

Greek Inscriptions

on the East Bank

Maria Nilsson, Adrienn Almásy-Martin
and John Ward



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THE SWEDISH EXPEDITION TO GEBEL EL-SILSILA

Greek Inscriptions on the East Bank

The Swedish Expedition to Gebel el-Silsila

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By

Maria Nilsson
Adrienn Almásy-Martin
John Ward



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Cover illustration: View of Gebel el-Silsila west bank with its rock-cut shrines. Photo by Maria Nilsson

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*This volume is dedicated to Madam Silsila
as a token of appreciation for her guidance and protection
as well as continuous patience with us!*



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Preface

The starting point for the comprehensive study of Graeco-Roman epigraphy at Gebel el-Silsila was a spontaneous visit in 2007 as part of a larger research journey, when the authors were astounded by the enormous amount of engraved symbolic quarry marks and their textual context. It became evident that the previous canon of Graeco-Roman graffiti, published by W. Spiegelberg and F. Preisigke in 1915 (*Graff. Silsile*), was in need of revision in order to present a complete corpus. Also, R.A. Caminos' collated material and any hypotheses based thereon remained unpublished and unavailable for the public. For this, J. Ward and M. Nilsson made a series of field surveys in the following years and, at the time of the Egyptian revolution (2011), they had accumulated more than 3000 quarry marks and nearly 800 Greek and demotic textual graffiti. Following new regulations in 2012, they were granted the concession to lead a new epigraphic expedition. The first field season took place in September 2012, where they were joined by A. Almásy as demotist, Shihat Mohammadin as driver/cook/helper of all kinds and Mr. Ashraf as the assigned inspector. The documentation continued during the following three years in the field, followed by post-processing in the office. The current monograph is the first volume of three dealing with Graeco-Roman epigraphy on the east bank of Gebel el-Silsila. The following two volumes will cover the demotic texts and quarry marks respectively. Demotic texts and quarry marks will be included within the current volume as contextual documents, but will not receive special commentary, which is reserved for their respective publications.

The authors would like to thank the Permanent Committee and the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, Dr. Mostafa Waziri and Dr. Khaled El-Anani, for granting the concession to work at Gebel el-Silsila. Special gratitude needs to be offered to Dr. Abdel Moniem, General Director of Aswan and Nubia, who put at the disposal of the expedition his generosity, understanding, and efficiency. His official director Mr. Mostafa Bedawi, and all the inspectors, especially Ashraf Mohamed, Mohamed Ibrahim and Mohamed Mohsen, have been nothing but supportive and helpful and are considered part of the 'Silsila family'. This is true also for the entire Silsila team and our respective families! We owe special gratitude to Prof. Willy Clarysse, Dr. Michael Zellmann-Rohrer and Mr. Cary Martin for their valuable comments, advice and proof reading, without which this volume would not have been completed.

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Abbreviations

References to scholarly works are given by the Surname followed by year and page within parentheses. Full references are provided in the bibliography. For papyrological abbreviations, see J.F. Oates et al. (eds), *A Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (Atlanta, 20015) and the updated version available online at <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>. Epigraphical abbreviations follow the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* = *SEG*. Other abbreviations used are:

- CDD* Johnson, J.H. (ed.), *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago 2001-. www.oi.uchicago.edu/OI/PROJ/DEM/Demotic.html
- CdE* *Chronique d'Égypte, Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth*, Brussels 1925-.
- CIG III* Franz, J. and Boeckh, A. (eds.), *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. III, Berlin 1853.
- Crum, Dict.* Crum, W.E. (ed.), *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939.
- Description de l'Égypte* *Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*, 24 vols, Paris 1821-1829.
- DNb* Lüddeckens, E. (ed.), *Demotisches Namenbuch*, Wiesbaden 1980-2000.
- IGRR* Cagnat, R. and Jouguet, P. (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, vol. 1, Paris 1908.
- I. Thèbes à Syène* Bernand, A. (ed.), *De Thèbes à Syène*, Paris 1989.
- LD* Lepsius K.R., *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, 6 vols., Berlin 1849-1859.
- LGPN* Lexicon of Greek Personal Names <https://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/>
- LSJ* Liddell, H.J., Scott, R., and Jones, H.S., *Greek—English Lexicon*, Oxford 1968. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ljs/>
- LÄ* Helck, W., Otto, E. and Westendorf, W. (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols., Wiesbaden 1975-1992.
- NB* Preisigke, F., *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumianschildern usw) Ägyptens sich vorfinden*, Heidelberg 1922, repr. Amsterdam 1967.
- OGIS* Dittenberger, W. (ed.), *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, vol. II, Leipzig 1905.

- SB Bilabel, F. and Kiessling, E., *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, Göttingen 1952–1961.
- TM Trismegistos Database <https://www.trismegistos.org/index.php>
- WB Erman, A. and Grapow, H. (eds), *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 6 vols., Berlin and Leipzig 1957².

Introduction

1 Gebel el-Silsila—the Site

The archaeological site of Gebel el-Silsila is situated in Upper Egypt, between the temple areas of Kom Ombo and Edfu, some 65 km north of the modern city of Aswan and 130 km south of Luxor (Fig. 1). There, it stretches out on both sides of the Nile, where the river reaches its narrowest point.¹ Including its northern neighbouring sites of Nag el-Hammam and Shatt el-Rigal, the current concession encompasses an area of 30 square kilometres.² The west bank borders the agricultural plain of Fatira in the south, and extends through the quarries of Gebel el-Silsila West and the village of Nag el-Hammam to a small wadi just north of the more renowned Wadi Shatt el-Rigal. The east bank, to which the material presented herein is limited, borders agricultural land to the north and south, the Nubian village of Kalabsha to the east, and the Nile to its west. The massif and quarryscape that form Gebel el-Silsila—the Arabic ‘Mountain of the Chain’—was known to the ancient Egyptians as “Khenu/Kheny”,³ and was ancient Egypt’s principal source of Nubian sandstone, a fine- to medium-grained beige-grey stone that was exploited at least from the Middle Kingdom.⁴ The extracted stone was destined for sanctuaries throughout Upper Egypt, and was used in the vast majority of temples between Dendera in the north and Elephantine in the south.

1 Based on a combination of satellite imagery and documentation, the current minimum width is approximately 320 m, which can be compared with the 395 m measured in 1901 and 1964; see Petermanns (1901: 9); Butzer & Hansen (1968: 17).

2 See Nilsson & Martinez (2017: 445).

3 E.g. Kucharek 2012, 1. Other variants include *R-Hn*—‘the mouth of Khen’ (*P.Brooklyn* 351446, rto 21b); *p3 mw wꜣb*—‘the pure water’, see Caminos & James (1963: 9 with n. 1, 34 with nn. 2–3)).

4 E.g. Harrell (2016: 23); Klemm & Klemm (2008: 180); Nilsson et al. (2019).



FIGURE 1 Map of Egypt with inserted overview of Gebel el-Silsila
COURTESY OF GOOGLE EARTH

2 Brief Historical Outline

Archaeologically, human activity on the site is documented from the Late Palaeolithic⁵ (based on newly discovered lithic material) and epigraphically since the ‘Epipalaeolithic’ period, with continuous attestations throughout the subsequent periods.⁶ The site gained in importance during the 18th Dynasty when quarrying expeditions were sent out by some of the more renowned New Kingdom rulers, including Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Amenhotep III and

⁵ Cf. Smith (1967).

⁶ The authors apply the term ‘epipalaeolithic’ in accordance with Huyge (2005). For epipalaeolithic rock art see Nilsson & Ward (2016: 172–173; 2020a: 236–237, 239–241), and for a general overview of the temporal distribution of epigraphy, see Nilsson (2018a; b); Nilsson & Ward (2016; 2019a; b; 2020a; c); Osing (2006). For reference to Kheny as an Old Kingdom funerary domain, see Jacquet-Gordon (1962: 59, 432, no. 6). For Middle Kingdom references to Kheny, see *P. Kahun and Gurob*, Text 69, letter 7, with pl. 28, iii, 2 col. 2; *P. Ram.* D, 187, publ. AEO, pls. 2 and 2a, lower; *P. Brooklyn* 351446, rto 64b.

IV/Akhenaten, Seti I, Ramses II and III.⁷ In addition to the formal exploitation of the sandstone, the Pharaonic presence at Gebel el-Silsila is preserved in the remains of several architectural monuments—shrines, stelae, the Temple of Sobek, and a speos that was dedicated to the Nile gods by Pharaoh Horemheb, but already constructed during the early Thutmosid period.⁸ Led by the high priest of Memphis, religious festivals were celebrated biannually, and high officials wished for their souls to return to the site in the Afterlife.⁹ However, after the demise of the New Kingdom, ancient Kheny falls into almost complete oblivion; these dark ages would last until the end of the Ptolemaic period, perhaps even up to the early Roman period under Emperor Augustus.¹⁰ Marking the transition was the destruction of the Temple of Sobek, along with the eradication of all crocodile images, but also the demise of the town, the closure of its cemeteries, and the discontinuation of both primary (official) and secondary (private) epigraphy. From this obscure period, only a couple of official monuments can affirm any activity at Gebel el-Silsila: the royal stela of Shoshenk I (22nd Dynasty) on the west bank, and the cartouches of Apries (26th Dynasty) on the east.¹¹ While the stela of Shoshenk speaks about an official quarrying expedition, there is no evidence from any quarry that can testify to this. This, however, does not mean that such expeditions were absent, but rather that the Romans reused their quarries.

Considering the amount of restoration work and new temple structures that were built in sandstone during the Ptolemaic period, it is surprising—if not bizarre—to find nothing other than a few beer jugs and two stelae of potential contemporaneity. Naturally, the Romans may have usurped the Ptolemaic quarries, and the material could be buried beneath Roman archaeological material, but Gebel el-Silsila as it stands presents very limited evidence of this period. Beer jars or jugs have been documented amongst the ceramic finds at the (then destroyed) Temple of Sobek, and in the Main Quarry (Q34) of the east bank, as well as by ‘Pottery Hill’ and ‘Black Rock Camp’ on the west bank.

It is from the Roman period that the modern designation of the site may have its roots: it is presumed that the place-name ‘Sil-sil’ or ‘Silsili’, which was

7 E.g. Brand (2000: 176, 264, 359, 362); Caminos (1987); Martinez (2009); Nilsson & Martinez (2017); Nilsson & Ward (2019c, d, 2020a, b, d, e).

8 Nilsson & Martinez (2017).

9 For the annual festivities and celebrations of Hapi, see *LD III* (pl. 200, d); Kitchen papyrus (1975: 84) 15; Janssen (1987: 136).

10 For activity during the early Roman period see Nilsson et al. (2019); Nilsson & Almásy (2015).

11 Nilsson & Ward (2021b: 38).

mentioned in a Latin document from to c. 400AD,¹² refers to the site, and that it was a Roman word deriving from the late Egyptian ‘Khol-khol’, meaning of ‘barrier’ or ‘frontier’.¹³ No Greek or Coptic name is known, but from the Roman Silsili sprung the modern name ‘Gebel el-Silsila’: the ‘Mountain of the Chain’, believed to have derived from a local tale that describes how a chain was once tied between the two banks in order to stop passing ships for taxation reasons.¹⁴ Roman activity is noticeable almost everywhere in the form of the partial takeover of older quarries, and the abundance of pottery and graffiti, but also in structural form with several clusters of shelters, lookout stations, storage facilities, domestic, administrative and religious buildings (Fig. 2), around which hundreds of ostraca have been discovered. These ostraca generally contain lists of names or equipment, and will be treated in a separate publication. Since 2015 the Swedish mission has excavated a series of Roman areas on the east bank, including the ‘Stables of Tiberius’, a naos and blacksmith’s area, quarry shelters in the Main Quarry; and surveyed the ‘peak station’ and a housing complex situated above the New Kingdom cemetery; as well as comprehensively documented all preserved epigraphy. On the West, ‘Pottery Hill’ and ‘Black Rock Camp’ as well as several stations have been surveyed and partially excavated, and all epigraphy documented.

Among the more intriguing structures is the Stables of Tiberius, which was an administration building and stables used periodically during an eight-year period when stone was extracted from its quarry (Q24—see **Chapter 4**). Fifteen rooms divided over four levels have been excavated so far, revealing well over 30,000 ceramic sherds, 150 demotic ostraca, coins, seals, stamps, textile, jewellery, etc. Another intriguing Roman complex is the so called ‘naos area’ in quarry 37 (**Chapter 6**), also on the east bank, and currently under excavation. Based on the epigraphy, it was in use during the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius (with no mentioning of Caligula), and was then abandoned, as were all other quarries of the east bank. It was not exploited again until the early 1900’s when parts of it were dynamited to produce stone for the Esna barrage.¹⁵ During the early surveying in 2012 and 2013, the team found several oil lamps, a few coins, and textiles amongst the surface material scattered in the area. Soon

12 *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis* xxviii, §1,18.

13 Forbiger (1844: 802 n. 22b); Champollion (1814: 171); Weigall (1910: 360). For a discussion on its validity, see Caminos (1977: 444 n. 5).

14 E.g. Pococke (1743: 114); Norden (1798: pls 120–124); Perry (1743: 356, 360). On the Arabic name: J.M. Cowan (ed.) *Arabic-English Dictionary. The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Wiesbaden, 1994, p. 492a: سلسل

15 E.g. Maspero (1912: 198, 201, 224, 256, 286–287); Weigall (1910: 360). See also Caminos (1977: 444 n. 3) for reference to more modern quarrying on the west bank.



FIGURE 2 Google Earth map of the east bank marked with Roman sites
COURTESY OF GOOGLE EARTH

thereafter, the Mission was given the permit to clean the so-called naos, which is a shrine-like structure situated on top of the quarry. The undecorated structure had been reused by a local Sufi-group and by Esna quarrymen (1906–1909), but remained in a relatively good state of preservation. Finds included architectural remains of columns and an extension to the shrine at its front, but it was not until 2019 that the Mission began a more detailed investigation of the area. Amongst the more intriguing remains was a staircase and indications of castellation, which will be excavated more fully in coming seasons. Coins, tools, organic material, pottery and ostraca will together allow a reconstruction of this area.

Of Gebel el-Silsila's 104 quarries (excluding Nag el-Hammam and Shatt el-Rigal), at least 36 can be confirmed as partially or fully exploited by the Romans (19 on the east, 17 on the west) (see Fig. 2). So far, the epigraphic survey has enabled the team to identify the source (the quarry) and destination (the specific temple for which the stone was intended) in several cases, including the temples of Edfu, Dendera and Esna, the gate of Tiberius at Medamoud, the Temple of Isis and Min at Koptos, etc.¹⁶ Often, the Romans reused New Kingdom galleries (from Amenhotep III–IV) focusing their work on the exterior, open surfaces rather than the subterranean rooms. In some areas, the ceiling

16 Nilsson (2015b); Nilsson & Almásy (2015); Nilsson et al. (2019).

was intentionally collapsed and extracted together with the pillars that once lifted it. Two of the large Ramesside quarries in the central part of the east bank were equally reused in parts, as indicated by the combination of Roman and 19th Dynasty pottery as well as the quarrying techniques. On the west bank, the 18th Dynasty Main Quarry (Q11) received a limited extraction during the Roman period, and some of the quarry faces are preserved with hundreds of pictorial and textual engravings. Similarly, there are traces of Roman usurpation of the quarries of Tutankhamun.

3 Research History

Despite a series of early publications with brief references to graffiti and rock art at Gebel el-Silsila, only a limited selection of the epigraphy had been published prior to the arrival of the Swedish Mission. As a rule none of the early scholars stayed long enough to offer more than a cursory and limited vision of Gebel el-Silsila's ancient richness, and the earliest records, including the *Description de l'Égypte*,¹⁷ viewed the site from a technical perspective, more concerned with the geological and natural features than ancient epigraphy. Other visitors and scholars, such as Carl Richard Lepsius, laid their focus on pharaonic monuments and epigraphy, with merely a brief synopsis of the Graeco-Roman graffiti.¹⁸

The first publication that processed graffiti was F.C. Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie* in 1822, which included 16 entries.¹⁹ Some examples were incorporated in Jean Antoine Letronne's *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines d'Égypte*, which also included brief commentaries.²⁰ Fifteen entries were published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* III in 1853, in which facsimiles produced by Gau were used.²¹ A limited number of texts were included in G. Deville's, *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte recueillies en 1861* (...).²² Later, Sir Flinders Petrie provided a few more examples of textual and pictorial graffiti in 'A season in Egypt 1887', but for Gebel el-Silsila it was more of an account of quarry marks than its textual graffiti, and there was no further analytical

17 *La Description de l'Égypte: Antiquités* 1 (1809: pl. 47).

18 *LD* IV: 98; VI: 24.

19 Gau (1822: *Inscriptions*, pl. x, nos 2–7, 9–18).

20 Letronne (1842: 430–433; 1848, 231–234).

21 *CIG* III 4843–4858, add. 1218.

22 Deville (1865: 457–492).

approach to their significance.²³ Other examples were given by Petrie's travel and research companion, F. Ll. Griffith, who in his *Notes on a tour in Upper Egypt* included references to graffiti at Gebel el-Silsila.²⁴ In the following years, Archibald H. Sayce published graffiti from the area, although focused on the northern west bank and Shatt el-Rigal; Gustave Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* included some graffiti; and in Wilhelm Dittenberger, *OGIS*, as well as René Cagnat and Pierre Jouguet, *IGRR*, there were also reproductions of already published texts.²⁵

The first substantial corpus was accumulated by George Legrain while in charge of the monuments of Upper Egypt. He made an inventory of monuments and preserved epigraphy at Gebel el-Silsila, and a portion of the then visible graffiti was documented in 1894 and 1896.²⁶ He spent the necessary time on site and numbered a large proportion of the existing inscriptions and pictorial graffiti. However, he never completed the task of publishing his results in detail. Instead, it took several years before he finally handed over his notebooks and the responsibility to distribute the material in a published form to Wilhelm Spiegelberg in 1911. Spiegelberg, who translated the demotic texts, was joined by Friedrich Preisigke, who transcribed the Greek inscriptions, and their joint effort led to a corpus of 306 inscriptions published as *Ägyptische und griechische Inschriften und Graffiti aus den Steinbrüchen des Gebel Silsile (Oberägypten)* in 1915. This publication has remained the standard reference work for Graeco-Roman graffiti at the site and has been reproduced in various formats.²⁷ R.A. Caminos and his students produced 1:1 copies of accessible texts during the EES epigraphic survey (1955–1984), but despite their efforts a comprehensive corpus remains unpublished. Thus, the existing documentation, while still precious, is already outdated, the bibliography remains very limited for such a large and important site, and its archaeological and historical value is largely ignored or undervalued.

23 Petrie (1888: 15–16).

24 Griffith (1889: 229, 232–234).

25 Sayce (1891: 49–52, nos 1–39; 1908, 28–29); Lefebvre (1907: 102, xxii, 560); *OGIS* II no. 676; *IGRR* I nos 1276–1280.

26 *Graff. Silsile* 3.

27 E.g. *SB* III 6843–6919; *SB* V 8386–8387, 8651, 8829; Geraci (1971: 107–112, facs I–IV); *I. Thèbes à Syène* 78–165, pls 42–63.

4 Main Objectives

The main aim of the Swedish Mission was to produce for the first time a comprehensive corpus of all the rupestrian material, including a re-documentation of epigraphical texts already published, in order to provide an analysis of the chronological, ethnographical, cultural, socio-political, economic, religious and professional aspects of life at Gebel el-Silsila during the Graeco-Roman period. All Greek names²⁸ are placed in a larger database, listing all individuals attested at Gebel el-Silsila, Nag el-Hammam and Shatt el-Rigal, throughout all represented ancient periods. This will include texts in hieroglyphic, hieratic, demotic, Greek, Latin, and Coptic scripts. The database will be published online to serve as a corpus reference system, allowing comparison with sites elsewhere. The objective is to learn about the people of ancient Gebel el-Silsila.

5 Methodology

As part of the initial topographic documentation, the site was divided into 104 individual quarries, 52 on each side of the Nile, running from north to south. Following this classification, each quarry was subdivided into partitions (in case of larger quarries), followed by individual quarry faces (the vertical cliff walls resulting from extraction), and epigraphic material (i.e. inscriptions and quarry marks) recorded from the top down. Thus, when creating the comprehensive corpus of the marks, they are divided in accordance with the following successive classification: Quarry (abbreviated 'Q'), Partition (using alphabetic letters), Quarry Face (using Roman numerals) and Inscriptions. The epigraphic material is catalogued as 'Inscr.' (Inscription: textual graffito) and 'Pict.' (Pictograph: pictorial/quarry mark), and followed by recorded inventory number. For example, the southern section of Quarry 34, Partition F, consists of 17 separate quarry faces (Q34.F1–17); its second quarry face (F2) displays 110 textual graffiti labelled as Q34.F2.In.1–110, and 100 quarry marks classified as Q34.F2.P1–100. This classification system enables the addition of marks and inscriptions found after the initial survey without any disorganisation of the original records and without interfering with a consecutive numerical system for the entire quarry. It is accordingly more suitable and flexible than Legrain's system that cluster-labels epigraphic features when one or several examples were noted after his

²⁸ The Egyptian names written in Greek without Greek endings are not accentuated; otherwise we follow Willy Clarysse's rules on Greek accentuation of Egyptian names (cf. Clarysse 1997).

initial numeral system was completed.²⁹ Many of Legrain's original chalk numbers are still visible on the quarry faces and show this numerical system, to which any graffiti found later were appended to the nearest recorded number with the abbreviation 'ADD', and which created a rather messy structure. Throughout the book, however, references will be made to these unpublished reference numbers, as they are part of the current context.

The material has been studied and processed through the production of 1:1 analogue acetate copies in combination with digital layer-drawing techniques (Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator). Texts situated on quarry faces not accessible from the ground level have been photographed with various digital cameras and lenses, including aerial (drone), macros (60 and 100 mm) and micros (150–300 and 400–500 mm) in various lights, seasons and times of the day, and angled from below, full front, and above. For texts situated at higher levels, approximate measures will be listed based on their context, primarily block size/superimposed tool marks and spatial relation with surrounding epigraphic documents.³⁰ After photographing, each image was digitally enhanced, and manipulated in DStretch© algorithms, as well as inverted to a negative in order to clarify all outlines and separate the text from the irregular surface marked by tool grooves from the block extraction. Photogrammetry and laser scanning were applied in areas where traditional photography was prevented due to poor lighting and/or difficult locations, and yielded clearly defined reproductions.

Each catalogue entry includes information about field number (inv. no.), dimensions (L.—length; W.—width), approximate height above the current ground level, state of preservation (conditions: 'well preserved'—intact and legible; 'poorly preserved'—fragmentary, but still legible; 'illegible'—too poorly preserved to interpret), bibliography and, if available, date. Also displayed is a facsimile, transcription into majuscules, articulated text, translation and short commentary.

29 Spiegelberg reorganised Legrain's original number system for the 1915 publication (*Graff. Silsile*).

30 Block sizes are generally homogeneous at each quarry face and consist of a diagonal, parallel pattern of a series of two longer (19–29 cm) segmented grooves and a final intersection (5–12 cm), creating a block size of 52–58 cm high for the early Roman quarries.

6 *Sigla*

Due to their position within an open landscape and exposure to the physical elements, the texts of Gebel el-Silsila are naturally eroded and some are also damaged by breakage. In addition to texts fragmented by external force, several were left unfinished (intentionally or by accident), or composed erroneously by the producer. For the editorial reconstruction of the inscriptions the Leiden conventions (Leiden +) has been applied,³¹ using the following *sigla*:

Square brackets with dashes [---] are used in cases where the text is too damaged to estimate the original proportions and to indicate lacuna of uncertain length (e.g. **no. 51**: [---]μιος). Square brackets with individual points [.] are used to indicate illegible individual letters (e.g. **no. 10**: A[.]ι[.]η). Superscript ^v is used for spaces left empty by the producer either due to imperfect surfaces or to separate names. Each listed *vacat* (^v) represents one empty space (e.g. **no. 120**: Ψεν-σουτένσιος^{vv}Οσοτυχιούς). Subscript dots (α̣ β̣) are used for doubtful readings of partially preserved letters (e.g. **no. 49**: Πρεξ̣ίνος̣ for ΠΠΕΞΙΝCΙ based on a poorly written epsilon used erroneously for an alpha). Angular brackets < > are used to indicate letters erroneously omitted by the producer (e.g. **no. 6**: Ἀσκλη<...>). Parentheses () are used to indicate abbreviations (e.g. **no. 171**: Ἀρ(βέσχινης)). Parentheses with points (...) are used to indicate an unfinished name or word (e.g. **no. 69**: τὸ πρ(οσκύνημα) Ἀνοῦφει). Brace brackets { } are used to indicate editorial suppressions of erroneous repetitions or inserted letters (e.g. **no. 68**: προσκύ{ει}νη<μα>). Omission brackets (raised diagonals) ^ ^ are used for texts in linear suspension, to indicate the correct position of the superscripted letter(s) (e.g. **no. 169**: ^E^πιφάνεις)

[...]	lacuna
<...>	text omitted by the scribe
(...)	abbreviation
{...}	text written by the scribe in error
^ ^	text inserted or added above a line
^v	vacat of one character
^{vv}	vacat of characters (plural)
α̣ β̣	imperfectly preserved characters

31 https://papyri.info/docs/leiden_plus.

The Material

1 Introduction

Documents included in this book are part of a larger corpus, which comprises over 5000 graphic quarry marks¹ and more than 800 Greek, Demotic, and Latin texts. Of these, 4200 documents are situated on the east bank, and include approximately 3600 symbolic quarry marks and over 600 textual graffiti (demotic, Greek, and Latin).² (Later graffiti, including a very limited number of Coptic texts, were catalogued separately.) Greek, Demotic and Latin texts appear side by side and intermix with quarry marks. The corpus of Greek graffiti incorporates 193 texts divided over nine quarries and one rock art site/Roman station, to which can be added a few sites inscribed with single Greek letters (Figs. 3–4). The vast majority (149 texts/80%) are located within the main quarry, Q34 (Chapter 5), with smaller concentrations within larger epigraphic contexts of quarries Q24 (Chapter 4), Q35 and Q37 (Chapter 6) (see Figure 5).

The texts were primarily produced with an iron chisel, with a tip approximately 6 mm wide. Several chisel tips/fragments of corresponding measures were found during the surveying and excavations. A limited number of texts were incised in naturally smooth or intentionally flattened surfaces. However, in general the texts were produced as engravings, superimposed over tool marks created during block extraction. The intersection of lines occasionally makes certain letters obscure and the reading difficult. In this case, the texts have been studied based on a combination of *in situ* documentation and post-processing of the images into inverted illustrations (negatives), as well as manipulation in the various colour algorithms of DStretch[®], in order to allow an estimation of how the production developed, as the letters are always superimposed over the extraction marks. Overall, the texts are well preserved with very limited wear

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- 1 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 to a quarry, see Nilsson (2015a: 87–88).
 - 2 We use here the traditional term ‘graffiti’ instead of the nowadays popular ‘secondary epigraphical material’ cf. Ragazzoli et al. (2018: 10) to follow in the footsteps of researchers who previously worked on the site. See the discussion below.

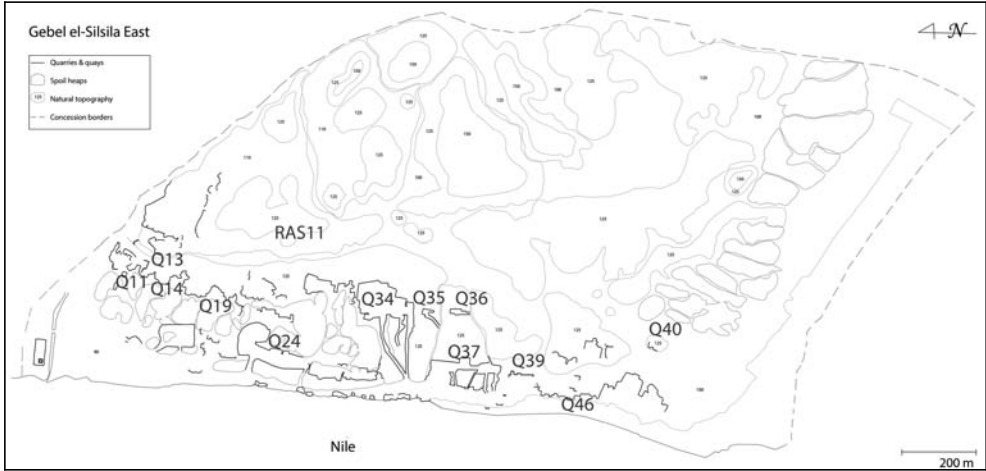


FIGURE 3 Topographic map of the east bank marked with sites inscribed with Greek texts and/or singular letters

DRAWING BY MARIA NILSSON

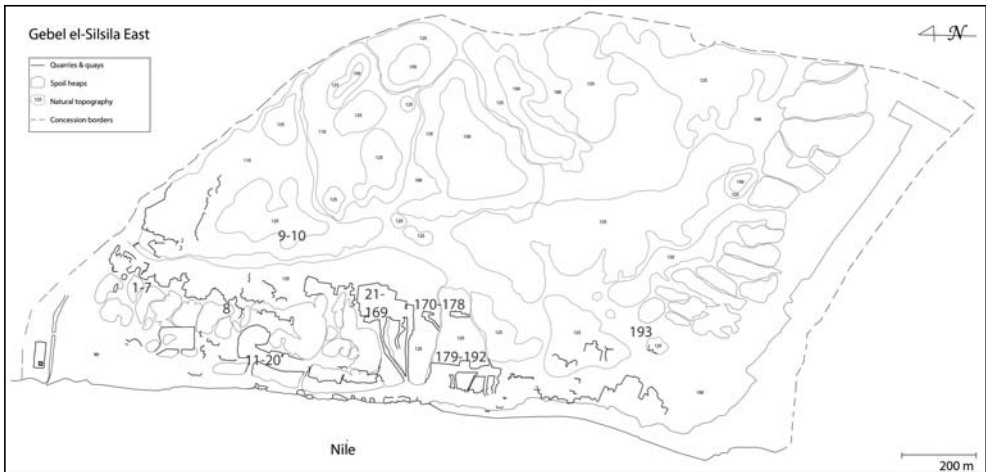


FIGURE 4 Spatial distribution of the Greek texts

DRAWING BY MARIA NILSSON

(erosion) and have clearly defined letter forms. Fragmentary texts were often damaged by fractures in the rock, or when a section detached from the cliff and fell on the ground. Poorly produced texts were generally shallowly scratched with what appears to be a sharp implement, randomly chosen, such as a flint or even a pottery sherd. These texts are often difficult to discern and occasionally illegible. A few texts were produced with a hammering technique.

Location	Amount
Q11	1
Q13	4
Q14	2
Q19	1
Q24	10
Q34	149
Q35	9
Q37	14
Q40	1
RAS11	2
TOTAL	193

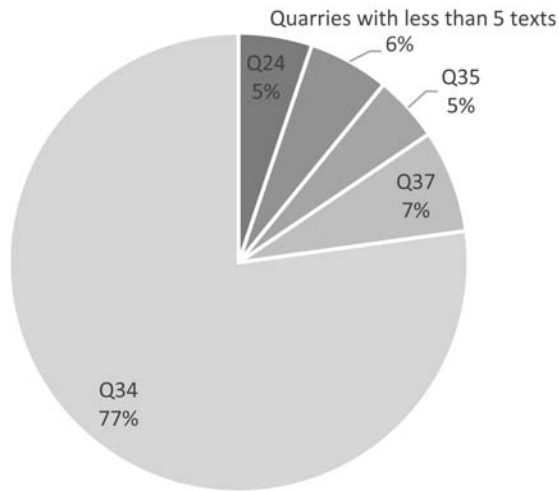


FIGURE 5 Spatial distribution of Greek texts in accordance with locale

The vast majority of the texts are signatures (123 texts, 64 percent consisting of a name with or without patronymic filiation). Nine signatures are placed within a *tabula ansata*,³ and another six within an offering table,⁴ the significance of which is plausibly of a religious nature and likely intended to emphasise the role of the individual as a dedicator. This may also be true for several of the signatures in which the producer's name is written in the genitive form.⁵ Other texts are situated next to one or several graphic marks, including offering tables (22 texts),⁶ ankh-signs (17 texts),⁷ harpoons (six texts),⁸ stone vessels (11 texts),⁹ a sandal (one example),¹⁰ which may also carry a religious connotation. As such, the texts may be understood as simplified adorations, and parallel with *proskynemata*—signatures preceded by the word τὸ προσκύνημα 'adoration, act of worship', 'obseance', or 'prostration' (65 texts, 34 percent).¹¹ Three

3 Nos 57, 77–78, 80–83, 126, 140. The *tabulae* for nos 82–83 are indicated, not fully drawn.

4 Nos 138, 165–166, 184, 186, 189.

5 Nos 53, 99, 111, 120, 174 are here interpreted as *proskynema* texts.

6 Nos 60–62, 67, 89, 124, 135, 138, 151–154, 161, 165–166, 177, 179–180, 184–186, 189.

7 Nos 17, 60–62, 67, 71, 73–74, 89, 96, 99, 124, 135, 151–154.

8 Nos 21, 27, 35, 45, 47, 52.

9 Nos 60–62, 67, 89, 135, 150–154.

10 No. 193.

11 *LSJ* 1518. Twelve texts are *proskynemata* without an attached signature (nos 2, 56, 71, 72, 75, 86, 93, 94, 104, 130, 136, 137). Intriguingly, there are no Greek *proskynema* texts in Q24. See also Geraci (1971).

texts fall under the category of dedications.¹² Other graphic marks may contain references to the profession of the carver, including sailors (six texts mentioning boats)¹³ and a soldier (one example);¹⁴ or a religious association through the depiction of godlike characters (six examples).¹⁵ Fifteen texts are situated within the graphic context of a series of quarry marks.¹⁶ The remaining two percent of texts are illegible due to their fragmentary state of preservation. Overall, the texts are short and without any date or details of profession or religious role. Two examples of ancient erasure appear in Q34 (nos 112, 114), but in general incomplete readings result from erosion or natural factors (such as birds and bats).

A small number of texts are well executed by a skilled hand. These are found in the eastern and southern parts of Q34 (e.g. nos 37, 39, 109, 154, 155), in Q35 (nos 177, 178) and Q37 (nos 183 and 190). These are often longer and grammatically accurate, but aesthetically arranged letters can also be seen as an indication of an experienced writer. This is generally true for texts that list Latin names.

2 Palaeographic Commentary

The script includes monumental letterforms, but more often cursive forms (see Table 1). They generally follow the conventional Ionic script, although the lunate sigma form C consistently replaces the standard sigma Σ, and the monumental omega Ω is replaced by the rounded ω. The monumental epsilon, E, is also used alongside the lunate form. Horizontal cross-strokes of epsilon, eta, and theta are positioned at the mid-line. No. 39 exemplifies the application of standardised letterforms at Gebel el-Silsila:

Α ΟΥΚΙΟC ΓΑΙΟΥΧΡΗCΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ

Alpha appears in its monumental form (A) alongside alphas with broken bar (A) and alphas with ascending diagonal bars (A). Variants also occur with apices, or continuous strokes deriving from the broken bar or the *hastae* (A,

¹² Nos 57, 155, 190.

¹³ Nos 1, 29, 52, 78, 90, 171.

¹⁴ No. 119.

¹⁵ Nos 33, 45, 67, 97, 150, 173.

¹⁶ Nos 35, 60–62, 67, 89, 124, 135, 151–155, 179, 185.

TABLE 1 Paleographic overview of letterforms attested at Gebel el-Silsila east bank

Α	Α	Α	Α	Α	Α	Α
Β	Β	Β				
Γ	Γ					
Δ	Δ	Δ				
Ε	Ε	Ε				
Ζ	Ζ					
Η	Η					
Θ	Θ					
Ι	Ι					
Κ	Κ	Κ				
Λ	Λ					
Μ	Μ	Μ				
Ν	Ν	Ν				
Ξ	Ξ					
Ο	Ο					
Π	Π					
Ρ	Ρ					
Σ	Σ					
Τ	Τ					
Υ	Υ					
Φ	Φ					
Χ	Χ					
Ψ	Ψ	Ψ	Ψ	Ψ	Ψ	Ψ
Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω

Δ). Beta occurs in its monumental form, as well as a square form (Θ), which may be confused with the square form of theta. Epsilon appears in the standard, upright form, and as cursive or lunate (Ε); the middle bar is occasionally detached. The already mentioned theta is primarily written in its monumental form, but also an alternative round form (⊙) or squared (⊞). Lambda is written in monumental and cursive/slightly splayed forms. The writing of mu varies between the monumental form with upright *hastae* and the cursive form with

splayed *hastae* and a curved middle stroke. Both forms appear with apices at the top (also nu). Omicron is documented in its standard as well as its rectangular form (◻), and occasionally in superscript (°). The pi always has a complete right *hasta* and is occasionally splayed. The lunate sigma occurs as rounded and squared (◻). The horizontal bar of the tau is generally straight, although not always connected to the vertical line. The upper body of upsilon occurs with the traditional v-shaped form as well as a rounded u-shaped form. The circle of phi is generally placed centrally, but a high position also occurs. Psi is composed of either a curved or a square horizontal bar, sometimes shortened to a cruciform shape (+) and sometimes v-shaped. The omega occurs in the form Ω, as well as a cursive and square variant ◻◻, sometimes splayed. The letters are arranged horizontally and, when in longer texts, there is no consideration of vertical symmetry. The palaeographical table displays the letters in accordance with their conventional (Ionian) form, the standard form applied at Gebel el-Silsila, and their local variations.

Several graffiti were poorly composed and/or contain graphical or grammatical errors. The most common mistake is the omission of one or several letters (e.g. **no. 168**: Πετᾶρ<σνου>φίς).

Some examples include phonetic spellings of phi for psi, lambda for alpha, omega for omicron, or gamma for kappa (e.g. **no. 100**: ΤΩΠΡΟΓΥΝΗΜΑ). Rho is occasionally written in a reversed position, i.e. with the vertical bar drawn on the right side instead of the left. These types of mistakes or rather confusion between certain letters may indicate semi-illiteracy (see discussion below), local dialect, phonetic variants or simply the difficulty of carving on uneven surface.

It is possible that two inscriptions contain Egyptian words in Greek transcription, although the specific transcriptions are previously unattested. COY on **nos 32–33** (line 6 and 2, respectively) may be the Greek rendering of the Egyptian noun *sw*, referring to the day in the dating. The writer of the texts was probably inexperienced and may have been unfamiliar with the Greek noun.¹⁷

As expected, there is generally no punctuation or interpunctuation applied in the current corpus. However, word spaces do occur, as for example in **no. 11** where a lacuna separates the Latin name from the Greek repetition, or **no. 18** in which a blank space separates the names of two brothers. There are also examples where the name is separated from the patronym (44 texts), or the proskynema from the dedicator (29 texts) by vertical division.

¹⁷ We are grateful to Luigi Prada for this suggestion. Cf. the Coptic coy: Crum, *Dict.* 368a. Although this combination of dating is not attested to date, Egyptian texts written with Greek letters are well-known, cf. Quack (2017).

3 Onomastic and Prosopographic Commentary

The Greek text corpus from the east bank incorporates 303 names belonging to 277 individuals, with 26 cases of repetition (24 individuals). Seventeen Demotic names are included because they correspond to an adjacent Greek signature.¹⁸ One text (**no. 11**) is a bilingual combination of Latin and Greek, and the Latin name Faustus has been added to the corpus of Q34 as an addendum. Among the Greek texts, 168 persons are listed as the main active person, 30 as accompanying persons in a list of names (22 as the second person; five as the third; two as the fourth; and one as the fifth), 101 as the father, three as the son, and one as the grandfather. In other words, 198 individuals were described in a nominative role (or genitive if in a *proskynema* text). The more frequent names include Agathinos, Ammonios, Apollonios and Harbeschinis (all listed six times), and Harpaesis (five Greek examples). Most names are of Egyptian origin (154 names), but a significant number are Greek (97 names), including renderings of Latin names. One, Βαράθης, is the Greek rendering of an Aramaic name. The remaining majority of names cannot be classified by origin (see Fig. 6).

The names include 157 theophoric (and herophoric) names. The current corpus lists 45 theophoric names with references to 16 mythological figures, including Greek Apollon,¹⁹ Dionysos,²⁰ and Heron,²¹ and Egyptian Anubis,²² Kollouthes/Kollanthes,²³ Orses,²⁴ Orsenouphis,²⁵ Psais,²⁶ Totoes/Tutu²⁷ and six variants of Horus.²⁸ Among the 109 derived theophoric names, references are made to 28 mythological figures and nine sacred animals. The more frequent divine associations are with Khnum (14 examples), Horus in various forms (11 examples), Isis (eight examples), Ammon (seven examples), Arensouphis and Apollon (six examples each).²⁹ References to sacred animals in

18 Thus, increasing the total number of names to 338.

19 No. 53.

20 No. 109.

21 No. 90.

22 Nos 69, 81.

23 No. 10.

24 Nos 19, 126.

25 Nos 99, 126, 163.

26 No. 47 (and demotic no. 63c).

27 Nos 110, 184, 185 (x2).

28 Nos 4, 15 (x2), 16, 25, 38, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 68, 91, 127, 128, 141, 164, 170, 171, 172, 173, 176, 177, 188, 190; including Harbeschinis, Harkinis, Harkoneisis, Harpaesis, Horus and Outeuris/Otehyris.

29 The full list includes in alphabetic order: Amenophis, Ammon, Anonymous deity, Anubis,

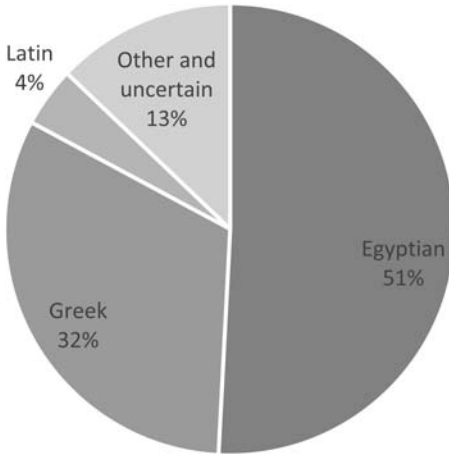


FIGURE 6
Geographic origin of the names

names include dogs, eagles, falcons, ibises, lions, panthers and snakes. As expected, there are generally no evident connections between theophoric names and deities addressed in invocations and dedications (written or illustrated) at the site. However, names associated with Khnum are primarily situated within the southern part of Q34 (quarry faces F1, F2 and F3), which provided stone for the Temple of Khnum at Esna, and several names associated with Horus are situated in the northern part of Q34, from which stone was extracted for the Temple of Edfu.³⁰ Lexical significations of non-theophoric names include “Wealth”, “Dragon”, and “The best”.³¹

Some names are previously unattested, or are hitherto unattested variants of a known name (no. 38 Παχίπως from Παχόμπως, no. 47 Πάνχημις for Πάμπχημις no. 164: Ἡρσίεσις, from Ἀρσίησις). A few names are unique to Gebel el-Silsila (e.g. no. 24a: Φατρέχη(μις); no. 37: Παμπάνισκος). Some are probably hypocoristic forms of longer names or diminutives (e.g. no. 45: Πάμπως).

The producers’ names are occasionally written in the nominative following the expression of adoration, τὸ προσκύνημα. These texts are interpreted here as two phrases indicated by parentheses (e.g. no. 32: τὸ π{ο}ροσκύνημα Πτολίον... ‘The proskynema (of) Ptolion...’) rather than as erroneously written in a possessive form.³² Cases in which the nominative is used instead of the gram-

Apollon, Arensnouphis, Asklepios, Demeter, Dionysos, Geb, Hakoës, Harpocrates, Har-somtus, Herakles, Hermes, Horus, Khnum, Khonsu, Isis, Min, Montu, Nephotes, (the) Ogdoad, Poeris, Sarapis, Thmesios, Thoth, Zeus.

30 Nilsson (2018a: 125–128 (Horus)); Nilsson and Ward (2017: 24 (Khnum)).

31 Nos 21, 35, 36 (Twin/the Twin); 79 (Wealth); 101, 105 (Dragon); 179 (The best).

32 This is not unique in Gebel el-Silsila: cf. Geraci (1971: 40–41).

matically correct genitive may be signs of unfamiliarity with the Greek declension. There are also examples of the writing of the patronym in the nominative, which obscures this second person's role and makes it possible to read it as two individuals without filiation.

4 Dates, Professions, and Religious Functions

Nineteen texts (including **no. 24b**, which is Demotic) are dated. Occasionally the dating formula includes the word 'Kaisaros' ('Year 40 of Caesar')³³ referring to Augustus or the name of the emperor ('Tiberius', or 'Claudius').³⁴ The remaining group lists only a date.³⁵ Quarries Q34 and Q35 contain the highest number of dates.

Three texts list the profession of the dedicators: **no. 53**: σιτόμετρος, **no. 47**: ἀρχιτέκ[τ]ων, and **no. 109**: στρατιώτου. In addition, six texts attest a religious role or title of the individual, including **no. 155**: προστάτης Ἄμμωνος θεοῦ μεγίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς θεᾶς μεγίστης the 'leader/chief of Ammon, the greatest god and of Athena, the greatest goddess'. The same title, προστάτης, also occurs in **nos 63, 88 and 141**. This is a Greek equivalent of the demotic *rd*³⁶ that often has a religious connotation, and is here associated with (the construction of) the temples for which the stone was extracted.³⁷ It is hard to decide their role in the quarry but the famous 'leader/chief of Isis' in Koptos, Parthenios son of Paminis,³⁸ also commemorated his work in a demotic inscription in Q37, a quarry which is dedicated to Isis. (This graffito will be published separately). **Nos. 172 and 177** in Q35 refer to an 'Engineer of Isis', and the quarry contains one more reference to the goddess (while demotic texts include a reference to Min³⁹). Isis is also mentioned as the goddess of the quarry in Q37, text **no. 183**. In addition to Ammon, Athena, and Isis, **nos 57 and 154** include reference to Tyche, as the Shaï or divine 'Fate'. Reference to Hathor and Horus is listed in the demotic part of **nos 43 and 50** respectively.

33 Nos. 47 and 161.

34 Nos. 170, 173, 175, 178; 183, 184.

35 Nos. 7, 13, 24b, 27, 32, 33, 129, 154, 172, 176, 177.

36 CDD Letter R, 76–77.

37 Cf. Clarysse & Winnicki (1989: 46–47); Klotz (2009: 254).

38 Cf. Vleeming (2001: 171–203).

39 Nilsson & Almásy (2015: no. 1).

5 General Commentary on the Chronology

The dates listed in the east bank corpus range from year 29 of Augustus and year 9 of Claudius, thereby presenting evidence for a time span of at least 50 years (2 BC–48 AD) of quarry activity (Table 2).⁴⁰ However, the date listed in no. 7, “year 21” may refer to either Augustus or Tiberius, so a longer period of activity is also possible (i.e. 58 years).

The earlier dates are primarily situated in the eastern part (and southern corridor) of Q34, and correspond to extraction work for the Temple of Dendera.⁴¹ Quarrying during the reign of Augustus also took place in Q37, intended for the Temple of Isis and Min at Koptos.⁴²

During the reign of Tiberius the work expanded the areas (re-)opened during Augustus’ rule, moving eastwards and southwards—deeper into the mountain in Q34, and plausibly breaking through the large quarry face that separated the northern partition from the southern. Concentrated quarrying activity took place in Q24, in which Greek and demotic texts, as well as archaeological artefacts, provide an eight-year temporal window between years 10 and 18 (AD 24–32). Stone from Q24 was transported to Medamoud for the construction of Tiberius’ gate.⁴³ The continuation of work from Augustus to Tiberius is further documented in Q37, in which the bilingual text no. 187 lists the presence of a father and son, working between year 29 of Augustus to year 19 of Tiberius (2 BC–32 AD).⁴⁴

There are no references to Claudius (or later emperors) in Q34, from which we may assume that the quarry was considered exhausted. Instead, work focused on the small adjacent quarry Q35, in which all dates belong to this ruler. The dates represented on the western quarry face (C) are coeval with the texts on the opposite quarry face (E); thus it can be assumed that stone from both quarry faces was extracted simultaneously. Isis and Min are addressed as the resident deities, and stone was possibly extracted for the continuation of building activity at the Temple in Koptos, where Claudius erected a gate.⁴⁵

40 The demotic inscriptions extend the dates back to at least 7 BC (year 23 of Augustus) as listed in two round-topped stelae (inv. nos. GeSE.Q37N.F.In.2, In.5), which will be published separately.

41 Nilsson et al. (2019).

42 Nilsson (2020: 142 with table 2, 148); Nilsson & Almásy (2015: 97).

43 Nilsson (2020: 142 with table 2, 144).

44 The text is located in the main transportation corridor to the quarry, which was likely considered to be a safe place for an inscription without any risk of later quarry workers removing it by further extraction.

45 Nilsson & Almásy (2015: 97).

TABLE 2 Dates listed in the texts

No.	Date	Converted date	Location
7	Year 21	10/9 BC (if Augustus) 34/35 AD (if Tiberius)	Q14
13	Year 15	28/19 AD (if Tiberius)	Q24
24b	Year 8, Shemu III, Day 26	18 July 22 AD (if Tiberius)	Q34.C6
27	Year 30		Q34.C7
32	Year 40	10/11 AD	Q34.C9
33	Year 41	11/12 AD	Q34.C9
47	Year 40	10/11 AD	Q34.C17
129	Year 3	16/17 AD (if Tiberius)	Q34.F3
154	Year 41, Phaophi 15	11 October 11 AD	Q34.F5
161	Year 40	10/11 AD	Q34.GN
170	Year 6 of Claudius	45/46 AD	Q35.C
172	Year 9 (of Claudius), Mesore 1	23 July 49 AD	Q35.C
173	Year 6 of Claudius	45/46 AD	Q35.E
175	Year 8 of Claudius, Phaophi	Sept-Oct 47 AD	Q35.E
176	Year 8 (of Claudius)	47/48 AD	Q35.E
177	Year 8 (of Claudius), 19 Thoth	15 September 47 AD	Q35.E
178	Year 8 of Claudius, Thoth 19	15 September 47 AD	Q35.E
183	Year 17 of Tiberius, Thoth 19	14 September 30 AD	Q37N.G
187	Year 29 Augustus–year 19 Tiberius (demotic)	2 BC–32 AD	Q37N.K
190	Year 44 (of) Caesar, Thoth 20	17 September 14 AD	Q37N.KS

The earliest inscriptions (nos 170 and 173) were written by the same person, Harbeschinis, son of Petephibis, and are situated at the same height (c. 6 m above the current ground) on the corresponding quarry faces C and E, with the later inscriptions placed on lower levels. Arguably, the matching inscriptions were carved before the removal of the floor in a staggered step system as part of the quarrying process.⁴⁶ Three years later, Harbeschinis, son of

46 E.g. Harrell & Storemyr (2013: 33, fig. 23).

Pakoibis inscribed the last dated Greek text in the quarry, within reach from the current ground level.

The chronological development, of course, is not only measurable through the dates provided in the texts. The progress of the work, as seen in Q35, can be detected through corresponding names (and/or images). In the south-eastern part of Q34, the name Andron appears thrice at a corresponding height: **no. 60** on the northern quarry face F1, **no. 65** on the eastern quarry face F2 and **no. 131** on the southern quarry face F3 (Fig. 7).⁴⁷ **Nos 60** and **65** were likely written by the same hand, and while **no. 131** was more shallowly incised and cannot be paleographically identified, their spatial correspondence argues in favour of their identification as the work of the same hand. A few meters below, **nos 63** and **67** (quarry faces F1 and F2) refer to work carried out in the name of Ammon, and depictions of rams are present at F2 and F3 on the same horizontal level. For this, it can be presumed that the area of F1–3 was extracted methodically by the removal of horizontal floor levels, similar to Q35. Furthermore, **no. 63** can be identified with the individual who wrote **no. 155** on quarry face F5 (also with reference to Ammon), which can be dated to year 41 of Augustus based on its context. **No. 155**, however, is situated at a higher level. This indicates that the work progressed from the border to Partition C, with initial extraction of F1–3, followed by a westward movement towards the Nile (via quarry face F5) (see Figs. 25–26 in Chapter 5 for an overview map of Q34). The workers reached the current ground level during the early reign of Tiberius.

6 Abbreviations and Sigla

Traditionally, abbreviations are classified as words reduced to only a part of their letters (or replaced by a symbol). They appear with or without the presence of a distinguishing mark. For the current texts, the most common mark was a horizontal stroke placed above the abbreviated letters (e.g. **no. 184**: ΨΕ $\bar{\text{N}}$ for Ψέν\` ις'), or in some cases, behind (e.g. **no. 125**: Πτορθυοι — —). Once the horizontal stroke is placed below the text to indicate or correct a spelling mistake (**no. 121**). Numeral-letters in dating formulae in reference to a month-date are indicated with the traditional horizontal stroke (e.g. **no. 178**: [η' Γλαύτιος Θῶθ ιθ]).⁴⁸ The year, ἔτους, is consistently abbreviated with the siglum [. In

47 The texts are located along the same strata level, but the height above the *current* ground level varies (17–21 m) due to the buildup of spoil and fallen quarry debris below each individual quarry face.

48 Nos 154, 172, 177, 178, 183, 190; in nos 13 and 47 the year abbreviation is indicated.

Q34.F1-3



FIGURE 7 Section overview of F1-3, marked with horizontally corresponding epigraphy
PHOTO AND EDITING BY MARIA NILSSON

no. 169 the contraction is indicated by a supralinear epsilon, and in **no. 170** by the application of two vertical strokes.

The subject-matter of abbreviations listed in the Gebel el-Silsila Greek corpus may be divided into three categories: deliberate ‘true’ contractions;⁴⁹ abbreviations caused by the termination of space;⁵⁰ and unintentional or un-

49 Nos 12, 14, 24a, 54, 69, 73, 74, 125, 129, 170, 171, 173. No. 129 is interesting as it was first produced with abbreviations for the names, later completed (in haste or by a different hand) to separate the identical abbreviations into two different names.

50 Nos 1, 16, 22, 45, 59, 67, 77, 80, 88, 95, 115, 118, 122, 138, 157, 166, 169, 184. Although initially unintentional, these contractions are generally considered as true abbreviations, espe-

finished texts.⁵¹ All abbreviations are created through suspension (the omission of ending letters). Abbreviations are habitually indicated by a mark and are situated within a textual context that includes an explanation of the applied convention (completion of the word/name). Nos 170 and 173: Ἀρβέ(σ)χι(νις) Πεπεφι(βιος), for example, are clarified in their parallel text, no. 176 (Ἀρβέσχινις Πεπεφιβίς). Texts interrupted by the termination of space (and/or poor quality stone) are generally completed by superscripted letters (e.g. no. 138: Παοραύ-τος; no. 169: Ἐ'πιφάνες). Partial letter repetitions are habitually completed by the complete word/name on a separate row (e.g. no. 1: Ἀπελλῶς | {Ἀπ}, no. 122: {Πετ} | Πετενεφώτης). Unfinished graffiti were often caused by an irregular surface or lack of sufficient space, making the completion of the text impossible. A poor surface is likely to be the reason why several texts include an unfinished or abbreviated first line, in which the scribe after recognising the difficulty of writing on the unsmoothed wall simply rewrote the name below on a smoother surface. In addition to contracted signatures and dates, the text producers at Gebel el-Silsila also applied abbreviations to the *proskynemata*.⁵² Abbreviations were often applied to save time and space.

7 Single Alphabetic Letters

The application of 'extreme suspension' of letters, in which all but the first letter are omitted, is generally unusual in traditional Greek abbreviations as its significance might be easily misunderstood.⁵³ One-letter abbreviations are in many respects irrational unless the individuals communicated to had been initiated into the ciphered code. Naturally, the single letters may represent Greek numerals to mark the stone, but the distinct lack of letter combinations and their irregular positioning indicate a different purpose.⁵⁴

cially in texts that employ marks to indicate the abbreviation/mistake (e.g. no. 184). See Oikonomides (1940: 22).

- 51 Nos 4, 5, 6, 23, 31, 58, 64, 70, 98, 124, 143, 144, 152, 163. The abbreviation category of no. 58 is questionable as a superscript diagonal line over the two letters may be intended as an abbreviation mark. No. 70 is also questionable, and may be listed as a deliberate abbreviation indicated by the second letter, the same as was used to indicate the abbreviation of the *proskynema*. The letters PR, used to abbreviate the patronym, are repeated on the same quarry face, for which it is likely a true abbreviation.
- 52 Nos 56, 68, 69, 75, 86, 87, 93, 94, 104, 108, 124, 130, 136, 137, 179.
- 53 McLean (2014: 51).
- 54 There is no evident relation to letters documented in contemporaneous quarries elsewhere, and they are not organised like the Roman numerals found in, for example, Mons

Seven quarries are preserved with one or more singular letters (Q24, Q34, Q35, Q36, Q37, Q39 and Q46, see Fig. 3). In addition to letters incised into the vertical quarry face, several appear on detached blocks (intentionally quarried or fractured), as well as on smaller, flat plaque-like stones. Some occur as pot marks.⁵⁵ A proportion of the Greek alphabet could be interpreted as single letters, including characteristic A, B, E, H, K, M, N, Ξ, and C.

In addition to identified letterforms there are several marks that, although similar to Greek letters, may have been intended as something else (e.g. delta may represent a triangular mark, the gamma and lambda may represent angles, omicron is likely a simple circle, pi and tau may have acted as indication marks to guide the quarrymen). For example, one quarry mark, in its simplest form, appears similar to the uncial omega (Ω). However, developed morphemes of this sign show curvilinear or straight strokes extended from its central bar, similar to ropes, and its frequent positioning near a physical rope hole or graphic boats indicate that it was intended to signify a rope, similar to hieroglyph V59 (𓏏). Another dubious mark is the 'lined circle', which is a circle intersected by a vertical or horizontal bar, occasionally confused with the Greek letter theta.⁵⁶ They appear frequently (c. 150 examples) in Q34, and are generally paired with a harpoon.⁵⁷ The theta-like mark was likely inspired by the hieroglyphic sign N9 (⊖) *psdn/psdn.wyt*,⁵⁸ and has been interpreted as a symbol of the new moon as well as Hathor of Dendera with a symbolic connotation of the sacred marriage (ἱερός γάμος) between Horus and Hathor.⁵⁹

Claudianus, where they are suggested to represent control marks. See Peacock & Maxfield (1997: 216–232).

55 Pot marks will be treated in a separate publication.

56 Petrie (1888: 17); Jaritz (1980: 88 no A7); Depauw (2009: 101, second to last sign: “c: Greek letter theta (?).”). Legrain (1906: 18 and 20) included them in his “primitive group” and concludes that the mark is unlikely to represent the Greek theta, but without any explanation. Similarly, he does not explain why he separates circles with horizontal bars from those with vertical bars. See also Arnold (1990: 127 (N81.2)); Andrassy (2009a: 114 with fig. 2 (C.34, C34-2, L10, 4 Rt12, 4 Rt33); 2009b, 16 with Abb. 8 and with sign corpus on p. 47); Harding (2009: 165) with sign from O. Cairo JE 72490 (second sign from the bottom) from the time of Thutmose III–Amenhotep II.

57 Nilsson et al. (2019: 8).

58 *WB* 1, 559; *CDD* P (101), 164–165; Meeks (1980: 139, #77.1502; 1981: 144, #78.1529; 1982: 103, #79.1048); Wilson (1997: 373–374).

59 Nilsson et al. (2019: 13–14). For the festival see *Edfou* v, 124.8–12, 356.8–357.3, 394.12–14; *Dend.* vi, 158.4–7.

8 Monograms and Ligatures

To save space, or as a result of unintentional letter omission or similar, the text producer could sometimes combine two or three letters into a single graphic form, commonly known as ligatures. At Gebel el-Silsila these appear very rarely and those listed below are not so much ligatures as simply joint letters. In **no. 13**, the writer decided to add a date to his signature, which due to the limited space was condensed into the ligature of the sigla (ἔτους) and the following numbers. In **no. 14** the first letter takes the form of a rounded alpha followed by a lacuna before its ending, which may represent another form of a ligature. **No. 24a** presents a ligature, in which the tau and rho are joined in the name Phatreche(mis). In **no. 47** the initial three letters that form the name of the person as well as his grandfather (Ptollion) are joined by an upper horizontal line, perhaps the result of a stylistic preference rather than a lack of space (cf. **nos 110, 116, 132**). The abbreviation of the proskynema in **no. 69** is indicated by an initiating ligature (τὸ πρ(οσκύνημα) Ἀννούφει Νολ(...)). In **no. 154** the writer accidentally omitted the nu, eta and alpha and to correct the mistake added the alpha superscript, while leaving the nu and eta in a ligatured form with the upsilon and mu (τὸ προσκύ<νη>μ^αϵ').

In addition to the (in general) unintentional assemblages of letters, quarries Q39 and Q46 preserve ligatures that combine the three letters alpha, rho and beta (Fig. 8). Another example was found in Q37 as a potmark (Fig. 9).⁶⁰

Quarries Q35, Q36 and Q37 furthermore display a letter combination of eta and lambda (Fig. 10) but, without any clarifying context, their signification remains obscure. They might stand for ἦλ(θον) 'I have come' or ἦλ(θε) 'he has come', which are known from *proskynemata*.

A final group of abbreviations are monograms.⁶¹ Greek block monograms are considered the oldest form of monograms and were used for abbreviations on coins already during the Classical period, although they also appear later (between the 5th and 7th centuries AD) on other media.⁶² Block monograms are constructed around a central letter in ligature with other letters and generally contain the name, title or office of an individual or geographic location written in the genitive.⁶³

60 Cf. *Graff. Silsile* 62 (destroyed during the quarrying for Esna barrage in 1906–1909).

61 McLean (2014: 55).

62 E.g. Fink (1981: 75–86); Seibt (2016: 2–6). For Egyptian examples, see Fournet & Benázeth (2020: esp. 151, 153–155).

63 Feind (2010: 129).



FIGURE 8 Ligature inscription in Q46 that combine alpha (rho) and beta, possibly reading Harbeschinis. C. 14 cm wide

PHOTO BY MARIA NILSSON

Five monograms were recorded on the east bank and all are arranged in a block form constructed of two parallel vertical lines (*hastae*) with the termini curved outwards (Table 3).⁶⁴ The body is bound together by either a horizontal or a diagonal stroke and form the central letters N, H, Π/M, M, and H respectively.⁶⁵ Except for monogram no. 3, all were engraved with care and detail. Four monograms include an element of a central, superscript OY. Two monograms include another wavy superscript element of uncertain reading.⁶⁶

The monograms are not in a clear line of sight (rather the opposite) and three were carved on a surface facing the ground. This may indicate a private application. The signs are situated within an early Roman epigraphic and archaeological context in Q34 and Q35 without any archaeological indications of later activity. Monogram no. 1 is located next to a depiction of a falcon head, produced with a compatible implement and preserved with a similar patina.

64 Three examples are situated close together with a fourth nearby in Partition C of Q34. A fifth is situated in Q35.

65 The central letter of monogram no. 1 could be read as either a retrograde N or a Λ, but block form monograms generally center around the letters A, H, Θ, M, N, Π and X, for which a N is more likely. E.g. Feind (2010: 129).

66 If a Greek letter at all, it resembles xi (ξ).



FIGURE 9 Ligature inscription as a potmark recorded in Q37
PHOTO BY MARIA NILSSON

Monogram no. 5 is superimposed over a dipinto sketch, perhaps a man holding a harpoon/spear (Figs. 11a–e).⁶⁷ However, since monograms of this type are primarily associated with the Byzantine period,⁶⁸ later visitors passing by possibly produced the monograms.⁶⁹

67 Numerous anthropomorphic figures are depicted with harpoons primarily in Q34. See Nilsson et al. (2019: 144–146).

68 We are grateful to Jean-Luc Fournet for his commentaries on these monograms.

69 Although there is a distinct lack of archaeological and epigraphical evidence for any activity later than Emperor Claudius in the central parts of the east bank, the recent publication of a *sija* game board found near Q34 indicates at least sporadic visits. See de Voogt et al. (2020: 7 and 9, with Fig. 3).

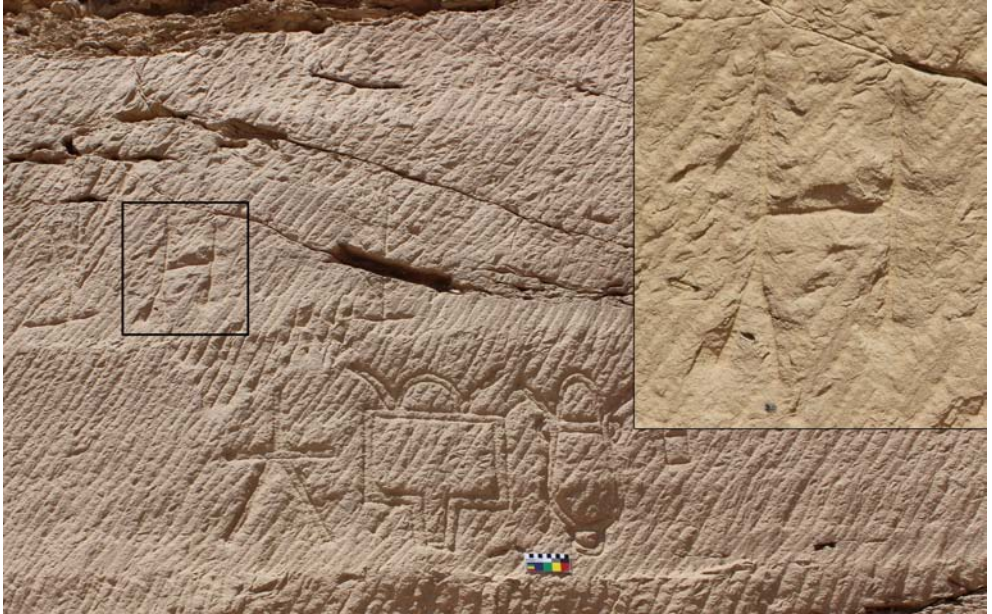

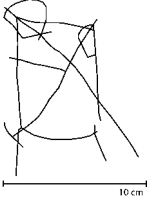

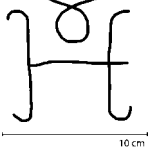


FIGURE 10 Quarry mark series in Q36, including a ligature combination of ε and λ
 PHOTO BY MARIA NILSSON

TABLE 3 Monograms

No.	Location	Facsimile	Commentary
1	Q34.C9		<p>Carefully etched</p> <p>Central block letter: N (or Λ) Identified letters: AOYC (+I), possibly M and X Retrograde: NEΛ Superscripted: OY and unidentified sign</p>

TABLE 3 Monograms (*cont.*)

No.	Location	Facsimile	Commentary
2	Q34.C boulder		<p>Carefully etched</p> <p>Central block letter: H Identified letters: HPOY (+I) Retrograde: E</p> <p>Possible name reading: Ἡριεύς</p>
3	Q34.C boulder		<p>Shallowly etched</p> <p>Central block letter: Π or M Possible letters: ΠΜΔΧΑΛΟ (+I), possibly N and H Retrograde: EP</p>
4	Q34.C boulder		<p>Carefully etched</p> <p>Central block letter: M Identified letters: NMYEOYC (+I), possibly A Retrograde: EA Superscripted: OY and unidentified sign</p>
5	Q35.F		<p>Carefully etched. Superimposes dipinti sketch</p> <p>Central block letter: H Identified letters HEOY (+I) Retrograde: C Superscripted: OY</p>

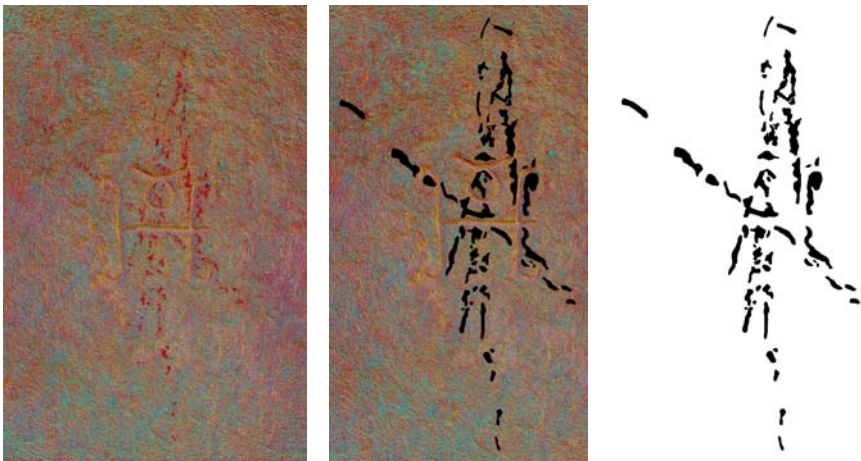


FIGURE 11A-E (L-R) Original photo of monogram no. 5; photo in DStretch lre algorithm; line drawing; facsimile of superimposed dipinto
PHOTO, MANIPULATION AND FACSIMILE BY MARIA NILSSON

9 The Quandary of Literacy

The presence of inscriptions within the quarries does not automatically indicate literacy of the workers. In fact, the material demonstrates that many individuals did not write their own dedications. Some *proskynemata* and clustered lists were written by the same hand, but contained different names (e.g. nos 100–102). Also, there are examples of texts attributed to the same individual, but whose name has been spelled in two variants (e.g. nos 63: Πετραόμνουφικ Κτήσωνος and 155: Πετεάρσνουφικ Κτήσωνος).

The occurrence of several misspelled and abbreviated adorations may reflect a practice of copying, and some producers' literacy is likely to have been limited to the writing of their own name, i.e. functional literacy. As discussed by Thomas (2009), literacy should not be conceptualised as something that a person does or does not have, but rather that individuals may possess a range of different literacies. As further developed by Baird and Taylor, the definition of literacy could be reconsidered when incorporating images as part of semi-logical communication.⁷⁰ This is especially true for the workers' community at Gebel el-Silsila, which with its multicultural and multilingual combination of individuals incorporated linguistic and pictorial elements from the Graeco-Roman world as much as from the native Egyptian, including the hieroglyphic background. Indeed, quarry marks appear to convey meaning and could, by their pictorial form, indicate different levels of literacy through a symbolic language.

10 The Graffiti Dialogue

The incised messages communicated at Gebel el-Silsila, including texts written in Greek, demotic and Latin,⁷¹ as well as the pictorial and graphical quarry marks, were produced by private individuals, and therefore they should be considered informal (as opposed to official texts ordered by the state). Informal writing, regardless of the intention and care taken at the time of production, is categorised as graffiti (from the Italian verb *to scratch*), and is one of the most misconceived and demeaned groups of ancient communication due to constant comparisons with modern graffiti.⁷² The character of graffiti has historically been perceived as unsophisticated and ephemeral, because of this form

⁷⁰ Baird & Taylor (2011: 10).

⁷¹ The engraved texts of course also include the earlier hieratic and hieroglyphic.

⁷² E.g. Baird & Taylor (2011: 1); Wallace (2005: xxiv).

of writing has remained in the shadow of monumental epigraphy.⁷³ However, with an increased scholarly interest in ancient graffiti, it is clear that the material provides insights into diverse topics of daily life concerning people of various social standings.

Contextualising the Greek graffiti published here adds to the ongoing debate regarding literacy, the interactions between text and context (images as well as the natural and constructed landscape), and sheds light on personal devotion, belief systems and emotions, as well as the conception of memory-making space. These graffiti can certainly not be considered as ‘vandalism’ or acts of defacements,⁷⁴ as the messages were incised in quarry surfaces after the completion of the work, and carved into a surface that was already marked by the tools that had extracted the blocks. For a similar reason, the texts cannot be categorised as graffiti based on a supposed appearance in ‘unexpected places where they do not obviously belong’.⁷⁵ Instead, the large number of *proskynema* texts and references to resident deities demonstrate how the quarries were considered the raw and natural state of sanctuaries, albeit a hazardous workspace, in which dedications and protection formulae are to be expected. However, the definition of graffiti is contextual and for a site such as Gebel el-Silsila, where public monuments and official, state epigraphic documents are also preserved, texts and images produced by private individuals fall into the category of graffiti.

As mentioned above, the Greek texts represent one of three parts (Greek, demotic texts, and quarry marks), each of which will be dealt with in individual volumes. However, this separation does not reflect a lack of acknowledgement of their interconnected dialogue, especially when they are placed together in clusters. Greek texts that are situated within an immediate pictorial or demotic context are, therefore, represented in the facsimiles within such context.⁷⁶ Often, the message communicated in the text is emphasised graphically, such as the depiction of a soldier next to **no. 119**, which may indicate the individual’s profession. Another more frequent feature is the presence of an offering table next to (or surrounding) a signature. This combination may define the text as a dedication despite the lack of a written *proskynema*.⁷⁷

73 Baird & Taylor (2011: 5).

74 Cf. Fleming (2001: 30); Hoff (2006: 182).

75 E.g. Chaniotis (2011: 193–196).

76 However, with respect to the approximately 5000 quarry marks and 600 demotic texts that are still awaiting publication, a comprehensive discussion on their intercommunicative correspondence and their mutual dialogue with the landscape will be published in the forthcoming volume of quarry marks.

77 Nos 60, 63, 67, 124, 125, 130, 135, 138, 151–154, 161, 165, 166, 179, 180–181, 184, 185, 186, 189. An identical message was likely intended with names written in the genitive form.

In many respects, the texts can be understood as physical, devotional acts and, together with the graphic context, the graffiti may be seen as a dialogue between the producer, the viewer(s), and the addressees (those adored) as an eternal repetition of the original act of performing the *proskynema*. Writing one's name memorialises not only the individual's physical (or symbolic) presence at a particular location but, by placing it within a cluster of others, the individual would be connected, and also be commemorated, as part of the larger community, allowing a broader cultural identity and social status, as well as creating a social memory.⁷⁸

Through the extraction progress and continuous removal of the floor, the reachable levels continued to be lowered, such that the correspondence between graffiti cannot be matched by a correspondence in height.⁷⁹ The individuals who incised their names or associated images into the quarry face simply, fully intended for their names to be preserved beyond the temporal span of their physical work there; they knew that the stone extraction was scheduled to progress vertically downwards, and expand into new areas. From this, we can interpret that their attestations were intended to remain indefinitely. Furthermore, the quarries did not receive a steady stream of visitors, but particular groups of society that somehow were relevant for the extraction work. In this respect, the readership is represented by fellow quarry 'visitors', sometimes family members (e.g. **no. 187**, which lists the continuous extraction work in Q37 for Isis, carried out by Peteharpokrates and his son, Kolluthes), through which the experience of memorialising one's activity within the quarries is shared and re-experienced through the act of reception.⁸⁰ The continued graffiti tradition, hence, constructed social memories of Gebel el-Silsila.

Through an analysis of the Greek texts, it can be established that at least part of the working community at Gebel el-Silsila possessed skills in writing and expressing their ideas through rupestal text production, although some were perhaps merely semi-literate. The community was made up of an amalgamation of individuals of different ethnicities, including Egyptians, Nubians, Greeks, and Romans. A certain level of multilingualism as well as multiculturalism existed, with at least a basic, shared religious understanding from the larger areas of the Mediterranean, Egypt and Nubia, based on which they were able to cross-reference the identities of divinities. Through the present corpus we also gain insights into the larger Egyptian religious belief system, as the quarries

78 Cf. Macdonald (2002); Taylor (2011: 95, 97).

79 See, for example, Mairs (2011) on the el Kanais graffiti.

80 E.g. Cattell & Climo (2002: 12–13).

were considered the original dwellings of the same gods for whose temples the stone was extracted. Potentially corresponding identities, in which a name and patronymic at Gebel el-Silsila can be tentatively matched with a contemporaneous name listed elsewhere, may reveal a wider network. For example, **no. 127** is a *proskynema* on behalf of Πετέχνουμις Ἀρπάησις, produced within a context that includes textual references to Ammon, as well as depictions of rams and lions/sphinxes (see Figs. 31–33 in **Chapter 5**).⁸¹ The same name, Petechnoumis, son of Harpaesis, was recorded in Akoris with an association with the Ammon temple in which the god takes the form of a lion.⁸² Although stone was primarily extracted from Partition F for the Temple of Khnum at Esna, given the continuous references to Ammon, and the potential identification of an individual who is listed at Akoris, we cannot exclude the possibility that Gebel el-Silsila acted as the source for this temple too. A positive match would, furthermore, allow a narrower temporal frame for the Akoris inscription.

To conclude: the corpus of Greek graffiti from Gebel el-Silsila is not limited to a prosopography, but also provides insights into the interactive communication among Greek, Latin and demotic texts, as well as with the graphic representations and their joint dialogue with the surrounded landscape. The ancient inscribers had (spare) time to produce these messages, and a considerably large group was produced with great care. The very rare occurrence of superimpositions indicates spatial awareness as well as a mutual respect among the graffiti producers, including perhaps the communicated message of addressing the gods. The Roman quarries at Gebel el-Silsila demonstrate a strong interest in (and perhaps a need for) the production of graffiti with an overall religious theme. Potential illiteracy (in Greek and/or demotic) did not limit the individuals from expressing themselves, as other options included the production of a graphic mark, or writing with the assistance of a colleague or friend. Writing on the quarry faces, and levels that subsequently would be out of reach for continuous attestations, points to a wish to preserve one's commemoration, which may reflect the entire physical and symbolic act of adoration repeated through reception. For people who did not have access to the main temples, this was an opportunity to stand in an eternal connection with the favoured divinities and for their names to testify to their participation in building divine dwellings across Egypt.

81 Cf. Nilsson & Ward (2017: 23 and no. 5).

82 *I. Akoris* 78 (Lefebvre [1903: 355 no. 34]). Another possible identification of people active in Akoris is the individual listed in no. 17: Ἀπολλώνιος Ἑρμίας, who can be compared with the Apollonios, son of Hermias listed in *I. Akoris* 59 (Lefebvre [1903: 350 no. 15]) from year 11 (ruler unknown).

The Northern Quarries

1 Introduction

The northern part of the East bank incorporates 23 quarries (GeSE.Q1–23), primarily of 18th Dynasty date with sporadic re-use in the early Roman Period. Four of these quarries, Q11, 13, 14 and 19, preserve Greek graffiti. Among the ten texts that were recorded in the northern quarries, nine represent short names, and one is a *proskynema* without any information on its producer. In addition to the nine names in the nominative there are two patronyms, although barely legible. Overall, these texts are not well-preserved, including poorly executed graffiti, and/or produced on poor quality surfaces. No. 7 is the only text which is provided with a date (year 21).



FIGURE 12 Google Earth overview of the northern quarries, marked with the Greek texts (nos. 1–10)

COURTESY OF GOOGLE EARTH

2 Quarry 11 (Q11)

Quarry 11 (approximately 40 × 21 m at its longest and widest) is an underground gallery (Fig. 13) situated approximately 300 m south-east of the guardian's house, and 325 m east of the Nile. Footprints in the sandstone reveal a traditional step-extraction, in which a small tunnel was created along the ceiling towards the back of the quarry, from which stone was removed in a direction towards the entrance. The blocks vary in width, but are generally rather narrow and short, no deeper and higher than 30 cm respectively, and include examples of *talatat* blocks. The tool marks are *ad hoc* or of 'herringbone' character, created by shorter tool grooves (c. 8–12 cm). Q11 borders a larger, dynastic gallery (Q10) to the north, and an early Roman quarry (Q12) to the south. It consists of three main quarry faces (N, E, S), and opens up towards the north and south.



FIGURE 13 Southern entrance to Q11, looking north
PHOTO BY ROBERT MITTELSTAEDT

Epigraphic documentation in Q11 was difficult due to poor light and bat and pigeon habitation, combined with heavy layers of dirt. Despite the conditions, at least five *dipinti* have been recorded, including four pictorial illustrations and a unique four-line hieratic 'opening of the quarry' text in black ink dated to the 4th regal year of Amenhotep IV.¹ In addition to the *dipinti* there is a shal-

¹ Nilsson et al. (2021: nos. 18, 20–23).

lowly inscribed Greek textual graffito (**no. 1**). There are no indications of Roman extraction activity within the quarry, but rather on the outside and to the south of Q11, with the Greek graffito likely having been produced by a visitor/worker searching for a cool and shady place.

3 Corpus

No. 1

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q11.Inscr.2

Measurements: L. 14.5, W. 39 cm

Height above the ground: 0.5 m

Condition: Poorly preserved, shallowly etched

Bibliography: Unpublished, although visible on the facsimile in Nilsson et al. (2021: no. 22).



1. ΑΠΕΛΛΩΣ

2. ΑΠ

1. Ἀπελλῶς

2. {Απ}

1. Apellos

2. {Ap}

Commentary

Line 2 is likely an erroneous, unfinished repetition of Line 1.

The text superimposes a shallowly etched boat. The rare name is known only from two sources in the Western Desert.² It may be a variant of Ἀπελλᾶς or Ἀπολλῶς.³

4 Quarry 13 (Q13)

The smaller quarry Q13 (40 × 20 m at its longest and widest) is an open-surface quarry situated at an elevated position above the subterranean gallery, Q14. It consists of four main quarry faces (A–D) to the east, south, and west, while the northern section is open and drops down to Q12 (Fig. 14). Evidence of older quarry activity is preserved in the south-eastern part, including drum extraction. The quarry is best accessed via the plateau road, with its entrance in the east, but also from the north through a climb from Q12. The western quarry face represents the highest part, with 12 horizontal extraction levels, a block size of approximately 55–65 cm (height and width) and double or more (c. 120–170 cm) in depth. The tool grooves follow a diagonal, parallel pattern. Extracted stone was likely transported either via the plateau, or lifted down to Q12 or Q14 (supported by the presence of a large rope hole in the corner of A–B), from where it was transported to the Nile at a distance of approximately 300 m to the west.

The quarry is more or less empty of any surface material, other than quarry spoil, a few pottery sherds and a diorite pounder. Excavations, however, have not taken place. All four quarry faces have received ancient graffiti, predominantly quarry marks, including an embossed composition of two flanking *was* sceptres oriented towards a central obelisk as the more prominent example. Other images include an *ankh*, offering tables, single *was* sceptres, horned altars, a horse, and a few more obelisk-*was* sceptre compositions of less elaborate style. In addition to the incised material there is a series of rope holes and postholes, which together with retaining walls in all partitions provide evidence of the ancient quarrying process.

5 The Inscriptions

In addition to 20 pictorial quarry marks the quarry displays three demotic and four Greek inscriptions (and one scratched Arabic graffito), none of which has

² TM Name ID 8515; *O. Douch* 3: 203 line 3 and *O. Douch* 4: 407 line 5.

³ Cf. TM Name ID 39519 and 2136, (*NB* 42), respectively.

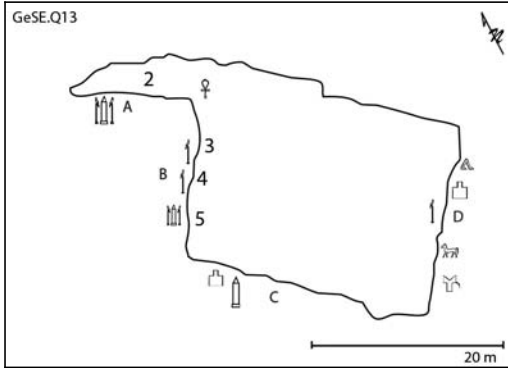


FIGURE 14
Topographic plan of Q13 marked
with its sections (A–D), quarry
marks, and Greek inscriptions
LINE DRAWING BY MARIA NILSSON

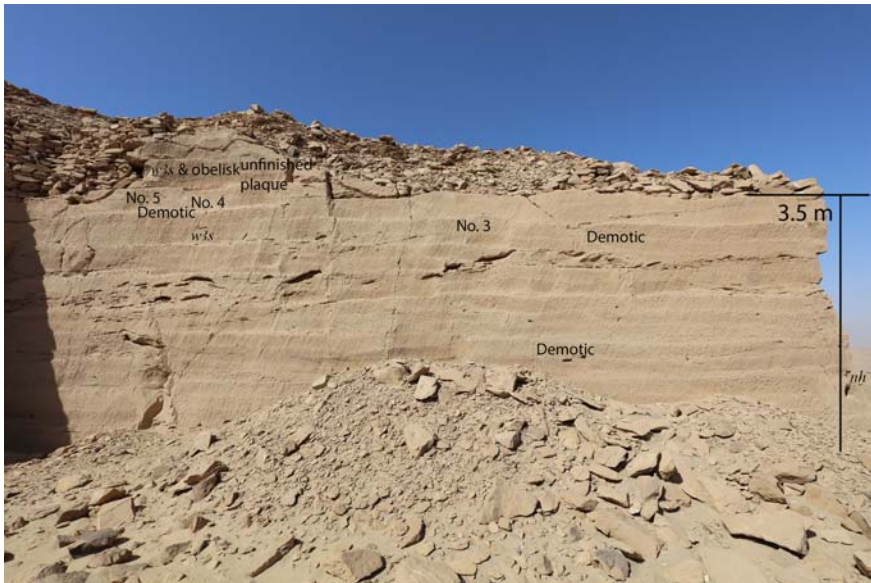


FIGURE 15 Spatial distribution of epigraphic documents, quarry face B
PHOTO AND EDITING BY MARIA NILSSON

been published before (see Fig. 15 for quarry face B).⁴ The Greek texts include an adoration/*proskynema* without further information (no. 2) and three signatures (nos 3–5). No. 4 is relatively well preserved with clear lettering, while nos 3 and 5 are in a poor state of preservation with a few illegible letters. None of the texts is provided with a date.

4 The east-facing quarry face is marked in chalk with nos 77–78, in which no. 77 represent an *ankh*, but it is unclear if no. 78 refers to the Greek text (no. 4), surrounding demotic texts or the obelisk/*was* sceptre composition.

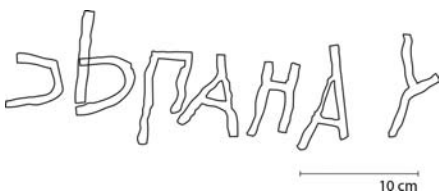
6 Corpus

No. 2*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q13.Inscr.1*Measurements:* L. 7.5, W. 51 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 2.5 m above the ledge (9.5 m above the ground)*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
1. Τὸ προσκύνημα
1. The *proskynema*

Commentary

The *proskynema* is situated below an exquisitely produced quarry mark composition consisting of a central obelisk flanked by two *was* sceptres; all carved in raised relief and coloured.

No. 3*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q13.Inscr.3*Measurements:* L. 12, W. 37 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 3 m above the ledge (10 m above the ground)*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. ..ΠΑΗΑΥ

Commentary

The initial two signs are illegible and they do not seem to be part of the Greek text. A possible reading is Παναῦ(ς) where the -ν looks like an -η, a frequent error in graffiti.

No. 4

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q13.Inscr.7

Measurements: L. 8, W. 38 cm

Height above the ground: c. 3.5 m above the ledge (10.5 m above the ground)

Condition: well preserved, although unfinished

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΑΡ ΠΑ Η ΣΙ Φ ΑΙ
1. Ἄρπαῆσις Φαί[...]
1. Harpaesis son of Phai...

Commentary

Similar to no. 2, this signature is situated below a quarry mark composition of a central obelisk flanked by two *was* sceptres. Slightly to the right is an unfinished *tabula*, and below no. 4 is situated a *was* sceptre.

No. 5

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q13.Inscr.8

Measurements: L. 12.5 (if including the *was*), W. 27.5 cm

Height above the ground: c. 3.5 m above the ledge (10.5 m above the ground)

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. IOK(?) HIIAP

Commentary

A *was* sceptre is situated between the alpha and rho and it may be applied as an iota, while simultaneously retaining its symbolic value (as there are several other *was* sceptres on the quarry face). The inscription is badly damaged and illegible.

7 Quarry 14 (Q14)

Quarry 14 (Fig. 16) is one of five subterranean galleries on the East bank. Its interior measures approximately 80×50m at its longest and widest, including nine ‘rooms’ or extraction chambers, and is a massive cathedral-like (rock-cut) structure with a sandstone ceiling held up by 11 square pillars, some more than 10m tall. Its neighbours are Roman quarry ‘Q12’ to the north and 18th Dynasty collapsed gallery ‘Q15’, including its workshops, to the south. ‘Q13’ is situated above its northern partition, followed by a series of rough stone huts to its south-east. To its west are situated monumental spoil heaps created by the extensive quarrying and further down is situated the river bank, followed by the Nile. The quarry is accessed via a series of ancient pathways meandering through enormous spoil heaps and its ancient, main transportation route is preserved and still connects the quarry with the Nile.

The gallery was primarily in use during the reigns of Amenhotep III and IV, as accounted for in a series of hieratic texts that provide dates and a few names, including that of a sandal bearer.⁵ For the archaeological team, the gal-

⁵ Nilsson et al. (2021: no. 16).

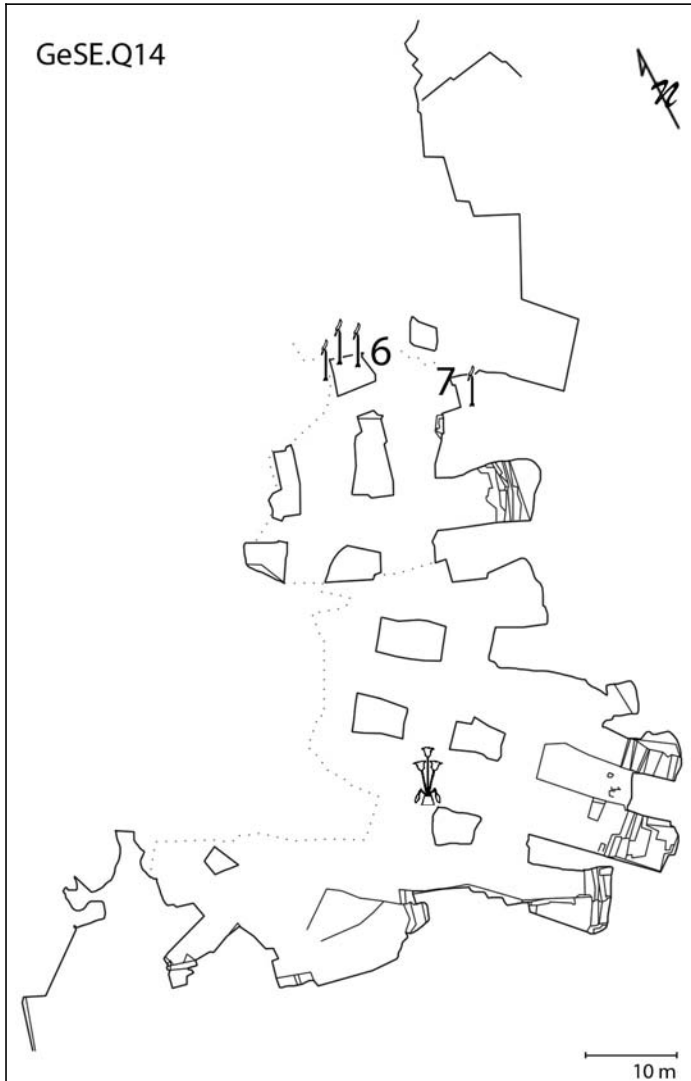


FIGURE 16 Topographic drawing of Q14 interior, marked with Quarry Marks and Greek inscriptions. GIS recording by Moamen Saad, Tony Jibbefors, and Philippe Martinez
LINE DRAWING BY MARIA NILSSON

lery is referred to as the 'White Stela Gallery', named after a large white stela with iconographical traces of Amarna-like features. Activity during the reigns of father and son, Amenhotep III–IV, is further indicated by the *in situ* occurrence of prepared, but not extracted, *talatat*-blocks. Its northern section was backfilled as the extraction work progressed in a southern direction. A series of

horizontal and vertical gridlines was painted on the ceiling, guiding the ancient workers to the preferred block size in relation to the geological stratification in the stone. In addition to the indicator lines there is the depiction of a papyrus plant in bloom.

8 The Inscriptions

Complementing three pictorial *dipinti* and four engraved quarry marks (*was* sceptres), Q14 contains 20 hieratic and two Greek inscriptions (and one scratched Arabic graffito).⁶ The unpublished Greek texts include an unfinished name (no. 6), and a name provided with the year 21 (no. 7). The texts are relatively well preserved and legible.

9 Corpus

No. 6

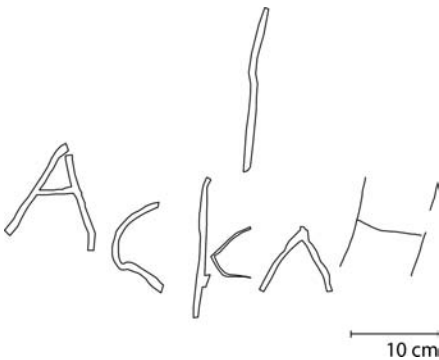
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q14.Inscr.21

Measurements: L. 20, W. 49 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Poorly preserved and unfinished

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ACKΛΗ
1. Ἀσκλη(...)
1. Askle(...)

⁶ For the hieratic, see Nilsson et al. (2021).

Commentary

The final letter, η, is rather shallowly scratched. The abbreviated name may be Ἀσκληπιιάδης, Ἀσκληπιίων, Ἀσκληπιόδωρος etc.

No. 7

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q14.Inscr.22

Measurements: L. 14 (excluding the *was*), W. 42 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. [Κ^ΑΜΑΞΙΜΟC
1. . Κλ(...) Μάξιμος
1. Claudius Maximus

Commentary

The interpretation of the first sign is not clear. It seems to be a sigla [for ἔτους, but it is not followed by numerals.

- A lambda is written above the χ, which indicates the abbreviation. The name is possibly Κλαύδιος.

10 Quarry 19 (Q19)

Q19 (Fig. 17) is a larger open-surface quarry of approximately 130×80 m at its maximum. Initially, it was an 18th Dynasty subterranean gallery that collapsed and was reused by the Romans. It follows the mountainscape and is divided into eight partitions (A–H) with its widest quarry faces opening up towards the

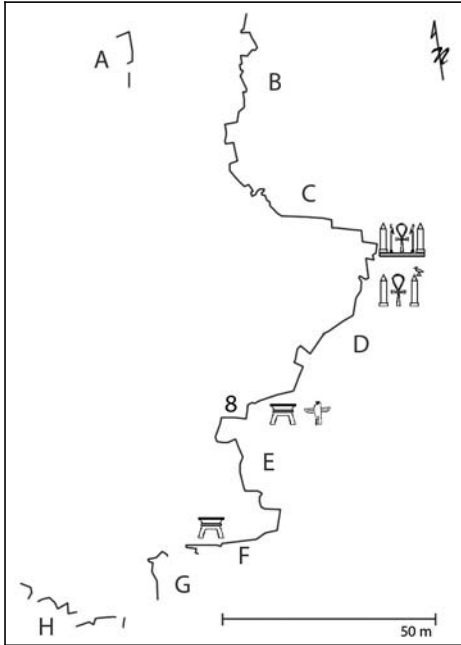


FIGURE 17
 Topographic plan of Q19 marked with
 its sections (A–H), Quarry Marks, and
 Greek inscriptions
 LINE DRAWING BY MARIA NILSSON

west. Remains, or rather footprints, of the original pillars are visible primarily in the southern part. Three ancient transportation routes (north, south and central) are preserved and still enable access to the Nile in the west, after passing a series of large spoil heaps.

The tool marks on the large open quarry faces follow a diagonal, parallel pattern, but smaller sections are preserved with shorter irregular and herring-bone tool marks, which combined with lever marks and smaller rope holes provide evidence of pre-Roman extraction. This is especially true with regards to two cave-like chambers that indicate an initial subterranean gallery, likely contemporaneous with Q14, i.e. 18th Dynasty.⁷ Still unexcavated, the quarry displays limited surface material: a few reed-ropes with knots, smaller stone blocks (approximately *talatat* size), and a pounder. Blue-painted pottery found within the older spoil heap supports 18th Dynasty activity, although the ceramic remains in general are of a Roman date, including an intact drinking cup. Roman presence is also noted on the top of one of the larger spoil heaps, into which was placed a station/look out and a structure consisting of at least eight rooms.

⁷ Nilsson et al. (2021: 8–13 with nos 1–17, 24–27).

Four areas have received quarry marks, including a characteristic open-winged Roman eagle, a couple of altars, and two more elaborate compositions: 1) a combination of two obelisks and two *was* sceptres flanking a centrally placed *ankh* (which appears to hold the sceptres); and 2) two obelisks flanking a central *ankh*, with a bird placed above the right obelisk. In addition to the epigraphic material there is a series of foot holes used for climbing, rope holes and postholes, which together with retaining walls in all the partitions provide evidence of the ancient quarrying process.

11 The Inscriptions

Despite the great size of the area, only a single, unpublished text has been documented. It was produced in a hap-hazardous manner, and it is illegible and perhaps unfinished.

12 Corpus

No. 8

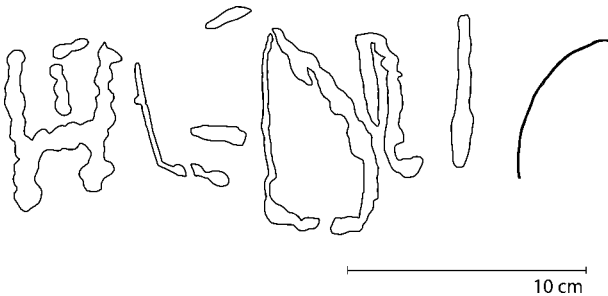
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q19.Inscr.1

Measurements: L. 8.5, W. 26 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: Poorly preserved/illegible

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΠΕΘΡΙÇ

Commentary

The inscription is illegible.

13 Rock Art Site 11 (RAS11)

RAS11 was a Roman outlook or station (approximately 50 × 30 m), located on the second-to-highest point of the east bank (Fig. 18), immediately above the main plateau transportation route, and with a clear line of sight across the bank, the Nile, and the west bank respectively. At the base of the hill on which the station sits is located a series of drystone shelters, including an area likely to have been used to pen animals. In short, the station marks a strategic location from which the entire site of Gebel el-Silsila could be controlled.

The epigraphic context at RAS11 includes some stylistic examples of falcons, several game boards (*latrunculi*),⁸ and miniature drawings of objects represented as quarry marks (such as *situlae*, *ankhs*, and stone vessels) in the contemporary quarries below. Two poorly preserved Greek names were noted. Surface archaeology mainly consists of early Roman pottery, some charred coal, flints and (perhaps intentionally?) fragmented *latrunculi* boards.

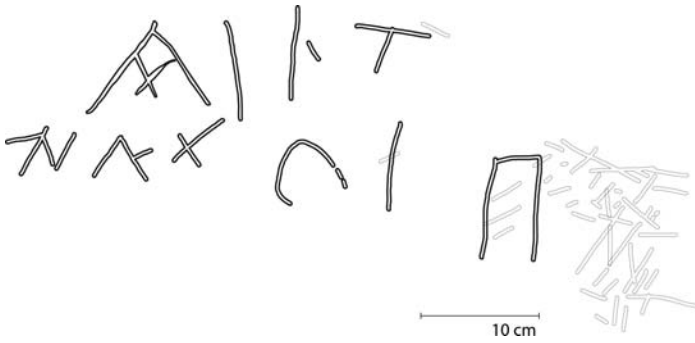


FIGURE 18 View from the Roman station (RAS11), including the Nile and Gebel el-Silsila's west bank

PHOTO BY MARIA NILSSON

⁸ Cf. de Voogt et al. (2020: 6).

14 Corpus

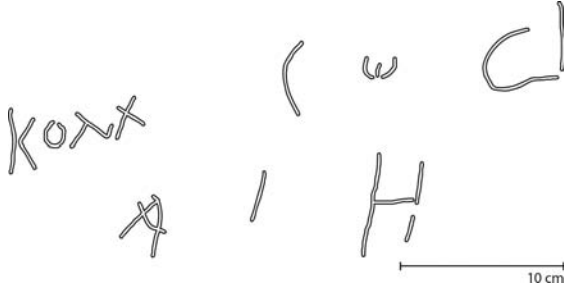
No. 9*Inv.no.:* GeSE.RASII.Inscr.1*Measurements:* L. 21, W. 44 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 0.5m*Condition:* Poorly preserved/Illegible*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. ΑΙΝΤ
2. ΜΑΧΟΙ Π

Commentary

The inscription was poorly executed and is damaged by later erasure. The text is illegible.

No. 10*Inv.no.:* GeSE.RASII.Inscr.2*Measurements:* L. 11.5, W. 26 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 1m*Condition:* Illegible*Bibliography:* Unpublished



1. ΚΟΛΛ C Ω I
2. Α I Η
1. Κολλ[ούθη]ς? [.]ω[.]σι[...]
2. α[.]ι[.]η
1. Koll[outhe]s?
2.

Commentary

Only the reading of the first four letters is secure and the rest of the text is illegible. The first name might be Κολλούθης or Κολλούθος.

TABLE 4 Individuals listed in the northern quarries
(Type of text: I = Illegible; P = *Proskynemata*; S = Signature)

No.	Type of text	Name in transliteration	Name transcribed	Type of individual	Location
1	S	Ἀπελλῶς	Apellos	1st	Q11
2	P				Q13
3	I				Q13
4	S	Ἄρπαήσις	Harpaesis	1st	Q13
4	I	Φαι[...]	Phai[...]	Father	Q13
5	I				Q13
6	S	Ἄσκλη(...)	Askle(...)	1st	Q14
7	S	. Κλ(...)	Claudius	1st	Q14
7	S	Μάξιμος	Maximus	Father	Q14
8	I				Q19
9	I				RAS11
10	S	Κολλ[ούθη]ς?	Koll[outhe]s?	1st	RAS11
10	I				RAS11

Quarry 24—Tiberius' Stables

1 Introduction

Quarry 24 (subsequently abbreviated as 'Q24') is located in the central part of Gebel el-Silsila East, some 500 m south of the present-day guardians' house, adjacent to the Ramesside quarries in the south (Q30–33), the (reused) 18th Dynasty quarries in the east (Q20–23), the New Kingdom-Late Period quarries in the north (Q27–28) and the Nile in the west. It can best be reached via the main N–S pathway along the Nile or via a pathway that meanders through the ancient spoil heaps to its south. Its proximity to the Nile combined with a slightly slanting landscape westwards provides the area with a natural road for transporting blocks from the quarry to a Nile quay that is located some 30 m to the south-west. The quarry stretches out over an almost 30,000 m² area and has been divided into nine individual quarry faces (A–I) and the 'stables' (TS), which incorporates another three quarried cliff faces (Fig. 19). In addition to the quarry itself, the landscape is sculpted by a series of spoil heaps, in one of which a Roman administration building was constructed.

A large part of the ancient quarry was damaged in the northern section by dynamite extraction carried out in 1906–1909 for the construction of the Esna barrage. Equally, major damage was caused to the southern section, incorporating quarry faces F–I, where manual and dynamite extraction was carried out during the same period. Because of this, it is difficult to estimate an original transportation route and/or connecting pathways.

Four quarry faces (E–H) and the stables (TS) contain ancient material, which can be divided into epigraphic information and the physical remnants of extraction work. The latter includes tool marks or grooves produced when trenching and preparing the blocks for extraction; foot holes to aid climbing; rope holes to enable the transportation of extracted blocks and/or to tie animals; postholes to support scaffolding and a roof system; wedge (Roman) and lever (Dynastic) marks to separate the block from the bedrock; and the trenches themselves, which indicate block size and shape, including column drums. In addition, there are marks and groves made for disparate reasons, including rubbings, scratches, gouge marks, etc.

Q24 is nicknamed the 'Pylon Quarry' based on a series of (in size and amount) emphasised engraved illustrations of pylons on a large north-facing

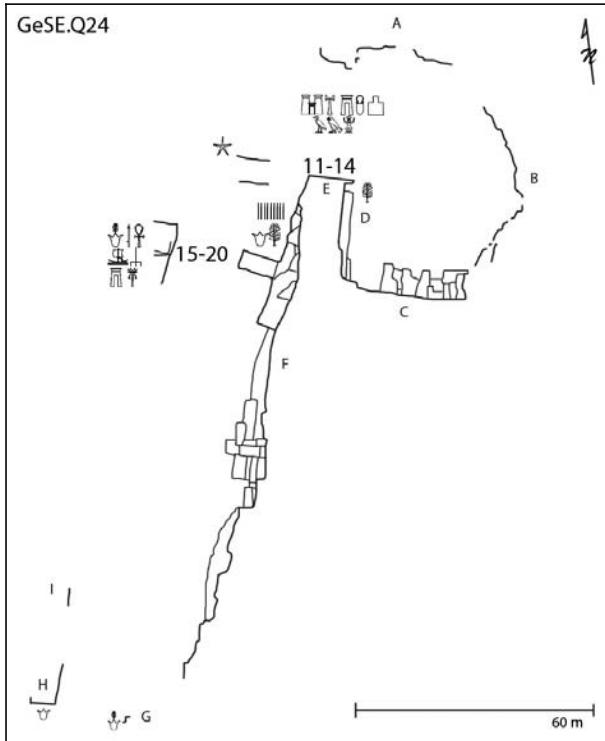


FIGURE 19 Topographic drawing of Q24, marked with partitions, Greek inscriptions (nos. 11–14; 15–20), and quarry marks

DRAWING BY MARIA NILSSON

quarry face (E) (Fig. 20).¹ Other than being unique and intriguing to observe, these pylons hold a central role in the general understanding of the quarry as they summarise a message jointly communicated in the material culture, epigraphic information and extraction techniques employed. This combination reveals the religious nature and identity of the quarry, as well as the predetermined destination and architectural function of the stone extracted. The pylons show the architectural form—a gate—while texts determine chronology—Tiberius (AD 14–37)—and the main deity worshiped—Montu—and the more enigmatic and encoded quarry marks express the extended divine family—Raet-tawi and Harpocrates.² Together these clues reveal that the stone

¹ Nilsson (2020: 141 with Tab. 1).

² Nilsson (2020: 142 with Tab. 2, 153 with Tab. 3).



FIGURE 20 Frontal overview of Q24.E, marked with its epigraphic documents. Greek texts are marked as nos. 11–14

PHOTO AND EDITING BY MARIA NILSSON

was intended for Tiberius' gate at the Temple of Medamoud, the home of the divine triad Montu, Raet-tawi and Harpocrates.

The tool marks left on the surfaces of quarry faces E–G follow a consistent diagonal, parallel pattern of a series of two longer (19–29 cm) segmented grooves and a final intersection (5–12 cm), creating a block size of 52–58 cm high. Each groove has a width of approximately 6–6.5 mm, which indicates the depth of the flat cutting edge of the chisel. The direction of the work regularly follows a right to left orientation with exceptions in sections where such handling would not be possible (edges), possibly indicating a predominantly dextral work force. Based on preserved tool marks and trenches, there was no consistent (single) block size, which can be related to the quarry workers' practical method of following the natural strata and fracture lines within the bedrock. In general, the trenches are 52–58 cm long × 125–145 cm wide × 60–90 cm deep.

To estimate the actual block size one has to include the width of the trench in the calculation, reducing the size given above by a hand or a fist (c. 9.5–10.5 cm). Larger and smaller blocks also occur, with examples of lintel-sized blocks still preserved *in situ* on top of the stables. However, even with these numbers it is, evidently, difficult to estimate the total number of blocks that were extracted at each work instance. Moreover, one has to calculate also the original peri-

meters of the mountain, as well as considering that the area may have been quarried during various ancient phases.³ It is therefore possible to estimate the amount of horizontal and perpendicular extraction levels of each preserved quarry face. For quarry face GeSE.Q24.E, for example, this can be calculated to be 22 vertical and 12–14 horizontal levels, which would have resulted in nearly 300 blocks per vertically consecutive quarry face.

Associated with the extraction process is the build-up of quarry spoil, which for the ancient quarries is located to the north-west and due west of the quarries, and creates the foundation upon which the administration building sits. Through the excavation work within the administration building it was established that there were three different orientations of spoil, indicating slight variations within the chronological frame.

2 The Stables of Tiberius and Its Administration Building

Opposite quarry face F with its long axis lies another quarried stretch, nicknamed 'Tiberius' Stables' ('Ts'), above which sits an administration building. Stables for larger animals (equine or bovine) are located on the ground level and follow the preserved, exposed east-facing quarry face, 30 m wide and covering an area of approximately 150 m². No internal dividing walls have been discovered to date, nor any enclosure wall, which—if this ever existed—may have been deconstructed by the Esna Barrage workers in the early 20th century.

Four food troughs were chiselled straight into the vertical cliff face, and another three block-troughs were found among the quarry rubble a few meters to the east. Surrounding them are rope holes of varying sizes, used for tying the animals (Fig. 21). Larger, rectangular rope holes are found towards the northern section of the quarry face, adjacent to the pathway that leads to the Nile, which were likely used for pulley systems to aid the extraction and transportation of blocks. Partially or fully collapsed central bars indicate continuous use of the rope holes, worn down by the friction of moving ropes. Three of the four troughs cut into the quarry face are decorated with demotic or Greek inscriptions, and similarly all four, and additionally two of the 'block troughs', are

3 Moreover, during excavations of the northern bluff of the stables several older extraction levels were revealed, clearly separated from the adjacent Roman extraction in block size (including drums), tool marks and the application of lever marks as opposed to wedges. Further studies are required prior to proposing any concluding estimations.



FIGURE 21 Trough, c. 80 cm above the current ground, surrounded by rope holes for the tying of animals. Notice the demotic text below the 10 cm scale, as well as the Greek text diagonally to the right of the trough

PHOTO BY MARIA NILSSON

surrounded by quarry marks, presumably indicating ownership of the animal or caretaking thereof.

The administration complex (Fig. 22) occupies an elevated position, nestled on a Roman spoil heap, which in turn sits directly atop an exhausted Dynastic quarry. Due to its elevation and geographic location, it held a strategic position with a clear overview of the west bank and with a direct line of sight to adjacent Roman stations to its north, east, and south. The complex at present comprises a total of 15 excavated dry stone walled rooms that are rectangular or square, with the exception of one semi-circular room. The stratigraphy of the individual rooms reveals at least three occupation periods: the dateable archaeological material (chiefly coins and ceramic material), however, is limited to the reign of Tiberius, which indicates that the complex was used periodically during the quarrying seasons. This is supported by the epigraphic documents, which record activity during an eight-year period between years 10 and 18 of Tiberius.



FIGURE 22 Overview of the upper level of the administration building, looking south-west. Scale (in front of the entrance to the middle room): 1m

PHOTO BY MARIA NILSSON

3 The Epigraphy

The epigraphy of Q24 has received some attention in the past, but the corpora remained incomplete, and several of the facsimiles and translations were erroneous and required reanalysis.⁴ In total, 60 textual inscriptions are preserved (demotic, Greek, and bilingual combinations of Latin-Greek, Greek-demotic) as well as 110 quarry marks, which make a total of 170.

Graff. Silsile presented 38 catalogue entries from Q24, referred to as 'Carrière VI (?)'. *Graff. Silsile* 288, which is a Greek signature belonging to a 'Julius', is no longer preserved, and was presumably situated on quarry face D, and will have been lost during the work on the Esna barrage. Although most texts have been published already, developing technology and continuous documentation in different seasons and sunlight have resulted in clearer reproductions and, thus, more precise transcriptions and translations of the inscriptions. Therefore, all facsimiles have been reproduced rather than relying on previous

⁴ *Graff. Silsile* 253–291; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 150–157.

TABLE 5 Epigraphic distribution in Q24

Quarry face	Quarry marks	Greek inscriptions	Demotic inscriptions	Bilingual or pseudo script	Illegible	Total inscriptions	Total graffiti
E	42	3	7	1		11	53
F	9		2		1	2	11
G	1						1
H	1						1
TS	57	5	39	2	1	47	104
TOTAL	110	8	49	3		60	170

drawings.⁵ The majority of the texts were inscribed by means of a chisel with a cutting edge of approximately 6–6.5 mm; occasionally the composer of the text used only the sharpest corner of the tool, leaving much narrower and sharper engravings.

Including the demotic texts,⁶ 108 individuals were recorded: 54 names belonged to the main subject/person, 39 names were those of fathers, five of grandfathers, four of brothers and six of sons. In addition to the names, six professions were listed, including an administrator of the desert plateau, a chief sailor of the boat that carried stones for Montu, a chief shrine opener of Montu, a divine craftsman of Montu, two overseers of the works and a transport skipper. Three gods are mentioned, including Montu, Shai (Pashai) and Horus, and dating formulae between years 10 and 18 of Tiberius (AD 24, July 2–32, July 1). The Greek texts, however, are very limited in their information, and all but one (no. 13) are signatures with or without patronym. The single exception, no. 13, gives year 15 as the year of production. Twelve individuals are listed in the nominative; seven, possibly nine (if including the demotic names of the bilingual nos 15 and 20), individuals are listed as fathers. Two of the individuals are brothers (no. 18).

⁵ This is in contrast with *I. Thèbes à Syène*.

⁶ The demotic texts are to be published separately.

4 Quarry Face 'E'

Eleven inscriptions were preserved on the north-facing quarry wall E (Fig. 20, above): seven demotic, three Greek and one bilingual Latin-Greek. All texts are names with or without affiliations, omitting adoration formulas. *Graff. Silsile* includes only one Greek (no. 286) and two demotic inscriptions (nos 298, 291), whereas the bilingual Latin-Greek inscription has been incorrectly interpreted as purely Greek (no. 290). In consequence, six texts were previously unpublished. The Greek texts are here labelled nos 11–14.

5 Corpus

No. 11

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q24.E.Inscr. 1

Measurements: L. 12, W. 143 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 290; *SB III* 6913; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 157; TM Text ID 5437^o



1. CERDOCAESI ΚΕΡΔΩΝΚΑΙΣΙΟΥ
1. Cerdo Caesi^{vv} Κέρδων Καίσιου
1. Cerdo, son of Caesius (repeated in Greek)

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 290: Σετοθε .[.]..[.] Κέρδων και Σ[...]; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 157: Σεβοθε --, Κέρδων και Σ --. *NB* 367: Σεβόθεμ[ι]ς. The drawing for *Graff. Silsile* 290 is incomplete and was later adopted in *I. Thèbes à Syène* 157, both suggesting that the patronymic was illegible, although Bernand suggested in the commentary that the patronym might have begun with Καισ-. As clarified here, however, the inscription is instead a bilingual signature, written first in Latin (thus Romanised), followed by Greek. Caesius is a rare name in Egypt (TM Name 9727, *NB* 157), attested only nine times referring to four individuals.

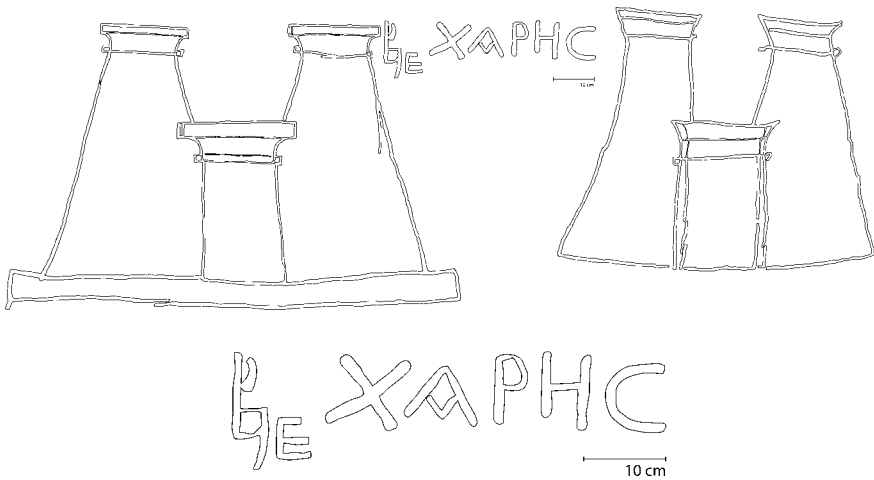
*No. 12**Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q24.E.Inscr. 6*Measurements:* L. 7, W. 29 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 4 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. ΠΑΜΕΝΤΕΒΟ
1. Παμεντεβδ(ς?)
1. Pamentebos?

Commentary

The text is well preserved, but difficult to distinguish due to deep underlying tool marks. The reading of the name not secure.⁷

⁷ Cf. Παμεντ() in O.Douch. v 515.

No. 13*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q24.E.Inscr. 7*Measurements:* L. 7, W. 29 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 1.5 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* *Graff. Silsile* 286; *SB I* 1748; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 155*Date:* based on the context, this is likely to be year 15 of Tiberius, AD 28; TM
Text ID 54366

1. ? IE XAPHC
1. ? ιε' Χάρης
1. ...15, Chares

*Commentary**Graff. Silsile* 286; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 155: Χάρης.

It appears that the writer drilled a series of holes in the edges of each letter in order to correctly align the text. The initial three letters are located slightly below and to the left of the signature and are not carved as deeply, which means the two texts were probably not written by the same person. It is tempting to read the first sign as a badly carved [= (ἔτους) followed by numerals; however, this can only be a possibility. The text is centred between two large pylons (GeSE.Q24.E.P28, 32).

No. 14*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q24.E.Inscr. 11*Measurements:* L. 7.5, W. 31 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 1 m*Condition:* Generally well preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. A PC

Commentary

The text is unfinished. The first letter was perhaps intended as a monogram.

6 Quarry Face 'TS'

The most inscribed quarry wall in Q24 is the east-facing surface that is designated Tiberius' Stables in accordance with the above-mentioned structure (Fig. 23). There are 44 demotic and seven Greek inscriptions, including engraved and scratched examples. Thirty-four texts (28 demotic and 6 Greek) were published in *Graff. Silsile*, but many were incorrectly copied or translated, and another 17 texts can now be added.⁸ All inscriptions were incised at a height reachable from ground level or Level III of the administration building. The demotic inscriptions are usually names written with large signs, but there are also more elaborate examples consisting of several lines, titles and affiliations. The stylistic character is usually that of a name including patronym, combined with a few adoration formulae already known from elsewhere at Gebel el-Silsila.

Six demotic inscriptions were recorded on an upper quarry level within TS, including three carefully engraved and elaborate inscriptions facing north. These texts include several lines with smaller and more elusive signs compared to other texts within the quarry.

⁸ *Graff. Silsile* 253–291.

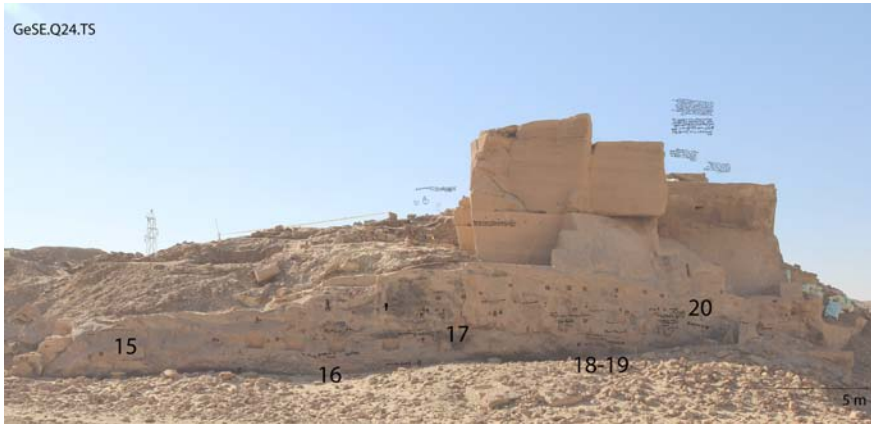


FIGURE 23 Overview of the Stables, marked with its epigraphy. The Greek texts are numbered

7 Corpus

No. 15

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q24.TS.Inscr. 3

Measurements: L. 2.5–7, W. 79 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 278; *SB III* 6911; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 154; *Moje* 2014, 164–165 no. 9; *TM Text ID* 54359



1. ΑΡΠΑΗΣΨΕΜΜΩΝΘΟΥ

1. Ἀρπάης(ις) Ψεμμώνθου *Hr-pa-'Is.t 'z'?*

1. (Gr.) Harpaes(is) son of Psenmonthes. (Dem.) Harpaesis the Elder

Commentary

I. Thèbes à Syène 154: Ἀρπάης. *Moje* 2014, 164–165 no. 9; D. *Hr-ʿpa¹-ʿs.t (s?) P₃-šr* <*Mntw*> Gr. Ἀρπάης(ις) --- Ψεμμώνθου?. The Greek signature is clear and composed with larger letters (7 cm) compared with an obscure, smaller (2,5 cm) and illegible demotic signature.

– Ἀρπάης(ις) is probably an abbreviated form of the name but without an abbreviation mark.

- The demotic text is not published in *Graff. Silsile 278*. The reading of last signs of the demotic line is uncertain.

No. 16

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q24.TS.Inscr. 8

Measurements: L. 12, W. 142 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Poorly preserved, fragmentary

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΨΕΝΝΟ ΩΡΟΣΕΡΙΕ
2. ΥΡΙC
1. Ψέννο- ὦρος Ἐριέ(ως)
2. υρις
1. Psennou- Horos (son of) Herie(us)
2. uris

Commentary

The signature is written below and next to the troughs, directly above two rope holes (both present at the composition of the text) and fragmentary due to the whittling of the stone surface. The various colours as well as irregularities in the surface make it difficult to discern any details. The long lacuna after Ψέννο- was likely caused by the poor quality surface, inappropriate for incision, with the ending of Ψέννουρις consequently placed below. Horos is here presumed to be another individual. Ἐριέ(ως) is fragmentary, damaged or left abbreviated as it was interrupted by a trough.

No. 17

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q24.TS.Inscr. 17

Measurements: L. 8, W. 100 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: LD VI: 12, pl. 82 no. 186; *Graff. Silsile 276 SB 1 4067*; *I. Thèbes à Syène 153*; TM Text ID 54357



1. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟCEPMIAC
1. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἑρμίας
1. Apollonios, Hermias

Commentary

The signature runs over the central part of a rope hole, intact at the time of production (see Fig. 21). Adjacent *ankhs* (GeSE.Q24.TS.P32–33) were probably produced with the same metal tool as the text and may represent the two individuals.⁹

The alphas in the two names are different and it seems that they were not written by the same person.

No. 18

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q24.TS.Inscr. 28–29

Measurements: L. 9, W. 114 cm

Height above the ground: c. 0.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: LD VI: 12, pl. 82 no. 185; *Graff. Silsile* 261; *SB I* 4066; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 152; TM Text ID 54341



⁹ The *ankh* may have been used as a male determinative within the quarry mark corpus. See Nilsson et al. (2019: 1–2).

1. ΠΑΜΩΝΘΗΣ ΠΑΧΝΟΥΒ[---]
2. ΠΕΤΕΧΝΟΥΒΙΟΣ
1. Παμώνθης^{vν}Πάχνουβ[ις]
2. Πετεχνούβιος
1. Pamonthes Pachnoub(is)
2. son of Petechnoubis

Commentary

The text is located to the left of a trough, which was cut after the signature based on the fragmented beta (and absence of terminal iota and sigma). For Παμώνθης cf. no. 12. Πετεχνούβιος is a variant of Petechnoumis. *I. Thèbes à Syène* 152: interpreted as three persons. Nos 18–19 were likely produced by the same hand.

No. 19

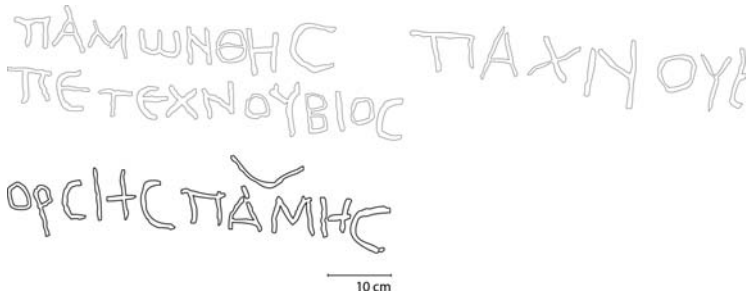
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q24.TS.Inscr. 30

Measurements: L. 11, W. 64 cm

Height above the ground: c. 0.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: LD VI: 12, pl. 82 no. 185; *Graff. Silsile* 261; SB I 4066; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 152; TM Text ID 54341



1. ΟΡΣΗΣ ΠΑΜΗΣ
1. Ὀρσῆς Πάμης
1. Orses, (son of) Pames

Commentary

This was not interpreted as the combination of a name and a patronym in previous publication (see *I. Thèbes à Syène* 152). However, the position of the two names suggests they were son and father. The name Ὀρσῆς appears in both Greek and demotic at Gebel el-Silsila. The signature was likely by the same hand as **no. 18**.

No. 20

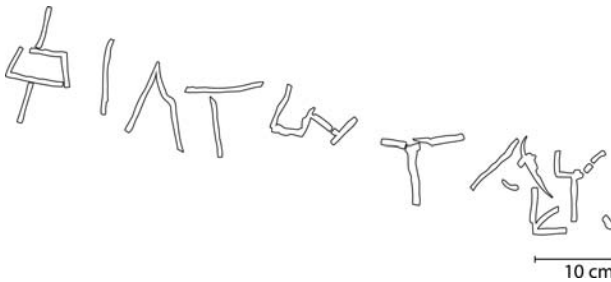
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q24.TS.Inscr. 36

Measurements: L. 15, W. 82 cm

Height above the ground: c. 0.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 255; *SB III* 6910; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 151; TM Text ID 54337



1. ΦΙΛΩΤΑ *Pa-Hnm*
1. Φιλ{τ}ώτα(ς)? *Pa-Hnm*
1. (Gr.) Philota(s)? (Dem.) Pachnoumis

Commentary

The ending of the text has been damaged in the process of producing a rope hole, making the letter following omega questionable. The signs to the right of the rope holes present an unfinished demotic name *Pa-Hnm*,¹⁰ either intended as a patronym or a separate signature. *Graff. Silsile* 255 presents a slightly different drawing and read Φίλωτω ..?.. without mentioning the demotic signs. *I. Thèbes à Syène* 151: Φίλωτω...ΛΥ. The reading Φιλ{τ}ώτα(ς) is not certain. Another possibility is that there are actually two names: Φίλωτ(ν) and Τα[...].

¹⁰ *DNb* 408–409; 557.

TABLE 6 Individuals listed in Q24

No.	Type of text	Name in transliteration	Name transcribed	Type of individual	Location
11	S	Κέρδων	Cerdo	1st	Q24.E
11	S	Καισιού	Caesius	Father	Q24.E
12	S	Παμεντεβδ(ς?)	Pamentebos?	1st	Q24.E
13	S	Χάρης	Chares	1st	Q24.E
14	I				Q24.E
15	S	Ἄρπάησ(ις)	Harpaesis	1st	Q24.TS
15	S	Ψεμμώνθου	Psenmonthes	Father	Q24.TS
15	S	<i>Hr-pa-'Is.t</i> ?;	Harpaesis	2nd (?)	Q24.TS
16	S	Ψέννουρις	Psenmouris	1st	Q24.TS
16	S	Ἦρος	Horus	2nd	Q24.TS
16	S	Ἡριέ(ως)	Herieus	Father	Q24.TS
17	S	Ἀπολλώνιος	Apollonios	1st	Q24.TS
17	S	Ἡρμίας	Hermias	Father	Q24.TS
18	S	Παμώνθης ^{vv}	Pamonthes	1st	Q24.TS
18	S	Πάχνουβ[ις]	Pachnoub(is)	2nd	Q24.TS
18	S	Πετεχνούβιος	Petechnoubis	Father	Q24.TS
19	S	Ὀρσῆς	Orses	1st	Q24.TS
19	S	Παμῆς	Pames	Father	Q24.TS
20	S	Φιλ{τ}ώτα(ς)?	Philota(s)?	1st	Q24.TS
20	S	<i>Pa-Hnm</i>	Pachnoumis	2nd	Q24.TS

(Grey = demotic; Type of text: I = Illegible; P = *Proskynemata*; S = Signature)

Quarry 34—The Main Quarry

1 Introduction



FIGURE 24 Overview of Q34
COURTESY OF GOOGLE EARTH

Quarry 34 (henceforth ‘Q34’, Fig. 24), also known as the ‘Main Quarry’, is located in the central part of Gebel el-Silsila east bank, approximately 1 km south of the guardians’ house.¹ A series of pathways connects the quarry with Q24 to the north, through large spoil heaps and via the Ramesside surface quarries Q31–33. To its south is located the small Roman quarry ‘Q35’ (see Chapter 6).

¹ E.g. Nilsson (2014; 2015a; b; 2018a; b; 2020); Nilsson & Ward (2014; 2017; 2019d); Nilsson et al. (2015; 2019).

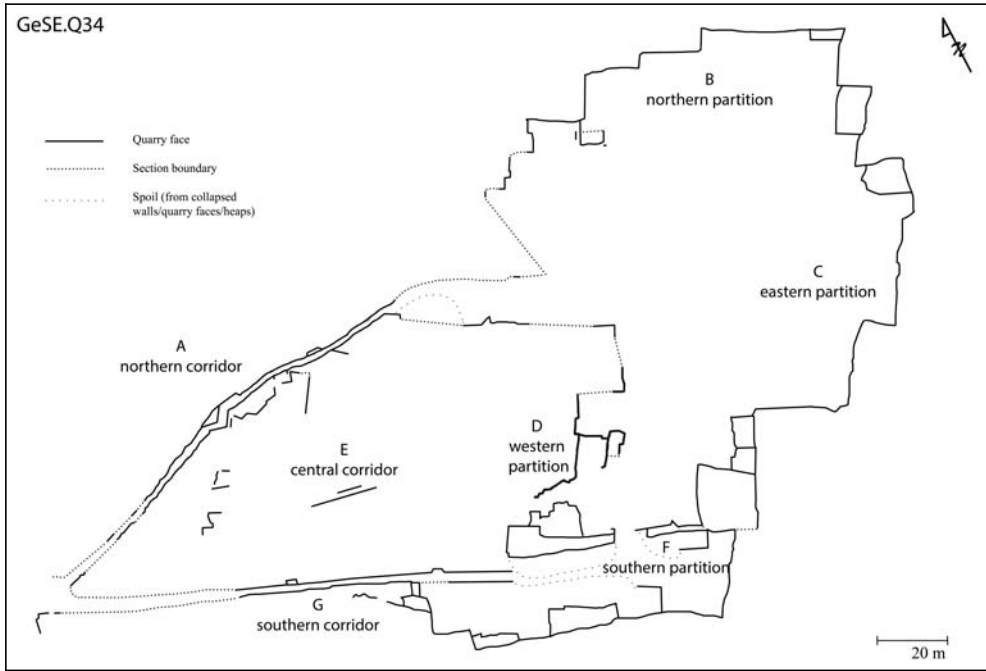


FIGURE 25 Topographic overview of Q34, marked with its partitions
LINE DRAWING BY MARIA NILSSON

The main plateau transportation road borders the quarry to the east, while the Nile and two main quays are situated some 50 m to the west, and is reached via two long corridors (Partitions A and G). Overall, the quarry is in a good state of preservation, although several quarry faces have partially collapsed during antiquity, presumably caused by an earthquake based on geological evidence. No modern quarrying has taken place here.

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. The two quarries were separated in the south by a quarry wall (now Q34.C17–21; F1, 17), which was broken through at the time of Augustus or Tiberius. A preserved Roman ramp currently connects the two quarries and gives an impression of one large quarry, and it is in accordance with its current form that it has been divided into seven partitions (Fig. 25), arranged as follows:

North:

- Partition A—the northern corridor
- Partition B—the northern section

- Partition C—the eastern section
- Partition D—the western section
- 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 section
- Partition G—the southern corridor

Following the classification of the seven partitions, the quarry was subdivided into 64 quarry faces in accordance with their orientation (Table 7).

TABLE 7 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

2 Archaeological Overview

Q34 and its surrounding landscape were initially surveyed in 2007 and 2011, followed by a comprehensive epigraphic survey in 2012–2013.² Simultaneously, an archaeological survey was conducted with the aim of establishing a general overview of the quarry and its infrastructure, including the documentation of pathways, spoil heaps and stone structures situated on top of the heaps and on the plateau immediately above the quarry.³ Five distinct sectors of ancient ruins were recorded: three sectors were located on top of the heaps and two on the plateau. The team documented, in total, 54 clearly defined huts made

² Nilsson & Ward (2014); Nilsson et al. (2015).

³ Nilsson et al. (2015: 150–151).

up of stacked stone, which in general measured between 2.5 × 2.5 meters and 4 × 5 meters. Archaeological surface material, including pottery, charred coal, red bricks, slag products and layers of organic material, indicates that many of the structures on top of the heaps were used as shelters/temporary habitation.

In addition to the huts, all walls made up of stacked stone were recorded.⁴ 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. Additionally, nine ramps were recorded within the quarry, which based on their state of preservation indicate different periods of quarrying. Miscellaneous items found during the surface collection included chisel tips, wood fragments (some plausibly of wedges), ceramic items, textiles, amulets, beads, stone offering tables, stone ostraca, etc. A high concentration of burned red bricks, charred coal, large pieces of slag and clear flakes of iron were recorded in Partition C, indicating a workman's station, plausibly a blacksmith's workshop.

The ceramic analysis of material from Q34 took place in 2014–2015. The result was a typology that consists of 15 types, which together overall indicate ware for daily use.⁵ Most of these date to the early Roman period, although Ptolemaic and New Kingdom sherds were also recorded.

3 The Epigraphy

Fifty-seven of the 64 quarry faces preserve epigraphical material (no epigraphy on B1–2, 4; F6–8, 14), to which can be added physical remnants of extraction work on all 64 quarry faces.⁶ As in Q24, this includes rope holes, foot holes, postholes, wedge marks, trench marks and, of course, the grooves left from the chisels when preparing the blocks for extraction. In total 487 textual inscriptions were recorded, including 153 inventoried Greek texts, published herein as 149 inscriptions after the successful matching of fragments (for spatial distribution see Figs. 26–27). The remainder include 337 Demotic texts and a single Latin name (included below the corpus in this chapter). In addition to the textual corpus, 3087 quarry marks were recorded (Table 8).

4 Nilsson et al. (2015: 151).

5 Nilsson et al. (2015: 151–154): 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.

6 Nilsson (2014; 2015a; b; 2018; 2020); Nilsson & Ward (2014; 2017; 2019d); Nilsson et al. (2015: 154–159; 2019).

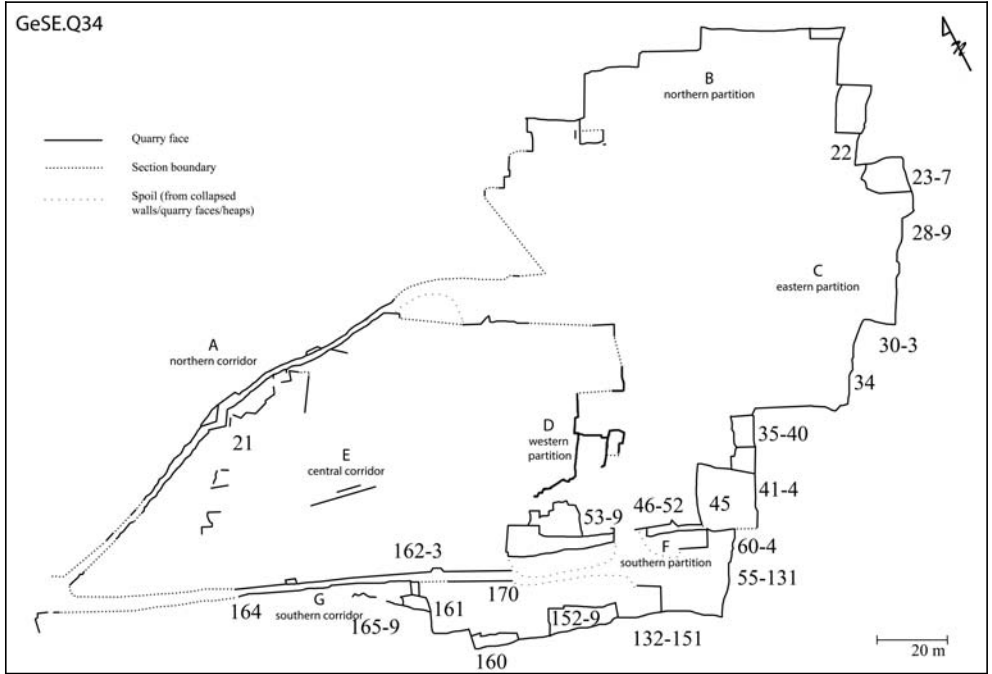


FIGURE 26 Spatial distribution of Greek texts within Q34
 LINE DRAWING BY MARIA NILSSON

TABLE 8 Epigraphic distribution in Q34, including detached cliff fragments

Partition	Greek inscriptions	Demotic inscriptions	Latin or pseudo script	Total inscriptions	Quarry marks	Total graffiti
A	1	54		55	454	509
B		19		19	376	395
C	31	159	2	192	1554	1746
D	7	19		26	144	170
E					23	23
F	101	72		173	359	532
G	9	10	3	22	177	199
TOTAL	149	333	5	487	3087	3574

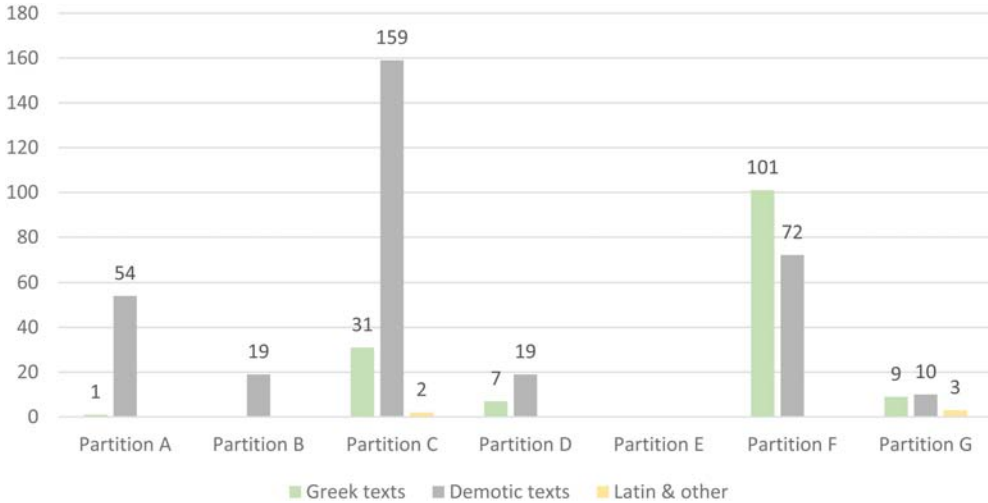


FIGURE 27 Spatial distribution of texts in Q34, including detached cliff fragments

In terms of the pictorial context, the northern section (Partitions A–D) is dominated by harpoons, which with 1281 examples represent over 50% of the quarry marks in the northern section, and 41% of the total number of marks in Q34.⁷ The harpoons are often accompanied by ‘hourglasses’ (264 examples),⁸ circles intersected by a vertical or horizontal bar (123 examples),⁹ offering tables (158 examples) and horned altars (136 examples).¹⁰ Less frequent representations include tridents, anthropomorphic figures, animals, geometric shapes, pentagrams, single Greek letters (see Chapter 2), birds, and so on.¹¹ The quarry mark repertoire and associated occurrence rate are more limited in the south than in the north, with 536 compared to 2551 marks (17/83%).¹² The motif corpus in the south (Partitions F–G) is dominated by a stone vessel (Gardiner’s W9; *hnm*) and an ankh, often found paired in series and frequently also including offering tables.¹³ In the south, the ankh is recorded with 157 examples, the vessel with 128 examples and the offering table with 79 examples, together making up 68% of the quarry marks displayed in the partition, and just under 12% in the quarry as a whole.

7 Nilsson (2018: 126–128; 2020: 144–146); Nilsson et al. (2015: 155–156; 2019: 5–7).

8 Nilsson et al. (2019: 8–9).

9 Nilsson et al. (2019: 8, 12–19).

10 Nilsson et al. (2015: 155).

11 Wyatt et al. 2020a and b; 2021.

12 Nilsson et al. (2015: 156–157).

13 Nilsson (2020: 148–149); Nilsson et al. (2015: 156–157).

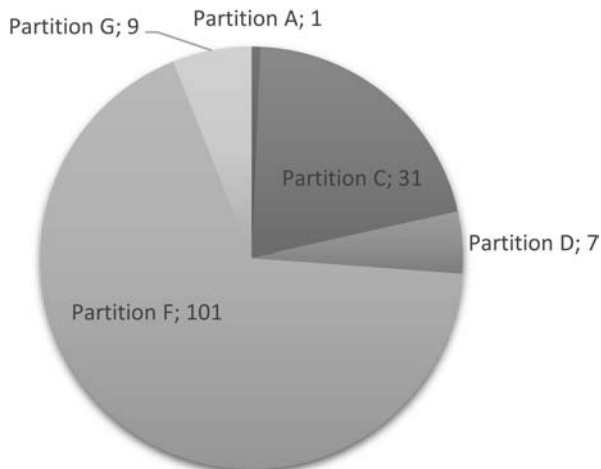


FIGURE 28 Greek texts, spatial distribution in Q34 (partitions)

Historically, only a small part of the epigraphy has received attention.¹⁴ The main publication was by Presigke and Spiegelberg, based on Legrain's field notes, in which were presented 179 catalogue entries from Q34, therein referred to as 'Carrière III–IV'. However, as with Q24, the previously presented corpora remained incomplete and several of the facsimiles and translations were erroneous, because of which all the entries had to be relocated, re-documented, and reproduced by the current team.

The corpus of 149 Greek texts published herein are distributed over five of the seven partitions, excluding Partitions B and E. As demonstrated in Fig. 28, there is an evident concentration of Greek texts in the southern section of the quarry, with 101 inscriptions (68%) in Partition F, and another 9 (6%) in Partition G, making a total of 110 Greek texts (74%) in this area. The northern section displays 39 Greek texts (26%), with 31 inscriptions concentrated in Partition C (21%).

Looking closer at Partition F (Figure 29), in which the majority of Greek texts are situated, nearly all examples (93 of 101 texts, 85%) are situated in the eastern section, in the deepest part of the quarry. This is also where the majority of adoration texts (*proskynemata*) are found (Figure 30: 50 examples of the total of 60 recorded *proskynema* texts, 83%).

14 Graff. *Silsile* 73–252; I. Thèbes à Syène 84–150.

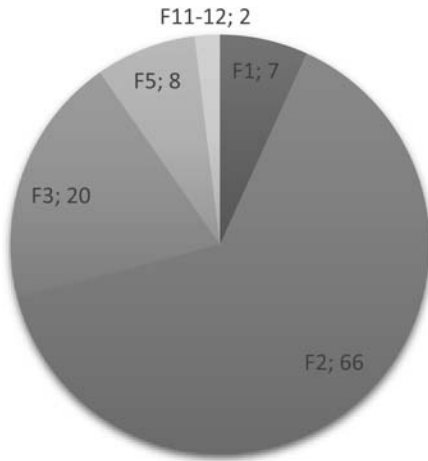


FIGURE 29
Greek texts, spatial distribution in Partition F

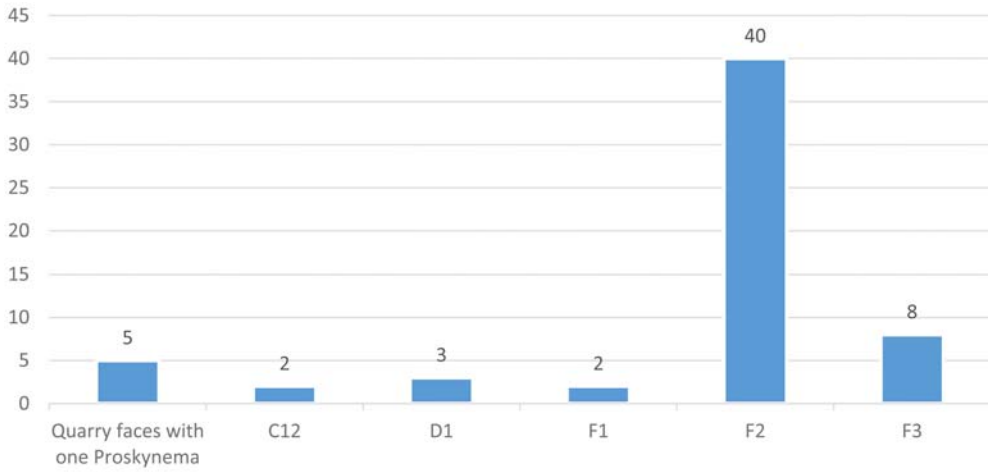


FIGURE 30 Spatial distribution of *Proskynema* texts, quarry faces

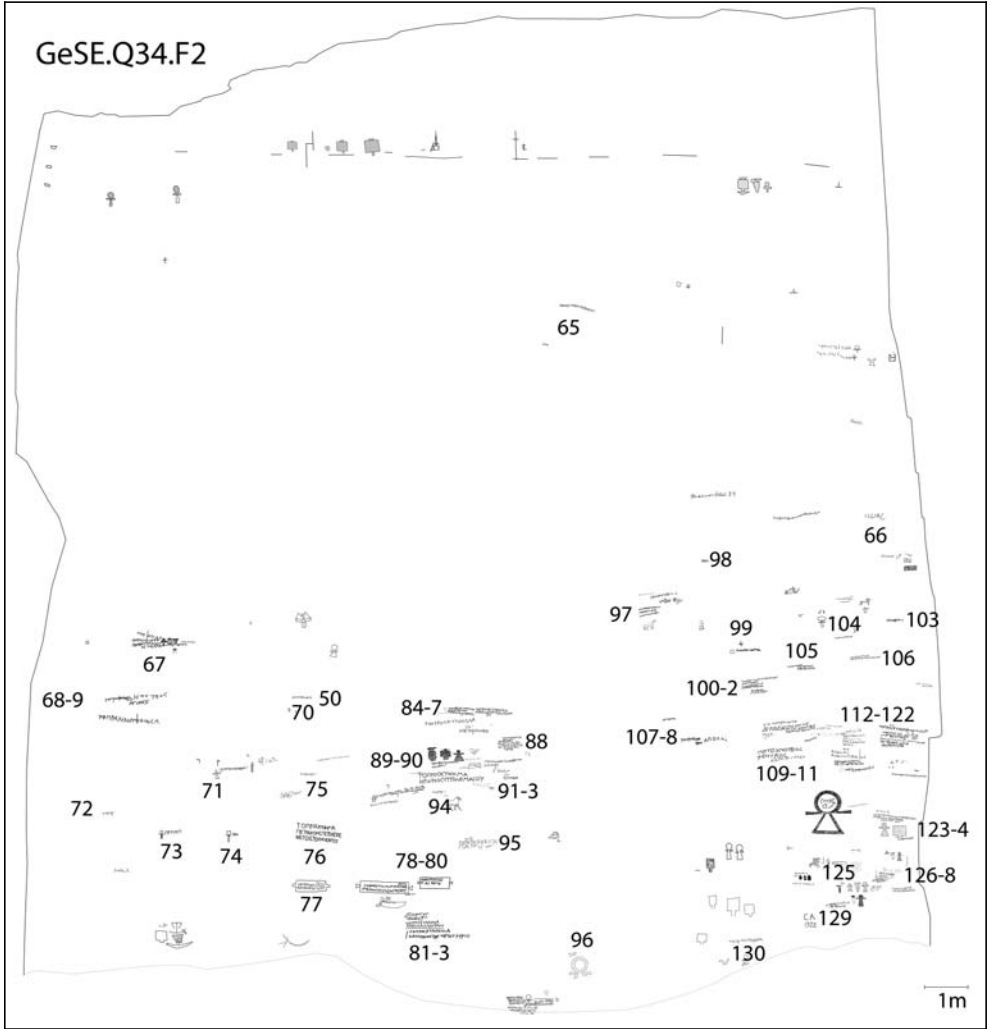


FIGURE 31 Epigraphic overview of quarry face F2, marked with Greek inscription numbers
LINE DRAWING BY MARIA NILSSON

4 Contents of Texts

While *proskynemata* are very frequent (40%), the main category of text is signatures (83 texts, 56%) consisting of a name with or without patronymic. Additionally, nine texts are placed within a *tabula ansata*, and another two within an offering table, suggesting an intended devotional commemoration. Six texts remain unclassified/illegible due to their fragmentary state of preservation.

A few graffiti are nicely executed by an experienced hand, including nos 37, 39, 41, 57, two of which are included in the few full sentence texts:

- no. 35 τὸ προσκύνημα Καίσις Κέμελος Παράθης Φατρῆς ἔγραφα;
 no. 37 Πτολλίων Παμπανίσκου Πτολλίωνος χρηστὲ χαίρει;
 no. 39 Λούκιος Γαίου χρηστὲ χαίρει
 and no. 154 Σαούας Ἀγαθίνου τὸ προσκύ<νη>μ\α/ αὐτοῦ ὦδε παρὰ τῆς
 Τήχης τῆς λατομίας τοῦ Ἄμμωνος (ἔτους) μα' Καίσαρος Φαῶφι ιε'.

However, several graffiti were badly executed and/or contain graphical or grammatical mistakes, variants. Letters were occasionally omitted (e.g. no. 82: Λογίνου for Λογγίνου), others are incorrectly ordered. Alpha appears sporadically without the horizontal line as a lambda (e.g. no. 150). Various spellings of *προσκύνημα* occur (e.g. no. 32: τὸ π{ο}ροσκύνεμα; no. 68: προσκύ{ει}νη(μα)), and some letters are shaped inaccurately, such as rho, which is often engraved with the vertical bar drawn on the right side instead of the left (e.g. no. 146). The variation in spelling between omega and omicron is a well-known phenomenon in this period, and occurs repeatedly in Partition F, where the definite article τῷ written for τὸ (nos 100, 101, 109, 135, 136).¹⁵ The voiceless velar kappa is used for the voiced gamma on five occasions in the noun *προσγύνημα/προσκύνημα* (nos 100, 101, 104, 105, 106), twice coinciding with the omega-omicron interchange.

Several graffiti are unfinished (nos 22–24a, 31, 50, 54, 56, 58, 64, 69–75, 77, 80, 93–94, 98, 124–125, 136–137, 143, 167), usually due to the unevenness of the surface (or termination thereof) that made the execution of the text impossible. This would also explain the unfinished first line of nos 45, 59, 67, 88, 115, 122, 157/157 and 161 where the scribe, recognising the difficulty of writing on the unsmoothed wall, simply restarted the text one line below, where the surface was better. On the other hand, some signatures were likely to have been written

¹⁵ Cf. Horrocks (2010: 167).

deliberately in an abbreviated form (e.g. nos 54, 157, 163) and some as monograms (see Chapter 2). There are also a couple of examples of ancient erasure (nos 112, 114).

The dedicators' names are occasionally written in the nominative after the word τὸ προσκύνημα. Here, these cases are not interpreted as erroneously written, but rather as two phrases separated by a colon (e.g. no. 32: τὸ π{ο}ροσκύνημα Πτολίον... 'The *proskynema* (of) Ptolion...'). The phenomenon is also known from other sites.¹⁶ The patronym written after the dedicator's name frequently occurs in the nominative and it is difficult to determine whether this is a grammatical error or if the text was intended as a list of names without any filiation between the individuals. However, the use of the nominative instead of the grammatically correct genitive may be a sign of unfamiliarity with Greek declensions, as the badly executed texts have a tendency to ignore the correct declension whereas the properly written ones do not.

5 Dedicators

The Greek text corpus from Q34 presents 226 names. Twenty-two of these may represent duplicates, in which one individual is mentioned more than once, so that the total number of individuals was at least 204. The total includes 122 persons listed as the main subject, 23 as the second, four as the third, two as the fourth, and another person as the fifth in a list of names, i.e. a total of 152 persons in the nominative (or genitive if in a *proskynema* text). In addition, names are listed as patronyms, two as grandfathers and two as sons. The most frequent names include Agathinos (listed six times); Ammonios (five examples), Apollonios (five examples), Peteakoes (five examples), Petearnouphis (four examples), Harpaesis (four examples), Petechnoubis (three examples), etc.

Though most names (Fig. 34) are of Egyptian origin (114 names), a significant number are Greek (76 examples).¹⁷ A few are Greek versions of Latin (14 examples), for example no. 35. Καίσις Κέμελος, no. 106. Πετρώνιος, no. 147. Ὀνόριος, no. 156. Λόλλις.

¹⁶ Cf. Geraci (1971: 40–41).

¹⁷ Nos. 21, 26, 27, 40 Ἰέραξ, no. 28 Ἐπίμαχος, no. 32 Πιτύας, no. 40 Στεφανίων, no. 41 Κράτων Ἡρακλείδης, no. 49 Πραξίνος, no. 53 Μίμιθος, Ἀπόλλων, no. 55 Ἀπολλώνιος, no. 57 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰσίδωρος, no. 60 Ἄνδρων, no. 61 Χαίρων, no. 62 Σαραπίων, no. 63 Κτήσων, no. 65 Ἄνδρων Ἀνδρέας, no. 68 Δημήτριος, no. 78 Ἀθηναίος, no. 79 Πλούτος, no. 80 Ἀθηναίος, no. 82 Ἀπελλάς, no. 85 Ἐρμων Ἀπολλώνιος, no. 88 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀσκληπιιάδης, no. 89 Πλάτων, no. 90 Ἴηρων Πτολεμαῖος, no. 92 Ἐρμων, no. 97 Ἀμμώνιος, no. 101 Ἀγαθίνος, Δράκων, no. 102 Ἀγαθίνος, Πλάτων, no. 103 Ἀγαθίνος, no. 105 Ἀγαθίνος Δράκων, no. 107 Βάτραχος, no. 108 Ἀπολλώνιος,

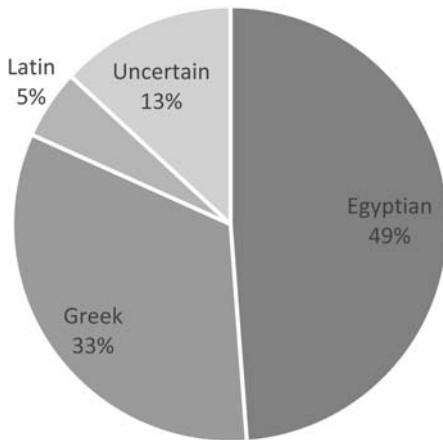


FIGURE 34
Geographic origin of the name

The nicely written and grammatically correct texts, including **nos 35, 37** and **39**, are situated in the north-eastern area, including quarry faces C13–14, and D1. These include at least one proper Latin name (**no. 39**: Λούκιος Γαίου), and texts **nos 35–36** make use of a Latin “R” for the name of the dedicator: Παράθης. Another Roman name, “Faustus”, written in Latin, is situated nearby (included as an addendum in the end of this chapter).

The *proskynemata* of the individuals with Latin names (or Roman origin) are overall very nicely written, which may indicate persons of societal standing and higher education.

6 Name Variants and Scribes

Some names appear as ‘new’, previously unknown or unattested variants (e.g. **no. 164**: Ἡρσίεις, from Ἀρσιήσις). Other examples are attested uniquely at Gebel el-Silsila (e.g. **no 24a**: Φατρέχη(μης); **no. 27**: Παμπάνισκος; **no. 47**: Πάμχηλφις). Some signatures are likely to be hypocoristic (e.g. **no. 45**: Πάμπως). There

no. 109: Διονύσιος, Διονυτάς, **no. 115**: Ἀσκλάς, Ἀσκληπιάδης, **no. 116** Θέων, **no. 118** Ἐρμων Κρατίνος, **no. 122** Λυσίμαχος, **no 131** Σικέρος, Ἄνδρων, **no. 132** Πόθος, **no. 133** Ἐρμώνναξ, **no. 134** Ἀμμώνιος, **no. 135** Εὐάνθης, **no. 140** Ἀγαθίνος, Εὐβότα(ς), **no. 146** Φιλάργυρος, **no. 148** Ἐπιφάνιος, **no. 149** Ὀριμος, Ἄρηιος, **no. 150** Ἐρμίας, **no. 154** Ἀγαθίνος, **no. 155** Κτήσων, **no. 157** Ἀμμώ(νιος), **no. 158** Ἀμμώνιος, **no. 160** Ἀνδρῶς, **no. 161** Ἐπιδράριος(?), **no. 162** Ἐπιφάνιος, **no. 166** Εὐμίδης Ἀμμώνιος Ἡρακλείδης, **no. 169** Ἐπιφάνης. The relatively great number of Greek names is surprising here, however, the use of Greek names became quite common by the Roman period. Cf. Jennes & Depauw (2012: 125).

is no reason to suppose that all the graffiti were written by the dedicators themselves, and it is evident that some *proskynemata* were written by the same hand but contain different names. ‘Πετεάρσνουφισ Κτήσωνος’ appears in two graffiti (nos 63 and 155), but with two name variants. Some persons engraved more than one *proskynema*, written close to each other (e.g. nos 78–79: Ἀθηναῖος; nos 35–36: Παράθης Φατρῆς) or in different parts of the quarry (e.g. nos 64 and 83: Ψανσνῶς Πετεπούηρις).

7 Dates, Professions and Religious Functions

Seven texts include a date, either with or without the word ‘Kaisaros’: no. 27: ‘Year 30’; no. 32: ‘Year 40’; no. 33: ‘Year 41’; no. 47 ‘Year 40 of Caesar’; no. 129: ‘Year 3’; no. 154: ‘Year 41, Phaophi 15’; and no. 161: ‘Year 40 of Caesar’. In addition, no. 24b provides the date ‘Year 8, Shemu III, Day 26’ for no. 24a. Beside these, only onomastic data enable relative dating of the texts as the palaeographical analysis is often uncertain in the case of graffiti. Four dates (nos 27, 32–33, 47; five if including no. 24a–b) were recorded in Partition C, two in Partition F (nos. 129, 154), and one in Partition G (no. 161). Text that lists year 40 and 41 evidently refer to the reign of Augustus, and it can be assumed that the early dates refer to the reign of Tiberius.¹⁸

Three texts list the profession of the dedicators: no. 53: σιτόμετρος, no. 47: ἀρχιτέκ[τ]ων, and no. 109: στρατιώτης. In addition, a few text provide a religious role or title of the individual, including no. 155: προστάτης Ἄμμωνος θεοῦ μεγίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς θεᾶς μεγίστης, the ‘leader/chief of Ammon, the greatest god and of Athena, the greatest goddess’. The same title—προστάτης—also occurs in nos 63, 88 and 141. No. 88 and no. 141 are not mentioning of what god they served as ‘leaders’. Nos 63 and 155, however, both specify Ammon. The title—προστάτης—is a Greek equivalent of the demotic *rd*¹⁹ that held a religious significance, generally the administrator of a temple,²⁰ and here is associated with (the construction of) the temples for which the stone was extracted.²¹ In addition to the already mentioned Ammon and Athena,

18 Cf. nos 180 and 184 (Chapter 6).

19 CDD Letter R, 76–77.

20 Łajtar (1991: 53–55; 1992: 213–216, esp. 215 with n. 15) for further references.

21 Cf. Clarysse & Winnicki (1989: 46–47); Klotz (2009: 254). The famous ‘agent of Isis’ in Koptos, Parthenios son of Paminis (cf. Vleeming [2001: 171–203]), also commemorated his work in a demotic inscription in Q37, a quarry which is dedicated to Isis. This graffito will be published separately.

nos 57 and 154 include reference to Tyche, as the Shaï or divine 'Fate'. No. 154, furthermore, lists the microtoponym for the southern part as the 'quarry of Ammon'.²²

8 Corpus

No. 21

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.AS.Inscr.1

Measurements: L. 26, W. 72 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 163; *SB III* 6902; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 140; TM Text ID 54279



1. ΨΕΝΑΗCIEΡΑ_
2. ΔΙΔΥΜΗΙ
1. Ψενάης 'Ιέραξ
2. Διδύμη . (...)
1. Psenaes (and) Hierax
2. (and) Didyme...

Commentary

L 1: *Graff. Silsile* 163 footnote; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 140: [ερε[ύς]]. The last letter of 'Ιέραξ. is damaged by a small posthole.

- Ψενάης is only attested here and it must be considered whether this is an error for Ψεν<τ>άης. There is another possible example from Elephantine (P. Brugsch. 14 Vo l. 5), but the reading is not secure.
- The name Hierax is attested twice (previously unpublished texts) in Partition C (see **nos 26–27**).

²² Cf. O.Claud. iv. 719, 6.

L 2: *Graff. Silsile* 163; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 140: Δίδυμη. Διδύμη . (...) is possibly an unfinished name. However, only women's names are known with the beginning Διδύμη- (cf. Διδύμη, Διδυμητάριον). It is not likely that this was the mother's name—which is usually not mentioned in inscriptions without the word μη-τρος—but presumably a third individual.

Fragmentary painted (mauve) outlines indicate a well prepared and intentional (non-sporadic) inscription. Encircled and marked with chalk as **no. 243**.

No. 22

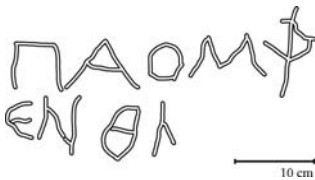
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C3.Inscr.1

Measurements: L. 14.5, W. 38 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 244; *SB III* 6909; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 150; TM Text ID 5433^o



1. ΠΑΟΜΦ

2. ΕΝΘΙ\

1. Παομφ-

2. ενθ.(...)

1-2. Paomphenth(...)

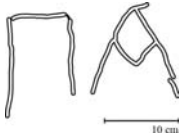
Commentary

Graff. Silsile 244, *I. Thèbes à Syène* 150: Παομφ | ενθι.

A long vertical line is located above and between the alpha and omicron of L. 1. The name is not damaged and the horizontal line written at the end of line 2 indicates an abbreviation.

The last letter of the first line seems to be a phi but it could also be interpreted as a badly written psi. In this case, we would read Παομφένθ(ωτης). This may be a to-date unattested variant of the Greek rendering of *P₃-‘hm-p₃-šr-n-Dhwti*.²³

23 *DNb* 170.

No. 23*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.C6.Inscr.1*Measurements:* L. 16, W. 24 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 2.5 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. ΠΑ
1. Πα(...)
1. Pa(...)

Commentary

Although it is tempting to identify the current text with **no. 2**, Paompsenth(---), the style is quite dissimilar, written here with a broken-bar alpha compared with a straight, horizontal bar in the previous text.

No. 24a*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.C6.Inscr.2*Measurements:* L. 41, W. 67 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 3 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* *Graff. Silsile* 242; *SB III* 6908; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 149; *CIG* 3 4857 & add. p. 1218; *Moje* 2014 no. 18; *TM Text ID* 54329

1. ΦΑΤΡΕΧΗ-
2. ΨΕΝΗCIC
1. Φατρέχη(μης)
2. Ψένησις
1. Phatreche(mis)
2. Psenesis

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 242: Φατρεχῆ(μης) | Ψενῆσις; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 149: Φατρεχῆς | Ψενῆσις. No. 24a and b are situated next to (right of) a boat, depicted with nine oars, a steering oar/rudder, mast and sail, moving in a direction away from the quarry, to the west.

L. 1: Φατρέχη(μης) is an abbreviated Greek rendering of the Egyptian name *P3-ḥtr-ḥm* (see no. 24b). The complete form of the Greek is not known from other sources.

L. 2: Ψένησις, cf. with the dedicator in no. 25. Ψένησις is in the nominative, which may be either a grammatical mistake for a patronym or two people are listed here. If Phatrechemis is the same person as the dedicator of the demotic text, No. 24b (Phatrechemis son of Phatrechemis), Psenesis is not a patronym here.

No. 24b (Demotic)

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C6.Inscr.3

Measurements: L. 17, W. 77 cm

Height above the ground: c. 3 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 242; Moje 2014 no. 18; TM Text ID 54329



n ḥ3.t-sp 8.t ibt-3 šmw sw 26 P3-ḥtr-ḥm s3 sp-sn

In regnal year 8, third month of Shemu, day 26, Phatrechemis, son of the same

Commentary

In *Graff. Silsile* 242 s; *sp-sn* is omitted in the translation. Moje 2014 no. 18: sw 6.

– If this text dates to the reign of Augustus, then the date will be 22 BC, July 20.

If to Tiberius, AD 22, 20 July. This also provides a temporal frame for **no. 24a**.

No. 25

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C7.Inscr.1

Measurements: L. 15, W. 108 cm

Height above the ground: c. 3.5 m above ledge floor (c. 10.5 m above the ground)

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



- | | |
|----|-------------------------------|
| 1. | ΨΕΝΝΗCICΠΕΤΕCΘΕΥC |
| 2. | ΩΡΟCΠΑΜΠΑΧΟΙC |
| 1. | Ψέννησις Πετεσθεύς |
| 2. | ῥΩρος Παμπάχοις |
| 1. | Psennesis (son of) Petestheus |
| 2. | Horos (son of) Pampachois |

Commentary

Considering their proximity, Psennesis here may be the same person as mentioned as a father in **no. 4** above.

L. 1: Theta in the name Πετεσθεύς is damaged but the reading is secure.

L. 2: Παμπάχοις is attested only here and in *O. Mus. Ont.* 2 287 col. 2 l. 16 from Dendera. The first part of the compound name, Παμ- may be a variant of Παχομ-, the Greek rendering of the Egyptian P3-ḥm ‘the falcon’, a popular element in names from Edfu.²⁴ Accepting this interpretation, Παμπάχοις may be a variant of Παχομπάχοις, the Greek rendering of the Egyptian P3-

²⁴ Cf. Παμλilουc as the Greek rendering of the demotic P3-ḥm-ryr (Zauzich 1984: 78 no. 3.7). We would like to thank Willy Clarysse for this interpretation.

ḥm-pa-ḥy.²⁵ There are many names starting with the element Παμ- attested in this part of the quarry, which may connect the people who worked here to Edfu.

Both fathers' names are in the nominative.

No. 26

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C7.Inscr.2

Measurements: L. 7.5, W. 19 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m above ledge floor (c. 8 m above the ground)

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



- 1. IEPAX
- 1. Ἴεραξ
- 1. Hierax

Commentary

The text is barely visible due to distinct, deep underlying tool marks. Hierax is also the scribe of **no. 27**.

No. 27

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C7.Inscr.3

Measurements: L. 9 (excluding the harpoon), W. 60 cm

Height above the ground: c. 2 m

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

25 *DNb* 171.



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΛΙΕΡΑΞΜΑΓΝΟΥ ΠΑΒΙΣ
1. Τὸ προσκύνημα
2. (ἔτους) λ' (?) Ἱέραξ Μάγνου^{vvvv} Πνάβις
1. The *proskynema*
2. Year 30, Hierax son of Magnus? (and) Pabis?

Commentary

L. 1: Line 1 is considerably smaller than line 2. The final two letters of the first line are separated by the lower part of a harpoon. The letters were composed with a damaged tool, creating irregular outlines and a generally sloppy style of writing. Marked in chalk as no. 212.

L. 2: The last letter of Ἱέραξ is much larger than the rest of the name.
 – Μάγνου written possibly for Μάγνου.

No. 28

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C8.Inscr.9

Measurements: L. 7, W. 41 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΕΠΙΜΑΧΟΣ
1. Ἐπίμαχος
1. Epimachos

Commentary

The sigma at the end of the word was never completed. The same name is attested elsewhere in the region; cf. *I. Thèbes à Syène* 186 (Shatt el-Rigal).

No. 29

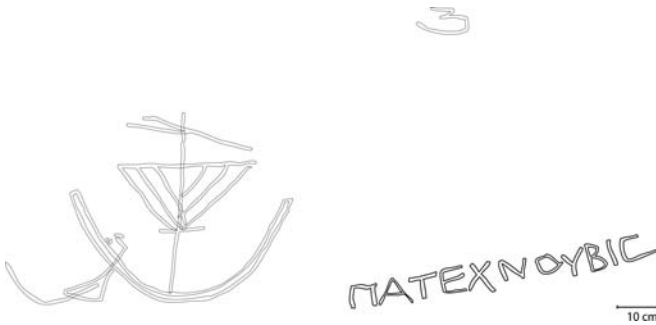
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C8.Inscr.10

Measurements: L. 14 (letter size c. 7 cm) W. 74 cm

Height above the ground: c. 2 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 241; *SB III* 6907; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 148; TM Text ID 54328



1. ΠΑΤΕΧΝΟΥΒΙΣ
1. Πατέχνουβις
1. Patechnoubis

Commentary

The signature is situated to the right of the depiction of a boat, perhaps indicating the profession of the person. The same name is attested in Gebel el-Silsila; see **no. 119**.

No. 30

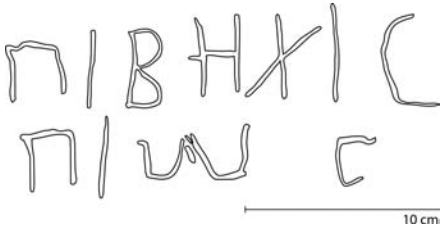
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C9.Inscr.2

Measurements: L. 9.5, W. 22.5 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 216; *SB III* 6906; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 147; TM Text ID 54308



1. ΠΙΒΗΧΙC
2. ΠΙΩC
1. Πίβηχις
2. Πίω^vς
1. Pibechis
2. Pios

Commentary

L. 2: *Graff. Silsile* 216: Πίω(νος), *I. Thèbes à Syène* 147: Πίβηχις Πίως. Πίως is attested only here and P. Mich. 500 l. 6 = TM Text ID 25193. We cannot exclude the possibility that it might be the Greek rendering of Pius.²⁶

No. 31

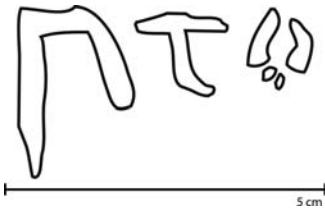
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C9.Inscr.23

Measurements: L. 2, W. 4.5 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΠΤΟ
1. Πτο(...)
1. Pto(...)

²⁶ TM Name ID 11627.

Commentary

The unfinished name can be interpreted as Πτο(λίον) on the basis of the comparison with a signature on a sandstone piece (no. 33) found on the ground in front of the quarry face. Although both texts are fragmentary, the latter one includes three more discernible letters, giving the reading Πτολιω[-], plausibly referring to the name Ptolion.²⁷ Cf. no. 32.

No. 32

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C9.Inscr.12

Measurements: L. 24, W. 27 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: L. 1–2, 4–5: very poor; L. 3, 6: poor

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΤΟΠΟΡΟΣ
 2. ΚΥΝΗΜΑ
 3. ΠΤΟΛΛΙΟΝ
 4. ΠΙΤΥΟΥΠΑΡΑ
 5. ΤΟΥΤΟΙ ΠΙΔΔΙ
 6. [Μ(?)COΥΗ
1. τὸ π{ο}ροσ-
 2. κύνημα
 3. Πτολλίον
 4. Πιτύου(?) παρὰ

²⁷ See Masson (2000: 156); TM Name variant 3993.

5. τοῦ
6. (ἔτους) μ' κογ η?
- 1–2. The *proskynema*:
3. Ptolion
4. son of Pityas? to,
5.
6. year 40 ...?

Commentary

L. 4–6: The text is very poorly written and the second part is illegible. The patronym, Πιτύας is hardly legible. If the reading is correct, the name is attested first in Egypt.²⁸

L. 5–6: We could not interpret the second half of lines 5 and 6. However, it is possible that COY-H was an Egyptian word written with Greek letters referring to the day in the date. The writer of the text was clearly not experienced (as the handwriting shows) and may not have been familiar with the Greek noun ‘day’, for which the Egyptian *sw* was used instead, written in Greek.²⁹ Although this combined dating is not attested to date, Egyptian texts written with Greek letters are well-known.³⁰ If we accept this interpretation, the combination can be translated as ‘day 8’, with the month name omitted. The same word can be seen in text **no. 33**.

No. 33

Inv.no.: GeSE12.Q34.C9.F1

Measurements: L. 5.5, W. 15 cm (with figure: max L. 11, W. 27 cm)

Height above the ground: N/A

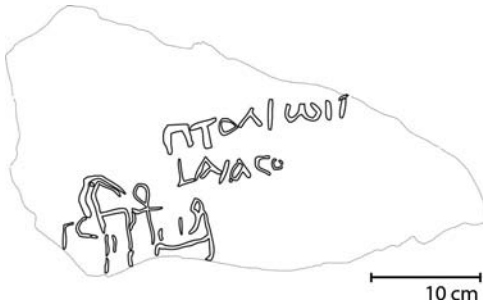
Condition: Well preserved, though fragmented stone

Bibliography: Unpublished

²⁸ See LGPN IIIA s.v. Πιτύας.

²⁹ For the Coptic COY see Crum, *Dict.* 368a. We are grateful for Luigi Prada for this suggestion.

³⁰ Cf. Quack (2017).



1. ΠΤΟΛΙΩΝ
2. [MACO[---]]
1. Πτολίων
2. (ἔτους) μα' co[Υ?---]
1. Ptolion
2. Year 41 ...?

Commentary

The stone fragment includes a rough drawing of an anthropomorphic figure (facing right) with avian facial features, presumably intended to depict Thoth. It is likely that it was composed by the same hand as nos 31–32.

L. 2: For the interpretation of the last letters, see the comments on no. 32.

No. 34

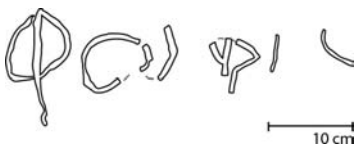
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C10.Inscr.14

Measurements: L. 12 (max), W. 38 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1 m measured from a ramp (c. 9.5 m above the ground)

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΦΩΦΙΣ
1. Φῶφίς
1. Phophis

Commentary

The end of the signature is difficult to discern due to deep underlying tool marks combined with a very sloppy handwriting. Φῶφης is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name *P3-hf*.³¹

No. 35

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C13.Inscr.1

Measurements: L. 30, W. 240 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1 m above ledge floor (c. 7.5 m above ramp/18.5 m above the ground)

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2019: no. 28)



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΚΥΝΗΜΑΚΑΙΣΙΚΕΜΕΛΟΣ
2. ΠΑΡΑΘΗΣΦΑΤΡΗΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΑ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα Καίσις Κέμελος
2. Παράθης Φατρῆς ἔγραφα
1. The *proskynema* Kaisis (son of) Kemelos.
2. I, Parathes (son of) Phatres wrote (it)

Commentary

L. 2: the third letter of the personal name has been written with a Roman ‘R’. The personal name Καίσις (for Καίσιος) is the Greek rendering of the Latin Caesius, which is recorded as a patronym in adjacent quarry Q24 (no. 11). Κέμελος—which is in the nominative here—is a variant of Γέμελλος, the Greek rendering of the Latin Gemellus ‘twin’.³² The author is identifiable with the person listed in no. 36. A series of quarry marks follows the terminus of line 1, including (l-r) a lined circle, harpoon, hourglass, cross and pentagram. The father’s name, Φατρῆς is in the nominative.

31 Demotic *P3-hf* DNb 204. Attested in Greek as Φῶφης in SB XXVI 16581 (42) and SB XXIV 15989 (6). Other variants are Φᾶφης and Πᾶφης.

32 Cf. NB 80; TM Name 6851, especially SB XXVIII 16936 l. 5–6 Κεμέλου. We would like to thank Michael Zellmann-Rohrer for the information.

No. 36*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.C13.Inscr.2*Measurements:* L. 32, W. 49 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 1m above ledge floor (c. 7.5 m above ramp/18.5 m above the ground)*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* Nilsson et al. (2019: no. 29)

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥ
2. ΝΗΜΑ
3. ΠΑΡΑΘΗΣ
4. ΦΑΤΡΗΣ

1. τὸ προσκύ-
2. νημα
3. Παράθης
4. Φατρῆς

1. The *prosky-*
2. *nema:*
3. Parathes (son of)
4. Phatres

Commentary

Cf. no. 35. The two names are in the nominative.

No. 37*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.C14.Inscr.1*Measurements:* c. L. 29 W. 105 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 4.5 m*Condition:* Very well preserved*Bibliography:* LD VI: 12, pl. 82 no. 189; *Graff. Silsile* 201; *SB* 1 4070; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 144; TM Text ID 54299

ΠΤΟΛΛΙΩΝ ΠΑΜΠΑΝΙΣΚΟΥ
 ΠΤΟΛΛΙΩΝΟΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΕ
 ΧΑΙΡΕ



1. ΠΤΟΛΛΙΩΝ ΠΑΜΠΑΝΙΣΚΟΥ
2. ΠΤΟΛΛΙΩΝΟΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΕ
3. ΧΑΙΡΕ
1. Πτολλίων Παμπανίσκου
2. Πτολλίωνος χρηστέ
3. χαίρε
1. Ptollion, son of Pampaniskos,
2. grandson of Ptollion worthy one,
3. farewell!

Commentary

L. 1: Παμπάνισκος is not attested elsewhere in or outside Egypt but the reading is secure. It is likely a variant of the name Παχομπάνισκος.³³

On the bases that χρηστέ χαίρε was generally used in epitaphs, Bernand (*I. Thèbes à Syène* 144) considered the inscription as 'évidemment funéraire'. It may be a commemorative inscription of a deceased worker.

No. 38

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C14.Inscr.2

Measurements: c. L. 9, W. 96 cm

Height above the ground: c. 7 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

ΠΑΧΙΠΩΣΑΡΚΙΝΟΣ



33 Cf. above no. 25.

1. ΠΑΧΙΠΩCΑΡΚΙΝΟC
1. Παχίπως Ἀρκίν(ι)ος
1. Pachipos, son of Harkinis

Commentary

Παχίπως is not attested elsewhere and may be a variant of Παχόμπως.³⁴

- The missing iota of Ἀρκίνος looks like a spelling mistake, which occurs sporadically with words ending in -ιος.³⁵

No. 39

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C14.Inscr.3

Measurements: c. L. 9, W. 186 cm

Height above the ground: c. 7 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Griff. Silsile* 202; *SB III* 6904; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 145; TM Text ID 54300

ΛΟΥΚΙΟCΓΑΙΟΥΧΡΗCΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ



c. 10 cm

1. ΛΟΥΚΙΟCΓΑΙΟΥΧΡΗCΤΕΧΑΙΡΕ
1. Λούκιος Γαίου χρηστὲ χαίρε
1. Lucius son of Gaius, worthy one, farewell!

Commentary

Lucius son of Gaius is one of the few clearly Latin names written in Greek at Gebel el-Silsila. As with **no. 37**, the formula used in epitaphs suggests that the text is a commemoration of a deceased person.

No. 40

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C14.Inscr.4

Measurements: c. L. 32, W. 79 cm

Height above the ground: c. 4.5 m

34 TM Name ID 24484, 32036. For the demotic of P3-*hm-p3-3*, see *DNb* 169. Attested in Greek only in *O. Ashm.* 73 l. 1 and *CPR* 10 34 l. 2.

35 See for example Πετοσίρος for Πετοσίριος; P. Tebt. 4 1144 Vo. Col. 3 l. 174.

Condition: L. 1 and 4 are well preserved, L. 2–3 are poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
 ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΩΝΚΑΙ
 ΦΑΡΩΝΨΑΙΣΑ
 ΠΑΙΔΑΡΙΟΙΣΙΕΡΑΚΙ

c. 10 cm

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΩΝΚΑΙ
3. ΦΑΡΩΝΨΑΙΣΑ[...]
4. ΠΑΙΔΑΡΙΟΙΣΙΕΡΑΚΙ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Στεφανίων και
3. Φάρων και Ψα[...]
4. παιδάριοις Ίέρακι
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Stephanion and
3. Pharon and Sa...
4. Hierax's boys

Commentary

L. 2: The fragmentary name *Στεφανίων*, which is in the nominative here, is rare in Egypt, and known only from three sources (TM Name 24012, P. Laur. 2 35 Ro l. 7, P. Mil. Vogl. 4 212 Ro col. 4 l. 12, P. Oxy. 27 2480 Ro col. 2 l. 10 and 23). However, it is a widely used name outside Egypt.³⁶

L. 3: The name *Φάρων* is a hapax. *Φαρίων* might have been intended, with the iota omitted, or *Ψάρων*, with the *Ψ* incorrectly written with a *Φ*. The two letters are often mixed up in the graffiti of Gebel el-Silsila. This latter, rare name is known only from later sources: *P. Strasb. Gr.* 9 849 col 16 l. 266 and *SPP* V 127 Fr. 11, l. 5.³⁷ However, *Φαρίων* seems to be a more likely interpretation as it is more often attested in and outside Egypt.³⁸

³⁶ LGPN II, IIA, IIB, VA, VB s.v. *Στεφανίων*.

³⁷ See TM Name 7507, NB 482.

³⁸ TM Name 3186, LGPN I and IV s.v. *Φαρίων*.

L. 4: For the name Hierax, see nos 21, 26 and 27.

No. 41

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C15.Inscr.1

Measurements: c. L. 50, W. 280 cm

Height above the ground: c. 13 m

Condition: Very well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
ΚΡΑΤΩΝΗΡΑΚΛΕΔΟΥ

c. 10 cm

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΚΡΑΤΩΝΗΡΑΚΛΕΔΟΥ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Κράτων Ἡρακλέδου
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Kraton son of Herakleides

Commentary

The text is well written with broken bar alphas. Iota has been omitted in Ἡρακλείδου (as in *O. Claud.* 3 556 l. 3, *P. Tebt.* 2 316 col. 4 l. 89).

No. 42

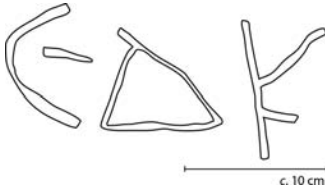
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C15.Inscr.2

Measurements: c. L. 10, W. 20

Height above the ground: c. 19 m

Condition: Fragmentary

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. EAK[---]

Commentary

The fragmented word is likely to be an abbreviation, as there are neither personal names nor words with this beginning. The text is interrupted by a fracture and partial collapse of the quarry face.

No. 43

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C15.Inscr.3

Measurements: L. 31, W. 63 cm (with demotic: L. 39, W. 106 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Fragmentary

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΠΑΧΟΥΣ

1. Πάχους

1. Pachous

Commentary

The fourth letter is here interpreted as a lunate sigma-like omicron. The text is preserved on a larger stone fragment that had collapsed from the quarry face and is partially covered by another large block that fell on top of it. Because of this and the problematic positioning of the text, the facsimile is slightly warped and it is possible that additional text is preserved on currently unreachable surfaces.

- Παχοῦς is otherwise only attested in P. Strasb. Gr. 2 125 l. 1, P. Ross. Georg. 5 53 col. 2 l. 1 and l. 12, (TM Name 24205). However, it is possible that this is a variant of the more popular Παχῶς (TM Name 4777).

No. 44

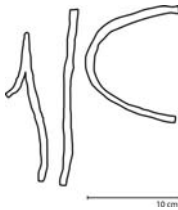
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C15.Inscr.3

Measurements: L. 19, W. 18.5 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Fragmentary

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. [---]MIC

Commentary

The text is preserved on a larger stone fragment that had collapsed from the quarry face.

No. 45

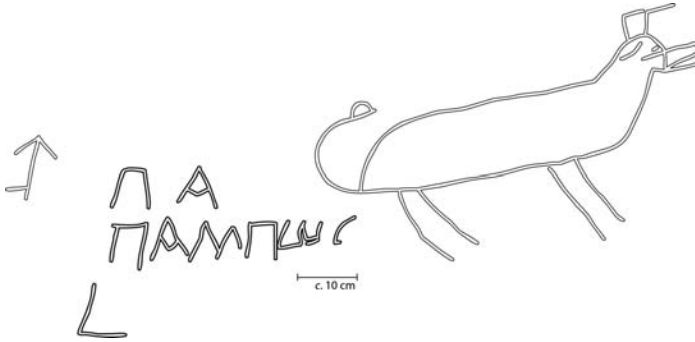
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C16.Inscr.1

Measurements: c. L. 25, W. 40 (with quarry marks: L. 50, W. 111 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 27 m

Condition: Poor

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. 2015, no. 2; *SEG* 65 1921; TM Text ID 701090



1. ΠΑ
 2. ΠΑΜΠΩΣ
 3. L
1. Πα(...)
 2. Πάμπως
 3. (ἔτους)
1. Pa(...)
 2. Pampos
 3. Year

Commentary

Line 1 is possibly an unfinished repetition of line 2.

L. 2: Πάμπως is not known from other sources and may be a hypocoristic form of a name like Παμπάχοις (also attested in graffito no. 25) or, more likely, Παχόμπως.³⁹

No number is provided for the year. The text is situated to the left of a canine depiction, and to the right of a harpoon. The same name is written in no. 46 (on the same height).

No. 46

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C17.Inscr.1

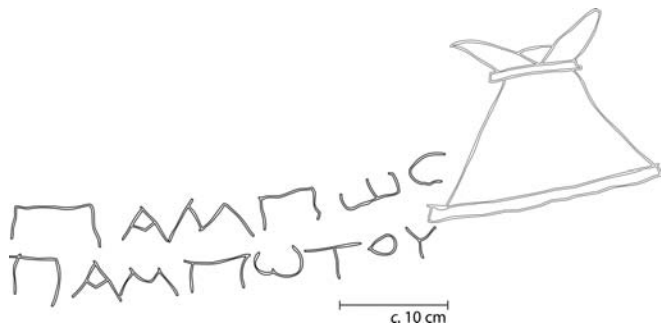
Measurements: c. L. 12, W. 40 cm (with horned altar: L. 25, W. 58 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 27 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. 2015, no. 3; SEG 65 1922; TM Text ID 701091

39 The Greek rendering of the Egyptian *P3-ḥm-p3-ʿ3* (DNb 169). On Παμ- as a variant of Παχόμ- see above no. 25.



1. ΠΑΜΠΩΣ
2. ΠΑΜΠΩΤΟΥ
1. Πάμπως
2. Παμπώτου
1. Pamos son of
2. Pampotes

Commentary

Neither Πάμπως nor Παμπώτης is known from other sources outside of Gebel el-Silsila. Cf. Πάμπως no. 25, above. This might be the same person as in the previous inscription.

The text is situated to the left of a horned altar.

No. 47

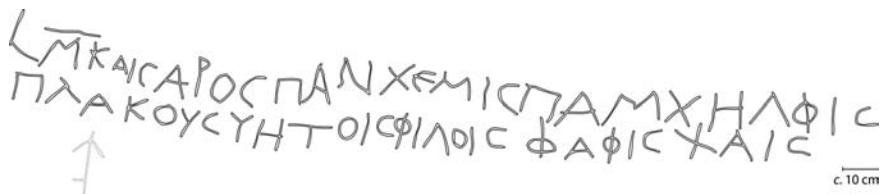
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C17.Inscr.2

Measurements: c. L. 25, W. 230 cm

Height above the ground: c. 24 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. [Μ]ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΠΑΝΧΕΜΙΣ ΠΑΜΧΗΛΦΙΣ
2. ΠΛΑΚΟΥΣΥΗΤΟΙΣ ΦΙΛΟΙΣ ΦΑΦΙΣ ΨΑΙΣ

1. (ἔτους) μ' Καίσαρος Πάνχεμις Πάμχηλφισ
2. Πλάκου σὺν τοῖς φίλοις Φᾶφισ Ψάις
1. Year 40 of Caesar. Panchemis (and) Pamchelphis
2. sons of Plakos with the good friends (of) Phaphis (and) Psais

Commentary

L. 1: Πάνχεμις may be a variant of Παμπχημίς⁴⁰ or Παχόμπχημις if we accept that Παν- was used here for Παχομ- as noted in many names in this part of the quarry.⁴¹

– There are no previous attestations of Πάμχηλφισ.

L. 2: Πλάκος may be a variant of Πλάκκος⁴² attested only in *O. Lund* 19, and possibly the Greek rendering of Latin Flaccus, which is usually written as Φλάκκος in and outside Egypt.⁴³

– The -η in σύν is the faulty writing of -ν.

– Φᾶφισ is a name variant of Φῶφισ, attested also in no. 34. The last two names are in the nominative instead of the grammatically correct dative.

– The first letter of the name Ψάις is badly executed and looks more like a chi-. A harpoon is situated below the initial alpha of L. 2.

No. 48

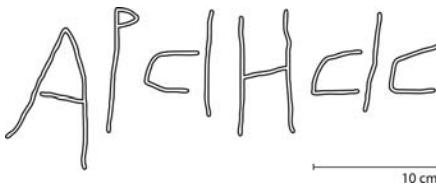
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C17.Inscr.3

Measurements: L. 13, W. 49 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1 m

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 199; *SB* III 6903; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 143; *TM Text* ID 54298



⁴⁰ TM Name ID 17283. E.g. *O.Edfou* 3: 411 l. 1; see especially *O. Strasb.* 1: 569; Παμπχημίς.

⁴¹ See above no 25.

⁴² TM Name ID 30301.

⁴³ TM Name ID 26135, LGPN I, II, VA, VB s.v. Φλάκκος.

APcIHcIc
 Ἀρσίησις
 Harsiesis

Commentary

Encircled in chalk and labelled as **no. 227** (a–b, referring to a nearby horned altar too).

No. 49

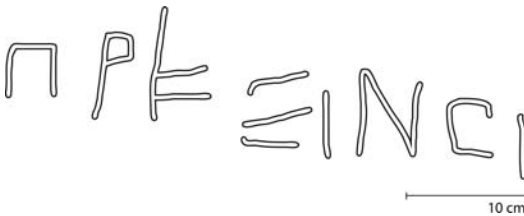
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C17.Inscr.4

Measurements: L. 9, W. 51.5 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΠΙΠΕΞΙΝΟΙ
1. Πρεξινοῖς
1. Prexinos

Commentary

The third letter may be a badly written epsilon used for an alpha.⁴⁴ The last letter is possibly a damaged sigma. Πράξινοϛ is to date known only outside Egypt.⁴⁵

No. 50

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C17.Inscr.5

Measurements: L. 6, W. 3 cm (with demotic L. 9, W. 14 cm)

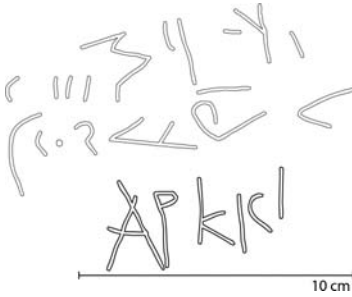
Height above the ground: c. 2 m

Condition: Poor

Bibliography: Unpublished

⁴⁴ On the interchange of alpha and epsilon see Gignac (1976: 278–282).

⁴⁵ See LGPN II, IIIA, VB s.v. Πράξινοϛ.



3. APKI..
1. ...Pa-hy
 2. [---] Hr-bht
 3. Ἀρκιν[ις](?)
1. (Dem.) ..Pachois
 2. [---]Horus of Behdet
 3. (Gr.) Harkinis

Commentary

The Greek line is scratched below a Demotic signature. The names are not the same, but the size of the scratch-mark is identical, and we can suppose that the same writing tool was applied for both texts.

No. 51

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C20.Inscr.1

Measurements: L. 6, W. 37 cm

Height above the ground: c. 2 m (measured from a ramp)

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. [---]ΑΜΙΟCΝΕΧΘΩΤΟΥ
1. [---]ἄμιος Νεχθώτου
1. [---]amios, son of Nechthotes

Commentary

The first part of the personal name is now missing due to extraction. Marked in chalk (= Legrain) as no 230.

No. 52

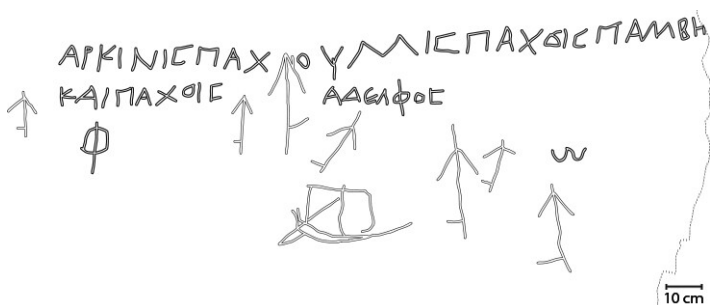
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C21.Inscr.1

Measurements: L. 18, W. 238 cm

Height above the ground: c. 3.5 m (measured from a ramp)

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 4); SEG 65 1923; TM Text ID 701092



1. ΑΡΚΙΝΙΣ ΠΑΧΟΥΜΙΣ ΠΑΧΟΙΣ ΠΑΜΒΗ[---]
2. ΚΑΙ ΠΑΧΟΙΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ
3. Φ Ω
1. Ἄρκινις Πάχουμις Πάχοις Παμβή[---]
2. καὶ Πάχοις^{vv} ἀδελφός
3. Φ(...) Ω(...)
1. Harkinis, Pachoumis, Pachoīs, Pambe[---]
2. and Pachoīs (his) brother
3. Ph... o...

Commentary

The inscription is surrounded by various quarry marks including seven harpoons and a boat. A large harpoon is situated in the centre of the inscription, filling the vacant space in line 2, and has divided the name Pachoumis—in line 1, it was likely carved prior to the signature.

The names are all in the nominative and are here interpreted as listed names without patronyms.

L. 1: The fragmentary name, Παμβη[---], may be Πάμβηκεις, which could be a variant of Παχόμβηκεις.⁴⁶ Πάχους may be the brother of Παμβη[---].

L. 3: There are only two individual Greek letters, Φ and Ω, in the last line. These may be abbreviations.

No. 53

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.D1.Inscr.1

Measurements: c. L. 20, W. 160 cm

Height above the ground: c. 29m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

ΟΥΤΕΥΡΙΟΣ ΜΙΜΙΘΟΥΣΙΤΟΜΕΤΡΟΣ
ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ

c. 10 cm

1. ΟΥΤΕΥΡΙΟΣ ΜΙΜΙΘΟΥΣΙΤΟΜΕΤΡΟΣ

2. ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ

1. Ουτέυριος⁴⁷ Μιμίθου σιτόμετρος

2. του Ἀπόλλωνος

1. (The *proskynema*) of Outeuris son of Mimithos, *sitometros* (grain-measurer official)

2. of Apollon(opolis)

Commentary

L. 1: Ουτέυρις is a variant of Ὀτέυρις.⁴⁷ Cf. **no. 54**.

– Μίμιθος or Μιμίθης is not previously attested in or outside Egypt, but the reading is secure. It may be a lallname or come from the word μιμητός ‘to be imitated, copied’, and could be a nickname.⁴⁸

– The title is in the nominative, although the name of the dedicator is in the genitive.

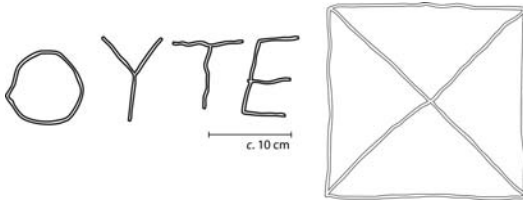
L. 2: Ἀπόλλωνος may be for Ἀπόλλωνος (πόλις), which means the grain-measurer official is from Edfu.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ TM Name ID 677, NB 262.

⁴⁷ TM Name ID 581, NB 245, for *Wd3-hr* see *DNb* 130.

⁴⁸ *LSJ* 1134.

⁴⁹ Similar abbreviation: BGU 6 1382 l. 2.

No. 54*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.D1.Inscr.2*Measurements:* c. L. 10, W. 35 cm (excluding the quarry mark)*Height above the ground:* c. 27 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. ΟΥΤΕ
1. Ὀυτέ(υρις)
1. Oteu(ris)

Commentary

Unfinished repetition of **no. 53**. The text is situated next to a crossed square.

No. 55*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.D1.Inscr.3*Measurements:* L. 12, W. 83 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 2.5 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* LD IV: 12, pl. 82 no. 193; *Graff. Silsile* 196; *SB* I, 4072; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 142; TM Text ID 54296

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑΩΡΙΩΝΟCΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
2. ΟΔΕΩCΕΙCΤΟ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα Ὁρίωνος Ἀπολλωνίου
2. ὄδε ὡς εἰς τό
1. The *proskynema* of Horion son of Apollonios
2. This one, as to the < >

Commentary

The stylistic differences between line 1, using square forms for c-sigma and omega, and line 2, using lunate forms for epsilon, c-sigma, and omega, combined with different tool technique indicate different hands. The second line might have been added later and was unfinished.

The text has been placed on a rubbed/flattened background. Line 1 is preserved with control lines (guiding lines) above and below the letters. Bernard (*I. Thèbes à Syène* 142) translated the second line 'Celui-ci (est venu) ainsi à cet endroit' and interpreted it as an hapax formula. However, the line is probably unfinished.

No. 56

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.D1.Inscr.4

Measurements: L. 6.5, W. 29 cm

Height above the ground: c. 3 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΚΥ
1. τὸ προσκύ(νημα)
1. The *proskynema*

Commentary

Unfinished *Proskynema*.

No. 57

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.D1.Inscr.5

Measurements: L. 18, W. 48 cm (with *tabula*: L. 19.5, W. 67 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: LD VI: 12, 82 no. 192; *Graff. Silsile* 195; SB I, 4071; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 141; TM Text ID 54295



1. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΙΩ
2. ΔΩΡΟΥΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤ
3. ΩΤΗΤΥΧΗΤΩΝΩΔΕ

1. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἴσι-
2. δώρου εὐχαριστ-
3. ᾧ τῇ Τύχῃ τῶν ᾧδε
1. Apollonios son of Isi-
2. doros. I thank
3. the Tyche of the ones here

Commentary

The text is situated within a *tabula ansata* with clearly defined horizontal rows.⁵⁰ The text is marked with chalk as **no. 233**. The same formula is known from Gebel el-Teir and was in use there from the 2nd century AD.⁵¹ Τῶν ᾧδε probably refers to the people working in the quarry.

No. 58

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.D1.Inscr.6

Measurements: L. 5, W. 9 cm

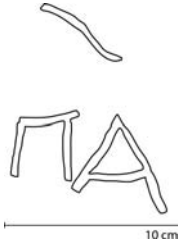
Height above the ground: c. 3.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

⁵⁰ The *tabula ansata* was used by the Roman period to frame all kinds of inscriptions and became very popular: cf. Leatherbury (2018: 384–385). Here in Silsila there are nine texts in *tabulae ansatae* (cf. n. 31).

⁵¹ Devauchelle-Wagner (1984: 34 II, 13).



1. ΠΑ

Commentary

The beginning of an unfinished word, possibly a personal name or an abbreviation.

No. 59

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.D5.Inscr.1

Measurements: L. 14 (incl. both lines), W. 19 cm

Height above the ground: c. 5

Condition: Poorly preserved/executed

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΠΑ
2. ΠΑΡΤΒΩCCAN[- -]
1. Πλ(...)
2. Πάρτβως Σαν[- -]
1. ΠΙ(...)
2. Partbos son of San[- -]

Commentary

Shallowly scratched and barely visible. The signature is situated above a horizontal control line. The first line seems to be an unfinished name or it might be an incorrect writing of the name in the second line.

L. 2: Πάρτβως is a variant of Παάρτβως, a name well known at Edfu.⁵²

No. 60

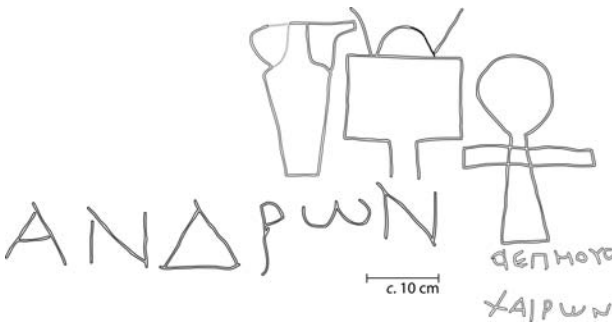
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F1.Inscr.1

Measurements: c. L. 10, W. 65 cm

Height above the ground: c. 19 m

Condition: Well preserved, in parts obscured by wasps' nests

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 148; *SB III* 6900; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 138; Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 5); *SEG* 65 1925; TM Text ID 54274



1. ΑΝΔΡΩΝ
1. Ἄνδρων
1. Andron

Commentary

Above the text is situated a series of quarry marks depicting a stone vessel, offering table and an ankh; and to its right is located **no. 61**. Cf. **no. 65**.

No. 61

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F1.Inscr.2

Measurements: c. L. 12, W. 20 cm

⁵² TM Name ID 7255; *NB* 251; for *P3-ḥm-rmt-tb*; see *DNb* 172–173. This variant is known from other sources: *O. Ont. Mus.* 2 284 l. 3, *SB IV* 7387 l. 3.

Height above the ground: c. 19 m

Condition: Well preserved, but poorly written

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 148; *SB* III 6900; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 138b; Nilsson et al. (2015; no. 6); *SEG* 65 1926; TM Text ID 54274



1. ΣΙΕΠΜΟΥΣ
2. ΧΑΙΡΩΝ
1. Σιεπμούς
2. Χαίρων
1. Siepmous
2. Chairon

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 148: [.]μους | [..]ειρω[...]; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 138b: [.]νμους | [..]ειρω[...].

L. 2: Χαίρων is in the nominative. *Graff. Silsile* 148: drawing is incorrect.

No. 62

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F1.Inscr.12

Measurements: c. L. 20, W. 145 cm

Height above the ground: c. 15 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΠΕΤΕΑΚΟΗΣ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΣ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Πετειακῆς Σαραπίωνος
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Peteakoes son of Sarapion

Commentary

The second line is larger than the first and the letters pi and alpha appear different. It is likely the two lines were written by two persons.

L. 2: Πετειακῆς cf. TM Name ID 23085, NB 310: The only example outside Silsila is *P. Palau Rib.* 44 l. 9. Nos 76, 116, 129, 144 are also dedications from Peteakoes but with different patronyms.

No. 63a

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F1.Inscr.16

Measurements: c. L. 30, W. 160 cm

Height above the ground: c. 15 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 143; *SB* III, 6898; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 136; Bingen (1990: 154); *SEG* 39 1675; Moje 2014 no. 24; TM Text ID 54268



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚ
2. ΥΝΗΜΑ
3. ΠΕΤΡΑΟΜΝΟΥΦΙΣ
4. ΚΤΗΣΩΝΟΣΠΡΟΣ [.] ΚΑΙΥΕΙΟΣΑΥΤΟΥ
5. ΑΤΗΣΑΜΩΝΟΣΘΕΟΥ
1. τὸ προσκ-
2. ὕνημα

3. Πετραόμνουφισ
4. Κτήσωνος προσ[τ]-
5. άτης Ἄμμωνος θεοῦ
- 5b. καὶ υειὸς αὐτοῦ
- 1–2. The *proskynema*:
3. Petraomnouphis
4. son of Kteson,
5. leader of the god Ammon, and his son

Commentary

The text is surrounded by various quarry marks, including stone vessels, ankhs, offering tables, a water lily and a key, as well as two Demotic texts (GeSE.Q34.F1.Inscr.14–15). The beginning of προσ[τ]άτης is written in line 4 and continues in line 5, while καὶ υειὸς αὐτοῦ is added later to line 4.

L. 3: Πετραόμνουφισ is attested only here and may be a variant of Πετεαρένσουφισ⁵³ or alternatively Πετερένουφισ, a name unattested in Greek to date.⁵⁴

L. 4: For Κτήσων cf. no. 155, with whom the person is identified.

No. 63b–c (Demotic)

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F1.Inscr.14–15

Measurements: b: c. L. 15, W. 70 cm; c: c. L. 15, W. 20 cm

Height above the ground: c. 15 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Griff. Silsile* 143; *Moje* 2014 no. 24; TM Text ID 54268



53 TM Name ID 836, *Dnb* 288–289, *P3-di-Iri-hms-nfr*. On the Greek name variants of the Egyptian name, where the form here is also listed, see Lanciers, (2016: 202 n. 97).

54 Cf. *Dnb* 287, *P3-di-Iri-nfr*.

63b.

1. *Pa-Min s; Pa-htr p; (s) n 'wi;¹*
1. Paminis, son of Phatres, chief of the divine bark.

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 143: 'Paminis, Sohn des Pa...'; Moje 2014 no. 24: *Pa-Min s; Pa-[...]*.

- The signs written after $\text{r}(s) n^{55}$ are damaged but the reading is secure.⁵⁶ The title *p; (s) n 'wi;¹* is not attested to date. However, similar titles: *rt n p; wi;¹* ('agent of the divine bark') and *nf wi;¹* ('skipper of a sacred bark') are known.⁵⁷

63c.

1. *P;-š'γ*
2. *pa P;-šr-Hnm*
1. Psais
2. son of Psenchnoumis

Commentary

The *pa* of line 2 was omitted in *Graff. Silsile* 143, and the name interpreted and translated without it as 'Agathodaimon, Psenchnumis' (also Moje 2014 no. 24). The *pa*-sign in line 2 presumably expresses the filiation.⁵⁸

No. 64

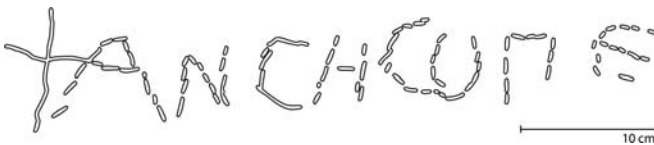
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F1.Inscr.20

Measurements: L. 9.5, W. 56 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m above a ledge floor

Condition: Poorly executed, and poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



55 *CDD* Letter $\text{r} 28$ —see also Cenival (1988: 2–6).

56 *CDD* Letter W 3–6.

57 See Vinson (1998: 23, 100, 121).

58 For discussion on the use of *pa* in filiation see: Vleeming (2011: 846–851).

1. ΨANCHΩΠΕ
1. Ψανσωνῶ(ς) Πε(...)
1. Psansno(s), (son of) Pe(...)

Commentary

The second -ν in the name Ψανσωνῶ(ς) looks rather like an eta. The abbreviated or unfinished patronym might be identified with Πετεπούηρις cf. **no. 83**.

No. 65

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.1

Measurements: c. L. 5 (letter size), W. 60 cm

Height above the ground: c. 21 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 10); *SEG* 65 1930; TM Text ID 701097



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

Commentary

Cf. **no. 60**. The name Ἀνδρέας, which is in the nominative here, was not previously attested at Gebel el-Silsila, but is well known from elsewhere in Egypt.⁵⁹

No. 66

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.7

Measurements: c. L. 8 cm (letter size), W. N/A

Height above the ground: c. 17 m

Condition: Poor

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. [---].ΩAC

Commentary

The beginning of the name is illegible due to bird droppings.

No. 67

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.10

Measurements: c. L. 40, W. 140 cm

Height above the ground: c. 11 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Letronne (1842: 156); *Graff. Silsile* 108; *SB III* 686g; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 107; *CIG III* 4856; Moje 2014 no. 22; TM Text ID 54234



1. ΠΡΕΜΠΟΥ
2. ΠΡΕΜΠΟΥΡΟΥΣ
3. ΠΑΟΡΑΥΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΤ
4. ΕΚ[-]ΩΝ ΑΜΜΩΝ ΘΕΟΥ
1. Πρεμπου(ρούς)
2. Πρεμπουρούς
3. Παοραύτος άρχιτ-
4. έκ[τ]ων Άμμ ων ν(ος) ννθεοϋ
1. Premprou(rous)
2. Prempourous
3. son of Paoraus, the
4. director of works of the god Ammon

Commentary

Line 2 is here considered to be the completed version of the unfinished name in line 1 rather than two different people.

L. 2–3: Both names, Πρεμπουρούς and Παοραύς, are attested only in Gebel el-Silsila. Πρεμπουρούς is also known from inscription **no. 84**. Παοραύς may be a variant of Παοραύς.⁶⁰ The text is written next to a series of quarry marks depicting an ankh, an offering table and a stone vessel. Below the text is the depiction of a Bes-mask.

Graff. Silsile 108 and *I. Thèbes à Syène* 107 do not include the Bes-mask in their facsimile.

No. 68

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.12

Measurements: L. 35, W. 170 cm

Height above the ground: c. 8 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 111; *SB III*, 6870; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 108; TM Text ID 54236



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΕΙΝΗΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ

2. ΑΡΠΑΗΣΙΣ

1. τὸ προσκύεινη(μα) Δημήτριος

2. Ἀρπάησις

1. The *proskynema*: Demetrios

2. (son of) Harpaesis

Commentary

L. 1: *Graff. Silsile* 111: τὸ προσκύ(νημα) εἰνη Δημήτριος.

– The word προσκύνημα is incorrectly written as προσκύεινη, in a different style and tool thickness to the name, likely produced later and by a different hand.

⁶⁰ TM Name ID 756; *DNb* 389; *Pa-r-r-w*.

L. 2: The father's name, Ἀρπάησις, is in the nominative.

No. 69

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.13

Measurements: L. 24 (max), W. 157 cm

Height above the ground: c. 7.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Gau (1822: pl. x, no. 11); Letronne (1948: 232–233, no. 157); *SB* V 8387; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 165; *CIΓ* III, no. 4845 and Add p. 1218, TM Text ID 88585.

1. ΤΟΠΡΑΝΝΟΥΦΕΙΝΣΑ
1. τὸ πρ(οσκύνημα) Ἄννούφεως Λ(...)
1. The *proskynema*: Annouphis (son of) L(...)

Commentary

Bernand incorrectly placed this text to the left of a large ankh inscribed with a demotic text inside (for the ankh and demotic text see *Graff. Silsile* 100 [the Greek text is omitted from the publication]), and with a smaller *ankh* to its left. The current signature, in fact, is situated a couple of meters away, separated by other marks and texts, and not connected with any large or small *ankh*-sign.

No. 70

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.14

Measurements: L. 3.5, W. 24 cm

Height above the ground: c. 9 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 7), SEG 65 1928; TM Text ID 701095

1. ANOYBIGΩNΠIP
1. Ἄνουβίων Πρ(εμπουροῦς)
1. Anoubion (son of) Pr(empourous)

Commentary

Based on the identical technique and style, the patronym is identified as that of no. 84: Prempourous.

No. 71

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.17

Measurements: L. 7, W. 71 cm

Height above the ground: c. 5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜ[.]
1. τὸ προσκύνημ[.]
1. The *proskynema*

Commentary

The text is situated between an ankh and a tree branch.

No. 72

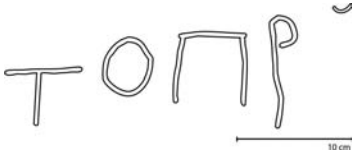
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.19

Measurements: L. 10, W. 22 cm

Height above the ground: c. 3 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 107; *SB III* 6968; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 106; TM Text ID 54233



1. TOΠPO
1. τὸ προ(σκύνημα)
1. The *pr(oskynema)*

No. 73

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.20

Measurements: L. 7, W. 32 cm (with ankh: L. 17, W. 46 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 2.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 105; *SB III* 6866; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 104; TM Text ID 54231



1. ΠΡΟΜΠ
1. Προμπ[---]
1. Promp[---]

Commentary

The *ankh*-signs here and in **no. 74** were interpreted in previous publications as part of the inscription and a replacement for τό (Ἔ) and the following letters were read as προ(σκύνημα) and the abbreviation of a personal name. See *Graff. Silsile* 105 Πρ(οσκύνημα) Μπ, and *I. Thèbes à Syène* 104 Ἔ προ(σκύνημα) ΜΠ. However, it is also possible that the inscription is an abbreviated name, a variant of a name starting with Πρεμ-.⁶¹ (Perhaps the same individual as **no. 74**).

In this case, including the ankh-sign, the text may be read as a symbolic “give life” formula, or as a male determinative, which supports our interpretation of the text as a signature (cf. no. 17).

No. 74

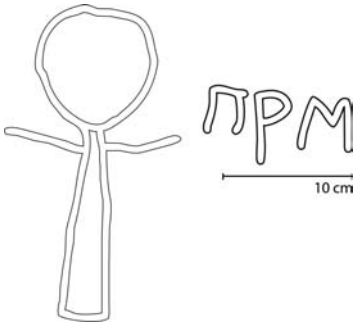
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.21

Measurements: L. 6, W. 13 cm (with ankh: L. 21, W. 27 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 2.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 106; *SB III* 6867; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 105; TM Text ID 54232



1. ΠΡΜ
1. Πρ(ο)μ(π---)
1. Pr(o)m(p---)

Commentary

Cf. *Graff. Silsile* 106: Ἰ Πρ(οσκόνημα) Μ; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 105: Ἰ πρ(οσκόνημα) Μ(-). Like the previous graffito, the text is here interpreted as an unknown personal name.

No. 75

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Insc.25

Measurements: L. 8, W. 24 cm

Height above the ground: c. 5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

61 Similarly to Πρεμ(...) *O. Wilcken* 2 1609 l. 2.



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣ
1. τὸ προσ(κύνημα)
1. The *pros(kynema)*

No. 76

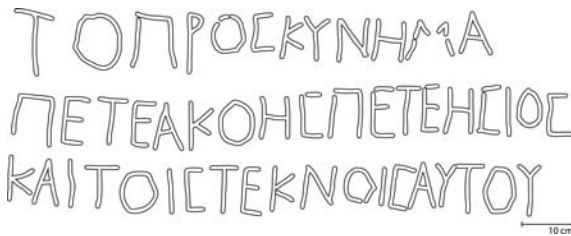
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.26

Measurements: L. 39, W. 107 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: LD VI, Taf. 82, no. 190; Letronne (1842: 154); *Graff. Silsile* 114; *SB III* 6871; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 109; *CIG III* 4898; TM Text ID 54238



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΠΕΤΕΑΚΟΗΣ ΠΕΤΕΗΣΙΟΣ
3. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Πετειακῆς Πετῆσιος
3. καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Peteakoes son of Peteesis
3. and his children

Commentary

The name Πετειακῆς is attested five times in Gebel el-Silsila (four individuals nos 62, 72, 116, 129, 144, one person appearing twice). The use of the dative in τοῖς τέκνοις is unexpected and it might mean (σὺν) τοῖς τέκνοις.

No. 77*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.27*Measurements:* L. 19, W. 62.5 cm (tabula: L. 27, W. 87 cm)*Height above the ground:* c. 1m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* *Graff. Silsile* 115; *SB* III 6872; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 110; *CIG* III 4854; *SEG* 41 1620; *SEG* 47 2137; *TM* Text ID 54239

1. ΕΞΩ .
2. ΠΕΤΕΧΝΟΥΜΙΣ
3. ΕΡΤΑΗΣΙΣ ΠΥΓ
1. ἔξω .
2. Πετέχνουμις
3. Ἐρτάησις ὕ πυγ(...)
1. Outside,
2. Petechnoumis (and)
3. Hertaesis ...

Commentary

L. 3: πυγ(...) is interpreted in *Graff. Silsile* 115; *SB* III, 6872; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 110 as a title, πυγ(ιστής), and this is supported by graffiti found elsewhere (see *SEG* 47 2137). However, it also can be an abbreviated name, Πυγ(...), possibly for Πύγχις.⁶²

No. 78*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.28*Measurements:* L. 24, W. 105.5 cm (tabula: L. 29, W. 133 cm)

⁶² *TM* Name ID 19441, *O. Mich.* 1 83 l. 12; *P. Mich.* 2 123 Ro col. 7, l. 40.

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: LD IV: Taf. 82, no. 191; Letronne (1842: 165); *Graff. Silsile* 116; *SB* III 6873; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 111; *CIG* III 4851; TM Text ID 54240



1. ΕΟΥΣ
2. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑΚΑΙΠΑΘ
3. ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥΛΟΝΓΕΙΝΟΥ
- 1-2. τὸ προσκύνημα καὶ Παθ᾽εοῦς
3. Ἀθηναίου Λονγείνου
- 1-2. a. The *proskynema* b. and Patheus
3. of Athenaios son of Longeinos

Commentary

As already clarified in *I. Thèbes à Syène* 111 (p. 89), following *Graff. Silsile* 116, there are three different hands represented in connection with the *tabula ansata*. Two (Bernard's "1re main" and "2e main") are situated within the *tabula* and incorporated here as **no. 78**, while the signature located below and outside (Bernard's "3e main") is catalogued individually as **no. 79**. The *proskynema* belongs to Athenaios, son of Longeinos, who used the lunate form for the alphas, compared with a traditional, straight bar alpha used by Patheus. There is also a slight difference in the thetas, as the Athenaios uses a somewhat squarer oval. A minor dissimilarity is also noted in the kappa: the main author produced lunate bars prior to the vertical stroke, creating one single sign; the second author engraved the vertical line first, followed by two detached bars. Similarly, the epsilon of the main author is attached to the lunate letter body, while the second author's central bar is detached. Παθεύς added his name later with a καί and there was no space in line 2 so he wrote the end of his name in line 1.

L. 1–2: The name Παθεούς is in the nominative here and probably a hitherto unknown variant of Πεθεούς / Πεταύς;⁶³ εούς is indent to far right to match the stone.

No. 79

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.29

Measurements: L. 4, W. 16.5 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Well preserved, but barely visible

Bibliography: LD IV: Taf. 82, no. 191; Letronne (1842: 165); *Graff. Silsile* 116; *SB* III 6873; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 111; *CIG* III 4851; TM Text ID 54240



1. ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ
1. Πλούτος
1. Ploutos

Commentary

The barge depicted below the *tabula ansata* was probably produced by the same hand as **no. 79** based on the style of engraving.

Πλούτος (which means ‘wealth’) is a rare name in and outside Egypt.⁶⁴

No. 80

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.30

Measurements: L. 14, W. 41 cm (tabula: L. 22.5, W. 67 cm)

⁶³ TM Name ID 897.

⁶⁴ Cf. TM Name ID 5162, LGPN: clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/name/Πλούτος.

Height above the ground: c. 1 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 117; *SB III* 6874; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 112; TM Text ID 54241



1. ΑΘΗΝΚΟΝ
2. ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΟΚ
1. Ἀθην(αίου) Κον-
2. καὶ[-]ραϊοκ
- 1–2. Athen(aios) and Konraios (?)

Commentary

The interpretation of the text is hypothetical. The dot on line 2 is here interpreted as indicating an abbreviation, likely joining with the second name begun in line 1.

This reading is in contrast to *Graff. Silsile* 117 and *I. Thèbes à Syène* 112: Ἀθηνίων | Καίριου. The current quarry face contains several unique examples of abbreviations practiced at the time.

L. 2: The last letter of the name may have been written mistakenly as a -κ. For the previously unattested name Konraios, cf. Konreis⁶⁵ or Κορραῖος attested only outside Egypt.⁶⁶

The text is situated within a *tabula ansata*.

No. 81

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.31

Measurements: L. 15, W. 49 cm (excluding partial tabula)

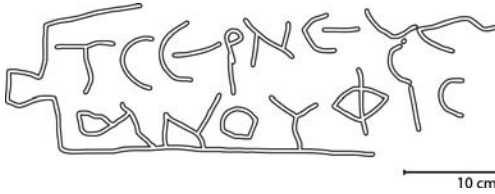
Height above the ground: c. 0.5 m

Condition: Somewhat eroded

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 118; *SB III* 6875; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 113; TM Text ID 54242

⁶⁵ TM Name 3698; *P. Count.* 19 l. 15.

⁶⁶ <http://clas-igpnz.classics.ox.ac.uk/name/Κορραῖος>.



1. TCEPNEYC
2. ANOYΦIC
1. Τσερνέυς?
2. Ἄνουφισ
1. Tserneus?
2. Anouphis

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 118: Περνεύς | Σανοῦφισ, *I. Thèbes à Syène* 113: Τσερνέυς | Ἄνουφισ.
 L. 1: The first name was read as Περνεύς in *Graff. Silsile* 118, and Τσερνέυς in *I. Thèbes à Syène* 113. The traces seem to be more suitable to Τσερνέυς, although the name is otherwise unattested. The signatures are placed within an unfinished *tabula ansata*.

No. 82

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.32

Measurements: L. 15, W. 82.5 cm

Height above the ground: c. 0.5

Condition: Somewhat eroded

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 119; *SB* III 6876; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 114; *CIΓ* III 4846; TM Text ID 54243



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣΛΟΓΙΝΟΥ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Ἀπελλᾶς Λογίνου

1. The *proskynema*:
2. Apellas son of Longinus

Commentary

A horizontal bar underlines **no. 82** and separates it from **no. 83**. Λογγίνος, is written with a single consonant. The name is also attested in **no. 78**.

No. 83

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.33

Measurements: L. 18, W. 116.5 cm

Height above the ground: c. 0.25 m

Condition: Somewhat eroded

Bibliography: Letronne (1842: 160); *Graff. Silsile* 120; *SB* III 6877; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 115; *CIG* III 4846; TM Text ID 54244



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΨΑΝΣΝΩΣ ΠΕΤΕΠΟΥΗΡΙΣ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Ψανσνῶς Πετεπούηρις
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Psansnos (son of) Petepoueris

Commentary

A vertical line, situated to the left, indicates the length of the text. The person is here identified with **no. 64**. The patronym is in the nominative.

No. 84

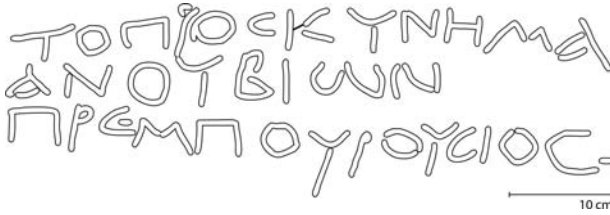
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.34

Measurements: L. 18, W. 44 cm

Height above the ground: c. 8 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Letronne (1842: 160); *Graff. Silsile* 125; *SB* III 6882; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 120; *CIG* III 4846; Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 8); *SEG* 65 1927; TM Text ID 54249



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
 2. ΑΝΟΥΒΙΩΝ
 3. ΠΡΕΜΠΟΥΡΟΥΣΙΟΣ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
 2. Ἄνουβίων
 3. Πρεμπουρούσιος
1. The *proskynema*:
 2. Anoubion
 3. son of Prempourousis

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 125 and *I. Thèbes à Syène* 120: τὸ προσκύνημα | [Ἀ]νουβίων | Πρεμπου-
ουσιος; Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 8): Πρεμπουσιουσιος.

L. 1: Note the mirrored rho in the word προσκύνημα.

L. 3: Recent, high resolution, improved photographs reveal the small rounded top of the eighth letter of the name Πρεμπούρουσις, forming a rho rather than an iota as it was interpreted earlier. The name is the combination of Πρεμ- (*p3- rmt*) and Πόρουσις (*P3- wrš*). Cf. also nos. 67, 138.

– The writing of the graffito is similar to no. 70, suggesting that the two were written by the same individual.

No. 85

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.35

Measurements: L. 24, W. 80 cm

Height above the ground: c. 8 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Letronne (1842: 161–162); *Graff. Silsile* 124; *SB* III 6881; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 119; *CIG* III 4849; TM Text ID 54248

ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
ΕΡΜΩΝΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
ΟΥ

10 cm

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΕΡΜΩΝΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
3. ΟΥ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Ἑρμῶν Ἀπολλωνί-
3. ου
1. The *proskynema*:
- 2–3. Hermon son of Apollonios

Commentary

L. 3 is indent to match the layout on the stone.

No. 86

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.36

Measurements: L. 8, W. 86 cm

Height above the ground: c. 7.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 123; *SB* III 688ο; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 118; TM Text ID 54247

ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ

10 cm

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
1. []τὸ προσκύνημα
1. []The *proskynema*

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 123 and *I. Thèbes à Syène* 118, place the adoration with the signature of no. 87. However, the handwriting of the two shows dissimilarities that sug-

gest two different hands. The distance between the two is another reason why they are treated as two separate texts here.

No. 87

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.37

Measurements: L. 23, W. 85 cm (including the second horizontal bar in L. 1)

Height above the ground: c. 7.5 m

Condition: Generally well preserved, but fragmented in places

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 123; *SB* III 6880; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 118; TM Text ID 54247



1. TO-[.....]-
2. ΜΑΠΑΦΧΑΝΘΗΣ
1. τὸ [προσκύνη]-
2. μα Παφχάνθης
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Paphchanthes

Commentary

The two horizontal bars, placed at each terminus of a fracture line at line 1 (indicated by the dotted, grey lines in the facsimile), may signify an abbreviation.

The name Παφχάνθης is not attested elsewhere.

No. 88

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.38

Measurements: L. 29, W. 45 cm

Height above the ground: c. 7.5 m

Condition: Generally well preserved, but eroded in places

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 122; *SB* III 6879; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 117; *CdE* 65, 154 no. 117; TM Text ID 54246



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝ
2. ΗΜΑΑΠ
3. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
4. ΟΣΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑ
5. ΔΟΥΠΡΟΣ
6. ΤΑΤΑ

1. τὸ προσκύν-
2. ημα {Απ}
3. Ἄπολλώνι-
4. ος Ἄσκληπιά-
5. δου προσ-
6. τάτα[ι]?

1. *Proskyn-*
2. *ema:*
3. Apolloni-
4. os son of Asklepia-
- 5-6. des, the leaders?

Commentary

L. 5-6: *Graff. Silsile* 122 '(ἔτους) ιθ'; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 117 '(ἔτους) ιθ Σ[εβαστοῦ Καίσαρος]'. *SB III* 6879 and *CdE* 65, 154 no. 117 question Bernard's reconstruction. These are obviously based on the incorrect facsimile.

- The word προστάται is either the plural nominative and refers to father and son with the same title, or an erroneous writing of προστάτου referring to the dedicator, Apollonios. (For the title προστάτης, see the introduction).

No. 89*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.40*Measurements:* L. 17, W. 58 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 5 m*Condition:* Generally well preserved*Bibliography:* *Graff. Silsile* 126; *SB III* 6883; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 121; *TM Text ID* 54250

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΠΛΑΤΩΝ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Πλάτων
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Platon

*Commentary*L. 2: *Graff. Silsile* 126: Πλάτων[ος], *I. Thèbes à Syène* 121: Πλάτω[ν].**No. 90***Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.41*Measurements:* L. 31, W. 167 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 5 m*Condition:* Generally well preserved*Bibliography:* Letronne (1842: 163); *Graff. Silsile* 121; *SB III* 6878; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 116; *CIG III* 4850; *TM Text ID* 54245



1. ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΗΡΩΝΟΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Ἕρωνος Πτολεμαίου
1. The *proskynema* of
2. Heron son of Ptolemaios

Commentary

The adoration is accompanied by an unfinished barge, located below the terminus of line 2.

No. 91

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.45

Measurements: L. 8, W. 79 cm

Height above the ground: c. 5 m

Condition: Generally well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 127; *SB III* 6884; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 122; TM Text ID 54253



ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ ΠΕΤΕΠΟΥΗΡΙΟΣ ΩΡΟΥ

τὸ προσκύνημα Πετεπούηριος Ὦρου

The *proskynema* of Petepoueris son of Horos

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 127; *SB III* 6884; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 122: τὸ προσκύνημα Πετεπούριος Ἦρου Πετεπούηρις.⁶⁷ Cf. no. 83.

67 TM Name ID 7923, with name variant 12991.

No. 92*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.47*Measurements:* L. 9, W. 26 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 4.5 m*Condition:* Poorly preserved (barely visible)*Bibliography:* Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 9); *SEG* 65 1929; TM Text ID 701096

1. EPMΩN
1. Ἑρμῶν
1. Hermon

Commentary

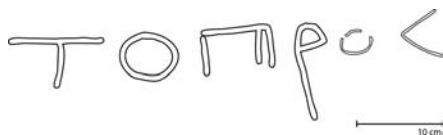
Based on the similar style and technique, and their close proximity, the person may be identified with **no. 85**, Hermon, son of Apollonios.

No. 93*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.48*Measurements:* L. 8, W. 17 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 4.5 m*Condition:* Generally well preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. TO
1. Το

Commentary

The line might be the beginning of an unfinished *proskynema*.

No. 94*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.51*Measurements:* L. 11, W. 25 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 4.5 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣ
1. τὸ προσ(κύνημα)
1. The *pros(kynema)*

Commentary

The pi was drawn with an extra vertical line.

No. 95*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.52*Measurements:* L. 45, W. 141 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 4 m*Condition:* Poorly preserved*Bibliography:* *Graff. Silsile* 128; *SB III* 6886; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 123; *TM Text 1D* 54254

1. ΤΕ
2. ΠΕΧΝΟΥΒΙΟΣ
3. ΠΑΜ..Ω
- 1-2. Πε᾽τεχνούβιος
3. Παμ..ω

- 1–2. (The *proskynema*) of Petechnoubis
 3. son of Pam[...]_o

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 128: Πεχνούβις | Π[...].

L. 2: Πεὔτεχνούβιος is in the genitive, which might reflect the act of adoration.

No. 96

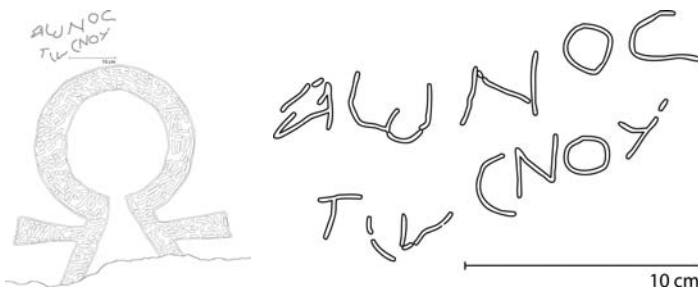
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.56

Measurements: L. 11, W. 18.5 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. [.]ΑΩΝΟC
 2. ΠΑCΝΟΥC
 1. [-]αωνος
 2. Πασνοῦ
 1. [.]aonos
 2. son of Pasnos

Commentary

The text is very problematic due to its poor state of preservation and quality of production. The surface is fragmented.

L. 2: The first letters of the patronym are here interpreted as a pi and alpha, but may equally have been a tau and omega, since the curved right bar of the first letter is separated from the body of the left letter. Since there are no attestations of any name with the beginning Τω-, Πασνωῶς is a more plausible alternative.

The signature is situated above a large ankh.

No. 97

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.60

Measurements: c. L. 12, W. 32 cm (excluding the ram)

Height above the ground: c. 12 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 131; *SB III* 6887; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 125; *TM Text* 1D 54257

ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
ΠΑΝΟΜΙΕΥΣ
ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ

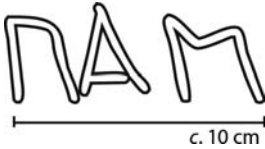
c. 10 cm



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΠΑΝΟΜΙΕΥΣ
3. ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Πανομιεύς
3. Ἄμμωνίου
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Panomieus
3. son of Ammonios

Commentary

The text is situated above a drawing of a ram, perhaps intended to emphasise the association with Ammon of the patronym. Cf. **no. 134**, plausibly the same person based on the style, technique and their close proximity on an equal level above the ground.

No. 98*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.61*Measurements:* c. L. 4, W. 10 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 13 m*Condition:* Well preserved, although fragmentary*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. ΠΑΜ[---]
1. Παμ[---]
1. Pam[---]

*Commentary*See the similar name in **no. 95**.**No. 99***Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.62*Measurements:* c. L. 9, W. 82 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 11 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 11); *SEG* 65 1931; TM Text ID 701098

1. ΟΡΣΕΝΟΥΦΟΣ ΠΑΧΝΟΥΒΙΟΣ
1. Ὀρσενούφ<ι>ος υἱ Παχνούβιος
1. (The *proskynema*) of Orsenouphis son of Pachnoubis

Commentary

Ὅρσενούφ(ι)ος is in the genitive and written without an iota. Πάχνουβις is a name variant of Πάχνουμις. Both are often attested at Gebel el-Silsila.

No. 100

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.63

Measurements: c. L. 12, W. 101 cm

Height above the ground: c. 11 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 134; *SB III* 6889; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 127; TM Text ID 54259



1. ΤΩΠΡΟΣΓΥΝΗΜΑCΑΝCΝΩΝ
2. ΨΕΝΠΟΥΗΡΙC
1. τὼ προσγ ὕνημα Σανσνῶν
2. Ψενπούηρις
1. The *proskynema*: Sansnos
2. (son of) Psenpoueris

Commentary

L. 1: τῷ is written for τός; προσκύνημα has a gamma instead of a kappa. *Graff. Silsile* 134; *I. Thèbes à Syène* no. 127: τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀμμώνιος.

- Σανσνῶν is the accusative form of the name Σανσνώς, instead of the expected genitive.
- Palaeographical details, especially the curved nu and the style of the omega, combined with the alteration to the definite article and the gamma for kappa, suggest that the three texts, nos 100–102, were written by the same hand.

No. 101*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.64*Measurements:* c. L. 11, W. 60 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 11 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* *Graff. Silsile* 136; *SB III* 6891; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 129; Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 14); *SEG* 65 1933; TM Text ID 54261

1. ΤΩ ΠΡΟΣΓΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟΣ ΔΡΑΚΩΝ
1. τῷ προσγύνημα
2. Ἄγαθίνος Δράκων
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Agathinos (son of) Drakon

Commentary

L. 1: τῷ is written for τό; προσγύνημα has a gamma instead of a kappa.

L. 2: See the commentary for no. 100. Identified with no. 105. The father's name is in the nominative.

No. 102*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.65*Measurements:* c. L. 12, W. 45 cm (above the current ground)*Height above the ground:* c. 10.5 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* *Graff. Silsile* 139; *SB III* 6894; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 132; Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 12); TM Text ID 54264.



1. ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟΣ
2. ΠΛΑΤΩΝ
1. Ἄγαθῖνος
2. Πλάτων
1. Agathinos,
2. Platon

Commentary

L. 1: On the facsimile, *Graff. Silsile* 139 interprets a natural strata break as a horizontal bar, reading the omicron for a theta, and incorrectly replaces the ending lunar sigma with an epsilon. As the second name is in the nominative, it may be a list of names rather than a name with patronym, in which case Agathinos might be identical with the Agathinos, son of Drakon whose signatures are nearby (cf. nos 101, 103, 105).

L. 2: The name Πλάτων is also attested in no. 70.

No. 103

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.66

Measurements: c. L. 7, W. 35 cm

Height above the ground: c. 13 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 13); *SEG* 65 1932; TM Text ID 701099



1. ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟC
1. Ἄγαθῖνος
1. Agathinos

Commentary

The name is often attested in Gebel el-Silsila with different patronyms. Cf. nos 101–102, 105.

No. 104

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.67

Measurements: c. L. 6, W. 54 cm

Height above the ground: c. 11 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΤΟΠΡΟCΓΥΝΗΜΑ
1. τὸ προσγύνημα
1. The *proskynema*

Commentary

προσγύνημα is written for προσκύνημα.

No. 105

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.68

Measurements: c. L. 17, W. 84 cm

Height above the ground: c. 11 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 135; *SB III* 6890; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 128; Nilsson et al. (2015; no. 15); *SEG* 65 1934; TM Text ID 54260



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΓΥΝΗΜΑ
 2. ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟΣ
 3. ΔΡΑΚΩΝΤΟΣ
1. τὸ προσγύνημα
 2. Ἄγαθίνος
 3. Δράκωντος
1. The *proskynema*:
 2. Agathinos
 3. son of Drakon

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 135, I. Thèbes à Syène 128: Ἄγαθίνος Δράκωντος omitting τὸ προσκύνημα.

L. 1: προσκύνημα is spelled with a gamma instead of the kappa. The same person's signature is also found in **no. 101**.

L. 3: Δράκωντος is written instead of the usual Δράκοντος.

No. 106

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.69

Measurements: c. L. 14, W. 88 cm

Height above the ground: c. 12 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΓΥΝΗΜΑ
 2. ΠΕΤΡΩΝΙΟΣ ΠΑΧΝΟΥΜΙΟΣ
1. τὸ προσγύνημα
 2. Πετ^ν ρώνιος^ν Παχνούμιος

1. The *proskynema*:
2. Petronios son of Pachnoumis

Commentary

L. 1: Only vague lines are preserved of the eta, and gamma is used instead of the kappa in the word προσκύνημα.

L. 2: Πετρώνιος is the Greek rendering of the well-attested Latin name, Petronius,⁶⁸ and it is written here in the nominative, after the word προσκύνημα. Interestingly, the father has an Egyptian name while the son's is Roman.

No. 107

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.71

Measurements: c. L. 7, W. 45 cm

Height above the ground: c. 10 m

Condition: Well preserved, although poorly executed

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΒΑΤΡΑΧΙΟ
1. Βάτραχος
1. Batrachos

Commentary

The last two letters are badly written. The scribe was clearly inexperienced. The name is rarely attested in Egypt,⁶⁹ but is well known outside Egypt.⁷⁰

No. 108

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.72

Measurements: c. L. 24, W. 280 cm

Height above the ground: c. 9 m

68 TM Name ID 5109; NB 321.

69 Cf. TM Name ID 2469.

70 Cf. LGPN I, II, IIIA, VA s.v. Βάτραχος.

Condition: Poorly preserved/fragmented

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 130; *SB* III 6886; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 124; TM Text ID 54256



ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗ
ΜΝΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ



ΡΙΟΥ

10 cm

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗ
2. ΜΝΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ(?)[---]ΡΙΟΥ
1. τὸ προσκύνη-
2. μ{ν}α^{vv} Ἀπολλῶ[νιος---]ρίου
1. The *proskyne*-
2. *ma*: Apollo[nios] son of [---]rios

Commentary

The surface with the central part of the text is fractured, causing a large lacuna. προσκύνημα is written incorrectly with a superfluous nu: προσκύνη{μ}να.
 – *Graff. Silsile* 130 and *I. Thèbes à Syène* 124: τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀπολλῶ[ν---]σιου, but the sigma is here read as a rho. The identification of the fragmentary name is uncertain.

No. 109

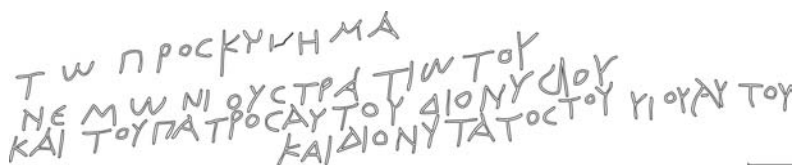
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.74

Measurements: L. 36, W. 184 cm.

Height above the ground: c. 7 m (horizontally parallel with no. 108, but accessed via higher ground)

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 132; *SB* III 6888; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 126; TM Text ID 54258



ΤΩ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
ΝΕ ΜΩ ΝΙ ΟΥΣΤΡΑ ΤΩ ΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ
ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ

10 cm

1. ΤΩ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
 2. ΝΕΜΩΝΙ ΟΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΟΥ
 3. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
 4. ΚΑΙΔΙΟΝΥΤΑΤΟΚΤΟΥΥΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΥ
1. τῶ^ν προσκύνημα
 2. Νεμωνί^{ου} στρατιώτου
 3. καὶ^ν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Διονυσίου
 4. καὶ Διονυτᾶτος τοῦ^ν υἱοῦ αὐ^ντοῦ
1. The *proskynema* of
 2. Nemonios the soldier
 3. and his father Dionysios
 4. and his son Dionytas

Commentary

L. 1: τῶ is written for τó. In previous editions: τó.

– The nu in the word προσκύνημα is not complete due to a surface fracture in the rock.

L. 4: *Graff. Silsile* 132; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 126: καὶ Διονυτᾶτος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐ[τ]οῦ.

No. 110

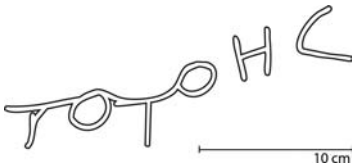
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.75

Measurements: L. 6, W. 23 cm

Height above the ground: c. 6.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 101; *SB* III 6862; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 100; TM Text 1D 54227



1. ΤΟΤΟΗΚ
1. Τοτόης
1. Totoes

*No. III**Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.76*Measurements:* L. 24, W. 103 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 6.5 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* *Graff. Silsile* 103; *SB III* 6864; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 102; TM Text ID 54229

1. ΠΕΤΕΧΝΟΥΒΙΟΣ
2. ΨΕΝΥΡΙΟΣ
1. Πετεχνούβιος
2. Ψενύριος
- 1a. *Pa-tw s; Thzwn*
1. (Gr.) (The *proskynema*) of Petechnoubis
2. son of Psenhuris
- 1a. (Dem.) Pates son of Theon

Commentary

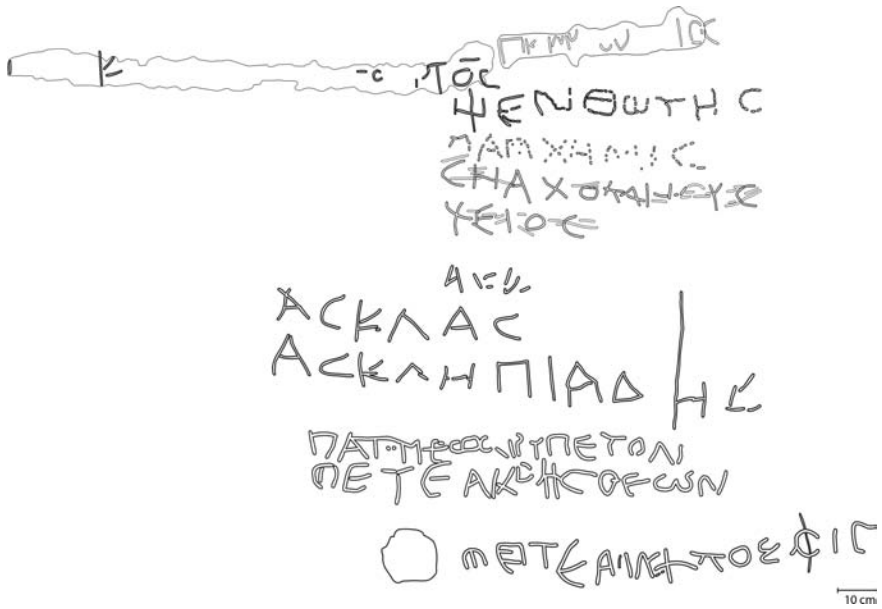
L. 1: The name Πετεχνούβιος is the genitive referring probably to the *proskynema* not written out here. In *I. Thèbes à Syène* 102 this was interpreted as a nominative: Πετεχνούβιος.

L. 1a: The Demotic and the Greek texts are not translations of each other, but seem to be written with the same chisel. *Graff. Silsile* 103: ‘Patus, Sohn des zwn’.

– *Thzwn* is the Demotic rendering of the Greek name Theon.⁷¹

⁷¹ For a similar writing see *DNb* 1290.11.

No. 112–117 (Facsimile Overview)



No. 112

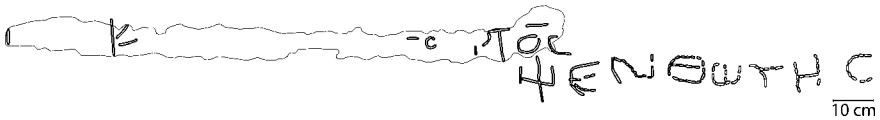
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.79–80

Measurements: L. 8, W. 120 cm

Height above the ground: c. 6 m

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. [---]K[---]C[---]TOC
2. ΨΕΝΘΩΤΗΣ
1. [τὸ προσ]κ[ύνημα?---]τος
2. Ψενθώτης
1. [The *pros*]κ[ynema of---]tos
2. (son of) Psenthotes

Commentary

Line 1 was intentionally erased during antiquity.

No. 113

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.81

Measurements: L. 6, W. 69 cm

Height above the ground: c. 6 m

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 16); *SEG* 65 1935; TM Text ID 701100



1. ΠΑΠΧΗΜΙΣ
1. Πάπχημις
1. Pamchemis

Commentary

It is possible that this is part of one of the inscriptions situated either above or below, but without a clear connection it is treated separately. Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 16) erroneously labelled it as inv.no. 89.

- The third letter of the name Πάπχημις can be either a pi or a nu. It is not attested elsewhere but it can be the variant of Πάμπχημις.⁷²

No. 114

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.82

Measurements: L. 21, W. 84 cm

Height above the ground: c. 5.5 m

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 16); *SEG* 65 1935; TM Text ID 701100

⁷² TM Name ID 17283. Cf. O. Strasb. 1 569 l. 5.



1. CHAXOMNEYC
2. ΨΕΙΟC
1. Σναχομνεύς
2. Ψεῖος
1. Snachomneus
2. Pseios

Commentary

The text was erased during antiquity, perhaps due to the bad execution.

L. 1: The second letter of the name Σναχομνεύς is not an eta but a badly written nu (as the sloping crossbar suggests). The reading of the name is uncertain.

L. 2: Ψεῖος may be a variant of Ψεῖος/Ψέεις.⁷³ Nilsson et al. (2015; no. 17) incorrectly listed it as inv. no. 90.

No. 115

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.83

Measurements: L. 44, W. 132 cm

Height above the ground: c. 5.5 m

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 141; *SB III* 6896; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 134; Nilsson et al. (2015; no. 17); *SEG* 65 1936; TM Text ID 54266



1. ACK
2. ACKΛAC
3. ACKΛΗΠΙΑΔ HC
 1. Ἄσκ(λάς)
 2. Ἄσκλάς
 3. Ἄσκληπιάδης
1. Ask(las)
2. Asklas
3. Asklepiades

Commentary

L. 1: is omitted in *Graff. Silsile* 141; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 134; *SB* III 6896. It is an incomplete repetition of line 2. *Graff. Silsile* 141; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 134: Ἀσκλη[πιάδης] Ἀσκληπιάδης. Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 17) incorrectly listed it as inv. no. 91.

L. 2: The name Ἀσκλάς could be the diminutive of Ἀσκληπιάδης (cf. Masson 2000: 299–302). Rather than assuming that this is a son and father, we could simply have an attempt by one individual to record his name in its different permutations (Asklas, Asklepiades).

No. 116

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.84

Measurements: L. 17.5, W. 113 cm

Height above the ground: c. 5 m

Condition: Very poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΠΑΤΜΕΩΣ...ΥΠΕΤΟΝ
2. ΠΕΤΕΑΚΟΗΘΕΩΝ
 1. Πατμέσως...υ Πέτον
 2. Πετακόης Θεών
1. Patmesos (son of) [---]? Peton
2. Peteakoes (son of) Theon

Commentary

Very poorly executed.

L. 1: Πατμεσίως may be the variant Πατμεσίως, a possible Greek rendering of the Egyptian name *Pa-t3-msy-ʿ3.t*.⁷⁴ The name is not otherwise attested to date in Greek, but Τμεσίως,⁷⁵ for *T3-msy-ʿ3.t*⁷⁶ is well-known.

– Πέτον might be a variant of the name Πέτων.⁷⁷ The signs between the two names are illegible.

L. 2: The father's name, Θέων, is in the nominative.

No. 117

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.85

Measurements: L. 13, W. 112 cm

Height above the ground: c. 5 m

Condition: Generally well preserved, but poorly produced

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΠΕΤΕΑΙΑΧΝΟΥΦΙΚΙ
1. Πετεα...ο.φι.
1. Petearsnouphis?

Commentary

The text is poorly executed and some letters are hardly legible. A possible reading is Πετεάρσνουφικς.

A circular mark, filled with percussion marks, is located to the left of the text.

⁷⁴ *DNb* 423.

⁷⁵ TM Name ID 13599; *NB* 441.

⁷⁶ *DNb* 1066.

⁷⁷ TM Name ID 5126; *NB* 322.

No. 118–121 (*Facsimile Overview*)

No. 118

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.87

Measurements: L. max 14, W. 187 cm

Height above the ground: c. 6 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 137; *SB III* 6892; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 130; TM Text ID 54262

1. ΤΟ
2. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ ΕΡΜΩΝ ΚΡΑΤΙΝΟΥ
1. {τὸ}
2. τὸ προσκύνημα Ἑρμῶν Κρατίνου
1. {the}
2. The *proskynema*: Hermon son of Kratinos

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 137, *I. Thèbes à Syène* 130: 2. τὸ προσκύνημα Ἑρμοῦ Κρατίνου.

The final letter of the personal name is here interpreted as a nu rather than an upsilon. This provides the reading Hermon.

No. 119

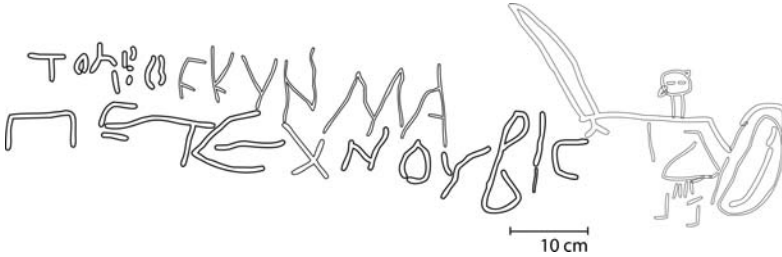
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.88

Measurements: L. 11, W. 46 cm

Height above the ground: c. 5.5 m

Condition: Well preserved, but poorly produced

Bibliography: Graff. *Silsile* 142; *SB* III 6897; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 135; *TM Text* 1D 54267



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΜΑ
2. ΠΕΤΕΧΝΟΥΒΙΣ
1. τὸ πρόσκυμμα
2. Πετέχνουβις
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Petechnoubis

Commentary

While previous publications have listed five lines of text, with two more individuals, we have divided them as separate signatures (**nos 119–121**) based on the palaeographic differences and that there are no obvious indications of connection. The adoration is here interpreted as belonging to Πετέχνουβις, to which a depiction has been added of a Roman soldier with avian face features, holding a sword and shield.

– πρόσκυμμα seems to be a phonetic variant here that is also attested in no. 176.

No. 120

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.89

Measurements: L. 6, W. 126 cm

Height above the ground: c. 5 m

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: Graff. *Silsile* 142; *SB* III 6897; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 135; *TM Text* 1D 54267

ΨΕΝΚΟΥΤΕΝΚΙΟC ΟCΟΥΧΙΟΥC

1. ΨΕΝΚΟΥΤΕΝΚΙΟC ΟCΟΥΧΙΟΥC
1. Ψενσουτένσιος^{νν} ΟσοτυχιούC
1. (The *proskynema*) of Psensoutensis son of Osotychieis

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 142, I. Thèbes à Syène 135: Ψενιουτεήσιος, Σοθη[ύC]. The ninth letter of the first name was interpreted as an eta by Preisigke and Bernand but it is similar to the third letter, which is clearly a nu. The fourth letter is here read as a lunate sigma. The reading of the patronym's sixth letter as chi rather than psi is based on a palaeographical comparison with the main person's first letter. None of the names is previously recorded and the reading is therefore uncertain.

No. 121

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.90

Measurements: L. 16, W. 80 cm

Height above the ground: c. 4.5 m

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile 142; SB III 6897; I. Thèbes à Syène 135; TM Text ID 54267*

ΠΕΤΕΙΕΝΩΤΗC
ΨΕΝΧΝΟΥΒΙC

1. ΠΕΤΕΙΕΝΩΤΗC
2. ΨΕΝΧΝΟΥΒΙC
1. Πετειενώτης
2. Ψένχνουβ(ιC)
1. Peteienotes
2. (son of) Psenchnoubis

Commentary

L. 1: *Graff. Silsile* 142 Πετε[..]τώτης | ιε..ο..δ; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 135: Πετε[αρ]τώτης | ιε..ο..δ.

– Πετεενώτης might be an erroneous writing of Πετενεφώτης. The same name appears in no. 122.

L. 2: The last two letters are interchanged and written as -σι instead of -ις in the name Ψένχνουβις, which is in the nominative here.

No. 122

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.93–94

Measurements: L. 17.5, W. 86 cm

Height above the ground: c. 4 m

Condition: Generally well preserved; eroded in parts

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 140; *SB III* 6895; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 133; TM Text ID 54265



- | | |
|----|----------------------------------|
| 1. | ΠΕΤ |
| 2. | ΠΕΤΕΝΕΦΩΤΗΚΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΣ |
| 1. | {Πετ} |
| 2. | Πετενεφώτης Λυσίμαχος |
| 1. | {Pet} |
| 2. | Petenephotes (son of) Lysimachos |

Commentary

L. 1: The line contains an unfinished name: it might be the same as in line 2. It does not appear in the previous publications.

L. 2: *Graff. Silsile* 140, *I. Thèbes à Syène* 133: Πετενηφώτη(ς) Λυσίμαχος. The father's name is in the nominative.

No. 123

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Insr.98

Measurements: L. 30, W. 142 cm

Height above the ground: c. 3 m

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 102; *SB III* 6863; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 101; TM Text ID 54228

ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ ΠΑΧΡΑΤΗΣ
ΠΑΤΗΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΝΩΣΦΙ
ΥΙΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ

10 cm

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑΠΑΧΡΑΤΗΣ
2. ΠΑΤΗΤΟΣΚΑΙΟΝΝΩΣΦΙ[-]
3. ΥΙΩΣΑΥΤΟΥ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα Παχράτης
2. Πατήτος καὶ Ὀννωσφι
3. υἱὸς αὐτοῦ
1. The *proskynema*: Pachrates
2. son of Pates, and Onnopris
3. his son

Commentary

L. 2: The second name, Ὀννωσφι may be an erroneous writing of Ὀννωφρις. *Graff. Silsile* 102 and *I. Thèbes à Syène* 101: 2–3. Πατήτος καὶ οἱ ...φ | οντες αὐτοῦ.

– The second nu in the name Ὀννωσφι looks like an eta.

L. 3: The word υἱός is badly executed and written with an omega.

No. 124

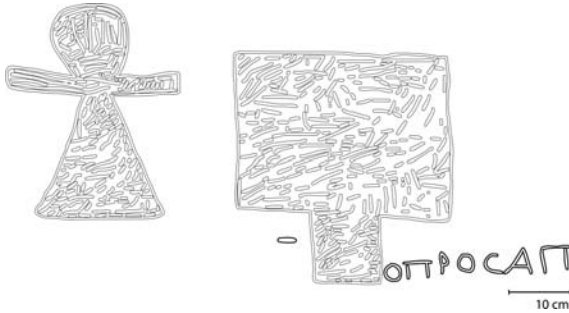
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.99

Measurements: L. 4, W. 30 cm

Height above the ground: c. 2.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΟΠΡΟΣΑΠ
1. [τ]ὸ προσ(κύνημα) Ἄπ(...)
1. The *pros(kynema)* of Ἀπ(...)

Commentary

It is possible that the writer used the offering table as a large tau. The adoration is abbreviated. The name, Ἄπ(...), for which there are many possible extensions including Ἄπ(ολωνίου), remained unfinished (alternatively in an abbreviated form, as in several other texts on this quarry face). The interpretation of the line is not certain.

No. 125

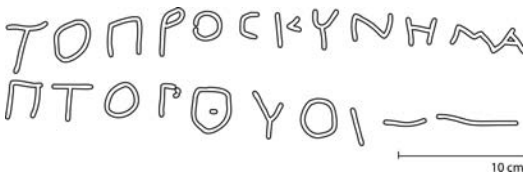
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.102

Measurements: L. max 10, W. 44 cm

Height above the ground: c. 2 m

Condition: Poorly preserved and overall eroded

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 95; *SB III* 6860; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 98; TM Text ID 54222



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΠΤΟΡΘΥΟΙ — —
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Πτορθυοί[...]

1. The *proskynema* of
2. Ptorthyoios?

Commentary

L. 2: *Graff. Silsile* 95: Πτορθύθι..., *I. Thèbes à Syène* 98: Πτόρθυ(ος). The name is not otherwise attested. A double outlined offering table is situated to the right, and there are three unrecognised signs arranged vertically on the left.

No. 126

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.105

Measurements: L. 17, W. 49 cm (with tabula: L. 23, W. 60 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

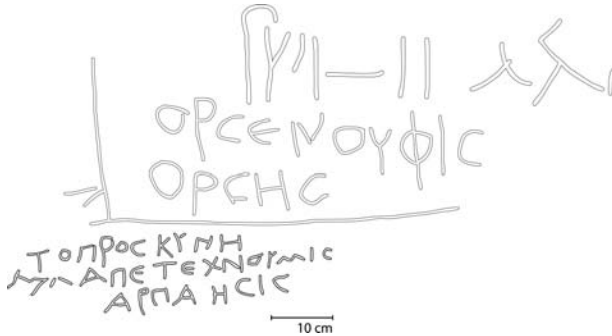
Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 93; *SB III* 6858; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 96; *Moje 2014* no. 11, TM Text ID 54220



1. ΟΡΣΕΝΟΥΦΙΣ
2. ΟΡΣΗΣ
- 1a. *Wrš-ḥfr*
 1. Ὀρσένουφισ
 2. Ὀρσῆς
- 1a. (Dem.) Orsenouphis
 1. (Gr.) Orsenouphis
 2. (son of) Orses

Commentary

The text is situated in an unfinished *tabula ansata*. Line 1a is the demotic repetition of the person's name (*Wrš-ḥfr*), located above the Greek text. The patronym is in the nominative.

No. 127*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.106*Measurements:* L. 13, W. 42 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 1.5 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* *Graff. Silsile* 92; *SB III* 6857; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 95; *Moje* 2014 no. 12; TM Text ID 54219

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗ
 2. ΝΜΑΠΕΤΕΧΝΟΥΜΙΣ
 3. ΑΡΠΑΗΣΙΣ
1. τὸ προσκύνη-
 2. νμα Πετέχνουμις
 3. Ἄρπάησις
1. The *proskynema*:
 2. Petechnoumis
 3. (son of) Harpaesis

Commentary

L. 2: προσκύνημα is written with a superfluous nu. (*Graff. Silsile* 92; *SB III* 6857; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 95: προσκύνημα).

L. 3: the father's name is not in the genitive.⁷⁸

No. 128*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.107*Measurements:* L. 19, W. 60 cm

⁷⁸ Cf. *I. Akoris* 78; *SB I* 60.

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 94; *SB III* 6859; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 97; TM Text ID 88455

ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
ΠΑΟΥΣ ΑΡΚΟΝΗΣΙ

10 cm

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΠΑΟΥΣΑΡΚΟΝΗΣΙ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Παύς Ἄρχωνησι
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Paous, (son of) Harkonesi(s)

Commentary

I. Thèbes à Syène 97: Παύς Ἄρχωνησι.

L. 1: προσκύνημα for προσκύνημα.

L. 2.: The father's name, Ἄρχωνησι is the undeclined form of Ἄρκονησις.

No. 129

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.109

Measurements: L. 12.5, W. 49 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Letronne (1842: 166); *Graff. Silsile* 96; *SB III* 6861; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 99; *CIG III* 4855; TM Text ID 24989

ΛΓ ΠΕΤΕΑΡΕΝΟΥΩΙΣ
ΠΕΤΕΑΚΟΗΣ

10 cm

1. [ΓΠΕΤΕΑΡCΝΟΥΩΙC
2. ΠΕΤΕΑΚΟΗC
1. (ἔτους) γ' Πετεάρσνου(φ)ίς
2. Πετεακός
1. Year 3, Petearsnouphis
2. (son of) Peteakoes

Commentary

As already suggested by Bernand, the date belongs to the reign of Tiberius, i.e. year AD 16/17—which is supported by newly excavated archaeological evidence.

L. 1: The vertical line of the phi in the name Πετεάρσνουφίς is missing and the letter looks rather like an omega. The patronym is in the nominative. Same individual as **no. 144**.

L. 2: *Graff. Silsile* 96: Πετεαροήρ[ίος].

No. 130

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.Inscr.110

Measurements: L. 13, W. 86 cm

Height above the ground: c. 0.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

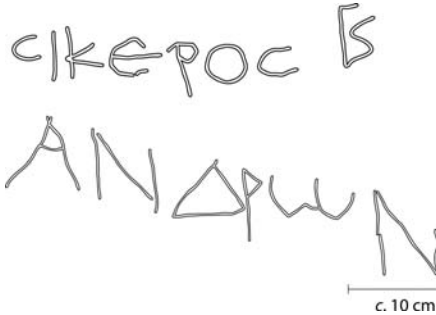
Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 104; *SB III* 6865; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 103; TM Text ID 54230



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
1. The *proskynema*

Commentary

The adoration is situated to the right of an offering table and above an ankh and a canine figure.

No. 131*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.4*Measurements:* c. L. 20, W. 45 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 18 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. CIKEPOC [.]
2. ANΔPΩN
1. Σίκερος [.]
2. Ἄνδρων
1. Sikeros [.]
2. Andron

Commentary

Line 1 and line 2 were written in different hands, so we cannot assume any relationship between the two individuals.

L. 1: There are no other attestations for the name Σίκερος, but it may be a form of Σίγηρις⁷⁹ and Σίχηρις,⁸⁰ name variants of Σιούηρις.⁸¹

The writing of the name Ἄνδρων is almost identical with **no. 60**.

No. 132*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.5*Measurements:* c. L. 5, W. 20 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 17 m

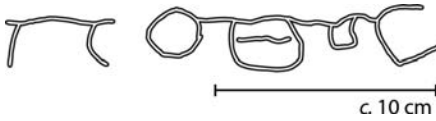
79 TM Name ID 4497; NB 383.

80 P. Mich. v 226 l. 42 = ZPE 197 (2016: 197).

81 Sy-wr DNB 901.

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 18); *SEG* 65 1937; TM Text ID 701101



1. ΠΟΘΟΣ
1. Πόθος
1. Pothos

Commentary

The pi is written in a slightly cursive, lunate style. Πόθος is known only from three sources in Egypt.⁸²

No. 133

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.8

Measurements: c. L. 15, W. 115 cm

Height above the ground: c. 13.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 19); *SEG* 65 1938; TM Text ID 701102



1. ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞΠΑΤΑΣ
1. Ἑρμώναξ Πατάς
1. Hermonax, (son of) Patas

Commentary

The text is well written with broken-bar alphas. Ἑρμώναξ is a rare name (TM Name ID 4491).

⁸² TM Name ID 5254; *O. Bodl.* 1 123, *P. Oxy.* 4 742, *P. Giss.* 1 59.

The last letter of Πατάς is ligatured and partly damaged. It is in the nominative.

No. 134

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.11

Measurements: c. L. 7.5, W. 55 cm

Height above the ground: c. 11 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
ΠΑΝΟΜΙΕΥΤΟΣΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ

c. 10 cm

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΠΑΝΟΜΙΕΥΤΟΣΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Πανομιεύτος Ἀμμωνίου
1. The *proskynema* of
2. Panomieus son of Ammonios

Commentary

This is likely to be the same person as in **no. 97**. The text is situated below a shallowly etched stone vessel.

No. 135

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.16

Measurements: c. L. 15, W. 105 cm

Height above the ground: c. 12.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΤΩΠΡΟΚΗΝΗΜΑ
2. ΕΥΑΝΘΗΣΠΑΧΝΟΥΜΙ
1. τὼ προκήνημα
2. Εὐάνθης Πάχνουμι
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Euanthes (son of) Pachnoumis

Commentary

L. 1: τὼ is written for τό, and προκήνημα for προσκύνημα.

L. 2: Εὐάνθης is a Greek name attested only in few sources in Egypt.⁸³

– Πάχνουμι is in the dative rather than the expected genitive.

Horizontal guidelines have been used to control the positioning of the letters.

A series of quarry marks showing a stone vessel, offering table and an ankh are situated above the text. The patronym is in the nominative.

No. 136

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.18

Measurements: c. L. 5, W. 20 cm

Height above the ground: c. 12 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

83 TM Name ID 3061.

1. ΤΩΠΡΟΚΥ
1. τὼ προκυ
1. The *prosky(nema)*

Commentary

τὼ is written for τό. προκυ read προσκύνημα. The rho was initially written as a superscript omicron and with the vertical bar incorrectly placed to its right. The upsilon is only shallowly etched compared to the other letters.

No. 137

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.19

Measurements: L. 9.5, W. 52 cm

Height above the ground: c. 5.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗ
1. τὸ προσκύνη(μα)
1. The *prosky(nema)*

Commentary

The text has been filled and marked (by Legrain) as no. 17 in chalk. The bar of the rho is incorrectly written on the right-hand side.

No. 138

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.20

Measurements: L. 9 (with offering table: L. 11), W. 151 cm

Height above the ground: c. 5 m

Condition: Well preserved in the termini, but the central part is badly damaged due to bird droppings.

Bibliography: Unpublished



- C
1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑΠ ΜΠΟΥΡΟΥΣ ΠΑΟΡΑΥΤΟ
ΕΑ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα Π[ρε]μπουροῦς ὕ Παοραῦτοῦς'
1. The *proskynema*: Prempourous son of Paoraus

Commentary

The kappa and nu in the *proskynema* are joined by shallow lines creating an offering table that underlines the nature (adoration) of the inscription. Lack of space has forced the writer to place the terminal lunate sigma on top of the omicron in the patronym. The text has been marked in chalk as no. 16.

- Π[ρεμ.]πουροῦς attested only in Gebel el-Silsila and **no 67** is written by the same individual.

No. 139

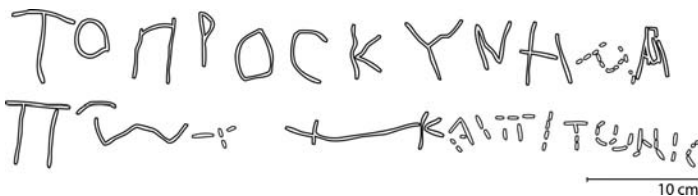
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.21

Measurements: L. 11, W. 54 cm

Height above the ground: c. 3.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΠΩ[---]ΚΑΙΠΙΤΩΝΙΣ

1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Πω[---] καὶ Πίτωνις?
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Po[---] and Pitonis?

Commentary

L. 2: The line is very fragmentary and a possible reading is Πίτωνις, which is attested only here. Another possibility is Καιπίτωνις, which might be a variant of the Latin Capitonius, attested often outside Egypt. Both options are just possibilities.

No. 140

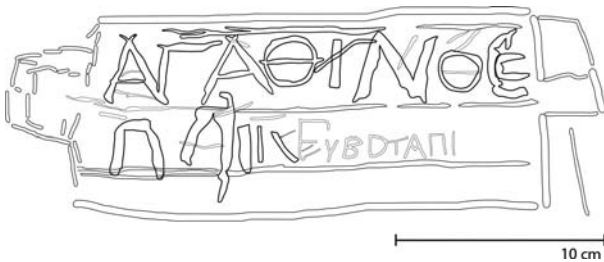
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.23

Measurements: L. 8, W. 21 cm (with *tabula*: L. 10, W. 28 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 1 m

Condition: Well preserved in parts; levels of superimpositions

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 91; *SB III* 6856; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 94; TM Text ID 54218



1. ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟΣ
2. ΠΑΙΣ ΕΥΒΟΤΑ ΠΙ
1. Ἀγαθίνος
2. Πάις Εὐβότα(ς) Πι[---]
1. Agathinos
2. (son of) Pais (and) Eubota(s) Pi[---]

Commentary

The text is in two hands, the first (Line 1–2) “Agathinos, (son of) Pais” and the second (Line 2) “(and) Eubota(s) Pi[---]”. The letters of the second author are smaller and scratched. Previous publications omit the second text. *Graff. Silsile*

91: Ἀγαθῖνος; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 94: Ἀγαθῖνος | ΠΙΙΙ<...>.

– Εὐβότα(ς) may be a variant of the Greek Εὐβάτα(ς) (known from Ptolemaic sources⁸⁴).

The text is situated within a *tabula ansata* and the lines are separated by horizontal control lines.

No. 141

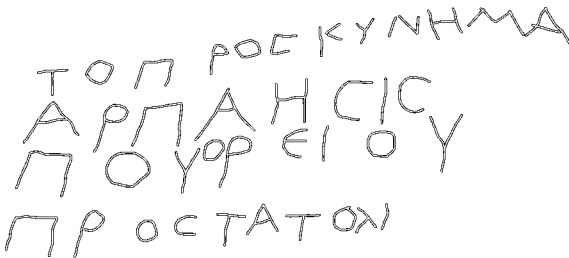
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.24

Measurements: L. 58, W. 132 cm

Height above the ground: c. 4 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 150; *SB III* 6901; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 139; TM Text ID 54275



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΑΡΠΑΗΣΙΣ
3. ΠΟΥΟΡΕΙΟΥ
4. ΠΡΟ ΣΤΑΤΟΝ
1. τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Ἀρπάησις
3. Πουορείου
4. προστατὸν
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Harpaesis
3. son of Pouoreios,
4. (the) leaders

Commentary

L. 3: Πουορείου is the variant of Πουῶρις.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ E.g. *P. Petrie* (2) 116 *passim*; TM Name ID 37527.

L. 4: προστατῶν is written for προστατῶν and both father and son were ‘leaders’ which explains the use of the genitive plural. However, the dedicator’s name seems to be in the nominative, which means Ἀρπάησις is written here for Ἀρπαήσι(ο)ς. On the title προστάτης, see the introduction.

No. 142

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.25

Measurements: L. 11, W. 55 cm

Height above the ground: c. 4 m

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 21); *SEG* 65 1940; TM Text ID 701104



1. ΠΑΡΑΥΙΨΑΡΕΣ
1. Πάραυις Ψαρες
1. Parauis (son of) Psares

Commentary

Πάραυις may be a variant of Παράυδς,⁸⁶ or Πάραϊς.⁸⁷

– Ψαρες may be a variant of Ψάρος.⁸⁸ The scribe was either inexperienced or the surface was uneven, as he clearly struggled with the rho and the alpha.

No. 143

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.26

Measurements: L. 7, W. 43 cm

Height above the ground: c. 4 m

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

85 TM Name ID 943; *NB* 342; Greek rendering of *P₃-whr*, *DNb* 181.

86 TM Name ID 756; *NB* 279.

87 TM Name ID 17323, known from three sources: *P. Oxy.* 44 3163 l. 11; *P. Oxy.* 57 3905 *passim*; *P. Merton* 1 23 l. 1.

88 TM Name ID 7508, *NB* 482.



1. ΓΥΝΟΙΕCΙ ΡΙCΚΥ[---]

Commentary

Very poorly preserved and illegible text.

No. 144

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.29

Measurements: L. 14, W. 41 cm

Height above the ground: c. 0.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *I. Thèbes à Syène 99 bis*



1. ΤΟΠΡΟCΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΠΕΤΕΑΡCΝΟΥΦΙC
3. ΠΕΤΕΑΚΟΤ

1. τὸ προσκύνημα
 2. Πετάρσνουφισ
 3. Πετεακο<ῆ>(ς)
1. The *proskynema*:
 2. Petearsnouphis
 3. (son of) Peteakoes

Commentary

The text has been chalk-marked with an x, and later traced with a pencil (plausibly by Bernand). *I. Thèbes à Syène 99bis* is considered as the repetition of *I. Thèbes à Syène 99* (no. 129).

- Based on the parallel text, **no. 129**, the last letter of Πετρακο<ῆ>(ς) is probably a badly written eta. The name is attested three times as the dedicator and twice as a father in Gebel el-Silsila.⁸⁹ Probably the same individual as in **no. 129**.

No. 145*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.30*Measurements:* L. 9, W. 34 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 0.5 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 20); *SEG* 65 1939; TM Text ID 701103

1. ΨΕΝΑΠΑΘΗΣ
2. ΠΑΧΝΟΥΒΙΣ
1. Ψεναπάθης
2. Πάχνουβις
1. Psenapathes
2. (son of) Pachnoubis

Commentary

The text has been chalk-marked with an x and later traced with a pencil. The writing is clear and both names are in the nominative.

No. 146*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.31*Measurements:* L. 11, W. 57 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 1.5 m*Condition:* Poorly preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished



1. ΦΙΛΑΡΓΥΡΟΣ
1. Φιλάργυρος
1. Philarguros

Commentary

The first rho is incorrectly written with the vertical body to the right rather than the left (mirrored). Remnants of chalk is noticeable in the lunate sigma and the text has been chalk-marked. Φιλάργυρος is rarely attested in Egypt (TM Name ID 3226).

No. 147

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.32

Measurements: L. 4, W. 35 cm

Height above the ground: c. 0.5 m

Condition: Very poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

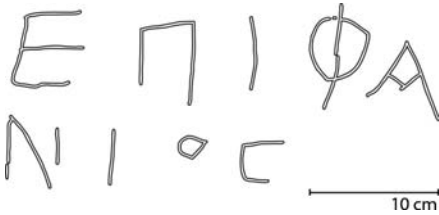


1. ΜΑΩΣ Ο ΝΟΡΙΟΣ
1. Μαῶς^{vvv} Ο^{vvn} νόριος
1. Maos (son of) Honorius

Commentary

The lacuna between the first omicron and nu in the patronym was caused by the uneven background. The text is very poorly preserved and heavily eroded. L. 2: Μαῶς is a rare name and attested only in the Roman period.⁹⁰ However, it could also be the ending of a fragmentary name, such as Πρεμαῶς. Ὀνόριος is in the nominative and it is the Greek variant of the Latin name Honorius.

⁹⁰ TM Name ID 22451; NB 210.

No. 148*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.33*Measurements:* L. 24, W. 34 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 1m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* *Graff. Silsile* 90; *SB III* 6855; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 93; *TM Text ID* 54217

1. ΕΠΙΦΑ
2. ΝΙΟC
1. Ἐπιφά-
2. νιος
- 1-2. Epiphanius

No. 149*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.28*Measurements:* L. max 7, W. 51 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 1m*Condition:* Very poorly preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. ΩΡΙΜΑΡΗΙΟC
1. "Ωριμ(ος) Ἄρειος
1. Horim(os)? (son of) Areios

Commentary

The text is very poorly preserved and almost illegible. The fourth letter is here interpreted as a mu, although a double lambda is possible. Only the ending of the patronym is clear, while the eta may have been intended as an alpha.

ᾠρομ(ος) is a rare name attested occasionally both in and outside Egypt.⁹¹ The reading is uncertain.

No. 150

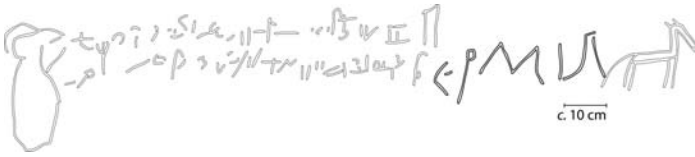
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F3.Inscr.13

Measurements: c. L. 12, W. 40 cm

Height above the ground: c. 12 m

Condition: Very poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



2. [-----] EPMIA[.]
 1. [-----]
 2. [-----] Ἐρμω[v]
 1. [-----]
 2. [-----] Hermon

Commentary

A stone vessel is situated in the left terminus and a horse is located to the right. The tail of the horse makes up the right line of the omega, and perhaps the body was intended to represent the nu.

- The Demotic text is illegible except for a few individual signs and it seems it is not related to the Greek.

No. 151

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F5.Inscr.1

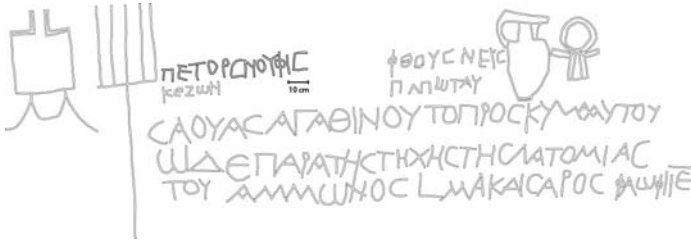
Measurements: L. 13, W. 78 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m above quarry ledge, c. 22 m above the ground

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015; no. 22); SEG 65 1941; TM Text ID 701105

⁹¹ TM Name ID 26176, *P. Oxy. Hels* 12 l. 8 and l. 16, *P. Oxy.* 44 3197 l. 10; LGPN IV, VA s.v. ᾠρομ(ος).



1. ΠΕΤΟΡCNOYΦIC
1. Πετόρσνουφικς
1. Petorsnouphis

Commentary

Πετόρσνουφικς is a variant of Πετεάρσνουφικς,⁹² which appears in a longer inscription (no. 155) on the same quarry face, and twice in Partition F. Inscriptions nos 151–154 are situated between four large quarry marks, depicting on the left an offering table (32.5×70 cm) and a trident (30×138 cm), and on the right a stone vessel (33×50 cm) and an *ankh* (28.5×37 cm).

No. 152

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F5.Inscr.2

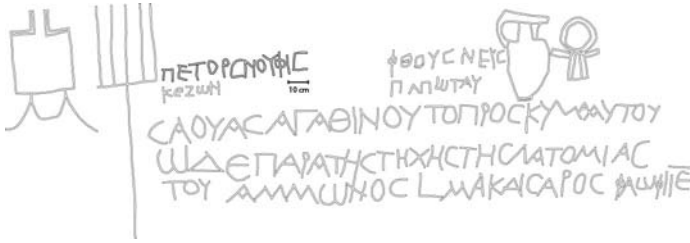
Measurements: L. 10, W. 35 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m above quarry ledge, c. 22 m above the ground

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 23); *SEG* 65 1942; TM Text ID 701106

92 Cf. TM Name ID 836; NB 311, especially Πετεάρσνουφικς *O. Deiss.* 44 l. 2.



1. ΚΕΖΩΝ
1. Κεζων
1. Kezon

Commentary

The name is situated immediately below inscription **no. 151**, but the two are here classified as separate texts based on palaeographical differences: **no. 152** has been composed with smaller letters and lunate epsilons instead of squared as seen in **no. 151**. The name Κεζων is unattested in Egypt (see the reading in *SEG* 65 1942), and only one example is known outside: Κιζων in *LGPN VA s.v.* Κιζων. Another possible reading is Κεσων(ιος), where the sigma was written in error. In this case the name may be a variant of Κησώνιος, the Latin, Caesonius.⁹³ For commentary on its pictorial context, see **no. 151**.

No. 153

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F5.Inscr.3

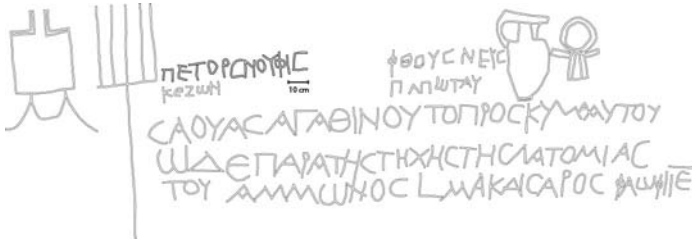
Measurements: L. 25, W. 64 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m above quarry ledge, c. 22 m above the ground

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 24); *SEG* 65 1943; TM Text ID 701107

93 TM Name ID 25385; NB 173.



1. ΦΘΟΥCΝΕΥC
2. ΠΑΠΩΤΑΥ
1. Φθουσνεύς
2. Παπωταύ(ς)?
1. Phthousneus
2. (son of) Papotaus?

Commentary

L. 1: Φθουσνεύς (*P₃-ftw-smw*) is a well known name in the Theban area.⁹⁴

L. 2: Παπωταύς is attested only here. For commentary on its pictorial context, see no. 151.

No. 154

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F5.Inscr.4

Measurements: L. 60, W. 320 cm

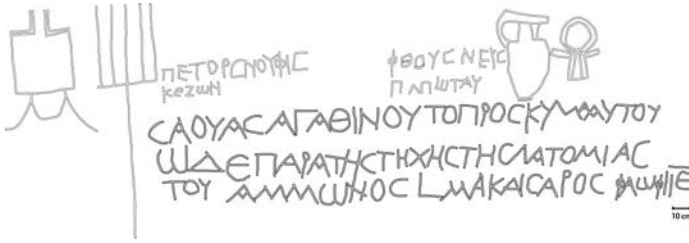
Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m above quarry ledge, c. 22 m above the ground

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 26); Nilsson & Ward (2017: no. 6); *SEG* 65 1944; TM Text ID 701109

Date: 11AD

94 TM Name 8186.



A

1. ΣΑΟΥΑΣ ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟΥ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΜΑΥΤΟΥ
2. ΩΔΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΤΥΧΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΤΟΜΙΑΣ
3. ΤΟΥ ΑΜΜΩΝΟΣ [ΜΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΦΑΩΦΙΕ]
1. Σαούας Ἀγαθίνου τὸ προσκύ<νη>μ' αὐτοῦ
2. ὦδε παρὰ τῆς Τήχης τῆς λατομίας
3. τοῦ ὕ Ἀμμωνος (ἔτους) μα' Καίσαρος Φαῶφι ιε'
1. Of Saouas son of Agathinos, his own *proskynema*
2. here for the Tyché of the quarry
3. of Ammon. Year 41 of Caesar, Phaophi 15

Commentary

The inscription is situated immediately below nos 151–153.

L. 2: τήχης for τύχης.⁹⁵

- Σαούας may be in the nominative or in the genitive agreeing with τὸ προσκύ<νη>μ' αὐτοῦ written later in the line. The name Σάουα or Σαούας is known only from two sources from the 3rd and 4th centuries AD: Σάουα (in the nominative)⁹⁶ and Σαούας (in the genitive).⁹⁷
- Ἀγαθίνος is a rather common name at Gebel el-Silsila (cf. nos 101–103, 105, 140). See also commentary on no. 152.
- Cf. Similarly in Mons Claudianus, O.Claud. iv. 719,6: λατομ(ία) Ἀμμ[ωνος].

No. 155

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F5.Inscr.5

Measurements: L. 59, W. 252 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m above quarry ledge, c. 22 m above the ground

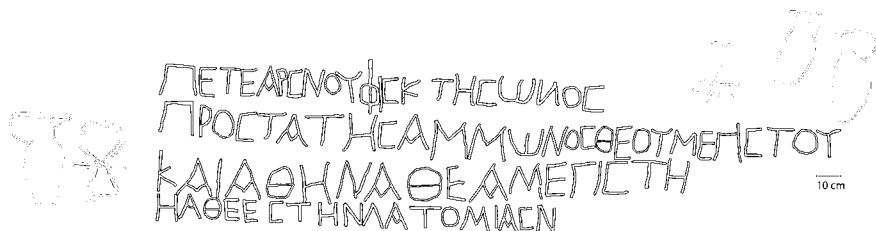
⁹⁵ See Gignac (1976: 262–263).

⁹⁶ NB 364, 366; SB I 821 l. 2 = Hernández (2018: 200 no. 7).

⁹⁷ P. Herm. landl. II 32 l. 729.

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 25); Nilsson & Ward (2017: no. 7); SEG 65 1945; TM Text ID 701108



1. ΠΕΤΕΑΡCΝΟΥΦΙΚΤΗCΩΝΟC
2. ΠΡΟCΤΑΤΗCΑΜΜΩΝΟCΘΕΟΥΜΕΓΙCΤΟΥ
3. ΚΑΙΑΘΗΝΑΘΕΑΜΕΓΙCΤΗ
4. ΗΑΘΕΕCΤΗΝΛΑΤΟΜΙΑCΝ

1. Πετεάρσνουφισ Κτήσωνος
2. προστάτης Ἄμμωνος θεοῦ μεγίστου
3. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ<ς> θεᾶ<ς> μεγίστη<ς>
4. ἦ<λ>θε ἐς τὴν λατομία{σ}ν
1. Petearsnouphis, son of Kteson, (the)
2. leader of Ammon, the greatest god,
3. and of Athena, the greatest goddess,
4. came to the quarry

Commentary

L. 1: The nu in Κτήσων is written retrograde.

- The signature “Petearsnouphis son of Kteson” is also found on quarry face F1, no. 62, with whom this individual is identified, although in a different name variant, Πετραόμνουφισ. The title of the individual προστάτης Ἄμμων<ος> and the patronym are the same. Ammon is also referred to there.

L. 2: On the title προστάτης, see the introduction.

L. 3: Ἀθῆνα<ς> θεᾶ<ς> μεγίστη<ς> is written in the nominative instead of the genitive.

L. 4: ηαθε is written for ἦλθε.

- ἐς for εἰς.
- λατόμια{σ}ν is written with a superfluous sigma. Perhaps the writer first wrote the genitive, λατόμιας and corrected it later without crossing out the sigma.

No. 156*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F5.Inscr.6*Measurements:* c. L. 15, W. 30 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 17 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

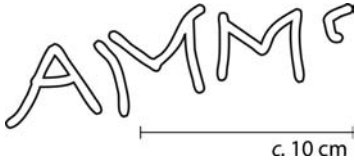
1. ZH
2. —ΛΟΛΛΙC
1. ζῆ
2. Λόλλις
1. Ze?
2. Lollis

Commentary

L. 1: Ζη may be an abbreviated name, similar to Ζῆς *BGU* 16 2577 Ro l. 147, TM Name ID 9405. Alternatively, it could be the verb, ζῆ 'he lives' referring to Lollis.
 — Λόλλις is a variant of Λόλλιος, and probably the Greek rendering of the Latin Lollius.⁹⁸

No. 157*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F5.Inscr.7*Measurements:* c. L. 5, W. 16 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 18 m*Condition:* Well preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

⁹⁸ TM Name ID 31272; *NB* 198.



1. ΑΜΜΩ
1. Ἀμμώ(νιος)
1. Ammo(nios)

Commentary

The text is situated above no. 158, probably an unfinished repetition as the handwriting is very similar.

No. 158

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.F5.Inscr.8

Measurements: c. L. 10, W. 50 cm

Height above the ground: c. 18 m

Condition: Well preserved

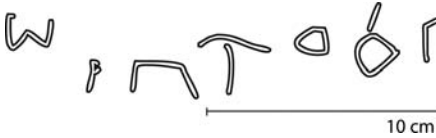
Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ
2. ΤΑΗΕ
1. Ἀμμώνιος
2. ...
1. Ammonios
2. ...

Commentary

L. 2: The second line could be a badly written name, Πάης where the final letter is written as an epsilon instead of a lunate sigma.

No. 159*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F11.Inscr.1*Measurements:* L. 5 (letter size c. 2–3 cm), W. 19 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 1.5 m*Condition:* Very poorly preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. ΩΡΠΠΤΟΟC

1. Ὠρπτοος(?)

Commentary

The letters are irregularly placed and the reading is problematic. The name is not identified.

No. 160*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.F12.Inscr.1*Measurements:* L. 8, W. 27.5 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 3.5 m*Condition:* Very poorly preserved*Bibliography:* Unpublished

1. ΑΝΔΡΩC

1. Ἀνδρῶς

1. Andros

Commentary

The name is otherwise attested only once in Egypt: *SB* 1 4122, from the 2nd century AD.

No. 161*Inv.no.:* GeSE.Q34.GN.Inscr.2*Measurements:* L. 26, W. 155 cm*Height above the ground:* c. 1m*Condition:* Very poorly preserved*Bibliography:* *Graff. Silsile* 85; *SB III* 6854; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 92; Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 27); *SEG* 65 1946; TM Text ID 54216*Date:* 10/11 AD

1. ΕΠΙΔΡΑΡΙΟΣ Π
2. ΠΕΤΕΒΗΚΙΣ [ΜΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ
1. Ἐπιδράριος(?) {Π}
2. Πετέβηκις (ἔτους) μ' Καίσαρος
1. Epidauros?
2. (son of) Petebekis, year 40 of Caesar

*Commentary**Graff. Silsile* 85: Δια.οτι | Πετεβήκις | μ. [...]...ος*I. Thèbes à Syène* 92 ΕΠΙΔΙΑΙΟΤΤ? | Πετεβήκις (ἔτων) με'

L. 1: cf. Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 27): Ἐπιδράριος. The name is probably an incorrect writing of Ἐπίδαυρος or Ἐπιδαύριος where—ρ— preceded the diphthong -αυ.⁹⁹ It is not attested in Egypt to date.

The final (and superfluous) -π was more likely intended as the initial letter in the patronym, Πετέβηκις, then interrupted due to a lack of space in relation to an offering table situated to its right. This would suggest that the offering table was carved prior to the text.

L. 2: the reading here supports Legrain's original facsimile of the year and Preisigke's reading "[M" (also Nilsson et al.), rather than Bernand's reading "[ME", thereby placing the text in year 40 of Augustus. The current facsimile shows the complete royal title Καίσαρος despite later attempts to eradicate it.

99 LGPN I and II s.v. Ἐπίδαυρος; LGPN I and VB s.v. Ἐπιδαύριος.

- The letters have been filled in with chalk as no. 85, and later marked in pencil (probably by Bernand since he was the first to publish a photograph of it).

The current facsimile is an updated version of the one originally published in Nilsson et al. (2015: no. 27).

No. 162

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.GN.Inscr.3

Measurements: L. 25 (max), W. 151 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1 m

Condition: Very poorly preserved/shallowly etched

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟCΜΑΙΑΝ
1. Ἐπιφάνιος...
1. Eriphanios...

Commentary

In the name Ἐπιφάνιος the iota is written within the omicron, possibly as the result of a correction. The word written after the name is illegible. The text has been encircled with chalk and marked by Legrain as **no. 17**.

No. 163

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.GS.Inscr.1

Measurements: L. 6, W. 20 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1 m

Condition: Well preserved with some erosion

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. OPCENOY
1. Ὀρσένου(φίς)
1. Orsenou(phis)

Commentary

Cf. nos 99 and 126.

The signature is encircled in chalk and marked with an arrow.

No. 164

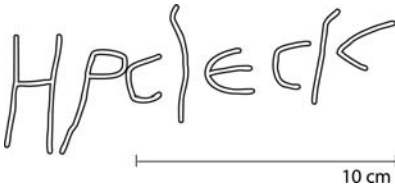
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.GS.Inscr.7

Measurements: L. 7, W. 15 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Well preserved with some erosion

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 81; *SB III* 6851; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 89; *TM Text 1D* 54212



1. HPCIECIC
1. Ἡρσίεσις
1. Hersiesis

Commentary

Legrain's facsimile does not include the terminal lunate sigma. *Graff. Silsile* 81: Ἡρσιῆσις.

– The name Ἡρσίεσις is a variant of Ἀρσίησις.

No. 165

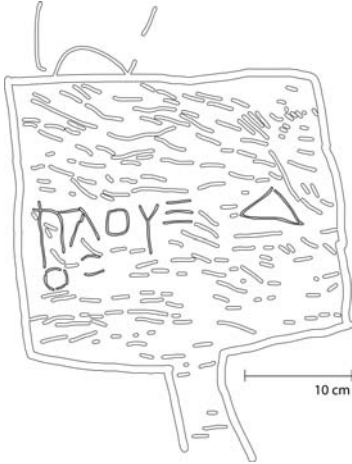
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.GS.Inscr.10

Measurements: L. 8, W. 22.5 cm (offering table: L. 39, W. 29 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Poorly preserved, intentionally erased in antiquity

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΠΛΟΥ.[- - -]Δ
2. ΟΥ
1. Πλου.[- - -]Δ[.]
2. ος
1. Plou.[- - -], D[.]
2. OS

Commentary

This is a complicated text as large parts have been intentionally erased. It is possible that the three horizontal bars situated to the right of the upsilon were intended as xi, but there are no names hitherto attested with such a letter combination.

The signature is situated within an offering table.

No. 166

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.GS.Inscr.11

Measurements: L. 14, W. 25 cm (offering table: L. 38, W. 22 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 1 m

Condition: Poorly preserved, intentionally erased during antiquity

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 83; *SB III* 6853; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 91; TM Text ID 54214



1. ΕΥΜΙΔΗΣ
2. ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ
3. —ΕΙΔ
4. ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

1. Εὐμᾶΐδης
2. Ἀμμώνιος
- 3-4. —Ἡρακλᾶΐδης
1. Eumides
2. Ammonios
- 3-4. Herakleides

Commentary

L. 1: *Graff. Silsile* 83; *Ξουμίδης, I. Thèbes à Syène* 91: Ξουμίδης. A faint vertical line suggests the reading of the first letter as an epsilon rather than a chi, and a diagonal line situated to the left of the iota may have been intended to be an eta, thus suggesting the name Εὐμίδης, a variant of Εὐμήδης (Eumedes) rather than Ξουμίδης.¹⁰⁰ This reading seems more plausible as the name Xoumides is otherwise unattested. The small dot situated below the first letter was previously interpreted as an omicron, but there are numerous such marks present in the offering table, representing tool marks rather than abbreviated or superscripted letters as in previous publications.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *SB XVIII* 13897 l. 19, l. 21.

L. 2: similar to L. 1, there is a faint vertical line situated to the right of the nu and interpreted as an iota. This might be the result of a correction. *Graff. Silsile* 83 and *I. Thèbes à Syène* 91: Ἀμμών[ι]ο[ς].

No. 167

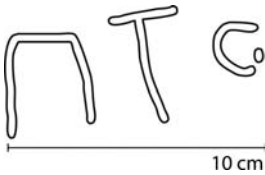
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.GS.Inscr.12

Measurements: L. 4.5, W. 10 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΠΤΟ
1. Πτο(...)
1. Pto(...)

Commentary

Unfinished inscription.

No. 168

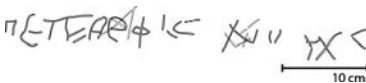
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.GS.Inscr.13

Measurements: L. 4, W. 45 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Poorly preserved, etched

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. ΠΕΤΕΑΡΦΙΣ ΝΟ[---]ΥΧΣ
1. Πετειαρφίς ννν...
1. Petearphis

Commentary

The text was poorly written. The writer appears to have attempted to correct the name and overwrite the lunate sigma and perhaps the nu over the rho, resulting in several overlapping lines. Cf. nos 129 and 144. Πεταρφίς is otherwise not attested. The second word is not identifiable.

Marked in chalk as no. 278.

No. 169

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.GS.Inscr.14

Measurements: L. 6 (max), W. 16 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Poorly preserved, etched

Bibliography: Unpublished



Ε

1. ΠΙΦΑΝΕC
1. Ἐπιφάνες
1. Eriphanes

Commentary

The initial epsilon is superscript. There are indications of another inscription above this, but the upper part was removed during later extraction work. Ἐπιφάνες is written with an epsilon rather than an eta.

Addendum—Latin Signature

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q34.C7.Inscr.4

Measurements: c. L. 8, W. 39 cm

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson *et. al.* (2015: no. 1); TM Text ID 701089



1. FAUSTUS
1. Faustus

Commentary

The graffito was incised in a smoothed surface.

TABLE 9 Individuals listed in Q34

No.	Type of text	Name in transliteration	Name transcribed	Type of individual	Location
21	S	Ψεναῆς	Psenaes	1st	Q34.AS
21	S	Ἱέραξ	Hierax	2nd	Q34.AS
21	S	Διδύμηξ	Didyme	3rd	Q34.AS
22	S	Παομπσένθ.(...)	Paompsenth.(...)	1st	Q34.C3
23	I				Q34.C6
24	S	Φατρέχη(μῖς)	Phatreche(mis)	1st	Q34.C6
24	S	Ψένησις	Psenesis	Father	Q34.C6
24b	S	<i>P₃-htr-hm</i>	Phatrechemis	1st	Q34.C6
25	S	Ψέννησις	Psennesis	1st	Q34.C7
25	S	Πετεςθεύς	Petestheus	Father	Q34.C7
25	S	ᾠρος	Horos	1st	Q34.C7
25	S	Παμπάχοις	Pampachois	Father	Q34.C7
26	S	Ἱέραξ	Hierax	1st	Q34.C7
27	P	Ἱέραξ	Hierax	1st	Q34.C7
27	P	Μάγναυ	Magnus?	Father	Q34.C7
27	P	Πῖνάβις	Pabis	2nd	Q34.C7
28	S	Ἐπίμαχος	Epimachos	1st	Q34.C8
29	S	Πατέχνουβις	Patechnoubis	1st	Q34.C8
30	S	Πίβηχις	Pibechis	1st	Q34.C9
30	S	Πίω ^υ ς	Pios	Father	Q34.C9
31	I	Πτο(...)	Pto(...)		Q34.C9
32	P	Πτολλίον	Ptolion	1st	Q34.C9
32	P	Πιτυου(?)	Pityos (?)	Father	Q34.C9

TABLE 9 Individuals listed in Q34 (*cont.*)

No.	Type of text	Name in transliteration	Name transcribed	Type of individual	Location
33	S	Πτολίων	Ptolion	1st	Q34.C9
34	S	Φῶφης	Phophis	1st	Q34.C10
35	P	Καίσις	Kaisios	1st	Q34.C12
35	P	Κέμελος	Kemelos	Father	Q34.C12
35	P	Παράθης	Parathes	2nd	Q34.C12
35	P	Φατρῆς	Phatres	Father	Q34.C12
36	P	Παράθης	Parathes	1st	Q34.C12
36	P	Φατρῆς	Phatres	Father	Q34.C12
37	S	Πτολλίων	Ptollion	1st	Q34.C14
37	S	Παμπανίσκου	Pampaniskos	Father	Q34.C14
37	S	Πτολλίωνος	Ptollion	Grand-father	Q34.C14
38	S	Παχίπως	Pachipos	1st	Q34.C14
38	S	Ἀρκίν<ι>ος	Harkinis	Father	Q34.C14
39	S	Λούκιος	Lucius	1st	Q34.C14
39	S	Γαίου	Gaius	Father	Q34.C14
40	P	Στεφανίων	Stephan(i)on	1st	Q34.C14
40	P	Φάρων	Pharon	2nd	Q34.C14
40	P	Ἱέρακι	Hierax	Father	Q34.C14
41	P	Κράτων	Kraton	1st	Q34.C15
41	P	Ἡρακλῆδου	Herakleides	Father	Q34.C15
42	I				Q34.C15
43	S	Παχοῦς	Pachois	1st	Q34.C15
44	I	-μης	[...]-mis		Q34.C15
45	S	Πάμπως	Pampos	1st	Q34.C16
46	S	Πάμπως	Pampos	1st	Q34.C17
46	S	Παμπώτου	Pampotos	Father	Q34.C17
47	S	Πάνχημις	Panchemis	1st	Q34.C17
47	S	Πάμχηλφης	Pamchelphis	2nd	Q34.C17
47	S	Πλάκου	Plakos	Father	Q34.C17
47	S	Φάφης	Phaphis	3rd	Q34.C17
47	S	Ψάις	Psais	4th	Q34.C17
48	S	Ἡρσίησις	Harsiesis	1st	Q34.C17
49	S	Πράξινοϛ	Praxinos	1st	Q34.C17
50	S	...Pa- <i>hy</i>	Pachois	1st	Q34.C17

TABLE 9 Individuals listed in Q34 (cont.)

No.	Type of text	Name in transliteration	Name transcribed	Type of individual	Location
50	S	Ἄρκιν[ις](?)	Harkinis	1st	Q34.C17
51	I	[---]αμιος	[---]amios		Q34.C20
51	S	Νεχθώτου	Nechthotes	Father	Q34.C20
52	S	Ἄρκινις	Harkinis	1st	Q34.C21
52	S	Πάχ'ουμις	Pachoumis	2nd	Q34.C21
52	S	Πάχοις	Pachois	3rd	Q34.C21
52	S	Παμβη[---]	Pambe[---]	4th	Q34.C21
52	S	Πάχοις	Pachois	5th	Q34.C21
53	P	Οὐτεύριος	Outeuris	1st	Q34.D1
53	P	Μιμίθου	Mimithos	Father	Q34.D1
53	P	Ἀπόλλωνος	Apollon	Grand-father	Q34.D1
54	S	Οὐτέ(υρις)	Outeuris	1st	Q34.D1
55	P	Ὁρίωνος	Horion	1st	Q34.D1
55	P	Ἀπολλωνίου	Apollonios	Father	Q34.D1
56	P				
57	D	Ἀπολλώνιος	Apollonios	1st	Q34.D1
57	D	Ἰσιδώρου	Isidoros	Father	Q34.D1
58	I				Q34.D1
59	S	Πάρτβως	Partbos	1st	Q34.D5
59	S	Σαν[- -]	San[- -]	Father	Q34.D5
60	S	Ἄνδρων	Andron	1st	Q34.F1
61	S	Σιεπμοῦς	Siepmous	1st	Q34.F1
61	S	Χαίρων	Chairon	Father	Q34.F1
62	P	Πετσακός	Peteakoes	1st	Q34.F1
62	P	Σαραπίωνος	Sarapion	Father	Q34.F1
63	P	Πετραόμνουφισ	Petraomnouphis	1st	Q34.F1
63	P	Κτήσωνος	Kteson	Father	Q34.F1
63b	S	<i>Pa-Min</i>	Paminis	1st	Q34.F1
63b	S	<i>Pa-htr</i>	Phatres	Father	Q34.F1
63c	S	<i>P3-š'γ</i>	Psais	1st	Q34.F1
63c	S	<i>P3-šr-Hnm</i>	Psenchnoumis	Father	Q34.F1
64	S	Ψανσνώ(ς)	Psansno(s)	1st	Q34.F1
64	S	Πε(....)	Pe(tepoueris)	Father	Q34.F1
65	S	Ἄνδρων	Andron	1st	Q34.F2

TABLE 9 Individuals listed in Q34 (*cont.*)

No.	Type of text	Name in transliteration	Name transcribed	Type of individual	Location
65	S	Ἀνδρέας	Andreas	Father	Q34.F2
66	I				Q34.F2
67	S	Πρεμπουρούς	Prempourous	1st	Q34.F2
67	S	Παοραύτος	Paoraus	Father	Q34.F2
68	P	Δημή ^ν τριος	Demetrios	1st	Q34.F2
68	P	Ἄρπάησις	Harpaesis	Father	Q34.F2
69	P	Ἄνουφει	Annouphis	1st	Q34.F2
69	I				Q34.F2
70	S	Ἄνουβίων	Anoubion	1st	Q34.F2
70	S	Πρεμπουρούς	Prempourous	Father	Q34.F2
71	P				Q34.F2
72	P				Q34.F2
73	I				Q34.F2
74	I				Q34.F2
75	P				Q34.F2
76	P	Πετειακός	Peteakoes	1st	Q34.F2
76	P	Πετήσιος	Peteesis	Father	Q34.F2
77	S	Πετέχνουμις	Petechnoumis	1st	Q34.F2
77	S	Ἑρτάησις	Hertaesis	2nd	Q34.F2
77	I	Πυγ(...)	Pyg(...)		Q34.F2
78	P	Παθ'εὐός	Patheus	2nd	Q34.F2
78	P	Ἀθηναίου	Athenaios	1st	Q34.F2
78	P	Λονγείνου	Longeinos	Father	Q34.F2
79	S	Πλούτος	Ploutos	1st	Q34.F2
80	S	Ἀθην(αίου)	Athen(aios)	1st	Q34.F2
80	S	Κονραιο{κ}<ς>	Konraios?	2nd	Q34.F2
81	S	Τσερνεύς?	Tserneus?	1st	Q34.F2
81	S	Ἄνουφης	Anouphis	Father	Q34.F2
82	P	Ἀπελλάς	Apellas	1st	Q34.F2
82	P	Λογίνου	Longinus	Father	Q34.F2
83	P	Ψανσνώς	Psansnos	1st	Q34.F2
83	P	Πεπεπούηρις	Petepoueris	Father	Q34.F2
84	P	Ἄνουβίων	Anoubion	1st	Q34.F2
84	P	Πρεμπουρούσιος	Prempourousis	Father	Q34.F2
85	P	Ἑρμών	Hermon	1st	Q34.F2

TABLE 9 Individuals listed in Q34 (*cont.*)

No.	Type of text	Name in transliteration	Name transcribed	Type of individual	Location
85	P	Ἀπολλωνίου	Apollonios	Father	Q34.F2
86	P				
87	P	Παφχάνθης	Paphchanthes	1st	Q34.F2
88	P	Ἀπολλώνιος	Apollonios	1st	Q34.F2
88	P	Ἀσκληπιάδου	Asklepiades	Father	Q34.F2
89	P	Πλάτων	Platon	1st	Q34.F2
90	P	Ἡρώνας	Heron	1st	Q34.F2
90	P	Πτολεμαίου	Ptolemaios	Father	Q34.F2
91	P	Πετεπουήριος	Petepoueris	1st	Q34.F2
91	P	Ἵωρος	Horos	Father	Q34.F2
92	S	Ἡρμων	Hermon	1st	Q34.F2
93	P				Q34.F2
94	P				Q34.F2
95	P	Πεἰτεχνούβιος	Petechnoubis	1st	Q34.F2
95	P	Παμ[..]ω	Pam[--]o	Father	Q34.F2
96	S	[-]αωνος	[-]aonos	1st	Q34.F2
96	S	Πασνοῦ	Pasnos	Father	Q34.F2
97	P	Πάνομιεύς	Panomieus	1st	Q34.F2
97	P	Ἀμμωνίου	Ammonios	Father	Q34.F2
98	I	Παμ[---]	Pam[---]		Q34.F2
99	P	Ὀρσενούφος	Orsenouphis	1st	Q34.F2
99	P	Παχνούβιος	Pachnoubis	Father	Q34.F2
100	P	Σανσνών	Sansnos	1st	Q34.F2
100	P	Ψενπούηρις	Psenpoueris	Father	Q34.F2
101	P	Ἀγαθίνος	Agathinos	1st	Q34.F2
101	P	Δράκων	Drakon	Father	Q34.F2
102	S	Ἀγαθίνος	Agathinos	1st	Q34.F2
102	S	Πλάτων	Platon	2nd	Q34.F2
103	S	Ἀγαθίνος	Agathinos	1st	Q34.F2
104	P				
105	P	Ἀγαθίνος	Agathinos	1st	Q34.F2
105	P	Δράκωντος	Drakon	Father	Q34.F2
106	P	Πετρώνιος	Petronios	1st	Q34.F2
106	P	Παχνούμιος	Pachnoumis	Father	Q34.F2
107	S	Βάτραχος	Batrachos	1st	Q34.F2

TABLE 9 Individuals listed in Q34 (*cont.*)

No.	Type of text	Name in transliteration	Name transcribed	Type of individual	Location
108	P	Ἀπολλῶ[νιος]	Apollonios	1st	Q34.F2
108	I	[---]ρίου	[---]rios	Father	Q34.F2
109	P	Νεμωνί'ου	Nemonios	1st	Q34.F2
109	P	Διονυσίου	Dionysios	Father	Q34.F2
109	P	Διονυτάτος	Dionutas	Son	Q34.F2
110	S	Τοτόης	Totoes	1st	Q34.F2
111	P	Πετεχνούβιος	Petechnoubis	1st	Q34.F2
111	P	Ψενύριος	Psenhuris	Father	Q34.F2
111b	S	<i>Pa-tw</i>	Pates	1st	Q34.F2
111b	S	<i>Thzwn</i>	Theon	Father	Q34.F2
112	P	[---]τος	[---]tos	1st	Q34.F2
112	P	Ψενθώτης	Psenthotes	Father	Q34.F2
113	S	Πάμχημις	Pamchemis	1st	Q34.F2
114	S	Σναχομνεύς	Snachomneus	1st	Q34.F2
114	S	Ψείος	Pseios	2nd	Q34.F2
115	S	Ἀσκλάς	Asklas	1st	Q34.F2
115	S	Ἀσκληπιάδ'ης	Asklepiades	Father	Q34.F2
116	S	Πατμέσως	Patmesos	1st	Q34.F2
116	S	Πέτον	Peton	Father	Q34.F2
116	S	Πετεακόης	Peteakoes	2nd	Q34.F2
116	S	Θέων	Theon	Father	Q34.F2
117	S	Πετεα...ο.φι	Petearsnouphis?	1st	Q34.F2
118	P	Ἑρμων	Hermon	1st	Q34.F2
118	P	Κρατίνου	Kratinos	Father	Q34.F2
119	P	Πετέχνουβις	Petechnoubis	1st	Q34.F2
120	S	Ψενσουτένσιος	Psensoutensis	1st	Q34.F2
120	S	Ὅσοτυχιούς	Osotychious	Father	Q34.F2
121	S	Πετειενώτης	Peteienotes	1st	Q34.F2
121	S	Ψένχνουβ(ις)	Psenchnoubis	Father	Q34.F2
122	S	Πετενεφώτης	Petenephotes	1st	Q34.F2
122	S	Λυσίμαχος	Lysimachos	Father	Q34.F2
123	P	Παχράτης	Pachrates	1st	Q34.F2
123	P	Πατήτος	Pates	Father	Q34.F2
123	P	Ὄννωσφι	Onnopris	Son	Q34.F2
124	I				Q34.F2

TABLE 9 Individuals listed in Q34 (*cont.*)

No.	Type of text	Name in transliteration	Name transcribed	Type of individual	Location
125	P	Πτορθυοι[...]	Ptorthys	1st	Q34.F2
126a	S	<i>Wrš-ḥfr</i>	Orsenouphis	1st	Q34.F2
126	S	Ὀρσένουφισ	Orsenouphis	1st	Q34.F2
126	S	Ὀρσής	Orses	Father	Q34.F2
127	P	Πετέχνουμις	Petechnoumis	1st	Q34.F2
127	P	Ἀρπάησις	Harpaesis	Father	Q34.F2
128	P	Παούς	Paous	1st	Q34.F2
128	P	Ἀρχονησι	Harkonesis	Father	Q34.F2
129	S	Πετεάρσνου<φ>ις	Petearsnouphis	1st	Q34.F2
129	S	Πετεακόης	Peteakoes	Father	Q34.F2
130	P				
131	S	Σίκερος	Sikeros	1st	Q34.F3
131	S	Ἄνδρων	Andron	2nd	Q34.F3
132	S	Πόθος	Pothos	1st	Q34.F3
133	S	Ἑρμώναξ	Hermonax	1st	Q34.F3
133	S	Πατάς	Patas	Father	Q34.F3
134	P	Πανομιεύτος	Panomieus	1st	Q34.F3
134	P	Ἀμμώνιου	Ammonios	Father	Q34.F3
135	P	Εὐάνθης	Euanthes	1st	Q34.F3
135	P	Πάχνουμι	Pachnoumis	Father	Q34.F3
136	P				
137	P				
138	P	Π[ρε]μπουρούς	Prempourous	1st	Q34.F3
138	P	Παοραύτος	Paoraus	Father	Q34.F3
139	P	Πω[---]	Po[---]		Q34.F3
139	P	Πίτωνις?	Pitonis	2nd	Q34.F3
140	S	Ἀγαθίνος	Agathinos	1st	Q34.F3
140	S	Πάις	Pais	Father	Q34.F3
140	S	Εὐβότα(ς)	Eubota(s)	2nd	Q34.F3
140	S	Πι[---]	Pi[---]	Father	Q34.F3
141	P	Ἀρπάησις	Harpaesis	1st	Q34.F3
141	P	Πουορείου	Pouoreios	Father	Q34.F3
142	S	Πάραυις	Parauis	1st	Q34.F3
142	S	Ψαρες	Psares	Father	Q34.F3
143	I				Q34.F3

TABLE 9 Individuals listed in Q34 (*cont.*)

No.	Type of text	Name in transliteration	Name transcribed	Type of individual	Location
144	P	Πετεάρσνουφισ	Petearsnouphis	1st	Q34.F3
144	P	Πετεακο<ή>(ς)	Peteakoes	Father	Q34.F3
145	S	Ψεναπάθης	Psenapathes	1st	Q34.F3
145	S	Πάχνουβις	Pachnoubis	Father	Q34.F3
146	S	Φιλάργυρος	Philarguros	1st	Q34.F3
147	S	Μαῶς	Maos	1st	Q34.F3
147	S	Ὅννῳρίος	Honorios	Father	Q34.F3
148	S	Ἐπιφάνιος	Epiphаний	1st	Q34.F3
149	S	Ὠριμ(ος)	Horim(os)?	1st	Q34.F3
149	S	Ἄρηιος	Areios	Father	Q34.F3
150	S	Ἑρμῶ[ν]	Hermon	1st	Q34.F3
151	S	Πετόρσνουφισ	Petorsnouphis	1st	Q34.F5
152	S	Κεζῶν	Kezon/Caesonius	1st	Q34.F5
153	S	Φθουσενεὺς	Phthousneus	1st	Q34.F5
153	S	Παπωταῦ(ς)?	Papotaus	Father	Q34.F5
154	P	Σαούας	Saouas	1st	Q34.F5
154	P	Ἀγαθίνου	Agathinos	Father	Q34.F5
155	D	Πετεάρσνουφισ	Petearsnouphis	1st	Q34.F5
155	D	Κτήσωνος	Kteson	Father	Q34.F5
156	S	ζή	Ze?	1st	Q34.F5
156	S	Λόλλις	Lollis	Father	Q34.F5
157	S	Ἀμμῶ(νιος)	Ammo(nios)	1st	Q34.F5
158	S	Ἀμμώνιος	Ammonios	1st	Q34.F5
159	I	Ὠρπτοος(?)			Q34.F11
160	S	Ἄνδρῶς	Andros	1st	Q34.F12
161	S	Ἐπιδράριος(?)	Epidauros?	1st	Q34.GN
161	S	Πετέβηκις	Petebekis	Father	Q34.GN
162	S	Ἐπιφάνιος	Epiphаний	1st	Q34.GS
163	S	Ὀρσένου(φισ)	Orsenou(phis)	1st	Q34.GS
164	S	Ἡρσίσις	Hersiesis	1st	Q34.GS
165	S	Πλου[---]	Plou[---]	1st	Q34.GS
165	S	Δ[.] -ος	D[.]os	Father	Q34.GS
166	S	Εὐμᾶΐδης	Eumedes	1st	Q34.GS
166	S	Ἀμμώνιος	Ammonios	Father	Q34.GS
166	S	Ἡρακλᾶΐδης	Herakleides	Father	Q34.GS

TABLE 9 Individuals listed in Q34 (*cont.*)

No.	Type of text	Name in transliteration	Name transcribed	Type of individual	Location
167	I				Q34.GS
168	S	Πετταρφις	Petearphis	1st	Q34.GS
168	I				Q34.GS
169	S	Ἐπιφάνης	Epiphanes	1st	Q34.GS

(Grey = demotic; Type of text: I = Illegible; P = Proskynema; S = Signature)

The Southern Quarries

1 Introduction

The southern part of the East bank contains 18 quarries (GeSE.Q35–52), which date to both the Dynastic and Roman periods. Three of these, Q35, 37, and 40, preserve Greek graffiti (Fig. 35). Among the 24 texts that were recorded, 14 represent signatures, seven are *proskynemata*, and three are illegible, but placed within an offering table. The Greek texts mention 37 individuals, including 21 dedicators, 15 patronyms and 1 son. Ten texts contain a date (Augustus: nos 187, 190; Tiberius: nos 183, 187 (listed in the demotic part); Claudius: nos 170, 172–173, 175–178), and five mention Isis as the main goddess (nos 172, 177–178, 187, 190). The texts in Q35 are well preserved and are more elaborate in grammar, style and content. Several texts in Q37 are poorly preserved due to later eradication or superimposition. The single text in Q40 is well preserved, although shallowly etched.



FIGURE 35 Overview of the southern quarries, marked with the Greek texts (nos. 170–193)
COURTESY OF GOOGLE EARTH

2 Quarry 35 (Q35—‘the Situla Quarry’)

Q35 is a small, open quarry located some 35 m south of the main quarry, and sits secluded in the mountain approximately 250 m east of the Nile. It can be reached either via the plateau, past a series of workmen’s huts, or through a small wadi that shoots off from the main pathway along the Nile. There are eight quarry faces (A–H), including a short corridor-like entry, and its maximum length and width measure 35 × 25 m (Fig. 36).

The tool marks on the quarry faces follow a diagonal, parallel pattern, and the blocks are generally 60 cm long × 120–240 cm wide, and 90 cm deep. A maximum of fourteen horizontal extraction levels were estimated below the brittle top layers, providing approximately 100 blocks per vertical quarry face consequently (based on the general block size of 60 × 240 cm for quarry face Q35.D, and incorporating the separating trench space of 10 cm between each block). The volume of produced blocks for the quarry’s square core (encompassing quarry faces C–F) can be estimated at c. 3300 m³, and just over 7500 tonnes of sandstone. Traces of the extraction work also include wedge marks and rope holes. Archaeologically the quarry is more or less empty with the exception of some pottery sherds and an inscribed stone fragment that was displaced from its original position on the eastern quarry face. All eight quarry faces bear ancient graffiti, predominately quarry marks.

In addition to 133 pictographic quarry marks, the quarry contains eight demotic and nine Greek inscriptions. Many of these have been marked or retraced with chalk, but only a few were published by Spiegelberg and Preisigke.¹ The Greek inscriptions are located on the western (C) and eastern (E) quarry faces, to which an inscribed stone fragment could be added (paired with no. 175a). Five are *Proskynema*-texts, and the others signatures. They were written by four men (Ἀρβέσχινις Πετεφιβίος; Ἀρβέσχινις Παχοίβιος; Πάχοιβις Παουήριος; Πετέμινις Πετεμίνιος) on at least three separate occasions between AD 45/46 and AD 49/50. Intriguingly, the name Harbeschinis appears repeatedly within this quarry, but is very rarely attested elsewhere.² It is most likely a Greek form of the Egyptian name *Hr-nb-shm*.³ Another plausibly associated Greek form, Ἐρβέσχυνις, is attested in no. 183. Seven entries include a dating formula (nos 170, 173: year 6; nos 175–178: year 8; no. 172: year 9), all from the

1 *Graff. Silsile* 292–305 (Greek inscriptions = nos 299–302, 304–305). The epigraphic documents on quarry face C were chalk-marked as nos 312–317, and E as nos 318–321.

2 TM Name ID 8273; NB 46.

3 *DNb*, 823: ‘Horus, Herr von Letopolis’; *CDD S*, 2013, 376. This demotic form occurs in quarry Q24(.TS) at Gebel el-Silsila (*Graff. Silsile* 289).

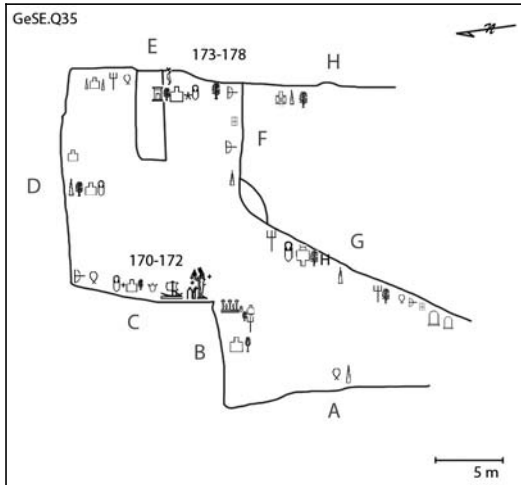


FIGURE 36
 Topographic plan of Q35 marked with its sections (A–H), quarry marks, and Greek inscriptions (nos. 170–178)
 LINE DRAWING BY MARIA NILSSON

reign of Emperor Claudius. None of them refers to any actual stone extraction, although no. 178 describes the microtoponym of Q35 as the “quarry of Isis”. The name of Claudius is consistently written with a tau instead of a delta, and without any further imperial titles. The lunate sigma is used in all Greek inscriptions.

3 Corpus

No. 170

Inv. no.: Q35.C.Inscr.1

Measurements: L. 55, W. 105 cm

Height above the ground: c. 5.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson & Almásy (2015: no. 4); *SEG* 65 1916; TM Text ID 701123

Date: AD 45, 27 August–AD 46, 26 August (year 6 of Claudius)



XI ΦΙ

1. APBE ΠΕΤΕ
2. [Ϛ ΚΛΑΟΥΤΙΟΥ
1. Ἀρβέ(σ)χι(νις) Πετεφί(βιος)
2. (ἔτους) Ϛ' Κλαουτίου
1. Harbeschinis son of Petephibis
2. Year 6 of Claudius

Commentary

Two vertical strokes in the first name may indicate the abbreviation.⁴ The reading of the name could also be Ἀρβέχι(νος), but is here identified as “Harbeschinis, son of Petephibis” based on other attestations of this individual within the quarry.

– Κλαύδιος is written with a tau and an additional omicron, as Κλαούτιος. The handwriting is identical with that of **no. 174**. The second line is written in smaller letters. The horizontal stroke in the large alpha consists of two strokes. The same person appears in **nos 173** and **176**. It has been traced with chalk (by Legrain).

No. 171

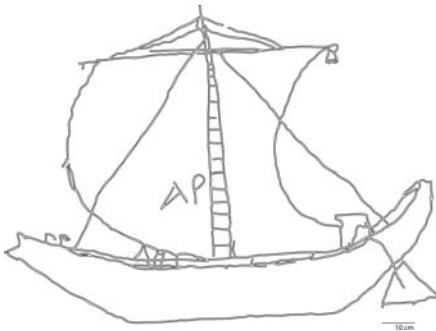
Inv. no.: Q35.C.Inscr.3

Measurements: L. 11, W. 12 cm (with boat: L. 46, W. 105 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 1 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



⁴ Cf. Avi-Yonah (1940: 36).

1. AP
1. Ἄρ(βέσχινις)
1. Harbeschinis

Commentary

The two letters are here interpreted as an abbreviation of the name Harbeschinis, which appears repeatedly in the quarry. The text is placed within a large boat with mast and sail.

No. 172

Inv. no.: Q35.C.Inscr.4

Measurements: L. 39, W. 140 cm (with *situlae*: L. 49, W. 142 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 2.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. [Θ]ΑΜΕΣΟΡΗΤΩΠΡΟΣ
2. ΑΡΒΕΣΧΙΝΟΣ ΠΑΚΟΙΒΙΟΣ
3. ΜΗΚΑΝΙΟΣ ΙΣΙΔΟΣ ΘΕΑΜΕΧΙΣ
4. ΓΑΛΑ
1. (ἔτους) θ' α' Μεσορή τῷ προσκύνημα)
2. Ἄρβεσχίνος υἱ Πακοίβιος
3. μηχανιὸς Ἰσιδος υἱ θεᾶ(ς) μεχίσ(θης)
4. γάλα
1. Year 9, Mesore 1, the *proskynema* of
2. Harbeschinis, son of Pakoibis,
3. engineer of Isis the greatest goddess
4. Milk

Commentary

L. 1: τώ is for τό.

L. 2: Ἀρβεσχίνος is written for Ἀρβέσχινις, which is a variant of the name attested in Silsila, **no. 177**.

– Πάκοιβις was a common name during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, particularly in Upper Egypt.⁵ The Greek form is equivalent to the Egyptian name *Pa-Gb*.⁶ The name appears in another demotic inscription within the quarry (not published in this volume),⁷ and on inscriptions **nos 175, 177, 178**.

L. 3: μηχανικός is written either for μηχανι(κ)ός or for μηχαν(άρ)ιος. Both refer to the title ‘engineer’.

– μεχίσ(θης) is written for μεγίσ(θης).

L. 4: The word ‘milk’ indicates the contents of the two *situlae* drawn next to the inscription, both of which are elements of the Isis cult.

The person can be identified with **no. 177**. Marked in chalk as no. 316.

No. 173

Inv.no.: Q35.E.Inscr.5

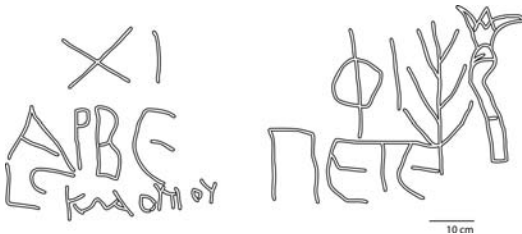
Measurements: (excl. quarry marks): L. 43, W. 91 cm (with quarry marks: L. 47, W. 111 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 299, 302; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 158, 161; *SB III* 6914, 6917; Nilsson & Almásy (2015: no. 5); *SEG* 65 1917; TM Text ID 54372

Date: AD 45, 27 August–AD 46, 26 August (Year 6 of Claudius)



⁵ TM Name ID 700; *NB* 258; Foraboschi (1971: 225–226).

⁶ *DNb* 418: ‘Der zu Geb Gehörige’.

⁷ *Graff. Silsile* 303.

XI ΦΙ

1. APBE ΠΕΤΕ
2. [Ϛ ΚΛΑΟΥΤΙΟΥ
1. Ἀρβέ(σ)χι(νις) Πετεφί(βιος)
2. (ἔτους) Ϛ' Κλαουτίου
1. Harbeschinis, son of Petephibis
2. Year 6 of Claudius

Commentary

L. 1: The reading of the name could also be Ἀρβέχι(νος) (see **no. 170**). *Graff. Silsile* 299: Φι[....] | Πετε[...]; *Graff. Silsile* 302: Ἀρβε[σχίνις] | L κᾱ Ἀθὺ[ρ...]οσ[....]. *I. Thèbes à Syène* 158: Φι... | Πετε...., 161: Ἀρβε(σχίνος) | (ἔτους) κᾱ. Ἀθὺ[ρ...]ος. Previous editors divided this inscription into two texts (*Graff. Silsile* 299 and 302), but inscription **no. 173** confirms that it should be read as one and that his transliteration of the second line needs correcting.

As in **no. 170**, the names are written in an abbreviated form.⁸

– The alpha has a cross bar that rises towards to the left. However, in line 2, the alpha in ‘Claudius’ is horizontal.

L. 2: The digamma indicating the date of the inscription is crudely carved, but the parallel in inscription **no. 170** confirms the reading of the sign.

– Κλαουτίου is written for Κλαυδίου.

No. 174

Inv. nos: Q35.E.Inscr.8

Measurements: L. 18, W. 56 cm (with quarry marks: L. 22, W. 82 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 4.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 305; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 163; TM Text ID 54379



⁸ For an alternative reading of the first name in its nominative form (Harbeschinis), see *I. Thèbes à Syène* 158, 161.

1. ΠΕΤΕΜΙΝΙΟC
2. ΠΕΤΕΜΙΝΙΟC
1. Πετεμίνιος
2. Πετεμίνιος
1. (*Proskynema*) of Peteminis
2. son of Peteminis

Commentary

Both names are in the genitive and may be either father and son, or the same name repeated twice. The text is flanked by two triangular quarry marks. Traced with chalk.

No. 175a–b

Inv. nos: Q35.E.Inscr.9 and 13

Measurements: 175a: L. 36, W. 60 cm; 175b: L. 45, W. 90 cm

Height above the ground: c. 4.5 m (directly below no. 174)

Condition: Well preserved. Traced with chalk

Bibliography: 175a: *Graff. Silsile* 301; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 160; *SB III* 6916; Nilsson & Almásy (2015: no. 7); 175b: Nilsson & Almásy (2015: no. 7b); *SEG* 65 1919; TM Text ID 54374

Date: AD 47, 28 August–AD 48, 26 August (Year 8 of Claudius)



1. ΤΟΦΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
2. ΠΑΚΟΙΒΙΟΣ
3. ΠΑΟΥΗΡΟΣ
4. [Ἡ [ΓΛΑ]ΥΤΙC ΦΑΩΦΙ[...]]
1. Τὸ φροσκύνημα
2. Πακοίβιος
3. Πασούρ<ι>ος
4. (ἔτους) ἡ' [Κλα]ύτις Φαῶφι [...]
1. The *proskynema* of
2. Pakoibis

3. son of Paoueris
4. Year [8 of Cla]udius, Phaophi[...]

Commentary

The inscription is today in two parts, due to breakage. The main portion (no. 175a) is *in situ*, c. 6 m above the ground towards the southern corner of the eastern quarry face. The second fragment (no. 175b) appears on a detached fragment and preserves most of line 4.

A quarry mark representing a tree is present to the immediate right of the inscription; this is also mostly preserved on fragment no. 175b. No. 174 is located above this inscription.

L. 1: φροσχύνημα is written for προσκύνημα, *Graff. Silsile* 301: προσκύνημα.

L. 2: *Graff. Silsile* 301: Παχοίριος Ν[εω(τέρου)]. The recovered fragment no. 175b shows the top of a tree—a quarry mark.

L. 4: The first fragmentary word may be reconstructed as the name Claudius in the nominative, as in text no. 178, with whom this person is identified. The far left end of the detached fragment preserves part of a vertical line; based on a comparison with inscription nos 176 and 177, this may be reasonably reconstructed as part of an eta, referring to the eighth regnal year of Claudius.

No. 176

Inv. no.: Q35.E.Inscr.10

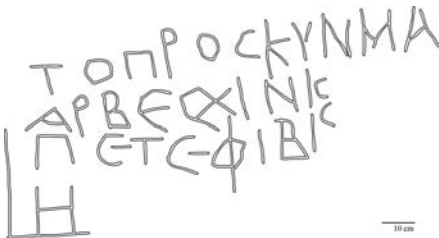
Measurements: L. 64, W. 138 cm

Height above the ground: c. 2.5 m

Condition: Well preserved. Traced with chalk

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 304; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 162; *SB III* 6918; *SEG* 65 1920
TM Text ID 54378

Date: AD 47/48 (year 8 of Claudius)



1. ΤΟΠΡΟΚΥΝΜΑ
2. ΑΡΒΕΧΙΝΙΚ

3. ΠΕΤΕΦΙΒΙΣ
4. |H
1. Τὸ προσκύνημα
2. Ἄρβέσχινις
3. Πετέφιβις
4. (ἔτους) ἡ'
1. The *proskynema*:
2. Harbeschinis
3. (son of) Petephibis
4. Year 8.

Commentary

L. 1: Previous publications: προσκύνεμα. Προσκύνμα is written for προσκύνημα (similar: no. 119).

L. 2: *Graff. Silsile* 304: Ἄρβεσχίνιος. In the name Ἄρβέσχινις, the chi and preceding sigma are linked together.

L. 3: *Graff. Silsile* 304: Πετεφίαι.

L. 4: *Graff. Silsile* 304: excluded the last line.

- Πετέφιβις (here in the nominative) is well documented as a Greek form of the Egyptian name *P3-ti-p3-hb*.⁹
- Inscriptions nos 170 and 173 were written by the same hand, contain the name of Claudius and can, thus, confirm the proposed ruler.

No. 177

Inv.no.: Q35.E.Inscr.11

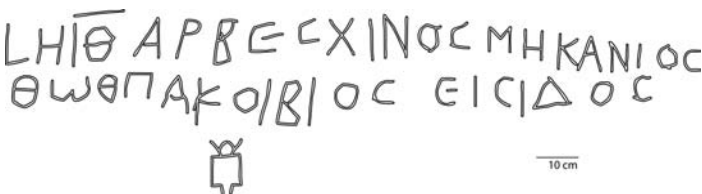
Measurements: L. 33 (50 cm including quarry mark), W. 185 cm

Height above the ground: c. 2.5 m

Condition: Well preserved. Traced with chalk

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 300; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 159, SB III 6915 TM Text ID 54373

Date: AD 47, Sept. 17 (year 8 of Claudius)



⁹ *DNb*, 306: 'Der, den der Ibis gegeben hat'; TM Name ID 7927.

1. [ΗΙΘΑ ΡΒΕΧΙΝΟC ΜΗΚΑΝΙΟC
 2. ΘΩΘΠΑΚΟΙΒΙΟC ΕΙCΙΔΟC
- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. (ἔτους) ἡ' ιθ' Ἀρβεσχίνος μηχανιός | | |
| 2. Θώθ Πακοίβιος Εἴσιδος | | |

Year 8, Thoth 19, Harbeschinos, son of Pakoibis, engineer of Isis

Commentary

The text is written in three columns, but in continuous lines.

Col. 2 l. 1: For Ἀρβεσχίνος see no. 172. The two persons might be identical.

Col. 3 l. 1: μηχανιός is written for μηχανικός or for μηχαν(άρ)ιος. The same word appears in no. 172.

The person is identified with no. 172.

No. 178

Inv.no.: Q35.E.Inscr.12

Measurements: (excl. quarry mark): L. 61, W. 135 cm (with tree: L. 76, W. 184 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: marked during previous documentation as no. 320 and traced with chalk

Bibliography: Nilsson & Almásy (2015: no. 6); SEG 65 1918 TM Text ID 701124

Date: AD 47, Sept. 15 (Year 8 of Claudius)



1. ΤΩ ΠΡΟCΚΥΝΗΜΑ
 2. ΠΑΚΟΙΒΙΟC ΠΑΟΥΗΡΙΟC
 3. ΠΑΡΤΥΘΕΟΥΜΕΧΙΘΟΥΕΝΤΗC
 4. ΑΛΤΩΜΙΑCΘΕΟΙCΙCΙ
 5. [ΗΓΛΑΥΤΙΟCΘΩΘΙΘ
1. Τὸ προσκύνημα

2. Πακοίβιος Παουήριος
3. πὰρ τῷ θεοῦ μεχίθου ἐν <τοῖς> τῆς
4. <λα>τωμίας θεοῖς Ἴσι
5. (ἔτους) ἡ' Γλαύτιος Θῶθ ιθ'
1. The *proskynema* of
2. Pakoibis, son of Paoueris
3. before the greatest god among the gods of
4. the quarry, Isis
5. Year 8 of Claudius, Thoth 19

Commentary

The text is written by the same person as **no. 175**. A quarry mark depicting a tree appears directly to the right.

L. 1: τῷ for τó.¹⁰

L. 2: Pakoibis was a common name during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, particularly in Upper Egypt.¹¹ The Greek form is equivalent to the Egyptian name *Pa-Gb*.¹² The name recurs in another demotic inscription within the quarry.¹³ Other than the two examples in Q35, the Greek form Paoueris is unusual.¹⁴ It corresponds to the Egyptian name *Pa-wr*,¹⁵ found in demotic both within the quarry and frequently elsewhere.

L. 3: The use of the genitive with the preposition παρά is uncommon.¹⁶

– τῷ was probably written for τῆ.

– μεχίθου is for μεγίστου where the -ου ending was used instead of an -ῆ, so μεχίθου stands for μεγίστη.

L. 4: ἀλωμίας is written for λατομίας: The reversal of the vocals in the syllable

– λα (rendered as ἀλ) may be a graphical error.¹⁷ In the same word, as in line 1, omega has been written instead of an omicron.¹⁸

– Ἴσι is a peculiar dative written instead of Ἴσιδι.

10 Very common in inscriptions from Gebel el-Silsila or elsewhere: cf. Gignac (1976: 277).

11 TM Name ID 700; NB 258; Foraboschi (1971: 225–226).

12 DNB 418: 'Der zu Geb Gehörige'.

13 Graff. *Silsile* 303.

14 NB 272; Foraboschi (1971: 233).

15 DNB 359–360: 'Der des Großen'.

16 E.g. Geraci (1971: 57, 69); Bernand (1977: 18).

17 For other examples where the liquid consonant and an adjacent vowel are interchanged see Gignac (1976: 315, where it is interpreted as a scribal inversion of the letters).

18 One expects λατομίας cf. Bernand (1984: no. 115, 278–279).

L. 5: This variant, Γλαύτιος, of the name Claudius is uncommon.¹⁹ The use of gamma instead of kappa²⁰ and of tau instead of delta²¹ corresponds to the demotic forms of the name. The ruler's name is in the nominative, as in inscription no. 175b.

4 Quarry 37 (Q37—'the Naos Quarry')

Q37 is one of the larger quarries on the east bank, measuring approximately 200 × 90 m at its longest and widest. It stretches out along the Nile, separated only by a large pathway and the quarry's associated quay, which is situated c. 50 m to the west. Because of stone extraction by dynamite, used for the construction of the Esna barrage (1906–1909), the northern section (Q37.A–C, northern surface of K) of the quarry is void of any ancient epigraphy, and the open space that was created thereof now offers access for the modern visitor. During the Roman period, however, access was through the three corridors. The northern corridor (Q37.N.K) was used for the transportation of stone blocks, supported by corresponding large rope holes and a paved central aisle along which the blocks were dragged towards the quay. The quarry is divided into two parts (north and south), and consists of 29 quarry faces (Fig. 37).

The tool marks on the quarry faces follow a diagonal, parallel pattern, or slightly curved herringbone in corners, and the blocks are generally 70 cm long × 175–210 cm wide, and 60 cm deep (variations occur). Approximately 17 horizontal extraction levels of good quality stone (below the frail top layer) could be estimated for the one of the taller quarry faces (F) in the northern part. Based on the general block size and the preserved footmarks of trenches, it can be estimated that quarry face F produced between 200 and 300 blocks for each step extraction from top to bottom. Using the deepest quarry core itself (quarry faces E, F, G and I) as an example, an estimated volume of blocks equals just under 13,000 m³, and over 30,000 tonnes of sandstone, or c. 650 blocks per horizontal layer. Thus, approximately 11,000 blocks were produced from the extracted surface now framed by quarry faces E, F, G and I, during a 37 year period.²² The amount of sandstone that was extracted (each season, by each

19 E.g. Κλαυτίου BGU 13 2335; Γλαυδίου O. Bodl 2 474.

20 Gignac (1976: 77).

21 Gignac (1976: 88).

22 The earliest (unpublished demotic) dating formula, situated at the upper levels of quarry face F give a date of "Year 23 of Augustus, Shemu 3, Day 16", while the latest date, situated closer to the ground, is given in no. 184 as "Year 17 of Tiberius, Thoth, Day 19".

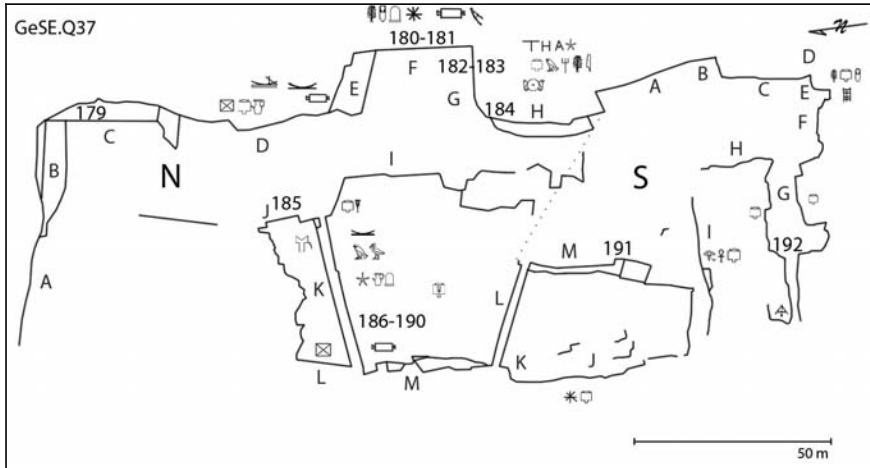


FIGURE 37 Topographic plan of Q37 marked with its quarry marks, and Greek inscriptions (nos. 179–192)

LINE DRAWING BY MARIA NILSSON

team, or at a certain occasion?) is commemorated in a demotic round-topped stela (Fig. 38) from year 23 of Augustus, which states that 2500 blocks of stone were extracted.²³

Quarry 37 is nicknamed the ‘Naos Quarry’ based on a shrine-like structure that is situated in the northern part on the preserved plateau above K, I, L, and M. The shrine, which was cleared of debris and documented in 2013, is primarily rock hewn with a constructed flat roof consisting of three large (3.5–4 m long) blocks. It opens to the west. In front of the naos were found indications of an extended sanctuary, including column drums, and a series of rooms were excavated in 2019. Below the plateau, to the south, is situated another complex of several rooms, which was roofed by means of wooden beams and organic material. This complex was archaeologically explored in 2019, with continued excavations planned for the upcoming seasons. Statue fragments and debris, as well as everyday goods made from sandstone, indicate a workshop. Connecting the two areas is a staircase that follows the curvature of the hill, and indications of a castellation were discovered in 2019. The archaeological material that was found during the excavations included several oil lamps, beads, coins, and demotic ostraca.

²³ This stela will be published separately.



FIGURE 38 Round-topped stela crowned with the winged sun disc. The stela is situated c. 18 m above the ground

PHOTO BY MARIA NILSSON

5 The Epigraphy

The epigraphy of Q37 has received limited previous attention, and the presentation of the material is incomplete, with several erroneous facsimiles and transliterations.²⁴ However, a few documents, including two Greek texts, are no longer preserved due to modern quarrying, our only original source for which is Legrain's documentation.²⁵ The northern part has the greatest amount of epigraphic material, including 53 demotic and 12 Greek texts, and 286 quarry marks, divided over ten quarry faces (all except A–B, and L). The corresponding numbers of the southern part are in total 33, including one demotic and two Greek texts (all shallowly etched) and 30 quarry marks. Thus, Q37 has in total 384 examples of inscribed material, including the 14 Greek texts published herein.

24 *Graff. Silsile* 21–69; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 81–87.

25 *Graff. Silsile* 62: APB followed by an offering table and a tree. Considering their spatial closeness and the application of abbreviations in Q35, the name is likely to be that of Ἀρβ(ἑσχητῆς Πετεφιβίος), documented in nos 170–171, 173 and 176. Cf. *I. Thèbes à Syène* 87; *Graff. Silsile* 69: ΠΑΝΙC[KOC].

The Greek inscriptions include nine signatures, two *proskynemata*, and three illegible texts, listing 16 individuals, dated to between year 29 of Augustus and year 19 of Tiberius. However, the spatial relation between nos 180–181 and a demotic round topped stela pushes back the temporal frame to year 23 of Augustus (cf. Fig. 38). Two texts mention the goddess Isis as the receiver of their dedications (nos 187, 190). No. 182 is the only recorded text which applies a variation of theta in which the horizontal bar is replaced with a dot. As before, the lunate sigma is used consistently.

6 Corpus

No. 179

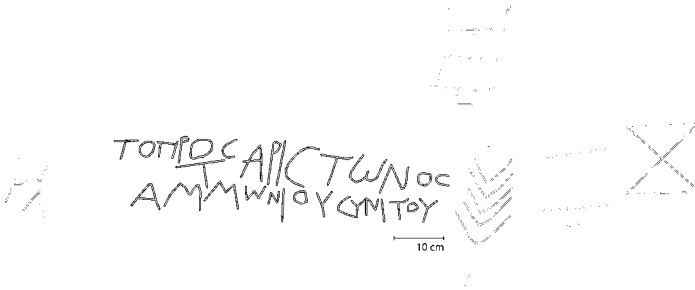
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q37N.C.Inscr.3

Measurements: L. 18, W. 45 cm (excluding the quarry marks)

Height above the ground: c. 6 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 54; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 86; *SB III* 6848 TM Text ID 54201



1. ΤΟΠΡΟCΑΡΙCΤΩΝΟC
Τ
2. ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥCΥΝΙΤΟΥ
 1. Τὸ προσ(κύνημα) Ἀρίστωνος
 2. Ἄμμωνίου Συνίτου
1. The *proskynema* of Ariston
2. son of Ammonios, Synites(?)

Commentary

The tau added between lines 1 and 2 may be intended as an abbreviation sigla for the *Proskynema*. The text is surrounded by quarry marks, including offering tables and a tree.

L. 2: Συήτου was interpreted by the previous editors (*Graff. Silsile 54; I. Thèbes à Syène 86*) as Συηήτου ‘man from Syene’ referring to the provenance of the dedicator.

Nos. 180–181

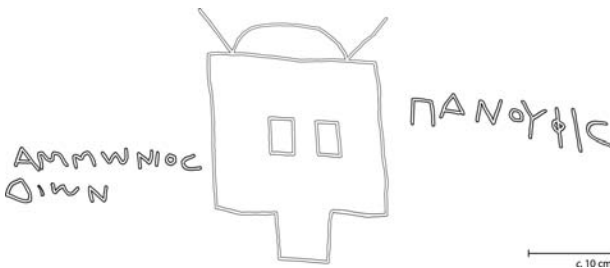
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q37N.F.Inscr.3–4

Measurements: c. L. 31, W. 72 cm incl. quarry mark (**no. 180:** c. L. 7, W. 23 cm; **no. 181:** c. L. 6, W. 24 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 15 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



- | | | |
|----|---------------|-----------|
| 1. | ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ | ΠΑΝΟΥΦΙΣ |
| 2. | ΔΙΩΝ | |
| 1. | Ἀμμώνιος | Πάνουφίς |
| 2. | Δίων | |
| 1. | Ammonios | Panouphis |
| 2. | (son of) Dion | |

Commentary

The surface was rubbed down and smoothed to receive the first signature. The names are separated by a centrally placed offering table. To the right is a demotic round topped stela that is dated to year 23 of Augustus, and which offers a relative date also for **nos 180–181**.

No. 182

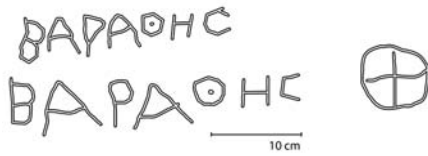
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q37N.G.Inscr.7

Measurements: L. 13, W. 32 cm (excluding the quarry mark)

Height above the ground: c. 5.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile 38; I. Thèbes à Syène 84* TM Text ID 54192



1. ΒΑΡΑΘΗΣ
2. ΒΑΡΑΘΗΣ
1. Βαράθης
2. Βαράθης
1. Barathes
2. Barathes

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 38 and I. Thèbes à Syène 84: Ἑλλά[δ]ης Θαράθης.

- Both names are in the nominative, and line 2 may be a repetition or patronym.
- Βαράθης is the Greek rendering of an Aramaic name, with only three examples in Egypt,²⁶ but well attested elsewhere.²⁷

No. 183

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q37N.G.Inscr.8

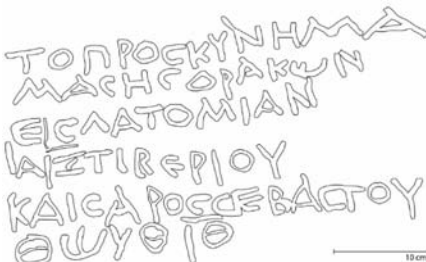
Measurements: L. 25, W. 46 cm

Height above the ground: c. 3.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile 39; I. Thèbes à Syène 85* TM Text ID 54193

Date: 14 September 30 AD (Year 17 of Tiberius)



²⁶ *O. Claud.* 3 471, 1; *O. Claud.* 3 474, 1; *I. Did.* 5, 7.

²⁷ Wuthnow (1930: 33).

1. ΤΟΠΡΟΚΥΝΗΜΑ
 2. ΜΑΧΗΔΡΑΚΩΝ
 3. ΕΙΛΑΤΟΜΙΑΝ
 4. |ΙΖΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ
 5. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ
 6. ΘΩΥΘΙΘ
1. Τὸ προσκύνημα
 2. Μασῆς Δράκων
 3. εἰς λατομίαν
 4. (ἔτους) ιζ' Τιβερίου
 5. Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 6. Θωὺθ ιθ'
1. The *proskynema*:
 2. Mases, (son of) Drakon
 3. in the quarry
 4. Year 17 Tiberius
 5. Caesar Augustus
 6. Thoth 19

Commentary

L. 2: *Graff. Silsile* 39: Θράκων.

L. 2: The name Μασῆς is known only here. It may be a variant of Μασᾶς, a name well-known outside Egypt.²⁸

No. 184

Inv. no.: GeSE.Q37N.H.Inscr.1

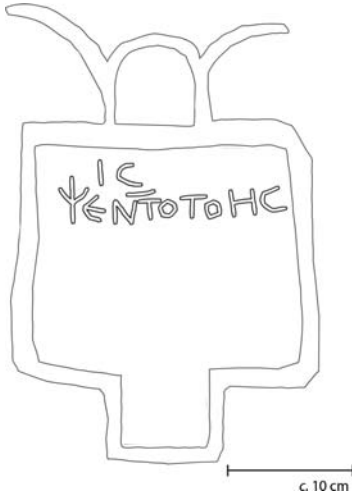
Measurements: c. L. 37, W. 24 cm

Height above the ground: c. 7.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

²⁸ Μασᾶς is attested only once in Egypt: TM Name 37935 (*I. Paneion* 81 ll. 2–3), but is common outside Egypt: LGPN, clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/names/Μασας.



ΙΣ

-
1. ΨΕΝΤΟΤΟΗΣ
 1. Ψέν\ ις\ Τοτόης
 1. Psenis (son of) Totoes

Commentary

A horizontal bar above the nu indicates the linear suspension of the final two letters, inserted above, of Psenis. The text is situated within an offering table.

The name, Ψένις is rare and only known from three sources of the 2nd–3rd century AD (TM Name 17713, SB 6 9374 l. 11, *P. Achmim* 9 col. 2 l. 48, *BGU* 15 2509 vo l. 10).

No. 185

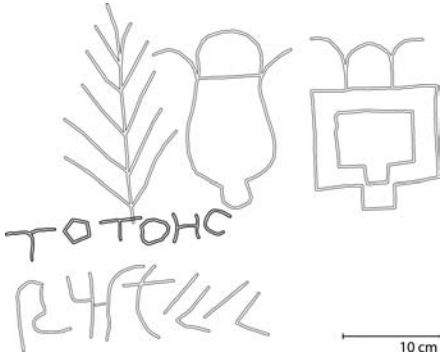
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q37N.J.Inscr.2

Measurements: L. 5, W. 24 cm (with demotic: L. 14, W. 28 cm)

Height above the ground: c. 7.5 m

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: unpublished



1. TOTOHC
1. Τοτόης
2. *Twtw s; Pa-wr*
1. (Gr.) Totoes
2. (Dem.) Totoes, son of Paoueris

Commentary

The signature is repeated in demotic, which also provides the patronym. The chisel marks of the two inscriptions and the images are identical and it seems they were all carved with the same instrument. The text is situated below a quarry mark series of a tree, *situla* and an offering table.

No. 186

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q37N.KS.Inscr.2

Measurements: L. 33, W. 26 cm (including offering table)

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: poorly preserved

Bibliography: unpublished



[---]vOC

Commentary

The text is situated within an offering table and damaged by intentional erasure.

No. 187

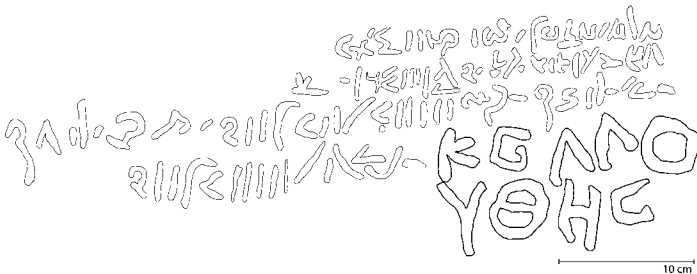
Inv.no.: GeSE.Q37N.KS.Inscr.4-5

Measurements: L. 19, W. 59 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 24; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 81; *Moje* 2014 no. 17; TM Text ID 54185



4. KOLLO

5. YΘHC

1. *P3-dl-Hr-p3-hrꜥ sꜥ Kꜥny?*
 2. *irm Kꜥlwꜥ pꜥl=f šꜥr nꜥ šty.w n 'Is.t*
 3. *n-tꜥl-n hꜥ3.t-sp 29 n Gysrs^{'ws} r-hn-r hꜥ3.t-sp 19*
 4. *n Tbrys^{'ws} Κολλο-*
 5. *ύθης*
1. (Dem.) Peteharpocrates, son of *Kꜥny?*
 2. and Kolluthes, his son: the extraction for Isis.
 3. From the year 29 of Augustus to 19
 4. of Tiberius (Gr.) Kollo-
 5. uthes

Commentary

Graff. Silsile 24: ‘Peteharpechrates, der Sohn des ..., und Kolluthes, ... der Liturgien der Isis vom Jahre 29 des Augustus bis zum Jahre 19 des Tiberius.’

Moje 2014 no. 17: *P3-dl-Hr-p3-hrꜥ sꜥ Wyn... (?) (2) irm Kꜥlwꜥ nb hꜥꜥ n nꜥ štl.w n ꜥs.t (3) n-tꜥy-n hꜥsb.t 29 n Gysrs^{'ws} r-hn-r hꜥsb.t 19 (4) n Tbrys^{'ws} Gr. Κολλο- | ύθης.*

– The Greek text is a repetition of the son’s name in the associated demotic graffito.

The demotic text refers to the quarrying activity for the goddess Isis. Another demotic inscription written next to this mentions the reconstruction work for Isis of Koptos under the surveillance of the well-known Parthenios son of Paminis, agent of Isis. The text was first published by Spiegelberg as a stela with unknown provenance.²⁹ However, it is not a stela but an inscription from the corridor of the quarry dedicated to Isis in Gebel el-Silsila. The text published here probably also refers to Isis of Koptos and the same construction work.

L. 1: The reading of the father’s name, *Kꜥny?*, is not secure. The signs after *-y-* appear to be determinatives.

L. 4–5: The letters of the Greek name are larger than the demotic signs, and we can assume that the two inscriptions were written by different persons.

No. 188

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q37N.KS.Inscr.7–8

Measurements: L. 27, W. 70 cm (including demotic)

Height above the ground: c. 1 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile 25–26; I. Thèbes à Syène 82; SB III 6843 TM Text ID 97671 and 54186*

²⁹ Republished in Vleeming (2001: 172–173, no. 183).

ΨΕΝΗΑΓΙΟΣ

1. ΨΕΝΗΑΓΙΟΣ
1. Ψενμάγιος
2. *P3-di-Min s; Wd3-Hr*
1. Psenmagios
2. Peteminis, son of Otehyris

Commentary

The Greek and the demotic texts are not related (they mention different persons), although they appear to have been written by the same hand based on the compatible tool grooves.

L. 1: In the name Ψενμάγιος the μ is written as an η .

L. 2: *Graff. Silsile 25* has *Cha-pe-wšt* Sohn des Horos, but the copy does not include the first two demotic signs.

No. 189

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q37N.KS.Inscr.12

Measurements: L. 13.5, W. 13 cm (including offering table)

Height above the ground: c. 2 m

Condition: poorly preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile 29* TM Text ID 54190



Illegible

Commentary

The text is placed within an offering table.

In *Graff. Silsile* this is recorded as 'Totoes' but the preserved details do not support this reading. It is possibly a reversed writing of πορσ(...) for προσκύνημα. Marked in chalk as no. 301.

No. 190

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q37N.KS.Inscr.13

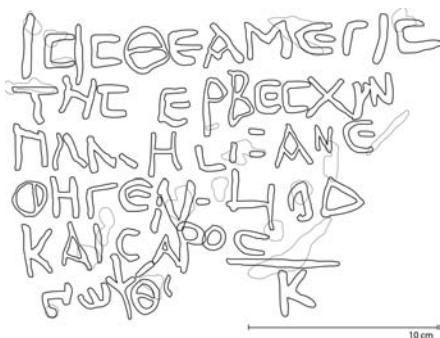
Measurements: L. 16, W. 22 cm

Height above the ground: c. 2.5 m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: *Graff. Silsile* 28; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 83; *SB III* 6845 TM Text ID 54189

Date: 17 September 14AD



1. ICICΘEAMEΓIC
 2. THC EPBECXYN
 3. ΠΑΜΗCIC(?)ANE
 4. ΘΗΓΕΝ[Λ]ΜΔ
 5. ΚΑΙCΑΡΟC
 6. ΘΩΥΘ K̄
1. Ἴσις θεὰ μεγίσ-
 2. τῆς Ἑρβέσχυν(ις)
 3. Πάμησις ἀνέ-
 4. θηγεν (ἔτους) μδ'
 5. Καίσαρος
 6. Θωὸθ ὕψκ'

1. Isis the greatest goddess
2. Herbeschynis
3. (son of) Pamesis (?) dedicated (it).
4. Year 44 of
5. Caesar
6. Thoth 20

Commentary

The stone surface was partially smoothed to receive the text.

L. 1–2: Ἴσις θεὰ is written in the nominative and μεγίστης in the genitive. After the verb ἀνέθηκεν both should be dative (see *I. Thèbes à Syène* 83 note on L. 2: ‘on devrait avoir Ἴσιδι θεᾷ μεγίστη’).

L. 3–4: *Graff. Silsile* 28; *I. Thèbes à Syène* 83: “M. [.]η [..] ἀνέ-”.

– Πάμησις (in the nominative here) may be the variant of Πάνησις/Φάνησις or *Pr-mr-ḥse*.

– ἀνέθηγεν is written for ἀνέθηκεν.

L. 6: *Graff. Silsile* 28 l. 5–6; Καίσαρο[ς][Φ]- | αὐφί, *I. Thèbes à Syène* 83: Καίσαρος [Φ]- | αὐφί

Marked in chalk as no. 300 (10).

No. 191

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q37S.M.Inscr.1

Measurements: L. 98 × W. 12.5 cm

Height above the ground: c. 1m

Condition: Well preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished

ΛΥCICΘYPCIQNOC

10 cm

1. ΛΥCICΘYPCIQNOC
1. Λύσις Θυρσίωνος
1. Lysis son of Thyrsion

Commentary

The reading, Θυρσίων, is likely, but the name is known only outside Egypt.³⁰ The omega is irregular and disarticulated, likely caused by a wedge mark situated above it.

No. 192

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q37S.GN.Inscr.1

Measurements: L. 24, W. 15 cm (including surrounding table)

Height above the ground: c. 1.5 m

Condition: Poorly preserved

Bibliography: Unpublished



1. C(?)AHC
2. X
1. Ψ(?)αης
2. X[...]
1. Psaes (?)
2. Kh[...]

Commentary

The text is very poorly executed and scratched into an uneven surface.

³⁰ LGPN: <http://clas-igpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/name/Θυρσίων>.

7 Quarry 40 (Q40 and 'Commemoration Road')

Q40 is a very small surface quarry situated some 230 m east of the Nile, and 170 m south-east of Q37. The quarry appears to have been abandoned almost immediately due to the poor quality of its stone, and which is indicated by the shallow depth and limited number of blocks removed. The quarry itself does not contain any epigraphic material, but the area immediately to its west contains a concentration of 28 feet graffiti, including an inscribed sandal. The graffiti are distributed over a small part of a road as it descends from the northern part of the plateau to the lower quarry levels, and is there intersected by another pathway that runs from the southern plateau down to the Nile. The corpus consists of a variety of sandals and feet, ranging from simple outlined soles to more elaborate sandals with interior decoration and details. The style of production includes engraved, scratched and hammered examples equally. One of the sandals is situated next to a larger anthropomorphic figure (c. 55 cm tall) illustrated in profile. This sandal is shallowly incised and accompanied by a Greek signature forming the name ΠΙΤΣΕΟΚ. The sandal is likely to be a synecdoche for the person, but may also be intended to represent a real or symbolic act of adoration. Examples from the Graeco-Roman world demonstrate textually how a sandal or foot signified a divinity *per se*, or its previous or continuing presence.³¹ It could also act as a continuous physical place where the worshipper could place his (or her) own feet to effect a bodily connection between the divine and the human through which the devotee could receive protection and positive influence,³² but could equally be a simple print of a passing by visitor.³³ It may be seen as a votive inscription that perpetuates the name of the producer and/or commemorates an act of *Proskynema* or a consecration of a votive.³⁴ If it also incorporates the physical act, performed by the devotee, he (or she) would be *standing* (prostrated) metaphorically before the god, i.e. placing one's feet on the physical (and metaphysical) sacred ground, in an adoration that would be repeated indefinitely through the incised documentation thereof.³⁵ The feet of a devotee, especially when signed, would therefore become a vehicle in which an indi-

31 Chiarini (2017).

32 Petridou (2015: 78 with n. 262).

33 Dijkstra (2012: 43–46).

34 See for example Spiegelberg (1928: 24): a Graeco-Roman graffito at Deir el-Medina, which states "May the beautiful name of Psenchonsis, son of Teos, be enduring in the presence of Hathor, the Great Goddess, the Lady of the West".

35 Vleeming (2001: 256).

vidual's name would be symbolically cemented in the presence of the deity addressed, as with the formula "may his (beautiful) name [NN] remain here before [X]" and "before God [X]" (and similar).³⁶ Examples of abbreviated adoration formulae appear frequently in Q34, especially in partition F, as seen in Chapter 5.

8 Corpus

No. 193

Inv.no.: GeSE.Q40.Inscr.1

Measurements: L. 11, W. 39 cm

Height above the ground: 0 cm (incised into the bedrock floor)

Condition: well preserved, but shallowly etched

Bibliography: unpublished



1. ΠΕΤΚΕΟC
1. Πέτσεος
1. Petseos

Commentary

The signature is superimposed over a sandal graffito. The name is unknown, and only one similar form, Πετσεῶς, is attested (Elephantine, 1st century AD).³⁷

³⁶ Nilsson (2015b: 5).

³⁷ *O. Cairo* 69 l. 1.

TABLE 10 Individuals listed in the southern quarries

No.	Type of text	Name in transliteration	Name transcribed	Type of individual	Location
170	S	Ἀρβέ(σ)χι(νις)	Harbeschinis	1st	Q35.C
170	S	Πετεφι(βιος)	Petephibis	Father	Q35.C
171	S	Ἀρ(βέσ)χι(νις)	Harbeschinis	1st	Q35.C
172	S	Ἀρβεσχινος	Harbeschinis	1st	Q35.C
172	S	Πακοίβιος	Pakoibis	Father	Q35.C
173	S	Ἀρβέ(σ)χι(νις)	Harbeschinis	1st	Q35.E
173	S	Πετεφι(βιος)	Petephibis	Father	Q35.E
174	S	Πετεμίνιος	Peteminis	1st	Q35.E
174	S	Πετεμίνιος	Peteminis	Father	Q35.E
175	P	Πακοίβιος	Pakoibis	1st	Q35.E
175	P	Παουήρ<ι>ος	Paweris	Father	Q35.E
176	P	Ἀρβέσχι(νις)	Harbeschinis	1st	Q35.E
176	P	Πετέφιβις	Petephibis	Father	Q35.E
177	S	Ἀρβεσχινος	Harbeschinis	1st	Q35.E
177	S	Πακοίβιος	Pakoibis	Father	Q35.E
178	P	Πακοίβιος	Pakoibis	1st	Q35.E
178	P	Παουήριος	Paweris	Father	Q35.E
179	P	Ἀρίστωνος	Ariston	1st	Q37N.C
179	P	Ἀμμονίου	Ammonios	Father	Q37N.C
180	S	Ἀμμώνιος	Ammonios	1st	Q37N.F
180	S	Δίων	Dion	Father	Q37N.F
181	S	Πάνουφρις	Panouphis	1st	Q37N.F
182	S	Βαράθης	Barathes	1st	Q37N.G
182	S	Βαράθης	Barathes	Father	Q37N.G
183	P	Μασής	Mases	1st	Q37N.G
183	P	Δράκων	Drakon	Father	Q37N.G
184	S	Ψέν` ις`	Psenis	1st	Q37N.H
184	S	Τοτόης	Totoes	Father	Q37N.H
185	S	Τοτόης	Totoes	1st	Q37N.J
185	S	<i>Twtw</i>	Totoes	1st	Q37N.J
185	S	<i>Pa-wr</i>	Paueris	Father	Q37N.J
186	I				Q37.KS
187	S	<i>P3-di-Hr-p3-hrt</i>	Peteharpokrates	1st	Q37.KS
187	S	<i>Κηγ?</i>		Father	Q37.KS
187	S	Κολλούθης	Kollouthes	Son	Q37.KS

TABLE 10 Individuals listed in the southern quarries (*cont.*)

No.	Type of text	Name in transliteration	Name transcribed	Type of individual	Location
188	S	Ψενμάγιος	Psenmagios	1st	Q37.KS
188	S	<i>P₃-di-Min</i>	Peteminis	2nd	Q37.KS
188	S	<i>Wd₃-Hr</i>	Otehyris	Father	Q37.KS
189	I				
190	D	Ἑρβέσχυν(ις)	Herbeschynis	1st	Q37.KS
190	D	Πάμησις	Pamesis	Father	Q37.KS
191	S	Λύσις	Lysis	1st	Q37S.M
191	S	Θυρσίωνος	Thyrision	Father	Q37S.M
192	S	Ψ(?)ᾶης	Psaes (?)	1st	Q37S.GS
192	I				Q37S.GS
193	S	Πέτσεος	Petseos	1st	Q40

(Grey = demotic; Type of text: I = Illegible; P = Proskynema; S = Signature)

Quarry Faces Marked with Greek Inscriptions (Nos.)

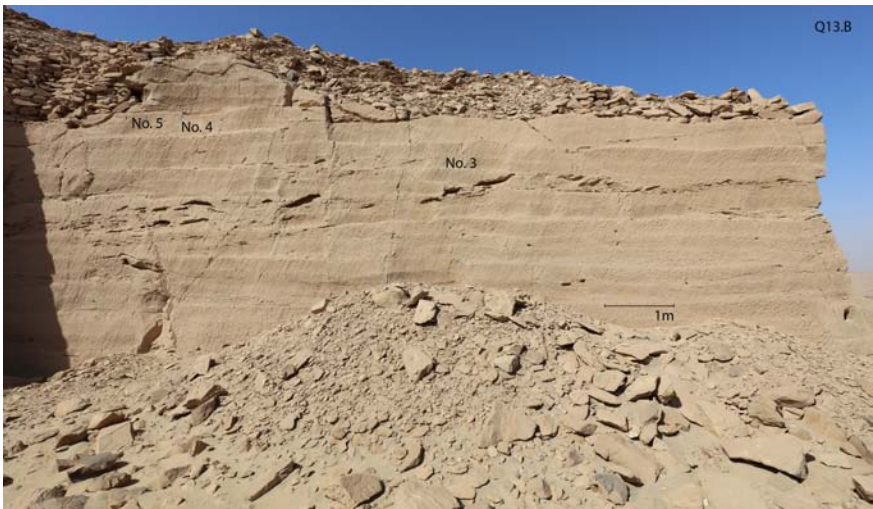
Appendix 1 includes original photographs of quarry faces (individual or multiple) marked with the Greek inscriptions (catalogue numbers). When possible, these images are shown from a straight frontal view. However, as this is not always possible due to their size and location, some images are shown from an angle; others have been created by pasting together two or more sections. Excluded from this appendix is the corridor of Q34 (nos. 161–169) as it is impossible to display its entirety in one photo. The locations of nos. 9–10 and 193 are not represented within the appendix as they are not quarry faces. All scales measure 1 meter.



NO. 1 Quarry 11, northern wall, central section



NO. 2 Quarry 13, north-facing (A)



NOS. 3-5 Quarry 13, east-facing (B)



NOS. 6-7 Quarry 14, northern entrance



NO. 8 Quarry 19, central part



NOS. 11-14 Quarry 24, north-facing (E)



NOS. 15-21 Quarry 24, east-facing (TS)



NO. 22 Quarry 34, south-facing (C3)



NOS. 23-24 Quarry 34, south-facing (C6)



NOS. 25-33 Quarry 34, west- and north-facing (C7-9)



NO. 34 Quarry 34, west-facing (C10)

Q34.C13, 15



NOS. 35-36, 41-42 Quarry 34, north-facing (C13-15)



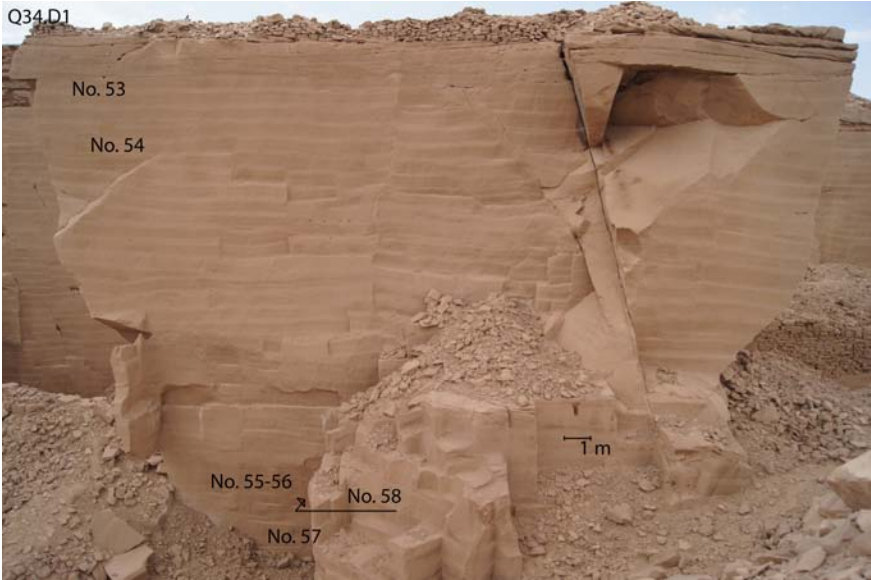
NOS. 37-40 Quarry 34, west-facing (C12-14)



NO. 45 Quarry 34, west-facing (C16)



NOS. 47-52 Quarry 34, north- and west-facing (C17-21)



NOS. 53-58 Quarry 34, north-facing (D1)



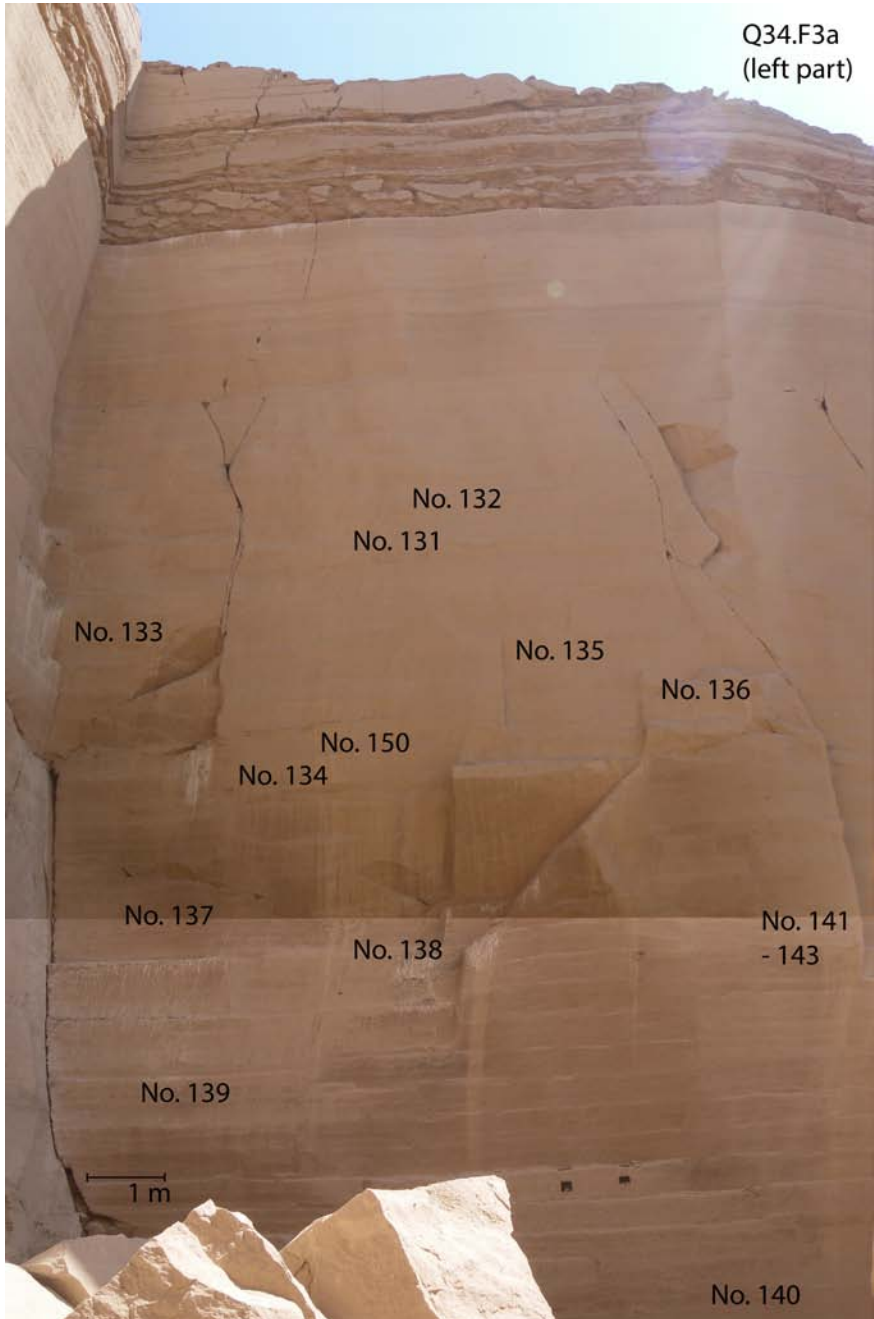
NO. 59 Quarry 34, east-facing (D5)



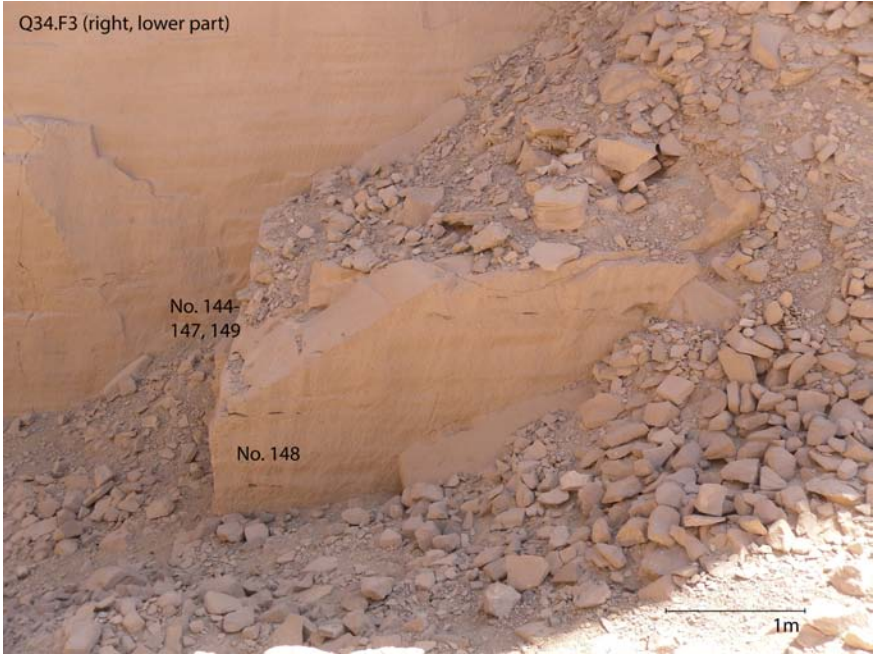
NOS. 60-64 Quarry 34, south-facing (F1)



NOS. 65-130 Quarry 34, west-facing (F2)



NOS. 131-143, 150 Quarry 34, north-facing (F3)



NOS. 144-149 Quarry 34, north-facing (F3)



NOS. 151-159 Quarry 34, north-facing (F5, 11)



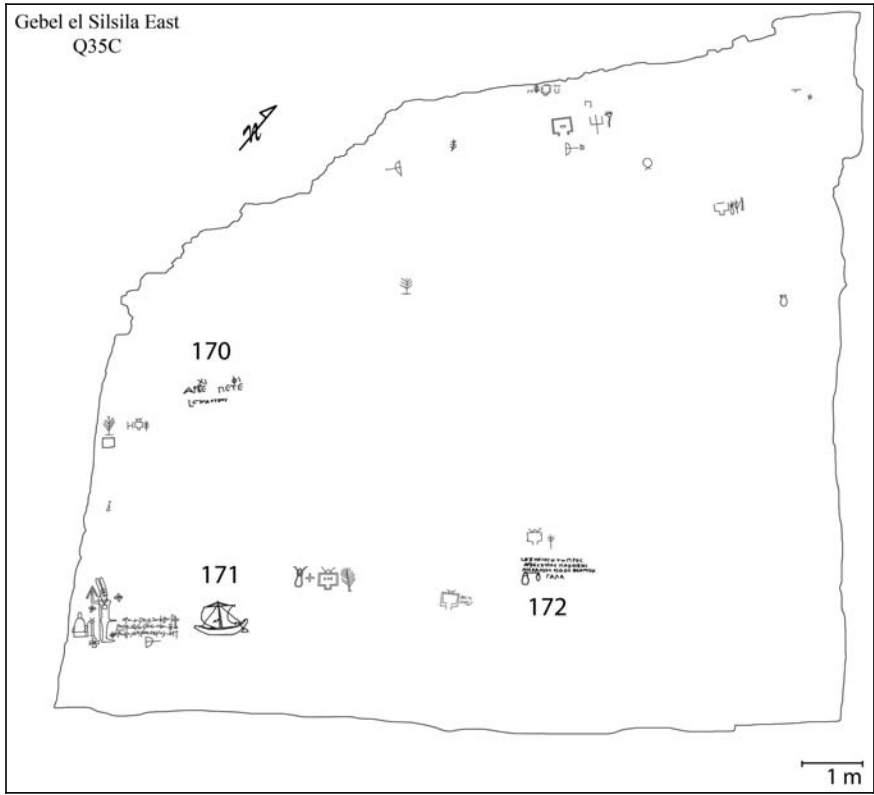
NO. 160 Quarry 34, east-facing (F12)



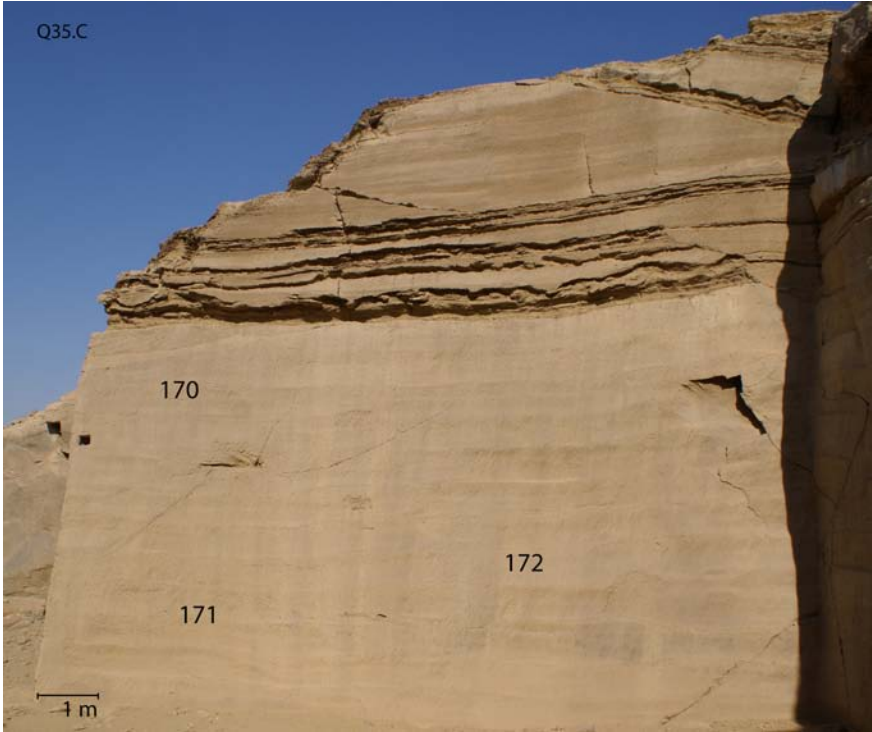
NOS. 161–162 Quarry 34, south-facing (GN)



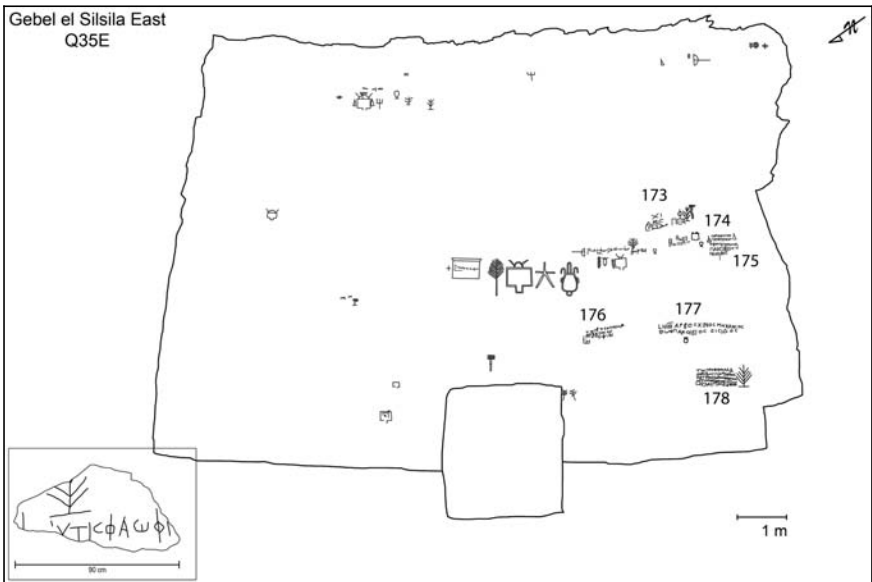
NOS. 163–164 Quarry 34, north-facing (GS)



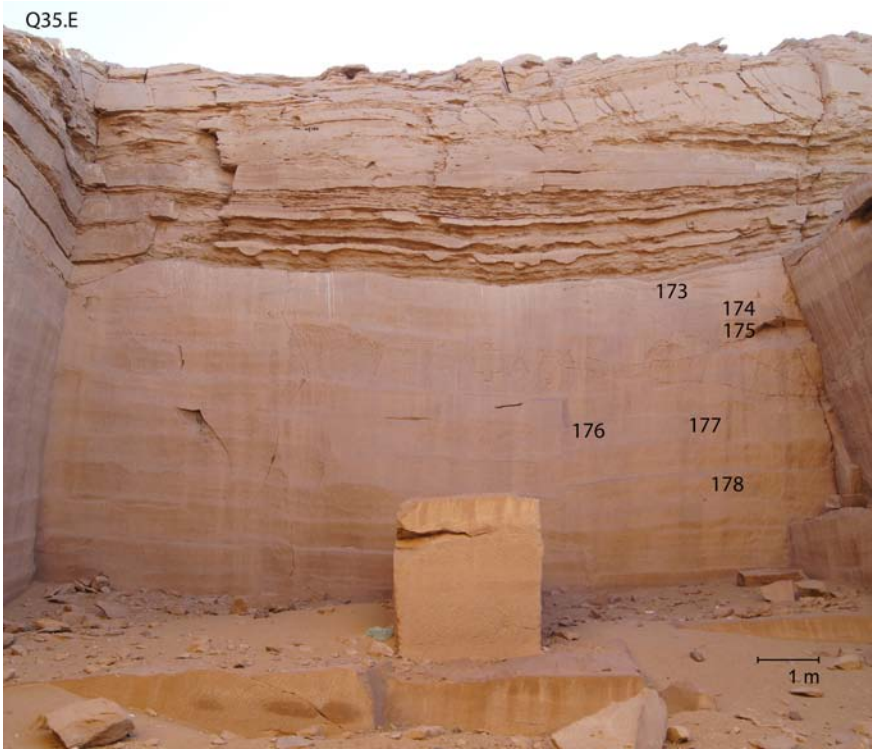
NOS. 170-172 Quarry 35, east-facing (C). Drawing



NOS. 170–172 Quarry 35, east-facing (C)



NOS. 173–178 Quarry 35, west-facing (E). Drawing



NOS. 173–178

Quarry 35, west-facing (E)



NO. 179 Quarry 37, west-facing (N.C)



NOS. 180-181 Quarry 37, west-facing (N.F)



NOS. 182-184 Quarry 37, north and west-facing (N.G and H)



NO. 185 Quarry 37, west-facing (N.J)



NOS. 186-190 Quarry 37, north-facing (N.KS)



NO. 191 Quarry 37, east-facing (S.M)



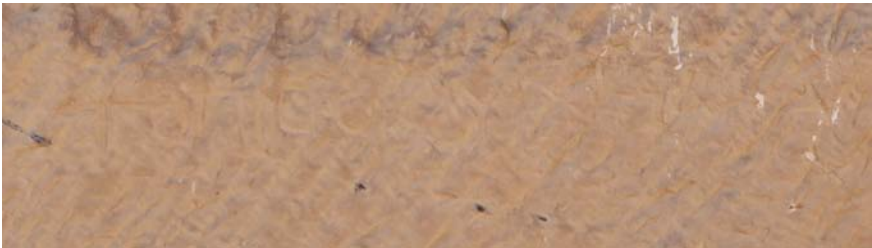
NO. 192 Quarry 37, south-facing (S.GN)

APPENDIX 2

Original Photographs of the Corpus



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4



No. 5



No. 6



No. 7



No. 8



No. 9



No. 10



No. 11



No. 12



No. 13



No. 14



No. 15



No. 16



No. 17



No. 18



No. 19



No. 20



No. 21



No. 22



No. 23



No. 24



No. 25



No. 26



No. 27



No. 28



No. 29



No. 30



No. 31



No. 32



No. 33



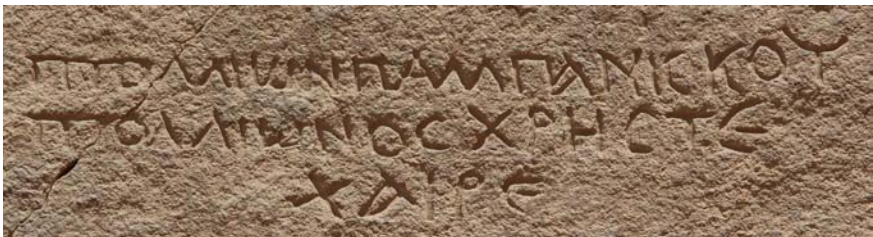
No. 34



No. 35



No. 36



No. 37



No. 38



No. 39



No. 40



No. 41



No. 42



No. 43



No. 44



No. 45



No. 46



No. 47



No. 48



No. 49



No. 50



No. 51



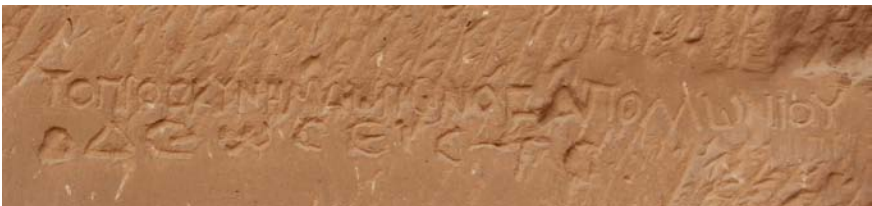
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No. 53



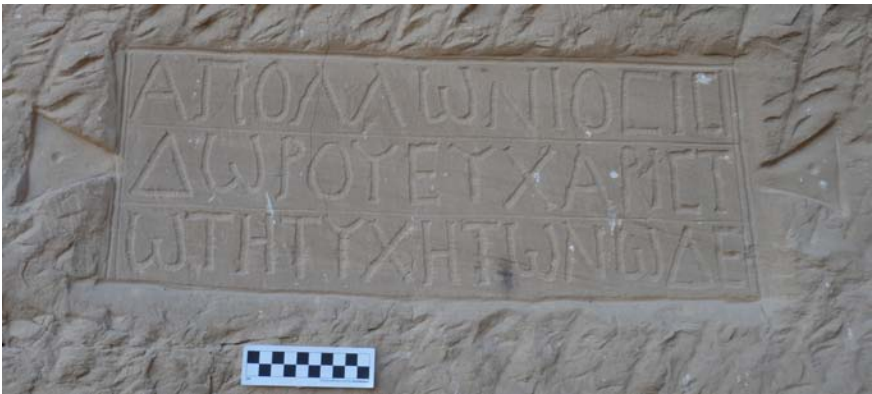
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No. 55



No. 56



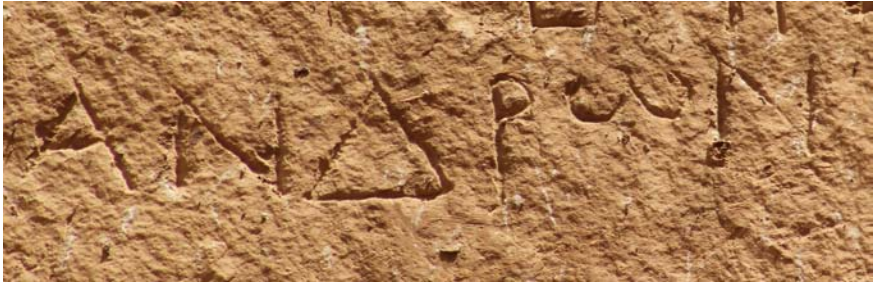
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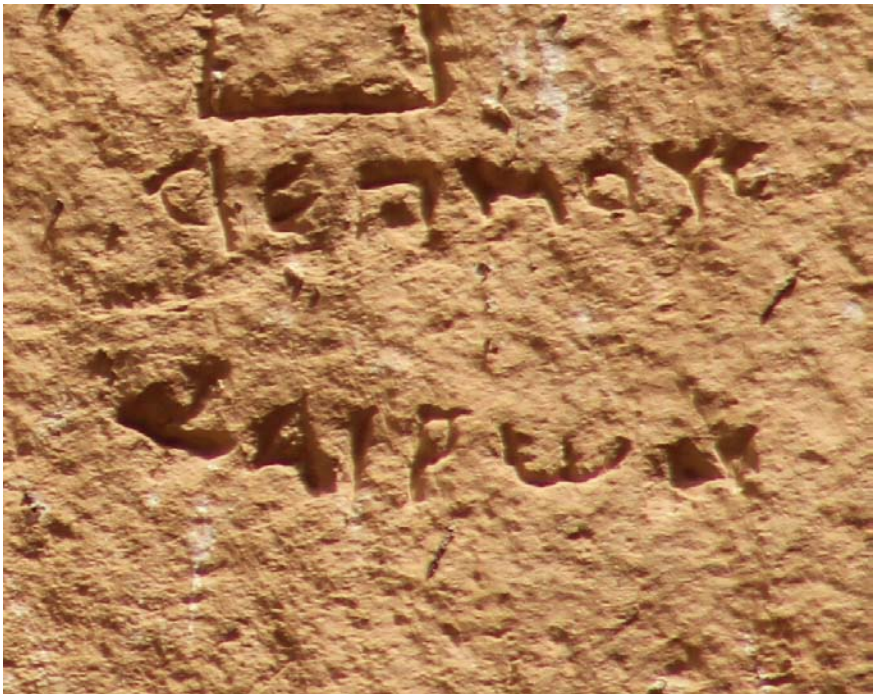
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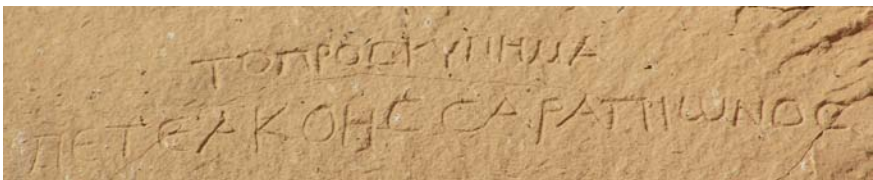
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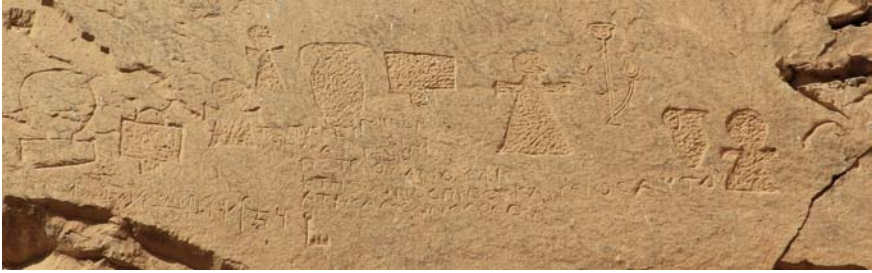
No. 60



No. 61



No. 62



No. 63



No. 64



No. 65



No. 66



No. 67



No. 68



No. 69



No. 70



No. 71



No. 72



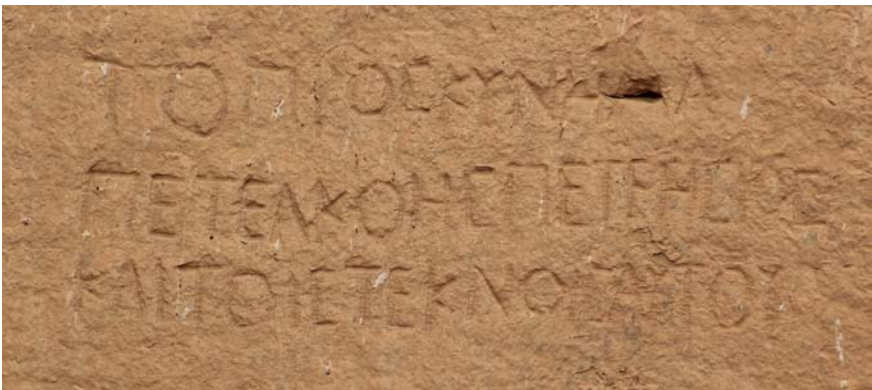
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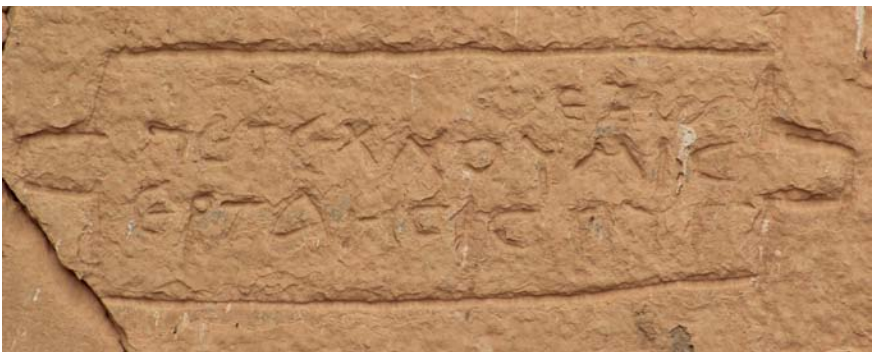
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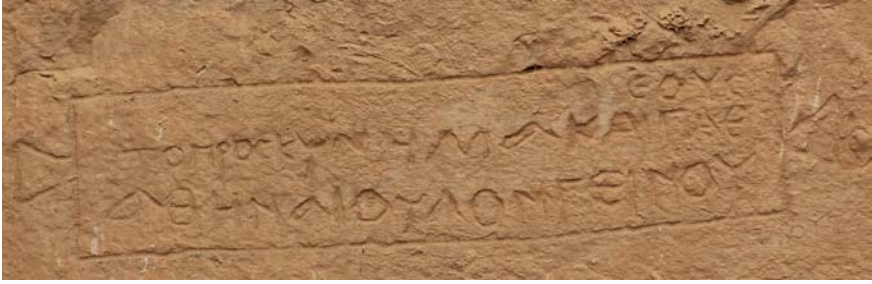
No. 75



No. 76



No. 77



No. 78



No. 79



No. 80



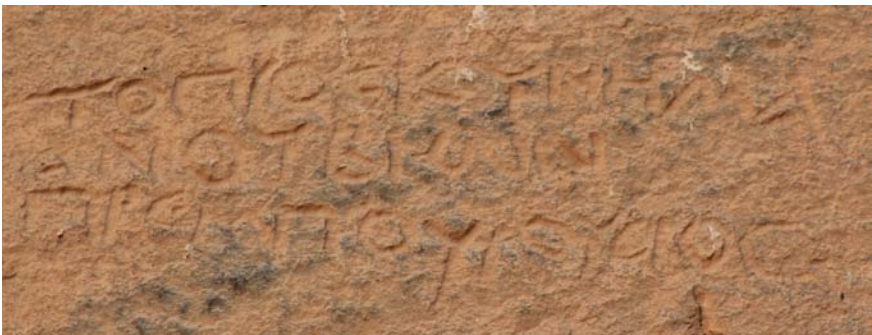
No. 81



No. 82



No. 83



No. 84



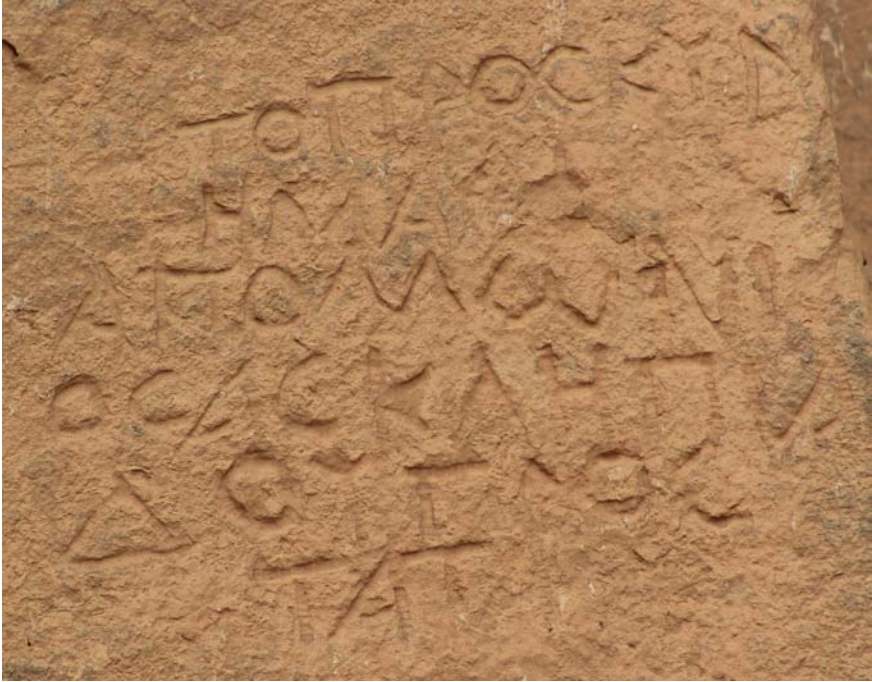
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No. 86



No. 87



No. 88



No. 89



No. 90



No. 91



No. 92



No. 93



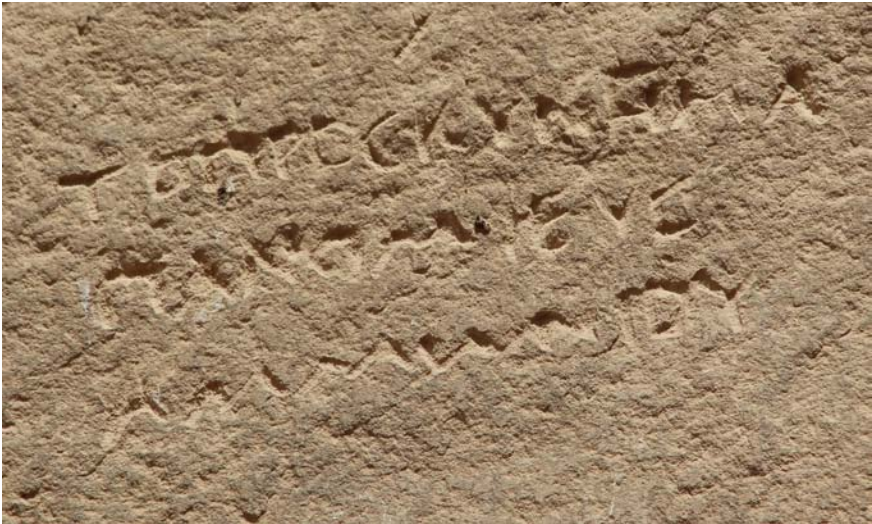
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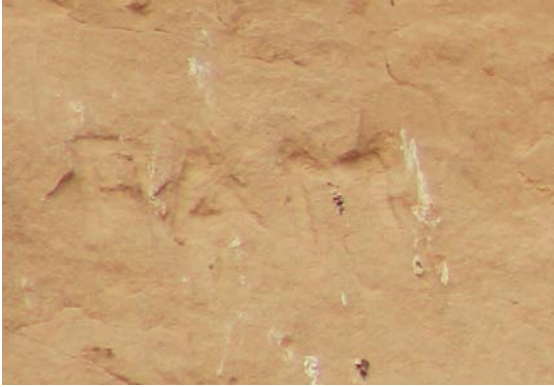
No. 95



No. 96



No. 97



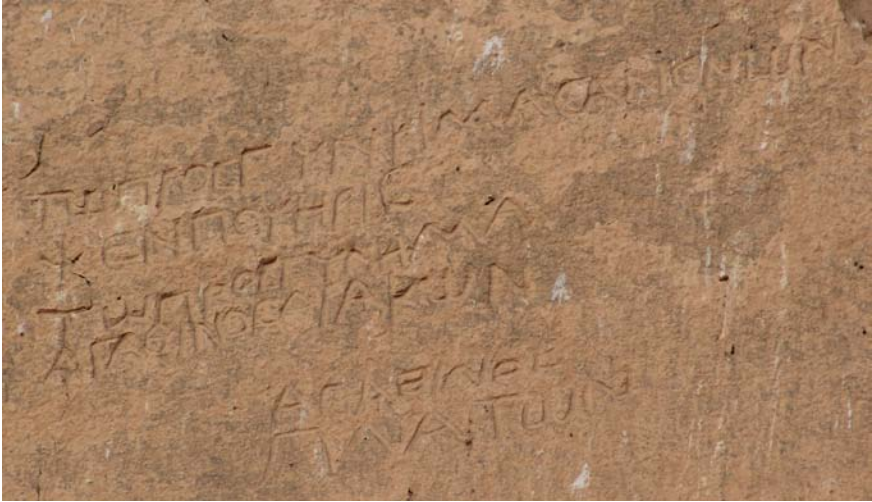
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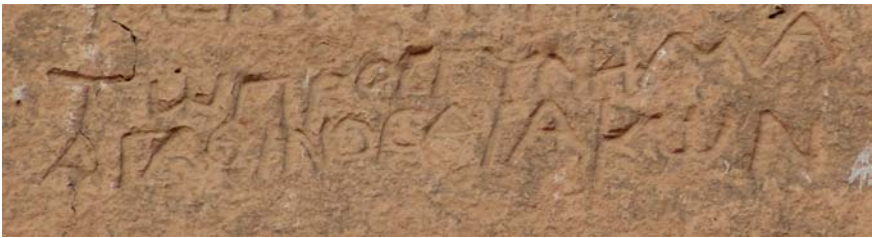
No. 99



No. 100



Nos. 100-102



No. 101



No. 102



No. 103



No. 104



No. 105



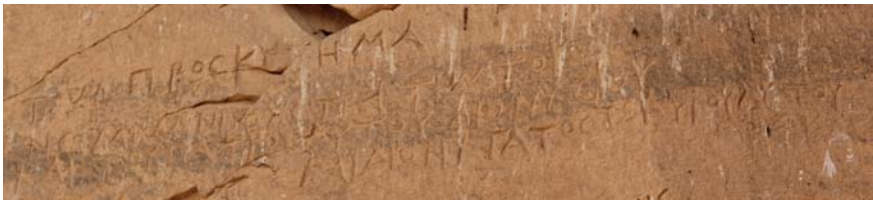
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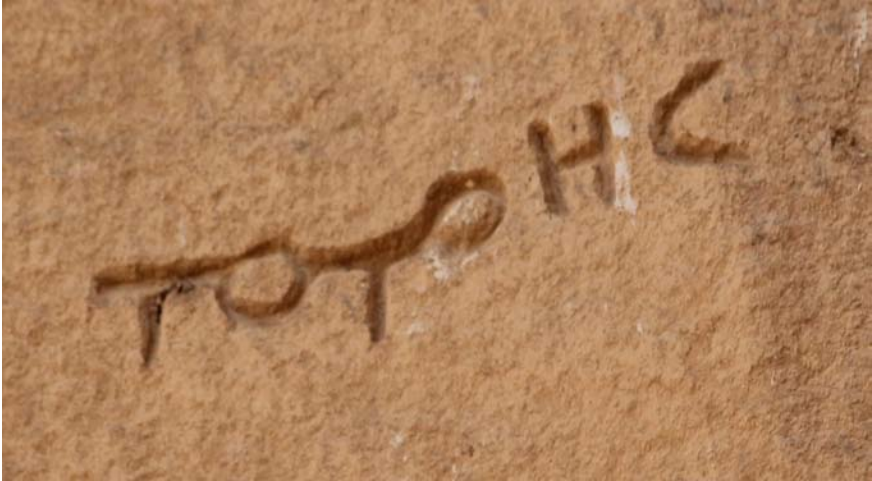
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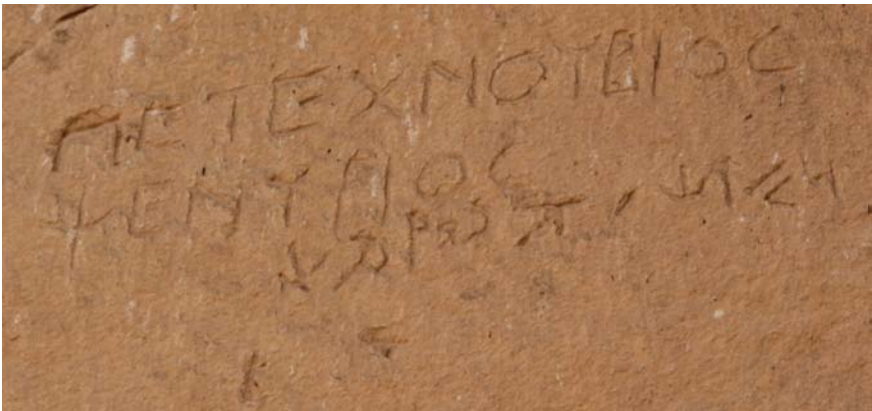
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No. 109



No. 110



No. 111



No. 112



No. 113



No. 114



No. 115



No. 116



No. 117



No. 118



No. 119



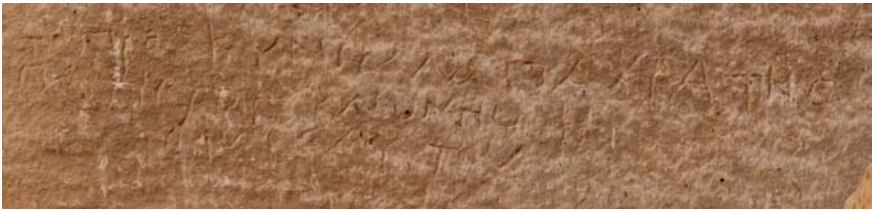
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No. 121



No. 122



No. 123



No. 124



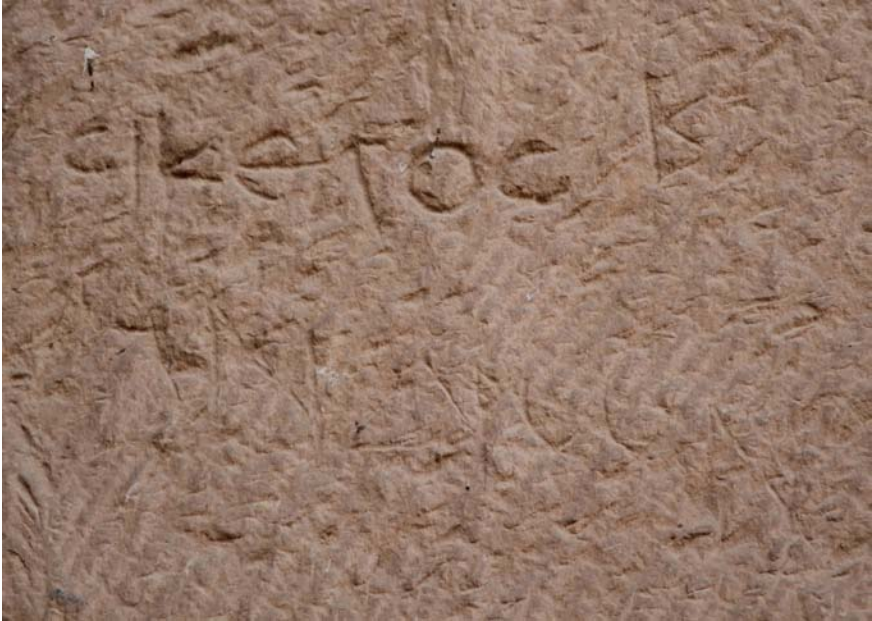
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No. 126



No. 127



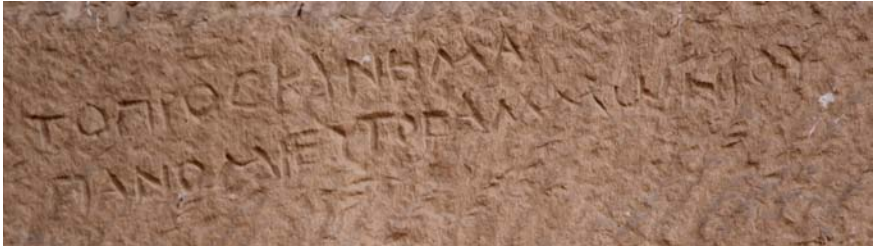
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No. 132



No. 133



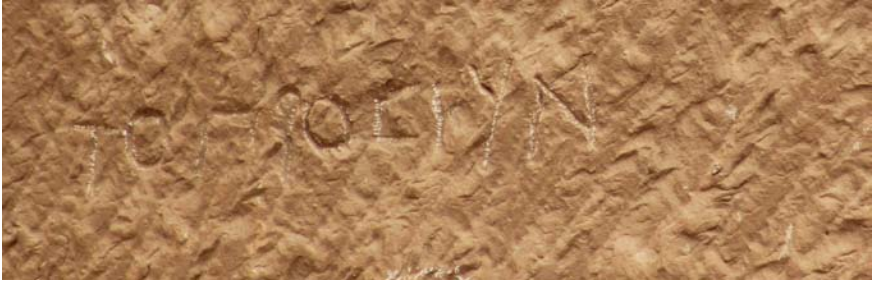
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No. 135



No. 136



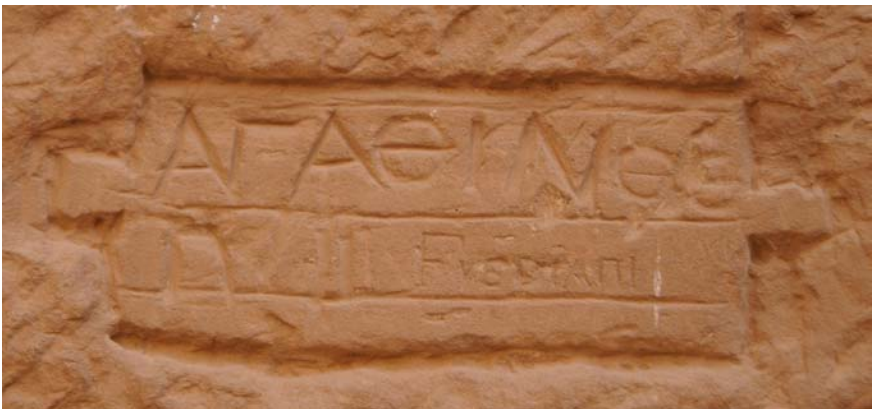
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No. 138



No. 139



No. 140



No. 141



No. 142



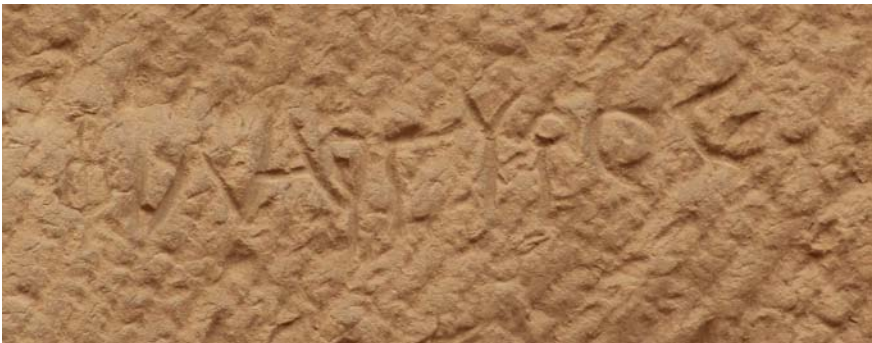
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No. 144



No. 145



No. 146



No. 147



No. 148



No. 149



No. 150



No. 151



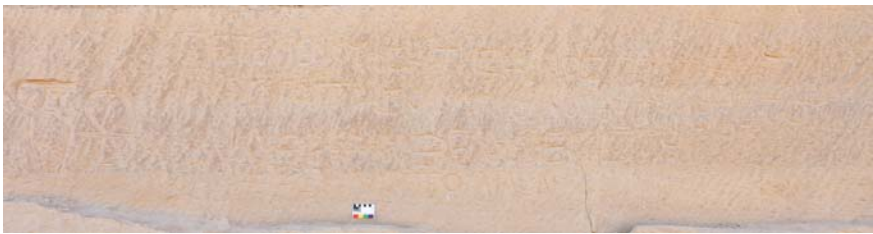
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No. 153



No. 154



No. 155



No. 156



No. 157



No. 158



No. 159



No. 160



No. 161



No. 162



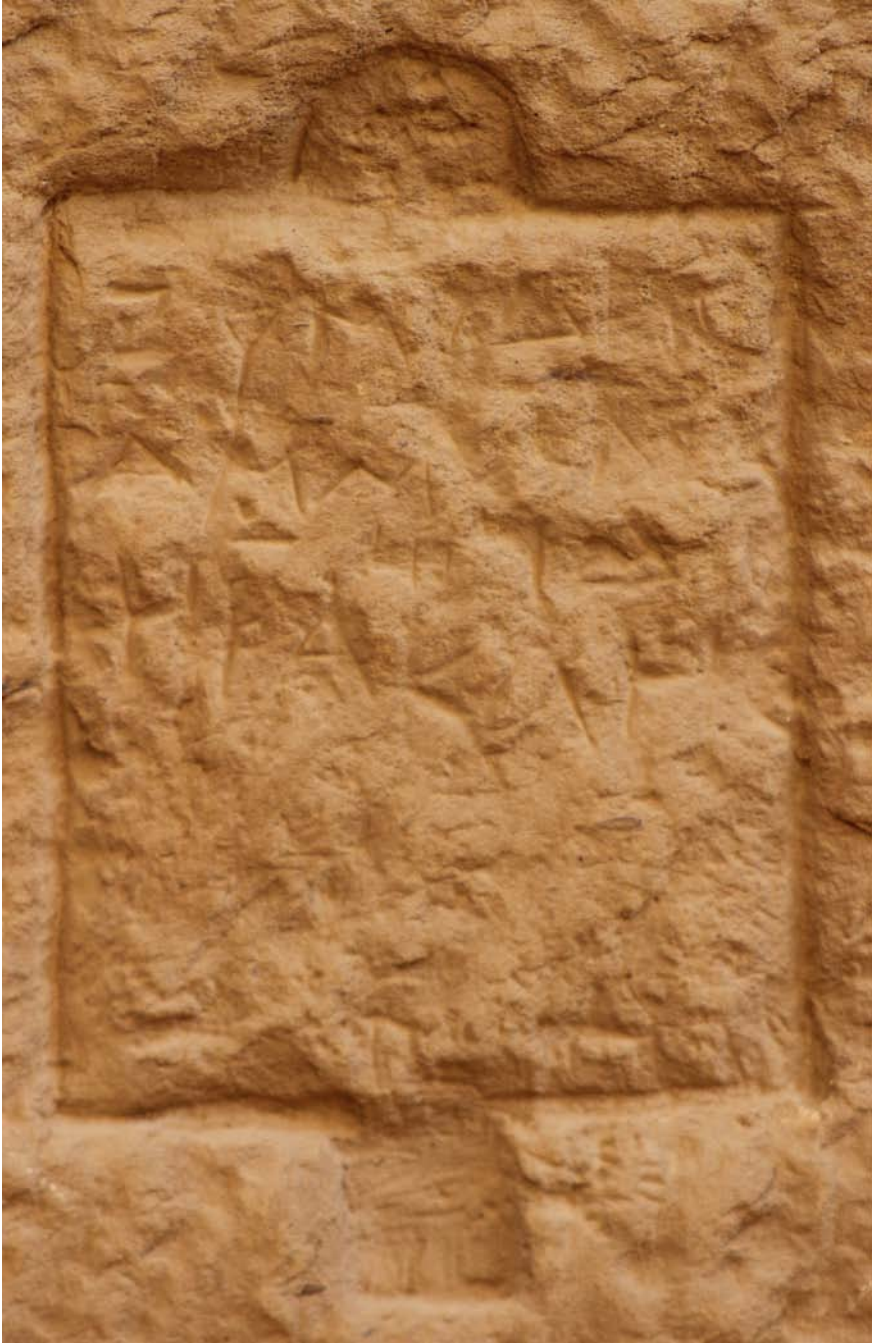
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No. 164



No. 165



No. 166



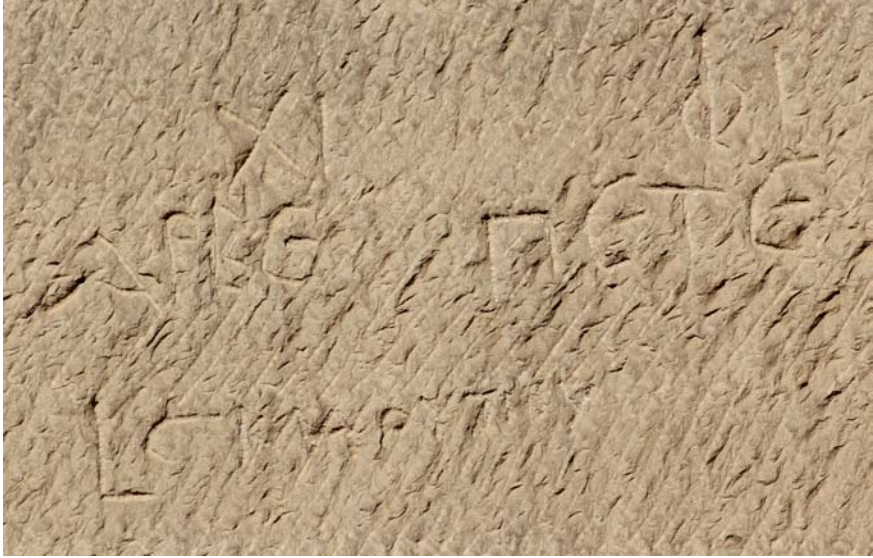
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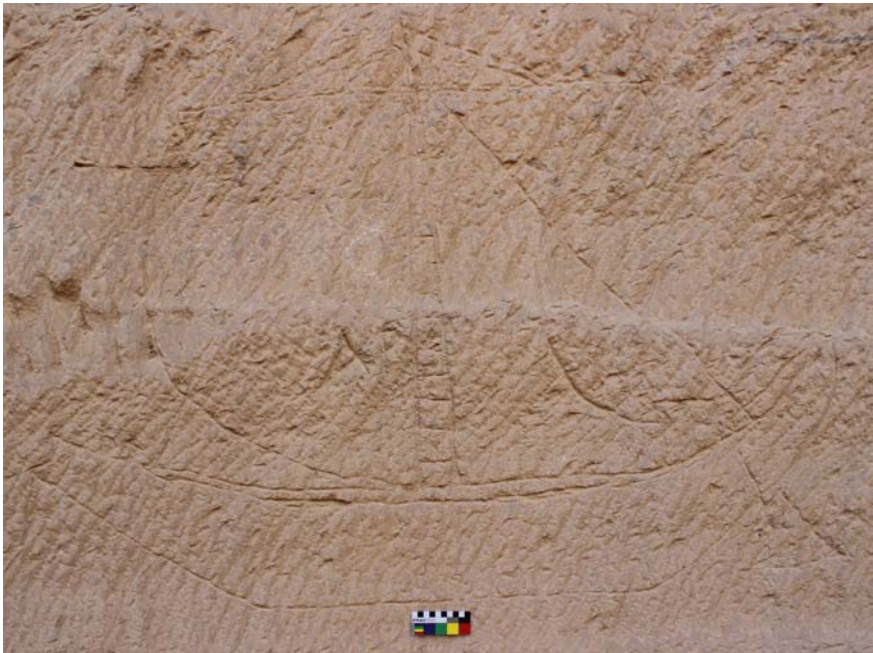
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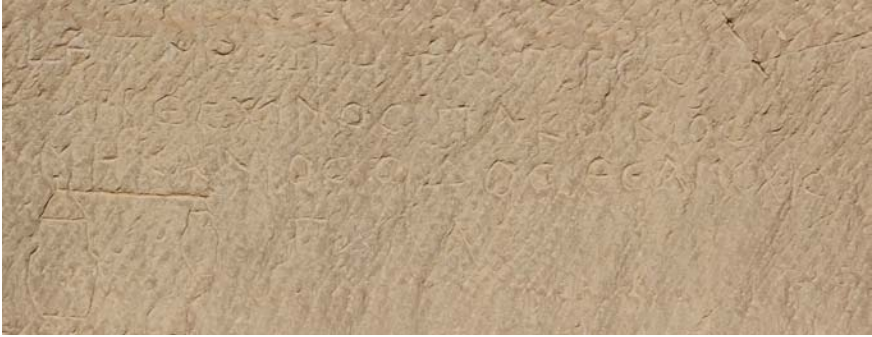
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No. 170



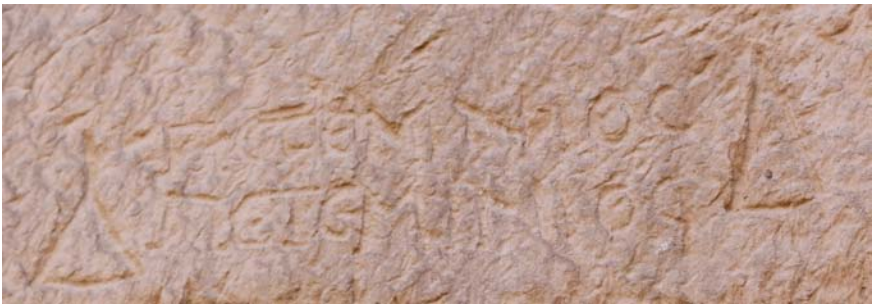
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No. 172



No. 173



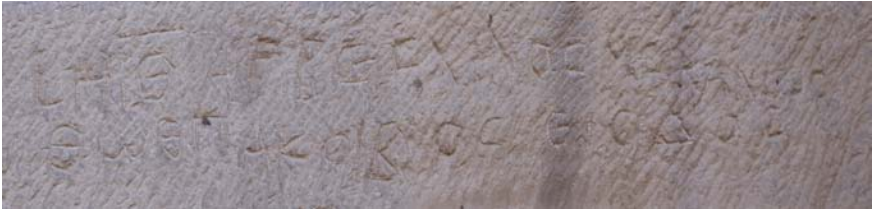
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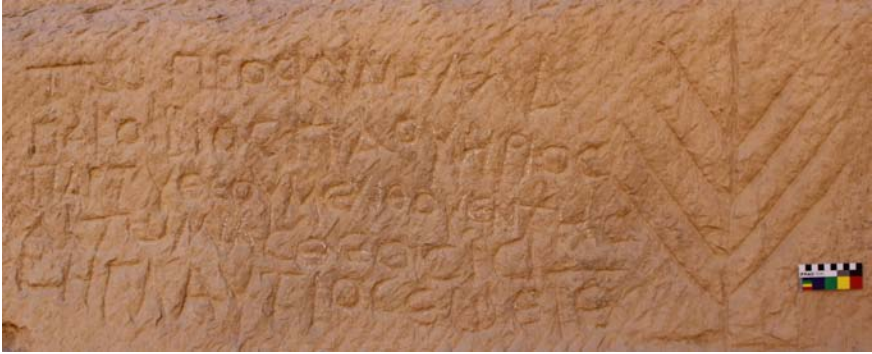
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No. 176



No. 177



No. 178



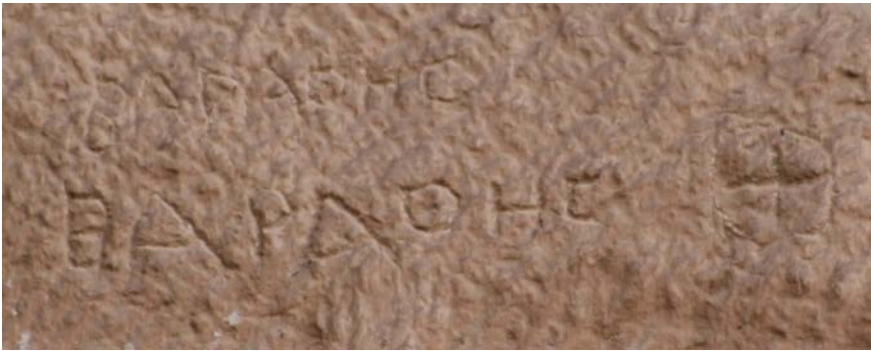
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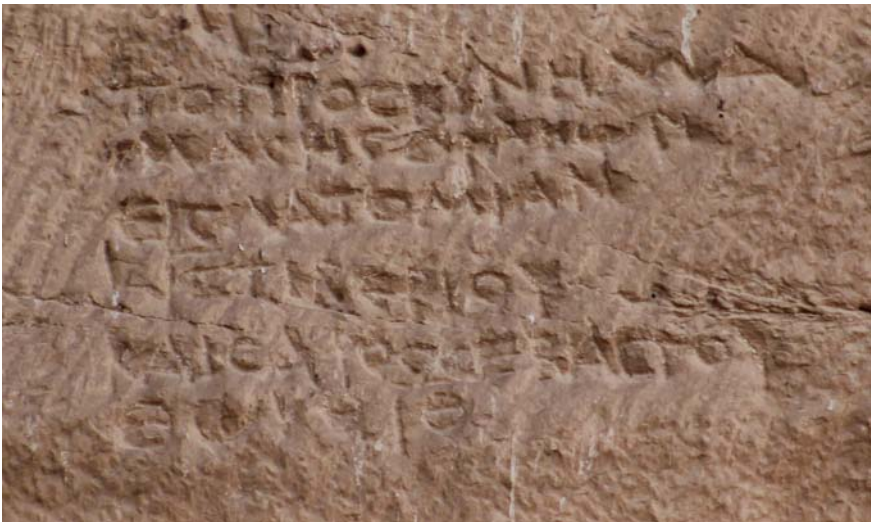
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No. 181



No. 182



No. 183



No. 184



No. 185



No. 186



No. 187



No. 188



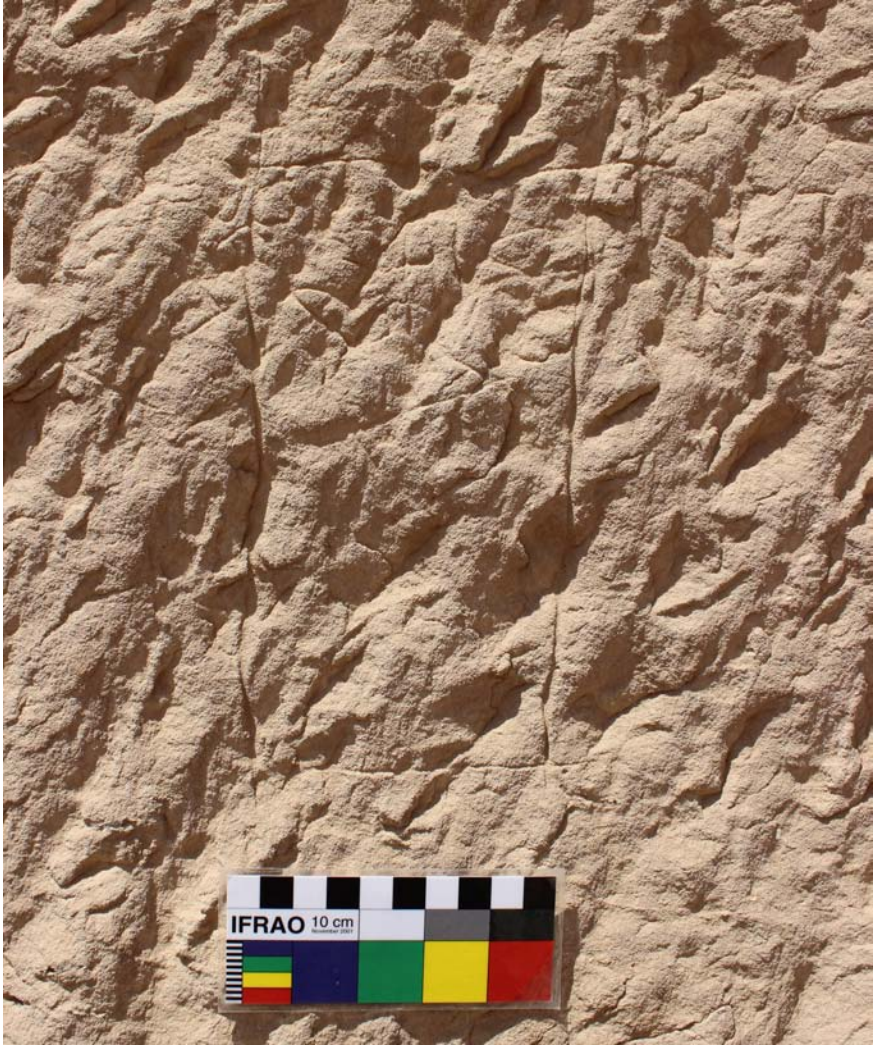
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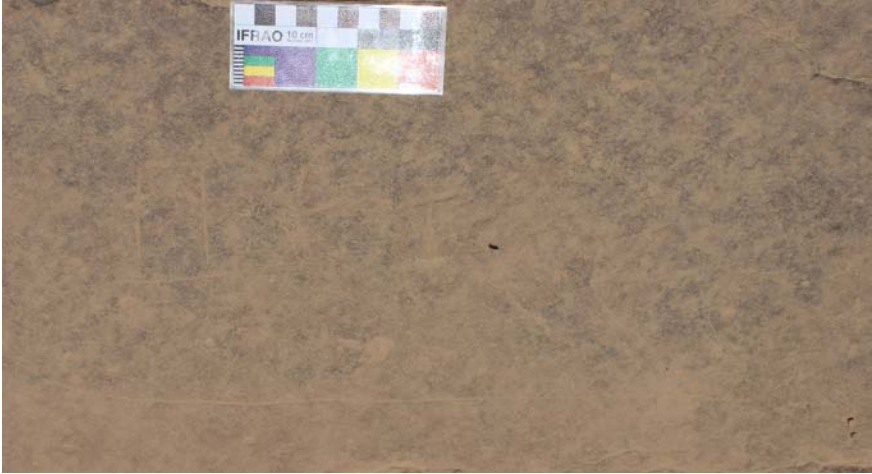
No. 190



No. 191



No. 192



No. 193



Addendum Latin

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For the first time, this book presents the complete collection of Greek inscriptions of Gebel el-Silsila East – Ancient Egypt’s largest and most important sandstone quarry, including lists of names and professions of individuals involved in the quarry expeditions. The inscriptions are described, illustrated and analysed and placed within their archaeological context based on careful documentation *in situ* with up-to-date methodology. The work makes substantial contributions in the form of novel and improved readings and interpretations of known texts and of previously unpublished material discovered through the fieldwork. It is the first volume of three dealing with Graeco-Roman inscriptions on the east bank, with the following two volumes to cover the demotic texts and quarry marks respectively.

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