form and water represents the main component in it, such as: blood, the Lymphatic fluid, the Cerebrospinal fluid, the Seminal fluid, eye and Joint fluids. Also, Body Secretions take liquid forms, such as Urine, Sweat, Tears, Milk,...., etc. of the body secretions.²

The researcher handled a separate study about the Body Secretions for the Ancient Egyptian and their references in Ancient Egyptian texts³, which were not mentioned in a separate study, so the researcher reviewed the references related to water and its role in the Ancient Egyptian religious ideology. Some of the most famous references are:




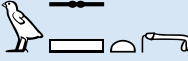


1. ^cABBASY, A.S., Pediatrics, Faculty of Medicine, Dar El Maaref, Cairo, 1972.
2. ARNOLD, D, «Wasserspeier», *LÄ* vol. 6, Col.1155.
3. ATTIA, M., Notes on the under Land water in Egypt, Cairo, 1992.
4. BARTA, W., «Die Altagyptischeopferliste», *MÄS* 3, 1963.
5. In addition to that, there are related to the Ancient Egyptian texts. The researcher will start with the role of Body Secretions in the Pyramid Texts. BRUNNER-TRAUT, E., «Schöpfung», *LÄ* vol. 5, Cols. 677- 690.

The study has used some words that refer to secretions. These words were handled in previous studies in addition to other fluids that have the same meanings and functions of body Secretions.

¹ BRUNNER 1984: 677-690.

² ^cABBASY 1972: 70-72.

³ For more information about water, its significant roles, and its relation to Body Secretions as a main constituent, See: BORCHARDT 1897: 128-130 f; KLEBS 1915: 90-92; BLACKMAN 1988: 5, 5(1-2); COLLINS 1991:4.

Word	Transliteration	Meaning	References
	<i>mtwt</i>	Seminal fluid – Secretions	SETHE 1908: Spruch 466a , 532b ERMAN & GRAPOW: <i>Wb</i> vol.2 (eds.) 169[5]
	<i>hsmn</i>	Blood Secretions -	ERMAN & GRAPOW: <i>Wb</i> vol.3 (eds.) 163 (8-10).
	<i>snft</i>	Blood Secretions-	ERMAN & GRAPOW: <i>Wb</i> vol.4 (eds.), 459(5) PEHAL & PEININGER 2018: 114-136. JANSEN 2007 :81-107.
	<i>wsšt</i>	Urine- Secretions	ERMAN & GRAPOW: <i>Wb</i> vol.1 (eds.), 358(1-3) KADISH1979: 205.
	<i>hs</i>	Feces- Secretions	ERMAN & GRAPOW: <i>Wb</i> vol.3 (eds.), 164(4-9). KADISH 1979: 204.
	<i>h³tp - k³</i>	Feces- Secretions	KADISH 1979: 204. ERMAN & GRAPOW: <i>Wb</i> vol.3 (eds.), 195(1).

1. Pyramid Texts:

Body Secretions carried important symbolism and reference, as it was a means of protection against evils and harshness of the gods. These fluids also caused revitalization of the heart and prevented exhausting it. Moreover, these Secretions have been released on the earth to remove illnesses and diseases from the body and help the body to be sacred, and become depicted as gods, participating in mobilizing the gods for the sake of the deceased.

Secretions were released from the bodies of gods like Osiris, Isis, and Horus to be sacred. In addition, the body expelled the bad Secretions to get rid of rotten odors and be blessed with perfumes and good odors after that.

In Spell (29) of the Pyramid texts, Secretions are removed to protect the deceased after that from the oppression of the gods⁴and the eye of Horus would be safe with it, as is mentioned in the spell:



*In n.k irt hr htm.k hr.k im.s sw^cb.s tw st.s ir.k st irt hr ir (N) pn idr.s rdw.k
hw (w) .s tw m³gb n^cn stš h³ (N) pn nhh n.k irt hr wd3t hr.k irt hr wd3t wd3t⁵*

⁴ SETHE 1908: 13, SPRUCH 29: 20a – 21a.

⁵CARRIER 2009: 632, P/F/N e [1-14, 634 P/F/N e] 15- 23.

«I bring you the eye of Horus so you might add it (prepare) your face with it so it may purify you ⁶, and its perfume is for you and the perfume of Horus’s eye⁷ is for this King (N) so it might remove your Secretions and protect you from the striking (harshness) of Seth’s arm O King (N) so »

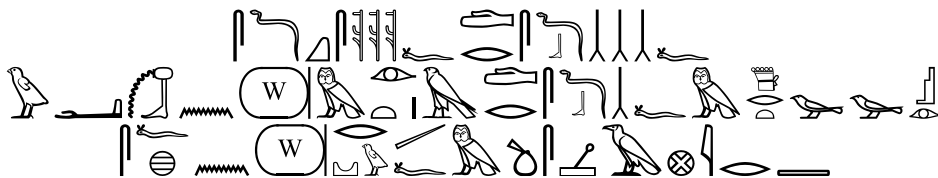
The healthy eye of Horus was a reason for removing the Secretions and after that the protection from the oppression of the god Seth. It appeared in the events of spell 32 of the Pyramid Texts to indicate that Secretions coming out of the body help the heart and that it would not become sick (or exhausted) because of it, as the spell reveals ⁸:



Tw n . (i) (n.k) in .n.(i) n. k irt hr kb ib.k hr .s in(w) n.k sy hr.k tbyw.k mi n.k rdw pr im.k n wrd ib.k hr .s ⁹

«I came to you and brought you Horus’s eye, your heart will be rejuvenated by owning it. I got it underneath your sandals take your own Secretions coming out of you and your heart will not get exhausted of them¹⁰.

Spell 258¹¹ of the Pyramid texts states that the illnesses and diseases are all removed when the deceased king releases his Secretions on the earth as follows¹²:



sd ksw .f dr sdb.f w^cb n (W) m irt hr dr sdb.f m drty wsir sfl n (W) rdw.f m Gs3 ir ¹³

«I broke his bones and the king (W) has become pure through Horus’s eye and his illnesses have been removed through Osiris’s kites, the king (W) has released his Secretions on the earth in Qus»¹³. Moreover, the events of spell 508 of the Pyramid texts

⁶About purification and its different rite views: BLACKMAN 1924: 47-49; PETRIE 1932: 214; BRUNTON 1937: 33,1; FRANKFORT 1949: 21,53,154; FAIRMAN 1954: 216.

⁷«Horus» ‘s eye connotes good health, safety, and protection. It also represents the eye of the moon. Maintaining it from Secretions is considered a grant of protection and safety: PETRIE 1906: 46; BUDGE 1930: 141; MANFRED 1980: 87-93; MANFRED 1980: 87-93.

⁸ SETHE 1908: 15; SPRUCH 32: 22b – 23a.

⁹ CARRIER 2009: 634, P/F/N e [15-23].

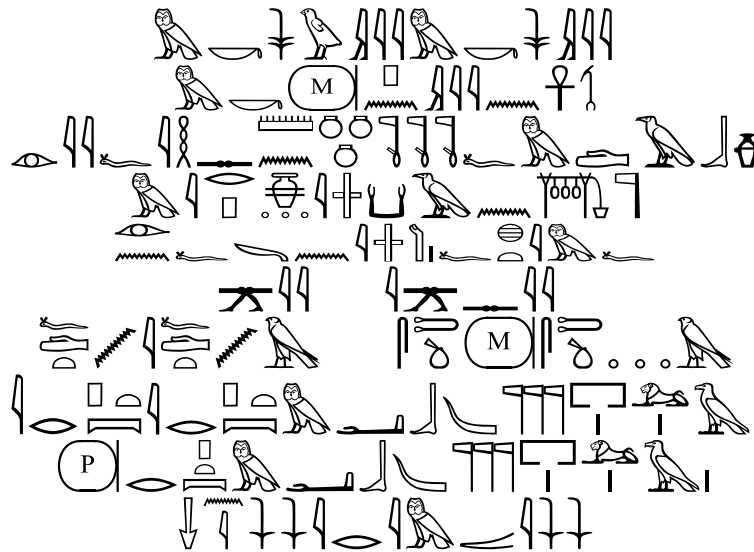
¹⁰ MERCER 1952: 25; FAULKNER 1969: 6; ALLEN 2005: 19.

¹¹ SETHE 1908:147; SPRUCH 258, 308d–308.

¹² CARRIER 2009: 86.

¹³ MERCER 1952: 82; FAULKNER 1969: 68; ALLEN 2005: 46.

pointed out that the Secretions of the deceased king are those of Horus, after which he is ornamented with perfumes to ascend to Heaven among the gathering gods, after performing purification rites that took place by drinking grape and fig wine, after performing the sacrificial rituals, where the spell pointed out the following ¹⁴:



*Mk sw ii mk sw ii mk (M) | pn ii n ḥw w3s iry.f I ḥsmn.f m d3b m irp imy k3n nṯr ir n.f
 rḥs n imy db^c .f ḥt im.f si isi fdt.i fdt Ḥr st (M) | st Ḥr ir pt ir pt m ḥb nṯrw prrwtyw
 (P) | r pt m ḥb nṯrw prrwtyw sn.i nn ir im gs .i nn¹⁵*

«Behold, you came, behold you came, behold O King (M), you came into life and authority (strength). I will prepare the purification from the god’s ¹⁶fig and grape wine and I will prepare the sacrificed under his fingers and the meal (offering) from it. When he goes, he captures attention. My Secretions are those of Horus; my perfume is that of Horus. To Heaven, to Heaven, among the emergent ascending gods, (P) King ascends to Heaven with the gathering ascending gods, and this is my brother by my side »¹⁷.

The events of spell 533 of the pyramid texts also handled the speech about Secretions of gods’ bodies where the blood came out of Re and Sweat and Secretions from Isis’s body, the following meaning is revealed¹⁸.

¹⁴ SETHE 1908: 121-122; SPRUCH 1112a-1114 c.

¹⁵ CARRIER 2009: 810, P/A/S62-66.

¹⁶ The wine was among the most important offerings which were represented to kings and gods and it was related to many gods like Osiris and Sekhmt. It appeared in myths like that of human destruction and was used as an appetizer and a holy presentation for more See:

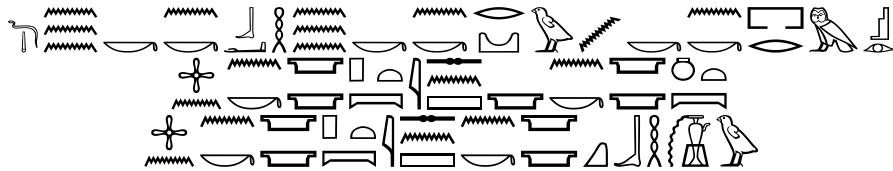
HASSAN 1828: vol.5, 88; LUCAS 1928: 3; BRUNNER 1954 :81-83; HELCK 1971: 84.

¹⁷ MERCER 1952: 190; FAULKNER 1969: 183; ALLEN 2005: 357, 140.

¹⁸ SETHE 1908: 214; Spruch 533, 1263a,c .

In the hereafter. He denied his relation to them. In addition, Anubis²⁶, god of the Cemetery, played his role in the spell in maintaining the body of the deceased king, so he would not rot and his Secretions would be expelled.

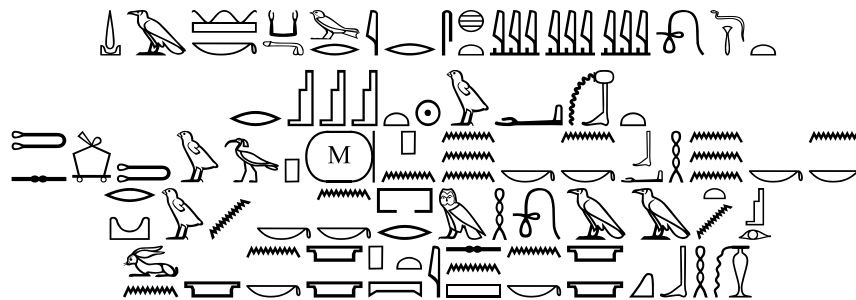
Here, the relation between Secretions and gods of the hereafter appear and the scene of the god Osiris stands out, he from whose body Secretions come out to be purified and he ascends with them to Heaven which opens its doors for him, where spell 536 depicts the following²⁷:



dd mdw mw.k n.k b^ch.k n.k rdw.k n.k pr(t) m wsir wnw n.k ʕwy pt I sn n.k ʕwy Nwt wnw n.k ʕw ypt I sn n.k ʕwy kbhw²⁸

« Recitation: Your water is for you; your flood is for you; your Secretions that came out of Osiris are for you. I opened the two Heaven gates for you. I opened the gates of “Nut”; I opened the two gates of Heaven, I opened the two gates of Heaven for your sake (*kbhw*) ».²⁹

The same concept is repeated in spell 553 of the pyramid texts, where the Great Bull King crosses the green fields and put aside his rotten Secretions to ascend purified to Heaven where the spell states³⁰:



d3.k k3-wr ir sht w3dt r swt R^c w^cbt ts tw 3h pw (M) pn mw.k n.k b^ch.k n.k rdw.k n.k pr m hw3t wsir wn n.k ʕwy pt isn n.k ʕwy kbhw³¹

«You may cross O great bull to the green fields to Re’s pure places. Raise yourself O king’s spirit your water is for you and your flood is for you, your Secretions that came out of Osiris’s rot are for you, opening for you the two gates of Heaven, opening for you the two gates of Heaven *kbhw*»³².

²⁶About Anubis as a god of the cemetery and bodyguard and his different roles, see: DUQUESNE 1996A: 66-97; DUQUESNE 1996 B: 25 – 38. LEITZ 2002: 390; WILKINSON 2003: 187- 190.

²⁷ SETHE 1908: 224; Spruch 536, 1291 a– 1291 c.

²⁸ CARRIER 2009: 960, P/C/ant /E 58-66.

²⁹ MERCER 1952: 211 -212; FAULKNER 1969: 205; ALLEN 2005: 484.

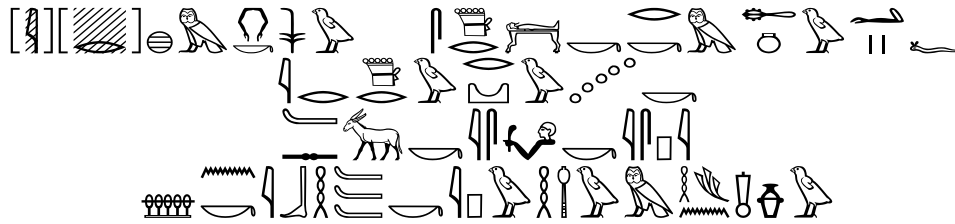
Concerning the word «*kbhw*» meaning heaven, or one of the layers of the horizon. Look up: ERMAN & GRAPOW *Wb* (eds.): 30(1-3).

³⁰SETHE 1908: 245; SPRUCH 553, 1359 a – 1361 a.

³¹CARRIER 2009: 1752, N/V/ E 5-7.

³² MERCER 1952: 220; FAULKNER 1969: 213; ALLEN 2005: 526,187.

In spell 659, the deceased king is depicted in the role of the shepherd and his Secretions stop so he receives his white teeth after that in the pot, the meaning of course, revitalization of the body and returning its organs once more, stating the following³³.

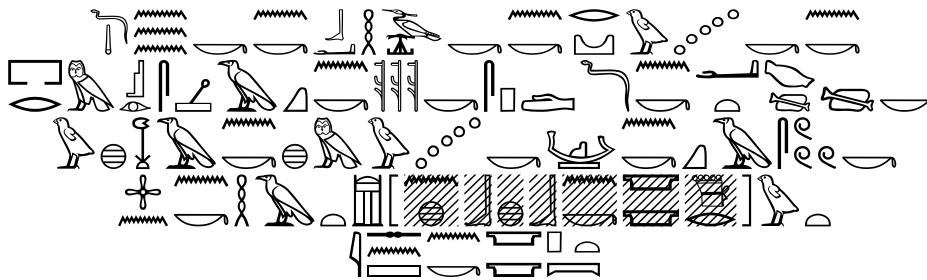


Tr ḥmw .k sw sḏr .k r.k m-ḥnw ʿwy.f ir ḏr rdw.k bḥs.k is mniw.k is pi šsp n.k ibḥ.k ipw ḥḏw m ḥnw³⁴

«If you don't know him, you will lie in his laps (in his arms), and I will stop your Secretions, as he is your calf and your shepherd. Receive your white teeth that are in the pot»³⁵.

Here, the secretions of the deceased stopped and he received his white teeth in the pot as a step of returning to life, retrieving his organs³⁶.

It appeared in spell 676 of the Pyramid Texts, as well, what indicates the stages of the return of the body organs to life and dusting and releasing the bonds of the mummy, so that the deceased king returns to life and ascends to Heaven after that. It described the god's Secretions as those of god Osiris to refer to the holiness of the body and its Secretions. It is mentioned as follows³⁷:



ḏḏ mdw mw.k n.k bḥ.k n.k rdw.k n.k pr m wsir s3k n.k ksw.k spdd n.k ʿwt.k wh3 n.k ḥmw .k whḥ n.k k3sw.k wnn n.k ḥ3t nḥbḥb n.k ʿ3wy ḏrwt.k ʿI sn n.k ʿ3w y pt.

«Recitation: Your water is for you, your flood; your Secretions are for you, and I have collected your bones for you and ready for your members. Throw off your dust for your sake; your bonds were released for your sake; your tomb has been opened for your sake; the two doors of your coffin were pulled for you, and the two gates of Heaven have been opened for your sake»³⁸.

³³ SETHE 1908: 454; Spruch 659, 1865a-1866a.

³⁴CARRIER 2009: 1350, N/F/En 14-15.

³⁵ MERCER 1952: 278 -279; FAULKNER 1969: 27; ALLEN 2005: 268, №.302.

³⁶ PEHAL & PREININGER 2018: 123-126.

³⁷SETHE 1908: 485, Spruch PT 676, 2007a- 2009b.

³⁸FAULKNER 1969: 289; MERCER 1952: 298 -279.

Also, the events of spell 690 of the Pyramid Texts showed that the Secretions coming out of the body rejuvenate the heart and protect it against exhaustion and fatigue, and thus, releasing the bonds of the deceased and his bonds after that, where the spell states the following³⁹:



«O king, the flood has come, the inundation is hastening, Geb is being engendered? (born), the god's Secretions in you are provided so that your heart might be live and rejuvenate your body O god, may your bandages be loosened»⁴¹.

2. Coffin Texts

Body Secretions played a great role in Coffin Texts where they were related to the discarded and hurdles of the hereafter, as well as the deceased's hope not to have detested Secretions that may ruin his body and cause his annihilation or destruction. The Secretions coming from the spirits also fell to fill the lakes and make the rivers flow.

In addition, Secretions were related to creation theories for the Ancient Egyptians. The God Shu created the eight gods of chaos from his Body Secretions. The deceased depicted his Secretions Heaven storms and his sweat to incense.

Also, some of the locations in myths were related to Body Secretions, such as «Rostau». Secretions were a reason for the flood, so that it is clear that there is a relationship between Body Secretions and the religious and ideological role of water.

Body Secretions were related to a number of gods to give them special holiness in other instances, like god «Osiris», «Isis», «Geb», «Shu», «Dwa-wr»⁴².

³⁹ SETHE 1908: 515; Spruch 2113-2114b.

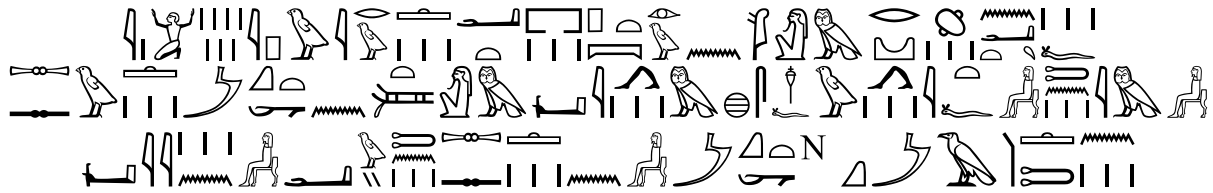
⁴⁰ CARRIER 2009: 2516, Nt/F/se Inf. 13-17.

MERCER 1952: 307; ALLEN 2005: 294.

⁴² God «Dwa-wr»: He first appeared as part of the parade of lower Egyptian gods depicted on the funerary temple of «SAhuree» of the fifth dynasty. Then, his appearance was repeated in scenes with the two gods "hk3-s «and «hphp», who participated with him in depicting/ embodying the royal signs or symbols on the funerary temple of King Bibi II. Researchers disagreed about explaining the name of the god «rdw3-w» and his job. Most views agreed that he depicts the royal beard and is responsible for the king's ornamentation, as he is the king's barber who washes his face and shaves his beard every morning. see: BORCARDT 1913: PL. 19; JÉQUIER 1938: PL. 60 (3); GARDINER 1944: 29; KEES 1956: 109; LEITZ 2002: 524.

Moreover, spell 76 of the Coffin Texts handles the myth of creation in Hermopolis⁴³(Ashmunen)where Shu created the eight gods of Chaos (*hḥw*) from the Secretions of his body members.

It mentions the following in this meaning⁴⁴:



I hḥw 8 ipw irw ḥwt pt irw n šw m rdw n ḥwt.f ts m3kt n tm mi m ḥsfw it.tn imi di n.i ḥwy.tn ts n.i m3kt N km3 .tn⁴⁵.

«O Eight gods of chaos, who are in the charge of the chambers of Heaven, who Shu prepared from Secretions of his members. Knot the ladder for Atum, come and meet your father inside me, give me your arms, tie the ladder of the deceased N as I prepared you (created you)⁴⁶ ».

Here, the deceased resembles his Secretions to the Heaven storm and his sweat to incense. It was among what was stated in spell 80 of the Coffin Texts where it states the following⁴⁷:



N irw šsp pt m-ḥt kkw inm.i pw (siš) t3w pr hr s3.i m r3 n tm rdw pw krr n pt idt pw nšn⁴⁸

It is the deceased who made Heaven light up after darkness and the pleasant colour of my skin (thanks to) the air that came out behind me from Atum⁴⁹, the storm of Heaven is my Secretions and the incense is my sweat⁵⁰.

⁴³ The theory of creation in Al «Ashmunein: its idea is summarized in the fact that the origin of the universe is eight powers or elements that lived in the eternal soil and took the forms of frogs and snakes. These elements live in the eternal soil and in water, and they have also created themselves from eternal soil. They are «Nun», «Nunt», «Amun», «Amunt», «Kek», «Kekt», «Heh» and »Heht». These elements were created from Shu's Secretions. See:

SETHE 1929: 48; CLARK 1978: 55; TROY 1986: 16.

⁴⁴ BUCK 1935: 1.

⁴⁵ CARRIER 2009: 204.

⁴⁶ FAULKNER 1973: 77.

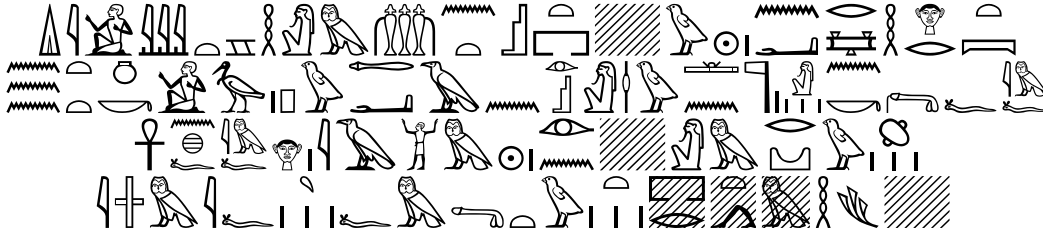
⁴⁷ BUCK 1935: 30.

⁴⁸ CARRIER 2009: 220.

⁴⁹ Atum is the King of gods, an image of the god of the sun. He is the creating god of the universe in the theory Heliopolis.

⁵⁰ FAULKNER 1973: 83.

And in reference to the myths of creation, «Hu» ascends to Heaven clearly during the day, while the great spirit is created for Osiris that from which Secretions are derived, along with seeds that help in reproduction and creation. This meaning is clear in spell 96⁵¹.



*di .i sht hw m hnt st hrw n r h rt n-ntt ink b3 pw 3 n wsir wd n ntrw nk.f im.f nh f
im.f i3 m hrw ir n (wsir) m rdw imy iw.f mtwt prt m hnn.(f)*

«I place Hu’s⁵² field in front of the seat (throne) which is related to the morning of ascent to Heaven because I am the great spirit of Osiris. I have commanded the gods to copulate with him so he lives in worship in the morning, and he remade Osiris out of the Secretions in his body from the seeds in his phallus»⁵³.

Spell 273 of the Coffin Texts highlights the role of Body Secretions as an obstacle or impediment feared by the deceased and as one of the foods forbidden to be eaten for being discarded (*bwt*)⁵⁴; in the hereafter where the following⁵⁵ is mentioned:



⁵¹ BUCK 1935: 76-77.

⁵² The god Hu is the power emerging from the creator and an embodiment/ depiction of the creative utterance, for more of his roles, See:

GARDINER 1916: 43; TEVELDE 1970: 175-186; LEITZ 2002: 552-555.

⁵² FAULKNER 1973: 94.

⁵³ FAULKNER 1973: 94.

⁵⁴ «Forbiddance had many faces and cases among which is for the good of a god, person or creature as protection to sacred animals. In addition, it came to avoid hateful thing in the worship rituals like forbidding sexual intercourse with a person or animal or anything or forbidding food, or a certain behavior for more about taboos (*bwt*) ». Among the taboos are: eating feces and Secretions and drinking Urine and Blood. This returns the deceased and gods like *3kr* to life. Look up:

MONTET 1950: 85-116; KADISH 1970: 203; FRANSEN 1985: 151- 158; FRANSEN 2001: 137; FRANSEN 2002: 345; JANSSEN 2007: 81-105.

⁵⁵ BUCK 1961: 76-78.

*ʕnh .s m t3w wḥm N tn ʕnh m-ḥt bwt N tn pw ḥs n wnm.ssw n swri sfḥ ʕnh N tn m-ḥt
3kr N tn ḥw s3 snḥnw s3 nṯr ʕ3 bwt N pw rdw n wnm.s sw*⁵⁶.

«I live in the air and this deceased (she) repeats it to be alive (in the hereafter) the detestation of this deceased is the filth. She will not eat it, and she will not drink the discharges. She (this deceased) rejuvenates Akr once more (in the hereafter) (she causes Akr to be alive) and this deceased will protect the controller's son the great god's son. The detestation of this deceased is the Secretions and she will not eat the⁵⁷».

Spell 236 indicated the mythological location that Secretions come out of and fall out of the body, that is «Rostau»⁵⁸ after ascending to Heaven with Orion and advancing with the entourage of "Re", and by this meaning the spell states the following⁵⁹:



*Prr.i r pt ḥnᶜ s3ḥ (šsp.i) ḥtpt ḥnᶜ wrw dmi sbḥt k3t šnwt Rᶜ rdt snmw ink ʕb n.f rdw .f
ḥnt R3 - st3w*⁶⁰.

«Ascend to Heaven with orion⁶¹, and receive the food offerings with the great ones, my adobe is at the high gate and the entourage of Re who prepare the food needs. It is I who will collect for him his Secretions (on the head of) Rosta»⁶².

It appeared in spell (647) of the Coffin Texts what indicates that Isis was created from the Secretions of« Geb» (or his sweat) where the spell states the following: ⁶³



*Mkt m pṯḥ ink šḥm k3 ḥry-tp t3wy nb m3ᶜt sš pr-wr mi kd (ink) 3st kḥsw Gb nb
smw w3d šḥwt sʕnh npr n sḥt-ḥtp ṯs mmt I - in tm*⁶⁴

⁵⁶ CARRIER 2009: 430.

⁵⁷ FAULKNER 1973: 149.

⁵⁸«R-st3w» many explanations were presented for the derivation of the word. It is probable that the translation is «mouth of under tunnels»- maybe not narrow tunnels- ramp- in reality – but a wide desert extended located between Giza and Sakkara as thought in researchers' views. For more, see: ZIVIE 1984: 305-309; EDWARDS 1986: 27-36.

⁵⁹ BUCK 1961: 304.

⁶⁰ CARRIER 2009: 574.

⁶¹ s3ḥ is a group of stars in the North Pole including a series of other stars and moving planets. Researchers believed that Ursa Minor group followed the pathway of the Orion «s3ḥ» in Northern hemisphere. Notice that the nature of the stars forming the «s3ḥ» constellation was debatable among Archeastronomers. Look up

WAZIRY 2015: 114.

⁶²FAULKNER 1973: 185.

⁶³ BUCK 1961: 267.

«Protection through Ptah he is highly powerful on the headmen of the two earth, Lord of justice, writer of the pr_wr like the shape... it is Isis Secretions? Geb lord of herbage and green fields nourishing for seeds, he will knot the grains? this is what Atum said»⁶⁵.

In addition, Body Secretions were mentioned among offering serving in the events of spell 665 of the Coffin Texts as it stated the following⁶⁶:

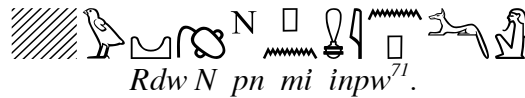


*šsp t šsp hnkt šsp mw sfh rdw.k m ‘nh wtwt.k tp- t3 di sw3 nbwt .sn*⁶⁷

« Receive⁶⁸ bread, beer and water, may your Secretions be released, your children are rejuvenated».

[Your descendants] on the earth and let their baskets pass (their baskets pass)⁶⁹

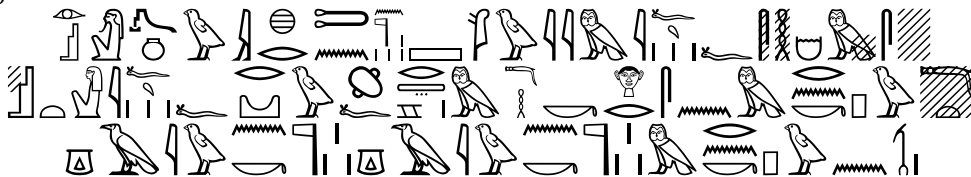
In spell 810, the deceased resembled his Secretions to those of god Anubis, as it states:⁷⁰



*Rdw N pn mi inpw*⁷¹.

«The Secretions of the deceased are the Secretions of Anubis»⁷².

And for the second time, the role of goddess Isis with the Secretions of the body of the deceased, she is responsible for stopping the Secretions or in other words the body itself from falling to the ground. In this meaning spell 838 of the Coffin Texts states the following⁷³:



⁶⁴ CARRIER 2009: 1474.

⁶⁵ FAULKNER 1973: 221.

⁶⁶ BUCK 1961: 292.

⁶⁷ CARRIER 2009: 764.

⁶⁸ «Bread was and still is one of the most important foods that Egyptians bear in mind to have on their banquets. Its importance extended to the religious ideological life funerary rites where it was one of the main foods in the hereafter and was used as a meal for gods in the depicted scenes on temples, for example: god Osiris who was connected to bread. He was depicted lying down, with barley ears growing out of his body. For more about bread and scenes on temples and graves, see: WARSHAM 1979: 7-10.

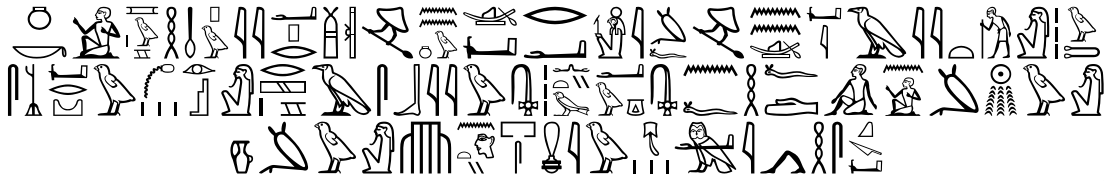
⁶⁹ FAULKNER 1973: 237.

⁷⁰ BUCK 1969: 12.

⁷¹ CARRIER 2009: 1776.

⁷² FAULKNER 1973: 6.

⁷³ BUCK 1969: 40.



*Ink m'wh pwy 'pr hnnw R' im.f hnnw i3ywt wts rdw wsir r š 3bsyw iwty 'wg n.f hfd .n.i
m 3hw hnmw hnty smiw mi hsk⁸³*

«I am the prepared oar which Re has sailed with and the ancestors sailed within the lake of fire, the Secretions of Osiris rise in the lake of fire that does not burn. I climbed in the light O Khnum on the head of scourges (ropes); come to be torn (be cut) into pieces⁸⁴».

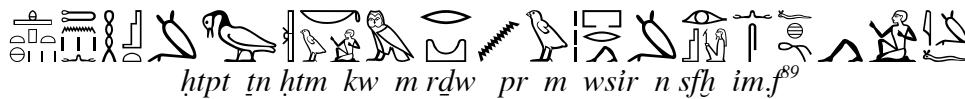
Once more the pure Secretions of the body are released and fall on the land in Rostau so the ceremony of creation and revival is repeated. Ch. 119 states this meaning as follows⁸⁵:



Ink wr ir sšp.f ii .n.i hr .k wsir dw3.i tw w' b rdw st3w im.k iry rn .f m r3-st3w⁸⁶

«I am the Great who creates in his light (his own light). I came to you, Osiris, worshipping; your falling Secretions are pure. He has prepared his name in Rostau»⁸⁷.

Finally, the spells of Ch. 149 of the Book of the Dead emphasize that the Secretions are released from the Holy Body of Osiris. The meaning states the events of the Osirian Myth, where the ceremony of the funeral and burial is made for god Osiris. The spells point out the following⁸⁸:



htpt in htm kw m rdw pr m wsir n sfh im.f⁸⁹

«Your offerings are prepared (set) for you from the Secretions coming out of Osiris, and I will not release them in him»⁹⁰.

⁸³ CARRIER 2009: 221.

⁸⁴ FAULKNER 1985: 69.

⁸⁵ BUDGE 1898: 174 [2-3].

⁸⁶ CARRIER 2009: 415.

⁸⁷ FAULKNER 1985: 113.

⁸⁸ BUDGE 1898: 282 [10-11].

⁸⁹ CARRIER 2009: 631.

⁹⁰ FAULKNER 1985: 145.

Discussion:

Body Secretions carry important symbolism and reference, as they were a means of protection against evils and the harshness of gods⁹¹. They were also a reason for reviving the heart and not exhausting it⁹². They were also released on the land to remove the illnesses and diseases, and they caused the revival of the gods' bodies. Body Secretions played a great role in the hereafter⁹³, where the Secretions fell from the spirits to fill the lakes and rivers⁹⁴. Despite that, they were considered, in other instances, an obstacle and enemy for the deceased. The deceased considered them one of the discarded and forbidden things that he avoids and hopes they are not presented as an offering or food in the hereafter⁹⁵. Secretions were also related to mythological locations like «Rostau»⁹⁶ and the «Lake of Fire»⁹⁷.

In addition, Body Secretions were also connected to some gods like: Osiris⁹⁸, Isis⁹⁹, Anubis¹⁰⁰, «Shu¹⁰¹», «Hu¹⁰²», and creation gods in general, such as: the eight gods of chaos «HH»¹⁰³ which gives them holiness. Here, the researcher will present a table that comprises the key terms indicting Secretions and the development of their shapes through the different eras.

⁹¹ SETHE 1908: 13.

⁹² SETHE 1908: 15.

⁹³ SETHE 1908: 308.

⁹⁴ SETHE 1908: 222; BUCK 1969: 307.

⁹⁵ BUCK 1969: 57 –58.

⁹⁶ BUCK 1969: 304.

⁹⁷ BUDGE 1969: 174.

⁹⁸ SETHE 1908: 112, 247, 485; BUDGE 1898: 282 [10-11].

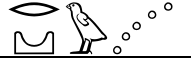












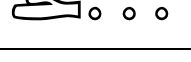







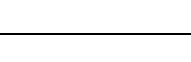





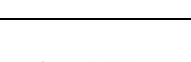





⁹⁹ SETHE 1908: 214; BUCK 1969: 207, 40.

¹⁰⁰ SETHE 1908: 220.

¹⁰¹ BUCK 1969: 2.

¹⁰² BUCK 1969: 76 –78.

¹⁰³ BUCK 1969: 2.

Word	Transliteration	Meaning	Determinant	References
	<i>rdw</i>	Secretions		<i>PT 29 (20,c)</i>
	<i>rdw</i>	Secretions- Blood- Milk – Urine		<i>PT 32 (23,a)</i>
	<i>rdw</i>	Secretions		<i>PT 32 (23,a)</i>
	<i>rdw</i>	Secretions		<i>PT 258 (308f)</i> <i>PT 553 (1360b)</i> <i>PT 690(2114a)</i>
	<i>rdw</i>	Secretions		<i>PT 423(766,c)</i>
	<i>rdw</i>	Secretions		<i>PT 423(766,c)</i>
	<i>Fdt</i>	Sweat- Body Secretions		<i>PT 508(1113,c)</i>
	<i>Fdt</i>	Sweat- Body Secretions- Water of gods		<i>PT 533(1263,c)</i> <i>PT 508(1283,a)</i> <i>PT 637(1801,c)</i>
	<i>dw</i>	Body Secretions		<i>CT 74 (CT C vol.2 307)</i>
	<i>dw</i>	Body Secretions		<i>CT 74 (CT vol.1 307)</i>
	<i>rdw</i>	Body Secretions		<i>CT 74 (CT 307)</i>
	<i>rdw</i>	Body Secretions		<i>CT 76 (CT vol.1)</i> <i>CT 80 (CT vol.2 307)</i> <i>CT 173 (CT vol.3 58)</i>
	<i>hrdw</i>	Body Secretions		<i>CT 318 (CT vol.4 141) .</i>
	<i>Fdt</i>	Sweat- Body Secretions- Water of gods		<i>CT 318 (CT vol.4 141) .</i>
	<i>Kisw</i>	Sweat- Body Secretions- Vomit		<i>CT 647(CT vol.4 267) .</i>
	<i>rdw</i>	Secretions		<i>BD, ch. 63</i> <i>BD, ch. 69</i>
	<i>rdw</i>	Secretions		<i>BD, ch. 49</i>

III. CONCLUSION

Water helped in performing many processes that are vital for body activity of humans, as it helps in swallowing, digestion and distributing nutritive elements on the body, as well as the process of excretion.

Human body elements take the liquid form and water comprises its main component, such as blood, the Lymphatic Fluid, Cerebrospinal Fluid, Seminal Fluid, eye and joint fluids, as well as body Secretions, such as: Sweat, Tears Urine, Milk. In Pyramid Texts, body Secretions carried important symbolism, where they were a means of protection against evil. In addition, they caused the revival of the deceased's heart and granting him eternal power.

Secretions were released on the land to remove illnesses and diseases from the body, help the body become holy and being depicted as the gods, as well as assembling gods for the deceased. In addition, Secretions were released from the bodies of gods, such as: «Osiris», «Horus »and «Isis» to be by these Holy Secretions. In addition, the body expelled rotten Secretions to be blessed with perfumes and refreshment after that. In addition, Secretions play a great role in Coffin Texts, where it was connected to the discarded and obstacles of the hereafter to fill the lakes and run make rivers flow.

Moreover, Secretions were connected to the Theories of Creation of the Ancient Egyptian, where «Shu» created the eight gods of Chaos from his Body Secretions. The deceased depicted his Secretions as Heaven storms and his sweat as incense.

Some of the mythological locations were connected to Body Secretions, such as«Rostau». Secretions caused floods, which connected Body Secretions to the religious (ideological) role of water. Body Secretions were also connected to a number of gods, so they would give them special holiness in other times, like God «Osiris», «Isis», «Geb», «Shu» and «*dw3-wr*».

All the previous concepts were confirmed in the Book of the Dead, concerning the connection of Body Secretions to some mythological locations, such as «Rostau» and «the Lake of Fire».

Body Secretions were also connected to some gods and had a strong bond, like god Osiris, which granted them a holy concept and were described as being pure.

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معبودات إفرازات الجسد فى النصوص الدينية القديمة

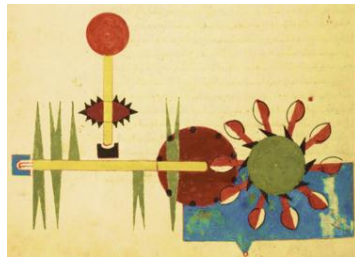
رانيا عبد العزيز محمود

مدرس بكلية الآثار جامعة الفيوم

الملخص

يعد الماء هو أصل كل شئ حيث خرج الكون من مفهوم المصرى القديم من المحيط الأزلئ نون، والذي كان فى حد ذاته معبوداً لدى العقيدة المصرية القديمة. يساعد الماء على إجراء الكثير من العمليات الهامة للنشاط الحيوى للانسان فهو يساعد على البلع والهضم وتوزيع العناصر الغذائية على الجسم وعلى عملية الإخراج. يساعد الماء على موازنة جسم الانسان، ويكون الماء المكون الرئيسى فى الجسد من دم، سائل لمفاوى، سائل منوى، وسائل نخاعي كذلك شكل الماء مكوناً رئيساً فى افرازات الجسد مثل اللبن، الدموع، البول، العرق. حملت إفرازات الجسد رمزية هامة ودلاله عظيمة فى النصوص الدينية المصرية القديمة حيث شكلت وسيلة للحماية من الشرور والأخطار، ومن عقوبة المعبودات، كذلك تسببت الإفرازات فى إنعاش القلب وعدم إنهاكه. وكانت الإفرازات تطلق من الجسد لازالة العلل والأمراضن كما تمنح الإفرازات القدسية وتساعد علي التجسد بهيئة المعبودات، كذلك تعاون فى حشد المعبودات من أجل المتوفى مثل «إيزيس»، «شو»، «حور»، «حو»، «داور»، معبودات «الحو» الثمانية». كما تساقطت الإفرازات التى تخرج من الأرواح لتملأ البحيرات والأنهار. إرتبطت الإفرازات بالأساطير مثل اساطير الخلق والمواقع الأسطورية مثل «روستاو» وجزيرة النار. لعبت الإفرازات أيضاً دوراً كبيراً حيث ارتبطت بالمعبودات ويعقبات العالم الآخر، وتمنى المتوفى ألا يكون له افرازات كريبهه تفسد جسده وتسبب فى فناءه أو تدميره هذا وقد كان الجسد يطرد الإفرازات السيئة للتخلص من الروائح الكريبهه ولينعم بالعطور والروائح الحسنه بعدها.

الكلمات الدالة: إفرازات، ماء، عرق، دم، أوزير، إيزيس، حور، اسطورة الخلق، قرابين، جزيرة النار.



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ANTIMETABOLE:FORMS AND RHETORICAL FUNCTIONS IN SAHIDIC COPTIC TEXTS

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ANTIMETABOLE: FORMS AND RHETORICAL FUNCTIONS IN SAHIDIC COPTIC TEXTS

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ABSTRACT

Fathers tackled their aphorisms using multiple rhetorical methods. Perhaps this is due to the ability of such rhetorical devices to simplify the idea in a way that attracts the listener's and the reader's attention. Antimetabole is one of those figures of speech that are noted occasionally in Coptic. This article aims to present a linguistic study of the types of this figure of speech in Coptic literary texts, especially the Sahidic texts which were written between the 4th and the 7th centuries AD. In addition, it investigates the rhetorical purposes which motivated the scribes to use this rhetorical device in their texts.

KEYWORDS: Antimetabole, Aphorisms, Rhetoric, Rhetorical devices, Coptic literary texts, Sahidic texts, Scribes.

I. INTRODUCTION

Antimetabole is a Greek term¹ that means «the repetition of words in successive clauses, in reverse grammatical order»². Despite the similarities between it and the rhetorical term chiasmus, antimetabole has structural features that differ from those of chiasmus³.

It is worth noting that this figure of speech was well-known in ancient Egyptian language⁴ as well as in Arabic, in which it was known as «*al-ʿaks wa al-tabdīl*»⁵ and its meaning is «mentioning an idea involving two terms and then switching the two terms in a quasi-paradox»⁶.

I have noticed that two forms of this rhetorical device in Coptic are somewhat close to those of Arabic, where linguists have classified its forms into three⁷. This is probably because of the Semitic linguistic approximation between the ancient Egyptian language and Arabic⁸. This paper presents a linguistic study of the types of antimetabole in Coptic literary texts, especially the Sahidic texts which were written between the 4th and the 7th centuries AD. In addition, it investigates the rhetorical purposes which motivated the scribes to use them.

II. ANTIMETABOLE BETWEEN TWO PARTS OF A SENTENCE/CLAUSE/PHRASE

This type occurs between two parts of a sentence/clause/phrase, where the two parts come in a specific order and then they are repeated in a successive sentence/clause/phrase but in a transposed order. This type is somewhat similar to the first type of antimetabole in Arabic⁹:

E.g.: Ibn Sehl said: «*لا خير في السرف ولا سرف في الخير*»
«There is no benefit in waste and no waste in charity.»

In such example, the two parts of the first sentence are the word *خير* «benefit/charity» and the word *السرف* «waste», they were written in reverse order in the second sentence¹⁰.

As for Coptic, I have noticed that it is possible to divide these two parts [TABLE 1] into three kinds:

¹ MUHAMMED 2010: 2.

² CUDDON 2013: 42.

³ For more details, see MUHAMMED 2010: 4; there is an indication that chiasmus is one of the rhetorical devices that Apa Rufus of Shotep used in his homilies, see SHERIDAN 2018: 215.

⁴ For examples, see WAZĪRY 2017: 3, 20-22.

⁵ See FĪWD 2015: 169.

⁶ HEINRICHS 1998: 657.

⁷ See FĪWD 2015: 169-170.

⁸ See ALLEN 2013: 1.

⁹ See FĪWD 2015: 169.

¹⁰ See FĪWD 2015: 169; this example was translated into English by MUHAMMED 2010: 9.

1. The Two Parts of the Sentence/Clause/Phrase are Nouns:

(A) Apa John bishop of Al-Ashmounin (*Encomium on St. Antony*):

ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝῆΙΟΤΕ ΔΥΩ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΝῆΩΗΡΕ, ΕΤΒΕΡΑΙ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤΠΕ ΔΥΩ ΠΕΝΠΑΠΟΣΠΕ ΖΙΟΥΣΟΠ

*Child of the fathers and father of children, you are at one and the same time our father and our grandfather*¹¹.

Apa John is one of the writers who utilized this trope in his scripts where it appeared in his praise of St. Antony when he said (ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝῆΙΟΤΕ) and (ΠΕΙΩΤ ΝῆΩΗΡΕ), namely he used the singular noun (ΠΩΗΡΕ) as a possessed noun in the first possessive noun phrase¹² and as a possessor noun (the plural form ΝῆΩΗΡΕ) in the second phrase. As for the plural noun (ΝῆΙΟΤΕ), it was used as a possessor noun in the first phrase and as a possessed noun (the singular form ΠΕΙΩΤ) in the second phrase. It is clear in the following sentences that the scribe explained the meaning of this switch that occurred between the first and the second phrases. This leads me to believe that this type of antimetabole may be used to make the listeners/readers aware of the close faith relationship between them and the saint.

(B) St. Shenute Contra Origenistas (*I Am Amazed*):

ΔΥΩ ΝΤΟΣ ΡΩ ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΜΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΔΧΗ ΥΥΧΗ ΔΥΩ ΜΜΝ ΥΥΧΗ ΔΧΗ ΡΩΜΕ . ΤΕΥΥΧΗ ΓΑΡ ΔΥΩ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΕΩΔΥΩΩΠΕ ΖΗ ΘΗ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ .

And the soul too is the person. For there is no *person* without *soul* and no *soul* without *person*. For the soul and the body exist in the womb together¹³.

Father Shenute talks about those who said that the soul sinned before its coming to the body. Notable, he used this rhetorical device between two parts of two existential sentences: the first sentence was negated using ΜΝ while the second one was negated using this parallel variant ΜΜΝ¹⁴. In addition, the noun (ΡΩΜΕ) appeared as a subject while the Greek noun ΥΥΧΗ (ψυχή)¹⁵ was utilized as a predicate in the first sentence and on the contrary the noun (ΥΥΧΗ) appeared as a subject and the noun (ΡΩΜΕ) was used as a predicate in the latter sentence. I think perhaps St. Shenute used this trope to confirm the association between the soul and the body and to express his disagreement with those who said the soul sinned before its dwelling in the body.

(C) Apa Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria (*Encomium on Saint Michael the Archangel*):

Μαρῆ ΠΩΤ ΝῆΑ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ · ὦ ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ · ΧΕ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ · ΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΕ · ΔΥΩ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ·

¹¹ This encomium was translated into French by GARITTE 1943: 346-347; into Italy by ORLANDI 1981: 262; into English by VIVIAN, ATHANASSAKIS & GREER 2003: 32; and into Arabic by MU'AWWAD 2013: 368.

¹² For the possessive noun phrase, see REINTGES 2004: 92-96.

¹³ This sermon was translated into Italy by ORLANDI 1985: 28-29; into English by FOAT 1996: 119; and into Arabic by MU'AWWAD 2009: 127.

¹⁴ For the existential sentence, see SHISHA-HALEVY 1988: 64-65; REINTGES 2004: 396-400.

¹⁵ FÖRSTER 2002: 896-897.

Let us follow after love, O my beloved, for love is from God, and God is Love¹⁶.

Apa Theodosius, in the festival of St. Michael, said this excerpt while talking about the importance of good deeds. He probably used the vocative style¹⁷ to draw his listeners/readers' attention to the need for love. Apa Theodosius, however, employed the rhetorical device to support the expression of his idea; the Greek noun ἄγαπη (ἀγάπη)¹⁸ was used as a subject in the first nominal sentence¹⁹ and as a predicate in the second sentence. As for the noun (ΠΝΟΥΤΕ), it was utilized as a predicate in the first sentence and as a subject in the latter. I think the usage of this rhetorical device herein helped to emphasize the importance of the virtue of love, especially because it is an attribute of God.

2. The Two Parts of the Sentence/Clause/Phrase are a Pronoun and a Noun:

(A) Apa Besa (*Reproofs and Monastic Rules*):

ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΑΝΝΟΥΠΝΟΥΤΕ · ΝΞΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΩΝ·

But now we have known God and, what is more, God has known us²⁰.

While the writer talks about the sweetness of faith among the brothers after they were far from it. He used antimetabole between two parts of two circumstantial past tense²¹ sentences, namely between the first person plural pronoun (Ν) and the noun (ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) in each. The pronominal subject (Ν) in the first sentence was used as an object in the second one. On the other hand, the object (ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) in the first sentence was utilized as a subject in the second one. I believe that this rhetorical device might have been used between the two parts of the two sentences to express the close mutual relationship between God and those faithful brothers.

(B) John the elder (*The life of bishop Pisentius*):

ΝΤΑΥΠΩΤ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΝΣΑ ΠΤΑΙΟ · ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑ ΠΤΑΙΟ · ΠΩΤ ΝΣΩΥ·

Now it was not he who ran in pursuit of the honour, but it was the honour which ran in pursuit of him²².

This excerpt was said after Apa Pisentius became a bishop and because of his passion for meditation when he knew his choice for the episcopal throne, he escaped and disappeared completely and the clergymen kept looking for him until they found him. Apparently, the writer was interested in clarifying the meaning using rhetoric, so he used the verb ΠΩΤ in a metaphorical form. Antimetabole, moreover, occurred in these two relativised Perfect²³ clauses between the third person singular pronoun (Υ) and the noun (ΠΤΑΙΟ); he used the pronoun (Υ) as a subject of the first clause and conversely it

¹⁶ This text was translated into English by BUDGE 1915: 407, 940.

¹⁷ For the vocatives, see REINTGES 2004: 63.

¹⁸ FÖRSTER 2002: 3-5.

¹⁹ For the tripartite nominal sentence, see REINTGES 2004: 182-192.

²⁰ This letter was translated into English by KUHN 1956: 34 (text), 32 (translation); and into Arabic by MU'AWWAD 2018, 81 and footnote 41 (see GAL 4: 9).

²¹ For the circumstantial past tense, see LAYTON 2007: 135.

²² This text was translated into English by BUDGE 1913: 92, 280.

²³ For the relativised Perfect clause, see REINTGES 2004: 416-417.

became the object of the second clause. Meanwhile, he made the noun (πταίο) as an object of the first clause while it was utilized as a subject of the second clause. This trope might be used to reflect how the humility of St. Pisentius is great.

3. The Two Parts of the Sentence/Clause are a Noun and a Verb:

(A) Apa Paul of Tamma (*Opus sine titulo*):

ΕΚΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΝ ΤΕΚΡΙ ΜΠΕΡΚΑ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΕΧΙΣΕ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΡΧΑΣΤΚ ΖΜ ΠΩΟΧΝΕ ΜΠΕΚΖΗΤ

While you are sitting in your cell, do not let your heart be haughty and do not be haughty to counsel your heart²⁴.

This advice is one of the numerous pieces of advice that Father Paul gave to a monk. It seems evident that he cautioned him from arrogance whether in himself or in his heart. The writer used the negative imperative ΜΠΕΡ- in both sentences²⁵, the current type of this rhetorical device occurs between the noun ΠΕΚΖΗΤ and the verb ΧΙΣΕ (as well as its pronominal form ΧΑΣΤΕ)²⁶ which they appear in this order in the first sentence, while in reverse in the latter sentence. So, Apa Paul probably used this trope to emphasize the importance of keeping the heart from the vice of arrogance as well as to avoid neglecting the advice of the heart.

(B) Isaac bishop of Antinoe (*Encomium on St. Colluthus*):

ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ †Ε||ΜΠΩΔ ΝΘΒΒΙΟΙ | ΝΖΟΥΟ ΝΤΕΙΣΕ | ΜΗΠΩΣ ΝΤΑΧΙΣΕ | ΝΖΗΤ ΖΜ ΠΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΝΘΒΒΙΟ ΤΑ|ΘΒΒΙΟ ΖΩΩΩ | ΖΜ ΠΚΑΙΡΟΣ Μ||ΠΧΙΣΕ

I am obliged to humiliate myself so exceedingly, lest I become arrogant when it is time to be humble and humble when it is time to be exalted²⁷.

This excerpt was said by St. Colluthus during his dialogue with his parents concerning his asceticism because he did not eat, drink, nor wear. It is noticeable that antimetabole appears between two parts of two conjunctive clauses²⁸, namely, (ΧΙΣΕ ΝΖΗΤ) which is used as a verb in the first clause while it comes as a possessor noun (ΠΑΧΙΣΕ) at the end of the second clause. On the other hand, (ΘΒΒΙΟ) is utilized as a possessor noun in the first clause whilst as a verb (ΘΒΒΙΟ) in the latter clause. This shift between the two parts of two clauses might be used to express his keenness on the virtue of humility and the avoidance of arrogance all the time.

²⁴ This text was translated into Italy by ORLANDI 1988: 118-119.

²⁵ For the negative imperative, see LAYTON 2000: §368; REINTGES 2004: 360.

²⁶ For ΧΙΣΕ, see CRUM 1939: 788b-790a.

²⁷ This encomium was translated into English by THOMPSON 1993: 1: 54, 2: 42.

²⁸ For the conjunctive, see LAYTON 2000: §351; REINTGES 2004: 295-297.

III. ANTIMETABOLE AFTER A VERB IN A SENTENCE/CLAUSE

This type only appears between two words positioned directly after a verb in a sentence/clause, where the two words come in a specific order and then they are repeated in a consecutive sentence/clause but in a transposed order. This kind is relatively different from its equivalent in Arabic²⁹:

E.g.: El-Hassan said: «بع دنياك بأخرتك تربحها جميعا، ولا تبيع أخرتك بدنياك فتخسرها جميعا»
«If you **sell your present life** for **your hereafter**, you will win them both. If you **sell your hereafter** for **your present life**, you will lose them both.»

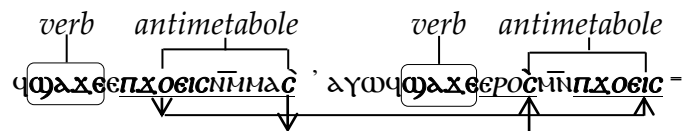
In the first sentence, the two words دنياك «your present life» and أخرتك «your hereafter» are positioned after the verb بع «sell», they became in a transposed order in the second sentence³⁰.

As for Coptic, I have noticed that this type can be classified into [TABLE 2] three forms:

1. The Verb is followed by a Noun and a Pronoun:

(A) St. Shenute (*Discourse in the Presence of Eraklammon*):

ⲥⲉⲛⲙⲁⲛⲉⲟⲛⲏⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ̀ ⲛⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛⲁⲓⲉⲁⲥⲙⲁⲁⲥⲙⲁⲧⲱⲛ̀ⲁⲓⲛⲧⲉⲩⲁⲣⲏⲕⲏⲩⲱⲧⲉⲩⲁⲛ̀ⲛ̀



The church is also signified, especially in the Song of Songs. From its beginning to its end it is **speaking** about *the Lord* and *her*, and it is **speaking** about *her* and *the Lord*³¹.

This excerpt was said while Apa Shenute was speaking about Christ and the reference to him in all the books of the Bible as well as the church and its reference in the Book of the Song of Songs. The rhetoric appears twice; in using the Sahidic verb ⲩⲱⲁⲭⲉ³² which was used metaphorically and also between the noun (ⲛⲗⲟⲓⲥ) and the third person singular suffix pronoun (ⲥ) that are linked by this verb ⲩⲱⲁⲭⲉ in both first present tense sentences³³. In the first verbal sentence, he put the noun (ⲛⲗⲟⲓⲥ) before the pronoun ⲥ in (ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲥ̀); however, he subsequently inverted the latter: he began with the pronoun ⲥ in (ⲉⲣⲟⲥ̀) then the noun (ⲛⲗⲟⲓⲥ). Perhaps the author resorted to using this trope to emphasize the spiritual relationship that binds them together.

(B) Apa Pisenhius (*Discourse on St. Onnophrius*):

Ⲓⲙⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩⲱⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲧⲏⲧⲏⲧⲱⲛ̀ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲁⲓ Ⲓⲓⲧⲏⲛⲓⲧⲧⲱⲟ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲏⲛⲥⲁⲣⲓ ⲙⲏⲛⲉⲧⲏⲛⲑⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲧⲃⲃⲏⲩⲥⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲓⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧ Ⲓⲁⲣⲉⲗ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲥⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲓⲱⲩ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲧⲉⲥⲣⲓⲙⲉ Ⲓⲱⲟⲥⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲛⲉⲥⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧⲥⲁⲓ

²⁹ See FīWD 2015: 169.

³⁰ This example was translated into English by MUHAMMED 2010: 8, 9.

³¹ This text was translated into French by CHASSINAT 1911, 147; into English by FOAT 1993: 128; and into Arabic by MU‘AWWAD 2009, 260.

³² CRUM 1939: 612b-613a.

³³ For the first present tense, see REINTGES 2004: 258-262.

In this way, through the purity of your flesh and your purified hearts, you will come to resemble the righteous one. That is to say, let *the husband* watch over *his wife*, and let *the wife* do likewise for *her husband*³⁴.

While Apa Pisenhius urged the necessity of purity for men and women, he only mentioned the Sahidic verb **ⲉⲗⲣⲉⲗ**³⁵ in the first sentence while it disappeared in the second one. It is remarkable that the subject of the first sentence differs from that of the second sentence; however, the rhetorical device seems through the positions of the pronouns and the nouns which are attached to the verb **ⲉⲗⲣⲉⲗ** in both sentences: the third person singular suffix pronoun **ⲩ** in (*ⲉⲣⲟⲩ*) comes first then the noun (*ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲙⲉ*) in the first sentence while in the second one he made the third person singular suffix pronoun **ⲩ** in (*ⲉⲗⲟⲩ*) comes first then the noun (*ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩⲧ*). Consequently, antimetabole might be used to emphasize their mutual role in preserving purity towards one another.

2. The Verb is followed by Two Nouns:

(A) Apa Besa (*To an erring monk*):

ⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲕⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ, ⲁⲗⲟ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲕⲉ · ⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲡⲉⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲗⲣⲁⲕ · ⲁⲗⲟ
ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲗⲃ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲉ · ⲛⲉⲕⲛⲁⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲗⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲃⲟⲕ ⲉⲗⲉⲛⲙⲁ ⲉⲡⲡⲟⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲕ · ⲛ ⲕⲛⲁⲗⲣⲓⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲡⲡⲓⲕⲟⲩⲛⲉ ·

Or if you had not **counted** *darkness* for *light* and *light* for *darkness*, or if bitter had not been sweet in your opinion and sweet bitter, would you have been so greatly daring as to go whither you were not sent, or would you have gone out from here without asking³⁶?

This question was said by Apa Besa while admonishing an erring monk. Apa Besa used two types of antimetabole here: the first one is between the two words *ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ* and *ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲕⲉ* while the second is between the two words *ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲉ* and *ⲉⲗⲟⲥ*. Indeed, the first case is what concerns us here whereas the latter one represents the first type of antimetabole discussed above. Notable, the writer, in the first negative past tense sentence³⁷, employs the Coptic verb **ⲉⲡ**³⁸ while it disappears in the second one. The two nouns (*ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲕⲉ*) and (*ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ*) appear in this order in the first sentence, while in reverse in the second one. He probably meant from using this shift to make the recipient/reader realize that the addressee could not distinguish between the light (the truth) and the dark (the vain) and that both of them became one thing for him.

3. The Verb is followed by Two Pronouns:

(A) Apa Basil, Bishop of Pemjē, (*A homily on the Virtues of St. Longinus*):

ⲕⲛⲁⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲗⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲥⲕⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲩⲙⲓⲧⲟⲛ | ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲗⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲟ | ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲗⲟⲩ
ⲛⲥⲉⲙⲧⲟ(ⲛ) | ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲗⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲟⲟⲩ

³⁴ This text was translated into French by CRUM 1915-1917: 45, 59; into English by VIVIAN 2009: 176-177 and footnote 24 (see EPH 5:33); and into Arabic by MU'AWWAD 2016: 213.

³⁵ CRUM 1939: 707b-708a.

³⁶ This letter was translated into English by KUHN 1956, 24 (text), 23 (translation); and into Arabic by MU'AWWAD 2018, 69.

³⁷ For the negative past tense, see LAYTON 2000: § 334.

³⁸ CRUM 1939: 526a.

He will take them into his heavenly dwelling-places and he will be **satisfied** with them and they in turn will be **satisfied** with him³⁹.

Apa Basil wanted to express the fate of the righteous. Although he employed the same Coptic verb **ἴτον**⁴⁰ in both preterit clauses⁴¹, the subject is different. He began his speech talking about God utilizing the third person singular pronoun φ in ($\mu\mu\omicron\varphi$) after the verb while talking about the righteous using the third person plural pronoun $\omicron\gamma$ in ($\epsilon\chi\omega\omicron\gamma$). Then he switched his speech talking first about the righteous using the third person plural pronoun $\omicron\gamma$ in ($\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$) and about God using the third person singular pronoun φ in ($\epsilon\chi\omega\varphi$). Perhaps this shift between the pronouns to make the listeners and the readers realize the satisfaction which will be between God and the righteous.

(B) St. Shenute Contra Origenistas (*I Am Amazed*):

ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΜΠΩΜΩΕ ΝΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΣΕΣΟΟΓΝ ΔΝ ΔΕ ΠΣΑΤΑΝΔΣ ΠΕΤ**ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ** ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΔΥΩ ΕΦ**ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ** ΜΜΟΦ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ. ΔΥΩ ΟΥΜΕ ΔΝ ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ.

This is the way of the service of those who do it not knowing that it is Satan who **works** them in it and it is in them that he works it. And it is not a truth from out of the hand of God⁴².

St. Shenute criticized the statue of unemployed slaves and heretics and how Satan affects them? It seems that antimetabole was employed to clarify this meaning in the current relative clauses⁴³. This hardly appears when he made the Greek verb **ενεργει** ($\epsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$)⁴⁴ attached by the suffix pronouns; in the first relative clause the third person plural pronoun $\omicron\gamma$ in ($\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$) followed by the third person singular pronoun φ in ($\nu\zeta\eta\tau\varphi$). However, in the second one, each pronoun replaced the other; namely, the third person singular pronoun φ in ($\mu\mu\omicron\varphi$) precedes the third person plural pronoun $\omicron\gamma$ in ($\nu\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$). The alternation between the places of pronouns in both sentences clarifies that Satan's machinations succeeded in strengthening the close relationship between heretics and bad thought, so that each of them became complementary to the other.

³⁹ This homily was translated into English by DEPUYDT 1994: 281, 290.

⁴⁰ CRUM 1939: 193b.

⁴¹ For preterit, see LAYTON 2000: §§ 434-443.

⁴² This sermon was translated into Italy by ORLANDI 1985: 56-57; into English by FOAT 1996: 135; and into Arabic by MU'AWWAD 2009: 151.

⁴³ For the use of these two forms of the relative clause, see REINTGES 2004: 418, 435-436.

⁴⁴ FÖRSTER 2002: 260.

IV. ANTIMETABOLE BETWEEN TWO WORDS IN TWO CONSECUTIVE SENTENCES/CLAUSES

This form occurs between two words that are identical in type; they come in a specific order in two consecutive sentences/clauses, and then they are repeated in two other consecutive sentences/clauses but in a transposed order. It is possible to divide these words [TABLE 3] into two kinds:

1. Antimetabole between Two Nouns:

(A) The instructions of St. Pachomius, the Archimandrite:

First past sentence	First circumstantial clause	Second past sentence	Second circumstantial clause
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ἀΝΚΟΥΙ̅ λὸ ἐγ^ςωτῆ̅ ἡ̅σα^ς ΝΝΟΣ̅, ἀ^ς ΝΝΟΣ̅ κατ^οστογ̅ εβ^ολ̅ ἐγ^ςι^ροογ̅ω ΖΑ^ς ΝΚΟΥΙ̅, ἀπογ^α πογ^α μοογ^ε
 (A) (B) (A) (B)

ζ^ς ΝΝεγ^ογ̅ωω̅ ἡ̅ζητ̅·

The juniors no longer obey *the elders*; *the elders* no longer care for *the juniors*, and everyone goes along according to his own whims⁴⁵.

This excerpt was said while St. Pachomius was speaking with a monk about the influence of arrogance on the juniors and the elders. He made the noun (ΝΚΟΥΙ) as a subject in the first past tense sentence⁴⁶ whilst as a prepositional object in the second circumstantial clause⁴⁷. In contrast, the noun (ΝΝΟΣ) came as a prepositional object in the first circumstantial clause but as a subject in the second past sentence. In other words, the two nouns were mutually repeated among the sentences. That is a worthy reason for drawing the attention of the audience/reader in order to know that this arrogance is a vice and it has a mutual negative effect on both the elders and the novices.

(B) Apa Paul of Tamma (*Opus sine titulo*):

ἐκ^ςμοο^ς ζ^ς τεκ^ρι̅ μ^πρω^ωπε̅ εκ^ςορ^μ̅ εβ^ολ̅: ἡ^ςφε̅ ἡ^ςμοκ̅ || χ^ε εκ^ςμοο^ς ἡ^ςω̅ ἡ^ςε̅ μ^πρ[ε]ρ̅ ο̅ε̅
 ἡ^ςι^τβ^ηη̅ ε^τχ^ωρ^μ̅ ἡ^ςα̅ πρ^ωμ^ε̅ ἀλλ^α̅ ἀρ^ι̅ πρ^ωμ^ε̅ ἡ^ςτο^ς̅ ε^τχ^ωρ[ε]̅μ̅ ἡ^ςα̅ πτ^βη^η̅:

Sitting in your cell do not be relaxed: pay attention to how you sit, and do not be like *the beasts* that lead *the man*, but like *the man* who leads *the beast*⁴⁸.

In his advice to a monk, Father Paul warns him from laziness and urges him to be vigilant to the thoughts, namely, he used the imperative in its affirmative and negative forms⁴⁹. It is noticeable that the plural noun ΝΙΤΒΗΗ and its singular form ΠΤΒΗΗ were used metaphorically to express the thoughts. Moreover, the writer used antimetabole between the nouns ΤΒΗΗ and ΡΩΜΕ; he made the plural noun (ΝΙΤΒΗΗ) as the antecedent of the first relative clause while in a singular form (ΠΤΒΗΗ) at the end of the second

⁴⁵ These instructions were translated into English by BUDGE 1913: 169, 376; into French by LEFORT 1956: 1: 19, 2: 20; into English too by VEILLEUX 1982: 36; and into Arabic by MU'AWWAD 2013, 119.

⁴⁶ For the past tense, see LAYTON 2000: § 334.

⁴⁷ For its use as a completive circumstantial, see LAYTON 2000: § 426.

⁴⁸ This text was translated into Italy by ORLANDI 1988: 116-117.

⁴⁹ For the imperative (affirmative and negative), see LAYTON 2000: §§ 366, 368; REINTGES 2004: 316-317, 360.

relative clause⁵⁰. On the other hand, the noun (*πρωμε*) was utilized at the end of the first relative clause whilst it was used as the antecedent of the second relative clause. In general, the usage of the noun τβνη, either for plural or for singular form, as well as antimetabole helped clarify that whenever a person is idle, he becomes distracted between many ideas but whenever the person is vigilance, he only focuses on one idea and one action.

(C) Patriarch Jean, the third, in *his response to Theodoros's questions*:

ϸτβετμντ̄ακεραιος δε μπεβροομπε . Δσολομον χροο χεογνογωην νωαγμογτε ερογ χεζωη . ετεπετον̄επε νωαενεζ . Πωην δε ετμμαγ ογ̄νογμνηωε νροβ μπεκωτε . αλλα μμ̄νωβom μμοογ εζωη ερογν ερογ . ϸβολ χερωαντεγραιβες πωωνε επειηβτ̄ . ωαγπωωνε επεμντ̄ . ϸσωανπωωνε επεμντ̄ ωαγπωωνε επ̄ηβτ̄ . Ογ̄νογμνηωε νβροομπε ζ̄μ̄κωτε μπωην ετ̄μμαγ . εγωοοπ ζατεγραιβες ετβεθεοτε ν̄ν̄ροβ . ϸτβεπαῖ ρω ερενεροβ κωτε επωην ετβεχεκαο ερωανογβροομ<πε> ερσαμβολ μπωην νσεογ̄om̄ .

Regarding the simplicity of the dove. Salomon said: 'there is a tree called Zōē, that is to say the one who lives eternally. Around this tree there is a crowd of serpents, but they cannot approach it because if its shadow passes to *the east*, they go to *the west* and if (the shadow) goes to *the west*, they go to *the east*. There is a crowd of doves around this tree, dwelling in its shadow for fear of serpents. Therefore also the serpents revolve around the tree so that, if a dove goes away from the tree, they devour it⁵¹.

Thereafter Pop Jean explained the meaning of that excerpt and he advised the believer to stay always in the shadow of the tree of life (i.e. Jesus Christ) lest the demons (i.e. serpents) approach. As for the doves, he meant the Christians. Antimetabole occurred between two nouns *πειηβτ̄* and *πεμντ̄* in the two conditional sentences⁵²; he placed the noun (*πειηβτ̄*) in the protasis clause of the first conditional sentence and in the apodosis clause of the second sentence. As for the noun (*πεμντ̄*), it was utilized in the apodosis clause of the first conditional sentence while it came in the protasis clause of the second conditional sentence. Although the scribe used many figures of speech in this excerpt, antimetabole was used here to signify the association of the demon's lurking to the shadow wherever it comes.

2. Antimetabole between Two Verbs:

(A) Apa Daniel said in *Apophthegmata partum*:

ν̄ζωCON πωμα †ογω τεψγχη ζωωο ωαοσ̄ββε αγω ν̄ζωCON πωμα σ̄ββε τεψγχη †ογω .

The more the body *flourishes*, *the weaker* the soul becomes; and *the weaker* the body becomes, the more the soul *flourishes*⁵³.

Apa Daniel wanted to express the effect of bodily desires on the soul. He used the conditional sentences⁵⁴ in order to simplify the meaning of the idea for the recipient. In

⁵⁰ For the constructions of these two relative clauses, see SHISHA-HALEVY 1988: 123-125, 127.

⁵¹ This text was translated into French by VAN LANTSCHOOT 1957: 52 (text), 254 (translation).

⁵² For the conditional sentences, see SHISHA-HALEVY 1988: 148-149; LAYTON 2000: §§ 346, 494.

⁵³ This saying was translated into French by CHAINE 1960: 12, 94; and into English by HARTLEY 1969: 49.

⁵⁴ For the use of the conditional marker ν̄ζωCON, see REINTGES 2004: 491.

addition, he made the two Coptic verbs ⲧⲟϣⲱ and ⲥⲃⲃⲉ⁵⁵ replace each other. The verb (ⲧⲟϣⲱ) in the protasis clause of the first conditional sentence became in the apodosis clause of the second one. On the other hand, the verb (ⲥⲃⲃⲉ) was used in the apodosis clause of the first conditional sentence and it became in the protasis clause of the second conditional sentence. Perhaps this shift was used to make everyone realize that he who supports the desires of his body; his spiritual desires will be weak and vice versa⁵⁶.

(B) Apa Paphnutius (*The life of Abba Aaron*):

ⲉ̅ⲛ̅ ⲡⲉⲗⲟⲟϣ · ⲉⲧ̅ ⲛ̅ⲙⲁϣ · ⲉⲧ̅ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲟϣⲱⲙ · ⲉⲛⲉ | ⲙⲉϥⲥⲉ ⲙⲟϥ · ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲓ̅ · ⲁϣⲱ ⲡⲉⲗⲟⲟϣ ⲉⲧ̅ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲥⲉ ⲙⲟϥ · ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲉϥⲟϣⲱⲙ.

On the day he ate, he would drink no water; and the day he drank water, he would not eat⁵⁷.

Apa Paphnutius was talking about Apa Aaron and his monastic life and his daily system of food and drink. Antimetabole, particularly, was used to describe St. Aaron's condition, where he made the two Coptic verbs ⲟϣⲱⲙ and ⲥⲉ⁵⁸ replace each other: the verb (ⲟϣⲱⲙ) appears in the first relative clause (ⲡⲉⲗⲟⲟϣ · ⲉⲧ̅ⲛ̅ⲙⲁϣ · ⲉⲧ̅ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲟϣⲱⲙ)⁵⁹ and in the second negative habitual past tense sentence (ⲛⲉⲙⲉϥⲟϣⲱⲙ)⁶⁰. Likewise, the verb (ⲥⲉ) comes in the first negative habitual past tense sentence (ⲛⲉ | ⲙⲉϥⲥⲉ ⲙⲟϥ) and in the second relative clause (ⲡⲉⲗⲟⲟϣ ⲉⲧ̅ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲥⲉ ⲙⲟϥ). I think this switch between these two actions might be used to express the saint's attachment to the virtue of asceticism and to his regular daily diet.

(C) Apa Dioscorus of Alexandria (*A panegyric on Macarius bishop of Tkôw*):

ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲛⲥⲁ ⲛ̅ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ · ⲕⲉⲁⲣⲓⲟϣⲁ ⲉ̅ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲛⲁϣ · ⲛ̅ ⲛ̅ⲧ̅ⲁⲗⲁⲛⲗ · ⲛ̅ⲧ̅ⲁⲧ̅ⲕⲱⲗⲉⲧ · ⲛ̅ ⲛ̅ⲧ̅ⲁⲗⲁⲛⲗ · ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲕⲉⲓ̅ⲙ̅ⲟⲛ · ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛ ⲱⲗⲛⲗ ⲉ̅ⲓ̅ⲟϣⲥⲟⲡ · ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲕⲱⲗⲉⲧ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ̅ⲛ̅ⲧ̅ⲡⲉ ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲁⲛⲉⲗⲁⲓⲥⲕⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲣⲡⲉ:

Father Besa said to my father: 'Do one of these two things. Either pray, and I will set the fire. Or set the fire and I will pray.' My father said: 'No. Rather, let us pray together, and the fire will come down from heaven and consume this temple'⁶¹.

While Apa Dioscorus was talking about the dialogue which was between Apa Besa and Apa Macarius (when the first came to the temple to save the latter and the monks from the hands of pagans), he used repetition for a rhetorical purpose. He made the verb (ⲁⲗⲛⲗ) in the conjunctive⁶² (ⲛ̅ⲧ̅ⲁⲗⲁⲛⲗ) comes before the verb (ⲧ̅ⲕⲱⲗⲉⲧ) in the conjunctive (ⲛ̅ⲧ̅ⲁⲗⲁⲛⲗ); however, in the second clauses, he repeated these two verbs in reverse. It is worth noting that the use of this rhetorical device made the

⁵⁵ CRUM 1939: 475, 805.

⁵⁶ For the interpretation of this saying, see HARTLEY 1969: 49, №. 54, footnote 2.

⁵⁷ BUDGE translated it: «On the day whereon he ate bread he | drank no water, and the day whereon he drank water he ate no bread», see BUDGE 1915, 475, 990; and the life was translated into English too by VIVIAN 1996: 116.

⁵⁸ CRUM 1939: 478a, 318a.

⁵⁹ For this syntax of the relative clause, see REINTGES 2004: 423.

⁶⁰ For the negative habitual tense, see REINTGES 2004: 348-351.

⁶¹ This text was translated into English by JOHNSON 1980: 35 (text), 27 (translation).

⁶² For the conjunctive, see footnote 28 above.

listeners/readers know that St. Besa needs to do the two actions at the same time. In other words, through faith and the good deed (i.e. the prayer), they will eliminate paganism by burning the temple.

V. CONCLUSION

Antimetabole is one of the figures of speech that appear from time to time in the texts. To identify the forms and the rhetorical purposes of using this device, this article investigates the structures of antimetabole in Coptic literary texts, particularly the Sahidic texts which were written between the 4th and the 7th centuries AD. Consequently, this study classifies the structures of this trope into three types: the first is between two parts of a sentence/clause/phrase (three forms), the second appears after a verb in a sentence/clause (three forms), and the latter is between two words in two consecutive sentences/clauses (two forms). As for the rhetorical functions, this figure of speech was employed either to emphasize an issue or to clarify an idea.

Based on the examples discussed above, it is noted also that there are some similarities between the first and second types and their counterparts in Arabic. Perhaps this is due to the rapprochement between the ancient Egyptian language and Arabic.

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TABLES

ANTIMETABOLE	TYPES OF THE TWO PARTS
Two parts of a sentence/clause/ phrase.	Two nouns
	A pronoun and a noun
	A noun and a verb

[TABLE 1]: The First Type of Antimetabole
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ANTIMETABOLE	TYPES OF THE TWO WORDS
Two words after a verb in a sentence/clause.	A noun and a pronoun
	Two nouns
	Two pronouns

[TABLE 2]: The Second Type of Antimetabole
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ANTIMETABOLE	TYPES OF THE TWO WORDS
Two words in two consecutive sentences/clauses.	Two nouns
	Two verbs

[TABLE 3]: The Third Type of Antimetabole
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العكس والتبديل

أشكاله وأغراضه البلاغية في النصوص القبطية الصعيدية

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مدرس بقسم الآثار، كلية الآداب، جامعة المنيا

الملخص

عالج الآباء حكمهم وأقوالهم المأثورة بالعديد من الأساليب البلاغية، وربما كان هذا نتيجة لما تتميز به هذه الأساليب من خصائص ساعدت على تقديم الفكرة بطريقة مبسطة تجذب انتباه السامعين والقراء. ويعد أسلوب العكس والتبديل واحد من تلك الأساليب البلاغية التي لوحظت من حين لآخر في اللغة القبطية. ويهدف هذا البحث إلى تقديم دراسة لغوية لأنواع هذا الأسلوب في النصوص الأدبية القبطية، وبشكل خاص تلك النصوص الصعيدية التي كتبت في الفترة ما بين القرنين الرابع والسابع الميلادى. بالإضافة إلى إنه يبحث أيضاً عن الأغراض البلاغية التي دفعت الكتابة إلى استخدام هذا الأسلوب البلاغي في كتاباتهم.

الكلمات الدالة: العكس والتبديل، أقوال مأثورة، البلاغة، الأساليب البلاغية، النصوص الأدبية القبطية، النصوص الصعيدية، الكتابة

2021

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**CONTRIBUTIONS OF MUSLIM MECHANICAL ENGINEERS IN
MODERN AUTOMATA
(IN LIGHT OF KITĀB AL-ĤIYAL OF AL- ĠAZARĪ)
A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYTICAL STUDY**

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ABSTRACT

Were the Muslims in ancient times highly proficient in mechanical engineering? Did they have a head start over the West in this field? Unfortunately, it is noticeable nowadays that Arabs and Muslims all over the world became just consumers; exploiting all technological developments of the West that are rapidly growing. Here we had to wonder whether the Arab Muslims, long ago, was in this manner. This research hypothesizes that Muslims had attained an advanced level of mechanical engineering and were the inventors of the self-moving artifacts; recently known as automata. Accordingly, this research has undertaken the mission to prove that assumption. This paper focuses on automata machines, in light of «*kitāb al-Ĥiyal*» of the Muslim engineer *al- Ġazarī*. This book -initially a manuscript- included a detailed description of these machines accompanied by painted illustrations known as «miniatures». The paper begins with a preface dealing with the meaning of fine technology and automata, followed by the story of automata since the antique ages and until the medieval epochs. The latter element is an indication of Muslims' contributions to mechanical engineering in general, and automata in particular. This is supported by previewing samples on automata «self-moving» machines according to the miniatures of «*kitāb al-Ĥiyal* ». This is followed by briefed biography of the book's author *al- Ġazarī* and a historical and artistic analysis of the book itself. Finally, there is a concise scientific analysis of the chosen samples of automata and their relevance to modern machines and advanced technology industries. Conclusively, concerning the value of «*kitāb al-Ĥiyal*» which is dated back to the 7th century AH/ 13th century AD, this research accentuated that automata machines are not a Western invention, they are an outcome of the Golden Age of the Islamic civilization, proving their supremacy in mechanical engineering since the medieval epochs.

KEYWORDS: Mechanical engineering, Automata, Miniatures, Manuscript, Islamic civilization, *al- Ġazarī*, *kitāb al-Ĥiyal*.

I. INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH PLAN:

- I. Preface.
- II. Story of automata since antique ages and onwards .
- III. Contributions of Muslim mechanical engineers in automata.
- IV. Muslims' automata mechanisms according to miniatures of «*kitāb al-Ĥiyal*».
- V. Historical and Artistic analysis for the publication of «*kitāb al-Ĥiyal*».
- VI. Concise scientific analysis for the chosen automata mechanisms.
- VII. Conclusion.

I. PREFACE

This research paper illuminates Muslims' contributions to producing self-moving artifacts known as «automata». This is incorporated under the title of fine technology, recently known as mechanical engineering, referring to multiple mechanisms modeled basically for amusement, for timekeeping, and for the diverse needs of scientists.¹

Unfortunately, due to their fragile composition; few remnants of fine technology mechanisms can be tracked. Thus, their construction and operating systems had been extracted from iconographic sources². The earliest information about the origins of fine technology occurs in the writings of the Roman architect *Vitruvius*³, who attributed the invention of the organ and monumental water clock to an Egyptian engineer named *Ctesibius*, who worked in Alexandria around 300 BC⁴. Later achievements in fine technology had been attributed to *Philo* of Byzantium, nearly dated back to 200 BC, and *Hero* of Alexandria almost from the mid of 100 BC⁵.

These antique sources confirm that automaton mechanisms had been known since antique civilizations; all had produced primitive samples, almost, in the form of jointed figurines. The further phase was the Hellenic civilization which is ascribed the success in producing real automata samples⁶. Nevertheless, Muslim engineers had managed to manufacture more advanced automata artifacts; the mechanism of which is still exploited in modern ones, developed under virtue of industrial revolution in the West⁷.

Hence, this paper espousals the idea that Muslim engineers had the priority in presenting such advanced technology to the universe.

¹ DRACHMANN 1948: 63.

² HILL 1993:112-140.

³ He is Marcus Vitruvius Polio; a Roman architect and engineer, who was widely famed during the 1st century BC; CECCARELLI 2014: 307-44.

⁴ HILL 1993:112-140.

⁵ DRACHMANN 1948: 1-197

⁶ BERRYMAN 2003: 344-69.

⁷ HILL 1993:122-48.

This is confirmed by the manuscripts of Muslim scientists such as *Banū Mūsā* and the Muslim engineer *al-Ġazarī*, whose works are still preserved in several libraries all over the world.

Despite such historical indications, several Western scientists are denying Muslims' favor in the emergence of modern automata. Across this research paper, the author attempts to disclaim these allegations by describing – through painted miniatures- real samples of automata mechanisms from «*kitāb al-Ĥiyal*» for the Muslim engineer *al-Ġazarī*.

Although several academic studies had dealt with the achievements of Islamic civilization in sciences as a whole, none have been conducted to shed light on Muslims' supremacy over automata. Accordingly, this research paper has the priority in conducting a concise scientific analysis; accentuating how the Muslim automata samples had paved the way to the emergence of the recently advanced counterparts. Furthermore, it illuminates how several technical applications became well-known, and are still in use under the antique automata mechanisms built by *al-Ġazarī*.

II. STORY OF AUTOMATA SINCE ANTIQUE AGES AND ONWARDS

The story of automata is deep-rooted, since man was eager to simulate the universe through graphics and plastic art. Ancient grotesque figurines⁸ and idols found in burials testify to this inspiration's age-old in primitive religions. Although automata are almost renowned to have begun in the Hellenic civilization, it is clear that man managed to elaborate pictorial representations with automata long before⁹. It is documented that proto-automata samples in the shape of dolls with joined arms and other articulated figurines were early known from the ancient Egyptian tombs of the 12th dynasty onwards¹⁰.

One of these jointed figurines among the properties of the Metropolitan museum of arts is an Egyptian small and precisely carved wood statuette, representing a wholly naked woman, with a heavy shoulder-length wig [FIGURE 1]. The statuette's right hand is maintaining its propriety by covering the genital parts; however, the breasts were to be masked by the missing left arm. A simple technique had been applied; the arms were designed to be raised and so uncover the feminine genital and other charm organs. This statuette is a rare sample of proto- automaton, resembling an infrequent level of mechanical superiority in the archaeological record of the Nile Valley. According to preliminary examination, this small statuette was attributed to the Egyptian middle

⁸ The word «Grotesque» is derived from the Italian *grotteschi*; referring to the grottoes in which these decorations were found c. 1500. Such decoration was either mural or sculptural, represented in unfamiliar combined shapes, inclined to be unreal, comical and even caricature.

BARASCH 1971: 9.

⁹ DE SOLLA PRICE 1964: 9–23

¹⁰ CHAPUIS & DROZ 1958: 13–29.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF MUSLIM MECHANICAL ENGINEERS IN MODERN AUTOMATA
(IN LIGHT OF KITĀB AL-ĤIYAL OF AL- ĠAZARĪ) A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYTICAL STUDY

kingdom, almost the 12th dynasty (ca. 1981-1802 BC). Though, due to the high profession of sculpting, further examinations tended to attribute this statuette to a later date; about the 18th dynasty (ca. 1550-1295 BC). However, shortly, the 12th dynasty again had been favored.

The mechanism applied in this statuette is composed of a rotating axle introduced into the torso through a square-cut hole in the right shoulder [FIGURE 2]. This hole gives access to a large, precise vacuum cut and a small, drilled exit hole. One end of the axle is fashioned as a tenon????, where the statuette's right arm is attached. The axle's other end preserves the remnants of an identical tenon???; where the missing left arm was once attached [FIGURE 3]¹¹.

The purpose for which ancient Egyptian craftsmen exploited this mechanism is still unclear. However, some historians interpreted that to be a simulation for a comic dance of the goddess «Hathor» to bestow pleasure on the «Sun God» as a ritual performance.¹² Conclusively, the mechanical nature of this ancient Egyptian statuette renders it a particular significance¹³.

A further record of automata self-moving artifacts -as numerous historians of technology stated- had been revealed in ancient Homeric literature¹⁴, which dealt with self-moving devices as a personification of their Gods¹⁵. By the beginning of the Hellenic culture, the natural exaggeration in mythology had produced the concept of simulacra with multi abilities that exceed proto-automata figurines; just talking or moving their arms. Hellenic Daedalus¹⁶, managed to imitate the flight of birds, and fashioned guarding statues that moved and walked in front of the labyrinth¹⁷. Another case is Archytas of Tarentum¹⁸, who succeeded in making a wooden flying dove function with counterweights and air pressure¹⁹.

From at least the 4th century AD, a growing body of techniques and ideas gathered under the label «mechanics». In Hellenes times, mechanics had been considerably developed in theoretical and practical means as well. In advanced natural philosophy,

¹¹ REEVES 2015: 42–61.

¹² SCHARFF 1927: 61.

¹³ REEVES 2015: 42-61

¹⁴ Homer is one of the most influential Hellenic authors during the 9th or 8th century BC. He was presumed as the author of the Iliad and the Odyssey, two hugely influential epic poems, FOWLER 2004: 254–71.

¹⁵ IRBY-MASSIE & KEYSER 2002: 150–78.

¹⁶ Daedalus, (Hellenic: «Skillfully Wrought») mythical Hellenic inventor, architect, and sculptor, who was said to have built, among other things, the paradigmatic Labyrinth for King Minos of Crete.

WHITE & et ALL. 1959: 558-60

¹⁷ Labyrinth was the name given by the ancient Hellenics and Romans to a structure of bewildering maze of passages designed by Daedalus in the command of King *Minos* of Crete. WHITE & et ALL. 1959: 558-60

¹⁸ Archytas of Tarentum, Hellenic scientist, philosopher, and major Pythagorean mathematician.

HUFFMAN 2005: 255-82.

¹⁹ DE SOLLA PRICE 1964: 9–23

the mechanical versions of «self-movers» were the reason for thinking that human beings' organisms, and the natural world in general, might work just like that²⁰ Thus, the emergence of automata had been greatly accepted and welcomed by the Hellenics, especially those who were resided in Athens, where slavery was widespread, and they rapidly understood that automata, self-moving robots, could substitute slaves²¹. Thus, the existence of slavery produced the raw materials for the development of a piece of technology; the «imaginary robots» automaton. As a result, turning to automata virtually became a must²².

III. CONTRIBUTIONS OF MUSLIM MECHANICAL ENGINEERS IN AUTOMATA

The roots of every new civilization must be supported by the achievements of its ancestors. In the case of Islamic civilization, ancestors were the Hellenistic, Greco-Roman, and Byzantine civilizations, besides minor influences from China and India. By their conquest of Egypt and Syria in the first half of the 1st century AH/ 7th AD, the Arabs fell as inheritor of the Hellenic civilization. This heritage was eventually to bear fruit in the transmission of scientific literature and in the diffusion of traditions in the construction of machines, hydraulic works and masonry structures²³.

Furthermore, from the mid of the 1st century AH/ mid of the 7th AD century, Muslim Arab armies built communication with the Chinese civilization during their conquest of Central Asia. In addition, China had long been a commercial and diplomatic representative in the area. Yet, the Indian influence on Islamic civilization had long occurred when Muslims established a vast subcontinental empire and arrived on the south Indian coasts as missionaries and merchants. In 93 AH/ 711 AD, the Umayyads annexed that part of India in the north, now known as *Sind*, which came into direct contact with the caliphate and was the main channel through which the ancient Indian sciences passed to Baghdad²⁴.

The legacy of scientific and technological knowledge from the conquered regions had remarkable results in the new society. With the translation from Hellenic and other languages, there was tremendous openness in the early centuries of Islam. In addition, the organized sponsorship of translation under the great '*Abbasside Caliphs*, which continued until the middle of the 5th century AH/11th century AD, reflects the great attention the rulers paid to adopt all valuable knowledge of the pre-Islamic cultures

²⁰ BERRYMAN 2003: 344–69

²¹ WILSON 2008: 337–68.

²² DEVECKA 2013: 52–69.

²³ HILL 1993: 1–14.

²⁴ AL-HASSAN & HILL 1986: 29–31.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF MUSLIM MECHANICAL ENGINEERS IN MODERN AUTOMATA
(IN LIGHT OF KITĀB AL-ĤĪYAL OF AL-ĠAZARĪ) A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYTICAL STUDY

as a matter of expediency. By about 442 AH/1050 AD all valuable scientific works of the Hellenistic period were available in Arabic. In addition, original Arabian works became an extension of Hellenic scientific systems and participated in improving them²⁵.

Talking directly about «fine technology» in the Islamic epoch; there are plentiful evidence of edited texts, besides some surviving instruments that testify to Muslims' contributions to producing mechanical devices²⁶. Although the Muslim scientists had taken the Hellenic works as their starting point, they became considerably more advanced. According to references from Hellenic, Roman and Arabian historians, constructing ingenious devices had occurred in the Eastern Mediterranean from Hellenistic times and through the periods of the Roman and Byzantine empires into the world of Islam. Written sources that describe machines are very rare. In Arabic, likewise, there were some short treatises, only two are of great importance²⁷.

The first is that of *Aḥmad* one of the three brothers known as the *Banū Mūsā*, sons of *Mūsā b. Shakir*; *Muḥammad*, *Aḥmad*, and *al-Ḥasan* ²⁸. *Mūsā b. Shakir* was so advanced in the field of engineering and astronomy; thus, he was one of the fortune-tellers during the reign of the 'Abbasside Caliph *al-Ma'mūn* (198-218AH/ 813-833AD). His three sons were superiors in mathematics, astronomy, and tricks «*Ḥiyal*».²⁹

Although these three brothers undoubtedly took the works of *Philo* (200 BC), and *Hero* (mid of 100 BC) as their starting point, their work revealed a greater mastery over physical media that even exceeded their Hellenic predecessors. They were the pioneers of Islamic engineers to demonstrate a preoccupation with automatic controls³⁰. They had about twenty scientific books, in mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics; the most famous of these was the «*Book of Ingenious Devices*» which had been dated to the 3rd century AH/ 9th century AD and particularly attributed to *Aḥmad b. Mūsā*³¹. This book included ahundred ingenious devices that helped in initiating technological refinements and offered new applications. It is critical here to mention that the mastery of *Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Shakir* in the field of aerostatic and hydrostatic pressures, besides his employment of automatic controls and switching systems placed him in advance of his Hellenistic predecessors. Although his work in this field is limited in scope; it -his work- was not exceeded until modern times³².

²⁵ HILL 1993: 2-14.

²⁶ DE SOLLA PRICE 1964: 9-23.

²⁷ HILL 1994: 25-43.

²⁸ AN-NADĪM 2014: 224 - 6.

²⁹ IBN AL-QIFṬĪ 1903: 315, AL- ANDALŪSĪ, 1912: 55, IBN KHALAKĀN 1977: 161-3.

³⁰ SARTON 1927:545-6; BROCKELMANN 1936: 382.

³¹ SEZGIN 1974: 246-52; SEZGIN 1979: 129-30.

³² RĀSHĪD 1996:1-31; SEZGIN 2001:107-298.

However, the most important Arabic treatise in mechanical engineering is the great book of ingenious devices of *Ibn al-Razzāz al- Ġazarī*, which was accomplished in 602 AH/ 1206 AD. In *Diyarbakir*. It encloses fifty machines, distributed into six categories; water-clocks and candle-clocks, wine dispensers, phlebotomy measuring devices and water dispensers, alternating fountains and musical automata, water-raising devices and miscellaneous³³. Several of the mechanisms and their techniques that appear for the first time in *al- Ġazarī's* work were later to enter the vocabulary of European mechanical engineering³⁴. This work is almost important, since *al- Ġazarī* described, accurately, the methods of manufacturing and constructing his machines, accompanied by a practical study. This is a unique performance in earlier centuries, and thus, allowed later craftsmen to reconstruct his mechanisms³⁵.

In the comparison between the work of *al- Ġazarī* and that of *Banū Mūsā*, it was stated that the work of *al- Ġazarī* reached a higher level of maturity than that of *Banū Mūsā's*. In addition, according to Western scientists, the mechanical devices of *al- Ġazarī* were of great significance not only for achieving daily life functions, but for their importance in recognizing principles of natural physics as well³⁶. The book of *al- Ġazarī* is the most detailed in its type, and the peak of Muslims' achievements in mechanical engineering³⁷.

British engineer Donald Hill stated: «*Until recent centuries; the book of al- Ġazarī is unique in its designs and detailed methods of manufacturing and forming machines; null documents from any other civilizations all over the world that corresponded to it*».³⁸ Muslim engineers were almost in close contact with constructors; and only a few of them had gathered between engineering and constructing machines; *al- Ġazarī* was a dynamic engineer and a professional constructor as well ³⁹. Conclusively, the book of *al- Ġazarī* presented a full scene of Arabian mechanical technology⁴⁰.

Getting to the impact of Muslim engineering on European technology; most Western historians deny Muslims' priority. They suppose that European culture is the direct descendant of the classical civilizations of Greece and Rome. However, according to Charles Singer, the 19th- century British historian of sciences, the Greco-Roman heritage was built upon the great civilization of the Near Eastern achievements due to the scholars and artisans of Egypt and Syria. The pre-Islamic civilizations from Spain to Central Asia and northern India were inherited by Islam. Under the influence of Islam and the Arabic language; all scientific achievements of these regions have been

³³ SEZGIN 2001: 43-106.

³⁴ HILL 1994: 25-43.

³⁵ SARTON 1975: 510.

³⁶ SALIBA 2007:193-232.

³⁷ SARTON 1975: 510.

³⁸ HILL 1978: 222-37.

³⁹ SARTON 1975: 510.

⁴⁰ ALĠAZARĪ & et ALL -ĤASSAN (ed.) 1979: 49.

developed and improved⁴¹. Hence, the influence of Muslim mechanical engineering on the development of European machine technology can be verified by examining the antecedents of a single machine⁴². This indicates that the ideas of Muslim engineers in fine technology in general, and particularly the utilitarian inventions of *al-Ġazarī* were transmitted to the West⁴³.

Here, we shall ask about the routes from which Muslim scientific ideas reached Europe, Muslim Christian Spain was the first entry point, and from there directly to northern Europe⁴⁴. The second entry point for Muslim sciences to Europe was Sicily when it was part of the Muslim Empire, due to its proximity to mainland Italy. An additional way for transferring Muslim sciences and technologies to Europe was the crusaders, through their stay in the Near East, for they were admired with technological ideas and transferred them to Europe⁴⁵. Furthermore, the translation movement which commenced in the 6th century AH/ 12th century AD greatly benefited from the collaboration of Muslim, Jewish and Christian scholars, as it facilitated the transfer of technological ideas, and intensely motivated the scientific evolution in Europe⁴⁶. Though, there is no evidence that the Islamic treatises in fine technology ever translated into any European language before modern times⁴⁷.

Some researchers had, incorrectly, assumed that Arabian mechanical technology was based on aesthetic pleasure devices⁴⁸. Nevertheless, contemporary historians of technology had stated that precise components of the ingenious devices of the *Banū Mūsā* and *al-Ġazarī* and their practical functions became the core stone for the development of European mechanical technology and the entire industrial evolution⁴⁹. One of the most important components used by *Banū Mūsā* was conical valves since the 3rd century AH/ 9th century AD⁵⁰, which first appeared in Europe in the notebooks of *Leonardo da Vinci*⁵¹. Remarkable mechanical water clocks of *Banū Mūsā*; their identical samples had entered Europe later in the mid of the 6th and 7th centuries AH/ 12th and 13th

⁴¹ AL-ḤASSAN & HILL 1986: 31-34.

⁴² HILL 1994: 25-43.

⁴³ CIGOLA & GALLOZZI 2000: 335-40.

⁴⁴ HILL 1994: 25-43.

⁴⁵ AL-ḤASSAN 2005: 1-30.

⁴⁶ ROMDHANE & ZEGHLOUL 2010:1-22.

⁴⁷ HILL 1993: 229-235.

⁴⁸ ALĠAZARĪ & AL-ḤASSAN (ed.) 1979: 50.

⁴⁹ DE SOLLA PRICE & HILL 1975: 81-83; SEZGIN 2001:43-106

⁵⁰ WIEDEMANN 1906: 6-8

⁵¹ Leonardo da Vinci is an Italian painter, sculptor, architect, and engineer who lived through the 2nd half of the 15th century A.D and the 1st half of the 16th century A.D (1452-1519A.D). His painting known as *Mona Lisa* (c. 1503-19) is among the most widely popular of the Renaissance. His notebooks reveal that he had advanced mechanical ingenuity preceding his time.

FARAGO 1999: 70-76, 230-59.

centuries AD. Reaching medieval Europe, all of these Muslim mechanical techniques were further stimulated by the craft leagues⁵².

Furthermore, the achievements of *al- Ğazarī* are another superb ring among the Arabian mechanical engineering chain. He was the innovator of mechanic and hydraulic mechanisms that are still affecting contemporary mechanical engineering⁵³. His book is briefly entitled «*kitāb al-Hiyal*» was one of the sources that might have influenced *Leonardo da Vinci* in building some of his clocks⁵⁴, this besides a phlebotomy measuring instrument and the slot-rod pump that has been reconstructed by modern craftsmen using instructions of *al- Ğazarī*⁵⁵.

In later epochs, several prototypes of *al- Ğazarī's* mechanisms had been built⁵⁶. Of these the mechanical man - robot- from metal, wax, glass, and leather constructed by the German theologian Albertus Magnus⁵⁷, in the 7th century AH/ 13th century AD. Thus, such a sample gives a positive image of the advance of automation in Europe⁵⁸. Another sample is a mechanical clock in Padua dated back to 765 AH/ 1364, attributed to *Giovanni de Dondi*⁵⁹. This was a true mechanical clock with weight drive, linkwork to show all the astronomical motions, a fully automated calendar showing Easter and other holy days, and a little dial for telling the time⁶⁰. Further simulated samples are recent imitations of mechanical clocks of *al- Ğazarī*, which were on display during the *World of Islam Festival* in England in 1976 AD.⁶¹ The first was a monumental water clock, which is now exhibited in Aston in the Netherlands. Other prototypes can be seen in Frankfurt, Germany and Aleppo, Syria. A full-scale prototype can also be seen in a mall in Dubai⁶².

Conclusively, Muslim scientists had inherited all the sciences and technologies of the pre-Islamic civilizations in the Near East and all the lands, extending from Central Asia and northern India to Spain. All these sciences and technologies had been notably

⁵² SEZGIN 2001:107-298, SEZGIN 2006:185–98.

⁵³ HILL 1978: 233.

⁵⁴ ROSHEIM 2016:117.

⁵⁵ HILL 1993: 112–40.

⁵⁶ ROMDHANE & ZEGHLOUL 2010: 1–22.

⁵⁷ Albertus Magnus is a German philosopher, theologian, scientist, and writer of the 13th century A.D. He was called doctor Universalis for the great breadth of his knowledge. He studied liberal arts at the University of Padua.

SHAMPO & ROBERT 1985: 530.

⁵⁸ DE SOLLA PRICE 1964: 9–23.

⁵⁹ Giovanni de Dondi was an Italian physician, astronomer and mechanical engineer in Padua, now in Italy, who was born in 1330 A.D. He was particularly famed for his elaborate astronomical clock which he designed and spent sixteen years constructing, completing it in 1364 A.D

BEDINI & MADDISON 1966: 1-69.

⁶⁰ UNGERER 1931: 163–65.

⁶¹ The World of Islam Festival is a unique cultural event that attempts to present one civilization to another. It included several exhibitions from more than 30 countries. One major exhibition, the first of its kind ever held, was on "Science and Technology in Islam".

SABINI & KEEN 1976: 2–4.

⁶² ROMDHANE & ZEGHLOUL 2010: 1–22.

improved due to the intensive consideration of the Muslim rulers⁶³. Concurrently to the maturity of technological sciences in Islamic civilization, Europeans were still beginners⁶⁴.

Unfortunately, despite multiple indications to the favor of Arab-Islamic civilization in providing Europe with the basics of its scientific and technological advance, the majority of contemporary writings of the Westerners hardly acknowledged⁶⁵.

IV. MUSLIMS' AUTOMATA MECHANISMS ACCORDING TO MINIATURES OF «KITĀB AL-HIYAL»

The 1st miniature: A musical robotic band on a boat during a drinking party (4th chapter of the 2nd category), [FIGURES 4, 5, 6]

This device looked like a wooden boat with a domed platform on the stem. This boat was designed to float on a lake's surface to entertain guests during royal drinking parties. A seated figure of a king, made of paper mâché, is on the platform, his chamberlain «*ḥājib*» standing to his right-hand side, while his weapon-bearer standing to the left side. Before the king's figure is a slave holding a jug and a goblet. Figures of boon companions of paper mâché, as well, are shown seated to the left and right sides.

On the opposite side of the king is a platform, where four automated figures of paper mâché resembling musicians, two drummers, a harpist and a flutist, are seated. Behind the platform is a sailor holding the boat's rudder. Another sailor is standing on the boat's upper side holding an oar⁶⁶.

The core mechanism of this device is a rotating cylindrical beam with protruding pegs; these just bump into little levers operating the beating. The point of the model is to demonstrate that different rhythms and drum patterns could be originated by the drummer if the pegs are moved around⁶⁷. The device is composed to perform a specific action; all musicians play their instruments, and then all of them get silent. This was to be repeated about fifteen times at intervals of about half an hour.

The movement of the hands of the slave girls and the instrument responsible for the flute's sound is a copper reservoir forming the platform, over which the slave girls are seated, and behind them is an inlet hole for the water. A tipping bucket is made, with a trough beneath it, where both are placed under the reservoir towards the boat's central part over a stable base. Beneath the reservoir's outlet is an axle in a crosswise direction.

⁶³ AL-HASSAN 2005: 1–30.

⁶⁴ SINGER & AL. 1979: 756.

⁶⁵ CIGOLA & GALLOZZI 2000: 335–40.

⁶⁶ AL-ĠAZARĪ 1485: FOLIOS 16-19.

⁶⁷ ÖREN 2001: 63–70.

A scoop wheel with a trough, beneath it, is fitted to the right end of this axle. Water discharges from a pipe in the tipping bucket's trough over the scoops of the wheel. The reservoir's bottom is perforated to let water dripp into the tipping bucket until it gets full, and then, all the water is discharged into the underneath trough. In the next step, water was drained out from the trough, through a pipe, and falls onto the wheel's scoops. Water has been collected on the trough beneath the scoop wheel and flows from it, through a narrow pipe, into a vessel. This vessel is made for the whistle, having a siphon and a pipe terminated with a whistling ball placed in the flute-playing slave-girl. Water discharged from this vessel was collected on the boat's floor⁶⁸.

The platform, where the figures of the four slave girls (flutist, harpist, and two tambourine players) are seated, had been perforated. Parallel holes were vertically applied in the reservoir's floor. A piece of pipe was inserted in each hole, with their ends soldered to the reservoir's roof and floor as well. The pipe with the flute's ball is inserted into the hole beneath the flutist, the ball enters the hollow in the flautist, who is placed in position and soldered to the platform, the sound issues from her sleeve. The right hand and forearm of the tambourine-player moves about an axle whose ends are fixed in her sleeve. At its end is a hole where a copper rod «*shazīya*» with a ring-shaped end was inserted and moves in the hole at the end of the forearm. The rod's other end goes through the hole under the tambourine player below the platform, so close to the scoop wheel's axle. Then the rod's end is bent right in the axle's direction. A short peg is fitted to the axle, thus when the scoop-wheel rotates, the peg's end comes down to the bent-up end of the rod for the hand and presses it down causing the hands move up and down. The other tambourine player is made similarly.

The harpist is made, like others, of jointed copper, in which the harp is placed vertically on the player's left thigh. The player's both hands are constructed to move with the fingers over the strings without touching them. A hole with a hanging down rod is applied in the extension of each forearm, similar to the tambourine player's rod. The two rods go down through a pipe underneath the harpist. For the movement of the right hand; three pegs, similar to the one fitted for the tambourine player's hand, are fitted to the axle. A board is installed behind all the rods descending from the slave-girls to prevent them from falling backward.

Thus, the logic sequence of this device working was beginning when the water reservoir, the slave-girls' platform as well, was filled with water; this drips from the reservoir's underside into the tipping bucket. The bucket gets filled with water in about half an hour, thus discharging water into the trough. As a result, water flows onto the wheel's scoops and thus the wheel turns. As a result, the pegs move the rods hanging

⁶⁸ AL-ĠAZARĪ 1485: FOLIOS 16 -19.

down from the slave-girls' hands. The water is sucked down into the pipe which connects the wheel's trough to the whistle's vessel, displacing the air from the vessel to within the whistle's ball. When the vessel is full, and the water has risen above the siphon, it flows out into the vessel's bottom, whence it returned to the reservoir the next day [FIGURE 6]⁶⁹. Such a device is the first known automated musical band. Accordingly, *al- Ġazarī's* musical boat system is an inspiration for a musical robot live- coding system bearing his name⁷⁰.

The 2nd Miniature: A Pitcher for Wine (10th Chapter from the 2nd Category), [FIGURE 7].

The ingenious device discussed here is an automated drinking machine that was exploited by the rulers and the elites during parties. It is composed of a wooden cupboard with two brass leaves. Within the cupboard is a hollow papier-mâché figure of a slave girl grasping a glass and a towel while standing over a board with four rollers of cast- bronze fitted on axles cross-wise in slots at the board's corners.

At the same width of the cupboard, a copper reservoir, with an upper hole for pouring wine, is attached. Below the reservoir is a trough with a tipping bucket. The reservoir's floor was pierced, and a short pipe had been attached. Hence, the wine drips into the bucket, which in turn was pierced in its bottom and a short pipe is attached vertically to the board, so the wine is poured within the glass grasped by the slave-girl while inside the cupboard.

The mechanism of this device is based on the moving of the slave-girl's hands; the right hand grasps a wine glass, and in her elbow is an axle that is responsible for the elbow's move up and down. A rod is penetrating the slave-girl's back, causing it to be pushed back within the cupboard, because its -slave-girls'- weight with an empty glass is lighter than the bent-down angle of the rod. However, when a determined quantity of wine (or water) is poured into the glass, the slave-girl's weight became heavier than the rod, and thus, the angle lifts off the bar. The slave- girl runs rapidly towards the cupboard's door. As a result, the wooden leaves open; the slave-girl's figure emerges at intervals, about an eighth of an hour, while bearing a cup of wine in its right hand, and a small towel (*mandīl*) in her left hand. The king takes the cup and drinks the wine included, and then he puts the cup back into the slave's hand. In addition, he can use a small towel to clean his mouth, if he wishes, and then closes the wooden leaves. The same steps are repeated at equal intervals⁷¹.

⁶⁹ AL-ĠAZARĪ 1206: FOLIOS 69-71, AL-ĠAZARĪ 1485: FOLIOS 16 -19.

⁷⁰ DIMAROGONAS 2001: 14.

⁷¹ AL-ĠAZARĪ 1273: FOLIO [N.K], AL-ĠAZARĪ 1485: FOLIOS 35-38.

The 3rd Miniature: A Peacock-Shaped Hand Washing Device (9th Chapter from the 3rd Category), [FIGURES 8, 9]

The main occupation of this ingenious device is to work as a robotic machine for washing hands or performing ritual ablutions. Its performance is based on the peacock pouring a little amount of water from its beak on the master's hands.

This device is composed of a brass wide based basin resting on a pedestal. The basin's base is divided into two equal parts; one of which is equipped with four columns; two are attached to the basin's center; however, the other ones are supporting the basin's square corners. The right-hand column had been perforated and a tube was inserted, which -in turn- penetrates the basin's floor to discharge water away. The columns' upper edges are topped by a rectangular castle, its frontal side had been penetrated by two adjoining doors, each with two leaves moving on hinges. Behind the right-hand door, is a hollowed figure of a slave made of jointed copper. The slave figure is shown standing on an axle above the castle's floor, and holding a jar containing saltwort (*ūshnān*)⁷². An arrow is fixed rigidly to the axle, reaching to the topmost of the right-hand column, which had an opening to discharging water. The slave is slanted towards his rear, while bearing the jar behind the door leaves being locked. The castle's floor is perforated and connected with the columns' hollowed part reaching its foot. Thus, if the rod rises from the column; this will upraise the bar's end, which in turn slopes the slave forwards. As a result, the slave pushes the door leaves with the jar he is holding, thus, the door leaves open and the slave emerges, hence, the master could take what he needs.

The castle's left-hand door, similar to the right one, had a slave standing on an axle's attached bar, the end of which extends to the central point of the other, non-penetrated, column on the edge. Thus, a hole had been made in the castle's floor, which goes through into the column's hollowed core. If the end of a rod rises from the column's top; it will raise the bar's end, thus, tilting the slave forwards. As a result, the slave's hands which hold the small towel -for the master to dry his hands- open the door leaves, and the slave emerges out of the door [FIGURE 8]⁷³.

The device's main basin is resting on a pedestal soldered beneath the four columns. This pedestal had been perforated with two holes; through the basin's floor into the two columns' hollowed cores. On the pedestal's floor is an average sized float with a vertical jar-shaped chamber, vertically beneath the column with the aperture in its foot. Then a light rod is fixed vertically to the float's top part. When water is poured into the basin's

⁷² *Ūshnān* is a type of tree that is planted in sandy soils; used in washing both clothes and hands, useful for curing some dermal diseases such as itch. In addition, «*tā'shan*» means washed hands.

AL-FAIRŪZ ABADĪ 2008: 57-8.

⁷³ AL-ĠAZARĪ 1273: FOLIO [N.K].

floor; it flows out from the basin's floor hole into the float's chamber, causing it to rise, until the rod lifts the outermost part of the axle's bar, which tilts the slave, thus, opening the door leaves.

On the castle's roof, a hollow, big-sized peacock of jointed copper is standing, its neck curved down from its center to its lower end. Both beak and head are somewhat lower than their belly. The peacock's neck is penetrated, and a narrow siphon is inserted. The siphon's tip is on the peacock's back, while the other tip is on the floor of the peacock's belly. An opening is made between the cavity in the tail and that cavity in the peacock. Thus, if water was poured into the uppermost of the tail, it will flow inside the peacock's body. The tail is divided, vertically, by a thin plate into two parts (chambers), so when water was poured into the tail's uppermost, it will be filled since the water has no outlet. In the center of the dividing plate is a hole with a ground valve and a watertight is made. The plug goes down into the seat from above. On the plug is a rising rod, the end of which is bent towards the back of the tail, which had a ring that moves upwards firmly in a narrow slit. The tail's uppermost part has a wide opening to pour water. When water filled the peacock's body and half of its tail; water rises through the ground valve. Until now, the water has not reached the bent part of the siphon in the peacock's neck, but is slightly below it. Though, when the ring is pulled up, the valve is opened, thus, water in the tail's lower chamber is mixed with that in the upper one. Thus, the water rises above the bend in the siphon.

When the basin is needed, the real servant places it in front of his master, he pulls the ring quickly, and thus water flows from the peacock's beak onto the master's hands. The water flows and runs out from the opening in the perforated column on the basin's edge and fills the float's chamber. As a result, the float itself is raised, the rod is raised as well, the bar on which the slave stands to be raised, as a result, the slave bearing the jar with saltwort (*ūshnān*) comes out of the doors, the master takes what he needs, and performs his ritual ablution. When the rest of the water runs from the basin's floor down to the pedestal, the pedestal in turn became almost full; the second float has risen and in turn rises the axle's bar where the other slave, holding the towel, standing. Thus, the slave slopes, opens the leaves and emerges from the door [FIGURE 9]⁷⁴.

⁷⁴ AL-ĠAZARĪ 1206: FOLIOS 98-100, AL- ĠAZARĪ 1485: FOLIOS 60-65.

The 4th Miniature: A Hand Washing Automaton with Flush Mechanism (10th Chapter from the 3rd Category), [FIGURES10, 11].

This ingenious device was to work as a robotic machine for washing hands or to performing ritual ablutions. This device is composed of a square-shaped stage «*kursī*» of brass with a kneeling slave holding a brass pitcher in his right hand, while catching a towel and a comb in his left hand. On the stage's «*kursī*» corners, four columns are supporting a castle thoroughly soldered and serving as a tank. This castle is crowned by a dome and a standing bird on. Adjacent to the stage «*kursī*», directly under the pitcher, is a half basin, the floor of which is occupied by a handsome crouching duck, with neck raised, then bent down to the middle, thus its beak touches the basin's floor. A narrow siphon is inserted in the duck's neck, one tip of the siphon is in the bird's beak, while the other tip goes along its rear through the basin's side into the stage's «*kursī*» cavity, and then brought down lower than the basin's floor. The device had two valves one on top of the castle, and the other on the stage's «*kursī*» foot.

The mechanism of this device is as follows; when the master needs to wash his hands or perform his ritual ablution, the real servant brings this device in front of the master. The servant opens the castle's upper valve, and the water descends from the pipe and flows down to the pitcher, and the air into the pitcher is driven out through the other pipe. Thus, the ball whistles giving the impression that the sound comes from the bird's beak. Water flows from the pitcher's spout until the master performs his ritual ablution. Thus, the water accumulated on the basin's floor, and thus drunk by the crouching duck. Furthermore, the slave stretches his left a hand with towel and comb toward the master [FIGURE 10].

Concerning the mechanism of the whistle and the calculated time of pouring water; the pitcher is divided vertically into two chambers and sealed with a plate on its top. Below the pitcher's handle; there are two holes with jointed pipes. One pipe goes from the handle through the slave's palm into his upper arm, where a whistle's ball is fixed in its end, and topped with three columns, the castle, the dome, and the bird topping it. The other pipe, which was responsible for calculating time, was fitted through the slave's palm and bent down at his elbow, and then bent down his skirt along the stage «*kursī*». Again, the pipe rises through the castle's right-hand column. The valve's upper tip and its plug go up to the castle's top. At the spout's place is a hole, in which the siphon's end is inserted to touch the plate dividing the pitcher.

On the castle's floor a pipe is fixed, which goes down through the right-hand column behind the slave. This pipe is turned under the stage's «*kursī*» deck and rises within the slave's hollowed center. Its end is connected to the pipe's terminal, which comes up from the pitcher's handle and goes through the slave's palm and sleeve. Then a float is made, with a staple fixed in its upper circle, linked to a rope. This float is

placed on the stage's «kursī» floor, with a hole in the deck below the staple in the extension of the slave's left arm. When the float rests on the stage's floor; its weight pulls the extension of the slave's elbow and lifts his hand with the towel and the comb. However, when water runs into the stage «kursī», the float rises and thus, the slave's hand sinks [FIGURE 11]⁷⁵. When the master finishes using them, he put them back on the slave's left hand. Finally, the real servant takes the basin away, and opens the side tap to extract water that had been drunk by the duck⁷⁶.

V. HISTORICAL AND ARTISTIC ANALYSIS FOR THE PUBLICATION OF «KITĀB AL-HIYAL»

Author's Biography

He is *al-Sheikh Rais al-'ūmāl Badii' al-Zamān Abu al-'Izz ibn Isma'il ibn ar-Razzāz al-Ġazarī*⁷⁷, He lived most of his life away from his homeland in *Diyarbakir* in upper *Mesopotamia*,⁷⁸ since the 2nd half of the 6th century AH/ 2nd half of the 12th century AD. He was called *al- Ġazarī* due to his residence on an island 'ğazīrah' between *Tigris* and *Euphrates* rivers. He was in the service of *Artuqid* rulers in *Diyarbakir* since *Nūr el-Dīn Mūḥammad ibn Arsīlān* (570 -581 AH/ 1174- 1185 AD), then *Qūtb el-Dīn Sakman ibn Mūḥammad* who took control over *Diyarbakir* from 581- 597AH/ 1185 - 1200 AD, and later under the control of *el-Malik el-Şāliḥ Nāşir al-Dīn Abu'l Fath Maḥmud b. Muḥammad b. Qara Arslān b. Daud b. Sukmān b. Artuq* who ruled from 597 to 619 AH/ 1200 to 1222/3 AD⁷⁹ *Al- Ġazarī* worked on his book «*Al- Jāmi' byna al-' ilm wā al-' amal al-naḥfiā' fī Şinā' at al-ḥiyal*» by request of *Nasir el-Dīn Maḥmūd*. According to Oxford's manuscript, he accomplished it after about seven years; on the 4th of *Jūmādah al-Ākhirah* 602 AH/ 16th of January 1206 AD. Nevertheless, it was recorded that his experience in mechanical engineering started from 571 AH/1175 AD, and basically in inventing and building mechanisms. Hence, he is the most famous mechanical engineer from the pre-medieval era.

Scientific Standing of «*kitāb al-Hiyal*»

This book known as «*Al- Jāmi' byna al-' ilm wā al-' amal al-naḥfiā' fī Şinā' at al-ḥiyal*» presents a wide variety of ingenious devices and mechanisms employed for different purposes. Though, these devices' main objective, was sometimes, limited to amusement; they were skillfully modeled with delicate mechanisms, and highly precise control systems⁸⁰.

⁷⁵ AL- ĠAZARĪ 1485: FOLIOS 65-68.

⁷⁶ AL-ĠAZARĪ 1206: FOLIOS 100-102.

⁷⁷ ROMDHANE & ZEGHLOUL 2010: 1–22.

⁷⁸ *Diyarbakir* was located in upper *Mesopotamia*, on the western branch of the *Tigris* river, now in southern Turkey. Anciently, it was called 'Āmid'; the walls of which were a marvelous calligraphic museum. ALĠAZARĪ & AL-ḤASSAN (ED.)1979: 37.

⁷⁹ *Artuqid* dynasty is attributed to *Artuq ibn Aksab al-Turkumani*, one of the slaves of *Suljuq* sultan *Malikshah*, who took over control of Jerusalem after being conquered by *Suljuq* commander *Tech*.

ALĠAZARĪ & AL-ḤASSAN (ED.)1979: 36.

⁸⁰ ROMDHANE & ZEGHLOUL 2010: 1–22.

The Arabic word «*al- hiyal*» when used in a mechanical field almost refers to special sort of mechanisms; basically, those meant to bestow pleasure and amusement for the rulers and the elites. Although some of these devices were released as being insignificant, many of the ideas and components embodied in them had greatly contributed in to improving modern technologies⁸¹. The work of *al- Ğazarī* is the head of Muslims' achievements and deserves to be designated as the prior valid study in systematic machinery design⁸². This manuscript included 50 different devices, which can be concluded into six types, these are; different clocks, Automata vessels, water dispensers, fountains and musical automata, water-raising machines, besides other miscellaneous machines⁸³. Mainly fountains and musical automata devices were designed by using several hydraulic switching techniques. Under these revolutionary devices, *al-Ğazarī* owed the title of 'the father of robotics'⁸⁴. This book had been translated several times since the first quarter of the 14th century AH/20th AD, however, the most known translation is by Donald Hill in 1974, entitled «The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices»⁸⁵.

Historical Analyses for the Publication of «*kitāb al-Hiyal*»

Numerous copies of «*kitāb al-Hiyal*» are conserved in several museums worldwide, until 1979 AD there were about 15 copies. They are varied in date; from the 6th century AH/ 12th century AD to later ones of the 12th century AH/ 18th century AD. Another dissimilarity between these copies is their status, whether, complete or incomplete, in good, moderate or bad status, etc. Though, there are about six copies of extreme significance, these are to be described in detail as follows;

1. Top Kapi in Istanbul (Aḥmad III N^o. 3472)

It is the oldest known copy, which had been transcribed probably in 602 AH/ 1206 AD. The manuscript's folios are numbered in a later time technique from 1 to 356. It includes folios with both scripts and printings of styles more recent than the original ones. Nonetheless, such recent paintings are of minor artistic mastery than the original ones. New folios are about 11 making 22 sheets. This manuscript had been ended with a text referring that it was copied by *Mūḥammad ibn Ūthman al-Ḥaškafī* from an earlier copy of the original manuscript. However, figures, shapes and symbols of the copy earlier than that of *al-Ḥaškafī* had been prepared by *al-Ğazarī* -may God bless his soul- himself.

⁸¹ AL-ḤASSAN & HILL 1986: 59–60.

⁸² DIMAROGONAS 2001: 14.

⁸³ ROMDHANE & ZEGHLOUL 2010: 1–22.

⁸⁴ NOCKS 2007:152–55.

⁸⁵ ROMDHANE & ZEGHLOUL 2010: 1–22.

**CONTRIBUTIONS OF MUSLIM MECHANICAL ENGINEERS IN MODERN AUTOMATA
(IN LIGHT OF KITĀB AL-ḤIYAL OF AL-ĠAZARĪ) A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYTICAL STUDY**

It could be stated that this copy is the best, although not void of faults; it is almost complete in good calligraphy and fine paintings⁸⁶. Thanks to the institute of Arabian scientific heritage- *Halb* University in Syria for microfilming this precious manuscript⁸⁷, and indexing it as N^o. 1739⁸⁸.

2. A Copy Dated back to 715 AH/ 1315 AD

This was once thought to be an incomplete copy; however, it was realized later that two-thirds of the original copy had been sold in an auction in London in 1978 AD. This copy was documented to be transcribed in *Ramadan* 715 AH/ December 1315 AD by the scribe *Farkh ibn ‘ Abd el-Latif*. Due to its date, this may be the 2nd or the 3rd in order from oldest to most recent copies. Despite being incomplete and having comprised some incorrectly spelled words; it is designated as one of the best copies; with a good script and fine paintings⁸⁹.

3. Hagia Sophia «Ayasofya» Manuscript N^o. 3606

This is one of the oldest copies of « *kitāb al-ḥiyal* ». It had been transcribed in 755 AH/ 1354 AD. Historians of Islamic arts have considered it the best. Unfortunately, several paintings had been lost, and sold separately all-over diverse museums of arts. Furthermore, the transcript in no less than 17 parts is lost either. Nonetheless, it is still believed to be one of the best copies.

4. Top Kapi Sarai Istanbul, Manuscript Bookcase N^o. 414

This copy had raised a great conflict in dating it. Several suggestions refer to 602 AH/1206 AD, but still doubtful, however, others dated it back to 672 AH/1273 AD. This copy was described to be composed of 175 folios. It is recently known to researchers, who classified it among the best outstanding copies, though about 10 to 12 sheets had been lost, while others had been shredded⁹⁰.

5. Bodleian Oxford, Graves manuscript N^o. 27

This is almost a complete copy in a good script and fine paintings, dated back to 891 AH/ 1486 AD. It is of recent date than previously mentioned copies, though, it is distinguished by the alphabetical letters used on numbering paintings, unlike previous copies where paintings had unclear symbols.

⁸⁶ ALĠAZARĪ & AL-ḤASSAN (ED.)1979: 39- 45.

⁸⁷ AL-ĠAZARĪ 1206:1-365.

⁸⁸ ‘ŪMAR 1986:72.

⁸⁹ ALĠAZARĪ & AL-ḤASSAN (ED.)1979: 40, 41.

⁹⁰ AL-ĠAZARĪ 1273: 1-175.

This copy had been used by two German physicists and historians of sciences, Eilhard Wiedemann and Fredrich Hauser, who had translated some chapters to Dutch in the 1st quarter of the 20th century AD. In addition, Donald Hill; the English engineer and historian of sciences and Technology had, as well, depended on this copy to produce the first complete and most famous translation of this valued manuscript of *al-Ġazarī* in the last quarter of the 20th century AD.

6. Paris National Library, Arabian manuscript N^o. 2477

This copy is dated back to 890 AH/ 1485 AD. It includes one chapter of *al-Ġazarī's* book dealing with drinking sessions, besides, a part of the 6th type, though, unfortunately with no paintings. This copy is of a good script; however, its paintings are of moderate quality and had no symbols⁹¹.

Artistic Analyses for the Publication of «*kitāb al-Ġiyal*»

Painting is one of the main branches of Islamic Art. It has gained great fame and popularity due to its significance in depicting the social, economic, and cultural environment through consequent Islamic epochs, and in the vast regions of the Muslim Caliphate. Such paintings had been applied on walls, besides multiple types of manuscripts⁹². Paintings included in these manuscripts are known as «miniatures». These could be categorized into two types; one of them refers to the finely elaborated miniatures, employed to adorn literary books. The other type was the miniatures employed to explain the text in scientific books, these almost disregarded the artistic features, and thus came of lesser quality. The manuscript of «*kitāb al-Ġiyal*» for *al-Ġazarī* is one of the valuable scientific books with miniatures⁹³. More specifically, this manuscript is of a type known as «automata miniatures», representing mechanical devices. Some art historians had attributed this type to the end of the 6th century AH/ 12th century AD. Though, others had assigned them to the mid of the 8th century AH/ 14th century AD accurately (752 - 755 AH/ 1351-1355 AD), and supposed them to be of Egyptian provenance⁹⁴. Nevertheless, a 20th century scholar called Coomaraswamy managed to prove that the manuscript of «*kitāb al-Ġiyal*» for *al-Ġazarī* from the beginning of the 7th century AH/ 13th century AD is the initial sample for «automata miniatures»⁹⁵.

The original copy which had been granted to the *Artuqid* sultan in *Diyarbakir* was lost.

⁹¹ ALĠAZARĪ & AL-ĤASSAN (ED.)1979: 41-45.

⁹² BAHNASĪ 1986: 23.

⁹³ AL-BĀSHĀ1959: 92-4.

⁹⁴ RIEFSTAHL 1929: 206-15

⁹⁵ COOMARASWAMY 1924:1-21.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF MUSLIM MECHANICAL ENGINEERS IN MODERN AUTOMATA
(IN LIGHT OF KITĀB AL-ĤIYAL OF AL-ĠAZARĪ) A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYTICAL STUDY

However, there are two indications that it was embellished with miniatures; the first is that later known copies were accompanied by miniatures, among which was a human figure accompanied by the name of *Sultan Nūr el-Dīn Mūḥammad* (1174- 1185). The second indication is the identity of the style of miniatures in all copies although they had been transcribed in different regions and through several epochs. This is probably due to the accuracy and honesty in transcribing⁹⁶.

Throughout the long history of the Islamic civilization; painting, like all other types of Islamic art, had passed through several stages. These can be divided into four technical schools; Arabian, Persian, Indian Mongolian, and Turkish, each with special features and diverse centers⁹⁷. The manuscript of «*kitāb al-ḥiyal*» for *al-Ġazarī* is attributed to the Abbasid technical school in Iraq which is one of the main centers of the Arabian school of painting⁹⁸.

Paintings of the Arabian technical school are distinguished by several features; generally, the tendency towards unreal representations; neglecting the illustration of landscapes, disregarding the embodiment of varied depth, and giving great concern to human figures, which are presented modified. Additionally, Arabian paintings were simple, and frameless, with straight line-shaped ground and plain, almost gilded, backgrounds. Besides, multiple lustrous colors are employed in the numerous elements of the diverse paintings⁹⁹. Human figures were characterized by Arabian facial features influenced by Byzantine and Syrian Christian features. Once the scene had a master figure; the Arabian artist used to draw attention to this figure by depicting it on a larger scale than others, and by lavishly adorning his costumes and all his equipment. In addition, Arabian paintings had been characterized by drawing halos around human heads, without any symbolism, but to strike the sight. Such haloes were sometimes applied around the heads of birds and variant vegetal ornaments as well¹⁰⁰. Costumes were usually loose with broad sleeves adorned on upper arms with bands of calligraphy or diverse ornaments. Likewise, Costumes usually had folds applied in simple lines, in geometrical drawings, or in diverse shapes of vegetal ornaments, animals, spheres, crescents, or foliated Arabian decoration known as «*arabesque*».¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ ḤASSAN 1955: 16-19.

⁹⁷ FARGHALĪ 1991:12.

⁹⁸ The Arabian school of painting is the earliest Islamic technical school of manuscripts with miniatures. It had been spread all over the Islamic world. Iraq was the pioneer center for manuscripts with miniatures according to artistic features of the Arabian technical school, these were produced in *Baghdad, Diyarbakir, and al-Mosul*. Other centers were Egypt and Syria during the Mamluk epoch. A later center was Iran during the *Seljukian* and *Mongol* epochs. Nevertheless, Baghdad was the best and the most important. It is worth mentioning that the earliest manuscripts bearing features of this Arabian technical school had been dated back to the end of the 6th-century A.H/ 12th century A.D.

AL-BĀSHĀ 1959:125.

⁹⁹ AL-BĀSHĀ 1959: 128.

¹⁰⁰ ḤASSAN 1955: 16.

¹⁰¹ Arabesque is an Islamic form of conventionalized vegetal ornaments composed of spiral or stylized waves and abstract elements. KHAZĀIE 2005: 27-50.

Other forms of costumes' folds were more complicated; in the shape of lines flowing from a central point, wavy lines, or gathering worms¹⁰².

Despite being a technical treatise, miniatures of the book of *al Ğazarī* are of great artistic value. All illustrations had been superbly colored, and had great artistic virtue¹⁰³. Though the multiplicity of copies and the distinction in quality between them; the researcher's attached plates have mainly relied on four copies; *Top Kapi* in Istanbul (*Aḥmad III* N^o. 3472) dated back to 602 AH/ 1206 AD [FIGURES 5, 9, 11], the Copy dated back to 715 AH/ 1315 AD [FIGURES 4, 8, 10], *Hagia Sophia «Ayasofya»* manuscript N^o. 3606 dated back to 755 AH/ 1354 AD [FIGURE 7] and Paris National library (Arabian manuscript, N^o. 2477) dated back to 890 AH/ 1485AD [FIGURE 6].

Confining our analysis to bring forward the characteristics of the Arabian technical school of painting that are applied to the miniatures of «*kitāb al-Ḥiyal*», these are:

- Human figures in miniatures of «*kitāb al-Ḥiyal*» enclose Byzantine and Christian Syrian impacts which were widely known in *Diyarbakir* due to its historical and geographical circumstances [FIGURERS 4, 7, 8, 10].
- Costumes are loose, with wide sleeves adorned on the upper arm with plain bands [FIGURE 4], and others with diverse ornamented bands [FIGURE 7].
- Human heads are surrounded by haloes [FIGURES 4, 7, 8, 10].
- The paintings' background is plain [FIGURES 4, 7, 8, 10].
- Abstract vegetal ornaments «*Arabesque*» are applied in several locations; on the domed platform [FIGURE 4], on costumes [FIGURE 7], and on the domed castle of the stage [FIGURE 10].
- The master human figures in [FIGURES 7, 10] are depicted on a large scale than other elements with lavishly adorned costumes.
- Costumes' folds are applied in a more real form; in the shape of lines flowing from a central point [FIGURE 10].
- Water is depicted in a wavy form or gathering worms [FIGURES 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11].
- Miniatures are applied in lustrous multiple colors [FIGURES 4, 7, 8, 10].

Although several copies of «*kitāb al-Ḥiyal*» had not been transcribed in *Diyarbakir*; their miniatures are almost alike. In addition, all the copies are in strong relation with *Diyarbakir* features, which had been influenced by Byzantine and Christian Syrian features once spread in the North of *al- Ğazīrah* and Northern Syria¹⁰⁴. In addition, the «automata miniatures» had a unique significance in their broad decorative conception, which qualified them to be among the most valuable remaining miniatures.

¹⁰² AL-BĀSHĀ 1959: 127-9.

¹⁰³ ROMDHANE & ZEGHLOUL 2010: 1-22.

¹⁰⁴ COOMARASWAMY 1924: 1-21.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF MUSLIM MECHANICAL ENGINEERS IN MODERN AUTOMATA
(IN LIGHT OF KITĀB AL-ĤIYAL OF AL- ĠAZARĪ) A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYTICAL STUDY

Generally, these miniatures' perfection reflects how supremacy was in the Islamic civilization at the end of the 6th century AH/ 12th century AD¹⁰⁵.

VI. CONCISE SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS FOR THE CHOSEN AUTOMATA
MECHANISMS

As mentioned before, this research paper's chief aim is to illuminate how the Muslims were so advanced in mechanical engineering since the medieval ages; known as the golden age for Islamic Civilization, and on the contrary, the Dark ones in Europe. No doubt, Muslim engineers had built most of their knowledge upon their predecessors, though; they were seniors in practical applications.

This paper focuses on four samples of automata' «self-moving» mechanisms, to demonstrate a link between these primary samples and their modern counterparts, taking into consideration, the difference according to the long distance of time. Furthermore, this point is intended to concisely reveal how these primary samples of automata mechanisms had produced innovative techniques, still employed – in a more advanced way- in several modern industries. Besides, these automata mechanisms presented numerous mechanical components of diverse duties that are still in use in modern industries.

Nevertheless, due to the complexity of the field of mechanical engineering to the non-specialists; the researcher had contented with a concise scientific survey on the mechanical techniques employed in automata mechanisms of *al- Ġazarī*, as follows;

- In the device of the musical robotic band [FIGURES 4, 5, 6] *al- Ġazarī* used hydraulic switching power, which is a system based on power transmission forces of liquids either static or dynamic. This became the base for modern hydraulic systems widely employed in modern industrial applications to transmit power from the prime mover to operate machine parts or vehicles. This system is widely employed in ship lock gates, movable bridges, agricultural equipment, etc ¹⁰⁶.
- In his automated drinking device (a pitcher for wine), *al- Ġazarī* used humanoid automata. This device's main mechanism is [FIGURE 7] a slave girl acting as a waitress, applied in a hollow human-shaped mobile robot, with a complex mechanical design for moving the arms with axles and bars attached to control their moving up and down. Recently, composing human-shaped robots have been developed and widely spread in all fields of modern industries.

¹⁰⁵ RIEFSTAHL 1929: 206–15.

¹⁰⁶ THEISSEN & MURRENHOF 2014: 31-77.

Of these, science fiction and mass media finely exploited humanoid robots in advertisements. In addition, humanoid robots are used for research into the mechanics of walking and human-machine interaction¹⁰⁷.

- The peacock basin for washing hands [FIGURES 8, 9] had been working by the hydropower mechanism. This converts the power of falling water into mechanical energy. What is interesting here is that hydropower, which is also known as hydroelectric power, was introduced by *al- Ğazarī* in the 7th century AH/ 13th century AD, became the most widely utilized form of renewable and clean energy later in areas with heavy rainfall and with mountainous regions in the 21st century¹⁰⁸.
- In the hand-washing automaton device used to perform the ritual ablution, *al- Ğazarī* had presented another form of the humanoid automata, which had been mentioned before. In addition, *al- Ğazarī* had invented a new superb technique, known as the « flush mechanism». It is worth mentioning that this technique is the core stone for modern flush toilets first known in the 10th century AH/ 16th century AD by the British Sir John Harington¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁷ WINFIELD 2012:112-130, BEN-ARI &MONDADA 2018:3-6.

¹⁰⁸ ALLERHAND 2020: 76–87.

¹⁰⁹ MCCLURE (ED.)1930: 1-58.

VII. CONCLUSION

This research paper adopted the assumption that automata mechanisms are not an invention of the West, undertaking the mission to prove that they are an outcome of the Islamic civilization. The main method was through the Arabic treatise of *Ibn al- Razzāz al- Ġazarī* dated back to the 7th century AH/ 13th century AD in mechanical engineering, known briefly as «*kitāb al-Ĥiyal*». Although the Muslim scientists had been influenced by their predecessors; they had a head start in practical application, which was missing in robotic sciences before.

The treatise of *Ibn al-Razzāz al- Ġazarī* included fifty devices; distributed into six categories. This research paper focused on only four automata mechanisms, recently simulated in diverse types and categories of industry, these are;

- A musical robotic band on a boat during drinking parties, which was an inspiration for a musical robot live-coding system bearing *al- Ġazarī's* name.
- A pitcher for wine, recently simulated by automated mechanisms for drinks.
- A peacock basin for washing hands, simulated by recent and contemporary robotic mechanisms for washing hands.
- A hand-washing automaton with a flush mechanism to perform the ritual ablution. This had been recently the core stone for modern flush toilets.

Devices of *al- Ġazarī*, his detailed description of how they work, and the attached illustrations testify that the automaton was not an innovation from the Western civilization. They are with no doubt a considerable achievement of Muslim civilization. Thus, the work of *al- Ġazarī* deserves to be described as the senior real study in systematic machinery design. In addition, he owed the title of 'the father of robotics.

Conclusively, by the Muslim engineer *al- Ġazarī* modern technology had superbly improved. Robotics became a key technology employed in assembling cars, moving goods, washing machines, etc. Furthermore, robotics became of a higher value when, recently, employed in health care in case of infectious diseases as what happened in China to face the Coronavirus pandemic widely known as Covid-19.

HOW TO CITE

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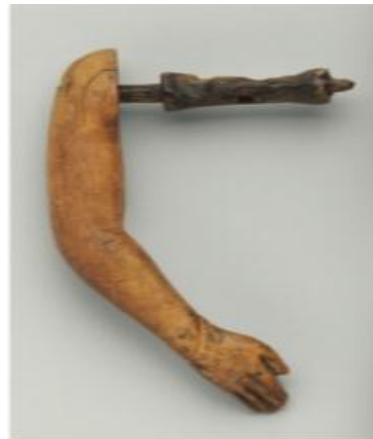
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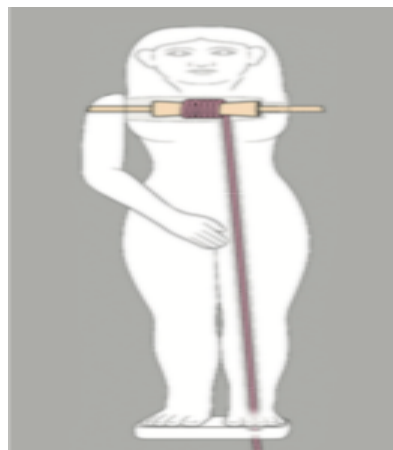
FIGURES



[FIGURE 1]: Female figure with internal mechanism. Egyptian, ca. 945–664 BC. Wood,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
REEVES 2015: [FIGURE 1]



[FIGURE 2]: Female figure's right arm and the axle attached
REEVES 2015: [FIGURE 4]



[FIGURE 3]: Diagram of figure1, Showing the operating mechanism
(axle in beige, string in pink)
REEVES 2015: [FIGURE 6]

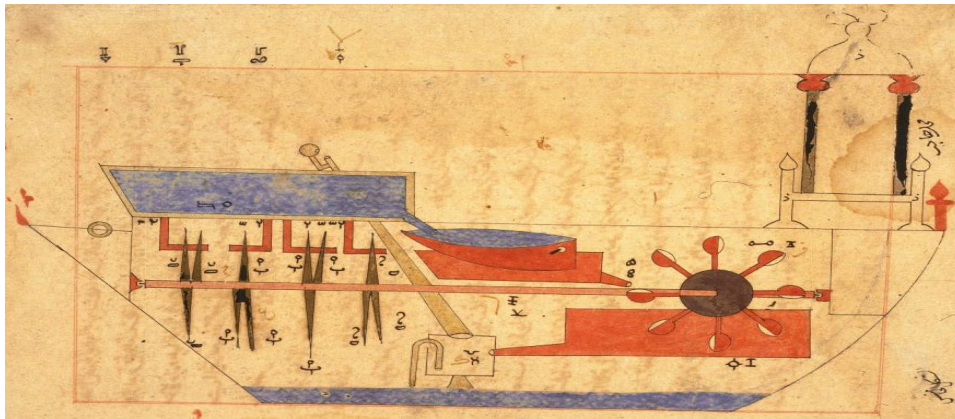


[FIGURE 4]: A wooden decked over boat. With a platform for the automated musical band

AL- ĞAZARĪ 1315: folio. [n.k] *Verso*

Smithsonian Gallery, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

https://www.si.edu/object/folio-kitāb-fi-maarifat-al-hiyal-al-handisaya-book-knowledge-ingenious-mechanical-devices-automata%3Afsq_F1930.73 Accessed 21- 10- 2020



[FIGURE 5]: The automated musical band's boat; only displaying the boat and its mechanical functioning

AL- ĞAZARĪ 1206: Folio. 71. *Verso*



[FIGURE 6]: The cam mechanism

AL- ĞAZARĪ 1485: *Folio. 14*



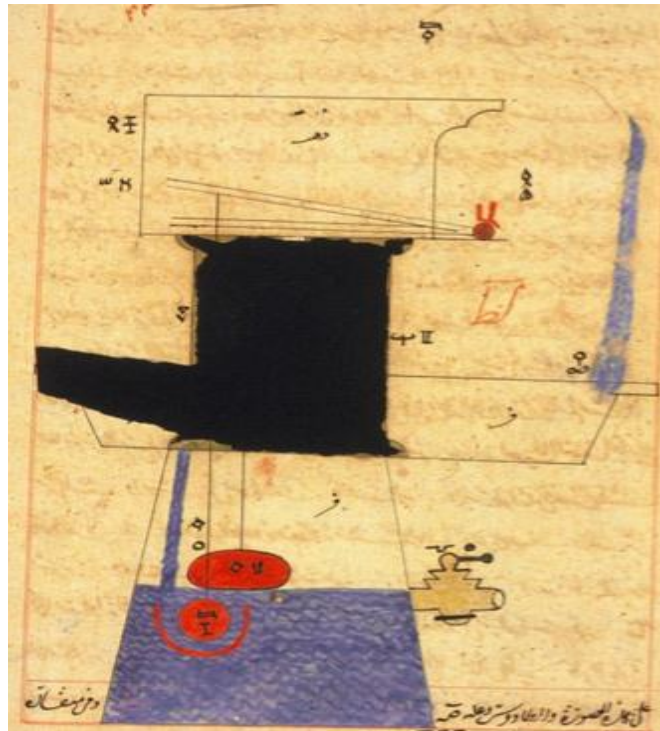
[FIGURE 7]: Illustration for A pitcher of wine
AL- ĠAZARĪ 1354: Folio [n.k] recto

Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Hervey E. Wetzel object number.1919.138 <https://hvard.art/o/216544> Accessed 17-10- 2020



[FIGURE 8]: A peacock basin for washing hands
AL- ĠAZARĪ 1315: Folio [n.k] recto

<https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1945.383> Accessed 20-10- 2020



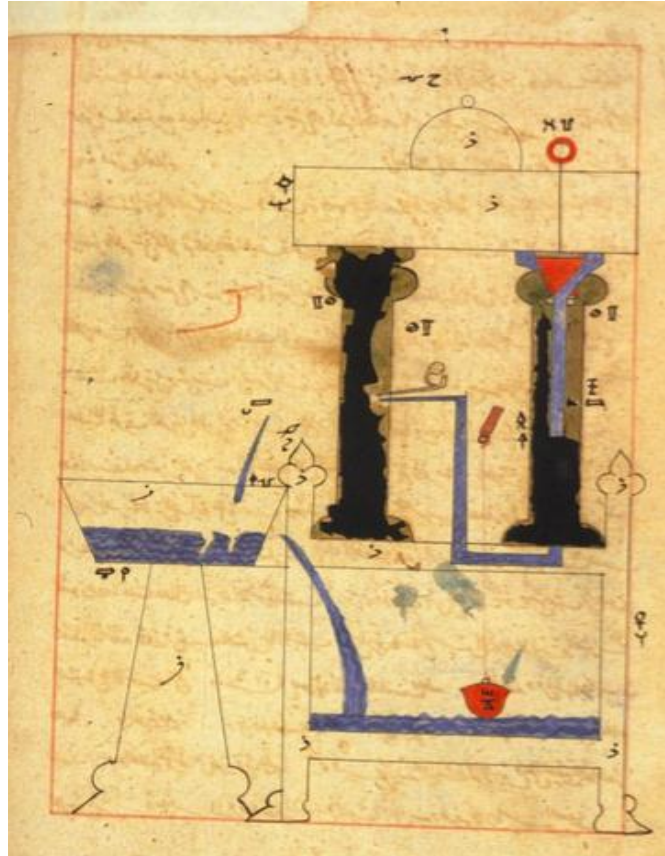
[FIGURE 9]: A miniature for the peacock basin showing the float, the side tap, and the whole mechanism of the basin
AL- ĠAZARĪ 1206: Folio 99 Verso



[FIGURE 10]: A miniature for the mechanism of the hand washing automaton
AL- ĠAZARĪ 1315: Folio [n.k] recto

Smithsonian Gallery, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

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[FIGURE 11]: A miniature for the mechanism of the hand washing automaton
AL- ĠAZARĪ 1206: *Folio 101 Verso*

اسهامات الهندسة الميكانيكية الإسلامية في تطوير الآلات ذاتية الحركة
(في ضوء كتاب الحيل للجزري)
دراسة وصفية تحليلية

بوسي محمد حسين زيدان

أستاذ الفنون والآثار الإسلامية المساعد بكلية السياحة والفنادق - جامعة قناة السويس

الملخص

هل كان للعرب المسلمين قديماً باع في علم الهندسة الميكانيكية؟ وهل كان لهم السبق على الغرب في هذا المجال؟ من الملاحظ حالياً أن العرب والمسلمين في شتى دول العالم -تقريباً- أصبحوا مجرد مستهلكون لما ينتجه الغرب في شتى المجالات، نتيجة لما وصل اليه الغرب من تقدم وتطور تكنولوجي مستمر ومتنامي بسرعة فائقة. وهنا كان لا بد لنا ان نتساءل هل كان العرب المسلمين على هذا الحال قديماً؟ يقوم هذا البحث على اثبات فرضية أن العلماء المسلمين قد حققوا تقدماً كبيراً في مجال الهندسة الميكانيكية، واستطاعوا ابتكار آلات ذاتية الحركة، والمعروفة حديثاً بـ «الأتمته». ووفقاً لذلك، كان الهدف الأساسي لهذا البحث هو إثبات صحة هذه الفرضية. يتناول هذا البحث بعض نماذج من الآلات ذاتية الحركة؛ وذلك من خلال كتاب «الجامع بين العلم والعمل النافع في معرفة الحيل الهندسية» لمؤلفه العالم المسلم الجزري. تضمن الكتاب - في الأصل مخطوط - وصف تفصيلي لهذه الآلات الميكانيكية ذاتية الحركة، وكيفية تنفيذها مشفوعاً بالتصاوير الملونة المعروفة اصطلاحاً بـ «المنمنمات». تتكون خطة البحث من تمهيد يتناول التعريف بما يصطلح عليه التكنولوجيا الدقيقة والأتمته «الآلات ذاتية الحركة»، ويلى ذلك تاريخ الأتمته بدءاً من العصور القديمة وحتى العصور الوسطى. كما سيتناول البحث إسهامات علماء المسلمين في مجال الهندسة الميكانيكية بشكل عام، وفي مجال إنتاج الآلات ذاتية الحركة بشكل خاص، مدعوماً باستعراض نماذج للآلات ذاتية الحركة تم شرحها ضمن «كتاب الحيل». ويلى ذلك السيرة الذاتية للعالم المسلم اسماعيل بن الرزاز الملقب بـ «الجزري»، بالإضافة إلى تحليل تاريخي وفني موجز عن المخطوط محل الدراسة. وفي النهاية سيتم عمل دراسة تحليلية للنماذج المختارة من الآلات ذاتية الحركة وعلاقتها بالآلات الحديثة والصناعات التكنولوجية المتطورة. وفي المجلد واستناداً على «كتاب الحيل»، والذي يعود تاريخه للقرن ٧هـ / ١٣م تمكن هذا البحث من التلليل على أن الآلات ذاتية الحركة ليست اختراعاً غريباً؛ بل هي نتاج الحضارة الإسلامية، ودليل ملموس على مدى تفوقهم في مجال الهندسة الميكانيكية منذ العصور الوسطى.

الكلمات الدالة: الهندسة الميكانيكية، الأتمته، المنمنمات، مخطوط، الحضارة الإسلامية، الجزري، كتاب الحيل.

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INDIAN MUGHAL TURBAN BOXES AS CULTURAL INDICATORS: CIVILIZATIONAL AND ARTISTIC STUDY

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INDIAN MUGHAL TURBAN BOXES AS CULTURAL INDICATORS CIVILIZATIONAL AND ARTISTIC STUDY

BY

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ABSTRACT

Applied arts, e.g. turban boxes, in the era of Mughal Indian emperors express the Mughal's civilization and creativity. This paper is an artistic study of these boxes, as well as the name and its relation to fulfilling the function of the boxes. Mughals in India whether emperors or princes, paid considerable attention to turbans, as shown in having turban boxes. These turbans were decorated with gemstones and precious jewelry. Moreover, there were various patterns of turban boxes at the time. Some boxes had an onion-dome cover, semicircular covers, or polygons. The environment affected the decorations of these boxes considerably because they were largely related to the culture of the Indian regions that produced them, including deities, animals, mysterious creatures, as well as floral and geometric motifs. The present research paper aims to examine the materials used in manufacturing such turban boxes, as wood and papier-mâché that were processed to fit the function of the boxes and not to harm the precious contents. It showed that the general design of the turban boxes was affected largely by architectural constructions, e.g., the impact of contemporary Mughal Indian architecture.

KEYWORDS: Box, Turban, Wood, Papier-mâché, Mughal, Indian, Arts, Portrait, Enamel

I. INTRODUCTION

In the Mughal Indian era (932-1273AH/1526-1857AD), applied arts were the most important industry because they received due attention from the Mughal emperors and princes and Muslim princes in different regions. Therefore, several applied arts, including turban boxes appeared. The interest of Mughals in headgears, in general, and turbans, in particular, is an important issue in their culture. However, these boxes were not familiar with the previous cultures and arts in India. Turban boxes were used for the high material and moral value of the turbans and the precious gems they contain.

II. NOMINATIONS AND CONNOTATIONS

The term *juaba distar*, i.e., a turban box, is Persian. It consists of two parts the first part is «*juaba*», i.e., a small box for keeping important things, including the turban and accessories, e.g., the diamond of the turban¹, whereas the second part «*distar*», i.e., turban², pl. turbans known as crowns of the Arabs³. It is a cloth encircling the head or coming down on the shoulder⁴. Desert life was one of the factors that motivated the Arabs to have turbans. Thus, a turban is called *Pargi*⁵ in Urdu. For the Mughals, a turban is a large piece of cloth folded over the head with an embroidered piece of cloth hanging down⁶.

III. PHILOSOPHY OF USING TURBAN BOXES

In general, a turban has many benefits for the Muslim communities, such as protecting them from heat, rain, or events. It also increased the stature⁷. The Arabs and the peoples of the East used turbans since immemorial time, as shown in the paintings of the Arab School. Moreover, it was ranked first in the headgears of rulers in the early Islamic times, and people spent a lot of money on it. Furthermore, it was a kind of societal discrimination. For instance, the turbans of the rulers were made of the most expensive kinds of fabrics, such as brocade and silk and were sometimes adorned with gemstones and jewelry⁸. Because of its prominent place over the various Islamic eras, taking it off in front of people decreased the position and decency of the man. It was not allowed to be taken off in courts⁹. Additionally, the Caliphs deliver speeches while wearing turbans¹⁰.

Turbans were transferred to the Indians from the Arabs. *al-Bīrūnī* reported that «they (the Indians) used to wear turbans»¹¹. The rulers and princes of the Mughals paid due attention to the turban and used boxes for them. In other words, turbans were not used

¹ KASRATY 2014: 170.

² POOJA 2016: 12.

³ IBRAHIM 2002: 334.

⁴ RASHEED 1980: 36.

⁵ RENHAR 1971:160.

⁶ POOJA 2016: 12.

⁷ AL-JAHIZ 1998:117.

⁸ GOITEN 1983:158.

⁹ IBRAHIM 2007: 72.

¹⁰ IBRAHIM 2007: 72.

¹¹ EL-BİRŪNĪ 1990: 89.

Hamada Thabet Mahmoud

as headgears only, but they symbolized dignity and pride and were made of expensive textiles, especially for senior statesmen¹². In his memoirs, Babur (932-937AH/1526-1530AD) reported that the members of a social class should wear a distinguished form of turbans. A turban consisted of a multi-fold piece of cloth decorated sometimes with gemstones and feathers. At the time of Babur, a turban had up to 17 folds¹³. At the time of Hamayun (937-946AH/1530-1539AD) and (962-963AH/1555-1556AD), the turban had a new function. Hamayun reported in his memories that the turban was used in climbing high places because men tie turbans together and used them for climbing⁽¹⁴⁾. Greater interest was shown in the era of Akbar (963-1014AH/1556- 1605 AD) when turban makers enjoyed several benefits and supervision by statesmen, and wearing a turban was an official practice¹⁵. In the era of Jahangir (1014-1037AH/ 1605-1628AD), the turban was adorned with jewelry and gemstones, as reported by the French traveler Francois Bernier¹⁶. At the time, children also wore turbans especially the sons of princes and the wealthy¹⁷. In the era of Aurangzeb (1086-1108AH/1658-1707AD), the turbans of princes were rich in gemstones and became the official habit for all state rulers in India¹⁸. Gemstones used for turbans took the form of leaves fixed using a stick of expensive materials that was straight in the time of Akbar and a bit low in the time of Jahangir¹⁹. Gold was sometimes used in the stick topped by gemstones. Moreover, the feather was sometimes made of gold or gemstones. Furthermore, the jewel used in the stick was called *sarpech*²⁰. The excessive use of gemstones in the feather and stick was the cause of using small boxes styled after the turban boxes for keeping these stones. The pictures of manuscripts showed the high value of the Indian turban and using gemstones for decoration. For instance, the rulers and princes of the Mughal state wore turbans decorated with gemstones entirely, including the stick and the feather. [FIGURE 1]

¹² POOJA 2016: 16.

¹³ KAMADA 2011: 48.

¹⁴ SHARMA 1934: 96.

¹⁵ JACKSON 1906: 123.

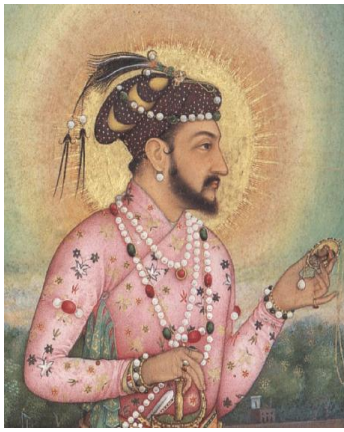
¹⁶ POOJA 2016: 16.

¹⁷ OTTO-KURZ 1967: 254.

¹⁸ JAFFAR 1936: 324.

¹⁹ MICHEL 2007: 212.

²⁰ SWARUP 1996: 80.



A: Portrait of Shah Jahan showing a turban studded with precious stones. KOSSAK 1997: FIG.6.



B: Portrait of Aurangzeb showing a turban studded with precious. Eskenazi Museum of Art, Indiana University.



C: Painting of One of the princes of Kashmir showing a turban studded with precious. *Mūt'a alnisa'* Manuscript, 18thAD, ^cABD AL-RAHIM 2010: P.26.

[FIGURE 1]: portraits of the Mughal emperors, wearing turbans adorned with precious.

IV. ARTISTIC STYLES

The general style of turban boxes comprised two main parts: The lower (body) and the upper (cover/ top) parts. There are several Styles.

The 1st style: This style comprised a circular body and a semi-spherical dome. The body was decorated with various decorative themes. For instance, a wooden box dating back to the 18th century kept at the National Crafts Museum in India is 26.1 cm high and 38.1cm in diameter. The body was decorated with two-level pictorial scenes, including Indian celebrations and knights on horses. Furthermore, Krishna idol was painted in the upper part of the cover, performing the «Rasmandela» dance with cow milkers, [FIGURE 2]. Another example of this style was made of papier-mâché in Kashmir dating back to the 19th century at the National Museum in Delhi. It is 25 cm in diameter and 15cm high. The body and covered with local decorations of Indian deities, such as Shiva, Hanuman²¹, *Nandy*, horses, and lovers, [FIGURE 3].

²¹**Shiva** is the god of destruction and cruelty. It is the embodiment of a universal power that destroys all figures in which the universal reality appears, although Shiva literally means "the kind".



[FIGURE 2]: Turban box, wood, 18th century, Museum of Handicrafts in India.



[FIGURE 3]: Turban box, papier-mâché, 19th century, The National Museum of Delhi.

The 2nd style: It consists of a circular body and an onion-like dome cover. For example, a wooden style in Kashmir was made in the 19th century kept in a private collection. It resembles the former style, except for the onion-like dome. It is decorated with geometric strips encircling the body and including medallions containing different floral motifs of flowers and branches. The cover has the same decorations, [FIGURE 4]. Another box of wood painted with Lacquer of the 19th century in Kashmir. It is 14 cm high and 22 cm in diameter kept at the collection of John Nicholson's Fine Art Valuer. It is quite similar to the previous box. It has floral motifs of flowers and branches including bird figures, [FIGURE 5].



[FIGURE 4]: Turban box, wood, 19th century, the collection of John Nicholson's Fine Art Valuer.



[FIGURE 5]: Turban box, wood, 19th century, the collection of John Nicholson's Fine Art Valuer.

The 3rd style: This style resembles the previous one except for the circular body (thin in the bottom and wide at the top) and the cover that takes the form of a convex dome. For example, a box was made of papier-mâché in Kashmir in the 18th century. It is kept in a

private collection of wjm (Will Jon Mattin²²) antiques. It is based on a circular base and covered with a convex dome. It is 16.1 cm, 21.3 cm in diameter, and 686gm weight. The body and the cover are decorated with overlapping branches and flowers, such as a carnation flower in geometric configurations, [FIGURE 6]. Another box of papier-mâché dating back to the 18th century is kept at the Richard Willsher Antique Asian Art. It is 16 cm high and 21cm in diameter. The body is decorated with scenes of a prince on a throne, a woman playing music on a string instrument, and Rustam killing the dragon. The top part of the cover was decorated with scenes of princes and princesses in dancing concerts, [FIGURE 7].

A box of papier-mâché dating back to the 18th century in Kashmir is kept at a private collection. It is 16 cm high and 26 cm in diameter. It follows the same design, but the body is decorated with scenes of knights on horses, and the cover is decorated with knights and princes in royal settings, as well as scenes of ladies, [FIGURE 8].

A box of papier-mâché dating back to the 19th century is kept at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Its body is decorated with pictorial scenes of a princess and her maids in a garden surrounded by various floral motifs, whereas the cover is decorated with flowers and birds, [FIGURE 9]. At the same museum, there is another similar box but decorated differently. It is divided into horizontal sections starting from the base to the top part of the cover. Each geometric configuration has a decoration theme, such as a princess sitting on the throne surrounded by her maids playing musical instruments and angels above. The other configurations include floral decorations of trees from which branches emerge and end with different flowers, including carnation. Moreover, birds are on the branches, [FIGURE 10].



[FIGURE 6]: Turban box, papier-mâché, 18th century, Kashmir, the collection of wjm (Will Jon Mattin) antiques.



[FIGURE 7]: Turban box, papier-mâché, 18th century, Kashmir, Richard Willsher Antique Asian Art.

²²It is a private collection for the master Will Jon. It displays collections of Asian artifacts that chosen for the website are generally sourced from within the UK art & antiques market, also private collections



[FIGURE 8]: Turban box, papier-mâché, 19th century, the collection of wjm (Will Jon Mattin) antiques.



[FIGURE 9]: Turban box, papier-mâché, 19th century, Victoria and Albert Museum.



A: Side of box.



B: Side of box.

[FIGURE 10]: Turban box, papier-mâché, 19th century, Victoria and Albert Museum.

The 4th style: It is a polygon or a decagon. The body is a decagon, and the cover is a polygon dome based on the edge of the body through a polygonal tip. For example, a wooden box was made in Kashmir in the 19th century kept in a private collection (Windhorse antiques²³). It is 19 cm high, 26 cm in diameter, and 900gm weight. The body and the cover are decorated with floral motifs and flowers on a floral ground inside geometric divisions caused by the ten sides. From inside, the sides are decorated with medallions filled with floral motifs, whereas the ground contains a star figure with geometric decorations. The cover is decorated from inside with a star surrounded by almond-shaped flowers interchanged with cypress trees, [FIGURE 11].

The 5th style: It is an octagon. For instance, a box made of papier-mâché in Kashmir in the 19th century is kept at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. It consists of an octagonal body and an octagonal dome decorated with configurations of Indian

²³Its private collection based in London & France, Windhorse Antiques has over 40 years of experience in the Antiques trade. Laura & Philip Trent, long time Indophile travellers, have also lived in India for many years.

flowers, such as roses and carnations flowers, [FIGURE 12]. Another box kept at the Saleroom.com of art antiquities measures 15cm high and 22cm in diameter. It is decorated with palmettes in a zigzag covering the entire body. The cover is decorated with palmettes in a polygon, whereas the segments are decorated with Bukhariat, [FIGURE 13]. A third box made of papier-mâché in Kashmir in the 19th century is kept at Curious Antiques. It is 14cm high and 23.5 cm in diameter. Each side of the polygon is decorated with a scene of princes on their horses, others on elephants, and women playing musical instruments, [FIGURE 14]. A fourth example made of papier-mâché in Kashmir in the 19th century is kept in the private collection of Rob Michiels. It measures 18 cm in diameter and 15 cm high. It is decorated with various scenes of knights on their horses, angels, as well as princes and princesses in the open air. [FIGURE 15]

Some small paper boxes of this style were almost used for keeping the precious accessories of the turban, such as the jewel in the middle of the turban. For example, a box made of papier-mâché in Kashmir in the 19th century is kept at the Indian Museum in Calcutta. It measures 5cm high and 7.3cm in diameter. It has an octagonal body and a polygonal neck. The body is decorated with scenes on every side of men, women, and Indian deities. The neck is decorated with scenes of animals, including snakes, foxes, and birds, whereas the cover contains figures of the Indian heritage, [FIGURE 16]. Another box made in Kashmir in the 19th century is kept at the Indian Museum in Calcutta. It measures 3.5 cm high and 5.5 cm in diameter. It has the same previous design and is decorated with figures of the Indian heritage, as well as birds and animals, [FIGURE 17].



A



B

[FIGURE 11]: Turban box, wood, Kashmir, 19th century, collection of Windhorse antiques.



[FIGURE 12]: Turban box, papier-mâché, Kashmir, 19th century, Victoria and Albert Museum.



[FIGURE 13]: Turban box, papier-mâché, Kashmir, 19th century, collection of The-saleroom.com of art antiquities



A



B

[FIGURE 14]: Turban box, papier-mâché, Kashmir, 19th century, collection of Curious Antiques.



A



B

[FIGURE 15]: Turban box, papier-mâché, Kashmir, 19th century, collection of Rob Michiels.



[FIGURE 16]: Turban box, papier-mâché, Kashmir, 19th century, Calcutta Museum.



[FIGURE 17]: Turban box, papier-mâché, Kashmir, 19th century, Calcutta Museum.

V. DIMENSIONS OF THE BOXES AND THEIR FUNCTIONAL RELEVANCE

These boxes were made for a certain function, i.e., keeping turbans. Therefore, their design fits the function. **The body:** The body was designed in a manner that allows keeping the turban. Thus, the inner part was circular and wide in the circular boxes, and the polygon ones were treated to have a circular form inside, [FIGURES 2, 11]. The body measures 15-16 cm and 21cm in diameter to allow keeping the turbans that had similar dimensions in the Mughal era; 13 cm high without the jewel and 19-21cm in diameter. Moreover, the turbans had three folds and more²⁴ to fit the function of the boxes. [FIGURE 18]

Top cover: The top cover was fixed on the box through a tip [FIGURES 6, 7,11] The top cover was made as a movable separate part. It measured 5cm to complete the box height to cover the turban entirely. It was hollow inside to ensure no friction with the precious top parts of the turban. [TABLE 1]

The small boxes used for storing the jewel fulfilled their function. While the jewel was 4cm high, the box was about 5cm high. [FIGURE 19]

Box Height without Cover	Height of the Turban	Height of the Box	Height of the Turban and Accessories
First Style: It was of an average height of 21cm and 25cm in diameter.	The average height of the turban without the jewel was 13cm and 19cm in diameter.	The box and the cover measured 26cm high and 35cm in diameter.	The turban and the jewel measured 18cm high.
Second Style: It was of an average height of 24cm and 22cm in diameter.		It was of an average height of 19cm and 29cm in diameter.	
Third Style: It was of an average height of 16cm and 21cm in diameter.		It was of an average height of 21cm and 27cm in diameter.	
Fourth Style: It was of an average height of 19cm and 26cm in diameter.		It was of an average height of 24cm and 27cm in diameter.	
Fifth Style: It was of an average height of 16cm and 22cm in diameter.		It was of an average height of 21cm and 29cm in diameter.	
The boxes measured 14-21cm high and 21-26cm in diameter.	The average height of the turban without the jewel was 13cm and 19cm in diameter.	The box and the cover measured 19-26 cm high and 27-35cm in diameter.	The turban and the jewel measured 18cm high.
[TABLE 1]: Dimensions of the Boxes and their Functional Relevance			

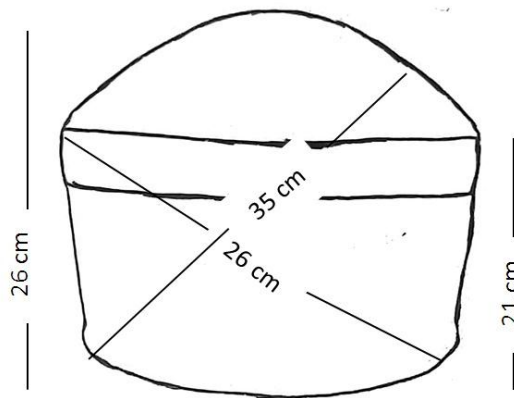
²⁴POOJA, C. (2016): 12.



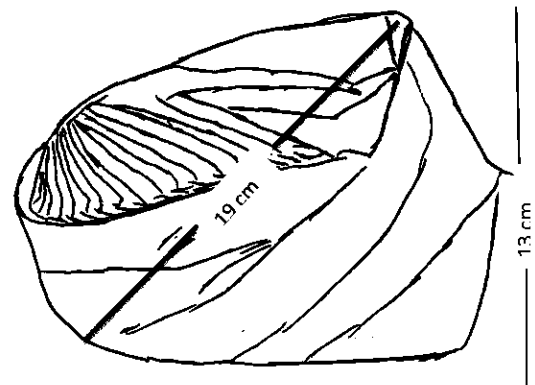
A: Cotton turban, Mughal India, 19th century, Calcutta Museum.

B: Precious stones that adorn the turban, Mughal India, MICHELL 2007: PL.212, 229.

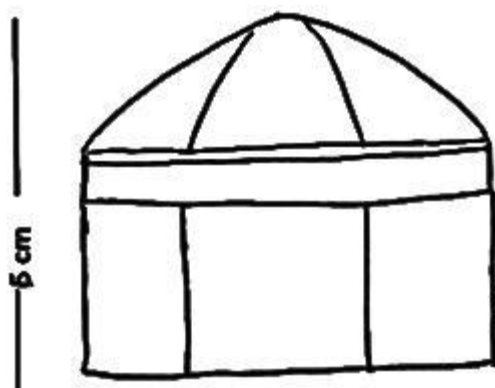
[FIGURE 18]: The turban and the precious stones adorning it from Mughal India



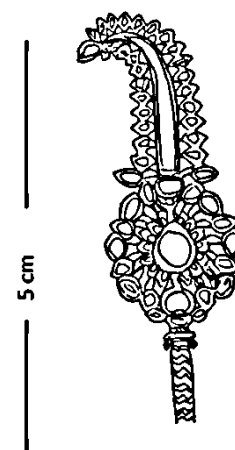
A: Turban box dimensions



B: Turban dimensions



C: Box OF Precious stones dimensions



D: Precious stones dimensions

[FIGURE 19]: Dimensions of the Boxes and their Functional Relevance

VI. MANUFACTURING MATERIALS

Manufacturing Materials and Method

Two materials were basically used for manufacturing the boxes, namely wood and papier-mâché. They were painted in lacquer²⁵.

Wood: India was known for the finest types of wood, especially in Mysore, Rajasthan, and Bombay²⁶. The Mughal rulers paid great attention to the wood in furniture. Their interest in the wood was parallel to their interest in manuscripts, jewelry, and other artifacts. It was used in the antiques, as well as Islamic and European furniture. Moreover, the Mughals used wood in making small boxes closed with silver lockers. Wooden works were made in the emperor workshops²⁷. Mughal woods were decorated with lacquer, especially in the 10th AH./16thAD. Century and flourished at the time of Akbar (28). Lacquer is traditionally applied in certain steps. The manufacturer prepares the wooden surfaces by cleaning and polishing them. Then, some lacquer layers are applied using a hair pen or a fine piece of cloth. After that, the surface is polished with an ancient stone. The last layer is covered with burned dust to settle and protect the wooden surface against humidity that causes the degradation of wood²⁹.

Papier-mâché: It was known in the 18th century and continued in the 19th century as an impact of the European arts. It was used in many artifacts and furniture. It was used instead of wood as a cheap, usable, and easy way to produce an alternative in products not prone to degradation. It was also used in keeping light products³⁰. Papier-mâché is made by immersing paper for three days in water until becoming soft dough. Then, it is mixed with gum and some glue to become feasible and easy to configure. Molds are prepared and painted with gum³¹. The body of the box was molded. Then, the cover was molded. Thus, the cover was movable. Papier-mâché was covered with a layer of lacquer directly on the surface of the artifact³².

The decoration is made by painting the surface after the lacquer on wood or papier-mâché using brushes. It is worth noting that brushes of different sizes and thickness were used. They were made of fine hair in the ears of bulls, donkeys, and calves, as well as fibers and cortices of certain trees. However, the best brushes were made of the hair of the tails of cats, goats, and squirrels³³.

Kashmir made many artifacts decorated with lacquer, including turban boxes. From the 17th to the 19th centuries, India was advanced and self-sufficient in fine industries³⁴.

²⁵ Lacquer is a paint used for hard and potentially shiny finishes. It is a red gum produced by some insects living in the East Indies. India is the main source of the production of lacquer despite being known and produced in some East Asian countries. .

²⁶ COOMARASWAMY 1923: 66-67.

²⁷ MUHAMMAD 2012: 232.

²⁸ ACRY 1993:143.PL.11.

²⁹ LOUISE, D et AL. 2019: 531-544.

³⁰ VAN & WILLIAMS 1986: 125:143.

³¹ AHMED 2001: 514:526.

³² LOUISE, D et AL. 2019: 537.

³³ LOUISE, D et AL. 2019: 537.

³⁴ DIGBY 1973: 90.

Moreover, making wooden boxes was a fine local industry in the royal workshops established by the Mughal-Indian emperors across the Indian sub-continent or in different regions, including the Dikkan Region.

Manufacturing Materials and their Relationship to the Function of the Artifact

Using lacquer on wood or papier-mâché was suitable for achieving the function of the turban boxes. It is known that these materials could be degraded, especially when being exposed to humidity or water that could harm the turbans kept inside. Unlike the misconception that once the wood is dried, it permanently fits use, when the wood is exposed to humidity, it experiences several problems, such as deflation, torsion, and losing features³⁵. Because of the high value of the contents of these boxes, lacquer was used to handle external surfaces of the artifacts made of wood or papier-mâché to keep them from various factors. Lacquer is a plastic buffer and can protect surfaces and resist strong acids and alkali, water, and other fluids. Thus, the surface is easily used in cleaning. At the same time, it achieves the required shining of the artifact as a decorative facade and a background valid for the implementation of the decorations. Furthermore, papier-mâché was used in making these boxes because they were less vulnerable to collision and degradation and contained light things. Accordingly, functionality was achieved.

VII. SOCIAL CULTURE AND ITS IMPACT ON THE DECORATIONS OF TURBAN BOXES

Most turban boxes are attributed to Northern India that included, since the time of Akbar, Kashmir, Kandahar, and Kabul ruled by one Sabah Dar³⁶. The Mughal-Indian emperors supervised the artistic centers that were directly affiliated to the state³⁷. After the completion of work, their notes were recorded on the products. Akbar could seize Kashmir in 1586 and seized the other parts of the north in 1593. Accordingly, Kashmir became one of the most important art centers that adopted the Mughal artistic style at the time of the Mughal-Indian emperors³⁸.

In Northern India, there were several nationalities, including the Indo-Aryan, Turkish, Persian, and Mughal. There were several languages, e.g., Sanskrit, Urdu, and Persian spread. Moreover, there were many religions³⁹. Thus, local cultures varied and had an impact on Islamic arts, in general, and turban boxes, in particular. Another factor that played a part was employing the Hindu artists in the ceremonies and art workshops in the era of the Mughal emperors. In the era of Hamayun , several Hindu workers were

³⁵ REEB 1997: 5.

³⁶ Sabah Dar is the great commander of the soldiers and the appointed Sultanate in a large state of India and the deputy of the Sultan in that state. He has to command soldiers and receives large amounts of money as a way of grace. He is also given a piece of land. He stays in a large village as the head quarter of the state. There are other positions in the state, such as al-Sadr, the judge, the mufti, the legal representative, the Muhtaseb, etc

³⁷ SIVARA 1970: 23.

³⁸ cABD AL-RAHIM 2010: 125.

³⁹ cABD AL-RAHIM 2010: 125.

employed in the emperor's ceremony. It was reported that there was a larger assembly of about seventy painters, mostly Indians. Since the later era of Akbar, Indian artists could add a national character to the Mughal-Indian painting thanks to the traditional Indian elements they added from Kashmir, Kajrat, and Punjab⁴⁰. The most significant decorations on the boxes were, as follows:

Indian Deities

Religious studies report several deities and beliefs in Indian religions that India was called the land of the gods ⁽⁴¹⁾. Religions and deities differed from a region to another, even in the same region. Furthermore, it was reported that India almost knew all kinds of creeds and philosophies⁴²

Indian deities and Mughal culture

Indian deities appeared on the applied arts during the Mughal era. The culture of rulers as well as Muslims at that time accepted the emergence of these deities especially India came under the rule of the Mughal state and thus resulted in a diversity of ruled peoples. These peoples have their own beliefs and idols that appeared on the applied arts of that period⁴³. This is due to the policy of religious tolerance of the Mughal rulers this policy that appeared since the era of Babur and continued throughout the reign of the Mughal and Sectarian harmony was made between Hindus and Muslims⁴⁴. Deities appeared on the arts as a result of religious ideas in that period, such as the divine religion that Akbar invented, as well as the spread of Sufi thought. The translation movement, especially the translation of ancient books into Persian, had a great impact on the emergence of Indian deities⁴⁵. So it reflects the culture of the times and it's the influence of the Indian environment.

Animals had a special place in the embodiment of the Indian heritage because the Indians thought that the life-cycle might bring someone to another (inhuman) form after death. Thus, animals generally had a special status in the different Hindu religions⁴⁶, and many Indian deities were embodied in the form of animals and human forms [FIGURE 20]. It is also possible to be these Boxes are for princes or senior statesmen the same is true for the wealthy. Additionally, these deities appeared on turban boxes:

Hanuman is a highly respected monkey among the Indians. It takes forms as big as a man⁴⁷. The paintings of Hanuman resembled justice, power, and courage. Besides, Hanuman played a role in the return of Rama to his wife Sita⁴⁸. The paintings of

⁴⁰ WELCH 1994: 9.

⁴¹ SHAWKY 1984: 221.

⁴² C'ALY 2004: 128.

⁴³ 'ESAM 2002: 186.

⁴⁴ WILLIAM 1987: 73.

⁴⁵ ASGHAR 2008: 55.

⁴⁶ SCHOMP 2005: 55.

⁴⁷ DURANT 2011: 207-208.

⁴⁸ SEYLLER 199: 40.

Hanuman appeared on the turban boxes as an influence of the local Indian culture; see the turban box made of papier-mâché in Kashmir. [FIGURE 3]

Ganesh: India and Ethiopia are the most common homes for elephants [34]. In India, elephants are almost used in wars, decorations, celebrations, hunting tigers, processions of kings, travel, and carrying heavy loads⁴⁹. In the Mughal era, a place was dedicated to breeding elephants known as «Filkhaneh» and its official was called «Shahna Fil»⁵⁰. Indians worshipped the elephants, as shown in Ganesh, the son of Chetta. Ganesh embodied the beast nature of the human being. At the same time, its image was taken as an enigma that protects the man against bad luck⁵¹. The Ganesh appeared on turban boxes as a cultural influence of Northern India [FIGURE 3]. It appeared in the form of an animal in the processions of knights [FIGURE 2] and individually [FIGURE 14].

Krishna: Myths reported that Krishna was a king of Northern India. He is worshipped as the eighth avatar of the god Vishnu that has 24 avatars. It has two different characters. Some folk tales depict Krishna as a cruel and tough war hero, whereas others depict it as a fun young man. In the latter position, thousands of Indian women worship it a day. It represents a cow herder and the god of fertilization among cattle herders⁵². Krishna was depicted on turban boxes in scenes representing celebrations and processions, as a manifestation of the Indian culture [FIGURE 2]. Krishna appeared with brown skin, indicating his birth from the sky or from the god Vishnu, and the Rasamandela dance is among the dances mentioned in ancient sources. There are many Mughal manuscripts with scenes of Krishna in manuscript. Including image of Krishna hanging the Devil «Naraka», a paper from a separate copy of Harivamsha (993-998 AH/ 1585-1590 AD).

Naga: The snake represents a special case in the Indian culture. It is the real ruler of the secret areas and indisputable water⁵³. Because of its importance, the Indians have an annual celebration for the god Naga to which they offer milk and bananas at the entrance of its holes⁽⁵⁴⁾. Indian snakes were depicted on the styles of turban boxes, such as the depictions of a box for keeping the jewel of the turban [FIGURE 16].

Animal Paintings: Several animals were painted on the applied artifacts at the time of the Mughal emperors of India. They were local animals and included foxes, rabbits, horses, and elephants⁵⁵. Horses have been known in India since time immemorial. They were highly appreciated in the Mughal era, and a thief of horses was sentenced to death. They were used in wars and hunting trips. Moreover, they were painted a lot by Indian artists, especially in the Mughal era when horses appeared in several paintings of the manuscripts of the Mughal and local schools⁵⁶. Several artistic themes depicted horses, such as wars, hunting, recreation, and preparation for trips or travel. Horses

⁴⁹ DURNT 2011: 207.

⁵⁰ DE LAGRAZA 2010: 36.

⁵¹ AGA- OGLU 1931:1-5.

⁵² NIRMALA 1995: 150.

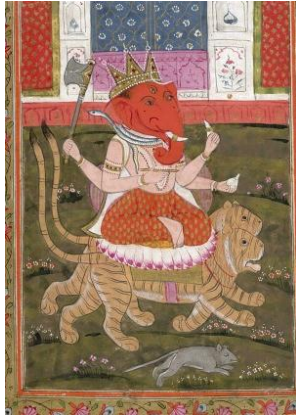
⁵³ BRIJBHUSHAN 1979: 9.

⁵⁴ DURANT 2011: 208.

⁵⁵ IRWIN 1972: 448-463.

⁵⁶ DAS 1991: 20.

appeared in scenes reflecting the Indian environment and culture. For instance, [FIGURE 21] shows princes and princesses riding horses in celebrations and dance settings.



Ganesha, Ramayana , British Library,
(18 AD).

(A)



Krishna hanging the Devil «Naraka»,
Harivamsha (1585-1590).

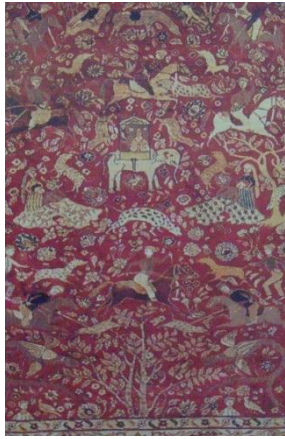
Deities on painting.



Ganesha on the turban Boxes. Krishna on the turban Boxes. ALA' 2012: PL.46

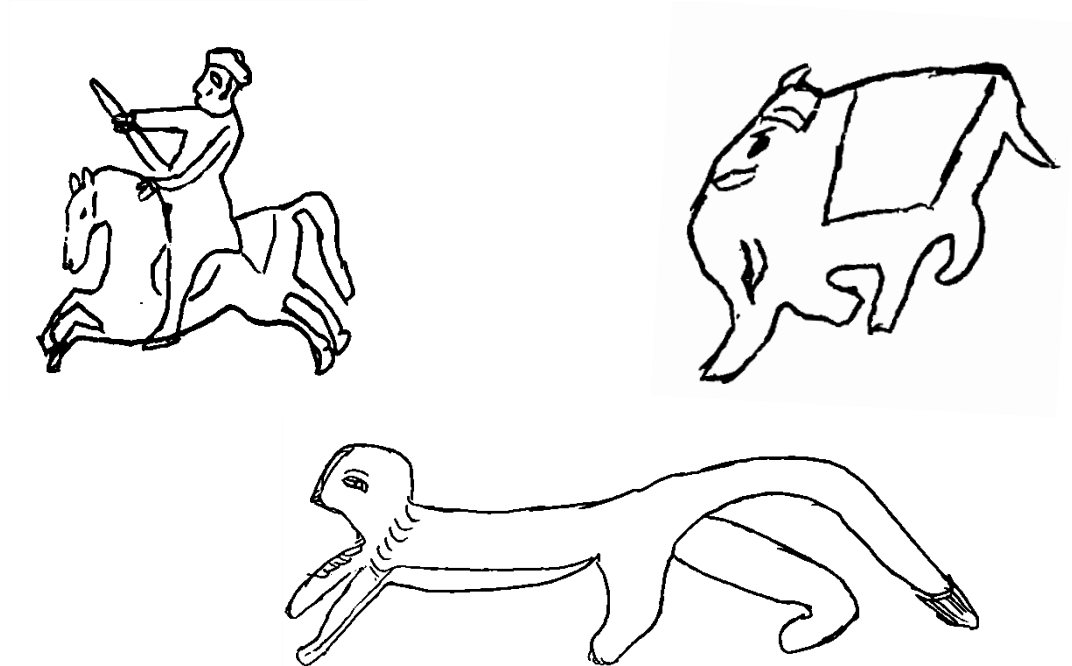
(B): Deities on the turban Boxes

[FIGURE 20]: Deities on the turban Boxes and painting



Carpet, india, 17th, Museum of Wooden Box, Indian 17, Victoria and Albert Museum Decorative Arts in Paris

(A): Animals on Mughal India



(B) Animals on the turban Boxes

[FIGURE 21]: Animals on Arts of Mughal India.

Superstitious beings

At the time of the Mughal emperors, the Indian culture, especially Northern India knew many stories and myths that were reflected in applied arts, including turban boxes.

Winged Angels: Human bodies with wings at the top of their backs appeared on the turban boxes⁵⁷. They were almost yellow and were painted in three-quarter flying or standing positions, [FIGURE 15]. Their facial features were almost feminine with crowns upon their heads. They were quite similar to the paintings of winged angels in the Kashmir School in the 19th Century as one artistic unit on the different arts, [FIGURES 22 a, b, 23A]

⁵⁷ cABD AL-RAHIM 2010: 137.

Dragons: A dragon resembles a creeping animal with a huge long tail⁵⁸. In the Kashmir School, it was portrayed in a famous scene known as «Rustam Kills the Dragon using the Sword» in a three-quarter position. Rustam wore a shirt of leopard skin, a helmet of a cheetah head, yellow pants with long red ribbons, boots, and a belt. He hanged the quiver of arrows and a sword. In front of Rustam, a big gray dragon stood on the four legs bleeding [FIGURES 22 c, d, 23 C].

Goblins: Goblins were known in the Mughal-Indian painting, especially in Northern India and Kashmir as a cultural heritage that clearly reflected the Indian environment. They were almost similar in terms of the terrible appearance with a human body, an animal head with horns, and an animal tail. Moreover, several colors were used⁵⁹. [FIGURES 22 H, W, 23B] shows goblins on a box for keeping the turban's jewel.



A: Decoration of Winged Angels on turban boxes



B: Decoration of Winged Angels, albustan wa alkilstan manuscript 18AD, ©ABD AL-RAHIM 2010: PL.10.



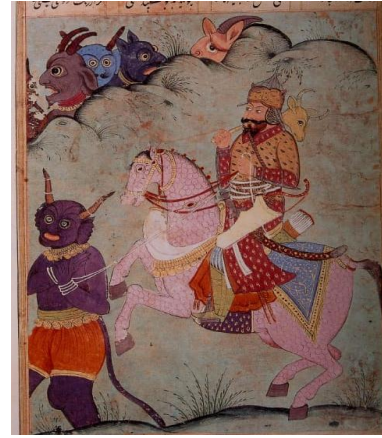
C: Decoration of Dragon (Rustm kills the dragon) on turban boxes



D: Decoration of Dragon (Rustm kills the dragon), Shahnameh 18thAD, ©ABD AL-RAHIM 2010: PL.60.

⁵⁸ ROSENZWEG 1979: 150-175.

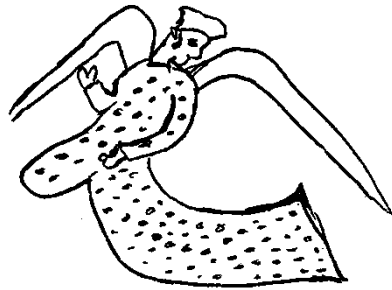
⁵⁹ MUHAMMAD 2009: 314.



E: Decoration of Goblins on turban boxes

F: Decoration of Goblins, Shahnameh manuscript (1143 AH/ 1730 AD), ©ABD AL-RAHIM 2010: PL.51.

[FIGURE 22]: Decoration of Superstitious beings on turban boxes and Painting



Decoration of Winged Angels on Painting

Decoration of Winged Angels on turban boxes

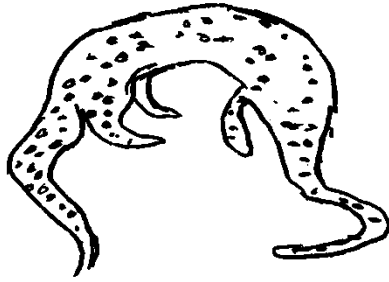
A: Decoration of Winged Angels



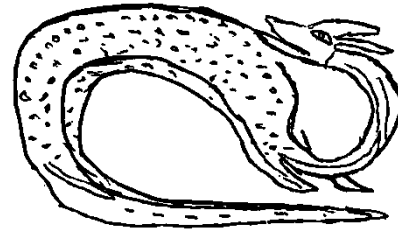
Decoration of Goblins on Painting

Decoration of Goblins on Turban Boxes

B: Decoration of Goblins



Decoration of Dragon on Painting



Decoration of Dragon on turban boxes

C: Decoration of Dragon

[FIGURE 23]: Decoration of Superstitious beings on turban boxes and Painting

Decoration of Men and Women:

Men and women appeared in arts, in general, and turban boxes in particular, to express the Indian society. They were of medium height with a relatively large head. Their faces were oval or square with clear eyes, arched eyebrows, and small mouths relatively. The paintings of men had black mustaches and beards, and those of women were beautiful with a black lock of hair in front of the ear in both paintings⁶⁰. [FIGURE 24] shows an example of those depictions from Kashmir School on a turban box. Men were portrayed in different scenes, such as chivalry, princes in concerts, or love scenes. In contrast, women were depicted playing musical instruments, dancing, princesses and maids, or knights with a shield. [FIGURE 25].

The effect of the Indian culture was clear in the decorations of men and women on turban boxes. Men wore Indian shirts with long sleeves, Indian salwar (an item of famous Indian clothing for men), and caftans. Both men and women also wore the fayran, a famous Kashmiri outfit; a top piece of clothing almost made of wool and an opening down to the belly belt⁶¹. Jamat was a cloth that spread in the Mughal period in India. It was a long robe below the knees with long sleeves. It was often tight with a belt called Battka⁶². There was a long soft cloth below the knees for the women. It had almost one color and decoration in the form of a group of small flowers. Dobta (an Urdu word for a scarf) was a headwear for the women. It was a piece of cloth of three ells covering the head. Several fabrics were used for the Dobta according to the social status of women. The local culture in Northern India appeared in the musical instruments on which women played, such as the Kashmiri rebab that resembled the Iranian one with one opening and a long arm decorated with longitudinal lines⁶³.

⁶⁰ cABD AL-RAHIM 2010: 137.

⁶¹ BISEAS 1985: 37.

⁶² BRIJBHUSHAN 1979: 11.

⁶³ cABD AL-RAHIM 2010: 137



A: Decorations men and women (a lock of hair) on Turban boxes



b: Decorations men and women (a lock of hair), Yusef and Zulekha manuscript, ©ABD AL-RAHIM 2010: PL.123.

[FIGURE 24]: Decoration of men and women on turban boxes and Painting



A: Humans Decorations on Turban boxes



B: Humans Decorations on painting



C: playing musical instruments

[FIGURE 25]: Decoration of Humans on turban boxes and Painting

Composite Scenes:

Combining several scenes in one was one of the most important features of Iranian painting, especially the Safavid School. This phenomenon was also known in the Mughal-Indian arts in manuscripts or scenes on applied artifacts⁶⁴. Indian applied

⁶⁴ PRISCILLA 198:168.

artifacts included scenes of the local environment in composite settings, including the turban boxes. [FIGURES 8, 9, 15).

Floral Motifs:

Floral motifs were implemented accurately and amazingly on turban boxes as a manifestation of the Mughal-Indian art, including flowers, buds, leaves, and branches⁶⁵. Northern India was famous for loving flowers because of the amazing nature of their land. They used to go to foothills, gardens, and parks to enjoy flowers. They also have special customs for farming flowers. The Kashmiri cover the roofs of their houses with mud and plant Tulip that blooms in spring after rainfall, giving a beautiful image of their houses⁶⁶.

It is worth noting that the visiting and settling of the Mughal emperors in Kashmir had an impact on the arts of the Mughal-Indian court. The shapes and kinds of Kashmiri flowers were a style and a basis for decoration in many arts in palaces, on textiles and carpets, etc. In 1030 AH/1620 AD, Jahangir ordered that all flowers of Kashmir and Northern India should be depicted in his paintings⁶⁷.

Using flowers was reflected in applied arts, including turban boxes. For instance, the tulip was used in the artistic configurations of the background as decorative themes or as independent floral motifs. Because Carnation could be found in India throughout the year, Kashmiri farmers were interested in it⁶⁸. Saffron, leaves, and cypress were also depicted. The cypress of Kashmir has a dark color. Additionally, the cypress represents the traditional tree in the gardens of Kashmir. Thus, it was represented alone with a traditional pyramid-like top and leaves as an equilateral triangle. Cypress also appeared on the Mughal tombs because of its symbolism in the Persian literature. Furthermore, blooming trees were known in the Mughal-Indian arts [FIGURE 26].



[FIGURE 26]:Floral motifs on turban boxes.

⁶⁵ GOEL 2007: 243.

⁶⁶ cABD AL-RAHIM 2010: 157.

⁶⁷ GOEL: 243.

⁶⁸ KHALIFA 1998: 372.

Geometric Decorations:

Geometric decorations was one of the fields that received due attention from the artists of the Mughal-Indian era, especially in buildings and carpets. Geometric configurations or cartouches decorated the space of the artifact and contained floral motifs. As a part of the Mughal arts, they appeared on turban boxes⁶⁹, [FIGURE 4]. illustrates the star shapes in the background [FIGURE 11].

VIII. FUNCTION AND DESIGN OF THE ARTIFACT AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE DECORATIVE THEMES:

Decorative Themes and Relationship to the Function of the Artifact:

Turban boxes were decorated with several themes, including animals, human beings, as well as floral motifs, and geometric decorations. A question may arise: Why were turbans boxes rich in decorations? Was there a relationship between these decorations and the function of the artifact? The decorations on the boxes included different scenes representing the local style largely, such as the meetings of princes and councils of princesses. Furthermore, animal paintings, superstitious beings, and floral motifs expressed the local environment largely. Thus, there is a relationship between the local environment and the turban boxes of the Mughal emperors or local princes. In short, the Indian turban represents the local environment and customs. It was decorated with local scenes.

Design of the Artifact and its Impact on Decorations:

The decorations differed from inside and outside the turban boxes. **From Outside:**

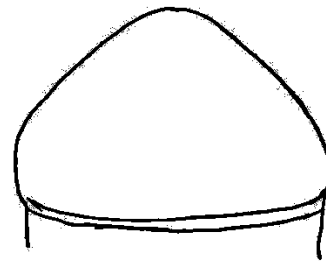
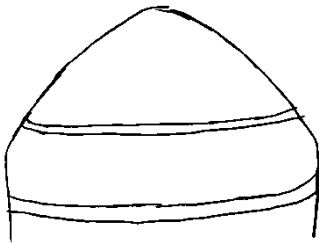
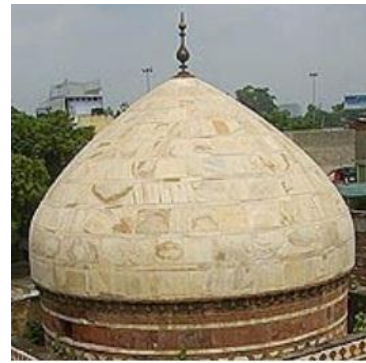
The body of the boxes was circular, and the artist distributed decorations on both the body and the cover. That is, scenes encircle the body and continue upon the cover. Thus, the body and the cover were one part on one background for implementing decorations [FIGURES 2, 3, 5, 10]. Concerning the geometric decorations, rectangular cartouches were on the body and continued on the cover as one background [FIGURE 4]. In the polygon boxes, the artist distributed the decorations on the sides of the body and the cover. Each geometric part had an independent configuration of one scene, [FIGURES 11, 12, 13].

Inside the box: Internal decorations were simple and were not affected by the design of the body, whether circular or polygon. They were almost floral motifs in geometric decorations, [FIGURE 11].

⁶⁹ MICHELL 2007: PL.212, 229.

IX. IMPACT OF ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES

Mughal-Indian arts are characterized by representing various forms of architecture and applied arts. In the Mughal-Indian era, painting linked complete cohesion and unity⁷⁰. Therefore, artists, especially in India, were influenced by the buildings in forming artifacts, especially the architectural elements⁷¹. These impacts were reflected on these boxes. Thus, the cover of the box had the design of Indian domes, such as those of the Taj Mahal mausoleum in Agra⁷². The general design of the cover was affected by the onion-like mausoleum domes. In the Mughal era, domes were cylindrical. Some domes moved from the square to the circular shape by putting squinches in the sides of the square upon which the circular shape was formed. In addition to the big dome, there were small or medium domes. The big dome was established on the mihrab of the mosque, including the dome of the Islamic Center in Delhi, India. Moreover, some boxes were affected by the dome of Atqa Khan Mausoleum⁷³ in Delhi 1562-1566, [FIGURE 27].



A: Turban Box Cover

B: Mausoleum of Atqa Khan, Delhi 1562-1566.

[FIGURE 27]: Impact of Buildings on the Design of Turban Boxes.

⁷⁰HUSSEIN 1989: 314-315.

⁷¹ YASIN 2014: 146-166.

⁷² KOCH 2005: 128-149.

⁷³ Shams-Elden Muhammad Atjah Khan (Atqa Khan) (died on May 15, 1562) is also known as Khan Klan Shamsoud-Elden Muhammad Khan Atjah Khan. He held important positions in the Mughal court.

IX. CONCLUSION

Artifacts and fine industries flourished in the era of Mughal- Indian emperors, as shown in Turban boxes that were known as *juaba distar*; a Persian phrase for boxes used to keep turbans. The Mughals, including emperors or princes, paid great attention to turban boxes because of the importance of the turban itself that reflected the position of its user, especially at the time of Babur. At the time of Hamayun, the turban was used to climb high places by connecting its parts. The turban was decorated with jewelry and gemstones more than ever, especially at the time of Jahangir. The feather and stick on which the jewel was fixed were made of gold. Therefore, small boxes with the same design as the turban boxes were introduced. The boxes generally comprised two parts: The body and the cover. There were several artistic styles, such as the box of a circular body and a semi-spherical dome, and the style of a circular body and onion-like dome. The third style comprised a small base, a wider upper part, and a convex dome. The fourth style was a circular decagon body and a polygon dome, whereas the fifth style had an octagonal body. The small boxes with the same design were almost used for keeping the turban's accessories, including the diamond and the golden stick. The dimensions of the box were suitable for the function of keeping the turban, and the cover ensured protection. Wood and papier-mâché were used for manufacturing the boxes, but they were treated with a lacquer to have isolated surfaces in order not to harm the turban and the accessories. The decorations implemented on the boxes reflected the culture of Northern India, especially Kashmir. Thus, these decorations included the deities of Hanoman, Kreshna, and Janetha, as well as animals, e.g., horses, foxes, and elephants. The paintings of the mythical beings representing the Indian environment, e.g., dragons, angels, and goblins resembled those of the manuscripts of Kashmir school at the time. Additionally, the paintings of men and women expressed strongly the Indian environment in terms of customs, facial features, or some characteristics of the paintings of Kashmir school, including the lock of hair hanging behind the ear. The floral motifs stressed the impact of the local environment, including flowers and trees in Northern India, such as Tulips and cypress trees. The general design of the distribution of decorations on the box achieved a balance between the body and the cover. The design of the boxes was affected largely in the buildings of India, including Indian and onion-like domes.

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صناديق حفظ العمامة في العصر المغولي الهندية كمؤشرات ثقافية دراسة حضارية فنية

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الملخص

تعتبر التحف التطبيقية في عصر أباطرة مغول الهند عن حضارة المغول وإبداعهم، وتعتبر صناديق حفظ العمامات مثالا رائعا لتلك التحف التي تعبر عن حضارة المغول، وتهدف الورقة البحثية لدراسة فنية لهذه الصناديق وكذلك ومسمى جعبة دستار وعلاقة المسمى بأداء الوظيفة التي من أجلها صنعت هذه الصناديق، ولقد كان لفلسة المغول بالهند سواء الأباطرة والأمراء في الاهتمام بالعمامة ومكانتها لديهم دور كبير في ظهور صناديق مخصصة للعمامة، وكانت العمامات تزين بالأحجار الكريمة والجواهر الغالية الامر الذي أدى أيضا إلى ظهور هذه الصناديق، وتعد طرز صناديق حفظ العمامات في العصر المغولي الهندي فمنها المغطى بغطاء علي هيئة قباب بصلية وأنصاف كروية ومنها ذات الأشكال المضلعة، وظهرت التأثيرات البيئية بشكل كبير على زخارف هذه الصناديق وكان الزخارف مرتبطة بشكل كبير بثقافة الأقاليم الهندية التي أنتجت هذه الصناديق سواء مناظر معبودات أو مناظر كائنات حية وخرافية وزخارف نباتية وهندسية، وتهدف الورقة البحثية أيضا إلى دراسة المواد المستخدمة في صناعة هذه صناديق حفظ العمامات، فأستعمل الأخشاب والأوراق المعجنة papier-mâché كمواد أساسية في صناعة صناديق حفظ العمامات بعد أن تتم معالجتها لتصبح صالحة لأداء وظيفة الصندوق دون الحاق الضرر بمحتويات الصندوق من مواد غالية القيمة، ولقد تأثرت صناديق حفظ العمامات في تصميمها العام بشكل كبير بالمنشآت المعمارية كتأثير من العمارة المغولية الهندية المعاصرة.

الكلمات الدالة: صندوق، عمامة، خشب، لاكمه، مغول، هند، احجار كريمة.

2021

CONSTRUCTIONS WITH NEGATIVE PREFIX AT- IN THE COPTIC LANGUAGE

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CONSTRUCTIONS WITH NEGATIVE PREFIX

ⲁⲧ IN THE COPTIC LANGUAGE

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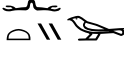

ABSTRACT

The present paper handles the compound noun, the negative, and the use of the formative ⲁⲧ-, which is used for nouns and verbs since many abstract nouns comprise the prefix at-. Finally, all the abstract nouns negated by ⲁⲧ are appended to. In Coptic, there are few true adjectives because the old form of the language is rich in adjective-verbs. Generally speaking, the adjective is expressed in Coptic by means of a relative clause or by substantives linked together by the genitival adjective ⲛ-. Less frequently, the noun and its qualifying substantive are in direct opposition. This adjective follows its noun in masculine and feminine forms. In this article, an analysis is made of the use of the negative prefix ⲁⲧ- in Coptic. The examples of its use are divided into two groups: - The negative prefix ⲁⲧ- with verbs; - The negative prefix ⲁⲧ with nouns. The meaning of some frequently occurring verbal and nominal roots modified by ⲁⲧ- is explicated and their etymological (Ancient Egyptian and Demotic) predecessors are provided. Syntactically, the compounds with ⲁⲧ- are abstract nouns that function predominantly as equivalents of adjectives, as Coptic has only a few adjectives in the strict sense. Consequently, the ⲁⲧ- compounds have adjectival syntactic functions: they modify the head noun in the nominal phrase or function as the nominal predicate in nominal sentences. They can also function as nouns, for example as the subject of the sentence. An overview of the syntactic functions of the ⲁⲧ- compounds examined is presented in the conclusion. In the *Appendices*, alphabetic overviews are provided of respectively the deverbal and denominal compounds with ⲁⲧ- mentioned in Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*. It becomes evident that the deverbal compounds by far outnumber the denominal ones».

KEYWORDS: Coptic , negation , prefix , verb , noun , adjective , Late Egyptian , Demotic.

I. INTRODUCTION

The negative prefix **ⲁⲧ**- can change a word's meaning into its antonym, which forms, with nouns and verbs, a negative adjective that means «not, without, un-, in-, -less»¹.

The prefix **ⲁⲧ**², **ⲁⲧⲉ** comes before double consonants (rarely)³, **ⲁⲑ**⁴ before the "seven consonants" (B), **ⲁⲉⲓⲧ** (M) derived from hieroglyphic  *iwjt* "which is not"⁵ and in demotic  *iwjt(j)* "without"⁶.

Adjectives are expressed in three ways. The first one is the adjective followed by the noun directly. The noun is then generally in the construct form. There are comparatively few true adjectives in Coptic, e.g., **ⲱⲏⲙ**→little – young and **ⲡⲧⲟⲟϥ ⲱⲏⲙ** «the little mountain». The second one utilizes the genitive n- placed between the noun and the adjective. In this form, the noun may either precede or follow its adjective, e.g., **ⲏⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲏⲁⲧ-ⲉⲃⲱ** «the ignorant men». The third way is formed by means of a relative clause used **ⲉⲧ** relative adjective, e.g., **ⲡⲱⲗⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲏⲓ** «the written word»⁷.

The paper aims to compile an inventory of Coptic lexical units containing the prefix **ⲁⲧ**- and classify the examples quoted according to their syntactic functions.

The examples quoted are excerpted directly from Coptic texts (primary sources) and dictionaries (secondary sources).

1. The negative prefix **ⲁⲧ** with verbs.

When the complement is a verb, it can take an object. It is worth noting that when used in a passive sense, the transitive verb must take an object as a pronominal object. It can also join compound verbs to make one negative word.

- The verb **ⲏⲁϥ**⁸ = look

In late Egyptian *nw* , in Demotic *nw* 

ⲁⲧ-ⲏⲁϥ (S), **ⲁⲑ-ⲏⲁϥ** (B) + **ⲉ**./**ⲉⲣⲟ** means unseen, unseeing¹¹, invisible (lit. without seeing it).

Ex.1: **ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲏⲉ ⲟϥⲁⲑ-ⲏⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ⲟϥⲟⲓ ⲏⲁⲧ-ⲉⲃⲱ†**

The earth was invisible and empty. (Ge 1₂ B)

- The verb **ⲙⲟϥ**¹² = die

¹ SMITH 1999: 2.

² CRUM 1939: 18b-19a; CERNY 1976: 13.

³ PLUMLEY 1948: 12, §101ff.

⁴ VYICHL 1983: 17-18.

⁵ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb.* Vol.1: 46.

⁶ ERICHSEN 1954: 25, 7.


⁷ MURRAY 1927: 18- 19.

⁸ CRUM 1939: 233b; CERNY 1976: 113.

⁹ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *WB.* Vol.2: 218, 3ff.

¹⁰ ERICHSEN 1954: 209, 3.

¹¹ CRUM 1939: 234a.


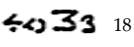
In late Egyptian *m(w)t* ¹³, in Demotic *mwt* ¹⁴

ατ-μογ (S), αθ-μογ (B) = deathless – immortal¹⁵

Ex.2: ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΓΑΡ ΟΥ**ΑΤ-ΜΟΥ** ΤΕ·

For uprightness is immortal. (Sa1₁₅ S)

- The verb **μοωε** = walk - go¹⁶

In late Egyptian *mšc* ¹⁷, in Demotic *mšc* ¹⁸

ατ-μοωε (S), αθ-μοωε (B) = Pathless¹⁹

Ex.3: Φ† ΠΑΝΟΥ† ΑΙΝΑΟΡΠΤ ΖΑΡΟΚ ΧΕ ΑΣΙΒΙ Ν̄ΗΤΚ Ν̄ΧΕ ΤΑΦΥΧΗ: ΕΘΡΕΣΦΙΡΙ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ
 Ν̄ΧΕ ΤΑΣΑΡΞ ΉΕΝ ΟΥΚΑΖΙ Ν̄ΨΑΦΕ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΜΑ Ν̄**ΑΘ-ΜΩΨΙ** ΖΙΩΤΩ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΜΑ Ν̄**ΑΘ-ΜΩΟΥ**
 O God, my God, to you, I create because my soul thirsts for you, so that my body may flourish for you in a wasteland, a pathless place, and a place without water. (Ps 62₁ B)

Ex.4: ΟΥΜΗΨ ΜΜΑΝΕΣΩΟΥ ΑΥΤΑΚΟ Μ̄ΠΑΙΑΖΑΛΟΙ ΑΥΘΩΛΕΒ Ν̄ΤΑ ΤΟΙ ΕΘΝΑΝΕΣ ΑΥΤΗΙΣ
 ΕΥΜΑΝ̄**ΑΘ-ΜΩΨΙ** Ν̄ΨΑΦΕ·

Many shepherds have corrupted my vineyard. They have trampled my portion. They made my inheritance desolate wilderness. (Jer 12₁₀ B)

- The verb **σει** (S), **σι** (SB)²⁰ = be filled - satisfied



In late Egyptian  *sj*²¹, in Demotic  *sj*²² = become sated.

ατ-σει (S), ατ-σι (B)²³ (adj.) = insatiate.

Ex.5: ΟΥΡΕΩΖΙΠΖΟ ΉΕΝ ΝΕΦΒΑΛ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΖΗΤ Ν̄**ΑΤ-ΣΙ** : ΦΑΙ Μ̄ΠΑΙΟΥΩΜ ΝΕΜΑΦ

Whoever has haughty eyes and a proud heart, I will not tolerate him. (Ps 100₅ B)

- The verb **ωτη** = hear²⁴

In late Egyptian *sdm* ²⁵, in Demotic *stm* (*sdm*) ²⁶

ατ-ωτη = inaudible, disobedient²⁷

Ex.6: ΦΝΑΜΟΩΦΕ ΖΑΤΕΦΖΗ Ζ̄ΜΠΕΠ̄ΝΑ Μ̄Ν ΤΒΟΜ Ν̄ΖΗΛΙΑΣ· ΕΚΤΟ Ν̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ Ν̄Ν̄ΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΝΕΥΨΗΡΕ
 ΑΥΩ Ν̄**ΑΤ-ΩΤΗ** Ζ̄Ν ΤΜ̄ΝΤΡ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ Ν̄ΝΑΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΕΣΟΒΤΕ Ν̄ΟΥΛΑΟΣ Μ̄ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΦΣΒΤΩΤ

¹² CRUM 1939: 159a; CERNY 1976: 79.

¹³ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb.* Vol.2: 165, 8ff.

¹⁴ ERICHSEN 1954: 157, 7.

¹⁵ CRUM 1939: 160 a.

¹⁶ CRUM 1939: 203b; CERNY 1976: 96.

¹⁷ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb.* Vol.2:156,5.

¹⁸ ERICHSEN 1954: 181, 1.

¹⁹ CRUM 1939: 205b.

²⁰ CRUM 1939: 316b; CERNY 1976: 145.

²¹ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb.* Vol.4: 14, bottom.

²² ERICHSEN 1954: 407, 5.

²³ CRUM 1939: 317a.

²⁴ CRUM 1939: 363b; CERNY 1976: 165.

²⁵ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb.* Vol.4: 384, 4f.

²⁶ ERICHSEN 1954: 478, 4.

²⁷ CRUM 1939: 364b.

He will walk in front of him in the spirit and power of Helias. To turn the hearts of the fathers to their children, and the disobedient (to walk) in the wisdom of the righteous, to prepare a people for the lord prepared. (Lu 1₁₇ S)

- The verb **ΕΙΜΕ** = know, understand²⁸.



In late Egyptian ϵ_m ²⁹, in Demotic ϵ_m ³⁰

ΑΤ-ΕΙΜΕ (S) = ignorant, innocent³¹.

Ex.7: **ΠΕΧΑÇ ΧΕ ΠΒΟΙÇ ΟΥΨΛΟΛ ΝΑΤ-ΕΜΗ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΘΜΗ ΝΑ ΤΑΚΟÇ**

He said: «Lord, would you ignore someone even if he is upright?» (Ge 20₄ B)

- The verb **ΕΙΩ, ΙΑ** (SB) = wash³²

In late Egyptian i^c ³³, in Demotic i^c ³⁴

ΑΤ-ΙΑ (S), **ΑΘ-ΙΩΟΥ** (B) = unwashed³⁵.

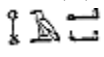

Ex.8: **ΟΥΟΖ ΑΦΕΡΟΥΩ ΠΕΧΑÇ ΝΝΗΕΤΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΜΠΕΦΜΘΟ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟÇ ΧΕ ΑΛΙΟΥΙ ΝΝΑΙΖΒΩÇ ΕΤΑΘ-ΙΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΩΤÇ ΟΥΟΖ ΠΕΧΑÇ ΝΑÇ ΧΕ ΖΗΠΠΕ ΑΙΩΛΙ ΝΝΕΚΑΝΟΜΙΑ**

The angel said to those who were standing before him, «Take off his filthy clothes» Then, he said to Joshua, «See, I have taken away your sin, and I will put fine garments on you» (Zach 3₄ B)

Ex.9: **ÇΕ ΟΥΩΜ ΝΝΙΩΙΚ ΕΡΕ ΝΟΥΧΙΧ ΘΩΛΕΒ ΕΤΕ ΦΑΙ ΠΕΧΕ ΝΑΤ-ΙΑ ΤΟΤΟΥ**

They eat their bread having not washed hands. (MK 7₂ B)


- The verb **ΚΩ** (S), **ΧΩ** (B) (intransitive verb) = become loose, dissolved³⁶

In late Egyptian h^3c ³⁷, in Demotic $h^3(c)$ ³⁸.

ΚΩ (S), **ΧΩ**(B) + **ΕΒΟΛ** (noun (m)) = freedom, remission, forgiveness.

ΑΤ-ΧΩ ΕΒΟΛ (B) (adj.) = without forgiveness- **wrath**³⁹

- **ΤΑΛΒΟ** (SB) = make to cease, heal (causative of **ΛΑΒΕ**)⁴⁰

In Demotic $\epsilon_r/\epsilon_f/\epsilon_g$ ⁴¹ = cause to stop.

ΤΑΛΒΟ (SB) (noun (m)) = healing

ΑΤ-ΤΑΛΒΟ (SB) = not to be healed.⁴²

²⁸ CRUM 1939: 77b; CERNY 1976: 46-47.

²⁹ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb.* Vol.1: 184, 16-20.

³⁰ ERICHSEN 1954: 60, 6.

³¹ CRUM 1939: 78a.

³² CRUM 1939: 75a; CERNY 1976: 45.

³³ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb.* Vol.1: 39, 2 ff.

³⁴ ERICHSEN 1954: 48, 6.

³⁵ CRUM 1939: 75a.

³⁶ CRUM 1939: 97a.

³⁷ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb.* Vol.3: 227, 3 ff.

³⁸ ERICHSEN 1954: 345, 7.

³⁹ CRUM 1939: 97b.

⁴⁰ CRUM 1939: 411b.

⁴¹ ERICHSEN 1954: 264, 6.

⁴² CRUM 1939: 412a.

In late Egyptian **ⲛⲧⲣ**⁵⁶, in Demotic **ⲛⲧⲣ**⁵⁷

ⲁⲧ—**ⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ** (S), **ⲁⲑ**-**ⲛⲟϥⲧ** (B)⁵⁸ (adj.) = godless.

Ex.14: **ⲙⲡⲓⲣ** **ⲕⲁⲗⲏ** **ⲛ̀ⲐⲐⲕ** **ⲛ̀ⲑⲉ** **ⲛ̀ⲓⲛⲁⲧ**-**ⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ**

Do not abandon us like the godless (GP 82.b22-23)

- The noun **Ⲑⲑⲱ**⁵⁹ = doctrine, teaching.

In late Egyptian **ⲡⲓⲗⲓⲛⲁⲧ**⁶⁰ **ⲛ̀ⲓⲧ**⁶¹, in Demotic **ⲛ̀ⲓⲧ**⁶¹ **ⲛ̀ⲓⲧ**⁶¹

ⲁⲧ—**Ⲑⲑⲱ** (SB)⁶² (adj.) = without teaching, ignorance.

Ex.15: **ⲑⲱⲟϥⲧ** **ⲛ̀ⲧⲟϥⲑⲉⲛⲓ** **ⲑⲏⲛⲟϥ** **ⲡⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ** **ⲛ̀ⲁⲧ**-**Ⲑⲑⲱ**

Gather yourselves together, yes, gather together, O ignorant nation. (Zeph 2₁ B)

II. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we could say that there are many prefixes in Coptic that form compound nouns. However, **ⲁⲧ**-, which is added to the noun and the verb to give a negative abstract noun, is a unique formative because it converts the meaning into the antonym or vice versa. It also gives a semantic meaning.

The negative adjective, which comprises the form **ⲁⲧ**- + verb or noun follows its noun but is linked together by the genitival **ⲛ̀**-.

The syntactic functions are:

- compounds as modifiers with the linker: as examples N^o. 12, 14 -15;
- compounds as relatives with the morpheme: like example N^o. 3, 4, 5, 7, 10;
- compounds as nominal predicates: as examples N^o. 1, 2, 8, 9, 11;
- compounds as the nominal subject of the sentence: like example N^o. 6, 13.

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⁵⁶ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb.* II: 358, 1 ff.

⁵⁷ ERICHSEN 1954: 232, 6.

⁵⁸ VYICHL 1983: 17-18

⁵⁹ CRUM 1939: 319b; CERNY 1976: 149.

⁶⁰ ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb.* IV: 85, 10f.

⁶¹ ERICHSEN 1954: 421, 1.

⁶² VYICHL 1983: 17-18.

III. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B = Bohairic dialect

BG = Berlin Gnostic Papyrus 8502 (cf. Preuss. Akad., Sitz, xxxvi, 839), from photographs

Er = Erichsen, W., *Demotisches Glosser*, Kopenhagen, 1954

Ge = Genesis

GP 82.b22-23)

Is = Isaiah

Jer = Jeremiah

Lu = Luka

Mt = Matthew

Mk = Mark

Pro = Proverbs

Ps = Psalms, acc. To the LXX numeration

S = Sahidic dialect

Sa = Wisdom of Solomon

Wb = Erman, A. & Grapow, W. (Eds.), *Wörterbuch der Ägyptische Sprache*, 7 vols und 5 Bde Belegstellen, Berlin/Leipzig (1926-1963)

Zech = Zechariah

Zeph = Zephaniah

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APPENDICES

All the English translations are from Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*

1- ⲁⲧ + verb

ⲁⲧ + Verb	Meaning
ⲁⲧ-ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲧⲉ	unrestrained, uncontrollable
ⲁⲧ-ⲃⲱⲧⲥ	Impugnable
ⲁⲧ-ⲕⲓⲙ	immovable
ⲁⲧ-ⲕⲏⲛ	unending
ⲁⲧ-ⲕⲱⲣⲓ (B), ⲁⲧ-ⲱⲁⲡ (S)	unceasing
ⲁⲧ-ⲕⲁⲓ	ignorant person
ⲁⲧ-ⲕⲧⲟ (S)	irrevocable
ⲁⲧ-ⲕⲱⲙⲉ (SB)	unfading
ⲁⲧ-ⲙⲕⲁⲓ (B)	without pain
ⲁⲧ-ⲙⲟⲓⲛⲕ	unceasing, imperishable
ⲁⲧ-ⲙⲡⲱ (SB)	worthless, unworthy
ⲁⲧ-ⲙⲓⲥⲉ (S)	unborn
ⲁⲧ-ⲓⲙⲁⲧⲉ (B)	not agreeing
ⲁⲧ-ⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ (B)	unquiet
ⲁⲧ-ⲙⲉⲉⲓⲉ (SB)	without thinking
ⲁⲧ-ⲙⲓⲱⲉ (B)	not attacked, unhurt
ⲁⲧ-ⲙⲟⲓⲱⲧ (SB)	intangible
ⲁⲧ-ⲙⲟⲓⲭⲟ (B)	unmixedness
ⲁⲧ-ⲛⲁ / ⲁⲑ-ⲛⲁ (SB)	pitiless
ⲁⲧ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ (SB)	sleepless
ⲁⲧ-ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲛ (S)	unshaking
ⲁⲧ-ⲛⲓⲟⲓⲣ (B)	unshakable, immovable
ⲁⲧ-ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲉ/ⲁⲑ-ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲉ (SB)	unbelieving
ⲁⲧ-ⲛⲟⲓⲭⲉ (S)	not cast
ⲁⲧ-ⲡⲱⲛⲉ (S)	immovable, unchangeable
ⲁⲧ-ⲡⲱⲣⲭ/ⲁⲑ-ⲡⲱⲣⲭ (SB)	undivided, indivisible
ⲁⲧ-ⲡⲓⲥⲉ (B)	unmollen
ⲁⲧ-ⲡⲱⲱ (S), ⲁⲧ-ⲡⲱⲱ	undivided, indivisible
ⲁⲧ-ⲡⲱⲓⲧ + ⲉⲃⲟⲕ (S)	not pouring
ⲁⲧ-ⲣⲓⲕⲉ (SB)	without turning, unwavering
ⲁⲧ-ⲥⲟⲟⲓⲛ (SB)	without knowledge
ⲁⲧ-ⲥⲱⲱⲓ (B), ⲁⲧ-ⲧⲱⲕⲙ (S)	undefiled
ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲓⲱⲛⲓ, ⲁⲑ-ⲟⲓⲱⲛⲓ (B)	unshown, invisible
ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲓⲱⲣⲓ (S)	unallowed, unremitted
ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲓⲱⲧⲉ, ⲁⲑ-ⲟⲓⲱⲧⲉ (B)	immutable
ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲓⲭⲁⲓ (S)	unsound, incurable
ⲁⲧ-ⲟⲓⲱⲟⲛ (S)	unbroken
ⲁⲧ-ⲡⲱⲛⲓ (B)	unalterable
ⲁⲧ-ⲱⲕⲙ (B)	without gloom
ⲁⲧ-ⲱⲡ (SB)	unesteemed
ⲁⲧ-ⲱⲱⲙ (SB)	unquenchedable, unseaked
ⲁⲧ-ⲱⲁⲛ (S)	unceasing
ⲁⲧ-ⲱⲓⲃⲉ (S)	unchanging, unaltered

ΑΤ-ΦΙΒΤ(B)	unchangeable
ΑΤ-ΦΑΗΛ(B)	without prayer
ΑΤ-ΦΩΝΕ(B)	without sickness
ΑΤ-ΦΙΠΕ(B)	unashamed
ΑΤ-ΦΩΩΤ(S)	uncut
ΑΤ-ΦΤΟΡΤΡ(SB)	unperturbed
ΑΤ-ΦΑΧΕ(SB)	speechless, unspeakable
ΑΤ-ΦΟΧΝΕ(SB)	being without counsel, ill-considered
ΑΤ-Φ-ΦΑΙ(B)	unbearable
ΑΤ-ΦΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ(S)	ineffaceable
ΑΤ-ΖΩΜ(B)	untrodden
ΑΤ-Ρ-ΖΗΜΕ(S)	unguided
ΑΤ-ΖΩΝ(S)	unapproachable
ΑΤ-ΖΙΝΗΕ(B)	without sleep
ΑΤ-ΨΩΝΤ(B)	unapproachable
ΑΤ-ΖΩΠ(S)	unhidden
ΑΤ-ΖΡΟΦ(S)	without weight
ΑΤ-ΖΙΣΕ(S), ΑΤ-ΨΙΣΙ(B)	unwearied, without difficulty
ΑΤ-ΖΙΤΕ(S), ΑΤ-ΨΑΤ(B)	unworn, untormented
ΑΤ-ΧΩ(S)	ineffable
ΑΤ-ΧΩΚ(SB)	without end
ΑΤ-Χ(Ε)ΝΑ(S), ΑΤ-ΘΕΝΟ(B)	unquenchable
ΑΤ-ΘΩΝΤ(B)	untried, untempted
ΑΤ-ΧΠΟQ(S)	unbegotten
ΑΤ-ΘΕΡΟ(B)	unlit
ΑΤ-ΧΡΟ/ΘΡΟ(S)	unconquerable
ΑΤ-ΧΩΡΠ	unimpeded
ΑΤ-ΧΩΖΗ(S), ΑΤ-ΘΩΨΕΗ(B)	undefiled
ΑΤ-ΧΑ(Α)ΧΕ(S)	not rough (hoarse)of voice
ΑΤ-ΘΟΜΘΕΗ(S)	untouchable
ΑΤ-ΧΙΝΙ(B)	not to be found
ΑΤ-ΘΩΝΤ(S), ΑΤ-ΧΩΝΤ(B)	unangered, not to be angered
ΑΤ-ΘΩΠΕ(S)	not to be taken
ΑΤ-ΘΡΩΖ(B)	without needs
ΑΤ-ΘΩΤΠ(SB)	without defeat, unconquered

2- ΑΤ + Noun

ΑΤ-ΑΠΕ	Headless
ΑΤ-ΑΡΙΚΕ	blameless
ΑΤ-ΑΥΕΙΝ	without cargo
ΑΤ-ΑΘΝΙ	stainless
ΑΤ-ΒΕΚΕ	wageless
ΑΤ-ΕΙΩΤ	fatherless

CONSTRUCTIONS WITH NEGATIVE PREFIX **ατ** IN THE COPTIC LANGUAGE

ατ-κωβ	without leaven
ατ-κροϙ(S), ατ-χροϙ(B)	guileless
ατ-λααγ(S)	without laking any
ατ-λοιθε(SB)	without cause
ατ-μαειν(B)	without mark
ατ-μααγ(SB)	without mother
ατ-μοογ(SB) αθ-μοογ	waterless
ατ-μαζτ(B)	without bowels of compassion
ατ-νηβ(B)	lordless
ατ-νομτε(B)	without strength
ατ-νεεϙ(S)	without sailor
ατ-νεζ, αθνεζ(SB)	oilless
ατ-οεικ	without bread
ατ-ρο /αθ-ρωϙ	mouthless, not speaking the language
ατ-κα/χα ρω (SB)	without leaving mouth shut
ατ-ρο	doorless
ατ-ρωμε(SB)	without man, friendless
ατ-†ραν(S)	unnamed
ατ-ρογζε	without evening
ατ-σμη(B)	voiceless, soundless
ατ-σμοτ	without form
ατ-σνοϙ(SB)	bloodless
ατ-σχυ(SB)	timeless
ατ-σζιμε(B)	wifeless
ατ-ογταζ(B)	fruitless
ατ-ογψη(S)	without night (sleep)
ατ-κπε(SB)	numberless
ατ-ϑαλ(S)	toothless
ατ-ϑαιε(B)	without end
ατ-ζαι(SB)	without a husband
ατ-ζιε(B)	rudderless
ατ-ζωβ(F)	without work
ατ-ζα(ε)ιβεϙ(S)	shadowless
ατ-ρ/ερ-ζοολε(B)	incomuptible, indestructible
ατ-ζαι(B)	without any
ατ-ζμοτ(SB)	graceless, thankless
ατ-ζνα(α)γ	state of being without property
ατ-ζαπ(S)	without(going to) law, in undertake-ngs to deliver,pay
ατ-†απ	not judging
ατ-ϑρε(B)	lacking food
ατ-ζατ, ατ-σνεζατ(B)	without money, payment
ατ-ζητ(SB)	without mind, senseless
ατ-ζοτε(S)	without fear

التراكيب ذات البادئة النافية في اللغة القبطية

شيماء عبدالستار أحمد

مدرس بكلية الألسن / جامعة الأقصر

الملخص

تتناول هذه الورقة البحثية البادئة النافية αT التي تدخل على الأسماء والأفعال لتكوّن اسمًا مجردًا منفيًا (صفة منفية) حيث أنه يوجد العديد من الأسماء المجردة تتكون من البادئة النافية αT . علاوة على ذلك، جميع الأسماء المجردة المنفية بالأداة αT ، تُلحق بها. في اللغة القبطية، هناك القليل من الصفات الحقيقية، ويرجع ذلك إلى أن الشكل القديم للغة كان غنيًا بأفعال الصفات، ويتم التعبير عن الصفة في القبطية عن طريق جملة الصلة أو الأسماء المرتبطة ببعضها من خلال أداة الإضافة N -. هذه الصفة تتبع اسمها في النوع (مذكر أو مؤنث). وقد تم إجراء تحليل لاستخدام البادئة السالبة في اللغة القبطية. حيث ينقسم استخدامها إلى مجموعتين: أولاً: البادئة النافية αT مع الأفعال، ثانياً: البادئة النافية αT مع الأسماء حيث تم توضيح الفارق في المعنى بين أصل الفعل والاسم وبين الكلمة المسبوق بـ αT وكذلك الأصل المصري القديم والديموطيقي لكل كلمة مع الشرح بأمثلة. الصفة المنفية، التي تتألف من البادئة النافية αT + الفعل أو الاسم، تتبع اسمها، لكنها ترتب معًا بأداة الإضافة N ، كما أن لها وظائف نحوية وصفية: تمثل المبتدأ أو الخبر في الجملة الأسمية، ويتم تقديم لمحة عامة عن الوظائف النحوية في الاستنتاجات. في الختام، تم عمل ملحقين بهم جميع الأسماء المجردة المنفية بـ αT طبقاً لما ورد في قاموس المفردات القبطي **Crum's Coptic Dictionary**، أحدهما للأفعال والآخر للأسماء، حيث نجد أن عدد الأفعال المتصلة بـ αT أكثر من الأسماء المتصلة بـ αT .

الكلمات الدالة: اللغة القبطية، النفي، بادئة، فعل، اسم، صفة، اللغة في العصر المتأخر، الديموطيقية.



RESTORATION & CONSERVATION

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NOTE ON THE RESTORATION OF FIVE EGYPTIAN MOSQUES

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NOTE ON THE RESTORATION OF FIVE EGYPTIAN MOSQUES

By

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the cultural loss of five Egyptian mosques in Egypt due to their renovation. While illicit digging, encroachment, and real estate unplanned development has damaged ancient Egyptian heritage, in particular in the last eleven years, Egypt has a long history of faulty restorations of Islamic monuments, which include demolition, wholesome reconstruction, and unhistorical additions. Few of the original early Islamic monuments survive today, the oldest being the Nilometer on Rawḍa Island (869 AD), which dates to two hundred years after the Arab conquest of Egypt. Interventions in the capital Cairo are often subjected to media coverage and the scrutiny of the public, but in the provinces, violations are widespread and many botched restorations go virtually unnoticed. This paper discusses five Egyptian provincial mosques whose more or less recent restoration has had catastrophic results on the original buildings: al-Mitwally mosque in Ğirġā (Sūhaġ), Qimn al-‘Arūs mosque (Bāni Sūayf), Zaġhlūl and al-Maḥally mosques in Rāšid (Baḥayra), al-‘Amry mosque in Dumiyāt. The paper will briefly describe the appearance of these buildings, discuss their history based on the few primary (including historical photographs and accounts) and secondary sources (literature in English and Arabic), and report on an eyewitness survey of their current state carried out between 2018 and 2020, after restorations that have wiped away many of their intricate historic details. The lack of coordination between the Ministry of Endowments and the Ministry of Antiquities and Tourism has resulted in renovation instead of restoration for these mosques. This does not only affect the Islamic heritage of rural Egypt, but the urban fabric around those mosques accordingly. In the conclusions, the author proposes a way forward to overcome problems in the coordination and execution of restoration works and guarantee the functionality of the buildings for the communities they serve without damaging their historical features. First, the author proposes an implemented code as an addendum to the antiquities law that is enforced on all companies working in conservation. Secondarily, workshops carried out by various academic boards and the Ministry of Antiquities and Tourism should discuss the concept of authenticity and how this should codify all future heritage practices.

KEYWORDS: Islamic heritage, Restoration, Mosques, Rāšid, Ğirġā, Dumiyāt.

I. INTRODUCTION

Damage and destruction of ancient Egyptian heritage caused by illicit digging, encroachment, and real estate unplanned development has been the focus of great attention in the last ten years¹. Approximately at the same period, increasing concern has been voiced out regarding the modern heritage of Cairo² and some of the largest Egyptian cities (Alexandria, al-Mansūra, Port Sa'īd)³. Nevertheless, there seems to be less concern about the dangers Islamic heritage has been facing in Cairo and even more in the provinces, where public scrutiny is easier to avoid. The situation seems to have two main reasons: the lack of proper regulations regarding restoration of historic buildings; the fact that restoration works are often carried out under the supervision of the Ministry of Endowments rather than the Ministry of Antiquities. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that even in the case the latter is supervising the works, large irregularities have been reported.

When it comes to Islamic monuments, Egypt has a long history of intrusive restorations, sometimes with an ideological agenda⁴. These eventually resulted in an accumulation of more or less legitimate additions or demolitions, rebuilding, and unhistorical reconstructions carried out for centuries, often wiping out any trace of the original building. It is quite telling, for example, that despite the fact that Islam entered the country in 641 AD, the oldest Islamic monument standing in its original form dates to more than two hundred years later: the Nilometer on Rawḍa Island (869). The oldest part of the famous mosque of 'Amrū bin al-'Aṣ in Historic Cairo, which claims primacy in Egypt, dates to the enlargement of 827, while the next oldest original Islamic monument is the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, dating to 884. Several venerated shrines throughout Cairo and Egypt have faced damaging restorations or complete reconstructions during the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century: al-Rifā'ī shrine (1869), al-Ḥusāin mosque (1874), and Sayida Zāinab mosque (1940) in Cairo alone. Other notable examples from outside the capital include Aḥmad al-Badawy mosque in Tanta (1975), al-'Aṭārīn mosque (end of the 19th century-beginning of the 20th century), Sīdy Ġābar mosque (1955) and Abū al-'Abbās al-Mursi mosque (1929-45), all in Alexandria. Heavy reconstruction work in the mosque of al-Zāhir Baībars in north-east Cairo started in the same worrisome direction in 2017, but is now at a halt.

¹ IKRAM & HANNA 2013: 34-39; HANNA 2013: 371-375; HANNA 2015: 47-64.

² DUQEIL 2020; ELSHAHED 2020.

³For example Save Mansoura (<https://www.facebook.com/SaveMansoura/>), Save Alex (<https://www.facebook.com/savealexeg/>), Egypt Heritage Task Force (<https://www.facebook.com/EgyptHeritageTaskForce/>; <https://www.facebook.com/CHEHRF/>).

⁴ ALSAYYAD 2005; SANDERS 2008.

Unfortunately, the trend is not over and extensive, unjustified demolitions are taking place all over the country. Being such a long-lasting and far-reaching phenomenon, affecting all urban spaces in Egypt, from monuments to domestic architecture, from parks to other public spaces, we can veritably speak of the disappearance of the historic Egyptian city. It is a tragedy that, if cannot be stopped, must be at least documented. I would like to present here some brief observations on five recent cases from the Governorates of Sūhaġ, Bani Sūayf, Baḥayra, and Dumiyat. Contrary to other more or less patent violations, these went virtually unnoticed and for this reason I believe it is important to report about them here.

II. AL-MITWALLY MOSQUE, ĞIRĠĀ (SŪHAĠ)

There is scarce information about this mosque, which was allegedly constructed by an Amīr Muḥammad Abū al-Sanūn in the 14th century. An inscription to the right of the original *miḥrāb* documented a renovation that was carried out in 1180 AH/ 1766 AD.⁵ The mosque collapsed already in the 19th century due to a series of devastating high Nile floods⁶ and lay in ruin until it was demolished in 1901/02. In 1947, the seat of the Ğirġā Religious Institute was built in its place; only the minaret was spared and is still standing. The latter is variably dated from the beginning of the 14th century to the beginning of the 17th century.

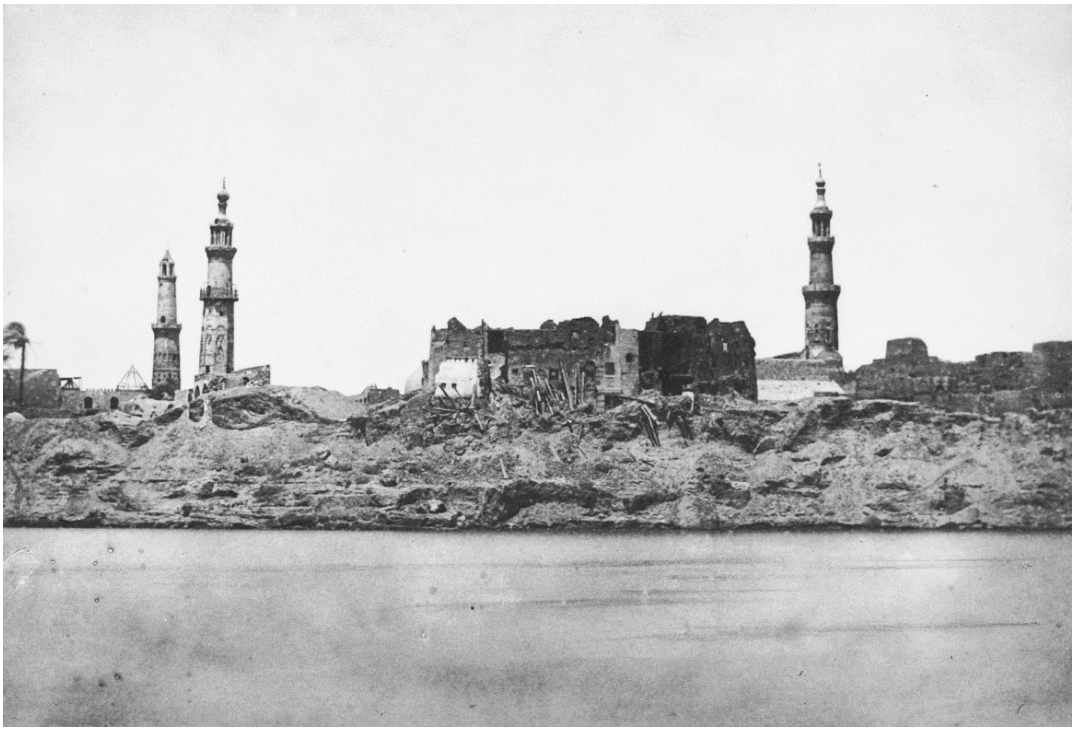
Maxime du Camp photographed the building in 1849-50 [FIGURE 1], when it was a few hundred meters from the river bank, but not much can be made of the mosque because it is behind a series of ruined buildings on the front line of the riverbank⁷. Only a portion of what looks like a white limestone wall can be made out. Another ruined mosque, that of ‘Aly Bey,⁸ with its own minaret, stands to the south, partly collapsed, the arcades around its ṣaḥn are clearly visible. In the background the minaret and the wooden dome of Šaiḥ Ġalāl mosque are visible. Another photo by Maxime du Camp [FIGURE 2] shows the mosque of ‘Aly Bey in the foreground and the mosque of al-Mitwally in the background: it was built with a low limestone wall, large pointed windows on the southern side, and recessed rectangular windows on the western side.

⁵ ‘UṬMĀN 1988: 220.

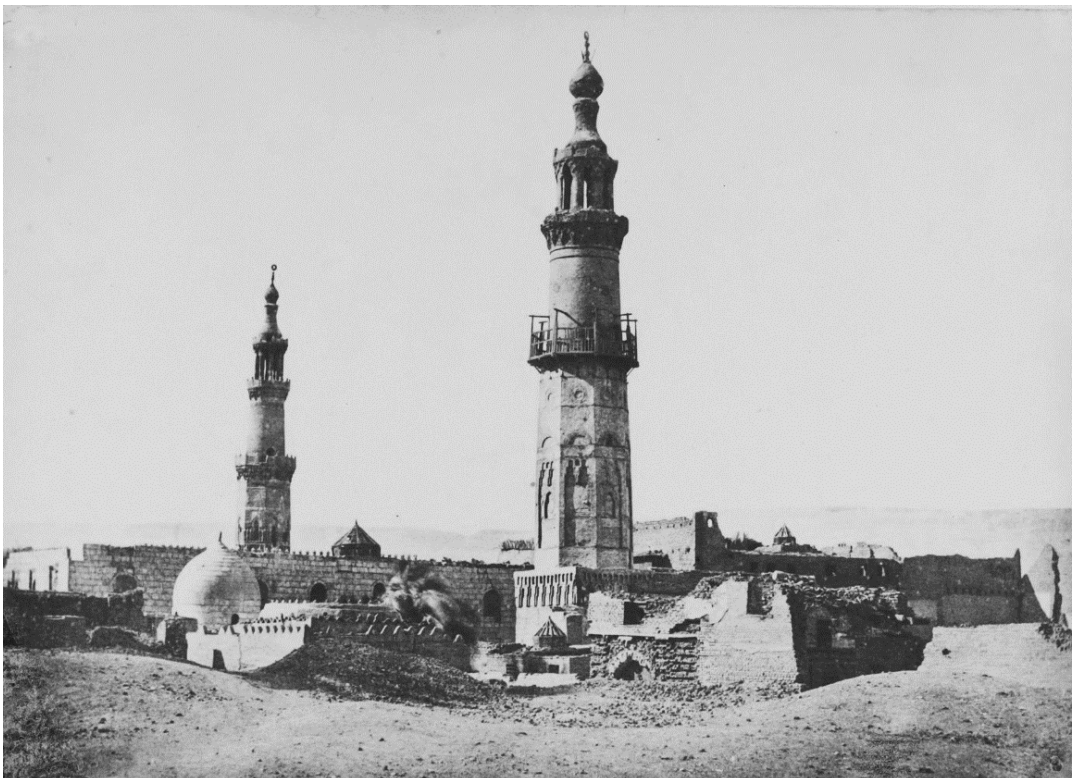
⁶ «Its numerous ma’d’nehs render its distant appearance rather imposing. Several of its mosques are very well built; and it contains extensive soo’cks. It suffers, like several other towns in Egypt, from the encroachments of the river during every successive inundation; large portions of the bank falling from the violence of the current, and from being saturated with water» LANE 2000: 274.

⁷ DU CAMP 1849-50b; DU CAMP 1849-50a.

⁸ The Turkish bath in town is also named after this man.



[FIGURE 1]: The mosque of al-Mitwally is to the right
Maxime du Camp, «Vue de Girgeh et du littoral enlevé - par l'inondation du Nil», 1849-50.



[FIGURE 2]: The mosque of al-Mitwally is to the left
«Maxime du Camp, Mosquée d'Ali-Bey, à Girgeh», 1849-50.



[FIGURE 3]: The mosque of al-Mitwally is in the background to the left
View of Ġirġa by Francis Firth, 1857.



[FIGURE 4]: The ruined mosque of al-Mitwally in a photograph from around 1865

Crenellations and a wooden pointed dome are also clearly visible. A photo by Francis Firth taken in 1857 [FIGURE 3] shows the same limestone building with large windows, crenellations, and the wooden dome still standing intact on the riverbank, which seems to have further approached. The mosque of ‘Aly Bey seems completely gone except for the minaret, which still stood at that time. Another photo, allegedly from 1865 [FIGURE 4], shows the al-Mitwally mosque now damaged: part of the exterior wall has collapsed and so the section of the two-aisled riwāq towards the Nile. Stone and brick arches, granite columns, and Corinthian capitals are clearly visible; one column reclines towards the eastern side. This is how Amelia Edwards described the building around 1874: «A ruined mosque with pointed arches, roofless cloisters, and a leaning column that must surely have come to the ground by this time, stands just above the landing-place. A hundred years ago, it lay a quarter of a mile from the river; ten years ago it was yet perfect; after a few more inundations it will be swept away»⁹.

What happens afterwards is less clear. By 1947 the mosque had been completely demolished and the bank of the Nile reclaimed and secured, while the site was used to build a large Islamic revival building. The old minaret was preserved and is now closed in a small irregular courtyard, protected by a metal door. At the base of the minaret there are some stone blocks, including a couple of Corinthian capitals, what looks like a decorated plinth, and a fragment of a column drum, undoubtedly from the original mosque [FIGURE 5]. Three more massive granite columns lay at the southern extremity of the enclosure wall of the Ğirġā Religious Institute, in the public square, until 2019 [FIGURE 6]¹⁰. During a site visit in September 2020, the wall had been rebuilt and the columns were no longer there. Thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad, Inspector of Islamic Archaeology, I was informed that at least one of the columns had been deposited on the ground in front of the mosque of al-Sitt Salma. If this arrangement¹¹ is certainly better than dumping the columns in a landfill, as it appeared after a first investigation, it must be said that it is not ideal as the column is exposed to the elements, the risks of further destruction, and perhaps complete loss. There is no trace of the other two columns that used to belong to the mosque of al-Mitwally. While someone might argue that these columns are not of outstanding architectural importance, I should want to stress that all heritage is relevant and deserves protection. The al-Mitwally columns are an important part of Ğirġā’s heritage as they testify the presence of nearby ancient buildings easily accessible and the practice

⁹ EDWARDS 1877: CHAP. 7.

¹⁰ Courtesy of Dr. Muḥammad Qināwy.

¹¹Other ancient columns are scattered around the city: three marble columns and a fragmentary limestone shaft half buried on the side of the Chinese mosque; a trunk of a limestone column outside mosque al-Faḡara; another fragment of a column at the corner between the Chinese mosque street and Faḡrī ‘Abd al-Nūr Street.

in Islamic architecture well into the Ottoman period to reuse older architectural elements.



[FIGURE 5]: Graeco-Roman spolia at the base of the minaret of al-Mitwally (©Monica Hanna 2020)



[FIGURE 6]: Three granite columns from the destroyed mosque of al-Mitwally dumped by the Ğirĝā Religious Institute (Photo courtesy Dr. Muḥammad Qināwy)

III. QIMN AL-‘ARŪS MOSQUE, BANI SŪAĪF

There is no information about this mosque, which used to exist in the village of Qimn al-‘Arūs, in the Bani Sūayf Governorate. Otto Meinardus includes the village in his gazetteer of Christian holy sites as the place where St. Anthony the Great was born in the third century¹². He mentions «*a large rectangular mosque, at one time a church*» with «*a few ancient columns, which, according to the testimony of the villagers, belonged to the ancient Church of Saint Anthony*»¹³ in the courtyard. I visited in January 2020 to verify Meinardus’ claims and found out that the mosque had been recently renovated under the supervision of the Ministry of Endowments. Members of the local community confirmed the existence of spolia but added that they had been discarded during the «restoration». The current mosque is a modern construction of no historical value. No other documentation was available on this building.

IV. ZAĠHLŪL MOSQUE, RĀŠID

This was one of the largest mosques in Egypt (91 x 48 m), competing in size with al-Azhar in Cairo. The irregular plan of the building betrayed a series of enlargements and modifications [FIGURE 7]. While the core of the mosque is dated to the Mamluk period, a first expansion to the south and to the west by the eponymous al-Ḥaġ Zaġhlūl, a Mamluk belonging to an Amīr Hārūn, is recorded in 1549¹⁴. More work was carried out in 1577, while the eastward expansion of the mosque was funded by al-Ḥaġ Muḥy al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir in 1587¹⁵. By that time, the mosque was divided into two large sections, or rather it was two different mosques altogether, both with its own ṣaḥn, miḥrāb, and minaret: an eastern part called al-Dīwānī and a western part called after Zaġhlūl¹⁶. The mosque was conspicuous, like much of the Ottoman architecture of the city¹⁷, in its reuse of granite and marble bases, columns, and capitals from Late Roman buildings. Most of the architecture was constructed in maṅḡr bricks, with shallow Ottoman-style domes, and four-centered asymmetrical arches resting on piers crowned by seemingly undecorated wooden impost blocks. The asymmetry of the arcades was due to the employment of columns of different heights and sizes.

At the end of the 18th century, the mosque was still in relatively good shape and was described in these terms by the Napoleonic *savants*: «*Nous avons tâché de prendre une idée de la principale mosquée de Rosette, autant du moins que les préjugés du pays ont pu nous le*

¹² MEINARDUS 2002: 209.

¹³ MEINARDUS 2002: 209.

¹⁴ AMIN 2008: 154.

¹⁵ AMIN 2008: 154.

¹⁶ MAHIR 1966: 141-42.

¹⁷ «None of the mosques are remarkable for beauty of architecture; though containing many granite columns taken from ancient edifices», LANE 2000: 50.

*permettre, puisque nous n'avons point eu la faculté d'y entrer. Son minaret s'élève avec grâce au milieu des airs; il est à quatre étages ou rangs de balustres. La mosquée est très vaste; mais elle n'offre point dans son plan une forme régulière: des rangées de petites colonnes à côté de grosses en décorent l'intérieur. Tout le pavé est recouvert de nattes. Dans une construction attenante à la mosquée sont des privés, et des piscines ou les dévots musulmans font leurs ablutions avant la prière. Il y a en outre d'autres bassins destinés aux mêmes usages: l'eau qui les remplit est assez malpropre, et ne m'a point paru rester souvent renouvelée. Les croisées de la mosquée sont fermées par des beaux grillages en fer d'un fort bon travail, apporté de Constantinople».*¹⁸

It was still described as standing at the end of the 19th century, here in the unenthusiastic words of the Baedeker guide: «Numerous columns from edifices of the heathen and Christian periods, many of them of granite and some of marble, are seen lying in various open spaces, particularly one of considerable size near the river, and a number of others are built into the houses. The very spacious mosque of Sakhlun is embellished with many ancient columns, but is otherwise uninteresting».¹⁹

Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb describes it as a «ruin» already in 1955.²⁰ Satellite imagery shows that in 2003 a large portion of the arcades supporting the domes of the western mosque had collapsed [FIGURE 9A], the exposed floor being invaded with high vegetation and water; photographs appearing in media reports confirm the poor state of preservation of the building with extensive loss of plaster and the collapse of several walls. The eastern mosque, on the other hand, seemed relatively intact, with the exception of the single-bay riwāq towards the western mosque, which appeared demolished and replaced by a new wall closing off the western side of the ṣaḥn. Restoration work was carried out by The Arab Contractors under the supervision of both the Ministry of Endowments and the Ministry of Antiquities in 2008²¹.

Satellite imagery from July 2009 shows the construction site after most of the structure had been pulled down (with the exception, perhaps, of the perimetral walls): sand and steel bars are on the ground, while concrete beams outline the squared partitions of the prayer hall [FIGURE 9B]. By January 2012 the seemingly intact eastern mosque had also been completely demolished and the area is now abandoned [FIGURE 9C].

The western mosque was inaugurated in 2018. While the building retained its overall plan, including the position of the ṣaḥn and of the arcades, all the 244 ancient columns have been replaced by an equal number of new, standardized, polished Carrara-marble one with Corinthian capitals. They have no resemblance with the old ones in any possible way [FIGURE 8/A - B]. Further violations of restoration practice include:

¹⁸ JOLLOIS 1826: 523.

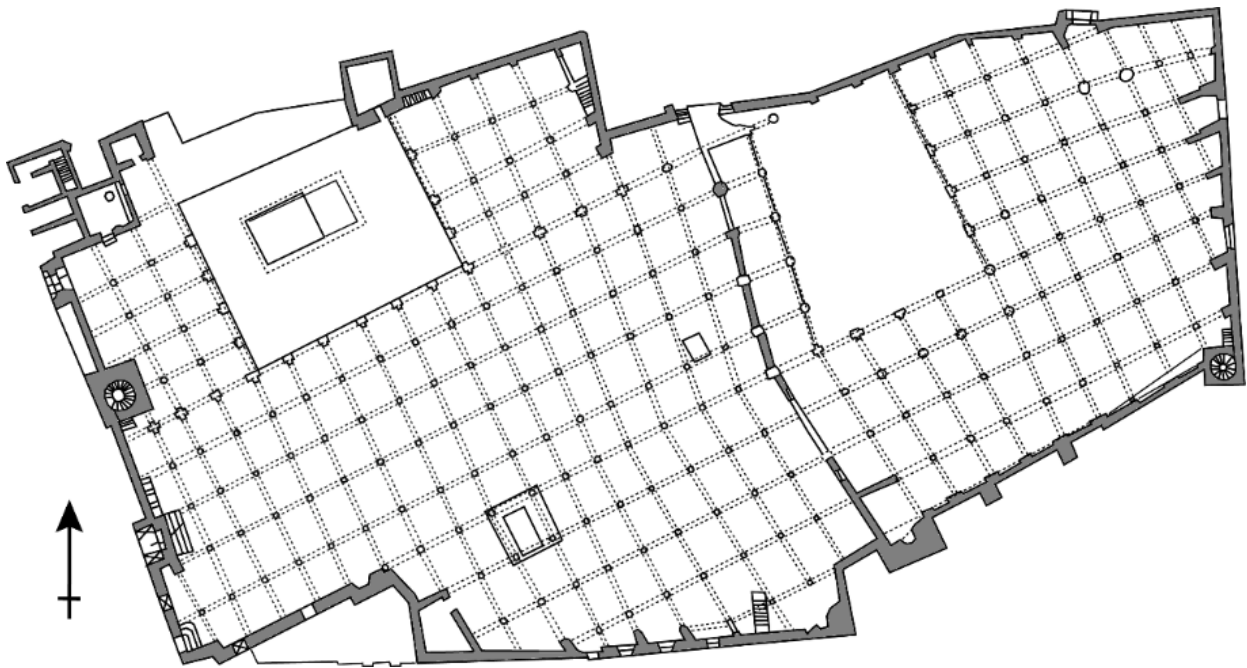
¹⁹ BAEDEKER 1885: 449.

²⁰ 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB 1956-57: 35.

²¹ «Ministers of Awqaf and Antiquities» 2018.

patching the lower part of the minaret with new stones covering the existing ones that were in a good state of preservation; the elimination of the transition between the square lower part of the tower and the octagonal recessed part on top of it; the faulty restoration of both *mihrābs* without taking into account the original, extremely elaborate, plaster decoration, instead using simple manḡūr bricks.

More than a restoration, this was a case of complete rebuilding, to the point that only few original elements of the historic mosque are still visible: a plaque with a dedicatory inscription by the entrance and part of a *tuluṭ* inscription on a wooden beam of the *dikkaṭ al-muballiḡ*.



[FIGURE 7]: Plan of the Zaḡhlūl mosque. Amin 2008: 157



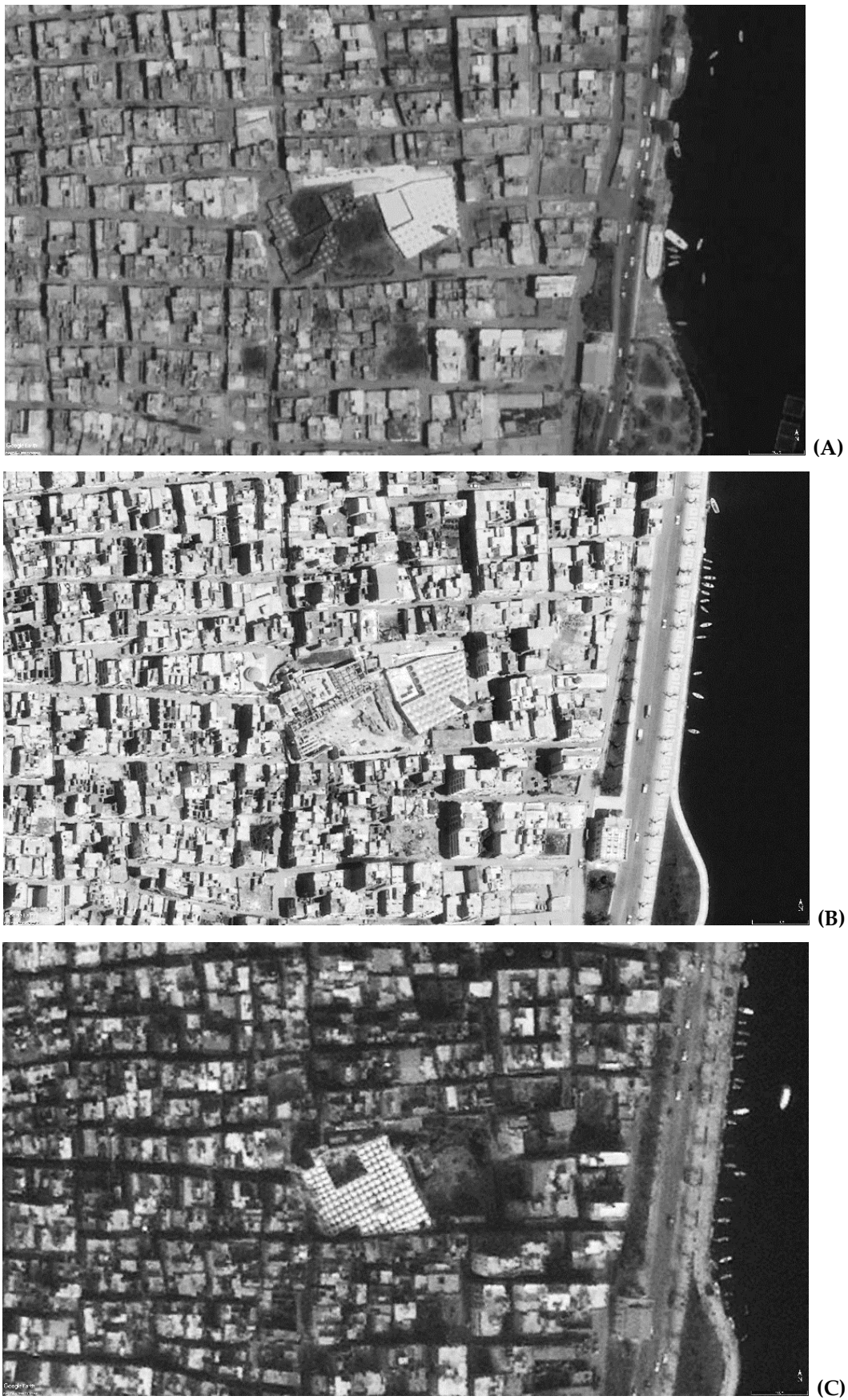
(A)



(B)

[FIGURE 8]: (A) The Zağhlūl mosque in an undated photograph before restoration (©Google Maps 2017). (B) the Zağhlūl mosque after restoration (©Monica Hanna 2018)

NOTE ON THE RESTORATION OF FIVE EGYPTIAN MOSQUES



[FIGURE 9]: (A) The Zaghlul mosque in 2003. (B) 2009 & (C) 2012. (©Google Earth 2020)

V. AL-MAḤALLY MOSQUE, RĀŠID

This mosque is in the center of Rāšid and covers an extensive area. The eponymous founder, al-Sayd ‘Aly al-Maḥally, died in 1495, but most documents belong to much later periods. The minbar mentions a certain Aḥmad Ni‘mat Allāh, who is credited with some renovation work in 1134 AH/AD 1721. Work on the dome in the hands of al-Ḥaḡ ‘Aly Tabaq is recorded in 1845.²² At the centre of the mosque is a *ṣaḥn*, surrounded by four *ārūqa*; the southern one, with seven aisles, is the *riwāq al-qibla* and hosts a domed mausoleum decorated with Iznik tiles. The roof is supported by 99 re-used columns of different materials and size, arguably from the Late Antique period. The minaret had a square base, an octagonal shaft, a ribbed cylindrical shaft above the *mū’adīn* balcony, and a bulbous top. The entrances are decorated with *manḡūr* brick patterns and square Kufic inscriptions.

In 1993 al-Ḥuṣary & Abū al-Ḥaṭāb Company replaced four columns, rebuilt all arches and refitted the ceiling with new wooden beams. Otherwise, recent preservation reports describe the mosque as in a good state, only suffering from humidity and salt in the lower part of the walls. Restoration work resumed around 2011 and the mosque has been closed to the public since. By 2018 all plaster in the outer walls had been removed, the bricks cleaned, and at least one of the gates was restored;²³ the minaret was enveloped by scaffoldings. Images from the same year show that the floor of the mosque was flooded with water and in 2020 it was still inaccessible, to the frustration of the local community. While the restoration of this mosque drags to extensive lengths, there are some very negative trends. Plans are for the complete removal of the original columns as in the Zaḡhlūl mosque and their substitution with standardized, brand-new ones with alien materials that belie the original appearance of the building. Most worrisome is the demolition, without apparent reason and documented in July 2019, of the top of the minaret above the *mū’adīn* balcony [FIGURES 10A and 10B].

VI. AL-‘AMRY MOSQUE, DUMIYĀT

This mosque in Dumiyāt claims to be an ancient foundation from the time of the Arab conquest of Egypt and consequently takes the name of al-‘Amry. It is one of the few buildings, if not the only one, from Old Dumiyāt, before the city was razed to the ground and moved to the south by Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars in the middle of the 13th century. The mosque plan was roughly squared, built around a *ṣaḥn* with two-aisle *ārūqa* to the north, east and west, and a four-aisle one to the south, where the trefoil *manḡūr* brick entrance

²² AMIN 2008: 122-125.

²³ HEMEDA et AL. 2018: 844.



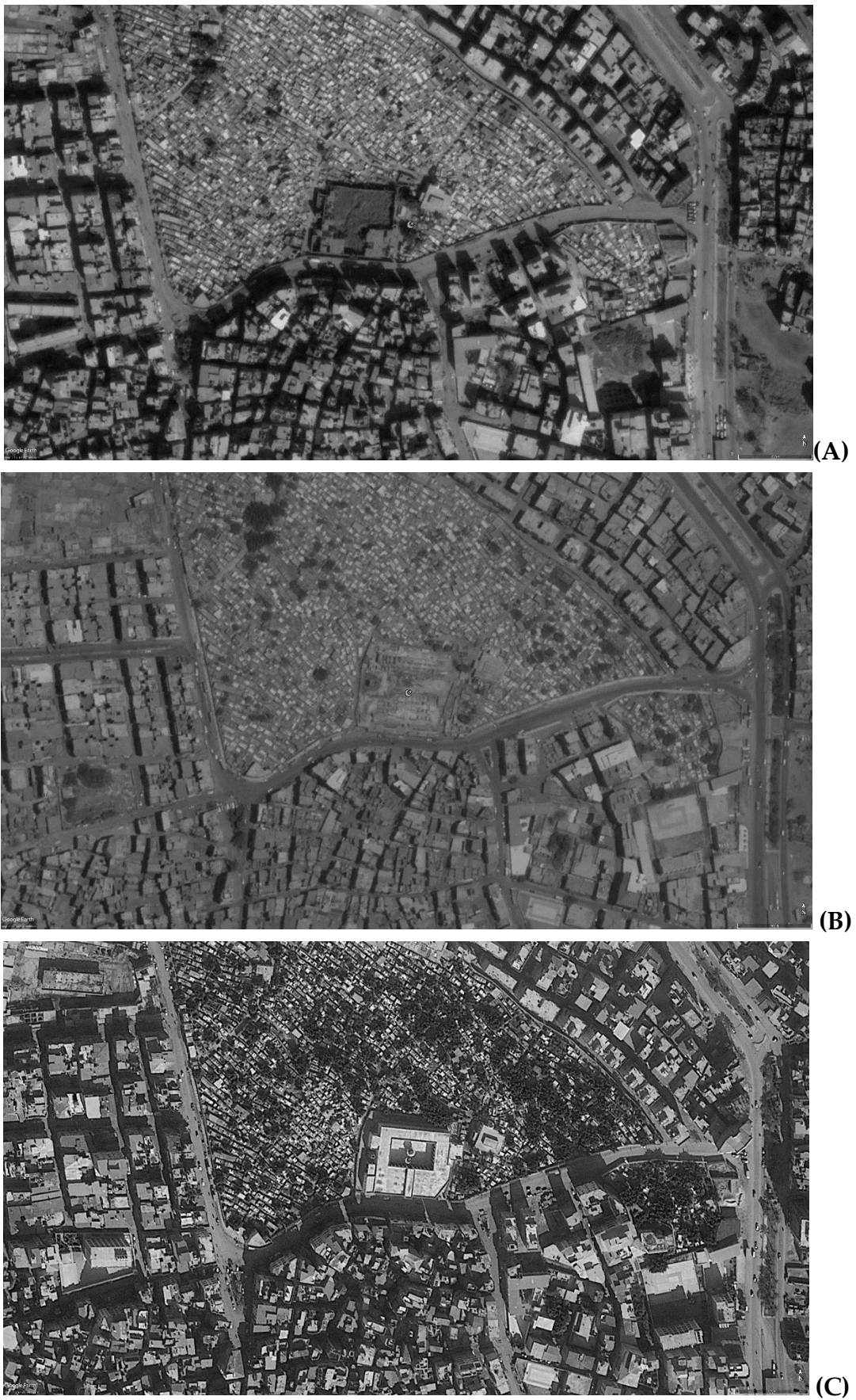
(A)

(B)

[FIGURE 10]: The minaret of al-Mahally mosque in 2018 (a) and in July 2019 (b) (©Monica Hanna 2018-2019)

Was located in a recess. The fired brick construction made extensive use of Roman and Late Antique columns of different stones, alternating them with brick and stone piers. The mosque was still in use at the end of the 19th century, when it is described in these terms by Carl Baedeker: «An interesting excursion may be made to the mosque of El-Gebâneh, situated near a cemetery, to the N. of the town. The building appears to date from the period of the old town of Damietta, and has Cufic inscriptions in front. The interior contains numerous columns dating from the Roman period, the bases of which are about 90 cm. below the level of the pavement of the nave. Two of the columns bear curious inscriptions. Some of the shafts are of beautiful verde antico, and others of porphyry. The capitals, including several in the Corinthian style, are partly of Roman and partly of Byzantine workmanship. Two columns standing on the same base are believed, like those in the Mosque of 'Amr at Cairo, to possess miraculous powers. (Fever-patients, for example, are said to be cured by licking one of them.) The minaret is embellished with early Arabian ornamentation».²⁴

²⁴ BAEDEKER 1885: 444.



[FIGURE 11]: (A) Satellite images of al-'Amry mosque in Dumiyat in 2004; (B) in 2007; (C) in 2013
(©Google Earth 2020)

Photos by Creswell at the beginning of the following century show some important signs of neglect, especially in the *ārūqa* [FIGURE 13], while most of the wood roofing seems to be still in place.²⁵ Wooden props are seen securing some of the structures and loss of plaster is widespread. The minaret must have collapsed sometime after Creswell shot it and only the fired brick square lower part remains now, with a setback top and the base of the octagonal shaft [FIGURES 14 and 15]. A Late Antique marble column with a Corinthian capital remains embedded in the south-west corner.

Several restorations took place later in the 20th century: in the second half of the 1980s under the surveillance of the Supreme Council of Antiquities; an intensive restoration done between 2004 and 2010 by The Arab Contractors;²⁶ a last intervention in 2018-2019 under the supervision of the Ministry of Endowments.²⁷ Satellite imagery shows the evolution of the building in the last twenty years [FIGURE 11A, B, and C]. In 2004, most of the building had already collapsed: all of the *ārūqa* around the *ṣaḥn* are down with the exception of the southern one, whose central part is completely on the ground and so are some sectors of the flat roofs to the east and the west. In 2007 there is no mosque: the whole structure, including the perimetral walls, has been demolished. Once again, instead of trying to salvage as much as possible of the old structure, the “restoration” process entailed the demolition of the old structure and the rebuilding of it roughly on the same lines. The new mosque follows more or less the same plan, with a main entrance to the south and a secondary gate to the west; this one roofed by an extensive porch. It nevertheless deviate from the original building in many elements: all ancient columns were removed and substituted by standardized, marble Corinthian columns, while the original mixture of columns and piers was abandoned for an all-column structure; the crenellation of the perimetral walls as well as of the *ṣaḥn* wall is arbitrary as there is no indication from the oldest photographic record of how they looked like; the entrance gate bears no resemblance with the one photographed with Creswell, which had an elaborately plastered trefoil semi-dome with wooden beams engaged in the *maṅḡūr* brick masonry; the biggest loss seems that of the *miḥrāb*, which photos by Creswell show framed by two slim marble columns with Corinthian capitals, a very elaborate plaster niche is crowned by a keel arch squared by an intricated frame of bricks. The new *miḥrāb* is framed by a different kind of columns, crowned by a pointed arch, and decorated by vertical stripes of red, black, and white marble. Of the original columns supporting the arcades, six marble columns were moved, standing with their Corinthian capitals (except for one), in the east area outside the mosque, while four other granite shafts and other marble architectural pieces were left on the ground in the northern fenced area outside the mosque (FIGURE 12). Other than this,

²⁵ CRESWELL 1900.

²⁶ «Inauguration of Amr Ibn El-Aas 2009»; «Inauguration of the Restoartion [sic]» 2009.

²⁷ Oral information from Mr Tāmar al-Rā'y, October 2020.

the only visible original part of the mosque is a Kufic inscription carved on a wooden beam in the southern wall and what is left of the lower part of the minaret.



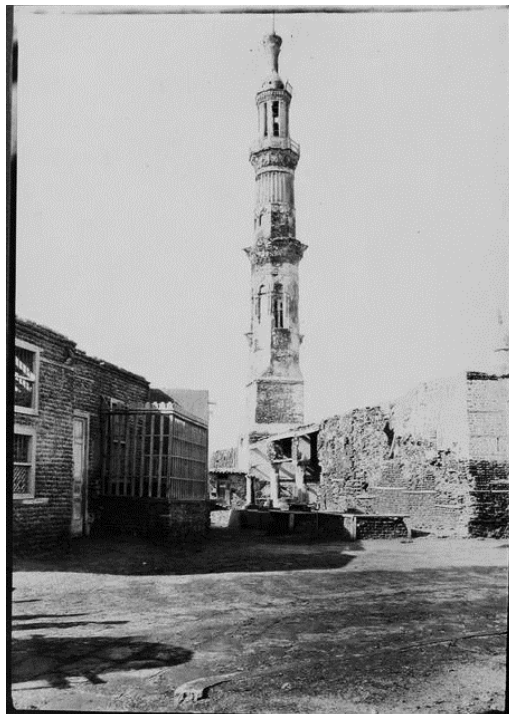
[FIGURE 12]: Roman granite columns and marble capitals at al-'Amry mosque in 2020

VII. CONCLUSIONS

The Islamic Heritage outside of Cairo is subjected to great dangers and potential of loss of authenticity. There is lack of attention by the different stakeholders to follow-up on the conservation procedures, while the documentation is often inaccessible to the public. This is amplified by the lack of a conservation code that is adopted by the Ministries of Endowments and of Antiquities and Tourism. The irreparable loss of heritage that composes Egypt's rural architectural assets affects future potential of economic development of these different cities. Most plans for future sustainable development using heritage in Egypt focus on enlarging the touristic map to have a widened scale for revenue for small and medium enterprises. Egyptian and foreign tourists would rather visit a mosque restored to its old glamour than one that looks newly built. This further affects the heritage urban fabric, discouraging individuals to conserve their old buildings since the city's mosque also has undergone sweeping renewing works; individuals' idea of restoration and rebuilding becomes to completely create a new building. The culture regarding architectural conservation must change through an implemented code as an addendum to the antiquities law that is enforced on all companies working in conservation. With this only, we can conserve Egypt's historic heritage to future generations. There should also be workshops carried out by the different academic boards involved and the Ministry of Antiquities and Tourism to discuss the concept of authenticity and how this should codify all future heritage practices.



[FIGURE 13]: al-'Amry mosque in Dumiyāt in a photo by Creswell at the beginning of the 20th century



[FIGURE 14]: al-'Amry mosque minaret in a photo by Creswell at the beginning of the 20th century



[FIGURE 15]: al-'Amry mosque minaret in 2020

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تعليق على ترميم خمس مساجد مصرية

مونیکا سمير حنا

الأكاديمية العربية للعلوم والتكنولوجيا والنقل البحري

الملخص

يناقش هذا البحث الخسارة الثقافية لخمسة مساجد مصرية في أقاليم مصر نتيجة عمليات الترميم بها يضم البحث السجلات التاريخية المختلفة التي وصفت أهمية تلك المساجد وكيف أن الترميم الحديث قضى على الكثير من تفاصيلها التاريخية . يوضح البحث من وجهة نظر ادارة التراث غياب التنسيق بين وزارة الأوقاف ووزارة الآثار والسياحة لعمليات الترميم التي تتم للتجديد وليس للترميم بهذه المساجد التاريخية، هذا لا يؤثر فقط على التراث الإسلامي لريف مصر، بل يؤثر أيضًا على النسيج العمراني حول تلك المساجد .تناقش هذه الورقة مساجد المتولي في جرجا، قمن العروس في بني سويف، المحلي وزغول في رشيد.

الكلمات الدالة: التراث الإسلامي، الآثار الإسلامية، الترميم، المساجد.