



FIVE “NEW” DEITIES IN THE ROMAN PANTHEON AT GEBEL EL-SILSILA

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ABSTRACT

The list of Egyptian deities attested in Greek and demotic inscriptions in the sandstone quarries of Gebel el-Silsila comprises Amun, Horus, Hathor, Isis, Khnum, Montu, Pachimesen, and Shai. Several new inscriptions and divine names are here added to previous records: the Egyptian gods Min, Bes, Tutu, and the Greek goddesses Athena and Tyche.

INTRODUCTION

In their 1915 publication Preisigke and Spiegelberg include a list of Egyptian deities attested in Greek and demotic inscriptions and recorded by Legrain in the sandstone quarries of Gebel el-Silsila (Upper Egypt).¹ Included in the list are the Pan-Egyptian gods Amun, Horus, Hathor, Isis, Khnum, and Montu; the *genius loci* Pachimesen; as well as the less distinguished divinity Shai. Since its start in 2012 the ongoing Swedish-run archaeological project has added several new inscriptions and some divine names to these previous records. The aim here is to present five “new” deities to the list as attested in textual and pictorial records. The documents discussed here were all found on the east bank of the Nile. The new gods to be added are the Egyptian gods Min and Bes, the sphinx-god Tutu, and—exceptionally—two Greek goddesses, Athena and Tyche.

THE DEITIES

MIN

Min is represented in pictorial form in two quarries on the East Bank (Q34 and Q35) in partitions that have been dated through adjacent inscriptions to the reigns of Augustus/Tiberius and Claudius

respectively.² The first graffito (cat. no. 1) is an incised anthropomorphic figure located some 14 m above the current ground level in the southern partition of the main quarry (Q34). It shows a stylistic, rather crude ithyphallic figure in the standing position, facing left (north). In addition to the outlines carved to illustrate body, head, legs, arms, and phallus, the figure is shown holding an item, presumably representing a flagellum. Its epigraphic context includes other anthropomorphs, a boat, two ankh-signs, and an unpublished Greek *proskynema* inscription (inv. no. GeSE.Q34.F2.In.67).

The second graffito (cat. no. 2) of Min is an engraved pictorial scene located approximately 1.5 m above the ground level in a small quarry labeled Q35. The depiction is detailed in its decoration and delicately carved, and is situated in direct connection with a demotic inscription that confirms the divinity’s identity as “Min, the great god” and chronologically places the composition to “year 10 of Claudius, Thoth 1, the beginning of the year.”³ The scene shows the deity as an ithyphallic, mummified anthropomorphic figure in the standing position, the legs together, and facing right (north). The figure’s right arm is raised sideways behind the body, at a right angle with a flagellum placed above

the hand. He is adorned with a pectoral and collars around his neck. The deity is illustrated with a beard and crowned with the conventional double feather plume with an integrated centered solar disk placed on top of a cap. The distinctive ribbon falls down behind his head in a straight vertical line to the figure’s heel. The scene includes a shrine (*šhn*-shrine), which is connected through a cord to a Min-pole surmounted by bull’s horns (*šhnt*-pole). This symbol associates the graffito with Min’s role as Amun-Min-Kamutef (the bull aspect of Min) and the ceremony of raising/climbing the Min-pole.⁴ Although Min’s association with Kamutef habitually reflect a fertility aspect,⁵ it is more plausible to suggest here an alternative significance, as a protector of the quarrymen, similar to Min figures in the Eastern Desert where he is associated with Greek Pan.⁶

BES

The apotropaic dwarf-god Bes is represented in two pictorial graffiti located in a couple of neighboring quarries (Q23 and Q24) in the central part of Gebel el-Silsila East. The larger depiction (no. 3) of the two is an elaborately decorated figure, situated some 3 m above the current ground, and superimpose tool marks characteristic for the New Kingdom.⁷ Characteristically, this figure of Bes faces forward (west) with a distinctive nose and slanted eyes, showing a grimace face with a protruding tongue, rounded ears, exposed belly with a marked navel, and short legs apart. He is decorated with a plumed modius-styled headdress. He also wears a triangularly depicted skirt and holds a circular drum or tambourine. There are no other associated or adjacent graffiti, but a series of three quarry marks (offering table, crossed square, and a *s*³-sign) was documented in the vicinity, far closer to the ground level.

The second figure of Bes (cat. no. 4) is situated on a height equal to the other, c. 3 m above the ground, on a quarry face that faces north. Adjacent text graffiti have been dated to the reign of Tiberius, and in contrast with the previous figure, this representation superimposes extraction tool marks that are characteristic for the early Roman period.⁸ This smaller representation of Bes is less detailed than cat. no. 3, but contains some characteristic elements, such as a frontal face with a distinctive nose, slanted eyes, protruding tongue and rounded ears, and short, bent legs. The figure is decorated

with a cap with stylistic feathers, alternatively pointy hair, with a cone-like feature in its centre above the head. An adjacent (slightly below to the left) unpublished demotic inscription (inv. no. GeSE.Q24.E.In.4) provides us with the name of Padjeme, a name which is rather common in this quarry.⁹ Without any further information, however, it is difficult to identify any obvious relation between image and text.

As reported in a previous publication, figures of Bes appear in quarries also outside of Gebel el-Silsila, and include a red *dipinti* in Hatshepsut’s limestone quarries in Qurna as well as a carved illustration in the sandstone quarry of el-Kiln.¹⁰ Similar to the adoration of Min in Q35, it is likely that these figures of Bes were incised for the sake of protection, preventing any mishap during the quarrying.

TUTU/TOTOES

There are various depictions of Tutu on both sides of Gebel el-Silsila; one interesting example on the west side has Meroitic characteristics, but the illustration and inscription given here were recorded in the southern partition of the main quarry on the East Bank, with adjacent epigraphy that has been dated to the reigns of Augustus/Tiberius.¹¹ The pictorial graffito (cat. no. 5) is situated c. 15 m above the current ground level, and depicts in profile the sphinx-god in a laying position facing right/south. The creature’s facial features are enlarged, with an accentuated eye, pointed nose and lunar-shaped mouth. A wing-like triangular feature rises up from the figure’s back. Moreover, the figure wears a crown (*atef*?), holds a sword in his front paw, and rests upon a horizontal bar, which may represent the characteristic snake seen in other representations of Tutu.¹² Several adjacent Greek inscriptions state the name “Totoes,” but in contrast with previous interpretations of this name being a worker’s signature¹³ or a theophoric name¹⁴, the current authors propose the possibility that it refers to the god himself based on the proximity of text and image.

Although considered a dangerous demon, feared more than loved, the representations of Tutu in the quarry were likely to address the deity as a benevolent protector.¹⁵ The current hypothesis of the reasoning behind including depictions and inscriptions of Tutu is closely associated with the unique mentioning of the Greek goddess Athena, as described below.

(AGATHA) TYCHE

Turning from male to female, a textual reference (cat. no. 6) to the Greek goddess Tyche (“Fate”) in the main quarry of the East Bank was recently published elsewhere.¹⁶ It is a dedication made by “Saouas, son of Agathinos,” who expresses his adoration of Tyche in the “quarry of Amon,” and dates to the 41st year of the reign of Augustus. Not only is it remarkable to find reference (graffiti) to Greek deities in Upper Egypt in general,¹⁷ but this is the first recorded mentioning of a Greek goddess at Gebel el-Silsila. However, this Greek dedication to goddess (Agatha) Tyche may be interpreted as an aspiration to the female form of Shai, ¹⁸ Isis-Renenutet.¹⁹ Similar to references to Shai, Tyche (as Isis-Renenutet) could be called upon for protection.

ATHENA

Among the more important inscriptions documented within the main quarry is cat. no. 7, which is a Greek graffito incised into a north-facing quarry face in the southern partition (Q34.F5), located adjacently with cat. no. 6, and equally dates to the latter part of Emperor Augustus’ reign (year 41 = 11 CE). The text was written by a “Petearensnouphis, son of Kteson” and describes how this man came to the quarry as an “officer of Ammon and Athena,” designated as the greatest god and goddess respectively.

The significance of the Athena inscription may appear peculiar at first and definitely necessitates a synopsis of its larger epigraphic context, as well as a deeper understanding in the symbolic language expressed in nearby quarry marks (which will be dealt with together with anthroponomastics in a separate publication). Indeed, it is only through a hermeneutic, semiotic, and semiologic process, from which Athena emerges as her Egyptian equivalent—Neith—that the larger communicated code can be deciphered.

To summarize a complicated (and tentative) hypothesis, Athena was here referred to as the Greek correlative of Neith, mythological mother of Tutu and associated with Khnum at Esna as the creator gods.²⁰ Within the quarry partition in which the Athena inscription is found (Partition F, the southern part), there are text graffiti that contain the names of Tutu and Khnum individually,²¹ and quarry marks which depict the sphinx-god (cat. no. 4, above) and ram-god respectively.²² The stone from this particular quarry was intended for a “Temple of

Khnum” (unpublished demotic inscription²³), and based on the combination of deities mentioned combined with the given chronology (Augustus-Tiberius), it is likely that the temple can be identified as Esna. However, taking it one step further, the quarry marks that surround the inscription of Athena, and are emphasized in style and number within the quarry partition, depict a stone vessel, an ankh, and an offering table crowned with a solar disk placed within a set of horns (alt. stylized wings). As postulated in previous articles, some quarry marks may be understood as identity marks for the gods, with examples given of marks that independently signify Pachimesen, Isis, Min, Montu, Harpocrates, Bes, and Rattawy.²⁴ Additionally, the stone vessel has been identified as symbolizing Khnum.²⁵ Proceeding from this—and excogitating that the stone vessel connotes Khnum—the ankh and offering table remain ambiguous. Could they too signify identity marks for deities? In fact, could they be seen as determinatives for a female—the offering table crowned with the “Hathoric cow horns and solar disk”—and a male—the ankh? If so, this emblematic riddle may be interpreted as a series for the trinity of the temple for which stone was extracted. Not only so, with adorations and dedications aimed directly at Athena/Neith, Tutu, and Khnum, they were likely to have been considered the residing triad within the quarry too.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper presents examples of pictorial and textual representations of five “new” deities that can be added to the already existing list produced by Preisigke and Spiegelberg in the beginning of the 20th century. Those deities are the Egyptian gods Min and Bes, the sphinx-god Tutu, and—exceptionally—two Greek goddesses, Athena and Tyche. The significance of their presence within the quarries at Gebel el-Silsila varies slightly, but appears connected by the workers’ need or wish to maintain safe and protected.

Min was already an established protector of quarrymen during their work in the Eastern Desert, and images of Bes within other quarries may suggest a similar function. The male anguiform deity Shai, who has been recorded as part of the Gebel el-Silsila pantheon previously, also indicate a desire for protection, and by adding a female counterpart represented in Tyche, such a wish is emphasized.

References to Tutu in connection with a textual

dedication to Athena as Neith provide yet another insight into the world of the ancient quarrymen: the individual quarries from which stone was extracted for predestined temples were already dedicated to not only the main god of said temple, but the entire triad. However, identifying the individual deities included in the triads is very similar to putting a jigsaw puzzle together, where all aspects of epigraphy and archaeology must be taken into consideration. Put together, the larger puzzle reveals a wide array of religious applications and beliefs, but first and foremost they express the workers’ collective need for divine protection in their daily chores in a harsh and dangerous quarryscape.

Each day the workers faced fatal risks related with the extraction and transportation of the sandstone blocks that were earmarked for one or another of the sacred edifices of Upper Egypt. But also, they were

constantly threatened by the forces of nature: snakes, crocodiles, and hippopotami constantly lurked nearby, and the men were close to defenseless against nature’s forces such as sandstorms, extreme heat, and the yearly flooding.

A selection of the symbols appear to have been used as abbreviations for deities, while others were used as determinatives in for example indicating a male or female deity, respectively illustrated in the signs of an ankh and an offering table crowned with the horned sun disk.

By adding five more deities to the already respectable list of gods at Gebel el-Silsila, it becomes evident of how intertwined religion was with daily life. None of the monumental cliff faces could be excavated without first having received the blessing of the divine triad to whom, inevitable, the stone belonged... or so it appears.

CATALOGUE

No. 1

Graffito of Min

Inv. no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.P.76

Date: plausibly Augustus–Tiberius

Measurements: located too high for measurements

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: unpublished



No. 2

Dedication to Min

Inv. no.: GeSE.Q35.C.P.27-28 + C.In.2

Date: AD 49, 27 August (year 10 of Claudius)

Measurements: total h. 130cm, w. 207cm; text h. 41cm, w. 125cm; scene h. 130cm, w. 94 cm.

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson and Almásy, no. 1, with figs. 3a–b; Klemm and Klemm, 190 fig. 287 (only scene).

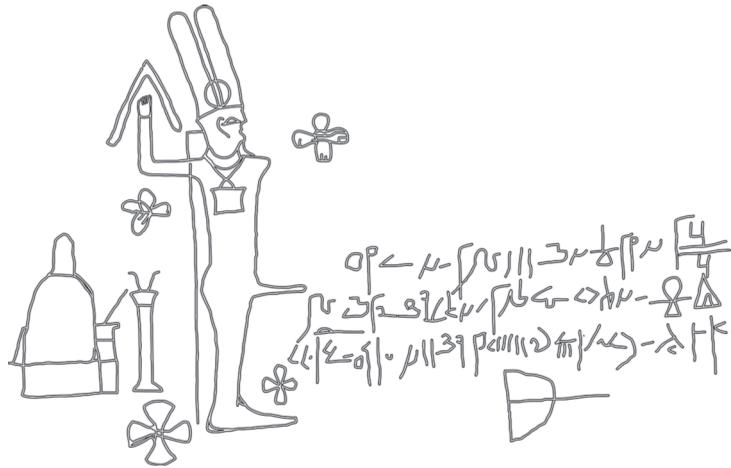
The inscription is located in the southern corner of the quarry face, within reach from the ground level. It is elaborated and carefully carved in direct connection with the pictorial scene. The style, technique, depth, and width of the engravings indicate that the text and pictorial scene were made by the same hand.

Text in transliteration:

1. *Min p3 ntr 3 p3 Šy n p3 tw*
2. *DI ʿNH n P3-šr-3-pht s3 P3-šr-hnm šc d.t*
3. *sh (n) h3.t-sp 10.t n Glwty3ys ibd 1 3h.t sw 1 h3.t n rnp.t*

Text in translation:

1. Min, the great god, the Shai of the Mountain
2. gives life to Psenapathes, son of Psenchnoumis forever
3. written in year 10 of Claudius, Thoth 1, beginning of the year.



Comments:

Line 1: The *DI ʿNH* formula is written in hieroglyphs.

Line 4: The expression *h3.t n rnp.t* is unusual in graffiti (e.g., CDD H2 9; EG 250).

The name *P3-šr-hnm* (DN 257) appears without affiliation in another text situated in another part of the Gebel el-Silsila.^a

The god Min, described with the epithet Shai (“Fate”),^b was considered the protector of this quarry.

No. 3

Pictorial graffito of dwarf-god Bes

Inv. no.: GeSE.Q23.P1

Date: plausibly a 19th Dynasty *terminus post quem*

Measurements: h. 60cm, w. 58cm

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson 2015, 93, fig. 18.

The figure is located some 3m above the current ground level, but can be reached (with care) from a small pathway leading down from an adjacent spoil heap. While the figure is well preserved, it is difficult to determine all its details due to deep underlying tool marks left from the extraction work.



No. 4

Pictorial graffito of dwarf-god Bes with signature

Inv. no.: GeSE.Q24.E.P.16 + E.In.4

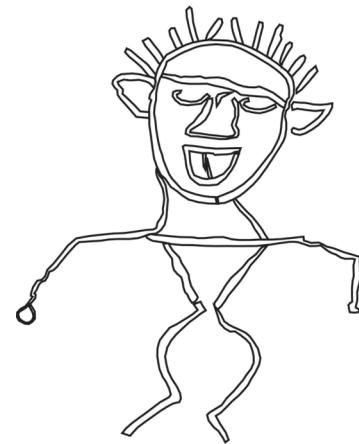
Date: plausibly Tiberius

Measurements: h. 58cm, w. 35cm

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: unpublished

Similar to no. 3, this figure is well preserved, but it is difficult to determine all its details due to deep underlying tool marks left from the extraction work.



^a Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, no. 143.

^b Cf. Jan Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique* (Louvain: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 1975), 94.

No. 5

Pictorial graffito of sphinx-god Tutu

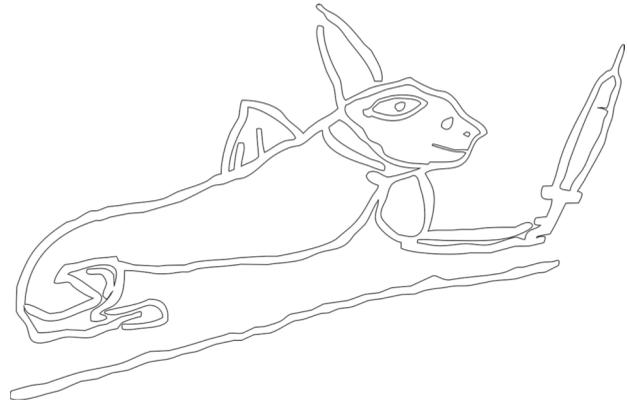
Inv. no.: GeSE.Q34.F2.P.

Date: plausibly Augustus–Tiberius

Measurements: located too high for measurements

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson 2016, no. 4



No. 6

Adoration of Saouas son of Agathinos

Inv. no.: GeSE.Q34.F5.In.4

Date: Augustus

Measurements: h. 60cm, w. 320cm

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson, Ward, Doherty and Almásy, no. 26

The inscription is situated on an extraction ledge c. 1.5 m above ledge, and c. 20 m above the current ground level.

ΣΑΟΥΑΣ ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟΥ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΩΔΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΤΗΧΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΤΟΜΙΑΣ
ΤΟΥ ΑΜΜΩΝΟΣ Λ ΜΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΦΑΩΦΙΕ

Text in transliteration:

- 1.) ΣΑΟΥΑΣ ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟΥ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ
- 2.) ΩΔΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΤΗΧΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΤΟΜΙΑΣ _
- 3.) ΤΟΥ ΑΜΜΩΝΟΣ Λ ΜΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΦΑΩΦΙΕ

- 1.) Σαούας Ἀγαθίνου τὸ προσκύνημα αὐτοῦ
- 2.) ὦδε παρὰ τῆς τήχης τῆς λατομίας
- 3.) τοῦ Ἀμμώνος (έτοῦς) μα Καίσαρος φαωφί ιε

Text in translation:

- 1.) Saouas (son of) Agathinos, his own act of adoration (adoration made by himself)
- 2.) here for the Tyché (Fate) of the quarry
- 3.) of Ammon. Year 41 of Caesar, Phaophi 15

Comments:

L2: τήχης for τύχης see Gignac I, 262–263;^c the final omicron mistakenly replaces the lunar sigma in λατομίας.

^c Francis Thomas Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, vol. I: Phonology* (Milan: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1976).

No. 7

Graffito of Petear(en)snouphis son of Ktesion

Inv. no.: GeSE.Q34.F5.In.5

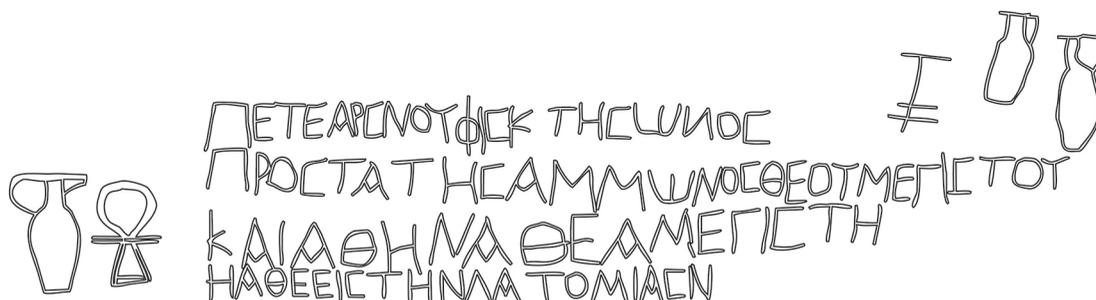
Date: Augustus

Measurements: h. 59cm, w. 252cm

Condition: well preserved

Bibliography: Nilsson, Ward, Doherty and Almásy, no. 25.

The inscription is situated adjacently with no. 6.



Text in transliteration:

- 1.) ΠΕΤΕΑΡΣΝΟΥΦΙΚ ΤΗΣΩΙΝΟΣ
- 2.) ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΣΑΜΜΩΝΟΣΘΕΟΥΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥ
- 3.) ΚΑΙΑΘΗΝΑΘΕΑΜΕΓΙΣΤΗ
- 4.) ΗΘΕΕΙΣΤΗΝΛΑΤΟΜΙΑΣΝ

- 1.) Πετεαρσνοῦφισ Κτήσωνος
- 2.) προστάτης Ἀμμωνος θεοῦ μεγιστοῦ
- 3.) καὶ Ἀθήνας θεᾶς μεγιστῆς
- 4.) ἦ(α)λλε εἰς τὴν λατόμια(σ)ν

Text in translation:

- 1.) Petear(en)snouphis (son of) Ktesion
- 2.) officer of Ammon, the greatest god
- 3.) and of Athena, the greatest goddess
- 4.) came to the quarry

Comments:

L1: The nu in “Ktesion” is incorrectly written in inverse. The signature “Petear(en)snouphis son of Ktesion” is found also on quarry face F1 in the main quarry.^d

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

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

^d Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, no. 143 (Bernard 1989, 136), the name Petear(en)snouphis is here written in the alternative form Petraomnouphis.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CDD: Janet. H. Johnson (ed.), *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2001) <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago>.
- DNB: Erich Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch I-II* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2000).
- EG: Wolja Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Kopenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1954).

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- ¹ Friedrich Preisigke and Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und griechische Inschriften und Graffiti aus den Steinbrüchen des Gebel Silsile (Oberägypten)—nach den Zeichnungen von Georges Legrain* (Strassburg: K.J. Trübner, 1915).
- ² For Claudius, see Maria Nilsson and Adrienn Almásy, “Quarrying for Claudius, Protected by Min: Reflections on a Small Quarry in Gebel el Silsila East,” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 22 (2015): 87–110; for Augustus/Tiberius see Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915.
- ³ Nilsson and Almásy 2015, 89–90.
- ⁴ Gerald Averay Wainright, “Some Celestial Associations of Min,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 21 (1935): 152–170.
- ⁵ Bryan Kraemer, “Kamutef,” in Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craig B. Champion, Andrew Erskine, and Sabine R. Huebner (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 3688–3690.
- ⁶ Nilsson and Almásy 2015, 98 with notes.
- ⁷ Rosemarie Klemm and Dietrich Klemm, *Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 2008), 197; James A. Harrell and Per Storemyr, “Limestone and Sandstone Quarrying in Ancient Egypt: Tools, Methods, and Analogues,” *Marmora* 9 (2013), 29; John Ward and Maria Nilsson, “Mallets, Chisels, Sledges and Boats: The Art of Quarrying at Gebel el Silsila,” in Massimiliano S. Pinarello, Justin Yoo, Jason Lundock and Carl Walsh (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology: Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Symposium* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), 59–72. In addition to the tool marks, other quarrying remains, such as trenching, block size and ramp systems, support

- a New Kingdom date for the quarry itself.
- ⁸ Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, nos. 282, 285; Klemm and Klemm 2008.
- ⁹ Translation from demotic by Eugene Cruz-Uribe, which is included in a field report pending publication; cf. Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, nos. 253, 257, 264, 274–285 (translated as “Pasemis”).
- ¹⁰ Maria Nilsson, “Non-Textual Marking Systems at Gebel el Silsila: From Dynastic Signifiers of Odentity to Symbols of Adoration,” in Julia Budka, Franz Kammerzell, and Slawomir Rzepka (eds.), *Non-Textual Marking Systems in Ancient Egypt (and Elsewhere)*, *Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica* 16 (Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag, 2015), 94.
- ¹¹ For Claudius, see Nilsson and Almásy 2015; for Augustus/Tiberius see Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915; Maria Nilsson, John Ward, Sarah K. Doherty, and Adrienn Almásy, “Gebel el Silsila: Field Report from the Main Quarry,” *Journal of Intercultural and Interdisciplinary Archaeology* 2 (2015): 147–192.
- ¹² E.g., see Olaf Kaper, *The Egyptian God Tutu: A Study of the Sphinx-God and Master of Demons with a Corpus of Monuments*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 119, (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 2003).
- ¹³ Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, no. 101.
- ¹⁴ André Bernand, *De Thèbes à Syène* (Paris: Édition de CNRS, 1989), no. 100.
- ¹⁵ Geraldine Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 36; Kaper 2003, 201–204.
- ¹⁶ Nilsson, Ward, Doherty, and Almásy 2015, no. 26.
- ¹⁷ E.g., S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and other Short Texts in the Demotic Script Found on Various Objects and Gathered from Many Publications*, *Studia Demotica* 5 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 82–83; André Bernand, *Pan du Désert* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 241–243, no. 83; Rachel Mairs, “Egyptian ‘Inscriptions’ and Greek ‘Graffiti’ at El Kanais (Egyptian Eastern Desert),” in Jennifer Baird and Claire Taylor (eds.), *Ancient Graffiti in Context* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 153–164.
- ¹⁸ The male serpent god Shaï is recorded in various

- part of the quarries at Gebel el Silsila; see Maria Nilsson, “Anguiform Graffiti in the Roman Quarries at Gebel el Silsila,” *Journal of Intercultural and Interdisciplinary Archaeology* 2 (2015): 85–96.
- ¹⁹ For a brief summary of Renenutet’s role as the spouse of Shai, see Robyn Gillam “Renenutet,” in Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craige B. Champion, Andrew Erskine, and Sabine R. Huebner (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 5802–5803 with further bibliography. For Tyche’s association with Renenutet-Isis, see Katharina Martin, “Agathos Daimon,” in Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craige B. Champion, Andrew Erskine, and Sabine R. Huebner (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 172–173; Vera Vanderlip (ed.), *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis*, *American Studies in Papyrology* 12 (Toronto: A. M. Hakkert, 1972), 18–19; Fawzi Zayadin, “L’iconographie d’Isis à Pétra,” *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité* 103.1 (1991): 300–306.
- ²⁰ Kate Liszka, “Esna/Letopolis,” in Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craige B. Champion, Andrew Erskine and Sabine R. Huebner (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 2501; Kaper, 130–131.
- ²¹ The current archaeological mission has documented various text and pictorial graffiti in addition to those already published by Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915 (e.g., nos. 98, 100–102, 112, 131).
- ²² See, for example, Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, no. 112.
- ²³ See also Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, nos. 98, 100, 102; Nilsson, Ward, Doherty and Almásy 2015, no. 38.
- ²⁴ Maria Nilsson, “Pseudo Script in Gebel el Silsila—Preliminary Results of the Epigraphic Survey 2012,” in Kelly Accetta, Renate Fellingner, Pedro Lourenço Gonçalves, and W. Paul van Pelt (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2013: Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Symposium* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 122–141; Maria Nilsson and John Ward, “Quarry Marks in Partition B, Main Quarry at Gebel el Silsila: Remarks on Their Meaning and Function,” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 39 (2014): 139–178; Nilsson 2015; Nilsson 2016; Nilsson, Ward, Doherty and Almásy 2015.
- ²⁵ Nilsson 2014 (*CRE*), 131–133 (discussing a possible link with the temple terrace and Khnum Temple at Elephantine); and for more recent and updated hypothesis: Maria Nilsson, “Quarry Marks in Gebel el Silsila—Signifiers of Men and Gods alike?” in Ben Haring (ed.), *Decoding Signs Proceedings* (forthcoming).