

DEVELOPING GUIDELINES ON HENNA: A GEOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

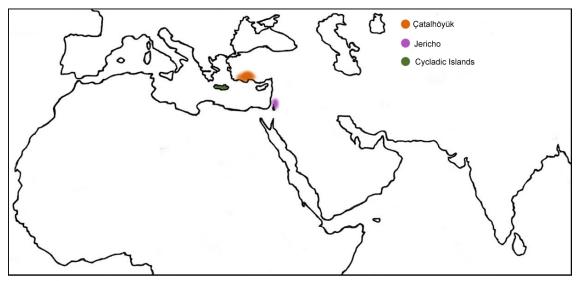
Chapter IV:

Mapping the Historical Regions of Henna

In Field's "Body Marking in Southwestern Asia" (1958), there are sixteen pages of mentions of henna through history, from Herodotus to Westermark, each less than a paragraph. Field's collection of quotes is the most comprehensive academic collection of historic material on henna to date in English translation. Many scholarly investigations of women's culture in henna using countries briefly discuss henna traditions, such as Boddy's work on the Zar cult in Northern Sudan, "Wombs and Alien Spirits" (1989: 313 – 316) and Brauer's "The Jews of Kurdistan," (1993: – 349 and 122 – 124). If all available items determined to be evidence of henna could be systematically examined and mapped by place, culture and time, this should reveal the historic and present geographies of henna. This should assist further investigation of henna, and add rigor to that study. This should also provide a basis for the review of legal and commercial aspects of henna.

Location of Artifacts Between 6000 BCE and 3000 BCE That Show Positive

Evidence of Henna Use



Locations of artifacts with body markings consistent with henna between 6000 and 3000 BCE

Figure 97: Areas of possible henna use between 6000 and 3000 BCE, based on artifacts that have body markings consistent with henna (map adapted from Kartographisches Institut Bertelsmann, 1989: 179) For larger map, see page 166.

Artifacts from Çatalhöyük, 6000 BCE, have images of red hands in ceremonial context in Shrine Level VII, 8, and there is some evidence of red markings on bulls in shrine E IV, 8 (Mellaart, 1963).

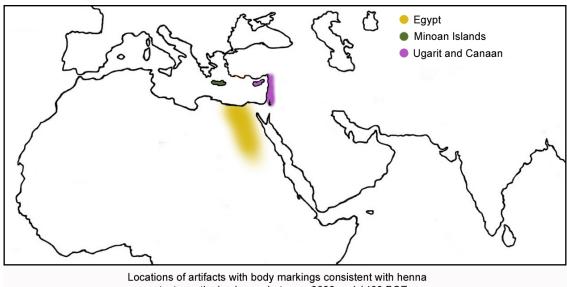
In Jericho at 6000 BCE, there is a death mask of an elderly person with hair and beard painted red (Mazar, 1992: 47).

Statuettes from the Cycladic Islands at 2800 BCE depict post-pubescent females with red markings on hands and fingers (Getz-Preziosi, 1994:49)

Other artifacts may exist which have not been excavated and studied, and other areas may have grown or used henna without leaving artifacts. This map only includes artifacts I have found to this date in English translations or publications.

Location of Artifacts Between 3000 BCE and 1400 BCE That Have Positive

Evidence of Henna Use



or text mentioning henna between 3000 and 1400 BCE

Figure 98: Areas of possible henna use between 3000 and 1400 BCE, based on artifacts that mention henna or body markings consistent with henna (map adapted from Kartographisches Institut Bertelsmann, 1989: 179) For larger map, see page 167.

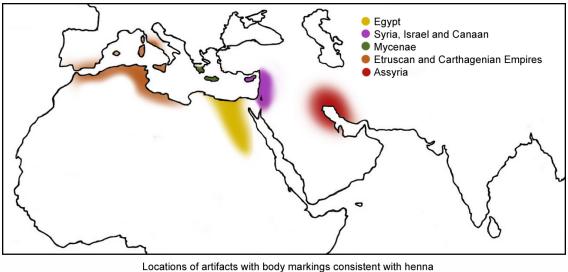
In Egypt, between 3000 and 1400 BCE, henna was used for medicinal purposes. Older people dyed their hair with henna, and male and female mummies have been found with hennaed fingernails. The Egyptian word for henna was KPR or PKR.

Records from Ras Shamra and Canaan from between 3000 and 1400 BCE indicate that women used henna to dye their hair, fingernails, palms, soles, everyday and ceremonial body art (Hooke, S. H., 1965; de Moor, 1971: 85; Platt ed. 1970: 60-81). In the Ras Shamra texts, there is evidence of bridal use (de Moor, 1971: 85) and henna was primarily associated with post-pubescent females, though images of sacrifical bulls and goats also have red markings consistent with henna. The word for henna in the Ugaritic written language was KPR (de Moor, 1971: 85).

At Heraklion, prior to the eruption of Thera prior of 1680 BCE, women are depicted with red-stained fingernails, palms, and soles, in celebration or ritual context (Doumas, C, 1992).

Other artifacts may exist which have not been excavated and studied, and other areas may have grown or used henna without leaving artifacts. This map only includes artifacts I have found to this date in English translations or publications.

Location of Artifacts Between 1400 BCE and 500 BCE That Have Positive Evidence of Henna Use



Locations of artifacts with body markings consistent with henna or text mentioning henna between 1400 and 1500 BCE

Figure 99: Areas of henna use in 1400 – 500 BCE, as supported in ancient texts and artifacts that have body markings consistent with henna (map adapted from Kartographisches Institut Bertelsmann, 1989: 179) For larger map, see page 168.

In Egypt between 1400 and 500 BCE, henna was used for hair dye, medicinal purposes and mummy preservation (Bryan, 1974, Ebers Papyrus, artifacts). It was used on hair and nails of both male and female mummies. The Egyptian words for henna were PKR and KPR.

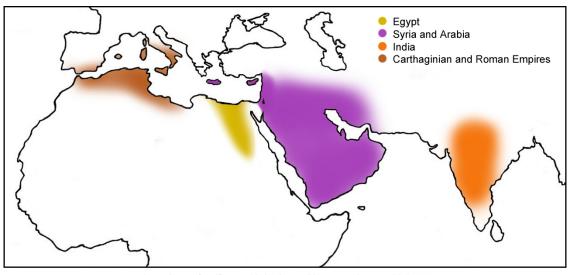
In Syria, (Phoenicia), Canaan, and Israel, the words for henna were KPR in the Ugaritic (de Moor, 1971: 85), and camphire in Latin translations of texts (Shanks, 1993: 16). Copyright 2006 Catherine Cartwright-Jones Published by Henna Page Publications, a division of TapDancing Lizard LLC 4237 Klein Ave. Stow, Ohio 44224 USA All rights reserved. Henna was used to dye hair, fingernails, palms, soles, perfume, and for both everyday and ceremonial body art (Hooke, S. H.; 1965; de Moor, 1971: 85; Platt ed. 1970: 60-81). There is evidence of bridal use of henna (de Moor, 1971: 85; Platt ed. 1970: 60-81) and red markings only on post-pubescent females, though markings on horses and bulls may also be representations of henna

In Assyria at 800 BCE, there is a record of a women being hennaed for her marriage (Aubaile-Sallenave, 1982). Also, in 9th century BCE Assyria, there is evidence of hair dye and skin markings on both male and female images on the palms, soles and hair (British Museum WA124563 King and his Courtiers, North West Palace, Room 5 Panel 3, 865 BCE and Field, 1958: 103).

In Myceneae and Crete, in the 14th century BCE, the words for henna were poinikion or cyperus (Chadwick, 1976: 120-21) (Sonini, 1798, Vol 1: 300). Henna was used there as hair dye, fingernail colorant, a stain for palms and soles, a component in perfume, and as everyday and ritual body art (Shelmerdine, 1985: 33). There is evidence of hand and foot markings on post-pubescent females, which may have fertility or bridal connections.

In the Carthaginian and Etruscan areas, the word for henna was KPR in the Punic language, and camphire in Latin translations of texts. There are artifacts with body markings consistent with henna use for hair dye, as well as stains on palms, fingers, fingernails and soles. These red markings are on post-pubescent females and some appear to have bridal or fertility ceremony connections. Other artifacts and texts may exist which have not been excavated and studied, and other areas may have grown or used henna without leaving artifacts or texts. This map only includes artifacts I have found to this date in English translations or publications.

Location of Artifacts Between 500 BCE and 700CE That Have Positive Evidence of Henna Use



Locations of artifacts with body markings consistent with henna or texts mentioning henna between 500 BCE and 700 CE

Figure 100: Areas of henna use in 500 BCE – 700 CE, as supported by Roman texts,

Pre-Islamic texts, Indian texts, and artifacts that have body markings consistent with henna (map adapted from Kartographisches Institut Bertelsmann, 1989: 179). For larger map, see page 169.

In Egypt, between 500 BCE and 700 CE, there is evidence of henna use for medicinal purposes, fingernail dye, hair dye, and sole dye, and occasionally body art as recorded by Pliny III and the Ebers Papyrus (Lucas, 1930). The word for henna was kopher, and men, women and children used henna for skin rashes.

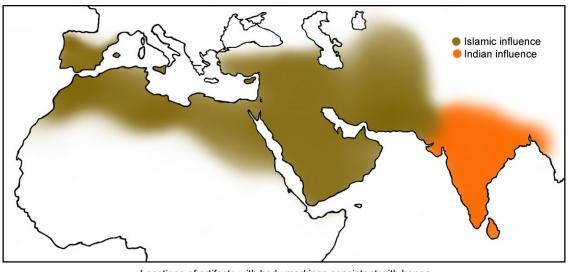
In Syria and the Arabian Peninsula, between 500 BCE and 700 CE, there is evidence of henna use for medicinal purposes, fingernail dye, hair dye, body art, and bridal celebration (Josephus and The Jewish Encyclopedia). The Semitic word for henna was HNA, cognate with the word for red, and related with the root for emotional tenderness. The use appears to be for primarily post-pubescent females.

Vedic and Buddhist India used henna for medicinal purposes, fingernail dye, and hair dye. Evidence in the Ajanta caves at 400 CE indicates that men and women used henna equally as a sole and palm stain.

In the Western Roman Empire and the Carthaginian world, there is evidence of henna use for medicinal purposes, fingernail dye, hair dye, and occasionally body art (Dialoges of Lucian; Ovid: Ars amandi III. 163, Amores 1. 14. 44 and Tristien II, 486). The primary use in the Roman world was as a hair dye by women.

Other artifacts and texts may exist which have not been excavated and studied, and other areas may have grown or used henna without leaving artifacts or texts. This map only includes artifacts found to this date in English translations or publications.

Location of Artifacts between 700 BCE and 1250 BCE That Have Positive Evidence of Henna Use



Locations of artifacts with body markings consistent with henna or text mentioning henna between 700 and 1250 CE

Figure 101: Areas of henna use in 900 CE – 1250 CE, as supported by European, Arabic, and Indian texts, and artifacts that have body markings consistent with henna
(Kartographisches Institut Bertelsmann, 1989: 179) For larger map, see page 170.

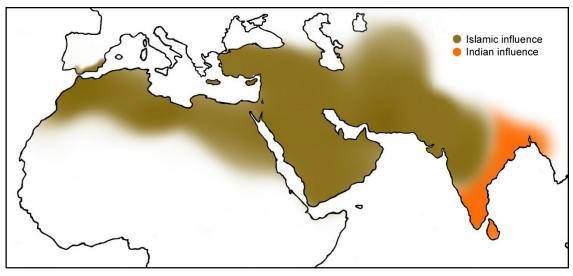
As the Islamic Empire expanded out of the Arabian Peninsula, the Arab traditions of Night of the Henna, henna for Ids and other celebrations expanded with it. Henna was used for medicinal purposes, fingernail dye, hair dye, body art, ceremonial, and everyday adornment. Henna was strongly gendered, with post-pubescent women frequently wearing henna, and men rarely wearing henna. During this period, coinciding with the Medieval Warm period, henna was used further north than at any time since the Neolithic. Evidence of hand markings consistent with henna are in Christian manuscripts from north central Spain from around the year 1000 CE, such as the Valladolid Beatus (Valladolid B.U. 422 fol 98v) and the San Millan Beatus (Madrid R.A H. 33 fol 68). There are many depictions of body markings consistent with henna, and references to henna artists and henna mills in Medieval Spain during this period (Glick, 1979: 151-2 and 232-3). In the depictions of marked hands from Baghdad and Spain during this period, the patterns are often black or nearly black. This may indicate the people understood and used the techniques for darkening henna, such as adding distilled essential oils, such as perfumes, to make a fast dark stain, or adding heat and alkali following application. The word for henna in Arabic was henna, with variants of hinna, kina, or hinaa.

In post-Buddhist and Hindu India, henna was used for medicinal purposes, to dye hair, fingernails, palms and soles, but lac and other red dyes were often preferred to henna for their vivid red color. Both men and women were depicted with stained palms and soles.

Other artifacts and texts may exist which have not been excavated and studied, and other areas may have grown or used henna without leaving artifacts or texts. This map only includes artifacts found to this date in English translations or publications.

Location of Artifacts Between 1250 BCE and 1700 BCE That Have Positive

Evidence of Henna Use



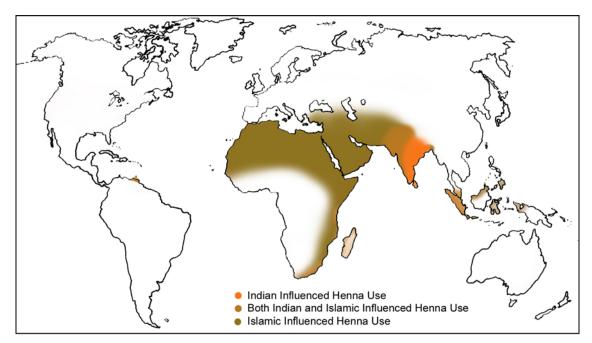
Locations of artifacts with body markings consistent with henna or texts mentioning henna between 1250 and 1700 CE

Figure 102: Areas of henna use in 1200 BCE – 1750 CE, as supported by Arabic, Persian,
Indian, European texts and artifacts that have body markings consistent with henna
(Kartographisches Institut Bertelsmann, 1989: 179) For larger map, see page 171.

Henna was used for medicinal purposes, fingernail dye, hair dye, body art, ceremonial, and everyday adornment throughout the area of Islamic influence. Christians and Jews also used henna in these areas, though may have been to a lesser extent than their Muslim neighbors. There are records of bridal henna among Christians and Jews in the areas of Islamic influence, as well as every day use for hair, fingernail and sole dye. Henna continued to be strongly gendered, with women being the primary users. During this period, henna was outlawed in Spain, and use of henna was punishable by death (Lea, 1968, pp. 228-90). Among Muslims, sacrificial animals such as the Id lamb, dearly beloved pets such as a dog, and high status animals such as the ruler's horse, were often hennaed. The depictions of body markings in typical henna placement are both red and black, indicating to the understanding and use of heat, alkaline and monoterpene alcohols to darken henna stain. During this period, henna patterning reached a peak of complexity in the Safavid courts. The major occasions for henna use were weddings, Ids, and circumcision, though women used henna regularly on their hair, nails, and soles. The word for henna in Arabic was henna, with variants of hinna, kina, or hinaa.

In Hindu India, henna was used for medicinal purposes, to dye hair, fingernails, palms and soles, but lac and other red dyes were often preferred to henna for their vivid red color. Both men and women are depicted with stained palms and soles, though the stains are seen more frequently on women with Islamic influence. There are many depictions of cows and horses with red markings for ceremonial occasions. There are numerous variants of the word for henna in the many Indian languages. Other artifacts and texts may exist which have not been excavated and studied, and other areas may have grown or used henna without leaving artifacts or texts. This map only includes artifacts found to this date in English translations or publications.

Areas of Henna Body Art Practices in the Early Twentieth Century



Areas of henna body art practices in the early 20th century

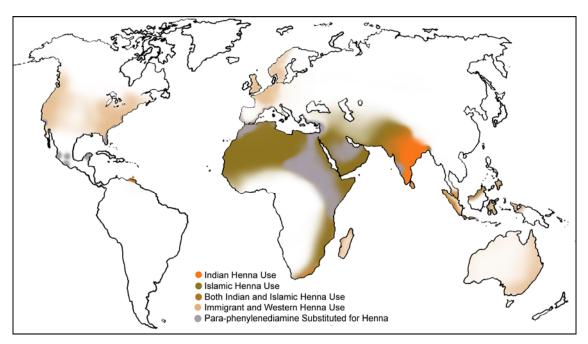
Figure 103: Areas of henna body art practice in the early 20th century (Kartographisches Institut Bertelsmann, 1989: 211) For larger map, see page 172.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, henna body art practice was embedded in the regions influenced by Islamic and Indian cultures, applied at their holidays, such as Id, Diwali, and weddings, when within the growing range of henna. These included some immigration areas, such as Indian communities in South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago, and Fiji. Areas that had strong trading and cultural ties to Arabia, such as Malaysia, islands in the Indian Ocean, and the east coast of Africa, also had developed henna body art practices (Applegate, 2006).

The geographies of henna from the late 19th century through the mid 20th century are well documented through traveler's reports, diaries, photographs, and anthropological studies. Eyewitness and ethnological accounts of henna use can be found in Westermarck (1914), Legey (1926) Gaudry (1929) Masse (1938) (Husain, 1976: 108), Messina (1988) and many others. When all the mentions of henna gathered through these sources are mapped, the geography of henna is revealed. More complex geographies of henna could be mapped decade by decade through the century, with separations for methods, traditions, and gendered uses.

Between 1900 and 1970, there was a gradual erosion of the indigenous henna using geography due to pressure from western fashion and cosmetics available in urban areas. For instance, Turkish and Iranian henna traditions vanished among the urban upper classes, to the point that only villagers kept up the traditions. In Egypt, henna was reported as only kept up by old women and villagers, and as old-fashioned and untidy by Cooper (1914: 154). In Morocco, Fatima Mernissi describes her father urging her mother to abandon henna and traditional cosmetics for western beauty products (Mernissi, 1995). Kaftal (1997) saw immigrants entering Israel through the 1950's and 1960's with henna traditions and quickly abandoning them in favor of "modern" fashion. Arlene Brill (2005) lived between 1990 and 2004 in Turkey without ever seeing evidence of henna body art, until one of the old women brought out her old henna traditions for Id. These changes are reflected in the differences between Figure 103 and Figure 104.

geographies of henna, if taken decade by decade through the twentieth century would illuminate patterns of western influence, immigration, and modernization.



Areas of henna body art practices between 2000 and 2006

Figure 104: Areas of henna body art practice in the early 21st century (Kartographisches Institut Bertelsmann, 1989: 211) For larger map, see page 173.

Between 1996 and 2006, the geographies of henna changed rapidly. People who immigrated from henna using cultures were able to continue their henna traditions as henna became available in North America and Europe. Westerners began experimenting with henna body art as a novelty temporary tattoo. Information about henna was disseminated through the Internet rather than from person to person. Paraphenylenediamine was substituted for henna to make a fast, black stain in both traditional using henna regions and in tourist areas in Europe, North America and the South Pacific.

Since I have been running an online henna business during this time, I've been able to track these changes by monitoring news releases, emails, personal contacts, business communications and server access logs. Figure 104 reflects the data between 2000 and 2006, mapped as geographies of henna. The tan areas show places where I have found news articles about henna body art activities in the west, as well as my own business communications requesting henna products and information from people with South Asian, Arab and Levantine surnames, as well as European surnames. The gray areas show where I have received information about injuries from para-phenylenediamine being added to, or substituted for henna. The olive green areas show where I have current information indicating that people still have Islamic henna traditions of night of the henna and Ids, and the orange areas show where people have Indian henna traditions for Diwali and weddings.

These changes between Figures 103 and 104 reflect factors not directly related to henna: immigration demographics, manufacture and shipping advancements, internet dispersion of information and images of henna, western pop culture, and the penetration of synthetic dyes into the marketplace.

The Geographies of Henna Emergence in the West

The tan areas in Figure 104 reflect henna body art use by immigrants in the west, as well as adaptation of henna by westerners. South Asians had lived in the UK for decades, but were harassed as a minority. Henna stains last for weeks on hands, so if a person hennaed for a celebration prior to the 1990's, that person would endure "Paki Bashing" for most of a month (Bahar, 2006). In Europe and North America the situation was similar. When I taught henna in a library in Barberton, Ohio in 1997, one of the students said, "Oh, yes, I know what that is. This boy in our class came back from a wedding with it all over his hands. We called him "Disease Boy". Immigrants were reluctant to maintain their henna traditions in the west until the late 1990's; and westerners did not take interest in henna body art until then.

The change in Indian-American use of henna body art between 1990 and 2005 reflects their changing demographics. The U.S. Census of 2000 counted 1.679 million people in the category "Asian Indian", accounting for 0.60% of the total U.S. population. This was an increase of 105.87% from the U.S. Census of 1990 with annual growth averaging 7.6%. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, Indian-Americans have the highest median income of any national origin group in the U.S. (\$60,093), and that one in every nine Indians in the US is a millionaire, comprising 10% of US millionaires. There were similar changes in Indian immigrant communities in Canada and the UK.

The effect of this change in the Indian-American's numerical and financial status on henna was three-fold. Indian-Americans were less reluctant to wear marks of ethnic identity. The Indian-American communities had enough buying power to support more ethnic markets where henna could be purchased: good quality henna was increasingly available. As the second and third generation of Indian-Americans grew up in western neighborhoods their white peers became increasingly interested in, and accepting of the henna markings on classmates hands.

The cost and reliability of airfreight from henna using countries to the west, as well as faster financial transactions and communication via the Internet in the late 1990's changed the price, freshness, and availability of henna in the west. In the summer of 1999, Jamila henna was shipped freshly processed from a June 20th harvest to the International Henna Conference in New York State by July 10th, working with email and FedEx.

The physical quality of henna powder also changed in the late 1990's. Commercial henna processing began in 1957, and the Sojat city regulated henna market has sought to improve service, quantity and quality control with government support. In 1962, stone burr mills were installed to improve henna leaf grinding. In the 1980's hammer mills and temperature controls were introduced and modified to improve the quality, texture and sift of the henna powder. In the 1990's pulverizers were installed to further improve the quality of the henna powder (Chand, Jangid, Roy & Singh, 2005). These change

facilitated the delicate, complex designs presently seen in henna body art, rather than thick, simple patterns as are seen in Figure 49.

These changes in production and transportation are a significant factor in changing the acceptance and popularity of henna. The pop stars such as Madonna, Gwen Steffani, Sting and Demi Moore would probably not have take interest in henna if it could not have been done in elegant, complex, fashionable patterns. Once henna was on rock stars featured on MTV, henna's popularity spread quickly beyond the ethnic communities.

By 2006, across North America and Europe, nearly every town henna had body art offered within some event or wedding, where no henna existed prior to 1995:

- The Indian Association of Chattanooga applies henna at the Chattanooga, Tennessee "Market Sunday" (The Chattanoogan, 2006)
- "The Art of Henna" is taught in the summer library program in Casper, Wyoming The Art of Henna (Star Tribune, 2006)
- In Evansville Indiana, henna body art was offered as part of a fund-raiser for the building of a new Hindu Temple for the area's 300 Hindu familes (Orr, 2006).
- The Calgary Stampede had a booth providing henna body art (White, 2006)
- "The bride wore an imported white-and-gold sari, her hands decorated with henna." (Linn, 2006)

The Geographies of Para-phenylenediamine "Black Henna" as Body Art

The purple areas of Figure 104 reflect known use of para-phenylenediamine as an additive or substitute for henna. This does not seem to be an invention of the west, and may have emerged many places independently. Beauticians would have noticed through accidental contact that inexpensive black para-phenylenediamine black hair dye, such as that manufactured by Bigen, quickly dyes skin black, just as henna dyes skin reddish brown. Para-phenylenediamine is produced by Dow Chemical, and is specifically prohibited for use on skin because of severe allergic reactions and deaths (Calman, 1967, and Shemesh, Mishai, Baruchin, Viskoper, & Azuri, 1995).

Between 1984 and 1989 thirty-one Sudanese children were hospitalized after being painted with a mixture of henna dye and para-phenylenediamine (Hashim, Hamza, Yahia, Khogali, & Sulieman; 1992). In 1996, Abdullah and Davidson published a medical paper on a woman who seems to have had a deadly allergic reaction to PPD being used as henna in Saudi Arabia. The earliest reports of PPD being used as a substitute for henna in the USA came in 1997, after Madonna had her hands decorated with black dye for her video "Frozen". Artists, wishing to profit from the popularity of henna but unaware of how to properly prepare it, used PPD to make fast, black stains. The first reports of PPD temporary tattoo injuries in the USA came from Venice Beach, and other beach communities where unregulated artists were allowed to set up on boardwalks, and first medical reports were published soon after (Wakelin, Creamer, Ryroft, White, & McFadden, 1998). Since these injuries appeared a week or more after the paste was applied, when the patron had gone home, the artists didn't see the damage they were doing. PPD "black henna" continues to infest vacation areas around the world, as shown by the purple areas in Figure 104.

In the first years of the 21st century, many news articles on henna focused on this problem of Para-phenylnediamine being painted on people, particularly children:

- In Weymouth, Dorset, UK, a child was scarred after being painted with a "henna tattoo" mixed with para-phenylenediamine. There is no provision in the 1871 Pedlars' Act for regulating henna, or identifying a street side artist who is mixing dangerous ingredients into it. (Griffin, 2006)
- The CBC reported a person thought he was getting a "safe, natural henna tattoo", but "But Evan Kirk discovered otherwise while on vacation in Florida. He got a Chinese design painted on his back. A day later, he was in agony. I couldn't really see because it was on my back but you could feel it dripping and I had to put a cloth on it because there was so much puss." Kirk was told the tattoo was applied using natural henna. (CBC Marketplace, 2003)
- The BBC reported, "A nine-year-old girl might be scarred for life after getting a henna tattoo on holiday. Jade Yates was on the Greek island of Kos when she persuaded her mum to let her get a small picture of a flower put on her back, but within hours she broke out in blisters around the design. Although henna is a natural product ... it can cause a reaction if it is not prepared properly." (CBBC Newsround, 2003)

The phrase "not prepared properly" points to the critical problem of the new geographies of henna: henna has moved into western culture, but artists, consumers, health care providers and importers and lawmakers do not have the information necessary to determine what is safe henna and what is unsafe.

The Geographies of Traditional Henna Use in the Early 21st Century

Henna body art practices in traditional geographies, shown in brown in Figure 104, are easier to observe now than at any time before. Google Internet searches harvest mentions of henna from worldwide Internet media daily, as well as personal web pages. As more newspapers come online, and as more people around the world have weblogs and homepages, the more easily one can find information on henna in traditional areas, and see it from the viewpoint of a participant in the culture. When the fragments from thousands of webpages, business records, and correspondences and are mapped, they reveal not only continuations of traditional geographies, but nuances not seen in old texts. The most frequent news mentions are for the relatively well-known use as a traditional adornment for Hindu and Muslim weddings in both traditional areas and the west:

- "Anjali and Vinisha, bow their heads as family members anoint their heads and limbs with a mixture of yoghurt and turmeric. Their hands and feet have already been covered with swirling patterns of henna." (Lloyd-Roberts, 2006)
- "Once the festivities have subsided, the henna on the fingers all faded... there is a very real life waiting to be lived" (Zakaria, 2006)

Other articles in June, 2006, reflect a random sampling of aspects of henna beyond the better known bridal henna traditions:

- Male henna artists in Kashmir are forced to leave their jobs, because they may no longer touch women (De Sarkar, 2006)
- Shams Abdallah, 70, came to the Al-Kadhim shrine to anoint herself with henna a symbol of thanks for the death of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi in Iraq. (Geller, 2006)
- A charitable association in Gwailor, India, teaches impoverished girls to do henna, "They are poor girls who wish to learn but beauty parlours charge a fees of Rs. 5,000 which is unaffordable for them. Hence they come here and learn these techniques to perfection," said Dr. Rekha Shere, President, Ankur Women Training Camp." (Pal, 2006)
- In Islamabad, 200,000 devotees came to celebrate the death of Bari Imam, with henna, as the death a Sufi saint is believed to be a marriage with god, and that henna would celebrate the marriage. "Hundreds of people, including transvestites, placed their henna plates at the tomb. The 'hujra' (the room where the saint is buried) was then locked and reopened at 3am, he said. When the plate

of henna was taken back before dawn, said Jafar, the impression of Bari Imam's hand could be seen on it." (Shehzad, 2006)

• "Sheikh Muhammad Hassan Abu-Tir has something every politician craves: Instant recognizability. His long beard dyed bright orange with henna is very conspicuous indeed. Actually it is a religious symbol: The prophet, for whom he is named, used to dye his beard the same way." (Avnery, 2006)

By the beginning of the 21st century, there are abundant sources of data for mapping the geographies of henna. The Google search engine returns 7,010,000 entries for the word "henna", with new inclusions ever week. The farther one goes into the past geographies of henna, the more information will have been lost, so there can never be as thorough a map of henna in the past as present, and the farther past, the less complete it will be.

Maps, such as I have presented in Chapter Four should assist further study of henna and evaluation of historical artifacts. If texts and artifacts are systematically examined for evidence of henna, as proposed in Chapters Two and Three, then mapped, the geographies should help address some of the problems mentioned in Chapter One.