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THE IDENTITY OF THE CATTLE HERDSMAN

A STUDY IN THE SCENES OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN PRIVATE TOMBS

By

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[AR]

هوية راعي الأبقار: دراسة في مناظر المقابر المصرية القديمة الخاصة

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

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

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

I. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

II. METHODOLOGY

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

¹ ASSMANN 2002: 66; WOODS 2017: 77.

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

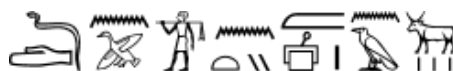
³ EVANS 2010: 1.

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

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


⁶ BREWER 2001: 436; EVANS 2010:2.

This term was mentioned in one of the texts of the tomb of *Nakhtamon* (TT341), the «Overseer of the altar». East wall- bottom register of the south wing: At the far side of the animals is a herdsman, whose hair was shaven in a tonsure style. He makes the beasts walk forwards with the help of a stick. He is accompanied by the text¹⁵:

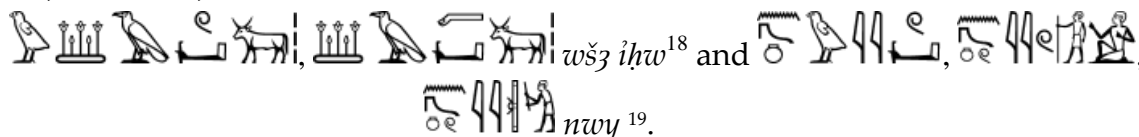


ḏd n p3 mnīw nty m sz n3 iʷ3w

«Spoken by the herdsman who is held behind the cattle».

Lesko mentioned that the term  szw¹⁶ was identified as «herdsmen, guard, guardian, and cow-herd». He added that szw and mnīw¹⁷ were translated as «herdsmen».

Furthermore, some other terms were less used to express the word «herdsman, shepherd, or drover, such as:



Artists were concerned with the physical and behavioral aspects of the numerous animals they represented, as shown by a survey of daily life scenes in private tombs. However, the artist's interest in depicting those characteristics varied from one animal to the other, most likely due to the animal's importance in Egyptian society.

The scenes of animal husbandry concentrated on large and small cattle, and to a lesser extent, on other animals, until the end of the Old Kingdom. Many rulers mentioned the enormous number of cattle they owned or cared for²⁰. The representations of cattle-herdsmen from the Old Kingdom to the 20th Dynasty focused on their role in agricultural pursuits. Furthermore, they addressed their personality traits, life cycle, and physical appearance.

Therefore, herdsmen could be identified by their appearance in tomb scenes. They were usually noticeably thin. They had to scrimp on food and personal comforts because they continuously worked with their charges. Their ages varied between the young, old, and elderly, and most of them were in good health, while a few of them were represented with a particular deformity²¹ [FIGURE 1].

¹⁵ DAVIES 1948: PL.XXV.

¹⁶ LESKO 1982: 7-8; GARDINER 1957:447.

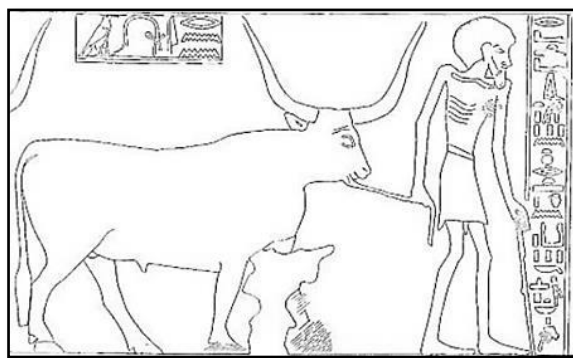
¹⁷ LESKO 1982: 8

¹⁸ ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.): Wb.1, 369, 7.

¹⁹ ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.): Wb.2, 5, 220.

²⁰ KANAWATI 1980: FIG.14.

²¹ MAHRAN & KAMAL 2016: 169-191.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²³ TASSIE 2008: 136

²⁴ GARDINER & DAVIES 1920: PL.V.

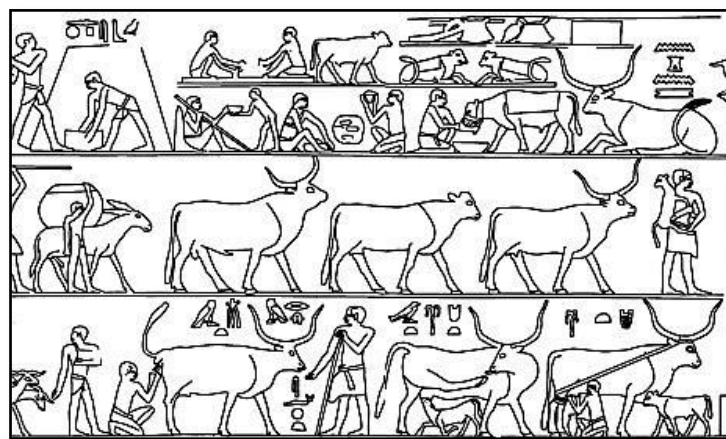
²⁵ WILD 1953: PL.XCIV/A; KANAWATI 1980: FIG.12; KANAWATI 1999: PL.55; BROVARSKI 2001:PL.96.

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

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

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

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



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

2. The herdsman's hairstyle

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

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

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

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

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

²⁹ SIMPSON 1980: 30

³⁰ SIMPSON 1980: PL.XXXVI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

³³ ROBINS 1999: 55-69.

³⁴ TASSIE 2009: 459-536.

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

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

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

³⁸ WOOD 2011: 314-319.

³⁹ DUNHAM & SIMPSON 1974: FIG.4.

⁴⁰ KANAWATI & ABDER-RAZI 2003: PL.71.

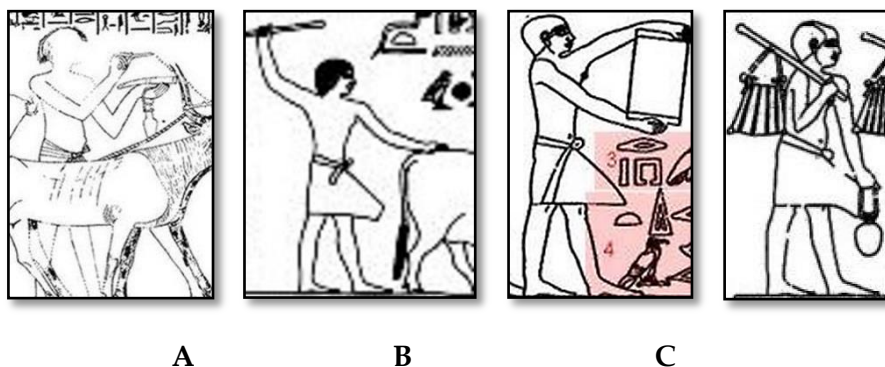
⁴¹ OSER 2011:42, PL.11.5

⁴² MAHRAN & KAMAL 2016: 169-191.

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

⁴⁴ HARTWIG 2001: 27

⁴⁵ KANAWATI & WOODS 2009: PL.116



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

https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/nobles/nebamon_ipouky181/photo/nebamon_ipouky_is_24.jpg&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768, Accessed January 13, 2022

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

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

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

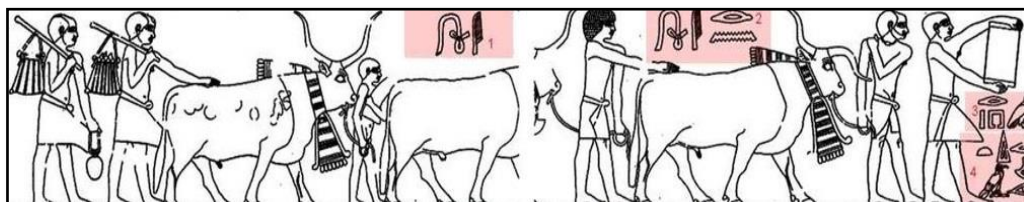
https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/mastabas/ty/photo/ty_CHS_centre_R5.6.gif&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768, Accessed January 13, 2022

3. The herdsman's costume

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁹ HAGSETH 2015: 62; PECK 2013: 56.

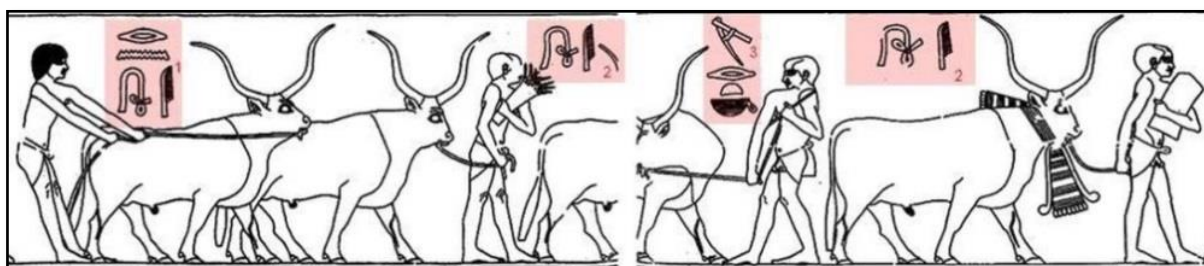
This usually signified their higher status⁵⁰. Likewise, on the Mastaba of Iasen (G2196), the upper register of the east wall, the third and fourth characters appeared with their special loincloths of herdsmen, presenting themselves in the attitude of respect⁵¹ [FIGURE 5].



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

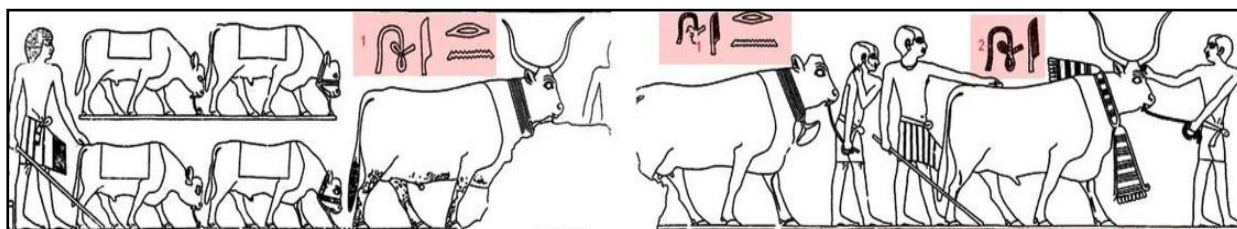
https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/mastabas/iasen/photo/iasen_g2196_simpson_fig_31.gif&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768, Accessed January 13, 2022

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



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

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



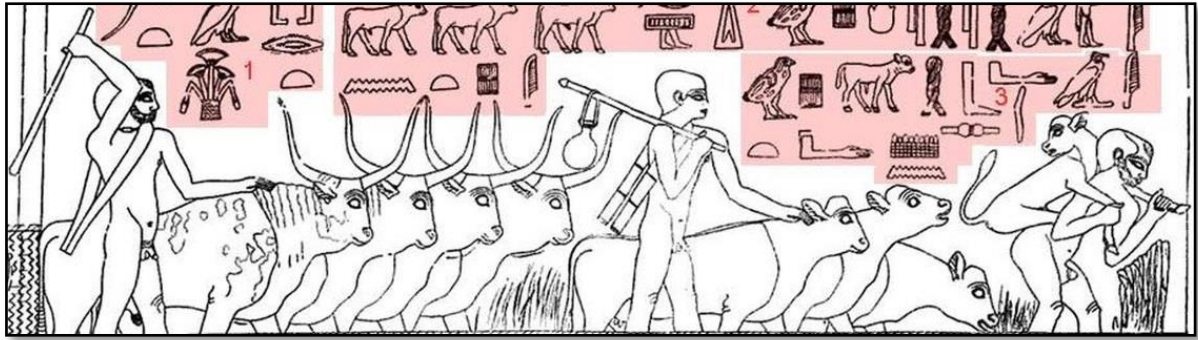
[FIGURE 7]. *Mastaba of Ty*. WILD1966: PL.CLXIX.

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

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

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

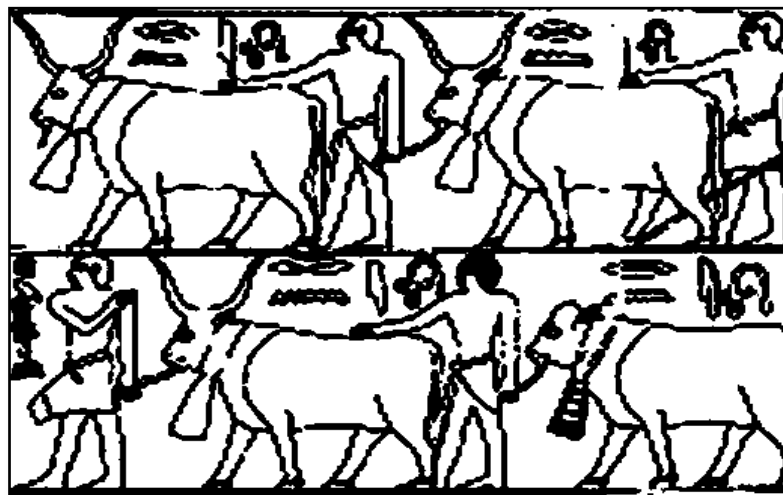
In the *Mastaba* of *Ty*, the north wall of the chapel, the right (east) part of the wall, register 2, the scene of the crossing of the ford shows three naked herdsmen⁵² [FIGURE 8].



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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



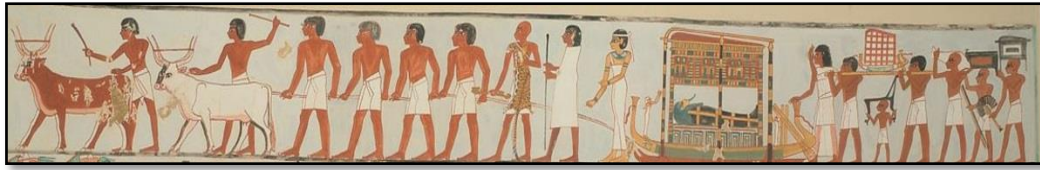
[FIGURE 11]: A scene shows a herdsman and offering porters from the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 340)

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

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

⁵⁴ CHERPION 1999: 31–39.

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





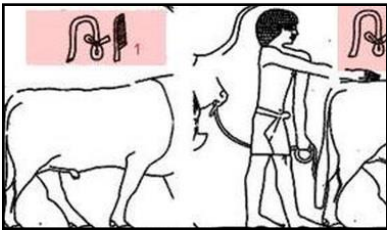
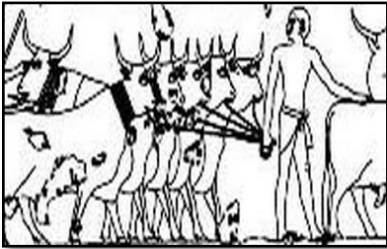
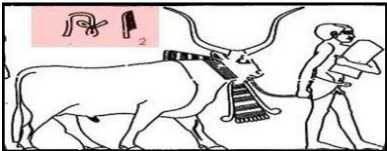
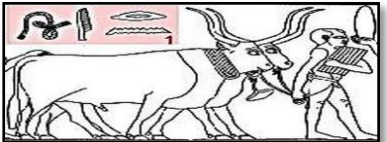
[FIGURE 12]. A scene shows two herdsman, 8 rope holders and offering porters from the tomb of *Païry* (TT 139) in Thebes; O'NEILL 2015: PL.3.27.3.28

4. The herdsman's job and tools

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

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

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

Scene	Context	Tomb owner & Scene location	Tomb location & Date
 	<p>A herdsman holds a tether in his right hand⁵⁶.</p> <p>A herdsman leads four oxen and holds a tether in his right hand⁵⁷.</p>	<p><i>Iasen</i>, G2196 East wall of the chapel.</p> <p><i>Mereruka</i> The north wall of chamber A13, 4th register</p>	<p>Giza 4th dynasty</p> <p>Saqqara 6th dynasty</p>
 	<p>A herdsman drives an ox in a husbandry framework. His right hand is on the back of the animal in front of him, while his left hand holds a tether attached to an «ox»⁵⁸.</p> <p>A herdsman drives oxen in a husbandry framework; his left hand is on the back of the animal in front of him, while with his right, he holds tethers attached to groups of cattle⁵⁹.</p>	<p><i>Ty</i> Central part of the south wall of the chapel, register 6.</p> <p><i>Ptahhotep</i>-D64 East wall, the right part (south half), Register 5</p>	<p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p> <p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p>
 	<p>A herdsman holds a tether in his right hand while holding what seems to be a mat in the other hand ⁶⁰.</p> <p>The lead herdsman appears to hold a reed mat in the left hand and tethers in his right hand⁶¹.</p>	<p><i>Ty</i> The central part of the south wall of the chapel, register 5</p> <p><i>Ty</i> The central part of the south wall of the chapel, register 3</p>	<p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p> <p>Saqqara 5th dynasty</p>

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

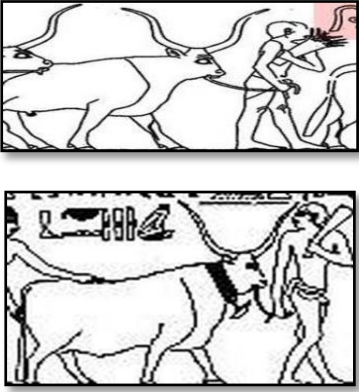
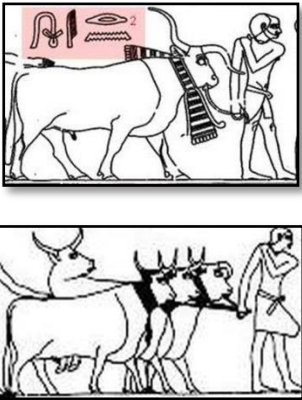
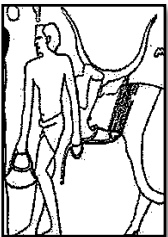
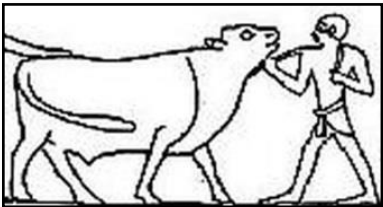
⁵⁷ DUELL 1938: PL. 152

⁵⁸ WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII.

⁵⁹ DAVIES 1901: PL.XXI

⁶⁰ WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII.

⁶¹ WILD 1966: PL. CLXVIII.

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

⁶² WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII.

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

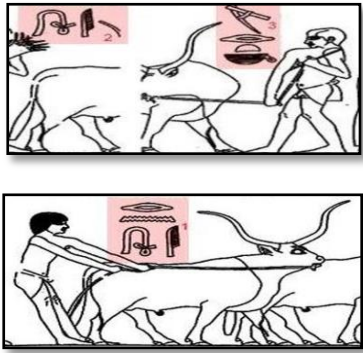
⁶⁴ WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII.

⁶⁵ DAVIES 1901: PL..XXI.

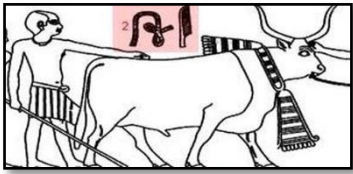
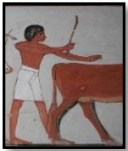


⁶⁶ MAHRAN & KAMAL 2016: 169-191.

⁶⁷ SIMPSON 1980: PL.XXXVI.

⁶⁸ WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII.

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

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


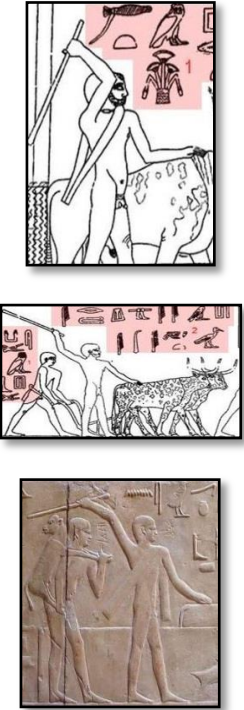

⁶⁹ WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII.

⁷⁰ WILD 1966: PL.CLXIX.

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

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

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

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

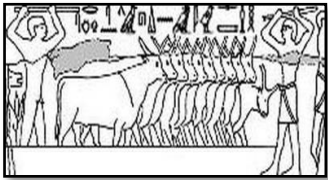
⁷⁴ PORTER & MOSS: *PM*: 151; GEORGE, MARCELLE & ETIENNE 1928: FIG.7.

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

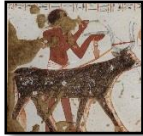


⁷⁶ WILD 1953: PL. LXXVIII.

⁷⁷ PORTER & MOSS: *PM* III²: 521-525; BISSING 1905-1911; YVONNE & PAOLO 2006.

⁷⁸ WILD 1953: PL. CXII.

	During the crossing of a ford, two herdsman keep an eye on their animals. The one on the left is in the water, while the other is on the other side of the river ⁷⁹ .	<i>Mereruka</i> The east wall of chamber A13, scene 3, the 1st register	Saqqara 6 th dynasty
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[TABLE 2]. Different positions of the stick representations © done by the author

	A disheveled herdsman thinly sprinkles milk from a jar onto the path of the animals ⁸⁰ .	Nebamon, TT181 West wall-upper register	Thebes 18 th dynasty
	The herdsman carries a water vessel, which could be used to help the sled runners ⁸¹ .	<i>Userhat</i> , TT56 Chamber b-west wall (long wall, on the right)	Thebes 18 th dynasty
	A herdsman stimulates a couple of oxen with the help of a whip ⁸² .	<i>Paheri</i> West wall -North End: Funeral Rites	Thebes 18 th Dynasty

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

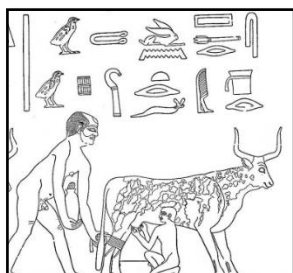

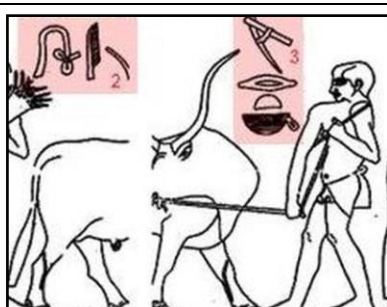

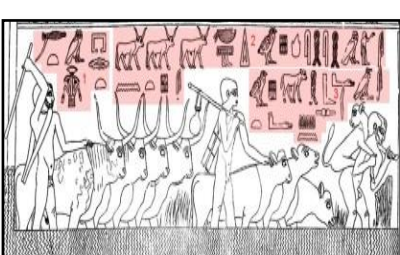
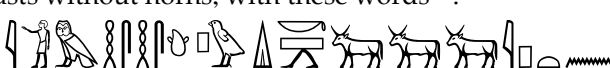

Finally, some examples of the speech captions are presented to explore the language of the conversation, their relationship at work, their knowledge of the nature of cows, and their ability to lead the herd, whether these conversations are directed at each other, their assistants, or the herd.

⁷⁹ DUELL 1938: PL.168

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

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

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

The scene	Tomb owner & caption describing the scene
	In the <i>Mastaba</i> of Ty, two herdsmen are engaged in petty theft. They are milking a cow for their own consumption. One of the herdsmen is on the lookout and warns the other ⁸³ :  <i>shr wn tw dr üt rf hkz pw</i> «Milk! Hurry up before this chief comes»
	In the <i>Mastaba</i> of Ty, register 5: Perhaps the small bundle of hay held by the man leading the next animal piques the animal's attention. The confused animal's herdsman appears to ask the animal ⁸⁴ :  <i>mrt.k</i> «Is that what you like?»
	In the <i>Mastaba</i> of Ty, north wall-Right (east) part, register 2- text (2): Things do not move fast enough for a herdsman, so he lashes out at his aide, who leads three beasts without horns, with these words ⁸⁵ :  <i>i mhshs pw rdî.k sm iwzw iptn</i> «O it is filthy! Make these oxen move» In the same register-text (3): Under the weight of the calf, he transports on his back, a naked and bearded herdsman bends forwards. This terrified animal turns around and shouts out to its mother, striving to catch up with it while dragging the rest of the herd behind. It appears to be mooing in confusion. This is most likely why the herdsman in the midst of the scene tells the other to ⁸⁶ :  <i>iz' bhs pw mn't</i> «Throw (meaning: turn around) this calf of these nursing (cows)»
	In the <i>Mastaba</i> of Mereruka, the east wall of chamber A13, scene 3, the 1st registers: The text above this scene says ⁸⁷ :

⁸³ WILD 1953: PL.CXII.

⁸⁴ WILD 1966: PL.CLXVII

⁸⁵ WRESZINSKI 1936: PL., 44

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

⁸⁷ DUELL 1938: PL.168

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸⁸ KANAWATI & ABDER-RAZIQ 2008: 56

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

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

III. CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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

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