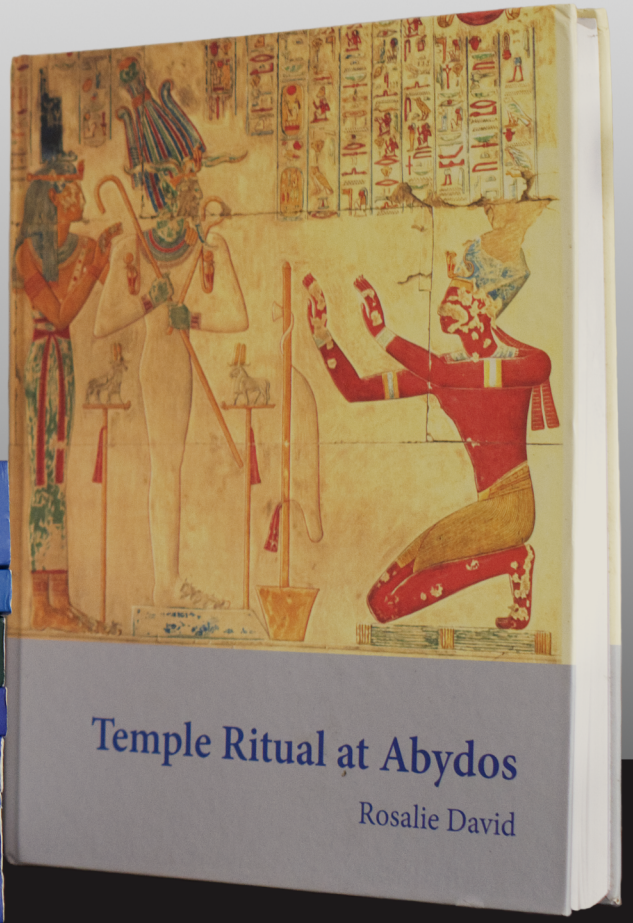
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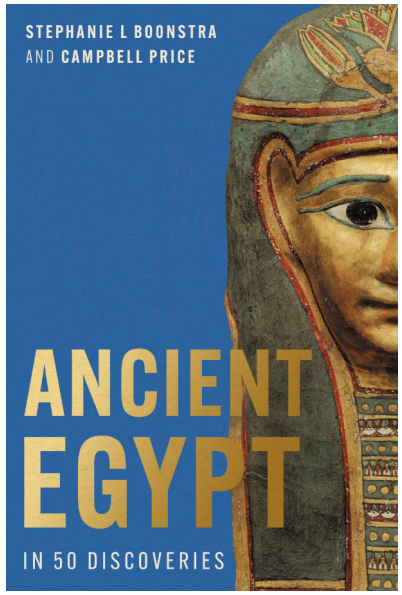


Julia Thorne

julia@tetisheri.co.uk

With a BA and Postgraduate Diploma in Egyptology and over two decades of diverse administrative experience, I offer publishers a rare blend of subject matter expertise and rigorous production management. As the former Publications Manager at the Egypt Exploration Society (2023–2026), I oversaw production of academic titles, using Adobe InDesign to typeset complex works featuring extensive data tables and object catalogues.

My background in a range of administrative roles – from the National Probation Service to trade union work – has honed my ability to liaise professionally with various stakeholders, including authors, reviewers, and printers, while adhering to organisational procedures and deadlines. This combination of technical typesetting skill, heritage sector knowledge, and proven operational reliability ensures that every project is handled with both academic precision and professional care.



ANCIENT EGYPT IN 50 DISCOVERIES

Stephanie L. Boonstra and Campbell Price

Key information:

- Published 2025 (The Egypt Exploration Society)
- Paperback and PDF eBook
- Gold foil on cover
- Chapters arranged with object entries and additional insets

Key skills:

- Project management
- Adobe InDesign
- Adobe Acrobat Pro
- Layout design
- Image editing
- QGIS (maps)
- Checking printers' proofs

This book is one of the Egypt Exploration Society's most ambitious to date. It brings a history of ancient Egypt to a general audience, but through the lens of 50 objects and sites discovered during excavations funded by the EES. It features the 50 object entries, with insets throughout covering aspects of both ancient Egyptian history and the history of excavation in Egypt. Importantly, it highlights the colonial aspect of excavation history, including the lack of credit the sizeable Egyptian workforce has suffered over the years.

The book is authored and edited by Drs Stephanie L Boonstra and Campbell Price, and features contributions from Egyptologists across the globe.

I managed production of the book, liaising closely with the two authors, as well as a copy-editor, an artist (commissioned to produce digital artwork of a few objects), a cover designer, academic reviewers, printers and EES distributors.

I designed the internal layout of the book – with an emphasis on accessibility – and typeset it. I worked with historic photos from the EES archive in Photoshop to tidy them up and make them suitable for print.

I created a map of sites in Egypt for the front matter using QGIS, and I created the book's page on the EES website.

I also had one of my artefact photos featured – a stela with a possible depiction of Tutankhamun, in the collection at Manchester Museum – as it was one of the 50 discoveries.

All cover and spread images in this portfolio are courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society

Egyptian archaeological workforce

The tradition of working with Quftis (i.e. people from the Upper Egyptian village of Quft) in Egyptian archaeology began with Flinders Petrie in 1893–1894 when he directed excavations at the temple at Koptos in Upper Egypt. A group of men from the nearby village of Quft were employed to work on the excavation and were trained by Petrie and a ***rais*** (Arabic for 'overseer') Ali es-Suefi (see pp. 206–207). Petrie's excavations continued in the region for several years and continued to employ the same Qufti men, who became increasingly expert in archaeological methods and techniques. These specifically trained men were then employed on an increasing number of foreign-led excavations throughout Egypt, Sudan and even Palestine, which led to intergenerational training of Qufti archaeological specialists.

Excavations employing Qufti labour would generally have three distinct categories of employment: 1) a local workforce of men and boys (occasionally, and usually only in Northern Egypt, women and girls were also employed), often without archaeological experience, to conduct the lion's share of manual labour such as clearing surface soil and carrying dirt/sand for sifting; 2) the trained men and boys from Quft (and occasionally from other villages such as Lahun, Qurna and Harageh), overseen by a *rais* (who was also a non-local Egyptian), who would do the actual excavation of archaeological features and oversee the local workforce; and 3) the Western archaeologists who would record the Qufti findings and ultimately analyse and publish the results. This division of responsibility does not always follow expectations; during the Boston-led excavations in Egypt and Sudan from 1913 to 1947, the Quftis kept individual written records in Arabic of their work on the excavation (which are now in the archives of Harvard University).



A 'group of workmen' from the 1933–1934 season at Amarna. Frustratingly, the caption omits the names of the individuals featured (EES. TA.NEG.33-34.A.135).

By the interwar period, the use of Quftis in Western excavations in Egypt was well established. Particular evidence for their contributions to Egyptology can be found in the EES archives from the excavations at Amarna. During these excavations (see pp. 124–125), the EES employed roughly two dozen Quftis (depending on the season), as well as local labour from the neighbouring villages of Hagg Qandil and Et-Till. Although the archival records for the local men and children are patchy, more thorough records of the Qufti specialists can be found throughout the archive, from the records of individual finds (sometimes naming the Qufti responsible for the discovery) to the Western archaeologists' dig notebooks, a ledger of salaries, photographs and even correspondence between the Western archaeologists, EES London staff and the Quftis, sometimes in Arabic.

Furthermore, the ledger of Qufti salaries from the 1930s excavations directed by John Pendlebury provide short, although sometimes prejudiced, comments on the character of each Qufti employee. Pendlebury gave particularly high praise to *rais* Ali Sherrif, stating that the *rais* was 'the finest archaeologist and man of all. Worthy of all trust.'



Statue of Senwosret III at the Deir el-Bahari dig house, shortly after discovery (EES. DB.NEG.05-06.218).

16 Statues of Senwosret III

Temple of Montuhotep II, Deir el-Bahari, Thebes (excavated 1905)
Mid-Twelfth Dynasty (c.1870–1831 BCE)
Granodiorite, H 122 cm W 58 cm D 50 cm
Egyptian Museum in Cairo (SR 3/9595)

A somewhat unexpected highlight of the excavations led by Édouard Naville at the Eleventh Dynasty temple of Montuhotep II was the discovery of six granodiorite statues representing a later ruler: Senwosret III (c.1870–1831 BCE).

The Egyptian Museum in Cairo houses one well-preserved example; another three similar statues are now in the British Museum. The statues may have originally been placed in a row around the courtyard in the temple of Montuhotep II, but later fell from the main part of the temple. They were apparently deliberately broken off at the knees and lower body; only four of the six had their heads preserved, with the exception of the nose. Unfortunately, these broken parts were never found and the reason for the damage is unclear; unlike some other ancient Egyptians, Senwosret III did not suffer any particular attack on his memory.

During the Middle Kingdom, royal art made some significant departures from the previous way of representing the king – the results of which are often said to humanise the monarch. This era witnessed a revolutionary change in the political scene. Kings were committed not only to military expansion into neighbouring lands, but also to the implementation of agricultural reforms or water resource management in Egypt itself.

King Senwosret III is depicted in a pose widely believed to indicate prayer, with his arms stretched over a triangular, asymmetric kilt. He wears the striped and pleated *nemes* headdress with the rearing cobra, or ***uraeus***. The face of the king is one of the most recognisable among all ancient Egyptian royals, with a dramatic expression, perhaps to suggest the duties he is answering before the gods. The king is shown with heavy-lidded eyes and strongly marked wrinkles surrounding them, perhaps implying weariness or age. These facial features were uncommon on the faces of earlier Egyptian kings, who were usually portrayed with a youthful, strong appearance. This change is often interpreted as reflecting the role of the 'good shepherd' mentioned in contemporary



27 Stela of Tutankhamun(?)

Abydos (excavated 1899–1900)
Late Eighteenth Dynasty (c.1336–1327 BCE)
Limestone, H 43 cm W 33.5 cm
Manchester Museum (2938)

This limestone **stela** represents something of an iconographic anomaly. Discovered during EEF excavations led by Arthur Mace at the turn of the twentieth century, its Abydos findspot gives added significance to the figures shown.

The lower register (row of decoration) depicts (from right to left) the seated figure of Osiris, unusually without a shroud, with four unidentified figures approaching him, each of apparently elite status and in the pose of adoration, in keeping with depictions of kinship groups on many later New Kingdom stelae. However, the group is led by a royal male figure identified as 'Djeserkare' – the throne name of the revered King Amenhotep I. This is unusual, as the overall style appears to be from after the Amarna Period – more than 250 years after Amenhotep I had died. Usually, posthumous depictions of this deified king show him as passive and in receipt of offerings; it is also unparalleled to find a king (let alone a deified king) leading – and in some sense in the same sphere as – a group of apparently non-royal people.

The upper register is even more intriguing. It shows three royal figures approaching the god Amun-Re, who is captioned with his name and the epithet 'Lord of the Sky, Ruler of Thebes'. He is accompanied by the standing figures of (from left to right) the deified Queen Ahmose-Nefertari, the 'Lord of the Two Lands' Nebpehtyre (i.e. King Ahmose) and a living/reigning king, whose name has been erased. In addition to being regarded as a founder of the New Kingdom, Ahmose is

Opposite: Acc. no. 2938 (photo: © Julia Thorne, Tetisheri. Manchester Museum, The University of Manchester).



37 'Scarab Factory' scarabs and scaraboids

Nebeirah (Naukratis) (excavated 1885)
Mid-Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (c.600–570 BCE)
Faience, frit and glazed steatite, L ranging from 0.8 to 1.9 cm
Chau Chak Wing Museum (NM00.128.1–12)

Scarabs are one of the most ubiquitous objects from ancient Egypt. These beetle-shaped amulets are often small and have flat bases which were carved with geometric or amuletic motifs. They were produced for over two millennia in Egypt and are found in temples, towns and tombs, and are associated with anyone ranging from royalty to labourer. The scarab amulet's popularity stems from the beetle's link to solar mythology and the idea (and hope) of rebirth in the afterlife. Scarabs were worn in life for protection (usually as a ring on the left hand or on a string as a necklace) and were occasionally used as stamps for sealing jars. After the scarab owner's death, the amulets were frequently buried on their person or in boxes of their belongings in their burial.

Most scarabs were made of steatite, a soft and easy to carve soapstone that, when fired, would render the amulet as hard as granite. After steatite, **faience** and frit were the most common materials for manufacture. The production of faience is similar to that of glass (see pp. 131–133) as they required the same raw materials: silica (sand), lime and a soda (from either **natron** salt or plant ash). Mixed together, these ingredients formed a paste or putty that could then be shaped by hand or pressed into moulds. Adding copper to the mix would lead to a shiny, turquoise blue glazed amulet after it was fired, thanks to a chemical reaction called efflorescence.

In 1885, while working for the Egypt Exploration Fund, a team directed by Flinders Petrie discovered the waste pile from an ancient workshop near the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Naukratis, a Saite Period city in the Nile Delta. In this waste pile, they found amulets, hundreds of moulds and some raw materials to be used in the production of faience. Petrie named this area the Naukratis 'Scarab Factory', because of the 678 moulds for producing scarabs and similar amulets uncovered there.

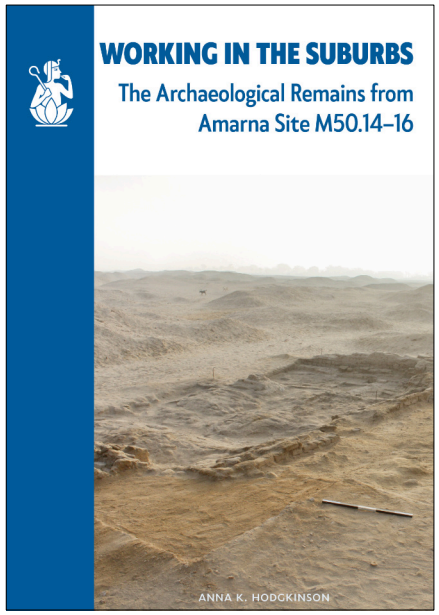
The evidence discovered at Naukratis demonstrates that this 'scarab factory' was able to mass-produce amulets, particularly scarabs, made of faience and frit (frit is similar to faience, but more pigmented). These 12 scarabs, now in the Chau Chak Wing Museum in Sydney, are just a small sample of those discovered by the Fund in 1885. Eight of them are made of faience; the other four of glazed steatite or frit. They were carved with an array of base designs including hieroglyphs and depictions of real and mythical animals such as lions, scorpions and griffins, and a single scarab has the name of Amun-Ra – a local manifestation of Amun-Ra was Naukratis' main deity.

The base designs coupled with the minute details in the carving of the head, wings and legs of the scarab are often specific to the place and period of manufacture and the scarabs from the Naukratis 'Scarab Factory' are no different. In fact, products of this factory have been discovered throughout the Mediterranean and even as far away as southern Russia.

Stephanie L. Boonstra

This page and opposite: NM00.128.1–12, Nicholson collection, Chau Chak Wing Museum, The University of Sydney.





WORKING IN THE SUBURBS
The Archaeological Remains from Amarna Site M50.14–16

Anna K. Hodgkinson

Key information:

- Published 2025 (The Egypt Exploration Society)
- Paperback and PDF eBook
- Over 200,000 words
- Extensive tables of data
- Authored by Anna K. Hodgkinson, with chapters written by specialists in her team

Key skills:

- Project management
- Adobe InDesign, including long tables of data and an index
- Adobe Acrobat Pro
- Checking printers' proofs

I project-managed the production of the book, including close liaison with the author throughout manuscript submission, academic review, typesetting and proofing, as well as working with printers and EES distributors.

The book was the result of a decade of excavation at the site in Amarna, making it an extensive publication with over 200,000 words, accompanying images and a considerable number of tables of data, some of which were several hundred lines long.

I also worked with the author to create a comprehensive index using InDesign's index function.

We published as much of the book as we could in a single volume (liaising with distributors to establish how much we could fit in) which was accompanied by an additional A3-sized downloadable PDF with larger versions of archaeological plans, as well as most of the tables of data and the index.



Figure 1.3 Location of site M50.14–16 in relation to the house of Ranefer, Grid 12 and house N50.23 in the Main City South. (Composite map of pl. I from Peet and Woolley 1923 and fig. 0.2 from Kemp and Stevens 2010a. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.)

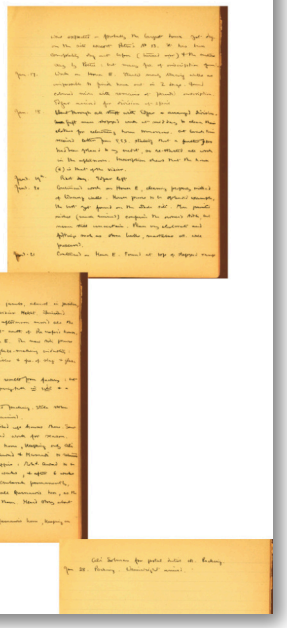


Figure 1.4 Excerpt from Woolley's field diary, outlining the work carried out at site M50.14–16 between 21 and 25 January 1922 (TA.001.01). (Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.)



Figure 3.32 Plan of the site. The thin walls in the southern and eastern areas of M50.14 have been extrapolated to reconstruct possible houses that stood back-to-back. (Based on Plan 4 reconstruction: A.K. Hodgkinson.)

of weathering. In fact, much of the northern stretch of the L-shaped corridor cannot be made out as the north–south wall that would have formed the eastern side of this corridor, which was noted on the 1922 excavation plan (and which measured c.3.5 m), is missing. Of the short east–west 'tag-wall', <17767>, that would have formed the northern limit of the L-shaped corridor, only a very short section remains (i.e. the remains of two parallel mud-brick stretchers); the rest of this wall (which would have measured c.2.6 m according to the 1922 excavation plan) has been lost. As described in chapter 2, the possible north–south oriented mud-brick alignment found within the fill, (17561), inside trench [17681] may represent the remainder of this wall, albeit somewhat offset from the 1922 plan. It is possible that this corridor was entered from outside the compound through a gate in the eastern boundary wall, although this cannot be identified at present.

To the north and east of this L-shaped corridor lay an area in which high-temperature work took place, with the walls of the corridor having shielded any person traversing this area or entering the compound from the east. As mentioned in chapter 2, this area was an open courtyard containing a circular oven pit, which also appears on the 1922 excavation plan, and a blue-painted jar (cut no. [17724], object no. 43020) that was sunk into the south-east corner, between walls <17579> and <17573> (see Figure 2.96).

Further north lay a suite of rooms, some of which do not appear on the 1922 plan. No walls appear on the original plan to the north of east–west wall <17597>, which was built with a thickness of one mud brick, and the extent of the courtyard further north is unknown. The north-easternmost feature – also present on the 1922 plan – is a walled, rectangular space containing a double-wall made of very sandy mud bricks. The function of this structure, which consists of north–south walls <17639> and <17640> and the connecting east–west oriented brick, <15991>, is uncertain. It may be related to the work that took place in this area or, alternatively, possibly belonging to another house. The space measures approximately 2 × 4.35 m (N–S × E–W), including the northern part of the double-wall structure.

To the north of wall <17597> lay a suite of three rooms: the western room (2.08 m N–S × 1.18 m E–W), which may continue further north, may have functioned as a sort of corridor, although this is uncertain. It is flanked by a room to the east (1.55 m N–S × 2.15 m E–W), with a third room (1.48 m N–S × 2.18 m E–W) occupying the far north-eastern corner of the excavation area. The reconstruction of this possible north-eastern house is slightly difficult because its southern outer wall may have been formed by <17597>, instead of the lower, possible E–W wall suggested in Figure 3.32.

As mentioned above (pp55–56), an alternative interpretation for the walls in the area of M50.14 is that these were part of houses with thin walls that have not survived because of their exposure to the elements (in contrast to houses M50.16 and M50.15, which are better preserved because they had thicker walls and stood on sunken ground). It is possible, to an extent, to extrapolate the walls in this area and to tentatively identify three (tripartite) houses in the south-eastern, southern and (north-)eastern parts of M50.14 (although the northern wall of a fourth one may lie just south of M50.16) (see Figure 3.32).

While this is a possible reconstruction of the site, the chapters on the material culture will be referring to M50.14 as a courtyard rather than a back-to-back housing area, for the reasons outlined on pp55–56. Regardless of whether the industrial activities took place at the same time as the use-period of the houses, at least the ones using high temperatures would have been carried out in unroofed spaces.

Occupying the space to the west of house M50.16, along the southern end of its western exterior wall, <15961> (flanked by supporting wall <17750>, see Figure 2.9), lies the possible granary courtyard, which was first recorded in 2014. The two circular structures, <15996> and <15770>, as well as the features and floor associated with the latter have already been described in chapter 2. This granary courtyard may have originally belonged to another domestic structure located to the west of M50.16. While it is worth noting that wall <13707> appears to have delimited the space of the granary courtyard to its north, it may also have run across circular structure <15996>, indicating that it is later in date. A short stretch of north–south aligned

towards vessel bottom. Red-fired throughout, but up to 9 mm from exterior surface browner. Approximately 6 mm from interior surface cherry-coloured with thin (1–4 mm) bloated and CS layer (but only limited fraction preserved). CS surface entirely covered with green corrosion.
XRF analysis:

Area	Note	Cu	Pb	As	Sn
a	Interior surface, corrosion on CS	+++	tr	tr	++
b	Interior surface, corrosion on CS	+++	tr	tr	++
c	Interior surface, corrosion on CS	+++	tr	tr	++

Cat. 4: Crucible fragment 41690

Material: Crucible used for processing tin bronze with minor arsenic and traces of lead.
Provenance: L/–2, 17826/17831
Measurements (cm): L=4.3, W=2.6, T=1.6–2.0
Description: Body fragment, non-diagnostic shape. Variable thickness indicates thickening towards vessel base. Heavily tempered with organic material. Some calcareous inclusions, no large sand grains. Probably hand-shaped. Oxidised firing. Reducing internal conditions penetrate into ceramic wall about halfway: cherry to black on inner surface. Interior is bloated and vitrified over 2–5 mm depth. Black vitrified CS surface with reddish-pink tinge and green surface corrosion.
XRF analysis:

Area	Note	Cu	Pb	As	Sn
a	Interior surface, CS	+++	tr	+	++
b	Interior surface, CS	+++	tr	+	++
c	Interior surface, CS	+++	tr	+	++

Cat. 5: Crucible fragment 41691

Material: Crucible used for processing tin bronze with minor arsenic and traces of lead and selenium.
Provenance: L/–3, (17633)
Measurements (cm): L=4.8, W=4.6, T=2.4
Description: Body fragment, non-diagnostic shape (possibly towards the base of the vessel; Figure 11.1). Red-fired throughout, some cherry-brown infiltration from interior surface (up to 1 cm). Heavily tempered with organic material (some not burnt out). Some calcareous inclusions (sometimes coarse), no visible coarse sand. Bloated and vitrified over 1–3 mm. Vitrified CS layer black with reddish steaks, green corrosion on surface. One large calcareous inclusion embedded in CS surface.
XRF analysis:

Area	Note	Cu	Pb	As	Sn	Se
a	Interior surface, CS + limited corrosion	+++	tr	+	++	tr
b	Interior surface, CS + limited corrosion	+++	tr	+	++	tr
c	Interior surface, CS + limited corrosion	+++		+	++	

Cat. 6: Crucible fragment 41692

Material: Crucible used for processing tin bronze with traces of arsenic and lead.
Provenance: L/–4, (17317)
Measurements (cm): L=4.7, W=3.9, T=1.8
Description: Body fragment, non-diagnostic shape. Red to brown. A lot of organic temper, few coarse inclusions. Interior CS layer c.1–3 mm, only very fine bloated zone. CS is very glassy, dark black with limited reddish spots. Green corrosion on highly irregular surface. Several exceptionally large copper alloy prills (up to 4 mm diam.) are embedded in the surface of the CS layer, indicating partial solidification before deposition (possibly casting spills forming spherical shape before settling on viscous CS surface).
XRF analysis:

Area	Note	Cu	Pb	As	Sn
a	Interior surface, CS	+++	tr	tr	+++
b	Interior surface, prill (+ background)	+++	tr	tr	++
c	Interior surface, CS with corrosion	+++	tr	tr	+++

Cat. 7: Crucible fragment 41693

Material: Crucible used for processing tin bronze with traces of arsenic and lead.
Provenance: L/–3, (17633)
Measurements (cm): L=2.6, W=1.9, T=1.0
Description: Very small fragment, non-diagnostic shape. Most of ceramic part missing. Bloated zone and irregular interior CS. Black with a lot of copper corrosion.
XRF analysis:

Area	Note	Cu	Pb	As	Sn
a	Interior surface, CS some corrosion	+++	tr	tr	++(+)
b	Interior surface, CS some corrosion	+++	tr	tr	++(+)
c	Interior surface, corrosion	+++			++

Cat. 8: Crucible fragment 41694

Material: Crucible used for processing tin bronze with traces of arsenic and lead.
Provenance: L/–2, (17534)
Measurements (cm): L=2.4, W=1.4, T=0.9
Description: Very small fragment, non-diagnostic shape. Most of ceramic part is missing. Black CS layer of c.1 mm (incl. thin bloating zone), thickening up to a few mm in the centre. CS surface is corroded.
XRF analysis:

Area	Note	Cu	Pb	As	Sn
a	Interior surface, corrosion	+++	tr	tr	+(+)
b	Interior surface, corrosion	+++	tr	tr	+(+)

Cat. 9: Crucible fragment 41696

Material: Crucible used for processing tin bronze with traces of arsenic and lead.
Provenance: L/–2, (17603)
Measurements (cm): L=2.3, W=2.5, T=1.8
Description: Very small body fragment, non-diagnostic shape. Thin ceramic part preserved (probably thicker originally but broken off). Severely bloated interior (bubbles up to 1 cm, incl. CS surface), black CS surface (up to 8 mm, incl. only limited bloating). Copper corrosion on CS surface.
XRF analysis:

Area	Note	Cu	Pb	As	Sn
a	Interior surface, CS + limited corrosion	+++	tr	tr	+
b	Interior surface, CS + limited corrosion	+++		+	+
c	Interior surface, CS + limited corrosion	+++			+

Cat. 10: Crucible fragment 41697

Material: Crucible used for processing tin bronze with low lead and traces of arsenic.
Provenance: L/–3, (17633)
Measurements (cm): W=2.3, T=1.0–1.2, H=3.0
Description: Rim fragment (Figure 11.3). Crucible appears to have been re-lined and reused. Outside surface: fairly thin, red-fired fabric, quickly transitioning to cherry red and bloated/CS zone at interior. Over the rim, a second clay/silt layer appears to have been 'draped', which does not cover the whole exterior surface (and probably never did). This layer folds over the rim and covers the interior surface, where it is almost completely bloated and slagged. Only in one fracture section can the secondary layer be seen from ceramic to bloated-CS zones, lying on top of the original CS layer. A cut cross-section could visualise this better.
XRF analysis:

Area	Note	Cu	Pb	As	Sn
a	CS	++	+	tr	+
b	CS	++	+	tr	++
c	CS	++	+		+

Cat. 11: Crucible fragment 41699

Material: Crucible used for processing tin bronze with minor arsenic and (traces of) lead.
Provenance: L/–3–K/–3, (17668)
Measurements (cm): W=4.9, T=1.3–1.9, diam.=29–30(?), H=2.2
Description: Rim (and beginning of base) fragment of crucible (Figure 11.2). Relatively straight rim, possibly indicating proximity to a spout (not preserved). This may further be indicated by the limited depth exhibited by the fragment (strong curvature) and the presence of a lot of copper corrosion (some of it prill-shaped, possibly representing a casting trace and dross). Medium–high organic temper, some calcareous inclusions, no large sand grains. Black reduced almost throughout, with the exception of the exterior surface (red-brown). Some secondary clay/silt (heavily tempered with organic material and calcareous inclusions) adheres to part of the exterior surface (surface XRF analysis reveals no compositional difference). This might indicate repair of the crucible with a secondary clay/silt layer. Interior has bloated and CS zone

daily practice. They say the household was made up of three levels or components: 1) the social, 2) the material and 3) the behavioural. The social level encompasses the members of the household and their relationships. The material is self-explanatory in that it consists of architecture, installations and objects, but also areas of activity – i.e. the way the space of the house was used. The behavioural level describes the 'functional purpose of the household within broader society' (cf. Kennedy 2023). Although these 'levels' have been revised and adapted by other scholars, they still form the general pillars of household archaeology (see Müller 2015: xv–xxi for a summary of advances in household archaeology in the eastern Mediterranean region). In fact, as Miriam Müller (2015: xxi) states, 'Household archaeology links the built environment, the dwelling, with the material culture, the artifacts found therein, in order to trace household behavior' (see also Pfälzner 2015). Therefore the above levels will be used to guide us through the present discussion of site M50.14–16, its inhabitants, activity areas and the character of the site within the city of Amarna.

M50.14–16 as a household: i.e. a domestic site and home – a demographic and social study

Which criteria can be applied to determine the names, status and occupations, as well as the number and range of ages, of the persons who lived at site M50.14–16? These questions about the identity of the occupants fall into the sphere of the 'social' as defined by Wilk and Rathje (1982). Household archaeology 'material' aspects are also discussed here, and these concern the houses and their components (see above).

First of all (and as outlined in chapters 1 and 3), the only potential source for a name of the owner of house M50.16 has been lost: this was part of the painted niche in the central room (room 3) of the house, briefly described on two occasions in *The City of Akhenaten I* as being decorated with a depiction of a seated couple faced by a standing (male) person (Peet and Woolley 1923: 19, 43). The first description mentions an inscription on the surrounding frame: 'Niche well preserved. Frame red with faint traces of inscription in yellow...' At the nearby house of Ranefer (N49.18) and other buildings, such painted frames have been found to give the names and titles of the occupants (Stevens 2006: 236). Unfortunately, neither a drawing or sketch nor a photograph of the niche in house M50.16 survives and it is doubtful that such a record ever existed. No elements of stone architecture, such as an architrave or door frame that would have borne the names and titles of the occupants, as was the case with the house of Ramose (P47.19; see Tietze 2008: 118), were found at M50.14–16 either. In the absence of any other inscribed material, the names and titles of the occupants of the houses are now lost.

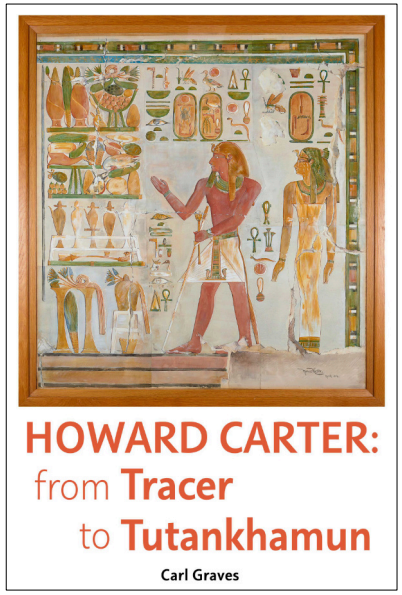
As no upper storey is preserved, it is impossible to reconstruct the amount of available living space in either of the two houses and, therefore, how many people they housed (see pp172–173 and Figure 17.1). However, should a second storey have existed (with Spence (2004) arguing in its favour), further, possibly temporary, rooms would have existed at least on top of the central and rear sections of each of the two houses. Because of this uncertainty in the archaeological material, no information exists on the number of occupants per house at Amarna, the estimated number of people living at Amarna being somewhere between 30,000 and 50,000 according to Barry Kemp (2012: 272).

As described above, the painted niche in house M50.16 depicted a seated couple faced by another person. In analogy with offering-table scenes, this type of scene represents a form of personal piety related to ancestors (cf. Stevens 2006: 236). The norm in New Kingdom Egypt was for the principal occupants of a house to be a married couple, husband and wife. Thus, the two people depicted seated in the niche would have been the principal members of such a household, served, in the afterlife, by their heir – usually their eldest son, who was normally responsible for his parents' funeral, who inherited the estate, took over the running of the household and took on the craft production established by his father (Campagno 2009; Moreno García 2012). It can be assumed that the person standing facing the seated couple in the scene would have been this son, now the head of his own household together with his wife, who is not depicted here.



Figure 17.1 3D model of the site, based on the excavated remains. Note the temporary structures on the roofs of the houses. Looking north-east. (Produced by P. Docherty.) (See additional PDF for larger version.)

The presence of a painted niche in house M50.16 may be an indicator of status, as already suggested by Piers Crocker (1985: Crocker refers to niches as 'shrines'). According to Anna Stevens (2006: 236–247), vertical niches (such as the one encountered in M50.16) were identified in about 136 of the houses at Amarna, although, as Stevens also points out, it is difficult to distinguish them from blocked doorways, many of which were filled in as the city was abandoned. A small number of these houses had more than one such niche (as was the case with the house of Ranefer), but the majority had only one. With over 1000 identified houses at Amarna, it is likely that a niche or another private cult installation (such as a garden shrine) elevated the status of the occupants of a given house. When comparing the sizes of the houses that contained niches – usually in their central rooms – it becomes evident that the distribution is fairly balanced, the number of small houses (50–300 m²), medium-sized houses (300–600 m²) and large houses in their own estates (>600 m²) being relatively equal and the houses with niches dispersed throughout the main settlement areas of the city (North Suburb, Main City). The preservation and the distribution of single- versus double-recessed niches is non-conclusive. The only defining factor here may be the fact that thicker, more sturdy walls may have been more suited to hold double-recessed niches. It can



HOWARD CARTER
From Tracer to Tutankhamun
Carl Graves

Key information:

- Published 2024 (The Egypt Exploration Society)
- Paperback and PDF eBook
- The first title in the EES's new 'Spotlight' series

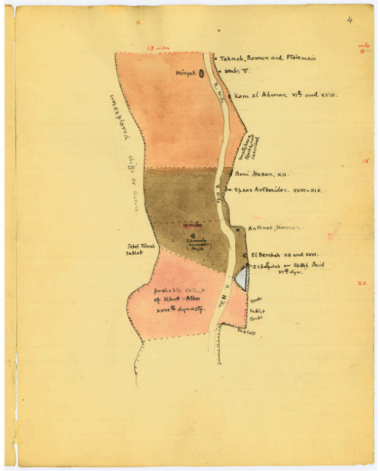
Key skills:

- Project management
- Adobe InDesign
- Adobe Acrobat Pro
- Layout design
- Image editing
- QGIS (maps)
- Checking printers' proofs

This book was the first in the EES's new 'Spotlight' series, which highlights objects in the Society's collection in short (15,000–20,000 words), academic-but-accessible books. This particular book documents Howard Carter's journey from humble beginnings in England, through to his work as an archaeological tracer and eventual move into archaeology itself. The object in focus is a watercolour of Carter's, of a section of wall decoration from Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri, painted at actual size.

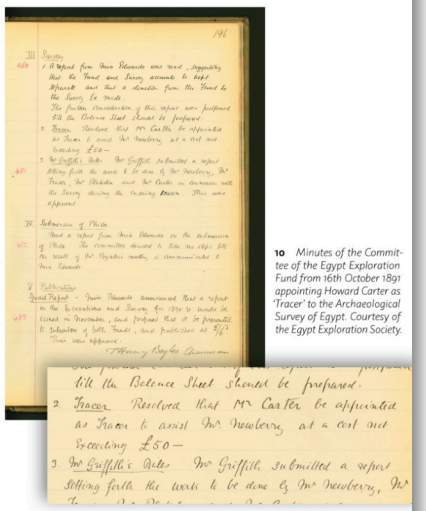
My part in the project was to liaise with the author, academic reviewers, printers and EES distributors, and to design the cover and layout for the series. I typeset the book, including using InDesign's index function to set a short index, and did some light editing on images that needed it to make them look just right for printing.

I also liaised with an artist to have a digital reproduction and a line drawing of the watercolour done, and I created maps of locations mentioned in the book using QGIS.



9 *A map of Middle Egypt showing the area to be covered by the EEF Archaeological Survey of Egypt between el-Minya in the north and Mallawi in the south. EES.COR.06.j.01. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.*

funds offered by the Amhersts were used to cover Carter's travel and accommodation expenses. Over the course of his work, Newberry would also be assisted by his brother, John, and Percy Buckman alongside Fraser, Blackman, and Carter.

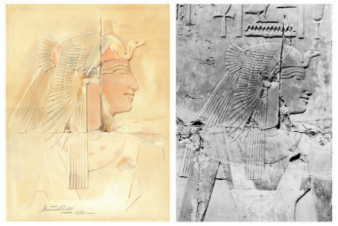


Will the Balance Sheet should be prepared.

2. Tracer Resolved that Mr Carter be appointed as Tracer to assist Mr Newberry, at a cost not exceeding £50—

3. Mr Griffith's Duties Mr Griffith submitted a report setting forth the work to be done by Mr Newberry, Mr

10 *Minutes of the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund from 16th October 1891 appointing Howard Carter as 'Tracer' to the Archaeological Survey of Egypt. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.*



31 *Left, the profile of Queen Ahmose as depicted at the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari as copied by Carter in 1896. Naville considered the Queen's depiction to be 'perhaps the finest piece of work in the whole temple' EES.ART.221. Right, the same scene in photographic form. EES.DB-HAT.NEG.C.42. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.*

The exact methods used by Carter to create the records found in archives today remains somewhat of a mystery. Biographers and epigraphers have not easily been able to deduce the techniques – whether by initial tracings, dry squeezes, or use of a camera lucida – that Carter used, though it is clear that he developed his techniques over time and for different situations. Carter's biographer, T G H James concluded that, at Deir el-Bahari, Carter drew the scenes free hand on good quality heavy cartridge paper after outlining, faintly in a hard pencil, some guidelines based on existing decoration. Then, by eye and a skilled hand he drew the rest of the scene to scale set up by the paper and guidelines. James deduced that Carter did complete his drawings in front of the scene before it was checked by Naville prior to submission for printers. Whatever the exact method, Carter's ability to complete such a mammoth task while also training others confuses the matter further. Through training, Carter was assisted in the copying of the temple scenes by assistants. One of these was his own brother, Vernet (Verney) Carter. Howard's methods were replicated so faithfully that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the work of the brothers where they have not signed their work. Vernet only joined Howard for one season in 1894, however, as the hot Egyptian climate was not to his liking. Similarly, the work of Rosalind Paget (1844–1925, who joined the team in 1895–97), captured the lively and colourful scenes, some showing Hatshepsut's expedition to the land of Punt, before they faded from exposure to wind-blown sands and sunlight.[20]



32 *Nekhbet vulture from the hall of the chapel of Anubis at Deir el-Bahari, by Vernet Carter, 1894. Watercolours and Drawings 2026203. Copyright Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.*



44 *The Qubbet el-Hawa on the west bank of Aswan where Carter secured permission for Lady William Cecil to excavate in 1901. Image by author.*

by installing iron gates and managing security. Some investigations required more supervision than others, such as the excavations of Chinouda Macarios and Boutros Andraos, two privately funded individuals. Under Carter's supervision, they discovered and excavated KV42. The layout of the tomb is of an early 18th Dynasty royal style, turning 90 degrees with a cartouche shaped burial chamber. In it, Carter found traces of the burial of queen Hatshepsut-Meryetre, including two previously unknown foundation deposits in the chamber indicating that she was the original owner. Hatshepsut-Meryetre was a wife of Tuthmosis III (buried in KV34) and mother of Amenhotep II and was ultimately buried in her son's tomb with KV42 being passed onto the Sennefer family by royal gift.

By 1902, Carter had persuaded the American lawyer Theodore Davis (1838–1915) to fund excavations in the Valley. This time, Carter was supervising the excavations himself on behalf of Davis and began systematically clearing parts of the main Valley and a side-wadi. In early 1903, Carter found foundation deposits including the inscribed name of Tuthmosis IV before revealing the entrance high up the cliff face. On 18 January 1903, Carter entered the tomb with Davis' friend, Robb de Peyster Tytus who was working with Newberry at the nearby palace of Amenhotep III (Malqata) at the time.

The tomb of Tuthmosis IV (KV43) is typical of the Tuthmoside Period. Its layout turns back on itself with two 90-degree angles in the descent to the burial chamber. A deep shaft is one of the first elements reached and was perhaps intended to deter tomb robbers or protect the burial from the surging flood waters which are known to affect the Valley of the Kings.

On reaching the shaft, Carter reported:[24]

> We looked down into dusty excavated space. At the edge of this abyss we waited until our eyes became more accustomed to the dim light of our candles, and then we realised in the gloom that the upper part of the walls of this well were elaborately

Carter continued his inspection of the side-wadi and noted that an earlier discovered tomb (KV20) was directly in line with the temple of Hatshepsut on the other side of the Theban hills. Sending a team to investigate, they uncovered two further foundation deposits, this time naming Hatshepsut herself. It took until 10th March 1904 to fully clear the tomb when they found, in the burial chamber, the empty sarcophagi of Hatshepsut and her father, Tuthmosis I. The body of Tuthmosis I had later been relocated by Tuthmosis III to a new tomb elsewhere in the Valley (KV38) before eventually being placed in the royal cache of DB320 at Deir el-Bahari cleared by Egyptologists in 1881.



47 *A shabti of Tuthmosis IV found in his tomb in 1903 and subsequently donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. MMA 30.8.27.*

Carter continued to work in the Valley, supervising the discovery and clearing of KV44 and KV45, both reused in the 22nd Dynasty. He also went on to discover a new tomb (later given the reference KV60) which was a simple corridor containing two burials. One of the bodies uncovered was identified as a wet nurse of Hatshepsut called Sitre In, known from a statue discovered at Deir el-Bahari. The second is now identified, by some, as Hatshepsut herself. However, as the burial was uninscribed, this was not known to Carter at the time.

In late 1904, Carter was relocated from Luxor to Cairo as a planned switch of the Inspectors of Upper and Lower Egypt. Carter lost the luxury of living in the Service house at Medinet Habu and his menagerie as he was forced to find his own accommodation in Cairo and cover the cost. Davis, on the other hand, would continue his financing of exploration in the Valley of the Kings largely under the direction of Quibell, Edward Ayrton (1882–1914) and Ernest Harold Jones (1877–1911).

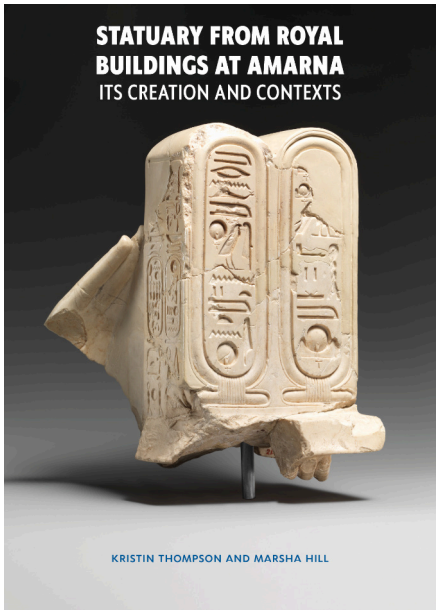


48 *The Valley of the Kings with the Theban peak, el-Qurn, in the background. Image by author.*

The Saqqara Affair

It was not long into Carter's new role in Lower Egypt that his 'obstinate' personality, noted by Maspero in 1899, would be his undoing.[27] A summary of the events that unfolded in January 1905, often now called 'the Saqqara Affair', was given by Petrie in his 1931 memoir, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*. When recollecting his wife's (Hilda Petre, 1871–1956) own excavations at Saqqara in 1905, he wrote:[28]

> One Sunday some drunken Frenchmen tried to force their way into her [Petrie's] huts, and were stoutly resisted by the cook boy. They went onto the official house and began to smash furniture and fight the native guards. Carter, then inspector, was fetched, and he very rightly allowed the guards to defend themselves till the police could come.



STATUARY FROM ROYAL BUILDINGS AT AMARNA

Its Creation and Contexts

Kristen Thompson and Marsha Hill

Key information:

- Published 2023 (The Egypt Exploration Society)
- Limited-edition double-volume hardback in a slipcase and PDF eBook
- Over 300,000 words and 1,500 images
- Extensive object catalogues

Key skills:

- Project management
- Adobe InDesign
- Adobe Acrobat Pro
- Cover- and layout design
- Image editing
- Checking printers' proofs

I project-managed production of the book – which was the result of two decades of research by the authors – including liaising with the authors, copy-editor, proofreader, academic reviewers, printers and EES distributors.

I typeset the book using Adobe InDesign using the new layout design I developed for EES academic books.

The publication was over 300,000 words with 1,500 accompanying images and included object catalogues of the numerous statue fragments. Each page of the object catalogues had corresponding images in the facing page.

A number of images came from the EES photographic archive, which needed editing to tidy them up and make them suitable for publication.

The finished book was initially published as a special limited run of 300 copies. It came in two hardcover volumes with a protective slipcase, numbered stickers for each copy, and was also made available as a PDF eBook.



Fig 2.24 An abandoned top of an inscribed obelisk of Seti I broken during transport from the quarry

bank at Aswan (Heldal 2009: 141). The broken-off pyramidion, with finished reliefs and inscriptions (**fig. 2.24**), was found in the quarry, where a matching second obelisk had been started.[11] Apparently the entire project to extract and decorate the pair of obelisks was abandoned due to the breaking of the first one halfway through the entire process (Brand 1997: 101, 103–104).

There is evidence that in at least the Old Kingdom, hard stone royal statues were only roughly shaped at the quarries. As Mark Lehner points out, 'the fact that Reisner found at least twenty unfinished or uninscribed statues in the MVT [Menkaure Valley Temple] could suggest that sculptors shaped statues in the active construction site, that building and stone craftwork happened in proximity'. These statues had no facial features indicated, and the arms and legs were squared off rather than rounded.[12]

The degree of shaping at the quarries could have depended on a number of factors. Lucas' classic study suggests that size played a role: 'As a rule, large monuments such as obelisks, colossal statues and sarcophagi were roughly blocked out before they left the quarry, and some were even given a preliminary dressing' (Lucas 1962: 63). Bloxam (2010: 3) points out another possible factor:

> Finishing of objects in the quarries seems to be dependent upon how far the stone had to travel to the Nile. At the Aswan granite quarries, which lie directly on the Nile, objects seem to have been almost completed in the quarries. The famous 'unfinished obelisk' and New Kingdom Osiride Statue, which still lie attached to the bedrock, are such examples. In quarries outside of the Nile valley, evidence from discarded objects suggests that they were only partially completed to form rough outlines of their intended final form, probably to reduce the transport weight.

This factor may help to explain why most of the examples of extensively carved statues and obelisks have been found in the quarries on both banks at Aswan, where some quarries were quite close to the river, especially on the east bank, and an extensive network of roads on the west permitted transport from the slightly more remote sites (Heldal 2009: 133, 143).[13]

It is perhaps worth noting that the only royal building at Amarna where colossal statues of Akhenaten and Nefertiti stood or were planned to stand in some profusion was the GP. It is considerably closer to the riverbank than any of the temples, where large blocks of granite and quartzite could be off-loaded and perhaps carved in an open-air workshop (now lost presumably beneath the cultivation) between the river and the palace.

Against the benefit of working statues to remove stone and thus lighten the object to be transported, there is the heightened risk of breakage. Aston, et al. (2000: 13) point out, 'It may be argued that such extensive stone-dressing at the quarries themselves would have resulted in unacceptable damage to the near-finished blocks as they were transported to the building site.' In some cases where large stone objects were largely carved at the quarries, damage during the shaping process or in transit did cut short major projects, as in the case of the Seti I obelisk. A roughed-out block would be thicker and thus better resist breakage.

In the passage quoted above, Arnold refers to the scenes of finished columns represented in a relief on the causeway of the pyramid of Unas, as well as one in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple depicting finished obelisks being transported. Another scene commonly discussed is the hauling, by means of a sledge and many men pulling ropes, of a finished travertine colossus of Djehutyhotep from the Hatnub quarries, shown in a well-known painted relief on a wall in his tomb at Deir el-Bersha (Arnold 1991: 61).

Shaw (2012: 66) suggests that such scenes can be misleading on this matter. Referring to the Djehutyhotep scene, he writes:

> The principal difficulty in interpreting such scenes, however, is the well-known problem that pharaonic-period artists often portrayed objects in their finished form even when, in reality, they were still incomplete – this is particularly evident from the many scenes in which objects are being manufactured in temple workshops. It is therefore uncertain as to whether Thuthotep's travertine statue was actually completely carved at the Hatnub quarries, or simply shown in its finished state as an artistic convention.

The desert road from Hatnub, where the stone for the colossus was quarried, runs about 15 km to the south-southeast of Amarna, passing through a bleak desert landscape of hills and wadis, many covered with dark, loose stones. Upon reaching the Amarna plain, the block or colossus could be put on a boat to make the onward journey downriver to el-Bersha, roughly 12 km, or the sledge could be hauled north along the riverbank. It is hard to imagine Djehutyhotep risking losing all the time and expense he had put into the carving of such a statue should it be seriously damaged along its route, especially given that travertine is relatively brittle. Moreover, according to Shaw (2012: 65), 'There is no real evidence of the creation of any large-scale objects, such as statues, at Hatnub.'[14]

11 The image in fig. 2.24 was taken in 2012, after an attempt by thieves to remove some of the inscribed surfaces was discovered in late 2007. In 2008, officials moved the top of the obelisk to a temporary spot near the Qubbet el-Hawa ticket office. At some point after the photograph was taken, the fragment was removed for storage elsewhere. See Bloxam, E. 2008. Damage to Seti I Obelisk top! March/April 2008 news, Quarryscapes. <http://www.quarryscapes.no/index.php> (accessed 05.12.2020). For a map of the quarry showing the original location of the obelisks and the pyramidion, see Harrell forthcoming: fig. 13.16.

12 Lehner, M. 2019. Giza Plateau Mapping Project, *The Oriental Institute Annual Report 2018/19*: 69. Images of these unfinished statues and statuettes are available on the Menkaure Valley Temple page, *Digital Giza* <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/2036/full/#objects> (accessed 29.01.2022).

13 A canal on the east bank starting at the large quarry area of the unfinished obelisk and extending toward the Nile was presumably excavated to reduce the distance an object would have to be carried to the point of being loaded on a boat. See Penn State, 2007. Aswan Obelisk More Than Meets the Eye. *ScienceDaily*. <https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2007/10/071016113236.htm> (accessed 29.01.2022).

14 For a thorough analysis of the Djehutyhotep relief, see Monnier, F. 2020. La scène du colosse de Djéhutyhotep : Description, traduction et reconstitution. *JAEA* 4: 58–57, pl. 1.

to create a composite foot with a flat surface at the back to fit against a trailing gown (see Ch.3, pp. 154–157).

M 4

PLASTER FACE AND NECK OF A WOMAN WEARING LARGE EARRINGS. **Fig. 2.103**, repaired from two pieces. **Berlin, ÄM 21239.** H 24.4 W 17.5 D 10.5 cm. Field #12/13-732 (head) and 1330 (neck; listed as a foot in B&R) (DOG neg. 13.52).

Bib: Borchardt 1913: 33; Hall 1927: fig. 2; Schäfer 1931: pl. 38; Fechheimer 1922: pl. 92; Roeder 1941: 150, fig. 7; de Wit 1950: no. 62; Vandier 1958: 335, 614; Ägyptisches Museum 1967: 764; Aldred 1973: 182, no. 112; B&R: 97–98; Ägyptisches Museum 1982: 78–79, no. 40; Müller 1988, IV: 84; Arnold 1996: 46–47, fig. 37; Laboury 2005: 292, 295, 301; Seyfried 2012: 314–315.

A young woman wearing large round earrings, included here because she has often been identified as Kiya, a secondary wife of Akhenaten. The piece stops at the top of the forehead, where a few rows of curls from a wig are depicted, and is diagonal and flat on the back. Almost certainly the same woman as depicted in M 8.

The head survives largely complete, with two large chips out of the p.r. cheek and temple; the end of the chin is battered. A dark substance has discoloured much of the forehead and left ear, with small splotches on either side of the nose.

M 5

PLASTER MODEL OF THE MIDDLE OF A RIGHT FOOT IN A SANDAL. **Fig. 2.104, Berlin, ÄM 21236.** H 9.0 W 8.4 D 7.2 cm. DOG #12/13-367.

Bib: B&R: 95; Stevens 2006a: 84; Seyfried 2012: 358–359.

The middle part of the foot, with a flat vertical surface at front and rear. Under the foot is the sole of a sandal; its underside is roughly flattened.

The purpose of such an object is unclear, though it might be a form against which someone carving sandal straps to attach to a foot could check the piece in progress to keep the curvature accurate.

M 6

PLASTER HEAD AND NECK OF A HEAVYSET MAN. **Fig. 2.105, Berlin, ÄM 21299.** H 22.4 W 19.5 D 22.0 cm. Field #12/13-739 (DOG neg. 13.20).

Bib: Borchardt 1917: 14–16; Schäfer 1931: pl. 8; Roeder 1941: 145, pl. 4; de Wit 1950: no. 3; Vandier 1958: 335–336, 614, pl. CIX, 3; Ägyptisches Museum 1967: no. 762; B&R: 97; Ägyptisches Museum 1982: 80–81; Müller 1988, IV: 85; Laboury 2005: 298–299; Seyfried 2012: 322–323.

Generally accepted as representing Amenhotep III. A chubby, youthful face with small eyes, a bulbous nose and small, thick-lipped mouth. The band across the top of the forehead suggests the blue crown. Unlike the non-royal plaster heads, this one is worked all the way around, with the back of the neck and head represented. The top of the head is flat and diagonal, running upward toward the forehead. This flat surface is rough and retains what look like the marks of fingers that shaped it.

M 7

PLASTER HEAD OF A KING. **Fig. 2.106, Berlin, ÄM 21340.** H 20.5 W 14.5 D 13.0 cm. Field #12/13-526.

Bib: Roeder 1941: 150, pl. 6; de Wit 1950: no. 23; Vandier 1958: 5, 614, pl. CIX; Ägyptisches Museum 1967: no. 768; Aldred 1973: 166, no. 94; Ägyptisches Museum 1976: no. 82; B&R: 97; Ägyptisches Museum 1982: 98–99; Müller 1988, I: ¶ 119; IV: 86, pl. 24.a–b; Gabolde 2001: 39; Laboury 2005: 295, 301; Gabolde 2005: 263–268 (misnumbered as 213.64); Seyfried 2012: 328–329.

The band across the forehead indicates that the king wears the blue crown. The eyes and brows are hollowed as if for inlays. The identity is disputed, but the majority opinion has it that the head represents Akhenaten rather than Smenkhkare. Gabolde considers the subject to be Meritaten, with Laboury agreeing to the identification but arguing that she was at that point using the name Nefernefruaten. The back of the neck was apparently finished but is very rough. The top of the head is flat but lumpy.

M 8

PLASTER FACE AND NECK OF A YOUNG WOMAN WITH AN EARRING. **Fig. 2.107, Berlin, ÄM 21341.** H 21.5 W 14.5 D 13.0 cm. Field #12/13-517 (DOG neg. 13.26).

Bib: Hall 1927: 470, fig. 3; Roeder 1941: 150; de Wit 1950: no. 63; Aldred 1973: 182, no. 111; B&R: 96; Müller 1988, IV: 77; Freed, et al. 1999: 247, no. 140; Laboury 2005: 292, 295, 301; Seyfried 2012: 314–315.



Fig. 2.103 Plaster head of a woman wearing large earrings

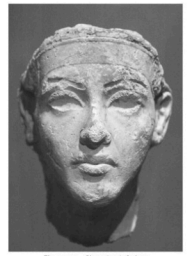


Fig. 2.106 Plaster head of a king



Fig. 2.104 Plaster model of a partial foot



Fig. 2.105 Plaster head of a king, probably Amenhotep III

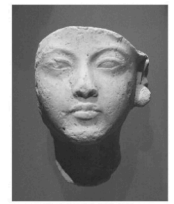


Fig. 2.107 Plaster head of a woman wearing large earrings

like those mentioned by Petrie and Pendlebury from the ancient Dump aligned with the Sanctuary (GAT 65 and following). At least one other piece from the Long Temple hints that such statues (GAT 22) may have been present somewhere in this temple.

GAT 38–40, below, attest to a pillar statue of Nefertiti, and other fragments possibly from it, which was roughly two-thirds life-size in fine-grained limestone.

GAT 38

BREAST AND DRESS OF A FEMALE, PRESUMABLY NEFERTITI, FROM A PILLAR STATUE. **Figs 5.34–5.35. Amarna S-7844.** H 19.5 W 14.9 D 6.7 cm. GAT #18 G33 (13790).

Bib: Hill 2018b: 16–17, fig. 14; Hill 2019.

The breast of a female is preserved alongside two areas of breakage, one to the side for a missing arm raised forward perpendicularly and another below for a connected frontal pillar beneath the breast. Between the arm and the pillar is a finely pleated dress, with a flat border nearest the pillar. This must be a pillar statue of Nefertiti, like those seen alongside a pillar statue of the king nearest the stela in the Boundary Stela groups. The pillar from this statue would have held the vertical names of the Aten above those of the king and queen or above that of the queen alone.

A cement-like accretion of dirt obscures the p.l. side of the body and cannot be removed without disturbing the surface of the sculpture. The fragment retains some reddish orange and pink paint at the breast areola.

GAT 39

LEFT ANKLE OF A ROUGHLY LIFE-SIZE STATUE. **Fig. 5.36, Amarna S-7856.** H 11.3 W 8.0 D 3.6 cm. GAT #18 F33 (14831).

Pleats of a dress ending mid-ankle bone, with a stretch of the foot preserved to slightly beyond the left swelling of the sandal strap. Traces of yellow-orange paint.

GAT 40

FRONT PILLAR FRAGMENT FROM A STATUE OF NEFERTITI, INSCRIBED. **Fig. 5.37. Amarna S-8197.** H 11.5 W 13.5 D 17.8 cm. GAT #18 F32 (15090) / F32 (15091).

Bib: Kemp 2013b: 8 bottom centre; Kemp 2013a: 23 fig. 9; Hill 2018b: fig. 14; Hill 2019.

Two opposite smooth sides meet an inscribed surface at an acute angle. The inscription is read r>ḥ, with elements of Nefertiti's titulary and name in both columns, suggesting this is the lower end of the pillar. The right column with possible restorations reads *ḥmt nsw wrt mrt.f* [*ḥmwt šnᶜw mḥwt*] 'Great Royal Wife, his beloved, Lady of Upper and Lower Egypt]' and the left *nbt ỉrwy* Q [*nfr.ti dỉ*] 'Mistress of the Two Lands, Nefertiti [may she live forever]'. Only the seated queen classifier is missing from the end of the cartouche. The side opposite the inscribed surface is broken away from something else. The feathers of a *wr*-bird are finely detailed. Bright blue pigment remains in the 'beloved' sign.

Front pillars and back pillars are not easy to distinguish when the material is fragmentary as they can share details of execution, as revealed by the varieties of plans and inscriptions of the statue groups at the Boundary Stelae (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993: 112–140). However, we do know from GAT 38 above that the front pillar type existed in the city as well as at the Boundary Stelae. And in the case of this fragment, the sides of the pillar converge over their length toward the broken surface, a feature seen in front pillars and not back pillars. The fragment also preserves a depth on both sides that demonstrates it is not a back pillar since the back pillar should be close to the body at this point in the inscription. This pillar has a purely rhomboidal ground plan, a feature also seen at Boundary Stelae N and S (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993: 124, 137). The royal name is attested in double columns also on the pillar statue at Boundary Stela P.

Figure 5.38 places GAT 38 and GAT 40 on a reconstruction drawing.

Another possibility for a front pillar is BM EA 880 (provenance unknown, indurated limestone, H 41.6 W 14 D 8 cm), but only the inscription side is preserved.



Fig. 5.34 Breast and dress area of Nefertiti, from a pillar statue. Front view



Fig. 5.35 Side view of the same



Fig. 5.36 Female left ankle



Fig. 5.37 Inscribed front pillar fragment



Fig. 5.38 GAT 38 and GAT 40 placed on a drawing by Sara Chen after Boundary Stela A

encroachment of the cultivation, we are probably justified in believing that most of this area consisted of a big open court, containing very few, if any, structures' (*CoA* III: 73). Kemp (2012: 138) suggests: 'What lay in front of the façade is now lost beneath the modern fields, but from the way the brick buildings that separated the stone palace from the Royal Road continued northwards for at least another 150 m (492 ft), we can reconstruct the presence of an outer courtyard, not necessarily bordered by stone walls.'

Michael Mallinson has posited that a second road originating at the northern end of Akhetaten and running directly to the WA might have existed in addition to the well-known Royal Road: 'A grand entrance from outside might then have stood at the end of the real royal processional way from the north which would have followed a line somewhat to the west of the Royal Road as it has survived' (Mallinson 1995: 206). The royal family would then have progressed to the northern end of the GP via this lost road, arriving at the front of the GP. Certainly, there is no evidence for an entrance to the GP on the east, directly from the Royal Road, that would have been grand enough for the royal arrivals. Doorways on that side of the palace are all relatively small and enter into the service areas in the East Side.

Petrie had little to say about the WA itself: 'Further north are remains of a building with blocks of mortar paving, concrete hearts of walls and sculptured fragments, and outside of that a long deep foundation of a wall, which seems to limit the palace in this direction' (Petrie 1894: 9). Pendlebury went further in his speculation about the nature of the structure: 'The first remains encountered at the northern end are the lamentably confused and damaged foundations of the Weben-Aten (X on the plan): it is impossible to reconstruct this building, but it is reasonable to visualize it as consisting essentially of two imposing pillared constructions flanking a portal that led from a northern court' (*CoA* III: 34).

Kemp (2012: 138) also believes that a 'grand entrance façade' for the GP is a logical interpretation for the WA. He, too, emphasises the confusing archaeological remains: 'The foundations at this point are especially hard to interpret, however. They were dug more deeply than usual,



Fig. 7.333 The jumbled stone in the foundations of the Weben-Aten, in a 1935 photograph

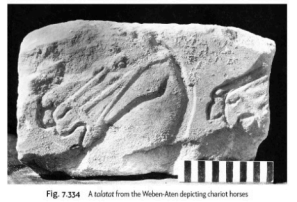


Fig. 7.334 A talatat from the Weben-Aten depicting chariot horses

and the trenches filled with layers of stone that included unwanted column bases. Tall pylons are an obvious reconstruction' (see **fig. 7.333**).

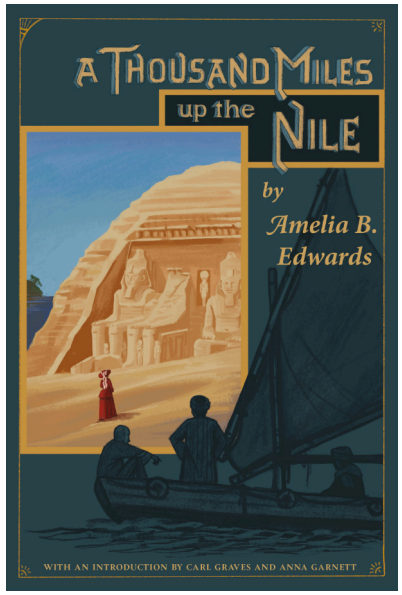
Pendlebury summarises the implications of the fragments of reliefs and column fragments: 'All we can say is that in all probability two great columned blocks of buildings lay on either side of the entrance. These were decorated with reliefs depicting the progress of the royal family to worship. The columns also showed the adoration of the Aten.' Pendlebury refers here to fragments of limestone column drums, which he estimates indicated columns four metres high (*CoA* III: 75–76). These fragments (EES #34/109, 178, 190, 191, 192, 192B, 193, 194, 196 and 197) all contain scenes of the royal family offering to the Aten; indeed, all columns throughout the State Apartments, no matter what the reliefs on the walls depict, contain similar offering scenes.

Kemp's suggestion that the northern entrance provided by the WA was a large pylon seems logical – especially since every other surviving entrance to the GP involved a small pylon. Column drums were among the stones found in the excavations of the deep foundations of the WA and are visible at the upper right of figure 7.333. These suggest at least a colonnade or, as Pendlebury posited, a pair of columned halls behind the pylon. Whichever might have been the case, someone entering the building might have turned right or left, moving through a columned area decorated with reliefs and statues.

After listing the various finds in the WA area, Pendlebury (1935: 134) more specifically described the statuary: 'Within the building, whatever it was, had stood many groups of statuettes in granite, quartzite, and sandstone. The fragments of hands and feet show some of the best craftsmanship of the period. There is a number of very delicately modelled torsos, some of them from groups which showed two or more princesses with their arms round each other's waists.' Although the 15 statues listed above hardly suggest many statuettes, possibly some of these pieces were never registered and lie buried in an as yet undiscovered dump. Most of the currently known pieces display, as Pendlebury wrote, fine craftsmanship.

We have seen already the variety of statues found in the area, ranging from a colossal statue or pair of statues of the king guarding the entrance to a life-size granite head of a princess to a very small quartzite statuette with feet of what was probably a pair of princesses walking hand in hand.

The walls against which these statues stood bore a range of types of images as well. On the basis of fragments found by the EES, such images included (all pieces are limestone unless otherwise noted) one or more large-scale scenes of the royal family processing in chariots (EES #34/205, 208 and 213). All three surviving fragments show horses facing left (**fig. 7.334**: Oxford,



A THOUSAND MILES UP THE NILE

Amelia B. Edwards, Carl Graves and Anna Garnett

Key information:

- Published 2022 (The Egypt Exploration Society)
- Hardback, paperback and PDF eBook
- Reprint of the original book with a new introduction

Key skills:

- Adobe InDesign
- Adobe Acrobat Pro
- Layout design
- Image editing
- Checking printers' proofs

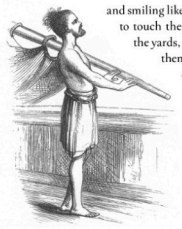
As part of their work addressing the colonial past of Egyptology, the Egypt Exploration Society published a reprint of co-founder Amelia B. Edwards' book *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, a 19th-century travelogue of Edwards' time in Egypt.

The reprint includes a new introduction by EES Director Dr Carl Graves and curator of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology Dr Anna Garnett, which addresses issues such as the colonial language Edwards uses in the book.

My part in the project was layout design, preparing images scanned from the original book and archives, and typesetting the book ready for print. As well as the woodcut images used in the original publication, this edition also featured some of Edwards' watercolours, scanned in from the originals (now at Somerville College, Oxford University, and in private collections), some of which had never before been published.

The front cover was designed by an Egyptian artist; I then designed the spine and back cover to match the front, making the design feel seamless across the spread.

The book was initially published in hardback, followed by a paperback edition a few months later. The PDF eBook edition was released in 2025.



"Holy Sheykh Cotton"

and smiling like an affable Triton, he next proceeds to touch the tiller, the ropes, and the ends of the yards, "in order," says Talhamy, "to make them holy;" and then, with some kind of final charm or muttered incantation, he plunges into the river again, and swims off to repeat the same performance on board the Bagstones.

From this moment the prosperity of our voyage is assured. The captain goes about with a smile on his stern face, and the crew look as happy as if we had given them a guinea. For nothing can go wrong with a dahabeeyah that has been "made holy" by Holy Sheykh Cotton. We are certain now to have favourable winds – to pass the Cataract without accident – to come back in health and safety, as we set out. But what, it may be asked, has Holy Sheykh Cotton done to make his blessing so efficacious? He gets money in plenty; he fasts no oftener than other Mohammedans; he has two wives; he never does a stroke of work; and he looks the picture of sleek prosperity. Yet he is a saint of the first water; and when he dies, miracles will be performed at his tomb, and his eldest son will succeed him in the business.

We had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with a good many saints in the course of our Eastern travels; but I do not know that we ever found they had done anything to merit the position. One very horrible old man named Sheykh Saleem has, it is true, been sitting on a dirt heap near Farshût, unclothed, unwashed, unshaven, for the last half-century or more, never even lifting his hand to his mouth to feed himself; but Sheykh Cotton had gone to no such pious lengths, and was not even dirty.

We are by this time drawing towards a range of yellow cliffs that have long been visible on the horizon, and which figure in the maps as Gebel et Tâyr. The Arabian desert has been closing up on the eastern bank for some time past, and now rolls on in undulating drifts to the water's edge. Yellow boulders crop out here and there above the mounded sand, which looks as if it might cover many a forgotten temple. Presently the clay bank is gone, and a low barrier of limestone rock, black and shiny next the water-line, has taken its place. And now, a long way ahead, where the river bends and the level cliffs lead on into the far distance, a little brown speck is pointed out as the Convent of the Pulley.[3] Perched on the brink of the precipice, it looks no bigger than an ant-heap. We had heard much of the fine view to be seen from the platform on which this Convent is built, and it had originally entered into our programme as a place to be visited on the way. But Minieh has to be gained now at all costs; so this project has to be abandoned with a sigh.

And now the rocky barrier rises higher, quarried here and there in dazzling gaps of snow-white cuttings. And now the Convent shows clearer; and the cliffs become loftier; and the bend in the river is reached; and a long perspective of flat-topped precipice stretches away into the dim distance.

It is a day of saints and swimmers. As the dahabeeyah approaches, a brown poll is seen bobbing up and down in the water a few hundred yards ahead. Then one, two, three bronze figures dash down a steep ravine below the Convent walls, and plunge into the river – a shrill chorus of voices, growing momentarily more audible, is borne upon the wind – and in a few minutes the boat is beset by a shoal of mendicant monks vociferating with all their might *"Ana Christian ya Hawadji! – Ana Christian ya Hawadji!"* (I am a Christian, oh traveller!) As these are only Coptic monks and not Moslem santons, the sailors, half in rough play, half in earnest, drive them off with punting poles; and only one shivering, streaming object, wrapped in a borrowed blanket, is allowed to come on board. He is a fine shapely man,

ancient writing of the time of King Khufu." Hereupon Mariette remarks – "The temple of Denderah is not, then, one of the most modern in Egypt, except in so far as it was constructed by one of the later Lagidæ. Its origin is literally lost in the night of time." See *Dendérah, Description Générale*, chap. i. pp.55, 56.

4 See Mariette's *Denderah*, which contains the whole of these multitudinous inscriptions in 166 plates; also a selection of some of the most interesting in Brugsch and Dümichen's *Recueil de Monuments Egyptiens* and *Geographische Inschriften*, 1862–3–5–6.

5 Hathor (or more correctly Hat-hor, *i.e.* the abode of Horus) is not merely the Aphrodite of ancient Egypt: she is the pupil of the eye of the Sun: she is the goddess of that beneficent planet whose rising heralds the waters of the inundation; she represents the eternal youth of nature, and is the direct personification of the Beautiful. She is also Goddess of Truth. "I offer the Truth to thee, O Goddess of Denderah!" says the King, in one of the inscriptions of the sanctuary of the Sistrum; "for truth is thy work, and thou thyself art Truth." Lastly, her emblem is the Sistrum, and the sound of the Sistrum, according to Plutarch, was supposed to terrify and expel Typhon (the evil principle); just as in mediæval times the ringing of church-bells was supposed to scare Beelzebub and his crew. From this point of view, the Sistrum becomes typical of the triumph of Good over Evil. Mariette, in his analysis of the decorations and inscriptions of this temple, points out how the builders were influenced by the prevailing philosophy of the age, and how they veiled the Platonism of Alexandria beneath the symbolism of the ancient religion. The Hat-hor of Denderah was in fact worshipped in a sense unknown to the Egyptians of pre-Ptolemaic times.



Chapter VIII

THEBES AND KARNAK

COMING on deck the third morning after leaving Denderah, we found the dahabeeyah decorated with palm-branches, our sailors in their holiday turbans, and Reïs Hassan *en grande tenue*; that is to say in shoes and stockings, which he only wore on very great occasions.

"Nehârak-sa'îd – good morning – Luxor!" said he, all in one breath.

It was a hot, hazy morning, with dim ghosts of mountains glowing through the mist, and a warm wind blowing.

We ran to the side; looked out eagerly; but could see nothing. Still the captain smiled and nodded; and the sailors ran hither and thither, sweeping and garnishing; and Egendi, to whom his worst enemy could not have imputed the charge of bashfulness, said "Luxor – kharûf [1] – all right!" every time he came near us.

We had read and dreamed so much about Thebes, and it had always seemed so far away, that but for this delicate allusion to the promised sheep, we could hardly have believed we were really drawing nigh unto those famous shores. About ten, however, the mist was lifted away like a curtain, and we saw to the left a rich plain studded with palm-groves; to the right a broad margin of cultivated lands bounded by a bold range of limestone mountains; and on the farthest horizon another range, all grey and shadowy.

"Karnak – Gournah – Luxor!" says Reïs Hassan triumphantly, pointing in every direction at once. Talhamy tries to show us



Hypostyle Hall, Karnak (original field painting)



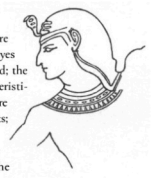
Hypostyle Hall, Karnak (engraving published in the first edition)

Every morning I waked in time to witness that daily miracle. Every morning I saw those awful brethren pass from death to life, from life to sculptured stone. I brought myself almost to believe at last that there must sooner or later come some one sunrise when the ancient charm would snap asunder, and the giants must arise and speak.

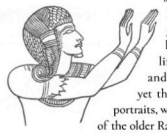
Stupendous as they are, nothing is more difficult than to see the colossi properly. Standing between the rock and the river, one is too near; stationed on the island opposite, one is too far off; while from the sand-slope only a side-view is obtainable. Hence, for want of a fitting standpoint, many travellers have seen nothing but deformity in the most perfect face handed down to us by Egyptian art. One recognises in it the negro, and one the Mongolian type;[1] while another admires the fidelity with which "the Nubian characteristics" have been seized.

Yet, in truth, the head of the young Augustus is not cast in a loftier mould. These statues are portraits – portraits of the same man four times repeated; and that man is Rameses the Great.

Now, Rameses the Great, if he was as much like his portraits as his portraits are like each other, must have been one of the handsomest men, not only of his day, but of all history. Wheresoever we meet with him, whether in the fallen colossus at Memphis, or in the syenite torso of the British Museum, or among the innumerable bas-reliefs of Thebes, Abydos, Gournah, and Bayt-el-Welly, his features (though bearing in some instances the impress of youth and in others of maturity) are always the same. The face is oval; the eyes are long, prominent, and heavy-lidded; the nose is slightly aquiline and characteristically depressed at the tip; the nostrils are open and sensitive; the under lip projects; the chin is short and square.



Here, for instance, is an outline from a bas-relief at Bayt-el-Welly. The



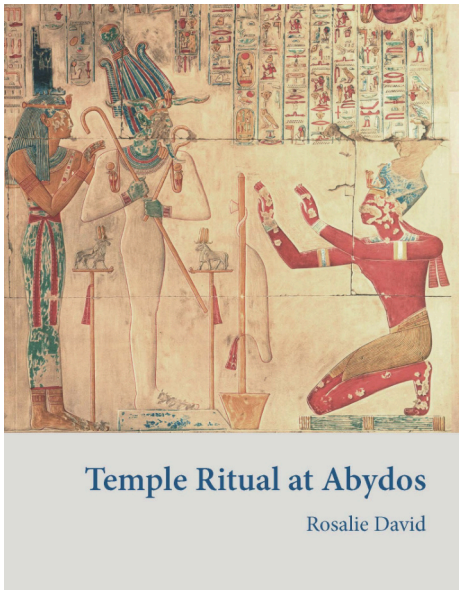
subject is commemorative of the King's first campaign. A beardless youth fired with the rage of battle, he clutches a captive by the hair and lifts his mace to slay. In this delicate and Dantesque face which lacks as yet the fulness and repose of the later portraits, we recognise all the distinctive traits of the older Rameses.

Here, again, is a sketch from Abydos, in which the king, although he has not yet ceased to wear the side-lock of youth, is seen with a boyish beard, and looks some three or four years older than in the previous portrait.



It is interesting to compare these heads with the accompanying profile of one of the caryatid colossi inside the great Temple of Abou Simbel; and all three with one of the giant portraits of the façade. This last, whether regarded as a marvel of size or of portraiture, is the chef-d'œuvre of Egyptian sculpture. We here see the great king in his prime. His features are identical with those of the head at Bayt-el-Welly; but the contours are more amply filled in, and the expression is altogether changed. The man is full fifteen or twenty years older. He has outlived that rage of early youth. He is no longer impulsive, but implacable. A godlike serenity, an almost superhuman pride, an immutable will, breathe from the sculptured stone. He has learned to believe his prowess irresistible, and himself almost divine. If he now raised his arm to slay, it would be with the stern placidity of a destroying angel.

The annexed woodcut gives the profile of the southernmost colossus, which is the only perfect, or very nearly perfect, one of the



TEMPLE RITUAL AT ABYDOS

Rosalie David

Key information:

- Published 2018 (The Egypt Exploration Society)
- Hardback, paperback and PDF eBook
- Reworking and update of two of David's previous titles
- Extensive archival images of the temple

Key skills:

- Adobe InDesign
- Adobe Acrobat Pro
- Setting extensive Egyptian transliteration

This book is a reworking and update of Rosalie David's older titles *Religious Ritual at Abydos* (1973), and *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos* (1981). The book is a guide to the reliefs in the temple of Seti I at Abydos.

The book contains extensive transliteration and translations of the texts, and features photographs and watercolour reproductions of the wall decorations from Amice Calverley and Myrtle Broome's survey of the temple in the early 20th century.

My part in the project was to typeset the book, which used two different master-page layouts, depending on whether the page was prose or translated texts.

As well as the transliteration throughout, the book also features numerous large-scale images which had to be fitted in alongside their relevant translations, diagrams of layouts of the walls and tables of data.

Khonsu speaks:

dd mdw in Ḫnsw m W3st ḥry-ib [*Ꜣbḏw*] *dì.n.*[*i*] *n.k* [*n*] *nsyt R*ᶜ *nḫḥ m nsw ṯḥwy dt* [*ḥr*] *m bḳ*Ꜣ *ḥ*Ꜣ*wt nbt ḥr ṯbṯ.k dt sp 2*

Amen-Re grants the king health.

In the Lower Register, the king presents a small statue holding two animal-headed jars to Amen-Re behind whom stands Mut. The title reads:

ḥnḳ mḏꜣt n it.f irì.f dì ᶜnḫ

Amen-Re grants the king strength and bravery, and Mut gives him health and joy.

Between Doors VIWa and VIWa.

In the Upper Register, the king, shown in his deified form, receives the cult from Thoth. He stands between Osiris and Thoth who inscribes the king's name on his shoulder. Thoth says:

[*dì.n.*[*i*] *n.k rnpwt R*ᶜ**] *m nsw Ỉnn* [*dì.*[*i*] *n.k*] *nḥḥ m nsw ṯḥwy nḥḥ m bḳ*Ꜣ *ḥ*Ꜣ*wt nbt sḫpì n.k ḥ*Ꜣ*wt Ỉnḏw r ỉnḥ* [*wꜣ*] *ḥr ṯbṯ.k* [*ỉw.k*] *s*Ꜣ *mnḫ wḥ.ib ỉrw m* [....]

Osiris grants the king joy, and places all the flat lands and hill countries under his sandals.

In the Lower Register, the king receives the jubilee staff from Osiris. Horus and Isis, who holds a sistrum and a jubilee staff, stand behind the king. Osiris speaks:

dd mdw in W3ir ḥry-ib Ꜣbḏw sḫp n.k rnpwt ḥḏww-sd mì sꜣ.i ṯḫ mì [*wḏ.i n*].*k grg.n.k prw nṯrw Ꜣbḏw ḥ*Ꜣ*w ḥr nfr*

Horus speaks:

[*dd mdw in*] *Ḥr swt* Ꜣ*t ḥry-ib ḥwt Ꜣbḏw smn.i ḫ*ᶜ*w*

Isis speaks:

dd mdw in W3t ḥsp n.k rnpwt r ᶜ*ḥ*ᶜ *n* [*pt*] *dt sp 2*

Between Doors VIWa and VIIWa.

In the Upper Register, Isis suckles the king in the presence of Horus. She speaks:

dd mdw in Ỉst mwt nṯr nbt pt [*ḥnwt ṯ*Ꜣ*wy*] *nb ṯ*Ꜣ*wy W*Ꜣ*s-nṯ*ᶜ*t stp-n-*ᶜ [*snḏ.n.k m Ỉrtt.*[*i*] *mḥ.sn n.k m* ᶜ*nḫ wḍ*Ꜣ *sn*]*b.* [*wḏ.i n.k m* ᶜ*nḫ wḍ*Ꜣ *ỉr*ᶜ*y.k* ᶜ*ḥ*ᶜ *r*ᶜ *mì R*ᶜ *m pt rnpy.k mì Ỉnn*

Khonsu in Thebes, who is residing in [Abydos], says, '[I] give to thee [....] the kingship of Re and eternity as king of the Two Lands, forever, and joy as ruler, every foreign country being under thy sandals, forever and ever.'

Offering *mḏꜣ*-ointment to his father, that he may make a 'given life.'

[I give to thee the years of Re] and the kingship of Atum. [I give to thee] eternity as king of the Two Lands, and eternity as ruler of all foreign lands. I overthrow for thee the lands of the Fnxw, in order to bind [them] under thy sandals. [Thou art] the beneficent son, patient, who makes [....].

Osiris, who is residing in Abydos, says, 'Receive for thyself the years and jubilee-festivals as my well-doing son, even as [I have decreed] for thee, for thou hast founded the house of the gods of the Thinite Nome, surpassing in beauty.'

Horus, seed of Isis, who is residing in the Mansion of Abydos, [says]: 'I establish the crowns.'

Isis says, 'Receive for thyself years amounting to the lifespan of [the sky], forever and ever.'

Isis, god's mother, Lady of Heaven, [Mistress of the Two Lands], says, 'Lord of the Two Lands, Usimare setepenre, thou hast suckled from [my] milk, may they enter to thee as life, dominion and [health]; mayest thou spend a lifespan like Re in the sky, mayest thou be young like Atum.'

Horus speaks:

[*ḫsp*] *n.k* [*ḥḳ*Ꜣ*t n it.f*] *Ỉf* [*nḫ*Ꜣ*ḥ*Ꜣ *n Kꜣ-nwt.f*] [*ỉw.k m nsyw*] *n nb* Ꜣ*bḏw rdìt n.k* [*mḥwt*].*k mì ḥm.i*

Horus enumerates the benefits he bestows on the king:

dd mdw in Ḥr ḥry-ib ḥwt Ꜣ*t dì.i n.k nsyt R*ᶜ *dì.n.*[*i*] *n.k ṯḥw ḥr snḍ.k dì.n.*[*i*] *n.k snb* Ꜣ*w-ỉbt dì.*[*n.i*] *n.k ḳꜣt nb*

The god continues:

dd mdw dì.[*i*] *n.k nsyt.*[*i*] *ᶜḥ*ᶜ*.f* [*pḥ*] *rꜣ ỉw.k m nrw ṯḥwy mì R*ᶜ *m pt dì.n.*[*i*]. [*n.k*] *ḳꜣt nḥḥ r ḥ*Ꜣ*wt nb pḥty.k m ỉb.sn n dt*

Palimpsests occur throughout this scene: the wall was probably originally inscribed for Sethos I, and then re-carved in the reign of Ramesses II.

In the left scene in the Lower Register, Isis presents the menit, sistrum and uraeus to the king. She speaks:

*dd mdw in Ỉst wrt mwt nṯr nbt pt wrt ḥḳ*Ꜣ*w ḫ*Ꜣ*w n.k ḥr tp.t wꜣḏyt* ᶜ*nḫ wꜣs r ḏnty.k ỉry.t sḫm n ḥr.k nfr mnit n ḥ*Ꜣ*tyw.k*

In the right scene, the king receives crowns from Horus. The god speaks:

*dd mdw ḫ*Ꜣ*p n.k sḫmt.k ḫ*ᶜ*w.i ỉit.t psḏt ḏnḍ.i n.k* [*nsyt bỉty*] *m ỉmyt pr-mḍꜣt n ḥ*ᶜ*.k*

Horus continues:

dd mdw in Ḥr ḥry-ib Ꜣ*bḏw dì.n.*[*i*] *n.k ḳnt nḥt*

It is evident that the decoration in this register was first executed under Sethos I, and later re-cut by his son.

The Nomes

The nomes (administrative districts of the land) depicted in the First Hypostyle Hall differ from those found in the Second Hypostyle Hall. All the nomes in the First Hall are Upper Egyptian. See below, p. 111, and Appendix C.

Second Hypostyle Hall

North Wall

In the Upper Register, in Scene A (nearest the east end), the king offers Ma'at (?) to Amen-Re, behind whom stands a goddess. Behind the king stands his *Ka* in front of whom are the words:

[*ḳꜣ nsw*] *ᶜnḫ nb ṯ*ỉ*wy ḥnty dbỉt*

[Take] for thyself [the crook of thy father] [and the flail of Kha-mutef]. [Thou art the seed] of the Lord of Abydos and he grants [thy victories] like my Majesty.

Horus, who is residing in the Mansion of Isis, says, '[I] give to thee the kingship of Re, [I] give to thee the lands full of fear of thee, [I] give to thee health and joy, [I] give to thee all bravery.'

Utterance: [I] give to thee [my] throne and my lifespan upon] the land, thou being king of the Two Lands, like Re in the sky. [I] give [to thee] bravery and strength over every foreign land, thy strength being in their hearts, forever.

Great Isis, god's mother, Lady of Heaven, Great of Magic, says, 'Take for thyself upon thy brow the uraeus, and life and dominion for thy nose. I will play the sistrum to thy beautiful face, the menit to thy heart.'

Utterance. Receive for thyself thy Double Crown, and my diadem. Seize the two portions. I unite for thee [the reed and the papyrus] as a testament in thy grasp.

Horus, who is residing in Abydos, says, '[I] give to thee bravery and strength.'

[The] living [royal *Ka* of] the lord of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in the Robing Room.

ROBING 2. INSIDE THE SHRINE

27. Spell for fixing the Two Plumes upon the head. [*r n*] *smn ḥwty m tp*
28. Spell for giving the *wꜣs*-sceptre, crook, flail, bracelets and anklets. [*r n*] *rdìt wꜣs ḥḳꜣ nḫḫḥꜣ iry* ᶜ*wy iry rdwy*
29. Spell for presenting unguent for wiping off the unguent. *r n rdìt mḏ*
29A. *r n ḥnḳ mḏt*
29B. *r n ḥnḳ mḏt rdìt mḏt*
30. Performing the pouring out of sand. *irt wꜣ*ᶜ *ỉ*ᶜ*y*
31. Spell for adorning the body with *nms*. *r n sm*ᶜ*r ḫ*ᶜ*w m nms*
32. Adoring the goddess 4 times. *dwꜣ nṯrt* [*w*] *sp 4*
33. Spell for putting on the great cloth after these. *r n ḥbs m mnḫt* ᵛ*t ḥr sꜣ.sn*
34. Making purification with incense upon the fire, encircling 4 times. *irt* ᵛ*ḫw m snṯr ḥr sḏt pḥr ḥ*ᶜ*.*[*i*] *sp 4*
34A. [*irt* ᵛ*ḫw m snṯr ḥr sḏt pḥr ḥ*ᶜ*.*] *sp 4 m ṯw 4 n sn* [*tr*]

EXIT

35. Spell for removing the foot-prints with the brush of the *ḥdn*-plant. *r n int rd m ḥ*Ꜣ*dn*

POST-EXIT PURIFICATION

36. Offering incense upon the fire, encircling 4 times. *irt* ᵛ*ḫw m snṯr ḥr sḏt pḥr ḥ*ᶜ *sp 4*

ADDITIONAL EPISODES

Osiris Chapel (*Episodes without Egyptian titles are given in English only*)

37. Offering incense.
38. Offering incense and libation.
39. Offering incense to Osiris. *irt snṯr n Wꜣir*
40. Laying on hands.
41. Offering bouquets to Osiris.
42. Laying on hands.
43. Offering incense to Osiris. *irt snṯr n Wꜣir*
44. Spell for consecrating white bread. *r n* [*sḫr t-ḥḏ*]
45. Offering water and natron (?).

Horus Chapel

46. Spell for bringing life to the god. [*r*] *n iw* ᶜ*nḫ ḥr nṯr*
48. Horus embraces the king.

Amen-Re Chapel

47. Making purification with a vessel of *bd*-natron. *irt* ᵛ*ḫw m ḥnt bd*

NOTE: [ ] indicates signs omitted from some versions of the title. The chart on the following page gives a summary of the location of the above episodes on the walls of the six chapels.

	Ptah			Re-Harakhte			Amen-Re			Osiris			Isis			Horus		
	I.	U	Fp	I.	U	Fp	I.	U	Fp	I.	U	Fp	I.	U	Fp	I.	U	Fp
E Wall (N)	1		1	1		1	1		1	1		37	1		1	1		1
		1	2]		1	2]		1	4		1	38		1	2		1	48
N Wall	1		3	1		3	1		2	–		–	1		3	1		3
		1	4		1	4		1	6	–		–		1	4		1	4
	2		5A	2		5	2		5	1		5	2		5A	2		5
		2	6		2	6		2	8		1	6		2	6		2	46
	3		7	3		7	3		7	2		7	3		7	3		7
		3	8		3	8		3	10		2	10		3	8		3	8
	4		9	4		9	4		9	3		9	4		9	4		9
		4	[10		4	10		4	[16A]		3	8		4	10		4	10
	5		11	5		11	5		11	4		11	5		11	5		11
		5	12		5	12		5	12		4	39		5	12		5	12
	6		13	6		13	6		13	–		–	6		13	6		13
	7		14	7		14	7		14	5		14	7		14	7		14
	8		15	8		15	8		15	6		41	8		15	8		[15
		6	[16]		6	16		–	–		5	41		6	16		6	[16]
S Wall	1		17	1		17	1		17A	–		–	1		17A	1		17
		1	18		1	18		1	20		–	–		1	18		1	18
	2		19	2		19	2		19	1		19	2		19	2		19
		2	20		2	20		2	22		1	34		2	20		2	20
	3		21	3		21	3		21	2		21	3		21	3		21
		3	[22]		3	22		3	24		2	10		3	22		3	22
	4		[23]	4		23	4		23A	3		25	4		23A	4		23
		4	[24]		4	24		4	30		3	20		4	24		4	24
	5		[25]	5		25	5		25	4		25	5		25	5		25
		5	[26]		5	16		5	16		4	43		5	26		5	26
	6		[27]	6		27	6		27	–		–	6		27	6		27
	7		28	7		28	7		28	5		28	7		28	7		28
	8		[29A	8		29	8		29B	6		42	8		29A	8		29A
		6	[30]		6	[30]		–	–		5	13		6	30]		6	30
W Wall (N)	1		[31]	1		31	1		31	–		–	1		31	1		31
		1	[32]		1	[32		1	[32		–	–		1	32		1	32
W Wall (S)	1		[33]	1		33	1		33	–		–	1		33	1		33
		1	[34]		1	[34]		1	[34]		–	–		1	[34A		1	34
E Wall (S)	1		35	1		35	1		35	1		14	1		35	1		35
		1	36]		1	36]		1	47		1	45		1	36		1	36A

L = Lower register; U = Upper register; [ ] = Restoration of title and formula; [= Restoration of title in whole or part;] = Restoration of formula in whole or part; Fp = Episode of the Daily Ritual; – = omitted

ROBING. RITES INSIDE THE SHRINE.

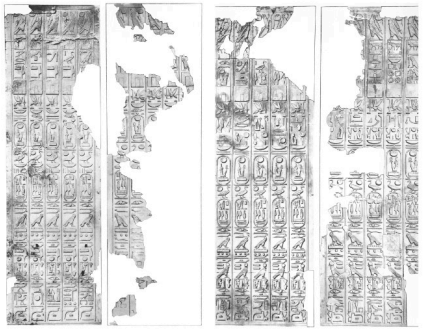
27. smn ḥwty m tp
28. r n ḥnḳ wꜣs ḥḳꜣ nḫḫḥꜣ
29B. r n ḥnḳ mḏ
*31. r n sm*ᶜ*r ḫ*ᶜ*w m nms*
32. [*dwꜣ nṯrt sp 4*]
33. r n ḥbs m mnḫt ᵛ*t ḥr sꜣ.sn*
34. [*irt* ᵛ*ḫw m snṯr ḥr sḏt*] *pḥr ḥ*ᶜ *sp 4*

EXIT AND POST-EXIT PURIFICATION.

*35. r n int rd m ḥ*Ꜣ*dn*
47. irt ᵛ*ḫw m ḥnt n bd*

It should be noted that Episode 16, which occurs in the same position in the Chapel of Re-Harakhte, is replaced by Episode 26 in the Chapels of Isis and Horus. (This scene in the Chapel of Ptah is destroyed). For further details, see the list on p. 133.

Prow of the sacred bark of Amen-Re (Chapel of Amen-Re, north wall, west section)



Thicknesses of the entrance doors, Chapels of Amen-Re (left) and of Re-Harakhte (right)





Sethos Shrine, east wall, north section (left), central section (centre) and south section (right)

In the central section, Thoth holds two staffs whose ends terminate in papyrus and lotus flowers; two serpents wearing the White and Red Crowns are twined around them. The god stands before Sethos to whom he grants the Breath of Life; behind the king is his *Ka*. Thoth, 'Lord of Eshmunein,' says:

dì.n.[*i*] *n.k* ᶜ*nḫ r ḥnḍ.k wḏḥ n ḥ*ᶜ*.k nfr*

[I] give thee life to thy nose, and the two uraei for thy beautiful face.

He continues:

sḫp n.k ᶜ*nḫ nṯr nfr pn Ḥr wḥm m W*Ꜣ*t smn Šnᶜ-*ᶜ*s Mḥw.s ḥr tp.k iḏḥwy ḏnḍ r ḥrwt.k in Rᶜ dn r.f iw ḥm.i ḥr irt m sꜣ twt swt sꜣ.i ḥr nst.f n it.f nsw-bỉt nn wḥmt.fy*

Receive for thyself life, oh thou good god Horus, who appears in Thebes, the Upper and Lower Egyptian crowns are affixed upon thy brow, the Two Banks are united for thy portion by Re, who says with his mouth, 'My Majesty writes it down in writing; moreover, thou art my son upon his throne of his father, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who cannot be excelled.'

Another inscription says:

dd mdw sp 4 ᵛ*ḫw* ᵛ*ḫw wḏḥw pn n nsw Mn-mᶜ*Ꜣ*t-Rᶜ ỉw* ᵛ*ḫw*

Utterance four times. Pure, pure is this altar of the king, Menmaetre, they being pure.

According to the note,[*] in the scene in the north section, the markings on the leopard skin of *Twn-mw.t.f* are shown differently from their representation in Calverley, Vol.III, Pl.40; the Sidelock of Youth also differs – here, the god has the usual single plait, whereas in Plate 40, the hairstyle consists of three tresses bound together. Horus *Twn-mw.t.f* stands before Sethos; the title reads:

ỉrt-ḫtp-dì-nsw ỉn Twn-mw.t.f

Making-a-boon-which-the-king-gives, by Horus *Twn-mw.t.f*.

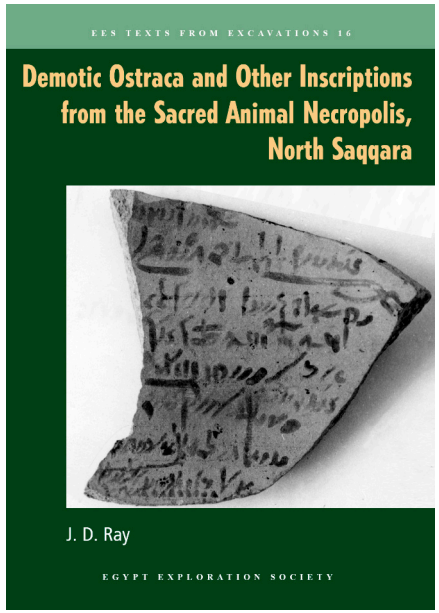
The accompanying inscription reads:[*]

*dd mdw in Ḥr Twn-mw.t.f ḥry-ib ḥwt Mn-mᶜ*Ꜣ*t-Rᶜ n nsw Mn-mᶜ*Ꜣ*t-Rᶜ ḏr pnḏt nṯrw* ᵛ*t pnḏt nṯrw nḏst ḏr irt Šnᶜ Mḥw snṯr* ᵛ*ḫw nḏt ndm-ṯzy nty r sꜣ nty m pr mḏw-nṯr* ᶜ*wy dì.sn Rᶜ s*ᵛ*ḫw.f nsw Mn-mᶜ*Ꜣ*t-Rᶜ m pr.f pn m ḥwt-*

Utterance by Horus *Twn-mw.t.f*, who is residing in the Mansion of Menmaetre, to the king, Menmaetre, in the presence[sic] of the Great Ennead and the Little Ennead, the Conclaves of Upper and Lower Egypt: 'The pure



The Sethos Shrine, east wall, south portion: Horus pouring a libation over the king



DEMOTIC OSTRACA AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SACRED ANIMAL NECROPOLIS, NORTH SAQQARA

J.D. Ray

Key information:

- Published 2013 (The Egypt Exploration Society)
- Paperback
- Contains in three different ancient scripts

Key skills:

- Adobe InDesign
- Adobe Acrobat Pro
- Setting demotic transliteration, Coptic and Greek
- Working to an extremely short deadline

From the Egypt Exploration Society's 'Texts from Excavations' series, this book is a collection of nearly 400 demotic ostraca and inscriptions, dating mainly to the Ptolemaic period, found at the sacred animal necropolis at Saqqara.

The project had to be completed in an extremely short time; the author was retiring in the coming months, so the manuscript needed to be finished, edited, typeset and sent to the printers in a matter of weeks. I was sent each chapter once it had been copy-edited, at the same time as the copy-editing was returned to the author. I would typeset the chapter and return it to the author and copy-editor to check whilst I got on with the next chapter.

The book contains demotic transliteration, and Coptic and Greek text. The author had used three fonts that I was unable to find anywhere, and when they sent the font files to me, they wouldn't work on my computer, so I had to source a new font. I found the New Athena Unicode font, which was comprehensive enough to cover the demotic, Greek and Coptic. I then had to check through each piece of ancient text to check the new font had converted the text properly.

I had to fit occasional demotic letters into the text itself, which had been hand drawn, scanned in and saved as JPG images. Many entries had accompanying line drawings that had to be set alongside their entry at actual size.

clear. The numeral-sign *tpy* is somewhat elaborate ( ), while the sign for *ibd-2* resembles that occasionally used for the syllable *gr* ( ). *ibd-3* and *ibd-4* are normal, with the diagonal strokes above the numerical part of the signs always visible. The writing of *ỉḫt* is conventional enough, but the treatment of *prt* and *ḥrnw*, which are sometimes difficult to distinguish apart, confirms the useful distinction that the latter is composed entirely of straight lines ( ). This writing is familiar from the Hor archive, and may well have been standard in Memphis around the middle of the Ptolemaic period. In *prt*, on the other hand, an attempt has been made to keep a distinct sun-determinative ( ). In line 8, the writing of this month is shortened by omitting one of the middle strokes, but there is no reason to think that this was intentional.

The text appears to be scribal practice, perhaps as part of the temple schooling which is mentioned in connection with the previous text, DO Saqqara 6. However there is a somewhat less likely alternative, namely that the whole was intended as a quick reference for other apprentice scribes. Both explanations may be compatible. Whatever its exact function, parallels are not uncommon, both in Greek and demotic. In early Hebrew there is the well-known Gezer calendar, which is discussed most recently by J. A. Emerton, *PEQ* 131 (1999), 20–3. In demotic we have O. Bodleian 300; U. Kaplony-Heckel, *SAK* 1 (1974), 246 (p. 234 of the same article also mentions a Ramesside prototype); and O. Bucheum 110 (R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *The Bucheum* II [London, 1934], 67 with pl. LXXIII). A further example, Ptolemaic, of unknown provenance, is published as Text 80 of S. Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka* (Uppsala, 1954), 186 with pl. 15. There is also the bilingual evidence on some fragments of a sundial in St Petersburg (I. M. Lurje, *Gnomonicheskij Ermitazh: Trudy Otdela Vostoka 4* (1947), 103–6 with pl. 2.1, where the terms ΜΕΧΕΡ ΤΙΒΙ ΧΟΙΑΚ| ΦΑΜΕΝΟΦ are found together with *ibd-3 prt*, *ibd-4 prt*, and *tpy ḥrnw*). The latter, however, is a utilitarian object, and not a scribal exercise. Greek examples which are undoubtedly exercises are discussed by W. Brashear, *Enchoria* 14 (1986), 9, with plentiful references including Semitic parallels, and two lists of Coptic months, together with days of the week, can be found in W. E. Crum and H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* II (New York, 1926), 617–8. Finally, there are two multi-cultural lists: a Fayyum papyrus naming Roman months alongside their Graeco-Egyptian equivalents (H. G. Gundel, *APF* 16 [1958], 13–19), and an ostracon in which the latter are equated with the Jewish months (F. Hintze, *MIO* 3 [1955], 149–52). From this it is clear that our demotic example is a small addition to a genre which was widespread.

Text DO Saqqara 8: A COLLECTION OF ARTIFICIAL SENTENCES (EITHER SCRIBAL EXERCISE OR MAGICAL FORMULAE)

Excavators' number	H6-99 [1432]
Height	8.2 cm
Width	9.2 cm
Thickness	0.6 cm
Material	potsherd
Provenance	Sectors 4 and 3, outside west wall of main temple compound, March 1967
Bibliography	none
Date	second half of the Ptolemaic period



A small, irregularly shaped ostracon of fine pink ware, with a buff slip. (The Munsell readings are 7.5YR 6/4 for the ware, and 2.5 YR 6/4 for the slip.) There are some indistinct smudges on the recto, and faint traces of incrustation on the verso. The ostracon is in two pieces, repaired by the excavators. The recto bears six lines of demotic in what is intended to be a fluent hand. The scribe is competent, and the hand shows a tendency to make curving strokes, but the overall impression is still slightly hesitant and unprofessional. A peculiarity of the hand is the use of very full spellings, for example in the possessive adjectives *ty*{*y*}*r* in line 1, *py*{*y*}*r* (?) in line 2, and *py*{*y*}*t* in line 4. A similar complexity can be seen in the double group which is found in lines 1, 5 and 6. The text may be complete, although there could be small losses, especially at the ends of the last three lines. The meaning of the whole is far from straightforward, and the lack of a normal context makes identification of some words all the more difficult.

Text: recto

1. *dit* ^{a}*ḥpr ty*{*y*}*r* ^{b}*gm-mty* (?) ^{c}
2. *py*{*y*}*r t rmt-r*[*e*] *pay pay* ^{d}
3. *t*[*ir*] *t*[*r*] *rmt n ỉḫ* ^{e}
4. *pay* (?) ^{f} *pa*{*y*}*t r rmt* ‹] *ša*
5. *gm-mty* (?) ^{g}*gm* (?) ^{h}
6. *gm-mty* (?)[.

Notes to the Text

a) The opening word of this line is either one of the definite articles, or the infinitive *dit*. It is not the feminine article, which is clearly written in the third word of this line. It may be the plural, which is not encountered elsewhere in this text, but the phrase *nỉ ḥpr* is awkward. We would have to take it as a defective writing of the relative *nỉ-*{*r*}*ḥpr*, (for *nỉ-ỉr ḥpr*) and even then the syntax would be awkward. It therefore looks as if the reading *dit ḥpr* is what the scribe intended.

b) This writing of the possessive, with redundant *y*, is repeated in line 2 (*py*{*y*}*r*) and line 4 (*pa*{*y*}*t*). I know of no other examples of this practice. The forms in question are clearly possessive adjectives, and it is hardly possible to see them as writings of the possessive pronouns with a stressed vowel (ⲧⲟⲩ, ⲡⲁⲓ etc.). The reason for these full writings is not clear to me.

c) The group at the end of this line is repeated elsewhere in the text: in line 5, with a small variant, and in line 6. It seems to break down into two distinct elements. The first is a squarish sign followed by what appears to be a determinative ( ); however, in line 5, the second sign might just be the feminine ending *.t*. The second element is more complex, but it seems in most of the examples to come down to the writing ( ). The first element contains several possibilities, for example *ḥmt* 'wife', which would fit the writing at the beginning of line 4. However, this would be impossible after the possessive *ty*-*s* in line 1. Most of the other possibilities centre around the readings *km* or *gm*. The second element in the word is less amenable, although it too resembles some forms of the word *gm* 'find'. It also occurs in writings of the word *gmy* 'strength, power' (*DG*, 580). However, a group which is very similar is also found in the word *mỉ*{*r*}*y* 'noon' (*DG*, 192, second ex.). This may be a coincidence, but the combined evidence of the above suggests the overall reading *gmr-mty* or even *gm-gmty*. The word *gm* 'power' is feminine, but there is also an extended equivalent *gmt.t*, which is found, for example, in P. Insinger; cf. F. Lexa, *Papyrus Insinger* II (Paris, 1926), 123 no. 539, quoting the Bohairic ϫⲟⲙⲧ. It may be this word which is meant here. An alternative, *gmgm* meaning 'touch, caress' (cf. ⲅⲙⲅⲙ, Crum, 818b), would seem to be excluded by virtue of its gender. However, the phonetic pattern of the sentence is far from simple, and it may be that the scribe was trying to convey some sort of alliteration, or a series of puns. See further note *h* below, and the Commentary at the end of this text.

d) At first sight, the group at the end of this line resembles the feminine suffix *s*. The scribe may even have thought about writing this in view of the feminine pronouns which occur in the first section of the text. But, if this is so, he then appears to have altered the sign, so that it resembled the copula (or demonstrative) *pay*. However, the writing is slightly different from the one used in the word immediately preceding, and it could be that a distinction was intended between the masculine copula (?*t*) and the absolute demonstrative (?*ta*). This makes good sense, inasmuch as any of the text makes sense at all, and has been adopted in the translation.

e) The reading seems inescapable, but the syntax thus created is difficult. See further note *c* to the translation below.

f) The word at the beginning of this line is not easy. It appears to be written as ( ), which at first suggests *sy*, followed by a determinative. However, it is difficult to see what would be intended by this. A more interesting possibility is *py* or *pay* (the latter writing being the one sometimes used in the masculine demonstrative). The context suggests that we are dealing with a verb of some sort. A verb which could be read as *py* appears in the Hor Archive, with the possible meaning 'behold, perceive', and further examples are now known, normally with reference to dreams or dreaming; cf. J. D. Ray in S. P. Vleeming (ed.) *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography* (Studia Demotica 1; Louvain, 1987), 89. To these can be added another, in the unpublished O. BM 412355, an address to Amenhotpe son of Hapu from Deir el-Bahri, where line 1 begins *my pay*{*t*}*w*[*ỉ*] *rswt* 'let me behold a dream'). Whether this word is connected with the older *pṯrỉ* remains doubtful, since this root appears to have lost the middle consonant only in conjunction with the following *r*, and not elsewhere. However, it is possible that it represents an unusual reduction, or a re-formation of some sort. This meaning makes reasonable sense, and it gives room for some word play on the demonstratives and possessives in the rest of the sentence. Such word-play was evidently part of the purpose of this text.

g) This group is partially obscured by the vertical stroke from the word *ỉḫ* in the line above. However, the hand is the use of very full spellings, for example in the possessive adjectives *ty*{*y*}*r* in line 1, *py*{*y*}*r* (?) in line 2, and *py*{*y*}*t* in line 4. A similar complexity can be seen in the double group which is found in lines 1, 5 and 6. The text may be complete, although there could be small losses, especially at the ends of the last three lines. The meaning of the whole is far from straightforward, and the lack of a normal context makes identification of some words all the more difficult.

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3. *t*[*ir*] *t*[*r*] *rmt n ỉḫ* ^{e}
4. *pay* (?) ^{f} *pa*{*y*}*t r rmt* ‹] *ša*
5. *gm-mty* (?) ^{g}*gm* (?) ^{h}
6. *gm-mty* (?)[.

Notes to the Text

a) The opening word of this line is either one of the definite articles, or the infinitive *dit*. It is not the feminine article, which is clearly written in the third word of this line. It may be the plural, which is not encountered elsewhere in this text, but the phrase *nỉ ḥpr* is awkward. We would have to take it as a defective writing of the relative *nỉ-*{*r*}*ḥpr*, (for *nỉ-ỉr ḥpr*) and even then the syntax would be awkward. It therefore looks as if the reading *dit ḥpr* is what the scribe intended.

b) This writing of the possessive, with redundant *y*, is repeated in line 2 (*py*{*y*}*r*) and line 4 (*pa*{*y*}*t*). I know of no other examples of this practice. The forms in question are clearly possessive adjectives, and it is hardly possible to see them as writings of the possessive pronouns with a stressed vowel (ⲧⲟⲩ, ⲡⲁⲓ etc.). The reason for these full writings is not clear to me.

c) The group at the end of this line is repeated elsewhere in the text: in line 5, with a small variant, and in line 6. It seems to break down into two distinct elements. The first is a squarish sign followed by what appears to be a determinative ( ); however, in line 5, the second sign might just be the feminine ending *.t*. The second element is more complex, but it seems in most of the examples to come down to the writing ( ). The first element contains several possibilities, for example *ḥmt* 'wife', which would fit the writing at the beginning of line 4. However, this would be impossible after the possessive *ty*-*s* in line 1. Most of the other possibilities centre around the readings *km* or *gm*. The second element in the word is less amenable, although it too resembles some forms of the word *gm* 'find'. It also occurs in writings of the word *gmy* 'strength, power' (*DG*, 580). However, a group which is very similar is also found in the word *mỉ*{*r*}*y* 'noon' (*DG*, 192, second ex.). This may be a coincidence, but the combined evidence of the above suggests the overall reading *gmr-mty* or even *gm-gmty*. The word *gm* 'power' is feminine, but there is also an extended equivalent *gmt.t*, which is found, for example, in P. Insinger; cf. F. Lexa, *Papyrus Insinger* II (Paris, 1926), 123 no. 539, quoting the Bohairic ϫⲟⲙⲧ. It may be this word which is meant here. An alternative, *gmgm* meaning 'touch, caress' (cf. ⲅⲙⲅⲙ, Crum, 818b), would seem to be excluded by virtue of its gender. However, the phonetic pattern of the sentence is far from simple, and it may be that the scribe was trying to convey some sort of alliteration, or a series of puns. See further note *h* below, and the Commentary at the end of this text.

d) At first sight, the group at the end of this line resembles the feminine suffix *s*. The scribe may even have thought about writing this in view of the feminine pronouns which occur in the first section of the text. But, if this is so, he then appears to have altered the sign, so that it resembled the copula (or demonstrative) *pay*. However, the writing is slightly different from the one used in the word immediately preceding, and it could be that a distinction was intended between the masculine copula (?*t*) and the absolute demonstrative (?*ta*). This makes good sense, inasmuch as any of the text makes sense at all, and has been adopted in the translation.

e) The reading seems inescapable, but the syntax thus created is difficult. See further note *c* to the translation below.

f) The word at the beginning of this line is not easy. It appears to be written as ( ), which at first suggests *sy*, followed by a determinative. However, it is difficult to see what would be intended by this. A more interesting possibility is *py* or *pay* (the latter writing being the one sometimes used in the masculine demonstrative). The context suggests that we are dealing with a verb of some sort. A verb which could be read as *py* appears in the Hor Archive, with the possible meaning 'behold, perceive', and further examples are now known, normally with reference to dreams or dreaming; cf. J. D. Ray in S. P. Vleeming (ed.) *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography* (Studia Demotica 1; Louvain, 1987), 89. To these can be added another, in the unpublished O. BM 412355, an address to Amenhotpe son of Hapu from Deir el-Bahri, where line 1 begins *my pay*{*t*}*w*[*ỉ*] *rswt* 'let me behold a dream'). Whether this word is connected with the older *pṯrỉ* remains doubtful, since this root appears to have lost the middle consonant only in conjunction with the following *r*, and not elsewhere. However, it is possible that it represents an unusual reduction, or a re-formation of some sort. This meaning makes reasonable sense, and it gives room for some word play on the demonstratives and possessives in the rest of the sentence. Such word-play was evidently part of the purpose of this text.

g) This group is partially obscured by the vertical stroke from the word *ỉḫ* in the line above. However,

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g) This group is partially obscured by the vertical stroke from the word *ỉḫ* in the line above. However, it might also be a uraeus; that on the right is a standing jackal, similar to the *sḥ*-sign of the hieroglyphs. Both figures face outwards, towards the inscribed face, and are very crudely drawn. The top of the pillar is broken, and there is some damage to the bottom edge of the inscribed face. On the other hand, the two sides show a marked taper, and the overall effect resembles a miniature naos. This effect may be deliberate.

1. 'Take care !*ỉ*
2. Do not bring upon yourselves the
3. retribution^{g} for ever and ever (?)^{h}
4. which rests in Hebnebes^{ỉ}.
5. Ipy son of ..... ^{ỉ},
6. born to Setyer-
7. bone, (may) his
8. Lady give him
9. an end (?)^{j} to
10. running (?) into
11. misfortune (?)^{k}.

Notes to the Text and Translation

a) This phrase is the exact counterpart to the Coptic ϫⲡⲏⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏ, for which see Černý, *CED*, 291. The form *ỉr*=*tn* may go back to the original stative *ỉr*=*tnwy*, later assimilated to the infinitive used as imperative. The latter might help to explain the extended form of the suffix in Coptic.

b) The reading *mtry* is clear enough, but the meaning is less straightforward. It might be the same word that appears in *DG*, 193, 1, although this is taken from an obscure passage in the Demotic Chronicle (this reference is e.18 rather than the c.8 given in *DG*; cf. A. Klasens, *Bi. Or.* 13 [1956], 223). The original editor, W. Spiegelberg, guessed that the word might mean something like 'dark star'. Whatever the meaning, the context suggest that it is something menacing.

c) The text at this point is particularly faint. The traces take the form ( ). The final element may be an abbreviated cobra, of the type which is sometimes found in early writings of *ḏỉ*, and this suggests the reading *ndy*-*ḏỉ* which is suggested here. The problem with this is that it breaks into the syntax of the sentence. An alternative might be an epithet, such as *nbd*, which is attested as an epithet of Apophis (*Wb.* II, 247), but this is unknown in demotic. Another possibility might be *nby* 'shortcoming, sin', which would need to be attached to the previous word as a genitive. The latter gives a good sense, but there are palaeographical difficulties with both these alternatives.

d) The writing of the first element in this name is influenced by hieratic, but the reading seems clear. The form *Ḥb-nbr-s* is an interesting variant on the place-name which appears elsewhere in our corpus as *Ḥp-nbr-s*, *Ḥpy-nb-s* or *Ḥpḏ.t-nb-s*.

e) I can suggest no convincing meaning for the father's name. The opening element looks like *nỉr*, but this normally appears in initial position in demotic as *nỉ-nfr*. The readings *Ns-nỉ-hb.w* and *T*}*-n-nỉ-hb.w* are worth considering, though neither is straightforward. C. J. Martin suggests the reading *Ḥnw-ỉw*.

f) The word in the ninth line is obscure. It appears to begin with the *mn*-sign, and the word *mnḥ* therefore suggests itself, but reading and meaning are still far from obvious. A marginally better sense is given by *mnq*, 'end, cease', and this has been chosen here for want of anything better. In addition, it has to be noted that the form *dỉ* which appears at the end of the previous line is normally reserved for the *sḏm*=*f* of this particular verb, rather than the infinitive which would be expected as part of the first present. However, the phrase **dỉ ỉr.f mnq* (?) looks strange, while the reading **dỉ ỉr.f Bst.t* .... raises even greater problems. If the form *dỉ* is really a *sḏm*=*f*, the phrase *ty*=*f ḥnwt* would need to be attached to the preceding name *Ns-ỉrt-ḥnn.t(.t)*. This is not impossible, but it would be an unusual epithet to be given to a matronymic. On balance, it seems easier to take the form *dỉ* as an unusual writing of the infinitive, and the whole as first present used as a solemn wish, the subject being *ty*=*f ḥnwt*.

Commentary

This is a very short but enigmatic text. Enough remains of the original to show that it consisted of a list of names, but whether these are real or artificial it is impossible to tell. Two of these names, and perhaps the third, are followed by an unknown word *tm*, which seems to be followed by a star-determinative.

Text DO Saqqara 23: A READY RECKONER OR SIMILAR AID, INVOLVING DIVISIONS AND SUMS OF MONEY

Excavators' number	H5-63B [715]
Height	13.1 cm
Width	11.8 cm
Thickness	1.4 cm
Material	limestone
Provenance	Sectors 1 and 2, *redîn*, North Courtyard, Mothers of Apis complex, January 1967
Bibliography	none
Date	Ptolemaic period.

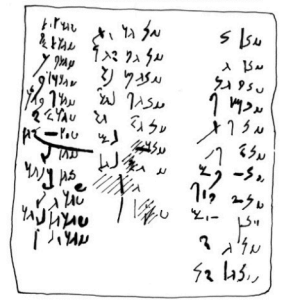
Rectagonal board of limestone, of an unusual buff colour. The board appears to be complete, apart from two corners which were found broken away and later rejoined. The obverse, or recto (which in this case is merely the conventional name for the side where the longer edge is vertical) consists of three columns of demotic of uneven length, written in a somewhat hesitant and unpractised hand. The longest of the three columns consists of twelve lines. The reverse, or verso, contains another three columns written in the same hand, but with the board turned at an angle of ninety degrees, so that the slightly longer side is now horizontal. The first column on this side consists of thirteen lines, but the third and final column on the verso is distinctly shorter than the other two. There are some obscured sections, especially at the end of Column II on the recto, and near the beginnings of the columns on the verso. Although most of the readings are clear, the meaning of the whole is far from obvious. I am grateful to Irena Bierzyn of St. Catharine's College Cambridge for help with the mathematical side of this text.

Text: recto

	COLUMN I	COLUMN II	COLUMN III
1.	*ḥ*[*] *21 20*	*ḥ*[*] *20 12 1/2 1 1/10*	*ḥ*[*] *12 1 1/12* ^{l}
2.	*ḥ*[*] *22 10*	*ḥ*[*] *20 13 1/2 1 1/10 1/20* ^{m}	*ḥ*[*] *12 2 1/6*
3.	*ḥ*[*] *23 10 1/4*	*ḥ*[*] *20 14 2/3 1/30*	*ḥ*[*] *12 3 1/4*
4.	*ḥ*[*] *24 5*	*ḥ*[*] *20 15 2/3 1/12*	*ḥ*[*] *12 4 1/3*
5.	*ḥ*[*] *25 1/4 (?)* ^{a}	*ḥ*[*] *20 16 [2/3] 1/10 1/30*	*ḥ*[*] *12 5 1/3 1/12*
6.	*ḥ*[*] *26 5 1/10 (?)* ^{b}	*ḥ*[*] *20 [17] 2/3 1/60*	*ḥ*[*] *12 6 1/2*
7.	*ḥ*[*] *27 1/3 1/60* ^{c}	*ḥ*[*] *20 [18] 2/3 1/11*	*ḥ*[*] *12 7 1/2 1/12*[*]
8.	*ḥ*[*] *28 1/3 1/15 (?)* ^{d}	*ḥ*[*d] 20 19 2/3 1/12*[*]	*ḥ*[*] *12 (8) 2/3*
9.	*ḥ*[*] *29 ... 1/60* ^{e}	*ḥ*[*d] 20 ... .*[^{h}	*ḥ*[*] *12 9 2/3 1/12*
10.	*ḥ*[*] *30 1/2*		*ḥ*[*] *12 10 2/3 1/6 (?)* ^{k}
11.	*ḥ*[*] *20 11 1/2 1/20 (/)* ^{f}		*ḥ*[*] *12 11 2/3 1/6 1/12*
12.			*ḥ*[*d] 12 12(?) 1* ^{l}

Text: verso

	COLUMN I	COLUMN II	COLUMN III
1.	*ḥ*[*d] 30 1 1/30* ^{m}	*ḥ*[*] *30 14 1/3*	*ḥ*[*] *30 26 2/3 1/6 1/30*
2.	*ḥ*[*] *30 2 15*	*ḥ*[*] *30 15 1/2*	*ḥ*[*] *30 27 2/3 1/6 1/15*



Obverse



Reverse

DO Saqqara 23

An astrological explanation is therefore possible, but by no means inevitable. Since this word remains obscure, the exact meaning of our text is unknown. The similarities between two of the names, and the apparent arrangement of the whole, make it possible that in this text too we are faced with a scribal exercise. However, it is difficult to be certain even of this, and, for the time being, nothing else can be said of it.

have been a priest of some importance. Alternatively, he may have been involved in opening the galleries themselves. This was presumably an event of some importance, which took place only on special occasions; in fact the phrase *pỉ ḥrw n wn* 'the day of opening' is encountered in a stela from the Baboon Galleries, where it is clearly represented as part of the standard procedure of the cult.[46] It may well be something of this sort which is being commemorated in the present text.

If the first line of the text on the side of the base represents the continuation of the front, we can conclude that the ceremony of opening took place in the presence of somebody important, and this somebody could well have been the god himself, who would have attended the ceremony in statue form. In such a case, the presentation of another statue to the same god might well have been thought appropriate. The text continues with a reference to something everlasting (Side, line 2), and concludes with a further piece of information about the activity of the dedicator. But this, together with everything else, is lost.

46 This is published at Text B1 of the author's *Demotic, Hieroglyphic and Greek Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqâra* (EES Texts from Excavations, London, 2011).

Text DI Saqqara 2: A LIMESTONE PILLAR WITH AN INSCRIPTION WARNING ABOUT AN EVIL INFLUENCE

Excavators' number	H5-1655 [3540]
Height	26.9 cm
Width	10.0 cm (width of front, or longer side)
Thickness	9.5 cm (top of pillar)–13.1 cm (bottom of pillar)
Material	limestone
Provenance	Sector 3, *redîn*, February 1969
Bibliography	cf. J. D. Ray, *World Archaeology* 10/2 (October 1978), 156
Date	late Achaemenid or early fourth century BC



Image scaled to 50 per cent of original size

Crudely carved pillar of limestone with markings on three of its four faces. The fourth face is blank, and may have stood against a wall or something similar. The front face has eleven short lines of demotic, written in a bold hand which shows several early features. The unevenness of the surface, combined with the faintness of the text, makes legibility very difficult in parts. The two sides are decorated with pictures. That on the left side of the inscription (from the point of view of someone reading the text) is a mummiform figure,

1. *ỉḫ*=*tn r*-*ḥr*=*tn* ^{a}
2. *m-ỉr ỉpy r*-*ḥr*=*f*[*n*] *pỉ*
3. *ntry* ^{b}*-ḥḏy ḏỉ* (?) ^{c}
4. *nty ỉnṯ n Ḥb-nbr-s* ^{d}
5. *Ỉpy sỉ* ..... ^{e}
6. *r*=*ms Sỉ-ỉrt-*
7. *Ỉsỉnt.t*[*] *ty*=*f*
8. *ḥnwt ḏỉ ỉr*=*f*
9. *mnq* (?) ^{f}*n*
10. *py* (?) *r*-*ḫn*
11. *ỉyt* (?)*ỉ*

Notes to the Text and Translation

a) This phrase is the exact counterpart to the Coptic ϩⲡⲏⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏ, for which see Černý, *CED*, 291. The form *ỉr*=*tn* may go back to the original stative *ỉr*=*tnwy*, later assimilated to the infinitive used as imperative. The latter might help to explain the extended form of the suffix in Coptic.

b) The reading *mtry* is clear enough, but the meaning is less straightforward. It might be the same word that appears in *DG*, 193, 1, although this is taken from an obscure passage in the Demotic Chronicle (this reference is e.18 rather than the c.8 given in *DG*; cf. A. Klasens, *Bi. Or.* 13 [1956], 223). The original editor, W. Spiegelberg, guessed that the word might mean something like 'dark star'. Whatever the meaning, the context suggest that it is something menacing.

c) The text at this point is particularly faint. The traces take the form ( ). The final element may be an abbreviated cobra, of the type which is sometimes found in early writings of *ḏỉ*, and this suggests the reading *ndy*-*ḏỉ* which is suggested here. The problem with this is that it breaks into the syntax of the sentence. An alternative might be an epithet, such as *nbd*, which is attested as an epithet of Apophis (*Wb.* II, 247), but this is unknown in demotic. Another possibility might be *nby* 'shortcoming, sin', which would need to be attached to the previous word as a genitive. The latter gives a good sense, but there are palaeographical difficulties with both these alternatives.

d) The writing of the first element in this name is influenced by hieratic, but the reading seems clear. The form *Ḥb-nbr-s* is an interesting variant on the place-name which appears elsewhere in our corpus as *Ḥp-nbr-s*, *Ḥpy-nb-s* or *Ḥpḏ.t-nb-s*.

e) I can suggest no convincing meaning for the father's name. The opening element looks like *nỉr*, but this normally appears in initial position in demotic as *nỉ-nfr*. The readings *Ns-nỉ-hb.w* and *T*}*-n-nỉ-hb.w* are worth considering, though neither is straightforward. C. J. Martin suggests the reading *Ḥnw-ỉw*.

f) The word in the ninth line is obscure. It appears to begin with the *mn*-sign, and the word *mnḥ* therefore suggests itself, but reading and meaning are still far from obvious. A marginally better sense is given by *mnq*, 'end, cease', and this has been chosen here for want of anything better. In addition, it has to be noted that the form *dỉ* which appears at the end of the previous line is normally reserved for the *sḏm*=*f* of this particular verb, rather than the infinitive which would be expected as part of the first present. However, the phrase **dỉ ỉr.f mnq* (?) looks strange, while the reading **dỉ ỉr.f Bst.t* .... raises even greater problems. If the form *dỉ* is really a *sḏm*=*f*, the phrase *ty*=*f ḥnwt* would need to be attached to the preceding name *Sỉ-ỉrt-ḥnn.t(.t)*. This is not impossible, but it would be an unusual epithet to be given to a matronymic. On balance, it seems easier to take the form *dỉ* as an unusual writing of the infinitive, and the whole as first present used as a solemn wish, the subject being *ty*=*f ḥnwt*.

pỉ ḥb Ḏḥwty 'the Ibis, Thoth (?)' 88, 1

Ḥr pỉ bỉk 'Horus the Falcon' 87, 1

3. PLACE-NAMES AND TEMPLE-SITES

(T)ỉr '(T)sheru' 19 vo I, 3

Wst 'Thebes' 3, 3

wḥy 'Oasis' 14 ro, 1

P}*-ỉ-ḫw* (?) 14 ro, 5; vo, 2; see notes *ad loca*.

Pr-Ty-n-ỉtp 'Asclepieion' 17 II, 2; 63, 2 (?)

Pr-w}*b-nbs* 'Piwab–nebes' (Apart from Text 102, the spelling is regularly *Pr-w*}*b-nb-s* instead of *Pr-w*}*b-nbr-s*) 54, 3; 71, 3; 102, 1; 115, 1 (?); 232 Sherd J (?); DI 1 front, 1

Pr-Wsỉr-Ḥp 'Serapeum' 17 I, 9; DI 3, 3

Pr-Nỉt 'Temple of Neith' 4 ro, 7

Pr-Ỉnn-Ỉnp 'Anubieion' 17 I, 10

pr-ḥḏ ^{c}*ỉ* 'Great Treasury' 12A, A, 4

Mn-nfr 'Memphis' *ỉ*} *tmr*(*ỉ*) *Pn-Nỉt* 'the Quay of Pineith' 17 I, 13

Ta-Ỉnnt 'Tiamun (a Mother of Apis)' 51, 3

ỉ} *Nỉwt* 'the City (Thebes ?)' 14 vo, 3

Ḥp-nbr-s 'Hepnebes' 137, 1; 138, 1; DI 2, 4 (*Ôb-nb-s*)

Ḥmnw 'Hermopolis' 265A, 1; DI 3, 1

ỉ} *s.t Ḥp* 'the Place of Apis' 84, 1

Sy 'Sais' 4 ro, 6

Dmr ^{c} 'Upper Egypt' 3, 7

ỉ} *qy Ỉnṯ* 'the Foremost Height (?)' 143, 1

ỉ} *qby ỉmnṯ* 'the Western District' 101, 2

Kmy 'Egypt' 3, 4

pỉ ỉ} *kmrm* 'the Land of Darkness' 3, 5

Tỉ-wr 'the Thinite nome' 18 vo, 6

Tỉ-ntry 'Sebennytos' 5J, 3; 5K, 4

4. ROYAL NAMES AND ROYAL OR DIVINE TITLES

Tỉrỉwš 'Darius' 2 ro, 1

Pr-^{c}*ỉ* 'Pharaoh' 2 ro, 1; 255, 1

nỉ ḥtyf[*.w*] 'the kings of Lower Egypt' 3, 2

nb Kmy 'Lord of Egypt' 3, 4

ḥqỉw 'rulers' 3, 3

^{c}*ỉ* ^{c}*ỉ nb Ḥmnw* 'twice great, lord of Hermopolis' (epithet of Thoth) 256A, 1

nb Ḥmnw 'lord of Hermopolis' (epithet of Thoth) DI 3, 1

nỉ nb.w 'the lords' (normally an epithet of the gods of Piwab–nebes) 54, 2 (?); 115, 1; DI 1, 1

ỉ} *nb*(*ỉ*) *(T)ỉr* 'the lady of (T)shera' 19 vo I, 3

ỉ} *nb*(*ỉ*) *ỉt=s* 'the lady of her father' 19 vo I, 4

ỉ} *nb*(*ỉ*) *ʿnḫ* 'the lady of life' 19 vo I, 1

ỉ} *nb*(*ỉ*) *s*^{c}*nḫ* 'the lady of maintenance' 19 vo I, 2

ỉnwt 'lady' (epithet of Isis, Mother of Apis) 2 ro, 2, 12; vo, 6 (?); DI 2, 8

ỉry 'divine) lord, master' (see also the titles *ỉry rmṯ* and *ỉry Mỉy* below) 1, 7; 38, 1

ỉnp (*?*) *ḏt* 'ruler (?) of eternity' (epithet of Osiris–Apis) 51, 2

sgỉ mn (epithet of Osiris) 5A, 2; 5K, 2

sṯ ḥtw 'the *ḥtw*' 19 vo II (seven exx.)

5. PERSONAL NAMES AND PATRONYMICS

Ty-n-ỉtp 2 ro, 3; 17 I, 8; 34, 2; 51, 1; 57, 2; 61, 2; 67, 2; 70, 1; 83, 2; 126, 1; 147 Sherd iv (?); 153, 1; 154, 1; 166, 1; 167, 1; 182, 2; 189, 1; 200, 2; 205, 1; 321, 1; 333 Sherd ii; DI 4, 1; DI 5, 1

Tỉ} *(?)-ỉr-dỉt-s* 155, 2

Tỉ} *-ms* 6 II, 3, 4

Tpy DI 2, 5

Tmn-ỉw 163, 1

Tmn-n-ỉṯt 144, 2 (?)

Tmn-n-ỉḥb 16 vo, 5

Tnp-ỉ-ỉr-dỉt-s 22, 1

Tnp-f 40, 2

Tnḥ (?) *f.* (?) 81, 1

Trt-Ỉs-r-w 51, 1; 169, 2

Trt-Ỉs-r-w 56, 2; 329, 1

Trt ^{c}*w* /-*Ḥr* /-*r-w* 152, 1

Trm-ỉ-ỉr-dỉt-s 43 B, 2

^{c}*nḫ-pỉ-sp* (?) DI 7, 1

^{c}*nḫ-f* 32, 2

^{c}*nḫ-Mr-wr* 35, 2; 87, 2

^{c}*n



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