

Re-Constructing Old Mahmal Procession Route through Consulting Contemporary Visual Sources

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Abstract:

While the Journey of the Holy Family is considered a world heritage cultural route, the procession of the Holy Carpet and Pilgrimage to Mecca may as well be considered an Arab world heritage cultural route. This paper will shed light on an understudied part of the cultural heritage of Egypt, which is the procession of the Holy Carpet through Egypt. The majority of the studies only dealt with its history through the writings of early travelers but no one tried to trail it through analyzing the photographs, old maps, and documents. This study aims to show through above mentioned sources the untold stories about the ceremonies of the Holy Carpet through Egypt, draw a visual map of the route trailing the procession, noting the changes that occurred in the twentieth century. It will also highlight the importance of raising the cultural heritage knowledge and awareness of these official ceremonies. With the rehabilitation of heritage sites being essential to the promotion of heritage tourism, it is recommended to rehabilitate "the Khedive Kiosk" in Saladin square to accommodate a photo exhibition of the procession and its ceremonies.

Key words:

Holy Carpet, Mahmal, pilgrimage to Mecca.

المخلص:

بينما تعتبر رحلة العائلة المقدسة طريقاً ثقافياً تراثياً عالمياً ، يمكن اعتبار موكب المحمل المقدس والحج إلى مكة أيضاً مساراً ثقافياً للتراث العالمي العربي. فستسلط هذه الورقة الضوء على جزء تم دراسته من التراث الثقافي لمصر ، وهو موكب المحمل المقدس عبر مصر. تناولت غالبية الدراسات تاريخه فقط من خلال كتابات الرحالة الأوائل ولكن لم يحاول أحد تتبعه من خلال تحليل الصور والخرائط القديمة والوثائق. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى إظهار القصص غير المرئية عن احتفالات المحمل المقدس عبر مصر من خلال المصادر المذكورة أعلاه ، ورسم خريطة بصرية للطريق الذي يتبع الموكب ، مع ملاحظة التغييرات التي حدثت في القرن العشرين. كما سيسلط الضوء على أهمية رفع المعرفة بالتراث الثقافي والوعي بهذه الاحتفالات الرسمية. يمكن اعتبار إعادة تأهيل المواقع التراثية أمراً ضرورياً للترويج للسياحة التراثية ، فيوصى بإعادة تأهيل "كشك الخديوي" في ساحة صلاح الدين لاستيعاب معرض صور للموكب واحتفالاته.

الكلمات الرئيسية

الكسوة المقدسة، المحمل المقدس، الحج لمكة

Introduction:

One day the celebration of the Mahmal was one of the most important and famous festival for the Egyptians as an honor and a sign of Egyptian sovereignty. The ceremonies of sending the Kiswa to Mecca gained its importance from "Hajj" the pilgrimage. For the unique status of Egypt among the Islamic world, its caravan was chosen to be sent to Mecca as it ignited the imagination of many European travelers. The festival was source of amusement for the travelers and many photographer accompanied the Hajj, wrote about it and documented it through their photos which published in their literary works or newspapers or even postcards for tourists. Accordingly, through their photos one can visualize the days of the festival and re construct the old Mahmal route. After stopping sending the Kiswa totally to Hijaz in 1962, the festival stopped leaving behind a memory full of stories and remains. The celebration of the Mahmal and its Folk stories is considered as intangible heritage of Egypt while the remaining monuments which were part of the celebration are considered as tangible heritage of Egypt. Working on the archival sources in analytic way would help in evoking the spirit of the ceremonies. Accordingly, it is recommended as a development of citadel area to revive the course of the Mahmal procession. Starting from the Khedive Kiosk/ Mahmal Mastaba near Saladin Citadel, Dar al Khurunfish near al Mo'aiz Street, and link this with the rare examples of the Mahmal palanquin in the museums in Cairo or even around Egypt; the Ethnographic museum in the Geographic Society, NEMIC museum, Bibliotheca Alexandrina and Suez museum. With putting in consideration the rehabilitation of the Khedive Kiosk/ Mahmal Mastaba to accommodate a photo exhibition.



Photo 1: The Procession of the Mahmal through the Egyptian Streets, 1900-1909,
<https://digital.lib.utk.edu/collections/islandora/object/egypt%3A199>



Photo 2: Photo of the Procession of Mahmal within the Streets of the Egyptian Villages, a Courtesy of George Merzbuch in Brussels, Belgium, photographed by Gert Husskins

Among the various ceremonies and festivals of Egypt was the ceremony of sending the Holy Carpet Kiswa to Mecca with the pilgrims. Its importance came from the importance of the pilgrimage for the Muslims, being one of the pillars of Islam. They believed that the idea of Mahmal started in the Ayyubid dynasty when Shagar el Durr was going to the pilgrimage in her hawdaj, and since then it became a tradition to send the Holy Carpet in a similar hawdaj as it is secure. It is said that the Mahmal was the representation of the Sultan who was unable to accompany the pilgrimage and a proof of the power and influence of Egypt over the Islamic world and Hijaz and its role in protecting the pilgrims to Mecca. However, it is undeniable that it was an honor to Egypt. Although there were several Mahmals sent from several Islamic countries like Damascus and Yamen for example, the Egyptian Mahmal was the one which chosen to continue for the good status of Egypt among the Islamic world. Egypt used to send with the pilgrims Kiswa the Holy Carpet, the two Holy mosques allocation: salaries, grains and money for the poor in the Egyptian Tikiya and the decree of appointing the Sharif Mecca and Medina. The Mahma procession for the Egyptians represented as a national festival, the people were competed to touch the Mahmal as a sacred object wondered the sacred land of Hijaz¹. The government was considered the day an official festival or day off for all people in the city². The day of moving the procession to Mecca and the day of returning it all governmental service were stopped exactly like the other festivals; the birthday of the prophet "Mulid al Nabi", "Wafa'a al-Nile" and "Sham al-Nisim"³.

While for the European seeing the kaleidoscope of the people during the Great caravan in streets as "they stepped into wonderland"; the barber, the little street restaurant, the water carriers, "sarbat" carriers, women with a child astride of her shoulder, women watching from the balcony, beggars, camels and people on donkeys. Breasted assured that "some students who lived in Cairo never found much pleasure in the Cairo streets as they did when they witness the Mahmal"⁴. Accordingly, many of them took photos of the Mahmal procession and the people who attended, as Egyptians were flexible, welcoming and did not object the matter of photography like the other countries. The procession usually stopped for a few moments to let photographers take photos which considered the highest proof of Egyptian broad mindset. Some scholars assumed that one of the reasons that people were waiting happily for the Mahmal procession is that the old Kiswa/tapestry was cut into pieces and distributed on families, some

said even the Christians could take and this was controlling which lane or street the procession will take⁵.

Some folk stories mentioned that the streets during the day of the ceremonies were full of fun, vivid shows. People's houses and shops were decorated with flags and poles, people were waiting in balconies specifically women to touch the Mahmal while men set on the side way press violently forward to touch Mahmal palanquin and kiss it with enthusiasm⁶. The streets were crowded with people, beverage sellers, water carriers, women ululations "zagharidu", claps, the monkeys' trainers, the clowns, story tellers, and chanters. Besides, the cavalry that accompanied the Mahmal caravan which was called by the Egyptians "Zafit al Mahmal". One of the folk stories mentioned that those cavalry used to sprinkle the silver over the people. One of the other folk stories was the story of 'Afarit al Mahmal" Al Mahmal Goblins which were famous till the mid-nineteenth century. They were called "Arbab Al-Masakher" during the Ayyubid dynasty, and were the masters of comedy and clowning. They were usually appeared in the Egyptian streets during Mahmal parades. However, their role reduced till the British occupation of Egypt which changed them to be a musical band from the Egyptian Army (It seems that it took a political role and specific budget was imposed for it). In 1936, the army returned its role while Mahmal Goblins became from the artists of theaters⁷.

It was astonished too that men were throwing themselves prostrate on the road that the riders of the escort might pass over their bodies during the festival. They assumed that by doing so they will ensure a place in the paradise. However, one cannot see that in the photos of the twentieth century due to the abolition of these activities during the reign of Khedive Tawfiq⁸. One can notice from the photo of George Merzbach* how people was keen accompanied the procession whatever the hot weather without any exaggerated actions.

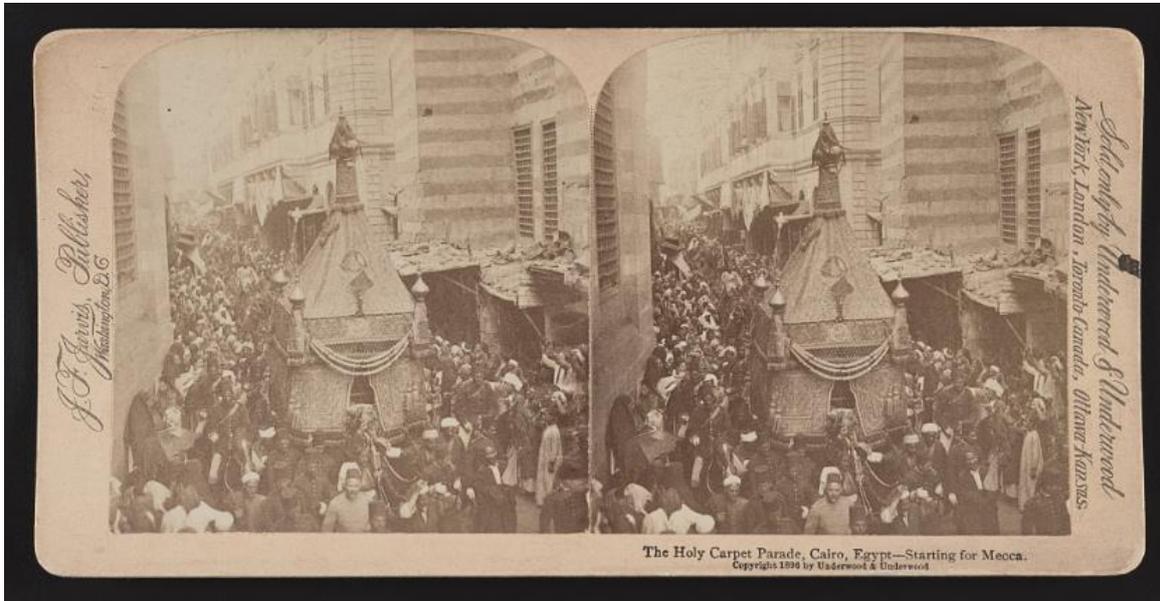


Photo 3: The Holy Carpet Parade from Cairo to Mecca, 1896,

<https://www.loc.gov/item/2019635945/>.

The Mahmal procession:

The Kiswa or the Holy Carpet or the cover or the tapestry of Ka'aba which was sent in Mahmal (ceremonial palanquin) that was an empty hawdaj, a square frame of wood with a pyramidal

top, covered with embroidered cloth with inscriptions worked in Gold and silver with Tuḡra of the Sultan. It usually contained the Holy Quran in silver boxes. Most of the photos show the Mahmal palanquin at the center. Sometimes it is misunderstood that in this ceremony, Egypt professing the religion of Mohamed not the religion of God or Islam*⁹. Besides, although there is a difference between Mahmal and Kiswa, some European called the Mahmal the Holy Carpet mistakenly conflicting the cover with al Mahmal.



Photo 4: The Holy Carpet Boxes Parade in Cairo, 1901,
[The Holy Carpet Parade, Cairo, Egypt | Library of Congress \(loc.gov\)](#)

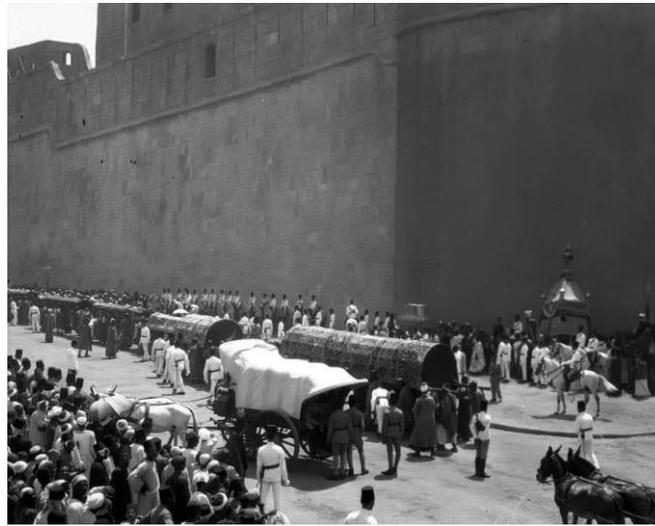


Photo 5: The Holy Carpet Boxes Parade in Cairo, 1919, Private Archive of Makram Salamah
[The Kiswa/Ka'aba cover](#)

The Kiswa was made all the way long till the eighteenth century in the citadel, according to specific molds came from the Ottoman state, while at the second part of the nineteenth century the Kiswa became manufactured in New House. This house was called “Dar Al-Kiswa” or” Khamis ‘Ads workshop” in a district between the Syrian and the Christian districts “Al Khurunfish” in the Jews district near Al-Gamalia. Ali Pasha Mubarak described it the same like

Al-Jabarti. There was a specific department for Kiswa called the department of the Noble Kiswa “Maṣlahit al Kiswa al sharifa” which was under the control of the Egyptian Ministry of Finance in 1919 and Ministry of Interior Affairs. It is said that Al Khurunfish workshop was divided into sections, one section was for spinning the yarn and dyeing it and one for weaving it, another section for drawing and gilding the fine silver wire, and each section has an overseer or supervisor upon the workmen. In addition, Dar al Kiswa had stables for the camels which carried the Mahmal¹ .
0

All tapestry “Kiswas” were entirely reliant on manual weaving, and this was done through old looms or what is known as "wooden looms". The workmen were usually performed ablution before start working, reading Al-Fatiha verse from the Holy Quran while they are working then burn incense and pray upon the prophet. Black Kiswa for the outer cover of the Ka'aba, red Kiswa for inside Ka'aba and a green cover for the prophet chamber in addition to a green pocket for the keys of the Ka'aba¹ . The black Kiswa was divided into five pieces or sections and each piece was carried on a separate box along the streets¹ . Thus interpret the rectangular boxes covered with the Kiswas which appeared in the photos.

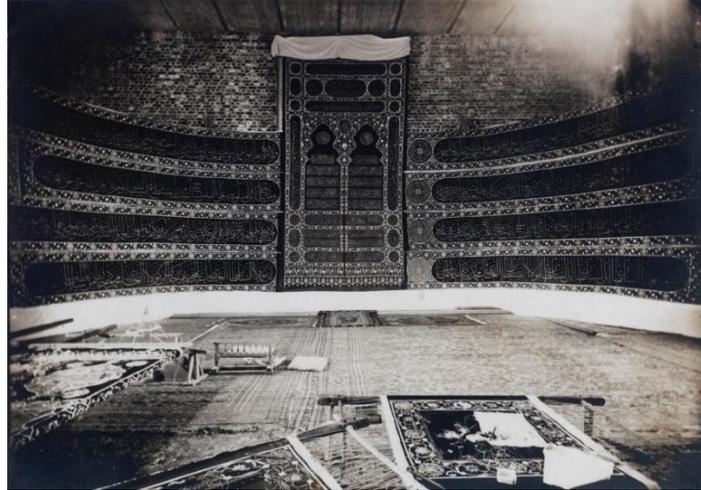


Photo 6: The House of Kiswa in Turkey during the WW1 in 1916,

<https://www.khalilicollections.org/collections/hajj-and-the-arts-of-pilgrimage/photograph-of-the-sitarah-and-hizam-of-the-kabah-of-1916-arc-pp-181/>

Sending the Kiswa stopped once at the beginning of the nineteenth century during the war of Mohamed Ali with the Wahabies and one at the turn of the twentieth century during the First World War and was sent from the Ottoman state. However, it returned to be sent from Egypt immediately after the war. From the photo one can see the luxurious House of making the Kiswa in Turkey. The send of the Kiswa last till the mid-twentieth century, year 1952; the Saudis started to ill-treat the Egyptian pilgrims and the Mahmal¹ .
3

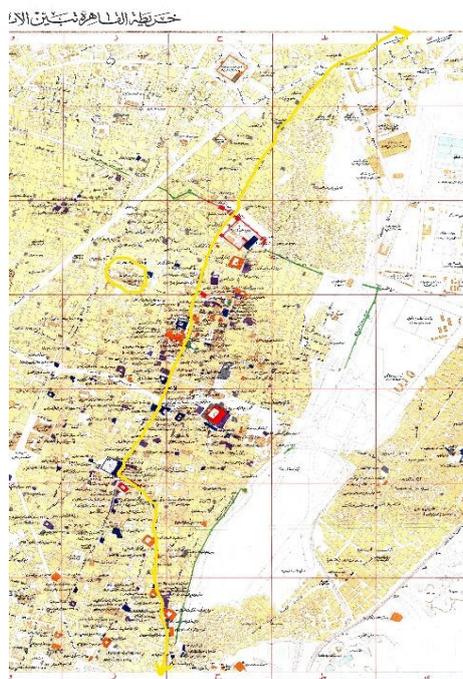
Since the sending of the Kiswa started during the Mamluk era, its expenses were from the treasury “Bayt al-Mal” then became in the hand of the endowment of the country “Waqf” which was a revenue from certain number of villages in Egypt set aside to meet the cost of a yearly Kiswa. While during the nineteenth and the twentieth century it became from the Egyptian Treasury¹ .
4

In 1904, the finance committee decided to increase the expenses of the Mahmal, due to the increasing in the expenses of increasing number of camels, train locomotives, doctors of the Mahmal, and the duplicating the number of guarding army, in addition to appointed assistants for Amir al-Hajj¹ .
5

Some of extra expenses were imposed for the pilgrims' Quarantine and its buildings in Al-Tur. They spent money from the budget of the pilgrimage on the returned pilgrims like what happened in year 1905, about 690 LE was imposed as an extra expenses while about 1000 LE in year 1895¹ .
6



Photo 7: Photograph of the Procession of the Mahmal and People are Watching from the Door of the Citadel in 1919, Private Archive of Makram Salamah



Map 1: A Map for the Route of the Mahmal made by the authors

The Mahmal/Holy Carpet course through Cairo:

The images visualized the ceremonies of the departure and the return of the Mahmal. They illustrated the route of al Mahmal within the streets and lanes, across the desert, on train to Suez and on boat to Jeddah¹. There were three processions of the year at Cairo celebrating the Holy Carpet; the scenically procession before the day of the departure, the day of departure of the Mahmal to Mecca and return procession from Mecca¹. Unfortunately, one could not recognize all the streets and places that the Mahmal procession walk through in the photos due to the topographic changing happened along history.

They used to depart from Dar al-khurunfish; a great celebration was made in front of the mosque of the Judge 'Abdel Basit*', to the Minshia Square, Al-Mahgar, Al-Darb al Ahmer, Bab Zwila, Al-Ghuria, Al-Nahasin, Bab Al-Nasr, Al-Abbassyia where they used to stay in Birkit al Haj for a while in tents before travelling or taking the train to Suez taking the ship to Jeddah. While they were going or returning from Abbassyia to Minshia Square or vice versa, they usually passed by the Khedive Kiosk/Mahmal Mastaba so the Khedive could hand over the key of Ka'aba and receive the old tapestry to be placed in the store of the Ministry of Finance. (The main Kiswa supposed to be renewed each twenty years and the green one each year)¹.

Ibrahim Rif'at Pasha, 'Amir el Hujaj the Major General at the beginning of the twentieth century, described the course of the Mahmal procession by saying: the Mahmal came from the Ministry of Finance then Wikalit al-Sit in Gamaliah to join the Kiswa which came from Dar al-Khurunfish then all the way to the Khedive Kiosk/Mahmal Mastaba in Minshia square. Passing by Sabil Katkhuda where the Kiswa will join the green Mahmal came from Gamalia then the whole Mahmal walk to Ghuria then Bab Ziwiila, Darb al-Ahmer, Al-Tabana, Al-Mahgar reaching to Midan Minshia. The manager of Dar al-Khurunfish used to walk first together with the Kiswa officer holding the pocket which contains the key of the Ka'aba accompanied the Kiswa, followed by the Kiswa of Maqam Al-Khalil on the shoulders².

Some documents described the route of the Mahmal and the voyage of the pilgrimage through the reports of Amir Al-Hajj in years 1918 and 1921. One can notice that the Sultan usually sent representative instead of him in the celebration of Al Mahmal especially after Khedive Abbas IIs' time. They stated that the celebration started with a show parade in front of the Khedivial Kiosk/ Mahmal Mastaba in Minshia square for the people, then the official show in front of the Government and the prime minister instead of Sultan. In the next day the Kiswa was placed in its boxes and moved in a procession to Suez to travel. On their way to Suez usually they stop by Benha, Zagazig and Ismailia to find celebrations from people. The budget that days was 111930 LE 779 Malim from the Egyptian closet, beside another budget from the British closet in Jeddah 6770 LE².

Ultimately, one can say that there were several routes from Cairo to Jeddah along time, the main one was across Sinai and the first stop was Birkat al-Hajj (which 18 km from the citadel) then the travel became by train from Cairo to Suez².

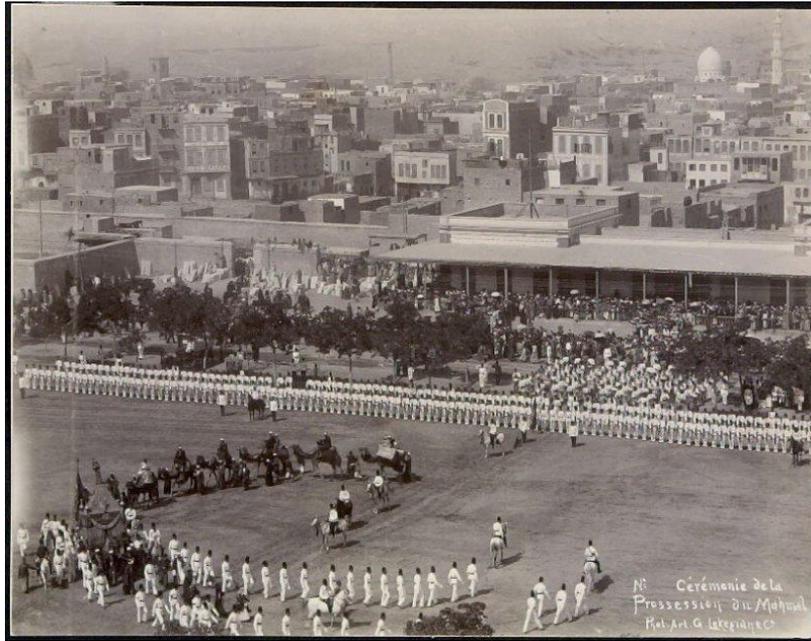


Photo 8: The Ceremonies of the Mahmal, by [G. Lekegian and Company](https://art.famsf.org/g-lekegian-and-company/no-c%C3%A9r%C3%A9monie-de-la-possession-du-mahmal-200116137), <https://art.famsf.org/g-lekegian-and-company/no-c%C3%A9r%C3%A9monie-de-la-possession-du-mahmal-200116137>



Photo 9: The Ceremonies of the Mahmal in front of the Reception Hall in 1919, Private Archive of Makram Salamah

When the Mahmal reached Minshia square, it was placed in the open court in front of the reception hall till morning, in the morning the celebration starts with the presence of the Khedive and his officials. The Khedive witness the celebration from his hall, the celebration was about seven rounds in the court while the officer of the Mahmal is waiting in front of Mahmoudia mosque twenty one bullets thundered from cannons to announce the end of the celebration. After the leave of the Khedive, the parade of the Kiswa continue moving to Al-Hussien then to Dar Al-Khurunfish again to rest for the next day to move to Mecca. In the day of the travel the Mahmal usually move again to Minshia square through the road of Suq Al-Silah then to Abbassyia then by train to Suez². Accordingly, one can³easily track the course on the modern map, starting from Minshia Square, Al Mahgar St., Bab al Wazir, Al Tabana St.,

Darb al Ahmar, Bab Zwila, Al Ghuria, Bab al Futuh, El Hussinia, and finally Abbassyia (Map 1). In Suez the parade of the Mahmal wondered in the streets reaching to the station where it will rest in to be shipped in the ship to Jeddah² .

4



Photo 10: The Mahmal in Alexandria in 1912, photo taken by Aziz & Dorés, Private collection of the page "Alexandria 1900"

Although Alexandria is not part of the Mahmal Course, photos and postcards were found for the Mahmal procession within the streets of Alexandria. That's because in 1912, on the way back from Mecca, the Khedive moved on his Mahrousa towards Alexandria and the pilgrims went with the guards to Port Said on one of the Khedivial ship. As long as the Khedive reached Alexandria, the cannons thundered the proper salute of twenty one guns, the whole city was decorated with lights as sign of happiness that the Khedive is in the city walking to Ras Al-Tin Palace. He used to wonder in the streets of Alexandria and people were aligned along the streets proceeded by the policemen watching the Mahmal procession accompanied the Khedive. The next day the Khedive used to go to the train station (The New Door station) to back to Cairo² .

5



Photo 11,12: Photos taken by the author in one of the heavily populated sites “Al-Abagia area and Al-Hataba”

With the returning of the caravan of pilgrims, people used to gather in Birket al Hajj to meet their returning families and friends who brought with them bottles of the blessed Zamzam water. Then accompanied them to their houses which were prepared, painted with red and white stripes and adorned with vivid green pictures of trees, camels and other natural objects, and hung a stuffed baby hippopotamus over the door as Stanly Poole described² . However, this tradition lasted till our modern days with an addition of a plane or steamer and the Ka’aba.



Photo 13: Photo of the Khedive Kiosk under the Citadel, by Creswell, <https://digitalcollections.aucegypt.edu/digital/collection/p15795coll14/id/2751/rec/1478>



Photo 14: The Mahmal moving from Khedive Kiosk in 1919, Private Archive of Makram Salamah



Photo 15: Photo of the Mahmal near the Citadel, a Courtesy of George Merzbuch in Brussels, Belgium, photographed by Gert Husskins

The Khedive Kiosk/ Mahmal Mastaba:

A permanent pavilion or platform lodge was erected since Khedive Ismail Pasha and later used by the khedive Abbas Helmi II and his minister to receive the Mahmal. It is usually called Khedive Kiosk/Mahmal Mastaba in the archival sources and maps. Douglas Saladen described it as an open air stage. The pavilion located “far down under the citadel specifically” as Saladen said in his book “its position is magnificent, in the upper part of Meidan el Minshia, thousands of people can be existed to witness the great pageant in this huge open space in front of it”² . The khedive specify a place for photographers to be close to the pavilion, accordingly, they could take photos for the procession and describe it accurately. From the photo above, “the

pavilion was a three arched mak'ad like one sees in the court of the great Arab palace, it was filled with chairs occupied by dignitaries"² .⁸

The scene is exquisite behind the pavilion as it is in the photo, the citadel of Saladin with its featured mosque of Mohamed Ali. The police used to clear the place from people and made a human fence leaving a space for the carriages of the foreigners, unofficial Egyptian notables and the official Egyptian notables then behind police fence were all the people of Egypt watching. The Mahmal was moving towards the Khedive kiosk/ Mahmal Mastaba in seven circles reaching the pavilion steps² .⁹

The camels were the main means of transportation for the Mahmal, as they symbolized the camel of the prophet, there were twenty camels which their station was in Bulaq³ .

Who attended the ceremony near the Khedive Kiosk/ Mahmal Mastaba were the Egyptian Ministers, Ambassadors, Muslim professors of the University, with no British existence even Lord Cromer did not attend, in addition there was no British military display³ . Some sources justified this with two probable reasons; the first that may be the British soldiers did not accept the idea of saluting a piece of cloth while the second was that the Egyptians were fanatics who did not accept the British and called them "accursed unbelievers"³ . However, it is most probably the Egyptians saw the British as occupants not allowed to be part of the festival.²



Photo 16: The Return of the Holy Carpet from Mecca: The Reception of the Mahmal, in which the Carpet is conveyed, by the Khedive at his Pavilion in 1911, <https://scholarship.rice.edu/handle/1911/10348>.

The khedive with his officials used to wait to receive the Mahmal in his pavilion. The Kiswa officer used to hand over the camel of the Holy Carpet to Khedive or the prime minister who act on his behalf to deliver it to Amir el Hajj³ . Some historians saw that Cabinet Ministers in Egypt were like Cabinet Ministers in England in their uniform except for the tarbush. While the Grand Judge "Kadi", Grand Mufti and Sheikhs of Al-Azhar were more remarkable looking persons as it can be noticed from the photos. The Egyptian soldiers were used to wear uniformed

colored sky blue, as the khedive was preferring this color, with white spats, and red “Tarbushes” Fez. The Mahmal was followed by a standard bearer and drum beaters riding on camels³ .



Photo 17: Photo of the Khedive Kiosk nowadays, taken by the author near the Citadel of Saladin

By talking about the Mahmal ceremonies, the one may be think that it just a past event and just gone, however, it is still alive within the stories of the people and the remaining monuments. The path of the Mahmal has some significant milestones, some of them still exists nowadays such as the Mahmal Mastaba in citadel square. Accordingly, I propose that these milestones getting recognized by the ministry of Tourism and Antiquities as a cultural heritage landmarks, rehabilitate and accommodate a photo exhibition in Mahmal Mastaba to evoke the spirit of the ceremonies. In addition to, consider the whole path as an Arab world heritage cultural route to cherish the memory of the Mahmal and added it in the touristic programs as a spiritual city tour. Besides, spot light on connecting the route with the rarest examples of Mahmal palanquin in the NEMIC museum and the Ethnographic Museum in the Geographic Society in Cairo.

Conclusion:

For Egypt’s unique status among the Islamic World, it was chosen to send the Kiswa of Ka’aba. The sending of Kiswa lasted along its history. Accordingly, it is considered to be part of Egypt intangible heritage. Sending the Holy Carpet/ Kiswa for Egypt was an honor and sign of control while for Egyptians was a national festival and a blessing to touch a sacred object wondered sacred land. For the people of Hijaz, it was a source of wealth and prosperity. As for the European, it was source of pleasure and bizarre adventure to take photos for and write about. The procession was mainly contains the ceremonial palanquin which was empty square frame of wood with pyramidal top covered with embroidered cloth. It is usually appeared at the center of the photos. However, the Mahmal contains the boxes of the Kiswa too which were made and prepared in Dar al Khurunfish. It is easy to figure out the Mahmal procession route through the photos and postcards of the European travelers. There were three processions; the scenically procession, the departure day procession and the returning day procession and celebration. Yet, it was usually started from Dar al Kiswa all the way to Minshia square to held the official celebration then move to Birkit al Haj after the rest taking the train then the ship to Jeddah.

There was a celebration among the streets and the official ceremony in Minshia square in front of the Khedive with no mention for the British display in the celebration. The Khedive usually sets on his pavilion or the so called Khedive Kiosk or Mahmal Mastaba. This building was an essential item in the celebration of the Mahmal, hosted the rulers of Egypt with their officials to send and receive the Kiswa before going to Mecca. Unfortunately, this building was abandoned after the stopping of sending the Kiswa. However, it is still standing nowadays to remind us with this forgotten event. So as a part of the development of the citadel area and keeping Egypt's heritage, it is important to re construct old Mahmal procession route through archival photos, rehabilitate Khedive Kiosk to accommodate a photo exhibition and make a walking tour following the steps of the Mahmal in Cairo.

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*The Belgian lawyer and the founder of Zamalek Club

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*by framing the ceremonial Mahmal palanquin which for some Europeans represented the tomb of prophet Mohamed instead of the Kiswa boxes and the Camel which holds the *Mahmal* palanquin which represented the camel of the prophet.
- The Hajj: Collected Essays, ed.(Venetia Porter and Liana Saif), (The British Museum, 2013), 176.¹
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- * Who was the judge of all Egyptian judges, the minister of finance and the supervisor over the Kiswa.
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