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THE SITULA OF PA-DI-AMUN-NEB-NESUT-TAWY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM Nº.EA 38214

BY

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ABSTRACT

[EN] Situla vessels were common among bronze objects in the New Kingdom, the Late Period and the Greco-Roman Period. This paper examines a bronze situla, or bucket of the priest *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy*, preserved in the British Museum Inv. Nº. BM. EA 38214. It was found in Thebes and dates to the early Ptolemaic Period. This situla has not been fully published, though it has significant scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions on its surface. The paper tackles the description of the situla vessel and the two scenes depicted. It also studies all its hieroglyphic inscriptions, including the libation formula. It comments on the deceased's titles and aims to provide an accurate genealogy of his family. Moreover, the paper includes a paleographical note of the signs inscribed on the surface of the object.

KEYWORDS: Amun, libation formula, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, Pa-khar-khonsu, scribe of the oracle, situla vessel.

[AR] **ستيولا بادي-أمون-نب-نسوت-تاوي بالمتحف البريطاني [EA83214]**

تعد أواني الستيولا أحد الأواني البرونزية الشائعة في مصر في عصر الدولة الحديثة، والعصر المتأخر وحتى العصرين البطلمي والروماني. تتناول هذه الورقة البحثية أحد أواني الستيولا الخاصة بالكاهن بادي-أمون-نب-نسيوت-تاوي والمحفوظة بالمتحف البريطاني في لندن تحت رقم [BM. EA 38214] والتي تم العثور عليها في طيبة، وتؤرخ هذه الستيولا بأوائل العصر البطلمي. لم تحظ هذه الستيولا بنشر تفصيلي كامل من قبل على الرغم من روعة المناظر والنقوش المنفذة على سطحها. وسوف يتناول هذا البحث عدة عناصر تتمثل في وصف الستيولا والمنظرين الموجودين عليها، كما ستدرس كل النقوش الهيروغليفية الموجودة على سطحها، متضمنة الصيغة المعروفة بصيغة سكب ماء التطهير. كما سوف يتم التعليق على ألقاب المتوفى صاحب الإناء وألقاب أبنه، كذلك سوف تضع تسلسل صحيح لنسب أسرته، كما تضمن البحث بعض الملاحظات الخطية لشكل العلامات المنقوشة على سطح الأداة والتغيرات المختلفة التي طرأت عليها.

الكلمات الدالة: أمون، إناء الستيولا، باخار-خونسو. بادي-أمون-نب-نيسوت-تاوي، صيغة الإراقة، كاتب الوحي.

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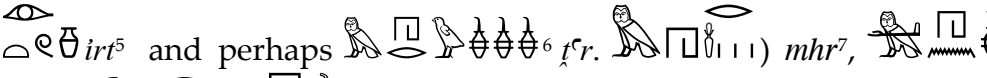
I. INTRODUCTION

The situla or «bucket[1]» was one of the distinguished types of vessels in ancient Egypt. The earliest evidence of a situla as a hieroglyphic sign dates to the reign of *Amenemhat* II. It was found among the other cult objects dedicated by the king to the temples of *Hathor* and *Nephthys* in the nineteenth Nome of Upper Egypt[2]. Many documented words refer to this kind of vessel since the 18th dynasty:

wšm[3], 
wšb[4],
irt[5] and perhaps
[6] *ṯr*.
) *mhr*[7],
,
mhn[8] and
,
hɜr[9].

The word «situla» is derived from a common Latin word, whose root is **σίτλα** (sítla)[10], from which the Arabs took the name «satel», «in Arabic سطل». It is a metal vessel used for drinking water and takes a shape close to the situla vessel. The situla under study belongs to Lichtheim's type I group of situla vessels (PL.4, 10) with rounded bases.

II. DESCRIPTION

Inv. Nº. BM. EA38214
Provenance: Thebes (Upper Egypt)
Date: Ptolemaic period
Dimensions:
Diameter: 23 cm
Height: 60.50 cm
Length: 30.50 cm
Preservation: Excellent condition

[1] MARTINEZ 2018: CAT.113, 224.
[2] LICTHEIM 1947: 170.
[3] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb* 1926: vol.1, 374 (1-3); PETRIE 1937: PL.45/12; MONNET 1952: 97-98.
[4] PETRIE 1937: PL.45/11; LESKO 2002:114.
[5] CAUVILLE 1928-1983: 137.
[6] EVRARD-DERRIKS & QUAEGEBEUR 1979: 46-48, Nº.d.
[7] SETHE 1909*: Urk,* vol.4, 12, 15,172, 743; LICTHEIM 1947: 173.
[8] DARESSY 1917: 83.
[9] MESNIL DU BUISSON 1935: 11.
[10] WIKTION 2023: https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/situla#Derived_terms, accessed on (15/09/ 2023).

A **B**

[FIGURES 1/A-B]: A. The first scene of the situla of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy Inv. Nº. BM. EA 38214»; B. The second scene of the situla of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy Inv. Nº. BM. EA 38214). «Situla», https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA38214, accessed on (20/10/2023).

This bronze situla of *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy* represents type I based on Lictheim's classification. Its body takes a cylindrical or oval shape[11]. The diameter of its lower part is wider than that of its upper part. Two hanging rings are usually welded to the handle on opposite sides of the bowl spout. This vessel has two levels of decoration. The upper level is longer than the lower and contains two main scenes of the deceased. The lower part only has decorations without inscriptions. Moreover, a frieze of horizontal hieroglyphic inscriptions surrounds the vessel and separates the upper and the lower levels[12]. The text lists the owner's numerous priestly titles in Karnak in the service of the god *Amun-Ra* and his consort goddess *Mut*[13]. The decoration and inscription encircle the outer surface of the vessel, leaving the rim and the base free. Thus, a central area is formed, with a strip of stars at the top and a horizontal line of hieroglyphic inscriptions below[14]. The British Museum also has the situla of *Hor*, the son of *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy*. He was the younger brother of *Pa-Khar-Khonsu* Nº.EA 38212. It belongs to the same type I group[15] **[FIGURES 1/A-B].**

On the lower band of our situla, a lotus flower is depicted, from which the world emerges, symbolizing the daily rebirth of the sun-god[16]. Likewise, a child is depicted sitting on the lower register on the situlae of Saqqara on a lotus flower between two cows in a papyrus thicket[17].

[11] EVRARD-DERRIKS & QUAEGEBEUR 1979: 30.
[12] LICTHEIM 1947: 175.
[13] MUSEO CIVICO 1990: 173-174 [120].
[14] LICTHEIM 1947: 175; MARTINEZ 2018: 224; BUDKA& MEKIS 2022: 13.
[15] BUDKA&MEKIS 2022: 13-14, FIG.5b-e.
[16] GREEN 1987: 66.
[17] GREEN 1987: 70, FIG.102 (165).

1. The First Scene

The first scene on the vessel's surface represents the deceased seated before an offering table topped with loaves of bread and jars of wine below. *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy* carries the *xrp*-sceptre. He wears an elaborate pleated and fringed garment, whose sash is inscribed with one of his titles *it nṯr ḥm-nṯr n ỉmn m ỉpt-swt*, «the godfather and the priest of *Amun* in Karnak». His neck is adorned with a broad collar and carries the *ḫrp*-sceptre. Beneath his lion-footed chair squats a monkey[18], probably a pet but also symbolically a guarantee of the deceased's sexual prowess in the afterlife[19]. In front of the deceased stands his son *Pa-khar-khonu*, wearing a long kilt, burning incense and making libation above an offering table bearing representations of loaves of bread and a *ḳbḥ*-vessel[20] **[FIGURE 2].**

[FIGURE 2]: The first scene: Pa-khar-khonsu burns incense and makes libation before his father Nº. BM. EA 38214. «Situla», https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA38214, accessed on (20/10/2023).

[18] TAPPETI N.D: 319-320, FIGS.108-109.

[19] WALKER & HIGGS 2001: 114, Nº.139.

[20] «Situla», https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA38214, accessed on (20/10/ 2023).

2. The Second Scene

In the second scene, *Osiris* is depicted as a *ḏd*-pillar , wearing the *ȝtf*-crown surrounded by two cobras and carrying a crook and flail . He is flanked by his two sister goddesses. On the left, the goddess *Isis* places on her head the sign and on the right, the goddess *Nephthys* takes the sign [21]. Both pour water from *ḫbḥ*-vessel for the deceased's human-headed *bȝ*-bird, who receives the water with his two raised hands to drink. In the accompanying texts, the goddesses offer protection and liquid refreshment to the deceased. The petals of the lotus around the base of the situla perhaps refer to the watery contents of the situla **[FIGURE 3]**[22].

[FIGURE 3]: The second scene: Isis and Nephthys around Osiris as a Dd-pillar «BM. EA 38214». «Situla», https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA38214, accessed on (20/10/ 2023).

3. The Inscriptions of the First Scene

The inscriptions accompanying the first scene are divided into two parts. The first belongs to *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy* and consists of four vertical lines. The hieroglyphic inscriptions are inscribed above and behind his head and are bordered by incised lines. They run from right to left. The second part belongs to his son *Pa-khar-khensu* and consists of nine vertical lines inscribed above and behind him, which are bordered by incised lines. They run from left to right. The text here contains the libation formula.

[21] The situla of Bruxcle, where Osiris is depicted instead of the Djed pillar, see: BLOK 1930: 205-218; WERBROUCK 1934: PL.67; DE MEULENAERE 1959: 247-249; BALTY 1988: 33.

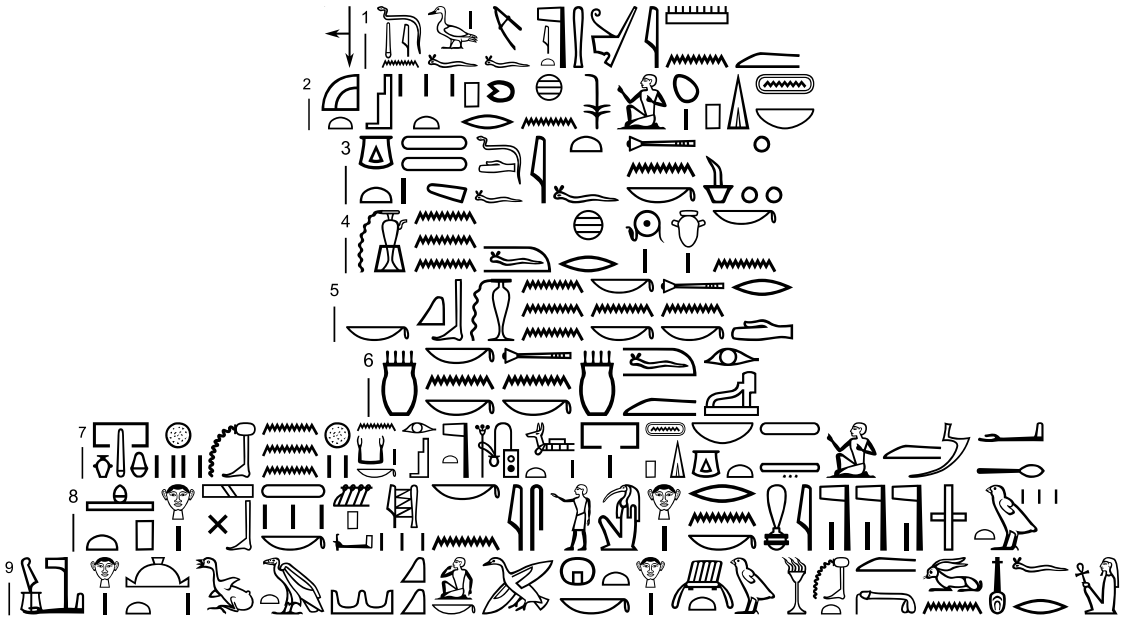
[22] ANDREWA 1998: 188-191, 196. Nº.61.

A. **The Text of Pa-Di-Amun-Neb-Nesut-Tawy**

1. *Wsỉr mry nṯr*
2. *ḥm-nṯr* (*n*) *ỉmn m ỉpt-swt*
3. *sš bỉɜt* (*n*) *pr-ỉmn*
4. *Pɜ-dỉ-ỉmn-nb-nswt-tɜwy mɜʿ-ḫrw ḫr psḏt ʿɜt*

1. *Osiris,* the beloved god
2. The priest of *Amun* in *Karnak*
3. The scribe of oracle[(a)] of the Temple of *Amun*
4. *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy*[(b)] justified before the great Ennead

B. The Text of Pa-Khar-Khensu



1. *ḏd mdw ỉn sɜ.f mr.f ỉt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr n ỉmn m*
2. *ỉpt-swt Pɜ-ḫɜr-ḫnsw sɜ Pɜ-dỉ-ỉmn-nb*
3. *Nswt-tɜwy ḏd.f* (*n*) *ỉt.*(*f*) *mn n.k snṯr*
4. *ḳbḥ prj ḫr Rʿ ỉb.k n.*
5. *k ḳbḥ.k n.k mn.n.k rḏw.*
6. *k n.k mn n.k rḏw prj m Wsỉr.*
7. *Prt-ḫrw sp S wʿb sp-snw n kɜ.k Wsỉr sš bỉɜt pr-ỉmn Pɜ-dỉ-ỉmn-nb-nswt-tɜwy mɜʿ-ḫrw*

8. *ḥtp ḥr šbw.k sšp ꜥɜbt.k nỉs nṯr ḥr rn.k mỉ nṯrw ỉmỉ-tw*
9. *ḥrt-nṯr ḥr ỉɜt-Ḏɜmt kk.k pɜwt.k ḥr ɜwt wꜥbt m-bɜḥ Wn-nfr*

1. Recitation by his beloved son, the godfather and priest of *Amun* in
2. *Karnak Pa-khar-khensu*(c) son of *Pa-di-Amun-neb-*
3. *nesut-tawy*. He speaks to his father: take for you the incense and
4. libation which comes forth before *Re*, your heart belongs to you
5. your libation belongs to you, may you receive your liquid(d)
6. to you, take to you the liquid issued from *Osiris*.
7. Offering four times and purification two times for your ka «O» *Osiris*, the scribe of the oracle of the Temple of *Amun Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy*, the justified one
8. May you rest upon your offerings, may you receive your aAbt-offering[23] and invoke the god in your name like the gods who are in
9. the necropolis of west Thebes, may you eat your baked offerings which are upon the pure altar in front of Wennefer (=*Osiris*).

Commentary

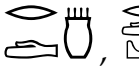
(A). *sš bjɜt Pr-ỉmn*: The title «Scribe of the Oracle[24] of *Amun* Temple» was a priestly title most probably attested in the Saite Period[25]. This title was the main and most important of the titles of *Pa-di-amun-neb-nesut-tawy*. It was inscribed in large signs on the two metal tongues of the vessel that project from the rim. The first person who had these titles was *Amenemhat* «the scribe of the oracle of *Amon* temple *Amenemhat*»[26]. Then, it was taken by a few priests as Parker cited three of them witnessed on the Saite oracle Papyrus[27]. He also mentioned other examples of this title from the Late and Ptolemaic periods[28]. Although this title was not common, it was found on an ushabti in Vienna [29] and on a kneeling statue of *Pɜ-dj-jmn-nb-nswt-tɜwy*, with the figure of *Osiris*[30], the statue of Port Saïd, National Museum *sš bỉɜyt n ỉmn*[31] and a missing head statue found in Karnak cachette (455) and preserved in the Egyptian Museum Nº.JE 37139][32]. Furthermore, the title *sš bỉɜt* appeared outside of Thebes. It was on the coffin of *Hor* from *Akhmim* in the

[23] It is a part of the spell 72. DE BUCK 1935: vol.1, 298.
[24] For the meaning of the word «biAit», see: POSENER 1963: 98-102.
[25] PARKER 1962: 33-34.
[26] PARKER 1962: PL.2, COL.2 [A, 2-10].
[27] PARKER 1962: 14; ASSMANNM 1968: 25.
[28] WRESZINSKI 1906: 184 [IX.2: 42]; PARKER 1962: 33, Nº.6.
[29] WRESZINSKI 1906: 184 [IX. 2, 42].
[30] Cairo JE 37007 (unpublished) the same title, see: COULON & JAMBON: «Karnak Cachette», https://www .ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?dat= Ptolemaic+Period&os=21#galerie, accessed on (05/09/2022).
[31] Cairo JE 38599 (unpublished), see: COULON & JAMBON: «Karnak Cachette», https://www.ifao. egnet.net/bases/cachette/?dat= Ptolemaic+Period&os=164#galerie, accessed on (05/09/ 2022).
[32] Now transferred to the Grand Egyptian Museum (6527) (in press).

Swansea Museum; *Hor* was probably the oracle scribe in the Temple of Min in *Akhmim*[33].

(B). The name *Pa-di-amun-neb-nesut-tawy* «the one whom *Amun*, lord of the thrones of the two lands, gives»[34] was first documented in the 22nd dynasty. Then, it became common in the Late and Ptolemaic periods[35].

(C). *Pa-khar-khensu* was first documented in the Late Period[36] and became common in the Ptolemaic Period[37].

(D).  , *rḏw*: the liquid or efflux of *Osiris*[38]: it was the secretions from the decomposing body of *Osiris* that were offered to the deceased as a libation to revive and restore his power[39]; this word was attested in the Pyramid Texts in libation and offerings formulae[40]. The corpse of the deceased dried after death. It should be revived with the vital fluids excluded from it. This process was necessary for the corpus to be refreshed and resurrected[41].

4. The Inscriptions of the Second Scene

A. Above the Djed-Pillar: a Horizontal Line Runs from Right to Left

ḏd šps ḥry-ib ꜣbḏw

The noble Dd-pillar (*Osiris*) who resided in Abydos

B. The Inscription is Related to Isis

[33] ELAIS & MEKIS 2016: 277, 239-240, FIGS.13-15.

[34] RANKE 1935: vol.1, 122 [6].

[35] For more writing forms of the name, see: BIETAK & REISER-HASLAUER 1982: 274-276, G65-76.

[36] SPIEGELBERG 1899: 36.

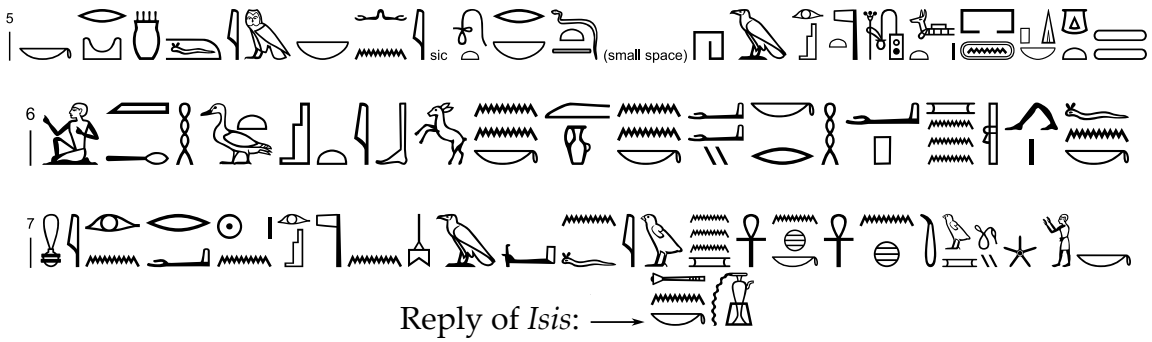
[37] RANKE 1935: vol.1, 116 [18], for more forms of the name, see: BIETAK & REISER-HASLAUER 1982: 272-274, G45-64.

[38] PANTALACCI 1981: 57-66.

[39] HEIKAL 1972: vol.2, 46, Nº.166; WILSON 1997: 596.

[40] SETHE 1908-1922: vols.1–4, Pyr.765-766, 788, 868, 2007, 2031, 1360; BLACKMAN 1912: 69-70.

[41] BLACKMAN 1912: 71.



1. *ḏd mdw ỉn ɜst mwt-nṯr*
2. *ʾỉỉ.n.*(*ỉ*) *wn.n.ỉ*
3. *m sɜ.k Wsỉr ḫnt ỉmntt Wsỉr Pɜ-dỉ-ỉmn-nb-nswt-tɜwy mɜʿ-ḫrw mw.k n.k ḳbḥ.k n.k bʿḥ*
4. *k n.k rḏw.k n.k mn n.k rḏw prj mʾỉtm ḳbḥw prj m Wsỉr mn n*
5. *k rḏw prj ỉm.k nn* [siš] *ḥwɜw r.k ḏt* (*smʿll spʿśe*) *hɜ Wsỉr sš bỉɜt prʾỉmn Pɜ-dỉ-ỉmn-nb-nswt-tɜwy*
6. *mɜʿ-ḫrw ḥtm ỉbw.n.ỉ n.k m ḫnm.k ʿwy.k r ḥʿpỉ ỉỉ.f n.k*
7. *mỉ ỉr.n Rʿ n Wsỉr n wḏʿ.n.f ỉtrw ʿnḫ.k ʿnḫ.tỉ rwḏ.tỉ dwɜ.k* [*ỉm.s*]

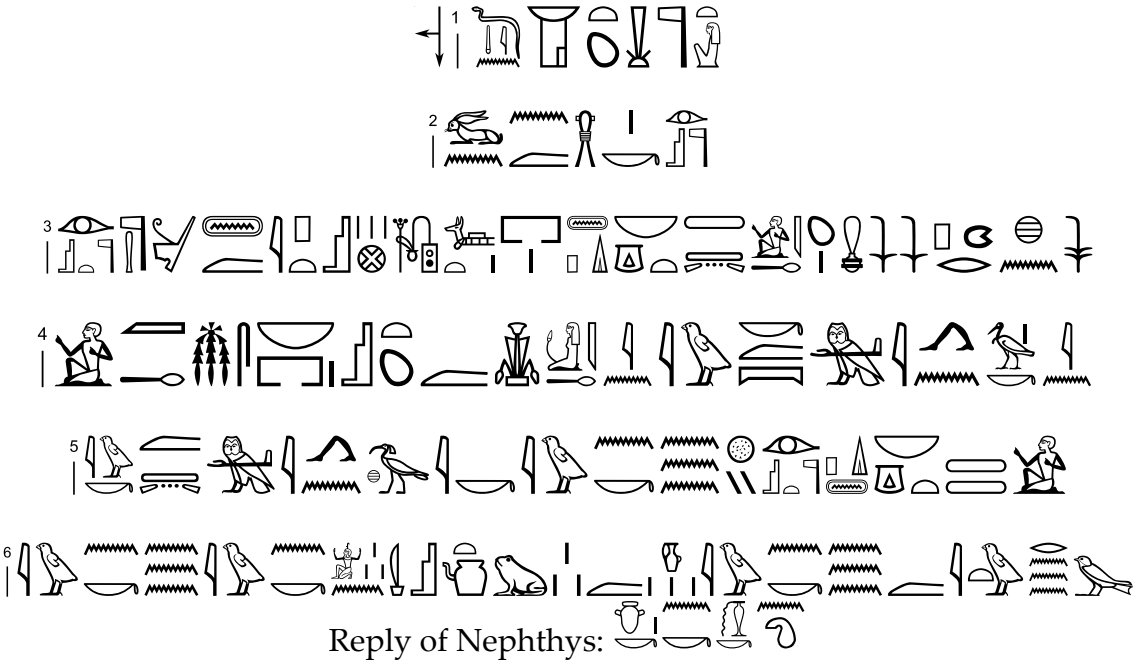
1. Recitation by Isis, the god's mother
2 I came and I am existed
3 behind you, «O» *Osiris* who is the foremost of the west, *Osiris Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy*, the justified one, your water belongs to you, your libation belongs to you, your flood
4. belongs to you, the efflux belongs to you, take to you the efflux issued from *Atum*, the libation issued from *Osiris*, take for
5 you the efflux which issued from you, there is no range(a) against you forever, (space). O *Osiris*, the scribe of the oracle of *Amun* Temple, *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy*
6. The justified, I quenched for you your thirst from your *ḫnmt-well*(b) your two arms stretched towards the flood, it will come(c) to you
7. likeness Re did to *Osiris* (when) he passed the river; may you live to survive[42] and flourish[43], may you worship [through it][44].

Reply of *Isis*: *mn n.k ḳbḥ*
«may you receive a libation to you».

[42] DE BUCK 1935: vol.1, spells. 69, 292-293.
[43] For this meaning, see: VON BISSING 1901: Nº.3449, 13; BADAWI & KEES 1958: 138; LESKO 2002: vol.1, 269.
[44] AMENTA et *Al.* 2005: 323, Nº.21.

C. The Inscription of Nephthys

The inscription consists of six vertical lines. It reads from left to right



Reply of Nephthys:

1. *ḏd mdw ỉn Nbt-ḥwt snt-nṯr*
2. *Wnn.(ỉ) m sꜣ.k Wsỉr*
3. *Wsỉr ḥm-nṯr n ỉmn m ỉpt-swt sš bỉꜣt pr ỉmn Pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn-nb-nswt-tꜣwy mꜣʿ-ḫrw sꜣ mỉ-nn Pꜣ-ḫꜣr-ḫnsw*
4. *mꜣʿ-ḫrw ms (n) nb(t) pr ꜣst-m-ḫꜣbt mꜣʿ-ḫrw ỉn-ỉw.k m pt mỉ.n bꜣ.k ỉn*
5. *-ỉw.k m tꜣ mỉ.n ꜣḫ.k ỉw n.k mw sp-sn Wsỉr Pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn-nb-nswt-tꜣwy*
6. *ỉw n.k mw ỉw n.k ḥḥw n nmswt ḥfnw m mkrw ỉw n.k mw m ỉtrw wr*

1. Recitation by *Nephthys*, the god's sister
2. I'll be behind you, *Osiris*.
3. «O» *Osiris*, the priest of *Amun* at Karnak, the scribe of the oracle of *Amun* Temple, *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy* justified, son of the same titled *Pa-khAr-khensu*
4. justified who was born to the mistress of the house *Aset-em-khabet*(d) justified, are you in the sky, (so) come to your *Ba*,
5. are you in the earth, (so) come to your *Akh*, the water belongs to you, the water belongs to you[45], *Osiris Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy*
6. The water belongs to you, millions of *nmst*-vessels belong to you and hundred thousand of *mkrw*-vessels(e), the water of the great river belongs to you.

Reply of Nephthys: *ỉb.k n.k ḳbḥ.k n.k*
your heart belongs to you and your libation belongs to you.

D. The Inscriptions of the Two BA-Birds

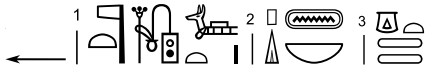
[45] For this expression, see: EVRARD-DERRIKS & QUAEGEBEUR 1979: 41, Nº.A

The left *bȝ*-bird is depicted as a bird with a human head and raised hands receiving the water above the two horizontal hieroglyphic lines. It reads:

1. *ỉt-nṯr ḥm-nṯr* (*n*) *ỉmn* (*m*) *ỉpt-swt*
2. *Pȝ-dỉ-ỉmn-nb-nswt-tȝwy*

1. *The god's father and the priest of Amun in Karnak*
2. *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy*

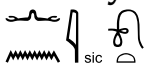
The left *bA*-bird: It is depicted like the other *bA* found opposite.



1. *ỉt-nṯr sš bỉȝt*
2. *Pȝ-dỉ-ỉmn-nb*
3. *-nswt-tȝwy*

1. The divine father and the scribe of the oracle
2. *Pa-di-Amun-neb-*
3. *nesut-tawy*

Commentary

(A).  *nn ḥwȝw*: There is no putrefaction. Comparing the parallel examples shows that this is a miswriting of *ḥwȝw*[46] The sign (M17) is an incorrect writing of the sign (V28) and the sign is used instead of the sign (Aa3). It is unusual in the libation formula to find the term likeness, but it always comes as *n wrḏ ib.k ḫr.s* «your heart will be not tired concerning it»[47]. The equal expression [48] *nn stpỉ pn ḏt* «this dismembered thing does not exist forever[49] is rarely found».

[46] GARDINER 1932: 11.1 & 11-12; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds) 1971: *Wb*.vol.3, 50, 6-15; WILSON 1997: 623; LESKO 2002: vol.1, 305; BATES 2014: 125; BACKES 2016: vol.2, 992.
[47] VON BISSING 1901: Nºs. 3449- 3451.
[48] KAMAL 1909: Nº.23121; FAULKNER 1936: 133, Nº.1.14.
[49] BADAWI & KEES 1958: 116; FAULKNER 1991: 127.

(B). *ḫnmt* is an alternative to the word *Hapi* as a name for drinking water or a rich place in water[50].

(C). The verb is a miswriting for «to come»[51].

(D). *ɜst m ɜḫ-bỉt ɜset-em-khʿbet* is a female name attested in the 21st dynasty up to the Greco-Roman Period. The name means «*Isis* is in the Chemmis (=Delta)»[52]. This name appears frequently on many stelae[53] and offering tables[54].

(E). The word *mḳrw* was written as an ideogram . Compared to the other parallel texts on the situla[55], it is better to be read as *mḳrw*.

III. THE INSCRIPTION OF THE LOWER BAND

The decoration of the upper and lower parts around the situla contains a strip of stars that refer to the sky[56]. In the upper part and on the lower part, an inscription band mentions the priestly titles of the owner. The text begins with the word and ends with the name of the owner[57]. The base of the vessel depicts the lotus flower from which the world emerges, symbolizing the daily rebirth[58].

To separate the beginning and the ending of the text, the scribe placed the knot of *Isis* in between.

hɜ mry Wsỉr ḥm-nṯr n ỉmn m ỉpt-swt sɜḫ-wɜḏt ḥm ḥḏt ḥm Ḥr sš ṯɜ n pr-ỉmn ỉpt ỉmy ɜbd.f ỉry-šn ỉry-ps ỉry-ʿfdt ỉmy-st-rd.f ʿɜ wʿb n sɜ tpy sš šn (*m*) *pr-ỉmn-ỉpt ỉry-šn pr-Mwt sɜ tpy sš bỉɜt pr-ỉmn Pɜ-dỉ-ỉmn-nb-nswt* (*-tɜwy*) *mɜʿ-ḫrw*.

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[50] BACKES 2016: vol.1, 494.

[51] BACKES 2016: vol.2, 494, TAF. 40a (line 10).

[52] RANKE 1935: vol.1, 4 (3); BIETAK&REISER-HASLAUER 1982: 267-268, G9-12.

[53] KAMAL1905: Nº.22013; DARESSY 1909: 170.

[54] KAMAL1909: Nº.23101.

[55] EVRARD-DERRIKS & QUAEGEBEUR 1979: 46-49, Nº.d.

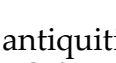
[56] LICTHEIM 1947: 177.

[57] Compare: VON BISSING 1901: Nº.3450, 17.

[58] GREEN 1987: 66, 78, FIGS.108-109, 80, FIGS.110 (182), 104, FIG.127 (285).

Hay the beloved of *Osiris*, the priest of *Amun* in Karnak Temple, *s3ḫt-w3dt* priest(a), the servant of the white crown, the servant of *Horus*[59], the scribe of the document-case(b) in the Temple of *Amunopet* in his month, *ỉry-šn* priest(c), *ỉry-ps* priest(d) and *ỉry-ʿft* priest(e) in his place of feet(f), the wab priest of the first phyle, the scribe of the *Sna*-house of *Amunopet*, the *Iry-Sn* priest of *Mut* Temple of the first phyle, the scribe of the oracle of *Amon* Temple, *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut(-tawy)*, the justified.

Commentary

(A). *s3ḫt-w3dt*: «to light up the eye «of the god»» is a priestly title held by a priest who performed ceremonial rituals, perhaps to light up the eye of the god[60]. The title was common in Thebes in the Ptolemaic period[61] and rarely was attested on some antiquities far from Thebes  (var:)[62].

(B). *sš ṯ3:* Leclant read it as «the scribe of document[63] and Parker translated it into» the scribe of mat»[64]. This title might refer to the nature of the scribe's work when sitting on the mat to write down the people's complaints. Contardi further stated that «this scribe was responsible for registration and accounting, to ensure the correct distribution of offerings[65]». However, SELIM suggested that this title might refer to an official with a clear connection to agriculture, who later reckoned corn in Upper and Lower Egypt[66]. I agree with KLOTZ[67] and COLLOMBERT[68], who both read the title as «the scribe of the document-case» or the archive of the temple. This relatively common title most likely refers to the wooden boxes used for storing papyri.

(C). *ỉry-šn* priest: Some priests of the god *Amun* in *Karnak* Temple took this title[69]. The meaning of the title *ỉry-šn* is not clear, but it may be translated into «one appointed to control» or «one appointed to [keep] the seal[70]».

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[59] The title *Hm HDt* «the servant of the white crown» and the *Hm* @r the servant of Horus was studied by KLOTZ and others, see: DE MEULENAERE 1973: 52, FIG.2, lines 2-3; KLOTZ 2014: 754-755; ABDELRAHMAN 2021: 195-196 (d).

[60] SELIM 2004: 373 (c).

[61] DE MEULENAERE 1960: 72; DE MEULENAERE & BOTHMER 1974: 110 (a).

[62] BOURIANT 1886: 162; SPIEGELBERG 1906: 133-134.

[63] LECLANT 1954: 6-11.

[64] He discussed all the opinions in 33, see: PARKER 1962: 16.

[65] CONTARDI 2006: 147-148, Nº.f.

[66] SILEM 2000: 366, Nº.D.

[67] COULON 2006: 22, Nº.D; THIERS 2009: 119, Nº.C; BUDKA & MEKIS 2022: 16 (a).

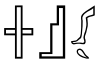
[68] COLLOMBERT 1997: 20-21, Nº.D; SELIM 2004: 161, Nº.F.

[69] DE MEULENAERE 1987: 136-137, Nº.a; DE MEULENAERE 1993: 57 (b); JANSEN-WINKELN 2001: 56 (7-8), 504 (d)Nº.JE 36983; COULON 2001: 140, Nº.f; JANSEN-WINKELN 2004: 102, 4.

[70] CONTARDI 2006: 152-153, Nº.S.

(D). *iry-ps* priest: This title means «cooker/the baker of the temple». Thus, it is written with the determinative (Q7) or (W50)[71]. The word *psy* «cook» is already documented from the Middle Kingdom in the inscriptions of Sinai during the reign of King *Amenemhat* II. However, the title *iry-ps* «in charge of the cooking» seemed to be attested in the Late Period on the sarcophagus found in Tomb TT 279, dated back to the 26th dynasty[72].

(E). *iry-ʿfḏt* priest: A title was attested in the 22nd dynasty in Thebes[73] and up to the late and Ptolemaic periods[74]. The term was written in various forms, such as (Berlin 24093)[75], (CG 22010)[76] and mostly with the sign (A47). KLOTZ argued that the title refers to «the guardian of the chest/shrine» in spite of being sometimes written with the determinative of a bee[77].

(F).  *imy-st-rd:* This term could be translated as «who is in the standing place, the place of the feet». As for our case, it is better to translate it as *imy st-rd.f* as «his post/position». The same title was written in its complete form between other titles on the statue (unpublished) of *Pȝ-di-ʾImn-nb-nswt-tȝwy* in the Egyptian MuseumTrlit_CG Time Nº. JE. 37139=GEM.6527[78] in the same arrangement of the titles on the situla of the British Museum.

IV. DISCUSSION

On the situla under study, one scene depicted the deceased receiving offerings from the person responsible for the funerary cult of the dead, who was, in most cases, the eldest son of the deceased[79].

1. The Family of *Pa-Di-Amun-Neb-Nesut-Tawy*

The situla of the British Museum scenes are similar to the situlae of the late and Ptolemaic periods found in the fourth nome, such as the Bucheum's situla of Arment[80] and

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[71] JANSEN-WINKELN 2001: 52-53, 56 (7).

[72] BUHL 1959: 64, FIG.26, PL.4-3; SILEM 2000: 366, N°.C.

[73] BORCHARDT 1925: vol.2, Nº.559. 106; ASSMANN 1968: 25; VETTMANN 1983: 328 (f); JANSEN-WINKELN 1985: vol.8/1, 14 (8).

[74] For examples, see: ASSMANN 1968: 25; JANSEN-WINKELN 1985: vol.8/1, 14 (8).

[75] MUNRO 1973: 195; BACKES 2016: vol.1, 289.

[76] KAMAL 1905: 11.

[77] KLOTZ 2014: 758.

[78] COULON & JAMBON: «Karnak Cachette», https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck415, accessed on (26/09/2023).

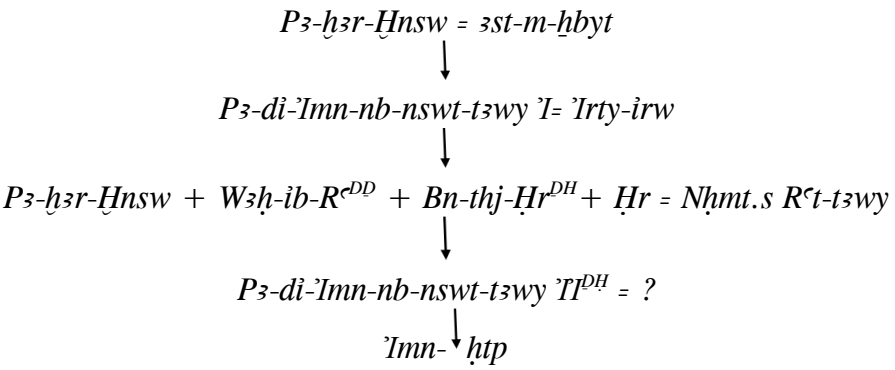
[79] EVRARD-DERRIKS & QUAEGEBEUR 1979: 33, note. 3, 36.

[80] The situla is preserved now in the Cleveland Museum of Art. Nº.32, see: MOND & MYERS 1943: vol.3, PL.161, 1; EICKEL & CRUGER 1999: 492-493, N°.389.

the other situlae of Thebes[81]. The situla of Bucheum has the name of *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy*[82] son of *Hor*[83]. He might be the grandson of the owner of the British Museum's situla[84]. *Hor* probably intended here not to be *Hor*, the owner of the situla vessel Nº.EA 38212, but rather the owner of the docs. 15b, 15c and 16b represents an outer anthropoid coffin of Hor Nº.515, a corner of *ḳrsw*-coffin Nº.790 and an outer anthropoid coffin of his wife Nº.699. These fragments of the coffins mentioned the mother of *Hor* as *Irty-eru*. She was the wife of *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy*[85].

BUDIKA and MEKIS suggested that the family of *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy* represented a priestly family during the 29-30th dynasties in Karnak Temple, although H. DE MEULENAERE [86] mentioned that the family of *Pa-di-amun-neb-nesut-tawy* began the priestly activities since the 26th dynasty by the 3rd priest of *Amun Pa-di-amun-neb-nesut-tawy*. BUDIKA and MEKIS distinguished him as *Pa-di-amun-neb-nesut-tawy I*, who was married to *Irty-eru*. They mentioned between their sons *Pa-kher-Khonsu*, *Wah-ib-Re* and *Hor*[87]. It was known from the inscription of the situla of the British Museum that the mother of *Pa-di-amun-neb-nesut-tawy* was *Ast-m-khabeyet* and his father was *Pa-kher-Khonsu*. The problem is that most family members had similar names and priestly titles.

2. Genealogy of Pa-di-Amun-Neb-Nesut-Tawy[88]



[81] BUDGE 1896: Nº.71, PL.20; GAUTHIER 1908: 145-146, PL.4. For the situla of Louvre Nº.E 12658, see: PERDU 2012: 126–127; MARTINEZ 2018: 224; BUDKA & MEKIS 2022: FIG.5a.

[82] MOND & MYERS 1943: vol.3, PL.161, 1; DE MEULENAERE 1962: 66-69, 71.

[83] Hor has a situla in the British Museum Nº.EA 38212, see: SEIPEL 1989: vol.1, 339, Nº.515; COULON 2006: 15, Nº.33; PERDU 2012: 126–127; COULON & GATIER 2018: 50, FIG.5; BUDKA & MEKIS 2022: 13ff.

[84] JANSEN-WINKELN 2001: vol.1, 42-48, vol.2, 350-351, 353.

[85] BUDKA & MEKIS 2022: 68-69.

[86] DE MEULENAERE 2012: fasc.173, 40-50.

[87] BUDKA & MEKIS 2022: 6.

[88] BUDKA & MEKIS 2022: FIG.26.

[89] BIETAK & REISER-HASLAUER 1982: vol.2, 195-196, 203, 207, 209.

[90] JANSEN-WINKELN 2001: 169-174, 402-405.

[91] *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II* was the grandson of *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I* and son of Hor, he owned the statue of Cairo Museum Nº.7/6/24/5 and the Liverpool statue Nº.E. 5272, see: JANSEN-WINKELN 2014: vol.2, 1055-1056, Nº.552-553.

V. THE LIBATION FORMULA PT 32-33, CT 64

Most of the situlae of the late and Ptolemaic periods had on their surface texts of libation formula[92], which was attested in the Pyramid Texts «spells 32-33»[93] and Coffin Texts «spell 64»[94] from the Saite period onwards[95], the scribes or priests had already selected some spells of the pyramid Texts in order to revive, especially the offering, the libation and the censing spells[96].

It is noticed that the libation formula appeared in its full formula since the Pyramid Texts[97] and continued in the Coffin Texts «spell 64»[98]. Then, this libation formula was attested on the walls of tombs[99], offering tables[100], papyrus[101] and situla vessels from the Saite up to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods[102].

The situla vessels were used in official religious festivals[103], such as the decade feast in the west of Thebes[104] and the situla of Hor[105]. In Saqqara, fragments of situla vessels were found in the animal necropolis located north of Saqqara[106]. Most probably, these vessels were used either in ceremonial or funeral rituals of the animals[107]. This does not preclude the use of the situla in the funeral rites for the deceased, as well as, appearing in the funeral procession of *Amonmos* «TT 19» at Thebes[108]. On the stela of *Pa-di-Amun* in the Museum of York, the owner had the title *wꜣḥ mw* «the choachyte», meaning «the one who offers the water»[109]. *Pa-di-Amun* was depicted on the stela worshipping *Osiris*, suspending a situla in

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92 PIERRET 1874: 121; BERGMANN 1882: 42, Nº.5; BUDGE 1896: Nº.71, PL.20; VON BISSING 1901b: 38-47; FAULKNER 1969: 6-7; EVRARD-DERRIKS & QUAEGEBEUR 1979: 31, FIG.3; DERRIKS & DELEVAUX 2009: 202, 204.

93 VON BISSING 1901a: Nº.3448, 3450-3451 & 3463.

For more examples of the libation formulae on the situla, see: SETHE 1960: Pyr.32-33.

94 BLACKMAN 1910: 122; DE BUCK 1935: vol.1, spell.64; ALLEN 1955: 63-64; FAULKNER 1969: vol.1, 60; HEIKAL 1970-1972: vol.1, 1-5, 41, vol.2, 21.

95 MASPERO 1900: 173, line 141-143; DARESSY 1901: 9-10, Nº.170-188; MASPERO 1904: 82-82; KAMAL 1909: Nºs.23099, 23112, 23121- 23122, 23127, 23155, 23165 & 23241; HECKER 1937: 39-40; JANSEN-WINKELN 2014: vol.2, 744, Nº.113 «situla of Shashanq».

96 HUSSEIN 2011: 220-223.

97 SETHE 1960: Pyr. 32-33.

98 BLACKMAN 1910: 122; DE BUCK 1935: vol.1, spell. 64; ALLEN 1955: 63-64; FAULKNER 1969: vol.1, 60.

99 MASPERO 1900: 173, line 141-143; MASPERO 1904: 82-82; KAMAL 1909: Nºs.23099, 23112-23121, 23122, 23127, 23155, 23165 & 23241; HECKER 1937: 39-40; HUSSEIN 2011: 220-223.

100 KAMAL 1909: Nºs.23099, 23112, 23121- 23122, 23127, 23155, 23165, 23241.

101 BACKES 2016: vol.1, 576 (f), vol.2, TAF.51a, COL.20.

102 BOURAINT 1886: 119-120; VON BISSING 1901A: Nºs.3448, 3450, 3451 & 3463.

103 EVRARD-DERRIKS & QUAEGEBEUR 1979: 33, note (3), 53.

104 DE MEULENAERE & BOTHMER 1974: 110-111, Nº.f; BOMMAS 2005: 258-259.

105 JANSEN-WINKELN 1995: 57-62; DERRIKS & DELEVAUX 2009: 194.

106 GREEN 1987: 66.

107 MARTIN 1981: 25, Nº.188, 28, Nº.296, 43, Nº.373, 49, Nº.475, 64, Nº.763, 87, Nº.923, 106, Nº.1500; GREEN 1987: 66.

108 Foucart believes that the situla here used to pour the milk, 55. FOUCART 1935: vol.1, 53, vol.4, PL.2.

109 CANNATA 2020: 25; HOGENBOOM-MEIJERINK 2021: 13; HASSAN 2023: 290.

his raised right arm[110]. BOMMAS suggested that the offering of water from the New Kingdom and onwards was carried out using the situla vessel. It became a cult object related to a category/class of priests known as *w3ḥ* mw or the choachyte[111].

VI. PALEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The scribe engraved the inscriptions on metal. He wrote some signs, such as the sign (N35) in the word «water» (N16) and the sign for earth only as a horizontal line representing a straight line of the sign. However, he engraved some detailed signs, such as the signs (V31), (Q3), (M17), as well as the signs (V30) and (D10). Interestingly, he focused on the details of bird feathers as in these signs (G14), (G5) and (G17). Although some signs were written in their full details, the artist, on other signs, abbreviated a main part of the sign, such as the papyrus roll sign (Y2), the *ḫ3st*-sign, the sign (Aa21) as without the upper part and the sign (U23) as without the lower part. Interestingly, the scribe used the same sign indicating the name *Amun* twice, once in the title (D, E) and the other in the name of the owner. There were also other differences in the writing of some signs in the texts with or without details, e.g., and , and (G43), (V16) and (V17). The scribe sometimes increased signs in the name of *Osiris* and added the sign before the determinative . In more than one sentence, the scribe omitted the suffix pronoun of the first person.

VII. CONCLUSION

The situla was found among the cult objects since the 18th dynasty. This bronze situla of *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy* represents type I based on Lictheim's classification. The body of the situla has a cylindrical or oval shape.

The situla of *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy* has two scenes related to the afterlife. One represents the elder son, who undertakes and performs the funeral rituals for his deceased father, who then became *Osiris*. These things depict the main offerings the deceased needs. The other scene depicts the protection of the Osirian pillar, which symbolizes the resurrection of *Osiris* and the deceased.

To conclude, deciding the function of situla vessels, whether they were intended to contain water or milk is challenging. The function of situlae in temples differed from its function in the tombs. It was used in the temple in daily service rituals to offer milk and in

[110] BOMMAS 2005: 263, FIG.1.

[111] GASSE 1988: vol.1, 20, PL.20; AL-AGUIZY 2003: 3ff; BOMMAS 2005: 263-264.

the tombs for pouring water or purification. Therefore, it was found that many people had situla vessels in their tombs for this purpose, such as the situla understudy, which was found in the owner's tomb. Water corresponded to «milk» in some inscriptions as an equation formulated in writing on various occasions, e.g., water as a donation from Nut's breasts states the inscription on a stela of the Late period *sšp n.k ḳbḥw.k ỉpn ỉmyw mnḏwy n*(*.t*) *mwt.k Nw.t ʿnḫ.k ỉm.sn*.

In some cases, the situla vessels appeared on the stelae next to or suspended from the altar, which separated the doner from the god receiving the offerings. They were distinguished by their shape and curved handles, which made their suspension under the offering table or in the arm of the worshiper easier.

The base of the vessel depicted the lotus flower, from which the world emerged, symbolizing daily rebirth.

As for the libation formula in the British Museum's situla, the scribe left some words, especially the demonstrative pronoun ipn, which came after the word «libation». Additionally, he did not use some principal expressions of the libation formula, such as *ỉrt-Ḥr «eye qf ḥqrus», nn rwḏ ỉb.k ḫry.s* «your heart will not be weak concerning it». On the contrary, the scribe increased the expression *ỉw n.k mw*, which just appeared on the Bucheum situla and the situla of Mariemont. Some sentences on the British Museum situla were not completed, although they were complete in spell 64 of the Coffin Texts, e.g., *ḥtm.n.k ỉbw.k ỉm.f= «ḥtm ỉbw.n.ỉ n.k»*.

Finally, I agree with Lictheim that the situlae with engraved libation scenes and texts could be dated to the 26th dynasty onwards. The situla of *Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy* most probably dates to the early Ptolemaic Period.

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THE VILLAGE OF PHILAGRIS ΦΙΛΑΓΡΙΣ IN THE ARSINOITE NOME (FAYUM) FROM THE FIRST TO THE FOURTH CENTURY AD IN LIGHT OF INSIGHTS FROM GREEK PAPYRI

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ABSTRACT

[EN] This article is a comprehensive, detailed study of the documents of Philagris village, one of the ancient Egyptian villages, conducted using Greek papyri documents related to the village and presenting some statistical and analytical studies. The paper aims to discuss the evolution of the village's name over the ages and identify the different aspects and conditions of Philagris in the period from the first to the fourth centuries AD, such as the administrative, economic, financial and social situation other factors, like administrative positions, e.g., the village scribe, tax collectors and plerotes. It also tackles the economic life, including agriculture and crops, such as wheat, barley and seed supervision operations and the monthly reports of collectors of taxes on various types of lands. Furthermore, it highlights the importance of irrigation and its canal in Philagris, in addition to famous important industries, like the olive oil industry and the wine industry. It handles trade and grain transportation, livestock and pack animals, such as donkeys and camels. Livestock was an important aspect of agricultural life and economic activity. Pack animals played an important role in its economic activity. The study also addresses monetary lending, which was a burden for some people of Philagris. Moreover, it discusses social life, focusing on laborers and craftsmen, social phenomena and finally, the religious life in Philagris, such as ancient deities, e.g., the God Suchus and the Goddess *Isis* and the appearance of Christianity in Philagris.

KEYWORDS: Fayum, Greek papyri, hamuli, perkethaut, philagris, roman eras, Themistos.

[AR] قرية فيلاجريس بإقليم أرسينوي «الفيوم» من القرن الأول حتى الرابع الميلادي«في ضوء أوراق البردي اليوناني»

تُعَد هذه المقالة دراسة تفصيلية شاملة لوثائق قرية فيلاجريس، إحدى القرى المصرية القديمة، باستخدام وثائق البرديات اليونانية المختلفة المتاحة للقرية، وأظهرت الدراسة بعض الدراسات الإحصائية والتحليلية لبيانات القرية. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى مناقشة تغيير اسم القرية علي مر العصور، والتعرف على الجوانب والظروف المختلفة للقرية في الفترة التاريخية الممتدة من القرن الأول إلى القرن الرابع الميلادي، مثل الوضع الإداري والاقتصادي والمالي والاجتماعي، والعوامل الأخرى، كالمناصب الإدارية، مثل كاتب القرية، وجباة الضرائب والبليروتيس، وكذلك الحياة الاقتصادية، مثل الزراعة ومحاصيلها، كعمليات الإشراف على القمح والشعير والبذور، والتقارير الشهرية لجباة هذه الضرائب على أنواع مختلفة من الأراضي، وأهمية الري وقناته في فيلاجريس، بالإضافة إلى بعض الصناعات المهمة الشهيرة، مثل صناعة زيت الزيتون وصناعة النبيذ، كذلك التجارة ونقل الحبوب. وناقشت الدراسة الثروة الحيوانية وحيوانات النقل مثل الحمير والإبل، حيث كانت الثروة الحيوانية جانبًا مهمًا من جوانب الحياة الزراعية والنشاط الاقتصادي، ولعبت تربية الحيوانات دورًا مهمًا في نشاطها الاقتصادي، كما ذكرت الإقراض النقدي الذي عانى منه بعض سكان فيلاجريس. علاوة على ذلك، ناقشت الدراسة الحياة الاجتماعية، كالعمال والحرفيين، والظواهر الاجتماعية وأخيراً الحياة الدينية في فيلاجريس، كالآلهة القديمة مثل الإله سوخوس والإلهة إيزيس، وظهور الديانة المسيحية بفيلاجريس.

الكلمات الدالة: الفيوم، البرديات اليونانية، فيلاجريس، الحاملي، وثائق.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Ptolemies drained much of the land that belonged to the Ptolemaic Lake Moeri «Birket Qarun», bringing in many peasants from the valley and delta to settle the reclaimed areas. These lands were distributed to the peasants, transforming them into tenants. They cultivated the lands[1]; hence, urbanization spread in the Arsinoite nome Αρσινοίτης νομός, which included many villages κῶμαι, kafrs and hamlets or country ἐποικία. Historically[2], this region was divided into four administrative nomes μερίδες before the Ptolemaic era[3]. The meris of Themistos contained approximately [29] villages **[FIGURE 1]**. The most famous villages were Dionysias «Qasr Qarun», Philoteris «Wadfa», Euhemeria «Qasr el-Banât», Theadelphia «Batnel-Harit», Hermopolis and Philagris understudy. The meris of Themistos was divided into nine toparchies, where a toparchy usually consisted of a large village and its surrounding smaller villages. This administrative organization spanned from 307 to 308 AD. It was replaced after 308 AD when the toparchies τοπαρχίαι were replaced by pagarchies παγαρχίαι, of which there were twelve in Fayum, with the meris of Themistos encompassing three: The seventh, eighth and ninth. Each παγαρχία was ruled by an official with the rank of praepositus πραιπόσιτος or pagarch πάγαρχος or «παγάρχης»[4].

[FIGURE 1]: Map illustrating the nome of the villages of Themistos.https://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/ConnorOnRomer.jpg, accessed on (13/02/2024)

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[1] ISMĀ[C]ĪL 2014: 1.

[2] KONSTANTINIDIS 2015: 23.

[3]These administrative nomes consisted of the following: Herakleides meris ἡ Ἡρακλείδου μερίς, located north of the Baḥr Yusuf, the meris of Polemon ἡ Πολέμωνος μερίς, located in the southeast meris of Themistos ἡ Θεμίστου μερίς, located in the southwest of the Fayum and the fourth nome, the Small Lake. The western part of the meris of Themistos is bordered on the north by Lake Moeris, on the east by Heraakleides, on the south by Polemon and on the west by the Western Desert extending to the oases, see: DERDA 2006: 70.

The small lake near the northern border of the meris of Herakleides, see: «The Small Lake Near Meris of Herakleides», https://www.trismegistos.org/place/1256, accessed on (13/12/2022).

«The Subdivision of the Arsinoites Nomos, Mikra Limne, the Meris of Polemon, the Meris of Themistos and the Meris of Herakleides», https://www.trismegistos.org/georef/17251, accessed on (15/11/2022).

AL-[C]ĪSAWĪ 2023: 132.

[4] [C]ABD ALLĀH 2022: 71-72.

Documents dating back to the first century AD Φιλαγρίδι τῆς Θε[μίστου[5] and the second century AD refer to the village of Philagris as part of the villages of Themistos from the Ptolemaic era[6], as well as the Roman era, as the list of the monetary payments of the names of the villages of the merides of Themistos and Polemon showed the names of the villages each meris included[7].

Philagris was considered the center of the fourth toparchy during the Roman era τετάρτης τοπ«αρχίας» Θεμίστου μερίδος τῶν περὶ[Φιλ]αγρίδα[8]. During the fourth century AD, it became part of the eighth pagarchy[9]. Further, this village is currently known as «Al-Hamuli»[10] after Sheikh ALI AL-HAMULI[11], the owner of the shrine located there **[FIGURE 2]** of the map indicates in red that this village «Hamuli» is located in the southeast of Theadelphia in the meris of Themistos in the Arsinoite nome.

[FIGURE 2]: Map showing the location of Philagris«now El Hamouli»Fayum Project.https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/map.php?geo_id=1766, accessed on (27/01/2022)

The study used [63] documents from the Greek papyri of Philagris Φιλαγρίς, focusing primarily on [42] documents from the Roman era. Due to the need for important and differential information that clarifies some aspects of civilization, the researcher resorted to [3] documents dating from the Ptolemaic era[12], [10] documents from the Byzantine era[13] and [8] documents from the Islamic era[14]. The first appearance of the

[5] *BASP*. 53. 105_3, l. 3 (PHILAGRIS AD 7).

[6] *P. Petr*. 2. 28, (Gurob 3 BC); *SB* 20. 14084, (Arsinoite 2BC); LEONE 1984: 128.

[7] *SB*. 3. 7200, COL.3, ll. 18-33, (ARSINOITE 2AD).

[8] *PSI*. 12. 1236, l. 7f, (Arsinoite AD 128).

[9] *P. Sakaon*. 43, ll. 1-10, (Theadelphia AD 327).

[10] [C]ABD ALLĀH 2022: 93, note 31.

[11] AL-ḤAMŪLĪ was formed administratively in 1898 as (*Kafr al-Ḥamūl*). In 1921, a decision was issued to separate it with a special zimām from the lands of *al-Nuzla* district and it was separated under the name *al-Ḥamūlī*, becoming an independent administrative and financial nome. RAMZĪ 1994: 74.

[12] These three documents from the Ptolemaic era clarified some important points, namely the history and origins of the village of Philagris in terms of name, location and harbor in the Ptolemaic era and their comparison with the documents found in the Roman era in terms of persistence.

[13] Some important aspects of Byzantine documents, especially those highlighting key social phenomena that are lacking in documents from other periods, have been clarified to explain the change in the name of Philagris beginning of the sixth century AD.

[14] The researcher handled these documents in the Islamic era to clarify the different names of Perkethaut in the seventh and eighth centuries AD.

village in the documents was in Greek documents since the Ptolemaic era, starting from about [237 BC][15]. Then, its documents disappeared in the fifth century AD and remerged in the sixth to eighth centuries AD, marking its final appearance in Greek document[16]. The documents used in the study can be summarized in **[TABLE 1]** as follows.

S.	Name	Date	Place	Type
1.	*P. Tebt*. 3. 2. 866	237 BC	Tebtynis	Account of receipts and expenditure
2.	*SB*. 22. 15281	219 BC	Philagris	Receipt for transportation of grain
3.	*BGU*. 4. 1178	30 BC-14AD	Alexandria	Names
4.	*BASP*.53. 105_3	AD 7	Philagris	Service contract for an oil press
5.	*BASP*.53. 110_4	AD 9/10	Theadelphia	List of farmers involved in land leasing
6.	*P. Fay*. 230	AD 26	Euhemeria	Pig tax report
7.	*PSI*.9. 1057	AD 32	Euhemeria	Receipt of compensation for damage
8.	*P. Lips*. 1. 106	AD 98	Arsinoite (?)	Letter from Herakleides to Apollonios
9.	*P. Sijpesteijn*. 28	AD 1-99	Soknopaiou Nesos	List of Payments
10.	*ZPE. CXCI*. 237	AD 98-117	Theadelphia	Petition
11.	*BASP*. 50. 89	1/2AD	Theadelphia	Table of registered contracts
12.	*P. Iand*. 3. 26a	1/2 AD	Theadelphia	Fragment of lease application
13.	*P. Iand*. 3. 28	AD 104	Theadelphia	Lease application
14.	*PSI. 12*. 1236	AD 128	Arsinoite	Heirs' report on public bank payments
15.	*P. Cair. Mich*. 3. 10	AD 129-131	Karanis	Declaration of mutual liability
16.	*P. Laur*. 4. 161	AD 135-6	Euhemeria	Declaration of livestock List
17.	*SB.18*. 13228	AD 138-161	Hawara	Tax list
18.	*BGU*.1. 20	AD 141/2	Arsinoite	Report of taxes
19.	*P. Strasb*.9. 828	AD 146	Theadelphia	Account of a tax collector
20.	*BGU*.9. 1893	AD 149	Theadelphia	Report

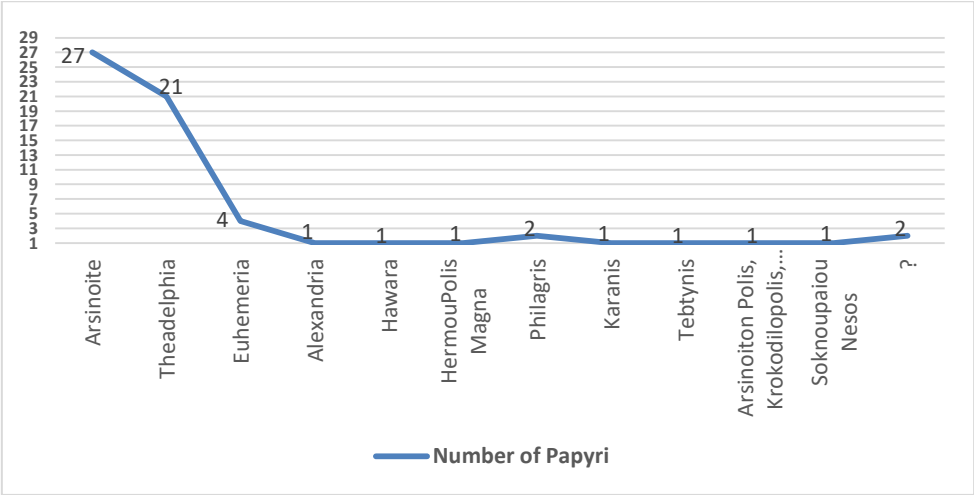
[15] *P. Tebt*. 3. 2. 866, l.10, (Tebtynis 237 BC).
[16] CLARYSSE & BEEK 2002: 195 -197.

21.	*P. Fay*.34	AD 161	Theadelphia	Delegation of tax collection
22.	*P. Berl. Leigh*.1. 1	AD 164-5	Theadelphia	Monthly reports of in-kind tax collectors
23.	*P. Berl. Leigh*. 1. 4	AD 165	Theadelphia(?)	Monthly reports of in-kind tax collectors
24.	*BGU.9*. 1900	AD 196	Theadelphia	List of farmers involved in land leases
25.	*P. Strasb*.7. 606	2 AD	Arsinoite	Letter concerning irregular liturgy
26.	*SB.14.* 11657	2 AD	Arsinoite	List of names of some of Arsinoite's villages
27.	*SB*.3. 7200	2 AD	Arsinoite	Payments in-kind from several villages
28.	*P. Fay*.86	2 AD	Theadelphia	Account for an in-kind tax collector
29.	*P. Hamb*.4. 276	2/3 AD	Arsinoite	An account
30.	*P. Mil. Vogl*.4. 237	AD 211	(?)	Guarantee of people to swear an oath in court
31.	*BGU.* 2. 362	AD 215	Arsinoite	List of payments and expenditures
32.	*SB.12.* 11152	AD 225	Theadelphia	Cow purchase agreement
33.	*P. Mich*.11. 620	AD 239/40	Arsinoite	Account of an estate
34.	*P. Meyer*.17ca	AD 250	Theadelphia	Libellus
35.	*SB*.1. 4445	AD 250	Arsinoite	Libellus
36.	*P. Bingen*.111ca	AD 250-2	Theadelphia	A harvest offering from the Heroninos Archive
37.	*P. Prag*.2. 201	AD 250/1/3/4	Theadelphia	Letter from Ninus to Heroninos Pontikos
38.	*P. Flor.* 2. 125	AD 254	Theadelphia	Letter from Alypios
39.	*P. Flor.* 2. 178	AD 258	Theadelphia	Letter from Appianus
40.	*P. Strasb*.6. 538	AD 281	Arsinoite	Irrigation report
41.	*O. Fay*.36	3 AD	Euhemeria	Receipt of transportation of grain
42.	*P. Flor*.3. 345	3 AD	Arsinoite	Letter to Hermas
43.	*P. Sakaon*.32	3 AD	Theadelphia	Investigations by the strategos
44.	*P. Lond*.3. 1107	3 AD	Arsinoite	Tax list
45.	*P. Ryl*.2. 239	3 AD	Arsinoite	Letter from Horion

46.	*P. Sakaon*.49	AD 314	Theadelphia	Loan of seed from the state
47.	*P. Sakaon*.43	AD 327	Theadelphia	Petition to a Praepositus Pagi
48.	*P.Abinn*.12	AD 342-352	Arsinoite	Petition of assault
49.	*P. Abinn* 45	AD 343	Arsinoite	Petition of theft
50.	*P. Abinn*.55	AD 351	Arsinoite	Petition of theft
51.	*P. Abinn*.69v	4 AD	(?)	Receipt of a barley account
52.	*P. Abinn*.82v	4 AD	Arsinoite	List of people in debt
53.	*Stud. Pal*.10. 162	6 AD	Arsinoite	List of payments
54.	*P. Prag*.2. 136	7 AD	Arsinoiton Polis, Krokodilopolis, Ptolemais Euergetis	Registration of tax payments divided by population
55.	*Stud. Pal*.10. 147	7 AD	Arsinoite	List of camel loads for the villages of Arsenoite Nome
56.	*Stud. Pal*.10. 184	7/8 AD	Arsinoite	Contract (?)
57.	*Stud. Pal* 10. 286	7/8 AD	Arsinoite	List of names of some Arsinoite villages
58.	*Tyche*.29 , 96= *SB*.24. 16219	7/8 AD	HermouPolis Magna	Letter from Atias in defense of a woman
59.	*P. Heid*.11. 501	8 AD	Arsinoite	Part of an account statement
60.	*SPP*. 9. 106	8 AD	Arsinoite	List of payments from Arsinoite villages
61.	*Stud. Pal*.10. 133	8 AD	Arsinoite	List of names of some villages of Arsinoite Nome
62.	*Stud. Pal.*10. 175v	8 AD	Arsinoite	List of names of some villages of Arsinoite Nome
63.	*Stud.* Pal.10. 89	8 AD	Arsinoite	List of names of some villages of Arsinoite Nome

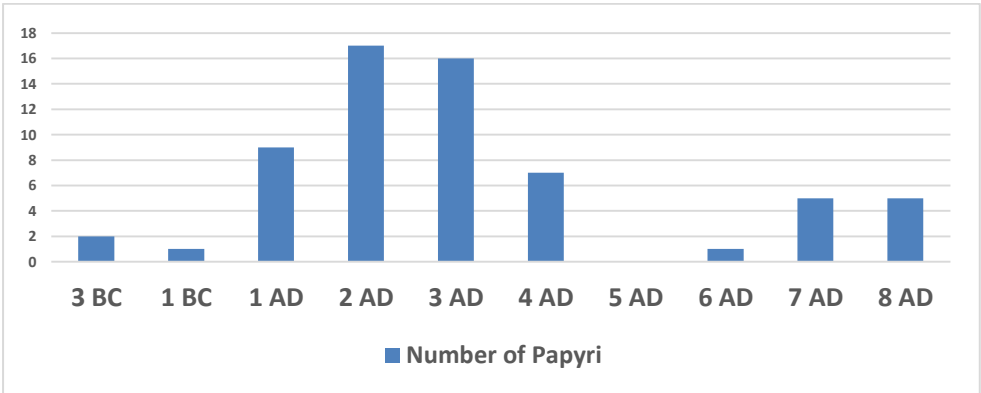
[TABLE 1]: Documents of the village Philagris used in the study © Done by the researcher

The geographical distribution of most documents of the village of Philagris was as follows [27] documents of the Arsinoite Nome **[TABLE 1]**, followed by [21] documents found in Theadelphia, while the remaining [15] documents were detected as individual numbers in the rest of the villages, as shown in **[CHART 1]**.



[CHART 1]: Geographical distribution of the Philagris' documents © Done by the researcher

As for the chronological distribution of the Philagris' documents, the numbers are as follows [3] dated from the Ptolemaic era, [9] from the first century AD, [17] from the second century AD, [16] from the third century AD, [7] from the fourth century AD, [1] from the sixth century AD, [5] from the seventh century AD and [5] from the eighth century AD. The numbers and corresponding ratios for the Philagris' documents are shown chronologically in **[CHART 2]**.



[CHART 2]: Chronological distribution of the Philagris' documents © Done by the researcher

II. NAME OF THE VILLAGE

It is plausible that Φιλαγρίς, like other villages of Fayum, was called the (village of Suchus) in the Demotic texts[17]. According to the document dating between 30 BC-14 AD from Alexandria, it is also possible that the name Φιλαγρίς was derived from the word Alexandria Φιλαγρίς, which has its origin from the Greek fishing goddess Artemis[18], as the text reads: Φιλ̣άπ̣ρη̣ος[19].

[17] CLARYSSE & BEEK 2002: 197.
[18] CLARYSSE & BEEK 2002: 196.
[19] *BGU.* 4. 1178, (Alexandria 30 BC – AD 14).

However, the village Philagris had a double name in the third century BC, as it mentioned the old Egyptian name of the cult of Thoth in Demotic texts is Greek equivalent for «*Pr-grg-Ḏḥwty*»[20], with many «servants of Thoth, the great» and people of that name mentioned in Demotic warranty documents. This name seems to have disappeared in the Roman period and reemerged in Greek transcription as Περκεθαυτ since the sixth century AD.

In the same vein, previous studies concerning Philagris, such as the one by CLARYSSE and BEEK in their article[21] referred to superficial aspects of life in the three villages of Philagris, Hermopolis and Perkethaut.

Following CLARYSSE and BEEK's study, which was concerned with the names of these villages, the current study examines whether Philagris referred to one village or more than one village. As aforementioned, these ancient villages mentioned in the Demotic documents shared the meaning of «servants of Thoth». Hence, the researcher believes that, in most cases, the similarities between the names of the ancient Egyptian villages are closely linked to religion.

Moreover, CLARYSSE and BEEK emphasized that the similarity in the name was not conclusive evidence that they referred to one village. This is evidenced by the fact that Perkethaut appeared in [11] texts, all documented from the sixth to the eighth century AD[22]. During this period, the name Philagris did not appear in the documents, appearing instead under the alternate name of Perkethaut. The researcher assumes that this indicates the village did not disappear permanently but remained up to the present day under the name *al-Ḥamūlī*.

As for Heromopolis, CLARYSSE and BEEK noted that it was mentioned in [49] documents from 251 BC to the eighth century AD[23]. According to one document citing the village of Hermopolis [χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Ἑρμο]υπόλ(εως)[24] in the eighth century AD, Perkethaut appeared with Hermopolis in two documents, one of which was a list of monetary payments to various villages under the meris of Themistos. In this document, Hermopolis was referred to as χ(ωρίον) Ἑρμο[υπόλ(εως) and Perkethaut as χ(ωρίον) Περκε(ταὐθ)τ[25]; Further, CLARYSSE and BEEK confirmed the presence of Philagris and Hermopolis together in eight documents from the Roman era[26], including a document from the third century AD[27] in which various taxes were collected from villages of Themistos, referring to Philagris as Φιλαγρίς and Hermopolis as Ἑρμουπόλεως.

The results of CLARYSSE and BEEK's study confirmed that they were two villages. First, the study revealed that Philagris /Perkethaut «*Pr-grg-Ḏḥwty*» originated in the ancient Egyptian language and was renamed Philagris Φιλαγρίς by the Greeks after the

[20] CLARYSSE noted the Greek equivalent of Philagris/Perkethaut name in Egyptian name «*Pr-grg-Ḏḥwty*». CLARYSSE & BEEK 2002: 198; but trismegistos website mentioned Philagris/Perkethaut name in Egyptian name *Pr-grg-n-Ḏḥwty* «*P*ȝ*-grg-n-Ḏḥwty*», see: «Names of Philagris», https://www.trismegistos.org /place/1766, accessed on (05/02/2024).

[21] CLARYSSE & BEEK 2002.

[22] CLARYSSE & BEEK 2002: 199.

[23] CLARYSSE & BEEK 2002: 198.

[24] *BASP*. 53. 208_2, COL.2, ll. 11, (AD 701-800 ?).

[25] *SPP*. 10. 106, l. 5, (Arsinoite 8 AD).

[26] CLARYSSE & BEEK 2002: 199.

[27] *P. Lond*. 3. 1107, COL.74, 13-15, 22-24, (Arsinoite 3 AD).

third century BC. This Egyptian name disappeared from documents for more than 700 years after it was in constant use among the indigenous population. Philagris was no longer mentioned after the middle of the fourth century AD. After more than a century of silence, the Egyptian name returned with vigor, a parallel development in many Egyptian villages. For example, Apollonus Polis, Aphroditis Polis and thanks to Coptic manuscripts, Philagris/Perkethaut was identified with Hamuli[28] **[FIGURE 2]**. Second, the study indicated that Hermopolis was an independent village that existed from the mid-3rd century BCE until the Arab period, along with Philagris /Perkethaut. Thus, it was not identical to either[29].

Accordingly, the names of Philagris listed in the documents in which the name of the village was mentioned were several and had different forms. For instance, the name of the village appeared as Φιλαγρίς or Φιλαγρίς κώμη in the first four centuries AD. Thus, the name Philagris Φιλαγρίς appeared alone or combined with the word κώμη. Then, from the sixth century AD to the eighth century AD, the abstract name of Perkethaut Περκεθαυτ appeared alone or combined with the word χωρίον.

Φιλαγρίς [Philagris] from 1-99 AD, this name appeared in [33] documents. For example, of [BASP.53. 105_3], the name occurred twice in the third and seventh lines. In addition, it continued to be used until the fourth century AD in more than one document, such as the one belonging to the archive of Abenaeus where it was mentioned in the thirtieth line of the document [*P. Abinn*.82v].

κώμη Φιλαγρίς [The village of Philagris] in terms of area, ἐποικία are smaller than villages κῶμαι and are no larger than a farm[30]. Consequently, it is evident that Philagris is a village of a reasonable size and is not an Epoikion like other villages referred to by this name, such as the village of Nestos in the meris of Herakleides[31]. Afterward, there was no distinction between the names. For example, [15] documents in the first four centuries AD recorded the combination κώμη Φιλαγρίς. Thus, in line 12 of the document [ZPE. 191. 237], dated 98-111 AD, the name Φιλαγρίς began to be associated with the name κώμη and continued until the fourth century AD as in the seventh line of the document [P. *Abinn*. 55].

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[28] CORNELIA ROMER noted that both CLARYSSE and BEEK had placed Perkethaut on the map of Fayum exactly on the spot where modern *al-Ḥamūlī* is located. Recent publications have followed them, not distinguishing between modern *al-Ḥamūlī* and *Kom Ḥamūlī*, which lie apart by 2 km. CLARYSSE's and BEEK's rationale for identifying Perkethaut and Hamouli has two parts. They take it: a) that Kom Hamouli (which for them is modern *Ḥamūlī* is Perkethaut and b) that Perkethaut is to be identified with Philagris, a Graeco-Roman settlement, but the Kom's name, (*Kom Ḥamūlī*) derives from the modern village of Hamouli, a settlement to the north-east of the kom, which lies on *al-Baḥr al-Nazla*. But, CORNELIA ROMER excluded that Philagris, Perkethaut and Hamuli could be in the same place on the map. Therefore, CORNELIA ROMER expects Philagris to be located northwest of *Kom Ḥamūlī* and before Theadelpheia on *al-Baḥr Qasr el-Banāt*, and probability too. It is still possible that people from Philagris moved farther southeast in the fourth century and settled in a village to which they gave the old Egyptian name which had existed alongside the Greek name in the Ptolemaic period. That new location would have been on *al-Baḥr al-Nazla*, where modern al-*Ḥamūlī* is. ROMER 2019: 86.

[29] CLARYSSE & BEEK 2002: 200.

[30] CLARYSSE 2016: 159.

[31] *P. Heid*. 5. 350. l.38, (Arsinoiton Polis, Krokodilopolis, Ptolemais Evergetis; AD 612); AL-ʿĪSAWĪ 2023: 135.

Περκεθαυτ [Perkethaut], the name Perkethaut is attested in [11] documents, mostly from the Vienna Collection dating from the sixth to the eighth centuries. CLARYSSE and BEEK[32] explained that this name derived from the Demotic pronunciation «*Pr-Kȝ-Ḏḥwty*», meaning the house of «*Ka-Thoth*». However, this name was uncommon in Fayum in the Greek and Roman periods. Moreover, the ancient Egyptian word «*Pr*» was pronounced at that time as «*P*» and not «*Per*». Therefore, Perkethaut was believed to correspond to «*Pr-grg-Ḏḥwty*» in Demotic texts so that the village names that began with the element «*grg*» in the base were followed by the name of the god. They were prevalent during the Ptolemaic era in Fayum, such as in «*Pr-grg-Ḏ-wisr*», «*Pr-grg.Is.t*», «*Pr-grg-sbk*», «*Pr-grg-Hry-sf*», are represented in Greek as Kerkeesis, Kerkesouca and Kerkesephis, respectively. In Demotic, the initial part of the word was usually written as *Pr*, meaning «place» and the masculine article P in the Greek versions was usually omitted. However, the only two exceptions were Perkethaut and Perkessis. As mentioned earlier, the name Περκεθαυτ reappeared in the sixth century AD. Initially, it appeared as an abstract name in three documents; the first document was a list of payments from the village[33], the second was a record of taxes and payments divided among the residents of the village of Perkethaut[34], while the third and fourth included a list of camel loads for the transportation of grain in various villages of Fayum, among them was Perkethaut[35].

Περκεθαυτ χωρίον «The village of Perkethaut», the village reemerges in Greek versions as Περκεθαυτ, associated with the term chorion χωρίον. This association is attested in the late seventh and eighth centuries as Περκεθαυτ χωρίον in eight documents, three of them date to that period on various subjects, such as a contract[36], a list; e.g., a text contains a list of some villages of the Arsinoite nome, which is described as chorion χωρίον, including Perkethaut[37].

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[32] CLARYSSE & BEEK 2002: 198.

[33] *Stud. Pal*. 10. 162, l. 6, (Arsinoite 6 AD).

[34] *P. Prag.* 2. 136, COL.2, l. 1-4, Arsinoiton Polis, Krokodilopolis, Ptolemais Euergetis 7 AD; † Περκεθαούτ[1] |Κουλίους Ἀνουθίου ρμη (δηναρίων μυριάδες) χλδ[2]|Ἀνούθιος Ποῦσι ἀρτοκ(όπος) (δηναρίων μυριάδες) Ακζ[3] |Πεκύσιος Τρέσι (δηναρίων μυριάδες) Ββ [4] «Perkethaut, Koulious, daughter of Anosis 148, 6340000 denarii, from Anosis son of Pousi the baker 10270000 denarii, from Pekysis son of Tresis 20020000 denarii».

[35] *Stud. Pal.* 10. 147, COL.1, l. 1-2, COL.2, l. 5 (Arsinoite 7 AD);
1:† [γ]νῶ(σις) σαγμ[άτων] καμ(ή)λ(ων)[1]|οὔ(τως)[2]

2:†／ Περκ(ε)θ(αύτ) ε[5] · COL.1« A list of camel loads, they are as follows:» COL.2« Perkethaut 5 loads».

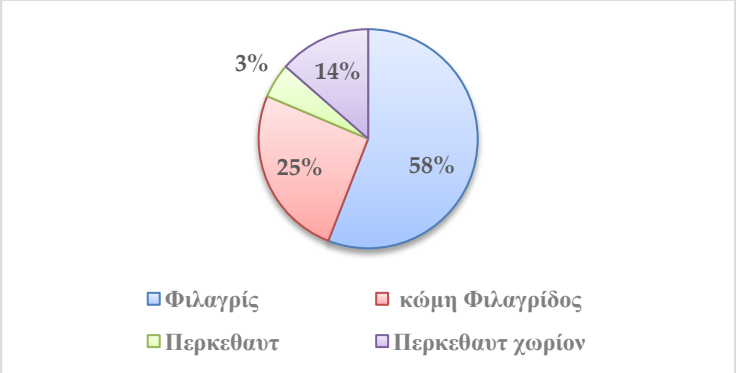
[36] Stud. Pal. 10. 184, l. 1-2 (Arsinoite 7/8 AD); † ἐγρ(άφη) μ(ηνὶ) Θὼθ ιθ ἰ(νδικτίονος) ε † Οὐενά(φριος) πρε(σβύτερος) ἀ[πὸ χωρ(ίου) -ca.?-] . μαρτηρῷ (l. μαρτυρῶ) †[1]|[Ιωά]νν(ης) (?) υἱ(ὸς) τοῦ μακ(αρίου) Κοσμᾶ ἀπὸ χωρ(ίου) Περκ(ε)θ(αὐτ) μαρτ(υρῶ) † Traces2a[-ca.?-] . .[2]
«Written on Thoth 19, indiction 5th. 1, Onnophris, the elder of the village of …… witness. I, JOANNES, son of the blessed KOSMAS of the village of Perkethaut, witness…..».

[37] Stud. Pal. 10. 286, r, l. 4 (Arsinoite 7/8 AD); † χω(ρίον) Σέλη[1]|χω(ρίον) Traces[2] |χω(ρίον) Κερκεσήφε(ως)[3] |χω(ρίον) Περκ(ε)θ(αυτ)[4] |χω(ρίον) Τεβέτνυ[5]
«village of Sele, village of….., village of Kerkesephis, village of Perkethaut, village of Tebetny».

Another document is considered an official letter written from Aetius, the commander, to defend a woman who complained about the unfair treatment in Perkethaut[38].

The remaining five documents date back only to the eighth century AD. The first was a list of various payments and amounts from various villages of the Arsinoite nome, including Perkethaut[39], delivered to the village chief without mentioning the purpose of those payments. The last four documents also mentioned Περκεθαυτ χωρίον among the names of villages and people, some with payments and some without payments, without mentioning any other details in the document[40].

In sum, Philagris was the most frequently occurring name, followed by Komi Philagris, then Perkethaut and finally Chorion Perkethaut, as shown in **[CHART 3].**



[CHART 3]: References of Philagris in Greek documents © Done by the researcher

III. ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

The Romans were interested in the Egyptian administrative system; hence, they developed a precise system for collecting taxes from the village peasants. Thus, the administrative positions in Philagris varied to express the central administration or other jobs related to the administrative and financial aspects of the Roman era.

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[38] Tyche, 29, 96, r, l. 3, v, ll. 1-2= SB. 24. 16219 (Hermou Polis Magna 7/8/ AD); r: † μὴ δόξῃ [ὑ]μῖν δια[σ]τρέψαι τὴν γραμματηφόρον[3]ν: † σὺν θ(εῷ) Ἀτίας δοὺξ δ(ιὰ) Δαυὶδ vac. μειζο(τέροις)[1]| χω(ρίου) Περκ(ε)θ(αύτ) †[2]
(recto): «Don't think about torturing the bearer of letter.»
(verso): «With God's help, Atias the leader, through David to the best official in the village of Perkethaut». FEDERICO commented on the text and provided a revised document (*P. Vindob.* G. 15148), arguing that the woman may have lived in Perkethaut or a neighboring village and was protesting the demands of the village elders. The reason was unknown, but it is likely that due to the usual illegal collection of taxes and the unfair treatment, she complained to Atias, who was likely a senior official at the time and was at the head of the toparchy and was an influential and powerful person. Federico also believed that she might be related to Atias; thus, he intervened to solve the matter, as he gave instructions to village officials not to harm certain people following him, see: MORELL 2014: 96-97.

[39] *SPP.* 10. 106, r, l. 5 , (Arsinoite 8 AD); χ(ωρίον) Περκε(ταὺθ) δ(ιὰ) Ἰωάνν(ου) Κο(σμᾶ) νο(μισμάτια) βζ . [-ca.?- « The Village Perkethaut, through JOHANNES, son of KOSMAS, 2 solidi and 7 (drachma)...».

[40] *Stud. Pal.* 10. 89, l. 17, (Arsinoite 8 AD); *Stud. Pal.*10. 133, l. 2, (Arsinoite 8 AD); *Stud. Pal.*10. 175v, l. 1,(Arsinoite 8 AD); *P. Heid.*11. 501, l. 6, (Arsinoite 8 AD), e.g., the last document was a fragment of an account, in which several villages were mentioned as having paid various amounts of official currency. The village of Philagris (Pirkthout) was one of these villages that paid the amount of two hundred Solidi, plus ten Solidi χωρί(ον) Περκ(ε)θ(αυτ) νο(μίσματα) σ νο(μίσματα) ι[-ca.?-]. The first line of the document stated (by the grace of God) and referred to two deposits made by an Arab Muslim named Abdullah ibn Saad † σὺν Θ(εῷ) β΄ θέμα μέρου(ς) Αβδελλα υἱο(ῦ) Σααδ vac.?

1. The Village Scribe [κωμογραμματεύς]

The position of the village scribe was one of the most important jobs in the villages, as he was the source of all reports related to the village and, in turn, sent them to the royal scribe. Consequently, he was responsible for providing the central administration with the necessary information related to the lands, such as surveys, land tenure quality, monthly reports and receipts. This was evidenced by a document from Fayum dated 141/142 AD, in which the village scribe of Philagris κωμογρα[μ]ματέως Φιλαγρίδ[ο]ς, reported on the fourth year's harvest[41] containing a statement of account of the seed tax for the sacred royal lands of Philagris village[42].

2. Tax Collectors [πρακτόρες]

Several types of praktores πρακτόρες existed. They were divided into several categories according to the type of taxes they collected[43]. The first type of πρακτόρες στεφανικόν specialized in collecting the crown tax was not mentioned in the documents of the village of Philagris. The second type was the money tax collectors πρακτόρες ἀργυρικῶν, who specialized in collecting the Poll tax and were evident in documents, such as two documents in Philagris. The first from Fayum, dating to 128 AD, was an heirs' report on the payments to the public bank, in which the Epistrategus selected two people to review the accounts and receipts paid by the heirs Zosimos, Mysthes and Eirenaios. Heirs of Eirenaios, son of Zosimosheld the post of money-tax collector for agricultural lands in the fourth toparchy of the meris of Themistos located in the village of Philagris[44];

[Φλ]αυίωι Πτολεμαίωι καὶ Μαρίωνι τῶι καὶ Διοσκόρωι[1]|καὶ Ἀπίωνι προχειρισθεῖσι ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου[2] Κυιντιανοῦ τοῦκρατίστου ἐπιστρατήγου πρὸς[3] |ἐξέτασιν λόγων[4]|[π]αρὰ Ζωσίμου καὶ Μύσθου καὶ Εἰρηναίου κλη-[5]|[ρο]νόμων Εἰρηναίου Ζωσίμου γεναμένου πράκτο-[6]|[ρος] ἀργυρικ(ῶν) τετάρτης τοπ(αρχίας) Θεμίστου μερίδος τῶν περὶ[7]| [Φιλ]αγρίδα. ἐπ[ι]ζητοῦσιὐμῖνσύμβολα ὧν κατέ-[8]|[β]αλον ἀργυρικῶν διοικήσεωςἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τόπων δημοσίαν τράπεζαν[9]

«To Flavius Ptolemaios and Marion alias Dioskoros and Apion, who were chosen by Claudius Quintia- nus, the most noble epistrategus to examine the accounts, from Zosimos, Mysthes and Eirenaios heirs Eirenaios, son of Zosimos, the money-tax collector of the fourth toparchy, in the Themistos meris, located near Philagris, they ask you for the receipts of the financial management that you have handed over to the public bank».

The second document, dated 211 AD, highlighted the second type of ἀργυρικῶν πρακτόρες. The first name of the person was missing except for the mention of …son of Heron, the money tax collector. In addition, it mentioned a third type of tax collector, namely πρακτόρες σιτικῶν, specialized in collecting grain taxes, called Hatres son of Menches, tax collector of wheat, both from the village of Philagris. The document mentioned their appearance in court to hear their testimony and guarantee their oath in an unspecified matter in the document[45];

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[41] WESTERMANN 1920: 132.

[42] *BGU*. 1. 20, l. 1, (Arsinoite AD 141/2).

[43] MILNE 1924: 137-138.

[44] *PSI*. 12. 1236, ll. 1-9, (Arsinoite AD 128).

[45] *P. Mil. Vogl.* 4. 237, ll. 3-6, 10-13, (AD 211 ?).

Ἀτρῆς Μενχίους \[π]ρ[ά]κ[τωρ]/ ἐν [κλήρῳ σι]τικῶν[3] |διὰ δημοσίων γεωργῶν [καὶ . . . .]ης Ἥρωνος[4] |πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν, ἀμφ[ότερ]οι κώμης[5] |Φιλαγρίδος·[6]

τύχην προσεδρεύειν τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ βήματι[10]|τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνος Κλαυδίου[11]| Ἰουλιαν[ο]ῦ καὶ ὑπακούειν, ὅπου ἐὰν \ἐπι/κη-[12]|ρ[υ]χθῶμεν, ἢ ἔνοχοι εἴημεν τῷ ὅρκῳ[13].

«Hatres, son of Menches, collector-designate of grain taxes through public cultivators and... son of Heron the money tax collector, both from the village of Philagris».

«That we have appeared (attended) before the very honorable court to our master, the very famous governor Claudius Iulianus and (we) have been heard. If we declare anywhere otherwise, we shall
be liable to oath» .

3. Plerotes πληρωτής

In administering and exploiting the bounty of Egypt, the Romans adopted the system of compulsory public services λειτουργία, which existed in Egypt since the Pharaonic era and continued with the Ptolemaic presence. Then, the Romans developed it by combining the system of charging the wealthy with certain city requirements every year or what Athenians identified as the liturgical system in the fifth century BC, along with the system of forced labor applied by the Pharaohs to the poor to implement some necessary projects for the state. Further, the jobs that fell within the compulsory services of the state varied. The plerotes πληρωτής was one of these jobs in villages[46].

According to «Grenfell and others», πληρωτής, which means the person responsible for filling out documents, is derived from the verb πληρόω «to complete»[47]. The plerotes were nominated by the grain store keepers ταμίαι[48] or the village scribes to the epistrategus for his approval. This was evident in a document from Fayum dating back to the second century AD on a complaint regarding the illegal nomination by the scribe of the village of Polydeukeia for one of the people to work in compulsory services. The complaint was directed from a person whose full name was not identified to Chairemon. This illegal nomination for the job was not specified due to the damage to the document, but it seems that this employee was under the head of the beach guard αἰγιαλοφύλακι and the nomination may have been related to work in dams[49];

Ẓẹ̣[. . .]ων Χαιρήμονι τῶι φιλτάτωι χαίρειν[1]|γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι ἅμα τῷ με καταβῆναι ἐδόθην[2]|ὑπὸ τοῦ κωμογραμματέως τῆς Πολυδευκείας τῷ αἰγια-[3]|λοφύ[λακ]ι προστῆναι ἐκρήγματι διώρυγος Κ. . . .ς λε-[4]|γομένης καὶ ἔπεμψα ναύτην ποιῆσαί με χειρογραφῆσαι[5] |καὶ φιλανθρωπῆσ[αι] ἀὐτὸν. ἀκούσας ὅτι [ὸ] βασιλικὸς γρ(αμματεὺς)[6]| ἐξῆλθεν εί[ς] τὴν με[ρίδ]α διεπεμψάμη[ν πρ]ὸς αὐτ[ὸ]ν τὸν[7]|ἀδελ[φ]όν μου ἔχ[.]. ἀξίωμα δι..σ.τα ἐντῶι πρά-[8]| γματι ἑως κρατοῦντος ἄλλῆι [κ]αὶ ἔπεμψε φύλακα[9]|..[.τ]ὸν κωμογραμ[μ]ατέα καὶ ἔδωκα ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ἕνα[10]| [. . . .] ..[. . . . .] .ατει . . . .[.]ς τὸν βασ[ιλ]ικὸν μετα[11]|[- ca.10 - ὕπαρ]χον αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς Πολυδευκίας[12]|[- ca.14 - μ]-ένωι μοι ῶι διαλογισμῶι καὶ ἐποι-[13]|[- ca.15 -] ..ι πληρωτὴς τῆς Φιλαγρίδος[14]|[- ca.15 -] Πολυδευκείας. λοιπὸν οὖν ἔπεμψα[15]|[- ca.15 -] .ια πάντα καταλείψας καλάμης[16]|[- ca.16 -] ἵνα εὑρῶμεν ἔφοδον ἢ τοῦ ἀπο[17]|[λυθῆναι] ἢ μετενεχθῆναι

[46] ISMĀʿĪL 2019: 12.

[47] GRENFEL *et Al*. 1900: 212.

[48] ISMĀʿĪL 2023: 72.

[49] *P. Strasb*. 7. 606, ll. 1-24, (Arsinoite 2 AD).

εἰς Θεαδέλφιαν ἢ εἰς ἐπίστρεμμ(α)[18]|[.....] δ̣ύ̣νασαι πανταχόθε̣ν ἢ παρὰ Μύ̣στο̣υ ἢ παρὰ[19]|[Ἀπολ- λιν]α̣ρίου πορίσαι τῶι βασιλικῶι ἐπιστολὴν πε̣ρ̣ι̣[20]|[.....]ωρισας π̣α̣ρ̣ὰ̣ τοῦ κο̣σ̣μητοῦ. οἶμαι γὰρ ὅτι αὐ-[21]|[τὸς ἐστὶν] ὁ̣ διαβαλών̣ μου καὶ ἀκούει αὐτοῦ ἵνα ημην[22]|[.....]μετεωρ[..] .ι̣ ἐν Θεαδελφείᾳ δύνασαι καὶ πα-[23]|[ρὰ τοῦ Ὡ]ρίωνος λ̣[αβ]ε̣ῖν ἐ̣πιστόλιον προ̣σ̣ωρίσαν γεινωσ̣-[24].

« From Se–...–on to dear Chairemon, greetings. I would like to inform you that as soon as the matter came to my attention, I submitted it through the village's scribe of Polydeukeia to the beach's lifeguard to be responsible for any violations of the channel called ...., I also sent a sailor to send me a written undertaking «with» an oath, «I implore» you to treat him well. I knew that the royal scribe arrived at the meris, so I sent him a complaint against my brother ... In this regard when he overpowered me and sent a guard to the village scribe and I offered someone from my people (in his place) ... royal ... ... his property near Polydeukeia... since I have in my possession in the balance of the accounts and ..., the plerotis of Philagris ... from Polydeukeia, so I sent the rest ... and since he caused everything about the stalks (the harvest) to be wasted ..., we may ask for either a policeman or (one of) the discharged to be transported to Theadelphia. ..., you can by all means, either from Mustes or Apollinarius to deliver the letter to the royal (official) ... by cosmetes. I believe that he himself is so, because he has unjustly accused me and has heard from him so that ... in Theadelphia and you can take from Horion the little letter which contains...»

In a nutshell, the complainant was absent during his candidacy for compulsory service and he did not necessarily reside in Polydeukeia. Additionally, he was likely from the village of Philagris near Polydeukeia, where the document referred to plerotes Philagris. This job possibly was the one for which the complainant was nominated. Also, the document stated that the complainant accused someone of wasting everything related to the stalks (the harvest). It did not specify the exact reasons for the complainant because the document was partially damaged at the bottom[50].

IV. ECONOMIC LIFE

In the Roman era, economic activity in Philagris was diverse; however, the agricultural activity was the most widely documented and then followed the industrial and commercial activities, in addition to monetary lending.

1. Agriculture

From the Pharaonic era to the present, farming has constituted the primary economic activity in most Egyptian villages, as with Philagris in the Roman era. Throughout the ages, agricultural activity has been the pillar of the Egyptian economy. Thus, the project of the early Ptolemies to drain a large part of Lake Moeris to reclaim and create new areas of good soil and establish new towns required the digging of new canals to irrigate the reclaimed land, especially that the economic existence of these towns depended on the provision of sufficient irrigation water[51].

CORNELIA ROEMER'S recent excavations at «Philoteris Village» in the Themistos subnome revealed a set of four irrigation canals.[52] The canal that irrigated the western side

[50] ISMĀ[C]ĪL 2019: 16.
[51] ISMĀ[C]ĪL 2014: 51.
[52] ROEMER 2004: 294-298.

of Fayum, passing through the meris of Polemon and meris of Themistos, took its water from the present-day *Nazlah* Sea, which irrigated the villages of Philagris, Theadelphia, Euhemeria, Philoterisodi and Nisyas respectively. Further, this canal had several dams built with previous positions in these villages to raise water to the lands of each village. The most famous of these dams was the Sixth Gate Dam between the villages of Philagris and Theadelphia[53]. It contained a port that was considered one of the important points for sailing and navigable since its use in the Ptolemaic era. It was also used by boats to transport shipments of wheat to Arsinoe, the capital of the region, as one of the documents dating back to 219 BC indicated the loading of 2772 pure artabae on one of the new light transportation ships in the port of Philagris[54]. Therefore, Philagris was a critical turn in the irrigation system and was the first village in the meris of Themistos on that canal from the southeastern side towards the meris of Polemon[55].

Over time, the problem of the shortage of irrigation water in Fayum in general and the western side in particular began to prevail in the late third century AD. When drought hit the desert edges of the ground depression, the state failed to maintain irrigation canals and dams, exposing irrigation facilities to negligence. As a result, the emperors took measures to curb this neglect and strict penalties were imposed for any negligence by the provincial strategos. The lack of water was always one of the most important factors leading to conflicts between villages and peasants, as they used to obtain water by resorting to the «method of complaints». According to a text dating back to 281 AD[56], one of the canals had passed on the eastern side of the village of Theadelphia. So, Philagris was obviously on the same canal as Theadelpheia or on a canal connected to the canal of Theadelpheia somewhere upstream. Perkethaut is mentioned as having been situated on the Tanabta-wiyya Canal, which must have been one of the canals in this area[57], most likely *al-Baḥr Qasr el-Banāt*[58].

This canal was also mentioned in a petition submitted by the irrigation inspectors to the dioiketes Septimius Apollonios and Isidoros, strategos of Themistos and Polemon. The report of the irrigation inspectors stated that the peasants of Theadelphia had removed the stones in which the dam was built on the course of the canal. They did not deny this when the dioiketes and strategos summoned them and added that the peasants of Philagris also

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[53] ᶜABD ALLĀH 2022: 76.

[54] *SB.* 22. 15281, ll. 2-17, (Philagris 219 BC). ὀμο̣λο̣γεῖ Θεόδο-[2]|τος ναύκληρος[3]|τοῦ Ἀγαθοκλείας[4]|κε(ρκούρου) καινοῦ ἀχαρά-[5]|κτου ἐνβε̣βλ̣ῆσθαι (l. ἐμβεβλῆσθαι)[6]| παρὰ Δι̣δύμου καὶ̣[7]|Βερεθήιος τ̣ῷ̣ν πα-[8]|ρὰ Κρυσίππου (l. Χρυσίππου) εἰς τ̣[ὸ]ν̣[9]|περὶ Φιλαγρίδα ὄ̣[ρ-][10]|μον ἀπ̣ὸ̣ [τῶν γενη-][11]|μάτων τ[οῦ δ (ἔτους)][12]|[-ca.?-] Traces (l. πυροῦ καθαροῦ)[13]|[κεκοσκι]νευμέ̣ν̣ο̣[υ] (ἀρτάβας(?)) [14]|δισχιλίας ἐ̣π̣τ̣ά̣-[15]|κοσ̣ί[α]ς ἐβδομ̣ή̣κ̣ο̣ν̣-[16]|τ̣α δύ̣ο, (ἀρτάβαι) vac.? Bψοβ,[17]

«Theodotos, the ship-master of Agathokleia, the new unmarked light transport vessel for transportation of cargo acknowledges. From Didymos and Beretheis, (they) from Chrysippos to anchorage near Philagris from the harvest of the fourth year.....of sifted (pure) artabae two thousand seven hundred and seventy-two……(total) 2772 artabae».

[55] CLARYSSE & BEEK 2002: 196.

[56] *P. Strasb*. 6. 538, ll. 5, 13-15, 17-18, (Arsinoite AD 281).

[57] ROMER 2019: 86.

[58] *al-Wādī Nazla*, *al-Wādī Tanabṭāwiyya*, though meaning a canal; this identification is highly implausible given that *al-Wādī Nazla* was always a drain and not a canal. The confusion between *al-Wādī Nazla* (the drain) and *al-Baḥr al-Nazla* (the canal) is found in many publications. *al-Tanabṭāwiyya* Canal should be *al-Baḥr Qasr el-Banāt*. ROMER 2019: 86, note. 18.

accused them of removing other stones from the previous dam in their village. Hence, the strategos ordered the sailor Ninnus to investigate the matter, but he confirmed the safety of all dams. The strategos denounced the irrigation inspectors for their accusations against the peasants of Philagris, who explained that the accusation and suspicions of the peasants of Theadelphia stemmed solely from a grudge against them because they controlled the latch[59];

ὑπομνήματος γενομένου ἐπὶ τοῦ διασημοτάτου Σεπτιμίου Ἀπολλωνίου κοσμή-[18]|σαντος τὴν δι[οί]κησιν, καὶ ἐτέ ρου γενομένου ἐπὶ [Ἰσ]ιδώρου τοῦ καὶ Νεμεσίωνος στρα-[19]|τηγήσαντος Θ[εμ]ίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος μερίδων τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς εὐτυχεστάτης[20]|ταύτης βασιλεί[ας] Μεχεὶρ β, [μ]ετὰ τὴν ἀνάγν[ω]σιν ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν ὑδροφυλ[ά]κ[ω]ν[21]|ἐπύθετο [εί ο]ἰ [ἀπὸ Θεαδ]ελφ[είας] ....ε.[.....] ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον καὶ [έ]κείνησαν (l. [έ]κίνησαν)[22]|τῆς λιθίας (l. λιθείας). ἀπ[εκρεί]ναντ[ο] (l. ἀπ[εκρί]ναντ[ο]) [...]ρ .τ[....]υτοις χ[....τ]ὸ ἑκτὸς ἑλάξευσα[ν]. δι' ἑρμηνέ[ως][23]|ἀπεκρείναν[το] (l.ἀπεκρίναν[το]) [..]σκαλαμεν ὃ κατήλθαμεν .[.....]αι ἔγνωμεν. — ὁ στρατηγὸς [α]ὐτο[ῖ]ς[24]|εἶ(πεν)· απερ[.....].θετε γὰρ Νίννῳ ναύ[τῃ] ερ[...]αν. οἱ δροφύλακες (l. <ὑ>δροφύλακες) προ σεφώνη[σ]αν[25]|ἐνγράφ[ως περὶ τ]ῶν ἀπὸ Θεαδελφείας λα[ξ]εῦσα[ι μ]ὲν τὴν διώρυ[γ]α, περὶ δὲ τοῦ στο-[26]|μίου ε[.].[.....]· προσφωνοῦντες γ[ὰρ] εἶ(πον) [τὸν] λίθον τοὺς ἀπὸ ἀπὸ Φιλαγρίδ[ο]ς βεβαστα-[27]|χέναι [ή]γγέλ[κα] σιν σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ μάλα καὶ [Νί]ννου [να]ύτου κατελθόντος μετὰ τῶν ὑδ[ρ]ο-[28]|φυλάκων. / [ὁ σ]τρατηγὸς αὐτοῖς εἶ(πε)· τί λέγετε; Νίν[νο]ς ναύτης ἀπεκρείνατο (l. ἀπεκρίνατο)· καὶ το[ῦ]το[29]|τὸ τῆς Φιλαγρίδ[ος] καὶ αὐτὸ ὑγειην (l. ὑγιῆ) ἐστίν, τὸ ἔμπροσ[θε]ν αὐτοῦ. / ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῷ εἶ(πεν)·[30]|οὐδὲν οὖν βεβά[στ]ακται; ἀποκρείνατο (l.ἀπεκρίνατο)· ἐκ τῶν πρώ[τ]ων αὖ. / ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῖς ὑδρο-[31]|φύλαξι εἶ(πε)· τ[ί γὰρ οὖ]ν ὑμῖς (l. ὑμεῖς) προσεφωνήσατε λίθον [β]εβασταχέναι τοὺς ἀπὸ Φιλαγρίδ[ο]ς;[32]|δι' ἑρμηνέως [ἀπε]κρείναντο (l. [ἀπε]κρίναντο)· τοῦ στομίου τοῦ πρώτου οπιστον βεβάστακται. Ἑρμίας[33]|ἀπὸ Φιλαγρί[δος εἶ(πεν)]· οὐδὲν βεβάστακται. οὗτοι φθόνῳ ἡμᾶς περὶ κλειδείου (l. κλειδίου)[34].

«Memorandum of proceedings held before the most illustrious Septimius Apollonios who held the position of dioiketes and that which was conducted before Isidoros alias Nemesion, who held the position of strategos in the meris of Themistos and the meris of Polemon, in Mecheir 2 of the first year of the most fortunate reign. After reading them, the strategos inquired the guards of the irrigation works whether the villagers in Theadelphia .....to the mouth (upstream of the canal, the lock?) and removed the stone they responded through an interpreter: .... They answered that they had broken the outer layer and the strategos told them: ..... the keepers of the irrigation works gave a written report to the sailor Ninnos that the villagers of Theadelphia had cut the canal and as for the mouth «upstream of the canal, the lock?» giving their report, they said that the villagers of Philagris had moved the stone and indeed the sailor Ninnos went down with the keepers of the irrigation works and the strategos said to them: What do you say? and Ninnos, the sailor answered: This is the mouth of the channel of Philagris «and the other» before it.... The strategos said to him: so, nothing was taken? he answered: not from the beginnings. .... and the strategos said to the keepers of the irrigation works, so have you been informed that the residents of Philagris have moved the stone? They answered through an interpreter: the barrier «mouth, lock?» has been removed from the beginning. Hermias from Philagris said: nothing was removed. They held a grudge against us about the control switch (handle or lock slider».

[59] *P. Sakaon*. 32, COL.2, ll. 18-34 , (Theadelphia 3 AD).

It was well known how the opening or closing of irrigation canals had always been the cause of incessant recriminations between farmers[60]. The hidden reason for this was the struggle to obtain a larger amount of water in the canal passing through the west of the region. One potential reason was the reduced water levels in the canal and the decreased flow from its source, *Baḥr* Yusuf, at the eastern entrance of Fayum, which got its water from the Nile. It is worth noting that at that time the Nile suffered from a low level of flooding. Another reason was the accumulation of sand and sediment in the canal due to insufficient maintenance and care. This buildup reduced the canal's capacity to carry water, decreasing the supply available to each village[61]. Therefore, water was considered the main factor in the prosperity of farming in Egyptian villages among Egypt's population and the farmers of Philagris were no exception.

Documents related to the agricultural field show that Philagris had a strong relationship with nearby villages, especially those of Theadelphia and Polydeukeia. One of the documents of Theadelphia dating back to 161 AD documented a contract of the authorization given to a resident of the village of Philagris named Heron, son of Heron, to collect Philagris ' share of taxes on the ninth of the month of Pauni from Panesneus, son of Horos and Maron, son of Apollonios, the assistants in the collection of farmers' taxes in the village of Polydeukeia. In this contract, Heron pledged to act as a substitute for them in the collection of taxes on hay and other taxes in Polydeukeia for the area of land estimated at 411 $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$ arourae. The farmers of Philagris cultivated that land and the total estimated paid amount was 650 drachmae of silver coin in monthly installments starting from the month of Pharmouth until Mesore[62];

r; Ἥρων Ἥρωνος ἀπὸ κώμης Φιλαγρίδος[1]|Πανεσνῖ Ὥρου καὶ Μάρωνι Ἀπολλωνίου[2]|βοηθοῖς γεωργῶν κώμης Πολυδευκείας. ὁμο-[3]|λογῶ κατὰ τότε (l. τόδε) τ̣[ὸ χ]ιρ̣ό̣γ̣[ραφον] (l. [χ]ειρόγ- [ραφον]) [ἀνθ' ὑμῶν][4]|τὴν εἴσπραξιν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἐκδῶναι (l. ἐκδοῦναι)[5] |σύμβολα μονοδεσμίας χόρτου καὶ ἄλλων[6]|είδῶν νομαρχίας τῶν ἐπιμερισθεισῶν[7]|ὑμεῖν (l. ὑμῖν) Πολυδευκείας διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαγρίδος[8]|ἐν Πάλ̣η (ἀρουρῶν) υια δ´ η´ λβ´ ξδ´ κατὰ τὴν τῶν προ-[9]|τέρων ἐτῶν συνήθειαν ἐ̣[μ]οῦ τοῦ Ἥρω-[10]|νος διαγραφιν (l. διαγράφοντος) ὑμεῖν (l. ὑμῖν) τοῖ[ς] περὶ τὸν Πα -[11]|νεσνέα σύνπαντι λόγῳ ἀργυρίου[12]|δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἐξήκοντα,[13]|(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) φξ, κατὰ μῆνα τὸ αἰροῦν ἐξ ἴσου[14]|ἀπὸ μηνὸς Φαρμοῦθι ἕως μηνὸς Μεσορὴ[15]
συστατικὸν τοῦ μέρους τ̣ῆ̣ς Φιλαγρίδ(ος)[1]|πρὸς Ἥρωνα[2].

v; «Heron, son of Heron of Philagris to Panesneus, son of Horos and Maron, son of Apollonios, assistants in connexion with taxes upon cultivators at the village of Polydeukeia. I agree at your (request) written to act on your behalf in collecting and issuing receipts for the taxes of hay and other taxes to the nomarchy for the (area) that has been assigned to you at Polydeukeia and cultivated by the inhabitants of Philagris in Bali, 411 $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$ arourae, on the terms that, following the custom of former years, through me, I, Heron, shall pay to you Panesneus and his assistants. The total amount of five hundred and sixty drachmae of silver coin, a total of 650 drachmae, in equal monthly installments from the month of Pharmouth to the month of Mesore».

[60] JOUGUET 1912: 227.
[61] [C]ABD ALLAH 2022: 77.
[62] *P. Fay*. 34, r, ll. 1-15, v, ll. 1-2, (Theadelphia AD 161).

[verso]; Delegation of tax - collecting of the share of Philagris. «Submitted to Heron». The text shows that the farmers of Philagris' cultivation of about 411 acres of land in Polydeukeia confirmed the close connection between the two villages[63]. Moreover, according to the document from Theadelphia, dating back to the first and second centuries AD, people owned land belonging to settlers in Philagris. The document included a table with summaries of joint contracts registered in the villages of Polydeukeia and Sethrempais of the meris of Themistos for lands in Philagris[64];

[Διο]ṿυσίωι Δείου ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ̣ οὐλ(ὴ) μήλ(ωι) (ἀριστερῶι) πεπρα[κ]ξέναι αὐ(τῶι) εἰς κοπ̣(ὴν) ξηρασί[αν ἐ]ṿ τοῖς ὑπάρχο(υσι) τῶι ὁμο(λογοῦντι) περὶ Φιλαγρί(δα) κατοικ(ικοῖς) ἐδ(άφεσι) (l. ἑκδ̣είας) χόρτου σὺṇ φυτ(οῖς) ἀρεστ(οῖς) ἀρο(ύρας) δύο φυῆ(ς) τοῦ \ἐṇ/ẹ̣σ̣τ\ῶ̣/(τος) [- ca.?-][30].

«X declares» to Dionysus, son of Dios, about thirty years old, with a scar on his left cheek, that he sold the lands of the settlers, two arourae with a sufficient crop of unmixed grass ... and in sufficient quantities, «which» belong to the declarant «according to the contract, wherein the land is» near Philagris to him for cutting and drying, for registration from «year?» .... current».

The document shows how people from Polydeukeia cultivated land in Philagris and it was likely the use of land in Polydeukeia continued for several years[65]. Another document of Theadelphia dated 149 AD also referred to the use of land in Polydeukeia by some people from Philagris. It detailed payments and taxes paid by Philagris residents on agricultural products for their land in Polydeukeia[66];

Αὐληρὶς Ὁρσέως Φιλαγρίδ(ος) δη(μοσίων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβ) . .[642]

Ἑρμῆς Ὁρσέως Φι[λ]αγρίδ(ος) δη(μοσίων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιθ .[666] |ὁ αὐτὸς Πολυδ(ευκίας) δη(μοσίων) διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαγ(ρίδος) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) η΄[667]

« Auleris, son of Orseus of Philagris.. artabae of wheat for public taxes».

«Hermes, son of Orseus from Philagris, 19 artabae. of wheat for public taxes. He himself is of Polydeukeia, $\frac{1}{8}$artaba of wheat for public taxes through those who are from Philagris».

The documents revealed how the villages of Theadelphia and Philagris were closely connected in all agricultural, administrative and financial aspects to the point that some historians believed that Philagris was administratively related to Theadelphia[67].

The documents also indicated a link between them in most administrative and financial aspects, especially the collection of taxes in-kind and in money. Since Theadelphia was one of the major villages in the meris of Themistos, the relationship between the two villages was highlighted in one of the documents dating to the middle of the third century AD. It was a personal letter from Ninenos to his friends, Heroninos and Pontikos, authorizing them to collect rents of their properties in other villages, including Philagris[68];

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[63] CLARYSSE & BEEK 2022: 197.

[64] *BASP*. 50. 89, l. 30, (Theadelphia 1/2 AD).

[65] CLARYSSE & BEEK 2022: 197.

[66] *BGU*. 9. 1893, COL.19, ll. 642, 666-667, (Theadelphia AD 149).

[67] CLAYTOR 2013: 96.

[68] *P. Prag*. 2. 201, r, ll. 1-3, 9-13, 35-38, (Theadelphia AD 250/1/3/4).

r; Νίννος Ἡρωνίνωι[1]|καὶ Ποντικῷ τ[ο]ῖς[2]|φιλ(τάτοις) χαίρειν.[3]

μενος συνάξαι παν-[9]|τας τοὺς γενομέ-[10]|νους σὺν ἡμεῖν (l. ἡμῖν) εἰς Ὀξυ-[11]|ρυγ'χείτην καὶ τὸ[12] |[κ]ατὰ Φιλα[γρίδος][13]

σὺ δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ὀφείλεις[35]|τὸν φόρον ἀναπέμψαι μοι[36]|έν (δραχμαῖς) ϡ, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τοῦτο παι-[37]

|δάριον πεμφθῇ.[38]

(recto); « Ninnos to the dearest Heroninos and Pontikos, greetings.»

«to collect all the proceeds (rents and bring them) with us to Oxyrynchites, as well as to Philagris.»

«Pontikos, you are required to send me the rent 900 drachmae so that a servant may not be sent for this matter».

One of the texts from Theadelphia, dating back to 314 AD, showed the process of delivering a quantity of wheat and barley grain from Strategos of Arsinoite to some people from the village of Theadelphia with guarantors for them to return the entire share with interest (50%). Everything was written in detail, such as the names of the people and the quantities of grain received by a person from Philagris named Aurelius Klematis, son of Hermias, because they did not know how to write[69];

ἀπὸ κώμηςΘεαδελφίας, μετ'ἐγγύωνείςἔκτισιν (l. ἔκτεισιν) τῆς ἀποδώσεως Αὐρηλίων Ἀρίωνος Διοσκόρου καὶ Σακαῶνος Σαταβοῦ(τος)[5].

[ἠμι]ολίας ὡς πρ[ό]κιται· καὶ περ[ωτη]θέντες (l. ὑπερ[ωτη]θέντες) ὡμολογήσαμεν. [Αὐρ]ήλιος Κλημάτιος Ἑρμίου ἀ[πὸ κ]ώμης Φιλαγρίδος ἔγραψ[α ὑπ]ὲρ αὐτῶν[18]|ά[γρα]μμάτων. (hand 3) Αὐρ(ήλιοι) Ἀρίων κα[ὶ Σακα]ῶν ἐγγυώμεθα ὡς πρόκιτ[αι εἰς] ἔκτ(εισιν) τῆ(ς) ἀποδόσ(εως) τοῦ [πυροῦ] καὶ τῆς κριθῆς μ[ετὰ τ]ῆς[19]|[ἡ]μιολείας (l.[ἡ] μιολίας) ὡς πρόκιται. Αὐ[ρ(ήλιος) . .] .ς ἔγραψα ὑ(πὲρ) ἀγ̣ρ̣αμμ(άτων)..[20]

«from the village of Theadelphia with their guarantors to pay the whole share, Aurelius Arion, son of Dioskoros and Aurelius Sakaon, son of Satabous».

«The interest is fifty percent, as it is mentioned. In response to the formal question, we have so declared. I, Aurelius Klematis, son of Hermias of the village of Philagris, wrote on their behalf because they do not know how to write. (We) Aurelii Arion and Sakaon, as mentioned earlier, guarantee the return of wheat and barley with interest at fifty percent (50%) as mentioned above. I, Aurelius ... I wrote for them because they are illiterate».

One of the documents in Theadelphia dating back to about 327 AD was a petition from Aurelius Sakaon, son of Satabous, from Theadelphia to Aurelius Chairemon Praepositus, the eighth governor of the Pagarchy. He wrote that he owned five arourae in the village of Philagris and others wished to separate two and a half arourae from his property[70];

Αὐρηλίῳ Χαιρ[ήμο]νι πραι(ποσίτῳ) πάγ̣ο̣υ̣ [η][1]|παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Σακαῶνος Σ̣α̣τ̣α̣-[2]|βοῦτος ἀπὸ κώμης Θεαδ[ελφίας][3]|τοῦ αὐτοῦ πάγο[υ]. ἀπ̣ο̣γραψα-[4]|μέν̣ο̣υ̣ μο̣υ̣ π̣ρ̣ώ̣η̣ν̣ ἐν τῷ[5]|συσταθέντι κησῳ (l. κή<ν>σῳ) παρὰ[6]|Σαβείνῳ (?) κενσήτορσι (l. κηνσίτορσι)[7]|ἃς ἔχω

[69] *P. Sakaon*. 49, ll. 5, 18-20, (Theadelphia AD 314).

[70] *P. Sakaon*. 43, ll. 1-12, 17-22, (Theadelphia AD 327).

πε̣ρὶ τῆς α̣ὐ̣τῆς κ̣ώ̣-[8]|μης Φι̣λ̣α̣γ̣ρίδ̣ος (?) ἀρ[ούρ]ας[9]|πέντε , καὶ καμοῦ (l. ἐμοῦ) τήν τ̣ε̣ ν̣ο̣μ̣ὴ̣ν̣[10]|καὶ δεσποτίαν ἔχοντο̣ς̣[11]|τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρουρῶν[12]

καὶ Πέννις καὶ Ἄῦγ ἀπὸ τῆς[17]|αὐτῆς κώμης Τεαδελφίας (l. Θεαδελφίας)[18]|έφαποπθαλμιας (l. έποφθαλμιάσαντες) τῶ\ν/ ἠμετέρων[19]|καμάτων βεβούληνται έξ αὐτῶν ἀρουρῶν[20]|δύο ἥμισυ ἀποσπᾶσαι του . .ου τ̣ὰ̣ς μηδὲ̣ν̣[21]|αὐτοῖς διαφερούσας. Καὶ δικαιολογῖ (l. δικαιολογεῖ) Χ̣ καιολογεα̣ καιολ[22]

«To Aurelius Chairemon praepositus of the eighth pagarchy, from Aurelius Sakaon, son of Satabous, from the village of Theadelphia in the same nome. Although I have declared in the past, during the census that was conducted .... to the censitor(s), that the five arourae that belong to me in the village of Philagris? (and enjoy) the possession and ownership of the same arourae.»

«Penneis and Aug, from the village of Theadelphia itself, they took a greedy «envious» look at the «product» of our labor and they wanted me to split two and a half arourae from them. They do not belong to them. And to consider the lawsuit ... ».

Crops varied in the village of Philagris. Wheat ranked first, followed by barley, as documents from the Roman era showed. This aspect was evident in receipts of in-kind taxes on wheat and barley, seed supervision operations and monthly reports of tax collectors on various types of lands, whether state-owned, royal, sacred, or military lands. These tax receipts were forwarded by the tax collectors to the village scribe, who, in turn, kept accurate records. Agricultural superintendents kept those records to quantify the grains delivered to farmers and tenants to cultivate their lands. Further, they followed up on the tenants to cultivate their lands and monitor the process of sowing and harvesting grains in the following years[71].

According to the text, dating 141/142 AD, from Fayum, the scribe of the village of Philagris and the suburb of Meliagris, gave an account of the seed tax for the land in Philagris. The land's area was estimated at 2050 $\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$ arourae, in addition to 2 arourae of the land owned by Meliagris. After the scribe made the tax exemption based on the calculation of the grain-producing leased land, the total became 39 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{64}$ and the rest 2015 $\frac{1}{8}$ arourae. The distribution in detail is shown in the following **[TABLE 2],** as the document revealed[72].

[71] VIERECK 1895: 109.

[72] *BGU*. 1. 20, (Arsinoite AD 141/2).

Line	Quantity in artaba	Aroura	Total remaining from (2015 $\frac{1}{8}$) arourae
13	(?) artaba of barley	(3) arourae	(1975 $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$) Remaining arourae
	(2) artaba of barley	(2) arourae	
14	(?) artaba of barley	($\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{16}$ ..) aroura	
	($1\frac{1}{2}$) artabae of barley	(?) aroura	
15	(?) artaba of barley	($9\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{64}$) arourae	
	($\frac{3}{4}$) artaba of barley	5 arourae	
16	(?) artaba of barley	One aroura	
	($\frac{1}{4}$)artaba of barley	One aroura	
17	(?) artaba of barley	($9\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{16}$) arourae	
	In exchange (2) artabae…. of barley	(3) arourae	
18	(?) artaba of barley	One aroura	
	($5\frac{1}{12}$) artabae of wheat	(?) aroura	
Line	**Quantity in artaba**	**Aroura**	**Total remaining from (1975 $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$) arourae**
20	($4\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{48}$) artabae of wheat	(1559) arourae	Remaining (170)arourae
21	($4\frac{3}{4}$) artabae of wheat	$6\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$ arourae	
	(5) artabae of wheat	$15\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$ arourae	
22	($5\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{12}$) artabae of wheat	45, 375 …2000 (?)	
	(?) artaba of ….	($109\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{32}$) arourae	
23	In exchange of ($6\frac{1}{12}$) artabae of wheat	(113) arourae	
	(2) artabae of wheat	($5\frac{1}{2}$., $\frac{1}{2}$) arourae	

[TABLE 2]: Statement of seed tax for land in Philagris©Done by the researcher

Thus, according to a historian, the documents on Philagris did not allow us to determine the exact size of the village. However, it was a smaller village than Polydeukeia and Theadelphia[73].

Several documents referred to the collection of various taxes from diverse villages in the nome of Themistos, including Philagris. One of the documents, dated 146 AD from Theadelphia[74], was a statement of account for an in-kind tax collector (wheat) in Philagris, without specifying the value of the taxes due to the damage to the document from its bottom Φιλαγρίδος δη(μοσίων) (πυροῦ) . .[-ca.?-]. Another document, dated 164/165 AD[75], was a monthly report of a collector of taxes in-kind (wheat) in Theadelphia named Heron and his assistants παρὰ Ἥρωνος καὶ μετόχ(ων) σιτολόγ(ων) κώμ[η]ς Θεαδελφείας. Moreover, other documents included receipts from other villages in the meris of Themistos, including Philagris, for taxes. However, they did not mention the monetary value Φιλαγρίδος δι(ὰ) κληρούχω(ν). A third document that was likely to be of Theadelphia as well, dating from 165 AD[76], referred to the total monthly receipts from the

[73] MAHAFFY 1896/1901: 205.

[74] *P. Strasb*. 9. 828, l. 24, (Theadelphia AD 146).

[75] *P. Berl. Leigh*. 1. 1, COL.1, 1-2, COL.2, l. 11, (Theadelphia; AD 164/5).

[76] *P. Berl. Leigh*. 1. 4, r, COL.1, ll. 1-2, COL.5, ll. 15-16, (Theadelphia(?); AD 165).

monthly report of the in-kind tax collector Horigenes of the village of Theadelphia παρὰ Ὡριγένους καὶ μετόχ(ων) σιτολ(όγων) κώμης Θεαδελ(φείας) and other villages. It documented the calculation of purchasing $9\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{24}$ artabae of wheat by the state, $7\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat from Theadelphia and $2\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{24}$ artabae of wheat from Philagris, the total being as above [καὶ] ὑπὲρ σῦ[ναγ(οραστικοῦ) λῐ́(γου)] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) θ γ΄ κδ΄, ὧν Θεαδελ(φείας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ζ , Φιλ(αγρίδος) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β γ΄ κδ΄ γ(ίνονται) αἱ π(ροκείμεναι)

The above-mentioned documents [P. Berl. Leigh. 1. 1] and [P. Berl. Leigh. 1. 4] demonstrated the close connection between the villages of Philagris and Theadelphia. They illustrated that the in-kind taxes collected by Theadelphia's tax collector included receipts for other villages in the Themistos Nome, such as monthly tax reports on state lands and fiefs collected from the village of Philagris.

In addition, a statement of account from multiple villages, including Philagris, for an in-kind tax collector dating from the second century indicated that eight and a half artabae of wheat were collected by taxpayers δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαγ(ρίδος) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) η, δι(α)φό(ρου) ς΄[77]. Similarly, documents revealed a relationship between Philagris and Dionysos. For example, the 129-131 AD text in which Dionysias commissioned public farmers from Philagris for specific tasks declared the mutual responsibility of the public farmers[78];

Ἡρώδῃ τῶι καὶ Τι[βε]ρίῳ στρατηγῷ[1]|Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Θεμίστου Μερ[ίδο]ς[2]|Ἡρακλᾶς Χαρίτωνος τ[ο]ῦ Διονυσίου[3]|καὶ Πατῦνις Ἥρωνος τοῦ Ἀτρέως[4]|[οἱ δ]ύο ἀπὸ κώμης Φιλαγρίδος δημόσιοι[5] |[γεω]ργοί. ὀμνύομεν τὴν Αὐτοκράτορος[6]|Κ[αίσ]αρος Τραιανοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ[7]|Τύχην προστί[θεσθαι ἡμῖν ἑκλεκ-][8]|τοὺ[ς] τῆς κώμης Δ[ιονυσιάδος δημοσίους][9]|γεωργοὺς συνεῖναι ἡ[μῖν ἐν τῷ συλλέ-][10]|ξαι εἰς ἐπιτηδίους (l. ἐπιτηδείους) τ[όπους τὰ τῆς λινο (?)-][11]|καλάμης φορτία δι[σχίλια καὶ ὀκτα-][12]

«To Herodes alias Tiberius, strategos of Arsinoite nome, meris of Themistos. HERAKLAS, son of CHARITON, grandson of DIONYSOS and PATYNIS, son of HERON, grandson of HATRIS. Both are public cultivators of the village of Philagris. We swear by the fortune of the emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus that we have joined the chosen «persons» from the village of Dionysias as public cultivators to join us in delivering two thousand eight hundred loads of cane to the fit places».

Finally, a document dating back to the second century AD concerned with collecting in-kind taxes in the village of Philagris also mentioned a person named Horion addressing his friend personally. Horion urged his friend to take Kastor with him to collect an in-kind tax amounting to about $8\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat from Serenus, who had deceived him many times in Philagris[79];

πολλάκις Σερῆνος [. .] . .ητων [έ]νέ-[15]|δρευσεν ἡμᾶς. ὑπαγέτω Κάστωρ εἰς[16]|Φιλαγριδαν (l. Φιλαγρίδα) ἐπιτηδὲς ⟦ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν⟧ πρὸς[17] |αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπαιτησ[ά]τω (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) η . ἔρρω[σο.][18]. Serenus has often deceived us. Let Kastor go to him in Philagris and demand $8\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat. Goodbye».

[77] *P. Fay*. 86, l. 12, (Theadelphia; 2 AD).

[78] *P. Cair. Mich*. 3. 10, ll. 1-11, (Karanis; AD 129-131).

[79] *P. Ryl.* 2. 239, ll. 15-18, (Arsinoite; 3 AD).

2. Industry

Philagris was famous for important industries, such as olive oil and wine. The extractions of oils of various types and wine constituted two important tributaries of the income of individuals in the village of Philagris. A group of documents attested to oil and wine presses in the village of Philagris in «Libiane Ousia and Germanikiane Caesar». A labor contract, dated to 7 AD, was one of the documents that illustrated this press in Philagris. It was a labor contract of an oil maker in Philagris between Harthotes and Theon, son of Petermouthis in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Emperor Caesar. It specified how Harthotes, son of Marres, received an unspecified amount of minted silver drachmae in exchange for his daughter's Taa'unes provision of olives and accomplishment of everything that was required of her by Theon for two years[80];

(hand 3) ἔτους λζ Καίσαρος Φαῶφι [ιζ ἐν Φιλαγρίδι ἀ(ναγέγραπται) διὰ . . .ρου]7|(hand 1) Ἁρθ̣ώτ̣ης Μ̣αρήους Πέρσης τῆς ἐ̣[πιγονῆς - ca.20 -]8|ὁ̣μ̣ο̣λ̣[ο]γ̣(l. ὁμολογῶ) ἔχι̣ν (l. ἔχειν) παρὰ Θέωνος Π̣ε̣τ̣[ερμούθιος ἐλαιουργοῦ τοῦ ἐν Φιλ-]9|α̣γ̣ρ̣ίδει Λειβίας (l. Λιβίας) καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καί̣σ̣[αρος οὐσίας ἐλαιουργίου]10 |ἀ̣ρ̣υ̣ρίου ἐπισήμου κεφα[λ]ί̣[ο]υ (l. κεφα[λ]αί[ο]υ) δραχμ[ὰς - ca.19 -]11 |[.]. ἀ̣ντὶ τούτ̣ω̣[ν] κ̣αὶ δ̣ε̣ό̣ντων καὶ εἰμ[ατισμοῦ παρέξομεν τὴν]12 |[θυγατ]έρ̣α̣ μ[ο]υ̣ Τ̣α̣ᾶ̣[υν]ῆν παρ̣[αμένουσαν τῷ Θέωνι ἐφ']13|[ἔ]τ̣η δύ̣ο ἀ̣π̣ὸ̣ μ̣η̣ν̣ὸ̣ς Ἀθ̣ὺ̣ρ̣ τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ ἐ̣ν̣ε̣σ̣τ̣ῶ̣τ̣[ος ἐβδόμου καὶ τριακοστοῦ]14|ἔ̣τ̣ους Καίσαρος παρενβάλλο̣υ̣σ̣α̣ν̣ (l. παρεμβάλλουσαν) [ἐπὶ τοῦ δηλουμένου ἐλαιουρ-]15|γ̣ί̣ο̣υ (l. [ἐλαιουρ]|γίῳ) ἅμα δὲ καὶ δηατρείβουσα[ν] (l. διατρίβουσα[ν]) καὶ π̣[οιοῦσαν πάντα τὰ ἐπιτασ]16 |[σόμεν]α̣ ο̣ὐ̣ γ̣ι̣ν̣ο̣μ̣ένη (l. γινομένην) ἀπόκο[ι]τοη̣ [οὐδ' ἀφήμερον ἀλλὰ καὶ]17 |[συνακολ]ο̣υ̣θ̣ο̣ῦ̣σ̣α̣ν̣ α̣ὐ̣τ̣ῷ̣ π̣α̣ν̣[ταχῇ κατὰ τὸν νομὸν (?)]18 .

«Year 37 of Caesar's reign, Phaophi 17th, in Philagris. Recorded by ..., Harthotes, son of Marres, Persian of Epigone ... declares that he has received from Theon, son of Petermouthis, the oilmaker in the oil mill of the state of Livia and Germanicus Caesar in Philagris, total amount of ... drachmae of coined silver, that in return of these and for necessities and clothing, he will give his daughter Taa'unes, who will remain with Theon for two years from the month of Hathor in the current thirty-seventh year of Caesar, feeding the previously mentioned olive press with olives, as well as staying and doing everything ordered, not being absent by day or by night, but to follow him everywhere throughout the nome».

According to this document, this incident ranks as one of the most prominent examples of child labor in Roman times. CLAYTOR *et Al*. suggested that the girl was 6 years old when her father sent her to work as a personal servant to Theon, the factory foreman and described her as an olive presser παρεμβάλουσαν[81]. This contract was later renewed in another document from Theadelphia, dating between 9 and 10 AD. It involved the same parties and was recorded two years after the initial agreement, in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of Emperor Caesar [ἔτο]υ̣ς ἐνά̣τ̣ο̣υ̣ κ̣α̣[ὶ τριακοστ]ο̣[ῦ] τ̣ῆ̣ς Κ̣α̣ί̣σ̣α̣ρ̣[ο]ς̣. The renewed agreement extended the girl's service for another period with Theon of two years and six months, with a financial value of 80 drachmae of minted silver [ἔ]χ̣ειν π̣α̣ρ̣' αὐτοῦ ἀ̣ρ̣γ̣υ̣[ρί]ο̣υ̣ ἐ̣π̣[ι]σήμου κεφαλίου (l. κεφαλαίου) δραχμὰς ὀγ̣δ̣[οήκοντα] καὶ ἀντὶ τ̣ο̣ύ̣τ̣ω̣ν̣ παρ[έξεσθαι] τ̣ὴ̣ν̣ ἐ̣α̣υ̣τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ θ̣υ̣γ̣ατέρα Ταανῆν παραμ̣[έ-] νουσαν τῶι Θέωνι ἐφ' [ἔ]τη δύο καὶ

[80] BASP. 53. 105_3, ll. 7-18, (Philagris AD 7).

[81] CLAYTOR *et Al* 2016: 89-90.

μῆνας ἓξ, in addition to specifying additional terms and conditions in the contract about the idea of her absence and departure from the farm and the times of visiting her family[82];

...τ̣ρεφομένη (l. τρεφομένην) καὶ ἱμ̣ατιζομένη̣ (l. ἱματιζομένην) ὑ̣[πὸ][13] | Θέωνος. ἐκάστης δὲ ἡμέρας ἧς ἐὰν ἀπαλλαγῇ ἐντὸς τοῦ[14]|χρόνου ἐκτίσι (l. ἐκτείσει) δ̣ραχμ̣ὴν μίαν. μὴ ἐξέστωι (l. ἐξέστω) οὖν τῶι Ἀρθώτῃ[15] |ἐ̣ντὸς τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ χ̣ρόν[ο]υ̣ ἀ̣[ποσ]πᾶν̣ τὴν θυγατέρα μηδ' αὐτὴν ἀπαλ̣[λα-][16]|[γῆ]ναι. ἐὰν δ' ἀποσπάσωσι ἢ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ θυγάτηρ ἀπαλλαγῇ ἢ κλέ-[17]|[π]τ̣ουσα ἢ καταβλάπτουσα ἢ νοσφιζομένη ἀλίσκηταί τ̣[ι τῶν][18] |[Θ]ε̣ώνος[19] |(hand 3) ἔτους λθ Καίσ̣α̣ρ̣ο̣[ς] Φ̣α̣ρ̣μ̣ο̣ῦ̣θι θ ἐν Φιλαγρ̣ίδι ἀ(ναγέγραπται) διὰ ...ρου[20]

(recto): «…being fed and clothed by Theon. If she is absent, he will pay (for every day she is absent) one drachma. Harthotes may not take his daughter during this period nor for her to leave. If the daughter leaves on her own (of her own volition) or is caught stealing, damaging, or removing anything belonging to Theon. Year 39 of Caesar, Pharmouth 9, registered in Philagris through …».

The two documents indicated their registration in Philagris. Nevertheless, it was unclear which office handled the registration. Hence, the researcher argues that as long as they were registered in the village, it suggests the presence of an administrative registration office in Philagris; however, unlike other villages, Philagris was not explicitly mentioned in the texts. This highlights the significant industrial activity associated with the oil presses in Philagris, where workers and servants were regularly hired. At the same time, the document revealed the deep fear of parents who exploited their children, whether girls or boys, of the idea of not being able to compensate them either due to their poverty or debts. Therefore, parents were forced to take such radical steps to pay the debts. Despite the daughter's service for long periods away from home, the arrangement allowed her to maintain ties with her family, with appropriate provisions made and appropriate arrangements were made well enough to enable her to see her family[83].

Moreover, the wine industry was popular in Philagris, as a statement of monetary accounts related to an unspecified large province in the Arsinoite nome demonstrated. Alkimedon, the chargé d'affaires, presented to the owner, Valerius Titanianus, perhaps directly or through his agent, Aurelius Areios, these reports of semi-annual accounts of some rents and calculations of the expenses in-kind and money for this province, including wine. In addition, one of the documents in Fayum, dated 239/240 AD[84] showed the accounts of the previous month and what was transferred and transported for wine using the «monochora wine amphora. It reported that «22 monochorae» were transferred to the wine merchant Sabinus in Philagris κ̣αὶ μονοχώ(ροις) κβ τ[ο]ύτων ἐ[πέ]μ̣φθ[η εἰς] Φιλαγρί[δα] Σ̣αβείνῳ οἰνοπώλῃ.

The wine trade was as just prominent in Philagris as in other villages in Fayum. Consequently, there was a wine press in Philagris, as evidenced by a document dated 258 AD in Theadelphia also showed. A letter from Abenaeus to a person called Hieroninus, the director of the village of Thraso in the meris of Themistos, was sent to provide as much wine as possible from the second press of Theadelphia and other villages, including Philagris[85];

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[82] *BASP*. 53. 110_4, r, ll. 6-8, 13-20, (Theadelphia AD 9/10).

[83] CLAYTOR *et Al* 2016: 91-92.

[84] *P. Mich*. 11. 620, COL.3, ll. 230-231, (Arsinoite AD 239/40).

[85] *P. Flor*. 2. 178, r, COL.1, ll. 1-5, COL.2, l. 1, (Theadelphia AD 258).

r, 1; π(αρὰ) Ἀπιανοῦ.[1]|δευτεροχύτωνὅσον[2]|δυνατόνσοίέστιν προνό-[3]|ησον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς[4] Θεαδελφίας καὶ ἀπὸ[5]
Φιλαγ[ρ]ίδος[6]

2; Ἡρωνίνωιφρ(οντιστῇ) Θρασώ[1]
(recto, COL.1): «From Appianus, provide as much as you can of the wine produced of the second pressing
from Theadelphia and from Philagris».

(COL.2); To Heroninos, the steward of Thraso».

3. Trade and Grain Transportation

Philagris was well known for trade, as evidenced by its documents. For example, much of the grain transportation took place between Philagris and other villages. As mentioned earlier, since the Ptolemaic era, Philagris had a main navigable canal [P. Strasb. 6. 538]. The use of this port was not mentioned again in the Roman era, but the documents mentioned the «Memphis harbor». Further, like other villages in Fayum, Philagris paid the «tax for the harbor of Memphis» «λιμένος Μέμφεως», a tax that was levied on certain fees charged to villages for using the harbor of Memphis, which had customs stations. The tax was collected on goods traveling through the canals to the Nile and perhaps from other places where trains of camels or donkeys traveled overland. Undoubtedly, Philagris' goods were often shipped to Memphis[86] by riverboat or through the canal; hence, the payments of taxes of superintendence λιμένος Μέμφεως and some other taxes such as superintendence and the tax of one-fifth «ἐπιστατείας καὶ πέμπτης» to Memphis. A statement, dating back to the third century AD[87], mentioned these taxes in various customs stations for different villages in the Nome of Themistos in Fayum. This is shown **[TABLE 3]**.

Village	Lines' Numbers	The tax for the harbor of Memphis			Superintendence and the tax of one-fifth			Total
		Cost in			Cost in			
		Drachma	Obolos	Chalkos	Drachma	Obolos	Chalkos	
Apias	4-6	40	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	28	2	2	68 drachmae and 3 oboloi
Arsinoite (village in Fayum)	7-9	80	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	56	$4\frac{1}{2}$	2	13 drachmae, Half obolos and 2 chalkoi[88]
Alexandron -esus	10-12	40	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	28	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	68 drachma and 3 oboloi
Hermopolis	13-15	40	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	28	2	–	68 drachma and 3 oboloi

[86] WALLACE 1938: 261.

[87] *P. Lond*. 3. 1107, COL.74, ll. 1-24, (Arsinoite 3 AD).

[88] According to the document, the researcher noted that there was an error in the total taxes for the village of Arsinoe in the meris of Themistos; thus, the total is 137 drachmae and 4 chalkoi instead of 13 drachmae, $\frac{1}{2}$ obolos and 2 chalkoi.

Theoxinis	16-18	47	$3\frac{1}{2}$	2	53	5	2	21 drachma, 3 oboloi and 2 chalkoi[89]
Magis	19-21	80	$\frac{1}{2}$	–	56	5	2	137 drachmae, half obolos and 2 chalkoi
Philagris	22-24	80	$1\frac{1}{2}$	–	199	$1\frac{1}{2}$	–	279 drachmae and 3 oboloi

[TABLE 3]: List of taxes of «Memphis, superintendence and one-fifth» in different villages of Themistos © Done by the researcher

Several observations can be made from **[TABLE 3]**; these amounts represent the tax collected on shipments from these places during a limited period. Therefore, the estimated payments for ἐπιστατείας καὶ πέμπτης, the superintendence and the tax of one-fifth from Philagris were larger than the payments of Memphis itself λιμένος Μέμφεως. In all other cases, these total payments of the superintendence and the tax of one-fifth were almost seven-tenths of the estimated payments from the Memphis harbor tax.

As WALLACE noted, the tax of one-fifth ἐπέμπτης was an extra charge collected when paying the Memphis harbor tax on goods and shipments[90]. At the same time, the supervision payments ἐπιστατείας were fees for the customs supervisor ἐπιστάτεία for inspecting and monitoring the regularity of customs procedures, which may have been stationed at some point on the canal through which ships passed from all these places.

If the tax of one-fifth represented [20%] of the Memphis harbor tax, the superintendence tax ἐπιστατείας was usually about half the rate of the Memphis harbor tax. **[TABLE 3]** illustrated how Philagris' shipments value of the payments for superintendence and the tax of one-fifth were triple the value of the Memphis harbor tax. [WALLACE] argued that this increase may be due to a violation of customs regulations. When such a violation was discovered, the official checked the matter, unloaded the cargo and reexamined it thoroughly. Thus, it was either the fees for these procedures that were increased, or the rate of examination and inspection fees might vary according to the different types of goods[91].

Camels, donkeys, horses, cows, mules and others were the different types of pack animals used in the villages of Fayum. However, three Philagris documents showed that certain pack animals were used to transport grain. In line 232 of the first [P. Mich. 11. 620] from Fayum, dating between 239/240 AD, camels were referred to as καμήλων. Thus, twelve camels belonging to a noble judge were mentioned transporting a cargo of wine to Philagris through cameleers διὰ καμήλω[νιβτο]ῦ εὐσχήμ̣ονος διὰ καμηλατῶν. In contrast, the second document from Theadelphia, dating between 250-252 AD[92], referred to the transportation of grain by donkeys and mules, as the governance of these villages required

[89] The researcher noted an error in the total taxes for the village of Theoxenis in the meris of Themistos; thus, the total is 201 drachmae, 3 oboloi and 2 chalkoi instead of 21 drachmae, 3 oboloi and 2 chalkoi.

[90] WALLACE 1938: 261.

[91] WALLACE 1938: 262.

[92] *P. Bingen*. 111ca, v, COL.3, ll. 64-66, (Theadelphia AD 250-2).

the use of pack animals that worked day and night to achieve the required mobility between them to transport grains and other needs of the different villages[93].

The document from the archives of Heroninos described activities from various villages reported the harvest parade, in which different numbers of donkeys ὄνοι and mules μοῦλος transported fodder over consecutive days from the twenty-first to the thirtieth day in different villages of Fayum. On the twenty-eighth day, seven donkeys and one mule transported fodder and rested in Krokodilopolis (the city/capital), followed by rest in Philagris on the twenty-ninth day. They passed by Philagris on the twenty-ninth day ἄλλοι ὄνοι ζ μ(οῦλος) α ⁄ ἐἰς τὴν πό(λιν) ἀναπ(αύοντο) κθ ⁄ ὄνοι δ ⁄ εἰς Φιλ(αγρίδα).

Finally, the third document referred to the pack animals with the words κατηνῶν of Euhemeria from the third century AD, as grain from Euhemeria's granary from the fifth year's harvest was transported by pack animals from Philagris from Kollouthes, son of Sabinus (1 sack)[94];

θησ(αυροῦ) Εὐημερίας[1] |γενη(μάτων) ε (ἔτους) διὰ κτη(νῶν)[2]|ΦιλαγρίδοςΚόλλου-[3]|θος Σαβε̣ι̣ν̣ο̣ς(l. Σαβείνου) σάκ(κον) α[4]

«From the granary of Euhemeria the fifth year's harvest, by beasts of Philagris from Kollouthes, son of Sabinus 1 sack».

The transfers also included foodstuffs and supplies for grain weighing operations. This was mentioned in two documents. The first, dated 254 AD in Theadelphia, was an official letter from Alypios to the director Heroninos in the second year, on the twentieth day of Phaophi. He informed him of his order for the transfer of foodstuffs stored in Philagris[95];

v; π(αρὰ) Ἀλυπίου.[1]|ἐπεὶ τὰ ἀποτεθέντα γένη[2]|ἐν Φιλαγρίδι ἀνενεχθῆ-[3]|ναι ἐκέλευσα φρόντισον[4]|εὐθέως λαβών μου τὰ[5]|γράμματα ἐκδραμεῖν[6]|ἐκεῖ πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν[7]|βοηθὸν ἡμῶν ἐπιδεί-[8]|ξων τοὺς τόπους ἔν-[9]|θα ἀπετέθη.[10]

(verso):« From Alypios. After I have ordered the transfer of the foodstuff stored in Philagris, as soon as you receive my letter, run forth there to Philippos, our assistant, so that he can display the places where they were stored».

The other document had to do with transfer, dated to the third century AD and it was an official letter from an unidentified person to a person named Hermas. In the letter, the unidentified person informed Hermas of his failure to come to transport taxes and weigh supplies to Philagris. The text reads[96];

χαῖρε, κύριέ μου Ἑρμᾶ.[1]|καλῶς ποιήσις (l. ποιήσεις) μὴ ἀμελή-[2]|σας ἀνελθεῖν ἔχων τὴν[3]|πρόσοδον καὶ τὰ τοῦ μέ-[4]|τρου. ἀλλὰ καὶ δὸς τὰ ναῦ-[5]|λα τῷ μέλλοντι αὐτὰ[6]|μεταφέριν (l. μεταφέρειν) ἐπὶ τὴν Φι-[7]|λαγρίδα[8]

«Lord Hermas, Greetings. Would you please, do not be neglectful of coming, as I am keeping the taxes and equipment for the weighing, but give the freights themselves to whoever is about to collect them to be taken to Philagris».

4. Livestock

Livestock was an important aspect of agricultural life and economic activity. Therefore, the Ptolemies and, later, the Romans directed their attention to animal

[93] JĀD 2010: 139-140.

[94] *O. Fay*. 36, ll. 1-4, (Euhemeria 3 AD).

[95] *P. Flor*. 2. 125, v, ll. 1-10, (Theadelphia; AD 254).

[96] *P. Flor*. 3. 345, ll. 1-8, (Arsinoite 3 AD).

husbandry because of its great importance to the rest of the villages of Egypt. Philagris was no exception since it was primarily agricultural and pack animals played an important role in its economic activity. Livestock and pack animals, such as donkeys and camels, were used in trade.

One document in Euhemeria, dated back to 26 AD[97], asserted pig farming in the village. It contained a list of the total pig tax for several villages in the Themistos Nome. Raising and trading pigs and even selling and cooking their meat[98] were widespread practices across the villages. For instance, in Philagris, whose tax was estimated at 1 drachma and 1 obolos, the same amount of tax was imposed on Andromacheis, Psinachisand Poaria. This amount differed from and exceeded that of Theadelphia's by 52 drachmae and of Synthepis' by 13 drachmae ὑικῆς ιβ (ἔτους) Θεαδελφε(ίας) νβ, Σενθυπαὶ ιγ, Ἀνδρομαχ(ίδος) α (ὀβολός), Ψινάχεως α (ὀβολός), [Π]υρραίας α (ὀβολός), Φιλαγρίδο(ς).

The trade in sheep, goats and cows was also common in Egypt, especially in the Arsinoite Nome. Not only did it provide income and profits to the tenants, but they also benefited from the products of these beasts. For example, they sold milk, cheese and wool[99]. So, there was evidence of the prevalence of the trade of these livestock by Philagris' residents, who recorded the sale of these sheep, cows and goats in two documents. The first, from Euhemeria, dated 135-136 AD, was a list of livestock consisting of three sheep, one goat and an unspecified number of dead sheep in the village of Euhemeria «the exact number could not be determined due to the damage to the document». A list of livestock, including three flocks of sheep, one goatm and an unspecified number of dead sheep «due to the damage to the document», appeared in the document, dated 136 AD, from the village of Euhemeria. All these sheep and goats belonged to people from Philagris and this list was submitted to the strategos and the royal scribe in the meris of Themistos[100];

Εὐημερείας πρόβ(ατα)[1]|(hand 2) Οὐεγέτωι τ[ῶ]ι̣ κ̣αὶ Σαραπίω̣[νι][2]|στρ(ατηγῷ) καὶ Ἀπολ(λωνίῳ) β(ασιλικῷ) γρ(αμματεῖ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Θ[εμ(ίστου) μερ(ίδος).][3]|(hand 1) παρὰ Διδᾶ τοῦ Ἡρα . . . τοῦ .[-ca.?-][4]|νούφεως μητρὸς Εὐδαιμο[νίδος][5]|τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Φιλαγρίδος. ἀφ[' ὧν][6]|ἀπεγρα(ψάμην) τῶι ιθ (ἔτει) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσ̣αρ[ος τοῦ κυρίου][7]| π̣[ρ]ο̣(βάτων) γ α[ί]γ̣(ῶν) α̣[. δι]εφθάρη πρό[βατ -ca.?-][8]

«(List) of sheep of Euhemeria. To Vegetus alias Sarapion, strategos and Apollonios, royal scribe of Arsinoite nome, meris of Themistos. From Didas, son of Hera ... Grandson of ..., his mother Eudaimonis, all from the village of Philagris, about them, I recorded (the declaration), year 19 of our lord Hadrianus Caesar, three (flocks) of sheep and one (flock) of goats and ... of dead sheep».

Further, the second document from the village of Theadelphia, dated 225 AD, was a purchase agreement in which a person named Aurelius Dioskourides agreed to buy a gold-colored cow in exchange for 300 drachmae of an official silver coin from Aurelius Paomis from Philagris at the marketplace of Alexandrou Nesos in the meris of Themistos[101];

η ἐν ἀγορᾷ Ἀλεξ(άνδρου)[4]|Ν̣ήσ̣ο̣υ̣. πέπρακ(εν) Αὐρήλιος Παῶμι[ς][5]|Σ̣αρ̣απᾶτος ἀπὸ κ(ώμης) Φιλαγρίδος (ἐτῶν)

[97] *P. Fay*. 230, COL.2, l. 1, (Euhemeria AD 26).

[98] HAYKAL 2023: 84.

[99] AL-ʿĪSAWĪ I 2019: 138.

[100] *P. Laur*. 4. 161, ll. 1-8, (Euhemeria AD 135/6).

[101] *SB*. 12. 11152, ll. 4-10, (Theadelphia AD 225).

λη[6]|ο̣ὐλ(ὴ) μετὼπῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Διοσκορίδῃ[7]|καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει βοῦν σιτόχρο(υν)[8]|. . . .μ̣α̣τειτᾰ-
ἐπισ(ήμου) ἀργυρίου[9]|(δραχμῶν) [τ]ρ̣[ι]α̣κ̣οσίων γί(νονται) (δραχμαὶ) τ[10]

«in the marketplace of Alexandrou Nesos. Aurelius Paomis, son of Sarapas of the village of Philagris about 38 years old with a scar on his forehead, to Aurelius Dioskourides, thus called, he had sold a cow of wheaty color .... for 300 drachmae of the minted silver. The total is 300 drachmae.»

The text illustrates that the livestock in Philagris was as much valued as the rest of the villages. For this livestock to continue to thrive and prosper in its markets, trade and utilize its benefits, it required constant attention to it and the presence of special pastures for beasts and attention to providing special fodder for them, as recorded by documents. According to a document dated 32 AD, an agreement was made by the owner of the fodder, Ephonychos, son of Heras, who received a price of 92 drachmae for dry fodder in exchange for the share the sheep fed on. The sheep were distributed on the lands of the village of Philagris between the lands of the military settlers of the Dioskoutos Kleros, which estimated 19 arourae of dry fodder land. The document shows that the livestock was owned by Philagrisians not in Philagris but in other villages[102];

[Ἀ]π̣ύνχει Ἡρᾶτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) ἐξηκ[οντα]δ̣ύ̣ο̣[7]|[ού]λὴ καρπῶι δεξιῶι ἔχι̣ν̣ (l. ἔχειν) π̣α̣ρ̣’ [αύτοῦ][8]|διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου κατὰ μ[έρος ἀργυ(ρίου)][9]|10δραχμ[ὰς] ἑνενηκονταδύ̣ο̣ [(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ϙβ][10] |a[-ca.?-]α̣ω̣ρων[10a]| ἀπὸ τειμῆ[ς] (l. τιμῆς) ἀράκου, ὧν (l. ὃν) κατέφαγε̣ν̣[11]|[α]ύτοῦ τὰ πρόβατα ἐν οἷς ἔνε̣μ̣ε̣ν̣ π̣ε̣ρ̣ὶ[12]|[Φ]ιλαγρίδα κατοικικοῖς ἐ̣δ̣ά̣φ[εσιν ἑκ][13]|[τ]οῦ Διοσκοῦτος, σπόρου τοῦ ὀκτω[και-][14] |δεκάτου ἔτους[15]

ἀναμ̣ε̣τ̣[ρ]εῖται ἀρούρης ἀρ̣ά̣κ̣ο̣υ̣ . . .[19]

«Apenchis, son of Heras, about sixty-two years old, with a scar on the right wrist, declares that he received from him the capital sum from the house for a share (amount) ninety-two drachmae of silver. Total is drachmae 92, ---, from the price of dry fodder, the portion that was fed (and eaten) by his sheep, which were distributed in Philagris among the lands of the military settlers, from the Dioskoutos Kleros, from the eighteenth year's harvest».

«nineteen arourae of the dry fodder land ...»

Mundy suggests that the tenant might owe the landlord a portion of the crop as rent. It is conceivable that there was a direct relationship between petitions and complaints about illegal grazing and obtaining compensation. Hence, the concerned farmers suffered from the damage inflicted on them and often submitted petitions and complaints about this to the authorities[103], which often held hearings and justice for the owners at the expense of the shepherds. Further, the authorities forced them to pay compensation, as one of the documents from Theadelphia indicated. It was a complaint dated 104 AD. This complaint regarding pastureland was presented by some people, one of them from the village of Philagris, whose name was illegible due to damage in line 12 of the document. The other complainant, from the village of Theadelphia, was called Erotas. They

[102] *PSI*. 9. 1057, ll. 7-15, 19, (Euhemeria AD 32).
[103] MUNDY 2017: 174-175.

complained about pastures they were about to buy when some other people insulted and beat them, so they complained to the police chief for redress[104];

[-ca.?- ἀπὸ κώμης] Φιλαγρίδος καὶ Ἐρωτᾶς ἀπὸ Θεαδελφείας[12]|[-ca.?-]- ca.9 - νομὰς ἃς μέλλουσι ὠνεῖσθαι.[13]|[-ca.?-]..[..]α..... τριάκοντα, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ τῆς[14]|[-ca.?-]...[..]ε[..].... ἑκάλυψαν καὶ πληγαῖς πλείοσ [ι][15]|[-ca.?- ἡκί]σαντο ὥστε κινδυνεῦσαί με τῶι ζῆν καὶ τοῦ-[16]|[-ca.?- δεομέ]νου τῆς σῆς ἐγδικίας (l. ἐκδικίας) τὴν ἐπὶ σὲ καταφυγὴν[17]

[ῆσαι -ca.?-]...μαι. ἀρχεφόδῳ ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἓξ ἄχρι ἂν ἐμαυτὸν[26]|[-ca.?- ἴν' ὦ ὑπὸ σοῦ π]εφιλανθρωιπη- μένος (l. [π]εφιλανθρωπημένος).[27]

«.... from the village of Philagris, Erotas from Theadelphia ..... the pastures they were about to buy ..... thirty when he came and ..... they showered me (with insults) and (directed) many punches ..... until my life was in danger, I seek refuge with you».

«..... to the chief of police for six days, even myself, perhaps ..... to be reconciled (to get relief) by you».

The documents also showed the leasing of pastureland in Philagris between the inhabitants of Theadelphia and Philagris because of their close relationship. This was mentioned in two documents. The first, dated 104 AD from Theadelphia, was a lease request for two farmers from the village of Theadelphia, namely Onnophris and another unnamed (due to the damage to the document). Both sons of Maron, the son of Maron, rented from Claudius Erasos strategos from the meris of Themistos with cross-guarantees in the village of Philagris for pastureland amounting to 290 $\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$ for four years. The rent would be paid in silver in addition to yearly in-kind rent to the sitologoi of Theadelphia[105];

[Κλαυδίωι Ἐράσ]ωι σ[τ]ρατηγ[ῶι] Ἀρσ[ι(νοίτου) Θεμίστου μερίδος][1]|[παρὰ Ὀννώφρεως καὶ ...]ωρου ἀμφ[ο]τέρων Μ[άρωνος(?)] τοῦ Μά-[2]|[ρωνος ..... γεωργῶ]ν τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Θεα[δελφεία]ς. βου-[3]|[λόμεθα ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης μ]ισθώσασθαι περὶ κώμ[ην Φιλα]γρίδα[4]|[άρουρῶν χειμερινῶν καὶ θερινῶν ἃς προεῖχε [ἐν μ]ισθώσ[ει][5]|[-ca.?-]αρμι ἀνη[κ]ούσας ἀρούρας δι[ακοσ]ίας [έ]ν[ε-][6]|[νήκοντα(?) ἐκκαιδέκα]τον δυδριακοστὸν (l.δυοτριακο- στὸν) τετρακαιεξηκοστὸν η[.][7]|[-ca.?-]ας, ἀρο[ύρ]ας μὲν ἑκατὸν δέκα τέσσαρ[α]ς (l. τέσσαρας)[8]|[-ca.?-ἐπὶ χρόν]- ον ἧτη τ[έσσ]αρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑ[νε]στῶτος ὀγδ[όου][9].

[-ca.?- τὸν δὲ ἀργυ]ρικὸν φόρον δ[ια]γράψομεν τ.[..]..[-ca.?-][17]|[-ca.?- τὰ] δ[ὲ] κατ' ἔτος ἐκ[φ]όρια μετρήσομεν .[.]π[-ca.?-][18]|[-ca.?- Θεαδελ]φείας σιτολόγοις·[19]

«To Claudius Erasos, Strategos of the Arsinoite nome, meris of Themistos from Onnophris and ... both sons of Maron, son of Maron ... cultivators from the village of Theadelphia, we wish to, with a mutual guarantee to rent in the village of Philagris land (pastures to be cultivated) in summer and winter which was previously rented by ... arourae that amounts to two hundred and ninety, one-sixteenth, one thirty-second and one sixty-fourth, ... also one hundred and fourteen arourae ... for four years starting from the current eighth year».

«... we will pay ....monetary rent in silver ... and we will pay ... a yearly in-kind rent... to the sitologoi of Theadelphia».

[104] *ZPE.* 191. 237 = *SB.*10. 10218, ll. 12-17, 26-27, (Theadelphia AD 98-117).

[105] *P. Iand*. 3. 28, ll. 1-9, 17-19, (Theadelphia AD 104).

Accordingly, the researcher argues that the farmers of Theadelphia leased pasture lands from the strategos of the meris of Themistos, which was likely land belonging to the state of Philagris.

The second document might have been from Theadelphia and dated back to around the first and second centuries AD[106]. It was a fragment of a lease application in which a person from the village of Theadelphia named Apollonios, son of Sambas, was a shepherd of sheep and cattle παρὰ Ἀ̣π̣ολ̣λ̣[ω]ν̣ί̣ο̣[υ] τοῦ Σαμβᾶ προβατοκτηνοτ̣ρ̣[ό]φου [ά]πὸ κ̣[ώμης Θεαδελφείας 5περὶ Φιλ̣αγρίδ̣[α] from Onnophris Ὀνώφρ̣[ει. He rented pastureland in the vicinity of Philagris village to graze his sheep τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. βούλομα̣ι μισθώσασθα̣ι παρὰ [σ]οῦ εἰς κατανέμησιν προβάτων τῆς περὶ Φιλ̣αγρίδ̣[α]. This informs us of the use of certain lands for pasture in Euhemeria, Theadelphia and Philagris. However, the exact geographical origin of the document cannot be determined. The document clarified that the person who rented the land was in Theadelphia, but the leased person was illegible. The pastureland was located near Philagris, so the lessor might be from Philagris or lived in a place close to the two villages, such as Euhemeria[107]. What concerns us is the availability of pastureland in the village of Philagris.

Sometimes, some farmers shared the rent of pastureland, as mentioned in the document dated 196 AD[108] from Theadelphia, where a list of farmers shared the rent of different tracts of land, pastureland of 963 aroura rented by some tax collectors from Philagris νομῶν καὶ ἄλλων (ἄρουραι) ϡξγ δι’ ἐπιτηρητῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαγρίδος.

5. Monetary Lending

There were two types of loans: money and in-kind. Some citizens practiced the lending process to make a lot of profit, as the interest rate on financial loans during the Roman era was [12%] per year, i.e., 1% per month. However, if the debtor was late in paying the debt on the agreed-upon date[109], the creditor was allowed to obtain an interest rate of (24%). Lending operations in Philagris appeared in one document from Hawara dated 138-161 AD[110]. It was a contract of lending a Persian person of an unnamed descendant due to the damage to the document in the fifth line. The lender’s name was Heron from the village of Philagris Ἥ]ρωνος ἀπὸ κώμης Φιλαγρίδος without specifying the monetary value of the loan amount with interest of one drachma monthly per mina [ἔχειν αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῦ] Ἥρωνος χρῆσιν κεφαλαίου [-ca.?- τόκου δρ]αχμιαίου τῇ μνᾷ κατὰ μῆνα.

V. Social Life

Due to the lack of documents and archeological excavations, it was challenging to determine the exact area of the land of Philagris «village» in the Roman era. The general survey documents for these lands are largely absent, except for isolated and specific cases, such as [P. Iand. 3. 28], for a pastureland with an area of 290 arourae in the first century AD, an area of 963 arourae for pastureland [P. Iand. 3. 26a] during the first and second centuries AD, an area of 19 arourae for lands of military settlers [PSI. 9. 1057] in the first century AD and finally a royal land in the second century AD [P. Sakaon. 43] with an area of 2050 arourae.

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[106] *P. Iand*. 3. 26a, ll. 1-5, (Theadelphia 1/2 AD).

[107] MASCELLARI 2014: 235-236.

[108] *BGU*. 9. 1900, COL.8, ll. 154-155, (Theadelphia AD 196).

[109] JOHNSON 1936: 148, 450.

[110] *SB*. 18. 13228, ll. 4, 6-7, (Hawara AD 138-161).

From the documents providing information about the areas of the Philagris «village» during the first and second centuries AD, which ranged between 1500-2500 arourae, it can be said that the village was tiny. However, the researcher believes that these documents did not reflect the total area of the village. Consequently, the exact area of the village cannot be precisely or comprehensively determined.

As with the rest of the villages in Fayum, the population in Philagris varied between the Romans, who were at the top of the social pyramid in the Roman era and the Greeks, whose economic level differed. While some of them enjoyed a prestigious status, others found their situation like the Egyptians, who were at the base of the social pyramid from peasants and small farmers and were among the poorest classes[111].

The lack of excavations also led to the absence of any documents that indicate a head tax or census, which was an impediment to determining the exact population of the village during the Roman era. Further, there was a significant overlap between its population and the inhabitants of the neighboring villages. For example, a document dating back to 98 AD referred to one of its inhabitants as Φιλαγριώτης, an adjective derived from the name of the village Φιλαγρίς and the plural Φιλαγριώται, meaning born in the village of Philagris, which was Diogas the Philagrisian Διογᾶν Φιλαγριώτην, who appeared to be doing some work in another unnamed village, which is why the document calls him the Philagrisian[112] Φιλαγριώται «born in the village of Philagris», in a letter sent by Herakleides to Apollonios. In this letter, Herakleides mentioned sending money to many people, including Diogas the Philagrisian, who was carrying one hundred and thirty drachmae for grain-threshing implements with him. The document did not mention any details about the location of Herakleides or Apollonios other than their names or the location of that land[113];

Ἡρακλείδη(ς) Ἀπολλωνίωι[1]|τῷ φιλ(τάτῳ) χαίρειν.[2]|ἔπεμψά σοι Πετερμοῦθιν[3]|Σύρου εἰληφότα (δραχμὰς) μ[4]| καὶ Διογᾶν Φιλαγριώτην[5]|(δραχμὰς) ρλβ καὶ Μύωπα (δραχμὰς) κ[6]|καὶ Σαβοῦλιν κόπτρων[7]|(δραχμὰς) λε καὶ οἰκοδόμητρα[8]|Πάθνης (l. Φάτνης) (δραχμὰς) θ γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) σλς.[9]|ἐὰν οὖν ὁ Πετερμοῦθις[10]|σὺν τῷ μετόχῳ ἀσφα-[11]|λίζηταί σε διὰ τοῦ[12]|γραμματέος (l. γραμματέως) τῶν γεωργῶ(ν)[13]|καὶ τῶν πρ̣ε̣σβυ̣τ̣έ̣ρων[14]| τῆ[ς] προσόδ[ο]υ,μετρήσας[15]|αὐτοῦ τὸν γύον ?, πρὸς τὸ[16]|αἰρῶν (l. αἰροῦν) πλήρωσον· β̣λέπε[17]|δέ, μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ δοῖς[18]|χαλκόν. vac. ? ἔρρωσο.[19]

«Herakleides to beloved Apollonios, greetings. I sent Petrosmouthis, son of Syros, to you carrying forty drachmae and Diogas the Philagrisian «carrying with him» one hundred and thirty-two drachmae and twenty drachmae «with» Myopa, (and with) Sabouris thirty-five drachmae for threshing tools nine drachmae «with» Phatnes for construction tools. The total is 236 drachmae, so if Petrosmouthis and his associates assure you «of the income» by the scribe of the cultivators and village elders, measure «the land» and pay in proportion to its size, but be careful not to give the money to anyone else. Goodbye».

1. Laborers and Craftsmen

The Arsinoite Nome was one of the most important regions, housing many craftsmen across its various centers and villages, including Philagris, which engaged in diverse

[111] ISMĀ[C]ĪL 2014: 125ff.

[112] «The Name of Diogas Philagriotes», https://www.trismegistos.org/georef/21180, accessed on (08/08/2024).

[113] *P. Lips*. 1. 106, ll. 1-19, (Arsinoite(?) AD 98).

activities, although not many were documented. However, the first column of a list of laborers in one of the documents from Fayum, dated to the second century, referred to 36 men from Fayum, including 6 men from different villages in the meris of Themistos, including 2 men from Philagris, in addition to 30 men from Metropolis «the capital of Fayum». The document did not specify the intended purpose of these men. The researcher posits that they were assembled as laborers from various villages in the meris of Themistos to perform a task assigned to them in the meris of Themistos or in the capital[114];

r,1; ἀπὸ κωμῶν τῆς μερίδος[3] |Θεαδελφείας ἀνὴρ α[4] |Φιλαγρίδος ἄνδρε(ς) β[5] |Ἀργιάδος ἀνὴρ- α[6]| Φιλωτερίδος α[7] |Σεντρεμπάει α[8] |γ(ίνονται) ἄνδρε(ς) ς[9] |καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως[10] |ἄνδρες λ[11]| [γ(ίνονται) ἄνδρες] λς[12]

(recto, Col. 1):« From the villages of the meris: a man from Theadelphia, two men from Philagris, a man from Argeas, one man from Philoteris, two men from Sethrempais, six men in total. From Metropolis, thirty men. A total of thirty-six men».

As mentioned earlier, the population's craft activities varied due to the livestock wealth of Philagris. The craft of the donkey (ὀνηλάτου) appeared in a document dated to the second century AD, in which grain was transported by Philagris' Soulis or the donkey owner διὰ Σούλιος ὀνηλάτου[115]. In addition, one document, dated 239/240 AD, mentioned how Philagris traded wine «A vintner οἰνοπώλῃ». It referred to the sending of wine to Philagris by Sabinus, the vintner Ϛαβείνῳ οἰνοπώλῃ[116].

2. Social Phenomena

Like other villages in Fayum during the Roman era, the residents of Philagris suffered from some challenges related to debts and late payments. Based on a document listing payments to some people, including overdue payments from Soknoupaiou Nesos in the first century AD, the researcher suggests that the people of Egypt and Fayum and its villages, in particular, with their Egyptian and Greek inhabitants, were suffering from poverty and the departure of the people from these villages. This was due to the arbitrariness of the Roman administration, which did not relent for a single moment since its occupation of Egypt in collecting the largest amount of Egypt's wealth through taxes and continuing to raise their value from time to time, which eventually led to a lack of resources and exposed people to poverty, fleeing and debts. The document did not specify the purpose of those payments, but it mentioned how some people from Themistos had financial arrears, which was an indication- as the researcher believes - that they were unable to pay those taxes continuously on time[117];

Φιλαγρίδος[11]|Πετοσῖρις χωρὶς [κα]θη(κόντων) (δραχμαὶ) ρκ[12]

«Philagris, Petosiris away from «other than» payments due 120 drachmae.»

The document dated to the fourth century from Fayum also referred to a man named Mouses of Philagris who owed thirteen miryas [=130000 drachmae] in money and «one artaba of wheat» in-kind[118];

Μουσῆς ἀπὸ Φιλαγρίδος[30]|ὀφίλει (l. ὀφείλει) μυριάδας ιγ (ἔβδομον)[31]|καὶ σίτου (ἀρτάβην) α[32]

[114] *SB*. 14. 11657, r, COL.1, ll. 3-12, (Arsinoite 2AD).
[115] *O. Fay*. 36, l. 5, (Euhemeria 3 AD).
[116] *P. Mich*. 9. 620, COL.3, l .231, (Arsinoite AD 239/40).
[117] *P. Sijpesteijn*. 28, COL.1, ll. 11-12, (Soknoupaiou Nesos AD 1-99).
[118] *P. Abinn*. 82ν, ll. 30-32, (Arsinoite 4 AD).

«Mouses from Philagris, he owes thirteen miryas «for the year?» the seventh and one artaba of wheat».

The arbitrary management of the Romans, which treated Egypt as a cash cow that yielded all its benefits to Rome, continued to extort the money of the Egyptians in various aspects, agriculturally, industrially and commercially, until the fourth century AD. This resulted in unfair poverty and a lack of security, so looting, theft and assaults abounded at that time. This was shown through three complaint documents from Fayum, all of which were from the archive of Abinnaeus and date back to the fourth century AD; the first was a complaint submitted by a recruit called Sarapion, against the sons of Haron, son of Petros, from the village of Philagris who beat the son of Sarapion with clubs and swords. Hence, this complaint was forwarded to Penaeus Lupicinus, requesting his intervention to resolve the case of that soldier[119];

r; κυρίῳ μο(υ) ἀδελφῷ[1]|Ἀβιννέῳ[2]|Λουππικῖνος.[3]|Σαραπίωνος τοῦ ἠμετέρο(υ)[4]|στρατιώτου ἐντυχόντος[5]|τῇ ἠμετέρᾳ φροντίδι[6]|[κατ]ὰ τῶν τέκνων Ἄρωνος[7]|Πέτρου ἀπὸ κώμης Φιλαγρίδος[8]|ού μὴ[ν] ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πεδεις (l. παῖδες)[9]| αὐτο(ῦ) μετὰ ῥωπάλων (l. ῥοπάλων)[10]|καὶ ξιφῶν των (l. τὸν) τούτο(υ)[11]|υἱὸν κατέκοψαν καὶ ἀνάγ-[12]|κη μοι γεγέ- νηται γρά-[13]|ψα[ι] τῇ εὐγενείᾳ σου[14]|ὅπως τὴν κ[ρ]ισεν (l. κ[ρ]ίσιν) ἐκ[15]|[τ]ούτων ποιήσῃς[16]|τ[ο]ῦ στρατιώτου· καὶ περὶ[17]|[ῶ]ν βούλει κέ[λ]ευέ- μοι,[18]|κύρειε (l. κύριε) ἄδελφε, ἠδέως[19]|ἔχοντι.[20]|ἐρρωμέ[ν]ως[21]|σε ἔχετε_(l. ἔχηται)[22]|ἡ θία (l. θεία) πρόνοια,[23]|κύριε ἄδελφε[24.]

v; κυρίῳ μου ἀδ[ελφῷ Λουπ]πικῖνι[ος][25]

(recto):« To my lord brother Abinnaeus, Lupicinus. Concerning our soldier Sarapion, he has petitioned our care against the sons of Haron, son of Petros of the village of Philagris. Not only that, but the sons of (Haron) beat Sarapion's son with clubs and swords and it became necessary to write to your honor so that you can settle the soldier's case on the basis of this information. Concerning these matters, ask me what you want (recommend me) my lord brother, because I am here, I will dispose to you. May providence grant you good health, my lord brother».

(verso): «To my brother, my lord Lupicinus».

The second document was a complaint to Flavius Abinnaeus, head of the troop nome in the camp in the village of Dionysias, submitted by Flavius Priscus, a veteran and his wife Alia, who were landowners in the village of Philagris. They recounted how his wife was attacked during his absence by some villains and thieves while she was in their house at night. Through a ditch, the thieves dug underground and stole everything in the house. He demanded that the complaint be raised to the commander-in-chief to arrest the officials of the village of Philagris to force them to arrest the thieves[120];

[Φ]λ[αο]υίῳ Ἀβινναίῳ ἐπάρχῳ εἴλης[1] |σ[τρατι]ωτῶν κάστρων Διονυσιάδος παρὰ[2]|Φλαο[υ]ί[ου] Πρίσκου οὐετρανοῦ τῶν ἐντίμος (l. ἐντίμως)[3]|ἀπολελυμ[έν]ων καὶ Ἀλίας ⟦θυ⟧ γυναικὸς Ἥρωνος[4]| [στ]ρα[τ]ιώτου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κωμητάτου (l. κωμητάτῳ) γεουχοῦν-[5]|[τ]ες (l. γεουχοῦν|[τ]ος) ἐν κώμῃ Φιλαγρίδι. κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην[6] |[κα]ὶ εἰκάδα τοῦ [παρ]όντ(ος) μηνὸς Παῦνι, κύριε,[7] |[έ]μοῦ μὴ παρ[ό]ντος ἀλλὰ τῆς γυναικὸς[8] |[μ]όνης μενούσης ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, τινὲς κακοῦρ-[9]|γοι νυκτὸς λῃστρικῷ τρόπῳ ἐπηλθα (l. ἐπῆλθα<ν>)[10] |τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ ὑπόρυχμα (l. ὑπόρυγμα) πεποι- ηκότες[11] |καὶ ἥ (l. εἴ) τι καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐβάταξαν (l. ἐβά<σ>ταξαν).[12] |διὰ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαί σου τῆς[13]| φιλανθρωπίας

[119] *P. Abinn*. 12, (Arsinoite AD 342-352).

[120] *P. Abinn*. 45, (Arsinoite AD 343).

ὅπως τοὺς τῆς κώμης[14] |δ[η]μοσίους συνλαβώμενος (l. συλλαβόμενος) {καὶ} καταναγκά-[15]|σῃς αὐτοὺς του (l. τοὺ<ς>) τὴν σύλησιν πεποιηκότας[16] |σοι παραστῆσε (l. παραστῆσαι), εἶτα <τὰ> γραφέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν είς[17] |γνῶσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν δουκὸς ἀνανικῃς (l. ἀνενέγκῃς)·[18] |αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐστιν <τοὺς> τὰ τοια[ῦτ]α τολμοῦντες (l. τολμῶντας) ἐκδι-[19]|κῖν (l. ἐκδι|κεῖν). καὶ τοῦτο (l. τοῦτου) τυχων (l. τυχόντες)[20]|χά̣ρ[ι]τά σοι ὁμολογήσω-[21]|μεν (l. ὁμολογήσο|μεν), κύριε. διευτύχει.[22] |Φλαούιος Πρίσκος καὶ Ἅλιας (l. Ἁλία) ἐπιδεδώκαμεν.[23]| ὑπατείας Φλαουίου Πλακίδου καὶ Φλαουίου[24]|Ῥομύλου τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Παῦνι κθ[25].

«To Flavius Abinnaeus, praefectus alae of the troops in a camp in the village of Dionysias, from Flavius Priscus, a veteran warrior, one of the honorably discharged and Alia, his wife, daughter of Heron, soldier in the imperial suit, landowners in the village of Philagris. On the twenty fifth day of the current month of Pauni. Sir, during my absence, when my wife was alone in the house, (attacked) by some villains, they attacked the house in the manner of thieves at night and made an underground crypt, they moved everything, so my wife and I ask and beg for your humanity to compel the village officials and force them to bring the people accused of the theft before you and then present our complaint to our lord Duke against the perpetrators of such assaults to get this we have to express our gratitude «to you», Sir. Farewell. We FLAVIUS PRISCUS and ALIA, have submitted «the petition». Consulship of Flavius Placidus and Flavius Romulus the most illustrious, Pauni 29».

Finally, the third document was a complaint from Heron from Berenikis, a deacon of the main church. The deacon stated that he was robbed of all his clothes by a thief, Euporos, son of Hermias of Philagris. Consequently, he demanded that what was stolen be returned to him without protest[121];

Φλαουίῳ Ἀβιν[ν]έῳ ἐξ ἀποπροτηκτώρων (l. ἀποπροτηκτόρων) ἐπάρχῳ[1]|εἴλης κάστρ̣ων Διονυσιάδος. παρὰ Αὐρηλίου[2]|Ἥρωνο[ς] διάκω[ν]ος ἀπὸ κώμης Βερνικείδ̣ος (l. Βερενικίδος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ[3]|νομοῦ χαίρειν. εί μὴ ὑπῆρχεν ἡμεῖν (l. ἡμῖν) ἡ τῶν[4]|νόμων ἀ̣λήθειᾳ πάλαι δ' ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν κακούρ̣γ̣ων[5]|άναιλούμεθα (l. ἀνῃρούμεθα) . Εὔπορος τοίνυν υἱὸς Ἑρμεία[6]|ἀπὸ κώμης Φιλαγρείδος (l. Φιλαγρείδος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ[7]|έσύλησέν με ἔνδων (l. ἔνδον) τῆς οἰκείας (l. οἰκίας), ἐπιβὰς[8]|λῃστρεικῷ (l. λῃστρικῷ) τρόπῳ, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἑσθηταν (l. ἑσθῆτα)[9]|συνελάβετο καὶ ε̣[ίς] τὸ ἴδιον ἀνεστιλατω (l. ἀνεστείλατο) μέχρεις (l. μέχρις)[10]|δ[ευ]ρω (l. δ[εῦ]ρο), δυναμ[έν]ο̣υ μου καὶ τ̣[ὰ]ς ἀ̣π̣ο̣δίξει[ς] (l. ἀποδείξει[ς]) [ποι]εῖν[11]|ὡς τούτου τήνδε τὴν κ̣[α]κουργίαν π[ε]π̣οιημένου.[12]|διω (l. διὸ) ἀξ[ι]ῶ, πραιπόσιται (l. πραιπόσιτε) κ[ύ]ρ̣ιε, ἀπραγμ̣ώνος (l. ἀπραγμόνως)[13]|ἃ ἀφήρπασέν μου [π]αρ̣α̣σχεθῆναί μ̣ο̣[ι]· διάκων γὰρ[14]|τ̣ετ[ύ]χηκα τῆς κ̣[αθ]ολικῆς ἐ̣κ̣[λ]ησίας (l. ἐκ<κ> [λ]ησίας). καὶ τ̣ο̣ῦ̣τ̣ο̣υ̣[15]|τυχὼν είσαειν (l. είσαεί) σοι εὐχαριστήσω (l. εὐχαριστήσω). διευτύχει.[16]|[μετὰ τὴ]ν̣ ὑ̣π̣α̣τ̣είαν Φλ(αουίων) Σ̣εργίου καὶ Νειγρειν̣ιᾳ̣ν̣\ο̣ῦ̣/[17]|τ̣ῶ̣[ν λαμπροτά]των, Μεχεὶρ ιζ[18].

«To Flavius Abinnaeus, one of the former protectores, praefectus alae of the camp of Dionysias from Aurelius Heron, the deacon from the village of Berenicis in the same nome, greetings. If we do not have the truth of the laws long ago, we should have been destroyed by the wicked. Euporos, son of Hermias, of the village of Philagris in the same nome robbed me inside my house and entered it in the manner of a thief, «and took» all my clothes and even now, he seizes them for his own personal use until now, therefore, I can prove that he is the one who committed this crime. Therefore, I ask, my loed Praepositus that he returns to me that he has stolen from me without objection, because I

[121] P. *Abinn*. 55, (Arsinoite AD 351).

am a deacon of the principal church[122] and to receive this will make me forever indebted to you. Farewell. Consulship of Flavius Sergius and Flavius Nigrinianus the most illustrious. Mecheir 17».

Documents [P. Abinn. 45] and [P. Abinn. 55] showed how their complaints were submitted to the commander of the military wing of the Dionysias fortress, Flavius Abinnaeus. He was appointed by the emperor to command the Dionysias village fortress in two periods: the first from 341 to 344 AD, as the document [P. Abinn.45] showed and the second from 346 to 351 AD, as contained in the second document [P. Abinn.55]. This fortress, which was intended to protect the borders of the empire, was one of the main camps in the meris of Themistos of Dionysos. Further, Abinnaeus archives indicated that during the reign of this commander of the fortress, Flavius Abinnaeus received numerous complaints from villages in the meris of Themistos to intervene and resolve their issues[123].

Therefore, the researcher suggests that the two documents were submitted to the commander of this fortress by Flavius Priscus, a veteran warrior, his wife, Alia, whose father Heron was a soldier in the imperial wing and Heron, the deacon of the main church, who were people of high status in the community. They turned directly to Flavius Abinnaeus to quickly resolve their complaint about thefts by other people from the village of Philagris. Document [P. Abinn. 45] also clarified how Flavius Priscus demanded that the officials of the village of Philagris be held responsible for not taking their complaints seriously and arresting these thieves.

VI. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

Since the beginning of history, religion has been an important aspect of Egyptian identity. Accordingly, this study draws on documents to explore the most important religious beliefs and different religions practiced by the residents of Philagris village.

1. Ancient Deities

Documents from Philagris presented some ancient idols representing some gods and goddesses, as well as the beliefs and rituals associated with them. This formed the core of the ancient Egyptian religion, which remained from the Pharaonic era through the Ptolemaic era until the Roman era. It is explained as follows.

A. The God Suchus [Σοῦχος]

Since the Pharaonic era, the crocodile was the official deity of the Arsinoite nome, for his worship was linked to the Nile River. The worship was based on fear of this huge animal, found in large numbers in Lake Mioris of the Arsinoite nome. Not only was it worshiped in Arsinoe, but it was also worshipped in other nearby villages under different names, such as [the God Suchus] or [the God Sobek][124].

Even though information about this religion during the Roman era is scarce, especially with the absence of archeological exploration, the only available information

[122] One historian has explained that in Egypt in the late 340s, the term [Catholic] was not neutral with a harmless meaning such as [worldwide] and the word conveyed a claim: That the clergy of the Catholic Church belonged not only to the universal Church, but also to a heretical or schismatic group. They were distinguished by the privileges granted by Constantine and his sons as clergy of the Catholic Church, see: BARNES 1985: 373.

[123] JĀD 2010: 44ff.

[124] ISMĀ^{C}ĪL 2014: 167.

was found in a few references in some documents. They revealed how the crocodile worship was the main idol of Philagris in the Ptolemaic era. Further, as Philagris was under the name Suchus in the Demotic texts[125], as indicated earlier by one document dated 215 AD in Fayum, mentioning that this worship continued in the Roman era. The document was a list of payments and expenses from various villages in the meris of Themistos for an unnamed temple to serve their ancestral god, Suchus. It was for the coronation of armor in the temple and among those villages was the village of Philagris, from which the bath tax βαλανευτικόν was collected. Due to the damage to the document at the end of line 20, there was no mention of the monetary value[126];

εἰς διαγρ(αφὴν) τ[ελ(εσμάτων)] βαλανείου κώμ(ης) Φιλαγρί[δος (δραχμαὶ) . .][20]

[. . . . .] [εἰ]ς ἐπ[ιμέ]λ[ε]ι[α]ν τοῦ πατρῴου ἡμ[ῶν θεοῦ][22]|[. . . . .]ω .ος Σούχου Μεγάλου Μ[εγάλου,][23]| [στέψεως τῶν] ἐν [τ]ῷ ἱερῷ ἀσπι[δείων καὶ ἀνδρι-][24]

«For payments of taxes on baths in the village of Philagris drachmae. . . . to serve the God of our ancestors »

«... Suchus the Great, the Great One».

The simple indication of the collection of some expenses from different villages, in the meris of Themistos, for one of the temples to serve this god and the collection of the bath tax from Philagris asserted the continuation of its worship. WALLACE proposed that part of the baths tax of the temples was dedicated to maintaining the baths owned by the temples and the other part served as a tax paied for the state[127].

B. The Goddess Isis [Ἴσις]

According to the document from Theadelphia dating to the second and third centuries AD[128], Isis was an ancient Egyptian goddess who continued to be worshipped in the Roman era. It only contained a statement which included tracts of auroras offered by some people to the great goddess *Isis* [Ἴσις], Ἴσειδος(l. Ἴσιδος) θε[ᾶς] μεγίστης . It stated in line [10] γυνὴ Γ̣ . .ρ̣ . . ἀπὸ Φιλαγρίδος (ἄρουραι) ια δ´ how one of the wives from Philagris

[125] CLARYSSE & BEEK 2002: 197; WINKLER 2018: 236.

[126] *BGU.* 2. 362, COL.6, ll. 20, 22-24, (Arsinoite, AD 215).

[127] WALLACE reported that public baths were established in the Ptolemaic era, owned by individuals and became a source of state income, where the total revenue was levied at the rate of one-third of the income and continued as well in the Roman era. They established public baths supported by taxes but did not play an important role in state revenues, as there were only a few remaining revenues from the Roman era, through large tax records through which the bath tax appears. However, the government was satisfied with the continuation of the bath system as it existed in the Ptolemaic era, which existed in Fayum, especially in Cranis, Euhemeria, Theadelphia and Tiptinos and this tax was collected by state officials in the first century AD. In the second century AD, πράκτωρ βαπανευτικον became πρακτόρες ἀργυρικῶν, the collector of the head tax, where payments combined the bath tax and the head tax for the use of baths by individuals for bathing and others, so there was a great variation in the value of that tax from one place to another and from one document to another. WALLACE argued that the value of the bath tax per person sometimes varied in some documents, not less than 5 to 6 oboloi, or one and a half to 2 drachmae per year. In other times, it was up to 4 drachmae and after the head tax was collected, he found that in documents, it ranged (from 10 drachmae to 24 drachmae) and perhaps more in other documents. For more details on the bath tax; cf. WALLACE 1938: 155ff.

[128] *P. Hamb*. 4. 276, ll. 10, 13, (Arsinoite 2/3 AD).

offered a tract of 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ aurorae, which the researcher believes might be an offering to the goddess *Isis*, for it was common to present the products of these areas and the harvest to serve the temple dedicated to her. It could be for the celebration of the feast of the goddess Isis [Ἴσιεῖα][129], which was celebrated in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods by presenting gifts, whether in the form of the crops produced by these areas of land, offerings, etc... The feast was celebrated by different social classes and populations, including Romans, Greeks and Egyptians[130]. Isis was the protector of most activities of Egypt's cities and villages and brought goodness and wealth; thus, celebrating her meant securing their needs and their souls[131].

In Sum, the documents showed people in Philagris practicing religious rituals, which were manifested through the offering of sacrifices and offerings to the gods. For instance, two documents illustrated that these practices served as test certificates of faith during the period when Emperor Decius was emperor of Rome 249/250 AD[132] as it was then that Christians began to emerge as a force to be reckoned with in public life. This emperor decided to carry out a comprehensive campaign to eliminate all followers of the new religion in the empire, whether men or women. Thus, he planned to declare all residents their adherence to their belief in the old gods by worshiping and sacrificing to them. Consequently, this was done through officials responsible for fulfilling this test. Therefore, whoever refused to take this test was punished by death, so the period of his rule was a great tribulation for Christians in general and this persecution was known as [the Decian persecution][133].

Samples of these certificates were demonstrated in the two documents. The first document from Fayum, which dated back to the year 250 AD, asserted how Aurelia Kamis from Philagris performed religious rituals by offering sacrifices to the gods and tasting the meat of those offerings[134];

[τοῖς ἐπὶ] τ̣ῶν θυσιῶν[1]|ἠ̣[ρημέ]νοις[2]|π(αρὰ) Αὐρηλίᾳς Κ̣αμὶς ἀπὸ[3]|κ̣ώμης Φιλαγρίδος κατα-[4]|[μέ]ν̣ουσα ἐν κώμῃ Θεα-[5]|[δελ]φείᾳ. ἀὶ (l. ἀεὶ) θύουσα τοῖς[6]|[θεοῖ]ς διετέλεσα καὶ νῦν[7]|[ἐπὶ π]α̣ρ̣[ό]ντων ὑ̣μῶν[8]|κ̣α̣τ̣ὰ̣ τὰ προσταχθέντα[9]|[ἔθυσα καὶ ἔσπεισα καὶ][10]|[τ]ῶν ἱερείων ἐγευσάμην̣[11]|καὶ ἀξιῶ ὑ̣μᾶς ὑποσημί̣-[12]|[ώσασ]θαι (l. ὑποσημεί |[ώσασ]θαι). διευτυχεῖτε.[13]|vac. ? (hand 2) Αὐρήλιοι Σερῆνος καὶ[14]|[Ἑ]ρμᾶς ε̣ἴ̣δ̣α̣μέν υμας (l. σε)[15]| θυσιαζοντος (l. θυσιάζουσαν).[16]

«To the officials in charge of the sacrifices from Aurelia Kamis, of the village of Philagris and residents in the village of Theadelphia, I have always been in sacrificing to the gods and now too, in your presence in accordance with the regulations, I have sacrificed and poured out the drink and tasted the offerings, I ask you to certify this to me below (on what has been done before you). May you continue to prosper..... Aurelius Serenus and Aurelius Hermas, we saw you sacrificing».

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[129] The Feast of Isis (Ἴσεια-Ἰσίεια) was attested in the documents from 257 BC to the third or fourth century AD. It commemorated the killing of *Osiris* (husband and brother of Isis) by his brother Set (the god of evil). According to the Nile calendar, it was celebrated in the Ptolemaic and Roman eras from the seventeenth to the twentieth of the month of Hathor, see: JĀD 2010: 189 note.1, 2.

[130] JĀD 2010: 190.

[131] MUḤAMMAD 2014: 872.

[132] KNIPFING 2011: 382-383.

[133] M AL-ᶜABBĀDĪ 1999: 197.

[134] *SB*. 1. 4445, ll. 1-16, (Arsinoite AD 250).

The second document of Theadelphia, dated to the same year, also referred to the same rituals but performed by others, Aurelia and her daughter Atous from the village of Philagris π(αρὰ) Αὐρη[λία]ς Ε̣[..]̣ς ἅμα τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἀτοῦδι ἀπὸ κώμης Φιλαγρίδος [135].

2. Christianity Religion

Christianity spread in Egypt despite the many attempts by the Romans to limit its spread, as previously mentioned; however, Christianity entered Philagris like the other villages in Fayum. Christian names appeaed in the archives of Abenaeus in documents dating back to the fourth century AD. For example, the name Mouses (Μουσῆ)[136] appeared in two documents dated to the fourth century AD from Philagris Μουσῆς ἀπὸ Φιλαγρίδος. In the first document, the name Mouses from Philagris was shown as a debtor, as mentioned earlier[137], while the second document referred to the same name in a barley account receipt without mentioning the in-kind value[138] Finally, a third document referred to another Christian name, Haron, son of Petros, through a complaint filed against his sons [κατ]ὰ τῶντέκνων Ἄρωνος Πέτρου ἀπὸ κώμης Φιλαγρίδος[139].

VII. CONCLUSION

This study highlighted several important findings that can be summarized as follows. The history of the village of Philagris dates to the Ptolemaic era. The first document of Philagris appeared in the Ptolemaic era, dated to 237 BC and the last appearance of this village in documents was in the eighth century AD.

Philagris was called Φιλαγρίς from the first to the fourth centuries AD. Its name was sometimes associated with the word κώμη. Then, it was called Perkethaut from the sixth to the eighth centuries AD. Sometimes, it was associated with the word χωρίον.

The name Philagris might appear as early as the third century BC, the Greek counterpart of Demoticism «*Pr-grg-Ḏḥwty*» represented by the worship of Thoth. Further, this Egyptian name disappeared after the third century BC and the village reemerged under the Greek name Φιλαγρίς, which continued until the fourth century AD. Then, this name disappeared and afterward returned to be used in the sixth century AD under the name Perkethaut (Περκεθαυτ).

The Romans neglected Egyptian villages. However, their interest was limited to agriculture and the grains sent to Rome, as evidenced in Philagris, where most of its population worked in agriculture just like other villages in Arsinoite nome. Thus, agriculture was its main economic activity.

Documents highlighted the importance of Philagris' location at the mouth of the irrigation canal as an important part of the irrigation system of the Themistos region. So, Philagris was on the same canal as Theadelpheia or on a canal connected to the canal of Theadelpheia somewhere upstream, which caused many disputes between the residents of the two villages.

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[135] *P. Meyer*. 17ca, ll. 3-5, (Theadelphia AD 250).

[136] «The Name of Mouses», https://www.trismegistos.org/name/43022, accessed on (24/05/2024).

[137] *P. Abinn*. 82v, l. 30, (Arsinoite 4 AD).

[138] *P. Abinn*. 69v, ll.109, (4 AD ?).

[139] *P. Abinn*. 12, ll. 7-8 (Arsinoite AD 342-352).

Livestock flourished in Philagris, which had pasture lands for livestock, through which its residents practiced livestock activities by transporting grain between villages using pack animals.

The Arsinoite Nome was famous for two important industries, namely olive oil and winemaking. Clearly, Philagris was renowned for them, as the documents showed that its residents practiced them. Philagris had intricate ties with the villages of Themistos, especially Theadelphia and Polydeukeia, a strong relationship revealed in many village documents. The strong ties were mainly in the agricultural field, where many residents owned lands in Philagris and vice versa. Philagris lacked a security system, for there was no mention of any function of the police system. A document held police officials responsible for their negligence in catching thieves. This necessarily showed how weak this security organization was and its lack of strength in Philagris.

The inhabitants of Philagris, the microcosm of Egypt's cities and villages, suffered from the arbitrariness of the Roman administration and unfair taxes, which resulted in the emergence of some social phenomena, such as assaults and theft due to the poverty and debts resulting from the many unjust taxes imposed by the Romans.

Some residents of Philagris suffered from the Decian persecution of the practice of religious rituals that appeared through the offering of sacrifices and offerings to the god, as test certificates of faith to eliminate all followers of the new religion (Christian), whether men or women.

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THREE CYLINDER SEALS PRESERVED IN IRAQ MUSEUM
A COMPARATIVE ANALYTICAL STUDY AND PUBLICATION FOR THE FIRST TIME

BY

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ABSTRACT

[EN] The present paper aims to study and investigate a set of unpublished seals Nos.229922, 229909 & 232181 in the Iraq Museum because they have not been published or studied analytically yet. This paper describes the seals' material and manufacture, as well as its principal imagery, shapes and symbols; minor images, shapes and symbols are treated separately. In this study, the researcher also examines the small symbols and items filling the negative space. All the seals include one register of imagery, with similar features and visual themes. There were no texts or inscriptions with the seals and the lack of cuneiform scripts meant that one could not date the seals to a certain period. Thus, the study relies on comparative visual analysis of the scene with other seals that have the same features, to date the seals. Additionally, the comparative historical method was adopted for these seals, applying to the registered artistic features and elements to set an accurate date. The researcher suggests dating the first seal from the post-Akkadian period to the early third dynasty of Ur, whereas the second and third seals could be dated to the Third dynasty of Ur.

KEYWORDS: A worshiper, cylinder seals, geese, Iraq Museum, lama, major goddess, scorpion, throne.

[AR] **دراسة تحليلية ونشر لأول مرة لثلاث أختام غير منشورة بالمتحف العراقي**

يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة وتقصى ثلاث من الأختام غير المنشورة من قبل بالمتحف العراقي، حيث لم تتم نشر تلك الأختام أو دراستها من قبل دراسة تحليلية شاملة من قبل الباحثين، وتحمل هذه الأختام الأرقام «229922، 229909، 232181» في السجل المتحفي العراقي، وسوف يتناول الباحث تلك الأختام عبر المنهج الوصفي لمادة الختم وطرق صناعته والمناظر والأشكال والرموز الرئيسية المصورة عليها، وكذلك المشاهد الثانوية المصاحبة لتلك المشاهد الرئيسية كل على حده، وأخيراً الرموز والعناصر الصغيرة التي تملأ الفراغات، حيث يلاحظ أن كل الأختام محل الدراسة مصورة في صف واحد وتحمل سمات فنية متشابهة وتعالج موضوع واحد، ثم الدراسة التحليلية للسمات الفنية المسجلة عليها حيث لم يرد أي نصوص أو كتابات مصاحبة لأى من هذه الأختام بل جاءت خالية تمام من الكتابة المسمارية والتي من خلالها يمكن إعطاء أو إرجاع هذه الأختام إلى فترة زمنية محددة، لذا فقد كان الاعتماد على تحليل كل السمات الفنية والمناظر المصورة، مع مقارنتها مع الأختام التي تحمل نفس السمات والمؤرخة من قبل الباحثين، وذلك من أجل محاولة تأريخ تلك الأختام، كما سيتم استخدام المنهج التأريخي المقارن لهذه الأختام مع بعضها البعض تطبيقاً على السمات والعناصر الفنية المسجل عليها من أجل وضع تأريخ دقيق لتلك الأختام موضوع الدراسة، حيث يقترح إرجاع تأريخ الختم الأول من هذه الأختام محل الدراسة إلى فترة ما بعد الأكدى إلى بداية أسرة أور الثالثة، أما الختمين الثاني والثالث فيقترح إرجاعهما إلى عصر أسرة أور الثالثة.

الكلمات الدالة: الأختام الأسطوانية، الأوز، العقرب، العرش، الآلهة الرئيسية، المتحف العراقي، لاما، متعبد.

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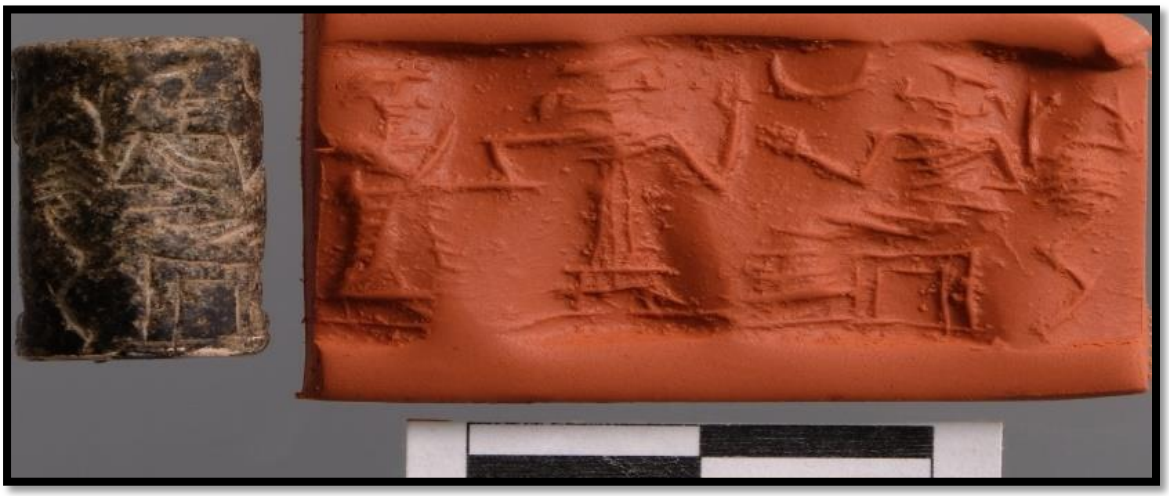
I. INTRODUCTION

Several seal types were known in Mesopotamia, including the cylinder one[1], which is a cylinder made of many materials, but especially stones[2]. The cylinder seal was often perforated in the middle to be portable or hangable[3], with the desired inscription reversible on the outer surface to appear correctly when being rolled on clay. From the early period, such inscriptions reflected society's interest in their production for political religious, administrative and economic purposes. The present study is significant because it examines three previously unpublished cylinder seals in the Iraq Museum. It addresses the artistic aspects of the seals by describing them and analyzing the artistic elements to date them based on some common historical features of the cylinder seals at the time-e.g. presenting a worshiper to a major god, the technique behind the cutting and engraving of the seals, body and headdresses, as well smaller gap-filling symbols, including the scorpion, moon and birds.

II. DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THE SEALS

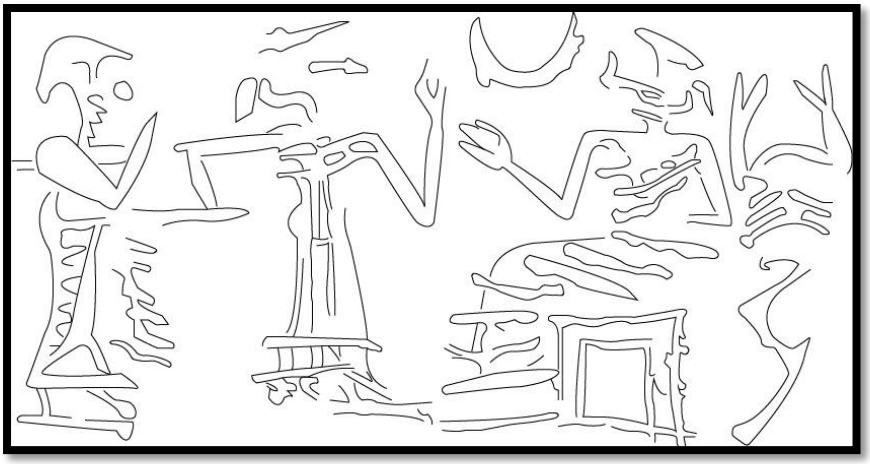
A. The First Seal Nº.1

Inv. Nº. IM. 229922
Diorite cylinder seal: 1.6 x 2.8 cm.
Source: Unknown.



[FIGURE 1]: The Seal Nº.229922 and its impression © Photo taken by HUSAM JAMEEL.

[1] ELIZABETH 1976: 2F; WICKEDE 1990. For further details on seal types in Mesopotamia. OTTO 2019: 411f.
[2] WARD 1910: 5f; FRANKFORT 1954: 14f; OTTO 2019: 412.
[3] The cylinder seal was a necessary personal possession in Mesopotamia. It expressed the personality and identity of the holder, so its loss was a legal issue that must be announced publicly and legally in order not to be used by another person. Hence, the ancient Iraqi was careful that the seal must be accessible, either by carrying around the wrist or hanging around the neck. FADIL 1964: 66f.



[FIGURE 2]: A linear study of the seal and its implication © Done by BASEM KHATTAB.

This small, simply engraved cylinder seal is preserved in the Iraq Museum Nº.229922. It has not been studied nor published by researchers yet. The seal is made of diorite and measures 1.6 cm in diameter and 2.8 cm in height. It is well preserved with no fractures in the body **[FIGURES 1-2].** This cylinder seal depicts a worshiper being presented to a goddess, who sits to the right on a single-niched throne «double-box» without a backrest. The throne is on a horizontal line that may represent the base or just a horizontal line that the artist used to define the beginning of the inscription at the bottom of the seal, as the line extends under the feet of all characters in the seal. The major goddess wears an ankle-length dress with horizontal foldings covering the left shoulder, as the goddess's hand is not free but folded and tucked in at her side, while her right hand appears naked and raised to the front. The hand has an open palm, denoting gentleness and affection to welcome the goddess depicted before her. The facial features of the major goddess are blurred. The artist created facial features with horizontal lines intersecting with vertical lines. Additionally, the features of the horned crown, suggesting divinity, do not appear over the head of this goddess. The gendered features of a goddess were depicted with stylized hair that is tied back asymetrically. In front of the major goddess stands a minor goddess, possibly lama, the mediating goddess dressed in a long garemnet with vertical folds down to the ankle and decorated with a tasseled hem. She raises her left hand and holds the worshipper with her right hand. The worshipper, who raises their right hand, also wears a long dress with fringes. The artist utilized a set of religious symbols to fill the blanks on the seal, such as a large scorpion in the front position behind the major goddess. Furthermore, the space in front of the major goddess was decorated with the celestial symbol, the crescent and was depicted large, as well.

B. The Second Seal Nº.2

Inv. Nº. IM. 229909
Hematite cylinder seal: 1.3 x 2.8cm
Source: Unknown.

[FIGURE 3]: The seal Nº.229909 and its impression © Photo taken by HUSAM JAMEEL.

[FIGURE 4]: A linear study of the seal and its implication © Done by BASEM KHATTAB.

This small, well-engraved cylinder seal is preserved in the Iraq Museum Nº.229909. It has not been studied nor published by researchers yet. The seal is made of hematite and measures 1.3 cm in diameter and 2.8 cm in height. It is in good condition. Certain areas lack fine details, such as the facial features of the figures and some symbols, including the crescent, throne and platform. This is probably because the artist was not adequately skilled at engraving or because the seal was frequently used **[FIGURES 3-4].**

A scene of a worshipper being presented to a major deity is depicted. The major figure is possibly a goddess, based on a comparison to the facial features of the goddess Lama, the remnant of a hair lock and wearing round dresses decorating the neck. On

the far right, the goddess is seated on a chair without a backrest or clear features. Upon comparing its major lines and the posture of the goddess, which seems leaning slightly to the front, the chair seems to be a throne in the form of a temple. It almost resembles the chairs in seals Nos.1-3, which are also included in this study. The throne seems to be above a platform composed of two horizontal lines, as indicated by the large area below and the uneven positioning of the goddess's feet compared to those of the minor goddess in front «compare with the groundline in the previous seal».

Additionally, the major goddess wears a long, floor length dress with horizontal pleats. The shoulder and the right arm are exposed, as the goddess raises her right hand with an open palm. Her neck is adorned with circular ornament. While her facial features have not survived, one can see the horned crown- possibly of the multi-folded type-that she wears. In front of the major goddess stands a minor deity, possibly Lama, wearing a long dress with vertical stripes with a tasseled hem. She raises the left hand, holding a worshipper with the other and wears a horned crown like the major goddess. Most of her facial features were lost except for the multi-folded crown and a hair lock hanging behind. There is a worshipper who stands in the back, wearing a long dress with fringes on one side and rendered with simplistic facial features indicating the hair, mouth and nose. The worshipper also raises the right hand in greeting and holds the goddess Lama on the left. The space between the major and minor goddesses is filled with the remains of a celestial symbol, i.e., a small crescent.

C. The Third Seal Nº.3

Inv. Nº. IM. 232181
Hematite cylinder seal: 1.7× 3.1 cm
Source: Unknown.

[FIGURE 5]: The seal Nº.232181 and its impression © Photo taken by HUSAM JAMEEL.

[FIGURE 6]: A linear study of the seal and its implication © Done by BASEM KHATTAB.

This small, well-engraved cylinder seal is preserved in the Iraq Museum Nº.232181. It has not been studied nor published by researchers yet. The seal is made of hematite and measures 1.7 cm in diameter and 3.1 cm. in height. A break is visible in the upper portion of the seal, causing minimal overall damage but resulting in the loss of part of the horned crown worn by the major goddess. Otherwise, the seal is preserved well **[FIGURES 5 -6].** It features a scene of a worshiper being presented to a major goddess. On the far right, the main figure, a goddess, appears seated on a throne without a backrest, like a temple on a platform representing its base. The platform is made of two parallel horizontal lines starting from behind the throne and ending just beyond the goddess's feet. The goddess wears a long dress with horizontal folds covering the body except for the shoulder and right arm, which are exposed. The goddess raises her right hand with an open palm to greet the minor goddess and the worshipper and the left arm is folded over the chest. The facial features of the goddess are simplistic because the artist did not pay due attention to all anatomical features of the goddess's face. Instead, the artist used diagonal and vertical lines intersecting with horizontal ones to show the mouth, nose and forehead, while neglicting to depict the eye and the back of the head. The goddess wears a horned crown, though the left portion is missing due to a break. Additionally, the hair is styled in a spherical form at the back. In front of the major goddess stands a minor goddess—likely Lama—dressed in an ankle-length garment with vertical folds and a tasseled hem. She raises her left hand, holds a worshipper with the other and wears a horned crown. The facial features are unclear, as the artist only used vertical and horizontal lines to indicate the mouth and nose. The hair is depicted as a lock extending to the back in a zigzag pattern and the goddess wears a horned crown. In the back, a worshipper stands wearing a long dress with fringes on both sides, putting his right hand on the waist and holding the mediating goddess by the other. The space between the major and minor goddess includes a depiction of a scorpion in a frontal position, in front of the main goddess's feet. At the top, a celestial symbol, i.e., a crescent, appears. There is a bird, perhaps a goose, standing on a platform, behind the worshipper.

III. ANALYTICAL STUDY

The seals have artistic features and elements that help to date them. Unfortunately, there were no inscribed texts to date them to a specific king or period. Therefore, this study used artistic and technical elements, features and characteristics to date all seals as follows:

A. Seal's Subject

The drawings, engraved scenes and themes on Mesopotamian seals were key factors in dating the cylinder seals. Representations changed or waxed and waned in popularity according to the era. For instance, the seals in this study focused on the theme of presenting a worshiper to major deities, which is a type that prevailed in the Neo-Sumerian era[4] although they belonged to earlier periods[5]. The images on the seals included in this study were composed according to the prevailing artistic conventions of the Sumerian Renaissance era. Usually there are three[6] figures. The main figure to the right «rarely in the middle or to the left[7]», which is easily identified as Lama, the mediating goddess[8], who is often depicted with raised hands and a dress with vertical folds. She is often shown with raised hands, wearing a vertically folded dress and holding the worshipper with one arm bent at a right angle. The third figure is the worshipper, who is being presented to the principal deity. Both the worshipper and the interceding goddess were depicted facing in the same direction toward the main figure on the seal[9] **[FIGURES 1-3]**, for whom the seal was engraved as a homage. The final form of the seal appears in an orderly and symmetrical form. A characteristic of the era was to depict gods without distinguishing features, such as attributes, like in earlier times. Thus, gods were not precisely defined except for their sex[10] and general divine attributes– such as the horned crown, dress, temple-like throne[11] and accompanying symbols, including the scorpion, crescent and goose.

B. Artistic Style

The artistic style of the cylinder seals in Mesopotamia can be used for dating, as the artistic style differed according to the era. For example, the investigated cylinder seals are all believed to be from the Neo-Sumerian era because of their comparable artistic style. But seal Nº.1 could be dated to the beginning of this era, or from the post-

[4] MUNN-RANKIN 1959: 24; LUDOVICO & CAMIZ 2020: 8.

[5] FRANKFORT 1934: FIGS.2-3; PORADA 1948: 30, PL.38, Nº. 241-244.

[6] HATTORI 2002: 94.

[7] MAYR 1997: FIGS.14, 223a, 1029b.

[8] In the Sumerian era, offering a worshipper was often made by a goddess or rarely a god. OTTO 2019: 423.

[9] EISEN 1940: 27.

[10] FRANKFORT 1939:145; PORADA 1948: 35.

[11] ELHEWAILY 2017: 140.

Akkadian era to the third dynasty of Ur. The style of this seal dates back to the era influenced by Akkadian seals. Moreover, the artist adopted a simple engraving style characterized by superficiality, lack of attention to details and rough execution that distinguished the post-Akkadian era[12]. This is evident in the generalized facial features of the gods, where horizontal lines replace more detailed elements and the diagonal line of the nose is omitted[13], along with other broader aspects of representation discussed later. The method of cutting and engraving seals Nos.2-3 were good and the artist was interested in engraving the fine details of clothes and symbols of filling the space, a style that dates back to the Third dynasty of Ur[14]. Additionally, the artist employed high relief in the three seals, as reflected in the seal impressions.

C. Iconographic Feature Analysis

The iconographic features include everything related to fashion, such as clothing, hairstyles, beards, headdresses and footwear. Additionally other accessories, such as furniture, weapons and other supplies are studied. All of these iconographic features differ according to time period.

1- Dress

Looking at dress is a key and important dating criterium. Various dress types appeared in the Mesopotamian civilization and differed according to period. On the seals understudy, various dresses appeared, including dresses for gods and people. First, the dresses of the major goddess. In the seals included in this study, the major goddess was depicted wearing the same long dress with eight or more horizontal folds, each with vertical fringes (tassels) of the same length **[FIGURES 2, 4, 6 & 7/A].** This was the main dress for major gods and goddesses[15]. There are two similar dresses in the seals; one with one sleeve covering the shoulder and arm worn by the major goddess and the other with sleeves covering the shoulders and arms[16] **[FIGURE 7/B].** While the latter emerged in the Neo-Sumerian era, the former was a continuation from the Akkadian period[17] and was often used as ceremonial dress for major gods from the Second dynasty of Lagash throughout the Neo-Sumerian era[18]. «It is noticeable that the representation of this dress in the first and second seals under study lacks the detailed features and quality of execution found in the third and final seal. The artist did not show full attention to depicting details such as the vertical fringes, as seen in the third

[12] PORADA 1948: 31.

[13] COLLEN 1982: 111.

[14] COLLEN 1982: 111.

[15] FRANKFORT 1939: FIGS.37-38: COLLON 2005: Nº.531

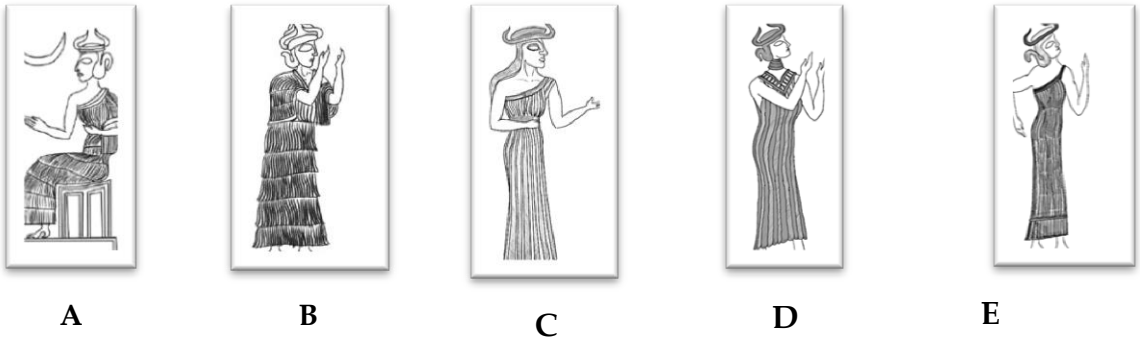
[16] DELAPORTE 1923: 120, Nº.4(A.262); COLLON 1982: 170, PL.52, Nº.472.

[17] This dress was worn by divine kings in the third dynasty of Ur, as a seal shows king Shu-Sin wearing this dress. WARD 1910: 23.

[18] DELAPORTE 1923: 120, Nº.A.203, 207; PORADA 1948, Nº.275, 284-285, 287; COLLON 2005: Nº.531.

seal, which were a reflection of its superior craftsmanship and precision in its production **[FIGURE 5]**. The dress of the goddess on the second seal was decorated with round ornaments and reflect the artistic features of the third dynasty of Ur[19].

Second, the dress of the minor goddess. Lama, a minor goddess was depicted in each of the seals in the same ankle-long dress with vertical folds decorating the entire external dress from the neckline to the hem. The neckline extends from the left shoulder to the right underarm with a raised border. This style took is based on two similar styles that only differed in the shoulder straps. While the first had one strap, the other had two **[FIGUR 7/ C & D]**. Additionally, the first style had vertical folds, while the other had a bottom border decorating the dress in the middle of the leg, which was depicted on all seals understudy **[FIGURE 7/E].** This style frequently appeared in the Sumerian Renaissance era as a dress of Lama, the minor goddess[20], although it was used earlier in the Akkadian era.



[FIGURE 7]: A linear study of some types of dresses of the major and minor goddess (New Sumerian Era). DELAPORTE 1923: 120; Nº. 4(A.262); PORADA 1948: Nos.275, 284, 285, 287; COLLON 1982: 170, PL.LII, Nº.472.

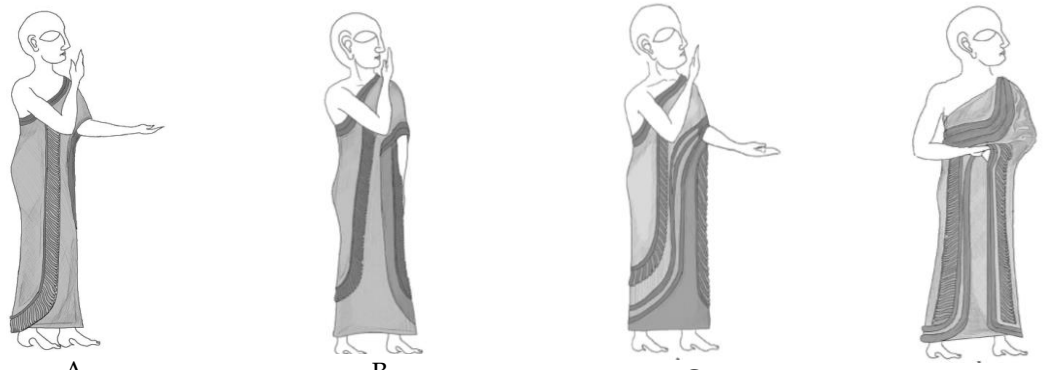
Third, the dress of the worshipper. The seals of the Neo-Sumerian era **[FIGURE 8]** depict severla styles of worshippers' dresses, typically shown as long dresses covering the entire body. These dresses featured two disinct minor styles; the first style has one tasseled side **[FIGURE 8/A]** while the second has two tasseled sides. The first style, seen on the second seal, features a long dress that covers the body with an outer section adorned with tassels extending from the chest to below the knee or possibly to the back of the garment. These tassels covered one side of the dress and were held in place by a raised border, while the opposite side was left to hang freely. Additionally, the neckline was surrounded by a raised border. This type was common in the second Lagash dynasty and appeared on seals dated to the time[21]. The second type of dress appeared on seals Nso.1-3. It prevailed in the Neo-Sumerian era probably because of its diverse

[19] COMPARE COLLEN 1982: 131, Nº.499.

[20] PORADA 1948: 36; Nº.275, 285; BUCHANAN 1981: Nº.571, 581, 583, 585.

[21] PORADA 1948: 36, PL.44, Nº.285.

secondary types[22]. It differed from the first mentioned type in some details, such as the placement of tassels that, in this type, extended on both sides from the front. It included four secondary types **[FIGURE 8/B].**



[FIGURE 8]: A linear study of some types of dress of the worshipper (New Sumerian Era. PORADA 1948: PL.63, Nos.275, 377E; MOOREY & GURNEY 1973: 72.

2- Headdress

The Neo-Sumerian era had some unique changes to headdresses, although some former types survived. Thus, the seals understudy had different headdresses for gods and people.

First, the headdress of gods. The horned crowns of various forms symbolized divinity in Mesopotamia, but this was not the norm, as the gods sometimes appeared without the horned crown, as is the case of the first seal. This was a distinctive feature in the post-Akkadian era until the third dynasty of Ur[23]. As for seals Nos.2-3, the horned headdress appeared in two different styles as follows:

The horned crown with one pair of horns and the base of a single headdress **[FIGURE 9/A].** This type of hairdress designated divinity, either major or minor gods and appeared on «seal Nº.3». It was a continuation of the same style in the Akkadian era[24], which also continued to be worn in the Neo-Sumerian era. As shown in seal Nº.3, the headdress was flat and semicircular with one horn portruding from each side. The horns were connected at the base, forming a foundation upon which the crown rested. From this base, the horns curved inward and upward, ending in pointed tips. In seal Nº.3, the curve of the horns in the crowns differ. The crown of the main goddess have a slight curve, typical of the Neo-Sumerian era[25], while that of the minor goddess have a sharp curve. The pointed ends meet, ending with a spherical form above their meeting

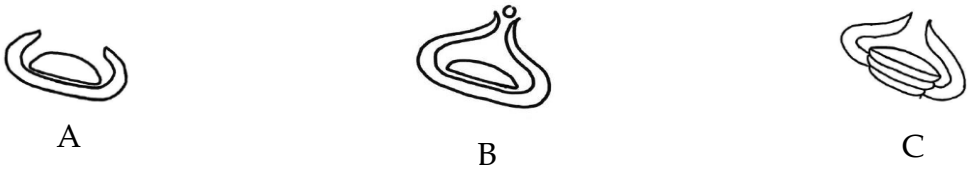
[22] COMPARE, MOOREY & GURNEY 1973: 72, FIG.4.

[23] COLLEN 1982: 111.

[24] PORADA 1948: Nos.215E, 239E, 242-246.

[25] PORADA 1948: Nos.271, 275-276, 280, 284; COLLON 1982: 169, PL.52, Nº.470; COMPARE COLLON 2005: 125, Nº.531.

point. This style appeared in the Akkadian era[26] and the new Sumerian era[27] **[FIGURE 9/B].** The horned crown with a pair of horns and a gradual base: This style developed from the previous one, but differs in the gradual base of the horns, as shown on seal Nº.2. It is typical of Neo-Sumerian seals[28] **[FIGURE 9/C].**



[FIGURE 9]: A linear study of some type the headdress of Gods.
PORADA 1948: PL.63, Nº.275, PL.64, Nº.285.

The Headdress of People

The flat-topped cap was designated for people, especially in the Akkadian era[29] and from the post-Akkadian era to the early third dynasty of Ur [30]. «This headdress was one of the distinctive features of that period, although it did not appear widely in the Neo-Sumerian era, where two different types emerged». It appeared as the worshipper's headdress on seal Nº.1, where gods did not wear the horned crown that were common in seals of the post-Akkadian era until the third dynasty of Ur[31]. Instead the gods wore a headdress similar to that of the worshipper.

3- Hairstyles

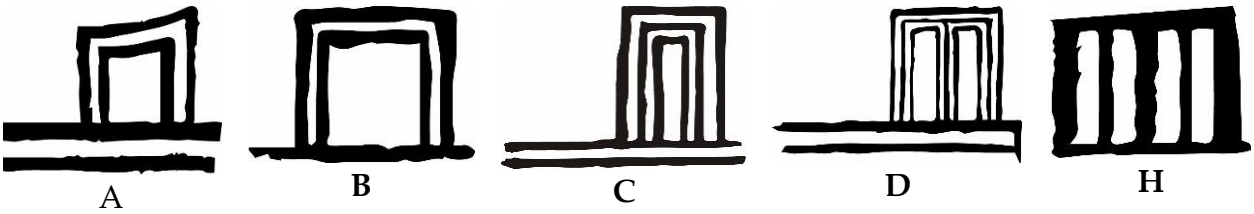
Various divine hairstyles appeared during the Neo-Sumerian era, with some commonly depicted on seals particularly a single thick or thin bun secured with a tie, with the end either left loose or partially extended downward[32]. On the examined seals, the hairstyles of major and minor goddesses took the same style, but the worshipers were depicted with shaved heads[33], as shown on seals Nºs.1-3, or beardless, especially during the third dynasty of Ur. However, there are some exceptions[34], as illustrated by the seals understudy.

[26] SOBHY ANWAR RASHID 2, FIG.2.
[27] PORADA 1948: Nº.282.
[28] PORADA 1948: Nºs..274-275; COLLON 1982: 169; PL.52, Nº.470.
[29] MOOREY & GURNEY 1973: 72; FIG.3; COLLON 1982; PL.34, Nº.242; PORADA 1948: 26; PL.34, Nº.219.
[30] COLLON 1982: Nºs..286, 288, 296, 299.
[31] COLLON 1982: 111.
[32] Compare: PORADA 1948: Nºs.253, 274-275, 277E, 281- 286.
[33] COLLON 1982: 111.
[34] FRANKFORT 1932: 145; PORADA 1948: 35.

4- The Throne

The throne of the gods varied greatly in the Sumerian era and took countless forms, including the simple throne, which looks like an undetailed box. Sometimes the throne may look like two boxes to resemble the façade of an altar or a temple[35], which was the predominate style in the examined seals and in the new Sumerian era in general see **[FIGURE 10/A]** . However, this type of throne also appeared in the Akkadian era. While the form of the throne seat is not clearly defined on seal Nº.2, it likely belongs to the type where the throne takes the form of a temple, specifically the same form present in seals Nºs.1-3, - this is determined when comparing the remaining lines of the throne. The back line of this throne type was somewhat higher than the front one. The goddess also leans slightly to the front. Moreover, in the Neo-Sumerian era, some thrones are depicted with five lines to form niches. For comparison, see **[FIGURE 10]**.

Moreover, the throne was attached to the platform on which it rested, taking the form of a line, as in seal Nº.1 or two as in seal Nº.3. This platform denoted the artist's interest in highlighting the throne and the figure on it. Perhaps the platform represented the stepped height on which the temple stood[36].



[FIGURE 10]: Some types of the throne of gods in the Sumerian Era.
MAYR 1997: FIGS.4B, 9A, 9C, 11A, 92A.

5- The Crescent

The crescent was a prominent symbol of the god Sin[37]. It was (U4 - SAKAR5) in the Sumerian language and «nannārum» in the Akkadian language[38]. It appeared on some Iraqi sculptures, especially cylinder seals and royal obelisks and some artistic stones, especially the kuduru[39]. It was included in scenes since the Early Sumerian period. The symbol was used for filling empty space, without bearing any religious significance[40]. The crescent appeared on all the investigated seals on the upper side in front of the major goddess. It also appeared with other symbols, such as the scorpion, as

[35] COLLON 1982: 132.
[36] COLLON 1982: 132.
[37] For further information on the moon and its names, see: COLBOW 1997: 19-31.
[38] MDA 1976: 175:381.
[39] BLACK & GREEN 1992: 54.
[40] COLBOW 1997: 21

in seals Nos.1-3 and the goose, as in seal Nº.3. They were characteristic features of the Sumerian Renaissance era[41].

6- The Scorpion

The scorpion was known as (GíR) in the Sumerian language, (zuqaqipu) in the Akkadian language[42] and (ĝír-tab) in the Babylon era, meaning dagger or double-edged sword. From the sixth to the first millennium BC, the symbol was associated with fertility and other relevant goddesses, such as Ishkhara[43] and Ishtar. The scorpion was also a star symbol linked to the Scorpius constellation and was one of the most frequently depicted animals in Mesopotamian art, often used to fill empty spaces in compositions. The first appearance of the scorpion dates back to the sixth millennium BC in Samarra pottery and several fragments of Ubaid pottery found in Eridu. The scorpion appeared on the examined seals, Nº.1-3. It appears with the celestial symbol, the moon, the symbol of the god Sin. The two symbols were often represented together in the Neo- Sumerian era[44] because of their relationship to lunar and celestial funcitons. They were also used in the negative space of a composition, often depicted at the top of some seals[45].

On seal Nº.1, the scorpion was depicted behind the main goddess and filled the entire space behind the throne. The artist focused on the pincers and the tail as important visual identifiers, but did not add any other symbols with the scorpion because of its large size. Thus, this type of representation- specifically in the scorpion's form and large size-was rarely depicted in the Neo-Sumerian era, in simple models[46]. The representation of the scorpion in the Neo-Sumerian era was mostly of a smaller size, as in seal Nº.3, which may suggest the artist's desire to focus on the celestial symbol, the moon, due to its association with the stars or stellar attributes. Possibly, this symbol was added later, as it was depicted larger than the other shapes on the seal[47].

7- The Goose

Geese were known as (UZ.MUŠEM) in the Sumerian language and (uisu)[48] in the Akkadian language. They were one of the most common birds depicted in cylinder seal scenes, especially in the Neo-Sumerian era. Geese were regularly offered in temples[49], as

[41] MOOREY & GURNEY 1973: 72, FIG.4.

[42] CAD 2010 (Z): 163: b.

[43] PRECHEL 1996: 65-69; BLACK & GREEN 1992: 160-162.

[44] COLLON 1982: Nos.334, 352, 384.

[45] COLLON 1982: Nos.334, 352.

[46] COLLON 1982: Nº.428.

[47] COMPARE LAMBERT 1979: 8.

[48] CAD 2010 (U): 282: a.

[49] MOOREY & GURNEY 1973: 72, FIG.4.

they were distinctive decorations to fill empty space, along with the scorpion and the crescent. A goose appears on seal Nº.3, the artist paid attention to the fine details in carving the geese and allocated a large space for it behind the worshiper.

IV- CONCLUSION

The analytical study of the examined seals showed that they could be dated to the Neo-Sumerian period. The seals share many artistic characteristics and features, the most important of which is their central theme: the presentation of a worshipper to a major deity a scene that was prevalent at the time. The artist adopted the same common artistic features on all the seals under study. However, the first seal could be dated to the beginning of the Neo-Sumerian or post-Akkadian era until the third dynasty of Ur, based on its artistic features, including the rough cutting style and lack of attention to detail. Additionally, the gods did not wear the horned crown that distinguished them from people. On this seal, the gods appeared without unique attributes or appearance and the worshiper's headdress took the form of a flat cap. Seals Nos.2-3 can be dated on several artistic indicators, including the seal-cutting technique, the main goddess's dress featuring eight or more folds and the depiction of the goddess Lama wearing a vertically folded garment while pulling the worshipper an iconographic motif that dominated the era. The features also included the divine horned headdress, the hairstyles of the gods, the jewelry worn by the main goddess in seal Nº.2 and the dress of the worshipers, who were depicted beardless and hairless. The symbols filling the void, such as the scorpion and the goose, characterized the seals of the third dynasty of Ur.

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OLD KINGDOM FALSE DOOR OF KHUWY AT CAIRO EGYPTIAN MUSEUM Nº.CG. 57210

BY

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ABSTRACT

[EN] This false door belonging to the so-called *Khuwy* was found in Saqqara next to the pyramid of King *Teti*, the first king of the sixth dynasty. One of his many titles was the title of the High Priest of the pyramid of king *teti*, among many titles and descriptions that indicate his distinguished position and great influence, perhaps the most important of which are the titles of the chief physician of the royal palace and the chief dentist. This false door may indicate the existence of a tomb in the vicinity of the pyramid of king *teti* that has not yet been discovered, belonging to «*Khuwy*», especially since this false door was cut off and connected to it was part of a side wall containing the remains of scenes of men offering sacrifices by slaughtering the calves to be sacrificed, which indicates that the tomb from which the false door was cut off must have contained engraved rooms, like the tombs of «*Ti and Mereruka*» in Saqqara. *Khuwy's* many titles also indicate the extensive powers that the kings of the sixth dynasty granted to the senior statesmen, which may have made their influence greater than that of the kings of this dynasty.

KEYWORDS: False door, *Khuy*, limestone, pyramid, Saqqara, sixth dynasty, *Teti*.

[AR] **باب وهمي من الدولة القديمة للمدعو خوي في المتحف المصري بالقاهرة**

هذا الباب الوهمي الذي يخص المدعو خوي، عثر عليه في سقارة بجوار هرم الملك تيتي أول ملوك الأسرة السادسة وكان أحد ألقابه العديدة هو لقب رئيس كهنة الهرم للملك تيتي وذلك ضمن ألقاب وصفات عديدة و كثيرة تشير لمكانته المتميزة ولنفوذه الكبير ولعل أهمها ألقاب كبير أطباء القصر الملكي و كبير أطباء الأسنان ، وربما يشير هذا الباب الوهمي إلى وجود مقبرة في محيط هرم الملك تيتي لم يتم اكتشافها بعد تخص «خوي » خاصة وأن الباب الوهمي موضع البحث كان مقطوعًا ومتصل به جزء من جدار جانبي يحتوي على بقايا مناظر لرجال يقدمون الأضاحي عن طريق ذبح العجول المراد التضحية بها، مما يشير إلى أن المقبرة المقطوع منها الباب الوهمي لا بد و أنها كانت تحتوي على غرف منقوشة، مثل مقبرتي « تي و ميري روكا» بسقارة. كما تشير ألقاب خوي العديدة إلى السلطات الواسعة التي منحها ملوك الأسرة السادسة لكبار رجال الدولة، والتي ربما جعلت نفوذهم أكبر من تأثير ملوك هذه الأسرة.

الكلمات الدالة: الأسر السادسة، باب وهمي،تتي، حجر جيري،خوي، دولة قديمة ، سقارة ، هرم

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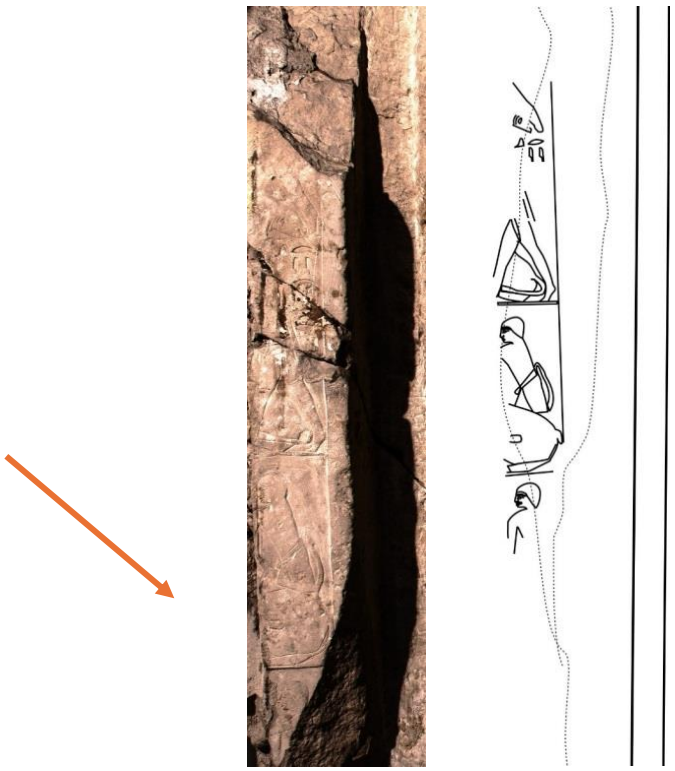
I. INTRODUCTION

This article is about a limestone false door, currently at the Cairo Egyptian Museum Nº. CG.57210, belonging to a man named *Khuwy*. The false door was found at Saqqara, in the area around *Titi's* pyramid, and dates to the 6th dynasty of the old kingdom. This false door is recorded in the catalogue general of the Cairo Museum, but it needs a scientific study, therefore, the Cairo Egyptian Museum granted the author permission to publish it. *Khuy* had many titles and attributes, such as the bearer of the seal bearer of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the sole friend companion of the king, the chief of physicians, and the true royal nobleman. However, the most preferred title, which was repeated many times, was that of chief of the physicians of the palace. This is in addition to many other titles that explain and underline his important position, whether in the royal palace or the state, in general.

II. DESCRIPTION

Inv. Nº. CG57210
Material: Limestone
Original location: Saqqara
Current location: Cairo Egyptian Museum
Dimensions: Height: 174 cm; Width: 110 cm; Thickness 30 cm
Preservation: Well-preserved



[FIGURE 1]: Detail of false door Nº.CG. 57210 © Photo taken by SAMEH.

In this false door, all the texts and figures are cut in sunk relief, except for the figures, which are carved in raised relief. It includes three jambs and lintels, an offering panel, and a torus molding. Both lintels and the outer and inner jambs bear one line of text in fine hieroglyphs. However, the third lintel is blank. The texts are inscribed in sunken relief. The upper and outer jambs are on one level while the upper and lower lintels and the outer and inner jambs are inscribed. The central niche and the small drum are blank. There is a crack extending from the middle-left side of the door to the end of the central niche. There is an extended block cut from the wall at both sides of the door. The left side shows the remains of bull cattle being sacrificed for the tomb owner **[FIGURE 1]**.

- The outer upper lintel displays a single inscribed horizontal hieroglyphic inscription, oriented from right to left; it includes the *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw* formula.
- The 1st inner lintel also displays a single horizontal hieroglyphic inscription, oriented from the right to the left. It includes the title of the owner, *ỉmɜḫw ḫr nṯr ᶜɜ*, followed by his name, *ḫwy*.
- The 2nd inner lintel is blank.
- Each of the false door jambs is followed by a representation of the owner, who stands facing the central niche. Inscriptions are carved above the image of the tomb owner.
- On the outer left jambs, there are four titles of the deceased, and his name is inscribed underneath it. The deceased is depicted wearing a knee-length kilt and a shoulder-length, curly wig tucked behind the ears. He also wears a *wsḫt* collar and his arms are extended parallel to his sides. He is barefoot.
- On the outer right jamb, there is an inscription of three titles of the deceased and his name underneath it. The deceased is depicted identically on the left jamb. In contrast, on the left jamb, there is an inscription of five titles of the deceased and his name. Under this, the deceased is depicted wearing a knee-length kilt with a triangle front and a shoulder-length curly wig, which is tucked behind his ears. He wears a *wsḫt* collar, with his arms are on either side of his body. He is shown barefoot.
- On the left 1st inner jamb, there is an inscription of five titles under which the deceased is depicted wearing a knee-length kilt with a triangular front and a shoulder-length curly wig tucked behind the ears. He wears a *wsḫt* collar, with his arms are on either side of his body. He is shown barefoot.
- On the right 1st inner jamb, there is an inscription of seven titles of the deceased and his name underneath it. The deceased is depicted wearing a short kilt with a triangle front and short hair, holding a staff with his right hand that is crossed over his chest. Meanwhile, his left arm rests along his side.
- On the 2nd inner left jamb, the name and inscription of three titles of the deceased are inscribed. Under this, the deceased is depicted wearing a short kilt with a triangle

front and short hair, holding a staff with his right hand crossed on his chest. His left arm is also extended along his side.

- Just mentioned previously, on the 2nd inner right jamb there is an inscription of three titles of the deceased and his name. Under it, the deceased is depicted wearing a knee-length kilt with a triangle front and a shoulder-length curly wig tucked behind the ears. He wears a *wsḫt* collar, with his arms are on either side of his body. He is shown barefoot.
- The offering slab shows a typical funerary banquet inscription. *Khuwy* is sitting on the left, on a low back chair whose support can be seen under the pillow. The back end of the chair's seat terminates in the shape of a lotus flower. The chair's legs are carved to imitate the lion's legs. The deceased wears a garment like the one he wears on the outer jambs. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, and a knee-length kilt. His left hand is clasped to the chest, holding a folded piece of cloth, while his right hand extends outward towards an offering table. The offering table is directly in front of the deceased and is loaded with vertical bread loaves. Below the table, on the left, is a short stand carrying a basin. There is also an ewer whose spout is directed towards the deceased. On the right side of the table, there are different kinds of bread, a thigh of an ox, and a trussed duck. Above the banquet scene and the deceased are two inscribed offering formulas, which are oriented from right to left, i.e., towards the deceased to indicate that he is the recipient of these offerings.

[FIGURE 2]: False door Nº.CG. 57210 © Photo taken by SAMEH.

[FIGURE 3]: False door Nº.CG. 57210 © Photo taken by SAMEH.

[FIGURE 4]: False door Nº.CG. 57210 © Done by IMAN ELSAI.

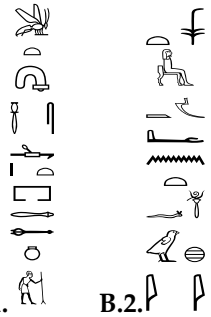
III. THE TEXT

A-The Outer Lintel

ḥtp dỉ nswt Wsỉr prt-ḫrw n.f ḫrw(.w) m ḫr(t)-nṯr n.

Offering given by the king[1] and *Osiris* (as) an invocation-offering to him, recited in the Necropolis for.

B-The Outer Left Jamb

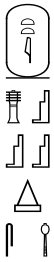


B.1. **B.2.**

1- *ḫtmw -bỉty*[2] *smr -wˁty*[3] *zwnw-wr-pr-ˁ3*[4] *šps(w)-nswt-mɜˁ-n-ỉɜt.f ḫwy*[5].

The seal bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend of the king, chief of physicians, the true royal nobleman of his rank, *Khuwy*.

B- The Outer Right Jamb



B.1.

3- *sḥḏ-ḥm(w)-nṯr- ḏḏ-swt-ttỉ*[6] *ỉmy-ḫt*[7] *ỉmy-r-pr ḫwy.*
Inspector of the priests of Teti-pyramid-complex, under-supervisor, steward, *Khuwy*.

[1] ABD EL SATTAR 2024: 55-80, for more about *ḥtp-dj-njsw.t*, see: GARDINER 1915: 79-93; LAPP 1986; LEPROHON 1990: 163-64; FRANKE 2003: 39-41.
[2] WARD 1982: 174, 1472.
[3] WARD 1982: 151, 1299.
[4] JONES 2000. Nº.3026
[5] RANKE 1935: *PN*.I , 267.135; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014.
[6] GAUTHIER 1929: *DG*.6, 137; GOMAÁ 1986: Besiedlung 2, 24 f; *LÄ*, vol.5, 5, 7, 300.
[7] ERMAN & GRAPOW 1926-1931: *Wb*.vol.1, 75.5; WARD 1982: Nº.429; JONES 2000: Nº.1017ff.

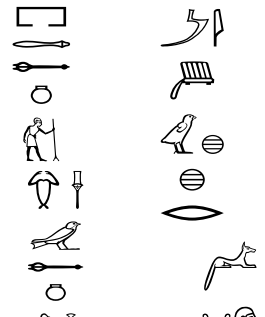
C- The First Inner Lintel

C-

ỉmɜḫw ḫr nṯr ᶜɜ ḫwy.
The revered by the great god, *Khuwy.*

←

D-The 1st Inner Left Jamb

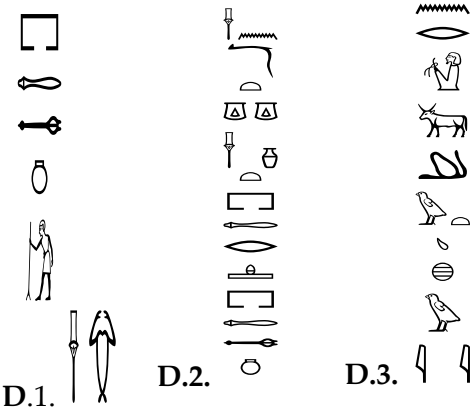


D.1. D.2. D.3.

zwnw-wr-pr-ᶜɜ ḫrp-srḳt[8] *wr-zwnw(w)*[9]*-Mḥw-šmᶜw* [10]*ỉmɜḫw-ḫr-ỉnpw-tp(y)-ḏw.f iry-mḏɜ(w)t*[11]*-pr-ᶜɜ ḫwy.*
Chief physician of the palace, commander of *Serqet* (i.e. scorpion bites healer), chief of physicians of Lower and Upper Egypt, one revered by *Anubis* who-is-upon his mountain, keeper of documents (=archivist) of the royal-palace, *Khuwy*.

→

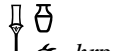
D-The 1st Inner Right Jambs



D.1. D.2. D.3.

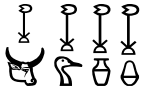
zwnw-wr-pr-ᶜɜ ḫrp-šrḳt ḫrp-nsty[12] *ḫrp-hɜṯs-km*[13] *iry-mḏɜ(w)t-pr-ᶜɜ zwnw-pr-ᶜɜ* [14]*nr-pḥw(y)t*[15] *ḫwy.*
Chief physician of the royal-palace, commander of *Serqet* (i.e. scorpion bites healer), administrator of the two-thrones, director of the black *hatjes*-jar, keeper of documents of the royal-palace, physician of the royal-palace, proctologist (lit. guardian of the anus), *Khuwy.*

←

[8] JONES 2000: Nº.2719.
[9] ERMAN & GRAPOW 1926-1931: *Wb*, vol.1, 329.11; vol.3: 427.13-15; JONES 2000: Nº.1462.
[10] ERMAN & GRAPOW 1926-1931: *Wb*, vol.3, 427.14.
[11] ERMAN & GRAPOW 1926-1931: *Wb*, vol.2, 188.2; JONES 2000: Nº.1167.
[12] ERMAN & GRAPOW 1926-1931: *Wb*, vol.3, 328.17; JONES 2000: Nº.2637
[13]  *ḫrp-hɜṯs-km* (note: (reversed) = km. ERMAN & GRAPOW 1926-1931: *Wb*.vol.5, 123.23; JONES 2000: Nº.2642.
[14] JONES 2000: Nº.3021.
[15] JONES 2000: Nº.1813.

E- The Offering Slab

E.1-



E.2-

1-*ḫɜ t ḫɜ ḥnḳt ḫɜ ɜbd ḫɜ iḥ ḫɜ šs ḫɜ mnḫt n imɜḫw ḫr nṯr ᶜ ɜ.*

2- *pr ᶜɜ wr swnw ḫwy.*

Thousands of breads, thousands of beer, thousands of birds, thousands of oxen, **[FIGURE 2]** thousands of grain, thousands of clothes to the honored of the god, this is the chief physician of the palace *Khuwy*.

←

F- The 2nd Inner Lintel Blank

G-The 2nd Inner Left Jambs

G-

wr-zwnw-pr-ᶜɜ ḫrp-šrḳt imɜḫw wr-ir(*w*)*-ibḥ*(*w*)[16] *xwy.*

Chief physician of the palace, commander of Serqet (i.e. scorpion bites healer), revered-one, chief of dentists (lit. teeth makers), *Khuwy.*

→

G-The 2nd Inner Right Jambs

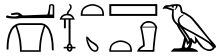
G-

zwnw-pr-ᶜɜ ᶜw-ḥmwt-štɜt[17] *imɜḫw ḫwy.*

Physician of the palace, interpreter of a difficult art (ie. Medicine), revered-one, *Khwy.*

←

[16] JONES 2000: Nº.1415.

[17]  *ᶜw-ḥmwt-štɜt*. JONES 2000: Nº.1310.

IV. COMMENTARY

Discussion

1. Stylistic Notes about the Representations of the Owner on the Door Jambs

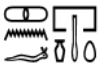
The owner is represented on the six jambs of the false door six times. On the two outer jambs, he is depicted striding barefoot with his arms along his sides. He wears a shoulder-length curly wig that exposes his ears, a *Wsḫt* collar, and a knee-length kilt. On the 1st left inner and the 2nd right jambs, he is represented in the same form as on the outer jambs but in a smaller size. On the 1st inner right and 2nd inner left jambs, he is represented wearing a short formal kilt with a triangle front and short hair. He holds a staff with his right hand crossed on his chest, while his left arm is resting at his side.

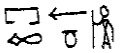
2. Stylistic Notes about the Owner Representations and the Offering Table on the Offering Slab

- The Owner: He sits on the left on a low back chair whose back stand could be seen under the pillow. The back of the chair is shaped like a lotus flower, and its legs were engraved to imitate the lion's legs. The deceased is wearing a garment like those shown on the outer jambs. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, and a knee-length kilt. His left hand is clasped to the chest, holding a folded piece of cloth, while his right hand extends outward towards an offering table.
- The Offering Table: One central stand appears directly in front of the deceased and is loaded with vertical bread loaves. Below the table to the left is a short stand carrying a basin, and above the latter is an ewer whose its spout is turned towards the deceased. Under the table on the right side are different kinds of bread, a thigh of an ox, and a trussed duck. This style of representation of the offering table and the kinds of offerings on and beside it was usual during this period in the late Old Kingdom.

3. Paleographical and Philological Comments

A. The Outer Lentil: the *formula ḥtp dỉ nsw* is unusual because it is followed by *ḫrw*, which indicates it was recited at the necropolis.

B. The Outer Lentil: The *formula* in the false door is arranged in this shape  . This arrangement was popular during the sixth dynasty and later[18].

C. Outer Left Door Jamb: *zwnw-wr-pr-ꜥ*[19]  *wr* is written with instead of .

[18] BROVARSKI 2006: 111.

[19] WARD 1982: 149, 1280.

D. B.2. The Outer Left Jamb: *imy-ḫt*[20]is written with the sword sign 𓌙 instead of the tree forked branch 𓊽 . But, it was mostly written incorrectly.

E-B2 - 𓇋𓏏𓂋 *ḫrp-hꜣṯs-km* (the sign: 𓂋 reversed 𓂋) it must be 𓎛 *km*)[21].

F. G. The 2nd Inner Left Jamb: 𓎛𓅓 *zwnw-wr-pr-ꜥꜣ*; appears for first time on this false door; *wr* is written before the title *zwnw*.

G. G. The 2nd Inner Right Jamb: *zwnw* 𓅓 is written without the adjective *wr*, which may indicate that *Khuwy* became the only doctor in the palace who has knowledge of all the secrets of treatment; this is clear from the rest of the sentence. «Physician of the palace, interpreter of a difficult art (ie. Medicine), revered-one, *Khuwy*».

H.G. The 2nd Inner Right Jamb: *ꜥw* 𓌅 is abbreviated instead of using the full form 𓌅𓅓𓏏𓎛[22].

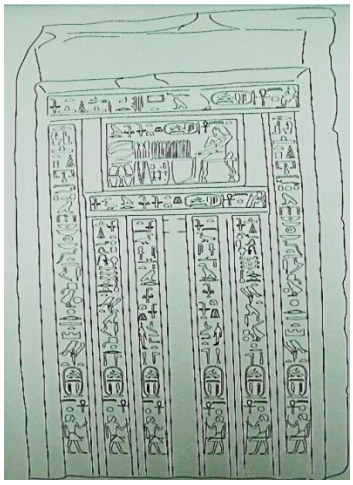
I.G. The 2nd Inner Right Jamb: the title 𓌅𓅓𓏏𓎛 *ꜥw-ḥmwt-štꜣt* was not common, but it seemed like an important physician title.

V.DATING

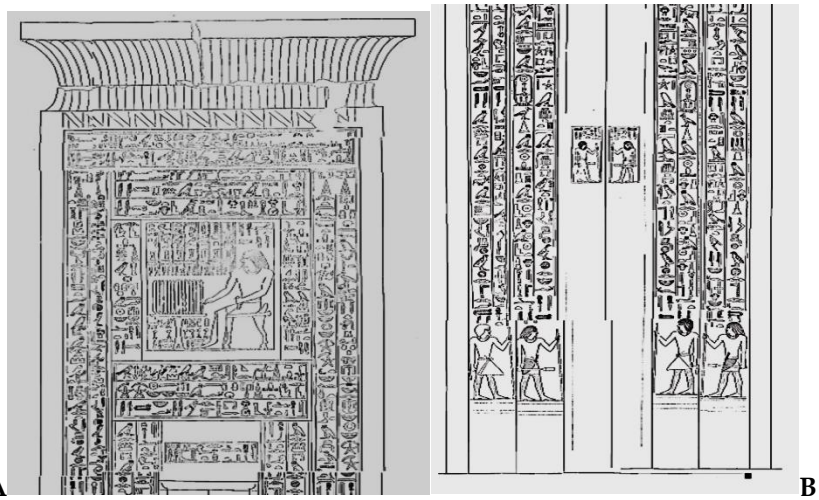
This false door dates to the 6th dynasty because the owner *Khwy* was the inspector of priests[23] of the pyramid of King *Teti*, which means he lived through or after the reign of *Teti*, and by comparing. The name of the god *Osiris* was written in funerary formulas

[20] ERMAN & GRAPOW 1926-1931: *Wb*, vol.1, 5-6; JONES 2000: Nº.1032.
[21] ERMAN & GRAPOW 1926-1931: *Wb*, vol.5, 123.23; JONES 2000: Nº.2642.
[22] ERMAN & GRAPOW 1926-1931: *Wb*, vol.1, 3.1, 159.2.
[23] WARD 1982: 154, 1326.

from the end of the fifth dynasty onwards[24]. False door of *wnis ʿnḫ* from the fifth dynasty[25].



[FIGURE 5]: False door of *Ti* of *Wnis anx.* ONDERKA 2009.



A **B**

[FIGURES 6/A-B]: False door of *Ti* of *Wnis anx.* ÉPRON 1939: TI, PLS.82-185.

- Sunken relief was used during the end of the fifth dynasty from the reign of *Niuserre*, and it became usual during the end of the fifth dynasty and the sixth dynasty[26].
- From the middle of the fifth dynasty and onwards, most representations display the table at knee level with the owner[27.]
- The arrangement of the offerings under the offering table with that shown on the false doors of the sixth dynasty, like the false door of *Khentika/Ikhekhi II*, which dated

[24] BOLSHAKOV 1992: 203–10.

[25] BORCHARDT 1937: 1295-1808; ÉPRON 1939; BROVARSKI 2006: 1-18; ONDERKA 2009; ABD EL SATTAR *et Al*. 2015*:* 321-332; BORAIK *et Al.* 2016: 1-9.

[26] ABDELMONIEM 2019: 11; STRUDWICK 2000: 40.

[27] CHERPION 1989: 44, FIG.27.

by the period of *Merenre* and the fifteenth year of *Pepi* II[28], it becomes clearer that it is closer to that of the period of *Merenre* and the fifteenth year of *Pepi* II[29].

- The drum was inscribed with the name and title, while it was rarely inscribed in the sixth dynasty[30].
- The decorated central niches were known from the fourth dynasty up to the middle of the fifth dynasty while the decoration was absent since the late fifth dynasty and the six[th] dynasty false doors[31] .
- What confirms the dating is the depiction of *Khuwy* on the frames of the false door six times, four of them in the same form and two in a different form, which is similar to the false door of *Djidy*, which dates back to the middle of the reign of King *Pepi* II[32]. Therefore, this false door can often date to the middle of the era of King *Pepi* II.

4- The Titles and Attributes of *Khuwy* Listed on his False Door [TABLE 1].

	Titles	
1	*ḫtmw -bity*[33]	Bearer of the seal of king of lower Egypt,
2	*zwnw-wr-pr-ᶜ₃*[34]	chief of physicians
3	*sḥḏ-ḥm*(*w*)*-nṯr-Ed-swt-tti*[35]	Inspector of the priests of *Teti*-pyramid-complex
4	*imy-ḫt*[36] *imy-r-pr*	under-supervisor, steward
5	*zwnw-wr-pr-ᶜ₃ ḫrp-šrḳt*[37]	Chief physician of the palace, commander of *Serqet* (i.e. scorpion bites healer)
6	*wr-zwnw*(*w*)[38] *Mḥw-šmᶜw*	chief of physicians of Lower and Upper Egypt,
7	*iry-mḏ₃*(*w*)*t*[39]*-pr-ᶜ₃*	keeper of documents (:archivist) of the royal-palace
8	*zwnw-wr-pr-ᶜ₃ ḫrp-šrḳt*	Chief physician of the royal-palace, commander of *Serqet* (i.e. scorpion bites healer),
9	*ḫrp-nsty*[40]	administrator of the two-thrones
10	*nr-pḥw*(*y*)*t*[41]	proctologist (lit. guardian of the anus)
11	*wr-ir*(*w*)*-ibḥ*(*w*)[42]	chief of dentists (lit. teeth makers)

[28] BROVARSKI 2006: FIG.13
[29] BROVARSKI 2006: FIG.13, 71-118.
[30] HASSN 1933-1934: vol.5, 151.
[31] STRUDWICK 1985: 25; ABDELMONIEM 2019: 143; ABDELMONIEM 2022: 3.
[32] KANAWATI 1997: PL.57; BROVARSKI 2006: FIG.10.
[33] WARD 1982: 174, 1472.
[34] JONES 2000: Nº.3026.
[35] GAUTHIERE 1929: 137; GOMAA 1986: 2, 24 f; *LÄ* 5.5, 6, 300.
[36] ERMAN & GRAPOW 1926-1931: *Wb*.vol.1, 75.5; WARD 1982: Nº.429; JONES 2000: Nº.1017ff.
[37] JONES 2000: Nº.2719.
[38] ERMAN & GRAPOW 1926-1931: *Wb*.vol.1, 329.11; vol.3: 427.13-15; JONES 2000: Nº.1462.
[39] ERMAN & GRAPOW 1926-1931: *Wb*.vol.2, 188.2; JONES 2000: Nº.1167.
[40] ERMAN & GRAPOW 1926-1931: *Wb*.vol.3, 328.17; JONES 2000: Nº.2637.
[41] JONES 2000: Nº.1813.
[42] JONES 2000: Nº.1415.

12	*ꜥw-ḥmwt-štɜt*[43]	interpreter of a difficult art (ie. medicine)
	Attributes[44]	
1	*smr -wꜥty*[45] *pr-ꜥɜ*	the sole friend of the king
2	*šps(w)-nswt-mɜꜥ-n-ỉɜt.f ḫwy*[46]	the true royal nobleman of his rank
3	*ỉmɜḫw ḫr nṯr ꜥɜ*	The revered by the great god
4	*ỉmḥw ḫr ỉnpw tp ḏw.f*	honorable by Anubis who on his hill,

[TABLE 1]: The titles and attributes of Khuwy listed on his false door © Done by the researcher

The many titles that *Khuwy* recorded on his false door revealed his distinguished position he was part of the royal court or the palatial administration in his medical position. Among magicians and clerics, he was distinguished. His titles express that he was a great statesmen at the end of the Old Kingdom, and that he enjoyed extensive powers.

VI. CONCLUSION

This false door of *Khuwy*, which was found at Saqqara and dates by the sixth dynasty of the Old Kingdom, based on the previously mentioned dating methods compared to other false doors dating back to the same period in terms of writing the name of *Osiris* in the funerary formula and the use of the sunken engraving method and the height of the offering table and the arrangement of the offerings on it, In addition to the door drum that is not inscribed, which is a prevalent method in the sixth dynasty and depicting *Khuwy* on the frames of the false door six times, four of them in the same form and two in a different form, which is similar to the false door of *Djidy* dating to the middle of the reign of King *Pepi* II, which indicates that this door in question dates back to the same period, especially with the presence of many titles and attributes that *Khuwy* carried, which are consistent with that late period of the sixth dynasty, in which the influence of the great statesmen increased greatly.

[43] *ꜥw-ḥmwt-štɜt*. JONES 2000: Nº.1310.

[44] MURRAY 1908: vol.1; BAER 1960: 2002.

[45] WARD 1982: 151, 1299.

[46] *PN*.1, 267.13

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UNPUBLISHED INNER ANTHROPOID COFFIN LID OF TA-SHAB-N-KHONSU Nº.TR. 4.10.16.4

BY

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ABSTRACT

[EN] This article aims to publish the inner anthropoid coffin lid of Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu, currently preserved in the basement of El-Tahrir Egyptian Museum «previously on display in the former Giza Museum». The lid belongs to a non-royal woman known as Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu, who holds a high elite status as the house mistress, sistrum player of *Amun-Ra* and phyle-leader of dancing; she belongs to the family of Amun's priests, as she is the daughter of the wab priest of Amun «Iuffai» and related to the family of Montu's priests, as she is the wife of the Montu priest «*Nessepef* II» and the mother of the Montu priest «Irtharerau». The lid dates to the end of the 25th dynasty, according to its artistic features and decoration criteria. This unpublished lid and its registration number in El-Tahrir Egyptian Museum Nº.TR. 4.10.16.4» are not mentioned in any references or studies that include coffins from the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period. Moreover, some studies have mentioned it as a missing coffin, underscoring the significance of this research. Now it can be said that the inner coffin of lady Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu was an anthropoid coffin, missing its trough and only the lid has survived.

KEYWORDS: 25th dynasty, coffin, Deir El-Bahri, monto priests, sistrum-player of *Amun-Ra*, higher elite, *Ta-Shab-N Khonsu*.

[AR] **غطاء تابوت داخلي آدمي الشكل غير منشورل تا-شب-ن-خونسو «TR.4.10.16.4»**

يهدف هذا المقال إلى نشر الغطاء الداخلي للتابوت المحفوظ الآن في بدروم المتحف المصري بالتحرير (كان معروضًا سابقًا في متحف الجيزة)، وينسب الغطاء إلى سيدة غير ملكية تُعرف باسم تا-شاب-ن-خونسو، تتمتع بمكانة رفيعة المستوى، سيدة المنزل عازفة سيستروم آمون رع؛ هي سيدة تنتمي إلى عائلة كهنة آمون، فهي ابنة "إيو-فى "الكاهن المطهر«وعب»، كما أنها مرتبطة أيضاً بعائلة كهنة مونتو، فهي زوجة كاهن مونتو «نس-با-ف الثانى» ووالدة الكاهن «إرت- حرو» . يعود تاريخ الغطاء إلى نهاية الأسرة الخامسة والعشرين، وذلك حسب الملامح الفنية ونظام الزخرفة الموجود عليه، هذا الغطاء غير المنشور ورقم تسجيله بالمتحف المصري «TR.4.10.16.4» لم يرد ذكرهما في أي مراجع أو دراسات خاصة بالتوابيت في عصر الانتقال الثالث أو العصر المتأخر. علاوة على ذلك، فقد ذُكرته بعض الدراسات بأنه تابوت مفقود، مما يضيف لأهمية هذه الدراسة، فالآن يمكن القول إن التابوت الداخلي للسيدة «تا شب ن خونسو»، كان آدمي الشكل يفتقد صندوقة وبقي منه فقط الغطاء.

الكلمات الدلة: الأسرة الخامسة والعشرون، تابوت، الدير البحري، كهنة مونتو ، عازفة سيستروم آمون رع، النخبة العليا، تا-شب-ن-خونسو.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The coffin lid belongs to a non-royal woman named *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* and dates to the end of the 25th dynasty, according to the artistic features and the decoration system on the lid, in addition to other antiquities related to *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* **[FIGURE 1]&[TABLE 1].**

This unpublished lid and its registration number in the Egyptian Museum Nº.TR. 4.10.16.4 are not mentioned in any references or studies that include coffins from the third intermediate Period or Late Period. Moreover, it has been mentioned that it is a missing coffin in some studies[1] (maybe it means after its transfer from the former Giza Museum—Ismail Pasha Palace), but now it can be said that the lid of the inner anthropoid coffin of*Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* has survived.

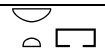
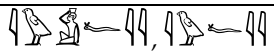
The lid is in a good state of preservation; it was cut from just one wooden block, decorated with scenes of the gods and contains a group of different texts from the pyramid texts and the *Book of the Dead*. Hieroglyphs are inscribed on the exterior of the coffin lid only and the inscriptions are free handwriting and written with black ink.

Inv. Nº.: TR. 4.10.16.4 / Sr. 3.632:
Dimensions: Height: 175. 2 cm; Width:53.5 cm; Depth: 26 cm.
The trough: Missing.

[FIGURE 1]: Inner anthropoid coffin lid of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* © The Egyptian Museum in Cairo

[1] TAYLOR 2018: 395; MUSSO & PETACCHI 2019: 139.

1. Main Information about the Owner [TABLE 1]

The Owner's name	*T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw*[2]
Inner coffin	**Anthropoid Coffin** The inner coffin was previously on display in the former Giza Museum. Now, the lid only is in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo
Intermediary coffin	Anthropoid Coffin. Avignon, Musée calvet. Inv.Nº.23509[3].
Outer coffin	*qrsw* sarcophagi. Rectangular coffin with corner posts. Paris, Musée du Louvre Nº. E.3913[4].
Provenience of the coffin set	Thebes. Deir El-Bahri. near the temple of Hatshepsut.
Material	Wood: Pigment (stuccoed and painted).
Owner's Title	(1)  *nb(t) pr* The house-mistress[5]. (2) *iḫy n imn-rˁ* *Sistrum*. Player of Amun- Ra[6]. (3) *ḥr(yt)-s3w ib3* phyle[7]-leader of dancing.
Owner's Father	 (*iwf3y*) or (*iwfy*) [8] Iuffai.
Owner's Father's title	*wˁb n ʾImn* priest of Amun[9]
Owner's Mother	*3st*[10]
Owner's Mother title	No title.
The date	End of 25th dynasty, at the latest the beginning of 26th dynasty. Dated based upon stylistic comparisons with other coffins and genealogical information.
Associated item	(1) Papyrus: P. Moskau Puschkin-Museum I, 1b, 121[11]. (2) CG.41016[12] (coffin of the priest Irithorron) by recorded his mother's name *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* on it.

[TABLE 1]: Main information about the owner © Done by the researcher.

[2] RANKE 1935: 363.

[3] PORTER & MOSS 1978: 1-2, 832; ASTON 2009: 210 (TG 870); JANSEN-WINKELN 2009: 436, Nº.163.

[4] «CERCUEIL rectangulaire à poteaux d'angle», https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010076168, accessed on (20/08/2024).

[5] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.)1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 232 (1), 512 (9-13); AL-AYEDI 2006: 303.

[6] AL-AYEDI 2006: 194.

[7] Phyle is a Greek definition, it was called *s3* in Ancient Egypt, in the sense in which Egyptologists use the word, are the groups of people that provided part-time service in temples, work crews and the mortuary cults of kings and high officials during the pharaonic period. This system dates to the archaic period. It appeared also in the Old Kingdom and later. ROTH 1991: 2-3.

[8] RANKE 1935: 24.

[9] AL-AYEDI 2006: 234.

[10] RANKE 1935: 3.

[11] MUNRO & TAYLOR 2009.

[12] MORET 1913: 168-174.

2.Tombs of Montu Priestly Families at Deir El-Bahari

The region of Deir El-Bahari was associated with the cult of the god *Montu* since at least the 11th dynasty. During this period, King *Nebhepetra* built his mortuary complex there, on the west bank of Thebes. The foundation deposits of this complex were inscribed with the names of the gods *Montu* and *Montu-Ra*.

In the 25th and 26th dynasties, Deir El-Bahari became a favored burial site for the priests of *Montu*[13]. This area, particularly the southern part of the Temple of Hatshepsut[14], houses most of the tombs of that period. Therefore, it is the suggested location where a coffin set of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* was discovered.

3.The Book of the Dead in the 25th Dynasty Coffins

Coffins of the 25th dynasty were decorated with an increased number of inscriptions from *the Book of the Dead*, especially the higher elite coffins[15]. This feature is evident in the decoration of the coffin lid of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu,* which includes a group of texts from the *Book of the Dead*, chapters 26, 42 and 168, arranged in vertical and longitudinal columns alternately colored in yellow and cream/white.

In addition to the texts and scenes from *the Book of the Dead*, during the 25th and 26th dynasties, there was a resurgence of «archaic» symbols in coffin decorations[16], signifying a deliberate revival of techniques, designs, texts and motifs from the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. Consequently, a great number of religious images and texts which diminished at the beginning of the 22nd dynasty reappeared on the coffins[17].

II. DESCRIPTIONS

General Descriptions, the anthropoid coffin lid, originally decorated in polychrome, has lost its trough. The lid is divided into zones across the body, each featuring panels depicting various gods. The vignettes and other decorations are rendered in various colors: black, white, yellow, red, blue and green. However, the colors have darkened over time due to oxidation, which has obscured the visibility of the polychrome decorations **[FIGURE 1]**.

1. The Headboard

The entire face, neck and ears are painted red brown. The eyes are sculpted and painted lined in black. The pupil and iris are filled with black, whereas the sclera is painted white and the mouth has a faint smile.

Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu wears a standard tripartite wig with a plain black background **[FIGURE 2]** surmounted by the vulture headdress.

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[13] SHEIKHOLESLAMI 2018: 325.
[14] ELIAS 1993: 244.
[15] TAYLOR 2003: 99.
[16] TAYLOR 2003: 99-101.
[17] TAYLOR 1989: 53-55.

This headdress features a yellow/gold-plumed vulture, with its body falling over the head and its wings extending down the two front sections. The vulture is holding a Shen in each talon **[FIGURE 3]** and on the forehead. Above the eyebrows, there is a solar disk. The head of the coffin lid is adorned with a black scarab on a gilded background, surrounded by multiple circles of flower petals and geometric shapes [**FIGURE 4]**.

[FIGURE2]: Front view

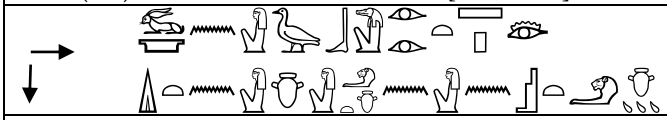
[FIGURE3]: Profiling view

[FIGURE4]: Head end of the lid

2. The Upper Section

A.The Collar

It is a wide collar that covers the shoulders. Its end reaches the bottom of the wig. It is a multi-row collar. It continues the vegetal, feather and bead motifs with rows of red and blue beads as well as rows of white flowers. Under the large and polychrome *wsḫ* collar, *Amun-Re* is shown standing in the form of a falcon with a ram's head topped by a solar disc with an uraeus; he stretches out his wings in a protective manner, grasping by his claws a Shen ring. Under the collar and *Amun-Re's* wings, there are five lines of hieroglyphs in vertical columns on the right side and six on the left side **[TEXT 1]**, as follows.

(1.R.) Right side under the collar: [FIGURE 5]	**Transliteration**
	ḏd-mdw n Wsir nb(t)-pr *T3-šp-n-ḫnsw ṯs tw ḥr wnm(y).t di tw ḥr i3b(y).t* *wn n.t*
(1.L) Left side under the collar: [**FIGURE 6**]	**Transliteration**
	*wn n.t Gb irty.t šp* [18] *di.t(w) n.t ib.t ḥ3ty{n}.t n st ḥ3tyw* [19]
Translation: Recitation to Osiris, the house-mistress, Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu, 'Raise yourself on your left side, put yourself on your right side. Geb opens for you your eyes, which were blind and gives you your *ib*-heart and your *ḥ3ty*-heart of the place of *ḥ3ty*-hearts.	

[TEXT 1]: Vertical columns on the right and the left sides under the collar.

[FIGURE 5]:TEXT.1 (1.R.) right side under the collar

[FIGURE 6]:TEXT.1 (1.L) left side under the collar

[18] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 443 (12-13).
[19] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.3, 26-27 (19).

B.The Hands

Below the collar, two hands protrude, painted in a red-brown hue like the face, neck and ears. This rare pose shows the arms positioned as if folded across the breast, with the right arm slightly higher than the left.

The area of the arms is covered by decoration [**FIGURE 7**], but only the hands are exposed. These hands were carved separately and later attached to the coffin lid, which is evident at the end of the hand's palm [**FIGURE 8**].

The nails are sunken and painted white **[FIGURE 8]**. Below the hands, a central inscription runs down to the ankles and a small Abydos fetish is represented within this column.

[FIGURE 7]: The hands' position

[FIGURE 8]: The end of the hand's palm

C.The Central Panel

There are a total of six registers on the body, starting below the collar and containing both vignettes with vertical and horizontal columns of inscriptions.

Between the mummy's right side and the mummy's left side, an Osiris fetish extends down the center of the body, starting from the bottom of the hand to the ankles, with one vertical hieroglyphic line within it.

Each section of text, as well as each vignette, is encapsulated by a line of multi-colored tile patterns «blue, red, green and yellow».

• The Central Panel Vignettes Description

Each register has multiple vignettes of a standing image of gods and goddesses: The first register **[FIGURES 9]** shows the four Sons of Horus «Imsety, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef and Hapy» depicted naked with their fingers in their mouths.

On the left side, there are two vignettes showing two of the sons, while on the right side, there are four vignettes displaying the other two sons next to the god *Ra* and the god *Thoth*. *Ra* is depicted in human form with a falcon's head, holding the scepter, with text in front of him including his name, *Rꜥ*. The text aims to make the deceased's face resemble the face of *Ra*. *Thoth* was also depicted as usual with a human form and the head of an Ibis; although his name was not written in front of him, one of his titles: *nb-mdw-nṯr* [20] is present, which first appeared in the Middle Kingdom tomb of *ḥsw* [21] and the Scribal Statue (CG. 42040)[22]. The accompanying text mention **[TEXT 2]** (1st R.R.) - (1st R.L.).

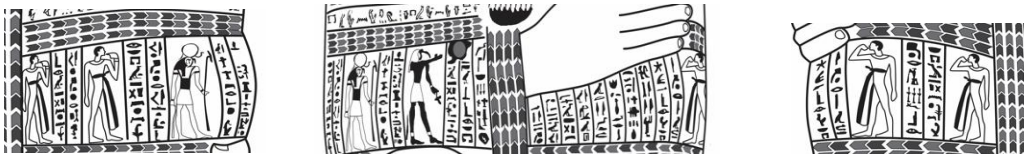
[20] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 181 (6); LEITZ 2002: vol.3, 654.

[21] SILVERMAN 1988: 30.

[22] Scribal Statue (CG. 42040; JdE 34625). LEGRAIN 1906: 24, PL.25-30.

A

The first register on both sides

B 

The right side **The left side**

[FIGURES 9/A-B]: Photo and line drawing of the first register on both sides

In the second register **[FIGURES 10]**, there are three vignettes on each side. On the right side, there is the god *Nun*[23]. His name is written in front of him (*Nnw*) but with an unusual determinative , the text aims to resemble the deceased's hair with that of *Nun*.

Behind Nun is the goddess Hathor[24], in a fully human body. With her name *Ḥwt-Ḥr* and title *nb* (*t*) *Ỉwnt*[25], which appeared in the Old Kingdom texts such as the text found on the outer east side of the false door in the *Mastaba* of Remenuka at Gisa[26] and its use increased significantly in the New Kingdom Papyrus such as the Magic Papyrus (p. Leiden I 348)[27]. The text in front of Hathor intends to make the deceased's eyes resemble those of Hathor.

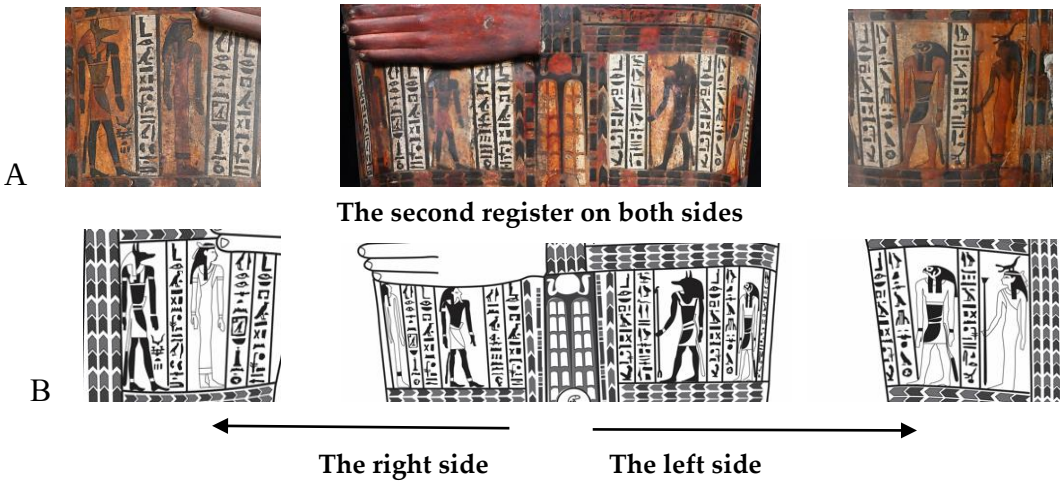
Behind *Nun* and *Hathor*, the god *Wepwawet* (*Wp w3wt*) is depicted with black skin, a human body and a jackal's head, similar to the figure of Anubis depicted on the left side. The text in front of him aims to make the deceased's ears those of Anubis.

In the second register, on the left side, there is an image of Anubis *(Ỉnpw)* holding a *w3s* scepter. His name is written in front of him without a determinative, perhaps due to space constraints. The text is intended to make the deceased's lips resemble those of Anubis.

Behind Anubis is Khenty-khem (*Ḫnty - ḫm*) «the foremost of Letopolis[28]». He is one of the falcon gods[29]. Therefore, he was depicted on the lid as a human body with a falcon's head, with the text aiming to resemble the deceased's nose with that of *Khenty-khem.* Behind the latter is the goddess *Serket* (*Srḳt*[30]), with a full human body, holding

[23] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 215 (5-6); LEITZ 2002: vol.3, 543.
[24] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.3, 5 (11); LEITZ 2002: vol.5, 75 ff.
[25] GAUTHIER 1925: vol.1, 56; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 54; *LÄ*, vol.1, 1060-1063.
[26] HASSAN 1936: 172, FIG.204.
[27] BORGHOUTS 1987: 47-55.
[28] LEITZ 2002: vol.5, 846.
[29] EZZ ALI 2020: 12-24.
[30] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 203 (17-19); LEITZ 2002: vol.6, 438 ff.

a papyrus scepter (the wadj scepter) in her right hand and a scorpion above her head as usual. The text in front of *Serket* aims to make the deceased's teeth resemble those of Serket. The accompanying text mentions **[TEXT 2]** (2nd R.R.)- (2nd R.L.).



[FIGURES 10/A-B]: Photo and line drawing of the second register on both sides

From the third to the fifth register, there are two vignettes on each side **[FIGURES 11]**. In the third register, on the right side, the goddesses *Isis* and *Neith* are depicted. In front of Isis is her name *ꜣst*, followed by the word *nsrt*[31], which confirms her divinity and her sanctity. In front of *Neith* is also her name *Nit* and her title *nb*(*t*) *sꜣw*[32]. Both goddesses are depicted in the full form of a woman, wearing a knitted robe with a single strap. The text in front of them suggests that the deceased's neck is that of the goddess *Isis* and his upper breast is that of *Neit.*

On the left side of the third register, the god *Osiris* is shown seated on a throne in mummified form, wearing an Atef-crown and holding the crook and flail, with dark green skin. He is the only seated deity depicted on the lid. The text in front of him includes his name *Wsir* and his title *nb nḥḥ*[33], which means Lord of Eternity. The text symbolically represents the deceased's vulva or vagina as Osiris.

Behind Osiris is a standing image of *Banebdjedet*, an Egyptian god of fertility with a human body and a ram's head. His name *bꜣ-nb-ḏdt* [34], means Ba of the Lord of *Djedet*[35] and the text implies that the deceased's arms are those of *Banebdjedet*. The accompanying text mentions: **[TEXT 2]** (3rd R.R.) - (3rd R.L.).

[31] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 364 (19-23).

[32] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.3, 420 (1); GAUTHIER 1928,vol.5, 2; *LÄ*, vol.*5*, 355- 357.

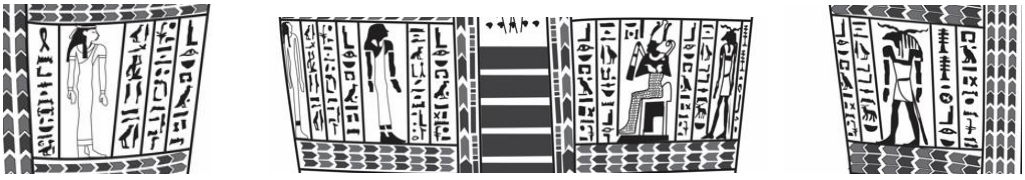
[33] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 299 (8-10); LEITZ 2002: vol.3, 667.

[34] SHAIKH aL ARAB 2013: 64 – 87.

[35] *Djedet*, the Egyptian name for the city, was known in the Greco-Rowman period as *Mendes*. ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): 1926: *Wb,* vol.5, 630 (8).

A

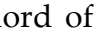
The third register on both sides

B 

The right side **The left side**

[FIGURES 11/A-B]: Photo and line drawing of the third register on both sides

The vignettes in the fourth register show on the right side **[FIGURES 12]** the images of two male gods: the first one is the god Geb *Gb* and the second one is the god *ʿȝ-šfšft*, which means the great of dignity[36], both standing in full human body with black skin. The text in front of them aims to resemble the deceased's back, which is that of Geb and the deceased's lower breast is that of Great Dignity.

The vignettes in the fourth register show on the left side **[FIGURES 12]**, the goddess who *Sekhmet* has the body of a woman and a lioness head with a sun disk, she is holding a papyrus scepter (the *wadj* scepter) in her right hand. The text includes the name of the goddess (*sḫmt*[37]) and aims to resemble the deceased's body, that of *Sekhmet*. Behind her, in full human form, is the god  *nb-ḫr-ʿḥȝ* which means the lord of *Kher-aha* (Babylon- old Cairo[38]), holding a *wȝs* scepter and the text aims to resemble the deceased's flesh with that of him. The accompanying text mentions **[TEXT 2]** (4th R.R.)- (4th R.L.).

A

The fourth register on both sides

B

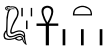
The right side **The left side**

[FIGURES 12/A-B]: Photo and line drawing of the fourth register on both sides

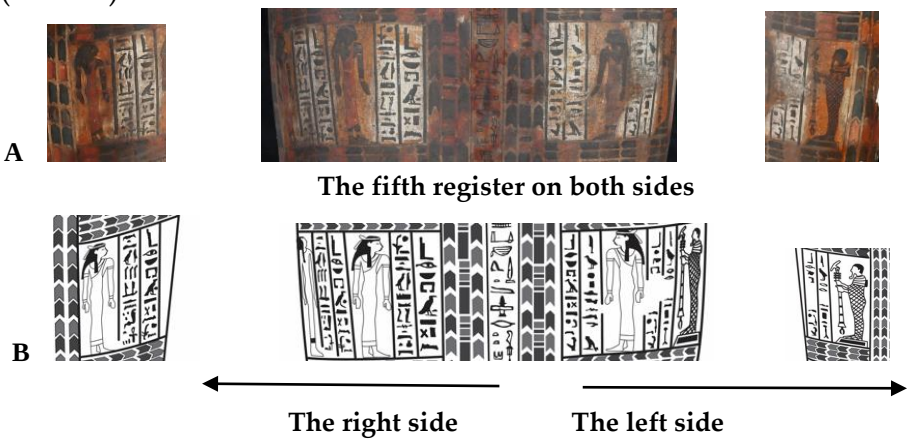
[36] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 460 (6), 461 (5).

[37] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 250 (7); LEITZ 2002: vol.6, 566 ff.

[38] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.3, 394 (7); *LÄ*, vol.1, 592-593.

The fifth register also has two vignettes on each side **[FIGURES 13]**, on the right side, there are images of two lady goddesses; the first one is *Nut* (*Nwt*)[39] and the second one is the goddess  *ʿrwt ʿnḫw*, which means living cobras. She is a goddess who embodied a cobra above the head of the god *Ra* in the Pyramid Texts «Pyramid *Pepis* I., PT 508»[40]. The text in front of them aims to resemble the deceased's thighs and legs (or ankles) are those of Nut and the deceased's fingers and toes are (those of) living cobras. And the four gods in the fifth register on both sides are depicted in full human form.

In the fifth register, on the left side, are the images of the goddess *ʾIrt-Ḥr*[41], which means the Eye of *Horus*, with the same usual robe of the lady gods on the lid of the coffinand behind him, the creator god Ptah, depicted as a mummified man, holding a scepter that combines the symbols of life, power and stability. The text in front of him included his name but without a determinative *Pṯḥ*, perhaps due to the limited space remaining. The text in front of them aims to resemble the deceased's buttocks are those of *ʾIrt-Ḥr* and the deceased's feet as those of *Ptah*. The accompanying text mentions: [**TEXT 2**] (5th R.R.)- (5th R.L.).



[FIGURES13/A-B]: Photo and line drawing of the fifth register on both sides

In the sixth and final register **[FIGURES 14]** where the *Osiris*-fetish ends, we find two kneeling goddesses; on the right side is *Serket*. This is also the second depiction of her and the first one was in the second register, in the same form and with the same way of writing her name (*srḳt*), where the two letters «» and « » are reversed.

In the sixth register on the left side is *Neith* and in front of her is her name *Nit*[42]. This is also the second depiction of *Nit* on the coffin lid of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* and the first one was on the third register, right side.

[39] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 214 (3-14); LEITZ 2002: vol.3, 535 ff.

[40] ALLEN 2005: 357.

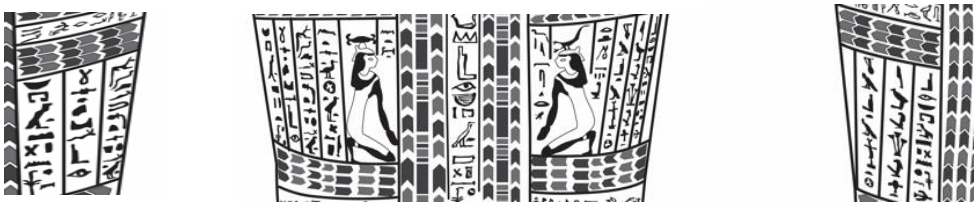
[41] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 107 (12-19); WILSON 1997: 98f.

[42] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 198.9; LEITZ 2002: vol.3, 510.

A

The sixth register on both sides

B



The right side **The left side**

[FIGURES 14/A-B]: Photo and line drawing of the sixth register on both sides

• The Central Panel Inscriptions

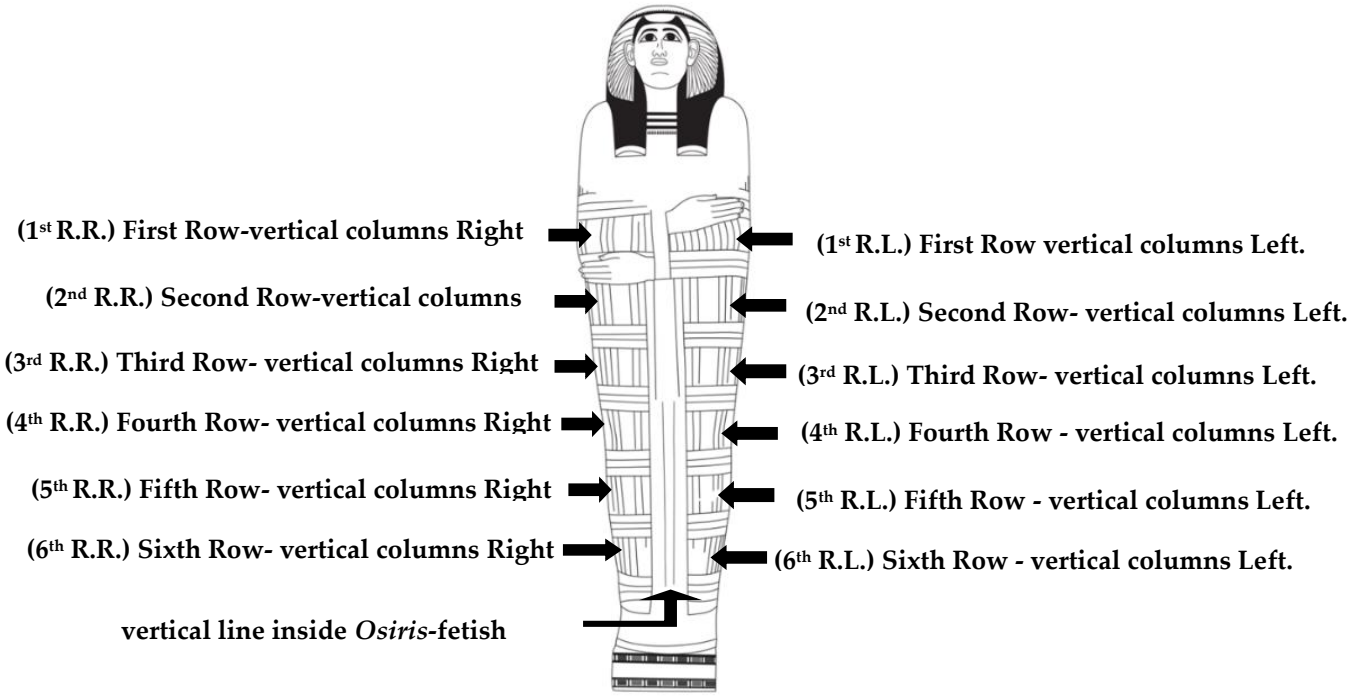
The hieroglyphs are inscribed on the exterior of the coffin lid. The inscriptions are free handwriting using black ink. One group of texts is written in vertical columns, while the other is in horizontal ones.

There are six registers, each containing both vignettes and vertical columns of inscriptions on both sides. Horizontal lines with cursive hieroglyphs are positioned between these registers.

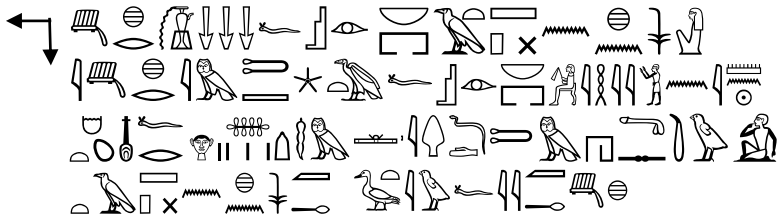
In total, the Central Panel features eighty-eight vertical columns **[FIGURE 15] & [TEXT 2]**. Additionally, seven horizontal lines **[FIGURE 16] & [TEXT 3]**.

•The Inscriptions of the Six- Registers, Vertical Columns

The following are the inscriptions, transliterations and translations for the six registers, which contain seventy-eight vertical columns on both sides (right and left) as well as the vertical line inside the *Osiris-fetish* **[FIGURE 15] & [TEXT 2]**.



[FIGURE 15]: The vertical columns on right and left sides and the vertical line inside *Osiris-fetish*, [TEXT 2] © Done by the researcher.

First Row: Right (1st R.R.) **[FIGURE 9]**	
Transliteration *ḏd mdw* (*n*) *nb-mdw-nṯr*[43] *ḥr*(*y*)- *ib* ꜣ*pḏw*[44] *kw ḏ*ꜣ*i.t Wsir nb*(*t*) *pr T*ꜣ*-šp-n-Ḫnsw m*ꜣ*ᶜt ḫrw* *m ḥtp r imntt šsp.s m dw*ꜣ *sp-2 iw ḥr.s n Rᶜ* *im*ꜣ*ḫ.t*(*i*) *ḫr imsty Wsir nb pr T*ꜣ*-šp-n-ḫnsw* *im*ꜣ*ḫ.t*(*i*) *ḫr ḫpy Wsir nb pr T*ꜣ*-šp-n-Ḫnsw*	
Transliteration Recitation by Lord of God's Words, dweller of Abydos: May you cross, O *Osiris*, house-mistress, *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, in peace to the west, O one-who-is-received in adoration in adoration (because) her face is (being the face) of Re, being-venerated by Amset. Osiris, house-mistress, *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* and being-venerated by Hapy. *Osiris*, *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu.*	
First Row: left. (1st R.L.) **[FIGURE 9]**	

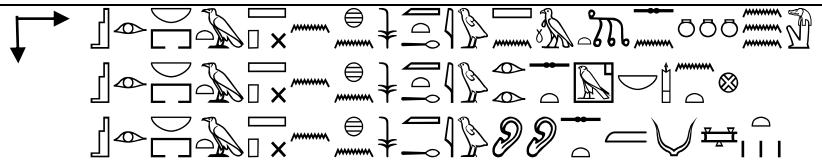
[43] Epithet of *Thoth*. ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 181.6; LEITZ 2002: vol.3, 654.

[44] GAUTHIER 1925, vol.1& 3; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 9.1; *LÄ*, vol.1, 28-41.

Transliteration
imꜣḫ(*t*) *ḫr kbḥ-snw.f Wsir nb*(*t*) *pr Tꜣ -šp-n-ḫnsw*
imꜣḫy ḫr ỉmsty ḏwꜣ-mwt.f Wsir nb(*t*)*-pr iḫy*(*t*) *n ỉmn-Rᶜ*
ḥr(*yt*)*-sꜣw ibꜣ*[45] *ḥmt nfr*(*t*) *nḏm*(*t*) *imꜣ*(*t*) *ḏd.t*(*w*) *tiw m hy.s*
Tꜣ-šp-n-ḫnsw mꜣᶜ(*t*)*-ḫrw sꜣt ỉw-fy mꜣᶜ-ḫrw*

Translation
Venerated by Qebehsenuef is Osiris, the housemistress, *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*. Venerated by Amset and Duamutef is *Osiris*, the housemistress, musician of *Amun-Ra* and phyle-leader of dancing. A good, sweet and graceful wife, thus says one, verily, (with?) her husband. *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, daughter of Iw-fy true of voice.

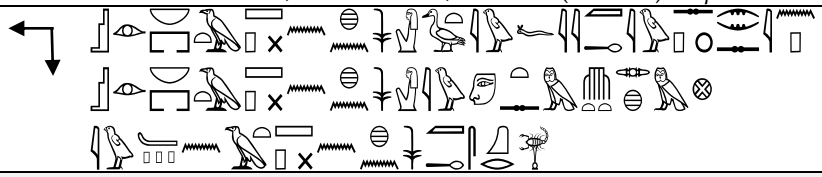
Second Row Right (2nd R.R.) **[FIGURES 10]**



Transliteration
Wsir nb(*t*) *pr Tꜣ-šp-n-ḫnsw mꜣᶜ ḫrw iw šnw*[46]*.s n Nww*
Wsir nb(*t*) *pr Tꜣ-šp-n-ḫnsw mꜣᶜ ḫrw iw irty.s* (*m*) *Ḥwt-Ḥr nb*(*t*) *ỉwnt*[47]
Wsir tꜣ šp n ḫnsw mꜣᶜ ḫrw ỉw msḏrwy.s[48] *m Wp wꜣwt*

Translation
Osiris, the house-mistress *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, her hair (is that of) *Nun*.
Osiris, the house-mistress *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, her eyes (are) *Hathor*, the goddess of Dendera.
Osiris, the house-mistress *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, her ears (are like) *Wepwawet*.

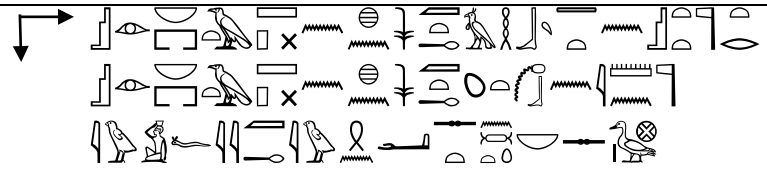
Second Row: Left (2nd R.L.) **[FIGURES 10]**



Transliteration
Wsir nb pr Tꜣ-šp-n-Ḥnsw sꜣt ỉwfy mꜣᶜ ḫrw ỉw spty.s[49] (*m*) *ỉnpw*
Wsir nb pr Tꜣ-šp-n-Ḥnsw ỉw fnd.s[50] *m ḫnty - ḫm*[51]
iw ibḥ[52] *n Tꜣ-šp-n-Ḥnsw mꜣᶜ ḫrw* (*m*) *Srkt.*

Transliteration:
Osiris, the house-mistress *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, daughter of *Iw-fy*, true of voice, her lips (is that of) *Anubis*. Osiris, the house-mistress *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, her nose is like *Khenty-Khem* and the teeth of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* is (that of) *Serket*.

Third Row: Right (3rd R.R.) **[FIGURES 11]**

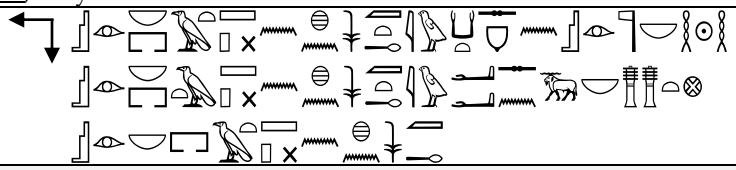


[45] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 62 (8-17),
[46] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 499 (9)-501 (3).
[47] GAUTHIER 1925: vol.1, 56; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, (54); *LÄ*, vol.1, 1060- 1063.
[48] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 154 (13-16).
[49] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 99 (13), 100 (16).
[50] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 577 (10-15).
[51] LEITZ 2002: vol.5, 846.
[52] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 64 (5).

Transliteration
Wsir nb(t) pr T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw m3ʿt ḫrw nḥpt[53] *n 3st nsrt*
Wsir nb(t) pr T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw m3ʿt ḫrw s3t Wʿb n imn
iwfy m3ʿ-ḫrw iw šnʿ[54]*.s (n) Nit nb(t) s3w*[55]

Translation:
Osiris, the house-mistress *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, the neck is (that of) goddess Isis. *Osiris*, the house-mistress *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, the daughter of the priest of *Amun*. *Iw-fy*, true of voice, her upper breast is (that of) <u>*Neit*</u>, lady of Sais[56].

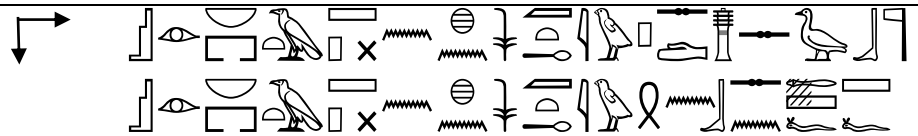
Third Row:
Left
(3rd R.L.)
[FIGURES 11]



Transliteration
Wsir nb(t) pr T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw m3ʿt ḫrw iw k3t.s n Wsir nb nḥḥ[57]*.*
Wsir nb(t) pr T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw m3ʿt ḫrw iw ʿwy.s n b3-nb-ḏdt
Wsir nb(t) pr T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw m3ʿt ḫrw

Translation
Osiris, the house-mistress *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, her vagina (or vulva) is (that of) *Osiris*, the lord of Eternity. *Osiris*, the house-mistress *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, her arms are (those of) Banebdjedet, *Osiris* the house-mistress *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice.

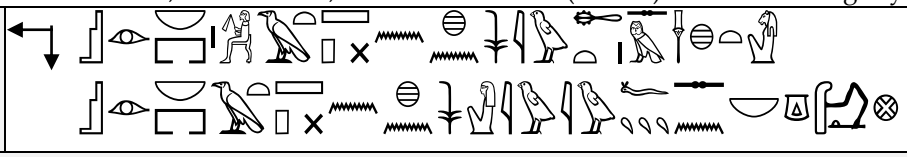
Fourth Row:
Right
(4th R.R.)
[FIGURES 12]



Transliteration
Wsir nb(t) pr T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw m3ʿt ḫrw iw psḏ.s[58] *(n) Gb*
Wsir nb(t) pr T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw m3ʿt ḫrw iw šnbt.s[59] *n ʿ3-šfšft*[60]

Translation
Osiris, the house-mistress *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, her back (Backbone) is (that of) Geb. *Osiris*, the house-mistress *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, her lower breast is (that of) the Great of Dignity.

Fourth Row:
Left
(4th R.L.)
[FIGURES 12]



Transliteration
Wsir nb(t) pr šps T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw iw ḫt.s m šḫmt.
Wsir nb(t) pr T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw iw ifw.s n nb ḫr-ʿh3

Translation
Osiris the house-mistress, the venerable one, *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, her body is (that of) *Sekhmet*.
Osiris the house-mistress, *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, her flesh is (that of) the lord of Kher-aha.

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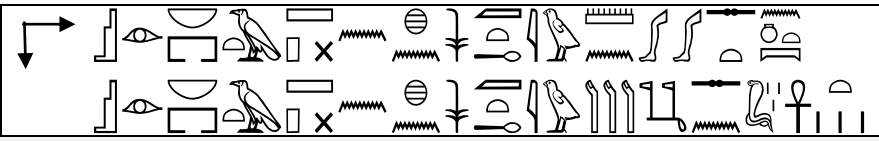
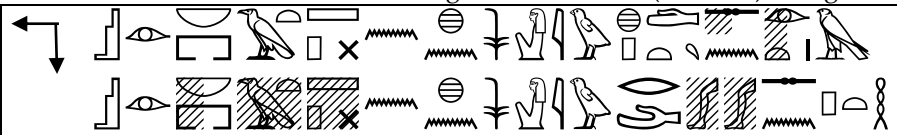
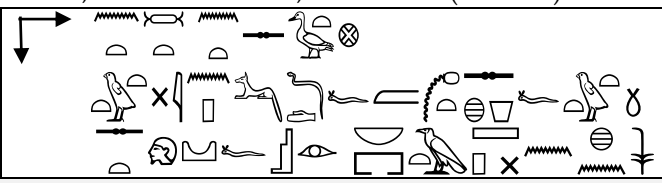
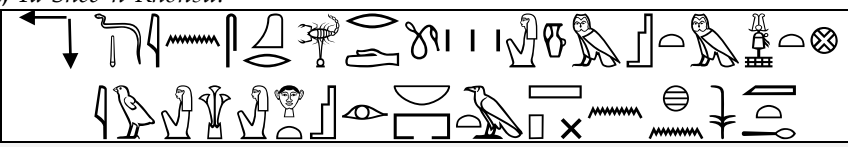
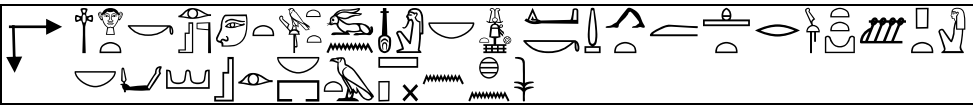
[53] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 292 (9-16).
[54] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 506 (14).
[55] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.3, 420 (1); *LÄ*, vol.5, 355- 358.
[56] for more information about *Neit*, lady of Sais. SAYED 1982.
[57] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 299 (8-10); LEITZ 2002: vol.3, 667.
[58] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 556 (1-9).
[59] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 512 (10), 513 (17).
[60] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 460 (6), 461 (5).

Fifth Row: Right (5th R.R.) **[FIGURES 13]**	
Transliteration *Wsir nb(t) pr T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw iw mnty*[61] *ssty*[62] *n Nwt Wsir nb(t) pr T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw iw ḏbʿw*[63] *s3ḥw*[64] *n ʿrwt- ʿnḫ*	
Translation *Osiris*, the house-mistress, *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, the thighs and ankles are (those of) Nut. *Osiris*, the house-mistress, *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, true of voice, the fingers and toes are (those of) living cobras.	
Fifth Row: Left (5th R.L.) **[FIGURES 13]**	
Transliteration *Wsir nb(t) pr T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw iw ḫpdwy.s* [65] *n irt-ḥr* [66] *Wsir nb(t) pr T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw iw rdwy.s n Pthꜣ*	
Translation *Osiris*, the house-mistress, *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, her buttocks are the Eye of *Horus*. *Osiris*, mistress of the house, *Ta-Sheb-n-Khonsu*, her feet are (those of) *Ptah*.	
Sixth Row: Right (6th R.R.) **[FIGURES 14]**	
Transliteration: *Nit nt s3w twt*[67] *Ỉnpw ḏd.f m wʿbt wsḫt*[68] *.f twt (.f) st tp ḏw.f Wsir nb(t) pr T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw*	
Translation *Neith* of *Sais*, Image of *Anubis*, he said in his broad-hall *wʿbt*, his image place upon his mountain, (O) *Osiris*, mistress of the house, *Ta-Sheb-n-Khonsu*.	
Sixth Row: Left (6th R.L.) **[FIGURES 14]**	
Transliteration *ḏd-mdw in Srḳt rwḏ.t (m) ḫnm-s(w)t*[69] *m T3-wr* *iw.i ḥ3.t ḥr.t Wsir nb(t) pr T3 šp n ḫnsw*	
Translation Recitation by *Serket*: Your permanence is (in) *Khenem-sut* at Thinis, where I am behind you and upon you, (O) *Osiris*, mistress of the house, *Ta-Sheb-n-Khonsu*.	
vertical line inside Osiris fetish	

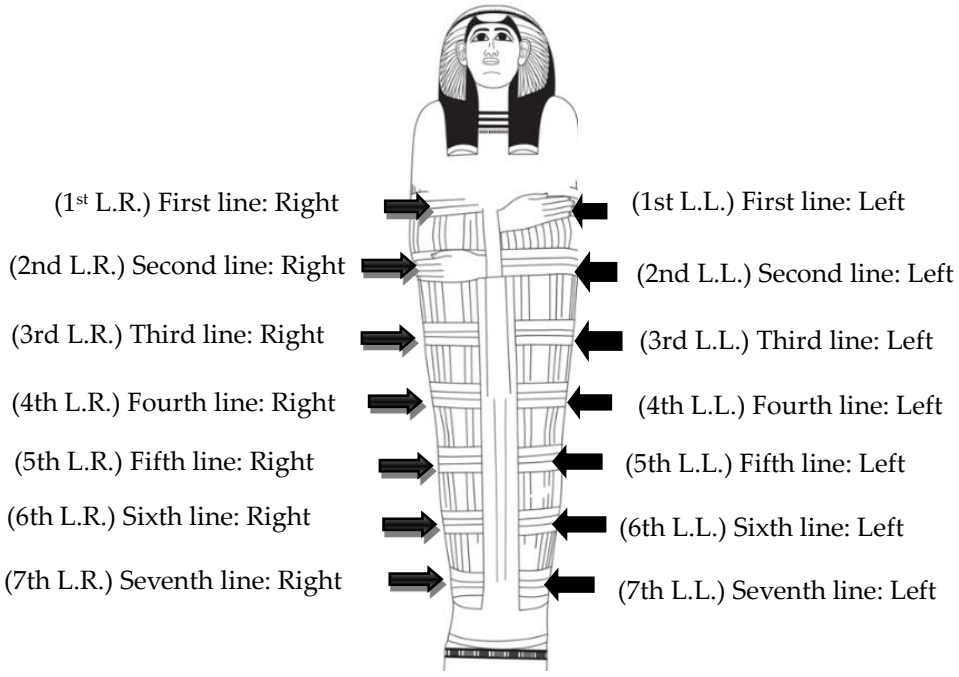
[61] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 68 (8-15).
[62] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 279 (5).
[63] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.5, 562 (11), 565 (9).
[64] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 20 (1-4).
[65] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.3, 270 (14), 271 (3).
[66] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 107 (12-19); WILSON 1997: 98 f.
[67] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.5, 255 (8), 256 (20).
[68] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 364 (11), 365 (2).
[69] The name of the funeral temple of King *Senusret* I, see: FARAG 1980: 75-82, PLS.3-5; GARDINER 1916: PL.1.

Transliteration
nḏ[70] *ḥr.k Wsir ḫnty-imntt*[71] *wn-nfr*[72] *nb t3-wr di.k ḏ3i.i(?) m ḥtp r imntt šsp.t(w).i* *nb ḏsr ḥ3swt Wsir nb pr T3 šp n ḫnsw*
Translation
«Hail to you, *Osiris*, Foremost of the West, Wennefer, Lord of Abydos, Cause that I may cross in peace to the west (where) I would be received, Lord of the Holy Land, *Osiris*, mistress of the house, *Ta-Sheb-n-Khonsu*.

[TEXT 2]: The central panel inscriptions of the six- registers, vertical columns on right and left sides and the vertical line inside Osiris-fetish

• The Inscriptions of Horizontal Lines Between the Six-Registers

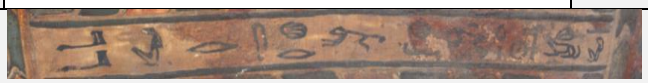
The following are the inscriptions, transliterations and translations for the seven horizontal lines on both the right and left sides **[FIGURE 16] & [TEXT 3]**.



[FIGURE 16]: The inscriptions of horizontal lines between the six- registers - seven horizontal lines on right and left sides [TEXT 3], photo © Done by the researcher.

	Inscriptions	**Transliteration**
First line: Right (1st L.R.) **[FIGURE 17]**		*ḏd mdw Wsir nb pr t3 šp n*
[FIGURE 17]		
First line: Left (1st L.L.) **[FIGURE 18]**		*(ḫn)sw m3ʿ ḫrw ib.i n.i m pr ibw ḥ3tiw n.i m pr ḥ3tiw iw n.i*
[FIGURE 18]		

[70] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb* 1926: vol.2, 372 (8-12).
[71] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb* 1926: vol.1, 86.22, 305.13-14; LEITZ 2002: vol.5, 783; *LÄ*, vol.1, 964-965.
[72] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb* 1926: vol.1, 311 (1); LEITZ 2002: vol.2, 375.

Second line: Right (2nd L.R.) **[FIGURE 19]**	→	*ib.i ḥtp.f im.i n-is wnm*[73]*.i šᶜtt m r3 Wsir ḥr gs*
[FIGURE 19]		
Second Line: Left (2nd L.L.) **[FIGURE 20]**	→	*Pf*[74] *i3bt*[75] *n g3yt*[76]
[FIGURE 20]		
Third Line: Right (3rd L.R.) **[FIGURE 21]**	→	*ḫd.i (m-ḫd*[77] *ḫnt.yt*[78] *nn h3y.i r ḫwḫt*[79] *imy.k*
[FIGURE 21]		
Third line: Left (3rdL.L.) **[FIGURE 22]**	→	*iw n.i r3.i r mdwit*[80] *rdwy.i r šmit*[81] *iw.n.i*
[FIGURE 22]		
Fourth line: Right (4th L.R.) **[FIGURE 23]**	→	*ᶜwy.i r sḫr*[82] *ḫftiw*[83] *Rᶜ wn n.i*
 **[FIGURE 23]**		
Fourth line: Left (4th L.L.) **[FIGURE 24]**	→	*ᶜ3wy*[84] *pt t3 psš*[85] *n.i Gb rpᶜ nṯr.w ᶜr.ty*[86] *fy*
[FIGURE 24]		

[73] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 320 (1), 321 (12).

[74] THEY. Pron. ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 507 (4-8).

[75] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 31 (7-9).

[76] A place name in the realm of the dead, see: ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): 1926: *Wb*, vol.5, 150 (17-18).

[77] According to *Bd* 26.

[78] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.3, 309 (15.18).

[79] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.3, 248v (3).

[80] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 179 (2-28), 180 (2).

[81] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 462 (7), 465 (18).

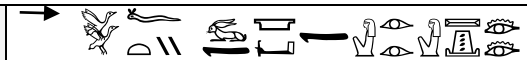
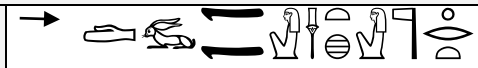
[82] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 257 (3), 258 (5).

[83] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.3, 276 (12), 277 (5).

[84] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 164 (12), 165 (1).

[85] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 553 (6), 554 (1).

[86] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 209 (2); WILSON 1997: 168 f.

Fifth line: Right (5th L.R.) **[FIGURE 25]**		*Wn* (*.f*) *irt.i šdn*[87]
	[FIGURE 25]	
Fifth line: Left (5th L.L.) **[FIGURE 26]**		*ḏwn*[88] *.f n.i ʿwy.i ḳrf*[89]
	[FIGURE 26]	
Sixth line: Right (6thL.R.)**[FIGURE 27]**		*srwḏ*[90] *ʾInpw mɜʿst*[91] *.i*
	[FIGURE 27]	
Sixth line: Left (6th L.L.) **[FIGURE 28]**		*ṯsi.wi irf r wn n.f*
	[FIGURE 28]	
Seventh line (7th L.R.) **[FIGURE 29]**		*ḏwn n.i šḫmt nṯrti*
	[FIGURE 29]	
Seventh line: Left (7th L.L.) **[FIGURE 30]**		*wnn.i m pt iry* (*.w*) *wḏ*[92] *.tn.i m ḥwt-kɜ-ptḥ*[93]
	[FIGURE 30]	

Translation

Recitation by *Osiris*, the housemistress, *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*. My heart belongs to me in the house of hearts. It rests within me; I didn't eat the Shatet bread from the Osiris mouth on that eastern side of the area of the dead.

(As) I sail (downstream) and upstream[94], I won't board the ship you're on. Mine is my mouth to speak, my legs to walk and my arms to strike Ra enemies.

May the double doors open in the sky and the earth for me. May Geb, the Heir of the Gods, open two jaws for me.

He opens my closed eyes. He stretches my bent arms. May Anubis steady my knees, which lifts me

[87] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 568 (10).

[88] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol 5, 431 (1), 432 (13).

[89] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.5, 60 (7-8); WILSON 1997: 1065.

[90] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 194 (7-23).

[91] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 32 (4-13).

[92] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 394 (10), 395 (22).

[93] (Ptah's temple at Memphis). ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol 3 & 5 (20).

[94] This sentence lacks some of the original defining words according to chapter 26 of the Book of the Dead.

up now to exist for him (Sic).

May Sekhmet, the goddess, stretch me out. May I exist in the sky (as) what was commended for me in Ka-house-of-Ptah.

[TEXT 3]:The inscriptions of horizontal lines between the six-registers. Seven horizontal lines on right and left sides © Done by the researcher.

D.The Footboard

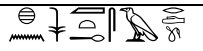
On the upper surface **[FIGURE 31]**, there is a kneeling goddess opening her wings for protection. She wears a tripartite wig topped with a red disc containing a yellow star, symbolizing the Duat and the Hereafter. She might represent the personification of the Duat, who hosts the deceased. This tableau is flanked on both sides by a jackal accompanied by the Sekhem scepter in front of him and his name, Wepwawet, above it.

E.The Pedestal

In the 25th and 26th dynasties, coffins of this new type were always buried in a horizontally positioned[95], but the pedestal appears to have had a practical function in keeping the coffin stable when it was standing upright during the funeral rituals[96].

Often, this space at the coffin's pedestal is used for writing texts; as is the case in this lid **[FIGURES 31]**& **[TEXT 4]**, the text is incomplete due to the absence of the coffin trough.

The text mentions the following.

	Inscriptions	Transliteration
Left side	→ 	(*T3-šb-n*) *ḫnsw m3ʿ-ḫrw srwḏ*[97] *m3st*[98]*.i iw n.i r3*[99]*.i r mdwi(t)*[100] *im.f rdwy.(i)*[101] *r šmi(t)* [102] *ʿwy.i*[103] *sḫm.i im.f*
Front side	→	
Right side	→	
Translation		
(*Ta-shab-n-*) *Khonsu*, true of voice, strengthens my knee. My mouth is mine to speak with, my legs to walk and my arms to force me with.		

[TEXT 4]:The pedestal inscriptions

[95] In the New Kingdom, private tombs had already depicted this horizontal position to the coffins during the funeral rituals, such as the scene of two coffins standing during the funeral ceremony in the TT181 tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky (transverse chamber north-east wall). For more information about this scene. DAVIES 1925.

[96] TAYLOR 1989: 53-55; IKRAM & DODSON 1998: 236-238.

[97] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 194 (7-23).

[98] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 32 (4-13).

[99] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 389 (1), 390 (9).

[100] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 179 (2-28), 180 (2).

[101] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 461 (1), 462 (15).

[102] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 462 (7), 465 (18).

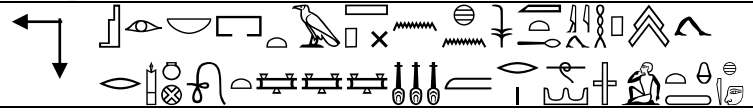
[103] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 156 (1), 157 (10).

[FIGURES 31]: Photo and line drawing of the footboard and pedestal on both sides (right and left), [TEXT 4].

F.The Underside of the Footboard

There are five vertical lines of free handwriting hieroglyphs, written in black ink **[FIGURES 32] & [TEXT 5].** Below this text, there is an image of *Ta-sheb-n-khonsu*. By comparing it with the coffins of the same period, for instance, the inner coffin of «Pease Loan C3: Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery» **[FIGURE 33]**[104], it is a mummy carried by the Apis bull. However, this depiction was lost along with the coffin trough.

The Text States the Following

Inscriptions	**Transliteration**
	*Wsir nb pr T3-šp-n-ḫnsw m3ʿt-ḫrw ii ḥ(i)p*[105] *r iwnw (ḥr) w3wt nfrw(t) m R3-st3w*[106] *wnm t*[107] *ḫnm* [108]
Translation *Osiris*, mistress-house, *Ta-Sheb-n-Khonsu*, true of voice, comes hastening (or: running) to Heliopolis, (on) good roads from (or: in) the necropolis, to eat bread and breathe in pleasant smells.	

[TEXT 5]: The underside of the footboard inscriptions

[FIGURES 32/A-B]: Photo and line drawing of The underside of the footboard, [TEXT 5

[FIGURE 33]: Pease loan C3: Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery. DODSON 2008: 134.

G.The Interior of the Lid

The interior of the lid is completely painted white and does not contain any scenes or texts **[FIGURE 34]** and the lid was fixed to the trough by four tongues on each side of the fitting into corresponding slots in the trough.

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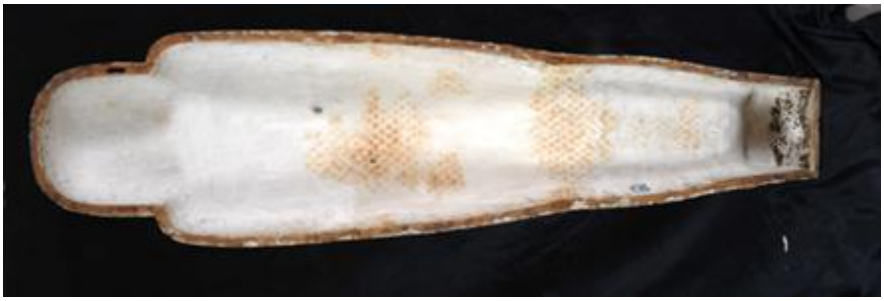
[104] DODSON 2008: 134, FIG.16.

[105] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.3, 68, (7-10).

[106] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 398 (9) 399.

[107] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.5, 209 (4), 211 (4).

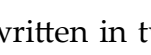
[108] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.3, 292 (4-14).



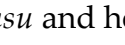
[FIGURE 34]: The interior of the lid © El-Tahrir Egyptian Museum

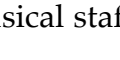
III. DISCUSSION

1.The Name of the Owner

The name of the coffin owner, *Ta-shep-en-khonsou*, appears 24 times on the coffin lid. This was written in two different ways:  , , *T3-šp-n-Ḫnsw*[109], the name is uncommon and was given to three women: the first is the owner of this lid, the second is a wife of *Ankhefenkhons* I and mother of Besenmut II (*B3-sn-mwt*), priest of *Montu*[110] and the third is a woman from the Ptolemaic era; her coffin is preserved in the Canterbury Museum[111].

2. *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* Titles

The inscriptions on the lid provide details about the personal life and priestly titles of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* and her father, *Iuffai*,  *wʿb n imn*, who was a wab priest of *Amun*.

Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu held three titles; the first one was the familiar title *nb*(*t*) *pr* «House-mistress» and the second and third titles indicate that she belongs to the female members of the musical staff of the temple. She was the  *ihy n ỉmn-Rʿ*[112] «*Sistrum-player of Amun- Ra*» and held the rare title *ḥr*(*yt*)-*s3w ib3*[113] «phyle-leader of dancing».

3.*Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* Coffin Set

A. The Inner Coffin of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* [FIGURE 1]

The focus of this study is the lid of the inner coffin of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, which was once displayed at the former Giza Museum[114] **[FIGURE 35]** and it is now stored in the basement of El-Tahrir Egyptian Museum Nº.TR. 4.10.16.4.

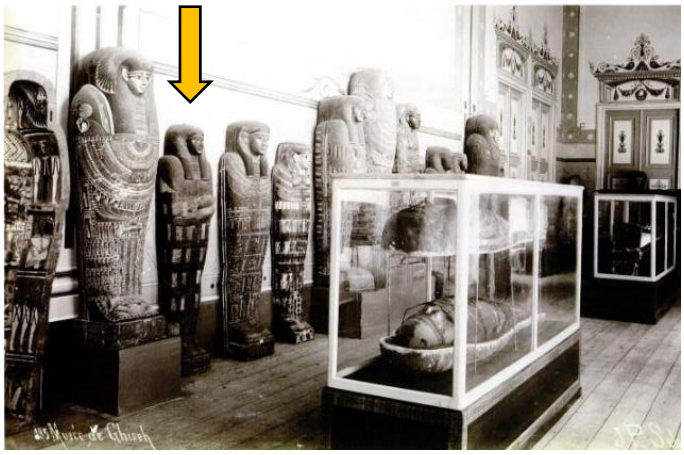
This coffin has not been mentioned in any references or studies concerning coffins from the Third Intermediate Period or the Late Period; in addition, the inner coffin of the *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* has been mentioned as a missing coffin in some studies[115]. However, it is

[109] RANKE 1935: 363.
[110] MORET 1913: 229-237.
[111] DENNISON 1999: 31- 46; SULLIVAN 2016: 1-11.
[112] AL-AYEDI 2006: 194.
[113] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb* 1926: vol.1, 62 (8-17).
[114] MUNRO & TAYLOR 2009: 19-20, TAF.14.
[115] TAYLOR 2018: 395; MARCO & SIMONE 2019: 139.

now established that only the lid of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu's* inner anthropoid coffin has survived, with the trough missing.

The coffin is missing its trough and only its lid is present in the museum basement. The question here is: Was the trough present when the museum acquired the lid? To answer this question, it was necessary to review the registration and documentation department of the Egyptian Museum.

The result was the arrival of fifteen pieces to the Egyptian Museum on the same date as the lid, but unfortunately the trough was not among them. However, among those fifteen pieces was the mummy of a woman (cataloged as Nº.TR. 4.10.16.5), which might be the mummy of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*.



[FIGURE 35]: The inner coffin of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* in the former Giza Museum. MUNRO & TAYLOR 2009: TAF. 14

B. Intermediary Coffin of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* [FIGURE 36]

The coffin at the Avignon, Calvet Museum Inv.Nº.23509[116], is identified as the intermediate coffin of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*. This intermediary anthropoid coffin includes all the names and titles of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* and her father, with the important note that the position of the arms is the same as the inner coffin **[FIGURE 38/A]**. The hands, which were separated from the coffin, are missing.

[FIGURE 36]: Intermediary coffin of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*, Avignon, Calvet Museum. MUNRO & TAYLOR 2009: TAF. 12

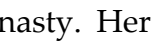
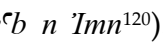
[116] PORTER & MOSS 1978: 1², 832; MUNRO 2009: TAF.12; ASTON 2009: 210 (TG 870); JANSEN-WINKELN 2009: 436, Nº.163.

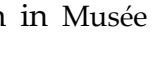
C. The Outer Coffin of Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu [FIGURE 37]

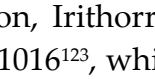
Based on the names of the coffin's owner, Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu and her father, Iuffai, the outer coffin at Musée du Louvre Nº.E. 3913[117] belongs to *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*; it's a *qrsw* sarcophagus, rectangular with corner posts depicting the palace facade. The coffin is adorned with numerous scenes and texts from the Book of the Dead. Dating to 700-600, the end of the 25th dynasty[118].

[FIGURE 37]: The outer coffin of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* © Musée du Louvre/Christian Décamps

4. Genealogy of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu's* Family

Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu, the house-mistress, comes from the prominent Besenmut family of the 25th dynasty. Her father was Iuffai ( *s3t iw-f3y*[119]), the wab priest of *Amun* ( *wꜤb n Ỉmn*[120]). Her father's name was mentioned three times on the lid in the following locations: TEXT.2 (1st R.L.), (2nd R.L.), (3rd R.R.).

While her mother's name was not mentioned on the inner coffin under study. According to the inscriptions on the intermediary coffin: Coffin Musée Nr. 23509[121] and the outer coffin in Musée du Louvre E. 3913. Her mother's name was *3st* ( *s3t 3st m3ꜥ ḫrw*[122]*).*

Her son, Irithorro ( *irt ḥrrw*), was the priest of *Montu*, as mentioned on his coffin CG.41016[123], which recorded his mother's name *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* as the daughter of Iuffai and his father's name Nessepef, son of Besenmut.

Therefore, according to Besenmut family genealogy[124], *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* was the daughter of w*Ꜥb* priest Iuffai, son of Horsaiset, son of priest, overseer of the city and vizier, Iuffai.

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[117] «Cercueil rectangulaire à poteaux d'angle», https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010076168 accessed on (04/08/2024).

[118] DE MEULENAERE 1966: 22 (70); TAYLOR 1985: 191.

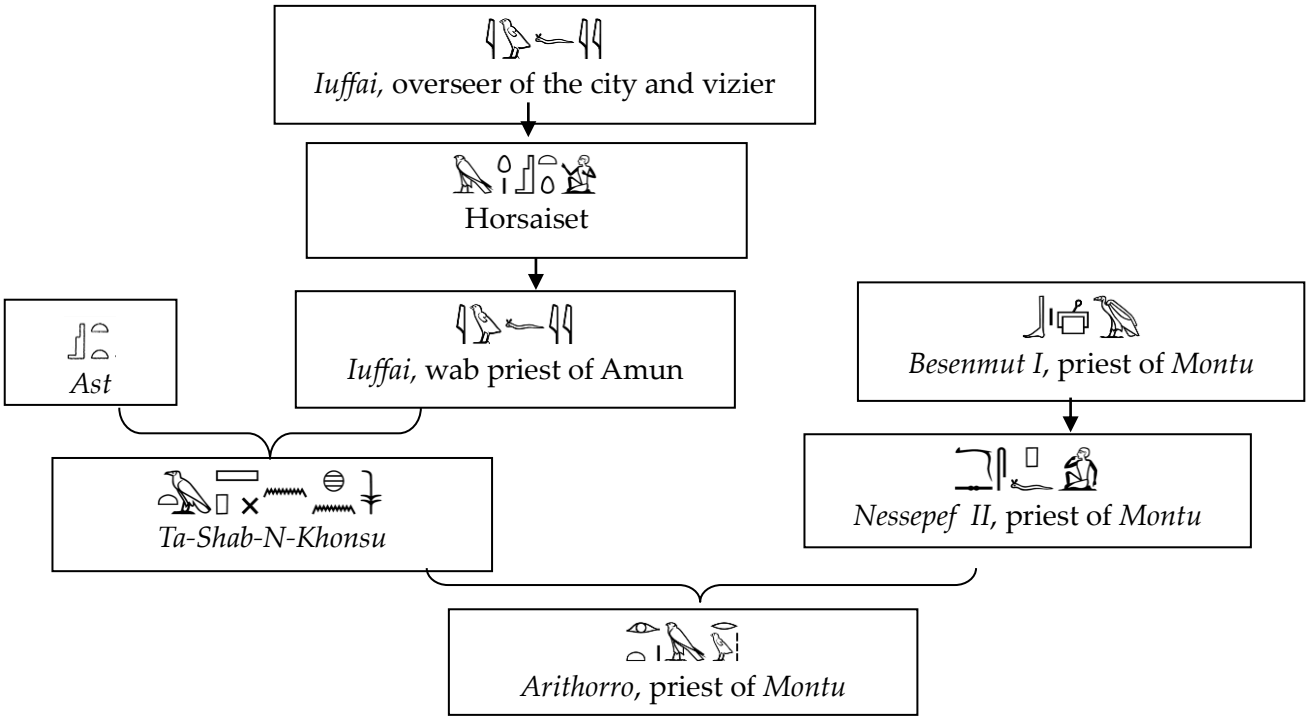
[119] RANKE 1935: 24.

[120] AL-AYEDI 2006: 234.

[121] JANSEN-WINKELN 2009: 336.

[122] RANKE 1935: 3 (18).

[123] MORET 1913: 168-174; GAUTHIER 1913: 170.



Generations of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu's* family © Drawn by the author

5. Inscriptions of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu's* Lid

The coffin lid is covered with lines of hieroglyphic inscriptions of a religious nature, mainly including the spells, or chapters, from *the Book of the Dead* and Pyramid Texts, in addition to a previously usual text since the Old Kingdom, as follows.

- The inscriptions in [**TEXT 1]** can be identified as part of Chapter 169 from *the Book of the Dead*. The subject of this chapter was to raise the bier, which was found in only one New Kingdom manuscript, that of Turi, Louvre 3092[125] and the short version of a litany found in the Middle Kingdom, numbered by de Buck as (CTI, 20-25) [126].
- The inscriptions in **[TEXT 1]** (1.L.): «Geb opens for you your eyes which were blind» confirmed the relationship between the god Geb and the eyes of the deceased, which is an ancient relationship confirmed by the Pyramid Texts.
  For example PT: (653 §1840a), (15 §9d), (175 §102a), (357 §583b), (478 § 977d), (689 §2087a) through the god Geb opening the eye of the deceased or giving it to him[127], but the Coffin Texts have a more emphatic connection between the god Geb and the vision, for example: (CTI, 56).
- The inscriptions in **[TEXT 2]** (1st R. L.). It is a previously usual text from the Old Kingdom that describes a wife and her relationship with her husband in a funeral context.

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[124] GÜNTHER 1978: 161.

[125] BACKES 2005: PL.57.

[126] STEPHEN 2013: 419-421.

[127] For more information, see: EDWARDS 1995.

For example, the inscription on the false door in the tomb of Ti in Saqqara[128] :
ḏd.t(*w*) *nfr s*(*y*) *bnit mrwt ḥft hj.s* «One says: She is good, sweet of love towards her husband» It is a sentence like the one mentioned on *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu's lid*.

- The text in [**TEXT 2**] from the (2nd R. R.) to the (5th R. L.) was completed with the Book of the Dead as part of Chapter 42.
  The subject of this chapter was to enable the deceased to escape from the slaughter that took place in *Ḥensu* (Herakleopolis)[129] and presumably from decapitation and dismemberment.
  It seems as though the deceased feared that he might be mistaken for an enemy of *Osiris* and be slain accidentally. The only way to avoid this was to place each member of the body under the protection of a god or goddess and to identify it with him or her[130].
  Even though this chapter is relatively common on funerary papyri and on the tomb's walls, it was not found on coffins before the 25th dynasty. This association of the deceased limbs with the gods is repeatedly found in the Pyramid Texts (PT 215 and PT 580).
- The inscriptions in [**TEXT 3**] from the (1st L.R.) to (7th L.L.) can be identified as part of Chapter 26 from the *Book of the Dead*. The chapter was about not letting the heart of a man be taken from him in *Khert-Neter*.
  This chapter is addressed to the gods who steal hearts, crush them and reward a man according to the deeds of his heart [131]. This spell is concerned with the heart, which the deceased needs in the afterlife. The spell serves to make sure that the deceased's heart will be returned to him in the case that it gets lost[132].
- The inscriptions in [**TEXT 4**] are repeated phrases that were written previously in [**TEXT 3**] (4th L.R.) and (3rd L.L.), as part of Chapter 26 from the Book of the Dead.
- In the inscriptions in [**TEXT 5**], the deceased made two wishes: eating bread and breathing in pleasant smells, which are considered the most requested wishes in the afterlife in many of the Pyramid Texts and *Book of the Dead*; examples include eating bread (PT 123, PT 238, PT 199, PT 247, PT 211, PT 400, PT 373, BD 1 - BD 53- BD 052 - BD 148- BD 082 - BD 106) and examples include breathing in pleasant smells (BD 172- BD 001).

6.The Vignettes of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu's* Lid

The lid is divided into zones across the body, featuring panels of various gods. These gods are mentioned and depicted on the lid for their role in the other world, which certainly could be beneficial to the coffin owner. The lid has a total of 26 gods and goddesses, with two of them repeated twice: *Srkt* and *Nit*.

[128] STEINDORFF 1913: TAF.45.
[129] TARASENKO 2013: 325.
[130] BUDGE 1913: 317.
[131] BUDGE 1913: 285.
[132] HORNUNG 1999: 17.

On Mummy's left side, there are: *Dwꜣ mwt.f - Kbḥ snw.f – ỉnpw - Ḫnty irty - Srkt - Wsir - Bꜣ nb ḏdt- Sḫmt- Ḥr ꜥḥꜣ - Ptḥ – ỉrt ḥr - Srkt.*

On Mummy's right side, there is another group of gods: *Rꜥ- Tḥwt- ỉmsty- Ḥpy- Nwn- Ḥwt Ḥr - Wp wꜣwt- ꜣst - Nit - Gb – ꜥꜣ šfšft - Nwt - ꜥrwt ꜥnḫw – Nit.*

All these gods are depicted standing except for one seated figured of the god, *Wsir*, in addition to two in a kneeling position: *Srkt* and *Nit*.

7. Dating of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu's* Lid

The papyrus (P. Moskau Puschkin-Museum I, 1b, 121[133]) and the outer coffin (the *qrsw* sarcophagi in the Musée du Louvre Nº. E.3913 of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* provide evidence that helps in dating the lid to the end of the 25th dynasty.

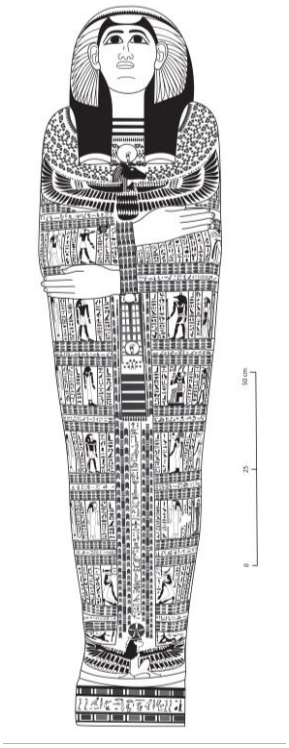
This is confirmed by another elements that supports the dating of the coffin lid:

- The hand position of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* **[FIGURE 38/A],** the arms are modeled around as if folded across the breast, with the right hand slightly higher than the left only the hands are visible amidst the decorated area.
- This lid conforms to TAYLOR'S late 25th_26th dynasties inner coffin design[134] (M2) **[FIGURE 38/B]**[135].
- This hand position is reminiscent of similar representations seen in statues, particularly from the Middle Kingdom **[FIGURE 42]**. And perhaps this hand position falls within the revival of many ancient symbols and elements that were «archaic» again in coffin decoration during the 25th and 26th dynasties.

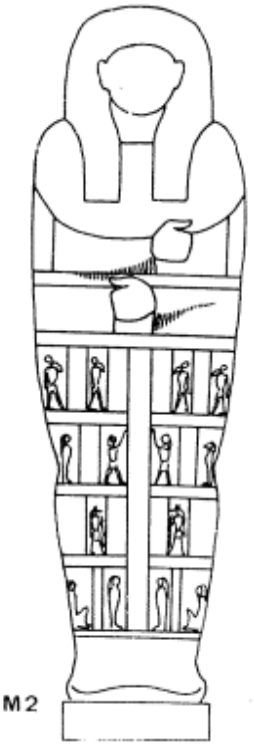
[133] MUNRO & TAYLOR 2009.

[134] For more information about the different coffin types dating to the 25th _26th dynasties according to TAYLOR'S classification. TAYLOR 2003: 114–15.

[135] TAYLOR 1985: 91, FIG.19 (M2).



[FIGURE 38/A]: Line drawing of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* inner coffin



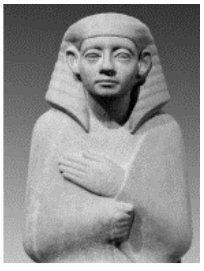
[FIGURE 38/B]: TAYLOR'S 25th _26th dynasty inner coffin design as (M2).

- This hand specific position is rare and was found in only a few coffins from the Late 25th dynasty, such as:
  (1) The inner coffin of *Ankhefenkhons I*, CG.41042, in El-Tahrir Egyptian Museum **[FIGURE 39]**[136].
  (2) The inner coffin of Tairy, in the Plymouth City Museum **[FIGURE 40]**[137].
  (3) The inner coffin of *Takhennu*, in the Copenhagen Museum, National Museum **[FIGURE 41]**[138].

[FIGURE 39]: Coffin of *Ankhefenkhons I*

[FIGURE 40]: Coffin of *Tairy*

[FIGURE 41]: Coffin of *Takhennu*



[FIGURE 42]: Middle Kingdom statue

[136] DAVID 2009: 208; JANSEN-WINKELN 2009: 415-16, N°.143.
[137] DODSON 2008: 132-133.
[138] DODSON 2008: 137; Nærbillede af mumiekiste», https://samlinger.natmus.dk/as/asset/21672#AS-5249 accessed on (22/08/2024).

- In a coffin lid of Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu [**FIGURES 9**], the Four Sons of Horus are depicted as naked children, a motif frequently found on coffins from the 25th and 26th dynasties in Akhmim and Thebes. Examples include:
  (1) Lid of the inner coffins of Nesmutaatneru, from the 25th dynasty, Thebes, Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut[139].
  (2) The base and lid of the anthropoid inner coffin of Seshepenmehyt EA22814[140].
  (3) The coffin of the Amun priest Bakenren, from the 26th dynasty (NME 816)[141].
  (4) Lid of the inner coffin of Tabakenkhonsu (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art Nº.MMA 96.4.1d, Deir el-Bahari[142].
  (5) The four nude sons also appear on the openwork mummy case of Nyniu from the 25th dynasty reuse of TT 99[143].
  Their nudity and the gesture of holding the finger to their lips symbolize their childhood, which acts as a promise to their living father that his legacy will continue after his death.
- The name of the god Osiris was in a coffin lid of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* written twice on the lid: first on **[TEXT 2]** (3rd R.L.) and then on the vertical line inside the Osiris-fetish; both times the name *Osiris* was written . Originally, the format included a seated god determinative, which has now been replaced with the pennant *nṯr* sign. This style of writing is attested during the New Kingdom and reappeared in the Late Period; it was used exclusively starting in the 23rd /25th dynasty [144].
- *3pḏw*[145] Abydos; in a coffin lid of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* is written with the determinative used instead of and that was used only during the 25th and 26th dynasties[146].
- The lid inscriptions of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* included the letter *ḥ* (V28) more than once. The *ḥ* letter's writing can help date the coffin lid, like the style of writing of Osiris's and Abydos's names. Traditionally, the twisted flax has three loops, but a variant appears on funerary equipment at Thebes during the 25th-26th dynasties, looking like a single piece of twisted flax instead of the traditional three[147]. It is the same shape on the *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* coffin lid .

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[139] «Inner coffin of Nesmutaatneru », https://collections.mfa.org/objects/132440, accessed on (04/08/2024).

[140] TAYLOR & STRUDWICK 2005: 62-63; «coffin Museum number EA22814», https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA22814 accessed on (04/08/2024)

[141] DODSON 2015: 34-37.

[142] SHEIKHOLESLAMI 2014: 460.

[143] SHEIKHOLESLAMI 2014: 460.

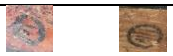
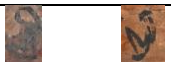
[144] LEAHY 1979: 140-142.

[145] GAUTHIER 1925, vol.1, 3; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 9.1; *LÄ*, vol.1, 28-41.

[146] LEAHY 1977: 63.

[147] TAYLOR 2006: 357-64; WILLIAMS 2017: 150.

8. Paleography of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu's* Lid [TABLE 2]

Gardiner	Visualglyph	TEXT 1, TEXT 2, TEXT 5	TEXT 3, TEXT 4
D12			
F34			
D46			
E34			
F35			
Aa1			
B1			
G1			
G17			
N 35			
O42			
O49			
V30			
N37			
Q3			
V28			
R4			
Aa11: P8			

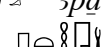
[TABLE 2]: Palaeography of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu's* Lid © Done by the researcher

9. Grammatical Analyses and Writing Commentaries

- In the inscriptions [**TEXT** 2] from the (2nd R. R.) to the (5th R. L.), *N* of the addition and *M* of equivalence are both used to give the same meaning.
- The «*t*» ending in some names no longer indicates a grammatical feminine, such as: *ḥr.s*, *irwy.s*, *msḏrwy.s.*
- In [**TEXT** 1] (1.L.) and [**TEXT** 2] (2nd R.L.), the same determinative was used to write the names of the god Geb and the god Nun, which is an unusual determinative for the names of these gods and not identical with their iconography.
- The inscriptions are free handwriting and written with black ink. In **[Texts 1-2 & 5]**, the signs are solid and colored internally with black ink.
  In **[Texts 3-4]** some of the signs are hollow and uncolored inside, while others are striped with one or two lines. This may indicate the involvement of two scribes and two stages of the coffin preparation before burial.
- Some signs are closest to Cursive, especially in **[TEXT 3]** where (N 35) is written in two different forms , .
- In the inscriptions [**Text 2**] (3rd R.L.), which was identified as part of Chapter 42, the word (*ḥnn*), that means phallus, was replaced with the word (*K3t*[148]) with the determinative clarifies the meaning «vagina or vulva».
  The scribe could be the one who replaced them to suit the gender of the deceased, although it does not suit Osiris himself, or the copy from which he was copying could be a female version.
- Some words were abbreviated and written with the determinative only, such as: the short form of *ibḥ* [149], the plural short form of *dbʿ* [150] and the short form of or *s3ḥ*[151].
- «*m ḥtp r imntt*» in peace to the west, a wish that the deceased made twice in [**Text 2**], once on the chest below the collar (1st R. R.) and once at the foot in the vertical line inside the *Osiris*-fetish.
- «*Srḳt*» in **[TEXT 2]** (6th R. L.) the two letters , swapped.
- Many geographical and mythological places are mentioned on the lid:
  (1) Dendera *iwnt*[152] in [**TEXT 2**] (1st R. R.).
  (2) Sais *s3w*[153] in [**TEXT 2**] (2nd R. R.) and (3rd R. R.).
  (3) Thinis *T3-wr*[154] in [**TEXT** 2] (6th R.R.).

[148] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.5, 93 (12), 94 (2).
[149] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 64 (5).
[150] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.5, 562 (11), 565 (9).
[151] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 20 (1-4)
[152] GAUTHIER 1925,vol.1, 56; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 54; *LÄ*, vol.1, 1060- 1063.
[153] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.3, 420.1; GAUTHIER 1928, vol.2 & 5; FAROUK 1987: 87-89; *LÄ*, vol.5, 355- 358.

(4) Abydos *ȝpḏw*[155]in [**TEXT** 2] (1st R. R.) and vertical line inside Osiris-fetish.

(5) Memphis  *ḥwt-kȝ-ptḥ*[156] in **[TEXT** 3**]** (7th L. L.).

(6) Heliopolis *ỉwnw*[157] in [**TEXT** 5].

(7) Babylon *Ḥr-ʿḥȝ* [158] in [**TEXT** 2] (4th R. L.).

(8) Djedet *ḏḏt*[159] in [**TEXT** 2] (3rd R. L.).

(9) *Rȝ-stȝw*[160] which means the necropolis in **[Text.5]**.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the description and the discussion, several key points were identified: The lid belongs to a non-royal woman named *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu*; a member of the family of *Amun's* priests as a daughter of the wab priest of Amun *Iuffai*. She is also related to the family of *Montu's* priests, as she is the wife of the Montu priest *Nessepef II* and the mother of the *Montu* priest *Irtharerau*.

The coffin lid is decorated with numerous inscriptions in hieroglyphs on its exterior. The inscriptions are free handwriting and written with black ink. A group of the texts is written in vertical columns, while the others are in horizontal ones.

The inscriptions provide personal details and priestly titles borne by *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* and her father, *Iuffai* [**TABLE.1**]. *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* held three titles; the first one was the familiar title (*nbt-pr*), the House-mistress, while the second and third titles explain that she belongs to the female members of the musical staff of the temple, as she is the (*ỉhy n ỉmn-Rʿ*), the *sistrum*-player of *Amun-Ra* and (*ḥr*(*yt*)-*sȝw ibȝ*) the phyle-leader of dancing.

The texts include Spells 26, 42 and 168 from The *Book of the Dead,* invoking divine protection to *help Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* in her afterlife. The inscriptions also revealed the name and titles of the lid owner and his father.

The coffin lid is decorated not only with inscriptions but also with vignettes of deities that mostly represent protection and regeneration. The lid is divided into zones across the body, featuring panels of various gods beneficial to the deceased in the afterlife. A total of 26 gods and goddesses are depicted, with *Srkt* and *Nit* appearing twice. On *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* Mummy's left side, there are: *Dwȝ mwt.f - ỉmsty - Kbḥ snw.f – ỉnpw - Ḫnty irty - Srkt - Wsir - Bȝ nb ḏdt- Sḫmt- Ḥr ʿḥȝ - Ptḥ – ỉrt ḥr - Srkt*. On *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* Mummy's right side,

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[154] Thinis was an important provincial town in ancient Egypt, by the late Old Kingdom, it appears to have been the administrative center of the Eighth Upper Egyptian Nome, which also contained the site of Abydos. ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*,vol.5, 353 (5); *LÄ,* vol.6: 475–486

[155] GAUTHIER 1925,vol.1, 3; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 9.1; *LÄ,* vol.1, 28-41.

[156] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vols.3 & 5 (20).

[157] GAUTHIER 1925,vol.1, 54; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 54 (6).

[158] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.3, 394.7; *LÄ,* vol.1, 592-593.

[159] Djedet, the Egyptian name for the city, was known in the Greco-Rowman period as Mendes. ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.5, 630 (8); GAUTHIER 1929,vol.6, 136.

[160] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.2, 398 (9), 399.

there is another group of gods: *Rˁ- Tḥwt- Ḥpy- Nwn- Ḥwt Ḥr - Wp wꜣwt- ꜣst - Nit - Gb – ˁꜣ šfšft - Nwt - ˁrwt ˁnḫw – Nit.*

Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu's coffin set, according to her name and titles and that of her father, consists of three coffins preserved in different museums. The inner coffin, whose lid is the subject of this study; is missing its trough and the lid only is preserved in the basement of the El-Tahrir Egyptian Museum Nº.TR. 4.10.16.4. The intermediary coffin is an anthropoid coffin preserved in the Avignon Museum calvet, Inv.Nº.23509 and the outer coffin, a *qrsw* sarcophagi is preserved in the Musée du Louvre Nº.E. 3913.

The period of the coffin lid of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* can be identified. According to the papyrus «pMoskau Puschkin-Museum I, 1b, 121» and the outer coffin (the *qrsw* sarcophagi in the Musée du Louvre Nº.E. 3913, which are attributed to *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* and dated to the end of the 25th dynasty, another element confirms this dating of the coffin lid. The writing of the name of the god *Osiris* , the writing of the letter *Ḥ* (V28) and the hand position of *Ta-Shab-N-Khonsu* all support this dating. Additionally, the coffin lid has a pedestal at the feet, the decorations show archaism and the lid features a vignette of the four sons of *Horus* depicted as naked children.

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THE CONTINUITY OF *ŠPST* AND *ḤNRT* DURING THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

BY

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ABSTRACT

[EN] This paper is concerned with studying the status and identity of the queens and the elite Theban women during the third intermediate period by examining their relationship with a couple of the oldest and most famous titles associated with women, *Špst* and *Ḥnrt* . Obviously, both *Špst* and *Ḥnrt* underwent significant transformations from their ancient forms, adopting multiple and distinct formulas. These women shaped the titles by holding more than one form simultaneously, thereby enhancing their status through association with higher ranks. Generally, this process preserved the continuity of *Špst* and *Ḥnrt* and reflected the way the women utilized their power to achieve their status independently of their male relatives. The titles reflected the women's contributions during this period and represented the way in which the traditional cultic organization of the Theban clergy, was influenced by the socio-political situation in Egypt throughout this period; this, in turn, impacted the traditional roles that women held in the priesthood. Furthermore, the titles of women reveal some fascinating patterns that are closely related to the political power of a specific cult. It points out that women could generally have a repertoire of titles. The initial title in a series was *nbt pr* (Lady of the House), signifying their social rank, followed by *Špst* for some and finally, formal titles, which were typically linked to the Amen-Re temple or other institutions such as *Ḥnrt* **.**

KEYWORDS: Elite Theban women, identity, *Ḥnrt*, *Špst*, queens, status, third intermediate period**.**

[AR] **استمرارية *Ḥnrt* و *Špst* خلال عصر الانتقال الثالث**

هذه الورقة البحثية معنية بدراسة مكانة وهوية الملكات وسيدات النخبة الطيبيات خلال عصر الانتقال الثالث وذلك من خلال؛ دراسة علاقتهن باثنين من أقدم وأشهر الألقاب المرتبطة بالمرأة وهما *Špst* و *Ḥnrt* ، وقد أسفرت الدراسة عن استمرارية اللقبين *Špst* و *Ḥnrt* خلال هذه الحقبة الزمنية مع حدوث تغييرات جذرية لكلا اللقبين متمثلة فى ظهور صيغ متعددة ومتنوعة لذات اللقب، وأخرى فريدة من نوعها نتيجة لاستثمار سيدات تلك الحقبة لهذين اللقبين الاستثمار الأمثل بحملهن أكثر من صيغة لنفس اللقب كقيم أكبر لهن. كما أوضحت الدراسة القدرة الكيفية التي استخدمتها هؤلاء النسوة لتحقيق مكانتهن بشكلٍ مستقلٍ عن أقاربهن الذكور، وكذا الإسهامات التي قدمتها المرأة خلال هذه الفترة، بالإضافة إلى تأثر الكهنوت الطيبي بالوضع الاجتماعي والسياسي في مصر طوال هذه الفترة، وكيف أثر ذلك بدوره على الأدوار التقليدية التي كانت تشغلها المرأة في الكهنوت بوجه عام. وأخيراً عكست تلك الدراسة بعض الأنماط الرفيعة التي ترتبط ارتباطًا وثيقًا بالسلطة السياسية لطائفة معينة، فيما يشير إلى أن النساء كن يمتلكن مجموعة من الألقاب بشكل عام؛ على أن يكون اللقب الأول *nbt pr* (سيدة البيت) الذى يشير إلى المكانة الاجتماعية، يليه *Špst* بالنسبة للبعض، وأخيرًا الألقاب الرسمية، التي كانت مرتبطة عادةً بمعبد أمون رع أو المؤسسات الأخرى والتي منها *Ḥnrt*.

الكلمات الدالة: الألقاب، سيدة البيت؛ عصر الانتقال الثالث، المملكات، النساء النبيلات، النسوة.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Even though the term «third intermediate period» is used to mark the political decline that occurred during this period of ancient Egyptian history, it does not adequately capture the cultural development that continued under the individual district administration– systems in which women played an essential role[1].

Genuinely, women in ancient Egypt are well documented throughout Egyptian history, both in written and pictorial forms[2]. Yet there are limits to our ability to fully understand their actual status and roles in ancient Egyptian society[3], particularly regarding the status, contributions, influence and responsibilities of queens and Elite Theban women[4]. These aspects remained imperfectively defined throughout the third intermediate period (21st-24th dynasties) specifically[5] and the Late Periods more generally[6].

Occasionally, positions and status are indicated by recognizable iconographic symbols[7], highlighting the contributions of women to the innovations during the

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[1] «KITCHEN» suggested the term «Post-Imperial Epoch» to be a more suitable term for this period, rather than being categorized with the First or Second Intermediate Period, which were characterized by disorder and chaos; LEAHY, on the other hand proposed other terms such as the «Late New Kingdom» and the «Libyan Period». Both are descriptive rather than merely sequential, and they embody the arrival of the Libyans in power, which was the most important change during this period. However, while KITCHEN and LEAHY'S suggestions are more accurate, their prepositions have not been widely used by scholars, and the term «third intermediate period» is still commonly used in studies and publications. KITCHEN 1973: XI-XII; LEAHY 1985: 53; ELADANY 2011: 40; MAHER 2020: 30, Nº.1.

[2] SABBAHY 2013: 7126.

[3] The status of the royal women was defined from the early times with reference to the king through the titles «king's mother», «king's wife», «king's daughter» and later also «king's principle wife» and «king's sister». ROBINS 1993: 23; SABBAHY 2013: 7126.

[4] The God's Wives of Amen is the only comprehensively studied group of women during these periods. GRAEFE 1981; AYAD 2001; AYAD 2009: 1–14; MAHER 2016.

[5] Various dates have been proposed by modern historians to mark the onset of this period. According to «KITCHEN» and «TAYLOR», either the 21st dynasty or the third intermediate period began in 1069 BC with the coronation of *Semendes* I to the throne of Egypt, while 'HORNUNG *et Al*. considered the year 1076 BC to be the beginning of the 21st dynasty and the third intermediate period. Also, TAYLOR considered the third intermediate period to have ended after the 25th dynasty at 664 BC, while 'HORNUNG *et Al*. argued that the year 723 BC was the end of the 24th dynasty and the third intermediate period. KITCHEN 1986: 465; TAYLOR 2000: 324; HORNUNG *et Al*. 2006: 493; ELADANY 2011: 40; MAHER 2020: 30, Nº.2.

[6] During the 21st dynasty, Egypt was fragmented between two rulers: 1) a king ruled in the north (Lower Egypt) and 2) the High Priest of *Amen* ruled in the south (Thebes), which became a separate political entity. At the beginning of the 22nd dynasty, the Libyan population that had already entered Egypt during the New Kingdom became a great power and Libyan men ascended to the throne of Egypt. Even though the early kings of this dynasty attempted to reassert power, they failed to curtail the influence of the High Priests of *Amen* at Thebes. At the beginning of the eighth century, the libyans were removed by the nubian potentates, who took control of Egypt until the Saite kings reclaimed the throne of Egypt after expelling the Assyrians. ROBINS 1997: 193; LLOYD 2000: 365-387; LI 2011: 1; GABALLAH 2015: 11-13, 112.

[7] ROEHRIG 1996: 13.

Third Intermediate Period[8] particularly in the realms of kingship[9], religion[10], art[11], burial practices[12] and other aspects of the Egyptian[13] civilization[14]. A number of women began to achieve their status outside of their relationship to male relatives[15]. Their titles undoubtedly played a significant role as markers, allowing us to extrapolate key aspects of identity that were most relevant to queens and elite Theban women who appeared particularly concerned with emphasizing these elements in their public presentation[16].

Whether these titles are honorific or functional these titles denote the social status of the individual to whom deference is paid and serve to express power dynamics[17]. According to the Egyptological documents, many titles such as *Špst* and *Ḥnrt* have shown a kind of continuity, discontinuity and complete change during the transitional years of the Third Intermediate Period, when the most interesting dynamics of cultural traditions and innovations occurred.

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[8] The material evidence for the women was taken primarily from mortuary contexts, which were collected into two databases: (1) the tombs and contents corpus (the information on the tombs that testified to the women's existence or matched the women) and (2) the funerary objects corpus.

[9] After the fall of the New Kingdom, the power and ideology of kingship diminished. A series of females holding the office of God's wife of *Amen* essentially assumed regal prerogatives and became Thebes' rulers, see: STRUDWICK & STRUDWICK 1999: 136-138.

[10] In addition to serving as a political instrument, the institution of the God's wife of *Amen* signified the rise in women's involvement in religion on a larger scale. As the wives and daughters of the high priests of *Amen*, these women were placed in powerful positions from the 21st dynasty onward. TROY 1986: 97-99; LI 2010: 16-17; GABALLAH 2015: 20, 30, 38-39, 62.

[11] Women are portrayed in art in a way that shows stylistic innovation while adhering to conventional visual communication techniques. The advent of a new female body type on burial stelae and other monumental items in the eighth and sixth centuries is a prime example of how tradition and innovation may coexist. MYSLIWIEC 1988: 19, PL.16; ROBINS 1997: 204, FIGS.245/205, FIGS.246/206, FIGS.246/208, FIGS.250; LI 2017: 18-19.

[12] Elites in Thebes stopped constructing funerary architecture during the 21st dynasty and the beginning of the Libyan Period, instead interring bodies in cache tombs. STRUDWICK & STRUDWICK 1999: 135-136/142-144.

[13] The Theban necropolis saw the emergence of a new burial practice in the temple precincts, which was first attested in the funerals of the rulers of the 21st and 22nd dynasties in the temple of Amen at Tanis. MONTET 1947. Priests like God's Fathers, those named «Beloved of the God» and their female relatives were interred in the *Ramesseum's* storerooms at Thebes, which later served as the necropolis for the priests of the *Amen* clergy. QUIBELL 1896; ASTON 2003: 139. Throughout the eighth-sixth centuries, the independent burial of women increased and elites began to build new small tomb chapels. At *Medinet Habu*, the God's Wives of *Amen* constructed funerary complexes that combined funerary chapels and burial chambers and more new tomb forms appeared, built by and for the high officials of Thebes. STRUDWICK & STRUDWICK 1999: 142, 152-153; LI 2010: 19-21

[14] The language and literature also changed during this period. Though women are not as visible in these literary and linguistic advances, but these changes should be noted. LI 2010: 12, Nº.9; MAHER 2021: 25-40.

[15] MAHER 2021: 25-40.

[16] TROY 1986: 102-103; 172-175.

[17] By utilizing certain titles, such as Lady of the House, Noblewoman, Chantress, or Singer, honorific or otherwise, these women conveyed a desire to force a certain type of interaction (living or dead) from their audience. AGHA 1994: 294; LI 2010: 27.

II.*ŠPst* (NOBLEWOMAN/LADY OF DISTINCTION)

The title formula has made multiple appearances in the Third Intermediate Period between the titles of the *nbwt prw* (Ladies of the Houses)[18], who were queens and Theban princesses, according to the tombs' dataset[19]. As these ladies occasionally possessed *Špst/Špst-ti*, *Ḥryt Špswt* and *Ḥnwt Špswt*[20]. The first occurrence of *Špst* was in Berlin Papyrus 10489[21], with queen *Nodjemet* (daughter of *Amenhotep HPA*(?), wife of both *Herihor*(?) and *Piankh* and mother of *Pinudjem*I), then with the princess *Nauny* (daughter of *Pinudjem*I and *Tentnabekhenu*) in 21st dynasty[22]. Then, *Špst/Špst-ti* showed up in the 22nd dynasty between the titles of *Istweret* (B) (daughter of *Takeloth*II and wife of *Vizier Nekhetmut* C)[23], the sistrum player *Tamit* II[24] (daughter of the *vizier* Nekhetefmut and Isetweret B)[25] and *Tadirynefer*[26]. Furthermore, the title appeared among those held by the princesses of the 23rd dynasty, such as *Irbastwedjanefu* (B) (daughter of *Rudamun*)[27] and *Satnub* (daughter of an Overseer of Upper Egypt and the scribe of the divine offerings of *Amen* at Karnak, most certainly a son of Prince *Osorkon,* resulting in that *Satnub* was a great-granddaughter of either *Takeloth* III or *Rudamun*)[28].

III. *Ḥryt Špswt* «LADY OF THE *Špswt*» «CHIEF OF THE NOBLEWOMEN»

The second formula of the title may be rare during this period, as the dataset has preserved only fourth queens and Theban princesses during the 21st dynasty, starting with *Nodjemet* [29], then the princess *Nesy-Khonsu* A (daughter of

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[18] This term seems to revert to the traditional division of gender, which extended to spheres of activities. Therefore, even though the precise responsibilities are not listed in writings or artistic depictions, women were associated with home. Men were more frequently linked to public administration roles, nevertheless. ROEHRIG 1996: 13.

[19] Four Theban ladies combined the Lady of House and the Noblewomen, where a couple of them were also Sistrum Players. LI 2017: 134.

[20] LI 2010: 29; LI 2017: 31.

[21] Quoted: «The general of Pharaoh, I. p.h., to the principal of the Harem of *Amun-Re*, King of the gods, the noble Lady Nuteme. In life, prosperity and health and in the favor of *Amun-Re,* King of the gods, etc.,». WENTE 1967: 69, Nº.35.

[22] WINLOCK 1932: 82, Nº.71.

[23] TROY 1986: 175; LI 2010: 30.

[24] She has another name as Tabeketenasket B. DODOSN 1962: 227.

[25] Her numerous titles, «Noblewoman, Lady of the House, Sistrum Player of Amen-Re and Overseer of the Wet Nurses of Khonsu the Child», were carved on her coffins. ANTHES 1943: 36; KITCHEN 1986: 180; LI 2010: 30; LI 2017: 93.

[26] Her coffin mentioned her mother and grandmother, without any mention of her father. LI 2017: 134.

[27] TROY 1986: 175.

[28] Leahy suggests, based on Satnub's burial, that she belonged to the royal family of the 23rd dynasty. LEAHY 1977: 198/239–240; LI 2017: 106.
Yet Aston dates Satnub's burial to the 25th dynasty Based on the ensemble, which includes a set of limestone canopic jars and a *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris* figurine. ASTON 1987: 146.

[29] BUDGE 1899: 33, PLS.1-5.

*Semendes*II, the high priest of *Amen*) , [30], I*stemkheb* IV (D) (daughter of *Menkheperre* and *Istemkheb* III and the wife of *Pinudjem* II) [31] and the princess *Esitanebetashru* A (daughter of *Pinudjem* II and *Nesy-Khonsu* and a priestess of *Amen-Re* at Thebes)[32].

IV. *Ḥnwt Špswt* «LADY OF *Špswt*»

Although the formula had the same meaning as the previous one, Queen *Nodjemet* seemed to be the first and only lady to hold it during this period[33].

V.COMMENTARY

A Noblewoman/Lady of Distinction was a common honorary title. Its old form was *«Špst nswt»* «King's Lady»[34] and has appeared alongside King's Daughter *«S3t nsw»* and the Heiress *«Irt pʿt/ Rpʿt»*[35]. It was utilized for distinguishing between women who belonged to the upper echelons of elite society and defining the social positions that were conferred upon women by birth or fortune[36], even among those with similar jobs and occupational titles[37].

The title first appears during the reign of *Teti* from the sixth dynasty in the tomb of the nomarch *Ỉtti/Šdw* at Deshasha[38]. Then, it was used hardly at all among the wives and daughters of some employees[39], who were priestesses[40], or daughters of

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[30] MASPERO 1889: 712; SALEH 2007: 193, 216, 238, stela Nº.84; LI 2017: 46.

[31] DARESSY 1909: 164; TROY 1986: 172.

[32] BUDGE 1912: PLS.10-11.

[33] DARESSY 1909: 40.

[34]It has many translations such as who belongs to the royal harem. ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol. 4, 450.
For the Royal Lady, see: REISER 1972: 18.
For noblewoman of the king, see: WARD 1963: 15; FISCHER 1976: 115, 122; WARD 1982: 175 (1511). For more, see: EL-KASHEF 2022: 134.

[35] WARD 1986: 9; LI 2017: 31.

[36] According to Edel's view, this title is an honorific title and the lowest court rank granted without an actual function in the Late Old Kingdom. EDEL 1960: 12–18; EL-KASHEF 2022: 132-133.

[37] The data of the female holders comes from the Memphite area and from the provinces of Aswan (UE 1), Edfu (UE 2), Dendera (UE 6), Qasr es-Sayyad (UE 7), Abydos (UE 8), Naga ed-Deir (UE 8), Akhmim (UE 9), El-Hagarsa (UE 9), Deir el-Gebrawi (UE 12), Quseir el-Amarna and Meir in El-Qusiya (UE 14), Sheikh Said (UE 15), Zawiyet el-Mayetin (UE 16) and Deshasha (UE 20/21), see: EL-KASHEF 2002: 135-155; LI 2017: 31.

[38] The high-ranking position of non-royal women was determined by them holding one or more of three titles related to the king (the origin of prestige and all bounty); *Špst nswt* «noblewoman of the king», *Rḫt nswt* «she who is known to the king» (Both were not always in use at the same time and place and *ḫkrt* (*wʿtt*) *nswt* «(sole) ornament of the king». FISCHER 1898: 30.

[39] Many ladies held the title in the sixth dynasty, such as: Iretenes and his daughter *Hat-ku*, *Hotep-hotepu*, *Ini*, *Nfrt-ti*. ROUGE 1866: 147; MARIETTE 1880: 94, Nº.538-540; FISCHER 1898: 43, FIG.31; MURRAY 1908:45; BORCHARDT 1964: 57, Nº.1576. Bakhot, Iti, Senti, Set-Ibti, Wadjet, see: MURRAY 1908:14; JÉQUIER 1935, 35. There were also many ladies in the Old Kingdom from whom it was difficult to know their periods, such as Mry, Hnnt, Dwat-het-her, Hathor-Ankh, Hathor-Hotep, Mrr, Ati, Hathor-em-hat, see: PETRIE 1898: PL.28; DAVIES 1901: PL.25; QUIBELL 1902: 254-258; MURRAY 1908:45.

priests such as *Nebet* A[41] (CG stela 1575)[42], *Henwt, Takhiet and Meritib*[43]. This feminine form[44] continued to be used by ladies[45], but to a lesser degree in the first intermediate[46] and the middle kingdom periods[47].

Obviously, the title consisted of two elements *Špst* and *Nswt*[48]. The second element specifically disappeared during the new kingdom, where the term *Špst* «Noblewoman» was used for the distinguished women who were possibly also musician-priests, evidenced by an inscription of *Ramesses*II copied by *Ramesses*III. The inscription described how a group or an individual known as the great *Špswt* of the temple of *Ptah* and *Hathor* of the House of *Atum* welcomed the king during his visit to the two temples with tambourine music[49].

Definitely, *Špst* conveys the same meaning between Kiya's titles (Wife of *Akhenaton*, 18th dynasty)[50] and *Tia* III[51] (daughter of *Seti* I and *Tuya* and wife of the Overseer of the Treasury of the Temple of *Ramsses*II in the Domain of *Amen*)[52] «*Tia*»[53]continued to use the form *Špst* during the 21st dynasty between the titles of the queens (*Nodjemet*, *Nauny*, *Istweret* (B) and *Irbastwedjanefu* (B).

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[40] It is noticed that almost all ladies were consistently priestesses of Hathor in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. JUNKER 1947: 142-148.
For statistics of the title holders (determining the percentage of Hathor priestesses and the percentage of provincial women, see: EL-KASHEF 2022: 131.

[41] FISCHER 1898: 31; BORCHARDT 1964: 55, Nº.1575; FISCHER 1976: 75; TROY 1986: 155.

[42] Her title suggested that she may have benefited from an intimate relationship with the king, one that brought her wealth and influence. FISCHER 1898: 30-31.

[43] DAVIES 1902: PLS.5-17; MURRAY 1908: 45; JUNKER 1947: 141, ABB.66, 142, ABB.67, 144, ABB.69,145 ABB.70,147, ABB.71,148.

[44] In some instances, the formula of the title was written without the determinative during the late sixth dynasty or after, such as *ʾIti/Ḫnt-ḳ3w.s; W3ḏt; St-ibti/Bb-ibi; Snti ʾII; ʾIni/Ḥnwti; Ḥnyt; Snt/Mrwt; Ḳdt-ns; Mri.* This phenomenon was to eliminate the figures in the burial chambers or their coffins. EL- KASHEF 2002: 134.

[45] Its masculine counterpart is first attested as having the lowest ranking. It was held by the sons of high officials, following the title *smr wʿty* «sole companion»; it was held by young officials at the beginning of their careers. Then, it disappeared almost totally after the end of the Old Kingdom. FISCHER 1898: 30; HELCK 1954: 118–19.
According to KRÄMER, it was one of the lowest honorary titles held by high-ranking families from the sixth dynasty. KRÄMER 2019: 66.

[46] Most of the examples of the feminine form came from the provinces in the Heracleopolitan Period. FISCHER 1898: 30. DRENKHAHN refused the interpretation of the *špst nswt* women as royal concubines, as the daughters of provincial monarchs held it, who were hardly to be regarded as royal concubines. DRENKHAHN 1976: 59– 67.

[47] Such as Sem-tek, Mrwt, Heniet and Ini. LUTZ 1927: 3 PL.16, Nº.30.

[48] EL-KASHEF 2022: 132.

[49] WARD 1986: 9; LI 2017: 31.

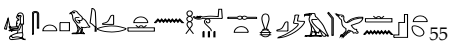
[50] HARRIS 1974: 26, Nº.6; TROY 1986: 167.

[51] HABACHI 1969: 42, FIG.13; MÁLEK 1974: 161.

[52] MALEK 1974: 163-164; TROY 1986: 169.

[53]The Overseer of the Treasury, Tia and his wife of the same name belong to the better-known contemporaries. MÁLEK 1974: 161-167.

Moreover, there were other descriptive formulas, the first one was *Špst pr ʿ3* which was held by a lady called Inuhai[54], while the second one was held by *Sat-Re* (wife of *Ramesses* I and mother of *Seti* I).

 [55] *Špst pw iḳrt ḥʿw.s mi ḳm3 n 3st*.

It is the favorite one with the excellence of her limbs (who is) like that which is. created by *Isis*. Apparently, this unique formula of *Sat-Re* conveys a deep meaning by butting more details to reflect the magnitude and grandeur of the queen. Precisely, that can apply to the forms *Ḥryt Špswt* and *Ḥnwt Špswt*, which appeared among princesses in the third intermediate period as higher ranks and promotions for the title holders. This is evidenced by *Nodjemet* who might be promoted from the *Špst* rank to the *Ḥryt Špswt* and *Ḥnwt Špswt* ranks (literally the only *Ḥnwt Špswt*).

That is confirmed by Kitchen[56], as he suggested that the title *Ḥryt Špswt* was designed for *Nesy-Khonsu* as an exception to the general trend. Essentially, it was a fictitious title to bolster her social status, which was already high, possibly to complement the status of her husband[57]. Nonetheless she was an exceptional woman who held a total of six titles *Ḥryt Špswt* (Chief of the Noblewomen), *Ḥmt-nṯr n ḫnm* (Priestess of *Khnum*), *Ḥmt-nṯr n nbt-ḥtpt nbt srd* (Priestess of *Nebet-hotepet* of Serd*), S3t-nsw n Kš* (Viceroy of Kush), *ʾImy-r ḫ3swt rsywt* (Overseer of the Foreign Lands) and the Greatest Chief of the Sacred Musical[58].

Hence, the title came to be associated with a more «valuable» status than «royalty» which may have reflected the unstable political nature of the third intermediate period compared to previous periods[59]. As the title «King's Daughter» probably lost its significance in the third intermediate period when numerous minor kings and princes laid claim to different Egyptian regions, it was more appropriate for women to refer to themselves as noblewomen to reference a potential greater status[60].

Furthermore, it seemed that Theban women (with the exception of *Nesy-Khonsu*) of the early first millennium BCE held no more than four titles. The *Noblewoman* title never appeared alone and was always in conjunction with the title of the Lady of the House[61], since gender identity was secondary to women's concerns in exhibiting their social position[62]. However, they had direct royal ties (like

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[54] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.4, 450. The higher ranks appeared also in male formulas such as *ḥry-tp špsw-nswt nbw* «overlord of all the nobles of the king» *šps n nsw mrr.f* a noble of the king whom he (the king) loves. FISCHER 1997: 78-79/85.

[55] GITTON 1978: 394-395.

[56] KITCHEN 1973: 66.

[57] LI 2017: 46.

[58] SALEH 2007: 193, 216, 238, stela Nº.84; LI 2017: 46.

[59] LI 2017: 30.

[60] LI 2017: 31.

[61] LI 2017: 134.

[62] LI 2017: 46.

Tamit and *Istweret* B), or indirect royal ties (such as *Heribsens*, the daughter of *Ankhpakhered* (v), the vizier and the judge of the palace)[63].

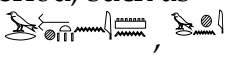
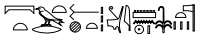
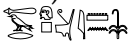
Moreover, another significance of the *Špst* title is that it appears among Theban women who were chantresses of *Amen*. These women were buried with their spouses in chapels (commemorative places for family groups)[64].

Subsequently, it seemed that these women were taking part in the revived tradition of constructing monumental tombs, which dates back to the 22nd dynasty[65].

Finally, the oldest form of the title title, *Špst nswt*, occurs in TT 33 of the Assasif Necropolis (dated to the late twenty-fifth to the early twenty-sixth dynasty, from *Taharqa* reign to *PsametikI* reign). The tomb belongs to Padiamenope and the use of the title is placed between those of his mother *N(ȝ)-mnḫ-ȝst*, who was *ỉḫy n ỉmn-Rˁ* «A Chantress of *Amun*» and *Nbt pr* «A Lady of the house»[66] Perhaps, the recurrence of the central authority during those periods was an effective and fundamental reason for reusing the original formula of the title, which was abandoned due to the numerous minor kings and princes during the third intermediate period.

VI. *ḤNRT* «HAREM WOMAN»

Even though the sources that attest to the existence of the royal harem are few after the 20th dynasty, the harem of *Amen-Re* was associated with many terms, which were considered rare or of higher rank than the title *Ḥnrt* in the Third Intermediate Period, such as

-  , *wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn/ ỉmn Rˁ nsw nṯrw* (The Principle of the Harem of Amen/ Amen Re King of gods).
-  *ḥryt wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn Rˁ nsw nṯrw* (The Supreme Chief of the Harem of Amen Re, King of gods).
- *wrt ḫnrt tpt n ỉmn Rˁ nsw nṯrw* (The Supreme Chief of the Harem of Amen Re, King of gods).
- *wrt tpt n ḫnrt n (ỉmn)/ (ỉmn Rˁ)* (The Great one of the Harem of Amen/ Amen Re)
- And  *ˁȝt wrt (ḫnrt) tpt n ỉmn (Rˁ) nsw (nṯrw)* (The Great, Great one of the Harem of Amen Re King of gods).
- *Wrt Ḥnrt n ỉmn/ ỉmn Rˁ Nsw Nṯrw* (THE PRINCIPLE OF THE HAREM OF AMEN/ AMEN-RE KING OF GODS).

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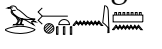
[63] BIERBIER 1975: 91.

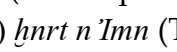
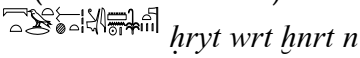
[64] LEBLANC & NELSON 1998: 61–78.

[65] LI 2017: 93.

[66] The statues and the 22-room tomb (exceeded the royal burials in the Valley of the Kings) of Padiamenope reflected his importance and high social status. DUMISCHEN 1884: PLS.1, 3 & 15-17; EL-KASHEF 2002: 155-156; TRAUNECKER 2008: 38; TRAUNECKER 2014: 210, 227.

The title's formula was associated with many queens and Theban princesses during the 21st dynasty, such as *Nodjemet*, as she was called in two letters to the troop commander (Turin Papyrus Nº.1972, 2069) [67], *wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn Rᶜ nsw nṯrw;* the Principle of the Harem of Amen-Re, King of gods. Then, the princess *Duat-Hathor Henuttauy* II (A), (daughter of *Semendes* and *Tentamun*, wife of *Pinudjem* I and mother of *Maatkare* I and *Henuttauy* III), held it on a gold plate covering the embalming incision in her mummy[68] and on a lintel from *Medinet Habu*  [69] *wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn* (The Principle of the Harem of *Amen*), followed her the *wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn Rᶜ Tayheret* (wife of the High Priest of *Amen Masharta* and mother of *Istemkheb* II)[70], where the *wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn Istemkheb* III (daughter of Pseunnes I and Wiay, wife of the High Priest Menkheperre and mother of High Priests *Pinudjem* II and *Semends* II) was the last princess who held it[71].

- ***Ḥryt Wrt Ḫnrt*** (THE SUPREME CHIEF OF THE HAREM); During the third intermediate period, the form gained prominence while holding the same meaning and tenor, such as: *ḥryt wrt ḫnrt, ḥryt wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn/Imn Rᶜ nsw nṯrw ᶜnd ḥryt wrt ḫnrt tpt n ỉmn/Imn Rᶜ nsw nṯrw*.

Fundamentally, the queen *Nodjemet* has taken the forms *ḥryt wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn Rᶜ nsw nṯrw*[72] (The Supreme Chief of the Harem of *Amen-Re*, King of gods) and  *ḥryt* (*wrt*) *ḫnrt n ỉmn* (The Supreme Chief of the Harem of *Amen*)[73]. Then the princesses *Duat-Hathor Henuttauy* II[74] and *Djedmutesankh* I (wife of *Masherta*) have taken the full formula that previously adopted by *Nodjemet*  *ḥryt wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn Rᶜ nsw nṯrw*[75]. *Isemkheb* I (wife of *Pinudjem* I and mother of *Masherta*)[76] and *Istemkheb* III held the simple title *ḥryt wrt ḫnrt*, which has no references to the god *Amen-Re* in the title, but its relationship to the god was undoubtedly known from textual context[77].

Furthermore, the formula *ḥryt wrt ḫnrt tpt n ỉmn/Imn Rᶜ nsw nṯrw* has appeared with the same meaning in the titles of the queen *Mut-Nodjemet* II (daughter of *Semendes* I and *Henuttauy* I and the wife of *Psuennes* I).

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[67] Papyrus Berlin Nº.10489, a letter from the principal of the harem of *Amen-Re*, king of gods, the noble lady Nodjemet, to the general scribe Kenykhnum. ČERNÝ 1939: 54.

[68] SMITH 1912: 106, Nº.61090, 76, FIG.2.
Lintel-Fragment with Queen *Henuttauy* II and *Pinudjem* I found in the south of the Great Temple. DARESSY 1897: 20 [CXLII].

[69] DARESSY 1893: 32; DARESSY 1897: 20; MONTET 1951: 99, FIG.41; KITCHEN 1973: 54 (IV); TROY 1986: 172.

[70] SMITH 1912: 106, Nº.61091/ 77-78.
For the Mummy linens of Tayheret (Deir El-Bahri Cache, Cairo 61091). SMITH 1912: 105, PLS.77-78.

[71] TROY 1986: 173.

[72] DARESSY 1909: 41.

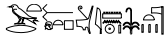
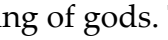
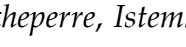
[73] DARESSY 1893: 32.

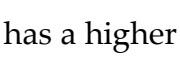
[74] On the stela JE 71902 from Coptos, see: KITCHEN 1973: 54 -55(v).

[75] WINLOCK 1942: 85.

[76] TROY 1986: 172.

[77] On a block from El-Hieba; LEPSIUS: *LD (Taf):* Band.3: 251h.

 (*ḥryt*) *wrt ḫnrt tpt n ỉmn Rˁ, nsw nṯrw*[78]; The Supreme Chief of the Harem of Amen-Re, King of gods. Then, *Nesy-Khonsu* (A) held the title  *ḥryt wrt ḫnrt tpt n ỉmn Rˁ nsw nṯrw*[79], which was also adopted by the princess *Istemkheb* IV[80] (daughter of *Menkheperre*, *Istemkheb* III, the wife of *Pinudjem* II) and the princess *Esitanebetashru* A. These women were associated with the term  [81]. Moreover, there were a couple of terms that completed the diversity of the title, giving it the same meaning.

- The first term was *wrt tpt n ḫnrt n (ỉmn*), (The Great One of the Harem of Amen) and it was between the titles of *Istweret* (A) (daughter of *Mariese*)(CG42210)[82] .
- The second one seemed to be more accurate and deeply significant in its meaning, or has a higher rank. It was  *ˁȝt wrt* (*ḫnrt*) *tpt n ỉmn* (*Rˁ*) *nsw* (*nṯrw*) (The Great, Great one of the Harem of *Amen Re*, king of gods) and it was associated with queen *Mut-Nodjemet* II[83].

VII. COMMENTARY

The first term used for harem woman was *ỉpt* (from the first dynasty onwards)[84]. It was closely related to the second term *ḫnrt,* which appeared in the old kingdom. The last term, *pr ḫnrt*[85]**,** appeared in the new kingdom[86.]

It seems that (*pr*) *ḫnrt* (woman, Harem)[87], which was mainly used in titles, took on the role of *ỉpt nswt* (Royal Harem) as a term for an administrative unit in the new kingdom[88] and was then primarily used in titles[89].

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[78] MONTET 1951: 164, FIG.60.

[79] MASPERO 1889: 712; HAAN 2019: 8.

[80] BUDGE 1912: PLS.10-11; TROY 1986: 174.

[81] DARESSY 1909: 135.

[82] LEGRAIN 1914: 25.

[83] MONTET 1951: 164, FIG.60.

[84] According to Roth, «the term harem (harim) comprises a conglomerate of phenomena, which can be distinguished as: 1) the community of women and children who belonged to the royal household; 2) related institutions, including administrative organizations and personnel and 3) associated localities and places, like palaces and royal apartments and agricultural land and manufacturing workshops. The so-called royal harem served several key functions: it acted as the residence and stage for the court of the royal women; a center for the upbringing and education of the royal children and favored non-royal children as the future ruling class; a venue for musical performances in both courtly and cultic contexts and a hub for supplying and provisioning the royal family». ROTH 2012: 2; YOYOTTE 2012: 1109–1122.

[85] In the musical-artistic accompaniment of courtly life, the primary meaning of the royal (*pr*) *ḫnrt* can be found. BRYAN 1982: 35-54; CALLENDER 1994: 7- 9.

[86] These terms are usually translated in titles and administrative documents as «Harem». HASSAN 1936: 204-208, FIGS.226-228; JUNKER 1944: 123-124, FIG.46; WARD 1986: 69-101; ROTH 2012: 1.

[87] Théodule Devéria was the first person who translated the word as «harem» according to 19th century ideas about harems. This interpretation, which is loaded with orientalist ideas, was adopted by other Egyptologists. Scholars and the general public have continued to use it even thirty years after having been proven incorrect, or at least highly inaccurate. This translation persistence requires more primary sources. BĚLOHOUBKOVÁ 2022: 2.

Firstly, the title *wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn/Imn Rᶜ* (The Principle of the *Harem of Amen*/*Amen Re*), which was associated with the queens *Nodjemet, Duat-Hathor Henuttauy II* (A), *Tayheret* and *Istemkheb III* in the third intermediate period, previously appeared as *wrt ḫnrt* (The Principle of Harem). At that earlier stage, it lacked a clear connection to a royal or religious attribute and was one of the titles of the queen *Ahmose-Nefertari* (daughter of *Taa* II and *Ahhotep* I, wife of *Ahmose* I and the mother of *Amenhotep* I and *Satamun*[90].

Later in the 19th dynasty, the term accompanied queens and princesses. Clearly, it connected them with the god *Amen*, such as *Tuya* (wife of *Seti* I, mother of *Ramses* II and *Henutmire*?) as she was *wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn n*[91] and the princess *Bintanath* (daughter of *Ramses* II, *Isetnefert* and the wife of *Ramses* II) *wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn*[92].

Apparently, there was a special function for the royal women in the cult of the gods from the new kingdom onwards, which is demonstrated in the title *wrt ḫnrt n* (name of a god or goddess)[93]. Thus, that can be applied to the title and all its variations during the third intermediate period, especially with the increase in the positions and ranks of the harem of Amen. This development reflects the growing power of the divine institution of Amen during this period (started in the late 20th and 21st dynasties) to the extent that the priests of Amen tried to concentrate the highest ranks in the hands of their wives in the early third intermediate period[94].

Moreover, there was a «natural» ranking based on the seniority from the 18th dynasty onwards[95]. Likewise, the range of titles in sources for administrative officials indicates the expansion of the royal harem[96]. That applies to the multiple ranks and formulas (*ḥry wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn Rᶜ nsw nṯrw, wrt tpt n ḫnrt n ỉmn/Imn Rᶜ* and *ᶜ3t wrt ḫnrt tpt n ỉmn/ỉmn Rᶜ)* during the third intermediate period.

Seemingly, *Nodjemet*, *Istemkheb* III and *Duat-Hathor Henuttauy* II may have taken *wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn/ỉmn-Rᶜ nsw nṯrw*, before holding the higher rank *ḥryt wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn Rᶜ nsw nṯrw*. Also, *Mut-Nodjemet* II was associated with *wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn*, then she upgraded to *ᶜ3t wrt* (*ḫnrt*) *tpt n ỉmn nsw* (*nṯrw*).

Moreover, either *ḥryt wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn Rᶜ* or *ᶜ3t wrt* (*ḫnrt*) *tpt n ỉmn Rᶜ nsw (nṯrw)* reflect the prestige of the highest rank of the title. This may be due to the fact that they were spouses and/or daughters of the High Priest of Amen or the king, as well

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[88] The Luxor Temple was referred to as the «southern sanctuary» or «southern shrine» not as the «Southern Harem». NAGUIB 1990: 193; BELL 1998.

[89] REISER 1972: 11-12, 77-78; ROTH 2012: 2.

[90] BĚLOHOUBKOVÁ 2022: 32.

[91] KITCHEN 1979: *KRI*,vol.2, 846.

[92] KITCHEN 1979: *KRI*, vol.2, 919.

[93] TROY 1986: 76-79, 186-187; NAGUIB 1990: especially 133-186; GOSSELIN 2007: 69, Nº.83.

[94] GABALLAH 2015: 14, 25-31.

[95] The titles lower than *wrt ḫnr* cannot be attested by their female owners and it is apparent that even local temples had *ḫnr;* therefore, it can be assumed that every local temple maintained this institution. For *ḫnr* repsentations, see: BĚLOHOUBKOVÁ 2022: 6.

[96] REISER 1972: 31, 74-75; ROTH 2012: 2.

as the mother, daughter, sister and spouse in the *Amen* cult's theology[97]. Alternatively, their desires to give themselves more value away apart from the relatives who had initially gave them the opportunity to join this status in *Amen's* institution.

Ultimately, there were *ḫnr* collectives for male and female gods, evidently connected to music and dance in the temple cult[98], which started in the old kingdom[99]. Those *ḫnr* can be recognized as «musical corps»[100] of the respective gods[101] and there is a kind of continuity of the title from the old kingdom to the third intermediate period[102]. There were many ranks such as *ḥryt wrt ḫnrt tpyt* (the Great One of the Musical Troupe)[103], *wrt ḫnrt šmʿyt n ỉmn-Rʿ nsw nṯrw* (The Principal/ Great One of the Singers of *Amun Re* king of gods)[104], *wrt ḫnrt tpt n Ptḥ* (The Principal/the Great one of the first harem of Ptah)[105] and *wrt ḫnrt n Mnw-ḥr sꜣ ꜣst m ỉpw* (Great one of the *ḫnrt* (Harem) of *Min*, son of *Isis* in *AKhmim*)[106].

VIII. GENERAL COMMENTARY

The socio-political situation in Egypt during the new kingdom and early third intermediate period had an impact on the traditional cultic organization of the Theban clergy[107], which in turn affected the traditional positions held by women

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[97] NAGUIB 1990: 247.

[98] ONSTINE 2010: 7.

[99] MÜLLER 1977: 815; NAGUIB 1990: 188 – 207; ROTH 2012: 2.

[100] Based on the study of visual culture, Nord defined the *ḫnr* as a group of performers consisting of dancers, singers and clappers of both genders, existing from the sixth dynasty at least. In the chapels of the old kingdom tombs, they are usually accompanied by captions for singing (e.g., *ḥst*) and lamentation (e.g., *ḥꜣt*). NORD 1981: 137–145; BĚLOHOUBKOVÁ 2022: 4.

[101] Therefore, it can be stated that since the old kingdom, the *ḫnr* (probably as performers) were responsible for participating in three types of rituals: a) those of the cult of the goddesses and gods. b) funerary rituals, where they were part of the funerary estates. c) royal ceremonies. BĚLOHOUBKOVÁ 2022: 4.

[102] In the old kingdom, they were depicted as part of the funerary procession. Also, it was connected with the cult of *Hathor* from the sixth dynasty onward. This is evident in scenes from private tombs addressing the topic of invoking *Hathor*. In addition to the title, *ỉmy-rꜣ ḫnr n nsw* proves a connection with the king, presumably involving performances of the *ḫnr* at some royal ceremonies, religious or otherwise. The participation of the *ḫnr* in the Hathoric rituals is also documented for the middle kingdom. The same institution was also involved in the cults of deities such as *Sakhmet*, *Bat*, *Wepwawet*, *Horus*, *Min* and *Onuris*. BĚLOHOUBKOVÁ 2022: 4.

[103] Later, new titles such as *ỉḫyt* (Sistrum Player) became opertional, where some offices like the Great One of the Musical Troupe of *Amen*, *ḥryt wrt ḫnrt* (*tpyt*), became obsolete. NAGUIB 1990: 17; ONSTINE 2010: 8.

[104] During the 21st dynasty, many queens were associated with *šmʿyt ỉmn/nsw nṯrw,* such as; *Herere* (mother of *Nodjomet*), *Henuttauy* III (B), *Tayheret* and *Istemkheb* (C). DARESSY 1907: 28, Nº.71; DARESSY 1909: 172; WINLOCK 1932: 82, Nº.71; TROY 1986: 172-173.

[105] of the queen Mehtenweskhet B (sister (?) of *Shashenq* I, co-wife of *Tentsepeh* (B). BORCHARDT 1930: 68.

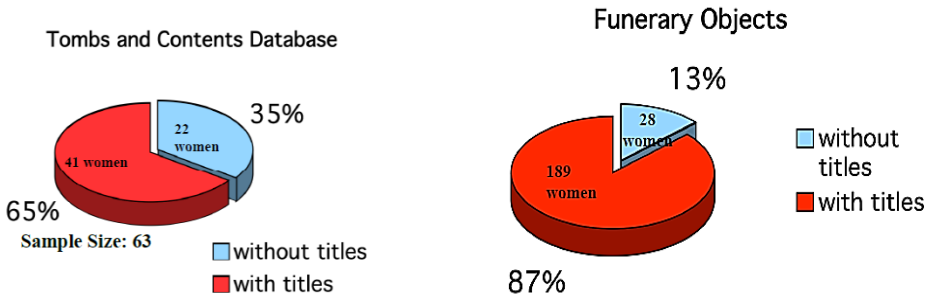
[106] It was the title of *Istemkheb* III(C) (21st dynasty). TROY 1986: 173.

[107] BREASTED 1908: 357-361; KITCHEN 1973: 3-6; GABALLAH 2015: 7-11.

in the priesthood[108]. As a result, feminine power arose in the form of god's wife of *Amen*[109], highlighting the dynamic interplay between tradition and innovation that defines the eighth and sixth centuries BCE[110].

This development of women's status can be interpreted through the dynamic system. During the divided era in the third intermediate period, the highest titles of the feminine clergy were held by women who belonged to the high priests' families ruling over Thebes[111]. These women served as the actual conduits for diplomatic ties bridging Thebes with other contemporary dynasties[112].

Also, the examination of titles held by the women reveals some intriguing patterns, intimately connected to the authority that a particular cult possessed in politics[113]. It indicates that women could generally hold a repertoire of titles[114]. The first title in a sequence was *nbt pr* (Lady of the House) indicated social rank[115], followed in some cases by *Špst* (Noblewoman). These were then followed by official titles usually associatedwith the *Amen* temple or other institutions such as *Wrt Ḫnr* **(**The Principle of the Harem**),** Attendant, Chantress, Singer, or Dancer **[FIGURE 1]**[116].



[FIGURE 1]: Shows the Titles Statistics in the Tombs, Contents Database and Funerary Objects. LI 2010: 40.

Obviously, these attempts to distinguish between the titles of queens and Theban women which were «real», «honorific», «regular», «non-regular», «administrative» and «ceremonial» titles? embody rank and identity. All titles represent a certain degree of honor since they denote a person's rank and prescribe how others should perceive them within a social structure.

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[108] LI 2010: 17.

[109] TROY 1986: 97-99; ROBINS 1993: 149-156; STRUDWICK & STRUDWICK 1999: 136-138; ONSTINE 2010: 8.

[110] LI 2010: 17.

[111] NAGUIB 1990: 247.

[112] GABALLAH 2015: 16-17, 25, 39.

[113] ONSTINE 2010: 7.

[114] It is interesting to note that men could hold many titles and posts, whereas women were limited to four titles and one or two posts throughout their lifetimes, due to the traditionally limited opportunities available to them outside of the home. Maybe this was an ancient version of the glass ceiling?, see: LI 2010: 39.

[115] ROBINS 1993: 99-104; ROEHRIG 1999: 13.

[116] ANTHES 1943: 36; LI 2010: 40 FIG.43; LI 2017: 105.

Regarding the patterning of the titles, it seemed that several females performed more active outside-the-home roles in Thebes during the eighth-sixth centuries BCE. The growing presence of women in public life, suggesting a corresponding increase in female prestige and status, was certainly linked to the institution of the god's wife of *Amen*[117].

IX. CONCLUSION

To sum up, woman titles are one of the vital means that reflect the correlating rise in female prestige throughout the third intermediate period. These titles were included in multiple formulas used by queens and elite Theban women to represent themselves in certain degrees and ranks.

One of these titles was *Špst***,** which appeared in three forms. *Špst/Špst-tỉ, Ḥryt Špswt* and *Ḥnwt Špswt*, in which the second title *Ḫnrt,* was associated with many rare or higher ranking terms, such as *wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn/ỉmn Rᶜ nsw nṯrw, ḥryt wrt ḫnrt n ỉmn Rᶜ nsw nṯrw, wrt ḫnrt tpt n ỉmn nsw nṯrw, wrt tpt n ḫnrt n* (*ỉmn*) and *ᶜ3t wrt* (*ḫnrt*) *tpt n ỉmn.*

Thus, this diversity in the forms of titles may be due to the fact that women were more concerned with clarifying their prestige and social status than emphasizing their gender identity. This suggests that women expressed aspects of their identity in more explicit and powerful ways than in earlier periods, possibly influenced by the unstable political climate of the time.

[117] LI 2010: 45.

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THE WINE OF THE HEAVEN *ĜEŠTINANNA*

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ABSTRACT

[EN] *Ĝeštinanna* is a Sumerian goddess known for her role as the loyal sister in myths surrounding the death of her brother, the young god Dumuzi. Their myth vividly portrays the profound human emotions of loss and grief. As a mourner, *Ĝeštinanna* longs deeply to reunite with her loved ones. Her unwavering devotion to her brother guides her to the thresholds separating life from death and light from shadow to be bound forever to the changing seasons and natural cycles, embodying the human experience of loss. However, she remains a mysterious and multifaceted goddess whose existence is intertwined with the fabric of ancient Mesopotamian mythology in various Sumerian texts, including hymns, myths and religious rituals. This paper delves into the narratives surrounding *Ĝeštinanna*, her interactions with other deities and the impact of her worship on the ancient Mesopotamian religions. It highlights the intricate layers of *Ĝeštinanna's* character by examining her name, significance and cultural context through textual and archaeological sources.

KEYWORDS: Arali, dream, *Dumuzi*, Galla, *Ĝeštinanna*, Lagaš, Ningiszida, sagub, steppe, vine.

[AR] **نبيذ السماء جيتشنانا**

نبيذ السماء جيتشنانا جيشتينانا إلهة السومرية عرفت بدورها كأخت محبة في الأساطير التى تتعلق بموت شقيقها دوموزي الإله الشاب. إن أسطورتهم تصور بوضوح عمق المشاعر الإنسانية والاحساس بالخسارة. كانت جيشنانا الحزينة تتوق بشدة لاسترداد من تحب. وقادها إخلاصها الذي لا يتزعزع لأخيها إلى العتبات التي تفصل الحياة عن الموت والنور عن الظل لترتبط للأبد بتغير الفصول ودورات الطبيعة، لتجسد تجربة الخسارة الإنسانية. لكنها تظل إلهة غامضة ومتعددة الأوجة، ويتشابك وجودها مع نسيج أساطير بلاد ما بين النهرين القديمة، في النصوص السومرية المختلفة، بما في ذلك الترانيم والأساطير والطقوس الدينية. يتعمق هذا البحث في الروايات المحيطة بجيشتينانا، وتفاعلاتها مع الآلهة الأخرى، وتأثير عبادتها على ديانات بلاد ما بين النهرين القديمة. ويلقى الضوء على الطبقات المعقدة لشخصيتها من خلال فحص اسمها وأهميتها وسياقها الثقافي عبر المصادر النصية والأثرية.

الكلمات الدالة: بلاد ما بين النهرين القديمة،جيتشنانا ، حلم، ديانة، سومر.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Ĝeštinanna, a Sumerian goddess known from the myth of *Ĝeštinanna* and *Dumuzi*, is portrayed as the loyal sacrificial sister, a role she plays in the myth connected to the death of her brother, the young god *Dumuzi.* In this myth, she embodies grief and the bitterness of loss for her brother's death, mirroring her deep devotion to him as she protected him. She willingly sacrificed herself, descending into the underworld in his place, facing its darkness and demons.

This goddess reached the height of her prominence during the Ur third dynasty. Several temples were dedicated to her across various Sumerian cities, including Lagash, Girsu, Uruk and Nippur, but her most renowned and frequently mentioned temple was the Sagub in Lagash. The cult of *Ĝeštinanna* was intricately linked with both her brother, *Dumuzi* and her husband, *Ningishzida*. She was known by different names: *Ĝeštinanna*, *[d]geštin-an-na*, *Bēlet-ṣēri* and *[d]be-let-edin; [d]mu-tin-an-na* [1].

II. SUBJECT

1-Names

A.*Ĝeštinanna*

The name *Ĝeštinanna. [d]geštin-an-na* presents great difficulties in interpretation. ***Ĝeštin*** has always been understood as «wine (vine)» and the name is translated as «wine (vine) of heaven/of the An». What was originally meant by *«geštin*» in the case of a goddess related to the shepherd circle?[2]. This name appeared in several forms.

A.*[d]ama-Geštin*

The term (*ama, um-ma; or um-ma*) meant «mother» or «wise woman»; in this context it may highlight the relationship between an old woman and her younger brother. *[d]ama-gešin (anna*) «Mother: Vine (of heaven[3])». Furthermore, the second name element (-na) does not have a meaning; it might be an extension[4].

*We read the name *[d]ama-geštin* on a clay tablet ED IIIb (UruKgina period) from Girsu (Tello), now in the Louvre Museum Nº.AO 04162.

Col. vi) *sag-[r]ub$_x$(EZEN×BAD)*[1]

Col. Vii 1-6) *é-[d]ama-geštin-na-ka šu bi-TIL [d]ama-geštin-ta kú za-gin-na-ni ba-ta-KÉŠ-KÉŠ pú-ba i-šub*

Col.VI) in *Sag*[*ub*] (**Col.VII 1-6**) «He ransacked the temple of *Ama-ĝeštin.* He took off priceless metals and lapis lazuli from the *Ama-ĝeštin* statue and dumped it [statue] into [the temple's] well[5]».

**It also appears on a vessel excavated in Ur (Tell Muqayyar), dated to the ED IIIb period and which is now kept in the British Museum Nº.BM 118594.

[1] CIVIL, GREEN & LAMBERT 1979: 79–80.
[2] EDZARD 1966 :299.
[3] RADAU 1913; FALKENSTEIN 1966: 73; SELZ 1995: 19; 50.
[4] KREBERNIK 2003: 159.
[5] THUREAU-DANGIN 1907: 58; KRAMER 1963: 323; FRAYNE 2008: RIME 1 9.9.5: 278.

1-6-ᵈama-geštin-ge-nin-nam ᵈam e-sal-ge nam-ti-la-ni-šu nam-ti dumu-na-šu amu-na-ši-ru

(1-6) To *Ama-ĝeštin*, Ninam, the wife of the (queen's) household, dedicated this (vessel) for her (own) well-being and her child[6].

A-2.*ᵈama-geštin-an-na*

The oldest documents from *Lagaš* is written *ᵈama-ĝeštin (-an-na)* and the goddess is usually mentioned there in relation to d *lugal-URUxKÄR* (*Amaušumgalana = Dumuzi*) [7] (see *Lagaš*)

A. We read this form of writing in an inscription of (En-anatum 1.9.4.2) on a clay tablet from *Lagaš* that presents a boundary dispute between Geirsu and *Geiša* (Umma).

v8. *ᵈama-geštin-an-na-[ra]*
v9. *[é sag-ubx UG₅-ka-ni]*
vi1. *mu-na-dú*
vi2. *[pú] sig₅ urₓ(BAḪÁR)-ra*
vi3. *mu-na-du₃*

For *Amageštinana*, her temple of *Sagub* he built and a well, with baked bricks, he built for her[8].

B.The same subject follows in the inscription (En-anatum I E1.9.4.8) on a brick, VA 2100. This is a record of the construction done in the city of URU×KAR.

iv 8. *ᵈama-geštin-an-na-[ra]*
iv 9. *[é sag-ubₓ UG₅-ka-ni]*
iv 10. *mu-na-dú*

«For *Amageštinana,* her temple of *Sagub* he built for her…the rest broke[9]».

Also, a boulder from the same period in BM 114399 records the construction of the storage for the god *Lugal-URU×KAR*.

8) *mu-na-dù-a*
9) *ᵈama-geštin-an-na-ra*
10) *é-sag-ubₓ(EZEN×ḪAL)-ka-ni*

8 – 10) and built her E-sagub for the goddess *Ama-geštin-Ana*[10]

C. A statue fragment with an inscription of En-anatum, kept in the Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale Babylonian Collection Nº.NBC 02520

ii 1- [ki]sal ᵈlugal-URU X KAR.ki-ka-ke₄
ii 2-*sá ì-mi-du₁₁-du₁₁*
ii 3 -*en-an-na-túm-me*
ii 4 -*ᵈama-geštin-[an]-n[a]-[r]a*

[6] GADD 1928: UET1:5.
[7] SELZ 1995: 20; KREBERNIK 2003: 158.
[8] BIGGS 1976: 33–37; SELZ 1995: 143, Nº.59, 226; FRAYNE 2008: RIME 1.9.4.2.
[9] SOLLBERGER & KUPPER 1971: IC6c; SELZ 1995: 20; FRAYNE 2008: RIME 1.9.4.8.
[10] SOLLBERGER & KUPPER 1971: IC6e; FRAYNE 2008: RIME 1.9.4.10.

(II 1-4) ... «He regularly provided the god *Lugal-Urubaś* courtyard... En-ana-tum ... for *Ama-ĝeštin-ana*[11]».

A.3 *ᵈgeštin-an-na*

1. A standing diorite statue by Ur-Bau,[12] with clasped hands found in Girsu, from the Lagaš II period and now kept in Louvre Museum Nº.AO 00009.

vi 4-8 *mu-na-dù ᵈgeštin-an-na nin* gu_2*-a si-a-ra-*e_2 gir_2*-su ki-ka-nimu-ʳnaˀ-*du_3

(VI 4-8) For *Ĝeštinanna*, lady of those who gathered (in the netherworld), I built her temple in Ĝ lad[13].

2. A limestone stand from Girsu, dated to the *Lagaš* II (Gudea period) and now kept in Newell Bequest Collection, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois

1-8 *ᵈgeštin-an-na-nin sag-*ub_3 *!ki!-ra -nam-til*$_3$*-*gu_3*-*de_2*-a -ensi*$_2$ *-lagaški-ka-*$še_3$ *-zi-kalam-ma zadim -a mu-na-ru*

1-8-To *Ĝeštinanna*, a mistress of *Saĝub*, *Zikalama*, the stonecutter, devoted this to the well-being of Gudea, king of *Lagaš*. FOSTER presents another reading of the title of Ĝeštinanna (*ᵈgeštin-an-na nin ka! kir-ra*) (To *Ĝeštinanna*, mistress of the Jar's Mouth), he clarifies that such an unusual title, *nin ka! kir-ra* must pertain to one of her traits, as a goddess of wine. The *kir*, «jar», may refer to a receptacle containing wine while *ka*, «mouth», may refer to its top part. The exact meaning (Mistress of the Jar's Mouth) may be interpreted as a sign of *Ĝeštinanna's* presence in the jar of wine[14].

3.Gudea dedicated three statues to the goddess *Ĝeštinanna* that had three almost identical inscriptions. The names of the statues were different, but the name of the goddess *ᵈ Geštin-an-na* was written in the same form.

1) The first of these three statues is in Detroit Institute of Arts (DIA 82.064) and is named (She who stood by the entreaties).

-The Right Shoulder

1-6-gù-dé-a énsi Lagaš.KI 1ú é-ᵈnin-giš-zi-da ù é-ᵈgeštin-an-na-ka mu-dù-a

1-6) Gudea, king of *Lagaš*, who built the temple of *Ningiszida* as well as the temple of *Ĝeštinanna*

[11] BRAUN -HOLZINGER 1977: 75; SELZ 1995: 20; FRAYNE 2008: RIME 1.9.4.12,185.

[12] De SARZEC 1884-1912: 2, 4-6, FIGS.7-8.

[13] THUREAU-DANGIN 1907: 61; SOLLBERG & KUPPER 1961: vol.1, 1C2a; KRAMER 1963: 327; EDZARD 1997: RIME 3/1.1.6.5.

[14] EDZARD 1997: RIME 3/1.1.7.91:174; FOSTER & FOSTER 1978: 63-64.

-On the Back

i 1-^{d}*geštin-an-na*
i 2-*nin-A(!)-dè-mú-a*
i 3 -^{d}*am ki-ág-*
i 4-^{d}*nin-geš-zid-da-ka*
ii 1-*nin-a-ni*
ii 2-*gù-dé-a*
ii 3-*ensi*
ii 4-*lagaš ki-ke*$_4$
ii 5-*é-gir-su .KI-ka-ni*
ii 6-*mu-na-dú*
ii 7-*alan-na-ni*
iii 1-*mu-tud*
iii 2-*nam-šitaX(REC 316)-e ba-gub*
iii 3-*mu-šè mu-na-sa*
iii 4-*é-a-ni-a mu-na-ni-ku*$_4$(REC 145)

For *Ĝeštinanna*, the *Mistress* who became one with the temple (?), the loved wife of Ningiszida, his lady, Gudea, king of *Lagaš*, constructed her temple in *Ĝirsu*. He made a statue for himself, called it «She stood by the entreaties» and brought it in front of her into the temple[15].

2-The second one (*Ĝeštinanna* granted well-being to him) is now in the Louvre Museum Nº.AO 22126, with an identical text[16].

3-The third one, called «*Ĝeštinanna* looked at him with favor», is kept in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen Nº.NCG. 0840)[17].

4-This name form also appears on golden earring(s), dated to *Šulgi* (Ur III period). It was in the Foroughi collection in Tehran and its current place is unknown.

1-^{d}*geštin-an-na*
2 -*dumu-ni*
3 -*šul-gi*
4 -*nita kalag-ga*
5- *lugal urim*$_5$*ki-ma*
6-*lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke*$_4$
7-*nam-til*$_3$*-la-ni-še*$_3$
8-*a mu-na-ru*

(1) To *Ĝeštinanna*, her child, *Šulgi*, the mighty man, ruler of *Urim*, king of Sumer and Akkad, devoted this (earring) for his well-being[18]. In more recent records, her name reads *Ĝeštin* (*anna*)[19].

[15] SCHEIL 1925: 42-43; PARROT 1948: 165-66, PL.15B; EDZARD 1997: RIM E3/1.1.7: 55.
[16] THUREAU & DANGIN 1924: 103-106; SCHEIL 1930: 163-164; PARROT 1948: 166-67; EDZARD 1997: RIME 3/1.1.7, ST N:56.
[17] THUREAU & DANGIN 1924: 103-106 ; FALKENSTEIN 1966: 74; EDZARD 1997: RIME 3/1.1.7, STO: 58 .
[18] AMIET & LAMBERT 1973: 159-161; STEINKELLER 1981: 78; FRAYNE 1997: RIME 3/2.1.2.62.

A-2. ^{d}*mu-tin-an-na*

Ĝeštinanna in *Emesal's* writing was ^{d}***mu-tin-an-na***. She was the «sister» of *Dumuzi*. In contrast, one of *Dumuzi's* names was «brother of the mother, Mutinanna». The «house of the youthful one of An» was her domain and resembled *ki-kal ki-*^{d}*Dumuzi*, Arali, where *Dumuzi* was the «lord» and where *Mutinanna* was «the chief scribe[20]».

^{d}*mu-tin-an-na nin$_9$ ú-mu-un-na-ke$_4$ amaš-ta é-da-ni*
igi-du$_8$ lú gal$_5$-lá gaba ri gid$_2$-da
ama ^{d}Mu-tin-ra gù mu-un-na-dé-e

«When *Mutinanna*, the lord sister, goes out from the sheepfold, a scout of the Galla-demons confronting her»[21].
The divine sister ^{d}***mu-tin-an-na:***

14 *nin$_9$ e-zu ^{d}mu-tin-an-na-ke$_4$*
15 *ka$_2$ u$_3$-mu-un-banda$_3$da-ke$_4$*
16 *sila da-ma-al-la ga-ša-an-sun$_2$-na-ke$_4$*
17 *sa-ni sur-ra-ni im-sur-re siki-ni im-ze$_2$-e*
18 *sa-ni bu-ra-ni im-bu-re siki-ni im-ze$_2$-e*

14-18- Your sister, *Ĝeštinanna*, by the gate of *Lugalbanda*, by the avenue of *Ninsun*, rends her sinews, pulls out her hair, tears her sinews, [and] pulls out her hair[22].

A-3. Ninazimua

In the Ur III period's texts, *Ĝeštinanna* is identified with (^{d}*nin-a$_2$-zi-mu$_2$*), the wife of Ningišzida in the god lists from the Old Babylonian period onwards[23].
She appears in inscriptions of Gudea from Lagaš :

1) [^{d}*nin*]*-izi-mú-a* (broken)
1a) [*a mu-n*]*a-iru*

1-1a) To *Nin-izi-mua*, [..., Gudea(?), ...], dedicated (this object)[24].
At the same time that she appears as *Ĝeštinanna*, the wife of *Ningišzida*, she appears as *nin ^{d}a-zi-mu$_2$*, which seems to be two names for the same goddess. Additionally, *Nin azi mu* appears in the death of *Ur Nammu*, where she is listed as «the scribe of Arali»,

126- *nit[adam]-a-ni nin (-) ^{d}a-zi-mu$_2$ -a*
127- *dub- [sar maḫ] dumu ? a-ra-li-[ra]*
127a- *Sb$_2$ [^{d}ĝe]štin-an-na nin$_9$ lugal-la-ra*
128- *[s]ipa ur-^{d}namma(-ke$_4$) e$_2$ -gal-(l)a-na ĝeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge*

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[19] UNGNAD & RANKE 1909: 94; RADAU 1913: 18,50; TALLQVIST 1938: 102; SELZ 1995: 19; Nº 16.
[20] RADAU 1913: 50.
[21] COHEN 1981: 84-86, 166-169 ; JACOBSEN 1987: 53-55; KATZ 2003: 131-133.
[22] KRAMER 1980: 7, 9; FRITZ 2003: 123–24.
[23] CARROUE 1981: 134; WIGGERMANN 2000: 368 § 2; KREBERNIK 2003: 158.
[24] EDZARD 1997: RIM E3/1.1.7.69 : 160.

126- To his [wife] *Ninazimua*
127- The [chief] scribe, *[d]enizen*? of *Arali*,
127a- *Ĝeštinanna*, the king's sister,
128- Shepherd *Uamma* offers as a sacrifice in her palace[25].

Ĝeštinanna is mentioned only in the version from Susa, with the title «the king's sister». In Susa's version**:**

94-126 *…x-mu$_2$-a nin$_9$ lugal-la-ra*
95-127 *…du mu a-ra-li-ta*
96-127*a- [d]ĝeštin-an-na lugal-la-ra*
97-128 *[s]ipa ur -[d]namma-ke$_4$ e$_2$-gal-la-a-ni ĝeš im-mi-tag*

94-97 To [... *(Nin) azi]mua*, the king's sister, [... den]izen? from/in *Arali*, [*Ge*]*štinanna*, the king's sister, Shepherd *Namma*, offers as a sacrifice in/ for her palace[26].

Both titles fit *Ĝeštinanna*: the first because *Arali* is connected to her brother, where *Dumuzi* tended his flock and was killed, and the second because she is already the king's sister in the sacred marriage rite. *Ninazimua* is known only as the wife of *Ningišzida*. She appears in god lists and literary texts from the early Old Babylonian period onwards[27].

In the Ur III period, she appeared in some offering lists from Umma[28] and Ur[29], where she also had a temple. She took *Ĝeštinanna's* title death of UrNammu list, indicating that their association was not limited to Lagaš and that in Ur, her cult existed under her own name[30].

Gudea made *Ningišzida* his patron god; therefore, the unity of *Ĝeštinanna* with *Ninazimua* might have been created in *Lagaš*, but that remains unclear. *Ĝeštinanna* was well known in Lagaš. Many Sumerian inscriptions mentioned the building of *Ama-Ĝeštinanna's* temple, *Sagub*, probably in *Urub*[31]. The temple was associated with that of *Lugal-URUxKÂR*, Dumuzi's counterpart in Lagaš. Accordingly, it seems that *Ĝeštinanna* was *Dumuzi's* sister, *Ninazimua*. When *Ningišzida* appeared as Gudea's patron god, the name *Lugal-URUxKÂR* was no longer viewed in construction inscriptions. However, it still appeared in offering lists, which means that the cult of *Lugal-URUxKÂR* was still held, but the cult of Ningiszida became principal in the Lagaš religion on account of *Lugal-URUxKÂR*. Ninazimua was *Ĝeštinanna*'s equivalent; as a wife and sister of the dying young god, both were connected with wine. Later, *Ninazimua* split from *Ĝeštinanna* and became a separate goddess[32].

The cult of Ninazimua might have been created in *Lagaš*. However, it seems strange that *Ĝeštinanna* was forgotten or worshipped under the name *Ninazimua*

[25] FLÜCKIGER-HAWKER 1999 : 123, II, 126-128.
[26] FLÜCKIGER-HAWKER 1999: 160-161, II, 94-97.
[27] TCL 15, 10: 303-4; CHIERA 1929:Nº .122, II- III 4-6,Nº.124, II, III 26-28.
[28] GENOUILLAC 1922,Nº.6053, II, II 6.
[29] LEGRAIN 1937: Nº.93:9, Nº.931:5, 1022: 4.
[30] KATZ 2003: 397-400.
[31] SELZ 1995: 20.
[32] KATZ 2003: 397-400.

because she was known and revered in other Sumerian cities, like Ur, where Ur-nammu presented her offerings.

41 *éš-gána-*[*za*]*-gîn gi-diš-NINDA* [XX]
42 *nital*[*am*]*-a-ni ba*[1 X] *Nin-* ^{d}*a-zi-*[*mù-a*]
43 *dub-*[*sar-maḫ*]*- a-r*[a-]*li-*[*ra*]

41-43 A tape rope of [lapis] lazuli of 1 *Ninda* length [. .] To his consort, *Nin Azimua*, the principal scribe of the underworld[33].

Later, the Old Babylonian god lists separated *Ĝeštinanna* from *Ninazimua* and *Ningiszida*. In the Babylonian god list from the Louvre, *Ĝeštinanna* occurred among the gods of Lagaš directly behind *Damu* and before *Ningišzida* and *Ninazimua*. However, the late mention of *Ĝeštinanna* as the «scribe of *Arali*» recalled the strength of the early tradition, which dominated the divergence in the Ur III period[34].

A-4- ^{d}*nine den*

The « lady of the underworld », ^{d}*Nin edin,* was the *sha-suk-kat* of «heaven and earth» *(AN u KI -tim)* or of «the great gods» *(ilâni rabûti)* and the «scribe of the underworld*»(ki).* She was identified with *Ĝeštinanna* and *Mutinanna* as Dumuzi's sister and recorded in the Great List of Gods from Fara[35].

A-5- *Bēlet-ṣēri*

Ĝeštinanna's Akkadian name was *Bēlet-ṣēri*, the «Lady of the Steppe» *Bēlet-ṣēri* was also the scribe of the Netherworld, as mentioned in the Epic of Gilgamesh. She was the wife of the god Amurru[36].

In the narrative of «***Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Underworld***», *Bēlet-ṣēri* appears as the underworld scribe:

203 [*áš-bat š*]*ar-rat erṣeti(ki)* ^{d}*ereš-ki-gal*
204 [^{d}***be-let-s*]*éri***(*edin*)*ṭup!*(*UM*)*-šar-ra-at erṣeti(ki) ma-ḫar-šá kám-sa-at*
205 [*ṭup-pa n*] *a šat-ma il-ta-na-as-si ina maḫ-ri-šá*
206 [*iš-ši r*] *e-ši-šá*{*DIš*}*i-mu-ra-an-ni ia-a-ši*
207 [*man-num-m*]*a-il-qa-a-an-na-a*[*améla*(*lú*)]
208 [*man-num-ma ?.....*] *ub-la*

203- [there seated the] goddess of the underworld, *Ereškigal*. Before her knelt [Bélét]-ṣéri, the scribe of the underworld, carrying [a tablet] and reading loudly. [She raised] her head, she saw me: [who] bring this man here? [who] brought [him] here?[37]

In the ***Maqlû*** incantations, *Bēlet-ṣēri* appears as a principal netherworld goddess who has the power to free the «oath» (*mātāti*) (Maqlû I).

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[33] CASTELLINO 1957: 19, 23.
[34] KATZ 2003: 397-400.
[35] RADAU 1913: 18; DEIMEL 1923, 1, I6, 12760, 3; KREBERNIK 2003: 158.
[36] TALLQVIST 1938: 102; LEICK 1998: 25; FOSTER 2001: 222; KREBERNIK 2003: 158.
[37] FOSTER 2001: 58; GEORGE 2003: 644-645; *GILGAMEŠ* VII [203–8].

50-59 én *akla nēberu aktali kāru akli ipšīšina ša kalîšina mātāti* ^{d}*Anu u Antu išpurū'inni mannu lušpur ana* ^{d}*Bēlet-ṣēri ana pī kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya idî ḫargullī idî šipassu ša apkal ilī* ^{d}*Marduk lilsâkima lā tappalīšināti liqbânikkimma lā tašemmîšināti lulsīkima apulīnni luqbâkkimma šimînni yâši ina qibīt iqbû* ^{d}*Anu Antu u* ^{d}*Bēlet-ṣēri*

51-59 I held the sorcery of all the earth. Anu and Antu have sent me, (saying): «Who will we send to Bēlet-ṣēri? Put the lock on the mouth of my sorcerer and sorceress, put the sealing of the patron of the deities, Marduk. When they call you, don't reply to them; when they speak to you, don't listen to them; but when I recall you, respond [to] me. When I speak to you, listen to me by the power spoken by Anu, Antu and Bēlet-ṣēri[38]».

In the Neo-Assyrian text from Sippar about the requirements for becoming a diviner, *Bēlet-ṣēri* is named the *šassukat,* literally «land surveyor,» of the great gods.

34-37- *la na-ṣir parṣi(garza)*^{meš} *šá* ^{d}*Samaš u* ^{d}*adad ana a-šar šá dé-a* ^{d}*Samaš* ^{d}*asal-lú-ḫi u* ^{d}*bēlet-ṣēri šá-su-kàt šamé u erṣetim mi-nu-tu at-ḫe-e-šá ana purussê(eš.bar) ba-ru-ti la (i)-ṭè-ḫe-e*

«Who does not follow the rituals of Šamaš and Adad may not approach the residence of Ea, Šamaš, Asalluḫi and Bēlet-ṣēri, the surveyor of heaven and underworld, the darling of her brothers, for a prophecy by divination[39]». But, a Hellenistic list from Uruk, which was kept in the National Museum of Iraq, placed Bēlet-ṣēri and Ĝeštinanna separately in the section earmarked to Gula[40].

B-Family

From the earliest periods, she was part of the circle of gods of Uruk-Kullab or *Bad-tibira*, of which Dumuzi was the Lord[41].

The goddess was most commonly seen alongside Belili as the sister of the Dumuzi and the daughter of *Turtur*, which was usually written as *Durx-du(Durdur*) in Eme-ku writing and ^{d}*Zé-er-tur* in Eme-sal writing. The writing of the name provides evidence of the nature of Duttur, the deified ewe[42].

In the circle of gods in Lagas, *Ĝeštinanna* was Ningišzida's beloved wife (see above Gudea's statue M, N, O.). The *Ningišzida-Ĝeštinanna* connection might appear from the link between both figures connected with the underworld. The construction of the *Ningišzida* Temple in Girsu marked the first time this goddess gained official recognition in the city. However, evidence of their union might emerge relatively late[43] and eventually, Amurru was merged with Ningišzida.

[38] ABUSCH 2015: 46-49.
[39] LAMBERT 1998: 149,152.
[40] WEIHER 1988: SPTU.3, 109.
[41] FALKENSTEIN 1966: 74; CARROUE 1981: 122.
[42] JACOBSEN I953: Note 14, 164; EDZARD RIA 1971: vol.3, 299.
[43] FALKENSTEIN 1966: 73-74, note 11.

C-Functions

The nature and function of *Ĝeštinanna* within the Mesopotamian pantheon cannot be clearly defined. Even her origins posed great difficulties to determine. Her functions were divided between two realms, Steppe and Netherworld, with her brother *Dumuzi*. She was the child of the divine ewe, the Turtu(r) and lived in a sheepfold. Her role as a scribe in the netherworld (*dub-šar*) might be secondary; the reason could be found in the second part of «Inanna Descended to the Netherworld»; this position might be transferred to her from another goddess[44].

In contrast to her young brother Dumuzi, *Ĝeštinanna* was a «mother» or «wise woman» (ama, um-ma; or um-ma). She was also a dream interpreter when she needed to help her brother Dumuzi; as a musician (nar én), she knew the songs described by her brother *Dumuzi*, cf.*Dumuzi* dream.

D**. Her Cult**

Ĝeštinanna was a venerable goddess in Sumer. She had numerous temples in Lagaš, Girsu, Umma, Adab, Puzriš-Dagn, Bad-tibia, Uruk and Akkad. She was also the patron goddess of *Sagub*, a small city located southwest of Girsu in the Lagaš-Girsu region. On some occasions, she even shared a temple with *Dumuzi*.

D-1-*Lagaš*

The first mention of *Geštinanna* in the pre-Sargonic period, at least in the official texts of Lagaš-Girsu, was from the reign of Enannatum I, who was the first to build her a temple, the *é-sag-EZEN X ḪAL*[45]. It began when Enannatum I made the god Lugal-*URUX KÁRK*, his patron god. He announced himself as the son born by the god Lugal *URU×KAR* (*dumu-tu-da-Lugal-URUX KAR ki ka*[46]; he restored or built his temples and appointed regular offerings. This devotion of the king of Lagaš for *Lugal-URUX KÁRI* was likely accompanied by the welcoming of *Ĝeštinanna* into the pantheon of Lagaš. The god *Lugal-URUX KÁR,* with his local name, *Ama-ušumgal-an-na*, was the counterpart of *Dumuzi*, the brother of *Ĝeštinanna*[47].

In Lagaš's official texts, *Ĝeštinanna* appeared for the first time two generations (at least) after *Lugal-URUX KÁRK1*'s appearance. The spelling used was ^{d}*ama-geštin* (Enanatum I E1.9.4.8); ^{d}*ama-geštin-na* in (EnanatumI.E1.9.4.12) and ^{d}*ama-geštin-an-na* in (Enanatum I E1. 9.4.2) and IM 76644V8 . The name later took the simplified form *geštin-an-na*, at least since the reign of *Ur-ba-ú*. But, the name *Ĝeštinanna* did not appear again until the reign of *Uru-inimgina*[48].

She did not appear in the lists of divine offerings and holy places during the principate of *Enentarzi*, *Lugalanda* and *Uru-inimgina*. During the reign of Uru-*inimgina*, the Temple of *Amageštinna* was destroyed following the victory of *Lugalzaggesi* of Umma

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[44] CASTELLINO 1957: 47.

[45] FRAYNE 2008: ENANATUM I E 1.9.4.10.

[46] FRAYNE 2008: EN-ANATUM I E 1.9.4.2; EN-ANATUM I E I-9-4-5; EN-ANATUM I E 1.9.4.8; IM 76644 II 7-8; IM 67847 II4-5; IM 5114510 14-15; HALLO 1958: 215, I6-7.

[47] CARROUE 1981: 124.

[48] CARROUE 1981: 124.

over *Lagaš*[49]. If the account is arranged chronologically, the EZENXḪAL building was the last building destroyed. The *é-sag-EZENXḪAL* temple's location in the official texts was among a group of sacred buildings not in the town of *Lagaš*/ El Hiba itself but away from it[50].

After the destruction of her temple by *Lugalzaggesi*, we no longer heard of the goddess *Geštinanna* nor é-sag-EZENXḪAL throughout the Sargonic period.

In the second dynasty of the Lagaš period, Gudea dedicated three statues (M, N, O) to *Ĝeštinanna* and (re) built her temple in Girsu. But, the traces of *Ĝeštinanna* in *Lagaš* were not very numerous. However, they allowed us to note that the goddess still appeared in the local pantheon and shed more light on the places of her worship[51].

A more recent text describing the destruction of sanctuaries in different places in *Lagaš* made *Geštinanna* the goddess of the place called *Sagub*. In the liturgy, «ni-nmal gú-de-de»Series, Tablet II, (K.3001), which can be read:

21-22-*[tür-sa]g-ub-ba ba-ḫul ama-mu-tin-an-na ku-ra*
21-22- «(The dwelling? of) *Sagub* is destroyed, where *Ama-geštin-anna* resided».This text links, Ĝeštinanna and *Sagub*^{ki}[52].

Sag-ub's location appeared several times in economic documents from the Akkadian, pre-Ur III and Ur III periods. So, we conclude that *Ĝeštinanna* was worshiped in Lagaš in specific places, depending on the periods.

-Presargonic Period:	*(é-)sag-EZEN XḪAL*
-Ur-ba-ú/Gudea, etc.	*sag-ub*^{KI} *gír-sukI*

Geštinanna had two sanctuaries. The Presargonic period only had one: *é-sag-EZENXḪAL*, whose name subsequently disappeared, at least in this form. In the following periods, we see the appearance of a temple in *Sag-ub/ubk* in the *Lagaš* /NINA1 sector. The centers of her cult in Lagaš, *Sagub* and *sag-EZEN X ḪAL* were located on the edge of the *Edin* area, which belonged to the City of Ningirsu[53].

D-2-Girsu

Several texts were about the temple and offerings, as well as the mention of a gudu$_4$ priest of the goddess in Girsu.

She had a «House in Girsu». *é-*^{d}*ama-géštin-na* «House of Ama-geštin» or the *é.saĝ,uĝ*$_5$, temple of Amageštin, which was rebuilt by *Enannatum* I[54] and violated by *Lugalzaggesi* as seen on a clay tablet from the *UruKgina* period found in *Girsu* (Tello) now in the Louvre Museum Nº.AO 04162 (Col.VII 1-6).

[49] FRAYNE 2008 : RIME URUKG. 1,9.9.5: 278.
[50] CARROUE 1981: 124.
[51] CARROUE 1981: 127.
[52] LANGDON 1913: K. 3001:73.
[53] CARROUE 1981: 129-136.
[54] STEIBLE 1982: FAOS 5/1, EN I9, I.IV 10; 20, I.II 10; SELZ 1995: 143, Nº. 59, 226; BIGGS 1976: 33 & 37; FRAYNE 2008: RIME 1, 9.4.2.

sag-ˈub$_x$ (EZEN×BAD)ˈ é-^{d}ama-geštin-na-ka šu bi-TIL^{d}ama-geštin-ta kú za-gin-na-ni ba-ta-KÉŠ-KÉŠ pú-ba i-šub

«In *Sag[ub],* he plundered the temple of *Ama-ĝeštin*. He bundled off precious metals and lapis lazuli from (the statue of) *Ama-ĝeštin* and threw (the statue) in (the temple's) well[55]».

That might be identical to the unnamed temple of *Ĝeštinanna* in Girsu built by Ur-Bau «*^{d}geštin-an-na nin-gú-a-si-a-ra é-gir-su.KI-ka-ni mu-na-dù».* For *Ĝeštinanna*, the Mistress I built for her the House of *Girsu*[56] and *Gudea* (see previous in Gudea. Stat. M, ii 5; N, ii 5; 0, ii 4). The term *sag.ug$_5$* is a variant of the toponym *sag. ub^{ki}*, near Lagaš, a location with which this goddess was associated[57].

** Also, on a tablet, a sale of a slave by Du (g)-ga-Ba-ú priest of *Ĝeštinanna* in Girsu[58].

D-3-Umma

Several images of *Ĝeštinanna* from Umma and neighboring cities date to the Ur III period as cults related either to the royal family or the places in which they were placed.

- *Ĝeštinnana-ama-lugal, Ĝeštinanna-lugal, Ĝeštinanna-nin* which means «Ĝeštinana, Mother of the King». «*Ĝeštinana*, of the King». «*Ĝeštinana*, the mistress». These epithets are from the Ur III period, where we find names combined with the name of the goddess *Ĝeštinanna*. It might be associated with offerings to the royal mother for the new moon. It might be interpreted as a compound name of the goddess, referring to the votive figurines placed in the temples that ensured the donor's constant presence in the temple and participation in the cult during his lifetime. However, after the maker's death, they continued to be cared for by the family as part of the death cult and now represented the deceased not only in front of the deity but also before the family, meaning that these statues fulfilled a dual function. Accordingly, the gifts for these statuettes also had a dual function: During the founder's lifetime, they served as income for the temple. After the donor's death, they also served as a funeral offering and thus satisfied the needs of the deceased. So, the name of the figurine can be understood as «the goddess *Ĝeštinanna*+ donated from»[59].
- *Ĝeštinanna of KI.Anki* was mentioned several times. *KI.ANki*, one of the cult sites of *Šara*, the main god of Umma, was located just outside Umma and was repeatedly mentioned in the context of the ruler cult in Umma[60].
- *Ĝeštinanna* of *Maškan* receiving offering :[x] garments (tug$_2$) for *^{d}Geštinan*-[na] of *Maš-kan$_2$^{ki}*[61].
- *^{d}Ĝeštinanna. Sl, A-tum* also received offerings in Umma. Her name was merged with *Ur-Namma's* wife and mother of *Šulgi*, *SI. A-tum* is a form of reverence for the royal wife and mother. The compound name *Ĝeštinanna-SI.A-tum* could be understood in

[55] THUREAU-DANGIN 1907: 58; KRAMER 1963: 323; FRAYNE 2008: RIME1,9.9.5:278.
[56] EDZARD 1997: RIME E3/1.1 .6.5.
[57] GORGE 1993: 140.
[58] GENOUILLAC, THUREAU-DANGIN & CONSTANTINOPLE 1910: vol.2, Nº.830.
[59] SALLABERGER 1993: vol.1, 44, 125–127; WEIERSHÄUSER 2012: 348; FRAYNE & STUCKEY 2021: 114.
[60] WEIERSHÄUSER 2012: 349-350.
[61] YILDIZ 2000: Nº.3485; YILDIZ 1993: Nº. 3509; STEINKELLER 2013: 401.

two explanatory ways that were discussed previously: either an image of *Ĝeštinanna* was meant, which was donated by *SI.A-tum*, or the name was to be understood as a statuette of *SI.A-tum*, which was consecrated to the goddess. So, it was either a statue of the goddess herself or the image of SI.A-tum[62].

- *Ĝeštinanna-DU. DU Ĝeštinanna* of *DU-DU* (city)[63].

-*Ĝeštinanna -Esusu* «*Ĝeštinanna* (of?) *Esusu*» name of town[64].

-*Ĝeštinanna-Du-Arḫatu(m)*«*Ĝeštinanna* of *Du-Arḫatu(m)*» a name of town[65].

-*Ĝeštinanna-e-bar-zagina*: from Umma[66].

-*Ĝeštinanna-kar BU-ka*, *Ĝeštinanna* of *Kar-BÙ* , sometimes written *Kar-BÙki*[67].

-*Ĝeštinanna ereš* «*Ĝeštinanna* of the *Queen*» an image of *Ĝeštinanna* associated with queen, or queen-mother[68].

-*Ĝeštinanna Ki'an* means «*Ĝeštinanna of Ki'an*» .. near Umma[69].

-*Ĝeštinanna-lugal-bata(-ab)e* Ĝeštinanna of the king of *bata(-ab)e* a city near Umma[70].

-*Ĝeštinanna -Nanatu* name means «*Ĝeštinanna* of (*Nanatu*(m)» in the Umma region, but it is unrecognizable. However, a *Nana-tu(m)* canal is mentioned in the Umma texts[71].

-*Ĝeštinanna -Pasirra;* an image received offering in a text from *Šiarrakum*[72].

-*Ĝeštinanna sag-UL*; a form of *Ĝeštinanna* was documented in the environs of Umma[73].

-*Ĝeštinanna -sud* Her temple is documented in Umma[74].

D-4-Adab

In the tablet from Adab, there was a mention of the goddess offering (One fat sheep for *Ĝeštinanna* month of the festival of Ninsun)[75].

D-5-Puzrišdagan

(Drehem). In Drehem archive texts, we find *Ĝeštinanna* in the lists of offerings.

**1 sìla ^{d}Ĝeštinanna pa$_5$ Nin-nun-na.*

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[62] EDZARD 1971: 300; PITTS 2015: 70-71; WEIERSHÄUSER 2012: 348.
[63] COHEN 199: 31.
[64] COHEN 1996: 31.
[65] COHEN 1996: 35.
[66] YILDIZ, WAETZOLDT, RENNER & OZAKI 1988 UTI 5, Nº.4983[I.O II 3].
[67] YILDIZ, WAETZOLDT, RENNER & OZAKI 1988 UTI 5, Nº.3485+[I.O I 17]
[68] SALLABERGER 1993: 1, 44, 125–127.
[69] COHEN 1996: 31.
[70] COHEN 1996: 31.
[71] COHEN 1996: 31
[72] OWEN 2013: Nº.348[R.1].
[73] COHEN 1996: 31.
[74] GRÉGOIRE 1996: Ashm/Nº.1911-229 [1.O IV 27].
[75] LANGDON 1922: 192, Nº.4, line 4 Ninsun.

1 lamb for Ĝeštinanna at the canal nin-nun-na[76].

D-6-Bad-tibira

A temple to *Ninsesegarra,* built *by Ur-gigir, son of* Ur-nigin *of* Uruk, called *e.šše.gar .ra,* «the House that was Established by the Brother[77]». *Ninsesegarra* is possibly Dumuzi's sister, Ĝeštinanna, at least at Bad-tibira[78].

D-7-Uruk

Ĝeštinanna was presented to Uruk later than other Sumerian cities and was revered there during the late Babylonian period as the goddess Bēlet-ṣēri, becoming a part of the city's pantheon. Bēlet-ṣēri was already well-known to the knowledgeable Uruki citizens from the Gilgamesh narrative and various exorcistic spells. As the counterpart of Ĝeštinanna, she was associated with the steppe and the netherworld. In the first millennium BC, she played a role in healing and fertility ceremonies, which especially appeared in Late Babylonian Uruk, concurrently with her role as the scribe of Ereškigal. Bēlet-ṣēri was not revered in either of the two prominent temple complexes that were constructed in Uruk during that period but rather resided in a special sanctuary[79].

- The sanctuary of *Bélet*-séri at Uruk, *é.du$_6$.Sag.gara$_{10}$*, «The House, Foremost Mound of Cream,» paired with *^{giš}kiri$_6$ dili. bad*, «the House, Garden of *Maštakal*-Herb», was known from a Seleucid prebend document[80]. The Hellenistic god list was excavated in Uruk and established Bēlet-ṣēri and *Ĝeštinanna* separately[81].

D-8-ḫibaritum in Akkad:

From Akkad, a mention to *Ĝeštinanna* of *ḫibaritum* and *ĜeštinannaTor.*

II-24. *ma-za-ru-um* [g]ú
25.id zubi igi-nim
26.*ḫi-ba-ri-tum-ma.-ka.-ta*
27.*ma-za-ru-um* libir - šè
28.*ma-za-ru-um* libir -ta
29.*^{d}geštin-an-na*
30.*ḫi-ba-ri-tum-ma-ka-šè*
31.*^{d}geštin-an-na*
32.*ḫi-ba-ri-tum-m* [a-ka-ta]
III-1 *da……- šè*
2-*da- ..... -ta*
3-*x..... - šè*
4-*x..... x-ta*
5-*Ká - ^{d}geštin - an-na-k a - šè*
6-*á [tu]mu - mi[r]-r[a-b]i*
7-*Ká - ^{d}geštin -an-na-ka-ta*
8- *ri-ig-mu-uš -kalag- šè*

From *Massarum* on the *Zubi* Canal above *ḫibantum* to 'old *Massarum'*, from 'old *Massarum'* to the *Ĝeštinanna* of *ḫibantum*, from the *Ĝeštinanna* of *ḫibantum* (R. III) to

[76] KAŇG 1972: Nº.172, LI 13[174], For more offerings, see: DE GENOUILLAC 1911: NOS.5482, 5514.
[77] STEIBLE, FAOS 9/2, 321.
[78] GORGE 1993: Nº.1044 [146].
[79] KRUL 2018: 78.
[80] TCL XIII 244, 3.19; GEORGE 1993: 87,113.
[81] WEIHER 1988: SPTU.III.109.

Da,..from Da to.., from to *'Ĝeštinanna*-Tor', from *'Ĝeštinanna*-Tor' to *Rigrrms*-dam, from *Rigrrms*-dam to the *Trnina* Canal[82].

D-9-Nippur

In the Babylonian period, in Nippur, we have evidence of the cult of *Ĝeštinanna* as Bēlet-ṣēri. She seemed to be connected to the Babylonian goddess Gula because she was recorded as one of the occupants of Gula's temple in Nippur.

16-17 ^{d}bēlet -ṣēri(edin) ^{d}sebettu(imin.bi) ^{d}bēl-ãli-ia ^{d}siraš ^{d}nin-gir-zi-da 14^{ãm} *ilù ^{meš} bīt ^{d}gu-labēlet-ṣēri*; the divine Heptad; *bēl-ãliya*; *Siraš*;*Ningirzida*:14 gods in the temple of Gula[83]. Another god list affirmed her in *Dunnu-sa'idi*, a town located between Sippar and Babylon and of which the cults were likely controlled by the temple authority at Babylon[84].

E. Ĝeštinanna in Literature:

Two different narratives depicted the relationship between *Ĝeštinanna* and her brother, *Dumuzi*. These narratives were collected from various sources and tablets and there were numerous variant readings and studies on them. The first narrative was called *the Dream of Dumuzi* or *Dumuzi and his sister*, or D*umuzi and Ĝeštinanna*, while the second narrative formed part of the myth of Inanna's descent to the netherworld as its final part. In some sources, it formed a myth by itself, titled *Dumuzi and the Galla*. Despite the differences between the two narratives, they shared a common theme, i.e., *Ĝeštinanna's* unwavering commitment to protecting her brother and her willingness to make sacrifices for him. Unfortunately, Dumuzi's fate was inevitable, as he fell prey to the demons of the *Galla*.

There were seventy-eight manuscripts of the composition ***Dumuzi's Dream***, which undoubtedly formed a crucial part of the scribal school *curriculum*. The myth began with *Dumuzi*, whose heart was filled with sadness and tears. He had a dream that frightened so greatly that it made him stand up in fright.
So, he called for his sister to interpret the dream.

19- *túm-mu-un-zi-en túm-mu-un-zi-en ninꝺ-mu túm-mu-un-zi-en*
20-*^{d}ĝeštin-an-na-keₐ túm-mu-un-zi-en ninꝺ-mu túm-mu-un-zi-en*
21- *dub-sar im zu-mu túm-mu-un-zi-en ninꝺ-mu túm-mu-un-zi-en*
22- *nar én-du zu-mu túm-mu-un-zi-en ninꝺ-mu túm-mu-un-zi-en*
23-*lú-bàn-da šà inim-ma zu-mu túm-mu-un-zi-en ninꝺ-mu túm-mu-un-zi-en*
24-*um-ma šà ma-mu-da zu-mu túm-mu-un-zi-en ninꝺ-mu túm-mu-un-zi-en*
25- *ma-mú ga-mu-un-na-búr* [85].

19-25 - 19-25 - fetch her, fetch her, fetch my sister! fetch my *Ĝeštinanna,* fetch my sister! fetch my tablet, professional scribe and fetch my sister! fetch my musician who knows the songs, fetch my sister! fetch my lively little one who understands the depths

[82] KRAUS 1955: 46-49.
[83] GEORGE 1992: 158 [I.16–17].
[84] GEORGE 1992: 222.
[85] ALSTER 1975: 98.

of things, fetch my sister! fetch my experienced wife who knows the hidden meaning of dreams, fetch my sister! I want to submit (my) dream to her» *Dumuzi* here recalled his sister in her role as a dream interpreter, describing her as a skilled tablet scribe, a musician who knew the songs and the one who understood the bottom of things. She was the experienced wife who knew the hidden meaning of dreams.

* And he started to tell her about his vision: 'In my vision, rushes grew before me, esparto rose before me. A lonely reed bobbed its head in front of me. A two-stemmed reed separated (one stem from the other) in front of me. In the woods, a tall tree stood alone in front of me. Water was poured on my glowing embers. The... from my splendid churn was removed in front of me. My splendid goblet was taken down from the nail from which it hung. My wooden stick vanished. A nin-ninni(ta) bird grabbed a lamb from the sheepfold. A hawk nabbed a bird on reed fencing. My goats pulled their shiny beards into the ground before me. My rams scratched the dirt with their paws before me. The churns were thrown on the dirt without milk, the cups were thrown on the dirt, Dumuzi no longer lived there and the sheepfold was abandoned.

Ĝeštinanna replied to *Dumuzi*: «*My brother, your dream is a very bad omen if only it didn't have to be explained! Rushes rose before you; espartos grew before you: Lurking bandits will stand before you. A solitary reed shook its head before you: Your parent's mother will desperately shake her head at you. A two-stemmed reed spread (one stem from the other) before you: You and I will be apart from each other. In a forest, a tall tree has stood alone before you: A villain will carry you away in a wave. Water was poured on your glowing embers: The sheepfold will be transformed into a silent house. The... of your splendid churn was removed in front of you, a bad guy will get his hands on you. The magnificent goblet was taken down from the nail from which it hung: It will fall from the knees of your mother. Your wooden (stick) disappeared far from you: A great demon Galla (you) will beat. A bird nin-ninni (ta) seizes a lamb in the sheepfold: (Coming) from the sheepfold, an evil one will fall on you*.

A hawk seized a sparrow perched on a reed fencing: Coming from the sheepfold, a great demon *Galla* will rush against you. The churns were thrown on the dirt, without milk, the cups were thrown on the dirt, *Dumuzi* no longer lived there and the sheepfold was abandoned. They will put your hands in handcuffs and they will bind your arms with chains. Your goats dragged their shiny beards in the dust before you: My hair will «wind» for you like a cyclone in the sky. Your rams are scratching with their paws on the ground before you».

Dumuzi says: «Sister, go up a hill, when you climb a hill, have your eyes wide open!», they come here for *Dumuzi*.

The venerable *Ĝeštinanna*, going out onto the hill, kept her eyes wide open [stretched(?)] her neck *Ĝeštinanna* to discover anything.

«My brother, the Galla demons who are looking for you will come here, hide yourself among the…*Dumuzi*, the Galla demons who are looking for you come here, hide among the..!»

*Dumuzi planned to hide from the Galla demon with the help of his faithful sister.

I will disappear among the little ones..., no one must expose where am I!

I will disappear among the great ones..., no one must expose where am I!

I will disappear in the ditches of Arali, no one must expose where am I!

She tried to assure him: «If I reveal where you are, may your dog devour me! The black dog, your shepherd dog, your dog, may he devour me!»
The Galla were after him on the way towards the sheepfold and the stockyard.

130. ^{d}ĝeštin-an-na-ke$_{4}$ amaš tùr-šè mu-ni-in-dab$_{5}$-bè-ne
131. id a-ba mu-un-na-ba-e-ne šu nu-[um]-ma-gìd-dé
132. a-ša še-ba mu-un-na-[ba]-e-ne šu [nu]-um-ma-gìd-dé][86].

They attacked Ĝeštinanna. They offered her a river in flood, but she did not accept it. They offered her a field full of barley, but she did not accept it. His sister wasn't ready to reveal where her brother was hiding, so they had to go to his friend, and they found him. They offered him a river in flood and (he)accepted it. They offered him a field full of barley and he accepted it.

«My friend certainly hid among the..., but I have no idea where»?
Without stopping, they looked for Dumuzi among the... but did not discover him.
«He certainly hid among the little ones..., but I have no idea where?»
They looked for him among the little ones..., (but did not find him).
«He has certainly hidden himself among the big ones..., but I have no idea where?»
They looked for him among the great... but did not find him.?
«He certainly hid in the embankments of the *Arali*, but I have no idea where?»
In the embankments of the *Arali*, they attacked him. Tears came to *Dumuzi's* eyes; he sobs: «In the city, my sister saved me, but my friend handed me over».

The demons put his hands in handcuffs, bound his arms with chains and surrounded him. They beat *Dumuzi*. He raised his hands towards Uttu, crying for help and Uttu accepted his tears. He changed his hands and feet to 'gazelle hands and feet. *Dumuzi* escaped from the *Galla* demons and took refuge in the house of *Belili*, the woman of experience. He approached the house of *Belili*, telling her that he was not a human being but the husband of a goddess. When *Belili* left the house, the *Galla* demons saw her and attacked him, put his hands in handcuffs, bound his arms with chains and beat him hard.

The young *Dumuzi* raised his hands towards *Uttu*: « Uttu accepted his supplication and changed his hands and feet to 'gazelle hands and feet». He took refuge in the sheepfold of his sister Ĝeštinanna. When Ĝeštinanna saw what happened to her brother, she screamed to the heaven, screamed to the earth. Her screams covered the horizon. She scratched her eyes, she scratched her face, she scored her ears and sliced her buttocks. «My brother, I will go round in the streets …»

The Galla said: «Unless *Ĝeštinanna* is aware of *Dumuzid'*s whereabouts, she is really frightened! She is screaming fearfully! The Galla went to the sheepfold. When the first one entered, he hit Dumuzi on his cheek with a piercing nail. When the second one entered, he hit Dumuzi on his cheek with the shepherd's stick. When the third one entered, he removed the churn from its stand. Then, the fourth entered and threw the

[86] ALSTER 2006: 19.

hanging cup from its peg. When the fifth one entered, the churns were thrown on their sides, with no milk, the drinking cups spread on the ground and Dumuzi was dead[87].

The second narrative of *Ĝeštinanna* as a loyal and sacrificial sister was strongly reflected in the final part of the narrative of ***Inanna's descent to the netherworld***, known later as ***Dumuzi and the Galla***.

She tried to hide her brother from the *Galla*-chasing in her sheepfold. When he was sentenced to descend, she sacrificed herself in exchange for his salvation. She was then destined to stay in the underworld for half a year while he stayed for the other half. This role played by *Ĝeštinanna* appeared to be one of her most iconic roles and characteristics. This myth might explain her presence in the netherworld as chief scribe.

«Finally, they (*Inanna* and the *Galla*) reached the city of Inanna, *Erech*, in the sacred region of *Kullab*. There, she found her beloved husband, *Dumuzi*, wearing noble garments and seated on a high throne. He was not crying, wailing and groveling in the dust on the ground with a broken heart for his wife, who was surrounded by demons and ghosts. Inanna got angry: She stared at him, fixed the eye of death over him and handed him over to the Galla, who were impatiently waiting for their victim. Once he was in their hands, they began tying up, beating and torturing Dumuzi mercilessly in preparation for his descent into the world of the dead. But Dumuzi tried to rescue himself by begging the sun god Uttu: «Uttu, I am your companion, I am the young man, you know, I married your sister. Uttu, you are a righteous judge, do not let me be taken, alter my hand, alter my form, let me flee from the hands of the demons, don't let them snare me, I will go to my sister Ĝeštinanna's house. Uttu changed his hands and form as a serpent of Sgakal and then Dumuzi went to the home of Ĝeštinanna. But, when she saw her tortured brother, she slit her cheeks, slit her mouth and tore her clothes, uttering a heartbreaking weeping for the suffering dear one:

«Dear brother, Dear brother, the boy whose days are not long … and his years …
Dear Brother, the young man who would not live long?
Oh, dear brother, the young man without a wife and son.
Oh, dear brother, the young man without a boyfriend and girlfriend.
Oh, dear brother, the young man who does not soothe his mother.

She had good reason to be sad for him because his escape was short-lived. They were determined to follow him to the end. They continued searching for the shepherd in the home of *Ĝeštinanna*», but their victim had flown off again. They tortured Ĝeštinanna mercilessly to push her to tell them where he was hiding. They said to her, «Speak, where is your brother?», but she did not speak to them. «The sky approached and placed the earth in its lap to inform them, the earth approached... it was torn apart, but she did not tell them... It spattered on her clothes, but...she…approached.. and worked for them; tar was poured on her lap, but she did not tell them…». When they did not find Dumuzi in Gentianna's house, they supposed that he must have gone to the steppe and hid there. They followed him, caught him, tortured him and were ready

[87] OPPENHEIM 1956: 246; KRAMER 1961: 110-115; ALSTER 1972: 55–57; ALSTER 1975: 98-105; COHEN 1981: 71-73; WOLKSTEIN & KRAMER 1983: 74-84; HOFFMAN 2004: 241-243; ALSTER 2006: 1-30; ATTINGER 2006: 69-71; ATTINGER & MATUSZAK 2015: 402-414.

to take him to the underworld. But his sister tried to save him for the last time by making the ultimate sacrifice – she offered herself to be taken instead of her brother to the Land of No Return. Inanna could not reject such sacrifice. But since she did not want to see the ungrateful Dumuzi get away with it, she determined that he should stay in the underworld for half the year and that his sister would take his place for the second half [88].

Ĝeštinanna appears in the incomplete context of the narrative of ***«Enmerkar* and the Lord of Aratta**»as follows.

632- *nam-lugal-ju₁₀ nin mul-mul-e ma-an-šum*
633-^{d}*geštin-an-na* [...]

632. The ever-sparkling lady gave me my wine.
633. Geshtinanna [.....] [89].

In the narrative of «***Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Underworld»,*** *Ĝeštinanna* appears as *Bēlet-ṣēri*, the underworld scribe (see previous).

Ĝeštinanna appears as a netherworld scribe also in the Old Babylonian incantations of *Udug-ḫul.*

Udug-ḫul Tablet 3

68-udug sig₅-ga a-zi-da-mu mu-un-da-an-gen-na
69-^{d}lamma sig₅-ga a-gub-bu-mu mu-un-da-an-gen-na
70-^{d}nin-geštin-an-na dub-sar mah arali šìr-kù nam-šub ˹kù-ga˺ mu-un-na-an-šid

68 -70 For the good spirit to go on my right and for the good genius to go on my left, *ninĜeštinanna*, the exalted scribe of the *Netherworld*, recites the pure incantation in front of me[90].

Udug-ḫul Tablet 4:

40- ^{d}*nin-geštin-na dub-sar ma[h .....-m]e-a*
41- *gìri* [**k**]*ur- ra-ke₄ nu-un-ku₄ -ku₄*

In the absence of *Ĝeštinanna*, august scribe of the Netherworld, no foot can enter *Arali*[91].

Udug-hul Tablet 15:

108-^{d}*nin-geštin-na nin lugal-la-ke₄ gìri-a hu-mu-un-da-ab-gub*
Let the royal sister *NinĜeštinanna* detain him en route[92].

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[88] KRAMER 1961: 108-109; KRAMER 1963: 515-516; FALKENSTEIN 1965: 281; KRAMER 1969: 118-121; ALSTER 1972: 116; JACOBSEN 1978: 48-52; KRAMER 1980: 303-312; RÖMER & OTTO 1993: 486-493; KATZ 2003: 32-33; FRITZ 2003: 106-07; PINTÉR 2022: 350-354.
[89] COHEN 1973: 134.
[90] GELLER 2016: 105.
[91] GELLER 2016: 143.
[92] GELLER 2016: 465.

Ultimately, Ĝeštinanna could be associated with the astral realm, possibly represented by the constellation Triangulum, which resembled a grape leaf. This constellation was located next to *Dumuzi's* constellation, Aries[93].

III. CONCLUSION

The Sumerian goddess *Ĝeštinanna* was a captivating figure in ancient Mesopotamian mythology, representing the multifaceted nature of life and death, fertility and aridness, the enduring cycle of nature and the agricultural cycles essential to Sumerian society. Through her role as the sister of the vegetation god Dumuzi and her descent into the underworld, *Ĝeštinanna* symbolized the bond between the mythical world and the human emotional experience. Her cult reflected the importance of honoring the rhythms of life, death and renewal. *Ĝeštinanna's* sacrifices endured as a testament to the strength of mythology that reflected complicated human feelings.

[93] FRAYNE & STUCKEY 2021: 113.

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THE ARCHEOLOGICAL REALITY OF THE PLACE
A STUDY OF ALEXANDRIA BEFORE ALEXANDER THE GREAT

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ABSTRACT

[EN] This paper examines the reality of pre-Alexandria according to archeological data, which indicate that there was an old temple fortress during the New Kingdom where *Atum Khepre*, with other gods, was adored. The researcher suggests the name of the place pre-Alexandria and the name of its temple fortress according to the inscriptions. In this research, I study some blocks and statues that were discovered in Alexandria, dating to the Pharaonic period. Although scholars, such as Jean Yoyotte, reported that there was no Pharaonic site before Alexander the Great, this study helps conclude the existence of a Pre-Alexandrian settlement. Recent archeological discoveries include evidence found underwater and beneath the ground at Alexandria. According to this study, we can know the ancient name of the location Pre-Alexandria and explain why it was a perfect place for ancient Egyptians to adore *Atum*. The research presents a new idea about exploring Pre-Alexandria and the secrets of adoring *Atum* in pre-Alexandria. I explore the significance of «Rhakotis» *and* «Raqoudu» to determine the name of the area before it was known as Alexandria. Furthermore, I investigate the different meanings between «Rhakotis» *and «Raqoudu».* Furthermore, the present research includes an examination of the temple fortress preceding the establishment of Alexandria and who lived there according to the ancient Egyptian texts.

KEYWORDS: Alexander the Great, *atum*, pharoahs, pre-Alexandria, Rakotis, Ramesses II, Seti I, temple fortress.

[AR] **الحقيقة الأثرية للمكان: دراسة للإسكندرية قبل الإسكندر الأكبر**

في هذا البحث نتناول بالدراسة واقع ما قبل الإسكندرية من خلال الحقائق الأثرية التي تشير إلى أنه كان يوجد حصن معبد قديم في عصر الدولة الحديثة، حيث كان يعبد آتوم خبري مع آلهة أخرى هناك. وتقترح الباحثة اسم المكان قبل الإسكندرية واسم حصن معبدها كذلك حسب دراسةالنقوش وسأقوم في هذا البحث بدراسة عدد من الأثار والتماثيل المكتشفة في الإسكندرية وترجع إلى العصر الفرعوني. وعلى الرغم من وجود الكثير من العلماء مثل جان يويوت ذكروا أنه لا يوجد مكان فرعوني قبل الإسكندر الأكبر، إلا أنه وفقًا لهذه الدراسة الجديدة يمكننا أن نستنتج ما كان عليه هذا الموقع قبل الإسكندرية، فوفقًا للعديد من الأدلة الأثرية التي ظهرت مؤخرًا أو تم اكتشافها تحت الماء أو تحت الأرض أيضًا في الإسكندرية ومن خلال هذه الدراسة يمكننا معرفة ما هو الاسم القديم لموقع ما قبل الإسكندرية، ولماذا كان مكانًا مثاليًا حيث كان المصري القديم يعبد آتوم هناك و سيقدم الباحث فكرة جديدة عن استكشاف معالم الموقع ما قبل الإسكندرية، وأسرار عبادة آتوم خبري في موقع ما قبل الإسكندرية، وسأقدم دراسة حول معنى«راكوتيس» والفرق بينها وبين «راقودة» لمعرفة اسم المكان قبل الإسكندرية من خلال الأثار المكتشفة ، وما الفرق في المعنى بين «راكوتيس» وراقوده ، كما ستظهر الدراسة حقيقة وجود قلعة معبدية بالموقع قبل الإسكندرية ومن كان يعيش هنا في هذه القلعة المعبدية وفقا للنصوص المصرية القديمة.

الكلمات الدالة: الإسكندر الأكبر، الإسكندرية، تحت الماء، العصر الفرعوني، ما قبل الإسكندرية، المعبد الحصن .

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I. INTRODUCTION

Alexandria and Atum before Alexander the Great

Exploring Pre- Alexandria

Many scholars thought that there was no organized society or settlement on the site of modern Alexandria before Alexander the Great –entered Egypt in 332 BC[1], who ordered Alexandreia and Aegyptum to be built. Additionally, this city was thought to have «never been the gateway of Egypt to the world, but has always been and still is a foreign metropolis placed by chance in this peculiar position»[2]. Although many Pharaonic blocks and monuments were found scattered in Alexandria[3], JEAN YOYOTTE[4] assured that, according to the inscriptions, most of these stones were brought from Heliopolis and Memphis, the center of the sun cult; they were integrated into the new Ptolemaic buildings to indicate an «ideological goal» of these removed objects, such as obelisks and sphinxes. At the same time, he presented many questions about «the problems of the Pharaonic Alexandria»[5].

The author concluded that in the reign of *Ramesses* II or before, there was an antecedent for Alexandria, which was named *Rˁ bḥdt* [6]. At this antecedent, there was the throne of *Re* «*Rˁ bḥdw* »[7] and a temple fortress where the god *Atum* was worshipped.

In the area of «Cinema Radio» at Alexandria, a grey granite block of *Ramesses* II **[FIGURES 1/A-B]** was discovered in 1994[8]. This block was decorated in sunk relief on both sides. On one side, the king presents incense to the god *ỉ͗tm –ḫprr*[9], which burns in a bell-shaped censer[10]. In the other scene, he is purifying water before the same god and, in return, the god gives the king the *ˁnḫ* – sign ( ) and the *w͗s*-scepter ( ), which is depicted as a straight shaft and the head of the *Seth* animal[11]. In both scenes, the king wears the blue crown[12], the ribbon-short kilt and the gold ornaments around his forearms and wrists. His dress indicates that the king was either on his way to or returned from war[13]. Both ceremonies were part of the daily temple ritual in ancient Egypt, in which the statue of the

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[1] HAGGAG 2020: 519.

[2] ALESSANDRA 1983; BRECCIA 1922.

[3] ABD EL-FATTAH 2003: 63-71; HAGGAG 2020: 519.

[4] YOYOTTE 1998: 199- 220.

[5] YOYOTTE 1998: 202- 204, 209, 218.

[6] For ancient towns named *Bḥdt*. GAUTHIER 1925: 27-29.

[7] For the translation. LESKO 1982: 161.

[8] ABD EL-FATTAH & GALLO 1998: 7-8, FIGS.1-7.

[9] HANNING 1995: 1193.

[10] OGDON 1985: 131.

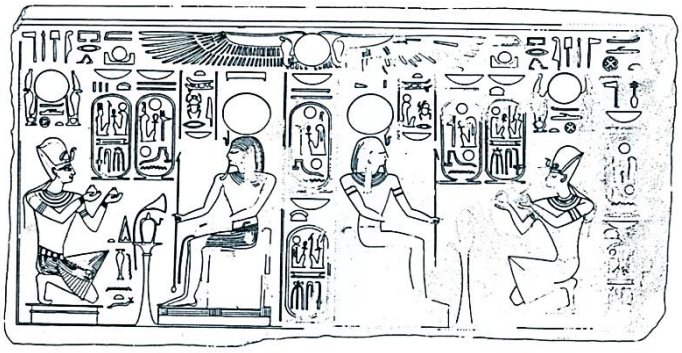
[11] GARDINER1979: 34, 40,504; 509.

[12] STRAUSS1980: 814-815, ABB 6.

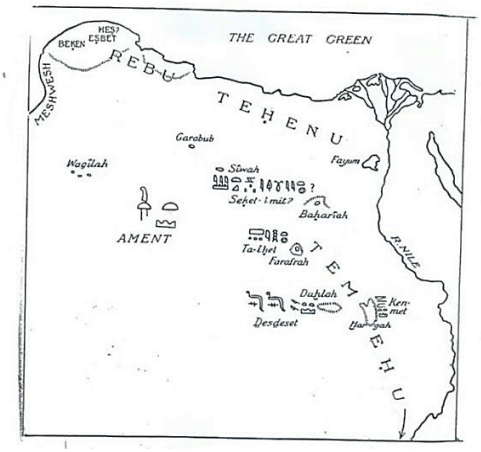
[13] Compare to the clothing he wears in the war scenes in his temple in Abu Simbel. WERSIZINSKI 1923-1938: TAF.181.

god was purified[14]. In return, the king would have the power of the god because he would smell the burning incense, which was the fragrance of the god[15]. In other words, King *Ramesses* II would have the power of *Atum Kheprr*, who created himself; his voice would be like *Seth* and his life would be protected by the Amulitic *ʿnḫ*[16]. All these signs helped him overthrow his Libyan enemies who lived on the Mediterranean coast west of Alexandria [**FIGURE 2**][17]. Indeed, he was able to defeat them[18].

[FIGURE 1/A]: The sketch of the first face of *Ramesses* II's block. ABD EL- FATTAH & GALLO 1998: 16



[FIGURE 1/B]: The sketch of the second face of *Ramesses* II's block. ABD EL-FATTAH & GALLO 1998: 16

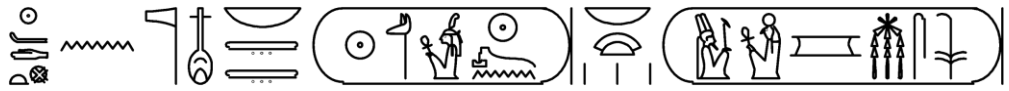


[FIGURE 2]: The distribution of the Libyan groups west of Egypt. BATES 1914: 50

[14] See for example the scenes in Abydos. DAVID 1981: 58-60.
[15] BLACKMAN 1912: 71-72; BONNET 1931: 20-25.
[16] PETRIE 1914: 14 Nº.30.
[17] FAKHRY 1942: 9; HÖLSCHER 1955: 60-61.
[18] See how he smites his Libyans captives at Beit el Wali Temple. ROEDER 1938: 3-8, ABB 2-4, PLS.15-16.

The author believes that this block is part of a jamb of a gate erected in a temple of *Atum*. This gate looks like another one in the *Rameseum* at Thebes [**FIGURE 3**], because it has two holes, besides which is a graffito of the king's name[19]. The holes of the gate were used to place two pieces of wood, similar to the block in the jamb of the gate of the temple fortress. The cartouche inscribed on this block indicates that the gate was a part of the king's temple fortress. The throne sign, *ḥwt*[20] means «Castle, Temple[21], palace, or administrative center [22].The huge of the throne means *ꜥ3t* ; with *Atum* seated on this throne, the inscription means *Atum* lord of *ḥwt ꜥ3t* (Lit – great castle)[23].

This great castle, I argue, was like the temple fortress that *Ramesses* II erected on the coastal road west of Alexandria in *Zawyet Umm El Rakham* (named *Hwt HApi*), El Alamein and El Gharbaniyat[24]. These castles were used by Egyptians against the Libyans. Many Egyptian gods, including *Harakhti*, *Atum*, *Shu*, *Ptah* and *Sekhmet*, were included in the temple fortress's decoration[25]. The castle or temple fortress was like the one featured in one of the scenes from *Ramesses* III's temple in Medinet *Habu Mgdr n Ramssw HqA Iwn* «Magdol of *Ramsses*, Ruler of On» = (as) Tower[26]. According to Labib Habachi, the temple belonged to *Ramesses* II, which was later seized by *Ramesses* III[27]. The name of the town, *Rꜥ bḥdt* , is inscribed on the «face b» next to the determinative sign «town» «*niwt* » and is protected by two uraei wearing the white crown of Upper Egyp, the birthplace of *Ramesses* II[28]. The cartouche-shaped *Snw* around the body of two uraei represented the idea «The king = *Ramesses* II -in this case -as the ruler of all, which was encircled by the sun»[29]. This town was erected by him as inscribed in the vertical line behind the king.



[*Rꜥ*] *bḥdt n nṯr nfr nb t3wy* [*Wsr mꜣꜥt Rꜥ stp n Rꜥ*] *nb ḫꜥw* [*Rꜥ ms-sw mry Ỉmn*]

[19] ABD EL FATTAH 2000: 8, FIG.7.

[20] As for the Hwt, see: BLOCKTHRON, 1977: 82-83.

[21] GARDINER 1979: 493, O, 6, 8.

[22] Since the Old Kingdom, the site was used as a palace or administrative district where the agricultural properties belonging to the crown, cattle, and workers, especially in unorganized places, or as the holy place in the temple. GARCIA 1998: 45-53.

[23] GARDINER 1979: 493, O; 8.

[24] HABACHI 1980 :13-30, PLS.5-7.

[25] HABACHI 1980: 29-30.

[26] HOCH 1994: 169-170, Nº.224.

[27] HABACHI 1980: 28-29.

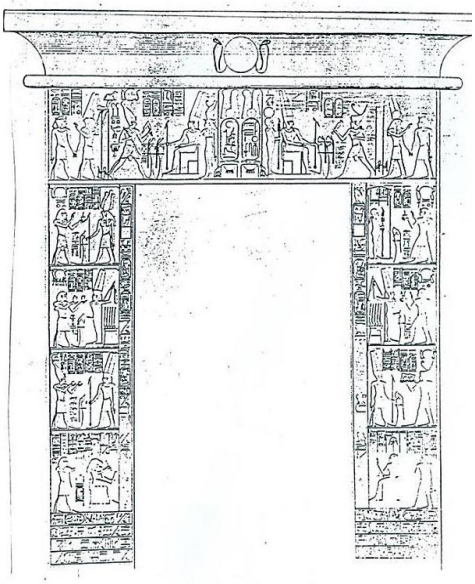
[28] KITCHEN 1928: 6, 17-18.

[29] GARDINER 1979: 74.

«The city of the Sun of the good god, lord of two lands [*User Maat Ra, Setep –n –Ra*], Lord of Glory [*Ramesses,* Mery *Amun*]».

In this temple, the throne of the Sun God *Re* [Ra bHdw] is inscribed on the face A. Where *ỉtm ḫprr nb tȝ, nb pt*[30]*, nb ḥwt ʿȝt*[31]. «*Atum Khper*, lord of earth, lord of the sky, lord of the temple fortress».

This idea is supported by a fragment of the obelisk of *Seti* I discovered underwater at the peninsula in the east port at Alexandria [**FIGURES 4/A-B].** The obelisk fragments include the titles of *Seti* I. Face B includes a phrase that reinforces my idea.
«Beloved of the Lords of the Great Castle *mry nbw ḥwt ʿȝt*, to the right, the god *Ptah* in his chapel entitled with «*Ptah lord of Maat*»[32].



[FIGURE 3]: The gate of *Ramesses* II at the Ramesseum –Thebes. LD.3, Bl. 167

[FIGURE 4/A]: The sketch of the gray granite block of *Seti* I- east port Alexandri. YOYOTTE 1998: Nº.747,

[30] See the inscription on the face b above Atum.

[31] This translation is my opinion on the shape of the throne and the god who is seated on it. As for the block throne, see: KUHLMANN 1977: 82.

[32] YOYOTTE 1998: 221–226.

[FIGURE 4/B]: The block of *Seti* I – in the «Roman Theater», Alexandria © Photo taken by the researcher

II. THE SECRETS OF ADORING ATUM IN PRE-ALEXANDRIA

The answer to this question is based on the geographical location of the place pre-Alexandria as a conception of ancient Egyptian ideas about creation[33]. The nature of Alexandria comprises two part. The island (Pharos[34], as mentioned by HOMER, Odyssey)[35] and the Mediterranean Sea. The author suggests that ancient Egyptians believed that this location was used for worshiping *Atum,* because the sun rose from the east part of Pharos and it set in the west, toward the sea and the Ras-el-Tin area.

According to spell 80 of the Coffin texts, *Atum*, the sun god, appeared alone in the «*urozea*», where a mound of land called «*Koms*» [36], or sometimes «*Benben*» emerged[37], *Atum* said «The Length of this sky belongs to my strides; the width of this earth belongs to my settlements (?). I am he whom *Atum* created and I am bound for my place of eternity. I am Everlasting, who fashioned the Chaos – Gods,…, I was alone with *Nu* in lassitude and I could find no place on which to stand or sit, when « Ô*n* » had not yet been founded that I might dwell in it, when my throne (?) had not yet been put together that I might sit on it; before I had made *Nut* that she might be above me, before the first generation had been born, before the primeval Ennead had come into being that they might dwell with me». Thus said Atum to *Nu* «I am on the flood waters, being very weary and the patricians are inert …»[38].

The inscription of the stela of *Satrapen*[39] which was dedicated to PTOLEMY, son of LAGUS, after 312 BC,[40] the (governor) mentioned a temple – fortress there named «*Rʿ ḳdt*»[41].

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[33] LÀSZLO KÀKOSY 1973: 550.

[34] This word in Greek means plow, plowing, which is used to indicate its famous lighthouse. LIDDELL 1940: 1918.

[35] The name of Aegyptus relates to «the river, or the sea and Agb». It means «a river and flooded land», see: NAVILLE 1917: 229; LÀSZLO KÀKOSY 1995: 3-5.

[36] DUNAND & COCHE 1993: 60 ff.

[37] BONNET 1952: 71–74.

[38] FOULKNER 1978: 83- 84 .

[39] BRUGSCH 1871: 1-10; NIBBI 1983: 69.

[40] HAGGAG 2020: 520.

[41] SETHE 1932-1933: *URK*.2, 14, 13-16.

ir.n.f ḫnw.f pȝ inb n nswt-bit (*mry Rᶜ stp n ʾImn*) *sȝ Rᶜ* (*ilks*(*n*)*idrs*) *rn.f ḥr spt wȝḏ wr ḥȝw nbw Rᶜ ḳd rn.f ḫnt* (*y*).

LORTON translated the above as «After he made his residence, its name on the shore of the *wȝḏ-wr* of the *ḥȝw nbw* being» «the wall of the King of Upper and Lower, Chosen of *Re*, Beloved of *Amun*, the son of *Re* Alexandros» and its *khent* (y) name being «*Rakotis*»[42].

Both LORTON and NIBBI considered that the only possible rending of *rn . f ḫnt* (*y*) is «its southern name», while (r) *ḫnty* means «to the south»[43]. LORTON considered that the new royal residence consisted of two separate parts the Greek city, named after Alexander the Great and a native Egyptian settlement to the south. But Rakotis, according to Prof. GOEDICKEM, means *rᶜ – ḳd* (*w*) « (that which is) beside/ near that which was built (i.e., *inb* «the wall» and the city inside it». LORTON suggests that this term's meaning is equivalent to the word «suburb»[44]. While HAGGAG stated that «the fortress of Alexander, formerly Rhakotis, was the Central village among other smaller villages in the area». HAGGAG added that the name Rhakotis as Rakote means in ancient Egypt by other scholars «the Horizon of *Re* «or» the Building Yard»[45].

On the contrary, the author agree with BRUGSH, who translated this sentence as *(r-ḫnty*) = früher,: former name) and *pȝ sbti* = means (die fastung)[46] or «Mauer = wall[47], rampart[48]. The researcher suggests that in this context, the word *r-*ᶜ may be used to mean «limit or end»[49], while the word *ḳd* means]wall»[50]. Because «*rᶜ-Ḳd*» is the name of the temple fortress in the place pre-Alexandria, I suggested a new translation for this part in the text. «After he made his residence (and) fortress of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, chosen of *Re* beloved of *Amun*, the Son of *Re* Alexandros, on the shore of *Wȝḏ-wr* = sea[51], of the *hᶜu – nebut*, its former name (was) the limit – wall».

According to my translation, the name of the temple fortress was «*end or Limit wall*» to indicate it as the last «wall» by the sea. The meaning behind the name of this temple fortress could also be connected with the sun – God *Re*. In this case, the name of the temple fortress could be *(the wall of Re),* where *Atum* was adored as an aspect of the sun god. It is believed that it was constructed inside *Rᶜ – pḥdt* = the city of *Re* where the thrones of *Re* were. According to this hypothesis, during the Ptolemaic period, the writer might have omitted the figure of the sun god and replaced it with a single stroke.

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[42] LORTON 1987: 65- 67.
[43] LORTON 1987: 67; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1972: *Wb,* vol.3, 6-11, 21, 306, 309.
[44] LORTON 1987: 68.
[45] HAGGAG 2020: 520.
[46] BRUGSCH 1871: 2-3ff.
[47] BADAWI & KESS 1958: 217.
[48] LESKO 1982: vol.3, 35.
[49] LESKO 1982: vol.2, 46.
[50] LESKO 1982: vol.4, 24.
[51] LORTON 1987: 68.

III. EXAMINING THE MEANING OF «RHAKOTIS» AND RAQOUDU

Regarding Rhakotis *rᶜ- ḳdu, rᶜ- kdt, r(ȝ) –ᶜ- Kdit,* as (siedlung = Der mauerbau)[52], or (la, Batisse, une bourgade de la côte mediterranéenne)[53], they don't directly correspond to the Arabic name (*Raqoudu* nom du Village prés duquel fut fondee par Alexandre)[54], whose stem «*Rkd*, means: the place of sleeping». «*Rakda*» implies the transition between life and the afterlife and «*Markad* means grave»[55]. I propose that the Arabic name indicates the location of the cemetery where the Arabians found the old cemetery similar to Bott's discovery in the Bab Sidra mound inside the Serapeum[56]. Subsequently, the Arabians founded their modern cemetery there as well.

IV. ERECTING THE TEMPLE FORTRESS PRE-ALEXANDRIA

I believe the temple could have been erected during the reign of *Ramesses* II or earlier, during the reign of his father *Seti* I[57], who engaged in battles against the Tehenu captives[58]. and presented them before the Theban triad[59]. As for King *Ramesses* II, he might have completed it or at least restored it according to his father's original plan[60].

King *Ramesses* II needed a temple fortress in this strategic area of Pharos to defend Egypt against his Libyan enemies. Perhaps the Sea – people, who were described as captives from Sherden in the Qadesh text, worked as soldiers in his army and fought alongside him against the Hittites[61].

ỉst rf spdd. n. ḥm. f pȝ (*y*). *f mšᶜw tȝy. f nṯ-ḥtr šrdn n ḫȝḳt ḥm. f in . n. m nḫtw ḫps. f sdbḥw m ḫᶜw . sn nbw ḏi.n. sn tp-rd n ᶜḥȝ*

«So, now his Majesty issued supplies to his infantry and Charoity (and the) Sherden warriors that his Majesty had captured, when he brought them in by the triumph of his strong arm, they being kitted – out with all their weapons and the plan of the campaign

[52] OTTO 1975: 134.
[53] QUAEGEBEUR 1987: 90- 91.
[54] GAUTHIER 1926: 130.
[55] IBN MANẒŪR 1955: 1702.
[56] ABD EL FATTAH: 2003, 65.
[57] Numerous blocks dated to *Seti* I have been found in Alexandria in land and sea excavations, for example, the Block of the *Seti* I, in the base of the Great Column of Pompey's Pillar. ROWE 1943: 32- 33.
[58] For example, the scene at the Hypostyle at Karnak, on the western side of the doorway. GABALLA 1976: 102, FIG.7.
[59] HALL 1986: 28, FIGS.45-46.
[60] KITCHEN 1928: 45-46.
[61] See the scene with the soldiers from Shereden in Abu Simpl. *KRI* 1928: vol.2, PLS.34, 42.

given to them»[62]. The Sea-people attacked Egypt again during the reign of *Merneptah* in his fifth regnal year (1220 BC). In the 8th year of his reign (1162 BC)[63], *Ramesses* II fought against Palast, Tjekker, Denyen, Teresh, Sheklesh and against the Libyans twice; first in his 5th year and again in his 11th year[64].

I propose that numerous statues and blocks representing the Egyptian king defeating their enemies were used as decoration elements in the temple fortress. For example, the quartzite base of a royal statue decorated with the nine bows was found on the southern coast of the east port[65]. This block, perhaps dating to the reign of his father, *Seti* I, symbolizes the King of Upper and Lower Egypt subduing his enemies[66].

Additionally, a red granite statue of *Ramesses* II seated on the throne[67], was found on the quay north of Custom House[68]. The head of this statue is missing, but it depicts the king wearing a short kilt and holding a *ḥḳ3* scepter in his right hand; the left arm and hand are broken off[69] **[FIGURE 5]**. Three columns of hieroglyphic inscriptions are on the left side of the throne. The first line reads.

→

ỉtm ḥḳ3 ỉwnw nṯr ᶜ3 nb [t3.wy] nb t3 – mry

«*Atum*, the ruler of Heliopolis, the great God, the Lord (two Lands) the lord of Egypt».

The Second Column.

←

nsw bity nb t3wy (Wsr – m3ᶜt Rᶜ stp – n- Rᶜ).

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of two lands (User *Mᶜᶜt Rᶜ, setep – n- Rᶜ*)

The Third Column.

←

s3 Rᶜ nb ḫᶜw (Rᶜ – mssw mry – ỉmn) . «The son of Ra, The Lord of glory (crowns/ appearances) (*Ramesses*, *Mery Imn*)». Under these three columns of inscription, there is another sentence inscribed.

di ᶜnḫ ḏt.«Given life forever».

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[62] SANDARES 1978: 30, 106; *RITA*.2, 11, 1.

[63] CIFOLA 1988: 275- 279; CIFOLA 1991: 9- 57.

[64] WAINWRIGHT 1961: 71; CIFOLA 1988: 277ff.

[65] YOYOTTE 1998: 226–228, 230.

[66] KEEL 1977: 167-169, ABB.28-29.

[67] The base of this statue was in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria under the Inv.Nº.S.R. 18005 (B), R.G.901. The statue measures 100 cm in height and the base is 98 X 49 X 34 cm. After I informed the Administration of the Museum in 1994, they removed the base of Pompey's pillar, where the statue is shown there.

[68] *PM* IV 2-3; LD.3, PL.142 a-c.

[69] ROWE 1943: 34- 35.

The names of the king were repeatedly inscribed on the right side of the throne and the back of the statue. They referred to the king in terms of *Atum*, the ruler of Heliopolis, the great god, the lord of heaven and earth[70].

The Nine bows, which referred to the enemies of Egypt, were inscribed at the front of the base under the feet of the King. Additionally, four captives were depicted: two Libyans and two Nubians tied to the heraldic plants «Papyrus and Louts» around the sign *sm3* (united)[71]. These motifs gave the king the magical power to overthrow his enemies[72] and symbolized the concept of subduing the nine bows, binding the *dm3*, and casting *ḫtb* under the soles of the King so that he might step *ptpt* and *titi* crush them[73].

Additional fragments of statues dating to *Merneptah* were discovered, suggesting that he used the temple fortress during his wars against the Sea people and the Libyans[74]. These fragments were found scattered on land[75] and underwater[76] in various locations throughout Alexandria. Many statues of the goddess *Sekhmet*, the ancient Egyptian goddess of war, were discovered in Alexandria[77], as well[78].

The author believes that the officials who worked at this temple fortress might have erected statues of themselves. For example, a fragment of the statue belonging to an official who served as the «Overseer of the royal scribes of the cavaliers of south and north» during the reign of *Psamtik* I was found[79].

[FIGURE 5]: The granite statue of *Ramesses* II – front view. LD.3, Bl. 142, a.

[70] This inscription is now mostly damaged. ROWE 1943: 34- 35.

[71] GOEDICKE 1985: 307-324.

[72] SLIWA 1974: 115-116.

[73] HONUNG 1957: 121-123, 127.

[74] BARNETT 1975: 366-367; SANDARES 1978: 105-107.

[75] ABDEL FATTAH & GALLO 1998: 9, FIGS.9-13.

[76] Under the water in the east port was found a part of the base of *Merneptah* with his title which assured he is the King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of two lands, beloved of the Gods. YOYOTTE 1998: 230-234.

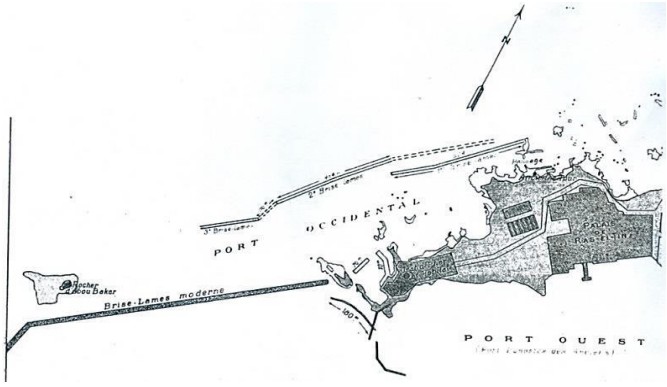
[77] Two other statues are now in the Khartum square since 1898. GAUTHIER 1920: 181, 129, 70.

[78] One of these statues was discovered in *Šarīf Pāšā* St. in 1892. ABDEL FATTAH 2000: 67, FIG.2.
Another one was found by Pompey's Pillar, now in the Cairo Egyptian Museum Nº.CG 39067. DARESSY 1906: 266; Porter & Moss 1968: *PM*, vol.4, 3.

[79] This fragment was found in the *Smūḥa* area in 1986, now in the Greco-Roman Museum. ABD EL– FATTAH & GALLO 1998: 10- 11.

V. THE LOCATION OF THE TEMPLE FORTRESS IN PRE - PRE-ALEXANDRIA

The author suggested that the temple fortress was not far from the ancient port, which was discovered by G. JONDET in 1912. The ancient port is now underwater[80], opposite the western extremity of the island of Pharos and 2360 m to the west where the big rock called Abu Bakkar is[81] [**FIGURE 6**]. So, the temple fortress was perhaps near Ras El Tin Palace[82] or was built on the opposite side of Qa'it-Bey[83].



[FIGURE 6]: The ancient port of pharos as drawn by JONDET 1910: 26.

VI. CONCLUSION

This paper proposes that during or before the reign of *Ramesses* II, there was a town named *Rꜥ ṗḥdt* in the current site of Alexandria. The throne of *Rꜥ ṗḥdw* was there, and the name of its temple fortress was *Rꜥ ḳdt,* which is translated to (last wall) or (the wall of the sun God *Ra*). This temple fortress might have been built by Ramesses II or perhaps by his father, *Seti* I, who began the erection and never completed it. Instead, his son completed it along with his father's other monuments.

The researcher believes that the disappearance of this ancient site could be attributed to various factors, including earthquakes, wars[84], the removal of monuments from Egypt[85], and the construction of Alexandria in the same location where the older town once stood[86]. These factors collectively led to the loss of Alexandria's historical importance. Because of its strategic importance, MOHAMED ALI and his successors built several forts on its land to defend Egypt[87]. It is possible that they also disposed of numerous columns and monuments in the sea to make way for their forts and palaces.

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[80] The harbors may be older in date than the city of Alexandria. HAGGAG 2020: 532.

[81] JONDET 1910: 1-15; JONDET 1916: 70ff.

[82] The façade of the palace has a number of huge Granite columns as architectural elements, whose original place is Absent. It could be that these columns were in situ and used after that as decoration elements in this palace.

[83] Blocks, sculptures and huge granite beams were found underwater around Qāitbāy, which I think could be used as architectural elements in the ancient Fortress. However, YOYOTTE mentioned that the beams were «recuperated by the builders in the temple of Heliopolis and re-employed for the framework of the doors and windows of the lighthouse». YOYOTTE 1998: 203-204.

[84] MOSTAFA, GRIMAL & NAKASHIME 2000: 23-24.

[85] GODDIO & DARWASH 1998: 10, 11, PL.16-17.

[86] BRECCIA 1922: 1-22.

[87] TOUSSON 1941: 20- 26.

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THE NEGATIVE INTERROGATIVE IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE

BY

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ABSTRACT

[EN] The article explores the «negative/denial interrogative» form in Middle Egyptian, Late Egyptian and Coptic, which is a rhetorical form attested in Egyptian and Coptic literary texts and the Scripture. Rhetorical questions are emphatic assertions or negations that come in the disguise of a question, when a rhetorical question is formulated in the negative it is in fact an emphatic affirmative assertion. Depending on the notation, the negative interrogative formula can be read as either a statement or a question. The negative interrogative formula was formed by means of the interrogative particles as is and negative particles, essentially bn. It was formed in various ways in Coptic; among others by using the negation form of the First Perfect, or by the use of interrogative particles, such as ⲙⲏ and ⲉⲓⲉ and negative particles as ⲁⲛ.

KEYWORDS: Coptic, formula, interrogative, late Egyptian, middle Egyptian, negative, particle, rhetorical questions.

[AR] **الاستفهام المنفي في اللغة المصرية القديمة**

يناقش هذا المقال ما يمكن أن يسمى بصيغة «الاستفهام الاستنكاري/المنفى» في اللغة المصرية القديمة في العصر الوسيط والمتأخر والقبطية، وطرق التعبير عنه من خلال النصوص الأدبية المصرية والقبطية والكتاب المقدس. الأسئلة البلاغية هي تأكيدات أو نفي مؤكدة تأتي في شكل سؤال، ولا ينتظر إجابة. فعندما يتم صياغة السؤال البلاغي في حالة النفي فهو في الواقع تأكيد إيجابي، وعندما يتم صياغة السؤال البلاغي في صيغة الإثبات، فهو في الواقع إنكار مؤكد. يمكن قراءة صيغة الاستفهام الاستنكاري إما على أنها جملة أو سؤال اعتمادًا على نغمة الصوت. تشكلت صيغة الاستفهام الاستنكاري في اللغة المصرية القديمة في العصر الوسيط والمتأخر بأدوات النفي أهمها bn، وأدوات الاستفهام مثل is. وفى القبطية بطرق مختلفة؛ من بينها صيغة نفي زمن الماضي التام الأول، أو باستخدام أدوات استفهام، مثل ⲙⲏ، ⲉⲓⲉ مع أدوات النفي مثل ⲁⲛ.

الكلمات الدالة: استفهام، سؤال بلاغى صيغة،القبطية،المصرية في العصر المتأخر، المصرية في العصر الوسيط، نفى.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The present article examines what can be labeled as the «denial/negative interrogative» form in the ancient Egyptian language, especially in Middle Egyptian, Late Egyptian and Coptic. This form is attested in literary texts in particular. It is called the denial or negative interrogative formula because its intention is not to inquire but rather to negate and deny; the question posed is negated. It is rhetorical in nature, thus requiring no answer, or it anticipates a negative response.

Rhetorical questions are emphatic assertions or negations that come in the disguise of a question. Specifically, when a rhetorical question is formulated in the negative it is in fact an emphatic affirmative assertion. Its function is not to deny or negate. On the other hand, when a rhetorical question is formulated in the affirmative, it is in fact an emphatic negation. Such is the situation in Middle Egyptian, as already stated by GARDINER: «*A question may be effective means of making a negative statement of denial; such questions we call rhetorical questions*». Sentences that are questions only in form, but not in meaning are also called rhetorical questions[1]. It will be proven that the denial interrogative phrase as such possesses the characteristics of a statement that extends beyond a grammatical structure; it means: does not? did not? is not?

REINTGES said, «*Unlike the information-seeking questions so-called rhetorical questions are never uttered with the purpose of being answered but rather are declarative statements in disguise, i.e. interrogative sentences that are not used for the purpose of triggering a response...*». Used three interrogative particles ⲉⲛⲉ, ⲉⲓⲉ, ⲙⲏ, which are in initial position and used in forming yes/no questions, indicate not only the interrogative force of the clause within their scope but also serve various rhetorical purposes[2].

This article is structured as follows. Section 2 presents the relevant constructions in pre-Coptic Egyptian, respectively Middle Egyptian (subsection 2.1) and Late Egyptian (subsection 2.2.). Section 3 is devoted to Coptic. Subsection 3.1 discusses the negative interrogation structure formed by the negative form of the First Perfect, ⲙⲡⲉ/ⲙⲡ. Furthermore, Subsequently, there are many numerous primary variants of this construction in generating the negative interrogation structure presented, employing a few specific interrogative particles or question markers. Subsections 3.2.1 through 3.2.8 discuss the constructions with the particle ⲙⲏ, with or without the interrogative negative particle ⲁⲛ; subsections 3.3.1 through 3.3.5, the constructions with the particle ⲉⲓⲉ; subsections 3.4.1 through 3.4.4, diverse constructions with the interrogative particles ⲉⲛⲉ (S)1 or ⲁⲛ (B) and subsections 3.5.1 through 3.5.5 the remaining constructions. Section 4 contains the summary of the main findings.

II. CONSTRUCTING THE NEGATIVE INTERROGATIVE IN PRE-COPTIC EGYPTIAN

There are two types of questions; genuine and rhetorical. The negative interrogative formula was formed by means of the interrogative particles and negative particles, essentially the particle *bn*: *ỉn bn dpt n kmt* «Is it not an Egyptian ship?[3]. *bn ntk sẖ ḥw n ṯḥty*» Are you not a scribe of Thoth?[4]. In addition to the particles *nn* and *n*: *nn rf*

[1] GARDINER 1957: 401.
[2] REINTGES 2004: 150-151.
[3] *Wen*, IX, 22.
[4] *Bol*.1094, 10, 1. EDRIS 2016: 104.

ṯs.tw ỉm .f «Is he not to be rebuked?» *n ḏw=s js r=j n jp.n=k* «Is it not bad for me then that you cannot be prudent?»[5].

The particle *ỉs* and its variants are used to ask questions, most often rhetorical, in a formal style[6]. Next, the double particle *ỉs-bn*[7] which consists of the interrogative particle *ỉs* and the negative particle *bn* in Late Egyptian. *ỉs-bn* precedes nominal forms, unlike the article *ỉs-bw*, which comes at the beginning of sentences, Thes particles are used to form «rhetorical questions» *ỉs-bn wn m-dỉ.k sšw qnw - ḫr wn m-dỉ.k šmsw qnw sp-sn* 'Have you not got numerous scribes and - have you not got numerous servants?'[8].

Erman indicated that *ỉs-bn* can precede verbal forms, as in two examples from the Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of *Ramses* II*; ỉs-bn šm .n .ỉ ʿḥʿ .n .ỉ ḫr r*(*ɜ*) *.k* «Didn't I walk and not stop (at) your talk?»[9]. *ỉs-bn ỉry.ỉ n.k mnw ʿšɜw wrt* «Have I not made for you many great monuments?»[10].

This form is meant to demonstrate the predicate and show that the speaker is not interested in receiving a response. Alternatively, the addressee agrees with what the speaker is requesting and the speaker frequently requires an affirmative or negative response from the addressee[11], as in the following examples; *ỉn nn ỉw.ỉ r mɜ.k* «Shall I not see you?»[12]. *ḫr tɜy.k ḥmt m dỉ m sḫr n mwt.ỉ ỉs bn ỉr m* «Your wife is just like a mother to me, isn't it so?»[13].

The Dispute between a Man and his Ba in Berlin Papyrus **Nº.3024**; *ḏd.t .n .ỉ bɜ .ỉ n ntk ỉs s* What my *ba* said to me: «Are you not a man?»[14] By means of 𓈖 *n* as a negative particle and the interrogative particle *is*. Sometimes by means of the negative particle *n* only followed by the verbal unit; *n gm .n .ỉ .ṯ* «Did I not find you?» *n ḫr tɜ* «Has not the land fallen?»[15].

ỉn ỉw n ḳbḥ ỉb n ḥm .k m nn ỉr .n .k r .ỉ «Is not the heart of Your Majesty cooled by these things that you have done to me?»[16] Sometimes, the context shows clearly the rhetorical question without an interrogative morpheme*: ỉr pɜ ḥqɜ n kmt pɜ nb n pɜy.ỉ* «As for the ruler of Egypt, is he the master of my property?»[17].

III. CONSTRUCTING THE NEGATIVE INTERROGATIVE IN COPTIC

1. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ/ⲙ̄ⲡ- Negation form of First Perfect

Already CRUM in his dictionary pointed out that ⲙⲡⲉ (S), ⲙⲫⲏ (B), ⲙⲡⲏ (F) is a particle of denial after a question regarding past events. It must not be confused with the morpheme ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ, the negative conjugation base of the First Perfect. A verbal form

[5] LICHTHEIM 1975: 169-184; PARKINSON 1997: 54-88.
[6] NEVEU 2015: 223.
[7] YOUSSEF 2022: 3772-3783). For is-bn. COLLIER 2014: 7–40; NEVEU 2015: 224-226.
[8] *P. Anastasi* 5, 11, 4-5 = *LEM*, 61, 12-13. NEVEU 2015: 88.
[9] *KRI* II, 35, 1-6; LICHTHEIM 1976: 65.
[10] *KRI* II, 36, 1-4; LICHTHEIM 1980: 65.
[11] YOUSSEF 2022: 3781-3752.
[12] Pap. Berlin 3008: Lamentations of *Isis* and *Nephthys*, see: LICHTHEIM 1980: 117.
[13] The Tale of the two Brothers, *LES* 2,7,5. GARDNER 1932: 16; SIMPSON 2003: 84.
[14] SIMPSON 2003: 180.
[15] GARDINER 1969: 83; SIMPSON 2003: 205.
[16] The Piankhi/Piye Stela Nº.JE 48862, *Urk*. III, 49; SCHÄFER & STEINDORFF 1905: 49.
[17] *Wen* 2, 10 = *LES* 68, 3-4; NEVEU 2015: 180.

with this conjugation base can indicate a rhetorical question rather than a true inquiry, whereby the speaker does not wait for a response[18].

- ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲓϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. «Jesus said to her» did I not tell you that if you believe, you will see the glory of God?[19].
- ⲁⲫⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲇⲉ ⲛϫⲉ ⲣⲟⲩⲃⲏⲛ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲓϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲓ ⲙ ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛϫⲟⲛⲥ[20] Ruben answered them, saying, «Did I not speak to you, saying, do not injure the boy? ».
- ⲉⲫⲉ̀ϫ«ⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲓ ⲛ̀ ϯϧⲱⲣⲁ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲱⲓ ⲙ̀ ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ϧⲁⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲙ̀ ⲡⲓⲡⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲛⲧⲥ»[21]. Then he will say, «did I not take the country above Babylon and Chalanes, where the tower was built?».
- ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲁϫⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏⲗ ⲉⲓⲙⲉ «But I say, did not Israel know?»[22].
- ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛⲕⲉⲓⲗⲉ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲧⲣⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲣⲱⲧⲛ[23]. «Have I not already commanded you, saying, never let me hear this name of Jesus from your mouth?»[24].

It can be observed that the negative interrogation structure which is formed by the negation form of the First Perfect ⲙⲡⲉ/ⲙⲡ, may be translated in the simple past or the present perfect tense in English as «did I not say..., did not + noun, have I not taken...». Moreover, it can be noted that if the negative interrogation continues in the second sentence, the conjugation base of the First Perfect, ⲙⲡⲉ/ⲙⲡ, is not repeated.

Sometimes the negative interrogative occurs in reported speech after the verb ⲡⲉϫⲉ «say», followed by ⲛ/ⲛⲁ// ϫⲉ, implying the yes/no question sense. These sentences could be read as either a statement or a question, depending on the notation (tone of the voice)[25]. We should remember that in Coptic, no question mark is used, as the Coptic manuscripts do not employ any punctuation to indicate the question form[26].

2. The Negative Interrogative Formula with the Particle ⲙⲏ

Is formed by using certain interrogative particles, such as ⲙⲏ, which is primarily utilized to introduce questions and is not translated. It frequently has a rhetorical sense, in that the speaker isn't actually waiting for a response[27].

ⲙⲏ, sometimes ⲙⲏⲧⲓ, from Greek μή means«but not»[28] it has an idiomatic use with the mood of simple denial[29], it is used in questions that do not contain negative, to which a negative answer is expected[30], but if the question with ⲙⲏ or ⲙⲏⲧⲓ contains

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[18] CRUM 1939: 178.
[19] *Jn.* 11: 40. HORNER 1911: 192-193.
[20] *Gn.* 42: 22. LAGARDE 1867: 103.
[21] *Is.* 10: 9. TATTAM 1852: 44.
[22] *Rms.* 10: 19. HORNER 1920: 110-111.
[23] BUDGE 1914: 11.
[24] BUDGE 1914: 264.
[25] YOUNAN 2005: 227.
[26] WILSON 1970: 78.
[27] YOUNAN 2005: 228.
[28] FÖRSTER, 2002: 519.
[29] MONRO 1891: 324; « A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect », https://dcc.dickinson.edu/grammar/monro/%ce%bc%ce%b7, accessed on (07/07/2024)
[30] *Jn.* 21:5; *Mt.* 26: 22.

negative, an affirmative answer is expected (e.g., *Lk.* 6:39; *Lk.* 15:8 quoted in subsection 3.2.1)[31]. ⲙⲏⲧⲓ from Greek μήτι, expresses wonder or doubt[32].

The question frequently comes in one of the negative forms, taking the form of a negative statement. The particle ⲙⲏ can also be used in questions with the First Future[33]. Sometimes, it is employed to reinforce a well-known fact, e.g., *Mt.* 13:55 quoted in subsection 3.2.7 below. The forms of the negative interrogation with ⲙⲏ are specified in the subsections 3.2.1 through 3.2.8 below.

A. ⲙⲏ + ⲛ/ⲛ̄ ..... ⲁⲛ

- ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲛ ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ (S) = ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲏ ϥⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱϩⲣⲓ ⲛ ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ (B) «And they said, is this not Joseph's son?»[34].
- ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲏⲭ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ (S) = ⲙⲏ ϥⲏ ⲉⲃⲣⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ. (B) «Is he not that one sitting?»[35].
- ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲓⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ[36]. «Is not the whole land before you?»[37].
- ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ ϩⲙ ⲡⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁϯⲟⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ. «Is not your father present in the palace that the king would do these things to you?»[38].
- ⲙⲏ ϥⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉ̀ⲛ̀ⲭⲓⲛⲉ̀ⲣⲉⲕⲱ̀ⲧⲉⲙⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲧ[39]. «Is not this so, because you do not know me?»[40].
- ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲛ ⲓⲉⲣⲟⲃⲟⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲍⲁⲃⲟⲩⲗ ⲡⲉϥϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ ⲉⲙⲱⲣ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ ⲥⲉϧⲉⲙ[41]. «Is he not the son of Jerobaal? and is not Zebul his steward, his servant with the men of Emmor the father of Sychem?»[42].
- ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲥⲟⲱϥ.43 «Is not this the people whom you despised?»[44].
- ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲛ ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁⲁⲩ. And they said, «is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?».

- ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲉ ⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛⲣⲙⲑⲓⲉⲣⲟⲥⲟⲗⲩⲙⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲱϥ ⲉⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧϥ. «Then some of them of Jerusalem said, «Is this not he, whom they seek to kill?»[45]. This is a rehetorical question with negatived cleft sentence, optionally preceded by ⲙⲏ[46].
- ⲛⲉⲧϩⲓ ⲧⲟⲱϥ ⲟⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉϥⲧⲱⲃⲁϩ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲱⲉⲧ ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲁ.«Therefore, the neighbors and those who previously had seen him that he was blind, said, is not this he who sat and begged?»[47]. This is a rehetorical question as well, with a negatived cleft sentence.
- ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲱⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲭⲱⲱⲣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲑⲓⲉⲣⲟⲥⲟⲗⲩⲙⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩϥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉϥⲉϫⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲣ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲣⲭⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ. «But all that heard him were amazed and said». Is

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[31] PLUMLEY 1948: 168.
[32] BRANKAER 2010: 85.
[33] WILSON 1970: 80.
[34] *Lk.* 4:22.
[35] *Lk.* 22:27. HORNER 1911: 414-415.
[36] CIASCA 1885: 13.
[37] *Jn.* 6:42.
[38] BUDGE 1914: 17, 269.
[39] TATTAM 1852: 376.
[40] *Jr.* 22:16. Negation with ⳙ̀ⲱ ⲱ.ⲱ
[41] THOMPSON 1911: 187.
[42] *Jn.* 6:42.
[43] THOMPSON 1911: 189.
[44] *Jd.* 9:38.
[45] *Jn.* 7:25
[46] LAYTON 2011: 379.
[47] *Jn.* 9:8.

not this he that destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem and came hither for that intent, that he might bring them bound unto the chief priests?[48].

- ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ ⲡⲣⲁⲙⲱⲉ. ⲙⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲛⲱⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲓϩⲁⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ. «Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary? And his brethren, James and Joses and Simon and Judas?»[49]. This sentence ⲙⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ is a negatived nominal sentence with ⲛ... ⲁⲛ preceded by ⲙⲏ.
- ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ⲙⲡϩⲏⲧ[50]. «Shall not God search these things out? for he knows the secrets of the heart»[51].
- ⲙⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ϩⲟⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲱ.«Is it not a shame when you gather in God's name eating and drinking?»[52].
- ⲙⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛϧⲱⲛⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁϩⲉ ⲙ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲓϧⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩ[53]. «Is not the life of a human being on earth a trial?»[54].
- ⲙⲏ ⲛⲅⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲥⲛϩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ϭⲟⲙ ⲉϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ. «Haven't you heard that which is written, everything is possible to that belief»[55].
- ⲙⲏ ⲛⲅⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲉⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲉⲧ ⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲓⲛⲁϫⲓ ϩⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ. «Do you not know that in the coming-month I am going to take your bride for you?»[56].
- ⲙⲏ ⲛⲥⲛⲁϫⲉⲣⲉ ⲡϩⲛⲃⲥ ⲁⲛ. «Will she not light the lamb?»[57]. With negation of First Future.
- ⲙⲏ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁϩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩϩⲓⲉⲓⲧ ⲙ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩ. «Will they not both fall into a ditch?»[58].
- ⲙⲏ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲣϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙ ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲟⲥ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲣⲉ ⲛ ⲟⲉⲓⲕ[59]. «Will they, not all know namely who practice lawlessness, who eat my people as food of bread?»[60].

ⲙⲏ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲫⲓ ⲡⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁϫⲛⲧⲕ. ⲙⲏ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱϫ ⲛⲩⲛⲁⲥⲁⲛⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲏⲣⲉ. «Shall not God take care of your son without your help? Is it not God Who brought you up and shall He not also bring up your son?»[61].

ⲡⲛⲉϥ ϫⲏ ⲛⲡⲱⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲛⲣⲏⲡ ⲡⲁⲓ. «the sailor (said): Isn't this wine mine?»[62].

B. **ⲙⲏ + ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ/ⲙ̄ⲡ (Negative of the First Perfect)**

- ⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ-ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲟϭ. «Has not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?»[63].
- ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϯϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ-ⲡ ▪ › ▪ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲙⲓ (B).«But I say, did not Israel know?»[64].

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[48] *Ac.* 9:21.
[49] *Mt.* 13:55; *Mk.* 6:3.
[50] BUDGE 1898: 49.
[51] *Ps.* 43:21.
[52] SMITH 1991: 10–16.
[53] CIASCA 1889: 12.
[54] *Job* 7:1.
[55] BUDGE 1914: 65, 318.
[56] BUDGE 1914: 17, 270.
[57] *Lk.* 15:8.
[58] *Lk.* 6:39.
[59] BUDGE 1898: 14, 57.
[60] *Ps.* 13:4; 52:4.
[61] BUDGE 1914: 76, 328.
[62] *CPR* II 228; BOUD'HORS 2016: 73-74.
[63] *1 Cor.*1:20. HORNER 1920: 168-169.
[64] *Rms.* 10:19. HORNER 1905: 72-73.

- ⲙⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉ̀ⲛⲁⲓ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲑⲁⲙⲓⲱⲟⲩ[65]. «Have you not heard these things that I had done?»[66].
- ⲙⲏ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲅⲓⲗⲉ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲛ.«Did we not strictly command you that you should not teach in this name?»[67].
- ⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲥⲛϩ ϩⲛ ⲛⲥⲁⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ. «Have you not heard what is written in the (Book of) Isaiah the prophet?»[68].
- ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲁⲁⲩ. «Haven't you (woman) seen them both, (namely) your father and mother?»[69].

C. ⲙⲏ + ⲁⲛ

- ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲃⲟⲛ ⲃⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲱⲛⲧ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲟⲓⲥ ⲉⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲓⲥ ⲁⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲓⲗⲉⲩⲓⲧⲏⲥ[70]. «And the Lord was greatly angered against Moses and said, lo! is not Aaron, the Levite, your brother?»[71].
- ⲙⲏ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲉ ⲡⲥⲁ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ. «Did not he who made the outside make the inside also?»[72].
- ⲙⲏ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲱⲧⲛ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ. «Did not Moses give you the law and none of you keep the law?»[73].
- ⲙⲏ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲧⲁⲫⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲉⲩⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲡϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲏⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲡⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ[74] (S) = ⲙⲏ ⲛⲑⲟⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲛⲫⲟ ⲛⲛⲉⲩϩⲓⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛⲧⲁ ⲁⲕⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲏⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲛϫⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ[75]. (B) «Have you not put a hedge around him and his house and all that he has on every side?»[76]
- ⲙⲏ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲙ ⲡⲁⲁϩⲉ[77]. (S) = ϣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲱⲛϧ[78]. (B) «Is not the length of my life short?»[79].
- ϣⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϧⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲃⲉⲛ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩ.«Don't you know that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death?»[80].
- ⲙⲏ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲕⲁⲁⲛ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⲉⲛⲅⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲙⲏⲛⲫⲉ[81]. «Are not you, O God, the one who rejects us? And you will not go out, O God, with our armies?»[82].
- ⲙⲏ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ. «Is it not a human being?»[83].

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[65] TATTAM 1852: 148.
[66] *Is.* 37:26.
[67] *Ac.* 5:28. HORNER 1922: 102-103.
[68] «Encomium on victor part 3», https://data.copticscriptorium.org/texts/pseudocelestinus/encomium-on-victor-part-3/analytic, accesssed on (07/09/2024)
[69] *AP Chaine* Nº. 210, 56:16-17; REINTGES 2004: 150-151.
[70] LAGARDE 1867: 132.
[71] BRENTON 2010: 53.
[72] *Lk.* 11:40.
[73] *Jn.* 7:19.
[74] CIASCA 1889: 2.
[75] TATTAM 1846: 3-4; PORCHER 1924: 219-220.
[76] *Job* 1:10.
[77] CIASCA 1889: 19.
[78] Does ⲙⲏ ... ⲁⲛ in Sahidic parallel ϣⲁⲛ ... ⲁⲛ in Bohairic? ϣⲁⲛ in Bohiric is an interrogative particle paralels ⲉⲓ: LABIB 1915: 36. And ⲉⲓ paralels ⲙⲏ as in Psalm 29:10. ϣⲁⲛ in Bohairic is a disjunctive particle «or». TATTAM 1846: 43-44; CRUM 1939: 568b.
[79] *Job* 10:20.
[80] *Rms.* 6:3. HORNER 1905: 36-39.
[81] *Ps.* 60:10. BUDGE 1898: 63, the Bohairic version in: SCHWARTZE 1843: 88. *Ps.* 107:11; BUDGE 1898: 119.
[82] *Ps.* 60:10; *Ps.* 107:11.
[83] DIJKSTRA 2015: 62.

- ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁϥϯ ⲛ̀ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲉ̀ⲡⲓϩⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ Ⲡⲓⲥⲗ ⲛ̀ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ: ⲙⲏ ⲫϯ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟϥ[84]. «Who gave to Jacob to spoil and Israel to those who plundered him? Was it not God, against whom they have sinned?»[85].
- ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏⲗ ⲛ ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ ϫⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲛⲏⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲥⲩϫⲉⲙ[86]. «And Israel said to Joseph, are not your brothers herding sheep in Sychem?» (Genesis 37:13).
- ⲙⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲧⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ ⲛⲁϯϩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛϩⲗⲓ. «Do you not hear the prophet who cries out» saying: «Your riches will be of no use to you?»[87].
- ⲙⲏ ⲛⲧϫⲗⲗⲉ ⲛ ⲉϥⲣⲓⲁⲙ ⲥⲟⲧⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲡϫⲱⲱⲗⲉ ⲛ ⲁⲃⲓⲉⲍⲉⲣ[88]. «Are not the gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer?»[89].
- ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲉⲣⲉⲡϩⲏⲃⲥ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲫⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲏ ⲫⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲗⲟⲩ ⲙⲏ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲫⲓϫⲛ ⲧⲗⲩϫⲛⲓⲁ. «He said to them, will the lamp brought to be put under a basket or under a bed? Will it not to be set on a stand?»[90].
- ⲙⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲉⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲩⲛⲁⲧⲱⲛϩ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲫⲟⲛϩ ⲁⲛ ⲩⲛⲁⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ[91]. «Shall not he that falls arise? and he that turns away, shall he not turn back again?» (Jeremias 8:4).
- ⲙⲏ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲥϩⲣ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲱ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ. «Were not these words written for thee, O brother?»(The Asceticon of Apa Ephrem part 2)[92].
- ⲙⲏ ⲡⲁϩⲣ ⲣ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ϩⲙ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲏ ⲛⲧⲛⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲛϩⲁϩ ⲛ ⲥⲟⲡ ⲱⲁϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲗⲁⲁⲩ. «Is not the air full of light in the daytime and do we not often look up at the sky and still do not see anything?»[93].
- ⲙⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲟⲱ ⲁⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲁⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲛⲟⲃⲉ[94]. (S) = ⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲱ ϩⲁⲛⲁⲧⲏⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲛⲟⲃⲓ[95]. (B) «Is your evil not abundant? and are your sins not without number?»[96].
- ⲙⲏ ⲡⲥⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲁϯ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲡⲓⲥⲧⲏⲙⲏ[97]. «Is it not the Lord who teaches understanding and knowledge?»[98].
- ⲙⲏ ⲛⲑⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲓⲏⲡⲓ ⲛ ⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲛ ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ[99]. Will he not see my ways and count all my steps?[100].
- ⲙⲏ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲁⲛ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲥ[101]. «Have you not seen a false vision?»[102]
- ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲥⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲙ ⲡⲓⲏⲗ ⲙⲏ ⲛⲧⲁϩⲓⲏ ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁⲛ[103]. «Hear now, all the house of Israel; does my way not go straight? Is your way straight?»[104].

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[84] TATTAM 1852: 127.
[85] *Is.* 42:24.
[86] PETERS 1985: 99.
[87] *VIS* 1922: 165.
[88] THOMPSON 1911: 178-179.
[89] *Jd.* 8:2.
[90] *Mk.* 4:21.
[91] TATTAM 1852: 310.
[92] BUDGE 1914: 172; 424.
[93] *BM Cat*. 82, Nº.198 F.1 vo. SHISHA-HALEVY 1986: 206.
[94] CIASCA 1889: 37.
[95] TATTAM 1846: 89-90; PORCHER 1924: 278.
[96] *Job* 22:5.
[97] TATTAM 1846: 89-90.
[98] *Job* 31:2.
[99] TATTAM 1846: 123-124.
[100] Job 31:4.
[101] TATTAM 1852: 54.
[102] *Ez.* 13:7.
[103] CIASCA 1889: 266.
[104] *Ez.* 18:25, 29.

- ⲙⲏ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙϩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲏ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲙⲏ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲭⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙⲏ ⲛⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲃ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲥ. «Am I not a free person? Am I not an Apostle? Jesus Christ our Lord, did I not see Him? Are you not my work in the Lord?»[105].

D. ⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ + noun and ⲙⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ[106]

ⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲥⲟⲛϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲅⲁⲗⲁⲁⲇ ⲙⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲓⲛⲏ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ[107]. «Is there no balm resine in Galaad, or is there not a physician there?»[108].

E.ⲙⲏ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ «n'y a-t-il pas des/de» =«Are/is there No» + Noun

- ⲙⲏ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ ϧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲱⲉⲙⲙⲟ ⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛⲙⲓⲥⲓ ⲛⲑⲗⲱⲭⲓ ⲙ ⲡⲓⲇⲁⲛⲏⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲏⲣⲡ ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲇⲁⲛⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲱⲗⲓ ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲕⲉⲛⲓ ⲛⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲑⲗⲱⲓⲭⲓ ⲙ ⲡⲓⲏⲣⲡ.«Are there not people today who have become strangers in their homeland because of the wine debt and to whom the creditors take away their house because of the wine?»[109].
- ⲙⲏ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲥϧⲓⲙⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ ϧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲓϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲏⲣⲡ ⲑⲣⲉⲥⲉⲑⲓⲏⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲉⲃⲟⲥⲭⲉⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲛⲥⲱ ⲱⲁⲧⲉⲥⲉⲣϩⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲧⲉⲃ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲧ ⲥⲟⲟⲛⲉϥ ⲛⲭⲗⲟ ⲉϧⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ. «Is there no woman today, intoxicated by the excess of wine, who dances in the inn, until she deceives the guests by throwing poisoned darts into their hearts?»[110].
- ⲙⲏ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲱⲭⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲉ ⲱⲧⲉⲙⲑⲣⲉ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ. «Can you not cause that she should not ever die?»[111].
- ⲙⲏ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲱⲭⲟⲙ ⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ. «Is it not possible that she should ever die?»[112].

F. ⲙⲏ + negative of First or Second Future

- First Future. ⲙⲏ ⲣⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲙ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲛⲧⲙⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲉ ⲭⲟⲟϥ. «Shall we not keep silent? Shall not we fail to find a word to utter on that day? (The Teaching of Apa Psote, the great Bishop of Psoi)»[113].
- Second Future: ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲡ🖃⬇ ⲙⲏ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϯ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲭⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟ. «The Lord said, will they not provoke themselves, that their faces may be ashamed?»[114]
- ⲙⲏ ⲧⲉⲣⲁⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲱϯ ⲛⲣⲓⲙⲓ. «Will not you cry with many very bitter tears?»[115].

G. ⲙⲏ + Second Present

ⲙⲏ ⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ ϥⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ ϥⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ ⲟⲩⲕⲉⲗⲉⲃⲓⲛ ⲉⲭⲭⲱⲭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ[116]. «Are not my words like fire? and like an axe that cuts a rock?»[117].

- ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲓⲱⲥⲏϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲱⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ϥⲛⲟⲩϯ[118]. «Then Joseph said to them, is not clarification/interpretation of them through God?».

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[105] *1 Cor*. 9:1. HORNER 1905: 162-163.
[106] ⲙⲏ ⲁⲛ means «is not?», see: MUNIER 1930: 53.
[107] TATTAM 1852: 314.
[108] *Jr.* 8:22.
[109] *VIS* 1922: 75.
[110] *VIS* 1922: 75.
[111] EVELYN-WHITE & HAUSER 1926: 59.
[112] ROBINSON 1896: 211.
[113] BUDGE 1915: 149, 727.
[114] *Jr*. 7:19.
[115] *VIS* 1922: 48.
[116] TATTAM 1852: 384.
[117] *Jr.* 23:29.
[118] PETERS 1985: 106.

H. ⲙⲏ …… ⲙⲏ

ⲙⲏ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉⲭⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲉ̀ⲍⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲏ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲭⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉ (S)[119].= ⲙⲏ ϩⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ⲓ̀ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲉⲓ ⲓⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲉ̀ϣⲭⲱ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ (B). «Shall the dust give praise to you? or shall it declare your truth?⅔[120].

3. ⲉⲓⲉ is a Modal or Interrogative Particle Introducing Statement, While its

Translation depends on context[121], It is often accompanied by the particle ⲁⲛ. It introduces a question to which no answer is required; it functions as Greek ἀρα ἄρα[122].

A.ⲉⲓⲉ + the Second Present + ⲁⲛ

- ⲉⲓⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲟⲧⲉ ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲑⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲉⲓⲏ[123]. «Is your fear not based on a senseless and your hope and the innocence of your way?»[124].

B. ⲉⲓⲉ + First Present + ⲁⲛ

- ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉ ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ϫⲓⲛ ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ϣⲁ ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲓϫⲱⲕⲙ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲟⲟⲩⲛ[125]. «Do you not know that for the last twelve years, I have fasted the whole week through, from Sabbath to Sabbath and that I have never once washed in a bath?»[126].
- ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ̀ϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲉ ⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ[127]. «Do you not know that I have [absolute] power over you?»[128].

C.ⲉⲓⲉ + Imperfect + ⲁⲛ

- ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲏⲧ ⲉⲟⲃⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲱϫⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲛ ⲉⲓ ⲧⲉⲉⲓⲏ ⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ. «And they said one to another, was not our heart burning within us, by the way, he was talking with us on the way making clear to us the scripture?»[129]

3.D ⲉⲓⲉ + Imperfect + ⲙⲙⲛ (Negation of Existence)

ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛⲱⲥⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲙⲟⲩ (S) = ⲓⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲱϫⲟⲙ ⲙⲫⲁⲓ... (B). «was he not also able to keep this from dying?»[130].

E.ⲉⲓⲉ + ⲁⲛ + First Perfect

ⲉⲓⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲓⲣⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ϩⲣⲁϫⲏⲗ[131]. «Did not I serve with you for Rachel?»[132].

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[119] BUDGE 1898: 3.
[120] In Sahidic version of *Ps.* 29:10 ⲙⲏ…ⲙⲏ and Second Future, however, in Bohiric ⲙⲏ ... ⲓⲉ ⲁⲛ and First Future.
[121] LAMBDIN 1983: 223.
[122] PLUMLEY 1948: 168.
[123] CIASCA 1889: 7.
[124] *Job* 4:6.
[125] BUDGE 1914: 10.
[126] BUDGE 1914: 262-263.
[127] BUDGE 1914: 11.
[128] BUDGE 1914: 263.
[129] *Lk.* 24:32. HORNER 1921: 470-473.
[130] *Jh.* 11:37. HORNER 1911: 192-193.
[131] CIASCA 1885: 23.
[132] *Gn.* 29:25.

F.ⲉⲓⲉ + Negation of the First Perfect

ⲉⲓⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲉⲧⲭⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲩⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲓϯ ⲥⲁ ⲉⲣⲟϥ «have you not heard about the son of the king's general, that I did not pardon him?»[133].

4. The Interrogative Particle ⲉⲛⲉ (S)[134], ⲁⲛ (B) Forms the Negative Interrogative as Well, it Precedes the Subject[135].

It could be roughly translated as «is» in«is it?». It is not to be confused with the negative particle ⲁⲛ. It is worth noting that it should not be confused with ⲁⲛ of negation[136]. As will be demonstrated below, there are two main structures: ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ «is not there» and ⲁⲛ + demonstrative pronoun + ⲁⲛ + Copula. The revant constructions contain the negation of the First Present and the Imperfect by ⲛ .... ⲁⲛ.

A. ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ «Is/Are not there»

ⲁⲣⲓⲉ̀ⲙⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲕⲉⲣⲙⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲥⲉⲥⲟⲣⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛⲟ̀ⲩⲭⲟⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲉ̀ⲗⲓ ⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩⲭ ⲱⲟⲡ ⲃⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ[137]. «Know you that their heart is ashes and they err and no one is able to deliver his soul: see, you will not say, is not there a lie in my right hand?».

B.ⲁⲛ + Demonstrative Pronoun + ⲁⲛ + Copula

- ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ̀ ⲛ̀ⲭⲉ ⲡ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ ϯⲛⲓⲱϥ ⲑⲏ ⲁ̀ⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲕⲟⲧⲥ ⲉ̀ⲟⲩⲏⲓ ⲙ̀ ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉ̀ⲃ̀ⲣⲏⲓ ⲃⲉⲛ ⲡⲁ̀ⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲙ̀ ⲡⲁⲱ̀ⲟⲩ[138]. «The king answered and said, is not this great Babylon, which I have built for a royal residence, by the might of my power, for the honor of my glory?»[139] .
- ⲁⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲭⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲃⲉⲛ ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⲉⲛⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲭⲁⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲉⲣⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲙⲛⲭⲏⲙⲓ[140]. «Is not this the word which we spoke to you in Egypt, saying, let us we may serve the Egyptians?»[141].

C.ⲁⲛ …… ⲉⲓ ⲁⲛ (Interrogative particle ⲁⲛ + ⲉⲧⲓ + interrogative marker + ⲉⲓ + ⲁⲛ)

- ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲱⲛϧ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲛ[142]. «Is your father still alive?»[143].

4.Dⲁⲛ ……ⲁⲛ

ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ ⲟⲛⲧ ⲛⲑⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲱⲁⲛϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲃⲉⲛ ϯⲣⲓ ⲭⲛⲁⲭⲉⲙ ϕϯ. «Isn't your heart persuaded that if you stay in your cell, you will find God?»[144].

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[133] *KHMLI* 73:27-28, see: REINTGES 2004: 150.
[134] This form occurs in Judges 20:28: ⲉⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲛ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲙⲓⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲁⲙⲓⲛ ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ. «Shall I yet again go out to battle with the children of Benjamin my brother?».THOMPSON 1911: 246.
[135] CRUM 1939: 56.
[136] YOUNAN 2005: 227.
[137] TATTAM 1852: 182.
[138] TATTAM 1852: 300.
[139] *Dn.* 4:27.
[140] LAGARDE 1867: 160.
[141] *Ex.* 14:12. BRENTON 2010: 64.
[142] PETERS 1985: 117.
[143] *Gn.* 43:7.
[144] AMELINEAU 1894: 353.

5. Other Variants of the Negative Interrogative

A. Negation of 1st Present and Negation of the Imperfect

- ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ. ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲣⲁⲡⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲁϭⲱ ⲣⲛ ⲛⲁⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ= ⲟⲩⲟⲣ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲃⲉⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲕⲱϯ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲓⲙⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ϫⲉ ⲣⲱϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲁⲱⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ. And He said to them, «Why did you seek Me? Do not you know that I must be in those of My Father's business?»[145]
- ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲫϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲫϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲥϩⲣ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁϩⲓ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲫ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲓ ⲙ ⲡⲉⲫⲗϩⲗ ⲛ ⲛϩⲉⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲧϩⲣⲟⲩ. ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲥⲡⲏⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲥⲟⲟⲛⲉ. Then He taught, saying to them, «Is it not written, My house will be called a house of prayer for all the nations?»[146].

B.Negated Cleft Sentence with ⲙⲏ + ⲡⲉ + Second Perfect

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ϧⲛ ⲧⲉⲫⲛⲏ ⲙⲙⲁϥ. «Did I not see you in the garden with him?»[147].

C. ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ of Greek Origin οὔκουν 'thus, then'

ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲥϭⲱ ϧⲁϩⲧⲏⲥ ⲫⲁⲛⲧ ⲉⲥⲙⲓⲥⲉ. «But did she not then remain with her until she brought forth?» (The Discourse by Demetrius)[148].

The particle ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ occurs in some other constructions with a different meaning e.g.: ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲛⲭⲛⲉⲛⲉⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ. «Let us then enquire of the Elements and let us learn from them»[149].

ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲓⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ. «The Almighty did not then create two bodies?».

D.Sentences with a Nominal Predicate

ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲃⲟⲉⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲣⲙⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲧⲁϭⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲫⲫⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲫⲏⲙ[150]. «Now is not Boaz of our kinsman, this, who stays with his daughters?[151].

E. Negation of Nominal Sentence with an Indefinite Subject

ⲙⲛ̄ ϭⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ ⲉϧⲱⲃ ⲛ̈ⲓⲙ̇· «do I not have power for everything?» (The Second Apocalypse of James in Nag-Hammadi)[152].

IV. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study has shown that the general grammatical assumption is that the negative particles negate the clause that could then be used pragmatically as an interrogative sentence either by marking it with an additional particle or presumably by intonation (not visible in writing). In Middle Efyptian, the negative interrogative consists of the negative particle *n* with *sḏm*, *n.f* in reference to the past or *nn* denoting the future. In Late Egyptian we find a combination of an interrogative particle and a negative particle. Specially the double particles *ỉs-bn*, *ỉs-bw* or by *ỉs* is and negation of existence *n wn*. These generalizations are based on the instances that were identified.

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145 *Lk.* 2:49.
146 *Mk.* 11: 17.
147 *Jn.* 18:26.
148 BUDGE 1915: 91, 670.
149 Proclus Homily 13 on Easter. BUDGE 1910: 94, 238.
150 THOMPSON 1911: 262-263.
151 *Rth.* 3:2.
152 GOSHOVS'KY 2016: 154.

In Coptic, apart from the commonly recognized negative formulae, there exists a formula called the negative interrogative, which appears frequently in literary texts and contains several essential forms, most notably the negation form of some tenses and interrogative particles/question marks such as ⲉⲓⲉ, ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ and ⲓⲛ particular ⲙⲏ.

The attested forms are negation of the First Perfect, First Present, Imperfect and negated cleft sentence. The most frequent construction with particles are ⲙⲏ, ⲙⲏⲧⲓ are ⲙⲏ only, ⲙⲏ + ⲙⲡⲉ/ⲙⲡ + ⲁⲛ, ⲙⲏ + ⲙⲡⲉ/ⲙⲡ, ⲙⲏ + ⲁⲛ, ⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ + noun and ⲙⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ, ⲙⲏ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ + noun, ⲙⲏ + The Second Future (affirmative or negative), ⲙⲏ + noun or independent pronoun + ⲁⲛ, ⲙⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ. While the forms of ⲉⲓⲉ are: ⲉⲓⲉ + the Second Present + ⲁⲛ, ⲉⲓⲉ/ⲏ + Conjunctive + ⲁⲛ + ⲭⲉ, ⲉⲓⲉ + Imperfect + ⲁⲛ, ⲉⲓⲉ + Imperfect + ⲙⲛⲛ, ⲉⲓⲉ + ⲁⲛ + First Perfect. Additionally, the interrogative particle ⲉⲛⲉ (S), ⲁⲛ (B) also forms the negative interrogative ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, ⲁⲛ + demonstrative pronoun + ⲁⲛ + Copula, Interrogative particle ⲁⲛ + ⲉⲧⲓ + interrogative marker + ⲉⲓ + ⲁⲛ, ⲁⲛ…ⲁⲛ.

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MIDDLE KINGDOM FUNERARY STELA OF TT.I IN THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM Nº.CG 20465

BY

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ABSTRACT

[EN] The aim of this paper is to publish and study a round-topped limestone funerary stela belonging to a nobleman called *Tt.i* [*Teti*]. It is acuually stored at the Egyptian Museum. It is registered under accession Nºs.CG 20465, SR 3/10436**.** The stela measures about 40 cm high, 30 cm wide and 10 cm thick. It is in a good state of preservation. The provenance of this stela is unknown. It contains the «*ḥtp-dỉ-nsw(t)*» offering formula associated with the god *Osiris*. *Lange* and *Schäfer* solely transcribed the hieroglyphs of this stela, while this research paper aims to transliterate and translate the text, provide descriptions of the depicted scenes, explore the artistic style and examine the orthographic and paleographic features. Additionally, it includes a detailed examination of the varied offerings specified on the stela. It discusses the meanings of proper names and epithets. The documentation of the offering formula and paleographical and artistic features of the stela concludes that it is dated to the late 12th dynasty or the early 13th dynasty.

KEYWORDS:, *Dd(t)-Sbk* (*dedet-Sobek*), *Ddw-Ṯni* (Dedu-Tjeni), *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw(t)*, *Tti* (*teti*).

[AR] **لوحة جنائزية للمدعو «تتى» من عصر الدولة الوسطى بالمتحف المصرى رقم (CG 20465)**

يهدف هذا البحث إلى نشر ودراسة لوحة جنائزية تعود لأحد النبلاء ويدعى (تيتي)، موجودة حاليًا بالمتحف المصرى ومسجلة تحت رقم **CG 20465, SR 3/10436**، هذه اللوحة ذات قمة مستديرة من الحجر الجيري، ويبلغ ارتفاعها حوالي 40 سم وعرضها 30 سم وسمكها 10سم. اللوحة في حالة جيدة من الحفظ، لكن مصدرها غير معروف. تحتوي اللوحة على صيغة القرابين *«ḥtp-di-nsw(t)»* المرتبطة بالإله أوزوريس. قام كلا من Lange و Schäfer بنسخ النص الهيروغليفي لهذه اللوحة فقط. ويهدف البحث إلى نسخ النصوص وإعطاء الدلالة الصوتية والترجمة لها، وتقديم وصف للمناظر المصورة على اللوحة والقرابين، ودراسة الأسلوب الفني والسمات الإملائية وأشكال العلامات. بالإضافة إلى دراسة معاني الأسماء والصفات الخاصة بصاحب اللوحة وعائلته. وتبين من دراسة اللوحة إلى أنها تؤرخ بنهاية عصر الأسرة الثانية عشرة أو بداية عصر الأسرة الثالثة عشرة.

الكلمات الدالة: تتى، ددت- سوبك، ددو-ثنى.

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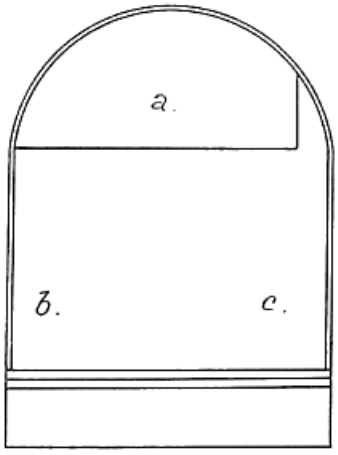
I. INTRODUCTION

It is a limestone round-topped funerary stela[1] belonging to a nobleman called D4 *Tti*. It is kept in the Egyptian Museum Nos.CG 20465, SR 3/10436. According to the register of the Egyptian Museum, the stela dates to the Middle Kingdom ca.2030-1802 BC, but it did not document the precise location or date of the excavation. The stela is outlined by a delicately incised border, with incised lines between the registers containing hieroglyphs carved in both sunken and raised relief for figures. The hieroglyphic signs were executed in a simple way without details, as they were shallowly cut. Additionally, the stela shows no traces of color.

The Egyptian Museum's register indicates that the stela dates to the Middle Kingdom, specifically 2030-1802 BC. Griffith Stelae Nos.803-028-172 specifies its assignment to either the 12th or 13th dynasty, while the Ilin-Tomich database (PNM) places its date in the late 12th to 13th dynasty.

According to *Lange* and *Schäfer*, the stela is divided into three sectionsThe top section (a) is designated for the *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw(t)* offering formula, while the lower part depicts two scenes. The primary scene (b) features Tt.i receiving funerary offerings given by his brother. Meanwhile, the other scene in the lower part (c) is decorated with depictions of *Tt.i*'s brother, *Ddw-Ṯni*, in the opposite direction. The offering table divides the composition into two halves **[FIGURE 1]**.



[FIGURE 1]: The sections of the stela according to LANGE and SCHÄFER © LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902:63.

II. DESCRIPTION AND TEXTS [FIGURES 2-3]

Stela Nº.CG 20465[2].
Provenance: unknown.
Currently Location: The Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

Nº.CG 20465, SR 3/10436.
Material: Limestone.
Dimensions: Length 40 cm, Width**:** 30cm and thickness 10 cm.
Date: Late 12th dynasty or the early 13th dynasty.

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[1] MÜLLER 1933: 169-206; HERMANN 1940: 32; SHOUKRY 1958: 292-297; MARTIN 1986: COL.1; SILVERMAN 1997: 288; HÖLZL 2001: 319-324.

[2] LANGE & SCHÄFER 1908: 63

Technique: Sunk relief for hieroglyphs, raised relief for figures.

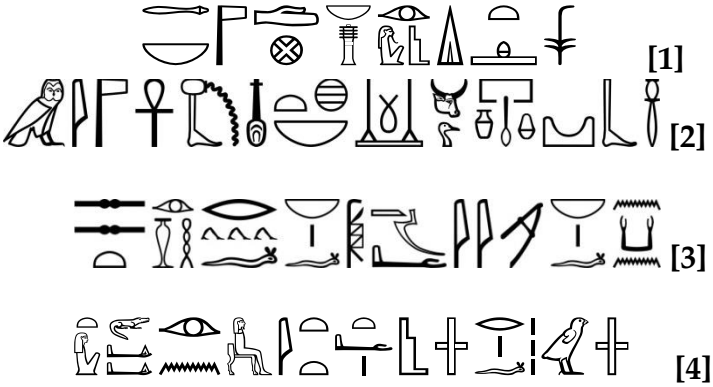
[FIGURE 2]: Funeral stela CG 20465 © Egyptian Museum in Cairo (EMC)

[FIGURE 3]: A facsimile of the funeral stela of *Tt.i* © Drawn by RASHA ABDEL HAFEZ

The lunette is entirely occupied by a text containing four lines of sunk relief hieroglyphic writings. Only a few stelae deviate from this convention, lacking any inscriptions or images. Subsequently, a horizontal line is included, followed by the the *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw(t)* formula written across the entire lunette[3]. Thematically, the whole field of the stela is separated into three sections **(A-C),** as follows:

Section (A)

The first section contains the main hieroglyphic inscriptions comprising the traditional offering formula. The text is divided into four lines with borderlines. The inscription is written right-to-left.



[1] *ḥtp dỉ nsw Wsỉr nb ḏdw nṯr ʿ3 nb*; **[2]** *3bḏw prt ḫrw t ḥnḳt kȝw-3pdw šs mnḫt ḫt nb(t) nfr(t) wʿb(t) ʿnḫ(t) nṯr ỉm*; **[3]** *n kȝ n mry nb.f mȝʿ šms(w) nb.f r nmt(w)t.f ỉr(r) ḫsst*; **[4]** *imyw-r.f Imi-s.t -ʿ Tt.i ir n Dd(t)-sbk.* **[1]** «*An offering*[a] *which the King has given to/and Osiris*[b]*, Lord of Busiris*[c]*, the Great God*[d]*, the Lord [2] of Abydos*[e]*. Invocation-offerings*[f] *of bread, beer, oxen, fowl*[g]*, alabaster, linen*[h] *and everything good and pure*[i] *on which a god lives*[j] *[3] for the Ka*[k] *of the truly beloved by his lord*[l]*, who follows*[4] *his lord in his steps*[m]*, who does what [4] his overseers favor*[n]*, acolyte Tt.i noble*[o] *begotten by (his mother) Dedet-Sobek*»[p].

Section (B)

Tti is depicted on the left in low relief. He is seated on a chair with a low back, featuring legs resembling those of a lion, facing right toward an offering table. *Tti is* represented larger than his brother and is positioned in the dominant position to the left of his table, looking to his right. His hands are in a reverential position, with his right arm stretched out towards the table of offerings, palm down, while his left arm is crossed over his chest. His face is characterized by almond-shaped eyes, a pug nose and fleshy lips. He wears a shoulder-length wig tucked behind the ear, a long kilt[5] and a necklace. His bare feet are visible[6].

Tti sits at his offering table, ensuring that he will always receive food offerings. The depiction features an offering table with a flat, rectangular surface resembling the *ḥtp* sign[7]. Offering tables were used in, *šns* conical bread and *psn* round bread. Under the table there are two tall vessels on the stand.

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[3] HÖLZL 1992: 285-289; SHAW & NICHOLSON 1995: 278; HÖLZL 2001: 319-324.

[4] DOXEY 1988: 134-135.

[5] WESTENDORF 1967: 143; LECLANT, *LÄ* 2: 813-415; HALLMANN 2017: 2.

[6] ABDELAAL 1995: 55.

[7] MOSTAFA 1982:1; TAYLOR 2001:158.

Section (C)

Tti's brother stands on the opposite side of the table. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a plain collar and a triangular protruding kilt with a marked belt and knot. He holds a handkerchief[8] in one hand. He places his other hand openly on his chest. He is represented smaller than his brother to whom the stela is dedicated[9]. According to Bright, towards the late 12th dynasty, it became common for secondary figures to be of nearly the same size as the main owner[10]. There is a vertical column of hieroglyphic writings above him that reads as follows.

sn.f mr.f Ddw-Tnỉ ỉr.n Ddt-Sbk
«His brother, his beloved, Dedu-Tjeni (q), begotten by (r) Dedet-Sobek».

III. GENERAL COMMENTARY

[A] *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw(t)*: The placement of the formula on the stela was commonly employed starting from the 6th dynasty[11] and it was the standard form used from the 11th dynasty to the 13th dynasty[12].

The distinctive *di* sign is prominently featured at the end of the composition, standing out in the horizontal inscription of this formula from the 12th to the 13th dynasties. This observation aligns with the criteria initially set by *BENNETT*, *SMITHER* & *BARTA* and later fine-tuned by Satzinge[13].

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[8] Cloth, known as «sia»: *Tti* held a piece of cloth in one hand, demonstrating his authority. Cloth, known as «sia» is a play on words for a deity of the same name. Sia announced the names of the blessed dead and the damned on the day of judgment. White linen symbolized the light which brightened the netherworld. The cloth also defined the deceased as a transfigured akh.WESTENDORF 1967: 134; LECLANT 1977: COLS.413-415.

[9] See, for example, Stela Lyon H 1578, Louvre E 13079, SAINT-OMER 6282, München GL WAF 36, and Louvre C 22. ILIN-TOMICH 2011:117-118.

[10] BRIGHT 2005:7-22.

[11] BARTA 1968: 21; LAPP 1986: 10, § 20; LEPROHON 1990: 163-164; SATZINGER 1997: 5177-188; FRANKE 2003: 39-57; STEFANOVIC 2010: 313–319.

[12] SMITHER 1939: 34-37; BARTA 1968: 53- 55; VERNUS 1991: 144; SATZINGER 1997: 177-188; FRANKE 2003: 39-40; ILIN-TOMICH 2011: 22,138; ILIN-TOMICH 2017:14-17.

[13] See, for example, CG 20014, CG 20524, CG 20004, CG 2007, CG 20011, CG 20013 & CG 20023. SMITHER 1939: 34-37; BENNETT 1941:77-82; BENNETT 1958: 120-121; BARTA 1968: 43-84; SATZINGER 1997: 177-188.

[B] The inclusion of *Osiris* in the offering formula can be traced back to the fifth dynasty, specifically in private funerary inscriptions found at the Memphite cemeteries during the reign of *Neuserre*[14]. In the late old kingdom in *Naga-ed-Der*, *Osiris* held the prominent position as the supreme deity and ruler of the thinite nome[15]. This particular form was common during the old and middle kingdoms[16]. In the middle kingdom, alterations in the spelling of specific words in the formula became apparent. For instance, in the eleventh dynasty and often in the early twelfth dynasty, *Osiris's* name was inscribed with the determinative . However, in later instances, the determinative was typically omitted[17]. On the other hand, Ilin-Tomich mentioned that the name of *Osiris* (or *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*) was written with the determinative, which is a characteristic dating back to the early 13th dynasty[18].

[C] This designation appeared in all *Osiris* formulae since the 11th dynasty but experienced a gradual decrease during the 12th dynasty. The use of the symbol was common until the era of *Sesostris*III. Both and were early variations, appearing in the 11th dynasty and continuing during the rule of *Sesostris*I. represented a later form, predominantly found under *Amenemmes* III, with four out of six formulae employing it. Its initial occurrence was noted in the reign of *Sesostris*I[19].

[D] The title *nṯr ʿ3*, written without a god determinative, was initially observed in records from the reign of King *Pepi* II[20]. This epithet was rarely used until the 12th dynasty. It was commonly found in ancient Egyptian religious writings and its intended reference remained uncertain. It could be associated with *Ra, Osiris*, or even the king. However, the most probable interpretation was that it pertained to the god *Osiris,* particularly from the 12th dynasty onward and starting with the reign of *SenusretI*[21]. The *ʿ3* -sign in a horizontal arrangement was documented as early as the late reign of *MentuhotepII* and increased prevalence during the 12th dynasty and beyond. The vertical arrangement of the *ʿ3* -sign indicates its use in the early middle kingdom[22].

[E] *Wsi̯r nb ḏdw nṯr ʿ3 nb ȝbḏw* «*Osiris, Lord of Busiris, The Great God, the Lord of Abydos*». This sequence of epithets was most commonly found on the Abydos stelae[23]. *Osiris*, along with his titles *nṯr ʿ3 nb ȝbḏw*, was predominantly

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[14] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds) 1926-1931: *Wb*, vol.1, 359, 5; HÖLZL 2002: 327-328; SMITH 2017: 561-563.
[15] EDWARD 2017: 69.
[16] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds) 1926-1931: *Wb*, vol.1, 359, 5.
[17] BENNETT 1941: 77-82.
[18] ILIN-TOMICH 2012: 69-84.
[19] See for example, CG 20014. BENNETT 1941: 78-79; GRIFFITHS 1980: 131.
[20] EL-MASRY 1994: 345; AZZAM 2008: 164.
[21] FISCHER 1992:72-75; BENNETT 1941: 80.
[22] FISCHER 1992: 72-75; ALLEN 1996: 1-26; STEFANOVIĆ 2010: 209, Nº.8.
[23] SPIEGEL 1973: 173-175.

depicted during the 12th and 13th dynasties[24]. Of particular significance were his epithets, which changed during each period. In the 11th dynasty, they typically include *nb ḏdw*, *ḫnty ỉmntyw* and *nb ȝbḏw*. However, during the reign of Senwosret I, the epithet *nṯr ʿȝ* was introduced. Under *Senwosret III*, most of the god's epithets were typically omitted, with *ḫnty ỉmntyw* being the exception[25]. The normal form of the title *nb ȝbḏw* is [26]; however, the version written without the nỉwt determinative became widespread in the 13th dynasty [27].

[F] The absence of *di.f* before *prt ḫrw* is indicative of the early 12th dynasty[28]. However, the form of this bread sign emerged in the latter part of the 12th dynasty and became prevalent in the 13th dynasty[29].

[G] The inclusion of *kȝw-ȝpdw* «Oxen and Fowl» was a frequently occurring component in the offering formula. It could be expressed using different combinations of determinatives. The form of these two signs was widely followed during the late middle kingdom and was written without the plural sign . However, it increased significantly during the 13th dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period[30].

[H] *šs mnḫt* «alabaster and linen», the ligature for *šs mnḫt* was not documented on stelae until the period of *SenusretIII*, except for a single instance in stela Nº.BM 567, where it was recorded as «*šs*» between the sign «*mnḫt* » in a study by Ilin-Tomich. The stela dates back to year 13 of the reign of *AmenemhatII* and is part of a comprehensive study that covered 243 stelae from the reigns of *Amenemhat* I and *Senusret I*[31]. It features the use of the *šs* sign between the two poles of *mnḫt*- a form which appeared during the mid-to-late 12th dynasty and became standard from the reign of *Senwosret III* onwards[32].

The configurations of the *mnḫt* sign with more than two poles were prevalent prior to the 12th dynasty, but they were not documented in the late middle kingdom[33].

[I] In the middle kingdom, there were instances of the inscription of a *w ʿb* - Priest without water ripples or seated man determinative [34].

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[24] SELIM 2001: 325.

[25] FRANKE 2007: 170-171, Nº.87.

[26] HEIN & SATZINGER 1989: 39-43, 48-54, 56- 61; SELIM 2000: 254.

[27] See for example, Stela TL 201. ABDEL- RAZIQ 2013: 277.

[28] SATZINGER 1997: 177-88.

[29] See for example, CG 20014 & CGC 20521. ILIN-TOMICH 2017:18.

[30] See stela Nº.EA563 in British Museum. ILIN-TOMICH 2011: 23.

[31] ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 4-5.

[32] ILIN-TOMICH 2015: 148.

[33] See for example, CG 20544. BERLEV 1962, 46: 66.

[34] See for example, CG 20521. ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds) 1926-1931: *Wb*, vol.1, 282, 13; WARD 1982: Nº.639; FRANKE 2002: 8-9; QUIRKE 2004: 171.

[J] The inscription of *ꜥnḫ(t) nṯr ỉm* without the suffixes *s* or *sn* after *im* suggests a timeframe dating before the Second Intermediate Period[35].

[K] There were single attestations of the introduction of the recipient of offerings with *n kꜣ n* in the old kingdom. The expression was sporadically employed in the late first intermediate period and during the rule of the 11th dynasty, as seen in locations such as Asyut[36].

In all the inscriptions from the 13th dynasty, the formula «*n kꜣ n NN*» was consistently employed to designate the recipient, introducing them as «to the *ka of NN*»[37]. Subsequently, the name and titles of the deceased, along with either one or both of the anticipated epithets «*nb ỉmꜣḫ*» and «*mꜣꜥ ḫrw*» would follow[38]. Moreover, Ilin-Tomich specified the characteristics of the stelae dating back from the end of the 12th dynasty tto the 13th daynasty that n was never simplified and *kA* was written as [39].

[l] For the epithet *mry nb.f mꜣꜥ* «the truly beloved by his lord»: Non-royal officials were significantly more likely to be depicted as favored by the king rather than a god. The most prevalent term denoting royal affection was *mry.f* «his beloved». Similar to divine love epithets, individuals in the middle kingdom who were not of royal status were not characterized as «loving» the king but rather as being loved by him. Being the recipient of such affection implies a level of subordination and dependency[40]. Epithets like «beloved of his lord» (*mry nb.f*) and «truly beloved of his lord» (*mry nb.f mꜣꜥ*) were commonly used, appearing with roughly equal frequency. While many instances were found in expedition inscriptions, these epithets were presented on votive stelae and within tombs. These descriptors had a well-established presence in the old kingdom and first intermediate period, with middle kingdom examples spanning from the 11th to the end of the 12th dynasty. However, during the reign of *Senwosert III*, both epithets nearly vanished and «truly beloved of his lord» became the dominant form during the later reigns of the 12th dynasty. Both epithets served a similar purpose, identifying the inscription's owner and proclaiming their value to their superiors[41].

[M] For *šms nb.f r nmt(w)t.f* «who follows his lord in his steps»: According to Quirke, the title *šms* indicated a position linked to high-ranking officials or offices, be they civilian or military[42], without distinction between regular citizens or military personnel. Stevanovic noted that these followers were employed either by local dignitaries or by the royal court, serving roles such as overseeing their lord's

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[35] BENNETT 1941:18; ILIN-TOMICH 2011:26.

[36] BENNETT 1941:79; PFLÜGER 1947:133; SPANEL 1996:767, Nº.9; ZITMAN 2010: 1-117.

[37] ABDALAAL 1995: 278-299.

[38] WHELAN 2007: 133; ILIN-TOMICH 2011: 26.

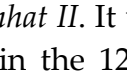
[39] ILIN-TOMICH 2012: 69-84.

[40] DOXEY 1988: 134-135

[41] JANSSEN 1946: 62-64.

[42] ABBAS 2016: 119

security or working as servants[43]. In accordance with the customary practice of the middle kingdom, the official title of the individual preceded his name. «Follower» was a designated title for a man who physically positioned himself near or behind his superior, serving as an attendant, follower and guardian, or bodyguard[44]. Moreover, the individuals who accompanied their masters during journeys were referred to as «*šmsw*» and this term was also used more broadly to denote servants in general[45]. An example of the military functional role is found in the case of *Imn-m–ḥȝt* (*Amenemhat),* whose inscription was carved into the rocks of *Wadi–Hammamat*/ Serving as *sḫḏ šmsw* «A commander of followers» under King *Amenemhat* III, he depicted himself as «who follows his lord in all his steps». This commonly used expression reflected the soldiers' eagerness to accompany and protect the king during military expeditions. This title evolved in various ways throughout the eighteenth dynasty[46]. Klotz noted that the frequently employed phrase *šms nb.f r nmt(w)t.f* implied the privilege of having private audiences with the king, signifying the unique opportunity to accompany him alone into the palace while other officials remained outside[47].

[N] *ỉr(r) ḥsst imyw-r.f* : *ỉr(r) ḥsst.f* «one who does what he favors» was one of the epithets used in descriptors related to compliance. These terms typically pertained to the king, although they could extend to his lord, a deity, or the officials of his master. This epithet was already in use during the early middle kingdom and persisted through the 12th dynasty. However, its usage appears to have diminished after the reign of *Amenemhat II*. It was certain that the title  *imyw-r* was still interpreted as two words in the 12th dynasty. This is demonstrated by a statement in which the deceased said he did what the officials of his master favored- those officials were designated as *imyw-r.f* «*his overseers*. The identical title was mentioned on a stela from Abydos (BM 572) from the reign of *Senwosret*I[48].

[O] *Ỉmỉ-s.t-ʿ*: The translation of *Ỉmỉ-s.t-ʿ* is «Acolyte», «functionary», «assistant» and «helper»[49]. According to Tomish[50], the title was mentioned 39 times, all for men and most dating from the late 12th-13th dynasty[51]. *Tti* (Teti): This is the name of the owner[52]. It was a unisex name utilized during the 12th to 17th dynasties. It was written in several forms during the middle kingdom and appeared on the stela under

[43] QUIRKE 1986: 122; STEVANOVIC 2008: 233.
[44] SHEHAB 2019: 101-106.
[45] IGNATOV 1994: 195.
[46] COUYAT & MONTET 1912:48.
[47] KLOTZ 2015: 306.
[48] LANGE 1905: 142; SCOTT 1912: PL.22; WARD 1982: Nº.518A - 540; FISCHER 1996: 22; DOXEY 1998:139,142,386.
[49] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds) 1926-1931: *Wb*, vol.1, 75.12, 157.4; WARD 1982: Nº.433; JONES 1988: Nº.1093; VAN DER MOLEN 2000:33; QUIRKE 2004: 127.
[50] ILIN-TOMICH: 2024: PNM 1117.
[51] See for example, Berlin P. 10221, Cairo JE 71580, Cairo CG23047, Berlin P.10263, Semna South K 8-2, and Berlin P.10160 .TYLOR 2001:61.
[52] GRAJETZKI 2001: 62; ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 23-24.

study approximately 158 times[53]. See for example, Stela Aberdeen ABDUA: 15651, Stela Aswan 1307, Stela BM EA219, Stela BM EA224, Stela BM EA903, Stela Brooklyn 12.911.1, Stela Buhen 598+712, Stela Cairo CG 20023 and Stela Cairo CG 20023.

[P] *Dd (t)-sbk*: The translation is «given (fem.) by *Sobek*». It was a female name used from the mid-12th dynasty to the second intermediate period. Ilin-Tomich attested several instances of this name belonging to women who lived during the Middle Kingdom. It was written using two loaves of *di* bread, as seen i Stela Ashmolean AN1922.143, which was discovered in Abydos and dates back to the reigns of *Senusret* III – *Amenemhat* III; Stela BM EA213, originating from Thebes and installed in Abydos and, dating to the mid-12th dynasty and another Stela BM EA213 also from Thebes and installed in Abydos, dating to the mid-12th dynasty[54]. This name appeared two times on the stela. Initially, it was inscribed in the fourth row alongside the lady determinative; subsequently, it was written in the vertical row without the determinative. This discrepancy may be attributed to space constraints that hindered the inclusion of the determinative in the second instance.

[Q] *Ddw-Tnỉ:* The translation is «given by *Tni*». The usage of this personal name was from the late 12th dynasty to the 13th dynasty[55]. Brothers and sisters were not mentioned in the inscriptions dated to the 11th dynasty. The introduction of brothers and sisters was first observed in the 12th dynasty. During the reign of *Amenemmes* III, the occurrence of brothers increased, while sisters continued to be mentioned as frequently as during the time of *Amenemmes* II[56].

[R] The maternal filiation formula *jr.n* + (mother's name) came into usage during the latter part of *Senusre*t I's reign and persisted throughout the late middle kingdom and the second intermediate period in the southern region of Egypt[57].

IV. NOTES ON THE OFFERING TABLE

The ancient Egyptian name for Cucumis melo, noted since the Old Kingdom, seems to have been , , , , [58] «*sšp.t*» or « *šsp.t*». It held significance as both a food source and a medicinal plant. The vegetable melon (Cucumis meló), commonly known as cucumber melon, appears to have been the prevalent and widely distributed member of the Cucurbitaceae family in ancient Egypt, serving as a popular vegetable crop. A Cucumis meló was depicted in a wall

[53]ILIN-TOMICH 2024: PNM 301; RANKE 1935: 384/4.

[54]ILIN-TOMICH: PNM 1067; BUDGE 1909: 86 (297); HALL 1912: PL.5; RANKE 1935: 403, Nº.18, 24; POSTEL 2009.

[55]See for example, Stela Louvre AF 10011, Stela Wadi el-Hudi 23 & Stela Cairo CG 20465. RANKE 1935: Nº.1, 403. 2.

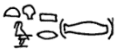
[56] PFLÜGER 1974: 128.

[57] ROSATI 1980: 269–78; OBSOMER 1993: 163–200; POSTEL 2009.

[58] GERMER 2008: 140, 2.

painting in a Theban tomb, complete with an attached peduncle and corolla, dating back to the 18th dynasty[59].

Additionally, wooden models representing melons (Cucumis meló) date back to the new kingdom, or 1517 to 1192 BC[60]. Both the term «qishu'im» and the Arabic word «القِثَّاء/al-qiṯāʾ» were used to refer to adzhur and snake melons. However, in Egyptian Arabic, adzhur melons were specifically called 'aggur' (and al-ʿğūr /'ajjour' in classical Arabic). The adzhur melon was occasionally referred to as the «Egyptian cucumber»[61].

[Q]  [62], *ʒš.t* or *t-ʒšr*[63] literally means «roasted bread» (Arabic ʿ īš mildn)[64]. It was flattened bread with a bulging center. Murray proposed that *t-ʒšr* could be a type of twice-baked bread, potentially resembling biscuits or toast. This particular item did not appear to have been present before the latter part of the fourth dynasty[65]. This type of bread did not appear to have been standardized in art. At times, it was represented as a circular object or with a sharp-edged determinative, while in other instances, its shape resembled that of *kmḥw-kmʒ* bread, which depicted a convex lens object[66].

[R] st means a duck. There were two roasted ducks with their necks hanging down by the sides. The presence of depictions of a roasted bird on a tray in fourth dynasty mastabas was infrequent. However, this motif became more common in depictions of offering processions in the tombs of the fifth and sixth dynasties. The birds might be portrayed as the sole item on the tray or placed alongside other food items, such as bread loaves, fruit and vegetables. When accompanying other products, the birds were often positioned on top of the stack. In this period, it was common to depict a maximum of two birds on a single tray, positioned with their heads either hanging freely over the edge or folded back along the body. It is worth mentioning that no depictions of this style are found in old kingdom pyramid temples[67]. In the Middle Kingdom, the portrayal of cooked birds arranged atop piles of assorted food persisted. One example, discovered in the sanctuary of *Senusret*I's pyramid temple in Lisht, included a depiction of a substantial roasted bird positioned on a mound of figures and meat.Towards the late 12th dynasty, there was an increase in the representations of birds placed on trays, with some depictions featuring up to four birds. This theme of multiple roasted birds on trays,

[59] MANNICHE 1989: 91-96; MURRAY 2000: 635.
[60] DARBY 1977: FIG.17.3; LAGHETTI, ACCOGLI & HAMMER 2008: 619-623; PARIS 2011: 31-38.
[61] VARTAVAN, ARAKELYAN & AMORÓS 1977: 88; GERMER 1979: 127; HUDÁKOVÁ 2016: 313-327.
[62] YAMAHANA 1992: Nº.10, 14, 15 & 21.
[63] MURRAY 1904: 138.
[64] HASSAN 1943: 343.
[65] MURRAY 1904: 138.
[66] DAVIES *et Al* 1984: PL.13.
[67] STUPKO-LUBCZYŃSKA 2016: 247-248.

accompanied by stacks of various food items, was also observable in private tombs from the same period, such as those belonging *to Ukhhotep and Djehuty Hotep*[68].

[S] *ḫpš* means «the Forelegs of the Oxen». The foreleg or thigh was referred to as «*ḫpš*» and alternatively rendered as «strong arm» or «power»[69]. The offering known as the bull's leg (*ḫpš*) had its origins in the old kingdom[70], dating back to the practice initiated by *Horus*, who cut the leg of a bull, symbolizing the god *Seth* to prevent evil[71]. The depiction of this ritual could be observed on the tomb walls, temple reliefs, stelae and offering tables. Additionally, references to this ritual were made in the Pyramid Texts[72]. The tradition persisted into the middle kingdom. Similar scenes of this nature were also observed in the chapels of the early 18th dynasty[73].

[T] Calf's head: The presence of the calf's head was a consistent feature in the majority of significant offering scenes, making its debut in the old kingdom and continuing during subsequent periods. Ancient Egyptians viewed calves, particularly their heads, as a symbol of rebirth in the afterlife. The incorporation of calves' heads in offering scenes became essential to provide the deceased with the potential for rebirth and regeneration. Consequently, in certain offering scenes, multiple heads were included for greater efficacy. Sometimes the head was complemented by other offerings like meat and innards, where each type was represented by a single piece[74].

[U] Conical bread , *šns*[75] means «cake» or «bread». Its earliest occurrence was in the offering list of the 2nd dynasty. It appears that *šns* was a predominant type of breakfast bread and was frequently mentioned in old kingdom and middle kingdom lists[76]. The conical bread on the offering table, accompanied by the «*ḥtp*» sign, symbolized the everlasting hill, and represents the idea of initial emergence; it consequently serves as a symbol of resurrection. This specific type of bread was consistently presented to the gods as an offering to please them and avoid their anger, as depicted in numerous scenes at the temple of Dendera[77].

(V) *psn* bread: *psn* means «bread or cake»[78] and is a circular cake. The offering table displayed two circular loaves of bread, which were made from barley. It refers to a circular cake resembling bread or cake. The occurrence of psn-

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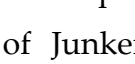
[68] BLACKMAN & APDET 1953: PL.18; NEWBERRY 1895: PLS.32-34; STÜNKEL 2006:147–166, FIG.8
[69] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds) 1926 – 1931*: Wb,* vol.3, 268.10-269.19; FAULKNER 1962: 189.
[70] HASSAN 1943: FIG.122.
[71] TE VELDE 1967: 84-86; WALLIN 2002: 99.
[72] FAULKNER 1969: 42c, 4.
[73] CAMINOS & JAMES 1963: PLS.52, 38.
[74] ELSAYYAD 2017: 408-412.
[75] MURRAY 1904: 38; ERMAN & GRAPOW *(eds) 1926 – 1931: Wb,* vol.4,516, 4-12; DELWEN 1999: 121-144.
[76] HASSAN 1932-1933: 317-319.
[77] HERMANN 1940: 147; WINFRIED 1975: 116-121. 8; AL-TALI 2002: 40; ELSHARNOUBY 2018:12.
[78] MURRAY 1904: 38; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds) 1926-1931: *Wb*, vol.1,18 20; YAMAHANA 1992: 20.

bread appeared to be absent prior to the beginning of the 4th dynasty. It appeared in Giza in Grave VIII of Junker's concession, where it was written as  [79]. This specific type of bread had been documented since the old kingdom, appearing in offering lists from the 5th and 6th dynasties[80]. Its widespread use continued and was consistently noted on offering lists throughout the middle kingdom[81].

[W] Two tall vessels on stand[82]. These containers have a cylindrical shape, featuring rounded bases and bodies that gently narrow towards the upper part. Such vessels were discovered at archaeological sites spanning from the Predynastic Period to the 8th dynasty, with minimal alterations to their shape over the centuries[83]. Originally intended for drinking, as evidenced by scenes in old and middle kingdom tombs, these vessels underwent a functional shift during the 18th dynasty. Banquet scenes in tombs from this period depicted them as pouring vessels[84]. They contained a liquid, such as wine or beer, extracted from larger storage jars. Servants then used these vessels to fill smaller drinking bowls from which the guests consumed their beverages. Other examples, including depictions of two vessels of this type placed among stacked offerings, are still extant in the decorative elements of the temple of *Mentuhotep* II Nebhepetra in Deir el-Bahari. Similar vessels, also placed within the array of offerings, were illustrated in the tomb of Senbi[85]. It is commonly depicted with a lotus flower encircling it, maintaining the coolness and freshness of its contents for an extended period[86].

V. FAMILY GENEALOGY

The Egyptians placed great importance on their personal names, considering them as reflections of their uniqueness. According to Egyptian beliefs, the permanent inscription of an individual's name was crucial for achieving immortality. Engraving the names and titles of the owner, along with those of their family, relatives and associates, on a stela served as a form of personal reassurance for the soul in the afterlife. This tradition potentially resulted in an abundance of the names of the deceased's family on their funeral stela to ensure their remembrance alongside *Osiris*.

Moreover, this practice was more common among the lower classes, where not everyone had the means to independently erect a stela[87]. The stela contains details

[79] HASSAN 1932: ABB.59; 4.2, 322.

[80] HASSAN 1932-1933: 321-323.

[81] CLÈRE 1950: 26; JAMES 1953: PL.36.

[82] The symbolic significance of vessels: The painting included two vessels dedicated to the sacrifice of the deceased. It is believed that the vessels had religious symbolism in the beliefs of the ancient Egyptians. They were among the basic offerings in the other world because of the aromatic oils and paints they contained, or liquids such as water or wine, which indicated renewal and resurrection in the other world. WAZIR 2009: 64, 76.

[83] SIMPSON 1974: PLS.10 ANOC 4.1 (Louvre C167), 39 ANOC 26.1 (BM 557) 2 (BM 247) 3 (CG 20558).

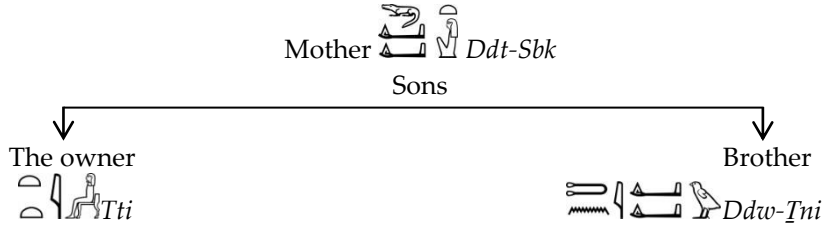
[84] DAVIES 1943: PLS.64-100; PAICE 1989: FIG.16/a–b; SEILER 2005: 86–89, FIGS.37–40.

[85] BLACKMAN 1914–1924: PL.10; Arnold 1974: 36, PL.48; Seiler 2005: 90–91, FIG.41.

[86] HERMANN 1940: *Abb*.8; RADWAN 1984: 89; HARER 1985: 5; HARTWIG 2004: 89; RADWAN 2010: 106, PL.1; ASSEM 2012: FIG.1.

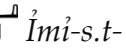
[87] SIMPSON 1989:1-28.

about Tti's family lineage, spanning two generations. The matrix below illustrates the relationship between the two generations. The first generation includes *Ddt-Sbk*, who is *Tti*'s mother. The second generation consists of *Tti* and his brother *Ddw-Ṯni*.



VI. DATING AND CONCLUSION

In order to obtain precise findings concerning the stela's date*, it is crucial to meticulously differentiate between three types of evidence. Archaeological, textual and artistic. According to Ilin-Tomich, most of these stelae were crafted on-site by a group of craftsmen residing in Abydos and the diversity in types of stelae was attributed to the presence of multiple workshops[88]. By utilizing this evidence in the examination of the stela, the following observations can be made**;** The archaeological clues indicated where the stela's was erected and commissioned, but textual references lacked substantial evidence to establish its origin definitively**;** The textual evidence typically concerned the provenance of the owner and their family, including titles, proper names, specific god names and epithets. We can deduce the following.

- The name of the owner *Tti* (Teti) was utilized during the 12th to 17th dynasties.
- The mother's name *Dd(t)-sbk* extended from the mid-12th dynasty to the second intermediate period.
- The brother's name *Ddw-Ṯnỉ* dates from the late 12th dynasty to the 13th dynasty.
- This title  *Ỉmỉ-s.t-ʿ* dates from the 12th - 13th dynasties.
- The epithet *mrỵ nb.f mȝʿ* was in use from the 11th to the 12th dynasty, vanished during the rule of *Senusret* III and was reused during the later reigns of the 12th dynasty.
- The epithet *ỉr(r) ḥsst* dates from the early middle kingdom to the 12th dynasty. Then, it seems to have declined following the rule of *Amenemhat* II.

According to the artistic evidence, the stela's style and paleography dates it to the late 12th – early 13th dynasties, as supported by the following information.

- The offering formula suggests the stela dates to the late 12th dynasty or the early 13th dynasty.

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* I wish to extend my sincere appreciation and profound gratitude to Dr. Ilin-Tomich for confirming that there is not enough evidence to definitively determine the date of the stela solely at late 12th dynasty, even though it seems more probable.

[88] ILIN-TOMICH 2012: 70-72; ILIN-TOMICH 2017:12.

- The name of Osiris was spelled with the determinative dating to the early 13th dynasty.
- *nṯr ʿ3 nb ȝbḏw* was very common during the 12th and 13th dynasties.
- The horizontal *ʿ3* -sing became more frequent during the 12th dynasty and onwards.
- The orthography «oxen and fowl» was prevalent since the end of the 12th and the early 13th dynasties.
- In all the inscriptions from the 13th dynasty, the formula «*n kȝ n NN*» was consistently employed to designate the recipient, introducing them as «to the *ka of NN*».
- Hieroglyphs were precise: *n* was never simplified and *kA* was written as according to Ilin-Tomich's first workshop (late 12th dynasty to early 13th dynasty) and second workshop (around the reign of Khendjer).
- The formula *jr.n* + (mother's name) started to be employed during the latter part of *SenusretI*'s reign and continued to be utilized throughout the late middle kingdom and the second intermediate period.
- The stela's owner wore a bag wig with exposed but non-detailed ears. This style dates to the 13th dynasty, according to Ilin-Tomich' workshop (2).
- The low-backed chair, with lion shaped legs was widespread from the late 12th and the early 13th dynasties.
- Starting since the late 12th dynasty, the kilt increased in length.
- The pairing of one circular and one or two oval offerings dates to the 13th dynasty, according to Ilin-Tomich's second workshop.
- In the latter part of the 12th dynasty, auxiliary figures of approximately equal size to the owner became prevalent.
- Quirke suggested that in the monuments of the late middle kingdom, particularly during the 13th dynasty, the title preceding the owner's name becomes consistent.
- The ligature for *šs mnḫt* «alabaster ware and clothing» appeared during the mid-to-late 12th dynasty and became common from the reign of *Senwosret* III onwards.

By summarizing the features observed in the artistic styles, paleography and character standards mentioned above, we can infer that the stela dates back to the late 12th or early 13th dynasty**.**

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I wish to extend my sincere appreciation and profound gratitude to Dr. Ilin-Tomich for confirming that there is not enough evidence to definitively determine the date of the stela solely at late 12th dynasty, even though it seems more probable.

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THE CLUB-LIKE AS A SUPPLEMENTARY TOOL OF FISHING DURING THE OLD KINGDOM; A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS

BY

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ABSTRACT

[EN] This paper aims to study a lesser-known facet of ancient Egyptian fishing techniques, a supplementary club-like tool depicted in various artistic representations of Old Kingdom tombs. While many studies deal with ancient Egyptian fishing methods, this club-like tool's specific use and significance have not been extensively studied. This study seeks to fill that gap by conducting a thorough analysis of the tool's features and functions, with a particular focus on its depiction in the Old Kingdom tombs. The paper begins by outlining the broader context of the fishing by-line technique in ancient Egypt; this sets the stage for a detailed exploration of the tool in question, which is often shown in conjunction with this technique only. The study identifies the tool's physical characteristics, including its size, shape and material composition. The analysis reveals that the tool was typically depicted as a short, stout tool, possibly made of wood. Its design suggests that it was a functional component of the fishing-by-line practices. The study sheds light on how it was employed in specific fishing scenarios. For instance, in stunning large fish after they were caught by the hooks, ensuring that they did not escape. Alternatively, it might have served as a multi-purpose tool, aiding the fisherman in various aspects of the fishing process, such as preparing bait. By contrasting the new findings about the significance and usefulness of the club-like tool, the paper challenges some long-held assumptions while reinforcing others. One of the key findings of this research is that the club-like tool equipment did not appear to be designed to serve a certain setting, but rather its role was undetermined. In conclusion, the paper offers a fresh perspective on the ancient Egyptian fishing-by-line technique by focusing on a previously understudied tool. Through a detailed analysis of its artistic representations, the study tries to understand the practical roles of this club-like tool in ancient Egyptian fishing practices. It contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the daily lives of the ancient Egyptians.

KEYWORDS: Club-like, daily life scenes, fishing by line, fishing implements, fishing techniques, Hooks, old kingdom tombs.

[AR] **أداة تشبه الهراوة كأداة مساعدة في الصيد خلال عصر الدولة القديمة: دراسة تحليلية**

تهدف هذه الورقة البحثية إلى دراسة جانبًا أقل شهرة من تقنيات الصيد المصري القديم، وهو تصوير أداة تكميلية تشبه الهراوة تظهر في مختلف مناظر الدولة القديمة. في حين تتناول العديد من الدراسات أساليب الصيد، فان الاستخدام المحدد لهذه الأداة الشبيهة بالهراوة وأهميتها لم تتم دراستها على نطاق واسع. تسعى هذه الورقة البحثية إلى سد هذه الفجوة من خلال إجراء تحليل شامل للمميزات والوظائف الخاصة بهذه الأداة التكميلية، مع التركيز بشكل خاص على تصويرها في مقابر الدولة القديمة. تبدأ الدراسة بتوثيق تقنية الصيد بالخيط والخطافات من خلال مناظر الدولة القديمة، وهذا يمهد الطريق لاستكشاف مفصل للأداة محل الدراسة، والتي يتم تصويرها مع هذه التقنية فقط. تحدد الدراسة الخصائص المادية للأداة الشبيهة بالهراوة، بما في ذلك حجمها وشكلها ومادة صنعها. يكشف التحليل أن الأداة عادةً تُصوَّر على أنها أداة قصيرة وقوية، ربما كانت مصنوعة من الخشب. يشير تصميمها إلى أنها كانت لها دور وظيفي لتقنية الصيد بالخيط والخطافات. تسلط الدراسة الضوء على كيفية استخدامها في سيناريوهات محددة منها على سبيل المثال، استخدامها لضرب الأسماك الكبيرة بعد اصطيادها بالخطافات، مما يضمن عدم هروبها. كذلك، ربما كانت بمثابة أداة متعددة الأغراض، لمساعدة الصياد في جوانب مختلفة من عملية الصيد، مثل تحضير الطُعم. من خلال مقارنة النتائج الجديدة حول أهمية وفائدة الأداة الشبيهة بالهراوة، تستعرض الورقة البحثية بعض الافتراضات الراسخة فترفض بعضها بينما تعزز أخرى. من ضمن أحد النتائج الرئيسية لهذا البحث، هو أن هذه الأداة الشبيهة بالهراوة لم تظهر بشكل متعمد لتخدم سياق معين، حيث ظهرت وظيفتها غير محددة. وفي الختام، تقدم الدراسة منظورًا جديدًا لتقنية الصيد بالخيط عند قدماء المصريين من خلال التركيز على الأداة الشبيهة بالهراوة، والتي لم تتم دراستها بشكل كافٍ من قبل. ومن خلال تحليل مفصل للمناظر التي ظهرت فيها وتناولها بشكل نقدي، تحاول الدراسة فهم دورها العملي في الصيد. كما تساهم في فهم أكثر شمولاً للحياة اليومية للمصريين القدماء.

الكلمات الدالة: أداة تشبه الهراوة، أدوات الصيد، تقنيات الصيد، الخطاطيف، الصيد بالخيط، مقابر الدولة القديمة، مناظر الحياة اليومية.

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I- INTRODUCTION

The fishing-by-line technique is one of several tools used by the ancient Egyptians to fish. It was known from the pre-dynastic period and it is still used today. Despite extensive studies on ancient Egyptian fishing practices, which have primarily focused on the broader context of fishing practices and techniques, certain tools associated with line fishing techniques have not been thoroughly examined. For instance, D.J. BREWER and R. F. FRIEDMAN[1] provide a comprehensive overview of fishing techniques in ancient Egypt, highlighting the use of various methods such as hook-and-line, large and small nets and wickerwork basket traps. However, the study lacks an in-depth analysis of this specific supplementary club-like tool associated with line fishing. Similarly, DECKER[2] examines the scenes of fishing in ancient Egyptian society but does not delve into the intricacies of line fishing tools. While previous studies have contributed to our understanding of fishing practices in ancient Egypt, there remains a notable gap regarding this supplementary club-like tool and its techniques in line fishing. This paper intends to address this gap by providing an exhaustive analysis of a supplementary tool mostly used in the fishing-by-line technique, which usually appears in marshes scenes. The study will focus on identifying its features, such as its shape, material and specific uses, through examining its artistic representations in the old kingdom scenes. The method employed for the analysis of the data was mainly comparative and aimed to identify elements repeatedly encountered in scenes, as well as resemblance and continuity, together with variety and innovation, without dealing with the fishing-by-line technique but will instead concentrate on this supplementary tool's role within the practice.

Furthermore, the paper will critically examine the various opinions presented about this supplementary tool and evaluate these interpretations against the visual evidence. By systematically comparing these representations with the existing scholarly opinions, the paper aims to conclude the tool's significance, function and true nature.

II- OVERVIEW OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN FISHING TECHNIQUES AND TOOLS

Fishing has been an integral part of Egyptian daily activity, serving as a primary source of sustenance, as fish was commonly sold in markets by individuals[3]. According to the Moscow papyrus, fishing was a significant act for the king and Nobles[4]. Fishing was done in various fishing methods using large and small nets, spears, wickerwork basket traps and other equipment[5]. Among the various fishing methods practiced, fishing by line emerged as a prominent technique depicted in numerous artifacts. The well-known scene of fishing with line and hook in the marshes is referred more to a «private use», typically done by fishermen in light papyrus boats rather than the nobleman himself, his wife, or his children and it has not been confirmed that the king was depicted using it[6]. It was primarily conducted along the shoreline, but some

[1] BREWER & FRIEDMAN 1990.
[2] DECKER 1994.
[3] HASSAN 1938: 519, PL.96; HODJASH & BERLEV 1982: 32-33, 38; ELSBERGEN 1997: 119, ABB.83.
[4] QUIRKE 2004: 206-217.
[5] BREWER & FRIEDMAN 1990; SAHRHAGE 1998.
[6] ALTENMÜLLER 2008: 13.

depictions show it being practiced at various depths where fish are fed. It is evident that this fishing method spread across various regions, including Mier[7] and Hawawish[8]. This observation prompts a reevaluation of Vandier's assertion that it was confined to the Memphite region and not documented in Upper Egypt[9]. The fisherman sat on a chair within the papyrus boat, holding the fishing line at the end where the hook was attached. The fundamental tool in this method is the hook, which entices fish to bite the bait and become impaled on a hook, making it impossible for the fish to free itself. This technique was known from the pre-dynastic period, where the hooks were simple, had no barb and were bent at the end to form an opening, in which the line was joined. In the old kingdom, a simple line with a single hook or sometimes a cluster hook was utilized, with the same shape and technique; they were not developed until the middle kingdom. Starting from the 12th dynasty, barbed hooks with a ring or plate for attaching the line became common. Hooks were made from bone, ivory, copper and bronze[10].

Sometimes the fishermen are depicted with their right hand holding the examined supplementary club-like tool, yet there is no accompanying explanatory text about its name, use, or material. Nevertheless, this tool evidently plays a role in the execution of this fishing method.

The tool has an elongated, slightly tapered shape. It features a rounded, broader top that narrows slightly towards the handle. The handle is shown to be gripped by a hand and has a subtly curved design, likely intended for ergonomic gripping to ensure a firm hold. Based on its shape and design, it could not represent a specialized tool for a fish scaler or fish knife, which would be more pointed. Beyond doubt, this tool resembles a club or mallet, its specific use would depend on the context in which it is found, depending on its size and particular design features. However, there is no evidence to indicate that this tool was utilized in agriculture or craft-related activities.

III- CONTEXTUALIZING THE SUPPLEMENTARY CLUB-LIKE TOOL ARTISTIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

While tomb depictions often illustrate fishing as a collaborative activity supervised by the tomb owner, the fishing-by-line technique, in particular, appears to have been a more private endeavor[11]. This is because fishing by line with hook/hooks could be done at any time, including during non-working hours, allowing individuals the flexibility to engage in fishing independently. This suggests a reason why individual fishers/or maybe a person, would purchase hooks from the market for their personal use.

The best depictions of fishhooks with the examined tool are those sold in markets and found in Old Kingdom tombs. The first scene is depicted in the tomb of *Fetek-Ta*, a funeral priest, southern Abusir, late fifth- early sixth dynasty[12] **[FIGURES 1/A-B].** The third row begins from the left with a man sitting on the ground in front of a basket filled

[7] BLACKMAN 1915*:* PLS.6-5; BLACKMAN 1953*:* PLS.28, 30; DECKER 1994: 399, TAF.249; WOODS 2017: 19, FIG.1b.

[8] KANAWATI 1983: 20, 30, Nº.88.

[9] VANDIER 1973: 536.

[10] DIAB 2015: 1-18.

[11] BRIER & HOBBS 2008: 113.

[12] LEPSIUS 1913: PL.96; VERNER 1994: 296ff; BÁRTA 1998: 28-29.

with dried fish. In front of him stands a woman with short hair, carrying a box on her left shoulder. Next to her is a scene depicting two men engaged in what appears to be an exchange or a discussion. The man (*vendor* ?) on the left wears a tight, short kilt and is holding an elongated tool, other items hanging from a strap over his left shoulder, possibly fishing lines or related implements and a rope loosely threaded with three fishhooks in his right hand. The text behind him refers to hooks *snᶜḥt?* fishing hook[13]. The text above the vendor (?) is unfortunately almost damaged *di m … give …*

The man on the right wears a long kilt with a triangular front indicating his high rank and stands with an arm slightly extended, he says: *m3[3] mnt m dt(i)?* See the bad «Perhaps something in the hooks the vendor is holding».

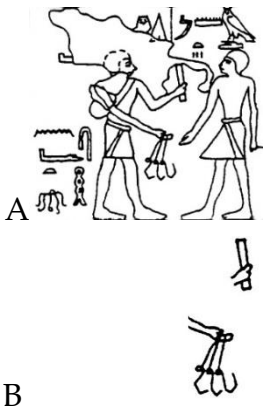
The second scene is from the tomb of *Niankhkhnum* and *Khnumhotep*, Saqqara, mid-fifth dynasty, room II, north wall **[FIGURES 2/A-B].** In a market scene, the fisherman on the left is standing and engaged in dynamic action and handling tools related to fishing. He is carrying a sack over his shoulder, indicating that it might contain fish tools. In one hand, he holds a line with three fishhooks[14]. The two men beside the standing fisherman are seated on the ground and are involved in selling fish. The vendor exchanges the fish with a cylinder seal.

[13] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1930: *Wb*, vol.4, 157.2; BREWER & FRIEDMAN 1990, 26-31; ELSBERGEN 1997: 49-51; SAHRHAGE 1998: 94-100.

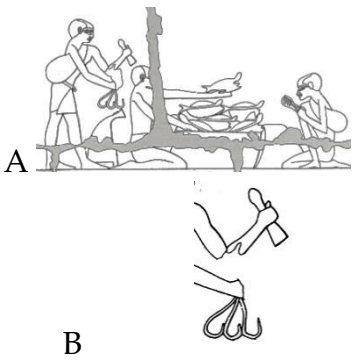
[14] HARPUR & SCREMIN 2010: 150, Scene 157. Room II, north wall; RAWASH 2011: 82.

A- *Fetekty*, mid-fifth/sixth dynasty	**B**- *Ptahhetep/ Akhethetep*, fifth dynasty	**C**- *Ti*, 2nd half-fifth dynasty.	**D**- *Ptahhetep/ Akhethetep*, fifth dynasty	**E**- *Hetep-Her-Akhty*, 2nd half-fifth dynasty.	**F**- *Seshmnefer*, sixth dynasty
G-*Niankhkhnum /Khnumhotep*, mid-fifth dynasty	**H**- *Idut*, fifth dynasty	**I**- *Hesi*, fifth dynasty	**J**- *Shepses-pu-Min/ Kheni*, El-Hawawish, end sixth dynasty	**K**- *Idut*, fifth dynasty	**L**- *Mereuka*, early sixth dynasty
M-*Nikauisesi*, sixth dynasty.	**N**-*Merira-Meriankhptah – Nkhbw*, sixth dynasty	O-*Kagemni*, early sixth dynasty.	**P**-UC 63458, Middle Kingdom, El-lahun		

[TABLE 1]: Illustrates the complementary club-like tool found in old kingdom tombs © Done by the researcher



[FIGURES 1/A-B]: The tomb of *Fetek-Ta*, Abusir, late Fifth - early sixth dynasty. BÁRTA 1998: 28-29



[FIGURES 2/A-B]: The tomb of *Niankhkhnum* and *Khnumhotep*, Saqqara, mid-fifth dynasty. HARPUR & SCREMIN 2010: SCENE 157. Room II, north wall

The presence of the club-like tool in the trading scenes may suggest that it plays an essential and complementary role alongside hooks in catching fish. Below is a detailed description of the two tools.

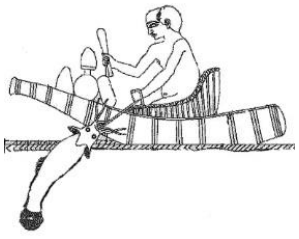
A. The supplementary tool in the tomb of *Fetek-Ta* is elongated and oriented vertically, featuring a simple, straight design with a slight taper at one end **[TABLE 1/A].** The cluster has three distinct hooks, each terminating in a pointed, curved end. These hooks are connected at the top, where the tool is grasped, indicating they are part of a single assembly.

B. The supplementary tool in the tomb of *Niankhkhnum* and *Khnumhotep* «In the fisher's right hand» is elongated with a slight taper and features a rounded top that broadens slightly **[TABLE 1/B**]. The lower tool comprises multiple hooks, resembling a bundle of fishing hooks, each with pointed ends and curved shapes.

About fifteen scenes of fishing using the fishing-by-line technique together with the club-like tool are depicted. The author will first discuss the scenes and then examine the tool.

1. Scenes where a single fisherman is depicted alone in the papyrus skiff. It is noted that all of them were seated on a reed chair with an elevated backrest, providing support for the seated man, except for the destroyed scene in the tomb of *Seshmnefer*. Use hooks and the associated tools are prioritized. In addition, fishermen often had containers or bags for storing the catch.

A. The tomb of *Ti*, Saqqara, fifth dynasty **[FIGURE 3].** The fisherman's right-hand holds a club-like tool, while the other one with a hand-held line, whom the artist did not seem to know where to represent from a lack of space; it catches a large splendid Clarias Sp[15]. The fish is shown in detail, emphasizing its size and the success of the fishing effort. Behind him, there are several round and bulging storage containers, indicating they are filled with goods or supplies[16]. The supplementary tool is elongated with a rounded, slightly broader top and has a simple, slightly tapered design, with the broader end likely serving as the functional part of the tool **[TABLE 1/C].**



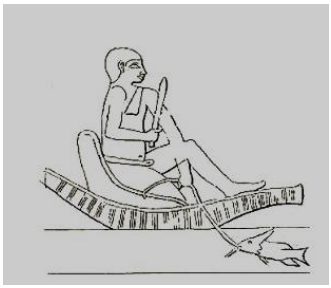
[FIGURE 3]: The tomb of *Ti*, Saqqara, 2nd half-fifth dynasty
© Done by the researcher

B. The tomb of *Ptahhetep* and *Akhethetep*, Saqqara, fifth dynasty **[FIGURE 4].** A fisherman's legs are slightly bent, holding a club-like tool in one hand and using a

[15] WILD 1953: PL.85; HOULIHAN 1996: FIG.89.

[16] STEINDORFF 1913, TAF.114; KANAWATI 2009: FIG.190.

hand-held line that catches a Synodontis Schall[17]. The supplementary tool is narrow and elongated, with a pointed tip and a slightly tapered shape **[TABLE 1/D].**

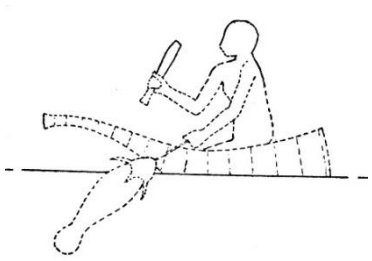


[FIGURE 4]: The tomb of *Ptahhetep* and *Akhethetep*, Saqqara, fifth dynasty © Done by the researcher

C. The tomb of *Hetep-Her-Akhty*, Saqqara, 2nd half-fifth dynasty, Rijksmuseum van oudheden Nº. F.1904/3.1 **[FIGURE 5].** A fisherman is holding *a* club-like tool while fishing with a line that captured Synodontis Batensoda in an upside-down direction[18]. The supplementary tool has a flattened shape with a curved tip **[TABLE 1/E].**

[FIGURE 5]: The tomb of *Hetep-Her-Akhty*, Saqqara, 2nd half-fifth dynasty © Done by the researcher

D. The tomb of Seshmnefer, Giza Nº.G5170, early sixth dynasty **[FIGURE 6].** From the relief of the western half of the wall, only the lower part has been preserved. A small boat is depicted at the end of the marsh water, in which a man is fishing using a line, which catches a Clarias Sp. in his right hand, he is holding a club-like tool[19]. The supplementary tool has a long, straight body with a flat end. The handle appears cylindrical **[TABLE 1/F].**



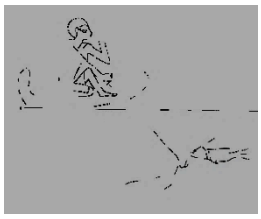
[FIGURE 6]: The tomb of *Seshmnefer*, Giza Nº.G5170, early sixth dynasty © Done by the researcher

[17] DAVIES 1901, PLS.13, 15.

[18] MOHR 1943, ABB.31; DECKER 1994: 386, TAF.211; ELSBERGEN 1997: 49, ABB.40.

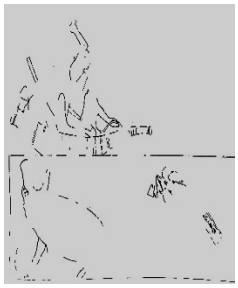
[19] JUNKER 1953: ABB.60; PORTER & MOSS 1981: 223-28.

E. The tomb of *Shepsi-pu-Min*, son of *Nehwet-desher*, Nº.G98 at *Akhmim*, early-middle *Pepy* II, sixth dynasty, north wall.[20] **[FIGURE 7]** A partially destroyed scene shows a fisherman holding a line with hooks extending into the water to catch Synodontis Schall. His other hand is raised, potentially holding the examined club-like tool, which is now completely destroyed.



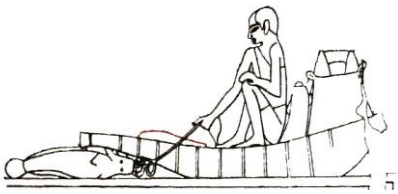
[FIGURE 7]:The tomb of *Shepsi-pu-Min,* Nº.G98, *Akhmim*, sixth dynasty © Done by the researcher

The tomb of *Hesi-Min*, El-Hawawish, West wall **[FIGURE 8].** The fisherman, with his equipment placed behind him, holds in his left hand a line with multiple hooks that have already caught a Clarias Sp. His right hand is raised, likely grasping a club, now almost completely damaged, as if he is about to strike the fish as it rises out of the water. This scene is notably different from others, as it portrays the action realistically[21].



[FIGURE 8]: The tomb of Hesi-Min, El Hawawish, west wall © Done by the researcher

F. The tomb of *Niankhkhnum* and *Khnumhotep*, Saqqara, mid-Fifth dynasty. Room II, south wall **[FIGURE 9].** At the two ends of the lower level «in the creak», there is a papyrus skiff with a fisherman and the examined club-like tool is laying on the skiff's surface together with his equipment that is placed behind him. He *is* holding *a* line with hooks extending into the water to catch Clarias Sp[22]. The supplementary tool appears to be a simple, elongated object with a tapering shape. It has a wider end that gradually narrows towards the other end **[TABLE 1/G].**



[FIGURE 9]: The tomb of *Niankhkhnum* and *Khnumhotep*, Saqqara, mid-fifth dynasty, room II, south wall © Done by the researcher

[20] KANAWATI 1988: 19, FIG.5.

[21] KANAWATI 1983: 20, FIG.13.

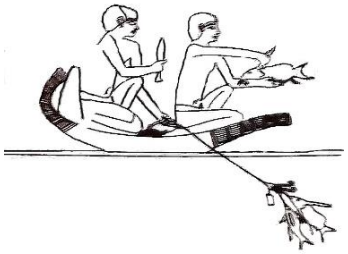
[22] HARPUR & SCREMIN 2010: PL.231; https://www.osirisnet.net/mastabas/niankhkhnoum_khnoumhotep/e_niankhkhnum_khnumhotep_02.htm, accessed on (23/07/2024).

2. There are four scenes where more than one fisherman actively engages in fishing on one papyrus boat. These scenes emphasize how the club-like tool interacts with the other different equipment and fishing tools, which appears in conjunction with the hand net especially. It also illustrates coordination between fishermen.

A. The tomb of *Idut*, Saqqara, fifth dynasty. Room III, west wall **[FIGURE 10].** Two fishermen are depicted, each involved in different aspects of fishing. A fisher is seated on a reed chair at the front of the papyrus boat, holding a club-like tool and a fishing line with multiple hooks, one of the hooks catches Synodontis Schall. He has a basket beside him filled with fish, suggesting his role in managing the catch or overseeing the fishing activities. The standing fisher at the back of the boat is actively engaged in fishing using a hand net. He is depicted in a dynamic posture, emphasizing his physical effort and skill in casting the net to catch fish. The hand net is labelled *ḫwd* «hand net fishing»[23]. The supplementary tool here appears more clearly, it has an elongated, rounded tip, the handle is narrower, fitting into the hand, while the body of the tool is wider **[TABLE 1/H].**

[FIGURE 10]: The tomb of *Idut*, Saqqara, fifth dynasty, Room III, west wall © Done by the researcher

B. The tomb of *Hesi*, Saqqara, fifth dynasty, portico, south wall, west of the entrance **[FIGURE 11].** Two fishermen are crouching, one of them is holding a fishing line with multiple hooks and extends his index finger to sense any tug on the line, which has already snagged two fish. On the other hand, he raises a club-like tool. The second fisherman is holding a Synodontis Schall with both hands.[24] The supplementary tool has a pointed tip with a slender body and a short handle ensuring a secure grip during use **[TABLE 1/I].**

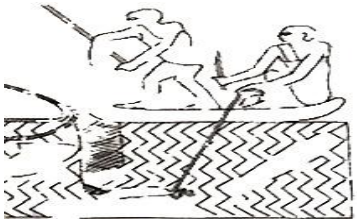


[FIGURE 11]: The Tomb of *Hesi*, Saqqara, fifth dynasty, portico, south wall, west of the entrance © Done by the researcher

[23] HOULIHAN 1996: PL.7; SAHRHAGE 1998: 96; KANAWATI & ABDER-RAZIK 2003: 46, PL.54; WILSON 2008: PL.7; KANAWATI 2009: FIG.191.

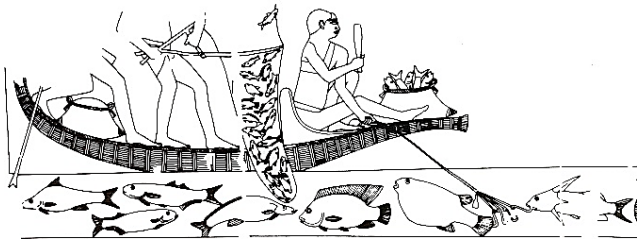
[24] QUIBELL 1913: PL.21; KANAWATI & ABDER-RAZIQ 1999: 28-29, PL.54.

C. Tomb of *Shepses-pu-Min*/*Kheni*, El-Hawawish, tomb H 24, end of the sixth dynasty, chapel, north wall, west of the shrine **[FIGURE 12].** A semi-destroyed scene represents a papyrus boat, with two fisheries. The fisher at the front is standing and fishing using a hand net. The second fisher is holding a club-like tool and a fishing line with multiple? hooks to catch a destroyed fish[25]. The supplementary tool is thin with an elongated body, pointed tip and short handle, like a stylus **[TABLE 1/J].**



[FIGURE 12]: Tomb of *Shepses-pu-Min*/*Kheni*, El-Hawawish, H 24, end sixth dynasty, north wall, west of the shrine © Done by the researcher

D. The tomb of *Idut*, Saqqara, fifth dynasty. Room I, north wall **[FIGURE 13].** There are three fishermen, the first fisherman is seated on a reed chair and is holding a club-like tool and a line extending into the water, attaching to multiple hooks, but only one hook is snagging Synodontis Schall. Large baskets filled with fish are shown in the boat, indicating the process of collecting and storing the caught fish. Another fisher uses a hand net filled with fish. The last fisher is standing holding a paddle, indicating he may be propelling the boat or stabilizing it[26]. The supplementary tool is elongated with a straight top and the handle is designed to provide a comfortable grip, allowing for effective use **[TABLE 1/K].**



[FIGURE 13]: The tomb of *Idut*, Saqqara, fifth dynasty, Room I, north wall © Done by the researcher

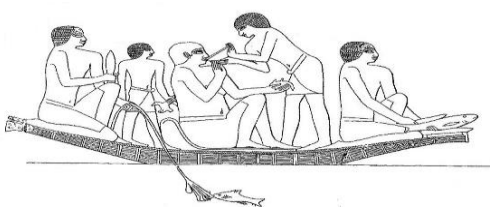
3. Three scenes depict fishing while using the club-like tool in a social context, highlighting relaxation and luxury. In these scenes, the tool is associated with leisurely and affluent activities.

A. Tomb of *Mereuka*, Saqqara, early sixth dynasty **[FIGURE 14]**. The scene illustrates a papyrus boat occupied by several individuals engaged in various activities. In the foreground, an individual is depicted preparing a fish for consumption, while the central figure, *Ihy*, *Meruka's* brother, is seated on a chair. A servant presents him with

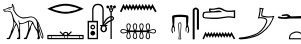
[25] KANAWATI 1981: FIG.22.

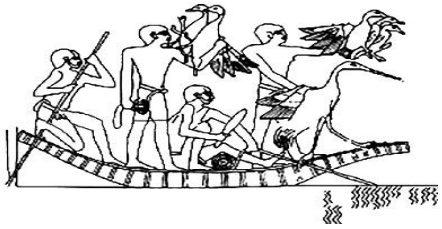
[26] KANAWATI & ABDER-RAZIK 2003: 43-44. PL.53f.

a bowl for drinking, as *Ihy* holds a fish, indicating his intent to consume it. Positioned behind *Ihy*, a servant is depicted holding a bird. In the stern of the boat, another individual is shown grasping a rope equipped with multiple hooks, one of which is secured to a fish, while the other hand holds the club-like tool[27]. The supplementary tool has a pointed tip, the handle is very short and barely fits in the hand, while the body of the tool is wide **[TABLE 1/L].**



[FIGURE 14]: Tomb of *Mereuka*, Saqqara, early sixth dynasty © Done by the researcher

B. The tomb of *Nikauisesi*, Saqqara, sixth dynasty, room I, east wall **[FIGURE 15].** The scene is set on a papyrus boat, that contains four men. At the stern is a man propelling the boat with the use of a long pole, while in the center is a fisherman who holds a club-like tool and a line extending into the water, the caught fish is completely destroyed. The supplementary tool is elongated with a rounded tip and wide body **[TABLE 1/M].** The one at the front holds three geese in one hand and a crane in the other and is identified by  *sᶜb ỉrỉ mḏᶜt sš n sᶜ ḥm –kȝ nỉ – mȝᶜt- sd* «The judge, keeper of documents, the scribe of the phyle and *ka*-servant, Nimaatsd». The second standing man is described as *ỉmỉ-r sšr ᶜntỉ* «The overseer of the linen, Anti». He holds two geese in one hand and a lotus flower in the other. The skin color and black hair color of these four men have survived well[28]. The presence of specific titles and roles «judge, keeper of documents, overseer of linen» indicates that they were people of some importance who engaged in leisure activities.



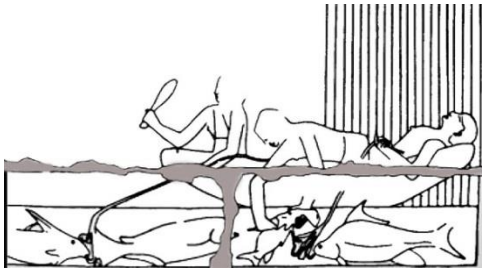
[FIGURE 15]: The tomb of *Nikauisesi*, Saqqara, sixth dynasty, room I, east wall © Done by the researcher

C. Tomb of *Merira-Meriankhptah – Nkhbw*, Giza Nº.2381, Museum of Fine Art Boston Nº. 13.4332, sixth dynasty **[FIGURE 16].** The scene includes three figures. The first figure is lying at the back of the boat in a relaxed position. The man in the middle is catching a fish and either holding or removing its spine while still in the water. The fisherman at

[27] DE MORGAN 1896: FIG.518; OIP 1938: PL.42; KANAWATI 2009: FIG.37.

[28] KANAWATI & ABDER-RAZIQ 2000: 40, PL.50.

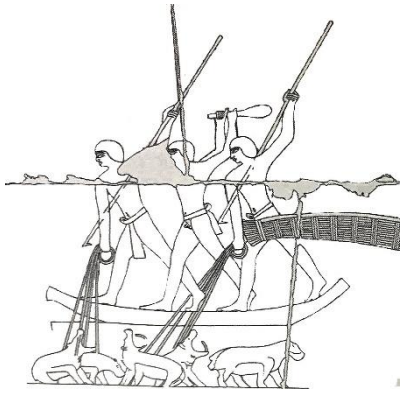
the front of the boat is using a fishing line with hooks and holding a club-like tool. The supplementary tool is long with a rounded tip, a broad body and a short handle. This scene likely represents a person of higher status «The reclining figure» being attended to, symbolizing wealth[29].



[FIGURE 16]: Tomb of *Merira-Meriankhptah – Nkhbw*-Museum of fine art Boston Nº.13.4332

4. An intriguing representation of the club-like tool used in the hunting hippopotamuses' scene.

A. Tomb of *Kagemni*, Saqqara, early sixth dynasty, room III, north wall **[FIGURE 17].** The scene represents a small boat with three hippopotamuses' hunters, each with specific roles and weapons. Two of the hunters are armed with harpoons, while the third wields a club. These hunters are depicted with a high degree of physical engagement and action, brandishing their harpoons as they wrap ropes around the bodies of the hippopotamuses. The large mammals thrash and cry out in pain as they struggle[30].



[FIGURE 17]: Tomb of *Kagemni*, Saqqara, early six dynasty, room III, north wall

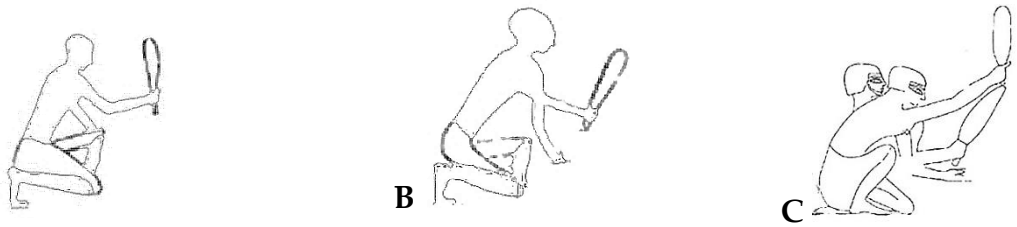
The use of harpoons enabled hunters to strike from a distance, minimizing personal risk while trying to capture or kill the hippopotamus. The presence of a club-like tool complemented the harpoons by allowing for close combat, delivering a final blow, or subduing the animal once it was caught. This demonstrates a dual strategy of an initial attack with harpoons, followed by close engagement with clubs. The supplementary tool seems larger compared to the previously studied ones. Both hands of the hunter are gripping its handle and it is noticeably flattened with a rounded top, distinguishing it from the other tools. In this context, it closely resembles a bat.

[29] SMITH 1985: 59, FIG.2; DECKER 1994: 399, TAF.223.

[30] HARPUR & SCREMIN 2006: PL.81, Nº.130.

IV- DISCUSSION

The examined tool was exclusively used with the fishing-by-line and hooks technique in ancient fishing practices. Such a tool may be similar to the sign *ḥm*, which represents a stick used by washers to clean clothing[31], it is a thick, flat wooden club used mainly to beat clothes while still being submerged in water. A similar example of a washerman's stick is preserved in the Petrie Museum, London Nº UC 63458, found at El-Lahun and dating to the late middle kingdom **[TABLE 1/P][32].** It should also be noticed that the washerman's stick is held in the same way as the club-like tool under investigation **[FIGURES 18]**[33]. Thus, even though the specific material of the club-like tool isn't mentioned, the researcher infers that it is likely made of wood, compared to the washerman's stick, which was mentioned previously.



[FIGURES 18/A-C]: The washerman's stick. A & B. From the tomb of *Amenemhat*, *Banī Ḥasan*, BH 2: The west wall. KANAWATI & EVANS 2016: vol.4; C. From the tomb of *Khnumhotep*, *Banī Ḥasan*, BH3. The west wall. KANAWATI & EVANS 2014: PL.120

However, this club-like tool does not appear in all the scenes depicting fishing with a line and hook in the old kingdom scenes. There are seven other scenes that illustrate the same fishing method and similar situations, yet without the presence of the supplementary club-like tool. Only in a significant scene belonging to an official named *Nes-Djehuty* is a single fisherman depicted alone in a papyrus skiff using a line attached to hooks. The fisherman is shown with his hand in front of his face[34], possibly as a protective gesture against anticipated danger[35]. In three other scenes found in the tombs of *Iynefert* «reused by *Idut*»[36], *Pepi –ankh-heni-kem* (A2)[37], *Kagemni*[38] and *Nimaatre*[39] more than one fisherman is depicted fishing from a single papyrus boat, with one of them using only a line. These scenes closely resemble those where the fisherman uses the examined tool, indicating that the tool is supplementary rather than essential and is used only after the fishing process is completed. Three scenes in tombs of *Pepi–ankh-*

[31] GARDINER 1973: sign list: U36; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1929: *Wb*, vol.3, 87, 5; HANNIG 2006: 526.

[32] « Textile Production and Clothing», https://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/textil/tools.htm accessed on (29/07/2024).

[33] Tomb of Amenemhat, *Banī Ḥasan*, BH 2. The west wall. KANAWATI & EVANS 2016: vol.4.
Tomb of Khnumhotep, *Banī Ḥasan*, BH3. The west wall. Kanawati & Evans 2014: PL.120.

[34] Limestone, Saqqara, fifth-sixth dynasty, Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund Nº.69.115.2, Height approx. (38 cm.); total width approx. 96 cm. THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM ANNUAL 1969-1970: vol.6.

[35] DOMINICUS 1994: 71.

[36] Saqqara, fifth dynasty. Room I, north wall, see: KANAWATI & ABDER-RAZIK 2003: 19, PL.37.

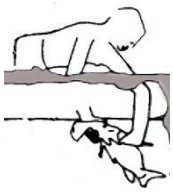
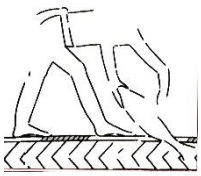
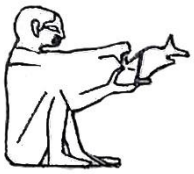
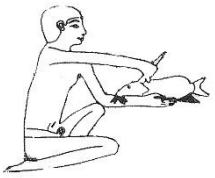
[37] Meir, end sixth dynasty, see: BLACKMAN 1953: 32, PL.24; DECKER 1994: 399 TAF.230,hs.

[38] Saqqara, early sixth dynasty, north wall room III, see: HARPUR & SCREMIN 2006: 390, Nº.134.

[39] Giza Nº. G2097, 5th dynasty or later, see: ROTH 1995: 129-130, FIG.185.

heni-kem (A2)[40] and *Wah-hotep* III[41] depict fishing by line in a social context, highlighting relaxation and luxury.

It is now apparent that the club-like tool, while prominently depicted, is not essential for all scenes, but it is the most representative. DAUMAS suggested that the club-like tool might have been used to hit the sharp, prominent pectoral spines of the Synodontis fish[42], that are capable of inflicting painful wounds[43]. However, this interpretation is not entirely accurate. In ancient Egyptian fishing practices, the removal of harmful spines from Synodontis fish[44] was more likely achieved using hands, either while the fish was still in the water «*Merira-Meriankhptah – Nkhbw*[45]*/ Shepsi-Pu-Mon/ Kheni*»[46] **[TABLE 2/A-B]** on the papyrus skiff «*Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep*[47]*/ Hesi*[48]*/ Ti*»[49] **[TABLE 2/C, D & E],** immediately after catching «*Hetep-her-akhti*[50]*/ Akhethétep*[51]*/ Nefer and Kahay*[52]*/ Mereruka*»[53] **[TABLE 2/F, G, H & I]** or when offered to the tomb owner [*Neferseshemptah*[54]*/ Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep*[55]*/ Kagemni*»[56] **[TABLE 2/J, K, L & M].**

 **a**- *Merira-Meriankhptah –*	 **b**- *Shepsi-Pu-Mon/ Kheni*,	 **c**- *Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep*,	 **d**- *Hesi*, fifth dynasty.	**e**- *Ti* 2nd half-fifth dynasty

[40] Meir, end six dynasty, room B west wall north scene, see: BLACKMAN 1953: 35, PL.28; DECKER 1994: 399, TAF.230; WOODS 2017: 19, FIG.1b; KANAWATI & EVANS 2014, PL.88.
Room B east wall - north scene, see: BLACKMAN 1953: 37, PL.30.

[41] Meir (B4) twelve dynasty. BLACKMAN 1915*:* 14, PLS.6-7; DECKER 1994: 399, TAF.249; WOODS 2017: 19, FIG.1b; KANAWATI & EVANS 2014, PL.88.

[42] DAUMAS 1964: 77.

[43] GAMER-WALLERT 1970: 12, 32ff.

[44] BREWER & FRIEDMAN 1990: 67.

[45] SMITH 1985: 59, FIG.2.

[46] KANAWATI 1988: 19, FIG.5.

[47] Room II, south wall, upper section: HARPUR & SCREMIN 2010: FIG.73.

[48] KANAWATI & ABDER-RAZIQ 1999: 28-29, PL.54.

[49] WILD 1953: PL.123**.**

[50] MOHR 1943: 59, FIG.29.

[51] ZIEGLER 1993: 132-134, 142-143.

[52] HARPUR & SCREMIN 2015: 306-307, PL.59.

[53] DUELL 1938: TAF.43.

[54] LLOYD & SPENCER 2008: 15, PL.14.

[55] Room II, south wall, upper section. HARPUR & SCREMIN 2010: FIG.73.

[56] Room IV, east wall. HARPUR & SCREMIN 2006: 164, №. 260, 166, №.263.

Nkhbw, sixth dynasty.	sixth dynasty	mid-fifth dynasty.		
f- *Hetep-her-akhti*, Mastaba of *Hetep-Her-akhti*	**g**-A*khethétep*, beginning of the sixth dynasty	**h**- *Nefer* and *Kahay*, late fifth dynasty	**i**- *Mereruka*, beginning of the sixth dynasty	**j**- *Nefer-seshem*-ptah, beginning of the sixth dynasty
k- *Nefer-seshem-ptah*, beginning of the sixth dynasty	**l**-*Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep*, mid-fifth dynasty	**m**- *Kagemni*, early sixth dynasty		

[TABLE 2]: The manual removal of harmful spines from Synodontis fish©Done by the researcher

This is more plausible than using a specialized tool designed for this purpose. The club-like tool, with its design and context, was not intended especially for dealing with fish spines. Instead, it was used primarily for delivering a quick blow to the fish immediately after it was caught, targeting the head area just above the eyes, adjacent to the brain, as evidenced by its depiction in the tomb of *Hesi-Min* **[FIGURE 8].** This is considered one of the oldest and simplest methods, where a forceful strike to the head swiftly kills the fish, unlike conventional methods where death may take several minutes. Additionally, this technique helps reduce excessive movement within the confines of a papyrus boat. The distinctive scene in the tomb of *Kagemni* **[FIGURE 17]** shows the tool being used in the context of hunting hippopotamuses suggesting that it may have been intended either for large fish or for defending against hippopotamuses, particularly when encountered near small boats. Furthermore, the Synodontis fish is not exclusively associated with the use of the club-like tool, it appears seven times in the scenes «*Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*/ *Hetep-Her-Akhty*/ *Shepsi-pu-Min*/ Idut (2 times)/ *Hesi*/ *Merira-Meriankhptah – Nkhbw*» while the Clarias Sp. also appears seven times «*Ti*/ Seshmnefer/ *Hesi-Min*/ *Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep*/ *Shepses-pu-Min*/ *Kheni*/ *Mereuka*». Therefore, DAUMAS's opinion that the club-like was used to get rid of the harmful spines of the Synodontis fish does not align with the primary documented uses of the tool.

While DAUMAS's idea is intriguing, it does not accurately reflect the tool's intended function based on the available evidence that Synodontis fish is not uniquely linked to the club-like tool.

Numerous scholars, who have investigated scenes of daily life in old kingdom tombs[57] adopted DAUMAS's perspective, which has been frequently cited. This

[57] STEINDORFF 1913: TAF.114; JUNKER 1951: ABB.60; VANDIER 1973: 536; PORTER & MOSS 1981: 223-28; BREWER & FRIEDMAN 1990: 67; HOULIHAN 1996: FIG.89; SAHRHAGE 1998: 96; BRIER & HOBBS 2008: 113; KANAWATI 2009: FIG.190; HARPUR & SCREMIN 2010: 150.

widespread citation often occurs without a comprehensive examination of the tool itself. Consequently, the role and significance of the tool may not have been thoroughly or accurately evaluated, highlighting a potential gap in the analysis of its use and function.

Finally, a detailed examination of the fisherman holding this tool reveals the following observations: The position of the fisher in relation to other fishers varies across different depictions. For example, in the tombs of *Idut* «in two scenes» and *Mereruka*, the fisher is depicted in the foreground. In contrast, in the tombs of ***Hesi*** and *Mereruka*, the fisher is shown in the rear, while in the tomb of *Nikauisesi*, the fisher occupies a central position. This variation in the fisher's position indicates that the tool did not significantly alter the fisher's role or effectiveness. When compared with other fishing-by-line scenes where the fisherman does not utilize the club-like tool, the positioning of the fishermen also varies, suggesting that the tool is supplementary and does not offer a substantial advantage to the fisherman's overall performance but is used only after the fishing process is completed.

V- CONCLUSION

The club-like tool is consistently depicted in various scenes related specifically to fishing with hook-and-line. This tool is elongated and slightly tapered, with a rounded top that broadens slightly, indicating its sturdiness. It resembles a wooden club or mallet, analysis of the tool’s features reveals no distinct types, except in the unique instance where the tool is used for hunting hippopotamuses. In this scenario, the tool appears larger and features a longer handle. Given the simplicity of the drawing, the focus seems to be on the action of holding or using the tool rather than the tool itself. For a detailed review, see **[TABLE 2].**

The design of the tool suggests it was used for tasks requiring some force. It may have been employed for striking or pounding activities, such as breaking open fish, tenderizing, crushing substances needed for fishing, or stabilizing fish to prevent them from returning to the water. However, it does not appear to be specifically designed for managing the spines that distinguish the Synodontis fish. Firstly, its morphology does not correspond to a tool intended for spine removal. Additionally, all referenced scenes show the fisherman directly managing the harmful spines without using any tool.

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SITES OF THE INDEPENDENT *MADRASAS* IN CAIRO FROM ṢALĀH AL-DĪN REIGN TO THE AYYUBID DYNASTY'S END AN INDUCTIVE AND ANALYTICAL STUDY

BY

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ABSTRACT

[EN] The Ayyubids, under Ṣalāh al-Dīn, played a significant role in establishing *Madrasas* in Egypt, aiming to strengthen Sunnī thought and refute Shiite influence. Influenced by his upbringing in the Levant, Ṣalāh al-Dīn sought to replicate the educational models he encountered there in Egypt. The primary objectives of these *Madrasas* included promoting Sunnī identity, providing state-supported religious education and offering regular platforms for *Madrasas* and judges. Cairo, the capital, became the focal point of these efforts and included 31 out of 43 *Madrasas*. However, only two of these were attached to mosques, while the others were independent institutions. The study tackled the period (564-648 AH/1169-1250 AD) and explored the sites of these independent *Madrasas*, emphasising the importance of site selection for their long-term success. It was found that the choice of the *s*ites was deliberate, based on criteria such as closeness to prestigious mosques, main streets and squares, as well as the reuse of former Fatimid structures. These strategic choices were aimed at ensuring the *Madrasas'* survival and minimising state expenses. The study concluded that most *Madrasas* achieved their goals, with the site being a critical factor in their success. However, one *Madrasa*h did not fulfil its construction objectives.

KEYWORDS: Ayyubid era, Cairo, education, Islamic sects, *madrasas*, Ṣalāh al-Dīn, sites.

مو اقع المدارس الإسلامية المستقلة بمدينة القاهرة منذ وزارة صلاح الدين الأيوبي وحتى نهاية الدولة الأيوبية: دراسة تحليلية إستقر ائية

[AR]

كان للأيوبيين الفضل في تأسيس المدارس الفقهية بالديار المصرية، ويعزى ذلك لنشأة صلاح الدين ببلاد الشام، حيث تأثر بفكرة انتشار المدارس بها، فأراد أن يطبق تلك النماذج بمصر، وكان غرضها تحقيق عدة أهداف، منها: إعادة إحياء الفكر السني، ودحض الفكر الشيعي - صبغ هوية الدولة بالهوية السنية - إقامة منشآت دينية تحت رعاية الدولة لتدريس المذاهب الفقهية والحديث النبوي - توفير المنابر النظامية لشيوخ وقضاة المذاهب الفقهية. لقد حظيت مدينة القاهرة بالنصيب الأكبر من هذه المدارس، حيث بلغ عدد مدارسها نحو 31 مدرسة من أصل 43، غير أن المدارس المستقلة بلغ عددها 29 مدرسة، بينما هناك مدرستان كانتا ملحقتان بالمساجد. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف مواقع المدارس المستقلة بمدينة القاهرة ما بين عامي 564هـ/1169م و 648هـ/1250م، حيث بلغت أهمية اختيار موقع المدرسة ما يعادل أهمية تشييدها، فحسن اختيار موضعها يضمن بقائها واستمرار وظيفتها وتحقيق أهدافها، والعكس صحيح، وبناء عليه فإن اختيار مواقع المدارس لم يأتِ صدفة، فمن خلال الاستقراء يتبين لنا أن اختيار مواقع المدارس كان يتم وفق ضوابط محددة، منها: اختيار مواضع مجاورة لمساجد، ومزارات لها مكانة في نفوس الناس، واختيار الشوارع والميادين الرئيسية والمميزة، واختيار مواضع كان بها منشآت فاطمية، وإنشاء مكانها مدارس، واختيار مواضع لا تكلف الدولة الكثير من النفقات. توصلت الدراسة لعدة نتائج منها: توضيح المناطق التي انتشرت بها المدارس بمدينة القاهرة، وأسباب الانتشار، وعرض الضوابط والمعايير في اختيار مواقع المدارس مع ذكر الشواهد الداعمة، كما أوضحت الدراسة بأن الموقع كان له دور مهم في تحقيق أهداف المدرسة، واستمرار وظيفتها لأطول فترة ممكنة، وقد حققت كل المدارس المحددة بالدراسة الهدف من بنائها، عدا مدرسة واحدة.

الكلمات الدالة: التعليم، العصر الأيوبي، القاهرة، المدارس، المذاهب الإسلامية، المواقع؛ صلاح الدين.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The research on the sites of *Madrasas* is an important topic that has been overlooked by most previous studies on *Madrasas* in Egypt, despite its significance from an archaeological point of view. The selection of an appropriate location is essential for any architectural structure to ensure its longevity, fulfill its function and achieve its goals to the fullest. Therefore, this study has several objectives, including:

- Discover the justifications for the Ayyubids' interest in establishing *Madrasas* in Egypt.
- Recognise the main objectives of *Madrasas*.
- Identify the number of *Madrasas* from the ministry of Salah Al-Din Al-Ayyubi until the end of the Ayyubid Sultanate and their sites throughout the country.
- Identify the main areas in Cairo where *Madrasas* were concentrated and spread and identify their reasons.
- Identify the criteria for selecting *Madrasa*h sites[1].
- Make conclusions related to the correlation between the sites and the continuation of the *Madrasas'* function and the fulfilment of their objectives.

To achieve these objectives, the study adopted an interdisciplinary scientific approach, including:

- **The historical approach**: Tracing the historical texts about the subject of the study.
- **The statistical approach**: The study utilised the statistical outcomes of the study topic. This approach is useful in the history of architecture studies and can provide a clear understanding of the development of an architectural style and its evolution in a particular region or period.
- Inductive analytical approach. This approach analyses, extrapolates, compares and analyses the data.

II. METHODOLOGICAL STUDY

The Ayyubids[2] were credited with establishing regular *Madrasas* of jurisprudence in Egypt. They transferred the idea of establishing *Madrasas* from the Levant to Egypt, although some *Madrasas* appeared in Alexandria before the ministry of Yusuf Ibn Ayyub (567-589 AH/1171-1193 AD)[3] in 564 AH/1169 AD. However, the *Madrasas* established after Salah Al-Din's ministry had another official character, as the *Madrasas* became official facilities under the patronage and consideration of the state. Even the sultans and princes of the Ayyubid Sultanate rushed to establish them. Moreover, the presence of these *Madrasas* within the official capital gave them an important dimension. The *Madrasas* in Alexandria were not part of the state's directives and sponsorship. One of them was a house with a teaching hall attached to it, such as the *Madrasa* of Abū Bakr al-Tartūšī, which was founded by the jurist Muḥammad ibn Al-Walīd, known as Al-Tartūšī (D. 520 AH/1126 AD)[4], in Alexandria, after 487 AH/1095

[1] AMEEN 2021: 566-597.
[2] SAIF 2024: 201.
[3] IBN ŠADDĀD 1994: 86, 363.
[4] AL-ZIRIKLĪ 2002: vol.7, 133.

AD and was under his patronage[5]. In other *Madrasas*, *Sunnī* jurisprudence was taught in secret without the knowledge of the caliph, such as the *Madrasa* of *ḥafiẓiyah*, which was established by Radwān Bin Welaḫšī (D. 543 AH/1148 AD)[6], the vizier of the Caliph AL- Ḥafiz (524-544 AH/1130-1149 AD)[7]. In 532 AH/1137 AD in Alexandria, the Caliph believed that it was just a scientific institute, so he approved its establishment. Still, the Vizier Radwān hīd from him that this *Madrasa* was dedicated to *Sunnī* jurisprudence[8].

Furthermore, the *Madrasa* of *Salafī* was established by Vizier al-ʿĀdil ibn al-Sālār (D. 548 AH/1154 AD)[9]. During his visit to the Fatimid Caliph al-Ẓāfir (544-549 AH/1149-1154 AD)[10] in 544 AH/1149 AD in Alexandria. It is an individual attempt by the vizier to build a *Madrasa* to teach Sunnī i jurisprudence[11] and he was in contact with Nūr al-Dīn Zankī (541-569 AH/1147-1174 AD)[12]. Therefore, these *Madrasas* cannot be compared to the *Madrasas* established after Ṣalāh al-Dīn'S ministry, which had a specific and declared purpose and function to teach *Sunnī* jurisprudence or Ḥadīṯ. The state tended to multiply and sponsor them and even choose their sites in the official capital.

III. DISCUSSION

Why did the Ayyubids establish independent *Madrasas* in Egypt? Ṣalāh al-Dīn began establishing these *Madrasas* during his ministry to the Caliph al-ʿAdīd (555-567 AH/1160-1171 AD)[13] in 566 AH/1170 AD. This can be because of Ṣalāh al-Dīn's upbringing in the Levant[14], where he was influenced by the idea of independent *Madrasas* spread in those countries, such as the *Madrasas* established by his teacher Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zankī, the most famous of which is Dār al- Ḥadīṯ al-Nūrīya[15] in Damascus and the *Madrasa* of Kalāsa[16]. Additionally, ʿAsad al-Dīn Šīrkūh (D. 564 AH/1169 AD)[17], Ṣalāh al-Dīn 'S uncle, also established a *Madrasa* in Damascus known as the *Madrasa* of Assadiyya[18]. These *Madrasas* had a great benefit and influence and spread the Sunnah in the Levant, which motivated Ṣalāh al-Dīn to apply such models

[5] AL-DABĪ 1967: 137; ŠĀHIN 1999: 60.
[6] IBN TĠRĪ BARDĪ 1929-1956: vol.5, 281.
[7] AL-ZIRIKLĪ 2002: vol.5, 150.
[8] AL-ŠAYĀL 1966: 46; ŠĀHIN 1990: 63.
[9] AL-ḌAHABĪ 1985: vol.20, 281.
[10] AL-ZIRIKLĪ 2002: vol.1, 318.
[11] AL-ŠAYĀL 1966: 45; ŠĀHIN 1999: 70.
[12] AL-ḌAHABĪ 1985: vol.20, 531.
[13] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1967: vol.3, 243-327.
[14] IBN ŠADDĀD 1994: 31-32.
[15] Dār al- Ḥadīṯ al-Nūrīya was established by NŪR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD IBN ZANKĪ for the historian ABŪ AL-QĀSIM IBN ʻASĀKIR (D. 571 AH/1176 AD) to give his lessons. It was likely established before 566 AH. It is currently located in the *al-Barid* area to the west of the Umayyad Mosque. YĀSIN 2001: 676-573.
[16] It was established by NŪR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD IBN ZANKĪ in 555 AH/1160 AD and it was named as such because it was the site of lime production during the construction of the Umayyad Mosque. It is adjacent to the Umayyad Mosque on the northern side and has a door that opens to it. AL-NUᶜAYMĪ 1990: vol.1, 340.
[17] IBN ḪILĪKĀN 1900: vol.2, 479.
[18] The Madrasa of ASAD AL-DIN was established by ʿAsad al-Dīn Šīrkūh in Al- šaraf Al-QiblĪ, outside Damascus and was made it for Šāfiʿī and ḤANAFĪ. AL-NUᶜAYMĪ 1990: vol.1, 114.

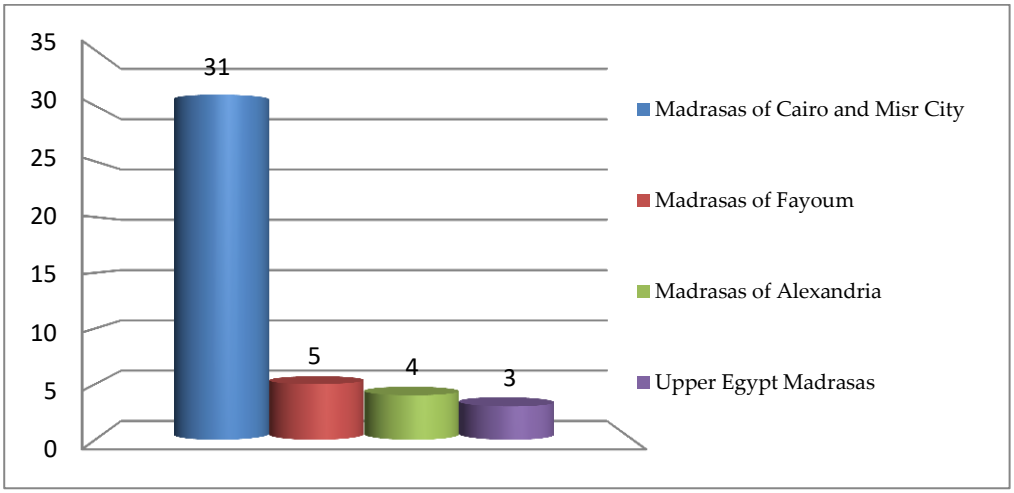
in Egypt, independent of other facilities such as mosques. On the other hand, Ṣalāh al-Dīn aimed to counter the Shiite ideology and eliminate all remnants of the Fatimid Caliphate. In addition to building Sunnī *Madrasas*, Ṣalāh al-Dīn dismissed the Shiite judges, redirected the sermon for the Abbasid Caliph instead of the Fatimid Caliph, abolished the *al-Daʿwa* Council at Al-Azhar Mosque, began arresting Fatimid statesmen, seized Fatimid palaces and changed the Fatimid emblem[19].

We note that since Ṣalāh al-Dīn assumed the ministry during the reign of the last Fatimid caliph, Caliph al-ʿAdīd, in 564 AH/1169 AD, until the late Ayyubid Sultanate in 648 AH/1250 AD, the number of *Madrasas* increased remarkably, especially in Cairo (al-Fusṭāṭ - Fatimid Cairo), with the purpose of achieving several main objectives.

Cairo had the largest share of these *Madrasas*, as the number of *Madrasas* reached about 31, which will be mentioned in detail. The number of *Madrasas* in the city of Fayoum was ranked second, with the number of *Madrasas* reaching about 5, namely the *Madrasa* of Ṣalāh al-Dīn, the two *Madrasa*s of Taqī al-Dīn ibn ʿUmar (D. 587 AH/1191 AD)[20], the *Madrasa* of al-Ḥusāmiyya Šāfiʿī and another *Madrasa* for *Mālikiyya*[21]. The city of Alexandria was ranked third, with the number of *Madrasas* reaching 4, namely the *Madrasa* of Ṣalāh al-Dīn, *Madrast ibn al-ʾAnğīb*, the *Madrasa* of Zakī al-Tağer and the *Madrasa* of Bānī Ḥadīd[22]. Finally, in Upper Egypt, there were 3 *Madrasas*, namely the *Madrasa* of Aswan, *Madrast al-Nağībiyya* in *Qus* and *Madrast Minyat Bānī al-Ḫāṣīb* in Minyā[23] **[CHART 1]** [**TABLE** 1].

Nº	**City**	**Number**
1	*Madrasas* in Cairo and Miṣr City	31
2	*Madrasas* in Fayoum	5
3	*Madrasas* in Alexandria	4
4	*Madrasas* in Upper Egypt	3

[TABLE 1]: Distribution of *Madrasas* in Egypt (564-648 AH/1169-1250 AD) © Done by the researchers



[CHART 1]: Distribution of *Madrasas* in Egypt (564-648 AH/1169-1250 AD) © Done by the researchers

[19] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1967: vol.3, 319-323.
[20] IBN AL-ʾAṮĪR 1997: vol.10, 93.
[21] ŠĀHIN 1999: 91, 103.
[22] ŠĀHIN 1999: 104, 108-109, 127.
[23] ŠĀHIN 1999: 94, 103-104.

The number and distribution of *Madrasas* were in the important cities in 564-648 AH/1169- 1250 AD. The city of Cairo enjoyed the largest share of these *Madrasas*, thanks to its status, importance and large population, as the number of its *Madrasas* was about 31, 29 of which were independent [**TABLE 2]**, while two *Madrasas* were attached to mosques, the first *Madrasa* was the *Madrasa* of Ibn al-ʿArṣūFĪ, whose site was known as *al-Bāzāzīn*, adjacent to *al-Naḫlīn* line from the city of Egypt, which was located between *Kom al-Ǧāreḥ* and *Baraka al-Ḥabaš* [24] and the second *Madrasa* was the *Madrasa* in the *Sūq Wardān* mosque, the most famous market in the city of Egypt, *al-Fusṭāṭ* [25].

IV. INDEPENDENT MADRASAS OF CAIRO

Nº	Name	Originator	Speciality	Establishment Date	Site
1	*al-Nāṣirīya*	Ṣalāh al-Dīn Yusuf	Šāfiʿī	566 AH/1170 AD	*al-Fusṭāṭ* - Old Cairo
2	*al-Qamḥiyya*	Ṣalāh al-Dīn Yusuf	Mālikī	566 AH/1170 AD	*al-Fusṭāṭ* - Old Cairo
3	*al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī*	Ṣalāh al-Dīn Yusuf	Šāfiʿī	567-568 AH/1171-1172 AD	*el-Ǧamālīya* - Downtown Cairo
4	*al-Qaṭbiyya al-ʿAtīqa*	Qutb al-Dīn ibn Bulbūl	Šāfiʿī	570 AH/1174 AD	*al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* - Downtown Cairo
5	*al-Ṣioufīīya*	Ṣalāh al-Dīn Yusuf	Ḥanafī	572 AH/1177 AD	*el-Ǧamālīya* - Downtown Cairo
6	*al-Ṣāliḥiyya*	Ṣalāh al-Dīn Yusuf	Šāfiʿī	575AH/1180 AD	*al-ʾAbāǧiyya –al-Ḫalīfa* Neighbourhood
7	*al-Taqwiyya*	Taqī al-Dīn ibn ʿUmar	Šāfiʿī	579AH/1183 AD	*al-Fusṭāṭ* - Old Cairo
8	*al-Faḍhīliyya*	al-Faḍīl ʿAbd al-Raḥīm	Šāfiʿī & Mālikī	580 AH/1184 AD	el-Ǧamālīya - Downtown Cairo
9	*al-Ayyāzkuǧ*	Saif al-Dīn Ayyāzkuǧ al-Asadī	Šāfiʿī	Before 599 AH/1203 AD	*al-Fusṭāṭ* - Old Cairo
10	*al-Ayyāzkuǧiyya*	Saif al-Dīn Ayyāzkuǧ al-Asadī	Ḥanafī	592 AH/1196 AD	*el-Ǧamālīya* - Downtown Cairo
11	*al-Sāfiyya*	Saif al-Islām Ṭaġtekīn	Šāfiʿī	Circa 596 AH/1199 AD	*al-Ḍarb al-ʾAḥmar* - Downtown Cairo
12	*al-Ġaznaiyya*	Ṣarm al-Dīn Qaymaz	Ḥanafī	Before 596 AH/1200 AD	*el-Ǧamālīya* - Downtown Cairo
13	*Banī Mazībīl*	Kurdish man	Šāfiʿī & Ḥanbalī	Before 597 AH/1201 AH	*al-Fusṭāṭ* - Old Cairo
14	*Al-Hakkariyya*	Ǧamāl al-Dīn al-Hak ārī	Šāfiʿī	Between the years 605-606 AH/1209-1210 AD	*el-Ǧamālīya* - Downtown Cairo
15	*al-Nābulusiyya*	ʿĀlam al-Dīn al-Nābulusī	Šāfiʿī	607 AH/1211 AD	*el-Ǧamālīya* - Downtown Cairo

[24] IBN DUQMĀQ 1893: vol.4, 98; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 456.
[25] IBN DUQMĀQ 1893: vol.4, 98.

16	*al-Ǧaharks*	Faḫr al-Dīn Ǧaharks	Ḥanafī	Before 608 AH/1212 AD	Cairo
17	*al-Ṣāḥibiyya*	Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Šukr	Mālikī	Between 596-611 AH/1200-1214 AD	*al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* - Downtown Cairo
18	*al-Šarifiyya*	Faḫr al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn Ḥassan al-Dawla	Šāfiʿī	612 AH/1215 AD	*al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* - Downtown Cairo
19	*al-Kamil iyya*	Muḥammad ibn al-ʿĀdil	Šāfiʿī - Dār al-Ḥadīṯ	622 AH/1225 AD	*el-Ǧamālīya* - Downtown Cairo
20	*al-Faḫriyya*	Faḫr al-Dīn Abū al-Faṯḥ	Ḥanafī	622 AH/1225 AD	*al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* - Downtown Cairo
21	*al-Qusiyya*	Kurdish Governor Of QUS	Šāfiʿī	Before 631 AH/1234 AD.	*el-Ǧamālīya* - Downtown Cairo
22	*Maḥmūd Ibn ʿAli Muezzin*	Unknown	Šāfiʿī	Before the year 632 AH/1235 AD.	*al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* - Downtown Cairo
23	*al-ʿAšuriyya*	ʿĀshūra bint Sāruh al-ʾAsadī	Ḥanafī	Before the year 633 AH/1236 AD.	*el-Ǧamālīya* - Downtown Cairo
24	*al-Sāiramiyya*	Ǧamāl al-Dīn bin Sāiram	Unknown	Before the year 636 AH/1238 AD	*el-Ǧamālīya* - Downtown Cairo
25	*al-Fāʾiẓiyya*	Šaraf al-Dīn al-Fāʾiẓī	Šāfiʿī	Before the year 636 AH/1238	*al-Fusṭāṭ* - Old Cairo
26	*al-Kahāriyya*	Kahār Ḫātūn Ḥabība	Šāfiʿī	637 AH/1240 AD	*al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* - Downtown Cairo
27	*Ibn Rašīq*	ʿĀlam al-Dīn ibn Rašīq	Mālikī	After the year 640 AH/1243 AD	*al-Fusṭāṭ* - Old Cairo
28	*al-Ṣāliḥiyya*	al-Ṣāliḥ Nağm al-Dīn Ayyūb	The four maḏhāhib	641 AH/1243 AD	*el-Ǧamālīya* - Downtown Cairo
29	*Masrūr*	Šams al-Ḥawās Masrūr	Unknown	647 AH/1250 AD	*el-Ǧamālīya* - Downtown Cairo

[TABLE 2]: Details of independent *Madrasas* in Cairo © Done by the researchers

The table shows that these *Madrasas* are concentrated in four main areas. *al-Fusṭāṭ* in the Old Cairo neighbourhood, *el-Ǧamālīya*, *al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* in the Downtown Cairo neighbourhood and *al-ʾAbāǧiyya* – in *al- Ḫalīfa* neighbourhood.

1. *al-Fusṭāṭ* Madrasas [TABLE 3]

al-Fusṭāṭ was the first capital of Egypt[26], built immediately after the conquest of Egypt and was the seat of the Emirate House. This state of affairs continued until the city of *al-ʿAskar* was built, so the seat of government and emirate was transferred to it; then, *al-Qaṭāyāt* was built and the princes took it as the seat of government until Cairo was built and became the seat of government. In the Fatimid Caliphate, Cairo became the seat of the caliphs, princes and courtiers and *al-Fusṭāṭ* became the seat of the common people. Moreover, its urbanisation and population increased until the Franks attacked and tried to seize Egypt and took *al-Fusṭāṭ* and Cairo and the Vizier in Šawār al-Sʿād (D. 564 AH/1168 AD)[27] was unable to protect the two countries. Therefore, he

[26] EL-KHALWEY 1999: 599.

[27] AL-ḎAHABĪ 1985: vol.20, 514.

instructed people to evacuate *al-Fusṭāṭ* and join Cairo. After that, he set fire to *al-Fusṭāṭ*, burning most of its houses[28]. When the Franks left Cairo and ʾAsad al-Dīn Širkūh took over the ministry, he instructed people to return and rebuild to *al-Fusṭāṭ*, promising to protect them and restore the city. Thus, people started returning to it[29], tried to restore some of the ruined architecture and rebuilt the area around the mosque[30]. Yusuf Ibn Ayyub followed in the footsteps of his uncle after assuming the ministry and sought to rebuild the city, especially the mosque. Therefore, he established his first two *Madrasas* next to the mosque and then he restored and rehabilitated the mosque in 568 AH/1172 AD[31]. The city of *al-Fusṭāṭ* had a great place among the Ayyubids, who endeavoured to rebuild it and build their *Madrasas* there. Consequently, five out of seven *Madrasas* in *al-Fusṭāṭ* were built by viziers and princes. *al-Fusṭāṭ* is part of *Miṣr al-Qadīma* neighbourhood of Cairo today **[FIGURE 1] [CHART 2]** *al-Fusṭāṭ Madrasas* were.

[FIGURE 1]: *Miṣr al-qadīma* district, Google Earth: https://n9.cl/ea6k4, accessed on (11/08/2024)

A. *Madrast al-Nāṣiriyya* was located next to *ʿAmr ibn al-ʾĀṣ* mosque. Its site is evidenced today by the open land located to the southeast of the mosque, in *al-Fusṭāṭ* area, in the neighbourhood of *Miṣr al-qadīma*[32] **[FIGURE 2/Nº.1].**

B. *Madrast al-Qamḥiyya* was located next to *ʿAmr ibn al-ʾĀṣ* mosque. Its site is evidenced today by the open land located to the southeast of the mosque, in *al-Fusṭāṭ* area, in the neighbourhood of *Miṣr al-qadīma*[33]**[FIGURE 2/Nº.2].**

C. *Madrast al-Taqwiyya* was replaced by *al-Marḥumī* Mosque on *al-Marḥumī* Street, *al-Fusṭāṭ*, in the neighbourhood of *Miṣr al-qadīma*[34] **[FIGURE 3/Nº.1].**

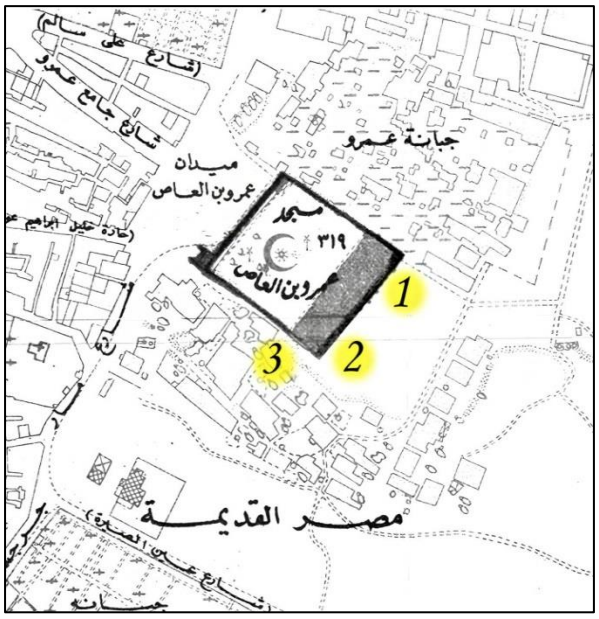
D. *Madrast Banī Mazībīl* was in the line of *al-Naḫalis* in Egypt, between *Kom al-Ǧāreḥī* and *Baraka al-Ḥabaš*[35].

[28] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.2, 3-4.
[29] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1967: vol.3, 303.
[30] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.2, 146.
[31] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 23.
[32] IBN TĠRĪ BARDĪ 1929-1956: vol.5, 385,Nº.1; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 454; QĀSIM 2017: vol.3,6.
[33] IBN TĠRĪ BARDĪ 1929-1956: vol.5, 385, Nº.1; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 455.
[34] IBN DUQMĀQ 1893: vol.4, 93; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 456.
[35] IBN DUQMĀQ 1893: vol.4, 98.

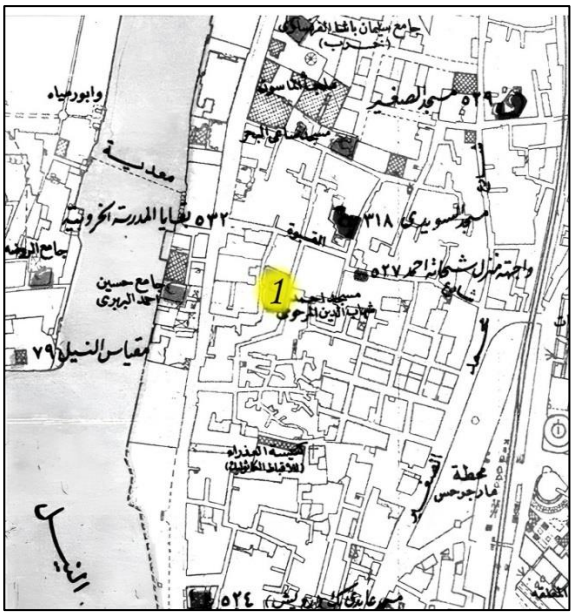
E. *Madrast Ayyāzkūš* was adjacent to the *ʿAmr ibn al-ʾĀṣ* mosque on the south western side of the spinning market in the city of Egypt, i.e., *al-Fusṭāṭ*[36] **[FIGURE 2, Nº.3].**

F. *Madrast al-Fāʾiẓiyya* was located in one of the plans of *Miṣr al-qadīma*[37].

G. *Madrast ibn Rašīq* was in the line of *ḥammām al-rāʾīs*, in the city of *Miṣr*[38].



[FIGURE 2]: Approximate *Madrasa* sites around *ʿAmr ibn al-ʾĀṣ* mosque © Egyptian General Survey Authority, Map Cairo 2



[FIGURE 3]: Showing the approximate site of *Madrast al-Taqwīyya*, which was replaced by *Al-Marḥūmī* Mosque © Egyptian General Survey Authority, Map Cairo 2

2. *Madrasas* in *el-Ǧamālīya* Area [TABLE 3]

After the establishment of the Ayyubid Sultanate, the Fatimid city of Cairo became a residential city for the public after being dedicated to the caliphs, princes and dignitaries and Ṣalāh al-Dīn took control of the Fatimid palaces and houses to house his companions[39]. After Ṣalāh al-Dīn took over the rule of Egypt, he established two *Madrasas* in parts of the houses of the Fatimid caliphs and viziers, namely *Madrast al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī* on parts of the Eastern Palace[40] and *Madrast al-Ṣioufīya* on parts of the house of Vizier Al-Ma'mun al-Bāṭaʾḥī (522 AH/1128 AD)[41]. When Ṣalāh al-Dīn allowed the common people to live in Cairo, many went to build and construct, especially the area located in *el-Ǧamālīya* section, due to the presence of Fatimid palaces, viziers' houses and main squares at that time, as it enjoyed the breadth, luxury and quality of construction. Consequently, the entire city began to change its features; its population increased, it became crowded and houses, markets and *Madrasas* were built[42]. Currently, *el-Ǧamālīya* area is one of the sections of the Midtown

[36] IBN DUQMĀQ 1893: vol.4, 61; IBN DUQMĀQ 1893: vol.4, 94; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 456.
[37] IBN DUQMĀQ 1893: vol.4, 92; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 459.
[38] IBN DUQMĀQ 1893: vol.4, 96; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 459.
[39] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.2, 223.
[40] AL-SAḤĀWĪ 1937: 95; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.2, 410.
[41] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 460; ĀL-MĀQRYZĪ, 2006: vol.6, 264.
[42] ISMĀʿĪL 2001: 143-144.

district in the western part of Cairo and dominates the northern part of Fatimid Cairo. **[FIGURE 4] [CHART.2]** The *Madrasas* located in this area are.

[FIGURE 4]: Cairo, *el-Ǧamālīya* district, Google Earth: https://n9.cl/iwpfpz, accessed on (11/8/2024)

A. *Madrast al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī* was located next to *al-Ḥusaynī Mašhad*, which is now located in *al-Ḥusayn* area in *el-Ǧamālīya* section[43] **[FIGURE 11/Nº.1].**

B. *Madrast Ṣioufīya*. In 1158-1159 AH/1745-1746 AD, this *Madrasa* was replaced by a mosque known as *masǧid al-šayḫ Muṭahhir* Nº.40**,** currently located at the end of *al-Ṣāġa*, šariʿ al-Muʿizz, el-Ǧamālīya[44] **[FIGURE 12/Nº.1].**

C. *Madrast al-Faḍhīlīyya* was located in *Darb al-Mulūḫiyya*, Cairo. Its current site is indicated by *Qaṣr al-Šawk* Lane, a branch of shariʿ *Qaṣr al-Šawk* in *el-Ǧamālīya* neighbourhood. It is believed that the site of this *Madrasa* is numbered 24 in *Darb al-Qazzāzīn, el-Ǧamālīya*[45] **[FIGURE 11/Nº.2].**

D. *Madrast al-Azkāšīyya* was located at the head of the Ḫaroukī market, which was then known as *ʾamīr al-ǧayyūš* market, near *bāb* al-*Qanṭara*. It is believed that this *Madrasa* was transformed into the mosque known as *al-Ġamrī* Mosque at the end of *ʾamīr al-ǧayyūš al-ǧawanī* Street, *al-Ǧumhūrīyya*[46] **[FIGURE 13/Nº.1].**

E. *Madrast* Ġaznavīyya was located at the head of al-*ʾAmīr al-Ǧayyūš* Market, opposite the *Madrasa* of Ayyazkuš at the end of šariʿ *ʾamīr al-ǧayyūš*, *el-Ǧamālīya*[47] **[FIGURE 13/ Nº.2].**

F. *Madrast Hakkarīya was located in the Bin al-Qaṣārīn area in* Cairo 48.

G. *Madrast Nābulusiyya* was located in the alley opposite al-Sayyid al-Saʿāda ḫānqah in today's *el-Ǧamālīya* neighbourhood. It became a corner known as Zāwiya al-Arbaʿīn in *el-Ǧamālīya* neighbourhood[49] **[FIGURE 11, Nº.3].**

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[43] AL-SAḪĀWĪ 1937: 95; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.2, 410.

[44] MUBĀRAK 1306AH/1889AD: vol.5, 1; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 460; ŠĀHIN 1999: 111; ABŪ AL-ʿAMAYIM 2003: vol.1, 291; MTAWALLĪ 2023: 327-378.

[45] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.3, 111; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 462; QĀSIM 2017: vol.3, 13.

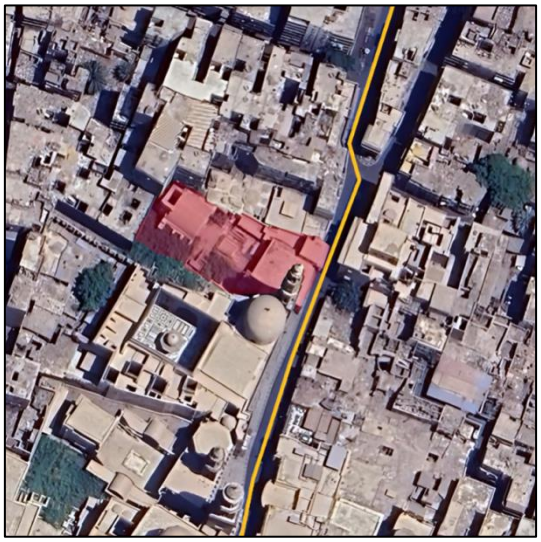
[46] AL-SAḪĀWĪ 1937: 75, Nº.1; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 466; ŠĀHIN 1999: 114.

[47] MUBĀRAK 1306AH: vols.6-11; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 563; ŠĀHIN 1999: 115; QĀSIM 2017: vol.3, 15.

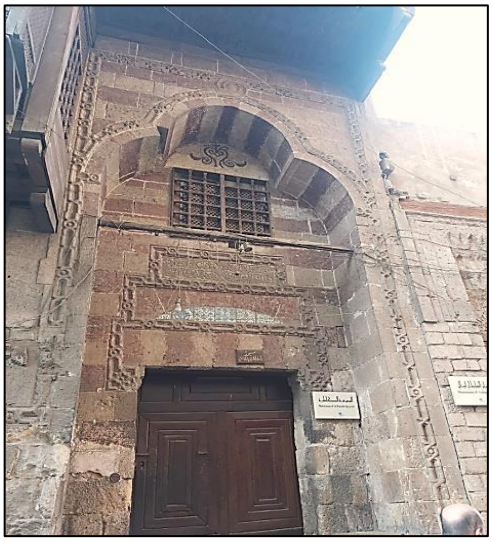
[48] AL-SAḪĀWĪ 1937: 87; ŠĀHIN 1999: 95.

[49] MUBĀRAK 1306AH/1889AD: vol.6, 16, 19; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 678.

H. *Madrast Al-Kamilīyya* is located on the line between the two Qasriyas in Cairo. Its current remains are located on *šari ʿ al-Mu ʿizz* [50] **[FIGURES 5-7] [FIGURE 11/Nº.4].**



[FIGURE 5]: Site of *Madrast Al-Kamilīyya, šari ʿ al-Mu ʿizz*, Google Earth: https://n9.cl/moabt, accessed on (30/7/2022)



[FIGURE 6]: The entrance of the Madrassa © Photo taken by MOHAMED HISHAM 2024.

[FIGURE 7]: Remains of *Madrast Al-Kamilīyya* © Photo taken by MOHAMED HISHAM 2022

I. *Madrast al-Qusiya* was located in Darb Seif al-dawla, near *Darb al-Mulūḫiyya*, the current *Qaṣr al-Šawk* neighbourhood in *el-Ǧamālīya* district. Some researchers argue that this *Madrasa* was replaced by a zāwiya (small mosque) known as Zāwiyt al-Šayḫ ʿAṭiyya [51].

J. *Madrast* al-Ašuriyya was located in *Zuwaila* neighbourhood, near the new polar *Madrasa* and *Raḥbat Kūkāy*. Some researchers argue that the ruins of this *Madrasa* can still be seen in *Zuwaila* Lane **Nº.27.** *el-Ǧamālīya* neighbourhood[52]**[FIGURE 13/Nº.3].**

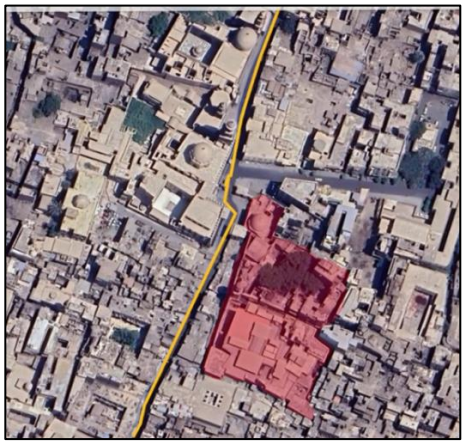
[50] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 49; ŠĀHIN 1999: 97.

[51] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 504; IBN ʿABD AL-ẒAHIR 1996: 92; QĀSIM 2017: vol.3, 16.

[52] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 468; ŠĀHIN 1999: 116; QĀSIM 2017: vol.3, 14.

K. *Madrast Sirmīya was located inside Bāb al-Ǧamālūn, between the head of al-Amir al-Ǧayyūsh Sīwāqa* and *Masǧid al-Ḥākim*. It disappeared in the nineteenth century and was replaced by a *Zāwiya* known as *al-Dabābiyya*. According to some researchers, its current site is evidenced by a ruin surrounded by a wall at the beginning of *šariʿ al-Dabābiyya* **Nº.15** in *el-Ǧamālīya* neighbourhood[53]**[FIGURE 11/Nº.4].**

L. *Madrast al-Ṣāliḥiyya* was located in *Bin al-Qaṣārīn* line of Cairo. Its remains remain today in the *al-Ṣāġa* neighbourhood on *šariʿ al-Muʿizz* in *el-Ǧamālīya*[54] **[FIGURES 8-10] & [FIGURE 11, Nº.5].**



[FIGURE 8]: Site of *Madrast al-Ṣāliḥiyya* on *šariʿ al-Muʿizz*, Google Earth: https://n9.cl/00x3t, accessed on (30/7/2022).

[FIGURE 9]: The entrance of the Madrassa © Photo taken by MOHAMED HISHAM 2024

[FIGURE.10]: Remains the *Madrast al-Ṣāliḥiyya* © Photo taken by MOHAMED HISHAM 2023

M.*Madrast Masrūr* was located in Darb Seif al-Dawla, near Darb Molokhia. Darb Seif al-Dawla is currently located in *al-Šams al-Dawla* neighbourhood, between *Ǧawhar al-Qāʾid* and al-Ḥamzāwī al-Ṣaġīr streets. Some researchers argue that this *Madrasa* was replaced by *al-Zankalūnī* Mosque in *al-Šams al-Dawla* neighbourhood in *al-Ḥamzāwī*, *el-Ǧamālīya*[55]**[FIGURE 12, Nº.2].**

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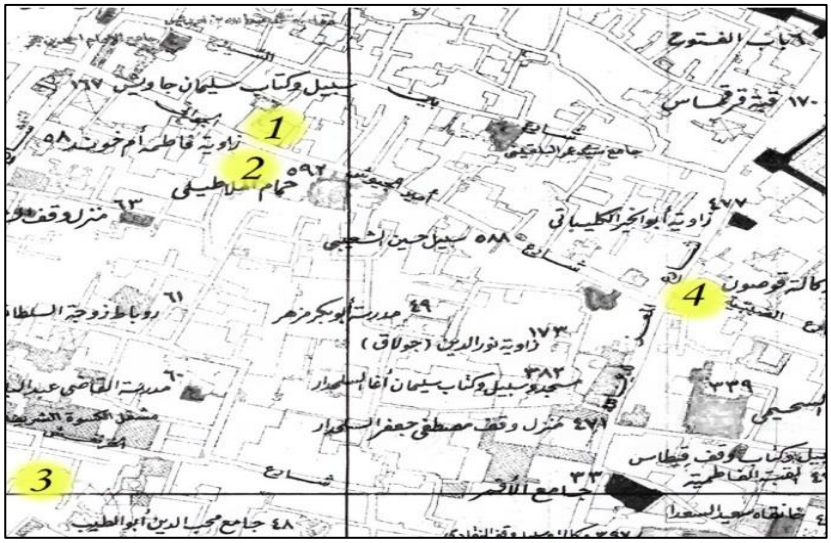
[53] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 503; IBN ʿABD AL-ẒAHIR 1996: 86; ŠĀHIN 1999: 128; QĀSIM 2017: vol.3, 21.

[54] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 485; IBN ᶜABD AL-ẒAHIR 1996: 85; UTHMAN 2023: 246-260.

[55] IBN TĠRĪ BARDĪ 1929-1956: vol.4, 52, Nº.2; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.3, 108, Nº.1; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 504; IBN ᶜABD AL-ẒAHIR 1996: 25; ABŪ AL-ʿAMAYIM 2003: vol.1, 271; QĀSIM 2017: vol.3, 16.

[FIGURE 11]: Approximate sites of some *Madrasas* (*al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī, Faḍhīliyya, Nābulusiyya, Al-Kamiliyya, & Ṣāliḥiyya,* Egyptian General Survey Authority, Map Cairo 1

[FIGURE 12]: The site of the *Madrasa* of al-Ṣioufiīya, replaced by *al-Šayḫ Muṭahhar* mosque and the approximate site of *Madrast Masrūr*, Egyptian general survey authority, Map Cairo 1



[FIGURE 13]: The approximate sites of some *Madrasas* (*Al-Azkašiya, al-Ġaznaiyya, al-ʿAšuriyya& Al-Sairamiyya* , Egyptian general survey authority, map Cairo 1

3. *Madrasas* in *al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* [TABLE 3]

al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar is one of the sections of the Downtown Cairo neighbourhood in the western part of Cairo, dominating the southern part of Fatimid Cairo and some parts of Fatimid Cairo outside *Bāb Zuwayla*. All the *Madrasas* located in this area were established in the southern parts of Fatimid Cairo, except for the *Madrasa* of Maḥmoud ibn ʿAli, which was located outside *Bāb Zuwayla*. Reasons for the increase in architecture and population in *el-Ǧamālīya* area apply to this area, but *el-Ǧamālīya* area was more prosperous **[FIGURE 14] [CHART 2]** Its *Madrasas* were.

[FIGURE 14]: Cairo's *al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar*, Google Earth: https://n9.cl/g1jbk, accessed on (11/8/2024)

A. *Madrast al-Qaṭbiyya al-ʻAtīqa* used to be located on *Suwayqa al-Ṣāḥib* line within *al-Darb al-Ḥarrīrī.* It has been replaced by *dār waqf al-talāwī* **[Nº.10],** *al-Mālaṭī* Lane, formerly *Darb al-Ḥarrīrī*, branching off from Al-Laboudiya railway in Al-Hamzawi, in al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar in the Downtown Cairo district[56]**[FIGURE 6, Nº.1].**

B. *Madrast al-Saifiya*, The site of this *Madrasa* was near *al-Bunduqānīn* Line and al-*Mallāḥīn* Line. This area was later known as *Suwayqa al-Ṣāḥib*. This *Madrasa* is currently known as ʻUṯmān al-Ḥaṭṭāb Mosque on *Bībars al-Ḥamzāwī* Street in *al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* [57]**[FIGURE 15, Nº.2].**

C. *Madrast al-Ṣāḥibiyya*. Parts of the site of this *Madrasa* were replaced by a zāwiya known as *zawiyyt al-Sitt Bīrām*, but it was replaced by houses. The site of the *Madrasa* can currently be identified on *al-wazīr al-Ṣāḥib* Street, where two neighbouring houses replaced it. One is *al-Baḥrī* numbered (8), which had the door of the *Madrasa* and the other house **[Nº.4]** in *Zuqāq Saʻāda*, in the corner of *al-Sitt Bīrām* on *Darb Saʻāda* Street, which has the remains of a dome attributed to the *Madrasa*[58]**[FIGURE 15, Nº.3].**

D. *Madrast al-Šarifiyya* was located in *Darb Karkāma* at the head of *al-Ǧūdariyya* lane. It was still functioning until it was ruined, so it was renovated in 1205 AH/1791 AD and became a prayer zāwiya, which was known as *zāwiyt Al-ᶜArabī*, current *Al-ᶜArabī* Mosque Nº.459, located on *al-Šarāyibī* Street in *al-Ġūrīyya*, behind *al-Ġūrī* Mosque[59]**[FIGURE 15, Nº.4].**

E. *Madrast al-Faḫriyya* was located between *Suwayqa al-Ṣāḥib* and *Darb al-ᶜAdas*. Some researchers argue that this *Madrasa* is the mosque known as Abū Saʻīd Ǧaqmaq who renovated and reconstructed it. It is currently located in *Darb al-Saᶜāda*, *al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar*[60]**[FIGURE 15, Nº.5].**

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[56] IBN TĠRĪ BARDĪ 1929-1956: vol.6, 16, Nº.7; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 459; IBN ʻABD AL-ẒAHIR 1996: 90; ŠĀHIN: 1999, 79.

[57] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 467; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.2, 519-520; ŠĀHIN 1999: 92; QĀSIM 2017: vol.3, 15.

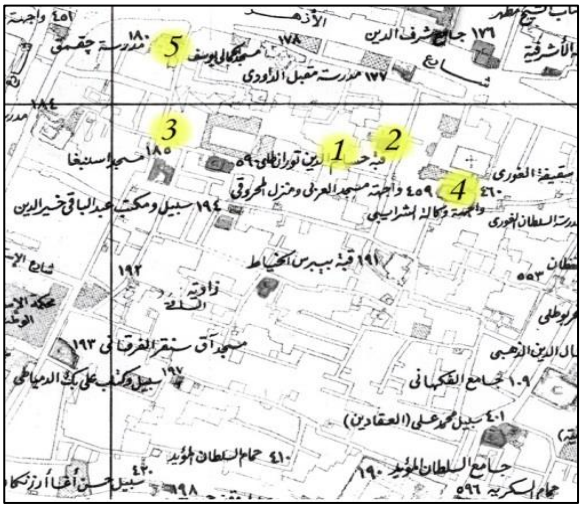
[58] MUBĀRAK 1306Ah: vol.6, 21; IBN TĠRĪ BARDĪ 1929-1956: vol.6, 208, Nº.4; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 476-467; ŠĀHIN 1999:107.

[59] MUBĀRAK 1306AH/1889AD: vol.6, 8, 18; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 481; IBN ʻABD AL-ẒAHIR 1996: 91; ABŪ AL-ʻAMAYIM 2003: vol.1, 443.

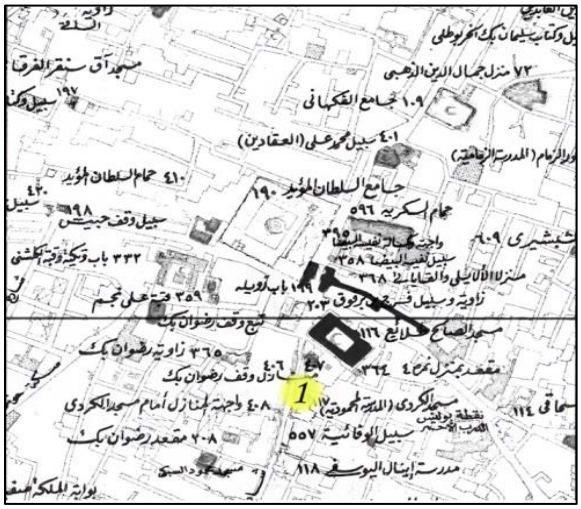
[60] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 466; IBN ʻABD AL-ẒAHIR 1996: 87; QĀSIM 2017: vol.4, 126; AL-SAḪĀWĪ N.D: vol.3, 71.

F. *Madrast* Maḥmūd ibn ʻAlī al-Muʼazzīn was located in *al-Mawāzīyīn* line next to the Kurdish house. Its current site is known as *al-Ḫayyāmiyya* in *al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* [61]**[FIGURE 16, Nº.1].**

G. *Madrast al-Kahariya* was located near *al-Ǧūdariyya*, current *al-Ǧūdariyya* neighbourhood in *al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* [62]**.**



[FIGURE 15]: The approximate sites of some *Madrasas* (*al-Qaṭbiyya al-ʻAtīqa, Al-Saifiya, al-Ṣāḥibiyya, al-Šarifiyya, & al-Faḫriyya*, Egyptian general survey authority, map Cairo 1



[FIGURE 16]: The approximate site of *Madrast Maḥmūd ibn ʻAlī al-Muʼazzīn* in *al-Ḫayyāmiyya* , Egyptian general survey authority, map Cairo 1

4. *Madrasas* in *al-ʾAbāǧiyya* Area [TABLE 3]

During the Ayyubid era, there was no lack of interest in establishing *Madrasas* in *al-ʾAbāǧiyya* area *al-Qarāfa al-Ṣughrā*, which included many mausoleums and graves, with some houses, mosques and prayers. The Ayyubids probably did not prefer to establish their *Madrasas* in this area, as only one *Madrasa* was built next to the dome of al-Imām al-Šāfiʻī [63], perhaps due to its distance from the main city centres **[FIGURE 17] & [CHART 2].**

[FIGURE 17]: Cairo's *al-ʾAbāǧiyya*, Google Earth: https://n9.cl/07l6c, accessed on (11/8/2024)

[61] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 656.
[62] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 678.
[63] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 849.

A. *Madrast Ṣāliḥiyya* was located next to the dome of al-Imām al-Šāfiʿī, which is located on *al-Imām al-Šāfiʿī* Street in *al-Qarāfa al-Ṣughrā*, *al-ʾAbāğiyya*, al-Ḫalīfa neighbourhood[64] **[FIGURE 18, Nº.1].**

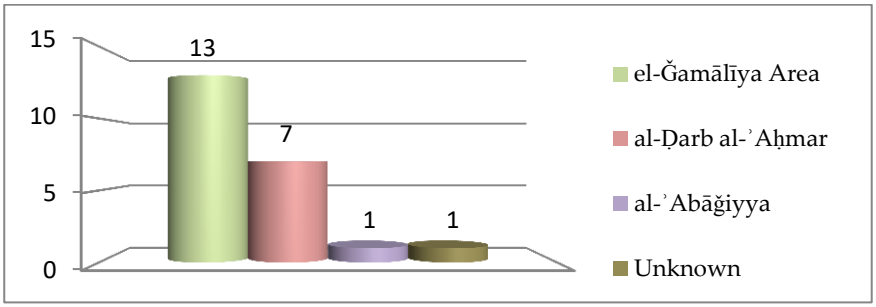
[FIGURE 18]: The approximate site of *Madrast Ṣāliḥiyya* next to the dome of al-Imām al-Šāfiʿī, Egyptian general survey authority, map Cairo 2

5. *Madrasas* with Unknown Sites[TABLE 3]

A. The *Madrasa* of Jaharkas. Resources did not provide us with much information about this *Madrasa*, making its site unknown[65] **[CHART 2].**

Nº	Area	Number of *Madrasas*
1	*al-Fusṭāṭ* City	7
2	*el-Ğamālīya* Area	13
3	*al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* Area	7
4	*al-ʾAbāğiy*ya area	1
5	Unknown	1

[TABLE 3]: Distribution of *Madrasas* (564-648 AH/1169-1250 AD) in Cairo © Done by the researcher



[CHART 2]: Number of *Madrasas* in each area within Cairo City © Done by the researcher

[64] MUBĀRAK 1306AH/1889AD: vol.6, 15; ʾABD AL-WAHAB 1946: vol.1, 107; AL-SUYUṬĪ 1967: vol.2, 257; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 631; QĀSIM 2017: vol.3, 9.

[65] AL-QURAŠĪ 1993: vol.3, 516; ŠĀHIN 1999: 117.

V. CRITERIA FOR SELECTING *MADRASA* SITES

The importance of choosing the site of the *Madrasa* is no less important than its construction because it ensures survival and functionality. Building *Madrasas* was like a large-scale propaganda campaign, entitled *Sunnī* state and *Sunnī* thought, against the remnants of Shiite thought; the more appropriate the site of the *Madrasa*, the greater its impact and its reflection on society and the country. Therefore, the criteria for choosing the site of these *Madrasas* were not arbitrary, including choosing sites adjacent to important mosques and shrines, choosing the main and distinctive streets and squares, sites with Fatimid establishments to establish *Sunnī Madrasas* instead and choosing sites that did not cost the state a lot of expenses.

1- Sites Adjacent to Important Mosques and Shrines [TABLE 4]

As is the case with the *Madrasa* of *Nāṣiriyya* and the *Madrasa* of *al-Qamḥiyya* built by Ṣalāh al-Dīn in 566 AH/1170 AD, next to the *ʿAmr ibn al-ʾĀṣ* mosque[66], which were the first two *Madrasas* he built in the Egyptian lands. Furthermore, the *Madrasa* of *Azkašiyah* was built by Prince Saif al-Din Ayyazkoğ al-saᶜdī (D. 599 AH/1203 AD)[67], before 599 AH/1203 AD in the yarn market next to the *ʿAmr ibn al-ʾĀṣ* mosque[68]. The Site of these Madrasas near the ancient mosque was chosen because of its status among Muslims, especially the Sunnīs. It was the first mosque in Egypt, built by the companions of the Prophet. It remained a centre for Sunnis and their people from its first day, even during the Fatimid rule. The *Madrasas* chosen to be located near shrines and mausoleums: As for the reasons for establishing a *Madrasa* next to *al-Ḥusaynī* was due to the importance of this scene among Muslims. It is believed that al-Ḥusayn's head was transported from ʻᶜsqalān to Egypt and was buried in this scene[69]. Ṣalāh Al-Dīn built a *Madrasa* next to the scene in 567-568 AH/1171-1172 AD. The study suggests that there are reasons why Ṣalāh Al-Dīn chose to locate the *Madrasa* next to *al-Ḥusayn* scene, including.

- Although Ṣalāh al-Dīn eliminated the Fatimids and fought against their doctrine, he wanted to show his love and appreciation for *Ahl al-Bayt*, headed by al-Ḥusayn.
- Ṣalāh al-Dīn wanted to make the scene of al-Ḥusayn one of the most important shrines for the Shiites, where they held funerals, slaughtered livestock, mourned and wept, especially on the Day of *ʻĀshūrā'*[70]. Therefore, he wanted to create a platform for Ahl al-Sunnah to spread Sunnah and fight heresy next to this scene.

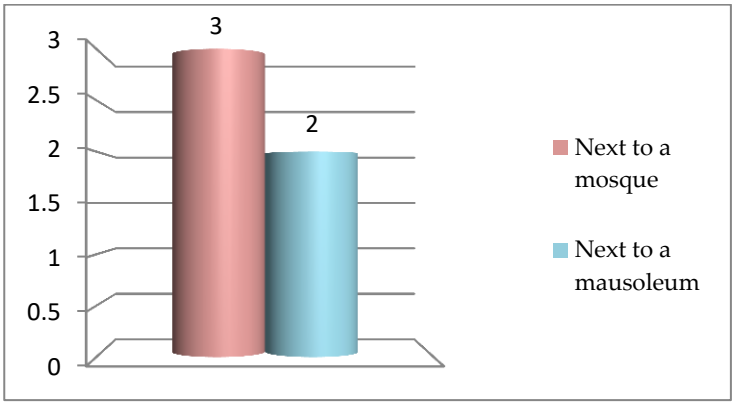
In 572 AH/1176 AD[71], Ṣalāh al-Dīn built the *Madrasa* of *Ṣāliḥiyya* a next to the tomb of *al-Imām al-Šāfiʻī*, which was completed in 575 AH/1180 AD[72] due to the role of al-Imām al-Šāfiʻī (D. 204 AH/820 AD)[73] in the service of the Prophet's *Sunnah*, as well as his establishment in serving the Prophet's *Sunnah* and establishing one of the most

[66] IBN DUQMĀQ 1893: vol.4, 93; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 454; ŠĀHIN 1999: 75.
[67] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 465-466.
[68] IBN DUQMĀQ 1893: vol.4, 61, 94; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 456.
[69] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.2, 406.
[70] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.2, 408.
[71] AL-SUYUṬĪ 1967: vol.2, 257.
[72] ʾABD AL-WAHAB 1946: vol.1, 107.
[73] IBN ḪILĪKĀN 1900: vol.4, 166.

famous *maḏhāhib* of jurisprudence. It was also due to the prestige of *al-Imām al-Šāfiʿī* to Ṣalāh al-Dīn due to his jurisprudential upbringing, as he was taught by many *maḏhāhib* and senior *Madrasas* of the *maḏhāhib* of *Šāfiʿī* in the Levant[74] **[CHART 3].**

Nº.	Madrasa Name	Site
1	*Nāṣiriyya*	Next to *ʿAmr ibn al-ʾĀṣ* Mosque
2	*al-Qamḥiyya*	Next to *ʿAmr ibn al-ʾĀṣ* Mosque
3	*Ayyāzkūš*	Next to *ʿAmr ibn al-ʾĀṣ* Mosque
4	al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī	Next to al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī
5	*Ṣāliḥiyya*	Next to *al-Imām al-Šāfiʿī* Dome

[TABLE 4]: *Madrasas* adjacent to mosques and shrines © Done by the researcher



[CHART 3]: Number of *Madrasa* placed next to mosques or shrines © Done by the researcher

2- Sites on Streets, Markets and Main Squares[TABLE 5]

The Ayyubids chose to establish their *Madrasas* in the heart of the main streets or markets, as this was more conducive to their spread and the Sunnī character of these places, as was the case of the *Madrasa* of *Nāṣiriyya* and the *Madrasa* of *al-Qamḥiyya*, adjacent to the *ʿAmr ibn al-ʾĀṣ* Mosque, which was one of the most important and ancient squares in the city of Egypt, surrounded by markets on all sides. In fact, the *Madrasa* of *al-Qamḥiyya.* Was located on the site of a house known as *Dār al-Ġazāl*[75] and the *Madrasa* of Ayazkuš was in the spinning market next to the *ʿAmr ibn al-ʾĀṣ* Mosque. Other *Madrasas* of *al-Fusṭāṭ* included the *Madrasa* of Banī Muzībīl, which was in *al-Naḫalīn* line and the *Madrasa* of Ibn Rāšiq in *al-Ḥammām al-Raʾīs* line. *al-Naḫalīn* line and *al-Ḥammām al-Raʾīs* Line were among the most important plans in the city of Egypt. The *Madrasas* of Fatimid Cairo included the *Madrasa* of *al-Kamiliyya*, the *Madrasa* of *al-Hakkariya* and the *Madrasa* of *al-Ṣāliḥiyya*, all in the area between the two palaces, which was an important square, the most important and famous area in Fatimid Cairo. Similarly, the *Madrasa* of *al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī* was located next to the *al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī*, one of the most important areas in Cairo. Some *Madrasas* within Fatimid Cairo were on top of, inside, or near the markets, such as *al-Azkašiya* (*Ḥanafiyya*) and *Ġaznawiyya* (Qaymāz) *Madrasas* at the head of *al- Ḫarūqiyyīn* market, later known as *Amīr al-ǧuyūš* market, near *Bāb al-Qanṭara*, the *Madrasa* of *al-Faḫriyya*

[74] IBN ŠADDĀD 1994: 33.

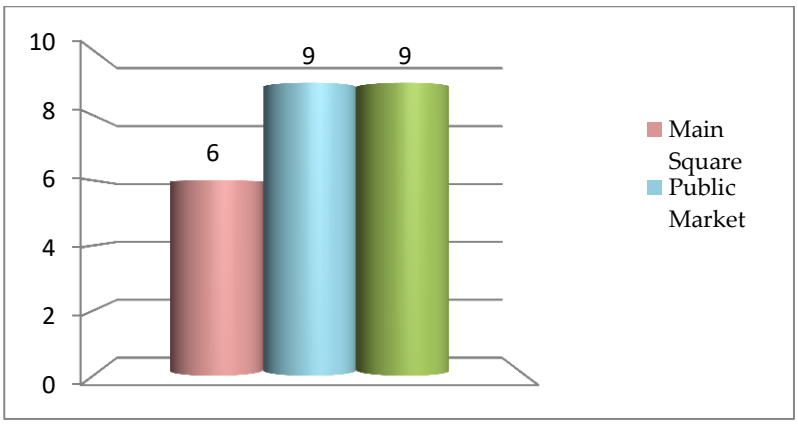
[75] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 455.

between the *Suwayqa al-Ṣāḥib* and *Darb al-'Adas*, the *Madrasa* of Sirmiya inside Bāb al-Ǧamālūn, between the head of *Amīr al-ǧuyūš Suwayqa* and the Ruler's Mosque, the *Madrasa* of *Ṣāḥibiya*, the *Madrasa* of *al-Qaṭbiyya al-'Atīqa*, the *Madrasa* of *Seyoufiya* in *Suwayqa al-Ṣāḥib* line and the *Madrasa* of Sioufian in the Sioufian market.

The sites of other *Madrasas* were chosen on famous roads and streets, such as the *Madrasa* of *al-Faḍhīliyya* in *Darb al-Mulūḫiyya*, which was one of the important and famous roads in Fatimid Cairo and was one of the most important and famous roads in Fatimid Cairo, the *Madrasa* of *Qusiya* and the *Madrasa* of *Masrūr* in Darb Seif al-Dawla, near *Darb al-Mulūḫiyya*, the *Madrasa* of *Šarifiya* (Faḫr Al-Dīn Ibn Ṯa'lab) in Darb Karkāma, at the head of al-Ǧūdariyya neighbourhood, the *Madrasa* of *Kahariya* near *al-Ǧūdariyya*, the *Madrasa* of *Nābulusiyya* in the alley opposite the Said Al-Sa'ada *Ḫanqah* and the *Madrasa* of Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī al-Mu'azzīn in *al-Mawāzīyīn* line, next to the *al-Qarḍamiyya* House**[CHART 4].**

Nº.	Name	Site
1	*Nāṣiriyya*	The most important in *al-Fusṭāṭ* square
2	*al-Qamḥiyya*	The most important in *al-Fusṭāṭ* square
3	*Azakšiya*	*al-Fusṭāṭ* Yarn Market
4	*Banī Mezībel*	*al-Naḫālīn* Line in *al-Fusṭāṭ*
5	*Ibn Rašīq*	*Ḥammām al-Ra'īs* Line in *al-Fusṭāṭ*
6	*Al-Kamiliyya*	*Bayn al-Qasrayn* Area, Cairo
7	*Hakkariya*	*Bayn al-Qasrayn* Area in Cairo
8	*al-Ṣāliḥiyya*	*Bayn al-Qasrayn* Area in Cairo
9	*al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī*	Next to *al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī*
10	*al-Azkašiya*	*Bīsūk al- Ḫarūqiyyīn* in Cairo
11	*al-Ġaznaviya*	*Bīsūk al- Ḫarūqiyyīn* in Cairo
12	*Al-Faḫriyya*	Near from *Suwayqa al-Ṣāḥib*
13	*Al-Sāiramiyya*	Near from*Amīr al-ǧuyūš Souqa*
14	*Al-Ṣahabīya*	*Suwayqa al-Ṣāḥib* line
15	*al-Qaṭbiyya al-'Atīqa*	By *Suwayqa al-Ṣāḥib*
16	*Al-Saifiya*	In *Suwayqa al-Ṣāḥib* line
17	*Sioufian*	Sūq al-Suyūfiyya
18	*al-Faḍhīliyya*	Darb al-Mulū ḫiyya
19	*Al-Qusiya*	Darb Seif Al Dawla
20	*Al-Masrūr*	Darb Seif Al Dawla
21	*Al-Šarifiya*	At the head of *al-Ǧūdariyya* line
22	*Al-Kahāriyya*	Near from *al-Ǧūdariyya*
23	*Al-Nābulusiyya*	In the alley opposite the Said Al-Sa'ada *Ḫanqah*
24	*Maḥmūd ibn Ali Muezzin*	In the line of al-Mawāzīyīn

[TABLE 5]: *Madrasas* on streets, squares and markets ©Done by the researcher



[CHART 4]: *Madrasa* sites located on streets, markets or main squares© Done by the researcher

3- Site of Fatimid Establishments [TABLE 6]

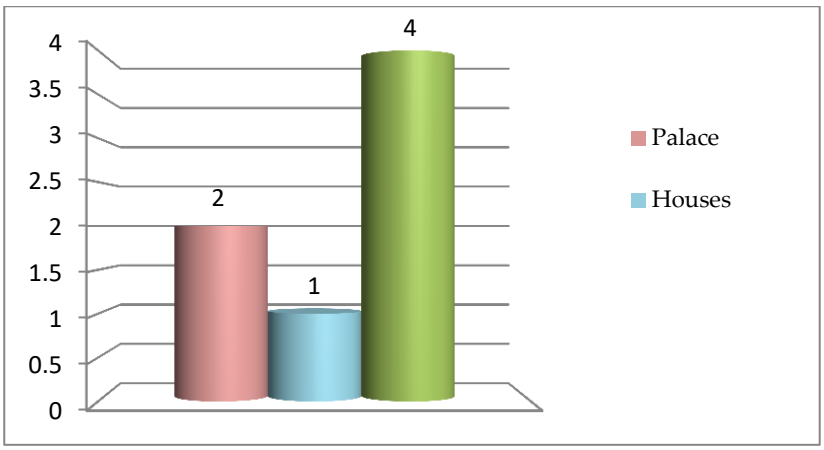
The Ayyubids endeavoured to eliminate Fatimid manifestations and control their palaces, houses and properties, so they lived in some of them. In contrast, others were destroyed and converted into *Madrasas* of jurisprudence. It is worth noting that all Fatimid facilities that were converted into *Madrasas* during the Ayyubid era were civil.

In contrast, religious facilities were preserved by the Ayyubids while converting them to the Sunnī sect. Some *Madrasas* that were originally Fatimid civilian facilities included the *Madrasa* of *al-Taqwiyya* located in Fatimid houses known as *Manāzil al-ᶜIzz*, which overlooked the Nile River and had a bathhouse known as *Ḥammām* al-Ḏ ahab next to it[76]. The *Madrasa* of *al-Qaṭbiyya al-ᶜAtīqa*, the *Madrasa* of and the *Madrasa* of *al-Saifiya* were in parts of *Dār al-Dībāǧ* and *Dār al-wazir* 'Ya'qub Ibn Kulis (D. 380 AH/990 AD)[77]. The *Madrasa* of al-Sioufiya was built on parts of the house of Vizier Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī and the *Madrasa* of *al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī* and the *Madrasa* of *al-Ṣāliḥiyya* were built on part of the Fatimid Eastern Palace[78] **[CHART 5] [FIGURE 19].**

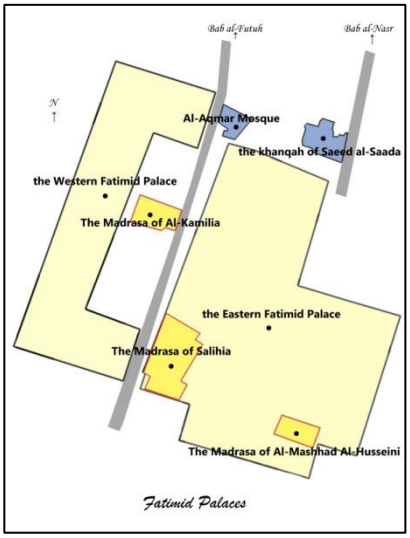
Nº.	Name	Site
1	*al-Taqwiyya*	Built on the site of (*Manāzil al-ᶜIzz*)
2	*al-Qaṭbiyya al-ᶜAtīqa*	Built on parts of the vizier's house YA'QUB IBN KULIS
3	*al-Ṣahabīya*	Built on parts of the vizier's house YA'QUB IBN KULIS
4	*al-Saifiya*	Built on parts of the vizier's house YA'QUB IBN KULIS
5	*al- Ṣioufiya*	Built on parts of the house of Vizier al-MA'MUN al-Batahi
6	*al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī*	Built on a part of the Fatimid Eastern Palace
7	*al-Ṣāliḥiyya*	Built over part of the Fatimid Eastern Palace

[TABLE 6]: *Madrasas* that replaced Fatimid structures © Done by the researcher

[76] IBN DUQMĀQ 1893: vol.4, 93; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 456; ŠĀHIN 1999: 81.
[77] IBN TĠRĪ BARDĪ 1929-1956: vol.4, 158; AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 459, 467, 476.
[78] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 485; IBN 'ABD AL-ẒAHIR 1996: 85.



[CHART 5]: Number of *Madrasas* that replaced Fatimid facilities © Done by the researcher



[FIGURE 19]: Ayyubid schools and their location in terms of Fatimid palaces © Done by the researcher

4- Sites and Economic Capacity[TABLE 7]

This section is dedicated to the economic factor, which played an important role in facilitating the spread of *Madrasas* in the Ayyubid era. Most *Madrasas* established by the sultans and the ruling class of that era were originally in sites that were controlled by the ruling class, which reduced the construction costs of the building, as the acquisition of land or houses through purchase cost a lot of money. Therefore, the ruling class resorted to converting the controlled facilities into *Madrasas*. It should be noted that this did not suggest the economic weakness of the state, as the scrutiniser in the history of this state notes that the Ayyubid Sultanate was military; therefore, most of its expenditures were directed at securing the state, constructing castles and walls and strengthening armies. Hence, the establishment of *Madrasas* was credited for it. Despite the risks that the Ayyubid Sultanate faced internally and externally, it did not overlook the interest in the religious and educational aspect of the state, as it established *Madrasas*, even if some were in sites that were controlled by the state.

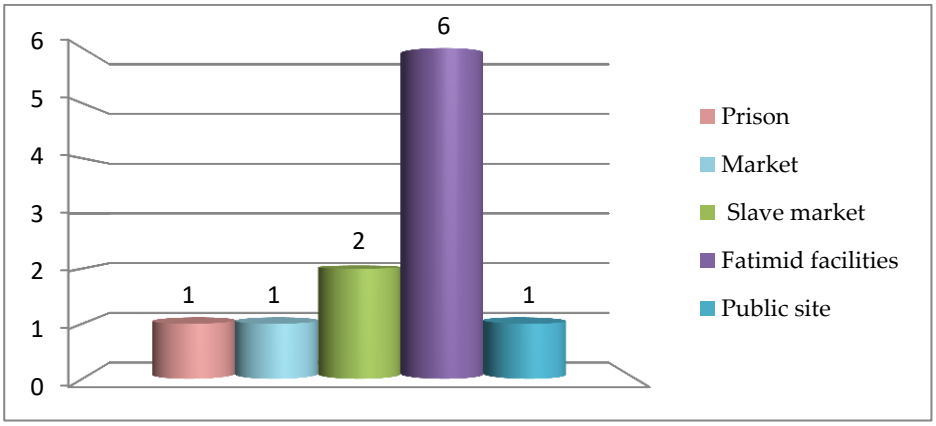
For instance, the *Madrasa* of *Nāṣiriyya* was a prison known as *Dār al-Maʿūna*[79], the *Madrasa* of *al-Qamḥiyy*a was located on the site of a house known as *Dār Al-Ġazāl*, where yarn was sold, the *Madrasa* of *al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī* was on parts of the Fatimid

[79] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 454.

Eastern Palace next to al-Ḥusaynī, the *Madrasa* of *al-Ṣāliḥiyya* was next to the dome of *al-Imām al-Šāfiʿī*[80], the *Madrasa* of *al-Kamiliyya* was a slave market and a house known as Ibn Kustul[81] and the *Madrasa* of *Sirmiya* was the site of a slave market known as *al-Shāḥūṣ* [82]. In addition, the *Madrasa* of *al-Qaṭbiyya al-ᶜAtīqa*, the *Madrasa* of *al-Ṣahabīya*, the *Madrasa* of *al-Saifiya*, the *Madrasa* of *al- Ṣioufiya* and the *Madrasa* of *al-Ṣāliḥiyya* were built on parts of Fatimid palaces and houses, which were undoubtedly under the control of the state**[CHART 6].**

Nº.	Name	Site
1	*al-Nāṣiriyya*	Prison of *Dār al-Maᶜūna*
2	*al-Qamḥiyya*	*Dār Al-Ġazāl*
3	al-Mašhad al-Ḥusaynī	Fatimid facilities
4	*al-Ṣāliḥiyya*	Next to the dome of al-Imām al-Šāfiʿī
5	*al-Kamiliyya*	A slave market
6	al-Sirmiya	A slave market
7	*al-Qaṭbiyya al-ᶜAtīqa*	Fatimid facilities
8	*al-Ṣahabīya*	Fatimid facilities
9	*al-Saifiya*	Fatimid facilities
10	*al- Ṣioufiya*	Fatimid facilities
11	*al-Ṣāliḥiyya*	Fatimid facilities

[TABLE 7]: *Madrasas* established in state-controlled sites © Done by the researcher



[CHART 6]: Number of *Madrasas* established in state-controlled sites©Done by the researcher

The sites of the facilities were not arbitrary but were chosen according to specific controls and reasons. Therefore, several *Madrasas* shared many criteria. For example, the *Madrasa* of *Nāṣiriyya* was located next to the ancient mosque in a densely populated area surrounded by many markets. Economically, it was in a prison that was taken over by the state and converted into a *Madrasa*. Here, the study raises an important question: Did the choice of *Madrasa* sites help *Madrasas* to survive, achieve their goals and continue their function?

[80] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 631.
[81] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 494.
[82] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 503.

To answer this question, it should be highlighted that there were three types of *Madrasas*. The first was the *Madrasas*, which were forcibly suspended from functioning until they became extinct. For example, for the *Madrasa* of *al-Qamḥiyya*, al-Sulṭān al-ʾšraf Saif al-Dīn Barsbāy (825-841 AH/1422-1438 AD)[83] appointed one of his princes in 825 AH/1422 AD to inspect the *Madrasa* of *al-Qamḥiyya* and found it in ruins that surrounded the *Madrasa*. Additionally, the surrounding area contained two piles of dirt standing alone, with no civilisation and no inhabitants except for the guards. Thus, he summoned the teachers of the *Madrasa* of *al-Qamḥiyya*, imprisoned them and obliged them to account for its endowments and architecture and fulfil their jobs. He also assigned two of the *Madrasa*'s endowments, Al-ᶜlam and *Al-Ḥanbušiya*, to some of his mamluks to be theirs[84], which later led to the ruin of the *Madrasa*. However, this *Madrasa* succeeded in achieving its goals of disseminating Sunnī jurisprudence and was an important platform for teaching Maliki jurisprudence. It prepared a large number of Maliki jurisprudence scholars in the country[85].

The second category was *Madrasas,* which were built on significant sites at the time but were neglected later. For instance, the *Madrasa* of *Nāṣiriyya* was located in the most important area of *al-Fusṭāṭ* city. Still, the area was later affected by destruction and desolation and became all Kiman, which led to its extinction. Other *Madrasas* were affected by some factors. For instance, the *Madrasa* of *Sioufian* continued to perform its function until 1156 AH/1743 AD, after which it began to deteriorate; some of its walls fell and it became a ruined place. Later, it was converted into a mosque known as the *al-šayḫ al-Muṭahhar* Mosque[86]. Most *Madrasas* of the Ayyubid era continued to perform their function. Still, others became extinct due to the deterioration of their architecture, the fall of their walls, or the desolation of an entire area with everything. There is no longer any trace of them and some were converted into a mosque or a *zāwiya*. Only the remains of the *Madrasa* of *al-Kamiliyya* and *Madrasa* of *al-Ṣāliḥiyya* remain. Most *Madrasas* fulfilled their function until their condition deteriorated.

The only example was the *Madrasa* of ᶜšurā located in the house of the Jew Ibn Ǧāmī Al-Ṭabib (D. 594 AH/1198 AD)[87], which was bought by the six ᶜšurā and set up as a Ḥ*anafī Madrasa*. However, it quickly faded away and was closed most of the time because it was in an alley inhabited by JEWS and those close to them in lineage[88].

Therefore, all *Madrasas* of the period, from the ministry of Ṣalāh al-Dīn until the end of the Ayyubid Sultanate 564-648 AH/1169-1250 AD, attracted many scholars and jurists across the Islamic world. They sought to graduate hundreds of scholars and jurists. They helped to formulate the identity of the state with a Sunnī character to this day, except for the only example that did not achieve its goals in the best way due to its poor site, i.e., the *Madrasa* of *al-Ašuriyya*. Most *Madrasas* continued to fulfil their function until some of them disappeared forcibly due to the destruction of their

[83] IBN TĠRĪ BARDĪ 1984: vol.3, 255-274.
[84] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1997: vol.7, 62.
[85] ŠĀHIN 1999: 101-103.
[86] MTAWALLĪ 2023: 327-378.
[87] IBN ABĪ ʾUṢYBIʿAH N.D: 576.
[88] AL-MAQRĪZĪ 1995: vol.4, 468.

surroundings or other factors that affected their architecture. Additionally, some of them turned into *al-Zawāyā* or mosques.

VI. CONCLUSION

The study counted and tracked the theological *Madrasas* from the ministry of Ṣalāh al-Dīn until the end of the Ayyubid era, numbered 43, 31 of which were in Cairo. The *Madrasas* had several purposes and objectives, including reviving *Sunnī* thought, refuting Shiite thought, moulding the state's identity with the *Sunnī* identity, establishing religious facilities under the auspices and supervision of the state to teach the doctrines of jurisprudence and the Prophetic Hadith and enabling official pulpits for the sheikhs and judges of the doctrines of jurisprudence. The study clarified the main areas and reasons for independent *Madrasas* spread within Cairo, namely *al-Fusṭāṭ*, *el-Ǧamālīya*, *al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* and *al-ʾAbāǧiyya*. Most religious *Madrasas* in the period understudy were in el-Ǧamālīya Area. Fustat was ranked second with *al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* next. *al-ʾAbāǧiyya* was ranked last, with only one *Madrasa*h. The controls and criteria for the selection of *Madrasa* sites in the specified period were demonstrated. The site played an important role in achieving the objectives of the *Madrasa* and continuing to perform its function for as long as possible. Most *Madrasas* continued their function until the 9th AH/15th AD century. All *Madrasas* understudy achieved the objectives of their establishment, except for one *Madrasa* that did not achieve them to the fullest because of the poor choice of the site.

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THE MODERN LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND ARCHEOLOGY IN ABYDOS

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ABSTRACT

[EN] The crucial aspect of the relationship between archeological sites and modern communities is greatly influenced by the people representing it. Although it is strictly academic, archeologists have an interest in drawing attention to monuments rather than people, as there is foreign dominance of archeological work in Abydos (about eight international missions work in Abydos) and throughout Egypt. Western archeologists have neglected their duties to the Egyptian people, failing to communicate their findings or initiate educational and public outreach programs for the local communities. Therefore, the potential for sustainable growth of cultural tourism and the value of Abydos' archeology is not known to the local inhabitants. The primary concern is how crucial it is for local community members to be involved in decision-making about cultural tourism and heritage. The local community's ability to function depends greatly on its members' opinions. Additionally, it is uncommon to find residents directly involved in awareness-raising campaigns. One of the greatest challenges facing the site of Abydos arises from the pressures of modern development, which is represented in expanding agricultural fields, villages, sewerage network systems and modern cemeteries that have all begun to encroach on important areas of the site along the edge of the desert of the three villages, *Ġabāt*, *ʿArābat Abīdūs* and *Banī Manṣūr*. o the east, the fertile alluvial plain extends from the Nile, while to the west lie the desert and the limestone escarpment.

KEYWORDS: Abydos, awareness, community archeology, community engagement, foreign mission, modern communities, public outreach.

[AR] **المجتمعات المحلية الحديثة والآثار في أبيدوس**

إن الجزء الأكثر أهمية في العلاقة بين المواقع الأثرية والمجتمعات الحديثة يتمثّل في الأشخاص الذين يجسدونها. لعلماء الآثار مصلحة - وإن كانت أكاديمية بحتة - في توجيه الاهتمام نحو الآثار بدلًا من الناس، وعليهم أن يكونوا أكثر وعيًا بالمجتمعات المحلية والسياق الحديث لعملهم. لكن بسبب الهيمنة الأجنبية على العمل الأثري في أبيدوس وفي مصر بشكل عام «هناك حوالي ثماني بعثات أجنبية تعمل في أبيدوس»، فقد تغافل علماء الآثار الغربيين مسؤولياتهم تجاه البلد التي يعملون بها، لأنهم لم ينقلوا النتائج التي توصلوا إليها ولم يحثوا على برامج التعليم والتوعية العامة للمجتمعات المحلية المتاخمة لمواقعهم الأثرية. لذلك، لا يدرك السكان المحليين الأهمية الأثرية لمنطقة أبيدوس وإمكانات تنمية السياحة الثقافية المستدامة. وتتمثل القضية الرئيسية في أهمية مشاركة أفراد المجتمعات المحلية في عمليات صنع القرار المتعلقة بالتراث الثقافي والسياحة الثقافية. إن رأي أعضاء المجتمع المحلي مهم جدًا. كما أن مبادرات رفع الوعي والمشاركة المباشرة للسكان المحليين نادرة جدًا. واحدة من أكبر التحديات التي تواجه موقع أبيدوس تأتي من ضغوط التنمية الحديثة التي تتمثل في توسيع الحقول الزراعية والقرى ونظام شبكة الصرف الصحي والمقابر الحديثة كلها بدأت في التعدي على مناطق مهمة من الموقع الممتدة على طول حافة صحراء القرى الثلاث غابات وعربة أبيدوس وبني منصور. وإلى الشرق تمتد المناطق الزراعية وإلى الغرب الصحراء والجبل.

الكلمات الدالة: أبيدوس،لم الآثار المجتمعي، المشاركة المجتمعية، بعثة أجنبية، المجتمعات الحديثة، التواصل المجتمعي، الوعى

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I. INTRODUCTION

Community archeology means more than involvement and encompasses various strategies aimed at engaging residents in exploring and interpreting the past[1]. In the last fifty years, community or collaborative archeology has evolved and become an established sub-discipline within global archeology. However, in Egypt, this approach has progressed slowly, with local community involvement typically limited to hiring laborers and supporting staff. In contrast, other countries, such as North America and Australia, with sociopolitical environments where post-colonial, marginalized descendant groups are more actively engaged in archeological research, have seen greater involvement[2]. This paper seeks to investigate how modern local communities are linked to the archeology of Abydos. There is a general lack of local engagement that is characteristic of Egyptian archeology. Egypt's archeologists still work under the stereotype that their research priorities should come first and the needs of the local population should come second. Often, the latter has been seen as a burden on the field, a view that certain Egyptian government agencies occasionally echo. A developing nation can benefit economically much from tourism, which is closely related to archeology.

Big archeological missions need to focus their resources and efforts on making a local contribution instead of just hiring laborers and purchasing supplies for the town. The dissemination of archeological discoveries and the admission of minor voices accompany these endeavors, enabling the impact of heteroglossia on an authoritarian and a theoretic discipline such as Egyptian archeology. Therefore, the locations of nearby museums, heritage centers and educational institutions must be taken into account by archeologists. This would happen locally, with foreign organizations funding the initial building of museums and the local government overseeing and profiting from their operations. There would be participation from locals, tourists, school groups and outside guests[3].

II. BACKGROUND

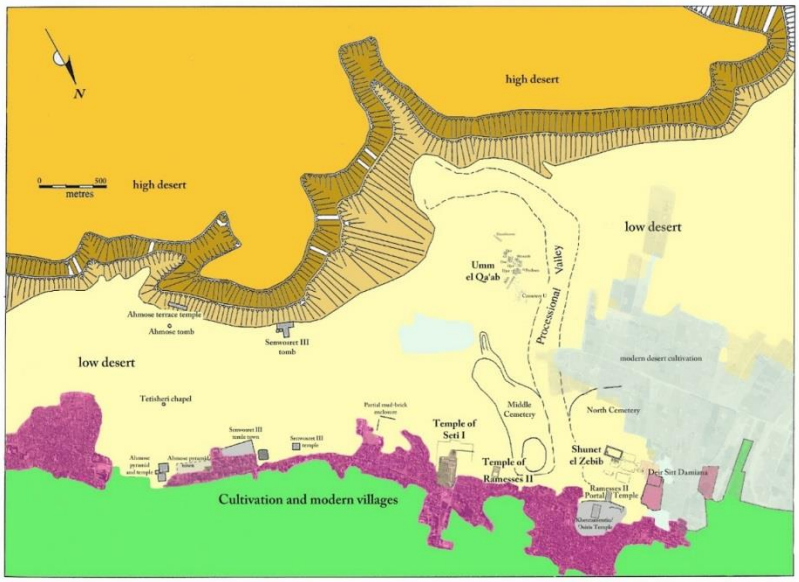
Abydos – a Greek version of the Egyptian Abju – occupies an important place in the religious history of Pharaonic Egypt[4]. Since time immemorial and in all parts of the world, there have existed sacred cities or places to which devotees of various religions have made pilgrimages, e.g., Mecca, Jerusalem, Benares and Rome. The oldest of such holy places of which we have concrete evidence is Abydos. From scenes and inscriptions dating back to the age of the pyramid builders (about 2780 BC) we know that all worshippers of the god *Osiris* were expected to make a pilgrimage to Abydos to visit the most sacred tomb of their god, who had been worshiped[5].

Ancient Abydos, the city of pilgrimage of the Pharaohs, is located at the border of the arid desert region about 11 kms (7 miles) from the town of *al-Balyānā*[6], Suhag

[1] MOSER et *Al*. 2002: 220.
[2] HASSAN & EHAB 2022: 66.
[3] MESKELL 2000: 148-49.
[4] MEKHITARIAN et *Al*. 1998: 7.
[5] EADY 1983: 4.
[6] COQUIN & MARTIN 1991: 38.

Province, Egypt 26o11′ N 31o55′ E, approximately 150 kms. North of Luxor in northern Upper Egypt, which currently includes three modern villages, i.e., *Ġabāt*, *ʿArābat Abīdūsor ʿArābah al-Madfūnah*, which means «the Buried Arab» and *Banī Manṣūr* [7]. Greater Abydos covers 8 square kms (5 square miles) and is composed of archeological remnants spanning all periods of ancient Egyptian civilization[8]. During ancient times, the site was likely connected to the Nile through a canal, forming a component of a broader irrigation and transportation network that traversed the cultivated lands within the expansive floodplain characteristic of the region[9].

Based on its geographic location, the Abydos area can be divided into different regions; Middle Abydos contains the Temples of *Seti* I and *Ramesses* II and North Abydos includes the ancient temple and town site (1, 250 meters northeast of the *Seti* I Temple), the Cultic Zone, the Middle and North cemeteries and the early dynastic enclosures. South Abydos includes the town, the temple complex, the tomb of *Senwosret* III and the cult complex of *Ahmose*. The graves of the early dynastic kings are located in *Umm al-Qaʿāb*, directly to the west of middle Abydos. Stretching from the cultivated area in the east to the High Desert in the west, a narrow valley connects these tombs to North Abydos[10] [**FIGURE** 1].



[FIGURE 1]: «Map of Abydos», https://the-ancient-pharaohs.blogspot.com/2017/09/abydos-part-1.html, accessed on (28/05/2024)

One of the most remarkable places in Egypt is the holy city of Abydos. For millennia, *Osiris*, the god of Egypt and possibly its most well-known deity, had his cult center in Abydos. *Osiris* ruled the netherworld and ensured the external existence of every Egyptian who died. *Osiris's* cult emphasized both mysterious revelation and intricate ritual and symbolic representation more than most other Egyptian cults. Thus, Abydos' enormous terrain gave rise to an amazing variety of temples, chapels and tombs for the royal, elite and lower classes, as well as cities that catered to their cults

[7] OMM SETY & HANNY ELZEINI 1981: 1.
[8] WEGNER 2001: 7.
[9] WEGNER 2002: 1.
[10] MARLAR 2009: 8-9.

and endowments and the demands of countless pilgrims. While many aspects of Abydos seem exclusive to Egyptian civilization, its monuments shed light on more general patterns of ritual, urbanization and commercial activity[11].

Prior to the middle kingdom, the primary local god of Abydos was *Khentiamentiu*, as demonstrated by royal decrees and wall reliefs from the city's main temple area. *Khentiamentiu* was connected to Egypt's earliest kings, whose burial tombs, now called *Umm al-Qaʿāb*, are situated at Abydos' western end. In mythology, *Osiris* was considered Egypt's first king, making his association with *Khentiamentiu* a natural progression. Their names were often mentioned together in the old kingdom offering formulas, eventually resulting in the combined deity *Osiris-Khentiamentiu*[12].

The title *Khenti Amentiu*, i.e., «Foremost of the land of the west», referred to a god depicted as a jackal that served as the guardian of the underworld. This deity was also known as *Wepwawet,* «The opener of ways» a fitting name for a god who guided souls to the Duat. His third name, Anubis, identified him as the god of embalming. In prehistoric times, the jackal symbol was the heraldic sign of Abydos and the earliest temple in Abydos was dedicated to this god. When *Osiris* arrived at Abydos around the late Fifth dynasty, the ancient royal rituals were restructured to align with his mythology. *Osiris* was equated with *Khenti Amentiu* and the title «Foremost of the land of the west» became one of his epithets[13].

Initially, the main temple in Abydos was dedicated to *Khentyamentiu* «Foremost of the westerners» as a separate god. This is demonstrated by a late old kingdom inscription from King *Pepy* II [2246–2152 BC], which mentioned statues in the Temple of *Khentyamentiu*. No mention of *Osiris* was found in this early inscription. The nature of this shift in deities was somewhat unclear and its interpretations often reflect views on the continuity or discontinuity of the successive temples. BARRY J. KEMP notes that the shift in the temple's dedication—from the local jackal god *Khentiamentiu* to *Osiris*, who later gained national significance—was a result of court patronage and formalizing efforts in Abydos. This change suggested the divide between local traditions and the national systematizers who incorporated Abydos into a centralized royal theology. In contrast, JOSEF WEGNER[14] offers a different perspective, suggesting that the attributes defining *Osiris* were already associated with the local deity *Khentyamentiu* during the late old kingdom, with his temple and cult remaining central to ritual life in Abydos. This interpretation suggests a «soft» transition as opposed to Kemp's «hard» changeover. Wegner reported that reading «*Khentyamentiu*» in the old kingdom could be understood as «[*Osiris*] *Khentyamentiu*» highlighting the continuity between the temple and worship practices from the old kingdom to the middle kingdom[15].

The most significant temples now are those of *Seti* I [1294–1279 BC] and his son *Ramses* II [1279–1213 BC, the 19th dynasty]. Under their rule, Abydos reached its pinnacle of splendor. *Seti* I constructed a funerary temple there for his father, *Ramses* I and one for himself for political and religious purposes. During the reign of *Ahmosis* I

[11] O' CONNOR 2009: 15.
[12] YAMAMOTO 2015: 250.
[13] MOSJOV 2005: 19.
[14] JOSEF WEGNER 1996.
[15] SMITH 2008: 44-45.

(the 18th dynasty), there existed the ruins of a city, a pyramid, a funerary temple, a cenotaph, a terraced temple and the sanctuaries of Queen *Tetisheri*. When Strabo wrote his account of Abydos in 58 BC [between 21 & 25 AD], it was already a small center whose significance diminished to a cult place[16].

Throughout the Greco-Roman era, Abydos preserved its sacred reputation. In addition, the temple of *Seti* I developed a reputation for healing; sick individuals were permitted to sleep on one of its courts, hoping that a dream would provide a cure for their ailments. Many of the cured returned to write or scrape messages of thanks for their recovery on the walls[17]. Moreover, Greek speakers increasingly frequented the new kingdom's temple complex of *Seti* I, which gained importance as a center for healing and oracles[18].

Abydos's location is not as pristine as it once was. At the intersection of the cultivated floodplain and the low desert, ever-expanding rural communities line the northeastern edge of the site. To the rear of the site, gigantic electrical pylons and expansive «Desert farms» encroach on the landscape. However, the vastness of Abydos' vividly colored and crisply defined topography overwhelms and reduces these visual distractions. The tan-colored low desert abruptly gives way to lush green pastures and dense groves of trees for about 9 kms (5.5 miles) southwest of the Nile[19].

One of the greatest challenges facing the site of Abydos is the pressures of modern development. For instance, expanding agricultural fields, villages, sewerage network systems and modern cemeteries have begun to encroach on important areas of the site along the edge of the desert of three villages, *Ġabāt, ʿArābat Abīdūs* and *Banī Manṣūr*. To the east, the green fertile plain stretches from the distant Nile and to the west is the desert and the limestone mountain. This mountain, with its curious, horizontal strata, curves eastward to the south and north, forming a crescent so that the villages seem to lie in its protective embrace. These mountain forms were considered either spiritual entities or the homes of such beings in ancient times. They were called «Lord of offerings» and «Lady of life» Strewn all over the desert between them were innumerable high mounds covering the graves of those who chose this place as their last abode[20].

III. Greater Engagement with Local Community

Archeologists globally recognize their duty to involve the public in appreciating and preserving the archeological record. This involvement is significant for the future of archeology, particularly in the current economic climate, where constant public and political scrutiny impacts both research endeavors and efforts toward heritage preservation[21].

[16] «Abydos, City of pilgrimage of the Pharaohs», https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1823/, accessed on (01/06/2024)
[17] Eady 1983: 17.
[18] Regulski 2019: 153
[18] Regulski 2019: 153
[19] O' Connor 2009: 23 & 4.
[20] Omm Sety & Elzeini H: 1981: 1.
[21] Abdel-Rahman & Pokotylo 2017: 114.

Fostering the connection between heritage and local community is a long-term endeavor that requires institutionalization to ensure sustainability[22]. The major segment of the modern inhabitants of Abydos [**TABLE** 1] is simple peasants suffering from a lack of awareness about the significance of Egyptian cultural heritage. Unfortunately, there are not many initiatives and outreach programs in Abydos. My colleagues and I from the Ministry of Antiquities launched an initiative called «Together Discover and Save» « اعرفها واحميها = *ʾIʿrafhā wa ʾḥmihā* in cooperation with the department of Egyptology at Sohag University **[FIGURES 2 & 3].** One of the main objectives of this initiative was to raise awareness of the importance of cultural heritage with the local community, particularly in upper Egypt «Sohag and Luxor», with Abydos was one of our destinations. Through the initiative, semi-structured interviews were conducted with people from the local community who represent different backgrounds to learn about their awareness of the importance of the archeological area. A random sample was taken to talk with the people who were peasants, teachers and students. These efforts revealed that they did not have much information about the archeological site of Abydos. Residents often raised concerns about the walls that the Ministry of Antiquities built in front of the *Seti* I Temple [the parking lot, the visitor center and the temple entrance], which divided the area into north and south, making it hard for residents to move between the two sides. Additionally, the people of Abydos felt that they have become isolated from the archeological area after the government constructed the walls around the archeological area.

Demographic characteristics	***ʿArābat Abīdūs***	***Banī Manṣūr***	***El- Ġabāt***
Population	7,330	14,446	11,256
Males	3,605	7,423	5,572
Females	3,725	7,023	5,684
Total	**33,032**		

[TABLE 1]: Demographic characteristics of the Abydos's local community in 2015, «CAPMAS£», https://geoportal.capmas.gov.eg//, accessed on (27/05/2024)

[FIGURE 2]: Initiative of together discover and save in Abydos © Taken by the researcher

[22] BADRAN, ABU-KHAFAJAH, & ELLIOTT 2022: 24.

[FIGURE 3]: The field trip of the together discover and save initiative to Abydos © Photo taken by the researcher

Another initiative in Abydos was started by our colleague, MOHAMED SENOUSY, entitled «Come With me to watch our glory» **[FIGURES 4 & 5].** The purpose of this initiative was to offer knowledge of Ancient Egypt to the targeted groups, to increase their access to the cultural history of their environment to benefit from understanding the great value of their cultural heritage and make all participants in the small community of Abydos connected. The targeted groups were school students [Grades 4 to 12, male and female] and practical school girl graduates [18-25 years old] to make workshops for the participants on copper accessories, art and design. Moreover, the Cultural Development and Community Outreach department at the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities organizes some field trips for school students from outside Abydos to learn about the archeological area, which is considered one of the most important areas in Sohag.

[FIGURE 4]: Activities of school students Initiative of come with me to watch our glory © Photo taken by MOHAMED SENOUSY

[FIGURE 5]: School students and their drawings from *Seti* I temple in Abydos © Photo taken by MOHAMED SENOUSY

All these activities revealed that social studies on the school curriculum are not adequate to raise cultural awareness of the children due to the teaching methods used and the lack of cultural site visits and activities in schools. Economic hardship plays a significant role in limiting heritage public awareness, with some poor families encouraging their children to drop out of school to work and earn a living. With a forward-looking perspective, efforts to raise awareness among children and youth about heritage preservation have been emphasized since the earliest international documents, notably the Athens Charter, which recommended that educators «...Teach them to take a greater and more general interest in the protection of these concrete testimonies of all ages of civilization»[23].

An example of public outreach in Abydos by foreign expeditions can be found in North Abydos, where a joint expedition by the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University and Princeton University conducts its fieldwork. Located adjacent to the modern Egyptian community of *Banī Manṣūr*, this endeavor aims to establish enhanced collaboration between archeologists and local communities in southern Abydos. Simultaneously, it seeks to foster the exchange of ideas concerning Egypt's cultural heritage[24]. They have organized site visits for primary school students from *Banī Manṣūr* during recent field seasons. In 2018, students visited the excavations at the northern end of the site, where the mission was working on tombs of the early old kingdom. In 2019, students visited the work at *al-Šunt al-Zabībe* and *Kūm al-Sulṭān* received flyers about the site in English and Arabic **[FIGURES 6 & 7]**.

[23] The Athens Charter 1931: Article 7, see: SIMŞEK & KESICI 2012: 3817- 3824.

[24] «Outreach», https://abydos.org/outreach, accessed on (19/09/2020).

[FIGURE 6]: A Visit by primary school students from *Banī Manṣūr* to the work at *al-Šunt al-Zabībe* and *Kūm al-Sulṭān* in 2019 © Photo taken by AYMAN DAMARANY

[FIGURE 7]: Primary school students with flyers about the archeological site in English and Arabic © Photo taken by AYMAN DAMARANY

In fact, Abydos needs more of these programs. Foreign missions should use funding to translate the scientific publication of their work in the Abydos region into Arabic so that the local community can learn more about its heritage. Additionally, children and young people should be involved in fieldwork, not just to recruit them as workers in the excavation to dig and move the debris, but so they can learn about their past. Since the 19th century, foreign missions in all of Egypt have depended on Egyptian local workmen near archeological areas for the archeological work of digging and storing. So, it is necessary to begin with those people to transfer knowledge to others.

IV. IMPACT OF GREATER ENGAGEMENT

The overall level of awareness and engagement of the local community in Abydos with archeology remains low, which can be attributed to the limited sustainability of public outreach initiatives. After conducting a comprehensive survey, it was noted that most of the local population lacked awareness of archeological projects in their vicinity.

Moreover, only some residents actively participate in such endeavors, primarily comprising of individuals employed by public institutions responsible for these sites. To address this issue, educational efforts in Abydos should be promoted by integrating the history and archeology of the area into school curricula. Additionally, involving

students in organized activities like workshops, lectures, exhibitions, competitions, field trips, conferences and ongoing community projects could foster greater engagement and awareness.

Most of the ordinary people are simple peasants, traders and daily laborers, many of whom are illiterate. They must be included in training programs that equip them with production and marketing skills. This would make them attached to the archeology of the area. It would help reduce illegal activities, as the Abydos area, like other areas in Egypt, is affected by illegal excavations, which often occur without protest from local inhabitants. Abydos has been targeted by occasional looting incidents, especially after the 2011 uprising. In particular, the *Umm al-Ǧaʾ āb* faced multiple assaults[25]. Also, we must take advantage of the fact that many visitors think that Abydos is a place of healing, a believe started by *Umm Sītī* DOROTHY EADY **[FIGURE 8],** who was born in Blackheath in 1904. *Umm Sītī*, an elderly English woman, resided near the renowned Temple of *Seti* I in Abydos for much of her life.

[FIGURE 8]: DOROTHY LOUISE EADY «*Umm Sītī* », https://br.pinterest.com/pin/530298924867002275/, accessed on (28/05/2024)

DOROTHY was raised in a devout Christian household, where regular church attendance was a part of her upbringing. During a visit to the British Museum with her parents, she encountered a photograph of the Temple of *Seti* I, a prominent pharaoh from the 19th dynasty of the new kingdom and the father of *Rameses* II. Remarkably, she expressed that this temple was her home. In 1933, she journeyed to Egypt, never returning to England thereafter. Naming her son Seti, she eventually became widely known as *Umm Sītī*, meaning «Mother of *Seti*». DOROTHY EADY passed away in 1981 and was laid to rest in the Coptic cemetery in Abydos.[26]

Umm Sītī founded a spiritual school and dedicated herself to the sacred duties of the healing temple of ancient Abydos[27]. In contemporary spiritual journeys to Abydos, the magnificent temple of *Seti* I and the abundant historical sites of the city holds significant allure. Many individuals view Abydos as a place of sanctity, adding profound value to their visit and making it a compelling reason for a modern pilgrimage to this ancient holy city[28].

[25] HANNA 2015: 53.
[26] OMM SETY & ELZEINI H: 1981; EADY: 1983.
[27] RIJNSBURGER 2017.
[28] ELSAEED & ELKABBANI 2017: 48.

Foreign visitors wear white clothes, take off their shoes and enter the temples to reenact the pilgrimage tradition. The white color represents concepts of illumination, nobility and innocence. Furthermore, in ancient Egypt, white held political importance due to its association with divine and royal attributes. It also served as the emblematic color of Upper Egypt, while red symbolized Lower Egypt.

On the other side, the modern inhabitants of Abydos, simple peasants, know nothing of ancient religion. Yet, they and their neighbors, for miles around, still come to the Temple of *Seti* and the other monuments, imploring help in their problems from powers whose names they do not know[29]. Some members of the community of Abydos and nearby areas believe in this archeological site to heal them from some diseases. For instance, women who cannot get pregnant visit the archeological area hoping to heal them from infertility. However, these practices are rejected and prohibited by Islam.

Another sacred site in Abydos is the Sinki pyramid, situated approximately 5.5 kms southeast of the Temple of *Seti* I and west of the village of *Nag Ahmed Khalifa*. The pre-dynastic site of *Nag el-ᶜAmrah* is located about 4 km southeast of this ancient structure, near the western edge of cultivation areas. However, it is now surrounded by land reclamation. At this juncture, the western mountains are closest to the cultivation areas approximately 1 km before receding southwestward into the valley of *Banī Hemī*. The shortest distance between the Sinki pyramid and the river is approximately 5.5 kms in a northwest direction[30]. The locals regard the pyramid as a site of sanctity and divine favor. It attracts visitors seeking healing, including the sick, disabled and children experiencing developmental delays, as well as those seeking marriage or fertility. Visitors often place personal items belonging to the afflicted into the stone cavity within the pyramid.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

These recommendations can be made to the local authorities as crucial measures:

- Effective communication channels should be established among archeological authorities, public institutions and the local community.
- Ongoing surveys should be conducted with the assistance of volunteers from the local community.
- «Outreach programs» should be implemented in Abydos in the long run.
- The local community should be educated on the significance of safeguarding the archeological site.
- Efficient public archeology requires coordination by a designated individual within the organization. Yet, the effort itself is a collective responsibility. Collaboration among organizations, leveraging each other's strengths, is essential to maximize the utilization of limited resources.
- Archeology contributes to fostering the self-esteem of local communities. As heritage managers, we hold a significant responsibility in utilizing the past as a valuable resource to enhance people's lives.
- We should carefully consider our approach to involving and listening to the public.

[29] EADY 1983: 18.
[30] SWELIM 2010: 313.

- We should understand the process by which individuals actively construct their interpretations based on the information we provide. Our responsibility is to enable them to do so in manners that honor the evidence.
- Engaging individuals in fieldwork not only connects them with their history but also facilitates authentic research that is mutually beneficial for archeology and the local community. As a result, a strong bond can be established between the local community and archeology in Abydos.

VI. CONCLUSION

There is a significant disconnection between the local communities in Abydos and the archaeological work conducted there. Foreign missions dominated the archaeological field, while local community members were not adequately involved in decision-making processes, public outreach, or awareness-raising programs. This disconnection caused a lack of awareness among the local population regarding the archaeological significance of Abydos and its heritage.

Additionally, modern development in Abydos, such as the expansion of agricultural fields, villages, sewerage systems and cemeteries, poses a significant threat to important archaeological areas. This highlights the urgent need for coordinated planning between heritage management authorities and local officials to protect these vulnerable sites.

Educational programs about Abydos' archaeological importance, particularly for younger generations, are inadequate. Furthermore, school curricula and public outreach initiatives fail to raise adequate awareness of heritage preservation. While efforts like the «Together Discover and Save» initiative have shown some positive results, there is still a need for more consistent and widespread engagement with the community.

To ensure sustainable heritage preservation, archaeologists and local authorities must work to strengthen relationships with the local community. This should include translating archaeological findings into Arabic, involving local students in fieldwork and establishing local museums and educational centers funded by foreign missions.

Finally, the economic potential of cultural tourism in Abydos remains largely untapped due to a lack of community engagement and inadequate awareness of the site's archaeological significance. By involving the local community more actively, sustainable tourism could be developed, benefiting both the heritage and economy of Abydos.

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ANALYTICAL METHODOLOGY TO EVALUATE THE STATE OF PRESERVATION OF *AL-MUSĀFIR ḪĀNAH* PALACE – HISTORIC CAIRO, EGYPT

BY

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ABSTRACT

[EN] *al-Musāfir ḫānah* Palace is a unique palace built in the 18th century by its constructor, Mahmoud Hassan Muharram. It is located within the borders of Fatimid Cairo and highlights the greatness of Islamic architecture at the time. It was built using fired bricks, limestone and lime mortar. In 1998, the Palace was exposed to a huge fire that caused the destruction and the loss of many of its features and decorative architectural elements. It became a refuge for beggars and a shelter for stray animals; it turned into a garbage dump, which does not suit its prominent history and the purpose of construction. Only ruins remain, showing the foundations of the building and indicating the architectural layout. Numerous research papers were published with the aim to restore, rehabilitate and reconstruct the Palace and study the current state of the Palace by studying the building materials using various methods of examination and analysis of the internal structure. X-ray diffraction and Raman apparatuses were used to identify the compounds of the building materials and an EDX elemental analysis unit attached to a scanning electron microscope was used to identify the elements of the building materials. A stereo microscope (three-dimensional microscope), a scanning electron microscope and a Raman apparatus attached to an imaging unit were utilized to identify the change in the mineral form of building materials. Then, the results were discussed and analyzed. They revealed a difference in the chemical and mineral composition of the building materials before and after burning, which led to a significant difference in the chemical properties of the stone.

KEYWORDS: *al-Musāfir ḫānah* palace, analytical study, archaeological buildings, fired brick, lime mortar, limestone, raman, SEM, XRD.

[AR] **منهجية تحليلية لتقييم حالة حفظ قصر المسافر خانة، القاهرة التاريخية، مصر**

قصر وسراي المسافر خانة من القصور الفريدة من نوعها والتي تم بناؤها في القرن 18الميلادي علي يد منشئها محمود حسن محرم بمنطقة قصر الشوق بالقرب من شارع الجمالية، في نطاق القاهرة الفاطمية حيث يعتبر شاهدا في عصره على عظمة العمارة الإسلامية ، وقد تم بناء القصر باستخدام الطوب الآجر مع الحجر الجيري - وتم استخدام مونة الجير في ربط تلك المواد مع بعضها البعض، ولكن في عام 1998م تعرض القصر لحريق ضخم أدي إلي تدمير وضياع الكثير من معالمه وفقد الكثير من عناصره الزخرفية والمعمارية حتي أصبح ملجأ للمتسولين ومبيتا للحيوانات الضالة و تحول لمقلب قمامة لا يليق بتاريخه العريق والغرض الذي تم بناؤه من أجله ولم يتبق منه إلا أطلال فقط توضح أساسات المبنى وتشير إلي التخطيط المعماري الذي كان عليه قبل تعرضه للحريق، وقد تعددت الأبحاث والرسائل العلمية حول القصر بهدف الوصول إلى منهجية لتأهيله وترميمه ، وهذا البحث يهدف إلي دراسة الحالة الراهنة التي وصل إليها القصر عن طريق دراسة مواد البناء في الوقت الحالي من خلال طرق وأساليب الفحص والتحليل المختلفة التي تقوم بدراسة البنية الداخلية لتلك المواد ، وتم استخدام أكثر من جهاز فحص وتحليل في ذلك الشأن حيث تم تحليل مكونات مواد البناء باستخدام جهاز حيود الأشعة السينية وجهاز الرامان للتعرف على المركبات واستخدام وحدة التحليل العناصري EDX الملحقة بالميكروسكوب الإلكتروني الماسح للتعرف على العناصر، وتم فحص مكونات مواد البناء باستخدام الإستريو ميكروسكوب (الميكرسكوب الثلاثي الأبعاد) وأيضا تم استخدام الميكروسكوب الإلكتروني الماسح بنسب تكبير مختلفة وكذلك جهاز الرامان من خلال وحدة التصوير الملحقة به وذلك للتعرف على التغير في الشكل المعدني لمواد البناء بعد الحرق، وتحليل النتائج بعد ذلك حيث تبين اختلاف في التركيب الكيميائي والمعدني لمواد البناء قبل وبعد الحرق، وبالمقارنة بين نتائج التحليل لمواد البناء قبل وبعد الحريق والذي ترتب عليه اختلاف كبير لخواص الحجر الكيميائية.

الكلمات الدالة: المسافر خانة،دراسة تحليلية،المباني الأثرية،طوب محروق،ملاط الجير،الحجر الجيري،تحليل رامان

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I. INTRODUCTION

The research paper discusses the effects of fires on archaeological buildings, especially the basic building materials. It was applied to the *al-Musāfir ḫānah* Palace, dating back to the 18th century, to identify the change in the mineral composition, which led to a change in the properties of building materials. This Palace was built by Mahmoud Hassan Muharram in the *Qaṣr al-Šawk* area within the borders of Fatimid Cairo, in *el-Ǧamālīya* neighborhood, between *al-Mismaṭ* and *al-Ṭablāwī* streets, on the right of *Ḥibs al-Raḥbah* Street[1].

al-Musāfir ḫānah Palace is one of the most important historical and archaeological palaces. It has witnessed many events since its construction. Khedive Ismail was born in this Palace; Ismail bin Ibrahim bin Muhammad ᶜAli Pasha[2], the second of Ibrahim Pasha's sons, on (31/12/1830 AD)/1246AH[3].The building was subjected to a huge fire on Thursday, (10/22/1998 AD), which led to many collapses. All that remained of the Palace was the Northeastern façade on *Darb al-Mismaṭ*, the Southwestern facade overlooking *Darb al-Ṭablāwī*, and the remains of some of the interior walls[4]. Studying the archaeological surroundings of *al-Musāfir ḫānah* Palace revealed that planning and urban problems are the most important problems, as most buildings in the region suffer from them[5]. In addition, the public spaces of roads and streets in this region are very narrow[6], which easily shows overcrowding problems. There are problems of differential subsidence of soil, problems of increasing overhead loads, and problems resulting from the difference in the properties of building materials due to using more than one building material, such as limestone, fired bricks, and lime mortar[7]. Moreover, there are fluctuations in average air temperatures between night and day and summer and winter, relative humidity rate, sewage problems, and soil rich in salts[8].

All these problems negatively affected the building and neighboring buildings. They are common to most of Cairo's historical buildings[9]. However, the fire in *al-Musāfir ḫānah* Palace exacerbated its problem, which led to the loss of large parts and spaces of the building[10]. This research paper addresses the problems of fires that affect archaeological buildings to evaluate them and make some comparisons that clarify the effect of fires on basic building materials, such as limestone, fired brick and mortar, while clarifying the seriousness of fires and how the mineral components of those materials change partially or completely, causing a change in their chemical properties and the complete or partial collapse of buildings and their components[11].

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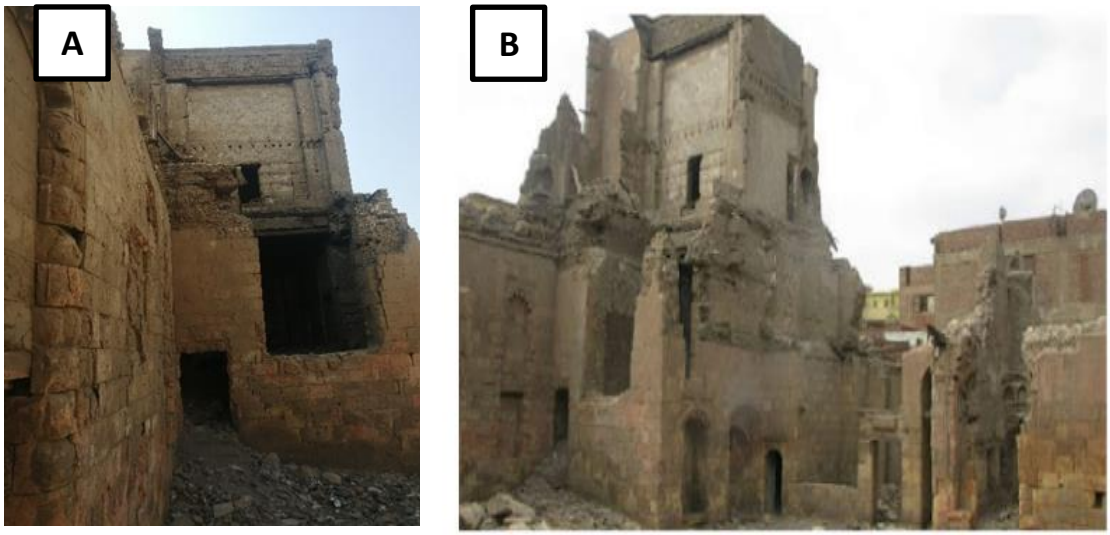
[1] ABD ALEAZIZ 2001: 60-64.
[2] MOUSSA 2022: 701-741.
[3] ABD ELTAWAB 2023: 177-237.
[4] HEMEDA 2021: 191-209.
[5] ABD EL HAMEED 2023: 423-438.
[6] ALI 2023: 241-253.
[7] OMOKO 2018: 1-12.
[8] ABD EL HAMEED 2024: 297-316.
[9] ABD EL HAMEED 2015: 62.
[10] ALBATUWTI 2020: 41.
[11] ŁUKASZ 2021: 2-36.

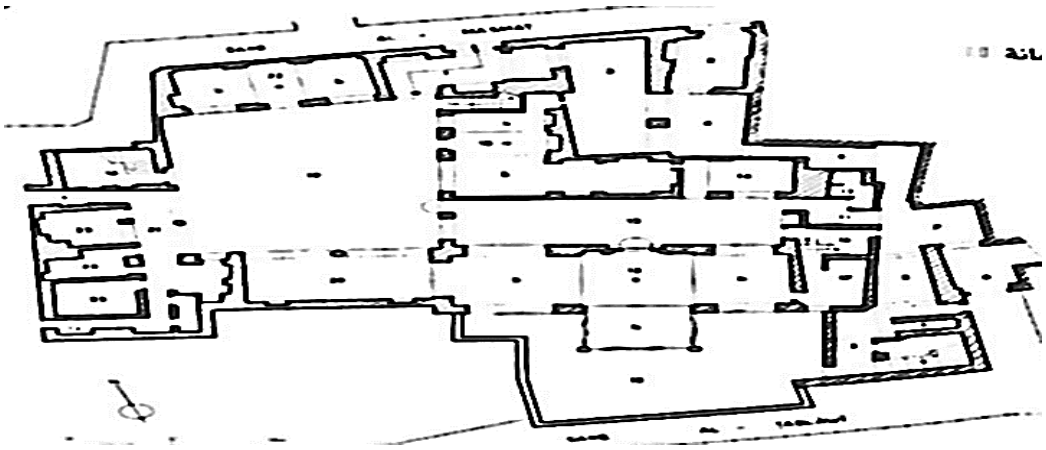
[FIGURE 1] A Google map shows the general location of the Palace within the borders of Fatimid Cairo. **[FIGURES 2]** show *al-Musāfir ḫānah* Palace from the outside. Pictures (A) and (B) indicate the Palace from the inside. **[FIGURE 3]**[12] indicates the ground floor plan, while **[FIGURES 4]** indicate *al-Musāfir ḫānah* Palace before the fire[13]. [**FIGURES** 5] illustrate *al-Musāfir ḫānah* Palace from the inside and outside after the fire at present, showing the collapse and loss in many parts, which led to the collapse, blur, and hiding of many features. Samples were collected from the fallen parts and pieces of the Palace. Samples of limestone of different colors, building mortar and fired bricks were collected, as shown in [**FIGURES 6].** After that, the samples were prepared for examination and analysis.

[FIGURE 1]: A Google Map Showing the General Location of the Palace wthin the Borders of Fatimid Cairo, https://www.google.com/maps/place/Safarkhana+Palace/@30.0502686,31.2640385,124m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m6!3m5!1s0x14583f61ed3b56f7:0x63c4e7ca83b139e!8m2!3d30.0502998!4d31.2643175!16s%2Fg%2F11csqgsmg7?entry=ttu, accessed on (12/08/ 2024)

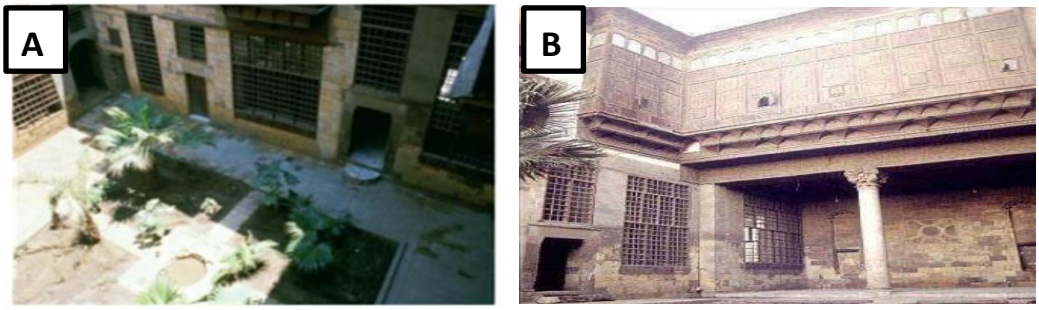


[FIGURES 2/A-B]: Show *al-Musāfir ḫānah* Palace from the Outside.
© A. Photo taken by the researcher; B. Photo B taken by ARCHITECT MOHAMED EL-TABLAWY

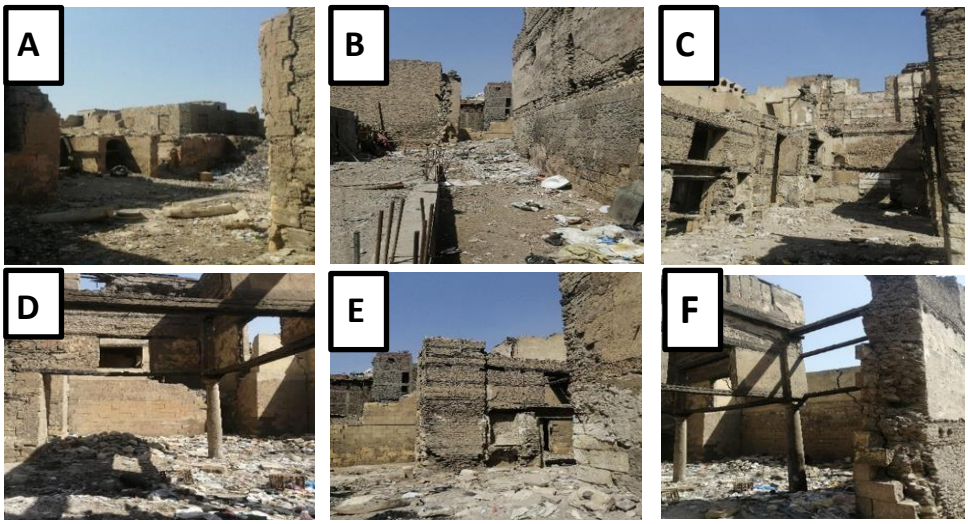
[12] ELSAYED 2018: 256.
[13] USEF 2017: 103-128.



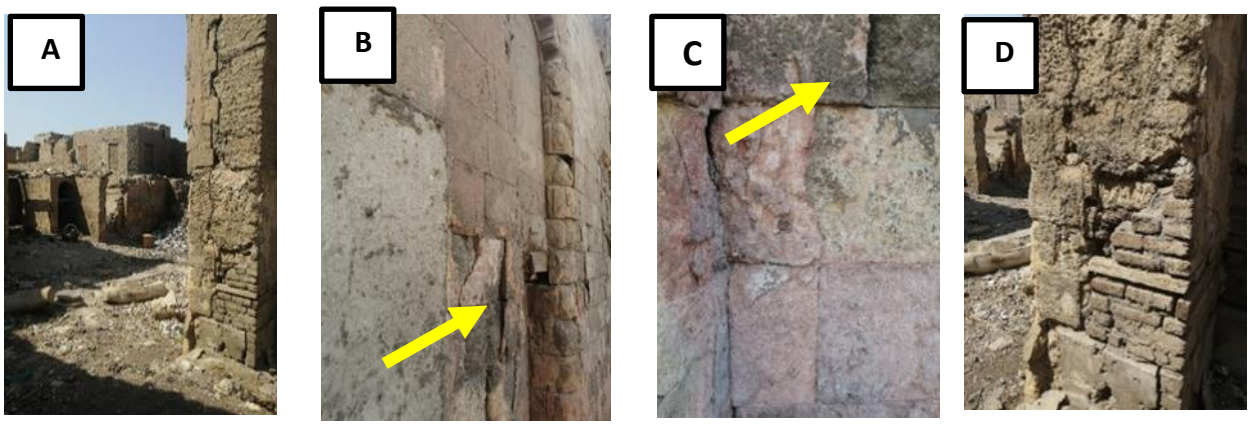
[FIGURE 3]: Ground floor plan of *al-Musāfir ḥānah* palace. AHMED 2017.



[FIGURES 4/A-B]: *al-Musāfir ḥānah* palace before the fire; A. Showing the palace courtyard from above before the fire; B. Showing one of the palace's courtyards from below before the fire. HEMEDA 2021.



[FIGURES 5/ A, B, C, D, E & F]: *al-Musāfir ḥānah* Palace from the inside and outside after the fire at present. A.Showing the damage to the interior of the palace due to the fire; B. Showing the entrance to the Palace from the side of Al-Gamaleya Street and the human damage to the concrete walls; C. Showing the extent of the damage to the main courtyard and the upper floor; D. Showing the extent of neglect until the palace turned into a garbage dump; E. Showing the falling layers of mortar and stone cladding and the deterioration of main building materials; F. Showing the remains of the wooden architectural elements that are still standing, as well as the state that the palace has become as a place of garbage © Photos taken by the researcher.



[FIGURES 6/A, B, C & D]: Sample collection locations.
A. Showing the place of taking the mortar sample; B. Showing the place of taking the red limestone sample; C. Showing the place of taking the white limestone sample; D. Showing the place of taking the fired brick sample © Photos taken by the researcher.

II. ANALYTICAL METHODOLOGY

Some techniques were used for the examination and analysis to diagnose the building materials and determine their mineral components. Analyses and examinations of the main building materials revealed much information about their components and deterioration state, indicating their sustainability. To achieve these objectives**.** All samples were examined and analyzed at the Microanalysis Center, Faculty of Science/Cairo University. samples were collected, examined and analyzed using the following methods**:** X-ray Diffraction Method (XRD): The mineralogical composition of samples was characterized using XXRD with a monochromator, cu radiation at 45 K.V., 35 M.A. and scanning speed 0.03 ○ /sec. **[FIGURES 7- 10]** Indicate the results of the analysis of the various samples using XRD. [**FIGURE 7]** indicates the results of XRD analysis of white limestone samples. [**FIGURE 8]** illustrates the results of the analysis using XRD for red limestone samples. The results of the fired brick samples are shown in **[FIGURE 9].** Finally, the results of lime mortar samples are shown in **[FIGURE 10]. [FIGURE 11]** shows the XRD of limestone samples of archaeological buildings in historic Cairo**. [FIGURE 12**] illustrates the XRD of bonding lime mortar of archaeological buildings in historic Cairo. Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM) The microstructure of the studied samples was investigated using SEM to assess morphological features by a Quanta FEG 250 scanning electron microscope (FEI, Netherlands). The magnification on the studied samples ranged from 1500 to 6000x and the accelerating voltage was 20 kV. **[FIGURES 13-15**] indicate the results of the examination of various samples using SEM. **[FIGURE 13]** indicates the results of white and red limestone samples, while the results of the fired brick samples are shown in **[FIGURE 14].** Finally, the results of lime mortar samples are shown in **[FIGURE 15**].

SEM with EDX: Examination by SEM not only provides a detailed microstructure and 3D morphology of stones and mortars at a very high magnification but also provides an elemental composition of the area of interest.

SEM with EDX: The FEG Quanta 250 was equipped with an energy-dispersive spectrometer for elemental analysis on a microscopic scale. **[FIGURES 16-19]** show the results of analyzing various samples by SEM with EDX. **[FIGURE 16]** illustrates the

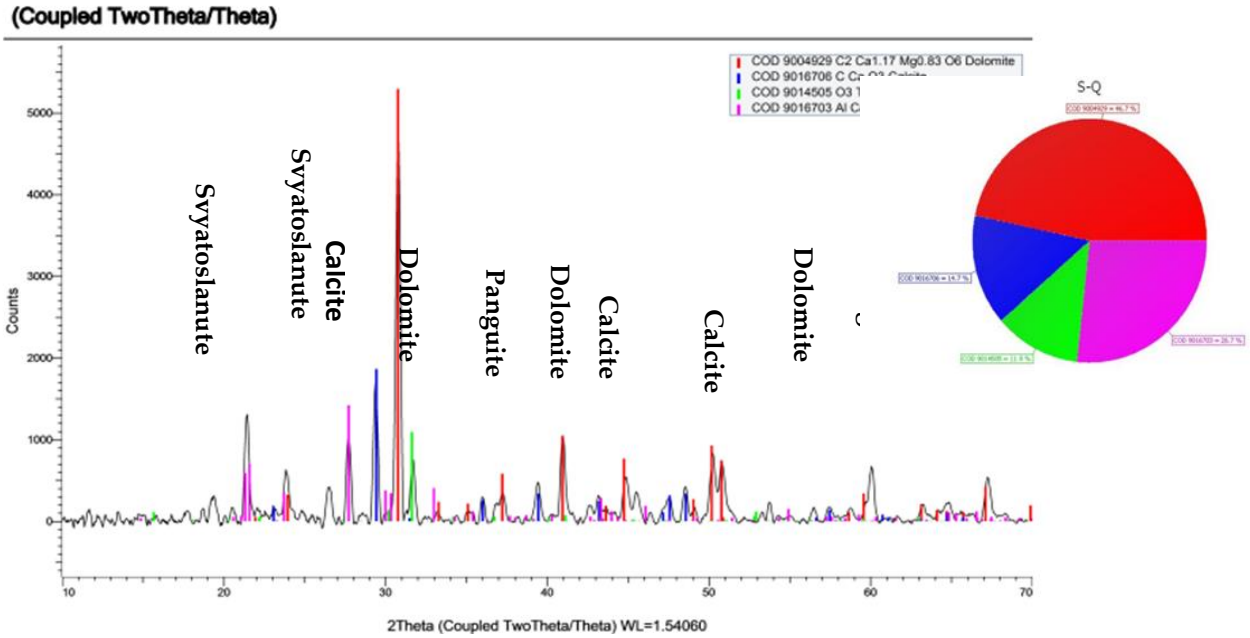
results of EDX analysis of white limestone samples**. [FIGURE 17]** shows the results of the analysis using EDX for red limestone samples. **[FIGURE 18]** shows the results of EDX analysis of fired brick samples**. [FIGURE 19]** shows the results of the analysis using EDX for lime mortar samples. **[FIGURE 20]** shows a sample of limestone before exposure to fire using SEM equipped with an EDX unit and XRD of the same sample. Stereo microscope is an optical microscope designed for low magnification (up to 80X) observation of a sample. It may be used in conjunction with macro photography to closely document sample deterioration, such as cracks, color changes and major traces.

The three-dimensional visualization of the sample with cameras allows the images to be displayed and captured on a high-resolution LCD monitor. [**FIGURES 21-24]** show the results of the examination of the various samples using the stereo microscope (three-dimensional) device. **[FIGURE 21]** illustrates the results of the examination of white limestone samples. **[FIGURE 22]** shows the results of the examination using the stereo microscope device for red limestone samples. **[FIGURE 23]** shows the results of the examination of fired brick samples by the stereo microscope (three-dimensional) device. **[FIGURE 24]** shows the results of the examination using the stereo microscope (three-dimensional) device of lime mortar samples. Analysis using Raman: A laser-based Raman confocal microscope (from Witec-Ulm Germany model Alpha300 RA/S) was utilized to record the Raman shift spectra and imaging. The Alpha 300 RA/S was coupled with a bright field microscope for recording and monitoring the surfaces optically. For bright field imaging, an EC Epiplan-Neofluar HD 50X objective, Zeiss was utilized with white LED illumination. [**FIGURES 25-28]** show the results of analyzing various samples using the Raman spectrometer device. **[FIGURE 25]** displays the results of analyzing white limestone samples. **[FIGURE 26]** shows the results of analysis by the Raman spectrometer device for red limestone samples. **[FIGURE 27**] shows the results of the analysis of fired brick samples by the Raman spectrometer device. [**FIGURE 28**] illustrates the results of analysis using the Raman spectrometer device of lime mortar samples. As samples of various building materials were analyzed using a Raman device, the same samples were photographed with the same device through the attached imaging unit, as shown in **[FIGURE 29].** The petrographic study of limestone samples under a polarizing microscope before and after exposure to fire shown in **[FIGURE 30].** [**TABLE** 1] shows the results of the sample analysis of building materials before and after the fire.

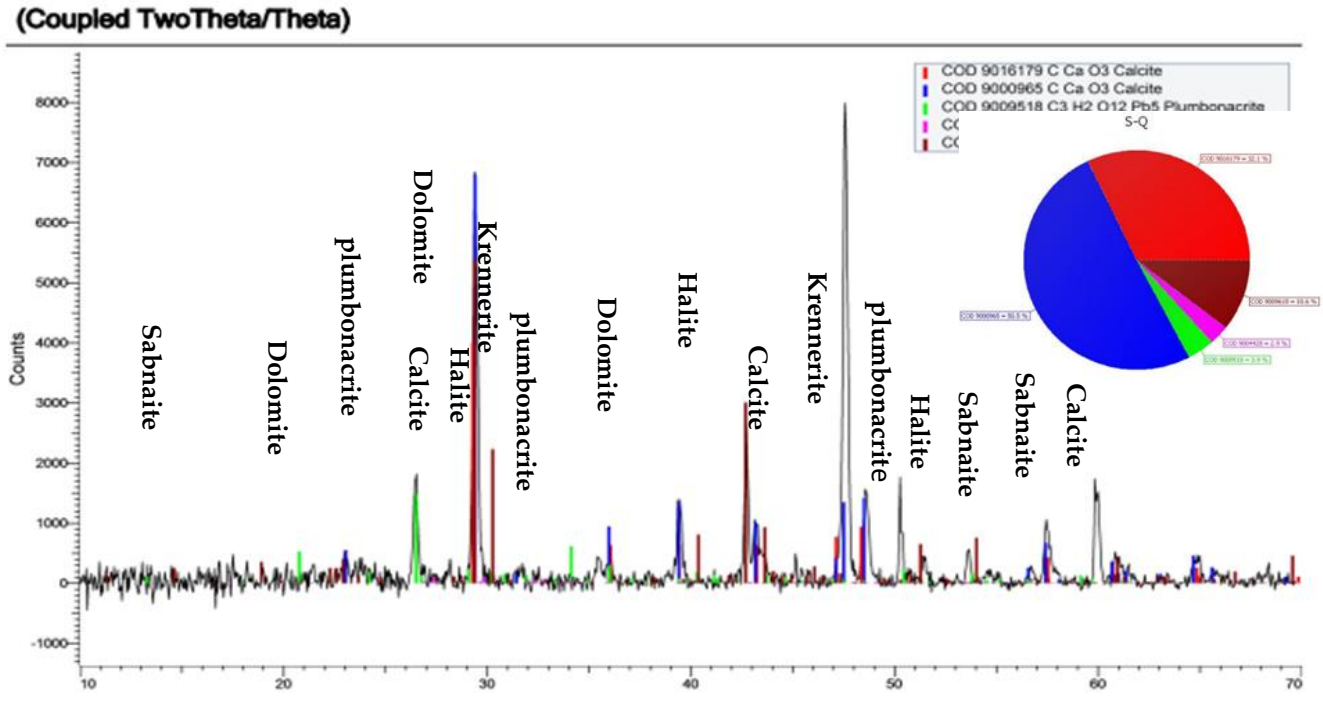
III. RESULTS

After examination and analysis procedures in the research laboratories, the results were obtained and the components of each sample of building materials were demonstrated, whether they were compounds, elements, or a group of images at different zoom ratios. Then, the results were studied and discussed. The results of the analysis were in the form of charts. The results of the XRD analysis were in the form of chemical compounds, the results of the EDX analysis were in the form of chemical elements and the results of the Raman analysis were in the form of chemical compounds. The results of the analysis were inserted in the form of a table, as shown in **[TABLE 1].** The results of examination using a stereo microscope, a scanning electron microscope and Raman were in the form of images with different zoom ratios.

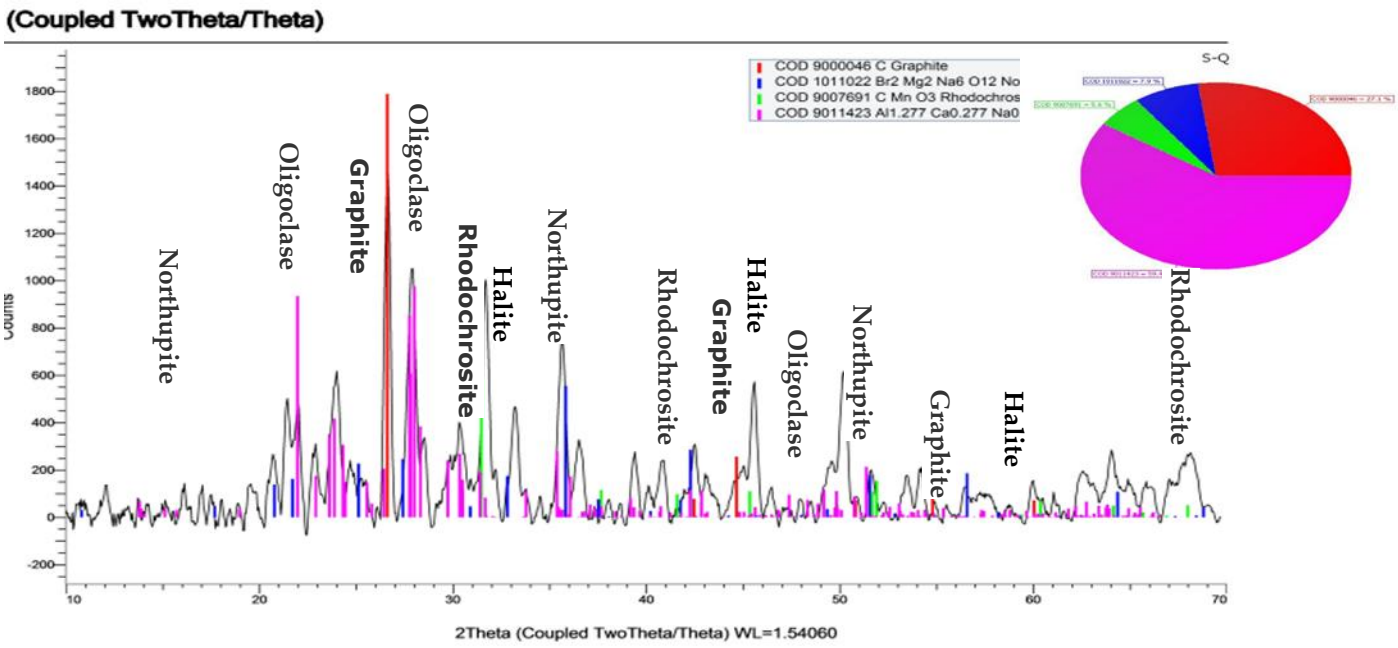
- **X-Ray Diffraction Results**



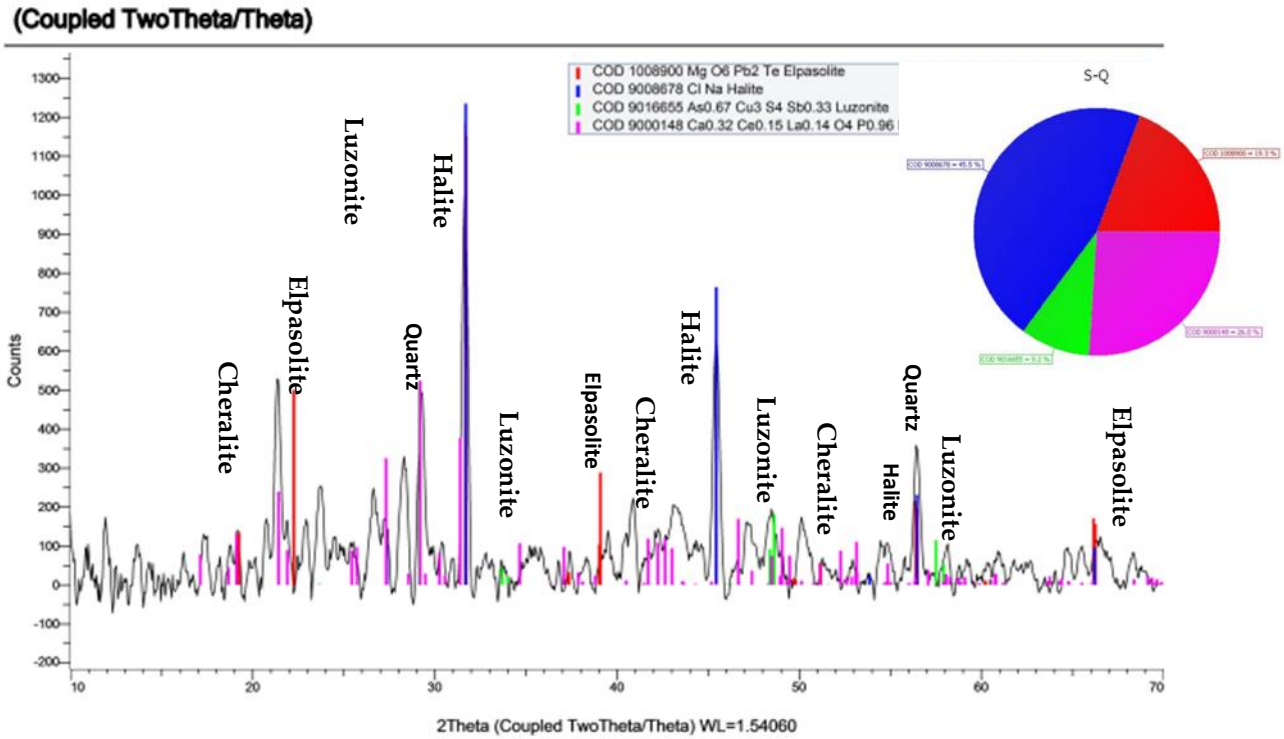
[FIGURE 7]: The X-ray diffraction pattern of a white limestone sample shows the presence of calcite ($CaCO_3$), dolomite $CaMg(CO_3)_2$, panguite $(Ti4+,Sc,Al,Mg,Zr,Ca)1.8O_3$, svyatosalvite $(CaAl_2Si_2O_8)$ & Halite NaCl © Analyzed at the Microanalysis Center, Faculty of Science/Cairo University.



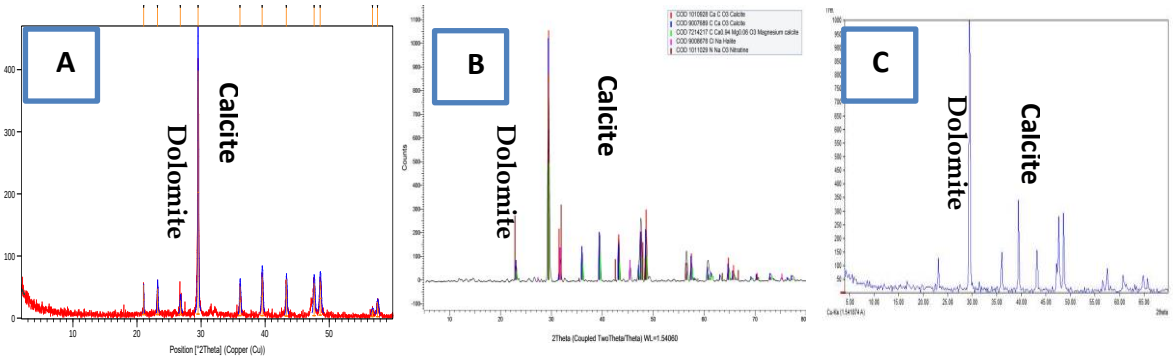
[FIGURE 8]: The X-ray diffraction pattern of a red limestone sample shows the presence of calcite ($CaCO_3$), krennerite (Au_3AgTe_8), plambonacrite $Pb_5O(OH)_2(CO_3)_3$, sabinaite $Na_4Zr_2TiO_4(CO_3)_4$ & Halite NaCl © Analyzed at the Microanalysis Center, Faculty of Science/Cairo University.



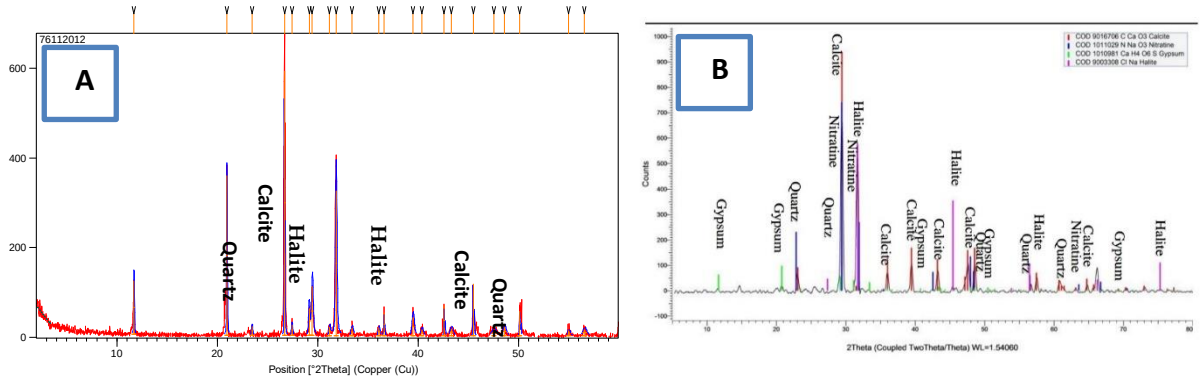
[FIGURE 9]: The X-ray diffraction pattern of the fired brick sample shows the presence of graphite C, oligoclase (Na,Ca) [Al (Si,Al)Si2O8], northupite Na3Mg(CO3)2Cl, rhodochrosite MnCO3 & halite NaCl © Analyzed at the Microanalysis Center, Faculty of Science/Cairo University.



[FIGURE 10]: The X-ray diffraction pattern of the lime mortar sample shows the presence of cheralite $CaTh(PO_4)_2$, elpasolite K_2NaAlF_6, luzonite Cu_3AsS_4 & Halite NaCl © Analyzed at the Microanalysis Center, Faculty of Science/Cairo University.

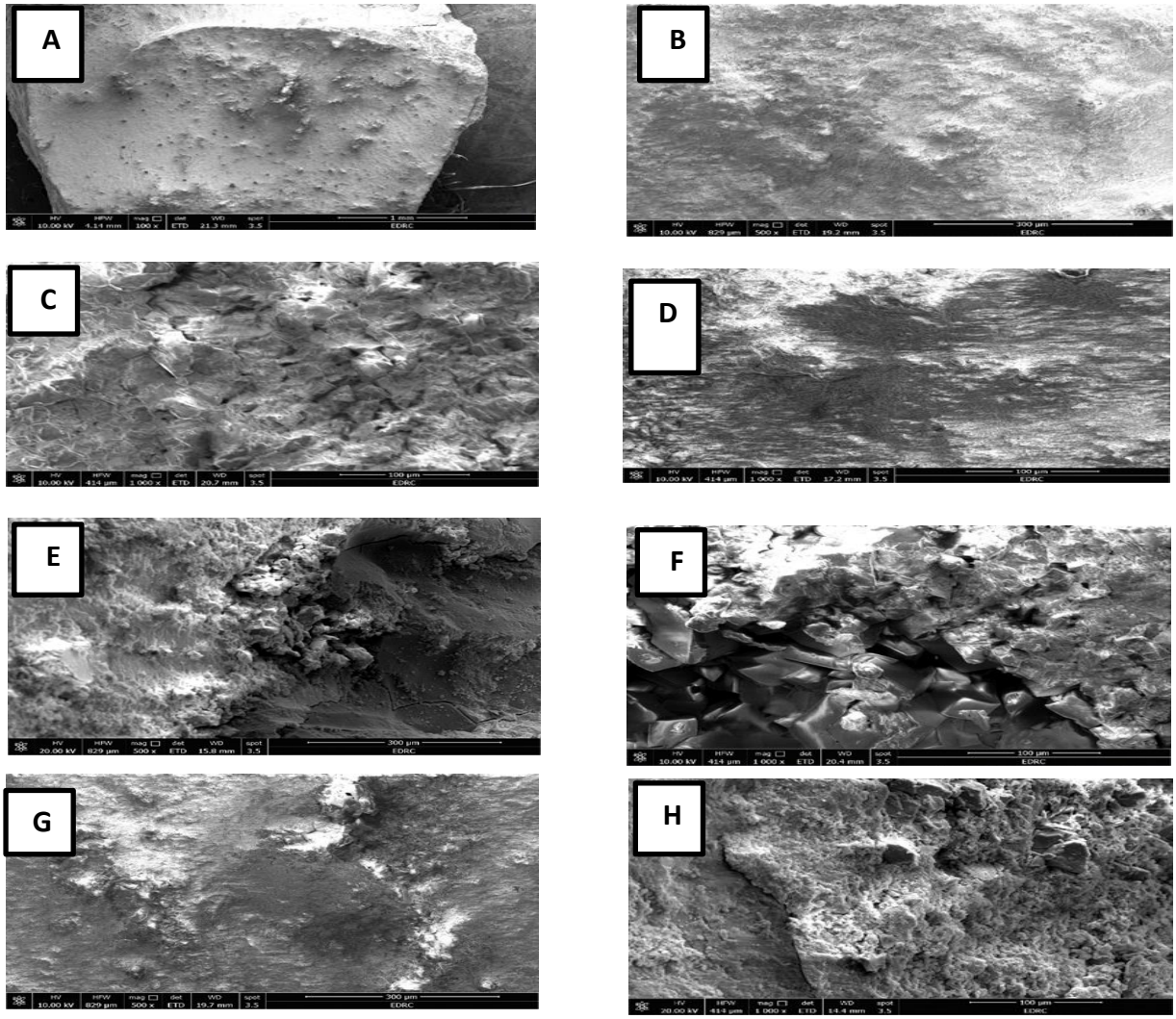


[FIGURES 11/ A, B & C]: Showing the X-ray diffraction pattern of limestone samples of archaeological buildings in historic Cairo. A. Showing the X-ray diffraction pattern of a sample of limestone from the *al-Tanbuġā al-Marīdānī* Mosque in *al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* area, historic Cairo. The results show that the limestone consists of calcite and dolomite as major components (X-ray diffraction pattern. Taken from ADAM 2015); B. Showing the X-ray diffraction pattern of a sample of limestone from Wikālat ʿŪda Bāšā on al-Ǧamāliyya. The results show that limestone consists of the minerals calcite and dolomite as major components (X-ray diffraction pattern. Taken from ABD EL HAMEED 2024; C. Limestone (fresh sample) using X-ray diffraction shows calcite as a major component of limestone (X-ray diffraction pattern. HEMEDA 2021.

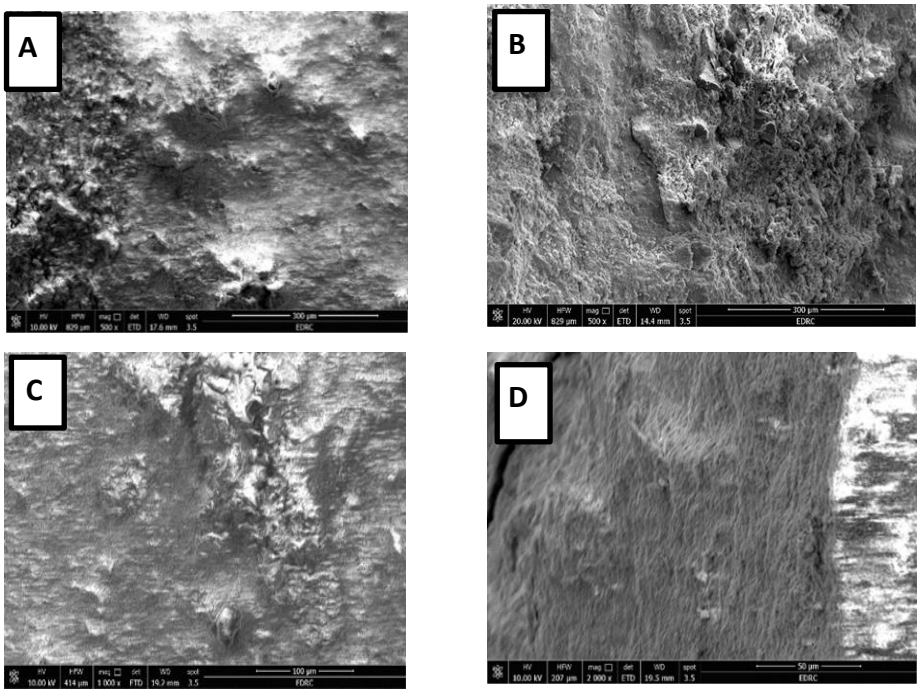


[FIGURES 12/ A&B]: The X-ray Diffraction Pattern of the Bonding Lime Mortar of Archaeological Buildings in Historic Cairo. A. showing the X-ray diffraction pattern of a sample of lime mortar from *al-Tanbuġā al-Marīdānī* Mosque in *al-Darb al-ʾAḥmar* area, historic Cairo. The results show that limestone consists of calcite, silica and halite as major components. ADAM 2015: 21-29; B. Showing the X-ray diffraction pattern of a sample of lime mortar from *Baybars al-Ḫayyāṭ* Mosque in the *Darb Saʿāda* area. The results show that the limestone consists of calcite, silica and halite as major components. ABD EL HAMEED 2023: 423-438.

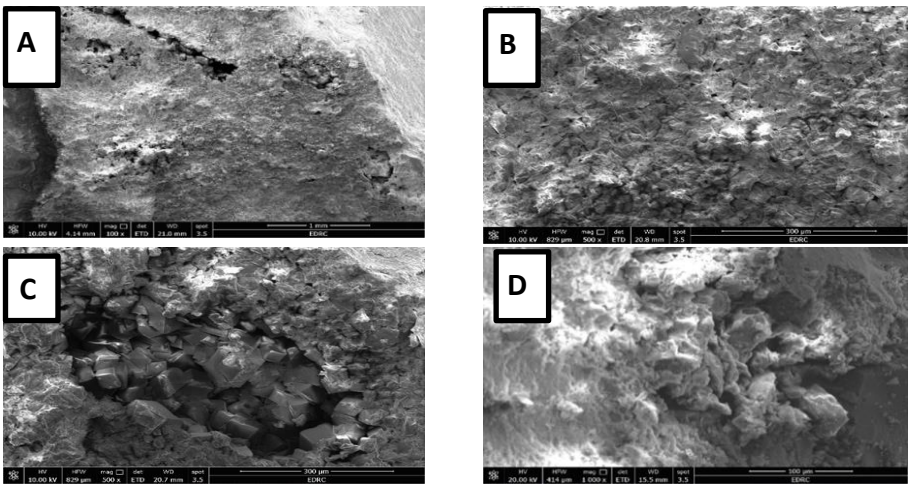
▪ SEM Results



[FIGURES 13/ A, B, C, D, E, F, G & H]: The results of SEM examination of white and red limestone samples. A. The examination result of a white limestone sample at 100 x magnification shows the rough texture of the sample fracture; B. The examination result of a white limestone sample at 500 x magnification shows an uneven texture and some fine cracks; C & D. The examination result of a white limestone sample at 1000 x magnification shows a rough texture and some pores and fine cracks; E. The SEM examination result of a red limestone sample at 500 x magnification shows a rough texture of the sample fracture with some fine cracks; F. The SEM examination result of a red limestone sample at 1000 x magnification shows uneven texture and some deep cracks and separations in the form of layers; G. The SEM examination result of a red limestone sample at 1000 times magnification shows the deterioration of the internal structure of the stone with a clear loss of the mineral grains that make up the stone and some deep cracks; H. The SEM examination result of a red limestone sample at 1000 times magnification shows the severe deterioration of the internal stone structure with the obvious loss of the mineral grains that make up the stone, deep cracks and pore voids as a result of the migration of mineral components.

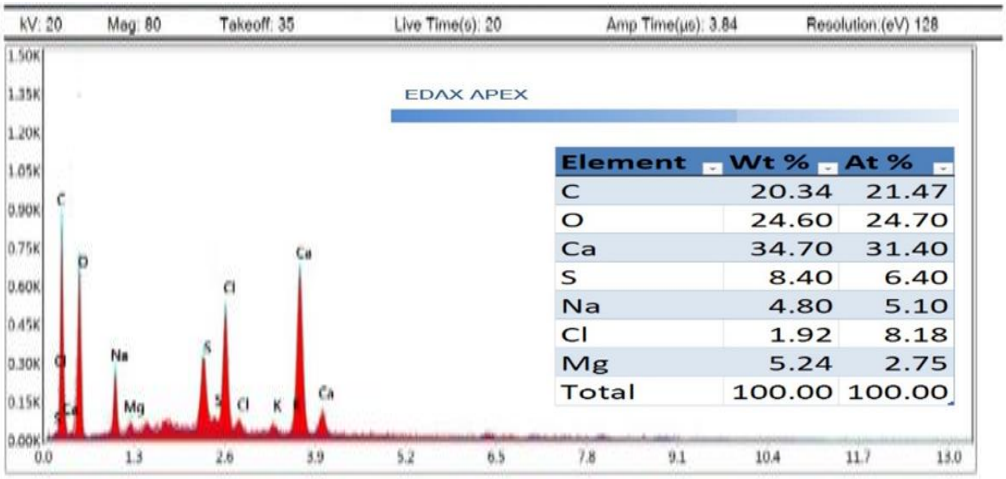


[FIGURES 14/ A, B, C & D]: The results of SEM examination of fired brick samples. A. The examination result at 500 x magnification shows the rough texture of the sample fracture; B. The examination result at 500 x magnification shows an uneven texture and some fine cracks, with the outer surface changing in layers as a result of the fire; C. The SEM examination result at 1000 x magnification shows an uneven texture and some deep cracks; D. The SEM examination result at 2000 x magnification shows the deterioration of the internal structure of the fired brick structure with deep cracks as a result of the high temperature © Examined at the Microanalysis Center, Faculty of Science/Cairo University.

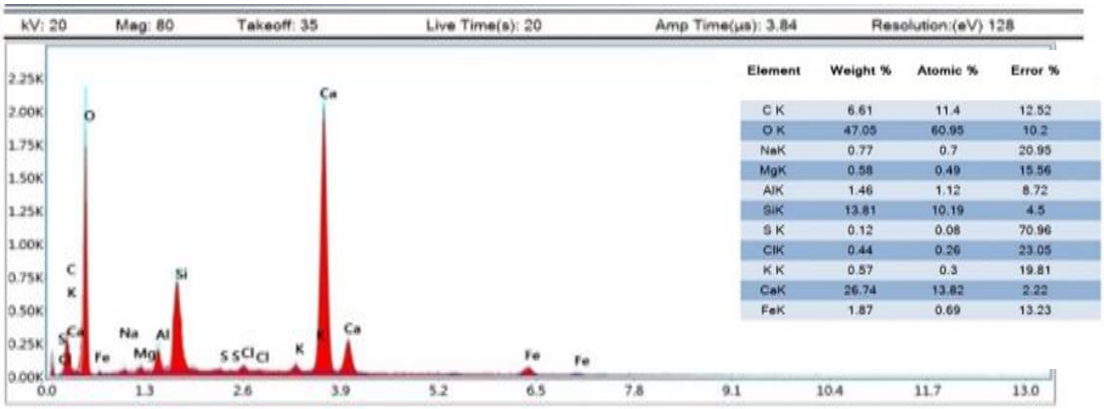


[FIGURES 15/ A, B, C & D] :SEM results of lime mortar from *al-Musāfir Ḫānah* Palace (Historic Cairo), lower building remains affected by moisture and salt crystallization due to high groundwater levels and sewage network deterioration. A. The examination results at 100x magnification show large voids and pores in the sample as a result of the loss of its components; B. The examination results at 500x magnification show an uneven texture and some fine cracks and pores randomly distributed as a result of the fire and humidity that dissolved the components of the sample; C. The SEM examination results at 500x magnification show an uneven texture and some deep cracks and pores as a result of the migration and dissolution of the components of the sample; D. The SEM examination results at 1000x magnification show deterioration in the internal structure of the lime mortar and the crystallization of halite salt, facilitated by the high humidity rate, especially in the lower parts of the Palace, with deep cracks © Examined at the Microanalysis Center, Faculty of Science/Cairo University.

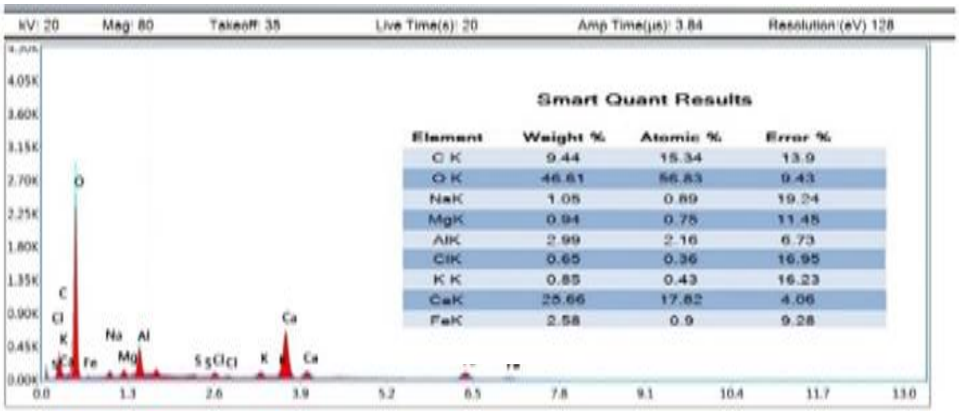
▪ EDX Results



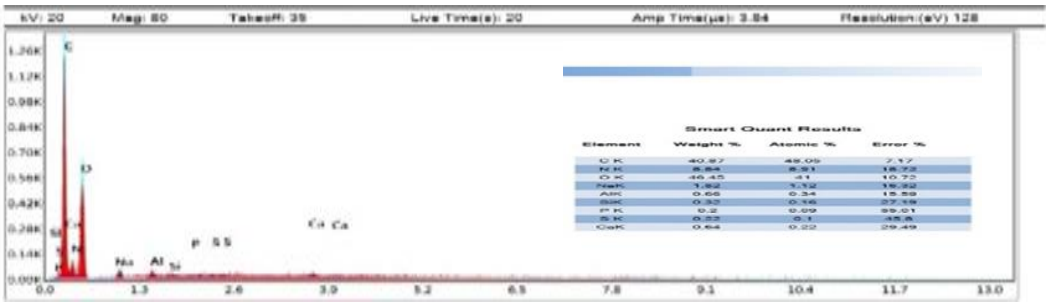
[FIGURE 16]: The Result of elemental analysis using EDX of a white limestone sample shows the presence of Ca (calcium), Na (sodium), C (carbon), Cl (chlorine), Mg (magnesium), S (sulfur), K (potassium)& O (oxygen).



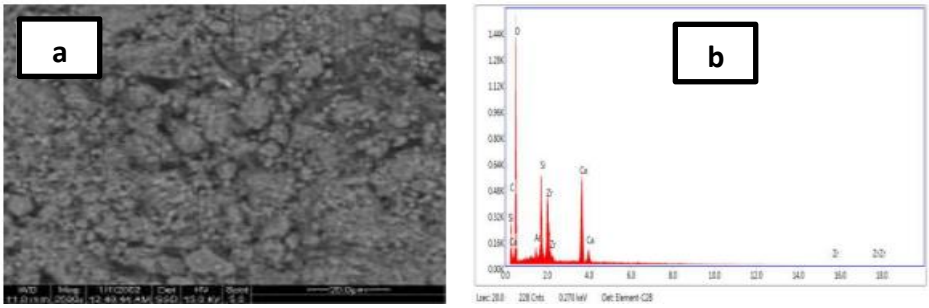
[FIGURE 17]: The Result of elemental analysis using EDX of a red limestone sample shows the presence of the elements C (calcium), K (potassium), Na (sodium), C (carbon), Cl (chlorine), Mg (magnesium)& O (oxygen).



[FIGURE 18]: The Result of elemental analysis using EDX of a sample of fired brick shows the presence of Ca (calcium), K (potassium), Na (sodium), C (carbon), Cl (chlorine), O (oxygen), Mg (magnesium)& Fe (iron).

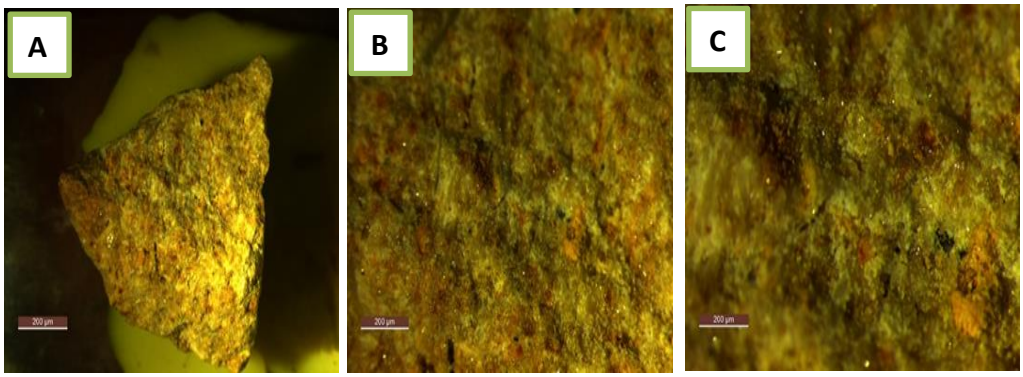


[FIGURE 19]: The Result of elemental analysis using EDX of a lime mortar sample shows the presence of Ca (calcium), N (nitrogen), S (sulfur), Na (sodium), C (carbon), Cl (chlorine), O (oxygen), Al (aluminum), & P (phosphorus) © Analyzed at the Microanalysis Center, Faculty of Science/Cairo University.

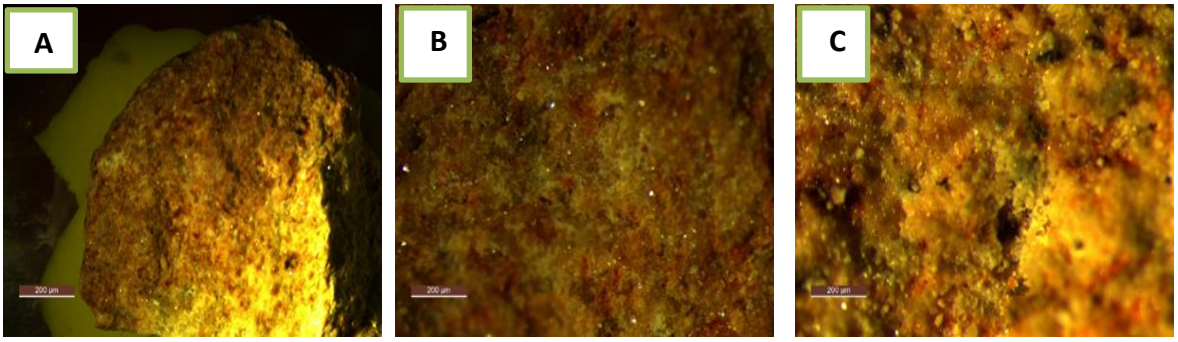


[FIGURES 20/ A-B]: Limestone before exposure to fire using both SEM, EDX, SEM & EDX. A. SEM shows crystals and grains of medium-to-fine shape and compact overlapping, with the grain interconnected; B. EDX of a limestone sample shows the presence of Ca (calcium), C (carbon), Si (silicon) and O (oxygen). HEMEDA 2021.

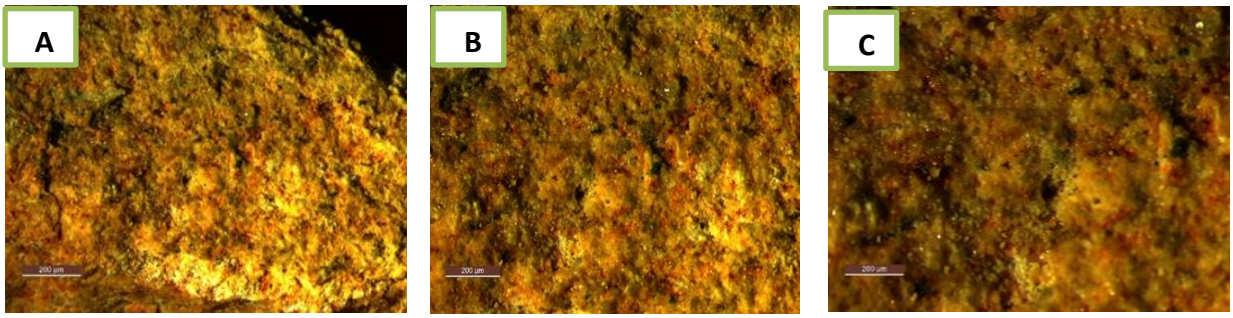
▪ Stereo Microscope Results



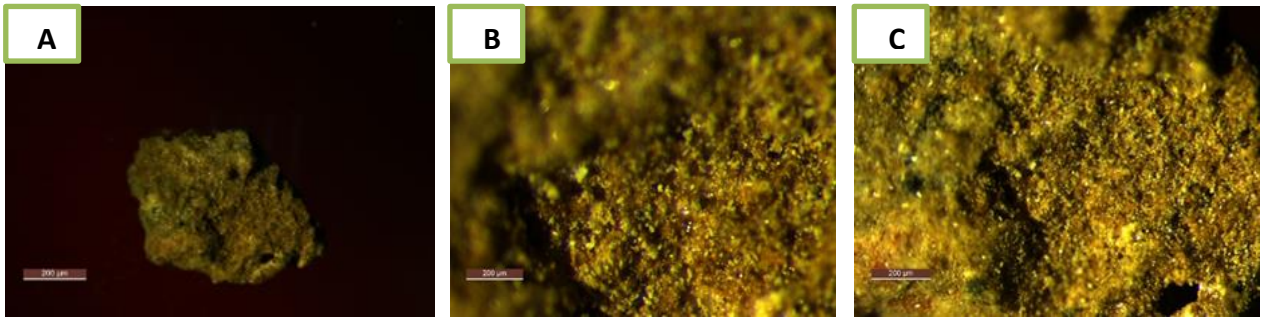
[FIGURES 21/A, B & C]: Results of stereomicroscopic examination of a white limestone sample taken from the lower remains of the palace walls at *al-Musāfir Ḫānah Palace*, Historic Cairo. A. A three-dimensional part of the sample where all edges appear from all directions in an irregular manner, showing some randomly distributed cracks, pores and color contrast; B. A surface part of the sample with pores, cracks and color contrast between the stone grains between red and white as a result of the fire; C. An enlarged image of the previous image of the same sample shows the clear difference between the colors of the stone grains, with some pores, voids and loss of stone grains inside the sample but to a very small extent © Photos taken by the researcher.



[FIGURES 22/ A, B & C]: The Result of the Stereo Microscope Examination of the Red Limestone Sample. A. A part of the red limestone sample in three dimensions; irregular edges, randomly distributed cracks and pores and color contrast; B. A surface part of the red limestone sample has pores, cracks and color contrast between the stone grains between red and white, with the red color dominating most of the sample surface as a result of the fire; C. An enlarged image of the previous image of the same sample shows the clear difference between the colors of the stone grains, which changed from white to red as a result of the fire, with the presence of large and clear pores and voids.

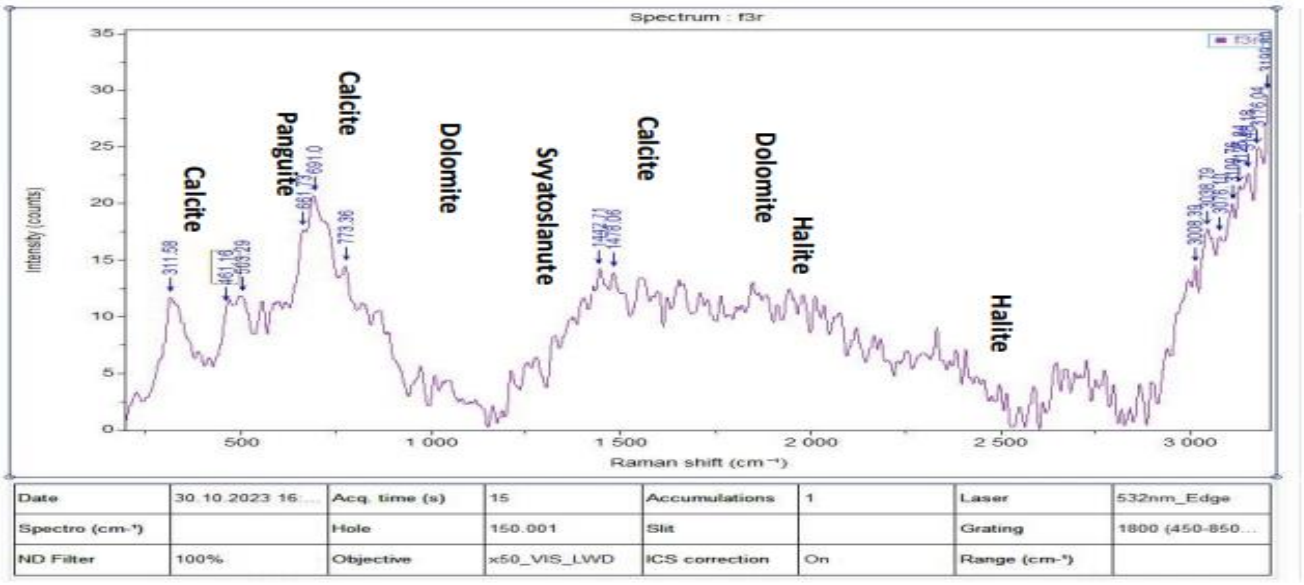


[FIGURES 23/ A, B & C]: Stereomicroscopic examination of a fired brick sample from the lower walls of *al-Musāfir Ḥānah* Palace, Historic Cairo. A. A part of a three-dimensional image of a fired brick sample with irregular edges, randomly distributed cracks and pores and the predominant red color; B. Shows a surface part of a fired brick sample. The pores and cracks appear more clearly, a slight color difference appears in the brick grains and the red color predominates most of the sample surface; C. An enlarged image of the previous image of the same sample (the fired brick) shows the large and clear randomly distributed pores and void © Examined at the Microanalysis Center, Faculty of Science/Cairo University



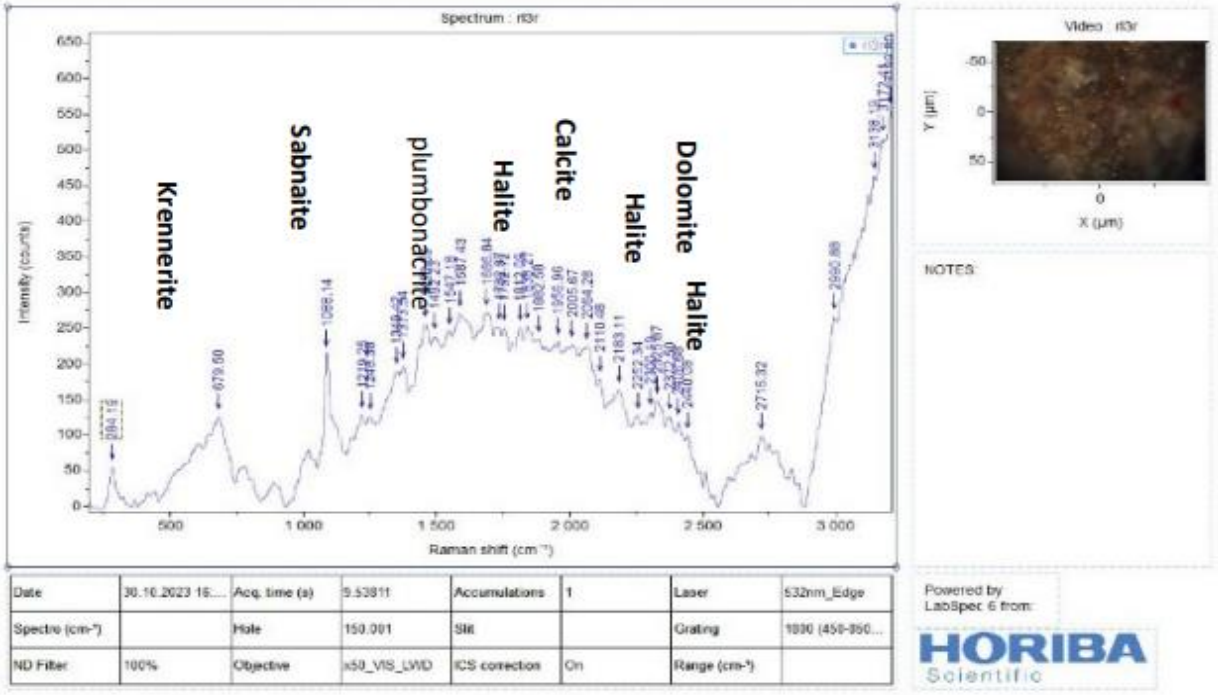
[FIGURES 24/ A, B & C]: Stereomicroscopic examination of a lime mortar sample from the lower walls of *al-Musāfir Ḥānah* Palace, Historic Cairo. A. A part of a three-dimensional lime mortar sample with irregular edges and randomly distributed cracks and pores; B. Shows a surface part of a lime mortar sample. The pores and cracks appear more clearly, and a color difference appears as a result of the difference in mortar components, with some cracks and fissures; C. An enlarged image of the previous image of the same sample shows the large and clear pores and voids as a result of the loss of some mortar components.

▪ Results of the Raman Spectrometer Analysis



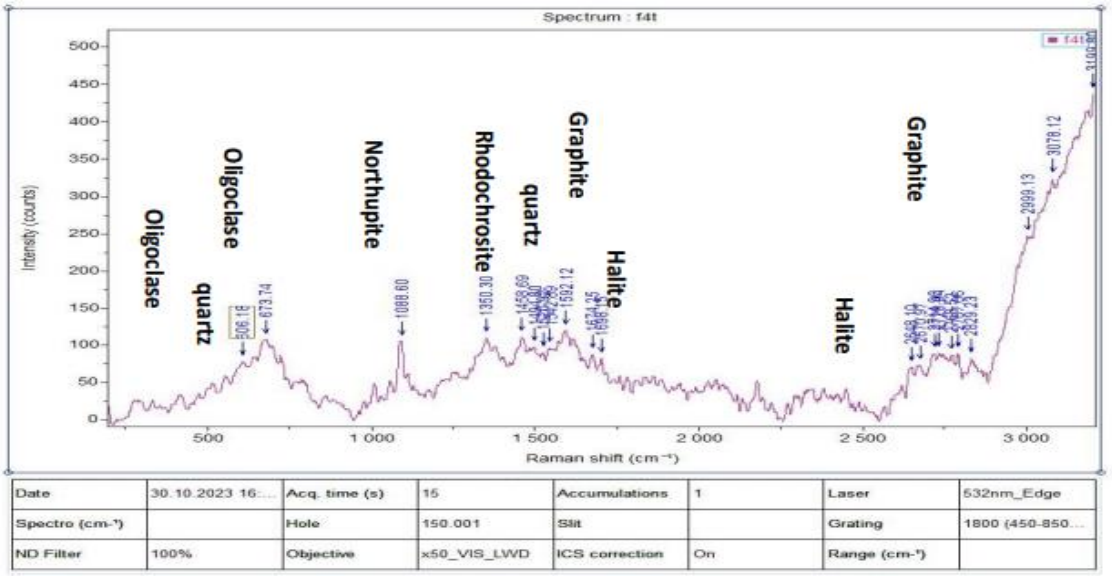
Date	30.10.2023 16:...	Acq. time (s)	15	Accumulations	1	Laser	532nm_Edge
Spectro (cm-¹)		Hole	150.001	Slit		Grating	1800 (450-850...
ND Filter	100%	Objective	x50_VIS_LWD	ICS correction	On	Range (cm-¹)	

[FIGURE 25]: Raman spectrometer analysis of a white limestone sample shows the O presence of calcite ($CaCO_3$), dolomite $CaMg(CO_3)_2$, panguite $(Ti4+,Sc,Al,Mg,Zr,Ca)1.8O_3$, svyatosalvite ($CaAl_2Si_2O_8$)& halite (NaCl) © Analyzed at the Microanalysis Center, Faculty of Science/Cairo University.

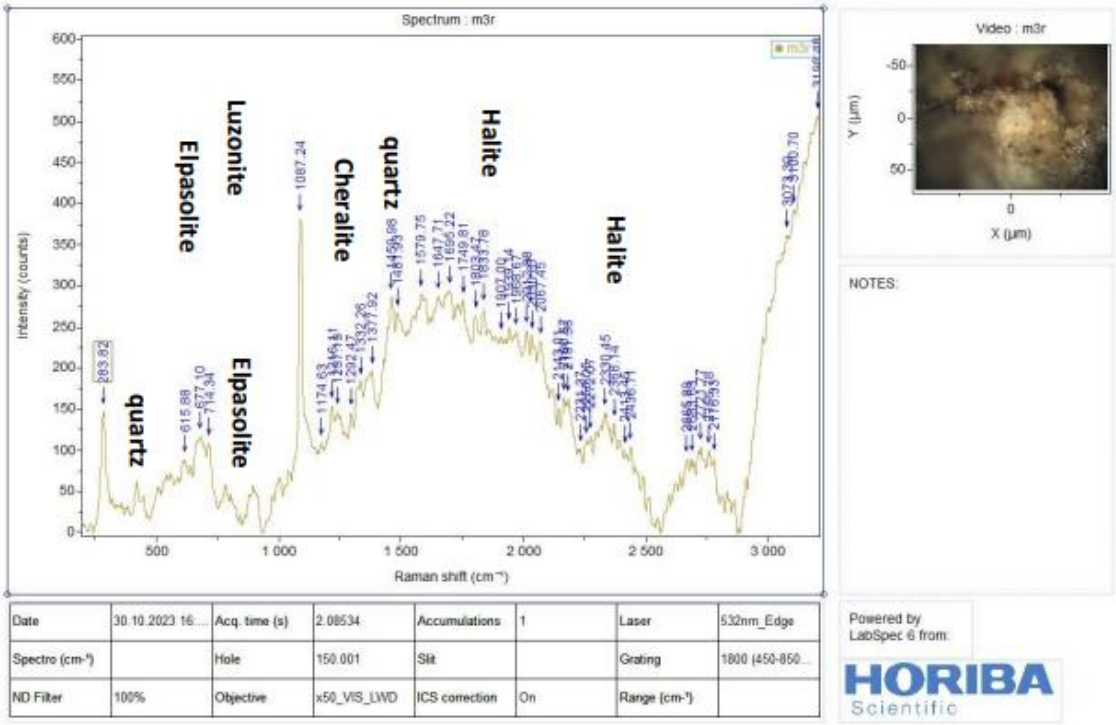


Date	30.10.2023 16:...	Acq. time (s)	9.53811	Accumulations	1	Laser	532nm_Edge
Spectro (cm-¹)		Hole	150.001	Slit		Grating	1800 (450-850...
ND Filter	100%	Objective	x50_VIS_LWD	ICS correction	On	Range (cm-¹)	

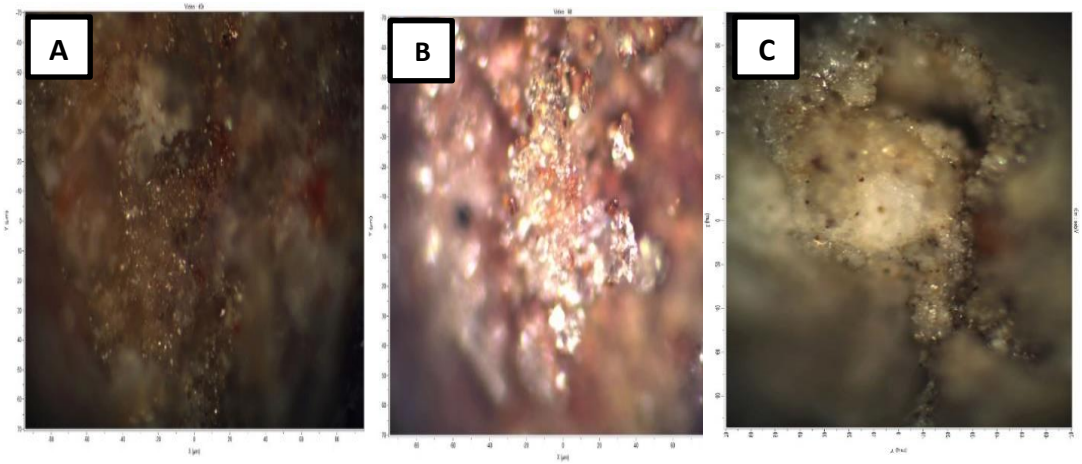
[FIGURE 26]: Raman spectrometer analysis of a red limestone sample shows the presence of calcite ($CaCO_3$), krennerite (Au_3AgTe_8), plambonacrite $Pb_5O(OH)_2(CO_3)_3$, sabinaite $Na_4Zr_2TiO_4(CO_3)_4$ & halite (NaCl) © Analyzed at the Microanalysis Center, Faculty of Science/Cairo University.



[FIGURE 27]: Raman spectrometer analysis of a fired brick sample shows the presence of graphite (C), oligoclase (Na,Ca)[Al(Si,Al)Si2O8], northupite Na3Mg(CO3)2Cl, rhodochrosite MnCO3 & halite (NaCl) © Analyzed at the Microanalysis Center, Faculty of Science/Cairo University.

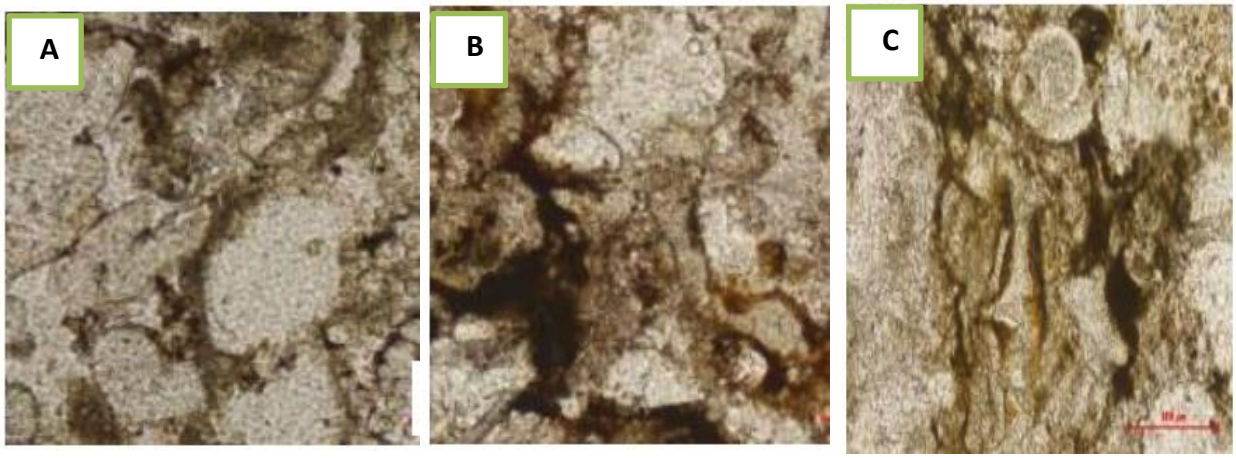


[FIGURE 28]: Raman spectrometer analysis of a lime mortar sample shows the presence of cheralite $CaTh(PO_4)_2$, elpasolite K_2NaAlF_6, luzonite Cu_3AsS_4& halite (NaCl) ©Analyzed at the Microanalysis Center, Faculty of Science/Cairo University.



[FIGURES 29/ A, B & C]: Optical images of red limestone, fired brick, and mortar samples analyzed by laser-based Raman microspectroscopy, showing variations in color and color distribution that reflect differences in their chemical structures. A. Raman optical images of a red limestone sample show some contrast between white and red colors, with red being the most common color and the random distribution of grains in the sample; B. Raman optical images of a fired brick sample show the red color dominating the sample and the random arrangement of brick components with a rough surface texture; C. Raman optical images of a lime mortar sample show the white color with some visible pores and the deterioration of the mortar structure.

The petrographic study under a polarizing microscope of limestone samples before and after exposure to fire illustrated that limestone samples that were not exposed to fire [**FIGURE 30**] Cleavage calcite surface minerals were clearly visible with a fully visible appearance. Color changes and loss in transparent texture were not observed in the crystals. Additionally, samples that were not exposed to fire did not exhibit any significant alterations. Petrographic analyses of the samples exposed to fire were in semi-opaque condition and light gray color. Moreover, changes in the porosity and color of the samples turned out to be light gray. Samples were all cracked and deteriorated.



[FIGURES 30/ A, B& C]: A Petrographic study of some limestone samples before and after the fire. A. Images of limestone samples illustrate that the samples that were not exposed to fire showed cleavage surfaces of calcite with a quite clear appearance. Samples that were not affected did not exhibit any significant alteration; B, C, A. petrographic thin-section of the fired sample shows that it was in a semi-opaque condition with a light gray color, changes in the porosity and color of the samples turned out to light gray, samples were all cracked and deteriorated and color changes and loss in the transparent texture were not observed. HEMEDA 2021.

Samples	X-ray Diffraction		EDX	Raman Analysis
	After fire	Before fire		
White Limestone	Calcite ($CaCO_3$) dolomite $CaMg(CO_3)_2$ panguite (Ti4+,Sc,Al,Mg,Zr,Ca)1.8O 3, and svyatosalvite ($CaAl_2Si_2O_8$)	Calcite ($CaCO_3$) and dolomite as major components	Calcium (Ca) Sodium (Na) Carbon (C) Chlorine (Cl) Magnesium (Mg) Sulfur (S) Potassium (K) oxygen (O)	Calcite ($CaCO_3$) Dolomite $CaMg(CO_3)_2$ Panguite (Ti4+,Sc,Al,Mg,Zr,Ca)1 .$8O_3$ Svyatosalvite ($CaAl_2Si_2O_8$) Halite (NaCl)
Red Limestone	Calcite ($CaCO_3$) Krennerite (Au_3AgTe_8) Plambonacrite $Pb_5O(OH)_2(CO_3)_3$ Sabinaite $Na_4Zr_2TiO_4(CO_3)_4$		Calcium (Ca) Potassium (K) Sodium (Na) Carbon (C) Chlorine (Cl) Magnesium (Mg) Sulfur (S) Oxygen (O)	Calcite (CaCO3) Krennerite (Au_3AgTe_8) Plambonacrite $Pb_5O(OH)_2(CO_3)_3$ Sabinaite $Na_4Zr_2TiO_4(CO_3)_4$ Halite (NaCl)
Fired Brick	Graphite (C) Oligoclase (Na,Ca)[Al(Si,Al)Si_2O_8] Northupite $Na_3Mg(CO_3)_2Cl$ Rhodochrosite $MnCO_3$ Quartz (SiO_2)	Silica (SiO2) Alumina (Al2O3) Calcium Carbonate, Calcite (CaCO3) Iron oxide	Calcium (Ca) Potassium (K) Sodium (Na) Carbon (C) Chlorine (Cl) Oxygen (O) Magnesium (Mg) Iron (Fe)	Graphite (C) Oligoclase (Na,Ca)[Al(Si,Al)Si_2O_8 Northupite $Na_3Mg(CO_3)_2Cl$ Rhodochrosite $MnCO_3$ Halite (NaCl) Quartz (SiO_2)
Lime Mortar	Cheralite $CaTh(PO_4)_2$ Elpasolite (K_2NaAlF_6) Luzonite (Cu_3AsS_4) Halite (NaCl) Quartz (SiO_2)	Calcite (CaCO3) and quartz (SiO_2) as major components	Calcium (Ca) Nitrogen (N) Sulfur (S) Sodium (Na) Carbon (C) Chlorine (Cl) Oxygen (O) Aluminum (Al) Phosphorus (P)	Cheralite $CaTh(PO_4)_2$ Elpasolite K_2NaAlF_6 Luzonite Cu_3AsS_4 Halite (NaCl) Quartz (SiO_2)

[TABLE 1] Shows the Results of the Sample Analysis of Building Materials before and after the Fire.

IV. DISCUSSION

Based on the results of analysis and examination and previous studies, it is possible to discuss the condition of *al-Musāfir ḫānah* Palace according to the mineral composition of the building materials before the fire. The Palace was built with more than one building material, the most important of which were limestone and brick, and lime mortar was used to bond the building materials. Limestone is considered the most important stone and it has been widely used in historic Cairo's buildings throughout history.

▪ Discussion of the XRD Results

Muqaṭṭam, *Tūrah* and *Maasara* quarries were the most important quarries that played a major role in the construction of archaeological buildings in Egypt[14]. *Muqaṭṭam* formation is essentially composed of white, medium-hard to hard limestone and numerous yellowish-brown dolomitic limestones[15] that cover most of the surface of the Moqattam area[16].

When analyzing more than one limestone sample using XRD or EDX in some archaeological buildings in historic and Fatimid Cairo, such as (*Wikālat 'Uda Paša*, al-Ašraf Barsbāy Complex and Sulaymān Aġā) and other archaeological buildings outside Fatimid Cairo, such as (*al-Tanbuġā al-Marīdānī* Mosque, *Qarqmās* Complex and *Qaytbāy* Complex)[17], the results of demonstrated that the limestone of these buildings consisted of calcite and dolomite as major components[18]. Analyzing limestone using XRD illustrated that the main mineral component of limestone was calcite as the main component. Analyzing limestone (fresh sample) using XRD showed that the main mineral component of limestone was calcite. [**FIGURE 5**] shows the XRD pattern of archaeological buildings within historic Cairo. When studying a sample of limestone that was not exposed to fire using both an SEM equipped with an EDX unit and XRD, the grains and crystals of the mineral appeared in a medium-to-fine shape and compact overlapping, with the interconnection of the grain. Additionally, EDX showed some minerals, such as calcite, quartz and dolomite. XRD of limestone (fresh sample) illustrated that the major mineral component of limestone was calcite **[FIGURE 7]**[19]**.**

Analyzing white limestone samples showed the presence of some minerals, such as calcite (14.7%), dolomite (46.7%), panguite (11.9%), and svyatosalvite (26.7%). Limestone is a sedimentary rock formed by the evaporation of saturated water solutions[20]. Furthermore, calcite and dolomite are natural components of limestone, but panguite and svyatosalvite are not components of limestone in Moqattam, Tora and Maasara quarries[21].

Panguite (Ti4+,Sc,Al,Mg,Zr,Ca)1.8O3 is a titanium oxide. It is a very heat-resistant mineral and is formed at high temperatures[22]. Svyatosalvite (CaAl2Si2O8) is a type of anorthite in the plagioclase feldspar[23] series formed at high temperatures[24].

The presence of calcite and dolomite in limestone is natural, as they are the main components of limestone, as demonstrated by analyses. However, the presence of these two minerals formed at high temperatures in the mineral composition of limestone was

[14] ALI 2016: 95 – 106.
[15] ESSAM 2020: 71-91.
[16] COPPOLA 2020: 1-8.
[17] AALAA 2022: 862-874.
[18] ABD EL HAMEED 2024: 297-316.
[19] HEMEDA 2021: 191-209.
[20] CHI MA 2012: 1219–1225. .
[21] STEPHEN 2012: 11–15.
[22] JOHN 2012: 1219-1225.
[23] GORELOVA 2023: 1-13.
[24] ANDREY 2019: 2-12. .

due to the huge fire that affected the Palace, which caused a chemical change and a change in the chemical properties of limestone.

Analyzing red limestone samples showed the presence of some minerals, including calcite (50%), krennerite (3.9%), plambonacrite (3.9%) and sabinaite (2.9%)[25].

Krennerite[26] (Au_3AgTe_8) is formed at high temperatures[27]. Plambonacrite **(**$Pb_5(CO_3)3O(OH)_{2)}$**,** a very rare lead carbonate mineral (pigment)[28], can be formed in aqueous systems at ambient temperature[29] and pressure[30]. Sabinaite ($Na_4Zr_2TiO_4(CO_3)_4$) is a rare carbonate mineral[31]. Sabinaite and augite are present in a minor amount, along with sodium-rich feldspar albite and calcic feldspar bytownite[32]**.**

The previous mineral components of red limestone revealed that they were not from the basic mineral composition of limestone. Limestone is mainly composed of calcite and dolomite. They were probably formed by the high temperatures that affected the Palace and the limestone was supplied with its elements through groundwater and sewage networks loaded and rich in many elements. Their formation was aided by their recrystallization by fire, which destroyed the building. This change in mineral composition led to a change in the chemical properties of the stone and, consequently, a change in color from white to red.

The mineral composition of fired brick after manufacturing was as follows: a) Silica (SiO_2): The addition of free-form sand or silica as a main component to clay in appropriate quantities provides hardness and prevents contraction and deformation on drying[33]. b) Alumina (Al_2O_3) produces good clay[34]. It absorbs water and makes the clay flexible[35]. c) Calcium Carbonate ($CaCO_3$) is usually found in less than 10 % of clay and should be finely grained[36]. It decreases shrinkage during drying. d) Iron oxide is responsible for the red color in fired bricks, high percentage of iron oxide is responsible for its dark coloration. e) Potassium and sodium Alkalis are mainly salt of sodium (Na) and potassium (K). The presence of alkalis affects the bricks, as they absorb moisture from the air and when it evaporates[37].

The XRD analysis of the fired bricks in *al-Musāfir ḥānah* Palace showed graphite (27.9 %), oligoclase (54.4%), northupite (5.6%), rhodochrosite (7.9%) and quartz. As with limestone, some new mineral components were not the main components of limestone. The results showed the presence of new mineral components within the mineral composition of the fired bricks, probably due to the recrystallization of these minerals, which was facilitated by the continuous supply of elements from groundwater and

[25] ALISON 2024: 2252-2264.
[26] CASTROVIEJO 2023 :409–411.
[27] WEINA 2023: 1-28.
[28] FREDERIK VANMEERT 2015: 3607 –3610.
[29] EVA MARIASOLE ANGELIN 2019: 50: 232–241.
[30] GONZALEZ 2019: 5675 –5678.
[31] JAMBOR 1980: 25-29.
[32] JAYARAJU 2023: 151-159.
[33] DARWEESH 2014: 26-29.
[34] ABD EL HAMEED 2023: 13-30.
[35] WANG 2020: 1-6.
[36] ABDULHADI 2022: 1-12.
[37] LOURENÇO 2010: 38-58.

dilapidated sewage networks, along with the high temperatures resulting from the massive fire that destroyed the Palace.

Lime mortars Air-lime mortars with or without pozzolanic constituents were generally used in archaeological buildings. Several historical records refer to mortars made of 1 part lime to 3 parts sand[38]. Sand makes mortar workable, plastic (has constancy to hold and not flow on overloads)[39], improves compressive strength and must show volume constancy (does not cause reductions or expansions). In the hardened status, it should be cohesive and have adequate porosity. Because lime particles are large in number and small in size, they can coat every sand particle[40], which provides a homogeneous mix and the ability to carry more sand without sacrificing workability, therefore reducing mortar costs since sand is less expensive than masonry cement or hydrated lime. Adding lime to masonry mortars produces several effects increasing water retention, increasing sand-carrying capacity, self-healing, improving tensile bond and flexibility[41]. Analyzing more than one lime mortar sample using XRD or SEM equipped with EDX of some archaeological buildings located inside historic Cairo[42], such as (*al-Tanbuġā al-Marīdānī* Mosque or *Bībars al-Ḥayyāṭ* Mosque) demonstrated that the lime mortar of these two buildings consisted of calcite and quartz as major components[43].

The results of the XRD analysis of mortar samples taken from the main building walls showed that they contained a group of minerals, not components of the main lime mortar that was used to connect bricks or stone in Islamic buildings[44]. The results revealed the presence of cheralite (25%), elpasolite (19.3%)[45] and luzonite (9.2%). The largest percentage was halite (45.5%). As is the case with limestone and fired bricks, in the presence of some new mineral components that are not the main components of lime mortar, the results showed the presence of new minerals components within the mineral composition of the mortar due to the recrystallization of these minerals. The XRD analysis of white and red limestone, fired bricks and lime mortar showed halite in its natural form, indicating that it had been leaking into the building materials and had continued until the time the samples were collected. The reason for this, as previously indicated, was the deterioration of the sewage networks in the area.

▪ Discussion of the SEM Results

White limestone samples were examined using SEM at varying magnifications of 100X, 500X, 1000X, which revealed some cracks, fissures and voids. This result indicated the deterioration of the internal structure of the stone, making it susceptible to the absorption of moisture and salts and less able to withstand stress due to the impact of its mechanical and physical properties. This happened due to the noticeable chemical

[38] STEFANIDOU 2022: 1-15.
[39] ABD EL HAMEED 2023: 13-30.
[40] LYNCH 2014: 2-44.
[41] LYNCH 1998: 7-20.
[42] ABD EL HAMEED 2023: 423-438.
[43] ADAM 2015: 21-29.
[44] KRYLOVA 2004: 1271–1279.
[45] GILLES 2011: 110–115.

transformation in its components. The results of SEM examination of white limestone samples taken from the *al-Musāfir ḥānah* Palace at 100 x magnification showed the rough texture of the sample fracture. The results at 500 x magnification illustrated the uneven texture and some fine cracks. Additionally, the results of white limestone samples at 1000 x magnification showed a rough texture and some pores and fine cracks. Red limestone samples were examined using SEM at varying magnifications of 500X and 1000X, which showed some cracks, fissures and voids. They were in a greater percentage than those found in white limestone because this limestone was exposed to a higher degree of burning, which destroyed the internal structure of the stone and made it susceptible to greater absorption of moisture and salts and less able to withstand stress. This occurred because its mechanical and physical properties were affected by the noticeable chemical transformation in its components. The examination result of the red limestone sample at 500 x magnification showed the rough texture of the fracture with some fine cracks. Moreover, the examination result of the red limestone sample at 1000 x magnification illustrated the uneven texture, deep cracks, and separations in the form of layers. The examination result of the red limestone sample at 1000X magnification showed the deterioration of the internal structure of the stone with a clear loss of the mineral grains and some deep cracks. The examination result of the red limestone sample at 1000 X magnification illustrated the severe deterioration of the internal stone structure with the obvious loss of the mineral grains, deep cracks and pore voids as a result of the migration of mineral components. The fired brick samples were examined using SEM at varying magnifications of 500X, 1000X, and 2000X illustrated some cracks, which were not very noticeable, in addition to some small voids, indicating the deterioration of the internal structure of the bricks, but to a small extent. The brick was also less susceptible to absorbing moisture and salts. This indicated that the bricks were not affected by high levels of fire due to the response of the properties and components of the bricks to high temperatures because it was manufactured at high temperatures. The examination result at 500 x magnification showed the rough texture of the sample fracture. Additionally, the examination result at 500 x magnification illustrated the uneven texture and some fine cracks with the outer surface changing in layers as a result of the fire. The examination result at 1000 x magnification illustrated the uneven texture and some deep cracks. The examination result at 2000x magnification showed deterioration in the internal structure of the fired brick structure with the presence of deep cracks as a result of the high temperature. Lime mortar samples were examined using SEM at varying magnifications of 100X, 500X, and 1000X, which showed some cracks in a very large and noticeable way, in addition to large voids. This indicated the deterioration of the internal structure of the mortar and made it susceptible to falling due to the weak bonding property because of its mechanical, physical, and chemical properties. It made the main building materials, such as bricks and limestone, lose their ability to survive and be sustainable. The examination results at 100x magnification showed large voids and pores in the sample as a result of the loss of its components. The examination results at 500x magnification illustrated the uneven texture and some fine cracks and pores that were randomly distributed as a result of the fire and humidity that dissolved the components of the

sample. In addition, the examination results at 500x magnification showed uneven texture, deep cracks and holes as a result of the migration and dissolution of the components of the sample. The examination results at 1000x magnification illustrated deterioration in the internal structure of the lime mortar, as well as the crystallization of halite salt, which was facilitated by the high humidity rate, especially in the lower parts of the palace remains, with deep cracks.

- **Discussion of the EDX Results**

The white limestone samples were analyzed using the elemental analysis unit (EDX), which revealed some elements, such as calcium (Ca), sodium (Na), carbon (C), chlorine (Cl), magnesium (Mg), sulfur (S), potassium (K) and oxygen (O). Red limestone samples were analyzed using the elemental analysis unit (EDX) that revealed some elements, such as calcium (C), potassium (K), sodium (Na), carbon (C), chlorine (Cl), magnesium (Mg) and oxygen (O), which confirmed the XRD results and the presence of halite salt due to the presence of sodium and chlorine. The fired brick samples were analyzed using the elemental analysis unit (EDX) that showed some elements, such as calcium (C), potassium (K), sodium (Na), carbon (C), chlorine (Cl), magnesium (Mg), oxygen (O) and iron (Fe), which confirmed the results of the XRD analysis and the saturation of building materials with halite salts. The mortar samples (bonding mortar) were analyzed using the elemental analysis unit (EDX) that showed some elements, such as calcium (Ca), nitrogen (N), sulfur (S), sodium (Na), carbon (C), chlorine (Cl), oxygen (O), aluminum (Al) and phosphorus (P), which confirmed the XRD results.

- **Discussion of the Stereo Microscope Results**

Samples of white limestone were examined using a three-dimensional stereo microscope at varying magnification rates, which showed cracks, fissures and voids, which indicated the deterioration of the internal structure of the stone, making it vulnerable to the absorption of moisture and salts and less able to withstand stress. Red limestone samples were examined using a three-dimensional stereo microscope at varying magnification rates, which illustrated cracks, fissures and voids and they were at a greater percentage than those found in white limestone as a result of this type of limestone being exposed to a higher degree of burning, which leads to its deterioration. The internal structure of the stone makes it more susceptible to absorbing moisture and salts and makes it less able to withstand the stresses that fall on it. Samples of fired bricks were examined using a three-dimensional stereo microscope at varying magnification rates. Some cracks and fissures appeared, but they were not very noticeable cracks, in addition to some small voids, which indicated the deterioration of the internal structure of the bricks, but to a small extent, indicating the resistance of the bricks to high levels of fire. This was because the properties and components of bricks responded to high temperatures according to the manufacturing steps. Samples of lime mortar (bonding mortar) were examined using a three-dimensional stereo microscope at varying magnification rates. Some cracks and fissures appeared in addition to the surface disintegration of the mortar samples in a very large and noticeable manner, indicating the deterioration of the internal structure of the mortar and making it susceptible to falling due to the weak bonding property due to the effect of its chemical

properties. This made the main building materials, such as bricks and limestone, lose their ability to survive and be sustainable.

- **Discussion of the Raman Spectroscopy Results**

The results of the Raman analysis of white limestone samples showed the presence of some minerals, such as calcite, dolomite, panguite[46] and svyatosalvite. They matched the results of the XRD analysis. The results of the Raman analysis of red limestone samples showed some minerals, including calcite, krennerite, plambonacrite[47] and sabinaite[48]. They matched the results of the XRD analysis. Moreover, the results of the Raman analysis of the fired brick samples showed the presence of some minerals, such as graphite[49], oligoclase, northupite (Br) and rhodochrosite, which were identical to the results of the XRD analysis.

The results of the Raman analysis of lime mortar samples taken from the main building walls showed that they contained a group of minerals not from the mortar components that were used to connect bricks or stone in Islamic buildings. The results revealed the presence of cheralite, elpasolite, luzonite[50] and halite[51]. Most of these materials were formed at high temperatures due to the massive fire in the Palace.

V. CONCLUSION

al-Musāfir ḫānah Palace was exposed to a huge fire that caused its destruction. The research aimed to highlight the dangers caused by fires to historic buildings with all their architectural components, especially their main materials. The Palace was built with more than one building material, including limestone and fired bricks, using lime mortar as the main binding. Various analyses and relevant previous studies revealed their mineral composition. For example, limestone contains calcite ($CaCO_3$) and dolomite CaMg (CO_3) as major components, along with some traces. However, studying the case of *al-Musāfir ḫānah* Palace in historic Cairo revealed a big difference between the main components of the main building materials and the components of the current structure, with new mineral compounds, such as panguite (Ti4+,Sc,Al,Mg,Zr,Ca)1.8O_3 and svyatosalvite ($CaAl_2Si_2O8$), which could be due to the huge fire that destroyed the Palace. Moreover, groundwater and the deterioration of sewage networks that always supply components and various elements, with the presence of very high temperatures due to the fire that recrystallized these elements into new mineral components, necessarily resulted in a complete difference in the chemical properties of the building materials. Therefore, one of the research objectives was to raise awareness of the dangers of fire in historic buildings, which changes the components and specifications of these materials from one material to another that is not suitable for the purpose for which they were used in order to preserve historic buildings.

[46] OLIVER 2012: 1219–1225.
[47] MARIASOLE 2018: 232-241.
[48] ANDREW 1996: 811-815.
[49] STEPHANIE 2004: 2271–2288.
[50] KATHLEEN 2017: 43-101.
[51] PETR 2012: 1095–1099.

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READING IN THE VISUAL ARCHIVE OF THE ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION OF 1964

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ABSTRACT

[EN] The Zanzibar Revolution of 1964 was a major turning point in the history of the island, as it overthrew Arab rule in Zanzibar and established a new political system. However, the visual archive of the revolution has remained neglected in historical studies, despite its importance in revealing precise details about the events. Visual sources such as photographs and documentaries document the crucial moments of the revolution, including the takeover of government headquarters and Britain's refusal to support the Arabs in maintaining their power through forces stationed in Kenya. These sources reveal British policies that relied on the policy of «divide and rule» to stimulate ethnic division between Arabs and Africans, which helped ignite the revolution. The photographs also show the atrocities committed during the revolution, such as the massacres against the Arab population, which appear in the images of mass graves and corpses thrown in the streets and on the beaches. The photographs also show incidents of killing and the burning of Arab homes, reflecting the bloody nature of the events. In addition, visual analysis reveals how visual media were used to shape public opinion, with the revolution portrayed as an African liberation movement while Arab suffering was marginalized. It also shows Britain's role in holding the legislative elections that led to the outbreak of the revolution, and in uniting Zanzibar and Tanganyika to establish Tanzania away from the communist regime. The visual archive provides a new perspective on events, shedding light on Western political manipulation and the profound implications of the revolution

KEYWORDS: Abeid Karume, British, policy, John Okello, photos, photographic archives, Zanzibar Revolution

قراءة في الأرشيف البصري لثورة زنجبار1946 **[AR]**

تَعُدُّ ثَوْرَةُ زَنْجْبَارِ 1964م نُقْطَةً تَحَوُّلٍ كُبْرَى فِي تَارِيخِ الْجَزِيرَةِ، حَيْثُ أَطَاحَتْ بِالْحُكْمِ الْعَرَبِيِّ فِي زَنْجْبَارِ وَأَسَّسَتْ نِظَامًا سِيَاسِيًّا جَدِيدًا. وَمَعَ ذَٰلِكَ، ظَلَّ الأَرْشِيفُ البَصَرِيُّ لِلثَّوْرَةِ مُهْمَلًا فِي الدِّرَاسَاتِ التَّارِيخِيَّةِ، رَغْمَ أَهَمِّيَّتِهِ فِي كَشْفِ تَفَاصِيلٍ دَقِيقَةٍ عَنْ الأَحْدَاثِ. وَتُوَثِّقُ الْمَصَادِرُ الْبَصَرِيَّةُ مِثْلَ الصُّوَرِ الْفُوتُوغْرَافِيَّةِ وَالأَفْلَامِ الْوَثَائِقِيَّةِ اللَّحَظَاتِ الْحَاسِمَةِ لِلثَّوْرَةِ، بِمَا فِي ذَٰلِكَ السَّيْطَرَةَ عَلَى الْمَقَرَّاتِ الْحُكُومِيَّةِ وَرَفْضَ بَرِيطَانِيَا دَعْمَ الْعَرَبِ فِي الْحِفَاظِ عَلَى سُلْطَتِهِمْ عنْ طَرِيقِ القُوَّاتِ المُتَمَرْكِزَةِ فِي كِينْيَا . وَتَكْشِفُ هَذِهِ الْمَصَادِرُ عَنْ السِّيَاسَاتِ البَرِيطَانِيَّةِ الَّتِي اعْتَمَدَتْ عَلَى سِيَاسَةِ «"فَرِّقْ تَسُدْ»، لِتَحْفِيزِ الإِنْقِسَامِ الْعِرْقِيِّ بَيْنَ الْعَرَبِ وَالأَفَارِقَةِ، مِمَّا سَاعَدَ فِي إِشْعَالِ الثَّوْرَةِ. كَمَا تَعْرِضُ الصُّوَرُ الْفَظَائِعَ الْمُرْتَكَبَةَ خِلَالَ الثَّوْرَةِ، مِثْلَ الْمَجَازِرِ ضِدَّ السُّكَّانِ الْعَرَبِ، الَّتِي تَظْهَرُ فِي صُوَرِ الْمَقَابِرِ الْجَمَاعِيَّةِ وَالْجُثَثِ الْمُلْقَاةِ فِي الشَّوَارِعِ وَعَلَى الشَّوَاطِئِ. وَتُوَضِّحُ الصُّوَرُ أَيْضًا حَوَادِثَ الْقَتْلِ، وَإِحْرَاقِ الْمَنَازِلِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ، مِمَّا يَعْكِسُ الطَّبِيعَةَ الدَّمَوِيَّةَ لِلْأَحْدَاثِ. وَبِالإِضَافَةِ إِلَى ذَٰلِكَ، يَكْشِفُ التَّحْلِيلُ البَصَرِيُّ كَيْفَ اسْتُخْدِمَتِ الْوَسَائِلُ الْبَصَرِيَّةُ لِتَشْكِيلِ الرَّأْيِ الْعَامِّ، حَيْثُ صُوِّرَتِ الثَّوْرَةُ كَحَرَاكٍ تَحْرِيرِيٍّ أَفْرِيقِيٍّ فِيمَا هُمِّشَتْ مَعَانَاةُ الْعَرَبِ. كَمَا يُظْهِرُ دَوْرُ بَرِيطَانِيَا فِي إِجْرَاءِ الانْتِخَابَاتِ التَّشْرِيعِيَّةِ الَّتِي قَادَتْ إِلَى اندِلاَعِ الثَّوْرَةِ، وَفِي تَوْحِيدِ زَنْجْبَارِ وَتَنْجَانِيكَا لِتَأْسِيسِ تَنْزَانِيَا بِعِيدًا عَنْ النِّظَامِ الشِّيُوعِيِّ. وَيُوَفِّرُ الأَرْشِيفُ البَصَرِيُّ رُؤْيَةً جَدِيدَةً لِلْأَحْدَاثِ، تَسْلِطُ الضَّوْءَ عَلَى التَّلاَعُبِ السِّيَاسِيِّ الْغَرْبِيِّ وَالتَّدَاعِيَاتِ الْعَمِيقَةِ لِلثَّوْرَةِ.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This scholarly investigation explores the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964, critically examining the pivotal role of visual archives in documenting and interpreting this complex historical moment. The archival material, particularly the photographic and cinematographic documentation captured by an Italian film crew from a helicopter, provides an unprecedented visual testimony to the revolution's intricate political and social dynamics.

Visual archives represent more than mere historical records; they serve as critical interpretive texts that illuminate the multifaceted nature of historical events. Digital platforms and contemporary archival technologies have revolutionized historical research, enabling unprecedented access to and analysis of these visual narratives. By meticulously cross-referencing American and British diplomatic documents, contemporary photographic journalism, and rare video recordings, this research seeks to construct a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the Zanzibar Revolution.

The study critically interrogates the complex colonial mechanisms that precipitated the revolution, with particular emphasis on Britain's strategic "divide and rule" policy. This approach systematically exploited and intensified pre-existing social tensions, transforming coexisting communities into antagonistic political entities. The visual archive serves as compelling evidence of the profound social rupture that resulted from these deliberate colonial interventions.

The research aims to achieve several critical scholarly objectives:

Critically analyze Britain's colonial strategies in Zanzibar, demonstrating how systematic political manipulation fractured long-standing social relationships.

Comprehensively document the revolution's historical trajectory, examining its underlying causes, immediate manifestations, and long-term sociopolitical consequences.

Illuminate the complex dynamics of violence, resistance, and identity formation that characterized this pivotal moment in postcolonial history. Provide a nuanced interpretation of the revolutionary events that transcend simplistic narratives of oppression and liberation.

The investigation is structured around three fundamental analytical domains:

1. Genealogy of the Zanzibar Revolution: Historical Antecedents and Structural Tensions.
2. Revolutionary Outbreak: Dynamics of Conflict and Transformation.
3. Revolutionary Outcomes: Sociopolitical Reconfiguration and Historical Implications.

Central research inquiries include: How did British colonial policy systematically manufacture social divisions in Zanzibar?

To what extent did the revolution represent a genuine reclamation of political and social agency for marginalized populations?

What are the long-term historiographical and sociopolitical implications of the 1964 revolution? By employing a multidisciplinary methodology, that integrates visual analysis, archival research, and critical historical interpretation, this study seeks to contribute a sophisticated understanding of a pivotal moment in postcolonial African

history. The visual archives thus emerge not merely as documentary evidence, but as complex texts that reveal the intricate power dynamics, traumatic experiences, and transformative processes inherent in revolutionary moments.

II. Causes of the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964

Due to the impact of colonialism, the nationalist independence movement in Zanzibar in the mid-1950s took on racial dimensions and largely split into two camps (Arab and African forces). The British colonial power established a multi-party system in Zanzibar as a response to colonialism[1].

A wave of discontent and profound animosity towards Arab rule among Africans emerged owing to various circumstances, especially Britain's promotion of Arabs to the ruling elite in Zanzibar, notwithstanding being a minority[2].

Following the establishment of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, British colonial policy reverted to its longstanding strategy of fomenting division between Arabs and other ethnic groups. This was systematically executed by supporting a racially charged party that was both opposed to the Nationalist Party and inherently hostile to the Arab population. In 1956, this divisive approach manifested through the merger of two organizations, the African Association, and the Shirazi Association, which formed the Afro-Shirazi Party, with Abeid Karume strategically positioned as its leader[3].

Britain deliberately overlooked the fundamental social fabric of Zanzibar—a society characterized by profound ethnic diversity, yet fundamentally unified by shared language, religious practices, and historical experiences. For centuries, this community had maintained a remarkable state of racial harmony. Nonetheless, the British colonial administration deliberately restructured the community along rigid ethnic lines within carefully constructed social hierarchies, each manipulation meticulously designed to serve British imperial interests[4].

Multiple factors contributed to the escalating tensions. Firstly, the Africans perceived significant electoral injustice following the 1963 elections. Without a strategic alliance between the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and the People's Party of Pemba and Zanzibar, the Afro-Shirazi Party—representing the African community—would have been positioned to form the government. Secondly, deep-seated resentment among Africans was fueled by the economic dominance of Arabs on the islands, with the majority of Africans systematically confined to subordinate and marginalized economic positions[5].

The Africans' unhappiness was exacerbated by the realization that electoral triumphs yielded no advantages, as the Arabs adeptly maintained political dominance. They utilized the police and British military to quell civil discontent. The prospect of independence under these conditions resulted in a precarious political climate in Zanzibar[6].

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[1] Hwang 2010: 4.

[2] Ibrahim 2021: 24.

[3] Amrit 2007: 10.

[4] Glassman 2011: 41.

[5] Ibrahim 2021: 24.

[6] CIA_RDP83 1964: №.4, 1.

These dynamics demonstrate how discriminatory policies, and economic hegemony can engender significant unhappiness across societal segments. These issues were the key catalysts for the Zanzibar Revolution, as Africans pursued justice and equality.

During the final phases preceding independence, at the termination of colonial governance, the Arab elite commenced marginalizing and subverting groups they perceived as threats to Arab hegemony. During the British administration in Zanzibar, the British authorities obstructed African attempts to establish their presence within the existing political framework before independence[7].

Lately, the African majority has grown increasingly discontented with their exclusion from governmental authority. Discontent with the land tenure system escalated, as it predominantly allocated the finest lands to absentee Arab landowners. The downturn in the clove market, Zanzibar's principal export commodity, exacerbated economic stagnation and increased the number of unemployed and discontented laborers. The elections exacerbated African discontent, as the Arabs adeptly maintained political dominance, employing police and British forces to suppress revolutionary incidents[8].

The Zanzibar Revolution commenced on January 12, 1964, only a month after independence. The Arab administration in Zanzibar forcibly removed members and youngsters of the Afro-Shirazi Party, declining to include them in the new government due to their African identity. The newly elected Arab government implemented many measures to cut expenses, such as the dismissal of certain government personnel and the marginalization of African opposition[9].

The final stages of colonial rule in Zanzibar revealed a stark pattern of systemic marginalization, where the Arab elite systematically excluded the African majority from meaningful political participation. The British administration actively facilitated this process by strategically obstructing African political integration, prioritizing the preservation of its own imperial interests. Mounting tensions emerged from the deliberate economic and political disenfranchisement of Africans, who were systematically denied access to power and prime land resources while simultaneously suffering from the economic downturn triggered by the clove market's collapse.

The electoral processes became a stark manifestation of this entrenched inequality, with Arab political dominance prominently displayed. British police and military forces were strategically deployed to suppress African dissent, effectively crushing any attempts at challenging the existing power structures. These repressive tactics ultimately cultivated the conditions that would precipitate the 1964 Revolution, driven by escalating social and political disparities.

Britain's colonial strategy deliberately organized society through a meticulously engineered system of fixed identities and stratified social classes, each assigned specific economic and social roles. The administration maintained the Arabs' privileged status as landowners, recognizing them as the primary generators of economic surplus. Settler

[7] HASHIM 2006: 176-177.

[8] CIA 1955-1962: Nº.18, 1.

[9] CHIRSTOPHERSEN ND: 64-65.

populations in clove plantations were similarly protected and entrenched within this hierarchical system.

The colonial government systematically engineered ethnic tensions through calculated legal frameworks that consistently privileged Arabs and Asians over the African population. By establishing political parties and labor unions explicitly along racial lines, Britain effectively institutionalized and amplified societal divisions, transforming difference into a tool of imperial control and manipulation[10].

The measures of the Arab government incited further resentment and animosity, exacerbating African discontent towards the Arab government and its policies. The Arab government's final actions instigated the revolution by prohibiting the Umma Party on January 4, 1964. Additionally, speculation circulated on the government's intention to carry out a set of arrests on January 13, 1964[11].

In sum, the actions of the Arab government in Zanzibar ultimately precipitated the revolution. The administration undertook numerous provocative measures that intensified African resentment, setting the stage for the revolution that transpired shortly thereafter. This underscored the need to comprehend the political and social aspects of this pivotal era in Zanzibar's history.

The Arab administration endeavored to consolidate its authority by enacting limitations on opposition parties. It restricted the mobility of Umma Party leaders to and from the mainland and enforced stringent limitations on opposing parties' public assemblies. The Communities Control Act was enacted, empowering the Minister of Interior to ban any social or political organization whose activities were considered detrimental to public order. Based on these and other measures, the government validated African apprehensions of authoritarian governance, rendering the revolution unavoidable[12].

In short, these events demonstrate how political persecution can elicit vigorous responses from the populace. The actions implemented by the Arab government ignited the revolution, as the African majority endeavored to restore their rights and liberties from a regime they regarded as oppressive.

Most accounts regarding the revolution attribute its inception to the Afro-Shirazi Party celebration at the party's headquarters on Saturday, January 11, 1964, at approximately 2 a.m. During the celebration, Africans congregated in the Seaman's Club, where Karume, Hanga(*), and other leaders of the Afro-Shirazi Party delivered speeches. They were requested to participate in a clandestine gathering where a significant strategy would be elucidated. Within an hour, the armed assault of the revolution commenced, appearing to originate as an impromptu celebration among Africans. The incident was instigated by a rumor regarding the government's intention to conduct mass arrests of Afro-Shirazi Party officials and other former police personnel[13].

[10] HETTIGER 2010: 3.
[11] CIA_ RDP83 1964: Nº.4 , 20.
[12] FRONTERA 1969: 88.
[13] CIA 1964: Nº.18, 37.

III. OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTION

The Revolution against the Sultan, led by the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, commenced in the early hours of January 12, 1964, through multiple coordinated assaults on police stations across the island of Zanzibar. The assault on the police stations in Stone Town, personally orchestrated by John Okello, was likely pivotal for the operation's success, enabling the revolutionaries to capture the primary police headquarters in Ziwani[14].

The revolutionaries anticipated that the neutralization of the police would lead to the collapse of the Arab regime. Their evaluation was validated since the allocation of police weapons to African masses incited acts of terror against the Arab minority. Despite the seemingly spontaneous and unreported nature of these actions, the prevalence and efficacy of the looting and deaths were significant. By day's end, the Sultan had absconded, and the surviving members of the Arab community were either concealed, deceased, or confined in improvised camps. The Arab regime in Zanzibar was overthrown, and within 24 hours, a government was formed that subsequently declared itself the People's Republic of Zanzibar[15].

The Afro-Shirazi Party's foundation coordinated two principal factions of revolutionaries to assault Ziwani and Mtendeni concurrently. The rebels, equipped with machetes and sticks, advanced into minor factions, evading police detection to maintain the element of surprise. Each troop comprised around 200 to 300 guys. The insurgents successfully infiltrated the Ziwani armory. Despite the police's astonishment at the assault, there was minimal opposition, resulting in only a handful of fatalities or injuries. The substantial number of revolutionaries, the element of surprise, and their familiarity with accessing the armory all facilitated the effectiveness of their assault. The seizure of the arsenal on January 12th erupted the revolution[16].

The aforementioned actions indicated that the revolution rapidly disseminated throughout Zanzibar, transforming into a widespread insurrection. The revolution in Zanzibar also sparked revolutionary sentiments in other areas of East Africa.

The Ziwani police armory was assaulted by a contingent of Africans under the leadership of Okello. In just two hours of combat, the revolutionaries seized control of it, and the Mtendeni police armory gave arms to the insurgents. A strike was subsequently executed at the Malindi Police Headquarters, the command headquarters of the surviving police forces. In the morning, reports indicated that the rebels had seized it. The following day, the cable office, airport, and radio station were confiscated. By late afternoon, the entire apparatus of authority was incapacitated[17] **[FIGURE 1].**

The 1964 attack on Zanzibar's centers of power, orchestrated by John Okello, serves as a striking example of a well-organized and effective revolution driven by deep racial and social discontent. The swift capture of armories and police stations was made possible by the element of surprise and the ruling regime's unpreparedness. Okello's charismatic leadership and his ability to rally and unify African supporters were

[14] VODA 2016: 242.
[15] CIA_RDP83 1964: Nº.4, 21.
[16] BURGESS 2001: 211.
[17] CIA 1964: Nº.18, 41.

instrumental in dismantling the existing authority within a single day. This remarkable success highlights the strategic advantage of the rebels over the fragile political regime, marking the beginning of profound changes in Zanzibar's history.

[FIGURE 1]: John Okello after the attack on police stations and the seizure of the radio station. CLAYTON 1981: 56.

The image portrays John Okello alongside his comrades following the successful seizure of police stations and the radio station during the 1964 Zanzibar Revolution. Okello, wearing a police uniform, embodies the overthrow of the existing authority. The rebels, armed with basic weapons, represent the grassroots nature of the revolution and the pivotal role of marginalized groups in toppling the regime. The crowd in the background signifies broad public support, underscoring the deep social unrest that drove the uprising. This image encapsulates a defining moment of strategic execution, the regime's fragility, and the sweeping political and social changes that reshaped Zanzibar **[FIGURE 1]**.

Following John Okello's takeover of the armory in Ziwani, he and his faction, equipped and traveling rapidly, proceeded to the sole remaining weapons stockpile in Zanzibar, the Mobile Force Arsenal at Utani, situated approximately four miles from Zanzibar City. Their assignment was comparatively simpler: Within moments, this cache was also seized, enabling Okello to acquire over 800 guns, which he disseminated throughout Ngambo. Okello's men assaulted Zanzibar and its vital locations around 5 a.m. The Malindi Police Headquarters was seized, and the office of the British Cable and Wireless Company was taken. By 8 a.m., the radio station was captured, and shortly after noon, the airport was acquired without a single shot[18].

When the gunfire erupted early on Sunday, January 12, 1964, Abeid Karume perceived that the Arab minority government led by the Sultan was in disarray. He hastened to the beach, located a boat, and rowed 20 miles to Dar es Salaam. At that time, allegations circulated that the Sultan's administration was orchestrating a massacre. John Okello, the Afro-Shirazi Party Secretary on the adjacent island of Pemba,

[18] COHEN 1966: 152-153.

assumed command and, pleased with his triumph, proclaimed himself Field Marshal. Simultaneously, members of the Afro-Shirazi Party among the revolutionaries participated in robbing and slaughter[19].

The Umma Party was banned on January 4, 1964, and on the day the revolution commenced, Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu was in Dar al-Salaam. His party established a coalition government with the Afro-Shirazi Party, headed by Abeid Karume, and Babu was designated as Foreign Minister[20].

Once law, order, and internal security were assigned to the elected government, it placed the monarch in a precarious position regarding personal intervention. Nonetheless, for the elected administration, it seems to be solely an issue of power. Their willingness, inclination, or capability to manage such situations is undetermined, and I do not anticipate that any virtuous sentiments would restrain them. The uncompromising revolutionary faction in Zanzibar comprised predominantly politically disadvantaged African voters[21].

The revolution in Zanzibar was fundamentally nationalist, notwithstanding the socialist or class-based components introduced by certain leaders. Attaining national independence entailed substituting colonial and imperial powers with a conventional kind of reactionary governance. The sole genuine winners of this process were a diminutive, affluent class of Arabs who initially arrived on the island as commercial exploiters and intermediaries. Consequently, the nationalist authority, which characterized itself as an African entity, circumvented the power transfer. The Afro-Shirazi Party was positioned to alter the power dynamics[22].

In sum, Africans, through their awakening, recaptured the rights that had been seized by the Arab element with ruthless force. This resulted from years of oppression, humiliation, and degradation. Upon the emergence of the chance, they exploited it without regard for any Arab considerations.

Despite the brevity of the 1964 Revolution, for barely more than eight hours of active conflict, its repercussions were profound and enduring[23].

The revolutionaries also lacked definite political objectives, which was to be anticipated. The arms confiscated from police armories were allocated to Africans, who employed them to assault Arab and African proponents of Mohammed Shamte's administration. The primary objectives were looting and retribution. The palace sustained no damage, and no efforts were undertaken to obstruct the Sultan's exit. The Secretariat remained unoccupied, and the revolutionaries established their headquarters in the radio station. The movement's initial absence of political direction, potentially influenced by communist ideology, is a notable fact[24].

The revolutionaries' political objectives exhibited a lack of unified political character. This signified the oppression that Africans had suffered for numerous years.

[19] CIA_RDP75_00149R 1964: 1.

[20] CIA_C06790239 1969: 7.

[21] C.O 1035/214 1946: 16.

[22] YAMURTHY 1965: 29.

[23] SUHONEN 2009: 40.

[24] D.O201/15 1964: Nº.85, 547.

Their primary aim was the annihilation of all things Arab and their obliteration from Zanzibar.

The Arab community in Zanzibar City was engulfed in fear. What initially seemed to be a political coup rapidly evolved into an uncontainable genocide. The insurgents suspended the genitals of deceased Arabs and exhibited them on vehicles as adornments. The beaches adjacent to the shore were littered with the corpses of Arabs who had perished while attempting to escape toward the sea. Numerous individuals perished in the harbor as overloaded dhows overturned[25] **[FIGURE 2].**

[FIGURE 2]: The Arabs' flee to sailing boats and the Africans' chase. COHEN 1966: 162.

FIGURE 2 illustrates that the Africans were not satisfied with simply expelling the Arabs from the island; they actively pursued them with lethal intent. These actions demonstrated the animosity that Africans held towards the Arab population in Zanzibar, stemming from the deprivation of their rights by the Arab minority.

Corpses were found in boats and along the shores of Zanzibar. The British declined the Arab Sultan's request for assistance, resulting in continued bloodshed over the subsequent four days[26].

Estimates of casualties vary significantly, from several hundred to 20,000 victims. The fatalities on the night of the revolution were relatively few; however, violence persisted for weeks and even months, targeting the Arab and Asian populations in Zanzibar. Official statistics published shortly after the revolution indicated merely a few hundred casualties. John Okello reported a total of 7,994 fatalities in the initial days, whereas Barwany asserted that the death toll reached 13,000[27].

The Zanzibar Revolution of 1964 marked a pivotal moment in the island's history, defined by intense sectarian and political violence in the aftermath of the overthrow of Arab rule. While estimates of the death toll vary, these discrepancies reflect the complexity and multifaceted nature of the tragedy. The British decision not to intervene further aggravated the situation, resulting in widespread massacres that indiscriminately targeted Arab and Asian communities. The prolonged violence, lasting

[25] COHEN 1966: 153.
[26] CIA_RDP75_00149R 1964: 1.
[27] CIA_RDP75_00149R 1964: 1.

for months, highlights the deep scars left by colonialism and the region's political crises, profoundly shaping Zanzibar's social and historical landscape.

[FIGURE 3]: Corpses on the beach of Zanzibar and the death toll against the Arabs. COHEN 1966: 163.

The actions of Africans against Arabs during the Zanzibar Revolution are often described as a ruthless campaign of violence, indiscriminately targeting all groups, including the elderly, children, and infants. This brutality underscores the profound resentment and hostility harbored by Africans toward Arabs, rooted in a long history of political disenfranchisement and civil rights abuses. The extreme nature of these acts reflects the intensity of the conflict and demonstrates how marginalized groups, when subjected to prolonged oppression, can resort to drastic measures. This violence speaks to broader themes of injustice, the struggle for equality, and the challenges of navigating post-colonial transitions **[FIGURE 3]**.

An Italian photographer flew over Zanzibar to capture aerial images of the killings, as well as Arabs desperately trying to ensure their safety by swimming in the ocean[28]. One Arab survivor recounted, «They rose up and killed every Arab they could capture, slitting their throats while they slept at night. Some of us fled to the dhows, but a crowd chased my father along the shore. Although my mother was African, they ran into the sea to swim towards the boats, but some of the crowd followed them, grabbed them by their hair, and drowned them»[29].

[FIGURE 4]: A mass grave of the Arabs after the extermination by the Africans captured by an Italian helicopter of the Revolution. COHEN 1966: 162.

[28] CLAYTON 1981: 82.

[29] CLAYTON 1981: 78.

The image depicts a harrowing moment from the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964, capturing a massacre of Arabs by African revolutionaries, as documented through Italian aerial photography. It highlights the escalation of ethnic violence during the revolution, where Arab communities were systematically attacked amid power struggles and entrenched ethnic tensions, with many victims buried in mass graves. This scene serves as a stark reminder of the deep ethnic divisions and the lasting impact of the revolution on Zanzibar's social and historical fabric **[FIGURE 4].**

[FIGURE 5]: An Arab caught in the revolution. LOFCHIE 1967: 40.

The prisoners of the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964 represent the heightened ethnic and political tensions that characterized the upheaval. Many Arabs and Swahilis, seen as embodiments of the old regime, were captured and often subjected to mass executions without any semblance of due process. This brutal treatment reflected the absence of transitional justice and the revolution's emphasis on retribution over reconciliation. The handling of prisoners, used as a tool to reinforce the revolution's break with the past, exposed its violent underpinnings and the profound social upheaval it caused. These events underscore the deep ethnic and social divisions that fueled the revolution, leaving a lasting legacy on Zanzibar's political and societal landscape for generations **[FIGURE 5]**.

On January 12, 1964, the People's Republic of Zanzibar was founded, led by Abeid Amani Karume. In the subsequent weeks, the proliferation of weapons led to an outbreak of violence as the leaders of the armed revolution lost control over the situation. The overthrow of the Arab government and the subsequent arrest of its members and opponents marked the onset of a violent and ruthless upheaval that permeated the civilian population. The main targets of these revolutionary and retaliatory attacks included individuals of Arab descent, as well as Indians and residents of the Comoros Islands. Instances of looting occurred in shops, homes were set ablaze, women experienced sexual violence, and men faced physical assault and humiliation in both Zanzibar City and the villages of Unguja and Pemba islands. Approximately 15,000 individuals were either forcibly deported or chose voluntary exile in the subsequent months[30]**.**

[30] FOUERE 2010: 97.

[FIGURE 6]: Corpses on the streets and burning the Arabs' homes rentlessly. COHEN 1966: 183.

The image captures the grim reality of the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964, showing bodies strewn across the streets and Arab homes engulfed in flames. Thousands lost their lives in a surge of violence that laid bare the deep-seated ethnic tensions between Africans and Arabs. The revolution, fueled by African nationalism and widespread resentment of Arab dominance following independence, was a powerful reaction against years of perceived oppression. Britain's refusal to respond to Sultan Jamshid's plea for help further intensified the massacres. These events stand as one of the bloodiest chapters in Zanzibar's history, marking a profound and violent transformation of its political and social order **[FIGURE 6].**

Although there was significant communist interest, the Zanzibar Revolution was not predominantly motivated by communist ideology. It was primarily a rise in African nationalism, shaped by communist principles yet predominantly motivated by African discontent with ongoing Arab hegemony following independence from their former Arab rulers[31].

In the four days following the revolution's outbreak, numerous corpses accumulated in the boats of Zanzibar and on the streets, highlighting the extent of the violence and disorder that engulfed the island. Simultaneously, the British dismissed Sultan Jamshid's request for aid, intensifying the crisis. Estimates from Western officials suggest that a minimum of 3,000 Arabs were killed during this period, highlighting the severe violence encountered in Zanzibar[32].

The British refusal to support the Sultan significantly impacted the course of events, leaving him to confront the revolutionaries alone. The ongoing violence heightened anger and tension within the population, thereby exacerbating the revolution[33].

Historical evidence shows that Britain declined to assist Sultan Jamshid in his efforts to quell the Zanzibar Revolution, treating the uprising as an internal matter beyond their intervention. In contrast, Britain extended support to Tanganyika during a military mutiny against President Julius Nyerere. This stark difference in response suggests that Britain was either complicit in or unopposed to the developments in Zanzibar, implying a level of implicit approval or tacit consent to the revolution and its consequences.

[31] D.O 201/15 1964: Nº.85, 547.

[32] CIA _RDP75_00149R 1964: 1.

[33] CIA 1964: Nº.18, 41.

Following the revolution, indications suggested Okello's decline into madness. His claims regarding the number of fatalities were merely one instance of numerous exaggerated public statements he delivered on Zanzibar Radio. Karume, feeling profound embarrassment over the violent killings and looting perpetrated against Arabs by Africans in the aftermath of the revolution, experienced significant disturbance.

The main objective of the new regime was to secure international recognition, which was promptly achieved, either automatically or in reaction to Okello's telegram. Following a considerable delay, some countries, e.g., Tanganyika, China, the Soviet Union, and other communist states, including East Germany, as well as the United Arab Republic and Ghana, subsequently aligned with this course of action. The British government's failure to acknowledge the new regime emerged as a significant issue. Karume became increasingly frustrated with the delay in British recognition, as the government exhibited ambiguity regarding the matter and was in consultation with Commonwealth governments. Recognition was achieved on February 23, 1964[34].

IV. OUTCOMES OF THE 1964 ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION

The primary concern of Zanzibar was the prevention of communist dominance. The new regime constituted an unstable coalition of African nationalists and pro-communist factions, both competing for power. Concerns regarding the potential decline of the nationalist role were increasing. Preventive measures against a communist takeover involved the elimination of John Okello, deemed a threat to stability and the regime, the establishment of a nationalist government led by President Karume, and the political containment of pro-communist forces, including Babu and Hanga, should they express willingness to collaborate with Karume. Babu and Hanga maintained significant connections to Beijing and Moscow. Furthermore, supporting Nyerere in Tanganyika was essential. Britain would intervene with military forces in East Africa, supported by non-military educational and economic aid from the United States, along with diplomatic backing in the United Nations[35].

The military council, led by Abeid Karume, emphasized the implementation of several immediate and significant alterations to Zanzibar's social system following the revolution. The revolutionary council initiated a program to dismantle colonial policies in the sequential order established by the British. Shortly after the cessation of hostilities, the Afro-Shirazi Party appropriated a significant portion of the assets that Arabs had obtained during the colonial period. The party announced the cancellation of all mortgages held by Africans[36].

On January 20, 1964, the revolutionary council designated Swahili as the official language of Zanzibar, overturning Britain's policy of establishing English and Arabic as the official languages. On March 8, 1964, Abeid Karume assumed the presidency of the

[34] D.O 201/15 1964: Nº.85, 547.

[35] FOREIGN RELATION OF UNITED STATES (1964-1968) 1964: vol. XXIV, 12 –13, 418-419.

[36] HASHIM 2006: 203.

Republic of Zanzibar, and the Afro-Shirazi Party was declared the sole political party in the region. Karume addressed numerous practical needs of his African populace[37].

In April 1964, shortly after the Zanzibar Revolution, Tanganyika and Zanzibar unified to establish the United Republic of Tanzania. The specific rationale for this union and its initiator remains ambiguous. It is suggested that the United States intervened to prevent Zanzibar from becoming the "Cuba of Africa" following the Cuban Crisis. The United States opposed the establishment of a communist stronghold in East Africa that could compete with Cuba[38].

V. CONCLUSION

The visual archive has been instrumental in uncovering the critical events of the 1964 Zanzibar Revolution, capturing key moments such as the seizure of strategic centers, including the Sultan's palace, police stations, and government buildings, showcasing the detailed planning by revolutionaries under John Okello's leadership. The images also exposed the violence, mass killings, and widespread captivity that resulted in thousands of deaths, highlighting the revolution's brutal nature. Additionally, the footage documented the swift political changes that led to the proclamation of the republic, offering valuable insights into how these events reshaped Zanzibar's political trajectory.

The visual archive of the Zanzibar Revolution corroborates historical documents indicating that Africans endured oppression by the Arab minority in Zanzibar. When presented with the opportunity, they took action to alter the trajectory of their lives. The Zanzibar Revolution was characterized by significant violence, as Africans retaliated against Arab populations, resulting in numerous massacres on the streets and shores of the Indian Ocean. Death toll estimates vary, with figures reaching into the thousands.

The revolution resulted in significant gains for Africans, enabling them to reclaim political rights previously monopolized by the Arab minority. Radical changes were enacted, including the designation of Swahili as the official language in place of Arabic and the unification of Zanzibar with Tanganyika to create Tanzania. This action received backing from both the United States and Britain to safeguard Zanzibar against the threat of communism.

[37] HASHIM 2006: 203-204.

[38] WIJSEN 2022: 142.

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