



QUARRYING FOR AUGUSTUS: GEBEL EL-SILSILA AS A SOURCE FOR EARLY ROMAN MONUMENTS AT DENDERA

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a selection of epigraphic documents dispersed over three quarry faces (C11–C13) in the Main Quarry (Q34) at Gebel el-Silsila’s east bank, dating from the reign of the Emperor Augustus. The aim is to describe and decipher the various marks and depictions, and to translate the Demotic and Greek texts, in order to determine for what structure the stone from the quarry was intended. Based on the results, it will be argued that the quarry was the source of blocks used to construct the unfinished enclosure wall, sections of the Roman Mammisi, and plausibly the eastern gate at Dendera. That said, any conclusions at this point must be considered preliminary. Documents included here are part of a corpus of 537 quarry marks and 52 texts displayed over quarry faces C11–13 (with overviews in Appendix 3). The majority of the inscriptions have been unpublished until now. Due to the high number of documents in the collection, however, in this essay a selection has been made based on marks and texts that best communicate a relationship with the temple. A selection of the Dendera quarry mark corpus is presented, as well.

INTRODUCTION

The ancient site of Gebel el-Silsila with its 104 sandstone quarries lies approximately 65 km north of Aswan and is divided into east and west sides by the Nile at its narrowest point. Like many other sites in the Nile Valley, the rock and quarry faces of Gebel el-Silsila were attractive to rupestal inscribers over several millennia ranging from Epipalaeolithic petroglyphs to modern graffiti.¹ The epigraphic documents with which the current paper will be concerned are located on the eastern side of the Nile, dispersed over three quarry faces (C11–C13) in the Main Quarry (Q34), and chronologically associated to the reign of Emperor Augustus. The aim is to

describe and when possible decipher the various marks and depictions on these quarry faces, and to evaluate to what temple structure the stone was extracted for.

Documents included here are part of a larger corpus, which comprises over 5000 graphic marks or symbols—“quarry marks”—and over 800 Greek, Demotic, and Latin texts documented by the Swedish mission, and currently prepared for monographic publication.² Displayed epigraphic material is categorized as “In” (Inscription: text) and “P” (Pictograph: pictorial/quarry mark) followed by recorded inventory number.³ In total 487 textual inscriptions and 3,087 quarry marks have been

recorded in the Main Quarry, of which 190 texts and 1,554 pictorial marks are located within Partition C, with 537 quarry marks and 52 texts displayed over quarry faces C11–13 (quarry marks/texts: C11: 270/34, C12: 202/16, C13: 65/2).⁴ The majority of these epigraphic documents have remained unpublished until now.⁵

Through the semiotics of the quarry marks, and above all their iconographic elements and signification, it will be argued that the quarry section of C11–13 was the source of sandstone blocks used to construct the unfinished enclosure wall, sections of the Roman Mammisi, and plausibly the eastern gate at Dendera. Granting that the three quarry surfaces were not adequate in themselves to produce the volume of stone required for all of the Dendera monuments,⁶ it is estimated that a greater part of Partition C was used for this purpose, which is also indicated in the overall epigraphic documentation.⁷ However, the symbolic relationship is here considered evident in C11–13, for which they have been selected to represent the larger partition. As a consequence, presented herein is a comparison of pictorial marks represented on quarry faces C11–13 and those located on exposed, extracted blocks incorporated into temple structures at Dendera. The material presented is based on preliminary conclusions.

PICTORIAL REPRESENTATIONS (QUARRY MARKS AND DRAWINGS)

The material will be presented below in accordance with pictorial categories, i.e., divine figures (Bes, the Horus-child, Horus the victorious), symbolic marks (harpoons, hourglasses, “lined circles,” etc.), and text graffiti. In APPENDICES 1 (images referred to as P1–13) and 2 (texts referred to as In. 1–30), each entry includes information on field number (inv. no.), state of preservation, bibliography, description, and commentary. Overview facsimiles of the quarry faces with their comprehensive epigraphic corpus are presented in APPENDIX 3.

The material has been studied and processed by the production of analogue acetate combined with digital layer-drawing techniques (Adobe Photoshop and Adobe Illustrator) in situ. Each image was further digitally enhanced and photogrammetry applied in areas where traditional photography was prevented due to poor lighting and/or difficult location. The application of photogrammetry and laser scanning of selected quarry faces and marks have yielded clearly defined reproductions.

PICTORIAL REPRESENTATIONS

BES AND BES-MASKS

Quarry faces C12 and C13 display in total five representations of Bes (none at C11), divided into two categories: 1) anthropomorphic representations (P1–2), and 2) Bes-masks (P3–5). The two anthropomorphic figures are depicted in a standing position, both directed to the right/south. Unconventionally, both figures are represented with regular, straight legs, but their faces display features characteristic of the dwarf-god: a large, flat nose, wide eyes, protuberant ears and a projecting tongue. The figures also hold Roman keys (see definition below). P1 is positioned near a figure of the Horus-child (P12),⁸ while P2 is instead situated in a somewhat isolated position.

The Bes-masks are composed of a rounded face and terminate with the neck.⁹ Facial features include enlarged eyes, emphasised, broad nose, projected tongue, and protruding ears. The upper outlines of the nose continue well above the eyes and create accentuated eyebrows. Bes-mask P5 is more elaborated in its details compared with the other two depictions: it also shows a long beard separated in individual vertical “curls,” and the eyebrows extend downwards, creating a shape reminiscent of curled ram horns. It is possible that the neck-like element of figure P3–4 also represents a (stylised) beard. Two of the three Bes-masks (P4–5) are similarly isolated from any epigraphic context. It is here considered that the emphasised facial features, especially the projected tongue, separate these images from the hieroglyphic sign *hr* (face).

Mask P3 is part of a larger iconographic composition (FIG. 1): it is enclosed within a rectangle that is internally segregated through a perpendicular line and two overlapping horizontal lines. The rectangle may signify the quarry face (with the segments representing individual quarry levels or blocks). Attached to its right is another rectangle, standing on its short end and intersected by a crossed system. Perhaps it represents the physical quarry ledge into which the depiction has been engraved. To the left of the rectangle is an x-like figure, which on its own could be considered a stick-like anthropomorph. However, such an interpretation is highly unlikely here as the pictorial context includes elaborated depictions of gods and creatures. Other alternatives could be the x-like demotic sign *dy* (“here”) or a Greek *chi*, but none is satisfactory. Instead, it is here suggested that the x-figure is to be understood to represent an element of a technical sketch. As such,



FIGURE 1: Technical sketch (?) with Bes-mask.

it is interpreted as an apparatus associated with extraction, and here argued to represent a triple or compound pulley (*trispastos* or *pentaspastos*).¹⁰ Finally, an anthropomorphic figure depicted with avian facial features is added to the composition, identified below as Horus. The entire composition thus contains two divinities, Horus and Bes, placed within a technical sketch signifying the quarry process and perhaps a true event.

Bes-figures are not exclusive to Partition C to which C11–13 belong. For example, there are a few depictions of Bes-masks in the southern part of the Main Quarry (Partition F). Furthermore, the authors have recently published two Bes-figures in quarries Q23 and Q24, interpreted as indicating Bes' role as a protector of quarrymen, preventing mishaps during work and protecting the workers from dangerous reptiles in his role as a defender against evil.¹¹

Traditional Signification of Dwarf-gods

The dwarf-god Bes was an ancient Egyptian god documented in pictorial form since the Old Kingdom and was included in the favoured group of apotropaic deities during the Graeco-Roman period.¹² He is habitually associated with the home, maternity, birth, and children, especially solar deities' offspring, and developed into an oracular god, invoked in magical formulae, and consulted in incubation chambers, such as at Dendera.¹³ Historically, Bes was depicted in portrait, or *en face*/face forward, with a somewhat contorted look and enlarged facial features, including wide eyes, a flat, large nose, protruding, rounded ears, and often a long beard and/or hair.¹⁴ When depicted in a complete anthropomorphic form, he is portrayed with short, bent legs with feet pointing out, wearing a triangular kilt.¹⁵ In more detailed images he is seen wearing a characteristic feather plume and holding

musical instruments, weapons, or apotropaic amulets.¹⁶

Images comparable to those at Gebel el-Silsila have been documented in Hatshepsut's limestone quarry at Qurna¹⁷ and in the sandstone quarry of el-Kilh.¹⁸ Another example was documented in the quarries of el-Hosh, although it was described as the hieroglyphic face-sign.¹⁹ None of these illustrations reveal any clues as to why Bes was favoured by quarrymen.

HORUS THE CHILD

Quarry faces C12 and C13 present three figures here interpreted as the Horus-child: P6 and P12–13. Each figure represents a more detailed iconographic representation compared to those that illustrate Horus (P7–11): two are seated on a throne and the third is perhaps situated in a water-lily barge.²⁰

P6 depicts a falcon-headed anthropomorph wearing the double crown and a *nemes*-wig. The figure is seated on a throne, and is engaged in the harpooning of a crocodile, which is situated below the throne. A snake appears behind the figure's shoulder/neck. The patina on the body is considerably lighter than the quarry surface, and the surrounding area appears rubbed down. To the side is depicted a Roman key. Based on the occurrence of the double crown, *nemes*-wig, falcon features, crocodile, snake, and harpoon, P6 can be identified as the Horus-child, and is comparable to contemporaneous cippi-figures.²¹

P12 is situated to the right of P1, and on a horizontal level equal with P3 and P8. It depicts an anthropomorph with a distinct, open beak, emphasised eye, and a side-lock, seated on a throne and holding a *was*-sceptre. This figure too is interpreted as the Horus-child. The lower part of a harpoon, including its handle, appears superimposed by this figure, perhaps made by another hand. A lined circle appears to the right.

P13 is located on adjacent quarry face C13. Due to a relatively recent attempt to angle grind, the entire scene it is now divided into three stone fragments: together they form an illustration of a nude (?) standing child-like figure holding an ankh and a *was*-sceptre, fronted by a large, blooming water lily with a stalk that curves downwards, perhaps intended to signify a water-lily (or papyrus) barge. The head and facial features are too poorly preserved to make out any details, and it is plausible that any additional upper details, such as a crown, were destroyed

during the looting attempt. To the right of the scene is a series of quarry marks divided in two horizontal lines: the upper line represents (l-r) a pentagram, a lined circle, and a Roman key; the lower line includes a *was*-sceptre, an ankh, a lined circle, a harpoon, and an hourglass. The emphasised water lily and child-like body feature suggest a representation of Horus the child.

The style and form in which the Horus-child appears on the current quarry faces is somewhat different from classical artistic media, being simplified and crude due to the medium, but they retain all of the identifiable iconographical elements that emphasise cosmogony, including *apotropeia* and victory over chaos.²²

Traditional Signification of the Child-God

Horus the child is known by various names, including Harpocrates, Harsiesis, Harsomtus, and Ihy.²³ All children share an iconographic repertoire that consists of juvenile components, including nudity, (reduced) size, and a side-lock.²⁴ Equally, they appear as vanquishers of evil in the shape of harpooners (*msnw*) defeating Seth.²⁵ Through the story of his exceptional birth and the cosmogonic myth of coming forth from primordial waters, the Horus-child is depicted squatting on a water lily, also symbolising the birth of the sun.²⁶ He can be seen wearing various crowns (including the double crown/*pschent* and *nemes*) and holding an ankh or sceptre.²⁷ During the Roman period, the Horus-child was one of the more favoured domestic deities, venerated as a protector in general, and appeared as an *apotropaion* with military paraphernalia or as the cippus.²⁸ All of these elements are accounted for in the three depictions P6 and P12–13.

PACHIMESEN — HORUS THE VICTORIOUS

Five figures are here interpreted as Horus the victorious: P7–P11. P7 is the only detailed depiction, while the others are simplified and stylised representations of Horus dressed in Roman attire, elsewhere seen as a symbol of imperial authority, and considered a conveyor of the victory over chaos.²⁹ The designation applied here, "Horus the victorious," is deliberately vague as the figures represented cannot be specifically identified as either "Horus Behdet," "Horus the Elder," "Horus the Younger," or even "Horakhte." Harpocrates can also not be excluded, as he was frequently depicted with military accoutrements.³⁰ As will be further

demonstrated below, though, “Pachimesen” (see In. 26) was a local form of Horus, associated with the harpoon, and for this reason the various figures described here are interpreted as this divinity.³¹

Figure P7 is the only example of a complete avian representation, shown with a simplified feather pattern and a moustachial stripe descending from the eye, which suggests identification with a falcon. The figure is oriented towards the right/south, and wears the red crown. The outlines are vague, so it is possible that the original image depicted the double crown. The legs and feet are prominent and placed in physical connection with an ankh and a water lily. Slightly behind the bird is a Roman key with its teeth facing upwards. A falcon, the crown, and the water lily also suggest Horus. The presence of the water lily may support a depiction of Horus in his role as the child.

P8 is part of the complex quarrying sketch mentioned above and shows an anthropomorph depicted with avian facial features. The figure holds a shield and a spear (plausibly intended as a harpoon) in his hands, and appears as in motion, even running. As another armoured, imperial figure,³² this image is interpreted as Pachimesen/Horus the victorious in accordance with the group below (P9–11). Such an identification is supported by In. 22, which is a dedication to the tutelary deity of the quarry.³³

P9–11 were depicted with highly stylised anthropomorphic bodies: rectangular-shaped main bodies, stick-like arms and legs, clearly defined feet, a circular head marked with a beak and a centrally placed eye. P10 appears to have spiky hair. All figures are directed towards the right/south and hold a harpoon and a rectangular shield (except for P11, which only holds a harpoon). Based on their Roman attire and more elaborated comparable examples elsewhere in the quarry, these images are interpreted in accordance with P8.

SYMBOLIC QUARRY MARKS

The symbolic, even cryptographic, character of Gebel el-Silsila’s quarry marks has been discussed by the authors elsewhere, and further discussion will appear in a comprehensive monographic corpus.³⁴ As such, only limited commentary will appear here, with a focus on those marks described to a lesser degree previously. In synopsis, their character is comparable with contemporaneous script systems, concrete pictograms, abstract geometrical designs,

etc., and per se can be classified as “pseudo script” or “non-textual marking systems.”³⁵ In summary, three essential categories of signification have been advocated hitherto, comprising practical signs used for transportation and positioning,³⁶ linguistic application,³⁷ and religious implication.³⁸ Terminology and definitions, trivial as they may appear, are direct results of the interpretation of signification, and entwined in conceivable misconceptions. Based on the approximately 5,000 marks analysed at Gebel el-Silsila, it appears that all three categories are accounted for, some concurrently. The field of application for marks explored here focuses on symbolic meanings that signify or identify deities, or perhaps even a combination of the two (i.e., teams working on behalf of or in the name of a certain deity). Listed herein are quarry marks depicting harpoons, keys, lined circles, hourglasses, “mushroom-like” designs, pentagrams, ankhs, and water lilies.

HARPOON

The quarry mark corpus of the northern and eastern parts of the Main Quarry (Partitions A–D) is dominated by harpoons, which comprise more than half of the total number of marks. In the eastern partition (Partition C), to which quarry faces C11–13 belong, 739 harpoons make up 47% of the total amount of marks recorded. For the current three quarry faces, harpoons constitute 55% (C11: 194 harpoons/269 total; C12: 86 harpoons/202 total; C13: 17 harpoons/65 total). Essentially, the harpoon (FIG. 2) is composed of a vertical or horizontal line terminated with a toggle head, and can be compared with the hieroglyphic sign T21A (*m^cb³/m^w3*). Sub-variants are divided in accordance with minor differentiations (morphemes) as regards additional details, such as a handle or attached rope. Due to its characterising additional details, the term “harpoon” is preferred to “arrow.”³⁹ It appears vertically and horizontally, directed upwards, downwards, right or left, individually or in a group.

When in groups at quarry faces C11–13, the harpoon is habitually assembled with other harpoons, hourglasses, and lined circles. As seen above, the harpoon also occurs as an iconographic element in larger composition, held by falcon-headed figures identified as Pachimesen/Horus the victorious. There are also “abbreviated” illustrations of a harpoon etched into the back of a crocodile, excluding the anthropomorph.⁴⁰ All these variations



FIGURE 2: A series of harpoons from C11.

of the harpoon preserve the mark's signification as an abbreviated form of the characteristic scene of Horus triumphant harpooning his enemy, or more precisely as a symbol of the local protector Pachimesen.⁴¹ His name, "Pachimesen,"⁴² means "Pachois, the Harpooner,"⁴³ and its semiotic structure suggests an association with Horus the Elder as "Lord of Mesen" ("Harpoon City"),⁴⁴ while simultaneously connoting Horus the child as "the Harpooner."⁴⁵

The Harpoon Within Temple Blocks

The authors have documented the harpoon as a quarry mark at Edfu, Dendera, Karnak, Kalabsha, and el-Hosh. Three morphemes of the harpoon appear on foundation blocks of the exterior wall of the Temple of Horus at Edfu. There, the context includes tridents, ladder-shaped designs, triangular motifs, offering tables, alphabetic letters, leaf-like

figures, etc. However, although the harpoon is included in the Edfu corpus, the overall context is not comparable to the repertoire represented at Gebel el-Silsila and the currently discussed quarry faces. The harpoon is one of the two most frequent quarry marks at Dendera, habitually (if not exclusively) illustrated with the lined circle, which will be discussed in more detail below.

Two morphemes of the harpoon have also been noted on the first pylon at Karnak Temple, within a quarry mark corpus that includes hourglasses, horned altars, pentagrams, crosses, anks, and crossed squares. As with Edfu, it is evident that the context does not match that of Gebel el-Silsila's C11–13. Documented harpoons at el-Hosh, however, are almost identical with those at Gebel el-Silsila, and are found within a similar context, suggesting that they may have been produced by the same hand or team of workers.⁴⁶

The harpoon is also represented within the quarry mark repertoire in the exterior temple structure at Kalabsha. However, a relationship will not be proposed here, as the Mandulis temple received its stone from the adjacent quarry of Qertassi. That said, the signification may be comparable.

KEYS

Keys occur in a very limited amount (17 examples of 3,087 images in total), distributed over four partitions (A, C, F, and G), ten of which are located within Partition C and eight on the current quarry faces (seven on C12 and one on C13). Stylistically, the object can be categorised as a Roman key, iconographically constructed of a looped lower terminus/handle and one row of three or four teeth (FIG. 3). While it does appear as an individual quarry mark, it is always located in a pictorial context containing lined circles, harpoons, hourglasses and/or imagery associated with Horus, Hathor, and the Horus-child (tutelary deities of Dendera and Edfu).

As the key is absent from any dynastic representations or hieroglyphic signs, it is necessary to examine contemporaneous (early Roman)

iconography and symbolism used in other media. When incorporated into apotropaic images of a “uterine” symbol (see below) on gems and amulets, the key is interpreted as an instrument applied to prevent intrusion.⁴⁷ If indeed related, could the key signify a symbolic intention of protecting the quarry face, i.e., the stone itself?

Keys in Other Quarries and on Temple Blocks

To the authors’ knowledge, there are only two other locations that present a Roman key within the marking repertoire: Kom Ombo and el-Hosh. Ten individual marks were documented on foundation stones during the rescue operations to control the ground water at Kom Ombo temple. Their marking context includes the stylised falcon, also documented at Gebel el-Silsila, and a mark similar to a Greek *beta*.⁴⁸ At the second location, the quarries of el-Hosh, the key is presented in an almost identical context as at Gebel el-Silsila.⁴⁹ Outside of Egypt, a contemporaneous, physical Roman key was discovered during the excavations of the Second Temple quarries of Israel. Its application and significance within a quarry, however, remain ambiguous.⁵⁰



FIGURE 3: Roman key held by Bes, as illustrated on C13.

LINED CIRCLE

What will here be called a “lined circle” is a circle crossed by a vertical or horizontal bar, occasionally confused with the Greek letter theta (Θ).⁵¹ Unlike earlier, dynastic variants, the bar never extends outside the circle.⁵² They appear in 123 examples in all in the Main Quarry, distributed in numbers as follows: Partition A, 8; B, 3; C, 96; D, 13; and F, 3. Overall they comprise only 0.4 % of the total amount of marks in the quarry. There is a noticeable concentration in Partition C with 96 examples, for 78% of all lined circles in the quarry, and 6% of the total amount of marks within Partition C. Of these, 35 examples or approximately 30% of the total are located within the currently analysed quarry faces (C11: 2; C12: 26; C13: 7 examples).

The lined circle appears in two main morphemes, separated by the orientation of the central bar, i.e., vertical versus horizontal. Its iconographical form, regardless of bar orientation, may be—although seemingly unnecessarily—deconstructed into two joined semi-circles.

Lined Circles in Other Quarries and on Temple Blocks

The authors have documented the lined circle in Elephantine, Edfu, Dendera, Philae, el-Tod, and el-Hosh. It is found on the Temple terrace of Khnum at Elephantine, but always in the older, dynastic style, where the bar extends outside the circle. The bar at Elephantine is always placed horizontally. Edfu Temple displays a couple of marks that may be related to the lined circle: a half-circle resting on its horizontal bar, which protrudes at one or both ends. There is also a full circle engraved with a small cross in its centre. However, no mark is identical to those at C11–13. Another temple that has a documented lined circle (vertical bar) is Philae, which, however, will not be dealt with here since its stone derives from the Qertassi quarry. Its relevance and signification, though, may be connected with the marks at Gebel el-Silsila and Dendera. A circle with a crossed vertical and horizontal line is preserved on the blocks of the Temple of el-Tod. Its context includes water lilies, offering tables, an hourglass, an ankh, a sign similar to the Greek *eta*, and a stylised falcon. Also, as mentioned above, the lined circle appears with the harpoon in the quarries of el-Hosh, and it is one of the more frequent marks displayed on the sandstone blocks at Dendera, generally occurring with the harpoon. The bar remains within the circle, and is documented in both morphemes.⁵³

“HOURGLASSES”

This mark is given the label “hourglass” on the basis of its physical similarity to a modern triangular-shaped hourglass. The term is applied chiefly because its ancient geometric form cannot be identified in either contemporary script or (concrete) iconography. When mentioned within ancient Egyptian non-textual marking systems the mark is habitually categorized within the larger group of “abstract” or “geometric” marks, as it lacks any “iconic or metonymic meaning,” and interpretations of signification are fully dependant on contextual information.⁵⁴

The Main Quarry displays a total of 264 hourglasses (8.5% of the total amount of quarry marks) occurring in all partitions but one (G). Of these, 169 examples are located within Partition C, with 60 examples (35.5% of the total amount of hourglasses in the quarry) incised into the current quarry faces C11–13. They are distributed as follows: C11: 32; C12: 23; C13: 5.

The hourglass is also depicted in various contemporaneous quarries on the east and west banks alike. An intriguing instance is a headless (fractured) sphinx overlooking the Nile from the east bank: along its various fracture lines is found a remarkable series of hourglasses as if to symbolically repair or hold together the statue (FIG. 4). On the west bank it is depicted in a similar combination as here, with lined circles and harpoons. Currently, the hourglass remains ambiguous, although a unifying or restorative aspect has been argued previously.⁵⁵ Elsewhere, when the hourglass has been incised on pre-fired pottery, it has been interpreted as a mark used for administration or logistics.⁵⁶

Hourglasses in Other Quarries and Temple Architecture

The hourglass is one of the oldest marks displayed in quarries and within temple architecture throughout temporal and geographical space, both in and outside of Egypt. The authors have documented the mark in quarries and temples from at least the early 18th Dynasty, with examples in Hatshepsut’s quarries at Qurna, at the Luxor temple, Karnak, the Ramesseum, Seti I’s temple at Qurna, the Khonsu Temple at Karnak, Abydos, the ninth and tenth pylons at Karnak, the hypostyle hall at Karnak, and the Temple of Ramesses III at Karnak. Contemporaneous Graeco-Roman examples are found on the temple terrace of Khnum at Elephantine, at Dendera, Edfu, el-Tod, Medamoud,



FIGURE 4: Detail of hourglass marks at the rear end of Gebel el-Silsila sphinx.

the Opet temple at Karnak, the Ptolemaic (second) pylon at Karnak and at Qasr al-Aguz. Legrain documented the hourglass in a related marking context at el-Hosh, although he refrained from designating it.⁵⁷

The Kalabsha and Philae temples also display a series of hourglasses, although on stone provided for by the quarry at Qertassi. Similarly, hourglasses are carved into the blocks of the Kharga Oasis temple of Qasr al-Ghweita, and the Fayyum Oasis temple of Karanis. In addition, several hourglass marks were found in Nectanebo's quarries at el-Bersha.⁵⁸

"MUSHROOM-LIKE" DESIGNS (UTERINE?)

Another intriguing quarry mark included herein has a form that physically resembles a mushroom, with

a plant or branch that springs up from its top (FIG. 5). Three such designs are depicted in Partition C, with two on C12 and another one in Partition D, making four marks in total in the main quarry.

The mushroom-like mark is often depicted next to a Roman key.⁵⁹ Such an iconographic amalgamation is recognised on later artistic media (amulets and lamellae) as uterine symbolism: the key was alleged to open and close the womb of a woman.⁶⁰ The more frequent reference is to the wandering womb of women as characterised by Plato in a cosmogonical passage of the *Timaeus* (91b–e). However, rather than Plato's wandering womb, it is post-Hippocratic references to an inner daemon of women that may be of relevance here. According to this theory, the womb is a "wild animal" with frenetic needs and

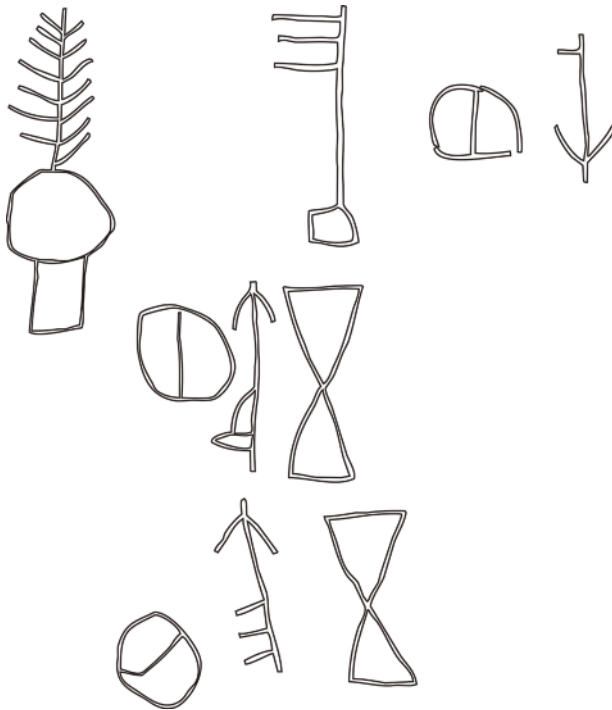


FIGURE 5: Uterine mark (upper left corner) in series of quarry marks on C12.

desires.⁶¹ In an Egyptian mythological setting, such a fearful description resonates with the story of Hathor in which she rages against her father and in her manifestation as Sekhmet becomes the blood-lusting, intoxicated “lady of terror.”⁶² Furthermore, a frantic and daemon-like state was called for during rituals associated with Ihy, the son and adherent of Hathor at Dendera, in which the priests, as the physical embodiment of Ihy, are said to have chanted and rattled the sistra in an almost hysterical mode to call upon the spirit of Hathor.⁶³ To the authors’ knowledge, there are no other documented “uterine” symbols elsewhere in Egypt.

PENTAGRAMS

The pentagram appears as a symbol within most ancient civilizations, including the Egyptian,⁶⁴ and on various artistic media, so it comes as no surprise to find the five-pointed star incorporated in the quarry mark corpus of Gebel el-Silsila. Thirty-three examples are recorded within the main quarry,

thirteen of which are located in Partition C, with two at C13. There is no uniform pattern of orientation; the star is illustrated standing on two points, on one, or leaning. The two stars that are represented on C13, however, are uniform in appearance, and both placed standing on two points. Both examples are situated within a longer series of quarry marks, each composed of a combination containing lined circles, harpoons, and hourglasses. The first series also includes a *was*-sceptre, ankh, and a key, and is located next to the illustration of the Horus-child.

In addition to its role as an ideogram for the celestial body of a star, i.e. *sb*,⁶⁵ the pentagram was considered a fertility or prosperity symbol.⁶⁶ It has been found as an amulet placed above the neck and stomach of the deceased.⁶⁷

Pentagrams in other quarries and temple architecture

The pentagram is incorporated in the quarry mark repertoire of the temple terrace at Elephantine, the Isis temple at Dendera, and at Karnak. Two examples were recorded at el-Hosh, although one was written as a sign in a hieroglyphic text.⁶⁸

WATER LILIES

The water lily is represented in 20 examples in the main quarry, of which 13 are situated in Partition C, with three illustrations on the quarry faces (one at C11, two at C13). The water lilies represented in the main quarry include a certain degree of detail, such as stems and several petals. This can be placed in comparison with examples from other quarries at Gebel el-Silsila, where the flower is constructed stylistically as a semicircle with its flat edge upwards, upon which two triangles form the bloom.

The water lily is conventionally associated with mother goddesses, such as Hathor, Nut, or Isis, who gives birth to the sun god (the Horus-child) each morning.⁶⁹ It symbolised the daily journey of the solar disc, and as the personification of the morning sun, it signified rebirth and rejuvenation.⁷⁰

Water Lilies in Other Quarries and Temple Architecture

The Edfu corpus does not contain a water-lily mark *per se*, but does display a couple of leaf-like marks composed of a horizontal bar terminating with two leaves at each end. The Graeco-Roman Temple of el-Tod displays a few examples of stylised water lilies, as does the Khonsu Temple at Karnak. Additionally, a diamond-shaped water lily is represented on the eastern wall of the Isis Temple at Dendera.

ANKHS

The Main Quarry presents a total of 176 ankhs, ca. 5% of the total amount of quarry marks. They occur in all partitions but B and E. The highest concentration of ankhs is within the southern partitions (F and G), which contain almost 90% of them, while Partition C only displays nine marks, of which two are situated at C12 and one at C13. The ankh is generally depicted as its hieroglyphic forerunner, although double outlines occur, as does a triangular-shaped lower part. The ankhs displayed on C12 are surrounded by harpoons and a cross, respectively. The C13 ankh is grouped with a *was*-sceptre, pentagram, lined circles, a harpoon, key, and an hourglass. They are always placed upright in agreement with the hieroglyphic sign.

There is nothing within the present context, textual or pictorial, that indicates a signification

different from the traditional reading of this hieroglyphic sign, i.e., relating to life. An example was published previously of a rebus-like composition of quarry marks noted in Partition G (FIG. 6), in which the ankh was depicted to the right of a large bird—an ostrich or perhaps an ibis—standing victorious above a horned viper. The scene was interpreted as a person’s gratitude towards Thoth (if an ibis) or Amun (if an ostrich) for having protected (i.e., kept alive!) the devotee from the treacherous serpent for which Gebel el-Silsila is infamous.⁷¹

Ankhs in Other Quarries and Temple Architecture

The ankh is one of the more frequent marking designs and is represented in almost all temples and quarries where marking systems have been found. It appears in at least eight different morphemes



FIGURE 6: Marking rebus with ostrich/ibis standing victorious above a horned viper, with an ankh on the right.

and/or positions within the temple blocks of Khnum's terrace at Elephantine and in four variants in the Hathor Temple at Dendera. The Karnak Temple includes a number of variations, including the triangular-shaped extremity, an upside-down example on the ramp in front of the 1st pylon, and a regular type in the Hypostyle hall. One ankh is placed upside-down at el-Tod, and three morphemes can be noted in the small Isis Temple of Deir el-Shelouit. Legrain reported several variations at el-Hosh, again within a comparable marking context as at Gebel el-Silsila.⁷² The temple of Kalabsha includes one ankh design, while Philae has it in four different directions.

TEXTUAL MATERIAL C11–13

The Demotic and Greek texts of C11–13 are mainly names with filiation or *proskynemata* with variants of the formula “may his name remain here before Pachimesen, the Pshay of the quarry.” Some texts abbreviate the formula and only mention the Pshay, but may still refer to Pachimesen.⁷³ The handwriting of the texts—particularly those that contain only names and filiations—is often clumsy, and one can find a significant number of graphical mistakes. In. 25, for example, contains a name followed by an illegible formula, which demonstrates clearly that the author was able to write his name, but not the rest of the text.

The inscriptions included herein do not provide any date tied to a specific ruler, but the mention of years 13 and 21, combined with adjacent (on quarry face C8) references to persons known from elsewhere—such as Pamenekh, the *stratêgos*—suggests that these texts were written during the reign of Augustus.⁷⁴ An early Roman date is further supported by some typical palaeographical features, such as noted in In. 17. The catalogue published here as APPENDIX 2 contains a selection of texts based on their correspondence to the topic of this paper.

DISCUSSION OF THE GEBEL EL-SILSILA REPERTOIRE

Presented in this paper are various anthropomorphic figures and symbolic marks intended to be deciphered and understood. A selection of the figures, such as the falcon wearing the double crown, is presented with characteristic iconographic elements and details that allow identification: i.e., the falcon may be interpreted as Horus. However, any such interpretations must be seen as guidelines rather than absolute identifications: i.e., the falcon-

god has several local variants or divine “aspects” derived from the original form, exemplified here in the local protective falcon-deity Pachimesen at Gebel el-Silsila. Even with a clarifying text dedicated to Pachimesen, Horus the victorious or Horus the child may have been the main deity referred to.

HORUS THE CHILD

Some of the anthropomorphs included herein have already been interpreted as representations of Horus the victorious and the Horus-child, respectively. One of the more intriguing figures deserving further consideration is P6, the crowned, falcon-headed “king” seated on a throne, victorious over the harpooned crocodile. This figure has a strong resemblance to the contemporaneous apotropaic cippi-representations believed to safeguard the owner from dangerous animals, particularly reptiles. As such, the Horus-child is represented in a victorious position—as “Horus the Savior”—holding snakes and scorpions, while triumphant over one or several crocodiles. The term “cippus” refer to stelae of “Horus on the crocodile,” and the key element is the victory over evil, or, rather, the wish to be protected from/treated for bites and stings from perilous creatures. Traditionally, water was poured over the cippus; the water was then believed to become infused with magical power from the god, after which it was drunk to treat or cure the person.⁷⁵ The cippus engraved into the vertical quarry face at Gebel el-Silsila was presumably not placed there in order to receive libations, but the rubbed and lightened surface of his body and surrounding space may indicate that the workers conducted a similar ritualistic act of either pouring water or simply rubbing for protection/treatment. Thus, the purpose of the Gebel el-Silsila cippus can be considered identical to that of the traditional stelae.

Closely related to the cippi-theme is the adjacent figure of the Horus-child, P12, depicted with a side-lock and seated on a throne. Cippi-stelae generally illustrate the god with such a side-lock to indicate his youth, and the presence of a throne and a *was*-sceptre in this scene emphasises his victorious and ruling role. His youth is further underlined by the presence of the dwarf-god depicted immediately to his left (P1), another frequent iconographical element in the cippi-stelae. At this point, it would be useful to summarise the iconographical elements habitually represented in the traditional cippi-scenes.

HORUS ON THE CROCODILES

There are no two cippi identical with each other, but, drawing on a selection of traditional cippi-stelae, it is clear that they all are characterised by a centrally placed Horus-child, who holds in his hands a series of dangerous animals, such as snakes and scorpions, and stands on crocodiles.⁷⁶ The child is depicted naked and with a side-lock. Surmounting the child is generally the head of the dwarf-god Bes in his role as protector of infants and childbirth. To the sides are typically representations of a water lily (sometimes accompanied by a papyrus plant) and a falcon. More detailed cippi-stelae also include registers showing victorious scenes in which Horus harpoons the enemy.⁷⁷

Returning to the illustrations at Gebel el-Silsila, several images can be linked to the overall cippi-theme. Two main characters have been identified above; both are seated on a throne with unique iconographical elements to suggest identification with the Horus-child.

The dangerous animals—a snake and a crocodile—have already been discussed above, and mention has been made of Bes. From a wider perspective, the second figure of Bes (P2) is located on the same horizontal level, to the left of Horus on the crocodile. In addition, Horus on the crocodile holds a harpoon, which represents the victorious aspect. Located to his right is the depiction of a falcon, P7, joined to a blooming water lily. Harpoons, lined circles, and keys complete the context. Put together, all these elements compose a scene identical to those on the cippi-stelae.

The motivation for the workers to engrave cippi-related images in the Main Quarry is rather simple and understandable: it reflects their wish to stay alive in a very harsh and dangerous environment. Present day archaeologists and local workers at Gebel el-Silsila face horned vipers and cobras, and occasionally are stung by scorpions, as the site remains a home to various dangerous animals. Comparing now to then, the ancient workers would also have had to handle the treacherous crocodiles and hippopotami (and without modern medicine!)

HORUS THE VICTORIOUS

The Horus-imagery at Gebel el-Silsila obviously does not end with the cippi, but figure P6 can be used as a tool for deciphering the hundreds of harpoons that adorn the quarry faces. P6 represents a complete scene, in which the harpoon is merely an

element to demonstrate the nature of the signification: i.e., victory over evil. The armoured images of Pachimesen (P8–11) also hold harpoons, which together with their shields indicate protection.⁷⁸ Other examples on site show an abridged form in a harpooned crocodile,⁷⁹ whereas the examples on quarry faces C11–13 take this to an extreme in depicting the harpoon unaccompanied. The intent, however, remains the same. To these detailed scenes and singular harpoon symbols alike can be added the several references made to Pachimesen, including that in text In. 26. In the myth of Horus at Edfu the importance of the harpoon as the weapon used to slay all the enemies is highlighted.⁸⁰ It eventually became a symbol of victory *per se*. Thus, it can be concluded that the harpoon as a symbol signified Horus the triumphant regardless of any iconographical context.

A UNIQUE DRAWING

Located adjacent to the seated Horus-child and Bes-figure mentioned above is a scene that requires further elaboration. Included in the scene is another image of the armoured Horus (P8), a Bes-mask (P4), and an enclosing rectangle, suggested above as a representation of a technical sketch of the quarrying process. The armoured figure was hypothesized as an illustration of Pachimesen, i.e., Horus; but is it possible to expand the signification to encompass an impersonation of the pharaoh, i.e., the earthly manifestation of Horus? If so, attention should be paid to the figure's position, i.e., running. Depictions of a pharaoh in motion are traditionally associated with *heb-sed* rituals,⁸¹ but similar behaviour was also involved during the construction of a new temple.⁸² As we have demonstrated elsewhere, the individual quarries at Gebel el-Silsila acted as microcosms carrying the essence of the temples for which stone was extracted, and as the quarries were the source of sacredness, it may be argued that a ritual was performed already at the time of extraction.⁸³ Thus this sketch may represent a unique drawing that commemorates or signifies a royal ritual that included features of the pharaoh marking the area, or even "running" around the boundary markers, and devoted to the commencement of a new temple: perhaps one of the structures at Dendera.

HATHOR?

It is apparent that Pachimesen had a unique significance within Partition C of the Main Quarry,

which is demonstrated in the depiction of hundreds of harpoons at C11–13. There, the harpoon is frequently paired with lined circles, and in larger structures containing pentagrams, *was*-sceptres, keys, and hourglasses, along with representations of Horus the child, the armoured vanquisher, as well as the dwarf-god Bes and his mask. Textually, In. 17 designates the quarry as that of Hathor, and adjacent In. 30 describes it as a “cliff of the valuable stone” belonging to the “House of Hathor,” i.e., describing Hathor as the protective goddess of the quarry (Partition C as a whole). There are also repeated references to Horus, and to Edfu, in In. 17 and In. 30. Could the texts have any relevance for the decipherment of the lined circle?

In order to understand the mark, it is helpful to consider a symbolic forerunner, as non-textual marks often contained elements of concurrent or earlier written languages or iconography.⁸⁴ One such potential precursor advocated here is the hieroglyphic sign N9 *psdn/psdn.wyt*, which represents a moon with its lower half obscured.⁸⁵ The *psdn*-sign was applied as a determinative or logogram for the New Moon festival, which took place at the end of the month when the declining crescent had moved so close to the rising sun that only the sun could be seen at dawn (*psdn.tjw*).⁸⁶ The conjunction was also relevant for the annual festival of the ἕροῦς γ μος between Horus and Hathor, known as *h³b shn nfr*, “the beautiful embrace” or “the beautiful reunion.”⁸⁷ The festival took place during the process of the new moon waxing into fullness, culminating in Hathor’s arrival at Edfu on the day of the new moon (*psdn.tjw*) in the third month of Epiphi.⁸⁸ It has also been proposed that Hathor made another annual journey to Edfu during the month of Paophi, during which she would encircle the main temple before entering the Mammisi and there spend seven days with Horus, Harsomtut, and the Horus Harpoon.⁸⁹ In this role, Hathor has the epithets “the Beautiful One who appears in the disk of the moon” (*‘n.t h^cw m itn n i^ch*), as well as “Lady of the new moon” (*nb.t psdntjw*).⁹⁰ The symbolic relation between Hathor and the new moon is evident, and the lined circle is here interpreted as a symbol of the new moon *and* Hathor of Dendera.

SYMBOLS OF COSMOLOGY—SYMBOLS OF DENDERA?

If one accepts the harpoon as an abbreviation for Horus, the lined circle as one for Hathor, and the repeated attestation of the Horus-child surrounded

by water lilies and pentagrams, an overall cosmological signification is unfolded. Additional iconographical elements advocating such a cosmogonic connotation include the presence of Bes-figures, as well as the mark described above with uterine symbols accentuating the solar birth theme. If one accepts the identification of a uterine symbol, could it possibly explain the meaning of the Roman keys connected with the Bes-figures?

Bes is generally acknowledged as a protector of pregnant women, childbirth, and infants. Similarly, the key depicted with uterine symbols in later artistic media is described as connected with “...either the promotion or the prevention of conception...,”⁹¹ and the vessel is seen as a “conventionalized representation of the uterus [...] and ... the lines proceeding from its top represent the Fallopian tubes.”⁹² Two deities are frequently depicted on magical gems with uterine symbols: the Horus-child and Bes. Recalling from above the reference to frantic activity during Ihy-related rituals at Dendera, and combining this with the figures and symbols engraved into the quarry faces of C11–13, could the uterine mark pertain to Hathor and her son at the time of pregnancy or incubation? If so, the Horus-child would represent the daemon in the womb, protected and guided by Bes (through the key), and the rebus could be deciphered as follows: Hathor/womb, Horus-child/daemon, Bes/key. If this is correct, the combination of Hathor (as a patron goddess of physicians), Dendera (with its sanatorium and incubation treatment), and a theology with daemon-like and sexual features, the Egyptian uterine symbolism may have sparked the interest of contemporaneous Greek physicians, and later metamorphosed into an apotropaic symbol used to “cure” and “control” hysterical women. With or without reference to wandering wombs, the figures and symbols engraved at C11–C13 are here interpreted as having an overall cosmological significance. Hathor of Dendera, Horus of Edfu, the Horus-child and the Harpoon make up the central story, supported by Bes. However, to understand the quarry’s relation to the temple for which the stone was predestined, it is crucial to summarise the marking system present at Dendera.⁹³

DENDERA QUARRY MARK REPERTOIRE

The term “quarry mark” may appear absurd when applied to marks incised into blocks already extracted, transported and finally erected into their





final structural location, but identifiable parallels between structure marks and quarry marks indicate that these marks were engraved already prior to transportation—or at least by the same producer. Certainly, they were engraved via the same method, by the same tool, and carry an identical signification as argued here. The exposed sides of the marked blocks retain the abrasive surface created by the stonemasons’ tools, corresponding with the tool grooves preserved within the original quarry. Their placement within the temple structures at Dendera, and a recurrent lack of corresponding marks, indicates that they were not placed there for the purpose of indicating structural destination, or applied as benchmarks. Supporting the theory of the production of marks already in the quarry is a series of marks that have been partially erased in the process of dressing blocks, found on the unfinished enclosure wall and in the main temple.

Three main areas display a concentration of marks at Dendera: the eastern gate (northern and southern surfaces), the unfinished enclosure wall, and the eastern wall of the Isis Temple. In addition, the authors noted singular or a few marks on the Roman kiosk foundations, the northern gate, the Roman Mammisi foundations, the Ptolemaic Mammisi foundations, the sacred lake, and on exposed, undecorated (but sometimes semi-dressed) blocks inside of the Temple of Hathor, primarily on the staircase wall on the upper level. The more congested areas will be described below, and the tables will present the marks in accordance with categories, types, and amount. Categorisation is based on the combination of marks as well as the marks’ orientation: using category 1 as an example, we see a combination of a harpoon turned downwards, with its handle on the left side, and a lined circle with a horizontal bar. There are fifteen categories in total.

ROMAN MAMMISI

Located on rough blocks on the enclosure wall surrounding the Roman Mammisi, several quarry marks were found, including four variations combining harpoons and lined circles (TABLE 1), and a total of fourteen pairs/twenty-eight marks. Additionally, three pairs of harpoons and lined circles were located on the foundation blocks of the sanctuary itself.

TABLE 1: Variations of quarry mark combinations, Roman Mammisi.

CATEGORY	QUARRY MARKS	AMOUNT
1		11
5		3
6		1
7		2
TOTAL		17

UNFINISHED ENCLOSURE WALL

The highest concentration of quarry marks at Dendera is found on the low, unfinished enclosure wall surrounding the main Hathor Temple. These consistently display a combination of lined circles and harpoons. The marks are placed facing inwards towards the Temple of Hathor as well as away from it, on surfaces in all cardinal directions (TABLE 2).












TEMPLE OF HATHOR

Additional marks are found on the foundation stones of the main Temple of Hathor, although with a different marking repertoire: there chiefly tridents are depicted, placed in various orientations.⁹⁴ Other marks are represented within the main structure itself, visible on blocks exposed due to (semi-) modern damage, or left undecorated along the stairway and roof walls. These include a marking repertoire of offering tables, ankhs, horned altars, Greek alphabetic letters, cosmological signs, etc. The majority, however, have been partially or almost completely erased due to dressing of the surface.

TEMPLE OF ISIS

Quarry marks have been incised on the eastern (FIG. 7a–b) and southern exterior walls of the Isis Temple south of the main Hathor Temple. The mark repertoire includes unique composition marks

TABLE 2: Variations of quarry mark combinations, unfinished enclosure wall, Temple of Hathor, *continued on next page.*

WESTERN WALL		
CATEGORY	QUARRY MARKS	AMOUNT (PAIRS)
1		5
2		2
3		5
4		6
5		1
9		1
10		1
11		1
12		1
13		1
14		1
		TOTAL: 25 (53 marks/58 in total, including single marks)












SOUTHERN WALL		
CATEGORY	QUARRY MARKS	AMOUNT (PAIRS)
1		3
3		2
4		3
8		1
		TOTAL: 9 (18 marks/23 in total, including single marks)
EASTERN WALL		
1		3
4		2
5		2
6		3
15		3
		TOTAL: 13 (29/60 in total, including single marks)

TABLE 2: Variations of quarry mark combinations, unfinished enclosure wall, Temple of Hathor, *continued from previous page.*

NORTHERN FOUNDATIONS		
CATEGORY	QUARRY MARKS	AMOUNT (PAIRS)
5		2
1		1
TOTAL: 3		
(6 marks/10 in total, including single marks)		
TOTAL NUMBER OF COMBINATIONS:		50
TOTAL NUMBER OF QUARRY MARKS, INCLUDING SINGLE MARKS:		151

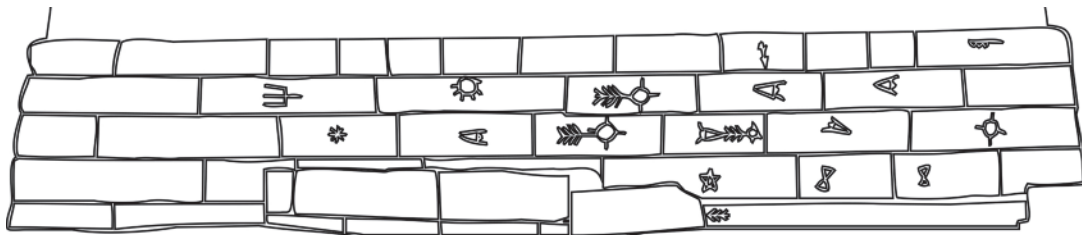
constructed by a combination of triangular-shaped figures, palm fronds or trees, and a sun or a palm frond joined with a sun. In general, the marking system here appears cosmological (sun disk with varying number of rays, pentagram, solar wheel), while some are geometrical (triangular-based figures, hourglasses, etc.). Also included are a trident, harpoon, and palm fronds or a tree, plus a few marks which cannot be convincingly classified. There is no clear spatial arrangement to suggest a function as ‘positioning marks.’

FIGURE 7: **A:** Eastern exterior wall of the Temple of Isis. The rough, undressed blocks are outlined, and quarry marks accentuated. **B:** Facsimile detail of the marks.

A



B



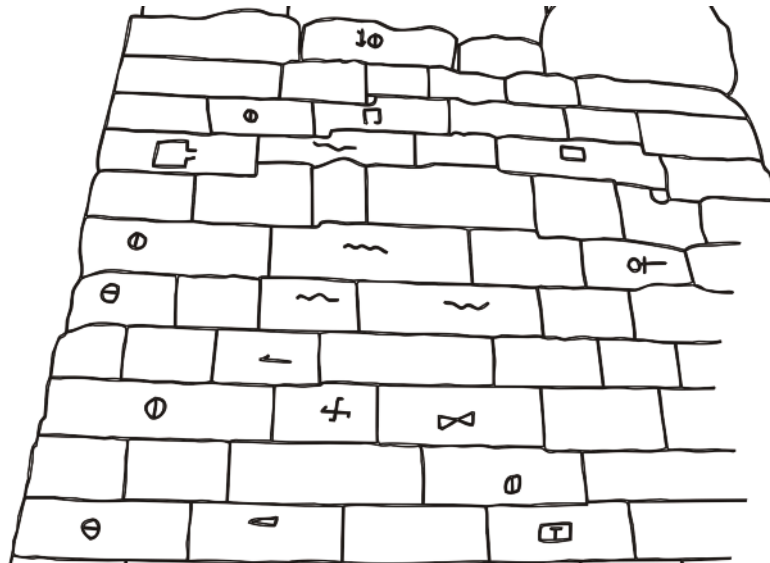
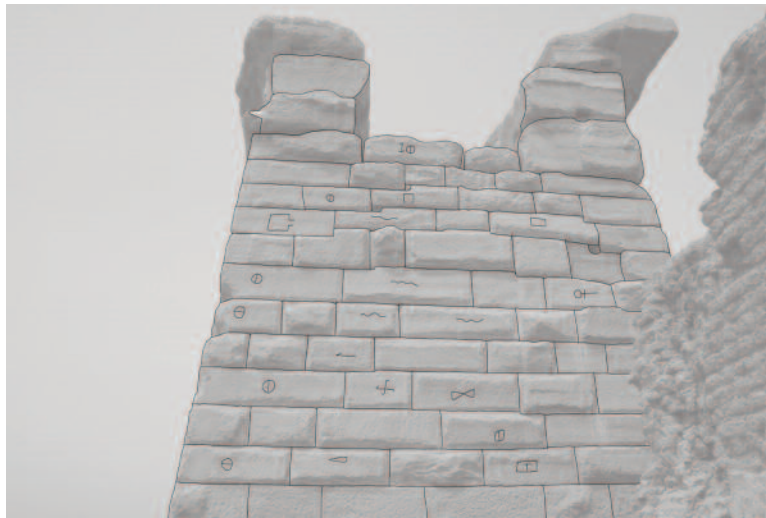


FIGURE 8: A: South-facing central thickness with blocks and quarry marks accentuated. The second rectangle with a *tau* is not included in the drawing (located below, to the right, and touching the mudbrick wall). B: Facsimile.

EASTERN GATE

In addition to the eastern exterior wall of the Isis Temple, the eastern gate, with its south- and north-facing central thickness, presents the greatest application and variation of quarry marks at Dendera. These have a temporal correlation with Partition C of the Main Quarry at Gebel el-Silsila.

Marks on the northern side were described by previous scholars as “emblem-decoration,”⁹⁵ and are located on the higher level of rough blocks. Not previously specified, these include two snake- or wave-like patterns, one trident, two angles, one *chi*/X, and two *betas*, but also five lined circles, two water lilies, and a combination of a lined circle and

harpoon: in total 16 marks, each one comparable with representations documented at Gebel el-Silsila. Located on the upper levels of the south-facing side (FIG. 8a–b) are twenty-two marks: six lined circles, one harpoon, one swastika, one offering table, one hourglass, one triangle, one square, three rectangles (including one inscribed with a *tau*), five snake- or wave-like patterns, and one ankh, as well as a combination of a lined circle and harpoon similar to what is found on the blocks of the unfinished enclosure wall. There is no apparent precognitive coordination or intentional spatial relation between the marks as would be anticipated if they had been applied as “positioning marks.” If the marks at Gebel el-Silsila are temporal indicators for the Dendera marks, it may be suggested that the eastern gate was constructed by Augustus or at the latest by Tiberius.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of this paper was to compare a series of quarry marks documented on the three quarry faces C11–13 in the Main Quarry at Gebel el-Silsila with marks incised into the sandstone blocks at Dendera for the purpose of evaluating the quarry as the source of stone for the temple. Included in the Gebel el-Silsila repertoire was a series of illustrations divided into figural depictions, i.e., anthropomorphs, and symbolic marks, such as the lined circle, harpoon, and hourglass. It was argued that the figural representations in the quarry communicated a relationship between Hathor (lined circle), Pachimesen/Horus (falcon and armoured figures), the Horus-child (cippus, figure with side-lock, and standing figure with water lily), and Bes (figures, masks, key). The harpoon was furthermore interpreted as an abbreviation for Horus in his victorious role, but may also signify the Harpoon itself as the venerated object of divine status that received a room in its own honour at Edfu. There are two main sanctuaries that may have had a connection to this combination of divinities: Edfu and Dendera. However, due to the presence of Bes and the textual reference to the House of Hathor, it is here suggested that the associated temple is Dendera.

At Dendera various temple structures bear marks similar to those presented at Gebel el-Silsila. This is quite noticeable in the combination of lined circles and harpoons, especially on the unfinished enclosure wall and the Roman Mammisi. It is here

proposed that Partition C in the Main Quarry at Gebel el-Silsila was the source of stone for the construction and/or restoration of these monuments during the reign of Augustus.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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- Demot Nb* Lüddeckens, Erich, Heinz-Josef Thissen, W. Brunsch, G. Vittmann, and K.-Th. Zauzich. 1980–. *Demotisches Namenbuch*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- LÄ* Helck, W., E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds.) 1975–1992. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- TM* Trismegistos: An Interdisciplinary Portal of Papyrological and Epigraphical Resources. < <https://www.trismegistos.org/> >, accessed 13 May 2019.
- Wb* Erman, A. and W. Grapow. 1926–1963. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

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NOTES

- 1 For a synopsis of visitors' graffiti and rock art at Gebel el-Silsila, see Nilsson and Ward 2016, and Nilsson, Faraman and Said 2019.
- 2 For terminological considerations and motivation in favour of the generic term "quarry mark" to encompass all non-textual, historical markings (disregarding prehistoric rock art) at Gebel el-Silsila simply because the marks, regardless of signification or type of execution, are all located within or adjacent with a quarry, see Nilsson 2015a, 87–88.
- 3 The classification system has proven more effective, adequate and adjustable than Legrain's method as it enables later additions to a quarry face without disorganising the complete quarry records. Many of Legrain's original chalk numbers are still visible on the quarry faces and show a traditional numerical system. Any graffiti found later were appended to the closest recorded number with the abbreviation ADD. Spiegelberg reorganised Legrain's original number system in Preisgke and Spiegelberg 1915.
- 4 The texts include 155 Greek, 1 Latin, and 330 Demotic inscriptions, as well as 1 pseudo-script inscription.
- 5 See, however, Preisgke and Spiegelberg 1915,

- who published a small selection of this material.
- 6 Each quarry face reaches almost 40 m high, and together they form an area of over 30,000 cubic meters, which may have produced as much as 83,000 tonnes of sandstone. C11 alone is more than 20 m wide and 40 m high, within which 55 vertical (height) levels and 16 horizontal (width) levels of extraction can be traced, providing an average of ca. 62 cm x 158 cm after removing the ca. 10 cm used for trench cutting. The depth is generally similar in size to either the height or the width, but there are no standard sizes to quote as the workers followed the natural stratification or fissures. C11 alone could have produced almost 900 blocks per vertical face extraction.
- 7 Quarry faces C6–C15.
- 8 For Bes' role and relationship with the Horus-child, see Malaise 1990.
- 9 E.g., see Volokhine 1994.
- 10 See Wilson 2008, 344–434.
- 11 On this subject see Nilsson forthcoming. See also Leclant 1984.
- 12 E.g., Romano 1980; Malaise 1990.
- 13 J. F. Romano 1998: 89; Kraemer 2013. At Dendera Bes was celebrated with an annual festival known as the Besia, presumably connected with the birth of Hathor's son. On this, see Frankfurter 1998, 128, with further references in n. 106.
- 14 E.g., Malaise 1990.
- 15 Romano 1980, 64–69; Romano 1989; Romano 1998, 96–97, 100–101.
- 16 Kraemer 2013, 1102. For Bes-depictions on magical gems, see Bonner 1950, 8, 24–25, 79, 85, 90 and 157–158.
- 17 Nilsson 2015a, 94 fig. 19; Nilsson 2018, 125.
- 18 Klemm and Klemm 2008, 175–176 with fig. 263.
- 19 Legrain 1906, 24 no. 74, pl. III no. 74.
- 20 The term “water lily” is used here rather than “lotus” in accordance with the discussion in Pommerening, Marinova, and Hendrickx et al. 2010.
- 21 Nilsson 2015a: 100–101 with figs. 26a–b; Nilsson 2018, 128. See also Seele 1947.
- 22 Ritner 1989; Frankfurter 1998, 3; Gasse 2004.
- 23 Dunand and Zivie-Coche 1991, 40–41.
- 24 Children and youths were distinguished from adults by their smaller size and habitually measure half the size of the adults. See Nilsson 2010, Chapter III.7, esp. 346.
- 25 E.g., Fairman 1935.
- 26 Cristea 2014, 116. For this representation on magical gems, see Bonner 1950, Chapter X.
- 27 See Nilsson 2010, 445–449.
- 28 E.g., Dunand 1979.
- 29 Frankfurter 1998, 3–4.
- 30 See, for example, British Museum EA 37518: Harpocrates is bald with a side-lock, wearing Macedonian armour, a scale-decorated cuirass over a tunic, with *pteryges*, and short sleeves. He holds a spear in his right hand and a small round shield on his left arm.
- 31 Nilsson 2015a, 100–101 with figs. 26a–b; Nilsson 2018, 127–130. See also Blackman and Fairman 1944; Finnestad 1983, 15; Sweeney 2002, 154.
- 32 E.g., Grenier 1978, 408.
- 33 For the application of Pshay as a determinative for Pachimesen, see Nilsson, Ward, Doherty and Almásy 2015, 154 with n. 27. See also APPENDIX 2, In. 26.
- 34 Nilsson 2014; Nilsson and Ward 2014; Nilsson 2015a; Nilsson and Almásy 2015; Nilsson, Ward, Almásy and Doherty 2015; Nilsson and Ward 2017.
- 35 E.g., Haring 2000; Aston 2009; Fronczak and Rzepka 2009; Haring 2009.
- 36 Arnold 1990; Aston 2015.
- 37 Legrain 1906, 17–26, pls. I–II; Gosline 1992.
- 38 Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, 4; Jaritz 1980, 91. For a summary of previous interpretations and classifications, see Nilsson 2015a, 86–88 and Nilsson 2018, 114–115.
- 39 Cf. Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, 4: “Horus-Harpune.”
- 40 See Nilsson forthcoming, fig. 3.

- 41 Blackman and Fairman 1944; Finnestad 1983, 15; Sweeney 2002, 154; Nilsson 2014, 129–130.
- 42 The name has previously been translated as “He of the uplifting of the harpoon.” See Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, nos. 228, 230–231, 248; Smith 1999, 396.
- 43 *CDD M*: 235; Erichsen 1954, 179.
- 44 Griffiths 1958, 76.
- 45 Shonkwiler 2014, 314.
- 46 Legrain 1906, nos. 9–27.
- 47 Bonner 1950, 79–92; Faraone 2011.
- 48 The authors would like to thank Sayed el-Rekaby and Dr. Ana Tavares for sharing their results.
- 49 Legrain 1906, nos. 31–41, Pl. I, nos. 19, 35, 37, 43–45, 47, 54–57, 65, Pl. II no. 71.
- 50 Bryner 2013; Israel Antiquities Authority n.d.
- 51 Petrie 1888, 17, who made the quarries of el-Hosh the source of the Dendera eastern gate stone based on the appearance of the “theta and arrow,” and in his statement indicated a function as building marks; Jaritz 1980, 88 no. A7; Depauw 2009, 101, second to last sign: “c: Greek letter theta (?)” Cf. Legrain 1906, 18 and 20, who included them in his “primitive group.” On p. 23 he reaches the same conclusion, that the mark is unlikely to represent the Greek theta, but does not provide his reasoning. Similarly, he does not explain why he separates circles with horizontal bars from those with vertical bars. Cf. (e.g.) Arnold 1990, 127 (N81.2), a 12th Dynasty mark at Lisht; Andrassy 2009b, 16 with Abb. 8 and with sign corpus on p. 47.
- 52 Andrassy 2009a, 114 with fig. 2 (C.34, C34–2, L10, 4 Rt12, 4 Rt33); Haring 2009, 165 with sign from O.Cairo JE 72490 (second sign from the bottom) from the time of Thutmose III–Amenhotep II. See also Jaritz 1980, 88 no. A9.
- 53 Legrain 1906, nos. 45–46, 70.
- 54 Haring 2017, 33, 44.
- 55 Nilsson 2014, 134–135 with figs. 10.13–15.
- 56 Haring 2017, 44: Gebel el-Asr; 45: Qantir.
- 57 Legrain 1906, no. 56.
- 58 Depauw 2009, 94–95, 99 no. 1.
- 59 Bonner 1950, 85–86.
- 60 Ritner 1984; Marino 2010; Faraone 2011. See also Willberg 2017.
- 61 Faraone 2011, 25.
- 62 One such example is recorded at the western side of the front pylon at Edfu Temple, in which Hathor is described as “Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Sekhmet the Great, Lady of all Sekhmet-goddesses, she whose fiery breath utters against the enemies.” Kurth et al. 1998, 76–78, 85–87; Chassinat et al. 1934, pls. DCLXVI–DCLXVIII. See Nilsson 2012, 112–113, no. 37 with further references.
- 63 Wahlberg 2003, 69–70, with n. 12. Cf. Roberts 1997, 29–31; Frankfurter 1998, 124–128 with further references.
- 64 Verner 1973, 66.
- 65 Gardiner 1957, sign N14.
- 66 Verner 1973, 66.
- 67 Petrie 1914, 51 with pl. XLVI, no. 275a, b.
- 68 Legrain 1906, no. 88.
- 69 Pinch 2002, 158; Nilsson 2012, 336.
- 70 For Harsomtus, see *LÄ V*, 1080–1081; Pinch 2002, 158.
- 71 Nilsson 2015b, no. 3; for a somewhat different facsimile see Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, no. 86.
- 72 Legrain 1906.
- 73 Nilsson, Ward, Doherty and Almásy 2015, 154 with n. 27.
- 74 Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, no. 240. See also the addendum to APPENDIX 2, In. 30.
- 75 See, for example, Pinch 1982, 142.
- 76 Walters Art Museum 22.212, 22.173; British Museum EA 27373; John Hopkins Museum 2231D; Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 60.73.
- 77 See, for example, the renowned Metternich stela at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Scott 1951.
- 78 Nilsson 2018, 129 with n. 54. These figures signify Horus Behedet in his victorious role over Seth.

- ⁷⁹ Nilsson 2018, 128–129.
- ⁸⁰ Fairman 1935, 34.
- ⁸¹ Uphill 1965, 380.
- ⁸² E.g., Sakr 2007. For a contrasting view, Rossi 2003, Chapter 4.
- ⁸³ Nilsson and Ward 2017: 24–25.
- ⁸⁴ Haring 2017, 36.
- ⁸⁵ *Wb* 1, 559; *CDD* P (10:1), 164–165; Meeks 1980, 139, #77.1502; Meeks 1981, 144, #78.1529; Meeks 1982, 103, #79.1048; Wilson 1997, 373–374.
- ⁸⁶ Depuydt 1998, 71–73; Richter 2016, 4 with n. 10.
- ⁸⁷ Chassinat 1930, 124.8–12, 356.8–357.3, 394.12–14; Chassinat and Daumas 1965, 158.4–7.
- ⁸⁸ Chassinat 1930, 230–236.4; Alliot 1954, 443–560; Kurth 1994, 156–179; Preys 2002, 556–562; Priskin 2015, 28.
- ⁸⁹ The interpretation is based on Kurth and Behrman 2004, 27.1–2. See Waitkus 1993 and Egberts 1995, 18–19. More recently, see Richter 2016, 202 with n. 795.
- ⁹⁰ Richter 2016, 4 n. 10.
- ⁹¹ Bonner 1950, 85.
- ⁹² Bonner 1950. 85.
- ⁹³ At el-Hosh, Legrain (1906) recorded it as regularly coupled with the lined circle, similar to C11–13, and they were likened to the set of marks found within the temple structure at Dendera. For this, it was suggested that el-Hosh was the source of the stone used to build the Hathor Temple. Certainly, the correspondence cannot be denied, and it is highly plausible that the Temple of Dendera received stone from more than one quarry. Similar to Legrain, Petrie (1888, 17) associated Dendera with the quarries of el-Hosh based on the prominent position of the marking combination there. However, neither Petrie nor Legrain considered the overall archaeological context, for which Partition C, as exemplified by C11–13, can be pinpointed as a source of at least sections of the Dendera structure.
- ⁹⁴ Described as “emblem-decoration” in Porter and Moss 1939, 43.
- ⁹⁵ Porter and Moss 1939, 108.

APPENDIX 1: PICTORIAL

P1

Bes with keys

Inv. no.: GeSE Q34 C12 P173

Measurements: L. 18 cm, W. 12 cm

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: unpublished

Description:

Anthropomorph in standing position, oriented towards the right/south. Single-outline engraving. The face displays wide eyes, a large and flat nose, protruding ears and projecting tongue. Regular, straight legs. The figure holds a key in front of the body, and another key rests on his shoulders. An ambiguous iconographic element is located to the right of the figure’s head, possibly representing a bird or even a wing.



Commentary:

The illustration is well preserved, but some of its details are difficult to discern due to deep underlying tool marks left from the extraction work. The immediate pictorial context includes a figure of the Horus-child to the right, and a key to the left/below.



P2
Bes

Inv. no.: GeSE Q34 C12 P192

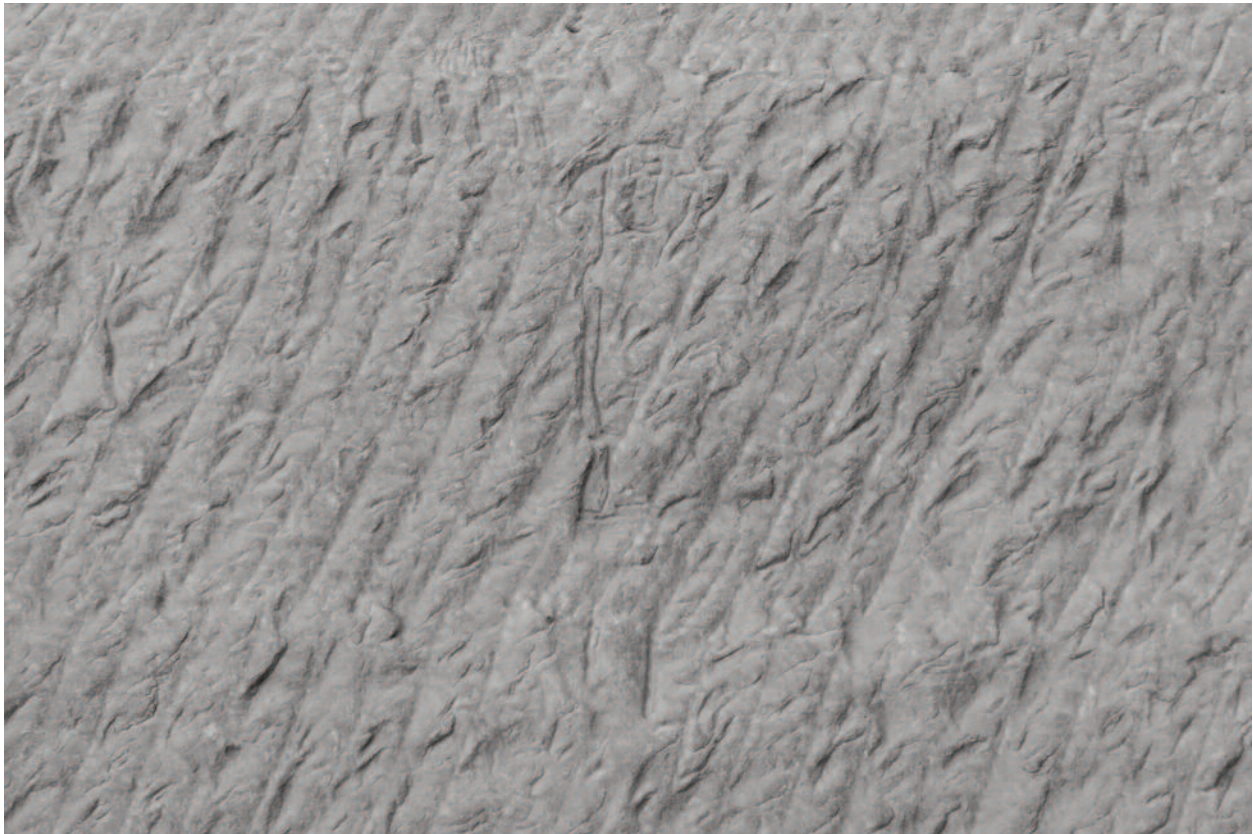
Measurements: L. 17 cm, W. 6 cm

Condition: well preserved, but poorly visible

Bibliography: unpublished

Description:

Anthropomorphic, unfinished image of a standing Bes-figure oriented towards the right/south. The face includes a large, flat nose, wide eyes, protuberant ears, and projecting tongue. The figure's right arm and hand, as well as the upper part of the right leg, are indicated. Single-outline engraving.



P3

Bes-mask

Inv. no.: GeSE Q34 C12 P178

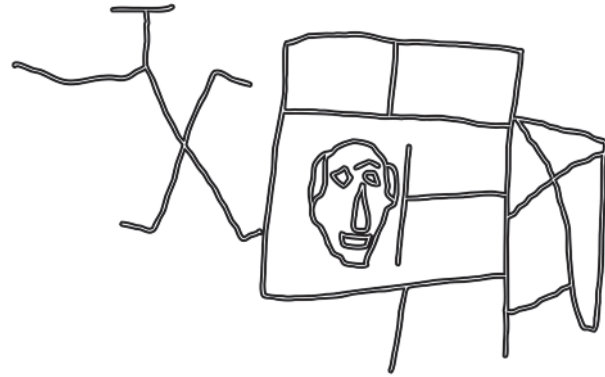
Measurements: L. 14 cm, W. 33 cm

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: unpublished

Description:

The Bes-mask is depicted with characteristic facial features: wide eyes, emphasized, large and flat nose, protruding tongue and ears. The mask is situated within a larger iconographic composition, firstly enclosed within a rectangle that is internally segregated through a perpendicular line and two overlapping horizontal lines. Attached to its right is another rectangle, standing on its short end, and intersected by a crossed system, next to which is a falcon-headed anthropomorph. An x-shaped figure is depicted to the left.



Commentary:

It is difficult to determine details due to deep underlying tool marks.



P4

Bes-mask

Inv. no.: GeSE Q34 C12 P190

Measurements: L. 8 cm, W. 5 cm

Condition: well preserved, although poorly visible

Bibliography: unpublished

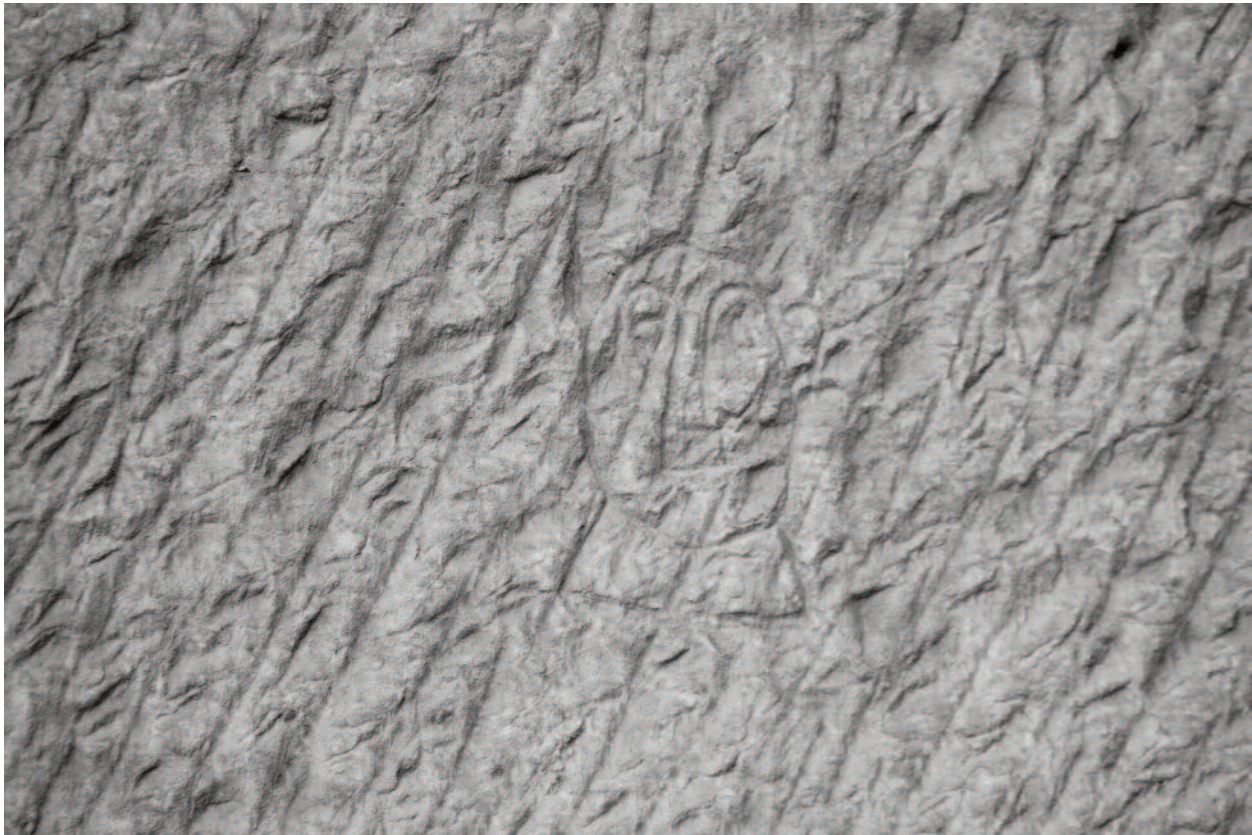
Description:

A simplified Bes-mask represented with defined eyes, enlarged and flat nose terminating in emphasized eyebrows, protruding ears, projecting tongue, and wearing a stylized beard. Single-outline engraving.



Commentary:

The figure is well preserved, but barely discernible due to deep underlying extraction marks.



P5

Bes-mask

Inv. no.: GeSE Q34 C13 P19

Measurements: c. L. 14 cm, W. 13 cm

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: unpublished

Description:

The depiction is a detailed Bes-mask with traditional features of the dwarf-god, including large and wide eyes, flat nose (including pinholes representing nostrils), protruding ears, large eyebrows that terminate in horn- or hair-lock-like details, long beard, and an exaggerated projected tongue. Single-outline engraving.

Commentary:

Deep underlying tool marks left from the extraction work. To its left, slightly above, is a quarry mark pair of a lined circle and harpoon.



P6
Cippus

Inv. no.: GeSE Q34 C12 P193

Measurements: L. 23 cm, W. 14 cm

Condition: well preserved

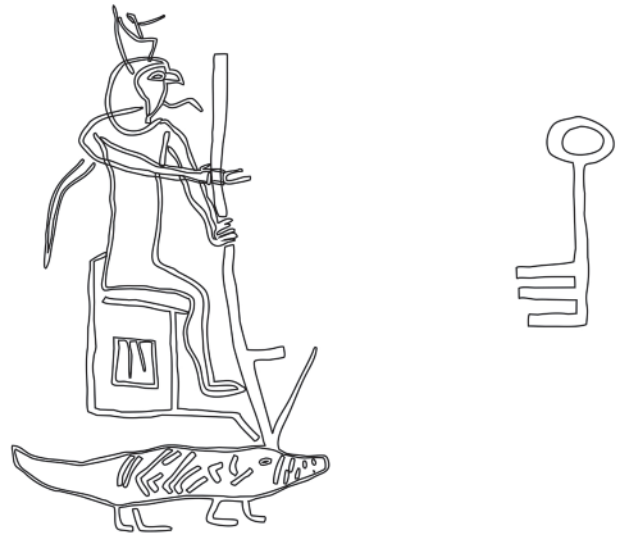
Bibliography: Nilsson 2015a, 101 with figs. 26a–b;
Nilsson 2018, 128–130.

Description:

Right/south-facing falcon-headed anthropomorphic figure decorated with a double crown. He sits on a throne, and harpoons a crocodile depicted below the throne. A snake is illustrated behind his neck/shoulder. Single-outline engraving.

Commentary:

The surface on and around the figure has a lighter patina, and appears rubbed down. The crocodile is less discernible due to deep underlying tool marks left from the extraction work. A Roman key is situated to the figure's right.



P7
Horus-falcon

Inv. no.: GeSE Q34 C12 P197

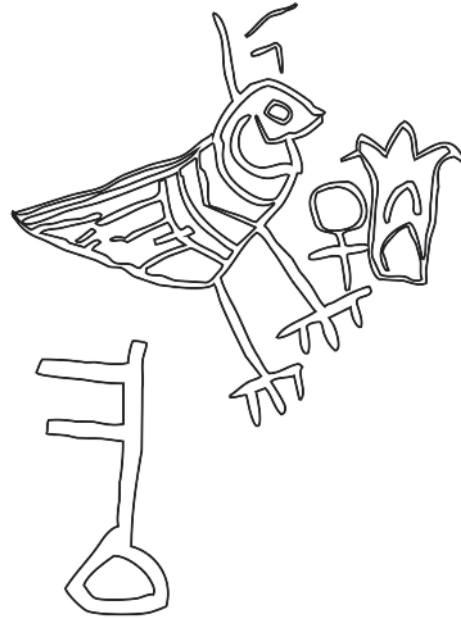
Measurements: L. 13 cm, W. 11 cm (including key)

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson 2018, 127.

Description:

Theriomorphic (falcon) depiction of Horus oriented towards the right/south, carved in a single outline. The falcon is decorated with a simplified feather pattern, wears the red crown, and “holds” an ankh and water lily. Immediately below, to its left, is located a key, with its teeth facing upwards left.



P8a

Horus the victorious

Inv. no.: GeSE.Q34.C12.P179

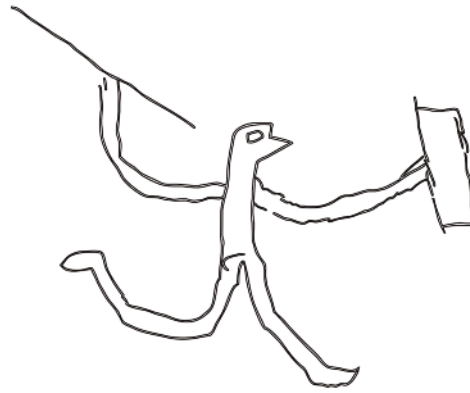
Measurements: L. 9 cm, W. 13 cm

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson forthcoming

Description:

Anthropomorph depicted with avian facial features, holding a shield in his left hand, and a spear/harpoon in his right hand. The figure is represented in motion, plausibly running. Single-outlined engraving.



Commentary:

Was perhaps intended as an individual depiction, but was more likely an element in a larger composition with nos. P5, above, and P8b, below.

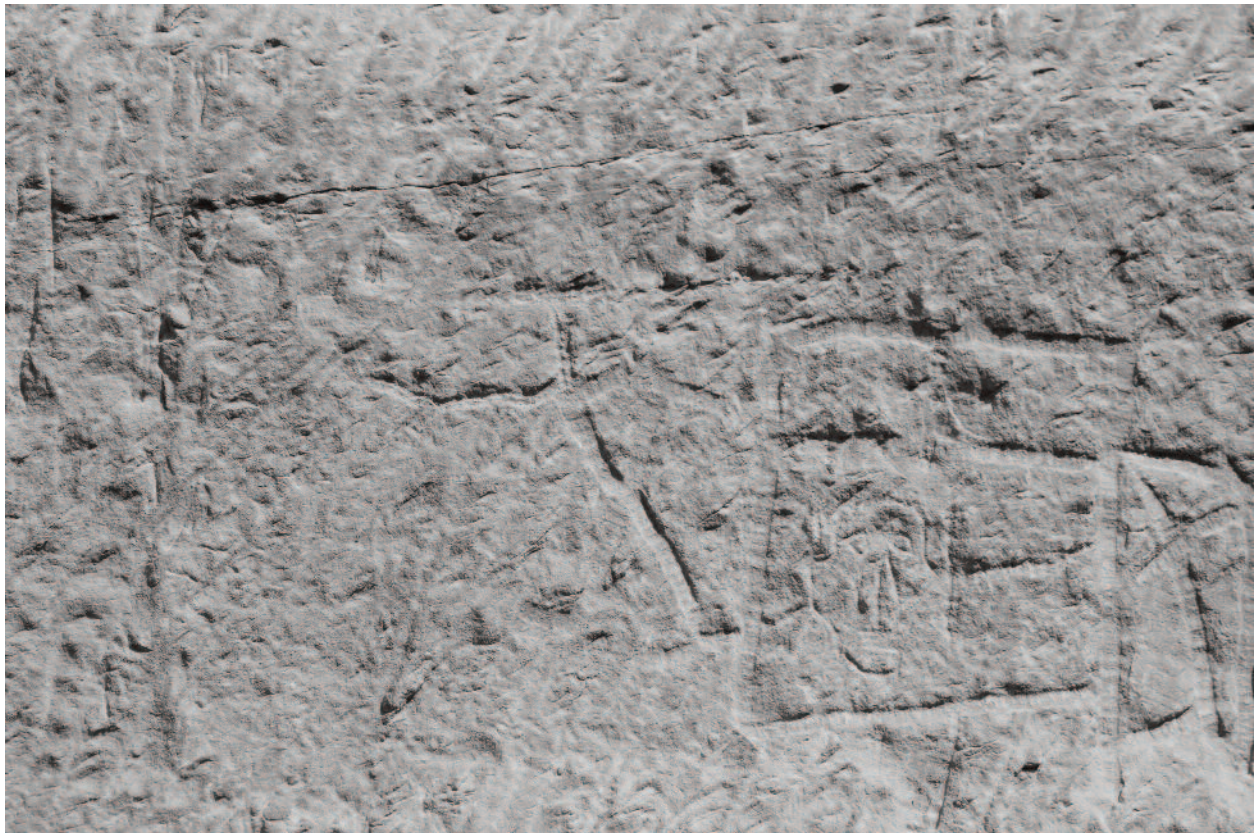
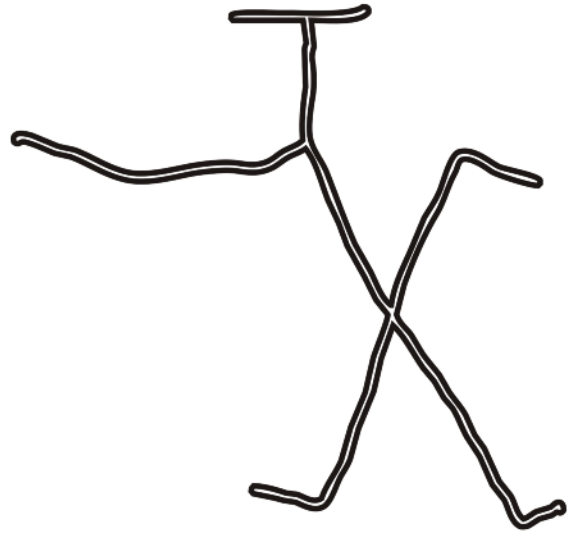


P8b
Pully (?)

Inv. no.: GeSE Q34 C12 P177
Measurements: L. 8 cm, W. 8 cm
Condition: well preserved
Bibliography: Unpublished

Description:
The illustration shows a crude x-like figure with its termini bent towards the right/south (in the direction of nos. P5 and P8a). Thick, single-outlined engraving.

Commentary:
Presumably, a technical sketch of an apparatus associated with extraction.



P9

Horus the victorious

Inv. no.: GeSE Q34 C12 P107

Measurements: L. 24 cm, W. 13 cm

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

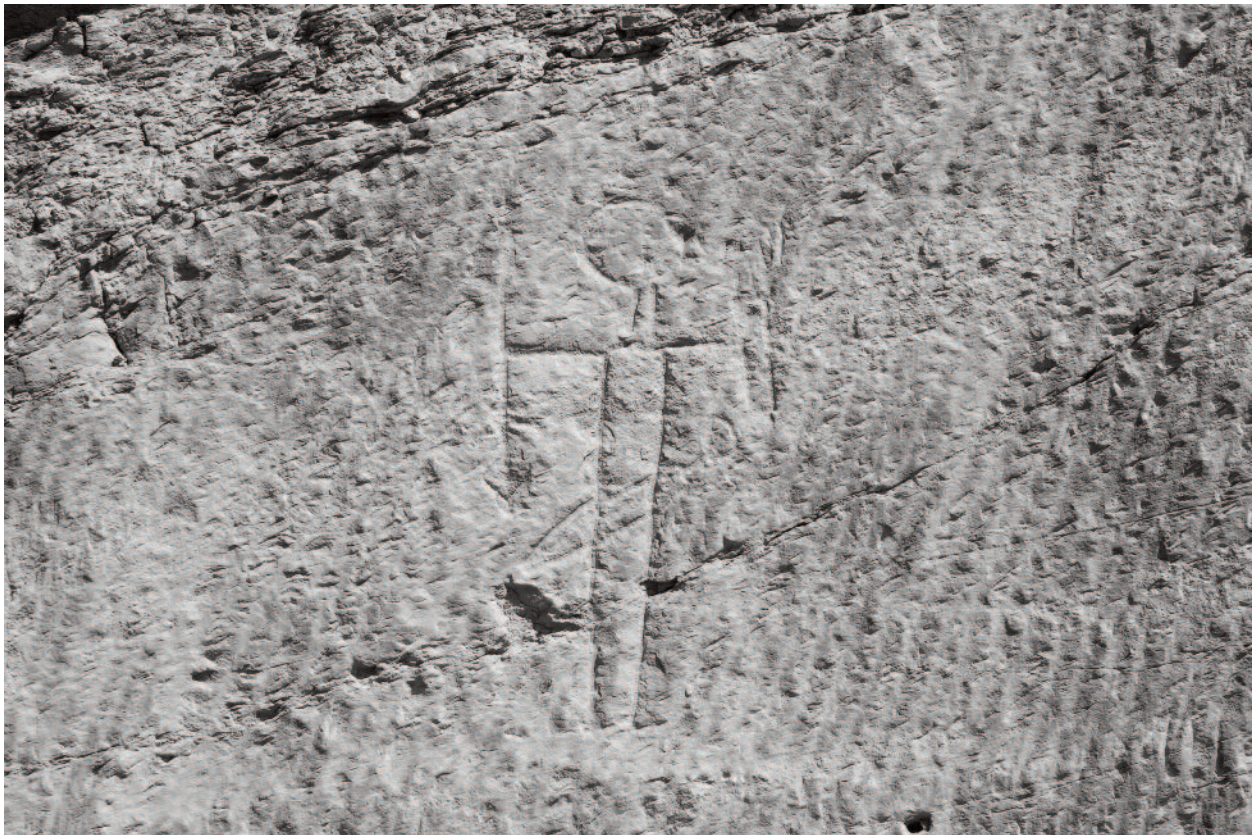
Description:

Anthropomorph in the standing position, oriented towards the right/south, holding a harpoon in his right hand and a shield in his left. His rounded face is seen in traditional profile, marked with a beak. Single outlined engraving.



Commentary:

Deep underlying tool marks left from the extraction work. Situated adjacently with In. 22 and a series of quarry marks, including a key, lined circles, hourglasses, harpoons and a uterine mark (?).



P10

Horus the victorious

Inv. no.: GeSE Q34 C12 P121

Measurements: L. 17 cm, W. 9 cm

Condition: well preserved

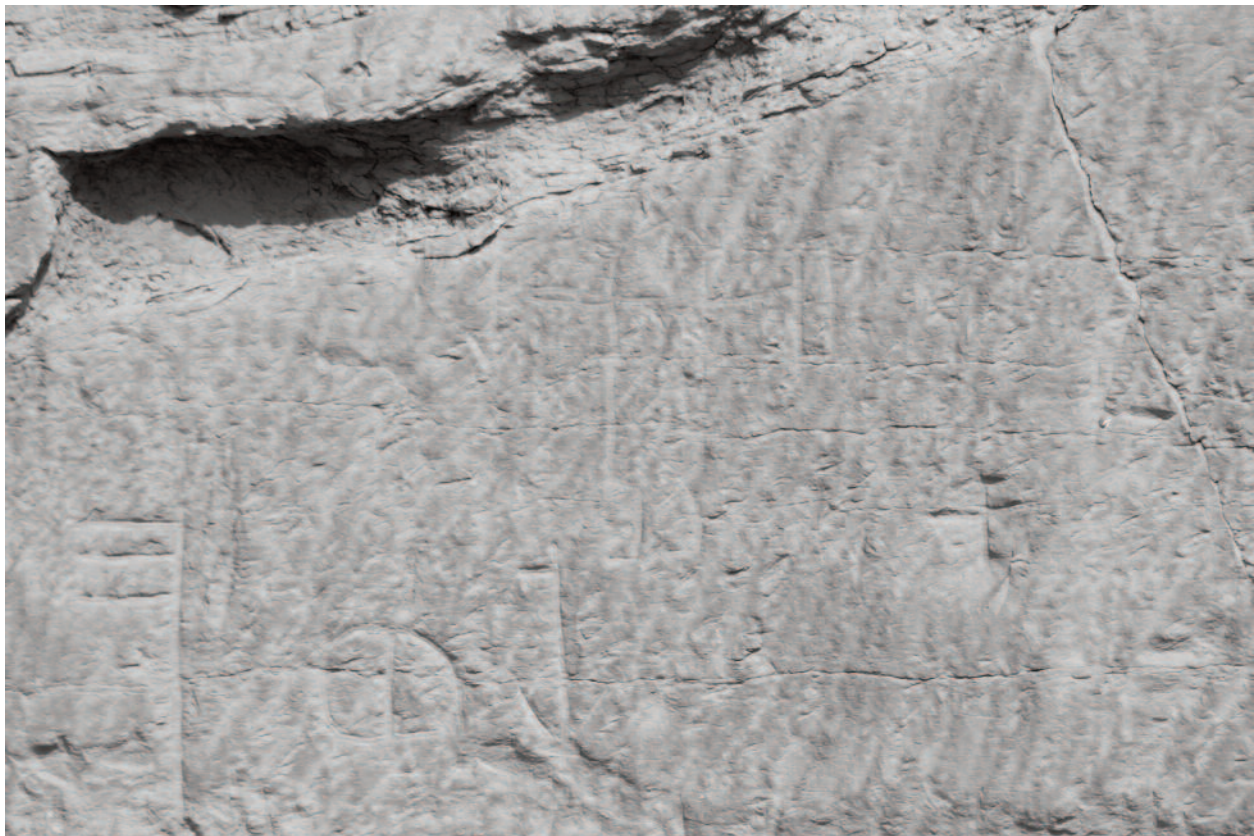
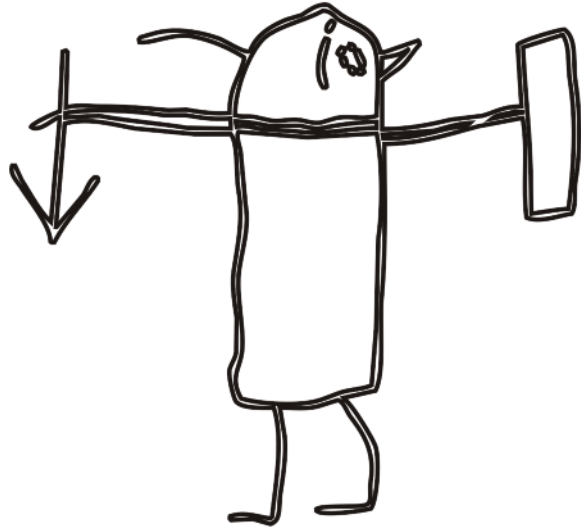
Bibliography: Unpublished

Description:

Anthropomorph in the standing position, oriented in movement towards the left/north, but facing the right/south. He holds a harpoon in his right hand and a rectangular shield in his left. The body is rectangular shaped terminating upwards in a rounded head. Single-outlined engraving.

Commentary:

While the figure is well preserved, it is difficult to determine all its details due to deep underlying tool marks left from the extraction work. The figure is situated to the right of a series of quarry marks, including a key, lined circles, hourglasses, harpoons and a uterine mark.



P11

Horus the victorious

Inv. no.: GeSE Q34 C12 P81

Measurements: N/A (without reach)

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

Description:

A very crude depiction of an anthropomorph, possibly with a beak, directed to the right/south, with long arms holding a harpoon, and short, slightly bent legs. Single-outlined engraving.

Commentary:

It is very difficult to determine all its details due to deep underlying tool marks left from the extraction work.



P12

Horus-child

Inv. no.: GeSE Q34 C12 P174

Measurements: h. 14 cm, w. 8 cm

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

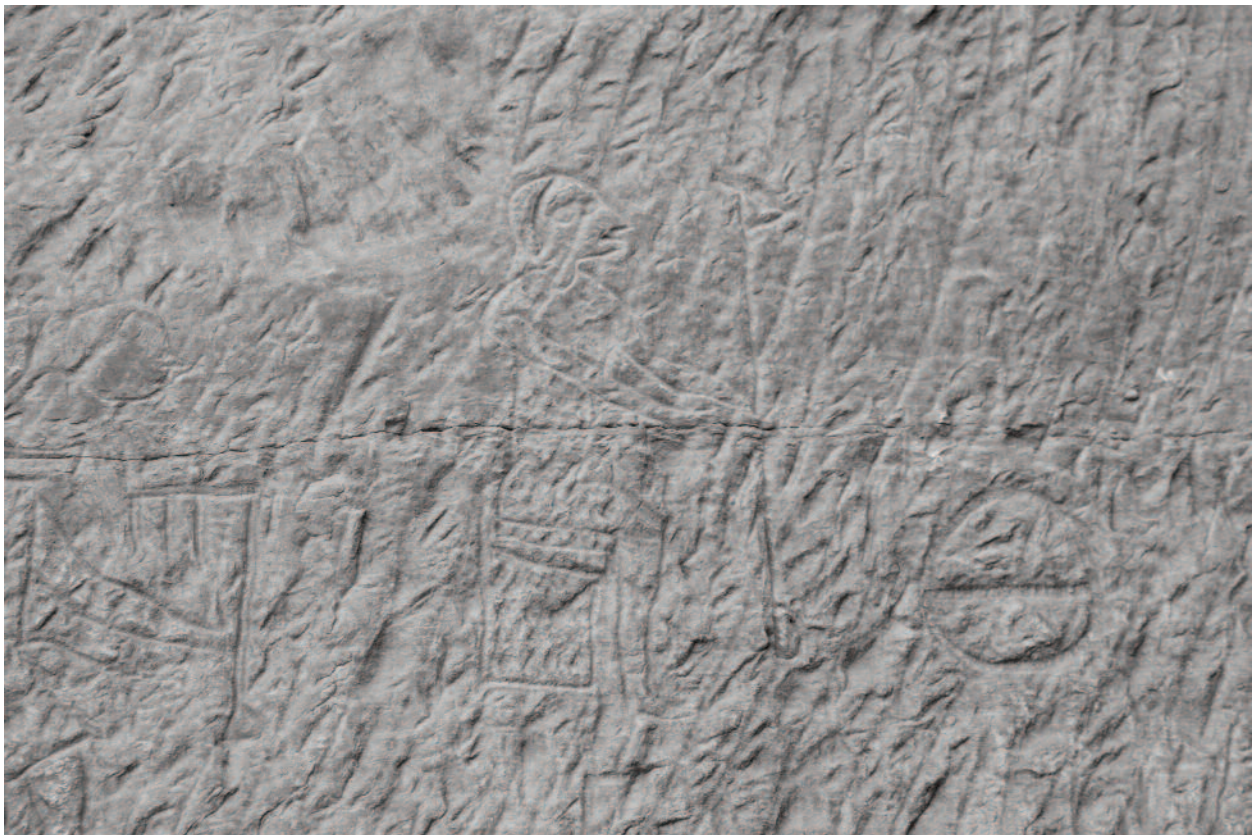
Description:

Anthropomorph with a distinct, open beak, emphasised eye, and a side-lock, seated on a throne and holding a *was*-sceptre. The lower part of a harpoon, including its handle, appears superimposed by this figure, perhaps made by another hand. Single-outlined engraving.



Commentary:

A lined circle is illustrated to the right; P1 is situated to its left.



P13

Horus-child

Inv. no.: GeSE Q34 C13 P3

Measurements: h. 19 cm, w. 23 cm

Condition: poorly preserved, angle grinded into three fragments

Bibliography: Unpublished

Description:

A standing child-like (nude?) figure oriented to the left/east. He holds an ankh and a *was*-sceptre, and is fronted by a large, bloomed water lily with a stalk that curves downwards, perhaps intended to signify a water-lily (or papyrus) barge. The head and facial features are too poorly preserved to make out any details. Single-outlined engraving.



Commentary:

To the right of the scene is a series of quarry marks divided in two horizontal lines: the upper line represents (l-r) a pentagram, a lined circle, and a Roman key; the lower line includes a *was*-sceptre, an ankh, a lined circle, a harpoon, and an hourglass.



APPENDIX 2:
TEXTS

In. 1

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 3a

Hr-msn (s³) P³-di-Hr-sm³-t³.wy

“Haremsynis (son of) Peteharsemtheus.”

Commentary:

Both names are often attested in Gebel el-Silsila. *Hr-msn* (see *Demot Nb*, 821): In. 2, Presigke and Spiegelberg 1915, nos. 168, 172, 177, 235; *P³-di-Hr-sm³-t³.wy* (see *Demot Nb*, 334-335): Presigke and Spiegelberg 1915, 209, 252, 183, 223. Cf. *Hr-msn (s³) P³-di-Hr-sm³-t³.wy* from Dendera (TM person 66344 and 66345).



In. 2

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 3b

1. *P³-di- Hr-stm s³ P³-mh*

2. *s³ Hr-msn p³ hry (n³) hy-*

3. *p^r r³ qh³(.w)*

1. “Peteharsytmis son of Pachoumis

2. son of Haremsynis, the chief of (the)

3. cavalry officers.”

Commentary:

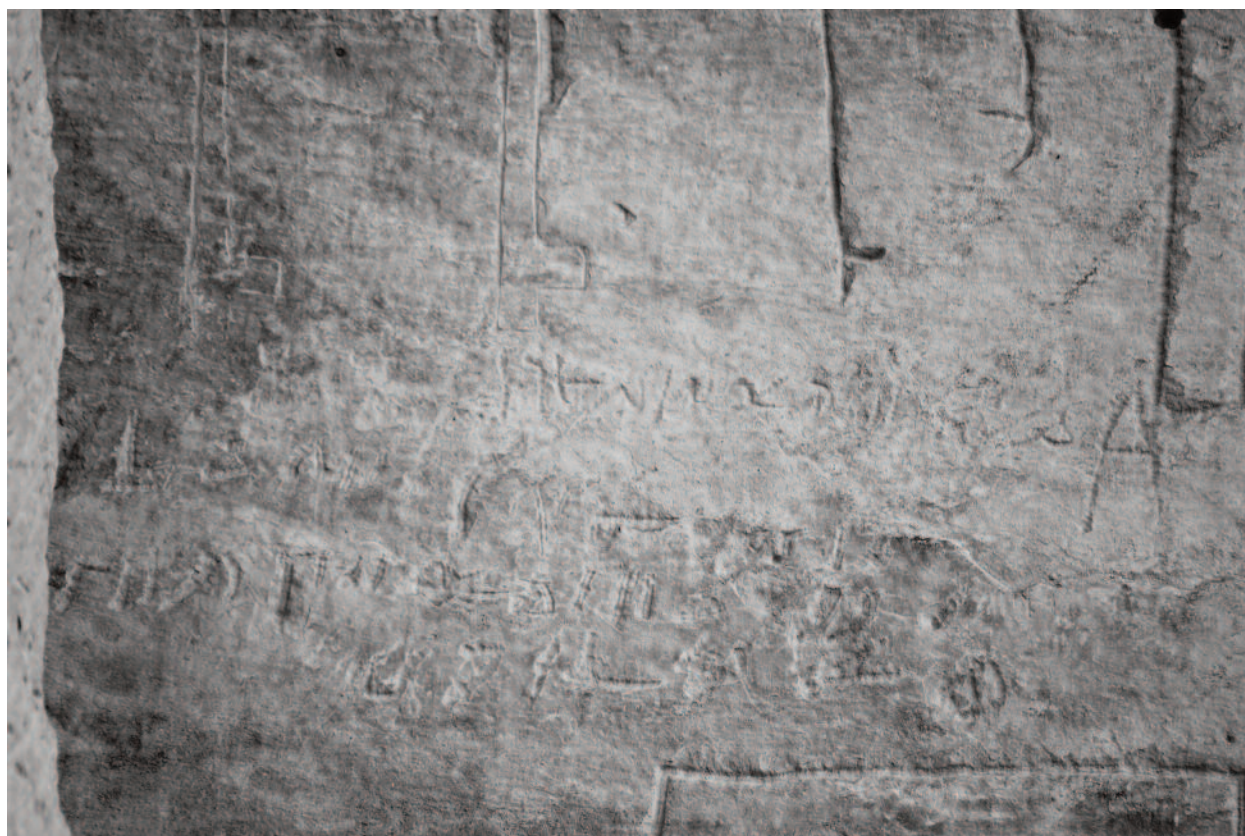
The graffito is written below In. 1 but is not obviously related to it. The name in line 2, *Hr-msn*, is the same as in In. 1. However, it was a fairly common name, and since the person appears as a grandfather in In. 2 compared with the author of the text in In. 1, an identification is unlikely.

The handwriting is clumsy with mistakes.

L. 1 *P³-di- Hr-stm* is not attested to date, but for the name *Hr-stm*, cf. *Demot Nb*, 837. *P³-mh* is a version of *P³-hm* with metathesis (the *-m-* and *-h-* switched).

L. 2-3 *hyprqh³* is an unusual Demotic transcription of the Greek title, ἵππαρχος (see *CDD H*, 19, *hypprghs*). The *r*-sign in the title is badly damaged.

L. 3 There is a lined circle at the beginning of line 3, which may relate to the discussed quarry marks.



In. 3

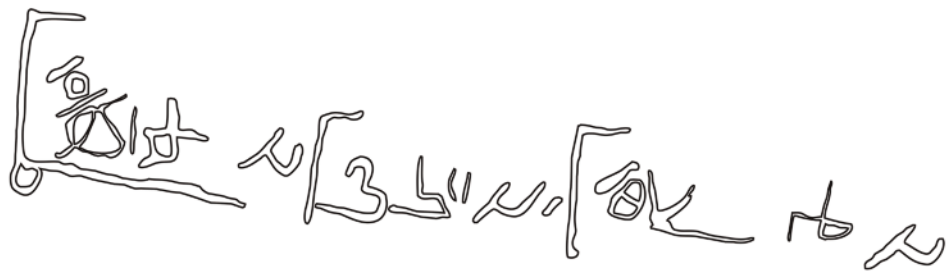
Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 5

P³-šr-Wsir s³ P³-ḥm-p³-bik

“Psenosiris son of Pachompbekis.”

Commentary:

P³-ḥm-p³-bik (*Demot Nb*, 169) is well-known in Gebel el-Silsila (see Presigke and Spiegelberg 1915, nos. 235, 248) and also from Edfu, Dendara and Philae (TM name ID 677). *P³-šr-wsir* is also a common name known from various locations in Upper Egypt (TM name ID 986).



In. 4

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 7

Pa-hy

“Pachois.”

Commentary:

The *-h* is badly written. The name (*Demot Nb*, 404-5) is often attested in Gebel el-Silsila (see In. 14, 17, Presigke and Spiegelberg 1915, no. 212 and also with a graphical variant In. 5 and In. 6).



In. 5

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 8

Pa-hy-p³-hm

“Pachipachoum.”

Commentary:

The writing of *Pa-hy* in the name is similar to In. 6 and In. 25. The second half is not well formed, but compare *Demot Nb*, 165, no. 17. Presigke and Spiegelberg 1915, no. 206.





In. 6

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 9

Pa-hy (s³) P³-di- Hr-sm³-t³.wy

“Pachois (son of) Peteharsemtheus.”

Commentary:

The text is nicely written. Presigke and Spiegelberg
1915, no. 209.





In. 7

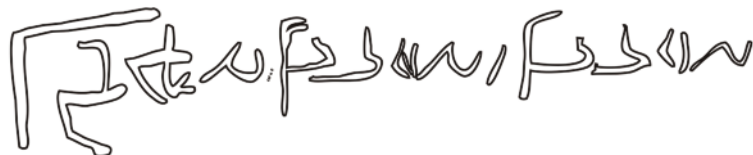
Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 10

P³-ḥm s³ P³-ḥm (s³) P³-šr-Dḥwti

“Pachoumis son of Pachoumis (son of) Psenthotos.”

Commentary:

This text is not in Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, but their inscription 209 (pl. 12) shows the three large harpoons, which are directly above the text.





In. 8

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 11

{P³-šr-} P³-šr-*Ist* s³ P³-*hm-p³-hf* (s³) P³-*wr-tiw*

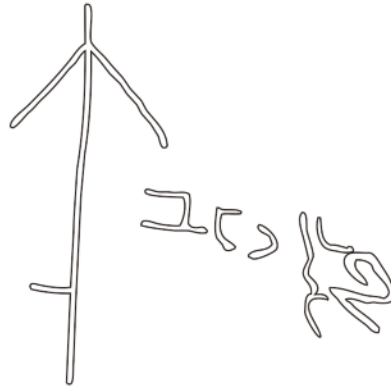
“{Psen-} Psenesis son of Pachomphosis (son of) Portis.”

Commentary:

The beginning of this line is unclear: the first two signs may be a failed attempt to write the first part of the name.

P³-*hm-p³-hf* is a rarely attested name (*Demot Nb Korr.* 145, S. 169). It is known from two mummy labels from Dendara, dated to the late Ptolemaic, early Roman Period (Vleeming 2011, nos. 329, 342).

P³-*wr-tiw* is often attested in the Ptolemaic period but rarely in the Roman (*Demot Nb*, 179).



In. 10

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 18

nh=f-(n)-Imn

“Chapoamounis.”

Commentary:

The god’s name is not well formed, but *Imn* is a probable reading; see *Demot Nb*, 100. The determinative is not written.



In. 11

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 19

1. $P^{\beta}\text{-}\dot{h}m^{\beta}$

2. $s^{\beta} Pa\text{-}\dot{S}y^{\beta}$

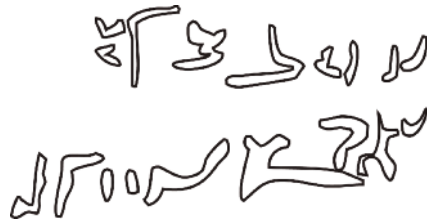
1. "Pachoumis the elder

2. son of Pasais."

Commentary:

The text is badly written.

L. 2 The last signs of the name $Pa\text{-}\dot{S}y^{\beta}$ before the determinative are not clear. They appear to be part of a badly executed snake-sign. $\dot{S}y$ is written in an unusual way, with an β at the end (similar to writings in Vleeming 2015, nos 1233, 6 and 1234, 3). $P^{\beta}\text{-}\dot{h}m^{\beta}$ is a common name, noted in various locations (TM name 6704).



Hand-drawn reconstruction of the cuneiform text from In. 11, showing two lines of characters. The first line contains five characters, and the second line contains six characters. The characters are stylized and somewhat irregular, reflecting the 'badly written' nature of the original inscription.



In. 12

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 22

P³-šr-Is.t

“Psenesis”

A stylized drawing of three hieroglyphs: P³ (a vertical bar), š (a bird with wings spread), and Is.t (a hand holding a staff).



In. 13

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 25

1. *rn nfr mn dy m-b³h P³-šy*

2. *t³ h.t P³-hm ;s³ P³-šr/-B³st.t s³ P³-imi irm Pa-š^c*

“(The) good name remains here before Pshay
of the quarry, Pachoumis son of Psenobastet son of
Pemaus and Pasas.”

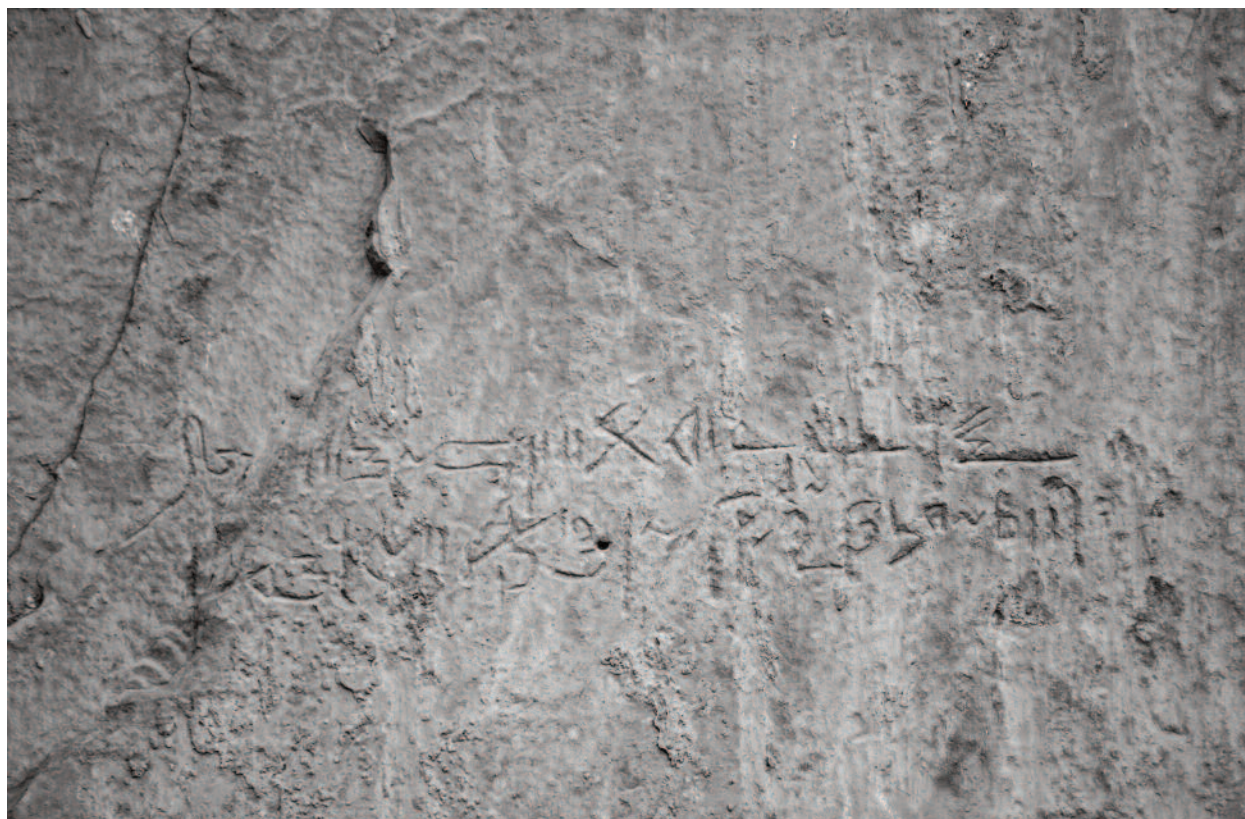
Commentary:

L. 2 The *P³-šr* of *P³-šr-B³st.t* is written above the line
as the scribe apparently forgot it and added it later.
Above the *p³*-sign there is a left angled stroke which
may be an attempt at the errant *s³*-sign.

For the reading of *P³-imi* see *Demot Nb*, 187, 18.

Pa-š^c is a variant of *Pa-š³* (*Demot Nb*, 416, 31, 33, 35).

ᲡᲗ Კ᲏Თ Კ᲏Თ Კ᲏Თ Კ᲏Თ Კ᲏Თ Კ᲏Თ
Კ᲏Თ Კ᲏Თ Კ᲏Თ Კ᲏Თ Კ᲏Თ Კ᲏Თ Კ᲏Თ?



In. 14

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 26

1. $p^3y mh-3 Pa-hy s^3 Pa-hy-p^3-hm$ 5

2. $1/10 mh-l$

1. “This third: Pachois son of Pachipachoum: 5

2. 1/10 first.”

Commentary:

The inscription contains names and numbers probably referring to the work in the quarry.

L. 2 The name $Pa-hy-p^3-hm$ (*Demot Nb*, 405) is, to date, only attested at Gebel el-Silsila (In. 5 and 17). The reading is not certain as the h -sign is reduced to a vertical sign.

In. 15

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 27

mh 100

“100 cubits.”

Commentary:

The text is very faint and scratched right behind In. 14.



In. 16

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 29

{P³-di} P³-hm s³ Hr-pa-Is.t 200

“{Pete-} Pachoumis son of Harpaesis: 200.”

Commentary:

A drawing of the text is published in Presigke and Spiegelberg 1915, pl. 12, no. 206, without transliteration and translation.

The strokes at the beginning appear to be an earlier graffito which was either subsequently chiselled out or left unfinished.

The Hr in Hr-pa-Is.t (*Demot Nb*, 807–808) is unusually written with a divine determinative.



In. 17

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 30

rn nfr mn dy m-b³h P³-šy [...] Hr-Bht (n) t³ ht n H.t- Hr Pa-hy-rmt-Bht s³ Pa-hy-p³-hm p³ rmt pa T³-ky.t

“(The) good name remains here before Pshay [...] Horus of Edfu (in) the quarry of Hathor, Pachirembachthis son of Pachipachoumis, the man, he is of Tkoi.”

Commentary:

The inscription was published Presigke and Spiegelberg 1915, no. 206.

On the basis of the palaeography it can be dated to the Roman period (see *m-b³h*, Erichsen 1954, 110; or *mn* Erichsen 1954, 159).

The *m* in *m-b³h* is reduced to a small circle.

h.t is written with a place determinative.

Pa-hy-rmt-Bht was read erroneously by Presigke and Spiegelberg (1915, 13) as “Pachois from Djeme.” However, this is not plausible as a writing of *Dm³* (see *CDD D*, 39–43), and it was later reinterpreted by Zauzich (1984, 69–70) as *Bht* “Edfu” and the name as “Pa-chy-man of Behet (Edfu)” (*Demot Nb*, 406). Edfu was already mentioned in the text as the epithet of Horus, but with a different orthography. It seems the scribe used two forms of Edfu in the same text.

Pa-hy-p³-hm was interpreted by Spiegelberg as *Pa-hy <s³> p³-hm*.

Pa is a repetition of the previously written *p³ rmt*.

The geographical name, *T³-ky.t*, referring to the dedicator’s hometown, is not otherwise attested to date in Demotic. The second half must contain the noun *ky.t* “high land” (*CDD Q*, 6–8). There is, however, a Greek place-name Τκοι situated in the Edfu area, which is mentioned in a documentary text of the 7th century CE (P. Apoll. 98, l. 1; Vandorpe 1988, 175) and may be the same place.





In. 18

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 31

‘...’ *Pa-hy-rmḫ*- ‘...’

“... Pachirem-...”

Commentary:

Based upon the faint depth of incision and rather inaccurate writing, it appears to be a poor copy of the name Pachirembachthis, found just above in In. 17. Note that the miscellaneous strokes at the beginning and end are senseless as is the backwards written *Pa*-sign.





In. 19

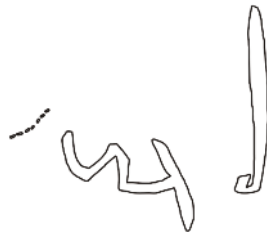
Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 32

h³.t-sp 13.t

"Regnal year 13."

Commentary:

The drawing was published in Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, no. 206 pl. 12, but without transliteration.



In. 20

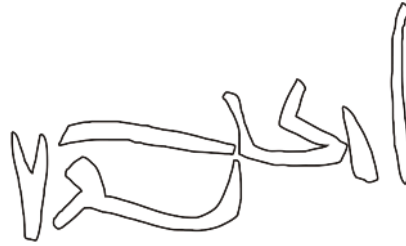
Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 33

ḥ³.t-sp 21 rn

“Regnal year 21, name (?)”

Commentary:

This may be the beginning of an unfinished proskynema, as the last word shows what may be a badly executed *rn*.



In. 21

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C11 In 34

rn
"name."

Commentary:
The beginning of an unfinished inscription.



In. 22

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C12 In. 6

rn nfr mn dy m-b³ḥ P³-šy P³-šr-Dhwiti s³ P³-ḥm-p³-bik

“(The) good name remain here before Pshay Psenhotos son of Pachompbekis.”

Commentary:

The large curved sign written before the god’s name is probably a badly formed *m-b³ḥ*. The name *P³-ḥm-p³-bik* is frequently appearing also in Edfu and Dendera (TM name ID 677).



In. 23

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C12 In. 7

... *P³-šr-Dhwti s³ P³-h(m)*

“... Psenhotep son of Pachoumis.”

Commentary:

The first curved signs before the names are illegible. They may be only scribbles. The same person's dedication can be read in In. 25. *P³-šr-Dhwti* is documented in various locations in Upper Egypt (TM name ID 997). *P³-h(m)* appears frequently at Dendera and Edfu (TM name ID 679).

𐎃𐎆𐎥𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁

In. 24

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C12 In. 12

P³-šr-Dḥwti s³ P³-[...]

“Psenthotēs son of P-...”

Commentary:

The second half of the father’s name is damaged. It may be the signature of the same person as in In. 23 and 25.

𐤀𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏



In. 25

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C12 In. 13

... P³-šr-Dhwī s³ P³-hm-p³-bik Πβῆκῖς

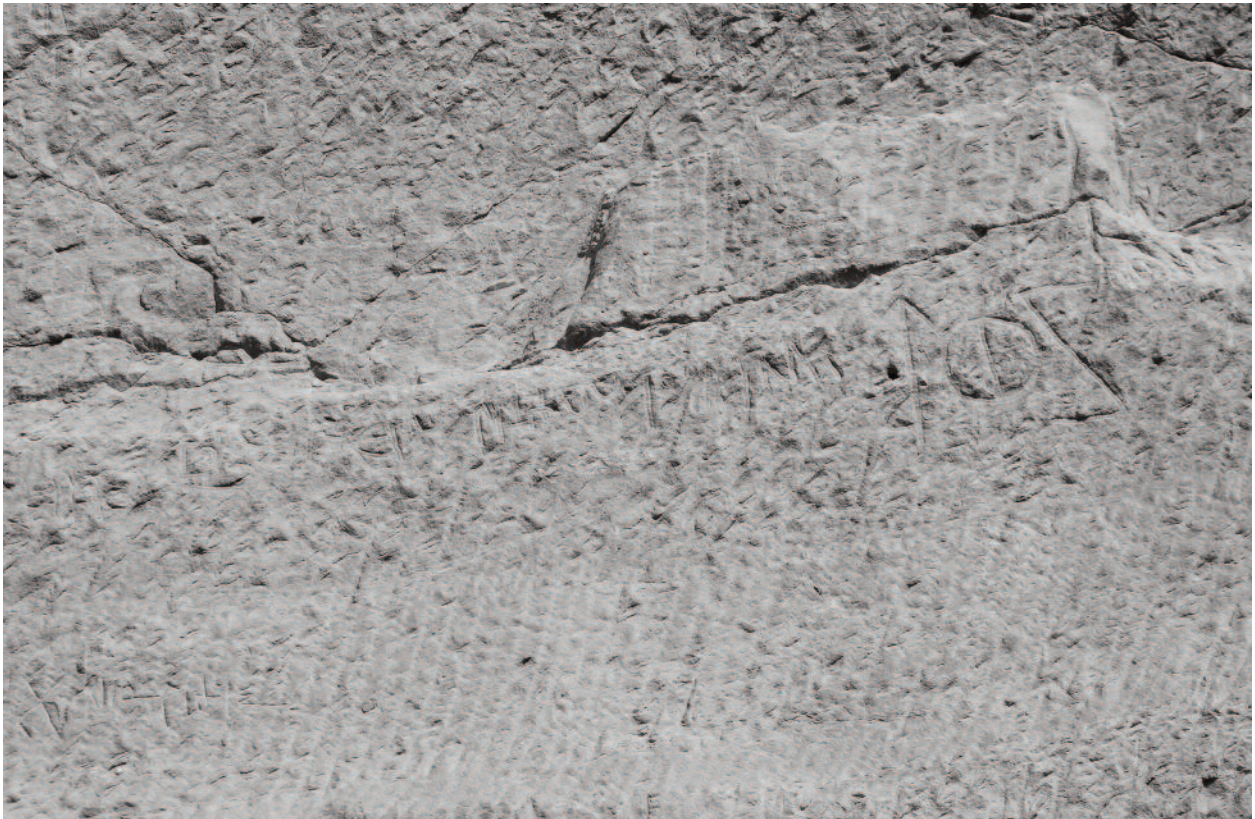
"... Psenhotes son of Pachoumpbekis (Greek) Pbekis."

Commentary:

The text is poorly executed and the beginning of the line is illegible. This may be an attempt to write a proskynema formula (*rn nfr mn dy*) by a semi-illiterate scribe, who was able to write his name clumsily, but nothing else.

P³-bik probably belongs to the father's name, which would read *P³-hm-p³-bik*. Written after the Demotic line is the Greek name, Πβῆκῖς, which is the translation of *P³-bik*. However, this is written in a different hand, scratched and not carved with a chisel like the Demotic. It appears to be a separate inscription.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑσθραῖον / Πβῆκῖς υἱὸς Παχουμπέκις



In. 26

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C12 In. 14

*rn nfr mn dy P³-di-Hr P³-hm-rmt-Bht s³ P³-šr-Hr-dy
<m>-b³h P^c-hy-msn P³-š^cy t³ h.t*

“(The) good name remains here Petehyris (and) Pachomrombachtis son of Pasherhardai before Pachimesen, Pshay of the quarry.”

Commentary:

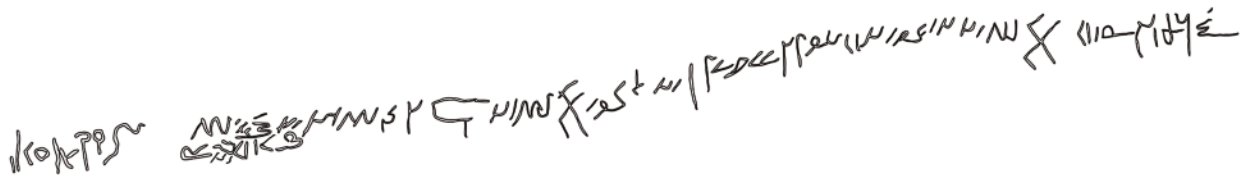
The text is nicely written and well preserved. The handwriting is similar to In. 17 and shows typical Roman features.

The name *P³-hm-rmt-Bht* (*Demot Nb*, 172) is also known from Edfu and Dendara (TM name ID 8159).

P³-šr-Hr-dy is otherwise unattested, but the reading is certain. *Hr-dy* is known as a geographic name: see Vittmann 1998, 484–485.

P^c-hy-msn (for the writing see *CDD M*, 235), as the protective deity of the quarry, is often mentioned in the proskynema in the Main Quarry (e.g., Presigke and Spiegelberg 1915, nos. 189, 184, 212, 213, 217, etc.).

h.t is written with a place determinative similarly to In. 17.





In. 27

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C12 In. 16

1. *rn nfr 'mn' dy*

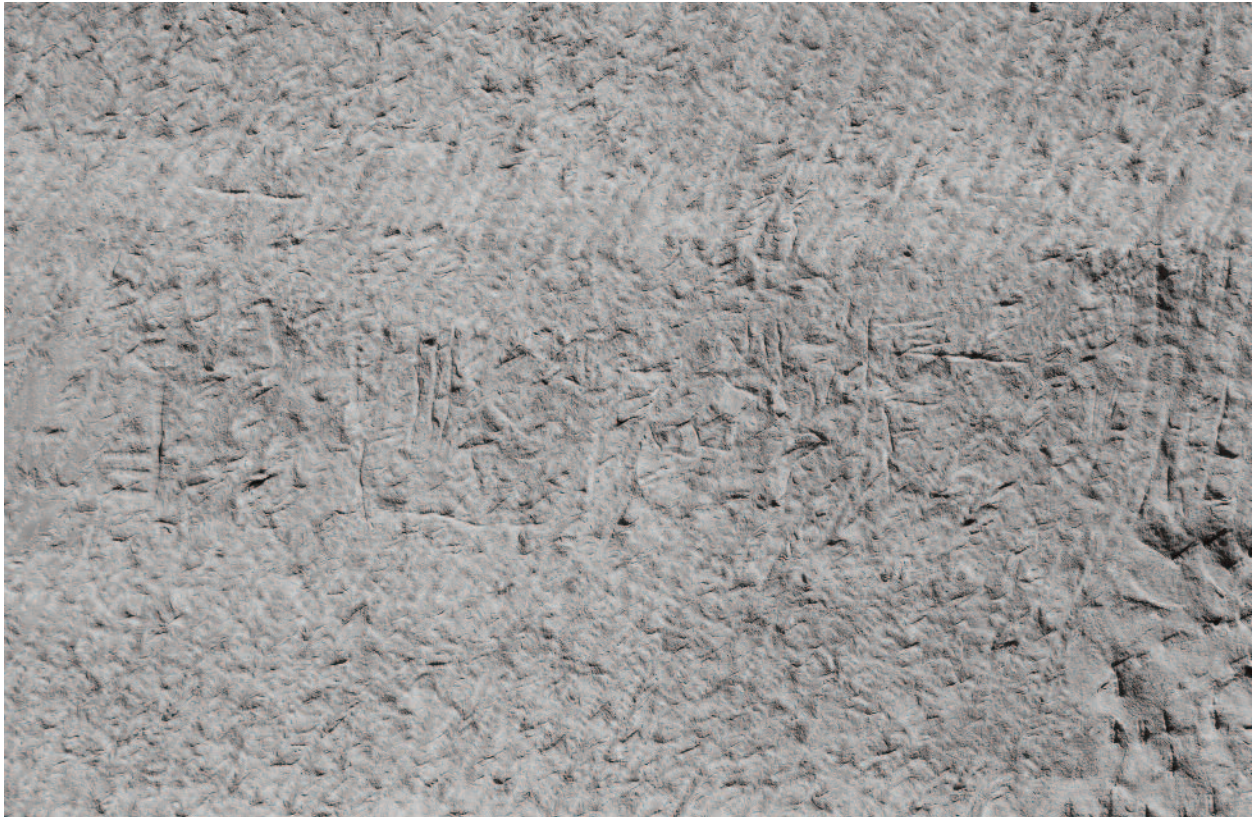
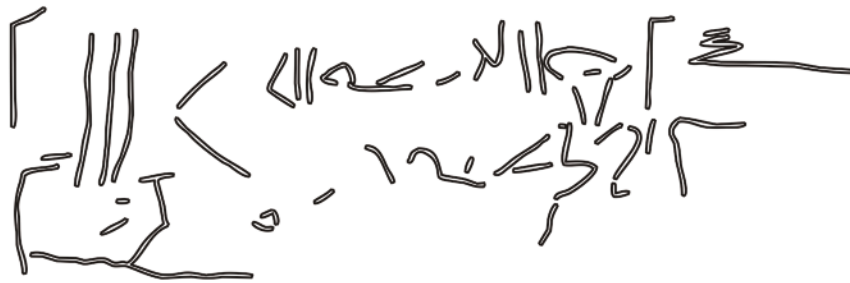
2. *'P³-di'-Hnm s³ 'P³-bik'*

1. "(The) good name remains here

2. Petechnumis son of Pbekis."

Commentary:

The inscription has been scratched and the second line of the graffito is faded. The reading of the father's name is not clear, but the *-k*-sign makes the reading *'P³-bik'* very plausible. Cf. In. 25 for Pbekis.



In. 28

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C13 In. 1

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑΚΑΙΣ ΙΚΕΜΕΛΟΣ

2. ΠΑΡΑΘΗΣ ΦΑΤΡΗΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΑ

1. τὸ προσκύνεμα Καίσι(ο)ς Κέμελος

2. Παράθης Φατρῆς ἔγραφα(ν)

1. "Proskynema (of) Kaisios, son of Kemelos
2. written by Parathes, son of Phatres."

Commentary:

The personal name Kaisis is not previously attested elsewhere, although it appears as a patronym in an adjacent quarry GeSE.Q24 (inv. no. GeSE Q24 E In 1; pending publication). Similarly, Kemelos is plausibly a variant of Kamelos (cf. TM name ID 25382, with name variation 47113). The author is identifiable with the person listed in In. 29. A series of quarry marks follows the terminus of line 1, including (l-r) a lined circle, harpoon, hourglass, cross and pentagram.

ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ ΚΑΙΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΣ ΚΕΜΕΛΟΥΣ ΘΡΑΣΣΙΟΥ
ΠΑΡΑΘΗΣ ΦΑΤΡΗΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΑ



In. 29

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C13 In. 2

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥ

2. ΝΗΜΑ

3. ΠΑΡΑΘΗΣ

4. ΦΑΤΡΗΣ

1. τὸ προσκύ-

2. νημα

3. Παράθης

4. Φατρῆς

1–2. “Proskynema (of)

3. Parathes, son of

4. Phatres.”

Commentary:

See In. 28, above.

ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥ
ΝΗΜΑ
ΠΑΡΑΘΗΣ
ΦΑΤΡΗΣ



ADDENDUM:
PRESIGKE AND SPIEGELBERG 1915, 240 RECONSIDERED

Eugene Cruz-Uribe

In. 30

Inventory number: GeSE Q34 C8 In 11

1. *h^c.t-sp. 7.t ibt 3 3ht sw 1 p³ s^ct*
2. *r-ir.w t³ sme.t gsp p³ s^c.wy*
3. *Hwt-Hr tr.t Hr-my-*
4. *tb³ P³-šr-3gt p³ h-*
5. *m-hl p³ rt.t Pa-mnh*
6. *p³ srtyqws s^c nhh*
7. *n sw 10 hn t³ hty Hr-bhtt*
8. *irm H.t-Hr p³y.f rne mn dy*
9. *s^c nhh dt iw P³-šr-ihy*
10. *p³y.f sn iw.f r in [...] n-tr.t Hr-*
11. *my-tb³ P³-šr-3gt.t*

1. "Regnal year 7 Hathor day: the cutting
2. which was made (in) the cliff of valuable stone (?) of the house
3. of Hathor by the hand of Hormi-
4. teba (son of) Pasheraget, the ser-
5. vant (of/and) the agent of Pamenekh,
6. the *strategos* forever.
7. Again day 10 within the quarry of Horus of Edfu
8. and Hathor his name endures here
9. forever and ever being Pasherihy
10. his brother while he will bring ... by the hand of Hor-
11. miteba (son of) Pasheragetet."

Commentary:

Line 1: *hsb.t 7.t ibt 3 3ht sw 1* If this refers to the reign of Augustus, then this date would be October 28, 24 BCE.

s^ct, literally "the cutting," but indicating the quarrying actions done.

Line 2: *t³ sme.t gsp*. For the translation "cliff" see *CDD* § (2010), 134. The following word is a hapax. There is a *gsp* in the *CDD* G, 71, of unknown meaning. The *CDD* did not note this word from Spiegelberg's manuscript dictionary (22, 139) citing this example. This word may be related to the word *gs* "stone" (*CDD* G, 69, takes it as "form of iron ore?"), but see the discussion of Vittmann 1998, 598, with reference to Aufrere. Thus, the text is likely referring to the fact that the quarrying work was done on the cliff face where high quality stone was visible and thus most desired.

Lines 3–4: *Hr-my-tb³*, see *Demot Nb*, 817. *P³-šr-3gt* is seen here and again in line 11 (written there PA-Sr-Agt,t). *Demot Nb*, 512 took this as the questionable reading *P³-šr-3gtn(?)*. The writing in line 11 shows clearly the *t* and the tall-*t* confirming our reading.

Lines 4–5: It is not clear whether we are to see the two titles as "the servant of the agent" or "the servant and the agent." The latter is adopted by Presigke and Spiegelberg 1915, 15.

Lines 5–6: Pamenekh, the *strategos*, is known from elsewhere. See Farid 1995, 300, with references. These indicate that Pamenekh was in office around 30 BCE, which corresponds to the date proposed above.

Line 7: *n* literally "again," here in the sense of repeating the date and actions of line 1–2. Nine days later would be October 8, 28 BCE. Presigke and Spiegelberg (1915, 14–15) translated this as "Ebenso."

Line 9: Presigke and Spiegelberg (1915, 14) read *irm(?)*, but would be using the last part of *irm* as the *p³* of the *Personennamen*. Reading *iw P³-...* is more convincing.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a transcription of an inscription. The text is arranged in approximately 12 lines, starting with a large initial letter 'Α' (Alpha) at the top left. The script is dense and somewhat difficult to decipher due to its cursive nature and the lack of diacritics. The text appears to be a formal or official document, possibly a record of quarrying or a dedication.



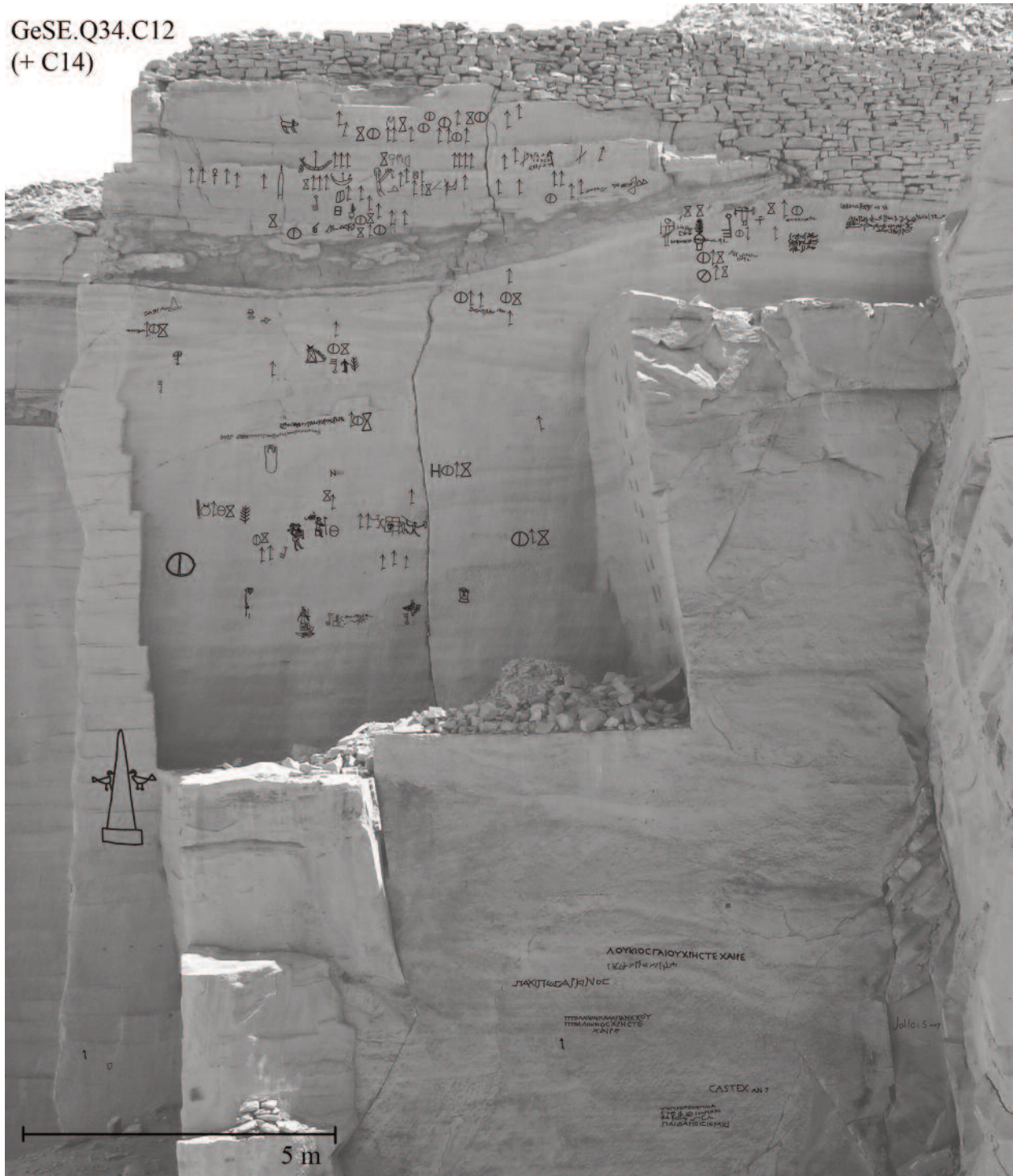
NAME LIST		Parathes	(In. 28, 29)
C		Pasais	(In. 11)
Chapoamounis	(In. 10)	Pasas	(In. 13)
		Pasherhardai	(In. 26)
H		Pbekis	(In. 25, 27)
Haremsynis	(In. 1, P2)	Petechnumis	(In. 27)
Harpaesis	(In. 16)	Peteharsemtheus	(In. 1, 6)
		Peteharsytmis	(In. 2)
K		Petehyris	(In. 26)
Kaisios	(In. 28)	Petepachoumis	(In. 9)
Kemelos	(In. 28)	Pemaus	(In. 13)
		Phatres	(In. 28, 29)
P		Portis	(In. 8)
Pachipachoum	(In. 5, 14)	{Psen-}	(In. 8)
Pachipachoumis	(In. 17)	Psenesis	(In. 8, 12)
Pachirem-...	(In. 18)	Psenobastet	(In. 13)
Pachirembachthis	(In. 17)	Psenosiris	(In. 3)
Pachois	(In. 4, 6, 14)	Psenthotes	(In. 7, 22, 23, 24, 25)
Pachompbekis	(In. 3, 22, 25)		
Pachomphophis	(In. 8)	DEITIES	
Pachomrombachtis	(In. 26)	Hathor	(In. 17)
Pachoumis	(In. 2, 7, 13, 16, 23)	Horus of Edfu	(In. 17)
Pachoumis the elder	(In. 11)	Pachimesen	(In. 26)

APPENDIX 3:
QUARRY FACES WITH TEXT AND QUARRY MARKS

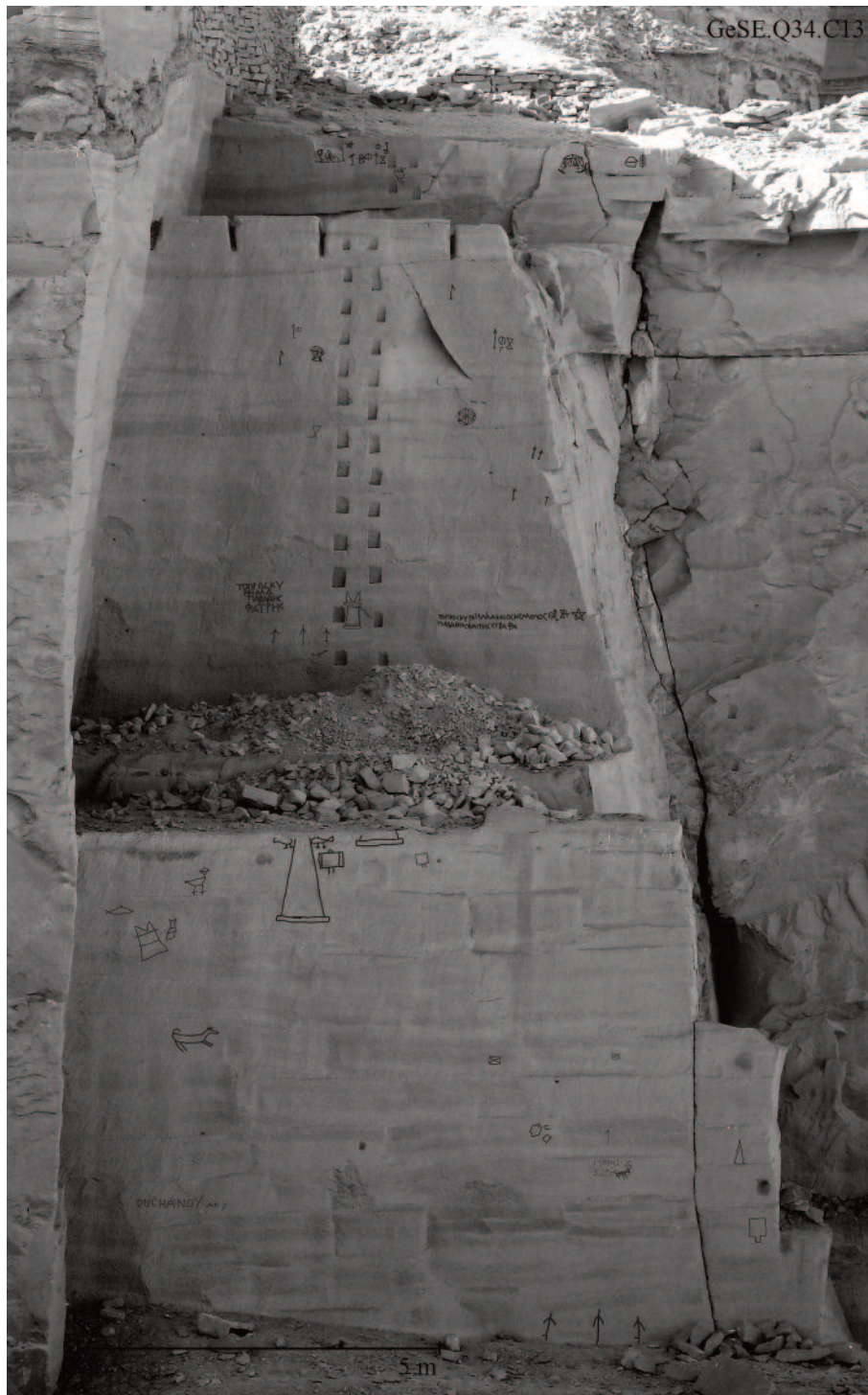


Quarry Face C11

GeSE.Q34.C12
(+ C14)



Quarry Faces C12 and C14



Quarry Face C13