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Gebel el Silsila: field report from the Main Quarry[1]

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with contributions by John Ward, Sarah K. Doherty and Adrienn Almásy

Abstract

The Gebel el Silsila Project is a multi-disciplinary Swedish mission dedicated to the study of the archaeological remains at Ancient Egypt's largest sandstone quarry of Gebel el Silsila, Mountain of Chain, just north of Kom Ombo in the Aswan region. This paper presents a general summary of the epigraphical and archaeo-topographical survey of the largest quarry on the east bank – Quarry 34 or the Main Quarry.

1 Acknowledgements go to the Permanent Committee of foreign missions for giving the team permission to work at Gebel el Silsila, and to the Inspectorates of Kom Ombo with their Director, Mr. Abd el Menum, and equally to the General Director of Aswan, Mr. Nasr Salama. The archaeological work has been made possible by the generous financial support of the following institutions: the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences, the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (Enboms stiftelse), Helge Ax:son Johsons Stiftelse, Magnus Bergvalls Stiftelse, Stiftelsen Lars Hiertas Minne, Birgit and Gad Rausings Stiftelse, Anérstiftelsen, Crafoordska Stiftelsen, and the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet).

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Introduction to the site

The ancient site of Gebel el Silsila (hereafter referred to as "GeS") is located in Upper Egypt, between Kom Ombo and Edfu at the point where the Nile reaches its narrowest point. Once a cataract-like area, the site is now divided into east (Gebel el Silsila) and west (Ramadi Gibli) with ancient quarries that run for 2.5 and 5 km along the Nile respectively (including the northern site of Nag el Hammam). The total area covered by the concession measures approximately 30 km^2. GeS is famous for its many New Kingdom stelae, funerary shrines, and the rock-cut temple previously known as the Speos of Horemheb.[2] It was also ancient Egypt's largest sandstone quarry that provided the ancient architects with the most desired blocks for the construction of some of the world's most renowned temples, including Karnak, Luxor, Ramesseum, Dendera, Edfu, Kom Ombo and many more.[3] What is more, GeS is preserved with not only evidence of ancient extraction methods and transportation techniques, but also a great variety of textual graffiti and figurative representations at least from Epipalaeolithic prehistory and throughout all subsequent ancient periods.

The site was known to the ancients as *Kheny*, possibly "Rowing place", or *Pa mu wab*, "The Pure Water".[4] Its Arabic name – Gebel el Silsila, "Mountain of the Chain" – is believed to derive from one of its ancient names Khol-khol, meaning "barrier" or "frontier", and later transformed to Sil-sil by the Romans.[5] This ancient meaning may be connected with a local tale that describes how a chain was tied between the two banks to stop passing-by ships for taxation reasons.[6] In modern times GeS gave name to an Epipalaeolithic industry – the Silsilian/ Ballanan-Silsilian – found in the northern part of the Kom Ombo plain.[7]

Except for minor excavations conducted in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by Legrain and Sayce the site has never been properly excavated.[8] It was made the responsibility of Caminos under Egypt Exploration Society to systematically record and publish the ancient remains of GeS. Unfortunately, with the passing of Caminos only one monographic volume was completed, leaving large areas of research still unpublished.[9] The current project resumes Caminos' study, but significantly expands into incorporating a comprehensive archaeological documentation of the site for the first time. Since fieldwork continues the report is of a preliminary character.

Quarry 34, the Main Quarry

From the time of Napoleon's scientific expedition this particular quarry has received more attention than any other quarry at GeS. However, despite visits from numerous acclaimed archaeologists, including Petrie, Sayce, Weigall, Legrain, and in later years Caminos, Klemm and Klemm, etc., no comprehensive epigraphical, topographical or archaeological inventory has been published until now.[10]

Quarry 34 (hereafter Q34), the main quarry, named after its grand size (*c.* 50.000 m^2), is centrally positioned among a total of 52 quarries on the east bank, some 50 m east of the Nile. The quarry is reached from the main pathway that runs along the Nile and connects the northern-most section to those in the south. Entry is made via two long and narrow corridors that run in an east-western direction. A series of pathways located on the quarry's spoil heaps additionally connects

2 For an initial and very brief discussion on the older chronology of the speos, see Dr. Martinez' work summarized in Nilsson and Ward 2015.
3 Harrell 2013; Klemm and Klemm 2008; Kucharek 2012.
4 Kucharek 2012.
5 Weigall 1910, 360.
6 Harrell 2013.
7 Smith 1966.
8 Legrain 1903.
9 Caminos and James 1963.
10 Petrie 1888, 14-17 with pl. XIX; Sayce 1907; Weigall 1910, 356-373, esp. 371-373;Caminos 1955; Caminos and James 1963; Klemm and Klemm 2008.

Q34 with a second large passage route on top of the plateau. Archaeological, topographical and epigraphical material indicates not one, but two quarries during the Pre-roman period. Each quarry had its own transportation corridor: the northern and southern corridors respectively (see below). The survey revealed that the two quarries were separated by a southern quarry face (i.e. wall) that was broken through during the time of Augustus or Tiberius. A preserved Roman ramp currently connects the two quarries and gives an impression of one large quarry in accordance with which it was divided into seven partitions (figure 1), arranged as follow:

North:
- Partition A – the northern corridor
- Partition B – the northern partition
- Partition C – the eastern partition
- Partition D – the western partition
- Partition E – the central corridor: a smaller, partially buried corridor located on top of the plateau/spoil heap between the northern and southern corridors

South:
- Partition F – the southern partition
- Partition G – the southern corridor

Recording methodology

Digital archaeological methods were implemented on site during the 2014 campaign, but the initial survey work was conducted by means of more traditional recording methods. As such photographic and analogue methods were used to record 1) general overview of the quarry in its entirety, 2) general overview of each partition, 3) overview of each quarry face, and 4) details of each individual graffito, including quarry marks, etchings, textual inscriptions, so called pilgrim gouges; as well as archaeological features: foot holes, rope holes, post holes, and examples of extraction tool marks. Finally, graffiti with a pictorial or textual context were photographed within their contexts. Epigraphic material located within reach was measured and copied on acetate.

Following the preliminary classification of the separate quarries at GeS, which determined the main quarry as Q34, the quarry was divided into seven partitions and further into 64 quarry faces in accordance with their orientation. For example, Partition B, the northern section, comprises 17 separate quarry faces designated as Q34 B1-17. The division was made in accordance with Table 1.

Displayed epigraphic material was furthermore categorized as 'In' (Inscription – textual graffiti) and 'P' (Pictograph – pictorial graffiti) followed by recorded number. The classification system has proven more effective, adequate and adjustable than Legrain's (unpublished) method as it enables later additions to a quarry face without disorganising the complete quarry records. Legrain, in contrast, used a consecutive number sequence from south to north, which was disrupted by later additions, recorded as ADD with chalk on the quarry faces, each time he returned to GeS.[11]

In addition to the quarry faces proper, all extracted and prepared stone blocks and collapsed (quarry) face fragments within Q34 were documented. Blocks with incisions (textual/pictorial) were photographed, drawn and measured. Extracted stone blocks and collapsed fragments were recorded as an independent category separated from the partitions (excluded here).

11 Many of Legrain's original chalk numbers are still visible on the quarry faces and show a traditional numerical system to which any later found graffiti was appended to the closest recorded number with the abbreviation ADD. Spiegelberg reorganised Legrain's original number system for the 1915 publication: Preisikge and Spiegelberg 1915.

Preliminary topographic results (John Ward)

The aim of the survey work was to establish a general understanding of Q34 including a documentation of the relation between its series of pathways, spoil heaps and series of stone structures located on top of the heaps and on the plateau immediately above the quarry. Five distinct sectors of ancient ruins were recorded; three were located on top of the heaps and two on the plateau, containing a total of 54 clearly defined huts made up by stacked stone that in general measured between 2.5 x 2.5 m and 4 x 5 m. Archaeological material presented on the surface, including pottery, charred coal, red bricks, slag products and layers of organic material now exposed by foxes or wild dogs, indicate that many of the structures on top of the heaps were used as shelters/temporary habitation. The organic material indicates the application of grass or reed as bedding material, but without a proper excavation no such conclusion could be confirmed. Considering their limited number, it is plausible that the structures were used by the overseers and upper hierarchic strata. At present there are no indications of a larger permanent workforce on site, although it is plausible that the workers themselves slept on the quarry floor.

Since the area is under continuous study, the preliminary results will here be limited to the first sector, an area which measured approximately 175 x 65 m (E-W, N-S) and was situated on top of the southern heap (fig. 2). The sector was subdivided into six smaller areas:

Area 1 consisted of two semi-circular stone shelters (nos. 45-46) situated on a levelled ground overlooking Partition G. The shelters equally measured 2 x 1 m, and 80 cm high. The spoil from Area 1 ran in a south-westerly direction towards Partition E and in a northerly direction down upon Area 2, against what appears to be a poorly preserved retaining wall. There were remnants of fire pits. Two pathways were recorded in this area; one leading to Area 6 and the other to Area 2.

Area 2 was located in a depression of the southern heap and was connected with the main quarry floor by a pathway. Area 2 was labelled 'the block storage' because of a series of large, pre-dressed sandstone blocks that are placed in defined rows, assumingly having been prepared for shipping. The visible extracted blocks were of a larger size (60 x 120 cm) compared to the (Ptolemaic and) Roman blocks (55 x 110 cm) documented in the same quarry, and were engraved with quarry marks not compatible to the general style of quarry marks in Q34. From a visual inspection these blocks continued under the spoil debris from Area 1, and this may have been an area used during previous Pharaonic quarrying, for either storing blocks prior to removal or a workshop.[12] The low level of the area (as compared to the other areas) could be an indicator of its age and usage.

Area 3 is situated at the highest elevation of the southern heap and thus commands a strategic view over the southern part of the quarry and two of the corridors (Partitions F and G). It consists of a retaining wall in its northern part (superimposing Partition E) and thirteen interconnected rectangular stone shelters (nos. 37-53) grouped in three identifiable clusters. Their size varies from 3 x 3 m, 120 cm high (no. 37) to 3.5 x 5 m wide, 1 m high (no. 53). The first cluster consists of three stone shelters (nos. 42-44) with their outer walls and doors partially intact. The walls were constructed with double-lined stone blocks filled in with smaller debris and pottery sherds. The shelters abut an abandoned quarry face to its southern and western sides, providing more stability to the structures. The second cluster consists of eight stone shelters (nos. 37-41 and 51-53) most of which are in a very poor state of preservation; disturbed by both natural and artificial forces. The majority of the shelters were built using a double coursed wall with an inner core of smaller debris. A pathway connected these ruins with Partition D. The thirds cluster consists of two poorly preserved shelters (nos. 49-50) constructed with a double layered wall filled with debris.

Area 4 is located in direct connection with Partition E, centrally placed on the heap, and runs in a west-east orientation. The ground is heavily strewn with larger debris mostly deriving from the collapsed retaining walls to Area 3 and Area 6 respectively. The area's western side is surrounded

12 The 2014 ceramic analysis indicate Ramesside activity in the area.

by large spoil heaps that have gradually enclosed the remains of the corridor (Partition E) as it emerges in Area 5, parts of which are still visible.

Area 5 represents the western remnants of the corridor in Partition E and consists of an accumulation of loose chipping, pottery sherds and other quarry debris that was thrown from Area 4.

Area 6 represents the uppermost part of the southern heap, and is situated at an elevated position overlooking Partition E on a ground that was made up of various spoil heaps. A well trodden pathway meanders through this area and provide access to Areas 1 and 2. Along the pathway was observed what appeared to be a series of badly damaged stone ruins. Due to their apparent disarray it was difficult to define their individualities, except for one semi-rectangular ruin which was identified as a shelter (no. 54). This example presented clean dry stone walling with two courses and an inner smaller core. The four sides of the outer wall measure 3.5 x 3 x 1.7 x 2 m with the doorway of 1.5 m with a height of 130 cm. It was recorded that one of the stones within the west-facing wall had been adorned with an etching of an offering table, similar to the quarry mark depictions seen on the quarry faces. Situated beneath and farther to the south of shelter no. 54 stood two other rectangular stone shelters (nos. 47-48). No. 47 was buried within debris, but shelter no. 48 stood relatively clear, although had its pathway access obstructed by the level of spoil in the area. Its south-facing wall had collapsed with the retaining wall of Area 3, above Partition E. Its three measurable walls were recorded as 1.5 x 2 x 3.2 m with a height of 90 cm. Close to the shelter and beneath the fallen spoil was recorded a small area that had been disturbed by local wildlife, which now revealed a layer of organic material consisting of a mixture of fine grass, silt and fine charcoal.

The southern hill presented the most intact and complex series of stone structures within Q34. The structures generally follow a rectangular design with slightly curved corners. The concentration of pottery sherds on the hill and a preliminary analysis indicates that the shelters were in use contemporary to the quarrying, i.e. early Roman period. The pathways that connect the various shelters were limitedly used, some partially covered by debris. The area of and surrounding Partition E, the corridor, indicate an earlier quarrying period that later became obsolete as Q34 expanded in size and depth. With the exception of Area 5 it is difficult to estimate whether the spoil heaps that make up the southern hill are indicative of the later quarrying activity, and further analysis is required before establishing a date. Equally, further analysis is necessary to establish a relative date for the extracted blocks in Area 2. Currently preserved there is only one main pathway that led to the southern hill, and connected Partition D with E and farther west.

In addition to the huts all walls made up by stacked stone were recorded. These were located in direct connection with the quarry faces, plausibly placed there to protect the workers and keep the main pathways free from falling debris. Eight ramps were recorded within the main quarry, which based on their state of preservation indicate different stages of quarrying. Among the miscellaneous items found on the ground or on top of the debris piles that are formed around the quarry are the following items: a fragment of a chisel; several fragments of wood, some plausibly of wedges; pottery; a fragment of cloth. Finally, a high concentration of burned red bricks, charred coal, large pieces of slag and clear flakes of iron were recorded in Section C, indicating a workman's corner, plausibly suggesting a blacksmith's workshop.

Preliminary results from the ceramic analysis (Sarah K. Doherty)

Methodology (GeS in general)

As the pottery of GeS has never before been studied, a new typology for the site must be developed, to then be compared with sister sites around Egypt. In order to achieve this, a full collection of diagnostic surface sherds must be undertaken and then fully processed and studied. The method employed is as follows: (1) individual sub sites are identified from field surveys and are

ascribed an area number, (2) sherds are gathered into baskets (maktafs) at the sub site, (3) the sherds are separated into diagnostics (i.e. bases, handles, rims, and those sherds that have distinguishing features such as spouts, lids, paint, decoration or pot marks) and body sherds (where it is not obvious which vessel the sherd came from). The body sherds are further separated out into their different clay types based on the Vienna System of classification (Marl Clay, Silt, Roman, Aswan, Islamic, Modern).[13] These are then counted and weighed. (4) The diagnostic sherds are washed and dried. Afterwards they are sorted into their defining characteristics and sub-divided by shape, form and other features. If there is more than one type, all are counted, made a note of in the bulk recording form and pottery field notebook, and the best example is set aside to be registered for the database. (5) The selected sherds are given an identifying ceramic number for the database, and all the details are recorded into a ceramic record form. Measurements are taken of the height, width, length and thickness, and characteristics such as colour, clay type and manufacturing marks. This data will later be input into the ceramics database. Each sherd is then labelled with the site code (GES), the year (14), the sub-site e.g. (Q34) and the ceramic number e.g. P24. Example: GES14/Q34/P24. (6) The labelled diagnostic sherd/vessel's profile is then drawn on permatrace using a 7H pencil, contour gauge, ruler and callipers. (7) The sherd is photographed using a Digital SLR Canon EOS 550 D camera or Sony SLT A35 with an EF 60mm macro lens, and then bagged to be stored, or returned to site. (8) The drawings are later redrawn into Photoshop, and the ceramic forms, bulk recording forms and photographs are all entered into a Filemaker Database.

Typology

Each type is given a number e.g. Cones= 1, and defining characteristics (subdivision) are given a further number e.g. Pointed Cone= 1.1. If more than one Pointed Cone 1.1 are found, then the best (most complete) example of 1.1 is taken to be registered, drawn (scale 1:1), photographed and entered into the site database. The other parallel examples are counted and weighed, and the data is added to the database. As more types are added to the typology, the process speeds up. To date, 313 types have been added to the typology, measured, drawn and photographed.

So far, following previously established classification systems[14], and previous ceramic analyses at Heit el Gurob[15] the typology consists of 15 Types:

1) Bases of Amphorae Cones, 2) Bases of Squat Amphorae, 3) Bases of Jars, 4) Bases of Bowls/Fine jars, 5) Bases of Bread trays, 6) Handles of Amphorae, 7) Handles of Jars, 8) Rims of Jars, 9) Rims of Bowls, 10) Rims of Modelled Jars, 11) Lids, 12) Rims of Basins, 13) Funnels and Sieves, 14) Spouts, 15) Pipes

Q34

For the ceramic analysis Q34 was subdivided into different sections: Partition A, Partition B1-11, Partition B11-16, Partition C2- Partition F, and Southern Hill (including block storage area and Partition G).

Partition A – the northern corridor

Partition A was further divided into upper and lower sections for the pottery analyses. The lower section yielded only 23 diagnostic sherds (1.2kg), compared to 300 body sherds (4.6kg), which is perhaps unsurprising as the corridor was likely to be a thoroughfare in ancient times. The sherds were quite abraded, suggesting they had been rolled around quite a bit. Items of note: 5 rims of jars, 2 rims

13 Nordström and Bourriau 1993. The Vienna System is used to identify the clays of dynastic sherds, and defines ceramics using various methods: hardness, sound, amount of sand particles and other inclusions, and colour.
14 Peacock, 1977; Tomber, 2006; Wodzińska, 2010.
15 Gasperini, el-Senussi, Doherty, Bagh, Tambs, & Maaranen, 2012.

of bowl, corded ware bowl body sherd, body sherd with black painted lines, 2 handles amphorae of North-West coastal wares, 3 basin rims, 3 footed ring bases. Most of these date to Early Roman Period.

The upper section consisted of the escarpment immediately above Partition A, where some dry stone walled huts have been located. Twenty-nine new types were located here (22 rims (1.36 kg), 3 bases (1.15kg) and 4 handles (0.2kg)), with a further 7.8 kg of diagnostic material processed, and 52.84 kg of body sherds. These new types contained a mixture of 21% Early Roman sherds, 17% Ptolemaic and 10% 18th-20th dynasty sherds. 0.2kg of slag was also found here, as well as a Nile silt sherd that had a "V" shaped hole drilled into it.

Partition B

Partition B was separated into three areas: B1-11, B11-16 and B16-C2. B1-11 yielded 28 new types: 16 rims, 4 base, 7 handles and 1 knobbed lid (GES14/Q34/B13, see figure 3), with 299 body sherds (6.6kg). Most are dated Early Roman.

B11-15 had 7 new types: 3 Bases (2 Early Roman, 1 19th dynasty Amphora base) and 4 Rims (Early Roman, of which one was an Egyptian Red Slip ware bowl), compared to 29 body sherds (0.702 kg).

B16-C2 contained 115 body sherds (3.12 kg), and 10 new types (4 bases (of which 2 amphora cones), 3 rims, 2 handles (1 amphora and 1 water jar) and 1 ostraca GES14/Q34/B47 bearing Arabic names inscribed with charcoal of Osama Hamuda (obverse) and Hussein (reverse). Apart from the ostraca, these all were dated to the Early-mid Roman period.

Partition C

C3-C7 yielded 3 rims (one basin, and one rim of a bowl dating to Ptolemaic period) and 2 bases (of which one was a pilgrim flask, other amphora cone) and 38 body sherds (1.26 kg). Apart from the Ptolemaic bowl, the diagnostics were Early Roman.

Twenty-five diagnostics came from C8-C9 (18 rims, (including 4 large basin rims <50cm in diameter), 8 bases, 5 handles) with 2 indecipherable Arabic ostraca, and 287 body sherds (8.32 Kg). These dated to the Early Roman period. Within this area 25 pieces of fired mudbricks were found (1.2 kg).

In the western-most corner of Partition C, a surface workshop, possibly a blacksmithing area had been noted in previous seasons, with extensive areas of burning. Within this area, 2 pieces of pipe rim (Islamic period) and a narrow Early Roman bottle rim with painted black stripes were uncovered. Some additional materials were uncovered too, such as a metal buckle, a green stone, piece of flint and a reworked hollowed out sherd. The non-diagnostic body sherds weighed 0.42 kg.

In grid C10-11 159 body sherds (3.26 kg) and 26 diagnostic sherds were collected (15 rims, 7 bases and 3 handles, 1 painted body sherd). Of these, 57 % were Early Roman, 35% Ptolemaic and 7 % 18-19th dynasty.

Partition D

C16- Partition D contained 16 diagnostics (12 rims, 4 bases and 3 handles 0.59kg), of which 3 were new types (8.27 (squared neck jar), 8.28 (pointed, thick triangular rimmed jar which had been overheated to the glassy stage) and a modern (20th C) white glazed tile, possibly for mixing watercolour paints. There were 108 body sherds (1.34 kg). A piece of soapstone was also found here. Most of the diagnostics were Early Roman, but the two new types were of Nile B2 clay, so were likely to be of an 18-19th dynasty date.

Partition E

Partition E yielded a 55 diagnostics (1.92 Kg, 37 rims, 4 bases and 4 handles and 10 new types). All dated to the Early Roman Period, consisting mostly of amphorae, bowls, and jars. There were also 2 pieces of Ceramic Based Material (CBM).

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Partition F

Partition F contained no new types, 121 body sherds (3kg) and 14 diagnostic sherds (0.385 kg, 10 rims, 2 handles and 2 bases), all dated to the Early Roman Period.

Southern Hill camp site, including block storage and Partition G

Some 3,931 body sherds were gathered from this area, with 426 diagnostic rims, 92 bases and 28 handles. Ten new types were identified, 9 rims and 1 complete profile of type 9.16.1 (shallow dish with carinated, outer rolled rim and ring base that dates to the Early Roman Period, 12cm diameter, which was underfired in the kiln GES14/Q34/S2, see figure 4.

Preliminary results from the epigraphic survey

In total 487 textual inscriptions were recorded in Q34, including 155 Greek, 1 Latin, 330 demotic, and 1 pseudo scripted text. Here is presented the publication of 40 inscriptions, including 78 names as listed in 26 Greek, 1 Latin and 13 demotic texts (see addendum). Thirty-six texts are simple signature graffiti, while four inscriptions are categorized as adorations.[16] As the project is ongoing, the texts published here are merely a selection, elected based on work completion. The texts include the correction of a few previously published texts copied by Legrain and published by Preisgke and Spiegelberg (1915), followed by Bernand (1989), and a larger body of unpublished examples. A comprehensive inventory is currently prepared for monographic publication.

The Greek and demotic texts from GeS have been well known for centuries, but remain poorly published. With only brief references to Greek graffiti in Petrie's 'A season in Egypt', and a somewhat more thorough compilation in Bernand (based on Legrain's facsimiles) Presigke and Spiegelberg remained the main references for demotic inscriptions at GeS. The recorded textual material exceeds by far the selection of inscriptions previously published.[17]

Like many of the graffiti at GeS these texts were produced by workmen, scribes, officials, expedition leaders or possibly priests, who had been assigned to extract stone for the construction or renovation of temples, shrines, pylons and gates in Upper Egypt. The texts presented here chiefly date to the earliest Imperial Period, i.e. Augustus and Tiberius, approximately 2 BC – AD 36. The bulk of the 487 inscriptions are categorized as adorations, i.e. *proskynēmata*. Another large body of texts initially appear as simple name graffiti — signatures, but since many of these inscriptions are situated directly or close to quarry marks that depict offering tables, ankhs, libation jugs, et cetera, many could still be considered as adorations despite the lack of an opening *proskynēmata*.

Among the more important inscriptions is text no. 25, which is a graffito written by a Petearensnouphis, son of Kteson. According to the text he came to the quarry as an officer of Ammon and Athena, described as the greatest god and goddess respectively. Not only is it very exceptional to find reference to Greek deities in graffiti in Upper Egypt in general[18], but this is the first recorded mentioning of a Greek goddess proper (in contrast with Tyche as the personification of Fate, below) at GeS.[19] In addition to this rare inscription is an adjacent adoration inscription dedicated to Tyche (Fate); a Greek form of the more frequently listed Egyptian form Shaï.[20] In addition to this rare reference the text designates this particular part of the quarry as 'the quarry of Ammon' and provides us with a date of the carving: 15 Phaophi in year 41 of the ruling Caesar, i.e. Augustus.

16 The adoration inscriptions are currently prepared for a separate publication.
17 Despite a visit to Gebel el Silsila Bernand 1989 did not publish any new material from the Main Quarry, and republished Legrain's sometimes inaccurate facsimiles resulting in an incorrect transcription and translation.
18 E.g. Vleeming 2001, 82–3; Bernand 1977, 241–3, no. 83; Mairs 2010.
19 The significance of referring to Athena (paired with Ammon) in an Upper Egyptian quarry will be discussed in detail elsewhere (currently prepared for publication).
20 Eg. Quaegebeur 1975, 94.

Quarry marks (pictorial graffiti)

Terminology

Despite the common misconceiving association of the non-specific term 'quarry mark' with masons' marks or identity marks, the term is here applied for all non-textual markings at GeS simply because they are all located within a quarry, regardless of function or meaning; engraved, sculptured or painted.[21] The sporadic use of 'graffiti' elsewhere[22] appears inappropriate as its etymological meaning (from *graffiato* 'scratched') conventionally incorporates any kind of textual or pictorial inscription scratched, engraved, carved, scribbled, painted, or drawn.[23] Graffiti may range from simple scratched marks, *dipinti* or even *tituli picti* to elaborate carved and painted scenes. Moreover graffiti are habitually characterized by spontaneous, personal, arbitrary, and non-official creations.[24] Quite the opposite the quarry marks at GeS appear well prepared, occasionally with preliminary lines drawn prior to incision, and they are spatially well arranged. What is more, one must raise the question as to what point the much wider term 'graffiti' is to be differentiated from 'rock art', 'pictographs', 'petroglyphs' if not only in terms of chronology. The terms 'rock art', 'pictographs', 'petroglyphs' are avoided here simply because the marks represented at GeS include variants that resemble alphabetic letters, thus non-pictorial. Without entering an exhaustive interpretational discussion on function and meaning, and although the term evidently requires secondary categories, 'quarry mark' remains the more favourable alternative presented thus far.

Repertoire

3.087 quarry marks were initially recorded, displayed in accordance with Table 3. The corpus in the northern section (A-D) is dominated by harpoons, which with 1.281 examples represent 41% of the total number of quarry marks in Q34. The northern section, furthermore, display a considerable amount of 'hourglasses', (264 examples), circles crossed by a vertical or horizontal bar (123 examples), offering tables (158 examples) and horned altars (136 examples). Additional, less frequent representations include tridents, anthropomorphic figures, quadruped animals, crosses, squares, pentagrams, Greek letters, birds, and so on.

The harpoon

The harpoon is illustrated in all the northern partitions (A-E), but never in the south except for four examples in the western opening of Partition G. Using Partition C for a statistic demonstration, the harpoon appears with 781 examples, divided into nine sub-variants displayed on 18 quarry faces, making up 50% of the total amount of marks in this partition. An identical percentage rate is presented in Partition B where the harpoon appears with 188 examples on 11 quarry faces. 226 examples were recorded in Partition A, again representing 50% of the total; in Partition D the harpoon appears with 82 examples, making 57% of the total.

Based on the simplest form – a vertical line with a toggle head – the sub-variants are divided in accordance with minor dissimilarities (morphemes) in terms of additional details and/or a horizontal orientation instead of vertical. In contrast with its simplest form the harpoon is occasionally illustrated in raised relief, or inserted in a plaque. The term 'harpoon' is preferred rather than 'arrow' due to its characterizing additional details, such as a handle or a rope on

21 Nilsson forthcoming a.
22 Kucharek 2012.
23 E.g. Hahn 2012.
24 Ibid., 2 (= 2975 in printed version).

the shaft.[25] The harpoon occurs as a singular sign, in pairs and in larger groups, or in clusters without any linear or direct attachment to another. When incorporated in groups, it is found with other harpoons, hourglasses, circles, horned altars, or as held by anthropomorphic figures with zoomorphic elements (mainly a beak). The harpoon is often found next to demotic inscriptions, especially in Partitions C. It frequently appears in connection with the name 'Pachimesen'; a name of a local protective deity loosely translated as 'He of the uplifting of the harpoon'.[26] The name Pachimesen suggests an association or assimilation of this local Shaï or 'daemon'[27] with Horus as the Lord of Mesen ('Harpoon City').[28] Except for the four harpoons in Partition G, all partitions that display harpoons also include the name Pachimesen. In the vicinity of one of these inscriptions is a falcon god depicted with a double crown, and an adjacent inscription refers to the northern quarry part (A-E) as the 'Quarry of Horus'.[29]

Documented as a weapon already during Egyptian Prehistory, the harpoon was included in the mythic trial of strength between Seth and Horus[30], and became an attribute of Horus ('Lord of the harpoon'), representing strength, power, protection and victory over the enemy (enemies).[31] As suggested elsewhere[32], Pachimesen represents a local form of Horus, and the harpoon symbolically represents the deity, thus acting as an identity mark. Depictions of anthropomorphic figures wearing Roman armour and depicted spearing a crocodile with a harpoon, support this interpretation.[33] At present there is nothing to suggest that the harpoon had a function as a 'mason's mark', ownership mark, or any practical, non-symbolic significance.

Jug, ankh and offering table

The quarry mark repertoire and associated occurrence rate is far more limited in the south than in the north, with 536 and 2.551 marks respectively. The motif corpus in the south (Partitions F-G) is as an alternative dominated by a vessel (Gardiner's W9; *ḫnm*) and an ankh, often found coupled in series and frequently also include offering tables. In the south, the ankh is recorded with 157 examples (29% of the total), the vessel with 128 examples (24%), and the offering table with 79 examples (15%), together making up 68% of the total amount of quarry marks displayed. While the majority of quarry marks appear in various sub-groups, and interchanging horizontal and vertical orientations, the ankh is always represented in an upward, traditional position. The jug appears in two variations, altering a left or right orientation (mirror reflected), and always standing on its foot. The offering table is represented in various sub-groups and with several additional details. All three marks are found with single and double outlines equally. The significance of the ankh will not be discussed here, although it can be stated that it is often found in direct connection with textual media, primarily dedications or 'give life'-formulae.[34]

The vessel is frequently situated immediately next to adoration texts, type *proskynēmata.* The vessel may, thereby, be a symbolic indicator of a physical act of adoration. What is more, there are repeated textual references to Khnum in the southern part of Q34. These remarks are recorded in dedications to the ram-god, and in workers' titles, including 'overseer of the work for Khnum' and 'superintendent of the Temple of Khnum'[35]. Indeed, one unpublished text describes the southern

25 See also Preiskge and Spiegelberg 1915, 4: "Horus-Harpune".
26 Smith 1999, 396; Preiskge and Spiegelberg 1915, nos. 228, 230–231, 248.
27 For Pachimesen's epithet 'Agathodaimon', see Preiskge and Spiegelberg 1915, nos. 189, 194, 212–213, 217, 222–224, 226–227, 229, 232, 235–236).
28 Griffiths 1958, 76.
29 Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, no. 240.
30 Sweeny 2002, 154.
31 E.g. Finnestad 1983, 15; Blackman and Fairman 1944.
32 Nilsson 2014a; 2014b; forthcoming a; forthcoming b.
33 Nilsson forthcoming a; forthcoming b.
34 Currently prepared for publication.
35 Idem; Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, nos. 98, 100 and 102.

part as the 'Quarry of Khnum'. With a few exceptions, the vessel is always located on quarry faces that also contain references to Khnum. Moreover, an unpublished demotic inscription informs us that the quarried stone was destined for a 'Temple of Khnum'.

The vessel, as is generally known, forms the first sign in the hieroglyphic name of Khnum. Favorable for the sake of argument, there are various carved illustrations of rams in the southern part, some in direct proximity of jugs and Khnum-inscriptions.[36] Additionally, there are various personal names that include the name of the god, such as Petechnoubis (Petechnoubios/Petechnoumis).[37] The vessel, as a consequence, may be symbolically associated with Khnum, or with individuals working on behalf of the god. The Temple of Khnum has been identified by the author elsewhere[38] as the sanctuary in Esna.

The offering table is recorded in fifteen main morphemes, each of which can be divided further based on variations of single or double outlines, as well as sunken or raised relief. Its simplest form illustrates a rectangular shape with a mouth (open or closed). Additional details include a stylized winged solar disc, crossed inner bars, or conventional offering items such as lotus flowers and libation jars.[39] Similar graffiti are found in proliferation in the Nile valley. They are incised into the walls of temples and tombs, on rocks and panels along trade routes and in mountain areas. Somewhat controversially this t-shaped mark was interpreted as a grave indicator by Carter and some of his followers, using it as an indicator of undiscovered tombs in the Theban Mountains.[40] However, based on its frequency throughout the various ancient periods; its presence in temples, quarries, trade routes and other non- funerary locations; its pictorial context that often include horned altars and other ceremonial items; and its additional iconographic details such as sacrificial objects, all points to an identification with the item actually depicted – an offering table.

Similar to above mentioned quarry marks, the offering table occurs in association with textual graffiti, and habitually seems to emblematically replace the textual *proskynēmata* formula, thus acting as an indicator of adoration. Among various other examples, this is demonstrated in inscription no. 23; a signature of Epidiaros son of Petebekis, dating to AD 10/11, and situated to the immediate left of an offering table. In addition to adjacent placement, several examples of offering tables with enclosed texts were recorded in Q34, especially in the two larger corridors (Partitions A and G).[41] The application of offering tables as enclosure for signatures or dedicatory text can be compared with the various examples of *tabulae ansatae* at GeS.[42] Offering tables are represented in all seven partitions in Q34 (and equally in all contemporaneous quarries, including Q24, Q35-37).

Discussion on meaning and function

Signifiers of predestined temples?

The connection between specific quarry marks and textually confirmed deities, such as briefly theorized above (harpoon – Pachimesen/Horus; jug – Khnum), could hypothetically establish the quarry marks as 'signifiers' for a temple or shrine for which the extracted stone was intended. Indeed, specific temples are mentioned in the texts, even though the geographic location remains unnamed. Temporal information, i.e. ruler combined with building activity recorded during the particular reign, can provide at least plausible temple identification. Although the temple has

36 Idem; Preisigke and Spiegelberg, nos. 112, 131 and 133. However, it cannot be dismissed that the ram is associated with Amun instead, alternatively reflecting a syncretism of Amun and Khnum.

37 Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, nos. 92, 98, 103, 110, 115, 142 and 261. Additional inscriptions with these names are currently prepared for publication.

38 Nilsson forthcoming b.

39 See for example Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, no. 41 (central image).

40 E.g.Carter 1917, 111; Unpublished papers of Jaroslav Černý (1898-1970) in the Griffith Institute, Oxford: MSS. 6.13, 28; Romer 1981, 232; Peden 2001, 140, 26, 264.

41 Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, nos. 83, 198.

42 *Ibid*, nos. 91, 115-118, 195.

already been established as that of Esna, two examples were initially considered, including the Temple and temple terrace of Khnum at Esna and Elephantine, which may be plausible destination candidates for the stone extracted in the southern parts of Q34.[43]

While a function as 'destination signifiers' may be theoretically reasonable, one would expect to find related, if not identical marks situated on the stone blocks within the final temple structure. However, while there are various examples of 'quarry marks' that are technically executed analogously with those *in situ* at GeS, the motif repertoire presented within the structures of the Temples at Edfu, Esna, Elephantine and so on, reveal neither absolute nor convincing identification.[44] The motif corpus at Temple of Edfu, for example, does include a limited amount of harpoon-like objects, but the more frequent mark shows a horizontal line crowned at both ends by two leaves/blades. Triangles, offering tables, ladders, and fork-like objects occur too. And despite Jaritz' generally accepted association of marks situated within the terrace structure at Elephantine, only two examples of vessels are registered.[45] At present the metaphorical dimension of the quarry marks at GeS is unlikely to signify predestined temple location.

Quarry marks as religious symbols?

From at least the New Kingdom the religious aspect of GeS was intimately associated with the Nile and its inundation, noticeable in the designation "the Pure Water" and for which festivities were held biannually.[46] Other cultic associations with the Nile waters are attested in various inscriptions on the west bank, including "Geb and Nut who are in the Waters of Libation", and "[…] within the Waters of Libation", or "Holy Water".[47] And despite previous attempts in dismissing any religious activity on site after the 19th Dynasty these references play an integral role in later dedications and adorations.[48] In addition to the depiction of situlae in quarries dating to Claudius (textually associated with milk and Isis)[49], the more commonly depicted object associated with libations (oil) and possibly Nile water is that of a stone vessel generally known in accordance with the hieroglyphic sign W9.[50]

In addition to the hypothetical association between a quarry mark and a ritual act, such as between the *ḫnm*-vessel, *proskynēmata* -inscriptions and physical act of libation, there are various motifs that indicate a more metaphorical or even apotropaic significance.[51] The ancients believed every carved image to hold an essence of the true object depicted. As such each image was considered to contain an amuletic property and signified concepts related to adoration, protection and giving thanks.[52] This is particularly true for the Roman period.[53]

A potential example of an apotropaic (protection) mark at GeS is the depiction of an ibis-bird positioned as a defeater of a horned viper. Still today horned vipers form a lethal threat to its visitors[54],

43 Cf. Jaritz 1980.
44 Quarry marks within temple structure have been examined since 2007 by the author and J. Ward in order to study comparable engraved and/or painted marks.
45 Jaritz 1980.
46 Caminos and James 1963, 34, pl. 25/4; Kucharek 2012, 4. A closely related epithet "of the Pure Water" for Taweret is attested in various examples at Deir el Medina, believed to be an import from Gebel el Silsila. See Kucharek unpublished master thesis, 86-87. The finding of an incised pictorial graffito on the plateau of the west bank during the 2013 season, combined with various previously known graffiti of the goddess strongly emphasize Taweret's importance at Gebel el Silsila.
47 Weigall 1910, 358.
48 Idem: "After this period, however, the gradual cessation of the rapids, and the turning of the neighbourhood into a huge quarry works, caused the religious aspect of Gebel Silsileh to be forgotten, and one hears no more of that side of its character".
49 Nilsson and Almasy 2015.
50 Gardiner 1957, W9.
51 Nilsson 2014a.
52 Kleinitz 2009.
53 E.g. Betz 1985; Bonner 1950; Dzwiza 2013;);
54 Cf. Caminos 1955, 51.

and it is reasonable that the ancient worker engraved a mark to represent their wish for safekeeping during their work. Alternatively it can be suggested that the workers had completed their task and wished to express their gratefulness towards the gods for having been kept safe. As a zoomorphic symbol for Thoth, the ibis was certainly considered a blessing in the harsh quarryscape.

Several additional (Roman) examples of marks that may have been created with an apotropaic function in mind are preserved within Q34. Anthropomorphic figures are considerably frequent; dressed as Roman soldiers they generally hold a shield and spear, and include zoomorphic elements such as a beak. One of the more interesting illustrations shows a falcon-headed figure seated on a throne superimposing a crocodile (figure 5). The figure wears a double crown and holds a harpoon in his hand; a snake is seen behind the figure's back. As the (to the author) only known example this representation shows a seated victorious Horus figure alluding to Cippi figures (Horus stelae). Such an image is generally interpreted to symbolize Horus' magical powers to protect the owner from evil.[55] Could the seated figure at GeS be the first known example of a quarry drawing of the traditional Cippi motif, and similar to the ibis-bird have been engraved to protect the workers against snakes and other dangerous animals that constantly threatened their everyday life within the quarry?

Indicators of extraction methodology (main author and John Ward)

In terms of technical analysis of the tool (extraction) marks, chisel and groove size, preliminary results indicate the use of three main sizes of chisels in Q34, ranging with smaller differences between 4 and 7 mm in width and with a flat chisel head-size of 3-4 cm. Pointy chisels were used too (8-11 mm wide at its point). The tool marks on extracted blocks and the gap from which they were extracted demonstrate parallel diagonal pattern and the so called herringbone pattern. Thus, Klemm and Klemm's theory must be questioned: their conclusion in dating the herringbone pattern to the 18th Dynasty[56] has been proven inadequate since it is evident that this pattern was produced also during later periods, in particular during the Roman period. Moreover, their dating of Q34 to the Ptolemaic period[57] is not convincing: without any difference in the tool marks, they separate Ptolemaic quarrying from Roman by the amount of outlines of quarry marks: a single outline represents Ptolemaic activity, and a double Roman extraction. This system is ambiguous and misleading since Q34 equally display examples of singular and double outlined marks, often placed next to each other. What is more, while remaining cautious in dating a quarry based on its graffiti, the majority of the textual inscriptions belong to the early Roman period with no reference to Ptolemaic activity.

Included in the technical analysis, a differentiation was recorded between the size and execution of wedge marks, temporally developing from large, sloppy grooves to smaller and more precisely cut holes. The most common feature within the main quarry is a wedge mark marked out and made by four initial chisel lines/cuts into the stone: those belong to the latter part of the quarry's time periods.

55 E.g. Seele 1947.
56 Klemm and Klemm 2008, 196-197.
57 Ibid, 189.

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Addendum – Inscriptions

(Maria Nilsson – Greek and Latin; Adrienn Almásy – Demotic and Greek)

***Abbreviations used in the addendum*:**

Bernand: Andre Bernand, *de Thébes á Syéne* (Paris 1989)
BGU: *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen* (later Staatlichen) *Museen zu Berlin*, Griechische Urkunden, Berlin 1895-
CDD: *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*, ed. J. H. Johnson (Chicago, 2001)
http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/catalog/cdd/
DNB: Erich Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch* I-II (Wiesbaden, 2000)
EG: Wolja Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Kopenhagen, 1954)
PS: Friedrich Preisigke and Willhelm Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und griechische Inschriften und Graffiti aus den Steinbrüchen des Gebel Silsile (Oberägypten) - nach den Zeichnungen von Georges Legrain* (Strassburg, 1915)
SB: Friedrich Bilabel, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, Band 3 (Berlin und Lepizig, 1926)
TM: Trismegistos Database: http://www.trismegistos.org/
TM NAM: Trismegistos Name: http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/search.php
TM ID: Trismeistos personal identity number: http://www.trismegistos.org/per/search.php.

Latin

1. Signature of Faustus

Inv. no. C7.In.4
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 18 m above ground

1. FAUSTUS
1. *Faustus*

Commentary:
The background has been smoothed (rubbed) to create a plaque-like impression. An engraved depiction of a harpoon is situated immediately to the left. No previous attestations at GeS.[58]

Greek

2. Signature of Pampos

Inv. no. C16.In.1
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 14 m above the ground

1.) ΠΑ
2.) ΠΑΜΠΩϹ
3.) L
1.) Πα(...)
2.) Πάμπως
3.) L (ἔtous)
1.) Pa(mpos)
2.) Pampos
3.) *year [·]*

Commentary:
An illustration of a harpoon is situated to the left of the inscription, and a canine illustration to the right. L1 was plausibly intentionally interrupted due to the lack of space to complete the name, thus a

58 Trismegistos Name ("TM NAM") 7418. Hereafter, references to "TM" without further specification refer to this database: http://www.trismegistos.org/; "NAM" refers to the name database: http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/search.php, and "ID" to the personal identity number given in the database: http://www.trismegistos.org/per/search.php. Cf. TM ID 85958, 393763.

repetition of the name Pampos, suggesting that the canine depiction was carved prior to the text. The name Pampos is not previously attested. On palaeographic grounds the carver may be identified with a Pampos, son of Pamptos, recorded in an adjacent inscription (quarry face C17), no. 3, below.

3. Signature of Pampos son of Pampotos

Inv. no. C17.In.1
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 19 m above the ground

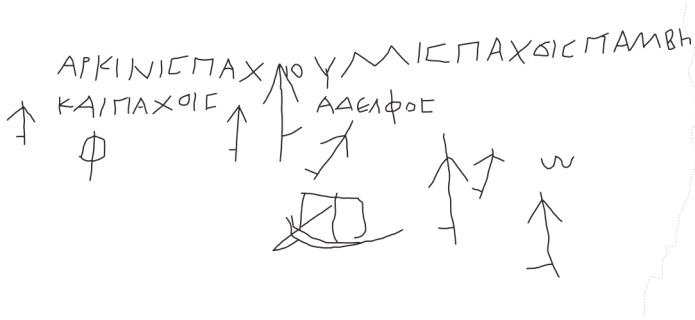
1.) ΠΑΜΠΩC
2.) ΠΑΜΠΩΤΟΥ
1.) Πάμπως
2.) Πάμπωτου
1.) Pampos
2.) (son of) Pampotos

Commentary:

It is likely that Pampos is identified with the carver of no. 2. The name is connected to a pictorial image – a horned altar – possibly suggesting a symbolic adoration. Neither Pampos nor Pampatos[59] is previously attested. Plausibly, "Pampatos" is a variant of "Pachompatous" (TM NAM 8156), as recorded in Partition C.[60]

4. Signature of Harkinis son of Pachnoumis

Inv. no. C21.In.1
Unpublished
Measurements: 18 cm H x 238 cm W, *c.* 4.5 m above the ground



1.) ΑΡΚΙΝΙC ΠΑΧ(Ν)ΟΥΜΙC ΠΑΧΟΙC ΠΑΜΒΗ[---]
2.) ΚΑΙΠΑΧΟΙC ᵛᵛᵛΑΔΕΛΦΟC
1.) Ἁρκῖνις Παχνοῦμις Παχόϊς Παμβη[---]
2.) καί Παχόϊς ἀδελφός
1.) Harkinis (son of) Pachnoumis, Pachois (son of) Pambe[---]

59 Cf. TM NAM 8153.
60 Unpublished demotic inscription incised on quarry face C10.9.

2.) and Pachois the brother

Commentary:

The inscription is surrounded by various quarry marks including seven harpoons, a boat and two individual Greek letters (phi and omega). A large harpoon is situated in the centre of the inscription, filling the vacant space in L2, and has divided the name Pachnoumis – superimposing the nu – in L1.

With no previous attestations at GeS Harkinis[61] may have a parallel in an adjacent unpublished graffito (inv. no. C17.In.5): ΑΡΚΙ[---].

Pachnoumis is recorded in various inscriptions in the southern section of the main quarry.[62] Pachois is attested in various inscriptions at GeS[63], in demotic and Greek, but without an identifying patronym.

5. Signature of Andron

Inv. no. F1.In.1

PS 148; Bernand 138; SB III 6900; TM 54274; TM ID 113 854.

Measurements: *c.* 19 m above the ground

1.) ΑΝΔΡΩΝ

1.) Ἄνδρων

1.) Andron

Commentary:

Despite its closeness to no. 6 the inscription is here divided into two separate signatures (nos. 5-6) based on clearly distinct style and size differentiations. Tool groves and technique of no. 5 correspond with those of the quarry mark series situated above the text, including (l-r) a jug, an offering table and an ankh. Cf. no. 9 'Andron son of Andreas'.[64]

6. Signature of Siepmous son of Chairon[65]

Inv. no. F1.In.2

PS 148; Bernand 138; SB III 6900; TM 54274

Measurements: *c.* 19 m above the ground

1.) ϹΙΕΠΜΟΥϹ

2.) ΧΑΙΡΩΝ

1.) Ϲιεπμοῦς

2.) Χαίρων

1.) Siepmous

61 TM NAM 8768.

62 TM NAM 674. Nilsson, Almásy and Ward.

63 Preisigke and Spiegelberg, nos..49, 206, 209, 212; TM NAM 643.

64 TM NAM 2039 (Andron).

65 See facsimile for no. 6.

2.) (son of) Chairon

Commentary:
Based on Legrain's facsimile, PS and Bernand published an incomplete and incorrect reading. The names are not previously attested at GeS.[66]

7. Signature Anoubion son of Prempouisousios

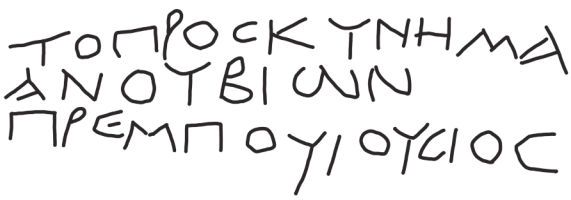
Inv. no. F2.In.5
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 9 m above the ground

1.) ΑΝΟΥΒΙΩΝΠΡ
1.) Ἀνουβίων Πρ(εμπουισουσίος)
1.) *Anoubion (son of) Prempouisousios*

Commentary:
The reading and identification of ΠΡ with Premporisousios is based on palaeographically comparable adjacent adoration inscription, no. 8, which is situated on the same quarry face. PS 125 and Bernand 120 incorrectly misread the lunar sigma as an epsilon.

8. Adoration of Anoubion son of Prempouiousios

Inv. no. F2.In.34
PS 125; Bernand 120; SB III 6882; TM 54249; TM ID 113 816-7
Measurements: *c.* 12.5 m above the ground



1.) ΤΟΠΡΟCΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2.) ΑΝΟΥΒΙΩΝ
3.) ΠΡΕΜΠΟΥΙΟΥCΙΟC
1.) Τὸ προσκύνημα
2.) Ἀνουβίων
3.) Πρεμπουιουσῖος
1.) *Act of adoration (of)*
2.) *Anoubion*
3.) *(son of) Prempouiousios*

Notes:
L2: Legrain's facsimile (PS 125; Bernand 120) excludes the initial alpha and nu, and misreads

66 TM NAM 1114; 2561.

a tau for the ypsilon.

L3: PS 125 and Bernand 120 misreads an epsilon for a lunar sigma, thus misreads the name as Prempouioueios.

9. Signature of Hermon

Inv. no. F2.In.47
Unpublished
Measurements: 9 cm H x 26 cm W, *c.* 8.5 m above the ground

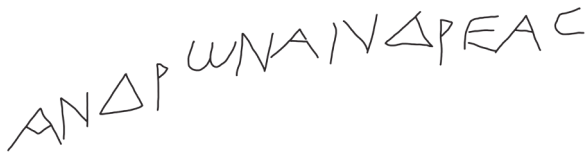
1.) ΕΡΜΩΝ
1.) Ἕρμων
1.) Hermon

Commentary:

Based on a comparable palaeography and its adjacent location to inscription inv. no. F2.In.21 (PS 124), the person may be identified with TM ID 113 814, Hermon son of Apollonios.[67]

10. Signature Andron son of Andreas

Inv. no. F2.In.1
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 21 m above the ground



1.) ΑΝΔΡΩΝΑΝΔΡΕΑϹ

1.) Ἄνδρων Ἀνδρέας
1.) Andron (son of) Andreas

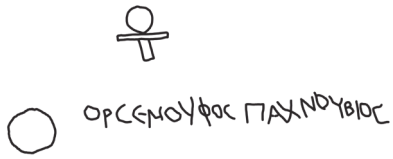
Commentary:

Based on a comparable palaeography, combined with adjacent location to inscription inv. no. F1.In.1 (PS 148), the person may be identified with TM ID 113 854, here providing also the patronym. The name Andreas is not previously attested at GeS.[68]

11. Signature Orsenouph(i)os son of Pachnoubios

Inv. no. F2.In.62
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 14 m above the ground

67 TM NAM 3003 (Hermon).
68 TM NAM 2039 (Andron), 2024 (Andreas).



1.) ΟΡϹΕΝΟΥΦΟϹΠΑΧΝΟΥΒΙΟϹ
1.) Ὀρσενοῦφ(ι)ος Παχνουβίος
1.) Orsenouphios (son of) Pachnoubios

Commentary:
The spelling of Orsenouphios with an ending omicron instead of iota and omicron has no previous attestations,[69] "Osenouphios", however, is attested at GeS with different filiations.[70] "Pachnoubios" is attested in various variants at GeS, including "Pachnoumis".[71]

12. Signature of Agathinos son of Platon

Inv. no. F2.In.65
PS 139; Bernand 132; SB III 6894; TM 54264; TM ID 113 838-9
Measurements: *c.* 13.5 m above the ground

1.) ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟϹ
2.) ΠΛΑΤΩΝ
1.) Ἀγαθίνος
2.) Πλάτων
1.) Agathinos
2.) (son of) Platon

Notes:
L1: Legrain interpreted a natural strata break as a horizontal bar, misreading the omicron for a theta. The facsimile in PS 139 and Bernand 132 incorrectly replace the ending lunar sigma with an epsilon.

Commentary:
Cf. no. 14, below.[72]

13. Signature of Agathinos

Inv. no. F2.In.66
Unpublished

69 Cf. TM NAM 568 (Orsenouphis); 674 (Pachnoumis).
70 E.g. Preisigke and Spiegelberg, nos. 93, 188.
71 E.g. Preisigke and Spiegelberg, nos. 261 (Bernand 152), 128 (Bernand 123).
72 TM NAM 1757 (Agathinos), 5157 (Platon).

Measurements: *c.* 14 m above the ground

1.) ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟC
1.) ʼΑγατῖνος
1.) Agathinos

Commentary:
While the inscription is situated equally adjacent to no.12 (Agathinos son of Platon) and no. 16 (Agathinos son of Drakon), palaeographic details, including the style and carving technique (and the size of the tool) are identical to those of no. 12, suggesting identification with TM ID 113 839.

14. Adoration of Agathinos son of Drakon

Inv. no. F2.In.64
PS 136; Bernand 129; SB III 6891; TM 54261
Measurements: *c.* 13.5 m above the ground

1.) ΤΩΠΡΟCΓΥΝΗΜΑ
2.) ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟC ΔΡΑΚΩΝ
1.) Τὸ προσκύνημα
2.) ʼΑγαθίνος Δράκων(τος)
1.) Act of adoration (of)
2.) Agathinos (son of) Drakon

Notes:
L1: Legrain's facsimile (PS 136; Bernand 129) reads kappa instead of gamma.
L2: Legrain's facsimile excludes the nu in Agathinos.

Commentary:
The carver replaced the omicron with an omega in the definite article and the name of Drakon, and replaced the kappa with a gamma in proskynema. Cf. nos. 13-14, 16.

15. Adoration of Agathinos son of Drakon

Inv. no. F2.In.68
PS 135; Bernand 128; SB III 6890; TM 54260
Measurements: *c.* 14 m above the ground

1.) ΤΟΠΡΟCΓΥΝΗΜΑ
2.) ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟC
3.) ΔΡΑΚΩΝΤΟC

1.) Τὸ προσκύνημα
2.) Ἀγαθίνος
3.) Δράκωντος
1.) *Act of adoration (of)*
2.) *Agathinos*
3.) *(son of) Drakon.*

Notes:
L1: Legrain's facsimile (PS 135; Bernand 128) excludes L1. The use of gamma instead of kappa, omega instead of omicron, combined with a comparable palaeography suggest a carver identical with nos. 13, above.

16. Signature of Pamchemis

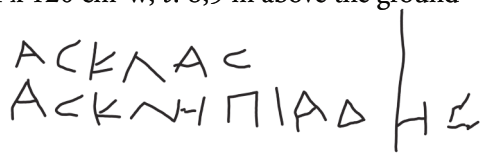
Inv. no. F2.In.89
Unpublished
Measurements: 5 cm H x 64 cm W, c. 8.5 m above the ground

1.) ΠΑΜΧΗΜΙϹ
1.) Παμχῆμις
1.) Pamchemis

Commentary:
It is possible that the inscription was included in an inscription situated above (inv. no. F2.In.88 = PS 138) or below (inv. no. F2.In.90, unpublished). Other than no. 4, above, the name has no previous attestations at GeS,[73] but no palaeographic details (no. 4 applies eta, while no. 17 uses the epsilon) nor geographic associations (the inscriptions are situated in different Partitions – C and F) indicate any connection between no. 4 and 17.

17. Signature of Asklas son of Asklepiades

Inv. no. F2.In.91
PS 141; Bernand 134; SB III 6896; TM 54266; TM ID 113 842-3
Measurements: 7 cm H x 120 cm W, *c.* 8,5 m above the ground



1.) ΑϹΚΛΑϹ
2.) ΑϹΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗϹ
1.) Ἀσκλᾶς
2.) Ἀσκληπιάδης
1.) Asklas
2.) (son of) Asklepiades

73 Cf. TM NAM 17283 (variant of Pampchemis).

Notes:

L1: Based on Legrain's facsimile, PS and Bernand incorrectly read the final letters as alpha and phi, and neglect the final lunar sigma, misreading Asklas for Asklepiades.[74]

18. Signature of Pothos

Inv. no. F3.In.5
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 18.5 m above the ground

1.) ΠΟΘΟC
1.) Πόθος
1.) Pothos

Commentary:
The pi is written in a slightly cursive, lunar style. The name is not previously attested at GeS.[75]

19. Signature of Hermonax son of Patas

Inv. no. F3.In.8
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 16.5 m above the ground

1.) ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞΠΑΤΑ[C]
1.) ʿΕρμῶναξ Πατᾶ[ς]
1.) Hermonax (son of) Patas

Commentary:
Neither Hermonax nor Patas are attested previously at GeS.[76]

20. Signature of Psenapathes son of Pachnoubis

Inv. no. F3.In.31
Unpublished; chalk marked by Legrain; pencil traced by unknown visitor.
Measurements: 9 cm H x 34 W, *c.* 1 m above the current quarry floor

1.) ΨΕΝΑΠΑΘΗC

74 Cf. TM NAM 2362 (Asklas), 2372 (Asklepiades).
75 TM NAM 5254.
76 TM NAM 4491 (Hermonax); 4938 (Patas).

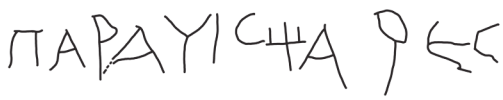
2.) ΠΑΧΝΟΥΒΙϹ

1.) Ψεναπάθης
2.) Παχνοῦβις
1.) Psenapathes
2.) (son of) Pachnoubis

Commentary:
Psenapathes is not previously attested at GeS.[77]

21. Signature of Parauis son of Psares

Inv. no. F3.In.25
Unpublished
Measurements: 7.5 cm H x 27 cm W, *c.* 5.5 m above the ground

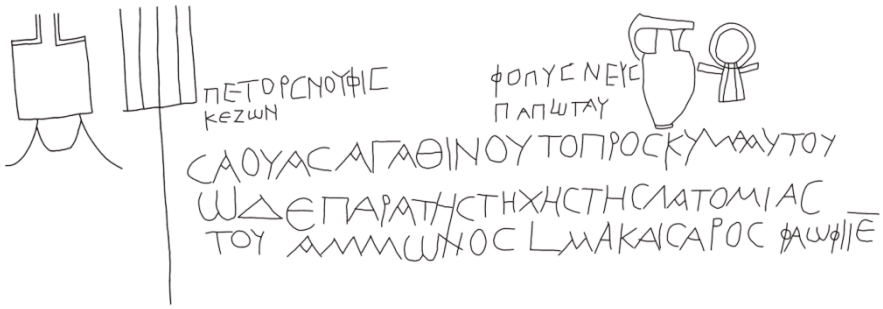


1.) ΠΑΡΑΥΙϹΨΑΡΕϹ
1.) Παραῦις Ψάρες
1.) Parauis (son of) Psares

Commentary:
No previous attestations at GeS.[78]

22. Signature of Petorsnouphis

Inv. no. F5.In.1
Unpublished
Measurements: 79 x 12 cm; the inscription is situated on an extraction ledge *c.* 1.5 m above ledge, *c.* 22 m above the ground.



1.) ΠΕΤΟΡϹΝΟΥΦΙϹ
1.) Πετορσνοῦφις
1.) Petorsnouphis

Commentary:

77 TM NAM 966.
78 Variant of TM Name 11236 (Paraus); TM NAM 33995 (Psares).

"Petorsnouphis" is a variant of Petearensnouphis,[79] which appears in a longer inscription on the same quarry face, and twice in Partition F.[80] Inscriptions nos. 22 and 23 are situated to the right of two large quarry marks depicting (l-r) an offering table (32.5 x 70 cm) and a trident (30 x 138 cm).

23. Signature of Kesonios[81]

Inv. no. F5.In.2
Unpublished
Measurements: 36 x 10 cm; the inscription is situated on an extraction ledge *c.* 1.5 m above ledge, *c.* 22 m above the ground.

1.) ΚΕΣΩΝ
1.) Κεσών(ιος)
1.) Kesonios

Commentary:
The name is situated immediately below inscription no. 22, but the two names are here divided as two separate texts based on palaeographical differences: no. 23 has been composed with smaller letters and lunar-shaped epsilons instead of squared like seen in no. 22. The name Kesonios is not previously attested at GeS.[82]

24. Signature of Phopysneus son of Papotaus[83]

Inv. no. F5.In.3
Unpublished
Measurements: 64 x 25 cm; the inscription is situated on an extraction ledge *c.* 1.5 m above ledge, *c.* 22 m above the ground.

1.) ΦΟΠΥCΝΕΥC
2.) ΠΑΠΩΤΑΥ
1.) Φοπυσνεῦς
2.) Παπωταῦ
1.) Papesneus
2.) (son of) Paptaus

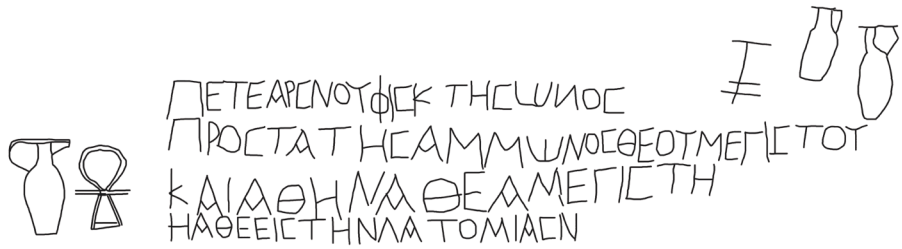
Commentary:
"Phopusneus" is likely to be a variant of Papesneus,[84] and "Papotaus" could be identified as either Paptaus or Paptaes/Paptais.[85] The name is situated to the left of two quarry marks depicting (l-r) a jug (33 x 50 cm) and an ankh (28.5 x 37 cm).

25. Graffito of Petear(en)snouphis son of Ktesion

Inv. no. F5.In.5
Unpublished

79 TM name 836.
80 Preisigke and Spiegelberg, nos. 96 (Bernand 99, TM ID 113782), 143 (Bernand 136, TM ID 113849).
81 For facsimile see no. 22.
82 Cf. TM NAM 30574.
83 For facsimile see no. 22.
84 TM NAM 18621.
85 TM NAM 33488 alt. 33643.

Measurements: 252 x 59 cm (5.5 mm tool groove); the inscription is situated on an extraction ledge *c.* 1.5 m above ledge, *c.* 20 m above the ground.



1.) ΠΕΤΕΑΡCΝΟΥΦΙCΚΤΗCΩΙΝΟC
2.) ΠΡΟCΤΑΤΗCΑΜΜΩΝΟCΘΕΟΥΜΕΓΙCΤΟΥ
3.) ΚΑΙΑΘΗΝΑΘΕΑΜΕΓΙCΤΗ
4.) ΗΑΘΕΕΙCΤΗΝΛΑΤΟΜΙΑCΝ
1.) Πετεαρσνοῦφις Κτήσωνος
2.) προστάτης Ἄμμωνος θεοῦ μεγιστοῦ
3.) καὶ Ἀθήνα‹ς› θέα‹ς› μεγιστῆ‹ς›
4.) η{α}<λ>θε εἰς τὴν λατόμια{σ}ν
1.) Petear(en)snouphis (son of) Kteson
2.) officer of Ammon, the greatest god
3.) and of Athena, the greatest goddess
4.) came to the quarry

Notes:

L1: The nu in 'Kteson' is incorrectly written in inverse. The signature " Petear(en)snouphis son of Kteson" is found also on quarry face F1 in the main quarry.[86]

L3: "Athena, the greatest goddess" is written in nominative instead of genitive.

L4: The second letter is incorrectly carved as an alpha instead of a lambda.

Commentary:

The inscription is situated between two quarry marks to the left and a series of three marks to the right, depicting (l-r) a jug (23 x 37 cm), an ankh (19 x 31 cm), an unidentified object (16 x 33 cm) and two jugs (12 x 28.5 cm; 15 x 35 cm).

26. Adoration of Saouas son of Agathinos[87]

Inv. no. F5.In.4

Unpublished

Measurements: 320 x 60 cm (6 mm tool groove), the inscription is situated on an extraction ledge *c.* 1.5 m above ledge, *c.* 20 m above the ground

1.) CΑΟΥΑCΑΓΑΘΙΝΟΥΤΟΠΡΟCΚΥΝΗΜΑΑΥΤΟΥ
2.) ΩΔΕΠΑΡΑΤΗCΤΗΧΗCΤΗCΛΑΤΟΜΙΑC
3.) ΤΟΥΑΜΜΩΝΟCLΜΑΚΑΙCΑΡΟCΦΑΩΦΙΙΕ
1.) Σαουας Ἀγαθίνου τὸ προσκύνημα αὐτοῦ
2.) ὧδε παρὰ τῆς τ{η}<υ>χης τῆς λατομίας

86 Preisigke and Spiegelberg, no. 143 (Bernand 136), the name Petear(en)snouphis is here written in the alternative form Petraomnouphis.

87 For facsimile see no. 22.

3.) τοῦ ᾽Αμμώνος (ἐτοῦς) μα Καίσαρος φαωφί ιε
1.) Saouas (son of) Agathinos, his own act of adoration (adoration made by himself)
2.) here for the Tyché (Fate) of the quarry
3.) of Ammon. Year 41 of Caesar, Phaophi 15

Notes:
L2: τήχης for τύχης see Gignac I, 262-263[88]; the final omicron mistakenly replaces the lunar sigma in λατομίας.

Commentary:
The inscription is situated immediately below nos. 22-24. "Saouas" has no previous attestations, while Agathinos is a rather common name at Gebel el Sisila.[89]

27. Signature of Epidiaros son of Petebekis

Inv. no. GN.In.2
PS 85; Bernand 92; SB III 6854; TM 54216; TM ID 113 775
Measurements: 155 x 26 cm [6 mm tool groove), the inscription is situated *c.* 1 m above the ground

1.) ΕΠΙΔΙΑΡΟC{Π}
2.) ΠΕΤΕ[[Β]]ΗΚΙC LM[[ΚΑΙC ΑΡΟC]]
1.) ᾽Επδιάρος
2.) Πετεβῆκις L (ἔτους) Μ Καίσαρος
1.) Epidiaros
2.) (son of) Petebekis, year 40 of Caesar.

Notes:
L1: Bernand incorrectly replaces the rho with an iota, and a tau for the lunar sigma.

Commentary:
L1: the final (and superfluous) pi was more likely intended as the initial letter in the name Petebekis (L2), then interrupted due to lack of space in relation to the offering table. This would suggest that the offering table was carved prior to the text.
L2: the beta in Petebekis, and the word kaisaros were intentionally erased during antiquity. A pictorial representation of an offering table is situated immediately to the right of the inscription, and has been partially eradicated similar to the text. The name Epidiaros was likely a variant of Epidoros.[90]

Demotic

28. Signature of Pachois son of Peteharsomtous

Inv. no. B3.In.1
PS 252; TM 54334 ; TM ID 55247, 55661, 55248, 55662; chalk marked as 138

88 F. T.Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods,* vol. I (Milano, 1976).
89 For Agathinos see Preisigke and Spiegelberg nos. 91 (Bernand 94; TM ID 113839), 135 (Bernand 128; TM ID 113833), 136 (Bernand 129; TM ID 113833), 139 (Bernand 132; TM ID 113839).
90 TM NAM 2966; Petebekis: TM NAM 7920.

Measurements: 32 cm H x 250 cm W, following the current ground surface (the quarry face is partially buried under a spoil heap)

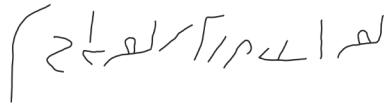
1.) Pa-ḫy (s3) P3-di-Ḥr-sm3-t3.wy Pa-ḫy (s3) P3-ʿḫm-bk Si-Ḥw.t-Ḥr
2.) Pa-ḫy (s3) P3-di-<…>
1.) Pachois (son of) Peteharsomtous (and) Pachois (son of) Pachembik (and) Si-hathyris
2.) Pachois (son of) Pete(...)

Notes:
L1: The second *Pa-ḫy* is missing in PS 252.
In the name *P3-ʿḫm-bk* the noun *ʿḫm* has been written without *–m* (see: EG 70).
L2: The patronym is unfinished. The second line is likely a repetition of the first.

Commentary:
"Si-hathyris"[91] is not previously attested in GeS, while Pachois son of Peteharsomtous[92] is attested (see no 35, below).

29. Signature of Petebouchis son of Psenamounis

Inv. no. F1.In.2
PS 146
Measurements: *c*. 20 m above the ground

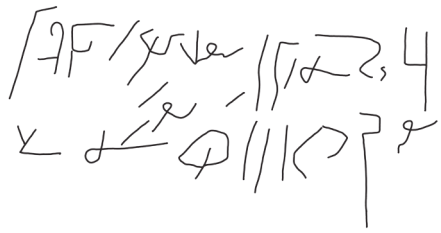


1.) P3-di-bḫ s3 P3-šr-(n)-Ỉmn
1.) Petebouchis son of Psenamounis
Notes:
P3-di-bḫ: the writing of the name is uncommon. "Petebouchis"[93] is not previously attested at GeS, but "Psenamounis"[94] is attested twice.[95]

30. Signature of Paneithes son of Peteharsomtous

Inv. no. C8.In.7
Unpublished
Measurements: *c*. 9 m above the ground

91 Erich Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch* I-II (Wiesbaden, 2000), 903. Hereafter, references to "DNB" without further specification refer to this work. TM NAM 7989
92 DNB 404-405, 556; TM NAM 643 (Pachois); DNB 334-335; TM NAM 860 (Peteharsomtous).
93 TM NAM 32294
94 DNB 224, TM NAM 963
95 Preisigke and Spiegelberg, nos. 146, 259.



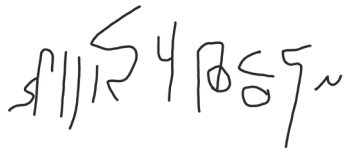
1.) Pa-Ni.t sꜣ Pꜣ-di-Ḥr-smꜣ-tꜣ.wy
2.) pꜣ rmt hy (n) Ḥt-Ḥr
1.) Paneithes son of Peteharsomtous
2.) the labourer of Hathor

Notes:
L2: the signs *Ḥt* and *Ḥr* have been incorrectly interchanged in the name of Hathor, and the *Ḥr*-sign has been written slightly above L2. It is plausible that the author inserted it after finishing the original text.

Commentary:
"Paneithes" is not previously attested at GeS.[96] In this context the word *hy*[97], 'forced labour', must refer to the physical work.

31. Signature of Phatres (son of) Pachois

Inv. no. C8.In.6
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 9 m above the ground



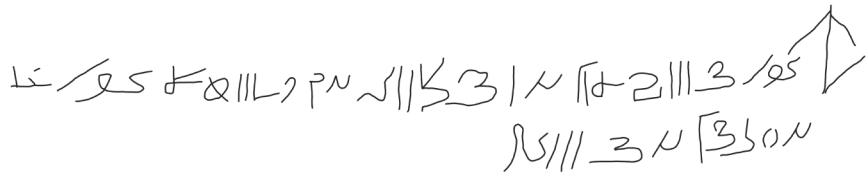
1.) Pꜣ-ḥtr (sꜣ) Pa-ḫy
2.) Phatres (son of) Pachois

Commentary:
"Phatres"[98] is attested in PS 227, 285 (L3); Bernand 149, and " Pachois"[99] in PS 204, 209, 252; Bernand 146, but never attested together. The text is situated immediately above no. 30.

32. Signature of Haremsynis and Pachompsais

Inv. no. C10.In.8
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 21 m above the ground

96 DNB 385; TM NAM 729; for "Peteharsomtous" see TM NAM 860; PS 183, 194, 198, 209, 252.
97 CDD H 9-10; EG 266; WB 475-7.
98 DNB 206-7; TM NAM 900.
99 DNB 404-5, 556; TM NAM 643.



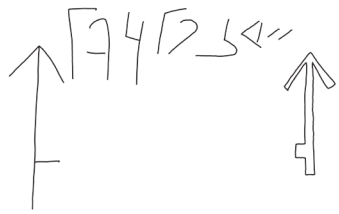
1.) Ḥr-msn (s3) P3-di-m...(?) p3 rmt hy (n) Ḥt-Ḥr
2.) P3-ʿḫm-p3-Šy
1.) Haremsynis (son of) Pete-m(?), the worker of Hathor
2.) Pachompsais

Notes:
L1: The patronym is unidentifiable.

Commentary:
For Haremsynis at GeS see PS 168, 172, 177, 235; Pachompsais in PS 229.[100] The text is situated between a series of quarry marks, depicting (l-r) two hourglasses and a harpoon, to the left and a single depiction of a harpoon to the right.

33. Signature of Pachompatous

Inv. no. C10.In.3
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 24 m above the ground



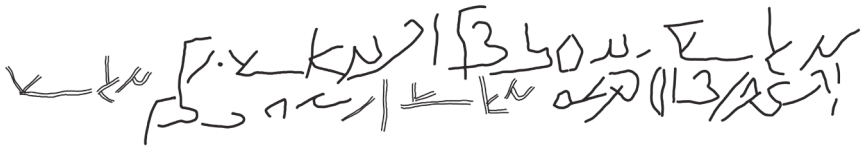
1.) P3-ʿḫm-pa-t3.wy
1.) Pachompatous

Commentary:
The name Pachompatous appears in GeS in the Greek version "Pampotous".[101] The inscription is situated between two depictions of harpoons; the right harpoon is embossed.

34. Name list

Inv. no. C10.In.12
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 21 m above the ground

100 DNB 821; TM NAM 260 (Haremsynis); DNB 170; TM NAM 8147 (Pachompsais).
101 DNB 171 ; TM NAM 8156



1.) P3-šr-(n)-Wsir s3 P3-ꜥḫm ḥnꜥ P3-šr-(n)-Wsir (s3) P3-šr-(n)-Ꜣs.t
2.) *ḥnꜥ Ḥr-msn (s3) P3-šr-(n)-Wsir ḥnꜥ P3-ꜥḫm*
1.) Psenosiris son of Pachoumis and Psenosiris son of Psenesis
2.) and Haremsynis (son of) Psenosiris and Pachoumis

Commentary:
For "Psenosiris" see PS 231; "Psenesis" in PS 180, 266, 285; Bernand 149.[102]

35. Signature of Pachois son of Peteharsomtous

Inv. no. C10.In.1
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 26 m above the ground

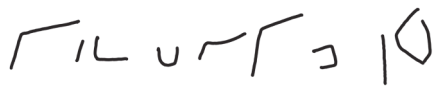
1.) Pa-ḫy (s3) P3-di-Ḥr-sm3-t3.wy Pa-ḫy
2.) *P3-Ḥr-*(...)
1.) Pachois (son of) Peteharsomtous, (and) Pachois
2.) (son of) Pahor(...)

Notes:
L2. The name is unfinished.

Commentary:
"Pachois" and "Peteharsomtous" are equally well attested in GeS,[103] and the combination of name and patronym is attested in PS 209, 252, and no. 28, above. The signs of the second line are finer indicating that it was probably another inscription. The inscription is situated to the left of a harpoon illustration.

36. Signature of Petosiris son of Pbekis

Inv. no. C17.In.6
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 18 m above the ground



1.) P3-di-Wsir s3 P3-by[*k*]
1.) Petosiris son of Pbekis

102 DNB 232; TM NAM 986 (Psenosiris); DNB 228-229; TM NAM 976 (Psenesis).
103 DNB 404-405, 556; TM NAM 643; cf. Preisigke and Spiegelberg, nos. 206, 209, 212, 252; Bernand 146 (Pachois); DNB 334-335; TM NAM 860; cf. Preisigke and Spiegelberg, nos. 183, 194, 198, 209, 223, 252 (Peteharsomtous).

Commentaries:
"Petosiris" is attested in PS 189,[104] although in a reversed patronymic relationship (Pbekis son of (?) Petosiris).

37. Signature of Signature of Pachom

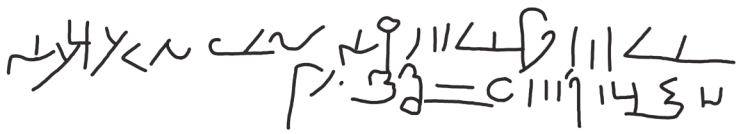
Inv. no. C17.In.8
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 17 m above the ground

1.) Pꜣ-ꜥḫm<…>
1.) Pachom

Commentary:
"Pachom" is graphically identical with PS 220.[105] The sign written after the name shows that the inscription is unfinished.

38. Signature of Baibios son of Nechtenebis

Inv. no. F1.In.17
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 15 m above the ground



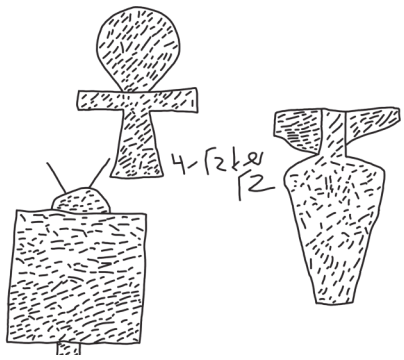
1.) Bjw-bjw sꜣ Nḫ.t-nb=f
2.) pꜣ mr-kꜣ.w(t) n tꜣ ḫ.t n Ḫnm
1.) Baibios son of Nechtenebis
2.) the overseer of work of Khnum's quarry

Commentary:
"Baibios son of Nechthenebis" is attested also in Q24.[106] Related inscriptions date to the 16th year of Tiberius (PS 268, 269), it providing a plausible date for no. 38. Inscriptions in Q24 describe Baibios as the overseer of work, and as a blacksmith.

39. Signature of Psenamounis son of Paminis

Inv. no. F1.In.11
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 18 m above the ground

104 Cf. Preisigke and Spiegelberg, nos. 27, 51, 146.
105 DNB 165-167.
106 DNB 137; TM NAM 13762 (Baibios); DNB 652-653; TM NAM 515 (Nechthenebis); Preisigke and Spiegelberg, nos.264-265, 268, 269 (Baibios son of Nechthenebis).



1.) P3-šr-(n)-Ỉmn s3 Pa-
2.) Mn
1.) Psenamounis son of Pa-
2.) minis

Commentary:

"Psenamounis" and "Paminis" are both previously attested in GeS, but not together.[107] The inscription is situated encircled by three quarry marks that depict an offering table (left), an ankh (above), and a jug (right). The area in which the inscription is located contains totally 11 inscriptions (Greek and demotic) and eight quarry marks (ankhs, jugs and offering tables).

40. Signature of Pa-(...) son of Paminis

Inv. no. F1.In.8
Unpublished
Measurements: *c.* 18 m above the ground

1.) Pa-[…] Pa-..(?).. s3 Pa-Mn
1.) Pa-[…] son of Paminis

Notes:

The initial signs of the identical (?) name *Pa-[…]* are repeated to the right of the main inscription.

107 DNB 224; TM NAM 963; Preisigke and Spiegelberg, nos. 146, 259 (Psenamounis); DNB 368 and 551; TM NAM 716; Preisigke and Spiegelberg, nos. 98, 143.

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Name list

A
Agathinos (13)
Agathinos, son of Platon (12)
Agathinos, son of Drakon (14, 15)
Agathinos, father of Saouas (26)
Andreas, father of Andron (10)
Andron (5)
Andron, son of Andreas (10)
Anoubion, son of Prempouisousios (7, 8)
Asklas, son of Asklepiades (17)
Asklepiades, father of Asklas (17)

B
Baibios, son of Nechtenebis (38)

C
Chairon, father of Siepmous (6)

D
Drakon, father of Agathinos (14, 15)

E
Epidiaros, son of Petebekis (27)

F
Faustus (1)

H
Haremsynis, son of Pete-m.(?) (32)
Haremsynis, son of Psenosiris (34)
Harkinis, son of Pachnoumis (4)
Hermon (9)
Hermonax, son of Patas (19)

K
Kesonios (23)
Ktesion, father of Petear(en)snouphis (25)

N
Nechtenebis, father of Baibios (38)

O
Orsenouph(i)os, son of Pachnoubios (11)

P
Pa-(...), son of Paminis (40)
Pachembik, father of Pachois (28)
Pachnoubis, father of Psenapathes (20)
Pachnoubios, father of Orsenouph(i)os (11)
Pachnoumis, father of Harkinis (4)
Pachois (29, 35)
Pachois, son of Pambe[---] (4)
Pachois, father of Phatres (31)
Pachois, son of Pachembik (28)
Pachois, son of Pete(-) (28)
Pachois, son of Peteharsomtous (28, 35)
Pachois, the brother (4)
Pacho(umis) (37)
Pachom (29)
Pachompsais (32)
Pachoumis (34)
Pachoumis, son of Patous (33)
Pachoumis, father of Psenosiris (34)
Pa-minis, father of Psenamounis (39)
Pahor(...) (34)
Pambe[---], father of Pachois (4)
Pamchemis (16)
Paminis, father of Pa-(...) (40)
Pampos (2)
Pampos, son of Pampotos (3)
Pampotos, father of Pampos (3)
Paneithes, son of Peteharsomtous (30)
Papotaus, father of Phopysneus (24)
Parauis, son of Psares (21)
Patas, father of Hermonax (19)
Patous, father of Pachoumis (33)
Pbekis, father of Petosiris (36)
Petear(en)snouphis son of Ktesion (25)
Petebekis, father of Epidiaros (27)
Peteharsomtous, father of Pachois (28, 35)
Peteharsomtous, son of Paneithes (30)
Pete-m.(?), father of Haremsynis (32)
Petosiris, son of Pbekis (36)
Petorsnopuhis (22)
Phatres, son of Pachois (31)
Phopysneus, son of Papotaus (24)
Platon, father of Agathinos (12)
Pothos (18)
Prempouisousios, father of Anoubion (7, 8)
Psares, father of Parauis (21)

Psenapathes, son of Pachnoubis (20)
Psenamounis, son of Pa-minis (39)
Psenesis, father of Psenosiris (34)
Psenosiris, father of Haremsynis (34)
Psenosiris, son of Pachoumis (34)
Psenosiris, son of Psenesis (34)

S
Saouas, son of Agathinos (26)
Siepmous, son of Chairon (6)
Si-hathyris (28)

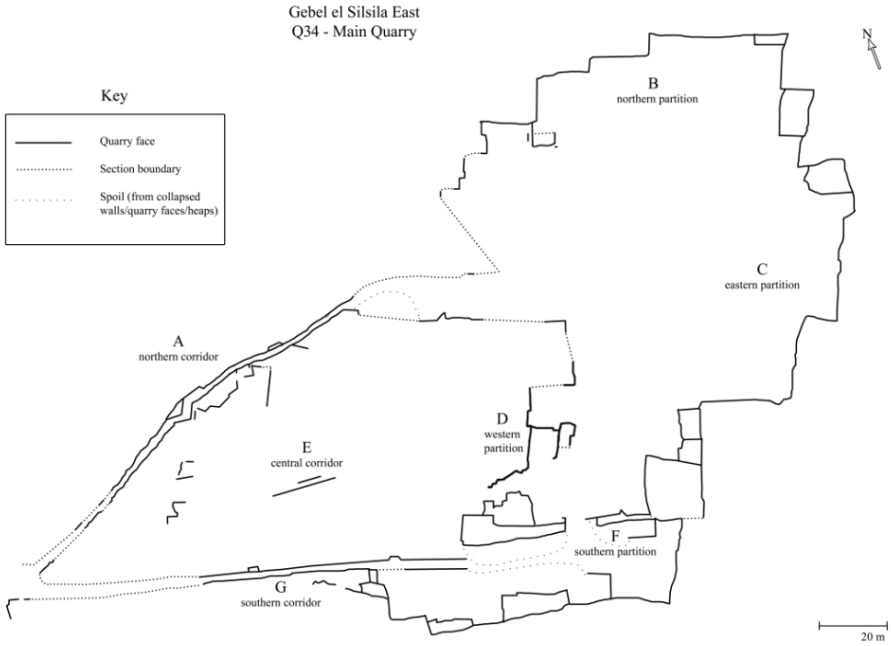

Fig. 1: Plan drawing of Q34 marked with its seven partitions.

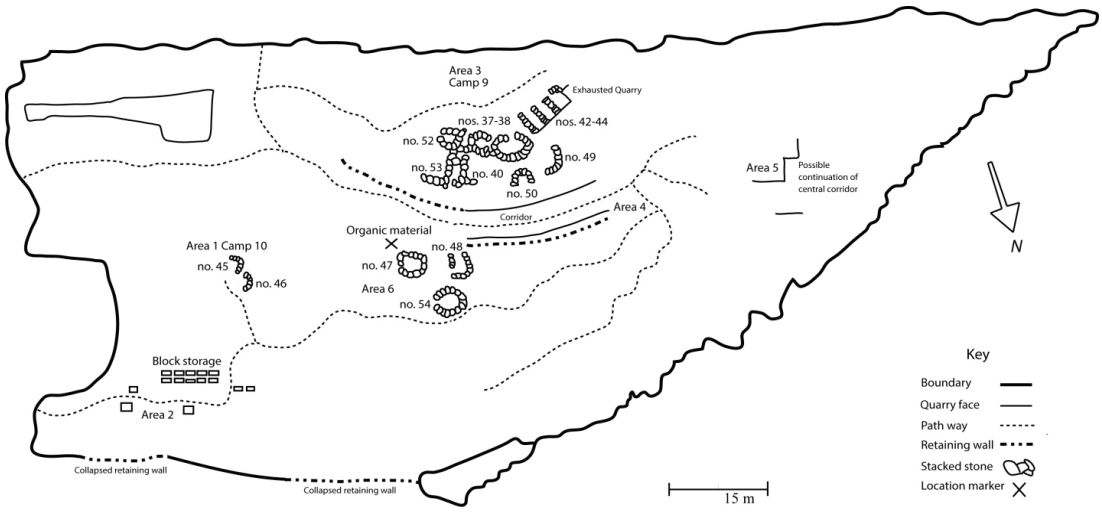

Fig. 2: Plan drawing of the Southern Hill

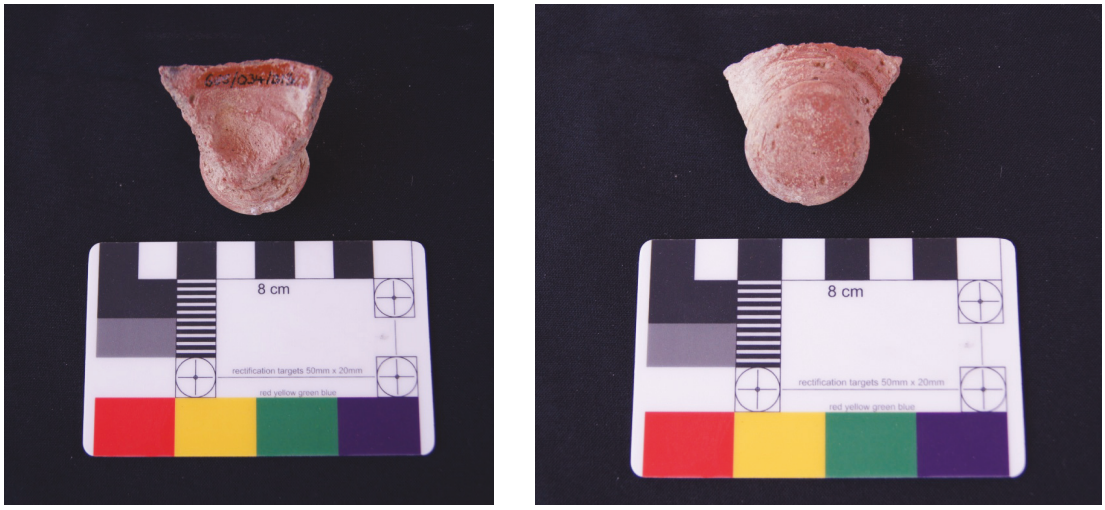

Fig. 3: Knobbed Lid GES14/Q34/B13 from B1-16, Q34 ©Gebel el Silsila Survey Project 2014. Scale 8cm

Fig. 4: GES14/Q34/S2 Type 9.16.1, bowl with carinated outer rolled and pointed rim with ring base.

Fig. 5: Drawing of seated Horus figure

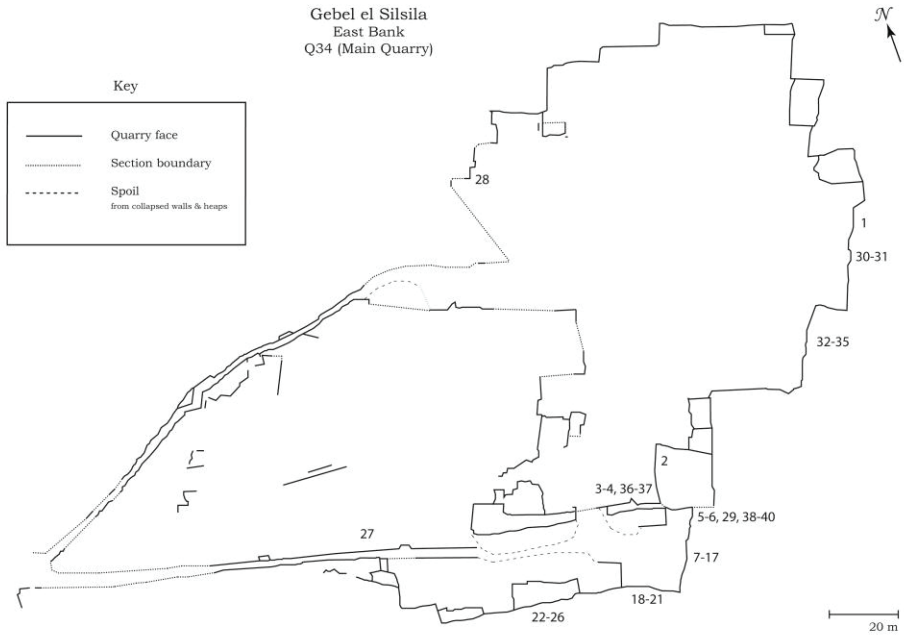

Fig. 6: Distribution of inscriptions included in this report

Tables

Table 1: Division of the partitions in Q34

Partition	Quarry faces total amount	Designation
A	2	Q34 AN (N: north) and Q34 AS (S: south)
B	17	Q34 B1-17
C	21	Q34 C1-21
D	5	Q34 D1-5
E	2	Q34 EN and Q34 ES
F	17	Q34 F1-17
G	2	Q34 GN and Q34 GS

Table 2: Distribution of epigraphic material in Q34

Quarry number	Quarry marks	Greek inscriptions	Demotic inscriptions	Total inscriptions	Total graffiti
Q34 AN	239		16	16	255
Q34 AS	212	1	38	39	251
TOTAL Q34 A	451	1	54	55	506
Q34 B1					
Q34 B2					
Q34 B3			1	1	1
Q34 B4					
Q34 B5	4				4
Q34 B6	1				1
Q34 B7	26		1	1	27
Q34 B8	38				38
Q34 B9	2				2
Q34 B10	8				8
Q34 B11	1				1
Q34 B12	16		1	1	17
Q34 B13	7		1	1	8
Q34 B14	5				5
Q34 B15	12		3	3	15
Q34 B16	81		4	4	85
Q34 B17	175		8	8	183
TOTAL Q34 B	376	0	19	19	395
Q34 C1	22		1	1	23
Q34 C2	10		1	1	11
Q34 C3	7	1		1	8
Q34 C4	26				26
Q34 C5	8				8

Q34 C6	107	2	1	3	110
Q34 C7	177	3 + 1 Latin		4	181
Q34 C8	149	2	14	16	165
Q34 C9	47	4	37	41	88
Q34 C10	157	1	17	18	175
Q34 C11	269		34	34	303
Q34 C12	202		21	21	223
Q34 C13	65	3		3	68
Q34 C14		4	1	5	5
Q34 C15	32	4	3	7	39
Q34 C16	64	2	1	3	67
Q34 C17	94	5	10	15	109
Q34 C18					0
Q34 C19	82		11	11	93
Q34 C20	12	1	2	3	15
Q34 C21	24	1	2	3	27
TOTAL Q34 C	1554	34	156	190	1744
Q34 D1	29	7	2	9	38
Q34 D2	19		3	3	22
Q34 D3	84	1	10	11	95
Q34 D4	2		4	4	6
Q34 D5					
Q34 D6					
Q34 D7	1				1
TOTAL Q34 D	131	8	19	27	162
Q34 EN	5				5
Q34 ES	18				18
TOTAL Q34E	23				23
Q34 F1	63	5	14	19	82
Q34 F2	116	70	40	110	226
Q34 F3	98	18	17	35	133
Q34 F4	8				8
Q34 F5	40	6		6	46
Q34 F6					
Q34 F7					
Q34 F8					
Q34 F9	2				2
Q34 F10	1	1		1	2
Q34 F11	4				4
Q34 F12	5	1	1	2	7
Q34 F13					
Q34 F14					
Q34 F15	4				4

Q34 F16	16				16
Q34 F17					
TOTAL Q34 F	359	101	72	173	532
Q34 GN	79	4; 1 pseudo sc	5	10	89
Q34 GS	98	8	5	13	111
TOTAL Q34 G	177	13	10	23	200
TOTAL	3075	157	330	487	3562

Table 3: Distribution of quarry marks in Q34

Partition Quarry Mark	Illustration	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	TOTAL
Total amount		*454*	*376*	*1554*	*144*	*23*	*359*	*177*	**3087**
Harpoon		226	188	781	82	—	—	4	**1281**
Hourglass		48	26	169	16	4	1	—	**264**
Ankh		5	—	9	5	—	98	59	**176**
Offering table		10	22	39	2	6	66	13	**158**
Horned altar		10	27	81	2	—	12	4	**136**
Uncategorized	Ex.	22	14	71	2	1	13	7	**130**
Jug		—	—	1	—	—	83	45	**129**
Lined circle		8	3	96	13	—	3	—	**123**
Boat		15	11	32	2	—	11	6	**77**
Anthropomorph		3	26	28	—	—	10	2	**69**

Quadruped animal		9	13	26	1	—	11	2	**62**
Square		9	5	18	3	11	9	4	**59**
Cross		9	4	26	3	—	4	12	**58**
Angle		10	1	16	2	—	11	2	**42**
Greek alphabetic letters	Ξ, P, Φ	3	5	19	3	—	—	3	**33**
Bird		3	4	8	—	—	4	1	**20**
Obelisk/pyramid		2	6	11	1	—	—	—	**20**
Pentagram		15	4	13	1	—	—	—	**33**
Tree		5	1	11	1	1	1	—	**20**
Lotus		—	2	12	—	—	1	4	**19**
Key		1	—	10	—	—	4	2	**17**
Solar wheel or swastica		6	5	3	—	—	2	—	**16**
Trident		7	3	2	—	—	2	1	**15**
Naos/shrine		5	—	5	—	—	1	—	**11**
Abnormal sign		9	—	—	—	—	—	—	**9**
Composition mark		1	—	7	—	—	—	—	**8**
Situla		2	—	5	—	—	—	—	**7**

Sun or winged sun disc		2	1	1	1	—	—	—	**5**
Triangle		1	—	4	—	—	—	—	**5**
Technical sketch		1	1	2	—	—	1	—	**5**
Deity		1	—	2	—	—	1	1	**5**
Counting system	IIIIIIIIIII	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	**3**
Other	E	6	4	43	4	—	10	5	**72**